



ST. JAMES ENCYCLOPEDIA OF  
**POPULAR**CULTURE



**VOLUME 1: A-D**

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**VOLUME 1: A - D**

**EDITORS:** Tom Pendergast Sara Pendergast

with an introduction by Jim Cullen

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## EDITOR'S NOTE

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Thirty some years ago Ray Browne and several of his colleagues provided a forum for the academic study of popular culture by forming first the *Journal of Popular Culture* and later the Popular Culture Association and the Center for the Study of Popular Culture at Bowling Green State University. Twenty some years ago Thomas Inge thought the field of popular culture studies well enough established to put together the first edition of his *Handbook of Popular Culture*. In the years since, scholars and educators from many disciplines have published enough books, gathered enough conferences, and gained enough institutional clout to make popular culture studies one of the richest fields of academic study at the close of the twentieth century. Thirty, twenty, in some places even ten years ago, to study popular culture was to be something of a pariah; today, the study of popular culture is accepted and even respected in departments of history, literature, communications, sociology, film studies, etc. throughout the United States and throughout the world, and not only in universities, but in increasing numbers of high schools. Thomas Inge wrote in the introduction to the second edition of his *Handbook*: “The serious and systematic study of popular culture may be the most significant and potentially useful of the trends in academic research and teaching in the last half of this century in the United States.”<sup>2</sup> It is to this thriving field of study that we hope to contribute with the *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture*.

The *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture* includes over 2,700 essays on all elements of popular culture in the United States in the twentieth century. But what is “popular culture?” Academics have offered a number of answers over the years. Historians Norman F. Cantor and Michael S. Werthman suggested that “popular culture may be seen as all those things man does and all those artifacts he creates for their own sake, all that diverts his mind and body from the sad business of life.”<sup>1</sup> Michael Bell argues that:

At its simplest popular culture is the culture of mass appeal. A creation is popular when it is created to respond to the experiences and values of the majority, when it is produced in such a way that the majority have easy access to it, and when it can be understood and interpreted by that majority without the aid of special knowledge or experience.<sup>3</sup>

While tremendously useful, both of these definitions tend to exclude more than they embrace. Was the hot dog created for its own sake, as a diversion? Probably not, but we’ve included an essay on it in this collection. Were the works of Sigmund Freud in any way shaped for the majority? No, but Freud’s ideas—borrowed, twisted, and reinterpreted—have shaped novels, films, and common speech in ways too diffuse to ignore. Thus we have included an essay on Freud’s impact on popular culture. Our desire to bring together the greatest number of cultural phenomena impacting American culture in this century has led us to prefer Ray Browne’s rather broader early definition of popular culture as “all the experiences in life shared by people in common, generally though not necessarily disseminated by the mass media.”<sup>4</sup>

### *Coverage*

In order to amass a list of those cultural phenomena that were widely disseminated and experienced by people in relatively unmediated form we asked a number of scholars, teachers, librarians, and archivists to serve as advisors. Each of our 20 advisors provided us with a list of over 200 topics from their field of specialty that they considered important enough to merit an essay; several of our advisors provided us with lists much longer than that. Their collective lists numbered nearly 4,000 potential essay topics, and we winnowed this list down to the number that is now gathered in this collection. We sought balance (but not equal coverage) between the major areas of popular culture: film; music; print culture; social life; sports; television and radio; and art and performance (which includes theatre, dance, stand-up comedy, and other live performance). For those interested, the breakdown of coverage is as follows: social life, 23 percent (a category which covers everything from foodways to fashion, holidays to hairstyles); music, 16 percent; print culture, 16 percent; film, 15 percent; television and radio, 14 percent; sports, 10 percent; and art and performance, 6 percent. A variety of considerations led us to skew the coverage of the book in favor of the second half of the century. The massive popularity of television and recorded music, the mass-marketing of popular fiction, and the national attention given to professional sports are historical factors contributing to the emphasis on post-World War II culture, but we have also considered the needs of high school and undergraduate users in distributing entries in this way.

### *The Entries*

The entries in this volume vary in length from brief (75 to 150-word) introductions to the topic to in-depth 3,000-word explorations. No matter the length, we have asked our contributors to do two things in each entry: to describe the topic and to analyze its

significance in and relevance to American popular culture. While we hope that users will find the basic factual information they need concerning the topic in an entry, it was even more important to us that each user gain some perspective on the cultural context in which the topic has importance. Thus the entry on MTV, for example, chronicles the channel's rise to world popularity, but also analyzes the relationship between MTV, youth culture, and consumerism. The entry on John Ford, while tracing the outlines of the film director's long career, assesses the impact Ford's films have had on the film Western and on Americans' very perceptions of the West. Given the brevity of the entries, we chose to emphasize analysis of a topic's contribution to popular culture over a full presentation of biographical/historical information. The entry on World War I, for example, offers an analysis of how the war was understood in popular film, print culture, and propaganda rather than a blow-by-blow description of the actual military conflict.

Entries are accompanied by a list of further readings. These readings are meant to provide the user with readily accessible sources that provide more information on the specific topic. As befits a multimedia age, these "further readings" come not just from books and magazines, but also from albums, liner notes, films, videos, and web sites. Users of the Internet know well the perils of trusting the information found on the World Wide Web; there are as yet few filters to help browsers sift the useful from the absurd. We cited web sites when they provided information that was unavailable in any other known form and when our reasonable efforts to determine the veracity of the information led us to believe that the information provided was valid and useful. We have occasionally provided links to "official" web sites of performers or organizations, for the same reason that we provide citations to autobiographies. All web links cited were accurate as of the date indicated in the citation.

### *Organization and Indexing*

Entries are arranged alphabetically by the name under which the topic is best known. For topics which might reasonably be sought out under differing names, we have provided in-text cross references. For example, a user seeking an entry on Huddie Ledbetter will be referred to the entry on Leadbelly, and a user seeking an entry on Larry Flynt will be referred to the entry on *Hustler* magazine. Far more powerful than the cross references, however, are the indexes provided in the fifth volume of the collection. The general index is by far the most powerful, for it leads the user searching for information on Humphrey Bogart, for example, to the entries on Lauren Bacall, *Casablanca*, *The Maltese Falcon*, *The African Queen*, and several other entries that contain substantive information about Bogie. Equally powerful is the subject index, a list of categories under which we listed all pertinent entries. Consulting the subject index listing for Sex Symbols, for example, will lead the user to entries on Marilyn Monroe, the Varga Girl, *Playboy* magazine, David Cassidy, Mae West, and a long entry on the Sex Symbol, among others. Finally, a time index, organized by decades, provides a list of the entries that concern each decade of the twentieth century. Those entries that concern nineteenth-century topics are indexed by the first decade of the twentieth century.

We encourage readers to use the indexes to discover the fascinating intertwinings that have made the development of popular culture in the twentieth century such a vital field of study. Using the indexes, it is possible to uncover the story of how the American humor that was first made popular on the vaudeville stage evolved into first the radio comedies that entertained so many Americans during the Depression and War years and later the sitcoms that have kept Americans glued to their television screens for the last 50 years. That story is here, in the entries on Vaudeville, the Sitcom, *Amos 'n' Andy*, and the many other programs and comedians that have defined this tradition. A teacher who wishes students to uncover the similarities between sitcoms of the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s might well ask the students to use this collection to begin their research into such comedies. Similarly, a teacher who asks students to explore the cross-pollination between musical genres will find that the indexes reveal the mixing of "race music," rhythm and blues, gospel, soul, and rock 'n' roll. It is hoped that this collection will be of particular use to those instructors of high school and undergraduate courses who challenge their students to discover the real cultural complexity of the music, films, magazines, and television shows that they take for granted. This collection should also be of use to those more advanced scholars who are beginning new research into an area of popular culture or who are looking for some context in which to place their existing research.

### *Acknowledgments*

The *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture* represents the work of hundreds of people, and we owe our thanks to all of them. We have had the privilege of working with 20 advisors whose experience, knowledge, and wisdom have truly helped shape the contents of this collection. Each of our advisors helped us to discover hidden corners of popular culture that we would not have considered on our own, and the breadth of coverage in this collection is a tribute to their collective knowledge. Several of our advisors deserve special thanks: Paul Buhle, George Carney, B. Lee Cooper, Jerome Klinkowitz, and Ron Simon all showed an extraordinary level of commitment and helpfulness.

It has been a pleasure to work with the nearly 450 contributors to this collection; we've appreciated their expertise, their professionalism, and their good humor. Several of our contributors deserve special mention for the quality of their contributions to this collection: Jacob Appel, Tim Berg, Pat Broeske, Richard Digby-Junger, Jeffrey Escoffier, Bryan Garman, Tina Gianoulis, Milton Goldin, Ian Gordon, Ron Goulart, Justin Gustainis, Preston Jones, Robyn Karney, Deborah Mix, Leonard Moore, Edward Moran, Victoria Price, Bob Schnakenberg, Steven Schneider, Charles Shindo, Robert Sickels, Wendy Woloson, and Brad Wright. Our team of copyeditors helped us bring a uniformity of presentation to the writings of this mass of contributors, and spotted and corrected innumerable small errors. Heidi Hagen, Robyn Karney, Edward Moran, and Tim Seul deserve special thanks for the quality and quantity of their work; we truly couldn't have done it without them. The contributors and copyeditors provided us with the material to build this collection, but it has been the editors' responsibility to ensure its accuracy and reliability. We welcome any corrections and comments; please write to: The Editors, *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture*, St. James Press, 27500 Drake Road, Farmington Hills, MI 48331-3535.

Gathering the photos for this collection was an enormous task, and we were helped immeasurably by the knowledgeable and efficient staff at several photo agencies. We'd like to thank Marcia Schiff at AP/Wide World Photos; Eric Young at Archive Photos; and Kevin Rettig at Corbis Images. Lisa Hartjens of ImageFinders, Inc. also helped us acquire a number of photos.

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Finally, we'd like to thank Lee Van Wormer for his sage management advice and our children, Conrad and Louisa, for their warm morning cuddles and for the delightful artwork that adorns our office walls.

—Tom Pendergast and Sara Pendergast,  
Editors

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# INTRODUCTION

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## *The Art of Everyday Life*

Sometimes, when I'm wandering in an art museum looking at the relics of an ancient civilization, I find myself wondering how a future society would represent a defunct American culture. What objects would be chosen—or would survive—to be placed on display? Would I agree with a curator's choices? Were I to choose the items that some future American Museum of Art should exhibit to represent twentieth-century American culture, here are some I would name: an Elvis Presley record; a Currier & Ives print; a movie still from *Casablanca*. To put it a different way, my priority would *not* be to exhibit fragments of an urban cathedral, a painted landscape, or a formal costume. I wouldn't deny such objects could be important artifacts of American culture, or that they belong in a gallery. But in my avowedly biased opinion, the most vivid documents of American life—the documents that embody its possibilities and limits—are typically found in its popular culture.

Popular culture, of course, is not an American invention, and it has a vibrant life in many contemporary societies. But in few, if any, of those societies has it been as central to a notion of national character at home as well as abroad. For better or worse, it is through icons like McDonald's (the quintessential American cuisine), the Western (a uniquely American narrative genre), and Oprah Winfrey (a classic late-twentieth century embodiment of the American Dream) that this society is known—and is likely to be remembered.

It has sometimes been remarked that unlike nations whose identities are rooted in geography, religion, language, blood, or history, the United States was founded on a democratic ideal—a notion of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness elaborated in the Declaration of Independence. That ideal has been notoriously difficult to realize, and one need only take a cursory look at many aspects of American life—its justice system, electoral politics, residential patterns, labor force, et. al.—to see how far short it has fallen.

American popular culture is a special case. To be sure, it evinces plenty of the defects apparent in other areas of our national life, among them blatant racism and crass commercialism. If nothing else, such flaws can be taken as evidence of just how truly representative it is. There is nevertheless an openness and vitality about pop culture—its appeal across demographic lines; its interplay of individual voices and shared communal experience; the relatively low access barriers for people otherwise marginalized in U.S. society—that give it real legitimacy as the art of democracy. Like it or hate it, few dispute its centrality.

This sense of openness and inclusion—as well as the affection and scorn it generated—has been apparent from the very beginning. In the prologue of the 1787 play *The Contrast* (whose title referred to the disparity between sturdy republican ideals and effete monarchical dissipation), American playwright Royall Tyler invoked a cultural sensibility where “proud titles of ‘My Lord! Your Grace/To the humble ‘Mr.’ and plain ‘Sir’ give place.” Tyler, a Harvard graduate, Revolutionary War officer, and Chief Justice of the Vermont Supreme Court, was in some sense an unlikely prophet of popular culture. But the sensibility he voiced—notably in his beloved character Jonathon, a prototype for characters from Davy Crockett to John Wayne—proved durable for centuries to come.

For much of early American history, however, artists and critics continued to define aesthetic success on European terms, typically invoking elite ideals of order, balance, and civilization. It was largely taken for granted that the most talented practitioners of fine arts, such as painters Benjamin West and John Singleton Copley, would have to go abroad to train, produce, and exhibit their most important work. To the extent that newer cultural forms—like the novel, whose very name suggests its place in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century western civilization—were noted at all, it was usually in disparaging terms. This was especially true of novels written and read by women, such as Susanna Rowson's widely read *Charlotte Temple* (1791). Sermons against novels were common; Harvard devoted its principal commencement address in 1803 to the dangers of fiction.

The industrialization of the United States has long been considered a watershed development in many realms of American life, and popular culture is no exception. Indeed, its importance is suggested in the very definition of popular culture coined by cultural historian Lawrence Levine: “the folklore of industrial society.” Industrialization allowed the mass-reproduction and dissemination of formerly local traditions, stories, and art forms across the continent, greatly intensifying the spread—and development—of culture by, for, and of the people. At a time when North America remained geographically and politically fragmented, magazines, sheet music, dime novels, lithographs, and other print media stitched it together.

This culture had a characteristic pattern. Alexis de Tocqueville devoted 11 chapters of his classic 1835-40 masterpiece *Democracy in America* to the art, literature, and language of the United States, arguing that they reflected a democratic ethos that required new standards of evaluation. “The inhabitants of the United States have, at present, properly speaking, no literature,” he wrote. This judgment, he made clear, arose from a definition of literature that came from aristocratic societies like his own. In its stead, he explained, Americans sought books “which may be easily procured, quickly read, and which require no learned researches to be understood. They ask for beauties self-proffered and easily enjoyed; above all they must have what is unexpected and new.” As in so many other ways, this description of American literature, which paralleled what Tocqueville saw in other arts, proved not only vivid but prophetic.

The paradox of American democracy, of course, is that the freedom Euro-Americans endlessly celebrated co-existed with—some might say depended on—the enslavement of African Americans. It is therefore one of the great ironies of popular culture that the contributions of black culture (a term here meant to encompass African, American, and amalgamations between the two) proved so decisive. In another sense, however, it seems entirely appropriate that popular culture, which has always skewed its orientation toward the lower end of a demographic spectrum, would draw on the most marginalized groups in American society. It is, in any event, difficult to imagine that U.S. popular culture would have had anywhere near the vitality and influence it has without slave stories, song, and dance. To cite merely one example: every American musical idiom from country music to rap has drawn on, if not actually *rested* upon, African-American cultural foundations, whether in its use of the banjo (originally an African instrument) or its emphasis on the beat (drumming was an important form of slave communication). This heritage has often been overlooked, disparaged, and even satirized. The most notable example of such racism was the minstrel show, a wildly popular nineteenth century form of theater in which white actors blackened their faces with burnt cork and mocked slave life. Yet even the most savage parodies could not help but reveal an engagement with, and even a secret admiration for, the cultural world the African Americans made in conditions of severe adversity, whether on plantations, tenant farms, or in ghettos.

Meanwhile, the accelerating pace of technological innovation began having a dramatic impact on the form as well as the content of popular culture. The first major landmark was the development of photography in the mid-nineteenth century. At first a mechanically complex and thus inaccessible medium, it quickly captured American imaginations, particularly by capturing the drama and horror of the Civil War. The subsequent proliferation of family portraits, postcards, and pictures in metropolitan newspapers began a process of orienting popular culture around visual imagery that continues unabated to this day.

In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, sound recording, radio transmission, and motion pictures were all developed in rapid succession. But it would not be until well after 1900 that their potential as popular cultural media would be fully exploited and recognizable in a modern sense (radio, for example, was originally developed and valued for its nautical and military applications). Still, even if it was not entirely clear how, many people at the time believed these new media would have a tremendous impact on American life, and they were embraced with unusual ardor by those Americans, particularly immigrants, who were able to appreciate the pleasures and possibilities afforded by movies, records, and radio.

Many of the patterns established during the advent of these media repeated themselves as new ones evolved. The Internet, for example, was also first developed for its military applications, and for all the rapidity of its development in the 1990s, it remains unclear just how its use will be structured. Though the World Wide Web has shown tremendous promise as a commercial enterprise, it still lacks the kind of programming—like *Amos 'n' Andy* in radio, or *I Love Lucy* in television—that transformed both into truly mass media of art and entertainment. Television, for its part, has long been the medium of a rising middle class of immigrants and their children, in terms of the figures who have exploited its possibilities (from RCA executive David Sarnoff to stars like Jackie Gleason); the new genres it created (from the miniseries to the situation-comedy); and the audiences (from urban Jews to suburban Irish Catholics) who adopted them with enthusiasm.

For much of this century, the mass appeal of popular culture has been viewed as a problem. “What is the jass [*sic*] music, and therefore the jass band?” asked an irritated New Orleans writer in 1918. “As well as ask why the dime novel or the grease-dripping doughnut. All are manifestations of a low stream in man’s taste that has not come out in civilization’s wash.” However one may feel about this contemptuous dismissal of jazz, now viewed as one of the great achievements of American civilization, this writer was clearly correct to suggest the demographic, technological, and cultural links between the “lower” sorts of people in American life, the media they used, and forms of expression that were often presumed guilty until proven innocent.

Indeed, because education and research have traditionally been considered the province of the “higher” sorts of people in American life, popular culture was not considered a subject that should even be discussed, much less studied. Nevertheless, there have always been those willing to continue what might be termed the “Tocquevillian” tradition of treating popular culture with intellectual

seriousness and respect (if not always approval). In his 1924 book *The Seven Lively Arts* and in much of his journalism, critic Gilbert Seldes found in silent movies, cartoons, and pop music themes and motifs fully worthy of sustained exploration. Amid the worldwide crisis of the 1930s and 1940s, folklorist Constance Rourke limned the origins of an indigenous popular culture in books like *American Humor* (1931) and *The Roots of American Culture* (1942). And with the rise of the Cold War underlining the differences between democratic and totalitarian societies, sociologists David Riesman and Reuel Denny evaluated the social currents animating popular culture in Denny's *The Astonished Muse* (1957), for which Riesman, who showed a particular interest in popular music, wrote the introduction.

European scholars were also pivotal in shaping the field. Johan Huizinga's *Homo Ludens* (1938), Roland Barthes's *Mythologies* (1957), and Antonio Gramsci's prison letters (written in the 1920s and 1930s but not published until the 1970s) have proved among the most influential works in defining the boundaries, strategies, and meanings of popular culture. While none of these works focused on American popular culture specifically, their focus on the jetsam and flotsam of daily life since the medieval period proved enormously suggestive in an American context.

It has only been at the end of the twentieth century, however, that the study of popular culture has come into its own in its own right. To a great extent, this development is a legacy of the 1960s. The end of a formal system of racial segregation; the impact of affirmative action and government-funded financial aid; and the end of single-sex education at many long-established universities dramatically transformed the composition of student bodies and faculties. These developments in turn, began having an impact on the nature and parameters of academic study. While one should not exaggerate the impact of these developments—either in terms of their numbers or their effect on an academy that in some ways has simply replaced older forms of insularity and complacency with new ones—it nevertheless seems fair to say that a bona fide democratization of higher education occurred in the last third of the twentieth century, paving the way for the creation of a formal scholarly infrastructure for popular culture.

Once again, it was foreign scholars who were pivotal in the elaboration of this infrastructure. The work of Raymond Williams, Stuart Hall, and others at Britain's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in the 1950s and 1960s drew on Marxist and psychoanalytic ideas to explain, and in many cases justify, the importance of popular culture. Though not always specifically concerned with popular culture, a panoply of French theorists—particularly Jacques Derrida, Louis Althusser, and Michel Foucault—also proved highly influential. At its best, this scholarship illuminated unexamined assumptions and highly revealing (and in many cases, damning) patterns in the most seemingly ordinary documents. At its worst, it lapsed into an arcane jargon that belied the directness of popular culture and suggested an elitist disdain toward the audiences it presumably sought to understand.

Like their European counterparts, American scholars of popular culture have come from a variety of disciplines. Many were trained in literature, among them Henry Nash Smith, whose *Virgin Land* (1950) pioneered the study of the Western, and Leslie Fiedler, who applied critical talents first developed to study classic American literature to popular fiction like *Gone with the Wind*. But much important work in the field has also been done by historians, particularly social historians who began their careers by focusing on labor history but became increasingly interested in the ways American workers spent their free time. Following the tradition of the great British historian E. P. Thompson, scholars such as Herbert Gutman and Lawrence Levine have uncovered and described the art and leisure practices of African Americans in particular with flair and insight. Feminist scholars of a variety of stripes (and sexual orientations) have supplied a great deal of the intellectual energy in the study of popular culture, among them Ann Douglas, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, and Jane Tompkins. Indeed, the strongly interdisciplinary flavor of popular culture scholarship—along with the rise of institutions like the Popular Press and the Popular Culture Association, both based at Bowling Green University—suggests the way the field has been at the forefront of an ongoing process of redrawing disciplinary boundaries in the humanities.

By the 1980s, the stream of scholarship on popular culture had become a flood. In the 1990s, the field became less of a quixotic enterprise than a growing presence in the educational curriculum as a whole. Courses devoted to the subject, whether housed in communications programs or in traditional academic departments, have become increasingly common in colleges and universities—and, perhaps more importantly, have become integrated into the fabric of basic surveys of history, literature, and other fields. Political scientists, librarians, and curators have begun to consider it part of their domain.

For most of us, though, popular culture is not something we have to self-consciously seek out or think about. Indeed, its very omnipresence makes it easy to take for granted as transparent (and permanent). That's why trips to museums—or encyclopedias like this one—are so useful and important. In pausing to think about the art of everyday life, we can begin to see just how unusual, and valuable, it really is.

—Jim Cullen

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Jacob M. Appel  
Tim Arnold  
Paul Ashdown  
Bernardo Alexander Attias  
Frederick J. Augustyn, Jr.

Beatriz Badikian  
Michael Baers  
Neal Baker  
S. K. Bane  
Samantha Barbas  
Allen Barksdale  
Pauline Bartel  
Bob Batchelor  
Vance Bell  
Samuel I. Bellman  
James R. Belpedio  
Courtney Bennett  
Timothy Berg  
Lisa Bergeron-Duncan  
Daniel Bernardi  
R. Thomas Berner  
Charlie Bevis  
Lara Bickell  
Sam Binkley  
Brian Black  
Liza Black  
Bethany Blankenship  
Rebecca Blustein  
Aniko Bodroghkozy  
Gregory Bond  
Martyn Bone  
Austin Booth  
Gerry Bowler  
Anne Boyd  
Marlena E. Bremseth  
Carol Brennan  
Tony Brewer  
Deborah Broderson  
Michael Brody  
Pat H. Broeske  
Robert J. Brown  
Sharon Brown  
Craig Bunch  
Stephen Burnett  
Gary Burns  
Margaret Burns

Manuel V. Cabrera, Jr.  
Ross B. Care

Gerald Carpenter  
Anthony Cast  
Rafaela Castro  
Jason Chambers  
Chris Chandler  
Michael K. Chapman  
Roger Chapman  
Lloyd Chiasson, Jr.  
Ann M. Ciasullo  
Dylan Clark  
Frank Clark  
Randy Clark  
Craig T. Cobane  
Dan Coffey  
Adam Max Cohen  
Toby I. Cohen  
Susann Cokal  
Jeffrey W. Coker  
Charles A. Coletta, Jr.  
Michael R. Collings  
Willie Collins  
Mia L. Consalvo  
Douglas Cooke  
ViBrina Coronado  
Robert C. Cottrell  
Corey K. Creekmur  
Richard C. Crepeau  
Jim Cullen  
Susan Curtis

Glyn Davis  
Janet M. Davis  
Pamala S. Deane  
S. Renee Dechert  
John Deitrick  
Gordon Neal Diem, D.A.  
Richard Digby-Junger  
Laurie DiMauro  
John J. Doherty  
Thurston Domina  
Jon Griffin Donlon  
Simon Donner  
Randy Duncan  
Stephen Duncombe  
Eugenia Griffith DuPell  
Stephanie Dyer

Rob Edelman  
Geoff Edgers  
Jessie L. Embry  
Jeffrey Escoffier  
Cindy Peters Evans  
Sean Evans  
William A. Everett

Alyssa Falwell  
Richard Feinberg  
G. Allen Finchum  
S. Naomi Finkelstein  
Dennis Fischer  
Bill Freind  
Bianca Freire-Medeiros  
Shaun Frentner  
James Friedman  
Adrienne Furness

Paul Gaffney  
Milton Gaither  
Joan Gajadhar  
Catherine C. Galley  
Caitlin L. Gannon  
Sandra Garcia-Myers  
Bryan Garman  
Eva Marie Garroutte  
Frances Gateward  
Jason George  
Tina Gianoulis  
James R. Giles  
Milton Goldin  
Ilene Goldman  
Matthew Mulligan Goldstein  
Dave Goldweber  
Ian Gordon  
W. Terrence Gordon  
Ron Goulart  
Paul Grainge  
Brian Granger  
Anna Hunt Graves  
Steve Graves  
Jill A. Gregg  
Benjamin Griffith  
Perry Grossman  
Justin Gustainis  
Dale Allen Gyure

Kristine J. Ha  
Elizabeth Haas  
Ray Haberski, Jr.  
Jeanne Lynn Hall  
Steve Hanson  
Jacqueline Anne Hatton  
Chris Haven  
Ethan Hay  
Jeet Heer  
Andrew R. Heinze  
Mary Hess  
Joshua Hirsch  
David L. Hixson  
Scott W. Hoffman  
Briavel Holcomb

- Peter C. Holloran  
David Holloway  
Karen Hovde  
Kevin Howley  
Nick Humez
- Judy L. Isaksen
- Jennifer Jankauskas  
E. V. Johanningmeier  
Patrick Jones  
Patrick Jones  
Preston Neal Jones  
Mark Joseph  
Thomas Judd
- Peter Kalliney  
Nicolás Kanellos  
Robyn Karney  
Stephen Keane  
James D. Keeline  
Max Kellerman  
Ken Kempcke  
Stephen C. Kenny  
Stephen Kercher  
Matt Kerr  
M. Alison Kibler  
Kimberley H. Kidd  
Matthew A. Killmeier  
Jason King  
Jon Klinkowitz  
Leah Konicki  
Steven Kotok  
Robert Kuhlken  
Andrew J. Kunka  
Audrey Kupferberg  
Petra Kuppers
- Emma Lambert  
Christina Lane  
Kevin Lause  
Nadine-Rae Leavell  
Christopher A. Lee  
Michele Lellouche  
Robin Lent  
Joan Leotta  
Richard Levine  
Drew Linsky  
Daniel Lindley  
Joyce Linehan  
Margaret Litton  
James H. Lloyd  
David Lonergan  
Eric Longley  
Rick Lott  
Bennett Lovett-Graff  
Denise Lowe
- Debra M. Lucas  
Karen Lurie  
Michael A. Lutes  
James Lyons  
John F. Lyons
- Steve Macek  
Alison Macor  
David Marc  
Robin Markowitz  
Tilney L. Marsh  
Richard Martin  
Sara Martin  
Linda A. Martindale  
Kevin Mattson  
Randall McClure  
Allison McCracken  
Jennifer Davis McDaid  
Jason McEntee  
Cheryl S. McGrath  
Daryna McKeand  
Jacquelyn Y. McLendon  
Kembrew McLeod  
Josephine A. McQuail  
Alex Medeiros  
Brad Melton  
Myra Mendible  
Jeff Merron  
Thomas J. Mertz  
Nathan R. Meyer  
Jonathan Middlebrook  
Andre Millard  
Jeffrey S. Miller  
Karen Miller  
P. Andrew Miller  
Dorothy Jane Mills  
Andrew Milner  
Deborah M. Mix  
Nickianne Moody  
Richard L. Moody  
Charles F. Moore  
Leonard N. Moore  
Dan Moos  
Robert A. Morace  
Edward Moran  
Barry Morris  
Michael J. Murphy  
Jennifer A. Murray  
Susan Murray  
Pierre-Damien Mvuyekure
- Michael Najjar  
Ilana Nash  
Mary Lou Nemanic  
Scott Newman  
Joan Nicks  
Martin F. Norden  
Justin Nordstrom  
Anna Notaro
- William F. O'Connor  
Paul O'Hara  
Angela O'Neal  
Christopher D. O'Shea  
Lolly Ockerstrom  
Kerry Owens  
Marc Oxoby
- D. Byron Painter  
Henri-Dominique Paratte  
Leslie Paris  
Jay Parrent  
Felicity Paxton  
Sara Pendergast  
Tom Pendergast  
Jana Pendragon  
Geoff Peterson  
Kurt W. Peterson  
Emily Pettigrew  
Daniel J. Philippon  
S. J. Philo  
Allene Phy-Olsen  
Ed Piacentino  
Jürgen Pieters  
Paul F. P. Pogue  
Mark B. Pohlrad  
Fernando Porta  
Michael L. Posner  
John A. Price  
Victoria Price  
Luca Prono  
Elizabeth Purdy  
Christian L. Pyle
- Jessy Randall  
Taly Ravid  
Belinda S. Ray  
Ivan Raykoff  
Wendy Wick Reaves  
James E. Reibman  
Yolanda Retter  
Tracy J. Revels  
Wylene Rholetter  
Tad Richards  
Robert B. Ridinger  
Jeff Ritter  
Thomas Robertson  
Arthur Robinson  
Todd Anthony Rosa  
Ava Rose  
Chris Routledge  
Abhijit Roy  
Adrienne Russell  
Dennis Russell
- Lisa Jo Sagolla  
Frank A. Salamone  
Joe Sutliff Sanders

Andrew Sargent  
Julie Scelfo  
Elizabeth D. Schafer  
Louis Scheeder  
James Schiff  
Robert E. Schnakenberg  
Steven Schneider  
Kelly Schrum  
Christine Scodari  
Ann Sears  
E. M. I. Sefcovic  
Eric J. Segal  
Carol A. Senf  
Tim Seul  
Alexander Shashko  
Michele S. Shauf  
Taylor Shaw  
Anne Sheehan  
Steven T. Sheehan  
Pamela Shelton  
Sandra Sherman  
Charles J. Shindo  
Mike Shupp  
Robert C. Sickels  
C. Kenyon Silvey  
Ron Simon  
Philip Simpson  
Rosemarie Skaine  
Ryan R. Sloane  
Jeannette Sloniowski  
Cheryl A. Smith

Kyle Smith  
John Smolenski  
Irvin D. Solomon  
Geri Speace  
Andrew Spieldenner  
tova stabin  
Scott Stabler  
Jon Sterngrass  
Roger W. Stump  
Bob Sullivan  
Lauren Ann Supance  
Marc R. Sykes

Midori Takagi  
Candida Taylor  
Scott Thill  
Robert Thompson  
Stephen L. Thompson  
Rosemarie Garland Thomson  
Jan Todd  
Terry Todd  
John Tomasic  
Warren Tormey  
Grant Tracey  
David Trevino  
Marcella Bush Trevino  
Scott Tribble  
Tom Trinchera  
Nicholas A. Turse

Anthony Ubelhor  
Daryl Umberger

Rob Van Kranenburg  
Robert VanWynsberghe  
Colby Vargas

Sue Walker  
Lori C. Walters  
Nancy Lan-Jy Wang  
Adam Wathen  
Laural Weintraub  
Jon Weisberger  
David B. Welky  
Christopher W. Wells  
Celia White  
Christopher S. Wilson  
David B. Wilson  
Kristi M. Wilson  
Jeff Wiltse  
Wendy Woloson  
David E. Woodward  
Bradford W. Wright

Sharon Yablon  
Daniel Francis Yezbick  
Stephen D. Youngkin

Kristal Brent Zook



## LIST OF ENTRIES

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- A&R Men/Women  
Aaron, Hank  
AARP (American Association  
for Retired Persons)  
ABBA  
Abbey, Edward  
Abbott and Costello  
Abdul-Jabbar, Kareem  
Abortion  
Abstract Expressionism  
Academy Awards  
AC/DC  
Ace, Johnny  
Acker, Kathy  
Acupuncture  
Adams, Ansel  
Addams, Jane  
Addams Family, The  
Adderley, Cannonball  
Adidas  
Adler, Renata  
*Adventures of Ozzie and  
Harriet, The*  
Advertising  
Advice Columns  
*Advocate, The*  
Aerobics  
Aerosmith  
African American Press  
*African Queen, The*  
Agassi, Andre  
Agents  
AIDS  
Ailey, Alvin  
Air Travel  
*Airplane!*  
Alabama  
Alaska-Yukon Exposition  
(Seattle, 1909)  
Albert, Marv  
Album-Oriented Rock  
Alda, Alan  
Ali, Muhammad  
*Alice*  
*Alien*  
Alka Seltzer  
*All About Eve*  
*All in the Family*  
*All My Children*  
*All Quiet on the Western Front*  
Allen, Steve  
Allen, Woody  
Allison, Luther  
Allman Brothers Band, The  
*Ally McBeal*
- Alpert, Herb, and the  
Tijuana Brass  
Altamont  
Alternative Country Music  
Alternative Press  
Alternative Rock  
Altman, Robert  
*Amazing Stories*  
*American Bandstand*  
American Girls Series  
*American Gothic*  
*American Graffiti*  
American International Pictures  
*American Mercury*  
American Museum of Natural  
History  
*Amos 'n' Andy Show, The*  
Amsterdam, Morey  
Amtrak  
Amusement Parks  
Amway  
Anderson, Marian  
Anderson, Sherwood  
Andretti, Mario  
Andrews Sisters, The  
Androgyny  
*Andy Griffith Show, The*  
Andy Hardy  
Angell, Roger  
Angelou, Maya  
*Animal House*  
Animated Films  
Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas  
Senate Hearings  
Anka, Paul  
*Anne Frank: The Diary of a  
Young Girl*  
*Annie*  
*Annie Get Your Gun*  
*Annie Hall*  
*Another World*  
Anthony, Piers  
Aparicio, Luis  
*Apocalypse Now*  
Apollo Missions  
Apollo Theatre  
Apple Computer  
Arbuckle, Fatty  
Archie Comics  
Arden, Elizabeth  
*Argosy*  
*Arizona Highways*  
Arledge, Roone  
Armani, Giorgio  
Armed Forces Radio Service  
Armory Show
- Armstrong, Henry  
Armstrong, Louis  
Army-McCarthy Hearings  
Arnaz, Desi  
Arrow Collar Man  
Arthur, Bea  
Arthurian Legend  
*As the World Turns*  
Ashcan School  
Ashe, Arthur  
Asimov, Isaac  
Asner, Ed  
Astaire, Fred, and Ginger  
Rogers  
*Astounding Science Fiction*  
Astrology  
AT&T  
*A-Team, The*  
Athletic Model Guild  
Atkins, Chet  
Atlantic City  
*Atlantic Monthly*  
Atlantic Records  
Atlas, Charles  
Auerbach, Red  
Aunt Jemima  
Automobile  
Autry, Gene  
Avalon, Frankie  
Avedon, Richard  
*Avengers, The*  
Avery, Tex  
Avon  
Aykroyd, Dan
- “B” Movies  
Babar  
Baby Boomers  
Babyface  
Bacall, Lauren  
Bach, Richard  
*Back to the Future*  
*Bad News Bears, The*  
Baez, Joan  
Bagels  
Baker, Josephine  
Baker, Ray Stannard  
Bakker, Jim and Tammy Faye  
Balanchine, George  
Baldwin, James  
Ball, Lucille  
Ballard, Hank  
Ballet  
Bambaataa, Afrika  
Band, The

- Bara, Theda  
 Baraka, Amiri  
 Barbecue  
 Barber, Red  
 Barbershop Quartets  
 Barbie  
 Barker, Clive  
 Barkley, Charles  
*Barney and Friends*  
*Barney Miller*  
 Barry, Dave  
 Barry, Lynda  
 Barrymore, John  
 Barton, Bruce  
 Baryshnikov, Mikhail  
 Baseball  
 Baseball Cards  
 Basie, Count  
 Basketball  
 Bathhouses  
 Batman  
 Baum, L. Frank  
 Bay, Mel  
 Bay of Pigs Invasion  
*Baywatch*  
 Bazooka Joe  
 Beach Boys, The  
 Beach, Rex  
 Beanie Babies  
 Beastie Boys, The  
 Beat Generation  
 Beatles, The  
 Beatty, Warren  
*Beau Geste*  
 Beauty Queens  
 Beavers, Louise  
*Beavis and Butthead*  
 Bee Gees, The  
 Beer  
 Beiderbecke, Bix  
 Belafonte, Harry  
*Bell Telephone Hour, The*  
 Bellbottoms  
 Belushi, John  
*Ben Casey*  
 Bench, Johnny  
 Benchley, Robert  
*Ben-Hur*  
 Benneton  
 Bennett, Tony  
*Benny Hill Show, The*  
 Benny, Jack  
 Bergen, Candice  
 Bergen, Edgar  
 Bergman, Ingmar  
 Bergman, Ingrid  
 Berkeley, Busby  
 Berle, Milton  
 Berlin, Irving  
 Bernhard, Sandra  
 Bernstein, Leonard  
 Berra, Yogi  
 Berry, Chuck  
*Best Years of Our Lives, The*  
 Bestsellers  
*Better Homes and Gardens*  
 Betty Boop  
 Betty Crocker  
*Beulah*  
*Beverly Hillbillies, The*  
*Beverly Hills 90210*  
*Bewitched*  
 Bicycling  
 Big Apple, The  
 Big Bands  
 Big Bopper  
 Big Little Books  
*Big Sleep, The*  
 Bigfoot  
 Bilingual Education  
 Billboards  
*Bionic Woman, The*  
 Bird, Larry  
 Birkenstocks  
*Birth of a Nation, The*  
 Birthing Practices  
 Black, Clint  
*Black Mask*  
 Black Panthers  
 Black Sabbath  
 Black Sox Scandal  
*Blackboard Jungle, The*  
 Blackface Minstrelsy  
 Blacklisting  
*Blade Runner*  
 Blades, Ruben  
 Blanc, Mel  
 Bland, Bobby Blue  
 Blass, Bill  
 Blaxploitation Films  
*Blob, The*  
 Blockbusters  
*Blondie* (comic strip)  
 Blondie (rock band)  
*Bloom County*  
 Blount, Roy, Jr.  
*Blue Velvet*  
*Blueboy*  
 Bluegrass  
 Blues  
 Blues Brothers, The  
 Blume, Judy  
 Bly, Robert  
 Board Games  
 Boat People  
 Bob and Ray  
 Bobbsey Twins, The  
 Bobby Socks  
 Bochco, Steven  
 Body Decoration  
 Bodybuilding  
 Bogart, Humphrey  
 Bok, Edward  
 Bomb, The  
 Bombeck, Erma  
 Bon Jovi  
*Bonanza*  
*Bonnie and Clyde*  
 Booker T. and the MG's  
 Book-of-the-Month Club  
 Boone, Pat  
 Borge, Victor  
 Borscht Belt  
 Boston Celtics, The  
 Boston Garden  
 Boston Marathon  
 Boston Strangler  
 Boston Symphony Orchestra, The  
 Bouton, Jim  
 Bow, Clara  
 Bowie, David  
 Bowling  
 Boxing  
 Boy Scouts of America  
 Bra  
 Bradbury, Ray  
 Bradley, Bill  
 Bradshaw, Terry  
*Brady Bunch, The*  
 Brand, Max  
 Brando, Marlon  
 Brat Pack  
 Brautigan, Richard  
*Breakfast at Tiffany's*  
*Breakfast Club, The*  
 Breast Implants  
 Brenda Starr  
 Brice, Fanny  
*Brideshead Revisited*  
 Bridge  
*Bridge on the River Kwai, The*  
*Bridges of Madison County, The*  
 Brill Building  
*Bringing Up Baby*  
 Brinkley, David  
 British Invasion  
 Broadway  
 Brokaw, Tom  
 Bronson, Charles  
 Brooklyn Dodgers, The  
 Brooks, Garth  
 Brooks, Gwendolyn  
 Brooks, James L.  
 Brooks, Louise  
 Brooks, Mel  
 Brothers, Dr. Joyce  
 Brown, James  
 Brown, Jim  
 Brown, Les

- Brown, Paul  
 Browne, Jackson  
 Brownie Cameras  
 Brubeck, Dave  
 Bruce, Lenny  
 Bryant, Paul “Bear”  
 Brynner, Yul  
 Bubblegum Rock  
 Buck, Pearl S.  
 Buck Rogers  
 Buckley, William F., Jr.  
 Buckwheat Zydeco  
 Budweiser  
 Buffalo Springfield  
 Buffett, Jimmy  
 Bugs Bunny  
 Bumper Stickers  
 Bundy, Ted  
 Bungalow  
 Burger King  
 Burlesque  
 Burma-Shave  
 Burnett, Carol  
 Burns, George, and Gracie Allen  
 Burns, Ken  
 Burr, Raymond  
 Burroughs, Edgar Rice  
 Burroughs, William S.  
*Buster Brown*  
*Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*  
 Butkus, Dick  
 Butler, Octavia E.  
 Butterbeans and Susie  
 Buttons, Red  
 Byrds, The
- Cabbage Patch Kids  
 Cable TV  
 Cadillac  
 Caesar, Sid  
*Cagney and Lacey*  
 Cagney, James  
 Cahan, Abraham  
 Cakewalks  
 Caldwell, Erskine  
 Calloway, Cab  
*Calvin and Hobbes*  
 Camacho, Héctor “Macho”  
*Camelot*  
 Camp  
 Campbell, Glen  
 Campbell, Naomi  
 Camping  
 Cancer  
*Candid Camera*  
 Caniff, Milton  
 Canova, Judy  
 Canseco, Jose
- Cantor, Eddie  
 Capital Punishment  
 Capone, Al  
 Capote, Truman  
 Capra, Frank  
 Captain America  
*Captain Kangaroo*  
 Captain Marvel  
*Car 54, Where Are You?*  
 Car Coats  
 Caray, Harry  
 Carey, Mariah  
 Carlin, George  
 Carlton, Steve  
 Carmichael, Hoagy  
 Carnegie, Dale  
 Carnegie Hall  
 Carpenters, The  
 Carr, John Dickson  
 Cars, The  
 Carson, Johnny  
 Carter Family, The  
 Caruso, Enrico  
 Carver, Raymond  
*Casablanca*  
 Cash, Johnny  
 Caspar Milquetoast  
 Cassette Tape  
 Cassidy, David  
 Castaneda, Carlos  
 Castle, Vernon and Irene  
 Castro, The  
 Casual Friday  
 Catalog Houses  
*Catch-22*  
*Catcher in the Rye, The*  
 Cather, Willa  
*Cathy*  
*Cats*  
 Cavett, Dick  
 CB Radio  
*CBS Radio Mystery Theater, The*  
 Celebrity  
 Celebrity Caricature  
 Cemeteries  
 Central Park  
 Century 21 Exposition (Seattle, 1962)  
 Century of Progress (Chicago, 1933)  
 Challenger Disaster  
 Chamberlain, Wilt  
 Chandler, Raymond  
*Chandu the Magician*  
 Chanel, Coco  
 Chaplin, Charlie  
 Charles, Ray  
 Charlie Chan  
 Charlie McCarthy
- Charlie’s Angels*  
 Charm Bracelets  
 Chase, Chevy  
 Chautauqua Institution  
 Chavez, Cesar  
 Chavis, Boozoo  
 Chayefsky, Paddy  
 Checker, Chubby  
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*Cheers*  
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 Chenier, Clifton  
 Cherry Ames  
 Chessman, Caryl  
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 Chicago Bulls, The  
 Chicago Cubs, The  
 Chicago Jazz  
 Chicago Seven, The  
 Child, Julia  
 Child Stars  
*China Syndrome, The*  
*Chinatown*  
 Chipmunks, The  
 Choose-Your-Own-Ending Books  
 Christie, Agatha  
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 Christo  
 Chrysler Building  
 Chuck D  
 Chun King  
 Church Socials  
 Cigarettes  
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 Cisneros, Sandra  
*Citizen Kane*  
*City Lights*  
 City of Angels, The  
 Civil Disobedience  
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 Civil War Reenactors  
 Claiborne, Liz  
 Clairol Hair Coloring  
 Clancy, Tom  
 Clapton, Eric  
 Clark, Dick  
 Clarke, Arthur C.  
 Clemente, Roberto  
*Cleopatra*  
 Clift, Montgomery  
 Cline, Patsy  
 Clinton, George  
*Clockwork Orange, A*  
 Clooney, Rosemary  
*Close Encounters of the Third Kind*  
 Closet, The  
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- Cobb, Ty  
 Coca, Imogene  
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 Cocaine/Crack  
 Cocktail Parties  
 Cody, Buffalo Bill, and his  
     Wild West Show  
 Coffee  
 Cohan, George M.  
 Colbert, Claudette  
 Cold War  
 Cole, Nat ‘‘King’’  
 College Fads  
 College Football  
 Collins, Albert  
 Coltrane, John  
*Columbo*  
 Columbo, Russ  
 Comic Books  
 Comics  
 Comics Code Authority  
 Coming Out  
 Commodores, The  
 Communes  
 Communism  
 Community Media  
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 Como, Perry  
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 Conceptual Art  
 Condé Nast  
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 Coney Island  
 Confession Magazines  
 Coniff, Ray  
 Connors, Jimmy  
 Consciousness Raising Groups  
 Conspiracy Theories  
*Consumer Reports*  
 Consumerism  
 Contemporary Christian Music  
 Convertible  
 Conway, Tim  
 Cooke, Sam  
 Cooper, Alice  
 Cooper, Gary  
 Cooperstown, New York  
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 Copland, Aaron  
 Corbett, James J.  
 Corman, Roger  
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 Corwin, Norman  
 Cosby, Bill  
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 Cosell, Howard  
*Cosmopolitan*  
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 Cotton Club, The  
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 Coughlin, Father Charles E.  
 Country Gentlemen  
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 Cousteau, Jacques  
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 Cowboy Look, The  
 Cox, Ida  
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 Crawford, Joan  
 Cray, Robert  
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 Crichton, Michael  
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*Crisis, The*  
 Croce, Jim  
 Cronkite, Walter  
 Crosby, Bing  
 Crosby, Stills, and Nash  
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 Cruise, Tom  
 Crumb, Robert  
 Crystal, Billy  
 Cukor, George  
 Cullen, Countee  
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 Cunningham, Merce  
 Curious George  
 Currier and Ives  
 Dahmer, Jeffrey  
*Dallas*  
 Dallas Cowboys, The  
 Daly, Tyne  
 Dana, Bill  
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 Dandridge, Dorothy  
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     *Without Fear*  
*Dark Shadows*  
 Darrow, Clarence  
 Davis, Bette  
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*Davy Crockett*  
 Day, Doris  
*Day the Earth Stood Still, The*  
*Days of Our Lives*  
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 Daytona 500  
 DC Comics  
 De La Hoya, Oscar  
 De Niro, Robert  
 Dead Kennedys, The  
 Dean, James  
*Death of a Salesman*  
 Debs, Eugene V.  
 Debutantes  
*Deer Hunter, The*  
 DeGeneres, Ellen  
 Del Río, Dolores  
 DeMille, Cecil B.  
 Dempsey, Jack  
 Denishawn  
 Denver, John  
 Department Stores  
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 Derleth, August  
 Detective Fiction  
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 Devers, Gail  
 Devo  
 Diamond, Neil  
 Diana, Princess of Wales  
 DiCaprio, Leonardo  
*Dick and Jane Readers*  
 Dick, Philip K.  
 Dick Tracy  
 Dickinson, Angie  
 Diddley, Bo  
 Didion, Joan  
 Didrikson, Babe  
 Dieting  
 Dietrich, Marlene  
*Diff'rent Strokes*  
*Dilbert*  
 Dillard, Annie  
 Diller, Phyllis  
 Dillinger, John  
 DiMaggio, Joe  
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 Dime Stores/Woolworths  
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*Dirty Dozen, The*  
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 Disaster Movies  
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 Disney (Walt Disney Company)  
 Ditka, Mike  
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*Do the Right Thing*  
 Dobie Gillis  
 Doby, Larry  
 Doc Martens  
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*Doctor Who*  
*Doctor Zhivago*  
 Doctorow, E. L.  
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- Do-It-Yourself Improvement  
 Domino, Fats  
 Donahue, Phil  
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 Doobie Brothers, The  
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 Doors, The  
 Doo-wop Music  
 Dorsey, Jimmy  
 Dorsey, Tommy  
*Double Indemnity*  
 Douglas, Lloyd C.  
 Douglas, Melvyn  
 Douglas, Mike  
 Downs, Hugh  
 Doyle, Arthur Conan  
 Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde  
*Dr. Kildare*  
 Dr. Seuss  
*Dr. Strangelove or: How I  
 Learned to Stop Worrying  
 and Love the Bomb*  
 Dracula  
 Draft, The  
 Drag  
 Drag Racing  
*Dragnet*  
 Dragon Lady  
 Dream Team  
 Dreiser, Theodore  
 Drifters, The  
 Drive-In Theater  
 Drug War  
 Du Bois, W. E. B.  
*Duck Soup*  
*Dukes of Hazzard, The*  
 Duncan, Isadora  
 Dungeons and Dragons  
 Dunkin' Donuts  
 Dunne, Irene  
 Duran, Roberto  
 Durbin, Deanna  
 Durocher, Leo  
 Duvall, Robert  
 Dyer, Wayne  
*Dykes to Watch Out For*  
 Dylan, Bob  
*Dynasty*
- Eames, Charles and Ray  
 Earth Day  
 Earth Shoes  
 Eastwood, Clint  
*Easy Rider*  
 Ebbets Field  
*Ebony*  
 EC Comics  
 Eckstine, Billy  
 Eco-Terrorism  
 Eddy, Duane
- Eddy, Mary Baker  
 Eddy, Nelson  
*Edge of Night, The*  
 Edison, Thomas Alva  
 Edsel, The  
 Edwards, James  
 Edwards, Ralph  
 Eight-Track Tape  
 Einstein, Albert  
 Eisner, Will  
 El Teatro Campesino  
 El Vez  
 Electric Appliances  
 Electric Guitar  
 Electric Trains  
 Elizondo, Hector  
 Elkins, Aaron  
 Ellington, Duke  
 Ellis, Brett Easton  
 Ellis, Perry  
 Ellison, Harlan  
 Elway, John  
 E-mail  
 Emmy Awards  
 Empire State Building  
 Environmentalism  
 Equal Rights Amendment  
*ER*  
 Erdrich, Louise  
 Erector Sets  
 Ertegun, Ahmet  
 Erving, Julius "Dr. J"  
 Escher, M. C.  
 ESPN  
*Esquire*  
 est  
*E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial*  
 Etiquette Columns  
 Evangelism  
 Everly Brothers, The  
 Everson, Cory  
 Evert, Chris  
 Existentialism  
*Exorcist, The*
- Fabares, Shelley  
 Fabian  
 Fabio  
 Facelifts  
 Factor, Max  
 Fadiman, Clifton  
*Fail-Safe*  
 Fairbanks, Douglas, Jr.  
 Fairbanks, Douglas, Sr.  
 Fallout Shelters  
*Family Circle*  
*Family Circus, The*  
*Family Matters*  
 Family Reunions  
*Family Ties*
- Fan Magazines  
*Fantasia*  
*Fantastic Four, The*  
*Fantasy Island*  
*Far Side, The*  
*Fargo*  
 Farm Aid  
 Farr, Jamie  
 Fast Food  
*Fatal Attraction*  
 Father Divine  
*Father Knows Best*  
 Father's Day  
 Faulkner, William  
 Fauset, Jessie Redmon  
 Fawcett, Farrah  
*Fawty Towers*  
 FBI (Federal Bureau of  
 Investigation)  
 Feliciano, José  
 Felix the Cat  
 Fellini, Federico  
 Feminism  
 Fenway Park  
 Ferrante and Teicher  
 Fetchit, Stepin  
*Fibber McGee and Molly*  
*Fiddler on the Roof*  
 Fidrych, Mark "Bird"  
*Field and Stream*  
*Field of Dreams*  
 Field, Sally  
 Fields, W. C.  
 Fierstein, Harvey  
 Fifties, The  
 Film Noir  
 Firearms  
 Firesign Theatre  
 Fischer, Bobby  
 Fisher, Eddie  
 Fisher-Price Toys  
 Fisk, Carlton  
*Fistful of Dollars, A*  
 Fitzgerald, Ella  
 Fitzgerald, F. Scott  
 Flack, Roberta  
 Flag Burning  
 Flag Clothing  
 Flagpole Sitting  
 Flappers  
*Flash Gordon*  
 Flashdance Style  
 Flatt, Lester  
 Flea Markets  
 Fleetwood Mac  
 Fleming, Ian  
 Fleming, Peggy  
*Flintstones, The*  
 Flipper  
 Florida Vacations

- Flying Nun, The*  
 Flynn, Errol  
 Foggy Mountain Boys, The  
 Folk Music  
 Folkways Records  
 Follett, Ken  
 Fonda, Henry  
 Fonda, Jane  
 Fonteyn, Margot  
 Ford, Glenn  
 Ford, Harrison  
 Ford, Henry  
 Ford, John  
 Ford Motor Company  
 Ford, Tennessee Ernie  
 Ford, Whitey  
 Foreman, George  
*Forrest Gump*  
 Forsyth, Frederick  
*Fortune*  
*42nd Street*  
 Fosse, Bob  
 Foster, Jodie  
 Fourth of July Celebrations  
 Foxx, Redd  
 Foyt, A. J.  
 Francis, Arlene  
 Francis, Connie  
 Francis the Talking Mule  
 Frankenstein  
 Franklin, Aretha  
 Franklin, Bonnie  
*Frasier*  
 Frawley, William  
 Frazier, Joe  
 Frazier, Walt "Clyde"  
 Freak Shows  
*Freaks*  
 Frederick's of Hollywood  
 Free Agency  
 Free Speech Movement  
 Freed, Alan "Moondog"  
 Freedom Rides  
*French Connection, The*  
 French Fries  
 Freud, Sigmund  
 Friday, Nancy  
*Friday the 13th*  
 Friedman, Kinky  
*Friends*  
 Frisbee  
 Frizzell, Lefty  
*From Here to Eternity*  
 Frost, Robert  
 Frosty the Snowman  
 Frozen Entrées  
 Fu Manchu  
*Fugitive, The*  
 Fuller, Buckminster  
 Fundamentalism  
 Funicello, Annette  
 Funk  
 Fusco, Coco  
  
 Gable, Clark  
 Gambling  
 Game Shows  
 Gammons, Peter  
 Gangs  
 Gangsta Rap  
 Gap, The  
 Garbo, Greta  
 Gardner, Ava  
 Garfield, John  
 Garland, Judy  
 Garner, James  
 Garvey, Marcus  
 Garvey, Steve  
 Gas Stations  
 Gated Communities  
 Gay and Lesbian Marriage  
 Gay and Lesbian Press  
 Gay Liberation Movement  
 Gay Men  
 Gaye, Marvin  
 Gehrig, Lou  
*General, The*  
*General Hospital*  
 General Motors  
 Generation X  
*Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*  
 Gere, Richard  
 Gernsback, Hugo  
*Gertie the Dinosaur*  
*Get Smart*  
 Ghettos  
 GI Joe  
*Giant*  
 Gibson, Althea  
 Gibson, Bob  
 Gibson Girl  
 Gibson, Mel  
 Gibson, William  
 Gifford, Frank  
 Gillespie, Dizzy  
*Gilligan's Island*  
 Ginny Dolls  
 Ginsberg, Allen  
 Girl Groups  
 Girl Scouts  
 Gish, Dorothy  
 Gish, Lillian  
*Glass Menagerie, The*  
 Gleason, Jackie  
 Glitter Rock  
 Gnagy, Jon  
*Godfather, The*  
 Godfrey, Arthur  
 Godzilla  
 Gold, Mike  
 Goldberg, Rube  
 Goldberg, Whoopi  
 Golden Books  
 Golden Gate Bridge  
*Golden Girls, The*  
 Goldwyn, Samuel  
 Golf  
*Gone with the Wind*  
*Good Housekeeping*  
*Good, the Bad, and the Ugly, The*  
*Good Times*  
*Goodbye, Columbus*  
 Gooden, Dwight  
*GoodFellas*  
 Goodman, Benny  
 Goodson, Mark  
 Gordy, Berry  
 Gospel Music  
 Gossip Columns  
 Goth  
 Gotti, John  
 Grable, Betty  
 Graceland  
*Graduate, The*  
 Graffiti  
 Grafton, Sue  
 Graham, Bill  
 Graham, Billy  
 Graham, Martha  
 Grandmaster Flash  
 Grand Ole Opry  
 Grant, Amy  
 Grant, Cary  
*Grapes of Wrath, The*  
 Grateful Dead, The  
 Gray Panthers  
 Great Depression  
*Great Train Robbery, The*  
 Greb, Harry  
*Greed*  
 Greeley, Andrew  
 Green, Al  
 Green Bay Packers, The  
 Green Lantern  
 Greenberg, Hank  
 Greene, Graham  
 Greenpeace  
 Greenwich Village  
 Greeting Cards  
 Gregory, Dick  
 Gretzky, Wayne  
 Grey, Zane  
 Greyhound Buses  
 Grier, Pam  
 Griffin, Merv  
 Griffith, D. W.  
 Griffith, Nanci  
 Grimek, John  
 Grisham, John

- Grits  
Grizzard, Lewis  
Groening, Matt  
Grunge  
Grusin, Dave  
Guaraldi, Vince  
Guardian Angels, The  
Gucci  
*Guiding Light*  
Gulf War  
*Gunsmoke*  
Guthrie, Arlo  
Guthrie, Woodie  
Guy, Buddy  
Gymnastics
- Hackett, Buddy  
Hackman, Gene  
Haggard, Merle  
Hagler, Marvelous Marvin  
Haight-Ashbury  
*Hair*  
Hairstyles  
Halas, George “Papa Bear”  
Haley, Alex  
Haley, Bill  
Hall and Oates  
*Hallmark Hall of Fame*  
*Halloween*  
Halston  
Hamburger  
Hamill, Dorothy  
Hammett, Dashiell  
Hancock, Herbie  
Handy, W. C.  
Hanks, Tom  
Hanna-Barbera  
Hansberry, Lorraine  
*Happy Days*  
Happy Hour  
Hard-Boiled Detective Fiction  
Harding, Tonya  
Hardy Boys, The  
Hare Krishna  
Haring, Keith  
Harlem Globetrotters, The  
Harlem Renaissance  
Harlequin Romances  
Harley-Davidson  
Harlow, Jean  
Harmonica Bands  
Harper, Valerie  
*Harper’s*  
Hate Crimes  
Havlicek, John  
*Hawaii Five-0*  
Hawkins, Coleman  
Hawks, Howard  
Hayward, Susan  
Hayworth, Rita
- Hearst, Patty  
Hearst, William Randolph  
Heavy Metal  
*Hee Haw*  
Hefner, Hugh  
Hellman, Lillian  
*Hello, Dolly!*  
Hell’s Angels  
Hemingway, Ernest  
Hemlines  
Henderson, Fletcher  
Hendrix, Jimi  
Henry Aldrich  
Henson, Jim  
Hep Cats  
Hepburn, Audrey  
Hepburn, Katharine  
Herbert, Frank  
*Hercules: The Legendary Journeys*  
Herman, Woody  
Herpes  
Hersey, John  
Hess, Joan  
Heston, Charlton  
Higginson, Major Henry Lee  
*High Noon*  
Highway System  
Hijuelos, Oscar  
Hiking  
*Hill Street Blues*  
Hillerman, Tony  
Himes, Chester  
*Hindenberg*, The  
Hippies  
Hirschfeld, Albert  
*Hispanic Magazine*  
Hiss, Alger  
Hitchcock, Alfred  
Hite, Shere  
Hockey  
Hoffman, Abbie  
Hoffman, Dustin  
Hogan, Ben  
Hogan, Hulk  
*Hogan’s Heroes*  
Holbrook, Hal  
Holden, William  
Holiday, Billie  
Holiday Inns  
Holliday, Judy  
Holly, Buddy  
Hollywood  
*Hollywood Squares*  
Hollywood Ten, The  
*Holocaust*  
Holyfield, Evander  
*Home Improvement*  
Home Shopping Network/QVC  
*Honeymooners, The*
- Hooker, John Lee  
*Hoosiers*  
Hoover Dam  
Hoover, J. Edgar  
Hopalong Cassidy  
Hope, Bob  
Hopkins, Sam “Lightnin”  
Hopper, Dennis  
Hopper, Edward  
Hopscotch  
Horne, Lena  
Horror Movies  
Hot Dogs  
Hot Pants  
Hot Rods  
Houdini, Harry  
Houston, Whitney  
*How the West Was Won*  
*Howdy Doody Show, The*  
Howe, Gordie  
Howlin’ Wolf  
Hubbard, L. Ron  
Hudson, Rock  
Hughes, Howard  
Hughes, Langston  
Hula Hoop  
Hull, Bobby  
Hunt, Helen  
Hunter, Tab  
Huntley, Chet  
Hurston, Zora Neale  
*Hustler*  
Huston, John  
Hutton, Ina Ray
- I Dream of Jeannie*  
*I Love a Mystery*  
*I Love Lucy*  
*I Spy*  
*I Was a Teenage Werewolf*  
Iacocca, Lee  
IBM (International Business Machines)  
Ice Cream Cone  
Ice Shows  
Ice-T  
*In Living Color*  
Incredible Hulk, The  
*Independence Day*  
Indian, The  
Indianapolis 500  
Industrial Design  
Ink Spots, The  
*Inner Sanctum* Mysteries  
International Male Catalog, The  
Internet, The  
*Intolerance*  
*Invisible Man*  
Iran Contra  
Iron Maiden

- Ironman Triathlon  
 Irving, John  
*It Happened One Night*  
*It's a Wonderful Life*  
*It's Garry Shandling's Show*  
 Ives, Burl  
 Ivy League  
  
 J. Walter Thompson  
 Jack Armstrong  
 Jackson Five, The  
 Jackson, Jesse  
 Jackson, Mahalia  
 Jackson, Michael  
 Jackson, Reggie  
 Jackson, Shirley  
 Jackson, "Sholess" Joe  
 Jakes, John  
 James Bond Films  
 James, Elmore  
 James, Harry  
 Japanese American Internment Camps  
*Jaws*  
*Jazz*  
*Jazz Singer, The*  
 Jeans  
 Jeep  
 Jefferson Airplane/Starship  
*Jeffersons, The*  
 Jell-O  
 Jennings, Peter  
 Jennings, Waylon  
*Jeopardy!*  
 Jessel, George  
*Jesus Christ Superstar*  
*Jet*  
 Jet Skis  
 Jewish Defense League  
*JFK (The Movie)*  
 Jogging  
 John Birch Society  
 John, Elton  
 Johns, Jasper  
 Johnson, Blind Willie  
 Johnson, Earvin "Magic"  
 Johnson, Jack  
 Johnson, James Weldon  
 Johnson, Michael  
 Johnson, Robert  
 Jolson, Al  
 Jones, Bobby  
 Jones, George  
 Jones, Jennifer  
 Jones, Tom  
 Jonestown  
 Jong, Erica  
 Joplin, Janis  
 Joplin, Scott  
 Jordan, Louis  
  
 Jordan, Michael  
*Joy of Cooking*  
*Joy of Sex, The*  
 Joyner, Florence Griffith  
 Joyner-Kersey, Jackie  
 Judas Priest  
*Judge*  
 Judson, Arthur  
 Judy Bolton  
 Juke Boxes  
*Julia*  
 Juliá, Raúl  
*Jurassic Park*  
 Juvenile Delinquency  
  
 Kahn, Roger  
 Kaltenborn, Hans von  
 Kansas City Jazz  
 Kantor, MacKinlay  
 Karan, Donna  
 Karloff, Boris  
 Kasem, Casey  
*Kate & Allie*  
*Katzenjammer Kids, The*  
 Kaufman, Andy  
 Kaye, Danny  
 Keaton, Buster  
 Keillor, Garrison  
 Keitel, Harvey  
 Kelley, David E.  
 Kelly Bag  
 Kelly, Gene  
 Kelly Girls  
 Kelly, Grace  
 Kennedy Assassination  
 Kent State Massacre  
 Kentucky Derby  
 Kentucky Fried Chicken  
 Kern, Jerome  
 Kerrigan, Nancy  
 Kershaw, Doug  
 Kelsey, Ken  
 Kewpie Dolls  
 Key West  
 Keystone Kops, The  
 King, Albert  
 King, B. B.  
 King, Billie Jean  
 King, Carole  
 King, Freddie  
*King Kong*  
 King, Larry  
 King, Martin Luther, Jr.  
 King, Rodney  
 King, Stephen  
 Kingston, Maxine Hong  
 Kingston Trio, The  
 Kinison, Sam  
 Kinsey, Dr. Alfred C.  
 Kirby, Jack  
  
 KISS  
 Kitsch  
 Kiwanis  
 Klein, Calvin  
 Klein, Robert  
 Kmart  
 Knievel, Evel  
 Knight, Bobby  
*Knots Landing*  
 Kodak  
*Kojak*  
 Koontz, Dean R.  
 Koresh, David, and the Branch Davidians  
 Korman, Harvey  
 Kosinski, Jerzy  
 Kotzwinkle, William  
 Koufax, Sandy  
 Kovacs, Ernie  
*Kraft Television Theatre*  
 Krantz, Judith  
 Krassner, Paul  
*Krazy Kat*  
 Krupa, Gene  
 Ku Klux Klan  
 Kubrick, Stanley  
*Kudzu*  
 Kuhn, Bowie  
*Kukla, Fran, and Ollie*  
*Kung Fu*  
 Kwan, Michelle  
  
*L. A. Law*  
 L. L. Cool J.  
 "La Bamba"  
 Labor Unions  
 Lacoste Shirts  
 Ladd, Alan  
 Laetrile  
 Lahr, Bert  
 Lake, Ricki  
 Lake, Veronica  
 LaLanne, Jack  
 Lamarr, Hedy  
 LaMotta, Jake  
 Lamour, Dorothy  
 L'Amour, Louis  
 Lancaster, Burt  
 Landon, Michael  
 Landry, Tom  
 Lang, Fritz  
 lang, k.d.  
 Lansky, Meyer  
 Lardner, Ring  
*Larry Sanders Show, The*  
 LaRussa, Tony  
 Las Vegas  
 Lasorda, Tommy  
 Lassie  
*Late Great Planet Earth, The*



- Latin Jazz  
*Laugh-In*  
 Lauper, Cyndi  
*Laura*  
 Laurel and Hardy  
 Lauren, Ralph  
 Laver, Rod  
*Laverne and Shirley*  
 Lavin, Linda  
 Lawn Care/Gardening  
*Lawrence of Arabia*  
 Lawrence, Vicki  
 La-Z-Boy Loungers  
 le Carré, John  
 Le Guin, Ursula K.  
 Leachman, Cloris  
 Leadbelly  
*League of Their Own, A*  
 Lear, Norman  
 Leary, Timothy  
 Least Heat Moon, William  
 Leather Jacket  
*Leave It to Beaver*  
 Led Zeppelin  
 Lee, Bruce  
 Lee, Gypsy Rose  
 Lee, Peggy  
 Lee, Spike  
 Lee, Stan  
 Legos  
 Lehrer, Tom  
 Leisure Suit  
 Leisure Time  
 LeMond, Greg  
 L'Engle, Madeleine  
 Lennon, John  
 Leno, Jay  
 Leonard, Benny  
 Leonard, Elmore  
 Leonard, Sugar Ray  
 Leone, Sergio  
 Leopold and Loeb  
*Les Misérables*  
 Lesbianism  
*Let Us Now Praise  
     Famous Men*  
*Let's Pretend*  
 Letterman, David  
 Levin, Meyer  
 Levi's  
 Levittown  
 Lewinsky, Monica  
 Lewis, C. S.  
 Lewis, Carl  
 Lewis, Jerry  
 Lewis, Jerry Lee  
 Lewis, Sinclair  
 Liberace  
*Liberty*  
 Lichtenstein, Roy  
 Liebovitz, Annie  
*Life*  
*Life of Riley, The*  
*Like Water for Chocolate*  
 Li'l Abner  
 Limbaugh, Rush  
 Lincoln Center for the  
     Performing Arts  
 Lindbergh, Anne Morrow  
 Lindbergh, Charles  
 Linkletter, Art  
*Lion King, The*  
 Lionel Trains  
 Lippmann, Walter  
 Lipstick  
 Liston, Sonny  
 Little Black Dress  
 Little Blue Books  
 Little League  
 Little Magazines  
 Little Orphan Annie  
 Little Richard  
 Live Television  
 L.L. Bean, Inc.  
 Lloyd Webber, Andrew  
 Loafers  
 Locke, Alain  
*Lolita*  
 Lollapalooza  
 Lombard, Carole  
 Lombardi, Vince  
 Lombardo, Guy  
 London, Jack  
 Lone Ranger, The  
 Long, Huey  
 Long, Shelley  
 Long-Playing Record  
 Loos, Anita  
 López, Nancy  
 Lorre, Peter  
 Los Angeles Lakers, The  
 Los Lobos  
*Lost Weekend, The*  
 Lottery  
 Louis, Joe  
 Louisiana Purchase Exposition  
 Louisville Slugger  
*Love Boat, The*  
 Love, Courtney  
 Lovecraft, H. P.  
 Low Riders  
 Loy, Myrna  
 LSD  
 Lubitsch, Ernst  
 Lucas, George  
 Luce, Henry  
 Luciano, Lucky  
 Ludlum, Robert  
 Lugosi, Bela  
 Lunceford, Jimmie  
 Lupino, Ida  
 LuPone, Patti  
 Lynch, David  
 Lynching  
 Lynn, Loretta  
 Lynyrd Skynyrd  
  
*Ma Perkins*  
 Mabley, Moms  
 MacDonald, Jeanette  
 MacDonald, John D.  
 Macfadden, Bernarr  
 MacMurray, Fred  
 Macon, Uncle Dave  
 Macy's  
*MAD Magazine*  
 Madden, John  
 Made-for-Television Movies  
 Madonna  
 Mafia/Organized Crime  
*Magnificent Seven, The*  
*Magnum, P.I.*  
 Mah-Jongg  
 Mailer, Norman  
 Malcolm X  
 Mall of America  
 Malls  
*Maltese Falcon, The*  
 Mamas and the Papas, The  
 Mamet, David  
*Man from U.N.C.L.E., The*  
*Man Who Shot Liberty  
     Valance, The*  
*Manchurian Candidate, The*  
 Mancini, Henry  
 Manhattan Transfer  
 Manilow, Barry  
 Mansfield, Jayne  
 Manson, Charles  
 Mantle, Mickey  
 Manufactured Homes  
 Mapplethorpe, Robert  
 March on Washington  
 Marching Bands  
 Marciano, Rocky  
*Marcus Welby, M.D.*  
 Mardi Gras  
 Mariachi Music  
 Marichal, Juan  
 Marie, Rose  
 Marijuana  
 Maris, Roger  
 Marlboro Man  
 Marley, Bob  
*Married . . . with Children*  
 Marshall, Garry  
 Martha and the Vandellas  
 Martin, Dean  
 Martin, Freddy  
 Martin, Quinn

- Martin, Steve  
 Martini  
 Marvel Comics  
 Marx Brothers, The  
 Marx, Groucho  
*Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*  
 Mary Kay Cosmetics  
*Mary Poppins*  
*Mary Tyler Moore Show, The*  
 Mary Worth  
*M\*A\*S\*H*  
 Mason, Jackie  
 Mass Market Magazine  
     Revolution  
*Masses, The*  
 Masterpiece Theatre  
 Masters and Johnson  
 Masters Golf Tournament  
 Mathis, Johnny  
 Mattingly, Don  
*Maude*  
 Maupin, Armistead  
*Maus*  
 Max, Peter  
 Mayer, Louis B.  
 Mayfield, Curtis  
 Mayfield, Percy  
 Mays, Willie  
 McBain, Ed  
 McCaffrey, Anne  
*McCall's Magazine*  
 McCarthyism  
 McCartney, Paul  
 McCay, Winsor  
*McClure's*  
 McCoy, Horace  
 McCrea, Joel  
 McDaniel, Hattie  
 McDonald's  
 McEnroe, John  
 McEntire, Reba  
 McGwire, Mark  
*McHale's Navy*  
 McKay, Claude  
 McKuen, Rod  
 McLish, Rachel  
 McLuhan, Marshall  
 McMurtry, Larry  
 McPherson, Aimee Semple  
 McQueen, Butterfly  
 McQueen, Steve  
 Me Decade  
 Meadows, Audrey  
*Mean Streets*  
 Media Feeding Frenzies  
 Medicine Shows  
*Meet Me in St. Louis*  
 Mellencamp, John  
 Mencken, H. L.  
 Mendoza, Lydia
- Men's Movement  
 Merton, Thomas  
 Metalious, Grace  
*Metropolis*  
 Metropolitan Museum of Art  
 MGM (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer)  
*Miami Vice*  
 Michener, James  
*Mickey Mouse Club, The*  
 Microsoft  
*Middletown*  
 Midler, Bette  
*Midnight Cowboy*  
*Mildred Pierce*  
 Militias  
 Milk, Harvey  
 Millay, Edna St. Vincent  
 Miller, Arthur  
 Miller Beer  
 Miller, Glenn  
 Miller, Henry  
 Miller, Roger  
 Milli Vanilli  
 Million Man March  
 Milton Bradley  
 Minimalism  
 Minivans  
 Minnelli, Vincente  
 Minoso, Minnie  
 Minstrel Shows  
 Miranda, Carmen  
*Miranda Warning*  
 Miss America Pageant  
*Mission: Impossible*  
*Mister Ed*  
*Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*  
 Mitchell, Joni  
 Mitchell, Margaret  
 Mitchum, Robert  
 Mix, Tom  
 Mod  
*Mod Squad, The*  
 Model T  
 Modern Dance  
*Modern Maturity*  
*Modern Times*  
 Modernism  
 Momaday, N. Scott  
*Monday Night Football*  
 Monkees, The  
 Monopoly  
 Monroe, Bill  
 Monroe, Earl "The Pearl"  
 Monroe, Marilyn  
 Montalban, Ricardo  
 Montana, Joe  
 Montana, Patsy  
*Monty Python's Flying Circus*  
 Moonies/Reverend Sun  
     Myung Moon
- Moonlighting*  
 Moore, Demi  
 Moore, Michael  
 Moral Majority  
 Moreno, Rita  
*Mork & Mindy*  
 Morris, Mark  
 Morrissette, Alanis  
 Morrison, Toni  
 Morrison, Van  
 Morse, Carlton E.  
 Morton, Jelly Roll  
 Mosley, Walter  
 Moss, Kate  
 Mother's Day  
 Mötley Crüe  
 Motley, Willard  
 Motown  
 Mount Rushmore  
 Mountain Biking  
 Mouseketeers, The  
 Movie Palaces  
 Movie Stars  
 Mr. Dooley  
*Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*  
*Mr. Wizard*  
*Ms.*  
 MTV  
 Muckraking  
 Multiculturalism  
 Mummy, The  
 Muni, Paul  
*Munsey's Magazine*  
 Muppets, The  
*Murder, She Wrote*  
*Murphy Brown*  
 Murphy, Eddie  
 Murray, Anne  
 Murray, Arthur  
 Murray, Bill  
 Murray, Lenda  
 Murrow, Edward R.  
 Muscle Beach  
 Muscle Cars  
 Muscular Christianity  
 Musical, The  
*Mutiny on the Bounty*  
*Mutt & Jeff*  
 Muzak  
*My Darling Clementine*  
*My Fair Lady*  
*My Family/Mi familia*  
 My Lai Massacre  
*My So Called Life*  
*My Three Sons*  
  
 Nader, Ralph  
 Nagel, Patrick  
 Naismith, James  
 Namath, Joe

- Nancy Drew  
 NASA  
*Nation, The*  
 National Basketball Association (NBA)  
 National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA)  
*National Enquirer, The*  
 National Football League (NFL)  
*National Geographic*  
 National Hockey League (NHL)  
*National Lampoon*  
 National Organization for Women (N.O.W.)  
 National Parks  
*Natural, The*  
*Natural Born Killers*  
 Nava, Gregory  
 Navratilova, Martina  
 Naylor, Gloria  
 Neckties  
 Negro Leagues  
 Neighborhood Watch  
 Nelson, Ricky  
 Nelson, Willie  
 Nerd Look  
*Network*  
 Networks  
 New Age Music  
 New Age Spirituality  
 New Deal  
 New Kids on the Block, The  
 New Left  
 New Look  
 New Orleans Rhythm and Blues  
*New Republic*  
 New Wave Music  
 New York Knickerbockers, The  
 New York Mets, The  
*New York Times, The*  
 New York Yankees, The  
*New Yorker, The*  
 Newhart, Bob  
*Newlywed Game, The*  
 Newport Jazz and Folk Festivals  
*Newsweek*  
 Newton, Helmut  
 Niagara Falls  
 Nichols, Mike, and Elaine May  
 Nickelodeons  
 Nicklaus, Jack  
*Night of the Living Dead*  
*Nightline*  
 Nike  
 1980 U.S. Olympic Hockey Team  
 1968 Mexico City Summer Olympic Games  
 Nirvana
- Nixon, Agnes  
 Noloesca, La Chata  
 Norris, Frank  
*North by Northwest*  
*Northern Exposure*  
 Novak, Kim  
 Nureyev, Rudolf  
 Nylon  
*NYPD Blue*
- Oakland Raiders, The  
 Oates, Joyce Carol  
 Objectivism/Ayn Rand  
 O'Brien, Tim  
 Ochs, Phil  
 O'Connor, Flannery  
*Odd Couple, The*  
 O'Donnell, Rosie  
 O'Keefe, Georgia  
*Oklahoma!*  
 Old Navy  
 Oliphant, Pat  
 Olivier, Laurence  
 Olmos, Edward James  
 Olsen, Tillie  
 Olympics  
*Omnibus*  
*On the Road*  
*On the Waterfront*  
 Onassis, Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy  
*One Day at a Time*  
*One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*  
*One Man's Family*  
 O'Neal, Shaquille  
 O'Neill, Eugene  
 Op Art  
*Opportunity*  
 Orbison, Roy  
*Organization Man, The*  
 Original Dixieland Jass (Jazz) Band  
 O'Rourke, P. J.  
 Orr, Bobby  
 Osborne Brothers, The  
 Osbourne, Ozzy  
 Ouija Boards  
*Our Gang*  
*Outer Limits, The*  
 Outing  
*Outline of History, The*  
 Owens, Buck  
 Owens, Jesse  
 Oxford Bags
- Paar, Jack  
 Pachucos  
 Pacino, Al  
 Paglia, Camille
- Paige, Satchel  
 Paley, Grace  
 Paley, William S.  
 Palmer, Arnold  
 Palmer, Jim  
 Pants for Women  
 Pantyhose  
 Paperbacks  
 Parades  
 Paretzky, Sara  
 Parker Brothers  
 Parker, Charlie  
 Parker, Dorothy  
 Parks, Rosa  
 Parrish, Maxfield  
 Parton, Dolly  
*Partridge Family, The*  
 Patinkin, Mandy  
*Patton*  
 Paul, Les  
 Paulsen, Pat  
 Payton, Walter  
 Peale, Norman Vincent  
*Peanuts*  
 Pearl Jam  
 Pearl, Minnie  
 Peck, Gregory  
 Peep Shows  
*Pee-wee's Playhouse*  
 Pelé  
 Penn, Irving  
*Penthouse*  
*People*  
 Peppermint Lounge, The  
 Pepsi-Cola  
 Performance Art  
 Perot, Ross  
 Perry Mason  
 Pet Rocks  
 Peter, Paul, and Mary  
 Peters, Bernadette  
 Pets  
 Petting  
 Petty, Richard  
 Peyton Place  
 Pfeiffer, Michelle  
*Phantom of the Opera, The*  
*Philadelphia Story, The*  
*Philco Television Playhouse*  
 Phillips, Irna  
 Phone Sex  
 Phonograph  
*Photoplay*  
 Picasso, Pablo  
 Pickford, Mary  
 Pill, The  
 Pink Floyd  
 Pin-Up, The  
 Piper, "Rowdy" Roddy  
 Phippen, Scottie

- Pittsburgh Steelers, The  
 Pizza  
*Place in the Sun, A*  
*Planet of the Apes*  
 Plastic  
 Plastic Surgery  
 Plath, Sylvia  
*Platoon*  
*Playboy*  
*Playgirl*  
*Playhouse 90*  
*Pogo*  
 Pointer Sisters, The  
 Poitier, Sidney  
 Polio  
 Political Bosses  
 Political Correctness  
 Pollock, Jackson  
 Polyester  
 Pop Art  
 Pop, Iggy  
 Pop Music  
 Pope, The  
 Popeye  
 Popsicles  
*Popular Mechanics*  
 Popular Psychology  
 Pornography  
 Porter, Cole  
 Postcards  
*Postman Always Rings  
     Twice, The*  
 Postmodernism  
 Potter, Dennis  
 Powell, Dick  
 Powell, William  
 Prang, Louis  
 Preminger, Otto  
 Preppy  
 Presley, Elvis  
*Price Is Right, The*  
 Price, Reynolds  
 Price, Vincent  
 Pride, Charley  
 Prince  
 Prince, Hal  
 Prinze, Freddie  
*Prisoner, The*  
 Professional Football  
 Prohibition  
 Prom  
 Promise Keepers  
 Protest Groups  
 Prozac  
 Pryor, Richard  
 Psychedelia  
 Psychics  
*Psycho*  
 PTA/PTO (Parent Teacher  
     Association/Organization)
- Public Enemy  
 Public Libraries  
 Public Television (PBS)  
 Puente, Tito  
*Pulp Fiction*  
 Pulp Magazines  
 Punisher, The  
 Punk  
 Pynchon, Thomas
- Quayle, Dan  
 Queen, Ellery  
*Queen for a Day*  
 Queen Latifah  
 Queer Nation  
 Quiz Show Scandals
- Race Music  
 Race Riots  
 Radio  
 Radio Drama  
 Radner, Gilda  
 Raft, George  
 Raggedy Ann and Raggedy  
     Andy  
*Raging Bull*  
 Ragni, Gerome, and James  
     Rado  
*Raiders of the Lost Ark*  
 Rainey, Gertrude “Ma”  
 Rains, Claude  
 Raitt, Bonnie  
 Rambo  
 Ramones, The  
 Ranch House  
 Rand, Sally  
 Rap/Hip Hop  
 Rather, Dan  
*Reader’s Digest*  
 Reagan, Ronald  
*Real World, The*  
 Reality Television  
*Rear Window*  
*Rebel without a Cause*  
 Recycling  
 Red Scare  
*Redbook*  
 Redding, Otis  
 Redford, Robert  
 Reed, Donna  
 Reed, Ishmael  
 Reed, Lou  
 Reese, Pee Wee  
 Reeves, Steve  
 Reggae  
 Reiner, Carl  
 Religious Right  
 R.E.M.  
 Remington, Frederic  
 Reno, Don
- Renoir, Jean  
 Replacements, The  
 Retro Fashion  
 Reynolds, Burt  
 Rhythm and Blues  
 Rice, Grantland  
 Rice, Jerry  
 Rich, Charlie  
 Rigby, Cathy  
 Riggs, Bobby  
 Riley, Pat  
 Ringling Bros., Barnum &  
     Bailey Circus  
 Ripken, Cal, Jr.  
*Ripley’s Believe It Or Not*  
 Rivera, Chita  
 Rivera, Diego  
 Rivera, Gerald  
 Rivers, Joan  
 Rizzuto, Phil  
 Road Rage  
 Road Runner and Wile E.  
     Coyote  
 Robbins, Tom  
 Roberts, Jake “The Snake”  
 Roberts, Julia  
 Roberts, Nora  
 Robertson, Oscar  
 Robertson, Pat  
 Robeson, Kenneth  
 Robeson, Paul  
 Robinson, Edward G.  
 Robinson, Frank  
 Robinson, Jackie  
 Robinson, Smokey  
 Robinson, Sugar Ray  
 Rock and Roll  
 Rock, Chris  
 Rock Climbing  
 Rockefeller Family  
 Rockettes, The  
 Rockne, Knute  
 Rockwell, Norman  
*Rocky*  
*Rocky and Bullwinkle*  
*Rocky Horror Picture  
     Show, The*  
 Roddenberry, Gene  
 Rodeo  
 Rodgers and Hammerstein  
 Rodgers and Hart  
 Rodgers, Jimmie  
 Rodman, Dennis  
 Rodriguez, Chi Chi  
*Roe v. Wade*  
 Rogers, Kenny  
 Rogers, Roy  
 Rogers, Will  
 Rolle, Esther  
 Roller Coasters

- Roller Derby  
*Rolling Stone*  
 Rolling Stones, The  
 Romance Novels  
 Romero, Cesar  
*Roots*  
 Rose Bowl  
 Rose, Pete  
*Roseanne*  
*Rosemary's Baby*  
 Rosenberg, Julius and Ethel  
 Ross, Diana, and the Supremes  
 Roswell Incident  
 Roundtree, Richard  
 Rouse Company  
 Route 66  
 Royko, Mike  
 Rubik's Cube  
*Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer*  
 Run-DMC  
 Runyon, Damon  
 RuPaul  
 Rupp, Adolph  
 Russell, Bill  
 Russell, Jane  
 Russell, Nipsey  
 Russell, Rosalind  
 Ruth, Babe  
 RV  
 Ryan, Meg  
 Ryan, Nolan  
 Rydell, Bobby  
 Ryder, Winona
- Safe Sex  
 Sagan, Carl  
 Sahl, Mort  
 Saks Fifth Avenue  
 Sales, Soupy  
 Salsa Music  
 Salt-n-Pepa  
 Sam and Dave  
 Sandburg, Carl  
 Sanders, Barry  
*Sandman*  
 Sandow, Eugen  
*Sanford and Son*  
 Santana  
 Sarandon, Susan  
 Saratoga Springs  
 Sarnoff, David  
 Sarong  
 Sassoon, Vidal  
*Sassy*  
 Satellites  
*Saturday Evening Post, The*  
 Saturday Morning Cartoons  
*Saturday Night Fever*  
*Saturday Night Live*
- Savage, Randy "Macho Man"  
 Savoy Ballroom  
*Schindler's List*  
 Schlatter, George  
 Schlessinger, Dr. Laura  
 Schnabel, Julian  
*Schoolhouse Rock*  
 Schwarzenegger, Arnold  
 Science Fiction Publishing  
*Scientific American*  
 Scopes Monkey Trial  
 Scorsese, Martin  
 Scott, George C.  
 Scott, Randolph  
*Scream*  
 Screwball Comedies  
*Scribner's*  
 Scruggs, Earl  
 Sculley, Vin  
 Sea World  
 Seals, Son  
*Search for Tomorrow*  
*Searchers, The*  
 Sears Roebuck Catalogue  
 Sears Tower  
 Second City  
 Sedona, Arizona  
*Seduction of the Innocent*  
 Seeger, Pete  
*Seinfeld*  
 Selena  
 Seles, Monica  
 Sellers, Peter  
 Selznick, David O.  
 Sennett, Mack  
 Serial Killers  
 Serling, Rod  
*Sesame Street*  
*Seven Days in May*  
*Seven Year Itch, The*  
*Seventeen*  
*Sex and the Single Girl*  
 Sex Scandals  
 Sex Symbol  
 Sexual Harassment  
 Sexual Revolution  
 Shadow, The  
*Shaft*  
 Shakur, Tupac  
*Shane*  
 Shaw, Artie  
 Shawn, Ted  
*She Wore a Yellow Ribbon*  
 Sheldon, Sidney  
 Shepard, Sam  
 Sherman, Cindy  
 Shirelles, The  
 Shirer, William L.  
 Shock Radio  
 Shore, Dinah
- Shorter, Frank  
*Show Boat*  
 Shula, Don  
 Shulman, Max  
 SIDS (Sudden Infant Death Syndrome)  
 Siegel, Bugsy  
*Silence of the Lambs, The*  
 Silent Movies  
 Silver Surfer, The  
 Simon and Garfunkel  
 Simon, Neil  
 Simon, Paul  
 Simpson, O. J.  
 Simpson Trial  
*Simpsons, The*  
 Sinatra, Frank  
 Sinbad  
 Sinclair, Upton  
 Singer, Isaac Bashevis  
*Singin' in the Rain*  
 Singles Bars  
 Sirk, Douglas  
 Siskel and Ebert  
 Sister Souljah  
 Sitcom  
*Six Million Dollar Man, The*  
*60 Minutes*  
*\$64,000 Question, The*  
 Skaggs, Ricky  
 Skateboarding  
 Skating  
 Skelton, Red  
 Skyscrapers  
 Slaney, Mary Decker  
 Slang  
 Slasher Movies  
 Slinky  
 Sly and the Family Stone  
 Smith, Bessie  
 Smith, Dean  
 Smith, Kate  
 Smith, Patti  
 Smithsonian Institution  
 Smits, Jimmy  
 Smothers Brothers, The  
 Snoop Doggy Dogg  
*Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*  
 Soap Operas  
 Soccer  
 Social Dancing  
 Soda Fountains  
 Soldier Field  
*Some Like It Hot*  
 Sondheim, Stephen  
 Sonny and Cher  
 Sosa, Sammy  
 Soul Music  
*Soul Train*

- Sound of Music, The*  
 Sousa, John Philip  
*South Pacific*  
*South Park*  
 Southern, Terry  
 Spacek, Sissy  
 Spaghetti Westerns  
 Spalding, Albert G.  
*Spartacus*  
*Spawn*  
 Special Olympics  
 Spector, Phil  
 Spelling, Aaron  
 Spice Girls, The  
 Spider-Man  
 Spielberg, Steven  
 Spillane, Mickey  
 Spin  
 Spitz, Mark  
 Spock, Dr. Benjamin  
 Sport Utility Vehicles (SUVs)  
*Sporting News, The*  
 Sports Hero  
*Sports Illustrated*  
 Spring Break  
 Springer, Jerry  
 Springsteen, Bruce  
 Sprinkle, Annie  
 Sputnik  
 St. Denis, Ruth  
*St. Elsewhere*  
 Stadium Concerts  
*Stagecoach*  
 Stagg, Amos Alonzo  
 Stallone, Sylvester  
*Stand and Deliver*  
 Standardized Testing  
 Stand-up Comedy  
 Stanley Brothers, The  
 Stanwyck, Barbara  
 Star System  
*Star Trek*  
*Star Wars*  
 Starbucks  
 Starr, Bart  
 Starr, Kenneth  
*Starsky and Hutch*  
 State Fairs  
 Staubach, Roger  
*Steamboat Willie*  
 Steel Curtain  
 Steffens, Lincoln  
 Steinbeck, John  
 Steinberg, Saul  
 Steinbrenner, George  
 Steinem, Gloria  
 Stengel, Casey  
 Steppenwolf  
 Stereoscopes  
 Stern, Howard  
 Stetson Hat  
 Stevens, Ray  
 Stewart, Jimmy  
 Stickball  
 Stiller and Meara  
 Stine, R. L.  
 Stock-Car Racing  
 Stock Market Crashes  
 Stockton, "Pudgy"  
 Stokowski, Leopold  
 Stone, Irving  
 Stone, Oliver  
 Stonewall Rebellion  
 Stout, Rex  
 Strait, George  
 Stratemeyer, Edward  
 Stratton-Porter, Gene  
 Strawberry, Darryl  
 Streaking  
 Streep, Meryl  
 Street and Smith  
*Streetcar Named Desire, A*  
 Streisand, Barbra  
 Strip Joints/Striptease  
 Stuart, Marty  
 Stuckey's  
 Student Demonstrations  
 Students for a Democratic  
     Society (SDS)  
 Studio 54  
*Studio One*  
 Studio System  
 Sturges, Preston  
 Styron, William  
 Suburbia  
 Suicide  
 Sullivan, Ed  
 Sullivan, John L.  
 Summer Camp  
 Summer, Donna  
 Sun Records  
 Sundance Film Festival  
 Sunday, Billy  
 Sunday Driving  
*Sunset Boulevard*  
 Super Bowl  
 Superman  
 Supermodels  
 Surf Music  
 Susann, Jacqueline  
 Susskind, David  
 Swaggart, Jimmy  
 Swann, Lynn  
 Swatch Watches  
 Sweatshirt  
 Swimming Pools  
 Swing Dancing  
 Swinging  
*Sylvia*  
 Syndication  
 Tabloid Television  
 Tabloids  
*Tales from the Crypt*  
 Talk Radio  
 Talking Heads  
 Tang  
 Tanning  
 Tap Dancing  
 Tarantino, Quentin  
 Tarbell, Ida  
 Tarkanian, Jerry  
 Tarkington, Booth  
 Tarzan  
*Taxi*  
*Taxi Driver*  
 Taylor, Elizabeth  
 Taylor, James  
 Taylor, Robert  
 Teddy Bears  
 Teen Idols  
 Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles  
 Teenagers  
 Tejano Music  
 Telephone  
 Televangelism  
 Television  
 Television Anchors  
 Temple, Shirley  
 Temptations, The  
*Ten Commandments, The*  
 Tennis  
 Tennis Shoes/Sneakers  
 10,000 Maniacs  
 Tenuta, Judy  
 Terkel, Studs  
*Terminator, The*  
*Terry and the Pirates*  
 Thalberg, Irving G.  
 Thanksgiving  
 Tharp, Twyla  
*Them!*  
*Thing, The*  
*Third Man, The*  
*This Is Your Life*  
 Thomas, Danny  
 Thomas, Isiah  
 Thomas, Lowell  
 Thomas, Marlo  
 Thompson, Hunter S.  
 Thompson, John  
 Thomson, Bobby  
 Thorogood, George  
 Thorpe, Jim  
*Three Caballeros, The*  
 Three Investigators Series  
 Three Stooges, The  
*Three's Company*  
 Thurber, James  
 Tierney, Gene  
 Tiffany & Company

- Tijuana Bibles  
*Time*  
 Times Square  
 Timex Watches  
 Tiny Tim  
*Titanic, The*  
*To Kill a Mockingbird*  
*To Tell the Truth*  
*Today*  
 Toffler, Alvin  
 Toga Parties  
 Tokyo Rose  
 Tolkien, J. R. R.  
 Tom of Finland  
 Tom Swift Series  
 Tomlin, Lily  
 Tone, Franchot  
*Tonight Show, The*  
*Tootsie*  
 Top 40  
*Tora! Tora! Tora!*  
 Torme, Mel  
*Touched by an Angel*  
 Tour de France  
 Town Meetings  
*Toy Story*  
 Toys  
 Tracy, Spencer  
 Trading Stamps  
 Trailer Parks  
 Tramps  
 Traveling Carnivals  
 Travolta, John  
*Treasure of the Sierra Madre, The*  
 Treviño, Lee  
 Trevor, Claire  
 Trillin, Calvin  
 Trivial Pursuit  
 Trixie Belden  
 Trout, Robert  
*True Detective*  
*True Story Magazine*  
 T-Shirts  
 Tupperware  
 Turner, Ike and Tina  
 Turner, Lana  
 Turner, Ted  
 TV Dinners  
*TV Guide*  
 Tweetie Pie and Sylvester  
 Twelve-Step Programs  
 Twenties, The  
 23 Skidoo  
 20/20  
 Twiggy  
*Twilight Zone, The*  
*Twin Peaks*  
 Twister  
 2 Live Crew  
  
*2001: A Space Odyssey*  
 Tyler, Anne  
 Tyson, Mike  
  
 Uecker, Bob  
 UFOs (Unidentified Flying Objects)  
 Ulcers  
 Underground Comics  
*Unforgiven*  
 Unitas, Johnny  
 United Artists  
 Unser, Al  
 Unser, Bobby  
 Updike, John  
*Upstairs, Downstairs*  
 U.S. One  
*USA Today*  
  
 Valdez, Luis  
 Valens, Ritchie  
 Valentine's Day  
 Valentino, Rudolph  
 Valenzuela, Fernando  
 Valium  
 Vallee, Rudy  
 Vampires  
 Van Dine, S. S.  
 Van Dyke, Dick  
 Van Halen  
 Van Vechten, Carl  
 Vance, Vivian  
 Vanilla Ice  
 Vanity Fair  
 Vardon, Harry  
 Varga Girl  
*Variety*  
 Vaudeville  
 Vaughan, Sarah  
 Vaughan, Stevie Ray  
 Velez, Lupe  
 Velveeta Cheese  
 Velvet Underground, The  
 Ventura, Jesse  
 Versace, Gianni  
*Vertigo*  
 Viagra  
 Victoria's Secret  
 Vidal, Gore  
 Video Games  
 Videos  
 Vidor, King  
 Vietnam  
 Villella, Edward  
 Vitamins  
*Vogue*  
 Volkswagen Beetle  
 von Sternberg, Josef  
 Vonnegut, Kurt, Jr.  
  
 Wagner, Honus  
*Wagon Train*  
 Waits, Tom  
 Walker, Aaron "T-Bone"  
 Walker, Aida Overton  
 Walker, Alice  
 Walker, George  
 Walker, Junior, and the All-Stars  
 Walker, Madame C. J.  
 Walkman  
 Wall Drug  
*Wall Street Journal, The*  
 Wallace, Sippie  
 Wal-Mart  
 Walters, Barbara  
 Walton, Bill  
*Waltons, The*  
 War Bonds  
 War Movies  
*War of the Worlds*  
 Warhol, Andy  
 Washington, Denzel  
 Washington Monument  
*Washington Post, The*  
 Watergate  
 Waters, Ethel  
 Waters, John  
 Waters, Muddy  
 Watson, Tom  
 Wayans Family, The  
 Wayne, John  
*Wayne's World*  
 Weathermen, The  
 Weaver, Sigourney  
 Weavers, The  
 Webb, Chick  
 Webb, Jack  
 Wedding Dress  
 Weekend  
*Weird Tales*  
 Weissmuller, Johnny  
*Welcome Back, Kotter*  
 Welk, Lawrence  
 Welles, Orson  
 Wells, Kitty  
 Wells, Mary  
 Wertham, Fredric  
 West, Jerry  
 West, Mae  
*West Side Story*  
 Western, The  
 Wharton, Edith  
*What's My Line?*  
*Wheel of Fortune*  
 Whisky A Go Go  
*Whistler's Mother*  
 White, Barry  
 White, Betty

- White Castle  
 White, E. B.  
 White Flight  
 White, Stanford  
 White Supremacists  
 Whiteman, Paul  
 Whiting, Margaret  
 Who, The  
*Whole Earth Catalogue, The*  
*Wide World of Sports*  
*Wild Bunch, The*  
*Wild Kingdom*  
*Wild One, The*  
 Wilder, Billy  
 Wilder, Laura Ingalls  
 Wilder, Thornton  
 Will, George F.  
 Williams, Andy  
 Williams, Bert  
 Williams, Hank, Jr.  
 Williams, Hank, Sr.  
 Williams, Robin  
 Williams, Ted  
 Williams, Tennessee  
 Willis, Bruce  
 Wills, Bob, and his Texas  
     Playboys  
 Wilson, Flip  
 Wimbledon  
 Winchell, Walter  
 Windy City, The  
 Winfrey, Oprah  
 Winnie-the-Pooh  
*Winnie Winkle the Breadwinner*  
 Winston, George  
 Winters, Jonathan  
 Wire Services  
 Wister, Owen  
*Wizard of Oz, The*
- WKRP in Cincinnati*  
 Wobblies  
 Wodehouse, P. G.  
 Wolfe, Tom  
 Wolfman, The  
 Wolfman Jack  
*Woman's Day*  
 Wonder, Stevie  
 Wonder Woman  
 Wong, Anna May  
 Wood, Ed  
 Wood, Natalie  
 Wooden, John  
 Woods, Tiger  
 Woodstock  
 Works Progress Administration  
     (WPA) Murals  
 World Cup  
 World Series  
 World Trade Center  
 World War I  
 World War II  
 World Wrestling Federation  
 World's Fairs  
 Wrangler Jeans  
 Wray, Fay  
 Wright, Richard  
 Wrigley Field  
*Wuthering Heights*  
 WWJD? (What Would  
     Jesus Do?)  
 Wyeth, Andrew  
 Wyeth, N. C.  
 Wynette, Tammy
- X-Files, The*  
 X-Men, The  
  
 Y2K  
*Yankee Doodle Dandy*  
 Yankee Stadium  
 Yankovic, "Weird Al"  
 Yanni  
 Yardbirds, The  
 Yastrzemski, Carl  
 Yellow Kid, The  
 Yellowstone National Park  
 Yes  
 Yuppies  
 Yoakam, Dwight  
*Young and the Restless, The*  
 Young, Cy  
 Young, Loretta  
 Young, Neil  
 Young, Robert  
 Youngman, Henny  
*Your Hit Parade*  
*Your Show of Shows*  
*Youth's Companion, The*  
 Yo-Yo  
 Yuppies  
  
 Zanuck, Darryl F.  
*Zap Comix*  
 Zappa, Frank  
*Ziegfeld Follies, The*  
 Zines  
*Zippy the Pinhead*  
 Zoos  
 Zoot Suit  
 Zorro  
 Zydeco  
 ZZ Top



# A

## A&R Men/Women

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Artist and Repertoire (A&R) representatives count among the great, unseen heroes of the recording industry. During the early decades of the recording industry, A&R men (there were very few women) were responsible for many stages in the production of recorded music. Since the 1960s though, A&R has become increasingly synonymous with “talent scouting.” A&R is one of the most coveted positions in the recording industry, but it may also be the most difficult. The ability to recognize which acts will be successful is critical to the survival of all record companies, but it is a rare talent. Those with “good ears” are likely to be promoted to a leadership position in the industry. Several notable record company executives, especially Sun’s Sam Phillips and Atlantic’s Ahmet Ertegun, established their professional reputations as A&R men. A few of the more legendary A&R men have become famous in their own right, joining the ranks of rock n’ roll’s most exclusive social cliques.

The great A&R men of the pre-rock era were multitalented. First, the A&R man would scout the clubs, bars, and juke joints of the country to find new talent for his record company. After signing acts to contracts, A&R men accompanied musicians into the studio, helping them to craft a record. A&R men also occasionally functioned as promoters, helping with the “grooming” of acts for the stage or broadcast performances.

Some of the most astounding A&R work was done before World War II. A significant early figure in the history of A&R was Ralph Peer. Peer was the first record company man to recognize, albeit by sheer luck, the economic value of Southern and Appalachian music. While looking to make field recordings of gospel in the South, Peer reluctantly recorded “Fiddlin’” John Carson, whose record yielded a surprise hit in 1927. Subsequent field recording expeditions into the South were immediately organized and among the artists soon signed to Peer’s Southern Music Company were Jimmie Rodgers and the Carter Family, the twin foundational pillars of country music. Peer’s A&R strategies were emulated by other A&R men like Frank Walker and Art Satherly, both of whom would eventually play significant roles in the development of country and western music. John Hammond, who worked many years for Columbia Records, likewise had an impressive string of successes. He is credited with crafting the early careers of Billie Holiday, Benny Goodman, and Count Basie in the 1930s. In the post war years, Hammond discovered among others Aretha Franklin, Bob Dylan, Bruce Springsteen, and Stevie Ray Vaughn.

In the 1950s, many new record companies emerged with aggressive and visionary A&R strategies. Until the early 1960s, top executives at record companies substantially controlled day-to-day A&R functions. In most instances, the chief executives’ personal biases and tastes conditioned company A&R strategies. These biases, which often hinged on old-fashioned notions of race, class, and region, permitted upstart companies to exploit the growing teen market for R&B and rock n’ roll. Several of the noteworthy independent record companies of the 1950s were headed by astute A&R men, like Ahmet Ertegun (Atlantic); Leonard Chess (Chess); and Sam Phillips (Sun), who eagerly sought talent among blacks and the Southern whites. Phillips’ discoveries alone read like a “who’s who” list of early R&B

and rock. Among the legends he found are B.B. King, Howlin’ Wolf, Elvis Presley, Johnny Cash, and Jerry Lee Lewis. Major labels eventually realized that their conservative A&R practices were eroding their market share. Major labels began using the independent labels to do A&R work, purchasing artist contracts from small labels (e.g., RCA’s purchase of Presley’s contract from Sun). The payola scandal of the late 1950s was in many ways a means of compensating for A&R deficiencies at the majors.

In the early 1960s, the major labels continued to display conservative tendencies in their A&R practices. Several famous A&R gaffes were made during this era. Columbia Record’s head, Mitch Miller, refused to recognize the staying power of rock n’ roll, and tried to promote folk revival acts instead. Dick Rowe, head of A&R at Decca, became the infamous goat who rejected the Beatles. Four other labels passed on the Beatles before London picked them up. When the Beatles became a sensation, A&R representatives flocked to Liverpool in hopes of finding the “next Beatles.” In the later 1960s, adjustments were made to overcome the scouting deficiencies displayed by the majors. Major labels increasingly turned to free-lance A&R persons, called “independent producers,” who specialized in studio production, but who were also responsible for discovering new talent. Phil Spector and his “wall of sound” emerged as the most famous of all the independent producers in the 1960s.

In the later 1960s, younger and more “street savvy” music executives began replacing older executives at the major labels. Several stunning successes were recorded. Capitol’s A&R machine brought them the Beach Boys. At Columbia, Mitch Miller was replaced by Clive Davis, who along with several other major label executives in attendance at the Monterey Pop festival signed several popular San Francisco-based psychedelic acts. In an effort to increase both their street credibility and their street savvy, some labels even resorted to hiring “house hippies,” longhaired youths who acted as A&R representatives. Still the major labels’ scouting machines overlooked L.A.’s folk rock scene and London’s blues revival subculture. The ever-vigilant Ahmet Ertegun at Atlantic led a scouting expedition to England that won them both Cream and Led Zeppelin. In the 1970s and 1980s, major label A&R departments became larger and more sophisticated, which helped them beat back the challenge posed by independent label A&R. Some labels even tried hiring rock critics as A&R representatives.

A&R remains a challenging job. The “copy-catting” behavior displayed in Liverpool in the mid 1960s repeats itself on a regular basis. The grunge rock craze of the early 1990s revealed that a herding mentality still conditions A&R strategies. Visionary A&R representatives still stand to benefit greatly. Shortly after Gary Gersh brought Nirvana to Geffen Records he was named head of Capitol Records. Few A&R persons maintain a consistent record of finding marketable talent and consequently few people remain in A&R long. Those who do consistently bring top talent to their bosses, wield enormous power within the corporate structure and are likely to be promoted.

—Steve Graves

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## Aaron, Hank (1934—)

Atlanta Braves outfielder Hank Aaron was thrust onto the national stage in 1973 and 1974 when he threatened and then broke Babe Ruth's record of 714 home runs, one of the most hallowed records in all of American sports. In the mid-1970s, Ruth's legend was as powerful as it had been during his playing days five decades earlier and his epic home runs and colorful antics lived on in the American imagination. As Roger Maris had discovered when he broke Ruth's single season home run record in 1961, any player attempting to unseat the beloved Ruth from the record books battled, not only opposing pitchers, but also a hostile American public. When



Hank Aaron

a black man strove to eclipse the Babe's record, however, his pursuit revealed a lingering intolerance and an unseemly racial animosity in American society.

Henry Louis Aaron was born in Mobile, Alabama, in the depths of the Great Depression in 1934. One of eight children, Aaron and his family lived a tough existence like many other Southern black families of the time, scraping by on his father's salary as a dock worker. As a teenager, Aaron passed much of his time playing baseball in the neighborhood sandlots, and after short trials with two all-black teams Aaron attracted the attention of the Boston Braves, who purchased his contract in May of 1952.

Although Aaron faced several challenges in his introduction to organized baseball, he quickly rose through the Braves system. He was first assigned to the Braves affiliate in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, and he later wrote that "the middle of Wisconsin felt like a foreign country to [this] eighteen-year-old black kid from Mobile." After a successful season in Eau Claire, however, Aaron was moved up to the Braves farm team in Jacksonville, Florida, for the 1953 season, where, along with three other African-American players, he was faced with the unenviable task of integrating the South Atlantic League. Throughout the season, Aaron endured death threats, racial epithets from players and fans, and Jim Crow accommodations, yet he rose above the distractions and was named the SALLY League's Most Valuable Player.

By 1954, only two years removed from the sandlots of Mobile, Aaron was named to the opening day roster of the, now, Milwaukee Braves as a part-time player. The next year he won a starting position in the Braves outfield and stayed there for the next 19 years in Milwaukee and then in Atlanta as the franchise moved again. From 1955 until 1973, when he stopped playing full time, Aaron averaged nearly 37 home runs per year and hit over .300 in 14 different seasons.

As the years went by conditions began to improve for African-American players: by 1959 all major league teams had been integrated; gradually hotels and restaurants began to serve both black and white players; by the mid-1960s spring training sites throughout the South had been integrated; and racial epithets directed at black ball players from both the field and the grandstand began to diminish in number. Throughout the 1960s Americans, black and white, north and south, struggled with the civil rights movement and dealt with these same issues of desegregation and integration in their every day life. By the mid-1970s, however, African-Americans had achieved full legal equality, and the turbulence and violence of the sixties seemed to be only a memory for many Americans.

It was in this atmosphere that Hank Aaron approached Babe Ruth's all-time career home run record. By the end of the 1973 season, Aaron had hit 712 career home runs, only two shy of the Babe's record. With six months to wait for the opening of the 1974 season, Aaron had time to pour over the reams of mail he had begun to receive during his pursuit of Ruth's record. "The overwhelming majority of letters were supportive," wrote Aaron in his autobiography. Fans of all stripes wrote their encouragements to the star. A young African-American fan, for instance, wrote to say that "your race is proud." Similarly, another fan wrote, "Mazel Tov from the white population, [we've] been with you all the way. We love you and are thrilled."

Hidden in these piles of letters, however, were a distinct minority of missives with a more sinister tone. For the first time since integrating the South Atlantic League in 1953, Aaron was confronted with a steady stream of degrading words and racial epithets. "Listen Black Boy," one person wrote, "We don't want no nigger Babe

Ruth.” Many “fans” of the game just could not accept an African-American as the new home run champion. “I hope you don’t break the Babe’s record,” one letter read. “How do I tell my kids that a nigger did it?” Even more disturbingly, Aaron received thousands of letters which threatened the lives of both himself and his family. In response, the Atlanta slugger received constant protection from the police and the FBI throughout his record chase.

As sportswriters began to write about the virulent hate mail that Aaron was receiving, his supporters redoubled their efforts to let him know how they felt. One young fan spoke eloquently for many Americans when he wrote, “Dear Mr. Aaron, I am twelve years old, and I wanted to tell you that I have read many articles about the prejudice against you. I really think it is bad. I don’t care what color you are.”

Hank Aaron would eventually break Babe Ruth’s all-time record early in the 1974 season, and he would finish his career with a new record of 755 home runs. In 1982 he received the game’s highest honor when he was voted into the Baseball Hall of Fame. Aaron’s lifetime struggle against racism and discrimination served as an example for many Americans, both white and black, and he continued his public struggle against inequality after retiring from baseball.

Hank Aaron’s relentless pursuit of the all-time home run record in 1973 and 1974 forced America to realize that the civil rights movement of the 1960s had not miraculously solved the long-standing problem of racial animosity in the United States. The prejudice and racism that had been pushed underground by the successes of the 1960s were starkly revealed once again when a black man attempted to surpass the record of a white American icon.

—Gregory Bond

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## AARP (American Association for Retired Persons)

The American Association for Retired Persons (AARP) is the premier special interest organization for Americans over age 50. AARP evolved from the National Retired Teachers Association, founded in 1947 and now an affiliated organization. Begun by Dr. Ethel Andrus, a pioneer in the field of gerontology and the first woman high-school principal in the state of California, AARP was created in large part to answer the need for affordable health insurance for seniors and to address the significant problem of age discrimination in society. By the end of the twentieth century AARP was commanding a membership of 31.5 million and, as critic Charles R. Morris points out, it had become known as the “800 lb. gorilla of American politics.” The organization states that “AARP is a non-profit, non-partisan, membership organization, dedicated to addressing the needs and interests of people 50 and older. We seek through education, advocacy and service to enhance the quality of life for all by promoting independence, dignity and purpose.” The motto of the organization is “To Serve, Not to Be Served.”

Known for its intensive lobbying efforts to preserve Medicare and Social Security, AARP has a wide range of programs that serve its members, notably the “55 ALIVE” driving course (a special refresher class for older drivers linked to auto insurance discounts); AARP Connections for Independent Living (a volunteer organization to assist seniors to live on their own), and the Widowed Persons Service, which helps recently widowed people with their bereavement. The AARP’s own publications range widely, but the best known is *Modern Maturity*, a glossy lifestyle magazine found in homes and doctors’ offices across America, offering informational articles on travel, profiles of active senior Americans, and targeted advertising for Americans over 50. The AARP also funds research through its AARP Andrus Foundation, primarily in the field of gerontology, which exhibited rapid growth resulting from the aging of the enormous postwar “Baby Boomer” generation.

Probably the most visible program—and one that is a key part of its success in Washington politics—is “AARP/VOTE.” This has informed and organized voters to support AARP’s legislative agenda, particularly in its ongoing campaign to protect entitlements in the late 1980s and 1990s. Social Security was once the “sacred cow” of American politics: former House Speaker Tip O’ Neill dubbed Social Security “the third rail of American politics—touch it and you die.” AARP maintains that Social Security is a lifeline for many seniors, and has resisted any attempt to limit the program. It has also successfully weathered a challenge, based on a belief that Social Security is insolvent and is forcing young workers to pay for seniors with no hope of receiving future benefits themselves. The AARP was termed “greedy geezers” by the media, and its support of the ill-fated Medicare Catastrophic Care Act (since repealed) during the 1980s was an image disaster. The organization regained the high ground when Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich led a fight to slash entitlements as part of his “Contract with America” pledge, a centerpiece of the 1994 midterm elections. The AARP skillfully deflected the conservative assault on Social Security by utilizing its fabled public relations machine: member phone trees, press releases, and media pressure on Gingrich, who was singled out as “picking on the elderly.”

The AARP has long been a controversial organization, subject to investigation by *Consumer Reports* magazine and the television show *60 Minutes* in 1978 for its too-cozy association with the insurance company Colonial Penn and its founder Leonard Davis. That association subsequently ended, and Davis’ image and influence was banished from the organization’s headquarters and promotional literature. In the 1990s, the AARP was attacked in Congress by long-time foe Senator Alan Simpson of Wyoming, who relentlessly investigated their nonprofit status. The AARP frequently testifies before Congress, but no longer functions as a lobbying organization because of Simpson’s efforts. Yet it has continued to grow in numbers and influence, due in large part to a savvy marketing scheme that grants members attractive discounts on insurance, travel, and other services for the price of an eight-dollar membership fee. In return, the AARP can boast of a large membership in its legislative efforts and can deliver a highly desirable mailing list to its corporate partners.

The AARP has made a significant effort to define itself as an advocacy organization which is changing the way Americans view aging, yet this has been a difficult message to sell to Baby Boomers in particular, many of whom are more interested in preserving a youthful appearance and attitude than in considering retirement. It has been attacked from the left and the right of the political spectrum: in a May 25, 1995 editorial, the *Wall Street Journal* opined: “AARP’s own

studies show that only 14% of its members join it to support its lobbying efforts. Its largely liberal staff has often felt free to go against the interest of its members. . . . AARP is the field artillery in a liberal army dedicated to defending the welfare state.” At the same time, the AARP is viewed with suspicion by many on the left who deplore its size and moderate politics.

—Mary Hess

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## ABBA

Associated with the disco scene of the 1970s, the Swedish quartet ABBA generated high charting hits for an entire decade, and for years trailed only the Volvo motor company as Sweden’s biggest export. Comprised of two romantic couples—Bjorn Ulvaeus and Agnetha Faltskog, and Benny Andersson and Frida Lyngstad—ABBA formed in the early 1970s under the tutelage of songwriter Stig Anderson and scored their first success with “Waterloo” in 1974. From that point on, ABBA blazed a trail in pop sales history with “Dancing Queen,” “Voulez Vous,” “Take a Chance on Me,” and many other infectious singles, spending more time at the top of United Kingdom charts than any act except the Beatles. Although the group (as well as the Andersson-Lyngstad marriage) dissolved in the early 1980s, ABBA’s legion of fans only grew into a new generation. Notably, ABBA was embraced by many gay male fans. Songs like “Dancing Queen” practically attained the status of gay anthems.

—Shaun Frentner

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## Abbey, Edward (1927-1989)

Edward Abbey’s essays and novels secured his position as a leading American environmentalist during the late 1960s through the

1980s. His nonconformist views, radical lifestyle, and revolutionary language created a cult following of fans whose philosophical outlooks developed from Abbey’s books. He is the author of 21 full-length works, numerous periodical articles, and several introductions to others’ books. With the exception of his first novel, all of Abbey’s works have remained in print to the end of the twentieth century, a fact that attests to his continuing popularity. His writing has inspired readers to support ecological causes throughout America.

Abbey’s father, a farmer, and his mother, a teacher, raised him on a small Appalachian farm in Home, Pennsylvania. When he was 18, Abbey served in the United States Army, and then in 1946 he hitchhiked west where he fell in love with the expansive nature of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah. He studied philosophy and English at the University of New Mexico and the University of Edinburgh, earning a Master’s Degree and pursuing his career as a writer. His first novel was poorly received, but in 1962 Abbey’s second book, *The Brave Cowboy* (1958), was turned into a screenplay and released as a feature film, *Lonely Are the Brave*. From 1956 to 1971, to support himself and to enjoy the serenity of nature, Abbey worked for the Forest Service and the National Park Service. These early experiences provided subject matter for *Desert Solitaire* (1968), the book that catapulted him to the limelight of the growing environmental movement.

*Desert Solitaire*, and most of Abbey’s subsequent works, assaulted the American government for its environmental policies while exalting the natural beauty of America’s Southwest. Abbey became known as the “angry young man” of the environmental movement, a radical Thoreauvian figure whose adventures demonstrated the fulfillment that an individual might gain from nature if a commitment to protecting it exists. In 1975, Abbey published *The Monkey Wrench Gang*, a novel about environmental terrorists whose revolutionary plots to restore original ecology include blowing up the Glen Canyon Dam on the Colorado River. Even though its publisher did not promote it, the book became a best seller, an underground classic that inspired the formation of the radical environmentalist group “Earth First!,” whose policies reflect Abbey’s ecological philosophy. The tactics Earth First! employs to prevent the development and deforestation of natural areas include sabotaging developers’ chain saws and bulldozers, a practice that the group refers to as “monkeywrenching.”

Abbey is the subject of a one-hour video documentary, *Edward Abbey: A Voice in the Wilderness* (1993), by Eric Temple which augments the continuing popularity of Abbey’s writing. Abbey’s novel, *Fire on the Mountain* (1962), was made into a motion picture in 1981. Quotations from his works have been imprinted on calendars throughout the 1990s. Devoted fans have created web pages to tell how Abbey’s philosophy has influenced their lives. Even Abbey’s death in 1989 has added to his legend; he is reportedly buried at a secret location in the Southwestern desert land that he praised. Though Abbey scoffed at the idea that his literature had the makings of American classics, his works and the personality they immortalized have remained a popular force in the environmental segment of American culture.

—Sharon Brown

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## Abbott and Costello

One of the most popular comedy teams in movie history, Bud Abbott (1895-1974) and Lou Costello (1906-1959) began in burlesque and ended on television. Along the way, they sold millions of tickets (and war bonds), almost single-handedly saved Universal Pictures from bankruptcy, and made a legendary catch-phrase out of three little words: "Who's on first?" Straight man Abbott was the tall, slim, sometimes acerbic con artist; Costello was the short, pudgy,

childlike patsy. Their unpretentious brand of knockabout comedy was the perfect tonic for a war-weary home front in the early 1940s. Though carefully crafted and perfected on the stage, their precision-timed patter routines allowed room for inspired bits of improvisation. Thanks to Abbott and Costello's films and TV shows, a wealth of classic burlesque sketches and slapstick tomfoolery has been preserved, delighting audiences of all ages and influencing new generations of comedians.

As it happens, both men hailed from New Jersey. William "Bud" Abbott was born October 2, 1895, in Asbury Park, but he grew up in Coney Island. Bored by school, and perhaps inspired by the hurly burly atmosphere of his home town, fourteen-year-old Abbott left home to seek a life in show business. The young man's adventures included working carnivals and being shanghaied onto a Norwegian freighter. Eventually landing a job in the box office of a Washington, D.C. theater, Abbott met and married dancer Betty Smith in 1918. He persisted for years in the lower rungs of show business, acting as straight man to many comics whose skills were not up to Abbott's high level. Louis Francis Cristillo was born in



**Bud Abbott (left) and Lou Costello**

Paterson, New Jersey, on March 6, 1906. As a child, he idolized Charlie Chaplin, and grew into a skillful basketball shooter. In 1927, he tried his luck in Hollywood, working his way at MGM from carpenter to stunt man, a job at which he excelled, until an injury forced him to quit the profession and leave California. Heading back east, he got as far as Missouri, where he talked his way into burlesque as a comedian. While the rest of the country suffered through the Depression, Lou Costello flourished in burlesque. In New York in 1934, he also married a dancer, Ann Battler.

When Abbott finally met Costello in the thirties, it was quickly apparent in their vaudeville act that each man had found in the other that ineffable quality every showbiz team needs: chemistry. Budding agent Eddie Sherman caught their act at Minsky's, then booked them into the Steel Pier at Atlantic City. (Sherman would remain their agent as long as they were a team.) The next big move for Abbott and Costello was an appearance on Kate Smith's radio program, for which they decided to perform a tried-and-true patter routine about Costello's frustration trying to understand Abbott's explanation of the nicknames used by the players on a baseball team.

Abbott: You know, they give ball-players funny names nowadays. On this team, Who's on first, What's on second, I Don't Know is on third.

Costello: That's what I want to find out. Who's on first?

Abbott: Yes.

Costello: I mean the fellow's name on first base.

Abbott: Who.

The boys and their baseball routine were such a sensation that they were hired to be on the show every week—and repeat “Who's on First?” once a month. When Bud and Lou realized that they would eventually run out of material, they hired writer John Grant to come up with fresh routines. Grant's feel for the special Abbott and Costello formula was so on target that, like Eddie Sherman, he also remained in their employ throughout their career. And what a career it was starting to become. After stealing the show from comedy legend Bobby Clark in *The Streets of Paris* on Broadway, Abbott and Costello graduated to their own radio program. There, they continued to contribute to the language they had already enriched with “Who's on first” by adding

the catch phrases, “Hey-y-y-y, Ab-bott!” and “Oh—I’m a ba-a-a-d boy!” (For radio, Costello had adopted a childlike falsetto to distinguish his voice from Abbott’s.)

Inevitably, Hollywood called, Abbott and Costello answered, and the result was 1940’s *One Night in the Tropics*—“An indiscretion better overlooked,” as Costello later called it. The comedy team was mere window dressing in this Jerome Kern operetta, but their next film put the boys center stage. 1941’s *Buck Privates* had a bit of a boy-meets-girl plot, and a few songs from the Andrews Sisters, but this time the emphasis was clearly on Bud and Lou—and it was the surprise hit of the year. The boys naturally sparkled in their patented verbal routines, such as the “Clubhouse” dice game, while an army drill-training routine demonstrated Lou’s gifts for slapstick and improvisation. Lou was overjoyed when his idol, Chaplin, praised him as the best clown since the silents. As for Universal, all they cared about was the box-office, and they were overjoyed, too. The studio rushed their new sensational comedy team into film after film (sometimes as many as four a year), and the public flocked to all of them: *In the Navy*, *Hold That Ghost*, *Ride’Em, Cowboy*, etc., etc. . . .

Compared to Laurel and Hardy, there was something rough and tumble about Abbott and Costello. It was like the difference between a symphony orchestra and a brass band. But clearly, Bud and Lou were playing the music the public wanted to hear. Once the war broke out, the government took advantage of the team’s popularity to mount a successful war bond drive which toured the country and took in millions for defense.

As fast as Bud and Lou could earn their own money, they couldn’t wait to spend it on lavish homes and dressing-room poker games. Amid the gags, high spirits, and big spending, there were also difficult times for the duo. They had a genuine affection for each other, despite the occasional arguments, which were quick to flare up, quick to be forgotten. But Lou inflicted a wound which Bud had a hard time healing when the comic insisted, at the height of their success, that their 50-50 split of the paycheck be switched to 60 percent for Costello and 40 percent for Abbott. Bud already had private difficulties of which the public was unaware; he was epileptic, and he had a drinking problem. As for Lou, he had a near-fatal bout of rheumatic fever which kept him out of action for many months. His greatest heartache, however, came on the day in 1943 when his infant son, Lou “Butch,” Jr., drowned in the family swimming pool. When the tragedy struck, Lou insisted on going on with the team’s radio show that night. He performed the entire show, then went offstage and collapsed. Costello subsequently started a charity in his son’s name, but a certain sadness never left him.

On screen, Abbott and Costello were still riding high. No other actor, with the possible exception of Deanna Durbin, did as much to keep Universal Pictures solvent as Abbott and Costello. Eventually, however, the team suffered from overexposure, and when the war was over and the country’s mood was shifting, the Abbott and Costello box office began to slip. Experimental films such as *The Time of Their Lives*, which presented Bud and Lou more as comic actors than as a comedy team per se, failed to halt the decline. But in the late forties, they burst back into the top money-making ranks with *Abbott and Costello Meet Frankenstein*, a film pairing the boys with such Universal horror stalwarts as Bela Lugosi’s Dracula and Lon Chaney, Jr.’s Wolf Man. The idea proved inspired, the execution delightful; to this day, *Meet Frankenstein* is regarded as perhaps the best horror-spoof ever, with all due respect to *Ghostbusters* and *Young Frankenstein*. Abbott and Costello went on to *Meet the Mummy* and *Meet the Invisible Man*, and, when the team started running out of gas

again, they pitched their tent in front of the television cameras on *The Colgate Comedy Hour*. These successful appearances led to two seasons of *The Abbott and Costello Show*, a pull-out-the-stops sitcom which positively bordered on the surrealistic in its madcap careening from one old burlesque or vaudeville routine to another. On the show, Bud and Lou had a different job every week, and they were so unsuccessful at all of them that they were constantly trying to avoid their landlord, played by veteran troupier Sid Fields (who contributed to writing the show, in addition to playing assorted other characters). Thanks to the program, a new generation of children was exposed to such old chestnuts as the “Slowly I Turned. . .” sketch and the “hide the lemon” routine. One of those baby-boomers was Jerry Seinfeld, who grew up to credit *The Abbott and Costello Show* as the inspiration for his own NBC series, one of the phenomena of 1990s show business.

By the mid 1950s, however, the team finally broke up. It would be nice to be able to report that their last years were happy ones, but such was not the case. Both men were hounded by the IRS for back taxes, which devastated their finances. Lou starred in a lackluster solo comedy film, made some variety show guest appearances, and did a sensitive acting turn on an episode of TV’s *Wagon Train* series, but in 1959 he suddenly died of a heart attack. Abbott lived for fifteen more years, trying out a new comedy act with Candy Candido, contributing his voice to an Abbott and Costello TV animation series, doing his own “straight acting” bit on an episode of *G.E. Theater*. Before he died of cancer in 1974, Abbott had the satisfaction of receiving many letters from fans thanking him for the joy he and his partner had brought to their lives.

In the 1940s, long before the animated TV show based on Bud and Lou, the Warner Bros. Looney Toons people had caricatured the boys as two cats out to devour Tweetie Bird. Already they had become familiar signposts in the popular culture. The number of comedians and other performers who have over the years paid homage to Abbott and Costello’s most famous routine is impossible to calculate. In the fifties, a recording of Abbott and Costello performing “Who’s on First” was placed in the Baseball Hall of Fame. This was a singular achievement, over and above the immortality guaranteed by the films in which they starred. How many other performers can claim to have made history in three fields—not only show business, but also sports and linguistics?

—Preston Neal Jones

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## Abdul-Jabbar, Kareem (1947—)

With an intensity that disguised his shyness and a dancing jump shot nicknamed the “sky hook,” Kareem Abdul-Jabbar dominated



The Celtics' Greg Kite guards the Lakers' Kareem Abdul-Jabbar.

the National Basketball Association during the 1970s and 1980s. The seven-foot-two-inch center won three national collegiate championships at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) and six professional championships with the Milwaukee Bucks and Los Angeles Lakers. He is the NBA's all-time leading scorer and was named the league's most valuable player a record six times. Beyond his athletic accomplishments, Jabbar also introduced a new level of racial awareness to basketball by boycotting the 1968 Olympic team, converting to Islam, and changing his name.

Abdul-Jabbar was born Ferdinand Lewis Alcindor in Harlem, New York, on April 16, 1947. His parents were both over six feet tall and Abdul-Jabbar reached six feet before the sixth grade. He attended a Catholic school in Inwood, a mixed middle-class section of Manhattan, and did not become aware of race until the third grade. Holding a black-and-white class photograph in his hand, he thought, "Damn I'm dark and everybody else is light." Able to dunk the basketball by the eighth grade, Abdul-Jabbar was highly recruited and attended Power Memorial Academy in New York. During Abdul-Jabbar's final three years of high school, Power lost only one game and won three straight Catholic league championships. He was named high school All-American three times and was the most publicized high school basketball player in the United States. The 1964 Harlem race riot was a pivotal event in Abdul-Jabbar's life, occurring the summer before his senior year. "Right then and there I knew who I was and who I was going to be," he wrote in *Kareem*. "I was going to be black rage personified, black power in the flesh."

Abdul-Jabbar accepted a scholarship from UCLA in 1965. Majoring in English, he studied in the newly emerging field of black

literature. As a freshman, Abdul-Jabbar worked on his basketball skills to overcome his awkwardness. He led the freshman squad to an undefeated season and a 75-60 victory over the varsity, which had won the national championship in two of the previous three years. In his second year, Abdul-Jabbar worked with coaching legend John Wooden, who emphasized strategy and conditioning in basketball. Abdul-Jabbar dominated the college game, averaging 29 points a game and leading the Bruins to an undefeated season. UCLA won the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) championship, defeating the University of Dayton. As a junior, Abdul-Jabbar developed jump and hook shots, averaging 26.2 points a game. He shut down University of Houston star Elvin Hayes in the NCAA semifinals before leading the Bruins to a victory over North Carolina. UCLA won a third consecutive national title during Abdul-Jabbar's senior year, and the young star was honored as the tournament's outstanding player for the third year in a row. "Alcindor has completely changed the aspect of the game. I saw great players actually afraid to shoot," said St. John's University coach Lou Carnesecca.

Abdul-Jabbar was the first pick in the professional draft of 1969 and went to the last-place Milwaukee Bucks. Averaging 28.8 points a game during his rookie season, Abdul-Jabbar led the Bucks to a 56-26 record, losing to the New York Knicks in the playoffs. Milwaukee play-by-play announcer Eddie Doucette coined the term "sky hook" for Abdul-Jabbar's trademark hook shot. During the off season, the Bucks obtained veteran Cincinnati Royals point guard Oscar Robertson, and the pair teamed up to help Milwaukee defeat the Baltimore Bullets for the 1971 NBA championship. Abdul-Jabbar was named the NBA's most valuable player and the playoff MVP. The Bucks returned to the finals in the 1973-74 season, but lost to the Boston Celtics. Robertson retired the following year and Abdul-Jabbar broke his hand on a backboard support. Milwaukee failed to make the playoffs.

Abdul-Jabbar made good on his promise to personify "black rage." Instead of starring in the 1968 Olympics, as he surely would have, he studied Islam with Hamaas Abdul-Khaalis. Abdul-Jabbar converted to the religion popular with many African Americans and changed his name to mean "generous powerful servant of Allah." Abdul-Khaalis arranged a marriage for Abdul-Jabbar in 1971 but the couple separated after the birth of a daughter two years later. Meanwhile, Abdul-Khaalis had been trying to convert black Muslims to traditional Islam. On January 18, 1973, a group of black Muslim extremists retaliated by invading a New York City townhouse owned by Abdul-Jabbar and killing Abdul-Khaalis' wife and children. Four years later, Abdul-Khaalis and some followers staged a protest in Washington, D.C. and a reporter was killed in the resulting disturbance. Abdul-Khaalis was sentenced to 40 years in prison with Abdul-Jabbar paying his legal expenses.

Feeling unfulfilled and conspicuous in the largely white, small-market city of Milwaukee, Abdul-Jabbar asked for a trade in 1975. He was sent to Los Angeles for four first-team players. Through the remainder of the 1970s, Abdul-Jabbar made the Lakers one of the NBA's top teams but even he wasn't enough to take the team to a championship alone. Angered by years of what he considered bullying by NBA opponents, Abdul-Jabbar was fined \$5,000 in 1977 for punching Bucks center Kent Benson. In 1979, the Lakers drafted Earvin "Magic" Johnson, and the point guard gave Los Angeles the edge it needed. The Lakers won the NBA title over Philadelphia in 1980. Abdul-Jabbar broke his foot in the fifth game, was taped and returned to score 40 points, but watched the rest of the series on television. The Lakers won again in 1982, 1985, 1987, and 1988.



Abdul-Jabbar surpassed Wilt Chamberlain's all-time scoring record in 1984, eventually setting records for most points (38,387), seasons (20), minutes played (57,446), field goals made (15,837), field goals attempted (28,307), and blocked shots (3,189); he averaged 24.6 points a game before he retired at the age of 42 following the 1988-89 season. He held the record for most playoff points until surpassed by Michael Jordan in 1998. He was elected unanimously into the Basketball Hall of Fame in his first year of eligibility on May 15, 1995, and was named one of the 50 greatest basketball players in history to coincide with the NBA's 50th anniversary in 1996.

Abdul-Jabbar's personal life remained unsettled during and after his Los Angeles playing years. He was always uncomfortable with reporters, describing them as "scurrying around like cockroaches after crumbs." Fans, especially white, found it difficult to understand his conversion to Islam; his attitudes towards race; and his shy, introverted personality. Abdul-Jabbar's Islamic faith also estranged him from his parents, although they eventually reconciled. His Bel Air house was destroyed by fire on January 31, 1983, and the fire contributed to bankruptcy for the former NBA star four years later. Abdul-Jabbar wrote two autobiographical accounts, *Giant Steps* in 1983 and *Kareem* in 1990, and a children's collection, *Black Profiles in Courage: A Legacy of African-American Achievement*, in 1996. He acted in motion pictures and television including *Mannix*, *21 Jump Street*, *Airplane*, *Fletch*, and a 1994 Stephen King mini-series, *The Stand*. He was the executive producer of a made-for-television movie about civil rights pioneer Vernon Johns. He was arrested in 1997 for battery and false imprisonment following a traffic dispute and underwent anger-management counseling. He paid a \$500 fine after drug-sniffing dogs detected marijuana in his possession at the Toronto airport the same year. He settled out of court with a professional football player in 1998 over a dispute involving the commercial use of his name.

Since his retirement, Abdul-Jabbar has made most of his living as a motivational speaker and doing product endorsements. He spends time with his five children, including his six-foot-six-inch namesake son who is a college basketball player. In the wake of former Boston Celtic Larry Bird's success as a head coach with the Indiana Pacers, Abdul-Jabbar embarked on an effort to return to the NBA by coaching high school boys on an Apache Reservation in Whiteriver, Arizona, learning to speak their language and writing another book in the process. The team's six-foot-six center remarked, "For the first time since I was little, I actually felt kind of small." "It's really a no-brainer for me," Abdul-Jabbar said. "Basketball is a simple game. My job [is to get] the guys ready to play."

—Richard Digby Junger

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## Abortion

Abortion, or induced miscarriage, was one of the most controversial topics in the post-Civil War United States. Indeed, the rights an individual woman holds over her uterus seem to have been debated ever since the inception of such social institutions as religion and law. While some cultures have permitted or even encouraged selective termination of pregnancy—if, for example, the fetus turned out to be female when a family already had an ample supply of daughters; or if a woman was ill or not financially able to raise a child—in Western civilization, church and state traditionally forbade abortion and even contraceptive measures. If a woman was to be sexual, it seemed, she had to accept pregnancy and childbirth. Those opposed to abortion focused on the fetus and maintained that expelling it constituted the murder of a human being; the pro-abortion faction argued from the pregnant woman's perspective, saying that any woman had the right to choose elimination in case of risks to health or psyche, or if she simply did not feel ready to be a mother. Whatever opinions individuals might have held, by the end of the twentieth century the governments of almost all industrialized nations had stepped out of the debate; only in the United States did the availability of legal abortion remain the subject of political controversy, sparking demonstrations from both factions and even the bombing of abortion clinics and assassination of doctors.

Women seem to have had some knowledge of miscarriage-inducing herbs since prehistoric times, but that knowledge virtually disappeared during the medieval and Renaissance Inquisitions, when many midwives were accused of witchcraft and herbal lore was discredited. Thereafter, women of Western nations had to rely on furtive procedures by renegade doctors or self-accredited practitioners in back-street offices. Though exact statistics are difficult to calculate, in January 1942 the *New York Times* estimated that 100,000 to 250,000 illegal abortions were performed in the city every year. Pro-abortion doctors might use the latest medical equipment, but referrals were hard to get and appointments difficult to make; many women had to turn to the illegal practitioners, who might employ rusty coat hangers, Lysol, and other questionable implements to produce the desired results. The mortality and sterility rates among women who sought illegal abortions were high. Appalled by these dangerous conditions, activists such as Margaret Sanger (1883-1966) founded birth control clinics, fought for women's sexual health, and were often jailed for their trouble. Slowly evolving into organizations such as Planned Parenthood as they won government approval, however, such activists began distributing birth control and (in the



Anti-abortionists march in front of the United States Supreme Court on the 23<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*, 1996.

1970s) providing surgical abortions, which involved the dilation of the cervix and scraping or aspiration of the uterus. The mid-1990s saw the introduction of pharmaceutical terminations for early-term pregnancies; such remedies included a combination of methotrexate and misoprostol, or the single drug RU-486. At the end of the century, legal abortion was a safe minor procedure, considered much less taxing to a woman's body than childbirth.

Both parties in the abortion debate considered themselves to occupy a *pro* position—pro-life or pro-choice. Led by organizations such as Operation Rescue (founded 1988), the most extreme proliferators maintained that life begins at the moment of conception, that the smallest blastocyst has a soul, and that to willingly expel a fetus at any stage (even if the pregnancy is the result of rape or incest) is murder. Some argued that women considering abortion were mentally as well as morally deficient and should be taken in hand until their babies were born, at which time those infants could be adopted by deserving couples. The pro-choice faction, pointing out that many pro-lifers were also pro-death penalty, insisted that every woman had a right to decide what would happen to her own body. Extreme proponents

considered the fetus to be part of the mother until birth—thus asserted that aborting at any stage of pregnancy should be acceptable and legal.

Most people came down somewhere between the two extremes, and this moderate gray area was the breeding-ground for intense controversy. Arguments centered on one question: At what point did individual life begin? At conception, when the fetus started kicking, when the fetus could survive on its own, or at the moment of birth itself? The Catholic Church long argued for ensoulment at conception, while (in the landmark decision *Roe v. Wade*) the U.S. Supreme Court determined that for over a thousand years English common law had given women the right to abort a fetus before movement began. Even many pro-choicers separated abortion from the idea of or right to sexual freedom and pleasure; they felt abortion was to be used, as one scholar puts it, “eugenically,” for the selective betterment of the race. Twentieth-century feminists, however, asserted a woman's right to choose sexual pleasure, motherhood, or any combination of the two; British activist Stella Browne gave the feminists their credo when, in 1935, she said, “Abortion must be the key to a new world for women, not a bulwark for things as they are, economically nor

biologically. . . . It should be available for any woman without insolent inquisitions, nor ruinous financial charges, nor tangles of red tape. For our bodies are our own.” Nonetheless, women who sought and underwent abortions in this era kept their experiences a secret, as tremendous shame attached to the procedure; a woman known to have had an abortion was often ostracized from polite society.

From December 13, 1971, to January 22, 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court considered a legal case that was to change the course of American culture. *Roe v. Wade*, the suit whose name is known to virtually every adult American, took the argument back to the Constitution; lawyers for Norma McCorvey (given the pseudonym Jane Roe) argued that Texan anti-abortion laws had violated her right to privacy as guaranteed in the First, Fourth, Fifth, Ninth, and Fourteenth Amendments. Texas district attorney Henry Wade insisted on the rights of the unborn “person” in utero. In its final decision, the Court announced it had “inquired into . . . medical and medical-legal history and what that history reveals about man’s attitudes toward the abortion procedure over the centuries”; religion, culturally imposed morals, and the “raw edges of human existence” were all factors. In the end, the Court astonished America by finding it “doubtful that abortion was ever firmly established as a common-law crime even with respect to the destruction of a quick [moving] fetus.” By a vote of seven to two, the justices eliminated nearly all state anti-abortion laws, and groups such as the National Abortion Rights Action League made sure the repeals were observed on a local level.

Right-to-lifers were incensed and renewed their social and political agitation. The Catholic Church donated millions of dollars to groups such as the National Right to Life Committee, and in 1979 Baptist minister Jerry Falwell established the Moral Majority, a “pro-life, pro-family, pro-moral, and pro-American” organization. Pressure from what came to be known as the New Right achieved a ban against Medicaid funding for abortions. Pro-lifers picketed clinics assiduously, shouting slogans such as “Murderer—you are killing your baby!”, and sometimes eliminating abortionists before those workers could eliminate a fetus. There were 30 cases of anti-abortion bombing and arson in 1984, for example, and five U.S. abortion clinic workers were murdered between 1993 and 1994. U.S. President Ronald Reagan (in office 1981-1989) also got involved, saying abortion “debases the underpinnings of our country”; in 1984 he wrote a book called *Abortion and the Conscience of the Nation*. Under President George Bush (in office 1989-1993), the Supreme Court found that a Missouri law prohibiting abortion in public institutions did not conflict with *Roe v. Wade*; consequently, some states renewed nineteenth-century anti-abortion laws.

During this agitation, proponents of choice noted that many pro-life politicians were also cutting welfare benefits—although many women (an estimated 20,000 in 1978) would not have been on the public rolls if they had been allowed access to low-cost abortions. These activists estimated that for every one dollar that might have been spent on a Medicaid-funded abortion, four dollars had to go to caring for mother and child in the first two years. They concluded that favoring capital punishment and welfare cuts, while forbidding women to terminate their own pregnancies, was both hypocritical and inconsistent—especially as many of the New Right refused to condemn the clinic bombings and doctor assassinations.

In the final decade of the century, the controversy still raged, though many politicians were trying to avoid the issue—a move that some pro-choicers saw as positive, expressing an uneasiness with traditional condemnations. Such politicians often said they would leave the decision up to individual doctors or law courts. Operation

Rescue workers claimed to have scored a major coup in 1995, when they managed to convert McCorvey herself (then working in a women’s health clinic) to born-again Christianity; in a statement to the media, she said, “I think I’ve always been pro-life, I just didn’t know it.” Less attention was granted to her more moderate assertion that she still approved of first-trimester abortion. Meanwhile activists from both sides tried to make abortion a personal issue for every American; bumper stickers, newspaper advertisements, billboards, and media-directed demonstrations became part of the daily landscape. Crying, “If you don’t trust me with a choice, how can you trust me with a child?”, pro-choicers organized boycotts against the purveyors of pizza and juice drinks who had donated money to Operation Rescue and other pro-life organizations; these boycotts were mentioned in mainstream movies such as 1994’s *Reality Bites*. Eventually movie stars and other female celebrities also came out and discussed their own experiences with abortions both legal and illegal, hoping to ensure women’s access to safe terminations. Thus abortion, once a subject to be discussed only in panicked whispers—and a procedure to be performed only in hidden rooms—had stepped into the light and become a part of popular culture.

—Susann Cokal

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## Abstract Expressionism

The emergence of Abstract Expressionism in New York City during the late 1930s both shocked and titillated the cultural elite of the international art scene. Abstraction itself was nothing new—modernist painters had been regulating the viewer’s eye to obscured images and distorted objects for quite some time. In fact, the bright, abstracted canvases and conceptual ideals of high modernist painters such as Joan Miro and Wassily Kandinsky tremendously influenced the Abstract Expressionists. What distinguished the movement from its contemporaries, and what effectively altered the acceptable standards of art, was the artists’ absolute disregard for some kind of “objective correlative” that a viewer could grasp in attempt to understand the work. The central figures of Abstract Expressionism—Jackson Pollock, Mark Rothko, Willem de Kooning, Robert Motherwell, and Clyfford Still, among others—completely rejected any kind of traditional thematic narrative or naturalistic representation of objects as valid artistic methods. Rather, they focused on the stroke and movement of the brush and on the application of color to

the canvas; the act of painting itself became a vehicle for the spontaneous and spiritual expression of the artist's unconscious mind. Pollock's method of "drip painting," or "all over painting" as some critics call it, involved spontaneous and uncalculated sweeping motions of his arm. He would set his large canvas on the floor and, using sticks and caked paintbrushes, would rhythmically fling paint at it. The act of painting became an art form in itself, like a dance. Under the rubric of Abstract Expressionism, colorfield painters like Rothko would layer one single color plane above another on a large surface, achieving a subtly glowing field of color that seems to vibrate or dance on the one dimensional canvas. The artists hoped that, independent of the formal language of traditional art, they would convey some kind of sublime, essential truth about humanity.

Interestingly, as a result of the highly subjective nature of the work, Abstract Expressionist painters actually negated "the subject matter of common experience." Rather, the artist turned to "the medium of his own craft," to the singular, aesthetic experience of painting itself. As art critic Clement Greenberg wrote in the seminal essay "Avant-garde and Kitsch," the very "expression" of the artist became more important than what was expressed. *The Partisan Review* published Greenberg's "Avant-garde and Kitsch" in 1939, and it was quickly adopted as a kind of manifesto for Abstract Expressionism. In the essay, Greenberg unapologetically distinguishes between an elite ruling class that supports and appreciates the avant-garde, and the Philistine masses, an unfortunate majority that has always been "more or less indifferent to culture," and has become conditioned to kitsch. Greenberg defines kitsch as a synthetic art that merely imitates life, while the avant-garde seeks "to imitate God by creating something valid in its own terms, in the way that nature itself is valid . . . independent of meanings, similars or originals." The Abstract Expressionist work, with a content that cannot be extracted from its form, answers Greenberg's call for an avant-garde "expression" in and of itself. The transcendentalist nature of an Abstract Expressionist painting, with neither object nor subject other than that implicit in its color and texture, reinforces Greenberg's assertion that the avant-garde *is* and *should be* difficult. Its inaccessibility serves as a barrier between the masses who will dismiss the work, and the cultured elite who will embrace it.

However valid or invalid Greenberg's claims in "Avant-garde and Kitsch" may be, inherent in the essay is a mechanism ensuring the allure of Abstract Expressionism. In the same way that the emperor's fabled new clothes won the admiration of a kingdom afraid to *not* see them, Abstract Expressionism quickly found favor with critics, dealers, collectors, and other connoisseurs of cultural capital, who did not wish to exclude themselves from the kind of elite class that would appreciate such a difficult movement. When *New York Times* art critic John Canaday published an article in 1961 opposed not only to Abstract Expressionism, but also to the critical reverence it had won, the newspaper was bombarded with over 600 responses from the artistic community, the majority of which bitterly attacked Canaday's judgement, even his sanity. Most art magazines and academic publications simply did not print material that questioned the validity or quality of a movement that the art world so fervently defended. By 1948, even *Life* magazine, ironically the most "popular" publication in the nation at the time, jumped on the bandwagon and ran a lengthy, illustrated piece on Abstract Expressionism.

While the enormous, vibrant canvases of Pollock, Rothko, and others certainly warranted the frenzy of approval and popularity they received, their success may also have been due to post-war U.S. patriotism, as well as to the brewing McCarthy Era of the 1950s. New

York City became a kind of nucleic haven for post-war exiles and émigrés from Europe, a melange of celebrities from the European art world among them. Surrealists Andre Breton and Salvador Dali, for example, arrived in New York and dramatically affected the young Abstract Expressionists, influencing their work with psychoanalysis. The immigration of such men, however, not only impacted the artistic circles, but also changed the cultural climate of the entire city. The birth of Abstract Expressionism in New York announced to the world that the United States was no longer a cultural wasteland and empire of kitsch, whose artists and writers would expatriate in order to mature and develop in their work. Thus the art world marketed and exploited Abstract Expressionism as *the* movement that single-handedly transformed America's reputation for cultural bankruptcy and defined the United States as a cultural as well as a political leader. Furthermore, as critic Robert Hughes writes, by the end of the 1950s Abstract Expressionism was encouraged by the "American government as a symbol of American cultural freedom, in contrast to the state-repressed artistic speech of Soviet Russia." What could be a better representation of democracy and capitalism than a formally and conceptually innovative art form that stretches all boundaries of art, and meets with global acclaim and unprecedented financial rewards?

Politics aside, of paramount importance in the discussion of this art movement is the realization that, more than any other art movement that preceded it, Abstract Expressionism changed the modern perception of and standards for art. As colorfield painter Alfred Gottlieb wrote in a letter to a friend after Jackson Pollock's death in 1956: "neither Cubism nor Surrealism could absorb someone like myself; we felt like derelicts. . . . Therefore one had to dig inside one's self, excavate what one could, and if what came out did not seem to be art by accepted standards, so much the worse for those standards."

—Taly Ravid

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## Academy Awards

Hollywood's biggest party—the Academy Awards—is alternately viewed as shameless self-promotion on the part of the movie industry and as glamour incarnate. Sponsored by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, the Academy Awards annually honor excellence in film. Although it has been said that the ceremony is merely a popularity contest, winning an Oscar still represents a significant change in status for the recipient. After more than 70 years



**Kevin Costner at the Academy Awards ceremony in 1991.**

of Academy Awards ceremonies, the event has been criticized as having become a self-congratulatory affair that gives Hollywood a yearly excuse to show off to a global televised audience of millions. But no one can deny that when Hollywood's stars don designer clothes and jewelry, the world turns up to watch, proving that star power and glamour are still the essence of American popular culture.

The Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences (AMPAS) was the brainchild of Metro Golwyn Mayer (MGM) mogul Louis B. Mayer. In the late 1920s the motion picture industry was in a state of flux. Experiments being conducted with sound threatened the demise of silent pictures, even as the scandals which had rocked the industry in the early 1920s brought cries for government censorship. Additionally, Hollywood was seeking to unionize and, in 1926, the Studio Basic Agreement was signed, unionizing stagehands, musicians, electricians, carpenters, and painters. The major talent, however, still remained without bargaining power.

In this restive atmosphere, Louis B. Mayer proposed to create an organization that would bring together representatives from all the major branches of the movie industry in an effort to promote both progress and harmony. Thirty-six people attended the first meeting in January, 1928, including actress Mary Pickford, designer Cedric Gibbons, director John Stahl, producers Joseph Schenck and Louis B. Mayer, and actor Douglas Fairbanks, who became the first president of AMPAS. Six months later, an organizational banquet was held at the Biltmore Hotel, where 231 new members joined. During the next year, the new organization formed various committees, one of which sought to create an award that would honor excellence in the motion picture industry.

The first Academy Awards ceremony was held at the Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel on May 16, 1929. It took Academy president Douglas Fairbanks five minutes to hand out all the awards. Janet Gaynor and Emil Jannings were named Best Actress and Best Actor while *Wings* won Best Picture. The ceremony was brief and unspectacular. Janet Gaynor professed to have been equally thrilled to receive the award as to have met Douglas Fairbanks. The local and national media ignored the event completely.

Each winner received a small, gold-plated statuette of a knight holding a crusader's sword, standing on a reel of film whose five spokes represented the five branches of the Academy. The statuette quickly earned the nickname Oscar, although the source of the nickname has never been pinpointed; some say that Mary Pickford thought it looked like her Uncle Oscar, while others credit Bette Davis, columnist Sidney Skolsky, or Academy librarian and later executive director Margaret Herrick with the remark. Whatever the source, the award has since been known as an Oscar.

By 1930, the motion picture industry had converted to talkies, and the Academy Awards reflected the change in its honorees, signifying the motion picture industry's acceptance of the new medium. Silent stars such as Great Garbo, Gloria Swanson, and Ronald Coleman, who had successfully made the transition to talkies, were honored with Oscar nominations.

It was also during the 1930s that the Academy Awards began to receive press coverage. Once a year, an eager nation awaited the morning paper to discover the big Oscar winners. The decade saw the first repeat Oscar winner in actress Luise Rainer; the first film to win eight awards in *Gone with the Wind*; the first African-American recipient in Hattie McDaniel as best supporting actress for *Gone with the Wind*; and the first honorary statuettes awarded to child stars Judy Garland, Deanna Durbin, and Mickey Rooney.

In the 1940s, the Academy Awards were broadcast by radio for the first time, and Masters of Ceremonies included popular comedians and humorists such as Bob Hope, Danny Kaye, and Will Rogers. With a national audience, the Oscar ceremony, which had alternated annually between the banquet rooms of the Biltmore and Ambassador Hotels, moved to legitimate theaters such as the Pantages, the Santa Monica Civic Auditorium, and later the Shrine and the Dorothy Chandler Pavilion. No longer a banquet, the Oscars became a show—in 1936, AMPAS had hired the accounting firm of Price Waterhouse to tabulate votes, thus ensuring secrecy; in 1940, sealed envelopes were introduced to heighten the drama.

In 1945, the Oscars were broadcast around the world on ABC and Armed Forces radio, becoming an international event. With each passing year, the stars, who had first attended the banquets in suits and simple dresses, became more glamorous. The women now wore designer gowns and the men tuxedos. Additionally, each year the Oscars featured new hype. In 1942, sisters Joan Fontaine and Olivia de Havilland were both nominated for best actress. Fontaine won that year, but when the same thing happened four years later de Havilland had her turn and publicly spurned her sister at the ceremony. The press gleefully reported the feud between the two sisters, who never appeared together in public again. Rivalries were often played up between nominees, whether they were real or not. In 1955, for example, it was the veteran Judy Garland versus the new golden girl, Grace Kelly.

In 1953, the Oscars were televised for the first time. As the audience grew each year, the Oscar ceremony became a very public platform for the playing out of Hollywood dramas. In 1957, audiences eagerly awaited Ingrid Bergman's return from her exile to Europe. In

1972, Hollywood publicly welcomed back one of their most legendary performers, a man whom they had forced into exile during the McCarthy era, when Charlie Chaplin was awarded an honorary Oscar. And since the establishment of special awards such as the Irving G. Thalberg Memorial Award, considered the highest honor a producer can receive, and the Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award, each year the Oscars honor lifetime achievement in a moving ceremony. Recipients of these special awards, often Hollywood veterans and audience favorites such as Henry Fonda and Jimmy Stewart, generally evoke tears and standing ovations.

Although the Academy Awards purport to be non-partisan, politics have always crept into the ceremony. In 1964, Sidney Poitier was the first African-American recipient of a major award, winning Best Actor for *Lilies of the Field*. In a country divided by the events of the civil rights movement, Hollywood showed the world where it stood. In 1972, Marlon Brando refused to accept his Oscar for Best Actor for *The Godfather*, instead sending Sacheen Littlefeather to make a proclamation about rights for Native Americans. When it was revealed that Miss Littlefeather was in fact Maria Cruz, the former Miss Vampire USA, the stunt backfired. In 1977, Vanessa Redgrave ruffled feathers around the world when she used her acceptance speech for best supporting actress in *Julia* to make an anti-Zionist statement. That, however, has not stopped actors such as Richard Gere and Alec Baldwin from speaking out against the Chinese occupation of Tibet in the 1990s.

Every March, hundreds of millions of viewers tune in from around the world to watch the Academy Awards. The tradition of having a comedic Master of Ceremonies has continued with Johnny Carson, David Letterman, Whoopi Goldberg, and Billy Crystal. Each year the ceremony seems more extravagant, as Hollywood televises its image around the globe. Academy president and two-time Oscar winner Bette Davis once wrote that “An Oscar is the highest and most cherished of honors in a world where many honors are bestowed annually. The fact that a person is recognized and singled out by those who are in the same profession makes an Oscar the most coveted award for all of us.” Although popular culture is now riddled with awards shows, the excitement of watching the world’s most glamorous people honor their own has made the Academy Awards the Grande Dame of awards ceremonies and a perennial audience favorite.

—Victoria Price

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## AC/DC

The Australian rock group AC/DC appeared on the international music scene in 1975 with their first U.S. release, *High Voltage*. Their songs were deeply rooted in the blues and all about sexual adventure. By the end of the decade, they had a solid reputation in the United



Angus Young of AC/DC.

States and Europe as one of the best hard rock concert bands in the world. *Back in Black* marked their breakthrough release, the number two album in the United States in 1980, and the beginning of a decade of largely uninterrupted success.

Throughout their career, AC/DC lived up to their credo of living hard, fast, and simple. This lifestyle is typified in the song “Rocker”: “I’m a rocker, I’m a roller, I’m a right out of controller/ I’m a wheeler, I’m a dealer, I’m a wicked woman stealer/ I’m a bruiser, I’m a cruiser, I’m a rockin’ rollin’ man.” The brothers Angus and Malcolm Young, Australians of Scottish descent, began AC/DC in the early 1970s. Discovered by American promoters, they first made a name for themselves opening for hard rock legends, Black Sabbath and Kiss.

Their music and stage show was built around the virtuoso solos and the schoolboy looks of Angus Young. He pranced, sweated profusely, rolled on the stage, and even mooned audiences mid-chord. AC/DC backed up their hedonistic tales in their lives off-stage. In 1979, Bon Scott, their first singer, was found dead in the backseat of a friend’s car after drinking too much and choking on his own vomit. His death came soon after the release of the band’s best-selling album at the time, *Highway to Hell* (1979). Whether they appreciated the irony of the album or not, fans began to believe in AC/DC’s self-proclaimed role as rock n’ roll purists. They also bought *Back in Black*, the first album to feature Scott’s replacement, Brian Johnson, at a feverish pace. The title track and “You Shook Me All Night Long” would become college party standards. Johnson’s voice was abrasive, his look blue-collar, and the band took off with Johnson and Angus at the helm. *Back in Black* also benefitted from the slick

influence of young producer Mutt Lange, who would go on to produce many Heavy Metal bands in the 1980s and 1990s. AC/DC followed up *Back in Black* with *Dirty Deeds Done Dirt Cheap*, a collection of unreleased Bon Scott pieces that also proved successful. The band spent the next ten years selling almost anything they released, and heading many of the “Monsters of Rock” summer tours popular at the time.

However, AC/DC did experience their share of problems along the way. When serial killer Richard Ramirez, the Los Angeles Nightstalker, was convicted in 1989, it was quickly publicized that he was a fanatic follower of AC/DC. In 1991, three fans were crushed at an AC/DC concert in Salt Lake City. AC/DC managed to weather the controversy quietly, continuing to produce loud blues-rock and play a demanding concert schedule throughout the 1990s. While often regarded as part of the 1980s heavy metal genre, AC/DC never resorted to the outlandish spike-and-leather costumes or science-fiction themes of many of their contemporaries, and may have had a more lasting impact on popular music as a result. AC/DC reinforced the blues roots of all rock genres, keeping bass and drum lines simple and allowing for endless free-form solos from Angus Young. Young carried the torch of the guitar hero for another generation—his antics and youthful charisma made him more accessible than many of his somber guitar-playing colleagues.

With songs such as “Love at First Feel” and “Big Balls,” and lyrics like “knocking me out with those American thighs,” and “I knew you weren’t legal tender/ But I spent you just the same,” AC/DC reaffirmed the eternal role of rock n’ roll: titillating adolescents while frightening their parents. AC/DC refused all attempts to analyze and categorize their music, claiming over and over that “Rock n’ Roll ain’t no pollution/ Rock n’ Roll is just Rock n’ Roll.” Longer hair and more explicit language notwithstanding, these Australian rockers were really just singing about the same passions that had consumed Jerry Lee Lewis, Little Richard, and their screaming teenage fans.

—Colby Vargas

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## Ace, Johnny (1929-1954)

On Christmas day, 1954, backstage at the Civic Auditorium in Houston, Texas, blues balladeer, songwriter, and pianist Johnny Ace flirted with death and lost, shooting himself in the head while playing Russian roulette. Ace was at the peak of his brief musical career. In two years, he had scored six hits, two of them reaching number one on the *Billboard* R&B chart, and *Cash Box* magazine had named him the “Top Rhythm and Blues Singer of 1953.” Shocked by his violent death, Ace’s fans and his colleagues in the music industry searched for an explanation. The musician had everything to live for, yet made his demise his legacy. While no one will ever know why he committed suicide, his plaintive melodies and vocal delivery conjure associations filled with pathos.

Ace’s musical style, like that of many other Rhythm and Blues artists, was eclectic, drawing from both church and secular contexts and embracing blues, jazz, gospel, hymns, and popular songs. He was, however, first and foremost a blues balladeer whose effectively sorrowful baritone earned the description of “the guy with a tear in his voice.” His piano technique was limited, but his strength lay in his abilities as a songwriter and vocalist, and his compositions were memorable. He generally used a repeated pattern of simple motifs that made retention easy for his listening audience, many of whom were teenagers. Ace’s hits were sad, beautiful, touching songs that held his listeners and caused them to ponder life. While he could sing the straight 12-bar blues, this was not his forte. He was a convincing blues balladeer, and it was this genre that clearly established his popularity and his reputation. Ace’s blues ballads borrowed the 32-bar popular song form, and were sung in an imploring but softly colloquial style in the tradition of California-based blues singer and pianist Charles Brown.

John Marshall Alexander was born on June 9, 1929 in Memphis, Tennessee. The son of the Rev. and Mrs. John Alexander Sr., Johnny Ace sang in his father’s church as a child. He entered the navy in World War II, and after returning to Memphis began to study the piano and guitar. By 1949, he had joined the Beale Streeters, a group led by blues vocalist and guitarist B. B. King and which, at various times, included Bobby Bland, Roscoe Gordon, and Earl Forest. The Beale Streeters gained considerable experience touring Tennessee and neighboring states, and when King left the group, he charged young Ace as leader. John Mattis, a DJ at radio station WDIA in Memphis who is credited with discovering Ace, arranged a recording session at which Ace sang, substituting for Bobby “Blue” Bland, who allegedly couldn’t remember the lyrics to the planned song. Ace and Mattis hurriedly wrote a composition called “My Song,” and recorded it. While it was a technically poor recording with an out-of-tune piano, “My Song” was an artistic and commercial success, quickly becoming a number one hit and remaining on the R&B chart for 20 weeks. The song employed the popular 32-bar form that remained the formula for a number of Ace’s later compositions.

Ace signed with Duke Records, which was one of the first black-owned independent record companies to expose and promote gospel and rhythm and blues to a wider black audience. They released Ace’s second record, “Cross My Heart,” which featured him playing the organ in a gospel style, with Johnny Otis’s vibra-harp lending a sweet, blues-inspired counter melody to Ace’s voice. Again, this was a recording of poor technical quality, but it was well received, and climbed to number three on the R&B chart. The musician toured as featured vocalist with his band throughout the United States, doing one nighters and performing with Willie Mae “Big Mama” Thornton, Charles Brown, and Bobby Bland, among others. Ace made several other hit records, such as the chart-topping “The Clock”—on which he accompanied himself on piano with a wistful melodic motif in response to his slow-tempo vocal—and the commercially successful “Saving My Love,” “Please Forgive Me,” and “Never Let Me Go.” This last, given a memorable arrangement and superb accompaniment from Otis’s vibes, was the most jazz-influenced and musically significant of Ace’s songs, recalling the work of Billy Eckstine.

Two further recordings, “Pledging My Love” and “Anymore” (the latter featured in the 1998 film *Eve’s Bayou*), were Ace’s posthumous hits. Ironically, “Pledging My Love” became his biggest crossover success, reaching number 17 on the pop chart. The Late, Great Johnny Ace, who influenced California blues man Johnny Fuller and the Louisiana “swamp rock” sound, made largely poignant music which came to reflect his fate—that of a sad and lonely

man, whose gentle songs were unable to quell his inner tension or prevent his tragic end.

—Willie Collins

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## Acker, Kathy (1948-1997)

In a process she described as “piracy,” Kathy Acker appropriated the plots and titles of works such as *Treasure Island*, *Great Expectations*, and *Don Quixote* and rewrote them in her own novels to reflect a variety of feminist, political, and erotic concerns. Critics and readers praised these techniques, but after she took a sex scene from a Harold Robbins novel and reworked it into a political satire, Robbins threatened to sue her publisher. When her publisher refused to support her, Acker was forced to make a humiliating public apology. Although her work is marked by an insistence that individual identity is both socially constructed and inherently fragmented, Acker herself became perhaps the most recognizable member of the literary avant-garde since William S. Burroughs, whose work she deeply admired.

—Bill Freind

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## Acupuncture

While acupuncture has been a successful Chinese medical treatment for over 5,000 years, it was not well known to the general U.S. public until the early 1970s, when President Nixon reopened relationships with China. Acupuncture was first met with skepticism, both by the U.S. public at large and the conventional American Medical Association. Slowly, Americans and other western countries began to conduct studies, sometimes in conjunction with the Chinese, about the efficacy of acupuncture. Certain types of acupuncture, particularly for pain management and drug related addictions, were easily translated into western medical theory and could be easily learned and used by western doctors. Thus, the idea of using some acupuncture gained mainstream acceptance. As this acceptance grew, so did the use of acupuncture and Chinese medical theories and methods, at least amongst the numbers of people open to “alternative” medicine. By the 1990s, despite initial scientific skepticism,

acupuncture became one of the most accepted “alternative” medicines in the United States, used to varying degrees by AMA physicians and licensed Chinese doctors, and accepted on some levels by health and government institutions.

Acupuncture theory purports that the body has an energy force called Qi (“chee”) that runs through pathways, called meridians. Qi involves not only the physical, but also spiritual, intellectual, and emotional aspects of people. When the flow of Qi is disrupted for any reason, ill-health ensues. To get the Qi flowing smoothly and health restored, points along the meridians are stimulated either by acupuncture (very fine needles), moxibustion (burning herbs over the points), or acupressure (using massage on the points). Often, these three methods are used together. The concept of Qi is also used in other medical and spiritual philosophies, and was broadly used in the “New Age” theories of the 1980s and 1990s, which helped popularize acupuncture and vice versa.

Acupuncture began to be used in the United States primarily for pain relief and prevention for ailments including backaches, headaches, arthritic conditions, fibromylgia, and asthmatic conditions. Because the type of acupuncture used for these ailments was easy to learn and adapt to western medicine, it was more quickly accepted. The introduction of acupuncture in the United States sparked interest by western medical researchers to gain a more complete understanding of traditional Chinese medicine and to learn why, in western terms, acupuncture “works.” Theories soon abounded and those couched in western terms further popularized acupuncture. A study by Canadian Dr. Richard Chen, for instance, found that acupuncture produces a large amount of cortisol, the body’s “natural” cortisone, a pain killer. In 1977, Dr. Melzach, a noted physician in the field of pain, found that western medicine’s trigger points, used to relieve pain, correspond with acupuncture points.

Methods of acupuncture that became common in western culture were ones that seemed “high-tech,” were (partially or mostly) developed within western culture, or developed in contemporary times, such as Electro-acupuncture and Auricular acupuncture. Electro-acupuncture, often used for pain relief or prevention, administers a small amount of electric power with various frequencies to send small electrical impulses through an acupuncture needle. Electro-acupuncture was first reported successfully used as an anesthesia for a tonsillectomy in China in 1958, and the Chinese thereafter have used it as a common surgical anesthesia. Doctors at Albert Einstein Medical Center and Northville State Hospital successfully conducted surgeries using Electro-acupuncture as an anesthesia between 1971 and 1972. Contemporary Auricular acupuncture, or ear acupuncture, developed largely outside China in France in the 1950s. It started becoming popular in the United States mostly for treating addictions like cigarette smoking, alcoholism, and drug addiction.

By the 1980s, the popularity of acupuncture supported the establishment of many U.S. schools teaching acupuncture within a “Traditional Chinese Medicine” degree. Approximately sixty such schools existed by the late 1990s. A quasi-governmental peer review group recognized by the U.S. Department of Education and by the Commission on Recognition of Postsecondary Accreditation, called ACAOM (Accreditation Commission for Acupuncture and Oriental Medicine) was devoted specifically to accrediting schools of Traditional Chinese Medicine. Many states licensed acupuncturists and doctors of Traditional Chinese Medicine, while some states would allow only American Medical Association physicians to practice acupuncture.



Acupuncture also gained broader acceptance by the government and health institutions in the 1990s. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimated that there were approximately 10,000 acupuncture specialists in the United States and approximately 3,000 practicing acupuncturists who were physicians. In 1993 the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) reported that Americans were spending \$500 million per year and making approximately 9 to 12 million patient visits for acupuncture treatments. A few years later, the FDA lifted their ban of acupuncture needles being considered “investigational devices.” In late 1997, the National Institute of Health announced that “. . . there is clear evidence that needle acupuncture treatment is effective for postoperative and chemotherapy nausea and vomiting, nausea of pregnancy, and postoperative dental pain . . . there are a number of other pain-related conditions for which acupuncture may be effective as an adjunct therapy, an acceptable alternative, or as part of a comprehensive treatment program.” In late 1998, the prestigious and often conservative *Journal of the American Medical Association* published an article agreeing that acupuncture, as well as other alternative therapies, can be effective for certain disease management. This admission from the AMA was a sign of how far acupuncture and Chinese medicine had been accepted in “popular culture”—if the AMA had accepted acupuncture under certain conditions, then the general public certainly had accepted it to a much greater extent.

—tova stabin

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## Adams, Ansel (1902-1984)

Photographer and environmentalist Ansel Adams is legendary for his landscapes of the American Southwest, and primarily Yosemite State Park. For his images, he developed the zone system of

photography, a way to calculate the proper exposure of a photograph by rendering the representation into a range of ten specific gray tones. The resulting clarity and depth were characteristic of the photographs produced by the group f/64, an association founded by Adams and fellow photographers Edward Weston and Imogen Cunningham. Adams' other important contribution in the development of photography as an artform was his key role in the founding of the Museum of Modern Art's department of photography with curator Beaumont Newhall. Adams' timeless photographs are endlessly in reproduction for calendars and posters, making his images instantaneously recognizable. Ansel Adams has become one of the most popular and familiar of photographers.

—Jennifer Jankauskas

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## Adams, Scott

*See Dilbert*

## Addams, Jane (1860-1935)

Born in Illinois, Jane Addams is remembered as an influential social activist and feminist icon; she was the most prominent member of a notable group of female social reformers who were active during the first half of the twentieth century. Foremost among her many accomplishments was the creation of Hull House in Chicago. Staff from this settlement provided social services to the urban poor and successfully advocated for a number of social and industrial reforms. An ardent pacifist, Addams was Chair of The Woman's Peace Party and President of the International Congress of Women; she was also the first woman to receive the Nobel Peace Prize (1931). Addams supported women's suffrage, Prohibition, and was a founding member of the ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union). Her writings include the widely read, autobiographical *Twenty Years at Hull House*. Unmarried, Addams had romantic friendships with several women. She is the “patron” saint of social workers and a symbol of indefatigable social activism on the part of women.

—Yolanda Retter

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Jane Addams holding a peace flag, and Mary McDowell holding an American flag.

## The Addams Family

For years, beginning in the 1930s, cartoonist Charles Addams delighted readers of the *New Yorker* with his macabre graphic fantasies. Among his most memorable creations was a ghoulish brood known as the Addams Family. On television and film, the creepy, kooky clan has seemed determined to live on in popular culture long after its patriarch departed the earthly plane in 1988.

Like all of Addams's work, the Addams Family feature played off the identification the audience made with the characters. In many ways, the Addams clan—father, mother, two children, and assorted relatives (all unnamed)—were like a typical American family. But their delight in their own fiendishness tickled the inner ghoul in everyone. In one of Addams's most famous cartoons, the family gleefully prepared to pour a vat of boiling liquid from the roof of their Gothic mansion onto Christmas carolers singing below. No doubt millions of harried *New Yorker* readers harbored secret desires to follow suit.

To the surprise of many, the “sick humor” of the Addams Family found life beyond the printed page. In September 1964, a situation comedy based on the cartoons debuted on ABC. Producers initially sought input from Addams (who suggested that the husband

be called Repelli and the son Pubert) but eventually opted for a more conventional sitcom approach. The show was marred by a hyperactive laugh track but otherwise managed to adapt Addams's twisted sense of humor for mainstream consumption.

Veteran character actor John Astin played the man of the house, now dubbed Gomez. Carolyn Jones lent a touch of Hollywood glamour to the role of his wife, Morticia. Ted Cassidy, a heavy-lidded giant of a man, was perfectly cast as Lurch, the butler. The scene-stealing role of Uncle Fester went to Jackie Coogan, a child star of silent films now reincarnated as a keening, bald grotesquerie. Blossom Rock played the haggard Grandmama, with little person Felix Silla as the hirsute Cousin Itt. Lisa Loring and Ken Weatherwax rounded out the cast as deceptively innocent-looking children Wednesday and Pugsley, respectively.

*The Addams Family* lasted just two seasons on the network. Often compared to the contemporaneous horror comedy *The Munsters*, *The Addams Family* was by far the more sophisticated and well-written show. Plots were sometimes taken directly from the cartoons, though few seemed to notice. Whatever zeitgeist network executives thought they were tapping into when they programmed two supernatural sitcoms at the same time fizzled out quickly. *The Addams Family* was canceled in 1966 and languished in reruns for eleven years, at which point a Halloween TV movie was produced featuring most of the original cast. Loring did manage to capture a few headlines when she married porno actor Paul Siedermann. But the series was all but forgotten until the 1990s, when it was introduced to a new generation via the Nick at Nite cable channel.

The mid-1990s saw a craze for adapting old-school sitcom chestnuts into feature-length movies. On the leading edge of this trend was a movie version of *The Addams Family* released in 1991. Directed by Barry Sonnenfeld, the film boasted a top-rate cast, with Raul Julia as Gomez, Anjelica Huston as Morticia, and Christopher Lloyd as Uncle Fester. It was widely hailed as closer to Addams's original vision than the television series but derided for its woefully thin plot. A sequel, *Addams Family Values*, followed in 1993. In 1999, there was talk of yet another feature adaptation of Addams's clan of ghouls, this time with an entirely new cast.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Adderley, Cannonball (1928-1975)

Alto saxophonist, bandleader, educator, and leader of his own quintet, Cannonball Adderley was one of the preeminent jazz players of the 1950s and 1960s. Adderley's style combined hard-bop and soul jazz impregnated with blues and gospel. The first quintet he formed with his brother Nat Adderley disbanded because of financial difficulties. The second quintet, formed in 1959, successfully paved the way for the acceptance of soul jazz, achieved commercial viability, and remained intact until Adderley's untimely death on August 8, 1975. The group at various times consisted of Bobby Timmons, George Duke, Joe Zawinul, Victor Feldman, Roy McCurdy, and Louis



Anjelica Huston (left) with Raul Julia in the film *Addams Family Values*.

Hayes, among others. Occasionally, a second saxophonist was added to make a sextet.

The son of a jazz cornetist, Julian Edwin Adderley was born September 15, 1928 in Tampa, Florida. “Cannonball” was a corruption of cannibal, an appellation he earned during childhood for his rapacious appetite. His first professional musical experience was as a bandleader. He was band director at Dillard High School in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, while also leading a south Florida jazz group (1942-48); he later directed another high school band (1948-50) and the U.S. 36th Army Dance Band (1950-52).

Adderley captivated listeners when he moved to New York in the summer of 1955 and jammed with Oscar Pettiford at the Bohemia. This chance session landed him a job with Pettiford and a recording contract, causing him to abandon his plans for pursuing graduate studies at New York University. Adderley was labeled “the new Bird,” since his improvisations echoed those of Charlie “Yardbird” Parker, who died shortly before the younger man’s discovery in New York. The comparison was only partly accurate. To be sure, Adderley’s improvisations, like those of so many other saxophonists, imitated Parker; however, his style owed as much to Benny Carter as to blues and gospel. His quintet’s hard-bop style was largely a reaction against the third-stream jazz style of the 1950s: the fusion of jazz and art music led by Gunther Schuller. As a kind of backlash, Adderley

joined other black jazz musicians such as Art Blakey in a sometimes pretentious attempt to restore jazz to its African-American roots by making use of black vernacular speech, blues, gospel, call-and-response, and handclap-eliciting rhythms. Adderley maintained that “good” jazz was anything the people liked and that music should communicate with the people.

The Cannonball Adderley Quintet became popular after the release of the Bobby Timmons composition “This Here.” Several hits followed, all in the hard-bop gospel-oriented call-and-response style, such as Nat Adderley’s “Work Song” and “Jive Samba”; Joe Zawinul’s “Mercy, Mercy, Mercy”; and Cannonball Adderley’s “Sack O’ Woe.” As an educator and bandleader, Adderley introduced the compositions and contextualized them for audiences. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Adderley led quintet workshops for colleges and universities.

Adderley’s musical legacy is assured due to his stellar improvisations and fluency on the alto saxophone. His style was not confined to hard-bop since he was equally adept at playing ballads, bebop, and funk. Adderley joined the Miles Davis Quintet in 1957, replacing Sonny Rollins, and remained through 1959, participating in the classic recording of the album *Kind of Blue*, one of the three most celebrated albums in jazz history. He also appeared on the albums *Porgy and Bess*, *Milestones*, *Miles and Coltrane*, and *58 Miles*. Davis



**Cannonball Adderley**

and Coltrane's modal style of jazz playing on *Kind of Blue* influenced Adderley. Musical characteristics such as a full-bodied tone, well-balanced phrases, sustained notes versus rapid flurries, and a hard-driving swinging delivery were the marks that distinguished Adderley's style.

Adderley recorded for a number of labels including Original Jazz Classics, Blue Note, Landmark, Riverside, and Capitol. Outstanding albums representing his work include *Somethin' Else* (1958) on Blue Note, *Cannonball and Coltrane* (1959) on Emarcy, *African Waltz* (1961; big band format), and *Nancy Wilson and Cannonball Adderley* (1961) on Capitol. The composition "Country Preacher," which appeared on the album *The Best of Cannonball Adderley* (1962), shows off Adderley's skillful soprano sax playing.

Cannonball Adderley's life and career are documented in a collection of materials held at Florida A&M University in Tallahassee. A memorial scholarship fund was established at UCLA by the Center for Afro-American Studies in 1976 to honor his memory with scholarships for UCLA students.

—Willie Collins

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## Adidas

In an era before athletic-performance gear with distinctive logos existed as a market commodity, Adidas footwear were the designer sneakers of their day. For several decades, Adidas shoes were worn by professional and Olympic athletes, and the company's distinctive

three-stripe logo quietly sunk into the public consciousness through years of television cameras trained on Adidas-wearing athletes. The company and its clothing—especially the trefoil logo T-shirt—became indelibly linked with 1970s fashion, and during the early years of rap music's ascendancy, Adidas became the first fashion brand name to find itself connected with hip-hop cool.

Like a Mercedes-Benz, Adidas shoes were considered both well designed and well made—and much of this was due to the product's German origins. The company began in the early 1920s as slipper makers Gebrüder Dassler Schuhfabrik, in Herzogenaurach, Germany, near Nuremberg. One day in 1925 Adolf (Adi) Dassler designed a pair of sports shoes; thereafter he began to study the science behind kinetics and footwear. By 1931 he and his brother Rudolph were selling special shoes for tennis players, and they soon began to design specific shoes for the needs of specific sports. They devised many technical innovations that made their footwear popular with athletes, not the least of which was the first arch support. The brothers were also quick to realize that athletes themselves were the best advertisement for their shoes. Initiating a long and controversial history of sports marketing, in 1928 the company gave away their first pairs of free shoes to the athletes of the Olympic Games in Amsterdam. Eight years later, American sprinter Jesse Owens was wearing Adidas when he won a gold medal in track at the Berlin Olympic Games.

In 1948 the Dassler brothers had a falling-out and never spoke again. The origins of their split, which dissolved their original firm, remain somewhat of a mystery, but probably revolve around their shifting alliances before, during, and after Hitler, the Nazi Party, and World War II. Rudi was drafted and was later captured by Allied forces, while Adi stayed home to run the factory that made boots for Wehrmacht soldiers during the war. After the war, Rudi Dassler moved to the other side of Herzogenaurach and founded his own line of athletic footwear, Puma. Adolf Dassler took his nickname, Adi, and combined it with the first syllable of his last name to get "Adidas," with the accent on the last syllable. Cutthroat competition between the two brands for hegemony at major sporting events, as well as formal legal battles, would characterize the next three decades of both Adidas and Puma corporate history.

At Olympic and soccer events, however, Adidas had the advantage, especially when television cameras began broadcasting such games to a much wider audience: Adi Dassler had devised a distinctive three-stripe logo back in 1941 (and registered it as a trademark for Adidas after the split) that was easily recognizable from afar. The company did not begin selling its shoes in the United States until 1968, but within the span of a few short years Adidas dominated the American market to such an extent that two American competitors, Wilson and MacGregor, quit making sports shoes altogether. In 1971 both Muhammad Ali and Joe Frazier wore Adidas in their much-publicized showdown. At the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich, every official wore Adidas, and so did 1,164 of the 1,490 international athletes. Adidas also made hip togs for tennis, a sport then enjoying a wave of popularity, and by 1976 the Adidas trefoil-logo T-shirt had become a status-symbol item and one of the first brand-name "must-haves" for teenagers.

The Adidas craze dovetailed perfectly with the growing number of Americans interested in physical fitness as a leisure activity. By 1979, 25 million Americans were running or jogging, and the end of the 1970s marked the high point of Adidas's domination of the market. When Adi Dassler died in 1978, his son Horst took over the company, but both men failed to recognize the threat posed by a small Oregon company named Nike. Founded in 1972, Nike offered more

distinctive colors and styles than Adidas, while also patenting the technical innovations underneath and inside them. Adidas soon sunk far behind in sales. The company was overtaken by Nike in the 1980s and even damaged by the ubiquitousness of the Reebok brand, which made shoes that were considered anything but high-performance. When Horst Dassler died in 1987, Adidas spun further into financial misfortune, and would be bought and resold a number of times over the next few years.

Adidas's only high point of the decade came in 1986, when the New York rap group Run D.M.C.—the first of the genre to reach platinum sales—had a hit with “My Adidas,” a break-beat homage to the footwear. The rappers wore theirs without laces, a style imitated by legions of fans. Adidas signed them to an endorsement deal. But by the 1990s, Adidas was holding on to just a two to three percent share of the U.S. market and seemed doomed as a viable company. A revival of 1970s fashions, however—instigated in part by dance-club-culture hipsters in England—suddenly vaulted the shoes back to designer status. Among American skateboarders, Adidas sneakers became *de rigueur*, since the company's older flat-bottomed styles from the 1970s turned out to be excellent for the particular demands of the sport.

In the United States, part of the brand's resurgence was the common marketing credo that teens will usually shun whatever their parents wear, and their parents wore Nike and Reebok. Twenty-year-old Adidas designs suddenly became vintage collectibles, and the company even began re-manufacturing some of the more popular styles of yore, especially the suede numbers. Arbiters of style from Elle MacPherson to Liam Gallagher sported Adidas gear, but a company executive told *Tennis* magazine that when Madonna was photographed in a vintage pair of suede Gazelles, “almost overnight they were *the* hot fashion item.” In 1997 Adidas sales had climbed over fifty percent from the previous year, signaling the comeback of one of the twentieth century's most distinctive footwear brands.

—Carol Brennan

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## Adkins, David

See Sinbad

## Adler, Renata (1938—)

Renata Adler achieved a controversial success and notoriety in the New York literary scene. Her film reviews for the *New York Times* (collected in *A Year in the Dark*, 1969) appeared refreshingly honest, insightful, and iconoclastic to some, opinionated and uninformed to others. But her essay collection *Towards a Radical Middle* (1970), a highly critical as well as high-profile review of the *New Yorker's* venerable film critic Pauline Kael, and a 1986 exposé of the media's “reckless disregard” for “truth and accuracy” confirmed her role as gadfly. Adler's two novels, *Speedboat* (1976) and *Pitch Dark* (1983), defined her as a decidedly New York author with her distinctive, detached, anonymous voice; shallow characters; minimalist plot; and sparse, cinematic style. Her style garnered criticism from some but resonated with others, especially women of Adler's (and Joan Didion's) pre-feminist generation and class, similarly caught between romantic yearning and postmodern irony.

—Robert A. Morace

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## *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*

As television's longest running situation comedy, airing from 1952 to 1966 on the ABC network, *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* provides a window into that era's perception of the idealized American family. The program portrayed the real-life Nelson family as they faced the minor trials and tribulations of suburban life: husband Ozzie (1906-1975), wife Harriet (1909-1994), and their two sons, David (1936-) and Ricky (1940-1985). Its gentle humor was enhanced by viewers' ability to see the boys grow up before their eyes from adolescents to young adulthood. Although Ozzie had no apparent source of income, the family thrived in a middle-class white suburban setting where kids were basically good, fathers provided sage advice, and mothers were always ready to bake a batch of homemade brownies. Critic Cleveland Amory, in a 1964 review for *TV Guide*, considered the wholesome program a mirage of the “American Way of Life.” Behind the scenes, however, the Nelsons worked hard to evoke their image of perfection.

The televised Ozzie, who is remembered, with Jim Anderson and Ward Cleaver, as the definitive 1950s TV dad—a bit bumbling but always available to solve domestic mishaps—stands in stark contrast to Ozzie Nelson, his driven, workaholic, off-screen counterpart. The New Jersey native was a youthful overachiever who had been the nation's youngest Eagle Scout, an honor student, and star quarterback at Rutgers. Upon graduating from law school he became a nationally known bandleader while still in his twenties. In 1935, he married the young starlet and singer Harriet Hilliard. The couple debuted on radio in 1944 with *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, a fictionalized version of their own lives as young entertainers raising two small boys. The children were originally portrayed by child



The cast of *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* celebrate the show's 12<sup>th</sup> anniversary: (from left) Ricky, Harriet, Ozzie, and David.

actors, until the real-life Nelson kids took over the roles of "David" and "Ricky" in 1949. Eager to translate their radio success to television, Ozzie negotiated a deal with ABC and wrote a film script titled *Here Come the Nelsons*. The 1952 movie, in which the radio show's Hollywood setting was transformed into an anonymous suburbia, served as the pilot for the durable television program.

Ozzie's agreement with the ABC network gave him complete creative control over the series. Throughout its fourteen-year run on the television airwaves, he served as the program's star, producer, director, story editor, and head writer. He determined his show would be less frenetic than other sitcoms, like *I Love Lucy* or *The Honeymooners*, where zany characters were continually involved in outlandish antics. Rather, his series would feature gentle misunderstandings over mundane mishaps, such as forgotten anniversaries and misdelivered furniture. The Nelsons never became hysterical, but straightened out their dilemmas by each episode's end with mild good humor. The focus was strictly on the Nelsons themselves and only rarely were secondary characters like neighbors "Thorny" Thornberry and Wally Dipple allowed to participate in the main action. This

situation changed radically only late in the series after the Nelson boys married and their real-life wives joined the show to play themselves.

As the years went on, the show's focus shifted away from the parents and toward David and Ricky's teen experiences. David was portrayed as the reliable older brother, while Ricky was seen as more rambunctious and inclined to challenge his parents' authority. The younger brother's presence on the program was greatly expanded in 1957 with the broadcast of the episode "Ricky the Drummer." In real life, Ricky was interested in music and asked his father if he could sing on the show to impress a girl. Ozzie, who often based his scripts on the family's true experiences, agreed and allowed the boy to sing the Fats Domino hit "I'm Walkin'" in a party scene. Within days Ricky Nelson became a teen idol. His first record sold 700,000 copies as fan clubs formed across the nation. In 1958 he was the top-selling rock and roll artist in the country. To capitalize on the teen's popularity, Ozzie increasingly incorporated opportunities for Ricky to sing on the show. Filmed segments of Ricky performing such hits as "Travelin' Man" and "A Teenager's Romance" were placed in

the final segment of many episodes. Often the songs were unconnected to that week's plot. The self-contained performance clips reveal Ozzie as a pioneer in the development of rock videos.

The TV world inhabited by the fictionalized Nelsons was a much different place than that occupied by the real-life family. Ozzie was an often distant and authoritarian father who demanded his boys live up to their squeaky-clean images. Family friend Jimmie Haskell commented that Ricky "had been raised to know that there were certain rules that applied to his family. They were on television. They represented the wonderful, sweet, kind, good family that lived next door, and that Ricky could not do anything that would upset that image." Critics have charged that Ozzie exploited his family's most personal moments for commercial profit. The minor events of their daily lives were broadcast nationwide as the family unit became the foundation of a corporate empire. Tensions grew as Ricky began to assert himself and create an identity beyond his father's control. Their arguments over the teen's hair length, bad attitude, and undesirable friends foreshadowed disagreements that would take place in homes around America in the 1960s. It is ironic that Ricky's triumph as a rock singer revitalized his parents' show and allowed Ozzie to assert his control for several more years.

*The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* is not remembered as a particularly funny or well-written comedy. In many respects, it is a cross between a sitcom and soap opera. The incidents of individual episodes are enjoyable, but even more so is the recognition of the real-life developments of the Nelsons that were placed into an entertainment format. In the words of authors Harry Castleman and Walter Podrazik, "[The Nelsons] are an aggravatingly nice family, but they interact the way only a real family can . . . This sense of down to earth normality is what kept audiences coming back week after week." Perhaps the greatest legacy of Ozzie, Harriet, David, and Ricky is their continuing effect upon the American people. They and similar shows, such as *Father Knows Best*, *Leave It to Beaver*, and *The Donna Reed Show* display an idealized version of 1950s American life free from economic problems, racial tensions, and violence more severe than a dented fender. Ozzie and his imitators perpetuated an idyllic world where all problems were easily resolved and all people were tolerant, attractive, humorous, inoffensive, and white. David Halberstam, author of *The Fifties*, cites such shows as creating a nostalgia for a past that never really existed. *The New Yorker* captured this sentiment when it published a cartoon of a couple watching TV, in which the wife says to her husband, "I'll make a deal with you. I'll try to be more like Harriet if you'll try to be more like Ozzie." The senior Nelsons returned to television in the short-lived 1973 sitcom *Ozzie's Girls*. The plot revolved around the couple taking in two female boarders—one black and one white. The attempt to add "relevance" to the Ozzie and Harriet formula proved a failure. Audiences preferred to remember them as icons of a simpler past and not facing an uncertain present.

—Charles Coletta

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## Advertising

Advertising, the promotion of goods or services through the use of slogans, images, and other attention-getting devices, has existed for thousands of years, but by the late 1990s in the United States it had become ubiquitous, permeating almost every aspect of American life. Indeed, the most omnipresent trend was the placement of advertisements and logos on virtually any medium that could accommodate them. Advertising and brand logos appeared regularly on T-shirts, baseball caps, key chains, clothing, plastic cups and mugs, garbage cans, bicycle racks, parking meters, the bottom of golf cups, in public restrooms, on mousepads, in public school hallways, and, for schools fortunate enough to be located near major airports, on school rooftops. The quest for new advertising venues never stopped—advertising has been placed on cows grazing near a highway (in Canada), and on the edible skins of hot dogs.

Television screens became commonplace in many places where the audience was captive—doctor's offices, which were fed specialized health-related programs interspersed with commercials for health-related products, airports (fed by CNN's Airport Network), and supermarket checkout counters. Indeed, by 1998 place-based advertising, defined by advertising scholar Matthew P. McAllister in *The Commercialization of American Culture* as "the systematic creation of advertising-supported media in different social locations" had reached almost any space where people are "captive" and have little to distract them from the corporate plugs. Advertising had invaded even what was once regarded as private space—the home office, via the personal computer, where advertisements on Microsoft Windows "desktop" were sold for millions of dollars.

By 1998, almost all sporting events, from the high school to professional levels, had become advertising vehicles, and the link between sports and corporations had become explicit. Stadiums (San Francisco's 3Com stadium, formerly Candlestick Park), events (The Nokia Sugar Bowl, the Jeep Aloha Bowl), teams (the Reebok Aggie Running Club), awards (the Dr. Pepper Georgia High School Football Team of the Week, the Rolands Relief Man award, for Major League Baseball's best relief pitcher), and even individual players had become, first and foremost, brand advertising carriers. Sports shoe manufacturers spent millions of dollars and competed intensely to have both teams and star players, at all levels of competitive sports, wear their shoes—as a basketball player wearing Nike shoes provided essentially a two-hour advertisement for the corporation each time the player appeared on television or in an arena.

It was not until the late 1800s that advertising became a major element of American life. Advertising had been a mainstay of U.S. newspapers beginning in 1704, when the first newspaper advertisement appeared. In the 1830s, new printing technologies led to the emergence of the "penny press," inexpensive city newspapers that were largely supported by advertising, rather than subscriptions. Until the late 1800s, however, most advertisements were little more than announcements of what merchant was offering what goods at what price. But in the late 1800s, the confluence of mass production, the trans-continental railway, and the telegraph necessitated what had before been unthinkable—a national market for products that could be promoted through national publications. Advertising promoted and branded products that had, until around 1910, been seen as generic commodities, such as textiles, produce, and coal.



Brooke Shields in an ad for Calvin Klein jeans.

At the same time, printing technology also advanced to a stage where it became possible to create visually appealing ads. Still, before the 1920s, advertising was, by current standards, fairly crude. Patent medicines were advertised heavily during the late 1800s, and the dubious claims made by advertisers on behalf of these products tainted the advertising profession. But, by the turn of the century, the new “science” of psychology was melded with advertising techniques, and within ten years advertising agencies—which had emerged in the late 1800s—and the men who worked for them began to gain some respectability as professionals who practiced the “science” of advertising and who were committed to the truth. After the successful application of some of these psychological principles during the U.S. Government’s “Creel Committee” World War I propaganda campaigns, advertising became “modern,” and advertising leaders strove to associate themselves with the best in American business and culture. Advertising men, noted advertising historian Roland Marchand in *Advertising the American Dream*, viewed themselves as “modernity’s ‘town criers.’ They brought good news about progress.” The creators of advertisements believed that they played a critical role in tying together producers and consumers in a vast, impersonal marketplace, in part by propagating the idea that modern products and ideas were, by their very newness, good. Advertising men, wrote Marchand, believed that “Inventions and their technological applications made a

dynamic impact only when the great mass of people learned of their benefits, integrated them into their lives, and came to lust for more new products.”

From the 1920s to the 1950s, advertisers and advertising dominated the major national media, both old (newspapers and magazines) and new (radio and television). The first radio advertisement was sent through the airwaves in 1922, and by the 1930s radio and its national networks—the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and the National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) were a firmly entrenched part of American life.

In the 1950s, television quickly became the medium of choice for national advertisers, and about 90 percent of all U.S. households had sets by 1960. After that, audiences became increasingly fragmented for all media and advertising soon became targeted to particular markets. Magazines and radio led the way in niche marketing. In the 1950s, these media were immediately threatened by television’s mass appeal. Radio, whose programming moved to television, began offering talk shows and music targeted at specific audiences in the 1950s, and with the targeted programs came targeted advertising, including acne medicine ads for teens on rock ‘n’ roll stations and hemorrhoid ointment commercials for older people listening to classical music. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, magazines became increasingly specialized; such general-interest,



mass-circulation magazines as *Life*, *Look*, and the *Saturday Evening Post* first lost advertising support and circulation, and in the case of the first two, went out of business. Meanwhile, the number of special-interest magazines increased from 759 in 1960 to 2,318 in the early 1990s. These magazines appealed to smaller audiences that shared common interests—hobbies, sports, fashion, and music. By the 1970s sleeping bags could be advertised in *Outside* magazine, rock albums in *Creem*, and gardening implements in *Herb Quarterly*.

Up until the 1990s, advertisers still had a relatively well-defined task: to determine where money would best be spent based on four primary criteria: reach, or how many people could possibly receive the message; frequency, or how often the message could be received; selectivity, or whether the advertisement would reach the desired potential customers; and efficiency, or the cost (usually expressed in cost per thousand people). However, during the 1980s, changes in society (government deregulation during the Reagan era) and technological changes (the broad acceptance of VCRs, cable television, and remote controls) forced advertisers to seek out new venues and to embrace new techniques. As the media became increasingly more complex and fragmented, corporations footing the bill for advertising also demanded more specific data than ever before, to the point where, in the late 1990s, there were serious—and increasingly effective—attempts to measure whether a specific ad led to a specific purchase or action by a consumer.

Advertisers in the late 1990s sought to regain some of the control they lost in targeting ads on television. Before the 1980s, most major markets had half a dozen or so outlets—CBS, NBC, ABC, PBS, and one or two independent stations. In addition, remote controls and VCRs were uncommon. Viewers' choices were limited, changing the channel was difficult, and it was difficult to “zap” commercials either by channel “surfing” (changing channels quickly with a remote control) or by recording a program and fast-forwarding over ads. “Advertisers are increasingly nervous about this recent, if superficial, level of power audiences have over their electronic media viewing,” wrote McAllister. “New viewing technologies have been introduced into the marketplace and have become ubiquitous in most households. These technologies are, in some ways, anti-advertising devices.”

Cable television had also, by the late 1980s, become troublesome for advertisers, because some stations, like MTV and CNN Headline News, had broken up programs into increasingly short segments that offered more opportunities to skip advertising. Sports programming, an increasing mainstay of cable, also puzzled advertisers, because commercials were not regularly scheduled—viewers could switch between games and never had to view a commercial. Attempts to subvert viewer control by integrating plugs directly into the broadcast had some success—and one advertiser might sponsor an ever-present running score in one corner of the screen, while another would sponsor instant replays and a third remote reports from other games. These techniques were necessary, as at least one study conducted in the 1980s indicated that when commercials came on, viewership dropped by 8 percent on network TV and 14 percent on cable stations.

Cable television, which had existed since the 1950s as a means of delivering signals to remote communities, blossomed in the 1970s. Home Box Office (HBO), became, in 1972, the first national cable network. By 1980, 28 percent of U.S. households had cable television, and by 1993 this figure reached 65 percent. Cable, with the ability to provide up to 100 channels in most areas by the late 1990s,

provided the means for niche marketing on television, and by the mid-1980s, advertisers took for granted that they could target television commercials at women via the Lifetime Network, teenagers through MTV, middle-class men through ESPN, blacks through BET, the highly educated through the Arts and Entertainment Network, and so on. Many advertisers found the opportunity to target specific audiences to be more cost-efficient than broadcasting to large, less well-defined audiences, because in the latter group, many viewers would simply have no interest in the product, service, or brand being pitched.

Advertising, in short, had a direct impact on television content. By the early 1990s, many individual programs had well-defined audiences, and could become “hits” even if they reached only a small portion of the potential general audience. For example, the WB network's *Dawson's Creek*, which debuted in 1998, only attracted nine percent of all viewers watching at the time it was broadcast, but it was considered a hit because it delivered a large teen audience to advertisers. Similarly, Fox's *Ally McBeal* achieved hit status by attracting only a 15 percent share of all viewers, because it appealed to a vast number of young women. These numbers would have been considered unimpressively small until the 1990s, but by then the demographics of the audience, rather than the size, had become all important to network marketers. In 1998, advertisers were paying between \$75,000 and \$450,000 for a 30-second commercial (depending on the show and the day and time it was broadcast), and demanded to know exactly who was watching. In the 1980s and 1990s, three new networks—Fox, UPN, and WB—had emerged to compete with the well-established CBS, NBC, and ABC, and succeeded by targeting younger viewers who were attractive to certain advertisers.

Despite strong responses to the many challenges advertisers faced, some groups remained elusive into the 1990s. People with active lifestyles were often those most desired by advertisers and could be the most difficult to reach. Non-advertising supported entertainment—pay cable (HBO, Showtime), pay-per-view, videos, CDs, laser disks, CD-ROMS, video games, the Internet, etc.—was readily available to consumers with the most disposable income. As opportunities to escape advertising increased, it paradoxically became more difficult to do so, as corporate and product logos found their way to the most remote places on earth. For example, outdoor gear manufacturer North Face provided tents for Mount Everest expeditions; these tents were featured in the popular IMAX film “Everest”; corporate logos like the Nike “swoosh” were embedded on every article of clothing sold by the company, making even the most reluctant individuals walking billboards who both carried and were exposed to advertising even in the wilderness.

As advertising proliferated in the 1980s and 1990s, so did its guises. Movie and television producers began to charge for including products (product placement) in films and programs. In exchange for money and tie-ins that plugged both the film and product, producers displayed brands as props in films, excluding competing brands. One of the most successful product placements was the use of Reese's Pieces in the movie *E.T.* (1982), which resulted in a sales increase of 85 percent. In *Rocky III*, the moviegoer saw plugs for Coca-Cola, Sanyo, Nike, Wheaties, TWA, Marantz, and Wurlitzer. Critics viewed such advertising as subliminal and objected to its influence on the creative process. The Center for the Study of Commercialism described product placement as “one of the most deceitful forms of advertising.” Product placement, however, was a way of rising above clutter, a way to ensure that a message would not be “zapped.”

Identifying targets for ads continued, through the late 1990s, to become increasingly scientific, with VALS research (Values and

Lifestyles) dividing audiences into categories such as “actualizers,” “achievers,” strivers,” and “strugglers.” Even one of the most traditional advertising methods, the highway billboard, had, in the 1990s, adapted sophisticated audience-identification techniques. One research firm photographed license plate numbers as cars drove by billboards, then matched the number with the car owner’s address, which gave the advertisers an indication of income and class by neighborhood. Billboard advertisers also successfully identified geographic areas with high numbers of people matching the characteristics of a company’s or product’s best customers. For example, Altoids, a strong mint, had, in the late 1990s, a strong customer base among young, urban, and socially active adults, who were best reached by billboards. Altoids’ advertising agency, Leo Burnett, identified 54 demographic and lifestyle characteristics of Altoids customers and suggested placing ads in neighborhoods where people with those characteristics lived, worked, and played. This was a wildly successful strategy, resulting in sales increases of 50 percent in the target markets.

By 1998, many businesses were having increasing success marketing to individuals rather than consumer segments. Combinations of computers, telephones, and cable television systems had created literally thousands of market niches while other new technologies facilitated and increased the number of ways to reach these specialized groups.

The most promising medium for individually tailored advertising was the Internet. Online advertising developed quickly; within five years of the invention of the graphical web browser in 1994, the Direct Marketing Association merged with the Association for Interactive Media, combining the largest trade association for direct marketers with the largest trade association for internet marketers. Advertisers tracked world wide web “page views” and measured how often Web surfers “clicked through” the common banner advertisements that usually led directly to the marketing or sales site of the advertiser. Many companies embraced the even more common medium of e-mail to successfully market to customers. For example, Iomega, a disk drive manufacturer, sent e-mail to registered customers about new products and received favorable responses. Online retailers such as bookseller Amazon.com touted e-mail announcements of products that customers had expressed interest in as a customer service benefit. Although internet advertising was still largely experimental in the late 1990s, many manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers recognized that web advertising was a necessary part of an overall marketing plan. Companies that provided audience statistics to the media and advertising industries struggled to develop trustworthy, objective internet audience measurement techniques.

—Jeff Merron

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## Advice Columns

An often maligned and much parodied journalistic genre—though a telling and accurate barometer of moral assumptions and shifting sexual attitudes—the advice column has been a staple of various venues of American journalism for over a century.

Ironically, the grandmother of all advice columnists, Dorothy Dix, never existed in the real world at all. In fact, none of the major columnists—from Dix and Beatrice Fairfax to today’s Abigail “Dear Abby” Van Buren—were real people, as such. In keeping with a turn-of-the-century custom that persisted into the 1950s among advice columnists, pseudonyms were assumed by most women writing what was initially described as “Advice to the Lovelorn” or “Lonelyhearts” columns. In the pioneering days of women’s rights, journalism was one of the few professions sympathetic to women. In the so-called



Ann Landers

“hen coop” sections of papers, several progressive women used the conventional woman’s section—including its soon standard “Lonelyhearts” column—as both a stepping stone to other journalistic pursuits (and sometimes wealth and fame) and as a pioneering and functional forum for early feminist doctrine.

While the name of Dorothy Dix remains synonymous with the advice genre, the real woman behind Dix was much more than an advisor to the lovelorn. Elizabeth Meriwether Gilmer (1861-1951) was the daughter of a well-connected Southern family who had come to Tennessee from Virginia. In her early childhood she experienced both the Civil War and the death of her mother. Largely self-educated, she married a struggling inventor in 1882. The problematic union ended with George Gilmer’s death in a mental institution in 1929.

Gilmer suffered a breakdown in the early 1890s and was sent to the Mississippi Gulf Coast to recuperate, where she met Eliza Nicholson, publisher of the *New Orleans Picayune*. Nicholson offered Gilmer a job on her paper, and after a brief apprenticeship, Gilmer’s weekly column appeared in 1895 under the pen name of Dorothy Dix. Gilmer’s first columns were amusing, literate social satire, many geared to early women’s issues. They were an instant success, and readers began writing to Dorothy Dix for advice. In 1901 William Randolph Hearst assigned Gilmer to cover Carrie Nation’s hatchet-wielding temperance campaign in Kansas, which eventually led to a position on Hearst’s *New York Journal*. There Gilmer became a well-known crime reporter while continuing the Dix column, which was now running five times a week with an increasing volume of mail. In 1917 a national syndicate picked up Dorothy Dix, and Gilmer returned to New Orleans to devote all her time to the column. By the 1930s she was receiving 400 to 500 letters a day, and by 1939 she had published seven books. Even after achieving wealth and fame, she answered each of her letters personally, and when she retired in 1949 her column was the longest running one ever written by a single author. Elizabeth Gilmer, still better known to the world as columnist Dorothy Dix, died in 1951 at the age of 90.

In real life, Beatrice Fairfax, another name inextricably linked to the lovelorn genre, was Marie Manning (1873?-1945), who originated her column in 1898. Born of English parents in Washington, D.C., Manning received a proper education, graduating from a Washington finishing school in 1890. Shunning a life in Washington society, Manning (who shared Elizabeth Gilmer’s feminist leanings and desire for financial independence) was soon pursuing a journalistic career, first at Joseph Pulitzer’s *New York World*, and later at Hearst’s *Evening Journal*. It was in the *Journal*’s “Hen Coop” that Beatrice Fairfax, a name fused from Dante and the Manning’s family home in Virginia, was born.

Both Dix and Fairfax initially responded to traditional romantic/social problems of the times, but soon dealt with more essential quandaries as well. In the late Victorian era, when females were expected to be submissive dependents and when social codes dictated that certain aspects of marriage and relationships were taboo subjects for public airing in print, Dix and Fairfax provided practical, often progressive advice—counseling women to seek education, and to independently prepare to fend for themselves in a man’s world. Gilmer often spoke of her personal difficulties as the basis for her empathy for the problems of others. The financial vulnerability of women, which Gilmer herself experienced during the early years of her marriage, was also a persistent theme, as was her oft-stated observation that “being a woman has always been the most arduous profession any human being could follow.” Gilmer was also an active suffragist, publicly campaigning in the cause of votes for women.

Both the Dix and Fairfax columns quickly became national institutions, their mutual success also due to their appearance in an era when the depersonalization of urban life was weakening the handling of personal and emotional problems within the domestic environment. Help was now being sought outside the family via the printed word, and the Dix/Fairfax columns were an impartial source of advice for many women of the period. Both Gilmer and Manning were noted for a more practical approach than many of the subsequent so-called “sob sister” writers who began to proliferate with the popularity of Dix and Fairfax.

Manning left journalism for family life in 1905, but again took over the column after the stock market crash of 1929, noting that while her previous column had only rarely dealt with marriage, in the 1930s it had become women’s primary concern. By then the name of Beatrice Fairfax had become so familiar that it had even been mentioned in a verse of one of George and Ira Gershwin’s most popular songs, “But Not For Me”: “Beatrice Fairfax, don’t you dare, try to tell me he will care.” Along with writing fiction, an autobiography—*Ladies Now and Then*—and reporting on the Washington scene, Manning continued to write the Fairfax column until her death in 1945. But Manning’s demise was not to be the end of the column. In 1945 it was taken over by Marion Clyde McCarroll (1891-1977), a reporter/editor active in New York journalism during the 1920s and 1930s. McCarroll established a new, more functional column, referring persons needing more intensive counseling to professional help, while her personal responses took on an even more realistic, down-to-earth tone. McCarroll’s Fairfax column, which she wrote until her retirement in 1966, is said to have established the precedent for most subsequent advice columns.

Gilmer had also noted a shift in public attitude when she commented that, in the 1890s, readers questioned the propriety of receiving gentlemen callers without a chaperone, while by the 1940s girls were wondering if it was acceptable to take a vacation with their boyfriends. Picking up the rapidly changing thread of public morality in the 1950s were a pair of advice columnists who together cornered a national market that they still dominated into the 1990s.

The identical Friedman twins, Esther Pauline “Eppie” (who became columnist Ann Landers), and Pauline Esther “Popo” (who became “Dear Abby” Abigail Van Buren) were born in Iowa in 1918. They were inseparable; when Pauline dropped out of college, Esther did the same, and after a double wedding in 1939 they shared a double honeymoon. By 1955 they were living separately in Chicago and Los Angeles. Esther, who was once elected a Democratic Party chairperson in Wisconsin, was active in politics, while Pauline busied herself with Los Angeles charity work.

Though conflicting stories have been published as to exactly how it happened, with the sudden death of Ruth Crowley, who had originated the *Chicago Sun-Times* advice column, Esther (now Lederer) became “Ann Landers” in 1955. Her common sense responses and droll humor soon put Ann Landers into syndication across the country. In her first column on October 16, 1955, a one-liner response to a racetrack lothario—“Time wounds all heels, and you’ll get yours”—became an instant classic. Lander’s skill with snappy one-liners contributed to creating an instant and intimate rapport with her readers, as did the fact she was not above reproving letter writers who she felt had it coming. David I. Grossvogal writes: “From the earliest, Ann came on as the tough cookie who called a spade a spade, and a stupid reader Stupid.” But he also noted: “One of Ann Landers’s main gifts, and an underlying cause of her huge and nearly instant success, was this ability to foster an intimate dialogue between herself

and her readers. The caring Jewish mother appeared very soon and regularly. From the start she was able to turn the huge apparatus of a syndicated column into an expression of concern for the dilemma or pain of a single individual.”

Ann/Esther launched sister Pauline’s journalistic career when the popularity of “Ann Landers” instigated an overwhelming avalanche of letters that necessitated assistance. Ironically, Pauline’s independent success as Abigail Van Buren, a name chosen for her admiration of the American president, precipitated an eight-year feud between the twins who, nonetheless, separately but similarly developed into two of the most well-known women in America. (They eventually made up at their twenty-fifth high school reunion).

In tandem, the collected responses of Ann Landers and Abigail Van Buren reflect the changing values and assumptions of the second half of twentieth-century America—one of most rapid periods of overall social/cultural change in human history. While the essential issues remained naggingly the same—romance, sex, marriage, divorce—new and troubling variations appeared and persisted. In 1955 Landers and Van Buren could still refer to a generally accepted social structure, but one which was even then shifting, as family structure weakened, children became more assertive, and divorce more common. Even Ann Landers, basing her early judgments on her overriding belief in the traditional family as the center of society, had a difficult time dealing with issues such as the women’s liberation and feminism, and was not above airing her apprehensions in print. Landers’s involvement with the changing American values, as well as a profusely documented overview of both her letters and responses, is detailed in *Dear Ann Landers*, David Grossvogel’s 1987 biography.

Aside from the increasing complexity of the issues and the new public mindset with which she had to deal, Landers was not above facing up to her more misguided judgments on any subject. She herself has said: “When I make a mistake, I admit it. I don’t believe admitting a mistake damages a person’s credibility—in fact I think it enhances it.” And well into the 1990s, when readers overwhelmingly call either Ann and Abby on faulty judgments, neither is afraid to offer retractions in print, and controversial issues often lead to a kind of open forum. Evolving post-1950s columns introduced such previously taboo subjects as explicit sexual matters (including disease), alcoholism, and drug use. In the 1990s recurring subjects have included homosexuality, including the issues of same-sex marriage, and the less controversial but delicate issue of family etiquette in dealing with same-sex couples. A new and particularly hot issue circa 1998 was sexual obsession and contacts via the Internet.

The popularity of advice columns inspired an unusual spin-off, the celebrity advice column. In the 1950s Eleanor Roosevelt wrote “If You Ask Me” for the popular woman’s magazine, *McCall’s*. While eschewing the more mundane lovelorn complaints, Roosevelt still responded to many deeper personal issues, such as religion and death, as well as to a broad spectrum of requests for personal opinions on subjects ranging from Unitarianism and Red China, to comic strips and rock and roll. (Mrs. Roosevelt responded that she had never read a comic strip, and that rock and roll was a fad that “will probably pass.”) Nor was she above responding in a kindly but objective manner to such humble domestic concerns of young people such as hand-me-down clothes. In a similar serious vein, Norman Vincent Peale and Bishop Fulton Sheen also answered personal questions on faith and morality in some of the major magazines of the era.

On a more colorful level, movie magazines offered columns in which readers could solicit advice from famous stars. While no doubt ghostwritten, these columns are nonetheless also accurate barometers

of the popular moral climate and assumptions of the period, sometimes spiced up with a little Hollywood hoopla. In the early 1950s, Claudette Colbert provided the byline for a column entitled simply “What Should I Do?” in *Photoplay*. Around the same period *Movieland* was the home of “Can I Help You?,” a column by, of all people, Joan Crawford. (“Let glamorous Joan Crawford help you solve your problems. Your letter will receive her *personal* reply.”)

In the case of the *Photoplay* column, querying letters sometimes approached the complexity of a Hollywood melodrama. Colbert responded in kind with detailed and sometimes surprisingly frank comments, tinged with psychological spins popularized in 1940s Hollywood films such as *Spellbound*. To a detailed letter from “Maureen A.” which concluded with the terse but classic query, “Do you think Bob is sincere?,” Colbert responded: “Please don’t be hurt by my frankness, but I believe that stark honesty at this time may save you humiliation and heartbreak later. Your letter gives me the distinct impressions that you have been the aggressor in this romance, and that Bob is a considerate person, who perhaps really likes you and thinks he might come to love you. There are some men, usually the sons of dominant mothers, who go along the line of least resistance for long periods of time, but often these men rebel suddenly, with great fury. I also have the uncomfortable feeling that you were not so much thinking of Bob, as the fact you are twenty-seven and think you should be married.” A typical (and less in-depth) Crawford column dealt with topics such as age differences in romance (“I am a young woman of twenty-six. I’m in love with a young man of twenty-one.”), blind dates, and marital flirting. Surprisingly, men were frequent writers to both columns.

At the approach of the millennium, the advice column remains a popular staple of both mass and alternative journalism, effortlessly adapting to the changing needs of both the times and the people. The cutting-edge alternative papers of the West Coast provide orientation-specific and often “anything goes” alternatives to Abby and Ann. *IN Los Angeles* offers “advice from everyone’s favorite fag hag” in the regular column, “Dear Hagatha.” Readers are solicited to “Send in your burning questions RIGHT NOW on any topic,” and Hagatha’s scathing and often X-rated responses are both a satire of, and an over-the-top comment on the venerable advice genre. *Los Angeles’s Fab!* also offers “Yo, Yolanda,” by Yolanda Martinez, more earnest, but still biting advice to gays and lesbians. More serious aspects of gay mental and physical health are also addressed in many papers, among them *Edge’s* “Out for Life” column by psychotherapist Roger Winter, which frequently deals with issues such as sexual addiction, monogamy, depression, and AIDS.

A key and up-coming alternative advice column now featured in over sixty newspapers in the United States and Canada is Amy Alkon’s “Ask the Advice Goddess.” While still dealing with the traditional romantic/sexual quandaries that are seemingly endemic to human society—although now as frequently (and desperately) voiced by men as by women—the Advice Goddess responds to both men and women with an aggressive, no nonsense, and distinctly feminist slant, albeit one remarkably free of the New Age vagaries that the title of her column might otherwise suggest. Alkon frequently (and ironically) reminds women of their sexual power in today’s permissive, but still essentially patriarchal society: “Worse yet for guys, when it comes to sex, women have all the power. (This remains a secret only to women.)” Alkon started her advice-giving career on the streets of New York, as one of three women known as “The Advice Ladies” who dispensed free advice from a Soho street corner. The Advice Ladies co-authored a book, *Free Advice*, and Alkon also writes a

column for the *New York Daily News*, and is developing a television talk show.

“Miss Lonelyhearts went home in a taxi. He lived by himself in a room as full of shadows as an old steel engraving.” Nathanael West’s 1933 novel, *Miss Lonelyhearts*, told a depressing story of that rare bird, the male advice columnist. They still exist, and are only slightly less rare today. In a highly publicized search, *Wall Street Journal* writer, Jeffery Zaslow, was chosen out of twelve thousand candidates to replace Ann Landers when she moved from the *Chicago Sun-Times* to the rival *Tribune* in 1987. Don Savage’s “Savage Love” column offers witty male perspectives in the mode of the “Advice Goddess” to both gay and straight readers of Los Angeles’s *New Times*. Many other male advice advocates have found voices among the alternative free presses of today.

In his biography of Ann Landers, David I. Grossvogel comments on the problems facing the contemporary advice sage: “At a time when many of the taboos that once induced letter-writing fears have dropped away, the comforting and socializing rituals afforded by those taboos have disappeared as well. The freedom resulting from the loss of taboos also creates a multitude of constituencies with a babel of voices across which it is proportionately difficult to speak with assurance.” Grossvogel concludes that in the face of the increasingly depersonalization of modern society the “audibly human” voice of Ann Landers and others of her ilk “may well be the last form of help available at the end of advice.”

The increasingly complex nature of contemporary life, compounded by the apparently never-ending story of humanity’s depressingly changeless emotional, romantic, and sexual hang-ups, would seem to insure the enduring necessity of the advice column well into the next millennium. It remains the one element of the mass press still dedicated to the specific personal needs of one troubled, disgusted, hurting, frustrated, or bewildered human being, and thus to the needs of readers everywhere.

—Ross Care

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## *The Advocate*

*The Advocate* has garnered the reputation as the news magazine of national record for the gay and lesbian community. The first issue of *The Advocate* was published in the summer of 1967, and released

under the September 1967 cover date. The magazine was an offspring of the Los Angeles Personal Rights in Defense and Education (PRIDE) newsletter. PRIDE members Richard Mitch, Bill Rau, and Sam Winston collaborated on the initial design of the news magazine. The inspiration for the magazine came from Richard Mitch’s 1966 arrest in a police raid at a Los Angeles gay bar. The mission of *The Advocate* was clear and straightforward: It was to be a written record for the gay community of what was happening and impacting their world. The first copy, titled *The Los Angeles Advocate*, was 12 pages long and sold for 25 cents in gay bars and shops in the gay neighborhoods of Los Angeles. The first run of 500 copies was surreptitiously produced in the basement of ABC Television’s Los Angeles office . . . late at night.

The following year Rau and Winston purchased the publishing rights for *The Advocate* from the PRIDE organization for one dollar. Gay activist and author Jim Kepner joined the staff and the goal was set to make the magazine the first nationally distributed publication of the gay liberation era. Within two years *The Advocate* had captured enough readership to move from a bimonthly to monthly publishing schedule. In April 1970, the title was shortened from *The Los Angeles Advocate* to *The Advocate*, mirroring its national focus. Five years later, David B. Goodstein purchased *The Advocate* and maintained control until his death in 1985. While Goodstein’s wealth bolstered the stature of the magazine, he often proved to be a troublesome leader. When he moved the magazine’s home base from Los Angeles to the gay mecca of San Francisco, the publication lost its political edge and adopted more of a commercial tabloid format. After noted gay author John Preston joined the staff as editor and Niles Merton assumed the role of publisher, however, *The Advocate* soon emerged as the “journal of record” for the gay community. Many other publications—gay and mainstream—began citing the news magazine as their source for information.

Near the end of Goodstein’s tenure in 1984, *The Advocate* returned to its original home of Los Angeles where it met with some debate and rancor from loyal readers and staff when it was redesigned as a glossy news magazine. During the next ten year period the magazine would go through numerous editors, including Lenny Giteck, Stuart Kellogg, Richard Rouillard, and Jeff Yarborough. Each sought to bring a fresh spin to the publication which was being directly challenged by the burgeoning gay and lesbian magazine industry. When Sam Watters became the publisher of *The Advocate* in 1992, the magazine moved to a more mainstream glossy design, and spun off the sexually charged personal advertisements and classifieds into a separate publication.

Because it covered very few stories about lesbians and people of color in the 1970s, *The Advocate* has been criticized by gay and “straight” people alike. It has met with criticism that its stories focus predominately on urban gay white males. Indeed, it was not until 1990 that the word lesbian was added to the magazine’s cover and more lesbian writers were included on the writing staff. The most grievous error *The Advocate* committed was its late response to the impending AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) crisis during the 1980s. Undoubtedly, when *The Advocate* moved from a hard edged political gay newspaper to a mainstream glossy news magazine, minus the infamous “pink pages” which made its so popular, many original readers lost interest.

In retrospect, no other news magazine has produced such a national chronicle of the growth and development of the gay community in the United States. *The Advocate* was a leader in the gay rights movement of the 1960s, and throughout its printing history has

achieved notable reputation in the field of gay journalism, oft cited by those within and without the sphere of gay influence.

—Michael A. Lutes

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## Aerobics

Aerobics is a form of exercise based on cardiovascular activity that became a popular leisure-time activity for many Americans in the final quarter of the twentieth century. Dr. Kenneth H. Cooper, an Air

Force surgeon, coined the term aerobics in a book of that title published in 1968. Cooper viewed aerobic activity as the cornerstone of physical fitness, and devised a cardiovascular fitness test based on one's ability to run a mile and a half in twelve minutes, a task that was used in military training. Cooper's work was endorsed by the medical community by the early 1970s, and contributed to the popularity of running during that period. By the end of the decade, aerobics had become synonymous with a particular form of cardiovascular exercise that combined traditional calisthenics with popular dance styles in a class-based format geared toward non-athletic people, primarily women. Jackie Sorenson, a former dancer turned fitness expert, takes credit for inventing aerobic dance in 1968 for Armed Forces Television after reading Cooper's book. Judi Sheppard Missett, creator of Jazzercise, another form of aerobic dance combining jazz dance and cardiovascular activity, began teaching her own classes in 1969. By 1972, aerobic dance had its own professional association for instructors, the International Dance Exercise Association (IDEA).

By 1980, aerobics was rapidly becoming a national trend as it moved out of the dance studios and into fast-growing chains of health clubs and gyms. The inclusion of aerobics classes into the regular mixture of workout machines and weights opened up the traditionally



A group of women participate in an exercise program at the YWCA in Portland, Maine, 1996.

male preserve of the gym to female customers and employees alike. In the process, it created a newly heterosexualized atmosphere in health clubs, which would make them popular social spots for singles. Simultaneously, aerobics marketing was moving beyond real-time classes and into media outlets. Aerobic workouts had appeared on records and in instructional books since the late 1970s, but it was the introduction of videotaped aerobic sessions in the early 1980s that brought the fitness craze to a broader market. Actress Jane Fonda pioneered the fitness video market with the release of her first exercise video in 1982, which appeared on the heels of her best-selling *Jane Fonda's Workout Book* (1981). Fitness instructors and celebrities would follow Fonda's lead into tape sales, which continued to be a strong component of the fitness market in the 1990s. Exercise shows on television experienced a resurgence during the aerobics craze of the 1980s, spawning new-style Jack La Lannes in the guise of Richard Simmons and Charlene Prickett (*It Figures*) among others.

Even more impressive than the ability of aerobics to move across media outlets was its seemingly unbounded capacity for synergistic marketing. Tie-ins such as clothing, shoes, music, books, magazines, and food products took off during the 1980s. Jane Fonda again demonstrated her leadership in the field, moving from books and videos into records and audiotapes, clothing, and even her own line of exercise studios. Spandex-based fitness clothing became enormously popular as they moved beyond traditional leotards into increasingly outrageous combinations. Recognizing the potentially lucrative female aerobics market, leading sports-footwear manufacturers began marketing shoes specifically designed for aerobic activity. Reebok was the first to score big in the aerobic footwear market with a line of high-top shoes in fashion colors, though its market dominance would be challenged by Nike and other competitors. By the 1990s, Reebok attempted to corner the aerobics market through tie-ins to fitness videos and by exploiting new trends in aerobics like the step and the slide. Fitness clothing designer Gilda Marx's Flexitard line introduced the exercise thong as an updated version of the leotard, which relaxed the taboos on such sexualized garb for the mainstream of physically-fit women. The aerobics craze among women spawned a new genre of women's mass-market fitness magazines, led by *Self*, a Condé-Nast title first published in 1982, which seamlessly blended articles on women's health and fitness with promotional advertisements for a wide variety of products.

During the 1980s, aerobics transcended the world of physical fitness activities to become a staple of popular culture. The aerobics craze helped facilitate the resurgent popularity of dance music in the 1980s following the backlash against disco music. A notable example was Olivia Newton-John's 1981 song "Let's Get Physical," which became a top-ten hit. Aerobics made it to the movies as well, as in the John Travolta-Jamie Lee Curtis vehicle *Perfect* (1982), a drama that purported to investigate the sordid world of physical fitness clubs and their aerobics instructors, and was also featured on television shows from *Dynasty* to *The Simpsons*.

Despite the enormous popularity of the exercise form among women, aerobics was often harshly criticized by sports experts and medical doctors who faulted instructors for unsafe moves and insufficient cardiovascular workouts, and the entire aerobics marketing industry for placing too much emphasis on celebrity and attractiveness. While these criticisms were certainly valid, they were often thinly veiled forms of ridicule directed against women's attempts to empower their bodies through an extraordinarily feminized form of physical exertion.

By the end of the 1980s, aerobics had become an international phenomenon attracting dedicated practitioners from Peru to the Soviet Union. Moreover, aerobics began attracting increasing numbers of male participants and instructors. Along with its growing international and inter-gender appeal, aerobics itself was becoming increasingly professionalized. IDEA, AFAA (the Aerobics and Fitness Association of America), and other fitness organizations developed rigorous instructor certification programs to insure better and safer instruction. The classes became more intense and hierarchical, spawning a hypercompetitive aerobics culture in which exercisers jockeyed for the best positions by the instructor; to execute the moves with the most precision; to wear the most stylish workout clothes; and to show off their well-toned bodies. This competitive aerobics culture even gave birth to professional aerobics competitions, such as the National Aerobics Championship, first held in 1984, and the World Aerobics Championship, first held in 1990. A movement to declare aerobics an Olympic sport has gained increasing popularity.

Beyond professionalization came a diversification of the field in the 1990s. Specialized aerobics classes danced to different beats, from low-impact to hip-hop to salsa. Simultaneously, aerobics instructors began to move beyond dance to explore different exercise regimens, such as circuit training, plyometrics, step aerobics, water aerobics, boxing, "sliding" (in which the participants mimic the moves of speed skaters on a frictionless surface), and "spinning" (in which the participants ride stationary bikes). Even IDEA recognized the changing fitness climate, adding "The Association of Fitness Professionals" to its name in order to extend its organizational reach. As the 1990s progressed, aerobics, as both a dance-based form of exercise and as a term used by fitness experts, increasingly fell out of favor. Nike ceased to use it in their advertising and promotions, preferring the terms "total body conditioning" and "group-based exercise" instead. By the mid-1990s, fitness professionals were reporting declining attendance in aerobics classes due to increasing levels of boredom among physically fit women. Women in the 1990s engage in diverse forms of exercise to stay in shape, from sports, to intensive physical conditioning through weightlifting and running, to less stressful forms of exercise exhibited by the resurgence of interest in yoga and tai chi.

—Stephanie Dyer

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## Aerosmith

Aerosmith's 1975 single "Sweet Emotion" cracked the Billboard Top 40 and effectively launched them from Boston phenomena into the heart of a growing national hard rock scene. They would

have significant impact on rock 'n' roll lifestyles and sounds for the next quarter of a century.

Vocalist Steven Tyler's leering bad-boy moves and androgynous charisma proved the perfect visual complement to lead guitarist Joe Perry's unstructured riffs and the band's bawdy subject matter. The band's most enduring single, "Walk this Way," chronicles the sexual awakening of an adolescent male.

In 1985, just when it seemed Aerosmith had faded into the same obscurity as most 1970s bands, a drug-free Tyler and Perry engineered a reunion. They collaborated in 1986 with rappers Run DMC on a hugely successful remake of "Walk this Way," won the Grammy in 1991 for "Jamie's Got a Gun," and showed no signs of slowing down approaching the turn of the century.

—Colby Vargas

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## African American Press

"We wish to plead our cause. Too long have others spoken for us." This statement, written in 1827, was the lead sentence for an editorial in the first African American publication, *Freedom's Journal*, published in New York City. From that time until the present there have been more than 3,000 African American newspapers, magazines, and book presses. The African American press, also referred to as the black press, is strongly based on color, that is, on publications that are for black readers, by black staff members and owners, dealing largely with black issues and society. The black press has been largely made up of newspapers, a format that dominated the first 130 years. From the beginning, most newspapers have been driven by a mission—to improve the plight of African Americans. Through the Civil War, the mission was emancipation of slaves followed by later issues of citizenship and equality. Not only did the press serve as a protest organ, but also documented normal black life, especially as it existed under segregation and Jim Crow laws. In many cases, these papers provide the only extant record of African American life in forgotten and remote towns.

The purposes of the African American press often followed the beliefs of the publishers or editors, for example, Frederick Douglass, founder and editor of *The North Star* in 1847. Douglass believed that a successful paper managed by blacks "would be a telling fact against the American doctrine of natural inferiority and the inveterate prejudice which so universally prevails in the community against the colored race." A number of African American editors were also noted leaders in black liberation and civil rights, for example, P.B.S. Pinchback, Ida B. Wells Barnett, W.E.B. DuBois, and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. These individuals, and many more like them, challenged the status quo by questioning social objectives in schools, the legal system, political structures, and the rights extended to minorities.

The high point of African American newspaper distribution came in the 1940s and 1950s, when circulation rose to more than two

million weekly. The top circulating black newspaper during this period was the *Pittsburgh Courier*. Following World War II, African Americans began demanding a greater role in society. Because of a significant role in the war, black social goals were slowly starting to be realized, and acts of overt discrimination moved toward more sophisticated and subtle forms. The civil rights movement made it seem that many battles were being won, and that there was less need for the black press. From the 1960s on, circulation dropped. There were additional problems in keeping newspapers viable. Advertising revenues could not keep pace with rising costs. Established editors found it difficult to pass on their editorial responsibilities to a new generation of black journalists. Mainstream presses had partially depleted the pool of African American journalists by offering them employment and giving space to the discussion of black issues.

African American magazines began in 1900 with the *Colored American*. Failures in the black magazine industry were frequent until John H. Johnson started the *Negro Digest* in 1942. The Johnson Publishing Company went on to publish some of the country's most successful African American magazines, including *Ebony* (beginning in 1945), a general consumer magazine that has outlasted its competitors including *Life* and *Look*, and *Jet* (beginning in 1951), a convenient-sized magazine that summarized the week's black news in an easy-to-read format. Among specialty magazines, the most successful has been *Essence*. Founded in 1970, it is a magazine dedicated to addressing the concerns of black women. The popularity of *Ebony* and *Essence* expanded to traveling fashion shows and television tie-ins. Examples of other specialty magazines include *Black Enterprise*, founded in 1970 to address the concerns of black consumers, businesses, and entrepreneurs, and *The Black Collegian*, a magazine addressing black issues in higher education. There have been a number of magazines from black associations and organizations, foremost *The Crisis*, a publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People started by W.E.B. DuBois in 1910. There have also been a number of black literary and cultural magazines. Examples include *Phylon: A Review of Race and Culture*, founded by W.E.B. DuBois, and *CLA Journal*, a publication of the College Language Association. These journals have provided an outlet for works of scholars and poets, and have represented a social as well as literary effort where the act of writing became synonymous with the act of justice.

African American book presses have primarily published African American and multicultural authors. Typically, black book presses have been small presses, generally issuing fewer than a dozen titles per year. Examples of book presses include Africa World Press, Third World Press, and two children's book publishers, Just Us Books and Lee and Low. Publishers at these presses have been unable to give large advances to authors, and therefore have found it difficult to compete with large publishing houses. Large publishing houses, on the other hand, have regularly published books by black authors, though many have been popular celebrities and sports figures who were assisted by ghostwriters. These books have done little to add to the development of black literary voices, and have left the illusion that black writers are published in greater numbers than has been the case.

Throughout its history, the African American press grew out of distrust; that is, blacks could not trust white editors to champion their causes. Too many majority publications have portrayed blacks in a one-dimensional way—if they were not committing a crime or leeching off of society, they were running, jumping, joking or singing. It has taken the black press to portray African American people in



non-stereotypical ways and present stories of black achievement. When a black news story broke, these publications reported “what really went on.” In addition, much of what has been found in the black press was not reported elsewhere, for example, special dispatches from Africa oriented toward American readers.

Despite more than 170 years of publishing, most African American presses struggle to survive. While the oldest, continuously operating African American publication, the *Philadelphia Tribune*, dates back to 1884, virtually thousands of others have come and gone. Of the approximate 200 plus current newspapers, most are weekly, and none publish daily, though there have been a number of attempts at providing a daily. Those that do survive are generally in urban areas with large black populations. Examples include the *Atlanta Daily World*, the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, and the *New York Amsterdam News* (in New York City). These newspapers and others like them compete for scarce advertising revenue and struggle to keep up with the changes in printing technology.

The attempts at building circulation and revenue have philosophically divided African American newspapers. Throughout its history, black journalism has been faced with large questions of what balance should be struck between militancy and accommodation, and what balance between sensationalism and straight news. Focusing on the latter, in the early 1920s, Robert Sengstack, founder and editor of the *Chicago Defender*, abandoned the moral tone common to black newspapers and patterned the *Defender* after William Randolph Hearst’s sensationalist tabloids by focusing on crime and scandal. The formula was commercially successful and many other black newspapers followed suit.

The struggle of the African American press for survival, and questions of purpose and direction will likely continue into the foreseeable future. However, as long as a dual society based on skin color exists, there will be a need for an African American press. Given the dominance of majority points of view in mainstream publications and the low number of black journalists, it is more important than ever for the African American press to provide a voice for the black community. If African Americans do not tell their story, no one will.

—Byron Anderson

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## *The African Queen*

John Huston’s *The African Queen* (1951) is one of the most popular films of all time. The film chronicles the adventures of an obstinate drunkard, Charlie Allnut (Humphrey Bogart), and a headstrong spinster, Rose Sayer (Katherine Hepburn), as they head down an African river towards a giant lake in which waits the “Louisa,” a large German warship, which they ultimately sink. The film was shot nearly entirely on location in Africa. The on-set battles between the hard-living Huston and Bogart and the more reserved Hepburn have become part of Hollywood legend. Despite their difficulties, in the end all became friends and the results are remarkable. In addition to a great script and beautiful location scenery, the on-screen electricity between Hepburn and Bogart, two of the screen’s most enduring stars, contributes to their equally spectacular performances. Hepburn was nominated as best actress, and Bogart won his only Academy Award for his role in *The African Queen*.

—Robert C. Sickels

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## Agassi, Andre (1970—)

Tennis player Andre Agassi maintained the highest public profile of any tennis player in the 1990s—and he backed that profile up by playing some of the best tennis of the decade. Trained from a very early age to succeed in tennis by his father Mike, Agassi turned professional at age 16. By the end of his third year on tour in 1988 Agassi was ranked third in the world; by 1995 he was number one and, though he faltered thereafter, he remained among the top ten players in the world into the late 1990s. Through the end of 1998 Agassi had won three of the four major tournaments—Wimbledon, the Australian Open, and the U.S. Open, failing only at the French Open. Though his tennis game took Agassi to the top, it was his movie-star looks, his huge, high-profile endorsement deals—with Nike and Cannon, among others—and his marriage to model/actress Brooke Shields that made him one of sports’ best-known celebrities.

—D. Byron Painter

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## Agents

Talent agents began the twentieth century as vaudeville “flesh-peddlers” selling the services of their stable of comedians, actors, singers, animal acts, and freaks to theaters and burlesque houses for a percentage of these performers’ compensation. With the rise of radio, television, and the movies—and their accompanying star system—the balance of power shifted to the agents. With the influence to put together productions and dictate deals in the very visible business of media, these “superagents” themselves became powerful celebrities by the end of the century.

The emerging film industry of the 1910s and 1920s found that prominently featuring the lead actors and actresses of its movies—the “stars”—in advertisements was the most effective way to sell tickets. This gave the stars leverage to demand larger salaries and increased the importance of an agent to field their scripts and negotiate their salaries.

During this time, agents were often despised by the talent and the industry alike, called “leeches,” “bloodsuckers,” and “flesh-peddlers” because of their ruthless negotiating and the notion that they profited from the work of others, driving up film costs. In the 1930s, the Hollywood film industry began colluding to drive down star salaries and some studios banned agents from their premises. “Fadeout for Agents” read a 1932 headline in the film industry publication *Variety*. But in 1933, the Screen Actors Guild was formed to fight the collusion among studios and President Franklin Roosevelt signed a code of fair practices guaranteeing actors the freedom to offer their services to the highest bidder, making a good agent indispensable for most stars.

While it struggled during the days of vaudeville, the William Morris Agency, founded in 1898, came into its own with the advent of mass media and the star system. The agency recognized that it could make more money representing star talent than by representing the vaudeville houses in which the talent played. The newly codified freedoms agents and stars won in the 1930s helped William Morris grow from \$500,000 in billings in 1930 to \$15 million dollars in 1938, with a third of the revenue derived from each vaudeville, radio, and film. The agency also popularized the “back-end deal” in which stars received a percentage of the gross ticket sales from a production, elevating some actors’ status from that of mere employees to partners.

Another agency, the Music Corporation of America (MCA), was founded in 1930 and quickly rose to become the top agency in the country for the booking of big bands. MCA began to put together, or “package,” entire radio shows from its roster of clients, selling them to broadcasters and charging a special commission. By the mid-1950s, MCA was earning more from packaging radio and television shows than from its traditional talent agency business. Like the back-end deal, packaging effected a shift in power from the studio to the agent, enabling agents to put together entire productions. Studios could not always substitute one star for another and were forced to accept or reject packages as a whole.

In 1959, *TV Guide* published an editorial—titled “NOW is the Time for Action”—attacking the power and influence that MCA and William Morris had over television programming. In 1960, the Eisenhower administration held hearings on network programming and the practice of packaging. *Fortune* published an article in 1961 on MCA’s controversial practice of earning—from the same television show—talent commissions, broadcast fees, and production revenue. When it moved to purchase a music and film production company in

1962, the Justice Department forced MCA to divest its agency business. In practice, and in the public consciousness, agents had evolved from cheap hustlers of talent to powerful media players.

In 1975, after a merger formed International Creative Management (ICM), the Hollywood agency business was largely a two-company affair. ICM and William Morris each earned about \$20 million that year, primarily from commissions on actors they placed in television and film roles. That same year, five agents left William Morris to found Creative Artists Agency (CAA). Michael Ovitz emerged as CAA’s president, leading it to the number one spot in the business. CAA employed a more strategic approach than other agencies and took packaging beyond television and into movies, forcing studios to accept multiple CAA stars along with a CAA director and screenwriter in the same film.

This was a time when agents were moving beyond traditional film and television deals and into a new, expanded sphere of entertainment. In 1976 the William Morris Agency negotiated a \$1 million dollar salary for Barbara Walters as new co-anchor of the *ABC Nightly News*. This was double the amount anchors of other nightly news programs earned and reflected the expansion of the star and celebrity system to other realms. Another example of this phenomenon was the agency’s representation of former President Gerald Ford in 1977.

This trend continued into the 1980s and 1990s. Ovitz brokered the purchase of Columbia Pictures by Sony in 1989, and in 1992 CAA was contracted to develop worldwide advertising concepts for Coca-Cola. With CAA’s dominance and these high-profile deals, Ovitz himself became a celebrity. His immense power, combined with his policy of never speaking to the press and his interest in Asian culture, generated a mystique around him. A subject of profile pieces in major newspapers and magazines and the subject of two full-length biographies, he was labeled a “superagent.” It was major news when, in 1995, the Disney Corporation tapped Ovitz to become its number two executive and heir apparent; and it was bigger news when Ovitz resigned as president of Disney 14 months later.

The 1980s and 1990s were also a period of the “celebritization” of sports stars and their agents. Lucrative endorsement fees—such as the tens of millions of dollars paid to Michael Jordan by Nike—were the result of the reconception of sports as popular entertainment. The proliferation of million-dollar marketing and endorsement deals created a new breed of sports superagent. The movie *Jerry Maguire* and the television show *Arli\$\$* played up the image of most sports agents as big-money operators. When sports superagent Leigh Steinberg was arrested for drunk driving, he apologized by admitting that he did “not conduct myself as a role model should.” Agents were now public figures, caught in the spotlight like any other celebrity.

From their origins as mere brokers of talent, agents used the emerging star system to expand their reach, and in the process, helped build a culture of celebrity that fed on stars, enabling agents to win increasingly larger paydays for them. It was this culture that propelled agents to become celebrities themselves. While in practice “superagents” ranged from the flashy and aggrandizing to the low-key and secretive, their public image reflected their great power, wealth, and influence over the mechanisms of celebrity.

—Steven Kotok

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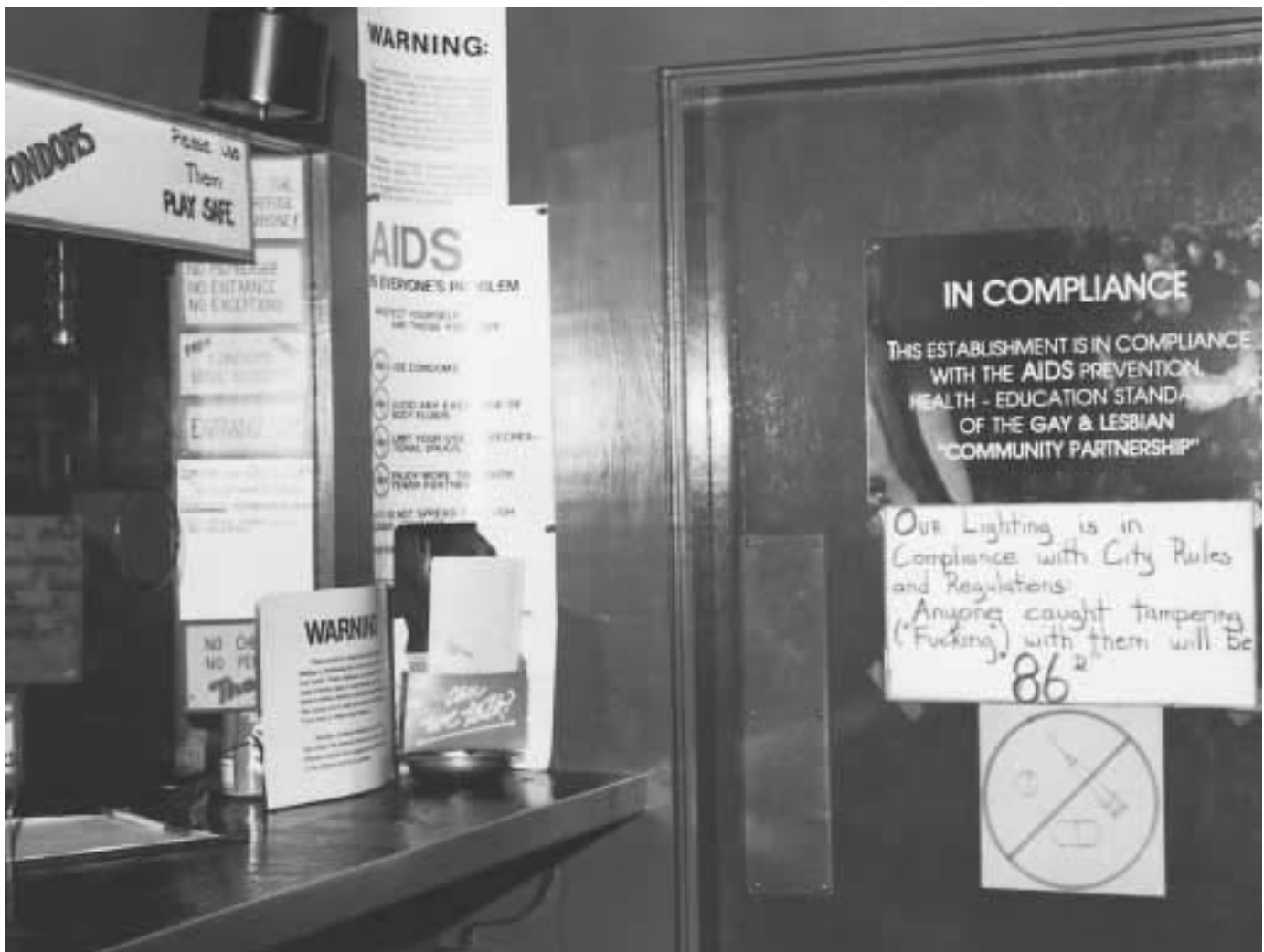
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## AIDS

Medically, AIDS is the acronym for “acquired immunodeficiency syndrome,” a medical condition which enables a massive suppression of the human immune system, allowing the body to be debilitated by a wide variety of infectious and opportunistic diseases. Culturally, AIDS is the modern equivalent of the plague, a deadly disease whose method of transmission meshed with gay sexual lifestyles to attack inordinate numbers of gay men—to the barbaric glee of those eager to vilify gay lifestyles. The syndrome is characterized by more than two dozen different illnesses and symptoms. AIDS was officially named on July 27, 1982. In industrialized nations and

Latin America AIDS has occurred most frequently in gay men and intravenous drug users, whereas on the African continent it has primarily afflicted the heterosexual population. From 1985 to 1995 there were 530,397 cases of AIDS reported in the United States. By 1996 it was the eighth leading cause of death (according to U.S. National Center for Health Statistics.) The AIDS epidemic transcended the human toll, having a devastating effect on the arts, literature, and sciences in the United States.

The first instance of this disease was noted in a Centers for Disease Control (CDC) report issued in June 1981. The article discussed five puzzling cases from the state of California where the disease exhibited itself in gay men. Following reports of pneumocystis carinii pneumonia, Karposi’s sarcoma, and related opportunistic infections in gay men in San Francisco, New York, and Los Angeles, the U.S. Centers for Disease Control began surveillance for a newly recognized array of diseases, later known as AIDS. Because the homosexual community was the first group afflicted by the syndrome, the malady was given the initial title of GRID (Gay Related Immunodeficiency). In the first years of the AIDS outbreak, the number of cases doubled annually, and half of those previously infected died yearly. The caseload during the 1990s has reached a



An AIDS warning notice at the Academy Sex Club, San Francisco.

plateau and with new medications on the market the death rate has started to decline. Discussions now focus on AIDS as a chronic manageable disease, rather than a fatal illness.

During the early years of the AIDS epidemic there was much fear of the disease, misinformation about its transmission, and lack of education covering prevention techniques. The United States closed its borders to HIV positive individuals. Members of the gay community became targets of homophobic attacks. The scientific community both nationally and worldwide took the lead in devoting time and research funds to unraveling the AIDS mystery, treatments for the disease, and possible future vaccines. Unfortunately many of the efforts have been dramatically underfunded, with university medical schools and major pharmaceutical corporations performing the majority of the research.

The vast majority of scientists believe AIDS originates from the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). A number of forms of HIV have been identified, but those most prevalent to the AIDS epidemic are HIV1, globally disbursed, and HIV2, African in origin. HIV is classified as a retrovirus which, opposite to normal function, converts the RNA held in the virus core into DNA. Besides being a retrovirus, HIV is also a lentivirus. While most viruses cause acute infections and are cleared by the immune system, producing lifelong immunity, lentiviruses are never completely removed from the immune system. HIV's primary function is to replicate itself, with the unintended side effect of opportunistic infections in infected humans.

Scientists theorize that HIV originated from a virus which already existed and was now appearing for the first time in humans. Over the last decade there has been much contentious debate concerning the relationship of the West African simian immunodeficiency viruses (SIV) and a connection to HIV. A widely accepted theory is that the syndrome was transmitted to humans by monkeys with a different strain of the virus. Studies on the simian origin of HIV have made some progress beyond genetic comparison showing a close geographic relationship of HIV2 and SIV. Early in 1999 international AIDS researchers confirmed the virus originated with a subspecies of chimpanzee in West and Central Africa. This version was closely related to HIV1. Exposure probably resulted from chimp bites and exposure to chimp blood, but further research is still needed.

The rise of AIDS as a public health issue coincided with the ascension of a conservative national government. President Ronald Reagan established a political agenda based on decreased federal responsibility for social needs. Thus at the onset of the AIDS epidemic the issue was widely ignored by the federal government. Ever since, policy makers on the national, state, and local levels have been criticized for focusing upon prevention programs rather than the need for health care. Only after political pressure was exerted by gay activists, health care providers, and other concerned organizations was more money and effort directed toward funding medical care and research.

The AIDS epidemic has had a profound impact on gay and lesbian identity, politics, social life, sexual practices, and cultural expression. Many of those with AIDS were denied medical coverage by insurance companies, harassed in the workplace, and not given adequate treatment by medical practitioners. Meanwhile, there was a call by some right wing politicians and religious clergy for the quarantine or drastic treatment of AIDS patients. Gay-organized self help groups quickly developed around the country. By the 1990s over six hundred AIDS-related organizations were created nationwide. One of the first organizations was the Gay Men's Health Crisis in New York City; they were later joined by the Karposi's Sarcoma

Foundation (San Francisco), AIDS Project Los Angeles, Shanti Foundation, and countless others. Many people responded, especially those who had previously avoided gay movement work.

On the political front gay and lesbian activists waged a vigorous campaign to obtain adequate funding to halt the AIDS epidemic. Primarily through the media, activists waged a bitter campaign against the United States government and drug manufacturers, urging allocation of money and directing research for AIDS. The gay community has charged the federal government with negligence and inaction in response to the outbreak of AIDS. In the government's defense, it was the first time in years that industrialized nations had to come to terms with a previously unknown disease that was reaching epidemic proportions. Advancements in the analysis and treatment of the syndrome were impeded by institutional jealousies and red tape, and notable progress in the field did not start until the mid-1980s.

An unforeseen result of the epidemic was a renewed sense of cooperation between lesbians and gay men. Lesbians were quick to heed the call of gay men with AIDS in both the social service and political arenas of the crisis. Among gay men AIDS helped to bring together the community, but also encouraged the development of two classes of gay men, HIV "positive" and "negative." The sexually charged climate of the 1970s, with its sexual experimentation and unlimited abandon, gave way to a new sense of caution during the 1980s. Private and public programs were put into place urging the use of safer sexual practices, and a move toward long term monogamous relationships. The onslaught of AIDS made committed monogamous relationships highly attractive.

The collective effects of AIDS can be observed in the performing arts, visual arts, literature, and the media. The decimation of a generation of gay men from AIDS led to an outpouring of sentiment displayed in many spheres. The theater made strong statements concerning AIDS early on, and has continued ever since. Many AIDS-related plays have been staged on Off-Broadway, Off-Off-Broadway, and smaller regional theaters. Jeffrey Hagedorn's one-man play, *One*, which premiered in Chicago during August 1983, was the first theatrical work to touch upon the disease. Other plays such as William Hoffman's *As Is* (1985) and Larry Kramer's *The Normal Heart* (1985) were successfully presented onstage to countless audiences. Probably the most successful drama was Tony Kushner's *Angels in America* (1992).

Hollywood was a latecomer in the depiction of AIDS on the big screen. Most of the initial film productions were from independent filmmakers. Before *Philadelphia* (1993), the few other movies which dealt openly with AIDS as theme were Arthur Bressan Jr.'s *Buddies* (1985); Bill Sherwood's *Parting Glances* (1986); and Norman Rene and Craig Lucas's *Longtime Companion* (1990). Lucas's production was rejected by every major studio and was eventually funded by PBS's American Playhouse. Many of those afflicted with AIDS in the movie industry were treated as untouchables. Many times when AIDS was depicted in a film it was exhibited as a gay, white middle class disease. Meanwhile, photo documentaries produced outside Hollywood validated the lives of individuals with AIDS, revealing the gravity and reality of the disease and helping to raise funds for AIDS service organizations.

When the AIDS epidemic was first identified, the disease was not considered newsworthy by national television networks. The first mention of AIDS occurred on ABC's *Good Morning America* during an interview with the CDC's James Curran. Since the inception of CNN in 1980, the news network has provided continuous coverage of AIDS. Broadcast and cable television stations could have been used

to calm fears about AIDS by educating viewers about how the disease was transmitted, realistically depicting people with AIDS, and fostering understanding towards those affected. However, HIV/AIDS proved to be too controversial for most mainstream media. Even public service announcements and advertisements depicting contraceptives or safe sex practices came under fire. However, as more people became aware of HIV/AIDS the major media sources began to air more information about the disease. In 1985 NBC Television presented one of the first dramas on the small screen, *An Early Frost*. Regular television programming covering HIV/AIDS has paralleled the disease. Countless made for television movies, dramas, and documentaries have been produced on the networks and cable television stations.

National Public Radio has been a leader in providing information and coverage of HIV/AIDS. NPR has since 1981 worked at interpreting issues surrounding the epidemic, with its broadcast reaching not only urban areas but also into the hinterlands. It has helped to dispel much misinformation and created a knowledge base on a national scale.

The literary response to AIDS has matched its history and growth. As the disease spread so did the written word covering it. Literature has served as socio-historical record of the onset and impact of the disease. Nearly every genre is represented, ranging from poetry, personal stories, histories, self-help books, fiction, and non-fiction. Literature has provided some of the more honest depictions of AIDS.

The most visible symbol of the disease is the AIDS Memorial Quilt. The quilt was started in early 1987 to commemorate the passing of loved ones to AIDS. Each person was given a rectangular piece of cloth three feet by six feet, the size of a human grave, to decorate with mementoes or special items significant to the life of the person who lost their battle with AIDS. At the close of 1998 there were over 42,000 panels in the Names Quilt, signifying the passing of more than 80,000 individuals. The entire quilt covers eighteen acres, and weighs over 50 tons. Still, only 21 percent of AIDS related deaths are depicted by the quilt.

The last two decades of the twentieth century have witnessed an immense human tragedy not seen in the United States for many years. A large portion of the gay population between the ages of twenty and fifty were lost to the disease. Along with them went their talents in the visual arts, performing arts, and literature. Many cultural artifacts from the end of the century stand as mute witness to their lives and passing, foreshadowing the symbolism provided by the AIDS Memorial Quilt.

—Michael A. Lutes

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## Ailey, Alvin (1931-1989)

Choreographer and dancer Alvin Ailey transformed the U.S. dance scene in the 1960s with his work *Revelations*, a powerful and moving dance which expresses Black experiences set to gospel music. By the 1980s this dance had been performed more often than *Swan Lake*. As the founder of the interracial Alvin Ailey American Dance Theatre in 1958, Ailey was an important and beloved figure in the establishment of Black artists in the American mainstream. His company was one of the first integrated American dance companies to gain international fame.

Other artists did not always share his vision of Black dance and accused his creations of commercialism. After early success and a stressful career, Ailey's creativity waned in the late 1970s. Manic depression and arthritis undermined his health. He tried to find refuge



Alvin Ailey

in drugs, alcohol, and gay bars, and died of an AIDS related disease in 1989. His company continues under the direction of Judith Jamison, a dancer who inspired Ailey's 1971 creation of a dance to honor Black women called *Cry*.

—Petra Kuppers

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## Air Travel

For centuries people have been enthralled with the possibility of human flight. Early inventors imitated birds' wings and envisioned other devices that they hoped would enable them to conquer the sky. Not until the beginning of the twentieth century, however, did technology catch up with the dreams. Yet even after Orville and Wilbur Wright first flew at Kitty Hawk in 1902, most Americans did not view air travel as a realistic possibility.

Air shows during the first two decades of the twentieth century convinced Americans that flight was possible. Crowds thrilled as aviators flew higher and faster, and performed tricks with their small planes. Some tried to imagine the practical applications of flight, but at that point it was still a very dangerous endeavor. The early monoplanes and biplanes were fragile; wind and storms tossed them around and they frequently crashed. So when Americans went to air shows to see the "wonderful men in their flying machines," they also observed accidents and even death. Newspaper editorials, feature stories, and comics showed the positive and negative potential of flight.

World War I served as an impetus to the development of air travel in several ways. Initially, planes were viewed only as a means of observing enemy movements, but pilots soon began to understand their potential for offensive maneuvers such as strafing and bombardment. The use of planes in battle necessitated improvements in the strength, speed, and durability of planes. At the same time, as stories of the heroic exploits of such figures as Eddie Rickenbacker were reported in the press, the view of the pilot as romantic hero entered the popular imagination. Following their service in the war, trained pilots returned to participate in air shows, thrilling viewers with their expert flying and death-defying aerial tricks, known as "barnstorming," and offering plane rides.

During the 1920s and 1930s, far-sighted individuals began to seriously examine the possibility of flight as a primary means of transportation in the United States. Entrepreneurs like William Randolph Hearst and Raymond Orteig offered cash awards for crossing the United States and the Atlantic Ocean. Aviators like Calbraith P. Rodgers, who came close to meeting Hearst's requirement to cross the continent in thirty days in 1911, and Charles A. Lindbergh, who successfully traveled from New York to Paris in 1927, responded. Lindbergh became an overnight hero and flew throughout the United States promoting air travel.

As with railroad and highway transportation, it took the power and resources of the federal government to develop aviation. The United States Postal Service established the first airmail service as early as 1918, and airline companies formed to carry the mail and passengers. Federal and state governments established agencies and

passed laws setting safety requirements. Then, in the 1930s, communities began to receive federal financial assistance to build airports as part of the 1930s New Deal. During World War II, the Allies and the Axis powers showed the destructive power of aviation, but the war also showed air travel was a pragmatic way to transport people and supplies.

By the end of World War II, most Americans viewed flying as a safe and efficient form of travel, and the air travel industry began to grow by leaps and bounds. Airlines emphasized comfort by hiring stewardesses and advertising "friendly skies," as federal agencies established flight routes and promoted safety. Aircraft manufacturers made bigger and better planes, and airports were expanded from mere shelters to dramatic and exciting structures, best exemplified by architect Eero Saarinen's TWA terminal in New York and his Dulles International Airport in Washington, D.C. With improved aircraft and reduced fares, flying became the way to go short or long distances, and even those who could not afford to fly would gather in or near airports to watch planes take off and land.

Within two decades, air travel had become central to the lives of increasingly mobile Americans, and the airline industry became one of the pillars of the American economy. Flying became as routine as making a phone call, and while dramatic airline disasters periodically reminded travelers of the risks involved, most agreed with the airlines that air travel was one of the safest means of transportation.

—Jessie L. Embry

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## Airplane!

The 1980 film *Airplane!* poked fun at an entire decade of American movie-making and showed movie producers that slapstick films could still be extremely successful at the box office. The movie appeared at the end of a decade that should well have left moviegoers a bit anxious. Disaster and horror films like *The Poseidon Adventure* (1972), *The Towering Inferno* (1974), *Earthquake* (1974), and *Jaws* (1975) schooled viewers in the menaces that lurked in and on the water, high in skyscrapers, and under the earth; and a whole series of *Airport* movies (beginning with *Airport* [1970], followed by sequels *Airport 1975*, *1977*, and *1979*) exploited peoples' fears of being trapped in a metal tube flying high above the earth. *Airplane!* took the fears these movies preyed upon—and the filmmaking gimmicks they employed—and turned them on their head. The result was a movie (and a sequel) rich in humor and dead-on in skewering the pretensions of the serious disaster movie.

The familiar details of air travel in the *Airport* movies became the backdrop for an endless series of spoofs. The actual plot was fairly thin: a plane's pilots become sick and the lone doctor aboard must convince a neurotic ex-fighter pilot to help land the plane. The jokes,

however, were multi-layered (which has led to the movie's attaining a kind of cult status, as fans view the film repeatedly in search of jokes they missed in previous viewings). In one scene, basketball star Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, who plays co-pilot Roger Murdoch, folds himself into the cramped cockpit and tries to ward off the skepticism of a visiting kid who insists that he is a basketball star, while the pilot, Captain Oveur (played with a straight face by Peter Graves), plies the boy with a series of increasingly obscene questions. When the tension created by the plane plummeting toward the earth is at its most intense, writer/directors David Zucker and Jim Abrahams have a nude woman jump in front of the camera. While he prepares to land the plane, Ted Striker (played by Robert Hays), who has been pressed into reluctant duty, confronts his fears and memories of previous flying experiences. Just when his flashbacks become serious, we return to a shot of Hays with fake sweat literally pouring down his face and drenching his clothing. While there is broad physical humor aplenty, some of the film's funniest moments come from the verbal comedy. The dialogue between the crew is filled with word-play—"What's your vector, Victor?" "Over, Oveur," and "Roger, Roger"; every question that can be misunderstood is; and the disembodied voices over the airport loudspeakers begin by offering business-like advice but soon engage in direct, romantic conversation while the airport business proceeds, unaffected. The latter is a fascinating statement about the ability of Americans to tune out such meaningless, background noise.

Earlier slapstick films had focused on the antics of specific characters such as Jerry Lewis or Charlie Chaplin, but *Airplane!* was different. It was a movie lover's movie, for its humor came from its spoofing of a wide range of movies and its skewering of the disaster film genre. It also featured an ensemble cast, which included Leslie Nielsen, Lloyd Bridges, Robert Hays, Julie Hagerty, and Peter Graves, many of whom were not previously known for comedic work. The two *Airplane!* films heralded a revival of the slapstick form, which has included several *Naked Gun* movies, and launched the comedic career of Leslie Nielsen.

—Brian Black

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## Alabama

Country music group Alabama's contribution to country music in the 1980s was one of the most significant milestones on the road to country music's extraordinary rise to prominence in the pop music scene of the 1990s. While various threads of artistic influence ran through country in the 1980s, the most important commercial innovations were the ones that brought it closer to rock and roll—following three decades in which country had often positioned itself as the antithesis of rock and roll, either by holding to traditional instrumentation (fiddles and banjos, de-emphasis on drums) or by moving toward night-club, Las Vegas-style pop music (the Muzak-smooth Nashville sound, the Urban Cowboy fad). Alabama was one of the first major country acts to get its start playing for a college crowd. Most significantly, Alabama was the first pop-styled country "group": the first self-contained unit of singers/musicians/songwriters—along



Randy Owen, the lead singer of Alabama, performs at the 31st Annual Academy of Country Music Awards.

the lines of the Beatles, Rolling Stones, or Beach Boys—to succeed in country music.

Considering that the self-contained group had dominated pop music since the early 1960s, country was late to the table, and it was no accident. Country labels had quite deliberately avoided signing groups, believing that the image of a bunch of young men touring together, smoking marijuana, and smashing up motel rooms would be anathema to the core country audience and the upscale audience that country was trying to cultivate. As Alabama member Jeff Cook put it to Tom Roland, author of *The Billboard Book of Number One Country Hits*, the Nashville establishment felt that "if you were a band, you would have a hit record and then have internal problems and break up."

Alabama natives Randy Owen (1949—), Teddy Gentry (1952—), Jeff Cook (1949—), and drummer Bennett Vartanian formed the band's precursor, a group called Wild Country, in the early 1970s. They moved to the resort community of Myrtle Beach, South Carolina, where an engagement at a local club, the Bowery, extended for eight years. They were a party band, playing marathon sets that sometimes went round the clock. Vartanian left the group in 1976, and the group went through several drummers before settling on transplanted New Englander Mark Herndon (1955—), who had developed a reputation with rock bands around Myrtle Beach.

As the Alabama Band, the group cut some records for small independent labels. A few major labels approached lead singer Owen about signing as a solo act, but he refused to break up the band. Finally, RCA Victor took the chance and signed the group in 1980.

The band's first release, "Tennessee River," hit number one on the country charts, and was followed with two dozen number one hits. During one stretch, Alabama saw twenty-one consecutive releases go to number one, a record that no other act has come close to matching. Alabama won two Grammys and was named Entertainers of the Year three times by the Country Music Association and five times by the Academy of Country Music. In the *People* magazine readers' poll, Alabama three times was named favorite group, any musical style. In 1989, the Academy of Country Music named Alabama Entertainers of the Decade.

Following Alabama's success, pop groups like Exile crossed over to country music, and the self-contained group, from Sawyer Brown to the Kentucky Headhunters to the Mavericks, became a staple of new country.

—Tad Richards

## Alaska-Yukon Exposition (Seattle, 1909)

Held in the University District of Seattle between June 1 and October 16 of 1909, the Alaska-Yukon Exposition attracted more than four million visitors. Housed in a collection of temporary (and a scattering of permanent) structures, the exposition promoted the achievements of American industry and commerce, and comprised a range of displays highlighting agriculture, manufacturing, forestry, and a wide range of other United States businesses. The exposition's principal legacy was its contribution to the development of the University of Washington, adding four permanent buildings and a landscaped campus to an institution which, prior to 1909, had comprised a mere three buildings.

—David Holloway

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## Albert, Marv (1941—)

One of the most distinctive voices in sports broadcasting, Marv Albert prided himself on keeping his own personality subservient to the events he was covering. For most of his three decade career, the dry, sardonic New Yorker managed to hew to that credo. But when a personal scandal rocked his life off its moorings in 1997, the self-effacing Albert found himself the center of attention for all the wrong reasons.

Born Marvin Aufrechtig, Albert attended Syracuse University's highly-regarded broadcasting school. He mentored under legendary New York City sports announcer Marty Glickman and made his initial splash as a radio play-by-play man for the New York Knicks. A generation of New York basketball fans fondly recalls Albert's call of Game Seven of the 1970 NBA (National Basketball Association) Finals, in which an ailing Knick captain Willis Reed valiantly limped onto the court to lead his team to the championship. "Yesssss!"

Albert would bellow whenever a Knicks player sunk an important shot. "And it counts!" he would tack on when a made shot was accompanied by a defensive foul. These calls eventually became his trademarks, prompting a host of copycat signatures from the basketball voices who came after him.

Under Glickman's influence, Albert quickly developed a personal game-calling style that drew upon his New York cynicism. In a deep baritone deadpan, Albert teased and taunted a succession of wacky color commentators. Occasionally he would turn his mockery on himself, in particular for his frenetic work schedule and supposed lack of free time. Albert worked hard to manufacture this image, even titling his autobiography *I'd Love To, But I Have a Game*. This self-made caricature would later come back to haunt Albert when a sex scandal revealed that there was more going on away from the court than anyone could have possibly realized.

In 1979, Albert moved up to the national stage, joining the NBC (National Broadcasting Corporation) network as host of its weekly baseball pre-game show. The announcer's "Albert Achievement Awards," a clip package of wacky sports bloopers that he initially unveiled on local New York newscasts, soon became a periodic feature on NBC's *Late Night With David Letterman*. Like Letterman, Albert occasionally stepped over the line from humorous to nasty. When former Yale University President A. Bartlett Giamatti was named commissioner of major league baseball, Albert japed to St. Louis Cardinal manager Whitey Herzog that there now would be "an opening for you at Yale." "I don't think that's funny, Marv," the dyspeptic Herzog retorted.

Nevertheless, Albert was an enormously well-liked figure within the sports broadcasting community. He appeared comfortable on camera but was known to be painfully shy around people. Sensitive about his ludicrous toupee, Albert once cracked, "As a kid, I made a deal with God. He said, 'Would you like an exciting sports voice or good hair?' And I chose good hair." Bad hair or not, Albert found little standing in his way from a rapid ascent at NBC. He became the network's number two football announcer, and, when the network secured rights to televise the NBA in 1991, the lead voice for its basketball telecasts.

The genial Albert seemed to be on the top of his game. Then, in the spring of 1997, a bombshell erupted. A Virginia woman, Vanessa Perhach, filed charges against Albert for assault and forcible sodomy. She claimed that he had bitten and abused her during a sexual encounter in a Washington-area hotel room. The case went to trial in late summer, with accusations of cross-dressing and bizarre sexual practices serving to sully the sportscaster's spotless reputation. While Perhach's own credibility was destroyed when it came out that she had offered to bribe a potential witness, the public relations damage was done. In order to avoid any more embarrassing revelations, Albert eventually pled guilty to a misdemeanor charge, and received a suspended sentence.

Albert's career appeared to be finished. NBC fired him immediately, and he resigned from his position as New York Knicks play-by-play man rather than face the axe there. Many sports fans declared their unwillingness to watch any telecast of which Marv Albert was a part. Most painful of all, the reclusive Albert became the butt of nightly jokes by a ravenous *Tonight Show* host Jay Leno.

Slowly but surely, however, the humbled broadcaster began to put his life back together. As part of his plea agreement, he agreed to seek professional counseling for his psychosexual problems. He married his fiancée, television sports producer Heather Faulkner, in 1998. By September of that year, Albert was back on the air in New





**Marv Albert**

York, as host of a nightly cable sports highlight show. The MSG Network also announced that Albert would be returning to the airwaves as the radio voice of the Knicks for the 1998-1999 season.

Albert's professional life, it seemed, had come full circle. He appeared nervous and chastened upon his return to the airwaves, but expressed relief that his career had not been stripped from him along with his dignity. To the question of whether a man can face a maelstrom of criminal charges and humiliating sexual rumors and reclaim a position of prominence, Albert's answer would appear to be "Yessssss!"

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Album-Oriented Rock

Radio stations that specialized in rock music recorded during the later 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s were generally labeled Album-Oriented Rock (AOR) stations. The symbiosis between AOR stations and bands such as Deep Purple, Led Zeppelin, and Aerosmith has led many to refer to virtually all 1970s era hard rock bands as AOR as well. When it was first introduced in the late 1960s, the AOR format was only marginally commercial, but by the mid-1970s AOR stations were taking on many of the characteristics of top-40 stations. As the popularity of AOR stations grew, major label record companies exerted increasing influence over AOR playlists around the country, in the process squeezing out competition from independent label competitors. A by-product of this influence peddling was a creeping homogenization of rock music available on radio stations.

The AOR format was happened upon after the Federal Communication Commission (FCC) mandated a change in the way radio stations did their business in 1965. The FCC prohibited stations from

offering the same programming on both AM and FM sides of the dial. This ruling opened the less popular FM side of the dial to a variety of less commercial formats, including jazz and classical. Coincidental with this change in radio programming law was the emergence of the so-called "concept album" among British art rock bands, the Beatles, and Bay Area psychedelic bands. Some of these albums featured songs substantially longer than the three minute time limit traditionally observed by radio station programmers. In areas with massive collegiate populations, especially San Francisco, a few FM stations began playing entire album sides. This approach to radio programming departed significantly from the singles-only AM pop rock format.

In the 1970s, rock album sales accounted for an increasing proportion of record company profits, but the AOR format remained somewhat experimental until technological improvements brought stereophonic capabilities to FM radio. This change attracted top 40 formats to FM and made it far more competitive. As FM rock radio matured, its audience widened and it became apparent to record labels that AOR stations, especially those in large market cities, were effective if not critical marketing media for their products. The growing importance of AOR radio, both to station owners and record companies, worked to narrow the weekly playlists. Station owners, hoping to maintain ratings, copied many top-40 programming strategies and curtailed the number of songs in heavy rotation, keeping many of the obscure bands and esoteric album cuts from ever getting air time.

Record companies sought to boost album sales by manipulating AOR stations' playlist. In order to avoid the recurrence of a 1950s style "payola" scandal, record companies subcontracted the promotion of their records to radio stations via "independent promoters." Through independent promotion, record companies could maintain a facade of legality, even though the means independent promoters employed to secure air time for the labels was clearly outside the bounds of fair access to public airwaves. Not only were station programmers frequently bribed with drugs and money, they were occasionally threatened with bodily harm if they did not comply with the demands of the independent promoters. According to Frederic Dannen, author of *Hit Men*, the secrecy, illegality, and lucrative nature of independent promotion eventually invited the involvement of organized crime syndicates, and the development of a cartel among the leading independent promoters.

In the 1980s, record companies hard hit by the disco crash lost all control over independent promoters. Not only had the costs of independent promotion become an overwhelming burden on the record companies' budgets, they had developed into an inextricable trap. Record companies who refused to pay the exorbitant fees required by members of the promotion cartel were subject to a crippling boycott of their product by stations under the influence of powerful independent promoters.

The effect of independent promotion on AOR formats and the rock music scene in general was a steady narrowing of FM rock fare. Bands on smaller record labels or those with experimental sounds had little chance of ever getting heard on commercial radio. Without some measure of public exposure, rock acts struggled to build audiences. Millions of dollars spent on independent promotion could not ensure increased album sales. There are dozens of examples of records that received heavy air play on FM radio, but failed to sell well at retail, a distinction that earns such records the title of "turntable hit." In the mid-1980s record companies banded together and took steps to reduce their debilitating reliance upon independent promotion.

For better or worse, the AOR format did allow musicians to expand well beyond the strict confines imposed by AM radio. Several important rock anthems of the 1970s, such as Led Zeppelin's "Stairway to Heaven" and Lynyrd Skynyrd's "Freebird," may have had far less success without AOR stations. The influence of AOR programming was not as absolute as it is frequently presupposed. Cynics often fail to recall that several bands, such as the Grateful Dead, Kiss, and later Metallica, managed to build massive audiences and enduring careers without the help of FM radio or independent promotion. The perception that rock music was hopelessly contaminated by crass commercialism drove many fans and musicians to spurn FM rock. This rejection invigorated punk rock and its various offspring, and also encouraged the development of alternative rock programming, especially college radio, which in turn helped propel the careers of bands like R.E.M., Hüsker Dü, and Soundgarden.

—Steve Graves

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## Alda, Alan (1936—)

Although his prolific and extremely successful career evolved from acting on stage to writing, directing, and acting in his own films, Alan Alda will forever be best remembered for his inimitable portrayal of Captain Benjamin Franklin "Hawkeye" Pierce in the award-winning TV comedy series *M\*A\*S\*H*, which ran from 1972 to 1983. The most popular pre-*Seinfeld* series in television history, *M\*A\*S\*H* concerned a Korean War medical unit struggling to maintain their humanity—indeed, their very *sanity*—throughout the duration of the war, by relying on humor in the form of constant wisecracking and elaborate practical jokes. Featuring humor that was often more black than conventional, the show proved an intriguingly anachronistic hit during the optimistic 1980s. Alda's Pierce was its jaded Everyman; a compassionate surgeon known for his skills with a knife and the razor sharp wit of his tongue, Hawkeye Pierce—frequently given to intellectual musings on the dehumanizing nature of war—had only disdain for the simplistic and often empty-headed military rules.

Born Alphonso Joseph D'Abruzzo—the son of popular film actor Robert Alda (*Rhapsody in Blue*)—Alan Alda made his stage debut in summer stock at 16. He attended New York's Fordham University, performed in community theater, appeared both off and on Broadway, and did improvisational work with the Second City troupe in New York. This eventually led to his involvement in television's *That Was the Week that Was*. His performance in the play *Purlie Victorious* led to his film acting debut in the screen adaptation *Gone are the Days* in 1963. Then followed a succession of notable film roles such as *Paper Lion* (1968) and Mike Nichols' *Catch-22* (1970).

Though his fledgling film career was sidelined by *M\*A\*S\*H*, during the course of the show's increasingly successful eleven-year run Alda's popularity resulted in a succession of acting awards,



(From left) Alan Alda with David Ogden Stiers and Jamie Farr in a scene from *M\*A\*S\*H*.

including three Emmy awards, six Golden Globes, and five People's Choice Awards as "Favorite Male Television Performer." Simultaneously, his increasing involvement behind the scenes in the creation of the show led to Alda writing and directing episodes, and, in turn, to receiving awards for these efforts as well. Ultimately, Alan Alda became the only person to be honored with Emmys as an actor, writer and director, totaling 28 nominations in all. He has also won two Writer's Guild of America Awards, three Director's Guild Awards, and six Golden Globes from the Hollywood Foreign Press Association.

While on hiatus from the show, Alda also began leveraging his TV popularity into rejuvenating his film career, appearing in the comedies *Same Time Next Year* (1978, for which he received a Golden Globe nomination) and Neil Simon's *California Suite* (1979). Alda also wrote and starred in the well-received *Seduction of Joe Tynan* (1979) about a senator's corruption by the lure of increasing power, and by the wiles of luminous lawyer Meryl Streep. In 1981, Alda expanded his talents—writing, directing, and starring in *Four Seasons*, which proved a critical and financial hit for the middle-aged set, and spawned a short-lived television series. His three subsequent and post-*M\*A\*S\*H* films as writer/director/star—*Sweet Liberty* (1986), *A New Life* (1988), and *Betsy's Wedding* (1990)—have met with mediocre success, leading Alda to continue accepting acting roles. He has frequently worked for Woody Allen—appearing in *Crimes and*

*Misdemeanors* for which he won the New York Film Critic's Award for best supporting actor, *Manhattan Murder Mystery*, and *Everyone Says I Love You*. Alda even good-naturedly accepted the Razzie Award for "Worst Supporting Actor" for his work in the bomb *Whispers in the Dark* (1992). Alda has also continued to make television and stage appearances; his role in Neil Simon's *Jake's Women* led to a Tony Nomination (and the starring role in the subsequent television adaptation), and the recent *Art*, in which Alda starred on Broadway, won the Tony for Best New Play in 1998.

However, in the late 1990s, Alda also made a transition into unexpected territory as host of the PBS series, *Scientific American Frontiers*, which afforded him the opportunity both to travel the world and to indulge his obsession with the sciences, as he interviews world-renowned scientists from various fields.

An ardent and long-married (to photographer Arlene Weiss) family man, Alda has also been a staunch supporter of feminist causes, campaigning extensively for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, which led to his 1976 appointment by Gerald Ford to the National Commission for the Observance of International Women's Year. It was critic Janet Maslin, in her 1988 *New York Times* review of Alda's *A New Life*, who seemed to best summarize Alda's appeal to society: "Alan Alda is an actor, a film maker, and a person, of course, but he's also a state of mind. He's the urge, when one is riding in a

gondola, to get up and start singing with the gondolier. He's the impulse to talk over an important personal problem with an entire roomful of concerned friends. He's the determination to keep looking up, no matter how many pigeons may be flying overhead."

—Rick Moody

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## Ali, Muhammad (1942—)

In every generation there emerges a public figure who manages to dramatize the tensions, the aspirations, even the spirit of the epoch, and by so doing, define that era for posterity. Thus F. Scott Fitzgerald, the personification of the heady mixture of genius and new social possibilities played out in a very public manner, defined the Roaring Twenties. It is difficult to define how this process occurs, but when it happens it becomes obvious how ineluctably right the person is, how fated they are to play out the drama of their age; it appears that their ascendance is fated, so necessary that were the figure not existing, he or she would have to be created. Such was the impact of Muhammad Ali. Ali was a new kind of athlete, utterly divorced from the rags-to-riches saga of previous black boxers. By the close of the 1960s, Ali had become one of the most celebrated men on the planet, a hero in Africa, the third world, and in the ghettos of black America. Placing his convictions before his career, Ali became the heavyweight boxing champion of the world, all the while acting as an ambassador for the emerging black power movement. Gifted, idiosyncratic, anomalous—we may never see the likes of him again.

Unlike previous black champions—Joe Louis, Floyd Patterson, Sonny Liston—Ali was anomalous in that he was not a product of poverty and had no dreadful past from which he sought to escape. Born Cassius Clay, in the border South city of Louisville, Kentucky, he was a child of the black middle class. His father, Cassius Clay, Sr., a loquacious man with a propensity for Marcus Garvey-inspired rhetoric, was a frustrated artist who painted signs for a living. For a black man of the time, he was one step removed from the smattering of black professionals who occupied the upper strata of black society. Although Louisville was a segregated city, and young Cassius suffered the slights of Jim Crow, Louisville was not the deep South. Still, the presence of inequity gnawed at the young boy. Behind his personal drive there would always exist the conviction that whatever status he attained would be used to uplift his race.

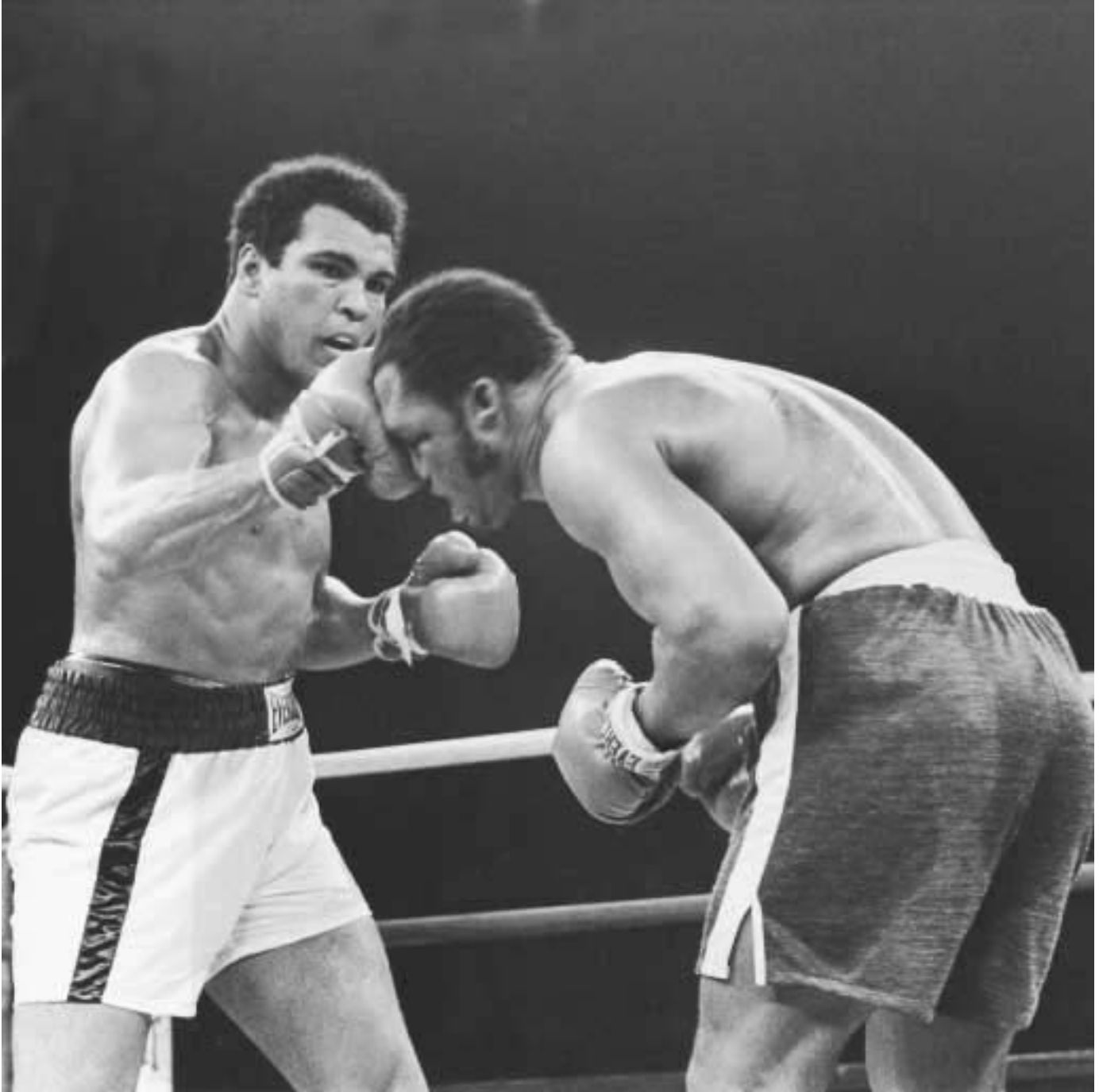
If it wasn't for the fact that it is true, the story of Ali's introduction to boxing would seem apocryphal. At the tender age of twelve, Clay was the victim of a petty crime: the theft of his new Schwinn bicycle from outside of a convention center. Furious at the loss, Cassius was directed to the basement of the building where he was told a police officer, one Joe Martin, could be found. Martin, a lesser figure in the annals of gym-philosophers, ran a boxing program for the young, and in his spare time produced a show, *Tomorrow's*

*Champions*, for a local TV station. Martin waited out Clay's threats of what he would do when he found the thief, suggesting the best way to prepare for the impending showdown was to come back to the gym. Clay returned the very next day, and soon the sport became an obsession. While still in his teens he trained like a professional athlete. Even at this tender age Clay possessed a considerable ego, and the mouth to broadcast his convictions. Exulting after his first amateur bout, won in a three round decision, he ecstatically danced around the ring, berating the crowd with claims to his superiority.

From the beginning Martin could see Clay's potential. He was quick on his feet with eyes that never left his opponent, always appraising, searching for an opening. And he was cool under pressure, never letting his emotions carry him away. Never a particularly apt student (he would always have difficulty reading), Clay nonetheless possessed an intuitive genius that expressed itself in his unique boxing style and a flair for promotion. He was already composing the poems that were to become his trademark, celebrating his imminent victory and predicting the round in which his opponent would fall in rhyming couplets. And even at this stage he was attracting vociferous crowds eager to see his notorious lip get buttoned. Clay did not care. Intuitively, he had grasped the essential component of boxing showmanship: *schadenfreude*. After turning pro, Clay would pay a visit to professional wrestler Gorgeous George, a former football player with long, blond tresses and a knack for narcissistic posturing. "A lot of people will pay to see someone shut your mouth," George explained to the young boxer. In the ensuing years, Clay would use parts of George's schtick verbatim, but it was mere refinement to a well-developed sensibility.

Moving up the ranks of amateur boxing, Clay triumphed at the 1960 Rome Olympics, besting his opponents with ease and winning the gold medal in a bout against a Polish coffeehouse manager. Of his Olympic performance A.J. Liebling, boxing aficionado and *New Yorker* magazine scribe, wrote he had "a skittering style, like a pebble scaled over water." Liebling found the agile boxer's style "attractive, but not probative." He could not fathom a fighter who depended so completely on his legs, on his speed and quickness; one who presumed that taking a punch was not a prerequisite to the sport. Other writers, too, took umbrage with Clay's idiosyncratic style, accustomed to heavyweights who waded into their opponents and kept punching until they had reduced their opponents to jelly. But if there was a common denominator in the coverage of Clay's early career, it was a uniform underestimation of his tactical skills. The common assumption was that any fighter with such a big mouth had to be hiding something. "Clay, in fact, was the latest showman in the great American tradition of narcissistic self-promotion," writes David Remnick in his chronicle of Ali's early career, *King of the World*. "A descendant of Davy Crockett and Buffalo Bill by way of the dozens." By the time he had positioned himself for a shot at the title against Sonny Liston, a powerful slugger, and in many ways Clay's antithesis, Clay had refined his provocations to the level of psychological warfare.

Sonny Liston was a street-brawler, a convicted felon with mob affiliations both in and out of the ring (even after beginning his professional career, Liston would work as a strong-arm man on occasion). In his first title fight against Floyd Patterson, Liston had found himself reluctantly playing the role of the heavy, the jungle beast to Patterson's civil rights Negro (the black white hope, as he was called). He beat Patterson like a gong, twice, ending both fights in the second round, and causing much distress to the arbiters of public morality. After winning the championship, Liston had tried to reform



**Muhammad Ali (left) fighting Joe Frazier.**

his tarnished image, found the media unsympathetic, and subsided into a life of boozing and seedy amusement interrupted occasionally by a challenge to his title.

It was against this backdrop of racial posturing that Clay fought his first championship bout against Liston in 1964. A seven-to-one underdog, no one expected much of the brash, young fighter who had done little to engender sympathy with the sporting press (not especially cordial to begin with, the more conservative among them were already miffed by the presence of Malcolm X in Clay's entourage). His Louisville backers merely hoped their investment would exit the

ring without permanent damage. To unsettle his opponent and heighten interest in the bout, Clay launched a program of psychological warfare. Clay and his entourage appeared at Liston's Denver home early one morning, making a scene on his front lawn until the police escorted them from the premises. When Liston arrived in Miami to begin training, Clay met him airport, where he tried to pick a fight. He would periodically show up at Liston's rented home and hold court on his front lawn. Clay saved his most outrageous performance for the weigh-in, bugging his eyes out and shouting imprecations. "Years later, when this sort of hysteria was understood as a standing joke, the

writers merely rolled their eyes,” writes Remnick, “but no one had ever seen anything like this before. . . . Traditionally, anything but the most stoic behavior meant that a fighter was terrified, which was precisely what Clay wanted Liston to believe.”

An astute judge of character, Clay suspected Liston would train lightly, so sure was he of Clay’s unbalanced condition, but Clay himself was in top shape. His game-plan was to tire out Liston in the first rounds, keeping him moving and avoiding his fearsome left until he could dispatch him. “Round eight to prove I’m great!” he shouted at the weigh-in. At the sparsely attended match, Liston called it quits after the sixth round. Incapable or unwilling to take more abuse, he ended the fight from his stool. “Eat your words!” Clay shouted to the assembled press, and a new era in boxing had begun.

If Clay’s white backers, the cream of Louisville society who had bankrolled him for four years—and it should be mentioned, saved him from a career of servitude to organized crime—thought Clay, having gained the championship, would then settle into the traditional champion’s role—public appearances at shopping malls, charity events, and so forth—they were sorely mistaken. Immediately following the fight, Clay publicly proclaimed his allegiance to Elijah Muhammad’s Nation of Islam, a sect that had caused controversy for its segregationist beliefs and bizarre theology. In a break with the sect’s normative habit of substituting X for their “slave” surname, the religious leader summarily bestowed upon Clay the name Muhammad Ali; loosely translated as meaning a cousin of the prophet who is deserving of great praise. Now his backers not only had a fighter who preferred visiting in the ghetto to meeting celebrities, but also one with a controversial religious affiliation.

In the press, the backlash was immediate and vindictive. True, writers such as Norman Mailer, Gay Talese, and Tom Wolfe were sympathetic, but the majority scorned him, disparaged him, taking his very existence as an affront. For Ali, the championship was a bully pulpit to launch a spirited attack against “the white power structure.” In time, he would drop the more arcane elements of Black Muslim belief (like the African mother-ship circling the earth waiting for the final confrontation between the races), but he would never lose his Muslim faith, merely temper it with his customary humor and lassitude. In the 1960s, he might ape Muhammad’s racist screeds to reporters, but his orthodoxy was such that it allowed Ali to retain the white men in his corner, or his Jewish accountant, who Ali jokingly referred to as “my Jewish brain.”

No one reacted so vehemently to Ali’s public radicalism as Floyd Patterson. After Ali destroyed Liston in the first round of their rematch, Patterson took it as his personal mission to vanquish Ali, to return the crown to the fold of the NAACP, celebrity-endorsed, good Negroes of America and out of the hateful clutches of this Black Muslim upstart. He inveighed against Ali at every opportunity, attacking him in print in a series of articles in *Sports Illustrated* in which he staked his claim to the moral high ground. Ali called Patterson an Uncle Tom, and visited his training camp with a bag of carrots for “The Rabbit.” The fight, already something of a grudge match, assumed all the solemnity of a theological debate.

For Patterson, the match itself was a humiliation. Ali was not content to defeat Patterson: he was determined to humiliate him utterly, and in so doing, his temperate integrationist stance. Ali danced in circles around Patterson, taunting him unmercifully, and then he drew out the match, keeping Patterson on his feet for twelve rounds before the referee finally intervened.

Three months after the Patterson fight, Ali took on an opponent not so easily disposed of: the Federal Government. It began with a draft notice, eliciting from Ali the oft quoted remark: “I ain’t got no quarrel with them Vietcong.” When he scored miserably on an aptitude test—twice and to his great embarrassment; he told reporters: “I said I was the greatest, not the smartest”—Washington changed the law, so Ali alleged, solely in order to draft him. He refused the draft as a conscientious objector, and was summarily stripped of his title and banished from the ring. Many writers speak of this period—from 1967 to 1970—as Ali’s period of exile. It was an exodus from the ring, true, but Ali was hardly out of sight; instead, he was touring the country to speak at Nation of Islam rallies and college campuses and, always, in the black neighborhoods. Ali’s refusal of the draft polarized the country. Scorn was his due in the press, hate-mail filled his mail box, but on the streets and in the colleges he became a hero.

Three years later, in 1970, a Supreme Court decision overturned the adjudication of his draft status, heralding Ali’s return to boxing. But he had lost a valuable three years, possibly the prime of his boxing career. His detractors, sure that age had diminished Ali’s blinding speed, were quick to write him off, but once again they had underestimated his talent. It was true that three years of more or less enforced indolence had slowed Ali down, but his tactical brilliance was unimpaired. And he had learned something that would ultimately prove disastrous to his health: he could take a punch. While his great fights of the 1970s lacked the ideological drama of the bouts of the previous decade, they were in some ways a far greater testament to Ali the boxer, who, divested of his youth, had to resort to winning fights by strategy and cunning.

Though Ali lost his first post-exile fight to Joe Frazier (who had attained the championship in Ali’s absence), many considered it to be the finest fight of his career, and the first in which he truly showed “heart.” Frazier was a good fighter, perhaps the best Ali had yet to fight, and Ali boxed gamely for fifteen rounds, losing in the fifteenth round when a vicious hook felled him (though he recovered sufficiently to end the fight on his feet). In the rematch, Ali beat Frazier in a fight that left the former champion (who had since lost his title to George Foreman) incapacitated after fourteen punishing rounds.

The victory cleared the way for a championship bout with Foreman, a massive boxer who, like Liston, possessed a sullen mien and a prison record. The 1974 fight, dubbed the “Rumble in the Jungle” after its location in Kinshasha, capitol city of Zaire, would prove his most dramatic, memorialized in an Academy Award-winning documentary, *When We Were Kings* (1996). What sort of physical alchemy could Ali, now 32, resort to to overcome Foreman, a boxer six years his junior? True, Foreman was a bruiser, a street-fighter like Liston. True, Ali knew how to handle such a man, but in terms of power and endurance he was outclassed. To compensate, he initiated the sort of verbal taunting used to such great affect on Liston while devising a plan to neutralize his young opponent’s physical advantages: the much-vaunted rope-a-dope defense, which he would later claim was a spur-of-the-moment tactic. For the first rounds of the fight, Ali literally let Forman punch himself to exhaustion, leaning far back in the ropes to deprive Foreman of the opportunity to sneak through his defenses. By the sixth round, Foreman was visibly slowing: in the eighth he was felled with a stunning combination. Ali had once again proved his mastery, and while Foreman slunk back to America, the next morning found Ali in the streets of Kinshasha, glad-handing with the fascinated populace.

Ali would go on to fight some brilliant bouts; a rematch with Frazier which he lost, and at the age of 36, a return to win the championship for the third time from the gangly light-heavyweight, Leon Spinks. But he had continued to fight long after it was prudent to do so, firing his long-time physician, Ferdie Pacheco, after Pacheco had urged him to retire. The result: a career ending in ignominy, as he was unmercifully dissected by Larry Holmes in 1980, and by Trevor Berbick the following year in what would be his last professional bout. The aftermath was a slow slide into debilitating “Parkinsonianism,” which robbed Ali of the things he had treasured most: his fluid, bewitching patter and his expressiveness, replaced by tortured speech and a face with all the expressive possibilities of a mask.

It is a measure of the man—as well as the symbiotic relationship Ali had established between himself and his public—that his infirmities did not lead to retirement from public life. A born extrovert, Ali had always been the most public of public figures, popping up unexpectedly in the worst urban blight, effusing about what he would do to improve his people’s lot. This one appetite has not been diminished by age. In the late 1980s and 1990s, Ali roamed the world, making paid appearances. Though the accumulated wealth of his career was largely eaten up, it is clear that Ali has not continued his public life out of sheer economic need. Much of the money he makes by signing autographed photos he donates to charity, and those who know him best claim Ali suffers when out of the spotlight.

Ali was always like catnip to writers. Writing about him was no mere exercise in superlatives, it provided an opportunity to grapple with the *zeitgeist*. Whether fully cognizant of the fact or not, Ali was like a metal house bringing down the lightning. He embodied the tumult and excitement of the 1960s, and there is no more fitting symbol for the era than this man who broke all the rules, refusing to be cowed or silenced, and did it all with style. His detractors always thought him a fraud, a peripatetic grandstander devoid of reason, if not rhyme. But they failed to understand Ali’s appeal. For what his fans sensed early on was that even at the height of his buffoonery, his egotistical boasting, and his strident radicalism, the man was more than the measure of his talents, he was *genuine*. His love of his people was never a passing fad, and while the years stole his health, his ease of movement, and the banter he had used to such great effect, forcing him to resort to prestidigitation to compensate for the silencing of his marvelous mouth, his integrity remained beyond reproach. In the final judgment, Ali needed the crowds as much as they at one time needed him, not for mere validation, but because they each saw in the other the best in themselves.

—Michael Baers

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## Alice

Sitcom television in the 1970s featured a disproportionate number of liberated women, divorced or widowed, with or without children, making it on their own. CBS’ blue (and pink) collar *Alice* was no exception, but for the fact of its tremendous success. *Alice* was one of the top 10 shows in most of its nine years on the air.

*Alice* was based on the 1975 film *Alice Doesn’t Live Here Anymore*, which starred Academy Award winner Ellen Burstyn in the title role. The next year, CBS aired *Alice*, starring Linda Lavin as Alice Hyatt, the recent widow and aspiring singer from New Jersey who moves to Phoenix with her precocious 12-year-old son Tommy (Philip McKeon) to start a new life. While looking for singing work, Alice takes a “temporary” job (which lasted from 1976 to 1985) as a waitress at Mel’s Diner, the local truck stop owned and operated by Mel Sharples (Vic Tayback, reprising his role from the movie). Mel was gruff, stingy, and famous for his chili. The other waitresses at the diner, at least at first, were Flo (Polly Holliday) and Vera (Beth Howland). Flo was experienced, slightly crude, outspoken and lusty, and became famous for her retort “Kiss my grits!,” which could be found on t-shirts throughout the late 1970s. Vera was flighty and none-too-bright; Mel liked to call her “Dingie.” The truck stop drew a fraternity of regulars, including Dave “Reuben Kinkaid” Madden.

Diane Ladd had played Flo in the movie, and when Holliday’s Flo was spun off in 1980 (in the unsuccessful *Flo*, wherein the titular waitress moves to Houston to open her own restaurant), Ladd joined the sitcom’s cast as Belle, a Mississippian who wrote country-western songs and lived near Alice and Tommy in the Phoenix Palms apartment complex. Belle was sort of a Flo clone; in fact, the only difference was the accent and the lack of catch phrase. Belle left after one year, and was replaced by Jolene (Celia Weston), yet another Southern waitress. In 1982, Mel’s pushy mother Carrie (Martha “Bigmouth” Raye) joined and almost took over the diner. The fall of 1983 brought love to the hapless Vera, who, after a whirlwind courtship, married cop Elliot Novak (Charles Levin). The following fall Alice got a steady boyfriend, Nicholas Stone (Michael Durrell). Toward the end, things did get a little wacky, as is common for long-lasting shows; in one late episode, Mel purchases a robot to replace the waitresses.

In the last original episode of the series, Mel sold the diner, and despite his reputation for cheapness, gave each of his waitresses a \$5000 bonus. Jolene was planning to quit and open a beauty shop anyway, Vera was pregnant, and Alice was moving to Nashville to sing with a band, finally. But viewers did get to hear Lavin sing every week. She over-enunciated the theme song to *Alice*, “There’s a New Girl in Town,” written by Alan and Marilyn Bergman and David Shire.

Alice Hyatt was a no-nonsense, tough survivor, and her portrayer spoke out for equal opportunity for women. Lavin won Golden Globes in 1979 and 1980 and was one of the highest paid women on television, making \$85,000 an episode and sending a palpable message to women. The National Commission on Working Women cited



Linda Lavin (left) and Polly Holliday in a scene from the television show *Alice*.

Alice as “the ultimate working woman”; its annual award is now called the “Alice.”

—Karen Lurie

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## *Alien*

Despite the success of Stanley Kubrick’s *2001: A Space Odyssey* in 1968, science fiction films were often viewed as juvenile and

escapist. Much of that changed in the late 1970s and the 1980s thanks to a new wave of films which challenged the notions of science fiction film, led by *Alien*, directed by Ridley Scott in 1979. The film was a critical and commercial success, garnering several awards including an Academy award nomination for Best Art Direction, an Oscar for Best Visual Effects, a Saturn Award from the Academy of Science Fiction, Horror, and Fantasy Films for Best Science Fiction Film, a Golden Globe nomination for Best Original Score, and a prestigious Hugo Award for Best Dramatic Presentation. Its adult sensibilities were enhanced by a stellar cast which included Tom Skerrit, Sigourney Weaver, Yaphet Kotto, John Hurt, Veronica Cartwright, and Harry Dean Stanton.

Inspired by *It*, *The Terror From Beyond Space*, *Alien* deftly combined the genres of horror and science fiction to create a thoroughly chilling and suspenseful drama. The slogan used to market the film aptly describes the film’s effect: “In space, no one can hear you scream.” The storyline involved the crew of the *Nostromo*, an interplanetary cargo ship. They answer the distress call of an alien vessel, only to discover a derelict ship with no life forms. At least that



is what they think, until further investigation reveals a number of large eggs. One “hatches” and the emergent life form attaches itself to a crew member. In an effort to save the man’s life, they bring him back aboard their ship, where the creature escapes, grows at an accelerated rate, and continues through the rest of the film hunting the humans one by one. The film is often noted for its progressive politics. The film presented a racially mixed crew, with well-drawn class distinctions. The members of the upper echelon, represented by the science officer Ash, are cold and literally not-human (he is an artificial life form). It is later revealed in the story that the crew is put at risk purposely for the benefit of “the company,” who wants to secure the alien life form for profit ventures. One of the most discussed aspects of the film was the prominence of the female characters, notably that of Ripley, played by Weaver. The film reflects changing gender roles in the culture for it posits Ripley as the hero of the film. She is intelligent, resourceful, and courageous, managing to save herself and destroy the creature.

The success of the film spawned three sequels, which as Thomas Doherty describes, were not so much sequels as extensions, for they continued the original storyline, concentrating on its aftermath. James Cameron, straight off the success of the box-office action film *The Terminator*, directed the second installment, *Aliens*, released in 1986. He continued the Alien tradition of genre blending by adding to the horror and science fiction elements that of the war film and action adventure. Unlike the first film which utilized a slow, creeping pace to enhance suspense, *Aliens* makes use of fast pacing and jumpcuts to enhance tension. Here, Ripley, the only expert on the alien species, volunteers to assist a marine unit assigned to rescue colonists from a planet overrun by the creatures. Again, she proves herself, eventually resting command from the incompetent lieutenant who leads them. She survives the second installment to return in *Alien 3*, directed by David Fincher in 1992. *Alien Resurrection* (*Alien 4*), directed by Jean-Pierre Juenet, was released in 1997.

—Frances Gateward

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## Alka Seltzer

Alka Seltzer, which bubbles when placed in water, is an over the counter medication containing aspirin, heat-treated sodium bi carbonate, and sodium citrate. Originally created in 1931, it was mistakenly and popularly used to treat hangovers. The product has had a variety of well-known commercial advertisements. The first one introduced the character “Speedy” Alka Seltzer, who was used in 200 commercials between 1954-1964. The other two well received advertisements include a jingle, “Plop, Plop, Fizz, Fizz,” and a slogan, “I can’t believe I ate the whole thing”; both were used in the 1970s and 1980s. By the late 1990s, the medicine was still popular enough to be found on the shelves of various retail stores.

—S. Naomi Finkelstein

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Sigourney Weaver and the “Alien” in *Alien 3*.

## *All About Eve*

A brilliantly cynical backstage look at life in the theatre, *All About Eve* is a sophisticated movie gem that has become a cult classic since its debut in 1950. With a sparkingly witty script written and directed by Joseph Mankiewicz, *All About Eve* hinges on a consummate Bette Davis performance. Playing aging Broadway star Margo Channing, Davis is perfect as the vain, vulnerable, and vicious older actress, while delivering such oft-quoted epigrams as “Fasten your seat belts, it’s going to be a bumpy night.” When aspiring young actress Eve Harrington, played by Anne Baxter, conspires to take over both Margo Channing’s part and her man, an all-out battle ensues between the two women. Co-starring George Sanders, Celeste Holm, Thelma Ritter, and featuring a very young Marilyn Monroe, *All About Eve* won six Oscars, including Best Picture and Best Director. *All About Eve* is the cinematic epitome of Hollywood wit and sophistication.

—Victoria Price

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## *All in the Family*

*All in the Family*, with fellow CBS series *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* and *M\*A\*S\*H*, redefined the American situation comedy in the early 1970s. Based on the hit British show *Till Death Us Do Part*, *All in the Family* introduced social realism and controversy, conveyed in frank language, to the American sitcom while retaining the genre’s core domestic family and revisiting its early blue-collar milieu. That generic reconstruction proved to be as popular as it was innovative: It was number one in the Nielsen ratings for its first five full years on the air and ranked out of the Top 20 only once in its 12-year broadcast life. At the same time, it created a long and occasionally vituperative discussion over the propriety of racism, sexism, religious bias, and politics as the situation of a half-hour comedy.

*All in the Family* was the creation of writer/producer Norman Lear, who purchased the rights to *Till Death Us Do Part* in 1968 after reading of the turmoil the show had provoked in its homeland. Citing the British comedy’s attention to major social issues such as class and race and to internal “generation gap” family conflicts, Lear and his Tandem production company developed two pilot remakes, *Justice for All* and *Those Were the Days*, in 1968-69 for ABC. Concerned about audience tests showing a negative reaction to protagonist Archie Justice, ABC rejected both pilots. Lear’s agents shipped the second pilot to CBS, which was about to reconfigure its schedule to appeal to a younger, more urban demographic. Though sharing

ABC’s concerns about the coarseness of renamed paterfamilias Archie Bunker, CBS programmers were enthusiastic about Lear’s show, now called *All in the Family*, and scheduled its debut for January 12, 1971.

The first episode of *All in the Family* introduced audiences to loudmouth loading-dock worker Archie Bunker (played by Carroll O’Connor), his sweetly dim wife Edith (Jean Stapleton), their rebellious daughter Gloria (Sally Struthers), and her scruffy radical husband Michael Stivic (Rob Reiner), all of whom shared the Bunker domicile at 704 Hauser Street in Queens. After an opening that suggested a sexual interlude between Michael and Gloria far in excess of what sitcoms had previously offered, the audience heard Archie’s rants about race (“If your spics and your spades want their rightful piece of the American dream, let them get out there and work for it!”), religion (“Feinstein, Feinberg—it all comes to the same thing and I know that tribe!”), ethnicity (“What do you know about it, you dumb Polack?”) and the children’s politics (“I knew we had a couple of pinkos in this house, but I didn’t know we had atheists!”). Michael gave back as good as he got, Gloria supported her husband, and Edith forebore the tirades from both sides with a good heart and a calm, if occasionally stupefied, demeanor in what quickly came to be the show’s weekly formula of comedic conflict.

Immediate critical reaction to all of this ranged from wild praise to apocalyptic denunciation, with little in between. Popular reaction, however, was noncommittal at first. The show’s initial ratings were low, and CBS withheld its verdict until late in the season, when slowly rising Nielsen numbers convinced the network to renew it. Summer reruns of the series, along with two Emmys, exponentially increased viewership; by the beginning of the 1971-72 season, *All in the Family* was the most popular show in America. In addition to his “pinko” daughter and son-in-law, Archie’s equally opinionated black neighbor George Jefferson, his wife’s leftist family, his ethnically diverse workplace and his all-too-liberal church became fodder for his conservative cannon. Household saint Edith was herself frequently in the line of Archie’s fire, with his repeated imprecation “Stifle yourself, you dingbat!” becoming a national catch phrase. The social worth of the Bunkers’ battles became the focus of discussions and commentary in forums ranging from *TV Guide* to *The New Yorker* to *Ebony*, where Archie Bunker was the first white man to occupy the cover. Social scientists and communication scholars joined the debate with empirical studies that alternately proved and disproved that *All in the Family*’s treatment of race, class, and bigotry had a malign effect on the show’s viewers and American society.

As the controversy over *All in the Family* raged throughout the 1970s, the series itself went through numerous changes. Michael and Gloria had a son and moved out, first to the Jeffersons’ vacated house next door and then to California. Archie, after a long layoff, left his job on the loading dock and purchased his longtime neighborhood watering hole. And Edith, whose menopause, phlebitis, and attempted rape had been the subjects of various episodes, died of a stroke. With her passing, *All in the Family* in the fall of 1979 took on the new title, *Archie Bunker’s Place*. Edith’s niece Stephanie (Danielle Brisebois), who had moved in with the Bunkers after the Stivics left Queens, kept a modicum of “family” in the show; with Archie’s bar and his cronies there now the focus, however, *Archie Bunker’s Place*, which ran through 1983 under that title, addressed character much more than the social issues and generational bickering that had defined the original.



(From left) Sally Struthers, Rob Reiner, Jean Stapleton, and Carroll O'Connor in a scene from *All in the Family*.

Time has been less kind to *All in the Family* than to its fellow 1970s CBS sitcom originals. Its social realism, like that of Depression-era dramas, is so rooted in its age and presented so broadly that it translates to other places and eras far less successfully than the character-driven *MTM* and the early *M\*A\*S\*H*. Its most lasting breakthrough in content was not a greater concern with political and social issues but a growing obsession with sex as a verbal and visual source of humor. Even Lear's resurrection of three-camera live videotaping, a standard of early television variety shows, which added speed and intensity to the bristling wit of the early episodes, looked cheap and tired by the end of the series. Nonetheless, at its best, *All in the Family* used sharp writing and strong acting to bring a "real" world the genre had never before countenanced into the American situation comedy. If its own legacy is disappointing, the disappointment may speak as much to the world it represented as it does the show itself.

—Jeffrey S. Miller

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## *All My Children*

From its January 5, 1970, debut, soap opera *All My Children*, with its emphasis on young love and such topical issues as abortion, the Vietnam War, and the environment, attracted college students in unusually high numbers, suddenly expanding the traditional market and changing the focus of the genre forever. The structure of the program has been the traditional battling families concept with the wealthy, dysfunctional Tyler family of Pine Valley pitted against the morally upright but decidedly middle-class Martins. While the stories are mainly romantic and triangular, what makes the show unique is its outright celebration of young lovers and their loves.

Chuck Tyler and Phil Brent were teenagers when their rivalry for the affections of Tara Martin split apart their friendship and pitted the Martins against the Tylers. This conflict drove the series for many years until it was supplanted in 1980 by a romance between Greg Nelson and Jenny Gardner, which was beset by interference from his controlling mother; a devious young flame, Liza; and ultimately Greg's own paralysis. This was followed in succeeding years by a parade of almost unbelievable characters who, in their flamboyance and eccentricity, overcame some rather formulaic and often saccharine story lines. Among them was the matriarch Phoebe Tyler who, in her obsession with social propriety, bullied her family into almost hypocritical submission as they sought to achieve their fantasies out of sight of her all-observing eyes. Another was the gum-chewing Opal Gardner, Jenny's meddling mother. Despite being little more than caricatures rather than characters, they provided the audience with welcome comic relief from the earnestness of the show's young lovers and the stability of its tent-pole characters.

The show's most famous character is the beautiful, spoiled, and vindictive Erica Kane, played with an almost vampy flourish by soap queen Susan Lucci (perennially nominated for an Emmy but, as of the late 1990s, holding the record for most nominations without a win). Erica represents the little, lost, daddy's girl who wants nothing more than her father's love and will stop at nothing to achieve at least some facsimile of it. Although she steamrolls men in her quest for love, she has remained sympathetic even as she wooed and divorced three husbands and a succession of lovers in a reckless attempt to fill the void left by her father's absence and neglect. Much of this is due to Lucci's remarkable portrayal of Erica's inherent vulnerability and story lines that have dealt with rape, abortion, substance abuse, and motherhood. Yet, despite her increasing maturity as a character, Erica has remained compulsively destructive over the years, not only destroying her own happiness but the lives of all of those who come in contact with her.

Much of *All My Children's* success can be attributed to its consistently entertaining and intelligent characterizations and its penchant for presenting a mix of styles with something calculated to please almost everyone. Although this may be somewhat emotionally unsettling within the context of its mingled story lines, it does reflect life as it is, which is anything but neat and tidy. Much of the credit for the show's remarkable constancy over its three-decade run is the fact that it has been almost entirely written by only two head writers—Agnes Nixon and Wisner Washam—and kept many of its original actors, including Lucci, Ruth Warrick (Phoebe), Mary Fickett (Ruth Brent) and Ray MacDonnell (Dr. Joseph Martin).

—Sandra Garcia-Myers

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## *All Quiet on the Western Front*

One of the greatest pacifist statements ever to reach the screen, *All Quiet on the Western Front* follows a group of German youths from their patriotic fervor at the start of World War I in 1914, to the death of the last of their number in 1918. Based on Erich Maria Remarque's like-titled novel, *All Quiet* downplays the political issues that led to World War I and dwells instead on the folly and horror of war in general. Filmed at a cost of \$1.2 million and populated with 2,000 extras, many of them war veterans, *All Quiet* garnered widespread critical acclaim and Academy Awards for Best Picture and Best Director (Lewis Milestone). It also made a star of Lew Ayres, a previously unknown 20 year-old who played Remarque's autobiographical figure of Paul Baumer. A 1990 addition to the National Film Registry, *All Quiet* remains a timely and powerful indictment of war.

—Martin F. Norden

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## Allen, Steve (1921—)

As an actor, talk show host, game show panelist, musician, composer, author, and social commentator, Steve Allen helped define the role of television personality in the early days of the medium. No less a personage than Noel Coward dubbed Allen "the most talented man in America." An encyclopedic knowledge of a variety of subjects combined with a remarkable ability to ad-lib has made him a distinctive presence on American TV sets since the 1950s.

Stephen Valentine Patrick William Allen was born in New York City on December 26, 1921 to vaudeville performers Billy Allen and Belle Montrose. Allen grew up on the vaudeville circuit, attending over a dozen schools in his childhood even as he learned the essence of performing virtually through osmosis. He began his professional career as a disk jockey in 1942 while attending the University of Arizona, and worked in West Coast radio throughout the decade. His first regular TV work was as host of *Songs for Sale* on NBC, beginning in 1951.

In September 1954, Allen was chosen to host NBC's *The Tonight Show*. The brainchild of NBC executive Pat Weaver, *The Tonight Show* was developed as a late-night version of the network's *Today Show*, a morning news and information series. Allen confidently took television to new vistas—outside, for example, where a



Steve Allen

uniformed Allen would randomly stop cars on Manhattan highways. Allen would frequently make elaborate prank phone calls on the air, or read the nonsensical rock lyrics of the era (“Sh-Boom,” “Tutti Frutti”) in a dramatic setting. Allen’s potpourri of guests ranged from Lincoln biographer Carl Sandburg to beat comic Lenny Bruce. Allen even devoted broadcasts to discussions of serious subjects, including organized crime.

After two years on late night television, Allen shifted to a Sunday night variety series on NBC, opposite the then-reigning *Ed Sullivan Show* on CBS. Allen and Sullivan fiercely competed to land top guests. In his most memorable coup, Allen brought Elvis Presley on his show first, where the 21-year-old rock star sang “Hound Dog” to an actual basset hound. Allen’s NBC show lasted until 1960.

The group of comedic sidekicks Allen introduced to a national audience included Tom Poston, Don Knotts, Louis Nye (whose confident greeting, “Hi-ho, Steverino,” became Allen’s nickname), Don Adams, Bill Dana, and Pat Harrington, Jr. His *Tonight Show* announcer, Gene Rayburn, became a popular game show host in the 1970s. Allan Sherman, who would later achieve Top Ten status with such song parodies as “Hello Muddah, Hello Faddah,” originally produced Allen’s 1960s syndicated talk show.

In public and private, Allen exhibited one of the quickest wits in show business. When told that politician Barry Goldwater was half-Jewish, Allen replied, “Too bad it’s not the top half.” Addressing a drug rehabilitation clinic, Allen said he hoped his presence would give “a real shot in the arm” to the organization. As a panelist on the *What’s My Line?* game show, Allen’s question (used to identify a

product manufactured or used by the contestant), “Is it bigger than a breadbox?” entered the national language.

Allen’s irreverent demeanor was a direct influence upon David Letterman; Letterman acknowledged watching Allen’s 1960s television work while a teenager, and many of Allen’s on-air stunts (wearing a suit made of tea bags, and being dunked in a giant cup) found their way onto Letterman’s 1980s series (Letterman once wore a suit of nacho chips, and was lowered into a vat of guacamole).

Allen’s ambitious *Meeting of Minds* series, which he had developed for over 20 years, debuted on PBS in 1977. Actors portraying world and philosophical leaders throughout history—on one panel, for example, Ulysses S. Grant, Karl Marx, Christopher Columbus, and Marie Antoinette—would come together in a forum (hosted by Allen) to discuss great ideas. The innovative series was among the most critically acclaimed in television history, winning numerous awards during its five-year span.

Allen has written over 4,000 songs, more than double Irving Berlin’s output. His best known composition is “The Start of Something Big,” introduced by Steve Lawrence and Eydie Gorme, who were themselves introduced to one another by Allen. Allen also composed several Broadway musical comedy scores, including the 1963 show *Sophie*. His more than 40 books run the gamut from mystery novels to analyses of contemporary comedy and discussions on morality and religion. The sardonic Oscar Levant once remarked, “When I can’t sleep, I read a book by Steve Allen.”

Allen’s best-known movie performance was the title role in the 1956 hit *The Benny Goodman Story*, and he has made cameo appearances in *The Sunshine Boys* (1975) and *The Player* (1992). He also played himself on two episodes of *The Simpsons*, including one in which Bart Simpson’s voice was altered by computer to sound like Allen’s.

While attaining the status of Hollywood elder statesman, he remained an outspoken social and political commentator through the 1990s, and lent his name to anti-smoking and pro-family values crusades. After Bob Hope called Allen “the Adlai Stevenson of comedy,” Allen said he preferred to describe himself as “the Henny Youngman of politics.”

—Andrew Milner

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## Allen, Woody (1935—)

Woody Allen is as close to an auteur as contemporary popular culture permits. While his style has changed dramatically since the



Woody Allen

release of *Take the Money and Run* (1969), his work has always been distinctively his. Over the last thirty years, he has epitomized the ideal of complete artistic control. His reputation for eclectic casting, neurotic privacy, and the intertwining of his personal and professional lives has made him a recognizable public phenomenon even among people who have never seen one of his films.

Born Allan Stewart Konigsberg, Allen broke into show business while he was still in high school by writing jokes for newspaper columnists. As depicted in *Annie Hall* (1977), Allen grew tired of hearing other comedians do less than justice to his material and took to the Manhattan nightclub circuit. He also appeared as an actor on *Candid Camera*, *That Was the Week That Was*, and *The Tonight Show*.

In 1969, Allen was contracted to write a vehicle for Warren Beatty called *What's New Pussycat?* Though Beatty dropped out of the project, Peter O'Toole replaced him and the film was a moderate financial success. The experience (and the profit) provided Allen with the entrée to his own directorial debut, *Take the Money and Run* (1969). His early films—*Take the Money and Run* and *Bananas*—were retreads of his stand-up routines. They starred Allen and various members of improvisational groups of which he had been a part and were made on very low budgets. In 1972, he made a screen adaptation of his successful play *Play It Again Sam*. The film starred Allen and featured Tony Roberts and Diane Keaton, actors who would come to be known as among the most productive of Allen's stable of regular talent. *Play It Again Sam* was followed by a string of commercially viable, if not blockbuster, slapstick comedies—*Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex But Were Afraid to Ask* (1972),

*Sleeper* (1973), and *Love and Death* (1975)—which established Allen's hapless nebbish as the ideal anti-hero of the 1970s. Interestingly, while Allen is primarily identified as the personification of quasi-intellectual Manhattan, it bears mentioning that of these early features only *Bananas* was situationally linked to New York. In fact, the movie version of *Play It Again Sam* was moved from New York to San Francisco.

In 1977, Allen wrote, directed, and starred (with Keaton and Roberts) in *Annie Hall*. The film was a critical and commercial triumph. It won Oscars for itself, Allen, and Keaton. It was *Annie Hall*—a paean to Manhattan and a thinly veiled autobiography—that cemented Allen in the public mind as the penultimate modern New Yorker. It also established the tone and general themes of most of his later work. In 1978, he directed the dark and overly moody *Interiors*, which was met with mixed reviews and commercial rejection. In 1979, he rebounded with *Manhattan*, shot in black and white and featuring then little known actress Meryl Streep. *Manhattan* was nominated for a Golden Globe Award and three Oscars. It won awards from the National Society of Film Critics and the New York Film Critics' Circle. While it was not as popular with the public as *Annie Hall*, most critics agree that it was a substantially better film.

Refusing to be comfortable with an established style or intimidated by the public rejection of *Interiors*, Allen entered a period of experimentation: *Stardust Memories* (1980) a sarcastic analysis of his relationship to his fans; the technical tour-de-force *Zelig* (1983); *The Purple Rose of Cairo*, a Depression-era serio-comedy in which a character (Jeff Daniels) comes out of the movie screen and romances one of his fans (Mia Farrow); and others. All appealed to Allen's cadre of loyal fans, but none even nearly approached the commercial or critical success of *Annie Hall* or *Manhattan* until the release of *Hannah and Her Sisters* in 1986.

Since then, Allen has produced a steady stream of city-scapes, some provocative like *Another Woman* (1988) and *Deconstructing Harry* (1998), and others that were simply entertaining such as *Manhattan Murder Mystery* (1993) and *Mighty Aphrodite* (1995). All, however, have been sufficiently successful to sustain his reputation as one of the most creative and productive film makers in American history.

—Barry Morris

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## Allison, Luther (1939-1997)

Luther Allison was one of the most popular and critically-acclaimed blues guitar players of the 1990s, combining classic west



Luther Allison

side Chicago guitar with rock and soul in a unique style that appealed to the mostly white blues festival audiences. Record company disputes, false starts, and a prolonged residency in Europe kept him from attaining a large popularity in America until late in life, and his untimely death from cancer cut that success short.

Allison built a world-wide reputation with his intensity and stamina, often playing three or four hours at a stretch and leaving audiences decimated. "His urgency and intensity was amazing," long-time band leader James Solberg said in *Living Blues* magazine's tribute to Allison after his death. "I mean, to stand next to a guy that was 57 years old and watch him go for four and a half hours and not stop . . . I've seen teenagers that couldn't keep up with him . . . He just had to get them blues out no matter what."

Allison was born the fourteenth of 15 children on August 17, 1939 in Widener, Arkansas to a family of sharecroppers. His family moved to Chicago in 1951 where his older brother, Ollie, began playing guitar. Allison eventually joined his brother's outfit, the Rolling Stones, as a bass player. By 1957 he had switched to guitar and was fronting his own band in clubs around the west side.

Allison's early years as a front man were heavily influenced by Freddie King, Buddy Guy, Otis Rush, and Magic Sam. Although close in age to Allison, those guitar players had started their careers earlier and served as mentors. He also listened to B.B. King at an early age, and King's influence is perhaps the most prominent in Allison's style. In fact, Allison was perhaps one of the best at emulating King's fluttering vibrato.

Allison's first break came in 1969 when he performed at the Ann Arbor Blues Festival to an audience of mostly white middle-class college students and folk listeners. That performance built Allison's reputation as a fiery, indefatigable performer and one of the hottest new stars in Blues. Allison also released his first album, *Love Me Mama*, on Chicago's Delmark label that same year. Although the album suffered from a lack of original material, it was the best-selling release on Delmark by an artist not already established with a rhythm and blues single.

Partly because of his performance at Ann Arbor, Motown Records signed him to a contract that would produce three albums on the company's Gordy label. *Bad News Is Coming* (1972) and *Luther's Blues* (1974) were excellent blues albums, but the third album *Night Life* (1976) was a critical failure. The album was Allison's first attempt to blend soul and rhythm and blues with blues, but it left his guitar and vocal buried under layers of horns and backup singers.

As the only blues artist signed to Motown, Allison became more and more frustrated with the label's lack of interest and knowledge about how to promote and record him. During this period, however, Allison toured relentlessly around the Midwest, building a base of fans among the region's college towns and continuing to play his unrestrained high-energy brand of blues. After leaving Motown, Allison recorded *Gonna Be a Live One in Here Tonight!* for tiny Rumble Records in 1979. Perfectly capturing his live show at the time, the rare album quickly became a collector's item. Allison eventually became frustrated with the American music business, and spent more and more time touring Europe where he found a warm reception. By 1984, he was living full-time in Paris, France.

According to Solberg, Allison's arrival in Europe was monumental. "They had seen Mississippi Fred McDowell and Mance Lipscomb and all those cats, but a lot of them had never seen electric

blues," he said. "I mean, to stick Luther in front of folks who had only seen an acoustic blues guy was pretty amazing, both good and bad at first. But ultimately I saw Luther turn blues aficionados' dismay into amazement and excitement. On a blues version, it was like when the Beatles hit the United States. It was like rock stardom in a blues sense." Allison's son, Bernard, also became a hit blues guitarist in Europe, often touring with his father and releasing albums under his own name.

Allison recorded nearly a dozen albums on various European labels, blending blues, rock, and soul with varying degrees of success, but he still yearned for success in the United States. By the early 1990s, Allison and his European agent Thomas Ruf returned to America and sought out Memphis producer Jim Gaines, who had previously recorded Carlos Santana and Stevie Ray Vaughan. The album *Soul Fixin' Man* was the result. Allison and Ruf formed their own label, Ruf Records, and released the record in Europe. Chicago's Alligator Records bought the album for release in the United States in 1994.

Allison had finally found the right formula, and the success of that album led to two more: *Blue Streak* (1995) and *Reckless* (1997). He won the W.C. Handy Award for Entertainer of the Year in 1996, 1997, and 1998 and collected 11 additional Handy Awards during those years.

Having conquered the blues world, Allison may have been on the verge of a cross-over breakthrough to mainstream rock similar to Stevie Ray Vaughan or Buddy Guy. But he was cut down at the height of his powers. While touring the midwest, he was diagnosed with lung cancer and metastatic brain tumors on July 10, 1997. He died while undergoing treatment in Madison, Wisconsin.

—Jon Klinkowitz

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## The Allman Brothers Band

The Allman Brothers Band was America's answer to the British Invasion of the 1960s. The band's improvisational sound served as the basis of country rock through the 1970s and epitomized the cultural awakening of the New South which culminated in Jimmy Carter's presidency in 1976. The Allman Brothers were the first band to successfully combine twin lead guitars and drummers.

Guitarists Duane Allman and Dickey Betts, bass player Berry Oakley and drummers Jaimoe and Butch Trucks joined Duane's



younger brother, organ player, vocalist, and songwriter Gregg in 1969. Duane, one of the greatest slide guitarists in rock history, was killed in a motorcycle accident in October, 1971 and Oakley died in a similar accident a year later. Betts assumed a dominant position in the band, writing and singing the band's biggest hit, "Ramblin' Man" in 1973. Surviving breakups and personnel changes, the band continued into the 1990s, building a devoted following much like The Grateful Dead.

—Jon Klinkowitz

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## *Ally McBeal*

The Fox Television series *Ally McBeal*, concerning the lives of employees at a contemporary law firm in Boston, struck a chord with viewers soon after its premier in September of 1997. Focusing on the life of the title character, played by Calista Flockhart, the show provoked a cultural dialogue about its portrayal of young, single career women. Fans enjoyed the updated take on working women as real human beings struggling with insecurities; the character of Ally was called a modern version of 1970s television heroine Mary Tyler Moore. Critics, however, derided the miniskirted characters in *Ally McBeal* as female stereotypes obsessed with getting married and having children. The show also gained notice for its frequent use of computer-enhanced effects, such as exaggerated facial expressions and the dancing baby that haunted Ally as a symbol of her desire for motherhood.

—Geri Speace

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## Herb Alpert and the Tijuana Brass

Though a life in music was not Herb Alpert's first choice—he initially attempted an acting career—he eventually became one of the

most influential figures in the history of pop music. Throughout the 1960s, the Tijuana Brass, led by Alpert's trumpet playing, dominated the pop charts with singles including "The Lonely Bull," "A Taste of Honey," and "This Guy's in Love With You." Their unique Latin-influenced sound came to be dubbed "Ameriachi."

Alpert (1935—) was not only one of pop's most successful performers, but also one of its most gifted businessmen. With Jerry Moss he co-founded A&M Records, which later became one of the most prosperous record companies in the world; its successes included the Carpenters, Joe Cocker, and many others. After selling A&M to PolyGram in 1990 for over \$500 million, Alpert and Moss founded a new label, Almo Sounds, whose artists included the punk band Garbage.

—Marc R. Sykes

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## Altamont

Stung by accusations of profiteering during their 1969 United States tour, the Rolling Stones announced plans for a free concert in San Francisco at its conclusion. It would be a thank you to their adoring public, and a means to assuage their guilt. Unfortunately, the December 6 concert at Altamont Speedway near Livermore, California, ended in chaos and death. By day's end there would be four dead, four born, and 300,000 bummed-out. Although inadequate preparation was at fault, the Hell's Angels Motorcycle Club, contracted as a security force for 500 dollars worth of beer, rightfully received the lion's share of the blame—there was a film crew at hand to document their abuses from beginning to end. Over time, Altamont has achieved a kind of mythic significance. It epitomized the potential for violence in the counterculture . . . the ugliness lurking behind the bangles and beads. Altamont hailed both the real and metaphorical end to 1960s counterculture.

From its very inception, portents of doom and disaster hung in the air. It was a bad day for a concert, proclaimed astrologists. The Sun, Venus, and Mercury were in Sagittarius; the moon, on the cusp of Libra and Scorpio—very bad omens indeed. Events would soon bear them out. Almost from its inception the free concert was hampered by persistent bad luck. Initially to be held in Golden Gate Park, the San Francisco City Council turned down the permit application at the very last minute. With four days to go, an alternate site was secured; the Sears Point Speedway outside San Francisco. But even as scaffolding, generators, and sound equipment were assembled there, the owners hedged, insisting on an exorbitant bond. The deal quickly fell through. With scarcely 48 hours to go before the already announced concert date, Altamont Speedway owner, Dick Carter, volunteered the use of his property for free, anticipating a raft of favorable publicity for the race track in return. The Rolling Stones were not to be denied their magnanimous gesture.



Four members of the Hell's Angels security at the 1969 Altamont Concert.

A crew of more than 200 volunteers worked through the night to relocate and erect the massive sound and light system. As concert time approached, the organizers were hopeful the day would prove a success. With so little time to prepare, short shrift had been made with food, water, parking, and bathroom facilities, but the organizers hoped that the spirit of togetherness so apparent at Woodstock would manifest itself equally for Altamont. Daybreak arose upon a scene of chaos. Throughout the night, people had been arriving at the site. By morning automobiles ranged along the access road for ten miles; people were forced to stand in line for more than half an hour to make use of the portable toilets and queues some 300 yards long stretched from the water faucets.

As the show began in earnest, hostilities broke out almost immediately. Throughout the first set by Santana, Angels provoked fights, beat the enthusiastic, inebriated audience with pool cues when they ventured too close to the stage, and drove their motorcycles through the crowd with reckless abandon. As Jefferson Airplane began their set, Hell's Angels arranged themselves about the stage, jumping into the crowd to drub perceived trouble-makers, and finally turned on the band itself, knocking out singer Marty Balin when he made efforts to intervene in a particularly brutal melee.

The Angels calmed down briefly under the influence of the mellow country-rock of the Flying Burrito Brothers, but tempers flared once again as Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young played. As night fell and the temperature dropped, the chilled crowd and the thoroughly soused Angels prepared for the final act.

One and a half hours later, the Stones threaded their way through the backstage crush and took the stage. Mick Jagger, dressed in a satin bat-winged shirt, half red and half black, pranced about like a Satanic jester, capering and dancing through the first number, "Jumpin' Jack Flash," but as the Angels' violent assault on the audience continued,

he was soon reduced to nervously pacing the stage, a worried expression on his face as he implored the combatants to cool down.

At will, the Angels continued their violent forays into the stunned crowd. "Sympathy for the Devil" was interrupted several times by violence, while Jagger and Keith Richards vainly beseeched the Angels. In response, an Angel seized the microphone, yelling at the crowd: "Hey, if you don't cool it, you ain't gonna hear no more music!" Wrote Stanley Booth, a reporter at the concert: "It was like blaming the pigs in a slaughterhouse for bleeding on the floor."

In fits and starts the band continued to play. They were nearing the end of "Under My Thumb" when a whirl of motion erupted at stage left. "Someone is shooting at the stage," an Angel cried. In fact, the gun had been pulled in self-defense by one Meredith Hunter, an 18-year-old black man, who had caught the Angels attention both because of his color and the fact that accompanying him was a pretty blond girl. As Hunter attempted to get closer to the stage, the Angels had chased him back into the crowd, and as they fell on him—with knife and boot and fist—he drew a gun in self defense. He was attacked with a savage fury and once the assault was completed, Angels guarded the body as the boy slowly bled to death, allowing onlookers to carry him away after they were certain he was beyond help. The Stones carried on. Unaware of what had happened—there had already been so much pandemonium—they finished their brief set then fled to a waiting helicopter.

They could not, however, escape the outrage to follow. The recriminations flew thick and fast in the press. *Rolling Stone Magazine* described Altamont as "the product of diabolical egotism, hype, ineptitude, money manipulation, and, at base a fundamental lack of concern for humanity," while Angel president Sonny Barger insisted the Stones had used them as dupes, telling KSAN radio, "I didn't go there to police nothing, when they started messing over our bikes,

they started it. Ain't nobody gonna kick my motorcycle!" Attacked from every direction, Mick Jagger initiated a ten million dollar suit against the owners of Sears Point Speedway in an effort at damage control, alleging breach of contract and fraud. No amount of litigation, however, could mitigate the simple fact that the Stones had presided over a fiasco of such magnitude that had dealt a fatal blow to the peaceful image of the hippie. Remembered as one of the most negative events of the 1960s counterculture, Altamont was, if not the final, the most memorable swan song in its prolonged death throes.

—Michael J. Baers

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## Alternative Country Music

Alternative country, also referred to as "Americana," "Cow-punk," "Y'alternative," "No Depression," and "Insurgent Country," is a catch-all term describing a diverse musical genre that combines forms of traditional country music, such as twang, swing, rockabilly, and bluegrass, with the ethos and sound of punk rock. While a definition of "alt.country" may be difficult to pin down, what it is not remains clear: it is not the "Hot Country" music of commercial Nashville, which is seen as homogenous and lacking a sense of tradition. Gram Parsons, generally considered the godfather of alt.country, noted in 1972 to Frank Murphy, "Yeah, my music is still country—but my feeling is there is no boundary between 'types' of music." His words forecast the diversity of a genre that would follow the trail he had blazed.

As with any genre, the exact origin of alt.country is open to debate. Ben Fong-Torres, Parsons' biographer, has noted, "Parsons wasn't the first to conceive country-rock, but he was perhaps the most passionate about bringing country music into the increasingly rock 'n' roll world of the 1960s." His brief collaboration with the Byrds led to the seminal country-rock album *Sweetheart of the Rodeo* (1968),

which brought together the sounds and attitudes of rock and country. Prophetically, when the Byrds played at the Grand Ole Opry, Parsons substituted his own material for the traditional songs the band had planned to play, angering his band-mates, especially Roger McGuinn. Such an act foreshadows what would become the attitude of alt.country.

Later, Parsons extended his country-rock sound, first with the Flying Burrito Brothers and then as a solo artist on *GP* (1973) and *Grievous Angel* (1974), with then unheard of singer Emmylou Harris providing perfect harmonies. After Parsons' death in 1973, Harris went on to forge her own successful career, keeping his musical memory alive while experimenting in the tradition of her mentor with albums from the bluegrass *Roses in the Snow* to the alternative-influenced *Wrecking Ball*. Harris herself has noted, "I always tried to fight against categories."

The 1970s saw other bands exploring the possibilities of country-rock. The Flatlanders, the Nitty Gritty Dirt Band, New Riders of the Purple Sage, the Grateful Dead, and Asleep at the Wheel all revised traditional country music, while the Eagles and Poco generated a radio-friendly sound that proved commercially successful. Another important voice of the 1970s was that of the Outlaws, a group whose members included Willie Nelson, Waylon Jennings, Kris Kristofferson, and Johnny Cash. These artists left the constrictions of Nashville's "progressive country" to explore music on their own terms.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, a change in the country-rock aesthetic took place with the arrival of "cow-punk" bands like Jason and the Scorchers, the Long Ryders, Rank and File, and the Mekons. Musicians such as these took Parsons' hybrid one step further by bringing the punk attitude of bands like Hüsker Dü, X, and the Replacements into the mix. Although the melding of these genres had initially seemed impossible, they actually blended beautifully, effectively re-invigorating both, as seen on the Scorchers' debut *Reckless Country Soul* (1982) and on albums like the Mekons' *Fear and Whiskey* (1985), which features punk music played with traditional country and bluegrass instruments. Meanwhile, musicians like Joe Ely and Lone Justice, while not punk per se, furthered Parsons' country-rock vision.

The late 1980s and early 1990s saw country-rock becoming increasingly experimental as artists like Steve Earle, Lucinda Williams, Lyle Lovett, k.d. lang, and the Jayhawks emerged. While marginally successful commercially, musicians such as these received critical acclaim and continued to explore the possibilities of country music, each focusing on a different feature of country-rock. From Earle's traditionalism to lang's gender explorations and Lovett's parody, each performer paid tribute to the genre while showing its diversity.

But 1987 marked a watershed year with the emergence of alt.country icons Uncle Tupelo whose debut, *No Depression* (1990), signaled a new era in the genre. Fronted by Jay Farrar and Jeff Tweedy, who loved punk as well as traditional country, the band played Carter Family songs as well as their own rock material. Although the band broke up in 1994, with Farrar and Tweedy pursuing their differing musical tastes, in Son Volt and Wilco, respectively, their mark has been a lasting one.

Since Uncle Tupelo, alt.country has continued to grow and explore new areas. *Billboard's* Chet Flippo suggests four categories that are helpful in classifying this disparate genre, though it is important to bear in mind that such categories are subjective and that

few of these artists confine themselves to one type of music. First are the “Hot-eyed Rockers” who are grounded in punk but respect country’s emotion and musicianship as well as its history. While Flippo places Son Volt and Wilco in this category, bands such as Whiskeytown, the Backsliders, the Bad Livers, and the Bottle Rockets work under a similar ethos. Second are the “Purist/Traditionalists.” BR5-49 fits into this category as do Kelly Willis, Jack Ingram, Robert Earl Keen, the Derailers, Freakwater, Junior Brown, and any number of progressive bluegrass musicians like Laurie Lewis or Béla Fleck. Next are the “Traditionalists,” those who have been in country music for years but whose talents and contributions tend to be ignored by “Hot Country.” This includes artists like Johnny Cash, Waylon Jennings, Willie Nelson, Loretta Lynn, Guy Clark, Merle Haggard, and Don Walser. Many bluegrass performers, for instance Del McCoury and Peter Rowan, also fall into this category. The last of Flippo’s classifications is the “Folkies,” those drawn to the songs of alt.country. Examples here are Townes Van Zandt, Nanci Griffith, Patti Griffin, James McMurtry, Richard Buckner, Gillian Welch, and Rosie Flores.

Alt.country continues to gain momentum. In 1995, Peter Blackstock and Grant Alden began publishing *No Depression: The Alternative Country (Whatever That Is) Bi-Monthly*, named for an Uncle Tupelo cover of a Carter Family original, which serves as the ex-officio magazine of alt.country. Moreover, a number of independent record labels are devoted primarily to alt.country artists; Bloodshot, Watermelon, and Black Dog along with Steve Earle’s E-Squared make the material of lesser-known alt.country artists available.

While alt.country has strong fan bases in Chicago, Raleigh, and Austin in addition to regular music festivals, the Internet has played a tremendous role in its growth. America On-line’s “No Depression” folder generates substantial material and led to the establishment of two central alt.country electronic mailing lists: Postcard and Postcard II. Postcard discusses primarily the work of Uncle Tupelo and its offspring bands, while its companion, Postcard II, was designed to cover other alt.country bands. Both listservs provide a network of support for alt.country music and artists. Clearly, Gram Parsons’ vision continues to be realized.

—S. Renee Dechert

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## Alternative Press

Notwithstanding legitimate rivals for the title, most Americans hearing the words “Alternative Press” would probably think of the brash, crude, anti-establishment periodicals of the Vietnam Era (1963-1975). Most often tabloid in format, printed on the cheapest stock available, written with intent to maim, edited like frontline dispatches, and illustrated with “psychedelic,” provocative graphics, these “underground” newspapers and magazines offered themselves as the organs of the national and regional “counter-culture” for which the period is famous—and, by and large, the counter-culture accepted the offer. The epithet “underground,” however, was largely self-assumed and unmerited, since use of the police power of the state to suppress their publication was seldom if ever threatened, let alone exerted. By the time the Viet Cong forces took possession of Saigon (April 30, 1975), the great majority of the underground papers had either ceased publication or transformed themselves—like *Rolling Stone*—into the raffish fringe of the Establishment: the subject matter had not changed, but they had shed the guerilla style of their youth and moved, like their readers, above ground.

Since one of the overreaching goals of the 1960s counter-culture was to cancel all debts to the past, the insider histories of the Alternative Press—most of which appeared in the early 1970s—make no mention of any predecessors older than the end of World War II. But they were certainly not the first journalists to print rude, funny diatribes (or cartoons) against the establishment: the authors of the “Mazarinades” in mid-seventeenth-century France were as outrageous and one-sided in the expression of their disapproval of Cardinal Mazarin as any editorial in the Berkeley *Barb* or *L. A. Free Press* was of President Lyndon Johnson or Draft Board chief General Louis B. Hershey. More directly antecedent to the Alternative Press of the 1960s, the English Puritan pamphleteers of the 1640s were every bit as self-righteously insulting to the Anglican conformists—calling them the “agents of Rome”—as any underground paper of the 1960s calling a Fire Marshal a “fascist” (which is not to say, in either case, that the accusers were always, or even usually, mistaken). The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries abound with similar serials expressing the perspectives and prejudices of a self-conscious, ambitious minority, on its way either to becoming a majority or to disappearing.

In the late nineteenth century, however, the exponential growth of literacy provided the demographic base in Europe and America for the first truly popular press, and men like Lord Northcliffe in England became rich and powerful “press lords” by giving these newly-literate people news on subjects which interested them: sporting events, disasters, success stories, and scandals. In much the same way, those representatives of the Alternative Press of the 1960s who survived and prospered did not do so on the basis of their political reporting or ideological preaching, but on their coverage of matters of what came to be known as “life-style.” The success of such entrepreneurs as Lord Northcliffe and William Randolph Hearst is a perfect paradigm for what happens when the “established” press becomes too narrowly identified with an elite as a new technology becomes available to an emerging majority.

Like so many phenomena identified with the 1960s, the Alternative Press got started during the 1950s—an era now remembered as a

time of up-tight conformism and anti-Communist hysteria—when one puff on a reefer led immediately to more damaging addictions, one artistic impulse signaled infinite secret perversions, and any expressed support for the Bill of Rights was an admission of Communist sympathies. As far as the first waves of the Postwar “Baby Boom” were taught, at home or school, to be exposed as a drug addict, homosexual, or Communist was to be immediately cast into outer darkness, your name never to be spoken again in decent society, your family disgraced and forced to move to another town. All true pleasures were furtive.

Yet the 1950s was also the decade which saw the publication of Alan Ginsberg’s *Howl* (1956), Jack Kerouac’s *On the Road* (1957)—which became a bestseller—and William Burroughs’ *Naked Lunch* (1957); when Chuck Berry, Elvis Presley, Buddy Holly, and the Everly Brothers established rock ‘n’ roll as THE American popular music; when the image of the rebel and misfit—Paul Newman in *The Left-Handed Gun*, Marlon Brando in *The Wild One*, James Dean in *Rebel Without a Cause*—gave attractive physical form to the restless dissatisfaction of middle class American teenagers; and when Aldous Huxley published the results of his experiments with hallucinogenic drugs in *Heaven and Hell* (1954) and *The Doors of Perception* (1956). Moreover, the 1950s witnessed the first significant gains of the Civil Rights movement—the model for all future liberation movements—and the first, largely unnoticed, involvement of the United States in the anti-colonial upheavals in French Indochina.

October 26, 1955 marked the publication of the first issue of the *Village Voice*, written and produced by a group of bohemian intellectuals (Michael Harrington, Norman Mailer, Katherine Anne Porter, Allen Ginsberg, Nat Hentoff, Anaïs Nin, and others) living in the Greenwich Village district of Manhattan—founded, it must be noted, not as an alternative to the *New York Times*, but in reaction to a tame neighborhood paper called *The Villager*. Among the many innovations of the early *Village Voice*, many of which were too mannered to endure, the most important was the total absence of any restrictions on language, either in the use of profanity or in the graphic treatment of taboo subjects. This latter characteristic made a quantum leap in June of 1958, when Paul Krassner—a 26-year-old writer from *Mad Magazine* (itself one of the major influences on the future Alternative Press)—brought out the first issue of *The Realist*. It instantly became the gold standard of satire, sneering irreverence, and the blurring of the line between fact and fiction which would characterize all utterances of the still-embryonic counter-culture.

Thus, by the time John F. Kennedy was elected president in November of 1960, the entire agenda of the Alternative Press had been set, as well as most of its attitude, style, and format. All that was needed to set things in motion was a spark to ignite the passions, and enlist the support, of the enormous Class of 1964. This was not long in coming: the assassination of President Kennedy, the advent of Bob Dylan and the Beatles, the publication of *The Feminine Mystique*, the Stonewall riots, the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, the hide-bound conservatism of the educational establishment, the first experience with marijuana or LSD, or any combination of the above. Some grain of discontent worked its way inside the shell of middle class complacency, and a pearl of counter-culture began to form. In every large metropolitan area in the United States, these pearls of disaffection strung themselves into communities, usually near colleges or universities. The “Free Speech Movement” in Berkeley, site of Campus

One of the University of California, produced one of the first of the new style of radical communities, which in turn produced one of the first examples of the Alternative Press, the Berkeley *Barb* (first published October 13, 1965), although, in fact, the *L.A. Free Press*—modeled on the *Village Voice*—beat them into print by more than a year (May 25, 1964). On the opposite coast, a dissident group of writers of the *Village Voice* split from that publication to found the *East Village Other* (October 1965).

As the counter-culture began to subdivide into one-issue lobbies—drugs, communal living, sexual preference, racial separatism, radical politics, etc.—each subdivision felt the need for its own periodical soapbox. The *San Francisco Oracle*, founded in 1966, promoted the transformation of society through the use of hallucinogenic drugs; the *Advocate* started to speak on behalf of America’s homosexuals in 1967, though its tame assimilationist line soon provoked more aggressive papers like *Come Out!* (November 1969) and *Free Particle* (September 1969); the *Black Panther* fired its first salvo against the white police state in June of 1967; *Screw* sought to unshackle the American (male) libido, and to challenge the censorship laws, beginning November 29, 1968; and in that same fall of 1968, the ecological-communitarian movement found its voice with the first, massive issue of the *Whole Earth Catalog*. Only *Rolling Stone* moved against the tide of special interest splintering: begun in November of 1967 to address the community formed by the revolution in rock ‘n’ roll, the paper has evolved steadily towards a more “general interest” publication—if the *Village Voice* is the *Christian Science Monitor* of the Alternative Press, *Rolling Stone* is its *Saturday Evening Post*. At some point—one might, for convenience, choose the year 1970—it was no longer valid to speak of “the” counter-culture as if it were one unified social structure; consequently, it became less and less meaningful to speak of “the” Alternative Press.

Technically a part of the Alternative Press, and definitely one of the purest expressions of the counter-culture Zeitgeist, the underground comic book is actually a separate phenomenon. The so-called Underground Press is a spent bullet, but the comic book, old and new, continues to thrive. While university libraries collect and catalogue back issues of the Berkeley *Barb* and the Seattle *Helix*, prosperous establishments all over the United States do a brisk trade in old copies of *Zap* and *Despair* along with the new graphic novels and standard classics of Marvel. And in the almost total absence of representative long prose fictions from the 1960s, R. Crumb’s stories about “Mr. Natural,” “Flakey Foont,” “Projunior,” and “Honeybunch Kaminsky”—not to mention Gilbert Sheldon’s “Fabulous, Furry Freak Brothers” and S. Clay Wilson’s Tales of “The Checkered Demon” and “Captain Pissgums”—remain the most reliable narratives of the period.

Something called an Alternative Press still exists in the late 1990s. They have annual meetings, publish newsletters, and give each other journalism awards. Many of the newspapers so defined still espouse progressive politics, support environmental causes, and celebrate the current popular music scene. But the counter-culture which they were founded to serve—the Woodstock Nation of love-ins, anti-war marches, LSD trips, and hippie communes—have gone the way of the Popular Front and the Dreyfussards to become a discrete historical episode. It remains to be seen whether the most lasting legacy of the Alternative Press, the disabling of any governing system of courtesy or restraint in public discourse, will turn out to have hastened the end of a nightmare or the beginning of one.

—Gerald Carpenter

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## Alternative Rock

The popular musical genre called “alternative rock,” immensely popular during the 1980s and 1990s, drew upon the conventions of rock music even while it attempted to distance itself from traditional or “classic” rock. Alternative rockers differentiated themselves from their traditional rock predecessors in part with their call for greater diversity and experimentation in music, and in part with their critique of mainstream society and of major record labels in favor of small independent companies. While alternative rockers produced catchy music geared for mass consumption, their music—with its emphasis on distorted guitars and ambiguous lyrics—wasn’t suited to conventional tastes. Furthermore, alternative rock lyrics were often critical or skeptical of mainstream values.

Alternative rock—which is also referred to as “indie rock,” “college rock,” “post-punk,” “new music,” “power-pop,” and more recently, “grunge”—traces its roots to the 1970s, when new wave and early punk bands experimented with diverse styles in music, dress, and ideology. Alternative rock was also influenced by “alternative music” more generally, which includes such genres as industrial, avant-garde, and experimental music, as well as gothic rock, ska, reggae, and alternative hip-hop. While influenced by these many styles, alternative rock is best understood as residing somewhere between rock and punk rock, and is ambivalent about its desire for mainstream appeal and its rejection of mainstream values.

New wave bands like Blondie, The Talking Heads, Devo, and Adam and the Ants as well as early punk rock bands like Iggy and the Stooges, The Ramones, The Sex Pistols, and The Clash had a major influence on alternative rock. Punk was particularly influential for its radical critique of society and its call for the destruction of conventional musical sensibilities. Alternative rock, however, blended punk attitude and aggression with rock melodies and song structure. The Police, U2, and R.E.M. became immensely popular during the 1980s

with catchy and energetic songs and had a major influence on the development of alternative rock. Indeed, the popularity of such bands as The Police, U2, R.E.M., The GoGos, The B-52s, and Midnight Oil can in some part be explained by their songs, which at 3-4 minutes long, with catchy riffs and steady beats, are well suited for radio play. In contrast, some of the longer and more complicated rock songs of such performers as Eric Clapton and The Who were less accessible and came to be seen as stagnant and old fashioned. Alternative rock bands aimed to reach out to a new generation of youth with high energy, melodic music which spoke to contemporary social issues.

Alternative rock shared much of the punk ideology of non-conformity and the questioning of mainstream values. Yet while punk was notable for its explicit anger, alternative rock offered more subdued critiques and covered a greater range of topics and emotions. Bands like The Jam, The Pixies, and The Lemonheads sang about political issues but also about love and other social relations. Isolation and loneliness were common themes which indicated an ambivalence about modern society. The Smiths, in particular, were known for their overwhelming sense of melancholy. The Replacements, an influential alternative rock band, blended energetic outbursts with subdued elements of folk-rock or jazz. Singing about comical aspects of social life as well as more sincere emotional concerns, lead singer Paul Westerberg was especially known for his self-deprecating sense of humor. As he asked in “I Will Dare,” “How smart are you? How dumb am I?” Another Minneapolis band, Soul Asylum, known for their energetic music and powerful guitar work, was also self-mocking while singing about a variety of social concerns and emotional issues. Sonic Youth and Dinosaur Jr. were particularly important for their noisy guitar work and punk influences. These bands gave rise to what, in the 1990s, would come to be known as “grunge,” which developed most visibly in Seattle with bands like Mudhoney, Nirvana, Soundgarden, and Pearl Jam. Grunge was characterized by a heavy guitar sound which harkened back to the classic rock of Deep Purple, Led Zeppelin, and other bands. Grunge became a major phenomenon in the 1990s as Nirvana, Pearl Jam, and others sold millions of records.

The musicians and fans of alternative rock tended to dress in a manner which was influenced by both punk and mainstream attire. Alternative clothing tended to be less extreme than punk and was not worn to explicitly shock people but was often slovenly and promoted an image of apathy toward conventional dress styles. However, because alternative dress was less radical, it allowed the wearer greater acceptance in mainstream culture, particularly in family, work, and school.

Alternative rock espoused a critical stance toward the music industry and capitalist society in general and shared with punk a “Do It Yourself” emphasis which is critical of major record labels. Many alternative bands, however, began on independent labels and later moved to major labels. Alternative rock bands faced the dilemma of trying to maintain the critical stance of punk while accepting many aspects of mainstream society. Thus, while criticizing conventional society and the rock industry, alternative bands frequently ended up becoming a part of it.

Despite its mass appeal, alternative rock has been critiqued on several grounds. Punks argued that alternative bands “sold out.” Others argued that it alternative was a largely white and male-dominated enterprise. As Eric Weisbard states in the *Spin Alternative*

*Record Guide*, “[alternative rock] is too indebted to a white American vocalist screaming about his betrayed entitlements over an exquisitely layered squall of guitars, bass and drums.” In this sense, alternative rock, while espousing diversity and originality, became somewhat conventional. Many suggested that the term “alternative” may have outlived its usefulness. Alternative rock gained such popularity in the 1980s and 1990s that its music, style, and ideology were in many ways incorporated into the mainstream.

—Perry Grossman

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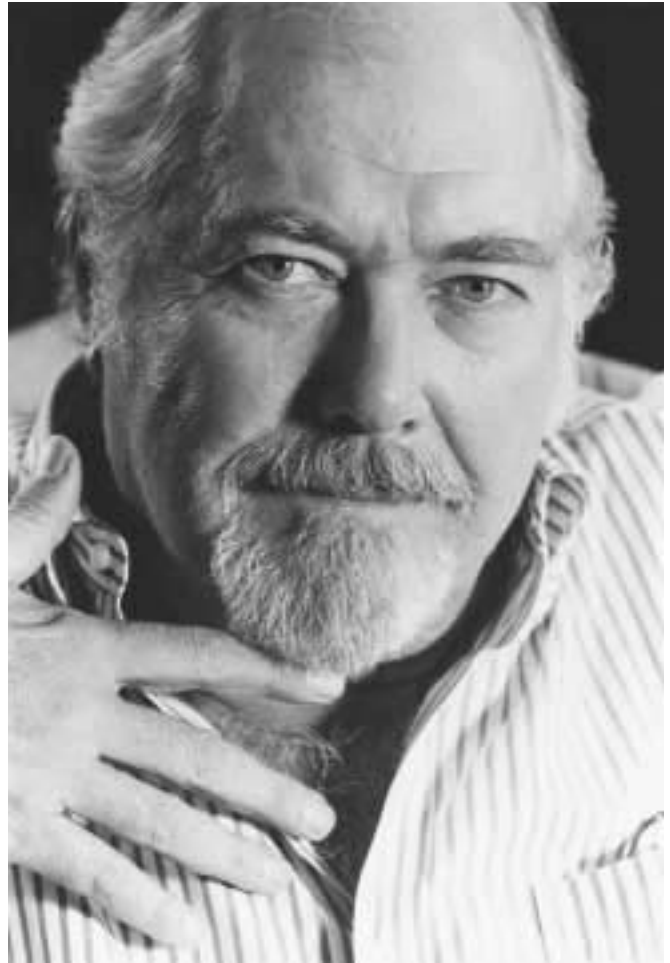
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## Altman, Robert (1925—)

Considered to be the most prolific, if not the most influential film maker of the New Hollywood Cinema of the early 1970s, writer/producer/director Robert Altman made 13 films throughout the decade, including the Oscar-nominated hits *M\*A\*S\*H* in 1970 and *Nashville* in 1975. His challenging and often idiosyncratic work dealt with genre, women's issues, male bonding, and institutions, and his movies always met with mixed critical and popular response. As critic Michael Wilmington observed, “In the opinion of some, Altman is one of America's greatest moviemakers, a fountain of creativity and iconoclasm. For others, he is a troublemaker and a guy who won't get with the program: defiant, rebellious and unpleasantly unpredictable.”

This reputation—which has often alienated studios and irritated the public—is largely the result of Altman's unusual style, which he refers to as “controlled chaos.” The epitome of a maverick filmmaker, Altman essentially uses his script as a blueprint from which he freely improvises, tending to value moments of insight, mood, and character revelation over action and plot. Form then follows content, resulting in his trademark tendency to record his improvisations in wide angle shots with casual tracking movements and zooms—sometimes from the perspective of multiple cameras—to capture spontaneous moments. He also has consistently favored the usage of overlapping and often improvised dialogue (which grew more controlled once his Lions Gate studio developed an eight-track sound system that revolutionized film sound). Such treatment results in long and rambling narratives, which connect and communicate only over time through the interweaving of fragments of character—somewhat like a jigsaw puzzle or jazz riffs. As critic Henri Bohar observed of Altman's *Kansas City* (1996), “Altman weaves several stories, and several moods, fleshing out a film script as if it were a score and the actors



Robert Altman

instruments.” While such a style has proven challenging to impatient, narrative-driven audiences, Altman contends, “We are trying to educate and develop our audiences.”

Far older than most of the rising film school-trained directors of the early 1970s, Altman began his film career upon his discharge from the military, making industrials for an independent company in the 1950s. Altman left when Alfred Hitchcock offered him the chance to direct his weekly television show, *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*. Work in series television and the occasional low budget feature (*The Delinquents* in 1957, starring Tom Laughlin, and later the famed *Billy Jack*) continued until he was asked to direct a script turned down by most of Hollywood. It was not only the extensive black humor and anti-war sentiments in *M\*A\*S\*H* that attracted him; Altman knew that this was his opportunity to break into commercial filmmaking. The loosely woven story about Korean War doctors struggling to stay sane through a series of games and practical jokes was both a critical and commercial success—receiving the Grand Prize at Cannes, and Oscar nominations for Best Picture and Best Director—appealing to the more cynical and jaded audiences, who could identify with these characters worn down by years of war and political assassination.

But it was his next film, *Nashville* (1975), that came to be considered Altman's masterpiece. Dubbed a “spiritual disaster movie” by influential critic Robin Wood, this tapestry of 1970s culture

interweaves the institutions of politics and country music as it focuses on the lives of 24 characters seeking celebrity status during a five-day period prior to a presidential rally. *Nashville* was lauded as Best Film by the National Society of Film Critics, the New York Film Critics Circle, and the National Board of Review. Of this work, historian David Cook concluded, Altman “has seen us with our raw nerves exposed at a time in American history when the conflicting demands of community and individual freedom have never been more extreme, and he has become an epic poet of that conflict.”

However, as the 1970s wore on, in the aftermath of the Watergate scandal and the Vietnam War, cynicism gave way to the new optimism of the Bicentennial years, and Altman’s later explorations of bizarre characters who are driven by American values only to suffer confusion, disillusionment, and often complete breakdowns grated on audiences seeking the upbeat in films such as *Rocky* and *Star Wars*. In the wake of the steadily decreasing box office draw of such flops as *Quintet* and *A Perfect Couple* (both 1979), critic Pauline Kael wryly observed, “Altman has reached the point of wearing his failures like medals. He’s creating a mystique of heroism out of emptied theaters.”

However, it was the mediocre box office returns of the big budget live-action cartoon *Popeye* (1980) that finally signaled Altman’s inability to finance future products. He diverted himself by producing opera and stage productions in Europe that were transferred to video (*Come Back to the Five and Dime, Jimmy Dean, Jimmy Dean*, 1982, and *Streamers*, 1984), as well as working in television (*The Dumb Waiter*, 1987; *Tanner 88*, 1988). But in the early 1990s, he returned to form with *The Player*. This critical and financial success was ironically a scathing satirical indictment of the struggles Altman had undergone while working in Hollywood. This led to another well-received tapestry film, *Short Cuts* (1993) based on the short stories of Raymond Carver. Both films won major awards at Cannes and netted Altman Academy Award Nominations for Best Director, and *Short Cuts* also won Best Adapted Screenplay.

In the late 1990s, Altman divided his time between occasional television work (the anthology series *Gun*) and film projects, but continued to struggle with studio anxiety over his unconventional methods.

—Rick Moody

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## *Amazing Stories*

Hugo Gernsback’s pulp *Amazing Stories* virtually established the genre of the science fiction magazine when it was launched in

1926 and, despite frequent ownership and editorial policy changes, the magazine has maintained its position as one of the most prominent purveyors of science fiction throughout the century. *Amazing Stories* either launched or boosted the careers of dozens of sci-fi writers, and it helped create the intimate culture of sci-fi magazines by publishing letter columns, supervising competitions, and encouraging a relationship between readers, writers, and publishers. Still accepting science fiction, fantasy, and horror stories in the late 1990s, *Amazing Stories* was the oldest science fiction magazine in the nation.

Publisher Gernsback emigrated to America from Luxembourg in 1904, and quickly established a business selling dry cell batteries and home radio sets. In order to promote sales he issued a catalogue and then the first radio magazine, *Modern Electrics*, in 1908. In 1911 an issue of that magazine included the first episode of Gernsback’s fiction series “Ralph 124C 41+.” Science fiction became a regular part of Gernsback’s publication, indicating his preference for technological extrapolations of scientific articles. In August 1923, Gernsback experimented with a “scientific fiction” special issue of *Science and Invention*, which carried six stories and speculative articles. In April 1926, he published the first issue of *Amazing Stories*, a magazine of “scientifiction.”

Gernsback defined “scientifiction” and established the character of the magazine through reprints of stories by H. G. Wells, Jules Verne, and Edgar Allan Poe. In his editorials, Gernsback stressed that he felt his readers could be educated by such romances “intermingled with scientific fact and prophetic vision.” Gernsback solicited the participation of fans through the letters column, “Discussions,” which encouraged reviews of fiction. The column published the full names and addresses of the writers, allowing for direct correspondence between readers and the circulation of amateur publications. He also initiated writing competitions, such as a contest that asked readers to supply a story to accompany the December 1926 Frank R. Paul cover illustration.

*Amazing Stories* and its associate publications, *Amazing Stories Annual* and *Amazing Stories Quarterly*, published work by Edgar Rice Burroughs, Ray Cummings, Abraham Merrit, and Murray Leinster with interplanetary settings. E. E. “Doc” Smith’s serial “The Skylark of Space” began in August of 1928; that same issue featured the first Buck Rogers story, “Armageddon 2419AD,” written by Philip Francis Nowlan. Both Nowlan and Smith were major contributors to the popularity of science fiction through the wide appeal of space opera. Alongside this type of science fiction Gernsback also published the work of David Keller, who was interested in the social implications of scientific extrapolation. *Amazing Stories* also published fantasy, horror, and thriller storylines, including works by H. P. Lovecraft.

Despite the commercial success of *Amazing Stories*, Gernsback’s company, Experimenter Publishing Co., was forced into bankruptcy in 1929. The title to the magazine was sold and continued under the editorship of Gernsback’s assistant, T. O’Connor Sloan. He maintained a strict adherence to scientific fidelity, which included the space opera-serials of J.W. Campbell (before he became the editor of rival *Astounding Science Fiction*), Smith, Edmond Hamilton, and Jack Williamson; Sloan sustained the magazine until it was sold again in 1939. Under the editorship of Ray Palmer the publication policy was relaxed and the magazine accepted a wider range of stories. The magazine was briefly edited by Paul Fairman, but was then taken over by assistant editor Cele Goldsmith in 1958.



Goldsmith re-established the reputation of the magazine by encouraging new writers and creative experimentation. She was particularly interested in fantasy and published Marion Zimmer Bradley's first "Darkover" series. The magazine still included scientific articles, but the fiction became oriented toward the "soft sciences" and the writers Goldsmith discovered include Harlan Ellison, Thomas M. Disch, Roger Zelazny, and Ursula K. Le Guin. These writers later made their reputations in fantasy writing and in the new wave of critical and literary science fiction writing in the 1970s. *Amazing Stories* went into a period of decline after Goldsmith's departure in 1965, producing reprints under a series of writer/editors, until Ted White took over as editor beginning in 1970.

Despite the relative impoverishment of the magazine, White published original fiction and returned the magazine to its original interest in fan culture through a very outspoken editorial column. The magazine's fortunes again declined after White left in 1979, but *Amazing Stories* was reinvigorated in 1987 when it was purchased by TSR Inc., the company that produced the popular game "Dungeons and Dragons." Under TSR and, later, under owner Wizards of the Coast Inc. (another game manufacturer), *Amazing Stories* maintained its hard science fiction outlook, eschewing "sword and sorcery" in favor of science fiction stories from young writers.

—Nickianne Moody

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## American Bandstand

*American Bandstand* became a powerful symbol of American teenage culture with its nearly four-decade look at the ever-changing tastes of the country's youth. Featuring guest artists who lip-synced to their latest tunes, and a teenage audience whose members danced for the cameras, the show launched a conga line of dance crazes, fashion and hair trends, and sent the latest teen slang expressions echoing from coast to coast.

From its beginning as a local Philadelphia telecast called, simply, *Bandstand* in 1952, to its 1957 national debut as *American Bandstand*, and on throughout its run, the show was known for

treating teenagers with deference. Congenial host Dick Clark did not pontificate or preach; he instead let the kids and the music do the communicating. The antithesis of courageous rock 'n' roll proponents like fiery Alan Freed, Clark has been accused of homogenizing rock 'n' roll. Music historians have pointed out that he had a financial interest in some of the show's acts, but Clark has countered that the show reflected popular taste. Indeed, *American Bandstand* enjoys a reputation not only as a musical and cultural timeline, but as a fondly remembered part of adolescence for many if not most Americans.

Though Clark's name is synonymous with that of *American Bandstand*, the show originated with Philadelphia disc jockey Bob Horn, and the radio show *Bob Horn's Bandstand*. It was in October of 1952 that Horn and his *Bandstand* moved to Philadelphia's WFIL-TV as a live afternoon series. Against a painted canvas backdrop of a record store, the studio audience clustered on pine bleachers to watch lip-syncing artists such as pop singers Joni James and Frankie Laine. The show also featured dance and record-rating segments.

Because the TV studio was in the vicinity of three local high schools, *Bandstand* had no trouble finding an in-house audience. Within three months of its debut, some 5,000 students had applied for "membership" cards. Those who were given cards had to be between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. Gum chewing was prohibited, and there was a dress code. Males could not wear jeans or opened shirts, and were required to have a jacket or sweater with tie; females had to wear dresses or skirts—but not tight skirts. "When you dressed right, you behaved right," believed producer Tony Mammarella.

In retrospect, the show has been criticized for sanitizing its audience. And not just in regard to fashion. Though Philadelphia had a large African American population, it would take years for the show to reflect that segment of the population. Like many programs of the day, *Bandstand* did not officially ban African Americans from the audience; but neither did it issue them membership cards. And though the show became known for featuring the hottest African American artists of the 1950s, many of these artists did pop-style tunes. Additionally, there were early efforts to acquiesce to sponsors, who wanted white cover singers.

It was image-consciousness that led to the dismissal of original host Bob Horn. The *Philadelphia Inquirer*, which owned WFIL, was in the midst of an anti-drunk driving campaign when Horn made headlines with a 1956 drunk driving arrest. As a result, WFIL sought a new host. Enter twenty-six-year-old Dick Clark.

Voted the "Man Most Likely to Sell the Brooklyn Bridge" by his high school classmates, Clark was born November 30, 1929, in Bronxville, New York. He was in his early teens when he realized he wanted a career in radio. While still in high school he worked in the mailroom at a Utica, New York, station where his father was the promotional manager. At Syracuse University he majored in advertising and minored in radio, and was a disc jockey and newscaster for the campus station. Following graduation, he worked at a series of stations including the Syracuse, New York, station, WOLF-AM, where he hosted the country music show, *The WOLF Buckaroos*. After moving into television at Utica's WKTV, he became "Cactus Dick" of the station's country-western show, *Cactus Dick and the Santa Fe Riders*.

He relocated to Philadelphia in 1952 to host WFIL radio's daily easy listening show, *Dick Clark's Caravan of Music*. He also did commercials for WFIL-TV, and watched from the sidelines as



Dick Clark (holding microphone) with Bobby Rydell on *American Bandstand*.

*Bandstand* became a local hit. Though he was a novice in regard to rock 'n' roll, Clark was a marketing genius who intuitively understood the potential of both the show and the music. As the country's fourth-largest metropolitan city, Philadelphia was a break-out market for performers and their records.

It was on August 5, 1957 that ABC took *Bandstand* national. Debuting on 67 stations across the country, the live daily afternoon show was an instantaneous success. Just weeks into its run, *American Bandstand* was drawing 15,000 letters a week, topping the fan mail for the network's most popular show, *Wyatt Earp*. The success led to a Saturday night spin-off, *The Dick Clark Show*, which ran for two-and-a-half years.

As network television's first show devoted to rock 'n' roll, it became requisite for both established and upcoming performers to put in *American Bandstand* guest appearances. Of the leading rock 'n' roll stars of the 1950s and 1960s, only Elvis Presley and Ricky Nelson did not appear. Those artists who made their national debut on the program included Buddy Holly and the Crickets, Jerry Lee Lewis, Gene Vincent, the Everly Brothers, Jackie Wilson, Johnny Mathis,

Chuck Berry, and the duo of Tom and Jerry—later to be known as Simon and Garfunkel. As an integral force in the rise of the teen idol, *American Bandstand* also propelled Fabian, Frankie Avalon, Bobby Rydell, and other pin-up boys, to prominence.

Singer Gene Pitney once estimated that a single *American Bandstand* appearance could lead to next-day sales of 20,000 to 40,000 records. After nearly giving up on her career, Connie Francis had her first number one hit when Clark touted "Who's Sorry Now?" When Jerry Lee Lewis appeared on the show in April 1958 to perform "Breathless," viewers learned they could own the record by mailing in fifty cents and five wrappers from Beechnut gum, a leading sponsor. Within three days, tens of thousands of gum wrappers were mailed in.

Clark himself was the force behind the 1958 number-one hit "At the Hop." Danny and the Juniors had originally recorded a demo called "Do the Bop," which referred to one of the show's dance fads. Clark suggested that lyrics be changed to "At the Hop." It was also Clark who triggered Chubby Checker's enormous 1960 hit, "The Twist." Credited with revolutionizing popular dance, "The Twist"

was written and first recorded by the raucous rhythm and blues group Hank Ballard and the Midnighters as the flip side to their 1958 tune “Teardrops on Your Letter.” After seeing the dance performed on his show in the summer of 1960, Clark approached the local Cameo Records and suggested a new recording.

The Twist was but one of many dance fads popularized by *American Bandstand*. Others included the Strand, the Stroll, the Duck, the Calypso, the Fly, the Loco-Motion, the Watusi, the Limbo, the Bristol Stomp, the Mashed Potato, the Hully Gully, the Bird, and the Smurf. It wasn’t just the dances that garnered the spotlight; some of the dancing “regulars” became celebrities in their own right, complete with fan mail, their own fan clubs, and coverage in the teen fan magazines. The show’s most popular dance team of Bob Clayton and Justine Carrelli even cut their own record.

The show’s reputation, as well as Clark’s, was briefly jeopardized when the payola scandal broke in November of 1959. By this time, Clark was involved in music publishing, talent management, record pressing, label making, distribution, and more. But, he insisted to a Washington subcommittee that he had never accepted payola for playing or not playing a particular record. He survived the scandal, but ABC made him divest his music-related interests.

During the 1960s, *American Bandstand*’s influence was undermined by societal changes, as well as changes in the music world. Los Angeles, home of surf and car-culture music, had become the new heartbeat of the industry. And so, in February 1964 the Philadelphia fixture relocated to Southern California. No longer live, the show was taped; having lost its daily time slot, it aired on Saturday afternoons.

Oddly, the series failed to capitalize on the British invasion. Meanwhile, as FM radio grew in popularity, the diversity of music types created a conundrum. On a purely practical level, psychedelic songs were not danceable. To enliven the dance floor, *American Bandstand* cranked up the soul music—an irony, considering that it was 1965 before the series had a regular African American dance couple.

In the 1970s, *American Bandstand* exploited a new roll call of teen idols, including Bobby Sherman, David Cassidy, and John Travolta. The series also reached into its vaults for a highly rated twentieth-anniversary late night special. Still later in the decade, the show’s dance floor was revitalized by disco. The following decade saw the abandonment of the dress code. But spandex and plunging necklines, and guests as disparate as Madonna, Jon Bon Jovi, Prince, and the Stray Cats, could not offset changing technology. MTV debuted on August 1, 1981; four years later, it spawned the sister network, VH-1, which was aimed at viewers ages twenty-five to forty-nine, a demographic group who had left *American Bandstand* behind. There was also competition from music-video oriented series, such as NBC’s *Friday Night Videos*. Finally, after thirty-seven years of catering to and reflecting teenage taste, *American Bandstand* came to an end in October 1987. Through syndication, *The New American Bandstand* ran through September 1989.

But the beat goes on. Dick Clark Productions continues to exploit the *American Bandstand* moniker with tie-ins including a chain of theme restaurants. And the show continues in reruns. In fact, VH-1, which contributed to the original show’s demise, has been an outlet for *The Best of American Bandstand*. Befitting a symbol of Americana, the show’s podium, over which Clark used to preside, is on display in the Smithsonian Institution; the show itself was entered into the *Guinness Book of World Records* as TV’s longest-running

variety program. Meanwhile, the theme song, “Bandstand Boogie,” enjoys instant recognition. As does Clark, whose ever-youthful appearance, and association with the series, have won him the appellation, “the world’s oldest living teenager.”

—Pat H. Broeske

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## *American Bandstand*

See also Clark, Dick

## American Girls Series

“We give girls chocolate cake with vitamins” explains Pleasant T. Rowland, the creator of the *American Girls* books, summing up the philosophy behind the bestselling historical fiction series. The 1980s and 1990s have seen a proliferation of series books for girls—the *Sweet Valley High* series, the *Baby-Sitters Club* series, the *American Girls* series—which have sold millions of copies. Pleasant Company’s *American Girls Collection*, a set of 36 books about six girls from different eras in American history, is among the leaders in this popular and profitable field. Preadolescent girls are a powerful demographic in 1990s publishing; girl power, it seems, represents a significant buying power. Series books for girls have frequently been dismissed both because they are popular reading and children’s literature and because they are series books, which have historically been disdained by critics. Such books, however, have been an important and influential (as well as lucrative) genre of children’s literature since the middle of the nineteenth century, with the publication of *Little Women* (1868). Recently, there has been more critical attention paid to girls’ culture as an area for scholarly inquiry and there is no reason that this inquiry should not be extended to girls’ reading habits.

Founded as an alternative to mass market books and toys, The Pleasant Company was launched in 1985 by Pleasant Rowland, a former teacher and textbook author. The company’s stated mission is “to celebrate all that is special about American girls—past and

present—and in doing so, to create a community of American girls.’’ The company has annual revenues in excess of 300 million dollars from the sale of books, dolls, clothing, accessories, and activity kits from both the *American Girls* historical collection and the American Girl contemporary products. Since 1986, Pleasant Company has sold 48 million *American Girl* books, and plans to release an additional 42 titles in 1999. Rowland got the idea for the *American Girls* books after she went shopping for dolls for her two nieces. All she found were ‘‘Barbies that wore spiked heels, drove pink Corvettes, and looked as if they belonged in stripjoints.’’ Rowland wanted to give girls dolls that could teach ‘‘American history, family values, and self-reliance.’’ Ironically, in 1998, Rowland sold Pleasant Company to Mattel, the makers of Barbie.

The *American Girls* book collection is based on the fictional lives of six ethnically diverse nine-year-old girls from different eras in American history: Felicity Merriman, a Williamsburg girl whose life is changed dramatically by the outbreak of the American Revolution; Josephina Montoya, a New Mexican girl of the early 1820s (whose books include a glossary of Spanish words used in the text); Kirsten Larson, an immigrant to the Minnesota frontier in the 1850s; Addy Walker, an African American girl who escapes from slavery in 1864; Samantha Parkington, an orphan who lives with her aunt and uncle in turn-of-the-century New York city; and Molly McIntire, a twentieth century girl whose father serves in England during World War II. Six books have been written about each girl’s experiences, including volumes on family and friends, school, birthdays, Christmases, and summer and winter adventures. Each volume includes a ‘‘Peek into the Past’’ section in which photos, illustrations, and narratives are provided for historical background and context. The entire collection consists of the novel series, dolls and dolls’ clothing, historically accurate replicas of furniture, girls’ clothes, and memorabilia, and craft projects including (for each of the six characters) a cookbook, crafts book, theater kit, and paper dolls and accessories. The 18-inch dolls cost over \$80 each. With all the accessories, including \$80 dresses for actual girls, each collection costs approximately \$1,000.

In 1992 the company launched the *American Girl* magazine, a bimonthly magazine free of advertisements that treats both historical and contemporary issues, which by 1995 had over 500,000 subscribers. The magazine is phenomenally popular—for each issue, the magazine receives over 10,000 pieces of mail, most asking for advice or directed at the help column. The magazine, aimed at 7-12 year old girls, features fiction and nonfiction articles on arts, sports, entertainment, history snippets about girlhood during various periods of American history, original short fiction, and a regular section called ‘‘Grandmother, Mother, and Me’’ which contains paper dolls and cut-out clothes from both past and present. Pleasant Company also began publishing the *American Girl Library*, which emerged from the most popular features of *American Girl* magazine and is completely contemporary. *The American Girl Library* serves as a counterpart to the *American Girls* collection, and includes activity books, fiction, biography, and (most significantly) advice books, such as the bestselling *Help!: An Absolutely Indispensable Guide to Life for Girls*. In recent years, Pleasant Company has also created special events and programs for fans of the series, including The American Girls Fashion Show, Samantha’s Ice Cream Social, and Felicity in Williamsburg: An American Girls Experience.

Like most series books for girls, the plots of the *American Girls* books are somewhat formulaic: the books typically center on moral

quandaries, and the heroine is always exceptionally capable and plucky, helpful and brave. Addy Walker’s story is the most poignant, and it is her books which have received the most attention. The Addy books are historically accurate, which makes for some painful reading: before her family can flee slavery, for example, Addy’s master sells some of her family, and her family is forced to leave her young sister, Esther, in the care of fellow slaves. Addy’s parents’ experience of prejudice in the north, where they are free, also clearly demonstrates to readers that the social effects of racism go beyond legal statutes.

What explains the long-lasting popularity of girls series books? What social values do the books promote? While the messages such books send can offer their readers newfound self respect, the books can also help to perpetuate stereotypes. The *American Girls* books do not hide the fact that they emphasize ‘‘traditional values,’’ and yet ‘‘traditional values’’ are reduced to a rather simplistic vision of the American past as a time when families were better off—when they were more closely-knit, more functional, safer, and most importantly, more likely a place where mothers and daughters spent time together. According to the Pleasant Company catalog, the *American Girls* books and programs have ‘‘nurtured a sense of community among thousands of girls around the country, and in a fast-paced, over-scheduled world have provided a memorable experience that mothers and daughters can share.’’ In fact, the *American Girls Collection* does what much of the genre of historical fiction (especially for children) does . . . it satisfies our need for formula and reaffirms simplistic notions about the past. The popularity of historical fiction has never been based, after all, on the degree to which it reflects an accurate picture of historical eras or events, but is based rather on the degree to which it reaffirms cultural myths. The *American Girls* books, nevertheless, combine education and entertainment. While we may wish for fiction that would complicate, rather than simply corroborate, our understanding of history, these novels serve as an informal, informative introduction to history, which may be more accessible to its readers than more formal or complex treatments of the same historical periods.

Problems in the *American Girls* books are often surmounted too easily, almost as if having a loving family guarantees a good outcome: Samantha’s aunt and uncle decide to keep all of her orphan friends, for example, while Addy’s family is successfully reunited. In addition, several of the novels contain messages of self-effacement. Kristin and Molly, for example, both learn that their concerns are trivial compared to those of other family members. Despite their memorialization of the past, and their cliched moral messages, the *American Girls* books do offer their readers greater independence and a sense of their own potential power by presenting images of independent, resourceful young girls. Simply reading historical fiction featuring girls can give girl readers a sense of pride and self-awareness that they might not acquire from historical fiction featuring boys. As Rowland says, ‘‘I believe very strongly in the importance of gender-specific publishing. And, especially after recent reports that girls are given less attention than boys in the classroom, it is crucial that girls see themselves as significant characters in books—and in history. And it is also important for boys to recognize this, too.’’ Perhaps most importantly, the *American Girls* books present exceptionally gutsy and articulate girls of different classes, races, and cultural backgrounds. Taken as a whole, the series says that what it means to be an American girl is significantly different than the white

upper-middle class Victorian girl we are all familiar with from children's literature.

—Austin Booth

## American Gothic

This painting of a stern-visaged, tight-lipped, nineteenth-century country couple posed in front of their pristine farmhouse has become not only one of the most reproduced images in American popular culture, it has also virtually become emblematic of the moral fiber and simple virtues for which America is said to stand. Painted by Grant Wood in 1930, *American Gothic* has been interpreted both as homage to the artist's Midwestern roots and as slyly witty commentary on American "family values." After winning an important prize in 1930, *American Gothic* quickly became, as Robert Hughes notes, "Along with the Mona Lisa and Whistler's Mother . . . one of the three paintings that every American knows. . . . One index of its fame is the number of variations run on it by cartoonists, illustrators, and advertisers. . . . The couple in front of the house have become preppies, yuppies, hippies, Weathermen, pot growers, Ku Klux Klaners, jocks, operagoers, the Johnsons, the Reagans, the Carters, the Fords, the Nixons, the Clintons, and George Wallace with an elderly black lady." In the visual culture of the millennium, *American Gothic* remains the most potent and pervasive symbol of America's heartland mythology, as witnessed by its perpetual permeation into all areas of popular culture.

—Victoria Price

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## American Graffiti

The 1973 box office and critical smash *American Graffiti* epitomized the 1950s nostalgia craze, established the device of interweaving multiple stories, inspired such television series as *Happy Days* and *Laverne and Shirley*, and boosted the careers of Richard Dreyfuss, Cindy Williams, Candy Clark and, most notably, the film's co-writer and director, George Lucas. The story takes place in 1962—the proper if not the chronological end of the 1950s—when both the kids and the country were innocent. The evening depicted was a month before the Cuban missile crisis, a year before the assassination of John F. Kennedy, and years before the Vietnam War controversy, hippies, radicals, pot, free love, Nixon, and AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome). But what makes the film universal is the way Lucas captures the innocence of youth, that



*American Gothic* by Grant Wood.

ephemeral moment when all options are still open, before irrevocable choices must be made. Everything is still possible, and the sky is the limit.

It is a bit surprising that such a popular and influential film almost did not get made. Lucas' first film, *THX 1138*, was a financial failure, and United Artists rejected the script for *American Graffiti* that Lucas had written with Gloria Katz and Willard Huyck. But Lucas' friend, Francis Ford Coppola, convinced Universal to back the film, on condition Coppola serve as producer and adviser, and with a \$700,000 budget, Universal figured the risk was not great. The movie was shot on location in 28 nights, and the filming was plagued with problems from the outset. On the second night, the entire crew was evicted from the town in which they were shooting, and the assistant cameraman was hospitalized after falling off the camera car and being run over by a trailer. The film came in on time and, after editing, Lucas handed the completed film over to Universal, which was less than thrilled with the finished product. Studio executives were particularly put off by the presence of four central characters whose stories were intertwined. Lucas was furious when the studio cut five minutes from the film before releasing it. But Lucas' vision was vindicated when the film grossed over \$100 million domestically, received five Academy Award nominations, and won the Golden Globe and New York Film Critics' Award. Stephen Farber in *The New York Times* called it "the most important American movie since *Five Easy Pieces*—maybe since *Bonnie and Clyde*."

The story, based on Lucas' own youth in Modesto, California, begins when four friends meet up in the parking lot of Mel's Drive-In,



Ron Howard and Cindy Williams in a scene from the film *American Graffiti*.

a restaurant with roller-skating carhops. The friends are the teenage intellectual Curt (Dreyfuss), the class president Steve (Ron Howard), the nerd Terry “the Toad” (Charles Martin Smith), and the 22-year-old hot rodder John (Paul Le Mat). Three of these characters were based on Lucas himself who began as a nerd, was considered much cooler after winning several racing trophies, and was forced to exercise his intellect after a near-fatal car crash crushed his lungs and ended his racing career; only the class president, Steve, was pure fiction, and the major reason Lucas needed two co-writers. The year of the story may be 1962, but the cars and songs are solidly 1950s, as customized cars driven by ponytailed girls and ducktailed boys tool along the main drag in a mating ritual, with disc jockey Wolfman Jack supplying the tunes. Curt and Steve are due to fly east to college the next morning, but Curt’s second thoughts about leaving the safety of his hometown provide the film’s backbone. Steve is dating Curt’s sister, Laurie (Williams), and she is upset about Steve leaving her behind. When Curt spots a beautiful blonde (Suzanne Somers) in a classic white 1956 T-bird and she mouths the words “I love you,” he wants to follow her. Unfortunately, he is in the back seat of his sister’s

1958 Edsel and cannot convince her to follow the T-bird, and spends the rest of the movie trying to track this vision down. Meanwhile, Steve and Laurie argue about his leaving, Toad can not believe his luck when he picks up a beautiful blonde (Clark), and John’s cruising style is hampered by the presence of the 13-year-old Carol (Mackenzie Phillips) while his hot-rodding reputation is being challenged by Bob Falfa (Harrison Ford). Curt finally visits Wolfman Jack for advice, and the Wolfman convinces him that “this place ain’t exactly the hub of the universe.” When morning comes, Laurie has convinced Steve to stay in town, and they, the Toad, John, and Curt’s parents say goodbye to Curt at the airport. As his plane wings its way eastward, he glances down and notices a lone car also leaving town and also headed east: a classic white 1956 T-bird.

The film may be nostalgic, but it is never sentimental. While films such as *Summer of ’42* specialized in a soft-focus romanticism, Lucas bent over backwards to make sure the film was never pretty. One of the world’s greatest cinematographers, Haskell Wexler, served as supervising cameraman, to capture Lucas’ vision, and the film was shot in grainy Techniscope, in what Lucas called “a sort of

jukebox lighting”—or what film co-editor Marcia Lucas termed “ugly.” Subsequent films and television shows have tried for this hard-edged nostalgia, but even more influential was the device of interweaving story lines, which has become a television staple, used on shows ranging from *Hill Street Blues* to *Northern Exposure* and *ER*. Significantly, Lucas used part of the profits from the film to help finance his next project: *Star Wars*.

—Bob Sullivan

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## American International Pictures

For three decades, from the 1950s to the 1970s, American International Pictures (AIP) supplied America’s drive-ins and movie theatres with cult favorites such as *It Conquered the World*, *I Was a Teenage Werewolf*, *Beach Blanket Bingo*, and *The Pit and the Pendulum*. The studio not only made the movies that the younger generation wanted to see, but it also helped to create the stars of the future. AIP gave directors such as Francis Ford Coppola, Woody Allen, and Martin Scorsese their first jobs, and cast actors such as Jack Nicholson, Robert De Niro, and Peter Fonda in their first movies. Hollywood had always made “B” movies, but no one made them as fast or with as much enthusiastic abandon as AIP. With miniscule budgets, ten or fifteen-day shooting schedules, recycled sets, and churned-out screenplays, AIP changed the way movies were made by creating a demand for a brand new kind of low-budget entertainment; Hollywood would never be the same again.

American International Pictures founder Samuel Z. Arkoff had wanted to be a part of the motion picture industry since boyhood. It took him almost twenty years to fulfill his dream. After serving in World War II, he moved to Los Angeles, where he attended law school on the G.I. Bill. For five years, Arkoff made a living as a minor television and film lawyer. When he met former theatre chain owner, James Nicholson, the two hatched an idea for a production company whose time, they felt, had come.

By the early 1950s, the Golden Age of Hollywood was at an end. During the previous decade, the U.S. Congress had filed an anti-trust suit against the eight major studios. The government’s goal was to check the studios’ monopolistic abuse of power by forcing them to close down their distribution arms, that is, to prevent studios from owning theaters. The case dragged on, but by the end of the 1940s, a consent decree was passed, forcing the studios to divest control of

their theaters. By 1954, the eight major studios no longer owned theaters and the studio system that had sustained Hollywood was gone.

But this was not the only major change to hit Hollywood. Television was wooing viewers away from the big screen. The neighborhood movie houses began shutting down as viewers flocked to the stores to buy television sets. In response, the major studios stopped making “B” pictures, concentrating their efforts instead on mega-productions, musicals, new gimmicks such as 3-D, and wide-angle processes such as CinemaScope and VistaVision, transforming movies into big screen special events that they hoped would lure viewers away from their televisions.

It was at this time that Arkoff and Nicholson spotted a hole in the movie market. They realized that the second-run movie houses and drive-ins were unable to afford these first-run Hollywood extravaganzas, and so were losing their audiences. Arkoff and Nicholson knew that if they could find a way to make first-run movies inexpensively and then supply them to exhibitors at a much lower cost, they would make a huge profit.

In 1954, Arkoff and Nicholson met a young filmmaker named Roger Corman who was looking for a distributor for a low-budget film he was producing, *The Fast and the Furious*, a race car movie starring John Ireland and Dorothy Malone, was just what Arkoff and Nicholson had in mind. They bought the film as part of a four-picture deal with Corman and AIP was born. With Corman as one of their main directors and teenagers their target audience, AIP turned out Westerns, action flicks, prison movies, sci-fi thrillers, and horror films, shamelessly jumping on every cinematic trend. By the late 1950s, with films such as *Invasion of the Saucer-Men*, *Sorority Girl*, and *Machine Gun Kelly*, the company was turning a steady profit.

By the early 1960s, AIP had found their formula and they felt they could start to take a few risks. When Roger Corman approached Arkoff and Nicholson about filming Edgar Allen Poe’s *The Fall of the House of Usher*, the studio signed veteran star Vincent Price to a multi-picture contract, and the critically and financially successful Corman-Price-Poe cycle was born. Realizing that horror movies were in demand, they hired stars from the Golden Age of Horror such as Basil Rathbone, Peter Lorre, and Boris Karloff to appear in their films, fueling a horror renaissance that lasted well into the next decade.

During the 1960s, it seemed as if AIP could do no wrong. When the studio signed Annette Funicello and Frankie Avalon to frolic in the sand in *Beach Party*, they initiated a huge wave of successful beach movies. Hot young stars such as Funicello, Avalon, Jack Nicholson, Peter Fonda, and Nancy Sinatra were brought up in the AIP ranks, and by the early 1970s cutting-edge young directors began flocking to the studio to have their films made. Among these were Martin Scorsese, who directed *Boxcar Bertha*; Brian De Palma, who made *Sisters*; Ivan Reitman, who filmed *Cannibal Girls*; and Oliver Stone, who directed *Seizure*. Even Woody Allen got his first break at AIP, when the studio hired the young stand-up comedian to dub over a Japanese spy film. His *What’s Up, Tiger Lily?* became an instant cult classic.

During the 1970s, AIP branched out into bigger productions with horror classic *The Abominable Dr. Phibes*, blaxploitation film *Foxy Brown*, futuristic thriller *Mad Max* with Mel Gibson, and Brian De Palma’s *Dressed To Kill*. By the time the studio merged with Filmways in 1980, American International Pictures had become an integral part of moviemaking history.

In 1979, the Museum of Modern Art staged a retrospective of AIP's films, an honor about which Arkoff mused, "In the early days of AIP, if anyone had told me that our pictures would be shown in the Museum of Modern Art, I would have been startled. That was the furthest thing from my mind. We did not deliberately make art. We were making economical pictures for our youthful market, but at the same time, I guess we were also doing something unique and evolutionary." Indeed, this unique and evolutionary approach to making movies changed not only the face of American cinema, but also helped to transform American popular culture. As the curators of the film department at MOMA noted, "Not only are [American International's] films rich in their depiction of our culture, but indeed they have played a not insignificant part in it."

—Victoria Price

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## American Mercury

For about a decade the *American Mercury* magazine served as an irreverent cultural critic. The magazine's distinctive style came from the iconoclastic nature of its editor, Henry Louis (H. L.) Mencken. Under his leadership, the *Mercury's* vitriolic attacks on mainstream American culture attracted a following among the intelligentsia and provoked controversy as well (censors tried to ban the April, 1926 issue).

The brainchild of publisher Alfred A. Knopf and journalist/social critic H. L. Mencken, the *Mercury* first appeared in 1924, and Mencken soon became the sole editor. The *Mercury* printed work by Charles Beard, W. J. Cash, Clarence Darrow, W. E. B. Du Bois, Emma Goldman, Langston Hughes, Eugene O'Neill, and Upton Sinclair, among others. In 1933, with readership falling off and his own interest in the magazine waning, Mencken relinquished the editorship. By the 1950s, after passing through a succession of owners and editors, the *Mercury* had degenerated into a racist, anti-semitic fringe publication. The magazine folded in 1980.

—Eric Longley

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## American Museum of Natural History

New York City's American Museum of Natural History—with its giant dinosaur skeletons and detailed dioramas—is both a primary repository for the scientific discoveries relating to the natural world and a major tourist attraction. Opened in 1869 when the Upper West Side of Manhattan was still on the edge of civilization, the fortress-like Museum later added wings reaching Central Park West and a major planetarium wholly updated in the 1990s. From a few hundred mounted birds and mammals, the museum's collection has grown to include more fossils, mammals, and dinosaurs than any other museum in the world. Critics have charged the museum with being an agent of colonialism and exploitation and have found the statue of President Theodore Roosevelt on horseback flanked by a walking Black and American Indian in front of the principal entrance an apt symbol of their charge. Such criticisms have not minimized the pleasures of the millions of people who visit the museum annually. In *The Catcher in the Rye* J. D. Salinger captured the delight of many visitors when his character Holden Caulfield fondly remembered his regular school visits to the museum, saying "I get very happy when I think about it."

—Richard Martin

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## The Amos 'n' Andy Show

During the Great Depression *The Amos 'n' Andy Show* provided comic relief to a nation reeling from rapid deflation and skyrocketing unemployment. The day after the stock market crash of October 29, 1929, the following exchange took place on the Amos 'n' Andy radio show—Andy: "Is you been keepin' yo' eye on de stock market?" Lightnin': "Nosah, I ain't never seed it." Andy: "Well, de stock market crashed!" Lightnin': "Anybody git hurt?" Andy: "Well, 'course, Lightnin', when de stock market crashes, it hurts bizness men. Dat's whut puts de repression on things." Clearly, the show gave down-on-their-luck Americans a cast of characters at whom they could laugh and with whom they could identify. But there was more at stake on the show than economic satire. In its television incarnation in the 1950s and 1960s, the show became a window on changing race relations in America. From 1925 until 1966 *The Amos 'n' Andy Show* dominated several forms of media in America. It was the nation's most popular radio show, the subject of two films, a popular comic strip, and finally a television sitcom with an all-black cast. The show





The cast of the *Amos 'n' Andy* television show: (from left) Spencer Williams, Tim Moore, and Alvin Childress.

perpetuated the stereotypes of blackface minstrelsy, portraying clownish “Coons,” docile and devout “Uncle Toms,” shrewish “Mammies,” and other stock black characters. As a television show it divided the black community. Some blacks thought it was a funny show which provided an excellent opportunity for blacks to work in the entertainment industry, while others—especially the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)—viewed it as an abominable racist burlesque which led all Americans to believe that blacks were unemployable, oafish fools.

*The Amos 'n' Andy Show* was the brainchild of Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll, two white performers with Southern roots. Gosden's father fought for the confederacy in the Civil War, and Correll was a distant relative of Jefferson Davis. Gosden and Correll met in North Carolina in 1919, and when their radio show, *Sam 'n' Henry*, debuted in Chicago in 1925 they were paid in food instead of cash. The title characters of the show were bumptious Southern blacks who had moved from Alabama to Chicago hoping for a better life. The humor on the show was part malapropistic (black characters creating unintended puns by mispronouncing words) and part derivative from the dim-witted characters' naivete. The show was historically significant because it was the first serialized radio program ever—in other words, it was the first show to have a continuous storyline woven through nightly episodes. As such, it was the pioneer of the soap opera and the television situation comedy.

In 1926 the *Chicago Tribune*, owner of Chicago radio station WGN, signed Gosden and Correll to a two year radio contract. When

that contract ended the duo moved to another station but had to change the names of the title characters because WGN owned the rights to *Sam 'n' Henry*. Gosden and Correll initially considered Jim 'n' Charlie for their new characters' names, but decided on Amos 'n' Andy instead because they thought that “Amos” was a “trusting, simple, and naive” Biblical name while Andy sounded “lazy” and “domineering.” In show number 23 Gosden and Correll came up with the show's trademark, the “Fresh Air Taxicab of America Incorporated.” In 1929 NBC picked up the show and broadcast it to a national radio audience. The show was an instant sensation. It was so popular that it had to be recorded live twice each night so that it could be heard on the West Coast and the East Coast in prime time. It represented a unique approach to comedy because it was not based on one-liners like other comedy shows of the period. Gosden and Correll thought that if they created likeable, interesting characters, their listeners would tune in. The other stars of *The Amos 'n' Andy Show* were Kingfish, a boisterous schemer, Lightnin' a dimwitted foot-shuffling janitor, Calhoun, a bombastic lawyer, Kingfish's shrewish wife Sapphire, and Sapphire's ogreish mother.

The 1930s belonged to *The Amos 'n' Andy Show*. In 1930 they made their first of two feature films, *Check and Double Check*, in which they appeared in blackface. Another film would follow in 1936. In 1931 40 million listeners tuned in each night to their radio show, representing 74 percent of the potential listening audience. The show was so popular that President Calvin Coolidge regularly excused himself from state dinners to listen to the 15 minute nightly broadcast, department stores broadcast the show over their public address systems so that their shoppers could listen to the show as they browsed, and movie theaters actually interrupted feature films in progress so that they could broadcast the radio program live to their audiences. Telephone activity also declined nationally during the 15 minutes during which the show was broadcast, and the sewers in many cities ran dry between 7:00 and 7:15 because listeners did not want to miss a moment of the show. Although the show was very popular among blacks and whites, the 1930s brought the first public protests against it by the NAACP.

In 1943 the NBC radio program was increased from 15 minutes to 30 minutes, but a ratings drop caused Gosden and Correll to revamp the show. When it returned after an eight month hiatus, it was a once-weekly show instead of a nightly show. It had a live audience, an orchestra instead of an organist, and a team of writers to co-write the show with Gosden and Correll. In 1948 CBS lured Gosden and Correll away from NBC by offering them the astounding sum of \$2.5 million.

When the television version of *The Amos 'n' Andy Show* premiered with an all-black cast on June 28, 1951, it was immediately at the center of a firestorm of controversy. The NAACP strongly objected to the show, claiming that it “depicted Negroes in a stereotyped and derogatory manner.” They soon filed a formal law suit against CBS which asserted that the show “strengthened the conclusion among uninformed and prejudiced people that Negroes are inferior, lazy, dumb, and dishonest.” The suit claimed that the show presented every black character as “a clown or a crook,” and argued that it led viewers to believe that all blacks were like the characters on the show. This was a minority position within the black community at large and within the black entertainment community in particular. The few blacks who had made it into show business saw

the show as a positive step because it employed dozens of African Americans in an industry which had been all but off limits to black performers. Several of the show's cast members defended it against the barrage of criticism from the NAACP and the National Urban League.

The star of the short-lived television show was neither Amos nor Andy but George "Kingfish" Stevens, played by Tim Moore. Some have suggested that instead of *The Amos 'n' Andy Show*, the show should have been called "The Adventures of Kingfish." Moore created in Kingfish a complex character—a sympathetic, mischievous protagonist. Amos, played by Alvin Childress, made cameo appearances in most episodes, but had a very minor role. Andy, played by Spencer Williams, Jr., had a more prominent role, but still served primarily as Kingfish's foil. Horace Stewart played the ironically named 'Lightnin', Ernestine Wade played Sapphire, and Jonny Lee played the preachy lawyer Calhoun. Blatz Brewing Co., the sponsor of the television show, pulled out in 1953 under pressure from the NAACP, and later that year the network canceled the show despite its high ratings. It was the first television show ever shown as a rerun (during the summer of 1952), and it ran in syndication until 1966.

Black entertainers and civil rights leaders of the 1960s through the 1990s have disagreed over how the show should be remembered. Comedians Flip Wilson and Redd Foxx watched the show, enjoyed it, and thought it was a harmless comedy. Other black entertainers disagreed. Richard Pryor called the show an "outrage" and Bill Cosby claimed it was "not at all funny." Civil Rights leader and presidential candidate Jesse Jackson has offered one of the most insightful commentaries on the show. He said, "I think the record must show that [*The Amos 'n' Andy Show*] paid the dues that made it possible for those who now play roles with much more dignity." He added that the show "proved that blacks could act" and "proved that blacks could entertain." As demeaning as the television show was in terms of its stereotypical presentations of African Americans, it did give them unprecedented access to the highly segregated world of show business.

—Adam Max Cohen

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## Amsterdam, Morey (1908-1996)

Morey Amsterdam brought a vaudeville sensibility into the electronic age. Best known for his role as Buddy Sorrell on *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, Amsterdam was a popular show business veteran before he was cast in the series. He made his mark in acting,



**Morey Amsterdam**

songwriting, film, and nightclub comedy—where he earned the nickname "The Human Joke Machine" for his ability to come up with a joke on any subject on demand. He wrote gags for presidents and performers, and his admirers included Pope John XXIII and Chicago mob boss Al Capone.

Morey Amsterdam was born in Chicago, Illinois, on December 14, 1908. From the beginning, the arts touched his life. His father was a concert violinist who played for the Chicago Opera and, later, the San Francisco Symphony. Like many vaudeville veterans, Amsterdam began his performing career as a child. His first public performance took place in 1922 when Morey sang as a tenor on a San Francisco radio program. The teenager then joined his piano-playing brother in his vaudeville act. He started out as a cellist, but soon the instrument merely became a prop for his comedy. When his brother left show business, Morey continued on his own. At age 16, he was hired as a regular performer by a nightclub owner named Al "Brown," who had been impressed with Amsterdam's stage act. Brown's real name was Al Capone. A shootout on the club premises inspired Amsterdam to seek greener, and safer, pastures in California.

Amsterdam attended the University of California at Berkeley for a time, but by 1930 he was in New York City, working as a comedy

writer for radio stars Will Rogers and Fanny Brice. He soon realized that he felt at home on the air, where his quick wit and rapid-fire joke delivery, honed in front of live audiences, quickly won over listeners. In 1932 he started writing for *The Al Pierce Gang* radio program. It was on this show he met lifelong friend and future *Dick Van Dyke Show* costar, Rose Marie. He also found time to write jokes for another well-known client—President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In the late 1930s, Morey Amsterdam continued to expand his creative horizons, serving as lyricist on the films *With Love and Kisses* (1937) and *Career Girl* (1943). His songwriting talents also yielded a number of popular compositions, including “Why Oh Why Did I Ever Leave Wyoming?” and The Andrews Sisters’ “Rum and Coca-Cola.” He wrote the films *The Ghost and the Guest* (1943) and *Bowery Champs* (1944) and provided additional dialogue for *Kid Dynamite* (1943).

In the midst of post-World War II prosperity, television came to America. As with radio, Morey Amsterdam wasted no time taking his place among the pioneers of the new medium. On December 17, 1948, CBS first telecast *The Morey Amsterdam Show* (a radio version, which had premiered six months earlier, continued during the TV series’ run). Morey essentially played himself: His character, a nightclub owner, was a joke-telling cello player. CBS canceled the series after three months. In only one month it was back, this time on the Dumont network, where it remained until its final airing in October of 1950.

Throughout the 1950s, Morey Amsterdam remained visible to TV audiences in a variety of series and guest appearances. He appeared as a panelist on NBC’s *Tag the Gag* in 1951 and *Who Said That?* (on which he had made his first TV appearance in 1948) in 1954. He hosted Dumont’s intergenerational game, *Battle of the Ages*, from September to November of 1952. While his own show was still on CBS, he hosted NBC’s *Broadway Open House* (1950), a precursor to *The Tonight Show*, on Monday and Wednesday nights.

It was Rose Marie who, in 1961, recommended Amsterdam for what would become his most memorable role. She was cast as comedy writer Sally Rogers on *The Dick Van Dyke Show*. The role of co-worker Buddy Sorrel was not yet cast. Rose Marie suggested that series creator Carl Reiner get in touch with her old friend Morey Amsterdam. Knowing Amsterdam’s reputation, Reiner agreed. Amsterdam accepted the offer to audition without hesitation—happy for the opportunity to move from New York City to California, where the show was to be filmed. He quickly landed the role.

*The Dick Van Dyke Show* broke new ground in the television situation comedy genre. Viewers not only learned what Rob Petrie (Van Dyke) did at the office, they also got to know the people with whom he spent his workdays. These co-workers were fully formed characters, as richly drawn as Rob and his wife Laura (Mary Tyler Moore). The series pioneered the depiction of a “workplace family,” a concept Moore would put to use in her own series in the next decade. Buddy was also one of the first TV characters to openly state a personal fact seldom mentioned on TV at the time: He was Jewish.

The series’ casting and writing were works of genius. As the writers of the fictional “Alan Brady Show,” Van Dyke, Amsterdam, and Rose Marie played off each other perfectly. Amsterdam’s banter with Rose Marie and his fast-paced quips directed at “Brady” producer Mel Cooley (Richard Deacon) quickly became highlights of the show. Buddy Sorrell was an ideal role for him: both were show

business veterans with sharp wits and an arsenal of jokes for any occasion. Amsterdam later declared, “I am Buddy. [He] is not only a comic, but an experienced writer, a fellow who knows timing and funny situations.” In the final episode, the cast learns that Rob’s life is to be adapted for a TV situation comedy that will be scripted by Rob, Buddy, and Sally. The fictional Buddy thus becomes a “real” person adapted into a television character. Just as Morey Amsterdam is Buddy, Buddy becomes, in a sense, Morey Amsterdam.

Amsterdam continued to work throughout the rest of his life, performing in clubs and guest starring on series from *The Partridge Family* (1970, as a comedy writer) to *Caroline in the City* (1996, with Rose Marie). He had just returned from a cabaret tour when he died of a heart attack on October 27, 1996. As Dick Van Dyke remarked, “Probably a hundred thousand jokes in his head went with him.”

—David L. Hixson

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## Amtrak

Amtrak was created in the early 1970s to rescue America’s failing passenger rail system by bringing it under the control of a single quasi-governmental authority. Trains had been the primary means of intercity travel up to World War II, during which gasoline rationing filled many trains to standing-room-only. But passenger volume rapidly fell once the war was over, the automobile assuming primacy as a symbol of prosperity and mobility, a necessity for commuters in brand-new suburbs inaccessible by rail, and a commodity whose manufacture was central to the postwar industrial boom.

Nevertheless, a number of railroads continued to run passenger trains at a loss so long as they had a robust freight traffic to subsidize them. But by the end of the 1960s competition from truck freight, combined with inept management, spawned numerous bankruptcies (such as the New York Central and Pennsylvania Railroads, which merged to form the Penn Central in a last ditch but unsuccessful effort to avoid insolvency). In 1970, when President Nixon signed the Rail Passenger Service Act creating Amtrak, fewer than 10 percent of intercity travelers were riding the rails, on a total of only 450 scheduled trains a year—and three-quarters of the scheduled trains had discontinuance petitions pending before the Interstate Commerce Commission.



Passengers boarding an Amtrak train.

Many government officials in Washington were skeptical of Amtrak because they saw the new agency as an instance of throwing good money after bad, but the relatively modest appropriation passed by Congress included \$40 million from the federal government plus another \$100 million in guaranteed loans. A number of unprofitable routes were to be eliminated immediately, in return for which private railroads buying into the system would ultimately contribute \$192 million in monthly installments over three years.

On May 1, 1971, Amtrak ran its first trains. At first, these were the same as before, but now run by the original railroads under contract (as some cities' commuter-rail systems, notably Boston's, would continue to be into the 1990s); later, the trains were motley assemblages of aging steam-heated cars in a rainbow of different companies' colors behind engines newly painted with Amtrak's red-white-and-blue arrow logo. An immediate and visible change, however, was in advertising. With such imagery as a frustrated Paul Revere on horseback surrounded by stalled bumper-to-bumper car traffic, and a one-way Boston-New York fare of \$9.90 (and a round trip for just a dime more), Amtrak appealed both to the mind and the wallet.

And to a great extent the strategy worked. Students and young adults on tight budgets found the cheap fares irresistibly attractive, and enjoyed the camaraderie and adventure of train travel, even on antiquated equipment prone to failure (although, to its credit, Amtrak shops in Boston, Wilmington, Delaware, and elsewhere were reconditioning the old equipment as fast as they could) and with only a modest likelihood of on-time arrival. Thanks in large part to rebounding ridership, profitability was soon restored to the Washington-to-Boston corridor, most of which was bought outright from the bankrupt Penn Central in 1976.

Although the mingling of train travelers was arguably a social force for democratization, a second factor in the recovery of the Northeast Corridor was its first-class service. Although parlor cars were nothing new (complete with spacious seats and obliging service staff—mostly black, a holdover from the heyday of the Pullman sleepers), Amtrak sought to attract more affluent customers by introducing its priority Metroliner trains, which cut three-quarters of an hour off the Washington-New York run and whose interiors, reminiscent of airplane cabins, featured headrest-backed seats equipped with folding tray-tables, high-tech stainless-steel chemical toilets,

and even on-board telephones. A fleet for ordinary coach service, with similar styling but no telephones, was gradually introduced to replace the rebuilt "Heritage" cars as well. As the quality of service improved, so did ridership among older citizens, many of whom were attracted both by the nostalgia of train travel and by affordable excursion and senior fares.

Amtrak's first decade saw a race of capital improvements against deteriorating infrastructure, for the earlier railroads had spent little on upkeep as they sank deeper into debt. In the Northeast Corridor, several hundred miles of worn track on deteriorating wooden ties were replaced by long sections of continuous-welded rail bolted to concrete, and roadbeds were regraded to allow higher operating speeds. A daily trip by a prototype turbo-train, the "Yankee Clipper"—the name borrowed from a former Boston and Maine train to Bangor, discontinued in the mid-1950s—was introduced on an experimental basis between Boston and New York for several months in 1975. (However, the turbo trimmed only a half hour off the time of the fastest conventional express run, the "Merchants' Limited," and wobbled alarmingly at its top speed of 90 miles per hour. It was quietly withdrawn from service several months later.)

Meanwhile, Congress was becoming increasingly uneasy about its allocations to Amtrak's budget, since it could not see the analogy between such subsidies and the less visible public underwriting of the competition—the highways and airports—through such self-perpetuating taxation schemes as the Highway Trust Fund. Amtrak managed to beat back challenges to its funding by pledging to become a break-even business by the turn of the century, a deadline subsequently extended to the year 2002.

In 1981, Amtrak declared that its policy would be to set fares "at a level designed to produce the highest possible revenue." Ceasing to try to compete with intercity bus prices, the company eliminated most excursion fares. By 1998, a round trip by train between Boston and New York cost more than twice the fare charged by the principal bus carrier, Greyhound; not surprisingly, many students and the urban poor now shunned the train as prohibitively expensive, so that even as Amtrak crossed the \$1 billion mark in its annual revenues, it had for all practical purposes ceased to be passenger rail for all the people, and was now affordable only by the middle and upper classes.

—Nick Humez

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## Amusement Parks

Spatial and temporal enclaves remote from everyday life, amusement parks are among the favorite recreational places of Americans, who imported the concept from Europe, developed it into a major artifact of American popular culture and have successfully re-exported it throughout the world since the 1980s. Amusement parks not only provide an abundance of entertainment to visitors by featuring roller coasters, Ferris wheels, carousels, games, food, and shows, but also have promoted very contested models of ideal future societies and utopian communities, especially since the creation of Disneyland in 1955.

Contemporary amusement parks are the descendants of medieval trade fairs and European pleasure gardens of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Originally expressing an idyllic Arcadian life within increasingly industrialized urban landscapes, later pleasure gardens displayed additional features such as live entertainment, exotic architecture, impressive lighting, fireworks, dancing, games, and even primitive amusement rides. However, as their popularity grew, they also attracted undesirable guests such as prostitutes, rakes, smugglers, and thieves, and the development of criminal activities caused many of these gardens to close.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the growth of the amusement park industry shifted to the United States, benefiting greatly from the Chicago's Columbian Exposition of 1893, which introduced the key elements of modern amusement parks. The World's Fair unveiled the first Ferris wheel and the exotic enticements of the Midway Plaisance but, more significantly, it pioneered the model of an enclosed, illusory, and temporary utopian world produced by architects, engineers, and planners. Disconnected from its urban and social environment, the White City allowed its visitors to temporarily escape from reality and experience the magic dream of a perfect future relying on technological progress. Following this example, Captain Paul Boynton opened Chutes Park in Chicago in 1894, the first enclosed amusement park charging an admission fee; a solution that allowed for the exclusion of criminal elements. One year later, he opened Sea Lion Park at Coney Island, Brooklyn, New York, which inspired numerous amusement parks in the United States, including the three Great Coney Island parks.

Coney Island embodied the American amusement park tradition from the 1890s until the mid-1950s. In 1875, the completion of the Andrew Culver's Prospect Park and Coney Island Trailway had transformed Coney Island from a traditional seaside resort into a popular playground. Steeplechase Park (1897-1964), Luna Park (1903-1947), and Dreamland (1904-1911) attracted millions of working-class New Yorkers who enjoyed the intense thrills provided by the roller coaster and other mechanical devices, and the fabulous atmosphere of fantasy, sensuality, and chaos created by the extravagant



A typical American amusement park.

architecture, incredible illuminations, and disorienting attractions. Coney Island offered an escape from a mundane existence and a sense of release from the responsibilities of adulthood.

Increasing leisure time and disposable personal income, as well as the development of electric trolley lines in major American cities, initiated a tremendous growth of the amusement park industry over the next three decades. By building amusement parks at the end of trolley lines, trolley magnates stimulated weekend ridership, thus generating additional revenues and maximizing the flat monthly rate charged by the electric light and power companies. The first ‘trolley

parks’ consisted of picnic groves located in a pastoral landscape, but quickly, dance halls, restaurants, games, and a few amusement rides were added for the pleasure and entertainment of the patrons. These amusement parks became immediately successful among all social classes and, by 1920, over 1,800 operated in the United States. Unfortunately, the golden age did not last. In 1998, only twelve trolley parks remained.

The beginning of the 1920s marked the beginning of the dramatic decline of traditional amusement parks. With the new mobility provided by automobiles and the lack of parking facilities at the urban

parks, visitors turned to new activities and attractions such as motion pictures or more independent leisure travel. In addition, Prohibition (of alcohol), some years of bad summer weather, the acquisition of parks by private individuals, the Stock Market Crash of 1929 and the Great Depression caused the closing of numerous parks. By 1939, only 245 amusement parks still remained, struggling to survive. World War II further hurt the industry, but the postwar baby boom and the creation of “kiddielands” allowed for a short resurgence of prosperity. Nevertheless, the radical cultural changes occurring in the 1950s made amusement parks obsolete. The industry could not face the competition from shopping centers and television entertainment, suburbanization of the middle class, intensifying racial tensions, gang conflicts, and urban decay. Most of the traditional amusement parks closed. The modern amusement park would soon appear. The new concept was a fantastic dream of Walt Disney, which cost \$17 million to build.

On July 17, 1955, “Walt Disney’s Magic Kingdom,” more commonly referred to as Disneyland, opened in Anaheim, California. The nation’s first modern theme park was born and would dramatically alter the future of the amusement park industry, despite the skepticism it faced at its beginning. Featuring five separate fantasy worlds—Main Street, U.S.A., Fantasyland, Adventureland, Frontierland, and Tomorrowland—Disneyland attracted nearly four million visitors in 1956 and has maintained its exceptional popularity ever since. Isolated and protected from the intrusion of the real world, Disneyland offers to its visitors the experience of a spotless and idyllic universe without sex, violence, or social problems. The attractions transport them into a romanticized past and future, providing maximum thrill and illusion of danger in a perfectly safe environment. Impeccably planned and engineered down to the smallest detail, the park is a realm of permanent optimism and artificiality, celebrating the American Dream of progress through high technology within a carefully designed and bucolic landscape.

After many failures to copy Disneyland’s successful formula, Six Flags over Texas opened in 1961 and became the first prosperous regional theme park, followed in 1967 by Six Flags over Georgia. Throughout the late 1960s and 1970s, while traditional urban amusement parks continued to close, suffering from decaying urban conditions, large corporations such as Anheuser-Busch, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Marriott Corporation, MCA, Inc., and Taft Broadcasting invested in theme parks well connected to the interstate highway system. In 1971, the opening of what would become the world’s biggest tourist attraction, Walt Disney World, opened on 27,500 acres in central Florida. Costing \$250 million, it was the most expensive amusement park of that time. Less than ten years later, in 1982, EPCOT Center opened at Walt Disney World and the permanent world’s fair surpassed \$1 billion. After the fast development of theme parks in the 1970s, the United States faced domestic market saturation and the industry began its international expansion. With the opening of Wonderland in Canada (1981) and Tokyo Disneyland in Japan (1983), theme parks started to successfully conquer the world. Meanwhile, a renewed interest for the older parks permitted some of the traditional amusement parks to survive and expand. In 1987, Kennywood, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Playland, in Rye, New York, became the first operating amusement parks to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

In 1992 Euro Disneyland, which cost \$4 billion to build, opened near Paris. Jean Cau, cited by Alan Riding, described it as “a horror made of cardboard, plastic, and appalling colors, a construction of hardened chewing gum and idiotic folklore taken straight out of

comic books written for obese Americans.” Though dismissed by French intellectuals and suffering financial losses for the first three years, by 1995 the park showed profits and has become among the most visited attractions in Europe.

In 1993 the Disney Company announced plans for an American history theme park near a Civil War battlefield site in Virginia. Although welcomed by some for the jobs and tax revenues it would create, the plans engendered much criticism. Disney was called a “cultural strip miner” and the project labeled a “Trojan mouse.” Leading historians took out large advertisements in national newspapers asking, “Should Disney pave over our real past to promote a commercial fantasy?” Ultimately, the plan was abandoned.

The intellectual community has endlessly criticized theme parks and particularly the Disney versions. In 1958, novelist Julian Halévy noted about Disneyland: “As in Disney movies, the whole world, the universe, and all man’s striving for dominion over self and nature, have been reduced to a sickening blend of cheap formulas packaged to sell. Romance, Adventure, Fantasy, Science are ballyhooed and marketed: life is bright colored, clean, cute, titillating, safe, mediocre, inoffensive to the lowest common denominator, and somehow poignantly inhuman.” Most criticisms emphasize the inauthentic, controlled and sanitized experience provided by the Disney parks. Totally disconnected from reality, the parks offer a decontextualized, selective, and distorted history, denying any components that could potentially challenge the perfect carefree world they exemplify. Ignoring environmental, political, and social issues, these ersatz of paradise are said to promote an unquestioned belief in consumerism, control through managerial hierarchy, and technologies to solve all the world’s problems, and to supply permanent entertainment to millions of passive visitors pampered by a perpetually smiling and well-mannered staff.

A more critical aspect of theme parks is their heavy reliance on the automobile and airplane as means of access. While mass-transit connection to the urban centers allowed millions of laborers to enjoy the trolley parks, its absence creates a spatially and socially segregated promised land excluding the poor and the lower classes of the population. The customers tend to belong mainly to the middle- and upper-middle classes. Since many visitors are well-educated, it seems difficult to support fully the previous criticisms. Theme park visitors are certainly not completely fooled by the content of the fictitious utopias that they experience, but, for a few hours or days, they can safely forget their age, social status, and duties without feeling silly or guilty. The success of American amusement parks lies in their ability to allow their visitors to temporarily lapse into a second childhood and escape from the stress and responsibilities of the world.

—Catherine C. Galley and Briavel Holcomb

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## Amway

The Amway Corporation has grown from a two-man company selling all-purpose cleaner to become the largest and best known multi-level or network marketer in the world. Its diverse product line, ranging from personal care items to major appliances, generated sales of over seven billion dollars in 1998 and was sold by nearly one million distributors in 80 countries and territories. In the process, founders Richard M. DeVos and Jay Van Andel have made millionaires of some of their adherents and *Fortune* 400 billionaires of themselves. With the growth of home businesses in late twentieth-century America, Amway has inspired a slew of imitating companies, selling everything from soap to long distance telephone service. Amway, or the American Way Association as it was first called, has also revived interest in the American success story; rags-to-riches financial success based on hard work, individualism, positive thinking, free enterprise, and faith in God and country.

The prosperous years following World War II inspired people to search for their own piece of the American dream. A variant of the 1930s chain-letter craze, pyramid friendship clubs swept the United States in 1949. The clubs encouraged people to make new friends by requiring them to pay one or two dollars to join and then recruit at least two other paying members. The individual at the top of the pyramid hosted a party and received all of the proceeds before dropping out. This "new mass hysteria," as *Life* magazine called it, was popular mostly among the lower middle class but attracted adherents even from the upper class. The pyramid aspect was illegal—a form of gambling—but authorities risked huge public protest if they intervened. Hundreds of irate readers even threatened to cancel their subscriptions to the *Detroit News* when the paper published stories condemning the clubs. That, however, did not stop magazines and movie newsreels from showing images of lucky participants waving fistfuls of cash at pyramid parties. But most of the schemers got nothing more than dreams of instant riches.

Amway co-founders Jay Van Andel (1924—) and Richard DeVos (1926—) met as students at Grand Rapids, Michigan, Christian High School in 1940. An oft-told business deal brought the high school buddies together; DeVos paid Van Andel a quarter each week for rides to and from school in Van Andel's old Ford Model A. The Dutch American DeVos and Van Andel shared the same church, the conservative Christian Reformed, and similar backgrounds, values, and interests. Their families encouraged hard work and both young

men were instructed to develop their own businesses as a means of assuring their financial future. World War II intervened, but the pair reunited after the war and founded their first businesses, a flight school and the first drive-in restaurant in Grand Rapids.

Following an adventure-filled trip to South America by air, sea, and land, the two men searched for a new business opportunity in 1949. The answer appeared—at the height of the pyramid craze—in the form of Nutrilite vitamins and food supplements. Nutrilite had been founded by Carl Rehnborg, a survivor of a Chinese prison camp. Rehnborg returned to the United States convinced of the health benefits of vitamins and nutritional supplements. His company used a different sales technique, multi-level or network marketing, that was similar to but not exactly the same as pyramiding. New distributors paid \$49 for a sales kit, not as a membership fee but for the cost of the kit, and did not have to recruit new distributors or meet sales quotas unless desired. Nutrilite distributors simulated aspects of pyramid friendship clubs. They sold their products door-to-door and person-to-person and were encouraged to follow up sales to make sure customers were using the purchases properly or to ask if they needed more. Satisfied customers often became new distributors of Nutrilite and original distributors received a percentage of new distributors' sales, even if they left the business.

DeVos and Van Andel excelled at network marketing, making \$82,000 their first year and more than \$300,000 in 1950, working out of basement offices in their homes. Over the next ten years, they built one of the most successful Nutrilite distributorships in America. In 1958, a conflict within Nutrilite's management prompted the pair to develop their own organization and product line. The American Way Association was established with the name changed to Amway Corporation the following year. DeVos and Van Andel built their company around another product, a concentrated all-purpose cleaner known as L. O. C., or liquid organic cleaner. Ownership of the company had one additional benefit beyond being a distributor. DeVos and Van Andel now made money on every sale, not just those they or their distributors made.

The new enterprise "took on a life of its own, quickly outgrowing its tiny quarters and outpacing the most optimistic sales expectations of its founders," according to a corporate biography. Operation was moved to a building on the corporation's current site in a suburb of Grand Rapids—Ada, Michigan—in 1960. In 1962, Amway became an international company, opening its first affiliate in Canada. By 1963, sales were 12 times the first-year sales. In its first seven years, Amway had to complete 45 plant expansions just to keep pace with sales growth. By 1965, the company that started with a dozen workers employed 500 and its distributor force had multiplied to 65,000. The original L. O. C. was joined by several distinct product lines with dozens of offerings each. Most of the products were "knock-offs," chemically similar to name brands but sold under the Amway name. A fire in the company's aerosol plant in Ada in 1969 failed to slow growth.

The 1970s were an important decade for the company. Pyramid schemes attracted renewed public attention in 1972 when a South Carolina pitchman named Glenn Turner was convicted of swindling thousands through fraudulent cosmetic and motivational pyramid schemes. The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) accused Amway of similar pyramid tactics in 1975. "They're not in a business, but some sort of quasi-religious, socio-political organization," a FTC lawyer said. The FTC alleged the company failed to disclose its distributor drop-out rate, well over 50 percent, as well. But an administrative law judge disagreed in 1978, arguing that Amway was a "genuine



business opportunity.” The company began a vigorous public relations campaign against pyramid schemes, which was to continue on its corporate web-page through the late 1990s.

Amway expanded its international operations in earnest during the 1970s, adding countries in Europe and Asia. In 1972, Amway purchased Nutrilite Products, the firm that had started Van Andel and DeVos. The firm’s first billion dollar year came in 1980. Amway World Headquarters continued to expand as a new cosmetics plant was opened in Ada. By the end of the 1980s, Amway distributors were operating in 19 countries on five continents, marketing hundreds of Amway-made products in addition to other name brand products sold through a catalog.

Personal computers and corporate downsizing aided to the rise in home businesses during the 1980s and 1990s, benefitting network marketing companies like Amway. Although less than five percent earned more than \$40,000 a year, The Direct Selling Association estimated that 30,000 people became new direct marketing distributors each week in 1997. In an era of increasingly impersonal retailing, customers enjoyed a return to personal salesmanship. “You buy a product at the store and the manager doesn’t call to say, ‘Hey, are you doing OK?’,” one multi-level distributor told the Associated Press in 1997. Amway sales presentations stressed customer service but were blended with testimonials from successful distributors, healthy doses of positive thinking, and pitches to God and patriotism. The company’s literature, including books, videos, and an internet site, was replete with rags-to-riches success stories, much like a Horatio Alger, Jr. novel of a century before. Not everyone, however, succeeded with the company. “I saw a lot of other people making money, [but] things just didn’t click for us,” one former distributor told the Associated Press. Still, the *Wall Street Journal* reported in 1998 that an increasing number of doctors were recruiting patients and other doctors to sell Amway as a means of making up for lost income due to managed health care.

A second generation assumed senior management positions at the privately-held Amway Corporation during the 1990s. A board of directors comprised of DeVos, Van Andel, and eight family members was formed in 1992. Steve A. Van Andel (1955—) and Richard M. DeVos, Jr. (1955—) succeeded their fathers as chairman and president. Meanwhile, in 1998 the elder DeVos and Van Andel had personal fortunes estimated at \$1.5 and \$1.4 billion dollars respectively, and they have used their money to support educational and Christian philanthropy. But, Amway faced new legal problems as well. Beginning in 1982, Procter & Gamble sued various Amway distributors for telling customers that the company encouraged satanism. In 1998, Amway responded by suing Procter & Gamble for distributing “vulgar and misleading statements” about Amway and its executives. The litigation revealed the extent of Procter & Gamble’s concern over Amway’s competition.

The DeVos family attracted media attention toward the end of the twentieth century for their support of the Republican Party and other conservative political causes. Richard M. DeVos, Sr. and his wife gave the most money to Republicans, \$1 million, during the 1996 presidential campaign while encouraging their Amway distributors to donate thousands of additional dollars. Amway put up \$1.3 million to help the party provide its own coverage of the 1996 national convention on conservative evangelist Pat Robertson’s cable television channel—“a public service,” as Richard M. DeVos, Jr. explained. “I have decided . . . to stop taking offense at the suggestion that we are buying influence. Now I simply concede the point. They are right. We do expect some things in return,” DeVos’ wife Betsy wrote in an

article for *Roll Call*. Regardless, or perhaps because of its politics, the “easy money” allure of Amway continued to attract new distributors to the firm. “Amway wasn’t just a soap business,” one ex-school teacher couple related on the company’s web-page in 1999. “People’s lives were changed by it. Now we are living our dream of building an Amway business as a family.”

—Richard Digby-Junger

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## Analog

See *Astounding Science Fiction*

## Anderson, Marian (1897-1977)

Although her magnificent contralto voice and extraordinary musical abilities were recognized early on, Marian Anderson’s American career did not soar until 1939, when she performed on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. At that juncture, her life mission was as much sociological as musical. Not only did she win acceptance for herself and all black performers to appear before unsegregated audiences but she helped initiate the civil rights movement that would flower in the 1960s.

Anderson had no singing instruction until she was seventeen. In 1925, she won a vocal competition in which 300 entrants sought an appearance with the New York Philharmonic in Lewisohn Stadium. Arturo Toscanini heard her in Salzburg, Austria, and declared, “a voice like hers is heard only once in a hundred years.”

Popular belief is that her career nearly foundered again and again because she was black, but that is not true. By early 1939 she earned up to \$2000 a concert and was in great demand. The problems she faced were the segregation of audiences in halls and the insult of sometimes not being able to find decent hotel accommodations



**Marian Anderson, singing at the Lincoln Memorial.**

because of her color. Her first manager, Arthur Judson, who could not deliver many high-paying dates he promised, suggested that she become a soprano. But she grasped that this was not a viable solution, not only because it evaded the real issue but because such a change could, possibly, seriously affect her vocal cords.

Not at loose ends, but discouraged, Anderson returned to Europe, where she had toured earlier. Between 1930 and 1937, she would appear throughout Western Europe, Eastern Europe (including the Soviet Union), Scandinavia, and Central Europe. After breaking with Judson, Anderson acquired a new manager. Her accompanist, Billy Taylor, bombarded impresario Sol Hurok with letters and copies of her reviews, in the hope that he would become interested in her work. Hurok had built his reputation on publicity feats for his clients. (Some stunts were outrageous, but nearly all of his clients were superb performers.) He had undoubtedly heard about Anderson before Taylor's missives, so his later story about stumbling across a concert she gave in Paris, in 1935, can be dismissed.

What is true is that the concert made a great impression on him, and both he and Anderson agreed to a business relationship that would last until she retired from the stage. When she returned to America in December 1935, Hurok billed her as the "American Colored Contralto," which evidently did not offend her. Under his management, she appeared frequently but still endured the sting of racism even in New

York, where she had to use the servants' entrance when she visited her dentist in Central Park South's exclusive Essex House.

Characteristically, Hurok would claim credit for the event that came to highlight the discrimination toward Anderson and other black artists. He had thought to present her in Washington's Constitution Hall, owned by the ultra-conservative Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). As he expected, the hall's management duly notified him that Anderson could not appear there because of a "Whites Only" clause in artists' contracts.

Hurok thereupon notified the press about this terrible example of prejudice. After learning the news, a distinguished group of citizens of all races and religions, headed by Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, agreed to act as sponsors of a free concert Anderson would give on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, on Easter Sunday, April 9, 1939. Mrs. Roosevelt's husband was in his second term in the White House, and to further emphasize the importance she assigned the event, Mrs. Roosevelt resigned her DAR membership.

An estimated 75,000 people, including Cabinet members and Members of Congress, and about half of whom were black, heard Anderson open the program with "America," continue with an aria from Donizetti's "La Favorita," and, after a few other selections, received an ovation. The crowd, in attempting to congratulate Anderson, threatened to mob her. Police rushed her back inside the

Memorial, where Walter White of the American Association for the Advancement of Colored People had to step to a microphone and make an appeal for calm.

The publicity generated by the event firmly established Anderson's career, not only at home but throughout the world. Racial discrimination in concert halls did not end, but its proponents had been dealt a mighty blow. Beginning after World War II and through the 1950s, Hurok managed tours for Anderson that were even more successful than those of pre-war years. She performed at the inaugurations of Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy and at the White House during their presidencies, as well as before Lyndon B. Johnson. Eventually she performed in over 600 American cities to over six million listeners in more than 1500 auditoriums.

In 1955, at the advanced age of fifty-eight, Anderson was the first black engaged as a permanent member of the Metropolitan Opera. Not only did this pave the way for other black artists to perform with the Met but it marked yet another major step forward in the struggle against racial discrimination.

In addition to opening up opportunities for black artists, Anderson made spirituals an almost mandatory part of the repertoires of all vocalists, black *and* white. It was impossible to hear her rendition of *Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child* and not be deeply moved. Audiences wept openly. Requests to hear more such music followed, wherever she performed.

Although Anderson made many recordings, she far preferred to appear before live audiences. "I have never been able to analyze the qualities that the audience contributes to a performance," she said. "The most important, I think, are sympathy, open-mindedness, expectancy, faith, and a certain support to your effort. I know that my career could not have been what it is without all these things, which have come from many people. The knowledge of the feelings other people have expended on me has kept me going when times were hard."

—Milton Goldin

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## Anderson, Sherwood (1876-1941)

Although Sherwood Anderson had a relatively brief literary career, publishing his first novel when he was forty years old, he has left an indelible mark on American literature. His critique of modern society and avant-garde prose served as a model for younger writers of the so-called "Lost Generation," who for a time venerated Anderson for his rather dramatic departure from mainstream family and corporate life for one of nonconformity and cultural rebellion. He is considered today one of the most important figures in twentieth century American fiction—one who combined turn-of-the-century realism with an almost poetic introspection into the frailties and uncertainties of modern man.

Such a career seemed unlikely for Anderson initially. Born in Camden, Ohio, in 1876, he came of age in the small Ohio town of Clyde before attending Wittenberg Academy in Springfield, Ohio. As a boy, Anderson was known around town for his dreams of someday shedding his modest surroundings to make a fortune in the business world—not unusual for a boy growing up in the late nineteenth century—but in his case such entrepreneurial spirit earned him the nickname "jobby" among his peers for his willingness to take on any and all types of employment to earn a dollar. In 1900, he put his plans into action by moving to Chicago and taking a job in advertising. He married, began a family, then moved to Elyria, Ohio, to become president of a company specializing in roofing materials.

Yet while Anderson pursued his fortune, his desire to write began to conflict with his career. He had developed an appreciation for letters while in college and considered himself talented enough to become a successful author, but had decided that his business plans were more important. In Chicago, he had in some ways enjoyed the best of both worlds—his work in advertising had allowed him to combine artistic creativity and business acumen; life in Ohio seemed stultifying and colorless in comparison. Over time, his frustration became more than he could bear, and in 1912, at the age of thirty-six, Anderson experienced a mental breakdown which left him wandering the streets of Cleveland in a disoriented state for days. Following this crisis, he left his wife and three children and moved back to Chicago to begin a new life as a writer. With a few manuscripts in hand, he made contact with publisher Floyd Dell, who saw potential in Anderson's writing and introduced him to members of Chicago's literary crowd such as Carl Sandburg and Margaret Anderson.

Dell also gave Anderson his first opportunity to see his writing in print, initially in the literary journal *Little Review* and later in the *Masses*, a radical magazine of which Dell served as an editor. Soon he was publishing short stories and poems in the noted journal *Seven Arts*, published by Waldo Frank, Frank Oppenheim, and Van Wyck Brooks. His first book, *Windy McPherson's Son* (1916), was an autobiographical account of a young man who escapes his empty life in a small Iowa town by moving to the city, makes a fortune as a robber baron, yet continues to yearn for fulfillment in what he views as a sterile and emotionally barren existence. Critics applauded the book for its critical examination of mainstream, corporate America; it was also a precursor to other works of the genre such as Sinclair Lewis's *Main Street*.

With the publication of his first book, Anderson established himself firmly in Chicago's literary scene. However, it was his third book, *Winesburg, Ohio* (1919), that catapulted him into national notoriety. A series of character sketches, most of which appeared in the *Masses* and *Seven Arts*, *Winesburg, Ohio* describes the experiences of individuals in a small midwestern town—"grotesques," as he called them, who base their lives on the existence of exclusive truth yet who live in a world devoid of such. To exacerbate the frustrated lives of his characters, he gave each one a physical or emotional deformity, preventing any of them from having positive relations with the outside world, and making the book both a critique of small town life and the modern age generally. Attracted to writers such as Gertrude Stein, who experimented with unconventional structure and style, Anderson used a disoriented prose to illustrate the precarious lives of his characters.

Critics and writers alike hailed *Winesburg, Ohio* as a pioneering work of American literature, and the book influenced a generation of writers attracted both to Anderson's style and his themes. The novel was the first of several works of fiction which stressed the theme of

society as a “wasteland,” such as works by T. S. Eliot, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Ernest Hemingway. Fitzgerald and Hemingway, along with William Faulkner, also sought to emulate Anderson’s avant-garde style in their own works. For a short time, a number of young writers looked up to Anderson, whose age and experience, along with his unconventional lifestyle, served as a model for anyone who sought to critique and rebel against the norms of modern society.

Anderson’s popularity proved fleeting, however. He published a few other novels, including *Poor White* (1920) and *The Triumph of the Egg: A Book of Impressions from American Life in Tales and Poems* (1921), but none enjoyed the success of his earlier works. Critics have paid considerable attention to his numerous autobiographical works, most notably *Tar: A Midwest Childhood* (1926) and *A Story Teller’s Story* (1924), for their unconventional methodology. Believing that an individual’s vision of himself, even if rooted in imagination, is more important than verifiable facts, he warned readers that at times he intentionally sacrificed factual accuracy for psychological disclosure, a device which has contributed to considerable confusion regarding his early life. Despite his rather rapid decline in popularity, and also despite the numerous critiques of his works appearing in later years which show that at times his talents were perhaps overrated, Anderson’s influence on younger writers of his time establishes him as a central figure in twentieth-century fiction.

—Jeffrey W. Coker

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## Andretti, Mario (1940—)

Mario Andretti is one of the most outstanding and exciting race car drivers of all time. During a career that began in the late 1950s, Andretti won four National Indy Car Championships, logged more than one hundred career victories, and captured more pole positions than any other driver in history.

Andretti was born in Montona, Italy, on February 28, 1940. His parents were farmers in northern Italy, but were in a displaced persons camp following the Second World War. Shortly before his family immigrated to the United States in 1955, Andretti attended his first auto race, the famous Mille Miglia, a thousand-mile road race through central and southern Italy. The teenager was enthralled by the driving skill of Alberto Ascari, who profoundly impacted his life.

His family settled in Nazareth, Pennsylvania, and Andretti quickly set to work modifying stock cars. He won his first race in 1958 driving a Hudson Hornet. His racing career embraced dirt cars,

midgets, sprint cars, sports cars, Indy cars, Formula One racers, and even dragsters. His versatility is seen in the fact that until 1989, Andretti was the only driver to win both a Formula One World Championship and an Indy Car National Title.

Andretti raced in his first Indianapolis 500 in 1965, and he had so much potential that he was selected “Rookie of the Year.” He won the Indianapolis 500 in 1969. Even though everyone believed this would be the first of many victories at “The Greatest Spectacle in Racing,” Andretti seemed jinxed at Indianapolis. In spite of the fact that he often had the fastest car and was the favorite to win, on race day his car would break down or he would be involved in a wreck that would steal the win from his grasp. In 1981 Andretti lost the race after a controversial ruling. Although he was initially declared the winner of the race, several months later a panel took his victory away because of alleged passing violations. Bobby Unser was declared the victor.

Andretti was more successful at other events. He won the Daytona 500, multiple Sebring 12-hour events, and 12 Formula One Grand Prix races. He was USAC’s Dirt Track champion in 1974 and five years later captured the title of the International Race of Champions. He was recognized as the Driver of the Year in 1967, 1978, and 1984, and even the Driver of the Quarter Century in 1992. He won the Formula One world championship in 1978, and was hailed as Indy Car champion four different years (1965, 1966, 1969, and 1984).

Drivers of his generation evaluated the success of their career by their accomplishments at the Indianapolis 500. Andretti’s name is in the record books at Indianapolis for two accomplishments. He is tied for the distinction of winning the most consecutive pole positions (2) and setting the most one-lap track records (5).

Andretti has two sons, Michael and Jeffrey, who have been successful race car drivers. Mario and Michael were, in fact, the first father-son team at the Indianapolis 500. Andretti’s popularity has resulted in the marketing of various collectibles including trading card sets, model cars, toy racers, and electronic games.

—James H. Lloyd

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## The Andrews Sisters

The Andrews Sisters were the most popular music trio of the 1930s and 1940s. Their public image became synonymous with World War II, due to the popularity of their songs during the war years and because of their tireless devotion to entertaining American troops. Patty, LaVerne, and Maxene Andrews began singing professionally in 1932. They perfected their own style—a strong, clean vocal delivery with lush harmonic blends—but also recorded scores of songs in a wide array of other styles. More popular tunes like “Bei Mir Bist Du Schön,” “Beer Barrel Polka,” and “Boogie Woogie Bugle Boy of Company B” sold millions of records and made them



**Mario Andretti**

national stars. Their songs were happy in tone, aimed at boosting the morale of the American public. The sisters appeared in a number of wartime movies, and earned a devoted audience in the millions of civilians and soldiers who heard their songs.

—Brian Granger

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## Androgyny

The blurring of the sexes has been a mainstay throughout the history of representational art, and popular art of the twentieth century has not broken with this tendency. Whether through consciously manipulated personae or otherwise, countless stars of film, television, and pop music have displayed again and again that the division between masculine and feminine is often a frail one, and in many cases have served to help reverse “natural” standards altogether.

Furthermore, while a number of androgynous figures in the media have sometimes become icons of gay and lesbian fans, many others have traversed the fantasy realms of heterosexual markets, challenging at yet another level the supposedly discrete categories of personal identity.

Of all of its many forms, the most obvious mode of gender-bending in popular culture has been drag. Male and female cross-dressing, however, has often been given unequal weight and meaning. On the one hand, men in women’s clothes have most often been utilized for comic effect, from television comedian Milton Berle in the 1950s, to cartoon rabbit Bugs Bunny, and on to numerous characters on the *In Living Color* program in the 1990s. Females in drag, on the other hand, are rarely used in the same way, and to many connote a coded lesbianism rather than obvious slapstick comedy. German film diva Marlene Dietrich, for example, with the help of photographer Josef von Sternberg, created a seductive self-image wearing men’s suits during the 1930s, gaining immense popularity among lesbian audiences—and shocking some conservative straight viewers. While this discrepancy in drag is probably the result of cultural factors, critics have suggested that popular standards of femininity are often already the result of a kind of everyday “costume,” whereas masculinity is perceived as somehow more “natural” and unaffected. Reversing these roles, then, has markedly different effects.

If self-conscious drag such as Dietrich's can expose common assumptions of the opposition between masculine and feminine in a bold reversal, many other performers have embraced androgyny in the strictest sense by meeting conceptions of both genders in the middle, often with greater cultural reverberations. When American actress Jean Seberg appeared in the 1959 French film *Breathless*, for example, her closely cropped hair and boyish frame stood as a challenge to a culture that measured femininity in long tresses of hair and dramatic body curves. Nevertheless, Seberg became a major influence throughout the 1960s and beyond, ushering in a new type of waifish woman into the popular imagination—for example, actress Mia Farrow and models like Twiggy.

Popular male figures have equally relied upon similar gender play, perhaps most visibly within rock music. Beginning in the late 1960s, for example, much of American and British popular music often seemed to be an unequivocal celebration of androgyny. The "glam" scene, represented by acts like Marc Bolan and T-Rex, Bryan Ferry and Roxy Music, Elton John, and Lou Reed pushed costumed excess to new limits with vinyl pants, feather boas, and makeup of all sorts—to the approval of men and women of multiple orientations. Arguably, the most crucial single glam figure was British singer David Bowie, who adopted an ever changing series of ambiguous stage characters, including Aladdin Sane and Ziggy Stardust, highlighting the theatrical nature of all personae, sexual or otherwise. In the wake of glam came the punk and New Romantic movements in the late 1970s and 1980s, exemplified by groups like the Damned, the Cure, and Siouxsie and the Banshees. Although these two strains were often at odds musically, both were often allied in a project of shocking popular middle-class notions of rugged masculinity. Such shock, however, soon elided into popular faddism, and by the early 1980s a number of musical gender "subversives" such as Adam Ant, Prince, and Boy George nestled in Top 40 charts alongside traditional figures of masculinity.

At the same time that self-consciously androgynous entertainers have often "passed" into the acceptance of mainstream audiences, it has also been common for gender bending to appear to be quite unintentional. A strong example of this can be found in the phenomenon of the so-called "haircut" American heavy metal bands of the 1980s such as Poison, Motley Crue, and Winger. While these acts often espoused lyrics of the most extreme machismo, they often bedecked themselves with "feminine" makeup, heavily hairsprayed coifs, and tight spandex pants—in short, in a style similar to the glam rockers of a decade before. Perhaps even more than a conscious artist like Bowie, such ironies demonstrated in a symptomatic way how the signs of gender identification are anything but obvious or natural. Whether fully intended or not, however, images of androgyny continued to thrive into the 1990s and its musicians, actors, and supermodels, as America questioned the divisions of gender and sexuality more than ever.

—Shaun Frentner

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## The Andy Griffith Show

When Danny Thomas, the well-loved entertainer and benefactor of St. Jude's hospital for children, cast Andy Griffith as the affable slow-talking sheriff in an episode of *The Danny Thomas Show* (1953-65), he had no way of knowing that he was launching a phenomenon that would assume mythical proportions. In that episode, Thomas was given a ticket while traveling through the small town of Mayberry, North Carolina. Sheriff Andy Taylor, who also happened to be the justice of the peace, convinced the big city entertainer that Mayberry was a place to be reckoned with. Almost 40 years later, it still is. The show ran from 1960 to 1968, but by the end of the 1990s, more than five million people a day continued to watch *The Andy Griffith Show* in reruns on 120 television stations.

The genius of *The Andy Griffith Show* evolved from its characters. Each role seemed to be tailor-made for the actor who brought it to life. Mayberry was peopled by characters who were known and liked. The characters did ordinary things, such as making jelly, going to the



Don Knotts (left) and Andy Griffith in a scene from the television program *The Andy Griffith Show*.

movies, singing in the choir, and sitting on the porch on a summer night. No one accused Andy and Barney of commitment phobia even though they left Helen and Thelma hanging for years before marrying them. In point of fact, it took a reunion movie to bring Barney and Thelma Lou to the altar. It was simply accepted that people in small Southern towns behaved this way.

Five-time Emmy winner Don Knotts, as Barney Fife, became one of the most popular characters of all time. His slack jaw and pop-eyed look led to starring roles in several feature films, among them *The Ghost and Mr. Chicken* (1965), *The Incredible Mr. Limpet* (1964), and *The Reluctant Astronaut* (1967). Knotts' comedic timing is without parallel. Little Ronny Howard played Taylor's son, Opie; he grew up to be Ron Howard, played freckle-faced teenager Richie Cunningham (1974-80) on *Happy Days* (1974-84) and later forged a successful career as a director (*Apollo 13* (1995) and *Cocoon* (1985)). Jim Nabors played goofy neighborhood friend and gas station attendant, Gomer Pyle. The success of the Pyle character led to *Gomer Pyle, USMC* (1964-70) in which Pyle joins the Marines and becomes the bane of Sergeant Carter's life. After the demise of *Gomer Pyle, USMC*, Nabors hosted his own variety and talk shows and continued to perform in concerts and clubs. George Lindsey (Gooper) became a regular on *Hee Haw* (1969-86) a hillbilly version of *Laugh-In*. However, it was Andy Griffith who provided the anchor for the show and who proved the glue that held its bumbling but well-meaning characters together. Without Andy, the characters might have been perceived as caricatures. After leaving the show, Griffith launched a second successful television series with *Matlock* (1986-95) playing a shrewd but amiable southern lawyer. He also returned to an old love and recorded two successful gospel albums.

The premise of the show was simple. Episodes would follow the life of Andy Taylor, a sheriff who provided law and order in a small southern town and who was raising his small son with the help of his Aunt Bee and various friends and neighbors. The plots were never complex; they involved the consequences of Opie killing a bird with his B-B gun, or Barney not being allowed to have bullets in his gun, or neighborhood friend Gomer making a "citizen's arrest," or Andy's fighting off the attentions of a mountain girl. The success of the show in the 1960s was understandable, for it poked fun at realistic human foibles. On the other hand, its continued success has been phenomenal. In the 1990s, fans all over the country band together in Andy Griffith Show Rerun Watchers Clubs. On the Internet, a number of web pages have been devoted to the show and its stars. These sites include a virtual Mayberry community. Most surprising of all is the devotion of the Church of Christ in Huntsville, Alabama, who plan their Wednesday night services around watching old episodes of the show and applying its moral lessons to their religious beliefs.

Almost 40 years after its 1960 launching, the stars of *The Andy Griffith Show* have grown up and older. Some of them, including Aunt Bee (Frances Bavier), have died. Yet in the minds of many nostalgic Americans, the town of Mayberry will forever be populated: Andy Taylor will be the sheriff, and his deputy will be Barney Fife. Aunt Bee and her friend Clara will wrangle over who is the best cook. Gomer and Gooper Pyle will continue to run the gas station. Floyd will cut hair on Main Street. Howard Sprague will work at City Hall. Otis will lock himself up after a drunk. Helen and Thelma Lou will wait for Andy and Barney. The Darlings will live in the North Carolina mountains. Whatever the underlying cause of its continued

success, the town of Mayberry and its inhabitants have become part of the American psyche, reminding a jaded public of gentler, friendlier times. It may be true that you cannot go home again, but you can go back to Mayberry again and again.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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## Andy Hardy

Once one of the most popular boys in America, the Andy Hardy character flourished in a series of MGM family comedies from the late 1930s to the middle 1940s. Mickey Rooney's dynamic portrayal of the character was an important factor in the great success of the movies. The Hardy Family lived in Carvel, the sort of idealized small town that existed only on studio backlots. In addition to Andy, the household consisted of his father, Judge Hardy, his mother, his sister, and his maiden aunt. Millions of movie fans followed Andy from adolescence to young manhood in the years just before and during World War II.

The initial B-movie in the series was titled *A Family Affair*. Released in 1937, it was based on a play by a writer named Aurania Rouverol. Lionel Barrymore was Judge Hardy; Spring Byington played Andy's mother. The film was profitable enough to prompt MGM to produce a sequel. For *You're Only Young Once*, which came out early in 1938, Lewis Stone permanently took over as the judge and Fay Holden assumed the role of Andy's mom. Ann Rutherford joined the company as Andy's girlfriend Polly, a part she'd play in a full dozen of the Hardy films. Three more movies followed in 1938 and in the fourth in the series, *Love Finds Andy Hardy*, Andy's name appeared in a title for the first time. Extremely popular, the Hardy Family pictures were now reportedly grossing three to four times what they'd cost to make. The public liked the Hardys and they especially liked Mickey Rooney. By 1939 he was the number one box office star in the country. In addition to the Hardy films, he'd been appearing in such hits as *Captains Courageous*, *Boys' Town*, and *Babes In Arms*. In the years just before American entry into World War II, the brash, exuberant yet basically decent young man he played on the screen had enormous appeal to audiences.

The movies increasingly concentrated on the problems and perplexities that Andy faced in growing up. Schoolwork, crushes, financing such things as a car of one's own. While Polly remained Andy's one true love, MGM showcased quite a few of its young actresses in the series by having Andy develop a temporary crush. Among those so featured were Judy Garland, Lana Turner, Esther Williams, Kathryn Grayson, and Donna Reed. Early on Andy began



(Counterclockwise from right) Lana Turner, Ann Rutherford, Judy Garland, and Mickey Rooney in a scene from the film *Love Finds Andy Hardy*.

having heart-to-heart talks with his father about whatever happened to be bothering him. These father-and-son chats became an essential set piece in the series and no film was without one. Part judge, part therapist, the senior Hardy was also a good listener and his advice to his son, if sometimes a bit stiff and starchy, was always sound. For all his bounce, impatience, and aggressiveness, Andy was pretty much a traditional, middle-of-the-road kid at heart. He usually followed Judge Hardy's suggestions and, by the end of the movie if not before, came to see the wisdom of them. The whole family was a warm, loving one and the Hardy comedies became a template for many a family sitcom to come.

The fifteenth film in the series, *Love Laughs at Andy Hardy*, came out in 1946. Rooney, then in his middle twenties and just out of the service, was unable to recapture the audience he'd had earlier. The final, and unsuccessful, film was *Andy Hardy Comes Home* in 1958.

—Ron Goulart

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## Angell, Roger (1920—)

Writer, parodist, and magazine editor Roger Angell is most notable as an analyst of the philosophy and intricacies of professional baseball and its hidden meanings, what it reveals of the American psyche. Several of the titles of Angell's books, which are compilations of his baseball sketches, hint at his involvement with the metaphysical aspects of the game. These include *The Summer Game* (1972); *Five Seasons* (1977); *Late Innings* (1982); *Season Ticket* (1988); *Baseball* (1988); and *Once More around the Park* (1991).

Born and bred in New York City, Angell received a B.A. from Harvard in 1942, spent four years in the U.S. Army Air Force, and became a writer for Curtis Publications in 1946. Angell was senior editor of *Holiday* travel magazine from 1947 to 1958. In 1948, Angell became an editor and general contributor to the *New Yorker*, quite appropriate as his connection to that magazine was almost congenital. His mother, Katharine White, had joined the magazine in 1925, the year it was founded; his stepfather was E. B. White, long associated with that publication. Angell served as the magazine's senior fiction editor and shepherded the works of cultural figures John Updike, Garrison Keillor, and V. S. Pritchett. He also composed parodies, "Talk of the Town" pieces, and, from 1976, the annual rhymed Christmas verse "Greetings, Friends."



Since 1962, Angell's baseball articles have appeared in "The Sporting Scene" column of the *New Yorker*. Others have been published in the *New York Times*. In his quintessential article, "The Interior Stadium," the concluding essay in *The Summer Game*, Angell disclosed many of his conclusions about baseball. Consciously paraphrasing poet William Wordsworth in the opening line—"Sports are too much with us. Late and soon . . ."—like Wordsworth's "spots of time," Angell recalls not just events in the game, but emotions he feels when the events take place on the ballfield. The arrested moments that Angell recalls at will in the inner stadium of his mind focus on individual players and their challenges. Baseball, in his opinion, is so intensely remembered because it is so intensely watched (or listened to) and made personal by the observers.

It is one of Angell's hallmarks that he regards baseball as a test of the character found in solitary men rather than in team dynamics. He also waxes rhapsodic, as do George Will and other baseball literati, over the game's presumed liberation from the constraints of normal time. In baseball, in Angell's estimation, time is measured by outs rather than by clocks.

Angell dwells on the bond between spectator and player, a reciprocal but perhaps not equal relationship. Only baseball with its statistics and fragments of time arguably allows precise reconstruction of events. With such a lofty vision of what essentially is a popular way to spend leisure time, it is not surprising that Angell wrote the introduction to the companion volume to Ken Burns's video paean to the higher nature of the game.

—Frederick J. Augustyn, Jr.

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## Angelou, Maya (1928—)

American author Maya Angelou is known for her poetry, autobiography, and novels that lyrically articulate the experience of African Americans and give a voice to black pride and heritage. Angelou's works, however, have appealed to all races with their

strong messages of hope and strength. She served as a coordinator for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the 1960s and published the first volume of her autobiography, the acclaimed *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*, in 1970. Despite her distinguished career, she did not become a major public figure until after her moving delivery of a poem at President Bill Clinton's 1992 inauguration. A performer before her career in letters, Angelou has also written, directed, and starred in a number of television programs and movies.

—Geri Speace

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## Animal House

Critics considered *National Lampoon's Animal House* to be cheap, terribly plotted, and in bad taste upon its release in the summer of 1978. Nevertheless, the comedy struck a chord with its public and grossed more than \$90 million in its first year. The movie's success inspired an entirely new genre of teenage "animal comedy" movies and three television network series and started a craze of toga parties on college campuses nationwide. It also launched the movie career of comedian John Belushi.

Despite the lasting influence of the film, many movie studios agreed with the initial critics and passed on the script. John Landis remembers thinking that he was the last person asked to direct, and only then because everyone else had turned it down. As it was, the studio gave him less than \$3 million to make the movie, which afforded him a cast of largely unknown actors and a set that is in real life the University of Oregon campus in Eugene, Oregon.

Based in part on co-writer Chris Miller's college experiences in the 1960s, *Animal House* begins innocently enough with two freshmen seeking to pledge to a fraternity. Set in the early 1960s at fictional Faber College (Miller was quoted as saying that this was the last class to graduate before the Kennedy assassination), the two freshmen discover that they are either too "dweebie" or fat for most of the fraternities except Delta House.

The Delta House fraternity is an image that most college Greek societies have been trying to forget since 1978. Simply put, it is a collection of politically incorrect and incorrigible students whose most intelligent member is averaging less than a 2.0 grade point average. The strait-laced Dean of the school is determined to see Delta evicted from campus and its members expelled. In what is questionably called a plot, the remainder of the movie is a series of skits about the run-ins between the Dean and Delta House. Among these skits are the food fight between Delta and the Dean's cohorts, Belushi's imitation of a zit, and the toga party.

It was Belushi's portrayal of Bluto Blutarsky that was one of the movies most enduring images, virtually typecasting the manic *Saturday Night Live* alumnus as a gross, excessive, drinking party animal

on-screen and off. For most of the movie Bluto speaks in unintelligible grunts, his big monologue coming near the end when he encourages a demoralized Delta House to take its revenge on the Dean. Thus, *Animal House* ends with a Delta-inspired riot at the college's Homecoming Parade. The characters then all head off into the sunset, with captions revealing their eventual fates (Bluto's was to become a Senator).

Teenagers and college students were instantly struck by the movie's anti-establishment message. Of all the figures in the movie, Bluto was the one least cut out to be a Senator. Also, the only role model the students seem to look up to is the English professor who is seen smoking dope. Soon, the antics of Delta House were to be rehashed in such movies as *Police Academy*, *Porky's* and other "animal comedy." Studios sought to reinvent the success of the movie, as well as its financial profits—virtually all of the following movies were made on shoestring budgets but returned large box office receipts. Jeff Kanew, director of *Revenge of the Nerds*, remembers that his studio told him to "Give us an *Animal House*," and he directed a movie complete with food fights and beer-drinking contests.

Over time, however, the teenagers moved on to different fare, and *Animal House* could only be found on cable channels in the 1990s. Greek societies have tried to change the image of the "animal house," though it still comes back to haunt them every time there is a binge drinking related tragedy on a college campus. The stereotypical image of strange, ham-handed initiation rites, sex groupies, and excessive toga parties is still as fresh as in July 1978. The legacy of *Animal House* is best summed up in the names of the Bluto clones that appeared in the television series created to cash in on the movie: Blotto, Gobo, and Zipper.

—John J. Doherty

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## Animated Films

Animated feature-length films have carved a niche in American culture as a viable and enduring art form. Whether the story concerned the X-rated adventures of Fritz the Cat or the G-rated fairy tales offered up over the course of 60 years by Disney animation, animated films have offered a glimpse into another world that often could not be shown by any other filmmaking means.

Animated feature films comprise what is perhaps the most flexible twentieth-century entertainment medium. From its very beginnings, animation offered possibilities undreamt of with conventional film. Ink and paint on paper (and later cels, for transfer to film) offered a much wider palette than the strict physical realism imposed by the motion picture camera. Animators could create other worlds, superhuman abilities, bizarre creatures, and impossible effects with the stroke of a pen. All of this was possible with televised animation or animated shorts, but the feature film format opens wide the doors of possibility. Film animators have much more time and money to fully

realize their vision, and movie screens provide a vast canvas on which to present their work.

Any serious discussion of popular animated film centers on one name: Walt Disney. Disney's prolific imagination and managerial skills helped shape the company that would completely dominate animation for decades to come. Disney's studio started out with a staff of talented animators who turned out animated shorts featuring soon-to-be-popular characters such as Oswald the Rabbit and Mickey Mouse. Perhaps the most important of Disney's partners was the prolific Ub Iwerks, who was with Disney from the beginning and designed many of the technical innovations that propelled animation ahead (most notably the multiplane camera.)

The first fully animated film was Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*. To be sure, *Snow White* was not an entirely groundbreaking project. Full-length films in a quasi-animated format, usually involving shadow puppets or actual animated puppets, had already been produced with limited success. Prior to *Snow White*, Disney and his stable of animators had many years of success with a wide variety of characters, most notably Mickey Mouse, but never before had a studio gambled on a full-length animated feature. Their risky play was rewarded with critical and financial success; *Snow White*, released at the end of 1937, became the most successful film of 1938, with \$8 million in ticket sales.

*Snow White* allowed Disney and company to experiment with animation in many new ways, including a larger cast, more character development, comic relief, and high drama; in short, they placed into their animated film all the elements normally associated with a live-action feature film. They also paved the way for the format followed by dozens of future animated films, with such enduring elements as musical interludes, sneering villains, and wacky sidekicks for comic relief.

*Snow White* also featured a number of technical advances that allowed the animated feature to move beyond the limits that had been imposed by the short format. Animators studied at length the films of live actors going through the motions of the characters in order to best capture realistic human motion. The multiplane camera invented by Iwerks allowed the illusion of depth, and a new effects department added realism to images impossible to accurately draw by hand, such as violent weather and effective shadows.

One gimmick that punctuated animated film from the very beginning was a fascination animators had with combining animation with live action. A decade prior to *Snow White*, Disney's studio had produced 52 "Alice comedies," one-reelers that followed the adventures of a child actress interacting with animated characters. From time to time thereafter, animators made further attempts to combine the two forms, each time pushing the technology further. Disney released *Song of the South* in 1946, featuring life on a southern plantation illustrated by animated stories told by Uncle Remus. The live action/animation marriage reached its zenith in 1988, with the release of *Who Framed Roger Rabbit?* This 1940s-style cartoon noir featured the most realistic combination of live actors with animation seen before or since. No small amount of credit was due to director Robert Zemeckis and animation director Richard Williams, who managed technical feats long thought impossible in human-cartoon interaction.

The Disney studio's place as a dominant force in animation was sealed by the enormous success of its early movies, as was the place of animation in the annals of popular culture. Films such as *Fantasia* (1940), *Pinocchio* (1940), and *Bambi* (1942) further expanded the

financial and artistic horizons Disney had set. Disney went through a variety of phases as the decades progressed. The ethereal, fairy-tale look of *Sleeping Beauty* (1959) gave way to stylized, intentionally exaggerated work in such films as *101 Dalmatians* (1961) and *The Rescuers* (1977). But there was one other very important effect of *Snow White* and those movies that followed: Although there would be many variants and offshoots, feature-length animation was irrevocably cast in the public mind as a medium for children's stories. And as children's stories, animated films for years were perceived as a kind of second-class genre.

After many disappointing years, animated film experienced a tremendous resurgence in 1989, when Disney released the hit *The Little Mermaid*. This adaptation of the Hans Christian Andersen tale kick-started an animation renaissance which was still well underway in the late 1990s. *The Little Mermaid* was an enormous hit, and it provided enough memorable characters and catchy tunes to sell stuffed toys, soundtrack albums, and sing-along videos for years to come. Disney's follow-up to *The Little Mermaid*, 1991's *Beauty and the Beast*, sealed the popular resurgence of animated film. It also earned for animated film the respect of both critics and the public. *Beauty and the Beast* was both a financial and critical success, and was the only animated film to be honored with an Academy Award nomination for Best Picture.

Disney followed this success with 1992's *Aladdin* and the most successful animated film of all time, *The Lion King*, in 1994. With over \$350 million in domestic box office sales and tremendously profitable toys, tie-ins, and various other merchandising efforts, *The Lion King* re-established animation as a force to be reckoned with; putting it on the same level as even the most expensive or lucrative live-action franchises. With 1995's *Toy Story*, the first full-length movie animated completely on computer, Disney positioned itself once again at the top of the technological game. No longer were cartoons limited to what could be done with paint and pen.

Disney's animated films in the 1990s established a format that became nearly universal to films that hoped to emulate the success of Disney's releases. The so-called "Disney formula" included several basic elements: several show-stopping tunes, lovable sidekicks to add comic relief, and a cast of recognizable voice actors. A general theme of all post-*Little Mermaid* Disney animated features—that one's true worth is measured by what's inside rather than what is outside—is also often associated with this formula.

However, Disney was far from a monopoly in the crowded field for motion-picture success, especially in the wake of the enormous profit of *The Lion King*. Over the course of the 1980s and 1990s, one of the most consistent challenges to Disney's dominance came from Don Bluth and Gary Goldman. Bluth, a veteran Disney animator whose work stretched as far back as *Sleeping Beauty*, and Goldman both felt that the Disney studio had strayed from the ideals Walt Disney had exemplified and led a mass exodus of animators from the Disney stables in the early 1980s.

Bluth and Goldman went on to produce a number of successful animated projects, including *The Secret of NIMH* (1982), *An American Tail* (1986), *The Land Before Time* (1988), and the fully-animated video games *Dragon's Lair* and *Space Ace*. Their work met with acclaim and respectable box office—in fact, *The Secret of NIMH* was the most successful non-Disney animated film up until that time, and its \$45-million take outgrossed many contemporary Disney films as well. However, while Bluth and Goldman's work was able to stand on its own and make a profit, Disney's box office dominance was still secure.

But, the rise of Bluth had a galvanizing effect on the animation industry. The success of Bluth's films showed that, even though knocking Disney from its position at the top was unlikely, there was still commercial viability in animated film. Furthermore, Bluth himself stated that he hoped his work would make Disney's improve as well, since competition tends to bring out the best in all parties involved. There might well be truth in his statement, since the success of *The Little Mermaid* and Disney's own renaissance soon followed.

In 1997 and 1998 the playing field for animation was reshuffled. Disney appeared vulnerable to competitors, as recent efforts such as *Pocahontas* (1995) and *Hercules* (1997) had done respectably at the box office, but had not achieved the smash hit status of *The Lion King*. Sensing an opportunity, other studios moved in to claim their piece of the animation pie. Bluth and Goldman signed on with 20th Century Fox to produce animated movies, starting with 1997's *Anastasia*. Several other animated efforts from rival studios, such as *Quest for Camelot* (1998), were released in the late 1990s during what might be accurately titled an animation binge.

Bluth was not the only former Disney man to challenge the giant. Jeffrey Katzenberg, formerly the head of Disney's animation division and the man credited by many with spearheading Disney's renaissance, split with Disney in 1994 to co-found DreamWorks SKG and head up that studio's animation efforts. By 1998, DreamWorks upped the animation ante by releasing two highly acclaimed challengers to Disney's throne: the computer-generated *Antz* (1998) and *The Prince of Egypt* (1998). Katzenberg's gamble paid off; *The Prince of Egypt*, as of early 1999, stands as the most successful non-Disney animated film of all time, with a total domestic take of nearly \$100 million.

Feature-film animation has come a long way since the completely hand-drawn cels of *Snow White*. Even in traditionally animated films, computers are used extensively to enhance color, add depth, and create special effects, often in subtle ways. The brilliantly colored flying carpet in *Aladdin* and the stampede in *The Lion King* would both have been impossible or considerably more difficult without the aid of computers. Completely computer-generated fare such as *Toy Story* (1995) and *Antz* pushed the envelope even further, proving that photo-realistic detail and shading are possible without using a single cel of hand-drawn art.

Creating an animated film is an enormously time-consuming process. Several years of work by hundreds, if not thousands, of staffers goes into producing the hundreds of thousands of frames that make up one ninety-minute animated film. Special effects are even more time-consuming. DreamWorks estimated that 318,000 hours of labor went into creating the parting of the Red Sea in *The Prince of Egypt*.

Animated film's most important place in popular culture is the manner in which it has completely penetrated American society. Feature-length cartoons are considered by parents as one of the last bastions of wholesome family entertainment left in a world that feeds a constant diet of violence, disrespect, and vulgarity to their children. No matter how worried one might be about the general mental health of their children, so the conventional wisdom goes, one can't go wrong by taking them to a cartoon. The stars of animated films quite often become children's role models, favorite characters and imaginary playmates.

In addition, animated films tend to seep into popular culture and become the "official" versions of those stories, often overshadowing the originals. Disney's fairy tales are the best example. For children everywhere (and adults, for that matter), the images of Snow White

and the Seven Dwarfs, Cinderella, Aladdin, and the Little Mermaid that they see on the big screen or television are the immutable canon. This same influence tends to frustrate teachers, parents and scholars when animated films veer too far away from the established story or, especially, historical fact. In 1995, Disney released *Pocahontas*, the animated story of the Indian princess who saved explorer John Smith when he encountered the Indians in the seventeenth century. Disney's version ran far afield of history in many ways, and teachers in many elementary schools prepared "Pocahontas curriculums" that were meant to counteract whatever false ideas about history their impressionable students got after seeing the film.

Disney was not above completely rewriting literature when crafting an animated feature from an established tale. In one famous anecdote, Disney gave one of the story men on *The Jungle Book* (1967) a copy of Rudyard Kipling's original novel and said, "The first thing I want you to do is not to read it." In a similar vein, many Victor Hugo scholars expressed dismay when 1996's *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* strayed wildly from the novel, particularly in its ending.

The economic and cultural impact of animated film extends far beyond what appears on screen. Marketing, merchandising, and other promotional tie-ins are extremely lucrative side deals that go hand-in-hand with feature film animation. At times, the tie-ins can be more profitable than the movies themselves. By the 1990s, when movie marketing had become an irreversible force, animated film characters seemed to be everywhere. During a major marketing push for one animated film or another, it sometimes seemed impossible to walk down the street without being bombarded with one reference or another to the film in question. Toothbrushes, toys, lunchboxes, clothes, pencils, sheets, underwear, books, Broadway plays, and made-for-video sequels all bear the image of whomever happens to be the hot animated character of the moment. Fast food restaurants became part of the act, offering small toys and trinkets as part of value meals to promote the film.

If parents tend to put their complete trust in animated fare to provide wholesome entertainment for their children, then that trust is balanced by the susceptibility of those movies to backlash. It takes very little to set off severe criticism of real or perceived offensiveness in animated films aimed at children. Parents take such subjects very seriously. For example, Disney has been the subject of numerous boycotts and protests for the content of their work. Arab groups strongly protested a lyric in *Aladdin* that read, "where they cut off your hand if they don't like your face/It's barbaric, but hey, it's a home!" That line was excised in video copies of *Aladdin*. At other times Disney has had to fend off allegations of subliminal messages. Rumors at various times accused Disney of inserting the whispered line "all good kids take off your clothes" into *Aladdin* and the word "sex" into several frames of *The Lion King*.

If animated film is usually geared to appeal to the youngest members of society, it is also sometimes intended to appeal to the mature. Ralph Bakshi's *Fritz the Cat* (1972), based on the Robert Crumb comic strip, was the first X-rated animated movie, due to its numerous graphic sex scenes. On a somewhat less excessive level, *Heavy Metal* (1981), based on stories from the erotic science-fiction magazine of the same name, featured fantastic violence and sex to an extent rarely seen in animated film.

Whatever the subject matter, animated film also offered animators the opportunity to make creative statements that were impossible in any other medium. *Heavy Metal*, for example, displayed the vision of that magazine's creators in a far different manner than the limits

allowed by the magazine format. Music and animated films have gone hand-in-hand in a curious marriage for some years now. On occasion, popular musicians have used animated film to illustrate their work with varying success. The late-1960s psychedelic stylings of the Beatles found their perfect niche in the swirling, psychedelic *Yellow Submarine* (1968). On a much different point of the musical compass, *Pink Floyd The Wall* (19) featured numerous animated interludes that illustrated the main character's descent into madness in a way that conventional live-action film couldn't quite capture.

Television animation, an offshoot of the popularity of feature film animation, proved a profitable medium for broadcasters and producers, so it comes as no surprise that a number of successful television animation franchises have made the leap to the big screen, with varying levels of success. 1980s characters such as the Transformers, Go-Bots, and He-Man found modest success in theatrical releases. In the 1990s, *Beavis and Butt-Head Do America* (1996) and *The Rugrats Movie* (1998) proved to be tremendous moneymakers for their producers, ensuring that television would provide fodder for animated film for some time to come.

Animated films have been produced all around the world, although like much foreign film, most of them have not quite made their way into the lexicon of American popular culture. One exception to this is the distinctive look of Japanese animation—"anime." Slick, stylized visions such as the futuristic *Akira* (1988) appealed to animation fans who appreciated the detail found in Disney work but wanted more mature fare.

Animated films have been integral parts of popular culture for over six decades. Many of the classics are still popular with children and adults, and more are being pushed into production every month. With the advent of computer effects and completely computer-generated cartoons spearheading an entirely new kind of animation and freeing up the creative minds of animators to soar to greater heights, the art of animated film is set to launch into another sixty years of success.

—Paul F.P. Pogue

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## Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas Senate Hearings

In the fall of 1991, the nomination of Clarence Thomas as an associate justice of the Supreme Court became the most controversial nomination in all of American judicial history. During the background probe, information surfaced that Anita Hill, a law professor at the University of Oklahoma, had told someone that Thomas had sexually harassed her when she worked as his assistant at the Department of Education in 1981. Joseph Biden, Chair of the Senate Judiciary Committee, which conducts hearings on presidential nominations, chose not to interview Hill and refrained from repeating the allegations to some committee members. When the story became public knowledge, women's groups began to protest, and seven women from the House of Representatives marched to the Senate, demanding entrance to the Senate Chambers and insisting that a hearing into Hill's allegations be conducted. Biden, with what would later prove a serious lapse in judgment, chose to make the hearings public. Americans were, therefore, glued to their television sets for one long weekend, beginning Friday morning, October 11 and ending late Sunday night, October 13, 1991, watching and listening to accusations, denials, and character assassinations. The lives of both Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas would be changed forever. Of even more lasting consequence were the battles that were simultaneously conducted between men and women, and between Democrats and Republicans, which led to an altered political landscape in the United States.



Anita Hill, being sworn in.

From the beginning, President George Bush had been faced with a formidable task in choosing a replacement for Thurgood Marshall, associate justice of the Supreme Court since 1967 and the first African American ever to serve on the Supreme Court, who announced his retirement due to ill health. Marshall had been a pioneer of the Civil Rights movement, arguing such cases as *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954) before the Supreme Court when he was a young lawyer with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (N.A.A.C.P.) Legal Defense Fund. This case essentially ended segregation in public schools and paved the way for integration in all walks of American life. Appointed by Democratic president Lyndon B. Johnson, Marshall had become one of the most revered Supreme Court Justices in American history. Because Bush was a Republican, his choice of a nominee to replace Marshall was certain to be a Republican; and because of the political climate of the 1980s and early 1990s, Bush's nominee had to be a conservative opposed to abortion rights.

The issue was further complicated by an earlier nomination made by President Ronald Reagan. Robert Bork was a conservative with a long record of judicial decisions, and writings that documented his opinions on almost every issue of concern to both Democrats and Republicans in the Senate; as a result, he was withdrawn as a nominee. Bush's advisors warned him that it would be better to nominate someone with less widely disseminated opinions in order to get the nomination past the Democrat-controlled Senate. Taking all of these things into consideration, Bush chose a little known Republican judge from Savannah, Georgia, to replace Marshall. At the time of his nomination, Clarence Thomas had been a federal judge for only 18 months. Despite his lack of judicial experience, he had served the Republican Party well in the Department of Education and in the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

It was this adherence to strict Republican ideology that created a lot of the early controversy surrounding the Thomas nomination. Since the campaign that elected John F. Kennedy president in 1963, black voters have been closely aligned with the Democratic Party. Many black leaders felt that nominating the conservative Thomas was a betrayal of the heritage of Thurgood Marshall. Women's groups were also opposed to Thomas' nomination because of his disdain for programs such as affirmative action, while legal scholars were opposed to Thomas' lack of experience as a judge. Although opposition was substantial, the chances that any of these groups could derail the nomination were slim. However, when it was learned that a black law professor had accused Thomas of sexual harassment, his opponents had a new focal point for protest.

Anita Hill was young, intelligent, attractive, and articulate. Moreover, she was credible when she presented her damaging testimony. She described in painstaking detail how Clarence Thomas had harassed her, repeatedly asking her for dates and frequently bringing graphic details about sexual encounters into the conversation. She stated that he described pornographic movies that he had seen. At a later point in the hearings, Hill's claims were corroborated by her friend, John William Carr, who testified that Hill had told him what was happening during a 1981 telephone conversation. Also waiting in the wings were other women who insisted that Thomas had sexually harassed them or who claimed to have known about the harassment of Hill when it occurred. None of these women were allowed to testify. In a thorough investigation conducted after the hearings were over, Jayne Mayer and Jill Abramson concluded that the preponderance of available evidence suggested that Clarence Thomas lied under oath when he denied harassing Anita Hill.

Clarence Thomas, however, was not without his supporters, either during the hearings or afterward. The Bush White House concocted the strategy that Thomas should claim that opposition to his nomination was racially motivated. Thus, the cries of a “high-tech lynching” were born. The strategy proved successful. Thomas went on to win the vote of the entire Senate by a vote of 52-48, though George Bush was so apprehensive about the nomination that he placed the then vice-president Dan Quayle at the ready to break the tie vote if it became necessary. The Bush strategy was particularly productive among Southern senators, unable to live down their heritage of racial discrimination. Of all Southern senators, only Hal Heflin, a Democrat from Alabama and a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, voted against the Thomas nomination. Conservative author David Brock conducted his own investigation, concluding that there was no evidence that Hill had told the truth and announcing his support for Thomas.

That two books written about the hearings should draw such opposing conclusions is indicative of the overall reaction to the debacle that was the Clarence Thomas nomination. Generally, women tended to believe Hill and men tended to believe Thomas, and further divisions broke along party lines. Despite the fact that the authors of both books claim objectivity, it is evident that they approached the hearings from opposing contexts. Much of the blame for the ensuing battle of the sexes should be placed on Joseph Biden and the Senate Judiciary Committee. When American women were faced with an all-white, all-male committee conducting hearings into the sexual harassment of women, they were furious that Hill’s charges were never placed in the overall context of how sexual harassment occurs and the subsequent feelings of helplessness and degradation that are common among victims of such harassment.

Furthermore, most scholars agree that the hearings should never have been made public. It was never the intention of the Judiciary Committee to discover the truth of the allegations. Republican members of the committee, such as Orrin Hatch and Alan Simpson, were allowed to grandstand and throw out suggestions that Hill’s character was questionable without ever giving her a chance to answer specific charges. Perhaps the most questionable of the witnesses against Hill was John Doggett, who came on in the early hours of Monday morning, October 14, claiming that Hill was irrational and neurotic on the grounds that she had once asked him why he did not call her after they had gone out on a date.

No one knows whether it was Clarence Thomas or Anita Hill who told the truth in 1991. Most people continue to have their own opinions on the matter, but neither Hill, Thomas, nor the American people were well served by the way that the hearing was conducted. After the hearings, women continued to claim that men just “didn’t get it.” The Year of the Woman was declared in 1992, and a record-breaking number of women entered the two houses of Congress. Public recognition of sexual harassment became prominent, and new ways of dealing with the opposite sex within the workplace began to be mandated by legislatures at all levels. In a landmark decision, the Supreme Court upheld the requirement that employers provide a “non-hostile” working environment for their employees in *Harris v. Forklift Systems* (1993). The year after the Thomas hearings, the number of sexual harassment lawsuits in the United States jumped by 50 percent. Heightened awareness of sexual harassment has been one of the positive byproducts of the hearings, but the bitterness about the hearings did not disappear.

Anita Hill broke her silence about the hearings in her 1997 book *Speaking Truth to Power*. She writes that her life has never been the same since the hearings, and spoke of intimidation that she suffered at the hands of Thomas supporters. By the end of the 1990s, she was no longer teaching at the University of Oklahoma, a job she reportedly loved. A former friend and classmate of Clarence Thomas corroborated Hill’s view of Thomas’s character in a television interview, as did others who knew him. However, the support for Hill was essentially irrelevant once Thomas was confirmed as an associate justice of the Supreme Court.

Juan Williams, author of *The Eyes on the Prize*, said of Thomas that he was a sad, lonely, troubled, and deeply pessimistic public servant. To Williams’ description of Thomas, it should be added that he grew bitter and angry at a system that allowed him to become the butt of jokes and the target of frequent attacks from opponents. His votes on Supreme Court decisions have placed him as a solidly conservative justice, who most often mirrors the decision making of Antonin Scalia, considered by judicial scholars to be the most conservative member of the Supreme Court. His voting record has continued to alienate Thomas from most of the African-American community and has frequently led to protest when he has been invited to lecture around the country. Richard Lacayo of *Time* reported that Thomas told someone in a 1994 interview that he intended to be on the Court for the next 40 years and those who did not like it should simply “get over it.” Lacayo responded that it was not likely that Americans would get over it. The Hill-Thomas hearings have not slid gently into history. On the contrary, the memory of those hearings continues to elicit strong feelings of rage, bafflement, and bitterness. The Senate Judiciary Committee now holds closed hearings, and women now serve on the august body. What constitutes sexual harassment is now public knowledge, but the mistakes made in the fall of 1991 will forever haunt those who remember it.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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## Anka, Paul (1941—)

With his 1957 number one hit record, “Diana,” about a teenage boy’s unrequited crush on an older girl, 16-year-old singer-songwriter Paul Anka tapped into a collective angst. Catapulted into the ranks of the 1950s post-Elvis Presley teen idols, the Canadian-born Anka was a pervasive presence on the airwaves with songs including “Lonely Boy,” “Put Your Head on My Shoulder,” and “Puppy Love,” the latter about his romance with former Mousketeer, Annette Funicello. With his adenoidal sound, and a self-confidence that belied his years, he was more at home with ballads than rock ‘n’ roll. As a result, he weathered changing tastes to reinvent himself as an in-demand cocktail circuit headliner. His sophistication as a songwriter also grew. Along with hits for Barbra Streisand and Tom Jones, Anka wrote Frank Sinatra’s signature song, “My Way,” and the theme to *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson*.

—Pat H. Broeske

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## Anne Frank: *The Diary of a Young Girl*

No single individual has come to represent the six million Jewish victims of the Holocaust more than the Dutch schoolgirl Anne Frank. Through the postwar publication of her diary *Het Achterhuis* (*Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl*), millions of readers around the world came to know one of Hitler’s victims personally and a face was put on an otherwise unfathomable and anonymous horror. Chronicling her life in hiding in Amsterdam from the summer of 1942 to the arrest of her family in August 1944, the diary is considered among the most powerful anti-war documents of the era and has been adapted for both stage and screen. Translated into more than 50 languages, the Diary ranks among the best-selling literary works of the twentieth century and has been praised by ordinary readers, literary critics, and political and humanitarian leaders throughout the world. Discussing its poignancy in the foreword to the first Russian edition of the book, the novelist and poet Ilya Ehrenburg wrote, “One voice speaks for six million—the voice not of a sage or a poet but of an ordinary little girl.”

Anne Frank was born June 12, 1929 to a wealthy Jewish family in Frankfurt, Germany. With the rise to power of Adolf Hitler and the National Socialists in 1933, the Frank family relocated to Amsterdam, where Frank’s father, Otto, a former officer in the German army, established a food preservative business with a combined office and warehouse in a building on the Prinsengracht Canal. Anne Frank attended Montessori school and enjoyed a comfortable life absorbed in the average pursuits of childhood. Following the Nazi occupation of Holland in 1940, a number of restrictions were placed on Jews, and Anne was required to transfer to a Jewish school. Among her friends and classmates she was popular and outgoing and was known as “Miss Chatterbox” because of her incessant talking. On the occasion

of her thirteenth birthday in June 1942, Anne was given a cloth-covered diary and began recording her activities in the form of letters to an imagined friend whom she addressed as “Kitty.” Soon afterward, Anne’s 16 year-old sister, Margot, was summoned to report for transportation to the Westerbork concentration camp, and the family quickly went into hiding, installing themselves in makeshift living quarters arranged by Otto Frank in a “secret annex” at his company headquarters. The Franks were joined by Mr. and Mrs. Van Pelz and their 15 year-old son, Peter. Several months later, Albert Dussel, a dentist, also sought refuge with the group. For more than two years the group lived in the cramped quarters of the secret annex, unable to move around during the day or use bathroom facilities for fear of being discovered by workers in the offices below. Through a small group of protectors they received food and supplies, and at night they listened to war reports on the radio.

Anne and Margot continued their education under the guidance of their father, and Anne documented every facet of their restricted life in her diary, including the strained relations and petty bickering that often characterized interaction among the group. An unknown betrayer alerted police to the Franks’ hiding place, and the secret annex was raided on August 4, 1944. The group was first sent to Westerbork and then was shipped by cattle-car to Auschwitz. Anne Frank died of typhoid fever in Bergen-Belsen concentration camp in March 1945, only two months before the surrender of Germany. She was 15 years old.

After the war, Otto Frank circulated typescript copies of Anne’s Diary, which had been discovered in the aftermath of the police raid on the secret annex in 1944. The book was formally published in 1947 and was translated into English in 1952. While Anne herself wondered in the diary whether anyone would ever be interested in “the unbosomings of a thirteen-year-old schoolgirl,” the Diary quickly became an international sensation, drawing praise for its documentary value as an account of Jewish life in hiding during World War II, but to a greater degree for its lively and perceptive self-portrait of an intelligent and talented writer maturing from child to adult. Its compelling setting offers a consideration of ordinary people facing death in extraordinary circumstances, while revealing Anne’s understanding of universal moral issues and her interest in typical concerns of adolescence, including the difficult relationships of mother and daughter and the teenage yearning for love. After reading the diary many young readers felt compelled to write to Otto Frank and until his death in 1980 he corresponded with young people throughout the world. The immense interest in Anne Frank led to the establishment of several humanitarian foundations and educational centers, including a foundation in Amsterdam that also maintains the secret annex as a historic site open to the public. Summarizing the broad appeal of the Diary, theatrical director Garson Kanin concluded in 1979 that “Among other things, the vision of Anne Frank reminds us that the length of a life does not necessarily reflect its quality . . . [She] remains for us ever a shining star, a radiant presence, who, during her time of terror and humiliation and imprisonment, was able to find it within herself to write in her immortal diary, ‘In spite of everything, I still believe that people are good at heart.’”

—Laurie DiMauro

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## Annie

Loosely adapted from Harold Gray's comic strip *Little Orphan Annie*, the musical *Annie* opened on Broadway on April 21, 1977, eventually earning more than \$100 million from its initial run of 2,377 performances and numerous revivals. Director and lyricist Martin Charnin was the guiding force behind this hit, with considerable assistance from composer Charles Strouse and scriptwriter Thomas Meehan. *Annie* also attracted a larger, more diverse crowd beyond Broadway: The cast album sold more than a million copies, the show was adapted into a Hollywood movie in 1982, and merchandise spinoffs included dolls and a line of fashion clothing for girls. Through countless local productions in schools and summer camps, the musical has become part of the fabric of American childhood, with Annie's signature song "Tomorrow" having become a standard.

*Annie* became a cultural icon through the adroit combination of strands that appealed to different audiences. For the elderly and nostalgic, the musical evoked not just the comic strip but also the simple and pure pre-World War II America of Shirley Temple movies. After the disillusioning eras of Vietnam and Watergate, Americans in the 1970s looked back with fondness to the past—a nostalgia that also fueled the success of *The Sting* (1974) and *Grease* (1972). As columnist Meg Greenfield noted in *Newsweek*, "*Annie* gangs up on you, and you experience the most unexpected sentiments: reassurance, a feeling of well-being, and an agreeable connection with a long-gone world—a life built on assumptions and simplicities you had forgotten about."

For the youngsters in the audience, especially girls, the main attraction was the spunky heroine, a two-fisted orphan who could more than hold her own in a rough world. As film critic Pauline Kael noted, *Annie* was ideal for children "from about four to about eleven . . . how often do they get to see a musical that features a little girl conquering all?" Appealing to the young and old alike, *Annie* became a Broadway success for all ages.

The plot of *Annie* has a folkloric simplicity. The Cinderella-like tale follows Annie, a frizzle-haired and freckled orphan, as she battles the cruel Miss Hannigan, who runs a wretched orphanage right out of Dickens. Searching for her parents, Annie constantly runs away, only to end up back in the clutches of Miss Hannigan. Annie's luck takes a turn for the better when she is temporarily adopted by the billionaire Oliver Warbucks. Although she wins Warbucks' heart, Annie refuses his offer of permanent adoption because she still longs for her natural parents. Warbucks instigates a nationwide search with a hefty reward. Enter Miss Hannigan's low-life brother, Rooster Hannigan and his floozy girlfriend, Lily St. Regis. Working with Miss Hannigan, these two schemers impersonate Annie's parents. Of course, all ends well, and Annie is happily reunited with Warbucks.

The relationship between Annie and Warbucks forms the emotional core of the musical. In explaining the appeal of the show, director Martin Charnin said, "I saw it as the story of two orphans.

One happened to be eleven, the other fifty-two. I wanted to know how they met and fell in love with one another." Annie and Warbucks form an interesting study in contrasts. Warbucks is rich, big, strong, and protective; Annie is poor, small, weak and in need of protection. But Warbucks is cold—he barely notices his attractive assistant Grace Farrell until Annie starts praising her. Annie's warmth and kindness helps humanize Warbucks, just as his strength and power help give stability to her life.

The musical wisely softened the harsh right-wing philosophy of the original strip, where the heroic Daddy Warbucks was a robber-baron munitions manufacturer who battled liberal do-gooders. In the musical, Warbucks is still conservative, but not rigidly so. Indeed, Annie is able to reconcile him to Franklin Roosevelt, helping to inspire the New Deal. This spirit of reconciliation played well in the early days of the Carter administration. Not surprisingly, a special preview performance was given at the White House in 1977.

*Annie: The Movie* fared less well than the theatrical production. Columbia Pictures paid \$9.5 million for the rights—total costs were \$40 million—and hired the legendary director John Huston, but the movie was an expensive disappointment. It did not make a profit, and earned lukewarm reviews despite a critically acclaimed hammy performance by Carol Burnett as Miss Hannigan. Aileen Quinn made a winning Annie, although she was nearly over-staged by the youngest orphan Molly, sweetly played by Toni Ann Gisondi. As a capitalist with a well-buried heart of gold, Albert Finney was a convincing Warbucks. The production team behind the musical has made a few stabs at a sequel, which have been tried out in regional theatres. *Annie II* (1989) was a flop. "We went over like a wet doughnut," said Charnin. *Annie Warbucks* (1993) was more successful but by decade's end had not yet reached Broadway.

—Jeet Heer

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## Annie Get Your Gun

*Annie Get Your Gun*, a popular musical comedy based loosely on the life of the legendary American crack shot and theatrical performer Annie Oakley (1860-1926), opened May 17, 1946 at the Imperial Theater in New York. The show helped complete the postwar transformation of the Broadway musical begun by *Oklahoma!* (1943) and *Carousel* (1945) from lavish and naughty revues to substantive stories with songs integrated into the plot. Although *Annie Get Your Gun* lacked the operatic aspirations and social commentary of the two Rodgers and Hammerstein works, the show boasted an Irving Berlin score that set a record for hit songs (nine). *Annie Get Your Gun* broke no new ground in theatrical tradition, but its color, humor, and enthusiasm have held an irresistible appeal for audiences through the end of the century.

Dorothy and (brother) Herbert Fields specifically wrote their romanticization of Oakley's life as a vehicle for musical comedy star





Ethel Merman performing in *Annie Get Your Gun*.

Ethel Merman (1909-84). The foul-mouthed Merman was no dainty romantic soprano but squarely in the tradition of great chest wallopers who had transfixed Broadway in the early 1900s. *Annie Get Your Gun* demanded that she act as well as sing, and Merman responded by turning in one of Broadway's monumental performances. Her health was as legendary as her arrogance and outspokenness, and when she eventually took a vacation after two years of performing, the show's receipts dropped precipitously, and it almost closed. For Merman, *Annie Get Your Gun* turned out to be an unquestioned personal triumph, consolidating her position as the greatest figure in American musical comedy.

The Fieldses took their idea to the legendary hit-making team of Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein, II, who agreed to produce it, and added the esteemed Jerome Kern to write the lyrics. When Kern suffered a cerebral hemorrhage and died in November 1945, the producers persuaded Irving Berlin (1888-1989) to replace him. Berlin was initially reluctant to enter the unknown territory of a musical with a plot; he hadn't written a Broadway show in four years, and the theatrical form with which he was most closely associated—the revue—was in terminal decline. Over a weekend in Atlantic City, Berlin tried to write some songs and came back with three to six hit songs (depending on the source). The deal was signed, and Dorothy Fields obligingly agreed to withdraw as lyricist. Berlin finished the bulk of the score within two months, astounding everyone with his extraordinary virtuosity and the speed with which he composed the new songs. To the roster of classics of the musical theater Berlin added “There’s No Business Like Show Business,” “Doin’ What Comes Natur’lly,” “They Say It’s Wonderful,” “You Can’t Get a

Man with a Gun,” “The Girl That I Marry,” “I Got the Sun in the Morning,” “Anything You Can Do,” “My Defenses Are Down,” and “Who Do You Love, I Hope.” The show went into rehearsal in March, and Berlin later called it the easiest show he ever worked on.

In *Annie Get Your Gun*, Annie Oakley’s (Merman) ability as a sharpshooter wins her a job in Buffalo Bill’s (William O’Neal) Wild West show. Her brilliant shooting offends the masculinity of the show’s erstwhile star marksman, handsome baritone Frank Butler (Ray Middleton), and makes a romance between the pair impossible. Butler takes his wounded vanity to a competing vaudeville show, but neither the main characters nor their businesses prosper. A merger is proposed, but the happy ending only arrives when wise old Sitting Bull (Harry Bellaver) gently demonstrates to the naive Oakley that she can easily win the insecure Butler by intentionally losing a shooting competition.

Although critics initially gave *Annie Get Your Gun* mixed reviews, the show was an instant hit, running for three years and 1,147 performances on Broadway, and quickly assuming a place in the pantheon of great post-World War II musicals such as *South Pacific*, *Brigadoon*, *Kiss Me Kate*, *Guys and Dolls*, and *The King and I*. The success of *Annie Get Your Gun* made Irving Berlin a wealthy man and demonstrated the immense potential profitability of postwar Broadway musicals. Berlin’s thirty percent share of the proceeds brought him \$2500 a week, his music company made \$500,000 from selling sheet music of the score, his royalties from the original cast recording exceeded \$100,000, and MGM eventually paid \$650,000 to Berlin and the Fieldses for the movie rights, a record for a musical. *Annie Get Your Gun* profitably toured the United States with Mary Martin as the lead and also proved to be a vast international success.

Although *Annie Get Your Gun* does not lend itself to excessive analysis, the show does capture some of the post-World War II American confusion over gender relations. The war had caused millions of women to enter the work force to replace absent soldiers, and their contributions had undeniably helped the United States win the war. The plot of *Annie Get Your Gun* was charged with subliminal sexual implications, based upon a woman who used her phallic gun with complete mastery. Ultimately, Oakley discovers “you can’t get a man with a gun,” and understands that she must deny her superior talent and throw the shooting match in order to assuage Frank’s fragile ego and win her man. The ending struck a chord with a society which had greatly elevated women’s role both in the world of work and in propaganda during the war, and now was desperately attempting to return to the status quo ante.

The film version (1950) had a troubled history (Judy Garland was fired from the lead role) but eventually earned more than \$8 million. The show was revived on its twentieth anniversary in 1966, for which the seventy-eight-year-old Berlin wrote the fifty-eight-year-old Merman a new song, “An Old Fashioned Wedding.” This showstopper proved to be the last of Berlin’s popular hits. Many of the show’s tunes have fallen out of the popular repertoire, but “There’s No Business Like Show Business” remains a virtual anthem of performers everywhere and has become one of the most recognizable tunes in American popular music.

—Jon Sterngass

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## Annie Hall

Despite its status in many circles as writer/director/star Woody Allen's comedic masterpiece, *Annie Hall* nonetheless will remain to many the film that "stole" the Best Picture Oscar away from the (retrospectively) far more influential *Star Wars*. At the time of their release in 1977, however, although *Star Wars* initiated a new era of upbeat science fiction films, *Annie Hall* was the culmination of America's nearly decade-long struggle to come to terms with the aftermath of political and sexual revolution of the 1960s. The film seemed to give voice to the frustrations of a generation regarding their inability to maintain romance. Surprised by the overwhelming acceptance of the picture, Allen himself commented, "I guess what everybody understood was the impossibility of sustaining relationships, because of entirely irrational elements. . . . Later in life, you don't really know what went wrong."

*Annie Hall* also represented the peak of America's love affair with stand-up comic turned filmmaker and film star Woody Allen. While he had been performing in films since 1965's *What's New, Pussycat?*, his screen vehicles had consistently been outrageous

fantasies that displaced him in either time or space—though Allen played essentially the same character, a neurotic, intellectual nerdish Everyman struggling to get the girl and avoid violence. But *Annie Hall* changed everything. According to his longtime editor, Ralph Rosenblum, Allen had been struggling to make the transition into maturer, less clownish films about the urban angst regarding love, sex, and romance. Toward this end Allen had initially set out to make a murder mystery entitled *Anhedonia* (the chronic inability to feel pleasure) that would illuminate these problems and would co-star former lover and frequent leading lady Diane Keaton. However, once they began viewing the dailies and establishing some structure to the rambling two-hour-and-twenty-minute narrative, which included extensive flashbacks and comedic asides, Rosenblum finally convinced Allen that the film came to life in the scenes involving the romance with Annie, which were set in the present. The murder mystery plot was thus altered to focus on the romance, becoming, in Rosenblum's words, "A light-headed, devil-may-care Midwestern girl who grew up in a Norman Rockwell painting meets urban Jewish comedian who has enough awareness for both of them and hang-ups to match."

*Annie Hall* then became the story of their rocky romance, as Alvy Singer (Allen) tells the camera that he and Annie have broken up and that he is "sifting the pieces o' the relationship through my mind and—and examining my life to figure out where did the screw-up come?" The ensuing stream of consciousness exploration of memory and fantasy—somewhat reminiscent of Ingmar Bergman's *Wild Strawberries*—results in Alvy coming to the conclusion, "Relationships . . . You know they're totally irrational and crazy and absurd . . . but uh, I guess we keep goin' through it because, uh, most of us need the eggs," i.e., the fleeting moments of happiness they can bring. But even after these ruminations, he is unable to discern the reasons for his separation from Annie, though filmmaker Allen illuminates very clearly that it is because of Alvy's neuroses and insecurities. As critic Douglas Brode concludes, Alvy presents his own persona as a lost, bewildered man, shell-shocked in the sexual battleground of the mid-1970s; thus, Woody turns *Annie Hall* into a warning against the dangers of the Culture of Narcissism.

*Annie Hall* was rendered even more compelling due to the extreme autobiographical associations between the characters and Allen's own life. Like Allen, Alvy Singer was born in Brooklyn and grew up during World War II. Professionally their progress is also the same: both began as gag writers, evolved into stand-up comedy, then became playwrights. In terms of relationships, Alvy Singer has been married and divorced twice when he becomes involved with Annie Hall and then breaks up with her. Likewise twice divorced, Allen had a long-term relationship with Diane Keaton—real name Hall—, which also ended. Though Allen maintains that his introduction to Keaton and other factual aspects of their relationship were completely different from Alvy and Annie's, he has acknowledged that the "mildly misanthropic and socially discontent" Alvy and his constant complaints about love and life parallel his own, once telling columnist Alfred Bester, "Sure it's me—but greatly exaggerated . . . my most embarrassing moments." *Annie Hall* seemed to be an autobiographical compendium of all the issues that Allen had always been obsessed with—death, sex, intellect, art, and mostly, himself—but this time without the fantasy elements to distract the viewer from the nakedness of this self-absorption.

According to a *Variety* survey of the ten best movie lists proposed by thirty-two American film reviewers, *Annie Hall* was the most frequently selected film, named on thirty of the lists. Beyond the many awards and acclaim, the popularity of the film also affected



A poster for the film *Annie Hall*.

fashion. Diane Keaton's casual ensembles for *Annie Hall*, which she explained were basically her style and were largely clothes from her own closet, established new fashion trends, which included the appropriation of men's slacks, shirts, and neckties in a loose, unstructured look that paralleled Annie's idiosyncratic look at the world.

—Rick Moody

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## *Another World*

Co-conceived by the prolific Irna Phillips and William Bell, *Another World* premiered on NBC television in 1964, eventually becoming one of Procter & Gamble's (P&G's) most enduring soap operas. Initially envisioned as a spinoff of one of Phillips and P&G's other creations, CBS's *As the World Turns*, *Another World* abandoned this link when CBS opted against airing it.

The introductory narration, "we do not live in this world alone, but in a thousand other worlds," was the signature of *Another World's* early seasons. Set in Bay City, in a Midwestern state later tagged as Illinois, the program focused on the Randolph and Matthews families in the 1960s, as Phillips and Bell offered timely stories involving illegal abortion and LSD. These topics proved too bold for traditional viewers, however, and backstage adjustments led to the hiring of Agnes Nixon, future creator of *All My Children*, who devised "crossovers" in which characters from P&G's veteran soap on CBS, *Guiding Light*, were temporarily imported in the hopes that their fans would follow. The tactic, however, failed to boost *Another World's* numbers.

The 1970s began under the headwriting leadership of Harding Lemay, who would shepherd *Another World* into its heyday. Several characters were extracted to launch a spinoff—*Somerset*. Lemay then broke ranks by having patriarch John Randolph (Michael Ryan) commit adultery, sending wife Pat (Beverly Penberthy) into an alcoholic tailspin. This displeased Irna Phillips, who lamented the loss of a solid, "core" couple. Gradually, the Randolph family was phased out, the farm-grown Frame clan was introduced, and a defining element of class difference marked the show. A triangle involving heroine Alice Matthews (Jacqueline Courtney), husband Steve Frame (George Reinholt), and working-class homewrecker Rachel Davis (Robin Strasser, later Victoria Wyndham) made the show a ratings leader in 1977/1978. Before long, Rachel was redeemed in the love of upper-crusted Mackenzie "Mac" Cory (Douglass Watson), a publishing magnate 25 years her senior. Mac's self-absorbed daughter Iris (Beverlee McKinsey) threatened the union of her father and Rachel, who deepened a trend of inter-class romance and were to become bastions of the soap's pre-eminent "core"

family. Additionally, in 1975, the soap became the first to make 60 minutes, rather than 30, the industry standard. As the 1970s concluded, *Another World* was pressured to focus on its younger generation in order to compete with *General Hospital* and other soaps making inroads into the profitable baby boom audience and displacing it atop the ratings ladder. Lemay resisted these efforts and exited the show in 1979, later publicizing his bittersweet experiences in a memoir entitled *Eight Years in Another World*. The book also recounts Lemay's battles with executives, including one in which Lemay's proposal to introduce a gay character was vetoed.

A musical chairs game of writers penned *Another World* in the 1980s, which began with Iris departing Bay City to anchor yet another spinoff—*Texas*—and Rachel's payoff tryst with a blackmailer. The tale spawned a divorce and Rachel's third child. Mac soon forgave Rachel and adopted the boy, Matthew, who followed in his siblings' footsteps by succumbing to the genre's accelerated aging process and sprouting into a teen overnight. Efforts to replicate the "super couple" phenomenon so efficient in attracting baby boomers to rival soaps evolved. These were spearheaded by a thirty-something, inter-class duo, Donna Love (Anna Stuart) and Michael Hudson (Kale Browne), and another composed of their teenaged daughter Marley (Ellen Wheeler) and Jake McKinnon (Tom Eplin), the ex-beau of Marley's wily, prodigal twin Vicky (also Wheeler). Two nefarious miscreants, Donna's father Reginald Love (John Considine) and ex-husband Carl Hutchins (Charles Keating), and a vixen, Cecile de Poulignac (Susan Keith, later Nancy Frangione), were added, along with dapper attorney Cass Winthrop (Stephen Schnetzer) and flamboyant romance novelist Felicia Gallant (Linda Dano). The latter three established screwball comedy humor as a distinctive trait of the program, and Cass's effort to elude gangsters by cross-dressing as a floozy named Krystal Lake was a first. Similar gender-bending escapades involving Cass, other characters, and other soaps would later re-emerge as a comic convention. The 1980s also featured the "sin stalker" murder mystery to which several actors fell victim, and the first of myriad soap opera AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) stories. While influential, these innovations were to little avail, and the show settled near the ratings cellar and suffered another blow—the death of Douglass Watson (Mac)—as the 1990s loomed.

Lack of headwriting and producing consistency continued to plague the soap in the 1990s, as the aftermath of Jake's rape of estranged wife Marley drove the story. Jake's eventual shooting injury at the hands of Paulina (Cali Timmons, later Judi Evans), the daughter Mac Cory never knew he had, dovetailed into his controversial redemption and courtship of Paulina. Vicky, the wicked half of the good twin/evil twin duo now portrayed by future film star Anne Heche and, later, Jensen Buchanan, was blossoming as the "tentpole" heroine. Vicky was saved in the love of true-blue cop Ryan Harrison (Paul Michael Valley), despite the machinations of Ryan's evil half brother, Grant (Mark Pinter). Redemption was also the watchword in the widowed Rachel's reluctant, marriage-bound romance with former nemesis Carl Hutchins and the delightful, screwball comedic pursuit of jaded, forty-something divorcée Donna Love by Rachel's ardent, twenty-something son, Matthew (Matt Crane).

Attempts by NBC to coax *Another World* into imitating the postmodern, youth-orientation of its "demographically correct" cousin, *Days of Our Lives*, were afoot. Producing and headwriting notables Jill Farren Phelps and Michael Malone were fired when they resisted such alterations as restoring Carl's villainy. The violent death of working mother Frankie Frame (Alice Barrett) sparked a viewer revolt. Trend-setting tales, including the Matthew/Donna romance



Cast members from *Another World* in the mid-1960s.

which had laid the groundwork for a similar effort on *Guiding Light*, and a planned white woman/black man liaison involving Felicia, were scuttled. Later, several over-forty stars, including Charles Keating (Carl), were axed, angering Internet fans, who mobilized letter-writing protests. The screwball humor, social relevance, feisty women, and multi-generational focus which had distinguished *Another World* and proven so influential had fallen victim to commercial dictates. Unable to overcome the challenge, the show was cancelled, the final episode airing on June 25, 1999.

—Christine Scodari

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## Anthony, Piers (1934—)

Piers Anthony Dillingham Jacobs began writing science fiction/fantasy as early as his student years at Goddard College, Vermont (B.A. 1956). In 1967, he published *Chthon*, followed in 1968 by *Omnivore*, *Sos the Rope*, and *The Ring* (with Robert E. Margroff). *Macroscope* (1969) established him as a master of complex characters and cosmic story lines. Since then, Anthony has often published at least three novels annually—one science fiction, one fantasy, and one experimental. In 1977, he published *Cluster* and *A Spell for Chameleon*, each initiating a series. The *Cluster* novels, the three *Planet of Tarot* novels, the *Blue Adept* series, the *Incarnations of*

*Immortality* sequence, and others allowed Anthony to explore multiple science fictional themes, while the Xanth novels (*A Spell for Chameleon* followed by *Castle Roogna* and *The Source of Magic*, and a continuing series of sequels) have consistently placed him on the bestsellers lists.

—Michael R. Collings

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## Aparicio, Luis (1934—)

Venezuelan Luis Aparicio won more Gold Gloves than any other American League shortstop in the history of baseball. He won every year from 1958 to 1962 and then again in 1964, 1966, 1968 and 1970. He led the American League shortstops in fielding for eight

consecutive seasons and broke a major league record by leading the American League in assists for six straight years.

In addition, Aparicio became the first Hispanic American in professional baseball in the United States to be named “Rookie of the Year.” During his rookie season for Baltimore, Aparicio drove in 56 runs, scored 69 runs, and led the leagues in stolen bases. Aparicio was one of the first Hispanic players to really demonstrate what talent existed south of the border and the potential it had for making big league ball exciting.

—Nicolás Kanellos

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## *Apocalypse Now*

Speaking in retrospect about his 1979 film, director Francis Ford Coppola once said, “*Apocalypse Now* is not about Vietnam, it is



Marlon Brando (left) and Martin Sheen in a scene from the film *Apocalypse Now*.

Vietnam.” Coppola was referring to the immense difficulty and hardship he experienced in making the film, but his words are true in another sense as well. *Apocalypse Now* is not an accurate film—it does not depict any actual events that took place during the long history of American involvement in the Vietnam War. It is, however, a true film—it clearly conveys the surreal, absurd, and brutal aspects of the war that were experienced by many who took part in it.

The broad outline of the script is adapted from Joseph Conrad’s bleak 1902 novella *Heart of Darkness*, which concerns nineteenth-century European imperialism in Africa. Screenwriter John Milius transplants the latter two-thirds of Conrad’s tale to Southeast Asia, and gives us the story of Captain Willard (Martin Sheen), United States Army assassin, and his final assignment in Vietnam. “I wanted a mission,” Willard says in voice-over narration, “and, for my sins, they gave me one. When it was over, I’d never want another.”

Willard’s mission is to journey up the Nung River into Cambodia, and there find and kill Colonel Walter Kurtz, a renegade Green Beret officer who has organized a force of Montagnard tribesmen into his own private army, which Kurtz has been using to wage war in his own way, on his own terms. Kurtz’s methods of fighting the Viet Cong are unremittingly savage—according to the General who briefs Willard on his mission: “He’s out there operating without any decent restraint, totally beyond the pale of any acceptable human conduct.”

And so Willard begins his own journey into the heart of darkness, courtesy of a Navy patrol boat and its crew: Chief Phillips (Albert Hall); Clean (Larry Fishburne); Chef (Frederic Forrest); and Lance (Joseph Bottoms). Along the way, Willard and the sailors encounter people and situations that highlight the absurdity of the American approach to the war. This idea is brought in early when Willard remarks after accepting the mission to find and kill Kurtz: “Charging people with murder in this place was like handing out speeding tickets at the Indy 500.”

The absurdity escalates when Willard meets Colonel Kilgore (Robert Duvall), who commands the Airmobile unit that is supposed to escort Willard’s boat to the mouth of the Nung River. Kilgore is bored at the prospect, until he learns that the section of coast where he is supposed to deliver Willard offers excellent currents for surfing. At dawn the next day, Kilgore’s helicopters assault the Viet Cong village that overlooks their objective, wiping out the inhabitants so that Kilgore and his troops can surf—and, incidentally, allowing Willard to continue his mission. The aftermath of the air strike that Kilgore calls in to finish off the village allows Duvall to deliver one of the film’s more famous lines: “I love the smell of napalm in the morning! It smells like . . . victory!”

Later, in a remote American outpost where the boat stops for supplies, Willard and the crew arrive just in time to see a gaudy United Service Organizations (USO) show, replete with a band and go-go dancing Playboy Playmates. This highlights another theme in the film—the Americans do not like the jungle, so they attempt to turn the jungle into America. In Willard’s words: “They tried to make it just like home.” And that, the film seems to say, is why they would lose—you cannot win a jungle war by trying to make the jungle into America. As the boat departs the outpost and its go-go dancers, Willard’s thoughts turn to the enemy: “Charlie didn’t get much USO. He was either dug in too deep or moving too fast. His idea of good R&R [rest and relaxation] was a handful of cold rice, or a little rat meat.” Willard’s parting thought on the spectacle he has just witnessed is: “The war was being run by clowns, who were going to end up giving the whole circus away.”

That quotation evokes another of the film’s themes: the distinction between “clowns” and “warriors.” Most of the United States military people whom Willard encounters can be considered clowns. They commit massive, mindless violence, which is inefficient as well as counterproductive to the stated goal of “winning the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese people.” A warrior, on the other hand, uses violence only when it is necessary, and then does so surgically. His response is precise, controlled, and lethal.

The scene greeting Willard when he arrives at Kurtz’s stronghold is like something out of a nightmare. The bodies of dead Viet Cong are everywhere. A crashed airplane hangs half out of a tree. A pile of human skulls leers from the shore. The Montagnard warriors, their faces painted white, stand silent and ominous as ghosts as they watch Willard’s boat pull in.

And then there is Kurtz himself (Marlon Brando). His ragtag troops clearly consider him a mystic warrior. Willard thinks Kurtz may be insane—but, if so, it is a form of insanity perfectly suited to the kind of war he is fighting. As Willard notes while reading Kurtz’s dossier on the trip upriver, “The Viet Cong knew his name now, and they were scared of him.” Willard is frightened of Kurtz, too. But his fear does not stop him, several nights later, from sneaking into Kurtz’s quarters and hacking him to death with a machete. Willard is able to do this because, he says, Kurtz wished to die: “He wanted someone to take the pain away.”

Twelve years after the release of *Apocalypse Now* came the documentary *Hearts of Darkness* (1991), which chronicles the making of Coppola’s opus. Combining video footage shot by Coppola’s wife Eleanor in 1978, interviews with cast and crew, and scenes left out of the final version of *Apocalypse Now*, the documentary is a fascinating look at the making of a film under the most adverse of conditions.

—Justin Gustainis

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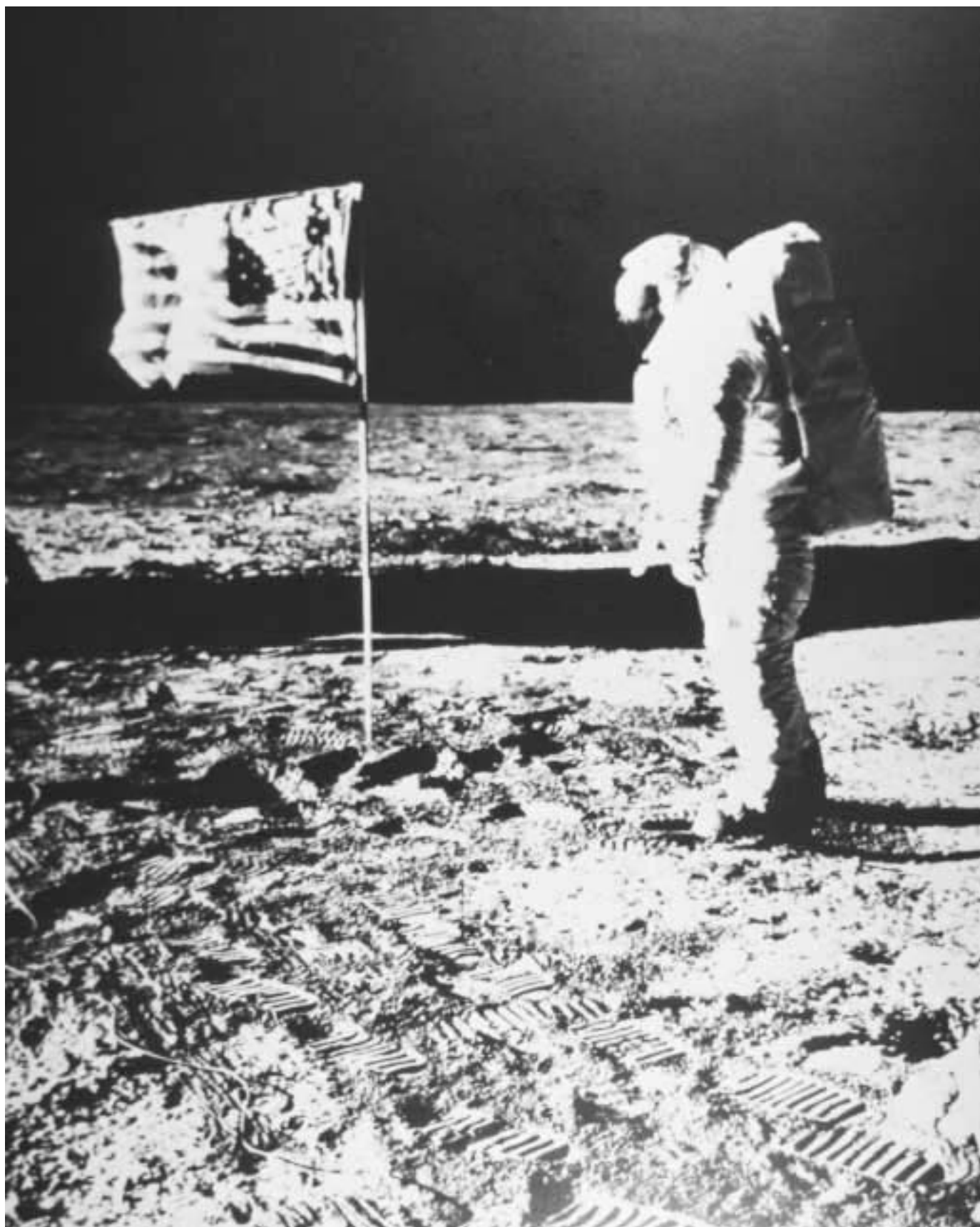
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## Apollo Missions

Between July 1969 and December 1972, 12 American astronauts walked upon the lunar surface. Their 240,000 mile journey to the moon began centuries earlier as the first human gazed skyward into the heavens. As the closest celestial body to the Earth, the moon inspired dreams of exploration through masterworks of literature and art. While such visionary dreams became reality with the technological giant known as Project Apollo, the atmosphere of the Cold War precipitated the drive to the moon.

By 1961 the Soviet Union garnered many of the important “firsts” in space—the artificial satellite (Sputnik I), a living creature in space (Sputnik II), and an un-manned lunar landing (Luna II). Space was no longer a vast territory reserved for stargazers and



Neil Armstrong becomes the first man to walk on the moon.

writers of science fiction; it was now at the forefront of national prestige. The race for placing a human into orbit was the next “first” prize. The American public eagerly looked to Cape Canaveral to finally capture the gold, only to once again be outdone by the Soviets with the orbital flight of Yuri Gagarin.

President John F. Kennedy consulted with scientific advisors about what first the United States might secure. On May 25, 1961, the President made a bold proclamation to the world, “I believe that this nation should commit itself of achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the moon and returning him safely to the Earth.” With these words he captured the imagination of the nation and set forth on a project whose size rivaled the bid for an atomic bomb with the Manhattan Project. When Kennedy delivered his speech, the United States had a mere 15 minutes and 22 seconds of space flight under its belt. Such a complicated venture would require billions of dollars and years to develop the systems and machinery.

Apollo was set to debut in 1967 with the orbital flight of its first crew in Apollo 1. On January 27, however, an electrical spark ignited the capsule’s pure oxygen atmosphere ending the lives of astronauts Gus Grissom, Edward White II, and Roger Chaffee. The tragedy showed the first chink in Apollo’s armor. As the political climate had changed in the years since President Kennedy’s pledge, some began to wonder if the billions of dollars needed to fund Apollo were worth it.

The flight of Apollo 8 in December of 1968 resurrected the program, proving the redesigned hardware could deliver the goods by 1969. Astronauts Frank Borman, James Lovell, and William Anders became the first humans to escape the Earth’s gravitational pull and circumnavigate the moon. The desolate and forbidding surface of a lifeless moon made the “blue marble” of Earth seem like a “grand oasis” in the dark void of space. For the first time humans could see their fragile planet in its entirety. Television cameras transmitted the images back to Earth as the crew quoted Genesis on the eve of Christmas. Apollo 8 had been one of the few bright spots in a year filled with domestic political turmoil, riots, war, and assassination.

Apollo 11 was the news event of 1969. Nearly half of the world’s citizens watched Neil Armstrong take his historic first lunar steps on July 20. The images of Armstrong, Buzz Aldrin, and Michael Collins turned into a marketing bonanza. Their likeness graced buttons, towels, glasses, plates, lunchboxes, posters, and charms. Apollo 11 made the cover of magazines ranging from *Time* and *National Geographic* to *TV Guide*.

With the success of Apollo 11, however, came an end to the anxiety within the public raised by Sputnik. The United States had unequivocally regained its national honor with the fulfillment of the lunar pledge. Many Americans now felt it was time to put space aside and concentrate on problems on Earth. Moreover, the necessity to finance a protracted war in Southeast Asia and the social programs of the Great Society led to reductions in NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration) budgets.

As big as Apollo 11 was, Apollo 12 was not. It became NASA’s equivalent to a summer rerun on television. The next mission, Apollo 13, would have suffered a similar fate had it not been for its near disaster in space. The explosion of an oxygen tank brought with it the prospect of suffering a loss of life in space, and Apollo once again captured headlines. Apollo 14 had moments of interest for the public—it featured Alan Shepard hitting golf balls for “miles and miles” courtesy of the moon’s reduced gravity. The crews of Apollo 15, 16, and 17, regardless of the scientific value of the missions, became anonymous figures in bulky white suits bouncing around on

the lunar surface. Their activities were relegated to a mere mention on the evening news broadcast.

No great conquest program would supplant Apollo; the political circumstances of the early 1960s no longer prevailed by the decade’s end. Even the original plans for Apollo were trimmed as budgetary constraints forced NASA to cut three of the ten scheduled lunar landings. Ironically, the last flight of Apollo in 1975 was a joint Earth-orbit mission with the Soviet Union, the very menace whose space efforts had given birth to the United States lunar program.

Apollo is not simply a collection of wires, transistors, nuts, and bolts put together by an incredible gathering of scientific minds. Rather, it is a story of great adventure. The missions of Apollo went beyond the redemption of national pride with the planting of the United States flag on the moon. Project Apollo was a victory for all to share, not only Americans.

—Dr. Lori C. Walters

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## Apollo Theatre

From 1934 until the present, the Apollo Theatre has been the most important venue for black entertainment in the United States. Located on 125th Street in New York’s black Harlem neighborhood, the Apollo is more than just a venue, it is a cultural institution, a place where African Americans have come-of-age professionally, socially, and politically. As Ahmet Ertegun, chairman of Atlantic Records, noted, “[The Apollo] represented getting out of the limitations of being a black entertainer. If you’re a black entertainer in Charlotte or Mississippi you have great constraints put upon you. But coming to Harlem and the Apollo—Harlem was an expression of the black spirit in America, it was a haven. The Apollo Theatre stood for the greatest—the castle that you reach when you finally make it.”

The changing face of the Apollo—originally built as an Irish music hall, and later the site of a burlesque theatre—in the early twentieth century aptly represented the shifting demographics of the Harlem community itself. Real estate developers, intending to build a suburban paradise for well-off whites, found themselves forced to rent to blacks when the boom cycle went bust in the 1910s. Black





125th Street and the Apollo Theatre, Harlem, New York.

movement within New York City, combined with mass migrations from the southern states, made Harlem the largest black community in America. For African Americans in the 1920s and 1930s, Harlem became the center of the earth, and although its heyday came toward the end of the “Harlem Renaissance,” no cultural establishment was more in vogue than the Apollo.

Of the many shows and performers that have graced Apollo’s stage, none have been as enduring, as popular, or as influential as Ralph Cooper and his Wednesday evening Amateur Nights. In the midst of the worst economic depression in American history, Cooper aimed to restore the vision of the “American dream” to the people of Harlem. As he said at the time, “We can make people a unique offer: With nothing but talent and a lot of heart, you can make it.” Early shows were successful enough to merit live broadcast on WMCA, and radio exposure extended the Apollo’s influence far beyond the boundaries of Harlem. As Cooper later recalled, “You could walk down any street in town and that’s all you heard—and not just in Harlem, but all over New York and most of the country.” The entire nation, in fact, gained its first exposure to such notable talents as

Lionel Hampton, Billie Holiday, Ella Fitzgerald, and more recently, Luther Vandross, Gladys Knight, and Michael Jackson, from the Apollo’s Amateur Night.

Ironically, the breakthrough success that artists like Knight, Donna Summer, and other black entertainers found in the early 1970s spelled doom for “Harlem’s High Spot.” A surge in record royalties led to less touring for major artists, and the Apollo found itself priced out of the market, unable to compete with larger venues like Madison Square Garden and the Lincoln Center. Furthermore, a 1975 gunfight in the Apollo’s upper balcony during a Smokey Robinson concert severely damaged the theatre’s reputation as a safe haven in a dangerous neighborhood. Eventually, the Apollo’s owners were forced to sell the ailing theatre to a church group. After church leaders declared bankruptcy a few years later, however, the theatre was taken over by the Harlem Urban Development Corporation in 1982. In 1983, the Apollo became a National Historic Landmark, securing its future as, arguably, America’s most important theatre.

—Marc R. Sykes

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## Apple Computer

Apple Computer was originally founded by Steven Wozniak and Steven Jobs in 1976. Wozniak and Jobs had been friends in high school, and they shared an interest in electronics. They both eventually dropped out of college and worked for electronics companies, Wozniak at Hewlett-Packard and Jobs at Atari. Wozniak, who experimented in computer design, built the prototype for the Apple I in his garage in early 1976. Jobs saw the potential of the Apple I, and he insisted that he and Wozniak try to sell the machine.

The computer world did not take the Apple I very seriously, and it saw limited success. When the Apple II debuted in 1977, things changed dramatically. The first personal computer to include color graphics, the Apple II was an impressive machine. Orders for Apple machines grew rapidly, and with the introduction of the Apple Disk II, an inexpensive machine with an easy-to-use floppy drive, Apple sales further increased.

With the increase in sales came increased company size. By 1980, when the Apple III was released, Apple had several thousand employees. Apple had taken on a number of new investors who opted to take seats on the board of directors. Older, more conservative men, the new directors wanted Apple to become a more traditional corporation, much to the dismay of many of its original employees.

By 1981, a saturated personal computer market forced Apple to lay off employees. In addition, Wozniak was injured in a plane crash. He took a leave of absence from Apple and returned only briefly. Jobs became chairman of Apple computer in March. Although the personal computer market was growing by leaps and bounds, Apple continued to find itself falling behind the market-share curve. When IBM introduced its first PC in late 1981, Jobs realized Apple needed to change direction.

In 1984, Apple released the Macintosh. The Mac, which would become synonymous with Apple, marked a dramatic revolution in the



The Apple IIGS personal computer.

field of personal computing. Although the Mac was not the first computer to use the Graphical User Interface (GUI) system of icons rather than text-line commands, it was the first GUI-based machine mass-marketed to the general public. By allowing computer users to simply point-and-click rather than having to understand a complex and often unintuitive set of typed commands, the Macintosh made it possible for the average person to operate a personal computer.

The advertisement promoting the launch of the Macintosh was equally dramatic. The ad, which aired during halftime of the Super Bowl, depicted a woman with a large hammer attacking a gigantic video screen that broadcast the image of a suit-wearing Big Brother figure to the gathered masses. Marrying a David vs. Goliath theme to imagery from George Orwell's dystopic *1984*, the commercial suggested that the Macintosh was ready to challenge the evil dominance of corporate giant IBM.

In 1985, after a heated and contentious struggle within the board of directors, Steve Jobs left Apple Computer. For the next eight years, Apple appeared to be on a roller-coaster ride, going from Wall Street darling to has-been several times. Beset by internal struggles and several poorly-designed advertising campaigns, Apple watched its share of the computer market dwindle. Microsoft introduced the Windows software for Intel-based computers, which further eroded Apple's market share. Windows, which essentially copied the Macintosh GUI, proved phenomenally successful. With its ease-of-use trump card gone, Apple continued to slide, despite the fact that many believed that Apple offered a superior computer.

By 1996, it appeared Apple was headed for bankruptcy. Quarterly losses continued to pile up, and layoffs continued. To the surprise of most industry insiders, Steve Jobs returned to Apple in July of 1996, and by July of 1997 he was the de facto CEO. Jobs made major changes in the Apple line, focusing on consumer machines rather than high-end workstations. He introduced the G3 processor, which was vastly superior to previous models. In 1998, he brought out the iMac, which was specifically targeted for the average home computer user. Jobs return to Apple cut costs, introduced new technologies, and brought Apple back into the black. Although some of his decisions were controversial, Apple's continued health was the best indicator of his abilities.

Although Apple remains a fairly small player in the consumer computer market, the Macintosh's superior graphics and sound capabilities have given it a dominant position in several high-end markets, notably desktop publishing, high-end graphics work (such as movie special effects), and music production. The Macintosh slogan "Think Different" became a mantra for many Mac users. Macintosh consistently has one of the highest brand loyalty ratings, and hardcore Mac users (sometimes called MacEvangelists) constantly preach the superiority of the Macintosh over other computer platforms.

Although the marketing skills of Apple are often suspect, the innovative thinking at Apple is peerless in the computer industry. The Apple GUI became the standard by which all other operating systems are evaluated, and the similarities between the Apple GUI and Windows is unmistakable. Apple was the first company to offer plug-and-play expansion, allowing computer users to configure new hardware using software alone. Plug-and-play has since become an industry standard across all major operating systems. Although the handwriting recognition software of the original Apple Newton was poorly designed, it laid the groundwork for the multitude of hand-held Personal Digital Assistants (PDAs) such as the Palm Pilot. These

innovations, along with many others, will keep Apple at the forefront of personal computing for the foreseeable future.

—Geoff Peterson

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## Arbuckle, Fatty (1887-1933)

In the annals of film history, no celebrity better illustrates the fragility of stardom than Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle. In 1919, Arbuckle was one of the most successful comedians in silent film. Two years later, accused of the rape and murder of a young actress, Arbuckle instantly became a national symbol of sin. An outraged public boycotted Arbuckle films, tore down movie posters, and demanded his conviction. For Arbuckle, who was found innocent in 1922, the scandal meant the end of a career. For the movie industry, it meant the beginning of self-censorship. And for many Americans, it represented the loss of a dream: as disappointed fans quickly learned, stars were very different from the heroes they portrayed on screen.

In his movies, Arbuckle typically portrayed a bumbling yet well-meaning hero who saved the day by pie-throwing, back-flipping, and generally outwitting his opponent. In spite of his bulky, 250-pound frame, Arbuckle proved to be an able acrobat—a skill he had perfected during his days in vaudeville. Abandoned by his father at the age of 12, Arbuckle earned his living performing in small-town theaters and later, in the Pantages theater circuit. After nearly 15 years on stage, though, in 1913 Arbuckle found himself out of a job, the victim of declining public interest in vaudeville. Almost by chance, Arbuckle wandered into Mack Sennett's Keystone film studio, where he was given the nickname "Fatty" and put to work. During his three years at Keystone, Arbuckle starred in the popular *Fatty and Mabel* series with actress Mabel Normand, and gained a reputation as a slapstick comedian. By 1917, when Arbuckle left Keystone to run his own production company, Comique, under the supervision of Joseph Schenck, he had become a nationally-known star.

At Comique, Arbuckle directed some of his most acclaimed comedies: *Butcher Boy* (1917), *Out West* (1918), and *Back Stage* (1919), which starred friend and fellow comedian Buster Keaton. In 1919, lured by a million dollar a year contract, Arbuckle agreed to star in six feature films for Paramount and began an intense schedule of shooting and rehearsals. But Paramount ultimately proved to be a disappointment. Dismayed by his lack of creative control and his frenetic schedule, Arbuckle went to San Francisco for a vacation in September 1921. On September 5, Arbuckle hosted a party in his room at the St. Francis Hotel—a wild affair complete with jazz, Hollywood starlets, and bootleg gin. Four days later, one of the actresses who had been at the party, 27-year-old Virginia Rappe, died of acute peritonitis, an inflammation of the lining of the abdomen that



**Fatty Arbuckle**

was allegedly caused by “an extreme amount of external force.” Suspicion fell on Arbuckle, who was accused of raping Virginia and causing her death. Arbuckle was charged with murder and detained in San Francisco.

Meanwhile, news of the Arbuckle scandal sent shockwaves throughout the country. Theater owners withdrew Arbuckle films, and preachers gave sermons on Arbuckle and the evils of Hollywood. Paramount suspended Arbuckle’s contract, and Will Hays—the “czar” of the movie industry, who had been hired to clean up Hollywood’s image in the wake of the scandal— forbade Arbuckle from acting in any films. In the eyes of the public, Arbuckle was guilty as charged. But Arbuckle’s trials told a different story. After two mistrials, Arbuckle was declared innocent in March 1922. This decision, however, meant little to moviegoers, who continued to speak out against Arbuckle in spite of his acquittal. In December 1922, Hays lifted the ban on Arbuckle, but it was too late: Arbuckle’s career as an actor had been ruined.

Even though strong public opinion prevented Arbuckle from appearing on screen, Arbuckle managed to find work behind the camera, and between 1925 to 1932 directed several comedies under the pseudonym William Goodrich (“Will B. Good”). By 1932, though, bitter memories of the scandal had faded, and several of Arbuckle’s friends published an article in *Motion Picture* magazine

begging the public for forgiveness and demanding Arbuckle’s return to the screen. Later that year, Jack Warner hired Arbuckle to star in six short films, but soon after the films were released, Arbuckle died on June 30, 1933, at the age of 46. Arbuckle, who had never recovered from the stress and shock of the scandal, spent his last years wrestling with alcoholism and depression. Although the official cause of Arbuckle’s death was heart failure, Buster Keaton said that he died of a broken heart.

The Fatty Arbuckle scandal, though, was more than a personal tragedy. Motion pictures—and the concept of the movie “star”—were still new in the early 1920s, and the Arbuckle scandal gave movie fans a rude wake-up call. For the first time, Americans saw the dark side of stardom. Drunk with fame and wealth, actors could abuse their power and commit horrible crimes—indeed, as many social reformers had claimed, Hollywood might be a breeding ground for debauchery. In the face of this threat, the movie industry established a series of codes controlling the conduct of actors and the content of films, which culminated in the Production Code of the 1930s. The industry hoped to project an image of wholesomeness, but in the wake of the Arbuckle scandal, the public remained unconvinced. Although American audiences still continued to be entranced by the Hollywood “dream factory,” they would never put their faith in movie stars in the way they had before 1921.

—Samantha Barbas

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## Archie Comics

Archie has been a highly successful teenager for close to 60 years. He began life humbly, created by cartoonist Bob Montana and writer Vic Bloom, as a backup feature for the MLJ company’s *Pep Comics* #22 in the winter of 1941. At that point, *Pep Comics* was inhabited predominantly by serious heroes, such as the Shield, a superpatriot, and the Hangman, a vindictive costumed crime-fighter. The redheaded, freckled Archie Andrews, along with his two girlfriends, the blonde Betty and the brunette Veronica, and his pal Jughead, gradually became the stars of the comic book and within a few years ousted all of the heroes. MLJ, who had been publishing a string of comic books, changed its name to Archie Comics Publications early in 1946.

The public had discovered teenagers a few years earlier, and fictional youths were flourishing in all the media. There was Henry Aldrich on the radio, Andy Hardy in the movies, and Junior Miss on Broadway. The quintessential media teen of the 1940s, clean-cut and bumbling, Archie has remained true to that stereotype throughout his

long run in the comics. He came upon the scene with the full requisite of essential props—two sympathetic but perplexed parents, a jalopy, a spinster school teacher in the person of Miss Grundy, and an easily exasperated principal named Mr. Weatherbee.

Archie Andrews pretty much ignored involvement with sex, drugs, and delinquency as several generations of kid readers read him and then outgrew him. His biggest appeal has probably always been not to teenagers themselves but to the millions of preteens who accept him as a valid representative of the adolescent world.

Archie quickly began to branch out. He and the gang from Riverdale High were added to the lineup of *Jackpot Comics* soon after his debut in *Pep Comics* and, in the winter of 1942, MLJ introduced *Archie Comics*. An *Archie* radio show took to the air in 1943, settling into a Saturday morning slot on NBC. The newspaper strip was started in 1946, first syndicated by McClure and then King Features. Bob Montana, returning from the service, drew the strip. In his absence, several other cartoonists had turned out the increasing amount of *Archie Comics* material. Among them were Harry Sahle, Bill Vigoda, and Al Fagaly.

Archie reached television in the late 1960s as an animated cartoon character. The first show was called simply *The Archie Show*, and that was followed by such variations as *Archie's Funhouse* and *Archie's TV Funnies*. Later attempts at a live action version of life in Riverdale did not prove successful.

Over the years there have been several dozen different comic book titles devoted exclusively to Archie and his gang. These include *Archie's Mad House*, *Archie's Girls*, *Betty and Veronica*, *Archie's Joke Book*, *Archie's Pal*, *Jughead*, *Little Archie*, *Archie's Christmas Stocking*, and *Archie's Double Digest*. The spin-offs have included *Josie and the Pussycats* and George Gladir's *Sabrina the Teenage Witch*. The chief Archie artist for many years was Dan DeCarlo and his associates have included Tom Moore, George Frese, and Bob Bolling.

—Ron Goulart

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## Arden, Elizabeth (1878-1966)

Elizabeth Arden symbolizes exorbitance and luxury in the multi-billion dollar beauty industry. Born Florence Nightingale Graham, Elizabeth Arden was a self-made woman of steely determination. She started her business on New York's Fifth Avenue in 1910. Responding to women's desires for both well-being and beauty, she offered cosmetics and treatments for home application as well as salon pamperings at her famous Red Door salons and her Maine Chance retreat. While Arden always respected the laboratory matrix of beauty treatments—offering a selection of more than 300 varieties of creams and cosmetics—Arden added essential grace notes to her products. She replaced medicinal aromas with floral scents; she created elegant, systematic packaging; and she opened luxurious and artistic treatment venues, which contrasted strongly with the hospital-like austerity of other beauty-culture clinics. In the 1960 presidential election, Jacqueline Kennedy, responding to allegations of her extravagance, retorted

that Pat Nixon shopped at Elizabeth Arden. Arden's business sold for \$40 million after her death in 1966.

—Richard Martin

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## Argosy

Born as a struggling weekly for adolescents in 1882, *Argosy* became the first adult magazine to rely exclusively on fiction for its content and the first to be printed on rough, pulpwood paper. "The story is worth more than the paper it is printed on," it was once said of *Argosy*, and thus was born the "pulp magazine." Between 1896 and its demise in 1979, *Argosy* introduced or helped inspire pulp fiction writers such as Edgar Rice Burroughs, Jack London, Dashiell Hammett, H. P. Lovecraft, Raymond Chandler, E. E. "Doc" Smith, Mickey Spillane, Earl Stanley Gardner, Zane Grey, and Elmore Leonard, and helped familiarize millions of readers with the detective, science fiction, and western writing genres.

Publisher Frank Munsey arrived in New York from Maine in 1882 with \$40 in his pocket. Ten months later, he helped found *Golden Argosy: Freightened with Treasures for Boys and Girls*. Among the publication's early offerings were stories by the popular self-success advocate Horatio Alger, Jr., but the diminutive weekly fared poorly in the face of overwhelming competition from like juvenile publications "of high moral tone." Munsey gradually shifted the content to more adult topics, dropping any reference to children in the magazine in 1886 and shortening the title to *Argosy* in 1888. A year later, Munsey started another publication, what would become the highly profitable *Munsey's Magazine*, and *Argosy* languished as a weak imitation.

Munsey made two critical changes to rescue *Argosy* in 1896. First, he switched to cheap, smelly, ragged-edged pulpwood paper, made from and often sporting recovered wood scraps, as a way to reduce costs. More importantly, he began publishing serial fiction exclusively, emphasizing adventure, action, mystery, and melodrama in exotic or dangerous locations. No love stories, no drawings or photographs for many years, just "hard-boiled" language and coarse, often gloomy settings that appealed to teenage boys and men. Circulation doubled, peaking at around 500,000 in 1907.

Munsey paid only slightly more for his stories than his paper. One author recalled that \$500 was the top price for serial fiction, a fraction of what authors could make at other publications. *Argosy* featured prolific serial fictionists such as Frederick Van Rensselaer Deay, the creator of the Nick Carter detective series, William MacLeod Raine, Albert Payson Terhune, Louis Joseph Vance, and Ellis Parker Butler. It also published the writings of younger, undiscovered authors such as James Branch Cabell, Charles G. D. Roberts, Susan Glaspell, Mary Roberts Rinehart, a young Upton Sinclair, and William Sydney Porter (before he became known as O. Henry). Beginning in 1910, Munsey began merging *Argosy* with a variety of weaker competitors, a practice Munsey called "cleaning up the field." The new combination featured stories by authors such as Frank Condon,

Courtney Ryley, Octavus Roy Cohen, P. G. Wodehouse, Luke Short, Van Wyck Mason, C. S. Forester, and Max Brand.

Munsey died in 1925 and ordered that his \$20,000,000 magazine empire, including *Argosy*, be broken up and sold, but not before *Argosy* and the pulps had become a dominant force in American popular culture, making characters such as Tarzan, Zorro, the Shadow, Sam Spade, and the Phantom Detective household names. It was purchased by William T. Dewart, but the Depression and declining interest in pulp fiction reduced circulation to 40,000 by 1940. Renamed *New Argosy* in 1942, it was temporarily banned from the mails for "obscurity." Two months later it was sold to Popular Publications, Inc. Under the supervision of Henry Steeger, *Argosy* abandoned its all-fiction format and began featuring news and war articles. Influenced by the success of newly founded men's magazine *Esquire*, the renamed *Argosy—The Complete Men's Magazine* became a "slick," with four-color layouts, quality fiction, and adventure, sports, crime, science, and humor stories.

One of the most popular features was the "Court of Last Resort." Written by Erle Stanley Gardner, the creator of attorney Perry Mason, the "court" presented the cases of men considered unjustly convicted of crimes. The feature helped free, pardon, commute, or parole at least 15 persons. Gardner was assisted by a criminologist, lie detector expert, detective, prison psychologist, and one-time FBI investigator.

The reformulated *Argosy* succeeded for a time. As Steeger explained to *Newsweek* in 1954, "After the Second World War 15 million veterans were no longer content to accept the whimsy and phoniness of fiction." By 1953, it had a circulation of 1,250,000 and charged over \$5,000 for a single full-color page advertisement. An *Argosy* editor described an average reader to *Writer* magazine in 1965 as "factory-bound, desk-bound, work-bound, forced by economics and society to abandon his innate maleness and individuality to become a cog in the corporate machine."

But more explicit competitors such as *Playboy* and *Penthouse*, a shifting sense of male identity, and the prevalence of television doomed men's magazines such as *Argosy*. Popular Publications, Inc. was dissolved in 1972 with the retirement of Henry Steeger. *Argosy* and other titles were purchased by Joel Frieman and Blazing Publications, Inc., but *Argosy* was forced to cease publication in the face of postal rate increases in 1979 even though it still had a circulation of over one million. The magazine's title resurfaced when Blazing Publications changed its name to Argosy Communications, Inc., in 1988, and Frieman has retained copyrights and republished the writings of authors such as Burroughs, John Carroll Daly, Gardner, Rex Stout, and Ray Bradbury. In addition, the spirit of pulp magazines like *Argosy* survives in the twentieth-century invention of the comic book, with fewer words and more images but still printed on cheap, pulpwood paper.

—Richard Digby-Junger

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## Arizona Highways

Recognized by its splashy color photographs displaying Arizona's scenic wonders, *Arizona Highways* is the best known and most widely circulated state-owned magazine. Founded in 1925 with a starting circulation of 1,000 issues, *Arizona Highways* evolved from a drab engineering pamphlet laced with ugly, black-and-white construction advertisements to a full-color, advertisement-free, photographic essay promoting Arizona. Today, with subscribers in all fifty states and 120 foreign countries, it is the state's visual ambassador and an international proselytizer of the romanticized Southwest.

*Arizona Highways* was one of twenty-three state-published magazines that began with the expressed purpose of promoting the construction of new and better roads. Arizona, like many Western states, saw tourism as an important economic resource, but did not have the roads necessary to take advantage of America's dependable new automobiles and increased leisure time. This good-roads movement, which swept the country during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, wrested power from the railroads and helped to democratize travel. The movement reached its peak in Arizona during the 1930s when the federal government began funding large transportation projects as part of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's larger plan to help steer the country out of the Great Depression. The New Deal brought *Arizona Highways* the road construction it requested and gave the magazine a new cause in tourism.

The Great Depression shrank advertisers' budgets, forcing several Arizona-based travel magazines to either cease publishing or transform their missions. *Arizona Highways*, which survived because it received a regular state subsidy, was then able to aggressively pursue the wide-open tourist market. In 1939, the magazine's sixth editor, Raymond Carlson, stopped selling advertising in order to improve the magazine's visual appeal and avoid competition for advertising dollars with other Arizona-based publications. Carlson, also the magazine's philosophical architect, edited the magazine from 1938 to 1971 and is given most of the credit for the magazine's success. His folksy demeanor, home-spun superlatives, and zealous use of scenic color photography transformed the magazine into Arizona's postcard to the world.

The invention of Kodachrome in 1936 significantly advanced color photography and allowed *Arizona Highways* to better exploit the state's scenic wonders. The magazine's photographically driven editorial content emphasizes the natural beauty of the Grand Canyon, saguaro cactus, desert flora, and the state's other readily recognized symbols like the monoliths of Monument Valley, made famous by

many appearances in John Ford's Western films, and the Painted Desert. In December 1946, *Arizona Highways* led the nation in the use of color photography and published the first all-color issue of a nationally circulated consumer magazine. The all-color format became standard for all issues starting in January of 1986.

In the 1940s, continuing in the tradition of Charles Lummis's California-based *Land of Sunshine* magazine and the Santa Fe Railroad's turn-of-the-century advertising campaigns, *Arizona Highways* began portraying a romanticized view of Arizona's natural beauty, climate, open land, Native American cultures, and Old West history. The Anglo-American pioneers—cowboys, ranchers, miners, and military figures—were portrayed as strong and fiercely independent, Hispanics were descendants of gallant explorers and brave frontier settlers, and Native Americans represented nobility, simplicity, and freedom. In addition to these sympathetic and sentimental portrayals, the magazine included the masterpieces of Western artists Ted DeGrazia, Frederic Remington, and Lon Megargee; the writing of Joseph Wood Krutch, Frank Waters, and Tony Hillerman; the photography of Ansel Adams, Joseph and David Muench, and Barry Goldwater; the architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright, Mary Colter, and Paolo Soleri; and the creations of Native American artists Fred Kabotie, Harrison Begay, and Allan Houser.

Undoubtedly the magazine's romanticization of the Southwest also benefited from the popularity of Western films, television and radio network programs, and pulp fiction. In fact, the mass media's portrayal of the West blurred the distinction between the mythic West and the real West in the American mind. Carlson's agrarian philosophy worked well with this blurred West because it enabled the increasingly industrial nation to, in the words of historian Gerald Nash, "escape from this new civilization, even while partaking of its material and other benefits and comforts." Although many readers do visit Arizona, much of the magazine's appeal outside the state is the reassurance it gives readers that the West—a place of opportunity and open land—still exists. The magazine's cultural influence as a symbol of this American identity was so powerful in 1965, during the height of the Cold War, that *Arizona Highways* was labeled subversive literature by the Soviet Union and banned there because it was "clearly intended to conduct hostile propaganda among the Soviet people."

The magazine's circulation reached a high of over 600,000 in the 1970s, but increased subscription rates (brought on by higher labor, postage, and paper costs) and competition from other magazines caused the circulation to drop to nearly 400,000 by the late 1990s. Even so, *Arizona Highways* has become a self-supporting operation that no longer requires state appropriations. The magazine accomplished this by marketing related products—books, calendars, cards, maps, and clothing—through bi-annual catalogs which account for approximately 40 percent of total revenue. To remain competitive and increase circulation, *Arizona Highways* maintains a delicate balance between satisfying the editorial appetites of its current subscribers, most of whom are over sixty, while pursuing a new generation of younger readers through more active magazine departments and the internet.

—Brad Melton

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## Arledge, Boone (1931—)

Visionary producer Boone Arledge was instrumental in transforming network-televized sports and news into profitable ventures. Joining *ABC Sports* in 1960, he revolutionized broadcasts with his use of instant replay and slow motion, and his humanistic production sense brought the shows *Wide World of Sports*, *Monday Night Football*, and announcer Howard Cosell to national consciousness. A widely acclaimed and award winning broadcast of the terrorized 1972 Munich Olympics stirred wider ambitions, and in 1976 Arledge became president of *ABC News*. He soon pioneered ratings-savvy breakthroughs such as *Nightline* (1980) and the first television news magazine, *20/20* (1978). News, however, soon moved from being merely profitable to being profit-driven. Arledge was swallowed by the corporate establishment. Ted Turner's 24-hour *Cable News Network (CNN)* became the standard for network news coverage, and soon ABC was bought by Capital Cities Inc., which also owns the successful 24-hour sports network *ESPN*. Arledge stepped down in 1998.

—C. Kenyon Silvey

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## Armani, Giorgio (1934—)

Milanese fashion designer Giorgio Armani did for menswear in 1974 what Chanel did sixty years before for women's tailoring: he dramatically softened menswear tailoring, eliminating stuffing and rigidity. The power of Armani styling comes from a non-traditional masculinity of soft silhouettes and earth colors in slack elegance. His 1980s "power suit" (padded shoulders, dropped lapels, two buttons, wide trousers, and low closure) and its 1990s successor (natural shoulders, three buttons, high closure, narrow trousers, and extended jacket length) defined prestige menswear. Armani is the first fashion designer to focus primarily on menswear, though he has designed womenswear since 1975. In the 1990s, Armani remained chiefly identified with expensive suits but produced numerous lines. Armani's popularity in America can be traced to Richard Gere's wardrobe in *American Gigolo* (1980).

—Richard Martin

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## Armed Forces Radio Service

During World War II American radio made three key contributions to the war effort: news broadcasts supporting U.S. involvement in the war, propaganda beamed at Nazi-occupied Europe, and entertainment and news broadcasts to American troops around the world via the Armed Forces Radio Service (AFRS). Since 1930, the airwaves had been dominated by the entertainment-oriented programming of the three major American networks, CBS, ABC, and NBC. With the AFRS a new type of network emerged, one historian Erik Barnouw describes as "global and without precedent."

In the pre-television era radio was considered such an integral part of American life that a concentrated effort was made to continue providing it to American troops in both the European and the Pacific theatres. Thus the Armed Forces Radio Service was born and commenced broadcasting in the first years of America's intervention in World War II. At the beginning of 1943 AFRS had 21 outlets, but by the end of the same year that number had grown to over 300. It was heard in 47 countries, and every week each outlet received over 40 hours of recorded programming by plane from the United States; additional material (such as news, sports, and special events coverage) was relayed by short-wave. (The very first programs for troops had actually gone out direct by short-wave in 1942 when AFRS began broadcasting on a limited scale). First leasing time on foreign (and mostly government run) stations, AFRS programming moved into high gear with the creation of its own "American expeditionary stations," the first set-up in Casablanca in March of 1943, with stations in Oran, Tunis, Sicily, and Naples soon following. By 1945 over 800 outlets were getting the weekly shipments of AFRS programs.

The nerve center of Armed Forces Radio was at 6011 Santa Monica Boulevard in Los Angeles. Its uniformed staff included Army and Navy personnel as well as civilians. Its commandant, Colonel Thomas H. A. Lewis, had been vice-president of a Hollywood advertising agency, and was also married to actress Loretta Young, a combination which assured AFRS access to major Hollywood talent. Also on the staff were Sergeants Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee, who would later co-write *Auntie Mame*, *Inherit the Wind*, and other Broadway successes.

Ultimately the AFRS produced forty-three programs (14 hours) itself, and aired another thirty-six hours of U.S. network radio shows with all commercials deleted. The excising of commercial advertising was a particular AFRS innovation. Historian Susan Smulyan writes in *Selling Radio*: "The radio industry had worked since the 1920s to make broadcast advertising seem natural and reassuringly 'American,' but the stark contrast between wartime realities and radio merchandising appeals revealed that advertising was neither wholly accepted yet nor considered particularly patriotic." While dependent on the major networks for its most popular programs, the AFRS nonetheless still deleted all commercial references and advertising from its broadcasts. Programs such as the "Camel Caravan" became "Comedy Caravan," and the "Chase and Sanborn Hour" became simply "Charlie McCarthy."

A technical innovation pioneered by the AFRS was pre-recorded programming. During its early history radio had prided itself on its

live broadcasts and shied away from developing recorded shows. But the ability to pre-record had obvious advantages, among them the capacity to select the best performances and "takes," and to delete controversial and time-sensitive material. Recorded shows were also cheaper to produce and gave everyone involved a flexibility and control impossible in live broadcasting.

Because recording tape had not yet been developed, the process involved the manipulation of a series of vinyl and glass discs similar to very large 78 rpm records. The final vinylite discs (which were the copies of the shows then shipped around the world) were pressed from a master disc which in turn had been edited from two duplicate glass disc copies of shows recorded off of live network radio. As Barnouw comments: "The process involved new techniques" requiring considerable skill on the part of the engineer/editor since it necessitated "dropping a playing needle into the right spot on the right groove at the right moment. Editing-on-disc, scarcely tried before the war, became a highly developed specialty at AFRS."

The AFRS show "Command Performance" was the first to be pre-recorded, and it proved that the technology existed to edit programs and re-broadcast them from disc copies. Smulyan speculated that it may have been Bing Crosby's experience on "Command Performance" that motivated him to demand a transcription clause in his 1946 contact with ABC, enabling him to record his shows in Los Angeles and ship them to ABC in New York for later broadcasting. In the late 1940s and early 1950s the phrase "Brought to you by transcription" became a familiar tag line at the conclusion of many network radio shows, the by-then standard procedure having been developed and perfected by AFRS. To this day some of the large and unwieldy 16-inch vinylite transcription discs from the World War II Armed Forces Radio Service occasionally turn up in the flea markets of southern California.

Today called Armed Forces Radio and Television Service, the AFRS continued to air pre-recorded radio shows in years following World War II. But by the early 1960s conventional radio had changed with the times, and the AFRS changed as well, both now emphasizing recorded popular music of the day aired by disc-jockey personalities. The story of one of the more off-beat army DJs, Adrian Cronauer, and his controversial AFRS programming in Southeast Asia during the Vietnam conflict is portrayed in the 1987 film *Good Morning Vietnam*.

—Ross Care

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## Armory Show

In 1913, the International Exhibition of Modern Art of 1913, popularly known as the Armory Show, brought modern art to America. The most highly publicized American cultural event of all time,



the exhibition changed the face of art in the United States. As the media rained scorn, derision, fear, praise, hope, and simple curiosity on the Armory Show, the American public looked on modernism for the first time and went home to think about what they had seen. America would never be the same.

In 1911, sixteen young New York artists who had studied in Europe formed the Association of American Painters and Sculptors (AAPS). Their goal was to challenge the stranglehold of such mainstream art organizations as the National Academy of Design, a conservative group who held the first and last word on American art and American taste. Having been exposed to the avant-garde art being produced in Europe by the Impressionists, the Post-Impressionists, the Fauves, the Expressionists, the Cubists, and the Futurists, the members of the AAPS were fed up with the stodginess of the American art world. They hoped to foment artistic revolution, and their means of accomplishing this was to show the New York art world what modern art was all about.

To this end, they conceived the idea of putting on an exhibit of modern art and decided to rent out the 69th Regimental Headquarters of the New York National Guard, an armory built in case of worker unrest. They brought in some 1,300 pieces of art, arranged chronologically, beginning with a miniature by Goya, two small drawings by Ingres, and a Delacroix. But these were sedate compared to the Cézannes, Van Goghs, Picassos, Matisses, and Duchamps, which would spark public outcry when the show opened.

Indeed, the show succeeded beyond the wildest dreams of its organizers. As Robert Hughes has written in *American Visions: The Epic History of Art in America*, “No single exhibition before or since has had such a traumatic, stimulating, and disorienting effect on American art and its public. It shook the bag, reshuffled the deck, and changed the visual culture in ways that its American organizers could not have been expected to predict.”

When the Armory Show opened on February 17, 1913, four thousand people lined up to get in. There was a media frenzy in which the exhibit was both decried as “the harbinger of universal anarchy” as well as praised for turning the New York art world on its ear and drawing record crowds for a cultural event. The detractors focused mainly on Matisse and the Cubists. Marcel Duchamps’ *Nude Descending a Staircase* drew particular umbrage. As Hughes has written, “It became the star freak of the Armory Show—its bearded lady, its dog-faced boy. People compared it to an explosion in a shingle factory, an earthquake on the subway. . . . As a picture, *Nude Descending a Staircase* is neither poor nor great. . . . Its fame today is the fossil of the huge notoriety it acquired as a puzzle picture in 1913. It is, quite literally, famous for being famous—an icon of a now desiccated scandal. It is lodged in history because it embodied the belief that the new work of art, the revolutionary work of art, has to be scorned and stoned like a prophet by the uncomprehending crowd.”

The Armory Show shook the New York, and thus the American, art world to its very foundation. Some saw modern art as pathological and deranged and resolutely held out against change. But for many, particularly young artists and collectors who had not seen anything other than academic European art, it opened their eyes to the possibilities of the modern. Many cite the Armory Show as the beginning of the Modern Age in America. After a six-week run in New York, the show traveled to Chicago and Boston. In total, about three hundred thousand people bought tickets to the show, three hundred thousand

people who then slowly began to turn their sights toward Europe, toward modernism, and toward the inevitable change that would transform popular culture in America during the twentieth century.

—Victoria Price

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## Armstrong, Henry (1912-1988)

One of the best boxers in the history of the ring, Henry Armstrong was the first fighter to hold world titles in three weight classes simultaneously. Born Henry Jackson in Columbus, Mississippi, Armstrong began fighting in 1929. Eight years later he won the world featherweight title from Petey Sarron. A year later he won the lightweight and welterweight titles. Also known as “Hammerin’ Hank” because of his many knockouts, Armstrong was considered one of the best fighters in the world during this period. He successfully defended his welterweight title 19 times (still a record) and is fourth on the list for consecutive defenses of a title. After he retired in 1945



Henry Armstrong

he was inducted into the International Boxing Hall of Fame. His career included 150 wins (100 KOs), 21 losses, and 9 draws.

—Lloyd Chiasson, Jr.

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## **Armstrong, Louis (1901-1971)**

Daniel Louis Armstrong—trumpeter and singer—was one of the most important musicians in jazz and in twentieth-century music, achieving seemingly insurmountable odds given his humble origins. Armstrong proved himself as the first vital jazz soloist and one of jazz's most creative innovators, winning worldwide appeal and achieving commercial success. Armstrong helped to transform the traditional New Orleans jazz style—based on collective improvisation—to jazz featuring a star solo, thereby elevating jazz to a

sophisticated form of music. Clearly a versatile musician, he was an active participant in a number of jazz styles, including the New Orleans style of the 1910s, the Chicago style of the 1920s, the New York style in the 1930s, and the jazz of the wider world in the 1950s. Armstrong was one of the first blacks seen in feature-length films; in total he appeared in nearly 50. In addition to a sponsored radio show, the United States State Department and private organizations sponsored international tours of his music and performances, earning him the nickname “Ambassador Satch.”

For many years, July 4, 1900 was cited as Armstrong's birth date, but the discovery of his baptismal records confirm that his real birth date was August 4, 1901. His birthplace of New Orleans was a haven for all kinds of music, from French Opera to the blues. He grew up in the “Back o’ Town” section near the red-light district, and therefore heard and absorbed the rags, marches, and blues that were the precursors to early jazz. Because his family was so impoverished—he barely had enough to eat and wore rags as a child—Armstrong often sang on the street as a kid. His father, a laborer, abandoned the family when he was young and his mother was, at best, an irresponsible single parent who left the young Armstrong and his sister in the care of relatives. In addition to singing on the streets, Armstrong sang in a Barbershop quartet, providing an excellent opportunity for him to train his ear.



**Louis Armstrong**

As a teenager, Armstrong found himself in trouble for general delinquency and had to spend more than two years at the Home for Colored Waifs. He eventually found an outlet in the school band, first taking up the tambourine and later the cornet under his teacher Peter Davis. Armstrong mastered the school's repertoire of marches and rags, and eventually became the leader of the Home's brass band that frequently played for picnics and parades. Upon his release, Armstrong decided that he wanted to become a musician. Not owning a horn did not deter him. He played his first job at a honky-tonk in Storyville's red-light district; he used a borrowed horn and performed blues and other songs from his limited repertoire. When not playing his regular job, Armstrong would frequent clubs and listen to various musicians playing the blues.

Cornetist and bandleader Joe "King" Oliver was impressed with Armstrong and took him under his wing. When Oliver left for Chicago in 1918, Armstrong took his place as cornetist in the band led by Kid Ory. In the same year, he married a prostitute, but the relationship soon ending in divorce. He continued to work in clubs with established bands, and on the side formed his own group. Pianist and bandleader Fate Marable then hired Armstrong to work on the riverboats, and the job provided him with the opportunity to improve his musicianship. During this period, a melophone player named David Jones taught Armstrong to read music. By 1922, he was invited to join King Oliver as second cornetist in Chicago at the Lincoln Gardens. The Oliver job showcased the young Armstrong's prowess as a virtuoso improviser who would "swing" at the slightest provocation. In 1924, Armstrong married pianist Lil Hardin and, upon her insistence, moved to New York where he joined the Fletcher Henderson Orchestra. His solos and improvisation drew the attention of New York musicians, but by 1925 he returned to Chicago where he joined the Erskine Tate "symphonic jazz" Orchestra and, subsequently, Carroll Dickerson's Orchestra. He was now billed as "Louis Armstrong, world's greatest trumpet player." With his popularity soaring, in 1929 Armstrong joined the hit show *Hot Chocolates*, where he sang "Ain't Misbehavin'." Significantly, Armstrong had become a sensation appreciated by both black and white audiences. It was a pivotal point in his career.

Armstrong could have easily chosen to pursue a career leading a jazz group, but instead, he opted for broadening his commercial appeal by singing popular tunes and becoming a showman. His decision was, perhaps, influenced by his childhood, but managers Tommy Rockwell and Joe Glaser also played an important role in the direction of his career. Many critics assert that Armstrong's musical legacy stopped in the year 1936, when, as the noted jazz critic Leonard Feather observed: "The greater his impact on the public, the less important were his musical settings and the less durable his musical contributions."

In 1925, Armstrong began to record under the name Louis Armstrong and His Hot Five. These recordings, which can be placed into four categories, had a profound influence on jazz, and are regarded as one of the most momentous recordings in the music of the twentieth century. The first category of the Hot Five recordings are in the New Orleans style, but Armstrong's scatting on "Heebie Jeebies" set a precedent for the scat style of singing. The second category was recorded with the enlargement of the quintet to include a tuba and drums, issued under the name of Louis Armstrong and His Hot Seven; "Potato Head Blues" is considered stellar in this group. The third category consisted of the group returning to the original Hot Five band with the extraordinary "Struttin' with some Barbecue," and the highly regarded "Hotter than that." The fourth category

included Earl Hines as pianist. The recordings in this category are considered by many critics as Armstrong's greatest. Including gems such as "Weather Bird," "West End Blues," and "Don't Jive Me," they were made in 1928 and reflect Armstrong's break with the New Orleans style. Hines possessed a facile technique and an inventive mind, the result of which were improvisations where the right hand of the piano mimicked the trumpet in octaves; the trademark gave rise to the term "trumpet style" piano. Armstrong and Hines complimented each other, feeding, inspiring, and spurring one another to create sheer musical excellence.

Armstrong's big band group of recordings represent him as a bandleader, solo variety attraction, and jester. In this format, he largely abandoned the jazz repertoire in favor of popular songs vis à vis the blues and original compositions. A majority of the bands he fronted, including Luis Russell and Les Hite, fell short of his musical genius.

Armstrong signaled his return to the New Orleans style with the All Stars in 1947. The sextet made their debut in August 1947 after his appearance in the mediocre film *New Orleans*. The music was superb and seemed to placate the critics. The All Stars featured trombonist Jack Teagarden, clarinetist Barney Bigard, pianist Dick Cary, drummer Sid Catlett, and bassist Arvell Shaw, although the group's personnel continually changed. This smaller group was an instant success and became the permanent format that Armstrong guided until his death; together they recorded the highly acclaimed *Autobiography* sessions.

As early as 1932 Armstrong toured Europe, playing at the London Palladium. This was the first of many trips taken for concerts and television appearances. The transformation from musician to entertainer had taken full effect. "You Rascal You," among other novelty songs, were audience favorites. Ella Fitzgerald, Oscar Peterson, and the Dukes of Dixieland were among the diverse stylists who recorded with Armstrong.

The excruciating touring demands that began in the 1930s would eventually take their toll on Armstrong. He had already experienced intermittent problems with his health and shortly after playing a date with the All Stars at the Waldorf Astoria in New York, Armstrong suffered a heart attack. He remained in intensive care for more than a month and returned home, where he died in his sleep on May 6, 1971.

A musical legend, Armstrong's style was characterized by a terminal vibrato, an exceptional ability to swing playing notes around the beat, and an uncanny appreciation for pauses and stops which showcased his virtuoso technique. He used dramatic devices to capture the attention of audiences, including sliding or ripping into notes, either ending a phrase or tune on a high note. His ebullient personality showed through his music, and his style was dictated by a *savoir faire* that was embraced by his fans throughout the world.

—Willie Collins

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## Army-McCarthy Hearings

In the 1950s Joseph McCarthy, a Republican senator from Appleton, Wisconsin, waged a years-long battle against subversive conduct in the United States and against the Communists whom he believed to be hiding in all walks of American life—particularly in government, Hollywood, and academia. McCarthy's unsubstantiated claims led to upheaval, the destruction of careers, and to a concentrated attack on the freedoms guaranteed to Americans in the First Amendment of the Constitution. Despite attempts by conservative scholars to reinstate McCarthy's tarnished reputation, no one has proved that he ever identified an actual subversive. Nowhere were his bullying tactics more obvious than when he accused the United States Army of harboring Communists. The hearings on these activities and McCarthy's belligerent behavior were broadcast on network television in 1957.

Specifically, McCarthy targeted an army dentist who was in the process of being voluntarily discharged due to the illness of his wife and daughter. Irving Peress, who had been drafted under the McCarthy-supported Doctors and Dentists Draft Act, had checked "Federal Constitutional Privilege" instead of "Yes" or "No" when he signed the required Loyalty Oath. This was all that McCarthy needed to launch an attack against the dentist and the United States Army.

In a broader sense, McCarthy was responding to information in a letter that was later proved to be false. The letter named 34 scientists, engineers, and technicians at Fort Monmouth as subversives. In his history of the hearings, John G. Adams, a major player in the debacle and lawyer for the army, maintains that McCarthy was mad at the army for refusing to give special treatment to David Schine, a wealthy member of McCarthy's staff who had been drafted. At any rate, 26 of the 34 accused subversives were cleared by a loyalty board, and the other eight convictions were ultimately overturned by the courts. The Loyalty Board, made up of high-ranking officers and well-respected civilians, quickly became the target of McCarthy's ire. He demanded the right to question them. The army, determined to protect the Board's identity and its own reputation, refused. While President Dwight Eisenhower had been elected on the wave of anti-Communism fueled by McCarthy, the two were poles apart ideologically. When McCarthy went after the army, Eisenhower refused to remain on the sidelines.

Backed by the White House, the army belatedly stood up to McCarthy and refused to offer their officers as lambs to McCarthy's slaughter. Robert T. Stevens, Secretary of the Army, issued a press release stating that he had advised Brigadier General Ralph W. Zwicker of Camp Kilmer not to appear before the senator's committee. As part of the attack on the army, McCarthy, with his typical outrageousness, had accused Zwicker of being unfit to wear the army uniform and of having the brains of a five year-old, and he demanded his immediate dismissal. McCarthy ignored the fact that it was Zwicker who reported the allegedly subversive Peress. When a transcript from the closed hearings was leaked to the press and published by the *New York Times*, McCarthy's supporters—including several prestigious newspapers—began to back away.

Eisenhower used the diary of army lawyer John G. Adams to illuminate the extent of McCarthy's out-of-control behavior, including the fact that Roy Cohn, McCarthy's committee counsel, was being subsidized by the wealthy Schine. Reporter Joseph Alsop, who had secretly seen the diary in its entirety before it was commandeered by the White House, joined his brother in releasing additional information indicating that McCarthy was very much under the influence of Cohn, who had promised to end the attack on the army if Schine were given the requested special treatment. McCarthy then counterattacked, providing additional information to challenge the integrity of the army.

McCarthy's nemesis proved to be Joseph Nye, Chief Counsel for the army. With admirable skill, Nye led McCarthy into exhibiting his true arrogance and vindictiveness. Beforehand, McCarthy had agreed not to attack Fred Fisher, a young lawyer who had withdrawn from working with Nye on the case because he had once belonged to a Communist-front group known as the "Lawyer's Guild." When McCarthy reneged, Nye counterattacked: "Little did I dream you could be so reckless and so cruel as to do an injury to that lad . . . Let us not assassinate this lad further, Senator. You have done enough. Have you no sense of decency, sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?"

It was a fitting epitaph for the horror that was the political career of Senator Joseph McCarthy. His lack of decency was evident, and he was subsequently censured by the United States Senate. In 1998, Godfrey Sperling, a reporter who dogged McCarthy's footsteps during the 1950s, responded to the newly developed efforts to reinstate McCarthy's reputation: "The Joe McCarthy I covered was a man who, at best, had overreached his capacity, he simply wasn't all that bright. At worst, he was a shifty politician who didn't mind using lies or guesses to try to destroy others." While the individuals attacked by McCarthy were often weak, the institution of the United States Army was not—it survived his attacks. Yet the Army-McCarthy hearings demonstrated the dangers inherent in politicians with too much power, too few controls, and the ability to manipulate a gullible public.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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## Arnaz, Desi (1917-1986)

A famed Afro-Cuban music band leader and minor movie star, Desi Arnaz rose from nightclub performer to television magnate during the golden years of black-and-white television. Born Desiderio Alberto Arnaz y de Acha III on March 2, 1917, in Santiago, Cuba, to a



**Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz.**

wealthy family. Arnaz accompanied his father into political exile in Miami when the family's fortune was destroyed and his father became persona non grata under the Fulgencia Batista regime. At the age of seventeen, Arnaz's musical talent was discovered by renowned band leader Xavier Cugat, and by 1937 he was leading his own band in Miami Beach. Arnaz began to make a name for himself as a band leader, drummer, and singer in New York City and Miami Beach nightclubs when Afro-Cuban music was making its first and largest impact on American popular music of the late 1930s and early 1940s.

It was in 1940 that he married the love of his life, Lucille Ball, who would later be cast as his on-screen wife in *I Love Lucy*. Ball had served as his co-star in the movie *Too Many Girls*, which was Arnaz's screen debut; the movie was the screen version of the Lorenz Hart and Richard Rogers Broadway hit of the same name, in which Arnaz had made his stage acting debut. His skyrocketing career was temporarily delayed by service in the Army during World War II. When he returned to Hollywood after his discharge from the service, Arnaz found that his heavy accent and Hispanic looks not only limited his opportunities but kept him type cast.

It was Arnaz's particular genius that converted the typecasting into an asset, and he was able to construct a television persona based not only on a comic version of the Latin Lover, but also on his success as a singer and rumba band leader. Mass popularity was finally achieved when, in 1952, Arnaz became the first Hispanic star on television with his pioneering what became the longest running sitcom in history: *I Love Lucy*. Eventually lasting nine years, Arnaz and Lucille Ball modified the Latin Lover and Dumb Blonde stereotypes to capture the attention of television audiences, who were also engaged by the slightly titillating undercurrent of a mixed marriage between an Anglo and an Hispanic who played and sang Afro-Cuban music, while banging on an African-derived conga drum and backed up by musicians of mixed racial features. The formula of pairing a WASP and a minority or outcast has since been duplicated repeatedly on television to this date through such programs as *Chico and the Man*, *Who's the Boss?*, and *The Nanny*, and others.

His business acumen had already been revealed when in 1948 he and Ball founded Desilu Productions to consolidate their various stage, screen, and radio activities. Under Arnaz's direction Desilu

Productions grew into a major television studio. In 1960, Arnaz and Ball divorced; their son and daughter followed in their parents' acting footsteps, but never achieved the success of their parents. Included among Desi Arnaz's films are *Too Many Girls* (1940), *Father Takes a Wife* (1941), *The Navy Comes Through* (1942), *Bataan* (1943), *Cuban Pete* (1946), *Holiday in Havana* (1949), *The Long Trailer* (1954), and *Forever Darling* (1956). *I Love Lucy* can still be seen in black-and-white re-runs in many parts of the United States. In 1976, Arnaz published his own rather picaresque and acerbic autobiography, *A Book*, detailing his rise to fame and riches and proclaiming his undying love for Lucille Ball. Arnaz died on December 2, 1986.

—Nicolás Kanellos

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## Arrow Collar Man

The advertising icon of the Cluett, Peabody & Company's line of Arrow shirts from 1905 to 1930 was the era's symbol for the ideal athletic, austere, confident American man. He was the somewhat eroticized male counterpart to Charles Dana Gibson's equally emblematic and elegant all-American woman. No less a cultural spokesman than Theodore Roosevelt considered him to be a superb portrait of "the common man," although admittedly an Anglo-Saxon version of it that suited the times. This Arrow Collar Man was the inspiration of J(oseph) C(hristian) Leyendecker (1874-1951), the foremost American magazine illustrator of the first four decades of the twentieth century.

Born in Germany but emigrating at age eight with his parents, Leyendecker was trained at the Art Institute of Chicago and in Paris. He worked on advertising campaigns for Kuppenheimer suits as well as other products and did cover art for *Collier's* and the *Saturday Evening Post*. In that last role, he was the direct predecessor and a major influence on a near-contemporary illustrator, Norman Rockwell, who idolized his work.

The Arrow Man ads sold more than 400 styles of detachable shirt collars with images of an insouciant, aquiline-nosed young man, often depicted in vigorous stances or with the jaunty prop of a pipe. Leyendecker's figures were characterized by their glistening, polished appearance, indicating a healthy athletic glow. After World War I, when soldiers learned the practicality of attached collars, Leyendecker switched to doing ads for Arrow's new line of shirts.

The generic Arrow Collar Man received more fan mail in the 1920s (sent to corporate headquarters) than Rudolph Valentino or any other male film star of the era. In 1920, approximately seventeen thousand love letters arrived a week, and there was a Broadway play about him as well as a surfeit of popular songs and poems.

Leyendecker sometimes used future film stars such as John Barrymore, Fredric March, Brian Donlevy, Jack Mulhall, and his good friend Neil Hamilton as models. A perfectionist in his craft, Leyendecker always preferred to work from live figures rather than

from photographs, as Rockwell and others sometimes did. But the illustrator's first, most important, and enduring muse for the Arrow ads was Charles Beach. After a meeting in 1901, Beach became Leyendecker's companion, housemate, and business manager for close to fifty years, a personal and professional relationship ended only by Leyendecker's death at his estate in New Rochelle, New York.

The Arrow contract, as well as those with other clothiers, ended soon after the onset of the Great Depression. The image of the ruddy-complexioned, sophisticated young man, however, did not soon fade in the popular mind. A teasing ad in the *Saturday Evening Post* on February 18, 1939, queried, "Whatever Became of the 'Arrow Collar Man'?. . . Though he passed from our advertising some years ago, he is still very much with us. . . . [Today's man dressed in an Arrow shirt] is just as much an embodiment of smartness as that gleaming Adonis was in his heyday."

Perhaps his era had passed, for the Arrow Man had reflected the education, position, breeding, and even ennui that figured so prominently in the novels of F. Scott Fitzgerald during the previous decade. Leyendecker continued with his magazine illustrations, but a change in the editorial board at the *Saturday Evening Post* in the late 1930s resulted in his gradual fall from grace. Leyendecker's last cover for that publication appeared on January 2, 1943. The mantle then rested permanently upon Norman Rockwell, who fittingly served as one of the pallbearers at Leyendecker's funeral fewer than ten years later.

—Frederick J. Augustyn, Jr.

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## Arthur, Bea (1923—)

With her tall, rangy frame and distinctive, husky voice, actress Bea Arthur has never been anyone's idea of a starlet. However, using her dry humor and impeccable comic timing coupled with an exceptional comfort with her body, she has created some of the most memorable strong female characters on television, in film, and on the musical stage.

Arthur was born Bernice Frankel in New York City and grew up, the daughter of department store owners, in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Her first attempts on the stage as a torch singer failed when, as she said, "Audiences laughed when I sang about throwing myself in the river because my man got away." Her imposing height and deep voice suited her better for comedy, she decided, and she honed her skills doing sketch comedy at resorts in the Poconos. In 1954 she got her first big break when she landed a role off-Broadway playing opposite Lotte Lenya in *The Threepenny Opera*. Audiences loved her, and throughout her career she has looked back fondly on the role that started her successful career: "Of everything I've done, that was the most meaningful. Which is like the first time I felt, I'm here, I can do it."

Arthur continued to "do it," wowing audiences with her comedic skill as well as song and dance. She originated the role of Yente the matchmaker in *Fiddler on the Roof* on Broadway, and she won a



**Bea Arthur**

Tony playing Angela Lansbury's "bosom buddy" Vera Charles in *Mame*. She reprised the role in the film version (1974), this time opposite comedy legend Lucille Ball. Her other films include *Lovers and Other Strangers* (1970) and *The Floating Lightbulb*.

But it is on television that Arthur has created her most enduring characters. In the early 1970s, she guest-starred on Norman Lear's groundbreaking situation comedy *All in the Family*, playing Edith's abrasively opinionated cousin, Maude. Maude was so popular with viewers that she was spun off into her own Lear series. Finding a welcoming groove in the early years of women's liberation, *Maude* remained on the air for a six-year run, winning an Emmy for Arthur for her portrayal of a strong woman who took no guff from anyone. Tired of the "yes, dear" stereotype of sitcom wives, 1970s audiences welcomed a woman who spoke her mind, felt deeply, and did not look like a young model. In her fifties, Arthur, with her graying hair, big body, and gravelly voice, was the perfect embodiment for the no-nonsense, middle-aged woman, genuine and believable, as she dealt with the controversial issues the show brought up. Even hot potato issues were tackled head-on, such as when an unexpected midlife pregnancy forces Maude to have an abortion, a move that more modern situation comedies were too timid to repeat.

After *Maude*, Arthur made an unsuccessful sitcom attempt with the dismal *Amanda's*, which only lasted ten episodes, but in 1985, she

struck another cultural nerve with the hit *Golden Girls*. An ensemble piece grouping Arthur with Estelle Getty, Rue McClanahan (a co-star from *Maude*), and Betty White, *Golden Girls* was an extremely successful situation comedy about the adventures of a household of older women. The show had a long first run and widely syndicated reruns. All of the stars won Emmys, including two for Arthur, who played Dorothy Sbornak, a divorcee who cares for her elderly mother (Getty).

Arthur, herself divorced in the 1970s after thirty years of marriage, has brought her own experiences to the characters that she has added to the American lexicon. In spite of her exceptional success, she is a deeply shy and serious person who avoids talk shows and personal interviews. Though she does not define herself as political or spiritual, she calls herself a humanitarian and is active in AIDS support work and animal rights. She once sent a single yellow rose to each of the 237 congresspeople who voted to end a \$2 million subsidy to the mink industry. In perhaps the ultimate test of her humanitarian principles, she assisted in her elderly mother's suicide.

Arthur has become somewhat of a cult figure in the 1990s. The satirical attention is partially inspired by the movie *Airheads* (1994) in which screwball terrorists take over a radio station, demanding, among other outrageous requests, naked pictures of Bea Arthur. Bumper stickers with the catch phrase "Bea Arthur—Be Naked" and

a cocktail called Bea Arthur's Underpants, a questionable combination of such ingredients as Mountain Dew, vodka, and beer, are some of the results of Arthur's cult status.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Arthurian Legend

The name of King Arthur resounds with images of knightly romance, courtly love, and mystical magic. Arthur, Lancelot, Guinevere, Galahad, and Merlin all carry meanings reflecting the enduring themes of adultery, saintliness, and mysterious wisdom from the Arthurian legend, which can truly be described as a living legend. The popularity of the tales of King Arthur, the Knights of the Round Table, Avalon, Camelot, and the Holy Grail is at a height unrivaled after more than 1,500 years of history. By the 1990s the legend had appeared as the theme of countless novels, short stories, films, television serials and programs, comics, and games.

Some recent writers have attempted to explain why there should be such a popular fascination with the reworkings of so familiar a story. Much of the enchantment of Arthur as hero has come from writers' ability to shift his shape in accordance with the mood of the age. C.S. Lewis noted this ability, and compared the legend to a cathedral that has taken many centuries and many builders to create:

I am thinking of a great cathedral, where Saxon, Norman, Gothic, Renaissance, and Georgian elements all co-exist, and all grow together into something strange and admirable which none of its successive builders intended or foresaw.

In a general view of this "cathedral" as it has evolved into today, one can see several characteristics of the legend immediately: it focuses on King Arthur, a noble and heroic person about whom are gathered the greatest of knights and ladies; who has had a mysterious beginning and an even more mysterious ending; whose childhood mentor and foremost adviser in the early days of his reign is the enchanter Merlin; and who has a sister, son, wife, and friend that betray him in some fashion, leading to his eventual downfall at a great battle, the last of many he has fought during his life. Quests are also common, especially for the Grail, which (if it appears) is always the supreme quest.

Probably one of the most familiar and successful modern tales of King Arthur is Mark Twain's *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889). At first poorly received, this novel has since established itself as one of the classics of American literature. Twain's characteristic combination of fantasy and fun, observation and satire, confronts the customs of chivalric Arthurian times with those of the New World. In it, Hank Morgan travels back in time and soon gains power through his advanced technology. In the end, Hank is revealed to be as ignorant and bestial as the society he finds himself in.

In recent times, however, the legend appears most frequently in mass market science fiction and fantasy novels, especially the latter. Since the publication of T.H. White's *The Sword in the Stone* (1938), it has appeared as the theme in some of the most popular novels, including Mary Stewart's *The Crystal Cave* (1970), Marion Zimmer Bradley's *The Mists of Avalon* (1982), and Stephen R. Lawhead's *Pendragon Cycle* (1987-1999). For the most part, the fantasy tales retell the story of Arthur and his knights as handed down through the centuries. They also build on the twist of magic that defines modern fantasy. Merlin, therefore, the enigmatic sorcerer, becomes the focus of most of the novels, particularly Stewart's and Lawhead's.

Due to Merlin's popularity, he has also appeared as the main character of some recent television serials, including the 1998 *Merlin*. Sam Neill is cast as Merlin, son of the evil Queen Mab. He tries to deny his heritage of magic, but is eventually forced to use it to destroy Mab and her world, making way for the modern world. This has been one of the most popular mini-series broadcasts on network television since *Roots* (1977) even though Arthur and his knights are barely seen in this story.

In the movies, however, Merlin fades into the background, with Hollywood focusing more on Arthur and the knights and ladies of his court. The first Arthurian film was the 1904 *Parsifal* from the Edison Company. It was soon followed by other silent features, including the first of twelve film and television adaptations of Twain's *Connecticut Yankee*. With the advent of talking pictures, the Arthurian tale was told in music as well as sound. After World War II and with the arrival of Cinemascope, the Arthurian tale was also told in full color. Most of the early movies (including the 1953 *The Knights of the Round Table*, *Prince Valiant*, and *The Black Knight*), however, were reminiscent of the western genre in vogue at that time.

In the 1960s two adaptations of T.H. White's tales, *Camelot* (1967) and Disney's *The Sword in the Stone* (1965), brought the legend to the attention of young and old alike. Disney's movie introduces Mad Madame Mim as Merlin's nemesis and spends a great deal of time focusing on their battles, while *Camelot*, an adaptation of the Lerner and Lowe Broadway musical, focuses on the love triangle between Arthur, Lancelot, and Guinevere. This was also the theme of the later movie, *First Knight* (1995). However, Britain's Monty Python comedy troupe made their first foray onto the movie screen with the spoof *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (1975). This movie not only satirized all movie adaptations of the Arthurian tale, but took a swipe at virtually every medieval movie produced by Hollywood until that time.

It is Twain's novel, however, that has produced some of the best and worst of the movie adaptations. Fox's 1931 version, with Will Rogers and Myrna Loy, was so successful it was re-released in 1936. Paramount's 1949 version, with Bing Crosby, was the most faithful to Twain's novel, but was hampered by the fact that each scene seemed to be a build up to a song from Crosby. Disney entered the fray with its own unique live-action adaptations, including the 1979 *Unidentified Flying Oddball* and 1995's *A Kid in King Arthur's Court*. Bugs Bunny also got the opportunity to joust with the Black Knight in the short cartoon *A Connecticut Rabbit in King Arthur's Court* (1978), complete with the obligatory "What's up Doc?"

The traditional Arthurian legend has appeared as the main theme or as an integral part of the plot of some recent successful Hollywood movies, including 1981's *Excalibur*, 1989's *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade*, 1991's *The Fisher King*, and 1998's animated feature *The Quest for Camelot*. While the Arthurian legend has not always



been at the fore of these movies, merely being used as a convenient vehicle, its presence confirms the currency and popularity of Arthur and his knights.

The legend has not remained fixed to films and books. Other places where the legend appears include the New Orleans Arthurians' Ball held at Arthur's Winter Palace, where Merlin uses his magic wand to tap a lady in attendance as Arthur's new queen, and the Arthurian experience of Camelot in Las Vegas. Also, in the academic field, an International Arthurian Society was founded in 1949 and is currently made up of branches scattered all over the world. Its main focus is the scholarly dissemination of works on the Arthurian world, and the North American Branch now sponsors a highly respected academic journal, *Arthuriana*.

Throughout its long history the Arthurian legend has been at the fore of emerging technologies: Caxton's printing press (the first in England), for example, published the definitive Arthurian tale, Thomas Mallory's *Le Morte D'Arthur*. Today the new technology is the Internet and the World Wide Web. Arthurian scholars of all calibers have adapted to this new forum, producing some top web sites for the use of scholars and other interested parties alike. One site, for example, *The Camelot Project*, makes available a database of Arthurian texts, images, bibliographies, and basic information. The site can be found at: <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/cphome.stm>.

The legend has been a staple of the fantasy role playing games from the late 1970s onward. In higher level modules of the popular *Dungeons and Dragons* game, characters from the legend appear. Shari and Sam Lewis created the "Pillars of Clinschor" module (1983) for the game, where the adventurers had to seize a castle from Arthurian arch-villainess Morgan Le Fay. With the rise of computer games, the Arthurian game has entered a new dimension of role-playing and graphical user interfaces. The Monty Python troupe, for example, released their *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* multimedia game in the mid 1990s, where the player takes Arthur on his quest through scenes from the movie in search of the Grail and an out-take.

The legend's prominence in comic books cannot be underrated either, given that it forms the backdrop of *Prince Valiant*, one of the longest running comic strips in America (1937-). Creator Hal Foster brought the exiled Valiant to Arthur's court, where he eventually earned a place at the Round Table. *Prince Valiant* itself has engendered a movie (1953), games, and novels. Another major comic to deal with Arthur had him returning to Britain to save the country from invading space aliens (*Camelot 3000*, 1982-1985). The success of these comics have seen some imitations, most poorer than their originals, but in some instances even these comics have remained very faithful to the legend.

The popular fascination is not limited to the various fictionalizations of Arthur. Major works have been devoted to the search for the man that became the legend. People are curious as to who he really was, when he lived, and what battles he conclusively fought. Archaeological and historical chronicles of Britain have been subjected to as much scrutiny as the literary in search of the elusive historical Arthur. A recent examination notes that this interest in Arthur's historicity is as intense as the interest in his knightly accomplishments. Yet, the search for the historical Arthur has yet to yield an uncontroversial candidate; those that do make the short list appear in cable documentaries, biographies, and debatable scholarly studies.

Finally, the image of Camelot itself, a place of vibrant culture, was appropriated to describe the Kennedy years, inviting comparison

between the once and future king and the premature end of the Kennedy Administration.

King Arthur and the Arthurian Legend are inextricably a part of popular culture and imagination. At the turn of a new millennium, the once and future king is alive and well, just as he was at the turn of the last, a living legend that will continue to amaze, thrill, and educate.

—John J. Doherty

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## Artist Formerly Known as Prince, The

See Prince

## As the World Turns

Four-and-a-half decades after its April 2, 1956, debut, top-rated daytime soap opera *As the World Turns* keeps spinning along. Created by Ina Phillips, whose other soaps include *The Guiding Light*, *Another World*, *Days of Our Lives* and *Love Is a Many-Splendored Thing*, *As the World Turns* debuted on CBS the same day as *The Edge of Night* (which played on CBS through 1975 before moving to ABC for nine years), and the two were television's first thirty-minute-long soap operas, up from the fifteen minutes of previous soaps.

The show is set in the generic Midwestern burg of Oakdale, a veritable Peyton Place whose inhabitants are forever immersed in sin and scandal, conquest and confession, deceit and desire. Originally, the plot lines spotlighted two dissimilar yet inexorably intertwined families: the middle-income Hughes and the ambitious Lowell clans, each consisting of married couples and offspring. One of the first plot

threads involved law partners Jim Lowell and Chris Hughes, with Edith, the sister of Chris, becoming involved in an affair with married Jim. The Lowells eventually were written out of the show; however, a number of characters with the Hughes surname have lingered in the story lines. Over the years, the plots have been neck-deep in additional extramarital liaisons along with divorces, child custody cases, car crashes, blood diseases, and fatal falls down stairs—not to mention murders. The dilemmas facing characters in the late 1990s—“Will Emily confront her stalker?” “Is David the guilty party?” “Will Denise develop a passion for Ben?”—are variations on the same impasses and emotional crises facing characters decades earlier.

In some cases, five, seven, and nine actors have played the same *As the World Turns* characters. However, one performer has become synonymous with the show: soap opera queen Eileen Fulton, who has been a regular since 1960. Fulton’s role is the conniving, oft-married Lisa. Beginning as simply “Lisa Miller,” over the years her name has been expanded to “Lisa Miller Hughes Eldridge Shea Colman McColl Mitchell Grimaldi Chedwy.” Don MacLaughlin, who played Chris Hughes, was the original cast member who remained longest on the show. He was an *As the World Turns* regular for just more than three decades until his death in 1986.

Of the endless actors who have had roles on *As the World Turns*, some already had won celebrity but had long been out of the prime-time spotlight. Gloria DeHaven appeared on the show in 1966 and 1967 as “Sara Fuller.” Margaret Hamilton was “Miss Peterson” in 1971. Zsa Zsa Gabor played “Lydia Marlowe” in 1981. Abe Vigoda was “Joe Kravitz” in 1985. Claire Bloom was “Orlena Grimaldi” from 1993 through 1995. Robert Vaughn appeared as “Rick Hamlin” in 1995. Valerie Perrine came on board as “Dolores Pierce” in 1998. Other regulars were movie stars/television stars/celebrities-to-be who were honing their acting skills while earning a paycheck. James Earl Jones played “Dr. Jerry Turner” in 1966. Richard Thomas was “Tom Hughes” in 1966 and 1967. Swoosie Kurtz played “Ellie Bradley” in 1971. Dana Delany was “Hayley Wilson Hollister” in 1981. Meg Ryan played “Betsy Stewart Montgomery Andropoulos” between 1982 and 1984. Marisa Tomei was “Marcy Thompson Cushing” from 1983 through 1988. Julianne Moore played “Frannie/Sabrina Hughes” from 1985 through 1988. Parker Posey was “Tess Shelby” in 1991 and 1992.

*As the World Turns* was the top-rated daytime soap from its inception through the 1960s. Its success even generated a brief nighttime spin-off, *Our Private World*, which aired on CBS between May and September 1965. In the early 1970s, however, the ratings began to decline. On December 1, 1975, the show expanded to one hour, with little increase in viewership, but the ratings never descended to the point where cancellation became an option—and the show was celebrated enough for Carol Burnett to toy with its title in her classic soap opera parody *As the Stomach Turns*. From the 1980s on, the *As the World Turns* audience remained steady and solid, with its ratings keeping it in daytime television’s upper echelon. Over the years, the show has been nominated for various Writers Guild of America, *Soap Opera Digest*, and Emmy awards. In 1986-87, it garnered its first Emmy as “Outstanding Drama Series.”

—Rob Edelman

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## Ashcan School

The Ashcan School was the first art movement of the new century in America, and its first specifically modern style. Active in the first two decades of the twentieth century, Ashcan artists opposed the formality of conservative American art by painting urban subjects in a gritty, realistic manner. They gave form to the tough, optimistic, socially conscious outlook associated with Theodore Roosevelt’s time. The Ashcan School artists shared a similar muckraking spirit with contemporary social reformers. Their exuberant and romantic sense of democracy had earlier been expressed in the poetry of Walt Whitman.

At a time before the camera had not yet replaced the hand-drawn sketch, four Philadelphia artist-reporters—William Glackens, John Sloan, George Luks, and Everett Shinn—gathered around the artist Robert Henri (1865-1929), first in his Walnut Street studio, then later in New York. Henri painted portraits in heavy, dark brown brushstrokes in a manner reminiscent of the Dutch painter Frans Hals. He taught at the New York School of Art between 1902 and 1912 where some of his students included the Ashcan artists George Bellows, Stuart Davis, and Edward Hopper. The artists exhibited together only once, as “The Eight”—a term now synonymous with the Ashcan School—at the Macbeth Gallery in New York City in 1908. They had formally banded together when the National Academy of Design refused to show their works.

Better thought of as New York Realists, the Ashcan artists were fascinated by the lifestyles of the inhabitants of the Lower East Side and Greenwich Village, and of New York and the urban experience in general. Conservative critics objected to their choice of subjects. Nightclubs, immigrants, sporting events, and alleys were not considered appropriate subjects for high art. It was in this spirit that the art critic and historian Holger Cahill first used the term “Ashcan School” . . . ashcan meaning garbage can . . . in a 1934 book about recent art.

John Sloan (1871-1951), the most renowned Ashcan artist, made images of city streets, Greenwich Village backyards, and somewhat voyeuristic views of women of the city. His most well known painting, but one which is not entirely typical of his art, is *The Wake of the Ferry II* (1907, The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.). The dull blues and greens of the ship’s deck and the steely water introduced an element of melancholy in what millions of commuters experienced daily on the Staten Island Ferry. Sloan’s art sometimes reflected his socialist leanings, but never at the expense of a warm humanity. Although he made etchings for the left wing periodical *The Masses*, he refused to inject his art with “socialist propaganda,” as he once said.

The reputation of George Luks (1867-1933) rests on the machismo and bluster of his art and of his own personality. “Guts! Guts! Life! Life! That’s my technique!” he claimed. He had been an amateur actor—which undoubtedly helped him in his pose as a bohemian



An example from the Ashcan School: Reginald Marsh's *Bread Line*.

artist—and had drawn comic strips in the 1890s before meeting Henri at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. His *Hester Street* (1905, The Brooklyn Museum) shows Jewish immigrants on the Lower East Side in an earnest, unстереotypical manner.

George Bellows (1882-1925) was probably the most purely talented of the group, and made many of the most interesting Ashcan paintings of the urban environment. An athletic, outgoing personality, Bellows' most well known paintings involve boxing matches. Composed of fleshy brushstrokes, *Stag at Sharkey's* (1909, Cleveland Museum of Art) shows a barely legal "club" where drinkers watched amateur sluggers. Bellows was also an accomplished printmaker and made more than 200 lithographs during his career.

Much of the art of the Ashcan School has the quality of illustration. Their heroes included Rembrandt and Francisco Goya, as well as realists such as Honoré Daumier, Edouard Manet, and the American Winslow Homer. But not all the Ashcan artists drew their inspiration from city streets. The paintings of William Glackens (1870-1938) and Everett Shinn (1876-1953) often deal with the world of popular entertainment and fashionable nightlife. Glackens' elegant *Chez Mouquin* (1905, Art Institute of Chicago), shows one of the favorite haunts of the Ashcan artists. Maurice Prendergast (1859-1924) painted park visitors in a patchy, decorative style. Ernest Lawson (1873-1939) used a hazy, Impressionist technique to paint scenes of New York and the Harlem River. The traditional nude female figures of Arthur B. Davies (1862-1928) seem to owe little to Ashcan art.

The Ashcan School was not a coherent school nor did the artists ever paint ashcans. They expanded the range of subjects for American artists and brought a new vigor to the handling of paint. Their identity as tough observers of the city, unimpressed by contemporary French art, changed the way American artists thought of themselves. They demonstrated that artists who stood apart from the traditional art

establishment could attain popular acceptance. Among their contributions was their promotion of jury-less shows which gave artists the right to exhibit with whomever they chose. This spirit of independence was felt in the famous 1913 Armory Show in which some of the organizers were Ashcan artists.

—Mark B. Pohlard

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## Ashe, Arthur (1943-1993)

Tennis great and social activist Arthur Ashe is memorialized on a famous avenue of his hometown of Richmond, Virginia, by a bronze statue that shows him wielding a tennis racquet in one hand and a book in the other. Children sit at his feet, looking up at him for inspiration. Though the statue represents a storm of controversy, with everyone from racist white Virginians to Ashe's own wife Jeanne

calling it inappropriate, it also represents an effort to capture what it was that Arthur Ashe gave to the society in which he lived.

Born well before the days of integration in Richmond, the heart of the segregated south, Ashe learned first-hand the pain caused by racism. He was turned away from the Richmond City Tennis Tournament in 1955 because of his race, and by 1961 he left the south, seeking a wider range of opportunities. He found them at UCLA (University of California, Los Angeles), where he was the first African American on the Davis Cup team, and then proceeded to a series of "firsts." In 1968, he was the first (and only) African American man to win the United States Open; in 1975 he was the first (and only) African American man to win the men's singles title at Wimbledon. He won 46 other titles during his tennis career, paving the way for other people of color in a sport that still remains largely the domain of white players.

Ashe was a distinguished, if not brilliant tennis player, but it was his performance off the court that ensured his place in history. Like many African Americans raised before integration, Ashe felt that a calm and dignified refusal to give in to oppression was more effective than a radical fight. His moderate politics prompted fellow tennis professional, white woman Billie Jean King, to quip, "I'm blacker

than Arthur is." But Ashe felt his responsibility as a successful African American man keenly. He wrote a three volume *History of the American Black Athlete*, which included an analysis of racism in American sports, and he sponsored and mentored many disadvantaged young African American athletes himself. He also took his fight against racism out into the world. When he was refused entry to a tennis tournament in apartheid South Africa in 1970, Ashe fought hard to be allowed to enter that intensely segregated country. Once there he saw for himself the conditions of Blacks under apartheid, and the quiet moderate became a freedom fighter, even getting arrested at anti-apartheid demonstrations.

In 1979 Ashe was pushed down the path to his most unwilling contribution to his times. He had a heart attack, which ended his tennis career and eventually led, in 1983, to bypass surgery. During surgery, he received blood transfusions, and it is believed those transfusions passed the AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) virus into his blood. Even after he discovered he had AIDS, the intensely private Ashe had no intention of going public with the information. When the tabloid newspaper *USA Today* discovered the news, however, Ashe had little choice but to make the announcement himself. He was angry at being forced to make his personal life public, but, as he did in every



Arthur Ashe

aspect of his life, he turned his personal experience into public service. He became an activist in the fight against AIDS, which he said did not compare to racism as a challenge in his life. It is perhaps indicative of the stigma attached to the disease that Ashe's AIDS is never mentioned without the hastily added disclaimer that he probably contracted it through a blood transfusion. He was a widely respected public figure, however, and his presence in the public eye as a person with AIDS helped to de-stigmatize the disease.

Arthur Ashe died of AIDS-related pneumonia in 1993, but his legacy is durable and widespread. A tennis academy in Soweto, South Africa, bears his name, as does a stadium in Queens and a Junior Athlete of the Year program for elementary schools. He helped found the Association of Tennis Professionals, the first player's union. And, only a short time before his death, he was arrested at a demonstration, this time protesting the United States Haitian immigration policy. He was a role model at a time when African Americans desperately needed successful role models. He was a disciplined moderate who was not afraid to take a radical stand.

The statue of Ashe which stands on Monument Avenue in Richmond is, perhaps, a good symbol of the crossroads where Ashe stood in life. The fame of Monument Avenue comes from its long parade of statues of heroes of the Confederacy. Racist whites felt Ashe's statue did not belong there. Proud African Americans, the descendants of slavery, felt that Ashe's statue did not belong there. Ashe's wife Jeanne insists that Ashe himself would have preferred the statue to stand outside an African American Sports Hall of Fame he wished to found. But willingly or not, the statue, like the man, stands in a controversial place in history, in a very public place, where children look up at it.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Asimov, Isaac (1920-1992)

Scientist and science fiction writer Isaac Asimov made his reputation in both fields with his prolific writings and his interest in the popularization of science. Asimov published over three hundred books and a considerable number of short stories, essays, and columns. He is considered to be a founding figure in the field of science fiction in his rejection of the space-adventure formula in favor of a more directly scientific, social, and political approach. He established several central conventions for the genre, including robotics and the idea of a galactic empire. Asimov was also extremely influential through his nonfiction writings, producing popular introductory texts and textbooks in biochemistry.



Isaac Asimov

Asimov was born in Petrovichi, Russia, on January 2, 1920, and moved to America with his family when he was three years old. He first discovered science fiction through the magazines sold in his father's candy store, and in 1938 he began writing for publication. He sold his story "Marooned Off Vesta" to *Amazing Stories* the following year, when he was an undergraduate at Columbia University. That same year, he sold his story "Trends" to John W. Campbell, Jr., editor of *Astounding Science Fiction*, and it was through his creative relationship with Campbell that Asimov developed an interest in the social aspects of science fiction.

Campbell's editorial policy allowed Asimov to pursue his interest in science fiction as a literature that could respond to problems arising in his contemporary period. In "Half-Breed" (1941), for example, he discussed racism, and in "The Martian Way," he voiced his opposition to McCarthyism. Asimov's marked ambivalence about the activities of the scientific community is a major characteristic of his writing. Later novels examined the issue of scientific responsibility and the power struggles within the scientific community. Asimov himself was a member of the Futurians, a New York science-fiction group which existed from 1938 to 1945 and was notable for its radical politics and belief that science fiction fans should be forward-looking and help shape the future with their positive and progressive ideas.

Asimov spent the Second World War years at the U.S. Naval Air Experimental Station as a research scientist in the company of fellow science-fiction writers L. Sprague de Camp and Robert Heinlein. He made a name for himself as a writer in 1941 with the publication of "Nightfall," which is frequently anthologized as an example of good science fiction and continues to top readers' polls as their favorite

science fiction story. During this period, Asimov also started work on the series of stories that would be brought together as the “Foundation Trilogy” and published as the novels *Foundation* (1951), *Foundation and Empire* (1952), and *Second Foundation* (1953). Asimov has stated that their inception came from reading Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

Asimov’s other significant series comprises his robot stories, collected in *I, Robot* (1950), *The Rest of the Robots* (1964), and further collections in the 1980s. Two novels—*The Caves of Steel* (1954) and *The Naked Sun* (1956)—bring together a detective and his robotic partner, fusing Asimov’s interest in mystery with his interest in science fiction. He also wrote several stories about the science fiction detective Wendell Worth during the same period. It is the third story of the robot series, “Liar!” (1941), that introduced “The Three Laws of Robotics,” a formulation that has had a profound effect upon the genre.

In 1948 Asimov received his doctorate in biochemistry and a year later took up a position with the Boston University School of Medicine as an associate professor. He remained there until 1958 when he resigned the post in order to concentrate on his writing career. He remained influential in the sci-fi genre by contributing a monthly science column to *The Magazine of Science Fiction and Fantasy* for the next thirty years, but his aim during this period was to produce popular and accessible science writing. During the 1950s he had published juvenile fiction for the same purpose under the pseudonym of Paul French. In 1960 he published *The Intelligent Man’s Guide to Science*, which has gone through several editions and is now known as *Asimov’s New Guide to Science*. In the interest of popular science he also produced a novelization in 1966 of the film *Fantastic Voyage*. However, he also wrote in vastly different fields and published *Asimov’s Guide to the Bible* in 1968 and *Asimov’s Guide to Shakespeare* in 1970.

Asimov returned to science-fiction writing in 1972 with the publication of *The Gods Themselves*, a novel that was awarded both the Hugo and Nebula Awards. In this later stage of his career Asimov produced other novels connected with the “Foundation” and “Robot” series, but he also published novels with new planetary settings, such as *Nemesis* in 1989. His influence continued with his collections of Hugo Award winners and the launch of *Isaac Asimov Science Fiction Magazine* in 1977. Overall his contribution lies in his thought-provoking attitude to science and its place in human society. Asimov helped transform immediate postwar science fiction from the space formula of the 1930s into a more intellectually challenging and responsible fiction. He died of heart and kidney failure on April 6, 1992.

—Nickianne Moody

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## Asner, Ed (1929—)

Ed Asner is an award winning actor who holds the distinction of accomplishing one of the most extraordinary transitions in television programming history: he took his character Lou Grant—the gruff, hard drinking, but lovable boss of the newsroom at WJM TV Minneapolis on the *Mary Tyler Moore Show*, a half-hour situation comedy—to the city editorship of the *Los Angeles Tribune*, on the one hour drama *Lou Grant*. Lou Grant’s 12-year career on two successful, but very different, television shows established Asner as a major presence in American popular culture.

Yitzak Edward Asner was born on November 15, 1929 in Kansas City, Kansas. After high school, he attended the University of Chicago, where he appeared in student dramatic productions and firmly decided upon a life in the theater. After graduation and two years in the army, he found work in Chicago as a member of the



Ed Asner

Playwrights' Theater Club. He then headed for New York to try his luck on Broadway.

His success on Broadway was middling at best. He appeared in *Face of a Hero* with Jack Lemmon, and in a number of off-Broadway productions, as well as several New York and American Shakespeare Festivals in the late 1950s. In 1961, he packed up his family and moved to Hollywood. His first film was the Elvis Presley vehicle *Kid Galahad*, a remake of the 1937 Edward G. Robinson/Bette Davis/Humphrey Bogart film. Following this were featured roles in such films as *The Satan Bug* (1965), *El Dorado* (1965), and *Change of Habit* (1969), Elvis Presley's last film. He also performed guest appearances in numerous television series, and he had a continuing role as a crusading reporter on the short-lived Richard Crenna series, *Slattery's People*.

In early 1969, Moore and Dick Van Dyke, stars of television's *The Dick Van Dyke Show* (1961-1966), appeared in a reunion special on CBS that did so well in the ratings that the network offered Moore the opportunity to come up with a series. Together with her husband, Grant Tinker, and writers James L. Brooks and Allan Burns, she created *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, one of the happiest and most successful marriages of writing and ensemble casting in the history of American television. The program was first telecast on September 19, 1970 and centered around Mary Richards, an unmarried, independent 30-year-old woman who was determined to succeed on her own. She became the assistant producer in the newsroom at fictional WJM-TV in Minneapolis. Asner was cast as Lou Grant, the gruff and abrupt but sentimental boss of the somewhat wacky newsroom crew and their inept news anchor, Ted Baxter, played by Ted Knight. Lou Grant constantly struggled to maintain a higher than mediocre level of standards in the newsroom, while he coped with his personal problems and the problems created by the interaction of the members of the newsroom crew. His blustery, realistic approach to the job, and his comedic resort to the ever-present bottle in his desk drawer to vent his frustration and mask his vulnerability, nicely balanced Mary Richards' more idealistic, openly vulnerable central character.

Asner was a perennial nominee for Emmy awards for the role, receiving the Best Supporting Actor awards in 1971, 1972, and 1975. When the show ended its spectacular run in 1977, Asner was given the opportunity to continue the role of Lou Grant in an hour-long drama series that MTM Productions, Moore and Tinker's production company, was working up. In the last episode of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, station WJM was sold and the entire newsroom crew was fired except, ironically, Ted Baxter. Lou Grant, out of a job, went to Los Angeles to look up an old Army buddy, Charlie Hume, who, it turned out, was managing editor of the *Los Angeles Tribune*. Lou was hired as city editor. The series was called simply *Lou Grant* and it presented weekly plots of current social and political issues torn from the headlines and presented with high production values. It emphasized the crusading zeal of the characters to stamp out evil, the conflicts and aspirations of the reporters, the infighting among the editors, and the relationship between Grant and the publisher Mrs. Pynchon, played by Nancy Marchand. The program succeeded because of Asner's steady and dominating portrayal of the show's central character, who represented a high standard of professional ethics and morals, and who was often in conflict with the stubborn and autocratic Mrs. Pynchon. Asner was again nominated for Emmy awards, winning the award in 1978 and 1980 as Best Actor in a Series.

In 1982, CBS suddenly canceled *Lou Grant*, ostensibly for declining ratings, but Asner and other commentators insist that the show was canceled for political reasons. He was a leading figure in

the actor's strike of 1980 and was elected president of the Screen Actors' Guild in 1981, a post he held until 1985. He also was an outspoken advocate of liberal causes and a charter member of Medical Aid for El Salvador, an organization at odds with the Reagan Administration's policies in Central America. This created controversy and led to political pressure on CBS to rein in the *Lou Grant* show which, to many observers, was becoming an organ for Asner's liberal causes. "We were still a prestigious show. [The controversy] created demonstrations outside CBS and all that. It was 1982, the height of Reagan power," he would recall later in an interview on Canadian radio. "I think it was in the hands of William Paley to make the decision to cancel it."

Following *Lou Grant*, Asner has done roles in *Off the Rack* (1985) and *Thunder Alley* (1994-1995). With Bette Midler, he played a wonderfully subdued role as Papa in the made for television rendition of *Gypsy* (1993). In addition to the five Emmies noted above, he won Best Actor awards for the CBS miniseries *Rich Man, Poor Man* (1976) and *Roots* (1977), a total of seven Emmy awards on 15 nominations. In addition, he holds five Golden Globe Awards and two Critics Circle Awards.

—James R. Belpedio

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## Astaire, Fred (1899-1987), and Ginger Rogers (1911-1995)

Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers were the greatest dance team in the history of American movies. In the course of developing their partnership and dancing before the movie camera they revolutionized the Hollywood musical comedy in the 1930s. Though their partnership only lasted for six years and nine films between 1933 and 1939, with a tenth film as an encore ten years later, they definitively set the standards by which dancing in the movies would be judged for a long time to come. Although they both had independent careers before and after their partnership, neither ever matched the popularity or the artistic success of their dancing partnership.

The dancing of Astaire and Rogers created a style that brought together dance movements from vaudeville, ballroom dancing, tap dancing, soft shoe, and even ballet. Ballroom dancing provided the basic framework—every film had at least one ballroom number. But tap dancing provided a consistent rhythmic base for Astaire and Rogers, while Astaire's ballet training helped to integrate the upper body and leaps into their dancing. Because Astaire was the more accomplished and experienced dancer—Rogers deferred to him and imitated him—they were able to achieve a flawless harmony. "He gives her class and she gives him sex," commented Katherine Hepburn. Astaire and Rogers developed their characters through the

drive to dance that they exhibited and the obstacles, spatial distances, and social complications they had to surmount in order to dance. "Dancing isn't the euphemism for sex; in Astaire-Rogers films it is much better," wrote critic Leo Braudy. In their performances, Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers suggested that dance is the perfect form of movement because it allows the self to achieve a harmonious balance between the greatest freedom and the most energy.

Astaire was born in Omaha, Nebraska in 1899. By the age of seven he was already touring the vaudeville circuit and made a successful transition to a dancing career on Broadway with his sister Adele in 1917. After Adele married and retired from the stage in 1932, Astaire's career seemed at a standstill. Despite the verdict on a screen test—"Can't act. Slightly bald. Can dance a little"—he made his first film appearance in *Dancing Lady* (1933) opposite Joan Crawford. Rogers, born in 1911 in Independence, Missouri, made her performing debut as a dancer in vaudeville—under the tutelage of her ambitious "stage" mother—at age 14. She first performed on Broadway in the musical *Top Speed* in 1929, and two years later headed out to Hollywood. She was under contract to RKO where she began her legendary partnership with Fred Astaire.

When sound came to film during the late 1920s, Hollywood studios rushed to make musicals. This created vast opportunities for musical comedy veterans like Astaire and Rogers. From the very beginning Astaire envisioned a new approach to filmed dancing and, together with Rogers, he exemplified a dramatic change in the cinematic possibilities of dance. Initially, the clumsiness of early cameras and sound equipment dictated straight-on shots of musical dance numbers from a single camera. These straight-on shots were



Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers

broken by cutaways which would focus on someone watching the dance, then on the dancer's feet, next to someone watching, then back again to the dancer's face, concluding—finally—with another full-on shot. Thus, dances were never shown (or even filmed) in their entirety. Because of this, Busby Berkeley's big production numbers featured very little dancing and only large groups of dancers moving in precise geometric patterns.

Astaire's second movie, *Flying Down to Rio* (1933), was a glorious accident. It brought him together with Ginger Rogers. It also brought together two other members of the team that helped make Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers the greatest dance partnership in American movies—Hermes Pan who became Astaire's steady choreographic assistant, and Hal Borne, Astaire's rehearsal pianist and musical arranger. Before *Flying Down to Rio*, no one had ever seen an entire dance number on the screen. Starting with the famous "Carioca" number, Astaire and Pan began insisting that numbers should be shot from beginning to end without cutaways. Pan later related that when the movie was previewed "something happened that had never happened before at a movie." After the "Carioca" number, the audience "applauded like crazy."

The success of *Flying Down to Rio* and the forging of Astaire and Rogers' partnership established a set of formulas which they thoroughly exhausted over the course of their partnership. In their first six films, as Arlene Croce has noted, they alternated between playing the lead romantic roles and the couple who are the sidekicks to the romantic leads. Their second film, *The Gay Divorcee* (1934), was based on Astaire's big Broadway hit before he decided to go to Hollywood. It provides the basic shape of those movies in which Astaire and Rogers are the romantic leads—boy wants to dance with girl, girl does not want to dance with boy, boy tricks girl into dancing with him, she loves it, but she needs to iron out the complications. They consummate their courtship with a dance. Most Astaire and Rogers movies also played around with social class—there is always a contrast between top hats, tails, and evening gowns, and even their vernacular dance forms aimed at a democratic egalitarianism. These films were made in the middle of the Great Depression when movies about glamorous upper class people often served as a form of escape. Dancing is shown both as entertainment and an activity that unites people from different classes.

The standard complaint about Astaire and Rogers movies are that they do not have enough dancing. Amazingly, most of their movies have only about ten minutes of dancing out of roughly 100 minutes of running time. There are usually four to seven musical numbers in each film, although not all of them are dance numbers. On the average, a single dance takes approximately three minutes. Certainly, no one would ever watch most of those movies if they were not vehicles for the dancing of Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers. That these movies find viewers on the basis of no more than ten or 12 minutes of dancing suggests the deep and continuing pleasure that their performances give.

Each movie assembled several different types of dance numbers including romantic duets, big ballroom numbers, Broadway show spectacles, challenge dances, and comic and novelty numbers. In the best of the movies the song and dance numbers are integrated into the plot—*Top Hat* (1935), *Swing Time* (1936), *Shall We Dance* (1937). The centerpiece of most movies was the romantic duet. The incomparable "Night and Day" in *The Gay Divorcee* was the emotional turning point of the movie's plot. Other romantic duets like "Cheek to Cheek" in *Top Hat* and "Waltz" in *Swing Time*, are among the great romantic dance performances in movies. Some of the movies tried to



replicate the success of the big ballroom number in *Rio* and the popularity of “Carioca” as a dance fad. Each movie also included an original variation on the different types of dances showcased in them. For example, “Let’s Call the Whole Thing Off” in *Shall We Dance* included Astaire and Rogers dancing the entire routine on roller skates. “Pick Yourself Up” from *Swing Time* shows them using dance as an example of physical comedy: Astaire stumbles, falls, trips, and otherwise pretends he can not dance in order to flirt with Rogers, who teaches ballroom dancing. Another familiar genre is the “challenge” dance where Astaire does a step, Rogers imitates it, he does another, and then she tops it. Challenge dances usually played out Rogers’ resistance to Astaire.

*Shall We Dance* (1937) has music and lyrics by George and Ira Gershwin including such well known songs as “They All Laughed,” “Let’s Call the Whole Thing Off,” “They Can’t Take that Away From Me,” and “Shall We Dance.” The movie stages an encounter between high art and popular forms of self-expression, ballet and tap dancing, and seriousness and fun. Astaire plays the Great Petrov, star of the Russian ballet, whose real name is Pete Peters, from Philadelphia. The film opens with Petrov’s manager surprising him in the midst of tap dancing. The manager is horrified: “The Great Petrov doesn’t dance for fun,” he exclaims. Ballet is a serious business to which the artist must devote his full time, the manager explains. *Shall We Dance* mocks ballet and European culture, and offers up instead popular American dance forms. The encounter is first staged when Astaire and Rogers dance to “They All Laughed,” another example of a challenge duet. Astaire begins with ballet-like steps while Rogers, feeling left out, stands still. She lightly snubs him by starting to tap. He responds with tap-like ballet, and then, at last, goes into straight tap dancing. Only then do they successfully dance together.

Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers had long careers after they had ceased dancing together. Rogers went on to expand her range. She was an excellent comedienne, and in 1940 won an Oscar for her dramatic role in *Kitty Foyle*. Astaire appeared in over 40 movies, and unlike Rogers, he continued to dance. Among his later partners were Rita Hayworth, Eleanor Powell, and Cyd Charisse. No other partnership, however, produced work of the artistic quality that he was able to achieve with Rogers. The dancing partnership of Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers promised a kind of happiness in which two individuals are able to successfully combine freedom and fun.

—Jeffrey Escoffier

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## *Astounding Science Fiction*

Spanning three incarnations since 1930, this is perhaps the most influential magazine in the history of the genre. Begun as *Astounding Stories* between 1930-1938, it published lurid pulp fare and launched E. E. Smith’s *Lensmen* series. A name change to *Astounding Science Fiction* established a new direction for both the magazine and the genre under editor John W. Campbell, Jr. Between 1938-1960,

Campbell militated for plausible scientific extrapolation and straightforward prose. His editorship catalyzed the careers of Isaac Asimov and Robert Heinlein, among others. It also introduced the controversial dianetic theories of L. Ron Hubbard in May 1950. Emphasizing hardware-orientated stories that eschewed literary experimentation—what has come to be labeled “hard science fiction”—the magazine became *Analog* and remained under Campbell’s guidance until his death in 1971. Such classics as Frank Herbert’s *Dune* and Anne McCaffrey’s *Dragonflight* initially appeared in *Analog*. It remains a fixture of the genre today.

—Neal Baker

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## Astrology

Astrology, the practice of predicting mundane events based upon the configuration and alignment of the planets and stars, has ancient origins. In the latter half of the twentieth century, however, the so-called “oldest science” has enjoyed renewed popularity due, in large part, to public fascination with “New Age” mysticism.

The origins of astrology lie with the ancient Babylonians, a nomadic people who readily accepted the idea that divine energy was manifested in the movements of the sun and planets. Gradually, this concept expanded and the relative positions of the planets—both in relation to each other and to fixed stars—became tied to the idea of omens; that is, if an event occurred while the planets were in a particular position, the recurrence of that position heralded a recurrence of the same sort of event. Soon, the planets became associated with almost every aspect of human life. They were linked to the emotions and to parts of the body, such that astrology played a significant part in medicine up to late medieval times. Not only was the position of the planet to be considered, but also the sign of the zodiac it was occupying, as it was believed possible to foretell the destiny of an individual by calculating which star was in the ascendant at the time of his or her birth.

Astrology later became popular with the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans. Romans emperors, for instance, had court astrologers advise them on such matters as the timing of coronations and the prospects of possible heirs. The advent of Christianity, though, stifled the fledgling science—early Christians refused to tolerate the practice’s alleged pagan mysticism. Astrology, as a result, became nearly extinct in the West between the sixth and twelfth centuries. It survived only in the Middle East, where Islamic scholars continued to practice the art. The Crusades brought astrology back to Europe, where it managed to co-exist with a more tolerant Christianity for nearly four centuries. Along with alchemy, astrology became an accepted science, and its doctrines pervaded some of the most popular writings of the time, including Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*.

The massive growth of scientific astronomy paralleled an explosive decline in the fortunes of astrology in the sixteenth century. The discoveries by sixteenth-century astronomers Galileo Galilei and Nicolaus Copernicus sapped the foundations of astrology, as the idea of an earth-centered universe became completely untenable. In addition, in the Age of Empiricism the failure of astrologers to produce

experimental evidence boded poorly for popular and intellectual support. By 1900, a French encyclopedia would accurately describe astrology as a vanishing cult with no young adherents. During the eighteenth century and much of the nineteenth century, a degraded astrology survived only in popular almanacs and amongst amateur and fraudulent practitioners.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, astrology experienced a rebirth, in large part assisted by wider literacy and contemporary interest in popular psychology, Eastern thought, and the occult. Practitioners refined their art to focus on spiritual, therapeutic, and psychological goals, to the point that the emphasis on prediction almost entirely diminished amongst serious astrologers. Modern audiences, increasingly disillusioned with and distrustful of the order imposed by institutions and governments, found themselves drawn to astrology's promise to explain the self and the world. Modern astrology has come to represent a social support system of sorts, posited somewhere between religion and psychotherapy.

Astrology built its modern audience through daily horoscopes published in magazines and newspapers throughout the world. Horoscopes—charts of the heavens—show the relative positions of the sun, moon, and planets as well as the ascendant and mid-heaven signs of the zodiac at a specific moment in time. The first newspaper astrology columns appeared in the 1930s and focused on the lives of celebrities. Later, the columns directed their advice to the general public, enjoining readers to meet broad emotional goals such as "learning to compromise" and "controlling temper," all in accordance with the alignment of celestial bodies on a given day.

Astrology remained on the margins of society for much of the twentieth century, appealing to lower classes as well as to the uneducated segments of society. But the practice received a major boon when White House sources revealed that First Lady Nancy Reagan regularly consulted with an astrologer. According to reports, the First Lady altered her husband's schedules according to advice from Joan Quigley, a noted California astrologer. Quigley claimed, among other feats, to have convinced the First Lady and her husband to re-schedule the presidential debates with Jimmy Carter in 1980 to coincide with "Aquarius rising," a sign favorable to Reagan. Quigley also allegedly helped to maintain the president's popularity by arranging for executive decisions to coincide with astrologically propitious moments. "I was the Teflon in what came to be known as the 'Teflon Presidency,'" she later boasted. At the same time, famed philosopher and psychologist Carl Jung became an outspoken adherent of astrological doctrines. Jung became convinced in the validity of astrology after comparing the birth signs of happily married and divorced couples; he allegedly found that those most favorably matched in astrological terms were more likely to enjoy marital bliss. French mathematician Michael Gauquelin likewise converted to astrology's teachings after claiming to have discovered a discernible correspondence between certain astrological signs and the professions of a large number of Frenchmen whose birth-times had been accurately recorded.

The existence of such prominent believers brought astrology into the mainstream of American society. A 1992 study revealed that nearly 25 percent of Americans believed in astrology. For the first time, most believers came from middle income brackets and had some college education. By the late 1990s, more than 10,000 astrologers practiced their art in the United States, and more than 90 percent of newspapers published horoscopes in daily form. According to reports, Americans of the 1990s spent more than \$200 million per annum consulting with astrologers. Moreover, infomercials hawking

the talents of various astrologers and diviners pervaded television networks, and the burgeoning market for astrology-related services and products resulted in the proliferation of astrology shops and stores throughout the country. Astrology also had entrenched itself in late twentieth century American vocabulary and popular culture. The question "What's your sign?" had become an accepted as well as quite widely used "pick-up" line by the end of the twentieth century.

Still, while astrology gained mainstream acceptance, it remained a discredited belief in scientific circles. Most scientists attacked the notion that the pattern of light from stars billions of miles away could influence the temperament of individuals on Earth. As a source of popular belief, scientists pointed to what they called the "Barnum effect," named after the hugely-successful nineteenth century entertainer and hoax perpetrator P.T. Barnum. Skeptics located the transcendent source of astrology's appeal in the tendency of men and women to accept imprecise and widely applicable statements as being specific to them. Barnum manipulated this tendency in the nineteenth century to make millions; scientists of the late twentieth century charged astrologers with doing the same to the masses of their time. American scientists also were vexed by, and perhaps a little jealous of, the popularity of the alleged pseudo-science. By the end of the twentieth century, there were ten times more astrologers in the United States than astronomers, and newspapers provided far more coverage of astrology-related matters than any of the breakthrough astronomical findings of the Hubble Space Telescope.

—Scott Tribble

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## AT&T

The American Telephone and Telegraph company—better known as AT&T—and the telephone are virtually synonymous. Both the company and invention which made it famous hold lofty positions in American history. AT&T was the largest corporation in the world for much of the twentieth century, employing over one million people. At the time of its court-mandated breakup in 1984, the company's assets totaled \$155 billion, more than General Motors, Mobil, and Exxon combined. The telephone's impact is harder to calculate, but it played a major role in the rise of the modern corporation, served as a symbol of American ingenuity and power, and continues to connect people worldwide.

The parent company of the Bell System, commonly referred to as "Ma Bell," AT&T was a government-regulated monopoly for much of its existence. Federal and state officials allowed AT&T to have monopolistic control over the nation's telephone industry because the corporation pledged to provide universal phone service at a reasonable cost. The regulated system worked, especially when comparing the telephone system in the United States to others around

the world. It wasn't until the early 1980s that the dawn of a new information age, political maneuverings, and long-distance competition teamed to breakup the Bell System.

Alexander Graham Bell invented the telephone in 1876 and founded the Bell Telephone Company a year later, which would eventually become AT&T. In the early years, after waging patent battles and squeezing out its competition, the company symbolized corporate greed, poor quality, and terrible customer service. But in the early twentieth century, under the leadership of financier J.P. Morgan and Theodore Vail, AT&T became a model for the modern corporation.

Vail revitalized the phone giant, which had over 3 million telephones in service his first year. Within a decade, Vail turned a company with low morale, poor customer service, and a horrible reputation into a model of success. Vail increased AT&T's commitment to research and development, which ultimately led to the formation of Bell Labs in 1925, one of the world's foremost scientific laboratories. Vail also centralized management and rededicated the company to customer service. AT&T's management training program served as a breeding ground for quality leaders. People who left the company then spread the AT&T management philosophy to firms nationwide long before MBA programs were fashionable.

Through its Western Electric subsidiary, AT&T formed alliances with companies around the globe to manufacture telephone equipment. By 1914, AT&T had offices in Antwerp, London, Berlin, Milan, Paris, Tokyo, Buenos Aires, and many other cities. Thus, AT&T was an early leader in developing a global community. The company has always been a leader in opening foreign markets, noted by its recent move into China and long history in East Asia, South America, and Europe.

AT&T's scientific innovations, through Bell Labs (now the independent Lucent Technologies), provided an exhaustive list of inventions. In addition to the company's important work spreading phone service across the nation and then around the world, Bell Labs invented the transistor, which replaced vacuum tubes, in 1948. Widely regarded as one of the most important inventions of the twentieth century, the transistor won Bell Labs the Nobel Prize in 1956. AT&T's research and development lab was also instrumental in developing cellular wireless technology (1947), the computer modem (1957), communications satellites (1962), and commercial ISDN long-distance network services (1988). The electronic switching systems AT&T installed in 1965 after years of research permitted a vast increase in phone traffic and paved the way for the Information Age. These advances in switching technology allow the internet to exist today.

AT&T also played a role in the growth of the U.S. military-industrial complex, dating back to World War I when it expanded domestic military communications and installed telephone lines in France. Western Electric and Bell Labs completed projects for the military throughout World War II. AT&T made important advances in radar technology, which later became the chief means of transmitting long-distance phone calls and television signals after the war. In the 1950s and 1960s, AT&T worked on satellite communications and launched its first in 1962.

Culturally, AT&T's impact has been immense. By the early 1900s, the telephone was already considered an indispensable part of life for most individuals and businesses. The telephone connected rural and farm areas with growing cities and urban centers. AT&T also created the distinction between local and long-distance phone calls, which has become a staple of modern telecommunications. The separation between the two markets facilitated to the rise of the

regional Bell Companies, the "Baby Bells," and ultimately to the breakup of the parent company.

AT&T has also figured in the creation of several cultural icons. The Yellow Pages, more widely-read than the Bible, were developed to help customers use their phones more often and more effectively. AT&T began the use of the telephone as a service tool. Initially, the phone served as a means to get weather and time reports. Today, one can receive almost any information over the phone, from sports scores and soap opera updates to movie listings and bank information. The ubiquitous image of teenagers on the phone in movies and television mirrored the real life development in the 1950s when disposable income and a population explosion made phones readily available for teens to use.

AT&T continues to influence popular culture. The company spent a reported \$1 billion in marketing and advertising in 1996 and \$650 million in 1997. Although the company continues to reduce its marketing budget, the AT&T brand retains its strength. When asked if they would choose AT&T to be their local phone carrier, the majority say yes. The company's national campaigns are routinely treated as news stories. A more ominous connection the public makes with the AT&T name is corporate downsizing. Throughout the early 1990s, the phone giant seemed to announce layoffs of 10 to 20 thousand employees on a regular basis.

With over 2 million shareholders, AT&T is the most widely held stock in the world. Thus, the company's fortunes continue to have an impact on people everywhere. It is a corporate giant that produces major headlines with every significant action.

—Bob Batchelor

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## The A-Team

The *A-Team* television series capitalized on the flamboyant personality of Mr. T, a well-known wrestler and bodyguard to the stars. A kind-hearted tough guy with a dramatic mohawk hairstyle and gaudy jewelry, Mr. T helped win the show a strong fan following and reversed NBC's ratings tailspin in 1983. *The A-Team* saved NBC from critic Tony Schwartz's earlier prediction that the network would "die, or shrink severely, within the next decade."

Veteran producer Stephen J. Cannell created this mid-season replacement series as an action adventure comedy. The members of the *A-Team* were soldiers of fortune running from the government. Cannell shaped the show around the real-life personality of Mr. T as the character Sergeant Bosco "Bad Attitude" Baracus. The show's four-year run produced the catch-phrase "I love it when a plan comes together," uttered by George Peppard's character, Colonel John "Hannibal" Smith, at the end of an episode, as well as a change in the dress of some of Mr. T's fans.

—Margaret E. Burns

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## Athletic Model Guild

Bob Mizer (1922-1992) was the driving force behind the Athletic Model Guild (AMG), a photography studio founded in Los Angeles in 1944, and the magazine *Physique Pictorial*, which published AMG pictures. AMG produced images of nearly nude muscular men; their publication in *Physique Pictorial* was ostensibly for artists and "physical culture enthusiasts," but attained currency primarily with gay men. Before the birth of gay rights, *Physique Pictorial* and the AMG enabled the dissemination of homoerotic images; the magazine also contained idealized, sexualized drawings of macho men by such artists as George Quaintance, Spartacus, and Tom of Finland. The influence of Mizer's presentation of the male body as a beautiful sexual object can be seen in the photography of Robert Mapplethorpe, Bruce Weber, and Herb Ritts.

—Glyn Davis

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## Atkins, Chet (1924—)

Nashville's emergence as the center of country music recording in the late 1950s, and the development of the unique Nashville sound, helped to revive the industry at a time when country was losing ground to rock 'n' roll. Chet Atkins, who became a permanent fixture at the Grand Ole Opry as a talented and technically precise guitarist, was one of the pioneers of Nashville's new sound. He is also recognized as one of the more influential figures in the history of country music recording, having been responsible for both the discovery and development of many prominent country stars.

Atkins was born in 1924 in Luttrell, Tennessee, a small Appalachian town tucked away in the state's eastern corner. His half-brother Jim, a talented guitarist who played in the Les Paul Trio in the 1930s, served as a role model for Chet, who began playing the guitar at a young age. In the early stages of his career, Atkins worked as a guitarist for local radio stations in the region and played as a backup for several recording artists, including the Carter family. In the late 1940s, Steve Sholes, who worked for RCA in New York, noticed Atkins' talents and hired him to record his own songs. His first single, in which he was the featured vocalist, met with little success, but other early instrumental recordings, such as "Canned Heat" and "Country Gentleman," found receptive audiences. His intricate style of play established Atkins as one of the more technically gifted guitarists in the industry.



Chet Atkins

Atkins the musician, however, soon gave way to Atkins the producer. His administrative skills equaled his musical ones, prompting Sholes to give Atkins increasing responsibilities in RCA's studios. By the late 1950s, he was head of operations for the Nashville offices. He soon discovered his first hit artist, Don Gibson, whose singles "Oh Lonesome Me" and "I Can't Stop Loving You," both of which Atkins produced, enjoyed immediate success. Atkins then began to bring in an assortment of artists, with diverse and innovative styles, into the studio, marking the beginnings of the Nashville sound. In the late 1950s he was named Vice President at RCA, and continued to produce recordings for some of Nashville's most popular stars. Hank Snow, Elvis Presley, Jim Reeves, Charlie Pride, and Jerry Reed are only a few of the many artists whose careers were enhanced by Atkins' production talents. Atkins has also released many of his own albums, and continues to appear regularly on Nashville's Grand Ole Opry.

Atkins' legacy is in some ways controversial, a fact that he himself has admitted. As an innovator, Atkins changed the face of country music considerably, bringing in new instrumentation such as strings and horns, giving country music a richer and more technically complicated style. As his own music was influenced by a variety of styles, including jazz, pop, and classical, Atkins brought such diversity to bear on the industry, giving rise to crossover artists who were comfortable in front of country, rock, or pop audiences. Such changes, while broadening the audience for country music, also set into motion changes which have caused some within the industry to bemoan the loss of country's proper roots. Regardless of the meanings behind country music's development over the past decades, Chet Atkins undoubtedly has had an enormous impact on both the music and the industry.

—Jeffrey W. Coker

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## Atlantic City

Called the "City by the Sea," the "Queen of Resorts," or "The World's Favorite Playground," Atlantic City, New Jersey, was the most celebrated family entertainment resort in the United States from the 1880s until World War II. Theodore Roosevelt once claimed that "A man would not be a good American citizen if he did not know of Atlantic City." After falling into decline for almost thirty years, since 1978 Atlantic City has become a center for legalized casino gambling and is once again one of America's most popular destinations, with over 37 million visitors in 1997. Famous for its Boardwalk, amusement piers, and street names, which were the basis of the original Monopoly board game, Atlantic City is also an important convention center and the home of the Miss America Pageant, which has been held there since its origin in 1921 and continues to be one of the most popular television spectaculars.

Located on Absecon Island along the New Jersey seashore, sixty miles southeast of Philadelphia, Atlantic City's development started in 1852 when civil engineer Richard Osborne and prominent local physician Dr. Jonathan Pitney persuaded some investors to bring the railroad to the island, thus forming the Camden-Atlantic Railroad Company. The first train to Atlantic City arrived on July 1, 1854, after a two-and-a-half-hour trip from Camden. Subsequently, flows of tourists followed, and the national aspirations already present in the street nomenclature established by Samuel Richards began to become reality. After the Civil War, the popularity of the wide avenues parallel to the ocean, named after the world's great bodies of water, and the perpendicular streets running east to west and named after the States, expanded and gained international fame, drawing guests from all over the world.

Between 1875 and 1910, Atlantic City boomed. Growing from around 250 inhabitants in 1855 and 2,000 in 1875, the population reached 27,000 residents by the census of 1900 and almost 50,000 in 1910. With inexpensive train access and, within a couple of years, a declining travelling time to Philadelphia from 90 to 50 minutes, daily round trips became very attractive to lower-middle-class urban dwellers. Consequently, hordes of transient visitors flocked to the resort, especially on sunny Sundays. As Atlantic City grew, massive and grandiose hotels like the United States, the Traymore, the glamorous Shellburne, or the fantastic Marlborough-Blenheim, as well as smaller boardinghouses sprang up all over the city. Atlantic City's hotels not only met the demand for accommodations, but they also provided popular entertainment such as dances, concerts, billiards, and roller-skating. By 1888, Atlantic City counted over five hundreds hotels and boardinghouses. They constituted the heart of the town.

In 1870, in order to allow tourists to enjoy walking along the ocean without the inconvenience of rugged nature, the City Council—encouraged by the railroad companies—built the nation's first boardwalk, an 8 foot wide wood structure, which, over the years, would become "the" place to be seen and the social and economic spine of the town. Enlarged successively to 14, 20, and 24 feet in 1880, 1884, and 1890, respectively, the fifth boardwalk of 1896 was a 40-foot wide steel-framed wooden esplanade extending about four miles long, packed with hotels, restaurants, and shops offering souvenirs, photographic portraits, refreshments, and saltwater taffy—a candy that was invented here in 1883. Tourists quickly discovered the pleasure of engaging in recreational shopping, a new phenomenon that would become an institutionalized feature of American culture.

The Boardwalk was an open stage upon which strollers could participate in a permanent great show. As its popularity increased, Colonel George W. Howard constructed the world's first ocean amusement pier in 1882, a 650-foot long structure located off the boardwalk, into the Atlantic Ocean. In the following years, many developers and advertisers re-used his brilliant idea and amusement piers started to spring up along the boardwalk. Some of the most well known and successful ones were Ocean Pier (1891), Steel Pier (1898) named also "The Show Place of the Nation," Million Dollar Pier (1906), Steeplechase Pier (1908) and the Garden Pier (1912). They provided plenty of varied attractions and almost continuous entertainment from band concerts, light operas and musicals, dance contests, vaudeville shows, spectacles led by performers like W.C. Fields, Frank Sinatra, or the escape artist Harry Houdini, to the high-diving horse at Steel Pier, the inauguration of the Miss America Pageant, Dr. Couney's premature infant exhibit, merry-go-rounds, Ferris wheels, roller coasters, sand "sculptures," and other amusements in endless variety to please everyone's taste.

In this pre-Disneyland era, Atlantic City had converted itself into an urban amusement park for visitors, a glamorous fairyland of grandiose display, and a kingdom of flashy architecture and perpetual pleasure. Atlantic City was a cultural symbol. A product of the lower-middle-class urban masses that constituted the largest part of its patrons and sources of revenues, the city reflected their tastes and aspirations. For many of its visitors, Atlantic City was a dream that had come true, a city from the tales of the Arabian nights, heaven on earth, or the eighth wonder of the world—all this despite its omnipresent commercial atmosphere, aggressive advertising campaigns, and strong emphasis on financial profits.

Until World War II, Atlantic City's future seemed bright, but the post-war development of commercial air travel ended its heyday. As tourists from the Northeast United States increasingly flew to Florida and the Caribbean for their vacation, the city declined and became a decaying shadow of its former self. The city's population fell from 64,000 in 1940 to 37,000 in 1990. In 1989, the median income of the city was \$12,017 compared with a New Jersey statewide median of \$18,870. With the passage of the casino gambling referendum in 1976 and since the opening of the first casino in May 1978, Atlantic City has struggled to revive its economy and undergo a renewal and a revitalization process. Twenty years later, the city boasts thirteen casinos offering 24-hour non-stop action and is now recognized worldwide as a gaming mecca. Nevertheless, even though the Boardwalk and the waterfront have been restored and made prosperous, many neighborhoods of Atlantic City continue to suffer from urban blight and the role of gambling in urban revitalization is still being debated.

—Catherine C. Galley and Briavel Holcomb

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## Atlantic Monthly

Despite its low circulation and budget, the *Atlantic Monthly* magazine has maintained a strong influence in American culture by publishing many of the most prominent authors and cultural authorities and maintaining its status as one of the nation's leading general-interest monthlies. It began the twentieth century as America's foremost elite literary magazine, and although it has embraced a

wider readership and broadened its scope to focus on political and social issues, it is still known as a magazine for intellectual and highly cultivated readers. Throughout its history, the *Atlantic Monthly* has attempted to reconcile its distrust of the masses, or the "mob," to whom it has not wanted to pander, with its need to appeal to a broad spectrum of readers in order to stay financially afloat. It has made the compromise by positioning itself as the setter of standards and the interpreter of culture for well-informed readers aspiring to ascend to the ranks of the cultural elite.

When the *Atlantic Monthly* was founded in 1857, it quickly became known all over the country as the organ of America's burgeoning high literature. Although it was subtitled "A Magazine of Literature, Art and Politics," it was primarily as a literary magazine that it made its mark. In its first issue (November 1857), it declared itself to be "the exponent of . . . the American idea," but nineteenth century readers associated the magazine with New England and a select group of elite writers. Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Nathaniel Hawthorne, William Dean Howells, and Henry James were among its staple contributors. The magazine also published the works of America's leading female writers, such as Harriet Beecher Stowe and Sarah Orne Jewett, and prominent African American writers like Charles Chesnut. But at the turn of the twentieth century, the *Atlantic Monthly* was instrumental in establishing the American literary canon, which consisted of only its foremost white male contributors. It therefore became associated with a selective, elite vision of American literature rather than a more democratic, diversified literature that had, for a while, seemed possible in its pages.

As the twentieth century dawned, the *Atlantic Monthly* was known as a conservative, even reactionary magazine that defensively tried to promote the values of a by-gone elitist literary and cultural tradition in the face of social upheavals like immigration and the birth of a consumer mass culture. Throughout its history, the *Atlantic Monthly* has attempted to maintain the cultural authority it achieved in the nineteenth century, but it has had a hard time doing so in competition with a widely-diversified literary market. Although its circulation was never large, reaching a height of 50,000 in the 1860s, it declined steadily through the rest of the century. In the early 1900s, while magazines like the popular *Saturday Evening Post* reached circulations of two million, the *Atlantic Monthly* dipped to 7,000. Drastic measures were needed. In an age when illustrations moved magazines, the *Atlantic Monthly* steadfastly refused to appeal to readers with pictures, fearing the blurring of boundaries between itself and the new cadre of mass-market magazines like the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Collier's*. So instead of illustrating its pages, it began to disentangle itself somewhat from its New England literary roots and broaden its appeal by fostering young, up-and-coming writers and by publishing more thought-provoking, general-interest essays.

The *Atlantic Monthly's* strategy for maintaining its influence has been to lead the nation's discussions of politics, literature, and the arts, publishing the writings of leading thinkers and writers. It has prided itself on the discovery of new talents, publishing some of the first works by Ernest Hemingway, Philip Roth, Eudora Welty, Louise Erdrich, James Dickey, Joyce Carol Oates, and Bobbie Ann Mason. Because of its limited funds, editors have gone in search of unestablished writers, becoming the maker of many writers' careers. In addition to its strong fiction department, the *Atlantic Monthly* has been the mouthpiece of influential thinkers like Theodore Roosevelt, John Muir, Woodrow Wilson, W. E. B. DuBois, and Albert Einstein. It has also been a stage for some of the twentieth century's most prominent debates, publishing scathing analyses of the defects of Wall Street in

1928, a defense of Sacco and Vinzetti shortly before they were sentenced to death in 1927, critiques of the use of the atom bomb, and what would become Martin Luther King's "Letter from a Birmingham Jail" in 1963.

In the twentieth century, the *Atlantic Monthly* has steadily progressed from an elitist magazine in which, as its editor Bliss Perry argued in 1902, "The ideal reading mood . . . is that of well-bred people listening to the after-dinner conversation in public," to a populist magazine that wishes to serve "as the nation's dining-room table," in the words of its managing editor, Cullen Murphy, in 1994. As America has grown more democratic in its cultural life, the *Atlantic Monthly* has responded in order to survive. In 1947, for example, the *Atlantic Monthly* joined the rest of America's magazine in printing illustrations. In its attempt to stay afloat, the magazine has made a few compromises while maintaining its status as a cultural authority by helping to shape Americans' tastes and views. This formula for success has paid off in steadily increasing circulation. In 1994, the magazine's circulation topped 500,000, indicating that it is still a strong presence in the magazine market and in American culture. As Murphy defensively declares, "One thing that the *Atlantic Monthly* is not is an antiquarian enterprise, a museum piece."

—Anne Boyd

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## Atlantic Records

Founded in 1947 by Herb Abrahamson and Ahmet Ertegun, Atlantic Records went on to become one of the most successful independent record companies in the history of music by challenging the economic dominance and musical hegemony of the major record labels in the 1950s. Ertegun and Abrahamson were music lovers who wanted to record the blues and gospel music that was ignored by the major labels. Their taste in rhythm and blues music just happened to coincide with the growing appetite for these records by white teenagers and their parents. Atlantic signed many rhythm and blues artists (such as Big Joe Turner) who made important contributions to what was later called rock 'n' roll.

In the 1960s Atlantic broadened its base in African American music, especially soul music, and made it accessible to the larger white mainstream audience. Its leading record producer—Jerry Wexler—moved many sessions to Muscle Shoals, Alabama where he produced a string of hits for singers such as Aretha Franklin and Wilson Pickett. In 1967 Warner Brothers took over the label.

—Andre Millard

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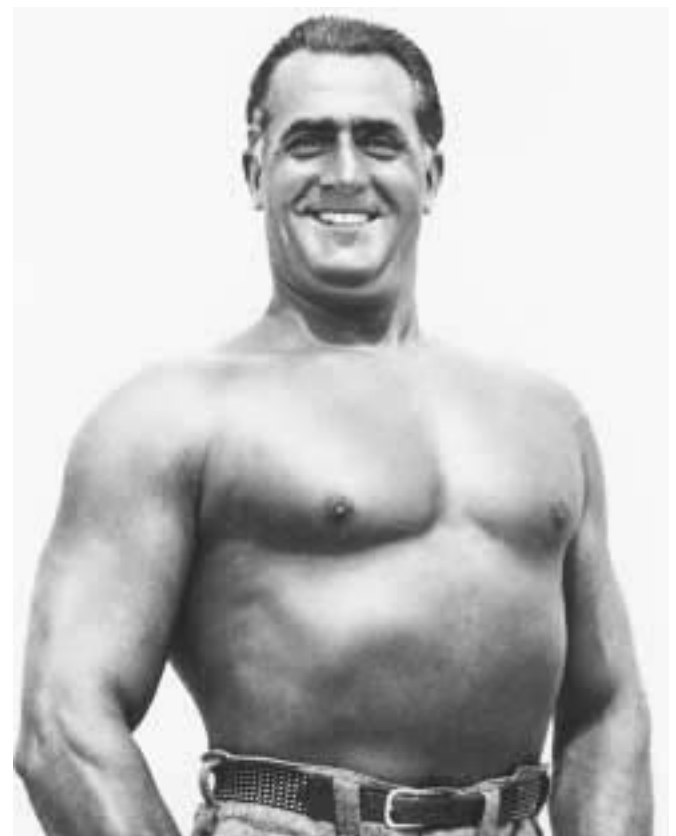
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## Atlas, Charles (1893-1972)

Born Angelo Siciliano in 1893, Charles Atlas went on to become one of the iconic cultural symbols of the twentieth century, influencing generations of men to embrace the ideal of muscular masculinity. Through his popular mail-order courses, advertised in comic books and boys' magazines, Atlas outlined his method to transform oneself from scrawny to brawny and, in doing so, become "a real man."

Shrouded in advertising lore, the biography of Charles Atlas must be viewed with a certain amount of skepticism. According to the muscleman's promotional literature, in 1903 the young Angelo Siciliano, newly arrived in the United States, was a puny, ninety-seven-pound weakling and a favorite target of neighborhood bullies and, on occasion, family members. Swearing "never [to] allow any man on this earth to hurt me again," Siciliano set about building his body with a variety of training apparatuses. Despite his best efforts, however, Siciliano proved unable to increase his muscular size to the proportions he desired until a trip to Brooklyn's Prospect Park Zoo yielded an exercise epiphany which would change his life.



Charles Atlas

While at the zoo, Siciliano watched lions and tigers and marveled at their muscularity. It was at this time that he first theorized the principles of “Dynamic Tension.” Noting that the animals had no exercise equipment with which to build muscles, Siciliano determined that they must be working “one muscle against the other.” He began experimenting with the principles of what would later become known as isometric exercise and within a year had perfected his system of apparatus-free exercise and, allegedly, doubled his body weight.

With his very own muscle-building system, Siciliano adopted the name Charles Atlas to evoke a classical image of muscularity and began performing feats of strength. While showcasing his musculature on a Coney Island, New York, boardwalk, Atlas was discovered by a sculptor who introduced him to the art world. The young bodybuilder became renowned for his well-muscled physique and served as the body model for numerous sculptures including the statue of Alexander Hamilton in front of the United States Treasury building and that of George Washington on the Washington Square Arch in New York City.

In 1921, Atlas received the title of “World’s Most Perfectly Developed Man,” having triumphed at a prestigious bodybuilding competition hosted by physical culture advocate and publisher Bernarr MacFadden. To capitalize on his growing fame, Atlas co-wrote and sold a manual that explained his isometric principles and various sporting pursuits, and offered general nutritional and health information and “inspirational” passages such as, “Don’t dilly dally!” and “Get Up!” Despite his best efforts, Atlas’ mail-order business struggled until 1928, when he teamed-up with Charles Roman, a young graduate of New York University’s business school. Roman’s advertising acumen and flair for ad copy helped transform Atlas from a mere muscleman into an international star.

Roman concocted a simple but effective advertising campaign centered around a cartoon titled, “The Insult Which Made a Man Out of Mac.” The short sketch featured a somewhat trite but highly effective sketch in which a bully kicks sand in the face of a scrawny youth (Mac) in front of the weakling’s girlfriend. This action prompts the frail Mac to follow Atlas’ course and vanquish the bully, thus winning the respect of his sweetheart. Soon spindly youths everywhere were seeking Atlas’ remedy for the neighborhood ruffian. This basic appeal, which blended together violence and stereotypical masculinity, propelled the physical culturalist to great financial success and increased celebrity. Although his cartoon advertising yielded impressive results, Atlas refused to rest on his laurels and continued to engage in strength-related publicity stunts such as pulling train cars and bending iron bars for years to come. He retired to Florida, after selling Charles Atlas Ltd. to Roman, where he continued to showcase his still imposing, although markedly less chiseled, physique. In 1972, Atlas died of a heart attack at the age of 79.

After his death, Charles Atlas Ltd. continued to sell the original Dynamic Tension program using Atlas’ trademark cartoons and black-and-white photographs of the muscleman in his prime. While still featured in traditional publications geared for boys and young men, Charles Atlas also took to cyberspace, where his courses and an expanded product line are sold via the Internet.

Atlas’ trademark program, combining calisthenics and isometric exercises, once well ahead of its time in the field of exercise science, has long since fallen out of favor with the weightlifting and bodybuilding community. A full range of motion exercises involving free-weights or exercise machines have taken precedence over Atlas’

exercises. While considered somewhat archaic, Atlas’ exercises often did, and still can, deliver muscular results designed to drive away bullies and stop sand from being kicked in one’s face.

—Nicholas Turse

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## Auerbach, Red (1917—)

Boston Celtics coach Arnold “Red” Auerbach led his team to nine National Basketball Association championships, including an unprecedented eight consecutive wins (1959-1966) during the Celtics’ run of eleven championships in thirteen years (1957-1969)—compare that to the Chicago Bulls’ six out of eight streak in the 1990s—and introduced coaching innovations that became widespread in the NBA. One of the most enduring images in NBA history is that of Auerbach lighting a victory cigar on the team’s bench once another Celtics’ victory was safely in hand.

The son of Russian immigrants who settled in Brooklyn, New York, Auerbach devoted himself at an early age to basketball. He excelled as a high school player, eventually being named Second Team, All-Brooklyn during his senior year at Eastern District High School. After attending Seth Low Junior College in New York for two years, Auerbach earned a basketball scholarship to George Washington University in Washington, D.C. As a junior college transfer, Auerbach was joining a highly successful team at George Washington and had to fight, sometimes literally, for playing time. As he recounts in *On and Off the Court*, he asked himself “How the hell was I supposed to break in? The answer was defense. I was all over them like a blanket, hounding them every step, shutting them off every chance I got. Naturally, they didn’t like that, so one thing led to another and before you knew it, fists were flying.”

Auerbach’s service in the navy during World War II helped him gain his first professional coaching job. In 1946, the Basketball Association of America, a forerunner of today’s NBA, was formed, consisting of eleven teams. According to Celtics historian Joe Fitzgerald in *That Championship Feeling*, because there was no provision for drafting players for the league’s first season, each team had to come up with its own players. Auerbach, a “brash young kid” of twenty-nine, talked the owner of the Washington Capitols into hiring him as coach by convincing him that he could put together a team of former servicemen he knew.



In 1950, after brief stints coaching the BAA's Washington Capitols and the Tri-City Hawks, thirty-two-year-old Auerbach arrived in Boston, a team which had made the playoffs only once in its first four seasons and enjoyed little popularity in contrast to the city's beloved baseball Red Sox and hockey Bruins. At the same time, Boston acquired guard Bob Cousy, a local legend who had played college basketball at Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts. Cousy, with Auerbach's encouragement, was known for his spectacular passing and "fast breaking" style. During Auerbach's first six seasons, due primarily to Cousy's efforts, the Celtics led the league in scoring every year but never won a championship.

It was the acquisition of center Bill Russell in 1956 which provided Auerbach's Celtics with what they had been missing: defense. Combining Russell's rebounding and shot-blocking with Cousy's offense, the Celtics won their first NBA championship in the 1956-1957 season, defeating the St. Louis Hawks in a decisive double overtime game to clinch the title. The Celtics failed to defend their championship the following season, losing in the finals to the same St. Louis team they had defeated the previous year, but began their eight-year, championship streak in 1959. Although Auerbach was just forty-seven years old in 1966, he decided to retire from coaching, as he felt worn out from the pressures of keeping his team at such a high level of performance over a long period of time.

As a coach, Auerbach made a number of innovations which were keys to the Celtics' immense success. Auerbach was one of the first to utilize so-called "role" players, meaning players who specialized in one or two aspects of the game, filling gaps which were essential to the team's success. Because of this philosophy, Auerbach put little stock in statistics, caring more about how well a player fit into his concept of what it took to ensure victory than about how many points he scored. Another of Auerbach's innovations was the use of the so-called "Sixth Man," which referred to a highly skilled reserve player who would come off the bench late in the first quarter of a game and provide a spark with instant scoring. The use of such players became so widespread that the NBA now offers an award to the player considered to be the best Sixth Man in the league. Finally, Auerbach had an uncanny ability to acquire players who were nearing the ends of their careers with other teams or had achieved bad reputations and use them to contribute to Boston championships. Cousy summed up Auerbach's coaching philosophy in *Cousy on the Celtic Mystique*: "With Red it was, What does it take to win? Find the talent, get them in shape, keep them motivated, and don't get fancy."

Auerbach's departure from coaching in 1966 did not, however, spell the end of his contribution to Boston's success. As the team's general manager, he made a number of farsighted deals which contributed to seven subsequent Boston championships between the late 1960s and mid-1980s. Perhaps his most celebrated move was his decision in 1978 to draft forward Larry Bird after his junior year in college, meaning that the Celtics had exclusive rights to the player after the completion of his senior season. Bird became one of the greatest players in NBA history, leading the Celtics to NBA championships in 1981, 1984, and 1986. Auerbach was elected to the Basketball Hall of Fame in 1968.

—Jason George

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## Aunt Jemima

The advertising image of Aunt Jemima was born at the 1893 World Columbian Exhibition in Chicago, Illinois, with ex-slave Nancy Green's promotion of inventor Charles Rutt's pancake mix. More than an American corporate icon, Aunt Jemima not only advertises the great American breakfast, but also conveys a stereotype of blackness and embodies the haunting legacy of the racial past. As a white construction of black identity, Aunt Jemima represents an easygoing, nostalgic and non-threatening domesticated character highly reminiscent of Mammy in *Gone with the Wind*. Despite a corporate image makeover in the early 1980s, which involved slimmer features and the loss of the servitude-signifying bandanna, the trademark "Aunt Jemima" continues to invoke memories of slavery and segregation and reminds us of the persistence of racial prejudice.

—Stephen C. Kenny

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## Automobile

The first inventors to build automobiles lived in Europe, but the United States rapidly coopted their inventions to become the world's preeminent car culture. Over the course of the twentieth century, Americans completely reorganized the country's built environment to accommodate a technological system of universal car ownership, an extensive network of high quality roads, and a well developed automobile service industry. By mid-century, automobiles had become the country's primary mode of transportation, replacing horses, railroads, and urban mass transit systems. At the same time, automobiles became objects of cultural disagreement, praise, humor, symbolism, status, and innumerable hopes and fears. More than providing a way to move around, over the course of the twentieth century automobiles became a central defining characteristic of American culture.

From the 1890s forward, designers of horseless carriages spent a great deal of time in their backyard workshops building the experimental prototypes that introduced the country to automobiles. Some produced high-quality electric, gasoline, and steam-powered vehicles; others struggled simply to make their machines work. While the



The advertising representation of “Aunt Jemima.”

inventors tinkered, advocates raised their voices to promote the novel contraptions, employing the era’s colorful rhetoric to hail the potential of the new machines. Design breakthroughs soon made cars more reliable, and a proliferating number of manufacturers—usually little more than parts assemblers—took advantage of the low start-up costs characterizing the early industry and opened their doors for business. Publicity stunts to popularize automobiles such as races, long-distance reliability tours, and auto shows became more and more common, and manufacturers found a ready and enthusiastic market among Americans who could afford the high price tags, most of whom were members of the urban elite.

Boosters in the 1890s were particularly enthusiastic about pointing out the many advantages automobiles offered compared to horses, the primary mode of quick local transportation for most of the nineteenth century. Automobiles did not bite, kick, or scare, a number of writers pointed out, while more sober commentators provided detailed cost comparisons between cars and horses, invariably concluding that car owners would enjoy long-term savings. Other pundits described the potential uses of the automobile in utopian terms. In rural areas, automobiles would eliminate the isolation that plagued farm life and draw cities and countryside closer together. In urban areas, cars would solve growing traffic problems, replacing a hodgepodge of horses, trolleys, pushcarts, and pedestrians with smaller

individual conveyances. Since they were more mobile and easier to handle than trolleys or horse-drawn wagons, cars would decrease traffic fatalities. Since they could take advantage of back streets instead of following fixed rails, automobiles would free suburban homeowners from the trolley lines. Finally, by replacing horses, automobiles would eliminate the health and smell problems posed by the large quantities of manure and urine that coated city streets every day. According to boosters writing in the popular press, then, automobiles appeared to be a true Godsend.

Not everyone saw cars or the growing number of motorists in such a favorable light, especially since only urban elites and rural professionals such as doctors could afford automobiles for many years after they became commercially available. Farmers in particular complained about urban joyriders who scared their horses, tore up their roads, sprinkled their crops in dust, and picnicked in their fields. “Nothing has spread the socialist feeling in this country more than the automobile,” Woodrow Wilson announced in 1906. “To the countryman they are a picture of the arrogance of wealth, with all its independence and carelessness.”

Though Wilson was attuned to real rural- and class-based discontent about car use at the turn of the century, automobiles did not remain toys of the wealthy for long because a growing number of manufacturers began to produce cheap cars intended for a mass

market. Ransom Olds produced the first widely popular and inexpensive model, his “curved dash” Oldsmobile, of which he made over 12,000 between 1901 and 1904. His small, lightweight, reliable runabout took such a hold of the public’s imagination that a composer commemorated it in a popular song, “In My Merry Oldsmobile”:

Come away with me, Lucille,  
 In my merry Oldsmobile,  
 Over the road of life we’ll fly,  
 Autobubbling you and I,  
 To the church we’ll swiftly steal,  
 And our wedding bells will peal,  
 You can go as far as you like with me,  
 In our merry Oldsmobile.

As much success as the Oldsmobile enjoyed, it took Henry Ford, a manufacturer from Dearborn, Michigan, to seize the idea of mass production and use it to change the face of the automobile industry. The Ford Model T—alternately dubbed the “Tin Lizzie” and the “flivver” by an enthusiastic public—first became available in 1908. The car coupled a simple, durable design and new manufacturing methods, which kept it relatively inexpensive at \$850. After years of development, experimentation, and falling prices, the Ford Company launched the world’s first fully automated assembly line in 1914. Between 1909 and 1926, the Model T averaged nearly forty-three percent of the automobile industry’s total output. As a result of its assembly-line construction, the car’s price dropped steadily to a low of \$290 on the eve of its withdrawal from the market in 1927. The company also set new standards for the industry by announcing in 1914 that it would more than double its workers’ minimum wages to an unprecedented five dollars per day. Over the course of the Model T’s production run, the Ford Company combined assembly-line manufacturing, high wages, aggressive mass-marketing techniques, and an innovative branch assembly system to make and sell over fifteen million cars. As a result, Henry Ford became something of a folk hero, particularly in grass-roots America, while the car so well-suited to the poor roads of rural America became the subject of its own popular genre of jokes and stories. In 1929, the journalist Charles Merz called the Model T “the log cabin of the motor age.” It was an apt description, for more first-time buyers bought Model T’s than any other type, making it the car that ushered most Americans into the automobile era.

Between 1908 and 1920, as automobiles became affordable to a greater percentage of Americans, farmers quickly abandoned their prejudices against the newfangled machines and embraced them as utilitarian tools that expanded the possibilities of rural life. The diffusion of cars among rural residents had a significant effect on farm families, still forty percent of the United States population in 1920. Because automobiles increased the realistic distance one could travel in a day—and unlike horses did not get so tired after long trips that they were unable to work the next day—cars allowed farmers to make more frequent trips to see neighbors and visit town. In addition, rural Americans found a number of uses for the versatile, tough machines on farms themselves, hauling supplies, moving quickly around the farm, and using the engine to power other farm machinery.

As car sales soared before 1920, the movement for good roads gained momentum and became a priority for many state legislatures. Rural roads had fallen into a bad state of neglect since the advent of the railroads, but early “Good Roads” reformers nevertheless met stiff opposition to their proposed plans for improvement. Farmers

argued that expensive road improvement programs would cost local citizens too much in taxes, and that good roads would benefit urban motorists much more than the rural residents footing the bill. Reformers had to wage fierce political battles to overcome rural opposition, and succeeded only after convincing state legislatures to finance improvements entirely with state funds, completely removing road maintenance from local control. Resistance was not limited to rural areas, however. Even within cities, many working-class neighborhoods opposed the attempts of Good Roads advocates to convert streets into arteries for traffic, preferring instead to protect the more traditional function of neighborhood streets as social spaces for public gatherings and recreation. In addition, special interest groups such as street-car monopolies and political machines fought to maintain their control over the streets. Only after the victory of other Progressive Era municipal reformers did road engineers succeed in bringing their values of efficiency and expertise to city street system management.

In the 1920s, car prices dropped, designs improved, roads became more drivable, and automobiles increasingly seemed to provide the key to innumerable advantages of modern life. To many people, cars embodied freedom, progress, and social status all at the same time. Not only could car owners enjoy the exhilaration of speeding down open roads, but they also had the power to choose their own travel routes, departure times, and passengers. Outdoor “autocamping” became a popular family pastime, and an entire tourist industry designed to feed, house, and entertain motorists sprang up almost overnight. Even advertising adapted to a public traveling thirty miles per hour, led by the innovative Burma Shave campaign that spread its jingles over consecutive roadside billboards. One set informed motorists that “IF YOU DON’T KNOW / WHOSE SIGNS / THESE ARE / YOU CAN’T HAVE / DRIVEN VERY FAR / BURMA SHAVE.” In a variety of ways, then, automobile engines provided much of the roar of the Roaring Twenties, and stood next to the flapper, the flask, and the Charleston as a quintessential symbol of the time.

As an icon of the New Era, the automobile also symbolized the negative aspects of modern life to those who lamented the crumbling of Victorian standards of morality, family, and propriety. Ministers bewailed the institution of the “Sunday Drive,” the growing tendency of their flocks to skip church on pretty days to motor across the countryside. Law enforcement officials and members of the press expressed frustration over the growing number of criminals who used getaway cars to flee from the police. Even social critics who tended to approve of the passing of Victorian values noted that the rapid diffusion of automobiles in the 1920s created a number of unanticipated problems. Rather than solving traffic problems, widespread car ownership increased the number of vehicles on the road—and lining the curbs—which made traffic worse than ever before. Parking problems became so acute in many cities that humorist Will Rogers joked in 1924 that “Politics ain’t worrying this Country one tenth as much as Parking Space.” Building expensive new roads to alleviate congestion paradoxically increased it by encouraging people to use them more frequently. Individual automobiles seemed to be a great idea, but people increasingly began to see that too many cars could frustrate their ability to realize the automobile’s promises of freedom, mobility, and easy escape.

Despite these problems and a small group of naysayers, American popular culture adopted the automobile with alacrity. Tin Pan Alley artists published hundreds of automobile-related songs, with titles like “Get A Horse,” “Otto, You Ought to Take Me in Your Auto,” and “In Our Little Love Mobile.” Broadway and vaudeville



An example of the early automobile assembly line.

shows both adopted cars as comic props, a tradition the Keystone Kops carried over into the movie industry. Gangster films in particular relied on cars for high-speed chases and shoot-outs, but even films without automobile-centered plots used cars as symbols of social hierarchy: Model T's immediately signaled humble origins, while limousines indicated wealth. In *Babbitt* (1922), Sinclair Lewis noted that "a family's motor indicated its social rank as precisely as the grades of the peerage determined the rank of an English family," and in the eyes of Nick Carraway, the narrator of F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (1925), Gatsby's Rolls-Royce represented the "fresh, green breast of the new world." Parents worried that teenagers used automobiles as mobile bedrooms, a growing number of women declared their independence by taking the wheel, and sociologists Robert and Helen Lynd declared that automobiles had become "an accepted essential of normal living" during the 1920s.

After the stock market crashed in 1929, automobiles remained important cultural symbols. Throughout the Great Depression, cars reminded people of the prosperity that they had lost. On the other hand, widespread car ownership among people without homes or jobs

called attention to the country's comparatively high standard of living; in the United States, it seemed, poverty did not preclude automobile ownership. Countless families traveled around the country by car in search of work, rationing money to pay for gasoline even before buying food. Dorothea Lange's photography and John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939) immortalized these migrants, who became for many the symbolic essence of the decade's economic ills. Automobiles had become such a permanent fixture in American life when the Depression hit that even in its pit, when the automobile industry's production had fallen to below a quarter of its 1929 figures, car registrations remained at over ninety percent of their 1929 number. Even before the Depression began most Americans had thoroughly modified their lifestyles to take advantage of what automobiles had to offer, and they refused to let a weak economy deprive them of their cars. Tellingly, steady automobile use through the 1930s provided an uninterrupted flow of income from gasoline taxes, which the country used to build roads at an unprecedented rate.

The thousands of miles of paved highway built during the Depression hint at one of the most profound developments of the first

half of the twentieth century: the extensive modification and rearrangement of the country's built environment to accommodate widespread automobile use. In urban areas, general car ownership undermined the centralizing influence of the railroads. Because businesses could unload railroad freight into motorized trucks instead of horse-drawn wagons, which significantly reduced their short-haul transportation costs, proximity to railroad depots became much less important. At the same time, growing traffic problems in urban cores along with a more mobile buying public made relocating to less congested areas with better parking for their customers an increasingly attractive option for small-volume businesses.

Although cities continued to expand, Americans used their cars to move in ever-growing numbers to the suburbs. As early as the 1920s suburban growth had begun to rival that of cities, but only after World War II did American suburbs come into their own. Beginning in the mid-1940s, huge real estate developers took advantage of new technology, federally insured home loans, and low energy costs to respond to the acute housing shortage that returning GIs, the baby boom, and pent-up demand from the Depression had created. Developers purchased large land holdings on the border of cities, bulldozed everything to facilitate new standardized construction techniques, and rebuilt the landscape from the ground up. Roads and cars, of course, were essential components of the suburban developers' visions. So were large yards (which provided the social spaces for suburbanites that streets had once supplied for urban residents) and convenient local shopping centers (with plenty of parking). Even the design of American houses changed to accommodate automobiles, with more and more architects including carports or integrated garages as standard features on new homes.

In rural America, the least direct but most far-reaching effects of widespread car ownership came as rural institutions underwent a spatial reorganization in response to the increased mobility and range of the rural population. In the first decade or so of the century, religious, educational, commercial, medical, and even mail services consolidated, enabling them to take advantage of centralized distribution and economies of scale. For most rural Americans, the centralization of institutions meant that by mid-century access to motorized transportation had become a prerequisite for taking advantage of many rural services.

At about the same time suburban growth exploded in the mid-1940s, road engineers began to focus on developing the potential of automobiles for long-distance travel. For the first several decades of the century, long-distance travelers by automobile had to rely on detailed maps and confusing road signs to navigate their courses. In the 1920s, limited-access roads without stop lights or intersections at grade became popular in some parts of the country, but most people judged these scenic, carefully landscaped "parkways" according to their recreational value rather than their ability to move large numbers of people quickly and efficiently. By 1939, however, designers like Norman Bel Geddes began to stress the need for more efficient road planning, as his "Futurama" exhibit at the New York World's Fair demonstrated. Over five million people saw his model city, the most popular display at the exhibition, which featured elevated freeways and high-speed traffic coursing through its center. Impressed, many states followed the lead of Pennsylvania, which in 1940 opened 360 miles of high-speed toll road with gentle grades and no traffic lights. By 1943, a variety of automobile-related interest groups joined together to form the American Road Builders Association, which began lobbying for a comprehensive national system of new super-highways. Then in 1954, President Dwight Eisenhower appointed a

committee to examine the issue of increasing federal road aid—headed by a member of the General Motors board of directors. Two years later, Eisenhower signed the Interstate Highway Act, committing the federal government to provide ninety percent of the cost of a 41,000-mile highway system, the largest peacetime construction project in history.

The new interstates transformed the ability of the nation's road system to accommodate high-speed long-distance travel. As a result, the heavy trucking industry's share of interstate deliveries rose from about fifteen percent of the national total in 1950 to almost twenty-five percent by the end of the decade, a trend which accelerated the decentralization of industry that had started before the war. Suburbs sprang up even farther away from city limits, and Americans soon began to travel more miles on interstates than any other type of road. The new highways also encouraged the development of roadside businesses that serviced highway travelers. A uniform highway culture of drive-in restaurants, gas stations, and huge regional shopping malls soon developed, all of it advertised on large roadside billboards. Industries designed to serve motorists expanded, with the motel industry in particular growing in lock-step with the interstates, taking advantage of the same increase in family vacations that caused visits to national parks to double over the course of the 1950s.

While car designers in the 1950s subordinated all other considerations to style and comfort, engineers focused on boosting acceleration and maximum speed. With eager enthusiasm, Americans embraced the large, gas-guzzling, chrome-detailed, tail-finned automobiles that Detroit produced. Teens in particular developed an entire subculture with automobiles at the center. Cruising the local strip, hanging out at drive-in restaurants, drag-racing, and attending drive-in movies all became standard nationwide pastimes.

Yet trouble brewed beneath the surface of the 1950s car culture, and in the 1960s and 1970s a number of emerging problems drove home several negative unanticipated consequences of universal car ownership. Safety concerns, for example, became increasingly important in the mid-1960s since annual automobile-related deaths had increased from roughly 30,000 to 50,000 between 1945 and 1965. Environmental damage, too, became an issue for many Americans, who focused on problems like air pollution, oil spills, the tendency of heavy automobile tourism to destroy scenic areas, and the damaging effects of new road construction on places ranging from urban neighborhoods to national wilderness preserves.

In both cases, concerned citizens turned to the government to regulate the automobile industry after less coercive attempts to address problems failed. In 1965, Ralph Nader's *Unsafe at Any Speed* galvanized popular concern over motor vehicle safety. Congress responded in 1966 with the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act, which required a number of safety features on all models beginning in 1968, despite auto industry protests that regulations would be expensive and ineffective. Within two years of the implementation of the law, the ratio of deaths to miles driven had declined steeply, injuring Americans' trust in the good faith efforts of industry to respond to consumer concerns without active regulation. Similarly, since repeated requests to manufacturers throughout the 1950s to reduce emissions had failed, California required all new cars from 1966 on to have emissions-reducing technology. Other states followed suit, discounting the car industry's claims that once again solutions would be slow to develop, expensive, and difficult to implement.

The most significant example of cultural backlash against the problems of widespread dependence on automobiles came during and after the Arab oil embargo of 1973, when the price of crude oil increased over 130 percent in less than three months. Around the country, lines of cars snaked out of gas stations, where pump prices had doubled nearly overnight. Recriminations and accusations about why the country had become so dependent on foreign oil flew back and forth—but the major result was that American manufacturers steadily lost market share after 1973 to small foreign imports that provided greater fuel-efficiency, cheaper prices, and lower emissions than Detroit models. Domestic full- and mid-size automobiles, once the undisputed champions of the United States, lost a substantial portion of their market share through the 1970s. By 1980, small cars comprised over 60 percent of all sales within the country.

The widespread cultural discontent with dependence on cars lasted only as long as the high gasoline prices. Rather than making changes that would decrease reliance on automobiles, the country addressed new problems as they arose with complex technological and regulatory fixes. Oil prices eventually fell to pre-embargo lows in the 1980s, and by the late 1990s cheap fuel helped reverse the decades-long trend toward smaller cars. Large sport utility vehicles with lower fuel efficiency became increasingly popular, and somewhat ironically relied heavily on “back-to-nature” themes in their marketing strategies. Despite substantial advances in quality and responsiveness to consumers, American manufacturers never regained their dominance of the immediate postwar years. At the end of the twentieth century, however, the American car culture itself continued to be a central characteristic distinguishing the United States from most other countries around the world.

—Christopher W. Wells

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## Autry, Gene (1907-1998)

Famous as the original “Singing Cowboy,” Gene Autry rode the range in the tradition of Tom Mix—clean living, honest, and innocent. He established the singing cowboy stereotype (continued by Roy Rogers, who inherited Autry’s sobriquet): that of the heroic horseman who could handle a guitar or a gun with equal aplomb. A star of film, radio, and television, Autry was probably best known for his trademark song, “Back in the Saddle Again,” as well as for many more of the over 250 songs he wrote in his lifetime.

Born in Texas, Autry moved to Oklahoma as a teenager, and began working as a telegrapher for the railroad after high school. While with the railroad, he began composing and performing with Jimmy Scott, with whom he co-wrote his first hit, “That Silver-Haired Daddy of Mine,” which sold half a million copies in 1929 (a record for the period). The same year, he auditioned for the Victor Recording Company in New York City but was told he needed more experience. He returned to Tulsa and began singing on a local radio program, earning the nickname “Oklahoma’s Yodeling Cowboy.” Columbia Records signed him to a contract in 1930 and sent him to Chicago to sing on various radio programs, including the *Farm and Home Hour* and the *National Barn Dance*. He recorded a variety of songs during the 1930s, such as “A Gangster’s Warning,” “My Old Pal of Yesterday,” and even the labor song “The Death of Mother Jones.”

In 1934, Autry began appearing in films as a “tuneful cow-puncher” and made numerous highly successful pictures with his



Gene Autry

horse, Champion, before he retired from the film industry in the 1950s. His debut film was *In Old Santa Fe*, in which he made only a brief singing appearance, but reaction to his performance was favorable and it got him a lead role in the 13-part serial *Phantom Empire*. His first starring role in a feature film followed with *Tumblin' Tumbleweeds* (1935), and he became not only Republic Pictures' reigning king of "B" Westerns, but the only Western star to be featured on the list of top ten Hollywood moneymakers between 1938 and 1942. Autry's pictures are notable for the smooth integration of the songs into the plots, helping to move the action along. Some of his films were even built around particular songs, among them *Tumblin' Tumbleweeds*, *The Singing Cowboy* (1937), *Melody Ranch* (1940) and *Back in the Saddle* (1941).

After serving as a technical sergeant in the Army Air Corps during World War II, Autry returned to Hollywood to make more films. From film, Autry made the transition into both radio and television programming. He hosted the *Melody Ranch* show on radio (and later on television), and he was involved with numerous successful television series, including *The Gene Autry Show* (1950-56) and *The Adventures of Champion* (1955-56). A masterful merchandiser, he developed a lucrative and hugely successful lines of clothes, comic books, children's books, and toys, while at the same time managing and touring with his own rodeo company. In addition to his country songs, Autry wrote numerous other popular songs, including "Frosty the Snowman," "Peter Cottontail," and, most famously, the enduring "Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer." Thanks to his financial success, Autry was able to buy the California Angels baseball team and served as a vice president of the American Baseball League for many years.

Like Tom Mix before him, Autry's public image stressed strong morals and honesty, and fueled the romantic image of the American cowboy. His ten-point "Cowboy Code" featured such sincere advice as "The Cowboy must never shoot first, hit a smaller man, or take unfair advantage"; "He must not advocate or possess racially or religiously intolerant ideas"; "He must neither drink nor smoke"; and "The Cowboy is a patriot." Gene Autry was elected to the Country Music Hall of Fame 1969, 29 years before his death at the age of 91.

—Deborah M. Mix

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## Avalon, Frankie (1939—)

During the late 1950s, as record producers and promoters rushed to capitalize on the potent youth market, they aggressively sought out clean-cut young males to mold into singing stars. Seeking to fill a void that had been created in part by the absence of Elvis Presley, who was then a G.I. stationed in Germany, they purposely toned down the controversial aspects of the new musical form, rock 'n' roll. Unlike



Frankie Avalon and Annette Funicello

Presley, who emoted a powerful sexuality, the manufactured teen idols elicited a friendly, non-threatening demeanor. The engaging Frankie Avalon, whose skinniness prompted comparisons to an earlier generation's teen idol, Frank Sinatra, perfectly filled that bill. As he once explained, "I was one of those guys who there was a possibility of dating . . . I had a certain innocence."

A native of South Philadelphia, Francis Thomas Avallone was just eleven when he talked his father into buying him a thirty-five-dollar pawn shop trumpet (after seeing the 1950 Kirk Douglas movie, *Young Man with a Horn*). Avalon went on to appear in local talent shows, including the program *TV Teen Club*. The show's host, Paul Whiteman, christened him "Frankie Avalon."

A meeting with singer Al Martino led to an introduction to a New York talent scout, who in turn arranged an audition with Jackie Gleason. After appearing on Gleason's TV show, additional national shows followed, as did a contract with an RCA subsidiary label. For his first two records—the instrumentals "Trumpet Sorrento" and "Trumpet Tarantella"—the performer was billed as "11-year-old Frankie Avalon." He was twelve when he became the trumpet player for the South Philadelphia group, Rocco and the Saints, which also included Bobby Rydell on drums. As a member of the Saints, Avalon

performed at local clubs, on local television, and even toured Atlantic City. The talented trumpeter also sometimes doubled as the group's singer. As a result of one such performance he caught the attention of Bob Marcucci and Peter De Angelis, owners of Chancellor Records. In 1958 Avalon signed a contract with their label, and went on to be managed by Marcucci, who also handled Fabian.

Though his first two Chancellor records were unsuccessful, Avalon enjoyed a hit with his third effort, "Dede Dinah," which he performed while pinching his nose for a nasal inflection. Though the record went gold, it was with the 1959 "Venus" that Avalon enjoyed his biggest success. Recorded after nine takes, and released three days later, it sold more than a million copies in less than one week.

Along with other heartthrobs of the day, Avalon became a frequent guest artist on *American Bandstand*. And like his teen idol brethren, including Philadelphia friends Fabian and Rydell, he headed to Hollywood where he was given co-starring roles alongside respected veterans. In *Guns of the Timberland* he shared the screen with Alan Ladd; in *The Alamo* he joined an all-star cast, led by John Wayne.

In the early 1960s, Avalon used his affable, clean-cut image to clever effect as the star and a producer of the *Beach Party* movies, in which he was sometimes romantically teamed with another former 1950s icon and close friend Annette Funicello. Made by the youth-oriented American International Pictures, the movies were filmed in less than two weeks, on shoestring budgets, and featured a melange of robust young performers, musical numbers, surfing, drag racing, and innocuous comedy. Despite the preponderance of bikini-clad starlets, the overall effect was one of wholesome, fun-loving youth. But in fact, the young people of the decade were on the verge of a counter-culture revolution. When it happened, Avalon, like many others who got their start in the 1950s, was passé.

He attempted to change his image by appearing in low-budget exploitation movies such as the 1970 *Horror House*. But despite his rebellion at what he once called "that damn teen idol thing," it was precisely that reputation that propelled his comeback. In the 1976 movie version of *Grease*, which celebrates the 1950s, Avalon seemingly emerges from heaven to dispense advice in the stand-out musical number, "Beauty School Dropout." Avalon's cameo appearance generated so much attention that he went on to record a disco-version of "Venus." He further capitalized on his early image with the 1987 movie, *Back to the Beach*, in which he was reunited with Funicello.

Avalon, who is the father of eight and a grandfather, has also capitalized on his still-youthful looks to market a line of beauty and health care products on the Home Shopping Network. In addition, he performs in the concert tour "The Golden Boys of Rock 'n' Roll," in which he and Fabian and Rydell star.

—Pat H. Broeske

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## Avedon, Richard (1923—)

Richard Avedon added new depth to fashion photography beginning in 1945. His fashion photographs—in *Harper's Bazaar*, 1945-66, and in *Vogue*, 1966-90—were distinctive in expressing both motion and emotion. Avedon imparted the animation of streets, narrative, and energy to the garment. His most famous fashion image, *Dovima with Elephants* (1955), is an unabashed beauty-and-the-beast study in sexuality. By the 1950s, Avedon also made memorable non-fashion images, including a 1957 portrait of the Duke and Duchess of Windsor in vacant melancholy, 1960s heroic studies of Rudolf Nureyev dancing nude, and 1960s epics of the civil rights movement and mental patients at East Louisiana State Hospital. Although Avedon's photographs moved away from fashion toward the topical, social, and character-revealing, the common theme of all his photography has been emotion, always aggressive and frequently shocking.

—Richard Martin

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## The Avengers

*The Avengers* (which appeared on ABC from 1961 to 1969) has the distinction of being the most popular British television series to run on an American commercial network, and was the first such series to do so in prime time. Sophisticated, tongue-in-cheek, but never camp or silly, *The Avengers* was also one of the first and best of the soon-to-be-popular television spy series, and varied in tone from crime melodrama to outright science fiction. Every episode starred John Steed (Patrick Macnee), an urbane British intelligence agent who heads a mysterious elite squad known as the Avengers, so named for their propensity to right wrongs.

The first four seasons of the show were not run in the United States, but were videotaped and aired only in Britain. The series began as a follow-up to *Police Surgeon* (1960), which starred Ian Hendry as a doctor who helped the police solve mysteries. Sydney Newman, the head of programming at ABC-TV in England, wanted to feature Hendry in a new series that would pair him as Dr. David Keel with a secret agent, John Steed, in a fight against crime.

Patrick Macnee had had a successful acting career in Canada and Hollywood, but when he returned to England, he was unable to find work as an actor. An old friend got him a position as an associate producer on *The Valiant Years* (1960-63) about Winston Churchill, and Macnee soon found himself producing the entire show. He planned on remaining a producer when he was asked to star in *The Avengers* (on which he initially received second billing) and asked for a ridiculously high salary, expecting the producers to reject it. When they didn't, Steed was born.

Though he initially used a gun, Macnee quickly altered the character, which he saw as a combination of the Scarlet Pimpernel, his father, Ralph Richardson, and his C.O. in the Navy. As the series went on, Steed appeared more and more as a well-dressed, upper crust fop with more than a soupçon of charm, dash, and derring-do. Apart from



his fighting skills, with the third season his chief weapon became his umbrella, which he used variously as a camera, a gas projector, a sword case, and a tape recorder.

After two seasons, Hendry bowed out and Honor Blackman was hired to be Steed's first female sidekick, anthropologist Cathy Gale, whom Blackman modeled after *Life* magazine photographer Margaret Bourke-White with a dash of Margaret Mead. Initially, Gale was given a pistol which could be hidden in her make-up kit or under her skirt, but it was eventually decided this was too unwieldy. Miniature swords and daggers were briefly tried when Leonard White urged that Blackman take up judo seriously and arranged for her to be trained by Douglas Robinson.

The action-oriented series required that Blackman have at least one fight scene in every episode, and Blackman soon became adept at judo. White wanted Cathy to be pure, a woman who fought bad guys because she cared so much about right and justice, as a contrast to Steed's wicked, devilish, and saucy nature. Blackman added to the character by dressing her in leather simply because she needed clothes that would not rip during the fight scenes (at the beginning of the series, she once ripped her trousers in close-up). Because the only thing that went with leather pants were leather boots, she was given calf-length black boots and inadvertently started a kinky fashion trend. (In fact, Macnee and Blackman released a single celebrating "Kinky Boots" on Decca in 1964).

However, after two years, Blackman likewise decided to call it quits to concentrate on her movie career (she had just been cast as Pussy Galore in *Goldfinger* [1964]). The surprised producers searched frantically for a replacement, at first choosing Elizabeth Shepherd, but after filming one-and-a-half episodes she was replaced by Diana Rigg, who played Mrs. Emma Peel (named after the phrase "M Appeal" for "Man Appeal," which was something the character was expected to have). Rigg and Macnee proved to have tremendous chemistry and charm together, with their sexual relationship largely left flirtatious and ambiguous. Rigg, like Blackman, played a tough, capable female fighter who possessed both high intelligence and tremendous sex appeal. Her outlandish costumes (designed by John Bates) for the episodes "A Touch of Brimstone" and "Honey for the Prince" were especially daring (and in fact, ABC refused to air these and three other episodes of the British series, considering them too racy, though they later appeared in syndication).

The two years with Diana Rigg are universally considered the best in the series, which ABC in the United States agreed to pick up provided the episodes were shot on film. Albert Fennell now produced the series and served as its guiding light, with writers Brian Clemens and Philip Levene writing the majority and the best of the episodes. These new shows became more science-fiction oriented, with plots about power-mad scientists bent on ruling the world, giant man-eating plants from outer space, cybermen, androids and robots, machines that created torrential rains, personalities switching bodies, people being miniaturized, and brainwashing. The fourth season and all subsequent episodes were filmed in color.

Commented Clemens about the series, "We admitted to only one class—and that was the upper. Because we were a fantasy, we have not shown policemen or coloured men. And you have not seen anything as common as blood. We have no social conscience at all." Clemens also emphasized the Britishness of the series rather than trying to adapt it to American tastes, feeling that helped give the show a unique distinction.

Rigg called it quits after two seasons, and she also joined the Bond series, having the distinction of playing Mrs. James Bond in *On*

*Her Majesty's Secret Service* (1969). The series limped on for a final season with Steed's new partner Tara King (played by Linda Thorson), also known as Agent 69, who always carried a brick in her purse. The last season also introduced us to Mother (Patrick Newell), Steed's handicapped boss, and his Amazonian secretary Rhonda (Rhonda Parker). The running gag for the season was that Mother's office would continually turn up in the most unlikely of places and the plots were most often far-fetched, secret-agent style plots.

The series later spawned a stageplay, *The Avengers on Stage*, starring Simon Oates and Sue Lloyd in 1971, a South African radio series, a series of novel adventures, a spin-off series, *The New Avengers* (starring Macnee, Gareth Hunt, and Joanna Lumley) in 1976, and finally a 1998 big-budgeted theatrical version starring Ralph Fiennes as John Steed and Uma Thurman as Emma Peel. The latter was greeted with universally derisive reviews and was considered a debacle of the first order as it served to remind everyone how imitators had failed to capture the charm, wit, escapism, and appeal of the original series, which has long been regarded as a television classic.

—Dennis Fischer

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## Avery, Tex (1908-1980)

Tex Avery, one of the most important and influential American animators, produced dozens of cartoon masterpieces primarily for the Warner Brothers and Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer (MGM) studios from the 1930s to the 1950s. Frenetic action, perfect comedic timing, and a never-ending stream of sight gags characterize his short, animated films. He is credited with providing the most definitive characterization of Bugs Bunny and creating such classic cartoon figures as Droopy, Chilly Willy, Screwie Squirrel, and Red Hot Riding Hood. Avery was most intrigued by the limitless possibilities of animation and filled his work with chase sequences, comic violence, and unbelievable situations that could not be produced in any other medium. Avery's manic style was best described by author Joe Adamson when he stated, "Avery's films will roll along harmlessly enough, with an interesting situation treated in a more or less funny way. Then, all of a sudden, one of the characters will lose a leg and hop all over the place trying to find it again."

Born Frederick Bean Avery on February 26, 1908, in Taylor, Texas, a direct descendant of the infamous Judge Roy Bean, Avery hoped to turn his boyhood interest in illustration into a profession when he attended the Chicago Art Institute. After several failed attempts to launch a syndicated comic strip, he moved to California and took a job in Walter Lanz's animation studio. Avery's talent as an

animator led him to join the Warner Brothers studio in 1935. There, he became a leading member of a unit including now legendary animators Chuck Jones and Bob Clampett. From their dilapidated headquarters on the studio lot, which they dubbed the Termite Terrace, the young artists set about creating a new cartoon sensibility which was more adult, absurd, and filled with slapstick. Avery and his crew's characters were more irreverent than those of their Disney competitors and the cartoons themselves were marked by direct addresses to the audience, split screen effects, and abrupt changes in pacing. Avery also insisted that their films acquire a more satiric tone so as to comment on contemporary popular culture. An early example of this satire is found in *I Love to Singa* (1936), which features "Owl Jolson" in a take-off of *The Jazz Singer*. Avery constantly reminded his viewers of the illusionary nature of animation. Unlike Disney, which was known for its spectacle, Avery's Warner Brothers films highlight their unreality. This abundant self-reflexivity is considered an early example of animated postmodernism.

Avery's talent also extended into the area of characterization. He, along with Jones and Clampett, refined an existing character named Porky Pig and transformed him into the first popular Looney Tunes character of the 1930s. In a 1937 cartoon called *Porky's Duck Hunt* he introduced Daffy Duck, who became so popular that he soon earned his own cartoon series. Avery's greatest contribution to animation, however, was his development of Bugs Bunny. A crazy rabbit character had appeared in several Warner cartoons beginning in 1938, but with few of the later Bugs personality traits. Animation historians regard Avery's 1940 cartoon *A Wild Hare* as the moment Bugs Bunny was introduced to America. Avery had eliminated the earlier rabbit's cuteness and craziness and, instead, fashioned an intelligent, streetwise, deliberate character. It was also in this cartoon that Avery bestowed upon Bugs a line from his Texas childhood—"What's up, doc?"—that would become the character's catchphrase. Avery's style became so important to the studio and imitated by his colleagues that he became known as the "Father of Warner Bros. Cartoons."

Despite all his success at Warner Brothers, Avery's most creative period is considered to be his time producing MGM cartoons from 1942 to 1954. In these films he dealt less with characterization and concentrated on zany gags. This fast-paced humor was developed to accommodate Avery's desire to fit as many comic moments as possible into his animated shorts. The MGM films feature nondescript cats and dogs in a surreal world where anything can, and does, happen. The 1947 cartoon *King-Size Canary* is regarded as Avery's masterpiece and reveals the lunacy of his later work. The film features a cat, mouse, dog, and canary each swallowing portions of "Jumbo-Gro." The animals chase each other and grow to enormous heights. Finally, the cat and mouse grow to twice the earth's size and are unable to continue the cartoon. They announce that the show is over and simply wave to the audience. Avery once again revealed the absurdities inherent to the cartoon universe.

In 1954, Avery left MGM and began a career in commercial animation. He directed cartoon advertisements for Kool-Aid, Pepsodent, and also produced the controversial Frito Bandito spots. Indeed, his animation has been enjoyed for more than half a century due to its unique blend of absurdity, quick humor, and fine characterization. He inspired his peers and generations of later animators to move their art form away from the saccharine style embodied by Disney. He revealed that animation is truly limitless. Because of his ability to create cartoons with an adult sophistication mixed with intelligent

and outlandish humor, he has often been characterized as a "Walt Disney who has read Kafka."

—Charles Coletta

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## Avon

American cosmetic and gift company Avon Products, Inc. is known for its eye-catching, digest-sized catalogs shimmering with fresh-faced models wearing reasonably priced makeup and advertising costume jewelry, colognes, and an array of other items. Their goods are backed by a satisfaction guarantee and delivered by a friendly face, usually female, who earns or supplements an income by the commission received. Avon's retail concept, symbolized by the direct-sales "Avon lady," is a cherished part of American culture, and now, a recognized addition to countries around the globe as well. In the 1990s, Avon was the world's top direct-sales cosmetics firm, with a total work force of 2.6 million in over 130 countries, producing sales of \$4.8 billion (\$1.7 billion in the United States alone). Ninety percent of American women have purchased Avon products in their lifetime, most likely because of the convenience, price, and quality, but perhaps also due to the history of female fraternity and empowerment that Avon promotes. The company's overwhelmingly female employee base and tradition of visiting customers in their homes allowed women control of their own earnings long before it was widely accepted.

Avon was founded in 1886, and Mrs. P.F.E. Albee of Winchester, New Hampshire, originated the idea of going door-to-door to push her wares. The company offered a money-back guarantee on their products and the salespeople nurtured relationships with customers, minimizing the need for advertising. The company prospered with their pleasant, neighborly image and low-cost, dependable products. However, in the 1970s and 1980s Avon's fortunes declined when a number of unsavvy business moves hurt sales and provoked an exodus of salespeople. At that time, the company also suffered from its outdated approach: Women were no longer waiting at home for the doorbell to ring; they were at work all day. In 1993, Avon began boosting morale and incentives for salespeople, then updated its image, and in 1998 launched a \$30 million advertising campaign. The company recruited a bevy of new representatives who would sell in offices and other business settings, and they focused on a more desirable product line. In addition, Avon reached out overseas, prompting women in South American, Russia, Eastern Europe, and China to sign up as salespeople. In fact, the number of Avon representatives in Brazil—478,000—is more than twice that of Brazil's army, with 200,000 soldiers. Avon's strategies sharply increased profits and swelled its stock.

Though the cherished but politically incorrect term "Avon lady" is not quite accurate—two percent of the force is male—the company still primarily consists of women selling cosmetics to female friends, family members, neighbors, and coworkers, with 98 percent of its revenue coming from direct sales. Avon used the slogan



Dan Aykroyd (center) with Jane Curtin (left) and Laraine Newman (right) in the popular Conehead skit on *Saturday Night Live*.

“Avon calling!” accompanied by a “ding-dong” doorbell noise when it was known mainly for reaching clients at home before the rise of women in the work force. However, the company in 1996 sold about 50 percent of its goods in the workplace, and branched out to offer a more extensive line of gifts for time-constrained working women. Although Avon has traditionally carried skin care and other hygiene products as well as cologne and jewelry for women, men, and children, in the 1990s it expanded its selection greatly to become a convenient way to shop for knick-knacks, toys, clothing and lingerie, books, and videos.

Though management ranks were off-limits to women until roughly the 1980s, Avon has quickly risen to become known for its respected record in the area of female promotions. In 1997, however, some were rankled when Christina Gold, president of North American operations, was slighted for a promotion to CEO in favor of an outside male candidate. She later resigned. Despite this incident, *Working Woman* magazine still called Avon one of the top female-friendly firms in 1998 due to its largely female employee base and number of corporate women officers. Overall, only three percent of top executives at Fortune 500 companies in 1997 were women. At Avon, on the other hand, over 30 percent of corporate officers are women, and four of the eleven members of the board of directors are women. Avon also has a good record of promoting women, with more

women in management slots—86 percent—than any other Fortune 500 firm. The company is also heavily involved in supporting research for breast cancer.

—Geri Speace

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## Aykroyd, Dan (1952—)

Actor and writer Dan Aykroyd achieved stardom as a member of the original *Saturday Night Live* (SNL) “Not Ready for Prime Time Players.” During his tenure on SNL, he created some of the show’s

classic skits and impersonations. He also memorably teamed up with SNL's John Belushi to perform as Elwood "On a Mission from God" Blues, one half of the "The Blues Brothers" band. Aykroyd is one of the busiest actors on screen. Since SNL, Aykroyd has appeared in more than twenty movies, including *Ghostbusters* (1984), which he also wrote, *Driving Miss Daisy* (1989), and two movies based on the SNL act, *The Blues Brothers* (1980) and *Blues Brothers 2000* (1998). He also stars, as an ex-biker priest, in the TV sitcom *Soul Man*, and fronts a successful syndicated series, *Psi Factors*. Additionally, he is

also a highly productive writer, continuing to pen some of Hollywood's most successful comedies.

—John J. Doherty

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# B

## “B” Movies

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A “B” movie, according to industry lore, is a movie in which the sets shake when an actor slams the door. Although it has come to mean any low-budget feature that appeals to the broadest possible audience, the term “B” movies was first applied to movies of the 1930s and 1940s that were made quickly, cheaply, in black-and-white, usually without notable stars, and usually with a running time between 60 and 80 minutes, in order to fill out the second half of a double feature. During the Great Depression, the movie business was one of the few businesses earning profits, and many distributors competed for the patronage of increasingly frugal moviegoers by offering them more for their money: two films for the price of one, plus cartoons, a newsreel, and several trailers. The practice began in 1932, and by the end of 1935, 85 percent of the theaters in the United States were playing double features. Some suggest the “B” stands for “bread and butter,” others suggest “block-booking,” but most likely “B” was chosen simply to distinguish these films from the main, or “A,” features. At first only “Poverty Row” studios, such as Republic, Monogram, Majestic, and Mayfair, produced “B” movies, but soon all the major studios were producing their own “B”’s in order to fill the increased demand. In the 1940s, with moviegoers seeking escapism from a world at war, theater attendance reached an all-time high; of 120 million Americans, 90 million were attending a film every week, and many theaters changed their fare two or three times weekly. During this time, the business of “B” moviemaking reached its artistic and commercial apex, with Universal, Warner Brothers, Twentieth-Century Fox, Columbia, RKO, and Paramount all heavily involved in production. For the first half of the 1940s, Universal alone was producing a “B” movie a week. In 1942, a number of “B” units were set up at RKO, with Val Lewton assigned to head one of them. According to his contract, Lewton was limited to horror films with budgets not to exceed \$150,000, to be shot in three weeks or less, with an average running time of 70 minutes—but within these confines, Lewton produced such classics as *Cat People*, *Curse of the Cat People*, *The Seventh Victim*, and *Isle of the Dead*. A common practice for “B” directors was to shoot their films on the abandoned sets of “A” films, and *Cat People* (which cost \$134,000 and grossed over \$3 million) was shot on the abandoned set of Orson Welles’ second film, *The Magnificent Ambersons*.

What separates “A”’s from “B”’s has little to do with genre and everything to do with budget. Film noir, Westerns, straight detective stories, comedies, and other genres had their “A” and “B” versions—*The Maltese Falcon* was an “A” while *The House of Fear* was a “B.” At the studios making both “A”’s and “B”’s, specific film units were budgeted certain limited amounts to quickly produce films generally too short to be feature films. But just because these films were being churned out doesn’t mean that some of them weren’t even better received by audiences than the big-budget, high-minded “A” features. Some are now considered classics. *Detour* (1945) has become a cult noir favorite, and *The Wolf Man* (1941) is one of the best horror films ever made. The award-winning *The Biscuit Eater* (1940) was distinguished by its location in Albany, Georgia, deep in the South’s hunting country, with Disney producing its “A” version 32 years later. Successful “A”’s often inspired sequels or spinoffs that

might be “A”’s or “B”’s. *King Kong* and *Dead End* were “A” films, while *Son of Kong* and the series of *Dead End Kids* films spun off from *Dead End* were all “B”’s. *Frankenstein* was an “A,” but then so were *The Bride of Frankenstein* and *Son of Frankenstein*. It all boiled down to the film’s budget, length, stars and, ultimately, whether audiences saw the film first or second during an evening out. Because the “B”’s were not expected to draw people into theaters—that was the job of the “A”’s—these films were able to experiment with subjects and themes deemed too much of a gamble for “A” films; *Thunderhoof* showed sympathetic Indians, *Bewitched* involved multiple personality disorder, and *The Seventh Victim* touched on Satan worship. Technicians were forced to improvise with lighting, sets, and camera angles in order to save money, and the more successful of these experiments carried over into “A” films.

Many “B”’s were parts of series. More than simple sequels, these were more like the James Bond series or a television series of later decades. In the 1980s and 1990s, a successful film might have two or three sequels but a single old-time “B” movie series might include up to 30 or 40 films. Besides the *Dead End Kids* series (which begat the *Bowery Boys* and *East Side Kids* series), there were *Sherlock Holmes*, *Dick Tracy*, *Charlie Chan*, *Mr. Moto*, *Mr. Wong*, *Boston Blackie*, *Michael Shayne*, *The Whistler*, *The Saint*, *The Falcon*, *The Lone Wolf*, *Tarzan*, *Jungle Jim*, the *Mexican Spitfire* and *Blondie*, to name but a few. The *Sherlock Holmes* series produced a number of classic films, and many film buffs still consider Basil Rathbone and Nigel Bruce the definitive *Holmes* and *Watson*. The *Holmes* series took an odd turn after the start of World War II, with the turn-of-the-century supersleuth and his loyal assistant suddenly working for the Allies against the Nazis. A few of the series, such as the *Crime Doctor* films, were based on successful radio shows, while most came from books or were sequels or spinoffs from successful “A” films. For example, *Ma and Pa Kettle* first appeared as minor rustic characters in the “A” hit *The Egg and I* before being spun off into their own series.

Most of the studios used the “B”’s as a farm team, where future actors, actresses, writers, and directors could get their start and hone their craft before moving up to the majors. Frequently, young actors who were on their way up worked with older actors, who, no longer finding roles in “A” movies, were on their way down. John Wayne, Susan Hayward, and Peter Lorre appeared in a number of “B” films. Director Robert Wise’s first film was the aforementioned *Curse of the Cat People*, though he is better known for *The Day the Earth Stood Still*, *The Sand Pebbles*, *The Sound of Music*, and *West Side Story*. “B” director Fred Zinneman went on to direct *High Noon*, *From Here to Eternity*, and *A Man for All Seasons*. Other noted directors beginning in “B”’s include Mark Robson (who later directed *Von Ryan’s Express*), Edward Dmytryk (*The Caine Mutiny*) and Anthony Mann (*El Cid*).

In the mid-1940s, theater attendance started waning, and Universal was hit quite hard. In a November 1946 shake-up, the studio attempted to turn things around by shutting down all of its “B” film units and announcing that, henceforth, it would be making only prestige pictures. What ultimately put an end to the “B”’s, however, was the Justice Department and the U.S. Supreme Court. On May 3, 1948, in *U.S. v. Paramount Pictures* (334 U.S. 131), the high court

found that Paramount, Columbia, United Artists, Universal, Loew's, and others had violated antitrust laws by engaging in price-fixing conspiracies, block-booking and blindselling, and by owning many of the theater chains where the films were shown, thereby stifling competition. "It is clear, so far as the five major studios are concerned, that the aim of the conspiracy was exclusionary, i.e., that it was designed to strengthen their hold on the exhibition field," wrote Justice William O. Douglas. The studios agreed to sell off their total of 1,400 movie theaters, though it took them a few years to do so. With theater owners then acting independently and free to negotiate, an exhibitor could beat the competition by showing two "A"s, so the market for "B"s quickly dried up. The days of guaranteed distribution were over, though with television coming around the corner, it is doubtful the "B" industry would have lasted much longer in any case.

Once the "B" market dried up, there were still moviemakers with limited budgets who carried on the grand tradition of guerrilla filmmaking. Purists would not use the term "B" film to describe their output; in fact, most purists strenuously object when the term is used for anything other than the "second feature" short films of the 1930s and 1940s. These new low-budget films were usually exploitive of current social issues, from teenage rebellion (*The Wild Angels*) to drugs (*The Trip*) to sexual liberation (*The Survivents*) to black power (*Shaft*). The name Roger Corman has become synonymous with this type of film. The book *The "B" Directors* refers to Corman as "probably the most important director of 'B' films," yet Corman may be one of those purists who objects to the use of the term "B" movies being applied to his work. In a 1973 interview reprinted in *Kings of the Bs*, Corman said, "I'd say I don't make B movies and nobody makes B movies anymore. The changing patterns of distribution, and the cost of color film specifically, has just about eliminated the B movie. The amount of money paid for a second feature is so small that if you're paying for color-release prints, you can't get it back. You can't get your negative costs back distributing your film as a B or supporting feature." Corman said every film is made in an attempt to make it to the top half of the bill, with those that fail going to the bottom half. He admitted that the first one or two films he made were "B"s—though film historians who aren't purists still consider him the King of the "B"s. With the widespread popularity of drive-ins in the 1950s and 1960s, many of his films not only appeared as second features, but as third or fourth features.

Working as a writer/producer/director for American International Pictures, Allied Artists, and other studios in the 1950s and 1960s, Corman's output was phenomenal; between 1955 and 1970, he directed 48 features, including such classics as *The House of Usher*, *The Pit and the Pendulum*, *The Premature Burial*, *The Wild Angels*, and *The Trip*. Nearly all of these films were directed on minuscule budgets at breakneck speed; his *The Little Shop of Horrors* was completed in two and a half days. In 1970, he began his own company, New World Pictures, which not only produced "B" films and served as a training ground for younger filmmakers, but also distributed both "A" and "B" films. Corman produced one of Martin Scorsese's first films, *Boxcar Bertha*, one of Francis Ford Coppola's first films, *Dementia 13*, and Peter Bogdanovich's first film, *Targets*. Jack Nicholson appeared in *The Little Shop of Horrors* and scripted *The Trip*, and while filming *The Trip*, Corman allowed actors Peter Fonda and Dennis Hopper to direct some second unit sequences, just before they went off to make *Easy Rider*, another low-budget classic. James (Titanic) Cameron began his film career at New World, and Jonathan Demme's first two films were New World's

*Caged Heat* and *Crazy Mama*. Demme showed his appreciation to Corman by giving him acting roles in *Silence of the Lambs* and *Philadelphia*, just as Coppola gave Corman a role in *The Godfather: Part II*. According to Corman, after a couple of decades in Hollywood, a veteran filmmaker who is any good will have moved onto bigger budget films; if he is still working in "B"s, the best you can expect from him is a competent "B." "And what I've always looked for is the "B" picture, the exploitation picture, that is better than that, that has some spark that will lift it out of its bracket," Corman said, explaining why he liked employing younger filmmakers. When he allowed Ron Howard to direct his first feature, *Grand Theft Auto*, for New World, Corman told the young director, "If you do a good job for me on this picture, you will never work for me again." A 1973 *Los Angeles Times* article suggested that Corman was doing more for young filmmakers than the entire American Film Institute.

While it may be easy to dismiss the "B"s of the 1930s and 1940s or Roger Corman's films as popular trash, even trash itself has undergone a significant reappraisal in recent years. In her seminal essay "Trash, Art, and the Movies," film critic Pauline Kael said, "Because of the photographic nature of the medium and the cheap admission prices, movies took their impetus not from the desiccated imitation European high culture, but from the peep show, the Wild West show, the music hall, the comic strip—from what was coarse and common." She argued that, while many universities may view film as a respectable art form, "It's the feeling of freedom from respectability we have always enjoyed at the movies that is carried to an extreme by American International Pictures and the Clint Eastwood Italian Westerns; they are stripped of cultural values. Trash doesn't belong to the academic tradition, and that's part of the *fun* of trash—that you know (or *should* know) that you don't have to take it seriously, that it was never meant to be any more than frivolous and trifling and entertaining." While the "A" film units were busy making noble, message films based on uplifting stage successes or prize-winning novels, the "B" film units were cranking out films that were meant to be enjoyed—and what's wrong with enjoyment? Isn't enjoyment exactly why we started going to movies in the first place, not to be preached to but to get away from all the preaching, to enjoy the clever plot twist or intriguing character or thrilling car chase or scary monster? Over time, trash may develop in the moviegoer a taste for art, and taking pleasure in trash may be intellectually indefensible but, as Kael argues, "Why should pleasure need justification?" Acclaimed writer-director Quentin Tarantino had his biggest success with *Pulp Fiction*, the title of which refers to the literary equivalent of "B" movies: less respectable fiction printed on cheap paper, sold for a dime, and containing a heady mix of violence, black humor, criminals swept along by fate, familiar scenarios with unexpected twists, and postmodern irony. Most of the film covers the same ground as some of Corman's films, and as Tarantino has said of Corman, "He's the most. That's all there is to say. I've been a fan of his films since I was a kid."

Just as importantly, "B" movies, and particularly Corman, demonstrated to a whole new generation of filmmakers that films could be made quickly and cheaply. In fact, with so many studios being run by greedy corporations looking for the next mass-appeal blockbuster, the independent filmmaker may be one of the last refuges of true cinema art. Films like *Reservoir Dogs*, *Blood Simple*, and *El Mariachi* owe a lot to "B" films for their subject matter, but they owe perhaps even more to "B"s for proving that such films can be made. Other films, such as *sex, lies and videotape*, *In the Company*

of *Men, Pi, Ruby in Paradise*, and *Welcome to the Dollhouse*, may address subjects that make them more “arty” than your typical potboiler, but perhaps they never would have been made if Corman and the other “B” moviemakers hadn’t proven that guerrilla filmmaking was still alive and well in the waning years of the twentieth century.

—Bob Sullivan

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## Babar

Perhaps the best known elephant in the world, Babar was born in France in 1931. He was first seen in a children’s book titled *Histoire de Babar*, written and illustrated by painter and first-time author Jean de Brunhoff. It told the story of a young elephant, orphaned when a hunter killed his mother, who traveled to Paris. Babar became a well-dressed gentleman and took to walking on his hind legs, wearing a green suit and a bowler hat. By the end of the book he had married Celeste and was king of an imaginary African country. Jean de Brunhoff died in 1937 and after the Second World War his eldest son, Laurent, resumed the series. He drew and wrote in a manner close to that of his father. In addition to Babar and his queen, the books feature the couple’s four children as well as the Old Lady and Zephir the monkey. The books feature a solid family structure, strong female characters, and lessons on the choices children must make to become decent people.

Published in America as *The Story of Babar*, the story became a hit and served as a foundation for an impressive quantity of books, toys, and merchandise. Beginning in the 1980s, the creation of several Babar children’s videos bolstered the character’s popularity. The Canadian animation studio, Nelvana, produced a popular television cartoon show that continued to be popular into the 1990s. Kent State University in Ohio houses an large archive of Babar materials.

—Ron Goulart

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## Baby Boomers

“For many a family, now that prosperity seems to be here, there’s a baby just around the corner.” This is how the April 2, 1941 issue of *Business Week* described the upcoming demographic phenomenon that would come to be known as the “baby boom.” Between the years of 1946 and 1964, 78 million babies were born in the United States alone, and other countries also experienced their own baby booms following World War II. The baby-boom generation was the largest generation yet born on the planet. Other generations had received nicknames, such as the “lost generation” of the 1920s, but it took the label-obsessed media of the late twentieth century combined with the sheer size of the post-World War II generation to give the name “baby boomers” its impact.

Since those born at the end of the baby boom (1964) could, in fact, be the children of those born at the beginning (1946), many consider the younger baby boomers part of a different generation. Some of those born after 1960 call themselves “thirteeners” instead, referring to the thirteenth generation since the founding of the United States.

Variouly called the “now generation,” the “love generation,” and the “me generation” among other names, the baby boomers have molded and shaped society at every phase, simply by moving through it *en masse*. Demographers frequently describe the baby boomers’ effect on society by comparing it to a python swallowing a pig. In the same way that peristalsis causes the huge lump to move down the body of the snake, the huge demographic lump of baby boomers has been squeezed through its societal phases. First it was the maternity wards in hospitals that were overcrowded, as mothers came in unprecedented numbers to give birth the “scientific” way. Then, in the 1950s, swollen school enrollment caused overcrowding, resulting in the construction of new schools. The 1950s and 1960s also saw the institutions of juvenile justice filled to capacity, as the term “juvenile delinquent” was coined for those who had a hard time fitting into the social mold. By the 1960s and 1970s, it was the colleges that were overfilled, with twice the number of students entering higher education as the previous generation. In the 1970s and 1980s, the job markets began to be glutted, as the young work force flooded out of colleges, and by the 1990s housing prices were pushed up as millions of baby boomers approaching middle age began to think of settling down and purchasing a house.

Giving a unified identity to any generational group is largely an over-simplified media construct, and, as with most American media constructs, the baby boomer stereotype refers almost exclusively to white middle-class members of the generation. Poor baby boomers and baby boomers of color will, in all likelihood, not recognize themselves in the media picture of the indulged suburban kid-turned college radical-turned spendthrift yuppie, but it is not only the white and the affluent who have shaped their generation. The revolutionary vision and radical politics that are most closely associated with young baby boomers have their roots in the civil rights movement and even in the street gangs of poor urban youth of the 1950s. In addition, the African American and Latino music that emerged during the boomer’s formative years continued to influence pop music at the end of the century. Even though their lives may be vastly different, it cannot be

denied that members of a generation share certain formative experiences. The baby boomers' shared experiences began with its parental generation.

Raised during the privation of the Great Depression of the 1930s, the parents of the baby boomers learned to be conservative and thrifty and to value security. Because parents were unwilling or unable to bring children into such economic uncertainty, U.S. birth rates had dropped during the depression from 22.4 births per thousand in 1924 to just 16.7 by 1936. Experts and media of the time, fearful of the consequences of an ever-decreasing birth rate, encouraged procreation by pointing out the evils of a child-poor society, some even blaming the rise of Hitler on the declining birth rate.

Beginning as early as 1941, with war on the horizon, the birth rates began to rise. The first four months of 1941 boasted 20,000 more births than the same four months of the previous year. The uncertainties of war prompted many young couples to seize the moment and attempt to create a future by marrying and having children quickly. Those who postponed children because of the war were quick to start families once the war was over. In 1942, 2,700,000 babies had been born, more than any year since 1921. By 1947 the number had leaped to 3,600,000 and it stayed high until 1965, when birth rates finally began to slow. The arrival of "the Pill," a reliable oral contraceptive, plus changing attitudes about family size and population control combined to cause the mid-1960s decline in birth rates.

Following the enormous disruptions caused by World War II, the forces of government and business were anxious to get society back to "normal." A campaign to remove women from the work force and send them back to the home was an integral part of this normalization. Women without husbands and poor women continued to work, but working women were widely stigmatized. During the war, working mothers received support, such as on-site daycare, but by the 1950s the idea of a working mother was unconventional to say the least. Sparked by the postwar prosperity, a building boom was underway. Acres of housing developments outside the cities went perfectly with the new American image of the family—Mom, Dad, and the kids, happily ensconced in their new house in the suburbs. Many white middle-class baby boomers grew up in the suburbs, leaving the inner cities to the poor and people of color.

Suburban life in the 1950s and early 1960s is almost always stereotyped as dull, conventional, and secure. In many ways, these stereotypes contain truth, and some of the roots of the baby boomers' later rebellion lay in both the secure predictability of suburban life and the hypocrisy of the myth of the perfect family. While baby boomers and their nuclear families gathered around the television to watch familial mythology such as *Father Knows Best*, quite another kind of dynamic might have been played out within the family itself. The suburban houses, separated from each other by neat, green lawns, contained families which were also isolated from each other by the privacy which was mandated by the mores of the time. Within many of these families physical, sexual, and emotional abuse occurred; mothers were stifled and angry; fathers were overworked and frustrated. Communication was not encouraged, especially with outsiders, so the baby boomers of the suburbs, prosperous and privileged, grew up with explosive secrets seething just beneath the surface of a shiny facade.

The peace and prosperity of the 1950s and early 1960s also contained another paradox. The atomic bombs that the United States dropped on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki had opened the door to a new age—the possibility of nuclear annihilation. The baby boomers had inherited another first—they were the first generation to know that humankind possessed the power to destroy

itself. Coupled with the simmering tension of the cold war between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, nuclear war seemed a very real threat to the children of the 1950s. Bomb shelters were built, and schools carried out atomic bomb drills where students learned to hide from nuclear attacks by crawling under their desks. It was not the security of the 1950s, but the juxtaposition of the facade of security with preparation for unimaginable destruction that sowed the seeds of the baby boomers' later revolt. It was a revolt against racism and war, a revolt against conventionality and safety. But most of all, perhaps, it was a revolt against hypocrisy.

While World War II had brought death to thousands of Americans in the military and prosperity to many on the homefront, it had also brought unprecedented opportunity to African Americans. Having worked next to whites in the defense industries, serving next to whites in the armed forces, and having gone abroad and experienced more open societies, American blacks found it difficult to return to their allotted place at the bottom of American society, especially in the segregated South. When the civil rights movement began in the 1950s and 1960s, it attracted young baby boomers, both black and white, to work for justice for African Americans. As the movement began to build, many young white college students came south to participate.

Almost simultaneously, another movement was beginning to build. Though the U.S. government had been sending military advisors and some troops since 1961 to preside over its interests in South Vietnam, it wasn't until 1964 that the war was escalated with bombings and large troop deployments. The war in Vietnam did not inspire the same overwhelming popular support as World War II. As the conflict escalated, and as the brutal realities of war were shown on the nightly television news, opposition to the war also escalated. In 1965, the first large march against the Vietnam war drew an estimated 25,000 protesters in New York City. Within two years, similar protests were drawing hundreds of thousands of people. Though there were war protesters of all ages, it was the baby boomers who were of draft age, and many did not want to go to a distant country few had heard of, to fight in an undeclared war over a vague principle. Draft cards were burned and draft offices were taken over to protest forced conscription. Students held demonstrations and took over buildings at their own colleges to draw attention to the unjustness of the war.

Soon, organizations like Students for a Democratic Society began to broaden the focus of protest. Radicals pointed to the Vietnam war as merely one example of a U.S. policy of racism and imperialism, and called for no less than a revolution as the solution. Militancy became a strong voice in the civil rights movement as well, as organizations like the Black Panthers replaced the call for "equal rights" with a cry of "Black power!" For a number of turbulent years, armed struggle in the United States appeared to be a real possibility.

The other side of militant protest was to be found in the hippie counterculture, who protested the war from a pacifist stand and whose battle cry was "make love not war." Culminating in the "summer of love" and the Woodstock Music Festival of 1969, the hippies' espoused free love and the use of mind expanding drugs as the path to revolution. Many hippies, or "freaks" as they often called themselves, began to search for new forms of spiritual practice, rejecting the hypocrisy they found in traditional religions in favor of "new age" spirituality such as astrology and paganism. Some dropped out of mainstream society, moving to the country and creating communes where they attempted to transcend materialistic values and hierarchical power structures.



Impelled by the general spirit of questioning the oppressive status quo, women began to question their own second-class status in the greater society and even within progressive movements. As they joined together in consciousness raising groups to share previously unspoken grievances, they launched the women's liberation movement. At almost the same moment, homosexuals, tired of accepting the stigma surrounding their lifestyle, began to fight for gay liberation. Together, the black, women's, and gay liberation movements began to change the face of American society. The movements questioned gender roles, the form of the family, and the value priorities that had been handed down from the previous generation.

The music of the 1960s and 1970s is one of the baby boomers' most enduring contributions to American culture. Whether it is the earthy blues-influenced rock 'n' roll of the 1950s, the "Motown beat" soul music of the 1960s, or the rebellious folk-rock and drug-culture acid rock of the late 1960s, the music of the era is still considered *the* classic pop music. Though aging hippies and radicals may be horrified to hear the Beatles' "Revolution" or Janis Joplin's "Mercedes Benz" used as commercial jingles, the usage proves how thoroughly those rebellious years have been assimilated into American society.

If rock 'n' roll, soul, and protest music was the soundtrack of the baby-boom generation, television was its baby-sitter. From the idealized *Leave It to Beaver* families of the 1950s and early 1960s, to the in-your-face realism of the Norman Lear sitcoms of the late 1960s and 1970s, boomers spent much of their youth glued to the medium that was born almost when they were. Many of them would spend much of their adulthood trying to overcome the sense of inadequacy created when no family they would ever be a part of could live up to the fantasies they had watched on television as children. Later, shows like "thirtysomething" would make a realistic attempt to broach some of the issues facing baby boomers as they began the passage into middle age. Nostalgia for boomers' lost youth began almost before they had left it, and shows like *The Wonder Years* allowed boomers and their children to revisit a slightly less sanitized version of nuclear family life in the 1960s suburbs than the sitcoms of the time had offered.

Controversy and innovation came to television as it came to every aspect of American life in the late 1960s and 1970s. *The Smothers Brothers*, *All in the Family*, and the like fought constant battles with censors over political content as well as strong language. The fast-paced visual humor of *Laugh-In* pre-dated the rapid-fire video techniques of 1980s music videos.

Though not as much of a movie-addicted generation as either their pre-television parents or their VCR-oriented children, baby boomers did stand in long lines, when they were children, to watch the latest Walt Disney fantasies, and went as teenagers to the films of teenage rebellion like *Rebel without a Cause* and *West Side Story*. Nostalgia is also a mainstay of the movies made to appeal to grown up baby boomers. *The Big Chill* was a baby boomer favorite, with its bittersweet picture of young adults looking back on their glory days, and movies like *Back to the Future* and *Peggy Sue Got Married* played on every adult's fantasy of reliving the years of youth with the wisdom of hindsight. The fantastic success of the *Star Wars* trilogy, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, was due not only to the millions of children who flocked to see the films, but to their special appeal to baby boomers, combining as they did, new age spirituality with a childlike fantasy adventure.

Baby boomers are stereotyped as eternal Peter Pans, refusing to grow up. As time passed, and baby boomers passed out of youth into

their thirties, they had to learn to assimilate the enormous upheaval that had accompanied their coming of age. Government crackdowns and a more savvy media, which learned to control which images were presented to the public, took much of the steam out of the radical movements. While many radicals remained on the left and continued to work for social change, other baby boomers slipped back into the more conventional societal roles that were waiting for them. The college-educated upper-middle-class boomers found lucrative jobs and an economic boom waiting. They were still affected by the revolution in social mores, which left a legacy of greater opportunity for women and an unprecedented acceptance of divorce. They developed an extravagant lifestyle, which many considered self-indulgent, and which prompted the press to dub them "yuppies," for "young, upwardly mobile professionals."

The yuppies were the perfect backlash to the gentle "flower children" hippies and the angry militants who preceded them as baby boomer stereotypes. Seeming to care for nothing except their own pleasure, the yuppies were portrayed in the press as bribe-eating, Perrier-drinking, BMW-driving snobs, obsessed with their own inner processes. Again, wealthy young boomers were not acting much differently than wealthy young professionals had ever acted—their crime was that there were so *many* of them. Society feared the effect of so many hungry young job hunters, just as later it came to fear the effects of so many house hunters, and, as the economic boom went flat, many workers were laid off.

This fear continues to follow the baby boomers, as dire predictions precede their retirement. The press is full of articles recounting the anger of the younger generation, the so-called "baby busters," who fear they will be saddled with the care of the gigantic lump of boomers as they are squeezed through the tail end of the python. The "greedy geezers" as the press has dubbed them, are expected to cause a number of problems, including a stock market crash, as retiring boomers cash in their investments.

The aging of the baby boomers is sure to be well-documented by the boomers themselves. Spawned by a generation that kept silent on most personal matters, the baby boomers have broken that silence about almost everything. Following them through each stage of their lives have been consciousness raising groups, support groups, therapies, exposes, radio, television talk shows, and self-help books. Having grown up with the negative effects of secrecy, baby boomers want to share everything they experience. Beginning with childhood abuse and continuing through intimate relationships, childbearing, menopause, aging and death, the baby boomers' drive for introspection and communication has brought the light of open discussion to many previously taboo subjects. In literature as well, from Holden Caulfield's rants against "phoniness" in J.D. Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye*, to Sylvia Plath's "confessional" poetry, the trend has been toward exposure of the most inner self. It is perhaps the solidarity created by this communication about shared experiences that has enabled the many social changes that have occurred during the lives of the baby-boom generation.

Throughout their lives, baby boomers have refused to acquiesce to the say-so of authority figures, choosing instead to seek alternative choices, often looking back to pre-technological or non-western solutions. One example of this is the boomer exploration of medical care. Where their parents were much more likely to follow doctors' orders without question, baby boomers have sought more control over their health care, experimenting with treatments non-traditional for Americans, such as naturopathy, homeopathy and acupuncture. The

boomer preference for herbal cures over prescription drugs has resulted in national marketing for herbs that once would have only been available in specialty stores, promising help with everything from memory loss to weight loss.

Though the media invented and popularized the term “baby boomer,” the media itself has always had a love-hate relationship with the generation. While the entertainment industry has been forced by the law of supply and demand to pander to baby boomers in their prime spending years, there has never been a shortage of media pundits attempting to put the boomers in their place, whether with ridicule of their youthful principles or accusations of greed and self-absorption. In reality, all of society has been absorbed by the baby-boom generation’s passage through it. Once the agents for tremendous social change, the boomers are now the establishment as the new millennium begins. The first baby boomer president, Bill Clinton, was elected in 1992. The generation that invented the catch phrase, “Don’t trust anyone over thirty,” will be well into its fifties by the year 2000. It may take many more generations before the real impact and contributions of the post-World War II baby boom will be understood and assimilated into American culture.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Babyface (1959—)

The significant position Rhythm and Blues (R&B) held in the mainstream pop charts of the late 1980s can be exemplified in the meteoric rise of singer/songwriter/producer Kenneth “Babyface” Edmonds. He is responsible for numerous gold- and platinum-selling artists, including Toni Braxton and TLC, and hit singles, such as Boyz II Men’s two record-breaking songs “End of the Road” and “I’ll Make Love to You.” The winner of over 40 Billboard, BMI, Soul Train Music and Grammy awards, Babyface has become the master of heartbreak and love songs. He has pushed the visibility of music producers to new levels, illustrated by his phenomenally successful *Waiting to Exhale* soundtrack. His company, LaFace Records, moved Atlanta to the center of R&B music, and has expanded to multimedia productions, beginning with the film *Soul Food*. Babyface personifies the changing possibilities in masculinity for black men, the other side of rap’s rage.

—Andrew Spieldenner

## Bacall, Lauren (1924—)

Hollywood icon Lauren Bacall defined sex appeal with a single look and became an instant movie legend. As a starstruck New York teenager, Bacall was discovered by *Harper’s Bazaar* editor Diana Vreeland and featured on the cover at nineteen. When she was brought out to Hollywood to star opposite Humphrey Bogart in *To Have and Have Not*, the twenty-year-old was so nervous while filming that she physically shook. She found that the only way to hold her head still was to tuck her chin down almost to her chest and then look up at her co-star. “The Look” became Bacall’s trademark, and Bogie and Bacall became Hollywood’s quintessential couple, both on and off the screen. The pair filmed two more classics, *Key Largo* and *The Big Sleep*, and also raised a family. After Bogart died of cancer in 1957, Bacall was linked with Frank Sinatra before marrying actor Jason Robards. In the 1960s and 1970s, Bacall returned to her Broadway roots, and won two Tony awards. The personification of Hollywood glamour and New York guts, Lauren Bacall remains a peerless pop culture heroine.

—Victoria Price



Lauren Bacall

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## Bach, Richard (1936—)

Richard Bach, a pilot and aviation writer, achieved success as a new age author with the publication of *Jonathan Livingston Seagull*, a novel that Bach maintains was the result of two separate visionary experiences over a period of eight years. Bach's simple allegory with spiritual and philosophical overtones received little critical recognition but captured the mood of the 1970s, becoming popular with a wide range of readers, from members of the drug culture to mainstream Christian denominations.

*Jonathan Livingston Seagull* (1970) deals with the new age theme of transformation. It is the story of a spirited bird who by trial and error learns to fly for grace and speed, not merely for food and survival. When he returns to his flock with the message that they can become creatures of excellence, he is banished for his irresponsibility. He flies alone until he meets two radiant gulls who teach him to achieve perfect flight by transcending the limits of time and space. Jonathan returns to the flock, gathering disciples to spread the idea of perfection. With a small edition of only 7,500 copies and minimal promotion, the book's popularity spread by word of mouth, and within two years sold over one million copies, heading the New York Times Bestseller List for ten months. In 1973 a Paramount film version, with real seagulls trained by Ray Berwick and music by Neil Diamond, opened to mostly negative reviews.

Bach has been inundated with questions about the book's underlying metaphysical philosophy. Ray Bradbury called it "a great Rorschach test that you read your own mystical principles into." Buddhists felt that the story of the seagull, progressing through different stages of being in his quest for perfect flight, epitomized the spirit of Buddhism, while some Catholic priests interpreted the book as an example of the sin of pride. Many have turned to the novel for inspiration, and passages have been used for important occasions such as weddings, funerals, and graduations. Bach continues to insist that he merely recorded the book from his visions and is not the author. He emphasizes that his usual writing style is more descriptive and ornate and that he personally disapproves of Jonathan's decision to return to his flock.

A direct descendant of Johann Sebastian Bach, Richard David Bach was born in Oak Park, Illinois, to Roland Bach, a former United States Army Chaplain, and Ruth (Shaw) Bach. While attending Long Beach State College in California, he took flying lessons, igniting his lifelong passion for aviation. From 1956-1959 he served in the United States Air Force and earned his pilot wings. In the 1960s he directed the Antique Airplane Association and also worked as a charter pilot, flight instructor, and barnstormer in the Midwest, where he offered plane rides for three dollars a person. During this period, he worked as a free-lance writer, selling articles to *Flying, Soaring, Air Facts*, and other magazines. He also wrote three books about flying which were

*Stranger to the Ground* (1963), *Biplane* (1966), and *Nothing by Chance* (1969).

Since *Jonathan Livingston Seagull*, he has continued to share his philosophies on life, relationships, and reincarnation in six different books. *Gift of Wings* (1974) is a collection of inspirational essays, most with some connection to flying. The 1977 book *Illusions: The Adventures of a Reluctant Messiah*, which received an American Book Award nomination in 1980, deals with Bach's encounter with Shimode, a self-proclaimed Messiah. *There's No Such Place as Far Away* (1979) tells the story of a child who learns about the meaning of life from an encounter with a hummingbird, owl, eagle, hawk, and seagull on the way to a birthday party. The autobiographical book *The Bridge Across Forever* (1984) discusses the need to find a soul mate and describes Bach's real-life relationship with actress Leslie Parrish, whom he married in 1977. *One* (1988) and *Running from Safety: An Adventure of the Spirit* (1995) use flashbacks to express Bach's philosophies. In *One*, Bach and his wife Leslie fly from Los Angeles to Santa Monica and find themselves traveling through time, discovering the effects of their past decisions both on themselves and others. In *Running from Safety*, Bach is transformed into a nine-year-old boy named Dickie, a representation of his inner child. In 1998, Bach opened a new channel of communication with his followers through his own internet web site where he shares his thoughts and answers questions.

—Eugenia Griffith DuPell

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## *Back to the Future*

In the fast-paced comedy *Back to the Future*, Marty McFly (Michael J. Fox) is transported backwards in time to 1955 in a time machine invented by his friend Doc Brown (Christopher Lloyd). He accidentally interrupts the first meeting of his parents (Lea Thompson and Crispin Glover), creating a paradox that endangers his existence. The task of playing Cupid to his parents is complicated because his future mother develops a crush on him. Critics were impressed by this Oedipal theme, and audiences responded to the common fantasy of discovering what one's parents were like as teens. *Back to the Future* (1985) was followed by two sequels—*Back to the Future Part II* (1989) and *Back to the Future Part III* (1990)—and an animated TV series (1991-1993).

—Christian L. Pyle

## *The Bad News Bears*

A fictional children's baseball team, the Bad News Bears, was the focus of three films and a CBS Television series between 1976 and



Michael J. Fox (left) and Christopher Lloyd in a scene from *Back to the Future*.

1979. The first of these films, *The Bad News Bears* (Paramount, 1976), struck an unexpected chord in both children and adults and became a hugely popular and profitable box-office hit. Although vulgar, raucous, and without intrinsic worth, *The Bad News Bears* became culturally significant in the 1970s, thanks to the unmistakable broadside it delivered against the values of American suburbia, and the connection it forged between adult and child audiences. In juxtaposing children and adults, slapstick comedy, and social commentary, the film demonstrated that it was possible to address adult themes through entertainment ostensibly designed for, and made with, children.

Directed by Michael Ritchie from a screenplay by Bill Lancaster (son of actor Burt), the plot of *The Bad News Bears* was simple enough. A local politician concerned with rehabilitating a junior baseball team composed of losers, misfits, and ethnic minorities, persuades beer-guzzling ex-pro Morris Buttermaker (Walter Matthau), now reduced to cleaning pools for a living, to take on the task of coaching the team. After a disastrous first game under Buttermaker's tenure, he recruits an ace pitcher—a girl named Amanda Whurlitzer—and a home-run hitting delinquent named Kelly Leak, whose combined skills carry the team to the championship game. During the game, Buttermaker realizes that he has come to embrace the win-at-all-costs philosophy that he had once despised in Little League coaches, and allows a group of substitute Bears to play the final inning. The team fails to win, but their efforts bring a worthwhile sense of achievement and self-affirmation to the players, which is celebrated at the film's ending.

Benefiting from the expertise of Matthau's Buttermaker, the star presence of Tatum O'Neal, and a string of good one-liners, the film emerged as one of the top grossers of the year, although it was initially attacked in certain quarters for the use of bad language and risqué behavior of its juvenile protagonists. Little League president Peter McGovern wrote a letter to Paramount protesting the use of foul language as a misrepresentation of Little League baseball. However, most adults appreciated the kids' sarcastic wisdom in criticizing the adults' destructive obsession with winning a ball game, and applauded the movie and its message. Furthermore, the inclusion of Jewish, African American, Chicano, and female players on the Bears, and the team's exclusion from the elite WASP-dominated North Valley League, hinted at the racism and bigotry that lay beneath the surface of comfortable suburbia. For their part, children loved the Bears' incorrigible incompetence and their ability to lampoon adults through physical comedy and crude wit. Ultimately, the film and the team criticized an adult world willing to sacrifice ideals, fair play, and even the happiness of its own children to win a game.

Paramount—and the original idea—fell victim to the law of diminishing returns that afflicts most sequels when, hoping to cash in on the financial success of the first film, they hastily made and released two more Bears movies. *The Bad News Bears in Breaking Training* (1977) and *The Bad News Bears Go to Japan* (1978) offered increased doses of sentimentality in place of a message, dimwitted plots, and an unpalatable escalation of the cruder elements and bad language of the original. Without even the benefit of Matthau (*Breaking Training* offered William Devane, as a last-minute to-the-rescue coach; *Japan* Tony Curtis as a con-man promoter), the sequels degenerated into vacuous teen fare for the summer season, alienating the adult support won by the original. Vincent Canby of the *New York Times*, reviewing the third Bears film, summed up the problem in dismissing it as “a demonstration of the kind of desperation experienced by people trying to make something out of a voyage to nowhere.”

By 1979, the *Bad News Bears* could no longer fill movie theaters but CBS nevertheless attempted to exploit the team's remaining popularity in a Saturday morning series called *The Bad News Bears*. Based on the first film but featuring a new cast, the show presented Morris Buttermaker as the reluctant coach of the Hoover Junior High Bears. Most episodes centered on Amanda Whurlitzer's attempts to reinvigorate a romantic relationship between Buttermaker and her mother. The series abandoned Buttermaker's use of alcohol, the Bears' swearing, and any attempt at social commentary, and failed to revitalize the team for future outings.

—Steven T. Sheehan

## Baez, Joan (1941—)

Folk singer and icon of 1960s flower-children, Joan Baez sang anthems and ballads that gave voice to the frustrations and longing of the Vietnam War and Civil Rights years. Baez was seen as a Madonna with a guitar, a virginal mother of a new folk movement. As much a political activist as a musician, Baez founded the Institute for the Study of Nonviolence in Carmel Valley, California. Music and politics have gone hand-in-hand for Baez throughout her long career.

Joan Chandos Baez was born on January 9, 1941, in Staten Island, New York, to Scottish-American Joan Bridge Baez and



Walter Matthau (left) and Tatum O'Neal in a scene from *The Bad News Bears*.

Mexican-American Albert Baez. She was the second of three daughters in this multi-ethnic, politically liberal, Quaker family. Her father was a physicist who, on principle, turned down a well-paying military job to work as a professor. The family moved around a great deal, living in several towns in New York and California, and this nomadic childhood was hard for Joan. While at junior high in Redlands, California, she experienced racial prejudice because of her dark skin and Mexican heritage. Most of the other Mexicans in the area were migrant workers and were largely disdained by the rest of the population. This experience caused her to feel alone and scared, but also became one of the sources for her emerging artistic voice.

In 1958, she and her family moved to Boston, where her father took a teaching job at M.I.T. and Joan entered Boston University as a theater major. She hated school and eventually quit, but at about the same time discovered a love for the coffee-house scene. Her father had taken her to Tulla's Coffee Grinder, and from that first visit she knew she had found her niche. The folk music and intellectual atmosphere appealed to her, and she enjoyed its crowd as well. By the age of 19, after playing several Tuesday nights for \$10 a show at Club

47 in Harvard Square, she was discovered by singer Bob Gibson and asked to play with him at the 1959 Newport Folk Festival.

Baez released her eponymous debut in 1960 on the Vanguard label and toured to support it. The following year Vanguard released *Joan Baez—Volume 2*, and in 1962, *Joan Baez in Concert*. All of these first three albums earned Gold Record status. She toured campuses, refusing to play at any segregated venues, and rapidly gained star status. As the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War took center stage in American politics, the views expressed in her music became more strident. Her increasing presence earned her a place on the cover of *Time* in November 1962. Between 1962 and 1964 she headlined festivals, concert tours, and rallies in Washington, D.C., notably Martin Luther King's "March on Washington" in 1963, where she sang "We Shall Overcome." Baez was generally considered queen of the folk scene, with Bob Dylan as king.

Famous for her commitment to nonviolence, inspired both by her Quaker faith and her readings of Ghandi, Baez went to jail twice in 1968 for protesting the draft. That year, she also married antiwar activist David Harris. She played the Woodstock festival while



Joan Baez

pregnant with her only son, Gabriel, the following year. Divorced in 1972, the couple had spent most of their marriage apart from each other, either in jail, on concert tour, or protesting.

While her albums had sold well, Baez didn't have a top-ten hit on the singles chart until 1971, when she hit with a cover of The Band's "The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down." Her interest in nonviolence never waning, Baez visited Hanoi on a musical tour in 1972, and recorded her experience on 1973 album, *Where Are You Now, My Son?* A total of 18 of her albums were released in the 1970s. The bestseller among these was the 1975 album, *Diamonds and Rust*. The album contained some of the first songs penned by Baez, and more of a rock attitude as well.

In the 1980s, Baez continued her interest in social and political causes, including disarmament, anti-apartheid, prisoners of conscience, and hunger. Her appearance at Live Aid was said to have given the proceedings a certain authority and authenticity: her long career as a folk singer and activist was well-known and respected, even by younger generations. In the 1990s Baez continued to make music, releasing *Play Me Backwards* in 1992. The album featured Baez's performances of songs by Janis Ian and Mary-Chapin Carpenter. She performed a year later in war-torn Sarajevo. "The only thing people have left is morale," Baez said of her audiences there.

Baez's influence continues, and can be heard in the melodies of contemporary singer-songwriter female performers like Tracy Chapman, Suzanne Vega, the Indigo Girls, and Jewel. In 1998, the Martin Guitar Company produced a limited edition Joan Baez guitar with a facsimile of a note scribbled on the inside soundboard of Joan's own guitar. The note, written by a repairman in the 1970s, read, "Too bad

you are a Communist!" Perhaps a more fitting quote would have been Baez's own comment: "Action is the antidote to despair."

—Emily Pettigrew

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## Bagels

Round, with a hole in the middle, the bagel is made with high gluten flour and is boiled before it is baked creating a crispy outer crust and a chewy inside. Brought to the United States by Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe during the 1900s-1920s, the bagel has become a popular food. From 1960-1990, consumption of bagels has skyrocketed throughout the United States with the invention of mass marketed frozen bagels and the addition of flavors such as blueberry. Bagel purists, however, insist that they are best when eaten fresh and plain.

—S. Naomi Finkelstein

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## Baker, Josephine (1906-1975)

On stage, Josephine Baker epitomized the flamboyant and risqué entertainment of the Jazz Age. Her overtly erotic *danse sauvage*, her exotic costumes of feathers and bananas, and her ability to replicate the rhythms of jazz through contortions of her body made the young African American dancer one of the most original and controversial performers of the 1920s. From her Parisian debut in 1925, Baker rocked middle-class sensibilities and helped usher in a new era in popular culture. In the words of newspaperwoman and cultural critic Janet Flanner, Baker's "magnificent dark body, a new model to the French, proved for the first time that black was beautiful." Off stage, Baker's decadent antics and uncanny ability to market herself helped to transform her into one of the first popular celebrities to build an international, mass appeal which cut across classes and cultures.

For a woman who would end her life with one of the most recognized faces in the world, Baker's beginnings were inauspicious. She was born Josephine Freda McDonald in the slums of St. Louis, Missouri, on June 3, 1906 and, according to her own accounts, grew up "sleeping in cardboard shelters and scavenging for food in garbage cans." She left home at the age of thirteen, married and divorced, and went to work as a waitress. By sixteen she had joined the Jones Family Band and was scraping out an income as part of a minor act in black vaudeville. Her ungainly appearance and dark skin made her a comic figure. Even after her New York debut as a chorus girl in *Shuffle Along*, a popular musical review, Baker's talents remained unrecognized. The young dancer's career changed dramatically when she accompanied *La Revue Nègre* to France in 1925. In New York, her ebony features had earned her the contempt of audiences partial to light-skinned blacks; in Paris, her self-styled "exotic" beauty made her an instant sensation. Her *danse sauvage*, sensual and frenetic, both shocked and charmed Parisian audiences. She grew increasingly daring when she earned lead billing at the Folies-Bergère and performed her exotic jazz dances seminude to popular acclaim. Her antics soon attracted the attention of such artistic luminaries as Pablo Picasso and Man Ray. In a Western Europe recovering from the disruptions of the First World War, Baker's untamed style came to embody for many observers the pure and primitive beauty of the non-Western world.

Baker thrived on the controversy surrounding her routine. She coveted the appreciation of her numerous fans and, in an effort to promote herself, adopted many of the mass-market tactics that soon became the hallmarks of most popular celebrities. She encouraged the dissemination of her image through such products as Josephine Baker dolls and hired a press agent to answer her fan mail. She also exposed her private life to the public, writing one of the first tell-all biographies; she invited reporters into her home to photograph her with her "pet" tiger and to admire her performing daily chores in her stage costumes. The line between Baker the performer and Baker the private individual soon blurred—increasing her popularity and creating an international Josephine Baker cult of appreciation. In the early 1930s, Baker embarked on a second career as a singer and actress. Her films, *Zou-Zou* and *Princess Tam-Tam*, proved mildly successful. Yet by 1935 the Josephine Baker craze in Europe had come to an end and the twenty-nine year old dancer returned to the United States to attempt to repeat in New York what she had done in Paris. She flopped miserably. Her *danse sauvage* found no place in depression-era America and white audiences proved to be overtly hostile to a black woman of Baker's sophistication and flamboyance. She returned to France, retired to the countryside, and exited public life. She became a French citizen in 1937.

The second half of Baker's life was defined both by personal misfortune and public service. She engaged in espionage work for the French Resistance during World War II, then entered the Civil Rights crusade, and finally devoted herself to the plight of impoverished children. She adopted twelve orphans of different ethnic backgrounds and gained some public attention in her later years as the matron of her "Rainbow Tribe." At the same time, Baker's personal intrigues continued to cloud her reputation. She exhausted four marriages and offered public praise for right-wing dictators Juan Perón and Benito Mussolini. What little support she had in the American media collapsed in 1951 after a public feud with columnist Walter Winchell. In 1973, financial difficulties forced her to return to the stage. She died in Paris on April 12, 1975.

Few performers can claim to be more "of an age" than Josephine Baker. Her star, rising so rapidly during the 1920s and then collapsing in the wake of World War II, paralleled the emergence of the wild, free-spirited culture of the Jazz Age. Her self-promotion tactics made her one of the first popular celebrities; these tactics were later copied by such international figures as Charles Lindbergh, Charlie Chaplin, and Marlene Dietrich. Yet it was Baker's ability to tap into the pulsing undercurrents of 1920s culture that made her a sensation. Picasso once said that Baker possessed "a smile to end all smiles"; it should be added, to her credit, that she knew how to use it.

—Jacob M. Appel

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## Baker, Ray Stannard (1870-1946)

Ray Stannard Baker became both a leading muckraking journalist of the Progressive era and an acclaimed writer of nonfiction books and pastoral prose. A native of Michigan, he worked as a reporter for the *Chicago Record* from 1892 to 1897 and joined the staff of the innovative and popular *McClure's* magazine in 1898. His influential articles, including "The Right to Work" (1903) and "The Railroads on Trial" (1905-1906), helped make the magazine the nation's foremost muckraking journal. Known for his fair-mindedness, Baker exposed both union and corporate malfeasance. In 1906 he helped form the *American Magazine*, also devoted to progressive causes, and co-edited it until 1916. From 1906 to 1942, under the pseudonym of David Grayson, Baker wrote an extremely popular series of novels celebrating the rural life. He was awarded a Pulitzer Prize in 1940 for his eight-volume biography of Woodrow Wilson.

—Daniel Lindley

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## **Bakker, Jim (1940—), and Tammy Faye (1942—)**

Husband and wife televangelist team Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker became a prominent part of American popular culture in the late 1980s when their vast PTL ministry was hit by scandal and accounts of fraud. The Bakker affair—and the activities of other TV preachers in the news at the time—inspired a popular reaction against TV preachers, and, fairly or unfairly, the Bakkers were seen as the embodiment of eighties materialist excess and Elmer Gantry-like religious hypocrisy. A country song by Ray Stevens summed up the popular feeling with the title “Would Jesus Wear a Rolex on His Television Show?”

Raised in Michigan, Jim Bakker received religious training at North Central Bible College in Minneapolis. There he met fellow student Tammy Faye LaValley, who, like Bakker, was raised in the

Pentecostal tradition. The two were married and traveled the country as itinerant evangelists until 1965, when they went to work for Virginia television preacher (and 1988 presidential candidate) Pat Robertson, on whose station Jim Bakker established *The 700 Club*. (Robertson continued this show after Bakker left.)

After leaving Robertson’s operation in 1972, the Bakkers started a new TV program, *The PTL Club*, on the Trinity Broadcasting Network in California. In 1974, after a quarrel with the network, the Bakkers moved to Charlotte, North Carolina, to broadcast the show on their own. Jim Bakker established a Christian theme park south of Charlotte called Heritage USA, which attracted fundamentalist Christians who came to pray and to enjoy themselves. There was a water slide as well as several shops selling Christian tapes, records, books, and action figures. *The PTL Club* was broadcast from Heritage USA to what became a large national audience.

“PTL” could stand for “Praise the Lord” or “People That Love”: Bakker established many People That Love Centers where the poor could get free clothes, food, and furniture. To some of the Bakkers’ detractors, however, “PTL” stood for “Pass the Loot,” an allusion to the Bakkers’ frequent and often lachrymose fund-raising appeals on the air and to their lavish lifestyle (including, it was later disclosed, an air-conditioned doghouse for their dog). Describing a visit he made in 1987, journalist P. J. O’Rourke said that being at



**Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker**



Heritage USA “was like being in the First Church of Christ Hanging Out at the Mall.”

In 1979, the Federal Communications Commission began an investigation of PTL for questionable fund-raising tactics. In 1982, the FCC decided to take no further action in the case, provided that PTL sold its single TV station. This did not stop PTL from broadcasting on cable TV or from buying TV time on other stations, so the FCC action had no significant effect on PTL’s operations. In 1986, the year before everything fell apart, PTL was raising \$10 million a month, according to a subsequent audit.

A virtual tsunami of scandal hit the PTL ministry in 1987. Thanks in part to the efforts of an anti-Bakker preacher named Jimmy Swaggart and of the *Charlotte Observer* newspaper (which won a Pulitzer Prize for its coverage of the Bakker matter), a lurid scandal was uncovered at PTL. In 1980, Jim Bakker had a tryst with a church secretary named Jessica Hahn. PTL later gave money to Hahn in what looked like a payoff. In the wake of this revelation, Bakker turned PTL over to Jerry Falwell, a nationally known TV evangelist and political figure. Bakker later claimed that the handover was only meant to be temporary. Falwell denied this and took full control of PTL. PTL soon filed for bankruptcy; it ultimately was taken over by a group of Malaysian Christians.

This was only the beginning. The Pentecostal Assemblies of God, which had ordained Bakker, defrocked him. The IRS retroactively revoked PTL’s tax exemption, ordering the payment of back taxes and penalties. In December of 1988, Jim Bakker was indicted by a federal grand jury on several counts of fraud and conspiracy. These charges centered around Bakker’s promotion of an arrangement by which viewers who contributed a certain amount of money to PTL would be given “partnerships” entitling them to stay for free at Heritage USA. According to the prosecution, Bakker had lied to his TV viewers by understating the number of partnerships he had sold, that he had overbooked the hotels where the partners were supposed to stay during their visits, and that he had diverted partners’ money into general PTL expenses (including the Hahn payoff) after promising that the money would be used to complete one of the hotels where the partners would stay. The jury convicted Bakker, who went to prison from 1989 to 1994. In a civil case brought by disgruntled partners, Bakker was found liable for common law fraud in 1990. Another civil jury, however, found in Bakker’s favor in 1996 in a claim of securities fraud.

Meanwhile, Bakker foe Jimmy Swaggart was caught in a sex scandal, and evangelist Oral Roberts said that he would die unless his viewers sent him enough money.

While her husband was in prison, Tammy Faye tried to continue his ministry, but she finally divorced him and married Roe Messner, a contractor for church-building projects who had done much of the work at Heritage USA. She briefly had a talk show on the Fox network. Roe Messner was convicted of bankruptcy fraud in 1996.

—Eric Longley

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## Balanchine, George (1904-1983)

The greatest choreographer of the twentieth century, George Balanchine transformed and modernized the classic tradition of Russian ballet. A graduate of the imperial St. Petersburg ballet academy, he left Russia in 1924 and soon became the resident choreographer for Diaghilev’s Ballet Russes. Brought to the U.S. by the wealthy young impresario, Lincoln Kirstein, in 1933, together they founded the School of American Ballet and later, in 1948, the New York City Ballet. Until 1948 Balanchine choreographed a number of successful Broadway musicals and Hollywood movies. Eschewing traditional ballet story lines, Balanchine created a series of unprecedented masterpieces, his “black and white” ballets—so called because the dancers wear only their practice clothes—*Apollo* (Stravinsky), *Agon* (Stravinsky), *Concerto Barocco* (Bach), *The Four Temperaments* (Hindemith), and *Symphony in Three Movements* (Stravinsky). They share the stage with rousing and colorful dances based on folk and popular music like *Stars and Stripes* (John Philip Sousa), *Western Symphony*, and *Who Cares?* (Gershwin).

—Jeffrey Escoffier

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## Baldwin, James (1924-1987)

James Baldwin’s impact on the American consciousness was twofold: as an author, his accounts of his experiences struck a cord with his readers; as an activist, his vision and abilities helped fuel the Civil Rights Movement. A gifted writer, he began his career immersed in artistic expression for the pleasure it offered. By the 1960s, however, he began to pen influential political essays, and by the end of his life he had evolved into one of the twentieth century’s most politically charged writers decrying racism in all of its ugly forms.

Born in Harlem to a single mother who was a factory worker, James Baldwin was the first of nine children. Soon after his birth his mother married a clergyman, David Baldwin, who influenced the young James and encouraged him to read and write. He began his career as a storefront preacher while still in his adolescence. In 1942, after graduating from high school, he moved to New Jersey to begin working on the railroads. In *Notes of a Native Son* he described his experiences working as well as the deterioration and death of his stepfather, who was buried on the young Baldwin’s nineteenth birthday. In 1944 he moved back to New York and settled in Greenwich Village where he met Richard Wright and began to work on his first novel, *In My Father’s House*. In the late 1940s he wrote for *The Nation*, *The New Leader*, and *Partisan Review*. In 1948, disgusted with race relations in the United States, he moved to Paris where he



George Balanchine (center), working with a dancer.

lived, on and off, for the rest of his life. In 1953, he finished his most important novel, *Go Tell It on the Mountain*, a semi-autobiographical account of his youth. Baldwin received a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1954 and the following year published *Giovanni's Room*. He is also the author of several plays, including *The Amen Corner* and *Blues for Mr. Charlie*.

During the 1960s, Baldwin returned to the United States and became politically active in the Civil Rights Movement. In 1961, his essay collection *Nobody Knows My Name* won him numerous recognitions and awards. In 1963 he published *The Fire Next Time*, a book-length essay that lifted him into international fame and recognition. This work represents such a watershed event in his life that many scholars divide his career between “before” and “after” the publication of *The Fire Next Time*.

Before 1963, Baldwin had embraced an “art for art’s sake” philosophy and was critical of writers like Richard Wright for their politically-charged works. He did not believe that writers needed to use their writing as a protest tool. After 1963 and the publication of his long essay, however, he became militant in his political activism and

as a gay-rights activist. He passionately criticized the Vietnam War, and accused Richard Nixon and J. Edgar Hoover of plotting the genocide of all people of color. Comparing the Civil Rights Movement to the independence movements in Africa and Asia, he drew the attention of the Kennedys. Robert Kennedy requested his advice on how to deal with the Birmingham, Alabama riots and tried to intimidate him by getting his dossier from Hoover.

In 1968, Baldwin published *Tell Me How Long the Train’s Been Gone*, an account of American racism, bitter and incisive. *No Name in the Street* (1972) predicted the downfall of Euro-centrism and observed that only a revolution could solve the problem of American racism. In 1985, he published *The Evidence of Things Not Seen*, an analysis of the Atlanta child murders of 1979 and 1980.

During the last decade of his life Baldwin taught at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and at Hampshire College, commuting between the United States and France. He died in 1987 at his home in St. Paul de Vence, France.

—Beatriz Badikian

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## Ball, Lucille (1911-1989)

Almost fifty years after *I Love Lucy* first aired on television, the image of “Lucy” is still omnipresent in U.S. culture. In movies, on television, and emblazoned on various merchandise such as lunchboxes, dolls, piggybanks, and calendars, the zany redhead with the elastic face is an industrial and cultural institution. But beyond simply an image, Lucille Ball was, without a doubt, the first woman of television and the most adored American female comic of the twentieth century. However, the comedienne’s struggling years as a model, dancer, and “B” movie actress are often forgotten in the light of her international fame that came at the age of 40.

As a 15-year-old Ball left her family in upstate New York to study acting in Manhattan. Although she acquired skills in acting, dancing, and modeling, she did not find any real success until she landed a job as a chorus girl in Eddie Cantor’s 1933 film *Roman Scandals*. A talented and beautiful woman with a slim body and large blue eyes, Ball’s star potential was recognized by a number of studios. Goldwyn was the first to sign her as a contract player after her turn in Cantor’s film. Disappointed by the bit parts with little to no dialogue offered by Goldwyn, Ball soon left for RKO where her 1937 performance in *Stage Door* with Katherine Hepburn attracted the attention of studio heads. Consequently over the next few years, Ball won significant roles in films such as *Go Chase Yourself* (1938), *Too Many Girls* (1940), and *The Big Street* (1942), carving out a small career for herself in “B” pictures. She also found her future husband, Desi Arnaz, during her time in Hollywood when she starred alongside him in the film *Too Many Girls* (1940). Yet, by the mid-1940s, after switching studios once again (this time to MGM), it became apparent to both Ball and her studio that she did not fit the mold of a popular musical star or romantic leading lady. So, the platinum blonde glamour girl began the process of remaking herself into a feisty red-headed comedienne.

In 1948, Ball was cast as Liz Cooper, a high society housewife on CBS radio’s situation comedy *My Favorite Husband*—a role that would help form the basis of her “Lucy” character. The show attracted a significant following and CBS offered Ball the opportunity to star in a television version of the program in 1950. But, concerned with what damage the new job might do to her already tenuous marriage, Ball insisted that Arnaz be cast as her on-screen husband. Network executives initially balked at the idea claiming that Arnaz lacked the talent and other qualities necessary to television stardom. However, after Ball rejected CBS’s offer and took her and Arnaz’s act on the vaudeville circuit to critical acclaim, the network finally backed down agreeing to sign the couple to play Lucy and Ricky Ricardo. But, Arnaz and Ball were able to finagle not only contracts as co-stars, but they also procured ownership of the programs after their initial airing. The unexpectedly large profits that came from the show’s syndication, foreign rights, and re-runs enabled the couple to



**James Baldwin**

form their own production company, Desilu, which eventually produced such hit shows as *Our Miss Brooks*, *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, and *The Untouchables*.

On October 15, 1951 *I Love Lucy* was broadcast for the first time. The show focused primarily on the antics of Lucy, a frustrated housewife longing to break into show business and her husband Ricky, a moderately successful Cuban bandleader. Supported by co-stars William Frawley and Vivian Vance, playing the Ricardo’s best friends and neighbors, along with the talents of *My Favorite Husband* writers Jess Oppenheimer, Carroll Carroll, and Madelyn Pugh, Ball and Arnaz’s program quickly topped the ratings. Much of *I Love Lucy*’s success was credited to Ball’s incredible timing and endlessly fascinating physical finesse. Able to project both the glamour of a former film star as well as the goofy incompetence of an ordinary (albeit zany) housewife, Ball proved that vaudeville routines could be incorporated into a domestic setting and that a female comedian could be both feminine and aggressively physical. She accomplished this, at least in part, by choreographing every move of her slapstick performances and accumulating a series of goofy facial expressions that were eventually cataloged by the writings staff under such cues as “light bulb,” “puddling up,” “small rabbit,” and “foiled again.”



**Lucille Ball**

In the spring of 1952, *I Love Lucy* set a rating record of 71.8 when Ball's real-life cesarean delivery of her and Arnaz's son occurred on the same day as the on-air birth of Lucy Ricardo's "little Ricky." Expertly exploiting the viewer's conflation of Ball and Arnaz's private life with that of the Ricardo's, the couple managed to achieve television super stardom through the event and appeared on the covers of *Time*, *Life*, and *Look* with their son and daughter (Lucille Arnaz was born in 1951) over the next year. But, not all the press attention was positive. Accused of being a communist in 1953, Ball was one of the only film or television stars to survive the machinations of the HUAC investigations. Explaining that she registered as a communist in 1936 in order to please her ailing socialist grandfather, she claimed that she was never actually a supporter of the communist party. Thousands of fans wrote to Ball giving her their support and the committee eventually backed down announcing that they had no real evidence of her affiliation with the party. The crisis passed quickly and Lucy remained the most popular comedienne of the 1950s.

After divorcing Arnaz in 1960 and buying out his share of Desilu, Ball became the first woman to control her own television production studio. During the 1960s she produced and starred in *The Lucy-Desi Comedy Hour*, *The Lucy Show*, and *Here's Lucy*. By the mid-1970s she had begun to appear in television specials and made-for-television movies, and by 1985 had garnered critical praise for her portrayal of a homeless woman in the drama *Stone Pillow*. But it was her brilliantly silly, mayhem-making Lucy character that lingered in the minds (and merchandise) of generations of television audiences even after her death in 1989.

—Sue Murray

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## Ballard, Hank (1936—)

Hank Ballard's distinctive tenor voice and knack for writing catchy, blues-flavored pop songs made him one of the living legends of rock 'n' roll, even as his notoriously earthy lyrics made him one of its most controversial figures. Born in Detroit on November 18, 1936, Ballard was orphaned at an early age. He was sent to Bessemer, Alabama, to live with relatives, and during these years he acquired his initial singing experience, performing gospel songs in church. This gospel edge would later characterize some of Ballard's best work, including the hit ballad "Teardrops on Your Letter."

Ballard returned to Detroit at age 15 to work on the Ford Motor Company assembly line. Inspired by rhythm and blues singers like the Dominoes' Clyde McPhatter, Ballard also joined a doo-wop outfit called the Royals. Although the Royals had already established themselves as a reasonably successful group, scoring a minor hit on Federal Records with their version of Johnny Otis' "Every Beat of My Heart," it was their acquisition of Ballard that would define their future style and sound. The group's next recording, a Ballard original entitled "Get It," was released in late 1953, and received as much attention for its "quite erotic" lyrics as it did for its musical qualities.

In early 1954, Federal Records acquired another, better known Rhythm and Blues group called the Five Royales, who had already produced a string of hits on the Apollo label. In an effort to avoid confusion, Federal president Syd Nathan changed the name of Ballard's group to the Midnighters (later Hank Ballard and the Midnighters). The newly-christened Midnighters subsequently produced their most important and influential song, "Work With Me Annie." With its raunchy, double-entendre lyrics, including lines like "Annie, please don't cheat/Give me all my meat," the hit single helped to fuel a firestorm of controversy over explicit lyrics (*Variety* magazine columnist Abel Green referred to them as "leer-ics" in a string of editorials). Enjoying their newfound popularity, the Midnighters, in the tradition established by country musicians, cut several "answers" to their hit, including "Annie Had a Baby" and later "Annie's Aunt Fannie." Other groups joined in the act, with the El Dorados producing "Annie's Answer" for the Vee Jay label, while the Platters mined similar terrain with "Maggie Doesn't Work Here Anymore." Eventually, the entire "Annie" series, along with two dozen other "erotic" Rhythm and Blues songs, was banned from radio airwaves virtually nationwide.



**Hank Ballard**

A few years later, Ballard matched new lyrics to a melody that he had first used on a Midnighters flop entitled “Is Your Love for Real?”, and produced “The Twist.” Dissatisfied with Federal’s management of the group, Ballard took his new song to Vee-Jay Records, and later to King Records, which finally released it as the B-side of the ballad “Teardrops on Your Letter.” American Bandstand host Dick Clark liked the tune enough to finance a rerecording by Ernest Evans (a.k.a. Chubby Checker), who took the tune to the top of the pop charts not once but twice, in 1960 and 1962. Checker’s version emulated Ballard’s to such a degree that Ballard, upon first hearing it, believed it was his own.

The Midnighters continued to experience chart action; at one point in 1960, they had three singles on the pop chart simultaneously. In 1961, however, Ballard elected to pursue a career as a solo act, and the Midnighters disbanded. Thereafter, Ballard found very little success, although he made the Rhythm and Blues charts in 1968 and 1972 with “How You Gonna Get Respect (If You Haven’t Cut Your Process Yet)?” and “From the Love Side,” respectively. After a long break from performing, Ballard formed a new “Midnighters” group in the mid-1980s and resumed his career. He also made special appearances with well known rock and blues artists, including guitarist Stevie Ray Vaughan, who in 1985 covered Ballard’s “Look at Little Sister” on his critically-acclaimed album *Soul to Soul*. Ballard was among the first inductees into the Rock ‘n’ Roll Hall of Fame in 1990. In 1993, he released a “comeback” album entitled *Naked in the Rain*.

—Marc R. Sykes

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## Ballet

Classical ballet is a form of theatrical entertainment that originated among the aristocracy of the sixteenth and seventeenth century royal court of France. In its original form it was performed by trained dancers as well as by members of the court themselves. The stories told in the ballet performances were usually based on mythical or allegorical themes. They contained no dialogue, but instead relied on pantomime to convey character, plot, and action. From its earliest days, ballets incorporated lavish costumes, scenery, and music. Although ballet dance performance often incorporated courtly ballroom dances, and even folk dances, it was organized around five basic dance positions—feet and arms rotated outward from the body with limbs extended. These positions maximize the visibility of the dancer’s movements to the audience and thus serve as the grammar of ballet’s language of communication.

The foundations of ballet were firmly established when King Louis XIV created a special dancing academy in order to train dancers for the court’s ballets. That school continues to operate today as the school of the Paris Opera Ballet. During the nineteenth century French-trained ballet masters and dancers established vigorous dance companies and schools in Copenhagen and St. Petersburg. During this time Russia’s Imperial ballet attracted several of the century’s most talented ballet masters. The last of them, and the greatest, was Marius Petipa, who created the great classic works that define the Russian ballet tradition: *Le Cosaire*, *Don Quixote*, *La Bayadere*, *Swan Lake*, *Sleeping Beauty*, and *Raymonda*. All of these works are still in the repertory of ballet companies at the end of the twentieth-century, more than one hundred years later. Almost all of the great ballet companies of the late twentieth century are descended from the Imperial Russian ballet.

Serge Diaghilev’s Ballets Russes, which employed many dancers and teachers trained at the Imperial Ballet and exiled by the Russian revolution, was absolutely key to the transformation of ballet from a court-sponsored elite entertainment into a commercially viable art form with a popular following. Diaghilev and his company forged a synthesis of modern art and music that revolutionized ballet in the twentieth century. Diaghilev mounted modernist spectacles using music and scenic design by the most important modern composers and artists: Igor Stravinsky, Claude Debussy, Maurice Ravel, Eric Satie, Serge Prokofiev, Pablo Picasso, Giorgio de Chirico, Joan Miro, Juan Gris, Georges Braque, and George Rouault. Among the company’s brilliant dancers was Vaslav Nijinsky, probably one of greatest male dancers of century, but also an original choreographer. In ballets like *L’Après-midi d’un faune* and *Jeux*, with music by Debussy, and *Le Sacre du Printemps*, with music by Stravinsky, Nijinsky created radical works that broke with the Russian tradition of Petipa and which relied upon an unorthodox movement vocabulary and a shallow stage space. The world famous 1912 premiere of Stravinsky’s *Le Sacre du Printemps*, choreographed by Nijinsky, provoked a riot



Ballet stars Michael Shannon and Olga Suvorova perform a pas-de-deux from *Corsair* by A. Adan.

among its stuffy bourgeois audience and is considered one of the great events marking the arrival of modernist art.

The United States had no classic ballet tradition of its own. Instead, many strains of vernacular and ethnic dances flourished, such as square dances which were adapted from English folk dances. There were also many vigorous forms of social dancing, particularly the styles of dancing which emerged from jazz and black communities, such as jitterbug and swing. Popular theatrical entertainment and vaudeville also drew on vernacular forms like tap dancing. One new form of theatrical dance that emerged around the turn of the century was modern dance, inspired by Isadora Duncan and developed by dancers and choreographers Ruth Denis, Ted Shawn, and Martha Graham. It has remained a vital theatrical dance tradition up until the present with Paul Taylor, Twyla Tharp, and Mark Morris among its most noted contemporary practitioners.

The New York appearance in 1916 of Diaghilev's Ballets Russes marks the most important step towards the popularization of ballet in the United States. Two of the greatest dancers of the early twentieth century—Vaslav Nijinsky and Anna Pavlova—danced in the United States during those years. Nothing much of import occurred until 1933, when Lincoln Kirstein, a wealthy young admirer of ballet who was visiting Paris, invited George Balanchine to come to the United States and help establish ballet there. Balanchine accepted Kirstein's invitation only if they established "first, a school." Their School of American Ballet opened in 1934. Kirstein and Balanchine's School was an important link in the popularization of ballet in the United States. In 1913 Willa Cather had lamented that

"we have had no dancers because we had no schools." European dancers—among them some of the greatest of their era, such as Fanny Essler—had been coming to the United States since the early nineteenth century. Many of them settled down to privately teach young American girls, because ballet at the time was centered primarily on the ballerina. However no one had a greater influence than the great Russian ballerina, Anna Pavlova, and her partner, Mikhail Mordkin, who starting in 1910 spent 15 years performing and teaching ballet in almost every corner of the country. The appeal of ballet and its cultural prestige had been consolidated by New York's rapturous response in 1916 to Diaghilev's Ballet Russes. In 1933 the founding of the School of American Ballet with its network of scouts, scouring small-town and regional ballet classes, created the foundations for the development of native-born American dancers.

Beginning in 1935 Kirstein and Balanchine went on to form the first of the many unsuccessful companies that eventually solidified into a stable company in 1948 as the New York City Ballet. Meanwhile another group, led by Richard Pleasants and Lucia Chase, was also trying to establish a permanent ballet company; they succeeded in 1939 by setting up the American Ballet Theatre (ABT). Since the 1930s these two companies have dominated ballet in the United States. Both companies employed many of the Russian dancers, choreographers, and teachers displaced by revolution and world war. American Ballet Theater has a long tradition of performing the great romantic ballets—such as *Swan Lake*, *Giselle*, and *Sleeping Beauty*—created for the European audiences of the late nineteenth century. George Balanchine's New York City Ballet, on the other hand, was almost exclusively the showcase for his original work, which rejected the narrative conventions of romantic ballet for a modern approach that emphasized musicality, speed, and a deep stage space.

During the 1970s ballet and modern dance in the United States were the beneficiaries of a wave of popularity which resulted in many new dance companies being founded in cities and communities throughout the country. The same period was also marked by the increasing amount of crossover activity between modern dance and ballet on the part of choreographers and dancers. Although the dance boom (and the funding that supported it) has partially receded both ballet and modern dance remain a vital form of cultural activity and popular entertainment.

—Jeffrey Escoffier

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## Bambaataa, Afrika (1960—)

A Bronx, New York-based disc jockey (DJ) in the mid-1970s and the creator of a few popular hip-hop songs in the early 1980s, Afrika Bambaataa is one of the most important figures in the development of hip-hop music. Born April 10, 1960, Bambaataa developed a following in the mid-1970s by DJ-ing at events that led to

the evolution of hip-hop music as it is known today. At these events, dancers developed a unique style of dancing called breakdancing, the rhythmic vocal style called rapping was cultivated, and DJs such as Bambaataa, Kool DJ Herc, and Grandmaster Flash demonstrated how turntables could be used as a musical instrument. In 1982, Bambaataa had a big hit in the *Billboard* Black charts with his single “Planet Rock.”

—Kembrew McLeod

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## The Band

“They brought us in touch with the place where we all had to live,” Greil Marcus wrote in *Mystery Train*. Thirty years after The Band’s first appearance on the international music-scene toward the



The Band

end of the 1960s, Marcus’ words still ring true. More than that of any other group, The Band’s work represents America at its sincerest, the diversity of its musical heritage, the vividness of its culture, and the lasting attraction of its history. Marcus noted that “against the instant America of the sixties they looked for the traditions that made new things not only possible, but valuable; against a flight from roots they set a sense of place. Against the pop scene, all flux and novelty, they set themselves: a band with years behind it, and meant to last.” Last they certainly did.

Having started off as backing musicians (The Hawks) to rockabilly veteran Ronnie Hawkins, Rick Danko (1943—), Garth Hudson (1937—), Levon Helm (1942—), Richard Manuel (1944–1986), and Jaime ‘Robbie’ Robertson (1944—) played their first gigs in 1964 as an independent group called Levon and the Hawks. As this group they recorded a couple of singles that went largely unnoticed. Chance came their way though, when they met with Albert Grossman, Bob Dylan’s manager at the time. Grossman felt that Levon and the Hawks might well be the backing group Dylan was on the look-out for after his legendary first electric appearance at the Newport Folk Festival in 1965. After having met and played with him, the group joined Dylan in 1966 for a tour that took them through the United States, and later to Australia and England.

Back in the States in the summer of 1966, they moved to the area around Woodstock—without Levon Helm, though, who had left the tour after two months. There, in Saugerties, New York, they rented a big pink house (appropriately named ‘Big Pink’), in the basement of which they recorded well over a hundred songs with Dylan, who at the time was recovering from a serious motorcycle accident. Some twenty of these songs were later released on *The Basement Tapes* (1975). The sessions in the basement of ‘Big Pink’ must have made clear to Robertson, Danko, Hudson and Manuel that their musical talents and the originality of their sound were considerable enough to enable them to make it without Dylan. After Albert Grossman cut them a record deal with Capitol, Levon Helm returned to the group and together they recorded *Music from Big Pink*, still one of the all-time great debuts in the history of popular music. Upon the album’s release in August 1968, both the critics and the public realized that something unique had come their way. *Music from Big Pink* confirmed the uniqueness of the group’s sound—a highly individual blend of the most varied brands of American popular music: gospel, country, rhythm and blues, rockabilly, New Orleans jazz, etc. But it also set the themes which The Band (for this was what they had finally decided on as a name) would explore in albums to come.

Most of the songs on the album, three of which were written by Dylan, are set in the rural South. They belong to a tradition long gone, yet the revival of which the members of The Band considered to be beneficial to a country that yearned for a change but did not really know where to look for it. The songs of The Band should not be taken as nostalgic pleas for the past, for the simpler things in life or for values long lost and gone. The characters in the songs of *Music from Big Pink* and later albums are in no way successful romantic heroes who have truly found themselves. They are flesh-and-blood people, loners, burdened with guilt, and torn up by love and heartache.

Compared to most albums to come out of the wave of psychedelic rock at the end of the 1960s, the music of The Band was anything but typical of its era. It is a pleasant irony, therefore, that The Band’s records have aged so easily, while those of contemporaries like Jefferson Airplane or Country Joe and the Fish already sounded dated a couple of years after their release. From the beginning, the music of

The Band—an idiosyncratic combination of several voices (Manuel, Danko, Helm), Robbie Robertson's guitar, the drums of Levon Helm, and the organ of musical wizard Garth Hudson—is full of seeming contradictions that somehow blend into a harmonious whole. The music is playful yet serious, soulful yet deliberate, traditional yet rebellious, harmonic yet syncopated.

The group's second album, *The Band* (1969), is generally rated as better than its predecessor, representing The Band at its best. The record shows that the group found their idiom, both lyrically and musically. From this album Robertson emerged as the most prominent member of the group; not only did he write most of the songs, but also he also looked after The Band's financial interests. There can be little doubt that at the time The Band was both at its artistic and commercial zenith. In 1970 they made it to the cover of *Time* magazine and gave their first public performances. The latter soon made clear, however, that the group was at its best in the recording studio.

The title-track of The Band's third album, *Stage Fright* (1970), may be taken as a comment on the problems some members of the group had with performing live. The record was a new artistic success, though, very much like its follow-up, *Cahoots* (1971) which featured both Van Morrison and Allen Toussaint. The latter was also present on *Rock of Ages*, a double album which contains live versions of the Band's greatest songs. The next two years, 1972 and 1973 were all in all lost years for The Band. Life on the road and world-wide success began to take their toll. They recorded *Moondog Matinee*, a collection of all-time favorites from the years when they were touring with Ronnie Hawkins. The record has mainly to be seen as an attempt to mask a collective lack of inspiration, partly brought on by an equally collective over-consumption of alcohol and drugs. Then followed a large tour with Dylan (1973-1974), the recording of *Northern Lights, Southern Cross* (1975)—which contains some of the best Band-songs in years—and their legendary farewell performance in the Winterland Arena, San Francisco, on Thanksgiving 1976. The event is known as *The Last Waltz*: it features friends and colleagues like Ronnie Hawkins, Muddy Waters, Neil Young, Van Morrison, Joni Mitchell and, of course, Dylan. (The film-version, by Martin Scorsese, remains one of the best rock-movies ever made.)

After *The Last Waltz*, the members of The Band went their separate ways: some of them made solo-records (Robertson most notably), others starred in movies (Helm). In 1983 The Band reunited, without Robertson however. Since the self-inflicted death of Richard Manuel in 1986, the three remaining members of the original Band have recorded two albums on which they were joined by two new musicians. While it is obvious that the magic of the early years is gone forever, we are lucky that the music of The Band is still with us.

—Jurgen Pieters

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## Bara, Theda (1885?-1955)

Silent screen legend Theda Bara is synonymous with the term "vamp," a wicked woman of exotic sexual appeal who lures men into her web only to ruin them. Bara incarnated that type with her first film, *A Fool There Was* (1915), which attributed to her the famous line, "Kiss me, my fool." With that movie, her name changed from Theodosia to Theda, from Goodman to Bara (chosen as an anagram of Arab), and her star persona was launched. Considered the first movie star, Bara's biography and appearance were entirely manufactured by the studio. Publicized as having been born to a French actress beneath Egypt's Sphinx, the Cincinnati-native wore heavy eye make-up and risqué costumes, the most infamous, a snakeskin-coiled bra. She was the precursor to the femme fatale of 1940s film noir, and careers as diverse as those of Marilyn Monroe, Marlene Dietrich, and Madonna link back to Bara's.

—Elizabeth Haas

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## Baraka, Amiri (1934—)

Writer Amiri Baraka founded the 1960s Black Arts Movement, transforming white, liberal aesthetics into black nationalist poetics and politics. In 1967, he converted to Islam and changed his name from Leroi Jones to Amiri Baraka. His career can be divided in three stages: beatnik/bohemian (1957-1964), black nationalism (1965-1974), and Marxist revolutionary (1974-present). In 1960 he travelled to Cuba with a group of black artists. As a result, he grew disillusioned with the bohemian/beatnik atmosphere of Greenwich Village and began seeing the necessity of art as a political tool. The play *Dutchman* (1964) brought him into the public limelight, a one-act play about Clay, a young, black, educated man who, while riding the New York subway, is murdered by a beautiful white woman symbolizing white society. No American writer has been more committed to social justice than Amiri Baraka. He is dedicated to bringing the voices of black America into the fiber of his writings.

—Beatriz Badikian

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## Barbecue

Although the true source of barbecue is vague, its origin is most likely in the Southern region of the United States. A highly popular



food and important community and family ritual, various regions and interests have attempted to lay claim to what has become an industry throughout the country. One theory states that the word “barbecue” is a derivative of the West Indian term “barbacoa,” which entails the slow-cooking of meat over hot coals. While most Americans view a “barbecue” as any type of outdoor cooking over flames, purists, as well as regional and ethnic food experts, agree that real barbecue is a particular style of cooking meat, usually outdoors, with some kind of wood or charcoal burning apparatus. While pork is the only acceptable barbecue meat in many areas of the south, beef, fish, and even lamb are used in many other areas of the United States. Needless to say, barbecue of some variety is found in almost every culture of the world that cooks meat.

Techniques for judging good barbecue include a highly defended personal taste and the particular tradition of an area. Common to most barbecue are flavorings which adhere to the meat, slowly seeping into it; at the same time, the heat breaks down the fatty substances that might make meat tough and reduces it to tender morsels filled with flavor. Different types of woods—hickory and mesquite among them—are frequently used by amateur barbecue enthusiasts as an addendum to charcoal. Wood chips, however, will not really contribute any specific flavor to meat prepared over charcoal flames. The true beauty of the barbecue is when slow cooking turns what were once cheap, tough cuts of meat—like the brisket and ribs—into a tender and succulent meal.

Barbecue began, and still remains, at the center of many family and social gatherings. From “pig roasts” and “pig pulls” to the backyard barbecue of the suburbs, people have long gathered around the cooking of meat outdoors. Additionally, church and political barbecues are still a vital tradition in many parts of the South. Unlike most food related gatherings that take place indoors, men have traditionally been at the center of the cooking activity. The “pit men” who tended the fires of outdoor barbecue pits evolved into the weekend suburban husband attempting to reach culinary perfection though the outdoor grilling of chicken, steak, hamburgers, and hot dogs.

Despite the disappearance of many locally owned restaurants throughout the country due to the popularity of chain stores and franchises, regional varieties of barbecue can still be found in the late 1990s; pork ribs, for example, are more likely to be found in the Southern states and beef ribs and brisket dominates in states like Missouri and Texas. The popularization of traditional regional foods in the United States has contributed to the widespread availability of many previously isolated foods. Just as bagels, muffins, and cappuccino have become widely available; ribs, brisket, smoked sausages, and other varieties of barbecue can be found in most urban areas throughout the United States. Barbecue has clearly become more popular through franchises and chain restaurants which attempt to serve versions of ribs, pork loin, and brisket. But finding an “authentic” barbecue shack—where a recipe and technique for smoking has been developed over generations and handed down from father to son—requires consulting a variety of local sources in a particular area, and asking around town for a place where the local “flavor” has not been co-opted by the mass market.

—Jeff Ritter

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## Barber, Red (1908-1992)

Walter Lanier “Red” Barber was a pioneer in sports broadcasting on both radio and television. In 1934 Barber was hired by Larry MacPhail of the Cincinnati Reds to be their first play-by-play announcer. He was also a pioneer in college and professional football broadcasting. In Cincinnati Barber broadcast the first major league night game, and in 1935 he broadcast his first World Series.

Barber followed MacPhail to Brooklyn, and there he pioneered baseball on radio in New York. He was at the microphone for the first televised major league baseball game in 1939, and he was with the Dodgers when Jackie Robinson came to Brooklyn in 1947. In 1954 Barber moved to Yankee Stadium where he remained until 1966. He made the radio call of Roger Maris’s sixty-first home run.

Barber retired to Tallahassee, Florida, where he wrote seven books, and began a second career as commentator on National Public Radio’s Morning Edition in 1981. His popular Friday morning conversations with host Bob Edwards covered a wide range of topics, from his garden, to sports, to the foibles of humanity.

—Richard C. Crepeau

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## Barbershop Quartets

Barbershop quartets, a type of music group fashionable in early twentieth-century America, had a dramatic influence on American popular music styles. The sweet, close harmony of the quartets, the arrangement of voice parts, and their improvisational nature were all influences in the development of doo-wop (already heavily improvisational in form) as well as pre-rock group singing, close-harmony rock groups of the 1950s and 1960s like the Beach Boys and the teenaged “girl groups,” and in the later development of background groups and their vocal arrangements.

A barbershop quartet is any four-person vocal music group that performs a cappella, without instrumental accompaniment—the popular American music of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Each member of the quartet sings a particular voice part. One person in the group is considered the lead and sings the melody around which



A barbershop quartet, performing at the Buckeye Invitational in Ohio.

the other members base their harmonies. The tenor sings a harmony placed above the melody, while the bass sings the lowest harmony below the melody line. The baritone completes the chord structure by singing a harmony either below the melody but above the bass line, or above the melody but below the tenor line. The three voices singing in support of the lead traditionally sing one complete chord for every note in the melody, though there is, in this mode of singing, a wide array of styles and arrangement patterns.

The barbershop style of singing has its roots in an old American pastime known as “woodshedding,” in which one person would lead a group in song by taking up the melody of a popular tune, and the rest of the group would then improvise harmonies to that melody. Before the appearance of television, barbershops were important meeting places for men in America. Unlike bars and taverns, barbershops were well respected in each community and provided a social forum for men of all ages. Grandfathers, married, and single men, as well as their little sons, could gather together and tell jokes or discuss everything from politics and war to sports, women, or religion. Most barbershops had a radio, and the term “barbershop singing” is said to have originally referred to the way in which customers would improvise or “woodshed” harmonies to whatever popular song might be playing on the radio as they waited their turns for a haircut or shave. The term is also said to refer to the barber himself, who—in earlier European culture—also had a musical role in the community. Musical training was not needed, and very often not present in the men who sang in this improvisational way. All that was required was a lead who had a memory for the words and melodies of the day, and at least the three supporting vocal parts, which were picked up or developed “off the ear” by listening to the lead.

During the 1920s and 1930s there was a major decline in the popularity of this kind of community singing. Much of the music in those decades was relegated either to the church or to the many clubs

and bars that had opened up since the end of Prohibition. In 1938, lawyer O. C. Cash of Tulsa, Oklahoma, and his friend banker Rupert Hall decided to create a social organization whose sole purpose was to maintain the tradition of barbershop singing as a unifying and fun recreation. From its inception, the Society for the Preservation and Encouragement of Barber Shop Quartet Singing in America, most commonly referred to by its initials SPEBSQSA, had a nostalgic function. Founders Cash and Hall felt the encouragement of barbershop quartets might bring back to American culture some sense of the “normalcy” that they felt America was losing in the mid-twentieth century. The image of sweet nostalgia is one that remained with the organization and with barbershop quartets through the end of the twentieth century.

SPEBSQSA, Inc., began as an informal quartet. Community support and renewed popularity led to the formation of more quartets, and eventually SPEBSQSA became a national, then international, organization, sponsoring competitions around the world. Printed sheet music was rarely used in the original groups but was later brought in as the organization expanded and became involved in activities that were more choral and not strictly focused on the traditional quartet. Many professional musicians looked down on barbershop because of its informality and emphasis on improvisation, yet that opinion began to change, too, as barbershop developed its own codified technique and the appearance of barbershop groups—both quartets and full choruses—increased. For much of its history, the barbershop quartet had been exclusively male. However, SPEBSQSA, Inc., began to include women, and in 1945 a barbershop group exclusively for women called the Sweet Adelines was formed. Like SPEBSQSA, the Sweet Adelines became international in scope, and by the 1950s both groups had spawned a number of branch organizations and related musical groups, with membership numbers in the tens of thousands. Collectively, these groups were responsible

for achieving SPEBSQSA's founding goal, which was to preserve the music of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Because of their enthusiasm and pursuit of the craft, barbershop maintained its presence in American popular culture through decades of musical and social change, long outliving other popular entertainments of its age.

As a whole, barbershop quartets remained a hobby. Although some groups were able to make money, most could never make enough from performances to pursue it full-time or to consider it a career. A few groups were able to find national success and financial reward—the Buffalo Bills are perhaps the most famous of these professional groups. Their appearance in the 1962 movie musical *The Music Man* (which had been a successful Broadway stage musical four years earlier) gave them a permanent place in entertainment history but also led to a surge in barbershop popularity.

—Brian Granger

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## Barbie

Barbie, the 11-½ inch, full-figured plastic doll from Mattel, Inc., is among the most popular toys ever invented; by 1998 Mattel estimated that the average American girl between the ages of 3 and 11 owned ten Barbie dolls. Precisely because it is so popular, the Barbie doll has become more than just a toy: it has become a central figure in American debates about women's relationship to fashion, their independence in the workplace, their dependence on men, and their body image. Satirized by musicians and comedians, criticized by feminist scholars, and embraced by young children throughout the world, the Barbie doll exists both as a physical toy and an image of femininity. The physical attributes of the doll—its shape and its beauty—along with the myriad costumes and props available to it have been tied to some of the most fundamental questions about what makes a woman successful and what are the appropriate roles for women in American society.

The Barbie doll's creator, Ruth Handler, was inspired when she noticed her daughter creating imaginative teenage or adult lives for her paper dolls. Handler investigated whether there was an opportunity to produce a doll in the likeness of an adult for the toy market. She was well positioned to do so, for she and her husband Elliot ran Mattel, Inc., which they had founded with Harold Matson in 1945 to manufacture plastic picture frames. By the end of World War II, Mattel had found its niche in toy manufacturing with the Ukedoodle, a plastic ukelele. When Handler introduced her idea, many of her colleagues were skeptical. She kept the idea in the back of her mind, however. During a trip to Switzerland, Ruth encountered the Lilli doll and realized that she had found the kind of toy she had hoped to produce at Mattel.

Created in 1952, the Lilli doll was based on a comic character from the German publication *Bild Zeitung* and was an 11½ inch, platinum-ponytailed, heavily made-up, full-figured doll, with high heels for feet. The Lilli doll had not been intended for children, but as an adult toy complete with tight sweaters and racy lingerie. Ruth Handler was not interested in the history of the doll's marketing, but rather in the doll's adult shape. Unable to produce a similar doll in the

United States cost effectively, Mattel soon discovered a manufacturing source in Japan.

The Barbie doll was introduced at a unique time in history: a time when the luxury of fashionable attire had become available to more women, when roles for women were beginning to change dramatically, when the term "teenager" had emerged as a definition of the distinct period between childhood and adult life, and when teenagers had been embraced by television and movie producers as a viable target market. Mattel capitalized on these trends in American culture when it introduced the Barbie doll in 1959 as a teenage fashion model.

As a fashion toy, the Barbie doll seemed especially well suited to the era in which it was introduced. When Christian Dior introduced his New Look in 1947, he changed women's fashion from the utilitarian style demanded by shortages during World War II to an extravagant style that celebrated the voluptuousness of the female form. With the dramatic change in styles, high fashion soon gained popular interest. By the early 1950s, designers had broadened their clientele by licensing designs to department stores. In addition, beauty and fashion were featured on the first nationally televised Miss America Pageant in 1954. The Barbie doll, with its fashionable accessories, was one of the first dolls to present young girls with an opportunity to participate in the emerging world of fashion. Meticulously crafted outfits that mimicked the most desirable fashions of the time could be purchased for the doll. By 1961, the Barbie doll had become the best-selling fashion doll of all time.

Just as the fashions for the Barbie doll were new to the toy market, so was the age of the doll. Mattel's decision to market the Barbie doll as a teenager in 1959 made sense when juxtaposed against themes resonating in popular culture. Teenagers were just emerging as a distinct and interesting social group, as evidenced by the attention directed toward them. At least eight movies with the word "teenage" in the title were released between 1956 and 1961, including *Teenage Rebel* (1956), *Teenage Bad Girl* (1957), *Teenagers from Outer Space* (1959), and *Teenage Millionaire* (1961). During these same years, the Little Miss America pageant debuted, *Teenbeat* magazine began publication for a teenage readership, and teen idols like Fabian and Frankie Avalon made youthful audiences swoon. The Barbie doll fit well into the emerging social scene made popular by such trends. Marketed without parents, the Barbie doll allowed children to imagine the teenage world as independent from the adult world of family. Though by 1961, Barbie did have a little sister in the Skipper doll, the role of a sibling did not impose any limiting family responsibilities on the Barbie doll. Early on, the Barbie doll could be a prom date for the Ken doll (introduced in 1961 after much consumer demand) or outfitted for a sock hop. Unlike real teenagers though, the Barbie doll possessed a fully developed figure.

Though the teenage identity for the Barbie doll has persisted in some of Mattel's marketing into the late 1990s, shortly after the doll's introduction Mattel also marketed the doll as a young adult capable of pursuing a career. Indeed, Handler had imagined a three-dimensional doll that children could use to imagine their grown-up lives. The Barbie doll did not portray traditional young adulthood, however. Introduced during a period when most women stayed home to raise families, Mattel offered extravagant wedding dresses for the Barbie doll, but never marketed the Ken doll as a spouse. Children were left to choose the marital status of the doll. With no set family responsibilities, the Barbie doll was the first doll to allow young girls to imagine an unrestricted, single adult life. Mattel soon marketed Barbie as a nurse, an airline stewardess, and a graduate. The career choices for the doll captured a developing trend in American culture:



The “Generation” dolls in the Barbie line, 1999.

the increase in female independence. As career opportunities for women broadened in the 1960s and 1970s, the Barbie doll fit well into the flux of American society. Within a decade of the doll’s introduction, the career costumes available to the Barbie doll multiplied rapidly, faster at first than actual opportunities for women. The Barbie doll could be an astronaut (1965), a surgeon (1973), an Olympic athlete (1975), a veterinarian, a reporter, a doctor (1985), a UNICEF Ambassador (1989), a marine corps sergeant, presidential candidate (1992), a police officer (1993), and paleontologist (1997), to name a few.

As women embraced their new freedoms in the workplace, they also began to fear the effects of these freedoms on the family and femininity in general. Concerns about how a woman could balance the demands of a career and family became some of the most hotly debated topics in American society. Women’s roles in popular television shows illustrated the debates. The stay-at-home mothers found in the characters of Harriet Nelson (*The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, 1952-1966) and June Cleaver (*Leave It to Beaver*, 1957-1963) were replaced in the 1970s by the career women represented by Mary Tyler Moore and Rhoda. The 1980s featured the single mother

Murphy Brown, and the 1990s presented the successful lawyer Ally McBeal, a character who spent much of her time considering how difficult women’s choices about career and family really are. Articles discussing the benefits of devoting oneself to a family or balancing a satisfying career with child rearing abounded in magazines like *Working Mother*, *Parenting*, and *Parents*.

In addition, as women grappled with their new roles in society, they began to question the role of physical beauty in their lives. In the 1950s, “the commodification of one’s look became the basis of success,” according to author Wini Breines in *Young, White and Miserable: Growing Up Female in the Fifties*. But by the 1960s and early 1970s, the basis of success was no longer beauty. During these decades, women began to enter (and finish) college in greater numbers. As these educated women pursued careers outside the home and postponed marriage and childbirth they began to challenge the role of conventional beauty in a woman’s life: some burned their bras, others discarded their makeup, others stopped shaving their legs, and others began to wear pants to work. With the triumph of feminism, America no longer had a set ideal of beauty.

The Barbie doll had become was the doll of choice for little girls to use to imagine their own lives as adults. Just as critics worried about whether toy guns or the violence in popular television shows would make children violent, they began to wonder if (and how) the now ubiquitous Barbie doll influenced children's ideas about womanhood. The doll's characteristics mirrored many aspects of the debates about modern womanhood—it could have any career a child imagined, it could remain single or marry, and it was conventionally beautiful.

Regarding the Barbie doll as a toy to envision an adult life, young mothers, struggling to balance careers and parenthood, wondered if the independent Barbie doll oversimplified the choices available to young women. Without family ties, the doll seemed to deny girls practice at the difficult balancing act their mothers attempted daily. But supporters of the Barbie doll reasoned that just as children could decide whether the Barbie doll would "marry" they could also decide whether the Barbie doll would "have children." That Mattel did not define the doll as a mother or spouse was a gift of imaginative freedom for girls.

As women began to rethink the role of beauty in their lives some became conflicted about how a modern woman should shape or adorn herself to be attractive to the opposite sex and worried that if women obsessed over their looks they would neglect their minds. The Barbie doll, with its attractive face, silky hair, shapely body, and myriad beauty accessories, came under attack as promoting an obsession with "good" looks. Unlike the doll's family ties and career, children could not change the doll's physical attributes. Critics of the doll used the term "Barbie" to describe a beautiful but empty-headed woman. The former *Baywatch* actress Pamela Lee Anderson personified the struggle women had with regard to beauty and intellect. Anderson, who had dyed her hair blond and enhanced her breasts, resembled a living Barbie doll during her rise to fame. After achieving some success, she made news in 1999 when she removed her breast implants in order to be taken more seriously, according to some sources. Similarly, in the popular television show *Ally McBeal*, the character Georgia, with her shapely body and flowing blond hair, becomes so frustrated by people referring to her as "Barbie" that she cuts off her hair. Despite the negative connotation of the term "Barbie," some women find the type of beauty represented by the Barbie doll a source of female power and advocate the use of female beauty as an essential tool for success. Some have gone to extremes; a woman named Cindy Jackson, for instance, has had more than 20 operations and has spent approximately \$55,000 to mold herself into the image of the Barbie doll. Regardless of the critics' arguments or the extreme cases, however, the number of articles in women and teen's magazines dedicated to beauty issues attest to the continuing cultural obsession with physical beauty.

For many, beauty and fashion are indelibly linked. With regard to fashion, the Barbie doll has been consistently in style. From the first Barbie dolls, Mattel took care to dress them in detailed, fashionable attire. In the early years, Barbie doll fashions reflected French designs, but as fashion trends shifted to other areas, the attire for the Barbie doll mimicked the changes. In the early 1970s, for example, the Barbie doll wore Mod clothes akin to those popularized by fashion model Twiggy. And throughout the years, gowns and glamorous accessories for gala events have always been available to the Barbie doll. Some observers note that the fashions of the Barbie doll trace fashion trends perfectly since 1959. While critics complain about the

use of waifish runway models who do not represent "average" female bodies, they also complain about the Barbie doll's size. Some have criticized the dimensions of the Barbie doll as portraying an unattainable ideal of the female shape. Various magazines have reported the dimensions the Barbie doll would have if she were life-sized (39-18-33) and have noted that a real woman with Barbie doll dimensions would be unable to menstruate. Charlotte Johnson, the Barbie doll's first dress designer, explained to M.G. Lord in *Forever Barbie* that the doll was not intended to reflect a female figure realistically, but rather to portray a flattering shape underneath fashionable clothes. According to Lord, Johnson "understood scale: When you put human-scale fabric on an object that is one-sixth human size, a multi-layered cloth waistband is going to protrude like a truck tire around a human tummy. . . . Because fabric of a proportionally diminished gauge could not be woven on existing looms, something else had to be pared down—and that something was Barbie's figure."

Despite the practical reasons for the dimensions of the Barbie doll, the unrealistic dimensions of the doll have brought the strongest criticism regarding the doll's encouragement of an obsession with weight and looks. In one instance, the Barbie doll's accessories supported the criticism. The 1965 "Slumber Party" outfit for the Barbie doll came complete with a bathroom scale set to 110 pounds and a book titled *How to Lose Weight* containing the advice: "Don't Eat." The Ken doll accessories, on the other hand, included a pastry and a glass of milk. Convinced of the ill effects of playthings with negative images on children, Cathy Meredig of High Self Esteem Toys developed a more realistically proportioned doll in 1991. She believed that "if we have enough children playing with a responsibly proportioned doll that we can raise a generation of girls that feels comfortable with the way they look," according to the *Washington Post*. Her "Happy To Be Me" doll, which looked frumpy and had uneven hair plugs, did not sell well, however. The Barbie doll was introduced with a modified figure in 1999.

Throughout the years, the Barbie doll has had several competitors, but none have been able to compete with the glamour or the comprehensiveness offered by the Barbie doll and its accessories. The Barbie doll offers children an imaginary world of individual success and, as witnessed by the pink aisle in most toy stores, an amazing array of props to fulfill children's fantasies. By the early 1980s, the Barbie doll also offered these "opportunities" to many diverse ethnicities, becoming available in a variety of ethnic and racial varieties. Although sometimes criticized for promoting excessive consumerism, the Barbie doll and its plethora of accessories offer more choices for children to play out their own fantasies than any other toy on the market.

While some wish to blame the Barbie doll for encouraging young girls to criticize their own physical attributes, to fashion themselves as "Boy Toys," or to shop excessively, others see the doll as a blank slate on which children can create their own realities. For many the Barbie doll dramatizes the conflicting but abundant possibilities for women. And perhaps because there are so many possibilities for women at the end of the twentieth century, the Barbie doll—fueled by Mattel's "Be Anything" campaign—continues to be popular. By the end of the twentieth century, Mattel sold the doll in more than 150 countries and, according to the company, two Barbie dolls are sold worldwide every second.

—Sara Pendergast

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## Barker, Clive (1952—)

For much of the 1980s, it was impossible to pick up any of Clive Barker's books without encountering on the cover this blurb from fright-master Stephen King: "I have seen the future of the horror genre, and his name is Clive Barker." Barker's more recent work, however, does not usually feature the King quotation, and this fact seems to represent his publisher's recognition that Barker has moved beyond the horror genre to become one of the modern masters of fantasy.

Clive Barker grew up in Liverpool, England,—not far from Penny Lane, celebrated in song by his fellow Liverpoolians, the Beatles. He studied literature and philosophy at the University of Liverpool and moved to London after graduation. Barker's first literary efforts took the form of plays which he wrote, directed, and produced, all on the shoestring budget that he was able to scrounge up for the small theater company he had formed. Several of his plays, with titles like *The History of the Devil* and *Frankenstein in Love*, display the fascination with fantasy and the macabre that would become hallmarks of his prose fiction.

While writing plays for public consumption, Barker was also crafting short stories and novellas that he circulated only among his friends. By the 1980s, however, he had concluded that some of his prose efforts might be marketable. He soon found a publisher for what would become known as the *Books of Blood*—six volumes of stories that were published in the United Kingdom during 1984–1985 and in the United States the following year. The collections sold poorly at first but gradually attracted a cult following among those who enjoy horror writing that does not flinch from the most gruesome of details. Barker is no hack writer who depends on mere shock value to sell

books; even his early work shows a talent for imagery, characterization, and story construction. But it must also be acknowledged that Barker's writing from this period contains graphic depictions of sex, violence, and cruelty that are intense even by the standards of modern horror fiction.

Barker's next work was a novel, *The Damnation Game* (1985), in which an ex-convict is hired as a bodyguard for a reclusive millionaire, only to learn that his employer is not in fear for his life, but his immortal soul—and with good reason. The book reached the *New York Times* Bestseller List in its first week of American publication.

Barker's subsequent novels also enjoyed strong sales in both Europe and the United States. His next book—*Weaveworld* (1987)—began Barker's transition from horror to fantasy, although some graphic scenes were still present in the story. It concerns a man who falls into a magic carpet, only to discover that it contains an entire secret world populated by people with magical powers that are both wondrous and frightening. This was followed in 1989 by *The Great and Secret Show*, which features an epic struggle to control the "Art," the greatest power in the Universe—the power of magic. Next was *Imajica* (1990), which reinterprets the Biblical story of creation in terms of a battle between four great powers for dominion over a fifth. Then came *The Thief of Always* (1992), a book for children about an enchanted house where a boy's every wish is granted, although the place turns out to be not quite as idyllic as it at first seemed.

*Everville: The Second Book of the Art*, which appeared in 1994, is a sequel to *The Great and Secret Show*. The book is essentially a quest story, with the action alternating between our world and a fantasy parallel universe. In *Sacrament* (1996), Barker's protagonist encounters a diabolical villain who can cause whole species to become extinct. The ideas of extinction, loss, and the inevitable passage of time combine like musical notes to form a melancholy chord that echoes throughout the book. The 1998 novel *Galilee: A Romance* represents Barker's greatest departure yet from the grand guignol style of his earlier work. The story involves a centuries-long feud between two formidable families, the Gearys and the Barbarossas. The advertised romance element is certainly present, although leavened by generous helpings of fantasy, conspiracy, and unconventional sexual escapades.

In addition to his work for the stage and the printed page, Barker has also manifested his abilities in other forms of media. He is a talented illustrator, heavily influenced by the work of the Spanish painter Goya. He has provided the cover art for several of his novels and has also published a book of his art entitled *Clive Barker: Illustrator*. In 1996, a collection of his paintings was the subject of a successful one-man exhibition at the Bess Culter Gallery in New York City. Barker has also written stories for several comic books, including the Marvel Comics series *Razorline*.

Barker's work is also well known to fans of horror movies. In the mid-1980s, he penned screenplays based on two of his stories, "Underworld" and "Rawhead Rex," both of which were made into low-budget films. Barker was so dissatisfied with the final products that he was determined to have creative control over the next film based on his work. That turned out to be *Hellraiser*, derived from Barker's novella *The Hellbound Heart*. Barker served as both writer and director for this production, and the 1987 film quickly gained a reputation for depictions of violence and torture as graphic and unsettling as anything that Barker portrayed in the *Books of Blood*. The film spawned three sequels, although Barker's role in each was increasingly limited. He also directed two other films based on his

stories: *Nightbreed* (1990) and *Lord of Illusions* (1995). Another Barker story, “The Forbidden,” was made into the 1992 film *Candyman*, directed by Bernard Ross, with Barker serving as Executive Producer. A sequel, *Candyman 2: Farewell to the Flesh*, was released in 1995, but Barker’s involvement in the film was minimal.

Barker’s company, Seraphim Productions, now coordinates all aspects of its founder’s prodigious creative output—from novels to films, plays, CD-ROMs, comic books, and paintings. The term “Renaissance man” is much overused these days, but in Clive Barker’s case it just might be an understatement.

—Justin Gustainis

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## Barkley, Charles (1963—)

Basketball player Charles Barkley was known for his outspoken and aggressive behavior on and off the court. In the early 1980s, he attracted national attention when he played for Auburn University. Dubbed the “Round Mound of Rebound” because he weighed almost 300 pounds and stood 6’4”, Barkley slimmed down for the 1984 NBA draft. Playing for the Philadelphia 76ers, Phoenix Suns, and Houston Rockets, Barkley was an Olympic gold medalist on the Dream Team in 1992 and 1996. A superstar player, he endorsed his line of shoes (while fighting Godzilla in one Nike advertisement) and hosted *Saturday Night Live* which featured him playing a mean game of one-on-one with PBS star Barney. He made cameo appearances in such movies as *Space Jam* (1996). The comic book series *Charles Barkley and the Referee Murders* depicted his antagonism toward officials. Known as Sir Charles, the entertaining and charismatic Barkley stressed he was not a role model. Egotistically stating, “I’m the ninth wonder of the world,” Barkley often provided controversial sound bites for the press because of his temperamental and opinionated outbursts.

—Elizabeth D. Schafer

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## Barney and Friends

Barney, a huggable six-foot-four-inch talking purple dinosaur, starred in a daily half-hour children’s television program that premiered April 6, 1992, on PBS. In 1988, the character’s creator, Sheryl Leach, had grown dissatisfied with the selection of home videos on the market to amuse her young son. She wrote scripts for a children’s video featuring a stuffed bear that came to life but changed the central character to a dinosaur, capitalizing on the renewed interest among children. Leach produced three “Barney and the Backyard Gang” videos and marketed them through day-care centers and video stores.

A PBS executive saw the videos and in 1991 secured a grant from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to produce thirty episodes of the series. The PBS series was entitled *Barney and Friends* and featured Barney (played by David Joyner, voiced by Bob West), his younger dinosaur sidekick Baby Bop (Jeff Ayers, voiced by Carol Farabee), and a gaggle of children representing the country’s major ethnic groups (Caucasian, African American, Asian-American, Native American, Indian, etc.). The young members of this politically correct sampling of American culture could make a small stuffed (and eminently marketable) dinosaur come to life as Barney. The group would dance, sing songs, and learn valuable lessons about getting along with each other in work and play. *Barney and Friends’* signature song, “I Love You,” took the tune of “This Old Man” and substituted lyrics remarkable for nothing if not their catchiness: children nationwide were soon singing “I love you / you love me / we’re a happy family” and spreading Barney’s feel-good message throughout the land.

Such popularity with the television-watching preschool demographic made *Barney and Friends* vulnerable to critical attacks that suggested the show was nothing but “an infomercial for a stuffed animal.” The four million Barney home videos and \$300 million in other Barney merchandise that sold within one year after its PBS premiere confirmed that “Barney” was a media force to be reckoned with. On April 24, 1994, NBC aired Barney’s first foray into commercial television, with a prime-time special entitled “Bedtime with Barney: Imagination Island.”

The ubiquity of Barney, Barney’s songs, and Barney-related paraphernalia caused a backlash on late-night television and radio talk shows, in stand-up comedy acts, and on world wide web sites. Speculations that Barney was Evil incarnate, for instance, or lists describing 101 ways to kill the fuzzy purple dinosaur were not uncommon. Thinly-disguised likenesses of Barney became targets of crude, sometimes physically violent attacks on stage and screen. But Barney’s commercial success did not flag. Indeed, the critical backlash may have contributed to the high profile Barney maintained in American cultural (and fiscal) consciousness throughout the 1990s. *Forbes* magazine ranked Barney as the third richest Hollywood entertainer for the years 1993 and 1994, behind director Steven Spielberg and talk show host cum media phenom Oprah Winfrey. In 1998 Barney became a bonafide Hollywood fixture when he and his pals leapt onto the big screen in the feature-length *Barney’s Great Adventure*.

—Tilney Marsh

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## Barney Miller

Through the 1970s and 1980s there were many police shows on television. Most were action shows full of car chases and shootouts, or shows dealing with the serious dramas of contemporary society. *Barney Miller* was different. From 1975 to 1982, this situation comedy presented the human stories of the detectives and officers of the 12th Precinct in New York (Greenwich Village Area) as well as the stories of the criminals and victims that they dealt with. Though it had its share of serious topics, it managed to let its characters develop and grow and let us laugh at the results. The main action was restricted to the detectives' office and the small connected office of Captain



Hal Linden (foreground) with the cast of *Barney Miller*.

Barney Miller on the upper floor of an old police building. The show's set was sparse, limited to the detectives' old desks, a holding cell, a coffee maker, and a restroom.

The 12th Precinct detectives' office was comprised of a diverse group of mostly men: Capt. Barney Miller (Hal Linden), Philip Fish (Abe Vigoda), Stan Wojciehowicz (Max Gail), Ron Harris (Ron Glass), Arthur Dietrich (Steve Landesburg), Chano Amengule (Gregory Sierra), Nick Yemana (Jack Soo), Inspector Frank Luger (James Gregory), and Officer Carl Levitt (Ron Carey). Several episodes included temporary women detectives (one played by Linda Lavin, who would soon move on to *Alice*), but the show focused predominantly on male police. The characters changed somewhat after the first few seasons, as the show focused exclusively on the office and away from any other storyline (originally the story was to be about the office and home life of the captain, but this aspect was phased out). Chano left, as did Fish, to be replaced by Dietrich. Jack Soo died during the series, and his character was not replaced.

*Barney Miller* was notable for other reasons as well. Critics Harry Castleman and Walter J. Podrazik explained that "Real-life police departments have praised *Barney Miller* as being one of the most realistic cop shows around. The detectives rarely draw their guns, and spend more time in conversation, paperwork, and resolving minor neighborhood squabbles than in blowing away some Mr. Big drug king." After the first season, *Barney Miller* rarely depicted anything outside of the squad room. Any action that did take place did so out of the audience's sight. For example, viewers learned about the crimes, the disagreements, and the ensuing action second-hand from the police detectives and other characters.

In contrast to other police shows of its time, *Barney Miller* showed viewers the more mundane aspects of its detectives' work lives, including their bad habits, passions, and their likes and dislikes, all with one of the finest ensemble casts of working people in television. Detective Harris developed and wrote a novel, "Blood on the Badge," over the years, and viewers learned about Fish's wife but almost never saw her. Viewers came to know about Wojo's personal life and Barney's divorce, but never saw them outside of the office.

For the most part, laughs came from the dialogue and watching the characters' responses to specific situations. Topical issues of the day, from women's rights, to gay rights, and nuclear weapons, were also addressed in humorous contexts. Many episodes dealt with the work life of the police, including questions from Internal Affairs, problems with promotions, and on-going troubles with an old building. Most stories, however, dealt with small crime and the day-to-day work of policing.

Barney Miller's lasting legacy might be the shows that developed following its gritty working ensemble mold (*Night Court*, for example), or the effect it had on future police shows, such as *Hill Street Blues*, *NYPD Blue*, and *Homicide*. In fact, NBC Chief Brandon Tartikoff presented his concept for *Hill Street Blues* to Steven Bochco as "*Barney Miller* outdoors." With 170 episodes to *Hill Street*'s 146, *Barney Miller* may have had a lasting impact all on its own.

—Frank E. Clark

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## Barr, Roseanne

See *Roseanne*

## Barry, Dave (1947—)

Dave Barry, a bestselling author and a syndicated humor columnist based in Miami, is a significant player in the great American tradition of humor writing. Like Finley Peter Dunne, social satire is a mainstay of Barry's work—e.g., on the limitations of free speech: “[Y]ou can't shout 'FIRE!' in a crowded theater. Even if there *is* a fire, you can't shout it. A union worker has to shout it.” Like Mark Twain, Barry explores the composites of life in the mid- to late twentieth century: describing the “grim” looks of a group of rich people in an ad, Barry remarks: “[It is] as if they have just received the tragic news that one of their key polo ponies had injured itself trampling a servant to death and would be unavailable for an important match.” And like Will Rogers, Barry provides commentary on the issues of the day—Barry's description of Will Rogers in his book *Dave Barry Slept Here* reads: Rogers “used to do an act where he'd twirl a lasso and absolutely slay his audiences with such wry observations as ‘The only thing I know is what I read in the papers.’ Ha-ha! Get it? Neither do we. Must have been something he did with the lasso.”

Barry grew up in Armonk, New York. He is self-consciously a member of the Baby Boom generation. In *Dave Barry Turns 40*, the author has this to say about his generation's musical tastes: “[W]e actually like to think we're still With It. Whereas in fact we are nowhere near It. The light leaving from It right now will not reach us for several years.” Barry's father, David W. Barry, was a Presbyterian minister who worked in New York's inner city. In a serious column written after his father's death, Barry later wrote that “[t]hey were always asking [Barry's father] to be on those shows to talk about Harlem and the South Bronx, because back then he was the only white man they could find who seemed to know anything about it.”

Barry graduated from New York's Pleasantville High School in 1965. In his yearbook photograph, according to Barry many years later, he looked like a “solemn little Junior Certified Public Accountant wearing glasses styled by Mister Bob's House of Soviet Eyewear.” He then went on to Haverford College, where he earned a degree in English in 1969. Having been declared a conscientious war objector, Barry performed alternative service by working for the Episcopal Church in New York. Barry has remained fairly consistent in his antiwar views. In 1992, he declared himself a candidate for President on a platform which included an interesting method of conducting foreign policy without war. Foreign affairs “would be handled via

[an] entity called The Department of A Couple of Guys Names Victor.” Instead of invading Panama and causing “a whole lot of innocent people [to] get hurt,” Barry would say to his foreign-affairs team, “‘Victors, I have this feeling that something unfortunate might happen to Manuel Noriega, you know what I mean?’ And, mysteriously, something would.”

Barry got a job in 1971 writing for the *Daily Local News* in West Chester, Pennsylvania. After a stint with the Associated Press in Pennsylvania, in 1975 he went to work for the consulting firm Burger Associates teaching effective business writing (“This could be why we got so far behind Japan,” he later speculated). During this time, he started a humor column in the *Daily Local News*. After his work became popular, he was hired by the *Miami Herald*, although he did not move to Miami until 1986. He also produced some spoofs on self-help books, such as *Homes and Other Black Holes*. These books were to be followed by collections of Barry's columns, as well as original works with titles like *Dave Barry Slept Here: A Sort of History of the United States*, and *Dave Barry's Guide to Guys*.

Barry was also honored with a television series, called *Dave's World* and based on two of his books, which ran from 1993 to 1997 on CBS before being canceled. The Barry character in the series was played by Harry Anderson, the judge on *Night Court*. “Lest you think I have ‘sold out’ as an artist,” Barry reassured his readers while *Dave's World* was still on the air, “let me stress that I have retained total creative control over the show, in the sense that, when they send me a check, I can legally spend it however I want.” The show's cancellation did not effect Barry's writing, and he continued to amuse his readers, offering refreshing views on American life.

—Eric Longley

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## Barry, Lynda (1956—)

Lynda Barry was one of a new breed of artists and writers who brought underground comics to the light of day with her biting funny strip *Ernie Pook's Comeek*, first printed in 1980 in the *Chicago Reader* alternative newsweekly, and the acclaimed novel and play *The Good Times are Killing Me*, published in 1988. The crudely-drawn *Ernie Pook's Comeek* details the antics of a group of misfit adolescents, centering on the hapless Marlys Mullen, who gives a voice to sociocultural issues through the eyes of a young girl. It appeared in more than 60 newspapers in the 1990s. *The Good Times are Killing Me*, set in the 1960s, tackles race relations and other topics as understood by children. Barry's sharp wit and wry commentary is often compared to that of her college friend Matt Groening, creator of the *Life in Hell* comic and *The Simpsons* television show, who helped propel her career.

—Geri Speace

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## Barrymore, John (1882-1942)

John Barrymore, who appeared in over 40 plays, 60 films, and 100 radio shows during his forty-year career, was perhaps the most influential and idolized actor of his day. The best known of America's "Royal Family" of actors, the handsome and athletic Barrymore was renowned for his ability to flesh out underwritten roles with his charismatic charm and commanding presence. He reached new artistic heights with title-role performances in theatrical productions of *Richard III* (1920) and *Hamlet* (1922-25) before answering Hollywood's call to play romantic parts on screen. Though Barrymore brought these new figures to life with his customary ardor, his favorite roles were quite different: characters who required physical or psychological distortion, or both. Essentially a character actor trapped in a leading man's body, Barrymore wanted to prove to the world that he was much more than just "the Great Profile."

Born on February 14 or 15, 1882, in Philadelphia, Barrymore was the third of three children born to professional actors Maurice Barrymore and Georgiana Drew Barrymore. His parents, frequently on the road, shunted him off to numerous boarding schools, where he quickly developed a reputation for wildness. An early punishment—a detention in an empty classroom—happened to lead to what he believed would be his life's calling; he discovered a large book illustrated by Gustav Doré and was so enthralled by the images that he decided to become an artist himself.

Barrymore pursued art training in England during the late 1890s and then returned to America in 1900 to become a cartoonist for the *New York Evening Journal*. Family members had other ideas about his career, however; his father insisted that he accompany him in a vaudeville sketch in early 1901 and, later that year, his sister Ethel convinced him to appear as a last-minute replacement in one of her

plays. Fired from the *Evening Journal* in 1902, he soon joined a theatrical company in Chicago headed by a distant relative.

Though Barrymore's stage work at this time was hardly memorable, several theater magnates could see comic potential in the young actor. Producer Charles Frohman cast Barrymore in his first Broadway play, the comedy *Glad of It*, in 1903. The following year, William Collier recruited Barrymore to appear in *The Dictator*, a gunboat-diplomacy farce. *The Dictator* became a major hit, with many reviewers citing Barrymore's all-too-believable performance as a drunken telegraph operator.

Other stage triumphs quickly followed. Barrymore played his first serious role, the dying Dr. Rank, in a Boston staging of *A Doll's House* in January 1907, and later that year he received fine reviews for his first leading role: Tony Allen in the hit comedy *The Boys of Company "B."* Barrymore scored a major success with *A Stubborn Cinderella* (1908-09) and peaked as a comic actor the next season in his longest running play, *The Fortune Hunter*.

Barrymore's ensuing stage work generated little enthusiasm among critics and audiences, but he scored with a series of slapstick movies produced from 1913 to 1916, beginning with *An American Citizen*. He longed to be regarded as a serious actor, however, and soon earned his credentials in a 1916 production of the John Galsworthy drama *Justice*. Other acclaimed performances followed: *Peter Ibbetson* in 1917, *Redemption* in 1918, and *The Jest* in 1919. Barrymore then raised his acting to another level by taking on two Shakespearean roles, Richard III and Hamlet, during the early 1920s. Critics and audiences were stunned by the power and passion of his work.

Aware of Barrymore's emerging marquee value, the Warner Bros. studio signed him to appear in *Beau Brummel* (1924), his first film made in California. After returning to *Hamlet* for a highly successful London run, Barrymore settled in Hollywood in 1926 for a long career in the movies. He appeared in nine more films for Warner Bros. (including *Don Juan* [1926], the first feature film with a synchronized soundtrack) before signing on with MGM for such movies as *Grand Hotel* (1932) opposite Greta Garbo and *Rasputin and the Empress* (1932) with his siblings Ethel and Lionel. He also offered memorable performances in David Selznick's *State's Attorney* (1932), *A Bill of Divorcement* (1932), and *Topaze* (1933) before returning to MGM for several more films. A journeyman actor from 1933, Barrymore turned in some of his finest film work ever in such vehicles as Universal's *Counsellor-at-Law* (1933) and Columbia's *Twentieth Century* (1934).

Despite these achievements, Barrymore found movie work increasingly elusive. His alcoholism and frequently failing memory were among the biggest open secrets in Hollywood, and the studios were now hesitant to work with him. MGM signed him back at a highly reduced salary to appear as Mercutio in *Romeo and Juliet* (1936), his only Shakespearean feature film, but few screen successes followed. He returned to the stage for one last fling—*My Dear Children*, a 1939 trifle about an aging ham and his daughters—and followed it up with several lamentable films. The worst was also his last: *Playmates* (1941), which featured him as an alcoholic, Shakespearean-has-been named "John Barrymore."

Barrymore's radio broadcasts represented the few high points of his career from the mid-1930s onward. Building on a 1937 series of "Streamlined Shakespeare" radio plays, he appeared more than seventy times on Rudy Vallee's *Sealtest Show* beginning in October 1940. His comic and dramatic performances were well-received, and he remained associated with the Vallee program up to his death on May 29, 1942 in Los Angeles.

Theater critic Harold Clurman once suggested that John Barrymore “had everything an actor should ideally possess: physical beauty, a magnificent voice, intelligence, humor, sex appeal, grace and, to boot, a quotient of the demonic—truly the prince of players. There was unfortunately also a vein of self-destructiveness in him.” In retrospect, the ignoble aspects of Barrymore’s life—an extravagantly wasteful lifestyle, alcoholic binges, four failed marriages, numerous affairs, self-parodying performances—only contributed to his larger-than-life status. Though Barrymore the man passed on decades ago, Barrymore the myth has lost little of its power to captivate.

—Martin F. Norden

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## Barton, Bruce (1886-1967)

Advertising man, religious writer, and United States Congressman, the name of Bruce Barton is synonymous with the advertising firm of Batten, Barton, Durstine, and Osborne, the agency Barton helped found in 1919. The firm’s clients, including U.S. Steel, General Electric, General Motors, and Dunlop, were among the most powerful businesses of the American 1920s. Barton is best remembered for his bestselling book *The Man Nobody Knows* (1925), a conduct manual for American businessmen whose subtitle proclaimed itself “a discovery of the real Jesus.”

The son of a prominent Congregational Minister, Barton was in the vanguard of the new advertising culture of the 1920s. In a period where the shift into a “mass” consumption economy had spawned a new service and leisure economy, advertising became an industry in its own right and led the way in reshaping the traditional Protestant morality of Victorian America into something more suited to the dictates of a modern consumer economy. Of those engaged in such work Barton was the most renowned. Orthodox Protestant values emphasized hard work, innate human sinfulness, and the evils of self-indulgence and idleness. These were not values that could be easily accommodated within a new commercial world which promoted the free play of conspicuous personal consumption and the selling of leisure. In a string of books and articles published across the decade Barton examined what he claimed were the New Testament origins of monopoly capitalism, arguing that the repression of desire, and the failure of the individual to pursue personal self-fulfillment (in private acts of consumption), were the greatest of all sins. His most famous book, *The Man Nobody Knows*, turned the life of Jesus into a template for the new commercial practices of the 1920s, citing the parables (“the most powerful advertisements of all time”) alongside the insights of Henry Ford and J.P. Morgan. By making Jesus like a



**Bruce Barton**

businessman, Barton made businessmen like Jesus. This reassuring message sat easily with the colossal extension of the market into all areas of American life during the 1920s, and *The Man Nobody Knows* itself sold 750,000 copies in its first two years. A follow up, *The Book Nobody Knows* (1926), and two subsequent studies in the same idiom, *The Man of Galilee* (1928), and *On the Up and Up* (1929), failed to sell in the same quantities.

Barton’s writing can also be considered alongside the popularizing of psychoanalysis which took place in the 1920s, an explosion of interest in “feel good,” “self help” publishing which stressed the power of the individual mind over material circumstances. Again, this “feel good” message sold well in a time of rapid economic transformation and subsequent collapse in the 1930s, and the cultural historian Ann Douglas has numbered *The Man Nobody Knows* in a lineage which runs from Emile Coue’s *Self-Mastery Through Conscious Auto-Suggestion* (1923), through Walter Pitkin’s *Life Begins at Forty* (1932), to Dale Carnegie’s *How to Win Friends and Influence People* (1936).

In the 1930s Barton launched a brief political career, running for Congress successfully in 1936, before returning to Batten, Barton, Durstine, and Osborne in 1940. He remained chairman of the firm until his retirement in 1961.

—David Holloway

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## Baryshnikov, Mikhail (1948—)

One of the greatest ballet dancers of the twentieth century, Baryshnikov overcame initial expectations that his stocky build, short height, and boyish demeanor precluded him from performing the romantic roles in ballets like *Giselle* and *Sleeping Beauty*. After leaving the Soviet Union in 1973, however, Baryshnikov joined the American Ballet Theater (ABT) and became its most celebrated performer. Throughout his career, Baryshnikov has striven to explore



Mikhail Baryshnikov

new choreography. One major achievement was the collaboration with choreographer Tywla Tharp, who created for him, among other works, the incredibly popular *Push Comes to Shove*. He left ABT to work with the great Russian-born choreographer George Balanchine at the New York City Ballet. Baryshnikov soon returned to ABT as its artistic director where he eliminated its over-reliance on internationally famous guest soloists, developed new repertory, and sought to promote soloists and lead dancers already a part of ABT. His charisma, spectacular dancing, and tempestuous love life contributed greatly to the popularity of ballet in the United States.

—Jeffrey Escoffier

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## Baseball

Originally an early nineteenth century variation of a venerable English game, baseball, by the late twentieth century, had developed into America's "national pastime," a game so indelibly entwined with American culture and society that diplomat Jacques Barzun once remarked, "Whoever wants to know the heart and mind of America had better learn baseball."

Baseball lore places the origins of baseball in Cooperstown, a small town in upstate New York, where Abner Doubleday, a West Point cadet and Civil War hero, allegedly invented the bat-and-ball game in 1839. In reality, the sport was neither new nor indigenous. The game that ultimately developed into modern baseball was in fact a modified version of rounders, an English sport imported to the colonies prior to the American Revolution. Early forms of baseball were remarkably similar to rounders. Both games involved contending teams equipped with a ball as well as a bat with which to hit the ball. In addition, both baseball and rounders required the use of a level playing field with stations or bases to which the players advanced in their attempts to score.

Baseball quickly evolved from the sandlot play of children to the organized sport of adults. In 1845, a group of clerks, storekeepers, brokers, and assorted gentlemen of New York City, under the direction of bank clerk Alexander Joy Cartwright, founded the first baseball club in the United States—the New York Knickerbockers, which played its games at Elysian Fields in Hoboken, New Jersey. The club was more a social association than an athletic one, providing opportunities to play baseball, as well as hosting suppers, formal balls, and other festivities. Individuals could become members only through election. By the 1850s, a number of clubs patterned on the Knickerbocker model appeared throughout the Northeast and in some areas of the Midwest and Far West.

The need for codified orderly play had prompted clubs such as the Knickerbockers to draft rules for the fledgling sport. In 1857, a National Association of Baseball Players formed to unite the disparate styles of play throughout the country into a universal code of rules. Initially, the National Association attracted only New York clubs, and so the popular "Knickerbocker" style of baseball predominated. This version of the sport represented a decided evolution from rounders and resembled modern baseball in form. While no umpire as yet called balls or strikes in the Knickerbocker game, a



A baseball game between the New York Yankees and the Boston Red Sox.

batter was retired when he swung at and missed three pitches. The Knickerbocker rules limited a team at-bat to only three outs, and replaced “plugging,” a painful practice by which a fielder could retire a base runner by hitting him with a thrown ball, with “tagging,” simply touching a base runner with the ball. Within four years of its founding, the National Association came to include clubs in New Haven, Detroit, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C. These clubs, for the most part, renounced their local variations on the sport and took up the “Knickerbocker” style of play.

After the Civil War, the “fraternal” club game took a decidedly commercial turn. Rather than relying exclusively on club membership to finance their teams, clubs began to earn money by charging admission to games. In order to maximize gate fees, clubs inclined away from friendly games played among club members, and turned more and more to external contests against clubs in other regions. At the same time, to guarantee fan interest, clubs felt increasing pressure to field the most highly skilled players. They began to recruit members based on talent, and, for the first time, offered financial remuneration to prospective players. In 1869, the Cincinnati Red

Stockings fielded an entire team of salaried players—the first professional baseball squad in American history.

As more clubs turned professional, a league structure emerged to organize competition. In 1871, ten teams formed the National Association of Professional Baseball Players, a loose confederation designed to provide a system for naming a national championship team. The National League, formed five years later, superseded this alliance, offering a circuit comprised of premier clubs based in Boston, Hartford, Philadelphia, New York, St. Louis, Chicago, Cincinnati, and Louisville. A host of competing leagues arose, among them the International League and the Northwestern League, but it was not until 1903 that the National League recognized the eight-team American League as its equal. Beginning that year, the two leagues concluded their schedules with the World Series, a post-season play-off between the two leagues.

Despite the game’s increased commercialization, baseball, in the early years of the twentieth century, developed into the American national game. Players such as Ty Cobb and Walter Johnson as well as managers like Connie Mack and John McGraw approached the

game in a scientific manner, utilizing various strategies and tactics to win ball games; in the process, they brought to the game a maturity and complexity that increased the sport's drama. The construction of great ballparks of concrete and steel and the game's continuing power to bind communities and neighborhoods together behind their team further solidified the coming of age of professional baseball. Baseball had achieved a new institutional prominence in American life. Boys grew up reading baseball fiction and dreaming of becoming diamond heroes themselves one day. The World Series itself became a sort of national holiday, and United States chief executives, beginning with William Howard Taft in 1910, ritualized the commencement of each new season with the ceremonial throwing of the first ball.

The appeal of the game had much to do with what many considered its uniquely American origins. "It's our game—that's the chief fact in connection with it: America's game," exclaimed poet Walt Whitman. Baseball, he wrote, "has the snap, go, fling of the American atmosphere—belongs as much to our institutions, fits into them as significantly, as our constitutions, laws: is just as important in the sum total of our historic life." To preserve this patriotic image, baseball administrators such as Albert Spalding and A.G. Mills vehemently dismissed any claims that baseball had evolved from rounders. In 1905, Mills headed a commission to investigate the origins of baseball. The group found that baseball was uniquely American and bore no traceable connection with rounders, "or any other foreign sport." Mills traced the game's genesis to Abner Doubleday in Cooperstown—a sketchy claim, to be sure, as Mills' only evidence rested on the recollections of a boyhood friend of Doubleday who ended his days in an institution for the criminally insane. Still, Doubleday was a war hero and a man of impeccable character, and so the commission canonized the late New Yorker as the founder of baseball, later consecrating ground in his native Cooperstown for the purpose of establishing the sport's Hall of Fame.

Baseball's revered image took a severe hit in 1920, when eight Chicago White Sox were found to have conspired with gamblers in fixing the 1919 World Series. The incident horrified fans of the sport and created distrust and disappointment with the behavior of ballplayers idolized throughout the nation. A young boy, perched outside the courtroom where the players' case was heard, summed up the feelings of a nation when he approached "Shoeless" Joe Jackson, one of the accused players, and said tearfully, "Say it ain't so, Joe." The eight players were later banned from the sport by baseball commissioner Kenesaw "Mountain" Landis, but the damage to the sport's reputation had already been done.

Baseball successfully weathered the storm created by the "Black Sox" scandal, as it came to be known, thanks in large part to the emergence of a new hero who brought the public focus back to the playing field, capturing the American imagination and generating excitement of mythic proportions. In the 1920s, George Herman "Babe" Ruth—aptly nicknamed the "Sultan of Swat"—established himself as the colossal demigod of sports. With his landmark home runs and charismatic personality, Ruth triggered a renewed interest in baseball. While playing for the New York Yankees, Ruth established single-season as well as career records for home runs. Ruth's extravagant lifestyle and Paul Bunyan-like appearance made him a national curiosity, while his flair for drama, which included promising and delivering home runs for sick children in hospitals, elevated him to heroic proportions in the public eye. In mythologizing the sport, Ruth restored and even escalated the sanctity of the "national pastime" that had been diminished by the "Black Sox" scandal. Along with Ty Cobb, Honus Wagner, Christy Mathewson, and Walter Johnson, Ruth

gained immortality as a charter member of the Baseball Hall of Fame, opened in 1939.

By the 1940s, the heroes of the game came to represent an even more diverse body of the population. Substantial numbers of Italians, Poles, and Jews inhabited major league rosters, and a host of these Eastern Europeans became some of the game's biggest stars. Hank Greenberg and Joe DiMaggio, among many other children of immigrants, became national celebrities for their on-field exploits. In this respect, baseball served an important socializing function. As the *Sporting News* boasted, "The Mick, the Sheeney, the Wop, the Dutch and the Chink, the Cuban, the Indian, the Jap, or so the so-called Anglo-Saxon—his nationality is never a matter of moment if he can pitch, or hit, or field." During World War II, when teams were depleted by the war effort, even women became part of baseball history, as female leagues were established to satisfy the public's hunger for the sport. Still, the baseball-as-melting-pot image had one glaring omission. A "gentleman's agreement" dating back to the National Association excluded African Americans from playing alongside whites in professional baseball. Various so-called Negro Leagues had formed in the early twentieth century to satisfy the longings of African Americans to play the game, and a number of players such as Josh Gibson and Satchel Paige posted accomplishments that rivaled those of white major leaguers. Still, for all their talent, these players remained barred from major league baseball. In 1947, Brooklyn Dodgers general manager Brach Rickey signed Jackie Robinson to a major league contract, ostensibly to end segregation in baseball but also to capitalize on a burgeoning African American population newly migrated to the cities of the North. When Robinson played, blacks across the nation were glued to their radios, cheering him on as a symbol of their own hopes. Robinson was immensely unpopular with many white fans and players, but his performance on the field convinced other clubs of the correctness of Rickey's decision, and, by 1959, every team in baseball had been integrated.

The popularity of baseball reached an all-time high in the 1950s. A new generation of stars, among them Mickey Mantle, Ted Williams, and Willie Mays, joined Babe Ruth in the pantheon of American greats. Teams such as the Brooklyn Dodgers, affectionately known as "Dem Bums," won their way into the hearts of baseball fans with their play as well as with indelible personalities such as "Pee Wee" Reese, "Preacher" Roe, and Duke Snider. Baseball cards, small collectible photographs with player statistics on their flip sides, became a full-fledged industry, with companies such as Topps and Bowman capitalizing on boyhood idolatry of their favorite players. And Yogi Berra, catcher for the New York Yankees, single-handedly expanded baseball's already-sizable contribution to American speech with such head-scratching baseball idioms as "It ain't over 'til it's over." By the end of the twentieth century, Berra's witticisms had come to occupy an indelible place in the American lexicon.

The 1950s witnessed baseball at the height of its popularity and influence in American culture, but the decade also represented the end of an era in a sport relatively unchanged since its early days. Continuing financial success, buoyed especially by rising income from television and radio rights, led to club movement and league expansion. In 1953, the Boston Braves transferred its franchise to Milwaukee, and, five years later, the New York Giants and Brooklyn Dodgers moved to California, becoming the San Francisco Giants and the Los Angeles Dodgers, respectively. Later, new franchises would emerge in Houston and Montreal. The location of the ballparks in

areas geared toward suburban audiences destroyed many urban community ties to baseball forged over the course of a century.

Players also gained unprecedented power in the latter half of the twentieth century and, with it, astronomical salaries that did much to dampen public enthusiasm for their heroes. In 1976, pitchers Andy Messersmith and Dave McNally challenged the long-established reserve clause, which owners had, for more than a century, used to bind players to teams for the duration of their careers. Arbitrator Peter Seitz effectively demolished the clause, ushering in the era of free agency. For the first time in baseball history, players could peddle their wares on the open market, and, as a result, salaries skyrocketed. In 1976, the Boston Red Sox made history by signing Bill Campbell, baseball's first free agent, to a four-year, \$1 million dollar contract. The average annual salary rose from \$41,000 in 1974 to \$1,000,000 in 1992. In 1998, pitcher Kevin Brown signed the first \$100 million contract in sport history, averaging over \$13 million per annum. Free agency, by encouraging the constant movement of players from team to team, also did much to sever the long-term identification of players with particular teams and cities, thus further weakening community bonds with baseball.

Polls consistently revealed that fans resented the overpayment of players, but still they continued to attend big-league games en masse. Major league attendance records were broken six times in the 1985 through 1991 seasons. The players' strike of 1994 dramatically reversed this tide of goodwill. The players' rejection of a salary cap proposed by owners resulted in a 234-day labor stoppage during the 1994 season, with the cancellation of 921 regular-season games as well as the World Series. The strike, which ended early in the 1995 season, disrupted state and city economies and disappointed millions of fans. As a result, the 1995 season saw an unprecedented decline in attendance. The concurrent rise of basketball as a major spectator sport in the late 1990s also damaged the drawing power of baseball.

Stellar team performances as well as a number of stunning individual achievements in the latter half of the 1990s brought fans back to ballparks across the country in record numbers. The Atlanta Braves, with their remarkable seven divisional titles in the decade, reminded many of the glory days of baseball, when the New York Yankees and St. Louis Cardinals registered the word "dynasty" in the sport's lexicon. Similarly, the Yankees delivered one of the finest performances by a team in baseball history, logging 114 victories in 1998 and winning the World Series handily. On the players' end, Cal Ripken Jr., in eclipsing Lou Gehrig's mark of 2,130 consecutive games played, brought important positive press to baseball in the wake of its 1994 players' strike. Ripken's fortitude and passion for the game was a welcome relief to fans disillusioned by the image of selfish players concerned primarily with monetary returns. Similarly, Baltimore's Mark McGwire returned the focus of fans to the playing field with his assault on Roger Maris' single-season mark for home runs in 1998. McGwire's record-setting 70 round-trippers that season captured the nation's attention in a Ruth-ian fashion and did much to restore the mythos and romance of the sport, much as the Sultan of Swat's accomplishments had done in the 1920s.

Though professional baseball has had its moments of honor and of ignominy, perhaps the real legacy of the glory days of baseball is still to be found on community playing fields. Baseball is not only beloved as a spectator sport, but is still often the first team game played by both sexes in peewee and little leagues. While modern mothers may shudder to imagine their children imitating the tobacco-chewing ballplayers they see on television, there is an undeniable

thrill at the little leaguer's first home run that harks back to the most truly electrifying quality of baseball—that moment when skill meets desire, enabling the ordinary person to perform magnificent feats.

—Scott Tribble

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## Baseball Cards

Bought and traded by the youth of America who wanted to see their favorite players and exchange the cards with other young fans, baseball cards were a symbol of bubble gum hero worship and youthful innocence during the first three-quarters of the twentieth century. Serious collectibles only since about 1975, baseball card collecting has turned into a multimillion-dollar business, a transformation to commercial and financial enterprise.

The first baseball cards were a far cry from the high-tech, colorful prints of today. The Old Judge Company issued the first series of cards in 1887. They were distributed in cigarette packages and consisted of player photographs mounted on stiff cardboard. Those "Old Judges," produced until 1890, are treasured parts of many current collections. Included in those sets was one of the most valuable cards in the history of collecting—the Honus Wagner baseball card. According to legend, Wagner, a nonsmoker, was irate when he discovered his picture being used to promote smoking. As a result, he ordered his likeness removed from the set. Today, it appears there are no more than twenty-five Wagner cards in existence, each worth nearly one hundred thousand dollars.

By the 1920s, tobacco companies had given way to gum and confectionery enterprises as the prime distributors of baseball cards. Goudey Gum Company, a leading baseball card manufacturer, issued sets of baseball cards from 1933 to 1941. Goudey's attractive designs, with full-color line drawings on thick card stock, greatly influenced other cards issued during that era. Some of the most attractive and collectible cards were released in the two decades preceding World War II.

The war brought an abrupt end to the manufacture and collection of baseball cards because of the serious shortages of paper and rubber. Production was renewed in 1948 when the Bowman Gum Company issued a set of black-and-white prints with one card and one slab of gum in every penny pack. That same year, the Leaf Company of Chicago issued a set of colorized picture cards with bubble gum. Then in 1951, Topps Gum Company began issuing cards and became the undisputed leader in the manufacture of baseball cards, dominating



Dizzy Dean's 1934 baseball card.

the market for the next three decades. The Topps 1952 series set the standard for baseball cards by printing individual statistics, personal information, team logos, and large, clear, color pictures. There were continuing legal squabbles over who held the rights to players' pictures. With competition fierce during the 1950s, Topps finally bought out the Bowman Company.

It was not until the mid-1970s that the card collecting business began in earnest. One card collector stated that in 1972, there were only about ten card dealers in the New York area who would meet on Friday nights. No money ever changed hands—it was strictly trading. But several years later, the hobby began to grow. As more and more people began buying old cards, probably as a link to their youth, prices rose, and small trading meetings turned into major baseball card conventions at hotels and conference centers. By the end of the twentieth century, there are baseball card conventions, shows, and flea markets in nearly all major cities.

In the 1980s, various court decisions paved the way for other companies to challenge Topps's virtual monopoly. Fleer, Donruss, and Upper Deck issued attractive and colorful cards during the 1980s, although bubble gum was discarded as part of that package. In the 1990s, other companies followed: Leaf, Studio, Ultra, Stadium Club, Bowman, and Pinnacle. With competition fierce, these companies began offering "inserts" or special cards that would be issued as

limited editions in order to keep their prices high for collectors. However, these special sets began driving many single-player collectors out of the hobby. Average prices of cards were rising to unprecedented heights while the number of cards per pack was dropping.

—David E. Woodard

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## Basie, Count (1904-1984)

One of the most imitated piano players, Count Basie brought a minimalist, subtle style to his powerful work at the keyboard and was the driving force behind a star-studded band that influenced the course of jazz during the big band era of the late 1930s and early 1940s. Its style of interspersing the Count's intricately timed piano chords with blasting ensemble passages and explosive solos made it one of the most admired of big bands for more than 30 years.

By sheer accident, Basie came under the influence of the Kansas City jazz style, the essence of which was "relaxation." Franklin Driggs writes that the "Southwestern style" had "intense drive and yet was relaxed." Notes might be played "just before or just after" the beat while the rhythm flowed on evenly. These are characteristics any listener to Basie's "One O'Clock Jump" would understand. At age 24, Basie was stranded in Kansas City when a vaudeville act he accompanied disbanded. Born William James Basie in Red Bank, New Jersey, he had become interested in jazz and ragtime in the New York area and had studied briefly with Fats Waller. Adrift in Kansas City, he played background to silent movies and then spent a year with Walter Page's Blue Devils, a band that included blues singer Jimmy Rushing, whose career would merge with the Count's.

The Blue Devils disbanded in 1929, and Basie and some of the other members joined bandleader Bennie Moten, who had recorded his Kansas City-style jazz on Okeh Records. After Moten died in 1935, Basie took the best of his jazzmen and started a band of his own. Basie gradually upgraded the quality of his personnel, and when jazz critic John Hammond happened to hear the band on a Kansas City radio station, he persuaded Basie to bring the band to New York in





### Count Basie

1936. He recorded his first sides for Decca in January, 1937, and within a year the band's fame was becoming international.

There were a number of distinctive qualities about the Basie band other than the Count's unique piano style. The rhythm section—featuring Jo Jones, drums, Walter Page, bass, and Freddie Greene, guitar—was widely admired for its lightness, precision, and relaxed swing. Jimmy Rushing's alternatively virile and sensitive style of blues singing on such band numbers as “Sent for You Yesterday (Here You Come Today)” and “Goin’ to Chicago” were longstanding hits. The Count recruited a bandstand-full of outstanding side men, whose solo improvisations took the band to ever higher plateaus. They included Lester Young and Herschel Evans on tenor sax, Earl Warren on alto, Buck Clayton and Harry Edison on trumpets, and Benny Morton and Dickie Wells on trombone. The band's chief arranger was Eddie Durham, but various members of the band made contributions to so-called “head” arrangements, which were informally worked out as a group and then memorized.

The soul of Count Basie's music was the blues, played in a style described by Stanley Dance as “slow and moody, rocking at an easy dancing pace, or jumping at passionate up-tempos.” Most of the band's greatest successes have been blues based, including “One

O’Clock Jump” and numbers featuring the vocals of Jimmy Rushing. Woody Herman, whose first band was known as “The Band That Plays the Blues,” was strongly influenced by the Basie sound.

In the 1950s, Basie and his band toured Europe frequently, with great success. During his second tour of Britain, in the fall of 1957, his became the first American band to play a command performance for the Queen. He set another precedent that fall by playing 13 weeks at the roof ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel as the first African American jazz orchestra to play that prestigious venue.

During his long tenure at the head of a band that appealed to a wide variety of fans—both the jazz buffs and the uninitiated—swing music was becoming increasingly complex, rhythmically and harmonically, but Basie had no interest in the be-bop craze. George Simon writes that the Basie band “continued to blow and boom in the same sort of simple, swinging, straight-ahead groove in which it has slid out of Kansas City in the mid-1930s.” He adds that the Count “displayed an uncanny sense of just how far to go in tempo, in volume, and in harmonic complexity.”

Stanley Dance summed it up when he wrote in 1980 about the importance of Basie's “influence upon the whole course of jazz. By

keeping it simple and sincere, and swinging at all times, his music provided a guiding light in the chaos of the past two decades.”

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Basketball

The sport of basketball was invented at the close of the nineteenth century. By the end of the twentieth century, only soccer surpassed it as the world's most popular sport, as top basketball players from the United States were among the most recognized people on Earth.

Basketball was invented in late 1891 by Dr. James A. Naismith, physical education director at the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in Springfield, Massachusetts. The YMCA students were tiring of standard calisthenics and demanded a new, team sport to be played indoors between the end of football season in autumn and the start of baseball season in the spring. Naismith hit upon the idea of two teams of players maneuvering a ball across a gymnasium towards a set target. He obtained a pair of peach baskets—he originally wanted to use boxes—and nailed them on beams on either end of the gym. The first game ever played resulted in a 1-0 score, with one William R. Chase scoring the lone point with a soccer ball; Naismith and his players quickly realized that the new sport had potential.

Naismith resisted efforts to name his invention “Naismithball,” preferring “basket ball” instead. He wrote an article describing the sport in his YMCA's magazine in early 1892, and YMCAs across the country and around the world picked up on the sport during the 1890s. By 1895 Naismith had set up standard rules: five players on each team, with successful shots counting two points each. Eventually, players who were fouled by opponents would be able to make “free throws,” counting one point each, shooting a short distance from the basket.

Within weeks of Naismith's first game, women athletes in Springfield were also playing basketball, and the first intercollegiate college basketball game, in fact, was between the Stanford women's team and the University of California women's squad in April 1895. Within a year the University of Chicago beat the University of Iowa, 15-12, in the first men's college basketball game. By the first decade of the twentieth century, many colleges were fielding men's and women's basketball teams. Men's college basketball exploded in popularity during the 1930s, with heavily promoted doubleheaders at New York's Madison Square Garden featuring the top teams in the country before packed audiences.

The first successful professional basketball team was the Original Celtics, which were formed in New York before World War I. The team of New Yorkers generally won 90 percent of their games against

amateur and town teams, and had a record of 204 wins against only 11 defeats in the 1922-1923 season. In 1927, white promoter Abe Saperstein started the Harlem Globetrotters, a barnstorming basketball team made up of blacks (when most college and pro teams had no African American players). They became best known for their irreverent on-court antics and their theme song, the jazz standard “Sweet Georgia Brown.”

The scores of basketball games prior to the 1940s seem shockingly low today, as teams rarely scored more than 40 points a game. It was customary in early basketball for players to shoot the ball with both hands. Once the one-hand jump shot, popularized by Stanford star Hank Lusietti, gained acceptance in 1940, players were more confident in taking shots, and scoring began to increase.

Professional basketball leagues began and folded many times in basketball's infancy. By the end of World War II, there were two leagues competing for top college prospects, the National Basketball League and the Basketball Association of America. The two leagues merged in 1949, forming the National Basketball Association (NBA). The NBA's first star was the first great basketball tall-man, George Mikan. Improbable as it seems now, players over six feet in height were once considered to make bad basketball players, seen as ungainly and uncoordinated. The 6' 10" Mikan, who had starred as a collegian for DePaul University, erased this stereotype single-handedly, winning five NBA scoring titles as his Minneapolis (later Los Angeles) Lakers won four NBA championships. In a poll of sportswriters in 1950, Mikan was named “Mr. Basketball” for the first 50 years of the twentieth century.

As Mikan starred in the professional ranks, college basketball was shaken to the core by revelations of corruption. In 1951 the New York district attorney's office found that players at many of the top schools had agreed to play less than their best—to “shave points”—in exchange for gambler's money. The accused players frequently met gamblers during summers while working and playing basketball in New York's glamorous Catskills resort areas. Players from the City College of New York, which had won both the National Invitational Tournament and the NCAA (National Collegiate Athletic Association) basketball finals in 1951, were implicated, as were stars from Long Island University, coached by popular author Clair Bee. The image of top players testifying to grand juries would stain college basketball for the rest of the decade.

Basketball had been marked by stalling tactics, where one team would possess the ball for minutes at a time without shooting or scoring. In 1954, the NBA adopted a shot clock, requiring that a team shoot the ball within 24 seconds of gaining possession (College basketball would wait until 1985 before mandating a similar shot clock). This one rule resulted in an outburst of scoring, which helped push professional basketball attendance up in the 1950s. Fans of the era flocked to see the Boston Celtics. Led first by guard Bob Cousy, and later by center Bill Russell, the Celtics won eight straight NBA titles from 1959 through 1966. Their arch-nemesis was center Wilt Chamberlain of the Philadelphia Warriors and 76ers. The most dominant scorer in NBA history, Chamberlain averaged 50 points for the 1961-1962 season, including his memorable performance on March 2, 1962, where he scored 100 points. Chamberlain outperformed Bill Russell during Boston-Philadelphia matchups, but the Celtics almost inevitably won the titles.

As the Celtics were the NBA's dynasty in the 1960s, so were the UCLA (University of California, Los Angeles) Bruins college basketball's team to beat in the 1960s and 1970s. Coached by the soft-spoken, understated John Wooden, the UCLA Bruins won nine

NCAA tournament titles in one ten-year span, including seven straight from 1967 to 1973. Wooden's talent during this time included guards Walt Hazzard and Gail Goodrich, and centers Lew Alcindor (who would change his name to Kareem Abdul-Jabbar) and Bill Walton. During one stretch encompassing three seasons, UCLA won an improbable 88 consecutive games, an NCAA record.

The NBA found a new rival in 1967, with the creation of the American Basketball Association (ABA). The new league adopted a red, white, and blue basketball and established a line some 20 feet from the basket, beyond which a field goal counted for three points. The three-point line and the colored ball made the ABA something of a laughingstock to basketball traditionalists, and ABA attendance and media coverage indeed lagged behind the NBA's. But by the early 1970s, the ABA had successfully signed several top college picks from under the NBA's nose, and its top attraction was Julius Erving of the Virginia Squires and New York Nets. Erving, nicknamed "Dr. J," turned the slam-dunk into an art form, hanging in the air indefinitely, virtually at will. Erving was definitely the hottest young basketball talent in either league. In 1976 the NBA agreed to a merger, and four ABA teams joined the NBA. Erving signed a \$6 million contract with Philadelphia. In the first All-Star game after the merger, five of the 10 NBA All-Star players had ABA roots.

The merger, however, was not enough to stem the NBA's declining attendance and fan interest. People were not only not following professional basketball in the 1970s, they seemed actively hostile to it. The perception of pro basketball as being dominated by black athletes, some felt, prevented the sport from commanding television revenue and advertising endorsements. According to one disputed report in the late 1970s, fully three-quarters of NBA players were addicted to drugs. Once again, the NBA found its salvation in the college ranks. In 1979 Michigan State, with star guard Earvin "Magic" Johnson, defeated Indiana State, and star forward Larry Bird, for the NCAA basketball title. The game drew a record television audience, and helped popularize the NCAA basketball tournament, later known as "March Madness." The tournament eventually included 64 teams each season, with underdog, "Cinderella" teams such as North Carolina State in 1983 and Villanova in 1985 emerging to win the championship. By the 1990s, the tournament spawned hundreds of millions of dollars in office pools and Vegas gambling, as cities vied to host the "Final Four," where the four remaining teams would compete in the semifinals and championship game. Even the official start of college basketball practice in the fall became a commercialized ritual, as schools hosted "Midnight Madness" events, inviting fans to count the minutes until midnight of the first sanctioned day college teams could practice.

In the fall of 1979 Bird had joined the Boston Celtics and Johnson the Los Angeles Lakers. Johnson led the Lakers to the 1980 NBA title, playing every position in the deciding championship game and scoring 42 points. Bird and Johnson would usher in a new era in the NBA—Bird, with his tactical defense and Johnson with his exuberant offense (the Lakers' offensive strategy would be called "Showtime"). The Celtics and Lakers won eight NBA titles in the 1980s, as Bird and Johnson reprised their 1979 NCAA performance by going head-to-head in three NBA finals.

The success of the NBA created by Bird and Johnson during the 1980s rose to an even greater level during the 1990s, due in no small measure to Michael Jordan. The guard joined the Chicago Bulls in 1984, having played three seasons at the University of North Carolina; as a collegian, Jordan had been on an NCAA championship team

and the 1984 gold medal United States Olympic squad. Jordan immediately established himself as a marquee NBA player in his first seasons, scoring a playoff record 63 points in one 1986 post-season game. His dunks surpassed even Erving's in their artistry, and Jordan developed a remarkable inside game to complement that. Slowly, a great Bulls team formed around him, and Jordan led the Bulls to three straight NBA titles in 1991-1993. Jordan then abruptly left basketball for 16 months to pursue a major league baseball career. A chagrined Jordan returned to the Bulls in February 1995, and in his final three complete seasons the Bulls won three more consecutive championships. The 1996 Bulls team went 72-10 in the regular season, and many experts consider this team, led by Jordan, Scottie Pippen, Dennis Rodman, and Toni Kukoc, to be the finest in NBA history. Jordan retired for good after the 1997-1998 season; his last shot in the NBA, in the closing seconds of the deciding championship game against Utah in June 1998, was the winning basket. Jordan's announcement of his retirement in January 1999 received media coverage usually reserved for presidential impeachments and state funerals.

Though the United States had been the birthplace of basketball, by the end of the twentieth century America had to recognize the emergence of international talent. The Summer Olympics introduced basketball as a medal sport in 1936, and the United States won gold medals in its first seven Olympics, winning 63 consecutive games before losing the 1972 Munich gold medal game, 50-49, to the Soviet Union on a controversial referee's call. After the United States lost in the 1988 Olympics, the International Olympic Committee changed its rules to allow the United States to assemble a team made up not of amateurs, but of NBA stars. The "Dream Team" for the 1992 Barcelona Games was, some insisted, the greatest all-star team ever, in any sport. The squad featured Larry Bird, Magic Johnson (who had retired from the NBA in 1991 after testing positive for the HIV virus), Michael Jordan, Charles Barkley, Patrick Ewing, Karl Malone, and David Robinson. The United States team crushed its opponents, frequently by margins of 50 points a game. Many of the Dream Team opponents eagerly waited, after being defeated, to get the American stars' autographs and pictures. The 1992 squad easily won a gold medal, as did a professional United States team in the 1996 Atlanta Olympics (whose stars included Grant Hill, Scottie Pippen, and Shaquille O'Neal).

The 1990s also saw an explosion of interest of women's basketball, on professional as well as collegiate levels. Many credit this popularity with the enforcement of Title IX, a 1971 federal statute requiring high schools and colleges to fund women's sports programs on an equal basis with men's. The top college team of the time was Tennessee, which won three straight women's NCAA titles in 1996-1998, narrowly missing a fourth in 1999. In 1996, a women's professional league, the American Basketball League (ABL) was inaugurated, followed a year later by the Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA), an offshoot of the NBA. The ABL folded in 1999, but the WNBA, which held its season during the summertime, showed genuine promise; its stars included Rebecca Lobo of the New York Liberty (she had starred at the University of Connecticut) and Cynthia Cooper of the Houston Comets, which won the first two WNBA championships. Women's basketball was characterized less by dunks and flamboyant moves, and more by fundamental offense and defense. John Wooden, for one, said he generally preferred watching women's basketball to men's. College and pro women's games were known, in fact, for having a strong male fan base, as well as entire families in attendance.

As the twentieth century closed, the NBA proved it was no longer immune to the pressures of American professional sports. As major league baseball and the National Football League had suffered through lengthy and devastating strikes during the 1980s and 1990s, the NBA had its first-ever work stoppage in the fall of 1998. NBA team owners locked players out in October, declaring the collective bargaining agreement with the player's union null and void. At issue was the league salary cap; each team had been previously allowed to exceed the cap for one player (in Chicago's case, for Michael Jordan), but the owners wanted to abolish this exception. The players steadfastly refused, and the first half of the 1998-1999 season was lost. Both sides reached an agreement in early 1999, and the regular season began three months late, on February 6. To the surprise of players and owners alike, the NBA lockout garnered little attention from the fans.

Basketball slowly entered other elements of American popular culture during the latter part of the twentieth century. "Rabbit" Angstrom, the middle-aged hero of four John Updike novels, had been a star basketball player in high school. Jason Miller's Pulitzer-Prize winning play *That Championship Season* (1972) reunited disillusioned, bitter ex-jocks on the anniversary of their state high school title victory. One of the most acclaimed documentaries of the 1990s, *Hoop Dreams* (1994), tracked two talented Chicago ghetto basketball players through their four years of high school, each with an eye towards a college scholarship and an NBA career. Novelist John Edgar Wideman, who had played basketball at the University of Pennsylvania during the 1960s, often used the game metaphorically in his award-winning fiction (his daughter Jamila was a star player at Stanford, and later the WNBA). Wideman's teammate at Oxford University while on a Rhodes Scholarship was Bill Bradley, who played for Princeton, and later had a Hall of Fame professional career with the Knicks. Bradley served three terms in the United States Senate, and wrote a bestselling book defining basketball's qualities (*Values of the Game*) as he prepared a presidential campaign for the year 2000.

—Andrew Milner

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## Bathhouses

In many cultures, bathing in communal bathhouses has been an important social and even religious ritual. In Japan it is the *senzo*, among Yiddish-speaking Jews, the *shvitz*, and in the Arab world the *hammam*, all of them centers for socializing across class lines, providing relief from culturally imposed modesty, and a place to get luxuriously clean. By the early 1900s, New York City had built and maintained a network of public bathhouses—many of them resembling Roman temples—in immigrant neighborhoods. Because they are traditionally segregated by gender, bathhouses have also long been associated with same-sex eroticism. It is in this capacity that they have gained most of their notoriety in American culture. Though the increasing availability of indoor plumbing in private houses decreased the need for public baths, the bathhouse remained a mainstay of American gay male culture until the advent of the AIDS epidemic in the mid-1980s. One of the most prominent of these venues was the Club Baths chain, a nationwide members-only network that permitted access to facilities across the country. Most of the Club bathhouses offered clean but spartan accommodations (a cubicle with a mattress pad or locker for personal items, and a fresh towel) for about \$10 for an eight-hour stay.

Even before the reconstruction of a "gay" identity from the 1960s, the baths had achieved some degree of fame as male-only enclaves: witness the depiction in films of businessmen, spies, or gangsters meeting in a Turkish bath, protected only by a towel around the waist. The Turkish baths of yore were part social club, part night club, and part sex club. They often had areas called "orgy rooms" where immediate and anonymous sex was available. The decade of the 1970s, after the beginning of gay liberation, was the "golden age" of the gay bathhouse. Gay male culture became chic, and these gathering places became celebrity "hot spots." The most famous of them was the Continental Baths on Manhattan's Upper West Side, where Bette Midler launched her career singing to an audience of towel-clad men. In the intoxicating years that followed the Stonewall riots of 1969, gay men reveled in their new visibility, with bathhouses emerging as carnal theme parks that became self-contained fantasy worlds for erotic play, though it is not clear how many of the patrons identified themselves as "gay," since the focus was on "men having sex with men," not on socially constructed identities. It was not uncommon for bathhouse patrons to include married "straight" men taking a break from domestic obligations in orgy rooms packed full of writhing bodies, or in private rooms for individual encounters. Gay or straight, customers hoped to find in the baths a passport to intense male pleasure in an environment that fairly throbbed with Dionysian energy. One large bathhouse in San Francisco boasted that it could serve up to eight hundred customers at a time. The St. Marks Baths in New York's East Village attracted customers from around the world with its sleek, modernistic facilities that were a far cry from the dumpy barracks of earlier decades, like the Everard Baths farther uptown, once the site of a church. The Beacon Baths in midtown Manhattan adjoined a cloistered convent, and it has long been rumored that the bathhouse once borrowed fresh towels from the nuns when its supply ran short.

The AIDS epidemic, which claimed gay men as some of its earliest victims, caused many public health officials and frightened patrons to recommend the bathhouses be closed, though others feared that such a move would only force sexual activity underground, beyond the reach of counseling, besides erasing the gains of gay liberation and leading to the repressive eradication of gay culture. The owners of the baths fought the closures, but most of them were shuttered by 1985. By the 1990s, gay baths had re-emerged in many large cities. Some have returned in the guise of the shadowy venues of pre-liberation days; others have re-opened as private sex clubs, taking great precautions to educate customers and enforce rules of safe sex by such means as installing video surveillance cameras and hiring “lifeguards” to monitor sexual activity.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Batman

Batman is one of the most popular and important characters created for comic books. In the entire pantheon of comic-book superheroes, only Superman and Spider-Man rival him in significance. Among the handful of comic-book characters who have transcended the market limitations of the comic-book medium, Batman has truly become an American cultural icon and an international marketing industry in and of himself.

Batman was born out of DC editor Vincent Sullivan’s desire to create a costumed character to exploit the recent success of DC’s first superhero, Superman. Taking inspiration from various Hollywood adventure, horror, and gangster movies, cartoonist Bob Kane prepared a design for a masked crime-fighter in the costume of a bat in 1939. He then consulted with writer Bill Finger, who contributed to the vigilante concept ideas derived from pulp magazines. The resulting character was thus visually and thematically a synthesis of the most lurid and bizarre representations of popular culture available to a 1930s mass audience. It was a concept seemingly destined for either the trashcan or comic-book immortality.

Like Superman, Batman wore a costume, maintained a secret identity, and battled the scourge of crime and injustice. But to anyone who read the comic books, the differences between the two leading superheroes were more striking than the similarities. Unlike Superman, Batman possessed no superhuman powers, relying instead upon his own wits, technical skills, and fighting prowess. Batman’s motives were initially obscure, but after a half-dozen issues readers learned the disturbing origins of his crime-fighting crusade. As a child, Bruce Wayne had witnessed the brutal murder of his mother



Adam West as Batman.

and father. Traumatized but determined to avenge his parents’ death, Wayne used the fortune inherited from his father to assemble an arsenal of crime-fighting gadgets while training his body and mind to the pinnacle of human perfection. One night when Wayne sits contemplating an appropriate persona that will strike fear into the hearts of criminals, a bat flies through the window. He takes it as an omen and declares, “I shall become a bat!”

Kane and Finger originally cast Batman as a vigilante pursued by the police even as he preyed upon criminals. Prowling the night, lurking in the shadows, and wearing a frightening costume with a hooded cowl and a flowing Dracula-like cape, Batman often looked more like a villain than a hero. In his earliest episodes, he even carried a gun and sometimes killed his opponents. The immediate popularity of his comic books testified to the recurring appeal of a crime-fighter who appropriates the tactics of criminals and operates free of legal constraints. As Batman himself once put it, “If you can’t beat [criminals] ‘inside’ the law, you must beat them ‘outside’ it—and that’s where I come in!”

Batman’s early adventures were among the most genuinely atmospheric in comic-book history. He waged a grim war against crime in a netherworld of gloomy castles, fog-bound wharves, and the dimly lit alleys of Gotham City—an urban landscape that seemed perpetually enshrouded in night. Bob Kane was one of the first comic-book artists to experiment—however crudely—with unusual angle shots, distorted perspectives, and heavy shadows to create a disturbing mood of claustrophobia and madness. These early classic issues also rank among the most graphically violent of their time. Murder, brutality, and bloodshed were commonplace therein until 1941, when

DC responded to public criticism by instituting a new code of standards to “clean up” its comic books. As a result Batman’s adventures gradually moved out of the shadows and became more conventional superhero adventure stories.

The addition of Batman’s teenage sidekick Robin also served to lighten the mood of the series. Kane and Finger introduced Robin, who, according to Kane, was named after Robin Hood, in the April 1940 issue of *Detective Comic*. They hoped that the character would open up more creative possibilities (by giving Batman someone to talk to) and provide a point of identification for young readers. Like Bruce Wayne, who adopts the orphaned youth and trains him in the ways of crime fighting, young Dick Grayson witnessed the murder of his parents.

Robin has been a figure of some controversy. Many believed that the brightly-colored costumed teenager was obnoxious and detracted too much from the premise of Batman as an obsessed and solitary avenger. Oftentimes it seemed that Robin’s principle role was to be captured and await rescue by Batman. In his influential 1954 polemic against comic books, *Seduction of the Innocent*, Dr. Frederick Wertham even charged that the strange relationship between Batman and Robin was rife with homosexual implications. Nevertheless, the longevity and consistent commercial success of the Batman and Robin team from the 1940s to the 1960s suggested that the concept of the “Dynamic Duo” was popular with most readers.

Much of Batman’s popularity over the decades must be attributed to his supporting cast of villains—arguably the cleverest and most memorable rogues gallery in comic books. Ludicrous caricatures based upon single motifs, villains like Cat Woman, Two-Face, the Penguin, and the Riddler were perfect adversaries for the equally ludicrous Batman. Without question, however, the most inspired and most popular of Batman’s villains has always been the Joker. With his white face, green hair, purple suit, and perpetual leering grin, the homicidal Joker is the personification of sheer lunacy, at once delightful and horrifying. The laughing Joker was also the ideal archenemy for the stoic and rather humorless Batman, often upstaging the hero in his own comic book.

After years of strong sales, Batman’s share of the comic-book market began to decline in the early 1960s. Facing stiff competition from the hip new antihero superheroes of Marvel Comics (Spider-Man, the Hulk, the Fantastic Four), Batman and his peers at DC epitomized the comic-book “Establishment” at a time when anti-establishment trends were predominating throughout youth culture.

In 1966, however, Batman’s sales received a strong boost from a new source—television. That year the ABC television network launched the prime-time live-action series *Batman*. The campy program was part of a widespread trend whereby American popular culture made fun of itself. The *Batman* show ridiculed every aspect of the comic-book series from the impossible nobility of Batman and Robin (portrayed respectively by actors Adam West and Burt Ward, who both overacted—one would hope—deliberately) to the bewildering array of improbable gadgets (bat-shark repellent), to comic-book sound effects (Pow! Bam! Zowie!?). For a couple of years the show was a phenomenal hit. Film and television celebrities like César Romero (the Joker), Burgess Meredith (the Penguin), and Julie Newmar (Cat Woman) clamored to appear on the show, which sparked a boom in sales of toys, t-shirts, and other licensed bat-merchandise. Sales of Batman’s comic book also increased dramatically for several years. But the show’s lasting impact on the comic book was arguably a harmful one. For by making the entire Batman

concept out to be a big joke, the show’s producers seemed to be making fun of the hero’s many fans who took his adventures seriously. At a time when ambitious young comic-book creators were trying to tap into an older audience, the *Batman* show firmly reinforced the popular perception that comic books were strictly for children and morons.

New generations of writers and artists understood this dilemma and worked to rescue Batman from the perils of his own multi-media success. Writer Dennis O’Neil and artist Neal Adams produced a series of stylish and very serious stories that did much to restore Batman to his original conception as a nocturnal avenger. These efforts did not reverse Batman’s declining sales throughout the 1970s—a bad time for comic-book sales generally—but they gave the comic book a grittier and more mature tone that subsequent creators would expand upon.

In the 1980s and 1990s writers have explored the darker implications of Batman as a vigilante seemingly on the brink of insanity. In a 1986 “graphic novel” (the trendy term given to “serious” comic books—with serious prices) titled *Bat Man: The Dark Knight Returns*, writer Frank Miller cast the hero as a slightly mad middle-aged fascist out to violently purge a dystopian future Gotham City gutted by moral decay. The success of *The Dark Knight Returns* sparked a major revival in the character’s popularity. A series of graphic novels and comic-book limited-series, including *Batman: Year One* (1987), *Batman: the Killing Joke* (1988), and *Batman: Arkham Asylum* (1989), delved into the most gothic, violent, and disturbing qualities of the Batman mythos and proved especially popular with contemporary comic-book fans.

More importantly in terms of public exposure and profits were the much-hyped series of major motion picture releases produced by DC Comics’ parent company Warner Brothers featuring characters from the Batman comic book. Director Tim Burton’s *Batman* with Michael Keaton in the title role and Jack Nicholson as the Joker was the most successful both commercially and critically. But three sequels to date have all generated impressive box office receipts, video sales, and licensing revenue while introducing DC’s superhero to new generations of comic-book readers. Also in the 1990s, a syndicated *Batman* animated series produced by the Fox network has managed the delicate task—never really achieved by the live-action films—of broadening the character’s media exposure while remaining true to the qualities of the Batman comic books.

Batman is one of the few original comic-book characters to have generated more popular interest and revenue from exposure in media other than comic books. But Batman is first and foremost a product of comic books, and it is in this medium where he has been most influential. The whole multitude of costumed avengers driven to strike fear into the hearts of evil-doers owe much to Bob Kane and Bill Finger’s Batman—the original comic-book caped crusader.

—Bradford Wright

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## Baum, L. Frank (1856-1919)

With *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (1900), L. Frank Baum created a new kind of plain-language fairy tale, purely American, modern, industrial, and for the most part non-violent. He said in his introduction that the book “was written solely to please children of today. It aspires to being a modernized fairy tale, in which the wonderment and joy are retained and the heart-aches and nightmares are left out.” *The Wizard of Oz*—“Wonderful” was dropped in later printings—became an institution for generations of children. Reinforced by the 1939 MGM film, the story and its messages quickly became a part of American culture. The belief that the power to fulfill your deepest desires lie within yourself, that good friends can help you get where you are going, and that not all Wizards are for real has offered many comfort through turbulent times.

The hero of the story—young Dorothy of Kansas, an orphan who lives with her Aunt Em and Uncle Henry—is a plucky and resourceful American girl. Yanked by a cyclone into Oz, she accidentally kills the Wicked Witch of the East and is given the witch’s silver (changed to ruby in the 1939 movie) shoes. In hope of getting home again, Dorothy, with her little dog Toto, sets off down the Yellow Brick Road—to the Emerald City, of course—to ask the Wizard for help. Along the way, she meets the Scarecrow in search of a brain, the Tin Woodman who desires a heart, and the Cowardly Lion who is after courage. Following the storyline of most mythical quests, the friends encounter numerous adventures and must overcome great obstacles before realizing their destiny. The Wizard turns out to be a humbug, but after Dorothy destroys the Wicked Witch of the West by melting her with a bucket of water, he provides her friends with symbols of what they already have proven they possess. The book ends with Dorothy clicking her silver shoes together and being magically transported home, where her aunt and uncle have been awaiting her return.

In the *Wizard of Oz* series, Baum left out the dark, scary underbelly of the original Grimm fairy tales and created a world where people do not die and everyone is happy. He also incorporated twentieth-century technology into the books, and used recognizable characters and objects from American life such as axle grease, chinaware, scarecrows, and patchwork quilts. Although Baum poked gentle fun at some aspects of American life—such as the “humbug” nature of government—*The Wizard of Oz* goes directly to biting satire. Dorothy is a girl from the midwest (typical American) who meets up with a brainless scarecrow (farmers), a tin man with no heart (industry), a cowardly lion (politicians), and a flashy but ultimately powerless wizard (technology). It presents an American Utopia where no one dies, people work half the day and play half the day, and is a place where everyone is kind to one another. Ray Bradbury referred to the story as “what we hope to be.”

Lyman Frank Baum was born on May 15, 1856 in Chittenango, New York. His childhood, by all accounts, was happy, marred only by

a minor heart condition. For his fourteenth birthday, his father gave him a printing press, with which young Frank published a neighborhood newspaper. His 1882 marriage to Maud Gage, daughter of women’s rights leader Matilda Joslyn Gage, was also a happy one; Frank played the role of jovial optimist, and Maud was the disciplinarian of their four sons.

Baum worked as an actor, store owner, newspaper editor, reporter, and traveling salesman. In 1897, he found a publisher for his children’s book *Mother Goose in Prose*, and from then on was a full-time writer. Baum teamed up with illustrator W. W. Denslow to produce *Father Goose, His Book* in 1899 and then *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* in 1900. The book, splashed with color on almost every page, sold out its first edition of 10,000 copies in two weeks. Over four million copies were sold before 1956, when the copyright expired. Since then, millions more copies have been sold in regular, abridged, Golden, pop-up, and supermarket versions.

In 1902, Baum helped produce a hit musical version of his book, which ran until 1911, at which point the Baums moved to a new Hollywood home, “Ozcot.” In spite of failing health, he continued to write children’s books, producing nearly 70 titles under his own name and seven pseudonyms including, as Edith Van Dyne, the popular *Aunt Jane’s Nieces* series. Inundated with letters from children asking for more about Dorothy and Oz, Baum authored 14 Oz books altogether, each appearing annually in December. After Baum’s death, the series was taken over by Ruth Plumly Thompson; others have since continued the series.

The books spawned a one-reel film version in 1910, a feature-length black and white film in 1925, a radio show in the 1930s sponsored by Jell-O, and, in 1939, the classic MGM movie starring Judy Garland, which guaranteed *The Wizard of Oz’s* immortality. Beginning in 1956, the film was shown on television each year, bringing the story to generations of children and permanently ingraining it into American culture.

—Jessy Randall

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## Bay, Mel (1913-1997)

Founder of Mel Bay Publications, Melbourne E. Bay was the most successful author and publisher of guitar method books in the late twentieth century. Born in Missouri, Bay became a popular self-taught guitarist and banjo player in the region. He established himself

as a music teacher in St. Louis, and in 1947 began to write and publish guitar method materials; eventually he added instructions for playing other instruments, and by the 1990s his corporation also produced instructional videos.

Bay's books sold by the millions, and their quality earned Bay many awards and honors. Among others, Bay received the Lifetime Achievement Awards from the American Federation of Musicians and the Guitar Foundation of America, as well as a Certificate of Merit from the St. Louis Music Educators Association. St. Louis also celebrated Mel Bay Day on October 25, 1996. He died on May 14, 1997, at the age of 84.

—David Lonergan

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## Bay of Pigs Invasion

President John F. Kennedy's sanctioning of the Bay of Pigs operation had a significant impact on contemporary popular perceptions of his administration. For the majority, Kennedy's actions proved that he was willing to actively confront the perceived "communist threat" in Central and South America. However, his action also disillusioned student radicals who had supported Kennedy during his election campaign and accelerated the politicization of student protest in the United States.

In the early hours of April 17, 1961, a force consisting of 1400 Cuban exiles landed at the Bay of Pigs, Cuba, in an attempt to overthrow the revolutionary government headed by Fidel Castro. From the beginning, this "invasion" was marred by poor planning and poor execution. The force, which had been secretly trained and armed in Guatemala by the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), was too large to engage in effective covert operations, yet too small to realistically challenge Castro in a military confrontation without additional support from the United States. Most significantly, the popular uprising upon which the invasion plan had been predicated did not occur. After three days of fighting, the insurgent force, which was running short of ammunition and other supplies, had been effectively subdued by Castro's forces. In a futile effort to avoid capture, the insurgents dispersed into the Zapata swamp and along the coast. Cuban forces quickly rounded up 1,189 prisoners, while a few escaped to waiting U.S. ships; 114 were killed.

Although the Bay of Pigs operation had initially been intended to be carried out in a manner that would allow America to deny involvement, it was readily apparent that the United States government was largely responsible for the invasion. Months before the Bay of Pigs operation commenced, American newspapers ran stories which revealed the supposedly covert training operations both in Miami and Guatemala. Consequently, when the invasion began, the official cover story that it was a spontaneous insurrection led by defecting Cuban forces was quickly discredited. Revelations concerning the United States' role in the attack served to weaken its

stature in Latin America and significantly undermined its foreign policy position. After the collapse of the operation, a *New York Times* columnist commented that the invasion made the United States look like "fools to our friends, rascals to our enemies, and incompetents to the rest." However, domestic political protest was allayed by President John F. Kennedy who, although he had been in office for less than one hundred days, assumed full responsibility for the fiasco. According to Kennedy biographer Theodore C. Sorensen, Kennedy's decisive action avoided uncontrolled leaks and eliminated the possibility of partisan investigations.

The operation which resulted in the Bay of Pigs disaster had initially been conceived in January 1960 under the Eisenhower Administration. Originally, this operation was envisioned as constituting the covert landing of a small, highly-trained force that would engage in guerrilla activities in order to facilitate a popular uprising. Over the ensuing fifteen months, the CIA systematically increased the scale of the proposed operation. According to both Sorensen and biographer Arthur M. Schlesinger, Kennedy, upon assuming office, had little choice but to approve the continuance of the operation. Its importance had been stressed by former president Dwight D. Eisenhower, it was supported by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and by influential advisors such as John Foster Dulles. Further, as noted historian John L. Gaddis argued in *Now We Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (1997), Kennedy believed that "underlying historical forces gave Marxism-Leninism the advantage in the 'third world'" and viewed Cuba as a clear example of the threat that Communism posed in Latin America. As a result, Kennedy was predisposed to take action against Castro. Unfortunately, due to inaccurate and ineffective communication between planning and operational personnel, the significant changes that had been instituted within the operation were not sufficiently emphasized to Kennedy. Consequently, according to Sorensen, Kennedy "had in fact approved a plan bearing little resemblance to what he thought he had approved." Leaders of the Cuban exiles were given the impression that they would receive direct military support once they had established a beach head, and an underlying assumption of CIA planning was that the United States would inevitably intervene. However, Kennedy steadfastly refused to sanction overt military involvement.

The impact of the Bay of Pigs invasion on American public opinion was sharply divided. According to Thomas C. Reeves, Kennedy's public support of and sympathy for the Cuban exiles rallied the public in support of their "firm, courageous, self-critical, and compassionate chief executive." A poll conducted in early May indicated sixty-five percent support for Kennedy and his actions. Conversely, the Bay of Pigs invasion also served to spark student protests. Initially, students had been enchanted by Kennedy's vision of a transformed American society and by the idealism embodied by programs such as the Peace Corps. However, students, particularly those within the New Left, were disillusioned by Kennedy's involvement with the invasion. On the day of the landings, 1,000 students held a protest rally at Berkeley, and on April 22, 2,000 students demonstrated in San Francisco's Union Square. This disillusionment spawned a distrust of the Kennedy Administration and undoubtedly accelerated the political divisions that developed within American society during the 1960s.

Internationally, the Bay of Pigs invasion provided Castro with evidence of what he characterized as American imperialism, and this enabled him to consolidate his position within Cuba. Ultimately, the invasion drove Castro toward a closer alliance with the Soviet Union



and significantly increased both regional and global political tensions. The failure of the invasion also convinced Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev that Kennedy was weak and indecisive. This impression undoubtedly contributed to Khrushchev's decision to place nuclear missiles in Cuba and to the confrontation that developed during the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962). However, sympathetic biographers have argued that "failure in Cuba in 1961 contributed to success in Cuba in 1962," because the experience forced Kennedy to break with his military advisors and, consequently, enabled him to avoid a military clash with the Soviet Union.

—Christopher D. O'Shea

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## Baywatch

Though dismissed by its critics with such disparagements as "Body watch" and "Babe watch," David Hasselhoff's *Baywatch* became the most popular television show in the world during the mid-1990s. Notorious for its risque bathing suits, the show depicted the Los Angeles County Beach Patrol as it braved dangerous surf and emotional riptides to save lives and loves. The show ran briefly on NBC during 1989-1990 before being canceled but became, in its new incarnation, one of the few shows in TV history not only to exonerate itself in a post-network afterlife but to actually become a mega-hit.

*Baywatch* began with David Hasselhoff as Mitch Buchannon, a veteran career lifeguard recently promoted to lieutenant; Parker Stevenson as Craig Pomeroy, a successful lawyer who continued to moonlight as a lifeguard; and a supporting cast of sun-bronzed characters who adopted life at the beach for reasons of their own. In its original incarnation, *Baywatch* finished in seventy-fourth place in the Nielsen ratings among 111 series to air on the three major networks. At the same time, it ranked as the number-one U.S. import in both Germany and Great Britain, where viewers perceived it to be a

glimpse of what America was all about in a format that was at once wordless and instantly translatable to any culture in the world—beautiful people in a beautiful environment.

In 1990, after being canceled by the network, *Baywatch* star Hasselhoff and three of the show's other producers recognized its international potential and decided to invest their own money in the show. They cut production costs from \$1.3 million per episode to \$850,000, and marketed it to independent stations. In syndication, the show generated more than one billion viewers between 1994 and 1996 in more than one hundred countries around the world.

"We wanted to create a dramatic series that allows our lead characters to become involved with interesting and unusual people and situations," said executive producer Michael Berk. "Lifeguards are frequently involved in life and death situations and, as a part of their daily routine, come into contact with thousands of people from diverse walks of life." This format allows the lifeguards to interact with an amazing number of robbers, murderers, international drug runners, runaway teens, and rapists who seemingly stalk L.A.'s beaches between daring rescues, shark attacks, and boat sinkings. All of this is blended with the predictable love stories and plenty of exposed skin. Indeed, the show's opening, depicting the physically perfect male and female lifeguards running on the beach, has become one of the most satirized motifs on television.

Surprisingly, however, the soap-opera-type stories have allowed the characters to grow from episode to episode and have created some interesting dimensions for the show's regulars. Hasselhoff's character, Mitch, comes off a nasty divorce and custody battle for his son and begins to date again. "He's a guy about my age," says Hasselhoff (forty), "divorced, with a kid. With many years as a lifeguard under his belt, he's promoted to lieutenant and must take on a more supervisory role. But, he has mixed emotions. He is no longer one of the guys and must assume the role of an authority figure, while at home, as a newly divorced parent, he has to learn to cope with the responsibilities of a single father."

The other characters on the show have been significantly younger, with the average cast member being in his or her twenties. Each succeeding season has brought new cast members to the series as older characters drifted off, died in accidents, married, and otherwise moved on as the stars who played them became famous enough to move into other acting ventures. Pamela Anderson Lee, the former "Tool Time" girl" on *Home Improvement*, left *Baywatch* after becoming an international sex symbol and garnered a movie contract, only to be replaced by a succession of similarly endowed sun-drenched California blondes.

The reasons for the show's phenomenal success are varied. Many critics have argued that the sex appeal of the lifeguards in their scanty beach attire has been the primary reason for viewers (particularly young males) to tune in. *Baywatch* has, in fact, created its share of sex symbols with Hasselhoff, Lee, and, more recently, Yasmine Bleeth and Carmen Electra achieving international celebrity on tabloid covers and calendars. There is also the appeal of the beach itself and the California lifestyle—a sun-and-surf image that offers an escape from the grim reality of people's daily existence. Some say there is a more fundamental appeal that is as old as television itself: *Baywatch* is a family ensemble no less than *The Waltons*, *Little House on the Prairie* or *Dr. Quinn, Medicine Woman*. Hasselhoff's Mitch is the father figure for the group of lifeguards, while his female counterpart, Lt. Stephanie Holden (Alexandra Paul), serves as a surrogate mother for the beach people who wander in and out of each



The women of *Baywatch*.

episode (until the Holden character's death during the seventh season). The supporting cast of lifeguards are the quirky and quarreling siblings who ultimately must be rescued from their various escapades by Hasselhoff's character. Then there is Mitch's own son, Hobie, a thirteen-year-old who gets into his own adventures and who is just beginning to get to know his father. The two-part ending of the 1997-98 season featured Mitch's marriage to Neely Capshaw (Gena Lee Nolen).

In an effort to attract the whole family rather than its earlier self-professed teenager demographic, *Baywatch* gradually escalated the level of its story lines to include depictions of social ills, acceptance of aging and death, and a number of ethical and moral dilemmas. "What has happened," said Hasselhoff, "is that while people were making so many jokes about us, we became a real show."

—Steve Hanson

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## Bazooka Joe

Gum manufacturers commonly used gimmicks, like sports trading cards, to help boost sales. Topps Chewing Gum, Inc., which began producing Bazooka bubble gum in 1947, included comics with its small chunk of pink bubble gum. The gum took its name from the unplayable musical instrument, which American comedian Bob Burns made from two gas pipes and a whiskey funnel, called a "bazooka."

The comic, featuring Joe, a blonde kid with an eye patch, and his gang, debuted in 1953. In the crowded chewing gum market of the 1950s, Topps used the comic to distinguish Bazooka from other brands. The jokes produced more groaning than laughter, and included a fortune. Collectors of the comics redeemed them for prizes, such as bracelets, harmonicas, and sunglasses. In the 1990s, Joe's popularity fell, and the strip was modernized in response to market studies in which kids said they wanted characters who were "more hip."

—Daryl Umberger

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## The Beach Boys

As long as bleach-blond beach bums ride the waves and lonely geeks fantasize of romance, the Beach Boys will blare from car radios into America's psyche. Emerging from Southern California in the early 1960s, the Beach Boys became the quintessential American teen band, their innocent songs of youthful longing, lust, and liberation coming to define the very essence of white, suburban teenage life. At the same time, they mythologized that life through the sun-kissed prism of Southern California's palm trees, beaches, and hot rods, much like the civic boosters and Hollywood moguls who preceded them. From 1962 to 1966, the Beach Boys joined Phil Spector and Berry Gordy as the most influential shapers of the American Top 40. But like the California myth itself, the Beach Boys' sunny dreams were tempered by an underlying darkness, born of their tempestuous personal and professional lives. That darkness sometimes fueled the group's greatest work. It also produced tragedy for the band's

members, especially resident genius Brian Wilson, and by the 1980s the band collapsed into self-parody.

The nucleus of the Beach Boys was the Wilson family, which lived in a simple bungalow in the Los Angeles suburb of Hawthorne. At home, brothers Brian (1942—), Dennis (1944-1983), and Carl (1946-1998) were introduced to music by their temperamental father, Murry Wilson, whose rare displays of affection were usually accompanied by the purchase of musical instruments, records, or lessons. Although each son adopted his father's love of music, it was the eldest, Brian Wilson, who embraced it with passion. His two earliest childhood memories were central to his musical evolution and future career. As a toddler, Brian remembered requesting George Gershwin's "Rhapsody in Blue" whenever he visited his grandmother's home. He also remembered his father slapping him at the age of three; he blamed the loss of hearing in his right ear in grade school on the incident. Brian was left unable to hear music in stereo for the rest of his life.

As the Wilsons entered high school, they absorbed the music and culture which would later fuel the Beach Boys. In addition to his classical training at school, Brian loved vocal groups (especially the close-harmony style of the Four Freshmen) and the complex ballads of Broadway and Tin Pan Alley. But the Wilsons—even the reclusive Brian—were also immersed in the teenage culture of suburban



The Beach Boys

America: hot rods, go-karts, drive-ins, and, most importantly, rock 'n' roll. They listened to Bill Haley and Elvis Presley and above all Chuck Berry, whom guitarist Carl Wilson idolized. By high school the boys were playing and writing songs together.

In 1961, the group expanded beyond Carl's improving guitar, Brian's accomplished bass, and Dennis' primitive drums. The Wilsons' cousin Mike Love (1941—), a star high school athlete with an excellent voice, joined on vocals. Brian's friend from school, Al Jardine (1942—), rounded out the band after aborting a folk-singing career. With that, America's most famous suburban garage band was born, at first hardly able to play but hungry for the money and fame that might follow a hit record.

Their sound came first, mixing the guitar of Chuck Berry and backbeat of rhythm and blues with Brian's beloved vocal harmonies. But they knew they lacked an angle, some theme to define the band's image. They found that angle one day when Dennis Wilson, sitting on the beach, got the idea to do a song about surfing. By the early 1960s, the surf craze in Southern California had already spawned the "surf music" of artists like Dick Dale and the Del-Tones, based around the crashing guitar sounds intended to mimic the sound of waves. Surf music, however, was just beginning to enter the national consciousness. With prodding, Dennis convinced Brian that there was lyrical and musical potential in the surf scene, and in September of 1961 they recorded "Surfin'" as the Pendletons, a play on the name of Dale's band and in honor of the Pendleton shirts favored by beach bums. By December, the single had climbed the national charts, and the band renamed itself the Beach Boys.

In 1962 Capitol Records signed them, and over the next three years the Beach Boys became a hit machine, churning out nine Top 40 albums and 15 Top 40 singles, ten of which entered the top ten. In songs like "Surfin' U.S.A.," "Little Deuce Coupe," and "Fun, Fun, Fun" the group turned Southern California's youthful subculture into a teenage fantasy for the rest of America and the world. A baby boom generation hitting adolescence found exuberant symbols of their cultural independence from adults in the band's hot rods and surfboards. The songs, however, articulated a tempered rebellion in acts like driving too fast or staying out too late, while avoiding the stronger sexual and racial suggestiveness of predecessors like Presley or successors like the Rolling Stones. In their all-American slacks and short-sleeve striped shirts, the Beach Boys were equally welcome in teen hangouts and suburban America's living rooms.

By 1963, the Beach Boys emerged as international stars and established their place in America's cultural life. But tensions between the band's chief songwriter, Brian Wilson, and the band's fan-base emerged just as quickly. Wilson was uninterested in his audience, driven instead to compete obsessively for pop preeminence against his competitors, especially Phil Spector and later the Beatles. To make matters worse, Wilson was a shy introvert, more interested in songwriting and record production than the limelight and the stage. He retreated into the studio, abandoning the proven style of his earliest hits for Spector's wall-of-sound sophistication on songs like "Don't Worry Baby" and "I Get Around." At the same time, Wilson's personal melancholia increasingly entered his songwriting, most notably on the monumental ballad "In My Room." Together, these changes altered the Beach Boys' public persona. "I Get Around" was a number one single in 1964, but "Don't Worry Baby," arguably the most creative song Wilson had yet written, stalled ominously at number 24. And "In My Room," while unquestionably about teenagers, deserted innocent fun for painful longing. It also topped out at number 23. The Beach Boys were growing up, and

so was their audience. Unlike Wilson, however, the post-teen boomers already longed nostalgically for the past and struggled to engage the band's changes.

The audience was also turning elsewhere. The emergence of the Beatles in 1964 shook the foundations of the Beach Boys camp. Suddenly supplanted at the top of the pop charts, the rest of the band pushed Brian Wilson toward more recognizably "Beach Boys" songs, which he wisely rebuffed considering rock 'n' roll's rapid evolution during the mid-1960s. In addition, the entire band began living out the adolescent fantasies they had heretofore only sung about. Only now, as rich young adults, those fantasies meshed with the emerging counter-culture, mysticism, and heavy drug use of the late-1960s Southern Californian music scene. With the rest of the band tuning out, Wilson's Beatles obsession and drug abuse accelerated, Beach Boys albums grew more experimental, and Wilson suffered a nervous breakdown.

For two years after Wilson's breakdown, the Beach Boys' music miraculously remained as strong as ever. "Help Me, Rhonda" and "California Girls" (both 1965) were smash hits, and the live album *The Beach Boys Party!* proved the band retained some of its boyish charm. But no Beach Boys fan—or even the Beach Boys themselves—could have been prepared for Brian Wilson's unveiling of *Pet Sounds* (1966), a tremendous album with a legacy that far outshines its initial success. Completed by Brian Wilson and lyricist Tony Asher, with only vocal help from the other Beach Boys, *Pet Sounds* was Brian Wilson's most ambitious work, a dispiriting album about a young man facing adulthood and the pain of failed relationships. It also reflected the transformation of Southern California's youth culture from innocence to introspection—and excess—as the baby boomers got older. Moreover, *Pet Sounds'* lush pastiche pushed the boundaries of rock so far that no less than Paul McCartney hailed it as his favorite album ever and claimed it inspired the Beatles to produce *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*. In subsequent decades, some critics would hail *Pet Sounds* as the greatest rock album ever made, and it cemented the Beach Boys' place in the pantheon of popular music. At the time, however, critics in the United States had already dismissed the band, and their fans, accustomed to beach-party ditties, failed to understand the album. Although two singles—"Sloop John B" and "Wouldn't It Be Nice"—entered the top ten, sales of the album fell below expectations.

Disappointed and increasingly disoriented, Wilson was determined to top himself again, and set to work on what would become the most famous still-born in rock history, *Smile* (1967). Intended to supplant *Pet Sounds* in grandeur, the *Smile* sessions instead collapsed as Wilson, fried on LSD, delusional, and abandoned by the rest of the group, was unable to finish the album. Fragments emerged over the years, on other albums and bootlegs, that suggested the germ of a great album. All that survived in completed form at the time, however, was one single, the brilliant number one hit "Good Vibrations," which *Smile* engineer Chuck Britz said took three months to produce and "was [Brian Wilson's] whole life's performance in one track."

If Britz was right then Wilson's timing could not have been better, for short on the heels of the failed *Smile* sessions came the release of *Sgt. Pepper*. As if he knew that his time had passed, Wilson, like his idol Spector, withdrew except for occasional Beach Boys collaborations, lost in a world of bad drugs and worse friends until the 1990s.

The Beach Boys carried on, occasionally producing decent albums like *Wild Honey* (1967), at least one more classic song,

Brian's 1971 "'Til I Die," but their days as a cultural and commercial powerhouse were behind them. In 1974, with the release of the greatest-hits package *Endless Summer*, the band finally succumbed to the wishes of its fans (and at least some of its members), who preferred celebrating their mythic land of teenage innocence the Beach Boys had so fabulously fabricated in their early years. The album shot to number one, spending 155 weeks on *Billboard's* Hot 100, and the quintessential American teen band now remade itself as the quintessential American oldies act. They traveled the country well into the 1990s with beach party-styled concerts, performing their standards thousands of times. In 1983, Interior Secretary James Watt denied them permission to play their annual July 4 concert in Washington, D.C. to maintain a more "family-oriented" show. Miraculously, they scored one more number one single with "Kokomo," a kitschy 1988 track intended to play on their nostalgic image. Along the way, they endured countless drug addictions, staff changes, inter-group lawsuits over song credits, and two deaths—Dennis Wilson in a 1981 drowning and Carl Wilson of cancer in 1998.

That some of the Beach Boys' early music perhaps sounds ordinary 30 years later owes something to the group's descent into self-parody. But it also reflects the degree to which their music infiltrated American culture. No artists better articulated California's mythic allure or adolescence's tortured energy. And when that allure and energy was lost, their music paved the road for the journeys later musicians—from the Doors to the Eagles and Hole—would take into the dark side of the Californian, and American, dream.

—Alexander Shashko

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## Beach, Rex (1877-1949)

"Big hairy stories about big hairy men" is how one critic described the work of one of the early twentieth century's most prolific and successful popular writers, Rex Beach. He developed a devoted following among the reading public which remained loyal to his works into the mid-1930s. In addition, he led the way for later authors to reap greater profits by exploiting other media outlets for their works, thus defining what the twentieth-century author of popular literature became by mid-century—an independent entrepreneur.

Rex Ellingwood Beach was born in Atwater, Michigan, in 1877. At age twelve his family packed their belongings and sailed by raft down the Mississippi and across the Gulf of Mexico to Florida, where they took up residence on homesteaded land. Beach attended Rollins College at Winter Park but left shortly before graduation to move to Chicago. He read law in an older brother's law office and took one or

two law courses, but he never finished a law program. Afflicted with gold fever after reading of the vast gold discoveries in the far north, Beach headed for Alaska in 1897 to seek his fortune. He found little gold. Instead he discovered wealth of a different kind, a mine of stories and colorful characters and situations that he developed into best selling popular literature.

In the summer of 1900, Beach witnessed a bold attempt by North Dakota political boss Alexander McKenzie to steal gold from the placer mines at Nome, Alaska. When the scheme failed, McKenzie and his cronies were arrested. Beach transformed the events into a series of muckraking articles, "The Looting of Alaska," for *Appleton's Century* magazine in 1905. From this series came his first novel, *The Spoilers*. He added some fictional characters to the events at Nome, and the resulting novel, published in 1905, made the best-seller list in 1906. Later that year he transformed the novel into a play, which ran for two-week runs in Chicago and New York before it was sent out on the road for several years. In 1914 Beach contracted with the Selig Corporation to release the film version of *The Spoilers* for 25 percent of the gross profits, a unique arrangement for its time. On four subsequent occasions, in 1923, 1930, 1942, and 1955, Beach or his estate leased the rights to *The Spoilers* to film companies for the same financial arrangement. Beach published a total of twenty novels and seventy short stories and novelettes. He authorized thirty-two film adaptations of his work. In addition to *The Spoilers*, *The Barrier* was filmed three times; five of his novels were filmed twice; and fourteen of his novels and stories were each filmed once.

Writing in the school of realism, his novels and stories were works of romantic, frontier adventure aimed at young men. Plots involved ordinary hard-working citizens forced to confront the forces of nature and corruption. They overcame their adversaries by means of violence, loyalty to the cause and to each other, and heroic action. Rarely did these citizens rely on government agencies for assistance, in keeping with Beach's philosophy of rugged individualism.

From 1911 to 1918 Beach was president of the Author's League. In this capacity he constantly exhorted authors to put film clauses into their publishing contracts and to transform their writings into drama and screenplays. Most refused, believing that the cinema was a low art form that degraded their artistic endeavors. The only exception was Edna Ferber, who also demanded a percentage of the profits for filming her works. On the occasions that novels and short stories were adapted, the one-time payments that authors received to film their works were small, varying greatly from film company to film company. In frustration, Beach resigned the position in 1918 and concentrated on writing until the mid-1930s.

From his wandering search for gold and stories in Alaska to his unique film clause in his contract with Harper Brothers to his pioneering lease arrangement with film corporations, he established precedents that others would follow years later and that define popular authors after mid-century. He not only had an innate sense of what people would read, but also, ever alert to other potential media markets, he knew what people would pay to see as thrilling entertainment on stage and on film. Above all, Beach had a formidable passion for financial success. He viewed his mind as a creative factory producing a marketable product. Writing involved raw material, production, and sales. The end result was profit.

Not content with his literary and entertainment achievements, Beach used his profits to buy a seven-thousand-acre estate in Florida where he became a successful cattle rancher in the 1930s. He wrote articles about the nutritional value of growing crops in mineral-rich



**Rex Beach**

soils. He bought an additional two thousand acres at Avon Park and grew gladioli and Easter lilies at substantial profit. In the 1940s he developed and wrote more than forty episodes of an unproduced radio series based on his autobiography, *Personal Exposures*.

Beach sold everything he wrote, except for the radio series and an unfinished novel that he was writing at the time of his death. He and his wife, Edith Greta Crater, divided their time between a New York penthouse and their 250-acre estate in Sebring, Florida. His wife, whom he had met in Alaska and married in 1907, died in 1947 after a lengthy illness. On the morning of December 7, 1949, saddened by his wife's death, nearly blind, and devastated by the pain and other effects of throat cancer, Rex Beach ended his life with a pistol shot to the head. He was seventy-two.

—James R. Belpedio

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## Beanie Babies

In 1993 Ty Corporation released Flash the Dolphin, Patti the Platypus, Splash the Orca, Spot the Dog, Legs the Frog, Squealer the Pig, Cubbie the Bear, Chocolate the Moose, and Pinchers the Lobster. These small plush beanbag toys called Beanie Babies retailed for about five dollars. By 1997, there were over 181 varieties of Beanie Babies, and most of the original nine were worth more than \$50.

The interest Beanie Babies sparked in so many kids, parents, and collectors stems from their reflection of the consumer aesthetic of the 1990s. Ty Corporation built a cachet for each Beanie Baby by portraying itself as one of the "little guys" in the toy industry. It limited stores to only 36 of each Beanie Baby per month and initially refused to sell to chain or outlet toy stores. Ty Corporation guarded its strategy fiercely, cutting off future supplies to stores that sold the plush animals at a mark-up. The company's efforts kept Beanie Babies affordable to almost all, but increased their aftermarket value. The result of Ty's strategy strengthened Beanie Babies' celebration of the individual. Each baby is assigned a name, a birthday, and an accompanying poem, all found on the small heart-shaped Ty tag, the sign of an authentic Beanie Baby.

Some regard the market frenzy around Beanie Babies as ridiculous, but others see it as a benign introduction to capitalism for many

young investors. The babies are portable, easily saved for investment purposes, and offer a chance for friendly competition between collectors. Judging a Beanie Baby's current value can be a hands-on lesson in supply and demand for the young collector. The value of Babies increases when varieties are "retired" or produced in limited numbers; and when custom Beanie Babies are released for sporting events, to commemorate the flags of certain countries, and to immortalize celebrities like Jerry Garcia (see Garcia bear) and Princess Diana (see Princess bear). In addition, Babies with defects or odd materials are highly sought-after. Because it is never clear how many of a new animal will be produced or when they might be retired, hobby collectors and Beanie Baby speculators periodically swarm stores reported to be "connected."

The market demand for Beanie Babies has grown without television advertising. Babies were listed as one of the most sought-after Christmas toys by several stores during the 1990s. Beanie Babies are traded, bought, and sold at hundreds of spots on the Internet, and those new to the hobby can buy guidebooks like the *1998 Beanie Baby Handbook*, which lists probable prices for the year 2008.

The *Handbook* speculates that Quacker, a yellow duck with no wings, may be worth as much as \$6,000 by that time.

Beanie Babies have worked their way into the mainstream consciousness through a regular media diet of Beanie Baby hysteria and hoax stories. Many local news programs would feature a story about how to differentiate between a real Beanie Baby and a fake. By the end of the decade, almost every American would see the sign, "Beanie Babies Here!" appear in the window of a local card or flower shop. Established firmly in the same collectible tradition as Hot Wheels cars and Cabbage Patch dolls, Beanie Babies draw children into the world of capitalist competition, investment, and financial risk. Their simple, attainable nature has gained them a permanent place in the pantheon of American toys.

—Colby Vargas

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A McDonald's employee displays some of the Beanie Babies the restaurant sold in 1998.

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## The Beastie Boys

In 1986 the Beastie Boys took the popular music world by storm with their debut album *License To Ill* and the single "Fight For Your Right (To Party)." The album was co-produced with fledgling hip-hop label Def Jam producer Rick Rubin. *License to Ill* became the fastest selling debut album in Columbia Records' history, going platinum within two months, and becoming the first rap album to reach number one on the charts.

Critics derided the Beastie Boys as one-hit wonder material, and as New York "white-boy rappers" who were leeching off African American street music forms known as "rap" and hip-hop, both of which were in their early stages of development. *Licensed To Ill* also relied heavily on a new technique called "sampling." Sampling is the act of lifting all or part of the music from another artist's song. This

sample is then used to record a new song with the same music, often without credit or payment. Sampling, as it was originally practiced, was condemned as stealing by most critics and musicians. The technique was so new in the mid-1980s that there were no rules to regulate such "borrowing." Artist credit and payment terms for use of a sample, however, eventually became the record industry standard.

Michael Diamond ("Mike D"), bassist Adam Yauch ("MCA," also known as Nathaniel Hornblower), guitarist John Berry, and drummer Kate Schellenbach formed the first version of The Beastie Boys in New York City in 1981. They were a hardcore punk style band and recorded the EP *Polywog Stew* on a local independent label. Eventually, Berry and Schellenbach quit. In 1983 Adam Horovitz ("Ad-Rock") joined Mike D and MCA to form the core of the Beastie Boys. Other musicians have been added to the onstage mix and toured with the Beastie Boys throughout their career, but it is this trio that is the creative and musical force behind the band.

It was at this time that Rick Rubin, a New York University student and Def Jam's record label entrepreneur, took notice of the Beastie Boys' rap inspired underground single hit "Cookie Puss." Rubin and the Boys then recorded "Rock Hard" for Def Jam in 1985. Later that year the Beastie Boys received enough attention from a



The Beastie Boys, from left: Adam Yauch (MCA), Adam Horovitz (King Ad-Rock), and Mike Diamond (Mike D) at the MTV video awards.



soundtrack cut, “She’s On It,” to earn an opening spot on Madonna’s “Like A Virgin” tour, and then they went on tour with Run D.M.C.

In 1986 *License To Ill* was released, and despite their commercial success, the Beastie Boys were derided as sophomoric, sexist, and just plain dumb. After a long tour to promote *License To Ill*, the Beastie Boys left Def Jam for Capitol Records. The Beastie Boys moved to Los Angeles, took a break, and then began to examine their sound and style. They now had the task of following up their incredible success with a new album. They worked with a new production team known as the Dust Brothers, and in 1989 the Beastie Boys released *Paul’s Boutique*. The album was critically acclaimed, but completely different from *License To Ill* and sold under a million copies.

After two more albums with Capitol Records, *Check Your Head* in 1992 and *Some Old Bullshit* in 1994, the Beastie Boys launched their own record label called Grand Royal. Their first Grand Royal release came in 1994. *Ill Communication* spawned the single “Sabotage,” and the group toured with the yearly Lollapalooza alternative festival that summer.

Adam Yauch’s conversion to Buddhism and his ties to the Dalai Lama then prompted the Beastie Boys to organize the Tibetan Freedom Festival in the summer of 1996. Popular artists continue to donate their performances in order to raise money for the Miarepa Fund, a charity that supports “universal compassion through music” and has been active in the fight for Tibetan independence.

In 1998 the Beastie Boys released *Hello Nasty*. In the midst of personal business and charity efforts, the Beastie Boys have continued to push the cutting edge of hip-hop and they have gained a respected place in the alternative music scene of the 1990s.

—Margaret E. Burns

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## Beat Generation

The Beat Generation, or “Beats,” is a term used to describe the vanguard of a movement that swept through American culture after World War II as a counterweight to the suburban conformity and organization-man model that dominated the period, especially during the Eisenhower years (1953-1961), when Cold War tension was adding a unparalleled uptightness to American life. The term “Beat Generation” was apparently coined by Jack Kerouac, whose 1957 picaresque novel *On the Road* is considered a kind of manifesto for the movement. In 1952, John Clellon Holmes wrote in the *New York Times Magazine*: “It was John Kerouac . . . who several years ago . . . said ‘You know, this is really a beat generation . . . More than the feeling of weariness, it implies the feeling of having been used, of being raw.’” Holmes used the term in his 1952 novel *Go*, with obvious references to New York’s bohemian scene. The claim, advanced in some circles, that Kerouac intended “beat” to be related to “beatific” or “beatitude” is now considered spurious by etymologists, though *Beatitude* was the name of a San Francisco magazine published by poet Allen Ginsberg and others whose folding

in 1960 is regarded as the final chapter in that city’s Beat movement (generally known as the San Francisco Renaissance).

Kerouac penned a dictionary definition of his own that characterized Beats as espousing “mystical detachment and relaxation of social and sexual tensions,” terms that clearly include those at the literary epicenter of the Beat movement, such as Allen Ginsberg, Gregory Corso, John Clellon Holmes, William Burroughs, Neal Cassady, and Herbert Huncke, the latter an alienated denizen of Times Square who served as an important guide to the nascent movement. Each of these figures embodied creative brilliance with various combinations of psychotic episodes, unconventional sexuality, or antisocial traits. Later additions included Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Diane di Prima, and many others. They, along with the writers who were drawn to the experimental Black Mountain College in North Carolina—or, like the expatriate Burroughs, to drug-soaked residency in Tangiers—carried forward an essentially Blakean and Whitmanian vision that welcomed spontaneity, surrealism, and a certain degree of decadence in poetic expression and personal behavior. In the 1950s, this put them in opposition to the prevailing currents of literary modernism on the model of T. S. Eliot, Marianne Moore, and the middlebrow poetry of Robert Frost and Carl Sandburg. Poetry, like Ginsberg’s “Howl” or Corso’s Gasoline series, was the favored genre of expression and the “3-Ms”—marijuana, morphine, and mescaline—were the drugs of choice.

William Carlos Williams enthusiastically took on the role of unofficial mentor to the East-Coast Beat poets after meeting Allen Ginsberg, and Kenneth Rexroth has been described as the “godfather of the Beats” for acting as catalyst to the famous reading at the Six Gallery in San Francisco, where on October 13, 1955, Ginsberg offered his first highly dramatic performance-recital of “Howl.” Nearby was Lawrence Ferlinghetti’s City Lights Bookstore, which served as both shrine and paperback publisher for the literature of the Beat movement through its familiar black-and-white “Pocket Poet” series. Following the reading, Lawrence Ferlinghetti approached Ginsberg and convinced him to publish a chapbook of “Howl” through City Lights Press in San Francisco. In 1957, *Howl and Other Poems* was seized by customs officials, and Ferlinghetti was tried on charges of obscenity. The trial brought great notoriety and worldwide recognition to the message of Beat poetry, and the book’s sales skyrocketed after the charges were dropped.

In general terms, the Beat poets were leftist in political orientation and committed to the preservation of the planet and the human species. Their literature speaks out against injustice, apathy, consumerism, and war. Despite such generalizations, however, at an individual level the poets are very difficult to classify. A highly diverse group, their political and spiritual views varied to extremes: Jack Kerouac and Gregory Corso, for example, supported the war in Vietnam; Allen Ginsberg was a Jewish radical and anarchist; and Philip Whalen was ordained a Zen priest. The difficulty of pinning down the essence of the Beat poets is part of their allure. The Beats earned their defiant image in part through the controversial themes in their work, which included celebration of the erotic, sexual freedom, exploration of Eastern thought, and the use of psychedelic substances. Fred McDarrah’s *Time* magazine article offers evidence of how they were unkindly characterized in mainstream media: “The bearded, sandaled beat likes to be with his own kind, to riffle through his quarterlies, write craggy poetry, paint crusty pictures and pursue his never ending quest for the ultimate in sex and protest.” Such condescending judgments only served to fuel the fascination with the Beat image among younger people.

Though the most well-known of the Beat poets are white males, the movement was not exclusively so. In contrast with many other literary movements, the Beats were tolerant of diversity and counted many women and poets of color among their ranks. Such poets as Ted Joans, Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones), and Bob Kaufman were recognized by their peers for the importance of their work. The women of the Beat Generation, including Diane di Prima, Joanne Kyger, Anne Waldman, and many others, were as present if not as visible as the men. As Brenda Knight remarked, “the women of the Beat Generation, with rare exception, escaped the eye of the camera; they stayed underground, writing. They were instrumental in the literary legacy of the Beat Generation, however, and continue to be some of its most prolific writers.”

Though many readers have been attracted to the work of the Beats by their cultural image, Anne Waldman contends that their durability stems from their varied and kaleidoscopic use of language. Beat poets abandoned traditional forms, syntax, and vocabulary in order to incorporate new rhythms, hip streetwise slang, and inventive imagery into their work. In her introduction to *The Beat Book*, Waldman describes this style as “candid American speech rhythms, jazz rhythms, boxcar rhythms, industrial rhythms, rhapsody, skillful cut-up juxtapositions, and an expansiveness that mirrors the primordial chaos. . . . This is writing that thumbs its nose at self-serving complacency.” Though their style constituted a break from traditional forms, the Beats always acknowledged the contributions of their precursors. Poets of the early twentieth century such as William Carlos Williams and the imagists H.D. and Ezra Pound paved the way for them by loosening the constraints around poetic language.

When Kerouac and Holmes published articles in the 1950s using the term “Beat generation” to describe their cultural milieu, it was picked up by the mainstream media and solidified in popular culture. “Beat” in popular parlance meant being broke, exhausted, having no place to sleep, being streetwise, being hip. At a deeper level, as John Clellon Holmes wrote in his 1952 article, “beat . . . involves a sort of nakedness of mind, and, ultimately, of soul; a feeling of being reduced to the bedrock of consciousness.” With increased usage of the term in the media, “Beat” came to signify the literary and political expression of the artists of the 1940s and 1950s.

The term “beatnik” has thus been rather generously applied to describe any devotee of the 1950s angst-ridden countercultural lifestyle, ranging from serious Beat intellectuals like Jack Kerouac, William Burroughs, and Allen Ginsberg to the more “cool cat” bongo-drumming pot-smoking denizens of coffee houses—males in beards and females in leotards—who “dug it” in such far flung bohemian outposts as New York’s Greenwich Village and Venice, California. Strictly speaking, “beatnik” was a term invented by the popular press only toward the end of the decade, after the launch of the Russian Sputnik satellite in the fall of 1957 spawned a host of “-nik” words in popular lingo on the model of already existing Yiddish slang words like nudnik. Herb Caen, a columnist for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, coined the term “beatnik” in an article he wrote for the paper on April 2, 1958, though the Oxford English Dictionary records the first use of the word in a *Daily Express* article that July 23, describing San Francisco as “the home and the haunt of America’s Beat generation . . . the Beatniks—or new barbarians.”

Whatever its origins, it is clear that during 1958, the word “beatnik” suddenly began appearing in magazines and newspapers around the world as a catchall phrase to cover most forms of urban, intellectual eccentrics, sometimes used in tandem with the dismissive

“sicknik.” It is also clear that few average Americans came into contact with self-avowing beatniks except by reading about them under the “Manners and Morals” heading in *Time* magazine or, more likely, through the rather stereotypical character of Maynard G. Krebs, who appeared on the CBS series *The Many Loves of Dobie Gillis* from 1959 to 1963. Krebs was described by Charles Panati in his 1991 book *Panati’s Parade of Fads, Follies, and Manias* as a figure who “dressed shabbily, shunned work, and prefaced his every remark with the word like. “ A decade earlier, however, a poetry-spouting proto-beatnik character named Waldo Benny had appeared regularly on *The Life of Riley* television sitcom, though he was never named as such.

Arguably the most definitive study of beatniks and the Beat Movement is Steven Watson’s 1995 book *The Birth of the Beat Generation: Visionaries, Rebels, and Hipsters*, in which he describes the Beats as exemplifying “a pivotal paradigm in twentieth-century American literature, finding the highest spirituality among the marginal and the dispossessed, establishing the links between art and pathology, and seeking truth in visions, dreams, and other nonrational states.” Watson and other cultural historians see the Beats as cultural antecedents to later countercultural groups that included Ken Kesey’s Merry Pranksters and hippies in the 1960s and punks in the 1970s. Reflecting on his own earlier participation in the Beat Movement, Robert Creeley wrote in the afterword of the 1998 paperback version of Watson’s book that being Beat was “a way of thinking the world, of opening into it, and it finally melds with all that cares about life, no matter it will seem at times to be bent on its own destruction,” and closed with the lines by Walt Whitman used as the motto for “Howl!”: “Unscrew the locks from the doors!/Unscrew the doors themselves from their jambs!”

—Edward Moran and Caitlin L. Gannon

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## The Beatles

Emerging out of the Liverpool, England, rock scene of the 1950s, the Beatles became the most successful and best known band of the twentieth century. In 1956, a Liverpool local named John Lennon formed the Quarrymen. At one of their first performances, John met another guitarist, Paul McCartney. The two hit it off immediately: Paul was impressed by John's energetic performance, and John was impressed that Paul knew how to tune a guitar, knew more than three chords, and could memorize lyrics. John and Paul developed a close friendship based on their enthusiasm for rock'n'roll, their ambition to go "to the toppermost of the poppermost," and a creative rivalry which drove them to constant improvement and experimentation. The pair soon recruited Paul's friend George Harrison to play lead guitar and nabbed a friend of John's, Stu Sutcliffe, to play the bass (though he did not know how). The Quarrymen, eventually renamed the Beatles, developed a local reputation for their rousing, exuberant performances and the appeal of their vocals. John and Paul were both excellent singers; Paul had a phenomenal range and versatility, while John had an uncanny ability to convey emotion through his voice. The sweetness and clarity of Paul's voice was ideal for tender love songs, while John specialized in larynx-wrenching rockers like "Twist and Shout." Their voices complemented each

other perfectly, both in unison and in harmony, and each enriched his own style by imitating the other. The inexplicable alchemy of their voices is one of the most appealing features of the Beatles' music.

In 1960 the band members recruited drummer Pete Best for a four-month engagement in Hamburg, Germany, where they perfected their stage act. In 1961, Sutcliffe quit the band, and Paul took up the bass, eager to distinguish himself from the other two guitarists. The Beatles procured a manager, Brian Epstein, who shared their conviction that they would become "bigger than Elvis." After many attempts to get a recording contract, they secured an audition with producer George Martin in July, 1962. Martin, who liked their performance and was charmed by their humor and group chemistry, offered the Beatles a contract, but requested that they abandon Pete Best for studio work, whom he found musically unsuitable to the group chemistry. The Beatles gladly consented, and recruited Ringo Starr, whom they had befriended in Hamburg. Their first single—"Love Me Do" (released October, 1962)—reached number 17 on the British charts. Their next single, "Please Please Me" (January, 1963), hit number one. Delighted with their success, they recorded their first album, *Please Please Me* (March, 1963), and it too reached the top of the charts.

In those days, rock albums were made to cash in on the success of a hit single, and were padded with filler material, usually covers of



The Beatles, from left: John Lennon, Ringo Starr, George Harrison, and Paul McCartney.

other people's songs. If the artists had any more decent material, it was saved for the next single. However, the Beatles included eight Lennon-McCartney originals, along with six cover songs from their stage repertoire on their debut album. This generosity marked the beginning of the album as the primary forum of rock music, displacing the single, and setting a new standard of quality and originality. *Please Please Me* may sound less impressive today, but it was far superior to the average rock album of 1963. The opening track, "I Saw Her Standing There," was a revelation, a rousing, energetic rocker teeming with hormonal energy. (Released in America as *Introducing the Beatles*, the album didn't sell well.)

Their third single, "From Me To You" (April, 1963), also hit number one in England, but it was their fourth, "She Loves You" (August, 1963), which brought "Beatlemania"—the name given to the wild form of excitement which the Beatles elicited from their fans—to a fever pitch around the world. Most of the Beatles' lyrics during this period were inane—the "yeah yeah yeah" of "She Loves You" being perhaps the silliest—but when delivered with the Beatles' delirious enthusiasm, they worked. Real Beatlemania seems to have begun in late 1963 (the term was coined in a London paper's concert review in October). Their second album, *With the Beatles* (November, 1963), was similar to the first, with six cover songs and eight originals. The American release of "She Loves You" in January 1964 ignited Beatlemania there, and the group's first appearance on the *Ed Sullivan Show* on February 9, 1964, was viewed by an estimated 73 million people.

The phenomenon of Beatlemania wasn't just a matter of screaming girls; the madness took many forms. A music critic for the *London Times* declared the Beatles "the greatest composers since Beethoven," and another detected "Aeolian cadences" in "Not a Second Time," though none of the Beatles knew what these were. Beatlemania often seemed divorced from the music itself: everything from dolls to dinner trays bore the likeness of the Fab Four, who had by now become the most recognized faces in the world. Grown businessmen would wear Beatlesque "moptop" wigs to work on Wall Street. Soon the franchise led to film with *A Hard Day's Night*, a comedy which spotlighted the Beatles' charm and humor as much as their music. The soundtrack—released in July, 1964—was the best album of the Beatles' early phase. Side one contained the songs from the movie, and side two provided six more hits. It was their first album of all original material, an unheard of accomplishment in rock music. Unfortunately, Capitol Records ripped off American fans by including only the songs from the movie on their version of the soundtrack, and filled the rest of the album with instrumental versions of those same songs. The Beatles' popularity was so great at this point that American fans were willing to pay full price for albums that barely lasted a half hour. The first seven British albums were diluted into ten American albums by offering ten songs each instead of the usual thirteen or fourteen. (The situation was not rectified until the advent of the CD, when the British versions were finally released in America.)

The group's fourth album, *Beatles For Sale* (December, 1964), reverted to the earlier formula of original songs mixed with covers. It was the weakest album of their career to date, but was still better than most pop albums of 1964, and hit number one. The album is important for John's improved lyrical efforts, beginning what he later called his "Dylan period." The Beatles had met Bob Dylan earlier that year, and he had introduced them to marijuana. John was impressed by Dylan's lyrics and decided to improve his own. The first tentative effort was the introspective "I'm a Loser." *Help!* (August 1965)—the soundtrack for their second movie—introduced the folkish "You've

Got to Hide Your Love Away" and Paul's acoustic "I've Just Seen a Face." *Help!* was also important for its expanded instrumentation, including flute and electric piano.

As the Beatles grew as composers, they became more receptive to producer Martin's sophistication. Martin had studied music theory, composition, and orchestration, and encouraged the Beatles to "think symphonically." A breakthrough in their collaboration with Martin came with "Yesterday." Paul had written it two years before, but had held it back since the song was incongruous with the band's sound and image. By 1965, the Beatles and the world were ready, and Paul's lovely guitar/vocal composition, graced with Martin's string arrangement, dazzled both Beatlemaniacs and their parents with its beauty and sophistication, and became one of the most popular songs in the world.

Their craftsmanship and experimentation reached new heights on *Rubber Soul*, one of their greatest albums. They returned to the all-original format of *A Hard Day's Night* (henceforth all of their albums featured entirely original material, with the exception of *Let It Be*, which included the sailor's ditty, "Maggie Mae"). John dabbled in social commentary with "Nowhere Man," a critique of conformity reminiscent of Dylan's "Ballad of a Thin Man." But John's song avoided Dylanesque superciliousness through his empathy with the character. John began to master understatement and poetic suggestion in the enigmatic "Norwegian Wood." This was also the first song to feature George's sitar. George had discovered the sitar while filming *Help!* and had been turned on to Indian music by the Byrds. The Byrds contributed to the artistry of *Rubber Soul* by providing the Beatles with serious competition on their own debut album earlier that year. Hailed as the American Beatles, the Byrds were the only American band who attained a comparable level of craftsmanship and commercial appeal without simply imitating the Beatles. Before then, the Beatles' only serious competitors were the Rolling Stones. Soon competitors would rise all around the Beatles like rivals to the throne. But the Beatles kept ahead, constantly growing and expanding, experimenting with fuzz bass, harmonium, and various recording effects. The most impressive thing about *Rubber Soul* was that such innovation and sophistication were achieved without any loss of the exuberance and inspiration that electrified their earlier albums. It was an impressive union of pop enthusiasm and artistic perfection. Few would have guessed that the Beatles could surpass such a triumph—but they did.

Their next album, *Revolver* (August, 1966), is widely regarded as the Beatles' masterpiece, and some consider it the greatest album ever made, featuring fourteen flawless compositions. George's "Taxman" was the hardest rock song on the album, featuring a blistering, eastern-sounding guitar solo reminiscent of the Yardbirds' "Heart Full of Soul" and the Byrds' "Eight Miles High." But George's masterpiece was "Love You To." He had previously used the sitar to add an exotic coloring to songs, but here he built the entire composition around the sitar, and expressed his growing immersion in Eastern spirituality. John was even spacier in the acid-drenched "She Said She Said" and "Tomorrow Never Knows," full of backwards-recorded guitar, tape loops, and countless studio effects to enhance the mind-boggling lyrics. John, George, and Ringo had experimented with LSD by this time, and John and George were tripping regularly and importing their visions into their music. (Paul did not sample LSD until February 1967). Paul's experiments were more conventional, but equally rewarding. He followed up the achievement of "Yesterday" with the beautiful "Eleanor Rigby." The poignant lyrics marked the beginning of Paul's knack for creating

vivid character portraits in a few deft verses. “Here, There, and Everywhere” was another beauty, containing the sweetest vocal of Paul’s career, and the bright, bouncing melody of “Good Day Sunshine” showed Paul’s increasing sophistication on the bass. *Revolver* set a new standard in rock music, and became the masterpiece against which all subsequent albums were measured.

The achievement of *Revolver* was due partially to the Beatles’ decision to stop performing concerts after the current tour, which would free their music from the restrictions of live performability. They played their last concert on August 29, 1966, without playing any songs from the new album. Exhausted, they withdrew from public life, took a brief break, then began work on a new album. The silence between *Revolver* and *Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band* lasted ten months—the longest interval between albums thus far, but ended with a stunning single, “Strawberry Fields Forever.” “Penny Lane,” which revealed the growing individuality of the composers’ styles. John was visionary, introspective, and cryptic in “Strawberry Fields Forever;” while Paul was sentimental, suburban, and witty in “Penny Lane.” John was abstract, questioning his role in the human riddle; Paul was concrete, using odd little details to bring his characters to life. The two songs complemented each other perfectly, and hinted at the variegated brilliance of the album to come.

*Sergeant Pepper’s Lonely Heart’s Club Band* (June, 1967) has been hailed as the quintessential album of the sixties, and especially of the famous Summer of Love of 1967. It was the most esoteric and ambitious work ever attempted. To enumerate its charms, innovations, and influence would fill volumes, but special mention must be made of “A Day in the Life,” one of the last great Lennon-McCartney collaborations, and one of the most hauntingly beautiful songs of their careers. Weaving together the story of a wealthy heir who dies in a car crash, an estimate of potholes in Blackburn, Lancashire, and a vignette of a young man on his way to work, the song is an ironic montage of the quotidian and the universal, sleeping and waking, complacency and consciousness, establishment and counterculture, and an orgasmic union of high and low art, all rolled into one five-minute, three-second song.

Although “A Day in the Life” is the highlight of a bold, brilliant, stunning album, *Sgt. Pepper* is probably not the Beatles’ greatest work, and has not aged as well as *Revolver*. If *Revolver* is a 14-course meal which delights, satisfies, and nourishes, *Sgt. Pepper* is an extravagant dessert for surfeited guests—overrich, decadent, fattening. Lavish and baroque, it did not maintain the energetic, youthful exuberance that shines through the complexities of *Revolver*. Many will agree with Martin’s judgment that *Revolver* is the Beatles’ best album, while *Sgt. Pepper* is their most significant work. It was also the last truly influential work by the Beatles. Although they continued to evolve and experiment, they would no longer monopolize centerstage, for 1967 saw a trend toward instrumental virtuosity and improvisation led by Cream and Jimi Hendrix.

The Beatles’ next project, *Magical Mystery Tour* (December, 1967), coasted along on the plateau established by *Sgt. Pepper*. *Magical Mystery Tour* was a pointless film following the Beatles on a bus trip around England. Paul got the idea from the Merry Pranksters, a counterculture group traveling across America. The film was a flop, and the Beatles’ first real failure. The soundtrack featured a mix of good and mediocre songs, but some recent singles gathered onto side two strengthened the album.

In 1968 the Beatles went to India to study meditation with Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, during which they learned of Epstein’s death from an overdose of sleeping pills. Eventually disenchanted

with the Maharishi, the Beatles returned with a potpourri of songs. They proposed to release a double album to accommodate the abundance. Martin was unimpressed with the material however, and recommended releasing a potent single album like *Revolver*. But the rivalry among the band members was so intense that all four Beatles favored the double album to get their songs included. The result was one of the Beatles’ strangest albums, *The Beatles* (November, 1968). The blank white cover and simple title reflected the minimalist nature of much of the material, which had been composed on acoustic guitars in India. Most of the 30 songs were individual efforts, often sung and played solo. McCartney played every instrument on some of his songs. The bewildering array of styles seemed like a history (or perhaps a parody) of western music.

*Yellow Submarine* was a cartoon made to fulfill the Beatles’ film contract with United Artists (although *Let It Be* would actually fulfill this obligation a year later). The Beatles were not interested in the project, and contributed several older, unused songs to the soundtrack. The cartoon was entertaining, but the album *Yellow Submarine* (January, 1969) is the biggest ripoff of the Beatles’ catalog, featuring only four original songs. Side two was padded with Martin’s orchestral soundtrack. Still, Lennon’s great rock song “Hey Bulldog” makes the album a must-have.

These odd albums of the late 1960s marked the beginning of the end of the Beatles. Musically, their individual styles were drifting apart, but the real sources of strife were more mundane. First, they had difficulty in agreeing on a manager to replace Epstein. Secondly, John had become smitten with avant-garde artist Yoko Ono, and insisted on bringing her into the Abbey Road Studios with him. Paul, too, had married and the creative core of the group began to feel the need to have a family life. This caused tension because as a band the Beatles had always been an inviolable unit, forbidding outsiders to intrude upon their creative process. But John had invited Yoko to recording sessions simply because he wanted to be constantly by her side. The tensions mounted so high that Ringo and George each briefly quit the band. These ill-feelings persisted on their next project, another McCartney-driven plan to film the Beatles, this time while at work in the studio. The documentary of their creative process (released the following year as *Let It Be*) was all the more awkward because of the tensions within the band. Martin became fed up with their bickering and quit, and the “Get Back” project was indefinitely canned.

Eventually Paul persuaded Martin to return, and the Beatles produced *Abbey Road* (September, 1969), one of their best-selling and all-time favorite albums. They once again aimed to “get back” to rock’n’roll, and recovered the enthusiasm and spontaneity of their pre-Pepper period, producing a solid performance that stood up to *Revolver*. George outdid himself with two of the greatest compositions of his career, “Something” and “Here Comes the Sun.” The main attraction of the album was the suite of interconnected songs on side two, culminating in the Beatles’ only released jam session, a raunchy guitar stomp between Paul, George, and John. It was a brilliant ending to a brilliant album. Unfortunately, it was also the end of the Beatles as well, for the band broke up in June, 1970, due to insurmountable conflicts. Producer Phil Spector was summoned to salvage the “Get Back” project. He added lavish strings and horns to the patched-together recordings, and it was released as *Let It Be* (May, 1970) along with a film of the same name. Somewhat of an anticlimax after the perfection of *Abbey Road*, and marred by Spector’s suffocating production, it was nevertheless a fine collection of songs, made all the more poignant by alternating moods of regret and resignation in Paul’s songs, “Two of Us” and “Let It Be.”

Her Majesty the Queen inducted the Beatles as Members of the British Order on October 26, 1965. This was not only the climax of Beatlemania, but a symbolic moment in history, bridging the realms of high and low culture. The other great honor of the Beatles' career was the invitation to appear on the world's first global broadcast, on June 25, 1967. The Beatles wrote "All You Need Is Love" for the occasion, and played it live for an estimated 350 million viewers. It is remarkable that they were allowed to represent England for the world when Paul had announced a week earlier that he had taken LSD, the BBC had recently banned radio play of "A Day in the Life," and the whole world was scouring *Sgt. Pepper* for subversive messages. These two honors reveal the Beatles as unifiers, not dividers. One of their greatest achievements was to resonate across boundaries and appeal to multiple generations and classes, to represent the counter-culture while winning the respect of the establishment. Although they started as tough, leatherclad teddy boys, they achieved much more by working within the mainstream, creating rather than tearing down, combining meticulous skill with daring innovation. This was achieved by a blessed union: the reckless irreverence of John Lennon and the diplomacy, dedication, and craftsmanship of Paul McCartney.

—Douglas Cooke

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## Beatty, Warren (1937—)

One of the most extraordinarily handsome screen actors of his generation, Warren Beatty proved remarkably sparing in exploiting his image. That image has tended to seem contradictory, often puzzling, to commentators and critics, but there is universal agreement that no subsequent disappointments in Beatty's work could obscure his achievement in portraying the impotent, crippled, trigger-happy Clyde Barrow, at once inept, ruthless, and curiously touching, in *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967).

Brilliantly directed and photographed, with meticulous attention paid to historical accuracy, *Bonnie and Clyde* was a watershed in the then thirty-year-old Beatty's career, for it was he who masterminded the entire project, from buying the script to hiring director Arthur Penn and choosing the cast. The superb production values and style of the film which, in its fearless and poetic use of bloodshed, made it both influential and highly controversial, stamped Warren Beatty as a producer of flair and intelligence, and his evident ambitions might account for the discomforting and enigmatic sense of detachment that has robbed several of his performances of conviction.

Born Henry Warren Beatty in Richmond, Virginia, Beatty is the younger brother of dancer and actress Shirley MacLaine. He acted in



Warren Beatty

amateur productions staged by his mother, who was a drama coach, during childhood and later studied at Northwestern University and with Stella Adler. A slow progression via television in New York and a stock company took him to Broadway for the first and last time in William Inge's *A Loss of Roses*, where Beatty was seen by director Elia Kazan. Beatty made his Hollywood debut opposite Natalie Wood in Kazan's *Splendor in the Grass* (1961), a somber, archetypically 1960s examination of teenage sexual angst and confusion, in which the actor gave a suitably moody performance and mesmerized audiences with his brooding good looks.

For the next six years Beatty gave variable (but never bad) performances in a crop of films that ranged from the interesting through the inconsequential to the bad. Interesting were *The Roman Spring of Mrs. Stone* (1961), in which, despite a bizarre attempt at an Italian accent, he smoldered convincingly as the gigolo providing illusory comfort to Vivien Leigh; and Robert Rossen's *Lilith* (1964) with Beatty excellent as a therapist dangerously in love with a mental patient. The inconsequential included *Promise Her Anything* (1966), a romantic comedy set in Greenwich Village and costarring Leslie Caron. His reputation as a Don Juan was already in danger of outstripping his reputation as a star, and when Caron left her husband, the distinguished British theater director Peter Hall, he cited Beatty as co-respondent in the ensuing divorce.

Arthur Penn's *Mickey One* (1965), a pretentious failure, did nothing for Beatty, and neither did the comedy-thriller *Kaleidoscope* the same year. Next came *Bonnie and Clyde* followed by the first of several absences from the screen that punctuated his career over the next thirty-five years. His reappearance as a compulsive gambler in *The Only Game in Town* (1970), a film with no merit, was a severe disappointment and indicated a surprising lack of judgment, redeemed by his mature performance as another kind of gambler in the Old West in Robert Altman's imaginative evocation of frontier town life, *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971). Julie Christie was his costar and his new headline-catching romance. In 1974 Beatty was perfectly cast as the lone investigative journalist at the center of Alan J. Pakula's compelling conspiracy thriller, *The Parallax View*, after which he turned producer again (and cowrote) for *Shampoo* (1975). A mildly satirical tale of a hairdresser who services more than his clients' coiffures, it was a good vehicle for Beatty's dazzling smile and sexual charisma, and it netted a fortune at the box office. After joining Jack Nicholson in *The Fortune*—awful—the same year, Beatty disappeared again.

He returned in 1978 with *Heaven Can Wait*, a surprisingly well-received and profitable remake of *Here Comes Mr. Jordan* (1941) that earned four Oscar nominations. Beatty coproduced, cowrote with Elaine May, and codirected (his first attempt) with Buck Henry, and won the Golden Globe for best actor in a comedy before another three-year absence. This time he came back with *Reds* (1981), the high-profile undertaking that brought him serious international recognition. A sprawling, ambitious epic running more than three-and-a-half hours, *Reds* recounted the political activities of American Marxist John Reed (Beatty) in Manhattan and Moscow, and Reed's love affair with Louise Bryant (Diane Keaton, the star's new off-screen love). The film, in which real-life characters appeared as themselves to bear witness to events, was better in its parts than in its sum, but there was no doubting Beatty's seriousness of purpose as producer, cowriter, director, and star. If his ambition had appeared to overreach itself, he was nonetheless rewarded with both the Golden Globe and Oscar for best director, Oscars for cinematographer Vittorio Storaro and supporting actress Maureen Stapleton, and an impressive number of other honors. He was thenceforth to be regarded as a heavyweight, and his future projects were eagerly anticipated.

These expectations remained unfulfilled for seventeen years, during which Beatty made only four films. The motive for making the \$50 million catastrophe *Ishtar* (1987) has remained inexplicable, while *Dick Tracy* (1990), in which he directed himself as the comic-book hero, displayed an undiminished sense of style but failed to ignite. *Bugsy* (1991), about the notorious Bugsy Siegel, was slick and entertaining although both star and film lacked the necessary edge, but Beatty found true love at last with his costar Annette Bening and married her. It could only have been his desire to find a romantic vehicle for both of them that led him to such a failure of judgment as *Love Affair* (1994), a redundant and poor remake of a 1939 classic, already wonderfully remade by its creator, Leo McCarey, as *An Affair to Remember* (1957).

Four years later came *Bulworth* (1998), a striking political satire that reflected his own long-standing personal involvement with politics and a canny sense of commercialism in purveying a liberal message through a welter of bigotry. By then happily settled as a husband and father, Warren Beatty at last demonstrated that the faith of his admirers had not been misplaced.

—Robyn Karney

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## Beau Geste

*Beau Geste*, the best selling 1924 adventure novel by Percival Christopher Wren, has provided venerable screenplay fodder for successive generations of Hollywood filmmakers. First adapted in a silent version in 1926 with Ronald Colman in the title role, the property was most memorably executed by director William Wellman in 1939. Gary Cooper starred as Michael "Beau" Geste, one of three noble brothers who join the French Foreign Legion after being wrongly implicated in a jewel theft. An Academy Award nomination went to Brian Donlevy for his role as a villainous sergeant. A forgettable third version appeared in 1966.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Beauty Queens

From America's Favorite Pre-Teen to Miss Nude World, America offers a plethora of beauty contests and competitions for females, and the occasional male, to be crowned a beauty queen. In *American Beauty*, Lois Banner suggests that beauty queens illustrate the American ideals of social mobility and democracy: anyone can be a pageant winner and better herself, since anyone can enter a contest. Additionally, there is always another chance to win because new queens are crowned every year.

Beauty queens are chosen for every conceivable reason. Their role is to represent pageant sponsors as an icon and a spokesperson. Queens represent commodities like Miss Cotton; products like Miss Hawaiian Tropic [suntan lotion]; ethnic identity such as Miss Polish America; festivals and fairs such as the Tournament of Roses queen; sports like Miss Rodeo America; and geographic regions such as Miss Palm Springs, Miss Camden County, Miss Utah-USA, Mrs. America, and Miss World, among others. While the best known contests are for young women, there are competitions for almost everyone from grandmothers to babies. Specialized contests include Ms. Senior, Miss Large Lovely Lady, and Miss Beautiful Back. Although not as numerous, men's contests garner entrants of different ages also. Males can choose from the conventional masculine contests like the International Prince Pageant or drag contests such as Miss Camp America.



Two beauty queens, c. 1959.

Early twentieth-century beauty queens were often referred to as bathing beauties. Their outdoor contests were held in Venice, California, Miami Beach, Florida, and Galveston, Texas, and other beach resorts as early as 1905. The contests were usually one of many competitions including comic contests for men dressed like women and contests for children. Early contenders were actresses and showgirls as well as amateurs in their teens. Without a hierarchy of lower contests, as there is today, to winnow down the number of participants (there could be over 300 entrants), sponsors regularly disqualified contestants for misrepresenting their marital status and the region they hailed from. Early contests in the United States invited foreign contestants, like Miss France, to vie for Queen of the Pageant or Beauty Queen of the Universe. Among these competitions is the most long-lived contest, the Miss America Pageant, which began in Atlantic City, New Jersey in 1921.

The presentation of ethnic queens began as early as Miss America, whose court included Miss Indian America (who did not compete). Early ethnic contests include the Nisei Week Japanese Festival, which started in Los Angeles in 1935, and Miss Sepia for African American women, which began as early as 1944.

Beauty pageants and beauty queens have not always been popular. Until the late 1940s, when Miss America gained respect because the winners sold war bonds and won college scholarships, beauty queens were not generally well thought of by the majority of Americans. One congressman around 1915 wanted to create a federal law banning beauty contests. At the time, women who exhibited their bodies or wore makeup were considered daring, if not suspect. Other early protesters were religious and women's groups who issued

decrees about how contests exploited young women for the profit of the organizers who, in almost all cases, were men. By the 1950s beauty pageants had become status quo.

Since the 1960s protesters have become more theatrical in showing how the contests objectify women. The Women's Liberation Front crowned a sheep as Miss America as part of an all day demonstration in 1968. Students elected a cow as homecoming queen at one college in the 1970s. In the 1980s protesters at a Miss California contest wore costumes of baloney, skirt steak, and hot dogs.

As beauty competitions gained respect, the ideal American girl became engraved in the American psyche. By the 1950s, when the Miss Universe contest began, the beauty queen was at her pinnacle: a stereotypically pretty, talented, politically conservative, WASP young woman who was more focused on marriage than a career. The contests floated through the 1960s until the Women's Liberation Movement made contestants and sponsors reflect on their values. By the 1970s a career and self-fulfillment were added to the qualities of a beauty queen. Well-known contests like Miss America and Miss USA also were slowly being racially integrated. By the 1980s and 1990s many African American women had won national titles in mixed competitions. Contestants with disabilities that did not affect their appearance, such as hearing impairment, were also not uncommon. In fact, conquering an impediment such as diabetes or sexual abuse was seen as a competition asset.

A service industry has grown up around pageantry, the term used to describe the beauty contest phenomenon, supplying clothing, cosmetic surgery, photography, music, jewelry, awards, makeup, instructional books and videos, and personal trainers. While early models and actor contestants may have had an edge on the amateurs because of experience performing, almost all modern beauty contestants train intensely to win. They take lessons on speaking, walking, applying makeup and hairdressing, as well as studying current events.

The prizes beauty queens win have not changed much since the 1920s. Among these are public exposure, crowns, cash, savings bonds, fur coats, jewelry, complete wardrobes, cosmetics, automobiles, and opportunities to model or act for television and film. Scholarships, a relatively new prize, were introduced in the 1940s by the Miss America Pageant. Since then, national beauty queens have spent a year on the road—selling war bonds, appearing at shopping center and sport event openings, and speaking to government, educational, and civic organizations such as the National Parent Teacher Association or American Lung Association, among other duties. State, national, and international winners like Miss USA, Miss Universe, and Miss Arkansas make paid appearances for their pageant and sponsors. National and international winners can earn over \$200,000 during their year.

—ViBrina Coronado

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## Beavers, Louise (1902-1962)

Louise Beavers, whose first film role was as a slave in the silent version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1927), was cast as the happily devoted black servant during most of her career. However, she broke out of that type of role in *Imitation of Life* (1934) in her moving portrayal of the heartsick Aunt Delilah, whose light-skinned daughter denied her mother to "pass" as white. Even after this critically praised performance, Beavers returned to the limited servant-type character roles available to black actors during this period.

Beavers later moved to television and replaced Ethel Waters as the star of *Beulah* (1950-1953), the managing maid to the inept Hendersons, during its final season. The series gave Beavers star billing. However, she tired of the pace and stereotypical role and left the series while it was still popular.

—Denise Lowe

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## Beavis and Butthead

MTV's breakthrough hit of the 1990s, *Beavis and Butthead*, grew out of a series of animated shorts. Each half-hour episode chronicled the title characters' hormone-driven adventures while offering their commentary on popular music videos. Beavis and Butthead were almost universally-recognized pop icons by the time their run on MTV ended in 1997. They helped to usher in a new genre of irreverent television comedy and symbolized for many critics the decay of the American mind in the days of Generation X.

Those viewing "Frog Baseball," Beavis and Butthead's premiere installment on MTV's animation showcase *Liquid TV*, might have judged the cartoon—in which the duo does indeed play our national pastime with a frog as the ball—nothing more than a demented teenage doodle. But creator Mike Judge's simplistically-rendered protagonists struck some chord with MTV's young audience, and more episodes were featured. Beavis and Butthead's appearance on the 1992 Video Music Awards marked a coming-out of sorts, and Judge and his creations were offered a weekly spot on the

cable network in 1993. Including videos layered with the boys' comments from the couch was the network's idea. *The Beavis and Butthead Experience*, an album featuring the two heroes collaborating with several of their favorite artists, was released late in 1993. Beavis and Butthead were guests several times on *Late Night with David Letterman* and were a featured act at the 1994 Super Bowl halftime show. Judge's cartoon creations were becoming important Hollywood personalities in an age that demanded celebrities who could wield power in several media. The culmination of this process was the release of their 1996 movie, *Beavis and Butthead Do America*, in which they embark on a cross-country quest for their lost television.

*Beavis and Butthead's* rise to stardom was not without its wrinkles. The show was sued in late 1993, while their popularity surged, by an Ohio mother who claimed Beavis's repeated maniacal calls of "Fire! Fire!" had encouraged her son to set a fire in their trailer home that claimed the life of his older sister. As part of the settlement, all references to fire have been edited from old and new episodes of the show. Judge and MTV parted ways amicably in 1997, after 220 episodes. Judge continued creating animated shows for adults. Beavis and Butthead, despite their best efforts to do nothing, had irrevocably altered the fields of animation, comedy, and teen culture as a whole. Taboos had been broken. Crudity had soared to new heights.

On the surface, *Beavis and Butthead* is a celebration of the frustrated male adolescent sex drive. Butthead, the dominant member of the team, is described in his own *Beavis and Butthead Ensucklopedia* as "... pretty cool. He hangs out a lot and watches TV. Or else he cruises for chicks... he just keeps changing the channels, and when a hot chick comes on he'll check out her thingies." Butthead's off-center whipping boy Beavis is, in comparison, "... a poet, a storyteller, a wuss, a fartknocker, a dillweed, a doorstep and a paper weight." The show established and maintained its fan base with storylines about escape (from the law, social norms, or teenage boredom) and desire (for women, recognition, or some new stimulus). Judge's vignettes, peppered with Beavis' nerdy snicker and Butthead's brain dead "Huh. Huh-huh," left no subject as sacred, from God and school to death itself. They destroyed public and private property, dodged responsibilities, let the world wash through the television and over them on their threadbare couch, and bragged about their fantasies of exploiting women. Critics and would-be censors were quick to point to the show as evidence of the current generation's desensitization to modern social issues and general dumbing-down. Beavis and Butthead, many said, were evidence enough that the current crop of kids were not ready to take over. "I hate words," snorts Beavis while a music video flashes superimposed phrases on the screen. "Words suck. If I wanted to read, I'd go to school."

But Beavis and Butthead's innocent absorption of America's mass media and their simultaneous applause and ridicule of popular culture spoke to "Gen X" on some level. And deep in their observations were occasional gems of world-weary wisdom. "The future sucks," insists Beavis in one episode, "change it!" Butthead replies, "I'm pretty cool Beavis, but I cannot change the future."

—Colby Vargas

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## The Bee Gees

The Australian Brothers Gibb, Barry and twins Robin and Maurice (1949—), are one of the most successful, versatile, enduring recording groups in the world. Their trademark close harmonies, along with their remarkable songwriting abilities and talent for creating distinctive melodies, have earned them dozens of top 40 hits, including six consecutive number ones from 1977-79. Because of their involvement with the soundtrack to *Saturday Night Fever*, they are primarily artistically associated with late-1970s disco excesses. However, they released their first widely available record in 1967, and began a string of hits in several genres: pop, psychedelic, country, R&B, and soul. Though they still regularly top the charts in other parts of the world, they have not had major chart success in the United States since 1983. In 1997, the Bee Gees were inducted into the Rock 'n' Roll Hall of Fame.

—Joyce Linehan

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## Beer

Given Americans' love of beer, one might be tempted to call it America's drink. In truth it is the world's drink. Originating in ancient Babylon, and passed on in various regional variations for thousands of years, beer is made in virtually every country in the world. Throughout Europe, but especially in Germany, Czechoslovakia, and the United Kingdom, the public house or alehouse serving locally-brewed beer has been an institution for hundreds of years. In Belgium, Trappist monks have been producing their distinctive beers since the eleventh century. But it wasn't until the twentieth century that beer was subjected to the peculiar modernizing effects of American mass culture. Mass-produced, packaged, and advertised everywhere, American lager beer in its various similar-tasting brands—Budweiser, Miller, Strohs, Coors, Pabst, etc.—became the drink of the masses. In 1995, American brewers produced 185 million barrels of beer, 176 million of which were consumed in the United States. The vast majority of the beer produced in the United States—over 95 percent—is produced by the major brewers, Anheuser-Busch, Miller, Strohs, Heileman, Coors, and Pabst. However, craft brewers have kept ancient brewing traditions alive and in the 1990s offer their microbrews to a growing number of beer drinkers looking for an alternative to mass-produced fare.

It is no exaggeration to say that beer came to America with the first colonists. Indeed, there is evidence that suggests that one of the main reasons the Mayflower stopped at Plymouth Rock in 1620 was that they were running out of beer. Had they made it to New Amsterdam they might have replenished their stock with ales made by the Dutch settlers who had been brewing beer there since 1612. The first commercial brewery opened in New Amsterdam in 1632 and as the colonies expanded many a small community boasted of a local brewer. But the failure of colonists to grow quality barley (a key ingredient in beer) and the easy availability of imported English beer

slowed the development of an indigenous brewing industry. As tensions between the colonies and England increased in the eighteenth century, beer became one of a number of British goods that were no longer wanted by colonists eager to declare their independence. By 1770, George Washington and Patrick Henry were among the many revolutionaries who called for a boycott of English beer and promoted the growth of domestic brewing. Some of the first legislation passed by the fledgling United States limited the taxes on beer to encourage such growth. Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin both supported a plan to create a state-supported national brewery (the plan came to naught.)

The nineteenth century saw a tremendous growth in brewing in America. Immigrants from the "beer belt" countries of Europe—Ireland, Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and The Netherlands—brought their brewing knowledge and love of beer to many American communities, and by 1840 there were over 140 breweries operating in the United States. In that same year America was introduced to lager beer by a Bavarian brewer named Johann Wagner. Little did he know that he had introduced the future of American brewing. Prior to 1840, the beers produced in America were all ales, defined by their use of a top-fermenting yeast and aged and served at room temperature. Lagers—which used a bottom-fermenting yeast and required cold storage—tended to be mellower, smoother, and cleaner tasting, and they soon found an audience, especially when Bohemian brewers developed the Pilsner style, the lightest, clearest lager made. Milwaukee, Wisconsin—with its proximity to grain producers, its supply of fresh water, and its large German population—soon became the capital of American brewing. The Pabst, Schlitz, and Miller Brewing companies all trace their roots to nineteenth-century Milwaukee. In fact, Schlitz claimed for many years to the "beer that made Milwaukee famous."

Milwaukee was not alone in embracing beer, especially lager beer. By 1873 there were over 4,131 breweries operating in the United States and they produced nine million barrels of beer, according to Bill Yenne in *Beers of North America*. Most of the twentieth century's major brewers got their start in the late nineteenth-century boom in American brewing, including Anheuser-Busch (founded in 1852), the Miller Brewing Company (1850), the Stroh Brewery Company (1850), the G. Heileman Brewing Company (1858), the Adolph Coors Company (1873), and the Pabst Brewing Company (1844). Adolphus Busch, who some hail as the first genius in American brewing, dreamed of creating the first national beer, and by the 1870s the conditions were right to begin making his dream a reality. Backed by a huge brewery, refrigerated storehouses and rail cars, and a new process allowing the pasteurization of beer, Busch introduced his new beer, called Budweiser, in 1876. But the majority of the brewers were still small operations providing beer for local markets. It would take industrialization, Prohibition, and post-World War II consolidation to create the monolithic brewers that dominated the twentieth century.

At the dawn of the twentieth century several factors were reshaping the American brewing industry. First, large regional brands grew in size and productive capacity and began to squeeze competitors out of the market. New bottling technologies allowed these brewers to package and ship beer to ever-larger regions. Such brewers were aided by new legislation that prohibited the brewing and bottling of beer on the same premises, thus ending the tradition of the local brewhouse. "The shipping of bottled beer," notes Philip Van Munching in *Beer Blast: The Inside Story of the Brewing Industry's Bizarre Battles for Your Money*, "created the first real emphasis on brand identification, since shipping meant labeling, and labeling meant



A bartender pours a beer at the Copper Tank Brew Pub in Austin, Texas.

imagery.” All these factors helped big brewers get bigger while small brewers left the industry. By 1910 the number of breweries had decreased to 1,568, though they produced 53 million barrels of beer a year. With fewer breweries producing more beer, the stage was set for the next century of American brewing. There was only one problem: numbers of Americans supported placing restrictions on alcohol consumption and they soon found the political clout to get their way.

For a number of years nativist Protestants, alarmed by the social disorder brought to the United States by the surge of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe, had been pressing for laws restricting the sale of alcohol, hoping that such laws would return social order to their communities. Fueled by anti-German (and thus anti-brewing) sentiment sparked by Germany’s role in World War I, such groups as the National Prohibition Party, the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, and the Anti-Saloon League succeeded in pressing for legislation and a Constitutional Amendment banning the “manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors.” The Volstead Enforcement Act, which went into effect on January 18, 1920, made the brewing of beer punishable under the law. “What had been a normal commercial activity one day,” writes Penne, “was a criminal act the next.” Small and medium-sized breweries across the nation closed their doors, and the big brewers turned their vast productive capacity to producing near beer (with names like Vivo, Famo, Luxo, Hoppy,

Pablo, and Yip) and other non-alcoholic beverages. As a method of social control, Prohibition—as the period came to be known—failed miserably: American drinkers still drank, but now they got their booze from illicit “speakeasies” and “bootleggers,” which were overwhelmingly controlled by organized crime interests. Crime increased dramatically during Prohibition (or at least anti-Prohibition interests made it seem so) and the politicians who were against Prohibition, energized by the political realignment caused by the start of the Great Depression and the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt, repealed Prohibition by December of 1933.

The effects of Prohibition on the brewing industry were dramatic. Only 400 of the country’s 1,568 breweries survived Prohibition, and half of these failed during the Depression that gripped the country throughout the 1930s. The big breweries survived, and in the years to come they would claim an ever-increasing dominance in the American beer market. Big brewers were aided in 1935 by the introduction of canned beer. Though brewers first put beer in tin or steel cans, Coors introduced the aluminum can in 1959 and it was quickly adopted by the entire brewing industry. More and more, beer was a mass-produced product that could be purchased in any grocery store, rather than a craft-brewed local product purchased at a local alehouse. But American brewing did not rebound immediately upon repeal of Prohibition. The economic troubles of the 1930s put a damper on

production; in 1940, American brewers produced only 53 million barrels of beer, “well below the pre-Prohibition peak of 66 million barrels,” according to Yenne. It would take World War II and the post-war boom to spark a real resurgence in American brewing.

As World War II drew increasing numbers of American men off to foreign bases, military leaders wisely decided to permit the sale of beer on military bases. Brewers obliged by allocating 15 percent of their production for the troops and, according to Yenne, “young men with long-standing loyalties to hometown brews were exposed to national brands,” thus creating loyalty to these brands that they carried home. Brewers also took advantage of an expanding American economy to increase their output to 80 million barrels annually by 1945.

The story of post-War American brewing can be summed up in two words: nationalization and consolidation. Anheuser-Busch, Schlitz, and Pabst set out to make their beers national brands by building breweries in every region of the United States. In the years between 1946 and 1951, each of these brewers began to produce beer for the New York market—once dominated by Ballantine, Rheingold, and Schaefer—from newly-opened breweries. Soon they built breweries, giant breweries, on the West Coast and in the South. By 1976 Anheuser-Busch alone had opened 16 new breweries in locations throughout the United States. The other major brewers followed suit, but no one could keep up with Anheuser-Busch. By 1957 the company was selling more beer than any brewer in the United States, a position it has not relinquished since.

Nationalization was followed by consolidation, as the major brewers began acquiring smaller brewers at an astonishing pace and either marketing or burying their brands. According to Van Munching, “In the sixties and seventies following the American beer business was like going to a ball game. To keep track of the players, you needed a scorecard.” G. Heileman of Wisconsin purchased smaller regional brewers of beers like Old Style, Blatz, Rainier, and Lone Star; Washington brewer Olympia bought Hamm’s, but was in turn bought by Pabst. But the biggest buy came when tobacco giant Philip Morris purchased the Miller Brewing Company in 1970. Backed by Philip Morris’s deep pockets, Miller suddenly joined the ranks of the country’s major brewers. Van Munching claims that the purchase of Miller “signaled the end of an era in the brewing industry: the end of skirmishes fought on a strictly regional scale, often with different contestants in each of the regions. Now, one battlefield was brought into sharp focus . . . the whole U.S. of A.” From 1970 on, the major national brewers battled fiercely for market share with a sophisticated arsenal of advertising, promotions, brand diffusion, and bluster.

In a market in which the major brands had little difference in taste, the biggest tool the brewers had to increase market share was advertising. The first brewer to turn its full attention to the promotion of its product on a national scale was Miller, which in the early 1970s began an unprecedented push into the sports marketplace. Miller advertised its brands on every televised sporting event it could get its hands on, from auto racing to football. While it pitched its flagship brand, Miller High Life, with the slogans “If you’ve got the time, we’ve got the beer” and the tag line “Miller Time,” Miller attracted the most attention with its ads for the relatively new Lite Beer from Miller that featured drinkers arguing whether the beer “Tastes Great” or was “Less Filling.” For a time, Miller dominated the available air time, purchasing nearly 70 percent of network television sports beer advertising. But Anheuser-Busch wasn’t about to let

Miller outdo them, and they soon joined in the battle with Miller to dominate the airwaves, first purchasing local television air time and later outbidding Miller for national programs. With their classy Budweiser Clydesdales, “This Bud’s for You,” and the “Bud Man,” Budweiser managed to retain their leading market share. Between them, Anheuser-Busch and Miller owned American television beer advertising, at least until the others could catch up.

Both Budweiser and Miller devoted significant resources to sponsoring sporting teams and events in an effort to get their name before as many beer drinkers as possible. Budweiser sponsored the Miss Budweiser hydroplane beginning in 1962, and beginning in the early 1980s regularly fielded racing teams on the NASCAR, NHRA, and CART racing circuits. Moreover, Budweiser sponsored major boxing events—including some of the classic championship fights of the 1980s—and in the late 1990s paired with a number of sportsmen’s and conservation organizations, including Ducks Unlimited and the Nature Conservancy. For its part, Miller sponsored awards for National Football League players of the week and year, funded CART, NASCAR, and drag racing teams, and in the late 1990s started construction on a new baseball stadium, called Miller Park, for the aptly named Milwaukee Brewers. Miller has also put considerable resources into funding for the arts, both in Milwaukee, where it has sponsored annual ballet productions, and in other cities throughout the country. These brewers—and many others—also put their name on so many t-shirts, hats, banners, and gadgets that beer names sometimes seemed to be everywhere in American culture.

When American brewers couldn’t expand their market share through advertising, they tried to do so by introducing new products. The first such “new” beer was light beer. The Rheingold brewery introduced the first low-calorie beer, Gablinger’s, in 1967, but the taste was, according to Van Munching, so “spectacularly awful” that it never caught on. Miller acquired the rights to a beer called Meister Brau Lite in 1972 when it purchased the Meister Brau brewery in Chicago, and they soon renamed the beer and introduced it the same year as Lite Beer from Miller. Offered to drinkers worried about their protruding beer bellies, and to women who didn’t want such a heavy beer, Lite Beer was an immediate success and eventually helped Miller overtake Schlitz as the number two brewer in the country. Not surprisingly, it spawned imitators. Anheuser-Busch soon marketed Natural Light and Bud Light; Coors offered Coors Light; Stroh’s peddled Old Milwaukee Light. There was even an imported light beer, Amstel Light.

Light beer was an undoubted success: by 1990, the renamed Miller Lite led sales in the category with 19.9 million barrels, followed by Bud Light (11.8 million barrels) and Coors Light (11.6 million barrels). Following the success of light beer, beermakers looked for other similar line extensions to help boost sales. Anheuser-Busch introduced LA (which stood for “low alcohol”) and others followed—with Schaefer LA, Blatz LA, Rainier LA, etc; the segment soon died. In 1985, Miller achieved some success with a cold-filtered, nonpasteurized beer they called Miller Genuine Draft, or MGD; Anheuser-Busch followed them into the market with several imitators, the most flagrant being Michelob Golden Draft (also MGD), with a similar bottle, label, and advertising campaign. Anheuser-Busch created the dry beer segment when it introduced Michelob Dry, followed shortly by Bud Dry. Their advertising slogan—“Why ask why? Try Bud Dry”—begged a real question: Why drink a dry beer? Consumers could think of no good reason, and the beers soon disappeared from the market. Perhaps, thought brewers, an ice beer would be better. Following Canadian brewer Molson Canada, Miller

introduced Molson Ice in the United States in 1993; they were, once again, followed by many imitators and, once again, the category slowly fizzled after a brief period of popularity.

Though the attempts of American brewers to create new beer categories appeared to be a comedy of errors, there was reason behind their madness. Simply put, the market for their beers had grown stagnant and the same brewers were competing for a market that was no longer growing substantially. Many brewers sought to expand by peddling wine coolers or alternative beverages, such as Coors's Zima Clearmalt; most hastened their efforts to sell their beer in the international market. Anheuser-Busch, for example, began to market its beer in more than 60 countries worldwide. Still, the question was if American drinkers weren't drinking the "new" beers produced by the major brewers, what were they drinking? In the simplest terms, the answer was that more and more Americans were drinking "old" beers—carefully crafted ales and lagers with far more taste and body than anything brewed by the "big boys." Beginning in the late 1970s, the so-called "microbrew revolution" proved to be the energizing force in the American beer market.

American capitalism has proved extremely adept at producing and marketing vast numbers of mass-produced goods, and American brewers are quintessential capitalists. But with mass production comes a flattening of distinctions, a tendency to produce, in this case, beers that all taste the same. Beginning in the late 1970s and accelerating in the 1980s, American consumers began to express a real interest in products with distinction—in gourmet coffee (witness the birth of Starbucks and other gourmet coffee chains), in good cars (thus rising sales of BMW, Mercedes, and Japanese luxury brands Lexus and Acura), and in fine clothes (witness the rise of designers Ralph Lauren and Calvin Klein). The changing taste of American beer drinkers was first expressed as a preference for imported beers, which surged in sales in the late 1970s. But true beer connoisseurs soon turned to beer brewed closer to home. In 1977 the New Albion brewing company in Sonoma, California, offered the first American "microbrew," the name given to beer brewed in small batches. The first major microbrewer, the Sierra Nevada Brewing Company of Chico, California, opened in 1981, and was followed into the market by a succession of breweries first in the West and then throughout the country.

One of the first microbrewers to enter the national market was the contract-brewing Boston Beer Company, producers of the Samuel Adams Boston Lager and other beers, but for the most part the microbrew revolution was not about following the path of the big breweries into national marketing, but rather about producing high quality ales for the local market. In small- and medium-sized markets around the country, American beer drinkers were rediscovering the richness and variety of the brewer's art. In the microbrewing capital of the United States, the Pacific Northwest, alehouses can boast of carrying dozens of beers brewed within a day's drive. At places like Fred's Rivertown Alehouse in Snohomish, Washington, a group called the Cask Club even joined in the revival of one of the oldest brewing traditions—cask-conditioned or "real" ales.

Though the microbrew revolution wasn't big—craft-brewed beers only accounted for 2.1 percent of the domestic beer market in 1995—it exerted a great influence on the major brewers. Most of the big brewers responded to the challenge posed by microbrewers by marketing slightly richer, slightly better beers with "authentic" looking labels. Miller marketed beers under the label Plank Road Brewery and Michelob promoted its dark and amber beers. Miller

responded most ingeniously by claiming in advertisements that it was "time for a good old macrobrew," brewed in one of their "vats the size of Rhode Island." Meanwhile microbreweries, brewpubs, and regional specialty brewers kept opening; by 1995 there were 1,034 such breweries in the United States, heralding a return to the abundance of breweries that existed at the turn of the century, and a dramatic rise from the 60 breweries in existence in 1980.

It comes as no surprise that a drink as popular as beer should play a role in American entertainment. Beer could have been credited as a character on the long-running sitcom *Cheers* (1982-1993), which featured a group of men who felt most at home sitting in a Boston bar with a beer in their hands; the biggest beer drinker, Norm, perfected humorous ways of asking for his beer, and once called out "Give me a bucket of beer and a snorkel." Milwaukee's fictional Schotz Brewery employed the lead characters in the 1970s sitcom *Laverne and Shirley* (1976-1983). When Archie Bunker of *All in the Family* (1971-1979) left his union job he opened a bar—Archie's Place—that served beer to working class men. The characters on the *Drew Carey Show* (1995—) brewed and marketed a concoction they called Buzz Beer, and signed a professional wrestler to do celebrity endorsements. Homer Simpson, the father on the animated series *The Simpsons* (1989—) swore his allegiance to the locally-brewed Duff Beer. (The show's producer, Twentieth Century-Fox, sued the South Australian Brewing Company when it tried to market a beer under the same name). Movies have not provided so hospitable a home to beer, though the 1983 movie *Strange Brew* followed the exploits of beer drinking Canadians Bob and Doug McKenzie as they got a job at the Elsinore Brewery.

In the 1990s, with more beers than ever to choose from, Americans still turned with amazing frequency to the major brands Budweiser, Miller, and Coors. Such brands offered not only a familiar, uniform taste, but were accompanied by a corresponding set of images and icons produced by sophisticated marketing machines. Drinkers of the major brands found their beer on billboards, race cars, television ads, store displays, and t-shirts everywhere they looked; by drinking a Bud, for example, they joined a community unique to late-twentieth-century mass culture—a community of consumers. But for those who wished to tap into the age old tradition of brewing, an increasing number of brewers offered more authentic fare.

—Tom Pendergast

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## Beiderbecke, Bix (1903-1931)

Leon Bismarck "Bix" Beiderbecke is one of the few white musicians to have influenced important black musicians. Considered one of the all-time great jazz artists, he was admired by Louis Armstrong, who always mentioned Beiderbecke as his favorite trumpet player. Beiderbecke actually played cornet, which was also Armstrong's first trumpet-like instrument.

Remarkably, Beiderbecke did not hear a jazz record until he was 14. The music of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band became his inspiration, and he copied the cornet solos verbatim. However, he resisted any formal musical instruction, and fingered the cornet in an unorthodox fashion that enabled him to solo with incredible speed. In common with many jazz musicians of his day, Beiderbecke never learned to read music very well, either. Rather, he relied upon his



Bix Beiderbecke

great ear for music. Despite his apparent talent, his parents sought to discourage his musical pursuits. They sent him to Wake Forest Academy, a military school near Chicago, in the hopes that its strict discipline would quell his interest in jazz.

Their ploy did not work. Beiderbecke managed to get himself expelled for cutting classes and soon turned to music full-time, coming to fame in the 1920s. In 1923, he joined the Wolverines and recorded with them in 1924. He soon left the Wolverines to join Jean Goldkette's Orchestra, but lost the job because of his inability to read music well. In 1926, he joined Frankie Trumbauer's group and recorded his piano composition "In a Mist." In concert with his time, Beiderbecke lived the life of a "romantic" artist, drinking to excess and living for his art. Both made him a legend among his contemporaries. His tone on the cornet was gorgeous, very different from Armstrong's assertive brassy tone. It became a model for a number of later horn players, including Bunny Berrigan, Harry James, Fats Navarro, Clifford Brown, and Miles Davis, among others.

Beiderbecke recorded extensively with Eddie Lang, guitar, and Frankie Trumbauer, C-Melody sax. He managed to improve his music reading enough to work with Jean Goldkette again, and later joined Paul Whiteman's Orchestra, the most popular group of his day. In 1929, Beiderbecke returned to Davenport, Iowa, to recuperate from the ill-effects of his hard drinking. Whiteman treated Beiderbecke well, paying him his full salary and offering to take him back when he was well. Beiderbecke never fully recovered. He made a few records with Hoagy Carmichael before his death in 1931 of lobar pneumonia and edema of the brain. Beiderbecke's romantic life and death inspired Dorothy Baker's book, *Young Man with a Horn*, as well as the movie of the same name. The Bix Beiderbecke Memorial Jazz Festival continues in Davenport, Iowa. It is billed as Iowa's Number One Attraction.

—Frank A. Salamone

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## Belafonte, Harry (1927—)

Singer, actor, and activist Harry Belafonte with his "Jamaica Farewell" launched the calypso sound in American popular music and through his performances popularized folk songs of the world to American audiences. As an actor, Belafonte tore down walls of discrimination for other minority actors, and as an activist, profoundly influenced by the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., he fought for the civil rights of Africans and African Americans for decades. A popular matinee idol since the 1950s, Belafonte achieved his greatest popularity as a singer. His "Banana Boat (Day-O)" shot to number five on



**Harry Belafonte**

the *Billboard* pop singles chart in 1957. His *Calypso* album released in 1956 was certified gold in 1963 and the 1959 album *Belafonte at Carnegie Hall* certified gold in 1961. Belafonte was the first African American television producer and the first African American to win an Emmy Award.

Born on March 1, 1927, in New York City, Harold George Belafonte, Jr. was the son of Caribbean immigrants. His mother, Melvine Love Belafonte, was from Jamaica and his father, Harold George Belafonte, Sr., was from Martinique. In 1935, after his father left the family, Belafonte and his mother moved to her native Jamaica where Belafonte spent five years attending school and assimilating the local music. In 1940, he returned to the public schools of New York but in 1944, at the age of seventeen, dropped out to enter the U.S. Navy for a two-year stint. In 1948, Belafonte married Julie Robinson, a dancer.

After seeing a production of the American Negro Theater, Belafonte knew he wanted to become an actor. He attended the Dramatic Workshop of the New School for Social Research, studying under the direction of Erwin Piscator. As a class project, he had to sing an original composition entitled "Recognition" and after his performance drew the attention of Monte Kay who later became his agent. Since few acting opportunities opened and Belafonte needed to support his family, Kay offered him a singing engagement at the Royal Roost, a jazz night club in New York. After attracting favorable reviews, Belafonte established himself as a creditable jazz and popular singer. But by 1950, feeling that he could not continue singing popular music with a sincere conviction, he abruptly switched

to folk songs and began independently studying, researching, and adapting folk songs to his repertoire. His folk singing debut in 1951 at the Village Vanguard in New York's Greenwich Village was a smashing success. Belafonte subsequently opened a restaurant catering to patrons who appreciated folk singing, but it closed in three years because it was not commercially viable.

Belafonte recorded for Jubilee Records in 1949 and signed with RCA Victor records in 1956 with his first hit, "Banana Boat (Day-O)," issued in 1957. He soon launched the calypso craze. While Belafonte was not a true calypsonian, i.e., one who had grown up absorbing the tradition, he was instead an innovator and took traditional calypso and other folk songs, dramatizing, adapting, and imitating the authentic prototypes, melding them into polished and consummate musical performances. He was called the "King of Calypso," and capitalized on the tastes of the American and European markets. His "Jamaica Farewell," "Matilda, Matilda," and "Banana Boat (Day-O)" are classics. Guitarist Millard Thomas became his accompanist. Belafonte also sang Negro spirituals and work songs, and European folk songs in addition to other folk songs of the world on recordings and in live concerts. While his hits had stopped by the 1970s, his attraction as a concert artist continued. He recorded with such well-known artists as Bob Dylan, Lena Horne, Miriam Makeba, and Odetta. Belafonte was responsible for bringing South African trumpeter and bandleader Hugh Masekela and other South African artists to the United States. In 1988, the acclaimed album *Paradise in Gazankulu* was banned in South Africa because of its depiction of the horrors of apartheid.

Belafonte took singing roles in the theatrical production *Almanac* in 1953 and opportunities for acting opened up. His first film was *The Bright Road* (1953) with Dorothy Dandridge. In 1954, he played the role of Joe in *Carmen Jones*, an adaptation of Bizet's *Carmen* that became one of the first all-black movie box-office successes. He starred in *Island in the Sun* in 1957 and *Odds Against Tomorrow* in 1959. In the 1970s, his film credits included *Buck and the Preacher* (1972) and *Uptown Saturday Night* (1974). Belafonte also appeared in numerous television specials and starred in videos and films documenting music, including *Don't Stop the Carnival* in 1991, *White Man's Burden* in 1995, and *Kansas City* in 1996.

As a student in Jamaica, Belafonte observed the effects of colonialism and the political oppression that Jamaicans suffered. He committed himself to a number of humanitarian causes including civil rights, world hunger, the arts, and children's rights. The ideas of W. E. B. DuBois, Paul Robeson, and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. exerted powerful influences on Belafonte. He participated in marches with Dr. King and in 1985 helped organize as well as perform on "We Are the World," a Grammy Award-winning recording project to raise money to alleviate hunger in Africa. Due to his civil rights work, he was selected as a board member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and also served as chair of the memorial fund named after Dr. King.

Belafonte continues to inspire audiences through his songs and his passion for racial justice has remained indomitable. He is one of the leading artists who has broken down barriers for people of color, made enormous contributions to black music as a singer and producer, and succeeded in achieving rights for oppressed people. His music, after more than forty years, still sounds fresh and engaging. Belafonte's genius lies in his ability to sway an audience to his point of view. His

charisma, voice, and acting abilities enable him to make any song his own while at the same time keeping his audience spellbound. Selected songs from his repertoire will remain classics for generations to come.

—Willie Collins

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## *The Bell Telephone Hour*

Every Monday night for 18 years, from April 29, 1940, America was treated to *The Bell Telephone Hour*, a musical feast broadcast by NBC Radio. Featuring the 57-piece Bell Telephone Orchestra, directed by Donald Voorhees, who composed their theme, “The Bell Waltz,” the program brought the best in musical entertainment across a broad spectrum, in a format that made for easy and popular listening. Vocalists James Melton and Francia White performed with the orchestra until April 27, 1942, when the program initiated its “Great Soloists” tradition, showcasing individual artists of distinction. Among the many “greats” were opera stars Helen Traubel, Marion Anderson, and Ezio Pinza, concert pianists Jose Iturbi and Robert Casadesu, leading artists in jazz such as Benny Goodman, top Broadway stars such as Mary Martin, and popular crooners, including Bing Crosby.

NBC took *The Bell Telephone Hour* off the air in 1958, but revived it for television from October 9, 1959, with Donald Voorhees and the Orchestra still in place. Always stylish and elegant in presentation, the small-screen version ran for 10 years, offering the same eclectic mix as the radio original for eight of them. The visual medium allowed the inclusion of dance, and viewers were treated to appearances by ballet idol Rudolf Nureyev and veteran tap-dancer Ray Bolger, among others. On April 29, 1960, the program memorably brought Gilbert and Sullivan’s operetta, *The Mikado*, to television with a cast led by soprano Helen Traubel as Katisha and comedian Groucho Marx as the Lord High Executioner.

In 1966, however, the show abandoned its established format in favor of documentary films. Subjects included such established performers as pianist Van Cliburn, conductor Zubin Mehta, and jazz man Duke Ellington, but the program lasted only two more years, ending a chapter in broadcasting history on April 26, 1968.

—James R. Belpedio

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Two women modeling bellbottoms.

## Bellbottoms

Bellbottomed trousers, named for the bell-shaped cut of the cuffs, have been worn by sea-farers since the 17th century. While sailors prefer the cut because the wide bottoms of the trousers make them easy to roll up for deck-swabbing duty, young people bought the trousers from navy surplus stores in the 1960s because the fabric was cheap and durable. Bellbottoms flattered the slim, unisex figure in vogue during the late 1960s and 1970s, and soon designers were turning out high-price versions of the navy classic. In the 1990s, the revival of 1970s fashion has seen the return of bellbottoms, especially as jeans.

—Deborah Broderson

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## Belushi, John (1949-1982)

The name John Belushi conjures images of sword-wielding Samurai, cheeseburger-cooking Greek chefs, mashed-potato spewing



human zits, and Ray Ban wearing ex-cons on a “mission from God.” But his short life is also a popular metaphor for drug abuse and wild excess. His acting and comedy, undeniably energetic and highly creative, are overshadowed by his death, a tabloid cliché revisited every time another Hollywood star overdoses on drugs or alcohol.

In part, this sad legacy is influenced by Bob Woodward’s clinical and unflattering biography, *Wired* (1984), in which Belushi is described as an insecure man who turns to cocaine and heroin to bolster his self-esteem. Woodward concluded that Belushi’s extremes in personality were a representation of the 1970s and the drug-obsessed entertainment industry of the time. Yet this legacy is also inspired in part by Belushi’s own stage, television, and movie personae, best exemplified in popular myth by his portrayal of the anti-establishment, hedonistic fraternity bum Bluto Blutarsky of *National Lampoon’s Animal House* (1978). The dean’s admonition that “fat, drunk, and stupid is no way to go through life” can be seen as an unbidden warning to Belushi.

Belushi first came to public notice as a member of Chicago’s Second City comedy troupe. Led by Del Close, Second City used improvisational skits to entertain the audiences. While he later credited Close for teaching him how to be a part of an ensemble, Belushi’s intense energy and raucous attitude soon began pushing the bounds of the troupe’s comedy. In spite of Close’s insistence that they were all a team, local reviews soon made it clear that Belushi was the “star” of the show. This soon earned him the notice of Tony Hendra, producer-director of the forthcoming *National Lampoon Magazine’s* musical satire *Lemmings*. Belushi fascinated Hendra, and he offered him the role of the manic emcee that instigates the mass suicide of the audience in *Lemmings*.

At that time, *National Lampoon Magazine* was at the forefront of alternative comedy, the borderline humor that mocked religion, sex, illness, and even death. *Lemmings* was envisioned as an off-Broadway send-up of the Woodstock concert that would showcase the magazine’s brand of humor. For Belushi, it was a marriage made in heaven. The show got rave reviews, its original six-week run being extended for ten months. In reviews, Belushi was singled out for particular praise, his performance outshining the rest of the cast, including newcomer Chevy Chase. He tied himself more closely with National Lampoon by working as a writer, director, and actor of the *National Lampoon Radio Hour*.

In the spring of 1975 Lorne Michaels asked Belushi to join the regular cast of a new show he was preparing for NBC television. Envisioned as a show to appeal to the 18-to-34 audience, *Saturday Night Live* (SNL) was broadcast live from the NBC studios in New York. The live aspect gave these younger audiences a sense of adventure, of never knowing what was going to happen next. The cast, which also included Chevy Chase, Dan Aykroyd, and others, billed themselves as the “Not Ready for Prime Time Players,” and set about redefining American television comedy in the irreverent image of Britain’s *Monty Python’s Flying Circus*.

Belushi was at first overshadowed by Chase, whose suave sophistication appealed to the viewers. He initially came to the audience’s attention as a manic weatherman sitting next to Chase’s deadpan “Weekly Update” anchorman, ending with his catchphrase “But noooooooooooooo!” When Chase departed for Hollywood at the end of the first season, Belushi became the viewers’ new favorite. His most memorable SNL performances included the lunatic weatherman, a Samurai warrior with a short fuse and a long sword, the resentful leader of a band of killer bees, Joe Crocker, and a Greek chef

that would cook only cheeseburgers. He cultivated the image of “bad boy” both on and off screen: a picture of the third season SNL cast has a grim looking Belushi standing to one side, eyes covered with sun glasses, cigarette in hand, with Gilda Radner’s arm draped over his shoulder. While some of the others tried to affect a similar look (especially Aykroyd), only Belushi seemed to truly exude attitude.

Like Chase, Belushi was also looking to advance his career in Hollywood. He began his movie career with a bit part in Jack Nicholson’s poorly received comedy-western *Goin’ South* (1978). Months before it was released, however, his second movie project was in the theaters and thrilling audiences. Returning to National Lampoon, he was cast as the gross undergraduate Bluto Blutarsky in John Landis’ *National Lampoon’s Animal House* (1978).

Based in part on co-writer Chris Miller’s college experiences in the 1960s, *Animal House* begins innocently enough with two freshmen seeking to pledge to the Delta House fraternity, a collection of politically incorrect and incorrigible students whose most intelligent member is averaging less than a 2.0 grade point average. The strait-laced dean of the school is determined to see Delta evicted from campus and its members expelled. The remainder of the movie is a series of skits about the run-ins between the dean and Delta House. Among these skits is Belushi’s potato-spewing imitation of a zit.

Bluto drank excessively, lived only to party, disrupted the campus, and urinated on the shoes of unsuspecting freshmen. It is Belushi’s portrayal of Bluto that is one of the movie’s most enduring images, virtually typecasting him as a gross, excessive, drinking party animal. For most of the movie his character speaks in grunts, his big monologue coming near the end when he encourages a demoralized Delta House to take its revenge on the dean: “What? Over? Did you say ‘over’? Nothing is over until we decide it is! Was it over when the Germans [sic] bombed Pearl Harbor? Hell no!” The movie ends with a Delta-inspired riot at the college’s Homecoming Parade. The characters then all head off into the sunset, with captions revealing their eventual fates (Bluto’s was to become a senator).



John Belushi as the Samurai Warrior dry cleaner on *Saturday Night Live*.

The movie was vintage National Lampoon, and moviegoers loved it. It became the biggest earner of the year, critics attributing much of its success to Belushi. He wasn't so fortunate with his next movie, the romantic comedy *Old Boyfriends* (1979). To the public, Belushi was Bluto and the Samurai, and they had difficulty relating to him in a romantic role. As Wild Bill Kelso, in Steven Spielberg's flop *1941* (1979), Belushi played another character much like Bluto, this time in goggles and chewing on a stubby cigar.

During this time, Aykroyd and Belushi were cooperating on writing sketches for SNL, their partnership based on friendship and common interests. During a road trip they discovered a common love of blues music, and they returned to New York with an idea to develop a warm-up act for SNL, the Blues Brothers. Studio audiences were enthusiastic, and the actors convinced the producers to put the Blues Brothers on the telecast. The reaction was phenomenal. The Blues Brothers soon followed up their television success with a best-selling album (*Briefcase Full of Blues*), a hit single ("Soul Man") and a promotional tour. To Belushi, this was a dream come true: a rock band on tour with a best-selling record. The two stars decided it was time to quit television and concentrate on their movie and music careers.

Aykroyd, meanwhile, had teamed up with John Landis to bring the band to the big screen. The script they came up with began with Jake Blues (Belushi) being released from Joliet State Penitentiary and returning with his brother Elwood (Aykroyd) to the orphanage where they were raised. Learning it is to close unless they can get \$5,000, the brothers decide to put their band back together. The first part of the movie concerns their attempts to find the rest of the band, while the second half involves the band's efforts to raise the money. Throughout, however, the brothers get involved in many car chases, destroying a mall in one scene and many of the Chicago Police Department's cars in another.

*The Blues Brothers* opened in 1980 to a mixed reception. The film was mainly criticized for the excess of car chases, but this is a part of the cult status *The Blues Brothers* achieved. The *Animal House* audience loved it, seeing the return of the Belushi they had missed in his other movies. While his character was not Bluto, it was the familiar back-flipping, blues-howling Joliet Jake from SNL. The opening scenes of the film further reinforced Belushi's bad-boy image, as his character is released from jail, promptly to go on the run from the police. Most critics, however, thought it was terrible, and one went so far as to criticize Landis for keeping Belushi's eyes covered for most of the movie with Jake's trademark Ray Bans.

Belushi had already moved on to his first dramatic role as reporter Ernie Souchak in *Continental Divide* (1981). He received good reviews, most of them expressing some surprise that he could do a dramatic role. The public, however, wanted still more of Bluto and Joliet Jake. *Continental Divide* barely broke even. He then returned to comedy, working on *Neighbors* (1981) with Aykroyd. The movie was a critical and box office disaster, in no small part due to the director's idea of having the partners switch roles, with Belushi playing the straight man to Aykroyd's quirky neighbor. The experience convinced Belushi that he needed more control of his movie projects, so he began working on a revision of the script for his next role in a movie called *Noble Rot*. He envisioned the role as a return to the Bluto character that his audience was demanding. However, by this time he was taking heroin. He died of a drug overdose before completing *Noble Rot*.

Sixteen years after his death (almost to the day) *National Enquirer* gave him the centerpiece of its story on unsolved Hollywood mysteries (March 3, 1998), rehashing conspiracy theories

surrounding his death. His death had raised some questions, leading his widow, writer Judy Jacklin Belushi, to approach Woodward to investigate it. The result was *Wired*, more of an examination of Belushi's descent into drugs than a balanced portrait of the actor's life. Later, Belushi's family and friends were incensed when the book was made into a movie, which *Rolling Stone* called a "pathetic travesty" and an "insult" to his memory. In response to the book and the movie Jacklin published her own autobiography, *Samurai Widow* (1990), which Harold Ramis described as the perfect antidote to *Wired*. During the 1990s, a new generation discovered the actor and comedian that was John Belushi, while leaving his older fans wondering about what could have been. As one biography noted, Belushi helped to develop and make popular an energetic, creative form of improvisational comedy that continued to entertain audiences.

—John J. Doherty

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## Ben Casey

The medical drama *Ben Casey* premiered in October 1961 and soon became the most popular program on ABC. It featured Vince Edwards as the intensely handsome young neurosurgeon at a large metropolitan hospital. The wise Dr. Zorba, who was played by veteran actor Sam Jaffe, mentored him in his efforts to combat disease and the medical establishment. The younger physician's brooding, almost grim, manner echoed the show's tensely realistic tone. The series often confronted controversial subjects and was praised for accurately presenting medical ethics and dilemmas. Each episode began with a voice intoning the words "Man. Woman. Birth. Death. Infinity" as the camera focused on a hand writing the symbols for the words, thus dramatically announcing the somber subject matter of the show. The series ended in 1966. Contemporary viewers have come to associate *Ben Casey* with other medical programs like *Dr. Kildare* and *Marcus Welby, M.D.* in that they all tended to project the image of the "perfect doctor."

—Charles Coletta

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## Bench, Johnny (1947—)

Known as the popular catcher for the Cincinnati Reds during the 1970s, Johnny Bench set a standard of success as perhaps the finest at his position in modern Major League baseball. Bench first gained national attention by winning the National League MVP (Most Valuable Player) award in 1970 and 1972, recording ten straight Gold Gloves, and helping Cincinnati's "Big Red Machine" to World Series victories in 1975 and 1976. Bench revolutionized his position by popularizing a one-handed catching method that gave him greater mobility with his throwing arm. After retiring from baseball, Bench remained in the public spotlight through television appearances, golf outings, and broadcasting. He is President of Johnny Bench Enterprises and won an Emmy for a program called *The Baseball Bunch*. His success and popularity led to his induction into the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1989.

—Nathan R. Meyer

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## Benchley, Robert (1889-1945)

In his relatively short life Benchley managed to enjoy careers as a humorist, theater critic, newspaper columnist, screenwriter, radio performer and movie actor. His writing appeared in such magazines as the old *Life* and *The New Yorker* and his pieces were collected in several books with outlandish titles. Among the film directors he worked with were Alfred Hitchcock, Rene Clair, and Billy Wilder. Benchley won an Academy Award for one of the comedy shorts he wrote and starred in. Benchley was also a member in good standing of the Algonquin Circle in Manhattan and a longtime resident of the Garden of Allah in Hollywood. Talent runs in the Benchley family—his grandson wrote *Jaws*, and both his son, Nathaniel, and his grandson, Peter, became writers.

A genuinely funny man, it was his wit and humor that allowed Benchley to make his way through the world and assured him his assorted jobs. He was born in Worcester, Massachusetts and attended Harvard. His first humor was written for *The Lampoon*. Settling in New York, he got a staff job on *Vanity Fair* where his co-workers included Robert E. Sherwood and Dorothy Parker. Later in the 1920s he was hired by *Life*, which was a humor magazine in those days. He wrote a great many pieces and also did the theater column. He later said that one of the things he liked best in the world was "that 10 minutes at the theater before the curtain goes up, I always feel the way I did when I was a kid around Christmas time."

The 1920s was a busy decade on Broadway and Benchley was in attendance on the opening nights of such shows as *Funny Face*, *Show Boat*, *Dracula*, *Strange Interlude*, and *What Price Glory?* In May of 1922, *Abie's Irish Rose* opened and Benchley dismissed Anne Nichols' play as the worst in town, saying that its obvious Irish and Jewish jokes must have dated back to the 1890s. Much to his surprise, the play was a massive hit and ran for five years. Each week for *Life* he had to make up a Confidential Guide with a capsule review of every play then on Broadway. That meant he had to write something about

*Abie's Irish Rose* each and every week during its run of 2,327 performances. At first he would simply note "Something awful" or "Among the season's worst," but then he grew more inventive and said such things as "People laugh at this every night, which explains why democracy can never be a success," "Come on, now! A joke's a joke," and "No worse than a bad cold."

At the same time that he was reviewing plays, Benchley was also collecting his humor pieces in books. The gifted Gluyas Williams, an old school chum from Harvard, provided the illustrations. In addition to parodies, spoofs, and out and out nonsense pieces, some in the vein of his idol Stephen Leacock, he also wrote a great many small essays about himself, taking a left-handed and slightly baffled approach to life. Only on a shelf of books by Robert Benchley is it possible to find such titles as *My Ten Years in a Quandary and How They Grew*, *No Poems, or, Around the World Backwards and Sideways*, and *From Bed To Worse, or, Comforting Thoughts About the Bison*.

Benchley gradually drifted into the movies. He appeared in over two dozen feature length films, including *Foreign Correspondent* (for which he also wrote some of the dialogue), *I Married A Witch*, *The Major and the Minor* (where he delivered the line about "getting out of those wet clothes and into a dry martini"), *Take A Letter, Darling*, and *The Road to Utopia*. He also made nearly 50 short films. His first one, *The Treasurer's Report*, was done in 1928 for Fox. The shorts most often took the form of deadpan lectures, giving advice on such topics as how to read, how to take a vacation, and how to train a dog. *How To Sleep*, done for Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer in the mid-1930s, won him an Academy Award. Once in an ad in *Variety* he listed himself as specializing in "Society Drunk" roles.

When he was working in Hollywood, Benchley most often resided in a bungalow at the Garden of Allah, which was the favorite lodging place of visiting actors, writers, and "hangers-on." The Garden was torn down decades ago to make way for a bank. At one time the bank had a display of relics of the old hotel and among them was one of Benchley's liquor bills.

—Ron Goulart

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## Ben-Hur

As a novel, a play, two silent films, and a wide screen spectacular, Lew Wallace's *Ben-Hur: A Tale of the Christ* set the standard for the religious epic, inaugurating an amazing series of firsts in American popular culture. Published in 1880, the novel tells the story of Judah Ben-Hur, a young, aristocratic Jew, and his encounter with Jesus of Nazareth. The book begins with the Messiah's birth and then moves ahead 30 years to Ben-Hur's reunion with his boyhood friend, Messala, now a Roman officer. The latter's contempt for Jews, however, ends their friendship. When the Roman governor's life is threatened, Messala blames Ben-Hur, unjustly condemning him to the galleys and imprisoning Ben-Hur's mother and sister. As pirates attack Ben-Hur's ship, he manages to escape. Returning to Judea, he



Charlton Heston in the chariot race from the 1959 film *Ben-Hur*.

searches for his family and also raises a militia for the Messiah. Meeting Messala again, Ben-Hur beats him in a dramatic chariot race during which the Roman is crippled. Discovering that his mother and sister are now lepers, Ben-Hur searches for Jesus, hoping for a miraculous cure. They finally meet on the road to Calvary. Jesus refuses his offer of military assistance, but cures his family. Converted to Christianity, Ben-Hur resolves to help fellow Christians in Rome suffering persecution.

The book moved slowly at first, selling only some 2,800 copies in its first seven months. Eventually, word of mouth spread across America, particularly through schools and clubs. By 1889, 400,000 copies had been sold, outstripping *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, but falling just short of the Bible. Sales swelled to 1,000,000 by 1911, with translations appearing in German, French, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish, and Arabic, among other languages. A braille edition also was available. For many Americans, *Ben-Hur* was an example of edifying reading, the first work of fiction often allowed on their bookshelves. It was also the first book featured in the *Sears Catalogue*.

Wallace, a retired Union general from Indiana and one-time governor of the Territory of New Mexico, was quickly besieged with offers to dramatize his work. In 1899 he settled on a production adapted by William Young of Chicago, directed by Joseph Brooks, and featuring later cowboy film star William S. Hart as Messala. *Ben-Hur* ran on Broadway for 24 weeks and was, according to the *New*

*York Clipper*, a “triumphant success,” generating “enormous business” and “record-breaking attendance.” It continued to tour nationally and abroad for some 20 years, making it the first play seen by many Americans. *Ben-Hur* set precedents both for an author’s control over rights to his/her work (rejecting one offer, Wallace declared, “The savages who sell things of civilized value for glass beads live further West than Indiana”) and for control over the adaptation of material. Wallace insisted, for example, that no actor would portray Christ. Instead, the Messiah was represented by a 25,000-candle-power shaft of light. Similarly spectacular effects—such as a wave machine for the naval battle and, for the chariot race, actual horses and chariots running on a treadmill before a moving panorama of the arena—set the standard for later epic films.

A 1907 film version, produced two years after Wallace’s death and without the copyright holders’ authorization, set a different kind of precedent. The Wallace estate sued the film’s producers for breach of copyright, receiving a \$25,000 settlement. The case marked the first recognition of an author’s rights in film adaptations.

In 1922, two years after the play’s last tour, the Goldwyn company purchased the film rights to *Ben-Hur*. Shooting began in Italy in 1923, inaugurating two years of difficulties, accidents, and eventually—after the merger of Goldwyn into MGM (Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer)—a move back to Hollywood. Additional recastings (including Ramon Navarro as Ben-Hur) and a change of director helped

skyrocket the production's budget to \$4,000,000. With its trials and tribulations, then, this *Ben-Hur* helped set another pattern for later epic films. More positively, on the other hand, its thrilling chariot race changed the face of filmmaking. Following in the tracks of the stage play, its considerable expenditure of money and horses made this sequence a brilliant tour-de-force that established the lavish production values now associated with the Hollywood epic. Although audiences flocked to *Ben-Hur* after its premiere in 1925 and critics praised the film (more for its "grandeur," however, than its story), MGM was unable to recoup its \$4,000,000 investment. As a result, the studio imposed the block booking system on its other productions, another precedent. While not a financial success, however, the film still proved so popular that MGM was able to release it again in 1931, adding music and sound effects for the sound era.

In 1959, a decade that saw the resurgence of epic productions, MGM remade *Ben-Hur* for the wide screen, using state of the art Panavision techniques and stereophonic sound. Directed by William Wyler and starring Charlton Heston as Ben-Hur, this film again features a spectacular, thundering chariot race that took four months to rehearse and three months to produce. The sequence nearly overshadowed the rest of the movie, leading some to dub *Ben-Hur* "Christ and a horse-race." The film was a box office and critical success, earning \$40,000,000 in its first year and garnering 11 Academy Awards. Enjoying tremendous popularity and continuing *Ben-Hur's* tradition of establishing precedents, it was broadcast uncut on network television in 1971, earning the highest ratings at that time for any film. It has been rebroadcast and re-released in theaters several times since then.

Few works can claim to have made the same impact as has Wallace's *Ben-Hur*. As a novel and a play, it offered many people their first entry into the worlds of fiction and drama. In its various film adaptations, it elevated Hollywood's production values and defined the genre of the religious epic. It also established many legal precedents for stage and screen adaptations. The key to its enduring popularity, however, is that it provided audiences around the world with an exciting spectacle that combined piety and faith.

—Scott W. Hoffman

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## Benneton

Italy-based clothier Benneton is best known for its "shock" advertising campaigns, many of which have sparked significant controversy in many regions of the globe. In their 1990s campaign, "Sufferings of Our Earth," the fashion designer's ads showed among other things a dying AIDS victim, a dead Bosnian soldier, an oil

smearing sea bird, and an overcrowded refugee ship. A series of ads in 1998 featured autistic and Down's syndrome kids modeling their clothing. The company operates some 7,000 stores in over 120 countries and had \$2 billion in revenues in 1997. In addition to apparel, Benneton also markets a wide range of products from racing cars to sunglasses and condoms.

—Abhijit Roy

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## Bennett, Tony (1926—)

Through perseverance, professionalism, and impeccable musical taste, Tony Bennett has emerged in the era of MTV as the senior statesman of the American popular song. Born Anthony Dominick



Tony Bennett

Benedetto in Queens, New York, Bennett joined the Italian-American *bel canto* tradition represented by such singers as Frank Sinatra and Vic Damone. In fact, Sinatra often publicly referred to Bennett as his favorite singer, a validation that undoubtedly means as much as a handful of gold records and Grammy awards combined.

Bennett's musical career started slowly. After serving in the armed forces in the final months of World War II, he studied vocal technique under the GI Bill and supported himself with a variety of jobs, including, according to some sources, a stint as a singing waiter. His first break occurred when he came in second to Rosemary Clooney on the network television show *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts* in 1950. This exposure led to an introduction to Bob Hope, who helped Bennett to land an engagement in one of New York's premier clubs. Later that year, Mitch Miller signed Bennett as a recording artist for Columbia Records, and in 1951 he was named male vocalist of the year by *Cashbox* magazine.

Always attracted to jazz as well as pop styling, Bennett teamed up with some of the top musicians of the day, which gave him the freedom to choose songs that were more to his taste than the hit-oriented recording business normally allowed. Numerous records during the mid and late 1950s show Bennett at his best, singing jazz-inflected standards like "These Foolish Things" and "Blues in the Night."

Nevertheless, Bennett experienced a long hitless period in the early 1960s. It was during this time that the singer and his longtime arranger and accompanist Ralph Sharon played a gig at the Fairmont Hotel in San Francisco, where Bennett sang a new song by little-known writers George Cory and Douglass Cross for the first time. That song, "I Left My Heart in San Francisco," changed the course of Bennett's career, earning him a sustained place on the charts in both the United States and Great Britain. It also brought Bennett two Grammy awards, for record of the year and best male vocal performance.

With his new public image, Bennett moved from supper clubs to the concert stage, giving a landmark recorded performance at Carnegie Hall. In the mid-1960s, he had hits with such singles as "The Good Life," "A Taste of Honey," and "Fly Me to the Moon." Soon after that, however, Bennett, like other interpreters of American pop standards by Arlen, Gershwin, and Porter, began to suffer from the record companies' stubborn commitment to rock and roll. Bennett was not interested in singing songs he did not love, although he did compromise on a 1970 album titled *Tony Bennett Sings the Great Hits of Today*, which included such songs as "MacArthur Park," "Eleanor Rigby," and "Little Green Apples." More to his taste were two albums made on the Improv label with the great jazz pianist Bill Evans in 1975 and 1977. Bennett also appeared with Evans at the Newport Jazz Festival and at Carnegie Hall.

In 1979, Bennett's son Danny, a former rock guitarist, took over his management, with a combination of shrewd marketing and musical acuity that helped his father bridge the gap between the old and new pop scene. It was this teaming that eventually led to the MTV video and album *Tony Bennett Unplugged* in 1994. In an era when smooth and mellow lounge music was reborn and martinis were once again the official cocktail, the album was a huge hit. Always generous to his younger colleagues—just as another generation of entertainers had been generous to him—Bennett gave high praise to k.d. lang, who joined him for a duet of "Moonglow," and to Elvis Costello, who harmonized on "They Can't Take That Away from Me."

In addition to his singing career, Bennett is a serious painter in oils, watercolors, and pastels. His work has been exhibited widely,

and he claims David Hockney as a major influence. A graduate of New York's High School of Industrial Art, Bennett often paints familiar New York scenes, such as yellow cabs racing down a broad avenue and Sunday bicyclers in Central Park, capturing the milieu in which he lived, sang, and observed.

—Sue Russell

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## *The Benny Hill Show*

English comic Benny Hill became an international celebrity with his schoolboy brand of lecherous, burlesque humor. Bringing the tradition of the British vaudeville to television in 1955, the pudgy Hill hosted comedy series for the BBC and Thames Television over a period of thirty-four years. Featuring slapstick and sight gags, *The Benny Hill Show* always had a sexual energy, bursting with plenty of double-entendres and leggy starlets. The show was edited for worldwide syndication and became a cult phenomenon in the United States beginning in 1979. American audiences quickly identified Red Skelton as a main source of inspiration (Hill borrowed Skelton's closing line, "Good night, God bless"); but there was little sentimentality in the ribaldry of Hill's characters. Hill was always criticized for his sexist obsessions, and his series in England was finally cancelled in 1989 because of complaints from the moral right and the politically correct left. Hill died three years later, and, although English audiences voted him "Funniest Man in the World" several times, he thought he never received the critical recognition he deserved. But to many, Hill was a genuine comic auteur, writing all his material and supervising every randy shot for his show that was enjoyed in over one hundred countries.

—Ron Simon

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## **Benny, Jack (1894-1974)**

Jack Benny is one of America's most venerated entertainers of the twentieth century. For over 50 years the nation identified with the



**Jack Benny**

persona that Benny created on the vaudeville circuit, sustained on radio, and successfully transferred to television. Few performers have lasted so long without any significant drop in popularity.

The character that Benny created exemplified the foibles of the American Everyman. Benny realized early on that “if you want the laughs you have to put something in a ridiculous light, even yourself.” Benny was not a gifted clown or a sparkling wit, so he and his writers crafted a well-rounded persona with the weaknesses and imperfections of his audience. The Benny alter ego was penny-pinching, vain, anxious, and never willing to admit his true age (he was always 39 years old). Endless jokes were woven around these shortcomings, with Benny always the object of ridicule. Although the character had no identifiable ethnic or religious heritage, Americans had a deep affection for this insecure, sometimes petulant, creation.

The comedian was born Benjamin Kubelsky in Waukegan, Illinois on February 14, 1894, and began performing in vaudeville as a violinist. Still a teenager, he discovered the public responded to his jokes and wrong notes. Achieving moderate success on the New York stage, Benny first appeared on radio in 1929 and began a NBC radio series in 1932. Two years later, he was one of the medium’s most popular entertainers. In 1935 he moved operations to Hollywood, and Jell-O became a trusted sponsor.

Benny found his character worked better as part of a group and helped to pioneer “gang” comedy. His wife, Sadie Marks, appeared as a sometimes girl friend, Mary Livingstone, and assumed the character’s name as her own. Eddie Anderson portrayed Benny’s personal valet, Rochester, and was hailed as radio’s first black star.

Although there were stereotypical elements to Rochester’s characterization, a genuine bond grew between Benny and his employee that transcended race. Don Wilson as the rotund announcer, Phil Harris as the boozy bandleader, and Dennis Day as the boy singer rounded out the stable of regulars “playing themselves.”

Radio listeners delighted in Benny’s recurring gags and show business feuds as well as such catchphrases as “Well!” and “Now cut that out!” Mel Blanc was popular as the voice of Carmichael, the bear that lived in the basement; the exasperated violin teacher, Professor LeBlanc; and the bellowing railroad announcer (“Anaheim, Azusa, and Cucamonga!”). Frank Nelson returned again and again as the unctuous clerk who harassed customers by squawking “Yeeeessss!” Benny is best remembered for his “Your money or your life?” routine, in which a burglar demands a difficult answer from the stingy comedian. After a long pause with the laughter building, Benny delivered his classic line, “I’m thinking it over.” To Benny, timing was everything.

The cast frequently spoofed western serials with the skit “Buck Benny Rides Again.” The parody was made into a movie in 1940. Benny made his first film appearance in the *Hollywood Revue of 1929*, but his radio stardom paved the way for substantial roles. Among his notable movie vehicles, Benny appeared as a vain actor in Ernst Lubitsch’s classic, *To Be or Not to Be* (1942); a confirmed city-dweller in *George Washington Slept Here* (1942); and an avenging angel in Raoul Walsh’s comedy, *The Horn Blows at Midnight* (1945).

In 1948 Benny took greater control of his career. He formed a production company to produce his radio series and generate more money for himself. William Paley also lured him to the CBS network. Although his vaudeville compatriots, Ed Wynn and Milton Berle, had become television stars in the late 1940s, Benny warmed slowly to the possibilities of the visual medium. Beginning with his first special, performed live in October 1950, Benny tried to approximate the radio series as closely as possible, retaining his cast and adapting appropriate scripts. Benny was also careful not to overexpose himself. Until 1953, *The Jack Benny Show* was a series of irregular specials on CBS; then, for seven years, it ran every other week on Sunday nights, his regular evening on radio. Beginning in 1960, the program aired every week, switching to Tuesday and Friday during its five year run.

Benny brought to television a defined, identifiable character forged during his stage and radio years. His persona was perfectly suited for the requirements of the small screen. Benny underlined his characterization with subtle gestures and facial expressions. The stare, which signaled Benny’s pained exasperation, became his visual signature. Like the pause in radio, Benny’s stare allowed the audience to participate in the joke.

The Benny program combined elements of the variety show and the situation comedy. As host, Benny, always in character, opened the proceedings with a monologue before the curtain. The bulk of each program was Benny performing with his regulars in a sketch that further played off his all-too-human frailties. Guest stars were also invited to play themselves in Benny’s fictional world. Since the format was a known quantity, many movie stars made their television comedy debut on the Benny program, including Barbara Stanwyck, Marilyn Monroe, Gary Cooper, and James Stewart.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Benny’s writers kept his persona fresh and vital to a new generation of viewers. They crafted sketches around such television personalities as Dick Clark, Ernie

Kovacs, and Jack Webb. Benny also stayed eternally young by donning a wig and playing guitar on occasion. When his weekly series ended in 1965, he returned to comedy specials. Whether playing violin with Isaac Stern or impersonating a surfer in a routine with the Beach Boys, Jack Benny was able to bridge audiences of different ages and tastes.

Jack Benny was a comedian's comedian. His sense of understated style and exquisite delivery shaped a generation of entertainers from Johnny Carson to Kelsey Grammer. He was also a national institution. Although the public knew in reality that he was a kind and generous person, they wanted to believe the worst. Jack Benny held up a mirror to America's failings and pretensions. As his friend Bob Hope said in farewell after his death in 1974, "For Jack was more than an escape from life. He was life—a life that enriched his profession, his friends, his millions of fans, his family, his country."

—Ron Simon

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Candice Bergen

## Bergen, Candice (1946—)

Candice Bergen may be the only female television star to be known and loved as a curmudgeon. Most noted curmudgeons are male, like Lou Grant of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, Archie Bunker of *All in the Family*, Homer Simpson from *The Simpsons*, and Oscar the Grouch from *Sesame Street*. Bergen's alter-ego, Murphy Brown, on the other hand, is the queen of curmudgeons. Despite her manly traits, Murphy has gone down in history as the only television curmudgeon to be criticized by the vice president of the United States and to be used as an argument in a national debate on family values. Her willingness to challenge traditional female roles and issues revolving around what is perceived as "decency," have, willingly or not, made her one of the twentieth century's most political actresses.

Murphy Brown, created by Diane English, was a female reporter who learned to operate in a man's world. She adopted what are generally considered male characteristics: intelligence, aggressiveness, ambitiousness, and perseverance. It has been suggested that reporter Linda Ellerbee was the specific role model for Bergen's character, but only Bergen herself could have made Murphy Brown so lovable through a decade of the weekly series of the same name, covering almost every political topic with satiric wit.

Candice Bergen grew up in an elite section of Beverly Hills playing with the children of Walt Disney, Judy Garland, Gloria

Swanson, Jimmy Stewart, and other Hollywood notables. Her beauty was inherited from her mother, Frances Western, a former model who received national attention as the Ipana girl from a toothpaste advertisement. Her talent came from her father, ventriloquist Edgar Bergen. In her autobiography, *Knock Wood*, Bergen tells of being jealous of her father's famous sidekick, marionette Charlie McCarthy, and of spending years of her life trying to make her father proud.

Noted for her outstanding beauty, Candice Bergen was not always taken seriously as an individual. Nonetheless, by the time she accepted the role of Murphy Brown Bergen was well respected as an international photojournalist and as a writer. She had also starred in a number of high-profile films, most notably, Mary McCarthy's *The Group*, in which she played the distant and lovely lesbian Lakey. Bergen also received critical acclaim as the ex-wife of Burt Reynolds in the romantic comedy *Starting Over*.

At the age of 33 Bergen met the famed French director Louis Malle. Friends say they were destined to meet and to fall in love. The pair maintained a bi-continental marriage until his death in 1995, leaving Bergen to raise their daughter Chloe. After Malle's death, Bergen devoted her time exclusively to Chloe and to her television show. By all accounts, the cast of *Murphy Brown* was close and Bergen said in interviews that Faith Ford (who played Corky Sherwood) had been particularly comforting during her mourning over the



death of her husband. This personal closeness gave the cast a professional camaraderie that was evident to audiences.

In 1988, *Murphy Brown* introduced the cast of *F.Y.I.*, a fictional news show. Murphy Brown (Candice Bergen), Frank Fontana (Joe Regalbutto), Jim Dial (Charles Kimbrough), and Corky Sherwood (Faith Ford) shared anchor duties on air and traded wisecracks and friendship off the air. They were joined by producer Miles Silverberg (Grant Shaud), artist and handyman Eldin (Robert Pastorelli), and barkeeper Phil (Pat Corley). In 1996, Lily Tomlin replaced Shaud as the producer. Plot lines ranged from grocery shopping and consciousness raising, to romance, divorce, and the White House cat, Socks. The two most notable story lines involved unwed motherhood and breast cancer. During its tenure, *Murphy Brown* won 18 Emmys, five of them for its star. Bergen then withdrew her name from competition.

In 1992, Murphy Brown, a fictional character on a television show, became pregnant. After much soul searching, she decided to raise her baby without a father. In May of that election year, Vice President Dan Quayle stated in a speech (allegedly against the advice of his handlers): "It doesn't help matters when prime time television has Murphy Brown—a character who supposedly epitomizes today's intelligent, highly paid professional woman—mocking the importance of fathers by bearing a child alone and calling it just another 'lifestyle choice.'" The media was delighted, and the debate was on.

In the fall of 1992, Bergen and Diane English (who had offered to debate Quayle on the issue) had their say when Murphy responded to the vice president on *F.Y.I.* by gently reminding him that families come in all shapes and sizes. She then chided Quayle by agreeing that there were serious problems in American society and suggested that the vice president could blame the media, Congress, or an administration that had been in power for 12 years . . . or, he could blame her. The episode ended with the dumping of 1,000 pounds of potatoes in Quayle's driveway, a reference to an occasion when Quayle misspelled the word as a judge in an elementary speech contest. The episode won the Emmy for Best Comedy of 1992.

The final season of *Murphy Brown* (1997-1998) ended on a more solemn note. Murphy discovered that she had breast cancer. Throughout the season, real cancer survivors and medical advisors helped to deliver the message that cancer was serious business and that there was hope for recovery. An episode devoted to the medicinal use of marijuana demonstrated the strong bond among the cast and proved that the show could still arouse controversy. The final episode of the season was filled with emotional farewells and celebrated guest stars, including Bette Midler as the last in a long line of Murphy's secretaries, Julia Roberts, and George Clooney. God, in the person of Alan King, also made an appearance, as did Robert Pastorelli (Eldin) and Pat Corley (Phil), both of whom had left the series years before to pursue other interests.

Various media reports have indicated that Candice Bergen may become a commentator for *60 Minutes*. With her experience as a photojournalist and with her ten years on *F.Y.I.*, Bergen is imminently qualified to engage in a serious debate of national issues.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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## Bergen, Edgar (1903-1978)

Chicago-born Edgar Bergen put himself through college as a part-time ventriloquist with a doll he had acquired while in high school. It was to his relationship with this doll, the cheeky, monocled toff Charlie McCarthy, that Edgar Bergen owed his fame and a special Oscar. Edgar and Charlie played the vaudeville circuit, then became popular radio performers in the medium's hey-day. They made several appearances in movies, beginning with *The Goldwyn Follies* (1938) and including *Charlie McCarthy Detective* (1939), while television further increased their visibility. They periodically had other puppets in tow, most famously Mortimer ("How did you get to be so dumb?") Snerd. The father of actress Candice Bergen, Edgar, sans Charlie, played a few minor roles in films, but it is for his influence on the art of puppetry that he is remembered. Muppet creator Jim Henson acknowledged his debt to Bergen's skills, and it was in *The Muppet Movie* (1979) that he made his last appearance. Bergen bequeathed Charlie McCarthy to the Smithsonian Institute.

—Robyn Karney

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## Bergman, Ingmar (1918—)

Swedish director Ingmar Bergman's name is virtually synonymous with the sort of intellectual European films that most critics love to praise—but that many moviegoers love to hate. His complex explorations of sweeping topics like loneliness, spiritual faith, love, and death have been closely imitated, but also parodied for their overt reliance on symbol and metaphor, for their philosophical dialogue, and for their arguably opaque dreamlike qualities. Famous Bergman images reappear throughout the spectrum of popular culture, images like that of Death, scythe in hand, leading a line of dancing victims through an open field, the figures silhouetted against the sky. Bergman began his prolific career in Stockholm during the 1930s. He directed theater and eventually radio and television dramas. His catalogue of over fifty films includes classics like *The Seventh Seal* (1956), *Wild Strawberries* (1957), *Through a Glass Darkly* (1960), and *Fanny and Alexander* (1983).

—John Tomasic

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## Bergman, Ingrid (1915-1982)

A star in Swedish, French, German, Italian, and British films before emigrating to the United States to star in *Intermezzo* in 1939, Ingrid Bergman, with her Nordic freshness and vitality, coupled with her beauty and intelligence, quickly became the ideal of American womanhood and one of Hollywood's most popular stars. A love affair with Italian director Roberto Rossellini during the filming of *Stromboli* in 1950 created a scandal that forced her to return to Europe, but she made a successful Hollywood comeback in 1956, winning her second Academy Award for the title role in *Anastasia*.

Born in Stockholm to a tragedy-prone family, she suffered at age two the death of her mother. Her father died when she was twelve, a few months before the spinster aunt who had raised her also died. She was sent to live with her uncle and later used her inheritance to study acting at the Royal Dramatic Theatre in Stockholm. With the encouragement of her friend Dr. Peter Lindstrom, who became her first husband in 1937, she turned to the cinema, playing a hotel maid in her



Ingrid Bergman

debut film *Monkbrogreven* (1934). The turning point in her career came in 1937, when the Swedish director Gustaf Molander chose her as the lead in the romantic drama *Intermezzo*, about a famous violinist who has an adulterous affair with a young pianist.

When David Selznick saw a print of Bergman in the Swedish film, he was unimpressed, but he was persuaded by Katharine Brown, his story-buyer, that the proposed American remake of *Intermezzo* would only be successful with Ingrid in the role of the pianist. He signed her to a contract for the one film, with an option for seven years. When *Intermezzo, A Love Story*, also starring Leslie Howard, was released in 1939, Hollywood saw an actress who was completely natural in style as well as lack of makeup. Film critic James Agee wrote that "Miss Bergman not only bears a startling resemblance to an imaginable human being; she really knows how to act, in a blend of poetic grace with quiet realism." Selznick exercised his option for the extended contract and recalled her from Sweden.

While waiting for Selznick to develop roles for her, Bergman played on Broadway in *Liliom* and was loaned out to MGM for two dramatic roles, as the governess in love with Warner Baxter in *Adam Had Four Sons* (1941) and as Robert Montgomery's ill-fated wife in *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1941). MGM offered her the role of the ingenue in the latter film, but Bergman, always willing to take chances, begged for the role of the floozy and exchanged parts with Lana Turner. Theodore Strauss, writing in the *New York Times*, praised Bergman's "shining talent" in making something of a small part. He added that Turner and the rest of the cast moved "like well-behaved puppets."

In 1942 Warner Brothers, desperate for a continental heroine after being turned down by Hedy Lamarr, borrowed Bergman from Selznick to play opposite Humphrey Bogart in *Casablanca* (1942). The role made Bergman a surefire box-office star and led to her appearing opposite Gary Cooper the following year in Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1943). Selznick's Swedish import was now in demand for major roles by several studios, and in 1944 MGM signed her for her Academy Award winning role as the manipulated wife in *Gaslight*. Her talent and popularity attracted Alfred Hitchcock, who gave her leads in two of his finest suspense thrillers, *Spellbound* (1945) and *Notorious* (1946). Then occurred a succession of ill-chosen parts, along with a shocking scandal, and the film *Notorious* became her last successful film for a decade.

Her affair with Roberto Rossellini, which erupted during the shooting of *Stromboli* on location in Italy in 1950, resulted in the birth of a daughter and a barrage of international criticism. Although she married Rossellini as soon as possible after her divorce, her fans, and particularly those in America, were unwilling to forgive her. *Stromboli* was boycotted by most of the movie-going public. Rossellini directed her in *Europa '51* in 1952, with the same dismal response.

In 1957 the Fox studios offered her \$200,000 for the title role in *Anastasia*. She agreed to the terms, the film was shot in Britain, and it became a world-wide hit, earning Ingrid her second Oscar as well as the forgiveness of her fans. In 1958 two more films shot in Britain were released with great success: *Indiscreet*, with Cary Grant, and *The Inn of the Sixth Happiness*, based on the true story of a missionary in China. She continued to make films in Europe, but most of them received no bookings in the United States. Columbia lured her back to Hollywood for a two-picture deal, however, and she made the popular *Cactus Flower* (1969), co-starring Walter Matthau, and *A Walk in the*

*Spring Rain* (1970) with Anthony Quinn. Her last role was that of Golda Meir, the Israeli prime minister, in a drama made for television, *A Woman Called Golda* (1981). She made her home in France for the last 32 years of her life and died in London on August 29, 1982.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Berkeley, Busby (1895-1976)

The premier dance director of 1930s Hollywood musicals, Busby Berkeley created outrageously fantastical production numbers



Busby Berkeley with actress Connie Russell.

featuring synchronized hordes of beautiful women moving in kaleidoscopic patterns that took audiences on surreal journeys away from the blues of their Depression-era realities. Berkeley took the spectacle traditions of popular American stage entertainments and the pulchritudinous aesthetic of the Ziegfeld Follies and extended them through cinematic techniques. His groundbreaking dance sequences revolutionized the way musicals were filmed by demonstrating how the camera could be used to liberate the directorial imagination from the constraints of theatrical realism. The distinctive look of his dancing screen geometries influenced the visual aesthetic of films, animation, television commercials, and music videos throughout the twentieth century. The term “busby berkeley” appears in the *American The-saurus of Slang*, defined as “any elaborate dance number.”

Born William Berkeley Enos on November 29, 1895, to a theatrical family in Los Angeles, Berkeley began choreographing while serving in the army. Stationed in France in 1917, Berkeley designed complex parade drills for his battalion, honing his abilities to move multitudes of bodies rhythmically through cunning configurations. After the war, Berkeley worked as an actor and, by 1921, had begun directing plays and musicals. Though he had no dance training, Berkeley soon became known for staging innovative, well-ordered movement sequences for Broadway revues and musicals, including the 1927 hit *A Connecticut Yankee*.

In 1930, Samuel Goldwyn brought Berkeley to Hollywood. Before embarking on his first assignment, directing the dance numbers for the film musical *Whoopie!*, Berkeley visited neighboring sets to learn how the camera was used. The pre-Berkeley approach to filming musicals was akin to documenting a theatrical production. Four stationary cameras were positioned to capture the performance from a variety of angles. The various shots were creatively combined during the editing process. Berkeley chose, instead, to use only one camera, which he moved around the set, thereby allowing his filming, rather than the editing, to dictate the flow of his numbers. Though a few attempts had been made earlier to film dance sequences from points of view other than that of a proscenium stage, it was Berkeley who fully and most inventively exploited the variety of possible camera placements and movements. Berkeley’s work is characterized by plenty of panning and high overhead shots that sometimes necessitated cutting a hole in the studio ceiling and eventually resulted in his building a monorail for his camera’s travels.

In 1932 Berkeley began a seven-year affiliation with Warner Bros. where he created the bulk of his most remarkable dance sequences for films such as *Gold Diggers of 1933* and *Dames* (1934). His first film there, *42nd Street* (1933), rescued the studio from bankruptcy and rejuvenated the film musical at a time when the genre’s popularity had waned.

Berkeley’s numbers had little to do with the text or story line of the films. His dances were often voyeuristic and contained undeniable sexual symbolism. Censors were hard-pressed to challenge their naughtiness, however, because the eroticism was in abstract forms—shapes that resembled giant zippers unzipping, long straight bodies diving into circles of women swimming below, or a row of huge rising bananas. No individual dancer ever did anything that could be interpreted as a sexual act.

In Berkeley’s dance numbers there is very little actual dancing. It is the camera that executes the most interesting choreography. Berkeley was unconcerned with dance as physical expression and preferred

to focus his creative efforts on cinematic tricks. The simple moves and tap dancing in Berkeley's routines were taught to the dancers by his assistants. Berkeley was not interested in the talents of solo dancers, but in how he could use numerous bodies to form magnificent designs.

In 1939, when Warner Bros. lost interest in producing big musicals, Berkeley went to MGM where he continued to create his signature-style dance sequences for films such as *Lady Be Good* (1941). He was also given the opportunity to both choreograph and direct three Mickey Rooney-Judy Garland vehicles, *Babes in Arms* (1939), *Strike Up the Band* (1940), and *Babes on Broadway* (1941). By the mid-1940s, Berkeley-esque movie musicals—those with flimsy plots interrupted by abstract movement sequences—were on their way out in favor of musicals in which the songs and dances were integrated with the drama. The demand for Berkeley's work gradually diminished. He retired in 1954 but returned to create numbers for the 1962 circus extravaganza, *Jumbo*.

By 1970, though the public had long tired of gigantic film musicals, there developed a resurgence of interest in Berkeley's work, seen as camp yet appreciated within the period's wave of 1930s nostalgia. Berkeley was interviewed extensively during this period, while his films were shown on late-night television and in numerous retrospectives. The 1971 revival of *No, No, Nanette* reintroduced Broadway audiences to old-style, large-scale, tap-dance routines reminiscent of Berkeley's heyday. Though he made no artistic contribution to this production, he was hired as an advisor, as it was thought Berkeley's name would boost ticket sales.

While Berkeley's work was light entertainment, his personality had a dark side, evidence of which can be found in aspects of his films as well as in his unsuccessful suicide attempts, his inability to maintain relationships (having been married six times), and his excessive drinking: in 1935 Berkeley was tried for the murders of three victims of his intoxicated driving. Some of Berkeley's dances indicate an obsession with the death of young women, including his favorite sequence—"Lullaby of Broadway" from *Gold Diggers of 1935*—which ends with a woman jumping to her death from atop a skyscraper.

On March 14, 1976, Berkeley died at his home in California. Though his oeuvre is an indelible part of the popular entertainment culture of the 1930s—as he so brilliantly satisfied Americans' escapist needs during one of the country's bleakest eras—his bewitching, dream-like realms peopled by abstract forms made of objectified women intrigue and influence each generation of spectators and visual artists that revisits his films.

—Lisa Jo Sagolla

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## Berle, Milton (1908—)

Milton Berle, a former vaudevillian, film actor, and radio comedian, was television's first real star. Credited with selling over a million television sets during his first years hosting the weekly Tuesday night NBC program *Texaco Star Theatre*, Berle became post war America's beloved "Uncle Miltie." Since *Texaco Star Theatre* first aired in 1948, only a year after the three major networks first began broadcasting programming on the new medium, much of Berle's urban audience was watching television in communal environs—in neighbors' homes, in taverns, and in community centers. A 1949 editorial in *Variety* magazine heralded the performer for his impact on the lives of city viewers: "When, single handedly, you can drive the taxis off the streets of New York between 8 and 9 on a Tuesday night; reconstruct neighborhood patterns so that stores shut down Tuesday nights instead of Wednesdays, and inject a showmanship in programming so that video could compete favorably with the more established show biz media—then you rate the accolade of 'Mr. Television.'"

Yet, the brash, aggressive, ethnic, and urban vaudeville style that made him such a incredible phenomenon during television's early years were, ironically, the very traits that lead to his professional decline in the mid-1950s. As television disseminated into suburban and rural areas, forever altering audience demographics, viewers turned away from Berle's broad and bawdy antics and towards the middle-class sensibilities of domestic sitcoms such as *I Love Lucy* and



Milton Berle

*The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*. Nevertheless, his infusion of vaudeville-style humor would impact the form and functions of television comedy for decades.

Born in Harlem in 1908, Berle (whose birth name was Mendel Berlinger) was the second youngest of Moses and Sarah (later changed to Sandra) Berlinger's five children. His father, a shopkeeper, was often sick and unable to work. His mother tried to bring in money working as a store detective, but it was a very young Milton who became the real breadwinner of the family. After winning a Charlie Chaplin imitation contest at the age of five, Sarah became convinced that her son had an innate comedic talent. As his manager, she got him work in Biograph-produced silent films, performing alongside the likes of Pearl White (in the famous *Perils of Pauline* serial), Mary Pickford, and Charlie Chaplin. He then performed in a number of traveling vaudeville "kid acts" and made his first appearance on Broadway in a 1920 production of *Floradora*. For four years Berle was teamed with Elizabeth Kennedy in a highly successful boy-girl comedy act on the Keith-Albee circuit. But, after Kennedy left to their act to get married, Berle, who was sixteen, found he had grown too tall to continue performing in kid acts. It was at this point that he developed his city-slicker, wise-cracking, physically frenetic, adult stage personality. His new act included a bit of soft-shoe, some pratfalls, one-liners, impersonations of comedians such as Eddie Cantor, and, occasionally, a drag performance. By the late 1920s, he had become a vaudeville headliner and master of ceremonies, often breaking attendance records at venues such as the famous Palace Theatre in Manhattan.

As Berle garnered praise for his comic timing and style many of his fellow comedians complained loudly and bitterly about his penchant for "stealing" material. Berle countered such accusations with his firm belief that jokes were public property and by incorporating his reputation as the "Thief of Bad Gags" into his on-stage persona. But ironically, just as the comedian's star was rising in the early 1930s, vaudeville entered a slump from which it would never recover. While performing in nightclubs and in Broadway shows, Berle tried his hand in radio. Yet, unlike other former vaudevillians such as Jack Benny and Eddie Cantor who found national stardom on the medium, Berle was never a success on radio—even though he starred in over six different programs. This was due, in large part, to Berle's reliance on physical humor and visual cues instead of scripted jokes and funny scenarios.

After failing in radio, Berle attempted to parlay his visual talents into a movie career. Beginning with RKO's *New Faces of 1937*, the comedian completed nine features in six years. Yet, most of them were "B" pictures and none of them attracted significant numbers at the box office. Although film allowed Berle to employ the essential physical cues of his humor, the medium proved too constricting for him as there was no audience interaction nor was there any room for ad-libbing or spontaneous pratfalls, elements essential to his performance style. Instead of seeing the ways in which his comedy was simply unsuited to the aesthetic characteristics of radio and film, the comedian (as well as many radio and Hollywood executives) began to question his appeal to a mass audience. So, Berle returned to what he knew best—working in front of a live audience in nightclubs and legitimate theaters.

In the spring of 1948, Berle was approached by Kudner, Texaco's advertising agency, to appear as a rotating host on their new television

program. Although the agency had tried out other top comedy names such as Henny Youngman, Morey Amsterdam, and Jack Carter during their trial spring and summer, it was Berle that was chosen as the permanent host of the program for the following fall. It was the comedian, not the producers, who crafted the format and content on the show, as, at least for the first year on air, Berle was the program's sole writer and controlled every aspect of the production including lighting and choreography. His program and persona were an immediate hit with a primarily urban audience accustomed to the limited offerings of wrestling, roller derbys, news, and quiz programs. The vaudeville-inspired format of *Texaco Star Theatre*, although popular on radio, had not yet made it onto television, and Berle's innovative and flamboyant style proved irresistible. His aggressive emphasis on the physical aspects of comedy, slick vaudeville routines, ability to ad-lib, expressive gestures, and quick tongue made him an enormous success in an industry looking to highlight visuality and immediacy. What came to be known as the "Berle craze" not only brought major profits to NBC and Texaco, it also set off a proliferation of similar variety shows on television. Berle was rewarded for this with an unprecedented 30 year contract with NBC guaranteeing him \$200,000 a year.

Berle became infamous with post war audiences for his drag routines, impersonations, and his constant joking references to his mother. Berle's relationship with Sarah was a key element in his on- and off-stage persona. Almost every article written about Berle during his years on television included at least one reference to the loving, but perhaps over-bearing, stage mother. Although reinforcing a long-standing cultural stereotype of the relationship between Jewish mothers and their sons, Berle's constant references to his mother helped domesticate his image. Often criticized for his inclusion of sexual innuendoes, ethnic jokes, and other material best suited to an adult nightclub audience, Berle, his sponsor, and NBC needed to ensure Texaco's appeal to a family audience. Although Sarah Berle helped remind the public of Berle's familial origins, his own troubled relationship with his first wife dancer Joyce Matthews threatened to taint his image as a wholesome family man. After adopting a child with Berle and then divorcing him twice, Matthews attempted suicide in the home of theatrical producer Billy Rose, her married lover. This scandal, along with rumors of Berle's own extramarital affairs, left him with a questionable reputation in an age when morality and duty to one's family was considered a man's utmost responsibility.

Just as his personal life was under scrutiny, so was his professional life. His popularity with audiences was beginning to wane in the early 1950s and a new style of comedy was on the horizon threatening to usurp his standing as television's most prominent face. In the fall of 1952, after the program's ratings began to drop and Berle was hospitalized for exhaustion, the producers of *Texaco* tried to revamp the program's format by placing Berle within a situational context and introducing a regular cast of characters. This move, however, did not save the show and Texaco dropped their sponsorship at the end of that season. Berle acquired a new sponsor and continued his program as *The Buick-Berle Show* for two more seasons until it to was taken off the air.

Although starring in *The Milton Berle Show* for one season in 1955 and appearing on various television programs and specials in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Berle never regained his once impenetrable hold on the American television audience. Eventually renegotiating his contract with NBC in 1965 to allow him to perform on other networks, Berle made quite a few guest appearances on both comedy and dramatic programs. In addition, he appeared in a number of films

including *The Muppet Movie* in 1979 and Woody Allen's *Broadway Danny Rose* in 1984. Since then, he has been honored with numerous professional awards and in the late 1990s published his own magazine *Milton* with his third wife Lorna. Exploiting the nostalgia for the accouterments of a 1950s lifestyle, the magazine tried, with limited success, to revive Berle's persona for a new generation with the motto "we drink, we smoke, we gamble."

—Sue Murray

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## Berlin, Irving (1888-1989)

Irving Berlin's popular music served as a social barometer for much of the twentieth century: it marched to war with soldiers, offered hope and inspiration to a nation in bleak times, and rejoiced in the good things embodied in the American way of life. It also provided anthems for American culture in such standards as "White Christmas," "Easter Parade," "God Bless America," and "There's No Business Like Show Business."

Born Israel Baline on May 11, 1888, in Temun, Siberia, Berlin fled with his family to America to escape the Russian persecution of Jews. They arrived in New York in 1893, settling in Manhattan's Lower East Side. Compelled by poverty to work rather than attending school, Berlin made money by singing on streetcorners and later secured a job as a singing waiter at the Pelham Cafe. During this time, he also began writing songs of his own, and in 1907 he published "Marie from Sunny Italy," signing the work I. Berlin and thereby establishing the pseudonym under which he would become so well known.

Berlin continued his involvement in the burgeoning music industry as a young man, initially working at odd jobs in the neighborhood that was becoming known as Tin Pan Alley and eventually securing a job as a lyricist for the music-publishing firm of Waterson & Snyder. In 1911, his "Alexander's Ragtime Band" became a huge hit and immediately earned him the title "King of Tin Pan Alley." Entirely self-taught as a musician, Berlin developed a unique musical style by playing only on the black keys. Most of his early songs were therefore written in the key of F-sharp, but, by using a transposing keyboard, Berlin was able to compose in various keys.

By the 1920s, Berlin had become one of the most successful songwriters in the country, despite his lack of formal training.

Opening the Music Box Theater with Joseph N. Schenck and Sam Harris in 1921, Berlin began to stage his own revues and musical comedies. When the Great Depression hit in 1929, Berlin, like many others, lost his fortune. His misfortunes did not last long, and he returned to the theater with the show, *Face the Music* (1932). Berlin received his greatest accolades for the Broadway musical, *Annie Get Your Gun* (1946), starring Ethel Merman, which introduced the undeclared anthem of show business, "There's No Business Like Show Business."

Established on the Broadway stage, Berlin's took his musical talents to Hollywood, writing the scores for such hit musical films as *Top Hat* (1935) and *Holiday Inn* (1942). One song from *Holiday Inn*, "White Christmas," remains even today the best-selling song ever recorded. Written during World War II, the song's great appeal lay in part in its evocation of an earlier, happier time, enhanced greatly by Bing Crosby's mellow, wistful delivery.

Berlin's songs have also served as a rallying cry for the nation during two world wars. While serving in the army in World War I, Berlin wrote patriotic songs for the show *Yip, Yip Yaphank* (1918), and in 1942 he wrote *This Is the Army*. The proceeds from performances of the latter totalled over ten million dollars, and were donated to the Army Relief Fund. Berlin's most famous patriotic work remains the song, "God Bless America," written initially during World War I but sung in public for the first time by Kate Smith for an Armistice Day celebration in 1938.

Berlin also wrote some of the most popular love ballads of the century. "When I Lost You" was written in honor of his first wife, who died within the first year of their marriage, and some of his most poignant songs, including the hauntingly beautiful "What'll I Do," "Always," and "Remember" were written for his second wife, the heiress Ellin Mackay.

Berlin died on September 22, 1989 in New York City. His long, remarkable life seemed to illustrate that the American Dream was achievable for anyone who had a vision. He had received awards ranging from an Oscar to a Gold Medal ordered by President Dwight D. Eisenhower. He had become an icon of American popular music, rich and successful, and had helped shape the evolution of that genre through his use and adaptation of a variety of styles, despite a lack of education and formal training. Many of his songs had become an integral part of the tapestry of American life, accompanying representative scenes ranging from the idealized world of elegant dances by Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers to the humble family fireside Christmas. It was his role as the spokesman of the American people as a collective whole—his ability to give voice to their fears, regrets, and hopes in a most compelling way—that constituted his great contribution to popular culture of the century.

—Linda Ann Martindale

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Irving Berlin

## Bernhard, Sandra (1955—)

Sandra Bernhard's unique appeal derives, in part, from her resistance to categorization. This Flint, Michigan, native is a comedienne, pop singer, social satirist, and provocateur, often all at the same time. Her talents—wry humor, offbeat looks, earthy ease in front of an audience, and powerful singing voice—recall the cabaret and Broadway-nurtured divahood of Barbra Streisand and Bette Midler;

but while Bernhard has the magnetism of a superstar, she has found difficulty reaching that peak, insofar as a star is a commodity who can open a movie, carry a TV show, or sell millions of albums. She has fashioned a career from the occasional film (*Hudson Hawk*, 1991) or TV appearance (*Roseanne*, *Late Night with David Letterman*); humorous memoirs (*Confessions of a Pretty Lady*); a dance album (*I'm Your Woman*); and most notably, her acclaimed one-woman stage shows, *Without You I'm Nothing* (a film version followed in 1990) and 1998's *I'm Still Here . . . Damn It!* To her fans throughout the



**Sandra Bernhard**

1980s and 1990s, Bernhard has been both glamour-girl and truth-teller; her voice a magical siren's call from the surly fringes of mainstream success.

*The King of Comedy* (1989), the Martin Scorsese film which introduced Bernhard to the world, encapsulates the entertainer's contradictions and special allure. In this dark comedy, Robert DeNiro and Bernhard play a pair of star-struck eccentrics who hatch a bizarre plot to kidnap the object of their fantasies, a Johnny Carson-like talk-show host (Jerry Lewis). As Masha, Bernhard plays her deranged obsessive compellingly, triumphing as the one bright spot in this rather sour film, which is widely regarded as one of Scorsese's lesser efforts. In it she displays an outsize personality, hilarious comic delivery, and an undeniable presence, yet instead of offering her a career in films, Hollywood didn't seem to know what to make of Bernhard's strange gifts (in much the same way that Midler suffered a dry spell after her stunning debut in *The Rose* [1979]), and a mainstream movie career failed to materialize. In the 1990s Bernhard accepted roles in low-budget independent films such as *Inside Monkey Zetterland* (1993) and *Dallas Doll* (1995). Television gained her a wider audience, as with her 1992 HBO special *Sandra After Dark*.

The performer and the character share the same problem: both are unnerving in that they expose America's neurotic preoccupation with celebrity. As Justin Wyatt writes, "Bernhard's film debut as the

maniacal Masha . . . offers a paradigm for the development of her subsequent career." Bernhard and Masha are not synonymous, yet they intersect at crucial points: having seized the spotlight by playing a gangling, fervent girl with stardust in her eyes, Bernhard has assumed a persona that rests on a love/hate relationship with fame. Having portrayed a fanatic who, in skimpy underwear, takes off down a Manhattan street after a star, in her later stage acts Bernhard's bid for stardom included facing down her audience in pasties or diaphanous get-ups. Finally, after putting her illustrious costar and director to shame in *The King of Comedy* as a novice actress, by the late 1990s Bernhard had become a skilled cult satirist accused of having greater talents than her world-famous targets.

Onstage, Bernhard is often physically revealed, yet protected emotionally within a cocoon of irony. Her humor relies on an exploration of the magical process of star-making, and her own thirst for this kind of success is just more fodder for her brand of satire. She both covets fame and mocks it. As *New Yorker* critic Nancy Franklin observes, "It has always been hard to tell where her sharp-tongued commentary on celebrity narcissism ends and her sharp-tongued narcissistic celebrity begins." Bernhard's references to figures in the entertainment world are trenchant but rarely hateful. When she sets her sights on various personalities, from Madonna to Courtney Love to Stevie Nicks, one finds it difficult to separate the envy from the disapproval, the derision from the adoration, as when she offers her doting audience the seemingly off-hand remark (in *I'm Still Here*): "Tonight, I have you and you and you. And I don't mean in a Diana Ross kind of way." She takes Mariah Carey to task for her using blackness as a commercial pose, and (in *Without You I'm Nothing*) gently mocks her idol Streisand, for singing the incongruous lyric to "Stoney End": "I was born from love and my poor mama worked the mines." Bernhard casts a doubtful look: "She worked in the mines? The diamond mines, maybe."

At times one finds it hard to identify her sly anecdotes as entirely fictional, or as liberal embellishments rooted in a kernel of truth. Even the seemingly genuine details about palling around with Liza Minnelli or sharing a domestic scene with Madonna and her baby are delivered in quotation marks, which is why Bernhard's art is camp in the truest sense; if "the essence of camp," according to Susan Sontag, "is its love of the unnatural: of artifice and exaggeration," then Bernhard must qualify as its high priestess. But there's a catch: she enjoys the facade almost as much as she enjoys stripping it away.

A few critics find this ambiguity trying, but many more applaud her ability to negotiate this tightrope successfully. Just as a female impersonator's act is comprised of both homage and parody (the artifice is simultaneously celebration and critique), Bernhard's take on fame carries a similarly ambivalent message, its pleasure deriving from its irresolution. For stardom, this absurdly artificial construct inspires in the performer deep affection as well as ridicule. She succeeds in transforming a caustic commentary on fame into a kind of fame itself, massaging a simulacrum of stardom into bona fide notoriety. The very tenuousness of her status functions as an asset—indeed, the basis—for what *New York Times* critic Peter Marks called her "mouth-watering after-dinner vitriol," as he recommended her show to anyone "who's fantasized about taking a trip to the dark side of *People* magazine."

—Drew Limsky



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## Bernstein, Leonard (1918-1990)

After his sensational 1943 debut with the New York Philharmonic, conductor Leonard Bernstein overnight became an American folk hero with a mythic hold on audiences. His rags-to-riches story particularly appealed to a nation emerging from the Depression and learning about the Holocaust.

Raised in a Hasidic home, Bernstein attended Harvard and seemed the quintessential Jewish artist struggling against obscurity



Leonard Bernstein

and prejudice. His compositions for the musical theater, such as *West Side Story*, became classics, and his classical compositions became welcome additions to orchestral repertoires. He was hailed by mass audiences for demonstrating that it was possible to treasure the old while welcoming the new.

Lenny, as Bernstein was popularly known, turned frequent television appearances into "Watch Mr. Wizard" episodes to explain classical music. College teachers claimed that he was not an original thinker and that many of his statements were oversweeping. Nonetheless, untold hundreds of thousands of admirers would continue to revere him, long after his death.

—Milton Goldin

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## Berra, Yogi (1925—)

Lawrence "Yogi" Berra is one of the most loved figures of the sporting world. The star catcher for the great New York Yankee baseball teams of the mid-twentieth century, he has built a legacy as a dispenser of basic wisdom worthy of his nickname.

Born to Italian immigrants in the "Dago Hill" neighborhood of St. Louis, Missouri, Berra acquired his moniker as childhood friends remarked that he walked like a "yogi" snake charmer they had seen in a movie. He grew up idolizing future Hall of Fame outfielder Joe "Ducky" Medwick of the St. Louis Cardinals, and as a teenager left school to play baseball with his friend Joe Garagiola. Cardinals General Manager Branch Rickey signed Garagiola for \$500, but did not think Yogi was worth the money. A scout for the New York Yankees did, however, and Yogi started playing catcher in their farm system, until he turned 18 and the navy intervened.

After participating in D-Day and other landings, Berra returned to the United States and the Yankee farm club. He was noticed and promoted to the Yankees in 1946 after manager Mel Ott of the rival New York Giants offered to buy his contract for \$50,000. At the time, Yankees general manager Larry McPhail said of Yogi's unique stature that he looked like "the bottom man on an unemployed acrobatic team." Jaded Yankee veterans and the New York press were soon amused to no end by his love for comic books, movies, and ice cream, and knack for making the classic comments that would come to be known as "Berra-isms" or "Yogi-isms." One of the first came in 1947 when a Yogi Berra Night was held in his honor. Berra took the microphone and stated, "I want to thank all those who made this night necessary."

Many more sayings were to follow over the years. He described his new house thusly: "It's got nothing but rooms." When asked why the Yankees lost the 1960 World Series to the Pittsburgh Pirates, Yogi answered, "We made too many wrong mistakes" (a quote later appropriated by George Bush in a televised debate). Asked what time it is, he replied, "Do you mean now?" Some sayings simply transcended context, zen-fashion: "You see a lot just by observing." "If the world was perfect, it wouldn't be." "When you get to a fork in the road, take it." After a time interviewers began making up their



Yogi Berra (right) blocking home plate.

own quotes and floating them as “Yogi-isms.” Stand-up comedians and late-night talk show hosts followed soon after.

A sensitive man, Yogi often seemed genuinely hurt by willful misquotes and jokes about his appearance and intelligence, but his serene nature triumphed in the end. He was also a determined competitor who could silence critics with clutch performances. In 1947, he would hit the first pinch-hit home run in World Series history as the Yankees beat the Brooklyn Dodgers. When Casey Stengel, a character in his own right, became the Yankee manager in 1949, Yogi gained a valuable ally and soon developed into the best catcher of the time, along with Dodger Roy Campanella. He would go on to set World Series records for games played and Series won, as well as leading in hits, doubles, and placing second behind Mickey Mantle in home runs and runs-batted-in (RBIs). Later, as a manager himself, he would lead the Yankees in 1964 and the New York Mets in 1973 to the World Series. Yogi was elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1972.

Managing the Yankees again in 1985, he would be fired after standing up to tyrannical Yankee owner George Steinbrenner, an achievement some would liken to a World Series in itself. After not speaking for 14 years, a period during which Berra would not visit Yankee Stadium even when his plaque was erected in centerfield, the

pair would suddenly reconcile in early 1999. As Yogi had said about the 1973 Mets pennant drive, “It ain’t over ’til it’s over.”

—C. Kenyon Silvey

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## Berry, Chuck (1926—)

Singer, songwriter, and guitarist Charles Edward Anderson Berry, better known as Chuck Berry, epitomized 1950s rock 'n' roll through his songs, music, and dance. “If you tried to give rock 'n' roll another name, you might call it ‘Chuck Berry,’” commented John Lennon, one of the many artists influenced by Berry’s groundbreaking

works—others included the Rolling Stones and the Beach Boys. A consummate showman with an electrifying stage style, he originated such classic songs as “School Days,” in which he proclaimed “hail, hail, rock and roll” and “long live rock and roll”; and “Rock and Roll Music,” in which he sang: “It’s gotta be rock and roll music, if you want to dance with me.” Berry was the first black rock ’n’ roll artist to cross the tracks and draw a significant white audience to his music. His career was sidetracked, however, with his arrest and imprisonment on morals charges in 1959.

Berry captured the exuberant teenage spirit of the 1950s in his music. In the early part of that decade, the precursors of white rock ’n’ roll and the purveyors of black rhythm and blues lived on opposite sides of the tracks, with the music of each being played on small radio stations for their respective audiences. Berry combined black rhythm and blues, white country music, jazz, and boogie woogie into his style, and his music and lyrics became the catalyst for the music of the Rolling Stones, Beatles, and Beach Boys. His composition “Nadine” was a mirror of the later style of the Rolling Stones. Berry’s “Sweet Little Sixteen” was adapted as “Surfin’ USA” by the Beach Boys, becoming a million dollar single.

Berry was born on October 18, 1926 in St. Louis, Missouri. (Some sources attribute San Jose, California as his place of birth based on false information he originally gave his longtime secretary for a biographical sketch.) As a teenager, Berry was interested in photography and poetry, until he began performing. He came from a good home with a loving mother and father but strayed from his home training, first encountering the juvenile-justice system for a bungled armed robbery, serving two years in reform school. Upon his release in 1947, Berry returned home and began work at General Motors while taking up hair dressing and cosmetology. By 1950, he was married with two children and had formed a trio with pianist Johnny Johnson and drummer Ebby Harding. Their group played at the Cosmopolitan Club in East St. Louis, Illinois, gaining a considerable reputation in the surrounding area. He also studied and honed his guitar technique with a local jazz guitarist named Ira Harris. The trio played for a largely black audience, but with the drop of a cowboy hat, Berry could switch to country and hillbilly tunes.

Berry traveled to Chicago in 1955, visiting bands and inquiring about recording. Muddy Waters suggested that he contact Leonard Chess, president of Chess records. A week later, Berry was back in Chicago with a demo and subsequently recorded “Maybellene” (originally called “Ida Mae”) which rose to the number one spot on the R&B chart and number five on the pop chart. Almost instantaneously, Berry had risen from relative regional obscurity to being a national celebrity with this crossover hit. From 1955 to 1960, Berry enjoyed a run of several R&B top-20 entries with several of the songs crossing over to the pop top-10. “Thirty Days,” “Roll Over Beethoven,” “Too Much Monkey Business,” “School Days,” “Rock and Roll Music,” “Sweet Little Sixteen,” “Johnny B. Goode,” and “Almost Grown” were not only commercial successes but well written, engaging songs that would stand the test of time and become classics.

Berry’s musical influences were diverse. Latin rhythms are heard in “Brown-Eyed Handsome Man” and in “Rock and Roll Music”; black folk-narrative styles in “Too Much Monkey Business”; polka and the Italian vernacular in “Anthony Boy”; the black folk-sermon and congregational singing style in “You Can’t Catch Me”; blues à la John Lee Hooker in “Round and Round”; and country music in “Thirty Days.” Instrumentally, his slide and single string work was influenced by Carl Hogan, guitarist in Louis Jordan’s



**Chuck Berry**

Tympany Five combo; and by jazz guitarist Charlie Christian and blues guitarist Aaron “T-Bone” Walker, whose penchant for repeating the same note for emphasis influenced Berry. Nat “King” Cole influenced Berry’s early vocal style, and Charles Brown’s influence is evident in “Wee Wee Hours.” Berry makes extensive use of the 12-bar blues form. He occasionally departs from the blues form with compositions such as “Brown-Eyed Handsome Man,” “Thirty Days,” “Havana Moon,” “You Can’t Catch Me,” “Too Pooped to Pop,” and “Sweet Little Sixteen.” Berry makes extensive use of stop time as in “Sweet Little Sixteen,” creating a tension and release effect.

Berry was a featured performer on Alan Freed’s radio programs and stage shows and appeared in the films *Go Johnny Go*, *Mister Rock and Roll*, *Rock, Rock, Rock*, and *Jazz on a Summer’s Day*. He also appeared on Dick Clark’s *American Bandstand*. Berry toured as a headliner on bills with artists such as Carl Perkins, Bill Haley and the Comets, and Little Richard, among others.

His recording success turned Berry into a wealthy businessman and club owner, and a developer of his own amusement park. His quick rise to fame and his robust appetite for women of all races caused resentment among some whites. In 1959 he allegedly transported a fourteen-year-old Spanish-speaking Apache prostitute across state lines to work as a hat checker in his night club outside of St. Louis. Berry fired her and she protested. A brazenly bigoted first trial

ensued and was dismissed, but in the second trial, Berry was convicted and sent to prison, serving two years of a three-year sentence. This experience left him extremely embittered, with his marriage ruined. While he survived financially, he became inward, distrustful, and suspicious of people.

By the time Berry was released in 1964, the British Invasion with the Beatles and Rolling Stones was in full force; both groups included Berry's songs on their albums. He continued to tour, often with pickup bands. In 1966, he left Chess Records to record for Mercury, an association that did not yield any best sellers. He returned to Chess in 1971 and had his first gold record with "My Ding-a-Ling," a whimsical, double entendre-filled adaptation of Dave Bartholomew's "Toy Bell." In 1972, Berry appeared as a featured attraction in Las Vegas hotels. By 1979, he had run afoul with the law again and was sentenced to four months and one thousand hours of community service for income tax evasion.

During his incarceration in Lompoc, California, he began work on *Chuck Berry: the Autobiography*, a book that made extensive use of wordplay, giving insight into his life, romances, comebacks, and context for his songs. For his sixtieth birthday celebration, in 1986, a concert was staged in conjunction with a documentary filming of *Chuck Berry: Hail, Hail, Rock and Roll* by producer Taylor Hackford. The film featured an all-star cast of rock and R&B artists, including Keith Richards of the Rolling Stones as musical director, plus Eric Clapton, Linda Ronstadt, Robert Cray, Etta James, and Julian Lennon.

In 1986, Berry was inducted into the Rock 'n' Roll Hall of Fame. His importance as a songwriter, guitarist, singer, innovator and ambassador of that genre remains unquestioned. To paraphrase one of his lines in "Roll Over Beethoven," Berry's heart beats rhythm and his soul keeps on singin' the blues.

—Willie Collins

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## *The Best Years of Our Lives*

A 1946 film that perfectly captures the bittersweet sense of post-World War II American society, *The Best Years of Our Lives* examines three war veterans as they adjust to new stateside roles. Former sergeant Al Stephenson (Fredric March), disillusioned with his banking career, develops a drinking problem but learns to control it with the support of his wife Milly (Myrna Loy) and adult daughter Peggy (Teresa Wright). Fred Derry (Dana Andrews), one-time soda jerk and bombardier, finds that his wartime skills are now useless and eventually leaves his self-centered wife Marie (Virginia Mayo) for Peggy. Homer Parrish (Harold Russell), an ex-sailor who lost his hands in a shipboard accident, learns to deal with the rudeness of well-meaning civilians and shapes a new life with his fiancée Wilma (Cathy O'Donnell). A much-honored film (it won eight Oscars,

including Best Picture), *Best Years* is a beautiful, simple, and eloquent evocation of postwar America.

—Martin F. Norden

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## Bestsellers

As a group bestsellers conjure an image of lowbrow literature, of escapist fiction—bodice rippers, multi-generation epics, courtroom melodramas, and beach novels. Although books of all sorts, including nonfiction, cartoon anthologies, and genuine literature routinely make the bestseller lists in America, bestsellers have always been dismissed as popular reading. In *80 Years of Best Sellers* authors Alice Payne Hackett and James Henry Burke assert that, "Best-selling books are not always the best in a critical sense, but they do offer what the reading public wants," and the truth is that bestseller status is more often associated with Danielle Steele than Sinclair Lewis, even though both have published best-selling novels.

Tracking and reporting the best-selling books in America officially began in 1895. Publishing of all sorts experienced a boom in the 1890s for a variety of reasons, including cheaper paper, substantial improvements in the printing press, a high literacy rate, better public education systems, and an increase in book stores and public libraries. Popular tastes were also shifting from educational books and other nonfiction to works of fiction; an 1893 survey of public libraries showed that the most frequently borrowed books were novels, which at that time were largely historical fiction with overtones of adventure, e.g. *The Last of the Mohicans*, *Lorna Doone*, *The House of the Seven Gables*. The first list of best-selling novels in America appeared in a literary magazine titled *The Bookman* in 1895. The best-selling novel that year was *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush* by one Ian Maclaren. Although the phrase "best seller" was not used by *The Bookman* at this time; it seems to have been coined about a decade later by *Publishers Weekly* in an interview with a successful book dealer. Bookman referred to the novels on its first list as being sold "in order of demand" and started referring to "Best Selling Books" in 1897. *Publishers Weekly* began to run its own list of bestsellers in 1912, by which time the term was in general usage. The first several bestseller lists were dominated by European novels, with an average of only two or three American novels per year. While many European authors were undoubtedly popular with American readers and European settings were more glamorous, the primary reason that there were few highly successful American novelists was U.S. copyright law, which prior to 1891 had made it far less expensive to publish books written by Europeans than by Americans.

The existence of bestseller lists had an immediate effect on American publishers, who began to devise ways to promote their novels and ensure them bestseller status. The novel *The Honorable Peter Stirling*, written by Paul Leceister Ford and published in 1897, was selling very poorly until its publisher spread rumors that the book was based on President Grover Cleveland; the book saw a drastic increase in readership and 228,000 copies were sold that year. The 1904 novel *The Masquerade* was the first book to be published without an author credit; speculation as to who “anonymous” might be—it was novelist Katherine Cecil Thurston—increased public awareness of the novel and it was one of the top ten sellers of its year. The gimmick of publishing an anonymous book was used repeatedly throughout the century; the success of *Primary Colors* in 1996 indicates that it has remained an effective marketing device.

Two significant literary genres made their first appearances on the list in 1902. Owen Wister’s *The Virginian*—which became a genuine publishing phenomenon over time, remaining continuously in print for over thirty years—was at the height of its success in 1902. Booksellers were ordering one thousand copies per day. *The Virginian* created a market for western novels; western fiction became a staple of the list when Zane Grey’s *The Lone Star Ranger* was published in 1915 and the western audience has never truly disappeared. Arthur Conan Doyle’s *The Hound of the Baskervilles* was not just the first Sherlock Holmes book to achieve bestseller status but was the first work of detective fiction to do so as well. The first American suspense novelist to reach the year’s top ten list was Mary Roberts Rinehart in 1909. Not all turn of the century bestsellers were escapist fiction, Upton Sinclair’s *The Jungle*, the famous muckraking exposé of the American meat packing industry, became a bestseller in 1906.

When *Publishers Weekly* began publishing its own list of bestsellers in 1912, it separated nonfiction from fiction. A third category, simply titled “war books,” was added for the duration of World War I. Books about the European conflict sold extremely well and appear to have created a larger market for nonfiction reading in general, since sales of nonfiction books increased in post-World War I America. A similar increase occurred after World War II, when self-help books began to appear regularly on the bestseller lists. Emily Post’s *Etiquette*, first published in 1923, demonstrated that a nonfiction bestseller can be recognized as a definitive reference source and remain in print almost indefinitely.

Since the 1910s, bestseller status has been determined in the same way. Several publications, most notably *Publishers Weekly* and more recently the *New York Times Book Review*, publish weekly lists of the ten best-selling fiction and nonfiction books in America. The lists originally referred only to cloth, or hardbound, books; separate lists for paperbacks were added in the 1960s. Information is gathered from book stores around the United States, so the list of bestsellers does refer to books sold, not just books distributed (as was the case with the record industry for decades). Because most books stay on the list for multiple weeks, approximately forty-five to fifty books reach either list per year. The method of determining which books are bestsellers has been criticized. The lists reflect what is selling well at any given week, so that a book that sold slowly but steadily, such as *The Betty Crocker Cookbook*, which is one of the highest selling books of all time, might never appear on a bestseller list. Likewise, it is possible for an author to sell millions of books during a career without ever having one be designated a bestseller. Most of the sales figures are gathered from larger book stores so that smaller stores, which frequently have more literary clientele, have little input into the lists. Substantial advance publicity from a publisher can almost

certainly boost sales for a week or two, creating an artificial bestseller. Finally, book club editions are not taken into account when compiling the lists; the Book of the Month Club and the Literary Guild, founded in 1926 and 1928 respectively, have accounted for a large percentage of book sales each year, as have many other book clubs and mail order sources, all without being included in the bestseller statistics. Still, the bestseller lists remain a fairly accurate barometer of what America is reading at any given time.

Even by the 1920s, certain patterns were beginning to emerge on the lists. There was the phenomenon known as “repeaters”—authors who could be counted on to produce one best-selling book after another. Edna Ferber in the 1930s, Mickey Spillane in the 1950s, Harold Robbins in the 1960s, and John Grisham in the 1990s were all repeaters whose publishers knew that practically anything they wrote would become a bestseller. John O’Hara took the concept of repeating to its extreme; not only did he write a bestseller every year or two for most of his career but his publisher, Random House, always released the book on the same date, Christmas Eve, to build a steady market. “Repeaters” are important to publishers, who need certain and dependable sales successes, so the practice of paying large advances to such authors is common and widespread. In contrast to the repeaters, some authors have only one or two bestsellers and never produce another. This phenomenon can be hard to explain. Some authors only produce one novel: Margaret Mitchell never wrote another after the enormous success of *Gone with the Wind*; Ross Lockridge committed suicide shortly after the publication of *Raintree County*. But others try to repeat their earlier successes and fail, so that while someone like Kathleen Winsor may write many books during her lifetime, only *Forever Amber* is successful. Bestsellers are very attuned to popular taste; an author has to be strongly in synch with national attitudes and concerns to produce a bestseller. After a few years have passed, author and society might not be so connected. Another phenomenon may affect both repeaters and authors of solitary bestsellers: fame for best-selling writers and their books can be remarkably short-lived. For every Daphne du Maurier, well remembered years after her death, there is a George Barr McCutcheon; for every *Peyton Place* there is a *Green Dolphin Street*. Decades ago Rex Beach and Fannie Hurst were household names, each with multiple bestsellers; someday Dean Koontz and Jackie Collins might have lapsed into obscurity. Again, this might be attributed to the popular nature of the bestseller; best-selling novels are frequently so topical and timely that they tend to become dated more rapidly than other fiction. They are rarely reprinted after the initial burst of popularity is over and slip easily from the public memory. Of course, on some occasions when the novel remains well known the author might not, so that everybody has heard of *Topper* but no one remembers Thorne Smith and everybody is familiar with *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* while few recall it was written by Betty Smith.

Specific genres of books are more likely to become bestsellers and since the beginning of the bestseller lists, certain categories have dominated. Among the most common bestseller types are the historical novel, the *roman à clef*, the exposé novel, and the thriller.

The first best American bestsellers were long romantic novels that provided escapist reading to their audiences while appearing to be at least slightly educational; all were set in the past and most were set in Europe. Gradually American settings began to dominate, particularly the American frontier, but the historical novel has remained an extremely popular type of fiction and has changed relatively little since its earliest appearance. There is usually some romance at the

core, with complications that keep it from being resolved for hundreds of pages. The novel is often built around a significant historical event; the Civil War has been an especially popular setting. Great attention is given to detail and many historical novelists spend years researching an era before writing about it. Some variations of the historical novel would include the multi-generational saga, which follows a family for several decades and generations, such as Edna Ferber's *Cimarron*; the religious epic, such as Charles Sheldon's *In His Steps*, a fictionalized life of Christ that introduced the phrase "What would Jesus do?"; and the historical adventure, as seen in much of Kenneth Roberts's many fictional accounts of westward expansion.

Literally "book with a key," the roman à clef is a work of fiction that is obviously based on real people; the "key" is determining who was the inspiration for the novel. Obviously, for the book to be successful it has to be easy for the reader to guess who it is supposed to be about; it takes no great deductive ability to realize, for example, that the presidential widow in Jacqueline Susann's *Dolores* is based on Jacqueline Onassis. Harold Robbins is the most successful author of the roman à clef, having written about Harold Hughes (*The Carpetbaggers*), Lana Turner (*Where Love Has Gone*), and Hugh Hefner (*Dreams Die First*), among others. More literary examples of the roman à clef include two genuine bestsellers, Sinclair Lewis's *Elmer Gantry*, based on Billy Sunday and Aimee Semple McPherson; and Robert Penn Warren's fictionalized account of Huey Long, *All the King's Men*.

The exposé novel examines a major American institution and purports to tell readers exactly how it works; of course, these novels always contain copious amounts of sex and intrigue no matter how dull their subject matter might appear. Arthur Hailey's *Airport*, for example, presents a romantic triangle between a pilot, his wife, and his pregnant mistress (one of his flight attendants); a bomb on board the plane; and an emergency landing in a snowstorm. Hailey is the recognized leader of the exposé novel, having also written *Wheels*, *Hotel*, and *The Moneychangers*, among others. Some exposé novels have the added attraction of being written by someone who actually worked within the industry, giving them an insider's view which they presumably pass along to their readers. Joseph Wambaugh, the police officer turned author is perhaps the best known of these. It has become fairly common to hire a celebrity to use their name on an exposé novel, which is then written in collaboration with a more professional author, as was done with Ilie Nastase's *The Net* and model Nina Blanchard's *The Look*.

Ever since *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, mysteries and suspense novels of some sort have been common on the list. It was not until the publication of John LeCarre's *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold* in 1964, however, that publishers recognized thrillers as a popular fiction form. Thrillers can be distinguished from mysteries by the fact that there is no puzzle to solve; the appeal of the novel lies in waiting to see what will happen to the characters. Crime novels like those of Elmore Leonard (*Get Shorty*) are frequently categorized as thrillers, but so are courtroom novels like John Grisham's *The Firm* and Scott Turow's *Above Suspicion*; technology based works like Tom Clancy's *The Hunt for Red October*; Lawrence Sanders's (*The First Deadly Kiss*) and Thomas Harris's (*Silence of the Lambs*) dissections of serial murder; and war novels like Len Deighton's *Bomber*.

Beginning in the 1970s there were fewer privately owned publishing houses; many have merged and some have been bought buy larger conglomerates. Bestsellers are now seen as part of a

corporation's synergy; that is, a best-selling novel is part of a package that includes movie and/or television adaptations. Television in particular has proven an avid customer for adaptation rights; as fewer bestsellers are made into motion pictures, the television medium, which can provide longer running times that presumably allow more faithful adaptations, has produced hundreds of made for television movies and mini-series from best-selling novels. Television's interest in the bestseller can be traced to ABC's highly regarded production of Irwin Shaw's *Rich Man, Poor Man* in 1976. Given the variety of businesses that may now be contained under one corporate umbrella, it is not uncommon for one conglomerate to publish a book in hardcover, publish the paperback edition as well, and then produce the film or television adaptation. In fact, many publishing houses take such a possibility into consideration when reviewing manuscripts.

The most popular works within any society would not necessarily be its best; nevertheless, the reading habits of the American public say much about its culture. If Irving Wallace, Mario Puzo, Janet Daly, and Leon Uris are not the greatest authors of the twentieth century, they have still provided millions of readers with a great deal of pleasure. The best-selling novel might better be evaluated not as a work of literature but as a significant cultural byproduct, an artifact that reveals to subsequent generations the hopes and concerns of the past.

—Randall Clark

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## *Better Homes and Gardens*

Taking on a snazzy new style, establishing its own website, and accentuating the acronym *BH&G* can not alter entirely the role that *Better Homes and Gardens* has played in constructing American ideals of domesticity, home life, and gender roles throughout the twentieth century. In 1913, Edwin T. Meredith introduced the idea of a new magazine within an advertisement contained in his magazine, *Successful Farming*. The small, discreet ad titled "Cash Prizes for Letters about Gardening" also made a simple request of readers: "Why not send fifty cents for a year's subscription to 'Garden, Fruit and Home' at the same time?" In truth no such magazine yet existed; nor would it be published until 1922. Meredith began publishing *Fruit, Garden and Home* before altering the name in 1924 to *Better Homes and Gardens*. By facilitating the dialogue that has constructed the ideal of housing, *Better Homes and Garden* helped to define exactly where home and life come together in the American experience.

The impermanence of American life, of course, befuddled many observers from the nation's outset. Alexis de Tocqueville wrote in the 1830s that "in the United States a man builds a house in which to spend his old age and he sells it before the roof is on. . . ." A great deal of interest and attention was paid by upper and upper-middle-class

Americans in the later 1800s to create traditions for civility, taste, and permanence—literally, to construct cultural ideals. One of the earliest “taste makers,” Andrew Jackson Downing, introduced many Americans to landscape architecture and gardening through his writings. The periodical that he edited, *The Horticulturalist*, helped to initiate an American tradition of popular magazines and journals helping to perfect designs of the prototypical American home.

Similarly, an entire genre of magazines would appeal directly to women of privilege, most of whom were not employed. From 1840 through the end of the nineteenth century, *Godey's Lady's Book* defined the habits, ideals, and aspirations of many Victorian women. Such general interest magazines helped to define the era, but had more to do with constructing femininity than with the American home. Magazines such as *Better Homes and Gardens* helped to merge the women's magazine with practical publications specifically concerned with home design. This bond, of course, would shape the role of the modern “housewife” into that of the domestic manager. The ideal that emerges from this union is referred to by many scholars as the “Cult of Domesticity,” which helps make *BH&G* one of the most popular magazines in America throughout the twentieth century.

*BH&G* helped define a national dialogue on home life through a combination of informative articles, basic cooking techniques, and contests that helped to rally the interest of readers. The first home plan design contest was first published in 1923 and, most importantly, the “Cook's Round Table” that began in 1926 would become the longest-running reader-driven contest in publishing history. This would later become part of *BH&G's* test kitchen and what became known as “Prize Tested Recipes.” *BH&G* experimentation is attributed with introducing the American palate to tossed salad (1938) and barbecue cooking (1941) among many innovations. Published throughout World War II, the magazine even altered its recipes to cope with shortages of eggs, butter, and other foods.

These contests and recipes, however, were only a portion of the new domestic stress that *BH&G* fostered in the American public. The ideal of home ownership that can be found in the ideas of Thomas Jefferson and others began in the pages of the magazine in 1932 with the introduction of the *BH&G* building plan service. The marketing of building plans had taken place since the late 1800s; however, *BH&G's* service grew out of new governmental initiatives. Following data that revealed that only 46 percent of Americans owned homes in the 1920s, Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover's “Own Your Home” campaign combined with efforts by the Bureau of Standards to stimulate home building while also modernizing American building practices. Better Homes in America, Inc. fulfilled Hoover's goal of voluntary cooperation between government and private enterprise for the public good. Formed in 1922, the organization soon had branches in over 500 communities.

Such groups worked with *BH&G* to permanently alter American ideas of domesticity. By 1930 there were 7,279 Better Homes committees across the country. During national Better Homes Week (usually the last week in April), each local committee sponsored home-improvement contests, prizes for the most convenient kitchen, demonstrations of construction and remodeling techniques, and lectures on how good homes build character. The demonstration house was the highlight of the week. Most communities built a single model residence, with donated materials and labor. Obviously, a national institution had been created and the private sector, through *Better Homes and Gardens*, would be responsible for perpetuating the jump start that the federal government had offered to systematizing and organizing American home design and construction.

*BH&G* and the Better Homes movement in general provided the essential conduit through which the dynamic changes in building could be channeled. While much of this movement was intended for the homeowner who was building his own house, the organization would also be instrumental in the evolving business organization of home development. Specifically, land developers who were constructing vast housing tracts would work with Better Homes to establish the guidelines that would form the standard suburban home. Each constituency had a stake in establishing “Safe Guards Against Incongruity.” At times the Better Homes forum would also be complicit in discussing the social organization of the evolving housing development, which would often restrict race and ethnicity through restrictive covenants and deed restrictions. *BH&G* would not be complicit in such restrictions, however, it would become active in the sales end of housing. After first considering a line of related restaurants, hotels, and insurance companies in 1965, Meredith launched Better Homes and Gardens Real Estate Service in 1975. It has grown to be one of the nation's largest real estate services.

In order to make certain of this continued popularity, the magazine's logo was lent to popular instructional books for many home improvement tasks as well as to cookbooks as early as 1930. This, however, was only the beginning of the better home informational empire: by the late 1990s a television network and many hours of programming and videos would offer techniques and pointers on home design, repair, as well as on cooking and personal relations. The magazine's involvement in homemaking reminds one of aggressive, corporate expansion that attempts to dominate every facet of an endeavor. In this case, homemaking truly has become an industry of such massive scale and scope. *BH&G* continued to influence American home life from finding a home, redecorating it, maintaining it, and, finally, to selling it at the end of the twentieth century.

—Brian Black

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## Betty Boop

Betty Boop, the first major female animated screen star, epitomized the irresistible flapper in a series of more than one hundred highly successful cartoons in the 1930s. From her debut as a minor character in the 1930 *Talkartoons* short feature “Dizzy Dishes,” she quickly became the most popular character created for the Fleischer Studio, a serious animation rival to Walt Disney. Unlike Disney's *Silly Symphonies*, which emphasized fine, life-like drawings and innocent themes, the Fleischer films featuring Betty Boop were characterized by their loose, metamorphic style and more adult situations designed to appeal to the grown members of the movie-going audience. According to animation historian Charles Solomon, Betty Boop “was the archetypal flapper, the speakeasy Girl Scout



Betty Boop's depiction in balloon form in the Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade in New York City.

with a heart of gold—already something of an anachronism in 1930.” Although her appearance rooted her to the Jazz Age, Betty Boop's popularity remained high throughout the decade of the Great Depression, as she was animation's first fully developed and liberated female character.

For a character that would come to personify overt female sexuality, the original version of Betty Boop created by animator Grim Natwick was a somewhat grotesque amalgamation of human and dog features. In her first screen appearance she was cast as a nightclub singer attempting to win the affection of then-Fleischer star, Bimbo, an anthropomorphized dog. Subsequent appearances reveal her gradual evolution into a fully human form. Her “French doll” figure was modeled after Mae West's, and she featured a distinctive spit curl hairdo and a singing style inspired by popular chanteuse Helen Kane (“the Boop Boop a-Doop Girl”). Miss Kane, however, was outraged by the animated character and claimed in a 1934 lawsuit that the Fleischers had limited her earning potential by stealing her distinctive singing style. Although Betty Boop certainly is a caricature of Kane, the singer lost in her claim against the Fleischers after it was proven that a black entertainer named Baby Esther had first popularized the phrase “boop-oop-a-doop” years earlier. Actress Mae Questel provided Betty's high-pitched New York twang for all of the character's screen appearances, beginning in 1931.

Betty's growing popularity prompted the Fleischers to promote their new female sensation to main character status and relegate the formerly top-billed Bimbo to the supporting role of Betty's constant admirer. Betty's femininity was repeatedly highlighted throughout her cartoon adventures, as her legs, busty frame, and frilly undies were displayed for the audience. Her personality was that of an innocent vamp who was not above lifting her skirt, standing in provocative poses, and batting her long eyelashes to achieve her goals. The series was also filled with humorous double entendres for adults that would generally pass over the heads of Betty's younger fans. For all the sexual antics, however, Betty often displayed proto-feminist qualities. She was generally portrayed as a career girl, who had to fight off the advances of lecherous male characters. The issue of sexual harassment in the workplace is most strongly presented in 1932's “Boop-Oop-A-Doop,” where she confronts a lewd ringmaster who demands her affection so that she may return to her job at a circus. By the cartoon's end she firmly proclaims, “He couldn't take my boop-oop-a-doop away!” The Fleischers even had Betty enter the male-dominated world of politics in *Betty Boop for President* (1932).

One of the most popular features of the Betty Boop cartoon series were her encounters with many of the most popular entertainment figures of the 1930s. At various times Cab Calloway, Lillian Roth, Ethel Merman, and Rudy Vallee all found themselves singing and dancing with the cartoon star. These appearances were designed to promote the recordings of the stars on the Paramount label, which also distributed the Betty Boop series. To further capitalize on the animated star's success, Betty Boop soon appeared on hundreds of products and toys. In 1935 King Features syndicated *Betty Boop* as a Sunday comic strip, which toned down the character's sexuality.

Betty Boop remained a popular character until the mid-1930s, when she fell victim to Will Hays and the Hollywood Production Code. The censor demanded Betty no longer be presented in her trademark short skirts and low tops. There were even claims that her “romantic relationship” with the dog Bimbo was immoral. The Fleischers responded by placing Betty in a more domestic setting and surrounding her with a more wholesome cast, including an eccentric inventor named Grampy and a little puppy called Pudgy. In several of these later cartoons Pudgy, not Betty, is the primary character. Ironically, a dog character reduced Betty's role in the same manner she had replaced Bimbo years earlier. The final Betty Boop cartoon, *Yip, Yip, Yippy!*, appeared in 1939. However, Betty's racy flapper persona had vanished sometime earlier and had been replaced by a long-skirted homemaker.

Betty Boop sat dormant until the mid-1970s when her cartoons began playing on television and in revival houses. Her increased visibility led to a resurgence of Betty merchandise in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1988, Betty made a brief appearance in the feature film *Who Framed Roger Rabbit?*, where she complained of her lack of acting jobs since cartoons went to color. Today, Betty Boop, remains a potent symbol of the Jazz Age and is considered a pioneer achievement in the development of female animated characters.

—Charles Coletta

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## Betty Crocker

Betty Crocker, an invented identity whose face adorns the packaging of more than 200 food products manufactured by General Mills, is one of the most recognized icons in American brand-name marketing. Together with the trademarked red spoon logo, the Betty Crocker brand name is found on many cake mixes and dessert products, main courses like Hamburger Helper and scalloped potatoes, and snacks like microwave popcorn and chewy fruit items. The Betty Crocker brand name accounts for over \$1.5 billion each year, which is nearly thirty percent of annual sales for General Mills.

The name originated in 1921 when Washburn Crosby Company, as General Mills was then known, sponsored a jigsaw-puzzle contest and found that the entrants, mostly women, wanted more information about baking. The two most significant factors behind the creation of the Betty Crocker name, according to a General Mills document, “were the philosophy and doctrine of sincere, helpful, home service and the belief that the company’s Home Service contract with homemakers should be personalized and feminized.”

The choice of “Betty Crocker” as a name for General Mills Home Services Activities is attributable to then advertising manager, James A. Quint. “Betty” was considered a friendly nickname while “Crocker” was used as a tribute to retired company director and secretary, William Crocker. The name suggests a particular lifestyle involving a woman who is a traditional, suburban, all-American mother and who takes special care in her cooking and of her family. Although the face was altered slightly over the years from a more matronly to a younger image, the familiar face still reinforces a strong visual image over several generations. To many, Betty Crocker reminds them of childhood memories of Mom baking in the kitchen or an idealized childhood including that nurturing image.

Betty Crocker has over the years created a trustworthy reputation as the First Lady of Food. She receives millions of letters and phone calls and is listed as the author of several bestselling cook books. Her weekly advice column appears in more than 700 newspapers throughout the United States, and in the 1990s she acquired her own website, which includes recipes from ingredients provided by users as well as personalized weekly menu plans and household tips.

The Betty Crocker name has been affiliated with food products since 1947. Her pioneering cake mix was called Ginger Cake, which has now evolved into Gingerbread Cake and Cookie Mix. Since then, the name has been licensed to several types of food products as well as to a line of cooking utensils, small appliances, and kitchen clocks. In the 1990s, General Mills leveraged this brand in the cereal market by introducing Betty Crocker Cinnamon Streusel and Dutch Apple cereals, with packaging primarily designed to attract dessert lovers.

Even as Betty Crocker strides into the new millennium, she continues to leverage her past history by successfully practicing the art of retro-marketing. Betty’s Baby Boomer constituents have lately inquired about “nostalgia foods” such as “Snickerdoodles,” “Pink Azalea cake,” and “Chicken A la King,” to name a few. In 1998, General Mills published a facsimile edition of the original *Betty Crocker’s Picture Cook Book*, first published in 1950.

—Abhijit Roy

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## Beulah

The first television network series to star an African American, *Beulah* ran on ABC from October 3, 1950 until September 22, 1953. The comic black maid had her beginnings on the 1940s radio series *Fibber McGee and Molly* where she was originally played by a white male actor. The African American Oscar winner, Hattie McDaniel, took over the role when *Beulah* was spun off onto her own radio show. The popular series then moved to the fledgling television medium with a new black actress playing *Beulah*, the noted singer, stage, and screen performer Ethel Waters. Waters left the series after two years and was briefly replaced by McDaniel. Illness forced her to leave the series, and another black actress famous for playing maids, Louise Beavers, took the role in the show’s last season. The series followed the gently comic adventures of *Beulah*, her marriage-resistant male friend, Bill, the Henderson family whom *Beulah* served, and *Beulah*’s feather-brained friend, also a black maid, Oriole (played first by Butterfly McQueen, then Ruby Dandridge). Debuting a year before the more famous black comedy *Amos ’n’ Andy*, *Beulah* did not generate the other series’ enormous controversy, despite the stereotyped representations of black servants whose lives revolve around their white superiors. In 1951, however, when the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) launched a highly publicized protest against the *Amos ’n’ Andy* television show, the civil rights lobby group included *Beulah* in its condemnation. The series left the air the same time as *Amos ’n’ Andy*.

—Aniko Bodroghkozy

## The Beverly Hillbillies

One of the most durable television sitcoms and one of the most successful of the popular rural comedies at CBS during the 1960s, *The Beverly Hillbillies* (1962-71) has withstood critical disdain and become a favorite with viewers in reruns. *The Beverly Hillbillies* is the old story of city slicker versus country bumpkin, of education versus wisdom; and though the laughs are at the *Hillbillies*’ expense, in the end they almost always come out on top despite their lack of sophistication. This simple account of simple country folk at odds with city folk hit a nerve in the country and was reflected in a number of other shows of the era, including fellow Paul Henning productions *Petticoat Junction* and *Green Acres*. *The Beverly Hillbillies* premiered to a critical blasting and yet within a few weeks was at the top of the ratings and remained popular for the length of its run.

In the theme song we learn the story of Jed Clampett (Buddy Ebsen), a mountain widower. One day, while hunting for food, Jed comes across some “bubbling crude” on his land: “Oil, that is, black gold, Texas tea.” Jed sells the rights to his oil to the OK Oil Company



**The Beverly Hillbillies (clockwise from bottom left): Buddy Ebsen, Donna Douglas, Irene Ryan, and Max Baer, Jr.**

and becomes a millionaire. He is advised to move from the hills and go to California. Along with him he takes his mother-in-law, Granny (Irene Ryan); his daughter, Elly May (Donna Douglas); and his nephew, Jethro Bodine (Max Baer, Jr.). In California Jed's money is kept at the Commerce Bank, and along with the bank comes its president, Milburn Drysdale (Raymond Bailey), and his plain but smart assistant, Jane Hathaway (Nancy Kulp). Most of the interactions involve the Clampetts and the Drysdale/Hathaway team and occasionally Drysdale's snobby wife.

To keep a closer eye on his largest depositor, Drysdale arranges for the Clampetts to move into the mansion next to his house in Beverly Hills. Drysdale is obsessed with the fear that the family will move back to the hills along with their money, and he will do practically anything to assuage them and help them feel comfortable in their new home. This simple premise remains essentially unchanged through the bulk of the show's run. City life is not difficult for the rube man-child Jethro, who fancies himself a playboy or secret agent or movie producer and wants to keep his "hick" family from making him look bad. Elly May is the pretty tomboy who seems content to live in the city as long as she has her "critters." But crusty old Granny is not happy here, where she has lost her stature in society and she can no longer be the doctor, matchmaker, and keeper of wisdom. Most of the characters in *The Beverly Hillbillies* are caricatures and stereotypes of rich and poor. The only real exception is Jed Clampett, who alone seems to appreciate both sides.

The humor in this show comes from many sources. Initially, the jokes and obvious humor come at the expense of the Hillbillies. The

ragged clothes, the fascination with even the most ordinary aspects of everyday life (they assume the billiard table is for formal dining and that the cues are for reaching across the table), and odd customs and ideas about high society based on silent movies that reached their hometown. But just as funny are the city folk, like Mr. Drysdale and his transparent efforts to get them to stay, or Miss Jane and her proper and humorous look. *The Beverly Hillbillies* is at its best in showing how foolish modern-day life looks through the eyes of the transplanted country folk. Jed is the center and the speaker, pointing out those things that seem to not make sense, and upon reflection we can often agree. While this show is no work of high art or philosophy, and the story lines and situations are often ludicrous and sometimes downright foolish, it does an excellent job of entertaining with a basic backdrop and characters for thirty minutes. In the weeks following the assassination of President Kennedy, this show had four of its highest rated shows, and some of the highest rated shows of all time. It is likely not a coincidence that people would turn to a simple comedy in a time of crisis.

*The Beverly Hillbillies* was finally dropped in 1971 as part of the derationalization at CBS. Several members returned in the 1980s for a reunion television movie, and in the 1990s, this was one of many old television shows to be made into a theatrical movie with an all-new cast reprising the old familiar roles. Hipper, more urban, with less focus on caricature, we see an updating of the premise again in the early 1990s on the hit show *The Fresh Prince of Bel Air*—this time with a nephew from the ghetto streets of the east sent to live in the sun and opulence of Bel Air and again pointing out the foolishness of the so-called better life.

—Frank Clark

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## *Beverly Hills 90210*

Premiering in October 1990, television teen drama *Beverly Hills 90210* became a cultural phenomenon, both in the United States and abroad, and was the precursor to the deluge of teen-based dramas that were to dominate prime-time television in the late 1990s. The show helped to establish the new Fox Television Network, and was the first network to challenge the traditional big three—ABC, CBS, and NBC—for the youth audience.

The title of the program refers to the location of its setting, the posh city of Beverly Hills, California (zip code 90210). Produced by Aaron Spelling, the program focused on a group of high school students. The ensemble cast, featured Jason Priestly (twice nominated for a Golden Globe for Best Actor in a TV Series—Drama in 1993 and



The cast of *Beverly Hills 90210*.

1995), Shannon Doherty, Jennie Garth, Luke Perry, Tori Spelling, Ian Ziering, and Gabrielle Carteris. They were catapulted into the realm of teen idols (despite the fact that most were in their twenties), and their images graced publications and commercial products. Because of the setting, the program presented glamorous lifestyles and paid great attention to fashion, an aspect which was not lost on its audience, who followed clothing, music, and hairstyle trends.

Much of the show's appeal has been attributed to the story lines, which presented issues and concerns relevant to its teenage audience: parental divorce, eating disorders, learning disabilities, sexuality, substance abuse, and date rape. As the actors aged, so did their characters, and by the sixth season several were attending the fictitious California University, encountering more adult problems and issues. Although the show was praised for tackling such important, and often controversial, teen issues in a serious manner, many found the program problematic because it upheld narrowly defined concepts of physical beauty, presented a luxurious world of upper-class materialism, rarely included people of color, and constructed the problems presented in unrealistic terms.

—Frances Gateward

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## *Bewitched*

In this innovative and immensely popular sitcom—it ranked in TV's top twenty-five all but two of its eight years on the air and was nominated for twenty-two Emmy awards—suburbia meets the supernatural in the guise of Samantha, television's most loveable witch. Played by the talented and genial Elizabeth Montgomery, Samantha is the all-American wife of Darrin Stephens, a hapless advertising executive who asks his wife to curb her witchery in the interest of having a normal life together. Originally broadcast from 1964 to 1972, on the surface *Bewitched* seemed like simply another suburban



The stars of *Bewitched*, (l-r) Elizabeth Montgomery, Dick Sargent, and Agnes Moorehead.

sitcom, but in fact it captured the mood of the nation in dealing with a “mixed marriage” between a witch and a mortal, as well as the difficulties faced by a strong woman forced to subdue her powers for the sake of her marriage. A quarter of a century later, *Bewitched* remains a pop culture favorite, a nostalgic take on the 1960s that has remained surprisingly hip.

*Bewitched* was borne of the marriage of actress Elizabeth Montgomery and award-winning television director William Asher. The couple met and fell in love in 1963, when Elizabeth starred in Asher’s film, *Johnny Cool*, and they were married shortly thereafter. Suddenly, Montgomery—an Emmy nominee and a veteran of more than 200 television programs—began talking about retiring in order to raise a family. But Asher felt his wife was too talented to bow out of show business and suggested that they work together on a television series. When Elizabeth enthusiastically agreed, their search for the right property began.

Asher, an Emmy-award-winning director of *I Love Lucy*, forged an agreement with ABC, who forwarded him a script which had been written for Tammy Grimes. *The Witch of Westport* took as its premise a marriage between a witch and a mortal. Asher and Montgomery both liked the script and, with Grimes committed to a Broadway play, the couple worked to transform the series into a show suited to Montgomery’s talents and sensibilities, by increasing the comedic

elements and losing a lot of what they felt was stereotypical witchery and hocus pocus.

The Ashers shot the pilot for their new series, which they called *Bewitched*, in November, 1963. But when ABC saw the show, the network feared that in airing a show about the supernatural they risked losing both their sponsors and their audiences in the Bible Belt. But after Asher personally flew to Detroit to secure Chevrolet’s backing, ABC greenlighted *Bewitched* for their 1964 fall lineup.

From the start, *Bewitched* was a huge hit, climbing to number two in the ratings in its very first season. Much of the show’s success was due to the superb ensemble cast of top-notch actors delivering superb comic acting. With Elizabeth Montgomery as Samantha, Dick York (later Dick Sargent) as Darrin, and veteran actress Agnes Moorehead as Samantha’s meddling mother, Endora, at its core, the cast also featured David White as Darrin’s troublesome boss, Larry Tate; George Tobias and Alice Pearce (later Sandra Gould) as the nosy-next-door-neighbor Kravitzes; the inimitable Paul Lynde as Uncle Arthur; the hysterical Marian Lorne as bumbling Aunt Clara; and the great English actor, Maurice Evans, as Samantha’s father.

As Herbie J. Pilato writes in *The Bewitched Book*, “Each episode . . . is a new misadventure as Sam (as she’s affectionately known to Darrin) tries to adapt her unique ways to the life of the average suburban woman. Learning to live with witchcraft is one

thing, but Endora's petulant dislike of her son-in-law (due to his eagerness to succeed without witchcraft) is the story conflict that carried the sitcom through its extensive run. This dissension, coupled with the fact that Samantha and Darrin love each other in spite of their differences, is the core of the show's appeal."

Unquestionably, the star of the show was Elizabeth Montgomery, a gifted actress whose dramatic and comedic acting abilities made her immensely attractive to TV audiences of both sexes and all ages. The daughter of movie star Robert Montgomery, Elizabeth had been a professional actress since her teens, with many credits to her name. But *Bewitched* made her both a television star and a pop culture icon. Capitalizing on his wife's unconscious habit of twitching her upper lip, William Asher created a magical nose twitch by which Samantha, with a mischievous glint in her eye, cast her spells. Though fans loved the show's magic, Samantha's supernatural powers were never overused. As Montgomery herself would later remark, "If you have a weapon, be it a gun, witchcraft, or sharp-tongued wit, you recognize it as something you rely on. But your principles are such that you do not pull out the big guns unless you really have to. There's a certain dignity to Samantha's decision to hold back on her power. . . . It had to do with Samantha's promise to herself and to Darrin of not using witchcraft . . . her own self-expectations and living up to them."

Audiences quickly came to adore Samantha and to eagerly await the use of her powers. And they identified with the character, seeing her as an outsider in mainstream society, trying to do her best to fit in. The appeal of Montgomery, as a beautiful and talented woman who wasn't afraid to be funny, carried the show, and Montgomery attracted a large and loyal fan following.

Although most episodes centered around the Stephens' household and Darrin's advertising office, among the most popular shows were those featuring magical incarnations in the form of animals or famous people from history, such as Leonardo da Vinci or Julius Caesar. Other popular episodes included Darrin and Samantha's baby daughter, Tabitha, a little witch played by twins Erin and Diane Murphy.

A television fixture throughout the Sixties, *Bewitched* finally dropped out of TV's top twenty-five in 1970 when Dick York left the show, forced into early retirement because of a chronic back injury. Although the chemistry between Montgomery and York's replacement, Dick Sargent, was superb, audiences didn't warm to the casting change. As more cutting-edge sitcoms like *All in the Family* hit the airwaves in the early 1970s, *Bewitched* no longer seemed so innovative, and Montgomery decided to call it quits.

Although *Bewitched* went off the air in 1972, it soon found its way into syndication, where it became a perennial favorite, until moving to the immensely popular Nick at Nite cable lineup, where it is a permanent feature of their prime-time lineup. Now, more than twenty-five years since the last episode was filmed, *Bewitched* continues to enchant audiences with its winning blend of award-winning sitcom humor and its wry look at suburban American culture.

—Victoria Price

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## BH&G

See *Better Homes and Gardens*

## Bicycling

Although most Americans in the twentieth century associate bicycles and bicycling with children, Europeans, or fitness buffs, a bicycle craze among adults swept the United States in the late 1880s and 1890s that stimulated much excitement and new ways of thinking about transportation. Capitalists created a thriving and valuable bicycle manufacturing industry and a well-developed trade press, as leaders of substantial influence emerged and the industry made rapid advances in design and technology. Major pioneers in aviation (the Wright brothers) and the automobile industry (Henry Ford) got their start as bicycle designers and mechanics, applying their expertise to new motorized forms of transportation.

The early industry gained its footing in the late 1870s when Colonel Albert Pope, a successful Boston industrialist, converted an old sewing machine factory into a bicycle plant. Pope set about building an empire, hiring skilled machinists and die makers to craft interchangeable parts, enabling him to make his high-wheel bicycles for a mass market. Pope also founded the leading bicycle publication, *Outing*, in 1882. The industry became embroiled in a series of bitter legal battles over patent rights in the mid-1880s, but in 1886 everything changed with a major innovation in bicycle design from Europe: the "safety" bicycle. The new style introduced chain-driven gearing, allowing inventors to replace the dangerous high-wheel design with two equally sized wheels and the now-standard diamond frame. These changes significantly increased the safety of bicycles without sacrificing speed, thus creating a much larger market for bicycles. After 1886 prices fell, democratizing what had once been an elite sport. Bicycle clubs sprouted, and the nation developed bicycle fever. Sales soared as comfort and speed improved, reaching a peak in 1897 when about three thousand American manufacturers sold an estimated two million bicycles.

The popularity of bicycles in the 1890s engendered heated debates over the decency of the fashionable machines. Advocates catalogued their benefits: economic growth, the freedom of the open road, a push for improved roads, increased contact with the outdoors, and the leveling influence of providing cheap transportation for the workingman. Critics, however, attacked bicycles as dangerous (because they upset horses), detrimental to the nervous system (because riding required concentration), and antithetical to religion (because so many people rode on Sundays). In addition, many critics questioned the propriety of women riding bicycles. Particularly scandalous to the skeptics was the tendency of women cyclists to discard their corsets and don bloomers in place of long skirts, but censors also reprimanded courting couples for using bicycles to get away from parental supervision and criticized women's rights advocates for emphasizing the emancipatory qualities of their machines.

By the turn of the century the bicycle craze abated and, despite an urban indoor track racing subculture that persisted until World War II using European imports, bicycles survived for a number of decades primarily as children's toys. The quality of bicycles, which found their major retail outlets between 1900 and 1930 in department stores, deteriorated substantially. Then, in 1931, the Schwinn bicycle company sparked a minor revolution in the industry by introducing the balloon tire, an innovation from motorcycle technology that replaced

one-piece inflatable tires with an outside tire coupled with a separate inner tube. The strength and comfort of these new tires could accommodate much heavier, sturdier frames, which could better withstand the use (and abuse) of children riders. Taking a cue from the 1933 Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago, a showcase for Art Deco styling, Schwinn inspired more than a decade of streamlined bicycles—and innumerable suburban childhood dreams of freedom and exhilaration—with its 1934 Aerocycle. Bicycle design changed again slightly in the mid-1940s when manufacturers began to capitalize on the baby boom market. Following the practice of the automobile industry, bicycle designers created their own version of planned obsolescence by styling bicycles differently to appeal to different age groups.

Beginning in the mid-1950s and early 1960s, bicycles again became popular among adults, this time as a healthy form of exercise and recreation. A turning point came in September of 1955, when President Dwight Eisenhower suffered a heart attack. His personal physician, Dr. Paul Dudley White, happened to be an avid cyclist who believed that bicycling provided significant cardiovascular benefits. When he prescribed an exercise regimen featuring a stationary bicycle for the president, the ensuing publicity generated a real, if small, increase in bicycling among adults. Small local racing clubs in California kept the idea of cycling as adult recreation alive through the 1950s, but not until the exercise chic of the 1960s spread from the West Coast to other parts of the country did adult bicycles become a significant proportion of all sales. Bicycle manufacturers responded by introducing European-style ten-speed gearing, focusing on racing, touring, and fitness in their marketing. The popularity of bicycling made modest gains through the 1970s and 1980s as racing and touring clubs gained membership and local bicycle competitions became more common around the country, including races called triathlons that mixed running, bicycling, and swimming.

Beginning in the early 1980s, a new breed of bicycles called “mountain bikes”—sturdy bicycles designed with fat, knobby tires and greater ground clearance for off-road riding—overtook the adult market with astonishing rapidity. The new breed of bicycles first reached a mass market in 1981, and by 1993 sales approached 8.5 million bicycles, capturing the large majority of the United States market. Earning substantial profits from booming sales, designers made rapid improvements in frame design and components that made new bicycles appreciably lighter and more reliable than older designs. Off-road races grew in number to rival the popularity of road racing, and professional races gained corporate sponsorship through the 1980s and 1990s. Somewhat ironically, however, only a small percentage of mountain bike owners take their bicycles off-road. Buyers seem to prefer their more comfortable, upright style compared to road racing machines, but use them almost exclusively on paved roads for exercise and eco-friendly short-distance transportation.

—Christopher W. Wells

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## The Big Apple

Among the great cities in the world—Paris, Chicago, or New Orleans, for example—none is better known by its nickname than New York City, “The Big Apple.” Paris may be “The City of Lights,” Chicago “The Windy City,” and New Orleans “The Big Easy,” but just mention “The Big Apple” and America’s metropolis immediately comes to mind. New York is the nation’s financial center, an entertainment, theater, and news capital, and the heart of the fashion and publishing industries. “The Big Apple,” meaning the biggest, best, and brightest, seems to fit quite nicely.

A number of theories exist regarding the origin of New York’s nickname. Some say it began as a term used in Harlem in the 1930s, meaning the biggest and best. Others have traced it to a dance craze called The Big Apple. The Museum of the City of New York found evidence in *The City in Slang*, a book published in 1995, of an earlier appearance. According to that book, a writer, Martin Wayfarer, used the term in 1909 as a metaphor to explain the vast wealth of New York compared to the rest of the nation. Wayfarer is cited as saying: “New York [was] merely one of the fruits of that great tree whose roots go down in the Mississippi Valley, and whose branches spread from one ocean to the other . . . [But] the big apple [New York City] gets a disproportionate share of the national sap.”

The term gained popularity in the 1920s after John J. FitzGerald, a newspaperman who wrote about horse racing, heard stable hands at a New Orleans track refer to the big-time racetracks in New York state as the Big Apple. FitzGerald called his racing column “Around the Big Apple,” which appeared in the *New York Morning Telegraph*. According to the Museum of the City of New York, FitzGerald’s February 18, 1924 column began: “The Big Apple. The dream of every lad that ever threw a leg over a thoroughbred and the goal of all horsemen. There’s only one Big Apple. That’s New York.”

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, musicians used the term to make the point that when they played in New York, they were playing in the big time, not small-town musical dates. Later, the term fell somewhat out of favor. In the 1970s, however, when the city was suffering financial problems, in an act of boosterism the New York Convention and Visitor’s Bureau revived the term. Charles Gillett, the president of the convention bureau, started a promotional campaign by getting comedians and sports stars to hand out little red “Big Apple” lapel pins. The symbol caught on and The Big Apple theme was established.

As for racing writer FitzGerald, his recognition for contributing to The Big Apple legend came in 1997 when New York City’s Historic Landmarks Preservation Center placed a plaque on the corner where FitzGerald had lived, West 54th Street and Broadway. The plaque bore the name “Big Apple Corner.”

—Michael L. Posner

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A view of the Big Apple from the New Jersey side of the Hudson River.

## Big Bands

The Big Band Era (roughly 1935 to 1945) witnessed the emergence of jazz music into the American mainstream at a time, according to *Metronome* magazine in 1943, “as important to American music as the time of Emerson and Thoreau and Whitman and Hawthorne and Melville was to American literature.” Big band music evolved from the various forms of African American music—blues, ragtime, and dixieland jazz—performed by black and white musicians such as Bessie Smith, Buddy Bolden, Jelly Roll Morton, Scott Joplin, W.C. Handy, and the Original Dixieland Jazz Band (ODJB). The frenetic, chaotic, and spontaneous nature of 1920s jazz influenced the large orchestras, like Paul Whiteman’s, that specialized in dance music. Four- and five-piece Dixieland bands became ten-piece bands such as Fletcher Henderson’s, and eventually the twenty piece bands of Benny Goodman and Duke Ellington. The music not only marked a synthesis of rural African American music and European light classical music, but its widespread acceptance expressed the larger national search for a uniquely American culture during the Great Depression and World War II.

In the early decades of the twentieth century, popular music was dominated by theatrical music, minstrel shows, and vaudeville, produced primarily in New York City’s Tin Pan Alley. The music

followed typical European conventions of melody, harmony, tone, and rhythm, with melody receiving priority over all else. Even minstrel shows conformed to these conventions of western music despite their claims to represent African American culture. Emphasis on the melody was reinforced by the preferential status of lyrics in Tin Pan Alley music. Both elements lent themselves well to the fact that this music was primarily sold as sheet music for individual home use. Simple melodies and arrangements with clever and timely lyrics did not depend on a specific type or quality of performance for their appreciation or consumption. As recorded music and radio broadcasts became more widespread and available, emphasis shifted to the specific character and quality of musical performance and to the greater use of popular music in social dancing, which had previously been relegated to the elite realm of ballroom dancing or the folk realm of square dancing and other folk dancing forms.

At the same time that the central characteristic of popular music shifted from composition to performance, African American music gained in exposure and influence on popular music. The first adaptations of black music to European instrumentation and form occurred in New Orleans as black musicians began playing a version of spirituals and field hollers on European band instruments such as trumpets and clarinets. Integrating marches into black music, and emphasizing improvisation over arrangement, jazz music developed

into three distinct forms, the blues (the form most closely aligned with traditional African American music), dixieland (marching band instruments performing polyphonic, improvisational music), and ragtime (a more structured version of dixieland for piano). Each of these musical styles did enjoy a measure of popularity, but mainly in watered-down form such as the Tin Pan Alley practice of “ragging” a song, best exemplified by Irving Berlin’s “Alexander’s Ragtime Band” (1911).

With World War I, and the military’s forced closure of Storyville, the official red light district of New Orleans where many jazz musicians found employment, jazz music moved to other urban areas such as Kansas City, Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles. As jazz music spread, the audience for jazz increased, encompassing a young white audience searching for music more dynamic than theatrical music, in addition to a larger black audience. This younger audience also favored music for dancing over home performances or staged performances and therefore appreciated the largely instrumental and rhythmic nature of jazz. With this growing audience, bands grew to include sections of instruments instead of the traditional dixieland arrangement of four or five soloists. Louis Armstrong and Fletcher Henderson pioneered the larger band format by creating multiple trumpet and trombone parts, as well as multiple reeds (clarinet, alto, and tenor saxophones) and rhythm parts. In 1924, Henderson’s pathbreaking Roseland Ballroom Orchestra consisted of eleven players, including Coleman Hawkins, Don Redman, and Louis Armstrong. In 1927, the upscale Harlem nightclub, the Cotton Club, hired Duke Ellington and his band; Ellington created an orchestra and jazz style with his own compositions, arrangements, and direction. Ellington’s Cotton Club Orchestra reached an avant-garde white audience and sparked the careers of other black bands as well as the creation of white bands playing jazz music, such as Benny Goodman’s.

In August of 1935, Benny Goodman ushered in the “Swing Era” when he ended a national tour with his band at the Palomar Ballroom in Los Angeles. After receiving only lukewarm responses from audiences across the country, Goodman filled the final show of the tour with “hot” arrangements by Fletcher Henderson, as opposed to the more “acceptable” dance tunes of other orchestras. The young L.A. audience went crazy over the music and by the time Goodman returned to New York in 1936 he had been named “The King of Swing.” The early 1930s had been hard times for jazz musicians since many civic leaders, music critics, and clergy cited the “primitive” nature of jazz music as part of the cultural decline responsible for the Great Depression. Selective use of jazz idioms, such as George Gershwin’s symphonic piece “Rhapsody in Blue” (1924) and opera “Porgy and Bess” (1935), did gain respectability and praise for creating a uniquely American musical language, but “pure” jazz, even played by white musicians, was unacceptable. This thinking changed with the success of Benny Goodman and several other newly formed bands such as the Dorsey Brothers (with Glenn Miller as trombonist and arranger), Charlie Barnet, Jimmy Lunceford, Chick Webb, and Bob Crosby.

While live performances were the mainstay of big bands, many were able to increase their audiences through radio shows sponsored by companies eager to tap the youth market. Camel Cigarettes sponsored Benny Goodman and Bob Crosby; Chesterfield sponsored Hal Kemp, Glenn Miller, and Harry James. Philip Morris sponsored Horace Heidt; Raleigh sponsored Tommy Dorsey; Wildroot Cream Oil presented Woody Herman; and Coca-Cola sponsored a spotlight show featuring a variety of bands. Juke boxes also provided a way for

young people to access the music of the big bands, in many cases outside of parental control. Even movie theaters, searching for ways to increase declining depression audiences, booked bands which usually played after several “B” movies. In both dance halls and auditoriums, big bands attracted screaming, writhing crowds, who not only danced differently than their parents, but started dressing differently, most notably with the emergence of the Zoot suit. As big band music became more popular and lucrative, organized resistance to it declined, although it never disappeared. Respectability came in 1938 with the first appearance of a swing band at Carnegie Hall in New York, the bastion of respectable classical music. Benny Goodman and orchestra appeared in tuxedos and performed, among other songs, the lengthy and elaborate, “Sing, Sing, Sing,” which included drum solos by Gene Krupa.

The success of these bands, which usually featured about a dozen or more players along with vocalists, allowed band leaders to experiment with more jazz-influenced arrangements and longer sections of improvised solos between the highly arranged “riffs” and melodies. The music was still primarily for dancing, and the youthful audience demanded a more upbeat music to accompany its newer, more athletic style of jitterbug dancing, like the “Lindy Hop,” named for record-breaking pilot Charles Lindbergh. The *New York Times*, in 1939, recognized this new music as a form of music specifically representative of a youth culture. “Swing is the voice of youth striving to be heard in this fast-moving world of ours. Swing is the tempo of our time. Swing is real. Swing is alive.” Lewis A. Erenberg in *Swingin’ the Dream: Big Band Jazz and the Rebirth of American Culture*, sees swing music as an expression of youth culture which connects the youth culture of the 1920s to that of the 1950s. Not only did swing music and the big bands reinforce a new expressiveness among American youth, but big bands also crossed the color line by bringing black and white audiences together and through integrating the bands themselves, as Benny Goodman did in 1936 when he hired Teddy Wilson as his pianist. Even though most sponsored radio was segregated, audiences listening to Goodman’s broadcast would often hear black musicians such as Lionel Hampton, Ella Fitzgerald, Count Basie, and Billie Holiday. In addition, remote broadcasts from Harlem’s Cotton Club, Savoy Ballroom, and the Apollo Theater, while not national, found syndication to a primarily young, white, late-night audience. Big band swing music was, according to historian David W. Stowe in *Swing Changes: Big-Band Jazz in New Deal America*, “the preeminent musical expression of the New Deal: a cultural form of ‘the people,’ accessible, inclusive, distinctly democratic, and thus distinctly American.” He further states that “swing served to bridge polarities of race, of ideology, and of high and low culture.” As the most popular form of music during the Depression and World War II, swing music took advantage of newly developed and fast-spreading technologies such as radio, records, and film (many bands filmed performances which were shown, along with newsreels and serials, as part of a motion picture bill). Much of its appeal to young people was its newness—new arrangements of instruments, new musical elements, new rhythm and tempo, all using the newest media.

The big bands consisted of four sections: saxophones, trumpets, trombones, and rhythm section, in addition to vocalists (soloists, groups, or both). The saxophone section usually consisted of three to five players on soprano, alto, tenor, and baritone saxophones and doubling on clarinet and flute. The trumpet and trombones sections each consisted of three or four members, and the rhythm section



consisted of piano, string bass, drums, and sometimes guitar. In most big band arrangements, sections played rhythmically unified and harmonically diverse parts. While one section played the melody, other sections would provide accented “riffs,” short musical motifs repeated by one section. Arrangements often introduced riffs, highlighting one after another, culminating in all the riffs being played simultaneously in a polyphonic climax. These arrangements mimic the form of dixieland jazz, but since sections instead of soloists were involved, the music had to be highly arranged and written and not improvised. White bands, such as Goodman, Miller, and Herman’s, became known for their elaborate arrangements in songs like “Sing, Sing, Sing,” “In The Mood,” and “Woodchoppers Ball.” Black Bands, such as Ellington, Cab Calloway, and Count Basie, became known for a more driving beat and greater use of improvisation in songs like, “Take the ‘A’ Train,” “Minnie the Moocher,” and “Taxi War Dance.”

In addition to bringing more jazz influences into mainstream American music, the big bands also developed some new techniques. Duke Ellington trumpeter Bubber Miley was the first horn player to place the working end of a plumber’s helper over his trumpet’s bell to create a “wah-wah” effect. Swing music also favored a “four-beat” style in which emphasis was placed on all four beats per bar, while older styles of jazz favored a “two-beat” style. By combining elements of theatrical Tin Pan Alley style music, dance music, and jazz, the big bands developed a music which was acceptable to a widespread audience, while integrating elements of African American culture into the American mainstream. Many jazz purists see the big band era as a time of jazzmen “selling out” to commercialism and a period of creative stagnation, especially in light of the development of bebop, cool jazz, and fusion music in the late 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.

The swing era ended as a result of the effects of World War II on American society. The human toll of war dwindled the ranks of the big bands, with notable losses like the death of Glenn Miller during a concert tour for the troops. The end of wartime restrictions on recorded music, and new developments in recording technology, electric guitars, and radio led to the development of smaller groups and a greater emphasis on singers over musicians. The growth of the postwar baby boom generation created a market for music which, like the swing music of their parents, was reinvigorated with elements of African American music. Swing music, with the use of electric guitars and infused with a blues tonality, became rock and roll music.

Big band music has continued to attract an audience, not only in the United States, but around the world. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, bands such as the Toshiko Akihoshi-Lew Tabackin continued to further the big band sound, while Stan Kenton integrated third-stream influences into his arrangements by adding strings, french horns, and various percussion instruments, and Maynard Ferguson incorporated jazz/rock fusion elements into his compositions. Big band swing music has enjoyed its greatest resurgence in the late 1990s with the newer, and mainly smaller, bands such as Big Bad VooDoo Daddy, Royal Crown Revue (“Hey Pachuco”), Cherry Poppin’ Daddies (“Zoot Suit Riot”), and Squirrel Nut Zippers. Former rockabilly guitarist Brian Setzer, of the Stray Cats, formed his own big band using the same instrumentation as the most popular big bands of the swing era, and scored a hit with Louis Prima’s “Jump, Jive, and Wail.”

—Charles J. Shindo

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## Big Bopper (1930-1959)

Moderately famous during his lifetime, recording artist J. P. (Jiles Perry) Richardson, better known as the Big Bopper, gained lasting notoriety through his death in the airplane crash that killed Buddy Holly and Ritchie Valens near Mason City, Iowa.

Richardson was a successful disc jockey in Beaumont, Texas, and a locally known songwriter and performer when he was discovered by a Mercury Records producer. Half-spoken, half-sung recordings of “Chantilly Lace” and “The Big Bopper’s Wedding” made it to the Top 40 during 1958 (the former to the Top Ten), while other songs written by Richardson were recorded by more established artists.

He became a familiar fixture on rock and roll tours. It was during a midwestern tour that a chartered airplane carrying three of the headliners crashed shortly after takeoff on February 3, 1959, subsequently called “the day the music died” in Don McLean’s song “American Pie.”

—David Lonergan

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## Big Little Books

The 1932 debut of Big Little Books was an important harbinger of the direction marketing to children would take in the future. The first inexpensive books available for children, Big Little Books were a precursor to the comics and such series as the Golden Books. The books were sold in dime stores such as Kresge and Woolworth where children could purchase them with their own spending money.

The Whitman Company, a subsidiary of the Western Publishing Company of Racine, Wisconsin, published the books. The first of the Big Little Books was *The Adventures of Dick Tracy Detective*, which was published in 1932. Mickey Mouse, Donald Duck, Orphan Annie, Popeye, Buck Rogers, Don Winslow, and Tarzan were among the many additional heroes. The popularity of the books had other publishers, such as Saalfield Publishing, Engel Van Wiseman, and

Lynn Publishing, soon producing their own similar series. Approximately 508 Big Little Books were published between 1932 and 1949, but in the late 1930s the name changed to Better Little Books.

In pre-television days, Big Little Books provided the popular “action hero” and “girl” stories for school age children. Eventually the line was expanded to include retellings of classical literature such as *Little Women* and *The Three Musketeers*, cartoon characters from the popular funny papers, and even heroes and heroines taken from radio and movies, such as two books about Mickey Rooney. The books continued to be published into the 1970s, but, once comic books and other children’s book series had come onto the market, were never as popular as they had been in the 1930s and 1940s.

In the 1990s Big Little Books were considered a collector’s item. Because the printing sizes varied with individual titles, some are scarcer than others and therefore, more valuable. Another factor affecting their value is their condition. Among the most sought after are *The Big Little Mother Goose* and the Whitman-produced premiums from cereal boxes and other products.

—Robin Lent

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## The Big Sleep

In *The Simple Act of Murder* (1935) Raymond Chandler (1888-1959), one of America’s premier hard-boiled novelists, wrote of his detective hero, Philip Marlowe, “. . . down these mean streets a man must go who is not himself mean, who is neither tarnished nor afraid. The detective in this kind of story must be such a man. He is the hero; he is everything.” Unlike James M. Cain and other hard-boiled novelists of his time, Chandler was a romantic whose famous detective was a knight in slightly battered armor. Marlowe appears in Chandler’s four most famous novels, *The Big Sleep* (1939), *Farewell My Lovely* (1940), *The Lady in the Lake* (1943), and *The Long Goodbye* (1953) as well as several lesser known works. Philip Marlowe was a character made for Hollywood: street smart, wise cracking but ultimately an honorable man—a prototype for the American detective hero ever since. Several of Chandler’s stories, including *The Big Sleep*, were made into Hollywood movies, some more than once.

In *The Big Sleep* Marlowe is hired by wealthy General Sternwood to track down a blackmailer who is trying to extort money out of him with nude pictures of his daughter Carmen. From this rather simple beginning, Marlowe is led into a tangled world of sexual perversion, drug addiction, murder, and deceit. The plot of *The Big Sleep* is complex, leading Howard Hawks, the first and most successful of the filmmakers to adapt it for the movies, to say that he never did

understand who killed one of the characters—and when he telegraphed Chandler for clarification, Chandler himself was unable to provide a definitive answer.

The world of *The Big Sleep* has much in common with the world in other hard-boiled novels and films noir. It is a dark world full of violent and twisted men and women—often the most beautiful and charming are the most savage of all. Chandler’s description of Carmen Sternwood is instructive: “She came over near me and smiled with her mouth and she had little sharp predatory teeth.” Even Carmen’s father describes her as “a child who likes to pull the wings off flies.”

What sets Chandler apart from other hard-boiled writers is that his work has a moral center in the honorable Marlowe who always prevails in the end—beaten up, disappointed, and cynical, but at the heart of a universe which has a moral standard no matter how threatened it is. Other novels in this genre, like *Double Indemnity*, are less reassuring on this score.

Howard Hawks cast Humphrey Bogart, one of Hollywood’s most famous tough guys, as Marlowe. No one has played Marlowe as successfully as Bogart, who had a world weary face and a suitably sarcastic delivery on such classic Chandler lines as “I’m thirty-three years old, went to college once, and can still speak English if there’s any demand for it. There isn’t much in my trade.”

Hawks’ *The Big Sleep* (1946) is better realized than the Michael Winner version in 1978 which starred Robert Mitchum and is set not in California (where many hard-boiled novels and films are set, and from which they take their flavor), but in London of the 1970s. However, the main problem with Hawks’ version, which has generated a good deal of critical interest on its own, is that it ends with Marlowe and Vivian Sternwood falling in love; in the novel Marlowe is the archetypal loner—he must stand apart from the world and its corruption. In true Hollywood fashion this change was made to capitalize on the real world relationship between Bogart and Lauren Bacall, who was cast as Vivian (Bogart left his wife for the very young Bacall during this time, causing a mild Hollywood scandal). This fiscally motivated plot change, however, weakens the noir aspect of the film, and along with the changes which the censorship laws of the era demanded, makes it a far less disturbing experience than the novel.

In some ways *The Big Sleep* seems to be unpromising material for Hawks, who tended to make either action films or comedies. Unlike Fritz Lang and Billy Wilder, who came to film noir from the downbeat German Expressionist cinema of the 1920s, Hawks’ cinema is an optimistic one, filled with action, charm, sly humor, and characters who value professionalism and who are “good enough” to get a job done. Analyses of the adaptation of novels to films, however, often founder on arguments about the faithfulness of the adaptation. The film is a new work with virtues of its own and as David Thomson writes, Hawks’ version is vastly different than Chandler’s original in that it “inaugurates a post-modern, camp, satirical view of movies being about other movies that extends to the New Wave and *Pulp Fiction*.”

—Jeannette Sloniowski

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Lauren Bacall and Humphrey Bogart in a scene from the film *The Big Sleep*.

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## Bigfoot

The North American equivalent of the legendary "Abominable Snowman" or Yeti of the Himalayas, "Bigfoot," whether he exists or not, has been a part of American popular culture since the late 1950s, with isolated reports stretching back even earlier. Bigfoot, also known as "Sasquatch" in Canada, is the generic name for an

unknown species of giant, hair-covered hominids that may or may not roam the forests and mountains of the American Northwest and the Alberta and British Columbia regions of Canada. According to a synthesis of hundreds of eyewitness sightings over the years, the creatures are bipedal, anywhere between seven to nine feet tall (with a few specimens reportedly even taller), and completely covered in black or reddish hair. They appear to be a hybrid of human and ape characteristics. Also, they are omnivorous and usually solitary. On occasion, they leave behind enormous footprints (hence the name "Bigfoot"), measuring roughly between 16 and 20 inches. Cryptozoologists (those who study animals still unknown to science) hold out at least some hope that Bigfoot, hidden away in the last really undeveloped wilderness areas of North America, may yet prove to be a reality and not merely a folk legend.

Hairy hominids have been reported in nearly every state in the nation. However, classic American Bigfoot sightings are typically confined to northern California, Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. Additionally, sightings outside of this region often involve some paranormal or supernatural overtones; by contrast, the Pacific Northwest Bigfoot seems decidedly flesh and blood, if elusive. Advocates of Bigfoot's existence often begin by pointing back to Native American legends of human-like giants, such as the Wendigo of the Algonkians, in the forests of these regions. The alleged capture of a

small Sasquatch (or escaped chimpanzee) named “Jacko” as reported in the British Columbia newspaper the *Daily British Colonist* in 1884 marks the introduction of Bigfoot to the modern mass media age. In the first few years of the 1900s, a spate of published eyewitness reports of Sasquatches in Canada grabbed attention throughout the Northwest. During the 1930s, the popular British Columbian writer J.W. Burns wrote about a Sasquatch who was a giant, atavistic Indian. However, it was not until 1958 that newspaper accounts of large, human-like footprints discovered by a bulldozer operator named Jerry Crew near a construction site in Willow Creek, California, popularized the term “Bigfoot” for the rest of America. At approximately the same time, a man from British Columbia named Albert Ostman made public his story of being kidnapped and held captive for six days by a group of Sasquatches back in 1924. Ostman only managed to escape, he claimed, when the Sasquatches became sick on his chewing tobacco. Over the years, in spite of skeptical questioning by a number of renowned cryptozoologists, Ostman stuck to his seemingly incredible story.

With the explosion of Bigfoot into public awareness, a number of investigators took to the American northwest to find anecdotal or physical evidence of the existence of the unknown hominid species. Some of the most famous of these investigators were Rene Dahinden, John Green, and Ivan T. Sanderson. The decade of the 1960s was somewhat of a “golden era” in the hunt for Bigfoot, when the mystery was new enough to most Americans to capture widespread interest and just plausible enough for many minds to remain open on the subject. Literally hundreds of eyewitness reports were collected and published in the many popular books written by these investigators. One of the most dramatic of the reports described a terrifying nocturnal attack by “apemen” upon miners in a remote cabin near Mt. St. Helens back in 1924. (The story has since been discredited.)

But by far the most sensational—and hotly disputed—physical evidence of that period is the 28-second, 16-millimeter film taken in 1967 by Roger Patterson in the Bluff Creek area of the Six Rivers

National Forest in California. The film shows what appears to be a female Bigfoot striding away from Patterson’s camera. Patterson, accompanied by Bob Gimlin, had taken to the woods in a specific attempt to find and photograph the elusive Bigfoot—a fact which was not lost upon the film’s numerous skeptics. However, if the film is a hoax, no one has ever confessed or turned up with a female Bigfoot suit. Frame-by-frame analysis and extensive investigation of the site and the backgrounds of the men involved has so far failed to provide conclusive evidence of deception. Patterson died in 1972, still insisting that he had filmed the real thing. Other Bigfoot films have surfaced from time to time, but unlike Patterson’s, most of them have been clearly bogus.

In the early 1970s, a series of popular books and documentaries about Bigfoot appeared and further ensured the cultural longevity of the phenomenon. Inevitably, Bigfoot became a tourist draw for some areas in the Pacific Northwest, and towns and businesses were quick to capitalize upon the name. A few highly publicized expeditions to find and/or capture Bigfoot met with no success. Since that time, the media furor over Bigfoot has subsided, but occasional reports still gain widespread publicity. For example, a sighting in the Umatilla National Forest in Washington in 1982 led to the collection of numerous plaster casts of alleged Bigfoot tracks. A respected anthropologist from Washington State University named Grover Krantz argued for the tracks’ authenticity, although other scientists remained unconvinced. The skepticism of the scientific community notwithstanding, Krantz and primatologist John Napier still remain open to the possibility that Bigfoot is more than a legend and mass delusion. For the most part, however, the case for Bigfoot’s existence has departed from the front pages and now remains in the keeping of a small number of dedicated investigators prowling through the Northwest woods with plaster and cameras and in some cases tranquilizer darts, ready to make cryptozoological history by presenting the scientific and journalistic world with irrefutable proof of America’s mysterious apeman.

—Philip L. Simpson

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## Bilingual Education

Bilingual education developed into a particularly contentious topic for defining American identity in the twentieth century. While federal legislation since the 1960s has recognized the United States as a multilingual nation, the professed long-range goal of institutionalized bilingual education was not that students should achieve

bilingualism but proficiency in English. The vast majority of bilingual education programs were considered “transitional,” functioning to introduce younger students with limited English-speaking ability into the general education curriculum where English served historically as the language of instruction. Many bilingual programs were taught principally either in English or in the primary language of the student. However, by the end of the twentieth century, federally funded programs had begun to favor instruction in both English and the primary language, an apparent departure from the goal of achieving proficiency in a single language.

The country’s continued difficulty through the late twentieth century in educating immigrant children, mostly from Spanish-speaking countries, forced the federal legislature to institutionalize bilingual education. Following the passage of the Civil Rights Act (1964), Congress passed the Bilingual Education Act (1968), providing the first federal funds for bilingual education. The federal government elaborated its guidelines in the amended Bilingual Education Act of 1974, the same year the Supreme Court rendered its landmark *Lau vs. Nichols* decision, ruling that instructing students in a language they do not understand violates the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution.

“Bilingual” was often interpreted as “bicultural,” suggesting that the question of bilingual education belonged to a broader debate over the efficacy of a polyglot society. The discussion in the United States focused on the progress of social mobility and the development of a unique American culture. For many, proficiency in English appeared to facilitate social advancement and incorporation into a mainstream culture despite that culture’s multifaceted character. The letters of J. Hector St. Jean de Crèvecoeur in the late eighteenth century and Alexis de Tocqueville’s published travels *Democracy in America* in 1835 contributed to an understanding of American culture as a “melting pot” of ethnicity. This identity became increasingly complex with the country’s continued expansion through the nineteenth century and increasingly vexed with the rise of nationalism in the post bellum era. The nationalist urgency to homogenize the nation after the Civil War, accompanied by notions of Anglo-Saxon supremacy and the advent of eugenics, forced further eruptions of nationalist sentiment, including loud, jingoist cries for a single national language after the first World War. However, by the middle of the twentieth century, efforts to empower underrepresented communities contributed to an increased public interest in multiculturalism and ethnocentric agendas. A dramatic increase in immigration from Spanish-speaking countries during the second half of the twentieth century finally motivated the United States to institutionalize bilingual education.

But the strong opposition to the bilingual education legislation of the early 1970s, expressed in the influential editorial pages of the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* between 1975 and 1976, suggested that bilingual programs never enjoyed overwhelming public support. The articulate arguments of Richard Rodriguez, an editor at the Pacific News Service and author of *Hunger for Memory* (1982), contributed to this opposition by distinguishing between private (primary language) and public (English) language while influential figures like Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., author of *The Disuniting of America* (1992), documented an increased national disenchantment with multiculturalism and bilingual education.

Discussions of bilingual education more often centered on Latino communities in metropolitan areas such as Miami, Los Angeles, and New York. But the debate was not exclusively Latino. The

*Lau vs. Nichols* verdict, which involved a Chinese-speaking student, along with the advent of post-Vietnam War Asian immigration, suggested that the debate was relevant to other communities in the country. Similar interests were present in localized but nationally observed efforts to incorporate the language of a surrounding community into a school’s curriculum. A particularly contentious and widely publicized debate arose over “Ebonics” in Oakland, California, in the early 1990s. Due in part to increasing black nationalism among African American intellectuals, prominent national political figures such as Reverend Jesse Jackson endorsed the incorporation of the local dialect and vernacular variations of language into the curriculum, while figures such as Harvard sociologist Cornel West and Harvard literary and social critic Henry Louis Gates, Jr., suggested that such programs lead to black ghettoization.

California showcased a national concern about bilingual education at the end of the twentieth century. Bilingual education became increasingly contentious in the state in the late 1990s with the passage of a proposition eliminating bilingual instruction. Approval of the initiative occurred in the shadow of two earlier state propositions and a vote by the regents of University of California to effectively terminate Affirmative Action, acts widely perceived in some underrepresented communities as attacks directed at Latino and immigrant communities. Bilingual programs enjoyed public support in cities with wide and long established minority political bases, such as Miami, where they were viewed as beneficial to developing international economies, but California continued to focus the debate primarily on social and cultural concerns.

—Roberto Alvarez

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## Billboards

From simple barnside advertisements and other billboard techniques of the early 1900s, to today’s huge high-tech creations on Los Angeles’ Sunset Strip, billboards and outdoor advertising have been an integral part of both the landscape and the consciousness of America since the evolution of the American car culture of the early twentieth century.

Like many twentieth-century phenomena, the modern advertising spectacle, which the French have termed *gigantisme*, actually dates back to ancient times and the great obelisks of Egypt. By the late 1400s billboarding, or the mounting of promotional posters in conspicuous public places, had become an accepted practice in Europe. Wide-scale visual advertising came into its own with the invention of lithography in 1796, and by 1870 was further advanced by the technological progress of the Industrial Revolution.



A billboard in Birmingham, Alabama, 1937.

In America early advertising techniques were relatively naive, involving melodramatic situations, body ills, hygiene, and testimonials. Even so, the impact of subliminal suggestion was not unknown, and merchandising through association, with glamour, prestige, sex, and celebrities being the most popular ploys, was discovered early on. Thus, with few variations, the tenets of modern advertising were firmly in place by the twentieth century.

Predecessors of the modern billboard were posters for medicine shows, theatrical troupes, and spots events, and especially famous were those showing exaggerated versions of Barnum and Bailey's circus and Wild West acts. Initially no legal restrictions were placed on the posting of signs, and billboarding became part of the early entertainment world, with representatives traveling ahead of companies and competitively selecting choice locations which were then rented or leased. Thus these poster salesmen became the first pioneers of the outdoor advertising industry.

By the turn of the twentieth century, economic growth peaked in both Europe and America, creating new markets for both products and information. With the development of the automobile in the early 1900s, the stage was set for the rise of the roadside billboard. Sally Henderson notes: "An intense connection between the automobile, auto travel, and the outdoor poster (or billboard) was the natural outcome of a society in which individuals were becoming increasingly mobile. The outdoor ad had been waiting all along for the one product to come along that would change the world's habits, styles of living, and advertising modes: the automobile."

Early billboards were fairly austere, really posters with some kind of framing effect, but with the 1920s both design and the

billboard setting (or frame) developed along more aesthetic lines. The focus of a deluxe 1920s billboard was colorful and ornate illustration, in a stylized but usually realistic (if idealized) mode. Product names were emphasized; and messages, if any, were understated and concise. Frames were wooden, mostly painted white, and often mounted on a base of lattice-work panels. Elaborate set-ups included end supports in the form of female figures. These were similar to the caryatid figures found in Greek architecture and were called lizzies. Billboards in the 1920s might also be highly accessorized, including shaded electric light fixtures and illuminated globes, picket fences, and a plot of flowers.

While the first fully electrical billboards appeared in New York in 1891, standard billboard style did not really change a great deal until the 1950s, though with World War II advertisers promoted war bonds along with products, not only out of patriotism, but because they were also given tax breaks to do so. Propagandistic visions of battleships, explosive war scenes, along with promises for a brighter, better tomorrow (to be provided, of course, by the products of the companies sponsoring the billboards) shared space with familiar commercial trademarks during World War II.

In the affluent post war 1950s, an age of cultural paradox when social values were being both embraced and questioned, outdoor advertising finally entered the modern age. A burgeoning youth market also first emerged during this decade, and all these mixed trends were reflected in mass advertising that was both more innovative and less realistic. The 1950s were the "Golden Age of Paint." Painting made possible bigger, glossier presentations, enabling billboards (like the 3-D movies of the early 1950s) to transcend their flat surfaces, as TWA (Trans World Airlines) planes and Greyhound buses suddenly seemed to emerge from the previously circumscribed space of the traditional billboard.

Youth culture in the 1950s exploded into the mid-1960s psychedelic era, and was reflected in the color-drenched surrealism and Op Art effects of billboards now aimed at the under 30 generation, whose ruling passions were fashion, sexuality, and entertainment. Billboards increasingly suggested gigantic recreations of rock LP jackets, and (like certain album covers) sometimes did not even mention the name of the group or product. The Pop Art movement, an ironic, but wry comment on an increasingly materialistic society, blurred the distinction between the fine and commercial arts, and billboards, along with Campbell's soup cans, were considered worthy of critical appraisal. Evolving out of the youth mania was the young adult singles market, and images of the wholesome American family gave way to solo visions of the ruggedly independent Marlboro man and the sexy Black Velvet woman.

As 1970s consumerism replaced 1960s idealism another art movement, Photorealism, became an important element of outdoor advertising, as billboards came to resemble huge, meticulously detailed Photorealist paintings. In the 1980s and 1990s, the failure of any influential art movement to emerge after Photorealism, or indeed the absence of any discernible cultural movements comparable to those of the 1950s or 1960s, contributed to the increasingly generic, if admittedly grandiose high-tech quality of much mainstream advertising. Cued by rapid changes in signage laws and property ownership, a movable billboard was developed in the 1980s. Inflatables, both attached to signs (such as a killer whale crashing through a Marineland billboard) and free-standing like huge Claes Oldenburg soft sculptures, have heightened the surreality of modern life with advertising in three-dimensions.

While some critics view billboards as outdoor art and socio-cultural barometers, concern over the environment and anti-billboard lobbying commenced in the late 1950s, and a 1963 study drew the first connection between the prominent placement of billboards along the New York State Thruway and traffic accidents. Certain minimal standards were established, and today's most grandiose billboards are confined to urban districts such as New York's Times Square, and the Las Vegas and Los Angeles strips, modern meccas whose identities have been virtually defined by the blatant flaunting of their flashy commercial accouterments. But Sally Henderson has also called Los Angeles' famed Sunset Strip "a drive-through gallery, a lesson in contemporary art . . . a twentieth-century art experience, quick and to the point." In the entertainment capital of the world, however, a billboard on the Strip remains as much a gigantic status symbol as an advertising tool or Pop Art artifact.

Pop Art or visual pollution, the outcry against billboards of previous decades has subsided into stoic acceptance of an inescapable tool of capitalism, and one which relentlessly both tells and shows the public that the best things in life are emphatically not free (though actual prices remain conspicuously absent from most billboards). In a unique instance of one pervasive visual medium being used as an effective signifying device within another, however, critical comment on billboards has been immortalized in the movies. Billboards in films are often seen as characteristic signifiers of the ills and ironies of both the American landscape, and the American Dream itself.

In a more optimistic mode, older film musicals used electrical billboards to symbolize the glamour of the big city and stardom. *Singin' in the Rain* (1952) climaxes with a ballet in which a vast set composed of towering Broadway electric signs suddenly blazes to life to illuminate Gene Kelly, who had previously been isolated in darkness. While a visually spectacular moment, the shot also signifies that aspiring dancer Kelly has finally "arrived" at the apex of his dreams. The same message is reenforced at the film's end when Kelly and Debbie Reynolds are seen standing in front of a billboard that mirrors the couple in an advertisement for their first starring roles in a big movie musical. In a more satirical vein, *It Should Happen to You's* (1954) Judy Holliday makes a name for herself by plastering her moniker on a Columbus Circle billboard. The concept of the film was allegedly based on a real publicity stunt by Mamie Van Doren's agent, and similar billboards promoting Angelyne, a "personality" with no discernible talent or occupation, are still fixtures of modern day Los Angeles.

In later films, billboards were employed as an instantly recognizable symbol of a materialistic culture that constantly dangles visions of affluence in front of characters (and thus a public) who are then programmed for a struggle to achieve it. *No Down Payment* (1957), an exposé of suburban life, opens with shots of billboards hawking real Los Angeles housing developments, while glamorous but Musak-like music plays on the soundtrack. *No Down Payment* was among the first spate of 1950s films shot in CinemaScope, and the opening images of huge California billboards draw a perhaps unintentional parallel between the shape and scale of the American billboard, and the huge new wide-screen projection process that Hollywood hoped would lure patrons away from their new television sets and back into movie theaters.

Billboards are used to even more cynical effect in *Midnight Cowboy* (1969). With an outsider's sharp eye for the visual clutter of the American landscape, British director John Schlesinger (who had already shown keen awareness of the ironies of modern advertising in *Darling*, 1965) uses American billboards throughout the film as an

ironic counterpoint to a depressing saga of a naive Texan who aspires to make it as a hustler in the big city. Billboards cue flashbacks to Joe Buck's troubled past life on his bus journey to New York, taunt him with images of affluence as he later wanders destitute through the mean streets of the city, and finally, on their bus journey south at the end of the film, cruelly tantalize both Joe and his ailing companion, Ratso Rizzo, with glossy images of a paradisaical Florida which one of them will not live to see.

One of the more bizarre uses of billboard *gigantisme* in modern cinema is *Boccaccio '70* (1962), which also offers a wickedly sly comment on the obsessive use of larger-than-life sexual symbolism in modern outdoor advertising. In the Fellini "Temptation of Dr. Antonio" episode a gigantic figure of Anita Ekberg comes to life and steps down from a billboard on which the puritanical doctor has been obsessing to erotically torment him to the strains of an inane jingle imploring the public to "drink more milk!"

—Ross Care

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## The Bionic Woman

One of the first female superheroes on prime-time television, the Bionic Woman originated as a character on the popular show *The Six Million Dollar Man*. The Bionic Woman was created on that show when Steve Austin's fiancée suffered a near-fatal parachute accident and was rebuilt with a bionic arm, legs, and ear. Her nuclear-powered prostheses gave her super strength, speed, and hearing, which complimented Steve Austin's bionic powers as they solved crimes and wrongdoings together. Lindsey Wagner starred as the bionic Jamie Sommers and parlayed the Bionic Woman's guest spots on *The Six Million Dollar Man* into a two-year run in her own series, which ran from 1976 to 1978, and later, years of syndication. *The Bionic Woman* could be seen on cable television in the late 1990s.

—P. Andrew Miller

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## Bird, Larry (1956—)

Born in 1956 and raised in rural Indiana—a place where basketball has been popular as a spectator sport since the 1910s and 1920s, well before the establishment of successful professional leagues in the 1940s—Larry Bird emerged as one of the premiere sports superstars



Lindsey Wagner in a scene from *The Bionic Woman*.

of the 1980s, as well as one of the most marketable athletes in the National Basketball Association (NBA). Often credited with helping to revive a then-troubled league—along with Earvin “Magic” Johnson—Bird’s discipline, unselfish playing style, and enthusiasm for the game made him a hero to basketball fans around the world and a driving force in the NBA’s growth.

Bird attained celebrity early in his career; four thousand people, twice the population of his hometown of French Lick, Indiana, attended his final high school game there in 1974. After a short stint at Indiana University, Bird left to play for the Indiana State Sycamores in 1975. During his college career, season ticket sales for the formerly-lagging Sycamores tripled. His college years culminated in a host of honors for Bird, who finished college as the fifth highest scorer in college basketball history. He was named the College Player of the Year (1978-1979), and led his team to a number one ranking and the national championship game. This game, which the Sycamores lost to Earvin “Magic” Johnson’s Michigan State team, marked the beginning of the Bird-Johnson rivalry that would electrify professional basketball for the next 12 years.

Originally drafted by the Boston Celtics while he was still in college, Bird joined the team in the 1979-1980 season and proceeded

to lead it to one of the most dramatic single-season turnarounds in league history. The year before his NBA debut, the Celtics had won only 29 games and did not qualify for the league playoffs; the 1979-1980 team won 61 games and finished at the top of the Atlantic Division. Bird’s accomplishments as a player are remarkable: he was named the NBA’s Most Valuable Player in 1984, 1985, and 1986; he played on the Eastern Conference All-Star team for 12 of his 13 pro seasons; he led his team to NBA Championships in 1981, 1984, and 1986; and he won a gold medal in the 1992 Barcelona Olympics as a member of the “Dream Team” (an elite group that also featured his rival, Johnson, as well as Michael Jordan and other superstar players). Hobbled by back injuries and absent from many games in his last two seasons, Bird retired from basketball in 1992. He was inducted into the NBA Hall of Fame on October 2, 1998.

Contributing to the growing prosperity of the NBA in the 1980s and to its emergence as a popular and profitable segment of the entertainment industry were several factors, not least of which were the marketing efforts of league commissioner David Stern. The league used the appeal of its top stars—especially Bird, Johnson, and Jordan—to market itself to fans. Another factor in the league’s growth was the fan interest triggered by the intense rivalry between the league’s top two teams, the Celtics and the Los Angeles Lakers, which happened to be led by the league’s top two players, Bird and Johnson. The Celtics and Lakers met in the NBA Finals three times in the mid-1980s, the excitement of their rivalry being amplified by the charisma of Bird and Johnson; the historic competition between the two teams in the 1960s; and the contrast between their two fundamentally different styles of basketball—East Coast fundamentals vs. West Coast razzle-dazzle.

As Bird and Johnson became the league’s brightest stars and as their teams won championships, they helped the NBA to embark on a new era of soaring attendance, sold-out games, escalating salaries, and lucrative television and sponsorship deals in which the players themselves became heavily marketed international celebrities. Increasing both his own income and his stake with fans, Bird appeared in television commercials for several companies, most prominently McDonalds and Converse Shoes.

In order to allow the Celtics and Lakers to keep Bird and Johnson on their teams, the NBA restructured itself economically in 1984, passing an exception to its salary-cap rules that would become known as the “Larry Bird Exception.” This move allowed teams to re-sign their star players at exorbitant costs, regardless of the team’s salary limit, and led to skyrocketing player salaries in the late 1980s and 1990s.

In 1997, Bird was hired as head coach of the Indiana Pacers. In his first year of coaching, Bird had an effect on his team that recalled his impact as a player nearly two decades earlier. Whereas in 1996 the Pacers had won only 39 games, in 1997 they won 58 and competed in the Eastern Conference championship series against Michael Jordan’s Chicago Bulls. At the season’s conclusion, Bird was named NBA Coach of the Year.

In the sometimes racially-charged world of professional athletics, Bird’s position as a prominent white player garnered much commentary. “[Bird is] a white superstar,” Johnson said of his rival in a 1979 interview in *Sports Illustrated*. “Basketball sure needs him.” Early in its history, professional basketball had attracted few African American players (due both to societal racism and the success





Larry Bird (right)

of the all-black Harlem Globetrotters), but by 1980, 75 percent of NBA players were African American. Thus, Bird entered a scene in which white stars were indeed rare. Critics labeled his Celtics a “white boy’s team,” and sportswriters still debated whether African Americans might be somehow inherently more adept at sports than whites. Bird himself referred to this stereotype when he said that he had “proven that a white boy who can’t run and jump can play this game.”

Bird’s impact—both as a player and as a coach—is unparalleled; he helped to change losing teams into champions and a declining professional league into a vibrant and profitable sports and entertainment giant. From a humble high school gymnasium in rural Indiana, Bird came to international attention as one of the best known and most successful athletes in the history of professional sports.

—Rebecca Blustein

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## Birkenstocks

Birkenstocks—the name commonly used for sandals made by the Birkenstock Company—are the parent of “comfort shoes” in the United States. Called hari krishna shoes, monk shoes, Jesus sandals, and nicknamed granolas, Jerusalem cruisers, tree huggers, Flintstone feet, hippie shoes, and beatniks, they have carried numerous social connotations. Nevertheless, the influence that Birkenstocks have had on what Americans wear on their feet goes beyond alternative trappings. Not only have they become a household word in the 1980s, but they have also joined the likes of Nikes in gaining name-brand recognition.

Birkenstocks were created by a family of German shoemakers. Emphasizing comfort rather than fashion, the original Birkenstocks were open-toed, leather-strapped, flat-heeled, slip-ons. In 1964, Karl Birkenstock combined a flexible arch support and a contoured sole—inventions his grandfather Konrad had engineered at the turn of the twentieth century—into an orthopedic shoe. The ergonomically designed sole is shaped like a footprint in wet sand, with cupped heel and raised bar where the toes meet the ball of the foot. The pliable insole is a cork/latex matrix sandwiched between layers of jute and covered in suede leather.

Margot Fraser introduced Birkenstocks to the United States in 1966. While visiting her native Germany she bought a pair to alleviate her foot pain. Back in northern California, she sold a few pairs to friends, never intending to start a business. Quickly convinced that everyone would benefit from such comfortable shoes, she began importing them. Retail shoe store owners, however, balked at selling an unconventional “ugly” shoe. Undaunted, Fraser took Birkenstocks to health fairs and found buyers among owners of health food stores and alternative shops. Having carved out a niche by 1971, she convinced the German parent company to give her sole United States distribution rights and she incorporated the company. The most recognizable and popular Birkenstock style, the Arizona, developed for the American market, was introduced the same year.

By the late 1970s the shoes had become a favorite of hippies, the back-to-the-earth crowd, and the health-conscious, especially women looking for alternatives to the popular narrow-toed, high-heels generally available. Still, the shoes were anti-fashion—they were cited as a fashion “don’t” in a women’s magazine in 1976. In 1979, the Boston, a closed toe style, was introduced.

The company grew gradually until the late 1980s when it finally got a foothold in the athletic/comfort shoe market. Americans’ desire for more comfortable clothing and a nostalgia for the trappings of the 1970s, coupled with Birkenstock’s aggressive marketing, set off the shoe’s phenomenal rise in popularity and sales in the 1990s. Countering a perceived association with Dead Heads, hippies, and grunge rockers, Birkenstock catalogs featured hip young urbans. Between 1989 and 1992 the company expanded 500 percent and, according to the *New York Times*, between 1992 and 1994 sold more shoes than it had in the previous 20 years. The popularity bred knock-offs by high-end shoemakers such as Rockport, Scholl, Ralph Lauren, and Reebok, and discount copies appeared in stores such as Fayva and Kmart in the 1990s. In 1992, shoemakers Susan Bennis and Warren Edwards created a formal imitation with rhinestone buckles for Marc Jacobs’ runway show. Competition from other “comfort shoe” companies such as Teva and Naot began. Birkenstock eventually opened its own stores and the shoes were made available in shops geared toward comfortable footwear and through mail order giants such as L.L.

Bean; mainstream retailers like Macy's and Nordstrom also began to carry Birkenstocks.

Originally Fraser sold four styles, but by the early 1980s the company offered over 20 different models with an expanded color selection. The company also introduced a completely non-leather shoe, the Alternative, for ethical vegetarians. Smaller sizes of the classic styles, made to fit children, were offered around the same time. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the color selection moved out from neutral and earthy tones like tan, black, white, brown, crimson, and gold to include bright and neon colors like orange and turquoise. During the same time, closed shoes made specifically for professionals who spend most of their workday on their feet, such as restaurant and health care workers, showed up in shops and catalogs.

Birkenstocks, once the ugly duckling, moved to the center of fashion. *Vogue*, *GQ*, *Sassy*, and *Details* magazines all featured sandal and clog styles in fashion layouts throughout the 1990s. Birkenstocks were seen on the feet of stars such as Madonna, Tanya Tucker, Harrison Ford, Wesley Snipes, and Yvette Freeman; politicians Norman Schwarzkopf, Donna Shalala, and John F. Kennedy Jr.; sports greats Shaquille O'Neal, Dennis Rodman, and Dan O'Brien and the maven of taste, Martha Stewart, among others. Menswear designer John Scher had custom Birkenstocks made in gold leather, gray corduroy, and wine pinstripe for his fall 1998 collection. Perry Ellis, Sportmax, and Narciso Rodriguez have also featured Birkenstocks in their runway shows.

By the late 1990s Birkenstock had over 50 styles including rubber clogs, trekking shoes, women's wedge heels, multi-colored sandals, anti-static models, as well as mainstays like the Zurich, a style similar to the shoes Margot Fraser brought from Germany in 1966. Fraser is chief executive officer and 60 percent owner of the Novato, California, based company, called Birkenstock Footprint Sandals, Inc., with employees owning the balance. Fraser's corporation has over 3,600 retail accounts, 125 licensed shops, and four company-owned stores in the United States, including the San Francisco flagship store opened in 1997. Birkenstock's sales for fiscal 1997 were an estimated \$82 million.

—ViBrina Coronado

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## The Birth of a Nation

D. W. Griffith's 1915 silent-film epic *The Birth of a Nation* remained as controversial at the end of the twentieth century as at the beginning, largely because of its sympathetic portrayal of the Ku Klux Klan and of white ascendancy in the defeated South during the

Reconstruction period following the American Civil War. Galvanized by the film's depiction of the newly freed slaves as brutal and ignorant, civil-rights groups like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) picketed the film in many cities when it was released and protested again when the Library of Congress added the classic to the National Film Registry in 1992 (though a year later the Library excluded the film from an exhibit of 54 early film works). Still, *The Birth of a Nation* is highly regarded as a cinematographic triumph, a benchmark that helped define film syntax for future directors in a newly emerging genre. The ambiguous legacy of this film was capsulized by a *New York Times* reporter who wrote (Apr. 27, 1994): "Like an orator who says all the wrong things brilliantly . . . [it] manages to thrill and appall at the same time." Few of its most ardent critics deny credit to Griffith for having achieved a work of technical brilliance. Film historian Lewis Jacobs argued in *The Rise of the American Film: A Critical History*, that *The Birth of a Nation* and *Intolerance*, a sequel, released by Griffith in 1916, are "high points in the history of the American movie" that "far surpassed other native films in structure, imaginative power, and depth of content . . . They foreshadowed the best that was to come in cinema technique, earned for the screen its right to the status of an art, and demonstrated with finality that the movie was one of the most potent social agencies in America."

The iconic status of *The Birth of a Nation* is based on several factors. It was heavily promoted and advertised nationwide, making it the prototype of the modern "blockbuster." In a nickelodeon era, it was the first to break the \$2-per-ticket barrier, proving that mass audiences could be attracted to serious films that were more than novelty entertainments or melodramas. It was the first film shown in the White House, after which President Woodrow Wilson reputedly said, "It is like writing history with lightning." In addition to establishing D. W. Griffith as America's most important filmmaker, *The Birth of a Nation* also helped to propel the career of Lillian Gish, a 21-year-old actress who, with her sister Dorothy, had appeared in some of Griffith's earlier films. Most importantly, it was a groundbreaking production that set the standard for cinematography and the basic syntax of feature films. Although, in the 1960s, revisionist critics like Andrew Sarris speculated that Griffith's technical sophistication had been overrated, *The Birth of a Nation* is still revered for its pioneering use of creative camera angles and movement to create a sense of dramatic intensity, and the innovative use of closeups, transitions, and panoramic shots, "all fused by brilliant cutting," in the words of Lewis Jacobs. Even the protests engendered by the film helped Americans find their bearings in the first significant cultural wars involving artistic creativity, censorship, and identity politics in the age of the new mass media.

*The Birth of a Nation* was based on Thomas Dixon, Jr.'s 1905 drama *The Clansman*, which had already been adapted into a popular play that had toured American theaters. Screenwriter Frank Woods, who had prepared the scenario for Kinemacolor's earlier, abortive attempt to bring Dixon's work to the screen, convinced Griffith to take on the project. "I hoped at once it could be done," Griffith said, "for the story of the South had been absorbed into the very fiber of my being." Griffith also added material from *The Leopard's Spots*, another of Dixon's books that painted a negative picture of Southern blacks during the Reconstruction era. In a 1969 memoir, Lillian Gish recalled that Griffith had optioned *The Clansman* for \$2500 and offered the author a 25 percent interest in the picture, which made Dixon a multimillionaire. She quoted Griffith as telling the cast that "I'm going to use [*The Clansman*] to tell the truth about the War



Scene from the film *The Birth of a Nation*.

between the States. It hasn't been told accurately in history books." When the film was being shot at a lot on Sunset Boulevard in Los Angeles, the first-time-ever use of artificial lighting to illuminate battle scenes shot at night led to public fears that southern California was under enemy attack from the sea.

Although some scenes depicted the early arrival of slaves in America, the decades of the 1860s and 1870s—Civil War and Reconstruction—constitute the historical timeframe of *The Birth of a Nation*. The film includes enactments of several historical scenes, such as Sherman's march to the sea, the surrender at Appomattox, and the assassination of Lincoln, but the narrative focuses almost exclusively on the saga of two white dynasties, the Stonemans from the North and the Camerons from the South, interlinked by romantic attachments between the younger generations of the two families. An early scene depicts the Cameron plantation in South Carolina as an idyllic estate with benevolent white masters and happy slaves coexisting in mutual harmony until undermined by abolitionists, Union troops, and Yankee carpetbaggers. After the war, Austin Stoneman, the family patriarch, dispatches a friend of mixed-race, Silas Lynch, to abet the empowerment of ex-slaves by encouraging them to vote and run for public office in the former Confederacy. A horrified Ben

Cameron organizes the Ku Klux Klan as an engine of white resistance. The film's unflattering depiction of uncouth African American legislators and of Lynch's attempt to coax Elsie Stoneman into a mixed-race marriage fueled much controversy over the years for reinforcing stereotypes about Negro men vis-à-vis the "flower of Southern womanhood." To create dramatic tension, Griffith juxtaposed images of domestic bliss with unruly black mobs and used alternating close-up and panoramic scenes to give a sense of movement and to facilitate the emotional unfolding of the narrative. During a climactic scene in which the Ku Klux Klan rides to the rescue of the Cameron patriarch from his militant black captors, a title reads: "The former enemies of North and South are united again in common defense of their Aryan birthright." Bowing to protests, Griffith excised some of the more graphic scenes of anti-white violence before the film's premiere, and also added an epilogue, now lost, favorably portraying the Hampton Institute, a prominent black school in Virginia. Interviewed by his biographer, Barnet Braverman in 1941, D. W. Griffith thought that *The Birth of a Nation* should, "in its present form be withheld from public exhibition" and shown only to film professionals and students. Griffith said "If *The Birth of a Nation* were done again, it would have to be made much clearer."

The title of the film remained *The Clansman* until a month before its premiere, and was altered to its familiar title upon Dixon's own enthusiastic recommendation. Both Griffith and Dixon defended their work against an avalanche of censorship threats, as in a letter by Dixon to the *Boston Journal* (April 26, 1915), in which he wrote "This play was not written to stir race hatred. It is the faithful record of the life of fifty years ago. It is no reflection on the cultured, decent negro of today. In it are sketched good negroes and bad negroes, good whites and bad whites." Griffith also ardently defended his viewpoint, as in a letter to the *New York Globe* (April 10, 1915) in which he criticized "pro-intermarriage" groups like the NAACP for trying "to suppress a production which was brought forth to reveal the beautiful possibilities of the art of motion pictures and to tell a story which is based upon truth in every vital detail."

*The Birth of a Nation* had its premiere at New York City's Liberty Theater on March 3, 1915, to critical and popular acclaim, though the NAACP and other groups organized major protests and violence broke out in Boston and other cities. Booker T. Washington refused to let Griffith make a film about his Tuskegee Institute because he did not want to be associated with the makers of a "hurtful, vicious play." W. E. B. Du Bois adopted a more proactive stance, urging members of his race to create films and works of art that would depict its own history in a positive light. But response in the mainstream press was generally favorable. Critic Mark Vance boasted in the March 12 issue of *Variety* how a film "laid, played, and made in America" marked "a great epoch in picturemaking" that would have universal appeal. Reviews in the southern papers were predictably partisan. A critic for the *Atlanta Journal*, Ward Greene, obviously inspired by scenes of triumphant Klan riders, crowed that Griffith's film "is the awakener of every feeling . . . Loathing, disgust, hate envelope you, hot blood cries for vengeance . . . [you are] mellowed into a deeper and purer understanding of the fires through which your forefathers battled to make this South of yours a nation reborn!" Over the years, *The Birth of a Nation* was used as a propaganda film both by the film's supporters and detractors. Film historian John Hope Franklin remarked to a 1994 Library of Congress panel discussion that the film was used by a resurgent Ku Klux Klan as a recruiting device from the 1920s onward, a point supported by other historians, though disputed by Thomas Cripps, author of several scholarly works on black cinema.

Despite the continuing controversy over the depiction of interracial conflict, *The Birth of a Nation* remains a landmark film in the history of world cinema and its director an important pioneer in the film medium. Writer James Agee, in a rhapsodic defense of Griffith, wrote of him in a 1971 essay: "He achieved what no other known man has ever achieved. To watch his work is like being witness to the beginning of melody, or the first conscious use of the lever or the wheel. . . ." *The Birth of a Nation*, continued Agee, was a collection of "tremendous magical images" that equaled "Brady's photographs, Lincoln's speeches, and Whitman's war poems" in evoking a true and dramatic representation of the Civil War era.

—Edward Moran

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## Birthing Practices

Historically speaking, an overview of changing practices of childbirth offers an overview of the changing dynamics of gender and the increasing authority of professional medicine, particularly in the United States and Western Europe. As midwives began to be "phased out" in the late eighteenth century, they were replaced by male doctors, and birthing practices changed as a result. Increasing medical knowledge and experience reinforced this shift, eventually pathologizing pregnancy and childbirth and tying childbirth to a hospital environment. In the late twentieth century, however, many women began calling for a return to the earlier, less medicalized, models of childbirth, and the debate about the costs and benefits of various birthing practices continues to develop today.

In colonial America, deliveries were attended by midwives as a matter of course. These women drew upon years of experience, often passing their knowledge from one generation to the next, and generally attending hundreds of childbirths during their careers. In some cases, a midwife might call a "barber-surgeon" to assist with a particularly difficult case (though often the surgeon's skills were no better than the midwife's, and the patient and child were lost), but for the most part women (mothers and midwives) controlled the birthing process. With the rise in medical schools, however, and the teaching of obstetrics as the first specialty in eighteenth-century American medical schools, medical doctors began to assume control over childbirth.

Beginning in the 1830s, having a medical doctor in attendance at a birth became a sign of social prestige—middle- and upper-class women could afford to call in a doctor and did so more out of a desire to display their economic and political clout than out of medical necessity. Class pressures ensured that women would choose childbirth assistance from someone of their own class (that is, a medical doctor for the middle and upper classes, a midwife for working classes). These pressures also meant that crusades to persuade middle- and upper-class women that they "deserved" physicians, that no precaution was too great, and so on, were enormously effective in shifting public opinion toward the presumed superiority of medical doctors. As this kind of social pressure continued to spread throughout the Victorian era, lay practitioners lost more and more status, and medical doctors gained more and more control. Furthermore, the systematic exclusion of women from the medical profession, particularly during the nineteenth century, ensured that women themselves began losing control of childbirth, giving it up to the increasing authority of the male medical community.

Throughout the 1800s, doctors employed medical privilege to protect their professional status from the economic and social threat

of midwives who lacked formal training. The Boston Women's Health Collective asserts that nineteenth-century physicians "waged a virulent campaign against midwives, stereotyping them as ignorant, dirty, and irresponsible. Physicians deliberately lied about midwifery outcomes to convince legislators that states should outlaw it." These strategies, coupled with the significant risks of childbirth (infant and maternal mortality rates remained high throughout the nineteenth century), helped to create a climate of fear surrounding pregnancy and birth. Rather than seeing childbirth as a natural practice, people began to see it as a medical emergency, one that should be relinquished to a physician's control.

Once childbirth had been pathologized, the door was opened to begin moving women in labor out of their homes and into hospitals where, according to the medical community, the "disease of childbirth" could best be battled. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, it was actually a stigma to have to give birth in a maternity ward, which had generally been reserved for the poor, immigrants, and unmarried girls. As better strategies were developed to prevent disease (especially deadly outbreaks of puerperal fever that had flourished in hospitals throughout the nineteenth century), the hospital birth, with its concomitant costs, was recast as a status symbol. Eventually, however, having babies in hospitals became a matter of course. According to Jessica Mitford, while only 5 percent of babies were born in hospitals in 1900, 75 percent were born in hospitals in 1935, and by the late 1960s, 95 percent of babies were born in hospitals. Eakins' *American Way of Birth* notes, "the relocation of obstetric care to the hospital provided the degree of control over both reproduction and women that would-be obstetricians needed in their ascent to professionalized power." This power was consolidated through non-medical channels, with advice columns, media attention, popular books, and community pressure working to reinforce the primacy of the professional medical community in managing women's childbirth experiences.

In the twentieth century, giving birth in a hospital environment has meant a loss of control for the mother as she becomes subject to numerous, standardized medical protocols; throughout her pregnancy, in fact, she will have been measured against statistics and fit into frameworks (low-risk vs. high-risk pregnancy; normal vs. abnormal pregnancy, and so on). As a result, the modern childbirth experience seems to depersonalize the mother, fitting her instead into a set of patient "guidelines." Women in labor enter alongside the ill, the injured, and the dying. Throughout most of the twentieth century, women were anesthetized as well, essentially being absent from their own birthing experience; fathers were forced to be absent as well, waiting for the announcement of his child's arrival in a hospital waiting room. If a woman's labor is judged to be progressing "too slowly" (a decision the doctor, rather than the mother, usually makes), she will find herself under the influence of artificial practices designed to speed up the process. More often than not, her pubic area will be shaved (a procedure that is essentially pointless) and sometimes cut (in an episiotomy) by medical personnel anxious to control the labor process. Further advances in medical technology, including usage of various technological devices and the rise in caesarian sections (Mitford cites rates as high as 30 percent in some hospitals), have also contributed to a climate of medicalization and fear for many women giving birth. This is not to say, of course, that many of these medical changes, including improved anesthetics (such as epidurals) and improved strategies for difficult birthing situations (breech births, fetal distress, etc.) have not been significant advances for women and their babies. But others argue that many of these changes have been

for the doctors' convenience: delivering a baby while lying on one's back with one's feet in stirrups is surely designed for the obstetrician's convenience, and the rise in caesarian sections has often been linked to doctors' preferences rather than the mothers'.

In the 1960s and 1970s, as a result of their dissatisfaction with the medical establishment and with the rising cost of medical care, various groups began encouraging a return to older attitudes toward childbirth, a renewal of approaches that treat birthing as a natural process requiring minimal (if any) medical intervention. One of the first steps toward shifting the birthing experience away from the control of the medical establishment involved the introduction of childbirth classes for expectant parents. These courses often stress strategies for dealing with the medical community, for taking control of the birthing process, and for maintaining a "natural childbirth" experience through education; the most famous methods of natural childbirth are based on work by Grantly Dick-Read (*Childbirth Without Fear*), Fernand Lamaze, and Robert Bradley.

Also significant were various feminist critiques of the standard birth practices. The publication of the Boston Women's Health Collective's *Our Bodies, Ourselves* in 1984 offered a resource to women who wanted to investigate what had been essentially "underground" alternatives to the medicalized childbirth experience. Through this work (and others), women learned how to question their doctors more assertively about the doctors' practices, to file "birth plans" (which set out the mother's wishes for the birth), and to find networks of like-minded parents, midwives, and doctors who can assist in homebirths, underwater births, and other childbirth techniques. In some states, midwives not attached to hospitals are still outlaws, and groups continue to campaign to change that fact.

Finally, many hospitals are recognizing women's desire to move away from the dehumanizing and pathological approaches to childbirth associated with the professional medical community. In deference to these desires (or, more cynically, in deference to their financial bottom lines), some hospitals have built "Birthing Centers," semi-detached facilities dedicated specifically to treating childbirth as a natural process. Women enter the Birthing Center, rather than the hospital. There they are encouraged to remain mobile, to have family and friends in attendance, and to maintain some measure of control over their bodies. Often patient rooms are designed to look "homey," and women (without complications) give birth in their own room, rather than in an operating theater. Many of these facilities employ Nurse Midwives, women and men who have been trained as nurses in the traditional medical establishment but who are dedicated to demedicalizing the childbirth practice while still offering the security of a hospital environment.

As women and men continue to demand that childbirth be recognized as a natural, rather than unnatural, process, the dominant birthing practices will continue to shift. Additionally, rising pressures from the insurance industry to decrease costs are also likely to contribute to a decrease in the medical surveillance of childbirth—already new mothers' hospital stays have been drastically reduced in length as a cost-cutting measure. Clearly the move in recent years has meant a gradual return to earlier models of childbirth with a return of control to the mother and child at the center of the process.

—Deborah M. Mix

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## Black, Clint (1962—)

Since the release of his first album in 1989, Clint Black has become one of country music's biggest stars. He is also one of the most prominent symbols of country's revival in the 1980s and 1990s. It was in the mid-1980s that country music had been written off as dead. In 1985, *The New York Times* reported that this once mighty genre had fallen off the edge of the American entertainment table and it would never regain such stature with its audience. A year later, the same newspaper reversed itself in an article hailing the new creative and commercial vitality of country music, as traditionalists like Randy Travis and young iconoclasts like Steve Earle brought new life into old forms. That, however, was nothing compared to what was just around the corner. Country was about to be taken over by a new



Clint Black

generation of heartthrobs in cowboy hats who were going to capture the imagination of the American public to a degree hitherto unimagined.

Part of country music's revival was due to the creative groundwork that was laid for newcomers in the adventurous creativity of the mid-1980s. Angry song-writing geniuses like Earle, quirky originals like Lyle Lovett, and musical innovators like the O'Kanes all played a part in paving the way for young new artists. Interestingly, the aggressive urban anger of black music in the 1980s also influenced the country scene. Rap drove a lot of middle class whites to a music they could understand, and country radio was playing it. The audience for pop music was also growing older and, in the 1980s, for the first time, a generation over thirty-five continued to buy pop music. Although the children of these suburban middle-class consumers were buying rap, their parents were looking for the singer-songwriters of their youth—the new Dan Fogelbergs and James Taylors—and they found them wearing cowboy hats.

The country superheroes of the 1980s and 1990s were a new breed indeed. They did not have the down-home background of Lefty Frizzell, Porter Wagoner, or Johnny Cash, but they did have their own skills that would help them succeed in the music industry. Garth Brooks was a marketing major in college, and he knew how to market himself; Dwight Yoakam was a theater major, and he knew how to invent himself onstage; and Lyle Lovett's day job at the time he signed his first recording contract was helping his mother run high-level business management training seminars.

Clint Black, who arrived on the scene in 1989, was a "folkie" from the suburbs of Houston. His father advised him against going into country music precisely because he did not think he was country enough. "Stick to doing other folks' songs," he advised. "Real country songwriters, like Harlan Howard. Don't try to write your own. You haven't done enough living—shooting pool, drinking beer, getting into fights—to write a real country song." Black's "Nothing's News," which graced his first album, was an answer to his father and to all those other good old boys who "Spent a lifetime . . . Down at Ernie's icehouse liftin' longnecks to that good old country sound," only to discover ultimately that they had "worn out the same old lines, and now it seems that nothin's news . . ."

The 1980s were a time when the rock influence hit country with a vengeance. Rock acts like Exile and Sawyer Brown became country acts. Country radio adopted the tight playlists of pop radio. Record company executives from Los Angeles and New York started moving into the little frame houses that served as office buildings on Nashville's Music Row. And even among the neo-traditional acts, rock music management techniques became the norm. Clint Black's career blossomed under the managerial guidance of Bill Ham, who had made his reputation guiding ZZ Top's fortunes. Black's first album, *Killin' Time*, became the first debut album ever, in any genre, to place five singles at number one on the charts.

For many country artists, country superstardom seems to almost automatically raise the question, "Now what?" For Black, marriage was the answer to that question. He married Hollywood television star Lisa Hartman (*Knots Landing*) in 1991 and their marriage has lasted. It has also garnered him a certain amount of gossip column celebrity beyond the country circuit. Although Black also has a movie role in *Maverick* to his credit, his reputation rests solidly on what he does best: writing and singing country songs. Black seems to have settled in for the long haul.

—Tad Richards

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## Black Mask

One of the most important detective fiction magazines of the twentieth century, *Black Mask* began early in 1920 and introduced and developed the concept of the tough private eye. It also promoted, and in some cases introduced, the work of such writers as Dashiell Hammett, Raymond Chandler, Erle Stanley Gardner, and John D. MacDonald. Hammett's *The Dain Curse*, *Red Harvest*, *The Glass Key*, and *The Maltese Falcon* all appeared originally as serials in the magazine and Chandler sold his first detective story to *Black Mask*. In its over 300 issues the pulp showcased the work of dozens of other writers. Though many are forgotten today, such contributors as Frederick Nebel, Norbert Davis, W.T. Ballard, John K. Butler, Raoul Whitfield, Carroll John Daly, Horace McCoy, Lester Dent, and William Campbell Gault all helped shape and define the hardboiled school of mystery writing.

Early in 1919, H. L. Mencken, literary man and dedicated iconoclast, wrote a letter to a friend. "I am thinking of venturing into a new cheap magazine," he explained. "The opportunity is good and I need the money." Mencken and his partner, theater critic George Jean Nathan, required funds to keep their magazine *The Smart Set* afloat. He considered that a quality publication, but in his view the new one that he and Nathan launched early in 1920 was "a lousy magazine" that would cause them nothing but "disagreeable work." Their new publication was christened *The Black Mask* and featured mystery stories. Pretty much in the vein of Street & Smith's pioneering *Detective Story* pulp, the early issues offered very sedate, and often British, detective yarns. Nathan and Mencken soon sold out, leaving the magazine in other hands.

Then in 1923 two beginning writers started submitting stories about a new kind of detective. Carroll John Daly, a onetime motion picture projectionist and theater manager from New Jersey, introduced a series about a tough, gun-toting private investigator named Race Williams. Written in a clumsy, slangy first person, they recounted Williams' adventures in a nightmare urban world full of gangsters, crooked cops, and dames you could not trust. Williams explained himself and his mission this way—"The papers are either roasting me for shooting down some minor criminals or praising me for gunning out the big shots. But when you're hunting the top guy, you have to kick aside—or shoot aside—the gunmen he hires. You can't make hamburger without grinding up a little meat." This tough, humorless metropolitan cowboy became extremely popular with the magazine's readers, who were obviously tired of the cozy crime stories that the early *Black Mask* had depended on. For all his flaws, Race Williams is acknowledged by most critics and historians to be the first hardboiled detective, and the prototype for others to follow.

Unlike Daly, Dashiell Hammett knew what he was talking about. He had been a private investigator himself, having put in several years with the Pinkerton Agency. Exactly four months after the advent of Race Williams, Hammett sold his first story about the "Continental Op(erative)" to the magazine. Titled "Arson Plus," it introduced the plump middle-aged operative who worked out of the San Francisco office of the Continental Detective Agency. Although also in the first person, the Op stories were written in a terse and



Various covers of *Black Mask*.

believable vernacular style that made them sound real. Hammett's private detective never had to brag about being tough and good with a gun; readers could see that he was. His nameless operative soon became Race Williams' chief rival and after he had written nearly two dozen stories and novellas about him, Hammett put him into a novel. The first installment of *Red Harvest* appeared in the November 1927 issue of *Black Mask*. In November of the next year came the second Op serial, *The Dain Curse*. Then in 1929 Hammett introduced a new San Francisco private eye, a pragmatic tough guy he described as resembling a blond Satan. *The Maltese Falcon*, told in the third person, introduced Sam Spade and the quest for the jewel-encrusted bird. The story quickly moved into hardcovers, movies, and international renown. Hammett's *The Glass Key* ran in the magazine in 1930 and his final Op story in the November issue of that year. With the exception of *The Thin Man*, written initially for *Redbook* in the early 1930s, everything that Hammett is remembered for was published in *Black Mask* over a period of less than ten years.

Joseph Shaw was usually called Cap Shaw, because of his Army rank during World War I. Not at all familiar with pulp fiction or *Black Mask* when he took over as editor in 1926, he soon educated himself on the field. Shaw never much liked Daly's work, but kept him in the magazine because of his appeal to readers. Hammett, however, was an exceptional writer and Shaw used him to build the magazine into an important and influential one. "Hammett was the leader in the thought that finally brought the magazine its distinctive form," Shaw explained some years later. "Without that it was and would still have been just another magazine. Hammett began to set character before situation, and led some others along that path." In addition to

concentrating on character, one of the goals of the best *Black Mask* authors was to develop prose that sounded the way people talked and not the way writers wrote. In addition to Hammett, Cap Shaw encouraged other writers who had already been contributors when he joined as editor. Among them were Erle Stanley Gardner, Raoul Whitfield, and Frederick Nebel. He asked Nebel to create a new hardboiled private eye and the result was, as a blurb called him, “an iron-nerved private dick” named Donahue. One of the things he got from Whitfield was a serial titled “Death in a Bowl,” which introduced Ben Jardinn, the very first Hollywood private eye. In 1933, Shaw bought “Blackmailers Don’t Shoot” from Raymond Chandler, a failed middle-aged business man who was hoping he could add to his income by writing pulpwood fiction. The tough and articulate private eye Chandler wrote about for *Black Mask*, and later for its rival *Dime Detective*, was called Mallory and then John Dalmas. When he finally showed up in the novel *The Big Sleep* in 1939, he had changed his name to Philip Marlowe. Among the many other writers Shaw introduced to *Black Mask* were Horace McCoy, Paul Cain, Lester Dent, and George Harmon Coxe.

After Shaw quit the magazine in 1936 over a salary dispute, it changed somewhat. Chandler moved over to *Dime Detective*, where Nebel had already been lured, and the stories were not quite as “hardboiled” anymore. New writers were recruited by a succession of editors. Max Brand, Steve Fisher, Cornell Woolrich, and Frank Gruber became cover names in the later 1930s. *Black Mask* was bought out by Popular Publications in 1940 and started looking exactly like Popular’s *Dime Detective*. Kenneth S. White became the editor of both and put even more emphasis on series characters. Oldtime contributors such as H.H. Stinson and Norbert Davis provide recurring detectives, as did newcomers like Merle Constiner, D.L. Champion, and Robert Reeves. Later on John D. MacDonald, Richard Demming, and William Campbell Gault made frequent appearances.

The decade of the 1950s saw the decline and fall of all the pulp fiction magazines. *Black Mask* ceased to be after its July 1951 issue. By then, it was a smaller-sized magazine that included reprints from earlier years with few new detective tales. Attempts to revive it in the 1970s and the 1980s were unsuccessful.

—Ron Goulart

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## Black Panthers

The Black Panther Party (BPP) came to represent the West Coast manifestation of Black Power as well as the angry mood within urban African American communities in the 1960s. The groups main influences were Malcolm X, especially after his 1964 break from the Nation of Islam, and Robert F. Williams, the then Cuban-based civil rights leader and advocate of armed self-defense. Philosophically, the



**Black Panthers (from left): 2nd Lt. James Pelser, Capt. Jerry James, 1st Lt. Greg Criner and 1st Lt. Robert Reynolds.**

organization was rooted in an eclectic blend of Marxist-Leninism, black nationalism, and in the revolutionary movements of Africa and Asia.

The BPP was founded in October 1966 by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, two young black college students in Oakland, California. The name of the organization was taken from the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, which had used the symbol and name for organizing in the rural black belt of Alabama in 1965. The BPP was initially created to expand Newton and Seale’s political activity, particularly “patrolling the pigs”—that is, monitoring police activities in black communities to ensure that civil rights were respected.

Tactically, the BPP advocated “picking up the gun” as a means to achieve liberation for African Americans. Early on, Newton and Seale earned money to purchase guns by selling copies of Mao Tse-tung’s “Little Red Book” to white radicals on the University of California-Berkeley campus. The group’s “Ten Point Program” demanded self-determination for black communities, full employment, decent housing, better education, and an end to police brutality. In addition, the program included more radical goals: exemption from military service for black men, all-black juries for African Americans on trial and “an end to the robbery by the capitalists of our Black Community.” Newton, the intellectual leader of the group, was appointed its first Minister of Defense and Eldridge Cleaver, a prison activist and writer for the New Left journal *Ramparts*, became Minister of Information. Sporting paramilitary uniforms of black leather jackets, black berets, dark sunglasses, and conspicuously displayed firearms, the Panthers quickly won local celebrity.



A series of dramatic events earned the Black Panthers national notoriety in 1967. That spring, as a result of the Panthers' initial police surveillance efforts, members of the California state legislature introduced a bill banning the carrying of loaded guns in public. In response, a group of Black Panthers marched into the capitol building in Sacramento toting loaded weapons. Then, on October 28 of the same year, Newton was arrested on murder charges following an altercation with Oakland police which left one officer dead and Newton and another patrolman wounded. The arrest prompted the BPP to start a "Free Huey!" campaign which attracted national attention through the support of Hollywood celebrities and noted writers and spurred the formation of Black Panther chapters in major cities across the nation. In addition, Newton's arrest forced Seale and Cleaver into greater leadership roles in the organization. Cleaver, in particular, with his inflammatory rhetoric and powerful speaking skills, increasingly shaped public perceptions of the Panthers with incendiary calls for black retribution and scathing verbal attacks against African American "counter-revolutionaries." He claimed the choice before the United States was "total liberty for black people or total destruction for America."

In February 1968, former Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) leader, Stokely Carmichael, who had been invited by Cleaver and Seale to speak at "Free Huey!" rallies, challenged Cleaver as the primary spokesman for the party. Carmichael's Pan-Africanism, emphasizing racial unity, contrasted sharply with other Panther leaders' emphasis on class struggle and their desire to attract white leftist support in the campaign to free Newton. The ideological tension underlying this conflict resulted in Carmichael's resignation as Prime Minister of the BPP in the summer of 1969 and signaled the beginning of a period of vicious infighting within the black militant community. In one incident, after the Panthers branded head of the Los Angeles-based black nationalist group US, Ron Karenga, a "pork chop nationalist," an escalating series of disputes between the groups culminated in the death of two Panthers during a shoot-out on the UCLA campus in January 1969.

At the same time, the federal government stepped up its efforts to infiltrate and undermine the BPP. In August 1967, the FBI targeted the Panthers and other radical groups in a covert counter-intelligence program, COINTELPRO, designed to prevent "a coalition of militant black nationalist groups" and the emergence of a "black messiah" who might "unify and electrify these violence-prone elements." FBI misinformation, infiltration by informers, wiretapping, harassment, and numerous police assaults contributed to the growing tendency among BPP leaders to suspect the motives of black militants who disagreed with the party's program. On April 6, 1968, police descended on a house containing several Panthers, killing the party's 17-year-old treasurer, Bobby Hutton, and wounding Cleaver, who was then returned to prison for a parole violation. In September, authorities convicted Newton of voluntary manslaughter. In December, two Chicago party leaders, Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, were killed in a police raid. By the end of the decade, 27 members of the BPP had been killed, Newton was in jail (although he was released after a successful appeal in 1970), Cleaver had fled to Algeria to avoid prison, and many other Panthers faced lengthy prison terms or continued repression. In 1970, the state of Connecticut unsuccessfully tried to convict Seale of murder in the death of another Panther in that state.

By the early 1970s, the BPP was severely weakened by external attack, internal division, and legal problems and declined rapidly. After his release from prison in 1970, Newton attempted to wrest

control of the party away from Cleaver and to revive the organization's popular base. In place of Cleaver's fiery rhetoric and support for immediate armed struggle, Newton stressed community organizing, set up free-breakfast programs for children and, ultimately, supported participation in electoral politics. These efforts, though, were undermined by widely published reports that the Panthers engaged in extortion and assault against other African Americans. By the mid-1970s, most veteran leaders, including Seale and Cleaver, had deserted the party and Newton, faced with a variety of criminal charges, fled to Cuba. After his return from exile, Newton earned a doctorate, but was also involved with the drug trade. In 1989, he was shot to death in a drug-related incident in Oakland. Eldridge Cleaver drifted rightward in the 1980s, supporting conservative political candidates in several races. He died on May 1, 1998, as a result of injuries he received in a mysterious mugging. Bobby Seale continued to do local organizing in California. In 1995, Mario Van Peebles directed the feature film, *Panther*, which attempted to bring the story of the BPP to another generation. The Panthers are remembered today as much for their cultural style and racial posturing as for their political program or ideology.

—Patrick D. Jones

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## Black Sabbath

Formed in Birmingham, England in 1968, Black Sabbath was one of the most important influences on hard rock and grunge music. While the term "heavy metal" was taken from a Steppenwolf lyric and had already been applied to bands such as Cream and Led Zeppelin, in many ways Black Sabbath invented the genre. They were perhaps the first band to include occult references in their music, and they began to distance themselves from the blues-based music which was the norm, although they had started their career as a blues band.

Originally calling themselves Earth, they discovered another band with the same name. After renaming themselves Black Sabbath



**Black Sabbath in 1998: Ozzy Osbourne (seated), (standing from left) Bill Ward, Tony Iommi, and Geezer Butler.**

the group released their self-titled first album in 1970. *Black Sabbath* was recorded both quickly and inexpensively—it took only two days and cost six hundred pounds. In spite of that, the album reached number 23 on the American charts and would eventually sell over a million copies. *Paranoid* was released later the same year and cracked the top ten in the United States while topping the charts in Britain. Their third album, *Master of Reality*, was equally successful and remained on the Billboard charts in America for almost a year.

Those releases introduced themes which would become staples for future metal bands: madness, death, and the supernatural. Although some considered the band's lyrics satanic, there was often an element of camp present. The group got its name from the title of a Boris Karloff film, and songs such as "Fairies Wear Boots" are at least partly tongue-in-cheek. But vocalist John "Ozzy" Osbourne's haunting falsetto and Tony Iommi's simultaneously spare and thundering guitar work would become touchstones for scores of hard rock bands.

Sabbath released three more albums as well as a greatest hits collection before Osbourne left the group in 1977, reportedly because of drug and alcohol problems. He returned in 1978, then left permanently the following year to start his own solo career. Initially, both Osbourne and the new version of Black Sabbath enjoyed some degree of commercial success, although many of the Sabbath faithful insisted the whole greatly exceeded the sum of its parts. During the 1980s the band would go through an astonishing array of lineup changes and their popularity plummeted.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Soundgarden, Helmet, Nirvana, and others in the grunge and resurgent hard rock movements demonstrated that they had been heavily influenced by the early Black Sabbath, and this effectively rehabilitated the band's reputation. While Sabbath had often been viewed as a dated version of the arena rock of the 1970s, grunge indicated not only that their music remained vibrant, but also that it bore many surprising similarities to the Sex Pistols, Stooges, and other punk and proto-punk bands. Sabbath became heroes to a new generation of independent and alternative bands, and the group's first albums enjoyed an enormous resurgence in popularity. Their music returned to many radio stations and was even featured in television commercials. Osbourne organized Ozzfest, an annual and very successful tour which featured many of the most prominent heavy metal and hard rock acts, as well as his own band. Iommi continued to record and tour with Black Sabbath into the late 1990s, although he was the only original member, and listeners and audiences remained largely unimpressed.

—Bill Freind

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## Black, Shirley Temple

See Temple, Shirley

## Black Sox Scandal

Although gambling scandals have been a part of professional baseball since the sport's beginning, no scandal threatened the game's stature as "the national pastime" more than the revelations that eight members of the Chicago White Sox had conspired to throw the 1919 World Series. Termed the "Black Sox Scandal," the event will go down in history as one of the twentieth century's most notorious sports debacles.

The Chicago White Sox of the World War I period were one of the most popular teams in the major leagues. They were led on the field by "Shoeless" Joe Jackson, an illiterate South Carolinian whose .356 career batting average is the third highest ever, and pitchers Eddie Cicotte and Lefty Williams. The Sox were owned by Charles A. Comiskey, a nineteenth-century ballplayer notorious for paying his star players as little as possible; Cicotte, who led the American League with 29 wins in 1919, earned just \$5,500 that season. Comiskey's stinginess included not paying for the team's laundry in 1918—the team continued to play in their dirty uniforms, which is when the sobriquet "Black Sox" originated.

During the 1919 season, the White Sox dominated the American League standings. Several players on the team demanded that Comiskey



**The 1919 Chicago White Sox.**

give them raises. He refused. First baseman Chick Gandil began discussing throwing the World Series with his fellow players. The eight Sox players who attended meetings on throwing the Series were Cicotte, Gandil, Williams, Jackson, shortstop Swede Risberg, third basemen Fred McMullin and Buck Weaver, and outfielder Happy Felsch. In mid-September, Gandil met with small-time Boston gambler "Sport" Sullivan in New York, telling him his teammates were interested in throwing the upcoming World Series if Sullivan could deliver them \$80,000. Two more gamblers, ex-major league pitcher Bill Burns and former boxer Billy Maharg, agreed to contribute money. These three gamblers contacted New York kingpin Arnold Rothstein, who agreed to put up the full \$80,000.

Cicotte pitched the Series opener against the Reds. As a sign to the gamblers that the fix was on, he hit the first batter with a pitch. Almost instantly, the gambling odds across the country shifted from the White Sox to the Reds. The Sox fumbled their way to a 9-1 loss in Game One.

Throughout the Series, the White Sox made glaring mistakes on the field—fielders threw to the wrong cutoff men, baserunners were thrown out trying to get an extra base, reliable bunters could not make sacrifices, and control pitchers such as Williams began walking batters. Most contemporary sportswriters were convinced something was corrupt. Chicago sportswriter Hugh Fullerton marked dubious plays on his scorecard and later discussed them with Hall of Fame pitcher Christy Mathewson.

The 1919 Series was a best-of-nine affair, and the underdog Reds led four games to one after five games. When the gamblers' money had not yet arrived, the frustrated Sox began playing to win, beating Cincinnati in the sixth and seventh games. Before Williams started in the eighth game, gamblers approached him and warned him his wife would be harmed if he made it through the first inning.

Williams was knocked out of the box after allowing three runs in the first inning. The Cincinnati Reds won the Series with a commanding 10-5 win.

After the Series, Gandil, who had pocketed \$35,000 of the \$80,000, retired to California. Fullerton wrote columns during the following year, insisting that gamblers had reached the White Sox; he was roundly criticized by the baseball establishment and branded a malcontent.

The fixing of the 1919 Series became public in September 1920, when Billy Maharg announced that several of the World Series games had been thrown. Eddie Cicotte broke down and confessed his involvement in the fixing; he claimed he took part in taking money "for the wife and kiddies." Joe Jackson, who during the Series batted a robust .375, signed a confession acknowledging wrongdoing. Upon leaving the courthouse, legend has it that a tearful boy looked up to him and pleaded, "Say it ain't so, Joe." "I'm afraid it is," Jackson allegedly replied.

On September 28, 1920 a Chicago grand jury indicted the eight players. They were arraigned in early 1921. That summer they were tried on charges of defrauding the public. The accused were represented by a team of expensive lawyers paid for by Comiskey. At the trial it was revealed that the signed confessions of Jackson, Cicotte, and Williams had been stolen. The defense lawyers maintained that there were no laws on the books against fixing sporting events.

Following a brief deliberation, the eight were found not guilty on August 2, 1921. The impact of the allegation, however, was undeniable. Kennesaw Mountain Landis, a former Federal judge elected as organized baseball's first commissioner in November 1920, declared, "No player who throws a ball game, no player who undertakes or promises to throw a ball game, no player who sits in a conference with a bunch of crooked players and gamblers, where the ways and means

of throwing a ball game are planned and discussed and does not promptly tell his club about it, will ever play professional baseball.”

The eight Black Sox players spent the rest of their lives in exile. Jackson played semi-pro baseball under assumed names. Several appealed to be reinstated, but Landis and his successors invariably rejected them. Perhaps the saddest story of all was Buck Weaver’s. While he had attended meetings to fix the Series, he had never accepted money from the gamblers and had never been accused of fixing games by the prosecution (in fact, Weaver batted .324 during the Series). But for not having told Comiskey or baseball officials about the fix, he was tried with his seven teammates and thrown out of baseball with them. The last surviving member of the Black Sox, Swede Risberg, died in October 1975.

Most historians credit baseball’s subsequent survival to two figures. From on high, Landis ruled major league baseball with an iron fist until his death in 1944 and gambling scandals decreased substantially throughout organized baseball. On the field of play, Babe Ruth’s mythic personality and home run hitting ability brought back fans disillusioned by the 1919 scandal, while winning the game millions of new fans.

—Andrew Milner

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## The Blackboard Jungle

Ten years after the end of World War II, writer-director Richard Brooks’ film, *The Blackboard Jungle* (1955) was released. The film remains as a moody, entertaining potboiler and an early formula for treating a theme—the rehabilitating education of delinquents and the inner-city underprivileged—that was still being explored in the cinema of the 1980s and 1990s. Films as diverse as the serious and specific *Stand and Deliver* (1988, Edward James Olmos played the beleaguered teacher), the comedic *Renaissance Man* (1994, Danny de Vito), and the sentimental *Dangerous Minds* (1995, Michelle Pfeiffer), can all find their origins in *The Blackboard Jungle*, which, although not a particularly masterful film, was unique in its time, and became a cultural marker in a number of respects. It is popularly remembered as the first movie ever to feature a rock ’n’ roll song (Bill Haley and the Comets, “Rock around the Clock”), and critically respected for its then frank treatment of juvenile delinquency and a powerful performance by actor Glenn Ford. It is notable, too, for establishing the hero image of African American Sidney Poitier, making him Hollywood’s first black box-office star, and for its polyglot cast that accurately reflected the social nature of inner-city ghetto communities.

*The Blackboard Jungle*, however, accrues greater significance when set against the cultural climate that produced it. Despite the post

war position of the United States as the world’s leading superpower, the country still believed itself under the threat of hostile forces. Public debate was couched exclusively in adversarial terms; under the constant onslaught, the nation succumbed to the general paranoia that detected menace in all things from music to motorcyclists, from people of color and the poor to intellectuals and poets. Even the young were a menace, a pernicious presence to be controlled, and protected from the rock ’n’ roll music they listened and danced to, which was rumored as part of a Communist plot designed to corrupt their morals.

From the mid-1940s on, a stream of novels, articles, sociological studies and, finally, movies, sought to explain, sensationalize, vilify, or idealize juvenile delinquency. It was precisely for the dual purpose of informing and sensationalizing that *The Blackboard Jungle* was made, but, like Marlon Brando’s *The Wild One* (1954), it served to inflame youthful sentiment, adding tinder to a fire that was already burning strong.

Adapted from a 1954 novel by Evan Hunter, Brooks’ film tells the story of Richard Dadier (Ford), a war veteran facing his first teaching assignment at a tough inner-city high school in an unspecified northern city. “This is the garbage can of the educational system,” a veteran teacher tells Dadier. “Don’t be a hero and never turn your back on the class.” Dadier’s class is the melting pot incarnate, a mixture of Puerto Ricans, Blacks, Irish, and Italians controlled by two students—Miller (Poitier) and West (Vic Morrow), an Irish youth. West is portrayed as an embryo criminal, beyond redemption, but Miller provides the emotional focus for the movie. He is intelligent, honest, and diligent, and it becomes Dadier’s mission to encourage him and develop his potential. However, in its antagonism to Dadier, the class presents a unified front. They are hostile to education in general and the teacher’s overtures in particular, and when he rescues a female teacher from a sexual attack by a student the hostility becomes a vendetta to force him into quitting. However, despite being physically attacked, witnessing the victimization of his colleagues, and withstanding wrongful accusations of bigotry while worrying about his wife’s difficult pregnancy, Dadier triumphs over the rebellious students and, by extension, the educational system. He retains his idealism, and in winning over his students overcomes his own prejudices.

In setting the film against the background of Dadier’s middle-class life and its attendant domestic dramas, it was assumed that audiences would identify with him, the embattled hero, rather than with the delinquent ghetto kids, but the film’s essentially moral tone is subverted by the style, the inflections, and exuberance of those kids. Following an assault by West and his cohorts, Dadier’s faith begins to waver. He visits a principal at a suburban high school. Over a soundtrack of students singing the “Star Spangled Banner” Dadier tours the classrooms filled with clean-cut white students, tractable and eager to learn. He may yearn for this safe environment, but to the teenage audiences that flocked to *The Blackboard Jungle*, it is Dadier’s inner city charges that seem vital and alive, while the suburban high school appears as lively as a morgue. The teen response to *The Blackboard Jungle* was overwhelming. “Suddenly, the festering connections between rock and roll, teenage rebellion, juvenile delinquency, and other assorted horrors were made explicit,” writes Greil Marcus. “Kids poured into the theaters, slashed the seats, rocked the balcony; they *liked it*.”

The instigation of teen rebellion was precisely the opposite reaction to what the filmmakers had intended. From the opening title



Sidney Poitier (far right) and Glenn Ford in a scene from the film *The Blackboard Jungle*.

sequence, with “Rock Around the Clock” blaring from the sound track as Glenn Ford makes his way through the school yard crowded with boys dancing, sullenly shaking their heads in time to the music, the tone was set. This massed gathering appeared at once threatening and appealing, something with which teenagers could identify, and the image of exuberant, youthful rebellion stayed with teen audiences.

The film’s moral, somewhat hectoring message, was more calculated to appeal to parents, while Brooks himself veiled his own sympathies in subtlety. “These kids were five and six years old in the last war,” a cynical police detective tells Dadier. “Father in the army, mother in the defense plant; no home life, no church life. Gang leaders have taken the place of parents.” Indeed, the specter of war pervades the film. In one scene, Dadier derides a fellow teacher for using his war injuries to gain the sympathy of his class; in another, he counsels the recalcitrant West, who responds that if his crime lands him in jail for a year, it will at least keep him out of the army, and hence, from becoming another nameless casualty on foreign soil.

One cannot say, however, that Richard Brooks offers a profound critique, or even a very good film. (“[It] it will be remembered for its timely production and release,” wrote film critic G.N. Fenin in

summation.) It was not so much the message or the quality of filmmaking that was of import, but the indelible image it left behind of the greasy-haired delinquent snapping his fingers to the beat of Bill Haley and the Comets. This is the nature, the calculus if you will, of exploitation films; that under the rubric of inoculation, they spread the very contagion they are ostensibly striving to contain.

—Michael Baers

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## Blackface Minstrelsy

Taboo since the early 1950s, blackface minstrelsy developed in the late 1820s just as the young United States was attempting to assert a national identity distinct from Britain's. Many scholars have identified it as the first uniquely American form of popular entertainment. Blackface minstrelsy was a performance style that usually consisted of several white male performers parodying the songs, dances, and speech patterns of Southern blacks. Performers blackened their faces with burnt cork and dressed in rags as they played the banjo, the bone

castanets, the fiddle, and the tambourine. They sang, danced, told malapropistic jokes, cross-dressed for "wench" routines, and gave comical stump speeches. From the late 1820s on, blackface minstrelsy dominated American popular entertainment. Americans saw it on the stages of theaters and circuses, read about it in the popular novels of the nineteenth century, heard it over the radio, and viewed it on film and television. Blackface minstrelsy can certainly be viewed as the commodification of racist stereotypes, but it can also be seen as the white fascination with and appropriation of African American cultural traditions that culminated in the popularization of jazz, the blues, rock 'n' roll, and rap music.

While there are accounts of blackface minstrel performances before the American Revolution, the performance style gained widespread appeal in the 1820s with the "Jump Jim Crow" routine of Thomas Dartmouth Rice. Rice is frequently referred to as "the father of blackface minstrelsy." In 1828 Rice, a white man, watched a black Louisville man with a deformed right shoulder and an arthritic left knee as he performed a song and dance called "Jump Jim Crow." Rice taught himself the foot-dragging dance steps, mimicked the



An example of blackface minstrelsy.

disfigurement of the old man, copied his motley dress, and trained himself to imitate his diction. When Rice first performed “Jump Jim Crow” in blackface during an 1828 performance of *The Rifle* in Louisville, Kentucky, the audience roared with delight. White audience members stopped the performance and demanded that Rice repeat the routine over 20 times. It is impossible to overstate the sensational popularity which Rice’s routine enjoyed throughout the 1830s and 1840s. Gary D. Engle has aptly described Rice as “America’s first entertainment superstar.” When Rice brought his routine to New York City’s Bowery Theater in 1832, the audience again stopped the show and called him back on stage to repeat the routine multiple times. He took his routine to England in 1836 where it was enthusiastically received, and he spawned a bevy of imitators who styled themselves “Ethiopian Delineators.”

In 1843 four of these “Ethiopian Delineators” decided to create a blackface minstrel troupe. They were the first group to call themselves “Minstrels” instead of “Delineators,” and their group *The Virginia Minstrels* made entertainment history when it served as the main attraction for an evening’s performance. Previous blackface shows had been performed in circuses or between the acts of plays. The troupe advertised its Boston debut as a “Negro Concert” in which it would exhibit the “Oddities, peculiarities, eccentricities, and comicalities of that Sable Genus of Humanity.” Dan Emmett played the violin, Frank Brower clacked the “bones” (a percussion instrument similar to castanets), Billy Whitlock strummed the banjo, and Dick Pelham beat the tambourine. Their show consisted of comedy skits and musical numbers, and it enjoyed a six week run in Boston before traveling to England. Dozens of imitators attempted to trade on its success. One of the most famous was *Christy’s Minstrels*, which opened in New York City in 1846 and enjoyed an unprecedented seven year run. During the 1840s blackface minstrelsy became the most popular form of entertainment in the nation. Americans who saw performances were captivated by them. “Everywhere it played,” writes Robert Toll, “minstrelsy seemed to have a magnetic, almost hypnotic impact on its audiences.”

Harriet Beecher Stowe’s novel *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, published serially between 1851 and 1852, sold over 300,000 copies in its first year in part because it traded on the popularity of blackface minstrelsy. The book opens with a “Jump Jim Crow” routine, incorporates blackface malapropistic humor, gives its readers a blackface minstrel dancer in Topsy, and its hero Uncle Tom sings doleful hymns drawn from the blackface minstrel tradition. Indeed, Stowe’s entire novel can be read as a blackface minstrel performance in which a white New England woman “blacks up” to impersonate Southern slaves.

*Uncle Tom’s Cabin* was immediately adapted for the stage. It not only became the greatest dramatic success in the history of American theater, but it also quickly became what Harry Birdoff called “The World’s Greatest Hit.” “Tom shows” were traveling musical revues of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* that continued the traditions of blackface minstrelsy. One historian has described them as “part circus and part minstrel show.” They featured bloodhounds chasing Eliza across the ice (a stage addition not present in Stowe’s novel), trick alligators, performing donkeys, and even live snakes. One 1880 performance included 50 actors, 12 dogs, a mule, and an elephant. The “Tom shows” competed directly with the traveling circuses of Barnum and Bailey.

After Thomas Edison’s invention of moving picture technology in 1889, film versions of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* with whites in blackface were some of the very first films ever made. In 1903 Sigmund Lubin produced a film version of the play, and on July 30 of that same year

Edison himself released a 1-reel version directed by Edwin S. Porter. Edison’s film included 14 scenes and a closing tableaux with Abraham Lincoln promising to free the slaves. In 1914 Sam Lucas was the first black man to play Uncle Tom on screen.

Blackface minstrelsy remained on the leading edge of film technology with the advent of “talkies.” The first “talkie” ever made was *The Jazz Singer* in 1927, starring Al Jolson as a blackface “Mammy” singer. The movie’s debut marked the beginning of Jolson’s successful film career. A list of other film stars of the 1930s and 1940s who sang and danced in blackface is a Who’s Who of the period. Fred Astaire played a blackface minstrel man in RKO’s movie *Swing Time* (1936). Martha Raye put on blackface for Paramount Pictures’ *Artists and Models* (1937). Metro Goldwyn Mayer’s 1939 movie *Babes in Arms* closed with a minstrel jubilee in which Mickey Rooney blacked up to sing “My Daddy was a Minstrel Man,” and Judy Garland of *Wizard of Oz* fame blacked up with Rooney in the 1941 sequel *Babes on Broadway*. Bing Crosby blacked up to play Uncle Tom in Irving Berlin’s film *Holiday Inn* (1942), and Betty Grable, June Haver Leonard, and George M. Cohan were just a few of the other distinguished actors of the period who sang and danced in blackface.

The most successful blackface minstrel show of the twentieth century was not on the silver screen but over the radio waves. *The Amos ‘n Andy Show* began as a vaudeville blackface act called *Sam ‘n Henry*, performed by Freeman Fisher Gosden and Charles James Correll. In 1925 the *Sam ‘n Henry* radio show was first broadcast over Chicago radio. In 1928 the duo signed with Chicago radio station WMAQ and in March of that year they introduced the characters Amos and Andy. The show quickly became the most popular radio show in the country. In 1930 Gosden and Correll made the film *Check and Double Check*, in which they appeared in blackface, and in 1936 they returned to the silver screen for an encore.

The 15 minute version of *The Amos ‘n Andy Show* ran from 1928 until 1943, and it was by far the most listened to show during the Great Depression. Historian William Leonard writes that “America came virtually to a standstill six nights a week (reduced to five nights weekly in 1931) at 7:00 pm as fans listened to the 15-minute broadcast.” In 1943 the radio show became a 30 minute program, and in 1948 Gosden and Correll received \$2.5 million to take the show from NBC to CBS. In the late 1940s popular opinion began to shift against blackface performances, and Gosden and Correll bristled under criticism that they were propagating negative stereotypes of African Americans.

In 1951 *The Amos and Andy Show* first appeared on television, but with an all-black cast—it made television history as the first drama to have an all-black cast. The NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) opposed the show, however, claiming that it demeaned blacks and hindered the Civil Rights Movement. It was canceled on June 11, 1953, but it remained in syndication until 1966.

African Americans have long objected to the stereotypes of the “plantation darcy” presented in blackface minstrel routines. Frederick Douglass expressed African American frustration with the phenomenon as early as 1848 when he wrote in the *North Star* that whites who put on blackface to perform in minstrel shows were “the filthy scum of white society, who have stolen from us a complexion denied to them by nature, in which to make money, and pander to the corrupt taste of their white fellow citizens.” Douglass was incensed that whites enslaved blacks in the South, discriminated against them in the North, and then had the temerity to pirate African American culture

for commercial purposes. While blackface minstrelsy has long been condemned as racist, it is historically significant as an early example of the ways in which whites appropriated and manipulated black cultural traditions.

—Adam Max Cohen

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## Blacklisting

In 1947, the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), chaired by J. Parnell Thomas, held a series of hearings on alleged communist infiltration into the Hollywood motion picture industry. Twenty-four “friendly” witnesses—including Gary Cooper, Ronald Reagan, and Walt Disney—testified that Hollywood was infiltrated with communists, and identified a number of supposed subversives by name. Ten “unfriendly” witnesses—including Dalton Trumbo, Lester Cole, and Ring Lardner, Jr.—refused to cooperate with the Committee, contending that the investigations themselves were unconstitutional. The “Hollywood Ten,” as they came to be known, were convicted of contempt of Congress and eventually served sentences of six months to one year in jail.

Shortly after the hearings, more than 50 studio executives met secretly at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York. They emerged with the now infamous “Waldorf Statement,” with which they agreed to suspend the Hollywood Ten without pay, deny employment to anyone who did not cooperate with the HUAC investigations, and refuse to hire communists. When a second round of hearings convened in 1951, the Committee’s first witness, actor Larry Parks, pleaded: “Don’t present me with the choice of either being in contempt of this Committee and going to jail or forcing me to really crawl through the mud to be an informer.” But the choice was presented, the witness opted for the latter, and the ground rules for the decade were set.

From that day forward, it was not enough to answer the question “Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?” Rather, those called to testify were advised by their attorneys that they had three choices: to invoke the First Amendment, with its guarantee of free speech and association, and risk going to prison like the Hollywood Ten; to invoke the Fifth Amendment, with its privilege against self-incrimination, and lose their jobs; or to cooperate with the Committee—to “purge” themselves of guilt by providing the names of others thought to be communists—in the hope of

continuing to work in the industry. By the mid-1950s, more than 200 suspected communists had been blacklisted by the major studios.

The Hollywood blacklist quickly spread to the entertainment industries on both coasts, and took on a new scope with the formation of free enterprise blacklisters such as American Business Consultants and Aware, Inc., which went into the business of peddling accusations and clearances; and the publication of the manual *Red Channels* and newsletter *Counterattack*, which listed entertainment workers with allegedly subversive associations. Senator Joseph McCarthy (R-Wisconsin), who built his political career on red-baiting and finally lent his name to the movement, was censured by the U.S. Senate in 1954. But the blacklist went virtually unchallenged until 1960, when screenwriter Dalton Trumbo worked openly for the first time since 1947. And it affected others, like actor Lionel Stander, well into the 1960s. The House Committee on Un-American Activities remained in existence until 1975.

That the HUAC investigations were meant to be punitive and threatening rather than fact-finding is evidenced by the Committee’s own eventual admission that it already had the information it was allegedly seeking. According to Victor Navasky, witnesses such as Larry Parks were called upon not to provide information that would lead to any conviction or acquittal, but rather to play a symbolic role in a surrealistic morality play. “The Committee was in essence serving as a kind of national parole board, whose job was to determine whether the ‘criminals’ had truly repented of their evil ways. Only by a witness’s naming names and giving details, it was said, could the Committee be certain that his break with the past was genuine. The demand for names was not a quest for evidence; it was a test of character. The naming of names had shifted from a means to an end.”

The effects of the blacklist on the Hollywood community were devastating. In addition to shattered careers, there were broken marriages, exiles, and suicides. According to Navasky, Larry Parks’ tortured testimony and consequent controversy resulted in the end of a career that had been on the brink of superstardom: “His memorable line, ‘Do not make me crawl through the mud like an informer,’ was remembered, and the names he named were forgotten by those in the blacklisting business.” Actress Dorothy Comingore, upon hearing her husband on the radio testifying before the Committee, was so ashamed that she had her head shaved. She lost a bitter custody battle over their child and never worked again. Director Joseph Losey’s last memory was of hiding in a darkened home to avoid service of a subpoena. He fled to England. Philip Loeb, who played Papa on *The Goldbergs*, checked into a room at the Hotel Taft and swallowed a fatal dose of sleeping pills.

There was also resilience, courage, and humor. Blacklisted writers hired “fronts” to pose as the authors of their scripts, and occasionally won Academy Awards under assumed names. Sam Ornitz urged his comrades in the Hollywood Ten to be “at least as brave as the people we write about” as they faced prison. Dalton Trumbo sardonically proclaimed his conviction a “completely just verdict” in that “I did have contempt for that Congress, and have had contempt for several since.” Ring Lardner, Jr., recalled becoming “reacquainted” with J. Parnell Thomas at the Federal Correctional Institution in Danbury, Connecticut, where Thomas was already an inmate, having been convicted of misappropriating government funds while Lardner exhausted his appeals.

Many years later, in an acceptance speech for the highest honor bestowed by the Screenwriters Guild, the Laurel Award, Dalton Trumbo tried to bring the bitterness surrounding the blacklist to an end. “When you [ . . . ] look back with curiosity on that dark time, as I



think occasionally you should, it will do no good to search for villains or heroes or saints or devils because there were none," he said, "there were only victims. Some suffered less than others, some grew and some diminished, but in the final tally we were all victims because almost without exception each of us felt compelled to say things he did not want to say, to do things he did not want to do, to deliver and receive wounds he truly did not want to exchange. That is why none of us—right, left, or center—emerged from that long nightmare without sin. None without sin."

Trumbo's "Only Victims" speech, delivered in 1970, was clearly meant to be healing. Instead, it rekindled a controversy that smoldered for years, with other members of the Hollywood Ten bristling at his sweeping conviction and implied pardon of everyone involved. The social, psychological, legal, and moral ramifications of the Hollywood blacklist have haunted American popular memory for more than half a century. The blacklist has been the subject of numerous books, plays, documentaries, and feature films, the titles of which speak for themselves: *Thirty Years of Treason*, *Scoundrel Time*, *Hollywood on Trial*, *Fear on Trial*, *Are You Now Or Have You Ever Been*, *Hollywood's Darkest Days*, *Naming Names*, *Tender Comrades*, *Fellow Traveler*, and *Guilty By Suspicion*, to name a few.

In 1997, the *New York Times* reported that "The blacklist still torments Hollywood." On the 50th anniversary of the 1947 hearings, the Writers Guild of America, one of several Hollywood unions that failed to support members blacklisted in the 1950s, announced that it was restoring the credits on nearly 50 films written by blacklisted screenwriters. There was talk of "putting closure to all of this" and feeling "forgiveness in the air." At the same time, however, a debate raged in the arts and editorial pages of the nation's newspapers over whether the Los Angeles Film Critics Association and the American Film Institute were guilty of "blacklisting" director Elia Kazan. Kazan appeared before the Committee in 1952 and informed on eight friends who had been fellow members of the Communist Party. His *On the Waterfront* is widely seen as a defense of those who named names. As Peter Biskind remarks, the film "presents a situation in which informing on criminal associates is the only honorable course of action for a just man."

*Variety* advocated a lifetime achievement award for Kazan, describing him as "an artist without honor in his own country, a celebrated filmmaker whose name cannot be mentioned for fear of knee-jerk reactions of scorn and disgust, a two-time Oscar winner not only politically incorrect but also politically unacceptable according to fashion and the dominant liberal-left Hollywood establishment." But as the *New York Times* pointed out, "Not only did [Kazan] name names, causing lasting damage to individual careers, but he lent his prestige and moral authority to what was essentially an immoral process, a brief but nevertheless damaging period of officially sponsored hysteria that exacted a huge toll on individual lives, on free speech, and on democracy." Kazan accepted his lifetime achievement award at the Academy Awards in 1999.

—Jeanne Hall

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## Blade Runner

Ridley Scott's 1982 film adaptation of Philip K. Dick's science fiction novel *Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep?* (1968) received poor reviews when it opened. It did not take long, however, for *Blade Runner* to become known as one of the greatest science fiction films ever made. The film's depiction of Los Angeles in the year 2019 combines extrapolated social trends with technology and the darkness of film noir to create the movie that gave Cyberpunk literature its visual representation.

In true film noir style, the story follows Rick Deckard (Harrison Ford), who is a "Blade Runner," a hired gun whose job is to retire (kill) renegade "replicants" (androids who are genetically designed as slaves for off-world work). The story revolves around a group of replicants who escape from an off-world colony and come to earth to try to override their built-in four-year life span. Deckard hunts the replicants, but he falls in love with Rachael (Sean Young)—an experimental replicant. Deckard finally faces the lead replicant (Rutger Hauer) in a struggle that ends with him questioning his own humanity and the ethics of his blade running.

The production of *Blade Runner* was not without problems. Hampton Fancher had written the screenplay that offered a much darker vision than Dick's novel and only drew on its basic concepts. After the success of *Alien* (1979), Ridley Scott showed interest in directing the film. Scott replaced Fancher with David Peoples after eight drafts of the script. Scott's goal was to rework the script to be less action-oriented with a plot involving "clues" and more human-like adversaries. He worked closely with Douglas Trumbull—2001: *A Space Odyssey*—to design an original visual concept. Although some of the actors flourished under Scott's directing style, many were frustrated with his excessive attention to the set design and lighting. Eventually, the production company that was supporting the film pulled out after spending two million dollars. New funding was provided by three interests—a subsidiary of Warner Brothers, Run Run Shaw, and Tandem Productions (which gained rights to control the final version).

Preview audiences were befuddled by the film's ambiguous resolution and frustrated by the lack of light-hearted action they expected from Harrison Ford. The response was so weak that Tandem Productions decided to change the film. Scott was forced to include voice-overs, and to add a "feel good" ending in which Deckard and Rachael drive off into *Blade Runner's* equivalent of a sunset.

The film opened strong at the box office, but critics railed against the voice-overs and the happy ending. The release of Steven Spielberg's *E.T.: The Extra Terrestrial*, within two weeks of *Blade Runner*, eclipsed the film and ended its theater run. *Blade Runner* has,



Harrison Ford in a scene from the film *Blade Runner*.

however, endured. In 1993, the National Film Preservation Board selected to preserve *Blade Runner* as one of its annual 25 films deemed “culturally, historically, or aesthetically important.” The British Film Institute also included *Blade Runner* in its Modern Classics series.

Part of *Blade Runner*’s success is due to its serious treatment of important philosophical and ethical questions. Some look at *Blade Runner* as a rehashing of *Frankenstein*. In true Cyberpunk style, though, the monsters have already escaped and there is an explicit question about whether humans are the real monsters. *Blade Runner* goes beyond that, asking hard questions about religion, the ethics of genetic manipulation, racism and sexism, and human interaction with technology. The film also presents two other major questions: “What is it to be human?”; and “How should our society handle its ‘kipple?’”—the accumulating garbage (especially human “kipple”). These issues are so thought provoking that *Blade Runner* has become one of the most examined films in academic circles.

*Blade Runner* is often touted as the primary visual manifestation of the Cyberpunk movement and the first Cyberpunk film. The film

predated the beginning of the Cyberpunk movement (William Gibson’s *Neuromancer*), however, by two years. Hallmark themes of Cyberpunk fiction are the merging of man with machine and a dark, morbid view of the near future mixed with the delight of new technology. With dark and bleak imagery and androids that are “more human than human,” it is not surprising that *Blade Runner* became a Cyberpunk watershed, offering a hopeful vision of what technology can do and be.

In 1989, Warner Brothers uncovered a 70mm print of *Blade Runner* and showed it to an eager audience at a film festival. The studio showed this version in two theaters in 1991, setting house attendance records and quickly making them two of the top-grossing theaters in the country. Warner Brothers agreed to fund Scott’s creation of a “director’s cut” of the film. Scott reworked the film and re-released it in 1992 as *Blade Runner: The Director’s Cut*. The voice-overs were taken out, the happy ending was cut, and Scott’s “unicorn” scene was reintegrated.

Because this film was initially so poorly received, no film or television sequels resulted. *Blade Runner* did, however, vault Dick’s

books past their previous recognition. It also spawned two book sequels by K.W. Jeter both of which received marginal reviews. In 1997, Westwood Studios released the long-awaited CD-ROM game. The Internet bustles with dozens of pages dedicated to the film and discussion groups, which never tire of examining the movie.

*Blade Runner's* most important contribution has been to the film and television industries, creating a vision of the future that has continued to resonate in the media. Scott's dystopian images are reflected in films and television shows such as *Robocop*, *Brazil*, *Total Recall*, *Max Headroom*, *Strange Days*, and *Dark City*. *Blade Runner* has become one of the standards for science fiction imagery, standing right beside *Star Wars* and *2001: A Space Odyssey*. Many reviewers still use *Blade Runner* as the visual standard for science fiction comparisons. It has survived as a modern cult classic and it will certainly impact our culture for a long time to come.

—Adam Wathen

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## Blades, Ruben (1948—)

Musician, actor, and social activist Ruben Blades grew up in Panama and grew to international fame in the United States, becoming in the process a perfect example of the multiculturalism of the Americas. Accepting as correct both the Spanish and English pronunciations of his last name, Blades likewise accepts the different facets of himself and demands no less of the greater culture that surrounds him. Overcoming enormous odds, Blades managed to juggle simultaneous careers as a lawyer, a salsa musician, a Hollywood actor, and finally a presidential candidate while maintaining his principles of social justice and pan-culturalism.

Blades was born in Panama City into a musical family; his father, a police detective, played bongos, and his Cuban-born mother sang and played piano. Along with the Afro-Cuban rhythms he grew up with, Blades was heavily influenced by the rock music of the Beatles, Frankie Lyman, and others. After studying law at the University of Panama ("to please my parents"), he began playing music with a band. In 1974, disenchanted with the political oppression of the military dictatorship in Panama and seeking new horizons in his music career, Blades left his native land and went to New York City.

He arrived in New York with only one hundred dollars in his pocket, but it wasn't long before he had found a job in a band playing salsa music. Salsa, a pan-American music which had been formed when the music of Cuban immigrants married American jazz, was just the kind of flexible Latin sound to absorb the rock and rhythm and blues influences that Blades loved. By the late 1970s, he was recording with salsa musician Willie Colon, and together they produced an album appropriately named *Siembre* (Seed), which became one of the seminal works of salsa music.

Blades also comes by his political activism naturally; his grandmother worked for women's rights in Panama in the 1940s and 1950s. Though Blades loved music, he never let it become an escape; rather he used it in his attempt to change the world, writing more than one hundred fifty songs, most of them political. He became one of the leading creators of the *Nuova Cancion* (New Song) movement, a Latin music movement that combined political message with poetic imagery and Latin rhythms. His songs, while embraced by those on the left, were often controversial in more conservative circles. His 1980 song "Tiberon" (Shark) about the intervention and imperialism of the superpowers, was banned on radio stations in Miami, and Blades received death threats when he performed there.

After taking a year off to earn a master's degree in international law from Harvard Law School, Blades moved from New York to Los Angeles in 1986. He starred in the low budget film *Crossover Dreams* (1985) about a young Latin American man trying to succeed as a musician in the United States. Blades proved to be a talented actor and continues to appear in major films, some, like Robert Redford's *The Milagro Beanfield War* (1988), with social significance and some, like *Fatal Beauty* (1987) with Whoopi Goldberg, pure Hollywood.

Perhaps Blades's most surprising role began when he returned to Panama in 1992. As the country was struggling to recover from the repressive politics of Manuel Noriega and invasion by the United States, Blades helped in the formation of a new populist political party to combat the dominant corporation-driven politics of Panama. The party, *Papa Egoro* (Mother Earth in the indigenous language), eventually asked Blades to be its candidate for president. Blades accepted reluctantly but ran enthusiastically, writing his own campaign song and encouraging his constituents to believe that change was possible. "I'm going to walk with the people who are the subjects of my songs," he said, "And I'm going to try to change their lives." One significant change he suggested was a requirement that a percentage of the corporate money that passed through Panama be invested back into the infrastructure of the country to benefit ordinary citizens. Blades lost his bid for the presidency, partly because of lack of campaign funds and a political machine, and partly because he had not lived in Panama for many years and was not taken seriously as a candidate by some voters. However, he came in third out of seven



**Ruben Blades**

candidates, which many saw as a hopeful sign of a growing populist movement.

Ruben Blades's life and career is an eclectic jumble of impossible feats and improbable juxtapositions. In the superficial world of commercial music and Hollywood film he has succeeded without neutralizing his politics. In the endless freeway that is Los Angeles he has never learned to drive or owned a car ("If I need something, it's only an hour-and-a-half walk to town"). His many releases include an album with Anglo singers singing with him in Spanish, an English album with rock rebels Lou Reed and Elvis Costello, and an album of contemporary Panamanian singers. Blades is proudly pan-American and wants to inspire all Americans to explore our connections. "I will always be viewed with suspicion by some, though not by all," he admits, "because I move against the current."

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Blanc, Mel (1908-1989)

Mel Blanc, the "Man of a thousand voices," helped to develop animated cartoons into a new comedic art form by creating and performing the voices of hundreds of characters for cartoons, radio, and television.

Melvin Jerome Blanc was born on May 30, 1908 in San Francisco, California, to Frederick and Eva Blank, managers of a women's retail clothing business. A poor student and class cut-up, Blanc was popular with his peers but often annoyed his teachers and principals. At age 16, goaded by an insult from a teacher, Blanc changed the spelling of his last name from "Blank" to "Blanc." Blanc had made his class laugh by giving a response in four different voices, and the incensed teacher said, "You'll never amount to anything. You're just like your last name: blank." Nonetheless, high school gave Blanc some opportunity to practice future material. For example, he took advantage of the great acoustics of the school's cavernous hallways to develop the raucous laugh that eventually became Woody Woodpecker's signature.

After graduating from high school in 1927, Blanc started working part-time in radio, on a Friday evening program called *The Hoot Owls*, and playing tuba with two orchestras. He then went on to play in the NBC Trocadero radio orchestra. By age 22 he was the youngest musical director in the country, working as the pit conductor for Oregon's Orpheum Theatre. In 1931, Blanc returned to San Francisco to emcee a Tuesday night radio variety show called "The Road Show." The next year, he set out for Hollywood, hoping to make it big. Although his first foray into Tinseltown did not bring him much professional success, it did wonders for his personal life. In 1933, Blanc eloped with Estelle Rosenbaum, whom he had met while swing-dancing at the Ocean Park Ballroom in Santa Monica. The couple moved to Portland, Oregon, where Blanc (with help from Estelle) wrote, produced, and acted in a live, hour-long radio show, *Cobwebs and Nuts*.

In 1935, Blanc and his wife returned to Hollywood to try again. By 1941, Blanc's career as a voice actor had sky-rocketed. In 1936, he joined Warner Brothers, brought on to create a voice for an animated drunken bull for an upcoming production called *Picador Porky*, and starring Porky Pig. But soon afterward, Blanc was asked to replace the actor who provided Porky Pig's voice. In his first demonstration of his new creation, Blanc ad-libbed the famous "Th-uh-th-uh-th-that's all, folks!" Released in 1937, *Picador Porky* was Blanc's first cartoon for Warner Brothers. That same year, Blanc created his second lead character for Warner, Daffy Duck. Around this time, he also changed the way cartoons were recorded by suggesting that each character's lines be recorded separately and then reassembled in sequence. In 1940, Blanc helped create the character with whom he is most closely associated, Bugs Bunny. Bugs had been around in different forms for several years as "Happy Rabbit," but Blanc re-christened him after his animator, Ben "Bugs" Hardaway, and gave him a tough-edged Brooklyn accent. Bugs also provided the inspiration for the most famous ad-lib of his career, "Eh, what's up Doc?" Blanc completed the character by chewing on raw carrots, a vegetable which he detested. Unfortunately, other fruits and vegetables did not produce the right sound. In addition, Blanc found it impossible to chew, swallow, and say his next line. The solution? They stopped recording so that Blanc could spit the carrot into the wastebasket before continuing with the script.



Mel Blanc

In 1945, the studio introduced a romantic lead for Blanc, the skunk Pepe Le Pew. Blanc modeled the character on French matinee idol Charles Boyer, and received amorous fan mail from women who loved the character's accent. The final leading character that Blanc created for Warner Brothers was Speedy Gonzales, the Mexican mouse, the studio's most prolific character in its final years. Of the Warner Brothers characters, Blanc has described the voice of Yosemite Sam as the most difficult to perform, saying that it was like "screaming at the top of your lungs for an hour and a half." Another voice that required a lot of volume was Foghorn Leghorn. His easiest character, and one of his favorites, was Sylvester the Cat. According to Blanc, this voice is closest to his natural speaking voice, but "without the thspray." In his autobiography, Blanc revealed one of the little known tricks used by engineers to manipulate the voices for characters such as Daffy Duck, Henery Hawk, Speedy Gonzales, and Tweety. Using a variable-speed oscillator, lines were recorded below normal speed and then played back conventionally, which raised the pitch of the voices while retaining their clarity.

While at Warner Brothers Blanc worked with a talented group of animators, producers, and directors that included Friz Freleng, Milt Avery, Chuck Jones, and Leon Schlesinger. The studio's work earned five Oscars for cartoons. The first award came in 1947 for *Tweety Pie*, starring Sylvester and Tweety. Blanc calls the 1957 Oscar winner *Birds Anonymous* his all-time favorite cartoon, and producer Eddie Selzer bequeathed its Oscar to Blanc upon his death (cartoon Oscars are only awarded to producers). By the time Warner Brothers closed its animation shop in 1969, Blanc had performed around 700 human and animal characters, and created voices for 848 of the

studio's 1,003 cartoons. He also negotiated an unprecedented screen credit that enabled him to get freelance work with other studios and programs. In addition, Blanc occasionally acted as a dialect coach to film stars such as Clark Gable.

During World War II, Blanc appeared on several Armed Forces Radio Service programs, such as *G.I. Journal*, featuring his popular character Private Sad Sack. Hollywood legends who appeared on the show with Blanc included Lucille Ball, Groucho Marx, Frank Sinatra, and Orson Welles. Warner Brothers also produced several war-related cartoons such as *Wacky Blackouts* and *Tokyo Jokio*. In 1946, CBS and Colgate-Palmolive offered Blanc his own show, but it lasted only one season, due, in Blanc's opinion, to "lackluster scripts."

After leaving Warner Brothers, Blanc returned to broadcast full-time. One of his most well-known roles was a dour, forlorn character comically misnamed "The Happy Postman" who appeared on *The George Burns and Gracie Allen Show*. In 1939, Blanc joined the cast of Jack Benny's popular radio show on NBC. Blanc came to regard Benny as his "closest friend in all of Hollywood." On *The Jack Benny Program* many jokes featured Blanc's Union Depot train caller who would call, "Train leaving on track five for Anaheim, Azusa, and Cuc-amonga!" In one series of skits the pause between "Cuc" and "amonga" kept getting longer and longer until in one show a completely different skit was inserted between the first and second part of the phrase. In 1950, *The Jack Benny Program* made a successful transition to television, ranking in the top 20 shows for ten of the fifteen years it was on the air. Television provided even more voice work for Blanc, who began to perform characters for cartoons specifically produced for television. In 1960, Blanc received an offer from the Hanna-Barbera studio to play the voice role of Barney Rubble on a new animated series for adults called *The Flintstones*.

In 1961, Blanc and former Warner Brothers executive producer John Burton started a commercial production company called Mel Blanc Associates. Three days later, while driving to a radio taping, Blanc was hit head-on by a car that lost control on the S-shaped bend of Sunset Boulevard known as "Dead Man's Curve." Although the other driver sustained only minor injuries, Blanc broke nearly every bone in his body, lost nine pints of blood, and was in a coma for three weeks. After regaining consciousness, he stayed an additional two months in a full body cast. While in the hospital, he recorded several tracks for Warner Brothers, and then had a mini-studio installed in his home so that he could continue working while convalescing.

The Blanc's only child, a son Noel was born in 1938. Blanc has joked that he and his wife later realized that in French their son's name translated into "white Christmas," which Blanc noted was "a hell of a name for a Jewish boy." At age 22, Blanc's son Noel joined Mel Blanc Associates, eventually becoming company president. Later, Blanc taught his son the voices of the Warner Brothers characters, so that he could carry on his legacy.

Mel Blanc Associates quickly became known for its humorous commercials. Its client roster included Kool-Aid, Volkswagen, Ford, and Avis Rent-a-car. They also began producing syndicated radio programs. In conjunction with the company's thirtieth anniversary, the renamed Blanc Communications Corporation became a full-service advertising agency. In 1972, Blanc established the Mel Blanc School of Commercials, which offered six courses such as radio and television voiceovers and commercial acting principles. Proving too costly, however, the school only existed for two years. Meanwhile Blanc continued to do voice-work for commercials and programs. In 1988, he had a bit part as Daffy Duck in the film *Who Framed Roger Rabbit*.

Both Blanc and Bugs Bunny have their own stars on the Hollywood Walk of Fame (Blanc's resides at 6385 Hollywood Boulevard). Blanc has said that the honor of which he is most proud is his inclusion in the United States entertainment history collection of the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History. Active in many philanthropic organizations, Blanc received a plethora of civic awards, including the United Jewish Welfare Fund Man of the Year and the First Show Business Shrine Club's Life Achievement Award.

Although Blanc was a pack-a-day smoker, who started when he was eight, a doctor who x-rayed Blanc's throat compared it to the musculature of Italian tenor Enrico Caruso. Blanc quit smoking later in life when he developed severe emphysema and required portable oxygen to breathe. In 1989, Blanc died at the age of 81 from heart disease. The epitaph on his headstone in Hollywood Memorial Park Cemetery reads, "That's All Folks."

—Courtney Bennett

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## Bland, Bobby Blue (1930—)

Bobby Blue Bland played a significant role in the development of the blues ballad. Generally ranked by blues fans in the highest echelon of the genre, he specializes in slower, prettier tunes, while remaining within the blues tradition. Bland, along with B. B. King, emerged from the Memphis blues scene. Born in Rosemark, Tennessee, he moved to Memphis at seventeen, and began recording shortly thereafter. During the 1950s, he developed his unique blues ballad sound: in his performances, he walks a thin line between self-control and ecstasy. In the 1960s, he had twelve major hits, including "I Pity the Fool," and the now standard "Turn on Your Love Light." Overall, he has had 51 top ten singles. Bland has never become a major crossover star, but still draws solid audiences on the blues concert circuit.

—Frank A. Salamone

## Blass, Bill (1922—)

Bill Blass was the first American designer to emerge from the shadow of manufacturers and establish his name with authority. From a base in womenswear design, Blass achieved a collateral success in menswear with "Bill Blass for PBM" in 1968, another first for an American. Blass then used licensing to expand his brand name globally in a range of products from menswear to automobiles and even to chocolates at one point. A shrewd observer of European style, Blass used his talent to define American fashion, creating separates for day and evening; sportswear with active sports as inspiration; and the mix and match that allows customers to compose an individual and chic style on their own. Blass was one of the first designers to

come out of the backroom of design, mingle with clients, and become famous in his own right. To many, Blass is known as the "dean of American fashion."

—Richard Martin

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## Blaxploitation Films

Blaxploitation films were a phenomenon of the 1970s. Low-budget action movies aimed at African American audiences, blaxploitation films enjoyed great financial success for several years. Some blaxploitation pictures, such as *Shaft* and *Superfly* launched music and fashion trends as well. Eventually the controversy surrounding these movies brought an end to the genre, but not before nearly one hundred blaxploitation films had been released.

Even during the silent movie period, producers had been making films with all-black casts. An African American entrepreneur named



Pam Grier in a scene from *Foxy Brown*.

William Foster released a series of all-black comedy films beginning in 1910. Oscar Micheaux produced, wrote, and directed nearly forty films between 1919 and 1948. Hundreds of “black only” theaters existed in the United States from the 1920s to the 1950s, and there were low-budget African American films of all genres: musicals, westerns, comedies, horror films, and so forth. The market for these black films started to disappear in the 1950s, when integration brought an end to the “blacks only” theaters and Hollywood began using African American performers more prominently in mainstream studio productions.

By the end of the 1960s, it was common to see films starring African American performers. When Sidney Poitier won the Academy Award in 1964 for his role in *Lilies of the Field*, his victory was seen as a sign of great progress for African American actors. However, a more important role for Poitier was that of police detective Virgil Tibbs in the film *In the Heat of the Night*. He played Tibbs in two more films, *They Call Me MISTER Tibbs* and *The Organization*. Both those movies were released at the beginning of the blaxploitation cycle and clearly influenced many blaxploitation pictures: the forceful, articulate, handsome, and well-educated Virgil Tibbs appears to have been the model for the protagonists of many blaxploitation pictures. The success of *In the Heat of the Night*—it won the Oscar as best picture of 1967—and the ongoing civil rights movement in America led to more films that dealt with racial tensions, particularly in small Southern towns, including *If He Hollers, Let Him Go*; *tick . . . tick . . . tick . . .*; and *The Liberation of L.B. Jones*. But all of these movies were mainstream productions from major Hollywood studios; none could be considered a blaxploitation picture.

*The Red, White and Black*, a low-budget, extremely violent western with a predominantly African American cast can be called the first blaxploitation film. Directed by John Bud Carlos and released in 1969, the movie was the first black western since the 1930s, addressing the discrimination faced by African Americans in post-Civil War America. The most influential movie of this period, however, was *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song*, which was written, produced, and directed by Melvin van Peebles, who also starred. The protagonist, Sweetback, is a pimp who kills a police officer to save an innocent black man and then has to flee the country. The film became one of the most financially successful independent films in history, and its explicit sex, extreme violence, criticism of white society, and powerful antihero protagonist became standards of the genre.

*Shaft* further solidified the conventions of the blaxploitation genre. John Shaft is a private detective who is hired to find the daughter of an African American mobster; the daughter has been kidnapped by the Mafia. Shaft, portrayed by Richard Roundtree, is similar to Virgil Tibbs character (both Shaft and Tibbs first appeared in novels by author Ernest Tidyman) and many suave private detectives from film and television. *Shaft* was extremely popular with African American audiences and was widely imitated by other blaxploitation filmmakers: the cool and aloof hero, white villains, sex with both black and white women, heavy emphasis on action and gunplay, and the depiction of the problems of lower income African Americans all became staples of the blaxploitation movie. Isaac Hayes' Academy Award winning “Theme from Shaft” was frequently imitated. Two sequels were made to *Shaft*: *Shaft's Big Score* and *Shaft in Africa*. Roundtree also starred in a brief *Shaft* television series in 1973.

The peak period for blaxploitation films was 1972-74, during which seventy-six blaxploitation films were released, an average of more than two per month. It was in 1972 that *Variety* and other

publications began using the term blaxploitation to describe these new action pictures, creating the term by combining “black” with “exploitation.” That same year two former football players, Jim Brown and Fred Williamson, both began what would be long-running blaxploitation film careers. Brown starred in *Slaughter*, about a ghetto resident who seeks revenge on the Mafia after hoodlums murder his parents, and in *Black Gunn*, in which he seeks revenge on the Mafia after hoodlums murder his brother. Williamson starred in *Hammer* (Williamson's nickname while playing football), in which he portrayed a boxer who has conflicts with the Mafia. While former athletes Brown and Williamson might have dominated the genre, more accomplished African American actors were also willing to perform in the lucrative blaxploitation market: Robert Hooks starred in *Trouble Man*, William Marshall in *Blacula*, Hari Rhodes in *Detroit 9000*, and Calvin Lockhart in *Melinda*.

The blaxploitation films of this period were extremely popular with audiences and successful financially as well, but they also were the subject of much criticism from community leaders and the black press. These movies were being made by major Hollywood studios but on lower budgets than most of their other pictures, and many critics of blaxploitation films felt that the studios were cynically producing violent junk for the African American audience rather than making uplifting films with better production values, such as the 1972 release *Sounder*. Blaxploitation films were also dismissed as simply black variations on hackneyed material; *Jet* magazine once called blaxploitation films “James Bond in black face.” Criticism grew with a second wave of blaxploitation films whose characters were less socially acceptable to segments of the public. The 1973 release *Superfly* is the best known among these films and was the subject of the intense protest at the time of its release. The film is about a cocaine dealer, Priest, who plans to retire after making one last, very large deal. Priest was never explicitly condemned in the movie, and, as portrayed by the charismatic Ron O'Neal, actually became something of a hero to some viewers, who responded by imitating Priest's wardrobe and haircut. Other blaxploitation films of the period that featured criminal protagonists were *Black Caesar* (Fred Williamson as a gangster); *Willie Dynamite* (a pimp); *Sweet Jesus, Preacher Man* (a hitman); and *The Mack* (another pimp).

As the controversy around blaxploitation films grew, producers moved away from crime films for black audiences and attempted making black versions of familiar film genres. Particularly popular were black horror movies, including *Blacula* and its sequel *Scream, Blacula, Scream*; *Blackenstein*; *Alabama's Ghost*; and *Abby*, which so resembled *The Exorcist* that its producers were sued for plagiarism. Black westerns, such as *Adios, Amigo*, were also popular, and there were a few black martial arts films, like *Black Belt Jones*. Many producers simply added the word “black” to the title of a previously existing picture, so that audiences were treated to *Black Lolita*, *Black Shampoo*, and *The Black Godfather*. Comedian Rudy Ray Moore had a brief film career with *Dolemite* and *The Human Tornado*.

The greatest success of the second wave of blaxploitation pictures came from American International Pictures and its series of movies featuring sexy female characters. After appearing in some prison movies for the studio, Pam Grier starred in *Coffy* in 1973, playing a nurse who tries to avenge the death of her sister, a drug addict. Grier subsequently starred in *Foxy Brown*, *Sheba Baby*, and *Friday Foster* for American International. AIP also made a few “sexy women” blaxploitation films with other actresses: Tamara Dobson starred in *Cleopatra Jones* and *Cleopatra Jones and the Casino of Gold*, and Jeanne Bell played the title role in *TNT Jackson*.

By the late 1970s, the blaxploitation film had run its course. From a high of two dozen blaxploitation films released in 1973, studios moved to four blaxploitation films in 1977 and none at all in 1978. Major studios were now making mainstream black films with performers like Richard Pryor. With the exception of Fred Williamson, who moved to Europe where he continued to produce and appear in low-budget movies, no one was making blaxploitation films by the end of the 1970s. There have been a few attempts to revive the format. Brown, Williamson, O'Neal, and martial artist Jim Kelly appeared in *One Down, Three to Go* in 1982, and *The Return of Superfly* was released in 1990 with a new actor in the lead. Keenen Ivory Wayans parodied blaxploitation films in *I'm Gonna Get You, Sucka*.

Like many movie trends, the blaxploitation film genre enjoyed a rapid success and an almost equally rapid demise, probably hastened by the highly repetitive content of most of the movies. Blaxploitation films were undeniably influential and remained so into the 1990s. Filmmakers such as John Singleton or the Hughes brothers frequently spoke with admiration of the blaxploitation pictures they enjoyed growing up, and Spike Lee frequently asserted that without *Sweet Sweetback's Baaaadasssss Song* there would be no black cinema today. Despite their frequent excesses, blaxploitation films were an important part of American motion pictures in the 1970s.

—Randall Clark

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## The Blob

*The Blob* (1958) is one of a long string of largely forgettable 1950s teenage horror films. The film's action revolves around a purple blob from outer space that has the nasty habit of eating people. At the time, the title was what drew audiences to watch this otherwise ordinary film. It has since achieved notoriety as both a sublimely bad film and the film in which Steve McQueen had his first starring role.

—Robert C. Sickels

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## Blockbusters

The term blockbuster was originally coined during World War II to describe an eight-ton American aerial bomb which contained enough explosive to level an entire city block. After the war, the term

quickly caught the public's attention and became part of the American vernacular to describe any occurrence that was considered to be epic in scale. However, there was no universal agreement as to what events actually qualified as blockbusters so the post war world was inundated with colossal art exhibitions, epic athletic events, and even "larger than life" department store sales all lumped under the heading of blockbuster.

By the mid-1950s, though, the term began to be increasingly applied to the motion picture screen as a catch-all term for the wide-screen cinemascope epics that Hollywood created to fend off the threat of television, which was taking over the nation's living rooms. Such films as Cecil B. DeMille's *The Ten Commandments*, a remake of his earlier silent film, Michael Anderson's *Around the World in 80 Days*, and King Vidor's *War and Peace*, all released in 1956, established the standards for the blockbuster motion picture. Every effort was made to create sheer visual magnitude in wide film (usually 70mm) processes, full stereophonic sound, and lavish stunts and special effects.

These films were also characterized by higher than average production budgets (between \$6,000,000 and \$15,000,000), longer running times (more than 3 hours), and the need to achieve extremely high box office grosses to break even, let alone make a profit. Subject matter was generally drawn from history or the Bible and occasionally from an epic novel which provide a seemingly inexhaustible supply of colorful characters, broad vistas, and gripping stories.

By this definition, the blockbuster has a history as old as Hollywood itself. As early as 1898, a version of the passion play was filmed on the roof of a New York high-rise and a one reel version of *Ben Hur* was filmed in 1907. Yet, by 1912, it was Italy that was establishing the conventions of large scale spectacles through such lavish productions as Enrico Guazzoni's *Quo Vadis?* (1912) and Giovanni Pastrone's *Cabiria* (1914). Indeed, it was the latter film—with its enormous (for the time) production budget of \$100,000 and its world-wide following—that played a major role in taking the motion picture out of the Nickelodeons into modern theaters and in establishing the viability of the feature film as a profitable entertainment medium.

According to some sources, American film pioneer D.W. Griffith was so impressed by *Cabiria* that he owned his own personal copy of the film and studied its spectacular sets, its lighting, and its camera movement as a source of inspiration for his own epics *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *Intolerance* (1916). Indeed, *The Birth of a Nation* was not only the first important product of the American cinema, it set the standard for the films to follow. Its budget has been placed at \$110,000, which translates into millions of dollars by today's standards. Its gross, however, was much higher approaching 100 million dollars. In fact, a number of historians attest that it may have been seen by more people than any film in history—a fact that might be disputed by proponents of *Gone with the Wind* (1939) and *Titanic* (1997).

*The Birth of a Nation* did, however, change forever the demographics of the motion picture audience. Prior to its release, films were considered to be primarily for the working classes, mostly immigrants who viewed them in small storefront theaters. Griffith's film, which treated the U.S. Civil War and related it as an epic human drama, captured an audience that had previously only attended the legitimate theater. Through the use of sophisticated camera work, editing, and storytelling, Griffith created a masterpiece that has been re-released many times and still maintains the power to shock and move an audience.





The theatrical poster for the film *The Blob*.

Griffith's second attempt at a blockbuster one year later exposed the inherent risks of big-budget filmmaking. Though *Intolerance* is generally considered as an artistic milestone and is generally credited with influencing the fledgling Soviet film industry in the 1920s, it was a financial disaster for its director. Made on a budget of \$500,000 (several million in today's dollars), it never found its audience. Its pacifist tone was out of step with a public gearing itself for America's entry into World War I. Also, instead of one straight forward narrative, it shifted back and forth between a modern story, sixteenth-century France, ancient Babylon, and the life of Christ; the stories were all linked by the common theme of intolerance. The human drama was played out against giant sets and spectacular pageantry. Yet, audiences appeared to balk at the four storylines and stayed away from the theater, making it arguably the first big budget disaster in the history of film.

Although film budgets grew considerably during the next two decades, leading to some notable blockbusters as *Ben-Hur* (1926) and *San Francisco* (1936), it was not until 1939 with the release of *Gone with the Wind* that the form reasserted itself as a major force on the

level of contemporary "event pictures." The film, which was based on a nation-wide best-selling novel by Margaret Mitchell, was produced by David O. Selznick and returned to the theme of the U.S. Civil War covered by Griffith. Although box office star Clark Gable was the popular choice for the role of Rhett Butler, Selznick was able to milk maximum publicity value by conducting a high profile public search for an actress to play the role of Scarlett O'Hara. Fan magazines polled their readers for suggestions but the producer ultimately selected British actress Vivian Leigh, a virtual unknown in the United States. Another publicity stunt was the "burning of Atlanta" on a Culver City backlot consisting of old sets and other debris as the official first scene to be filmed. By the time that the film had its official premiere in Atlanta in 1939, the entire world was ready to experience the "big screen," Technicolor experience that was *Gone with the Wind*.

The film was a monumental success during its initial run and continued to pack audiences in during subsequent reissues in 1947, 1954, 1961, 1967, and 1998. In the 1967 run, the film was blown up to 70mm to effectively compete with the large screen blockbusters of the

1960s such as *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962) and *The Sound of Music* (1965). Thus removed from its natural aspect ratio, it did not fare particularly well against its modern competition. A decade later, when restored to its normal screen size, it made its debut on NBC and drew the largest audience in television history. In terms of sheer hype, marketing, and production values, *Gone with the Wind* constituted the prototype for what the blockbuster would come to be. From the time of its release until 1980, it became, in terms of un-inflated dollar value, the most profitable film ever made.

The blockbuster phenomenon died down until the mid-1950s when the emergence of new wide-screen technologies and the onslaught of television prompted Hollywood to give its viewers a spectacle that could not be duplicated on the much smaller screen in the living room. Although first dismissed as novelties, these films built on the precedents established by *Gone with the Wind* and built their success on lavish production budgets, biblical and literary source material, and sheer big screen spectacle. The first major success was King Vidor's *War and Peace* in 1956. With a running time of nearly three and one half hours, it was a true visual epic. It was quickly followed by Cecil B. DeMille's remake of his silent epic *The Ten Commandments*, and Michael Anderson's *Around the World in 80 Days*.

Yet, within the very success of these blockbusters were the ingredients that would bring them to a halt in the 1960s. In order to create the large screen spectacles that were the trademark of the wide-screen 1950s films, the producers had to allocate larger production budgets than were the average for their standard releases. This meant that the studio had to drastically decrease the number of films that it made during a given year. Also, the longer running time of the blockbusters reduced the number of showings that a film would receive in the neighborhood theater.

To get around this situation, distributors created the road show exhibition scheme. A large budget film such as *West Side Story* (1961) would open only at large theaters in major metropolitan areas for, in some cases, as long as a year. The film would become an event much like a Broadway play and could command top dollar at the box-office. Both sound and projection systems would feature the latest technology to captivate the audience and make the evening a true theatrical experience. Once this market began to diminish, the film would be released to neighborhood theaters with considerably inferior exhibition facilities. Still, the public flocked to these motion pictures to see what all of the shouting was about.

This production and distribution strategy was based on the film being a hit. Unfortunately, most of the films that followed the widescreen extravaganzas of the mid-1950s failed to make their money back. The most notable example was Joseph L. Mankiewicz's 1963 *Cleopatra*, which cost Twentieth Century-Fox more than 40 million dollars to produce over a four year period. Although it had a number of theoretically "sure fire" ingredients—the pairing of Elizabeth Taylor and her then-lover Richard Burton (who were at the center of a highly publicized Hollywood divorce case) and every element of big screen spectacle that its producers could muster—it bombed at the box-office and never made its money back. This debacle almost brought Fox to its knees and illustrated the damage that an ill conceived blockbuster could do to a studio.

Thus although several films, such as *The Sound of Music*, which cost only \$8 million to make and which returned \$72 million in the domestic market alone, continued to show the profit potential of the blockbuster concept, the practice temporarily died out simply because

studios could not afford to put all of their financial eggs in one cinematic basket.

During the 1970s, production costs for all films began to rise substantially, causing the studios to produce fewer and fewer films and to place a significantly larger share of the budget into advertising and promotion in an attempt to pre-sell their films. This idea was enhanced through a variety of market and audience research to determine the viability of specific subjects, stories, and actors. Such practices led to the production of films carefully tailored to fit the audience's built-in expectations and reduced the number of edgy, experimental projects that studios would be willing to invest in.

The financial success of several conventionally-themed big-budget films at the beginning of the decade, including *Love Story* (1970), *Airport* (1970), and *The Godfather* (1972), proved that the theory indeed worked and proved that the right amount of research, glitz, and hype would pay huge dividends at the box-office. By the end of the decade two other films—*Star Wars* (1977) and *Jaws* (1975)—demonstrated that the equation could even be stretched to generate grosses in the hundreds of millions of dollars if the formula was on target. The latter two films demonstrated that the success of even one blockbuster could effect the financial position of a studio. In 1997, for example, the six top grossing films in the U.S. market accounted for more than one-third of the total revenues of distributors.

Despite the failure of the \$40 million *Heaven's Gate* in 1980 and the increasingly high stakes faced by studios in order to compete, the trend toward blockbusters continued unabated into the 1980s. A major factor in this development, however, was the fact that most of the major studios were being acquired by large conglomerates with financial interests in a variety of media types. These companies viewed the motion picture as simply the first stage in the marketing of a product that would have blockbuster potential in a variety of interlocking media including books, toys, games, clothing, and personal products. In the case of a successful film, *Star Wars* or *Batman*, for example, the earnings for these items would far exceed the box office revenues and at the same time create an appetite for a sequel.

This situation often affected the subject matter dealt with by the film. The question thus became "How well can the film stimulate the after-markets." Established products such as sequels and remakes of popular films were deemed to be the most commercial vehicles for developing related lines of merchandise. Original screenplays—unless they were based on successful "crossover" products from best-selling novels, comic books, or stage plays with built-in audiences—were deemed to be the least commercial subjects.

At the same time, studios were re-thinking their distribution strategy. Whereas the road show method had worked during the 1960s the merchandising needs of linked media conglomerates required a new concept of saturation booking. According to this strategy, a film would be released simultaneously in more than 2000 theaters all over the United States to create the largest opening weekend possible and generate enough strong "word of mouth" recommendations to create a chain reaction that would open up all of the additional markets world wide and trigger additional markets in video sales, pay TV, and network TV as well as toys and other merchandise.

The primary criteria for creating films that lend themselves to multi-media marketing was to choose subjects which were appealing to the prime 14- to 25-year-old age group but which also had attractions for a family audience. Thus, event films were usually pegged to the two heaviest theater going periods of the year, summer and Christmas. This insures that if the film is targeted at a younger

audience, it will still attract the parents of children or teenagers who might accompany them to the theater.

Additionally, the video and television markets also assisted in creating the reception for theatrical projects. The highly successful *Rambo* series of the 1980s began with a moderately successful medium-budget theatrical film, *First Blood* (1982), which might never have generated a sequel had it not been a runaway video hit. The success of the video created a built-in audience for the much higher budgeted *Rambo: First Blood, Part Two* (1985), which in turn generated toys, action figures, video games, and an animated TV series.

In the 1990s, the stakes rose even higher, with higher budgeted films requiring correspondingly higher grosses. Such large budgeted films as *Batman and Robin* (1997) and *Waterworld* (1995) were deemed “failures” because their fairly respectable grosses still did not allow the film to break even due to the scale of their production costs. The ultimate plateau may have been reached with James Cameron’s *Titanic*, with a production budget so large—over \$200 million—that it took two studios (Twentieth Century-Fox and Paramount) to pay for it.

*Titanic* became the biggest moneymaking film in the history of motion pictures, with a gross approaching \$1 billion worldwide. Such success is largely due to the fact that writer/director James Cameron created a film that appealed to every major audience demographic possible. For the young girls, there was its star Leonardo Di Caprio, the 1990s heartthrob, and a love story; for young men there was the action of the sinking ship; for the adults, there was the historical epic and the love story.

As for the future, the success of *Titanic* will undoubtedly tempt producers to create even larger budgeted films crammed with ever more expensive special effects. Some of these productions will be so large that they will have to be funded by increasingly intricate financial partnerships between two or more production entities simply to get the film off the ground. The stakes will, of course, be enormous, with the fate of an entire studio or production company riding on the outcome of a single feature. Yet, despite the high risk factor, the blockbuster trend will continue to exert a siren-like allure for those at the controls of Hollywood’s destiny. Unlike the days of Griffith and Selznick, it is no longer enough to simply tell a good story in a cinematic way. If a film cannot sell toys and software, it may not even get made.

—Steve Hanson and Sandra Garcia-Myers

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## *Blondie* (comic strip)

One of the longest-running marriages in the funnies is that of Blondie Boopadoop and Dagwood Bumstead. The couple first met in 1930, when Blondie was a flighty flapper and Dagwood was a somewhat dense rich boy, and they were married in 1933. They’re still living a happy, though joke-ridden life, in close to 2000 newspapers around the world. The *Blondie* strip was created by Murat “Chic” Young, who’d begun drawing comics about pretty young women in 1921.

After several false starts—including such strips as *Beautiful Bab* and *Dumb Dora*—Young came up with *Blondie* and King Features began syndicating it in September of 1930. Initially *Blondie* read like Young’s other strips. But after the couple married and the disinherited Dagwood took a sort of generic office job with Mr. Dithers, the feature changed and became domesticated. Blondie turned out to be far from flighty and proved to be a model housewife, gently manipulating her sometimes befuddled husband. The gags, and the short continuities, centered increasingly around the home and the office, frequently concentrating on basics like sleeping, eating, and working.



A four-frame strip from the comic *Blondie*.

The birth of their first child, Baby Dumpling, in the spring of 1934 provided a new source of gags and helped win the strip an even larger audience. Young perfected running gags built around such props and situations as Dagwood's naps on the sofa, his monumental sandwiches, his conflicts with door-to-door salesmen, Blondie's new hats, and his wild rushes to catch the bus to work. Other regular characters were neighbors Herb and Tootsie Woodley, Daisy the Bumstead dog and, eventually, her pups, and Mr. Beasley the postman, with whom Dagwood frequently collided in his headlong rushes to the bus stop. The Bumstead's second child, daughter Cookie, was born in 1941.

King effectively merchandised the strip in a variety of mediums. There were reprints in comic books and Big Little Books and, because of Dagwood's affinity for food, there were also occasional cookbooks. More importantly, Young's characters were brought to the screen by Columbia Pictures in 1938. Arthur Lake, who looked born for the part, played Dagwood and Penny Singleton, her hair freshly bleached, was Blondie. Immediately successful, the series of "B" movies lasted until 1950 and ran to over two dozen titles. The radio version of *Blondie* took to the air on CBS in the summer of 1939, also starring Singleton and Lake. Like the movies, it was more specific about Dagwood's office job and had him working for the J.C. Dithers Construction Company. The final broadcast was in 1950 and by that time Ann Rutherford was Blondie. For the first television version on NBC in 1957 Lake was once again Dagwood, but Pamela Briton portrayed Blondie. The show survived for only eight months and a 1968 attempt on CBS with Will Hutchins and Patricia Harty lasted for just four. Despite occasional rumors about a musical, the Bumsteads have thus far failed to trod the boards on Broadway.

A journeyman cartoonist at best, Young early on hired assistants to help him with the drawing of *Blondie*. Among them were Alex Raymond (in the days before he graduated to *Flash Gordon*), Ray McGill and Jim Raymond, Alex' brother. It was the latter Raymond who eventually did most of the drawing Young signed his name to. When Young died in 1973, Jim Raymond was given a credit. Dean Young, Chic's son, managed the strip and got a credit, too. After Raymond's death, Stan Drake became the artist. Currently Denis Lebrun draws the still popular strip.

—Ron Goulart

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## Blondie (rock band)

The 1970s were a transitional period in popular music. Emerging from the new wave and punk rock scene, the band Blondie, featuring Deborah Harry, achieved both critical and commercial success. Blondie transcended mere popularity by moving away from blues-based rock and capitalizing on the personality and musical ingenuity of its lead singer. Blondie successfully incorporated elements from a number of different musical forms into its music, including rap, reggae, disco, pop, punk, and rock.

After a number of early failures, Deborah Harry and Chris Stein formed Blondie in 1973. The name for the band came from the cat calls truck drivers used to taunt Deborah Harry, "Come on Blondie, give us a screw!" Harry parodied the dumb blonde stereotype into platinum. She appeared on stage in torn swimsuit and high heels, vacantly staring into space. In 1977 the act and the talent paid off in the band's hit "Denis," and was soon followed by "Heart of Glass."

The strength of Blondie, Deborah Harry, also proved its weakness. Jealousy led to the dissolution of the group in 1984. Harry went on her own, achieving some success—her tours continually sold-out whether she was alone or with the Jazz Passengers. But her solo success has never reached that of the group Blondie.

By 1997, Blondie had reunited for a tour, completed an album in 1998, and had begun touring once again. The band members claimed not to remember why they split and seemed eager to reunite. Their fans also eagerly anticipated a more permanent reunion. Blondie has greatly influenced the bands that have come after it, and Deborah Harry has continued to explore new genres with success.

—Frank A. Salamone, Ph.D.

## Bloom County

A popular daily comic strip of the 1980s, *Bloom County* was written and drawn by Berkeley Breathed. During its run, the comic strip reveled in political, cultural, and social satire. Capturing popular attention with witty comment, the strip also offered a new perspective in the comics.

*Bloom County* began in 1980 with the setting of the Bloom Boarding House in the mythical Bloom County. Both boarding house and county appeared to be named for a local family, originally represented in the comic strip by the eccentric Major Bloom, retired, and his grandson Milo. Other original residents included Mike Binkley, a neurotic friend of Milo; Binkley's father; Bobbi Harlow, a progressive feminist school teacher; Steve Dallas, a macho despicable lawyer; and Cutter John, a paralyzed Vietnam vet. Over the years, the boarding house residents changed; the Major and Bobbi Harlow vanished and the human inhabitants were joined by a host of animals including Portnoy, a hedgehog, and Hodge Podge, a rabbit. But two other animals became the most famous characters of the strip. One, a parody of Garfield, was Bill the Cat, a disgusting feline that usually just said "aack." The other was the big-nosed penguin named Opus, who first appeared with a much more diminutive honker as Binkley's pet, a sorry substitute for a dog. Opus eventually became the star of the strip and when Breathed ended the comic, he was the last character to appear.

Breathed used his comic menagerie to ridicule American society, culture, and politics. Reading through the strip is like reading through a who's who of 1980s references: Caspar Weinberger, Oliver North, Sean Penn and Madonna, Gary Hart. Breathed made fun of them all. In the later years of the strip, Donald Trump and his outrageous wealth became a chief focus of Breathed's satire. In the world of *Bloom County*, Donald Trump's brain was put in the body of Bill the Cat. The strip supposedly ended because Trump the Cat bought the comic and fired all of the "actors."

Breathed didn't restrain himself to ridiculing individuals. He also attacked American fads, institutions, and corporations. Opus had a nose job and constantly bought stupid gadgets advertised on TV.

Milo and Opus both worked for *the Bloom Picayune*, the local newspaper, and Breathed used them to launch many attacks on the media. He lampooned the American military through the creation of Rosebud, a basselope (part basset hound, part antelope) that the military wanted to use to smuggle bombs into Russia. Corporations such as McDonalds and Crayola felt the barb of Breathed's wit, though not as much as Mary Kay Cosmetics. Breathed had Opus's mother being held in a Mary Kay testing lab. Breathed used this to point out the cruelties of animal testing as well as the extremism of the animal rights terrorists. The terrorists faced off against the Mary Kay Commandos, complete with pink uzis.

Breathed was adept at political satire as well. Whenever the country faced a presidential election, The Meadow Party would emerge with its candidates: Bill the Cat for President and an often reluctant Opus for V.P. Breathed used the two to ridicule not only politicians but the election process and the American public's willingness to believe the media campaigns. Breathed had a definite political slant to his comic, but he made fun of the follies of both conservatives and liberals.

*Bloom County* was a unique creation not only because of its humor, but because of the unusual perspectives Breathed used. Unlike other comics, *Bloom County's* animal and human characters interacted as equals and spoke to each other. Breathed also made the strip self-reflexive, often breaking from the comic to give comments from the "management" or from the characters themselves. One sequence featured Opus confused because he hadn't read the script. Setting the comic up as a job for the characters to act in, Breathed was able to acknowledge the existence of other strips, making jokes about them and featuring guest appearances by characters from other comic strips. As *Bloom County* came to an end, Breathed had the characters go off in search of jobs in the other comics strips, such as Family Circle and Marmaduke. While some other comics have used this technique as well, notably *Doonesbury*, it remains rare in comics, and *Bloom County* was most often compared to *Doonesbury* for content and attitude. Also like *Doonesbury*, in 1987 *Bloom County* won the Pulitzer Prize for editorial cartooning.

The strip was not without its flaws, the chief one being a lack of strong female characters, a lack Breathed was well aware of (and commented on in the strip). While the male characters stayed strong, the female characters dropped out. When the strip ended, the only female characters were Ronald-Ann, a poverty stricken African American girl and Rosebud the Basselope who earlier in the comic's run turned out to be female. Besides a lack of women characters, many readers felt that the comic was offensive and not funny and often lodged complaints with Breathed.

Breathed ended the strip in 1989 when he felt he had reached the end of what he could do with these characters. He followed *Bloom County* with a Sunday-only strip called *Outland*. The strip at first featured Opus and Ronald-Ann though most of *Bloom County's* cast eventually showed up. It never gained the popularity of its predecessor, and Breathed stopped writing comics and turned to the writing of children's books.

—P. Andrew Miller

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## Blount, Roy, Jr. (1941—)

An heir to the Southern humor writing tradition of Mark Twain and *Pogo*, Roy Blount, Jr. has covered a wide array of subjects—from a season with an NFL team to the Jimmy Carter presidency—with equal parts incisiveness and whimsy.

Roy Blount, Jr. was born in Indianapolis on October 5, 1941. As an infant, he moved with his parents to their native Georgia, where his father became a civic leader in Decatur, and his family lived a comfortably middle-class life during the 1950s. He attended Vanderbilt University in Nashville on a Grantland Rice scholarship, and much of his early journalism work was, like Rice's, in sportswriting. In 1968, Blount began writing for *Sports Illustrated*, where he quickly became known for his offbeat subjects.

In 1973 Blount decided to follow a professional football team around for one year—from the offseason through a bruising NFL campaign—in order to get a more nuanced look at players and the game. He chose the Pittsburgh Steelers, a historically inept franchise on the verge of four Super Bowl victories. His 1973-1974 season with the Steelers became *About Three Bricks Shy of a Load*. Blount studied each element of the team, from its working-class fans to its front office to its coaches and players, with lively digressions on the city of Pittsburgh, country-western music (Blount once penned a country ballad entitled, "I'm Just a Bug on the Windshield of Life"), and sports nicknames.

With the success of *About Three Bricks Shy of a Load*, Blount became a full-time free-lance humor writer, with contributions in dozens of magazines including *Playboy*, *Organic Gardening*, *The New Yorker*, and *Rolling Stone*. In the late 1980s he even contributed a regular "un-British cryptic crossword puzzle" to *Spy Magazine*.

The administration of fellow Southerner Jimmy Carter led to Blount's 1980 book *Crackers*, which featured fictional Carter cousins ("Dr. J.E.M. McMethane Carter, 45, Rolla, Missouri, interdisciplinary professor at the Hugh B. Ferguson University of Plain Sense and Mysterophysics"); "Martha Carter Kelvinator, 48, Bullard Dam, Georgia, who is married to a top-loading automatic washer") and angst-ridden verses about the 39th President:

I've got the redneck White House blues.  
The man just makes me more and more confused.  
He's in all the right churches,  
and all the wrong pews,  
I've got the redneck White House blues.

Blount's most significant chapter focused on Billy Carter, who frequently embarrassed his brother's White House with impolitic comments and behavior. Blount came to like the younger Carter, and found that his fallibility made the Carters more likable: "I don't want people to be *right* all the time."

Throughout the 1980s Blount continued free-lancing articles and publishing books, with such offbeat titles as *What Men Don't Tell*

*Women, One Fell Soup*, and *Not Exactly What I Had in Mind*. Blount's subject matter included orgasms, waffles (he wrote a poem to them), baseball batting practice, and the federal budget deficit (Blount suggested that every American buy and throw away \$1,000 worth of stamps each, to fill the Treasury's coffers). He eulogized Elvis Presley (titled "He Took the Guilt out of the Blues") and profiled "Saturday Night Live" cast members Bill Murray and Gilda Radner. And the former sportswriter delivered essays on Joe DiMaggio and Roberto Clemente to baseball anthologies, while also attending a Chicago Cubs fantasy camp under the direction of Hall of Fame manager Leo Durocher.

Blount's first novel was the best-selling *First Hubby*, a comic account of the bemused husband of America's first woman president. His writing attracted the attention of film critic and producer Pauline Kael, who encouraged him to develop screenplays. His first produced effort was the 1996 major motion picture comedy *Larger than Life*, starring Bill Murray, Janeane Garafolo, and a giant elephant.

Blount became one of the most visible humorists in America as a frequent guest on *The Tonight Show with Johnny Carson*, and he often appeared on the long-running *A Prairie Home Companion* radio series, hosted by close friend Garrison Keillor. Despite possessing what he acknowledged as a weak singing voice, Blount triumphantly joined the chorus of the Rock Bottom Remainers, a 1990s novelty rock band composed of such best-selling authors as Dave Barry, Stephen King, and Amy Tan.

Divorced twice, Blount has two children. In 1998 he wrote a best-selling memoir, *Be Sweet*, where he acknowledged his ambivalent feelings towards his parents (at one point actually writing, "I hated my mother."). Later that year he also contributed text to a picture book on one of his favorite subjects, dogs, with a truly Blountesque title: *If Only You Knew How Much I Smell You*.

—Andrew Milner

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## Blue Jeans

See Jeans; Levi's; Wrangler Jeans

## Blue Velvet

Among the most critically acclaimed movies of 1986, *Blue Velvet* was director David Lynch's commentary on small-town America, showing the sordid backside of the sunny facade. That said, the film is not strictly a condemnation of the American small-town so much as it is a kind of coming-of-age story. Lynch described the film as "a story of love and mystery." This statement may ostensibly refer to the relationship between the film's protagonist Jeffrey Beaumont (Kyle MacLachlan) and the police detective's daughter Sandy Williams



Isabella Rossellini in a scene from the film *Blue Velvet*.

(Laura Dern) and the mystery they attempt to solve in plucky Nancy Drew style, but it might also be seen as a statement about the mingling of affection and fear that arises in the movie's examination of the fictional but truthful setting, Lumbertown. One can see *Blue Velvet* as a coming-of-age story, not only for Jeffrey, but for the idea of the idyllic American small town. The loss of innocence may be regrettable, but is ultimately necessary.

The opening scene summarily characterizes *Blue Velvet* in theme and plot. Following the lush, fifties-style opening credits, the screen shows a blue sky, flowers, the local firefighters riding through town waving, and Jeffrey's father watering the lawn, all in brilliant, almost surreal color. Then the scene, which might have come from a generation earlier, is interrupted by a massive stroke that drops Mr. Beaumont to his back. The camera pans deeply into the well groomed lawn and uncovers combating insects. Likewise, the camera plunges unflinchingly into the unseen, discomforting side of Lumbertown.

The story really begins when Jeffrey, walking back from visiting his father in the hospital, discovers a severed ear in the grass by a lake. After turning the ear over to the police, Jeffrey decides to find out the story for himself, and with the help of Sandy, gets enough information to start his own investigation. The trail leads to Dorothy Vallens (Isabella Rossellini) a nightclub singer whose husband and son have been kidnapped. Thus, the story begins as a rather traditional mystery, but the tradition drops away as Jeffrey comes face to face with the most disturbing of people, particularly the demonic kidnapper, Frank Booth (Dennis Hopper). Frank is a killer and drug dealer of almost inhuman proportions and perversions. He alternately calls himself "daddy" and "baby" as he beats and rapes Dorothy.

That the story has a reasonably happy ending, with villains vanquished and Jeffrey united with Sandy, is not altogether comforting. The film may return to the bright colors and idyllic lifestyle presented in the opening scene, but the audience now knows that something else goes on below the surface. Jeffrey and Sandy tell each other that it's a strange world, but they say it whimsically, the facade restored for the characters, if not for the audience. Perhaps the most significant scene of the film is when, in his own sexual encounter with Dorothy, Jeffrey strikes her on her command. With the blow Jeffrey crosses over from an innocent trapped in a situation beyond his control to a part of the things that go on behind the closed doors of Lumbertown.

The film was a risky one. David Lynch, though recognized for work on films like *The Elephant Man* and *Eraserhead*, was coming off the financial failure of *Dune*. Moreover, this was the first film that was entirely his. He had written the script and insisted on full artistic freedom on what was to clearly be a rather disturbing film, with a violent sexual content unlike any that had previously been seen on screen. He was granted such freedom after agreeing to a minute budget of five million dollars, and half salary for himself. The other half would be paid if the film was a success. It was. The film garnered Lynch an Academy Award nomination for his direction. Despite such accolades, the film was not embraced whole-heartedly by all. The Venice Film Festival, for instance, rejected it as pornography.

The stunning direction of the film combines bald faced directness in presenting repelling scenes of sex and violence with subtle examinations of the mundane. By slowing the film, for instance, the pleasantness of Lumbertown in the open air seems dreamlike and unreal. While shots like these establish an expressionistic, symbolic screen world, others realistically place us in a situation where we see what the characters see, hear what they hear, and these perceptions form an incomplete picture of the action. Similar techniques crop up in earlier Lynch films, but it is here, in what many consider the director's masterpiece, that they come to full fruition. The direction of *Blue Velvet* paved the road for the similar world of *Twin Peaks*, Lynch's foray into television, which itself widened the possibilities of TV drama.

Stylistically, Lynch's body of work, and particularly *Blue Velvet* has greatly influenced filmmakers, especially those working independently from the major Hollywood studios, and even television. Moreover, *Blue Velvet* strongly affected many of its viewers. The large cult following of the movie suggests that it perhaps opened many eyes to the different facets of life, not only in small towns, but in all of idealized America. Or more likely, the film articulated what many already saw. Frank may rage like a demon on screen, like a creature from our darkest nightmares, but the discomfort with the pleasant simplicity of Americana, the knowledge that things are rarely what they seem, is quite real. *Blue Velvet* reminds us of that, even as it looks back longingly, if now soberly, at the false but comforting memory of a romance with the American ideal.

—Marc Oxoby

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## Blueboy

From its first issue in 1975, *Blueboy* was a pioneer in gay monthly magazines. Its focus was on an upscale, urban gay market. While containing slick, full frontal male nude photography, the publication also strove to include contemporary gay authors. Writings by Patricia Nell Warren, Christopher Isherwood, Truman Capote, John Rechy, Randy Shilts, and many others graced the pages. Led by former *TV Guide* ad manager Donald Embinder, the magazine quickly went from a bimonthly to monthly publication in a year and a half. By the late 1970s *Blueboy* was cited in the press as a publishing empire, producing the monthly magazine and a small paperback press collection, and trading on Wall Street. *Blueboy's* style was soon mimicked by other publications. Due to changes in style, content, and format *Blueboy* lost its appeal during the 1980s and 1990s. At the same time, an ever increasing range of competing glossy male magazines, modeled upon *Blueboy* principles, diminished its readership.

—Michael A. Lutes

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## Bluegrass

Since its development in the mid-1940s, bluegrass music has become one of the most distinctive American musical forms, attracting an intense audience of supporters who collectively form one of popular music's most vibrant subcultures. A close cousin of country music, bluegrass music is an acoustic musical style that features at its core banjo, mandolin, guitar, double bass, and fiddle along with close vocal harmonies, especially high-tenor harmony singing called the "high lonesome sound." Because of its largely acoustic nature, bluegrass is a term often used to describe all kinds of acoustic, non-commercial, "old-timey" music popular among rural people in the United States in the decades prior to World War II. That characterization, however, is incorrect. Bluegrass was developed, and has continued ever since, as a commercial musical form by professional recording and touring musicians. Often seen as being a throwback to this pre-World War II era, bluegrass is instead a constantly evolving musical style that maintains its connections to the past while reaching out to incorporate influences from other musical styles such as jazz and rock music. As such, it remains a vibrant musical form in touch with the past and constantly looking toward the future.

Although bluegrass has connections to old-timey rural music from the American south, as a complete and distinct musical form, bluegrass is largely the creation of one man—Bill Monroe. Born near Rosine, Kentucky on September 13, 1911, Monroe grew up in a musical family. His mother was a talented amateur musician who imparted a strong love of music in all of her eight children, several of whom became musicians. As a child, Bill Monroe learned to play guitar with a local black musician, Arnold Schultz (often accompanying Schultz at local dances), and received additional training from his



IIRD Tyme Out vocal group, on stage at the IBMA Bluegrass Fan Fest in Kentucky.

uncle, Pendelton Vandiver, a fiddle player who bequeathed to Monroe a vast storehouse of old tunes in addition to lessons about such important musical concepts as timing. Although his early training was on the guitar, Monroe switched to the mandolin in the late 1920s in order to play along with his older brothers Birch and Charlie, who already played fiddle and guitar, respectively. In 1934, Charlie and Bill formed a professional duet team, the Monroe Brothers, and set out on a career in music. They became very popular, particularly in the Carolinas, and recorded a number of records, including *My Long Journey Home* and *What Would You Give in Exchange for Your Soul*. Their partnership was a brief one, however, as their personal differences, often expressed in physical and verbal fighting, sent them in separate directions in 1938.

On his own, and out from under his older brother's shadow, Bill Monroe began to develop his own style of playing that would evolve into bluegrass. He organized a short-lived band called the Kentuckians in 1938. Moving to Atlanta that same year, he formed a new band which he named the Blue Grass Boys in honor of his native Kentucky. The group, consisting of Monroe on mandolin, Cleo Davis on guitar, and Art Wooten on fiddle, proved popular with audiences, and in October 1939 Monroe and the Blue Grass Boys earned a spot on Nashville radio station WSM's popular *Grand Ole Opry* program. The group's appearances on the *Opry* brought Monroe national recognition.

Throughout the war years, Monroe began to put together the major musical elements of bluegrass, including his trademark high-tenor singing, the distinctive rhythm provided by his "chopping" mandolin chords, and a repertoire of old-timey and original tunes.

But it was not until Monroe formed a new version of the Blue Grass Boys at the end of World War II that the classic bluegrass sound finally emerged. In 1945, he added guitarist Lester Flatt, fiddler Chubby Wise, bass player Cedric Rainwater (Howard Watts), and banjoist Earl Scruggs. Of these, the most important was Scruggs, who at the age of 20 had already developed one of the most distinctive banjo styles ever created, the Scruggs "three-finger" style. This playing style, accomplished by using the thumb, forefinger, and index fingers to pick the strings, allowed Scruggs to play in a "rolling" style that permitted a torrent of notes to fly out of his banjo at amazingly fast speeds. This style has since become the standard banjo playing style, and despite many imitators, Scruggs's playing has never quite been equaled. Scruggs, more than anyone else, was responsible for making the banjo the signature instrument in bluegrass, and it is the Scruggs banjo sound that most people think of when bluegrass is mentioned. According to country music historian Bill Malone, with this new band Monroe's bluegrass style fully matured and became "an ensemble style of music, much like jazz in the improvised solo work of the individual instruments."



Like jazz, the bluegrass songs created by Bill Monroe and the Blue Grass Boys began with an instrumental introduction, then a statement of the song's melody and lyric lines, followed by successive instrumental breaks, with the mandolin, banjo, and fiddle all taking solos. Behind them, the guitar and bass kept a steady rhythm, and the mandolin and banjo would add to that rhythm when not soloing. To many bluegrass admirers, this version of the Blue Grass Boys, which lasted from 1945 to 1948, represents the pinnacle of bluegrass music. During their short existence, just over three years, this version of the Blue Grass Boys recorded a number of songs that have since become bluegrass classics, including "Blue Moon of Kentucky," "Will You Be Loving Another Man?," "Wicked Path of Sin," "I'm Going Back to Old Kentucky," "Bluegrass Breakdown," "Little Cabin Home on the Hill," and "Molly and Tenbrooks." Throughout this period as well, Monroe and his group toured relentlessly. They were so popular that many towns did not have an auditorium large enough to accommodate all those wishing to hear the band. To accommodate them, Monroe traveled with a large circus tent and chairs. Arriving in a town, they would also frequently challenge local townspeople to a baseball game. This provided not only much-needed stress relief from the grueling travel schedule, but also helped advertise their shows.

The success of Bill Monroe and his Blue Grass Boys was so great by the later 1940s that the music began to spawn imitators and followers in other musicians, broadening bluegrass' appeal. It should be noted that the name "bluegrass" was not Monroe's invention, and the term did not come about until at least the mid-1950s, when people began referring to bands following in Monroe's footsteps as playing in the "blue grass" style, after the name of the Blue Grass Boys. The first "new" band in the bluegrass style was that formed by two of Monroe's greatest sidemen, Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs, who left Monroe in 1948 to form their own band, the Foggy Mountain Boys. Flatt and Scruggs deemphasized the role of the mandolin in their new band, preferring to put the banjo talents of Scruggs front and center. They toured constantly in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s, building a strong and loyal following among listeners hungry for the bluegrass sound. Their popularity also resulted in a recording contract with Mercury Records. There, they laid down their own body of classic bluegrass material, much of it penned by Flatt. There were blisteringly fast instrumental numbers such as "Pike County Breakdown" and "Foggy Mountain Breakdown," and vocal numbers such as "My Little Girl in Tennessee," "Roll in My Sweet Baby's Arms," "My Cabin in Caroline," and "Old Salty Dog Blues," all of which have become standards in the bluegrass repertoire. These songs, much like Monroe's as well, often invoked themes of longing, loneliness, and loss, and were almost always rooted in rural images of mother, home, and country life. During their 20-year collaboration, Flatt and Scruggs became not only important innovators in bluegrass, extending its stylistic capacities, but they helped broaden the appeal of bluegrass, both with their relentless touring and also by producing bluegrass music such as the theme to the early 1960s television show *The Beverly Hillbillies* ("The Ballad of Jed Clampett"), and the aforementioned "Foggy Mountain Breakdown," used as the title song to the 1967 film *Bonnie and Clyde*.

As successful as Flatt and Scruggs were, they were not the only followers of the Monroe style. As historian Bill Malone noted, "the bluegrass 'sound' did not become a 'style' until other musical organizations began copying the instrumental and vocal traits first featured in Bill Monroe's performances." In fact, many later bluegrass greats got their starts as Blue Grass Boys, including, in addition

to Flatt and Scruggs, Mac Wiseman, Carter Stanley, Don Reno, Jimmy Martin, Vassar Clements, Sonny Osborne, Del McCoury, and many others. Under Monroe's tutelage, they learned the essential elements of bluegrass which they later took to their own groups. Among the other important early followers of Monroe was the brother duo of Ralph and Carter Stanley, the Stanley Brothers. They followed very closely on Monroe's heels, imitating his style almost note-for-note. But they were more than simply imitators; they continued and extended the bluegrass tradition with their playing and singing and through Carter Stanley's often bittersweet songs such as "I Long to See the Old Folks" and "Our Last Goodbye."

Along with the Stanley Brothers, other Monroe-inspired bluegrass bands came to prominence in the 1950s, including Mac Wiseman, Don Reno and Red Smiley, Jimmy Martin, the Osborne Brothers, and Jim and Jesse McReynolds. Each brought their own distinctive styles to the emerging bluegrass genre. Don Reno, in addition to his stellar banjo playing, brought the guitar to greater prominence in bluegrass, using it to play lead lines in addition to its usual role as a rhythm instrument. Reno and Smiley also brought bluegrass closer to country music, playing songs in the honky-tonk style that dominated country music in the early 1950s. Guitarist and singer Mac Wiseman was also instrumental in maintaining the strong connections between bluegrass and country, always willing to incorporate country songs and styles into his bluegrass repertoire. In addition, he often revived older songs from the pre-World War II era and brought them into the bluegrass tradition. Also rising to popularity during the 1950s were the Osborne Brothers, Bobby and Sonny. Their country-tinged bluegrass style, which they developed with singer Red Allen, made them one of the most successful bluegrass acts of the 1950s, 1960s, and beyond.

Despite the innovations and success of Monroe, Flatt, and Scruggs, the Osborne Brothers, the Stanley Brothers, and others, the market for bluegrass suffered heavily in the late 1950s as both electrified country and rock 'n' roll took listeners' attention away from bluegrass. While there was still a niche market for bluegrass, its growth and overall popularity fell as a result of this competition. The folk revival of the early 1960s, however, centered in northern cities and on college campuses, brought renewed interest in bluegrass. The folk revival was largely a generational phenomenon as younger musicians and listeners began rediscovering the older folk and old-timey music styles. To many of these young people, these earlier styles were refreshing in their authenticity, their close connection to the folk a welcome relief from commercial America. And, while old blues musicians from the 1920s and 1930s were brought back to stages of the many folk festivals alongside such newcomers as Bob Dylan, the acoustic sounds of bluegrass were also featured. Although it had never dipped that much, Bill Monroe in particular saw his career revive, and he was particularly pleased that the music he created was reaching a new, younger audience.

While bluegrass was reaching new audiences through the folk revival festivals, bluegrass made new inroads and attracted both old and new listeners through the many bluegrass festivals that began in the 1960s. Musician Bill Clifton organized an early one-day festival in 1961 in Luray, Virginia. In 1965, promoter Carlton Haney began the annual Roanoke Bluegrass Festival, a three-day affair that focused solely on bluegrass, where the faithful could see such greats as Bill Monroe, the Stanley Brothers, Don Reno, and others. The success of the Roanoke festival sparked others across the South and Midwest. In 1967, Bill Monroe himself began the Bean Blossom Festival on his property in Brown County, Indiana. More than simply performance spaces, these festivals have become meeting grounds for bluegrass

enthusiasts to share their passion for the music in addition to seeing some of the greats of the genre. Many guests camp nearby or often on the festival grounds themselves, and the campsites become the sites of endless after-hours jam sessions where amateur musicians can trade songs and instrumental licks. The festivals are also very informal affairs, and bluegrass fans can often meet and talk with the performers in ways that rarely occur at jazz or rock concerts. These festivals were instrumental in the 1960s and beyond in both expanding the reach of the music while simultaneously providing a form of community for bluegrass fans and musicians.

In the late 1960s and into the 1970s, bluegrass began to move in new directions as younger practitioners of the style brought new rock and jazz elements into the music, including the use of electric basses. This trend, which continued through the 1990s, was not always welcomed by the bluegrass faithful. Many accepted and welcomed it, but others looked at bluegrass as a last bastion of acoustic music, and any fooling around with the classic bluegrass style seemed heresy indeed. Many of those who resisted change were older and often more politically conservative, disliking the long hair and liberal politics of many of the younger bluegrass musicians as much as the new sounds these musicians were introducing. This conflict even prompted the breakup of Flatt and Scruggs's musical partnership as Earl Scruggs formed a new band, the Earl Scruggs Revue, with his sons playing electric instruments and incorporating rock elements into their sound. Lester Flatt preferred the old style and continued to play it with his band the Nashville Grass until his death in 1979.

Among the practitioners of the new "newgrass" or "progressive" bluegrass style, as it was called, were such younger artists and groups as The Country Gentlemen, the Dillards, the New Grass Revival, the Seldom Scene, David Grisman, and J.D. Crowe and the New South. The Country Gentlemen had mixed rock songs and electric instruments into their sound as early as the mid-1960s, and they were a formative influence on later progressive bluegrass artists. A California band, the Dillards, combined traditional bluegrass styles with Ozark humor and songs from the folk revival. They also enjoyed popularity for their appearances on *The Andy Griffith Show* in the early 1960s. By the early 1970s, the progressive bluegrass sound reached a creative peak with the New Grass Revival, formed in 1972 by mandolinist-fiddler Sam Bush. The New Grass Revival brought new jazz elements into bluegrass, including extended improvisations, and also experimented with a wide variety of musical styles. Mandolinist David Grisman began by studying the great masters of his instrument, but he eventually developed a unique hybrid of bluegrass and jazz styles that he later labeled "Dawg" music, performing with other progressive bluegrass artists such as guitarist Tony Rice and fiddler Mark O'Connor, and such jazz greats as Stéphane Grappelli. Banjoist Bela Fleck, himself an early member of the New Grass Revival, extended his instrument's reach from bluegrass into jazz and world music styles with his group Bela Fleck and the Flecktones.

As important as progressive bluegrass was in moving the genre in new directions, the break it represented from the traditional style did not signal an end to the classic sound pioneered by Bill Monroe and Flatt and Scruggs. Instead, both styles continued to have ardent practitioners that kept both forms of bluegrass alive. Northern musicians such as Larry Sparks and Del McCoury continued to play traditional bluegrass, bringing it new audiences. And the grand master himself, Bill Monroe, continued to play his original brand of bluegrass with an ever-changing arrangement of younger Blue Grass Boys until his death in 1996 at the age of 85. Other musicians crossed the boundaries between the two bluegrass styles. Most notably among

these was mandolinist-fiddler Ricky Skaggs. Skaggs had apprenticed with traditionalists such as Ralph Stanley's Clinch Mountain Boys, but was just as much at home with newer bands such as J.D. Crowe and the New South and with country artists such as Emmylou Harris.

By the 1990s, bluegrass was not as popular as it had been in the early 1960s, but it continued to draw a devoted following among a small segment of the listening audience. Few bluegrass artists had major-label recording contracts, but many prospered on small labels that served this niche market, selling records via mail order or at concerts. Bluegrass festivals continued to serve the faithful, drawing spirited crowds, many eager to hear both traditional and progressive bluegrass. The 1990s also saw the emergence of a new bluegrass star—fiddler, singer, and bandleader Alison Krauss—one of the few major female stars the genre has ever seen. Her popularity, based on her unique cross of bluegrass, pop, and country elements, retained enough of the classic bluegrass sound to please purists while feeling fresh and contemporary enough to draw new listeners. Her success, and the continuing, if limited, popularity of bluegrass in the 1990s was a strong indication that the genre was alive and well, a healthy mix of tradition and innovation that made it one of the United States' most unique musical traditions.

—Timothy Berg

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## Blues

Blues music emerged in the early twentieth century in the United States as one of the most distinctive and original of American musical forms. It is an African American creation and, like its distant relative jazz, blues music is one of the great contributions to American popular culture. Blues music encompasses a wide variety of styles, including unique regional and stylistic variations, and it lends itself



**Blues musician Muddy Waters (left) and his band.**

well to both individual and group performance. As a cultural expression, blues music is often thought of as being sad music, a form to express the hardships endured by African Americans. And, while it certainly can be that, the blues is also a way to deal with that hardship and celebrate good times as well as bad. Thus, in its long history throughout the twentieth century, blues music has found resonance with a wide variety of people. Although it is still largely an African American art form, the style has had a good number of white performers as well. The audience for blues has also been wide, indicating the essential truths that often lie at the heart of this musical form.

The origins of blues music are not easily traced due to its largely aural tradition, which often lacks written sources, and because there are no blues recordings prior to about 1920. Thus, tracing its evolution out of the distant past is difficult. Still, some of the influences that make up blues music are known. Blues music originated within the African American community in the deep South. Elements of the blues singing style, and the use of primitive stringed instruments, can be traced to the griot singers of West Africa. Griot singers acted as storytellers for their communities, expressing the hopes and feelings of its members through song. African musical traditions undoubtedly came with the large numbers of African slaves brought to the United States in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The mixture of

African peoples who made up the slave population in the South allowed for a mixture of African song and musical styles as well. Those styles would eventually evolve into the blues as the hardships endured by the freed slaves and their descendants continued well into the twentieth century.

The style of music now known as the blues emerged in its mature form after the turn of the twentieth century. No one knows who the first singers or musicians were that put this style together into its now familiar form, as the music evolved before the invention of recording technology. As a musical style, the blues is centered around a 12-bar form with three lines of four bars each. And, while it does use standard chords and instrumentation, it is an innovative music known for the off-pitch “blue notes” which give the music its deeper feeling. These blue notes are produced by bending tones, and the need to produce these tones made certain instruments key to playing blues music: the guitar, the harmonica, and the human voice. It is a rather informal music, with plenty of room for singers and musicians to express themselves in unique ways. Thus, the music has given the world a wide variety of unique blues artists whose styles are not easily replicated.

Among the earliest blues recordings were those by black female singers in the 1920s. In fact, the entire decade of the 1920s, the first in which blues music was recorded for a commercial market, was dominated by women. Among the most significant were Bessie

Smith, Ma Rainey, Lucille Bogan, Sippie Wallace, Alberta Hunter, Victoria Spivey, and Mamie Smith. Mamie Smith's "Crazy Blues," recorded in 1920, is largely acknowledged as the first blues recording. These singers incorporated a more urban, jazz style into their singing, and they were often backed by some of the great early jazz musicians, including trumpeter Louis Armstrong. The greatest of these early female blues singers were Ma Rainey and Bessie Smith. Smith's version of W. C. Handy's "St. Louis Blues" and Ma Rainey's version of "See See Rider" are among the classics of blues music. Their styles were earthier than many of their contemporaries, and they sang songs about love, loss, and heartbreak, as well as strong statements about female sexuality and power the likes of which have not been seen since in the blues field. The era of the great female blues singers ended with the coming of the Depression in 1929, as record companies made fewer recordings, preferring to focus their attention on white popular singers. Bessie Smith and Ma Rainey were both dead by 1940, and most of the other popular female singers of the decade drifted off into obscurity, although some had brief revivals in the 1960s.

Other blues styles rose to prominence during the 1930s. The dominant form was Mississippi delta blues, a rural form that originated in the delta of northwest Mississippi. The style was dominated by male singers who accompanied themselves on acoustic guitars that could be carried easily from place to place, allowing these musicians to play for the many poor black farming communities in the area. A number of important bluesmen made their living, at least in part, following an itinerant lifestyle playing blues throughout the delta region. Among the most important innovators in the delta blues style were Tommy Johnson, Bukka White, Charley Patton, Son House, and Robert Johnson. All of these musicians made important recordings during the 1930s that have proven highly influential. Some, such as Robert Johnson, achieved almost mythic status. Johnson recorded only several dozen songs before his death in 1938. His apocryphal story of selling his soul to the devil in order to be the best blues musician (related in his song "Cross Road Blues") drew from an image with a long history in African American culture. Although details about Johnson's life are sketchy, stories of his being a poor guitar player, then disappearing for several months and reappearing as one of the best guitarists around, gave credence to the story of his deal with the devil; his murder in 1938 only added to his legend. The delta blues style practiced by Johnson and others became one of the most important blues forms, and one that proved highly adaptable to electric instruments and to blues-rock forms in later years.

While delta blues may have been a dominant style, it was by no means the only blues style around. In the 1930s and early 1940s, a number of important regional styles also evolved out of the early blues forms. Among these were Piedmont style blues and Texas blues. The Piedmont style was also an acoustic guitar-based form practiced on the east coast, from Richmond, Virginia to Atlanta, Georgia. It featured more syncopated finger-picking with the bass strings providing rhythmic accompaniment to the melody which was played on the upper strings. It was often a more up-tempo style, particularly in the hands of such Atlanta-based musicians as Blind Willie McTell and Barbecue Bob. Both incorporated ragtime elements into their playing, making music that was much more lighthearted than the delta blues style. The Texas blues style, played by musicians such as Blind Lemon Jefferson, Huddie Leadbetter ("Leadbelly"), and Alger "Texas" Alexander in the 1920s and 1930s, was closely connected with the delta style. In the 1940s, the

music took on a more up-tempo, often swinging style in the hands of musicians such as T-Bone Walker. In addition to these two styles, other areas such as Memphis, Tennessee, and the west coast, gave rise to their own distinct regional variations on the classic blues format.

With the migration of a large number of African Americans to northern cities during and after World War II, blues music evolved into new forms that reflected the quicker pace of life in these new environments. The formation of new communities in the north led to new innovations in blues music. Two distinct styles emerged, urban blues and electric, or Chicago blues. Urban blues was a more upscale blues style that featured smooth-voiced singers and horn sections that had more in common with jazz and the emerging rhythm and blues style than it did with rural Mississippi delta blues. The urban blues was epitomized by such artists as Dinah Washington, Eddie Vinson, Jimmy Witherspoon, Charles Brown, and even early recordings by Ray Charles.

More influential was the electric, or Chicago blues style, a more direct descendant of the Mississippi delta blues. Although many musicians contributed to its development, none was more important than McKinley Morganfield, known as Muddy Waters. Waters came of age in the Mississippi delta itself, and learned to play in the local acoustic delta blues style. Moving to Chicago in the mid-1940s, Waters played in local clubs at first, but he had a hard time being heard over the din of tavern conversation. To overcome that obstacle, he switched to an electric guitar and amplifier to play his delta blues. His earliest recordings, on Chess Records in 1948, were "I Can't Be Satisfied" and "I Feel Like Going Home," both of which featured Waters on solo electric guitar playing in the delta blues style. Soon, however, Waters began to add more instruments to his sound, including piano, harmonica, drums, bass, and occasionally a second guitar. This arrangement was to become the classic Chicago blues sound. Instead of the plaintive singing of the delta, Muddy Waters and his band transformed the blues into a hard-edged, driving sound, with a strong beat punctuated by boogie-woogie piano stylings, electric lead guitar solos, and over-amplified harmonicas, all of which created a literally electrifying sound. Throughout the 1950s, Muddy Waters recorded a string of great blues songs that have remained among the finest expressions of the blues, including "Hoochie Coochie Man," "I Just Want to Make Love to You," "Mannish Boy," "I'm Ready," and many, many, others. Waters's innovations were highly influential, spawning hundreds of imitators, and were so influential in fact that the Chicago blues style he helped pioneer still dominates the blues sound.

Muddy Waters was not alone, however, in creating the great Chicago blues style. A number of great artists coalesced under the direction of Leonard and Phil Chess, two Polish immigrant brothers who started Chess Records in the late 1940s. Operating a nightclub on Chicago's south side, in the heart of the African American community, the Chess brothers saw the popularity of the emerging electric blues sound. They moved into record production shortly thereafter to take advantage of this new market and new sound. Their roster of blues artists reads like a who's who of blues greats. In addition to Muddy Waters, Chess recorded Howlin' Wolf, Lowell Fulson, Sonny Boy Williamson, Little Walter, John Lee Hooker, Sunnyland Slim, Memphis Minnie, and Koko Taylor, as well as a host of lesser names. While each of these performers brought their unique approach to the blues to Chess Records, the label managed to produce a rather coherent sound. The Chess brothers hired blues songwriter and bassist Willie Dixon as their in-house producer, and Dixon supplied

many of the songs and supervised the supporting musicians behind each of the Chess blues artists, creating a unique blues sound.

In the 1960s, blues music experienced a wider popularity than ever before. This was due to a number of factors. First, Chicago continued to be an important center for blues music, and the city was host to important performers such as harmonica player Junior Wells, guitarist Buddy Guy, singer Hound Dog Taylor, and Magic Sam. These performers were often seen at blues and folk festivals across the country, bringing the music to new listeners. Secondly, other blues artists rose to national prominence during the decade, spreading the blues sound even further. Most important was Memphis bluesman B.B. King, whose rich voice and stinging guitar sound proved immensely important and influential. Third, the folk revival that occurred among white college students during the early 1960s throughout the North and West revived an interest in all forms of blues, and many of the acoustic bluesmen who first recorded in the 1920s and 1930s were rediscovered and brought back to perform for these new audiences. Notable among these were such performers as Mississippi John Hurt, Mississippi Fred McDowell, and Bukka White. This revival was a conscious attempt on the part of this younger generation to recover authentic folk music as an antidote to the increasing commercialism of American life in the 1950s and 1960s. All of these factors both revived blues music's popularity and influence and greatly extended its audience.

While many of the great blues performers such as Muddy Waters and Howlin' Wolf continued to perform throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the blues and folk revival of the early 1960s spawned a new crop of white blues performers in both the United States and Great Britain. Some performers, such as Paul Butterfield and John Mayall, played in a straightforward blues style taken from the great Chicago blues masters. But the blues also infected its close cousin, rock 'n' roll. English musicians such as the Rolling Stones covered blues classics on their early albums, influencing the development of rock music during the 1960s. In the later years of the decade new bands incorporated the blues into their overall sound, with British bands such as Cream (with guitarist Eric Clapton) and Led Zeppelin foremost among them. Many of these groups not only played Chicago blues classics, but they reached even further back to rework Robert Johnson's delta blues style in such songs as "Stop Breaking Down" (The Rolling Stones), "Crossroads" (Cream), and "Travelling Riverside Blues" (Led Zeppelin). These developments, both in playing in the blues style and in extending its range into rock music, were important innovations in the history of blues music, and popular music more generally, in the 1960s and early 1970s.

After the blues revival of the 1960s, blues music seemed to settle into a holding pattern. While many of the great bluesmen continued to record and perform in the 1970s, 1980s, and beyond, and while there were new performers such as Robert Cray and Stevie Ray Vaughn who found great success in the blues field during the 1980s, many people bemoan the fact that blues has not seen any major developments that have extended the music in new directions. Instead, the Chicago blues sound continues to dominate the blues scene, attracting new performers to the genre, but they seemed to many people to be more like classical musicians, acting as artisans keeping an older form of music alive rather than making new innovations themselves. Despite, or because of, that fact, blues music in the 1990s continued to draw a devoted group of listeners; most major cities have nightclubs devoted to blues music. Buddy Guy, for example, has had great success with his Legends club in Chicago, not far from the old Chess

studios. More corporate enterprises like the chain of blues clubs called "The House of Blues" have also entered the scene to great success. Blues music at the end of the twentieth century may be a largely static musical form, more devoted to the past than the future, but it remains an immensely important cultural form, with its own rich tradition and an influential legacy that has reached well beyond its original core audience.

—Timothy Berg

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## The Blues Brothers

Jake and Elwood Blues' "mission from God" was to find \$5,000 to rescue a Catholic orphanage from closure. Instead, they set a new standard for movie excess and reinvented the careers of many Blues and Soul Music stars, including Aretha Franklin, Cab Calloway, and Ray Charles. In light of the roots of the Blues Brothers Band, this was the true mission of a movie that critics reviled as excessive but has since become a bona fide cult classic.

The Blues Brothers Band was born during a road trip from New York to Los Angeles. *Saturday Night Live* stars Dan Aykroyd and John Belushi discovered a common love for Blues music. They were already cooperating on writing sketches for *Saturday Night Live*, and they took this love of Blues music and developed a warm-up act for the television show. The popularity of The Blues Brothers in the studio gave them the ammunition they needed to convince the producers to put The Blues Brothers on the telecast, and the reaction was phenomenal.

The Blues Brothers soon followed up their television success with a best-selling album (*Briefcase Full of Blues*), a hit single ("Soul Man"), and a promotional tour. Aykroyd, meanwhile, was working with John Landis (director of *National Lampoon's Animal House*) to bring the band to the big screen. The script they came up with began with Jake Blues being released from Joliet State Penitentiary and returning with his brother to the orphanage where they were raised. Learning it is to close unless they can get the \$5,000, the brothers decide to put their band back together. Most of the remainder of the first part of the movie focuses on their attempts to find the rest of the band, while the second half's focus is on the band's fundraising efforts.

Throughout the movie the brothers get involved in many car chases, destroying a mall in one scene, and most of the Chicago Police



Dan Aykroyd and John Belushi as *The Blues Brothers*.

Department's cars in another. The film has been universally criticized for the excessive car chases, but this is a part of the cult status *The Blues Brothers* has since earned. Another part of this cult status is influenced by the performers the brothers encounter on their "Mission from God." In cameos, Blues and Soul performers such as James Brown (a gospel preacher), Cab Calloway (the caretaker at the orphanage), Aretha Franklin (wife of a band member), and Ray Charles (a music storekeeper), appear and steal scenes from the Blues Brothers. Audiences especially remember Aretha Franklin's thundering rendition of "Think."

*The Blues Brothers* opened in 1980 to a mixed reception. The *Animal House* audience loved it, seeing the return of the Belushi they had missed in his other movies. While his character was not Bluto, it was the familiar back-flipping, blues-howling Joliet Jake Blues from *Saturday Night Live*. Critics, however, thought it was terrible, and one went as far as to criticize Landis for keeping Belushi's eyes covered for most of the movie with Jake's trademark Ray Bans. Yet, one of the most lasting impressions of the movie is the "cool look" of the brothers in their black suits, shades, and hats.

We best remember the movie for its music. The band has released albums, both before and after the movie, that cover some of the best of rhythm and blues music. Since Belushi's death, the band has gone on, at times bringing in his younger brother James Belushi in his place. Aykroyd, too, has continued to develop the Blues legacy, with his House of Blues restaurant and nightclub chain, and, with Landis, a sequel movie, *Blues Brothers 2000* (1998). The latter has Elwood Blues (Aykroyd) coming out of prison to learn that Jake is dead. Rehashing part of the plot of the first movie, Elwood puts the

band back together, with John Goodman standing in for Belushi (and Jake Blues) as Mighty Mack. Besides the obligatory car chases, the sequel is much more of a musical, with many of the same Blues stars returning. Aretha Franklin steals the show again, belting out a new version of her signature song, "Respect." The Blues Brothers, as the title of the new movie implies, are alive and well, and ready for the next millennium.

—John J. Doherty

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## Blume, Judy (1938—)

Before Judy Blume's adolescent novels appeared, no author had ever realistically addressed the fears and concerns of kids, especially in regard to puberty and interest in the opposite sex. Beginning in 1970 with the perennially popular *Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret*, Blume's fiction honestly depicted the insecurities of changing bodies, peer-group conflicts, and family dynamics. Often Blume has been faulted for constraining her characters to a white, middle-class suburban milieu, but has received far more criticism from the educational establishment for her deadpan prose, and even worse vilification from religious conservatives for what is construed as the titillating nature of her work. Many of the 21 titles she has written consistently appear on the American Library Association's list of "most-challenged" books across the country, but have sold a record 65 million copies in the three decades of her career.

Born in 1938, Blume grew up in a Jewish household in New Jersey that was partly the inspiration for her 1977 book *Starring Sally J. Freedman as Herself*. A New York University graduate, Blume was married to an attorney and had two children when she took a writing course in which an assignment became her first book, *Iggie's House*. Published by Bradbury Press in 1970, the young-adult story dealt with a black family moving into an all-white neighborhood, a timely topic at the time when civil rights laws had eliminated many of the legal barriers segregating communities in America, yet ingrained prejudices remained.

But it was another book of Blume's published that same year, *Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret*, that caused a greater stir. It begins with 11 year-old Margaret's recent move from Manhattan to New Jersey—perhaps her parents' strategy to woo her from her doting grandmother, Sylvia, who is appalled that her son and daughter-in-law, an interfaith marriage, are "allowing" Margaret to choose her own religion. Margaret immediately makes a group of sixth-grade girlfriends at her new school, suffers embarrassment because she has no religious affiliation, buys her first bra and worries when her friends begin menstruating before she does, and prays to God to help her deal with all of this. Only a 1965 novel by Louise Fitzhugh, *The Long Secret*, had dared broach this last concern, and had been met with



**Judy Blume**

criticism by the literary establishment for what was termed “unsuitable” subject matter for juvenile fiction. Feminist historian Joan Jacobs Brumberg wrote in her 1997 treatise, *The Body Project: An Intimate History of American Girls*, that as a professor she discovered Blume’s book was cited as the favorite novel from their adolescence by young women who had come of age in the 1980s. “My students realized that this was not sophisticated literature,” Brumberg wrote, “but they were more than willing to suspend that kind of aesthetic judgment because the subject—how a girl adjusts to her sexually maturing body—was treated so realistically and hit so close to home.”

Other works with similar themes followed. *Then Again, Maybe I Won’t* followed the various life crises of Tony, who feels out of sorts when his Italian-American family moves to a ritzier New Jersey suburb. He fantasizes about the older teen girl next door, is shocked and fearful when he experiences his first nocturnal emission, and makes his way through the social rituals of the new community. Tony discovers that class differences do not always place the more affluent on a higher moral ground. Blume’s third young-adult work, *It’s Not the End of the World*, opens with the kind of dinner-table debacle that convinces most older children that their parents are headed for divorce court. In sixth-grader Karen’s case, her worst fears come true, and the 1972 novel does not flinch from portraying the nasty side of adult breakups. As in many of Blume’s other works, parents—even the caring, educated ones of *Are You There God?*, *Forever*, and *Blubber*—are a source of continual embarrassment.

Blume’s 1973 novel *Deenie* is a recommended book for discussion groups about disabilities and diversity. The attractive, slightly egotistical seventh-grader of the title learns she has scoliosis, or curvature of the spine, and overnight becomes almost a disabled person when she is fitted with a drastic, cage-like brace to correct it. Like all of Blume’s young-adult works, it also deals with emerging feelings for the opposite sex and tentative explorations into physical pleasure, both solo and participatory. But Blume’s 1975 novel *Forever*, written for older teenagers, gave every maturing Blume fan

what they had longed for: a work that wrote honestly about losing one’s virginity. *Forever*, Blume admitted, was written after a suggestion from her 14 year-old daughter, Randy. There was a great deal of teen fiction, beginning in the late 1960s, that discussed premarital sex and pregnancy, but the boy was usually depicted as irresponsible, and the female character had made her choices for all the wrong reasons—everything but love—then was punished for it in the end.

In *Forever*, high-schooler Katherine meets Michael at a party, and their dating leads to heavy petting and eventually Katherine’s decision to “go all the way.” She assumes responsibility for birth control by visiting a doctor and getting a prescription for birth-control pills. *Forever* became the most controversial of all Blume’s books, the target of numerous challenges to have it removed from school and public libraries by parents and religious groups, according to the American Library Association, which tracks such attempts to censor reading materials. In some cases the threats have led to free speech protests by students. Blume noted in a 1998 interview on the *Cable News Network* that controversy surrounding her books has intensified rather than abated over the years.

Aside from her racy themes, as an author Blume has been criticized for her matter-of-fact prose, written in the first person and infused with the sardonic wit of the jaded adolescent. Yet Blume felt that it was important that her writing ring true to actual teen speech; anything less would be utterly unconvincing to her readers. Because her works seem to touch such a nerve among kids, many have written to her over the years, at one point to the tune of 2,000 letters per month. The painful confessions, and admissions that Blume’s characters and their dilemmas had made such an impact upon their lives, led to the publication of her 1986 non-fiction book, *Letters to Judy: What Your Kids Wish They Could Tell You*. Blume has also written novels for adults—*Wifey* (1978) and *Summer Sisters* (1998).

Though her books have been updated for the 1990s, the dilemmas of her characters are timeless. Ellen Barry, writing in the *Boston Phoenix*, termed *Forever* “the book that made high school sex seem normal.” A later edition of the novel, published in the 1990s, included a foreword by the author that urged readers to practice safe sex. Two academics at Cambridge University collected female rite-of-passage stories for their 1997 book *Sweet Secrets: Stories of Menstruation*, and as Kathleen O’Grady told Barry, she and co-author Paula Wansbrough found that women who came of age after 1970 had a much less traumatic menarcheal experience. Naomi Decter, in a 1980 essay for *Commentary*, theorized that “there is, indeed, scarcely a literate girl of novel-reading age who has not read one or more Blume books.”

The *Boston Phoenix*’s Barry deemed Blume’s books “fourth-grade samizdat: the homes were suburban, the moms swore, kids were sometimes mean, there was frequently no moral to the story, and sex was something that people talked about all the time.” Barry noted, “Much of that information has seen us safely into adulthood. We all have different parents, and we all had different social-studies teachers, but there was only one sex-ed teacher, and that was Judy Blume.” Postmodern feminist magazines such as *Bust*, *Ben Is Dead* have run articles on the impact of Blume and her books on a generation of women. Chicago’s Annoyance Theater, which gained fame with its re-creations of *Brady Bunch* episodes in the early 1990s, staged *What Every Girl Should Know . . . An Ode to Judy Blume* in its 1998 season. Mark Oppenheimer, writing in the *New York Times Book Review* in 1997, noted that though the academic establishment has largely ignored the impact of Blume’s books, “when I got to college, there

was no author, except Shakespeare, whom more of my peers had read.” Oppenheimer concluded his essay by reflecting upon the immense social changes that have taken place since Blume’s books first attracted notoriety in the 1970s, and that “‘in this age of ‘Heather Has Two Mommies,’ we clearly live after the flood . . . We might pause to thank the author who opened the gates.’”

—Carol Brennan

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## Bly, Robert (1926—)

In the early 1990s, mention of the name “Robert Bly” conjured up primordial images of half-naked men gathered in forest settings to drum and chant in a mythic quest both for their absent fathers and their submerged assets of boldness and audacity. It was Bly and his best-selling book *Iron John* that catalyzed a new masculinized movement urging males (especially white, middle-class American baby-boomer ones) to rediscover their traditional powers by casting off the expectations of aggressive behavior. Although this search for the inner Wild Man sometimes approached caricature and cliché, satirized in the popular television sitcom *Home Improvement*, the avuncular Bly is universally acknowledged as an avatar of the modern “male movement” who draws on mythology and fairy tales to help men heal their wounds by getting in touch with fundamental emotions. *Iron John* had such a powerful impact on American popular culture that it has all but overshadowed Bly’s other significant achievements as a poet, translator, and social critic.

Robert Bly was born in Madison, Minnesota on December 23, 1926, the son of Jacob Thomas Bly, a farmer and Alice (Aws) Bly, a courthouse employee. After Navy service in World War II, he spent a year in the premedical program at St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota, before transferring to Harvard University where he graduated with a bachelor’s degree in English literature, magna cum laude, in 1950. He later wrote that at Harvard, “I learned to trust my obsessions,” so it was natural for him to choose a vocation as a poet after studying a poem by Yeats one day. After a half-year period of solitude in a Minnesota cabin, he moved to New York City, where he eked out a modest existence on the fringes of the Beat movement. He married short-story writer Carol McLean in 1955 and moved back to a Madison farm a year later, after receiving his M.A. from the University of Iowa Writing Workshop. With a Fulbright grant, he spent a year translating Scandinavian poetry in Norway, his ancestral homeland.

Back in Minnesota, far from the centers of the American literary establishment, Bly founded a journal of literature that turned away from the prevailing New Criticism of T. S. Eliot in favor of contemporary poetry that used surreal imagery. The journal, originally named *The Fifties*, underwent a name change with the beginning of each new decade; it has been known as *The Nineties* since 1990, the year Bly published *Iron John*. In 1962, Bly published his first poetry collection, *Silence in the Snowy Fields*, whose images were deeply informed by the rural landscapes of his native Minnesota. Over the years, Bly has also published dozens of translations of works by such luminaries as Knut Hamsun, Federico García Lorca, Pablo Neruda, Rainier Maria Rilke, St. John of the Cross, and Georg Trakl, among others.

As one of the organizers of American Writers Against the Vietnam War, Bly was one of the first writers to mount a strong vocal protest against that conflict. He toured college campuses around the country delivering sharply polemical speeches and poetry that condemned American policy. When his second collection, *The Light Around the Body*, won a National Book Award for poetry in 1968, he used the occasion to deliver an assault against the awards committee and his own publisher, Harper & Row, for contributing taxes to the war effort, and donated his \$1000 prize to a draft-resistance organization. His 1973 poetry collection, *Sleepers Joining Hands*, carried forth his anti war stance. During the 1970s, Bly published more than two dozen poetry collections, mostly with small presses, though Harper & Row published three more volumes, *The Morning Glory* (1975), *This Body is Made of Camphor and Gopherwood* (1979), and *This Tree Will Be Here For a Thousand Years* (1979). In 1981, Dial Press published his *The Man in the Black Coat Turns*. Over the years, Bly has continued to publish small collections of poetry; he has long made it a discipline of writing a new poem every morning.

Influenced by the work of Robert Graves, Bly was already demonstrating interest in mythology and pre-Christian religion and wrote in a book review of Graves’s work how matriarchal religion had been submerged by the patriarchs, much to the detriment of Western culture. After his divorce in 1979, he underwent a soul-searching identity crisis and began leading men’s seminars at a commune in New Mexico. It was during this period that he adopted the Iron John character from a Brothers Grimm fairy tale as an archetype to help men get in touch with their inner powers. Bly recognized that contemporary men were being spiritually damaged by the absence of intergenerational male role models and initiation rituals as found in premodern cultures. As he wrote in his 1990 preface to his best-known work, *Iron John*, “The grief in men has been increasing steadily since the start of the Industrial Revolution and the grief has reached a depth now that cannot be ignored.” To critics who responded that Bly was leading an anti-feminist crusade, the author replied by acknowledging and denouncing the dark side of male domination and exploitation. Still, some feminists argued that Bly was advocating a return to traditional gender roles for both men and women, and other critics assailed what they saw as Bly’s indiscriminate New Age salad of tidbits from many traditions. Still, the book was at the top of the *New York Times* best-seller list for ten weeks and stayed on the list for more than a year.

In 1996, Vintage Books published Bly’s *The Sibling Society*, in which Bly warns that our dismantling of patriarchies and matriarchies has led to a society of confused, impulsive siblings. “People don’t bother to grow up, and we are all fish swimming in a tank of half-adults,” he wrote in the book’s preface, calling for a reinvention of



shared community. Bly's collaboration with psychologist Marion Woodman on workshops integrating women's issues into the *Iron John* paradigm led to the publication of a jointly written book, *The Maiden King: The Reunion of Masculine and Feminine* (1998).

—Edward Moran

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## Board Games

Board games have been around for thousands of years. Some of the oldest games are some of the most popular, including chess and checkers. Backgammon dates back at least to the first century C.E. when the Roman Emperor Claudius played it. Chess probably had its origin in Persia or India, over 4,000 years ago. Checkers was played as early as 1400 B.C.E. in Egypt. In the United States, board games have become deeply embedded in popular culture, and their myriad forms and examples in this country serve as a reflection of American tastes and attitudes. Major producers such as Parker Brothers and Milton Bradley have made fortunes by developing hundreds of games promising entertainment for players of all ages.

Success at many games is for the most part a matter of luck; the spin of the wheel determines the winner in *The Game of Life*. In fact, everything in life, from the career one chooses to the number of children one has, is reduced to spins on a wheel. Most games, though, involve a combination of problem solving and luck. In the game of *Risk*, opponents attempt to conquer the world. Although the final outcome is closely tied to the throw of dice, the players must use strategy and wisdom to know when to attack an opponent. In the popular game of *Clue*, a player's goal is to be the first to solve a murder by figuring out the murderer, the weapon, and the room where the crime took place. But the dice also have a bearing on how quickly players can position themselves to solve the crime. *Scrabble* tests the ability of competitors to make words out of wooden tiles containing



A family plays the board game *Sorry*.

the letters of the alphabet. Although luck plays a role, since players must select their tiles without knowing what letter they bear, the challenge of building words from random letters has made this challenging game a favorite of many over the years.

One of the most enduring board games of this century is *Monopoly*, the invention of which is usually attributed to Charles Darrow in 1933, although that claim has been challenged by some who contend that the game existed before Darrow developed it. The strategy of the game is to amass money to buy property, build houses and hotels, and ultimately bankrupt other players. One charming feature of the game is its distinctive metal game pieces, which include a dog, a top hat, an iron, and a wheelbarrow. Darrow named the streets in his game after streets in Atlantic City, New Jersey, where he vacationed. Initially, he sold handmade sets to make money for himself while he was unemployed during the Great Depression. In 1935, Parker Brothers purchased the rights to the game. From this small beginning, the game soon achieved national even international fame. *Monopoly* continues to be one of the most popular board games, and a World Championship attracts participants from all parts of the globe each year.

Most board games are designed for small groups, usually two to four players. But some games are popular at parties. *Twister* is unusual because the game board is placed on the floor. Players step on colored spots. As the game progresses, competitors must step over and twist around other players in order to step from one colored spot to another on the game board. *Trivial Pursuit*, a popular game of the 1980s, pits players or groups of players against each other as they answer trivia questions under certain categories such as geography,

sports, and literature. The game was so popular that it resulted in various “spin-offs,” such as a version designed especially for baby boomers.

Television and the movies have done more to spawn new board games than probably anything else. When children flocked to see Flash Gordon serials at local Saturday matinees in the 1930s people saw the market for Flash Gordon merchandise including a Flash Gordon board game.

Television became the main source of inspiration for board games beginning in the 1950s. A TV series might only last a year or two, but if it was popular with children, related games would inevitably be developed. Cowboy shows produced games about Roy Rogers, the Lone Ranger and Tonto, the Rifleman, and Hopalong Cassidy.

Astronauts replaced cowboys as heroes during the space race of the 1960s. Even before the space race, children played with the game based on the *Tom Corbett* TV show. *Men into Space* was a TV series known for its realistic attempt to picture what initial space travel would be like. A game with rocket ships and cards containing space missions and space dangers allowed the players to “travel into space” as they watched the TV show. As space travel progressed, so did TV shows. *Star Trek*, *Buck Rogers*, *Battlestar Galactica*, and *Space 1999* all resulted in games that children put on their Christmas lists or asked for on their birthdays.

Games did not have to involve heroes. Every popular TV show seemed to produce a new game that was actually designed to keep people watching the shows and, of course, the commercials. *The Beverly Hillbillies*, *Seahunt*, *Mork and Mindy*, *Gilligan’s Island*, *The Honeymooners*, *The Six Million Dollar Man*, *Charlie’s Angels*, *The Partridge Family*, and *Happy Days* are only a few of literally dozens of shows that inspired board games. Many games were based on TV game shows such as *The Price Is Right* or *The Wheel of Fortune*, replicating the game show experience in the home. While the popularity of some of these games quickly waned as audience interest in the particular show declined, they were wildly popular for short periods of time.

Movies inspired the creation of board games in much the same way as television shows. The *Star Wars* trilogy has produced numerous games. One combined Monopoly with *Star Wars* characters and themes. The movie *Titanic* generated its own game, marketed in 1998 after the success of the motion picture. The duration of these games’ popularity also rested on the popularity of the corresponding movies.

Comic strips also provided material for new board games. A very popular comic strip for many years, *Little Orphan Annie* came alive to children in the *Little Orphan Annie’s Treasure* board game, which was produced in 1933. Children could also play with Batman, Winnie the Pooh, and Charlie Brown and Snoopy through board games.

Many aspects of life have been crafted into board games. *Careers*, *Payday*, *The Game of Life*, and *Dream Date* were designed to help children think about things they would do as they grew up. But the most enduring life-based games are war games, such as *Battleship*, *Risk*, and *Stratego*, which have been popular from one generation to the next. In the 1960s Milton Bradley produced the *American Heritage* series, a set of four games based on American wars. This was done during the Civil War centennial celebrations that drew people to battlefield sights. Civil War was a unique game that featured movers shaped like infantry, cavalry, and artillery. Children moved troops by

rail and fought battles in reenacting this war. *Broadsides* was based on the War of 1812. Ships were strategically positioned for battle on the high seas and in harbors. *Dog Fight* involved World War I bi-planes that were maneuvered into battle. Players flew their planes in barrel rolls and loops to shoot down the enemy squadrons. *Hit the Beach* was based on World War II.

While entertainment remained the goal of most games, some were meant to educate as well. *Meet the Presidents* was an attractive game in the 1960s. The game pieces looked like silver coins. Even when the game was not being played, the coins served as showpieces. Each coin portrayed a president of the United States on one side and information about him on the other side. Players had to answer questions about the presidents, based on the information on the coins. *The Game of the States* taught geography and other subjects. As players moved trucks from state to state, they learned the products of each state and how to get from one state to another.

Board games have continued to have a place in popular culture, even in an electronic age. Though computer versions of many popular board games, including Monopoly, offer special effects and graphics that traditional board games cannot, people continue to enjoy sitting around a table playing board games. Seemingly, they never tire of the entertaining, friendly banter that accompanies playing board games with friends and family.

—James H. Lloyd

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## Boat People

With the images of Vietnam still fresh on their minds, Americans in the mid-1970s were confronted with horrifying news footage of half-starved Vietnamese refugees reaching the shores of Hong Kong, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines on small, makeshift boats. Many of the men, women, and children who survived the perilous journey across the South China Sea were rescued

by passing ships. Over one million boat people from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam were eventually granted asylum in the United States and several other countries. Most were lost at sea, thousands of others perished of disease, starvation, and dehydration, or were murdered by pirates. This final chapter in the history of the Vietnam War would live in the collective memory of an entire generation. Personal accounts of the refugees' hardships and courage would inspire countless books, movies, websites, documentaries, magazine articles, and television news reports in the United States. For years to come, the boat people would serve as an enduring testimony to the tragic aftermath of America's defeat in Vietnam.

The Vietnamese exodus began after the fall of Saigon in 1975. Many of the survivors would languish for almost twenty years in refugee camps throughout Asia, awaiting asylum, exile, or forced repatriation. Those boat people who escaped Vietnam in the late 1980s were labeled "economic migrants" and not granted refugee status. Finally in 1989, an agreement between the United Nations and the Vietnamese government resulted in the "orderly departure program," which forcibly returned over 100,000 Vietnamese boat people to their homeland. The agreement in Geneva stipulated that the boat people were not to be punished for attempting to escape. By the late 1990s, another 1.6 million boat people had been resettled in various countries around the world.

The term "boat people" acquired special significance in the U.S. context during the 1980s and 1990s, when hundreds of thousands of Cubans and Haitians journeyed across the Caribbean Sea in homemade rafts and unseaworthy boats seeking political asylum in the United States. In the years following the 1959 Revolution, the number of Cubans attempting the perilous journey to freedom across the Florida straits on boats and rafts remained relatively small. But in 1980, after several thousand Cubans stormed the Peruvian Embassy in Havana seeking asylum, Castro temporarily eased restrictions on emigration and prompted a flotilla of refugees headed towards Florida's shores. The Mariel boat lift resulted in the mass exodus of an estimated 125,000 Cuban refugees. For the first time in history, Americans experienced a flood of boat people first-hand, watching the events unfold on national television. As thousands of arriving Cubans were greeted by relatives living in exile, the American public responded with increasing fear to the sensational media accounts of prison and insane asylum inmates deported along with the refugees. Later studies would show that the image of the "Marielitos" popularized by the press was inaccurate, as only about 1 percent of the Mariel refugees had criminal pasts. But President Jimmy Carter, who had initially welcomed the immigrants, responded by imposing stiff penalties on any vessels returning to U.S. waters carrying Cuban refugees. Boats were impounded and their owners fined or imprisoned. In 1984, Cuba and the United States reached an agreement that capped the flow of boat people.

The agreement was short-lived, however, as economic conditions worsened in Cuba and another wave of about 35,000 Cuban boat people, or "rafters," hit Florida's shores in the 1990s. The U.S. government, in a precedent-breaking decision, refused to grant the Cuban rafters entry. Instead, they set up a tent city in the military base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, where thousands of rafters awaited their fate. Those who could prove that they were political refugees fearing death or persecution by the Cuban government were eventually granted asylum and relocated in the United States. Most were

absorbed into the Cuban exile community in Miami. Others were sent back to Cuba, where they faced an uncertain future.

Between the late 1970s and mid-1990s, over 100,000 Haitian boat people also sought asylum in the United States. In 1981, President Reagan issued an Executive Order directing the U.S. Coast Guard to intercept Haitian boat people at sea. The majority were labeled economic migrants and repatriated. When President Aristide was ousted in the 1991 coup, political repression and economic hardships increased in Haiti, prompting another exodus. The U.S. Naval Base in Guantanamo Bay again served as a screening facility for boat people seeking refuge in the United States. Most of the 34,000 Haitians interdicted at sea between 1991 and 1992 were taken to Guantanamo and repatriated. Many of those who were granted permission to stay settled in a section of Miami, Florida, that came to be known as "Little Haiti."

As late twentieth-century Americans (particularly in Florida) witnessed the first large-scale migration into the United States to occur via make-shift boats, rafts, and inner tubes, they greeted the boat people from neighboring Caribbean countries with both hostility and pity. In Miami, particularly, newspapers carried almost daily reports of bodies washed ashore or emaciated Cubans and Haitians picked up at sea by the U.S. Coast Guard or by volunteer pilots with the Cuban-American organization, Brothers to the Rescue. Popular reaction to the U.S. government's policies towards boat people was also mixed: public outcries alternately charged U.S. government officials with racism, cruelty, or laxity. But one thing was certain: the phenomenon had altered America's—particularly Miami's—demographics forever. It had also added new ingredients to the American cultural stew, as Cuban and Haitian cuisine, art, literature, and music would continue to gain popularity around the country.

—Myra Mendible

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## Bob and Ray

Bob Elliott (1923—) and Ray Goulding (1922-1990) brought a new kind of low-key satire to radio in the late 1940s. They developed such memorable characters as the drawling cowboy Tex and Wally Ballou, "radio's highly regarded and totally inept" remote broadcast reporter who invariably began his reports in mid-sentence, having forgotten to turn on his microphone. Wally often spoke of his wife "Hulla Ballou" and son "Little Boy Ballou." Another popular



Bob Elliot (left) and Ray Goulding

creation was Mary McGoon, a quirky talk show hostess who was a combination of Mary Margaret McBride (the First Lady of radio talk shows from 1934 to 1954) and Julia Childs, the radio and television chef.

The creative pair also set their satiric stun guns on popular long-running radio shows of their day, running their version, *One Feller's Family*, as a parody of the popular program *One Man's Family*. Also popular was their *Mary Backstayge*, *Noble Wife*, a soap opera sketch that spoofed the daytime radio series *Mary Noble*, *Backstage Wife*. Other vehicles for their offbeat wit included such pseudo programs as *The Transatlantic Bridge*, *Robin Hood of Sherman Forest*, *Mr. District Defender*, and *Tales Well Calculated to Keep You in Anxiety*. *Widen Your Horizons* was a "self-help" program on which experts would explain how to look up names in a telephone directory or how to put salt in salt shakers.

Bob and Ray began their professional career at Boston radio station WHDH on an early morning talk and music program. Bob was the show's host and Ray the announcer, with each playing a variety of characters in different voices. All of the shows ended with their trademark salutations, "Write if you get work" and "Hang by your thumbs." They added more fans with the show *Matinee with Bob and Ray*, which preceded the Red Sox baseball games and filled the afternoon with their improvised comedy on rain-out days.

After their on-air shenanigans became the talk of Boston, NBC executives offered them a network radio show of their own in 1953. After two years in the Saturday at 8:00 p.m. time slot, during the 1955-1956 season they moved to the Mutual network for a Monday to Friday program at 5:00 p.m. When television took its toll on network

radio, Bob and Ray appeared frequently on local stations in Boston and New York as well as on National Public Radio.

They were also guest stars on a number of television variety shows, including *The Colgate Comedy Hour* (1952) and *The Ed Sullivan Show* (1955). In the fall of 1951, the pair began performing on their own NBC television show in a 15 minute format, Monday through Friday at 7:15 p.m. The show also featured comic actress Audrey Meadows, who played the part of Linda Lovely in their ongoing spoof of soap operas. They hosted a half-hour NBC show featuring Cloris Leachman, playing the part of Mary Backstayge, during the summer of 1952 and returned to the quarter-hour format in the fall in a show known as *Club Embassy* or *Club Time*, again featuring Audrey Meadows. Critics were almost unanimous in the opinion that the satirists' unique brand of wit played better on radio than television.

In 1970 Bob and Ray wrote and performed a two-man stage production, *The Two of Us*, which had a long run on Broadway as well as at various regional theaters and colleges throughout the United States. In the 1970s the pair worked at radio station WOR, along with their television guest and stage appearances. Their voices became known to millions as Burt and Ernie Piel on Piel's beer commercials.

Bob and Ray were forced to retire in the late 1980s due to the illness of Ray, who died of a heart attack in 1990. Bob continues to make television talk show appearances and is a frequent guest speaker at college seminars and at conferences about the "Golden Age of Radio."

—Benjamin Griffith

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## The Bobbsey Twins

The very term "Bobbsey Twins" has become a kind of slang abbreviation for earnest wholesomeness and do-gooder duos. Generations of American children have grown up with the fictional family of Nan, Bert, Flossie, and Freddie, but the 115 books, dating back to 1904, have always reflected societal changes over the decades. Still, even the modern *Bobbsey Twins* books showcase a perfect world of doting parents, unlimited access to material goods, and just enough adventure and drama to refresh appreciation for the comfort and safety of home and hearth. The books sold millions of copies and were still found on library shelves in America almost a century after their initial debut.

*The Bobbsey Twins* series was just one of several extremely successful works for children written by the Stratemeyer Syndicate. Founder Edward Stratemeyer had once ghostwritten some of the

popular “Horatio Alger” stories that fictionalized the myth of the American dream for millions of nineteenth-century young-adult readers, tales in which a poor boy prospers fantastically through hard work, honesty, and the American free-enterprise system. The Stratemeyer Syndicate’s first series was launched in 1899 with *The Rover Boys*, and would later include *The Hardy Boys* and *Nancy Drew* books. All were penned in accordance with a strict plot formula by writers-for-hire contracted to the Syndicate, most of whom earned about \$125 per book. The Southern-sounding Laura Lee Hope was the collective pen name for *The Bobbsey Twins* series, which began in 1904 with *The Bobbsey Twins: Or, Merry Days Indoors and Out* (The work was revised in 1961 and retitled *The Bobbsey Twins of Lakeport*).

The Bobbsey plots revolved around away-from-home adventures, the purchase of a miniature railroad or Shetland pony, the mysterious disappearance of a toy, or other mishaps or acquisitions. The twins of the title were the two sets of Bobbsey offspring: older twins Nan and Bert and their juniors Flossie and Freddie. The older duo are dark-haired and serious, while their siblings are mischievous and blonde; the genetic discrepancy is, of course, never explained in the plot. The family lives in Lakeport, perhaps somewhere in the East or Upper Midwest, since it snows in the winter and Mr. Bobbsey owns a lumber business on the shore of Lake Metoka. Mrs. Bobbsey is homemaker, and is assisted in her duties around “their large, rambling house” by an African-American servant, Dinah; Dinah’s husband Sam is first a handyman there and later an employee of the lumber business. Though the books always start off in Lakeport, often the family travels to visit relatives in different locales—sometimes a farm, in other instances the seashore. Mr. Bobbsey is usually available to travel with them, despite the demands of his business, and Mrs. Bobbsey exemplifies the patient, cool-headed, but warm-hearted American middle-class mom. Academics have explained the appeal of *The Bobbsey Twins* by citing how the books tap into Sigmund Freud’s theory of “family romance,” in which an imaginative child creates a substitute family, replete with a more loving set of parents and an elevated economic status.

Like the other so-called “tots” series from the Stratemeyer Syndicate, in *The Bobbsey Twins* books “the predominant image is of cheerful, contented families leading lives bounded on all sides by security and abundance,” wrote Deidre Johnson in *Edward Stratemeyer and the Stratemeyer Syndicate*. The Bobbsey Twins are characters that “seem surrounded by a special radiance, blessed by fortune . . . They are born into lives that guarantee them three things: emotional security, or being loved by family; material bounty, or having and perpetually receiving good things; and continual activity, or doing interesting things and visiting different places,” noted Johnson.

What is lacking in *The Bobbsey Twins* series is any form of strife or misfortune. Nan and Bert eagerly take daily responsibility for the younger twins, and never inflict cruelty upon them. This seems to be their only real duty; the vast amount of leisure time for the children is never constricted by piano lessons, dance classes, or onerous household chores. The Great Depression did not occur in the series, nor do either World War. Even when typical juvenile carelessness gets a Bobbsey child into trouble, he or she is only mildly reprimanded and never punished. Predominant in the pages of all the books is wholesome food, warm clothing, wonderful toys, and—every child’s dream—surprise presents for no reason at all. There are detailed descriptions of celebratory meals, such as Flossie and Freddie’s birthday soiree,

complete with creamed chicken, mashed potatoes, and dual cakes. “A more than adequate income makes their lifestyles and vacations possible and shelters them from the type of misfortune others face,” wrote Johnson about the Bobbseys in her book. Sometimes they meet children who live in far less fortunate circumstances—orphans, or children who have to work and are treated severely—but always inflict their own charity and ingenuous solutions upon them.

Up until the 1930s, *The Bobbsey Twins* plots were simple adventure stories, mostly concerned with vacations, but the family began becoming embroiled in more complex plots in the 1930s with *The Bobbsey Twins Solve a Mystery* and *The Bobbsey Twins at Mystery Mansion*, among others. By 1937, the series had sold over five million copies, and their popularity continued unabated in the postwar baby boom of the 1950s. The Stratemeyer Syndicate saw fit to revise the older works in the 1950s, books whose text and tone “contributed to sustaining racial and ethnic prejudice in their stock presentations of blacks, Jews, Italians, Irish, and other non-WASP groups,” explained Carol Billman in her 1986 book *The Secret of the Stratemeyer Syndicate: Nancy Drew, The Hardy Boys, and the Million Dollar Fiction Factory*.

When Edward Stratemeyer died in 1930, his daughter Harriet Stratemeyer Adams took over the Syndicate. *The Bobbsey Twins* books were published by Grosset & Dunlap after 1912, and early manuscripts and related materials from this era were donated to the New York Public Library for its Rare Books and Manuscripts Division in 1993.

—Carol Brennan

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## Bobby Socks

Bobby socks (or bobby sox) are ankle-length socks, usually cotton, worn since the 1930s by children, teens, and adult women. By 1935, many teenage girls wore them to school with saddle shoes (two-tones) or loafers, and stores marketed them as campus fashion. They gained widespread fame in 1943 when national media equated them with teenage girls, especially screaming fans of Frank Sinatra, and claimed that ordinary ankle socks instantly became bobby sox when teenagers bought them. *Newsweek* initially defined “bobby soxers” as female juvenile delinquents with loose morals, but the prevailing stereotype declared them silly, uncontrolled swooners who loved to gab on the phone and buy the latest records and fashions. Teenage girls continued to wear the socks, but did not define themselves as “bobby soxers.”

—Kelly Schrum

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## Bochco, Steven (1943—)

Although he wrote feature film screenplays early in his career, Steven Bochco has made his mark as the creator and producer of successful television series, thus having an impact upon a larger audience than most filmmakers can claim. With such groundbreaking series as *Hill Street Blues*, *L.A. Law*, and *N.Y.P.D. Blue*, Bochco has managed to up the ante on televised social realism and, at the same time, he has pushed the envelope on the broadcast treatment of sexuality. Bochco’s series are noted for well-written scripts featuring a variety of characters portrayed by an expert ensemble cast. The storylines and subplots, overlapping many individual episodes, feature sharp twists and quirky mood swings, from gritty confrontation and sexual banter to unexpected acts of violence. A moment of macabre humor may be juxtaposed with a tender exchange between two characters, followed by the sudden demise of another character. In a medium rife with programming of a bland, repetitious, and formulaic nature, Bochco has distinguished himself by experimenting with fresh concepts. Although, inevitably, some of these ventures—*Cop Rock*, for example—have not proven as successful as others, Bochco’s successes have put him at the top of his field. Clear-eyed about the reality that television is a medium whose primary purpose is to advertise, Bochco has nonetheless done work of considerable sophistication which, in turn, has helped pave the way for other producers of adventuresome programming.

Born Steven Ronald Bochco in New York City on December 16, 1943, he was the son of a Russian immigrant who had been a child prodigy on the violin. Growing up with his sister in a tough West Side neighborhood left its mark on young Bochco. In a sense, the violence around him both provided Bochco with a drive to succeed and, ultimately, provided him with the inspiration for the art and craft with which he would do so. An indifferent student, he nevertheless obtained a scholarship at New York University. Within a year, however, he had transferred to the distinguished theater department at Carnegie Institute of Technology (now Carnegie-Mellon University). The winner of an MCA writing fellowship, Bochco eventually secured a summer job at Universal Studios, where he was in charge of other budding screenwriters. This led, following his 1966 graduation from college, to a job assisting the head of Universal’s story department. Although Bochco’s name would eventually appear in the credits of a respected science fiction film, *Silent Running* (1972), he has focused most of his energies, and earned his greatest rewards, toiling in the vineyards of television. After a variegated apprenticeship, Bochco began writing scripts for the NBC series *The Name of*

*the Game* in 1968. Within a few years, he was made story editor on the highly popular Peter Falk series *Columbo*.

After *Columbo* Bochco was associated with a number of series and projects which were nowhere near as successful as the Falk mysteries had been. But on one of these shows—*Vampire* (1979)—Bochco served as executive producer and co-writer with Michael Kozoll, who would soon prove to be a most significant collaborator. The following year, the two men were invited by Fred Silverman, president of NBC, to create a police show. The pair accepted the challenge, provided they would be allowed to devise something other than just another run-of-the-mill cop program. Taking as their inspiration a piece of public television cinema vérité called *The Police Tapes*, Bochco and Kozoll came up with *Hill Street Blues*, one of the most groundbreaking and successful shows in television history. The main concept, as Bochco later explained to one reporter, was for *Hill Street Blues* “to be a show about people who happen to be cops, as opposed to cops who, in some small corner of their lives, happen to be people.” Furthermore, the co-creators saw their show as an expression of their “strong belief in the cop as hero . . . in the sense of an individual performing a thankless task under extreme physical and emotional stress, with no reward to speak of—social, psychological, or financial. . . .”

In casting the new series, Bochco called upon talented troupers he had known in his days at college, such as Charles Haid, Bruce Weitz, and Barbara Bosson (then Mrs. Bochco). Although the show would make stars out of some of its leading players, such as Daniel J. Travanti, *Hill Street Blues* was an ensemble piece roaming from character to character and from plot to plot—most of them overlapping several episodes. In addition to this sense of a free-floating slice of life, what distinguished *Hill Street Blues* from other cop shows—and set the mold for future Bochco enterprises—was an edgy, off-beat tone, a mixture of quirky characters, raw social realism, gallows humor, and frank sexuality (at least, the verbal expression thereof). At the climax of the opening episode, a moment of comedy is followed immediately by the shocking and vicious gunning-down of two of the leading characters.

*Hill Street Blues*, an MTM production, soared in the ratings and cleaned up at the Emmys for years. It set a high standard for television series drama, and developed a gritty, quirky tone which is still in evidence not only on the tube but in the big-screen projects of Quentin Tarantino and other filmmakers. In 1985, Bochco left MTM under a cloud, though it was not clear whether his differences with the production company had been budgetary—as MTM claimed—or personal, as Bochco asserted. In any event, Bochco re-emerged at Twentieth-Century Fox with a new collaborator, Terry Louise Fisher, a former deputy district attorney and a writer-producer for *Cagney and Lacey*. The result of their creativity was *L.A. Law*, which debuted on NBC in 1986. Although a series about a law firm was by its nature less prone to portray violence than one about a police precinct, *L.A. Law* displayed all the Bochco hallmarks, from an ensemble cast (including Michael Tucker, another old college buddy) and sophisticated dialogue, to high drama and low black comedy. In the opening moments of the premiere episode, a recently deceased lawyer lies face down in his take-out dinner, while the surviving attorneys argue over who shall inherit his office. Once again, a controversial but highly successful, award-winning series was born.

Whatever one’s assessment of his products, credit must be given to Bochco for following up *Hill Street Blues* and *L.A. Law* with series

concepts that could not be accused of being just more doctor or cop shows. *Doogie Howser, M.D.* (1989), about a teenage surgeon, was inspired by Bochco's father's early years as a child prodigy. *Doogie* ran successfully for several seasons, but the fate of *Cop Rock*, a serious police show with musical numbers, was another story. This 1990s drama was short-lived and, for once, it seemed that Bochco had finally gone too far . . . out. Nevertheless, he has continued to stretch himself and experiment with the conventions of television. Much controversy was aroused when it was announced that Bochco's newest series, *N.Y.P.D. Blue*—created with David Milch—would attempt to reclaim for network television some of the large audience lost to cable by purposefully pushing the envelope of language, sex (i.e., partial nudity), and violence past the commonly accepted broadcast norms and closer to the look and feel of R-rated movies. When it finally debuted on ABC, *N.Y.P.D. Blue* proved to be exactly as advertised, and it has weathered the initial storm of protests to prove itself another durable Bochco success.

—Preston Neal Jones

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## Body Decoration

Body Decoration is an ancient form of self-expression, which experienced a twentieth-century revival in a variety of forms. The broad category of body decoration, so thoroughly studied by anthropologist Robert Brain and others, includes everything from styles of dress, to cosmetics, to jewelry, to hair dye, to war paint. More specifically, in an American sense, the term refers to the patterned arts of body decoration, such as tattoos or piercing (or even mehndi or branding).

In a number of traditional cultures, body painting exists for an assortment of purposes, from the purely decorative to the ceremonial. Typically, the designs are in a symbolic form that is based on specific cultural or spiritual beliefs. In their American manifestations, however, these designs ordinarily lack a deeply rooted cultural basis. Rather, the symbols are reappropriated by different groups and imbued with new meanings.

Tattoos are one such example, a permanent form of body decoration. For most of the twentieth century, tattooing was a predominately male phenomenon, often accompanying activities considered traditionally male, such as military outings or gang events. Although there were tattoo-devotee subcultures, such as motorcycle gangs, it was not considered an "acceptable" form of adornment by the mainstream American population.

At the end of the 1980s and early 1990s, tattooing experienced a resurgence as a part of the "Generation X" look. American youth, from the working and middle classes, appropriated tattoo markings to symbolize their youth culture. Arm-band and ankle tattoos replaced the older designs usually sported by military men, such as sailors, whose tattoos of mermaids and anchors were well-known during the earlier part of the century.

This subculture, not unlike others, utilized fashion as an outward manifestation or symbol of their identity. In 1991, the term "Generation X" was used by Douglas Copeland to describe "Forty-six million Americans between 18 and 29 [who are] generally blase and bitter over problems created or made worse by their parents, some seventy-two million baby-boomers." Although Copeland's classification was disputed by some, the 1990s was seen by others as "the age of diminished expectations," with a social climate of racism, skyrocketing divorce rates, increased acceptance of social and sexual deviance (as seen on talk shows) and higher rates of unemployment for the college educated. Many of these social factors are similar to the environment in London which spawned the punk movement in the 1970s, when body piercing became a significant fashion symbol.

The American "Gen X" aesthetic of the 1990s was derived from a variety of sources. In addition to the aforementioned social climate, music and fashion media replicated nihilistic images. "Grunge" bands such as Nirvana, Pearl Jam, and Alice in Chains created music which reflected the despair of the Gen Xers. The fashion industry encouraged the grunge image, which progressed to "waif," then to "heroin-chic." Perhaps the most visible designer who embraced and promoted the movement was Calvin Klein with his waifish star model, Kate Moss.

The grunge look was marked by dark and loose clothing, and the conscious attempt to appear disinterested in personal grooming, often expressed by unwashed hair and thrift-shop attire. The "waif" look captured a self-starvation appearance—hollowed-out, sad eyes, and a gray complexion. An interesting paradox ensued in marketing to the Gen-X population: the very styles which attempted to reject commercialism by this anti-establishment youth culture could soon be achieved through commercial outlets. In other words, "vintage," or "retro" clothes were created by designers and marketed in mainstream department stores. Clothing production modeled that which could be found in thrift stores or garage sales.

For Generation Xers, nihilism was brought to the forefront when rock icon Kurt Cobain committed suicide, and his heroin-chic widow Courtney Love rose to fame. (Later in the 1990s, artists such as Marilyn Manson reinforced Cobain-esque nihilism, while Courtney Love traded in her heroin-chic style to model for Versace).

Body piercing also became a popular form of self-expression among Gen Xers, early on as third-hole ear-piercings and eventually as a pierce-anything phenomenon—noses, eyebrows, tongues, lips, nipples, navels, etc. Beyond simple earrings or hoops, other "piercings" surfaced, such as rods, tusks, and bolts, adornments which became increasingly available at specialty stores. Some cultural historians argued that the nationwide body piercing trend originated in California, where navel piercing was popular on the beach. Here, however, it was relatively isolated from the larger Gen X aesthetic, in which it was later nearly essential.

Whether fad or fashion, trend or movement, body piercing became widespread and extreme in the 1990s. Once such example was revealed on a November 21, 1995 broadcast of the Dr. Judy Love Phones show, a syndicated nightly radio call-in show on WHTZ in New York, when a male caller expressed concern over the fact that his girlfriend had recently pierced her clitoris. Body piercing even invaded interior decors: Club USA, and now defunct Manhattan nightclub in Times Square, was decorated with large, theater-sized photographs and props of sexual, sadomasochistic images. One bar



**Nineteen-year-old Rainy Blue Cloud Greensfelder displays twenty-one body piercings and flowing purple hair.**

doubled as a glass display case, and contained close-up photographs of various clitoral rings and pierced penises. The display was completed by photos of the piercer at work, suggesting that at least in Manhattan, there is someone available to pierce any part of the body.

Another extreme, or even masochistic, form of body decoration is branding or scarring, which became mildly popular among 1990s American youth, but never to the extent of either piercing or tattooing. Branding, the melting of a symbol into human flesh, was offered at some New York City shops.

Significant to most American youth trends is the conspicuous disregard for or rebellion against cultural tradition. Unlike the ornaments worn by Papuan natives, for example, to signify as a religious tradition, American body piercing and tattoos were not connected to any form of formal ceremony. And whereas branding first appeared in the United States with slavery, it reemerged as a trend among mostly white, middle class young persons. This paradox was further complicated by the nature of Gen Xers in general, often despairing individuals searching for identity amidst a pervasive consumer environment in which everything seemed to be commodified, including identity.

Whether rock stars or images, most everything was neatly packaged and depicted in the mass media. Cultural expression among American youth is important to their attempt to self-define. As one Los Angeles teenager said in reference to body piercing, “You feel a common bond when you see others.”

Incidentally, in the mid-1990s, researchers noticed an elevated incidence of a clinical condition known as self-mutilation, wherein teenagers injure themselves as a way of easing emotional distress. It is believed that there were over two million sufferers in the United States in 1997. That year, an article entitled “The Thin Red Line” appeared in the *New York Times* magazine, which examined the causes of the behavior and its treatment by researchers. Although experts disagreed about the connection of the behavior to other forms of body modification, they were all keenly aware of the simultaneous rise in both.

After these forms of body decoration became more widely accepted, other forms of body decoration also debuted. One extreme manifestation of the appropriation of other cultural symbols was the sudden interest in 1998 in mehndi, or the Indian art of henna painting.



This was largely made popular by the release of Madonna's *Ray of Light* album and a corresponding music video, in which she is adorned in exotic fabrics and wears mehndi. Here, it is totally decontextualized from its ritual use for Indian brides. After the video, prefabricated mehndi kits were available in a variety of gift and fashion stores.

—Julie Scelfo

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## Bodybuilding

The term “bodybuilding” has taken on several meanings in popular discourse. The most common usage refers to the organized sport in which men and women compete by posing to display the physiques they have created through weight training, careful dieting, and, in some cases, ergogenic drugs such as anabolic steroids. The term is also used generically to describe the lifestyle followed by many men and women who simply train for greater muscle mass and leanness even though they never compete. These non-competitors train for the “look”—a physical ideal featuring large rounded muscles and minimal body fat. Although the “look” requires enormous dedication and personal sacrifice—and, frequently, drugs—to achieve, it has become pervasive in Western culture. Films, television, comic books, and magazine advertising had all fallen under its sway by the end of the twentieth century.

Although surviving sculpture from Ancient Greece and Rome suggests that both cultures were deeply interested in physical training and body symmetry, there is no evidence to suggest that physique contests were held during these eras. However, the heroic proportions of these early Hellenic and Roman statues are important, for they served as the impetus for the birth of the bodybuilding movement of the nineteenth century. With the importation of the Elgin Marbles to Britain in 1806, a widespread interest in Greek Revivalism spread across Europe, Great Britain, and the United States. This interest in resurrecting the art, architecture, literature and educational systems of Ancient Greece fostered the development of a number of systems of physical training during the nineteenth century and helped create the new science of physical anthropometry—the study of human measurements. Full-sized plaster cast replicas were installed in many colleges, smaller likenesses of ancient statues were manufactured as household ornaments, and advances in printing technology disseminated illustrations and engravings, giving men models of physical perfection against which they could compare themselves. And, as one might expect, sedentary city dwellers discovered that they did not measure up to the ideals presented by the ancient classical civilizations.

Greek Revivalism hit its apex on the shores of Lake Michigan, just outside Chicago, at the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition. The managers of the World's Fair designed an entire city in the mode of Ancient Greece, and throughout this plaster-of-Paris city they placed



Lou Ferrigno (left) and Arnold Schwarzenegger flex their muscles.

large copies of ancient statuary. Reports from the 1893 Chicago World's Fair nearly all remark on the symbolic importance of these statues, which forced fairgoers to take stock of their own physical condition. Many of the reports also commented on the “living embodiment” of Ancient Greece, strongman Eugen Sandow, who performed in Chicago on a daily basis, and is rightfully recognized as the first major “bodybuilder.” Author David Chapman argues that Sandow is the transitional figure from the large and often graceless strongmen, who were ubiquitous in the circuses of the mid- to late-nineteenth century, to the physique stars of the twentieth century. Florenz Ziegfeld (who would later produce the *Ziegfeld Follies*) became Sandow's manager in 1893 and convinced him to alter his act to capitalize on his unique muscularity and physical beauty. Thus, in addition to weightlifting, Sandow added a series of poses at the end of his act. To replicate the classical ideal, he covered himself with white powder and stood against a black velvet backdrop, simulating the poses of classical statuary.

Sandow's appearances at the Chicago World's Fair and his subsequent tours of the United States made him an international celebrity and set off a mania for physical training in the United States and abroad. Back in England in the late 1890s, he began *Sandow's Magazine*, published books, opened a physical training institute, and became the darling of the English upper classes. In 1898, a group of

British aristocrats inspired by Sandow's example joined forces with a local physician, Professor John Atkinson, and held a "Best Developed Man Contest" in conjunction with a weightlifting championships. The winner of that first bodybuilding prize was 1896 Olympic Games heavyweight champion Launceston Elliott (1874-1930), who soon went on the stage and imitated Sandow, both in his grooming and by including poses in his strength act.

The first successful bodybuilding promoter was Sandow himself. In 1898, the year he began his magazine, Sandow announced an ambitious plan to sponsor physique contests in every county in England and then bring the winners together in a magnificent final competition in London. That contest, with 15,000 people in the audience, was held on 14 September 1901 at the Albert Hall, and was won by the 189-pound W.L. Murray of Nottingham, perhaps the least known champion in the history of bodybuilding. Following his victory, Murray, too, became a professional showman, billing himself as "The Most Perfectly Developed Athlete of Modern Times."

The first physique contests in the United States were organized by the eccentric and controversial magazine publisher and health fanatic, Bernarr Macfadden, who was inspired by Sandow's act at the Chicago World's Fair. A gifted promoter, Macfadden began publishing *Physical Culture* magazine in 1898 and by 1900 had reportedly attracted 100,000 subscribers. Quick to understand the value of photography and personal success stories to the magazine's growth, Macfadden announced a world-wide contest for the "Best and Most Perfectly Developed Man and Woman." Contestants submitted photos and measurements that Macfadden then used in his magazine. The most suitable candidates then competed in 13 regional competitions in the United States and England for the privilege of entering the finals. Macfadden's first "Physical Culture Extravaganza" began on December 28, 1903 in Madison Square Garden. With representatives from England competing in both the men's and women's divisions, it was the first international bodybuilding contest and was won by Albert Toof Jennings (1873-1960) and Emma Newkirk. Jennings, a professional strongman known professionally as Al Treloar, was hired as the physical director of the Los Angeles Athletic Club in 1907, a position he held for the next 42 years. Emma Newkirk, from Santa Monica, California, appears to have had no subsequent involvement with women's bodybuilding.

Macfadden held a second competition for men and women in October of 1905, and over the next several decades he sponsored a variety of other physique contests. Some were simply postal meets in which physiques were judged on the strength of photographs and measurements. Others, however, were real competitions, such as the 1921 "America's Most Perfectly Developed Man Contest" won by artist's model Angelo Siciliano (1892-1972), who would go on to revolutionize the mail order training business under the world renowned name of Charles Atlas. The problem with Macfadden's contests, however, was that the judging criteria varied considerably from event to event. The early shows were largely judged by artists and physicians or by prominent people from other walks of life. There were no written rules, no set poses, and no clearly stated aesthetics. Also, with no regular schedule of bodybuilding competitions, the men who entered the early shows rarely worked solely on their physiques. Most were weightlifters, artists' models, or professional strongmen who entered physique contests as a sideline. But that would soon change.

In the 1930s, the British magazine *Health and Strength* began sponsoring a bodybuilding contest as part of its annual physical culture extravaganza. Interest in physique competitions also blossomed in France, where a national championship was held for the first

time in 1934. Across the Atlantic, 28-year-old Johnny Hordines sponsored the "Finest Physique Contest" on December 1, 1938 in Schenectady, New York. No overall winner was named in the contest although prizes were given for best body parts and in three height divisions. The following year, on June 10, 1939, Hordines organized a much larger and more elaborate show in which the 30 bodybuilders posed to music on a revolving dais. Although this contest, won by Bert Goodrich, is frequently referred to as the first "Mr. America" contest, Hordines did not advertise it as such. He called it "America's Finest Physique Contest."

The first contest to be held on a regular basis in the United States was the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) Mr. America contest. The first meet took place on July 4, 1939 in conjunction with the AAU National Weightlifting Championships. As would be the case for many years in the AAU, the physique show was held after the weightlifting, almost as an afterthought. At the 1939 show, no contestant could enter the physique contest who had not competed in the weightlifting event. Ronald Essmaker won the tall class in that first AAU contest, and is thus regarded as the first Mr. America. On May 25, 1940 a Mr. America contest was again held following the National Weightlifting Championships. John Grimek won the overall title for that year and the next, thus becoming the only champion to win two Mr. America titles. In fact, Grimek's physique was so far ahead of his competitors in the early 1940s that the AAU passed a rule forbidding winners from competing in subsequent Mr. America contests.

The establishment of the Mr. America contest validated bodybuilding as a sport. However, for a number of years, nearly all American bodybuilding competitions continued to be held after weightlifting events. The bodybuilding shows often ended well beyond midnight, and thus attracted small audiences and little publicity. Furthermore, in order to fight the notion that large muscles made a person muscle-bound and unathletic, the AAU established an athleticism requirement for all competitors. Men who wanted to be in the physique shows had either to compete in the weightlifting event or prove that they were athletes involved in such things as team sports or track and field. The guiding force behind these regulations was Robert (Bob) Hoffman (1898-1984), owner of the York Barbell Company. Hoffman was a staunch supporter of the Olympic sport of weightlifting, and a strong presence in the AAU. He didn't dislike bodybuilders, and was Grimek's employer, but he worried that the new sport would take young men away from weightlifting. In his magazine, *Strength & Health*, which by the mid-1940s was the most widely circulated muscle magazine in the world, Hoffman gave less space to physique men than he did to weightlifters. These attitudes, coupled with the AAU's continued presentation of bodybuilding as a second class sport, opened the door for the young Weider brothers of Montreal, Canada, and allowed them to take control of the sport.

Joe Weider (1923—) was only 17 years old when he published his first issue of *Your Physique* magazine in 1940. From that inauspicious, mimeographed beginning, *Your Physique's* circulation grew almost geometrically. By 1943, his readership had spread across Canada, and he began selling exercise equipment as well. In 1946, with his younger brother Ben (1925—) home from the war, Joe organized the first Mr. Canada contest, but after experiencing problems, the ambitious entrepreneurs decided to form their own bodybuilding federation. Ben Weider explained their decision in a 1998 magazine article: "At that time the AAU controlled bodybuilding, not only in America but in Canada as well, through the Weight Lifting

Federation. Although we had asked for and received a permit from the AAU to organize the [1946 Mr. Canada] contest, on the night of the contest, their Canadian representatives . . . arrived and threatened the bodybuilders that they would be expelled from the AAU if they participated. The reaction of Bob Hoffman and the International Weightlifting Federation was aggressive and mean. They did everything to try to destroy and humiliate us. That's when Joe and I decided to organize our own federation and not be under the control of the AAU."

Over the next several years, Joe and Ben Weider sponsored dozens of contests and traveled throughout the world to enlist member nations for their new International Federation of Bodybuilders (IFBB). During the 1950s and 1960s the IFBB grew steadily in membership and in stature. At the same time, the Weiders' magazine, equipment, and food supplement businesses turned into an empire. By the early 1970s, when the International Weightlifting Federation finally decided to give up what little control they had of bodybuilding, the IFBB was able to assume total control of international bodybuilding. Ben Weider also stepped up his campaign for the acceptance of bodybuilding as an Olympic sport. Although it took another quarter century to see it finally happen, Ben Weider's tireless crusade finally resulted in the International Olympic Committee admitting the IFBB as a "recognized Olympic sport" on January 30, 1998. By that time, the IFBB was one of the most international bodies in sport, with well over 100 member nations.

It was clear, however, that before the IFBB would be able to send athletes to the Olympics, it would have to deal more effectively with the drug use that pervaded the sport. The International Olympic Committee has had many drug scandals in other sports, and it would be unlikely fully to embrace a sport that has been dominated by drug use since the 1960s. Because ergogenic drugs such as anabolic steroids and Human Growth Hormone build muscle and reduce body fat, they provide virtually unbeatable advantages to those who use them. The IFBB has attempted, with varying degrees of rigor and with very limited success, to curtail their use by the top competitors, but because the drugs are easy to obtain and, in most cases, relatively inexpensive, and because most drug testing programs have been either half-hearted or short-lived, bodybuilders are drawn to their use. The irony of unhealthy men and women winning competitions that have traditionally symbolized health must be resolved before bodybuilding can become a full-fledged Olympic sport.

Although there were women's beauty contests at Muscle Beach in the 1940s and 1950s, and although some men's contests during the 1950s and 1960s also contained a bikini or beauty contest for women, the first competition at which women were judged on muscularity and symmetry was a 1978 meet promoted by Henry McGhee, a Canton, Ohio, YMCA director. One of the competitors in that contest was a 46-year-old Florida grandmother, Doris Barrilleaux, who decided to form a bodybuilding association for women. The Superior Physique Association sponsored several contests in the southeastern United States but, ultimately, could not compete with the National Physique Committee—the American arm of the IFBB. The first NPC show, The World Pro Championships, was held in 1979. Lisa Lyon, who won that first contest, was heavily promoted by Joe Weider in *Muscle and Fitness* magazine and, seemingly overnight, women's bodybuilding took off. Within two years, the NPC had state, regional, and national meets in place, and in 1980 the IFBB sanctioned the first Ms. Olympia contest, which was won by Rachel McLish of Harlingen, Texas.

Throughout the early and mid-1980s, women's bodybuilding seemed to be on a steady growth curve. However, as women bodybuilders trained harder, and as drug use became more commonplace, concerns began to be raised about the aesthetic direction of the sport. Charles Gaines and George Butler gave voice to some of these concerns in both the film and book *Pumping Iron II: The Unprecedented Woman*. Both were released in 1983 and both juxtaposed the elegant McLish with the larger and more heavily muscled Australian power-lifter, Beverly Francis, who was then making a move into bodybuilding. Since 1983, as the level of muscularity in women's bodybuilding gradually increased, women's bodybuilding seems to have taken a path that fewer and fewer women have cared to follow. As bodybuilding has continued to reward size and muscularity, women bodybuilders have gotten bigger and still bigger; by the mid-1990s they had lost much of the mainstream appeal they enjoyed in the 1980s.

While bodybuilding continued to struggle with its aesthetic direction, another type of contest emerged in reaction to the hyper-muscular bodybuilders. Generically referred to as "Ms. Fitness" competitions, the new contests combine elements of bodybuilding, aerobic dance, and gymnastics. By the end of the 1990s, these contests had far surpassed women's bodybuilding in popularity both on television and in the muscle magazines. Apparently, this occurred because of the more traditionally feminine physiques of the competitors. A 1998 study of the covers of *Flex*, *Muscle and Fitness*, *Iron Man* and *Muscle Mag International*—the four leading muscle magazines—found that these publications were far more likely to feature fitness competitors than they were women bodybuilders, both inside the magazine and on the cover. In fact, by that time women bodybuilders were almost never featured on the covers of such magazines.

Since its inception in the nineteenth century, bodybuilding has been linked to the entertainment industry. Although most people are aware that there were circus and vaudeville strongmen, some bodybuilder/strongmen also played an important role in the early cinema. For example, Thomas Edison asked Eugen Sandow to pose for his new Kinetoscope in 1894. The brief film clip shows Sandow posing, lifting a barbell, and performing a back flip. It played in Kinetoscopic "parlors" where patrons paid only a penny or so to peep through a small hole in a large box-like machine. Sandow also appeared in four brief films for the Biograph company, which he showed as the finale of his act in the mid-1890s.

Over the past century, a number of bodybuilders and strongmen have worked in the film industry largely because their physiques. Josef Grafl, the world heavyweight lifting champion from 1908-1911 played Ursus, the bodyguard of the heroine in the 1913 version of *Quo Vadis*; and Bartolomeo Pagano, under the stage name of Maciste, appeared in a number of films between 1914 and the early 1920s in which his strength and muscularity advanced the script. Joe Bonomo, the training partner of Charles Atlas and a winner of an early physique contest in his own right, worked throughout the 1920s as a Hollywood stunt man and character actor, while Elmo Lincoln found fame as the first screen Tarzan in that same decade.

In the 1950s, a number of largely Italian-made costume epics employed bodybuilders as gladiators and mythic heroes. Mickey Hargitay, who had been part of Mae West's bodybuilder revue, married actress Jayne Mansfield and played in a couple of these, such as *Revenge of the Gladiators* (1968). South African bodybuilding star Reg Park made five Hercules pictures between 1961 and 1965, while former Tarzan Gordon Scott starred in *Goliath and the Vampires* (1961). Until the advent of Arnold Schwarzenegger, the brightest star

in this genre was Steve Reeves, whose series of film roles in the 1950s and 1960s made him the number one box-office draw in the world for a brief time.

Many other film stars also have connections to the world of bodybuilding. Oscar winner Sean Connery was a serious bodybuilder in his early adulthood and entered the Mr. Universe contest in 1953. David Prowse, who played Darth Vader in *Star Wars*, looked so large and menacing because he was in reality a 6'7," 280-pound former Mr. Universe competitor. And, finally, Schwarzenegger's participation in such early films as *Pumping Iron* (1977) and *Stay Hungry* (1976) helped to popularize the bodybuilding aesthetic and lifestyle to the general public. What's more, many leading actors in the last decades of the twentieth century undertook serious bodybuilding training in order to portray "action characters" to audiences grown used to seeing bodybuilders in magazines and heroically built comic-book characters. Stars such as Clint Walker, Harrison Ford, Clint Eastwood, Mel Gibson, Sylvester Stallone, Jean Claude Van Damme, Robert DeNiro, Christopher Reeves, Nicholas Cage, Carl Weathers, Brendan Frasier, and Ving Rhames realized how much more believable they are when their muscular bodies match their masculine roles. And women such as Linda Hamilton, Jane Fonda, and Sigourney Weaver have also trained and dieted to prepare for roles in which the condition of their bodies was critical.

Other media, too, have been influenced by bodybuilding. Comic books, for instance, have considerably altered the proportions of their superheroes as the years have passed. When Superman, Captain Marvel, and Batman first appeared in the 1930s, they were shown to have athletic but relatively non-muscular physiques. However, as the bodies of the top physique men have become increasingly exaggerated, so have the drawings of the superheroes in comic books, on television cartoons, and in films. Some scholars believe that the depiction of these ultra-hypertrophied superheroes has been a factor in the growing public acceptance of bodybuilding. Television, of course, has also played a major role. Beginning in 1951 with Jack LaLanne's show, bodybuilders have preached the gospel of fitness over the airwaves. In the 1990s, the proliferation of cable television resulted in much more on-air coverage of bodybuilding competitions and many more instructional shows. By far the biggest bodybuilding star on television, however, was Lou Ferrigno, who was very convincing as the Incredible Hulk from 1977 to 1982.

—Jan Todd

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## Bogart, Humphrey (1899-1957)

The man who would tell Ingrid Bergman, "Here's Looking at You, Kid," at the conclusion of *Casablanca* (1942) was born Humphrey DeForest Bogart in 1899. He would become one of the twentieth century's greatest icons of tough masculinity, a complex blend of "good guy" and "bad guy" at a time when World War II had many Americans re-examining their personal codes of loyalty, honor, and character. Underneath his coarse exterior, Bogart, or simply "Bogie," betrayed an underdog vulnerability and a genuine desire to find the "right" answer in a world that was increasingly chaotic and off-kilter. The star was also well known for his celebrated marriage to co-star Lauren Bacall, whose sultry wit reflected his cynicism but who always drew out his romantic, heroic side.

Although Bogart became known for playing brutish characters from the wrong side of town, he was raised in the world of upper-middle-class New York City. He was eventually expelled from the Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, and joined the Navy for service during World War I. It was in the war that he suffered an injury which left his lip slightly paralyzed, resulting in the stiff and affected facial gestures which became one of the actor's trademarks.

Bogart began his career on stage in the 1920s and entered Hollywood by playing minor roles a decade later. But when Leslie Howard lobbied for him to co-star in *The Petrified Forest* (1935), he proved that he was well-suited for gangster or villain characters. He generally played this type until *High Sierra* (1941) in which he (with the film's screenwriter John Huston) developed a trope of masculinity which was complicated by ambivalence, pragmatism, and complex moral fortitude. Here, Bogart starred as Mad Dog Earle, an ex-convict on the run and destined for his own demise, who lays bare a particular emotional sensitivity through his sympathy for a simpler, gentler Joan Leslie. He continued to develop his star persona through this kind of role in *The Maltese Falcon* (1941) and *Casablanca* (1941), both of which are considered his watershed films. Though he maintained a turbulent relationship with Warner Brothers, the studio which helped forge his image, Bogart made a comfortable fit with its house style which relied on the gangster genre and films which drew on the topical social problems of the day.

In 1943, the star met his match in Lauren Bacall on the set of *To Have and Have Not* (1944). Twenty-five years his junior, Bacall was a fashion model who had recently been discovered by director Howard Hawks' wife. She was precocious and demure and with Hawks' help, the two stars launched a chemistry that would be re-lived in *The Big Sleep* (1945, also directed by Hawks) and result in a famous and closely-watched marriage that lasted until Bogart's death. He had been married three times with little success—when he encountered Bacall he was husband to former actress Mayo Methot and their violent feuding had earned them the title "the Battling Bogarts." It took over a year for him to extricate himself from this marriage and fans initially viewed the Bogie/Bacall union with skepticism.

The verbal sparring between Bogart and Bacall in *To Have and Have Not*—in which the latter utters the notorious "put your lips



**Humphrey Bogart in a scene from the film *The Maltese Falcon*.**

together and blow” phrase—became a signature of their interpersonal dynamic off-screen as well. Film critic Molly Haskell celebrates them as one of “the best of the classical couples” because they brought to the screen “the kind of morally and socially beneficial ‘pedagogic’ relationship that Lionel Trilling finds in Jane Austen’s characters, the ‘intelligent love’ in which two partners instruct, inform, educate, and influence each other in the continuous college of love.” Bogart, who was known for his misogyny and violent temper, had found a woman who knew how to put him in his place with an economical glance or a spontaneous retort. It was common for his “rat pack” of male friends to populate the house but Bacall was perceived as a wife who rarely relinquished the upper hand. Their marriage produced two children, Stephen (after Bogart’s character in *To Have and Have Not*) and Leslie (after Leslie Howard).

A noticeable shift occurred in the kinds of characters Bogart played in the 1940s. The tough guy attempting to be moral in an immoral world became less socially acceptable as many American husbands and wives tried to settle into a home life that would help anesthetize them from the trauma of war. The complicated and reactive principles associated with the star’s persona suddenly seemed more troublesome and less containable. His film *Treasure of the*

*Sierra Madre* (1948), in which Bogart plays a greedy, conniving prospector, marks this trend but *In a Lonely Place* (1948) is a lesser known and equally remarkable film, partly because his role is that of a screenwriter disenchanted with Hollywood. It was at this time that he also formed his Santana production company which granted him more autonomy in his choice and development of projects.

In the early 1950s, Bogart became one of the key figures to speak out against the House Un-American Activities Committee which gave him an opportunity to voice his ideals of democracy and free speech. He also revived his career with *The African Queen* (1951), for which he won an Academy Award. Later, he experimented with more comedic roles in films such as Billy Wilder’s *Sabrina* (1954) and *We’re No Angels* (1955). In 1956, the long-time smoker underwent surgery for cancer of the esophagus and he died of emphysema in early 1957.

Bogart’s status as a cultural icon was renewed in the 1960s when counter-culture audiences were introduced to his films through film festivals in Boston and New York which then spread to small college towns. The Bogart “cult” offered a retreat into macho, rugged individualism at a time when burgeoning social movements contributed to increased anxiety over masculine norms. This cult saw a

resurgence in the 1990s with a spate of biographies about the star and the issuance of a commemorative postage stamp.

—Christina Lane

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## Bok, Edward (1863-1930)

An immigrant from the Netherlands, journalist and social reformer Edward Bok emphasized the virtues of hard work and assimilation in his 1920 autobiography, *The Americanization of Edward Bok*, which won the Pulitzer Prize for biography and was reprinted in 60 editions over the next two decades. As one of America's most prominent magazine editors around the turn of the twentieth century, Bok originated the concept of the modern mass-circulation women's magazine during his 30-year tenure (1889-1919) as editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. His editorship coincided with a period of profound change, as the United States shifted from an agrarian to an urban society, and his was a prominent voice in defining and explaining these changes to a newly emergent middle class often unsure of its role in the new order of things. "He outdid his readers in his faith in the myths and hopes of his adopted country," wrote Salmé Harju Steinberg in her 1979 study, *Reformer in the Marketplace*. "His sentiments were all the more compelling because they reflected not so much what his readers did believe as what they thought they should believe." Under his guidance, the *Ladies' Home Journal* was the first magazine to reach a circulation of one million readers, which then doubled to two million as it became an advocate of many progressive causes of its era, such as conservation, public health, birth control, sanitation, and educational reform. Paradoxically, the magazine remained neutral on the issue of women's suffrage until Bok finally expressed opposition to it in a March 1912 editorial, claiming that women were not yet ready for the vote.

Edward Bok was born to a politically prominent family in Den Helder, the Netherlands, on October 9, 1863, the younger son of William John Hidde Bok and Sieke Gertrude van Herwerden Bok. After suffering financial reverses, the family emigrated to the United States and settled in Brooklyn, New York, where from the age of ten,

young Edward began working in a variety of jobs, including window washer, office boy, and stringer for the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*. His first publishing jobs were as a stenographer with Henry Holt & Company and Charles Scribner's Sons. In the 1880s, Bok became editor of the *Brooklyn Magazine*, which had evolved from a publication he edited for Henry Ward Beecher's Plymouth Church. In 1886 he and Frederic L. Colver launched Bok Syndicate Press, the first to widely employ women as contributors. The following year, *Scribner's Magazine* hired Bok as advertising manager.

In 1889, shortly after his 26th birthday, Bok became editor-in-chief of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, which had been founded six years earlier by Cyrus H. K. Curtis, whose only daughter, Mary Louise, became Bok's wife in 1896. Although Bok made the *Ladies' Home Journal* a vehicle for social change, he avoided taking sides in the controversial labor vs. capital political issues of the day. With a solid appeal to the emerging middle classes, Bok's editorials preached a Protestant work ethic couched in an Emersonian language of individual betterment. By employing contributing writers such as Jane Addams, Edward Bellamy, and Helen Keller, Bok helped create a national climate of opinion that dovetailed with the growing progressive movement. While advocacy of "do-good" projects put the *Journal* at odds with more radical muckraking periodicals of the period, Bok can still be credited with raising popular consciousness about the ills of unbridled industrialism. His "Beautiful America" campaign, for example, raised public ire against the erection of mammoth billboards on the rim of the Grand Canyon, and against the further despoiling of Niagara Falls by electric-power plants. Riding the crest of the "City Beautiful" movement that followed the 1892 Chicago World's Fair, Bok opened the pages of the *Journal* to architects, who offered building plans and specifications for attractive, low-cost homes, thousands of which were built in the newer suburban developments. Praising this initiative, President Theodore Roosevelt said "Bok is the only man I ever heard of who changed, for the better, the architecture of an entire nation, and he did it so quickly and yet so effectively that we didn't know it was begun before it was finished."

The *Ladies' Home Journal* became the first magazine to ban advertising of patent medicines, and Bok campaigned strenuously against alcohol-based nostrums, a catalyst for the landmark Food and Drug Act in 1906. The magazine was also ahead of its time in advocating sex education, though its editorials were hardly explicit by late-twentieth-century standards. Even before the United States had entered World War I, Bok, who was vice president of the Belgian Relief Fund and an advisor to President Woodrow Wilson, editorialized that American women could contribute to peace and democracy through preparedness, food conservation, and support of the Red Cross and other relief efforts.

After his forced retirement in 1919, Bok published his autobiography and devoted himself to humanitarian causes. Swimming against the tide of isolationism after World War I, Bok tried to get Americans interested in the League of Nations and the World Court. In 1923, he established the American Peace Award, a prize of \$100,000 to be awarded for plans for international cooperation. He also endowed the Woodrow Wilson Chair of Government at Williams College, named for the beleaguered president who failed to convince his fellow citizens to join the League of Nations. Bok died on January 9, 1930 and was buried at the foot of the Singing Tower, a carillon he built in a bird preserve in Lake Wales, Florida.

—Edward Moran

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## Bolton, Judy

See Judy Bolton

## The Bomb

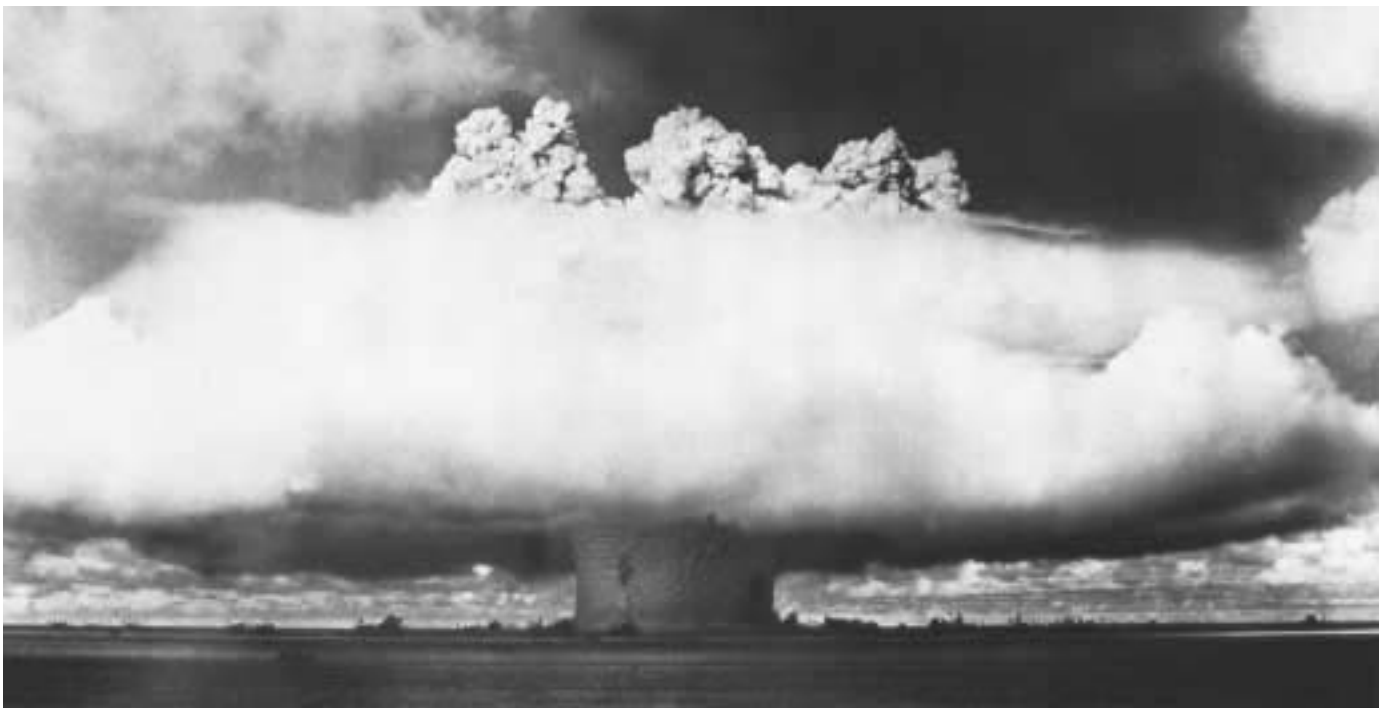
For many observers, “Living with the Bomb” has become the evocative phrase to describe life in twentieth-century America. The cultural fallout from this technological innovation has influenced economics, politics, and social policy and life long after its first testing in the New Mexican desert in 1945. Americans have taken fear of attack so seriously that school policies include provisions for nuclear attack. Global politics became “polarized” by the two nations in possession of nuclear technology. In the 1990s, global relations remained extremely influenced by proliferation and the threat of hostile nations acquiring nuclear capabilities. Clearly, “the

bomb” and all of atomic technology has carved a deep crater of influence.

The technology to manage atomic reactions did not long remain the sole domain of the military. The influence of nuclear weapons and power generation has defined a great deal of domestic politics since the 1960s. In recent years, such attention has come because of nuclear technology's environmental impact. If one considers these broader implications and the related technologies, twentieth-century life has been significantly influenced by “the bomb,” even though it has been used sparingly—nearly not at all. The broader legacy of the bomb can be seen on the landscape, from Chernobyl to the Bikini Atoll or from Hiroshima to Hanford, Washington. Hanford's legacy with the bomb spans more time than possibly any other site. In fact, it frames consideration of this issue by serving as site for the creation of the raw material to construct the first nuclear weapons and consequently as the “single most infected” site in the United States, now awaiting Superfund cleanup. The site is a symbol of technological accomplishment but also of ethical lessons learned.

In February 1943, the U.S. military through General Leslie Groves acquired 500,000 acres of land near Hanford. This would be the third location in the triad that would produce the atomic technology. The coordinated activity of these three sites under the auspices of the U.S. military became a path-breaking illustration of the planning and strategy that would define many modern corporations. Hanford used water power to separate plutonium and produce the grade necessary for weapons use. Oak Ridge in Tennessee coordinated the production of uranium. These production facilities then fueled the heart of the undertaking, contained in Los Alamos, New Mexico, under the direction of J. Robert Oppenheimer.

Oppenheimer, a physicist, supervised the team of nuclear theoreticians who would devise the formulas making such atomic reactions possible and manageable. Scientists from a variety of fields were



An atomic bomb mushroom cloud.

involved in this highly complex theoretical mission. Once theories were in place and materials delivered, the project became assembling and testing the technology in the form of a bomb. All of this needed to take place on the vast Los Alamos, New Mexico, compound under complete secrecy. However, the urgency of war revealed that this well-orchestrated, corporate-like enterprise remained the best bet to save thousands of American lives.

By 1944, World War II had wrought a terrible price on the world. The European theater would soon close with Germany's surrender. While Germany's pursuit of atomic weapons technology had fueled the efforts of American scientists, the surrender did not end the project. The Pacific front remained active, and Japan did not accept offers to surrender. "Project Trinity" moved forward, and it would involve Japanese cities, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as the test laboratories of initial atomic bomb explosions. *Enola Gay* released a uranium bomb on the city of Hiroshima on August 6 and *Bock's Car* released a plutonium bomb on Nagasaki on August 9. Death tolls vary between 300-500,000, and most were Japanese civilians. The atomic age, and life with the bomb, had begun.

Bomb tests in an effort to perfect the technology as well as to design other types of weapons, including Hydrogen bombs, would continue throughout the 1950s, particularly following the Soviet Union's successful detonation in 1949. Many of these tests became publicity opportunities. For instance, the 1946 Pacific tests on the Bikini Atoll were viewed on television and through print media by millions worldwide. The technology became so awe-inspiring and ubiquitous that a French designer named his new, two-piece women's bathing suit after the test. The bikini, linked with terms such as "bombshell," became an enduring representation of the significant impression of this new technology on the world's psyche.

For Oppenheimer and many of the other scientists, the experience of working for the military had brought increasing alarm about what the impact of their theoretical accomplishments would be. Many watched in horror as the weapons were used on Japanese civilians. Oppenheimer eventually felt that the public had changed attitudes toward scientific exploration due to the bomb. "We have made a thing," he said in a 1946 speech, "a most terrible weapon, that has altered abruptly and profoundly the nature of the world . . . a thing that by all the standards of the world we grew up in is an evil thing." It brings up the question of whether or not, he went on, this technology as well as all of science should be controlled or limited.

Many of the scientists involved believed that atomic technology required controls unlike any previous innovation. Shortly after the bombings, a movement began to establish a global board of scientists who would administer the technology with no political affiliation. While there were many problems with such a plan in the 1940s, it proved impossible to wrest this new tool for global influence from the American military and political leaders. The Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), formed in 1946, would place the U.S. military and governmental authority in control of the weapons technology and other uses to which it might be put. With the "nuclear trump card," the United States catapulted to the top of global leadership.

Such technological supremacy only enhanced Americans' post war expansion and optimism. The bomb became an important plank to re-stoking American confidence in the security of its borders and its place in the world. In addition to alcoholic drinks and cereal-box prizes, atomic technology would creep into many facets of American life. Polls show that few Americans considered moral implications to the bombs' use in 1945; instead, 85 percent approved, citing the need to end the war and save American lives that might have been lost in a

Japanese invasion. Soon, the AEC seized this sensibility and began plans for "domesticating the atom." These ideas led to a barrage of popular articles concerning a future in which roads were created through the use of atomic bombs and radiation employed to cure cancer.

Atomic dreaming took many additional forms as well, particularly when the AEC began speculating about power generation. Initially, images of atomic-powered agriculture and automobiles were sketched and speculated about in many popular periodicals. In one book published during this wave of technological optimism, the writer speculates that, "No baseball game will be called off on account of rain in the Era of Atomic Energy." After continuing this litany of activities no longer to be influenced by climate or nature, the author sums up the argument: "For the first time in the history of the world man will have at his disposal energy in amounts sufficient to cope with the forces of Mother Nature." For many Americans, this new technology meant control of everyday life. For the Eisenhower Administration, the technology meant expansion of our economic and commercial capabilities.

The Eisenhower Administration repeatedly sought ways of "domesticating" the atom. Primarily, this effort grew out of a desire to educate the public without creating fear of possible attack. However, educating the public on actual facts clearly took a subsidiary position to instilling confidence. Most famously, "Project Plowshares" grew out of the Administration's effort to take the destructive weapon and make it a domestic power producer. The list was awe-inspiring: laser-cut highways passing through mountains, nuclear-powered greenhouses built by federal funds in the Midwest to routinize crop production, and irradiating soils to simplify weed and pest management. While domestic power production, with massive federal subsidies, would be the long-term product of these actions, the atom could never fully escape its military capabilities.

Americans of the 1950s could not at once stake military dominance on a technology's horrific power while also accepting it into their everyday life. The leap was simply too great. This became particularly difficult in 1949 when the Soviet Union tested its own atomic weapon. The arms race had officially begun; a technology that brought comfort following the "war to end all wars" now forced an entire culture to realize its volatility—to live in fear of nuclear annihilation.

Eisenhower's efforts sought to manage the fear of nuclear attack, and wound up creating a unique atomic culture. Civil defense efforts constructed bomb shelters in public buildings and enforced school children to practice "duck and cover" drills, just as students today have fire drills. Many families purchased plans for personal bomb shelters to be constructed in their backyards. Some followed through with construction and outfitting the shelter for months of survival should the United States experience a nuclear attack. Social controls also limited the availability of the film *On the Beach*, which depicted the effects of a nuclear attack, and David Bradley's book *No Place to Hide*. It was the censorship of Bradley, a scientist and physician working for the Navy at the Bikini tests, that was the most troubling oversight. Bradley's account of his work after the tests presented the public with its first knowledge of radiation—the realization that there was more to the bomb than its immediate blast. The culture of control was orchestrated informally, but Eisenhower also took strong political action internationally. "Atoms for Peace" composed an international series of policies during the 1950s that sought to have the Soviets and Americans each offer the United Nations fissionable material to be applied to peaceful uses. While the Cold War still had



many chapters through which to pass, Eisenhower stimulated discourse on the topic of nuclear weapons from the outset.

Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" speech, given at the United Nations in 1953, clearly instructed the world on the technological stand-off that confronted it. The "two atomic colossi," he forecasted, could continue to "eye each other indefinitely across a trembling world." But eventually their failure to find peace would result in war and "the probability of civilization destroyed," forcing "mankind to begin all over again the age-old struggle upward from savagery toward decency and right, and justice." To Eisenhower, "no sane member of the human race" could want this. In his estimation, the only way out was discourse and understanding. With exactly these battle lines, a war—referred to as cold, because it never escalates (heats) to direct conflict—unfolded over the coming decades. With ideology—communism versus capitalism—as its point of difference, the conflict was fought through economics, diplomacy, and the stockpiling of a military arsenal. With each side possessing a weapon that could annihilate not just the opponent but the entire world, the bomb defined a new philosophy of warfare.

The Cold War, lasting from 1949-1990, then may best be viewed as an ongoing chess game, involving diplomats and physicists, while the entire world prayed that neither player made the incorrect move. Redefining ideas of attack and confrontation, the Cold War's nuclear arsenal required that each side live on the brink of war—referred to as brinkmanship by American policy makers. Each "super power," or nuclear weapons nation, sought to remain militarily on the brink while diplomatically dueling over economic and political influence throughout the globe. Each nation sought to increase its "sphere of influence" (or nations signed-on as like minded) and to limit the others. Diplomats began to view the entire globe in such terms, leading to wars in Korea and Vietnam over the "domino" assumption that there were certain key nations that, if allowed to ally with a superpower, could take an entire region with them. These two conflicts defined the term "limited" warfare, which meant that nuclear weapons were not used. However, in each conflict the use of such weapons was hotly debated.

Finally, as the potential impact of the use of the bomb became more clearly understood, the technological side of the Cold War escalated into an "arms race" meant to stockpile resources more quickly and in greater numbers than the other superpower. Historians will remember this effort as possibly the most ridiculous outlet of Cold War anxiety, because by 1990 the Soviets and Americans each possessed the capability to destroy the earth hundreds of times. The arms race grew out of one of the most disturbing aspects of the Cold War, which was described by policy-makers as "MAD: mutually assured destruction." By 1960, each nation had adopted the philosophy that any launch of a nuclear warhead would initiate massive retaliation of its entire arsenal. Even a mistaken launch, of course, could result in retaliatory action to destroy all life.

On an individual basis, humans had lived before in a tenuous balance with survival as they struggled for food supplies with little technology; however, never before had such a tenuous balance derived only from man's own technological innovation. Everyday human life changed significantly with the realization that extinction could arrive at any moment. Some Americans applied the lesson by striving to live within limits of technology and resource use. Anti-nuclear activists composed some of the earliest portions of the 1960s counter culture and the modern environmental movement, including Sea Shepherds and Greenpeace which grew out of protesting nuclear testing. Other Americans were moved to live with fewer constraints

than ever before: for instance, some historians have traced the culture of excessive consumption to the realization that an attack was imminent. Regardless of the exact reaction, American everyday life had been significantly altered.

If Americans had managed to remain naive to the atomic possibilities, the crisis of 1962 made the reality perfectly obvious. U.S. intelligence sources located Soviet missiles in Cuba, 90 miles from the American coast. Many options were entertained, including bombing the missile sights; President John F. Kennedy, though, elected to push "brinkmanship" further than it had ever before gone. He stated that the missiles pressed the nuclear balance to the Soviet's advantage and that they must be removed. Kennedy squared off against Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in a direct confrontation with the use of nuclear weapons as the only subsequent possibility for escalation. Thirteen Days later, the Soviet Premier backed down and removed the missiles. The world breathed a sigh of relief, realizing it had come closer to destruction than ever before. For many observers, there was also an unstated vow that the Cuban Missile Crisis must be the last such threat.

The period of crisis created a new level of anxiety, however, that revealed itself in a number of arenas. The well-known "atomic clock," calculated by a group of physicists, alerted the public to how great the danger of nuclear war had become. The anxiety caused by such potentialities, however, played out in a fascinating array of popular films. An entire genre of science fiction films focused around the unknown effects of radiation on subjects ranging from a beautiful woman, to grasshoppers, to plants. Most impressively, the *Godzilla* films dealt with Japanese feelings toward the effects of nuclear technology. All of these films found a terrific following in the United States. Over-sized lizards aside, another genre of film dealt with the possibilities of nuclear war. *On the Beach* blazed the trail for many films, including the well-known *The Day After* television mini-series. Finally, the cult-classic of this genre, *Dr. Strangelove* starred Peter Sellers in multiple performances as it posed the possibility of a deranged individual initiating a worldwide nuclear holocaust. The appeal of such films reveals the construction of what historian Paul Boyer dubs an American "nuclear consciousness."

Such faith in nationalism, technological supremacy, and authority helped make Americans comfortable to watch above-ground testing in the American West through the late 1950s. Since the danger of radiation was not discussed, Americans often sat in cars or on lawn chairs to witness the mushroom clouds from a "safe" distance. Documentary films such as *Atomic Cafe* chronicle the effort to delude or at least not fully inform the American public about dangers. Since the testing, "down-winders" in Utah and elsewhere have reported significant rises in leukemia rates as well as that of other types of cancer. Maps of air patterns show that actually much of the nation experienced some fall-out from these tests. The Cold War forced the U.S. military to operate as if it were a period of war and certain types of risks were necessary on the "home front." At the time, a population of Americans who were familiar with World War II proved to be willing to make whatever sacrifices were necessary; later generations would be less accepting.

Ironically, the first emphasis of this shift in public opinion would not be nuclear arms, but its relative, nuclear power. While groups argued for a freeze in the construction of nuclear arms and forced the government to discontinue atomic weapons tests, Americans grew increasingly comfortable with nuclear reactors in their neighborhoods. The "Atoms for Peace" program of the 1950s aided in the development of domestic energy production based on the nuclear

reaction. The exuberance for such power production became the complete lack of immediate waste. There were other potential problems, but those were not yet clearly known to the American public. In 1979, a nuclear reactor at Three Mile Island, Pennsylvania, which is located within a working-class neighborhood outside of a major population center, nearly experienced a nuclear melt down. As pregnant women and children were evacuated from Pennsylvania's nearby capital, Harrisburg, the American public learned through the media about the dangers of this technology. Most important, they learned the vast amount that was not clearly understood about this power source. As much of the nation waited for the cooling tower to erupt in the mushroom cloud of an atomic blast, a clear connection was finally made between the power source and the weapon. While the danger passed quickly from Three Mile Island, nuclear power would never recover from this momentary connection to potential destruction; films such as *China Syndrome* (1979) and others made certain.

When Ronald Reagan took office in 1980, he clearly perceived the Cold War as an ongoing military confrontation with the bomb and its production as its main battlefield. While presidents since Richard Nixon had begun to negotiate with the Soviets for arms control agreements, Reagan escalated production of weapons in an effort to "win" the Cold War without a shot ever being fired. While it resulted in mammoth debt, Reagan's strategy pressed the Soviets to keep pace, which ultimately exacerbated weaknesses within the Soviet economy. By 1990, the leaders of the two super powers agreed that the Cold War was finished. While the Soviet Union crumbled, the nuclear arsenal became a concern of a new type. Negotiations immediately began to initiate dismantling much of the arsenal. However, the control provided by bipolarity was shattered, and the disintegration of the Soviet Union allowed for their nuclear weapons and knowledge to become available to other countries for a cost. Nuclear proliferation had become a reality.

In the 1990s, the domestic story of the bomb took dramatic turns as the blind faith of patriotism broke and Americans began to confront the nation's atomic legacy. Vast sections of infected lands were identified and lawsuits were brought by many "down-winders." Under the administration of President Bill Clinton, the Department of Energy released classified information that documented the government's knowledge of radiation and its effects on humans. Some of this information had been gathered through tests conducted on military and civilian personnel. Leading the list of fall-out from the age of the bomb, Hanford, Washington, has been identified as one of the nation's most infected sites. Buried waste products have left the area uninhabitable.

The panacea of nuclear safety has, ultimately, been completely abandoned. Massive vaults, such as that in Yucca Mountain, Nevada, have been constructed for the storage of spent fuel from nuclear power plants and nuclear warheads. The Cold War lasted thirty to forty years; the toxicity of much of the radioactive material will last for nearly 50,000 years. The massive over-production of such material has created an enormous management burden for contemporary Americans. This has become the next chapter in the story of the bomb and its influence on American life.

—Brian Black

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## Bombeck, Erma (1927-1996)

Erma Bombeck, writer, humorist, and television personality, was primarily identified as a housewife and mother. Because she knew it so well, she was able to offer the housewife's-eye-view of the world in her writing. And it is because she took those roles so seriously that she was able to show the humorous side of the life of homemaker and mother so effectively.

She was born Erma Louise Fiste in Dayton, Ohio. Bombeck's mother, who worked in a factory, was only sixteen when Bombeck was born, and her father was a crane operator who died when she was nine years old. When little Erma showed talent for dancing and singing, her mother hoped to make her into a child star—the next Shirley Temple. But her daughter had other ideas. Drawn to writing very early, Bombeck wrote her first humor column for her school newspaper at age 13. By high school, she had started another paper at school, and begun to work at the Dayton Herald as a copy girl and reporter.

It was while working for the Herald that she met Bill Bombeck and set her cap for him. They married in 1949. Bombeck continued to write for the newspaper until 1953, when she and Bill adopted a child. She stopped working to stay home with the baby and gave birth to two more children over the next five years. Until 1965, Bombeck lived the life of the suburban housewife, using humor to get her through the everyday stress.

When her youngest child entered school, Bombeck wrote a column and offered it to the Dayton newspaper, which bought it for three dollars. Within a year "At Wit's End" had been syndicated across the country, and it would eventually be published by 600 papers. Bombeck also published collections of her columns, in books with names like *The Grass is Always Greener Over the Septic Tank* (1976) and *Family: The Ties that Bind . . . and Gag* (1987). Out of twelve collections, eleven were bestsellers, and from 1975 to 1981, she gained popularity on television with a regular spot on *Good Morning America*.

Beginning in the 1960s when most media tried hard to glorify the role of the homemaker with the likes of June Cleaver, Bombeck approached the daily dilemmas of real life at home with the kids with irreverence and affection. Because she was one of them, housewives loved her gentle skewering of housework, kids, and husbands. Even in the 1970s, with the rise of women's liberation, Bombeck's columns retained their popularity. Because she treated her subject with respect—she never made fun of housewives themselves, but of the many obstacles they face—feminists could appreciate her humor. Both mothers with careers and stay-at-home moms could find themselves in Bombeck's columns—and laugh at the little absurdities of life she was so skilled at pointing out.

Though Bombeck never called herself a feminist, she supported women's rights and actively worked in the 1970s for passage of the

Equal Rights Amendment. She also worked for various humanitarian causes, such as cancer research. One of her books, *I Want to Grow Hair, I Want to Grow Up, I Want to Go to Boise*, describes her interactions with children with cancer, something Bombeck herself faced in 1992 when she was diagnosed with breast cancer and had a mastectomy. She managed to find humor to share in writing about even that experience. Shortly after her mastectomy, her kidneys failed, due to a hereditary disease. Refusing to use her celebrity to facilitate a transplant, she underwent daily dialysis for four years before a kidney was available. She died at age 69 from complications from the transplant.

In spite of her fame and success, Bombeck remained unpretentious. She was able to write about American life from the point of view of one of its most invisible participants, the housewife. From that perspective, she discussed many social issues and united diverse women by pointing out commonalities and finding humor in the problems in their lives. Her tone was never condescending, but was always lighthearted and conspiratorial. Fellow columnist Art Buchwald said of Bombeck's writing, "That stuff wouldn't work if it was jokes. What it was, was the truth."

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Bon Jovi

*Slippery When Wet*, Bon Jovi's 1986 break-out album, brought "metal" inspired pop music to the forefront of American popular culture. The album was Bon Jovi's third effort for Mercury Records, which had gone through a bidding war to get the group in 1984. *Slippery When Wet* was different from Bon Jovi's earlier albums, the self-titled *Bon Jovi* and *7800 Fahrenheit*, because the group hired a professional songwriter to work on the project. Mercury Records also invested an unprecedented amount of marketing research into the album. The group recorded about 30 songs, which were played for focus groups of teenagers, and the resulting album spawned two number one singles, sold more than 10 million copies, and established Bon Jovi as the premier "hair metal" band of the 1980s.

The band had humble beginnings. New Jersey rocker Jon Bongiovi had recorded a single called "Runaway" with a group of local notables, and when the single received good radio play he decided to get a more permanent group together for local performances. Along with Bongiovi, who changed his last name to Bon Jovi, guitarist Richie Sambora, bassist Alec John Such, keyboardist David Rashbaum (changed to Bryan), and drummer Tico Torres were the members of a the new group Bon Jovi. Alec John Such eventually left



Jon Bon Jovi

the group in the early 1990s, and after that time no other members have officially been added to Bon Jovi.

After the success of *Slippery When Wet*, the group came back with *New Jersey* in 1988. The album was a big commercial success, selling 8 million copies, but after the *New Jersey* tour the group took some time apart for solo projects. Jon Bon Jovi found success working on the soundtrack to *Young Guns II* in 1990, and guitarist Sambora released *Stranger in this Town* in 1991.

Bon Jovi reunited to release *Keep the Faith* in the midst of the Seattle-based grunge rock movement. Its sales were lower than previous Bon Jovi efforts, but their tenth anniversary hits collection, *Crossroads*, went multi-platinum. The release of *These Days* in 1994 was a departure from their rock-pop roots and had a more contemporary sound. In the late 1990s, Jon Bon Jovi worked on solo projects and an acting career. His first solo album, *Destination Anywhere*, was released in 1997. It was accompanied by a mini-movie that got exposure on MTV.

—Margaret E. Burns

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## Bonanza

The television series *Bonanza* was more than just another western in an age that had an abundance of them; it was also a clever marketing idea. First aired in 1959, it was especially developed to be filmed for color viewing, in order to compel Americans to buy color televisions. The series' appeal derived from *Bonanza's* gentle, family orientation, which, of course, differed from *Gunslinger* and most other westerns. In most westerns, writes literary scholar Jane Tompkins, the west "functions as a symbol of freedom, and of the . . . escape from conditions of life in modern industrial society." *Bonanza* met this basic criteria, but it also contained more fistfights than gunfights and centered around the occurrences of the Cartwrights, a loving, loyal family. Many episodes dealt with important issues like prejudice at a time when such themes were not common on television. In sum, *Bonanza* used the touchstones of the western genre to package a family drama that ran for fourteen years, until 1973.

Typical of westerns, *Bonanza* sought to detail the male world of ranching. Untypical of the genre, *Bonanza* had a softer side to most of its plots that combined with attractive actors to allow the show transgender appeal. The Cartwrights, of course, began with Ben, played by Canadian Lorne Greene. Generally serious and reasonable, Ben kept the ranch running. Thrice widowed, he raised three boys on his own with a little help from the cook, Hop Sing. There were no women on the Ponderosa. *Bonanza*, like *My Three Sons* and *Family Affair*, created a stable family without the traditional gender roles so palpable in 1950s and 1960s America. Part of the popularity of such series derives from the family's success despite its lack of conformity.

Each Cartwright brother served a different constituency of viewers. Adam, the eldest son, was played by Pernell Roberts. More intense than his brothers, Adam had attended college and was less likely to be involved in wild antics or love affairs. Dan Blocker played Hoss Cartwright, gullible and not terribly bright yet as sweet and gentle as he was huge. When not providing the might to defeat a situation or individual, Hoss faced a series of hilarious situations, often created by his younger brother, Little Joe. Michael Landon, who played Little Joe, proved to be the most enduring of these 1960s-style "hunks." The youngest member of the family, he was fun loving, lighthearted, and often in love. The care-free son, Little Joe brought levity to the family and the program. He was looked on by his father and older brothers with affection, and was usually at the center of the most humorous episodes. Landon came to *Bonanza* having starred in feature films, including *I Was A Teenage Werewolf*, and he wrote and directed many of the later episodes of *Bonanza* (though the series was primarily directed by Lewis Allen and Robert Altman).

The West, of course, would always be more than backdrop to the program. The general activities of the Cartwrights dealt with maintaining control and influence over the Ponderosa, their vast ranch. "Conquest," writes historian Patricia Nelson Limerick, "was a literal, territorial form of economic growth. Westward expansion was the most concrete, down-to-earth demonstration of the economic habit on which the entire nation became dependent." The West, and at least partly the genre of westerns, become a fascinating representation for assessing America's faith in this vision of progress. The success of the Cartwrights was never in doubt; yet the exotic frontier life consistently made viewers uncertain. The greatest appeal of *Bonanza* was also what attracted many settlers westward: the Cartwrights controlled their own fate. However, though plots involved them in maintaining or controlling problems on the Ponderosa,

the family's existence was not in the balance. The series succeeded by taking necessary elements from the western and the family drama in order to make *Bonanza* different from other programs in each genre. This balance allowed *Bonanza* to appeal across gender lines and age groups.

—Brian Black

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## Bonnie and Clyde

Despite their lowly deaths at the hands of Texas Rangers in 1934, Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow have enjoyed second lives within America's popular imagination. Gunned down by Texas authorities after a murderous bank-robbing spree, Parker and Barrow occupied a dusty backroom of the national memory until 1967, when a Warner Brothers feature film brought their tale of love, crime, and violence back to the nation's attention. Written by David Newman and Robert Benton and directed by Arthur Penn, *Bonnie and Clyde* tells a historically based yet heavily stylized story of romance and escalating violence that announced the arrival of a "New American Cinema" obsessed with picaresque crime stories and realistic violence. A major box-office hit, the film and its sympathetic depiction of its outlaw protagonists struck a nerve on both sides of the "generation gap" of the late 1960s, moving some with its portrayal of strong, independent cultural rebels while infuriating others by romanticizing uncommonly vicious criminals.

Inspired by the success of John Toland's book *The Dillinger Days* (1963), writers Newman and Benton distilled their screenplay from real-life events. In 1930, Bonnie Parker, a twenty-year-old unemployed waitress whose first husband had been jailed, fell in love with Clyde Barrow, a twenty-one-year-old, down-on-his-heels petty thief. In 1934, following Barrow's parole from the Texas state penitentiary, Barrow and Parker and a growing number of accomplices set off on a peripatetic crime spree. Travelling around the countryside in a Ford V-8, the Barrow gang held up filling stations, dry-cleaners, grocery stores, and even banks in ten states in the



Clyde Barrow and Bonnie Parker.

Southwest and Midwest. In the process, they murdered—in a particularly wanton manner—between twelve and fifteen innocent people. Bonnie and Clyde's bankrobbing binge came to a violent end in May 1934, when a former Texas Ranger named Frank Hamer, along with three deputies, tricked the outlaws into a fatal ambush along a highway outside Arcadia, Louisiana.

The Warner Brothers' cinematic retelling of these events creates the appearance of historical accuracy but makes a few revealing additions and embellishments. The film opens when Bonnie Parker (Faye Dunaway), first seen through the bars of her cage-like bed, restlessly peers out of her window, catching Clyde Barrow (Warren Beatty) attempting to steal her mother's car. Young and bored, Bonnie falls for the excitement that Clyde seems to represent. She taunts the insecure Clyde, whose gun and suggestive toothpick hint at a deep insecurity, into robbing the store across the street. Bonnie's quest for adventure and Clyde's masculine overcompensation drive the film, leading the two into an initially fun-filled and adventurous life of petty larceny. Having exchanged poverty and ennui for the excitement of the highway, the criminal couple soon attract accomplices: Clyde's brother Buck (Gene Hackman), his sister-in-law Blanche (Estelle Parsons), and C.W. (Michael J. Pollard), a mechanically adept small-time thief. In a scene modelled after John Dillinger's life, the film makes Bonnie and Clyde into modern-day Robin

Hoods. While hiding out in an abandoned farmhouse, Bonnie and Clyde meet its former owner, a farmer who lost it to a bank. They show sympathy for him and even claim to rob banks, as if some kind of social agenda motivated their crimes.

Careening around country roads to lively banjo tunes (performed by Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs), the gang's encounters with the authorities soon escalate, abruptly turning their light-hearted romp into a growing nightmare. Playful scenes of mad-capped fun segue into brutal, bloody shootouts. One police raid ends with Buck's death, Blanche's capture, and a hair-raising getaway by Bonnie, Clyde, and C.W. At this point, apparently tiring of their rootless escapades, Bonnie and Clyde pine for a more traditional family life, but, tragically, find themselves trapped in a cycle of violent confrontations. Their escape comes when C.W.'s father agrees to lure Bonnie and Clyde into a trap in return for immunity for his son. To the tune of joyful bluegrass, the colorful outlaws drive blithely into the ambush, innocently unaware of the gory slow-motion deaths that await them.

The incongruous brutality of this dark ending left audiences speechless and set off a national debate on film, violence, and individual responsibility. Magazines such as *Newsweek* featured *Bonnie and Clyde* on their covers. Many of the film's themes, it appeared—economic inequality, a younger generation's search for meaning, changing women's roles, celebrity-making, escalation and confrontation, violence—resonated with American audiences struggling to make sense of JFK's assassination, the Vietnam War, the counterculture, student protests, and a mid-1960s explosion of violent crime. Precisely because of Bonnie and Clyde's contemporary relevance, critics such as Bosley Crowther of the *New York Times* decried its claims to historical authenticity. Clearly they had a point: by transforming homely and heartless desperadoes into glamorous folk heroes and by degrading and demonizing the authorities, especially former Texas Ranger Hamer, whom many considered the real hero of the story, the film did distort the historical record.

But glamorizing rebellion and violence, other critics such as Pauline Kael contended, was not the point of the film, which instead aimed to explore how ordinary people come to embrace reckless attitudes toward violence. The film, they point out, punishes Bonnie and Clyde—and by extension the audience—for their insouciant acceptance of lawbreaking. Interestingly, the popular and critical reception of *Bonnie and Clyde* appeared to recreate many of the divides it sought to discuss.

—Thomas Robertson

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## Bono, Sonny

See Sonny and Cher

## Booker T. and the MG's

The longtime Stax Records house band achieved fame not only due to their musical abilities, but as an integrated band (two blacks and two whites) working at a time of significant racial tension in the United States. Though their most significant contribution was as a backup band for Stax artists including Wilson Pickett, Otis Redding, and Albert King, they also produced a number of their own Top 40 instrumentals, including "Green Onions," which reached number three in 1962. Through 1969, they produced five more Top 40 singles.

Though the group officially disbanded in 1971, they were working on a reunion album in 1975 when drummer Al Jackson, Jr. was killed tragically. Since then, the remaining members have continued to record both together and separately. Steve Cropper and Donald "Duck" Dunn, the group's guitarist and bass player respectively, also joined the Blues Brothers Band and appeared in both of their major motion pictures.

—Marc R. Sykes

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## Book-of-the-Month Club

When advertising copywriter Harry Scherman founded the Book-of-the-Month Club in 1926, he could hardly have predicted the lasting impact his company would have on the literary and cultural tastes of future generations. The Book-of-the-Month Club (BOMC) developed over time into a cultural artifact of the twentieth century, considered by many to be a formative element of "middlebrow" culture. With the monthly arrival of a book endorsed by a panel of experts, aspirants to middle-class learnedness could be kept abreast of literary trends through the convenience of mail order. The success of this unique approach to book marketing is evidenced by the fact that membership had grown to over one million by the end of the twentieth century.

Born in Montreal, Canada, in 1887, Harry Scherman was a highly resourceful marketer and a devout reader. He believed that the love of reading and of owning books could be effectively marketed to the "general reader," an audience often neglected in the book publishing industry of that period. Scherman's first book marketing scheme involved a partnership with Whitman Candy, in which a box of candy and a small leatherbound book were wedded into one package. These classic works, which he called the Little Leather Library, eventually sold over thirty million copies.

Scherman's ultimate goal was to create an effective means of large-scale book distribution through mail order. The success of direct-mail marketing had already been proven in other industries by the 1920s, but no one had figured out how to successfully market books in this fashion. The difficulty was in applying a blanket marketing approach to a group of unique titles with different topics and different audiences. Scherman's solution was to promote the idea of the "new book" as a commodity that was worthy of ownership

solely because of its newness. His approach focused attention on consumers owning and benefiting from these new objects, rather than on the unique qualities of the objects themselves. In 1926, Scherman's idea came to fruition, and with an initial investment of forty thousand dollars by Scherman and his two partners, the Book-of-the-Month Club was born.

Two elements in his design of the early Book-of-the-Month Club were key to its lasting success. First, an editorial panel would carefully select each new book that would be presented to the club's members. Scherman selected five editors to serve on the first panel: Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Harry Canby (editor of *The Saturday Review*), William Allen White, Heywood Broun, and Christopher Morley. Each was known and respected as a writer or journalist, which helped reinforce the recognition of BOMC as a brand name. These literary authorities would save the reader time by recommending which new book to buy. Readers were assured that their selections were "the best new books published each month" and that they would stand the test of time and eventually become classics.

The second vital element to the success of BOMC was the institution of the subscription model, by which subscribers would commit to purchasing a number of books over a period of time. Each month, subscribers to the club would receive BOMC's newest selection in the mail. Later, BOMC modified this approach so that subscribers could exercise their "negative option" and decline the selection of the month in favor of a title from a list of alternates. The automatic approach to purchasing new books allowed BOMC to rely on future book sales before the titles themselves were even announced. Scherman targeted the desire of the club's middle-class subscribers to stay current and was able to successfully convince the public that owning the newest and best objects of cultural production was the most expedient way to accomplish this goal.

BOMC posed an immediate challenge to the insularity of bourgeois culture by presenting a shortcut method for achieving literary knowledge. Janice Radway remarked that the club's critics "traditionally suggested that it either inspired consumers to purchase the mere signs of taste or prompted them to buy a specious imitation of true culture." Skeptics were wary of the transformation of books into a commodity that would be purchased for the sake of its novelty. They were not wrongly suspicious; as Radway explained, BOMC "promised not simply to treat cultural objects as commodities, but even more significantly, it promised to foster a more widespread ability among the population to treat culture itself as a recognizable, highly liquid currency." The market forces that drive the publishing world were laid bare in the direct mail model, and it posed a clear threat to the idea that literature should be published because it is good, not because it appeals to the tastes of the "general public."

Behind that very real concern, however, was a discomfort with the populist approach taken by BOMC. The company's mission was to popularize and sell the book, an object which had previously been considered the domain of society's elite. Middlebrow culture, as it came to be known, developed in opposition to the exclusive academic realm of literary criticism, and it threatened the dominant cultural position of that group. At the other end of the spectrum, middlebrow taste also excluded anything avant-garde or experimental. This centrist orientation continued to make producers of culture uneasy throughout the twentieth century, because it reinforced the exclusion of alternative movements from the mainstream. This mainstream readership, however timid and predictable its taste might be, was a formidable economic group with great influence in the book marketplace.

The club's membership continued to grow past the one million mark by the end of the twentieth century as BOMC's strength in the book marketplace endured. BOMC selection has the power to skyrocket little-known authors to instant fame and lucrative book deals, so the competition for a spot in the catalog has been fierce. Books are carefully chosen based on criteria that weigh a book's literary merit as well as its likelihood of appealing to a cross-section of the membership. For example, even books successful in the traditional marketplace might not succeed with BOMC if their content cannot be clearly conveyed in the tight space of a catalog description. BOMC's selection process embodies the larger conflict in the publishing world between quality and marketability. The club's focus on the desires of its subscribers forces an exclusion of both overly commercial titles and the specialized, academic or literary material that would not appeal to the general reader. This customer-focused approach has also fueled a move at BOMC toward the industrywide trend of niche marketing. By the late 1990s, there were ten specialty book clubs that fell under the larger BOMC umbrella, in interest areas including spirituality, cooking, money, and history.

Time, Inc. purchased BOMC in 1977, and as the era of mergers and acquisitions in the 1980s and 1990s progressed, it brought major changes to Harry Scherman's original conception of a book distribution service featuring books selected by an elite group of literary professionals. In 1994, under the ownership of media conglomerate Time-Warner, the BOMC's editorial board was dismantled altogether in favor of a more market-driven approach to acquiring new titles. This decision reflected the trend in the 1990s toward a "bestseller mentality" in the publishing industry, under which editorial judiciousness appeared to be almost a luxury.

With so much attention focused on the bottom line, it is not surprising that the company ventured onto the internet to increase sales, an unusual and risky move for a direct-mail marketer. Customers could begin going to the company's website ([www.bomc.com](http://www.bomc.com)) to decline the month's selection online, and, the company presumed, order additional titles at the same time. While the paper catalogs mailed 17 times per year contain only about 200 selections each, on the website customers may choose from over 3,200 selections.

The proliferation of online marketing, including many book-sellers that offer discounted books via the internet, is certain to have an impact on BOMC's trademark approach to book distribution. In the end, the internet may be the final step in the process begun by Harry Scherman to promote widespread book distribution; customers can choose from thousands of books from dozens of companies at the click of a mouse. Regardless of the direction that the Book-of-the-Month Club takes in the future, it will always be known as a significant architect of twentieth-century literary taste.

—Caitlin L. Gannon

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## Boone, Pat (1934—)

With his boyish charm, unfailingly cordial manners, and firm beliefs in religion and the family, singer Pat Boone became the parentally approved antidote to the sexually charged rock 'n' roll acts of the 1950s. The precursor to the "safe" teen idols of the late 1950s and early 1960s, Boone has long been lampooned by critics and historians for his squeaky-clean image, and because he rose to fame by singing cover versions of tunes initially performed by black artists. But by no means was Boone an untalented nor an irrelevant musical force.

At the time that he was delivering renditions of Little Richard's "Tutti Frutti" and Fats Domino's "Blueberry Hill," many mainstream radio stations did not play so-called "race" artists. Certainly, Boone's versions were tame compared to the raw delivery of the original artists, but they also allowed the music to be introduced to audiences who otherwise wouldn't have heard it. Moreover, once Boone moved into pop ballads, with songs such as "April Love" and "Moody River," he became a respected artist in his own right. The mellow-voiced singer was unquestionably popular: following the volatile Elvis Presley, Boone was the second top-selling artist of the era. Since both Boone and Presley hailed from the South, and because they appeared to be polar opposites, they were frequently pitted against one another in the press. In truth, the men were friends; each respected the other's work. But where Presley was single and on the prowl, Boone was a devoted family man who advised young women of the day to refrain from premarital sex. In many ways they represented the duality of the decade.

The great-great-great-great grandson of frontiersman Daniel Boone was born Charles Eugene Pat Boone in Jacksonville, Florida. Raised in Nashville, he grew up singing at picnics, ladies' club meetings, fraternal organizations, and prayer meetings. A high school overachiever, he was captain of the baseball team, president of the student body, and voted most popular in his class. At seventeen he was singing on his own Nashville radio show. At eighteen he won a talent contest which took him to New York, where he appeared on a trio of *Ted Mack's Amateur Hour* television shows. He was nineteen when he married high school sweetheart Shirley Foley, daughter of country star Red Foley. At twenty, following an appearance on TV's *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*, he was contracted by Dot Records.

Boone enjoyed his first hit with a cover of Fats Domino's "Ain't That a Shame," which went gold. Ensuing tunes climbed the charts. By 1956, Boone had signed a seven-year contract, worth one million dollars, with Twentieth Century-Fox. He also had one million dollar contract with ABC for his own weekly television series, *The Pat Boone Chevy Showroom*, which premiered in October 1957, airing in prime time for three years. Ever pragmatic, Boone also continued his studies. Majoring in speech and English at Columbia University in New York, he was graduated magna cum laude in 1958. By this time he was the father of three daughters. There would later be a fourth.

Boone's movie career began with the back-to-back 1957 teen-oriented musical romances *Bernardine* and *April Love*. Both films

generated number one singles, “Love Letters in the Sand” and “April Love,” respectively. With the latter, Boone made headlines with his refusal to kiss leading lady Shirley Jones on the lips. In later years, in more adult roles, he did kiss his female costars; but as an actor, he was never able to transcend his image.

Known for the white buck shoes, which inadvertently became a trademark, Boone never made any attempt to downplay his God-fearing beliefs. For instance, the Pat Boone charm bracelet included charms of a 45 rpm record, shoes, a TV set, and a tiny Bible. Nor did Boone hesitate to moralize when he authored *Twixt Twelve and Twenty*, the 1959 teenage advice book. The year’s number two nonfiction best-seller, it sold an amazing 207,000 copies during its first eight weeks. In discussing the subject of kissing, Boone wrote, “Kissing for fun is like playing with a beautiful candle in a roomful of dynamite! And it’s like any other beautiful thing—when it ceases to be rare it loses its value . . . I really think it’s better to amuse ourselves in some other way . . . I say go bowling, or to a basketball game.” The man who had married at nineteen also said he did not approve of teenage marriages, “unless your maturity check sheet is literally covered with gold stars.”

Like many of his contemporaries, Boone saw his career go stagnant in the midsixties, but he proved resilient, even taking his wholesome singing act to Las Vegas showrooms. In the seventies, he became heavily aligned with Christian ventures, including Jim and Tammy Bakker’s PTL Club. He also poked fun at his goody-two-shoes image by doing TV commercials for milk. Following the success of daughter Debby Boone’s 1977 single “You Light Up My Life,” father and daughter sometimes performed together.

The 1980s found the healthy-looking Boone delivering workout tips to the over-forty crowd via the video *Take Time with Pat Boone*, and he was a pervasive presence on Christian broadcasting venues. In the nineties, he found eager audiences in the resort town of Branson, Missouri, marketed an extensive line of Christian publications and videos, and briefly reinvented himself with a turn as a heavy-metal performer. In the 1997 album *In a Metal Mood: No More Mr. Nice Guy*, Boone delivered versions of Ozzy Osbourne’s “Crazy Train” and Metallica’s “Enter Sandman” with big band arrangements and guest musicians including Alice Cooper, Eddie Van Halen, and Slash. To promote the venture, Boone appeared on TV in black leather and wearing an earring. Not surprisingly, the novelty was off-putting to some of his older fans, but the younger generation accepted it for what it was: a grand put-on. The music world’s biggest square had pulled off a hip act.

—Pat H. Broeske

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## Borge, Victor (1909—)

Funny man of the piano, Victor Borge has enjoyed a seven-decade-long international career as a witty pianist-raconteur and popular radio, film, and television personality. His spontaneous comic talents, slapstick comedy routines, and satirical spoofs of classical music mannerisms made him one of the most popular and highest paid entertainers during the early 1940s. His 1950s Broadway show still holds a place in *The Guinness Book of World Records* as the longest running one-man show in theater history. Borge’s ability to make light-hearted fun out of “serious” concert music has endeared him to audiences who might otherwise feel intimidated or bored by the traditional decorum of classical music repertoire and presentation.

Børge Rosenbaum (his name before emigrating to the United States) was born on January 3, 1909, in Copenhagen, Denmark. His mother was a pianist, and his father was a violinist with the Royal Danish Philharmonic and Opera orchestras for 35 years (“When he finally came home, my mother hardly recognized him!”). A child prodigy, Rosenbaum studied piano at the Royal Danish Music Conservatory, and later studied with Frederic Lamond and Egon Petri in Berlin. Following his 1926 recital debut in Copenhagen, he became one of Denmark’s most popular concert pianists during the 1930s.



Victor Borge



Partly to circumvent his recurring stage fright, Borge developed a performance style combining classical music and quirky comedy. This appealing “cross-over” combination established him as a leading nightclub, stage, and film personality in Scandinavia. He had his revue debut in 1933, and in 1937 made the first of his six pre-World War II Danish films. Because of his Jewish background and his pointed satirical critiques of the Nazi regime, Borge was blacklisted and forced to flee Europe when the Germans invaded Denmark in 1940. He traveled to New York with his first wife, Elsie Shilton, an American citizen, and became a United States citizen himself in 1948. This first marriage ended in divorce in 1951, and Borge married again in 1953; he has five children and numerous grandchildren.

After an unsuccessful first appearance in a 1941 Broadway revue, Borge’s comic talents were recognized on bandleader Rudy Vallee’s radio show the same year. One of Borge’s earliest successes was his trademark “phonetic pronunciation” act, in which non-verbal sounds indicate punctuation marks in a recited text. This act led to a regular slot on Bing Crosby’s *Kraft Music Hall* radio show during the next two years (totaling 54 appearances). In 1943, Borge spoofed himself in a Hollywood film, playing con man “Sir Victor Fitzroy Victor, K.B.O.B.E.” in RKO’s *Higher and Higher*, which also featured Frank Sinatra in his first starring role. Borge had his own NBC radio show in 1946, and his one-man *Comedy in Music* show enjoyed a phenomenal run at the Golden Theatre in New York from 1953 to 1956, running a record-setting 849 performances.

Borge’s hilarious comedy routines include his demonstration of how modern composers write song hits (by cutting and pasting music from the old masters), his insertion of “Happy Birthday” into serious classical piano works, his falls off the piano bench at the start of the Tchaikovsky concerto, or his constant admonition to singers not to lean on his instrument (which causes the grand piano’s curved indentation). Raising the piano lid to begin a performance, he mutters, “Maybe we should get some fresh air in here.”

Also known for saying that “the smile is the shortest distance between people,” Borge has been called “The Great Dane” for his charitable contributions and international goodwill efforts. To acknowledge the heroism of Scandinavians who sheltered persecuted Jews during the Holocaust, he founded the Thanks to Scandinavia Foundation in 1963. Borge has been honored by the United States Congress and the United Nations, and knighted by the five Scandinavian nations.

—Ivan Raykoff

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## Borscht Belt

The area of the New York Catskills called the Borscht Belt came into being at the turn of the twentieth century and grew in popularity through the 1970s. During summers and holidays, Jews—primarily of

Eastern European descent, from working to upper-middle class, and frequently first generation Americans—flocked to the Borscht Belt, where they enjoyed mainstream American leisure activities and entertainment in a place where they knew they’d be welcomed as Jews. Many people also came to the Borscht Belt to work—as waiters, owners, chefs, musicians, comics, and busboys. Not only did many students earn money for college by working summers in the Borscht Belt resorts, but many nationally known entertainers, especially comedians, got their start there. The Jewish culture that flourished in the Borscht Belt gradually overflowed into the mainstream, where it significantly influenced American popular culture.

The Borscht Belt was about 100 miles northwest of New York City in Sullivan and Ulster counties in the foothills of the Catskill Mountains. Sometimes known as the “Jewish Alps,” it covered an area of about 250 square miles. Jewish farmers, encouraged by the Jewish Agricultural Society, started settling this rural area beginning in the 1820s. Prefiguring the “back-to-the-earth communes” of the 1960s, some Jewish settlers founded socialist agricultural communities, and some of the bungalow colonies fomented much left-wing activity. In the Mirth Bungalow Colony, for example, “entertainment” included political discussions and poetry readings.

As early as the 1870s, middle- and upper-class Jews began to spend summers in this region, but as their numbers increased they were excluded from many resorts due to anti-Semitism. By the late 1890s and early 1900s, farmers started to offer their places as Jewish boarding houses and hotels that served kosher food. One of the largest resorts, The Nevele, continued to be a working farm until 1938. Eventually, most of the farmers realized it was more profitable to rent to visitors than to farm and they completely gave up farming. In the early 1900s, the Workmen’s Circle, a left-leaning Jewish group, opened a sanitarium in the Catskills, providing “fresh air” for Jewish tuberculosis patients excluded from other sanitariums because of anti-Semitism. Unions such as the ILGWU opened up resorts where workers could recuperate. And perhaps most significantly, Yiddish actor Boris Thomaschevsky opened a resort with large indoor and outdoor theaters, thus beginning the Borscht Belt’s influential entertainment tradition.

The postwar boom of the 1950s greatly helped the growth of the Borscht Belt. Not only did more people have disposable income, but also many owned cars, and the government built more highways on which to drive them. By 1952, there were 509 hotels and boarding houses in Sullivan County. During this period of popularity, more than a million people came to the Borscht Belt in the summers. The general trend was for “stay-at home” mothers, grandparents, and children to live in these rustic to resort dwellings all summer, while “working” fathers came for weekends. The larger resorts became known for their grand (kosher) all-you-can-eat feasts and higher caliber entertainers. However, whether small or large, all the establishments tried to feed the “American Dream” of leisure time and excess: advertising exaggerated the caliber of entertainers, the quality of food, and the size of basketball courts and other recreational facilities. Conversely, Jewish guests who were trying to assimilate into mainstream American culture sensationalized, to themselves and others, what was really available to them.

Despite exaggeration, the Borscht Belt birthed innumerable nationally known figures, especially in the entertainment world. Many Jewish entertainers started in the Borscht Belt because of anti-Semitism that excluded them from working in other venues. Additionally, their work included Jewish cultural references, not understood outside the Jewish world. However, as these entertainers

became nationally popular, the Jewish content of their work became more familiar and understood in the mainstream and their work became more mainstream—with less specific Jewish content. Jewish life became known and integrated into American life and vice versa, often because of Borscht Belt entertainers.

A plethora of well-known comedians got their start in the Borscht Belt, including Henny Youngman, Milton Berle, Rodney Dangerfield, Danny Kaye, Buddy Hackett, Lenny Bruce, and Sid Caesar. Five-year-old Jerry Lewis debuted at a Borscht Belt hotel singing “Brother Can You Spare A Dime.” Others started out as comedians but moved to other areas of the entertainment world, especially TV. Jack Barry, for instance, was a standup comedian who met and teamed up with Dan Enright in Borscht Belt clubs. They started *Winky Dink and You*, a children’s show known for the special transparent covers children had to put over the TV screen so they could draw the “hidden pictures” during Winky’s adventures. Barry and Enright were also instrumental in producing and hosting early game shows, such as *Concentration* and *Tic Tac Dough*.

Cultural changes beginning in the late 1970s brought on the downfall of the Borscht Belt. As airplane transportation became more affordable, it was both easier and more enticing to travel to places further than the Catskills. Women, especially middle-class women, again entered the work force en masse, which prevented them from spending entire summers in the resorts. Many Jews became more assimilated and felt less of a need to be in separate establishments. Anti-Semitism lessened and many Jewish entertainers did not need to start in Jewish-only establishments.

By the 1980s and 1990s, only a few of the large hotels remained, and their cultural influence was virtually non-existent. Some smaller establishments were burned for insurance and some were sold as meditation centers, ashrams, or drug rehabilitation centers. Bungalow colonies were bought and occupied by Orthodox and Hassidic Jews, whose lifestyle necessitated separate communities. Some Yiddish culture, however, periodically still came alive in the Catskills through the 1990s. For example, *Klezkamp* is a weeklong annual event held in the Catskills at the end of December. Although primarily billed for Klezmer musicians, *Klezkamp* is attended by many families of all ages who go to Yiddish classes, lectures, cooking classes, dances, concerts and more, to experience and preserve rich Yiddish culture.

While some are critical of the term Borscht Belt—believing it to be pejorative—whatever the name, clearly the specific Jewish culture born there affected popular culture for many decades.

—tova gd stabin

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## The Boston Celtics

Perhaps no other team in professional sports is as respected, revered, and successful as the Boston Celtics. The Celtics controlled the ranks of professional basketball in the late 1950s and during the 1960s, overshadowing the entire league. Not until the Chicago Bulls of the 1990s has a team even come close to the heights the Boston Celtics reached at the peak of their success. The team produced some of the most memorable moments in sports history on its way to a record 16 NBA World Championships.

Created as one of the original members of the Basketball Association of America (BAA) on June 6, 1946, the Celtics found hard times in their initial years because Bostonians were much more interested in baseball and hockey in the early years of the franchise. However, their opening home game on November 5, 1946, proved exciting. Future actor and star of *The Rifleman* Chuck Connors broke a backboard with a slam-dunk, delaying the game. The BAA became the National Basketball Association (NBA) after the 1949/50 season, and with the hiring of coach Arnold “Red” Auerbach in 1950, the Celtics started on their road to sports history at the dawn of a new and consolidated league.

The Auerbach years of the Celtics were some of the most magical in all of sports. He revolutionized the way basketball was played by emphasizing the concept of the fast break and the sixth man. In the process, he built one of the most dominant teams in the history of professional sports. The Celtics also made history in the 1950s by drafting the first black player in the NBA, Charles Cooper. In 1956, big man Bill Russell joined the Celtics, thus giving them the most amazing player of the times. Russell also contributed to change in the way basketball was played, doing things on the court that no other player of his size had ever done. Combined with star guard Bob Cousy, Russell led a strong supporting cast of players to the 1957 NBA Championship, the franchise’s first, but far from last, victory.

Starting in 1959, the Celtics won the next eight NBA titles in a row, and a total of 11 in a 13-year span. During this stretch, they at one time had three future basketball Hall of Fame members who didn’t even start. The Celtics finished off the decade with victories in 1968 and 1969 after which, by their high standards, the team declined somewhat. Nonetheless, they won another pair of NBA titles in 1974 and 1976. Larry Bird, one of the next generation’s dominant players, joined the Celtics for the 1979/80 season and, along with teammates Robert Parrish and Kevin McHale, returned the Celtics to their former glory and dominance by leading them to championship seasons in 1981, 1984, and 1986. Some of the greatest players basketball has known wore the Celtic green, among them John Havlicek, K.C. Jones, Dave Cowens, Don Nelson, Tom Heinsohn, and Frank Ramsey.

The Boston Celtics defined what it means to be a dynasty in sports. Their appeal as a hard-working, blue-collar team under Red Auerbach appealed to the city of Boston and gained widespread

support, giving definition to the term “Celtic Pride.” The familiar parquet floor, the leprechaun mascot, and Celtic green have become familiar images to all followers of basketball, as well as sports fans in general.

—Jay Parrent

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## Boston Garden

One of the most beloved landmarks in New England, the Boston Garden opened in 1928. It was best known as the home court of the Boston Celtics, who won 16 titles while playing there. When the Garden closed in 1995, its bricks and seats were sold as mementos. The arena's parquet basketball floor was its most famous feature. Because of post-World War II lumber shortages, the floor had to be made of small squares of wood which were then pieced together. The floor was notorious for dead spots and warped boards which the Celtics used as an advantage over visiting teams.

—Austin Booth

## Boston Marathon

The Boston Marathon is one of the greatest racing events in the world. The idea for the Marathon began in the late nineteenth century when United States Olympic team manager, John Graham, wanted to establish a counterpart to the Olympic Marathon held in Greece in 1896. He wanted to do this in his adopted city of Boston, Massachusetts. Graham drove his horse carriage outside of Boston to try to find a place that resembled the Grecian terrain. He found it in Ashland and began making plans for laying out the course that would stretch to Boston. The Boston Athletic Association (B.A.A.) was the official organizer of the event. The running of the inaugural Boston Marathon occurred on April 19, 1897, Patriot's Day in Massachusetts. There were only eighteen competitors. The Boston Marathon helped bring distance running to the forefront of the American sports world. Equally important, the race has grown into a legitimate event that tests the waters of Olympic and international competition. Even though women were initially banned from the event the Marathon paved the way for the impressive expansion of women's distance running, as well as wheelchair racing, beginning in the 1970s.

In the 1920s the official start of the Marathon would be moved to Hopkington. That town and the surrounding area became quickly absorbed into the marathon world and residents became captivated by the popularity of the event. One negative trait during the first seven

decades of the Boston Marathon was that women were not allowed to compete. There were “reports,” however, over the years about women running incognito. The Boston Marathon would ultimately have its share of winners, losers, legends, and notorious individuals. Americans like champion-runner Clarence DeMar dominated the Marathon during the race's early period in the 1910s and 1920s. Americans made their mark as sufficient competitors in the world's athletic stage. Yet, some people criticized the Marathon for the lack of foreigners participating in it. But even as early as 1900 the Boston Marathon had an international flavor to it as Canadians competed along with Americans and did extremely well, winning the event.

The 1920s were significant years for the Boston Marathon. The race, for example, witnessed its first European-born winner as Greek national Peter Trivouldas crossed the finish line ahead of everyone else. In 1920 a radio station began broadcasting live coverage of the Marathon. People could now tune-in and receive up to the minute reports and results of the race. It was also announced in that decade that the Boston Marathon would be accepted as the American Olympic Trials to see which American distance runner earned the right to compete in the Olympic Marathon. The “foreign invasion” really began in earnest during the post-World War II era. In fact, from 1946 to 1957 Americans would not win the Marathon. Over the next several decades Boston Marathon winners would include Asians, Europeans, Africans, and Latin Americans making it a true international competitive race.

The groundbreaking years for the Boston Marathon were the 1970s. In 1972, the 76th running of the Boston Marathon, women were officially allowed to compete. Women ran the Boston Marathon during the previous decade but they were not officially acknowledged as entrants or competitors. In 1966, for instance, 23 year-old Roberta Gibb became the first woman to complete the distance. She had applied for entry during that year but was denied so she decided to take matters into her own hands. Before the race she stood on the curb with her hood over her head and patiently waited for the start. When the race started she began running with the hood still over her head. Several miles into the race she took the hood off and felt more comfortable as the crowds acknowledged her and even cheered her on. She finished in under three and a half hours. The Marathon reached another milestone in the 1970s. In 1975, it became the first significant marathon in the country to allow wheelchair athletes to compete. As the number of wheelchair entrants increased in the succeeding years so did the quality of competition and the equipment which the wheelchair racers used. During these years the Marathon became home to the National Wheelchair Marathon Championships and, soon after, wheelchair athletes achieved a tremendous feat by breaking the two-hour barrier. Ever since the 1970s both women and wheelchair racing at the Boston Marathon has grown in popularity and have received tremendous support.

Yet, the Boston Marathon is also filled with controversy. Take, for instance, the infamous Rosie Ruiz episode in 1980. Ruiz is considered a villain of the Marathon. She jumped into the race with about a mile to go and claimed victory despite the fact that no one had seen her at the mile markers and the water stations, nor had the cameras picked her up as well. Ruiz was ultimately stripped of her title a week after she “won” the event because of cheating. She was disqualified from the B.A.A. Her case though was not an isolated one in the history of the race. Cheating had been attempted twice before

during the early twentieth century and, in both instances, the men were promptly caught and suspended or disqualified by the B.A.A.

In the late twentieth century the Boston Marathon opened the door for many foreign athletes to display their athletic talents in front of America and the world. It has become common for foreigners to do well at Boston. This trend can be seen in other American marathons such as the New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles Marathons. The Marathon has become a major trendsetter in American society, helping advance distance running in the wake of the physical fitness craze.

To understand the growth of American road racing over the years one only has to look at the gradual but sure emergence of the popularity of the Boston Marathon in the United States. The two run parallel to each other and, naturally, complement one another. The Boston Marathon itself is an institutional icon in the sports world. No other race is representative of the overall trends, both positive and negative, that have occurred in American society. The Marathon shaped women's running allowing them to compete in a distance event that draws females from around the world in what one hopes to be "friendly," yet very intense, competition. Similarly, wheelchair athletes also enjoy the spotlight that is cast upon the people who run in the Marathon. Both women and wheelchair racing, as a consequence, have grown into legitimate forms of racing divisions that have Olympic ramifications. With regard to the men, the Marathon showcases the best the world has to offer in the sport of running and racing. Winning times seem to get lower which each passing year. The greatest influence the Marathon has on American society is that it inspires many individuals, both young and old, to enter the race. It has become a personal challenge to Americans to enter and finish the event, with a little hard work along the way of course, not necessarily to win it. The identity and lure of the Marathon, then, permeates throughout society and satisfies America's free-spirited fascination with self-gratification.

—David Treviño

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## Boston Strangler

The term "Boston Strangler" refers to the person or persons who committed a series of thirteen brutal murders of women in



Albert DeSalvo (aka The Boston Strangler).

Boston and the surrounding area in the early 1960s. Although Albert DeSalvo did eventually confess to the killings, neither he nor anyone else ever went to trial for them.

The murderous activities of the Boston Strangler began in June of 1962 and lasted until January of 1964. In twelve of the thirteen murders, the victim was strangled, and some of the victims were also struck violently on the head and/or stabbed. One victim was stabbed repeatedly in the throat and breast in lieu of strangulation. The victims were usually attacked sexually, and the bodies were generally left in degrading positions. The first six murder victims were between 55 and 85 years of age, as were two of the later ones. Five victims were between the ages of 19 and 23.

The serial killings greatly frightened the community. Responding to public concern, Edward Brooke, the Attorney General of Massachusetts, created what was popularly called a "Strangler Bureau" whose mission was to hunt down the murderer(s). A Medical-Psychiatric Committee was constituted in order to develop a profile of the criminal(s). The Committee came up with a multiple-strangler theory, positing one man ("Mr. S") as the killer of the older victims and another man or men as the killer of the younger women. The profile described Mr. S to be a man suffering from impotence and an oedipal complex, both of which supposedly drove him to murderous rages against his victims. This profile did not match DeSalvo, causing the science of profiling to lose esteem in criminal justice circles, although more sophisticated profiling techniques would subsequently be developed.

The Strangler Bureau even called in a Dutch psychic who claimed to be able to learn about people from being in their presence

or touching items associated with them. The psychic gave a description of the killer, allegedly based on the auras given off by items associated with the murders. Again, the killer described by the psychic did not match DeSalvo's characteristics.

Neither psychological nor psychic investigation was able to solve the case. Then Albert DeSalvo, a man with a long criminal history, confessed to being the Strangler. After serving time in a juvenile home, he committed a string of burglaries until he joined the Army at 17. While serving in the American forces in Germany, he met and married a German woman, and also became the Army's middle-weight boxing champion. He was also accused of molesting a nine-year-old girl, but he was not convicted because the child's parents did not want to pursue the matter. DeSalvo was awarded an honorable discharge in 1956, and brought his wife back with him to the United States.

Convinced that his wife could not satisfy his sexual needs, DeSalvo started visiting the apartments of young women, gaining entrance by pretending to be from a modeling agency. Using this ruse, he tried to fondle the women. Police knew DeSalvo as the "Measuring Man" because he pretended to take the measurements of the women he was molesting. He served a few months in prison for breaking and entering, and soon after his release his activities escalated from molestation to rape. This time, he was known as the "Green Man" on account of the color of the clothes he wore while seeking victims. It was as the Green Man, not as the Boston Strangler, that DeSalvo was finally arrested in 1964.

DeSalvo confessed to being the Strangler while awaiting trial in a psychiatric facility at Bridgewater. The confession was quite detailed, displaying a knowledge of details about the murders that were not available to the public. Either DeSalvo had been fed the information by police, or else he was describing crimes he had actually committed. In 1967, DeSalvo went on trial for the Green Man sexual assaults. He was represented at trial by the nationally famous Boston attorney F. Lee Bailey. The jury convicted DeSalvo on a range of charges, and he was sentenced to life in prison for the Green Man crimes. He was never charged with the Strangler killings, however. In 1973, DeSalvo was killed by a fellow-inmate.

In addition to the obligatory true-crime book, the murders inspired a 1968 movie entitled *The Boston Strangler*, with a cast that included Tony Curtis as Albert DeSalvo, and Henry Fonda. In 1971, the Texas House passed a resolution that commended Albert DeSalvo for his work in the area of population control. The resolution was a practical joke by a legislator who wanted to demonstrate how little attention his colleagues paid to the bills they passed.

—Eric Longley

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## The Boston Symphony Orchestra

At the beginning of the 1880s, America had no symphony orchestra to equal the great European ensembles. Major Henry Lee Higginson would permanently change that situation by creating the Boston Symphony Orchestra (BSO), which not only set musical standards and became a model for other American orchestras but demonstrated that large audiences could be attracted to what was considered "elitist" culture.

The New York Philharmonic, the nation's oldest orchestra in 1880, had been organized some 40 years earlier. It offered only six concerts and six public rehearsals a season. Players elected conductors and sent last minute substitutes for concerts if more lucrative engagements became available. In fairness to the players, membership dues and fines levied on absentees at concerts served as the orchestra's financial mainstays. Earnings from ticket sales were appallingly low. In 1878, each musician earned only \$17.50; in 1886, a relatively good year, each earned just \$225.

Audiences responded to the haphazard nature of the enterprise by becoming boisterous, especially if players were openly contemptuous of the conductor. Newspaper accounts discouragingly noted an "ebullience of animal spirits [that] sometimes overcame . . . [any] sense of decorum."

Except possibly for the behavior of audiences, symphony orchestras fared no better in Boston. Which was why a March 1881 notice in local newspapers, placed by Higginson, generated immediate interest. He called for: "The Boston Symphony Orchestra in the Interest of Good Music." Higginson emphasized that "Notwithstanding the development of musical taste in Boston, we have never yet possessed a full and permanent orchestra, offering the best music at low prices, such as may be found in all the large European cities, or even in the smaller musical centres of Germany."

The real problem was how to finance such an ensemble. Higginson advised that during the course of a season he would present "sixty selected musicians" in 20 concerts and sell subscriptions for "either \$10 or \$5, according to position," and single tickets at 75¢ or 25¢ each. In addition, tickets would be available for a public rehearsal during "one afternoon of every week."

Higginson understood that ticket sales alone could not finance the orchestra. He was personally worth \$750,000 and forthrightly declared that he would provide up to \$50,000 of an estimated annual \$100,000 budget. The rest of the operational budget would come from ticket sales and from selling the orchestra's services to opera companies—in the summer of 1885, Higginson announced a series of concerts of "lighter music," which became famous as the Boston Pops. Economically inclined, he decided against a pension plan for musicians and would not even entertain the idea of a musicians' union.

As for repertory, Higginson thought "anything worthy could be put on programs, which were to be relatively brief, an hour and three quarters being the upper limit." He defined "unworthy" as the "trash . . . heard in the theatres, sentimental or sensational nonsense." Wagner could be performed, but the composer was not among the Major's favorites. Late Beethoven, possibly "the work of a lunatic," could also be played, since as a fair-minded person, the Major could not see barring "serious music."

Higginson's first choice for conductor turned out to be a mistake. Georg Henschel, a young local musician, allowed regional loyalties to

figure in his recruitment of players, so it was an easygoing band of Bostonians who performed in the city's Music Hall on Saturday nights for the relatively high fees of \$6 per concert and \$3 per rehearsal. Henschel departed Boston in 1884. Higginson's later choices won the approval of critics but were not without controversy. Thus, Arthur Nikisch was described in the local press as having an "undue passion in comparatively passionless melody."

What could not be questioned was that the quality Higginson demanded of his musicians had an enormous impact on audiences. From the very first concert, BSO subscribers clamored for tickets. More than 83,000 people attended the first season, and as early as 1886, the orchestra earned \$100,000 in five days of advance sales for 24 concerts and 24 public rehearsals of the "severest classical music."

By October 1900, just 19 years after its founding, the orchestra had inspired such confidence in its stability that donors gladly made possible a permanent home after Higginson threatened that if a hall was not built, he would disband the ensemble. In 1903, a pension fund was established by and for the musicians, for the benefit of which Higginson permitted a special concert annually.

By the time the BSO was 25 years old, in 1906, it had served as a model for orchestras in Chicago, Cincinnati, and Pittsburgh. Higginson was constantly sought out for advice and solicited for donations to various enterprises. As he lengthened the BSO season, he tried to keep ticket prices as low as possible to attract audiences of all classes. As late as the 1907-08 season, subscriptions were still only \$18 and \$10.

Higginson himself paid the highest price of all for attendance; up to June 1893, he is known to have contributed \$250,000. His players appreciated his generosity. The orchestra's fourth conductor, Emil Paur, declared, "The reason why the Boston Orchestra plays better than all other existing orchestras is—besides the excellent quality of the men—the comfortable living the men are able to enjoy."

After Higginson's retirement at the age of 82, the only major change in the BSO's operations occurred in the early 1940s, when the American Federation of Musicians threatened to boycott the orchestra's broadcasts and recordings, prevent guest conductors and soloists from appearing with it, and blacklist concert halls in which it appeared while on tour, unless it unionized. This time forces arrayed against management were too strong. In 1942, the BSO, the only non-unionized ensemble in the nation, came to terms with the union and joined.

—Milton Goldin

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## Bouton, Jim (1939—)

Right-handed pitcher Jim Bouton concluded his unspectacular major league career in 1978 with a record of 62-63. But it was the

impact he made off the field, with his bestselling clubhouse memoir *Ball Four*, that earned him a place in baseball history. As a New York Yankee between 1962 and 1968, the urbane Bouton was an uneasy presence on one of the hardest-living 25-man squads in the majors. Apparently he was taking notes. *Ball Four*, published in 1970, pulled no punches in describing the drinking and carousing of some of the game's most idealized figures, including Mickey Mantle. The tight-knit ballplayer's fraternity, enraged over Bouton's betrayal of confidence, ostracized the pitcher for decades. Scandalous at the time, *Ball Four* is considered tame in comparison to subsequent tell-all accounts. Nevertheless, the book was selected by the New York Public Library as one of the "Books of the Century."

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Bow, Clara (1905-1965)

With her performance in the 1927 silent movie, *It*, rising film star Clara Bow transformed herself almost overnight into the Jazz Age icon called "the 'It' Girl." The movie's record-breaking popularity turned the single word "It" into a national euphemism for sex appeal, and helped make Bow, two years later, the highest paid female actor in Hollywood. Writer and Hollywood trendsetter, Elinor Glyn, first coined the expression in her novella, *It*, then selected Bow as its embodiment in the role of Betty Lou Spence. As "the 'It' Girl," Bow became the dominant sex symbol of the 1920s and 1930s, and a singular identity within Hollywood history as the first wholly American vision of erotic appeal. Before Bow, depictions of bold female sexuality were associated with foreignness, as in the career of the 1910s' star, Theda Bara, whose studio-manufactured image feigned Arabic heritage. Bow's portrayals expressed unabashed attraction to men in ways that American-identified female stars, such as "virginal" Lillian Gish, eschewed. Bow's spontaneous style of acting exasperated camera crews of the day, but her abandonment and intuitive skill were the qualities that translated as 'It' to spectators, and to directors like *It*'s Clarence Badger, who learned to "explain the scene to her and just let her go."

With her natural red hair, cupid bow lips and hourglass figure, Clara Bow's persona mirrored the liberated decade itself. Onscreen and off, she epitomized the high living, carefree and carnally-emancipated "flapper." Sporting bobbed hair, glittery dresses falling above the knee, and headbands, "flappers" were 1920s good-time girls who smoked, drank, frequented jazz clubs and reveled in the nation's prosperity by flouting turn-of-the-century rules for feminine behavior. F. Scott Fitzgerald, the writer who dubbed the decade "the Jazz Age," observed, "Clara Bow is the quintessence of what the term 'flapper' signifies as a definite description: pretty, impudent, superbly assured, as worldly-wise, briefly-clad, and 'hard-berled' as possible. . . . there are thousands more patterning themselves after her girls, all sorts of girls, their one common trait being that they are



**Clara Bow**

young things with a splendid talent for living.” Many novice actresses, including Joan Crawford, also viewed Bow as a role model and imitated her screen type.

Bow’s acting ability was innate, but her “talent for living” was acquired. Born July 29, 1905 to impoverished parents eking out an abject existence in the tenement slums of Brooklyn, Bow’s childhood was marked by brutal neglect. Her mother, Sarah Bow, née Gordon, struggled with severe mental illness and despised her primarily absent husband, Robert Bow. Oppressive emotional and economic conditions affected Bow the way many a movie star’s bleak background did: she sought escape in movie houses and moving picture fan magazines like *Motion Picture Classic* and *Photoplay*. Poring over stories of “America’s Sweetheart,” Mary Pickford, and the swashbuckling Douglas Fairbanks, Bow vowed to join their ranks. When she confided her dreams of stardom to her mother, Sarah castigated her desires as a prostitute’s. Bow’s conflict with her mother was not unique. As Nickelodeons across the country gave way to theatrical movie houses in the 1910s and 1920s, movie-going united cross-segments of the culture. But this new entertainment activity also provoked 1920s sensibilities concerned with religious virtue and

threatened by perceptions of movies’ degenerate influence on youths. This gap between the public’s values and Hollywood’s profligate spending, depictions of moral laxity, and offscreen scandals like the rape trial of Fatty Arbuckle, features as a constant in the history of American movie culture. For example, a related outrage over movie violence spurred 1996 Republican presidential candidate Robert Dole to attack the industry as part of his campaign. To impugn his opponent, President Clinton, Dole accused him of being a “Hollywood insider.” Had she lived to witness it, Bow’s mother would have been horrified by “the ‘It’ Girl’s” appearance in movies titled *Wild Party*, *Daughters of Pleasure*, *Dangerous Curves*, *Kiss Me Again* and *Call Her Savage*.

Bow established a professional Hollywood reputation as hard-working, kind-hearted and unpretentious. She also developed a notoriety that blurred with her fun-loving screen personality and shaded into promiscuity. Her lovers included co-stars Gary Cooper, Gilbert Roland, Frederic March, and director Victor Fleming. Her stardom occurred simultaneously with the increasing popularity of scandal sheets, and the press tracked her every dalliance. What Americans loved onscreen, appalled them in tabloid reports of Bow’s refusal to

marry. Involved in several financial scandals, she diminished further in the Depression-era public's esteem when details of her spending were publicized during a trial involving a personal secretary, who had attempted to blackmail Bow based on records she secretly kept of Bow's bedroom visitors.

Bow ended her film career in 1933, in response to her loss of fans' affections and a career sagging under the weight of stock roles in uninspired films. Having discovered the Clara Bow formula, Paramount studio exploited it and her unequalled popularity by sticking her in a series of low budget, predictable vehicles co-starring unknowns. Despite reviewers' praise for 1933's *Hoopla*, constant typecasting as the seductive girl with endless self-confidence—dimensions lacking in her own increasingly fragile identity—disgusted Bow. Her retirement also coincided with the emergence of the "talkies." Though she completed several successful movies requiring dialogue, and her voice did not doom her as it did other stars attempting the silent-to-talkie transition (e.g. Pola Negri and John Gilbert), the strain of controlling her Brooklyn accent and memorizing lines took its toll. She abandoned her film career for marriage and motherhood. As other seminal Hollywood personalities like Greta Garbo would, Bow fled Hollywood and entered into seclusion. Despite her escape from the fishbowl pressures of fading stardom, she experienced severe breakdowns requiring hospitalization.

Bow disappeared from the public eye, but "The 'It' Girl's" legend resurfaced in various cultural expressions. In the 1950s, *Life* magazine featured a photo spread of Marilyn Monroe made up as Bow. In the 1980s, entertainer Madonna billed herself as the new "'It' Girl," and musician Prince featured Bow's picture on the cover of an album. In 1998, a cover of *Vanity Fair* posed the question of whether Hollywood newcomer, Gretchen Mol, might not be the next "'It' Girl." Bow herself identified with Marilyn Monroe, saying of her death, "A sex symbol is a heavy load to carry when one is tired, hurt, and bewildered."

—Elizabeth Haas

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## Bowie, David (1947—)

David Bowie is a performer on the cutting edge of music culture, whose glamour, fluid sexual identity, and mystery influenced musicians such as Michael Jackson and Culture Club. Bowie shifted like a chameleon over a career spanning seedy British club performances in the 1960s to successful and extravagant world tours in the 1980s. His incarnations include androgynous space messiah Ziggy Stardust, film roles in art house movies, music videos with Mick Jagger and collaborations with electronic music pioneer Brian Eno. He incited



David Bowie

outrage with frank interviews about his bisexuality and his appearance in a dress on the LP cover of the hard rock album *The Man Who Sold the World* (1970). In the 1990s, the artist invented himself anew as a suave, elegant eccentric and faded from the music mainstream, but he continues to be a style icon and reference point.

—Petra Kuppers

## Bowling

Bowling, the sport of throwing a heavy ball down a lane and knocking over pins, has been around for centuries, and has become one of America's most democratic pastimes. Often referred to as the "great cultural leveler," bowling is affordable, allows for the participation of both genders, all ages, skill levels, and classes, and encourages a social camaraderie rare in other competitive sports. In fact, an instructional book written in 1987 said that "one of the greatest benefits of bowling is the development of friendships."

Bowling became widely popular almost as soon as it reached the shores of America, in the early 1800s. The Dutch, Germans, and English helped establish the sport in American colonies. English bowls, or lawn bowling, a sport for blue-bloods, was played outdoors on a bowling green. But the modern form of American bowling derives mainly from the German game of *Kegelspiel*, or kegeling, which used nine pins set in a diamond formation. By the 1800s,



kegeling Germans established New York as the country's "bowling capital." Kegeling, unlike lawn bowling, was enjoyed by German peasants; this reputation as a common-man's sport has characterized bowling throughout its American history. The first indoor alley, Knickerbocker's in New York City, was built in 1840; soon after this, various establishments attracted the lower classes and genteel alike. By the mid-1800s nine-pins became a widely played sport, and even reached the midwest.

After the Civil War, more Germans began their own clubs with bowling lanes, and tried to establish these as clean and family-oriented places. Their efforts at constructing wholesome reputations for their alleys were largely in vain, as most remained dark places located in saloon basements alongside alcohol consumption, gambling, and prostitution. Reformers' attempts to outlaw nine-pins at the end of the nineteenth century, it is fabled, caused alley owners to add an extra pin.

John Brunswick founded the Brunswick Corporation in 1845, which manufactured billiard tables and fine bar fixtures. In 1884 Brunswick added bowling equipment to his line, becoming the first manufacturer of his kind in America. In 1914, he introduced the Mineralite ball made of hard rubber and organized a world tour with which to promote it; considered so revolutionary, the ball was put on display at the Century of Progress Exposition in 1934.

At the turn of the century most bowling alleys were small establishments that provided the working classes with much needed, if less than wholesome, recreation. The cultural impetus toward rationalization and organization at the end of the nineteenth century also influenced bowling. By the 1880s and 1890s people attempted to standardize the rules and the play, and to improve the reputation of individual alleys and of the sport as a whole. Bowling associations were formed in order to attract more female bowlers. In 1887 A.G. Spalding, who was instrumental in forming baseball's National League, wrote *Standard Rules for Bowling in the United States*.

It was Joe Thum, however, who created what most resembled twentieth-century lanes, and therefore became known as the "father of bowling." In 1886 he opened his first successful alley in the basement of his Bavarian restaurant in New York City. In 1891 he built six lanes in Germania Hall, and in 1901 he opened the world's most elegant alley, "The White Elephant," which featured state-of-the-art lanes, electric lighting, and extravagant interior design in order to redefine bowling as a genteel sport, and to compete with other upper-class recreational areas of the time, like theaters and opera houses.

Thum also encouraged other smaller alley owners to adopt standard rules. By the mid-1890s the United Bowling Clubs (UBC) was organized and had 120 members. The American Bowling Congress (ABC), bowling's official governing body, was established in 1895, and held its first tournament in 1901. Women's bowling evolved alongside men's, with the first women's leagues appearing in 1907, and the Women's International Bowling Congress (WIBC) instituted in the 1910s. These bodies continued to push for standardized rules and regulations for the sport, and also maintained the quest to improve the image of the sport, which was still considered a dirty and tawdry pastime chiefly for lower-class gamblers and drinkers.

The various bowling organizations were successful in determining standards for bowling play and the alleys themselves, which have remained constant throughout the twentieth century. Each lane consists of a pin area, the lane itself, and the approach. Ten pins, each 15 inches high and 5 inches at their widest point and made of wood covered with hard plastic, are arranged twelve inches apart in an equilateral triangle at the far end of the lane. Each lane is 41 1/2 inches

wide, 62 5/6 feet long, made of maple and pine, and bordered by two gutters. The balls themselves, which are rolled at the pins, are of hard rubber or plastic, at most 27 inches in circumference, and between eight and sixteen pounds. Each player's turn consists of a "frame"—two chances to knock down all of the pins. Knocking down all ten pins on the first try is a strike, while succeeding with two balls is a spare. Because the scores for strikes and spares are compounded, a perfect game in bowling is 300 points.

By 1920 there were about 450 ABC-sanctioned alleys, a number which grew to about 2,000 by 1929. Prohibition led to the trend of "dry" alleys, and once again helped define the sport as one fit for the entire family. The repeal of Prohibition in 1933 caused an almost immediate push by the breweries for sponsorship. Anxious to get their company names in newspaper sports pages by subsidizing local bowling leagues, beer makers such as Pabst, Schlitz, Blatz, Stroh's, and Budweiser attached their names to teams and individual bowlers, forever cementing bowling's reputation as a working-class sport. Beer-drinking has remained an activity stereotypically associated with bowling; among some players, the fifth frame has been dubbed the "beer frame" and requires the lowest scorer in that frame to buy a round of drinks for the other players.

Also after Prohibition, bowling lanes shifted in style from the fancy Victorian venues and the seedier saloon locales to more independent establishments that embraced the modern Art Deco style. As bowling chronicler Howard Stallings has noted, "The imagery and implements of bowling—the glossy, hard ball speeding down a super-slick blonde, wooden surface, smashing into mathematically arranged, streamlined pins—meshed perfectly with the era's 'need for speed,' the aerodynamic zeitgeist, if you will."

Throughout its history, bowling has remained an affordable sport for the common person. Alleys were located close by, the special shoes needed could be rented, balls were provided by the alley, and the fee for the games themselves was very affordable. It is no surprise, then, that the sport prospered during the Depression and war years, remaining a viable respite for people taxed by financial and emotional burdens. At this time larger institutions also noticed the potential healthful benefits of bowling, causing many alleys to be built in church basements, lodge halls, student unions, industrial plants, and even private homes.

The late 1940s through the 1960s proved to be the golden age of bowling. In 1947 Harry Truman installed lanes in the White House, helping bowling's continual legitimating process among the various classes even more, and defining it as a true national pastime. The same year also saw the first bowling telecast, which helped popularize the sport even more—ABC membership for that year was 1,105,000 (a figure which would grow to 4,575,000 in 1963), and sanctioned individual lanes numbered 44,500 (up to 159,000 by 1963). By 1949, there were over 6,000 bowling centers nationwide. Television proved the perfect medium for bowling because games were easy to shoot and inexpensive to produce. They also fostered the careers of famous bowlers like Don Carter, Earl Anthony, and Dick and Pete Weber. Described as a "quiz show with muscle," the televised bowling program was ubiquitous in the 1950s, and included such telecasts as *Celebrity Bowling*, *Make That Spare*, *Bowling for Dollars*, *ABC's Pro Bowler's Tour*, and *Jackpot Bowling*, hosted by Milton Berle. By 1958 bowling had become a \$350,000,000 industry.

Other factors also contributed to bowling's wide-scale success in the 1950s. The automatic pinsetter patented by Gottfried Schmidt and purchased by AMF (American Machine and Foundry) in 1945, was



An example of bowling.

first put into use in 1952, when the first fully operational system was installed. This marked a revolution in alley technology, because owners and players were no longer reliant on the “pin boys” to reset the pins manually. These young workers, who had the dangerous job of standing at the end of the alley dodging balls and careening pins, were often ill-behaved delinquents and troublemakers. The automatic pinsetter made pin resetting and ball retrieval safer, faster, and reliable, making the game itself more fluid. Brunswick produced their first pinsetter in 1955, and also added air conditioning to their new alleys.

In the late 1950s the alleys themselves became more luxurious, incorporating the latest design trends and materials, with tables and seats made of brightly-colored Formica and looking like something from outer space. A 1959 issue of *Life* magazine described the modern bowling alley as an “all-purpose pleasure palace.” Indeed, much like drive-in theaters, they tried to be all things for all family members, offering services like child care and beauty parlors, and containing carpeted lobbies, restaurants, cocktail lounges, and billiard tables. League play at this time was also at its peak, affording regular and organized opportunities for various groups to form teams and bowl in “friendly competition.”

As the 1960s came to an end, bowling alleys experienced the end of their golden age. Bowling, still rooted in working-class ethics and

camaraderie, could not compete with larger and more exciting spectator sports. This era also marked the decline of serious league play as dedicated bowlers were growing older and younger potential bowlers were opting for other recreational activities that took them out of doors, like jogging and tennis. In spite of this decline, about 79 million people went bowling in 1993, and it was still the most popular participatory sport in the United States, confirming its overwhelming popularity only a few decades before.

As a sport with an indelible blue-collar image, bowling has achieved the status of being an “everyman’s” sport, more synonymous with the American individual character than baseball. It is a uniquely non-competitive sport in which people try to better their own games more than beating others, who are usually friends or family members. In the 1990s it experienced a resurgence in popularity due to its “retro” image, and was a key element in the comedy movies *Kingpin* and *The Big Lebowski*.

—Wendy Woloson

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## Boxing

From John L. Sullivan, the last of the bare-knuckle champions and the first of the gloved, to “Iron Mike” Tyson, the world’s youngest heavyweight champion, the sport of boxing has been consistently dominated by American fighters since the beginning of the twentieth century. No other sport arouses the degree of fascination and distaste as the “Noble Art,” nor has any sport been so consistently vilified. The “Sweet Science” is a world unto itself, rich in tradition, ritual, and argot. Boxing generated a genre of Hollywood film all its own and its implicit drama has been assayed in loving detail by some of America’s greatest writers. While nowhere near as popular now as they were before World War II, championship fights still draw celebrities in droves to Las Vegas and Atlantic City for often disappointing matches. Although a prize fight can still muster some of the frisson of boxing’s heyday, by late in the century the sport was in a period of decline, its status angrily contested.

Boxing traces its roots back to ancient Egypt, where hieroglyphics dating to 4000 B.C. show Egyptian soldiers engaging in a primitive form of the sport, their hands protected by leather straps. From the Nile Delta, boxing spread along the trade routes, south to Ethiopia and along the Aegean coast up to Cyprus, Crete, and the Greek mainland. The Greeks took readily to boxing, including it in their olympic contests, refining the leather coverings for the fist, the cestus, and later, adding a spiked metal attachment to it—the murmex, or limb piercer—that could inflict terrible, often fatal damage. Indeed, bouts went on until one opponent died or was no longer able to stand. Boxers figure heavily in Greek mythology. Theseus, who killed the Minotaur, was a boxing champion as was Odysseus, hero of the



A heavyweight fight between champion Mike Tyson (center) and challenger Frank Bruno (right), 1989.

Trojan Wars and Homer's *Odyssey*, and said to be undefeated in the ring.

The Greek, Aeneas, brought the sport to Rome where it grew in popularity and brutality until with the decline of the Roman Empire, the decadent sport waned in popularity, and then disappeared for a little over a millennium, resurfacing finally in seventeenth century England. Its resurrection has been attributed to the England's republican form of government as well as the English people's affection for the backword contest. For whatever reason, even before 1650 the blind poet Milton, author of *Paradise Lost*, was advocating the practice of boxing as indispensable to the education of the young gentleman in his *Treatise on Education*. It was the eighteenth century champion, Jack Broughton, who refined boxing into roughly the form of the modern fight. In 1742, Broughton erected an amphitheater for the promotion of bare-knuckle contests and to instruct contenders. The following year he published a rule-book which explicated the proper conduct of fighters and their seconds. Broughton also invented the boxing glove, which he patterned after the Roman cestus, filling a leather glove with soft batting. The glove was only used in training;

bouts were still fought with bare knuckles, and would continue to be until the end of the nineteenth century.

Boxing first came to America by way of the aristocratic Old South, as a result of that cultural fealty wealthy families paid to England. According to John V. Grombach, author of *Saga of Sock*, "No family who took itself seriously, and these all did, considered its children had acquired the proper polish unless they were educated in England. . . . These youngsters went to prizefights and were taught boxing in the fast and fashionable company of which they were part. . . . Naturally, when these young dandies returned home they had to show off all they had learned abroad, so they boxed against each other. However, since distances between plantations were great . . . they turned to their personal young slaves." In fact, many of the early professional boxers in America were slaves freed by their masters after the latter had made a considerable fortune off their chattel. In the early nineteenth century, for instance, Tom Molyneux, the son and grandson of boxing slaves, was defeated by the British champion Tom Cribb. Molyneux can be thought of as an anomaly of boxing history, however, for it would be nearly a century before a black

fighter, the heavyweight Jack Johnson, was allowed a shot at a title fight.

Although Grombach assigns the beginning of modern boxing to 1700 A.D., the American era begins with John L. Sullivan, the last of the bare-knuckle fighters. His reign as champion, from 1881 to 1892, saw the introduction of the Marquis of Queensbury rules, which called for gloves, weight classes, and three-minute rounds with one minute intervals of rest in between. His losing bout to “Gentleman Jim” Corbett was held under these new provisions. A flamboyant personality, Sullivan was the first boxer to promote himself as such, touring in theatrical productions between matches. Consequently, his fights drew tremendous crowds; seemingly no one was immune from the desire to witness a loudmouth’s disgrace. Typical of his time, he was violently racist and refused to fight a black man, thus depriving the worthy Peter Jackson, the Australian heavyweight champion, of a chance at the title.

It would take Jack Johnson’s 1908 capture of the heavyweight title from Tommy Burns to overcome the color barrier. After his 1910 defeat of James J. Jeffries, a white heavyweight champion who came out of retirement to vanquish the Negro upstart, the novelist Jack London publicly sought “a great white hope” to challenge Johnson. Johnson’s victory was greeted with public outrage, inflamed by the new champion’s profligate lifestyle. The moral character of a fighter has always been a part of his draw. Johnson drank, caroused, and lived openly with a white women, inflaming public sentiment already predisposed against him. He was finally indicted on a morals charge, and fled the country to avoid prosecution.

“To see race as a predominant factor in American boxing is inevitable,” writes Joyce Carol Oates in her thoughtful book *On Boxing*, “but the moral issues, as always in this paradoxical sport, are ambiguous. Is there a moral distinction between the spectacle of black slaves in the Old South being forced by their white owners to fight to the death, for purposes of gambling, and the spectacle of contemporary blacks fighting for multi-million-dollar paydays, for TV coverage from Las Vegas and Atlantic City?” Over time, the parameters of the racial subtext have shifted, but in 1937 when Joe Louis, a former garage mechanic, won the heavyweight title from James J. Braddock, his managers, leery perhaps of the furor Jack Johnson had caused, carefully vetted their fighter’s public persona, making sure Louis was always sober, polite, and far away from any white women when in the public eye. The colorful “Sugar Ray” Robinson was a showman in the Johnson tradition, but he, too, was careful not to overstep the invisible line of decency.

Black boxers up to the present have been made to play symbolic roles in and outside of the ring. Floyd Patterson, the integrationist civil-rights Negro (who was, incidentally, forced to move from his new house in New Jersey by the hostility of his white neighbors) played the “great white hope” role against Sonny Liston, an unrepentant ex-con street-fighter controlled by the mob. Muhammad Ali, who refused to play the good Negro/bad Negro game, was vilified in the press throughout the 1960s, unpopular among reporters as much for his cocky behavior as for his religious and political militancy. Perhaps race was never quite as crucial an issue in boxing following his reign, but as recently as Mike Tyson’s bouts with Evander Holyfield in the 1990s, racial constructs were still very much a part of the attraction, with Holyfield’s prominently displayed Christianity facing off in a symbolic battle against the converted Muslim and convicted rapist Tyson.

Class is as much a construct in modern boxing as race. Since before the turn of the century, boxing has offered a way out of poverty

for young toughs. For 30 years after Jack Johnson’s reign, boxing champions were uniformly white and were often immigrants or sons of immigrants, Irish, Italian, or Eastern European. Boxing’s audience was similarly comprised. The wealthy might flock to a championship match at Madison Square Garden, but the garden variety bouts were held in small, smoky fight clubs and appealed to either aficionados, gamblers, or the working class. This provided up-and-coming fighters with the chance to practice their skills on a regular basis, and more importantly, made it possible for fighters, trainers, and managers to make a marginal living off the fight game. As entertainment whose appeal marginally crossed class lines, boxing’s status was always contested, and the repeal of prohibition would only exacerbate matters. Organized crime, looking for new sources of income to replace their profits from bootleg liquor, took to fixing fights or controlling the fighters outright (Sonny Liston’s mob affiliations were out in the open, adding to his suspect moral rectitude). In the 1940s and 1950s, Jake LaMotta, for example, a contender from the Bronx, was denied a chance at a championship bout until he knuckled under to the demands of the local Mafia patriarch.

Nourished by the many boxing clubs in the New York area—the undisputed capitol of boxing (to fighters and managers, out-of-town meant anywhere not within the five boroughs of New York)—controlled by the mob, the city was the center of a vital boxing culture. Legendary gyms like Stillman’s Gym on Eighth Avenue were home to a colorful array of boxers and managers. Fighters like Sugar Ray Robinson, Jake “The Bronx Bull” LaMotta, and “Jersey Joe” Walcott were the heroes of the sport. Trainer Cus D’Amato, the Aristotle of boxing, became a legend for discovering new talent among the city’s underclass and resisting all incursions from the mob. D’Amato specialized in saving up-and-coming delinquents from the vagaries of the streets. He would discover heavyweight champion Floyd Patterson and, towards the end of his life, Michael Tyson. Legend has it he slept at his gym with a gun under his pillow. *New Yorker* scribe A. J. Liebling covered the fights and the fighters, leaving an especially vivid portrait of the boxing culture from this time. In his portrait of Manhattan’s boxing milieu, he chronicled not only the fights but the bars, the gyms, and the personalities that made boxing such a colorful sport. Stillman’s (dubbed by Liebling the University of Eighth Avenue), The Neutral Corner, and Robinson’s Harlem Club, Sugar Ray’s, its walls festooned with collaged photos of the flamboyant middleweight, all appear in Liebling’s many boxing pieces. With his characteristic *savoir-faire*, he chronicled the last great era of live boxing, or as some would say, the beginning of its decline. Television had killed the small boxing clubs. Fighters who showed promise were pushed up through the ranks too quickly, and without the clubs, their inexperience was sadly apparent on the small screen. Championship bouts still drew large crowds, but for the small time managers, let alone boxers, television could not sustain the vibrant culture so characteristic of boxing up to World War II.

Perhaps to fill this void, a string of boxing pictures started to issue from Hollywood starting in the 1940s. Because of boxing’s physicality, moral and psychological truths can be presented in stark contrast. The drama is enacted on the boxer’s body, the repository of truth and deception, and the fighter’s failure/success is inscribed upon it. Aside from the standard boxing biopic (*Golden Boy*, 1939; *Body and Soul*, 1947; *Champion*, 1949; *Somebody Up There Likes Me*, 1956; *Raging Bull*, 1980), two myths predominate: the triumph of the underdog through perseverance, and the set-up, in which the boxer (the innocent) is undone by the system. The *Rocky* films are perhaps the best known of the former category, recasting the myth in an

unabashedly sentimental light. Among the latter, Elia Kazan's *On The Waterfront* (1954), while not technically about boxing, manages to depict the frustrating position of the boxer, dependent on the vagaries of luck and the cooperation of organized crime for a successful career. (Marlon Brando's "I shoulda been a contender" speech immediately entered the popular lexicon, as has his portrait of the paradox of the gentle boxer, murderous in the ring, good-natured outside it). Other films in the latter category include *Requiem for a Heavyweight* (1962), *The Harder They Fall* (1956; based on the preposterous career of Italian circus strong-man, the giant Primo Carnera), and *The Set-Up* (1949), as is Martin Scorsese's triumphant *Raging Bull*, perhaps the most psychologically penetrating of any boxing film.

Boxing has also inspired some great writing. From the chronicler of the English Prize Ring, Pierce Egan, author of *Boxiana* (frequently quoted by Liebling) to Norman Mailer's celebrated book of essays on Muhammad Ali, boxing, being a wordless sport, invites others to define it, to complete it. Hemingway, Ring Lardner, Budd Schulberg, Nelson Algren, Jack London, and many others have written stories on boxing, and some of the best American journalists, not necessarily sports writers, have devoted considerable cogitation to the sport. The locus of modern boxing writing is Muhammad Ali, who was as much a cultural phenomenon as a sports figure, but this does not begin to describe the reason why an anthology of essays was published chronicling his career, nor that writers of the stature of a Tom Wolfe or Hunter S. Thompson have felt it incumbent to weigh in on the subject.

Perhaps it is because boxing is such a personal endeavor, so lacking in artifice, that one cannot hide, neither from one's opponent or from oneself. "Each boxing match is a story—a unique and highly condensed drama without words," writes Joyce Carol Oates. "In the boxing ring there are two principal players, overseen by a shadowy third. The ceremonial ringing of the bell is a summoning to full wakefulness. . . . It sets in motion, too, the authority of Time." This then, is boxing's allure: In the unadorned ring under the harsh, blazing lights, as if in an unconscious distillation of the blinding light of tragedy, the boxer is stripped down to his essence. In other words, boxing "celebrates the physicality of men even as it dramatizes the limitations," in the words of Oates, "sometimes tragic, more often poignant, of the physical."

There can be no secrets in the ring, and sometimes painful truths the boxer is unaware of are revealed before the assembled audience and spectral television viewer. In the three bouts that destroyed Floyd Patterson's career—two against Sonny Liston, and one against Muhammad Ali—Patterson was so demoralized, his faults and emotional weaknesses set in such high relief, that it is a wonder he didn't retire immediately following the 1965 Ali bout (he was already known for packing a fake beard in his luggage, the better to flee the arena). More vividly, Mike Tyson's frustrated mastication of champion Evander Holyfield's ear during their 1997 rematch revealed not only Tyson's physical vulnerability but confirmed an emotional instability first hinted at after his 1993 rape conviction.

Boxing, it would seem, is a sport that runs through periodic cycles. Recently, it has been taken up by women—who have begun to fight professionally—and affluent professionals who have taken up the sport not so much to compete as to train, a boxer's regimen being perhaps the most arduous of any sport. New gyms have sprung up to accommodate this new-found popularity, but they are more often franchises than owner-run establishments. Already a new generation, nourished on *Rocky* pictures, seems to have taken to the arenas to

enjoy the live spectacle of two men—or women—slugging it out. But in essential ways, boxing has changed. There are now four different federations—the WBC, the IBF, the WBA, and the WBO—and 68 World Champions, as compared to eight in "the old days." The cynic would attribute this fragmentation to economics: the more championship bouts, the more pay-per-view cable TV profits (the money from box-office revenues comprises only a small fraction of the net profit). Consequently, championship bouts have lost much of their inherent drama inherent in a unified championship match, and the quality of the matches have also decreased, since fighters have so few chances to practice their craft.

Regardless of the devitalizing effects of cable television and multiple boxing federations, boxing still retains a powerful attraction. No sport is so fraught with metaphorical implications, nor has any sport endured for quite so long. Boxing, as Oates points out, aside from going through periods of "crisis" is a sport of crisis. Its very nature speaks to someplace deep in our collective psyche that recognizes the paradoxical nature of violence. Managers and promoters may cheat and steal, matches may be fixed, but when that rare bout occurs where the fighters demonstrate their courage, skill, and intelligence, the sport is redeemed. Boxing is a cyclical sport, rooted ultimately in the vagaries of chance. When will a new crop of talented contenders emerge? That is something no one can predict. The public awaits the rising of new champion worthy of the name, and the promoters await him just as eagerly.

—Michael Baers

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## Boy Scouts of America

The young people, dressed in uniform, seem part of a tradition from a bygone era. Some cheer as the small, homemade go-carts spin down the track; others struggle to make the perfect knot or pitch in to help clean up the local park. They serve as a emblem of the conformity of the 1950s and the desire to connect our children with



A group of Boy Scouts with their Scout Master.

“rustic” ways of life. In the final judgment, though, these contemporary kids are simply having fun while learning valuable lessons. In an era when scouting has needed to redefine its mission, many of its basic initiatives still possess great worth to society.

Even though contemporary organizations have appealed to boys and girls, scouting began as a gendered organization. At the dawn of the twentieth century, an American boy’s life was often either idyllic or full of drudgery, depending on his family’s circumstances. During the decade before the Boy Scouts of America (BSA) were founded in 1910, the families of a handful of industrialists lived sumptuously while the vast majority of the population lived much more simply. The Gilded Age of the nineteenth century had brought wealthy Americans a genuine interest in rustic living and the outdoors. Many wealthy urbanites began sending children to summer camps that could provide their children with a connection to the culture of outdoors. Theodore Roosevelt and others began organizations such as the Boone and Crockett Club or the Izaak Walton League. Each group had an offspring for younger male members, with Sons of Daniel Boone proving the most popular. Neither, however, truly sought to reach young men of all economic classes. Ernest Thompson Seton, artist and wildlife expert, founded the Woodcraft Indians in 1902.

Interestingly, he chose to unveil the group through articles in the *Ladies Home Journal*. Shortly afterwards, Seton became the first Chief Scout of BSA when it was established by Robert Stephenson Smyth Baden-Powell.

Early scouting undoubtedly fostered male aggression; however, such feelings were meant to be channeled and applied to “wilderness” activities. Many scholars see such an impulse as a reaction to the 1893 speech by historian Frederick Jackson Turner when he pronounced the frontier “closed.” Turner and many Americans wondered how the nation could continue to foster the aggressive, expansionist perspective that had contributed so much to its identity and success. The first BSA handbook explained that a century prior, all boys lived “close to nature.” But since then country had undergone an “unfortunate change” marked by industrialization and the “growth of immense cities.” The resulting “degeneracy” could be altered by BSA leading boys back to nature.

Roosevelt’s personality guided many Americans to seek adventure in the outdoors and the military. BSA sought to acculturate young men into this culture with an unabashed connection to the military. Weapons and their careful use, as well as survival skills, constructed the basis for a great deal of the activities and exercises conducted by

Baden-Powell, a major-general in the British Army. The original Boy Scout guidebook was partly based on the Army manual that Baden-Powell had written for young recruits. World War I would only intensify youth involvement in scouting. The perpetuation of scouting during the post-1950 Cold War era, however, is more attributable to a national interest in conformity and not in militancy. It was only during the early years that such associations with the military were openly fostered.

Seton visited Baden-Powell in London in 1906, where he learned about the Boy Scouts organization. Upon returning to the United States, Seton began gathering support for an organization that would “offer instruction in the many valuable qualities which go to make a good Citizen equally with a good Scout.” The first Boy Scout manual, *Scouting for Boys*, contained chapters titled Scoutcraft, Campaigning, Camp Life, Tracking, Woodcraft, Endurance for Scouts, Chivalry, Saving Lives, and Our Duties as Citizens. In 30 years the handbook sold an alleged seven million copies in the United States, second only to the Bible.

Working in cooperation with YMCA (Young Men’s Christian Association), the BSA was popular from its outset in 1908. This coordination was particularly orchestrated by William D. Boyce, who guided the official formation of BSA in 1910. The BSA network spread throughout the nation, and in 1912 included *Boys’ Life*, which would grow into the nation’s largest youth magazine. Most educators and parents welcomed scouting as a wholesome influence on youth. Scores of articles proclaimed such status in periodicals such as *Harper’s Weekly*, *Outlook*, *Good Housekeeping*, and *Century*.

Within the attributes derived from scouting were embedded stereotypes that contributed to gender roles throughout the twentieth century. Girl scout activities followed scouting for males, yet possessed a dramatically different agenda. Instruction in domestic skills made up the core activities of early scouting for females. Maintaining a connection with nature or providing an outlet for aggressions did not cohere with the ideals associated with the female gender in the early twentieth century. Such shifts would only begin after 1950; however, even today, scouting for girls is most associated with bake sales and the famous girl scout cookies. Still, scouting for both genders has become similar, particularly emphasizing outdoor experiences

Contemporary scouting has changed somewhat, but it also maintains the basic initiatives of early scouting. Most attractive to many parents, scouting involves young people in community outreach activities. In an era when many families find themselves in suburban developments away from community centers or frequently moving, scouting offers basic values including service to others in the community. The proverbial scout aiding an older woman across a street may be a thing of the past, but scouts still work in a variety of community service tasks. These values also continue to include patriotism under the rubric “service to God and country.” The inclusion of God, however, has not held as firmly in contemporary scouting. Some parents have refused to let their children participate in any of the quasi-religious portions of scouting, which has led to a few scouts being released. Over BSA’s century of life, though, the basic values of scouting have remained strong, while activities have been somewhat modified. Though well known activities such as the “pinewood derby” and “jamborees” continue, the culture of scouting has begun to reflect a changing generation. While its popularity does not near that of the earlier era, the culture of scouting continues to help young Americans grow and mature into solid citizens.

—Brian Black

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## Bra

The brassiere, more commonly referred to as “the bra,” was one of the most influential pieces of women’s apparel in the twentieth century. As an item of underwear that was never intended to be seen in public, it shaped women’s breasts and presented them to the public in ways that responded to and reflected ideas about women’s bodies and their roles in American culture. That the bra went through so many radical changes in design shows how important breasts themselves were in a culture that eroticized, idolized, and objectified them.

Until the first decade of the twentieth century, women relied on the corset as their main undergarment. Rigid, tightly laced to form a “wasp waist,” and covering the area from the crotch to the shoulders, the corset was an oppressive article that made it difficult for women to breathe, bend over, or even sit down. In the first decade of the twentieth century, however, breasts were liberated from the corset through the invention of a separate garment which would provide them shape and support. The brassiere, first sold in France in 1907, allowed women to be more comfortable but also meant that society began considering breasts more as objects—almost as separate entities from women’s bodies themselves. The “ideal” breast shape changed with developing technologies, fashions, and perceived roles of women.

New York debutante Mary Phelps Jacobs patented the first bra in the United States in 1914, a device which supported the breasts from shoulder straps above rather than pressure from below, as the corset had done. Jacobs eventually sold the rights to her “Backless Brassiere” to the Warner Brothers Corset Company. In 1926, Ida Rosenthal and Enid Bissett, partners in a New York dress firm who did not like the 1920s flapper look that preferred flat chests and boyish figures, sewed more shapely forms right into the dresses they made, and eventually patented a separate bra “to support the bust in a natural position”; they went on to found the successful Maiden Form Brassiere Company.

By the 1930s the separate bra and underpants had become the staples of women’s undergarments. In this same decade the Warner Company popularized Lastex, a stretchable fabric that allowed women even more freedom from their formerly constrictive underclothing. In 1935 Warner’s introduced the cup sizing system (A through D), which was very quickly adopted by all companies, and assumed that women’s bodies could easily fit into distinct and standard categories of size.

Rationing during World War II meant that women had to forego fancy bras of the latest materials, but after the war they reaped the benefits of wartime technology. Bras appeared in nylon, rayon, and parachute silk. In addition, they incorporated “whirlpool” stitching



A woman displays her divested bra during Anti-Bra Day in San Francisco, 1969.

which formed the individual cups into aggressive cones. Maiden Form's 1949 Chansonette, more popularly known as the "bullet bra," became its most popular model, and was a clear example of how women's bodies were shaped by the aesthetics and mindset of the time. After the war, jutting breasts recalled the designs of weaponry like rockets used in the conflict, and also symbolized society's desire for women to forego their wartime jobs and retreat back into the homes to become capable wives and mothers. As if to circumscribe their roles even more, in 1949 Maiden Form also inaugurated its long-lasting "Dream" advertising series, which showed women in numerous situations "dreaming" of various accomplishments, clad only in their Maidenform bras. In the 1950s Playtex began the first bra and girdle advertising on television, but the bras were modeled on plastic bust forms. It was not until the 1990s that television allowed bras to be shown on live models.

While the shape and relative status given to women's breasts in the 1950s reflected women's domestication, their liberation in the 1960s equally expressed women's newly perceived freedom. More and more women saw their breasts as items packaged to suit men's tastes. Acting against this, many went braless and preferred the androgynous appearance of their flapper grandmothers celebrated in the waif-like look of models like Twiggy. Brassiere companies made consultations to accommodate this new sensibility as well. Their

designs became relaxed, giving breasts a more "natural" shape than their pointed precursors. Rudi Gernreich, most famously known for his topless bathing suit, designed the "no-bra bra" in 1965, which was meant to support the breasts but to be invisible. In 1969 Warner's finally caught up with this trend, designing and producing their own Invisible Bra.

By the late 1960s the bra itself became an important political symbol. The first "bra burning" demonstration happened at the 1968 Miss America Pageant, when poet Robin Morgan and members of the Women's Liberation Party picketed the event and threw their bras in a trash can as a gesture against women's objectification. That they actually burned their bras at this demonstration was a myth started by a reporter who likened the event to flag-burning and other incendiary activities of popular protest. After that, bra burning became an overt statement of feminism and women's liberation, and "bra burners" a derisive label for activist women involved in the struggle for equal rights.

By the 1980s and 1990s, America saw a return to more delicate lingerie, hastened by the opening and rapid franchising of Victoria's Secret lingerie stores beginning in 1982. As in the 1950s, breasts were seen as something to display—status symbols for the women who possessed them and the men who possessed the women. In 1988 the push-up bra returned as a less-than-permanent alternative to breast enhancement surgery, which was just becoming popular. The value of



large breasts during the late 1980s and through the 1990s was seen alternatively as a positive embodiment of women's new power and assertiveness in the business world and a backlash against feminism that continued to objectify women and their body parts.

Madonna encapsulated these tensions in her 1991 *Truth or Dare* film, a documentary showing a behind-the-scenes glimpse of her performances. In it, she sported a pin-striped business suit whose slits opened to reveal the cups of a large, cone-shaped pink bra designed by Jean-Paul Gaultier. The juxtaposition of the oversized bra cups, dangling garter belts, and business suit presented a parody of traditional gender roles. Her use of these symbols best expressed the power of clothing—layers which could be seen and those which could not, equally—and the power of women to present their bodies in ways that either acquiesced to or subverted the current power dynamics between the genders.

—Wendy Woloson

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## Bradbury, Ray (1920—)

Although well-known to and beloved by many as a leading writer of science fiction, Ray Bradbury is a far more complicated subject than most may realize. In the world of science fiction, he is an object of admiration and dismay, while outside the genre, he is an enigmatic figure who blends a lyricism, nostalgia, and scientific possibility in ways that surprise and delight.

Ray Bradbury was born on August 22, 1920 in Waukegan, Illinois, the third son of Spaulding Bradbury and Esther Marie Moberg Bradbury. By age eight, Bradbury had discovered pulps like *Amazing Stories*, which he began to read voraciously. His father suffered the trials of most Depression-era Americans, moving his family from and back to Waukegan three times, before finally settling in Los Angeles in 1934. That year, Bradbury began to write in earnest, publishing in an amateur fan magazine in 1938 his first story, "Hollerbochen's Dilemma." In 1939 Bradbury started publishing his own fan magazine, *Futura Fantasia*; in 1941 he began attending a weekly writing class taught by science fiction master Robert Heinlein.

In 1941, Bradbury, with coauthor Henry Hasse, published his first paid short story, "Pendulum," in *Super Science Stories*. Up until this time, Bradbury had been selling papers, a job he gave up in 1942 in order to write full-time. That year he wrote "The Lake," the first story written in the true "Bradbury style." Three years later, he began to publish in the better magazines, at which point various short stories started to receive national recognition: "The Big Black and White Game" was selected for the *Best American Short Stories 1945*;



Ray Bradbury

"Homecoming" for the O. Henry Awards *Prize Stories of 1947*; "Powerhouse" for an O. Henry Award in 1948; and "I See You Never" for *Best American Short Stories 1948*. In 1949, Bradbury was selected by the National Fantasy Fan Federation as best author in 1949. Meanwhile, as he collected more accolades, his personal life also took a fateful swing. In 1947 he married Marguerite McClure, by whom he had four daughters.

Bradbury's major breakthrough came in 1950 with *The Martian Chronicles*, his story cycle of Earth's colonization and eventual destruction of its Martian neighbor. Although the quality of work could easily have stood on its own merits, the strong praise it received from Christopher Isherwood, Orville Prescott, Angus Wilson, and Gilbert Highet established Bradbury as a writer of national merit. Bradbury capitalized on the confidence expressed in his capacity to imagine and write boldly with such seminal works as *The Illustrated Man* (1951), *Fahrenheit 451* (1953), *Dandelion Wine* (1957), *Something Wicked This Way Comes* (1962), and his many excellent short-story collections.

Despite his apparent dominance of the science fiction field, a number of science fiction writers thought the prominence given him by literati unfamiliar with the genre was both unfair and uninformed. Mutterings against Bradbury's qualifications as a writer of "true" science fiction surfaced in 1951 with Edward Wood's "The Case Against Ray Bradbury," in the *Journal of Science Fiction*. This was followed by more substantive criticisms in James Blish's *The Issue at Hand* (1964) and Damon Knight's *In Search of Wonder* (1967). In general Blish and Knight, as well as Thomas M. Disch, Anthony Boucher, and L. Sprague de Camp, would argue that Bradbury's

lyrical approach to his topic emanated from a boyish nostalgia that was, at heart, anti-scientific. Yet despite this vigorous criticism, Bradbury fans have remained legion, while more than enough critics have pointed out in return that such criticisms of Bradbury's brand of science fiction offer counter definitions of the genre so narrow they denied it the very richness Bradbury's own fictional style imparted to it.

Whatever the case may be, there is no sidestepping Bradbury's achievement as a writer. What he brings to science fiction is a vision that transformed the steady-state prose of science—applied with so much rigor to fiction by such writers as Isaac Asimov and Arthur C. Clarke—into the lyricism of poetry. Kingsley Amis latches on to this very quality in Bradbury's prose when he writes in *The Maps of Hell*, "Another much more unlikely reason for Bradbury's fame is that, despite his tendency to dime-a-dozen sensitivity, he is a good writer, wider in range than any of his colleagues, capable of seeing life on another planet as something extraordinary instead of just challenging or horrific." By way of example consider the lyricality of the first sentence in Bradbury's description of the colonization of Mars in *The Martian Chronicles*: "Mars was a distant shore, and the men spread upon it in waves." The artfulness of this one sentence, in which "shore" functions as a metaphor that resonates with "waves," is a small illustration of the poetic sensibility so often absent from the common-sense anti-lyricism of postwar science fiction prose. In short, Bradbury's achievement was not to write science fiction in a prose that was anti-scientific in spirit, but to create a subgenre of science fiction that no longer treated poetry as a form of anti-science. In short, Bradbury restored wonder to a genre that, without him, might have proven dull, indeed.

Despite Bradbury's association in the public mind with science fiction, he has shown himself far too ambitious to be limited to a single genre. Bradbury has successfully published in other genres. A closer reading of much of his fiction will reveal tales that, despite their lyrical and overimaginative tone, are, for all intents and purpose, exemplars of light realist fiction, from his autobiographical novel *Dandelion Wine* to the amusing "Have I Got a Candy Bar for You!" Bradbury also has taken stabs at writing drama, poetry, screenplays, detective fiction, and even musical compositions. Although he has never achieved the fame in these genres that he has in his science fiction, there is little doubt the extension of his horizons as a writer into these genres is the direct result of his continuing interest in challenging his limits as a writer, just as he once challenged the limits of science fiction itself.

—Bennett Lovett-Graff

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## Bradley, Bill (1943—)

A man of many talents, former New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley perhaps best embodies the modern idea of a Renaissance man. Bradley was an All-American basketball player at Princeton University, then went on to star with the New York Knicks after a stint in Oxford, England as a Rhodes Scholar. Public service beckoned Bradley and he won his first political office in 1978. Despite his wealthy upbringing, Bradley has had to work hard for every success in his life.

Born July 28, 1943, William Warren Bradley led a very organized and orderly childhood. He used to set aside four hours per day for basketball practice. At the time of his high school graduation in 1961, Bradley had scored 3,066 points and had been named to *Scholastic* magazine's All-American team twice. This success on the court earned the attention of many prominent college coaches. Despite offers from better known basketball powerhouses, Bradley chose to attend Princeton University for its prestigious academic environment.

While starring at Princeton, Bradley made All-American three times and was named National Association of Basketball Coaches Player of the Year in 1965. One of Bradley's highlights as an amateur athlete was being a member of the gold medal winning American Olympic team in 1964. After his career, several professional basketball teams courted him for his services. Undeterred, Bradley chose instead to pursue further study at Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar. While overseas, Bradley picked up the game again and saw that he missed the athletic competition. After playing some for an Italian professional team, he decided to join the New York Knicks in 1967.

Professional basketball in the 1970s was not the kind of place one would expect to find the intellectual Bradley. Teammates once cool toward Bradley warmed to this Ivy League golden boy after they realized his tremendous heart and work ethic. The Knicks went on to win two NBA championships with Bradley playing integral roles in both. He retired from the game in 1977 and was named to the Basketball Hall of Fame in 1982.

With one career complete, Bradley turned down several business offers and decided to pursue public service. The popular ex-Knicker won his first office in 1978, as he defeated Republican nominee Jeffrey K. Bell for the New Jersey senatorial race, a seat he would hold for three terms. Senator Bradley would champion issues like the environment, education, and natural resources. He is perhaps best known for the Tax Reform Act of 1986, which followed many of the ideas on tax reform he laid out in his book, *The Fair Tax*. He was briefly mentioned as a candidate for the presidency in 1988, then again in 1992. A moderate Democrat, Bradley became respected and revered throughout the senate and the nation. After his retirement from the Senate, Bradley wrote *Values of the Game* in 1998, about the life lessons he learned from basketball. Its publication again brought Bradley to the media forefront and sparked rumors about his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2000.

—Jay Parrent

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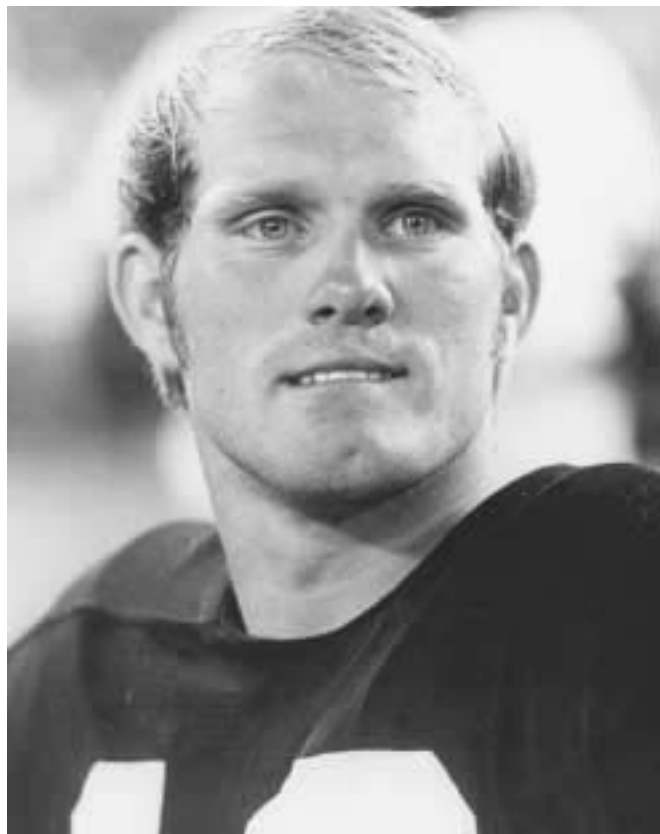
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## Bradshaw, Terry (1948—)

A country-bred, southern farm boy with a strong passing arm, Terry Bradshaw used the principles of discipline and hard work that he learned as a child to become one of the greatest quarterbacks the game of football has ever seen. His career statistics still stand as a substantial lifetime achievement for any player: two Super Bowl MVPs, 27,989 yards gained, 212 touchdowns passed, and 32 touchdowns rushed in his fourteen-year National Football League career. Though his football fame ensured him a shot at a career as a sports commentator, it is Bradshaw's down-to-earth, unpretentious style that continues to endear him to his audience.

Bradshaw was born in Shreveport, Louisiana, and raised in a farming family. "I was born to work, taught to work, love to work," he said. Even on the football field, he performed his job faultlessly, developing the pinpoint accurate passing that would become his trademark. He attended college at Louisiana Technical University, where he made All-American, an unusual honor since Louisiana Tech was not a Division I team. In 1970, quarterback Bradshaw was the first player selected in the professional football draft.

For the next twelve years the Louisiana boy with the perfect spiral pass led the Pittsburgh Steelers to victory after victory, including four Super Bowl championships. The Steelers were the first team



Terry Bradshaw

to win four Super Bowls, and, in 1979 and 1980, Bradshaw was only the second player ever to win recognition as Most Valuable Player in two back-to-back Super Bowls. Bradshaw was the unanimous choice for the MVP honor in Super Bowls XIII and XIV, a phenomenon that had not occurred since Bart Starr won back-to-back MVP honors in Super Bowls I and II.

By 1982, Bradshaw's amazing passing arm was beginning to show signs of damage. He toughed it out, playing in pain through much of the 1982 season, but the doctors' diagnosis was chronic muscle deterioration, and the prescription was surgery. In March of 1983, Bradshaw underwent the surgery, but he could not withstand pressure from Steelers coach Chuck Noll to return to the game. He resumed playing too soon, causing permanent damage to his elbow. Bradshaw played only a few games in the 1983 season, then was forced to retire.

Though regretting that his retirement from the playing field had not been on his own terms, Bradshaw continued to make football his career. In 1989, he was inducted into the Football Hall of Fame, and the next year he went to work for CBS as co-anchor of *NFL Today*. He worked for CBS for four years, then the FOX network doubled his salary and hired him as a game-day commentator and host of *FOX NFL*. FOX also made surprising use of Bradshaw's homespun talents by giving him a daytime talk show. *Home Team with Terry Bradshaw* was described by one executive as "Martha Stewart meets Monday Night Football." Pundits wondered how the rugged football veteran would handle the traditionally female forum of daytime talk, but Bradshaw's easygoing style seemed to take it all in stride. In fact, it is Bradshaw's unapologetic country-boy persona that seems to appeal to fans. Though critics have called his commentary incompetent and even buffoonish, Bradshaw's "just folks" approach continues to make him popular. His response to critics has been typically disarming, "I stutter, I stammer, I scratch, and I do it all on live television . . . I can't help it. It's me. What are you going to do about it? You can't change who you are."

Bradshaw has appeared in many movies, often alongside fellow ex-football star Burt Reynolds, and has ambitions to have his own television situation comedy. A Christian who found his religion while watching Monday Night Football, he has released two successful gospel albums. However, he has never become part of the entertainment establishment, and he is happiest at home on his Texas cattle ranch, working hard.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## *The Brady Bunch*

*The Brady Bunch* was one of the last domestic situation comedies which populated television during the 1950s and 1960s. While it flew below Nielsen radar in its original run, its popularity in syndication led to frequent reincarnations through the 1990s. Generation X viewers treated the series with a combination of irony and reverence.



The cast of *The Brady Bunch*.

In 1966, *Gilligan's Island* executive producer Sherwood Schwartz read a newspaper item stating that 30 percent of American families were stepfamilies—where one or both parents were bringing into a second marriage children from a first marriage ended by death or divorce. Schwartz quickly realized that while TV sitcoms either featured traditional, two-parent families (*Make Room for Daddy*, *Leave it to Beaver*) or families headed by a widow or widower (*The Ghost and Mrs. Muir*, *My Three Sons*), no comedy had yet focused on a merging of two families. He spent the next three years developing a series based on this premise. By the time *The Brady Bunch* debuted in the fall of 1969, Hollywood had explored the subject with two box-office hits, *With Six You Get Eggroll* and *Yours, Mine, and Ours* (Schwartz planned to call his sitcom *Yours and Mine*).

The simple theme song laid out the storyline: Mike Brady (played by Robert Reed), a widower architect with three sons—Greg, Peter, and Bobby—met and wed Carol (Florence Henderson), a single mother with three blonde daughters—Marcia, Jan, and Cindy. The series never explained what happened to Carol's first husband; Schwartz intended Carol to be TV's first divorcee with children. The blended family moved into a giant house designed by Mike in the Los

Angeles suburbs, complete with a practical and seemingly tireless maid, Alice (Ann B. Davis).

Most of the plots dealt with the six Brady children and the travails of growing up. Schwartz has said the series “dealt with real emotional problems—the difficulty of being the middle girl, a boy being too short when he wants to be taller, going to the prom with zits on your face.” Frequently the storylines centered around one of the children developing an inflated ego after receiving a compliment or award; Greg becoming a baseball maven after being coached by Hall of Fame pitcher Don Drysdale, or Cindy turning into an arrogant snob upon being chosen for a TV quiz show. Invariably public or private humiliation followed and, with the loving support of parents and siblings, the prodigal child was inevitably welcomed back into the Brady fold. In contrast to the “real” problems dealt with on the show, *The Brady Bunch* explored more fantastic stories on location several times, including vacations to the Grand Canyon (where the family was taken prisoner by a demented prospector) and, more famously, to Hawaii (where the Brady sons were taken prisoner by a demented archaeologist).

The series never cracked the Top 25 ratings during its initial run, but was enormously popular with the 17-and-under age group. The

child actors were prominently featured in teen magazines of the early 1970s, and even formed a pop music group in the style of such TV-inspired groups as *The Monkees* and *The Partridge Family*. Barry Williams, who played eldest son Greg, received upwards of 6,500 fan letters a week. There was also a Saturday morning cartoon spun off from the show, *The Brady Kids*.

The show was cancelled in 1974, and that fall entered syndication, generally airing during the late afternoons. In this child-friendly time period, *The Brady Bunch* became a runaway syndicated hit. In 1977, the cast (minus Eve Plumb, the original Jan) reunited on ABC for *The Brady Bunch Variety Hour*, a bizarre hour-long series featuring inane skits and production numbers; most of the cast could not even dance in step. It was cancelled after several months and is often considered the worst variety show in television history.

The original series' popularity in reruns spurred more reunions, however. *The Brady Girls Get Married* was a 1980 NBC special where Marcia and Jan find husbands. The special led to another short-lived sitcom, *The Brady Brides*, with the two newlywed couples sharing living quarters (in typical sitcom fashion, one husband was an uptight academic, while the other was a laid-back toy salesman).

The biggest Brady-related TV event came in December 1988, with the broadcast of the TV movie *A Very Brady Christmas*. The six children (most with spouses, significant others and children in tow) congregated at the Brady manse to celebrate the holidays. While working at a construction site, Mike was trapped under debris after an accident. Carol and the extended family sang Christmas carols as he was rescued; ironically enough, the location of this Christmas miracle was on 34th Street. It was the highest rated TV movie of the 1988-1989 season, and launched yet another Brady series. *The Bradys* (CBS, 1990) was an hour-long drama attempting to bring serious problems to the Brady landscape. In the series debut, Bobby, now a racecar driver, was paralyzed in a NASCAR accident. Jan and her husband tried in vain to conceive a child. Mike ran for Los Angeles City Council, and stood accused of taking bribes. Marcia became an alcoholic. The series lasted only half a season.

But the original series continues to fascinate. During the early 1990s, theater groups in New York and Chicago staged *The Real Life Brady Bunch*, reenacting complete episodes of the series, on occasion using actual *Brady Bunch* actors in cameo roles.

The series was something of a touchstone to people born during the 1960s and 1970s, many of whom grew up in single-family households or who, like the children in the series, became part of a stepfamily. "The *Brady Bunch*, the way I look at it," Schwartz said in 1993, "became an extended family to those kids." *Brady Bunch* fans developed the singular ability to identify a given episode after only the first line of that episode's dialogue. The 1970s dialogue ("Groovy!" "Far out!") and outrageously colored polyester clothes inspired laughs from 1980s and 1990s audiences. Many of the curious production elements (Why would an accomplished architect such as Mike Brady build a home for six teenagers with only one bathroom? And why didn't that bathroom have a toilet? Why was the backyard lawn merely carpeting? Why didn't any of the windows in the house have panes?) were cause for late-night debate in college dorms and coffee shops. *Letter to the Next Generation*, Jim Klein's 1990 documentary on apathetic college students, had a montage of disparate cliques of Kent State University students singing the complete *Brady Bunch* theme song.

In the spring of 1992 Barry Williams's *Growing Up Brady* was published, a hilarious bestseller recounting the history of the series

and reflecting on what being a "Brady" meant. Williams shared inside gossip:

Reed, a classically-trained actor and veteran of the acclaimed TV drama *The Defenders* (1961-1965), regularly sent sarcastic notes to Schwartz and the production staff attacking the simplistic storylines and character development. Had the series continued for a sixth season, Schwartz was willing to kill off Mike Brady and have the series revolve around the six kids fixing up the newly single Carol.

The 15-year-old Williams went on a chaste date with the married Henderson. Williams also stated that he dated "Marcia," and that "Peter" and "Jan," and "Bobby" and "Cindy" had similar relationships during the show's run.

Williams admitted that he filmed part of one 1972 episode ("Law and Disorder") while under the influence of marijuana.

Shortly after Williams's book was published, Robert Reed died of colon cancer at age 59. It was subsequently announced that Reed's cancer was caused due to the AIDS virus. The revelation that Reed, the head of TV's most self-consciously wholesome family, had a hidden homosexual life was as stunning to Generation X viewers as news of Rock Hudson's homosexuality had been to many of their parents.

In the tradition of *Star Trek* and *The Beverly Hillbillies*, *The Brady Bunch* became fodder for a full-length motion picture. To the surprise of many, *The Brady Bunch Movie* (1995) was a critical and box-office smash. The film wisely took a tongue-in-cheek approach to the material, planting the defiantly-1970s Brady family smack dab in the middle of 1990s urban Los Angeles. "Hey there, groovy chicks!" the fringe-wearing Greg courted grunge classmates. There were numerous references to *Brady Bunch* episodes, and cameos from Williams, Henderson, and Ann B. Davis. *A Very Brady Sequel* (1996) continued the approach to equal acclaim.

Schwartz came to comedy writing after receiving an master's degree in biochemistry, and began as a writer for Bob Hope prior to World War II. He won an Emmy as a writer for *The Red Skelton Show* in 1961. The knack for creating popular entertainment clearly runs in the family—brother Elroy wrote for *The Addams Family* and *My Three Sons*, son Lloyd co-produced *The Brady Bunch*, and two of his nephews created the international hit TV series *Baywatch*.

—Andrew Milner

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## Branch Davidians, The

See Koresh, David, and the Branch Davidians

## Brand, Max (1892-1944)

Pulp novelist Max Brand earned millions of dollars from his writing. Like many pulp writers, however, he did not feel that his work was worth very much. Brand wrote over 300 novels in genres such as detective fiction, spy stories, medicine, and fantasy. But he is primarily known for westerns such as *The Bells of San Carlos*, *The Bells of San Filipo*, *Bull Hunter*, and *Donnegan*. Clearly able to diversify his talents, Brand also achieved great fame and fortune through his Hollywood film writing. His *Destry Rides Again* inspired numerous imitators, including television's *Maverick*.

Brand, born Frederick Faust, was orphaned at an early age and raised in poverty, but grew up with high literary ambitions. Despite being known as a great western writer, Brand preferred to live in an Italian villa. He spent his time there writing pulp fiction in the morning and serious poetry in the afternoon. He was well read in the classics and often used themes from them in his western tales, for example he used the Iliad in *Hired Gun*. Without question the King of the Pulps, Brand averaged about one million words a year. Outside of his westerns, Dr. Kildare was his most famous creation. His readers were intensely loyal and reached into the millions. Although he preferred that his personal life remain mysterious, he did occasionally offer fans glimpses of himself in autobiographical short stories. In *A Special Occasion*, for example, one of the main characters shares many similarities with Brand—his marriage is on the rocks, he has a mistress who is a clinging vine, he longs for a better profession, and sometimes drinks to excess.

—Frank A. Salamone, Ph.D.

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## Brando, Marlon (1924—)

Marlon Brando remains unchallenged as the most important actor in modern American Cinema, if not the greatest of all time. Though a number of mainstream critics were initially put off by his slouching, brooding “method” style, he was nominated for an Academy Award in only his second film, *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951), and went on to repeat the accomplishment with each of his next three performances: *Viva Zapata* (1952), *Julius Caesar* (1953), and *On The Waterfront* (1954), with the latter performance finally resulting in the Oscar for best actor.

Handsome enough to be a leading man and gifted enough to lose himself in his characters, Brando brought an animalistic sensuality and rebelliousness to his portrayals unseen in Hollywood before. Not



Marlon Brando

content with simply learning his lines and playing the character as written or directed, the actor became the author of his portrayals. He maintained the view throughout his life that actors cannot achieve greatness without holding a point of view about society, politics, and personal ethics. This has been reflected both in the characters that he has chosen to play (rebels on the fringes of society) and in the shadings that he has brought to them (ethical conflicts about living within or outside the law).

This philosophy was initially ingrained in Brando through his stint at New York's Actor's Studio where he studied with Elia Kazan and Stella Adler, who taught him “The Stanislavsky Method,” a style of acting in which the performer internalizes the character he is playing to literally become one with his subject. This was considered a major revision of classic acting styles during the 1950s. Before The Actor's Studio, performers externalized their characters, merely adopting the physical features and gestures conducive to portraying them. Up-and-coming actors including Brando, Paul Newman, and James Dean shocked traditional actors and theater critics with the new style, but there was no argument that it was effective, as Brando was selected Broadway's most promising actor for his role in *Truckline Café* (1946).

As early as his first motion picture acting stint in Fred Zinneman's war film *The Men* (1950), Brando prepared for his part as a wheel chair-bound veteran by spending a month in a hospital viewing first hand the treatment and experiences of paraplegics. Based on his observations, he played his character as an embittered social reject straining against the restraints of his daily existence. From this point on, his performances came to symbolize the frustrations of a post war

generation of Americans trying to come to terms with a society that had forgotten them.

His subsequent characters, including Stanley Kowalski in *Streetcar* and Terry Molloy in *On the Waterfront*, to cite two, were literally drawn from the ash heap of society. Brando's interpretation of the two men's speech patterns—though decried by critics as mumbling—actually conveyed a hint of innate if not animalistic intelligence as well as a suppressed power which threatened to erupt in violence. The force of this power is best seen in *The Wild One*, in which Brando plays Johnny, the rebellious leader of an outlaw motorcycle gang that takes over a small town in Northern California. Based on an actual 1947 incident in which a gang vandalized the town of Hollister, California, over the Fourth of July weekend, the story was the perfect vehicle for Brando to display his menacing, barely-controlled rage. When Brando is asked what he is rebelling against, he responds with the now famous, "What have you got?"

His rage seems more compelling when played against the overt violence of the other bikers because he appears to be so angry that he can't find the words. The audience dreads what will happen when he finally lets go. The interesting thing about the characterization is the fine line that Brando is walking. He is at once the protagonist of the film and, at the same time, potentially the villain, reminiscent of Humphrey Bogart's ambivalent Duke Mantee in *The Petrified Forest* (1936). As long as the violence bubbles beneath the surface, it is possible for the Brando character to be both sympathetic and menacing at the same time, as was Stanley Kowalski in *Streetcar* and the young Nazi officer in *The Young Lions* (1958).

Brando's interpretation marked a turning point in American films and effectively launched the era of the "rebel." Following the film's 1954 release, a succession of young outlaws appeared on the screen: James Dean in *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955); Elvis Presley in *Jailhouse Rock* (1957) and a string of low budget biker films. Even Peter Fonda's hippie rebel character in 1969's *Easy Rider* and Charlie Sheen's rebel pitcher in 1989's *Major League* can trace their roots back to Brando's performance.

In his more finely modulated performances, the violence is translated into a brooding passion that is inner directed and reflects his characters' disillusionment with having whatever idealism and ideological purity they began with tempered by a reality that they are powerless to control. This is the Brando of *Viva Zapata*, *The Godfather* (1972), *Last Tango in Paris* (1972), and *Quemada!* (1969). In the first three, he is a man living outside the system who is battling in his own way to preserve his manhood and to keep from being ground beneath mainstream society's rules. In the final film, he is a man who has lost whatever idealism and freedom he once maintained and has learned that in order to survive he must not only play by but enforce the rules even though he is unhappy doing so.

In *Zapata*, Brando confronts the dilemma of an individual torn between spontaneous rebellion against injustice versus a full scale revolution to promulgate an abstract ideal. His Zapata is a contradictory character; on one hand full of zeal to right the wrongs that the government has done to the people and fighting for agrarian land reform; on the other, ill at ease with the larger issues of social reform and the institution of a new system of government. The character's inner naiveté is revealed in one particularly sensitive scene preceding Zapata's meeting with President Madero in which he confides to his new bride that he is ill at ease because he does not know how to read. The two sit on the edge of the bed and she begins to teach him in one of the most emotional moments in the film. This scene is reminiscent of Johnny's attempt at making love to Kathie in *The Wild One* in which

he displays a conflicted vulnerability and allows the woman to take charge.

This fundamental contradiction in Brando's characters is evident in his depiction of Don Corleone in *The Godfather*, in which he presents a Mafia chieftain who is comfortable killing men who oppose him and yet can express the deepest tenderness toward the downtrodden and those that he loves. Corleone is no less of a rebel than Zapata. Living on the outskirts of a system that he routinely circumvents for profit and, in a strange way, to achieve justice for the lower echelons of society, he is still, at heart, a rebel. Brando carries this portrayal a step farther in *Last Tango in Paris* when his depiction of Paul not only reveals a man's internal conflicts but actually questions the idea of animal masculinity that typified his characters in the 1950s.

Yet, between his dominant performances in the 1950s and what many consider to be his re-emergence in 1972, his career was sidetracked, in the opinion of many critics, by some dubious roles during the 1960's. Such films as *One Eyed Jacks* (1961), *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1962), *The Ugly American* (1962), *The Chase* (1966), *Reflections in a Golden Eye* (1967), and *A Countess from Hong Kong* (1967), however, still indicate his concern for social injustice and display his characteristic shaping of his characters to reveal the basic conflicts inside all men.

In what a number of film scholars consider to be Brando's real renaissance, 1969's *Quemada!* (*Burn*), directed by Italy's revolutionary filmmaker Gilo Pontecorvo, he gave what may arguably be his finest performance as a conflicted anti-revolutionary. In his previous film, *Battle of Algiers* (1965), Pontecorvo established a film tantamount to a textbook both for initiating and defeating terrorism. But in *Burn*, through the character of British Governor Sir William, Pontecorvo establishes the premise and the practice for effecting a revolution and at the same time shows why it could never succeed. Brando's performance as a man who, as a youth, shared the idealism and concepts of social freedom promulgated by the revolutionaries, but who now knows why such movements must necessarily fail, is a tour de force. He comes across as a man who is still a rebel but who is also aware of the path of military history. Emotionally he is storming the barricades but intellectually he knows what the inevitable outcome will be. On the latter level, his manner reflects the attitude of his earlier character, Major Penderton (in *Reflections*), but on the former level he is the emotional voice crying out to the deaf ears of imperialists as in 1963's *The Ugly American*.

Brando's social sympathies can be seen in his own life as well. For example he had an American Indian woman pick up his second Oscar for the *Godfather* and make some remarks about the treatment of native Americans in the United States. He lives outside of the Hollywood milieu, sometimes in the South Pacific working on environmental concerns, other times in the San Fernando Valley. He works only infrequently and expresses a disdain for the type of material currently being produced in Hollywood, although he does emerge every so often for outrageous sums of money if a role that interests him presents itself. He usually imbues these characters with qualities and social concerns that were not in the original scripts and tends to play them a bit "over the top" (see *Superman* [1978] and *Apocalypse Now* [1979]). Yet, he is also not above poking fun at himself as he did in 1990's *The Freshman*, in which he reprised his Don Corleone role, albeit in a satirical manner.

Marlon Brando is one of the few actors of his generation whose entire body of work—both good performances and those of lesser

impact—reflect his social concerns, his celebration of the downtrodden, and his examination of the nature of man and the exercise of power. In this respect, he is a true auteur in every sense of the word, shading all of his portrayals with the contradictions inherent in the individual and in society itself. As Mark Kram stated in a November, 1989, *Esquire* article: “there are people who, when they cease to shock us, cease to interest us. Brando no longer shocks, yet, he continues to be of perennial interest, some of it because of what he did on film, some of it because he resists definition, and maybe mostly because he rejects, by his style of living and his attitudes, much of what we are about as a nation and people. He seems to have glided into the realm of folk mystery, the kind that fires attempts at solution.”

—Steve Hanson

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## Brat Pack

A term that describes a bunch of young upstarts in any industry, the Brat Pack was first used in the 1980s to refer to a group of actors that included Molly Ringwald, Judd Nelson, Ally Sheedy, Andrew McCarthy, Emilio Estevez, Anthony Michael Hall, and Rob Lowe. Honorary Brat Pack members were Demi Moore, Kiefer Sutherland, Mare Winningham, Charlie Sheen, John Cryer, Christian Slater, Robert Downey, Jr., James Spader, John Cusack, Eric Stoltz, Matt Dillon, C. Thomas Howell, and Matthew Broderick. The name is a play on the Rat Pack, a term used for the 1960s Vegas clique of Frank Sinatra, Dean Martin, Sammy Davis, Jr., Peter Lawford, and Joey Bishop.

The den mother of the Brat Pack was writer/director John Hughes, who changed the teen film genre forever. Not content to

leave the celluloid teenage experience at lookin'-to-get-laid comedies, Hughes explored the premise that high school life could be serious and harrowing, and that teenagers were not just a bundle of walking hormones. It was no accident that this became his oeuvre in the 1980s, a decade classified by obsession with money and status. Parents in Hughes' films were often portrayed as well-off but absent, too busy working to notice what was really going on with their kids, who had to learn the important lessons on their own. In Hughes's films, as in Steven Spielberg's, adults were almost always the bad guys. White, middle-class teenage angst, set mostly in the suburbs surrounding Chicago, became the vehicle through which Hughes chastised the confusing values of this superficial decade. And he used a company of young actors, most notably the crimson-tressed Ringwald, to explore this angst.

*Sixteen Candles*, *The Breakfast Club*, and *Pretty in Pink* was Hughes' Ringwald trilogy. In *Sixteen Candles* (1984), Samantha (Ringwald) is pursued by a geek (Hall), lusts after a hunk (Dillon), and worst of all, her whole family forgets her sixteenth birthday. The slightly heavier *Pretty in Pink* is about Andie (Ringwald), a girl from the wrong side of the tracks who falls for “richie” Blane (McCarthy). Blane's snotty friend Stef (Spader) tells him to stay away from Andie, whom he calls a mutant. The rich and the poor are mutually prejudiced against each other, and the poor are portrayed as the better people. Andie's oddball friend Duckie (Cryer), doesn't want Andie with Blane either, but that's mostly because he's in love with her. Blane finally takes the risk and goes for Andie, after listening to his snobby friends and their values for too long. The original script called for Andie to end up with Duckie, but Hughes thought that such an ending would send the message that the rich and the poor really don't belong together.

*The Breakfast Club* (1985) was the definitive Brat Pack movie; it focused on the interactions of five high-school students who are stuck in all-day Saturday detention. Each of the students represents a different high school clique. The popular, stuck-up Claire (Ringwald), the princess, and Andy (Estevez), the athlete, might hang out together, but normally they wouldn't associate with smart, nerdy Brian (Hall), the brain, compulsive liar and weirdo Allison (Sheedy), the basket case, and violent, sarcastic Bender (Nelson), the criminal. As the movie unfolds, the students fight and they bond, leaving their stereotypes behind and growing closer together. Face-value judgments are rejected for truer understanding because the students take the time to know each other, something they wouldn't do in the high school hallways. Hughes uses their interactions to explore the universal teen anthem “I'm not gonna be anything like my parents when I grow up!” and to reject the superficial classifications that adults put on teens.

What kind of adults will these angst-ridden teenagers grow into? The answer could be found in a film that wasn't from Hughes (the director was Joel Schumacher), but could have been, *St. Elmo's Fire*, the story of an ensemble of overprivileged recent Georgetown University grads trying to adjust to life and disillusionment in the real world. *St. Elmo's Fire* featured Nelson, Sheedy, and Estevez (probably relieved to be playing closer to their ages) as well as McCarthy, Moore, and Lowe.

For a while, Hollywood was on the lookout for any film featuring an ensemble cast of pretty young men and women. Thus moviegoers were treated to *Three Musketeers*, with Sutherland and Sheen, and *Young Guns*, a western with Sutherland, Sheen, and Estevez, among others. But real Brat Pack movies had to include that honorary Brat Pack member, angst. When these actors approached the





The Brat Pack as they appeared in the film *St. Elmo's Fire*: (from left) Ally Sheedy, Judd Nelson, Emilio Estevez, Demi Moore, Rob Lowe, Mare Winningham, and Andrew McCarthy.

age of thirty (in the early 1990s), the Brat Pack wore thin. None of the principal Brats have been able to score as well separately as they did as a youthful, angst-ridden ensemble.

—Karen Lurie

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## Brautigan, Richard (1935-1984)

Author of the widely popular novel *Trout Fishing in America*, Richard Brautigan was a countercultural hero in the United States in the 1960s. Although he never aligned himself with any group,

Brautigan, with his long hair, broad-brimmed hat, wire-rim glasses, and hobnail boots, became a hippie icon comparable during his generation to Jack Kerouac and John Lennon.

Brautigan was born on January 30, 1935, in Tacoma, Washington. He moved to San Francisco in the mid-1950s where he met Allen Ginsberg and Lawrence Ferlinghetti and became loosely associated with the Beat poetry movement. In the 1960s, he wrote and published his first three novels, which would be his most popular: *A Confederate General from Big Sur*, *Trout Fishing in America*, and *In Watermelon Sugar*.

*Trout Fishing in America* was by far the most enduring and important of these. Published in 1967, it went through four printings before being reissued as mass paperback by Dell and selling two million copies. It was a favorite with college students, and Brautigan developed a cult following. Written in short, self-contained chapters, the book had almost nothing to do with trout fishing and was deceptively easy to read. It was structured such that the reader could open to any page and still enjoy and understand the diary-like ruminations. Some said that Brautigan was to literature what the Grateful Dead was to music—enjoyable while on dope.

Because of the youth of his fans and his status among the counterculture, some critics suggested that Brautigan was a passing fad. Like Kurt Vonnegut and Tom Robbins (who alludes to *Trout*

*Fishing* in his first novel, *Another Roadside Attraction*), Brautigan was a writer of his time, sometimes even a writer of his “instant.” He was the quintessential 1960s writer, sometimes dismissed as dated and insubstantial. To one reviewer, he was “the last gasp of the Beat Generation,” but others believed him to be an authentic American literary voice.

Between the 1960s and the early 1980s Brautigan produced ten novels, eleven books of poetry, a book of short stories, and *Please Plant This Book*, a set of poems sold with seed packets. Many of his books played with and parodied mainstream genres, with jokey titles including *The Abortion: An Historical Romance*, *The Hawkline Monster: A Gothic Western*, and *Dreaming of Babylon: A Private Eye Novel*. In his prose, his humor and childlike philosophies often masked deeper themes of solitude and despair, and his poetry was characterized by offbeat metaphors—comparisons of snow to washing machines, or sex to fried potatoes.

Brautigan was poet-in-residence at California Institute of Technology from 1966-67, but in the early 1970s, he left California for Montana. There he led a hermit-like existence, refusing to give interviews and generally avoiding the public for a decade. His later novels were financial and critical failures, and he had a history of drinking problems and depressions. In 1982, his last book, *So the Wind Won't Blow It All Away*, was published. Two years later, at the age of forty-nine, Brautigan apparently committed suicide—he was found in October of 1984 with a gunshot wound to the head.

His casual, innovative style was widely influential, prompting one critic to say that in the future, authors would write “Brautigans” the way they currently wrote novels. Critics waited for the Brautigan cult to fade, but it was still present at the end of the twentieth century. A folk-rock band called Trout Fishing in America formed in 1979 and was still active after twenty years, and a Brautigan-esque literary journal, *Kumquat Meringue*, was founded in 1990 in Illinois and dedicated to his memory.

—Jessy Randall

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## *Breakfast at Tiffany's*

Paramount Pictures' release of *Breakfast at Tiffany's* in 1961 solidified the cosmopolitan image of Audrey Hepburn and solidified one of the most enduring fashion trends: the little black dress. The movie was based closely on Truman Capote's 1959 short novel by the same name, which most critics called Capote's best work.

The story adeptly portrays the glamorous romantic illusions of Holly Golightly, a young woman travelling in search of a perfect home. She is so driven by her quest that she refuses to name her cat until she finds a home. But her inability to resolve the lingering issues of her past keeps her from finding peace. Only while looking through the window of Tiffany's jewelry store does Holly feel a sense of calm.



Audrey Hepburn as she appeared in the film *Breakfast at Tiffany's*.

Most films about young women, in the early 1960s, portrayed them as living under parental influences until they were married. *Breakfast at Tiffany's* broke that mold and showed Holly as a young woman living on her own the best way she could, as an escort to men she referred to as “rats.” While Capote imagined Marilyn Monroe as the perfect actress for the part because her troubled past closely reflected the turmoil in the life of his character, Paramount Pictures instead cast Audrey Hepburn for the part and downplayed the dark past of the character. In doing so, the film heightened the dramatic importance of Holly's past and allowed Hepburn to bring a sense of mystery to her seemingly flighty character.

Audrey Hepburn's acting was not alone in effecting the romantic qualities of this film. Dressing Holly Golightly in sleeveless black shifts, big black hats, and large black sunglasses, fashion designer Givenchy made the little black dress—a standard cocktail dress since the 1920s—an essential component of stylish women's wardrobes. And Audrey Hepburn inspired Henry Mancini to write the score to “Moon River,” the movie's sentimental theme song. Johnny Mercer wrote the lyrics, and the song won two Academy Awards. By the 1990s, *Breakfast at Tiffany's* had long since been considered a classic film and remained the film most associated with Audrey Hepburn's portrayal of a cosmopolitan and youthful romantic sensibility.

—Lisa Bergeron Duncan

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## *The Breakfast Club*

*The Breakfast Club*, director/script writer John Hughes' 1985 film about five teenagers coping with the difficulty of crossing boundaries and connecting in high school, set the tone for coming of age films in the 1980s, and catapulted Hughes into the major filmmaker chronicling the problems of a young America in the Reagan years. While lacking in racial and sexual diversity, *The Breakfast Club* tackled issues of self-image, drug use, sex, and social acceptance, as well as the stratification between rich and poor. *The Breakfast Club* also launched the 1980's "brat pack" of marketable actors, Emilio Estevez, Ally Sheedy, Molly Ringwald, Judd Nelson, and Anthony Michael Hall.

—Andrew Spieldenner

## Breast Implants

Between one and two million women have breast implants. Before 1992—when the controversy over possible side effects made world headlines—about 150,000 women received implants annually, and since 1994 about 70,000 women a year undergo implantation. About one-fifth of all implant operations are performed for reconstructive purposes following mastectomies, with the remaining 80 percent for cosmetic purposes. The two most common types of implants are silicone and saline, silicone being associated with the greater number of health risks. Few objects are more emblematic of the male obsession with the female breast and the sacrifices women are willing to make in order to live up to the male ideal, with thousands of women now suffering ill effects from having undergone the operation. Some blame the mass media—and even the Barbie doll, which if life-size would measure 40-18-32—for giving women a false self-image. The popularity of implants has alternatively been reviled for and praised for such phenomena as "Penthouse" magazine, the Hooters restaurant chain, and the television show *Baywatch*, and has spawned such backlash products as "Perfect 10" magazine (advertised as bringing you "The world's most naturally beautiful women, NO IMPLANTS!") and the "Playboy" version, "Natural Beauties" (advertised as "a silicone-free zone!").

Derived from sand and quartz, silicone was developed in the early 1940s, and its applications ranged from sealant and lubricant to infant pacifiers and Silly Putty. Immediately after World War II, Japanese cosmetologists began experimenting with ways to enlarge the breasts of Japanese women, mainly prostitutes, because it was known that the U.S. soldiers who were occupying the country preferred women with breasts larger than those of most Japanese

women. The practice of injecting breasts with silicone was soon exported to the United States and, by 1965, more than 75 plastic surgeons in Los Angeles alone were injecting silicone. Topless dancer Carol Doda placed the procedure in the national psyche when she went from an average 36-inch-bust go-go dancer to a 44-inch-bust superstar. But many of the 50,000 American women receiving these injections were soon experiencing health problems, including at least four deaths. In the mid-1960s, the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) defined silicone as a "drug," so they could begin regulating its use. But at the time, medical devices were not regulated by the FDA, and Drs. Frank Gerow and Thomas Cronin came up with the idea of encasing saline inside a silicone shell, with a Dow Corning public relations representative convincing them that filling the bag with silicone gel would more closely duplicate the feel of the female breast. The doctors designed their first breast implant in 1961, they surgically implanted it in 1962, and in 1963 Cronin introduced the implant to the International Society of Plastic and Reconstructive Surgeons (ISPRS), claiming that silicone was a totally inert substance. Cronin patented the device and assigned the rights to Dow Corning, which launched its breast implant business that same year, offering eight sizes, ranging from mini to large extra-fill. Over time, improvements in breast implants evolved, along with psychological justifications for their use; study after study claimed that breast enhancement improved everything from self-esteem to marital bliss. At one point, ISPRS proclaimed small breasts to be deformities that are really a disease—"micromastia"—"which in most patients result in feelings of inadequacy, lack of self-confidence, distortion of body image and a total lack of well-being due to a lack of self-perceived femininity." By proclaiming small breasts to be a disease, there was always the outside chance that insurers would start covering the operation.

In the late 1970s, the medical literature started reporting serious health complications from leaking and ruptured implants. In 1988, the FDA reclassified implants as medical devices requiring the strictest scrutiny, giving implant manufacturers 30 months to provide safety data. Document discovery in a 1991 jury trial, *Hopkins v. Dow Corning Corp.*, produced reams of internal documents—including some "smoking guns" implying that the manufacturers knew of and concealed the health risks associated with their product. When the private watchdog organization Public Citizen won a suit against Dow Corning and the FDA for these and other documents, they became available to plaintiffs' attorneys across the country, and the litigious floodgates opened, with thousands of suits being filed, including several class action suits. In January 1992, FDA Chairman David Kessler declared a moratorium on silicone-gel breast implants. By the end of 1993, more than 12,000 women had filed suit, and by mid-1998, about 136,000 claims had been filed in the United States against Dow Corning alone. As the 1990s ended, breast implants remained symbolic of male fantasies and distorted female self-image, but also had come to symbolize the bias of supposedly objective scientific results, with several manufacturer-financed scientific studies concluding that silicone breast implants have no harmful effects.

—Bob Sullivan

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## Brenda Starr

Sixty years a journalist, red-haired Brenda Starr began her career as a funny paper version of the pretty girl daredevil reporter who was a staple of movies and radio over a half century ago. Created by a woman named Dale Messick, *Brenda Starr, Reporter* made its first appearance in 1940. It was a combination of newspaper melodrama and frilly romance. There had been female reporters in the comic sections before her, notably Jane Arden, but Brenda seemed to epitomize the type and she managed to outlast all the competition.

The strip owes its existence in part to the *Chicago Tribune's* uneasiness about the phenomenal success of comic books. The advent of Superman, Batman and then a host of other costumed heroes had caused hundreds of adventure-based comic books to hit the newsstands and, in many cases, to thrive. To offer its younger readers something similar that would hopefully boost sales, the *Trib* created a *Chicago Tribune Comic Book* that was tucked in with the Sunday funnies as of the spring of 1940. On June 30, 1940 Messick's strip was added to the uncertain mix of reprints and new material. The only feature to become a palpable success, it was eventually transferred to the regular *Trib* lineup. Captain Joseph Medill Patterson, who headed up the Chicago Tribune-New York News Syndicate and was the publisher of the *News*, disliked women cartoonists in general and *Brenda Starr* in particular and the strip never ran in his paper until after his death. He was not opposed, however, to his syndicate selling to as many other newspapers as possible.

Feisty and pretty, Brenda covered all sorts of stories for her paper and that put her in frequent danger from crooks, killers, and commen. But her job also introduced her to a succession of handsome, attractive, though not always suitable, men. Most notable among them was the mysterious Basil St. John, who wore an eye patch, raised black orchids, and appeared frequently over the years until he and Brenda finally were wed.

Brenda's managing editor was a fellow named Livewright and her closest friend on the paper was a somewhat masculine lady reporter named Hank O'Hair. For her feminine readers Messick included frequent paper dolls in the Sunday page. Messick apparently also drew all the fashionable clothes her characters wore, but for the action stuff and such props as guns, fast cars, and shadowy locales she relied on assistants. John J. Olson worked with her for several decades.

Brenda had a limited merchandising life. The strip was reprinted in Big Little Books as well as comic books, but there was little other activity. She was first seen on the screen by the Saturday matinee crowd. Columbia Pictures released a 13-chapter serial in 1945, starring B-movie veteran Joan Woodbury as the daring reporter. Roughly four decades later a movie was made with Brook Shields as Brenda. The film, which Leonard Maltin has dubbed "a fiasco," was kept on the shelf for three years before being released. When Messick

was retired from the strip, Ramona Fraddon, who'd drawn such comic book heroes as Aquaman, took over as artist. More recently June Brigman assumed the drawing.

—Ron Goulart

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## Brice, Fanny (1891-1951)

One of the funniest women of her (or any other) day, singer and comedienne Fanny Brice starred in the *Ziegfeld Follies* for thirteen years becoming, in the process, one of America's most famous women. Combining innate comic talent with a great singing voice, Fanny was a vaudeville star when still a teenager. After signing with Florenz Ziegfeld at nineteen, Brice performed in all but two of the *Ziegfeld Follies* from 1910 to 1923. With her signature song, *My Man*, Brice went on to star on Broadway; she also appeared in eight films. But she was best known around the world as radio's *Baby Snooks*. Married to gambler Nick Arnstein and producer Billy Rose, Brice's life became the subject of the Broadway musical and 1968 film, *Funny Girl*, and its 1975 sequel, *Funny Lady*, starring Barbra Streisand. Her comic legacy—always a lady, Brice nonetheless shocked her audiences with her raunchy humor—is carried on by such contemporary comediennes as Joan Rivers and Bette Midler.

—Victoria Price

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## Brideshead Revisited

The lavish adaptation of Evelyn Waugh's novel *Brideshead Revisited* was fashioned by Granada Television and first aired on the British channel, ITV, in 1981. Comprising 11 episodes of some 50 minutes each, it chronicles the relationship of a young man with the aristocratic, English Marchmain family between the World Wars. The adaptation proved popular on both sides of the Atlantic; it appeared in the United States under the auspices of PBS in 1982 to great acclaim. Praised for its production values and aura of quality, the series is credited with ushering in a number of heritage England screen representations that appeared during the 1980s. These heritage representations include *The Jewel in the Crown* and *A Room with a View*. Like *Brideshead*, they are distinguished by a nostalgic tone, elegant costumes, and stately locations depicted via lush photography. *Brideshead* and other heritage representations were challenged by cultural critics in the 1990s as being conservative and retrograde.

—Neal Baker

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## Bridge

Bridge, a competitive four-person card game, began in the late nineteenth century as a version of partnership whist which incorporated bidding and suit hierarchy. First called bridge-whist, by the turn of the twentieth century its name had been shortened to simply bridge, and was a popular American high-class club game.

Contract bridge, the most commonly played version, was invented by millionaire Harold S. Vanderbilt in 1925—he made technical improvements over a French variety of the game. Soon after this and into the 1930s, bridge became a faddish leisure activity of the upper class in Newport and Southampton.

By the 1950s card games of all kinds were popular forms of leisure that required thinking skills, incorporated competition, encouraged sociability, and demanded little financial outlay. Bridge was no exception and the game became a popular pastime for the upper and upper middle classes. Although daily bridge columns appeared as syndicated features in hundreds of newspapers, most contract bridge players, in fact, tended to be older, better educated, and from higher income brackets than the general population. Through the decades the game continued to be popular and according to the American Contract Bridge League, about 11 million people played bridge in the United States and Canada in 1986.

The game itself was played with two sets of partners who were each dealt 13 cards from a regular deck. The cards ranked from ace high to two low, and the suits were also ranked in the following way, from lowest to highest: clubs, diamonds, hearts, spades, and no trump. The bidding, or "auction" before the actual play of the cards determined the "contract"—optimally, the highest possible tricks that could be won by the most deserving hand, and the designated trump suit. This pre-play succession of bids among the players was as important as the play itself, and served also as an opportunity for players to signal to their partners the general makeup of their hands. The play itself required people to be alert, to keep track of cards played, and to continually refine their strategies as tricks were taken, making it an intellectual activity regardless of whether it was "social" or "duplicate" bridge.

Social, or party bridge, was a casual version of the game that allowed people to converse during play, and had more relaxed rules about proper play and etiquette. Very often people would throw bridge parties, popular especially from the 1950s to the 1970s, as a way to show their hospitality but with little obligation to bear the burden of socializing for an entire evening: playing bridge enabled people to engage in small talk while the intellectual requirements of the game gave people an excuse not to converse if they were not so inclined. Other forms of social bridge were practiced by local bridge clubs, informal groups that met once or twice a week and played for small stakes—usually between \$1.50 and \$3.00 per session. It was common for members of these bridge groups and those who engaged

in regular games of party bridge, usually husbands and wives (who often chose not to play as a team in order to avoid marital tension), to alternate their hosting obligations, establishing reciprocal social relations while setting up informal games of competition. People enjoyed this form of entertainment because it was relaxing, enjoyable, somewhat refined, and inexpensive.

While this form of bridge largely had the reputation of being high-class and a bit priggish, with people believing that only rich white older women played the game as they sat around nibbling crustless sandwiches in the shapes of hearts, spades, clubs, and diamonds, bridge actually had a large influence on the general population. College students took to playing less exacting forms of the game that also employed bidding systems and suit hierarchies, including hearts, spades, euchre, and pinochle.

In contrast, competitive bridge was more combative. People earning "master points" (basic units by which skill was measured according to the American Contract Bridge League—300 points gained one "Life Master" status) would join tournaments with similarly-minded serious bridge players. The most common form of competitive bridge was "duplicate," a game in which competing players at different tables would play the same hand. In this game it was not enough to just win a hand against one's immediate opponents, but it was also necessary to have played the same hand better than rivals at other tables. Competitive bridge players commonly scoffed at social bridge, deeming it too casual a game that allowed for too much luck and chance.

As with many other forms of leisure activities and hobbies, bridge allowed a vast number of Americans to engage in an enjoyable activity on their own terms. While there were basic rules to bridge that defined it as an identifiable game, people incorporated it into their lives in radically different ways. Social players used the game as an excuse to gather among friends and relatives, making games regular (weekly or monthly) occurrences that encouraged group camaraderie. In contrast, duplicate bridge players who sought out more competitive games, often in the form of tournaments, took the game much more seriously and thought of it as a test of their intellect rather than an innocuous pastime.

—Wendy Woloson

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## *The Bridge on the River Kwai*

As Colonel Nicholson's captured British troops march into the Japanese P.O.W. camp on the River Kwai, they whistle the jaunty "Colonel Bogey March." Nicholson (Alec Guinness) soon enters into a battle of wills with the camp commandant, Colonel Saito (Sessue Hayakawa). Nicholson wins that battle and assumes command of Saito's chief project, the construction of a railroad bridge over the river. Meanwhile, a cynical American sailor, Shears (William Holden), escapes from the camp but is forced to return with a



Jack Hawkins (left) and William Holden (center) in a scene from the film *The Bridge on the River Kwai*.

commando unit on a mission to blow up the bridge. *The Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957) critiques notions of pride, honor, and courage with penetrating character studies of Nicholson, Saito, and Shears. In the end, Doctor Clipton (James Donald) looks on the devastation and offers the final assessment: “Madness!”

—Christian L. Pyle

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## *The Bridges of Madison County*

*The Bridges of Madison County*, first a book and then a film, remains controversial in popular culture, with people divided into

vehement fans and foes of the sentimental love story. Written in 1992 by novice Midwestern writer Robert James Waller, the plot revolves around two lonely, middle-aged people—an Iowan housewife and a worldly photographer—whose paths cross, resulting in a brief but unforgettable love affair. A subplot opens the story, with the grown children of the female character, upon her death, finding a diary recounting the affair; thus, they get a chance to learn more about who their mother really was and her secret life. The book, residing somewhere between romance, literature, and adult fairy tale, holds a fascination for people because of the popular themes it explores: love, passion, opportunity, regret, loyalty, and consequence. As a result, the book has been translated into 25 languages; it topped *Gone with the Wind* as the best-selling hardcover fiction book of all time, and made its author, previously an unknown writer, into an overnight success. Finally, in 1995, it was made into a film (scripted by Richard LaGravenese) directed by Clint Eastwood, who temporarily shed his “Dirty Harry” persona to play the sensitive loner who woos a small-town housewife, played by Meryl Streep.

Other factors have contributed to the worldwide dissemination of *The Bridges of Madison County*. The simplistic prose and maudlin story have sparked a debate in and out of writer’s circles as to whether the book should be characterized as “literature” or “romance.” Some say, in the book’s defense, that the prose style should not be

judged harshly because the book is really story-driven and its themes, although trite, are universal. Yet others say that it is romance fiction disguised and wrongly praised as literature. The author says he prefers “ordinary people, the kind you meet in a checkout line at the hardware store.” He chooses moments in which “the ordinary can take on rather extraordinary qualities.” Peculiarly, the prose, when combined with the story, does seem to blend the ordinary with the extraordinary. Because of its enormous popularity, more people have read the book than if it had simply been categorized as a “romance,” and that has helped to incite an ongoing and larger critique about how the book and its author should be perceived. The film also generated a similar, divided response in people: just as many seem to cry as well as laugh at its sad ending.

No one can deny that Robert James Waller has managed to present a story that deals with engrossing themes. People grow up with ideas of romantic love, nourished—especially in the United States—by the media and visions of celebrities engaged in storybook romances. Due to the uncanny nature of love, there is much room for people to fantasize, and fantasies are not usually practical. Because it is questionable just how much control individuals have over their lives, fate and destiny are appealing and common musings. Romantic love has dominated the subject matter of songs and stories for millennia, and continues to do so. What makes a story like the one in *The Bridges of Madison County* resonate is its attempt to portray the choices that people must make regarding their happiness, and the idea that fate can bring two unlikely people together.

One of the main characters—the woman—commits adultery, which is always a complicated and dramatically satisfying issue. In her case, she is an Italian immigrant who married an American and ended up in a small town in Iowa. She has kept her disappointment to herself because she loves her family, but she feels compromised, being more sophisticated than she lets on. For her, meeting Clint Eastwood’s character and hearing stories of his travels reawakens her yearning for a more worldly life. Temporarily alone while her family is away, she is able to succumb to emotions that have been dormant in her. Both experience a passion required on all levels—emotional and sexual—and end up falling powerfully in love. In the end, she chooses to stay with her husband (mainly because of her children), but does not feel guilty about having had the experience of the affair. He, in turn, walks away as well, respecting her choice and although they separate, their bond is present throughout their lives. The tragedy is complicated but satisfying (for dramatic purposes) in that although the reader wants the two to be together, people tend to be more attracted to yearning and regret (most everyone has an episode of lost love in their history) versus a happier ending; when people get what they want, it is often not as interesting.

—Sharon Yablon

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## Brill Building

The Brill Building, located at 1619 Broadway in New York City, was the center of Tin Pan Alley, New York’s songwriting and music publishing industry during the 1920s and 1930s. Although changes in the music industry ended the Tin Pan Alley era by 1945, in the late 1950s the Brill Building again emerged as the center of professional songwriting and music publishing when a number of companies gathered there to cater to the new rock and roll market. In the process, they created what has become known as the “Brill Building Sound,” a marriage of finely crafted, professional songwriting in the best Tin Pan Alley tradition with the youthful urgency and drive of rock and roll.

The most important and influential of these companies was Aldon Music, founded by Al Nevins and Don Kirschner in 1958 and located across the street from the Brill Building. Nevins and Kirschner sought to meet two crucial market demands that emerged in the late 1950s. First, the established music industry, represented by such record labels as Columbia, RCA, Capitol, and others, were surprised by the rapid rise of rock and roll, and by the late 1950s they were attempting to find a way to make rock music fit into the long-established Tin Pan Alley mode of music-selling, where professional songwriters wrote music for a variety of artists and groups. Secondly, these record companies, and even prominent upstarts such as Atlantic Records, had an acute need for quality songs that could become hits for their many recording stars. To meet these needs, Nevins and Kirschner established a stable of great young songwriters including Gerry Goffin, Carole King, Barry Mann, Cynthia Weil, Neil Sedaka, and Howard Greenfield, among many others. Often working in teams (Goffin-King, Mann-Weil, Sedaka-Greenfield), they churned out one hit after another for such groups as the Shangri-Las, the Shirelles, the Ronettes, the Righteous Brothers, and the Chiffons. Usually accomplished singers as well as writers, a few had hits of their own as performers, like Neil Sedaka with “Calendar Girl” and Barry Mann with “Who Put the Bomp.”

Working in close proximity on a day-to-day basis, these songwriters developed a common style that became the “Brill Building Sound.” Songs such as “Will You Love Me Tomorrow?” “Happy Birthday Sweet Sixteen,” “Then He Kissed Me,” and “You’ve Lost That Lovin’ Feeling,” and hundreds of others, spoke directly to teenagers, expressing their thoughts, dreams, and feelings in a simple and straightforward language that made many of these songs huge hits between 1958 and 1965. By assembling a team of gifted songwriters, Nevins and Kirschner brought the standards of professional songwriting to rock and roll music.

Aldon Music’s success prompted other companies and songwriters to follow. Among these other songwriters, the most prominent were Doc Pomus and Mort Schuman, who crafted such pop gems as “This Magic Moment,” “Save the Last Dance for Me” (both huge hits for the Drifters on Atlantic Records), and “Teenager in Love” (recorded by Dion and the Belmonts); and Jeff Barry and Ellie Greenwich, whose hits include “Da Doo Ron Ron” (a success for the Crystals) and “Baby I Love You” (a hit for the Ronettes), all on the Philles Label led by legendary producer Phil Spector.

The most successful challenge to the dominance of Aldon Music’s stable of writers came from Jerry Leiber and Mike Stoller.

Leiber and Stoller were actually precursors to Aldon Music, for they began writing hit songs in the rhythm and blues vein beginning in 1950. Although white, they had a true feeling for black rhythm and blues music, and they were responsible for a number of hits on Atlantic Records, one of the pioneer rhythm and blues labels. They later wrote a string of hits for Atlantic with the Coasters such as “Charlie Brown,” “Young Blood,” “Searchin’,” and “Poison Ivy.” They were also crucial in the creation of rock and roll, using their rhythm and blues sensibilities to write some of Elvis Presley’s biggest hits in the 1950s, including “Hound Dog,” “Jailhouse Rock,” and “Treat Me Nice.” They continued their success into the 1960s, adding to the larger world of Brill Building pop.

The “Brill Building Sound” was essentially over by 1965. With the arrival of the Beatles in 1964, the music industry underwent an important shift. Groups such as the Beatles were not simply great performers; they were great songwriters as well. As rock and roll matured as a musical style, its sound diversified as a wide variety of artists and groups began writing and performing their own music. As a result, the need for professional songwriting lessened, although it did continue in the hands of songwriters such as Burt Bacharach and Hal David, who became producers as well as songwriters in the later 1960s. The great songwriting teams also began to feel the constraints of what has been called “assembly-line” songwriting, and most eventually went their separate ways. Some had solo careers as performers, most notably Carole King, whose *Tapestry* album was a milestone in the singer-songwriter genre of the 1970s and one of the best selling albums of that decade.

The legacy of the “Brill Building Sound” transcends anything resembling an assembly-line. Despite the constraints of pumping out songs on a daily basis, these songwriters produced some of the most enduring rock and pop tunes that defined popular music in the early 1960s. Those songs are among the gems not only of popular music, but of American culture as well.

—Timothy Berg

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## ***Bringing Up Baby***

Though *Bringing Up Baby* was not a box-office success when released in 1938, it has since become a favorite of film critics and audiences. Directed by Howard Hawks, the film is an example of screwball comedy, a genre which emerged in the early 1930s. Known as a genre depicting “a battle of the sexes,” the films present independent women, fast paced dialogue, and moments of slapstick in absurd storylines that eventually lead to romance between the male

and female leads, in this case played by Katherine Hepburn and Cary Grant. Like most comedies, the film serves to critique society, particularly masculinity and class.

—Frances Gateward

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## **Brinkley, David (1920—)**

As co-anchor of the landmark *Huntley-Brinkley Report* on NBC from 1956 to 1970, as well as a veteran reporter and news show host known for his low-key and witty style, David Brinkley is regarded as one of the most influential journalists in the history of broadcast news. When media historians name the pioneers of television journalism, Brinkley regularly joins the ranks of such notables as Edward R. Murrow and Walter Cronkite.

Brinkley was born on July 10, 1920, in Wilmington, North Carolina. The youngest of five children, Brinkley has described his relatives as a Southern family representing generations of physicians and Presbyterian ministers. His father was a railroad employee who died when Brinkley was eight. Because his siblings were older than him, the younger Brinkley was a loner who occupied himself with the prolific reading of books. At New Hanover High School, Brinkley joined the school newspaper staff, and seemed to apply himself academically only in English classes. After being encouraged by one of his teachers to go into journalism, Brinkley served as an intern at a local newspaper while he was in high school. He dropped out of high school in his senior year to take a job as a full-time reporter for the Wilmington paper.

Between 1940 and 1943, Brinkley tried his hand at a variety of jobs and activities, including serving in the United States Army as a supply sergeant in Fort Jackson, South Carolina; working as a Southern stringer for the United Press International; and being a part-time English student at Emory and Vanderbilt universities. Because of his strong writing ability, Brinkley wrote for UP’s radio wire. NBC was so impressed with his talent that the network hired him away from UP. His initial duties in Washington, D.C., were to write news scripts for staff radio announcers, but then expanded to doing journalistic legwork at the White House and on Capitol Hill.

Brinkley broke into the new medium of television in the 1940s, broadcasting reports at a time when radio was still the influential medium. As Brinkley once remarked, “I had a chance to learn while nobody was watching.” By the early 1950s, television had established itself as the prominent medium, with Brinkley providing reports on John Cameron Swayze’s *Camel News Caravan* from 1951 to 1956. Brinkley also gained notoriety for being among the NBC television reporters who discussed topical issues on the network series *Comment* during the summer of 1954. Critics lauded Brinkley for his pungent and economical prose style, his engaging demeanor, and his dry, sardonic tone of voice.





Cary Grant and Katharine Hepburn in a scene from the film *Bringing Up Baby*.

By the mid-1950s, television's popularity was spreading rapidly. A major point in Brinkley's career came in 1956 when NBC teamed him with Chet Huntley for political convention coverage that did surprisingly well in the ratings. This led to the development of the *Huntley-Brinkley Report*, placing the team at the forefront when television news changed from simply newsreading to information gathering. NBC took full advantage of the differences between the two anchormen, cross-cutting between Brinkley in Washington, D.C., and Huntley in New York City. While Brinkley's approach was often light-hearted and his delivery style was lively, Huntley's style was solemn and very deliberate. Ending each broadcast with "Goodnight, Chet . . . Good night, David . . . and Goodnight for NBC News," the program became a ratings leader. Brinkley received the prestigious Dupont Award in 1958 for his "inquiring mind sensitive to both the elusive fact and the background that illuminates its meaning." In addition, the *Huntley-Brinkley Report* won Emmys in 1959 and 1960, and in 1960 the team's political convention coverage captured 51 percent of the viewing audience. NBC also aired *David Brinkley's Journal* from 1961 to 1963, which earned the host a George Foster Peabody Award and an Emmy.

When Huntley retired in 1970 (he died four years later), NBC slipped in the ratings when it experimented with rotating between Brinkley and two other anchors in the renamed *NBC Nightly News*. In August of 1971, John Chancellor became sole anchor, with Brinkley for the following five years providing commentary for the news show. In June of 1976, Brinkley returned as a co-anchor of the *NBC Nightly News*, where he remained until October of 1979. In the fall of 1980, the network launched the weekly show *NBC Magazine with David Brinkley*, which failed to survive. On September 4, 1981, Brinkley announced he was leaving NBC in order to engage in more extensive political coverage, and two weeks later he was signed by ABC for assignments that included a weekly news and discussion show, political coverage for *World News Tonight*, and coverage of the 1982 and 1984 elections. The hour-long show, *This Week with David Brinkley*, debuted on Sunday morning November 15, 1981. Its format was a departure from typical Sunday fare, beginning with a short newscast by Brinkley, followed by a background report on the program's main topic, a panel interview with invited guests, and a roundtable discussion with correspondents and news analysts. Within less than a year, Brinkley's program overtook *Meet the Press* (NBC) and *Face the Nation* (CBS) in the Sunday morning ratings.



David Brinkley (left) with Chet Huntley in front of the Capitol Building.

Brinkley remained at ABC until his retirement in 1998, with television journalists Sam Donaldson and Cokie Roberts named to host the Sunday morning program. Since retiring, Brinkley has published several nonfiction books and has appeared in commercial endorsements. Brinkley's impact on television journalism was far-reaching, spanning the dawn of TV news to the high-technology reporting of the late 1990s. Author Barbara Matusow summed up Brinkley's legacy by observing, "Brinkley mastered the art of writing for the air in a way that no one had ever done before. He had a knack for reducing the most complex stories to their barest essentials, writing with a clarity that may be unequaled to this day. In part, he wrote clearly because he thought clearly; he is one of the most brilliant and original people ever to have worked in broadcast news."

—Dennis Russell

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## British Invasion

The British Invasion refers to the fleet of British bands that floated in the wake of the Beatles' hysterical success when they burst upon America in January 1964. It is commonly acknowledged that Beatlemania was generated not only by their fresh new sound but also by certain historical factors which had nothing to do with the Beatles. The first great pop revolution, rock 'n' roll, had begun around 1954 with Bill Haley and the Comets' "Rock Around the Clock" and a string of hits by Elvis, but had died out quickly for a number of reasons: in 1957 Little Richard withdrew from rock to pursue religion; in March 1958, Elvis was drafted into the army; later that year, Jerry Lee Lewis's brief success came to a halt when it was discovered that he had married his 14-year-old cousin; on February 3, 1959, Buddy Holly, Ritchie Valens, and the Big Bopper died in a plane crash; and Chuck Berry was arrested in 1959 and imprisoned from 1962 to 1964. Thus rock was decimated. College students were getting interested in folk music, and a folk/pop hybrid spread to the mainstream through Peter, Paul and Mary and countless other folksinging trios. But there was nothing as visceral and exciting to appeal to youth as rock 'n' roll. The Beatles had been introduced to the American market through "Please, Please Me" in February 1963, and the album *Introducing the Beatles* in July on the Vee-Jay label. Neither made much impression upon youths. Things were good; America was on top of the world; and we did not need British pop. But this optimism, spearheaded by the young and promising President Kennedy, was shattered with his assassination in November 1963, leaving Americans in a state of shock and depression.

The Beatles burst upon this scene with the buoyant, exuberant sound of "I Want to Hold Your Hand," followed by an appearance on the "Ed Sullivan Show" on February 7, 1964. They followed up with a bewildering string of hits which chased away the clouds, and made Americans forget their troubles. It was partly their charming British accents, their quick, sharp wit, and group charisma which charmed Americans during interviews. The matching lounge suits and mop-top haircuts were also new and exciting. Superficial as these factors seem, they must have contributed to the overall effect of Beatlemania, considering the poor reception of the Vee-Jay offerings the previous year, when no television publicity had been provided to promote the Beatles' humor. But this time, their new American label, Capitol, dumped \$50,000 on a publicity campaign to push the Beatles.

Such an investment could only be made possible by their incredible success in England. Part of the reason Beatlemania and the attendant British Invasion were so successful is because the brew had been boiling in England for several years. But American record labels, confident of their own creations, ignored British pop, disdain-ing it as an inferior imitation of their own. They felt that England did not have the right social dynamics: they lacked the spirit of rebellion and the ethnic/cultural diversity which spawned American rock 'n' roll.

British youth partly shared this view of their own culture. They had an inferiority complex towards American rock 'n' roll and

American youth, which they perceived as more wild and carefree. This image was conveyed to them through such cult films as *The Wild One* and *Rebel without a Cause*. But the British also responded to the music of black Americans, and embraced the blues more readily than most Americans, who were often ignorant of the blues and still called it “race music.” Among British youth, particularly the art school crowd, it became fashionable to study the blues devotedly, form bands, and strive for the “purity” of their black idols (this “purist” attitude was analogous to the “authenticity” fetish of folk music around the same period). Hundreds of blues bands sprouted up in London. Most significant were John Mayall’s Bluesbreakers, Cyril Davies’ Allstars, and Alexis Korner’s Blues Incorporated. Each of these seminal bands produced musicians who would move on to make original contributions to rock. Bluesbreakers provided a training ground for Eric Clapton and Jack Bruce, who went on to form Cream; Peter Green, John McVie, and Mick Fleetwood, who later formed Fleetwood Mac; and Mick Taylor, who eventually replaced Brian Jones in the Rolling Stones. The All-Stars boasted Eric Clapton, Jimmy Page, and Jeff Beck, who all passed through the loose-knit band before, during, or after their stints with the Yardbirds. Blues Incorporated hosted Mick Jagger, Keith Richards, Brian Jones, and Charlie Watts, all of whom eventually formed the Rolling Stones.

In the early 1960s the Rolling Stones and the Animals clung to the purist image common among white blues bands, although they didn’t really play pure, authentic blues. The Stones resisted the commercialism of the Beatles, until Lennon and McCartney wrote “I Wanna Be Your Man” for them, and showed them how easy it was to score a hit record. The rest of the British Blues scene took notes from the Beatles’ success. Unlike the early Stones, the Kinks and the Who were open to pop influences, and attracted the Mods as their followers. The Kinks and the Who were very similar in spirit. Both were searching for the same sound—something new, subversive, and edgy—but the Kinks beat the Who to it with the spastic simplicity of “You Really Got Me,” the hardest, most intense rock ever heard at that time. The Who rose to the challenge with “My Generation.” The Kinks broke into the American top ten long before the Who did, though the Who eventually surpassed them in popularity and artistry. However, the two bands displayed a remarkably parallel development throughout their careers.

The Yardbirds had started out as blues players, but Clapton was the only purist in the group. After he left in protest of their pop hit, “For Your Love,” the new guitarist, Jeff Beck, combined the guitar virtuosity of whiteboy blues with the avant-gardism of Swinging London, and transformed the Yardbirds into sonic pioneers. After an amazing but all too brief series of recordings which were way ahead of what anyone else was doing, the band mutated into Led Zeppelin, who carried the torch of innovation into the 1970s.

But most bands were less successful at merging their developing blues style with the pop appeal of American radio. Since the establishment held a firm hand over the BBC, most bands at the time (and there were thousands) developed in a club environment, with few aspirations of a pop career. They developed an essentially “live” style, designed to excite a crowd but not always suited for close, repeated listening on vinyl. Manfred Mann tried to maintain a dual identity by delivering pop fluff like “Doo Wah Diddy Diddy” to finance their more earnest pursuit of blues and jazz. Most British bands of the time attempted this double agenda of commercial success and artistic

integrity, with only the commercial side making it across the Atlantic. For Americans, the British Blues scene remained the “secret history” of the British Invasion for several years. The Beatles introduced this developing artform to a vast market of babyboomers who had not seen the movement growing, and they were flooded with a backlog of talent. The Beatles already had two albums and five singles in England when Capitol released “I Want to Hold Your Hand” in America. By April 1964, the Beatles filled the top five positions in the Billboard charts. It was this surplus that made the British Invasion seem so exciting, in spite of the fact that Americans were generally only exposed to the more commercial side of the movement, based on the record companies’ guesswork of what would sell in the States.

Thus the Beatles had both a short-term and long-term influence. They inspired countless imitators who cashed in on their success, and most of these turned out to be the one-hit wonders who comprised the bulk of the British Invasion. But they also proved to the more serious musicians that one could still be relevant and innovative in a pop format. They broke down the prudish “purity” of the British blues players and (with Dylan’s help) the insular “authenticity” of the American folkies. The British Invasion would have been a flash-in-the-pan phenomenon if it had not beckoned the blues and folk artists to come out and play.

But Americans couldn’t always tell the difference between the mere imitators and the artful emulators. The Zombies looked very promising with the haunting vocals and keyboard solos of “She’s Not There,” “Tell Her No,” and “Time of the Season,” but they were never heard from again after their first album flopped. On the other hand, neither the Spencer Davis Group nor Them produced an impressive body of memorable recordings, but they became famous for their alumni, Steve Winwood and Van Morrison respectively. The Hollies started out with Beatlesque buoyancy in “Bus Stop” (1966) and then proceeded to snatch up any fad that came along, sounding suspiciously like Credence Clearwater Revival on “Long Cool Woman in a Black Dress.” Several tiers below them were Gerry and the Pacemakers, the Dave Clark Five, Herman’s Hermits, and the Searchers. The Searchers are sometimes credited for introducing the jangly, 12-string-guitar sound later associated with folk rock (though they didn’t actually play 12-string guitars!). Many of these bands didn’t even produce enough highlights to yield a decent Greatest Hits collection.

The British Invasion ended when the Americans who were influenced by the Beatles—Dylan, the Byrds, and the Beach Boys—began to exert an influence on the Beatles, around late 1965 when the Beatles released *Rubber Soul*. This inaugurated the great age of innovation and eclecticism in rock which yielded 1966 masterpieces: the Beatles’ *Revolver*, the Stones’ *Aftermath*, the Yardbirds’ *Roger the Engineer*, and the Byrds’ *Fifth Dimension*. Henceforth the Beatles’ influence was less monopolizing, and British and American rock became mutually influential. The so-called Second British Invasion—led by newcomers Cream, Led Zeppelin, Jethro Tull, and the redoubled efforts of the Beatles, the Stones, and the Who—is a misnomer, since it ignores the burgeoning American scene led by the Velvet Underground, Frank Zappa, the Doors, the Grateful Dead, and so many others. The first British Invasion constituted an unprecedented influx of new music crashing upon a relatively stable musical continuum in America. The next wave of British rock, impressive as it was, mingled with an American scene that was equally variegated and inspired.

—Douglas Cooke

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## Broadway

If Hollywood is synonymous with the cinema, Broadway has come to signify the American theater. From its humble beginnings in downtown New York City in the early nineteenth century, to its heyday as the Great White Way in the mid-twentieth century, to its status as one of America's chief tourist attractions at the end of the twentieth century, Broadway has lured both aspiring actors and starstruck theatergoers for well over a century, becoming, in the

process, one of America's chief contributions to global culture. As the home of the American musical theater and the breeding ground for both popular and cutting-edge drama, Broadway has helped to nurture America's performing arts, even as it has enticed the greatest stars of England and Europe to its stages. In a nation that struggled long and hard to define itself and its artistic community as separate from yet equal to Europe, Broadway stands as one of America's greatest success stories.

As early as 1826, New York City had begun making a name for itself as the hub of the nascent American theater. That year, the Park Theatre featured the debut of the first two American-born actors who would go on to achieve fame and fortune in the theater—Edwin Forrest and James H. Hackett. Later that same year, the 3,000-seat Bowery Theatre opened; it was the first playhouse to have both a press agent and glass-shaded gas-jet lighting. The grand new venue would soon become legendary for the frequently rowdy working-class theatergoers it would attract. Over the next 20 years, Americans flocked to the New York theater district in increasing numbers, and in 1849, when the celebrated British actor William Macready brought



An enormous billboard overlooking Broadway in New York City, 1944.

his *Macbeth* to the Astor Place Opera House, Edwin Forrest supporters turned out en masse to protest the British star. On May 10th, a riot of over 1,000 resulted in the death of 22 people.

During the mid-nineteenth century, the biggest stars of the American theater were Fanny Kemble and Edwin Booth. Booth's 100 performances of *Hamlet* at the Winter Garden would stand as a record for the Shakespearean tragedy until John Barrymore's 1923 production. In addition to European classics, among the most popular of American plays was *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which, in its first production, ran for 325 performances. But while both dramas and melodramas drew steady audiences, a new kind of revue called vaudeville, featuring burlesques and other musical entertainment, was beginning to come into fashion at the Olympic Theatre.

By 1880, Broadway had become the generic term for American theater. Shows would premiere in the New York theater district, which was then centered downtown at Union Square and 14th Street. From New York, road companies would then travel to other cities and towns with Broadway's hit shows. That year, the world's most famous actress, France's Sarah Bernhardt, would make her American debut at the Booth Theatre. Over the remaining 20 years of the nineteenth century, many of the great English and European actors and actresses such as Lillie Langtree, Henry Irving, and Eleanora Duse, would come to Broadway before making triumphal national tours. Among the most popular American stars of this period were Edwin Booth and his acting partner, Lawrence Barrett; James O'Neill, father of playwright Eugene O'Neill; and Richard Mansfield.

One of Broadway's most successful playwright-cum-impresarios of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was David Belasco, who made his Broadway debut in 1880 with *Hearts of Oak*, a play that touted stage realism to the degree that the audience could smell the food being served in a dinner scene. European realists such as Henrik Ibsen were also well received in America. But Broadway devoted equal, if not more time, to the growing desire for "family entertainment," and vaudeville became all the rage.

In 1893, the American Theatre opened on 42nd Street, an area that had previously been residential. In ensuing years, the theater district would gradually inch its way uptown to Times Square. By the end of the century, most theaters were located between 20th and 40th Streets, and vaudeville had firmly established itself as the most popular form of family entertainment in America. In just 75 years, the American theater had set down such deep roots that acting schools had begun to open around the country; organizations for the welfare of aging theatrical professionals were formed; and the first periodical devoted exclusively to the stage, *Theatre Magazine*, was founded.

With the start of the twentieth century came the beginnings of the modern American theater. In 1900, three brothers from Syracuse, New York—Sam, Lee, and J.J. Shubert—arrived in New York City, where they quickly made their presence felt. They not only leased the Herald Square Theatre, but they put Broadway star Richard Mansfield under contract and hired booking agent Abe Erlanger. The Shuberts were following the lead of other producers and booking agents, such as the Theatre Syndicate and the United Booking Office, who had begun the theatrical monopolies that soon came to rule Broadway—and the nation. When the Shuberts brought Sarah Bernhardt to the United States for her farewell tour in 1905, the Syndicate blocked her appearance in legitimate theaters throughout the United States. As a publicity ploy, the Shuberts erected a circus tent in New York City, in

which the great star was forced to appear, garnering nationwide publicity, and \$1 million in profits. It was during this contentious period that actors began to realize that they needed to form an organization that would guarantee their rights, and in 1912, Actors Equity was founded.

Throughout the beginning of the century, feuds between competing producers, impresarios, theater circuits, and booking companies dominated Broadway, with such famous names as William Morris, Martin Beck, William Hammerstein, and the Orpheum Circuit all getting into the fray. But amidst all the chaos, the American theater continued to grow in both quality and popularity, as new stars seemed to be born almost every day. One of the most distinguished names on turn-of-the-century Broadway was that of the Barrymore family. The three children of actor Maurice Barrymore—sons Lionel and John and daughter Ethel—took their first Broadway bows during this period, rising to dazzling heights during their heyday.

Florenz Ziegfeld, another of the leading lights of Broadway, had made his debut as a producer in 1896. His *Follies of 1907* was the first of the annual music, dance, and comic extravaganzas that would come to bear his name after 1911. Other producers soon followed suit with similar revues featuring comic sketches and songs. Among the most popular of these were the Shuberts' *Passing Shows*, George White's *Scandals*, and Irving Berlin's *Music Box Revues*. Many composers who would go on to great heights found their starts with these revues, including Irving Berlin, Jerome Kern, and George Gershwin. But even more significantly, these revues catapulted singers and comedians to a new kind of national stardom. Among the household names featured in these reviews were Fanny Brice, Lillian Lorraine, Marilyn Miller, Bert Williams, Ed Wynn, Will Rogers, and Al Jolson.

By the 1910s, music had become an increasingly significant force on Broadway, and a slew of new young composers had begun to make their marks—including Cole Porter and George M. Cohan. By 1917, the United States had entered World War I, and Broadway embraced the war effort, with tunes such as Cohan's "Over There" and "You're a Grand Old Flag" becoming part of the national consciousness. But as Broadway began to hold increasing sway over popular taste, experimental theater groups such as the Provincetown Players began to crop up downtown near Greenwich Village, where brash young playwrights such as Eugene O'Neill and Edna St. Vincent Millay penned work that veered radically from Broadway melodrama and mainstream musical entertainment. These off-Broadway playhouses emphasized realism in their plays, and soon their experimentation began to filter onto Broadway.

In 1918, the first Pulitzer Prize for drama was awarded "for the original American play, performed in New York, which shall best represent the educational value and power of the stage in raising the standards of good morals, good taste, and good manners." And by 1920, Eugene O'Neill had his first Broadway hit when the Neighborhood Playhouse production of *The Emperor Jones* moved to the Selwyn Theatre. In 1921, he would win his first Pulitzer Prize for drama for *Anna Christie*. He would win a second Pulitzer in the 1920s—the 1927 prize for *Strange Interlude*. The new realism soon came to peacefully coexist with melodrama and the classics, as the acting careers of such leading ladies as Laurette Taylor, Katherine Cornell, and Eva Le Gallienne, and husband-and-wife acting sensations Lynn Fontanne and Alfred Lunt flourished.

Eugene O'Neill's 1921 "Negro drama," *The Emperor Jones*, also heralded a remarkable era of the American theater. Inspired by

the burgeoning theatrical movement of Ireland, a powerful African-American theater movement had begun to develop during the late 1910s and the 1920s. Plays about the “Negro condition” soon found their way to Broadway and a number of significant African-American stars were born during this era. Chief among these were the incomparable Paul Robeson and Ethel Waters. But with the onslaught of the Great Depression, American concerns turned financial, and African-American actors soon found that mainstream (white) Americans were more focused on their own problems, and many of these actors soon found they were out of work.

But despite the proliferation of superb drama on Broadway, musical theater remained the most popular form of entertainment during the 1910s, and by the 1920s a powerful American musical theater movement was growing in strength and influence under the guidance of Cohan, Kern, Gershwin, Porter, and the team of Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart. Songs from such 1920s musical comedies as Gershwin’s *Girl Crazy*, Porter’s *Anything Goes*, Rogers and Hart’s *A Connecticut Yankee* soon became popular hits, and performers such as Ethel Merman, Fred Astaire, and Gertrude Lawrence achieved stardom in this increasingly popular new genre.

In 1927, a new show opened on Broadway—one that would revolutionize the American musical theater. *Showboat*, written by Jerome Kern and Oscar Hammerstein II, was the first musical in which character development and dramatic plot assumed equal—if not greater—importance than the music and the performers. In this groundbreaking musical, serious dramatic issues were addressed, accompanied by such memorable songs as “Ol’ Man River” and “Can’t Help Lovin’ Dat Man.” Music, lyrics, and plot thus became equal partners in creating a uniquely American contribution to the musical theater. Over the next 40 years, Broadway witnessed a golden age in which the modern musical comedy became one of America’s unique contributions to the world theater. Richard Rodgers teamed up with Oscar Hammerstein II on such classic productions as *Oklahoma!*, *Carousel*, *South Pacific*, *The King and I*, and *The Sound of Music*. Another successful duo, Alan Jay Lerner and Frederick Loewe contributed *Brigadoon*, *My Fair Lady*, and *Camelot*. Other classic musicals of this era included Frank Loesser’s *Guys and Dolls*; Burton Lane and E.Y. Harburg’s *Finian’s Rainbow*; Cole Porter’s *Kiss Me, Kate*; Jule Styne’s *Gypsy*; and Leonard Bernstein and Stephen Sondheim’s *West Side Story*. This wealth of material naturally produced a proliferation of musical stars, including Mary Martin, Carol Channing, Chita Rivera, Gwen Verdon, Alfred Drake, Zero Mostel, Rex Harrison, Richard Kiley, Robert Preston, John Raitt, and Julie Andrews.

Although the American musical theater was flourishing, drama also continued to thrive on Broadway. Following the Crash of 1929, however, Broadway momentarily floundered, as Americans no longer had the extra money to spend on entertainment. And when they did, they tended to spend the nickel it cost to go to the movies. And, in fact, many of Broadway’s biggest stars were being lured to Hollywood by large movie contracts and the prospect of film careers. But by 1936, the lights were once again burning brightly on the Great White Way—with playwrights such as Lillian Hellman, Maxwell Anderson, John Steinbeck, Noel Coward, Thornton Wilder, Clifford Odets, and William Saroyan churning out critically-acclaimed hits, and American and European actors such as Helen Hayes, Sir John Gielgud, Jose Ferrer, Ruth Gordon, Tallulah Bankhead, and Burgess Meredith

drawing-in enthusiastic audiences. A new generation of brash young performers such as Orson Welles, whose Mercury Theater took Broadway by storm during the 1937-38 season, also began to make their mark, as Broadway raised its sights—attempting to rival the well-established theatrical traditions of England and the Continent.

By the start of World War II, Broadway was booming, and stars, producers, and theatergoers alike threw themselves into the war effort. The American Theatre Wing helped to organize the Stage Door Canteen, where servicemen not only were entertained, but also could dance with Broadway stars and starlets. Throughout the war, Broadway stars entertained troops overseas, even as hit shows such as *Oklahoma!*, *This is the Army*, *The Skin of Our Teeth*, *Life with Father*, and *Harvey* entertained theatergoers. But change was afoot on the Great White Way. After the war, New York City was flooded with GIs attending school on the U.S. government’s dime. Young men and women flocked to the city as the new mecca of the modern world. And amidst the thriving art and theater scenes, a new breed of actor began to emerge during the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s, trained in the Stanislavski-inspired method by such eminent teachers as Lee Strasberg and Stella Adler. Among these young Turks were future film and theater stars Marlon Brando, Montgomery Clift, James Dean, Paul Newman, Joanne Woodward, and Kim Stanley. Soon a whole new kind of theater took form under the guiding hand of hard-hitting directors such as Elia Kazan and through the pen of such playwrights as Tennessee Williams, whose passionate realism in hit plays such as *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, *The Glass Menagerie*, and *A Streetcar Named Desire* changed the face of the American theater.

In 1947, the American Theatre Wing created the first Tony awards—named after Antoinette Perry—to honor the best work on Broadway. But by the 1950s, the burgeoning television industry had come to rival Broadway and Hollywood in influence and popularity—and soon had superseded both. Statistics revealed that less than two percent of the American public attended legitimate theater performances. But Broadway continued to churn out hit musicals at the same time that it remained a breeding ground for cutting-edge new American drama—such as that being written by Arthur Miller (*Death of a Salesman* and *The Crucible*). And, for the first time in almost thirty years, African Americans were finding work on the Great White Way; in 1958 playwright Lorraine Hansberry won the Pulitzer Prize for drama for *Raisin in the Sun*, while director Lloyd Richards made his Broadway debut.

On August 23, 1960, Broadway blacked out all its lights for one minute—it was the first time since World War II that all the lights had been dimmed. Oscar Hammerstein II had died; an era had ended. During the 1960s, Broadway continued both to expand its horizons as well as to consolidate its successes by churning out popular hits. After a rocky start, *Camelot*, starring Richard Burton and Julie Andrews, became a huge hit in 1960—the same year that a controversial production of Eugene Ionesco’s *Rhinoceros* opened on Broadway. Throughout the decade, mainstream entertainment—plays by the most successful of mainstream playwrights, Neil Simon, and musicals such as *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, *Funny Girl*, and *Man of La Mancha* occupied equal time with radical new work by playwrights such as Edward Albee (*Who’s Afraid of Virginia Woolf*) and LeRoi Jones. By late in the decade, the new mores of the 1960s had found their way to Broadway. Nudity, profanity, and homosexuality were increasingly commonplace on

stage, following the success of such hit shows as *Hair* and *The Boys in the Band*. A slew of musicals aimed at the younger generation, incorporating new sounds of soft rock, followed with Stephen Schwartz's *Godspell*; Andrew Lloyd Webber and Tim Rice's *Jesus Christ, Superstar*; and the Who's *Tommy*.

Meanwhile, avant-garde English and European dramatists such as Harold Pinter, Tom Stoppard, and Samuel Beckett brought their radical new work to Broadway, even as a new kind of musical—the concept musical, created by Stephen Sondheim in such hits as *Company* and *Follies*—took the American musical theater in a whole new direction. In this new form of a now time-honored American tradition, narrative plot was superseded by songs, which furthered serial plot developments. Other successful musicals of the type were Kander and Ebb's *Cabaret* and *Chicago*, and Michael Bennett's immensely popular *A Chorus Line*. During the 1970s, two producer-directors who had begun working in the mid-1950s rose to increasing prominence—Hal Prince, who was the guiding hand behind most of Sondheim's hit musicals; and Joseph Papp, whose Public Theatre became the purveyor of New York's high brow and experimental theater.

With the election of President Ronald Reagan in 1980 came an era of conservatism in which Broadway became the virtual domain of two men—composer Andrew Lloyd Webber and producer Cameron Macintosh. *Les Misérables*, *Cats*, *Evita*, *Phantom of the Opera*, *Sunset Boulevard*, and *Miss Saigon* were among the most successful of the mega-musicals that took over Broadway for more than decade-long runs. At the same time, however, Broadway was hit by the AIDS epidemic, which from 1982 on began to decimate its ranks. Called to activism by the apathy of the Reagan administration, the Broadway community began to rally behind the gay community. In plays from this period such as *Torch Song Trilogy*, *Bent*, *M. Butterfly*, and *La Cage aux Folles*, homosexuality came out of Broadway's closet for good. And during the decade, increasing numbers of African-American actors, playwrights, and plays found a permanent home on the Great White Way—from the South African-themed plays of Athol Fugard, to the Pulitzer Prize-winning work of August Wilson, to musicals about the lives of such musicians as Fats Waller and Jelly Roll Morton. Broadway also became increasingly enamored with all things English during the 1980s—from the epic production of *Nicholas Nickleby*, to the increasing presence of top English stars such as Ian McKellen, to the increasing infatuation with the mega-musicals of Andrew Lloyd Webber. But homegrown playwrights such as David Mamet, Neil Simon, John Guare, and August Wilson nonetheless continued to reap the lion's share of the critic's awards, including Pulitzers, New York Drama Critic's Circle, and Tonys.

In the late 1980s, a new phenomenon hit Broadway when Madonna starred in *Speed the Plow*. In her critically acclaimed performance, the pop and film star boosted Broadway box office sales to such a degree that producers soon began clamoring to find Hollywood stars to headline their plays. Throughout the 1990s, as the mega-musicals of Andrew Lloyd Webber, and popular revivals such as *Damn Yankees*, *Guys and Dolls*, and *Showboat* dominated the box office, Broadway producers sought to make profits by bringing in big names to bolster sales. Over the course of the decade, Hollywood stars such as Kathleen Turner, Robert De Niro, Nicole Kidman, and Glenn Close opened plays and musicals on the Great White Way. But the district received a multi-billion dollar facelift when Disney came into the picture, creating a showcase for its hugely successful musical

ventures such as *Beauty and the Beast* and *The Lion King*. But despite what many critics saw as the increasingly commercialization and suburbanization (playing to the tourists) of Broadway, powerful new voices continued to emerge in the plays of Wendy Wasserstein (*The Heidi Chronicles*), Tony Kushner (*Angels in America*), and Jonathan Larson (*Rent*).

At the millennium, Broadway remains one of America's singular contributions to both high and popular culture. Despite the puissance of the film and television industries, the lure of the legitimate theater remains a strong one. Broadway is at once a popular tourist attraction and the purveyor of the tour de force that is the theater. With its luminous 175-year history sparkling in America's memory, Broadway can look forward to a new century filled with change, innovation, extravaganza, and excess—as the continuing mecca of the American theater.

—Victoria Price

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## Brokaw, Tom (1940—)

As the anchor on *NBC Nightly News*, Tom Brokaw has a history of getting there first in the competitive world of network newscasting. He won the Alfred I. Dupont Award for the first exclusive one-on-one interview with Mikhail Gorbachev in 1982, and was the only anchor on the scene the night the Berlin Wall collapsed. He was also first to report on human rights abuses in Tibet and he conducted an exclusive interview with the Dalai Lama. From the White House to the Kremlin, Brokaw has witnessed and reported on many of the twentieth century's biggest events.



**Tom Brokaw**

Born in Bristol, South Dakota, in 1940, the son of Anthony (Red) and Jean Brokaw, he moved often as the family followed his father, a construction worker, who built army bases and dams during the 1940s. His high school years were spent in Yankton, South Dakota, where he first faced television cameras, appearing with a team of students on *Two for the Money*, a network game show. While a student he began his broadcasting career as a disc jockey on a Yankton radio station and experienced one of his most embarrassing moments. He was asked to interview a fellow student, Meredith Auld, the new Miss South Dakota, whom he been dating. Tom was so excited that he forgot to turn off the mike when the interview was over, and all the Yankton listeners heard his sweet nothings broadcast over the air.

He spent his freshman year at the University of Iowa, where he says he “majored in beer and coeds.” He transferred to the University of South Dakota and in his senior year began working at KTIV-TV in Sioux City. After graduation, Tom married Meredith and applied for a job at KMTV in Omaha. They offered him \$90 a week, but Tom held out for \$100. Explaining why he needed the extra ten dollars, Tom said, “I was the first college graduate in my family, just married, and with a doctor father-in-law a bit unsure about his new son-in-law’s future.” The station finally agreed to his terms on the condition that he would never be given a raise. “And they never did,” he added.

In 1976 Tom moved into the big time in the Big Apple, replacing Barbara Walters as the host of NBC’s *Today Show*. As he tells it, he “made a lot of friends” on the program, but he always knew that his “real interest was in doing day-to-day news exclusively.” After six

successful years on the morning show, he got his wish. He and Roger Mudd began co-anchoring the *NBC Nightly News* after John Chancellor retired in 1981. Within a year Mudd left the show, leaving Brokaw as the sole anchor, and in 1982 his reputation rose in the wake of his much publicized interview with Gorbachev.

Television critics have complimented Brokaw’s low key, easy-going manner, comparing it with Dan Rather’s rapid-fire delivery and Peter Jennings’s penchant for showmanship. He is particularly noted for his political reporting, having covered every presidential election since 1968 and having served as his network’s White House correspondent during the Watergate era. He has also shown versatility in other network assignments, heading a series of prime-time specials examining some of the nation’s most crucial problems and acting as co-anchor on *Now with Tom Brokaw and Katie Couric*.

Brokaw is also author of *The Greatest Generation*, a book published in 1998 about his personal memories of that generation of Americans who were born in the 1920s, came of age during the Great Depression, and fought in World War II. He also has written for the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, as well as *Life Magazine*. He is best known, however, as the anchor who reported news from the White House lawn, the Great Wall of China, the streets of Kuwait during Operation Desert Storm, the rooftops of Beirut, the shores of Somalia as the American troops landed, and, most famous of all, the Berlin Wall the night it collapsed.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Bronson, Charles (1921—)

Charles Bronson is an American original. He is one of the earliest and most popular tough guys. His lengthy career and dozens of film credits make him a critical figure in the development of the action-adventure film. His steely-eyed stare and his signature moustache are themselves cultural icons. Although Bronson’s career began on the stage and he once had his own television series, Bronson is probably best known for his role as Paul Kersey in the *Death Wish* series of films.

Born into grinding poverty as Charles Buchinski, the eleventh of fourteen children, Bronson spent many of his formative years in the coal mining town of Ehrenfield, Pennsylvania. After working to help support his family in the mines and after serving his country as a tail gunner on a B-9 bomber in World War II, Bronson moved to Atlantic City. It was on the Jersey Shore that Bronson developed a taste for acting while he roomed with fellow star-to-be Jack Klugman. Dreams





Charles Bronson (left) and Henry Fonda in a scene from the film *Once Upon a Time in the West*.

of a career on the stage took Bronson to New York, Philadelphia, and then to Pasadena, where he was spotted in 1950 playing the lead in the play *Command Decision*.

From early on, Bronson was regularly cast in roles that fit his arduous background. The post war American penchant for war films and westerns was well suited for an actor with Bronson's history and image. Often times he was cast in the role of a gritty gunslinger or rugged military man. Chief among such roles were his performances in *Machine Gun Kelly*, *The Dirty Dozen*, *The Magnificent Seven*, and as Natalie Wood's punch-happy boyfriend in *This Property is Condemned*.

Like many other American cultural phenomena, Bronson's career did not hit the big time until he won over European audiences. Though he had been working steadily stateside, Bronson's film career got its biggest boost in the late 1960s, when he began working in Europe. It was on the continent that his particular brand of American charisma gained its first massive audience. His triumphs in Europe rejuvenated Hollywood's interest in Bronson and movie offers began rolling in. His return to Hollywood was sealed with his role in the

thriller *Rider on the Rain*, which helped him win a Golden Globe award for most popular actor.

Bronson's film career culminated in 1974 with the release of *Death Wish*, a movie about a mild mannered architect out to avenge the murder of his wife. The movie has been credited with spawning an entire genre of vigilante action films that draw on the frustrations of the white middle class over urban crime and violence. Four sequels would follow, each filmed in the first half of the 1980s when middle class paranoia about drugs and crime was perhaps at an all-time peak. Hollywood has often sought to replicate the sort of success Paramount Pictures had with *Death Wish*. Dozens of films featuring ordinary-man-turned-vigilante were churned out in the wake of this film. Key among the early entrants into this subgenre was the *Walking Tall* series of films. Perhaps the last and culminating film among these angry-white-male films was the Michael Douglas flick, *Falling Down*, which caused a great deal of controversy over its racially charged depiction of whites, blacks, and Asians.

Charles Bronson is one of the few Hollywood actors who can legitimately claim success in five decades. The evolution of his

characters in the 1970s mark Bronson as one of the few actors to successfully make the leap from westerns and war movies, into the modern, urban-oriented action-adventure era. Though he is largely considered a tough guy, he has played many other roles. Frequently lost in popular memory was Bronson's television series *Man With A Camera*, which ran for two years in the late 1950s. Bronson has also starred in several comedies, a musical, and some children's fare. In the 1990s Bronson has returned to the small screen and has had co-starring roles opposite Christopher Reeves, Daniel Baldwin, and Dana Delany in several made-for-TV productions, including *Family of Cops*.

—Steve Graves

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## The Brooklyn Dodgers

As the first team to break baseball's color barrier with the signing of Jackie Robinson in 1947, the Brooklyn Dodgers captured America's imagination during the 1950s, when they fielded a brilliant team of men with nicknames like Duke, The Preacher, PeeWee, and Skoonj. Unable to beat their cross-town rivals, the New York Yankees, in World Series after World Series, the Dodgers became media darlings—a team of talented, loveable, but unlucky underdogs. Cheered on by their legendary loyal fans, the Dodgers finally beat the Yankees in 1955, only to break Brooklyn's heart by leaving for Los Angeles two years later.

The borough of Brooklyn first fielded a baseball team in 1849, as members of the Interstate League and then the American Association. When Brooklyn joined the National League in 1890, the team was nicknamed the Bridegrooms. The club won the pennant that year, but by the end of the decade they had gone through six different managers and had not won another championship. They had, however, acquired a new nickname which finally stuck. As Roger Kahn notes in *The Boys of Summer*, "Brooklyn, being flat, extensive and populous, was an early stronghold of the trolley car. Enter absurdity. To survive in Brooklyn one had to be a dodger of trolleys." Thus, the team became the Trolley Dodgers, which was later shortened to the Dodgers.

The Dodgers reclaimed the National League pennant in 1900, only to see their championship team disperse when many of their players joined the newly formed American League the following year. The team's ownership was also in a state of flux. But a young employee of the team, Charles Ebbets, managed to purchase a small amount of stock and gradually work his way up the ladder. Ebbets eventually took over the team and secretly began buying up land in Flatbush. In 1912, he built Ebbets Field, a gem of a ballpark, which would provide baseball with its most intimate setting for over 40 years.

At first it seemed as if the new field would only bring the team good luck. In 1916, the Dodgers won the pennant and then played in

its first World Series. Managed by the dynamic Wilbert "Uncle Robbie" Robinson and led by the incredible hitting of Casey Stengel, the Dodgers nonetheless lost the series to the Boston Red Sox that year, whose team featured a young pitcher named Babe Ruth.

In 1920, the Dodgers took the pennant again, only to lose the series to the Cleveland Indians. Then, for the next two decades, the team fell into a miserable slump, despite being managed by such baseball legends as Casey Stengel and Leo "the Lip" Durocher. But the Dodgers never lost their loyal fans, for, as Ken Burns notes in *Baseball: An Illustrated History*, "No fans were more noisily critical of their own players than Brooklyn's—and none were more fiercely loyal once play began." The team's misfortunes were widely chronicled in the press, who dubbed the team the "Daffiness Dodgers." But sportswriters were oddly drawn to the team, despite its losing ways, and they portrayed the team as an endearingly bad bunch of misfits. The team soon became known as "Dem Bums" and their dismal record the subject of jokes in cartoons, newspaper columns, and even Hollywood movies.

In 1939, Hall of Fame broadcaster Red Barber became the distinctive voice of the Dodgers. He announced the first baseball game ever televised in August 1939. Two years later, president Larry McPhail and coach Leo Durocher had put together a great team, described by Ken Burns as "noisy, hard-drinking, beanballing, and brilliant on the basepaths." They finally won another pennant, and faced the Yankees in a World Series that would lay the groundwork for one of baseball's best rivalries. The Bronx Bombers, led by the bat of Joltin' Joe Dimaggio, won in five games. And, as Burns has written, "The Brooklyn *Eagle* ran a headline that would become a sort of Dodger litany in coming seasons: WAIT TILL NEXT YEAR."

Following the loss, the Dodgers brought in Branch Rickey from St. Louis to be their new general manager. One of baseball's greatest minds, Rickey, a devout, teetotaling Methodist, had revolutionized the game of baseball by developing the farm system. Rickey had long sympathized with the plight of African Americans, who were barred from major league baseball and played in their own Negro Leagues. He believed that "The greatest untapped reservoir of raw material in the history of the game is the black race. The Negroes will make us winners for years to come, and for that I will happily bear being called a bleeding heart and a do-gooder and all that humanitarian rot." But Rickey would be called a lot worse when he decided to break baseball's color barrier following World War II.

Rickey set out to find a great African American player "with guts enough not to fight back" against the abuse he would be bound to endure. He found Jackie Robinson, a brilliant young athlete from Southern California. In 1947, Robinson became the first African American to play major league baseball, when he broke in with the Brooklyn Dodgers. His presence on the field unleashed a torrent of racial hatred, but both Robinson and Rickey stuck to their guns. Baseball would never be the same.

In Robinson's first year in the big leagues, the Dodgers won the National League pennant and Robinson was voted baseball's first Rookie of the Year. On a multi-talented team that featured Duke Snider, Roy Campanella, Pee Wee Reese and Gil Hodges, Robinson's athleticism and competitiveness brought the Dodgers to new heights. Nonetheless, they lost the Series once again to the Yankees. And Brooklyn fans were forced once again to "Wait Till Next Year."

During the early 1950s, Walter O'Malley became president of the organization, Red Barber was joined in the booth by another future Hall of Famer broadcaster, Vin Scully, and the Dodgers fielded teams of such talent that they continued to win every season. The



Several members of the Brooklyn Dodgers after winning the first game of the 1952 World Series: (from left) Joe Black, Duke Snider, Chuck Dressen, Pee Wee Reese, and Jackie Robinson.

1953 team, dubbed the “Boys of Summer,” won a record 105 games. But they still could not win the World Series. As Roger Kahn has written, “You may glory in a team triumphant, but you fall in love with a team in defeat . . . A whole country was stirred by the high deeds and thwarted longings of The Duke, Preacher, Pee Wee, Skoonj, and the rest. The team was awesomely good and yet defeated. Their skills lifted everyman’s spirit and their defeat joined them with everyman’s existence, a national team, with a country in thrall, irresistible and unable to beat the Yankees.”

Finally, in 1955, the Dodgers did the unthinkable. They beat the Yankees in the World Series. Two years later, something even more unthinkable occurred. In what historian and lifelong Brooklyn Dodgers fan Doris Kearns Goodwin calls an “invidious act of betrayal,” team president Walter O’Malley moved the Dodgers to Los Angeles and an unforgettable era of baseball history came to a close.

—Victoria Price

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## Brooks, Garth (1962—)

Garth Brooks, the best-selling recording artist of all time, symbolizes the evolution of “new wave” country music in the late twentieth century. Brooks was popular in the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s with a blend of country, honky-tonk, and rock that signaled country’s move into the mainstream of popular music. From his first self-titled album in 1989, the Oklahoma singer achieved fame



Garth Brooks

beyond the traditional country listener base to achieve acceptance by a mass audience. Between 1989 and 1996 he sold more than sixty million albums. Prior to Brooks’s third album, *Ropin’ the Wind*, it was nearly impossible for a country artist to sell a million copies, and no country recording had ever premiered at the top of the pop charts. His stage performances, which were filled with many special effects such as fantastic lighting displays, explosions, and even a harness that allowed him to sing while swinging over his enthusiastic crowds, resembled the stadium rock extravaganzas of the 1970s. Brooks combined his onstage identity as the modern country superstar with an offstage persona emphasizing country music’s traditional values of family, patriotism, and devotion to one’s fans.

Troyal Garth Brooks, born on February 7, 1962, in Tulsa, Oklahoma, had a strong interest in country music from childhood. His mother, Colleen Carroll Brooks, had been a minor country singer in the 1950s who had recorded several unsuccessful albums for Capitol. After earning an athletic scholarship to Oklahoma State University for his ability with the javelin, Brooks began singing in Stillwater clubs where he had worked as a bouncer. In 1986, he married Sandy Mahl, a woman he had once thrown out of a bar after a restroom altercation. The couple moved to Nashville in 1985 after Brooks’s graduation with an advertising degree. The young singer’s initial attempt to find fame in the world of country music was a complete failure, and the pair returned to Oklahoma after a mere twenty-three hours in Nashville. Two years later, a more mature Brooks returned to the country music capital and began his career by singing on new songwriter’s demo tapes. By 1988, he had been signed by Capitol Records and his first single “Much Too Young (To Feel This Damn Old)” earned much popular acclaim. His subsequent singles—“If Tomorrow Never Comes,” “Not Counting You,” and “The Dance”—each became number-one hits and marked Brooks’s rising crossover appeal.

By 1992, Garth Brooks was a true popular culture phenomenon. He had a string of hit songs and a critically praised network television special (*This Is Garth Brooks*), and he had sold millions of dollars worth of licensed merchandise. *Forbes* magazine listed him as the thirteenth-highest-paid entertainer in the United States, the only country music performer to have made the ranking. Unlike previous country stars, such as Johnny Cash, Kenny Rogers, and Dolly Parton, Brooks made country music fashionable to those beyond its core constituency, a circumstance he credits to the diversity of his early musical influences. Among those whom Brooks cites as having affected his style are such diverse artists as James Taylor, Cat Stevens, John Denver, the Bee Gees, and even some heavy-metal bands. His expanded appeal also stems from his choice not to limit his songs to the traditional country music themes. Brooks’s “We Shall Be Free” is an anthem for the oppressed for its advocacy of environmental protection, interracial harmony, and the acceptance of same-sex relationships. His most controversial work of the period, “The Thunder Rolls,” dealt with the issues of adultery, wife beating, and revenge. Brooks’s desire to expand country presentation and subject matter attracted a sizable audience unknown to earlier country performers. Brooks is considered the leader of a new wave of country vocalists including Travis Tritt, Clint Black, and Alan Jackson.

While Brooks expanded country’s scope, he carefully worked to maintain his image as a humble country performer, endorsing various charities and repeatedly professing his overwhelming devotion to his family. In 1991, he considered forsaking his career to become a full-time father. Brooks’s most popular offstage act, however, was his

devotion to his fans: he signed hundreds of autographs after each show and, most importantly, demanded that his ticket prices remain affordable to the average person.

Few performers in any genre can claim the crossover success exhibited by Garth Brooks in the 1990s. His domination of the country and pop charts proved that “country” was no longer a niche format but one acceptable to mainstream audiences. His achievements were recognized in March, 1992, when he was featured on the cover of *Time*, which credited him for creating “Country’s Big Boom.” His ability to meld traditional country music sounds and sensibilities with pop themes allowed country to advance to new heights of popularity.

—Charles Coletta

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Poet Gwendolyn Brooks’s writings explore the discrepancies between appearance and morality, between good and evil. Her images are often ironic and coy; her work is distinctly African American. She won the Pulitzer Prize in 1950, the first time an African American writer received the award. Born in Topeka, Kansas, Gwendolyn Brooks published her first poem at age 13. By 1941 she had moved to Chicago and began studying at the South Side Community Art Center. In the 1960s she turned to teaching until 1971. More recently, she became Illinois Poet Laureate and an honorary consultant in American literature to the Library of Congress. Her publications include *Street in Bronzeville* (1945), *Annie Allen* (1950), *Maud Martha* (1953), *In the Mecca* (1968), and *Report from Part One* (1971).

—Beatriz Badikian

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## Brooks, James L. (1940—)

Emmy Award-winning television writer-producer, James L. Brooks made an extraordinary feature film debut in 1983 with *Terms of Endearment*, winning five Academy Awards, including Best Screenplay, Director, and Picture. Three further films (including the Oscar-nominated *Broadcast News*, 1987) followed at wide intervals, while Brooks confined himself to wielding his considerable influence

on popular movie and television culture behind the scenes. As a producer of such hits as *Big* (1988), *The War of the Roses* (1989), and *Jerry Maguire* (1996), he confirmed his acute instinct for material with strongly defined characters and popular appeal. Born in New Jersey and educated at New York University, the former television newswriter made his major breakthrough with the creation of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* before producing such high-rating series as *Taxi*, *Cheers*, *Lou Grant*, and *Rhoda*. In 1997, he returned to filmmaking, writing, producing, and directing the Oscar-nominated *As Good as It Gets*.

—Robyn Karney

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## Brooks, Louise (1906-1985)

Louise Brooks, American silent film actress and author, achieved only moderate fame in her film career, but emerged as the focus of a still-growing cult of admirers in the 1970s, sparked by the renewed critical interest in her performance as the doomed hedonist Lulu in G. W. Pabst’s *Pandora’s Box* (1929). The publication of critic Kenneth Tynan’s *New Yorker* article “The Girl in the Black Helmet” captured the imagination of readers who appreciated her caustic wit and her tales of Hollywood, and also romanticized her hermit-like retreat in Rochester, New York, after a life of alcoholism and excess. Her sleek dancer’s body and trademark black bob remain an icon of high style and eroticism. She inspired two comic strips as well as numerous film and literary tributes. Brooks became a bestselling author in the 1980s with her memoir *Lulu in Hollywood*.

—Mary Hess

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## Brooks, Mel (1926—)

A woman once accosted filmmaker Mel Brooks and angrily told him that his 1968 comedy *The Producers* was “vulgar.” “Madame,” he said with an air of pride, “it rises below vulgarity.” Mel Brooks spent a career as a comedy writer, director, and actor offending vast segments of his audience, while simultaneously making them laugh uproariously. His series of genre spoofs meticulously recreated the feel and look of westerns, horror films, and sci-fi classics, only to upend clichés with an assortment of double-entendres, anachronisms, musical production numbers, Jewish American references, and jokes



**Mel Brooks**

about bodily functions. The creators of such 1990s phenomena as *South Park* and *There's Something About Mary* are direct descendants of Brooks' comic sensibility.

Brooks was born Melvin Kaminsky on June 28, 1926 in Brooklyn, New York. A boyhood friend was drumming legend Buddy Rich, who taught Brooks how to play. Brooks performed at parties and, during the summers, at largely Jewish resorts in the Catskills in upstate New York. After World War II, Brooks started performing comedy while social director of Grossinger's, the most prestigious Catskills resort, where he became friends with comedian Sid Caesar.

In 1950 Brooks joined the writing staff of NBC television's variety series *Your Show of Shows*, starring Caesar and Imogene Coca. The anarchy of these writing sessions was immortalized in Carl Reiner's 1960s sitcom *The Dick Van Dyke Show* and Neil Simon's 1994 play *Laughter on the 23rd Floor*. Nobody, Caesar's colleagues agreed, was more anarchic than Brooks. When *Your Show of Shows* lost an Emmy for best writing, Brooks stood up from his seat in the auditorium and yelled, "Nietschke was right—there is no God!"

Reiner and Brooks would often improvise comedic characters during the manic writer's meetings. One morning, Reiner introduced Brooks as the only living witness to Christ's Crucifixion. The persona of the "2000 Year Old Man" was born. What began as a private joke eventually became the subject of five comedy albums over a 35 year span. Brooks' character had seen it all and done it all over two millenia, yet his needs and demands were small. "I have over 42,000 children," he once proclaimed, "and not one comes to visit." The Stone Age survivor claimed that the world's first national anthem began, "Let 'em all go to hell, except Cave Seventy Six!"

With Buck Henry, Brooks created the television sitcom *Get Smart!*, a savage sendup of the James Bond films, in 1965. Maxwell Smart (Don Adams) was a thorough incompetent who could not master his collection of Bond-like gadgets, such as a shoe-phone. The bad guys were usually caught with the aid of Smart's truly smart assistant, Agent 99. The series lasted five seasons.

During the 1950s and 1960s Brooks worked on several unsuccessful Broadway shows, and he began wondering what would happen if two guys deliberately decided to produce the worst musical ever. The result was the 1968 classic *The Producers*, Brooks' directoral debut. Zero Mostel and Gene Wilder played the title characters who decide to stage "Springtime for Hitler," a lighthearted toe-tapper about the Nazi leader (complete with dancing SS troopers). Mostel and Wilder collect 100 times more capital than needed. To their dismay, "Springtime for Hitler" becomes a smash hit and the pair, unable to pay their many backers, wind up in jail. The film became a cult hit, and Brooks won an Oscar for Best Screenplay.

*Blazing Saddles* (1973) inverted virtually every Western movie cliché. Black chain gang workers are ordered to sing a work song—and quickly harmonize on Cole Porter's "I Get a Kick Out of You." Cowboys eating endless amounts of beans by the campfire begin loudly breaking wind. The plot had black sheriff (Cleavon Little) unite with an alcoholic sharpshooter (Wilder) to clean up a corrupt Old West town. Brooks himself appeared in two roles, a Yiddish Indian chief and a corrupt governor. The film offended many (some thought the village idiot, played by Alex Karras, insulted the mentally retarded) but became the highest grossing movie comedy of all time.

Brooks followed with what most consider his masterpiece, *Young Frankenstein* (1974). Gene Wilder starred as the grandson of the famous doctor, who himself attempts to bring a dead man (Peter Boyle) to life. Once resurrected, Boyle ravishes Wilder's virginal fiancée (Madeline Kahn), to her ultimate pleasure. Wilder devises a brain transplant with Boyle; Wilder gives Boyle some of his intellect, while Boyle gives Wilder some of his raging libido. The film was beautifully shot and acted, and the image of Peter Boyle as the Frankenstein monster in top hat and tails singing "Putting on the Ritz" to an audience of scientists ranks as one of the most inspired in cinematic history.

*Silent Movie* (1976) was the first Hollywood silent movie in four decades. Brooks, Marty Feldman, and Dom DeLuise played film producers trying to sign film stars (including Paul Newman, Burt Reynolds, Liza Minelli, and, Brooks' real-life wife, Anne Bancroft) to appear in their silent comedy. *High Anxiety* (1978) satirized Hitchcock films, starring Brooks as a paranoid psychiatrist. *History of the World, Part One* (1981) sent up historical epics; the most memorable scene was a musical comedy number set during the Inquisition, ending in Busby Berkeley style with nuns rising from Torquemada's torture tank atop a giant menorah. Brooks continued his series of movie satires during the 1980s and 1990s. *Spaceballs* (1987) sent up *Star Wars*, while his other films included *Robin Hood: Men in Tights* and *Dracula: Dead and Loving It*.

Upon being introduced to his future second wife (since 1964), the glamorous stage and film actress Anne Bancroft, he told her, "I would KILL for you!" He occasionally did cameo roles in film and television, winning an Emmy as Paul Reiser's uncle on the situation comedy *Mad About You*. In inimitable fashion, Brooks once defined comedy and tragedy: "Tragedy is when I cut my finger on a can opener, and it bleeds. Comedy is when *you* walk into an open sewer and die."

—Andrew Milner

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## Brothers, Dr. Joyce (1928—)

Dr. Joyce Brothers, a psychologist who earned her Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1957, has been a media personality since the late 1950s. She was among the first television celebrities to combine academic credentials with broadcasting savvy and, in many ways, Dr. Brothers pioneered the expert culture on which television talk shows and news magazines now rely for commentary and analysis. In December 1955, Dr. Brothers became the second contestant to win a grand prize on the *\$64,000 Question*, the television game show that would later be mired in scandal. The publicity that followed led her to choose a career in broadcasting. In addition to her television and radio



Dr. Joyce Brothers

appearances, Dr. Joyce Brothers has authored several books and writes a syndicated newspaper column.

—Michele S. Shauf

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See *Cosmopolitan*; *Sex and the Single Girl*

## Brown, James (1933—)

Known as the “Godfather of Soul,” this influential African-American singer was, in the 1950s and 1960s, one of the seminal figures in the transformation of gospel music and blues to soul. Also known as “Soul Brother Number 1” and “The Hardest Working Man in Show Business,” Brown amassed a record-setting total of 98 entries on *Billboard's* top-40 R&B singles chart while influencing scores of performers such as Sly and the Family Stone, Kool and the Gang, and Prince, as well as contemporary rap and hip-hop performers. Brown is also a charter member of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and has won numerous awards for his recordings. Despite these professional successes, Brown is notorious for his “bad-boy” reputation stemming from several run-ins with the law over the years; he served prison time as a youth for theft and later for resisting arrest and traffic violations. He also experienced serious personal and business troubles in the 1970s, complicated by a longstanding dispute with the IRS over millions of dollars in back taxes that were resolved in part by his hiring of the radical attorney William Kunstler.

Born James Joe Brown, Jr. on May 3, 1933 in Barnwell, South Carolina, Brown early on became accustomed to grinding poverty and the struggle for survival. The family lived in a shack in the woods without plumbing or electricity. His father, Joe Garner Brown, made a living by selling tree tar to a turpentine company. Brown's parents separated when he was four and he continued to live with his father. The family moved to Augusta, Georgia, where his father left him under the guardianship of an aunt who ran a whorehouse. Brown earned money for rent and clothing by buck dancing for soldiers and by shining shoes.

Young James Brown's musical talent emerged at an early age. His father gave him a harmonica that he taught himself to play, and Brown sang gospel with friends, emulating the Golden Gate Quartet. Other members of the Augusta community guided his musical development: the famous Tampa Red taught him some guitar, and Leon Austin and a Mr. Dink taught him piano and drums respectively. Brown listened to gospel, popular music, blues, and jazz. His exposure to Louis Jordan and His Tympany Five's short film *Caldonia* convinced him that he should be an entertainer. At the age of 11, Brown won an amateur-night contest at the Lenox Theater for singing



**James Brown**

“So Long” and started a trio called Cremona in which he played piano, drums, and sang.

Mired in poverty, Brown began resorting to petty theft for his personal wardrobe, then began stealing automobile parts, for which he was arrested and sentenced to 8-to-18 years in the penitentiary, and later transferred to the Georgia Juvenile Training Institute. While in prison, he formed a gospel quartet, earning the name “Music Box” from his fellow inmates and insisting that gospel music helped him keep his sanity. While incarcerated, he met Bobby Byrd, a musician with whom he would later have a long-lasting professional relationship. After securing an early release based on good behavior and a promise to his parole board to develop his creative talents, Brown settled in Toccoa, Georgia, where he lived with Bobby Byrd’s family and worked at a car dealership while immersing himself in gospel music after hours. Brown formed a group called the Gospel Starlighters, which eventually evolved into the Famous Flames, an R&B group that consisted of Bobby Byrd, Sylvester Keels, Doyle Oglesby, Fred Pullman, Nash Knox, Baby Roy Scott, and Brown. Later, Nafloyd Scott would join the group as a guitarist.

In 1955, a studio recording of “Please, Please, Please” became the group’s first hit, which became a regional favorite. Ralph Bass, a talent scout signed the group for the King/Federal record label. In 1958, the group recorded “Try Me,” which rose to the number one spot on the R&B chart. Based on this recording, the group solidified and began to fill major auditoriums with its strong black following. Several hits ensued, but it was the 1963 release of the album *Live at the Apollo* that catapulted Brown into national recognition when it rose to the number two spot on *Billboard*’s album chart. Radio

stations played the album as if it were a single and attendance at Brown’s concerts increased dramatically.

Throughout most of his career Brown has been sensitive to political and social issues. Though he never graduated from high school, his 1966 recording “Don’t Be a Drop Out” posted at number four on the R&B chart, and he approached Vice President Hubert Humphrey with the idea of using the song as the theme for a stay-in-school campaign aimed at inner-city youth. His prominence in this effort encouraged activist H. Rap Brown to urge the singer to be more vocal in the black-power movement, which James Brown often found too extreme for his tastes. Still, during the civil-rights activism of the 1960s, he purchased radio stations in Knoxville, Baltimore, and Atlanta as a way of giving greater clout to blacks in the media, and his recording “Say It Loud—I’m Black and I’m Proud” became one of the unofficial theme songs of the new black consciousness. During those years, Brown wielded political clout and garnered respect and attention in the black community, though he endured criticism in some circles for his association with Humphrey and his later friendship with President Richard Nixon—the singer endorsed Humphrey for President in 1968 and Nixon in 1972, and performed at Duke Ellington’s inaugural gala for Nixon in January of 1969. Earlier, in the wake of the urban unrest following the April 1968 assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Brown interrupted his stations’ programming with live broadcasts in which he urged nonviolence. In Boston the following day, he acceded to a request by Mayor Kevin White to appear on a live television program advocating a similar response.

While Brown and the Famous Flames secured a number of top ten hits on the R&B charts, “Papa’s Got A Brand New Bag” earned Brown his first top ten single on the pop side. Hit after hit followed on both the top ten R&B and pop charts, including “I Got You (I Feel Good)” in 1965, “It’s a Man’s Man’s Man’s World” in 1966, “Cold Sweat (Part I)” in 1967, and “I Got the Feelin’” in 1968. Having made his political statement in “Say It Loud—I’m Black and I’m Proud,” Brown dropped the Flames and began refining his group, with drummer Clyde Stubblefield providing increasing rhythmic complexity. “Mother Popcorn” in 1969, and “Get Up (I Feel Like Being a) Sex Machine” in 1970 signaled changes in his style.

In 1971, Brown formed a new group, the JB’s, and signed with Polydor Records, which soon released two hits, “Hot Pants,” and “Make It Funky.” In 1973, he suffered three serious setbacks: the tragic death of his son, Teddy, in an automobile accident, the withdrawal from his group of his old friend, keyboardist Bobby Byrd, and an IRS demand for payment of \$4.5 million in back taxes. He later blamed Polydor for some of his troubles, writing in his 1990 autobiography *James Brown: The Godfather of Soul*: “The government hurt my business a lot, a whole lot. But they didn’t destroy me. Polydor did that. It was basically a German company, and they didn’t understand the American market. They weren’t flexible; they couldn’t respond to what was happening the way King [Records] could. They had no respect for the artist . . . .” Troubles continued to mount for Brown during the 1970s: The popularity of disco diminished interest in his kind of music; he was implicated in a payola scandal; his second wife, Deirdre Jenkins, left him; and he was arrested during a 1978 performance at New York’s Apollo Theater because he had left the country in defiance of a court order restricting his travel while the financial affairs of his radio stations were under investigation.

The evolution of Brown’s musical style can be divided into three stylistic periods. The first period, in the mid-1950s, consists of ballads (“Please, Please, Please,” “Try Me,” and “Bewildered”) based on



popular song forms in a gospel style that are delivered, for that time, in a raw supplicating manner. The second period, in the early to mid-1960s, consists of songs based on a modification of the twelve-bar blues form with gospel vocal styles and increasingly tight and moderately complex horn arrangements used in a responsorial fashion. Compositions from this period include “Night Train” (not an original composition), “I Feel Good,” “Papa’s Got a Brand New Bag,” and “I Got You.” The third period, from the late 1960s and beyond, finds Brown as an innovator breaking away from standard forms and a standard singing approach to embark on extensive vamps in which the voice is used as a percussive instrument with frequent rhythmic grunts, and with rhythm-section patterns that resemble West African polyrhythms. Across these three periods, Brown moves on a continuum from blues and gospel-based forms and styles to a profoundly Africanized approach to music making. Most significantly, Brown’s frenzied and rhythmically percussive vocal style, based on black folk preaching and hollering, combine with his polyrhythmic approach to generate movement and to recreate in a secular context the ecstatic ambience of the black church. Brown’s innovations, especially in his latter period, have reverberated throughout the world, even influencing African pop. From the mid-1980s, as found in his composition “The Funky Drummer,” Brown’s rhythms, hollers, whoops, screams, and vocal grunts have informed and supplied the core of the new hip-hop music. His influence on artists such as Public Enemy and Candy Flip is evident.

In the midst of his travails during the 1970s, Brown turned to religion and also sought the legal help of William Kunstler. He broke with Polydor Records and began to play in rock clubs in New York. He appeared in several films, including the role of a gospel-singing preacher in *The Blues Brothers* (1980), a part in *Dr. Detroit* (1983), and a cameo appearance in *Rocky IV* (1985), in which he sang “Living in America.” It reached number four on the pop charts, his first hit in more than a decade.

Even after these triumphs, Brown again began encountering trouble with the law. In December, 1988 he was dealt two concurrent six-year prison sentences for resisting arrest and traffic violations during an incident in Atlanta in September of that year, when he had brandished a shotgun in a dispute over the use of his private bathroom in his office. After a high-speed police chase and charges of driving under the influence of drugs, he was arrested and convicted only aggravated assault and failing to stop for a police car. As he explained to Jesse Jackson, “I aggravated them and they assaulted me.” He was paroled in 1991, after appeals by Jackson, Little Richard, Rev. Al Sharpton, and others. Brown continued to tour and record in the 1990s. He appeared at New York’s Paramount Theater in March, 1992, with his new band, the Soul Generals and his female backup group, the Bittersweets. In 1994, his name again appeared on the crime-blotter pages in an incident involving the assault of his wife, Adrienne. Four years later, in 1998, he was charged with possession of marijuana and unlawful use of a firearm.

In the 1990s, Brown became a vocal supporter of the campaign to suppress X-rated lyrics in rap songs by asking rap artists not to include samples of his songs in such works. It was estimated by one critic that 3,000 house and hip-hop records have made use of his original music since the 1980s. In 1987, Brown was one of the first ten charter members elected to the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame, and in 1992, he was honored at the American Music Awards ceremonies with an Award of Merit for his lifetime contribution to the genre.

—Willie Collins

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## Brown, Jim (1936—)

Jim Brown was simply one of the best football players ever. In just nine seasons in the National Football League, Brown collected eight rushing titles en route to setting new records for most yards in a season and most career rushing yards. A three-time MVP, Brown was inducted into the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 1971.

Born on the coastline of Georgia, Brown moved to Long Island, New York, and attended Manhasset High School where he earned all-state honors in basketball, track, and football. After high school Brown declined a minor league contract with the New York Yankees, opting to play football at Syracuse University instead. While playing for the Orangemen he earned All-American honors in both football and lacrosse.

In 1957 he was drafted by the Cleveland Browns of the National Football League, and in his first season he led the Browns to the Championship game. That year Brown also won the league rushing title, which earned him the Rookie of the Year Award. But in his opinion his freshman campaign was not “spectacular.” In spite of Brown’s modesty, fans thought otherwise as he quickly became a



Jim Brown

crowd favorite because of his seemingly fearless and tireless running style.

In 1963 Brown made history when he rushed for a league record 1883 yards. That season he had games of 162 (yards), 232, 175, 123, 144, 225, 154, 179, and 125. "I was twenty-seven years old. I never ran better in my life," said Brown. The following year Brown led his team to the NFL Championship, but in 1965 he shocked football fans by announcing his retirement in the prime of his career.

The popular Brown did not slip quietly into retirement however; he capitalized on his fame by becoming Hollywood's "first black man of action" by starring in several movies such as *Rio Conchos* (1964), the box office hit *The Dirty Dozen* (1967), and other films including *The Grasshopper* (1970), *Black Gunn* (1972), and *Tick . . . Tick . . . Tick . . .* (1970). In 1972 he starred in the world's first authentic blaxploitation movie, *Slaughter*, which was filmed in Mexico on a \$75,000 budget. This placed him into competition with other black stars of that genre including Fred Williamson, Jim Kelly, and Pam Grier. Brown's most popular film and to some extent his most controversial was *One Hundred Rifles* (1969), in which Raquel Welch was his love interest. This was one of the first films involving a love scene between a black man and a white woman. "We took a publicity shot of me, with no shirt on, and Raquel, behind me, her arms seductively across my chest. For American film it was revolutionary stuff," said Brown.

In addition to football and acting Brown also was devoted to improving the conditions of the black community. In the late 1960s he formed the Black Economic Union to assist black-owned business and after leaving the silver screen he became a community activist.

In his day, Brown was one of the few athletes who could transcend the playing field and become part of the broader American culture. Even today, he is the standard by which all other NFL runners are measured.

—Leonard N. Moore

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## Brown, Les (1912—)

A band leader for nearly 60 years, Les Brown and his "Band of Renown" were best known as a first-class swing band operating primarily in the pop-music field. Brown was a student at Duke University from 1932-35, where he formed his first dance band, the Duke Blue Devils. After that band folded in September, 1937, Brown worked as a freelance arranger for Larry Clinton and Isham Jones. He formed a new band in 1938, and throughout the 1940s became increasingly well-known, featured on television touring with Bob Hope to entertain service men at Christmas. The band reached its peak when Doris Day was featured as vocalist in 1940 and again from

1943-46. The orchestra's best-remembered arrangements were written by Ben Homer, who also composed the band's theme song, "Sentimental Journey."

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Brown, Paul (1908-1991)

Paul Brown, founder and first head coach of both the Cleveland Browns and Cincinnati Bengals, played a major role in the evolution of football. He was the first coach to use detailed game plans, playbooks, and classroom learning techniques. He hired the first full-time coaching staff. He also initiated the use of intelligence tests to measure learning potential and film replays and physical tests such as the 40-yard dash to evaluate players. Brown was also the first coach to send plays in from the bench and to use facemasks on helmets. As a professional coach with the Browns (1946-62) and Bengals (1968-75), he compiled a 222-112-9 record including four AAFC (All-American Football Conference) and three NFL titles. His coaching proteges include Don Shula and Bill Walsh, coaches who led their



Coach Paul Brown and the Cleveland Browns.

respective clubs to Super Bowl championships. Brown was inducted into the Professional Football Hall of Fame in 1967.

—G. Allen Finchum

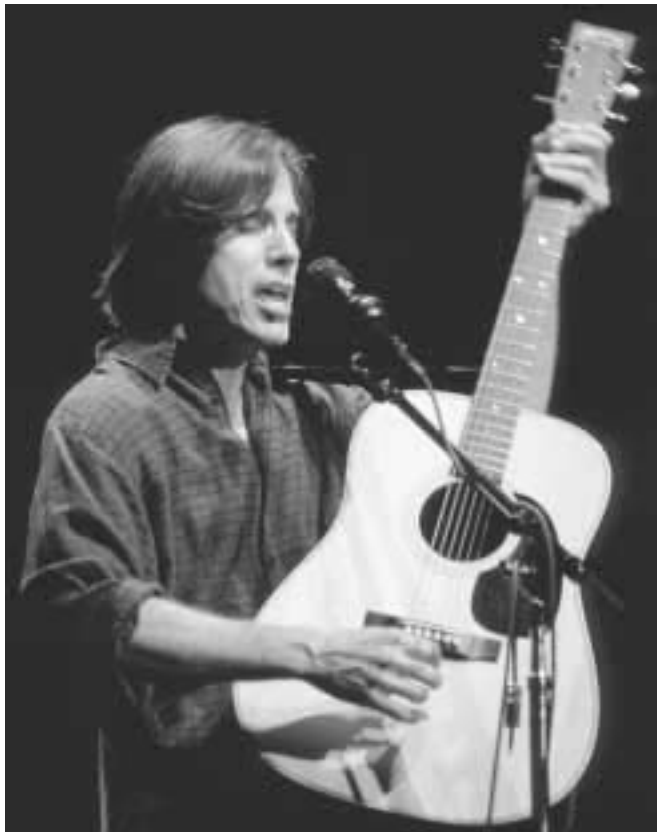
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## Browne, Jackson (1948—)

Romantic balladeer turned political activist, Jackson Browne is one of America's most enduring singer-songwriters. Raised in Southern California, Browne joined the Nitty Gritty Dirt Band while in high school, but quit to pursue a solo career in New York, where he hung out at Andy Warhol's Factory and fell in love with singer Nico. After signing with David Geffen, Browne came home and became part of the L.A. music scene that included Joni Mitchell, the Eagles, and Crosby, Stills and Nash. Browne's first album was released to strong reviews in 1972 and his first single, "Doctor My Eyes," climbed to number eight on Billboard's Top 100. With his poetic songwriting and boyish good looks, Browne's next four albums won both critical



Jackson Browne



Man holding Kodak Brownie camera, 1900.

acclaim and commercial success. In the 1980s, Browne became an outspoken liberal activist and his songwriting began to take on a strongly political cast. After a very public split with actress Darryl Hannah in 1991, Browne's songs once again turned confessional. Long regarded as one of the most important artists to come out of Southern California, Jackson Browne remains one of the music industry's most complex and fascinating figures.

—Victoria Price

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## Brownie Cameras

The Brownie Camera revolutionized popular photography worldwide by bringing it within the reach of all amateurs, including children. Commissioned by George Eastman and manufactured by the Eastman Kodak Company, it was launched in February, 1900. A small box camera that utilized removable roll-film and a simple rotary shutter, the new Brownie sold for just one dollar, plus fifteen cents extra for film. Its name was derived from Palmer Cox's familiar and beloved pixies, whose image Kodak incorporated into its brilliant and concentrated advertising campaign; even the box in which the cameras were packaged featured Cox's colorful characters. The Brownie was an immediate success: 100,000 sold within a single year. Various features were added over the next few decades, including color on the Beau Brownie of the early 1930s, and flash contacts on the Brownie

Reflex introduced in 1946. Many special Brownies were also made, such as the Boy Scout Brownie (1932, 1933-34) and the New York World's Fair Baby Brownie (1939). The last Brownie model, the Brownie Fiesta, was discontinued in 1970.

—Barbara Tapa Lupack

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## Brubeck, Dave (1920—)

Jazz legend Dave Brubeck is famous both as a composer and pianist. As the leader of the Dave Brubeck Quartet with alto saxophonist Paul Desmond, he achieved overwhelming popular success in the 1950s and 1960s. The Quartet's experimentation with unusual time signatures produced works like "Blue Rondo a la Turk" and "Take Five" among others, and Brubeck introduced millions of enthusiastic young listeners to jazz. In less than a decade, the Dave Brubeck Quartet became one of the most commercially successful jazz groups of all time.

Although some jazz traditionalists felt that Brubeck was playing "watered-down" bebop to sell records, his music brought jazz back into the mainstream of popular music. "Take Five" became Brubeck's signature tune, and it remains one of the most widely recognized jazz compositions in the world.

—Geoff Peterson

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## Bruce, Lenny (1925-1966)

From the late 1940s until his death in the 1960s, Lenny Bruce's unique comedy included social commentary, "lewd" material, and pointed personal monologues. He addressed issues of sex, race, and religion, and often did so using profanity. Many of his era called his humor "sick," and Journalist Walter Mitchell referred to him as "America's #1 Vomic." Police arrested Bruce numerous times for obscenities, which helped him to become a champion of First Amendment rights and of freedom of speech in general. His work on and off stage permanently changed the face of comedy, particularly stand-up comedy, and pushed the limits of what was considered "socially acceptable" in many mediums. By 1990s standards his material was quite tame and is commonly found on television or even in "PG" rated films, but during his time his work was radical. Many well-known comedians, including Joan Rivers, Jonathan Winters, and



Lenny Bruce

Richard Pryor, have attested to Bruce's profound influence on their work.

From approximately the 1920s to the early 1950s, most comedians came out of vaudeville. Comedy, or more precisely jokes, were interspersed in people's vaudeville acts. Jack Benny, for instance, was a vaudeville star who originally did jokes between his violin playing; he eventually played some violin between his jokes or comedy routines. Comedians did a series of "classic" joke-book type jokes, or occasionally a variation on these. In the late 1940s and into the 1950s, comedy began to change with the cultural changes of the times. The United States was experiencing a push towards conservatism; middle-class mores were pervasive and commonly exemplified in such light "comedy" shows as *Father Knows Best* and *Donna Reed*. Additionally, McCarthyism had people fearful of anything "different" they said being held against them. There was, however, also a strong backlash against this conservatism typified in the "Beatnik" movement, including artists such as Allen Ginsburg and Lawrence Ferlinghetti. Bruce was part of this counter-culture movement.

Bruce was born Leonard Alfred Schneider on October 13, 1925 in Mineola, New York. His father, Mickey, was a podiatrist and his mother, Sadie, played bit parts as an actor and did routines in small comedy clubs under the names of Sally Marr and Boots Mallow. From a very young age, Bruce's mother took him to burlesque and nightclubs. Her willingness to expose him to this style of "open sexuality" influenced most of his career. Bruce's very early career was doing conventional comedy routines in the "Borscht Belt"—the Jewish area of the Catskills where many (Jewish) comedians, such as

Danny Kaye and Jerry Lewis, got their start; he also did comedy routines in strip clubs. In 1942, Bruce enlisted in the Navy, serving until 1945, when he was dishonorably discharged for claiming to be obsessed with homosexual ideas.

Bruce started developing his own notable style, which not only included the “obscenities” he is often remembered for, but also a running social commentary told in fast-paced, personally-based monologues that used various accents and voices to emphasize his pointed style. He received his first national recognition when he was on the *Arthur Godfrey Talent Show* in 1948. Soon after, his career was furthered when his act at a San Francisco nightclub, Anne’s 440, was reviewed by influential cutting-edge columnists Herb Caen and Ralph Gleason (who later wrote many of Bruce’s liner notes for his recordings). Some of his early recordings, all under the Fantasy record label, include *Interviews of Our Times*, *American*, and *The Sick Humor of Lenny Bruce*.

Two quintessential personal events also happened during these “earlier” years—Bruce met stripper Honey Harlow in 1951, whom he married that year in June, and he was introduced to heroin, which became a life-long habit and another reason for his many arrests. Harlow had six abortions, some say at the insistence of Bruce, and later gave birth to a daughter, Brandie Kathleen “Kitty,” in 1955. When Bruce and Harlow divorced in 1957, Bruce was awarded custody of Kitty.

In the early 1960s Bruce’s career skyrocketed, and by February 1961 he performed to a full house at Carnegie Hall. While he was popular with people immersed in the counter-culture movement, he also attracted many mainstream and even conservative people. Mainstream comedians, such as Steve Allen, understood, appreciated, and supported his comedy; Bruce appeared on Allen’s television show three times. Others were highly insulted, not just by his “obscene language,” but, for instance, by what they considered his blasphemous attitudes towards organized religion. His act “Religions, Incorporated,” in which he compared religious leaders to con artists and crooks, infuriated some and made others praise the raw intelligence and honesty of his comedy. Other people were critical, but titillated by his humor. Bruce often told the story about how people said they were horrified by his common “threat” to urinate on his audience, but when he would not do it people would complain and ask for their money back.

The 1960s brought Bruce’s long series of arrests for narcotics and obscenities, as well as his being banned from performing. In September 1961, he was arrested for possession of narcotics, though the charges were dropped because he had authorized prescriptions—but in October 1962 he was once again arrested for possession of narcotics in Los Angeles. With his January 1, 1963 arrest for narcotics possession, however, some began to question whether the circumstances surrounding his arrests were, at the very least, “suspicious”; his convictions were based on testimony by an officer who was at the time suspected of smuggling drugs. Conversely, though, Bruce himself once turned in a small-time drug dealer in exchange for his own freedom from a drug charge.

Bruce’s first and probably best known arrest for obscenity was in October 1961. He used the word “cocksucker” in his act at the San Francisco Jazz Workshop; the word violated the California Obscenity Code. (A number of reviewers have pointed out that in the 1980s Meryl Streep won an Academy Award for the movie *Sophie’s Choice*, where she also used the term “cocksucker.”) With lawyer Albert Bendich—who represented Allen Ginsberg when he was charged

with obscenity for his book *Howl*—Bruce eventually emerged victorious and the event was seen as a landmark win for First Amendment rights.

In October 1962, Bruce was arrested for being obscene during his act at Hollywood’s Troubador Theater. In the same year, after two Australian appearances, he was kicked out of Australia and banned from Australian television; he was also deported from England twice. In April 1963, on arriving in England, he was classified as an “undesirable alien” and sent back to the United States within two hours. Upon arrival in the United States, customs agents stripped and internally searched Bruce. Soon after, he was arrested for obscenity in both Chicago and Miami. In 1963, Bruce also published his autobiography, *How To Talk Dirty and Influence People*, and it was eventually serialized in *Playboy* magazine. Despite—or perhaps because of—these events, Bruce continued to make recordings throughout the early 1960s, including *To Is a Preposition, Come is a Verb, The Berkeley Concert*, and *Live at the Curran Theatre*.

Another of Bruce’s pivotal and very influential obscenity arrests occurred in April 1964 at New York’s Cafe A Go-Go, where Tiny Tim was his warm-up act. Over 100 well-known “alternative” artists and activists, including Dick Gregory, Bob Dylan, Joseph Heller, James Baldwin, and Gore Vidal, signed a petition which Allen Ginsberg helped write. The petition protested New York using obscenity laws to harass Bruce, whom they called a social-satirist on par with Jonathan Swift and Mark Twain. Bruce himself said he did not believe his arrest was about obscenity, but rather his views against the system. New York’s District Attorney of that time, Richard Kuh, felt Bruce should not be shown mercy because he lacked remorse; Bruce openly stated he had no remorse and was only seeking justice. On November 4, 1964, his work was deemed illegal for violating “contemporary community standards” and for being offensive to the “average person.” This was a severe blow to Bruce, as clubs were afraid to hire him: if New York City responded in such a way, other clubs around the United States would surely be shut down if he were to perform in them. In October 1965, Bruce went to the San Francisco office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), complaining that California and New York were conspiring against his rights. Not surprisingly, the FBI took no action.

Between difficulty being hired, his drug addiction, and his financial concerns, Bruce found himself in an extremely difficult predicament. A few days after complaining to the FBI he filed bankruptcy in Federal Court. A few months later, under the influence of drugs, he fell 25 feet out a window, resulting in multiple fractures in both his legs and ankles. His last performance was at the Fillmore West in San Francisco in June 1966, where he played with Frank Zappa and The Mothers of Invention. Two months later, on August 3, 1966, Bruce was dead from a so-called accidental overdose of morphine. Some say the police staged photographs of the scene to make it look as if he accidentally overdosed. Regardless of the circumstances, conspiracy and harassment were on Bruce’s mind when he died—at the time of his death he was in the midst of writing about the Fourth Amendment, which guarantees people protection against “unreasonable search and seizure.”

Sadly, Bruce neither lived to see his New York obscenity conviction overruled in 1966, nor the dramatic changes that much of his pioneering work helped catalyze. Ironically, by the 1970s, many plays, books, and movies, were produced about Bruce that romanticized and glorified his work. In death, he became part of the mainstream entertainment world that often shunned him. The most well-known and mainstream of these productions was the 1974 film

*Lenny*, based on the play by Julian Barry and starring Dustin Hoffman as Bruce. Indeed, despite his incredible influence, many born after his time thought of Bruce only as Hoffman's portrayal in this stylized film. Paradoxically, only eight years after his death, the film *Lenny* was only given an "R" rating for routines that got Bruce arrested time and time again. That his own work was considered so "tame" just a short time after his death is perhaps a testimony to the degree of change Lenny Bruce really initiated.

—tova gd stabin

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## Bryant, Paul "Bear" (1913-1983)

Legend, hero, homespun philosopher, not to mention fashion statement in his houndstooth check hat, Paul "Bear" Bryant has been called a combination of "ham and humble pie." A museum and a football stadium in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, bear his name, and a movie, released in August 1984, called, simply, *The Bear*, recounts his life. His wife, however, didn't like the film; she couldn't imagine actor Gary Busey playing her husband. "Papa was *handsome*," she said, and it was not only she who thought this. Men as well as women agreed that Bear Bryant was a good-looking man. Morris Franks, a writer for the *Houston Chronicle*, averred, "No Hollywood star ever made a more dramatic entrance. He would jut that granite-like jaw out, turn his camel's hair topcoat collar up and be puffing on a cigarette." The coach evinced a wide-ranging appeal; even his life was a sort of romance. He married his college sweetheart, Mary Harmon, a University of Alabama beauty queen, and for 48 years she remained by his side as best friend, alter ego, and helpmate to the man who had once wrestled a bear in his home state of Arkansas for five bucks and won.

Paul Bryant satisfied America's craving for rags-to-riches and larger-than-life stories. As the eleventh of twelve children, young

Paul grew up dirt poor in rural Arkansas, in a place called Morro Bottom that consisted of six houses on Morro Creek. The Bryant home was made up of four small rooms, a big dining room, and a little upstairs area; but Paul thought of it as a plantation, and in the mornings and evenings before and after school, he worked behind the plow. He didn't own a pair of shoes until age 13, but as he affirmed to the boys who played on his teams, "If you believe in yourself and have pride and never quit, you'll be a winner. The price of victory is high but so are the rewards."

Bryant played college football at the University of Alabama on the same team as Don Hudson, who was thought to be the greatest pass-catching end in football in 1934. Nicknamed "Old 43" or "the Other End," Paul may not have been *The End*, but he became a hero after playing a game against rival Tennessee with a broken leg. When the team doctor removed his cast, Bryant was asked if he thought he could play, and the rest is legend. Number 43 caught an early pass and went for a touchdown. Later in the game, he threw a lateral to a player who scored another. Examining the X-rays of the broken bone, Atlanta sportswriter Ralph McGill, who had initially been doubtful about the injury, acclaimed Bryant's courage, but Bear, in typical big-play fashion, replied, "It was just one little bone."

Bryant went on to head coaching jobs at Maryland, Kentucky, and Texas A & M, before returning to the University of Alabama. When asked to come back to his alma mater, Bryant gave his famous "Mama Called" speech to the fans and players at A & M. He said, "When you were out playing as a kid, say you heard your mother call you. If you thought she just wanted you to do some chores, or come in for supper, you might not answer her. But if you thought she *needed*



Paul "Bear" Bryant

you, you'd be there in a hurry." Bryant served as head coach at the University of Alabama from 1958 to 1982, where he led the Crimson Tide to 323 victories and six national championships. He was named the National Coach of the Year in 1961, 1971, and 1973, and SEC Coach of the Year ten times.

Although he guided the Crimson Tide to thirteen SEC titles, Coach Bryant stood for more than winning; he was a role model. His players maintain that he taught them about life. The coach liked to say that life was God's gift, and a commitment should be made to put something into it.

Paul Bear Bryant never failed in his dedication to the sport he loved. After his death, Bryant's heartfelt eulogies describing what the Bear meant to Alabama, to coaching, and to the players who had been molded by him, led author Mickey Herkowitz to conclude that college football without Bryant would be like New Year's Eve without a clock. It was estimated that some 100,000 mourners lined the interstate from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham, Alabama, to pay their last respects to a small town boy known as Bear. "Thanks for the Memories, Bear," their signs read, "We Love You," and "We'll Miss You." A hero had fallen, but he is remembered. Many feel he can never be replaced.

—Sue Walker

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## Bryner, Yul (1915-1985)

In 1951 Yul Brynner, a Russian-born Mongolian, made a multi-award-winning Broadway debut in *The King and I*, and in 1956 he won the Best Actor Oscar for the screen version. He shaved his head for the role, and it is to this image of baldness as a badge of virile exoticism that he owed his subsequent prolific and highly paid film career during the 1960s and 1970s, as well as his continuing status as a twentieth-century icon. Seemingly ageless, he continued to star in revivals of the show until shortly before his much-publicized death from lung cancer. Much of his early life is shrouded in self-created myth, but he arrived in the United States in 1941, having worked as a trapeze artist with the Cirque d'Hiver in Paris until injury intervened. A largely mediocre actor, who appeared in increasingly mediocre films, relying on his mysterious, brooding personality, he is also remembered for his roles as the pharaoh in *The Ten Commandments* (1956) and the black-clad leader of *The Magnificent Seven* (1960).

—Robyn Karney

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## Bubblegum Rock

Bubblegum rock emerged in the late 1960s as a commercial response to demographic changes in the rock music industry. With major rock artists such as the Beatles and the Rolling Stones maturing after 1967 toward more adult styles, both musically and lyrically, as they and their audiences grew up, they left behind a major segment of the rock music marketplace: the pre-teen crowd. The music industry rushed to capitalize on this younger market by assembling studio musicians to record novelty songs with catchy hooks and sing-along lyrics and packaging them as real "bands." The approach worked, resulting in a string of hits including, among many others, "Yummy Yummy Yummy" by Ohio Express, "Simon Says" by 1910 Fruitgum Company, and "Sugar Sugar" by the Archies. The genre peaked in 1969, but the tradition continued into the 1990s with such groups as Hanson that appealed to the pre-teen market.

—Timothy Berg

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## Buck, Pearl S. (1892-1973)

Author and humanitarian activist Pearl S. Buck almost single-handedly created the prism through which an entire generation of Americans formed its opinion about China and its people. Her work and personality first came to the attention of a wide audience in 1931, with the publication of her signature novel *The Good Earth*, based on her experiences growing up in China with a missionary family during the convulsive period from the Boxer Rebellion to the civil wars of the 1920s and 1930s. She wrote more than seventy other books—many of which were best-sellers and Book-of-the-Month Club selections—and hundreds of pieces in many genres, including short stories, plays, poetry, essays, and children's literature, making her one of the century's most popular writers. As a contributing writer to *Asia* magazine (later *Asia and the Americas*), published by her second husband, Richard Walsh, she brought a precocious "Third-World" consciousness to Americans by advocating an end to colonialism while advancing the causes of the peasantry, especially women.

In 1938, Buck became the first of only two American women to win the Nobel Prize for literature, though her books have fallen out of favor with critics and academicians and she is rarely anthologized today or studied in college literature courses. Her work has remained a sentimental favorite of millions of readers around the world. Contemporary Chinese-American writer Maxine Hong Kingston has credited Buck with acknowledging Asian voices, especially those of women, for the first time in Western literature. Biographer Peter Conn declared in his 1996 study *Pearl S. Buck: A Cultural Biography* that "never before or since has one writer so personally shaped the imaginative terms in which America addresses a foreign culture. For two generations of Americans, Buck invented China." He quoted historian James Thomson's belief that Buck was "the most influential Westerner to write about China since thirteenth-century Marco Polo." Living in the United States during the second half of her life,



**Pearl S. Buck**

Buck was prominent in many progressive social movements, lending her support to causes on behalf of disarmament, immigrants, women, and racial minorities. Her outspoken activism, especially during and after World War II, earned her an FBI dossier and the ire of McCarthyists in the 1950s.

Pearl Buck was born Pearl Sydenstricker in Hillsboro, West Virginia, on June 26, 1892, the daughter of Presbyterian missionaries Absalom and Carie (Stulting) Sydenstricker, who were then on leave from their post in China, to which they returned when Pearl was three months old. Except for a brief foray in the States around the time of the Boxer Rebellion, Pearl stayed in China until 1910, when she enrolled in Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Virginia, graduating as president of the class of 1913 and remaining as a teaching assistant in psychology. She returned to China soon afterwards to care for her ailing mother and remained there for most of the next twenty years, during which time she took an avid interest in the daily lives of Chinese peasants as well as the intellectuals' movements for reforms in literature and society that, in 1919, coalesced in the May 4 movement. Since she was fluent in Chinese language and culture, Buck came to support the new wave in Chinese literature, a dissident movement that called for a complete reconstruction of literature as a

way of promoting political and social change. In 1917, she had married John Lossing Buck, an agricultural missionary, and moved with him to Nanhsuchou, where she experienced firsthand the backwardness and poverty that would later find its way into the pages of her fiction and nonfiction.

During the 1920s, Buck began interpreting China to American readers through articles she wrote for the *Atlantic*, the *Nation*, and other magazines. In 1924 she and her husband returned briefly to the United States, both to pursue masters degrees at Cornell University, hers in English and his in agricultural economics. Using a masculine pen name, she won a prestigious campus literary prize for her essay "China and the West," which criticized China's traditional treatment of women and girls while praising the achievements of Chinese art and philosophy. The couple returned to Nanjing but were forced to flee in 1927 during the Chinese civil war, taking refuge in Japan for a while before returning to Shanghai. They were soon alienated by the corruption and elitism of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang and by the violence of Mao Zedong's Communists. Motivated by a need to find a suitable school for their mentally retarded daughter, Carol, the Bucks returned to the United States in 1929 thanks to a Rockefeller Foundation grant for John's agricultural survey work. Pearl had already begun to write novels about her experiences in China; the first of them, *East Wind, West Wind*, was published by John Day in 1930. It was among the first serious novels to interpret to American readers the upheavals in traditional Chinese society, particularly in terms of the changing role of women. On March 2, 1931, John Day published Buck's second novel, *The Good Earth*. The book became an overnight sensation after Will Rogers lauded it on the front page of the *New York Times* as "not only the greatest book about a people ever written but the best book of our generation." *The Good Earth* won Buck a Pulitzer Prize in 1932, was translated into some thirty languages, and was made into a popular motion picture. MGM's offer of \$50,000 for the film rights was at the time the most lucrative deal between an author and a Hollywood studio. Buck's always precarious financial situation improved considerably, and she found herself much in demand as a lecturer and writer. She moved to the United States permanently in 1932, the year John Day published her third novel, *Sons*.

Like a prophet without honor in her own country, however, Buck soon found herself the target of criticism from church leaders who objected to the absence of a positive Christian message in *The Good Earth*, as when a Presbyterian bureaucrat complained to Buck that "the artist in you has apparently deposed the missionary." A year later, in the presence of church officials at a Presbyterian women's luncheon in New York, she courageously denounced typical missionaries as "narrow, uncharitable, unappreciative, ignorant" in their zeal for conversion, which put her at the center of an already gathering storm critical of the missionary endeavor. Her break with denominational orthodoxy was sealed in an article she wrote for *Cosmopolitan*, "Easter, 1933," in which she repudiated dogmatism and found humanitarian parallels between the teachings of Christ and the Buddha; shortly after its publication, she resigned as a Presbyterian missionary.

Buck continued writing fiction about China, and John Day published her fourth novel, *The Mother*, in 1934, about the tribulations of an unnamed Chinese peasant widow abandoned by her husband and condemned by custom to a life of loneliness and sexual frustration. In June of 1935, she got a Reno divorce from her husband and, that same day, married Richard Walsh, her editor/publisher at John Day. Buck had already begun to assume a significant role in the



company's affairs, especially in the editorial direction of *Asia* magazine, which he had just taken over. With Walsh and Buck at its helm, the periodical quickly changed from being a travel-oriented publication to a serious journal of ideas, with contributions by Lin Yutang, Bertrand Russell, Rabindranath Tagore, Margaret Mead, Agnes Smedley, and other noted writers and intellectuals. As a contributor, Pearl Buck expressed her growing dissatisfaction with Chiang Kai-shek's policies while remaining anti-Communist herself.

During this period, the Walshes adopted four children, and in 1936 John Day published Buck's memoir of her mother, *The Exile*. A commercial as well as critical success, it was soon followed with *Fighting Angel*, a memoir of her father. As a boxed set, the two were offered as a joint Book-of-the-Month Club selection, *The Flesh and the Spirit*. It was during this period that Buck began to ally herself with American pacifist and disarmament groups, such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, as well as with the Urban League and other groups advocating racial desegregation. She also became increasingly concerned about the rise of Nazism and the plight of Jews in Europe. The couple founded the China Emergency Relief Committee, with Eleanor Roosevelt as its honorary chair, to give humanitarian aid to victims of Japanese aggression in East Asia.

In 1938, Pearl Buck became the fourth woman and the first American woman to be awarded the Nobel Prize for literature, a decision that was greeted with derision in some American literary circles, who felt Buck was too much of a "popular" writer to deserve such an honor. When told of the award, she remarked in Chinese "I don't believe it," adding in English, "It should have gone to [Theodore] Dreiser." While the prize was given for the entire body of her work, the twin biographies of her parents were specifically cited as her finest works. In her Nobel lecture, she argued that the great Chinese novels should be regarded as highly in the West as the works of Dickens or Tolstoy.

Just before the United States became involved in World War II, Walsh and Buck founded the East and West Association "to help ordinary people on one side of the world to know and understand ordinary people on the other side." This group, and the other non-governmental organizations in which they were involved, helped solidify a network of American business people and intellectuals that was instrumental in developing American attitudes toward Asia in the postwar period. Also during the 1940s, Buck became more deeply interested in women's issues at home. In 1941 she published *Of Men and Women*, a collection of nine essays on gender politics that challenged the patriarchal hegemony in American society. A *New York Times* critic even argued that Buck's view of gender resembled that of Virginia Woolf's. Resisting the "official" stance of mainstream women's organizations, Buck became a fervid supporter of more radical women's-rights groups that first proposed the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, though Buck still hesitated to call herself "a feminist or active in women's suffrage."

Buck's novel *Dragon Seed* was published in 1942, after the United States had entered the Pacific War. The book, which called particular attention to war as an example of savagery against women, drew much of its narrative from actual events, such as the Japanese rape of Nanjing, and it also urged its Chinese protagonists to endure privation and create a new, more humanitarian society. At home, she was among the most vociferous critics of segregation and racial discrimination, which she thought unworthy of the noble cause for which American sacrifices were being made. She supported the growing claims of African Americans for equality, and emerged as a strong proponent of the repeal of exclusion laws directed against

Chinese immigration. Buck had been under FBI surveillance since her pacifist activities in the 1930s, and her appearance at rallies with such leftist activists as Paul Robeson and Lillian Hellman earned her a 300-page dossier, one of the longest of any prominent writer. During the postwar era, Buck was accused of membership in several "Communist Front Organizations."

Although she continued to write, little of her later fiction achieved the literary stature of her earlier work, with the possible exception of *Imperial Woman* (1956), a fictionalized account of the last Empress Dowager Tz'u-hsi, who had ruled China during Buck's childhood there. Her autobiography, *My Several Worlds*, was published in 1954; a sequel, *A Bridge to Passing*, appeared in 1962. Her activism continued unabated, however, and she founded Welcome House, an adoption agency for interracial children, especially for Amerasians, which placed children with adoptive parents regardless of race. During the 1960s, her reputation escaped untarnished when her companion, Ted Harris—her husband, Richard Walsh, had died in 1953—was vilified in the press for alleged irregularities and personal wrongdoing in connection with the Welcome House organization.

In the early 1970s, when relations with Communist China began to thaw, Buck hoped to visit China with the Nixon entourage, but her request for a visa was turned down by the Chinese government who accused her works of displaying "an attitude of distortion, smear and vilification towards the people of new China and its leaders." It was obvious that her record of leftist activism did not engender support within the Nixon administration. She became ill soon afterwards, and after a bout with gall bladder complications, she died on March 6, 1973.

—Edward Moran

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## Buck Rogers

Long before *Star Trek* and *Star Wars*, there was *Buck Rogers*, the first comic strip devoted to science fiction. Debuting early in 1929, it introduced readers to most of its stock features, including rocket ships, space travel, robots, and ray guns, concepts considered by most to be wildly improbable, if not downright impossible. A graduate of a pulp fiction magazine, Anthony "Buck" Rogers served as a sort of ambassador for the science fiction genre, presenting many of its premises, plots, and props to a mass audience. Indeed, it was *Buck Rogers* that inspired a wide range of people, from creators of comic book superheroes and future astronauts to scientists and Ray Bradbury. *Buck Rogers in the 25th Century*, as the strip was initially titled, helped introduce the United States to the possibilities of the future, such as space travel and the atomic bomb, while simultaneously offering quite a few wild and exciting adventures.

Buck Rogers was the creation of Philadelphia newspaperman Philip Francis Nowlan, who was forty when he sold his first science fiction story to *Amazing Stories*. Titled "Armageddon—2419 A.D.," it appeared in the August 1928, issue, and featured twenty-nine-year-old Anthony Rogers, who got himself trapped in a cave-in at an

abandoned Pennsylvania coal mine. Knocked out by an accumulation of radioactive gases, Rogers slept for five centuries and awakened to a world greatly changed. America was no longer the dominant power in the world. In fact, the nation was a “total wreck—Americans a hunted race in their own land, hiding in dense forests that covered the shattered and leveled ruins of their once-magnificent cities.” The world was ruled by Mongolians, and China was the locus of power. Finding that the Han Airlords ruled North America, Rogers joined the local guerilla movement in its fight against the conquerors, and took advantage of 25th century anti-gravity flying belts and rocket guns, as well as his own knowledge, to concoct winning strategies against them.

His partner was Wilma Deering, destined to be *the* woman in his life, who he met soon after emerging from the mine. A dedicated freedom fighter, Wilma was considerably more competent and active than most comparable female science fiction characters of the time. Rogers and Wilma, along with their other new comrades, saved America in Nowlan’s sequel, “The Airlords of Han,” which appeared in *Amazing Stories* the following year. By that time, Anthony Rogers, newly-named Buck, was the hero of his own comic strip.

John F. Dille, who ran his own newspaper feature syndicate in Chicago, noticed Nowlan’s initial story in *Amazing Stories*, and encouraged him to turn it into a comic strip, “a strip which would present imaginary adventures several centuries in the future—a strip in which the theories in the test tubes and laboratories of the scientists could be garnished up with a bit of imagination and treated as realities.” Dille picked artist Dick Calkins to work with Nowlan, who was already on the syndicate staff and had been trying to interest his boss in a strip about cavemen and dinosaurs. Apparently assuming that someone who could depict the dim past ought to be able to do the same for the far future, Dille put Calkins on the team. *Buck Rogers in the 25th Century*, a daily strip at first, began on Monday, January 7, 1929, the same day, coincidentally, that the *Tarzan* comic strip was launched.

Readers responded favorably to *Buck Rogers*, and it began picking up papers across the country. One early fan was a young fellow in the Midwest by the name of Ray Bradbury. Many years later, he recalled the impact that the early strips had on him: “What, specifically, did Buck Rogers have to offer that instantly ‘zapped’ us into blind gibbers of love? Well, to start out with mere trifles—rocket guns that shoot explosive bullets; people who fly through the air with ‘jumping belts’; ‘hovercrafts’ skimming over the surface of the earth; disintegrators which destroyed, down to the meanest atom, anything they touched; radar-equipped robot armies; television-controlled rockets and rocket bombs; invasions from Mars; the first landing on the Moon.”

Among the regular characters, in addition to Buck and Wilma, were Dr. Huer, scientific genius, inventor, and mentor to Buck; Black Barney, a reformed air pirate; Killer Kane, slick-haired traitor and recurrent villain; and Buddy Deering, teenage brother of Wilma. When a Sunday page was added early in 1930, it was devoted chiefly to Buddy’s adventures. It was intended to appeal to youthful readers who supposedly made up the majority audience for Sunday funnies. Buddy spent much of his time on Mars, where he was often involved with young Princess Aura of the Golden People. In separate daily sequences, Buck also journeyed to the Red Planet, but concentrated on battling the evil Tiger Men. The Martian equivalent of the Mongols, the Tiger Men had come to earth in their flying saucers to kidnap human specimens. When they grabbed Wilma for one of their experiments, Buck designed and built the world’s first interplanetary rocket ship so that he could rescue the victims who had been taken to

Mars. “Roaring rockets!” he vowed. “We’ll show these Martians who’s who in the solar system!”

Astute readers in the 1930s may have noticed that the Sunday pages were considerably better looking than the daily strips. That was because a talented young artist named Russell Keaton was ghosting them. He remained with the feature for several years. When he left to do a strip of his own, he was replaced by another young ghost artist, Rick Yager. *Buck Rogers*, especially on Sundays, was plotted along the lines of a nineteenth-century Victorian picaresque novel. There was a good deal of wandering by flying belt, rocket ship, and on foot. Characters drifted in and out, appeared to be killed, but showed up again later on after having assumed new identities. Reunions and separations were frequent. The strip’s trappings, however, were far from Dickensian, offering readers the latest in weapons, modes of transportation, and lifestyles of the future. By 1939, the atomic bomb was appearing in the strip. With the advent of World War II, most of the villains were again portrayed as Asians.

*Buck Rogers* also played an important role in the development of the comic book. A reprint of a *Buck Rogers* comic book was used as a premium by Kellogg’s in 1933, which was before modern format comic books had ever appeared on the newsstands. In 1934, *Famous Funnies*, the first regularly-issued monthly comic, established the format and price for all comic books to follow. The *Buck Rogers* Sunday pages, usually four per issue, began in the third issue. It also seems likely that Buck Rogers and his associates, who were among the first flying people to be seen in comic books, had an influence on the flying superheroes who came along in the original material funny books of the later 1930s.

Almost as impressive as Buck’s daring exploits 500 years in the future, was his career as a merchandising star during the grim Depression era. In 1932, a *Buck Rogers* radio show began airing, heard every day in fifteen-minute segments and sponsored by Kellogg’s. The serial was heard in various forms throughout most of the decade and into the next. In 1933, the first Big Little Book devoted to the futuristic hero was printed. Buck Rogers was marketed most successfully in the area of toys. Commencing in 1934, Daisy began manufacturing Buck Rogers rocket pistols; that same year the Louis Marx company introduced a toy rocket ship. The zap guns were especially popular, so much so that Daisy began producing them at night and on Saturdays to meet the demand.

Buck Rogers conquered the silver screen in the 1930s. Universal released a twelve-chapter serial in 1939, with Buster Crabbe as Buck, and Constance Moore as Wilma. Anthony Warde, who made a career of playing serial heavies, was Killer Kane. Not exactly a gem in the chapter play genre, *Buck Rogers* took place on Earth and Saturn. The serial was later condensed into a 101-minute feature film. Under the title *Destination Saturn*, it occasionally shows up on late-night television.

Nowlan was removed from the strip shortly before his death in 1940, and Calkins left in 1947. Rick Yager carried on with the Sunday pages and the dailies before Murphy Anderson took over. By the late 1950s, George Tuska, also a graduate of the comic books, was drawing both the Sunday and the daily strips. Science fiction writers such as Fritz Leiber and Judith Merrill provided scripts. The Sunday strip ended in 1965, and the daily two years later. But Buck Rogers was not dead.

He returned, along with Wilma and Doc Huer, in a 1979 feature film that starred Gil Gerard. That production led to a television series and another comic strip, written by Jim Lawrence, drawn by Gray

Morrow, and syndicated by the *New York Times*. None of these latter ventures was particularly successful, and more recent attempts to revive Buck Rogers have been even less so.

—Ron Goulart

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## Buckley, William F., Jr. (1925—)

William F. Buckley Jr. found fame as the voice of conservatism. Founder of the *National Review*, the conservative journal of opinion of which he was editor-in-chief until 1990, Buckley also worked as an influential political advisor and popular novelist. Buckley aptly described the effect of his *National Review* through his character Boris Bolgin in his spy novel *Who's on First*. “Do you ever read the *National Review*, Jozsef?”, asks Boris Bolgin, the chief of KGB counter intelligence for Western Europe, ‘It is edited by this young bourgeois fanatic. Oh, how they cried about the repression of the counter-revolutionaries in Budapest! But the *National Review* it is also angry with the CIA for—I don’t know; not starting up a Third World War, maybe? Last week—I always read the *National Review*, it makes me so funny mad—last week an editorial said’—he raised his head and appeared to quote from memory—‘The attempted assassination of Sukarno last week had all the earmarks of a CIA operation. Everybody in the room was killed except Sukarno.’”

William Frank Buckley, Jr. was born in New York City in 1925 into a wealthy Connecticut family of Irish decent. He grew up in a devout Christian Catholic atmosphere surrounded by nine brothers and sisters. He attended Millbrook Academy in New York and then served as a second lieutenant in World War II. After his discharge in 1946 he went to Yale bringing with him, as he wrote, “a firm belief in Christianity and a profound respect for American institutions and traditions, including free enterprise and limited government.” He found out that Yale believed otherwise. After graduating with honors in 1950, he published the public challenge to his alma mater *God and Man at Yale* in 1951. It brought him instant fame. He claimed that Yale’s “thoroughly collectivist” economics and condescending views towards religion could only lead towards a dangerous relativism, a pragmatic liberalism without a moral heart. What America required and conservatism must supply was a fighting faith, noted David Hoeverler in *Watch on the Right*, and William ‘Bill’ Buckley, Jr. was just the man for the job.

In 1955 he founded the *National Review*, creating one of the most influential political journals in the country. His syndicated column, *On the Right*, which he started to write in 1962, has made its weekly appearance in more than 300 newspapers. Not only in print has he been America’s prime conservative voice, Buckley also hosts the Emmy award-winning show *Firing Line*—Public Broadcasting Service’s longest-running show—which he started in 1966. The

Young Americans for Freedom Movement (1960) which aimed at conservative control of the Republican Party was Buckley’s brainchild. He has written and edited over 40 books which include political analyses, sailing books and the Blackford Oakes spy novels and has been awarded more than 35 honorary degrees. In 1991 he received the Presidential Medal of Freedom. As a member of the secretive Bilderberg Group and the Council on Foreign Relations—founded in 1921 as an advisory group to the President—he also plays an important political advisory role. His spy novels, however, show most clearly how much he perceived the Cold War to be essentially a spiritual struggle.

Remarking to his editor at Doubleday, Samuel Vaughan, that he wanted to write something like ‘Forsyth,’ Vaughan expected a Buckley family saga in Galsworthy’s *Forsythe Saga* tradition. But Buckley was referring to Frederick Forsyth’s *The Day of the Jackal* and produced *Saving the Queen*, which made the best-seller lists a week before its official publication date. After watching the anti-CIA movie *Three Days of the Condor*, Buckley—who himself worked briefly (nine months) as a CIA covert agent—set out to write a book in which “the good guys and the bad guys were actually distinguishable.” That history is the “final” fiction is one of the themes of his Blackford Oakes novels that always take as their starting point an historical “fact.” But his main interest lay in countering the charges that there was no moral difference between Western intelligence and its Soviet counterpart. In his *Craft of Intelligence*, former CIA Director Allen Dulles, who figures frequently in Buckley’s novels, claimed that “Our intelligence has a major share of the task of neutralizing hostile activities. Our side chooses the objective. The opponent has set up the obstacles.” Buckley frames it differently in his novel *Stained Glass*: “Our organization is defensive in nature. Its aim is to defeat your aggressive intentions. You begin by the dissimilarities between Churchill and Hitler. That factor wrecks all derivative analogies.”

Buckley’s conservatism is deeply spiritual but never orthodox. In a direct contradiction of conservative and Republican politics, he claimed in a 1996 cover story of the *National Review* “The War on Drugs Is Lost,” that “the cost of the drug war is many times more painful, in all its manifestations, than would be the licensing of drugs combined with an intensive education of non-users and intensive education designed to warn those who experiment with drugs.” In his syndicated column he wrote of his sister’s cancer chemotherapy and her need for medical marijuana. Buckley’s public stand and personal drama are closely related. In *Watch on the Right*, David Hoeverler sees this communal and familial conservative pathos as a defining quality of Buckley’s character: “The conservative movement for Buckley was a family affair, it flourished with friendships within and struck forcefully at the enemy without.” Nine of the ten Buckley children at one time contributed to the *National Review*.

Being Catholic always mattered more to him than being conservative, Gary Willis noted in his *Confessions of a Conservative*. When asked in an *Online Newshour* interview about his book *Nearer, My God: An Autobiography of Faith*, how his Christian belief influenced his views on conservatism, he laughed his reply: “Well, it’s made me right all the time.”

—Rob van Kranenburg

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## Buckwheat Zydeco (1947—)

Stanley “Buckwheat” Dural, Jr. is one of the premier performers and representatives of the black Creole dance music of southwest Louisiana known as zydeco. In 1979, after playing for nearly three years in Clifton Chenier’s band, he added Zydeco to his nickname and formed the *Ils Sont Partis* Band, which takes its title from the announcer’s call at the start of each horse race at Lafayette’s Evangeline Downs, in the heart of French-speaking Louisiana. An accomplished accordionist, Buckwheat has perhaps done more than anyone else to popularize zydeco and increase its appeal within a wider popular culture. He played for President Clinton’s inaugural parties and for the closing ceremonies of the 1996 Summer Olympics in Atlanta. His tunes now find their way on to television commercials and movie soundtracks, but even multiple Grammy Award nominations have not diminished his allegiance to what he calls his “roots music.”

—Robert Kuhlken

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## Budweiser

Along with Coca-Cola, Budweiser beer is America’s drink. One out of five alcoholic drinks sold in America is a Bud, and, now that the King of Beers is being sold in more than 60 countries worldwide, Budweiser is the world’s most popular beer. This lightly-hopped, smooth lager has a long history in the United States, but it was beginning in the 1970s that Budweiser became a true icon of American culture, thanks to a model of commercial development that is the envy of the world. Faced with increasing competition from the Miller Brewing Company, Budweiser parent Anheuser-Busch began putting the Budweiser name everywhere: on coolers, blimps, and boxer shorts; on football games, car races, and other sports. The company’s carefully crafted advertising campaigns were equally ubiquitous: “This Bud’s for you”; “Budweiser . . . The King of



A large, inflatable Budweiser beer can on Cocoa beach in Florida.

Beers”; the Bud Bowl; the Budweiser frogs and lizards; and, of course, the Budweiser Clydesdales all kept the Budweiser brands alive in the consumers’ mind. The brewery bought the St. Louis Cardinals baseball team and opened theme parks in Florida and Virginia; these were family entertainments, but the ties to the beer brands were always evident. Such marketing tactics were backed by the most efficient beer production and distribution systems in the world.

The Anheuser-Busch brewing company traced its history back to St. Louis breweries in the mid-1800s. In 1865, the brewery produced 8,000 barrels; these numbers grew quickly when Budweiser Lager Beer was introduced in 1876. The brewing company expanded horizontally, purchasing bottlers and glass companies. Soon it controlled all the means for producing its beer and in 1901 Anheuser-Busch was well on its way to being America’s brewery, breaking the million-barrel mark for the first time with 1,006,494 barrels. With the nation under the grips of National Prohibition in 1920, the brewery unveiled Budweiser near-beer (selling 5 million cases) and began manufacturing ice cream. With the retraction of Prohibition in 1933 the company introduced the Budweiser Clydesdales, which have remained an icon of the company’s commitment to tradition. In the 1950s, the company implemented plans to open Busch drinking gardens in various cities, in an attempt to tap into a European tradition. In addition, advertising gimmicks became a significant part

of Bud's appeal. From the Clydesdales of the 1930s, advertisers welcomed "Bud Man" in 1969, a campaign which sought to tie the beer to gender roles and expectations of masculinity. Today, Budweiser still uses the saying "This Bud's for you," but it most often aims toward a broader, un-gendered public with advertising gimmicks such as the "Bud Bowl" and talking frogs. Budweiser was also one of the first beers to incorporate requests for responsible-drinking in its advertisements in the late 1980s.

In 1980 Budweiser made history by expanding into the global marketplace with agreements to brew and sell in Canada, Japan, and elsewhere. This corporate development fueled Anheuser-Busch's staggering rise in production, which exceeded 100 million barrels per year in the late 1990s and gave the company nearly half of all beer sales worldwide and around 40 percent of beer sales in the United States. Budweiser—along with the brand extensions Bud Light, Bud Dry, and Bud Ice—is thus poised to become to the rest of the world what it already is to the United States: a mass-produced, drinkable beer that symbolizes the "good life" made possible by corporate capitalist enterprise. Beer purists and fans of locally-produced microbrews may decry the bland flavor and lack of body of the world's best-selling beer, but millions of beer drinkers continue to put their money down on the bar and ask for a Bud.

—Brian Black

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## Buffalo Springfield

Despite releasing three accomplished albums which were innovative and influential exemplars of the "West Coast sound" of the mid- to late 1960s, Buffalo Springfield only had a limited impact on the public consciousness during its brief and tempestuous heyday. However, the continued cultural resonance of their solitary hit single, "For What It's Worth," combined with the subsequent critical acclaim and commercial success of its alumni, has ensured Buffalo Springfield of a somewhat mythical status in popular music history.

The genesis of Buffalo Springfield proceeded slowly through various musical styles and right across the North American continent. Stephen Stills and Richie Furay met in folk music mecca Greenwich Village, and first played together in an eccentric nine-man vocal ensemble called the Au Go Go singers, which released an obscure album in 1964. Fellow singer-songwriter Neil Young encountered Stills in Ontario, and Furay in New York, before befriending bassist Bruce Palmer on the Toronto coffee-house music scene. Young and Palmer joined a blues-rock group, The Mynah Birds, which was



Members of the group Buffalo Springfield c. 1967, featuring Stephen Stills (top) and Neil Young (right).

briefly signed to Motown in 1965. The four young musicians finally came together as a group when Stills and Furay spotted the two Canadians in a Los Angeles traffic jam in early 1966. Supplemented by another Canadian, experienced session drummer Dewey Martin, the fledgling Buffalo Springfield were, in the words of Johnny Rogan, "potentially the most eclectic unit to appear on the West Coast scene since the formation of the Byrds."

Byrds' bassist Chris Hillman arranged for Buffalo Springfield to play at the prestigious Los Angeles club Whisky A Go Go, and the gigs immediately attracted such local luminaries as David Crosby, the Mamas and Papas, and Sonny and Cher. Furay, Stills and Young would later assert that Buffalo Springfield peaked during these early live appearances, and that by comparison, in Young's words, "All the records were great failures." The band released the first of those records in July 1966, Young's precocious "Nowadays Clancy Can't Even Sing" backed with Stills' "Go and Say Goodbye." The single was not a commercial success, but it provides a suitable example of the contrast at this time between Stills' stylish but typical "teenybop" narratives of young love, and Young's more lyrically obtuse repertoire. As Stills later noted, "He [Young] wanted to be Bob Dylan and I wanted to be The Beatles."

Buffalo Springfield's eponymous debut album was released in February 1967. The lyrics to Young's "Burned," "Out of My Mind" and "Flying on the Ground Is Wrong" all alluded to the effects of fashionable psychedelic drugs. Buffalo Springfield achieved commercial success with their next single, "For What It's Worth," which reached number 7 on the national chart. An artistic leap for Stills, the

song was a coolly sardonic study of the violent action of police against hippy protesters on Sunset Strip in late 1966. Though “For What It’s Worth” captured the significance of the conflict between the authorities and the emerging “counterculture,” the single’s sales were concentrated in California, suggesting that middle America had little empathy with such provocative lines as “What a field day for the heat [police]/A thousand people in the street.”

By early 1967, Buffalo Springfield was riven with problems. Palmer had been charged with possession of drugs and deported back to Canada, and Young began to work with former Phil Spector associate Jack Nitzsche. The group played an acclaimed concert with Palmer and without Young at the Monterey Pop Festival in June 1967. Renegade Byrd David Crosby substituted for Young at this legendary zenith of the hippy era. Young returned to Buffalo Springfield in September 1967 and the band released their second long-player. Though *Rolling Stone* pertinently observed that “This album sounds as if every member of the group is satisfying his own musical needs,” the diverse and ambitious *Buffalo Springfield Again* is an acknowledged classic. The album included Young’s impressionistic six-minute collage “Broken Arrow,” Stills’ guitar and banjo epic “Bluebird,” and “Rock ’n’ Roll Woman,” an ode to Jefferson Airplane singer Grace Slick co-written by Stills and Crosby.

Buffalo Springfield unravelled in early 1968: Palmer was busted and deported again in January, and in March, Young, Furay and the latest bassist, Jim Messina, were arrested on a drugs charge with Cream member Eric Clapton. When Buffalo Springfield finally disbanded in May, *Rolling Stone* cited “internal hassle, extreme fatigue coupled with absence of national success and run-ins with the fuzz.” The hippy argot rather disguised the extent to which the internecine egotism of Stills and Young, even more than the drug busts, had dissolved Buffalo Springfield. It was left to Furay and Messina to organise tracks recorded at the end of 1967 for the inevitably inconsistent *Last Time Around*, released in August 1968 after Buffalo Springfield had disbanded.

Stills joined Crosby in the prototypical “supergroup” Crosby, Stills and Nash; Young became a significant solo artist and occasionally augmented CSN; and Furay and Messina formed the country-rock outfit Poco. A reunion of the original members occurred in 1982, but it never advanced beyond rehearsals. Despite being inducted into the Rock ’n’ Roll Hall of Fame in 1997, Buffalo Springfield remains disproportionately represented in popular culture by “For What It’s Worth,” a standard of the soundtracks to many documentaries and movies (*Good Morning Vietnam*, *Forrest Gump*) about the cultural conflicts of the 1960s. In 1998, the song was more imaginatively utilised by rap group Public Enemy in the title song for the film *He Got Game*. Stills’ famous riff and lyrics were combined with the rhymes of Public Enemy’s frontman, Chuck D, in an inspired meeting of two radically different forms and eras of political popular music.

—Marty Bone

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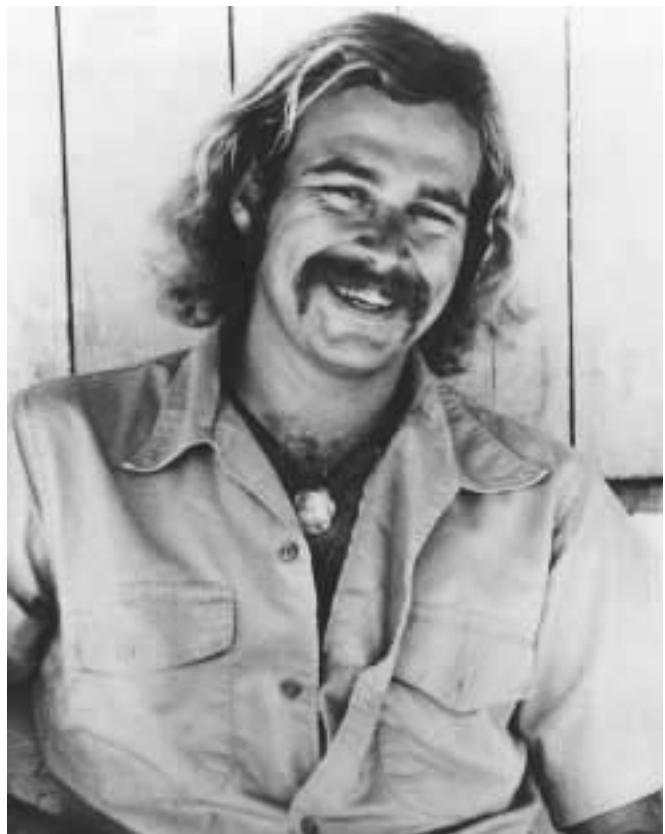
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## Buffett, Jimmy (1946—)

Devoted fans—affectionately dubbed Parrot Heads—find escapism in Jimmy Buffett’s ballads, vicariously experiencing through his strongly autobiographical songs Buffett’s life of beaches, bars, and boats. Yet Buffett’s life has been far more than rum-soaked nights and afternoon naps in beachside hammocks. Even though Buffett relishes his image of “the professional misfit,” this millionaire “beach bum” is actually an ambitious and clever entrepreneur.

Born on Christmas Day, 1946 in Pascagoula, Mississippi, Jimmy Buffett spent most of his youth in the Catholic school system in Mobile, Alabama. During college he learned to play the guitar and started singing in clubs. While attending the University of Southern Mississippi, about 80 miles from New Orleans, Buffett played regularly at the Bayou Room on Bourbon Street. Once he had a taste of performing, his life course was set. Even though he married and took a job at the Mobile shipyards after college, Buffett continued to spend his nights playing at hotel cocktail lounges.

Lacking the money to move to Los Angeles, where Jimmy had a job offer at a club, the Buffetts moved instead to Nashville. Buffett made a living by writing for *Billboard* magazine, but he also continued to write new songs. The first of these songs to get recorded was “The Christian?” on Columbia Records’ Barnaby Label. In 1970, Buffett recorded an album, *Down to Earth*, for the Barnaby label. Sales were so disappointing that Barnaby did not release Buffett’s next album, *High Cumberland Jubilee*, recorded in 1971, until 1977. Buffett hired a band and toured in an attempt to promote his first



Jimmy Buffett

album, but within a few months he ran out of money. Career frustrations took a toll on his marriage.

In his mid-twenties, Buffett found himself broke, divorced, and hating Nashville. Then in 1971, Jimmy Buffett took a trip that changed his life and his music. Fellow struggling singer Jerry Jeff Walker invited Buffett down to his home in Summerland Key, just 25 miles from Key West. It was the beginning of Key West's "decade of decadence," and Buffett quickly immersed himself in the Conch subculture's nonstop party that they referred to as the "full-tilt boogie." To maintain the freedom of his new lifestyle Buffett ran up bar tabs, literally played for his supper, and got involved in the local cottage industry—drug smuggling.

The lifestyle and the local characters became the substance of Buffett's songs. The first of the Key West-inspired songs appeared in 1973 when he landed a record deal with ABC/Dunhill and recorded *A White Sport Coat and a Pink Crustacean*. The tongue-in-cheek "The Great Filling Station Holdup" made it to number 58 on Billboard's country charts. The most infamous song from the album, "Why Don't We Get Drunk (and Screw)," became a popular jukebox selection and the favorite Buffett concert sing-along song.

ABC's rising star, Jim Croce, died in 1973, and the record company looked to Jimmy Buffett to fill his shoes. They even promoted Buffett's next album, 1974's *Living and Dying in 3/4 Time*, with a fifteen-minute promotional film that showed in ABC-owned theaters. "Come Monday" made it all the way to number 30 on the billboard pop charts. For years, Buffett had been making reference to, even introducing, his mythical Coral Reefer Band. In the summer of 1975 he put together an actual Coral Reefer Band to tour and promote his third ABC/Dunhill album, *AIA*. The album contains "A Pirate Looks at Forty," which became a central tale in the mythos Buffett was spinning, and a virtual theme song for every Buffett fan as they neared middle age. 1976's *Havana Daydreamin'* got good reviews and fed the frenzy of his growing cult following; but it was 1977's *Changes in Latitude, Changes in Attitude* that was the defining moment of his career. The album's hit single, "Margaritaville," stayed in the Billboard Top 40 charts for fifteen weeks, peaking at number eight. That summer "Margaritaville" permeated the radio and Buffett opened for the Eagles tour. The exposure helped *Changes in Latitude, Changes in Attitude* go platinum.

The song "Margaritaville" gave a name to the place fans escaped when they listened to Jimmy Buffett's music. And Margaritaville was wherever Jimmy Buffett was playing his music, be that Key West, Atlanta, or Cincinnati. Supposedly it was at a concert in Cincinnati in the early 1980s that Eagles bassist Timothy B. Schmidt looked out at the fans in wild Hawaiian shirts and shark fin hats and dubbed them Parrot Heads. By the late 1980s the Parrot Head subculture had grown to the point that Buffett had become one of the top summer concert draws. The concerts were giant parties with colorful costumes, plentiful beer, and almost everyone singing along out of key with the songs they knew by heart. The concerts were more about the experience than about hearing Jimmy Buffett sing.

Buffett soon found ways to extend the experience beyond the concerts. Although he continued to average an album a year, he also began to develop diverse outlets for his creativity, and aggressively marketed the Margaritaville mythos. The Caribbean Soul line of clothing appeared in 1984, and in 1985 he opened Jimmy Buffett's Margaritaville store in Key West. A few months after opening the store, he sent out a 650 copy initial mailing of *Coconut Telegraph*, a combination fan newsletter and advertising flyer for Buffett paraphernalia. It was in the April 1985 issue that the term Parrot Head was first

officially used to refer to Buffett's fans. By the end of the decade, the newsletter had 20,000 subscribers.

Buffet reasoned that anyone who wanted to read his newsletter would buy a book with his name on it. His first literary effort, in 1988, was *Jolly Mon*, a children's book he co-wrote with his daughter Savannah Jane. The following year, Buffett's collection of short stories, *Tales from Margaritaville*, became a bestseller. His first novel, *Where is Joe Merchant?*, warranted a six figure advance and became a bestseller in 1992. By this time Buffett had opened a Margaritaville cafe next to the store in Key West. Eventually, he opened Margaritaville clubs and gift shops in New Orleans, Charleston, and Universal Studios in Florida.

More than anything else, Jimmy Buffett is a lifestyle artist. Whether it be a Caribbean meal, a brightly colored shirt, a CD, or a live performance, Buffett transports his fans to the state of mind that is Margaritaville.

—Randy Duncan

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## Bugs Bunny

One of the most beloved animated characters of all time, Bugs Bunny proved the likable combination of casual and wise guy who speaks insouciantly with a Brooklyn accent (voiced by Mel Blanc). Bugs has been both comic aggressor and straight man, but his essence is that he is always sympathetic, responding only to provocation (a character wants to eat him, wants him as a trophy, as a good luck piece, as an unwilling participant in an experiment, etc.). Bugs never engages an opponent without a reason, but once he is engaged, it's a fight to the finish with Bugs the comic winner. He can be mischievous, cunning, impudent, a rascally heckler, a trickster, saucy, and very quick with words, but he is never belligerent and prefers to use his wits rather than resort to physical violence.

An embryonic version of Bugs first appeared in Ben Hardaway's 1938 cartoon "Porky's Hare Hunt," in which the rabbit is a screwy tough guy in the wacky and wild tradition of early Daffy Duck. The character is given a screwball, Woody Woodpecker kind of laugh, hops about wildly, and even flies, using his ears as propellers. He has Bugs' penchant for wisecracks ("Here I am, fatboy!"), as well as Bugs' occasional appeals to sympathy ("Don't shoot!"). He also expresses Bugs' later catchphrase (borrowed from Groucho Marx in *Duck Soup*), "Of course you realize, this means war!" However, the white hare is also more aggressively wacky than the later character and would torment his opponents mercilessly.

The character was designed by former Disney animator Charles Thorsen, and although unnamed in the cartoon itself, was christened Bugs Bunny because the design sheet for director Ben "Bugs"

Hardaway was designated "Bugs' Bunny." Hardaway also guided the hare through his second outing (and his first in color) in "Hare-um Scare-um." Director Frank Tashlin alleged that "Bugs Bunny is nothing but Max Hare, the Disney character in 'The Tortoise and the Hare.' We took it—Schlesinger took it, whoever—and used it a thousand times." While both are brash and cocky characters, Bugs was both wilder and funnier, eventually developing into a very distinctive character. Animator and later director Robert McKimson redesigned Bugs Bunny into the modern figure seen in the 1990s.

Bugs faced a number of antagonists over the years, the most famous being Elmer Fudd (voiced by Arthur Q. Bryan), a large-headed hunter with a speech impediment. The pair were first teamed by Charles "Chuck" Jones in "Elmer's Candid Camera," with Elmer stalking the "wascally wabbit" with a camera instead of his usual gun. The team was then appropriated by Fred "Tex" Avery for "A Wild Hare," in which some of Bugs' rougher edges were softened to make him less loony and annoying. Avery also coined Bugs' signature opening line, "Eh, what's up, Doc?" as a memorably incongruous response to a hunter preparing to pepper him with bullets.

Bugs really hit his stride under the direction of Bob Clampett in such cartoons as "Wabbit Trouble," "Tortoise Wins by a Hare," "What's Cooking, Doc?," "Falling Hare," and "The Old Grey Hare." Clampett's Bugs was one of the funniest and wildest incarnations of the character and is much more physical than he later became. These cartoons were later compiled into a feature, *Bugs Bunny Superstar*, where Clampett took sole credit for inventing Bugs Bunny. This did not set well with Jones, who when it came time to assemble *The Bugs Bunny/Road Runner Movie* credited every Bugs Bunny director except Clampett.

Director Friz Freleng specialized in pitting Bugs against Yosemite Sam, a runt-sized alter ego of Freleng himself equipped with an oversized hat, eyebrows, and mustache. Freleng found that Elmer Fudd was too sympathetic and wanted to create an outright villain in Sam. Sam's attempts to get the better of Bugs, the varmint, were eternally and comically frustrated. Sam made his first appearance in "Hare Trigger," and Freleng's Bugs and Sam won an Academy Award for their teaming in "Knighly Knight Bugs."

However, Bugs' finest interpreter was Chuck Jones, who always felt that the rabbit should be motivated to wreak his mischief by an antagonist who tries to push the supposedly timid woodland creature around. Jones found his conception of Bugs materializing in "Case of the Missing Hare," "Super-Rabbit," and "Hare Conditioned." Jones and gag man Michael Maltese created terrific comic sparks by allowing Bugs to play straightman to the forever frustrated Daffy Duck whose plans to get Bugs shot instead of himself constantly go awry. Three titles stand out: "Rabbit Fire," "Rabbit Seasoning," and "Duck! Rabbit! Duck!"

Jones also created the musically based classic Bugs cartoons "Long-Haired Hare," "Rabbit of Seviolle," "Baton Bunny" and "What's Opera, Doc?" as well as using the character to parody the conventions of fairy tales, science fiction, and other genres in "Haredevil Hare," "Frigid Hare," "Bully for Bugs," "Beanstalk Bunny," and "Ali Baba Bunny." These are among the funniest cartoons ever created and ample reason for Bugs' enduring popularity.

—Dennis Fischer

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## Bumper Stickers

The bumper sticker was first used after World War II when new developments in plastic materials led to the production of paper strips with adhesive on the back which allowed them to be fastened onto car bumpers. The first bumper stickers were used almost exclusively during political campaigns to promote candidates and parties. This continued until the mid-1960s when personal statements such as "Make Love, Not War" or "America—Love It Or Leave It" began to appear. The bumper sticker has become a form of folk broadcasting, allowing anyone who owns a car to send out a slogan or message to anyone who happens to read it. Ranging from the serious to the satirical, many of the popular messages which appear on bumper stickers can offer valuable information about Americans' attitudes and concerns over religion, politics, regionalism, abortion, the environment, or any other debatable issue.

—Richard Levine

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## Bundy, Ted (1946-1989)

Ted Bundy, perhaps the most notorious serial killer in American history, was executed amidst much media attention in Florida on the morning of January 24, 1989, for the murder of a 12 year-old girl. At the time of his execution, Bundy had also been convicted for the murders of two Florida State University students and was confessing to the murders of more than 20 other women across the length of the United States. Investigators, however, suspect Bundy actually committed anywhere between 36 to 100 murders in a killing spree that may have begun when he was a teenager in the Pacific Northwest and ended in north Florida. The media spectacle and public celebration outside the walls of the Florida death-house where Bundy was executed climaxed a long-term public fascination with one of the country's most photogenic, charismatic, and seemingly intelligent multiple murderers. Details of Bundy's gruesome murders, his remarkable escapes from police custody, and his "fatal attraction" for women have all managed to circulate throughout American popular mythology.

Ted Bundy's early history is at once ordinary and portentous. Bundy was born Theodore Robert Cowell on November 24, 1946, to Eleanor Louise Cowell in a home for unwed mothers in Burlington,





A car encrusted with bumper stickers.

Vermont. Ostracized by community and family after her pregnancy became an open secret, Louise traveled from her parents in Philadelphia to give birth to Ted, left him at the home in Burlington for a few months to discuss Ted's future with her family, and then finally brought Ted back to the Cowell house. Three years after that, Louise moved with Ted to Tacoma, Washington, to stay with his uncle Jack, a man whose education and intelligence Bundy much admired as he grew up. In Tacoma, Louise met and married a quiet man named Johnnie Bundy, and Ted's last name became Bundy. Much of the literature on Bundy, both popular and academic, focuses on the fact that his mother Louise was unwed and that the father's identity to this day remains a matter of conjecture. Bundy himself frequently downplayed the significance of his illegitimacy to his chroniclers, but he also on occasion implied how his youthful discovery that he was a "bastard" forever changed him.

Also debated in the extensive Bundy literature is the extent to which emotional and/or physical abuse distorted his development. All through the years of Bundy's public notoriety, he and some of his immediate family members insisted that, for the most part, his childhood was a loving, harmonious time. Since a series of psychiatric examinations of Bundy in the 1980s, however, doctors such as Dorothy Lewis have brought to light more of Bundy's early domestic traumas and many have come to believe that Bundy was emotionally

damaged by witnessing his grandfather's alleged verbal and sometimes physical rages against family members. In any event, it seems clear that Bundy developed a fascination for knives and stories of murder quite early in his life—as early as three years of age. During his adolescence, Bundy became secretly obsessed with pornography, voyeurism, and sexually violent detective magazines.

As Bundy matured into a young man, he consciously cultivated an image or public face not dissimilar to how he perceived his uncle Jack: refined, educated, witty, public spirited, and stylish. Early on, he became active in community church events and the Boy Scouts. He later achieved modest academic success in high school and college, eventually attaining admission to law school. He became a worker for the Washington State Republican Party, strongly impressing then Governor Dan Evans. He manned the phone lines at a suicide crisis center and (ironically) studied sexual assault for a Seattle investigatory commission.

Much of Bundy's image making seemed designed to manipulate women in particular. Though the level of Bundy's sex appeal has been exaggerated and romanticized by the media, particularly in the highly rated 1986 NBC television movie *The Deliberate Stranger* (where he was played by handsome actor Mark Harmon), Bundy did engage in a number of romantic relationships during his life. Again, it has become standard in Bundy lore to focus on his relationship with a beautiful,



**Ted Bundy (center) at his trial, 1979.**

wealthy student when he was a junior in college. When the woman jilted Bundy, he vowed to become the kind of sophisticated man who could win her back. When they subsequently became engaged, Bundy coldly rejected her. According to writers such as Ann Rule, this woman is the physical and cultural prototype of Bundy's victims, who tended to be pretty, longhaired, and privileged co-eds. Another of Bundy's long-term lovers, a woman who wrote about her life with Bundy under the penname of Liz Kendall, has become publicly emblematic of the female intimates in Bundy's life who were so damaged by the revelation that he had killed dozens of women and yet remain strangely compelled by the memory of his personality. Even after his 1976 conviction for kidnapping a Utah woman brought Bundy to the national spotlight as a suspected serial killer, he continued to attract favorable female attention, eventually marrying a woman named Carole Boone in a bizarre courtroom ceremony during his second murder trial in 1980.

Bundy's criminal career stretched from coast to coast. He began murdering young college women in Washington State in 1974, either by sneaking into their homes in the middle of the night to abduct and kill them or by luring them with feigned helplessness and/or easy charm from the safety of a crowd into his private killing zone. He next moved on to Utah, where he attended law school by day and killed women by night. He also committed murders in Colorado and Idaho

during this time. In August of 1975, Bundy was arrested for a traffic violation and while he was in custody, police investigators from Utah and Washington compared notes and realized that Bundy was a viable suspect in the multi-state series of murders and kidnappings. Bundy was convicted in the kidnapping and assault of a young Utah woman, sent to prison, and later extradited to Colorado to stand trial for murder. During a lull in the legal proceedings at a courthouse in Aspen in 1977, Bundy escaped from an open window and remained free for five days. Recaptured, Bundy again escaped six months later, this time from a county jail. The second escape was not discovered for hours—time enough for Bundy to be well on his way to his eventual destination at Florida State University (FSU) in Tallahassee. At FSU, Bundy killed two sorority women in the Chi Omega House and shortly thereafter killed a 12 year-old girl in Lake City. These were the last of Bundy's murders.

Bundy's arrest and conviction for the Florida murders twice earned him the death penalty: in 1979 and 1980. His appeals lasted for years, but it became apparent in late 1988 that Bundy would be executed in January of 1989. In a desperate ploy to buy more time, Bundy began confessing details of select murders to investigators from across the country, including Robert Keppel, one of the original detectives assigned to Bundy's murders in the Pacific Northwest. Bundy also granted a widely publicized videotaped interview to

evangelist James Dobson, during which Bundy blamed the pernicious influence of pornography for the murders. In spite of the last-minute confessions, however, Bundy was executed in “Old Sparky,” Florida’s electric chair, as a mob of spectators outside Raiford Prison waved signs with such slogans as “Burn Bundy Burn” and “Chi-O, Chi-O, It’s Off to Hell I Go.”

—Philip Simpson

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## Bungalow

Though we may say so of the American ranch house, the bungalow serves as the archetypal style of American housing. As ideas of homemaking and house planning took shape around the turn of the twentieth century, designers sought a single style that embodied the evolving American ideals in a form that could be dispersed widely. While the sensibility of home design may have seemed modern, it in fact grew out of a regressive tradition known as the Arts and Crafts movement. The bungalow—meaning “in the Bengali style”—with its simplicity of design and functionality of layout, proved to be the enduring product of modernist thought combined with traditional application.

In the late nineteenth century, massive industrial growth centered Americans in cities and often in less than desirable abodes. The arts and crafts movement argued for society to change its priorities and put control back in human hands. One of the most prominent popularizers of the Arts and Crafts movement in the United States was Gustav Stickley. Inspired by William Morris and others, Stickley began publishing *The Craftsman* in 1901 in hopes of initiating a social and artistic revolution. Reacting against industrialization and all of its trappings (from tenement squalor to the dehumanization of labor), Stickley offered readers designs for his well-known furniture and other materials—all handmade. The plans in *The Craftsman* led naturally to model houses, featuring both interior and exterior plans. The Stickley home, wrote the designer-writer, was a “result not of elaborating, but of elimination.” Striking a Jeffersonian chord, Stickley sought a design that would fulfill what he called “democratic architecture”: a way of living for all people. The design for this

unpretentious, small house—usually one-storied with a sloping roof—became known as bungalow and would make it possible for the vast majority of Americans to own their own home.

The homes of such designs played directly into a growing interest in home management, often referred to as home economics. At the turn of the twentieth century, American women began to perceive of the home as a laboratory in which one could promote better health, families, and more satisfied individuals with better management and design. The leaders of the domestic science movement endorsed simplifying the dwelling in both its structure and its amenities. Criticizing Victorian ornamentation, they sought something clean, new, and sensible. The bungalow fulfilled many of these needs perfectly.

While popular literature disseminated such ideals, great American architects also attached the term to the greatest designs of the early 1900s. Specifically, brothers Charles and Henry Green of California and the incomparable Frank Lloyd Wright each designed palatial homes called bungalows. Often, this terminology derived from shared traits with Stickley’s simple homes: accentuated horizontality, natural materials, and restraint of the influence of technological innovation. Such homes, though, were not “democratic” in their intent.

The most familiar use of “bungalow” arrived as city and village centers sprawled into the first suburbs for middle-class Americans, who elected to leave urban centers yet lacked the means to reside in country estates. Their singular homes were often modeled after the original Stickley homes or similar designs from *Ladies’ Home Journal*. Housing the masses would evolve into the suburban revolution on the landscape; however, the change in the vision of the home can be traced to a specific type: the unassuming bungalow.

—Brian Black

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## Burger King

Burger King is a fast-food restaurant franchise that, along with McDonald’s, has come to typify the U.S. “hamburger chain” concept that saw thousands of identical outlets spring up along the nation’s highways after World War II and, later, in cities and towns from coast to coast and around the world. With its orange-and-white signs, Burger King, the “Home of the Whopper,” was founded in Miami in 1954 by James McLamore and David Edgerton. Its first hamburgers were sold for 18 cents, and its flagship burger, the Whopper, was introduced in 1957 for 37 cents. Opened a year before rival McDonald’s was franchised, Burger King was the first among the fast food drive-ins to offer indoor dining. By 1967, when the Pillsbury Corporation bought the company, there were 274 Burger King restaurants nationwide, employing more than 8,000 people. As of the end of 1998, there were 7,872 restaurants in the United States and 2,316 in more than 60 countries selling 1.6 billion Whopper sandwiches each year. Despite complaints from nutritionists about the fatty content of fast-food meals, many time-pressed consumers prefer them for their convenience and economy.

Burger King carved out its own niche in fast-food merchandising by means of several factors: its distinctive Whopper product, a cooking method that relies on flame-broiling instead of frying, and the company's aggressive and creative advertising campaigns. Even so, Burger King remains a distant second to its chief competitor, holding only 19 percent of the market compared to McDonald's 42 percent. The two fast-food giants have long had an ongoing rivalry, each claiming superior products, and even marketing competitive versions of each others' sandwiches. One of Burger King's most successful advertising campaigns in the 1970s mocked the uniformity and inflexibility of its rival's fast-food production with the slogan, "Have it Your Way," implying that customized orders were more easily available at Burger King than at McDonald's.

In 1989, Pillsbury was bought by a British firm, Grand Metropolitan (now Diagio), which acquired Burger King in the bargain. Knowing little about the American tradition of fast food, the British corporation tried to "improve" on the burger/fries menu by offering sit-down dinners with waiters and "dinner baskets" offering a variety of choices. This well-intentioned idea sent profits plummeting, and Burger King did not truly recover for nearly a decade. Also in the late 1990s, Burger King, in cooperation with government attempts at welfare reform, joined an effort to offer employment to former welfare clients. Critics pointed out that fast-food restaurant jobs in general are so low-paid and offer such little chance of advancement that their usefulness to individual workers is limited. Occasionally the defendant in racial discrimination suits, the corporation that owns Burger King was taken to task in 1997 by the Congressional Black Caucus for discriminatory practices against minority franchise owners. The company has increased its investments in African-American banks and its support for efforts of the fledgling Diversity Foods in Virginia in its efforts to become one of the largest black-owned businesses in the United States.

Despite Burger King's second position after McDonald's, the market for fast food is large. Perhaps one of Burger King's own past slogans sums up the outlook of the franchise best, "America loves burgers, and we're America's Burger King."

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Burlesque

The word "burlesque" can refer either to a type of parody or to a theatrical performance whose cast includes scantily-clad women. The second art form grew out of the first: "burla" is Italian for "trick, waggery," and the adjective "burlesca" may be translated as "ludicrous." Borrowed into French, "burlesque" came to mean a takeoff on an existing work, without any particular moral agenda (as opposed to satire). The genre enjoyed a robust life on the French stage throughout the nineteenth century, and found ready audiences in British theaters as well.

The first American burlesques were imports from England, and chorus lines of attractive women were part of the show almost from the start. In 1866, Niblo's Garden in New York presented *The Black Crook*, its forgettable plot enlivened, as an afterthought, by some

imported dances from a French opera, *La Biche au bois*. Public reception was warm, according to burlesque historian Irving Zeidman: "The reformers shrieked, the 'best people' boycotted it," but the bottom line was "box receipts of sin aggregating over \$1,000,000 for a profit of \$650,000." The show promptly spawned a host of imitations—*The Black Crook Junior*, *The White Crook*, *The Red Crook*, *The Golden Crook*—capitalizing shamelessly, and profitably, on Niblo's success.

Two years later an English troupe, Lydia Thompson and Her Blondes, made their New York debut at Woods' Museum and Menagerie on 34th St., "sharing the stage," writes Zeidman, "with exhibitions of a live baby hippopotamus." The play this time was F.C. Burnand's classical travesty *Ixion*, in which the chorus, costumed as meteors, eclipses, and goddesses, thrilled the audience by flashing their ruffled underpants in the Parisian can-can style.

The Thompson company was soon hired away to play at Niblo's in an arabesque comedy called *The 40 Thieves*. The orientalist turn soon worked its way into other shows, including those of Madame Celeste's Female Minstrel Company, which included numbers such as "The Turkish Bathers" and "The Turkish Harem." (Even as late as 1909, Millie De Leon was being billed as "The Odalisque of the East," i.e., the East Coast.) Orientalism was just one avenue down which American burlesque in the last three decades of the nineteenth century went in search of its identity in a tireless quest for plausible excuses to put lots of pretty women on stage while still managing to distinguish itself from what were already being called "leg shows." Minstrelsy and vaudeville were fair game; so were "living pictures," in which members of the troupe would assume the postures and props of famous paintings, preferably with as little clothing as could be gotten away with. (This method of art-history pedagogy was still being presented, with a straight face, half a century later as one of the attractions at the 1939 New York World's Fair.)

By the turn of the century, burlesque shows could be seen on a regular schedule at Manhattan's London Theatre and Miner House and across the East River in Brooklyn at Hyde and Behman's, the Star, and the Empire Theatres. Philadelphia offered burlesque at the Trocadero, 14th Street Opera House, and the Arch, Kensington, and Lyceum Theatres. Even staid Boston had burlesque at the Lyceum, Palace, and Grand Theatres as well as the Howard Atheneum, where young men who considered themselves lucky to catch a glimpse of an ankle if they stood on street corners on rainy days (according to Florence Paine, then a young businesswoman in the Boston shoe trade), "could go to see women who wore dresses *up to their knees*." (And wearing tights; bare legs would not come until later, even in New York.)

A "reputable" burlesque show of the Gay Nineties, according to Zeidman, might have a program such as was offered by Mabel Snow's Spectacular Burlesque Company: "New wardrobes, bright, catchy music and pictures, Amazon marches, pretty girls and novelty specialty acts." By 1917, according to Morton Minsky (proprietor, as were several of his brothers, of a famous chain of New York burlesque houses) the basic ingredients of burlesque were "girls, gags, and music." Minsky describes in detail the first time he saw one of his brothers' burlesque shows at the Winter Garden that year, the first half of which included a choral number (with much kicking of legs in unison, Minsky notes), a comedy skit, a rendition of Puccini's "Un bel di," a turn by a "cooch dancer" (or hootchy-kootch, vaguely derived from Near Eastern belly dancing and the prototype of what would later be called "exotic dancing"), a serious dramatic sketch about a lad gone wrong who commits suicide, a second chorus,



A view from the wings of a typical burlesque show.

an appearance by the company soubrette (originally the saucy maid-servant in French comedy, the term later came to mean a woman who sang such parts), another comedy skit, a third chorus, some vaudeville acrobats, and a choral finale with the entire company, reprising the earlier numbers. A similar but shorter mix followed the intermission. This would remain the structure of Minsky shows for the next two decades.

Nor was such entertainment limited to the East Coast. Burlesque prospered at such houses as the Mutual Theater in Indianapolis, the Star and Garter in Chicago, and the Burbank Theatre in Los Angeles. The Columbia Amusement Company, under the leadership of medicine-show veteran Sam Scribner, operated a circuit called the Eastern Wheel whose chief rival, the Empire Circuit or Western Wheel, it absorbed in 1913. Scribner managed to balance business instinct and a personal goal of creating a cleaner act, and for a time the Columbia Wheel offered what it called “approved” burlesque while competing with upstart organizations (such as the short-lived Progressive Wheel) with its own subsidiary circuit called the American Wheel, whose “standard” burlesque featured cooch dancers, comic patter laced

with double-entendre, and runways for the chorus line extending from the stage out into the audience (an innovation first imported to the Winter Garden by Abe Minsky, who had seen it in Paris at the Folies Bergère). The American Wheel offered 73 acts a year, playing to a total audience of about 700,000 in 81 theaters from New York to Omaha.

Though Scribner’s quest for clean burlesque ultimately proved quixotic, he was neither hypocritical nor alone. The founding editor of *Variety*, Sime Silverman, took burlesque shows seriously as an art form, though he too recognized that this was an uphill fight at best, writing in a 1909 editorial that “Were there no women in burlesque, how many men would attend? The answer is the basic principle of the burlesque business.” (*Billboard*’s Sidney Wire concurred, flatly asserting in 1913 that “Ninety percent of the burlesque audiences go to burlesque to see the girls.”) This fact was not lost on the Mutual Circuit, which arose to put Columbia Entertainment out of business in the 1920s, nor on the Minskys, whose theaters flourished until the final crackdown on New York burlesque under Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia and License Commissioner Paul Moss in 1937.

Although the leggy chorus line was an indispensable element of burlesque shows from the start (and would survive them by a half-century with the perennial Rockettes at Radio City Music Hall) the cooch dance became a burlesque standard only after promoter Abe Fish brought Little Egypt and Her Dancers, a troupe of Syrians specializing in the sexually suggestive “awalem” dances performed at Syrian weddings, to the World’s Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893. The transition from cooch dancer to striptease was gradual. Soubrettes in the earliest days of burlesque often showed off their youthful bodies even as they sang and danced in solo numbers, but some, like Rose Sydell of the Columbia Wheel, were star clotheshorses instead, displaying breathtakingly elaborate costumes on stage.

Still, as the public responded favorably to more flesh and less clothing as the years wore on, the soubrette’s song-and-dance role came to be supplanted by the striptease artist. By 1932, according to Zeidman, there were “at least 150 strip principals, of whom about 75 percent were new to the industry.” The sudden rise in demand for strippers was partly a corollary of rising hemlines on the street, so that, as one writer for *Billboard* pointed out, “leg shows lost their sex appeal and, in self-defense, the operators of burlesque shows introduced the strutting strips . . . as far as the police permitted.” (Ironically it was one police raid in 1934, at the Irving Palace Theatre, that eliminated runways in New York, somewhat to the relief of theater owners, for whom they were ill suited to the innuendo and soft lighting effects that were part and parcel of an effective strip act.)

Star strippers included Sally Rand, whose two-fan dance got a nod in the popular song “I’m Like a Fish Out of Water,” and Gypsy Rose Lee, who solved the jammed-zipper menace by holding her costume together with pins which she would remove one by one and throw to the audience. (Lee would go on to write a mystery novel, *The G-String Murders*, and an autobiography, *Gypsy*, also made into a movie). Other celebrated strippers included Anna Smith (said to have been the first to cross the line between above-the-waist nudity and baring her bottom), Carrie Finnell, Margie Hart, Evelyn Meyers, and Ann Corio.

By the late 1930s many burlesque shows had ceased to be much more than showcases for strippers. A burlesque troupe which would have had one soubrette and a half-dozen comics at the time of the World War I now often had at least five or six strippers and as few as two comics and a straight man. In New York, burlesque was effectively put out of business by LaGuardia and Moss by the end of 1937, although it survived in New Jersey for a few more years in theaters served by shuttle buses running from Times Square until its mostly-male audience was called off to war.

Though many performers from the burlesque circuits toured with the USO during World War II and the Korean conflict, burlesque itself barely survived into the postwar world, and most houses were closed for good by the mid-1950s. (Boston’s Old Howard, vacant for several years, burned beyond repair in 1961.) In 1968 Ann Corio’s book *This Was Burlesque* and Norman Lear’s film *The Night They Raided Minsky’s* were released, both nostalgic retrospectives on a vanished era.

Nevertheless, “legitimate” American entertainment, especially comedy, owed a lasting debt to burlesque throughout most of the twentieth century, for many of the nation’s stars had either gotten their start or worked for some time in the genre, including Fannie Brice, Eddie Cantor, Lou Costello, Joey Faye, W. C. Fields, Jackie Gleason, Al Jolson, Bert Lahr, Pinky Lee, Phil Silvers, Red Skelton, and Sophie Tucker. Burlesque enriched America’s vocabulary as

well, with such terms as bump and grind, flash, milking the audience, shimmy, and yock.

—Nick Humez

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## Burma-Shave

From 1925 to 1963, a brushless shaving cream called Burma-Shave became a ubiquitous and much-loved part of the American scene—not because of the product itself, but because of the roadside signs that advertised it in the form of humorous poems. Motorists in 43 states enjoyed slowing down to read six signs spelling out the latest jingle, always culminating in the Burma-Shave trademark. A typical example might be “PITY ALL / THE MIGHTY CAESARS / THEY PULLED / EACH WHISKER OUT / WITH TWEEZERS / BURMA SHAVE.” The inspiration of Burma-Vita, a family-owned business in Minneapolis, the signs caught the public fancy with their refreshing “soft sell” approach. The uniqueness of the venue was another plus, and in time the Burma company took to offering jingles that promoted highway safety and similar public services—still finishing off, however, with that sixth Burma-Shave sign. Even the public itself was eventually invited to help create the jingles. The Burma-Shave phenomenon was a public relations technique without precedent, and its popularity was reflected in everything from radio comedy sketches to greeting cards. Though long gone, the Burma-Shave signs remain a fondly recalled memory of American life in the mid-twentieth century.

In the early 1920s, the Odell family of Minneapolis, Minnesota, marketed, albeit without much success, a salve which, because key ingredients came from Burma, they called Burma-Vita. The next product that they developed was a refinement of brushless shaving cream, which they naturally dubbed Burma-Shave. The Shave wasn’t

selling much better than the Vita when family member Allan Odell happened to notice a series of roadside signs advertising a gas station—"GAS," "OIL," "RESTROOMS," etc.—and he had a brainstorm. "Every time I see one of these setups," he thought, "I read every one of the signs. So why can't you sell a product that way?" In the autumn of 1925, the Odells drove their first experimental signposts into the soon-to-be-freezing soil along the side of two roads outside Minneapolis. These first serial messages were neither humorous nor poetic—but they worked. For the first time, the Odells started receiving repeat orders from druggists whose customers traveled those two highways.

As their business started thriving, the Odells began to develop the pithy, light-hearted, rhyming jingles for which Burma-Shave quickly became famous. Hitherto, advertising orthodoxy had stipulated that most ad-copy should be verbose and serious. Obviously, verbosity was out of the question when the medium was a series of roadside signs instead of a magazine page. And the Odells preferred not to browbeat their potential customers while they were enjoying a drive in the country. The result was such refreshingly unpretentious verse as the following: "DOES YOUR HUSBAND / MISBEHAVE / GRUNT AND GRUMBLE / RANT AND RAVE / SHOOT THE BRUTE SOME / BURMA-SHAVE." Or: "THE ANSWER TO / A MAIDEN'S / PRAYER / IS NOT A CHIN / OF STUBBY HAIR / BURMA-SHAVE." It was discovered that the time it took a driver to go from one sign to the next afforded him more seconds to absorb the message than if he were reading an ad in a newspaper. What's more, as Alexander Woollcott pointed out, it was as difficult to read just one Burma-Shave sign as it was to eat one salted peanut. And the humorous content, so unlike the common run of dreary ad copy, further served to endear the signs to the driving public. Families would read them aloud, either in unison or with individual members taking turns.

Eventually the Burma-Shave jingles were as universally recognized as any facet of contemporary Americana. A rustic comedian could joke about his hometown being so small that it was located between two Burma-Shave signs. The signs themselves often figured in the radio sketches of such notable funnymen as Amos n' Andy, Fred Allen, Jimmy Durante, and Bob Hope. The popularity of the signs encouraged the Odells to devote a certain portion of their jingles each year to such public service causes as fire prevention and highway safety, as in: "TRAIN APPROACHING / WHISTLE SQUEALING / PAUSE! / AVOID THAT / RUN-DOWN FEELING!" Eventually, the public was brought into the act via heavily promoted contests that invited people to come up with their own jingles, many of which were bought and used. Often, the attention given the signs in the media amounted to free public relations and goodwill for the Burma-Shave company.

Ironically, one of the greatest instigators for free publicity was the company's announcement in 1963 that they would be phasing out the signs. Although this news was greeted by a wave of national nostalgia, the fact was that the Burma-Vita company—one of the last holdouts against corporate takeovers—had finally allowed itself to be absorbed into the Phillip Morris conglomerate, and they could no longer justify the expense of the signs in light of the decreasing return on its advertising investment. It was simply a different world than the one in which the Burma-Shave signs had been born, and it was time to retire them gracefully. While it lasted, their fame had seemed all pervasive. As one 1942 jingle put it: "IF YOU / DON'T KNOW / WHOSE SIGNS / THESE ARE / YOU CAN'T HAVE / DRIVEN VERY FAR / BURMA-SHAVE." That the mythos of Burma-Shave

has outlasted the physical reality of the signs is evidenced in the fact that they are still being parodied and imitated to this day—and, whenever this is done, people still get the joke.

—Preston Neal Jones

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## Burnett, Carol (1933—)

One of the best-loved comedians of the twentieth century, Carol Burnett set the standard for the variety shows of the 1960s and 1970s. *The Carol Burnett Show* (1967-1979) offered a blend of music and comedy and showcased the popular stars of the period. The highlight of the show for many, however, was the opening when Burnett



A scene from *The Carol Burnett Show*.

answered questions from her audience. A number of her characters have become legend, including the char lady, Eunice, Norma Desmond, and the gum-chewing, wise-cracking secretary. Perhaps the most memorable skit of the series took place when Burnett played Scarlet O'Hara to Harvey Korman's Rhett Butler. Decked out in her green velvet curtains, complete with rods, Carol Burnett demonstrated why she is the queen of comedy. The Eunice skits may have been closer to Burnett's own roots than any of the others, allowing her to laugh at the painful memory of growing up with alcoholic parents and being constantly torn by the constant bickering of her mother and the beloved grandmother who raised her. The role of Mama in the Eunice skits was played by Vicki Lawrence, who won her place on the Burnett show because of her resemblance to Burnett. After the show went off the air, Lawrence continued the role in *Mama's Family* (1983-90) and was occasionally visited by Burnett.

Carol Burnett was born on April 26, 1933, in San Antonio, Texas. Her parents left her with Nanny, her maternal grandmother, and moved to Hollywood, seeking success, which proved to be elusive. In her autobiography, *One More Time: A Memoir by Carol Burnett*, Burnett traces a history of poverty, disillusionment, and enduring love growing up in a family that could never seem to deal with reality. She talks of "Murphy," a folding bed that was never folded, as if it were a player in the drama that made up her family life. Perhaps it was. It represented stability for her, since the bed frequently contained her grandmother, the most significant influence on her life. Upon graduating from high school, Burnett had few hopes of realizing her dream of attending UCLA to pursue an acting career, when an envelope containing \$50 mysteriously showed up in her mail box. Years later when she wanted to move to New York to pursue a Broadway career, another benefactor loaned her \$1000 with the stipulations that she pay it back in five years and that she help others who needed it. The move to New York was fortuitous for Burnett, allowing her to move both herself and her younger sister toward a more stable, affluent lifestyle.

Burnett married Don Soroyan, her college boyfriend, in 1955 while striving for success in New York. As her career blossomed, his did not, and they divorced in 1962. Burnett had achieved her dream of playing Broadway in 1959 with *Once Upon A Mattress*, but it was television that would prove to be her destiny. She began by winning guest shots on variety shows, such as *The Steve Allen Show* and *The Garry Moore Show*. Her big break came when she was invited to sing her comedic rendition of "I Made A Fool of Myself Over John Foster Dulles" on *The Ed Sullivan Show*. Dulles, of course was the sedate, acerbic Secretary of State at the time. When Garry Moore won a spot on the prime time roster, he invited Burnett to come along; she appeared regularly on his show from 1959 to 1962. She won an Emmy in 1962, and after that there was no stopping her. In 1963 she married producer Joe Hamilton, with whom she had three daughters: Carrie, an actress, Jodie, a businesswoman, and Erin, a homemaker and mom. Even though Burnett and Hamilton divorced, they remained close until his death.

Carol Burnett was never afraid to fight for what was important to her. As a young actress told to call agents and producers after she was "in something," she put on her own show. As an established actress, she successfully sued the tabloid, *The National Enquirer*, for claiming she was drunk in public. As a mother, she publicly fought to rescue one of her daughters from drug addiction, and she generously shared her pain and frustration with others, trying to help those in similar situations or who were likely to be so. Burnett continues to battle for a number of charitable causes, including AIDS.

Despite her assured place in the field of comedy, Carol Burnett broke new ground with such dramatic roles as the mother of a slain soldier in television's *Friendly Fire* (1979). She won critical acclaim for her hilarious turn as Mrs. Hannigan in the movie version of *Annie* (1982). Thirty-five years after winning her first Emmy on *The Garry Moore Show*, Burnett won an Emmy for her portrayal of Jamie Buchman's mother in the popular television series, *Mad About You*. In 1998 Burnett returned to television playing opposite Walter Matthau in *The Marrying Fool*. After almost four decades in television, Carol Burnett remains an integral part of the American psyche and an enduring memorial to television's "Golden Years."

—Elizabeth Purdy

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See Howlin' Wolf

## Burns, George (1896-1996), and Gracie Allen (1895-1964)

George Burns and Gracie Allen formed one of the most renowned husband and wife comedy teams in broadcasting throughout the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. The cigar-chomping Burns played straight man to Allen's linguistically subversive and enchantingly ditzzy housewife in a variety of entertainment media for thirty-five years. After meeting in 1923 and performing their comedy routine on the vaudeville circuit and in a few movies, the team reached its professional peak in broadcasting, first on radio and then on television. Their *Burns and Allen Show* on CBS television from 1950 to 1958 proved particularly innovative as it contained sitcom plots that were bracketed by Burns's vaudeville-inspired omniscient narration and monologues. Their act seemed to be a caricature of their offstage marriage and working relationship, and the duo openly courted the conflation. After Allen died in 1964, Burns eventually continued his career on his own in films and on television specials, but he never quite got over losing Gracie. He lovingly incorporated his late wife in his performances and best-selling memoirs, as if encouraging Allen to remain his lifelong partner from beyond the grave.

Allen was, quite literally, born into show business. Her father, George Allen, was a song-and-dance man on the West Coast who, upon retirement, taught dance and gymnastics in a homemade gym in his backyard. The youngest daughter in the San Francisco-based Scottish/Irish family of six, Allen first appeared on stage at the age of three singing an Irish song for a benefit. Her older sisters became accomplished dancers and while on the vaudeville circuit would occasionally include Gracie in their act. Gracie's true gift however, lay not in song and dance, but in comedy. Recognizing this, she began to play the fool for her sisters and then as a "Colleen" in an Irish act.





**George Burns and Gracie Allen.**

Burns also started his career as a child performer. Following a fairly typical rags-to-riches story of a vaudevillian headliner, Burns (born Nathan Birnbaum) was the son of a poor Austrian Jewish family in New York's Lower East Side. As a small child he performed for pocket change on street corners and saloons in the neighborhood, eventually forming a child act, the Pee Wee Quartet, when he was seven years old. Working in small-time vaudeville by the time he was a teenager, the aspiring vaudevillian joined a number of comedy teams under various names including Harry Pierce, Willie Delight, Nat Burns, and finally, George Burns.

In 1923, Allen and Burns met in Union Hill, New Jersey, while both were looking for new partners. At the time, Allen was rooming with Mary Kelly (later to be known as Mary Livingstone), Jack Benny's girlfriend. Kelly introduced Allen to Burns, who had just split with his partner Billy Lorraine. Originally interested in becoming Lorraine's partner, Allen eventually agreed to try working with Burns. At first Allen played the straight part, but they quickly discovered that the audience laughed at Allen much more than Burns. "I knew right away there was a feeling of something between the audience and Gracie," said Burns in a 1968 interview. "They loved her, and so, not being a fool and wanting to smoke cigars for the rest of my life, I gave her the jokes." Working for many years as what was known in the business as a disappointment act—an on-call position for cancellations—they transformed a traditional "dumb Dora act" into something far more complicated.

After traveling around the country on the Keith-Orpheum circuit playing onstage lovers, Allen and Burns initiated their offstage relationship in 1925. Following a somewhat whirlwind courtship, the

pair were married on January 7, 1926. Just as their romance had solidified into marriage, their act started to crystallize into two very distinct characters—one frustratingly obtuse and the other patently down-to-earth. Yet, there was an obvious intelligence behind the pair's verbal sparring. Burns, who wrote the majority of their material, called it "illogical logic"—an alternative linguistic universe in which the character of Gracie was the sole inhabitant. Their act went on to be highlighted in such films as *Fit to Be Tied* (1931) and *The Big Broadcast of 1932*. But, it was their variety-format radio program *The Adventures of Gracie* (later known as *Burns and Allen*, 1932-1950) that really won the hearts and minds of American audiences. Playing a young boyfriend and girlfriend for the program's first eight years, they eventually chose to place their characters within the domestic setting of a Beverly Hills home. This allowed them to introduce new material and base their characters on their own lives as a middle-aged married couple raising children in suburbia.

During their years on radio the press focused intently on their private lives, often trying to answer the question of whether or not Allen was as daffy as her onstage character. Articles in fan and women's magazines covered every detail of the entertainers' domestic life, including their friendship with fellow luminaries and neighbors the Bennys, as well as their adoption of two children, Sandra and Ronnie. Burns and Allen were exceptionally adept at using the media attention they received to extend the narrative of their program into the realm of "reality." Not only did they purposely muddy the distinction between their lives and that of their characters, but they also played on-air stunts to their maximum effect. For example, in 1933, Gracie began a protracted hunt for her "missing brother," a stunt concocted by a CBS executive to raise their ratings. This enabled her to acquire extra air by guest starring on Jack Benny's and Eddie Cantor's programs under the guise of continuing her search, and to attract attention from other media outlets. The press played right along, photographing her looking for her brother at New York landmarks and printing letters from fans claiming to have had sightings of him. George Allen, Gracie's real brother, was forced into hiding because of the incredible attention and pressure he felt from radio listeners and the press. In 1940 Allen topped her missing brother gag by announcing that she would run for president. Campaigning under the slogan "Down with common sense, vote for Gracie," the stunt, which was originally planned as a two-week, on-air gag, snowballed. The mayor of Omaha offered to host a national "surprise ticket party" convention for Allen, and the president of the Union Pacific Railroad gave her a presidential train to travel from Los Angeles to Omaha in a traditional "whistle stop" campaign.

By the time television became an option for the comedy duo in the late 1940s, Burns and Allen were among the most well-known and beloved comedians of their generation. Like most radio stars, they were initially reluctant to test the new medium. So, in an effort to avoid television's taxing weekly production schedule and propensity to devour material, they scheduled their live program *The Burns and Allen Show* to appear only every other Thursday. Although it contained many of the basic elements of their radio show, their television program's narrative structure and characterizations became more nuanced. Besides the few minutes of vaudeville routine that would end the show (including the now famous lines "Say goodnight, Gracie!"), Gracie and their neighbors would exist solely within the narrative world of their sitcom. Burns, however, crossed back and forth between the sitcom set and the edges of the stage from which it was broadcast. Talking directly to the camera and the studio audience,

Burns would comment on the plot or Gracie's wacky antics, introduce a song or dance act, or tell some jokes. He would then jump across the stage and enter into the plot in progress. Burns came up with this strategy as a way to link the show together—blending elements of the variety format with the domestic sitcom. Burns's technique was incredibly effective and helped the program last through television's tumultuous transition in the mid-1950s from the variety show to the sitcom, which killed off other once-popular variety programs such as *Texaco Star Theatre*.

In 1958, Allen said "Goodnight, Gracie" for the last time. By retiring from show business because of chronic heart problems, Allen forced the couple's run on television to a close. Burns tried to continue on television playing a television producer in *The George Burns Show*, but the program was canceled after only one season. He attempted to revive his television career after Allen's death in 1964 of a heart attack, but almost every program he starred in was short-lived. It wasn't until 1975, when Burns was given the co-starring role in *The Sunshine Boys* with Walter Matthau, that his career recuperated. He went on to make a few more films (including the *Oh God!* films), star in some television specials, and write several books. He never remarried and, despite the occasional jokes of his sexual prowess, remained in love with Gracie. Burns opened his 1988 memoir *Gracie: A Love Story* by saying, "For forty years my act consisted of one joke. And then she died." Burns passed away in 1996 at the age of one hundred, famous for his longevity and endless dedication to his wife, his friends, and his fans.

—Sue Murray

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## Burns, Ken (1953—)

Documentary filmmaker Ken Burns received Oscar nominations for two early works, *Brooklyn Bridge* (1981) and *The Statue of Liberty* (1986). But it was his miniseries *The Civil War* (1990) that brought new viewers to public television and to documentaries and made Burns the most recognizable documentary filmmaker of all time. The style of *The Civil War* merged period images with the voices of celebrities reading the diaries and letters of Civil War participants. Burns followed *The Civil War* with *Baseball* (1994) and *Lewis & Clark: The Journey of the Corps of Discovery* (1997).

—Christian L. Pyle

## Burr, Raymond (1917-1993)

Like so many actors before and after him, Raymond Burr found one of those roles that he did so much to define, but which, at the same time, virtually defined him. His portrayal of a lawyer in the mystery television series *Perry Mason*, which ran from 1957 to 1966, and in 26 made-for-television movies, set firmly in the minds of the viewing public what a defense lawyer should look like, how he should behave, and how trials should transpire. Realistic or not, his success, his interaction with clients, suspects, the police, and the district attorney, established in people's imaginations a kind of folk hero. For many, "Perry Mason" became shorthand for lawyer, as Einstein means genius or Sherlock Holmes means detective. This compelling image held sway for years before the profession was subjected to so much negative scrutiny in real life and in the media. Yet, Burr, again like so many others, did not achieve overnight fame. His role as Perry Mason overshadowed decades of hard work in radio, the theater, and films, as well as his business and philanthropic successes and personal tragedies.

Raymond William Stacy Burr was born on May 21, 1917 in New Westminster, British Columbia, Canada. When he was six years old, his parents separated, and his mother took him and his siblings to Vallejo, California. His earliest taste of acting came in junior high school drama classes, followed by a theatrical tour in Canada in the summer of his twelfth year. As he grew up, he held a variety of jobs: in the Forestry Service, and as a store manager, traveling salesman, and teacher. He furthered his education in places as diverse as Chungking, China, Stanford, and the University of California, where he obtained degrees in English and Psychology. He also worked in radio, on and off the air, wrote plays for YMCA productions, and did more stagework in the United States, Canada, and Europe. While he was working as a singer in a small Parisian nightclub called Le Ruban Bleu, Burr had to return to the United States when Hitler invaded France.

In the early 1940s, he initiated a long association with the Pasadena Playhouse, to which he returned many times to oversee and participate in productions. After years of trying, he landed a few small roles in several Republic Studios movies, but returned to Europe in 1942. He married actress Annette Sutherland and had a son, Michael, in 1943. Leaving his son with his grandparents outside London while Annette fulfilled her contract with a touring company, Burr came back to the United States. In June 1943, Annette was killed while flying to England to pick up Michael and join her husband in America when her plane was shot down.

Burr remained in the United States, working in the theater, receiving good notices for his role in *Duke of Darkness*, and signing a contract with RKO Pictures in 1944. Weighing over 300 pounds, a problem he struggled with all his life, Burr was usually given roles as a vicious gangster or menacing villain. Late in the decade he was in various radio programs, including *Pat Novak for Hire* and *Dragnet* with Jack Webb. A brief marriage that ended in separation after six months in 1948, and divorce in 1952, was followed by the tragic death of his son from leukemia in 1953. His third wife died of cancer two years later. Despite the misfortunes in his personal life, the roles he was getting in radio, such as *Fort Laramie* in 1956, and in films, continued to improve. By the time *Perry Mason* appeared, he had been in *A Place in the Sun* (1951), as the district attorney, which played a part in his getting the role of Mason, Hitchcock's *Rear Window* (1954), and the cult classic *Godzilla* (1954). After years of being killed off in movies, dozens of times, according to biographer Ona L. Hill, he was about to experience a complete role reversal.



**Ken Burns (right) at hearing on Capitol Hill.**

The first of over eighty Perry Mason novels by Erle Stanley Gardner had been published in 1933. Ill served, Gardner felt, by earlier movie versions of his hero, and dissatisfied with a radio program which ran for twelve years, he was determined to have a strong hand in the television series. Burr auditioned for the part of the district attorney on the condition that he be allowed to try out for the lawyer as well. Reportedly, Gardner spotted him and declared that he was Perry Mason. The rest of the cast, Barbara Hale as his secretary Della Street, William Hopper as private eye Paul Drake, William Talman as the district attorney, and Ray Collins as Lt. Tragg, melded, with the crew, into a kind of family that Burr worked hard to maintain. In retrospect, it is difficult to imagine the program taking any other form: from its striking theme music to the core ensemble of actors to the courtroom dramatics. He also gave substance to the vaguely described character from the books, fighting unrelentingly for his clients, doing everything from his own investigating to bending the law and playing tricks in court to clear them and finger the guilty. In the words of Kelleher and Merrill in the *Perry Mason TV Show Book*, he was “part wizard, part snakeoil salesman.”

One of the pieces of the formula was that Mason would never lose a case. One of the shows in which he temporarily “lost” generated thousands of letters of protest. When asked about his unblemished record, Burr told a fan, “But madam, you only see the

cases I try on Saturday.” Despite many ups and downs, including hassles between Gardner and the producer and scripts of varying quality, the show ran for 271 episodes. Though his acting received some early criticism, Burr eventually won Best Actor Emmys in 1959 and 1961. The program was criticized for casting the prosecutor as the villain, the police as inept, and the lawyer as a trickster, but most lawyers, along with Burr, felt that the shows like *Perry Mason* “opened people’s eyes to the justice system,” according to Collins’ *the Best of Crime and Detective TV*. Burr developed an interest in law that resulted in his speaking before many legal groups and a long association with the McGeorge School of Law.

In March 1967, Burr reappeared on television as wheelchair-bound policeman Ironside in a pilot that led to a series the following September. Assembling a crime-solving team played by Don Galloway, Barbara Anderson, and Don Mitchell, Burr, gruff and irascible, led them until early 1975 and in 1993’s *The Return of Ironside* movie. In 1976-77 he starred as an investigative reporter in *Kingston Confidential*. Major activities in the early 1980s included a featured role in five hours of the multipart *Centennial* and in *Godzilla ’85*. He was associated with the Theater Department at Sonoma State University in 1982 and some programs at California Polytechnic State University. In December 1985, he reprised his most famous role in *Perry Mason Returns*, which led to a string of 25 more TV movies.

In spite of his busy career and many personal and medical problems, Burr still found time to become involved in various business projects and charitable works. In 1965, he purchased an island in Fuji, where he contributed substantially to improving living conditions and the local economy. He also grew and sold orchids there and in other places around the world, and had ventures in Portugal, the Azores, and Puerto Rico. He collected art, and for several years helped operate a number of art galleries. During the Korean War he visited the troops twelve times, and made ten “quiet” trips to Vietnam, usually choosing to stop at far-flung outposts. Though the latter were controversial, he insisted, according to Hill in *Raymond Burr*: “I supported the *men in Vietnam*, not the war.” Besides financially supporting many relatives and friends over the years, he had over 25 foster and adopted children from all over the world, in many cases providing them with medical care and educational expenses. He was involved in numerous charitable organizations, including the Cerebral Palsy Association, B’nai B’rith, and CARE, and created his own foundation for philanthropic, educational, and literary causes.

Burr was a complex man. Kelleher and Merrill describe him this way: “Approachable to a point, yet almost regally formal. Quiet, but occasionally preachy. Irreverent yet a student of [religions]. Intensely serious, yet a notorious prankster . . . [and] generous to a fault.” Unquestionably, he worked incessantly, often to the detriment of his health, seldom resting for long from a myriad of acting, business, and philanthropic projects. His diligence seems to have been as much a part of his personality as his generosity. It was in many ways emblematic of his life and character that, despite advanced cancer, he finished the last Perry Mason movie in the summer before he died on September 12, 1993.

—Stephen L. Thompson

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## Burroughs, Edgar Rice (1875-1950)

Perhaps best known as the creator of Tarzan the Apeman, Edgar Rice Burroughs did much to popularize science fiction and adventure fantasy during the first half of the twentieth century. When he turned to writing in his mid-thirties after a mediocre and varied business life, Burroughs met with quick success when his first publication, *Under the Moons of Mars*, was serialized in *All-Story* magazine in 1912.



Edgar Rice Burroughs

Noted for his fertile imagination, Burroughs created several imaginary societies for his popular adventure series: one set on Mars, one in the primitive world called Pellucidar located inside the earth, and another on Venus. His Tarzan series (started in 1918) was also set in an imaginary Africa, much to the dismay of some readers. The constant theme running through Burroughs’ stories was a detailing of how alien or primitive societies inspired heroic qualities in characters. Typically Burroughs’ stories depicted powerful men saving beautiful women from terrible villains. Besides Tarzan, Burroughs’ most famous character was Virginian gentleman John Carter of his Mars series, who became the “greatest swordsman of two worlds.” Though his plots were often predictable and his characters lacked depth, Burroughs successfully captured readers’ interest in life-and-death struggles brought on by environmental impediments. His slapdash depictions of how primitive environments catalyze greatness in humans have continued to entertain readers and inspire more intricate science fiction writing.

—Sara Pendergast

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## Burroughs, William S. (1914-1997)

During the 1950s, William S. Burroughs blazed many trails to and from the elucidation of human suffering, and his obsession with the means to this end became an enduring facet of popular culture. He exuded the heavy aura of a misogynistic, homosexual, drug-addicted gun nut, both in life and in print. Yet he inspired a generation of aimless youths to lift their heads out of the sands of academe, to question authority, to travel, and, most importantly, to intellectualize their personal experiences.

Born William Seward Burroughs February 5, 1914 in St. Louis, Missouri, he was the son of a wealthy family (his grandfather invented the Burroughs adding machine) and lived a quiet mid-Western childhood. He graduated from Harvard, but became fascinated with the criminal underworld of the 1930s and sought to emulate the gangster lifestyle, dealing in stolen goods and eventually morphine, to which he became addicted. He moved to Chicago for a time to support his habit, then to New York City where, in 1943, he met Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg at Columbia University. He encouraged these younger hipster prodigies to write, and they were impressed by his dark wit and genteel poise wizened through years of hard living, though they rarely joined him in his escapades.

In 1947 Burroughs entered into a common law marriage to Joan Vollmer, a Benzedrine addict whom he had also met at Columbia. They moved to New Orleans where drugs were more easily obtainable, and later to Texas where they grew oranges and marijuana, raised two children (one was Bill's), and lived in drug-addled poverty. On the advice of a friend, Burroughs began work on a "memory exercise" which would become his first book—*Junky: Confessions of an Unredeemed Drug Addict*—published in 1953 under the pseudonym William Lee.

Then, on September 6, 1951, while in Mexico City on the run from the law, Bill shot and killed Joan, allegedly during their "William Tell routine." After a night of heavy drinking, Bill suggested she place a glass on her head, and he would shoot at it from across the room. "Why I did it, I do not know," he later claimed. "Something took over." His son went to live with his parents, but Burroughs was never prosecuted. Instead, he embarked upon a quest to exorcize what he called "The Ugly Spirit" which had compelled his lifestyle choices and now convinced him he "had no choice but to write my way out."

Burroughs fled to South America in search of the mystical drug *yage*, and wrote *The Yage Letters* (1963) to Allen Ginsberg. Soon Bill was back in New York City, still addicted and on the run, and eventually ended up in The International Zone of Tangier, Morocco. He, however, hallucinated "Interzone," an allegorical city in which "Bill Lee" was the victim, observer, and primary instigator of heinous crimes against all humanity. He began "reporting" from this Interzone—a psychotic battleground of political, paranoid intrigue whose denizens purveyed deceit and humiliation, controlling addicts of sex, drugs, and power in a crumbling society spiritually malnourished and bloated on excess.

When Kerouac and Ginsberg came to Tangier in 1957, they found Burroughs coming in and out of the throes of withdrawal. He had been sending them "reports," reams of hand-written notes which they helped to compile into Burroughs' jarring magnum opus *Naked Lunch* (1959), a work he "scarcely remembers writing." This novel's blistering satire of post-World War II, pre-television consumer culture, and its stark presentation of tormented lost souls, were the talk of



William S. Burroughs

the burgeoning beatnik scene in the States, as were its obscene caricatures and "routines" that bled from a stream of junk-sick consciousness.

Burroughs was soon regarded as the Godfather of the Beat Generation, a demographic that came of age during World War II while Bill was out looking for dope, and which aimed to plumb the depths of existence in post-modern America. Mainstream appeal would prove elusive to these writers, though, until *Naked Lunch* became the focus of a censorship trial in 1965. The proceedings drew attention—and testimony—from such literati as Norman Mailer, John Ciardi, and Allen Ginsberg, whose reputation had grown as well. After the furor died down, *Naked Lunch* remained largely an underground hit. Burroughs also stayed out of sight, though he published *The Soft Machine* (1961), *The Ticket That Exploded* (1962), and *Nova Express* (1964) using an editing technique with which he had been experimenting in Tangier and called "cut-ups": the random physical manipulation of preconceived words and phrases into coherent juxtapositions.

In the 1970s, Burroughs holed up in his New York City "bunker" as his writing became the subtext for his gnarled old junky image. Though he had been an inspiration to authors, he found himself rubbing elbows with post-literate celebrity artistes yearning for the Ugly Spirit. Later, Burroughs enjoyed a spate of speaking tours and

cameos in films. He also published books revisiting the themes of his early routines, and in 1983 was inducted into the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters. He later recorded and performed with John Giorno Poetry Systems, Laurie Anderson, Material, the Disposable Heroes of Hiphoprisy, and Kurt Cobain of Nirvana, among others. In the 1990s his face and silhouette, as well as his unmistakable thin, rattling voice quoting himself out of context, were used to promote everything from running shoes to personal computers. He spent most of his last years in seclusion in Lawrence, Kansas, where he died August 2, 1997.

Burroughs' influence on popular culture is evident in every medium, though he is more often referred to than read. From subversive comedic diatribes on oppressive government to the gritty realism of crime drama, from the drug chic youth culture enjoys (and has enjoyed since the early 1960s) to paranoia over past, present, and future drug wars, Burroughs made hip, literate cynicism both popular and culpable.

—Tony Brewer

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## Buster Brown

*Buster Brown* first appeared in the *New York Herald* on May 4, 1902. Accompanied by his dog Tige, Buster Brown was a mischievous young boy given to playing practical jokes. He resolved weekly to improve his ways, but always strayed. The strip was the second major success for Richard Outcault (1863-1928) who had earlier created the Yellow Kid. Outcault licensed the image and the name of his character to a wide variety of manufactures and the name Buster Brown is probably more familiar to Americans as a brand of shoes or children's clothing than as the title of a comic strip. Unlike Outcault's early work *Buster Brown* was distinctly a comic strip appearing weekly in twelve panel full page stories. Once again William Randolph Hearst lured Outcault to his newspapers and *Buster Brown* commencing there January 21, 1906. The resulting court cases over copyright determined that Outcault owned all subsidiary rights to the Buster Brown name having purchased them for \$2 when he signed with the *Herald* to produce the strip. Outcault derived considerable income from his licensing efforts and his advertising agency, which produced over 10,000 advertisements for Buster Brown related products. The last original episode of the strip was published December 11, 1921.

—Ian Gordon

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## Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid

This 1969 film, the first deconstructionist Western, set the tone for future buddy comedies, helped revive the Western film genre, and made a superstar out of Robert Redford, whose Sundance Institute has become the major supporter of independent films. Also starring Paul Newman as Butch and Katherine Ross as Etta Place, and directed by George Roy Hill, this lighthearted, "contemporary" Western paved the way for modern Westerns such as *Young Guns* and *The Long Riders*.

*Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* was based on the lives of two actual Old West outlaws—Robert Leroy Parker (Butch) and Harry Longbaugh (Sundance). By the 1890s, Butch was the head of the largest and most successful outlaw gang in the West, known as both the Wild Bunch and the Hole-in-the-Wall Gang. Butch was chosen leader based solely on his personality; he was a poor shot who never killed anyone until later in life. Sundance, who got his nickname from spending eighteen months in jail in Sundance, Wyoming, was a gang member and a phenomenal gunman who, incidentally, did not know how to swim (a fact yielding the film's best joke). Based at their hideout at Hole-in-the-Wall near Kaycee, Wyoming, the gang members robbed banks and trains throughout the West. When the railroads hired the Pinkerton Agency to catch the gang and the agency formed a relentless superposse, Butch, Sundance, and female companion Etta Place moved to South America and bought a ranch in Argentina. They tried to make an honest living but eventually began robbing banks in several South American countries. It is believed they were killed after being trapped by troops in Bolivia—although some maintain that Butch and Sundance spread the story after another pair of outlaws was gunned down by Bolivian troops.

Screenwriter William Goldman first came across the Butch Cassidy story in the late 1950s, and he researched it on and off for the next eight years. An established novelist, Goldman decided to turn the story into a screenplay for the simple reason "I don't like horses." He didn't like anything dealing with the realities of the Old West. A screenplay would be simpler to write and wouldn't involve all the research necessary to write a believable Western novel. From the outset, this screenplay established itself as more contemporary than the typical Western or buddy film. In the film, Butch and Sundance do what typical Western movie heroes never do, such as run away halfway through the story or kick a rival gang member in the groin rather than fight with knives or guns. While there had been buddy films in the past, including those starring Abbott and Costello, and Bob Hope and Bing Crosby, those films were joke factories, variations on old vaudeville routines. Part of the challenge for Goldman was to write dialogue that was funny without being too funny; nonstop jokes abruptly interrupted by a hail of gunfire would be too great a transition to expect an audience to make. Goldman found the right tone, a kind of glib professionalism emphasizing chemistry over jokes, and it is the chemistry between Newman and Redford that made the film such a success.

This glib professional tone since has been put to good use in a number of other films and television shows, as in the *48 Hours* and *Lethal Weapon* films. *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* also led to the sequel, *Wanted: The Sundance Woman*, and the prequel, *Butch and Sundance—The Early Years*; and Newman and Redford successfully teamed up again for *The Sting* (1973).

—Bob Sullivan



Robert Redford (left) and Paul Newman in a scene from the film *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*.

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## Butkus, Dick (1942—)

If a Hollywood scriptwriter were authoring a football movie and needed to conjure up an ideal name for a hard-nosed middle linebacker who breakfasted on nails and quarterbacks, he could do no better than Dick Butkus. Not only was Butkus, who played in the National Football League between 1965 and 1972, the dominant middle linebacker of his era, but he singlehandedly redefined the position. What made him extra-special was his well-earned reputation for being one of the toughest and most feared and revered players ever to

play the game. Butkus also brought a high level of intelligence and emotion to the playing field, which only embellished his physical talents.

If the stereotypical quarterback is a pretty boy who comes of age in a sun-drenched Southern California suburb, Butkus' background fits that of the archetypal dirt-in-your-fingernails linebacker or tackle: he grew up on Chicago's South Side, as the ninth child in a blue-collar Lithuanian family. He attended the University of Illinois, where he won All-America honors in 1963 and 1964; in the latter year, he was a Heisman Trophy runner-up. In 1965, the 6'3", 245-pounder was a first-round draft pick of the Chicago Bears. During his nine-year career with the Bears, which ended prematurely in 1973 due to a serious knee injury, Butkus had 22 interceptions, was All-NFL for seven years, and played in eight Pro Bowls.

On the football field he was all seriousness, and a picture of non-stop energy and intensity. Butkus would do whatever was necessary to not just tackle an opponent but earn and maintain everlasting respect. He was noted for his ability to bottle up his anger between Sundays, and free that pent-up fury on the playing field. Occasionally, however, he was not completely successful in this endeavor, resulting in some legendary alcohol-soaked escapades involving his pals and teammates along with tiffs with sportswriters and in-the-trenches



**Dick Butkus**

haggling with Bears owner-coach George Halas. Of special note is his long-standing feud with Dan Jenkins of *Sports Illustrated*, who wrote a piece in which he labeled Butkus “A Special Kind of Brute with a Love of Violence.”

After retiring from the Bears, Butkus became a football analyst on CBS’s *NFL Today* and went on to a career as a television and film actor. He would win no Oscar nominations for his performances in *Hamburger. . . The Motion Picture*, *Necessary Roughness* and *Grem-lins 2: The New Batch*, and no Emmy citations for *My Two Dads*, *The Stepford Children*, *Superdome* and *Half Nelson*. But his grid credentials remain impeccable. Butkus entered the Football Hall of Fame in 1979, and is described in his biographical data as an “exceptional defensive star with speed, quickness, instinct, strength . . . great leader, tremendous competitor, adept at forcing fumbles. . . . People [still] should be talking about the way Dick Butkus played the game,” noted broadcaster and ex-NFL kicker Pat Summerall, over a quarter century after Butkus’ retirement. Along with fellow linebackers Ted Hendricks, Willie Lanier, Ray Nitschke, Jack Hamm, Jack Lambert, and Lawrence Taylor, he was named to NFL’s 75th Anniversary Team.

Ever since 1985, the Dick Butkus Award has been presented to the top collegiate linebacker. Herein lies Butkus’ gridiron legacy. To the generations of football players in the know who have come in his wake—and, in particular, to all rough-and-tumble wannabe defensive

standouts—Dick Butkus is a role model, an icon, and a prototypical gridiron jock.

—Rob Edelman

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## Butler, Octavia E. (1947—)

As the premier black female science fiction writer, Octavia E. Butler has received both critical and popular acclaim. She describes herself as “a pessimist if I’m not careful, a feminist, a Black, a former Baptist, an oil-and-water combination of ambition, laziness, insecurity, certainty and drive.” Butler’s stories cross the breadth of human experience, taking readers through time, space, and the inner workings of the body and mind. She frequently disrupts accepted notions of race, gender, sex, and power by rearranging the operations of the human body, mind, or senses. Ironically, her significance has been largely ignored by academics. Her notable books include *Kindred*, *Wild Seed*, *Mind of My Mind*, *Dawn* and *Parable of the Sower*. She has won the coveted Hugo and Nebula awards for “Speech Sounds” and “Bloodchild,” and in 1995 was awarded a MacArthur “Genius” grant for pushing the boundaries of science fiction.

—Andrew Spieldenner

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## Butterbeans and Susie

The married couple Jodie (1895-1967) and Susie Edwards (1896-1963), performing as Butterbeans and Susie, were among the most popular African American musical comedy acts of the mid-twentieth century. From 1917 until Susie’s death in 1963, they toured regularly. Their act featured double entendre songs, ludicrous costuming, domestic comedy sketches, and Butterbeans’ famous “Heebie Jeebie” dance. Racial segregation shaped their career in important ways—their recordings were marketed as “Race” records, and at their peak they played primarily in segregated venues. Their broad humor exploited racial stereotypes in a manner reminiscent of minstrel shows. Yet within the world of African American show business such strategies were common, and clearly Butterbeans and Susie’s antics delighted African American audiences. Butterbeans and Susie achieved success by working with dominant racial images within the discriminatory racial structures of America.

—Thomas J. Mertz



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## Buttons, Red (1919—)

In 1952, *The Red Buttons Show* was widely acclaimed as the most promising new show on television, and its star was featured on the cover of *Time* Magazine. Millions of children did their versions of Buttons's theme song, hopping and singing "Ho! Ho!, He! He!, Ha! Ha! . . . Strange things are happening." Indeed, strange things did happen. By the end of the second season the show's popularity had declined and CBS dropped it. It did no better when NBC briefly picked up the show the following season. Buttons was out of work in 1957 when he was selected to play the role of Sergeant Joe Kelly in the film *Sayonara*. He won an Academy Award as best supporting actor for this tragic portrayal and went on to appear in 24 other movies.

Born Aaron Chwatt in the Bronx borough of New York City in 1919 and raised on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, he was the son of an immigrant milliner. He contracted the show business bug when he won first place in an amateur-night contest at age 12. By age 16 he was entertaining in a Bronx tavern as the bellboy-singer, and the manager, noting his bright-colored uniform, gave him the stage name



Red Buttons

of Red Buttons. Adding stand-up comedy to his talents, Buttons worked in Catskill Mountain resorts and later joined a burlesque troupe as a baggy-pants comic.

Buttons made his Broadway debut in 1942, playing a supporting role in a show called *Vickie*. When he was drafted for World War II service in the army, he was assigned to special services as an entertainer. He appeared in the stage and film productions of *Winged Victory*, a patriotic show designed to encourage the purchase of war bonds.

When CBS offered a contract in 1952 for *The Red Buttons Show*, a broad experience in show business had prepared Buttons well. He had already developed some of his most popular characters—a punchy boxer named Rocky Buttons, a lovable little boy named the Kupke Kid, a hapless, bungling German named Keeglefarven, and the jinxed, luckless Sad Sack. He also did husband-and-wife sketches with Dorothy Joiliffe (later with Beverly Dennis and Betty Ann Grove) in a style to be emulated by George Gobel in the late 1950s.

When the show moved to NBC, it started as a variety show, but the format was soon changed to a situation comedy. Buttons played himself as a television comic who was prone to get into all kinds of trouble. Phyllis Kirk, later to become a star in Broadway musicals, played his wife; Bobby Sherwood was his pal and television director, and newcomer Paul Lynde played a young network vice president who had continual disputes with the star. Dozens of writers worked on the show at various times, but nothing seemed to click, and it was scratched after one season.

After his Tony Award success with the movie *Sayonara*, Buttons's Hollywood career took off. Appearing in *Imitation General*, *The Big Circus*, and *One Two Three* led in 1961 to a role in that year's Hollywood blockbuster, the film portrayal of the World War II invasion of Normandy, *The Longest Day*. Buttons is remembered for his portrayal of a lovable, sad sack paratrooper whose parachute is impaled on a church steeple in a small French town, leaving him hanging while the camera recorded his animated facial expressions.

He is also remembered for his comic role in the 1966 remake of *Stagecoach*, starring Bing Crosby and Ann Margaret. He received an Academy Award nomination for best supporting actor in 1969 for *They Shoot Horses, Don't They?* This was a grim tale about a marathon dance contest during the Great Depression. He was also featured in the 1972 underwater disaster saga, *The Poseidon Adventure*.

Frequent guest spots on television talk shows and the continuation of his film career as a both a comic and serious character actor until 1990 kept Buttons before the public. He had an extended and important career in show business, but some remember that on the networks he was never able to fulfill the exalted promise of his first show in its first season.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## The Byrds

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The Byrds began as a folk-rock band in 1965 led by Jim McGuinn (later renamed Roger following his conversion to Subud). The harmonies arranged by David Crosby and McGuinn's electric twelve-string guitar gave them a rich, fresh sound. Often described as the American Beatles, The Byrds were nevertheless distinctly original. On their first two albums, *Mr. Tambourine Man* and *Turn! Turn! Turn!* (1965), they covered Bob Dylan and traditional folk songs, and wrote their own material. On "Eight Miles High" (1966) McGuinn exhibited the influence of Indian ragas and the improvisational style of John Coltrane. The Byrds explored a psychedelic sound on *Fifth Dimension* (1966) and *Younger than Yesterday* (1967). They continued in the folk/psychedelic style on *The Notorious Byrd Brothers* (1968), but Crosby left halfway through the recording of this album, later forming Crosby, Stills, and Nash. The Byrds' next album,

*Sweetheart of the Rodeo* (1968), detoured into country-western. Throughout the next five albums, the band suffered numerous personnel changes. McGuinn remained the only original member, but somehow the newcomers persuaded him to continue recording country music and The Byrds abandoned their exploratory spirit. They disbanded in 1973. Today The Byrds are remembered for the classics of their folk and psychedelic period, some of which were immortalized in the film *Easy Rider* (1969).

—Douglas Cooke

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## Cabbage Patch Kids

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The Cabbage Patch Kids doll-craze was an unprecedented phenomenon among children and their parents that swept America during the 1980s, reflecting, perhaps, the cultural leanings of an era intent on expressing family values. By comparison with the Cabbage Patch collecting mania, later collectors of the mass-marketed Beanie Babies, Tamagotchis, and Tickle Me Elmos in the 1990s had it easy.

The 16-inch, soft-bodied Cabbage Patch dolls, the ultimate “must have” toy, were in such high demand during the 1983 Christmas season that the \$25 retail Kids were “adopted” on the black market for fees as high as \$2,000. Toy manufacturer Coleco Industries never expected that their homely, one-of-a-kind Kids—complete with birth certificates and adoption papers—would be the impetus behind department-store stampedes across the country, resulting in sales of over six million dolls during their first nine months on the market.

Xavier Roberts, a dollmaker in Columbus, Georgia, began “adopting” his Little People—soft-sculpture, handmade Cabbage Patch prototypes—out of Babyland General Hospital in 1979. Roberts’ gimmicks—from adoption papers and pledges, to hiring “doctors” and “nurses” to deliver dolls from Babyland’s indoor Cabbage Patch every few minutes to the delight of visitors—won his company,



A Cabbage Patch Kid complete with birth certificate.

Original Appalachian Artworks, a licensing deal with Coleco in late 1982. By the late 1980s, Roberts’ hand-signed Little People were worth up to 60 times their original \$75-200 cost. When Coleco filed for bankruptcy in May 1988, Mattel (one of the manufacturers who had passed on licensing rights to the dolls in 1982) took over the Cabbage Patch license.

The mythos that Roberts created for his Cabbage Patch Kids—born from a cabbage patch, stork-delivered, and happy to be placed with whatever family would take them—encouraged the active participation of parents and children alike, and fostered strong faith in the power of fantasy, but the American public’s reaction to the dolls was anything but imaginary. By virtue of their homely, one-of-a-kind identities, and the solemnity with which buyers were swearing to adoption pledges (due in no small part to the dolls’ scarcity), Cabbage Patch Kids became arguably the most humanized playthings in toy history: some “parents” brought their dolls to restaurants, high chair and all, or paid babysitters to watch them, just as they would have done for real children.

The psychological and social effects of the Kids of the Cabbage Patch world were mixed. Adoption agencies and support groups were divided over the advantages and disadvantages that the dolls offered their “parents.” On one hand, they complained that the yarn-haired dolls both desensitized the agony that parents feel in giving children up for adoption, and objectified adoptees as commodities acquired as easily as one purchases a cabbage. On the other hand, psychologists such as Joyce Brothers argued that the dolls helped children and adults alike to understand that we do not have to be attractive in order to be loved. The dolls, proponents argued, helped erase the stigma that many adopted children were feeling before the Kids came along.

When before Cabbage Patch Kids did American mass-market toy consumers demand one-of-a-kind, personalized playthings? Who since Xavier Roberts has been at once father, creator, publicist, and CEO of his own Little “Family”? Cabbage Patch Kids’ popularity hinged on a few fundamental characteristics: a supercomputer that ensured that no two Kids had the same hair/eye/freckle/name combination, Roberts’ autograph of authenticity stamped on each Cabbage tush, an extended universe of over 200 Cabbage-licensed products, and the sad truth that there were never enough of them to go around.

—Daryna M. McKeand

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## Cable TV

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Considering the fact that in the late 1990s many experts view existing television cables as the technological groundwork for what may be the most important and far reaching media innovations since

the printing press, the origins of cable television are quite humble. In the early 1950s millions of Americans were beginning to regularly tune in their television sets. However, a large number of Americans in rural areas were not able to get any reception. Just as these folks wanted TV, so too did television companies want them, for the more people that watched, the more money the networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC) and their advertisers made. Hence, the advent of community antennae television (CATV), commonly known as "cable TV," a system in which television station signals are picked up by elevated antennas and delivered by cables to home receivers. By the late 1990s the majority of American households were cable subscribers. Because of cable's rise to prominence, the ways in which Americans are entertained have been irrevocably transformed. Furthermore, many people think that in the twenty-first century new innovations utilizing cable technology will lead to revolutionary changes in the ways in which Americans live their daily lives.

In the early years of cable many saw it as an additional venue through which to offer more viewing choices to consumers. But for the most part, in the 1950s and 1960s the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) was reluctant to grant licenses to cable operators, ostensibly due to fear of putting the mostly local UHF stations out of business. It is likely, however, that pressure on the FCC from the networks, who didn't want additional competition, also played a role in the FCC's reluctance to grant licenses to cable operators. While there was some optimism about the possibilities for cable TV in the early 1950s, in the early 1960s the progress of cable television was slowed to a near standstill by a series of court cases. At issue was whether or not the FCC had control over cable broadcasts, which were transmitted through cables rather than airwaves. Cable companies were literally pirating the broadcasts of local stations, which legitimately threatened their existence. Although the cable industry won some early cases, heavy pressure from the networks resulted in the FCC declaring itself as having jurisdiction over cable broadcasts. Cable companies fought the ruling, but the courts upheld it. The FCC established prohibitive regulations that severely limited cable TV's growth potential, thus protecting the financial interests of local stations and, more importantly, the networks.

However, in 1972 the FCC finally began allowing satellite transmissions to be used by cable TV operators, which resulted in the beginning of the cable revolution when a small Time Warner subsidiary named Home Box Office (HBO) transmitted the motion picture *Sometimes a Great Notion* over a cable system in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. Although it would be three years before HBO became a national presence, that first transmission altered forever the shape of American television by paving the way for commercial cable service, which first became widely available to consumers in 1976. Early cable customers generally had to have a satellite dish in order to pick up the signals. The dish provided a better picture than traditional TV, as well as a greater number of stations, but it proved to be cost prohibitive to too many customers for it to be financially successful. Cable providers quickly adapted and created a system in which a cable could be attached to just about anyone's TV, provided one lived in an area where cable TV was available. Providers soon realized that most people would willingly pay a monthly fee for better reception and more channels. Public demand for cable TV grew so fast that companies could barely keep up with demand. In 1972 there were only 2,841 cable systems nationwide. By 1995 that number had grown to 11,215. Concurrently, the percentage of households subscribing to cable service jumped from 16.6 percent in 1977 to nearly 70 percent in 1998.

By the mid-1970s the commercial possibilities of cable became apparent. The problem for cable operators was how to attract an audience to their channels when the networks were already free and in nearly every home in America. Conversely, the networks could see that cable would only become more prevalent. The question for them was how could they get in on the cable bonanza. The solution was both ingeniously simple and immensely profitable. The networks agreed to sell their old shows to the cable networks, who would in turn run them endlessly; thus was born the concept of "syndication." For a while this arrangement worked quite well. The networks, on the basis of their original programming, continued to dominate the market, especially during the lucrative 8 PM to 11 PM time slot known as "Prime Time" because of the amount of people (consumers) that watch during those hours. The cable networks were able to enjoy profitability because even though they paid exorbitant franchise fees for the rights to broadcast the networks' old shows, they didn't have to invest in costly production facilities.

As a result of this arrangement between networks and cable operators, an interesting thing happened among the American populace. Whereas previous generations of TV viewers were generally only aware of the TV shows that originated during the lifetime, beginning in the late 1970s Americans became TV literate in a way they had never been before. Americans who came of age after the rise of cable soon became generally conversant in all eras of television programming. Fifteen year olds became just as capable of discussing the nuances of *The Honeymooners*, *I Love Lucy*, and *Star Trek* as they were the shows of their own era. Partly because of cable, television trivia has become shared intelligence in America; however, this shared cultural knowledge is not necessarily a good thing, for it has, for many, been learned in lieu of a more traditional and useful humanistic and/or scientific education. Accordingly, in the late 1990s Americans are collectively more uninformed about the world in which they live than at any other time in the twentieth century, which can be attributed at least in part to the fact that most Americans spend much more time watching TV than they do reading all forms of printed media combined. Cable was originally thought to have great potential as an educational tool. But even though there are a few cable networks that educate as well as entertain, for the most part cable stations are just as subservient to advertising dollars as their network counterparts. As a result, advertising dollars play a large role in dictating the direction of cable programming, just as they do on network television.

For a number of years cable networks were content to run a combination of old network programming, a mix of relatively new and old Hollywood movies, and occasional pay-per-view events such as concerts and sporting events. The first cable network to gain a national foothold was Ted Turner's TBS "Superstation," which ran a format similar to that of the networks, sans original programming. But by the early 1980s it became clear to most cable operators that in order to achieve the financial success they desired cable channels were going to have to come up with their own programming. Thus was born the greatest period of television programming innovation seen to that point. Since their ascent to television dominance in the early 1950s, the networks attempted to appeal to as wide a general audience as possible. The cable networks correctly assumed that they couldn't compete with the networks by going after the same type of broad audience. Instead, they followed the example set by radio after the rise of television in the early 1950s: they developed specific subject formats that mixed syndicated and original programming and attracted demographically particular target audiences for their advertisers.

Americans quickly had access to an unprecedented quantity of television stations; unfortunately, in most cases television's quality did not rise concurrently.

Nevertheless, many of the resulting stations have contributed significantly to the direction of American popular culture. The herald of cable TV's importance to popular culture was a channel known as Music Television, or MTV. Started in 1981, its rise to success was as meteoric as it was astonishing. For American youth MTV became their network, the network that provided the soundtrack for the trials and tribulations of youths everywhere. Michael Jackson and Madonna's status as cultural icons would not be so entrenched were it not for their deft use of MTV as a medium for their videos. Beavis and Butthead would have never caused such a ruckus among concerned parents were it not for MTV. And the music industry, which was flagging in the early 1980s, might not have survived were it not for MTV, which was a virtual non-stop advertisement for recording artists. Neither the "grunge" revolution started in the early 1990s by the incessant playing of Nirvana's "Smells Like Teen Spirit" video nor the ensuing gangster rap, hip hop, and swing movements would have occurred were it not for MTV. The trademark jump cutting found in MTV videos has crossed over to become common place in network television and Hollywood movies. But perhaps the most important realization was for advertisers, who suddenly had unlimited access to a youthful audience never before thought to be a viable consumer market. MTV's audience specific success opened the floodgates for the cable channels that followed.

Among the many cable channels that have made their mark on American culture are the themed channels such as ESPN and ESPN 2, Court TV, C-SPAN, The Weather Channel, Comedy Central, Black Entertainment Television, The Animal Channel, Lifetime, Arts & Entertainment, and the Food Channel. In addition, seemingly countless news channels have followed on the heels of Ted Turner's Cable News Network (CNN), which made its debut in 1980. There are also a number of shopping channels, on which companies can not only hawk their products, but sell them directly to the people as well. For advertisers, cable has greatly increased access to the American buying public, which has resulted in immense profits.

And yet, despite its inarguably providing countless and diverse contributions to popular culture, ranging from the wall to wall televising of O.J. Simpson's murder trial and President Clinton's impeachment to a mainstream venue for *South Park*, *The Simpsons*, and endless wrestling events, many find it difficult to characterize cable's overall contribution to American culture as positive. Clearly television is an incredible medium for entertainment and advertising, but as William F. Baker and George Dessart argue in *Down the Tube: An Inside Account of the Failure of American Television*, that it should be used almost exclusively for such purposes is a tragedy. Regrettably, television's potential as an educational tool has never been realized. For every Ken Burns documentary there are a hundred episodes of *The Jerry Springer Show*. As a result, the rise of cable has only increased the size of the vast wasteland that is television.

After the success of so many cable stations, the networks realized they were missing out on the financial gold mine. They profited from the sale of their shows to cable networks, but the real money came from ownership. However, it was illegal for a network to own a cable system. But in 1992 the FCC dropped this regulation; the networks could now own cable systems. What followed was literally a feeding frenzy, as the networks both battled with each other to buy existing cable networks and scrambled to start their own. What resulted was the illusion of even greater choice for the American

viewing public. Although there were way more channels, there weren't appreciably more owners due to the fact that the networks quickly owned many of the cable systems. Despite their claims to the contrary, in actuality, in the late 1990s the networks controlled television almost as much as they always had.

In 1992 Vice President Al Gore began singing the praises of "the information superhighway," a synthesis of education, goods, and services to be delivered through American televisions via existing cable systems. Cable has always offered the possibility of two-way communications. With the proper devices, Americans could send out information through their cables as well as receive it. The technology was not new, but its implementation was. Although at the time Gore was considered by many to be a futuristic dreamer, industry insiders quickly saw that two-way, or "interactive," TV could be the wave of the future. By incorporating interactive technology, cable TV could transform American TVs into incredible machines capable of being a TV, a computer, a superstore, a stereo, a library, a school, a telephone, a post office, a burglar alarm, and a fire alarm all at once. However, a relatively obscure computer network known as the "internet" already utilized two way phone lines to provide its users with interactive ability. The phone companies saw the internet's potential and beat cable TV to the punch. By the late 1990s the internet was in as many as half of all American homes and businesses. But phone lines aren't as effective at transferring information as cables. Fortunately for the phone companies, FCC deregulation in the early 1990s made it possible for them to own cable networks as well. Whether we want it or not, it is just a matter of time before interactivity comes to American televisions. But, judging by how fast and pervasively the once free form internet became commercialized, it is hard to say whether interactive TVs will change lives for the better or just intensify the already oppressive amount of advertising to which Americans are constantly subjected.

In addition to the networks and phone companies buying cable networks, in the early 1990s other corporations began purchasing the networks and phone companies. The reign of independent cable mavericks such as Ted Turner gave way to a new age of corporate cable barons. By the late 1990s cable and network television was largely controlled by a half dozen massive media conglomerates, one of which is Rupert Murdoch's News Corp., which owns countless companies, including Twentieth Century Fox studios, the Los Angeles Dodgers, and Fox Television. The money making possibilities for corporations like Murdoch's are virtually endless. For example, Fox TV not only features new episodes of its own original shows, such as *The X Files* and *The Simpsons*, it also runs them endlessly once they're syndicated. The L.A. Dodgers frequently appear on Fox's Major League Baseball broadcasts. And Twentieth Century Fox feature films routinely make their television debuts on Fox TV. All of these activities result in profits for the parent company, Fox News Corp. Furthermore, corporate ownership can threaten what integrity TV has, as evidenced in the summer of 1998 when Disney, which owns ABC, reportedly killed a negative ABC Nightly News story about how Disney World's lack of background checks resulted in their hiring criminals. Although the ownership of television was largely in the hands of relatively few monopolies, in the late 1990s there was growing public and government rumblings about the increasing "conglomeratization" of America, which led to the backlash and subsequent anti-trust case against Bill Gates's Microsoft

Corporation. But as of 1999 cable television's many channels are in the hands of a few and, despite appearances, Americans' TV options remain quite limited.

As James Roman writes in *Love, Light, and a Dream: Television's Past, Present, and Future*, the pioneers of cable television "could never have realized the implications their actions would come to have on the regulatory, economic, and technological aspects of modern communications in the United States." In 1999 cable television is America's dominant entertainment and information medium, and, due to the fact that 70 percent of Americans subscribe to some form of cable TV, will remain so for the foreseeable future. For cable subscribers, the future is approaching at breakneck speed. Without consulting the public, the conglomerates have already made their decisions concerning the direction of cable TV; in only a few short years fully interactive television will almost certainly become a reality and American life, for better or worse, will likely experience changes in ways not yet imagined. And what about the 30 percent of those for whom cable, either for financial or geographical reasons, is not an option? Will they be able to compete in an increasingly interactive world or will they be permanently left behind? Will the advent of interactive TV create yet another social group, the technologically disadvantaged, for whom a piece of the pie is not a realistic aspiration? Is it at all possible that the people who have cable will defy all prognostications and not embrace the new technologies that will purportedly change their lives for the better? As of 1999 these remain unanswerable questions but it is likely that the direction of American popular culture in the early twenty-first century will be dictated by their outcome.

—Robert C. Sickels

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## Cadillac

For several decades of the twentieth century, the Cadillac, a car made by General Motors' luxury automobile division, was the most enduring symbol of middle-class achievement for status-conscious Americans. Nowhere is the past and somewhat faded glory of the Cadillac sedan more visible than in the affluent suburbs of Detroit, where silver-haired retired automotive-industry executives and their elegantly-coiffed wives, each stylized living relics of another era, can still be seen tooling around in dark-hued Seattles, while in other such enclaves of prosperity across America, luxury cars from Germany and Japan have long dominated this demographic.

The most popular luxury carmaker in the United States began its history in 1902 in Detroit as one of the many new, independent automobile companies in town. Founded by Henry Leland, who gave it the name of the seventeenth-century French explorer who had founded Detroit, Cadillac earned a devoted following with a reputable and technologically innovative engine. Absorbed into the General Motors family in 1909, the carmaker enhanced its reputation over the years by numerous engineering achievements. For instance, Cadillac was the first car company to successfully use interchangeable parts that fit into the same model and did not require costly hand-tooling. In 1912, a new Cadillac was introduced with the Delco electric ignition and lighting system. The powerful V-8 engine was also a Cadillac first, and its in-house advertising director (the man who later founded the D'Arcy MacManus agency), began using the advertising slogan "Standard of the World." Another print ad, titled "The Penalty of Leadership," made advertising history by never once mentioning Cadillac by name, a master stroke of subtlety.

Harley Earl, the legendary automotive designer, began giving Cadillacs their elegant, kinetic look in the 1920s. He is credited with introducing the first tailfin on the new designs in the late 1940s, inspired in part by the fighter planes of World War II. A decade later, nearly all American cars sported them, but Cadillac's fins were always the grandest. Purists despised them as style gimmicks, but the public adored them. In the postwar economic boom of the 1950s the Cadillac came to be viewed as the ultimate symbol of success in America. They were among some of the most costly and weightiest cars ever made for the consumer market: some models weighed in at over 5,000 pounds and boasted such deluxe accoutrements as imported leather seats, state-of-the-art climate and stereo systems, and consumer-pleasing gadgets like power windows. The brand also began to take hold in popular culture: Chuck Berry sang of besting one in a race in his 1955 hit "Maybellene," and Elvis Presley began driving a pink Caddy not long after his first few chart successes.

Cadillac's hold on the status-car market began to wane in the 1960s when both Lincoln and Chrysler began making inroads with their models. Mismanagement by GM engendered further decline. Cadillac production reached 266,000 cars in 1969, one of its peak years. That model year's popular Coupe DeVille (with a wheelbase of over ten feet) sold for \$5,721; by contrast the best-selling Chevrolet, the Impala, had a sticker price of \$3,465. There were media-generated rumors that people sometimes pooled their funds in order to buy a Cadillac to share. In the 1970s, the brand became indelibly linked with the urban American criminal element, the ride of choice for pimps and mob bosses alike. Furthermore, more affluent American car buyers began preferring Mercedes-Benz imports, and sales of



**The 1931 Cadillac**

such German sedans (BMW and Audi also grew in popularity) began to eclipse Cadillac. The car itself “became the costume of the *nouveau-riche*—or the *arrivistes*, rather than those who enjoyed established positions of wealth,” wrote Peter Marsh and Peter Collett in *Driving Passion: The Psychology of the Car*. “People who are busy clambering up the social ladder still imagine that those at the top share their reverence for Cadillacs.”

Combined with the spiraling away of the brand’s cachet, the periodic Middle East oil crises of the decade made “gas guzzlers” such as the heavy V-8 Cadillacs both expensive and unfashionable. Furthermore, mired in posh executive comfort and unable to respond to the market, Detroit auto executives failed to direct the company toward designing and making smaller, more fuel-efficient luxury cars. Engineering flaws often plagued the few such models that were introduced by Cadillac—the Seville, Cimarron, and Allante—and gradually the brand itself began to be perceived as a lemon. GM allowed Cadillac to reorganize in the early 1980s, and the company somewhat successfully returned to the big-car market by the mid-1980s, but by then had met with a new host of competition in the field—the new luxury nameplates from the Japanese automakers, Acura, Lexus, and Infinity.

Still, the Caddy remains a symbol of a particularly American style and era, now vanished. When U.S. President Richard Nixon

visited the Soviet Union in May of 1972, he presented Premier Leonid Brezhnev with a Cadillac Eldorado, which the Communist leader reportedly very much enjoyed driving around Moscow by himself. The Cadillac Ranch, outside of Amarillo, Texas, is a peculiarly American art-installation testament to the make: it consists of vintage Caddies partially buried in the Texas earth, front-end down.

—Carol Brennan

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## Caesar, Sid (1922—)

Sid Caesar was one of the most familiar and talented television performers of the 1950s. His skills as a dialectician, pantomime, and monologist made him a favorite of the critics and a fixture on Saturday night television from 1950 to 1954. Along with co-star Imogene Coca and a writing staff that included Carl Reiner, Mel Brooks, Larry Gelbart, and a young Woody Allen, Caesar captivated the new television audience with film parodies, characterizations, and sitcom-style sketches on NBC's *Your Show of Shows*. Caesar was also infamous for his dark side, an apparent byproduct of his comedic brilliance. A large man, carrying up to 240 pounds on his six-foot-one-inch frame, articles in the popular press described his eating and drinking habits as excessive and his mood as mercurial. In an age when many top comedy television performers suffered physical and mental breakdowns from the exacting demands of live television production, Caesar stood out as a damaged man prone to self-destruction and addiction. He was one of the first broadcast stars to talk openly about his experiences in psychotherapy.

Surprisingly, Caesar did not begin his career in entertainment as a comedian, but rather as a saxophonist. Brought up in Yonkers, New York, by European Jewish immigrant parents, as a child Caesar



Sid Caesar and Imogene Coca

developed his abilities as a dialectician by mimicking the voices of the Italian, Russian, and Polish émigrés who patronized his parents' restaurant. But it was the customer who left behind an old saxophone in the restaurant who had the most direct impact on Caesar's career as an entertainer. The young Caesar picked up the instrument and over the years became an accomplished musician. After graduating from high school, Caesar moved to Manhattan, played in various orchestras, and took summer work at Jewish hotels in the Catskills (commonly known as the "borscht belt"). Although contracted as a musician, he began to appear in the hotel program's comedy acts as a straight man and was so successful that he eventually decided to emphasize his comedic skills over his musical talent.

Theatrical producer Max Liebman, who worked with Caesar on revues in the Catskills and Florida, was central to Caesar's entry into the nascent medium of television. After years performing on stage, in nightclubs, and in the Coast Guard recruiting show "Tars and Spars" (later made into a Hollywood film), the budding comedian was paired with Imogene Coca in Liebman's production "Admiral Broadway Revue." At Liebman's prodding, NBC President Pat Weaver saw the show, and he signed the entire cast and staff to do a television version of their production under the same title. But the program's sponsor, Admiral, a major manufacturer of television sets, found the program too expensive for its limited advertising budget. Weaver encouraged Liebman to give television another try, using most of his original cast and staff for a ninety-minute Saturday night program eventually titled *Your Show of Shows*. Premiering in February of 1950 and following on the heels of shows such as *Texaco Star Theatre*, *Your Show of Shows* was conceived as a fairly straightforward vaudeville-style variety program. However, with its talented cast and writing staff, the show developed into more than just slapstick routines, acrobatic acts, and musical numbers. Although ethnic jokes, borscht-belt-style monologues, and sight gags were considered central to the success of early variety programs, Caesar proved that these basics could be incorporated into a highly nuanced and culturally rich program that would appeal to popular and high culture tastes simultaneously. His film parodies and array of characters such as jazz musician Progress Hornsby, the German Professor, and storyteller Somerset Winterset became the most popular and memorable aspects of the show.

As a result of his unique talents, critics began to call Caesar television's Charlie Chaplin, and one usually tough critic, John Crosby of the *New York Herald Tribune*, considered the comedian "one of the wonders of the modern electronic age." Yet, despite such ardent admiration, Caesar could not quiet the insecurities that had plagued him since childhood. Known for his overindulgence of both food and alcohol, it was said that Caesar would finish off a fifth or more of Scotch daily. In an attempt to control his addiction, doctors prescribed sedatives. However, the "cure" fueled the drinking habit as Caesar took his medication with his daily dose of alcohol. This combination intensified his bouts with depression and worsened the quick temper that often revealed itself on the set or in writing meetings.

The season after *Your Show of Shows* ended its run in 1954, Caesar immediately returned to television with *Caesar's Hour* on Monday nights on NBC. Although many of his problems were well-known in the industry and by his fans, in 1956 he spoke on the record about his emotional issues and subsequent entry into psychoanalysis in an article in *Look* magazine. Claiming that analysis had cured him of his depression and addiction, Caesar blamed his psychological



state on the emotional neglect of his parents during childhood. He revealed that “On stage, I could hide behind the characters and inanimate objects I created. Off stage, with my real personality for all to see, I was a mess . . . I couldn’t believe that anyone could like me for myself.”

Despite his public proclamation of being cured, Caesar continued to suffer. After his second television program was taken off the air in 1957 because it no longer could compete against ABC’s *The Lawrence Welk Show*, the comedian’s mental and physical health declined even further. Although he returned to television a few more times during his career, he was never quite the same. During the 1960s and 1970s he appeared in bit roles in movies such as *Grease*, *History of the World, Part I*, and *It’s a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World*, but he spent most of his time in isolation grappling with his problems. It wasn’t until 1978 that he had completed his recovery. In his seventies he continued to nurture a small but respectable movie career in *The Great Man Swap* and *Vegas Vacation*, but he remained best known as one of the most intelligent and provocative innovators of television comedy.

—Susan Murray

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## *Cagney and Lacey*

The arrival of *Cagney and Lacey* in 1982 broke new and significant ground in television’s ever-increasing proliferation of popular cop series in that the stars were women—a pair of undercover detectives out there with New York’s finest, unafraid to walk into the threat of violence, or to use a gun when necessary. Effectively, writers Barney Rosenzweig, Barbara Avedon and Barbara Corday offered audiences a female *Starsky and Hutch*, cleverly adapting the nuances of male partner-and-buddy bonding to suit their heroines. Although jam-packed with precinct life and crime action, the series was character driven, with careful attention given to the private lives of the two detectives, sharply contrasted for maximum interest in both the writing and the casting. Mary Beth Lacey, dark-haired, New York Italian working-class, combined her career with married life and the struggle to raise her children; Christine Cagney, more sophisticated, more ambitious, single, blonde, and very attractive, struggled with a drinking problem. The relationships between them and their male colleagues were beautifully and realistically brought to life by Tyne Daly and Sharon Gless, respectively. Gless was a late addition, brought in to counter criticisms that the show was too harsh and



Sharon Gless (left) and Tyne Daly in a scene from the television movie *Cagney and Lacey: The Return*.

unfeminine: Loretta Swit had played Cagney in the pilot, followed by Meg Foster in the short first series, which failed to find favor in its depiction of women in so unglamorous a context. However, with Gless in tow, the show’s treatment of female solidarity and hard-hitting issues won the CBS show a huge popular following, and lasted for seven seasons until 1988.

—Nickianne Moody

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## *Cagney, James (1899-1986)*

One of the greatest tough-guy personas of twentieth-century film, James Cagney worked hard to refine his image to meet his responsible Catholic background. The result was a complex set of characters who ranged from the hard-working immigrant striving to make his way in America, to the American hero of Cold War times who fought to preserve our way of life against Communist infiltrators. Cagney’s various personas culminated in one as different from the others as can be imagined—he began to play characters on the edge of (in)sanity. It is his image as a tough guy, however, that is most enduring.

In 1933, during the filming of *Lady-Killer*, Darryl F. Zanuck sent a memo to his crew of writers in which he detailed the studio’s requirements for the Cagney persona: “He has got to be tough, fresh, hard-boiled, bragging—he knows everything, everybody is wrong but him—everything is easy to him—he can do everything and yet it



James Cagney in a scene from the film *White Heat*.

is a likeable trait in his personality.’’ During the 1930s, Cagney’s uptempo acting style—the rat-a-tat-tat of his reedy voice—and his distinctly Irish-puck appearance, created a decidedly lower-East side aura. He was a city boy.

Cagney was born in New York City on July 17, 1899. Although studio publicity promoted stories about a tough east-side upbringing and life above a saloon, Cagney was, in fact, raised in the modest middle-class neighborhood of Yorkville. Two of his brothers became doctors. On screen, however, Cagney played tough guys—characters who were immigrants fighting to fit in identified.

*Public Enemy*, Cagney’s first starring role, remains famous for an enduring still of Cagney, with lips pursed, hair awry, and eyes enraged, smashing a grapefruit in Mae Clarke’s face. But it was Tom Powers’ contempt for assimilation that alarmed educators and reformers. In 1932, armed with the Payne Fund Studies, a group of reformers feared that immigrant youths over identified with certain screen stars and surrendered their parents’ values for falsely ‘‘Americanized’’ ones. In his popularization of the Payne report, Henry James Forman echoed these fears when he identified one second-generation

Italian youth’s praise for Cagney: ‘‘I eat it. You get some ideas from his acting. You learn how to pull off a job, how he bumps off a guy and a lot of things.’’

Because of the uproar from reformers and the ascendancy of President Roosevelt and his accompanying call for collective action, Warner Brothers shifted their image of Cagney. He no longer embodied lost world losers but common men fighting to make it in America. And Cagney’s image of fighting to make it spoke to New York’s immigrants (Italians, Jews, Poles, Slavs), who in 1930 comprised 54.1 percent of New York City’s households. From 1932-39 (a period in which he made 25 films), Cagney represented an ethnic in-between. As an Irish-American, he was an icon for immigrants because he represented a complex simultaneity—he was both a part of and apart from Anglo-Saxon society. In a series of vehicles, Cagney was the outlaw figure, a character who did not want to conform to the dictates of the collective, and yet, through the love of a WASPish woman or the demands of the authoritative Pat O’Brien (the Irish cop figure in *Here Comes the Navy* [1934] and *Devil Dogs of the Air* [1935]) Cagney harnessed his energies to communal good.

Regardless of how Cagney's image was read by immigrants, sociologists, and reformers, he was not happy with how he perceived Zanuck and the Warner Brothers' script writers had structured his persona. A devout Catholic and a shy, soft-spoken man off-screen, he was tired of roughing up women and playing street punks on screen. Three times (1932, 1934, 1936) he walked off the studio lot to protest his typecasting. In March 1936, Cagney won a breach of contract suit against Warner Brothers, and later that year signed with Grand National where he filmed *Great Guy* (1936) and *Something to Sing About* (1937). Unfortunately, neither effort changed his persona, and with Grand National falling into receivership, Cagney returned to Warner Brothers.

To enhance Cagney's return, Warner Brothers immediately teamed him with old pal and co-star Pat O'Brien in *Angels With Dirty Faces* (1938). As Rocky Sullivan, Cagney received an Academy Award nomination and the New York Critics Award for best actor. The film's most memorable scene features Cagney's death-row walk in which his "performance" switches the Dead End Kids' allegiances from one father figure (Cagney) to another (O'Brien). It is an explosive moment of ambiguity in which a character destroys his reputation for the audience in the film (the Kids) but gains, through his sacrifice, saintliness from the audience in the theater (largely immigrant).

By the 1940s, Cagney's image had radically changed under the pressures of the Martin Dies' "Communist" innuendoes. With war raging in Europe the competing images in Cagney's persona (the anarchic individual at odds with the collective; the Irish-American trying to make it in WASP—White Anglo-Saxon Protestant—society) were transformed into a homogenized pro-United States figure. The plight of the immigrant was replaced by Warner Brothers' all-American front to the Axis. *Yankee Doodle Dandy* (1942) culminated the change as Cagney was galvanized into a singing, dancing super-patriot. Cagney won an Academy Award for this dynamic performance.

Following a second try at independence (United Artists, 1943-48), the post-World War II Cagney struggled to maintain a contemporary persona. Much of his New York City audience had grown up and moved to the suburbs. Too old and lace-curtain Irish to remain an ethnic in-between, the post-war Cagney bifurcated into two types: a strong-willed patriarch or a completely insane figure who needed to be destroyed. *White Heat* mirrored the switch in emphasis. No longer was Cody Jarret fighting to realize the immigrant dream; instead he fought a mother complex.

On March 18, 1974 more than 50 million Americans watched Cagney accept the American Film Institute's second annual life-time achievement award. Although he had fought Zanuck, Wallis, and the studio's construction of his "tough, fresh, hard-boiled" image, he embraced it during the tribute. In his acceptance speech Cagney thanked the tough city boys of his past: "they were all part of a very stimulating early environment, which produced that unmistakable touch of the gutter without which this evening might never have happened." James Cagney died on Easter Sunday, 1986.

—Grant Tracey

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## Cahan, Abraham (1860-1951)

The flowering of Jewish-American fiction in the 1950s and 1960s had its origin in the pioneering work of Abraham Cahan: immigrant, socialist, journalist, and fiction writer. With William Dean Howells' assistance, Cahan published *Yekl: A Tale of the New York Ghetto* (1896) and *The Imported Bridegroom* (1898). But it is *The Rise of David Levinsky* (1917) that is his masterwork. Using Howells's *Rise of Silas Lapham* as his model, Cahan explores an entire industry (ready-made clothing) and immigrant experience (Eastern European Jews) by focusing on a single character and his bittersweet ascent from Russian rags to Manhattan riches. A major work of American literary realism, *The Rise of David Levinsky* is also an example of reform-minded Progressivism and began as a series of sketches in *McClure's Magazine* alongside the work of muckrakers Upton Sinclair and Ida Tarbell. Although he is best remembered for this one novel (rediscovered in 1960 thanks to the popularity of a later generation of postwar Jewish-American writers), Cahan's most influential act was the founding of the world's leading Yiddish newspaper, the *Jewish Daily Forward*, in 1902.

—Robert A. Morace

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## Cakewalks

An elegant and stately dance created by African slaves on Caribbean and North American plantations, the cakewalk enjoyed a long history. During slavery, plantation owners judged the dance and the finest dancer was rewarded with a cake. It became the first African-American dance to become popular among whites. The cakewalk was featured in several contexts including the minstrel show finale, early black musicals including *Clorindy, or The Origin of the Cakewalk* in 1898 and *The Creole Show* in 1899, and on ballroom floors thereafter. The cakewalk embodied an erect body with a quasi-shuffling movement that developed into a smooth walking step.

—Willie Collins

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## Caldwell, Erskine (1903-1987)

Although Erskine Caldwell gradually descended into obscurity, during his heyday in the 1930s and 1940s his books were perennial best-sellers. Notorious for the explicit sexuality in his novels about Southern poor whites, Caldwell withstood several obscenity trials and saw his work banned on a regular basis. Caldwell's trademark mixture of sex, violence, and black humor garnered various reactions. Southerners in particular felt that Caldwell pandered to stereotypes of the South as a land of ignorance, sloth, and depravity, but many respected literary critics saw burlesque humor, leftist political activism, or uncompromising realism in Caldwell's writing. Caldwell's major fiction included *Tobacco Road* (1932), *God's Little Acre* (1933), *Kneel to the Rising Sun and Other Stories* (1935), *Trouble in July* (1940), and *Georgia Boy* (1943). In addition to novels and short stories, Caldwell coauthored a number of photograph-and-text books with his second wife, photographer Margaret Bourke-White, the most popular of which were *You Have Seen Their Faces* (1937) and *Say, Is This the U.S.A.?* (1941).

Caldwell was born in rural White Oak, Georgia. He inherited his social conscience from his father, a minister in the rigorous Associated Reformed Presbyterian Church. Because of his father's ministry, Caldwell's family moved frequently, and their financial situation was often strained. Caldwell had little formal education. His mother taught him at home during his early childhood, and he never formally graduated from high school. He later spent brief periods at three different colleges but never obtained a degree. After a long series of odd jobs and some newspaper work for the *Atlanta Journal*, Caldwell moved to Maine in 1927 to concentrate on writing fiction. He would never again live in the South, though he made occasional visits for documentary projects or creative inspiration.

Caldwell's early years in Maine were spent in utter poverty. His first three books attracted little attention, but his fourth, *Tobacco Road*, defined his career and made him rich. Published in 1932, *Tobacco Road* featured Jeeter Lester and family, a brood of destitute sharecroppers in rural Georgia. The dysfunctional Lester clan starved and stole and cussed and copulated throughout the book, which initially received mixed reviews and posted lackluster sales. Jack Kirkland changed all that when he translated *Tobacco Road* into a phenomenally successful Broadway play. The play ran from December of 1933 through March of 1941, an unprecedented seven-year stretch that was a Broadway record at the time. Touring versions of the play traveled the nation for nearly two decades, playing to packed houses throughout the country. Caldwell's book sales skyrocketed.

Through the 1940s Caldwell's books continued to sell well in dime-store paperback versions with lurid covers, but reviews of his new books were increasingly harsh. Though he continued writing at a prolific pace, Caldwell was never able to repeat the critical success of his earlier work. The quality of his work plummeted, and his relationships with publishers and editors, often strained in the past, deteriorated further.

Despite Caldwell's waning literary reputation, he had a lasting impact on American popular culture. A pioneer in the paperback book

trade, he was one of the first critically acclaimed writers to aggressively market his work in paperback editions, which were considered undignified at the time. Most of Caldwell's astonishing sales figures came from paperback editions of books that were first published in hardback years earlier. These cheap editions were sold not in bookstores, but in drug stores and magazine stands; consequently they reached a new audience that many publishers previously had ignored. Sexually suggestive covers aided Caldwell's sales and forever changed the marketing practices for fiction. His censorship battles made Caldwell a pivotal figure in writers' battles for First Amendment rights. Without question, however, Caldwell's greatest legacy has been his depiction of Southern poor whites. The Lesters have been reincarnated in *The Beverly Hillbillies*, *Snuffy Smith*, *L'il Abner*, *The Dukes of Hazzard*, and countless other poor white icons. Though its origin seems largely forgotten, the term "Jeeter" survives as a slang expression for "poor white trash."

—Margaret Litton

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## Calloway, Cab (1907-1994)

Known as "The Hi-De-Ho Man," jazz singer, dancer, and bandleader Cab Calloway was one of the best-known entertainers in the United States from the early 1930s until his death in 1994. Calloway's musical talents, however, were only part of the story. His live performances at Harlem's Cotton Club became legendary because of Calloway's wild gyrations, facial expressions, and entertaining patter.

Born Cabell Calloway on Christmas Day, 1907, in Rochester, New York, Calloway spent most of his childhood years in Baltimore. The younger brother of singer Blanche Calloway, who made several popular records in the early 1930s before retiring, Cab discovered show business during his teen years, frequenting Chicago clubs while attending that city's Crane School. When Calloway encountered financial difficulties, he naturally turned to moonlighting in the same clubs, first as an emcee and later as a singer, dancer, and bandleader.

Although Calloway was attending law school and his hopes for a career in that field looked promising, he elected to drop out and try to make it as a singer and dancer. He led a successful Chicago group, the Alabamians, who migrated to New York but found the competition



**Cab Calloway**

too harsh to survive. Calloway had better luck with his next group, the Missourians, appearing in the Broadway revue *Connie's Hot Chocolates* in 1929.

Soon after, Calloway was offered a position as the headline act at the Cotton Club, and he readily accepted. He also had begun recording, and in 1931 produced his best-known single, "Minnie the Moocher." Minnie and her companion, Smokey Joe, were the first of many fictional characters Calloway invented to entertain his audiences. He continued Minnie's saga with such "answer" records as "Minnie the Moocher's Wedding Day" and "Mister Paganini, Swing for Minnie," which took a satirical look at classical music. He continued to develop his talents as a jazz singer and was one of the first "scat" singers, improvising melodies while singing nonsense lyrics. Blessed with a wide vocal range, Calloway employed it to his fullest advantage, especially on his famous "hi-de-ho" songs, which included "You Gotta Hi-De-Ho" and the "Hi-De-Ho Miracle Man."

Calloway's orchestra was a showcase and proving ground for some of the most prominent musicians in the history of jazz. Walter "Foots" Thomas, Doc Cheatham, Danny Barker, Dizzy Gillespie, and Ike Quebec, among many others, gained notoriety by appearing with Calloway, who paid higher salaries—and demanded better work—than any other bandleader.

Calloway had so much visual appeal that he was cast in several movies, including *Stormy Weather* (1943). More recently, Calloway played a thinly veiled version of himself in the 1980 blockbuster *The Blues Brothers*, dispensing fatherly advice to protagonists Jake and Elwood Blues (John Belushi and Dan Aykroyd) as well as turning in a spectacular performance of "Minnie the Moocher" at the film's climax.

Although the single "Blues in the Night" was a major hit in 1942, Calloway found little commercial success after the Depression years. With the end of the big-band era after World War II, Calloway reluctantly disbanded his orchestra in 1948 and thereafter performed solo or as a featured guest in other groups. His love of entertaining led him to continue performing for fans until his death in 1994.

—Marc R. Sykes

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## *Calvin and Hobbes*

Imaginative, hilariously drawn, at times philosophical—all the while retaining a child's perspective—this daily and Sunday comic strip has been compared to the best of the classic comics. Written and drawn by Bill Watterson, *Calvin and Hobbes* debuted in 1985 and featured the adventures of Calvin, a hyperactive, overly imaginative, bratty six-year-old, and his best friend, the stuffed tiger Hobbes. Other regularly appearing characters included Calvin's stressed out parents; Susie Derkins, the neighborhood girl; Miss Wormwood, the much put-upon school teacher; Mo, the school bully; and Rosalyn, the only baby-sitter willing to watch Calvin.

Part of the charm of the strip was the fact that Watterson often blurred the distinction between what was imaginary and what was "real." Calvin saw his tiger as real. When Calvin and Hobbes were by themselves, Watterson drew Hobbes as a walking tiger with fuzzy cheeks and an engaging grin. When another character appeared with Calvin and Hobbes, Hobbes was drawn simply as an expressionless stuffed tiger. The "real" Hobbes was more intellectual than Calvin and also liked to get "smooches" from girls, unlike the girl-hating Calvin (though both were founding members of G.R.O.S.S.—Get Rid of Slimy girls).

Unlike Dennis the Menace, *Calvin and Hobbes* went beyond the hijinks of a holy terror. It explored childhood imagination and the possibilities of that imagination. For instance, one of Calvin's chief toys besides Hobbes was a large cardboard box. When it was right side up, the box was a time machine that transported Calvin and Hobbes back to the Jurassic. When Calvin turned it over, the box became the transmogrifier, which could transmogrify, or transform, Calvin into anything he wished. The transmogrifier was later converted into a duplicator, producing lots of Calvins. Imagination sequences such as these have been imitated by other comic strips such as Jim Borgman and Jerry Scott's *Zits*.

Calvin's imaginary world contained other memorable characters and devices. Calvin became the fearless Spaceman Spiff whenever he needed to escape the doldrums of school or the rebuke of his parents, who clearly loved but did not always like Calvin, a view of the family different from many others seen on the comics page. Calvin would don a cape and cowl and become Stupendous Man. His repertoire also included a tyrannosaur, or Calvinosaur, a robot, and a werewolf. Calvin also liked to sit in front of the television set, a behavior Watterson satirized, evidencing his contempt of television as opposed to personal imagination.

Most of the strips featured Calvin's antics, such as hitting Susie with a snowball or running away from his mother at bath time. Other

common gags included his reluctance to eat dinner, his hatred of school and homework, and his antagonism toward Rosalyn. Calvin also enjoyed building deformed or dismembered snowmen on the front lawn. Besides these gags, though, the strip would at times deal with the philosophical nature of humanity as seen by a child and a tiger. Given the names of the characters, this was only to be expected. The comic strip's title characters are named after John Calvin and Thomas Hobbes. Calvin was a Protestant reformer famous for his ideas on predestination and the sovereignty of God. Calvin believed men, and children, to be sinners. Hobbes, author of the *Leviathan*, believed in submission to the sovereign of the state, since he too believed men were evil. Watterson occasionally commented on such issues between his two characters, usually as they headed down a hill in either a wagon or a sled.

Watterson ended *Calvin and Hobbes* in 1995. Watterson was known to dislike the deadlines, commercialization, and restraints of syndicated comics, which most likely motivated his retirement. While Watterson never permitted merchandising of his Calvin and Hobbes characters, *Calvin and Hobbes* reprints remained in stores, and Calvin images, though most likely unlicensed, continued to be displayed in cars and trucks. *Calvin and Hobbes* collections include *Something under the Bed Is Drooling* (1988), *Yukon Ho!* (1989), and *The Calvin and Hobbes Lazy Sunday Book* (1989).

Like Gary Larson of *The Far Side*, Watterson had a unique honor bestowed on him by the scientific community. On one adventure, Calvin and Hobbes explored Mars. When the Mars Explorer sent back pictures of Mars, NASA scientists named two of the Mars rocks Calvin and Hobbes.

—P. Andrew Miller

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## Camacho, Héctor “Macho” (1962—)

In 1985, boxer Héctor Camacho, known for his flashy style and flamboyant costuming as a “Macho Man” and “Puerto Rican Superman,” became the first Puerto Rican to have won the World Boxing Championship (WBC) and World Boxing Organization (WBO) championships in the lightweight division. Born in Bayamón, Puerto Rico, in 1962, Camacho won 40 of his first 41 fights culminating with his victory over José Luis Ramos for the WBC lightweight championship. In 1987, Camacho moved up to the super lightweight division, in which he fought only seven sluggish battles before retiring in 1994. The two highlights of this latter career were his victory over World Boxing Association (WBA) lightweight champion Ray “Boom Boom” Mancini in 1989 and his 1992 fight with Julio César Chávez for a \$3 million payoff.

—Nicolás Kanellos



Héctor “Macho” Comacho

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## Camelot

*Camelot*, a musical by Alan Jay Lerner and Frederick Loewe based on T.H. White's version of the Arthurian romance *The Once and Future King*, was one of the most successful Broadway musicals of the 1960s. The original production starred Julie Andrews, Richard Burton, and Robert Goulet. Songs included “I Wonder What the King Is Doing Tonight,” “Camelot,” “How to Handle a Woman,” “C'est Moi,” and “If Ever I Would Leave You.” The 1967 film version featured Richard Harris, Vanessa Redgrave, and Franco Nero. *Camelot* contemporized the era of King Arthur and made the legend accessible and appealing to 20th-century audiences through the use of 1960s popular music styles, a skillful libretto, and well-known performers. The influence of *Camelot* extended well beyond the musical theater. It became a symbol of the administration of President John F. Kennedy, an era—like that of King Arthur—whose days were cut tragically short. The *Oxford History of the American*

*People* (1965) even ends with a quote from the show: “Don’t let it be forgot that once there was a spot, for one brief shining moment that was known as Camelot.”

—William A. Everett

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## Camp

“Camp asserts that good taste is not simply good taste; that there exists, indeed, a good taste of bad taste.” In her well known 1964 piece, *Notes on Camp*, Susan Sontag summarized the fundamental paradox that occupies the heart of “camp,” a parodic attitude toward taste and beauty which was at that time emerging as an increasingly common feature of American popular culture. Avoiding the draw-out commentary and coherence of a serious essay format, *Notes on Camp* dashes off a stream of anecdotal postures, each adding its own touches to an outline of camp sensibility. “It’s embarrassing to be solemn and treatise-like about Camp,” Sontag writes. “One runs the risk of having produced a very inferior piece of Camp.” And she was right. To take camp seriously is to miss the point. Camp, a taste of bad taste which languishes between parody and self-parody, doesn’t try to succeed as a serious statement of taste, but stages its own failure as taste by doing and overdoing itself. In this way, failure is camp’s greatest triumph and to take it away through a serious analysis would, for Sontag, be tantamount to an annihilation of the subject. In fact, since camp’s self-parody leaves no durable statement of taste, it should only be spoken of as a verb: “camping,” the act of subverting a taste by exaggerating its pomp and artifice to the point of absurdity.

Writing in 1964, Sontag already had a short history of popular camp to reflect upon. From the mid 1950s, a peculiar sense of the beauty of bad taste had crept into American culture thorough the pages of *MAD* magazine and the writings of Norman Mailer—a parodic smirk that would creep across the face of counter culture of the 1960s and ultimately etch itself deeply into the American cultural outlook. By the mid 1960s, camp’s triumphs were many: the glib, colorful, and disposable styles of Pop gave way to the non-conformity of hippie camp, which in turn inspired 1970s glam-rock camp, the biting camp of punk and the irony and retro of the 1980s and 1990s camp, while throughout the inflections of gay and drag camp were never far away. In each case, camp’s pattern is clear: camp camps taste. Less a taste in itself, more an attitude toward taste in general, camp’s failed seriousness exaggerates to absurdity the whole posture of serious taste, it “dethrones seriousness,” and reveals the vanity and folly that underlies every expression of taste. And camp’s failure is contagious. By affirming style over substance, the artifice of taste over the content of art, and by undermining one’s own posture of good taste by exaggerating its vanity and affect, camp exposes the lie of

taste in general—without confronting it with a superior standard. Sontag writes: “Camp taste turns its back on the good-bad axis of ordinary aesthetic judgment. Camp doesn’t reverse things. It doesn’t argue that the good is bad or the bad is good. What it does is to offer for art (and life) a different—a supplementary—set of standards.” Free from seriousness, camp can be cruel or kind: at moments camp offers a boundless carnival of generosity to anyone willing to don a disguise and share in the pomp and pretense that is taste, while at other moments camp’s grotesque vanity might fly into jealous rage at the competitor, the campier than thou, that threatens to rain on the charade.

Sontag traces camp to its origins as a gay sensibility in the writings of Oscar Wilde and Jean Genet, who sought to dethrone the seriousness of Victorian literary convention and the tastes of the French bourgeoisie. In America, camp largely emerged from the need to dethrone the conformity and banality of the consumer culture of the 1950s. “Pop” styles sprang out of a reaction to the conformity imposed by the mass-produced culture provided by a “society of abundance,” which unconvincingly advocated the virtues and pleasures of life in a world of consumer goods. By the 1960s, that promise was less and less convincing, and the adornments of the suburban home seemed sadly inadequate as stand-ins for human satisfaction. The colorful, flamboyant and garish styles of “Pop” provided some relief for an American middle class increasingly inundated with “serious” consumer tastes in which it had no trust. In Britain a group of painters calling themselves The International Group (whose members included Richard Hamilton, John McHale, and Magda Cordell) set out to sing the praises of the new culture of plenty in a slightly off-key refrain: Hamilton’s famous 1956 collage of a suburban living room asks with a conspicuous sincerity, “Just What Is It That Makes Today’s Homes So Different, So Appealing?” The piece lampoons the optimism and complacency of the new domestic bliss, while celebrating its artifice. Camping the Americanization of the 1950s, British Pop spread quickly to the garrets of New York where Roy Lichtenstein, Jasper Johns, and Andy Warhol quickly picked up the trick of praising the land of opulence with the tongue squarely in the cheek.

“Pop” resonated in the mainstream of American cultural life with the first of what would be many terrifically successful British Invasions. Dethroning the “good taste” of mass culture with stylish overkill, pop clothing, decoration, and graphics were exaggerated, colorful and garish, silly and trite. The fashions of Mary Quant, the photography of David Bailey, and ultimately the music of the Rolling Stones and the Beatles offered stylistic excess as the antidote to the “square” tastes of the older generation. The pop-psychedelic expressions of later years would confirm the superiority of mockery over taste. The fad *Vogue* dubbed “Youthquake” trumpeted the shallow excessiveness of a youthful taste as an endorsement of style over substance—a camping of mass culture. Commercial imagery, camped in this way, shaped the counter culture of the 1960s, from the Beatles’ *Sergeant Pepper* album cover to Warhol’s soup cans to the garish colors of psychedelic attire to the magazine clipping collages that covered many a teenager’s bedroom walls: camping was at once subversive, clever, and affirming of one’s taste for bad taste. One image in particular expresses this camping of mass culture that was the achievement of Pop: Twiggy, the slim and youthful British model who took Madison Avenue by storm in 1967, was pictured in a *New Yorker* article posing in Central Park, surrounded by children, all of whom wore Twiggy masks, photographic representations of the face of the model. Camping the artifice of mass stardom had become part of stardom itself.

It was, however, the camp of the drag queen that would ultimately triumph in the counter culture, and claim the camp legacy for the next decade. As early as Warhol's Factory days, where Manhattan drag queens like Candy Darling and Holly Woodlawn were featured prominently in such films as *Chelsea Girls* (1966), drag had always had a cozy relationship with the counter culture. The relationship became closer after the Stonewall riots of 1969, when drag style emerged as the motif that gave rock a disturbing and intriguing gender ambiguity. By the early 1970s, rock became increasingly open to camp inflections of drag: Mick Jagger developed a strutting, effeminate stage presence; David Bowie, Elton John, and Alice Cooper brought excess and artifice together with gender ambiguity that was taken directly from lively drag scenes and the queens who populated the 1970s gay scene. The raucous screenings of Jim Sharman's 1974 *Rocky Horror Picture Show* and John Waters' 1973 *Pink Flamingos* remain an enduring rite of college frat life.

As the 1970s wore on, New Wave and Punk movements drew on camp's preoccupation with dethroning the seriousness of taste. Such early punk acts as the New York Dolls sharpened the whimsy of Sharman's Dr. Frankenfurter character into a jarring sarcasm, less playful and flamboyant, more the instrument of an outraged youth, cornered by the boredom and banality of a co-opted counter-culture, a valueless society and the diminished hopes of a job market plagued by economic recession. Unlike the witticisms of Wilde and the flourish of Marc Boland and other dandies of glam rock, Punk's version of camp was meant to sting the opponent with a hideous mockery of consumer pleasure. The Sex Pistols' *Holiday in the Sun* album begins with a droning comment on low budget tourism: "cheap holiday in other people's misery," while the B-52s' manic celebration of the faux leisure of consumerism chided the ear with shrill praises of "Rock Lobster" and "Girls of the U.S.A." Punk camp, however, would have to be de-clawed before it could achieve mainstream influence, which ultimately happened in the early 1980s with the invasion (again from Britain) of such campy "haircut" acts as Duran Duran and Boy George's Culture Club. The effect of punk camp on American popular culture has yet to be fully understood, though it seems clear that ironic distance (cleansed of punk's snarl) became a staple of the culture of the 1980s and 1990s. Retro (a preferred terrain of camp, which finds easy pickings in tastes already rendered "bad" by the relentless march of consumer obsolescence) preoccupied the 1980s, where the awkward styles of the 1950s could be resurrected in such films as *Back to the Future*, and every aging rock star from Paul McCartney to Neil Young could cop a 50s greaser look in an effort to appear somehow up to date, if only by appealing to the going mode of obsolescence.

If irony and detachment had by the 1990s become defining features of the new consumer attitude, the camping of America is partly to blame, or credit. However, the 1990s also witnessed an unprecedented mainstreaming of drag in a manner quite different from that of the 1970s. In the 1990s, figures like Ru Paul and films like *Wigstock* signaled the visibility of drag styles worn by the drag queens themselves, not by straight rockstars taking a walk on the wild side. That drag could metamorphose over twenty years from a psychological aberration and criminal act to a haute media commodity testifies to the capacity of American culture to adjust to and absorb precisely those things it fears most. In the camping of America, where the abhorrent is redeemed, the drag queen fares well.

—Sam Binkley

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## Campbell, Glen (1936—)

After establishing himself as a reputable session guitarist for acts including the Monkees and Elvis Presley in the early 1960s, Glen Campbell came into his own as a country vocalist with a decided pop twist. Delivering pieces by ace songwriters like Jimmy Webb, Campbell's hit singles of the mid-1960s—most notably "Wichita Line-man" and "By the Time I Get To Phoenix"—fused the steel guitar sound of country with lilting string arrangements. By the early 1970s, Campbell had placed a number of singles in the upper tiers of both pop and country charts, and was even given the helm of his own popular variety show, *The Glen Campbell Good Time Hour*, but after "Southern Nights," his final number one hit, Campbell kept a relatively low profile.

—Shaun Frentner

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## Campbell, Naomi (1971—)

Discovered while shopping in 1985, British model Naomi Campbell became an instant success in the United States, where she metamorphosed from a sweet schoolgirl into a polished—and, many would say, primadonna—professional. Her long dark hair, fey eyes, and feline figure established her as the first and for a long time the only black supermodel; her looks were distinctively African in origin but appealed to conservative Caucasian consumers as well. Her 1994 novel about the fashion business, *Swan*, focused primarily on white characters but made an impassioned argument in favor of widening modeling's ethnic base; she also recorded an album and starred in other artists' music videos. Guarding her stardom jealously, Campbell sometimes refused to appear in fashion shows alongside other black models, and she was known for making outrageous demands for hotel rooms and entertainment. Campbell eventually had to face accusations of abuse from modeling agencies and a former assistant.

—Susann Cokal

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## Camping

Humans tamed the first campfires over 500,000 years ago, and the word "camp" itself comes from the Latin *campus*, or "level field," but recreational camping as a popular cultural practice did not emerge in the United States until the end of the nineteenth century, when large numbers of urban residents went "back to nature," fleeing the pressures of industrialization and increased immigration for the temporary pleasures of a primitive existence in the woods.

The camping movement began in earnest in the mid-nineteenth century, when upper-class men from New York, Boston, and other northeastern cities traveled to the Catskills, the Adirondacks, and the White Mountains to hunt, fish, and find solace in the beauty and sublimity of untrammelled nature. Encouraged by such books as William H. H. Murray's *Adventures in the Wilderness; or, Camp-life in the Adirondacks* (1869), these men sought to improve their moral

and physical health and test their masculinity against the wilderness, much as their working-class brethren had tested it on the battlefields of the Civil War. They also set the tone of nostalgic nationalism that would characterize camping throughout the twentieth century, identifying themselves with idealized images of the pioneer frontiersmen as rugged individualist and the American Indian as Noble Savage.

By the end of the nineteenth century, and especially after the "closing of the frontier" in 1890, camping had developed into an established middle-class activity, one that relied as much on cities and industries as it sought to flee them. Its increasing popularity could be seen in the formation of outdoor clubs, such as the Boone and Crockett Club (1887) and the Sierra Club (1892); the publication of camp manuals, such as George W. Sears's *Woodcraft* (1884) and Horace Kephart's *Camping and Woodcraft* (1906); and the appearance of related periodicals, such as *Forest and Stream* (1873), *Outing* (1882), and *Recreation* (1894). Easy access to remote areas was made possible by the railroads, and the growth of the consumer culture—as evidenced by the development of department stores, such as Montgomery Ward (1872), and the mail-order business of Sears, Roebuck (1895)—provided campers with the proper gear for their wilderness voyages. At the same time, however, many campers supported the



A group of boys at camp toasting marshmallows over an open fire.

conservation and preservation movements, which helped to establish the first national parks and forests.

The same forces of urbanization and industrialization that influenced the popularity of recreational camping among adults also affected the development of organized camping for children and young people. Although a long summer vacation made sense for a rural, agricultural population, technological advancements, and the expansion of the cities made this seasonal break from compulsory education increasingly obsolete in the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, many schools continued to close for the months of June, July, and August, and parents, educators, and church leaders were forced to look elsewhere for ways to keep children occupied during the hot summer months. Camp provided the perfect solution.

The first organized camping trip in the United States is said to have occurred in 1861, when Frederick William Gunn and his wife supervised a two-week outing of the Gunnery School for Boys in Washington, Connecticut, but the first privately operated camp did not appear until 1876, when Joseph Trimble Rothrock opened a camp to improve the health of young boys at North Mountain in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania. The oldest continuously operating summer camp in the United States—"Camp Dudley," located on Lake Champlain—was founded in 1886 by Sumner F. Dudley, who had originally established his camp on Orange Lake, near Newburgh, New York. By 1910, the organized camping movement had grown extensive enough to justify the founding of the American Camping Association, which by the 1950s boasted more than five thousand members.

Classifiable as either day camps or residential camps, summer camps have generally provided a mixture of education and recreation in a group-living environment in the out-of-doors, and their proponents have claimed that the camps build character, encourage health and physical fitness, enhance social, psychological, and spiritual growth, and foster an appreciation for the natural world. The majority of camps have been run by nonprofit organizations, such as the Boy and Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Boys' and Girls' Clubs, 4-H Clubs, Salvation Army, YMCA, YWCA, YM-YWHA, and churches, synagogues, and other religious groups. Others have been private camps run by individuals and corporations, or public camps run by schools, municipal park and recreation departments, and state and federal agencies. Especially notable in the twentieth century has been the advent of innumerable special-interest camps, such as Christian and Jewish camps, sports camps, computer camps, language camps, space camps, weight-loss camps, and camps for outdoor and arts education.

Recreational camping developed in parallel with organized camping in the early twentieth century, influenced in part by the popularity of such nature writers as Henry David Thoreau, John Muir, and John Burroughs. Equally influential was the mass-production of the automobile and the creation of the modern highway system, which led to the development of motor camping and the formation of such organizations as the American Automobile Association, the Recreational Vehicle Association, and the Tin Can Tourists of America. The growth of camping reached a milestone in the 1920s, with camping stories being written by Ernest Hemingway and Sinclair Lewis; new products being developed by L. L. Bean and Sheldon Coleman (whose portable gas stove appeared in 1923), and the first National Conference on Outdoor Recreation being held in 1924.

The postwar suburbanization of the United States, combined with advances in materials technology and packaging, helped to turn camping into a mass cultural activity in the late twentieth century, one whose popularity not only affected the management of natural areas

but also called into question its own reason for being. Nearly ten million recreational vehicles, or RVs, were on the road in the late 1990s, forcing national parks to install more water, sewer, and power lines and close less desirable tent-camping sites. Meanwhile, the introduction of aluminum-frame tents in the 1950s, synthetic fabrics in the 1960s, freeze-dried foods in the 1970s, chemical insect repellents in the 1980s, and ultra-light camp stoves in the 1990s allowed campers to penetrate further into the backcountry, where they often risked disturbing ecologically sensitive areas. With the invention of cellular telephones and global positioning satellites, however, many campers have begun to wonder whether their days as primitive recreators may in fact be numbered, and whether it will ever again be possible to leave technology and civilization behind for the light of an evening campfire and the silence of a beeperless world.

—Daniel J. Philippon

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## Cancer

Cancer is not a single disease, but rather a monster with many faces. Doctors and scientists have listed more than 200 varieties of cancer, each having different degrees of mortality, different means of prevention, different hopes for a cure. Carcinomas hit mucous membranes or the skin, sarcomas attack the tissues under the skin, and leukemia strikes at the marrow—and these are just a few varieties of cancer. Cancers are all characterized by an uncontrolled proliferation of cells under pre-existing tissues, producing abnormal growths. Yet popular attitudes toward cancer have been less bothered with medical distinctions than with providing a single characterization of the disease, evoking a slow and painful process of decay that comes as a sort of punishment for the patient. "Cancerphobia" is, as Susan Sontag and James T. Patterson have shown, deeply rooted in American culture.

Cancer is a very ancient disease, dating back to pre-historic times. Archeological studies have allowed scientists to detect breast cancer in an Egyptian mummy, while precise descriptions of different

cases of cancer started in the eighteenth century. The word cancer comes from the Latin “cancer-cancri” and the Greek karkinos (used by Hippocrates in the fifth century B.C.), meaning both cancer and crab. The two words are linked via images of creeping, voracity, and obliqueness. Just like crabs, cancers creep inside the organism and eat away at it. The association of cancers and crabs has lasted throughout the centuries: Rudyard Kipling used the expression “Cancer the Crab,” and an American cartoon booklet from the 1950s shows a giant crab crushing its victims with its huge pincers, the words “Cancer the killer” appearing above the scene. Adopting a typically apocalyptic mood, Michael Shimkin claimed that American citizens had defeated the “pale rider of pestilence” and the “cadaverous rider of hunger,” but that they now had to face two different riders—“one in shape of a mushroom cloud and one in the shape of a crab”.

In the United States, cancer made its first big public appearance with the illness and death in 1884-1885 of the national hero who had led the Union troops to victory in the Civil War: Ulysses S. Grant. Public use of the word cancer, as James Patterson has pointed out, had been uncommon until then. Grant’s cancer received exceptional newspaper coverage and the readers of the age were fascinated by it. Unofficial remedies and healers came to the forefront, positing for the first time what would be a recurrent dichotomy in the history of cancer research: the orthodox medicine of the “cancer establishment” versus the unorthodox medicine of the “cancer counter-culture.” Cancer, with its slow but unrelenting progression, seemed the very denial of several developments taking place during the late nineteenth century (such as higher life expectancy and economic growth) which contributed to the people’s perception of the United States as the land of progress and opportunity for a well-to-do life. The denial of death played an important part in this quest for a well-to-do life, and James Patterson explains that this particular attitude “account[s] for many responses to cancer in the United States during the twentieth century, including a readiness to entertain promises of ‘magic bullets.’ In no other nation have cancerphobia and ‘wars’ against cancer been more pronounced than in the United States.” Since the late 1970s, the war on cancer has been coupled with a fierce battle against smoking (which medical specialists have singled out as the main cause of lung cancer), a battle featuring scientific researchers pitted against tobacco lobbies and their powerful advertising experts.

Military metaphors have been widely used in the battle against cancer. One of the posters of the American Society for Control of Cancer from the 1930s urges us to “fight cancer with knowledge”; the message appears below a long sword, the symbol of the Society. As part of the growing pressure for a national war on the disease during the 1960s, cancer activists asked for more money to be devoted to research and prevention by claiming that cancer was worse than the Vietnam War; the latter had killed 41,000 Americans in four years, while the former had killed 320,000 in a single year. Nixon was the first president of the United States to declare war on cancer. In January 1971, he declared in his State of the Union message that “the time has come when the same kind of concentrated effort that split the atom and took the man on the moon should be turned toward conquering this dread disease.” Later in the same year, two days before Christmas, Nixon signed the National Cancer Act (which greatly increased the funds of the National Cancer Institute, or NCI) and called for a national crusade to be carried out by 1976, the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of the United States. And yet this program revealed itself to be too optimistic and the association of cancer and Vietnam reappeared. People started to compare the inability of the NCI to deliver a cure to the disastrous outcome of the

Vietnam War. Dr. Greenberg, a cancer researcher, declared in 1975 that the war on cancer was like the Vietnam War: “Only when the public realized that things were going badly did pressure build to get out.” Gerald Markle and James Petersen, comparing the situation to the fight against polio, concluded that “the war on cancer is a medical Vietnam.”

The military rhetoric of wars and crusades has also been applied to drugs, poverty, and other diseases in our society. Susan Sontag has claimed that military metaphors applied to illnesses function to represent them as “alien.” Yet the stigmatization of cancer leads inevitably to the stigmatization of the patients as well. Many scientific attempts to explain the causes of cancer implicitly blame patients. As late as the 1970s, Lawrence LeShan and Carl and Stephanie Simonton claimed that stress, emotional weakness, self-alienation, depression, and consequent defeatism were the distinctive features of a “cancer personality” and could all be causes of cancer. Sontag maintained that the theory that there was “a forlorn, self-hating, emotionally inert creature” only helped to blame the patient. This particular focus on stress was also based on a traditionally American distrust of modern industrialized civilization and urban life, which were to be blamed for the intensification of the pace of living and the consequent rise in anxiety for human beings. The wide circulation of these ideas pointed to popular dissatisfaction with most official medical explanations of cancer. Not surprisingly, cancer itself has become a powerful metaphor for all that is wrong in our society. Commentators often talk about the cancer of corruption effecting politics or about the spreading cancer of red ink in the federal budget. No other disease has provided metaphors for such a wide range of social and economic issues.

“Cancerphobia” has been a constant source of inspiration for popular literature, cinema, and television. While cancer was mainly a disease for supporting actors (Paul Newman’s father in *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, 1958) in the 1950s and 1960s, since the 1970s cancer movies have often served as vehicles for stars such as Ali McGraw and Ryan O’Neal in *Love Story* (1970), James Caan in *Brian’s Song* (1972), Debra Winger in *Terms of Endearment* (1983), Julia Roberts in *Dying Young* (1991), Jack Lemmon in *Dad* (1989), Tom Hanks and Meg Ryan in *Joe Versus the Volcano* (1990), Michael Keaton in *My Life* (1993), and Susan Sarandon and Julia Roberts in *Stepmom* (1998). Most of these few-days-to-live-stories are melodramatic, tear-jerking accounts of cancer which rely on the popular perception of the illness as mysterious and deceiving. In *Terms of Endearment*, Debra Winger discovers she has cancer almost by chance and dies shortly after having declared that she feels fine. In *Dad*, Jack Lemmon’s cancer disappears, giving everyone false hopes, only to reappear fatally after a short while. These stories are often told with a moralizing intent: cancer is perceived as providing opportunities for the redemption of the characters involved in the drama—in *Terms of Endearment*, Winger and her husband Jeff Daniels, who have both been unfaithful, reconcile at her deathbed; in *Dad*, cancer brings Jack Lemmon and his son Ted Danson closer together after years of estrangement; and in *Stepmom* the disease rekindles female bonds that had been obscured by misunderstandings and rivalries over men. And in *Love Story* and *Dying Young*, cancer serves as the medium through which two young people from different economic backgrounds are brought together despite their parents’ opposition.

The (melo)drama of cancer in American culture is characterized by an enduring dichotomy of hope and fear. The official optimism for a cure, such as that placed in the 1980s on interferon, a protein able to stop the reproduction of cancerous cells, has always been countered by obstinate popular skepticism. Medical progress has been unable to

discourage popular faith in unorthodox approaches to the disease. On the contrary, as James Patterson has argued, popular skepticism has often been fostered by “the exaggerated claims for science and technological medicine” and still makes cancer retain its malignant grip on the American popular imagination as “an alien, surreptitious, and voracious invader.”

—Luca Prono

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## Candid Camera

As a television show, *Candid Camera* enjoyed immense popularity with American viewers at mid-twentieth century even as it fundamentally changed the way in which Americans perceived behavior on the television screen and their own vulnerability to being observed. The catch phrase “candid camera” had been current in American English by the 1930s, thanks to the development of fine-grained, high-speed films which made spontaneous picture-taking of unselfconscious subjects a staple of news and backyard photographers alike, freeing them from the constraints of long exposures and conspicuously large apparatus. But it was Allen Funt’s brash sequences of ordinary people caught unawares on film that made “candid camera” synonymous with uninhibited surveillance of our unguarded moments, whether for the amusement of the studio audience or the more sinister purposes of commercial and state-sponsored snooping.

Funt was a former research assistant at Cornell University. His prior broadcast experience included gag-writing for the radio version of *Truth or Consequences*, serving as a consultant to Franklin D. Roosevelt’s wife, Eleanor, for her radio broadcasts during her husband’s presidency, and independent radio production for such programs as *Ladies Be Seated*. During the Second World War he served in an Army Signal Corps unit in Oklahoma, where, using equipment assigned to him for recording soldiers’ letters home, he began hidden-microphone taping of gripes by his fellow servicemen for broadcast on Armed Forces Radio. Funt’s *Candid Microphone*, a postwar civilian version of the same idea, was first broadcast in 1947. A year later, he took the show to television, and ABC carried it—still as *Candid Microphone*—from August through December of 1948. The program, now renamed *Candid Camera*, shuffled among the three networks for the next five years, ending with NBC in the summer of 1953.



Allen Funt of *Candid Camera*.

After a seven year hiatus, *Candid Camera* was revived on CBS, where it ran from October of 1960 through September of 1967. Co-hosting the show in its first season was Arthur Godfrey, followed by Durward Kirby for the next five years, and Bess Myerson (ironically destined to become New York City’s consumer-affairs director) in 1966-1967. As its fame spread, *Candid Camera* was imitated even overseas: in Italy, a program called *Lo Specchio Segreto* (“I See It in Secret”), emceed by Nanni Loy, first aired in 1964 on the RAI network; it too spawned numerous imitations. Funt, meanwhile, returned to America’s airwaves with a syndicated version of the program, *The New Candid Camera*, which was broadcast on various networks from 1974 to 1978. Moviegoers were also exposed to *Candid Camera*, both in Funt’s 1970 film *What Do You Say to a Naked Lady?* and in a generous handful of 1980s home-video reprints of episodes from the shows as well.

Some of Funt’s stunts have become classics in the manipulation of frame and the reactions of the unsuspecting victims (almost always punchlined by Funt or one of his accomplices saying “You’re on *Candid Camera*.”) In one sequence, a roadblock was stationed at a border-crossing from Pennsylvania into Delaware to turn motorists back with the explanation, “The state is full today.” Taste was a timeless source of merriment: an airport water cooler was filled with lemonade; and customers in a supermarket were asked to sample and comment on a new candy bar made with ingredients in a combination designed to be revolting.

The relationship between the television studio and the psychology laboratory was not lost on Funt, who told readers of *Psychology Today* that he had switched from sound recording to television

because he “wanted to go beyond what people merely said, to record what they did—their gestures, facial expressions, confusions and delights.” By comparison with later (and sassier) imitators such as *America’s Funniest Home Videos* and *Totally Hidden Video*, both of which premiered in the late 1980s, Funt was scrupulous about declining to air, and actually destroying, off-color or overly intrusive footage. *Candid Camera* aspired to be humor but also art: “We used the medium of TV well,” Funt would write proudly. “The audience saw ordinary people like themselves and the reality of events as they were unfolding. Each piece was brief, self-contained and the simple humor of the situation could be quickly understood by virtually anyone in our audience.”

*The New Candid Camera* returned to television in the 1990s, now touted as “the granddaddy of all ‘gotcha’ shows” and co-hosted by Funt’s son Peter, who as a child had made his debut on the show posing as a shoeshine boy charging \$10 a shoe. Although the revival was not renewed by King Productions for the 1992-1993 season, specials continued to be made throughout the decade, mixing contemporary situations (a petition drive in Toronto advocating joint United States-Canada holidays, a fake sales rep selling a fictitious and overpriced line of business equipment to unsuspecting office managers) with classic sequences from the old shows. By this time Allen Funt, now in his eighties, was living comfortably in retirement.

—Nick Humez

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## Caniff, Milton (1907-1988)

A popular and innovative adventure-strip artist, and one who was much imitated, Milton Caniff began drawing newspaper features in the early 1930s and kept at it for the rest of his life. He was born in Hillsboro, Ohio, in 1907 and raised in Dayton. Interested in drawing from childhood, in his early teens he got a job in the art department of the local paper. By the time he was in college at Ohio State, Caniff was working part-time for the *Columbus Dispatch*. It was there that he met and became friends with Noel Sickles, the cartoonist-illustrator who was to have such a profound effect on his approach to drawing. Caniff created three continuity strips: *Dickie Dare*, *Terry and the Pirates*, and *Steve Canyon*. From almost the beginning, his story lines



Milton Caniff

and dialogue were relatively sophisticated, influenced by the movies, as was his drawing style, which used cinematic shots and impressionistic inking.

—Ron Goulart

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## Cannabis

See Marijuana

## Canova, Judy (1916-1983)

Comedienne Judy Canova was one of the hidden gems American popular culture, ignored by critics and overlooked by ratings systems that valued big city audiences yet beloved by audiences in smaller markets. As a musical comedienne whose lifelong comic persona was that of a yodeling country bumpkin, Judy Canova was famous on stage, screen, and radio throughout the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, but largely because of the perceived low status of her audience, her popularity has often been overlooked.

Judy Canova was born Juliette Canova on November 20, 1916, in Starke, Florida. Her career in show business began while she was still a teenager when she joined with her older brother and sister in a musical trio which played the club circuit in New York. In addition to belting out many of the same country songs she would perform for the rest of her life, Canova also developed her comic persona during this period as well—that of a good-natured, horse-faced, broadly grinning hillbilly whose lack of education and etiquette was transcended by boisterous good spirits, an apparent absence of pretense, and a naive humor with which her audience could both identify and feel superior to simultaneously. “I knew I would never be Clara Bow,” she later recalled. “So I got smart and not only accepted my lack of glamour, but made the most of it.” She usually wore her hair in pigtailed, and soon began wearing the checkered blouses and loosely falling white socks which helped emphasize her almost cartoonlike appeal. The comic portrait was soon completed with the development of a repeated catchphrase (“You’re telling I”) and her use of what film historian Leonard Maltin has referred to as “an earsplitting yodel.” With her character firmly in place by the early 1930s, it remained only for Canova to find the appropriate outlet for its display.

Canova’s film career reached its high point in 1935 with her brief appearance in the Busby Berkeley-directed *In Caliente*, in which she performed what biographer James Robert Parish refers to as “her most memorable screen moment.” In the middle of leading lady Winifred Shaw’s serious performance of the soon-to-be popular “Lady in Red,” Canova appeared in hillbilly garb and belted out a comic parody of the song in a performance singled out by audiences and reviewers alike as the highlight of the movie. This success fueled her stage career, leading to a notable appearance in the *Ziegfeld Follies of 1936*, but Paramount’s attempt to make her a major film star the following year (in *Thrill of a Lifetime*) didn’t pan out, and Canova’s movie career was shifted to the lower budget projects of Republic Studios. Here she starred in a series of consistently popular musical comedies (*Scatterbrain* (1940), *Sis Hopkins* (1941), and *Joan of Ozark* (1942) being among the most successful) in which she played her well-established “brassy country bumpkin with a heart of gold” in stories which enabled her to deliver a lot of bad puns and yodel songs while demonstrating both the comic naiveté and moral superiority of “the common people.” Behind the scenes, however, Canova was anything but the untutored innocent she played onscreen, and she is important as one of the first female stars to demand and receive both a share of her film’s profits and, later, producing rights through her own company.

While she was a minor star in the world of film, Canova was a major success in radio. Earlier performances on the Edgar Bergen-Charlie McCarthy *Chase and Sanborn Hour* (including a highly publicized “feud” in which Canova claimed that the dummy had broken up her “engagement” to Edgar) garnered such response that *The Judy Canova Show* was all but inevitable. Even in her own time, however, much of Canova’s popularity was “hidden” by conventional standards, and it was not until 1945 when the new Hooper ratings system (which measured the listening habits of small-town and rural audiences for the first time) revealed that Canova’s program was one of the top ten radio shows on the air. *The Judy Canova Show* remained popular until its demise in 1953, a casualty of the declining era of old-time radio. Radio allowed Judy to give full vent to the characteristics which had endeared her to her audience, playing a country bumpkin (with her own name) hailing from Unadella, Georgia, but making constant visits to the big city to visit her rich aunt, and

passing a fastpaced series of corny jokes and songs with a series of stock characters. A typical episode would be certain to have Pedro the gardener (Mel Blanc) apologize to Judy “for talking in your face, senorita,” Judy telling her aunt that she would be happy to sing “Faust” at the aunt’s reception since she could sing “Faust or slow,” and close with Judy’s trademark farewell song, “Goodnight, Sweetheart.”

After the end of her radio show, Canova continued her stage career (including a primary role in 1971’s notable revival of the musical *No, No Nanette*), made a few forays into early television, and even attempted a more serious dramatic role in 1960’s *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. For the most part, however, she lived comfortably in retirement, often accompanied by her actress daughter Diana, product of her fourth marriage. The comic persona she created, and the ethic it expressed, remain popular today in sources as diverse as *The Beverly Hillbillies* and many of the characters played by the hugely successful Adam Sandler, both of whom owe a large if “hidden” debt to a horsefaced yodeler with falling socks who never let the city folk destroy her spirit.

—Kevin Lause

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## Canseco, Jose (1964—)

Baseball’s Rookie of the Year in 1986, slugging outfielder Jose Canseco helped the Oakland Athletics to World Series appearances from 1988 to 1990, while becoming the first ballplayer ever to hit over 40 homers and steal 40 bases in a season (1988). Auspicious beginnings, teen-idol looks, and Canseco was suddenly the sport’s top celebrity. As big money, 1-900 hotlines, and dates with Madonna ensued, Canseco’s on-field and off-field behavior became erratic. Headlines detailed a weapons arrest, reckless driving, and an acrimonious public divorce. Traded away from Oakland in 1992, he blew out his arm in a vanity pitching appearance and topped blooper reels when a fly ball bounced off his head for a home run. Having dropped out of both the limelight and the lineup, he eventually recovered to hit 46 homers for Toronto in 1998 (the same year his former Oakland “Bash Brother” Mark McGwire hit a record 70).

—C. Kenyon Silvey

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## Cantor, Eddie (1882-1964)

Dubbed “Banjo Eyes” for his expressive saucer-like orbs, and “The Apostle of Pep” for his frantically energized physical style, comic song-and-dance man Eddie Cantor came from the vaudeville tradition of the 1920s, and is remembered as a prime exponent of the now discredited blackface minstrel tradition, his brief but historic movie association with the uniquely gifted choreographic innovator Busby Berkeley, and for turning the Walter MacDonald-Gus Kahn song “Making Whoopee” into a massive hit and an enduring standard. In a career that spanned almost 40 years, Cantor achieved stardom on stage, screen, and, above all, radio, while on television he was one of the rotating stars who helped launch the *Colgate Comedy Hour*.

Cantor’s is a prototypical show business rags-to-riches story. As Isadore Itzkowitz, born into poverty in a Manhattan ghetto district and orphaned young, he was already supporting himself in his early teens as a Coney Island singing waiter with a piano player named Jimmy Durante before breaking into burlesque and vaudeville (where he sang songs by his friend Irving Berlin), and made it to Broadway in 1916. The small, dapper Jewish lad became a Ziegfeld star, appearing in the *Follies of 1917* (with Will Rogers, W.C. Fields, and Fanny Brice), 1918, and 1919. In the first, he sang a number in blackface,



Eddie Cantor and Dinah Shore

and also applied the burnt cork to team in a skit with black comedian Bert Williams, with whom he would work several times over the years. Irving Berlin wrote the 1919 songs and Cantor introduced “You’d be Surprised.” A bouncy, hyperactive performer, he rarely kept still and would skip and jump round the stage, clapping his white-gloved hands while performing a song. He also rolled his prominent eyes a lot and a Ziegfeld publicity hack came up with the Banjo Eyes sobriquet.

After a falling out with Flo Ziegfeld, Cantor starred in other people’s revues for a few years. Reconciled with Ziegfeld, he starred in the musicals *Kid Boots* and *Whoopee!* The first became the silent screen vehicle for his Hollywood debut in 1926; the second, based on a play *The Nervous Wreck*, cast Cantor as a hypochondriac stranded on a ranch out West, introduced the song “Making Whoopee,” and brought him movie stardom when Samuel Goldwyn filmed it in 1930. *Whoopee!* was not only one of the most successful early musicals to employ two-tone Technicolor, but marked the film debut of Busby Berkeley, who launched his kaleidoscopic patterns composed of beautiful girls (Betty Grable was one) to create a new art form. The winning formula of Berkeley’s flamboyance and Cantor’s insane comedic theatrics combined in three more immensely profitable box-office hits: *Palmy Days* (1931), which Cantor co-wrote; *The Kid from Spain* (1932), in which Berkeley’s chorus included Grable and Paulette Goddard; and, most famously, the lavish, and for its day outrageous, *Roman Scandals* (1933), in which the young Lucille Ball made a fleeting appearance. A dream fantasy, in which Cantor is transported back to ancient Rome, the star nonetheless managed to incorporate his blackface routine, while the “decadent” production numbers utilized black chorines in a manner considered demeaning by modern critics.

Meanwhile, the ever-shrewd Cantor was establishing himself on radio ahead of most of his comedian colleagues. In 1931 he began doing a show for Chase and Sanborn Coffee. By its second year, according to radio historian John Dunning, it was the highest rated show in the country. The star gathered a couple of eccentric comedians around him, beginning with Harry “Parkyakarkus” Einstein, who impersonated a Greek, and Bert Gordon, who used a thick accent to portray The Mad Russian, while, over the years, the show also featured young singers such as Deanna Durbin, Bobby Breen, and Dinah Shore. Cantor remained on the air in various formats until the early 1950s, backed by such sponsors as Texaco, Camel cigarettes, toothpaste and laxative manufacturers Bristol Myers, and Pabst Blue Ribbon beer. His theme song, with which he closed each broadcast, was a specially arranged version of “One Hour with You.”

After his flurry of screen hits during the 1930s, Cantor’s movie career waned somewhat, but he enjoyed success again with *Show Business* (1944) and *If You Knew Susie* (1948), both of which he produced. A cameo appearance in *The Story of Will Rogers* (1952) marked the end of his 26-year, 16-film career, but in 1950 he had begun working on television, alternating with comedians such as Bob Hope, Martin and Lewis, and his old buddy Durante, as the star of *Colgate’s Comedy Hour*. In the autumn of 1952 Cantor had a serious heart attack right after a broadcast and left the air for several months. He returned in 1953, but began gradually withdrawing from the entertainment world.

Eddie Cantor wrote four autobiographical books, and in 1953, Keefe Brasselle played the comedian in a monumentally unsuccessful

biopic, *The Eddie Cantor Story*. In 1956 the Academy honored him with a special Oscar for “distinguished service to the film industry.” In 1962, the year he published the last of four autobiographical books, he was predeceased by his wife, Ida, immortalized in the song, “Ida, Sweet as Apple Cider,” to whom he was married for 48 years. Eddie Cantor died two years later. His screen persona was not, and is not, to everyone’s taste, and in life, some found him egocentric and difficult. He remains, however, inimitable.

—Ron Goulart

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## Capital Punishment

Throughout the twentieth century, America remained one of the few industrialized countries which carried out executions of criminals. Most trace this attitude to the Biblical roots of the country and the dictum of “eye for an eye” justice. Those who wished to abolish the death penalty saw the practice as bloodlust, a cruel and unusual punishment anachronistic in modern times. In the late 1990s, the issue remains a controversial one, with many states opting for the death penalty. In response and with an ironic twist, America has searched for ways to carry out executions as quickly and painlessly for the condemned as possible.

At the turn of the twentieth century, America was trying to shake a lingering sense of Old West vigilante justice. Thomas Edison, among others, had campaigned for the relatively humane death offered by electrocution. By the 1900s the electric chair had already become the most popular form of execution, supplanting hanging. In 1924 Nevada instituted and performed the first gas chamber execution, which many believed again was the most humane method of execution to date.

Spearheading the movement against the death penalty was attorney Clarence Darrow, best known as defense counsel in the Scopes Trial. Few were surprised when in 1924 Darrow, a champion of lost causes, represented 18-year-old Richard Loeb and 19-year-old Nathan Leopold, notorious friends and lovers who kidnapped and murdered a 14-year-old boy. Darrow advised the two to plead guilty in an attempt to avoid the death penalty. In what has been characterized as the most moving court summation in history, lasting over 12

hours, Darrow succeeded in convincing the judge to sentence the boys to life in prison. Darrow commented, “If the state in which I live is not kinder, more human, and more considerate than the mad act of these two boys, I am sorry I have lived so long.” In spite of his eloquent pleas, support for the death penalty remained high, with the highest number of executions of the century occurring in the 1930s.

In one of the most notorious cases of the twentieth century, the Italian immigrant workers Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were convicted of murder and sentenced to death in 1920. Worldwide response to their sentencing was overwhelming. The case against them was not airtight—many believe later evidence suggested their innocence. But their status as communists spelled their doom. According to the editors of *Capital Punishment in the United States*, “Many people believed that they were innocent victims of the frenzied ‘Red Scare’ that followed World War I, making every foreigner suspect—especially those who maintained unpopular political views.” Celebrities such as George Bernard Shaw, H.G. Wells, Albert Einstein, and Sinclair Lewis protested the verdicts, to no avail as the two were executed in the Massachusetts electric chair in 1927.

The so-called “Trial of the century,” the case of the kidnapping and murder of the Lindbergh baby in 1935, also involved an immigrant: German-born defendant Bruno Hauptmann, convicted in 1935 and executed for the crimes in 1936. The trial defined the term “media circus,” with columnist Walter Winchell at the forefront calling for swift punishment of Hauptmann. In spite of compelling circumstantial evidence linking Hauptmann to the crime, his proclamation of his innocence to the end—even after being offered commutation of his sentence in return for his confession—made many uncomfortable because the case still seemed to lack closure.

Fear of communism ran at a fever pitch in the 1950s, contributing to the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for treason in 1953. Convicted of passing information about the atomic bomb to the Soviet Union, the Rosenbergs were blamed by the trial judge for communist aggression in Korea and the deaths of over 50,000 people. Polls at the time showed enormous support for the death penalty in cases of treason, largely due to the media notoriety of the Rosenberg case. Still, a groundswell of reaction against the sentencing occurred, forcing President Eisenhower himself to uphold the decision. While the case against Julius Rosenberg was strong, the case against Ethel was not, and many attribute her death as a casualty of the Cold War communist scare.

After the Rosenbergs, the majority of executions in the United States involved murderers. The Charles Starkweather case in the 1950s helped shape public perception of serial killers. After kidnapping 14-year-old Caril Ann Fugate as a companion, Starkweather went on a killing spree from Nebraska through Montana, murdering 11 people. When captured, Starkweather relished the media attention as if he were a Hollywood star; he fancied himself a James Dean type, heroically rebelling against society. Later, Bruce Springsteen’s song “Nebraska,” along with the 1973 movie *Badlands*, would immortalize the Starkweather persona—both also helped form the basis of the killers in the movies *Wild at Heart*, *True Romance*, and *Natural Born Killers*.

No one, however, defined the image of the serial killer more completely than Charles Manson. He also linked himself to the popular media; his obsession with the Beatles’ *White Album*, in particular the song “Helter Skelter,” became the impetus for the



savage murders he orchestrated through his “family” of followers. During his trial he alternately declared himself Christ and Satan, at one point shaving his head and tattooing an “X” (later modified to a swastika) between his eyes. Though Manson did not personally commit murder, he was convicted in 1971 and sentenced to die. While he waited on death row, the Supreme Court ruled in 1972 that the death penalty was not applied equally and was therefore unconstitutional. As a result, over 600 prisoners on death row, including Manson, had their sentences commuted to life. In the years that followed, Manson regularly came up for parole. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Manson resurfaced on television interview shows, still seeming out of his mind. The specter of such a criminal possibly being released always spurred a fresh outpouring of public outrage. Very likely as a direct result of the Manson case, support for the death penalty continued to rise, reaching a record high of 80 percent in 1994.

Once the states rewrote uniform death penalty laws that satisfied the Supreme Court, executions resumed when Utah put Gary Gilmore to death in 1977. A circus atmosphere surrounded this case, as both supporters and opponents of the death penalty crowded outside the prison. Gilmore’s face appeared on T-shirts as he too became a national celebrity. Gilmore himself, however, actually welcomed the death penalty; he refused all appeals and led the campaign for his right to die. Later, Norman Mailer wrote a bestselling book entitled *The Executioner’s Song*, which was subsequently made into a popular film.

When Ted Bundy was convicted as a serial killer in 1980, he put a vastly different face on the image of murderer. Bundy was handsome and personable, traits which enabled him over two decades to lure at least 30 women to their deaths. During his numerous appeals of his death sentence Bundy claimed that consumption of pornography had molded his behavior, warping his sense of sexual pleasure to include violence against women. While his pleas helped raise debate over the issues of pornography, they failed to save his life and Bundy was executed in 1989.

The drifter Henry Lee Lucas, whose confessions to over 600 murders would make him the most prolific murderer of the century, was sentenced to death in 1984. His exploits were fictionalized in the cult movie *Henry: Portrait of a Serial Killer* (1990). Later, however, Lucas recanted all of his confessions and his sentence was commuted to life in prison in 1998.

Television talk show host Phil Donahue, a death penalty opponent, campaigned vigorously in the 1980s to televise a live execution. Some thought the idea merely a macabre publicity stunt while others thought the public should be made to witness its sanctioned form of punishment. Although Donahue was unsuccessful in his attempts, in 1995 the academy award winning movie *Dead Man Walking* intimately depicted the last days of convicted murderer Patrick Sonnier. The movie’s portrayal of the incident suggested that even death by lethal injection—first used in Texas in 1982 in an effort to achieve a more humane ending—was neither antiseptic nor instantaneous.

In 1997 the case of Karla Faye Tucker was brought to the attention of the national media in an effort led by television evangelist Pat Robertson. Tucker, a convicted double murderer, reportedly had experienced a religious conversion while on death row. Based on this and a profession of remorse for the crimes she committed, Robertson argued for mercy. Tucker’s image captured the imagination of many Americans: she was a young, attractive woman with a mild demeanor, not at all the serial killer image America had come to expect from its

death-row inmates. While Tucker was not granted a new hearing and was executed by lethal injection in 1998, her case influenced the staunchest traditional supporters of the death penalty. For many religious conservatives, the Tucker case reminded them that any search for a truly humane punishment must eventually confront the entire spectrum of emotions . . . not only revenge, but also the qualities of mercy.

—Chris Haven

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## Capone, Al (1899-1947)

Perhaps the most recognizable figure in the history of organized crime in the United States, Al Capone gained international notoriety during the heady days of Prohibition when his gang dominated the trade in bootleg alcohol in Chicago. Known as “Scarface” for the disfiguring scars that marked the left side of his face, Capone fascinated Chicago and the nation with his combination of street brutality, stylish living, and ability to elude justice during the 1920s. Even after his conviction on charges of tax evasion in 1931, Capone remained a dominant figure in the national culture, with the story of his rise and fall—which author Jay Robert Nash has succinctly described as being from “rags to riches to jail”—serving as the archetype of gangster life in film and television portrayals of American organized crime.

Capone was born to Italian immigrant parents on January 17, 1899, in the teeming Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, New York. By age eleven he had become involved with gang activities in the neighborhood; he left school in the sixth grade following a violent incident in which he assaulted a female teacher. Developing expert street-fighting skills, Capone was welcomed into New York’s notorious Five Points Gang, a vast organization that participated in burglary, prostitution, loan-sharking, and extortion, among its myriad criminal activities. He came under the influence of Johnny Torrio, an underboss who controlled gambling, prostitution, and influence peddling in Williamsburg. Under Torrio, Capone worked as an enforcer and later got a job as a bouncer and bartender at the gang-controlled



Al Capone (left)

Harvard Inn. During this time an altercation with a knife-wielding bar patron resulted in the famous scars that came to symbolize Capone's violent persona. He was arrested for suspicion of murder in 1919 in New York City, but the charges were dismissed when witnesses refused to testify against him. He followed Torrio to Chicago later in the same year after killing another man in a fight.

Posing as a used furniture dealer, Capone quickly became a significant force in the underworld of Chicago, where the number of corrupt law enforcement and government officials helped to create an atmosphere of lawlessness. When the Volstead Act outlawed the manufacture and distribution of liquor in 1920, Capone and Torrio entered into a bootlegging partnership, and Capone assassinated the reigning syndicate boss, "Big Jim" Colosimo, to clear the way for their profiteering. The combined operations of prostitution and bootleg liquor were generating millions of dollars in profits in the mid-1920s, but the Torrio-Capone organization repeatedly battled violently with rival gangs in the city, most notably with the operations headed by Dion O'Bannion on Chicago's north side. Following O'Bannion's murder in November 1924, Torrio was convicted of bootlegging and several days later was wounded in a retaliatory attack by O'Bannion's men. He subsequently left the city, and Capone gained full control of the multimillion dollar criminal activities in gambling, prostitution, and liquor.

The late 1920s saw increasingly reckless violence in the streets of Chicago among the warring criminal factions. Several attempts were made on Capone's life by his enemies, including an attempted poisoning and a machine-gun attack on Capone's headquarters in

suburban Cicero by the O'Bannions in 1926. In the most notorious event of the period, which became known as the St. Valentine's Day Massacre, Capone hired a crew to kill rival Bugs Moran on February 14, 1929. Capone's operatives, posing as police officers, executed all seven men they found in Moran's headquarters. Moran, however, was not among the victims, and the public expressed outrage at the brutal mass murder. By 1930 Capone had effectively eliminated his criminal competitors, but he faced a new adversary in federal authorities. When it was discovered that he had failed to pay income taxes for the years 1924 to 1929, the Internal Revenue Service made its case, and Capone was convicted of tax evasion in October 1931. He was sentenced to eleven years in federal custody but was released because of illness in 1939. He had developed paresis of the brain, a condition brought on by syphilis, which he likely had contracted from a prostitute during the 1920s. Suffering diminished mental capacity, Capone lived the remainder of his life in seclusion at his Palm Island, Florida, estate. He died in 1947.

—Laurie DiMauro

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## Capote, Truman (1924-1984)

Truman Capote is one of the more fascinating figures on the American literary landscape, being one of the country's few writers to cross the border between celebrity and literary acclaim. His wit and media presence made for a colorful melange that evoked criticism and praise within the same breath. For many, what drew them to him was, for lack of a better word, his "attitude." Capote relished deflating fellow writers in public fora. In a televised appearance with Norman Mailer, he said of Jack Kerouac's work, "That's not writing. That's typewriting." In his unpublished exposé, *Answered Prayers*, his description of Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir at the Pony Royal Bar in Paris could hardly have been less flattering: "Walleyed, pipe-sucking, pasty-hued Sartre and his spinsterish moll, de Beauvoir, were usually propped in a corner like an abandoned pair of ventriloquist's dolls." And when wit had been set aside, he could be just downright abusive, as when he described Robert Frost as an "evil, selfish bastard, an egomaniacal, double-crossing sadist." Capote's place in the twentieth century American literary landscape, however, is clear. He contributed both to fiction and nonfiction literary genres and redefined what it meant to join the otherwise separate realms of reporting and literature.

The streak of sadism that characterized Capote's wit stemmed largely from his troubled childhood. Capote was born Truman Streckfus



Truman Capote

Persons on September 30, 1924 in New Orleans, the son of Archyulus (Archie) Persons and Lillie May Persons Capote. At the age of four, his parents divorced, and Truman became the itinerant ward of various relatives in Alabama, several of whom would serve as inspiration for his fictional creations in such works as his classic short tale "A Christmas Memory" and first novel, *Other Voices, Other Rooms*. When he was ten years old, he won a children's writing contest sponsored by the *Mobile Press Register* with his submission of "Old Mr. Busybody." Apropos of his later claim to fame as literary gossip par excellence, the story itself, according to Capote, was based on a local scandal that ended his brief writing career in Monroeville, Alabama, for the next half-decade. At age 15, Capote rejoined his mother and her second husband, Joseph Capote, in New York, where he attended several local boarding schools. At age 17, Capote decided to leave school for good, taking work as a copyboy at *The New Yorker*.

From *The New Yorker*, Capote soaked up much of the literary atmosphere. He also spent his leisure hours reading in the New York Society Library, where, he claimed, he met one of his literary heroines, Willa Cather. Capote's career at *The New Yorker* ended after two years when he supposedly fell asleep during a reading by Robert Frost, who promptly showed his ire by throwing what he was reading at the young reporter's head. A letter to Harold Ross from the fiery Frost resulted in Capote's dismissal, and with that change in circumstances, Capote returned to Alabama to labor three years over his first major work, *Other Voices, Other Rooms* (1948). Between 1943-46, as Capote worked on his novel, a steady stream of short stories flowed from his pen, such as "Miriam," "The Walls Are Cold," "A Mink of One's Own," "My Side of the Matter," "Preacher's Legend," and "Shut a Final Door." The response to the *Other Voices, Other Rooms* was immediate and intense. The lush writing and homosexual theme came in for much criticism, while the famous publicity shot of Capote supine on a couch, languidly staring into the camera's eye invited an equal mix of commentary and scorn.

Capote was only 23 years of age when he became a literary star to be lionized and chastened by the critical establishment. Hurt and surprised by the novel's reception, although pleased by its sales, Capote left to tour Haiti and France. While traveling, Capote served as a critic and correspondent for various publications, even as he continued to publish annually over the next three years *Tree of Night and Other Stories* (1949), *Local Color* (1950), and *The Grass Harp* (1951). By 1952, Capote had decided to try his hand at writing for stage and screen. In 1952, Capote rewrote *The Grass Harp* for Broadway and later in 1954 a musical called *House of Flowers*. During this period, he also wrote the screenplay *Beat the Devil* for John Huston. None fared particularly well, and Capote decided to avoid theater and movie houses by resuming his activities as a correspondent for *The New Yorker*. Joining a traveling performance of *Porgy and Bess* through the Soviet Union, he produced a series of articles that formed the basis for his first book-length work of nonfiction, *The Muses Are Heard*.

Capote continued to write nonfiction, sporadically veering aside to write such classics as *Breakfast at Tiffany's* and his famous short tale, "A Christmas Memory." The former actually surprised Capote by the unanimously positive reception it received from the literary establishment (including such curmudgeonly contemporaries as Norman Mailer). In late 1959, however, Capote stumbled across the story that would become the basis for his most famous work, *In Cold Blood*. Despite the remarkable difference in content, *The Muses Are Heard* trained Capote for this difficult and trying work that helped establish "The New Journalism," a school of writing that used the literary devices of fiction to tell a story of fact. The murder of the Clutter family in Kansas by Perry Smith and Dick Hickok was to consume Capote's life for the next six years. Although many quarreled with Capote's self-aggrandizing claim that he had invented a new genre that merged literature with reportage, none denied the power and quality of what he had written. Whatever failures Capote may have experienced in the past were more than made up for by the commercial and critical success of *In Cold Blood*.

Capote would never write a work as great as *In Cold Blood*, and with good reason, for the six years of research had taken a terrible toll. He did, however, continue to write short stories, novellas, interviews, and autobiographical anecdotes, all of which were collected in such works as *A Christmas Memory*, *The Thanksgiving Visitor*, *House of Flowers*, *The Dog's Bark*, and *Music for Chameleons*. On August 25, 1984, Truman Capote died before completing his next supposedly major work, *Answered Prayers*, a series of profiles so devastating to their subjects that Capote underwent a rather humiliating ostracism from the social circles in which he had so radiantly moved. Still, no one disputes Capote's contribution to literature as a writer who taught reporters how to rethink what they do when they ostensibly record "just the facts."

—Bennett Lovett-Graff

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## Capp, Al

See *Li'l Abner*

## Capra, Frank (1897-1991)

Although he is one of the most successful and popular directors of all time, Frank Capra is seldom mentioned as one of Hollywood's great film auteurs. During his peak, as well as in the years that followed, critics referred to his work as simplistic or overly idealistic, and labeled his unique handling of complex social issues as "Capricorn." The public on the other hand loved his films and came back again and again to witness a triumph of the individual (predicated on the inherent qualities of kindness and caring for others) over corrupt leaders who were dominating an ambivalent society.

The Italian-born Capra moved to the United States at age six, where he lived the "American Dream" he would later romanticize in his films. Living in Los Angeles and working to support himself through school, he sold newspapers, and worked as a janitor before graduating with a degree in Chemical Engineering from Caltech (then called Throop Polytechnic Institute) in 1918. After serving in the military Capra stumbled onto an opportunity in San Francisco when he talked his way into directing the one-reel drama *Ballad of Fultah Fisher's Boarding House* in 1922. The experience was significant in that it convinced the young engineer to move back to Los Angeles and pursue a film, rather than an engineering, career. Upon returning to Los Angeles, Capra began the process of learning the film business from the ground up. Starting as a propman and later becoming a "gag writer," Capra worked with directors Hal Roach and Mack Sennett before hooking up as a director with silent comedian Harry Langdon.

Capra directed parts of three films produced during the peak of Langdon's career, including *The Strong Man* (1926), before the two went their separate ways. Langdon is rumored to have tarnished the young Capra's name, which, despite his success, made it impossible for him to find work in Hollywood. Unwilling to give up, Capra went to New York for an opportunity to make a film with a new actress, Claudette Colbert, titled *For The Love of Mike* (1927). Although the film was Capra's first flop, he signed a contract with studio head Harry Cohn and began his relationship with Columbia Pictures. Capra remained at Columbia for 11 years, and during this time he made at least 25 films. All but two of them made money for the studio and Capra is credited by many as being the key to Columbia's rise to the status of "major" Hollywood studio.

During his early years with Columbia some of Capra's most memorable works were the "service films" including: *Submarine* (1928), *Flight* (1929), and *Dirigible* (1931). While producing profitable films at a fast pace for the studio, Capra decided in 1931 that he wanted to tackle tougher social issues. While the country was in the throes of the Depression, Capra hooked up with writer/collaborator

Robert Riskin, with whom he worked off and on for almost 20 years. Together, Capra and Riskin produced a string of five Oscar-nominated films between 1933 and 1938. Included in this group were: *Lady for a Day* (1933, nominated for Best Picture and Best Director); *It Happened One Night* (1934, winner Best Director); *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936, nominated Best Picture, winner Best Director); *Lost Horizon* (1937, nominated Best Picture); and *You Can't Take it With You* (1938, winner Best Picture and Best Director). Although Capra continued to collaborate with Riskin on two of his most memorable works, *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*, (1939) and *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946) were penned in collaboration with others. It is, of course, impossible to gauge how much credit Riskin deserves for Capra's meteoric rise in Hollywood. Some observers have suggested that even though Riskin wasn't involved in films like *Mr. Smith Goes To Washington*, the form and structure clearly follow the pattern the two successfully developed during their years of collaboration. Others, like Capra himself, would point to the successful films without Riskin as proof that the common denominator was the individual who insisted his name come before the title of the film. Capra even called his autobiography *The Name Above the Title*, and claims that he was the first to be granted this status. Whether or not Capra's claim has validity, there is no doubt that people all over the country flocked to the theaters during the 1930s and 1940s to see films directed by Frank Capra.

Capra's films regularly engaged political and social issues, and in his professional life he was equally active. Capra served as the President of the Academy of Motion Pictures Arts and Sciences during a crucial period of its development. During his tenure Capra oversaw a strengthening of the Academy and their annual Oscar banquet. In 1936 he worked with the Screenwriters Guild to avoid a boycott of the awards banquet, and in 1939 while serving as head of the Directors Guild, Capra resigned his post with the Academy to lead a director's boycott of the Oscars which was instrumental in gaining key concessions from the Academy. Never afraid to tackle tough political issues in his films, Capra was no stranger to controversy or difficult decisions in his professional career either.

While most of us today know Capra best from the perennial holiday favorite *It's A Wonderful Life*, the Capra myth is most solidly grounded in *Mr. Smith Goes To Washington*. After the film was previewed in Washington, D.C., it is rumored that Columbia was offered \$2 million (twice the cost of the film) not to release the film. The alleged leader of this movement to shelve the film was Joseph P. Kennedy, who was then Ambassador to Great Britain. Kennedy was not alone in his concern over the film's impact. In response to *Mr. Smith Goes To Washington*, Pat Harrison, the respected publisher of the Harrison Reports, asked exhibitors to appeal to Congress for the right to refuse films that were "not in the interests of our country." Ironically, this film was perhaps Capra's most patriotic moment—presenting the individual working within the democratic system to overcome rampant political corruption. Needless to say, Capra and Columbia refused to have the film shelved. The status of *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* was further established several years later when the French were asked what films they wanted to see prior to the occupation, and the overwhelming choice was none other than Capra's testimony for the perseverance of democracy and the American way, *Mr. Smith Goes To Washington*.

Following *Mr. Smith*, Capra demonstrated his patriotic duty by enlisting in the United States Signal Corps during World War II.

Although he had served in the military before, and was old enough to sit this one out, Capra had an intense desire to prove his patriotism to his adopted land. While a member of the Armed Forces, Capra oversaw the production of 11 documentaries under the series title *Why We Fight*. The series was originally intended to indoctrinate American troops and explain why it was necessary for them to fight the Second World War. When the first documentaries were completed Army and government officials found them so powerful that they felt the films should also be released to theaters so that everyone in America could see them. Considered by many to be some of the best propaganda films ever made, the *Why We Fight* series is still broadcast and used as a teaching tool today.

Following the war, Capra found success with *It's A Wonderful Life* and *State of the Union*, but he increasingly came to feel out of step with a changing film industry. While his themes had struck a chord with the Depression era society, his films seemed saccharin and out of touch in prospering post-war America. Moving to Paramount in 1950, Capra claimed that he became so disillusioned with the studio that he quit making films by 1952. In his autobiography he blames his retirement on the rising power of film stars (compromising the ability to realize his artistic vision), and the increasing budgetary and scheduling demands that studios placed upon him. Joseph McBride, in *The Catastrophe of Success*, however, points out that Capra's disillusionment coincided with the questions and difficulties surrounding the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) communist witch-hunt, which ended many Hollywood careers.

During a regrettable period of postwar hysteria Capra, despite his military service and decorations, was a prime-target for Senator Joseph McCarthy's Red-baiting committee. Although Capra was never called to testify, his past associations with blacklisted screenwriters such as Sydney Buchman, Albert Hackett, Ian McLellan Hunter, Carlton Moss, and Dalton Trumbo (to name a few) led to his being "greylisted" (but employable). Determined to demonstrate his loyalty he attempted to rejoin the military for the Korean War, but was refused. When invited as a civilian to participate in the Defense Department's Think Tank project, VISTA, he jumped at the opportunity, but was later denied necessary clearance. These two rejections were devastating to the man who had made a career of demonstrating American ideals in film. Capra later learned that his application to the VISTA was denied because he was part of a picket-line in the 1930s, sponsored Russian War Relief, was active in the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (which defended communists), contributed to the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee in the 1940s, and had a number of associates who were linked to the Communist Party.

Significantly, Capra made few films once the blacklisting began, and none of them approached his previous critical and box office success. By 1952, at the age of 55, Capra effectively retired from feature filmmaking to work with Caltech and produce educational programs on science. Once one of the most popular and powerful storytellers in the world, Capra's disenchantment with the business and political climate of filmmaking left him disconnected from a culture that was rapidly changing. Although he did make two more major motion pictures *A Hole in the Head* (1959) and *Pocketful of Miracles* (1961), Capra would never again return to the perch he occupied so long atop the filmmaking world. In 1971 he penned his autobiography *The Name Above the Title*, which served to revive interest in his work and cement his idea of "one man, one film." And

since his death in 1991, Frank Capra has been honored as one of the seminal figures in the American century of the cinema.

—James Friedman

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## Captain America

Captain America is one of the oldest and most recognizable superhero characters in American comic books. A flagship property of Marvel Comics, Captain America has entertained generations of young people since the 1940s. Perhaps no other costumed hero has stood as a bolder symbol of patriotic American ideals and values. Indeed, the history of Captain America can not be understood without attention to the history of America itself.

Captain America sprang forth from the political culture of World War II. In early 1941, Joe Simon and Jack Kirby created the character for Marvel Comics, which was struggling to increase its share of the comic-book market. As early as 1939, comic books had periodically featured stories that drew attention to the menace of Nazi Germany. Simon and Kirby, who were both Jewish, felt very strongly about what was happening in Europe under the Nazis and were emboldened to defy the still powerful mood of isolationism in America. Captain America would make the not-very-subtle case for American intervention against the Axis powers.

The cover of the first issue of *Captain America Comics* portrayed the superhero in his red-white-and-blue costume, punching Adolf Hitler in the mouth. That brash image set the aggressive tone for the entire series. In the first issue, readers were introduced to Steve Rogers, a fiercely patriotic young American. Physically inadequate for military service, Rogers volunteers for a secret government experiment to create an army of super soldiers. After drinking a serum developed by Dr. Reinstein, Rogers is transformed into a physically perfect human fighting machine. Immediately thereafter, a Nazi spy assassinates Dr. Reinstein, whose secret formula dies with him, thus insuring that Rogers will be the only super soldier. Donning a mask and costume derived from the American flag and wielding a striped shield, Rogers adopts the identity of Captain America and pledges to wage war against the enemies of liberty at home and abroad.

Assisted by his teenage sidekick Bucky, Captain America spent the war years safeguarding American interests against conniving German and Japanese agents. Simon and Kirby dreamed up some of the most delightfully grotesque Axis caricatures to pit against the heroes. Foremost among these was the Red Skull, a sinister Nazi mastermind who became Captain America's perennial archenemy. Jack Kirby's artwork for the series was among the most exuberant, energetic, and imaginative in the field and helped to establish him as one of the most influential superhero comic-book artists.

Captain America quickly became Marvel's most popular attraction and one of the most successful superheroes of the World War II years. Despite some early hate mail from isolationists who did not appreciate the Captain America's politics, the character found an avid readership among young people receptive to the simple and aggressive Americanism that he embodied. More than any other superhero, Captain America epitomized the comic-book industry's unrestrained assault on the hated "Japanazis." Indeed, the star-spangled superhero owed so much to the wartime popular culture that he seemed to drift when the war ended. During the postwar years, Captain America's sales declined along with those of most other costumed superheroes. Even the replacement of Bucky with a shapely blond heroine named Golden Girl failed to rejuvenate interest in the title. In 1949 Marvel cancelled Captain America.

Marvel revived the hero in 1954 and recast him for the Cold War era. Now billed as "Captain America—Commie Smasher," the hero embarked on a crusade to purge America of Reds and traitors. Reentering the glutted comic-book market at a time when horror comics predominated and McCarthyism was going into decline, it was little wonder that this second incarnation of Captain America became a short-lived failure.

The Captain's third resurrection proved far more successful. In 1964, at the height of Marvel's superhero renaissance, Stan Lee and Jack Kirby revived the hero in issue number four of *The Avengers*. The story explained that Captain America's absence over the years was due to the hero having literally been frozen in suspended animation since the end of World War II. In keeping with Marvel's formula of neurotic superheroes, the revived Captain America struggled with an identity crisis: Was he simply a naive relic of a nostalgic past? Could he remain relevant in an era when unquestioning patriotism was challenged by the turmoil of the Civil Rights movement, the Vietnam War, and youth revolts?

By the early 1970s, Captain America symbolized an America confused over the meaning of patriotism and disillusioned with the national mission. The hero himself confessed that "in a world rife with injustice, greed, and endless war . . . who's to say the rebels are wrong? I've spent a lifetime defending the flag and the law. Perhaps I should have battled less and questioned more." Accordingly, Captain America loosened his longtime affiliation with the U.S. government and devoted himself to tackling domestic ills like poverty, pollution, and social injustice. He even took on a new partner called the Falcon, one of the first African-American superheroes.

In a memorable multi-part series unfolding during the Watergate scandal, Captain America uncovered a conspiracy of high-ranking U.S. officials to establish a right-wing dictatorship from the White House. This story line, written by a young Vietnam veteran named Steve Englehart, left Captain America deeply disillusioned about American political leadership—so much so that for a time he actually

discarded his stars and stripes in favor of a new costume and identity of "Nomad—the Man Without a Country." But Captain America returned shortly thereafter, having concluded that even in this new age of cynicism, the spirit of America was still alive and worth defending.

Captain America has remained a popular superhero in the last decades of the twentieth century. The character may never be as popular as he was during World War II, but as long as creators can continue to keep him relevant for future generations, Captain America's survival seems assured. Although his patriotic idealism stands in stark contrast to the prevailing trend of cynical outsider superheroes like the X-Men, the Punisher, and Spawn, Captain America's continued success in the comic-book market attests to the timelessness and adaptability of the American dream.

—Bradford Wright

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## *Captain Kangaroo*

For those who were either children or parents from 1955 through 1991, the perky theme music of *Captain Kangaroo*, accompanied by the jingling of the Captain's keys as he unlocked the door to the Treasure House, arouses immediate feelings of nostalgia. The longest running children's television show in history, *Captain Kangaroo* dominated the early morning airwaves for over 30 years, offering a simple and gently educational format for very young children.

The central focus of the show was always the Captain himself, a plump, teddy bear-like figure with Buster Brown bangs and a mustache to match. Much like another children's television icon, Mister Rogers, the Captain welcomed children to the show with a soft-voiced sweetness that was never condescending, and guided viewers from segment to segment chatting with the other inhabitants of the Treasure House. Bob Keeshan created the comforting role of Captain Kangaroo, so named because of his voluminous pockets. His friends on the show included a lanky farmer, Mr. Greenjeans, played by Hugh Brannum, and Bunny Rabbit and Mr. Moose, animated by puppeteer Gus Allegritti. Zoologist Ruth Mannecke was also a regular, bringing unusual animals to show the young audience.

*Captain Kangaroo* also had regular animated features such as "Tom Terrific and His Mighty Dog Manfred." One of the most popular segments was "Story Time," where the Captain read a book out loud while the camera simply showed the book's illustrations. It is "Story Time" that perhaps best illustrates Bob Keeshan's unassuming approach to children's entertainment, operating on the theory that children need kind and patient attention from adults more than attention-grabbing special effects.



A typical moment from the *Captain Kangaroo* show.

Keeshan got his start in the world of television early, working as a page at NBC when he was a teenager in Queens, New York. He left New York to perform his military service in the Marines, then returned to NBC where he got a job with the newly-popular *Howdy Doody Show*. He created and played the role of Clarabell the Clown on that show and was so successful that in 1955 CBS offered to give him his own show. Keeshan created *Captain Kangaroo*, and the show ran for 30 years on CBS. In 1984, it moved to PBS (Public Broadcasting System), where it continued to run for another six years.

A father of three, and later a grandfather, Keeshan had always been a supporter of positive, educational entertainment for children. Even after leaving the role of the Captain, he continued to be an advocate for children: as an activist, fighting for quality children's programming; as a performer, planning a cable television show about grandparenting; and as a writer, producing gently moralistic children's books as well as lists for parents of worthwhile books to read to children.

The soft-spoken Keeshan was so identified with the role of Captain Kangaroo that he was horrified when, in 1997, Saban Entertainment—producers of such violence- and special effects-laden shows as *Power Rangers* and *X-Men*—began to search for a new, hip Captain to take the helm of *The All-New Captain Kangaroo*. Saban had offered the role to Keeshan, but withdrew the offer when

he insisted on too much creative control over the show. Keeshan did not want modern special effects and merchandising to interfere with the Captain's gentle message. "I really think they believe that kids are different today than they were in the 1960s or 1970s," he said. "That's nonsense. They're still the same, still asking the same questions, 'Who am I? Am I loved? What does the future hold for me?'" In the end, however, Saban chose to stay with the proven formula by choosing John McDonough to play the new Captain. Neither hip nor slick, McDonough is a middle-aged, soft-spoken lover of children, not so different from Keeshan's Captain.

In an ironic twist, in 1995, the Motion Picture Association of America, trying to forestall legislation against violence in children's programming, insisted that violence in programming does not lead to violent activity. In fact, they suggested that the opposite might be true and that perhaps *Captain Kangaroo* and other mild programming of the 1950s led directly to the unrest of the 1960s and 1970s. Though Keeshan scoffed at the implication, the tactic seems to have worked and the legislation was defeated.

The media now abounds with choices of children's programming. With dozens of cable channels, children's shows can be found somewhere on television almost 24 hours a day. If that fails, parents can buy videos to pop in whenever some juvenile distraction is needed. In 1955, when the Captain debuted, and for many years

afterwards, there were only three television channels that broadcast from around six a.m. until midnight. For children seeking entertainment, for parents seeking amusement for their children, even for adults seeking something to wile away the early morning hours, there was only *Captain Kangaroo*. For these people, the Captain was like an old friend, quietly accepting and unchanged over 30 years on the air.

In the 1960s, country music performers The Statler Brothers had a hit song, “Countin’ Flowers on the Wall,” where a young man describes his bleak and sleepless nights after being left by his girl. Perhaps no one born after the video-and-cable era will be able to completely grasp the desolate joke in the lines, “Playin’ solitaire ‘til dawn / With a deck of fifty-one / Smokin’ cigarettes and watchin’ / *Captain Kangaroo* / Now, don’t tell me / I’ve nothing to do.”

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Captain Marvel

Captain Marvel was among the most popular comic-book superheroes of the 1940s. Created in 1940 by Bill Parker and C.C. Beck for Fawcett Publications, Captain Marvel was an ingeniously simple premise. When teenager Billy Batson speaks the magic word “Shazam,” he transforms into a muscular adult superhero. Like DC Comics’ Superman, Captain Marvel possessed superhuman strength, invulnerability, and the power of flight.

Captain Marvel enlisted along with most other comic-book superheroes into World War II and did his part to disseminate patriotic propaganda about the virtues of America’s war effort. He was the top-selling comic-book character of the war years—even outperforming Superman for a time. By 1954, however, falling sales and a long-standing lawsuit by DC over the character’s alleged similarities to Superman forced Captain Marvel into cancellation. DC later purchased the rights to the character and has published comic books featuring him since the 1970s.

—Bradford Wright

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## Captain and the Kids, The

See *Katzenjammer Kids, The*

## Car 54, Where Are You?

The situation comedy *Car 54, Where Are You?*, which ran on NBC from 1961 to 1963, occupies a unique place in television history. While it is a truly humorous look at the shenanigans of the police officers assigned to the fictional 53rd precinct in the Bronx, it is most often remembered as a minor cult classic filled with performers better known from other series and for its catchy opening theme song. The show focused on patrol-car partners Gunther Toody (Joe E. Ross) and Francis Muldoon (Fred Gwynne) as they attempted to serve and protect the citizens of New York. A more unlikely pairing of police officers had never been seen on television. Toody was a short and stocky, often slow-witted, talkative cop, and Muldoon was a tall and gangly, usually laconic, intellectual. Episodes were filled with the usual sitcom fare as the partners’ bumbling caused misunderstandings within their squad, such as the time Toody attempted to make a plaster cast of a fellow patrolman’s aching feet and chaos ensued. Each week the pair caused their superior, Captain Block, to become infuriated as they made more trouble for the Bronx than they resolved.

In many respects, *Car 54, Where Are You?* can be considered somewhat of a sequel to the popular 1950s sitcom *You’ll Never Get Rich*, which is also known as *The Phil Silvers Show*. That series, created by writer-producer-director Nat Hiken and starring comedian Phil Silvers as Sergeant Bilko, focused on the misadventures of an oddball assembly of soldiers at Fort Baxter, a forgotten outpost in Kansas. Hiken was a gifted writer who had worked on Fred Allen’s



A publicity shot from the television show *Car 54, Where Are You?*



radio show and later contributed to Milton Berle's *Texaco Star Theater*. The Silvers show had been a great hit as Sgt. Bilko and his motor pool staff schemed, gambled, and tried to avoid all types of work. When that series ended in 1959, Hiken decided to translate some of its comic sensibility to another setting. Like its predecessor, *Car 54* was a series about men who failed to live up to the dignity of their uniform. Unlike the schemers of Fort Baxter, however, the police of the 53rd precinct were trying their best—though often failing. Hiken filled the series with many performers featured on the earlier show. Joe E. Ross had played Mess Sergeant Rupert Ritzik “the Lucretia Borgia of Company B.” The character of Gunther Toody was an exact replica of the Ritzik character even down to his trademark expression of “ooh-ooh-ooh.” Toody's nagging wife Lucille was played by Beatrice Pons, the actress who had appeared as Mrs. Ritzik. Fred Gwynne, who had been a Harvard educated advertising man, was also a featured player on the Bilko show. Furthermore, many of the other officers had been seen as soldiers at the mythical Fort Baxter.

The core of the series was the great friendship Toody and Muldoon had forged from their many years patrolling the streets in Car 54. Their contrasting natures had meshed perfectly despite the fact they had absolutely nothing in common. Author Rick Mitz best captured their relationship when he described the pair by noting, “Toody was the kind of guy who would say that he thought he should get a police citation for ‘having the cleanest locker.’ Muldoon was the kind of guy who would say nothing.” Many episodes took place away from the police station and explored the partners' home lives. Toody and his frustrated wife often included the shy bachelor into their evening plans. One of the series' best episodes centered on Toody's mistaken idea that Lucille and Muldoon were having an affair. Surrounding them was a cast of top character actors including Paul Reed, Al Lewis, Charlotte Rae, Alice Ghostley, and Nipsey Russell. Many of these performers would later graduate to star in their own TV shows. All the characters on the program depicted an ethnic reality little seen on early television. Toody's Jewishness and Muldoon's Irish-Catholic background were more realistic than the bland characters, with no discernable heritage, seen on other programs. The series was also distinguished by Hiken's decision to film on the streets of New York. Sets were constructed on the old Biograph Studio in the Bronx. For street scenes, Toody and Muldoon's patrol car was painted red and white to indicate to New Yorkers that it was not actually a police vehicle. In black-and-white film, Car 54's unique colors looked identical to the genuine New York police vehicles.

When it premiered in 1961, the series caused some controversy after several police associations claimed it presented a demeaning picture of police officers. The police department in Dayton, Ohio dropped their own Car # 54 from the fleet after constant teasing from the public. However, most viewers understood the series was intended as a satire that bore little relation to the lives of actual police officers. Viewers' affection for the show was evident in Nyack, New York where a patrol car stolen from the police station parking lot was nicknamed “Car 54.” The series ended in 1963 after failing to match the success of Hiken's earlier Phil Silvers program. Neither Nat Hiken, who died in 1968, nor Joe E. Ross, who passed away in 1982, ever again achieved the limited success they found with *Car 54*. Following the show's cancellation, Fred Gwynne and Al Lewis (who played Sgt. Schnauzer) achieved TV immortality playing “Herman”

and “Grandpa” on the monster sitcom *The Munsters*. Gwynne died in 1993.

The sitcom *Car 54, Where Are You?* is an energetic series that never really attained a mass audience. Its presentation of the misadventures of Officers Toody and Muldoon gained a small cult audience that only expanded after the series began to be replayed on cable's Nick at Night network. An awful 1994 movie version update of the show (which was filmed in 1991) starred David Johansen and John C. McGinley as Toody and Muldoon. It also featured rising stars Rosie O'Donnell and Fran Drescher. Viewers of the original sitcom can ignore the film and enjoy a quirky short-lived series that offers an amusing update of the Keystone Kops. Furthermore, after one viewing it's almost impossible to forget that opening theme, which began: “There's a holdup in the Bronx / Brooklyn's broken out in fights / There's a traffic jam in Harlem that's backed up to Jackson Heights. . . .”

—Charles Coletta

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## Car Coats

Car coats originated in the United States in the 1950s with the American migration to suburbia. Popular through the 1960s, they were designed to be convenient for driving, at hip to three-quarter length. Car coats were regulation outerwear: woollen, semi-fitted, frequently double-breasted, with various design features such as back-belts and toggles. The same coat is known to 1990s consumers as the stadium, toggle, or mackinaw coat.

—Karen Hovde

## Caray, Harry (1919-1998)

In his 53 years as a Major League Baseball broadcaster, Harry Caray's boisterous, informal style, passionate support for the home team, and willingness to criticize players and management made him a controversial fan favorite; and towards the end of his career, something of an anachronism. During his first 25 seasons (1945-69) with the St. Louis Cardinals, KMOX's 50,000 watt clear channel signal and an affiliated network of small stations in the South, Southwest, and Midwest gave Caray regional exposure. He is perhaps best known for his catch phrase “Holy Cow,” and the sing-along-with-Harry rendition of “Take Me Out to the Ballgame.” Caray achieved national prominence when he moved to WGN and the



### Harry Caray

Chicago Cubs in 1983. Cable television was then in its infancy, and largely on the strength of its sports programming, WGN became one of the first national superstations.

—Thomas J. Mertz

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### Carey, Mariah (1970—)

An uproar of praise accompanied Mariah Carey's 1990 musical debut. Her first single, "Vision of Love," immediately established her as a major talent and showcased her trademark vocal sound: a masterful, multi-octave range, acrobatic phrasing, ornamented vocal trills, and uncanny, piercing notes in her upper vocal register. It was a sound that was clearly influenced by soul music tradition, yet one that Carey made uniquely her own. Unlike many popular singers, she wrote or co-wrote much of her music. Because of her beautiful and visually striking appearance, she gained additional popularity as a sex

symbol, appearing continually—often seductively or even scantily dressed—in national magazines. She found great success year after year, following her debut, and was, for nearly a decade, America's most popular musician.

—Brian Granger

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### Carlin, George (1938—)

During the 1960s, George Carlin revolutionized the art of stand-up comedy. He employed observational humor, adding a comic twist to everyday occurrences in order to comment on language, society, sports, and many mundane aspects of American daily life. His captivating stage presence and seemingly endless supply of material enabled him to succeed in giving comedy concerts. Rarely before had a comedian drawn such large crowds to a theater just to hear jokes.

George Carlin was born on May 12, 1938, in the Bronx, New York City. With one older brother, Pat, George grew up in Morningside Heights, which he calls "White Harlem," and took the title of his album *Class Clown* from his role in school as a child. He dropped out of high school and enlisted in the Air Force. He ended up in Shreveport, Louisiana, where he became a newscaster and DJ at radio



George Carlin

station KJOE, while still serving in the Air Force, and after his discharge continued worked in radio, moving to Boston in 1957 where he joined radio station WEZE.

Over the next few years, Carlin had many radio jobs, and in 1959 he met newsman Jack Burns at KXOL in Fort Worth, Texas. Teaming with Burns in the early 1960s, he moved to Hollywood where he came to the attention of Lenny Bruce. Burns and Carlin secured spots in mainstream comedy clubs and made an appearance on *The Tonight Show* with Jack Paar. When Jack Burns left the team to work with Avery Shrieber, George Carlin began to make a name for himself as a stand-up comedian, and during the decade became a fixture on television, appearing on the Johnny Carson, Mike Douglas, and Merv Griffin shows, and writing for Flip Wilson. His first comedy album, *Take-Offs and Put-Ons*, came out in 1972.

Also in 1972, he was arrested after doing his “Seven Words You Can Never Use on Television” routine at a Milwaukee concert. The charges were thrown out by the judge, but George Carlin will forever be associated with an important test of the First Amendment as applied to broadcasting—the routine was later the crux of a Supreme Court case, *FCC v. Pacifica Radio*, whose station WBAI in New York City broadcast the offending album. The case helped launched the FCC’s “safe harbor” policy, allowing profanity on the air only after 10 PM (later changed to midnight and then extended to a 24-hour ban on indecent material).

Carlin continued releasing albums, *Occupation: Foole, FM/AM*, and *Toledo Window Box*, among others, and earning Grammy awards. Throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, Carlin kept a public career in comedy going through television and movie appearances, recordings and live concerts, frequently performing at colleges and music festivals. He has continued developing his particular brand of humor, with its combination of satire, wordplay, and social commentary.

—Jeff Ritter

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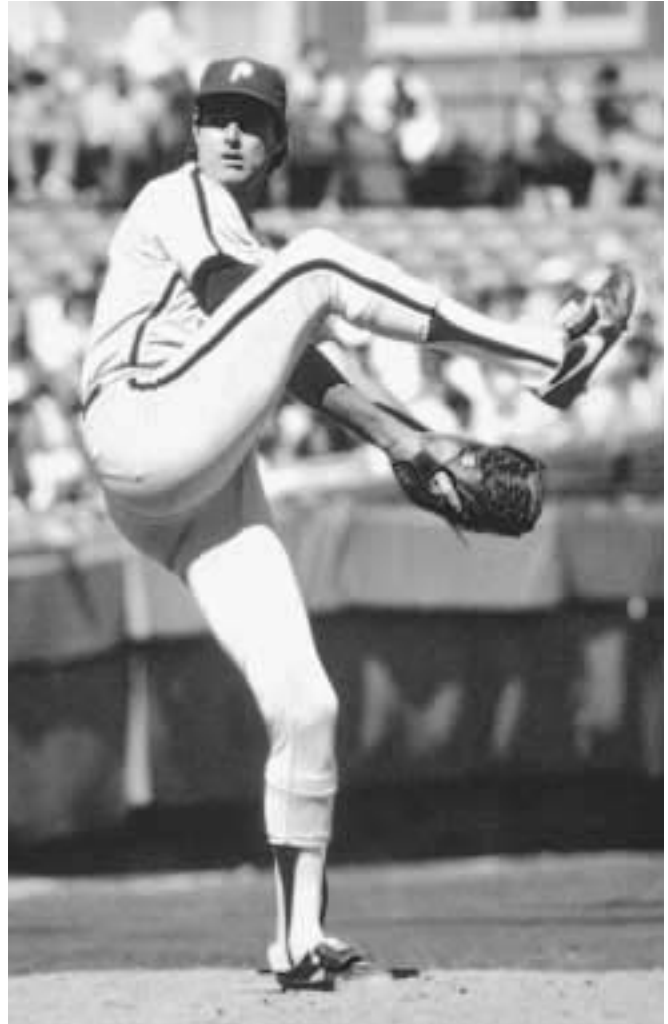
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## Carlton, Steve (1944—)

During the second half of his major league pitching career, Steve Carlton did not speak to reporters, preferring to let his left arm do the talking for him. Out of such determined resolve Carlton fashioned an exceptional career that left him destined for the Baseball Hall of Fame. A multiple Cy Young award winner, second only to Nolan Ryan in career strikeouts, Carlton became the first major leaguer since Robert Grove and Vernon Gomez to be universally known as “Lefty.”

A Miami native, Carlton signed with the St. Louis Cardinals franchise and entered the major leagues in 1965. He became the team’s number two starter, behind the fierce right-hander Bob Gibson, and helped the Cardinals to two pennants and the 1967 World Series. Yet Carlton never seemed to get respect; even the 1969 game when he struck out a then record nineteen New York Mets came during a defeat. After a salary dispute with Cardinals management in late 1971, he was traded to the woebegone Philadelphia Phillies for



Steve Carlton

pitcher Rick Wise. Wise was the only star on the perennial also-rans, as well as the Phillies’ most popular player. Carlton responded to his uncomfortable new surroundings with one of the most dominant seasons in baseball history. While the 1972 Phillies won only 59 games, Carlton won 27, or nearly half his team’s total, all by himself. During one stretch he won 15 games in a row. Combined with a 1.97 earned run average and 310 strikeouts, Carlton won his first National League Cy Young Award.

As Carlton developed, gradually so did the Phillies, as Carlton was joined by third baseman Mike Schmidt and, eventually, Tug McGraw, and Pete Rose. Carlton led the team to six division titles and two pennants between 1976 and 1983. And in 1980 his two victories in the World Series gave the Phillies their first world championship.

Carlton was an efficient left-hander who routinely led the major leagues by pitching nine-inning games in less than two hours and twenty minutes. Hitting him, slugger Willie Stargell once lamented, was like drinking coffee with a fork. Under the tutelage of Phillies trainer Gus Hoefling, Carlton embarked on a rigorous physical regimen, including karate, meditation, and stretching his left arm in a bag of rice. He also stopped talking to the media in 1979, following a feud with a Philadelphia columnist. While Carlton was loquacious

with teammates on many subjects (in particular his hobby, wine collecting), he was mute to the press.

In 1983 and 1984, Carlton competed with the ageless Nolan Ryan for bragging rights to the all-time career strikeout record. Carlton held the top spot intermittently before Ryan pulled away in 1984. Carlton's total of 4,136 strikeouts is still the second highest of all time, and over 600 more than Walter Johnson's previous record.

In 1982, the 37-year-old Carlton won 23 games and a record fourth Cy Young Award. The next season, he won his 300th career game and again led the league in strikeouts. With his sophisticated training and focus, Carlton seemed capable of pitching in the major leagues until he was 50. Unfortunately, his pitching ability faded with age. He won only 16 games after his 40th birthday, and poignantly moved from team to team in the last two seasons of his career before retiring in 1988 with a won-loss record of 329-244.

Carlton's election to the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1994 (in his first year of eligibility) was marred by an incident weeks later. Ending his silence with the press, Carlton gave a rambling interview in *Philadelphia Magazine* from his mountainside compound in Colorado, where he claimed that AIDS was concocted by government scientists, that teacher's unions were part of an organized conspiracy to indoctrinate students, and that world affairs were controlled by twelve Jewish bankers in Switzerland. Most Phillies fans ignored his idiosyncratic political commentary, however, and attended his Cooperstown induction that summer.

—Andrew Milner

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## Carmichael, Hoagy (1899-1981)

Children who play the perennial "Heart and Soul" duet on the family piano might not realize that the tune was written in 1938 by one of America's most prolific popular song composers, Hoagy Carmichael. Carmichael also became one of the century's most iconic pianists, as his distinctive appearance—gaunt and glum, hunched over the upright piano in a smoky nightclub—endures through numerous Hollywood films from the 1940s and 1950s, including classics such as *To Have and Have Not* and *The Best Years of Our Lives* (in *Night Song* he even shares billing with classical concert pianist Arthur Rubinstein). Carmichael's music lives on, too, having thoroughly entered the American musical canon. Of his 250 published songs, "Stardust" (1927) is probably one of the most frequently recorded of all popular songs (with renditions by artists ranging from Bing Crosby and Nat King Cole to Willie Nelson and Carly Simon); "The Lamplighter's Serenade" (1942) proved to be Frank Sinatra's solo recording debut; and "Georgia on My Mind" (1931) has become that state's official song.



**Hoagy Carmichael**

Carmichael's roots were in the 1920s Midwest, where traditional Americana intersected with the exciting developments of jazz. Hoagland Howard Carmichael was born on November 22, 1899, in Bloomington, Indiana. His father was an itinerant laborer; his mother, an amateur pianist, played accompaniment for silent films. In 1916, his family moved to Indianapolis, where Carmichael met ragtime pianist Reggie DuValle, who taught him piano and stimulated his interest in jazz. In 1919 Carmichael heard Louis Jordan's band in Indianapolis; as Carmichael relates in his autobiography *Sometimes I Wonder*, the experience turned him into a "jazz maniac." While studying law at Indiana University, Carmichael formed his own small jazz band, and also met 19-year-old legendary cornetist Leon "Bix" Beiderbecke, who became a close friend as well as a strong musical inspiration. Carmichael's earliest surviving composition, the honky-tonk "Riverboat Shuffle," was written in 1924 and recorded by the Wolverines, Beiderbecke's jazz band (Carmichael, incidentally, wrote the soundtrack music and played a supporting role in Hollywood's 1950 fictionalized version of Beiderbecke's life, *Young Man with a Horn*, starring Kirk Douglas, Lauren Bacall, and Doris Day).

After receiving his degree, Carmichael practiced law in Palm Beach, Florida, hoping to capture part of the real estate boom market there. Soon deciding to devote his efforts to music, Carmichael moved to New York, but met with little success on Tin Pan Alley. It was not until Isham Jones's orchestra made a recording of "Stardust" in 1930 that Carmichael had his big break. Within a year Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, and the Dorsey brothers had recorded their own versions of other Carmichael songs (including "Georgia

On My Mind,” “Rockin’ Chair,” and “Lazy River”) for the burgeoning radio audience.

During the next decade, Carmichael worked with lyricists Johnny Mercer, Frank Loesser, and Mitchell Parish, among others. In the late 1930s he joined Paramount Pictures as staff songwriter (his first film song was “Moonburn,” introduced in the 1936 Bing Crosby film *Anything Goes*), and also began appearing in films himself (the first film he sang in was *Topper*, performing his own “Old Man Moon”). In 1944, “Hong Kong Blues” and “How Little We Know” were featured in the Warner Brothers film *To Have and Have Not*, starring Humphrey Bogart and Lauren Bacall, which also marked Carmichael’s debut as an actor. In one year (1946) Carmichael had three of the top four songs on the Hit Parade, and in 1947 his rendition of his own song “Old Buttermilk Sky” (featured in the film *Canyon Passage*, and nominated for an Academy Award) held first place on the Hit Parade for six consecutive weeks. Carmichael described his own singing as a “native wood-note and flatsy-through-the-nose voice.” It was not until 1952, however, that Carmichael and lyricist Mercer won an Academy Award for Best Song with “In the Cool, Cool, Cool of the Evening,” performed by Bing Crosby in Paramount’s *Here Comes the Groom*). Carmichael also made appearances on television during the 1950s, hosting his own variety program, *The Saturday Night Revue* (a summer replacement for Sid Caesar’s *Your Show of Shows*), in 1953. In 1959 he took on a straight dramatic role as hired ranch hand Jonesy on the television Western series *Laramie*.

Carmichael continued composing into the 1960s, but his two orchestral works—“Brown County in Autumn”—and his 20-minute tribute to the Midwest—“Johnny Appleseed”—were not as successful as his song compositions. In 1971, Carmichael’s contributions to American popular music were recognized by his election to the Songwriters Hall of Fame as one of the ten initial inductees. He retired to Palm Springs, California, where he died of a heart attack on December 27, 1981.

—Ivan Raykoff

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## Carnegie, Dale (1888-1955)

Aphorisms, home-spun wisdom, and an unflagging belief in the public and private benefits of positive thinking turned Dale Carnegie’s name into a household phrase that, since the 1930s, has been uttered with both gratitude and derision. Applying the lessons that he learned from what he perceived to be his failures early in life, Carnegie began to teach a course in 1912. Ostensibly a nonacademic, public-speaking course, Carnegie’s class was really about coming to terms with fears and other problems that prevented people from reaching their full potential. Through word of mouth the course became hugely popular, yet Carnegie never stopped tinkering with the curriculum, excising portions that no longer worked and adding new material based on his own ongoing life experience. In 1936, he increased his profile exponentially by publishing *How to Win Friends and Influence People*, which ranks as one of the most purchased

books of the twentieth century. Although Carnegie died in 1955, his course has continued to be taught worldwide, in virtually unchanged form, into the late 1990s.

Carnegie (the family surname was Carnagey, with an accent on the second syllable; Carnegie changed it when he moved to New York, partly because of his father’s claim that they were distant relatives of Andrew Carnegie and partly because the name had a cachet of wealth and prestige) grew up on a farm in Missouri; his family was, according to his own accounts, poverty-stricken. His mother, a strict and devout Methodist, harbored not-so-secret hopes that her son might become a missionary; some missionary zeal can be seen in Carnegie’s marketing of his course. At the age of eighteen, Carnegie left home to attend Warrensburg State Teacher’s College. There, he made a name for himself as a riveting and effective public speaker. Just short of graduating, he decided to quit and start a career as a salesman in the Midwest. Despite his knack for expressing himself, his heart was never in sales, and he was less than successful. In 1910, Carnegie headed for New York City and successfully auditioned for admission into the prestigious American Academy of Dramatic Arts. The new style of acting taught at the school, radical for its time, stressed sincerity in words and gestures. Students were encouraged to emulate the speech and movement of “real people” and to move away from posturing and artificiality. Carnegie spent even less time as a professional actor than he did as a salesman, but this new method of acting would become a vital part of his course.

In 1912 Carnegie was back in sales, working for the Packard car and truck company, after a disillusioning tour with a road company that was staging performances of Molly Mayo’s *Polly of the Circus*. Living in squalor and unable to make ends meet, Carnegie nonetheless walked away from his Packard sales job and began doing the one thing he felt qualified to do: teach public speaking to businessmen. The director of a YMCA on 125th Street in Harlem agreed to let Carnegie teach classes on commission. (At that time most continuing adult education took place at the YMCA or YWCA.) Carnegie’s breakthrough came when he ran out of things to say and got the class members to talk about their own experiences. No class like this had ever been offered, and businessmen, salesmen, and, to a lesser extent, other professionals praised the course that gave them the opportunity to voice their hopes and fears, and the means to articulate them. Both academic and vocational business courses were in short supply during this time, and most professionals had little understanding of communications or human relations principles. Carnegie anticipated this need and geared his course toward the needs of the business professional.

From 1912 until his death in 1955, Carnegie’s chief concern was the fine-tuning and execution of his course, formally titled The Dale Carnegie Course in Public Speaking and Human Relations, but fondly known to millions of graduates as the “Dale Course.” Carnegie also attempted to publish a novel, *The Blizzard*, which was ill-received by publishers. His publishing luck changed in 1936, when Leon Shimkin of Simon & Schuster persuaded him to write a book based on lectures he gave in various sessions of the course. *How to Win Friends and Influence People* was published in November of that year and became an instant best-seller. Following this accomplishment, Carnegie published a few similar works that also became bestsellers, most notably *How to Stop Worrying and Start Living*. None of his subsequent literary endeavors, however, matched the success of *How to Win Friends*, although they are all used, to some extent, in his course.

With the huge sales of the book, Carnegie faced a new challenge: meeting the growing public demand for the course. In 1939, he agreed to begin licensing the course to other instructors throughout the



**Dale Carnegie**

country. By now divorced from his first wife (the marriage ended unhappily in 1931—Carnegie’s *Lincoln the Unknown*, with its unflattering portrayal of Mary Todd Lincoln, was later revealed by the author to be “largely autobiographical”), he met Dorothy Vanderpool, whom he would marry in 1941. Dorothy, a graduate of the Dale Carnegie Course, became an ardent supporter of her husband’s work and was responsible for making the business a successful enterprise long after her husband’s death. When she died, on August 6, 1998, the Dale Carnegie Course, mostly unchanged in form and content, was still going strong.

The Great Depression transformed Carnegie’s program from a relatively successful endeavor into a cultural monument. His low-key optimism and no-nonsense approach to human relations proved irresistible to the massive number of Americans who were unemployed. The publication of his book meant that his message, and his appeal, could spread much further and faster than it had through the auspices of the course. A year after its publication, the book’s title was a permanent part of the language; the phrase “How to Win Friends and Influence People” quickly overshadowed Dale Carnegie and his course, and became a catch-phrase for enthusiasm borne of naiveté, as well as a euphemism for manipulative styles of dealing with others.

Carnegie’s appeal was always complex and convoluted. His book spoke to the hopes and fears of an entire nation beset by serious economic difficulties, and yet many people thought his ideas were too simplistic and out of tune with the times to take without a heavy dose of irony. He had his share of famous critics as well, such as James Thurber and Sinclair Lewis, who reviled *How to Win Friends* in their writings. Apart from the high-minded criticism of these and other intellectuals, the main obstacle that kept people from signing up for Carnegie’s course was the same thing that won over many other graduates: enthusiasm. The unbridled enthusiasm that was such a part of the course, and that students demonstrated during open-house sessions, could be off-putting as well as inspiring; people were unsure whether it was contrived or real. There was a surge of renewed public interest in the late 1980s, when Lee Iacocca revealed in his autobiography the extent to which Carnegie’s course had influenced him and his willingness to pay for his employees to take the course. In the end, Carnegie’s sustained popularity was due as much to the controversy caused by the public’s inability to take him completely seriously as to the man’s teachings and writings.

—Dan Coffey

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## Carnegie Hall

The world's most famous concert hall, New York City's Carnegie Hall, opened in 1891, proved important as an institution and, by

setting a critical precedent for financing in the 1950s, for the future of the performing arts in America.

Designed by William Burnet Tuthill, an architect with a musical ear, the hall was praised for both its architecture and its acoustics following the opening performances by Tchaikovsky. Carnegie Hall's prestigious reputation was established by the quality of the performers who appeared there, and the way to get there was to "practice, practice, practice," the success or failure of a Carnegie Hall debut often determining whether or not a performer established a successful career.

Olin Downes, a music critic at the *New York Times*, wrote, "In the first quarter of this century [the city] became the musical center of the world. Nowhere else was to be met in the course of a season so many commanding personalities, interpretive and creative, of the period. New York was transformed from a cultural colony into a cultural capital." During that Golden Age and particularly between 1910-30, every one of the world's greatest instrumentalists appeared at least once every season in Carnegie Hall. Among conductors and orchestras, Arturo Toscanini conducted the New York Philharmonic there and Leopold Stokowski brought the Philadelphia Orchestra for regular annual series, as did the various conductors of the Boston



Carnegie Hall

Symphony. Jascha Heifetz, Fritz Kreisler, Joseph Szigeti, Vladimir Horowitz, Sergey Rachmaninoff, and Artur Rubinstein appeared for annual recitals or with the orchestras.

Although he provided two million dollars to build it, linking steel magnate Andrew Carnegie's name to the hall is among the great ironies of American cultural life. Carnegie's musical interests centered on bagpipe melodies and Scottish folk tunes and hymns played on an organ that awakened him each morning. The best statement of purpose he could offer the public when the cornerstone was laid in 1890 was the hope that the structure would "intertwine itself with the history of our country." On opening night, May 5, 1891, Morris Reno, president of the stock company that Carnegie had set up to manage the enterprise (for a profit), would advise that the hall had been "founded with the loftiest purposes, free from all disturbing private interests, devoted solely to the highest ideals of art. . . ."

In fact, Carnegie had no such ideals. Nor was he motivated by needs for publicity or acclaim common to tycoons of the Gilded Age. Finally, his unspeakable treatment of workers at his Homestead, Pennsylvania, plant does not suggest sympathy for the common man who, hopefully, would attend performances. The best that can be said about Carnegie's plan for the hall was that, like his plan for the libraries he later founded, it was not an end in itself. For the libraries, he would make a grant for construction, and then it was up to the local community to raise operating funds. But it immediately became clear that such a pattern would not fit the Music (later, Carnegie) Hall. There simply was not enough rental business, and Carnegie had to underwrite operating deficits, which he did with frequent complaints.

New York's highly competitive social and musical establishments were unenthused by his generosity to begin with. In advance of opening night, the *New York Times* hoped that Music Hall presentations would educate rather than "merely entertain." William Steinway, a piano manufacturer who had a concert hall of his own, scoffed that "Mr. Carnegie's hall will never pay. Take our present Philharmonic concerts, for instance . . . increase the number of these high-class concerts to twelve, and financial disaster would be certain. The public can only stand a certain amount of this sort of music. . . ."

A constant pressing need for cash inspired Carnegie's company to encourage not only musical but other types of renters. In December 1915, a large audience witnessed the launching of the first mass fundraising campaign in American Jewish history for the relief of overseas brethren. Fresh from the Versailles Peace Conference in July 1919, President Woodrow Wilson disembarked in Hoboken, New Jersey, and proceeded immediately to the hall, where he made the first speech in his unsuccessful campaign for congressional approval of United States membership in the League of Nations. Tenants such as the American Academy of Dramatic Arts, whose graduates included Cecil B. De Mille, Agnes Moorehead, Rosalind Russell, and Spencer Tracy, contributed to the hall's international fame.

Carnegie Hall opened its 1925-26 season under new management. Carnegie had died in 1919, and although his board of directors continued to run the hall together with the Carnegie estate, it had remained unprofitable. Robert E. Simon, a prosperous realtor, then bought the building and kept his promise not to tear it down, although there were hints that he and his son wavered during the years of Simon family ownership.

Finally, when plans for Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts were announced in 1959, Robert Simon Jr. announced that the hall would be razed in favor of a skyscraper. Music lovers were outraged, but New York was constantly tearing itself down and rebuilding, and there was no march by the masses to the hall in protest.

A volunteer Citizens' Committee for Carnegie Hall decided on behalf of all city residents (without any referendum) that the hall should be saved—and not with private funds. The committee favored the idea that the city should issue bonds to pay for the hall's purchase and renovation, with the bonded indebtedness to be paid off by a Carnegie Hall Corporation. Once the bonds were retired, the hall would become the property of the corporation, which could, if it wished, apply to the city for additional operating funds.

Thus was realized the concept that although cultural interests could not be legislated into existence, the financing for them could be, a precedent critical for future financing of the performing arts.

—Milton Goldin

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## The Carpenters

Between 1970 and 1975, The Carpenters, a brother-sister musical act, were one of the most popular and recognized pop groups.



Karen and Richard Carpenter



Because they emerged following a decade (the 1960s) in which the most influential performers were those who pushed the bounds of pop music, they were often criticized for their wholesome, straightforward style. However, Karen Carpenter, with her extraordinary voice and girl-next-door good looks, and Richard Carpenter, with his world-class composing abilities, overcame the criticism to produce 19 top-10 singles during the 1970s.

Karen (1950-1983), who was both a singer and a drummer, and Richard (1946—), who was the group's arranger, producer, and keyboardist, were born in New Haven, Connecticut, to Harold Bertram Carpenter and Agnes Tatum. While children, they developed an enthusiasm for popular music. While Richard pursued music avidly, Karen played the flute briefly, but was more interested in sports. The family moved to Downey, California, in 1963. In 1966, Karen and Richard teamed up with bassist Wes Jacobs to form the Richard Carpenter Trio, an instrumental band. Karen also signed a solo singing contract with the Magic Lamp record label, and recorded "Looking for Love" and "I'll Be Yours," released as singles. Shortly after, the Richard Carpenter Trio won "The Battle of the Bands" at the Hollywood Bowl.

It wasn't until 1969, however, that the band, refashioned as the Carpenters and with Karen singing as well as playing drums, was "discovered" by world-famous trumpeter Herb Alpert, leader of the Tijuana Brass, and co-founder of the A&M record label. Upon hearing a demo tape of the Carpenters, he immediately recognized the extraordinary quality of Karen Carpenter's voice. "It was full and round, and it was . . . amazing. This voice was buzzing into my body, and it was the way they presented it." Their first album, *Offering*, was released on the A&M record label in 1969. It did not sell well, although their cover of the Beatles' "Ticket to Ride" reached number 54 on the U.S. singles charts. In 1970, their album *Close to You*, included their first number one single of the same name (which sold more than 300,000 copies), and the duo began international tours that would include up to 200 concerts in a year. That year they also released the hit singles "We've Only Just Begun," and "For All We Know." They won Grammy Awards in 1970 for best contemporary vocal performance by a group for "Close to You," and also for best new artist. In 1970, "For All We Know," featured in the film "Lovers and Other Strangers," captured an Academy Award.

Between 1970 and 1975, the Carpenters were one of the hardest working bands in pop music. Richard was the guiding force behind the duo's production and arrangements, and also wrote songs with Richard Bettis. But material supplied by songwriters Burt Bacharach, Paul Williams, and Roger Nichols helped the Carpenters gain astounding success with 17 million-selling albums between 1970 and 1981. Other well-known standards released by the duo during this period were "Rainy Days and Mondays," "Superstar," "Sing," "Yesterday Once More," and "Top of the World." Their compilation album, *The Singles 1969-1973*, was on the U.S. album charts for 115 weeks. By the late 1990s, the Carpenters had demonstrated that their success was more than fleeting, with worldwide sales topping 100 million units.

The Carpenters bucked 1970s pop music trends by conveying a wholesome, middle-class image, and were even mocked by the pop music establishment, who viewed their songs as insipid and their popularity as fleeting. Music critic Rob Hoerburger (*New York Times*, Nov. 3, 1991) wrote "They always dressed as if they were going to

church, and they sang sticky songs about love (but never sex). Worst of all, parents loved their music." During their heyday, rock critics described their music as "treacle," "drippy easy listening," "schlock music," and their personalities as "squeaky," "smiley," and "saccharine." Fortunately for their record company, A&M, and their in-house mentor, Herb Alpert, the listening public purchased their records by the millions and their concerts sold out consistently. Their popularity was not confined to the United States. They also had strong fan bases in Great Britain and Japan, and they were also popular in many other European and Asian countries. In 1973, they were honored by then-President Richard Nixon by being asked to perform at a state visit by West German Chancellor Willy Brandt.

The Carpenters enjoyed their greatest success between 1970 and 1975. After that time, the duo was beset by serious health problems. Richard spent several years addicted to the sedative Quaalude, and recovery took another several years. Karen, meanwhile, battled anorexia nervosa, a psychophysiological disorder whose cluster of symptoms begins usually with a fear of being overweight and continues with severe weight loss due to self-starvation. She fought this disease for years, with her "normal" weight of 120 pounds (she was 5'4" tall) dropping to 79 pounds several times between 1975 (when she collapsed onstage in Las Vegas while singing "Top of the World"), and her death in 1983. Though few were aware of anorexia nervosa as a disease during the 1970s, Carpenter's death from the disorder drew a great deal of attention to the disease. Indeed, she may be as important a figure in American popular culture because of the way she died as because of the way she achieved fame. After her death anorexia nervosa became well-known to the American public, and many sought help for themselves or their (often) teenage daughters after reading or hearing media accounts of her symptoms and the cause of her death.

The Carpenters experienced a new surge of popularity in the late 1980s and 1990s as their catalog was re-released on compact disk, most notably the four-disk set *From the Top*. In 1994, a compilation of their songs entitled *If I Were a Carpenter*, performed by some of the most popular "alternative" music groups, became a top-selling record. Many of these rock stars, including Sonic Youth, Cracker, and the Cranberries, said that they had been strongly influenced by the Carpenters' sound. Jeff McDonald of Redd Kross, one of the bands featured on the CD, echoed the beliefs of many musicians and critics who had reassessed their music almost twenty years after their peak popularity. "I'd always been a huge fan of the Carpenters, and an admirer of their songs. The quality of their songs was so wonderful, they were lyrically very sophisticated, not this teenybop fare . . . Most bands just want to write perfect pop songs. And these are perfect pop songs."

Richard Carpenter's music career continued on a considerably reduced basis after his sister's death, although he continues to tour and produce. Most notably, he produced his sister's last solo album, *Karen Carpenter*, released in 1996, and his own album, *Pianist—Arranger—Composer—Conductor*, came out in 1998.

—Jeff Merron

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## Carr, John Dickson (1906-1977)

Considered one of the twentieth century's grand masters of the detective story for his innovative use of subtlety, ingenuity, and atmosphere, John Dickson Carr, alias Carter Dickson and Carr Dickson, produced numerous short stories, non-fiction works, and over 70 neo-gothic and historical mystery novels during his lifetime. His best known tales, commonly referred to as locked room mysteries, feature horrific crimes committed seemingly without human agents; subsequently, his sleuths must exercise pure reason to solve them. Amidst an atmosphere of suspense, a small dose of the supernatural, and sometimes high comedy, Carr cleverly presents clues, suspects, and motives such that few readers are able to predict the solutions. His characters Henri Bencolin, Dr. Gideon Fell, Sir Henry Merrivale, and Colonel March rank high among the most memorable detectives within the genre, and Carr's skill in detailing their exploits continues to influence contemporary mystery novelists in the 1990s.

Born in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, on November 30, 1906, Carr first gained his lifelong interest in crime and detection from his father, Wooda Nicholas Carr, a politician and lawyer. From an early age, he enjoyed reading authors L. Frank Baum, Alexandre Dumas, and Robert Louis Stevenson, though he later preferred the works of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and G. K. Chesterton. In his early teens, he began writing for a local newspaper and developed a keen interest in detective stories that featured solutions to impossible crimes. He attended the Hill, a preparatory school, and entered Haverford College in 1925. At Haverford, Carr's writing career blossomed. After becoming editor of *The Haverfordian*, a monthly literary magazine, he began to write not only short historical romances, but also a series of detective stories about impossible crimes solved by Paris policeman Henri Bercolin.

Circa 1928, Carr's parents sent him to Paris to study at the Sorbonne; however, Carr never attended the school and seriously pursued writing instead. Determined to hone his craft in Paris, he wrote but later destroyed an historical novel, then wrote another Henri Bencolin story entitled "Grand Guignol." Upon his return to America, he submitted this manuscript to *The Haverfordian*, which published it as a short novel in early 1929. Carr later revised the story, expanded its length, and submitted the manuscript to Harper & Bros. Published in 1930, *It Walks by Night* marked the beginning of Carr's successful career as a detective novelist. In 1932, he married Clarice Cleaves, an Englishwoman, and the following year, moved to England. During the remainder of the 1930s, he produced three to five novels a year, adding Dr. Gideon Fell and Sir Henry Merrivale to his repertoire of impossible crime solvers. He also began to write short stories for popular magazines. In 1935, he published "Terror's Dark Tower," one of his best short stories about murder in a sealed room, and by the end of the decade, his works were regularly featured in major magazines such as *The Illustrated London News* and *The Strand*.

During the 1940s, Carr produced fewer mystery novels; his talents were needed elsewhere. Supporting the war effort, he wrote and narrated propaganda broadcasts for the British Broadcasting Corporation. Concurrently, he also wrote mystery dramas for the BBC and CBS network in America and was instrumental in creating the style of the great radio plays. At the end of World War II, he began

a definitive biography of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle that was eventually published in 1949.

Dissatisfied with the rise of socialism in England, Carr returned to America with his family in 1948 and was elected President of the Mystery Writers of America in 1949. During this period, he embarked on a new phase in his writing career. A lifelong admirer of the past, he decided to write mysteries situated in specific historical time frames and that sometimes involved time travel. This innovative decision proved fortuitous; his meticulously researched historical novels received both critical and popular acclaim. In 1950, he published *The Bride of Newgate*, a high adventure set in 1815 England. The following year, he published *The Devil in Velvet*, in which a modern professor bargains with Satan for a transfer back to eighth-century England. Considered by Carr to be his best work, *The Devil in Velvet* was the most successful of his novels.

Between 1951 and 1965, Carr moved back and forth between England and America before finally settling in Greenville, South Carolina. Due to increasing ill health, he wrote no more fiction after 1972, but contributed to a review column in *Ellery Queen's Mystery Magazine* and began a series about seventeenth- and eighteenth-century criminals which was never completed. He died March 1, 1977, at age 70.

During his lifetime, Carr was the recipient of the Mystery Writers of America's highest honor, the Grand Master Award, and was the first American ever admitted into the almost exclusively British Detection Club. Indeed, his stories reflect the qualities that he felt should always be present in the detective novel at its best: fair play, sound plot construction, and ingenuity.

—Marlena E. Bremseth

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## The Cars

With their campy groundbreaking videos and catchy songs, The Cars emerged from the late-1970s/early-1980s New Wave movement to become one of America's best selling musical acts. This Boston band led by Ric Ocasek scored thirteen *Billboard* Top 40 hits from 1978 to 1987 with thinly-veiled sexual innuendo songs like "Shake It Up," "You Might Think," "Drive," and "Tonight She Comes."

Formed in 1976 out of the ashes of various local Boston bands, including the Jonathan Richman-fronted Modern Lovers, The Cars landed a major label deal with Elektra after a demo of "Just What I Needed" became a hit on local Boston radio stations. The group consisted of Ric Ocasek on vocals and guitar, Ben Orr handling vocals and bass duties, Elliot Easton on guitar, Greg Hawkes playing



### The Cars

keyboards and former Modern Lovers drummer David Robinson behind the drum kit. The Cars' aesthetic jumping-off point fell somewhere between AM radio bubblegum pop, new wave quirkiness, Brian Ferry-esque art-pop, and the bombast of Album Oriented Radio: a combination that appealed to a wide variety of consumers.

Early on, The Cars established themselves as one of the best-selling new wave bands in America. Their self-titled debut album was released in 1978, spawning a number of hit singles, going platinum, and staying in the album charts for two and a half years. They released a string of hit albums, including *Candy-O*, *Panorama*, *Shake It Up*, and *Heartbeat City*, before they took a two year break starting in 1985 so that Ocasek, Orr, and Easton could record solo albums and pursue other projects (such as Ocasek's appearance in the John Waters film, *Hairspray*). By the time The Cars regrouped to release 1987's *Door to Door*, the band had run its course, creatively and commercially. After a tour supporting *Door to Door*, The Cars broke up in 1988.

Although their pop radio-friendly songs were a major reason for their popularity, The Cars also gained attention with their music videos—something that distinguished the post-MTV era from other periods of popular music. Their most acclaimed video was the Andy Warhol directed "You Might Think," which sported groundbreaking (for the time) computer animation. The success The Cars had with their videos, along with a few other artists that were regularly played

on MTV, demonstrated the burgeoning music channel's power as a marketing device.

In addition to his work as the frontman of The Cars, Ric Ocasek produced a number of important underground, avant-garde, and punk bands that didn't sell a lot of records, but which proved extremely influential. Among the most significant Ocasek-produced bands were the Washington D.C. hardcore punk group Bad Brains and the New York City duo, Suicide. Ocasek also produced albums by the commercially successful Romeo Void in the early 1980s and, in 1994, he produced the platinum debut by Weezer. Because of his role as a major contributor to American underground and commercial music, Ric Ocasek had a large number of high-profile fans like Billy Corgan, the leader of 1990s alternative rock icons, Smashing Pumpkins. Corgan paid homage to Ocasek by producing Ocasek's 1997 solo album, *Troublizing*.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## Carson, Johnny (1925—)

In January 1965, Johnny Carson appeared at Lyndon Baines Johnson's presidential inauguration gala. Carson took the stage directly opposite the president and bragged "I've done more for birth control than Enovid." The claim is questionable, but it is vintage Johnny Carson. Like most Carson jokes, it looks neither particularly funny nor particularly racy on paper. In its delivery, however, Carson won much of the audience over, created a flurry of scandal, and effectively situated himself in American cultural history. Carson made one of television's greatest careers by playing his impish wit off his Midwestern charm, bringing the sexual revolution to middle America, middle America to the world, and establishing the form for television variety and humor that continues to dominate.

Carson was born on October 23, 1925 in Corning, Iowa, and spent the first eight years of his life moving throughout Iowa as his father established a management career in the Iowa-Nebraska Electric Light and Power Company. In 1933, the Carson family settled in Norfolk, Nebraska, population 10,000. Carson came of age in Norfolk, premiering his magic act, "The Great Carsoni," there. Carson, along with his magician alter-ego, enlisted in the Navy in 1943, hoping to be a fighter pilot in the Second World War. His military career, however, was more notable for its hilarity than its heroics.

In the fall of 1946, Carson left the Navy and enrolled in the University of Nebraska. As a student he initiated his broadcast career, appearing in a western comedy on KFAB, a Lincoln, Nebraska, radio station. Also at the University of Nebraska, Carson met the first of his



Johnny Carson

many loves—Jodi Wolcott, "The Great Carsoni's" magician's assistant and a native of Western Nebraska.

Wolcott and Carson married in 1949, just after they moved to Omaha where Johnny had taken a broadcasting position at NBC's Nebraska affiliate, WOW. It was the dawn of television, and WOW had just branched out of the radio market to broadcast the region's first television signals. Carson got in early, with an afternoon program called *Squirrel's Nest*. The Carsons had their first child in 1950, but Carson was unwilling to settle down. In 1951, he set out, alone, in the family Oldsmobile, determined to make it big in California.

The journey was a success, and soon the whole clan made the trek, Jodi pregnant for the second time. In Los Angeles, Carson rose rapidly from late night announcer to host of the prime-time *Johnny Carson Show*. That first show was a flop, but it led to another, and by 1962, when Carson took over *The Tonight Show* from Jack Paar, he had already hosted three incarnations of *The Johnny Carson Show*, two game shows, and several short-run broadcasts.

Even as Carson's corn-fed persona gained prominence in national television, his family was disintegrating. He divorced Jodi Wolcott in 1965, endured hostile publication over his reluctance to pay child support for his three boys, and read his mother's dismissive comments about his show business career in *Time* magazine. In the years to come, Carson would have two more divorces and three more wives, but somehow, the image of Johnny Carson, the good Midwestern boy with a mean streak survived, and *The Tonight Show* was a hit.

In 1968, Carson discovered Tiny Tim, a Greenwich Village performer with a ukulele, a falsetto voice, and an odd blend of hippie-left appearance and Barry Goldwater conservatism. Tim and Carson spoke about premarital sex and birth control (Carson was an advocate and Tim an opponent). Tim plugged his album, *God Bless Tiny Tim*, a collection of obscure American pop tunes, and it became one of the year's best sellers. Before long, Tim was a regular on the show. On December 17, 1969, Tiny Tim married Miss Vicky live on *The Tonight Show*. Carson biographer Laurence Leamer called the wedding "the most-watched even in late-night television history."

Meanwhile, Carson perfected his trademark animal skits, bantered in his calculated casual manner with such luminaries as Muhammed Ali, Richard Nixon, Luciano Pavarotti, and Ronald Reagan, and became a fixture in American popular culture. In 1972, *The Tonight Show* moved to beautiful downtown Burbank, California where it was to play for another 20 years; its spartan set of office furniture and indoor plants becoming instantly recognizable to millions of American television viewers. *The Tonight Show* routine, from Ed McMahon's "Here's Johnny!" through Carson's free-wheeling monologue and its selection of short skits and guests became the model for late-night television. *Tonight Show* producers Rudy Tellez described the program's formula as "the bland leading the bland." But, combined with Carson's mildly risqué sense of humor, it consistently worked, facing and defeating competing shows from Dick Cavett, Joey Bishop, Merv Griffin, Alan Thicke, David Brenner, and Joan Rivers.

Johnny Carson became famous as the man who lulled America to sleep at night. When he left the air in May 1992, his reign was undiminished, his persona was untarnished, and as the *Washington Post* put it, "he was late night TV."

—Thurston Domina

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## The Carter Family

One of the founding acts of modern country music, the Carter Family began recording in the late 1920s and developed a national following that lasted throughout the 1930s and into the 1940s. Among the first stars of hillbilly music, as country was labeled during that era, they created popular versions of traditional folk songs, influencing countless future country and folk artists. Their material included classic songs such as "Wabash Cannonball," and the melodies of their songs were borrowed by other composers—among them Woody Guthrie, who used one of their tunes as the musical basis for "This Land Is Your Land." The group was known for their vocal harmonies, in addition to Maybelle Carter's (1909-1978) innovative guitar technique, in which she used her thumb to pluck out a melody on the bass strings while using her fingers to strum a rhythm accompaniment on the treble strings. Referred to as the "Carter scratch," this unique style of playing transformed the role of the guitar in traditional music ensembles by making it the lead instrument. While the original Carter



The Carter Family, from left: Maybelle, A.P., and Sara.

Family ceased performing and recording in 1943, Maybelle continued her career for several decades, first in a group with her daughters, and later as a solo artist.

Alvin Pleasant (A.P.) Delaney Carter (1891-1960) was a carpenter in his early twenties when he married sixteen-year-old Sara Dougherty (1899-1979) in 1915. The couple lived near Clinch Mountain, in the tiny community of Maces Spring, Virginia, where they provided musical entertainment at a variety of local social gatherings. Sara led the singing with her resonant alto and strummed an autoharp or guitar, while A.P. sang bass. They were occasionally joined in these performances by some of their relatives, including Sara's cousin Maybelle Addington, a talented teenage guitarist and singer who married A.P.'s brother Ezra in 1926. The following year, this trio traveled to Bristol, Tennessee, where a New York talent scout for the RCA Victor label named Ralph Peer was auditioning and recording new artists. On August 1 and 2, the Carters recorded six songs, and a few days later an unknown singer named Jimmie Rodgers also made his first recordings. The Bristol sessions were later recognized as the beginning of the modern country music industry, which grew as the result of the commercial success of these two hillbilly acts and the tremendous effect they had on the artists who followed them.

As sales of the Carters' first recordings increased, Peer made arrangements for a second session that took place in Camden, New Jersey, in the spring of 1928. There the group recorded several songs that became country music standards, such as "Keep on the Sunny Side," which later became their theme, and "Wildwood Flower." As their popularity increased, the Carter Family began touring regularly and continued recording. To sustain their popularity, A.P. sought to supplement their repertoire of rural folk songs with material he gathered on song-hunting trips. On some of these journeys, he was joined by Lesley Riddle, an African-American blues guitarist who may have also influenced Maybelle's innovative guitar style. When the Carter Family recorded songs discovered by A.P., he usually received credit for the arrangement, a common practice that allowed performers to receive publishing royalties for songs they did not actually write. By the time they disbanded in 1943, the Carters had recorded over 300 songs. While some were original compositions, many recordings were derived from the songbooks and sheet music A.P. collected, or traditional oral sources, or in some instances a combination of both. Since many of these folk songs had never been recorded, the versions popularized by the Carter Family served as invaluable documents for music historians and hillbilly enthusiasts alike.

Sara and A.P. were separated in 1933 and divorced six years later, although they maintained a professional relationship for ten years after the separation. Toward the end of the 1930s, she married A.P.'s first cousin, Coy Bayes, and they moved to California. While performing on Texas border radio stations during this period, the Carter Family sometimes included Maybelle's three daughters, Helen, June, and Anita, as well as Sara and A.P.'s children, Gladys, Jeanette, and Joe. After the breakup of the original Carter Family, Sara and A.P. retired from music, while Maybelle started a new group with her daughters. Calling themselves the Carter Sisters and Mother Maybelle, they performed during the 1940s and joined the *Grand Ole Opry* in 1950. Within a few years, the sisters parted ways to pursue different interests. June married country artist Carl Smith in 1952, and a few years later gave birth to Rebecca Carlene Smith (who began performing in the late 1970s as Carlene Carter and was married to British rocker Nick Lowe). In 1961, the year after A.P. Carter's death,

June began singing with Johnny Cash, and the two were married in 1968, after she helped him overcome his drug addiction.

Anita Carter also achieved success as a performer in the 1960s, as did Mother Maybelle, who developed a new following as the result of the folk music revival that began on college campuses toward the end of the 1950s. The autoharp became her primary instrument, and she impressed audiences with her ability to pick out melodies on the strings rather than simply strumming chords. Maybelle performed at the 1963 Newport Folk Festival, and she and Sara reunited a few years later to record an album. In the late 1960s, Maybelle toured with Johnny and June Carter Cash, and she was one of several influential older country and bluegrass artists featured on the Nitty Gritty Dirt Band's 1972 double album *Will the Circle Be Unbroken*. Two years after failing health caused her to stop performing, Maybelle died in October of 1978, three months before Sara's death. The original Carter Family was inducted into the Country Music Hall of Fame in 1970, and they are often called "The First Family of Country Music." In the mid-1990s, Rounder Records released eight compact discs containing all of their RCA Victor recordings. Seventy years after the Carter Family first began recording, their timeless music continued to interest and influence listeners.

—Anna Hunt Graves

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## Caruso, Enrico (1873-1921)

Enrico Caruso, the quintessential Italian tenor, was the most beloved singer of his day. Critics agreed that he was also probably the best. Known throughout the Western world for his interpretations of operatic roles, he also captured the popular imagination with Neapolitan songs, sentimental period ballads, and that patriotic favorite of World War I, *Over There*, rendered in his unique variant of the English language. The emergence of the phonograph made Caruso an entertainer as well as an artist, and he, perhaps more than anyone else, demonstrated its potential as a creative medium.

Born in Naples near the end of Europe's most placid century, Caruso was one of 18 children of working class parents. At considerable financial sacrifice, he studied voice with Vergine, a noted Neapolitan teacher, who, nevertheless, envisioned for him only a modest future. Singing first in provincial theaters and later with touring companies, Caruso gradually made his way to important opera houses in Monte Carlo, Milan, and London. Though his initial reviews were not always good, audiences responded to him. Despite his increasing girth and a slightly comical stage appearance, his exuberance and dramatic sense well complemented a voice that was



Enrico Caruso

soon being described as "golden." With little formal education, Caruso was a dedicated artist, who continued to refine his theatrical skills and musicianship throughout his life.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Caruso had developed from a lyric into a dramatic tenor. Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, and Russia, along with Western Europe, clamored for his appearances, but it was the United States that made him a true national hero. First engaged by New York's Metropolitan Opera in 1903, he made this house his home base for the rest of his life. Together with his fellow countryman Arturo Toscanini, he established "the Met" as America's premier company and one of the great opera houses of the world. He performed the full Italian repertoire, distinguishing himself as Canio in *Pagliacci*, the Duke in *Rigoletto*, Radames in *Aida*, and Samson in *Samson et Delila*. He visited synagogues and studied Jewish life in preparation for his role as Eleazar in *La Juive*. But his special love for things American was evident in his odd interpretation of Dick Johnson in Puccini's *La Fanciulla del West*. The composer himself attended the Met opening. With his broad Mediterranean gestures and throaty sobs, Caruso was not entirely convincing as a Wild West outlaw hanged for his crimes, but audiences applauded nevertheless.

Like other Italians successful in the New World, Caruso suffered brushes with New York's Black Hand, which attempted to extort money from him. Rather than comply with their demands, Caruso cooperated with authorities and two gangsters were apprehended. A more embarrassing episode occurred in 1906 when the singer was visiting the Central Park Zoo. A mysterious woman, who later disappeared, accused him of molesting her in the monkey house.

Caruso denied the charge; at the most he was probably demonstrating a Southern Italian mode of admiration for an attractive woman. Despite extensive newspaper coverage, the public soon chose to forget the incident.

Two sons were born from Caruso's long liaison with Ada Giacchetti, an Italian soprano whose earlier marriage prevented a regularization of their union. After deserting him in favor of her chauffeur, Ada caused Caruso further suffering by publicly announcing that she had never loved him. Near the end of his life, the singer finally found domestic happiness in his marriage to Dorothy Park Benjamin, a shy woman 20 years his junior. Formerly relegated to the role of housekeeper and recluse by her wealthy and overbearing father, Dorothy Caruso blossomed as the cherished wife of this demonstrative man. The birth of a daughter, the only thing Dorothy said she could give her husband that he had never had or could not buy, brought further happiness to the last two years of his life.

Caruso's generosity was legendary; he once hired a valet for his own valet. Even rival singers invariably warmed to his personality. They treasured the friendly caricatures he drew of them during rehearsals. John McCormick, the Irish tenor of almost equal acclaim, said: "I never loved any other man so much as Caruso." America and the world richly rewarded its favorite Italian with wealth and affection. But his obsession with honoring his commitments and fear of disappointing his fans probably led to his premature death. Worn out by exhaustion and lung ailments, he died at the age of 48, still in his vocal glory. Headlines in American newspapers sadly announced "The Golden Voice Is Stilled."

When asked what makes a superb singer, Caruso liked to answer: "A big chest, a big mouth, ninety percent memory, ten percent intelligence, lots of hard work and something in the heart." Clearly, he had these requisites in the proper amounts. Henry Pleasants observed that in this singer a beautiful voice and a beautiful nature seemed perfectly united, that his radiance did not originate merely in his throat but in the man himself. Decades after his death, the highest compliment that could be given a tenor was to suggest he might be "the New Caruso." His Victor recordings, available in remastered compact disk format, endure. Finally, the mega-concerts of leading tenors of the 1990s, which blended classical and popular songs, continued to perpetuate the legacy of Caruso in bringing the highest musical artistry to the masses.

—Allene Phy-Olsen

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## Carver, Raymond (1938-1988)

Raymond Carver's success derived as much from the renewed interest in the short story brought about by the publication of *The Stories of John Cheever* in 1978 and the backlash against 1960s

metafiction as it did from Carver's own genius. Although considered one of the most recognizable and imitated stylists of his time, Carver was in fact one of a growing number of minimalists whose "dirty realism" came to be associated with (and for some demonstrated the shortcomings of) university writing workshops. What chiefly distinguished Carver's stories from the similarly laconic, uninflected, disquietingly detached, and paratactic work of others was his focusing on the marginal lives of generally working-class characters trying, and often failing, to make do. Carver's semi-autobiographical fiction offered an alternative not only to earlier reports of the deaths of author and character alike but to the pursuit of affluence and the extolling of the entrepreneurial spirit during the Reagan years. The triumph achieved in a number of Carver's later stories was more spiritual than material and even then carefully qualified.

—Robert A. Morace

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## Casablanca

The script for *Casablanca* (1942), one of the most successful films of all time, arrived at the Warner Brothers Studio the day after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, December 8, 1941. Timing is just one of the many reasons why this legendary film about patriotism, love, exile, and sabotage is often referred to as the happy result of a series of accidents. If the studio had carried out its original plans to cast Ronald Reagan as Rick Blaine or Ella Fitzgerald as Sam, now



Ingrid Bergman and Humphrey Bogart in a scene from the film *Casablanca*.

infamous lines and lyrics like “Here’s lookin’ at you, kid” and “As Time Goes By” may never have attained the same powerful significance they have had for generations of movie fans. Set in French Morocco during WWII, *Casablanca* was directed by Michael Curtiz and starred Humphrey Bogart, Ingrid Bergman, Paul Henreid, Peter Lorre, Claude Rains, Sydney Greenstreet, and Conrad Veidt. Based loosely on a play entitled *Everybody Comes to Rick’s*, *Casablanca* profiles the life of Rick Blaine (Bogart), an embittered nightclub owner with a broken heart and a checkered past. Blaine is exiled in Casablanca as a result of the Nazi invasion in Europe. His elegant casino/bar, Café Americain, is the unofficial meeting point for war refugees attempting to purchase exit visas on the black market to reach the United States. Rick’s life comes to a halt when his long lost love, Ilsa (Bergman) comes into town in search of exit papers for herself and her husband, famed resistance fighter Victor Laszlo (Henreid).

This comparatively low-budget, romance/adventure film was recognized as a masterpiece from the beginning. *Casablanca* won several Oscars at the 1943 Academy Awards, including Best Picture, Best Director, and Best Writing. The film also received nominations for Best Actor, Best Cinematography, Best Editing, and Best Music of a Dramatic or Comedy Picture. Some critics attribute the timeless freshness of the movie’s dialogue to the fact that nobody working on the film, including the scriptwriters, knew how the film would turn out until the last minute. In spite of the relatively low-budget of the film, playwrights Murray Burnett and Joan Alison were offered the highest fee ever paid for an unproduced play—\$20,000—for *Everybody Comes to Rick’s*.

Filmed almost entirely in the Warner Brothers soundstage in Burbank, *Casablanca* is one of the most popular films of all time. In 1973, a *Los Angeles Times* headline announced that *Casablanca* was ranked as Warner Brothers’ most popular film in fifty years. The runners-up in this public poll were *The Maltese Falcon* (1941), *Who’s Afraid of Virginia Woolf* (1966), *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951) and *The Treasure of Sierra Madre* (1948). In 1977, the American Film Institute disclosed its list of the best American films of all time before President Carter and a television audience at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. *Casablanca* came in third place, behind *Gone With the Wind* (1939) and *Citizen Kane* (1941).

The film’s director, Michael Curtiz, was born Mihaly Kertesz in Hungary. Curtiz came to Warner Brothers from Austria in 1926, having already made 62 silent pictures, and went on to become one of the studio’s top money-earners. Between the period of 1930 and 1940 alone, he directed 45 talking films ranging in genre from horror to westerns to gangster films. Curtiz’s *Mission to Moscow* (1943) was listed in the FBI’s “Communist Infiltration of the Motion Picture Industry” file as a source of Communistic propaganda. Though Jack Warner defended the film while it was in production in a letter to Ambassador Davies, his later humiliation and fear as a result of making the movie have been attributed to his readiness to turn dozens of employees over to the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) in 1947.

Given the fact that most Americans resisted the idea of U.S. involvement in the war in Europe at the time during which *Casablanca* was set, Jack Warner has been viewed as having declared war on Germany early, not only with *Casablanca*, but with earlier films like *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (1939) and *Underground* (1941). Of all the Hollywood moguls at the beginning of the war, Harry and Jack Warner were anti-Nazi at a time when opposition to Hitler was far from common. In July 1934, Warner Brothers became the first studio

to close down operations and leave Germany. MGM, Fox, and Paramount, by contrast, continued to operate in Germany up to 1939. Between the period of 1942 and 1945, Hollywood produced 500 feature films which dealt with war subjects directly and were designed to foster the nation’s support for the Allied war effort.

One of the more popular interpretations of *Casablanca*’s success posits that it is a political movie centered around resistance to fascism. A 1942 *Motion Picture Herald* article portrayed the film as a tribute to the occupied people of France. Its opening night performance in New York was sponsored by the organizations “France Forever” and “Free French War Relief.” A French delegation of Foreign Legionnaires, recently returned from battle, as well as leaders from the DeGaulle movement, marched in a parade from Fifth Avenue to the opening of the film at the Hollywood Theater. The political film interpretation focuses on the anti-fascist aspects of *Casablanca* and places importance on Ingrid Bergman’s character and her relationship to fascism.

According to critic Umberto Eco, writing in “*Casablanca*: Cult Movies and Intertextual Collage,” *Casablanca* can also be seen as a cult object. As such, it possesses the following qualities: it provides its audience with a completed vision of the world which fans can incorporate into their own world; using quotes and trivia from the film as a form of shared expertise, the narrative can be dislocated so that one need only remember a part of it, regardless of its original relationship to the whole film; and the film displays a variety of ideas and does not contain a central philosophy of composition. The cult paradigm revolves around near worship of Bogart’s masculinity and patriarchal discourse and the repetition of key moments in the film’s narrative. *Casablanca* diehards, for example, have elevated the status of the song “As Time Goes By,” a song which references the romantic relationship between Rick and Ilsa, at the expense of other important songs, like “La Marseillais.” What *Casablanca* possesses, Eco argues, is a heavy amount of archetypal appeal which creates a feeling of déjà vu, drawing audiences to the film again and again.

Regardless of how the movie is interpreted, stories of the movie’s making continue to enthrall fans. According to Ingrid Bergman, for example, the movie’s narrative was invented at the same time the movie was shot. Not even Curtiz knew whether Ilsa would end up with Rick or with Victor until far into the shoot. Because of this continual state of improvisation on the set, the scriptwriters conjured up any number of archetypal tropes and threw them into the plot. Some claim that this almost baroque overabundance of stock formulas is the secret to *Casablanca*’s timeless success. Ingrid Bergman, known for her cleanly appearance and objection to wearing makeup, was universally liked on the set of *Casablanca*, by hairdressers and wardrobe people alike. She was patient, easy to work with, and did not demand privileges, though she was not given to forming lasting friendships with any of the people on the set. By contrast, Humphrey Bogart is said to have been obsessive about everything from his love scenes, to the script, to his own personal life. He has been called every name in the book, from “troublemaker” to a “real guy”; Warner Brothers publicist Ezra Goodman once called him “sadistic.” Bogart is said to have been good friends with Claude Rains and Peter Lorre. Lorre and Bogart lived a few blocks from each other in the Hollywood Hills and worked together on two other Bogart movies, *The Maltese Falcon* (1941) and *All Through the Night* (1942).

Popular for nearly six decades, *Casablanca* has reverberated throughout American culture. Aside from numerous songs, book titles, comedy routines, commercials, and magazine advertisements that have made reference to the film over the years, in 1972, Woody



Allen made his own tribute to *Casablanca*, entitled *Play It Again Sam*, in which he wore a trenchcoat like Rick Blaine and repeated the famous “Here’s looking at you, kid” speech in the context of a narrative about sexual difficulties and masculinity. In this scenario, *Casablanca* was recreated as a cult object which references Bogart and his style of masculinity. Bogart’s character is said to have sparked an onslaught on trench coat sales, and the image of him in the coat in the original Warner Brothers poster purportedly launched the movie poster business. In the late 1940s and 1950s, *Casablanca* was an important film on college campuses as cinema began to be viewed as a serious art form. In the 1970s, a string of Rick Blaine-styled bars and cafes began to appear in a variety of cities in the United States with names like Play It Again Sam (Las Vegas), Rick’s Café Americain (Chicago), and Rick’s Place (Cambridge, Massachusetts).

—Kristi M. Wilson

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## Cash, Johnny (1932—)

Significantly, country music star Johnny Cash’s career coincided with the birth of rock ’n’ roll. Cash’s music reflected the rebellious outlaw spirit of early rock, despite the fact that it did not sound much like the new genre or, for that matter, even like traditional country music. Something that perhaps best sums up his image is a famous picture of Cash, with a guitar slung around his neck and an indignant look on his face giving the middle finger to the camera. As the self-dubbed “Man in Black,” Johnny Cash has evolved from a Nashville outsider into an American icon who did not have to trade his mass popularity for a more mainstream, non-country sound. Despite a number of setbacks, the most prominent of which was a debilitating addiction to pills and numerous visits to jail, Cash has maintained his popularity since releasing his first single in 1955.

Cash was born in Kingsland, Arkansas on February 26, 1932. He grew up in the small Arkansas town of Dyess, a bible-belt town that published Sunday school attendance figures in the weekly newspaper. Cash hated working on the family farm, preferring instead to escape into his own world listening to the Grand ’Ol Opry or its smaller



Johnny Cash

cousin, The Louisiana Hayride. By the age of 12 he was writing his own songs and he also experienced what many claim to be his first setback, perhaps fueling much of his reckless behavior—his brother Jack was killed in a farming accident. In 1950, Cash enlisted in the Air Force during the Korean War. It was during this time that he bought his first guitar, taught himself how to play, and started writing prolifically—one of the songs written during this period was the Johnny Cash standard, “Folsom Prison Blues.” After his time in the Air Force he married Vivian Leberto, moved to Memphis in 1954, and began playing in a trio with guitarist Luther Perkins and bassist Marshall Grant.

Johnny Cash’s first singles were released on Sam Phillips’ legendary Sun Records, the Memphis-based 1950s independent label that also launched the careers of Roy Orbison, Jerry Lee Lewis, Carl Perkins, and Elvis Presley. It was this maverick environment that fostered Cash’s original sound, which was characterized by his primitive rhythm guitar playing and the simple guitar picking of Cash’s early lead guitarist, Luther Perkins. His lyrics overwhelmingly dealt with the darker side of life and were delivered by Cash’s trademark deep baritone voice that sounded like the aural equivalent of the parched, devastated ground of the depression-era mid-west dust bowl. “Folsom Prison Blues” was sung from the perspective of an unrepentant killer and contained the infamous line, “I shot a man in

Reno just to watch him die.” Another prison song, “Give My Love to Rose,” was a heartbreaking love letter to a wife that was left behind when the song’s character was sent to jail. Other early songs like “Rock Island Line,” “Hey Porter,” “Get Rhythm,” and “Luther Played the Boogie” could certainly be characterized as raucous and upbeat, but Cash also had a tendency to write or cover weepers like Jack Clement’s “I Guess Things Happen That Way,” the tragic classic country ballad “Long Black Veil,” or his own “I Still Miss Someone.”

It was not long before Cash cultivated an outsider, outlaw image that was exacerbated by his relatively frequent visits to jail—if only for a day or two—for fighting, drinking, or possessing illegal amphetamines. The frequent concerts he played for prisoners inside jails created an empathy between Cash and those at the margins of society. The fact that he never shed his rural, working-class roots also created a connection with everyday folks. His simple, dark songs influenced a generation of country singer-songwriters that emerged in the early 1960s. They include Willie Nelson, Waylon Jennings, and Merle Haggard. In fact, Haggard became inspired to continue playing music after Cash gave a prison concert where Haggard was serving a two year sentence for armed robbery.

Cash is a heap of contradictions: a devout Christian who is given to serious bouts with drugs and alcohol; a family man who, well into his sixties, spends the majority of the year on the road; and a loving, kindhearted man who has been known to engage in violent and mean-spirited behavior. His life has combined the tragic with the comic as illustrated by a bizarre incident in 1983. During one of his violent spells, he swung a large piece of wood at his eight-foot-tall pet ostrich, which promptly kicked Cash in the chest, breaking three ribs. To ease the pain he had to take painkillers. Cash had already spent time at the Betty Ford clinic to end addiction to painkillers.

Cash’s career has gone through ups and downs. After an initial burst of popularity during the Sun years, which fueled his rise to country music superstardom on Columbia Records, his sales began to decline in the mid-1960s, due partially to the debilitating effects of drugs. During this period, Cash experienced a creative slump he has not quite recovered from. For the most part he stopped writing his own songs and instead began to cover the songs of others. After his Sun period and the early Columbia years, original compositions became more and more infrequent as he focused more on being a performer and an interpreter rather than an originator. Although the stellar music became increasingly infrequent, he still created great music in songs like “Ring of Fire,” “Jackson,” and “Highway Patrolman.” Despite countless albums of filler and trivial theme albums—“Americana,” “Train,” “Gunfighter,” “Indian,” and “True West”—there are still enough nuggets to justify his continued recording career. This is true even in consideration of his lackluster mid-1980s to the early 1990s Mercury Records years. In 1994, however, Cash’s career was reignited again with the release of his critically praised all-acoustic *American Recordings*, produced by Rick Rubin. Rubin’s experience with Tom Petty, RUN-DMC, Red Hot Chili Peppers, The Beastie Boys, and The Cult certainly prepared him for a hit with Cash.

Meaning many things to many people, Cash has been able to maintain a curiously eclectic audience throughout his career. For instance, Johnny Cash was a hero to the southern white working class—what some might call “rednecks”—and college educated northerners alike. He has cultivated an audience of criminals and fundamentalist Christians—working closely, at times, with conservatives like Billy Graham—and has campaigned for the civil rights of

Native Americans. During the late 1960s, he was embraced by the counterculture and played with Bob Dylan on his *Nashville Skyline* album, while at the same time performing for Richard Nixon at the White House—Nixon was not the only president who admired him . . . Cash even received fan mail from then president Jimmy Carter. He has also been celebrated by the middle-American mainstream as a great entertainer, and had a popular network television variety show during the late 1960s and early 1970s called *The Johnny Cash Show*.

During the 1990s, Cash has played both “oldies” concerts for baby boomers and down home family revue-type acts, cracking Southern flavored jokes between songs. During this time, Cash was dismissed as a relic of a long-forgotten age by Nashville insiders who profited from the likes of country music superstars Garth Brooks and Shania Twain. After the release in 1994 of his *American Recordings* album, however, he has been celebrated by a young hip audience as an alternative rock icon and an original punk rocker.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## Casinos

See Gambling

## Caspar Milquetoast

Caspar Milquetoast was a comic strip character created by the cartoonist Harold Tucker Webster (1885-1952) for the New York *Herald Tribune* and other newspapers in the late 1920s. The central figure in many of Webster’s witty, urbane, and mildly satirical cartoons during the interwar years was frequently a middle-class professional man who was rather mild-mannered and retiring. The most notable and best known of these was Caspar Milquetoast, self-effacing, obedient to a fault, and, quite literally, scared of his own shadow—the personification of timidity. This character’s manner and richly imagistic surname yielded the epithet “a milquetoast,” still part of the American vernacular although it is unlikely that very many of those who currently use the epithet have any knowledge of its origin.

—John R. Deitrick

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## Cassette Tape

Compact, convenient, and easy to operate, the audio cassette became the most widely used format for magnetic tape and dominated the field for prerecorded and home-recorded music during the 1970s and 1980s. Although superseded by digital players and recorders in the 1990s, the cassette tape remains the dominant form of sound recording worldwide.

Introduced in the 1940s, magnetic tape recording offered important advantages over revolving discs—longer playback time and more durable materials—but its commercial appeal suffered from the difficulties that users experienced in threading the tape through reel-to-reel tape recorders. One solution to this problem was the tape cartridge, which came in either the continuous loop format or the two-spooled cassette, which made it possible to rewind and fast forward with ease. By the 1960s there were several tape cartridge systems under development, including the four-track, continuous-loop cartridge devised by the Lear Company, the Fidelipac system used by radio broadcasters, and the “Casino” cartridge introduced by the RCA company for use in its home audio units. Tape cartridges also were developed for the dictating machines used in business.

In 1962 the Philips Company developed a cassette using tape half as wide as the standard 1/4-inch tape which ran between two reels in a small plastic case. The tape moved half the speed of eight-track tapes, getting a longer playing time but paying the price in terms of its limited fidelity. The Philips compact cassette was introduced in 1963. During the first year on the market, only nine thousand units were sold. Philips did not protect its cassette as a proprietary technology but encouraged other companies to license its use. The company did require all of its users to adhere to its standards, which guaranteed that all cassettes would be compatible. An alliance with several Japanese

manufacturers ensured that there were several cassette players available when the format was introduced for home use in the mid-1960s. The first sold in the United States were made by Panasonic and Norelco. The Norelco Carry-Corder of 1964 was powered by flashlight batteries and weighed in at three pounds. It could record and play back, and came complete with built-in microphone and speaker.

Public response to the compact cassette was very favorable, encouraging more companies to make cassette players. By 1968 about eighty-five different manufacturers had sold more than 2.4 million cassette players worldwide. In that year the cassette business was worth about \$150 million. Because of worldwide adherence to the standards established by the Philips company, the compact cassette was the most widely used format for tape recording by the end of the decade.

The fidelity of the cassette’s playback was inferior compared to phonograph discs and the slower-moving reel-to-reel tape, consequently the serious audiophile could not be persuaded to accept it. The cassette had been conceived as a means of bringing portable sound to the less discriminating user—a tape version of the transistor radio. It was in this role that the cassette made possible two of the most important postwar innovations in talking machines: the portable cassette player or “boombox” and the personal stereo system with headphones, introduced by Sony as the Walkman.

These highly influential machines were based on technological advances in three fields: magnetic tape, batteries, and transistorized circuits. For the first time, high-fidelity stereo sound and high levels of transistorized amplification—capable of pouring out sound at ear-deafening levels, hence the “boombox” name—could be purchased in a compact unit and at a reasonable price. The portable cassette player became one of the great consumer products of the 1970s and 1980s, establishing itself in all corners of the globe. Players were incorporated into radios, alarm clocks, automobile stereos, and even



A cassette tape.

shower units. The ubiquitous cassette made it possible to hear music anywhere.

The personal stereo was developed around the cassette and was intended to be the ultimate in portable sound—so small it could fit into a pocket. The stereo's headphones surrounded the listener in a cocoon of sound, eliminating much of the annoying noise found in urban life but often at the price of damaging the hearing of the listener. Since its introduction in 1979, Sony's Walkman has been copied by countless other manufacturers and can now be found in cassette and digital formats, including compact disc and digital tape.

In the 1990s several digital tape formats were introduced to compete with the audio cassette tape, and the manufacturers and record companies did their best to phase out the elderly technology by ceasing to manufacture both players and prerecorded tapes. Cassette tape was "hisstory" said one advertisement for noise-free digital recording, but consumers were unwilling to desert it. Although no longer a viable format for prerecorded popular music (with the exception of rap and hip-hop), cassette tapes live on in home recording and in automobile use.

—Andre Millard

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## Cassidy, David (1950—)

David Cassidy may not have been the first teenage idol, but he was the first to demand control of his life, walking away from the entertainment industry's star-machinery even as it went into overdrive. And when that industry discarded him, Cassidy's resolve to return was more self-fulfilling than the first time around.

Cassidy was born on April 12, 1950, the son of actors Jack Cassidy and Evelyn Ward. His parents divorced when he was three, and David lived with his mother in West Orange, New Jersey. At 11, Cassidy and his mother moved to Los Angeles, and David spent his teen years hanging out in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury scene, graduating from a private school and pursuing small acting jobs. He moved to New York City in his late teens, working in a textile factory by day and taking acting classes by night, before starring in the 1969 Broadway play, *Fig Leaves Are Falling*. With a stint on Broadway to his name, Cassidy returned to Los Angeles and landed bit parts on popular television shows.

The turning point came in 1969, when the ABC network was casting for the musical comedy series, *The Partridge Family*, which was based loosely upon the late 1960s folk-music family, the Cowsills. David's stepmother, actress Shirley Jones, was cast as the lead. Unbeknownst to Jones, the producers had 19-year-old David read for the part of the good-looking pop-music prodigy Keith Partridge.

Cassidy once claimed that when he was a child, his life was changed forever upon seeing the Beatles on the Ed Sullivan show. But



David Cassidy

that could never have prepared him for the tsunami of publicity generated by the success of *The Partridge Family*. The show was a runaway hit, and Cassidy's visage was pinned up on teenage girls' bedroom walls all over the country. The merchandising of Cassidy remains a blueprint for the careers of all of the teen heartthrobs who followed him. Posters, pins, t-shirts, lunchboxes, and magazine covers proclaimed Cassidy-mania. He used the success of the show to further his rock and roll career, playing to overflowing arena crowds of teenage girls that were so hungry for a piece of their idol that Cassidy had to be smuggled in and out of venues by hiding in laundry trucks or the trunks of sedans.

After years of seven-day weeks running from television tapings to recording studios to tour buses, the 23-year-old singer was starting to feel the burn-out inevitably linked with fame. In a May, 1972, cover story in *Rolling Stone*, Cassidy spoke candidly about his success, bragging about taking drugs and having sex with groupies and—in a moment of career suicide—railing against the pressures of his chosen field.

During a 1974 concert in London, England, a 14-year-old girl died of a heart attack. The rude awakening forced Cassidy to take a long hard look at himself. His response was to retire from live

performances and the television show in order to make a conscious break from teeny-bopper fantasy to serious actor. Not long afterward, *The Partridge Family* slipped in its ratings and was canceled; record contracts were no longer forthcoming, and the window of opportunities available to Cassidy was closing quickly. He was free of the rigors of show business, but industry professionals looked askance at his quick rise-and-fall career.

The actor's personal life was chaotic as well; his father, from whom he had been estranged for nine months, died in a fire in his penthouse apartment. Cassidy was drinking heavily at the time, and found out that he was bankrupt. A 1977 marriage to actress Kay Lenz lasted for four years; a second marriage to horse-breeder Meryl Tanz in 1984 lasted just a year. He entered psychoanalysis soon after his second divorce.

In 1978, Cassidy appeared in a made-for-TV movie, *A Chance to Live*. The success of the movie prompted producers to create a spin-off series titled *David Cassidy: Man Undercover*, which was poorly received. In the late 1970s, he took the lead in a Broadway production of *Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat* (ironically replacing drug-damaged teen idol Andy Gibb), and later ended up in London's West End theater district as the star of Dave Clarke's play, *Time*. While living in London, Cassidy recorded an album for the Ariola label.

In the 1990s Cassidy devoted his time entirely to acting. In 1993, he appeared with his half-brother Shaun Cassidy (himself a former teen idol turned actor and producer) and British singer Petula Clark in the stage drama *Blood Brothers*. In 1994, he wrote a tell-all memoir about his television exploits entitled *C'mon Get Happy: Fear and Loathing on the Partridge Family Bus*. In 1996, he helped relaunch the MGM Grand Hotel in Las Vegas, appearing in the science-fiction musical variety show *FX*. While most teen idols stay forever trapped in the history books, David Cassidy worked hard to make sure he wasn't trapped by a "sell-by" date like most entertainment commodities.

—Emily Pettigrew

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## Castaneda, Carlos (1925-1998)

Little consensus has been reached about Carlos Castaneda, whose books detailing his apprenticeship to the Yaqui Indian shaman Don Juan Matus have sold over eight million copies in 17 languages

and contributed to defining the psychedelic counterculture of the 1960s as well as the New Age movement. Castaneda's anthropological and ethnographic credibility together with his intellectual biography and personal life have been a constant source of puzzlement for critics and colleagues. Castaneda himself contributed to complicate the mystery surrounding his identity by supplying false data about his birth and childhood and by refusing to be photographed, tape recorded, and, until a few years before his death (which was kept secret for more than two months), even interviewed. In spite of (or perhaps thanks to) Castaneda's obsession with anonymity and several blunt critical attacks on his works by anthropologists his international fame has been long-lasting.

Born in Cajamarca, Perú (not in São Paulo, Brazil, as he maintained), Castaneda became a celebrity almost overnight thanks to the publication of *The Teachings of Don Juan: A Yaqui Way of Knowledge* in 1968, when he was still a graduate student at the University of California. In *The Teachings of Don Juan* as well as in nine other books, Castaneda described the spiritual and drug-induced adventures he had with the Yaqui Indian Don Juan, whom he maintained to have met in 1960 while doing research on medicinal plants used by Indians. During the course of the books, the author himself becomes an apprentice shaman, sees giant insects, and learns to fly as part of a spiritual practice that tends to break the hold of ordinary Western perception. Castaneda defined his method of research as "emic," a term that was used in the 1960s to distinguish ethnography that attempted to adopt the native conception of reality from ethnography that relied on the ethnographer's conception of reality ("etic"). Because of several chronological and factual inconsistencies among the books and because Don Juan himself was never found, many scholars agreed that Castaneda's books were not based on ethnographic research and fieldwork, but are works of fiction—products of Castaneda's imagination.

Jay Courtney Fikes pointed out that Castaneda's books "are best interpreted as a manifestation of the American popular culture of the 1960s." The works of Aldous Huxley, Timothy Leary, and Gordon Wasson stirred interest in chemical psychedelics such as LSD and some of the psychedelic plants that Don Juan gave his apprentice Castaneda, such as peyote and psilocybin mushrooms. These psychedelics played an important part of the counterculture of the 1960s as a political symbol of defection from the Establishment. Castaneda's books contained exactly the message that the members of the counterculture wanted to hear: taking drugs was a non-Western form of spirituality. Several episodes in *The Teachings of Don Juan* link taking psychedelic plants to reaching a higher spiritual realm: Don Juan teaches Castaneda to fly under the influence of jimsonweed and to attain magical powers by smoking a blend of psilocybin mushrooms and other plants. Castaneda's books met the demands of a vast audience that was equally disappointed by anthropology as well as by traditional religion.

In the early 1990s, Castaneda decided to become more visible to the public in order to "disseminate Don Juan's ideas." He organized New Age seminars to promote the teaching of Tensegrity, which he described as "the modernized version of some movements called magical passes developed by Indian shamans who lived in Mexico in times prior to the Spanish conquest." Castaneda, who at the time of the seminars was dying of cancer, claimed that "practicing Tensegrity . . . promotes health, vitality, youth and general sense of well-being, [it] helps accumulate the energy necessary to increase awareness and to expand the parameters of perception," in order to go beyond the limitations of ordinary consciousness.

Carlos Castaneda's death was just as mysterious as his life. His adopted son claimed that he died while a virtual prisoner of the cult-like followers of Cleargreen Inc., the group that marketed his works in his late years. Castaneda was described by George Marcus and Michael Fisher in *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences* as an innovative anthropologist whose books "have served as one of several stimuli for thinking about alternative textual strategies within the tradition of ethnography." However, Jay Courtney Fikes, in *Carlos Castaneda: Academic Opportunism and the Psychedelic Sixties*, called him a careless ethnographer who "didn't try diligently enough to distinguish between what was true and what was false." Others condemned him as a fraud and religious mythmaker for our post-modern era. Definitions are difficult to apply to such an elusive personality. Paradoxically, the best representation of Castaneda can be viewed in the portrait that Richard Oden drew in 1972 and that Castaneda himself half-erased.

—Luca Prono

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## Castle, Vernon (1887-1918), and Irene (1893-1969)

Widely admired for their graceful dance routines and smart fashion sensibilities, ballroom dancers Vernon and Irene Castle spurred the national craze for new, jazz-oriented dance styles in the years before World War I. In an age of widespread racism, the Castles helped popularize African-American and Latin-American dances, including the foxtrot and tango, previously considered too sensual for white audiences. With the opening of their own dance school and rooftop night club, the Castles became the darlings of New York City café society. National dancing tours, movie appearances, and a steady stream of magazine and newspaper articles swelled the couple's celebrity status to include increasing numbers of middle class men and women. Often depicted as the most modern of married couples, it was the Castles' successful use of shared leisure activities to strengthen their marriage, as much as their superior dance talents, that made them the most popular dancers of their time.

—Scott A. Newman

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## The Castro

Though the Castro district has been a distinctly defined neighborhood of San Francisco since the 1880s, the district did not gain worldwide fame until the 1970s when it became a mecca for a newly liberated gay community—in effect a west coast equivalent to New York's Christopher Street. It has been said that if San Francisco is America's gay capital, Castro Street is its gay Main Street.

The Castro district had a rebellious reputation from its beginnings: the street was named in 1840 for General Juan Castro, who led the Mexican resistance to white incursions into Northern California. By the 1880s, Eureka Valley, as it was then called, was a bustling working-class neighborhood, populated largely by Irish, German, and Scandinavian immigrants. After World War II, many of the area's residents joined the widespread exodus to the suburbs, leaving empty houses behind them. Coincidentally, post-World War II anti-gay witch hunts resulted in the discharge of hundreds of gay military personnel. Many were discharged in the port of San Francisco, and others were drawn there by the comparatively open and tolerant attitudes to be found there. Low housing prices in the unassuming district around Castro Street attracted many of these migrants, and gay bars began opening quietly in the 1950s. In 1960, the "gayola" scandal erupted in San Francisco when it was discovered that a state alcohol-board official had taken bribes from a gay bar. The scandal resulted in increased police harassment of gay bars but also sparked pleas for tolerance from religious and city officials. It was this reputation for tolerance that drew counterculture youth to San Francisco, culminating in the "Summer of Love" in 1967. Soon, thousands of gay men and lesbians were finding the Castro district an attractive place to live and open businesses, and during the 1970s the Castro thrived as a gay civic center.

The 1970s were heady years for the gay and lesbian community. Tired of the oppressive days of secrecy and silence, gay men created the disco scene where they could gather to the beat of loud music, with bright lights flashing. The new bars in the Castro, with names like Toad Hall and the Elephant Walk, had big glass windows facing the street, a reaction against the shuttered back-street bars of the 1950s. Since the 1960s, more than seventy gay bars have opened in the Castro. Many lesbians disavow the male-dominated Castro, however, with its 70:30 male-to-female population ratio; they claim nearby Valencia Street as the heart of the lesbian community.

Harvey Milk, a grassroots politician who would become the first openly gay man elected to public office in a major city, played a large part in creating the Castro phenomenon. Known as the "Mayor of Castro Street," Milk ran for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors (city council) until he finally won in 1977. With an exceptional gift for coalition politics, Milk forged alliances between gay residents and the local Chinese community as well as with unions such as the Teamsters, building bridges where divisions had existed, and mobilizing the political influence of the thousands of gay men and lesbians in the city. In November of 1978, Milk and San Francisco mayor Dave Moscone were assassinated by a former city employee, Dan White. When the gay community heard the news, a spontaneous outpouring of Milk's supporters took to the streets of the Castro, and thousands

marched there in a silent candlelight procession. Some weeks later, when Dan White was sentenced to only seven years in prison, it was not grief but anger that sent protesters into the streets for the “White Night Riots.” Cars were torched and windows were smashed by rioters; when they dispersed, the police followed them back to the Castro in a rampage of violence that left sixty-one police and 100 protesters hospitalized.

Though the energetic early days of gay liberation are over, and notwithstanding the heavy toll taken by the AIDS epidemic of the 1980s, the Castro is still a center of gay life in San Francisco, and famous the world over. The district is renowned for its street festivals, such as Gay Pride and the Castro Street Fair. The best-known party, the Halloween bash, was moved in 1996 to the civic center at the request of Castro merchants, who complained of rowdiness and vandalism. The district has only half as many people of color as the city at large, and the median age of residents is around thirty.

A walk down Castro Street in the 1990s still shows it to be very gay identified, with gay symbols, such as the pink triangle and the rainbow flag, adorning many stores and houses. Shops containing everything from men’s haute couture fashions to leather-fetish dog collars and leashes attract both residents and tourists. Whether it is called a gay ghetto or a gay capitol, the Castro is clearly a political entity to the city of San Francisco and a symbol of liberation for the world.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Casual Friday

Casual Friday, also called Dress Down Day, Casual Dress Day, and Business Casual Day, is a loosening of the business world’s unwritten dress codes on designated days. Employees trade suits, ties, high heels, silk shirts, scarves, and other formal business attire for slacks, sports coats, polo shirts, pressed jeans, loafers, knit tunics, and flat-heeled shoes. Casual days arose in the mid-1980s influenced by the jeans-T-shirt-sneakers uniform of the computer industry, as well as increased numbers of women in the workplace and work-at-home employees. The concept caught on in the early 1990s and, fueled partly by Levi Strauss’s marketing, by the mid-1990s had become a corporate institution. By the late 1990s, employees below middle management in one third of U.S. companies had gone casual five days a week, according to an Evans Research Associates survey.

—ViBrina Coronado

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## Catalog Houses

Beginning with the first mail order catalog in the 1890s, people have turned pages to weave together images of the perfect home or the ideal wardrobe. From about 1900 through 1940, hundreds of thousands of customers also selected their most important purchase, a house, from a catalog. Catalog houses were essentially do-it-yourself homebuilding kits. When a customer ordered a house through a catalog, he or she received all of the parts, usually cut to length and numbered for proper assembly, to build the selected home. In the first half of the twentieth century, catalog houses helped meet a demand for well-built, reasonably priced houses in America’s expanding cities and suburbs.

Although pattern books and house plans had been widely available throughout the mid-nineteenth century, catalog housing did not begin in earnest until the early twentieth century with the founding of the Aladdin Company in 1907. One of the longest-lived catalog housing companies, Aladdin remained in business through 1983. Robert Schweitzer and Michael W. R. Davis in *America’s Favorite Houses*, a survey of catalog house companies, estimated that the Aladdin Company sold 50,000 houses during its 76-year history.

Aladdin was soon joined by a number of national and regional companies, including Gordon Van-Tine, Lewis Manufacturing Company, Sterling Homes, and Montgomery Ward. Probably the best known producer of mail order and catalog homes was Sears, Roebuck & Company, which sold homes through its Modern Homes catalog from 1908 until 1940. In addition to these national companies, a variety of regional and local companies also sold catalog houses.

A variety of factors contributed to the success of the companies that sold houses through the mail. In the early decades of the twentieth century, American cities were growing rapidly, due both to increased foreign immigration and to migration from rural areas. According to Schweitzer and Davis, the population of the United States increased by 50 percent from 1890 to 1910. Much of this growth was in American cities. As a result, there was a great demand for affordable, well built houses. Catalog housing helped to meet this need.

In addition to the growth of urban areas, technological advances made catalog houses possible. Steam-powered lumber mills made

lumber available year round, and the national railroad system enabled building parts to be readily transported. This allowed the catalog house companies both to create a nationwide system of suppliers and made it possible to easily ship house components and other goods. Sears owned lumber mills in Illinois and Louisiana, and a millwork plant in Norwood, Ohio.

The catalog house companies did their utmost to insure that their houses were ready to assemble. One of the innovations introduced by Aladdin in 1911 and quickly adopted by other manufacturers were parts that were "Readi-cut." More than an advertising slogan, the concept of lumber that was, as Sears called it, "already cut and fitted," meant that the structural components were precut to exact lengths and ready for assembly. The benefits of this were many: The do-it-yourselfer or contractor building the house did not have to spend time on the job cutting the lumber to fit; it reduced wasted materials and construction mistakes; and, in an age before power tools, it simplified house building.

Part of the fascination with catalog houses in the late twentieth century is how inexpensive they seem. In 1926 it was possible to buy a six-room house from Sears for as little as \$2,232. This price included all of the lumber needed to construct the house, together with the shingles, millwork, flooring, plaster, windows, doors, hardware (including nails), the siding and enough paint for three coats. It did not include the cost of the lot nor the labor required to build the house, nor did it include any masonry such as concrete for the foundation. If the house came from Sears, plumbing, heating, wiring, and storm and screen doors and windows were not part of the original package, but could, of course, be purchased from Sears at extra cost. The buyer of a catalog house also received a full set of blue prints and a complete construction manual.

One of the common elements of catalog houses was their design. Catalogs from Sears, Roebuck & Co., Ray H. Bennett Lumber Company, the Radford Architectural Company, and Gordon Van-Tine show houses that seem nearly interchangeable. Bungalows, American Four-Squares, and Colonial Revival designs dominate. Sears regularly reviewed the design of its houses and introduced new models and updated the more popular designs. A small four-room cottage, the Rodessa, was available in 11 catalogs, between 1919 and 1933. The floor plan remained basically the same over the years although details changed.

Sears had several sources for its house designs. The company often bought designs for houses that had already been built and were well received by the public. Sears also purchased designs from popular magazines and reproduced those houses exactly. Beginning in 1919, the company created its own in-house architectural division that developed original house designs and adapted other contemporary designs for sale by Sears. The Architects' Council, as it was called, became a selling point for Sears, which promoted the "free" architectural service provided to buyers of Sears' houses.

Apart from reflecting the growth of city and suburb and the growth of a mass market for housing, catalog houses were designed to meet changing concepts of house and home. New materials, such as linoleum, and laborsaving devices such as vacuum cleaners and electric irons, made houses easier to manage. This reduced the need for servants, which meant that houses could be smaller. At the same time, lifestyles became less formal. The catalog house plans reflected these changes, often eliminating entry vestibules and formal parlors. The catalogs helped to reinforce and promote the interest in smaller houses and less formal living spaces through their pages. Similar ideas were promoted by popular magazines, such as *Ladies' Home*

*Journal*, which sold house plans designed by Frank Lloyd Wright and others, and organizations such as the American Institute of Architects, which created the Small House Service Bureau, known as the ASHB in 1919.

Advertising played an important role in the success of mail order housing companies. The most effective tool used was annual catalogs. The catalogs not only advertised the range of models available but promoted the value of home ownership over paying rent, and provided the potential customer with testimonials and guarantees promoting the quality of houses offered by each manufacturer.

The guarantees provided by the catalog firms were one of the most effective tools used to promote their products. Sears provided a written "Certificate of Guarantee" with each house; the guarantee promised that sufficient materials of good quality would be received to complete the house. Other companies offered similar guarantees of quality and satisfaction; Aladdin, for example, promoted its lumber to be "knot-free" by offering consumers a "Dollar-a-knot" guarantee. Liberty offered its customers an "iron-clad guarantee," while Lewis had a seven-point protection plan.

In addition to their catalogs, the mail-order house companies advertised in popular magazines, including the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's*, and *House Beautiful*. Early in their history, the ads were small and placed in the back pages of magazines; the emphasis was to promote confidence in the products in order to develop a market. The ads emphasized the cost savings, sound quality, and fast delivery. Later ads were much larger and often consisted of a one- or two-page spread emphasizing that the homes sold were both stylish and well built.

Each of the catalog housing companies had their own philosophy about providing financing. Sears first provided financing for its houses in 1911. At first loans were for the house only; by 1918, however, Sears began advancing capital for the labor required to build the house. Eventually, Sears also loaned buyers the money to pay for the lot and additional material. Other companies selling houses through the mail were more conservative. Aladdin never provided financing and required a 25 percent deposit at the time the order was placed, with the balance due upon delivery. Sterling offered a 2 percent discount for customers paying in cash, as did Gordon-Van Tine.

Sears vigorously promoted its easy payment plan throughout its catalogs. The 1926 catalog includes an advertisement that assures the reader that "a home of your own does not cost you any more than your present mode of living. Instead of paying monthly rental, by our Easy Payment Plan you may have . . . a beautiful home instead of worthless rent receipts." And, in the event that the reader missed the two-page layout promoting Sears' financing plan, each catalog page illustrating a house plan included a reminder of the availability of the "easy payment plan."

Just as a combination of conditions led to the initial success of catalog houses, a number of factors contributed to their demise. The company's liberal financing policies are often cited as a contributing factor in the death of Sears' Modern Homes program. During the depression of the 1930s, the company was forced to foreclose on thousands of mortgages worth more than \$11 million, and lost additional money by reselling the houses below cost.

After World War II, social policy and technology passed by catalog housing. There was no longer a niche for people who wanted to build their own houses. The returning veterans and their brides were anxious to return to normal lives, and they no longer had the time or inclination to build their own houses. However, they did have the



wherewithal to buy houses built by others. Subdivisions of builder-constructed housing, beginning with Levittown, sprang up across the country to meet this need. The builders of postwar housing capitalized on the great demand by adapting Henry Ford's assembly line principles to home construction. The desire for houses that were well built disappeared in the need for houses that were quickly built.

—Leah Konicki

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## Catch-22

Hailed as “a classic of our era,” “an apocalyptic masterpiece,” and the best war story ever told, Joseph Heller’s blockbuster first novel, *Catch-22* (1961), not only exposed the hypocrisy of the military, but it also introduced a catchphrase to describe the illogic inherent in all bureaucracies, from education to religion, into the popular lexicon. The “Catch-22” of the novel’s title is a perverse, protean principle that covers any absurd situation; it is the unwritten loophole in every written law, a frustratingly elliptical paradox that defies solution. As Heller demonstrates in his novel, *Catch-22* has many clauses, the most memorable of which allows only crazy men to be excused from flying the life-threatening missions ordered by their military superiors. To be excused from flying, a man needs only to ask for release; but by asking, he proves that he is sane and therefore he must continue flying. “That’s some catch,” observes one of the flyers. “It’s the best there is,” concurs Doc Daneeka.

Heller drew deeply on his personal experiences in the writing of his novel, especially in his depiction of the central character, Yossarian, a flyer who refuses any longer to be part of a system so utterly hostile to his own values. Like Yossarian, Heller served in the Mediterranean during the later years of World War II, was part of a squadron that lost a plane over Ferrara, enjoyed the varied pleasures that Rome had to offer, and was decorated for his wartime service. And like Yossarian, Heller passionately strove to become an *ex-flyer*. (After one of his missions, in fact, Heller’s fear of flight became so intense that, when the war ended, he took a ship home and refused to fly again for 15 years afterward.)

Although critics usually refer to *Catch-22* as a war novel, the war itself—apart from creating the community within which Yossarian operates—plays a relatively small part in the book. While the military establishment comprises an entire society, self-contained and absolute, against which Yossarian rebels, it is merely a microcosm of the



Martin Balsam in a scene from the film *Catch-22*.

larger American society and a symbol for all other repressive organizations. In the novel, there is little ideological debate about the conflict between Germany and the United States or about definitions of patriotism. Heller, in fact, deliberately sets *Catch-22* in the final months of the war, during which Hitler is no longer a significant threat and the action is winding down. The missions required of the flyers have no military or strategic importance except among the administrators, each of whom wants to come out of the war ahead. Inversely, however, the danger to Yossarian from his superiors intensifies as the war draws to a close. Yossarian wisely realizes that the enemy is “anybody who’s going to get you killed, no matter *which* side he’s on.” And Heller surrounds Yossarian with many such enemies—from generals Dreedle and Peckem, who wage war on each other and neglect the men under their command; to Colonel Scheisskopf—literally the Shithead in charge—who is so fanatic about military precision that he considers implanting metal alloys in his men’s thighbones to force them to march straighter; to Colonel Cathcart, obsessed with getting good aerial photos and with making the cover of the *Saturday Evening Post*, who keeps raising the number of requisite flights; and Colonel Korn, who is so concerned that men might actually learn something at their educational sessions that he implements a new rule: only those who never ask questions will be allowed to do so. Entrepreneur extraordinaire and legendary double-dealer Milo Minderbinder is a new age prophet of profit: he steals and resells the morphine from flight packs and leaves instead notes for the wounded soldiers that what is good for business is actually good for them as well. (To prove his point, he notes that even the dead men

have a share in his “syndicate.”) Captain Black insists that everyone “voluntarily” sign his Glorious Loyalty Oath, except his nemesis, who will not be allowed to sign “even if he wants to.” And Nately’s whore, out to avenge her lover’s death, persists in trying to kill the innocent Yossarian. (In Heller’s logically illogical world, the whore is symbolic of the universal principle that Yossarian will always be unjustly beset upon—and will probably always deserve it.)

Yossarian’s increasingly dramatic acts of insubordination against such an irrational system begin with his self-hospitalizations, where he meets the ultimate symbol of the bureaucracy’s indifference to the individual: the soldier in white, a faceless, nameless symbol of imminent death. After his friend Snowden’s death, Yossarian’s insubordination escalates to his refusal to fly or wear a uniform again, and it ends with his decision not to compromise but instead to emulate his comrade Orr’s impossible achievement and to affirm life by rowing a small boat to Sweden.

In the film adaptation of *Catch-22* (1970), by focusing incrementally—as Heller did—on the Avignon incident during which Snowden literally loses his guts and Yossarian metaphorically loses his, director Mike Nichols succeeds in recreating the novel’s circularity and its deliberately repetitive structure. By downplaying much of the novel’s truculent satire of American capitalism, however, Nichols is able to concentrate on the traumatizing fear of death, a reality Yossarian (Alan Arkin) cannot face until he re-imagines it through the death of Snowden (Jon Korkes). Nichols also reformulates the well-intentioned capitalistic Milo Minderbinder; played by baby-faced Jon Voight, the film’s Milo is a callous and sinister destroyer of youth, every bit as corrupt as his superior officers, the colonels Korn (Buck Henry) and Cathcart (Martin Balsam). Balancing the cynicism of the selfish officers is the affecting naïveté of their victims, including the earnest Chaplain Tappman (Anthony Perkins), the innocent Nately (Art Garfunkel), and the perpetually bewildered Major Major (Bob Newhart).

An even more effective balance is the one Nichols strikes between noise and silence: in sharp contrast to the busy confusion of some of the film’s episodes, which aptly reflect the noisy chatter of the novel and the jumble of word games Heller plays, there are subtle moments of silence. The opening scene, for instance, begins in blackness, without words or music; then there appears a tranquil image of approaching dawn, replaced suddenly with the loud roar of plane engines being engaged. It is as if the viewer is seeing the scene through Yossarian’s eyes, moving with him from a dream state to the waking nightmare (one of the film’s recurring motifs) of his reality. Replete with inside jokes linking it to the Vietnam War (Cathcart’s defecating in front of Chaplain Tappman, for instance, recalls LBJ’s habit of talking to his aides while sitting on the toilet), Nichols’ film adaptation of *Catch-22* is thus an interesting and original work as well as a noteworthy reinterpretation of Heller’s classic novel.

—Barbara Tewa Lupack

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## *The Catcher in the Rye*

*The Catcher in the Rye*, the only novel of the reclusive J. D. Salinger, is the story of Holden Caulfield, a sixteen-year-old boy who has been dismissed from Pencey Prep, the third time he has failed to meet the standards of a private school. He delays the inevitable confrontation with his parents by running away for a forty-eight hour “vacation” in New York City. A series of encounters with places and people in the city serves to further disillusion Holden and reinforce his conviction that the world is full of phonies. He plans to escape by going West and living alone, but even his little sister Phoebe, the only person with whom Holden can communicate, realizes that her brother is incapable of taking care of himself. When Phoebe reveals her plan to go with him, Holden accepts the futility of his escape plan and goes home.

A focus of controversy since its publication in 1951, *The Catcher in the Rye* has consistently appeared on lists of banned books. The American Library Association’s survey of books censored from 1986 to 1995 found that Salinger’s novel frequently topped the list. Just as consistently, however, the novel has appeared on required reading lists for high school and college students. Critical views of *The Catcher in the Rye* show the same polarization. Some critics have praised its honesty and idiomatic language; others have faulted its self-absorbed hero and unbalanced view of society. Holden Caulfield has been called a twentieth-century Huck Finn, an autobiographical neurotic, an American classic, and a self-destructive nut.

Through the decades, as the controversy has ebbed and flowed, *The Catcher in the Rye* has remained a favorite with adolescent readers who see their own experience reflected in Holden Caulfield’s contempt for the “phoniness” of adult life. The very qualities that lead some parents and other authorities to condemn Salinger’s novel—the profanity, the cynicism, the preoccupation with sex—predispose youthful readers to champion it. In Holden, adolescents see the eternal outsider, sickened by the world around him, unable to communicate the emotions that consume him, and aware that his innocence has been irretrievably lost. It is a familiar image to many adolescents. Arthur Heiserman and James E. Miller, Jr., in an early essay on *The Catcher in the Rye* observed that Holden Caulfield is unique among American literary heroes because he both needs to return home and needs to leave home. But these conflicting needs, while they may be unique in an American hero, are typical of adolescents struggling to achieve a separate identity. Holden may be faulted for his self-absorption, but in his consciousness of self, as in his angst, the character is true to adolescent experience.

Even the obscenities and profanities that Holden speaks, a major cause of official objections to the novel, affirm his status as quintessential adolescent. He sees obscene speech as the only valid

response to the obscene hypocrisies of the profane adult world. The irony, of course, is that Holden himself has already been contaminated by the world he despises. The child of affluent parents, he clearly enjoys the benefits their “phony” world affords him. He spends money on taxi rides and nightclub visits, and even as he condemns lies and fakery, he himself lies and participates in the fakery. He is acquiring the survival skills that will allow him to operate in the fallen adult world, a fact he himself acknowledges: “If you want to stay alive, you have to say that stuff.”

Critics often classify *The Catcher in the Rye* as a quest story, but Holden’s quest, if such it be, is aimless and incomplete. Holden’s New York misadventures occur during the Christmas season, a time when Christendom celebrates the birth of a child who became a savior. But the Holy Child has no place in this world where the cross that symbolizes his sacrifice has become merely a prop carried by actors on a Radio City stage. A self-proclaimed atheist, Holden inhabits a world where true transcendence can never be achieved. Yet longing for a heroic role, he dreams of being the “catcher in the rye,” of saving “thousands of little kids” from plunging over the cliff into the abyss of adulthood. Ultimately, however, as he comes to realize while watching his little sister Phoebe circling on the carousel in Central Park, children cannot be saved from adulthood. Only the dead like his younger brother Allie are safe. Heroes belong in coherent worlds of shared values and meaningful connections; Holden’s world is the waste land, all fragments and dead ends. Would-be heroes like Holden are “crazy mixed-up kids” who end up in California institutions.

*The Catcher in the Rye* is most frequently compared to Mark Twain’s *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, another account of an adolescent male’s escape from the confinement of education and civilization. The similarities between the two novels are obvious. The narrator/protagonist in each is a teenage boy who repudiates adult hypocrisies and runs away in search of a less flawed world; both youthful protagonists speak in richly idiomatic language, and both are comic figures whose humor sometimes offers grim truths. But Huck’s longing for freedom is undiluted by dreams of saving others, and Huck’s world has a duality that Holden’s slick society lacks. For Huck, the corruptions on land are balanced by the “free and easy” life on the raft. Huck has the Mississippi; Holden has a duck pond. Huck’s abusive father is balanced by the tenderness and concern of Jim; Holden’s father is irrelevant, a disembodied payer of bills. Other adult figures who have the potential to nurture Holden through his crisis are mere passing images like the nuns to whom he gives money or phony betrayers like Mr. Antolini who seems to offer Holden compassion and understanding only to make sexual advances to him later. His peers offer Holden no more than do the adults. They too are phonies, like the pseudo-sophisticated Carl Luce and Sally Hayes, or absent, idealized objects like Jane Gallagher.

Nowhere is Holden more clearly a creature of his time than in his inability to connect, to communicate. *The Catcher in the Rye* is filled with aborted acts of communication—truncated conversations, failed telephone calls, an unconsummated sexual encounter. Most of the things which awaken a sense of connection in Holden are no longer part of the actual world. The precocious Allie who copies Emily Dickinson poems on his baseball glove, the museum mummy, even Ring Lardner and Thomas Hardy, the writers Holden admires and imagines that he would like to call up and talk to—all are dead. In a particularly revealing moment Holden fantasizes life as a deaf-mute,

a life that would free him from “useless conversation with any body” and force everyone to leave him alone. Yet this fantasy indicates Holden’s lack of self-knowledge, for his isolation would be an act, his deaf-muteness a pretense. He defines alienation as a job in a service station and a beautiful, deaf-mute wife to share his life. Therein lies the pathos of Holden Caulfield. He can neither commit to the inner world and its truths nor celebrate the genuine that exists amid the phoniness of the public world. *The Catcher in the Rye*, for all its strength, fails as a coming of age story precisely because its protagonist, who is terrified of change, never changes. Mark Twain’s Huck Finn sets out for the territory and freedom, James Joyce’s Stephen Dedalus experiences his epiphany, T. S. Eliot’s Fisher King hears the message of the thunder. J. D. Salinger’s Holden Caulfield can only, as he himself says at the novel’s end, “miss everybody.”

—Wylene Rholetter

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## Cather, Willa (1873-1947)

Willa Cather, variously perceived by critics as realistic, regionalist, or sentimental, as well as an unusual literary stylist of unhurried elegance, memorably exploited themes long regarded as part of the American mythos. She wrote 12 novels and over 60 short stories, contrasting nature’s wilderness with the social veneer of her characters, and achieved critical and popular acclaim for works such as *O Pioneers!* (1913) and *My Antonia* (1918), which depict the Nebraska frontier, and, most famously and enduringly perhaps, her “Santa Fe” novel, *Death Comes for the Archbishop* (1927), which treats the history of the Southwest after the Mexican War. According to Susan Rosowski, Cather “saw herself as the first of a new literary tradition, yet one which evolved out of the past and from native traditions rather than in revolt against them.” Novels like *O Pioneers!*, *The Song of the Lark* (1915), and *My Antonia* favor cultural diversity as embodied in the experiences of immigrant settlers, and showcase the strength of their heroic female characters Alexandra Bergson, Antonia Shimerda,

and Thea Kronborg, respectively. Cather's work also affirms appreciation for a simpler era when America espoused spiritual ideals. In the 1920s, in novels such as *One of Ours* (1922), *A Lost Lady* (1923), and *The Professor's House* (1925), she indicted a society that had rejected revered traditional values to embrace materialism. Her last novels—*Shadows on the Rock* (1931) and *Sapphira and the Slave Girl* (1940)—reflect the writer's retreat to a past further removed from her own time, when order, stability, and noble principles governed human life. Born in Virginia and educated at the University of Nebraska, Cather wrote poetry, and spent six years as a journalist with *McClure's* magazine before devoting her life full-time to fiction. She spent 40 years until her death living in New York with her devoted companion Edith Lewis.

—Ed Piacentino

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## Cathy

The comic strip *Cathy*, by American artist and writer Cathy Guisewite, addresses the insecurities and desires of a new generation of women trying to balance traditional pressures with the responsibility of careers and other personal freedoms. Premiering in November of 1976, *Cathy* introduced a character struggling with a mother urging marriage and children, a demanding boss, a noncommittal boyfriend, and a loathing for her figure. Although Guisewite was instrumental in bringing women's issues to the daily comics, *Cathy* also has its detractors who long for a less scattered, more self-confident female character. Nevertheless, *Cathy* has grown to syndication in more than 1,400 newspapers and has spawned books, television specials, and a line of merchandise.

—Geri Speace

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## Cats

By the end of the twentieth century, *Cats* had lived up to its billing of "Now and Forever," as it became the longest-running

Andrew Lloyd Webber musical in both London and New York. The tuneful score, inspired by T.S. Eliot's *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats*, includes songs in a wide variety of styles. John Napier's elaborate set transforms the entire theater into a garbage dump upon which the feline cast learn which one of them will gain an extra life at the Jellicle Ball. Various cats tell their tales through song, but the winner is Grizabella, the glamour cat who became an outcast. Grizabella's number, "Memory," is one of Lloyd Webber's most famous songs; by 1992, it had been recorded in no fewer than 150 different versions. *Cats* opened in London in 1981 and in New York the following year. The innovative costumes and choreography coupled with the eclectic musical score which culminates in "Memory" account for its continued popularity. A video version of *Cats*, filmed during a London performance, was released in 1998.

—William A. Everett

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## Cavett, Dick (1936—)

"Sophisticated," "witty," "urbane," "intelligent," and "literate" are among the adjectives commonly used to describe Dick Cavett, the Nebraska-born talk show host who experienced fame during a relatively brief period of his early career and professional struggle thereafter. *The Dick Cavett Show* was seen five nights a week for seven years on ABC-TV from 1968 until 1975 and then once weekly on Public Television until 1982. Cavett won three Emmy awards during these years. His interviews with such individuals as Lawrence Olivier, Katharine Hepburn, Noel Coward, Orson Welles, Groucho Marx, and Alfred Hitchcock are classics in the field, as Cavett's lively mind allowed a degree of candor and spontaneity generally lacking in the attempts of less gifted colleagues. For many viewers, his show was the saving grace of commercial television and a good reason to stay up late.

A Yale graduate, Cavett began his career as an actor and standup comic without great success. While working as a copy boy for *Time* magazine in 1960, he decided to try his hand at comedy writing. Since Jack Paar was one of his early idols as a performer, he wrote a series of jokes designed for Paar's opening monologue on the *Tonight Show* and finagled a plan to deliver the jokes directly to Paar. The plan succeeded, Paar liked the jokes, and Cavett landed a job writing for the show. From the Paar show, he got his first chance as a talk-show host on morning television and soon moved on to his spot opposite Johnny Carson (Paar's successor) on ABC.

After the Cavett show's demise, its host found various other venues but never again reached the same level of visibility. An attempted variety show series predictably fell flat, as scripted sketches were not Cavett's metier. Through the years since 1982, he has



The cast of *Cats*.

hosted numerous talk shows on cable stations including Showtime and CNBC, taken cameo roles in the theater, and narrated a PBS series on Japan. His gift for conversation keeps him popular on the lecture circuit, and his clear, uninflected Midwestern diction makes him an ideal candidate for commercial voice-overs. In short, Cavett has kept relatively busy, but his varied activities go mostly unnoticed by the general public.

Cavett's name came into the news in 1997 when he was sued for breach of contract over a syndicated radio talk show he was scheduled to host. He left the show after two weeks, and word went out through his lawyer that Cavett's premature departure was due to a manic-depressive episode. The civil suit was eventually dismissed.

Prior to this turn of events, Cavett had been relatively open about his chronic suffering with depression, even going on record about his successful treatment with controversial electroconvulsive (otherwise known as "shock") therapy. As a spokesperson on psychiatric illness, Cavett, like William Styron, Art Buchwald, and others, has put his verbal skills to use in articulating his experiences with the disease that has plagued him intermittently throughout his career. He recalls, for

instance, in an interview for *People* magazine, a time before his "big break" when he was living alone in New York City, and "I did nothing but watch Jack Paar on *The Tonight Show*. I lived for the Paar show. I watched it from my bed on my little black-and-white set on my dresser, and I'd think, 'I'll brush my teeth in a minute,' and then I'd go to sleep and wake up at three the following afternoon." It is ironic that this brilliant conversationalist, the life of a sophisticated nightly party, would once again enter the public eye by virtue of his melancholia.

—Sue Russell

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Dick Cavett (center) with Muhammad Ali and Juergen Blin on *The Dick Cavett Show*.

## CB Radio

The Citizens Band Radio, familiarly known as the CB, was a device that enabled free mobile communication up to a ten mile radius for those who owned the requisite microphone, speaker, and control box. Although the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) first introduced it in 1947, the CB did not experience its heyday until 30 years later, when hundreds of thousands of automobile and tractor trailer drivers installed them in their vehicles.

In order to popularize the device among individuals for their personal use, the FCC, in 1958, opened up part of the broadcasting spectrum originally reserved for ham radio operators. This Class D band enabled the manufacture of higher quality, less expensive CB sets that were useful and affordable to ordinary people. By 1959 the average set cost between \$150 and \$200, but there were only 49,000 users licensed with the FCC. From 1967 to 1973, the FCC registered about 800,000 licensees. Although one did not need to obtain a license to operate a CB radio, the number of licensees shot up dramatically from 1973 to the end of the decade, when more than 500,000 people were applying for licenses each month in direct response to cultural shifts at the time. The Vietnam War had ended with America less than victorious; the Watergate scandal rocked the Nixon White House; and

the oil crisis from 1973 to 1974 led to a capping of national speed limits at 55 miles per hour. The CB afforded people—many of whom were distressed by recent governmental decisions—an opportunity to create their own communities over the airwaves.

The CB, as a “voice of the people” and the fastest growing communications medium since the telephone, rekindled a sense of camaraderie during an era when people felt oppressed by a seemingly monolithic federal government and looming corporate control. Although manufacturers encouraged people to use CBs for emergency purposes (broadcasting on channel 9) or to relieve the stress and boredom of long automobile trips, the CB transcended these practical functions and became a tool of empowerment, enabling each person to be his or her own broadcaster on the 40 channels of airwaves.

Like all small communities, CB culture developed its own language and sensibility. People liked these devices because they could use them to evade the law by communicating with drivers up ahead to find out the location of speed traps and police. They also liked the CB because it allowed for mobility, anonymity, and a chance to invent oneself. For example, instead of using proper names, CBers (or “ratchet-jaws,” as users called themselves) had “handles”—nicknames they would use while on air. They also utilized a very colorful vocabulary, which included words like “Smokey” for police (so named because of their Smokey Bear-type hats), “Kodiaks with

Kodaks” for police using radar, “negatory” for “no,” “10-4” for message received, and “let the hammer down” for speeding. Broadcast sign-offs were equally baroque: people would not just say good-bye, but rather phrases such as, “Keep your nose between the ditches and the Smokeys off your britches.”

An essential component of the growing CB popularity was the acknowledgment and celebration of a “trucker culture,” summed up by the ubiquitous phrase of the time, “Keep on Truckin’.” Tractor trailer drivers had been using these radios to communicate among themselves over the long haul for decades, and in 1973, the CB was an integral device that enabled truckers to organize strike activities. Soon after, ordinary people began to identify with the trucker, who represented a freedom, heroism, and rugged individualism on the open road. But this trucker culture was not just confined to the roadways and airwaves. It also appeared as a recurring theme in the popular media. “Convoy,” by C.W. McCall, was a novelty song about a trucker named “Rubber Duck” who leads a speeding pack of trucks across the country, avoiding police along the way; it hit number one on the Billboard chart in 1976. “Six Days on the Road” was another trucker-inspired song. The film industry also became enamored of truckers and their CBs: *Smokey and the Bandit*, a film directed by Hal Needham and starring Burt Reynolds and Sally Field, came out in 1977, and in that same year Jonathan Demme directed *Handle with Care*, another trucker film. In 1978 the song “Convoy” was made into a film with the same title, directed by Sam Peckinpah and starring Kris Kristofferson and Ali McGraw. And television enjoyed *BJ and the Bear* during this same period.

While the American public’s love affair with the CB radio and truckers did not last long—the glamour and glitz of the 1980s made truckers seem backward and unhip—it did have lasting repercussions that made people more accepting of new communications technology. Cellular phones and the Internet were just two examples of the continuation of the CB sensibility. Cellular phones offered a portable means of communication that people could use in their cars for ordinary needs and for emergencies. Internet chatrooms, while not offering mobility, did offer a sense of anonymity and group camaraderie and membership. The CB was the first technology that truly offered Americans their contradictory wishes of being part of a solidified group while their personae remained wholly anonymous if not entirely fabricated.

—Wendy Woloson

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## The CBS Radio Mystery Theater

Premiering on January 6, 1974, the *CBS Radio Mystery Theater* was a notable attempt to revive the tradition of radio thrillers like *Suspense* (1942-1962) and *Inner Sanctum Mysteries* (1941-52). Created by *Inner Sanctum* producer Himan Brown, the *CBS Radio*

*Mystery Theater* featured many voices from the golden age of radio, including Agnes Moorehead, Les Tremayne, Santos Ortega, Bret Morrison, and Mercedes McCambridge. E. G. Marshall was its first host. The series ended on December 31, 1982.

—Christian L. Pyle

## Celebrity

Celebrity is the defining issue of late twentieth-century America. In recent years, much has been made and written of the rise of contemporary celebrity culture in the United States. Writers, thinkers, and pundits alike warn us of the danger of our societal obsession with celebrity, even as more and more Americans tune into *Hard Copy* and buy *People* magazine. Andy Warhol’s cynical prediction that everyone will be famous for fifteen minutes has virtually become a national rallying cry as television airwaves overflow with venues for everyone’s opportunity to appear in the spotlight. The more that is written about fame, the less shocked we become. That’s the way things are, we seem to say, so why not grab our moment in the sun?

Fame, of course, is nothing new. In his comprehensive volume *The Frenzy of Renown: Fame and Its History*, Leo Braudy has traced man’s desire for recognition and need for immortality back to Alexander the Great, noting: “In great part the history of fame is the history of the changing ways by which individuals have sought to bring themselves to the attention of others and, not incidentally, have thereby gained power over them.” The desire to achieve recognition is both timeless and universal. What is particular to late twentieth-century America, however, is the democratization of fame and the resultant ubiquity of the celebrity—a person, as Daniel Boorstin so famously noted, “who is known for his well-knownness.”

The origin of the unique phenomenon of twentieth-century celebrity may be found in the words of one of America’s Founding Fathers, John Adams, who wrote, “The rewards . . . in this life are esteem and admiration of others—the punishments are neglect and contempt. . . . The desire of the esteem of others is as real a want of nature as hunger—and the neglect and contempt of the world as severe as a pain. . . . It is the principal end of the government to regulate this passion, which in its turn becomes the principal means of order and subordination in society, and alone commands effectual obedience to laws, since without it neither human reason, nor standing armies, would ever produce that great effect.” Indeed, the evolution of celebrity as the *Zeitgeist* of the twentieth century is a direct result of democracy.

As Alexis De Tocqueville noted in the early 1830s, the equality implied by a democracy creates the need for new kinds of distinction. But there are problems inherent in this new social order, as Tocqueville wrote: “I confess that I believe democratic society to have much less to fear from boldness than from paltriness of aim. What frightens me most is the danger that . . . ambition may lose both its force and its greatness, that human passions may grow gentler and at the same time baser, with the result that the progress of the body social may become daily quieter and less aspiring.” A prescription, it would seem, for twentieth-century celebrity. Indeed, some 150 years later, Daniel Boorstin would describe a celebrity thus: “His qualities—or rather his lack of qualities—illustrate our peculiar problems. He is neither good nor bad, great nor petty. . . . He has been fabricated on purpose to satisfy our exaggerated expectations of human greatness. He is

morally neutral. The product of no conspiracy, of no group promoting vice or emptiness, he is made by honest, industrious men of high professional ethics doing their job, 'informing' us and educating us. He is made by all of us who willingly read about him, who like to see him on television, who buy recordings of his voice, and talk about him to our friends. His relation to morality and even to reality is highly ambiguous."

What Tocqueville foresaw and Boorstin confirmed in his empty definition of celebrity seems, however, to belie the fact that, as a nation, we have come to define success by celebrity. It is the singular goal to which our country aspires. But how and why has this hollow incarnation of fame become our benchmark of achievement?

The great experiment inaugurated by the signing of the Declaration of Independence proposed a classless society in which the only prerequisite for success was the desire and the will to succeed. In fact, however, though founded on a noble premise, America was and is a stratified society. Yet the myth of classlessness, of limitless opportunity open to anyone with ambition and desire, has been so pervasive that it has remained the unifying philosophy that drives society as a whole. In a world where dream and reality do not always mesh, a third entity must necessarily evolve, one which somehow links the two. That link—the nexus between a deeply stratified society and the myth of classlessness—is celebrity.

According to Braudy: "From the beginning, fame has required publicity." The evolution (or perhaps devolution) of fame into celebrity in the twentieth century was the direct result of inventions such as photography and telegraphy, which made it possible for words and images to be conveyed across a vast nation. Abraham Lincoln went so far as to credit his election to a photograph taken by Matthew Brady and widely dispersed throughout his campaign. Before the invention of photography, most Americans could have passed a president on the street and not known it. A mania for photography ensued and, during the nineteenth century, photograph galleries sprang up throughout the country to satisfy the public's increasing hunger for and fascination with these images. The ideal vehicle for the promulgation of democracy, photography was accessible to anyone, and thus it soon contributed to the erosion of visible boundaries of class, even as it proclaimed a new ideal for success—visual fame.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed an avalanche of inventions that would transform America from a rural country of provincial enclaves to a more unified nation of urban centers. The rapid growth of mass media technologies spawned increasing numbers of national publications eager to make news. And make it they did—searching out stories that might not have been recognized as newsworthy a decade before. As Richard Schickel writes in *Intimate Strangers: The Culture of Celebrity*: "The pace of life was quickening, the flow of information beginning to speed up while mobility both geographic and social was stepping up as well. People began to need familiar figures they could carry about as they moved out and moved up, a sort of portable community as it were, containing representations of good values, interesting traits, a certain amount of within-bounds attractiveness, glamour, even devilry." Thus the stage was set for the invention of the motion picture.

The birth of celebrity is, of course, most closely tied to the motion picture industry, and its embrace by a public eager to be entertained. Paying a penny, or later a nickel, audiences from cities to small towns could gather in a darkened movie theatre, an intimate setting in which they could escape the reality of their daily lives and become part of a fantasy. But how was this different from live theatre?

In part, movie houses existed all over America, and so hundreds of thousands of people had the opportunity to see the same actor or actress perform. Furthermore, films were churned out at a phenomenal rate, thus moviegoers could enjoy a particular performer in a dozen or more pictures a year. This engendered a new kind of identification with performers—a sense of knowing them. Additionally, Schickel cites the influence of a cinematic innovation by director D. W. Griffith: the close-up, which had "the effect of isolating the actor in the sequence, separating him or her from the rest of the ensemble for close individual scrutiny by the audience. To some immeasurable degree, attention is directed away from the role being played, the overall story being told. It is focused instead on the reality of the individual playing the part." The intimacy, immediacy, and constancy of movies all fostered an environment ripe for celebrity.

Audiences clamored to know more about their favorite actors and actresses, and a new kind of public personality was born—one whose success was not measured by birth, wealth, heroism, intelligence, or achievement. The fledgling movie studios quickly grasped the power of these audiences to make or break them, and they responded by putting together a publicity machine that would keep the public inundated with information about their favorite performers. From studio publicists to gossip columnists, the movie industry was unafraid to promote itself and its product, even if it meant making private lives totally public. But the effect was electrifying. Almost overnight, fame had ceased to be sole property of the moneyed elite. Movie stars, America believed, might be young, beautiful, even rich, but otherwise they were no different from you or me. In Hollywood, where most of the movie studios were run by Jewish immigrants, where new stars were discovered at soda fountains, where it didn't matter where you came from or what your father did, anyone could become rich or famous. This new fame carried with it the most basic American promise of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It proved the system worked. Whatever the reality might be of the daily lives of Americans, Hollywood celebrities proved that, with a little luck, good timing, and a modicum of talent, anyone could become somebody.

The Hollywood celebrity factory churned out stars from the very beginning. In silent pictures, Gloria Swanson, Rudolph Valentino, and Greta Garbo captured America's imagination. But when sound came to pictures, many silent stars faded into obscurity, betrayed by squeaky voices, stutters, or Brooklyn accents. In their place were new stars, and more of them, now that they could talk. During the Golden Age of Hollywood, the most famous were the handsome leading men such as Robert Taylor, Gary Cooper, and Cary Grant, and beautiful leading ladies such as Vivien Leigh, Ava Gardner, and Elizabeth Taylor. But Hollywood had room for more than beauty—there were dancers such as Fred Astaire and Gene Kelly, singers such as Judy Garland and Bing Crosby, funny men such as Bob Hope and Danny Kaye, villains such as Edward G. Robinson, horror stars such as Boris Karloff, starlets such as Betty Grable, cowboys such as Gene Autry. The beauty of celebrity was that it seemed to have no boundaries. You could create your own niche. As Braudy wrote: "Fame had ceased to be the possession of particular individuals or classes and had become instead a potential attribute of every human being that needed only to be brought out in the open for all to applaud its presence."

With the invention of television, the pervasiveness and power of celebrity grew. By bringing billions of images into America's homes, thousands of new faces to be "known," celebrity achieved a new intimacy. And with the decline of the studio system, movie stars began to seem more and more like "regular people." If the stars of the



Golden Age of Hollywood had been America's "royalty," now no such pretensions existed. From the mumbling Marlon Brando to the toothy Tom Cruise, the stars of the new Hollywood seemed to expand the promise of celebrity to include everyone.

Celebrity, of course, did not remain the sole property of Hollywood. During the Roaring Twenties, Americans experienced a period of prosperity unlike any that had existed in the nation's 150-year history. With new wealth and new leisure time, Americans not only flocked to the movies, they went to baseball games and boxing matches, and there they found new heroes. Babe Ruth became an icon whose extraordinary popularity would pave the way for such future superstars as Joe DiMaggio and Michael Jordan. During the 1920s, however, Ruth's popularity would be rivaled by only one other man, a hero from a new field—aviation. When Charles Lindbergh became the first person to fly solo across the Atlantic Ocean, he was hailed as a national savior. America's hunger for celebrity seemed unquenchable as each new star seemed a new fulfillment of a country's promise, of the American Dream.

The history of the twentieth century is the history of the growing influence of celebrity. No area of American society has remained untouched. The entertainment industry is no longer confined to Hollywood. Sports, music, art, literature, and even politics have embraced the celebrity ethos in order to succeed. It has been said that if Franklin Delano Roosevelt—a man in a wheelchair—were to run for president today, he would not be elected. We live in a society bounded and defined by the power of images, by the rules of celebrity. Dwight D. Eisenhower hired former matinee idol Robert Montgomery to be his consultant on television and media presentations. John F. Kennedy, an Irish Catholic, won the presidency because he looked like a movie star and he knew how to use the media, unlike Richard Nixon, who dripped with sweat and seemed uncomfortable on camera. Ronald Reagan, a former actor with little political ability, used his extensive media savvy to become a two-term president. Today, a politician cannot even be considered a presidential hopeful unless he has what it takes to be a celebrity. Visual appearance and the ability to manipulate the press are essential to becoming our chief of state, political knowledge and leadership come second.

Yet the more pervasive celebrity has become, the more it is decried, particularly by celebrities themselves, who claim that they have been stripped of their privacy. As Braudy describes this paradox: "Fame is desired because it is the ultimate justification, yet it is hated because it brings with it unwanted focus as well, depersonalizing as much as individualizing." The greater the need for audience approval, the more powerful the audience—and thus the media—has become. With the death of Princess Diana, an outcry for privacy was heard from the celebrity community and blame was cast on the media, even as hundreds of thousands of people poured into London to pay tribute to the "People's Princess" and millions mourned her death on television around the globe. Celebrity's snare is subtle—even as the public itself vilifies the press, it craves more. And even as celebrities seek to put limits on their responsibilities to their audience, they are, in fact, public servants.

By the late twentieth century, celebrity has become so ubiquitous that visibility has become a goal in itself. Tocqueville's prediction has come true. Americans no longer seem to aspire to greatness. They aspire to be seen. John Lahr wrote: "The famous, who make a myth of accomplishment, become pseudo-events, turning the public gaze from the real to the ideal. . . . Fame is America's Faustian bargain: a passport to the good life which trivializes human endeavor." But despite the deleterious effects of celebrity, it continues to

define the American social order. After all, as Mae West once said, "It is better to be looked over than overlooked."

—Victoria Price

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## Celebrity Caricature

Celebrity caricature in America has become a popular twentieth-century permutation of the longstanding art of caricature—the distortion of the face or figure for satiric purposes—which claims an extensive tradition in Western art. For centuries, comically exaggerated portrayals have served the purpose of ridicule and protest, probing beneath outward appearances to expose hidden, disreputable character traits. In the early twentieth century, however, American caricaturists based in New York City deployed a fresh approach, inventing a new form of popular portraiture. They chose for their subjects the colorful rather than the corrupt personalities of the day, reflecting the preoccupation with mass media-generated fame. During the height of its vogue between the two World Wars, celebrity caricature permeated the press, leaving the confines of the editorial cartoon to flourish on the newspaper's entertainment pages, at the head of a syndicated column, on a magazine cover, or color frontispiece. Distorted faces appeared on café walls, silk dresses, and cigarette cases; Ralph Barton's caricature theater curtain depicting a first-night audience caused a sensation in 1922. Caricaturists did not attempt to editorialize or criticize in such images. "It is not the caricaturist's business to be penetrating," Barton insisted, "it is his job to put down the figure a man cuts before his fellows in his attempt to conceal the writhings of his soul." These artists highlighted the public persona rather than probing beneath it, reconstructing its exaggerated components with a heightened sense of style and wit. Mocking the celebrity system, caricature provided a counterbalance to unrestrained publicity.

American caricaturists sought a modern look, derived from European art, to express a contemporary urbanity. They departed from comic conventions, selectively borrowing from the radical art movements of the day. Like advertisers, they began to simplify, elongate, geometricize, and fragment their figural forms. Eventually,



Alfred Hitchcock in profile.

their stylish mockery would be fueled by the abstractions, collage techniques, color dissonances, and unexpected conflations of Cubism, Fauvism, and Surrealism. Humor and a recognizable face made modernist stylization palatable. Artist and critic Carlo de Fornaro, arriving in New York around 1898, was the first to advocate a Parisian style of caricature that was closely related to French poster art. His india ink newspaper caricatures combined an art nouveau elongation of the figure with a bold simplification of form. Caricaturist Al Frueh abbreviated images of theatrical figures into quintessential summaries of their characteristics. Critics marveled at Frueh's ability to evoke a personality with a minimum of lines, and Alfred Stieglitz, the acknowledged ringleader of the New York avant-garde before World War I, exhibited his drawings in 1912.

Mexican-born artist Marius de Zayas's approach to caricature especially intrigued Stieglitz, who mounted three exhibitions of his work. De Zayas drew dark, atmospheric charcoal portraits suggestive of pictorialist photographs and enigmatic symbolist drawings. Influenced by Picasso, he even experimented with "abstract caricature," a radical departure from visual realism. Many critics admired the aesthetic sophistication of this updated art form. "Between modern caricature and modern 'straight' portraiture," the *New York*



A caricature of Alfred Hitchcock in profile.

*World's* Henry Tyrrell wrote, "there is only a thin and vague line of demarcation."

Ties to the avant-garde raised the prestige of caricature and encouraged its use in such "smart" magazines of the post war era as *Life*, *Judge*, *Vanity Fair*, and the *New Yorker*. Caricature reflected a new strain of light, irreverent parody that pervaded the Broadway stage, the vaudeville circuit, Tin Pan Alley, magazine verses, newspaper columns, and the writings of the Algonquin Round Table wits. In the early 1920s, *Vanity Fair*, a leading proponent of this art, recruited the young Mexican artist Miguel Covarrubias to draw portraits of café society luminaries. His powerful ink line lent an iconic, monumental quality to his figures. "They are bald and crude and devoid of nonsense," Ralph Barton wrote, "like a mountain or a baby." Advances in color printing gave caricature an additional appeal in the 1930s. Will Cotton provided portraits in bright pastels, employing color as a comic weapon. Artist Paolo Garretto used collage, airbrushed gouache, and a crisp Art Deco stylization to create vivid visual effects.

The best artists in the increasingly crowded field honed their clever deformations with a distinctive style. William Auerbach-Levy eliminated details and distilled shapes into logo-like faces that were printed on stationery and book jackets. Covarrubias, working in

watercolor, lampooned the leveling nature of celebrity. Visual contrasts of such opposite personalities as Martha Graham and fan dancer Sally Rand, in his famous “Impossible Interviews” series, were undermined by the commonality of fame. Few could evoke the dynamic movement of performance as well as Al Hirschfeld, whose swooping curves and sharp angles captured in mid-step the familiar look of a dancer or actor.

Caricature exploited the appetite for modern celebrity whetted by the developing mass media. The nature of fame had changed, and notability was no longer tied to traditional areas of accomplishment. As *Vanity Fair* explained, caricature subjects were selected “because of their great interest as personalities.” Information about the famous became increasingly standardized: publicity photographs, syndicated stories, records, films, and news clips consolidated the celebrity image. Caricature consistently reflected the narrow, shallow exaggerations that the mass media dispensed. The famous learned to appreciate the compliment. H.L. Mencken wrote to one artist that he liked his caricature: “It is grotesque and yet it does justice to my underlying beauty.” Emily Post, unflatteringly portrayed in a magazine, thanked the editor for the “delicious publicity.”

The celebrity caricature fad peaked in the 1920s and 1930s. The trend even inspired star-studded animated cartoons, and collectible dolls, masks, and puppets of film idols. By mid-century, it was on the wane. The Depression years and advent of World War II demanded sharper satiric voices. And, although magazines of the 1940s still published caricature, editors turned increasingly to photography. Influenced by changes in art, humor, literature, and fame in an age of television, caricature evolved into new forms and specialized niches. In its heyday, caricature helped people adapt to change, alleviating the shock of modern art, leveling high and low cultural disparities, and mocking the new celebrity industry. Furthermore, in the celebrity-crazed press of the late twentieth century, witty, personality-based celebrity caricature seemed to be making a come-back.

—Wendy Wick Reaves

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## Cemeteries

Cemeteries reflect society’s interpretation of the continuing personhood of the dead. Colonial America’s small rural family graveyards and churchyard burial grounds were an integral part of the community of the living, crowded with tombstones bearing the picturesque iconography of winged skulls, hourglasses, and soul-effigies, and inscriptions ranging from the taciturn to the talkative—some with scant facts of name, age, and date of death, others offering thumbnail biographies, unusual circumstances of decease (“They froze to death returning from a visit”), homilies in verse (“As I am now, so you shall be, / Remember death and follow me”), and even the occasional dry one-liner (“I expected this, but not so soon”).

In the nineteenth century, alarmed by public health problems associated with increasing industrial urbanization, the rising medical profession pressed for new cemeteries on the outskirts of towns, where the buried bodies could not pollute nearby wells and where any “noxious exhalations” thought to cause disease would be dissipated in the fresh suburban air. These new “garden cemeteries” would also function as places to which the inhabitants of the teeming cities could go for recreation and the inspiration of the beauty of nature.

First of the new genre was Mount Auburn Cemetery, picturesquely sited on a bend in the Charles River between the cities of Boston and Cambridge. Three years in the making, with carriage paths and artful landscaping (thanks to the collaboration of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society), it opened in 1831 to enthusiastic reviews and was soon followed by Mount Hope in Bangor, Maine; Laurel Hill in Philadelphia; Spring Grove in Cincinnati; Graceland in Chicago; Allegheny County Cemetery in Pittsburgh; and the battlefield burial ground at Gettysburg. By the end of the 1800s there were nearly two hundred garden cemeteries in America.

The boom in street-railway construction in the 1870s made the outlying cemeteries readily accessible to the public for day-trips and picnics. In several cities the departed could ride the rails to the cemetery, too. (The United Railways and Electric Company of Baltimore owned the “Dolores,” a funeral car with seats for thirty-two plus a compartment for the casket. Philadelphia had a streetcar hearse as well, the “Hillside.”) But the streetcar revolution also fueled suburban development of the open spaces surrounding the cities of the dead, even as parks for the living began to compete for the shrinking acreage of undeveloped land. (Frederick Law Olmsted, while designing New York’s Central Park, completed just after the Civil War, is reported to have said: “They’re not going to bury anyone in this one.”)

With the passing of the Victorian age and the splitting off of parks from cemeteries, cemetery management began to stress efficiency and profitability. A pioneer of this new approach was Dr. Hubert Eaton, a former mine owner who bought a down-at-heels graveyard called Forest Lawn in Glendale, California, in 1917, and over the next four decades metamorphosed it into a flagship of twentieth-century cemetery design and culture with hundreds of miles of underground piping for sprinklers and flat bronze markers in place of headstones (allowing the trimming of vast areas by rotary-blade

machines and of maintenance costs by as much as 75 percent). Area themes included “Babyland” and “Wee Kirk o’ the Heather,” accented by sculptures such as *Duck Frog* and the occasional classical reproduction.

While not every memorial park could aspire to be a Forest Lawn, by the end of World War II, private cemetery management had become a thriving industry with its own trade journals—such as *American Cemetery*, *Cemeterian*, and *Concept: The Journal of Creative Ideas for Cemeteries*—and a ready target for both the biting satire of Evelyn Waugh’s 1948 novel *The Loved One* and the merciless investigative reporting of Jessica Mitford’s 1963 exposé, *The American Way of Death*.

Attitudes toward death itself were changing as well. The medicalization of dying, with its removal from home to hospital, helped to transform the awe-inspiring last event of the human life cycle into a brutal, even trivial fact. Whether from denial or mere pragmatism, two-thirds of the students polled at three universities said they would favor cremation, while a rise in the number of anatomical donors prompted medical schools in the greater Boston area to begin sharing excess cadavers with one another whenever one school had a surplus.

Public policy also took an increasingly utilitarian tack. In 1972, ninety years after the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the nonprofit status of cemeteries owing to their “pious and public purpose,” the Department of Housing and Urban Development declared that burial was a marginal land use and proposed establishing cemeteries under elevated highways, in former city-dump landfills, or on acreage subject to airport runway noise.

“After thirty years a grave gets cold,” one mausoleum builder ruefully told cemetery historian Kenneth T. Jackson, who noted the high mobility of Americans near the end of the twentieth century and the fact that older cemeteries “run out of space, and few people still alive remember anyone buried there.” As individual markers and statuary fell into disrepair or were vandalized, indifferently maintained graveyards became less and less attractive places—ironically turning again into recreational areas, but now for persons and activities unwelcome in the public parks.

Notable exceptions to this trend are sites where the famous are buried, such as the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and of President Kennedy in Arlington National Cemetery, or Elvis Presley’s grave site at his Graceland mansion in Memphis, which continue to draw thousands of pilgrims every year.

—Nick Humez

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## Central Park

The first major public example of landscape architecture, Manhattan’s Central Park remains the greatest illustration of the American park, a tradition that would become part of nearly every community following the 1860s. This grand park offers a facility for recreation and peaceful contemplation, a solution to the enduring American search for a “happy medium” between the natural environment and human civilization.

Initially, the construction of parks responded to utilitarian impulses: feelings began to develop in the early 1800s that some urban areas were becoming difficult places in which to reside. Disease and grime were common attributes attached to large towns and cities. Of particular concern, many population centers possessed insufficient interment facilities within churchyards. The first drive for parks began with this need for new cemeteries. The “rural cemetery” movement began in 1831 with the construction of Mount Auburn outside of Boston. Soon, many communities possessed their own sprawling, green burial areas on the outskirts of town.

From this point, a new breed of American landscape architect beat the path toward Central Park. Andrew Jackson Downing designed many rural cemeteries, but more importantly, he popularized and disseminated a new American “taste” that placed manicured landscapes around the finest homes. Based out of the Hudson River region and operating among its affluent landowners, Downing designed landscapes that brought the aesthetic of the rural cemetery to the wealthy home. His designs inspired the suburban revolution in American living. Downing became a public figure prior to his untimely death in 1852 through the publication of *Horticulturalist* magazine as well as various books, the initial designs for the Mall in Washington, D.C., and, finally, his call for a central area of repose in the growing city on Manhattan Island.

Wealthy New Yorkers soon seized Downing’s call for a “central park.” This landscaped, public park would offer their own families an attractive setting for carriage rides and provide working-class New Yorkers with a healthy alternative to the saloon. After three years of debate over the park site and cost, the state legislature authorized the city to acquire land for a park in 1853. Swamps and bluffs punctuated by rocky outcroppings made the land between 5th and 8th avenues and 59th and 106th streets undesirable for private development. The extension of the boundaries to 110th Street in 1863 brought the park to its current 843 acres. However, the selected area was not empty: 1,600 poor residents, including Irish pig farmers and German gardeners, lived in shanties on the site; Seneca Village, at 8th Avenue and 82nd



**A view of New York's Central Park.**

Street, was one of the city's most stable African-American settlements, with three churches and a school.

In 1857, the Central Park Commission held the country's first landscape design contest and selected the "Greensward Plan," submitted by Frederick Law Olmsted, the park's superintendent at the time, and Calvert Vaux, an English-born architect and former partner of Downing. The designers sought to create a pastoral landscape in the English romantic style. In order to maintain a feeling of uninterrupted expanse, Olmsted and Vaux sank four transverse roads eight feet below the park's surface to carry cross-town traffic. From its inception, the site was intended as a middle ground that would allow the city's life to continue uninterrupted without infringing on the experience of park goers.

The park quickly became a national phenomenon. First opened for public use in the winter of 1859 when thousands of New Yorkers skated on lakes constructed on the site of former swamps, Central Park opened officially in 1863. By 1865, the park received more than seven million visitors a year. The city's wealthiest citizens turned out daily for elaborate late-afternoon carriage parades. Indeed, in the park's first decade more than half of its visitors arrived in carriages, costly vehicles that fewer than five percent of the city's residents could afford. Olmsted had stated his intention as "democratic recreation," a park accessible to everyone. There would be no gates or

physical barriers; however, there would be other methods of enforcing class selectivity. Stringent rules governed early use of the "democratic" park, including a ban on group picnics—which discouraged many German and Irish New Yorkers; a ban on small tradesmen using their commercial wagons for family drives in the park; and restricting ball playing in the meadows to school boys with a note from their principal. New Yorkers repeatedly contested these rules, however, and in the last third of the nineteenth century the park opened up to more democratic use.

Central Park's success fueled other communities to action. Olmsted became the park movement's leader as he tied such facilities to Americans' "psychological and physical health." Through Olmsted's influence and published writing, parks such as Central Park were seen to possess more than aesthetic value. The idea of determining the "health" of the community through its physical design was an early example of modernist impulses. However, the park movement's attachment to traditions such as romanticism gave parks a classical ornamentation. Olmsted's park planning would lead to the "City Beautiful" movement in the early 1900s and to the establishment of the National Park system.

As the uses of Central Park have varied, its popularity has only increased. In the 1960s, Mayor John Lindsay's commissioners welcomed "happenings," rock concerts, and be-ins to the park, making it

a symbol of both urban revival and the counterculture. A decline in the park's upkeep during the 1970s stimulated the establishment of the Central Park Conservancy in 1980. This private fund-raising body took charge of restoring features of the Greensward Plan. By 1990, the Central Park Conservancy had contributed more than half the public park's budget and exercised substantial influence on decisions about its future. Central Park, however, continues to be shaped by the public that uses it: joggers, disco roller skaters, softball leagues, bird watchers, nature lovers, middle-class professionals pushing a baby's stroller, impoverished individuals searching for an open place to sleep.

—Brian Black

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## Century 21 Exposition (Seattle, 1962)

The world's fair that opened in Seattle on April 21, 1962, better known as the Century 21 Exposition, was one of the most successful world's fairs in history. Originally intended to commemorate the 50th



The dramatic symbol of the Century 21 Exposition, a 600 foot Space Needle in Seattle, Washington.

anniversary of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition held in Seattle in 1909, Century 21, although opening three years late, was still a boon to the city itself and to the entire Northwest region of the United States.

Joseph Gandy and Ewen Dingwall started organizing the fair in 1955, but their efforts were thwarted by both potential investors and citizens of Seattle, who worried about the profitability of a fair held in such a far-away location and the effects it would have on the local area. Compared to other fairs, the Century 21 project seemed dubious at best. The 1958 Brussels Fair covered 550 acres, while the Century 21 was only 74 acres: boosters called it the "jewel box fair," while critics dubbed it the "postage stamp fair." Others worried that Seattle would not draw masses of tourists to its relatively remote region, especially since New York was hosting its own world's fair only a year later.

Ultimately, however, Century 21 proved to be financially and culturally successful. While the New York World's Fair of 1963-1964 lost \$18 million, Century 21 actually turned a profit of \$1 million after all expenses were paid—an almost unheard of feat when it came to such endeavors. During its six month run, the fair hosted over 10 million visitors from the United States and overseas. News of the fair appeared in the popular press, including newspapers like the *New York Times* and magazines like *Newsweek*, *Time*, *Popular Mechanics*, and *Architectural Review*. This mass of publicity and the increase in tourism transformed Seattle from a minor, provincial city into an energetic metropolis that garnered respect even among its east coast rivals.

In addition to improving its reputation, Century 21 also changed the physical space of Seattle. The fair was held just north of the center of the city, creating an entirely new complex, Seattle Center, that remained long after the fair had closed. The physical structures of the fair also changed Seattle's skyline with the addition of the Monorail and the Space Needle.

The theme of Century 21 was "life in the twenty-first century," which meant that the fair itself, at which 49 countries participated, celebrated scientific developments, technology, and visions of projected life in the next century. For example, the United States Science Pavilion, designed by Seattle-born architect Minoru Yamasaki, covered seven acres, consisted of six buildings which incorporated courtyards and pools, and featured five tall white slender aluminum gothic arches that signified the future more than recalling the past. This building became the Pacific Science Center after the fair.

The Monorail was an even more successful representation of the future, and was an important component of the fair both in presence and function. An elevated version of a subway employed to alleviate parking problems, the Monorail demonstrated a futuristic mode of urban transportation at work that took people from downtown Seattle into the middle of the fair. Designed by the Swedish firm Alweg and built in West Germany, the Monorail was capable of going 70 miles per hour, although it never reached this speed while in use at the fair.

The most visible symbol of the fair and of the future, however, was the Space Needle—a 600 feet high spire of steel topped with what resembled a flying saucer; during the fair, the Space Needle netted \$15,000 a day from visitors who paid to ride its elevators up to the top to view the greater Seattle area and to eat in its revolving restaurant. Influenced by the design of a television tower in Stuttgart, but also incorporating the decade's aesthetic of the future—flattened disks juxtaposed with pointed shapes—the Space Needle became the Exposition's main icon, signifying "soaring and aspiration and progress" according to one of its proponents. It remained an integral part of Seattle's identity, permanently affixed to its skyline, and

represented both the city itself and the subsequently outdated 1960s vision and version of the future.

—Wendy Woloson

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## Century of Progress (Chicago, 1933)

Taking place during a "golden age" of world's fairs, Chicago's 1933-34 Century of Progress International Exposition marked the prevalence of modern architecture and was notable for its colorful nighttime lighting. Century of Progress commemorated the one



The Hall of Science at the 1933 Chicago World's Fair.

hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of the City of Chicago with exhibits highlighting scientific discoveries and the changes these discoveries made in industry and everyday life.

The fair opened on May 27, 1933, when the lights were turned on with energy from the rays of the star Arcturus. The rays were focused on photoelectric cells in a series of astronomical observatories and then transformed into electrical energy which was transmitted to Chicago. Under the direction of general manager Lenox R. Lohr and president of the Board of Trustees Rufus C. Dawes, the fair covered 427 acres (much of it landfill) on Lake Michigan immediately south of Chicago's downtown area, from 12th Street to 39th Street (now Pershing Road). Today, Meigs Field and McCormick Place occupy this site. Originally planned to close in November 1933, the fair was extended through 1934 because of its popularity and to earn enough money to cover its debts. Century of Progress was the first international fair in American history to pay for itself. The grand total of attendance was 48,769,227.

The fair's most recognizable buildings, the Hall of Science and the Transportation Building typified the linear, geometric Art Deco style which was the trademark of this world's fair. The outstanding feature of the Transportation Building was its domed roof, suspended on cables attached to twelve steel towers around the exterior. Also notable were the pavilions of General Motors, Chrysler, and, added in 1934, the Ford Motor Company. The House of Tomorrow was designed using technologically advanced concepts like electrically controlled doors and air that recirculated every ten minutes. The controversial "Rainbow City" color scheme of Century of Progress dictated that buildings be painted in four hues from a total of twenty-three colors. Although the colors were restricted to ten in 1934, this still was quite a contrast from the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893 when all the buildings were white. At night, the Century of Progress buildings were illuminated with white and colored lights which made the effect even more vibrant. In 1934, the coordination of color schemes throughout the fairground helped people make their way through the grounds.

The Midway, with its rides and attractions, was one of the most popular places at the fair, as was Enchanted Island, an area set aside for children. Youngsters could slide down Magic Mountain, view a fairy castle, or see a play staged by the Junior League of Chicago. The Belgian Village, which many exhibiting countries imitated during the second year of the fair, was a copy of a sixteenth-century village complete with homes, shops, church, and town hall. The Paris exhibition included French restaurants, strolling artists, and an "English Village." The Sky Ride, a major landmark of Century of Progress, transported visitors 218 feet above the North Lagoon in enclosed cars supported between two 628-foot steel towers. Recreations of the cabin of Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, the first permanent settler of Chicago, and Fort Dearborn, built in 1803, depicted Chicago-area history where Michigan Avenue crosses the Chicago River in present-day downtown Chicago.

Although three buildings (the Administration Building, the Fort Dearborn replica, and the golden Temple of Jehol) were temporarily left intact after the fair's demolition, today only Balbo's Column remains on its original site east of Lake Shore Drive at 1600 South (opposite Soldier Field). A gift of the Italian government, this column was removed from the ruins of a Roman temple in Ostia. It commemorates General Balbo's trans-Atlantic flight to Chicago in 1933.

—Anna Notaro

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## Challenger Disaster

The explosion of NASA space shuttle *Challenger* shortly after liftoff on January 28, 1986, shocked the nation. The twenty-fifth shuttle flight had been dubbed the "Teacher in Space" mission; the plan was to excite children about the possibility of space travel by having a teacher deliver televised lectures from the orbiting shuttle. Christa McAuliffe, a high-school social studies teacher, was chosen for the expedition after a highly publicized nationwide search. Other crew members included Michael Smith (pilot), Dick Scobee (commander), Judith Resnik (mission specialist), Ronald McNair (mission specialist), Ellison Onizuka (mission specialist), and Gregory Jarvis (payload specialist). None survived the disaster. The cause of the explosion was eventually traced to faulty gaskets known as O-rings. Coming at a time when the United States space program had seemingly regained its footing after two decades of decline, it forced many to grapple with the risks associated with pioneering technologies. Nowhere was the need for explanation more pressing than in the nation's classrooms, where children had gathered to witness the wonders of space travel.

—Daniel Bernardi

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## Chamberlain, Wilt (1936—)

On the basketball court, Wilt Chamberlain was one of the most dominating players of his day. His intimidating stature (7' 1" and 265 pounds) and his ability to score at will made him one of professional basketball's most popular players. In his third season he led the league with a remarkable 50.4 scoring average, a record that still stands after nearly forty years. By dominating both ends of the court Chamberlain single-handedly revolutionized professional basketball.

Born on August 21, 1936, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Chamberlain attended Overbrook high school, where he led his team to a



Los Angeles Laker center Wilt Chamberlain is defended by Bill Russell of the Boston Celtics.

58-3 record and three All-Public school titles. His dominating athleticism at Overbrook drew the attention of nearly every college basketball program in the country, and after a hectic recruiting period Chamberlain decided to attend Kansas University. Upon hearing the news, legendary KU basketball coach Phog Allen remarked: "Wilt Chamberlain's the greatest basketball player I ever saw. With him, we'll never lose a game; we could win the national championship with Wilt, two sorority girls and two Phi Beta Kappas." In spite of Allen's predictions, Kansas failed to win a NCAA championship during Chamberlain's two-year stint. But nonetheless, as a college player he was as a man among boys. During his short stay at Kansas the *Saturday Evening Post* ran a story titled, "Can Basketball Survive Chamberlain," leading the NCAA to make several rule changes to curtail his dominance, and later *Look* magazine published an article titled, "Why I Am Quitting College," which was an exclusive piece on his decision to leave Kansas. This media coverage was virtually unprecedented for an African-American college athlete.

After leaving Kansas, Chamberlain had a brief one-year tour with the Harlem Globetrotters before joining the Philadelphia Warriors in 1959. In his first game with the Warriors, Chamberlain had 43 points and 28 rebounds. This was just a glimpse of what was to come. Throughout his rookie year he scored fifty points or more five times, en route to earning league Rookie of the Year and MVP honors,



marking the first time that anyone had ever won both awards the same year. Throughout the next couple of years Chamberlain continued to pick up individual honors. In his third year with the Warriors Chamberlain continued his dominance and did the unthinkable, scoring 100 points in a single game, after which the minuscule 4,124 fans in attendance “came pouring out of the stands and mobbed me.” As a result of his prowess on the court the NBA followed the NCAA’s lead and made several rule changes of their own, simply because of Chamberlain’s dominance.

Although Chamberlain continued to be a leader in scoring and rebounding throughout his career (which included stints in San Francisco and then later in Los Angeles), he was often maligned in the national media. He was frequently labeled a “loser” because of his team’s inability to beat Bill Russell and the Boston Celtics (although he did win championships in 1967 and 1972), and he was often viewed as a troublemaker because of his candid personality. In the mid-1960s he was roundly criticized in the media for a story *Sports Illustrated* published concerning his attitude with the NBA. Under the headline: “My life in a Bush League,” Chamberlain criticized the administrators, coaches, and players of the NBA. “For a sports superstar who was supposed to be bubbling over with gratitude for every second he got to play, those were some pretty harsh words. I could understand why some people got upset,” Chamberlain remarked in his biography. But Chamberlain was never one to champion black causes. In the late 1960s he drew the ire of the black community when he denounced the Black Power movement while supporting Richard Nixon’s presidential campaign, and he likewise drew criticism from both blacks and whites alike when he expressed a preference for white women. He was truly a colorful figure.

In 1978 Chamberlain was inducted into the NBA Hall of Fame in his first year of eligibility and in 1996-1997 he was selected to the NBA 50th Anniversary All-Star Team.

As the NBA’s first \$100,000 man, Chamberlain had an enormous impact on the rise of the NBA. His dominating play sparked the interest of the country into a league that was forced to compete with the more popular pastimes of baseball and football. He was personally responsible for filling up arenas throughout the country as Americans paid top dollar to see “Wilt the Stilt.” He was without question a one-man show.

—Leonard N. Moore

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## Chan, Charlie

See Charlie Chan

## Chandler, Raymond (1888-1959)

Raymond Thornton Chandler started writing fiction in middle-age, out of economic necessity, after being fired from his job. Despite his late start and relatively brief career, Chandler’s influence on detective fiction was seminal. He and fellow writer Dashiell Hammett generally are seen as the Romulus and Remus of the hard-boiled detective subgenre. Hammett’s experience as a Pinkerton detective provided him with material very different from that of the genteel murder mystery imported from England. Chandler, who cut his teeth on the *Black Mask* school of “tough-guy” fiction, from the outset shunned the classical mystery for a type of story truer to the violent realities of twentieth-century American life. As he said, his interest was in getting “murder away from the upper classes, the weekend house party and the vicar’s rose garden, and back to the people who are really good at it.”

Chandler’s education and upbringing both hindered and spurred his writing, for he came to the American language and culture as a stranger. Although born in Chicago in 1888, at the age of seven he was taken to London by his Anglo-Irish mother and raised there. After a classical education in a public school, Chandler worked as a civil servant and as a literary journalist, finding no real success in either field. In 1912, on money borrowed from an uncle, he returned to the United States, eventually reaching California with no prospects but, in his words, “with a beautiful wardrobe and a public school accent.”



Robert Mitchum as Philip Marlowe on the cover of *The Big Sleep*.

For several years he worked at menial jobs, then became a bookkeeper. In 1917, he joined the Canadian Army and served as a platoon commander in France. After the war, he began to work in the oil business and rapidly rose to top-level management positions. In the 1920s, his drinking and womanizing grew steadily worse, until his immoderation, along with the Great Depression, finally cost him his job in 1932.

As a young man in London, Chandler had spent three years working as a literary journalist and publishing romantic, Victorian-style poetry on the side. Now, with only enough savings to last a year or two, he turned back to writing in an attempt to provide a living for his wife and himself. Initially, his literary sophistication inhibited his attempts to write pulp fiction; however, he persevered through an arduous apprenticeship and ultimately succeeded not only in writing critically acclaimed commercial fiction but also in transcending the genre. By the time of his death, Chandler had become a prominent American novelist.

Chandler published his first story, "Blackmailers Don't Shoot," in the December 1933 issue of *Black Mask*. Under the editorship of Joseph Shaw, it had emerged as the predominant pulp magazine. Shaw promoted "hard-boiled" fiction in the Hammett mode, and Chandler quickly became one of Shaw's favorite contributors, publishing nearly two dozen stories in *Black Mask* between 1933 and 1941. Chandler's first novel, *The Big Sleep*, was immediately compared to the work of Dashiell Hammett and James Cain by critics, who hailed Chandler as an exciting new presence in detective fiction. His second novel, *Farewell, My Lovely*, appeared in 1940, followed by novels *The High Window* (1942), *The Lady in the Lake* (1943), *The Little Sister* (1949), *The Long Good-bye* (1954), and *Playback* (1958). Chandler's collection of short stories, *The Simple Art of Murder*, contains, in addition to twelve pulp stories, an important and oft-quoted essay on detective fiction.

Like his contemporary, Ernest Hemingway, Chandler's impact on American literature was fueled by his interest in style. His English upbringing caused him to experience American English as a half-foreign, fascinating language; and few American writers, with the possible exceptions of Gertrude Stein and Hemingway, ever thought more carefully about or cared more for the American language. Chandler originated a terse, objective, colloquial style which has had a vital influence on succeeding mystery writers, as well as on mainstream literary writers, and even on Latin American authors such as Hiber Conteris and Manuel Puig. Chandler skillfully cultivated a subtle prose style that is actually literary while appearing to be plain and colloquial. The hallmark of this style is the witty, exaggerated simile. These similes often appear in the wise-cracks of Chandler's hero, Philip Marlowe; the effect being to add color to the dialogue and to emphasize Marlowe's rugged individualism. Chandler's irreverent, wise-cracking private detective set the tone for many of the hard-boiled heroes who followed, such as Jim Rockford of television's *The Rockford Files* and Spenser, the protagonist of Robert B. Parker's novels.

Just as Chandler's style is only superficially objective, becoming subjective in its impressionistic realization of Marlowe's mind and emotions, Chandler's fiction is hard-boiled only on the surface. Marlowe never becomes as violent or as tough-minded as did some of his predecessors, such as Hammett's Continental Op. In fact, Marlowe is sometimes, in the words of James Sandoe, "soft-boiled." Lonely, disillusioned, depressive, Marlowe is yet somehow optimistic and willing to fight injustice at substantial personal cost. Chandler

saw his hero as a crusading, but rather cynical, working-class knight who struggles against overwhelming odds to help the powerless and downtrodden. Marlowe maintains his chivalrous code in the face of constant temptation and intimidation; his integrity is absolute, his honesty paramount. Thus he manages to achieve some justice in a corrupt, unjust world.

This archetypal theme places Chandler in the mainstream of American fiction. The courageous man of action, the rugged individualist who performs heroic deeds out of a sense of duty, has been a staple of American literature since the early days of the nation. This quintessential American hero originated in regional fiction, such as James Fennimore Cooper's *Leather-Stocking Tales*, and moved westward with the frontier, appearing in many guises. The tough hero was further developed by the dime novelists of the nineteenth century and by early-twentieth-century progenitors of the Western genre. American detective story writers found a distinctly American hero waiting for them to adapt to the hard-boiled sub-genre.

Another theme prevalent in Chandler's work is the failure of the American Dream. For Chandler, the crime and violence rampant in newspaper headlines was rooted in the materialism of American life. In their desperate grasping, Americans often stooped to extreme and even unlawful measures. Chandler himself was not immune to the lure of the greenback. He became an established Hollywood screenwriter, though temperamentally unsuited to the collaborative work. Notable among his film work is his and Billy Wilder's 1943 adaptation for the screen of James M. Cain's novel *Double Indemnity*. Filmed by Paramount, the movie received an Academy Award nomination for best script. The voice-over narration Chandler devised for *Double Indemnity* became a convention of *film noir*. For Chandler, the voice-over narration, so like the cynical, ironical voice of his Marlowe, must have seemed natural.

After the death of Chandler's beloved wife Cissy in 1954, he entered a period of alcoholic and professional decline that continued until his death in 1959. Like his hero, Philip Marlowe, Raymond Chandler lived and died a lonely and sad man. But his contribution to literature is significant, and his work continues to give pleasure to his many readers.

—Rick Lott

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## Chandu the Magician

This atmospheric radio adventure series first sounded its trademark opening gong in 1932, appearing at the forefront of a popular interest in magic and the occult which also produced Chandu's more famous fellow heroic students of the black arts, *The Shadow* and *Mandrake the Magician*. Like any talented prestidigitator, Chandu was able to appear in several different places simultaneously, and thus managed to frustrate the world-dominating ambitions of his arch-enemy Roxor in a feature film (1932) and a movie serial (1934) while also holding down his day job in radio. Chandu disappeared in 1935 when the initial series of 15-minute adventures came to a close, but the master magician had one more trick up his dapper sleeves, reappearing out of the ether to a delighted public in 1948 in a new production of the original scripts before vanishing for good in 1950. Thus, in the words of radio historian John Dunning, *Chandu The Magician* "... became one of the last, as well as one of the first, juvenile adventure shows of its kind."

—Kevin Lause

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## Chanel, Coco (1883-1971)

Modern fashion has no legend greater than Gabrielle "Coco" Chanel. A strong woman, her life has inspired biographies, aphorisms, and even a Broadway musical entitled "Coco." She was one of the most powerful designers of the 1920s, using knit, wool jersey, and fabrics and styles associated with menswear to remake the modern woman's wardrobe with soft, practical clothing. She invented the little black dress in the 1920s, and in the 1920s and 1930s, she made the Chanel suit—a soft, cardigan-like jacket often in robust materials with a skirt sufficiently slack to imply concavity between the legs—a modern staple. Indomitable in life, Chanel enjoyed many affairs with important men. One affair with a German officer prompted Chanel's eight year exile in Switzerland before reopening in 1954. She died in 1971 before one of her new collections was completed. The fragrance Chanel No. 5, created in 1922, has driven the company with its reputation and profit. As the chief designer since 1983, Karl Lagerfeld has combined a loyalty to Chanel's style signatures with an unmistakably modern taste.

—Richard Martin

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## Chaplin, Charlie (1889-1977)

Comedian, actor, writer, producer, and director Charlie Chaplin, through the universal language of silent comedy, imprinted one of the twentieth century's most distinctive and lasting cultural images on the collective consciousness of the entire civilized world. In his self-created guise the Tramp, an accident-prone do-gooder, at once innocent and devious, he sported a toothbrush mustache, baggy pants, and tattered tails, tilting his trademark bowler hat and jauntily swinging his trademark cane as he defied the auguries of a hostile world. The Little Tramp made his first brief appearance in *Kid Auto Races at Venice* for Mack Sennett's Keystone company in 1914, and bowed out 22 years later in the feature-length *Modern Times* (United Artists, 1936). In between the Tramp films, Chaplin made countless other short-reel silent comedies, which combined a mixture of Victorian melodrama, sentiment, and slapstick, enchanted audiences worldwide, and made him an international celebrity and the world's highest



Charlie Chaplin

paid performer. At the dawn of the twenty-first century, 86 years after he first appeared on the flickering silent screen, Chaplin was still regarded as one of the most important entertainers of the twentieth century. He was (and arguably still is) certainly the most universally famous. On screen, he was a beloved figure of fun; off-screen, however, his liberal political views brought accusations of Communism and close official scrutiny, while his notorious private life heaped opprobrium on his head. Despite his personal failings, however, Chaplin's Tramp and astonishing achievements made him, in the words of actor Charles Laughton, "not only the greatest theatrical genius of our time, but one of the greatest in history."

Born Charles Spencer Chaplin in London on April 16, 1889, the man who would become one of the world's wealthiest and most instantly recognizable individuals was raised in circumstances of appalling deprivation, best described as "Dickensian." The son of music hall entertainers who separated shortly after his birth, Chaplin first took the stage spontaneously at age five when his mentally unstable mother, Hannah Chaplin, lost her voice in the midst of a performance. He sang a song and was showered with pennies by the appreciative audience. Hannah's health and career spiraled into decline soon after, and she was committed to a state mental institution. She was in and out of various such places until 1921, when Charlie brought her to live in California until her death in 1928. Meanwhile, the boy and his elder half-brother, Sydney, found themselves in and out of state orphanages or living on the streets, where they danced for pennies. Forced to leave school at age ten, Charlie found work with various touring theatrical companies and on the British vaudeville circuit as a mime and roustabout. In 1908 he was hired as a company member by the famous vaudeville producer Fred Karno, and it was with Karno's company that he learned the craft of physical comedy, developed his unique imagination and honed his skills while touring throughout Britain. He became a leading Karno star, and twice toured the United States with the troupe. While performing in Boston during the second of these tours in 1912, he was seen on stage by the great pioneering filmmaker of the early silent period Mack Sennett, who specialized in comedy. Sennett offered the diminutive English cockney a film contract, Chaplin accepted, and joined Sennett's Keystone outfit in Hollywood in January 1914.

Chaplin, soon known to the world simply as "Charlie" (and to the French as "Charlot"), made his film debut as a villain in the 1914 comedy *Making a Living*. In a very short time, he was writing and directing, as well as acting, and made numerous movies with Sennett's famous female star, Mabel Normand. His career thrived, and he was lured away by the Essanay company, who offered him a contract at \$1,250 a week to make 14 films during 1915. They billed Chaplin as "the world's greatest comedian" and allowed him to control all aspects of his work including production, direction, writing, casting, and editing. At Essanay Chaplin made a film actually called *The Tramp*, and, in the course of the year, refined and perfected the character into, as film historian Ephraim Katz wrote, "the invincible vagabond, the resilient little fellow with an eye for beauty and a pretense of elegance who stood up heroically and pathetically against overwhelming odds and somehow triumphed."

In February 1916, however, Chaplin left Essanay for Mutual and a stratospheric weekly salary of \$10,000 plus a \$150,000 bonus, sums that were an eloquent testimony to his immense popularity and commercial worth. Among his best films of the Mutual period are *The Rink* (1916), *Easy Street*, and *The Immigrant* (both 1917) and during this period he consolidated his friendship and frequent co-starring partnership with Edna Purviance. By mid-1917, he had moved on to a

million-dollar contract with First National, for whom his films included *Shoulder Arms* (1918) and, famously, *The Kid* (1921). This last, in which comedy was overlaid with sentiment and pathos, unfolded the tale of the Tramp caring for an abandoned child, unveiled a sensational and irresistible performance from child actor Jackie Coogan, and marked Chaplin's first feature-length film. Meanwhile, in 1919, by which time he had built his own film studio, Chaplin had joined Mary Pickford, Douglas Fairbanks, and D. W. Griffith to form the original United Artists, designed to allow artistic freedom free of the conventional restraints of studio executives, a venture of which it was famously said that it was a case of "the lunatics taking over the asylum." As he moved from shorts to longer features, Chaplin increasingly injected his comedy with pathos.

In 1918, Chaplin had a liaison with an unsuitable 16-year-old named Mildred Harris. He married her when she claimed pregnancy, and she did, in fact, bear him a malformed son in 1919, who lived only a couple of days. The ill-starred marriage was over months later, and divorce proceedings were complete by November of 1920. In 1924, shortly before location shooting began in the snowy wastes of the Sierra Nevada for one of Chaplin's great feature-length masterpieces, *The Gold Rush* (1925), he found a new leading lady named Lillita Murray, who had appeared in *The Kid*. She was now aged 15 years and 10 months. He changed her name to Lita Grey, became involved with her and, once again called to account for causing pregnancy, married her in November of 1924. By the beginning of 1927, Lita had left Charlie, taking their two sons, Charles Spencer Jr. and Sidney, with her. Their divorce was one of the most public displays of acrimony that Hollywood had witnessed. Lita had been replaced by Georgia Hale in *The Gold Rush*, a film whose meticulous preparation had taken a couple of years, and whose finished version was bursting with inspirational and now classic set pieces, such as the starving Tramp making a dinner of his boots.

In 1923, Chaplin had departed from his natural *oeuvre* to direct a "serious" film, in which he did not appear himself. Starring Edna Purviance and Adolphe Menjou, *A Woman of Paris* was, in fact, a melodrama, ill received at the time, but rediscovered and appreciated many decades later. By the end of the 1920s, the sound revolution had come to the cinema and the silents were a thing of the past. Chaplin, however, stood alone in famously resisting the innovation, maintaining that pantomime was essential to his craft, until 1936 when he produced his final silent masterpiece *Modern Times*. Encompassing all his comic genius, the film, about a demoralized factory worker, is also a piece of stringent social criticism. It co-starred Paulette Goddard, whom he had secretly married in the Far East (they divorced in 1942), and ends happily with an eloquent and archetypal image of the Tramp waddling, hand-in-hand, with his girl, down a long road and disappearing into the distance. With World War II under way, Chaplin made his entry into sound cinema with *The Great Dictator* (1940). Again co-starring with Goddard, he essayed the dual role of a humble barber and a lookalike dictator named Adenoid Hynkel. A scathing satire on Adolf Hitler, the film is an undisputed masterpiece that, however, caused much controversy at the time and brought Chaplin into disfavor in several quarters—not least in Germany. It garnered five Oscar nominations and grossed a massive five million dollars, the most of any Chaplin film, for United Artists.

*The Great Dictator* marked the last Chaplin masterpiece. *Monsieur Verdoux* (1947) featured Chaplin as a Bluebeard-type murderer, fastidiously disposing of wealthy women, but it manifested a dark political message, ran foul of the censors, and was generally badly received. He himself regarded it as "the cleverest and most brilliant

film I have yet made,” and certain students of his work have come to regard it as the most fascinating of the Chaplin films, redolent with his underlying misogyny and rich in savage satire. By 1947 he had been the victim of a damaging paternity suit brought by starlet Joan Barry. In a bizarre judgment, based on forensic evidence, the court found in his favor but nonetheless ordered him to pay child support, and that year he received a subpoena from the HUAC, beginning the political victimization that finally drove him from America. He had, however, finally found what would be lifelong personal happiness with Oona O’Neill, daughter of playwright Eugene. The couple married in 1943, when she was 18 and he 54 and had eight children, one of whom became actress Geraldine Chaplin, who played Charlie’s mother Hannah in Richard Attenborough’s film, *Chaplin* (1992).

October 1952 saw the premiere of what is perhaps Charlie Chaplin’s most personal film, *Limelight*. It is a collector’s piece insofar as it features Chaplin and Buster Keaton together for the first and only time. It also marked the debut of the then teenaged British actress Claire Bloom but, most significantly, this tale of a broken-down comedian is redolent of his own childhood background in its return to the long gone era of music hall, and the slum streets of Victorian London. Remarkable for its atmosphere, it is, however, mawkish and clumsily shot. After this, there were only two more features to come, neither of which were, or are, considered successful. *A King in New York* (1957) is an attack on McCarthyism; *A Countess from Hong Kong* (1967), starring Marlon Brando and Sophia Loren, is a lightweight comedy that misfired disastrously to become the great filmmaker’s biggest single disaster and an unworthy swan song.

By the time *Limelight* was released, Chaplin had been accused of Communist affiliations. It was the culmination of many years of resentment that he had not adopted American citizenship, and had further outraged the host country where he found fame by his outspoken criticisms and his unsuitable string of liaisons with teenage girls. He did not return from his trip to London, but settled with his family at Corsier sur Vevey in Switzerland, where, by then Sir Charles Chaplin, he died in his sleep on December 25, 1977. On March 1, 1978, his body was stolen from its grave, but was recovered within a couple of weeks, and the perpetrators were found and tried for the theft.

By the time of his death, America had “forgiven” Chaplin his sins. On April 16, 1972, in what writer Robin Cross called “a triumph of Tinseltown’s limited capacity for cosmic humbug” Chaplin, old, overweight, frail, and visibly overcome with emotion, returned to Hollywood to receive a special Oscar in recognition of his genius. That year, too, his name was added to the “Walk of Fame” in Los Angeles, and a string of further awards and honors followed, culminating in his knighthood from Queen Elizabeth in London in March, 1975. Charlie Chaplin, who published *My Autobiography* in 1964, and *My Life in Pictures* in 1974, once said, “All I need to make a comedy is a park, a policeman, and a pretty girl.” His simple, silent comedies have grown more profound as the world has grown increasingly chaotic, noisy, and troubled.

—Charles Coletta

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## Charles, Ray (1930—)

Musician Ray Charles is generally considered a musical genius, and is so in many fields. He has had enormous success in jazz, blues, soul music, country and western, and crossover pop. Acknowledged as an expert vocalist, pianist, saxophonist, and all-around entertainer, Charles first burst into popular attention in the 1950s as the virtual inventor of soul music.

Charles was born Ray Charles Robinson in Albany, Georgia, on September 23, 1930, and raised in Greenville, Florida. A neighbor gave Charles piano lessons after Charles had taught himself how to play at the age of three. This neighbor owned a small store that served as a juke joint as well. Charles not only took piano lessons in the juke joint, he also absorbed the blues, jazz, and gospel music on the jukebox.

When he was six, Charles lost his sight to glaucoma. He continued his music studies at the St. Augustine School for the Deaf and Blind, where he studied for nine years, learning composition and a number of instruments. Upon leaving the school, he worked in a



Ray Charles

number of settings with many different groups in the Florida area. Eventually, he moved to California and recorded with a trio very much in the style of Nat King Cole.

In 1952, Charles signed with Atlantic Records in a move that greatly aided both parties: Atlantic gave him free artistic reign, and Charles responded with a string of hits. These included songs that have become classic rhythm and blues features: "I Got a Woman," "Hallelujah I Love Her So," "Drown in My Own Tears," and "What'd I Say." Charles described his music at the time as "a crossover between gospel music and the rhythm patterns of the blues." This combination violated a long-standing taboo separating sacred and secular music, but the general public did not mind, and soul music, a new musical genre, was born. Many of his fans consider this Atlantic period as his greatest.

Charles once stated that he became actively involved in the Civil Rights movement when a promoter wanted to segregate his audience. Charles, an African American, said that it was all right with him if all the blacks sat downstairs and all the whites in the balcony. The promoter said that Charles had it backwards; his refusal to perform the concert eventually cost him a lawsuit, but he was determined to support Martin Luther King openly and donated large sums of money to his cause.

Charles later moved to ABC/Paramount and branched out into country and western music. In 1962, his country and western album was number one on the Billboard list for fourteen weeks.

Charles's mastery of a number of musical genres and ranking among the very best of America's vocalists (such as Frank Sinatra, Billie Holiday, Ella Fitzgerald, and Nat King Cole) is amply demonstrated by the fiftieth-anniversary collection. Although containing songs even his strongest fans will not like, there are great moments on every tune no matter what the genre. Ray Charles became more than just another singer; he became a representative of his times.

—Frank A. Salamone, Ph.D.

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## Charlie Chan

The Chinese detective Charlie Chan remains author Earl Derr Biggers' (1884-1933) greatest legacy. Biggers based his fictional Asian sleuth on Chang Apana, a Chinese American police detective who lived in Honolulu. Biggers' introduced Chan in *The House without a Key* in 1925, the first of six Chan novels. Beginning in 1926, the Chan character hit the silver screen and was eventually featured in more than thirty films. Three different actors portrayed Chan in films:

Warner Oland, Sidney Toler, and Roland Winters. While Chan's character was based on an Asian person, his resemblance to Chinese Americans was remote. White actors played Chan as a rotund, slow-moving detective who spoke pithy sentences made to sound like Confucian proverbs. In contrast to the evil Fu Manchu (another film character), Chan was a hero. But ultimately, his depiction created a new stereotype of Asian Americans as smart, yet inscrutable and inassimilable.

—Midori Takagi

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## Charlie McCarthy

The wooden puppet known as Charlie McCarthy was a precocious adolescent sporting a monocle and top hat, loved by the public for being a flirt and a wise-guy, and a raffish brat who continually got the better of his "guardian," mild-mannered ventriloquist Edgar Bergen (1903-1978). The comedy duo got their start in vaudeville and gave their last performance on television, but—amazingly—they found their greatest fame and success in the most unlikely venue for any ventriloquist: radio. Since the need for illusion was completely obviated by radio, whose audiences wouldn't be able to tell whether or not Bergen's lips were moving, the strength of Bergen and McCarthy as a comedy team was the same as it was for Laurel and Hardy or Abbott and Costello: they were funny. Bergen created and maintained in Charlie a comic persona so strong that audiences almost came to think of him as a real person. Eventually, "the woodpecker's pin-up boy" was joined by two other Bergen creations, hayseed Mortimer Snerd and spinster Effie Klinker, but neither surpassed Charlie in popularity. A broadcast sensation, Bergen and McCarthy also guest-starred in several films, including a couple that gave Charlie the chance to continue his radio rivalry with W. C. Fields. Not until the advent of television would such puppets as Howdy Doody and Kukla and Ollie gain such universal renown. But unlike these latter-day characters, Charlie was designed to appeal equally to adults as to children.

As a child growing up in Chicago, Edgar Bergen discovered that he had the talent to "throw his voice," and he put this gift to mischievous purposes, playing such pranks on his parents as making them think that an old man was at the door. When he reached high school age, young Edgar studied ventriloquism seriously and then commissioned the carving of his first puppet to his exacting specifications: thus was Charlie McCarthy born, full-grown from the head—and larynx—of Bergen. Although he began pre-med studies, Bergen quickly abandoned education for vaudeville. Before long, Bergen and McCarthy were a success, touring internationally. When vaudeville began to fade in the 1930s, Edgar and Charlie switched to posh nightclubs, which eventually led to a star-making appearance on Rudy Vallee's radio show. By 1937, Bergen and McCarthy had their own show, and its phenomenal success lasted for two decades.



**Charlie's Angels:** (from left) Farrah Fawcett-Majors, Kate Jackson, and Jaclyn Smith.

As Jim Harmon has pointed out in *The Great Radio Comedians*, “The humor (of Bergen and McCarthy) sprang from (an) inevitable misunderstanding between a rather scholarly man and a high-school near-dropout with native wit and precocious romantic interests. What resulted was wildly comic verbal fencing, perfect for the sound-oriented medium. . . . Exasperating to some adults, but we who were children at the time loved it.” Not unlike Groucho Marx, Charlie appealed to listeners of all ages because he could get away with saying something naughty or insulting to parental and authority figures. With such catch phrases as “Blow me down!,” Charlie endeared himself to generations of listeners and viewers, and paved the way for many successful ventriloquism acts that followed. Bergen’s skill as a comedy writer was such that he purposefully let Charlie have all the laughs. When asked once whether he ever felt any hostility toward Charlie, Bergen replied, “Only when he says something I don’t expect him to say.”

In 1978, ten days after announcing his retirement, Edgar Bergen died. In his will, the ventriloquist had donated Charlie to the Smithsonian. In addition to the memory of decades of laughter, Bergen also bequeathed to the world of show business his daughter, actress/writer/photographer Candice Bergen.

—Preston Neal Jones

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### *Charlie's Angels*

Despite its pretensions as a prime-time detective show featuring three women as “private eyes,” *Charlie's Angels* was primarily about glamour and bare skin. This proved to be a winning combination for the ABC network from 1976 to 1981 when the show broke into the top ten of the Nielson ratings in its first week and improved its position with each subsequent airing. While this success was due, in no small part, to the machinations of ABC’s programming genius Fred Silverman, who put it up against two short-lived, male dominated adventure shows—*Blue Knight* and *Quest*—one cannot discount the appeal of three pretty women to viewers of both sexes.

Yet, the program's concessions to its female audience were slim. Beyond the symbolic breakthrough of having three women performing in roles normally reserved for men, while paying attention to fashions and hairstyles, most of the show was dedicated to keeping male viewers in a state of titillation and expectation. While likening Charlie to little more than a glorified "pimp," feminist journalist Judith Coburn commented in a 1976 article that Charlie's Angels was one of the most "misogynist" shows that the networks had ever produced. "Supposedly about strong women, it perpetuates the myth most damaging to women's struggle to gain professional equality: that women always use sex to get what they want, even on the job."

Generally, the plots revolved around the three sexy female detectives who have left the police department to work for an unseen boss named Charlie (John Forsythe) who conveyed his assignments by telephone and through an assistant named John Bosley (David Doyle). Each weekly episode usually called for one of the three women to appear in a bikini or shorts within the first few minutes of the show to hook the male viewers. After that, most of the stories would be set in exotic locations such as Las Vegas, Palm Springs, or other areas within easy reach of Los Angeles to provide ample opportunities for the "Angels" to strip down to bare essentials while ostensibly staying within the confines of the shows' minimal plots.

Yet, ironically, all of the sex was in the dialogue. While viewers reveled in the sight of three gorgeous women in a variety of scanty attire, they never saw them in bed. This might detract from their status as consummate professionals in the detective business. According to the show's publicity, the angels were more than simply pretty faces, sexy tummies, and cascading hair, they were martial arts experts, race car drivers, and shrewd poker players. Of the initial cast, Sabrina (Kate Jackson), was the multilingual, intellectual type; Jill Munroe (Farrah Fawcett-Majors) the physical, action-oriented member, and Kelly Garrett (Jaclyn Smith), the former showgirl, was the cool experienced "been around" member of the team who provided calm leadership under pressure.

The idea for the show originated with producers Aaron Spelling and Leonard Goldberg, who had previously specialized in action adventure shows normally dominated by the gritty realism of the inner city. But these were dominated by male policemen and private detectives. In an effort to compete with an upsurge of female dominated action series such as *Police Woman*, *The Bionic Woman*, and *Wonder Woman*, Spelling and Goldberg decided to inject the traditional private detective genre with a dose of feminine pulchritude with three gorgeous women who not only solved crimes but looked great doing it.

Although the show was initially intended to feature Kate Jackson, then the best known actress of the three, it was Farrah Fawcett-Majors who became the most recognizable icon. Due to some "cheesecake" publicity photos, including a swimsuit poster that quickly appeared on the bedroom walls of every thirteen-year-old boy in America, and a mane of cascading blonde hair, Farrah quickly became a fad, appearing on T-shirts and on toy shelves as Farrah dolls swept the nation. She became caught up in the publicity and left the show after the first season in hopes of capitalizing on her fame and becoming a movie star. Spelling and Goldberg replaced her in 1977 with Cheryl Ladd as her younger sister Kris Munroe and the show continued unimpeded.

—Sandra Garcia-Myers

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## Charm Bracelets

While charms and amulets, trinkets and tokens to ward off evil, were worn on the body in ancient Egyptian civilization and virtually every other early culture, the twentieth-century charm is far removed from such apotropaic forms. Rather, modern charms are often signs of travel, place, and popular culture, suggesting sentiment and affinity more than prophylaxis. Their peak came in the 1930s when silver or base-metal charms could be accumulated over time and in hard times constituted affordable jewelry. Bakelite and other new materials could also make charms even less expensively. By the 1950s, charm bracelets were chiefly associated with high-school girls and the prospect of being able in high-school's four years to fill all the links of a bracelet with personal mementos. A 1985 fad for the plastic charm bracelets of babies—letter blocks and toys—worn by adults for infantilizing effect lasted less than a year.

—Richard Martin

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## Chase, Chevy (1943—)

Comedian, writer, and actor Chevy Chase met instant critical success and stardom on *Saturday Night Live* (SNL), first coming to public attention as the anchor of the show's "Weekend Update" news spoof with his resounding "Good evening, I'm Chevy Chase, and you're not!" His mastery of the pratfall, deadpan outrage, and upper-class demeanor made him a standout from the rest of the SNL cast, and only a year later, Chase was Hollywood-bound and starring in movies that capitalized on his SNL persona. Chase appeared as a guest host of SNL in February 1978, and the show received the highest ratings in its history.

Born Cornelius Crane Chase (his paternal grandmother gave him the nickname Chevy) on October 8, 1943, in New York City, Chase earned a bachelor's degree from Bard College in 1967. He worked on a series of low-level projects, developing his talents as a comedy performer and writer. In 1973 he appeared in the off-Broadway *National Lampoon's Lemmings*, a satire of the Woodstock festival, in which he portrayed a rabid motorcycle gang member and a John Denver type singing about a family freezing to death in the Rockies. In 1974 he wrote and performed for *National Lampoon's White House Tapes* and the *National Lampoon Radio Hour*. Chase went to Hollywood in 1975, where he wrote for Alan King (receiving the Writers Guild of America Award for a network special) and *The Smothers Brothers* television series.





Chevy Chase on *Saturday Night Live*.

While in a line for movie tickets, Chase met future SNL producer Lorne Michaels, who was so entertained by Chase's humor that he offered him a job writing for the new show, which debuted October 18, 1975. In addition to writing, however, Chase moved in front of the camera, sometimes with material he had written for "Weekend Update" just minutes before. Besides this role, he most famously appeared as President Gerald Ford. His impersonation focused on pratfalls, and served to create an image of a clumsy Ford, which the president himself enjoyed: Ford appeared in taped segments of one episode of SNL declaring "I'm Gerald Ford, and you're not." Chase won two Emmys—one for writing and one for performing—for his SNL work, but his standout success on a show that was supposed to rely on a repertory of actors led to strained relations with the equally popular John Belushi, Michaels, and other colleagues, especially since Chase was not being paid as a performer but as a writer. Chase left SNL in October 1976 and, tempted by movie offers, moved back to California.

In 1978, Chase's first major movie, *Foul Play*, received mixed reviews, but his name was enough to ensure that it was profitable. The movies that followed, including *Caddyshack* and *Oh Heavenly Dog* (both in 1980) also made some money, but Chase himself made

negative comments about their artistic quality. In 1983, returning to his comedy roots, Chase starred as Clark Griswold, a role perfectly suited to his deadpan humor, in *National Lampoon's Vacation*. The movie was a great success and has since been followed by three sequels.

About this time, the actor also was coping with substance-abuse problems. Like many other early alumni of SNL, he was exposed to drugs early in his career, but he also had become addicted to painkillers for a degenerative-disk disease that had been triggered by his comic falls. He was able to wean himself from drugs through the Betty Ford clinic in the late 1980s. In the meantime, he continued to star in movies such as *Fletch* (1985).

His career began to flag at the start of the 1990s. Chase was heard to remark that he missed the danger of live television, so it came as no surprise to those that knew him that he took a major risk in launching *The Chevy Chase Show*, a late-night talk show which was one of several efforts by comedians in 1993 to fill the void left by the retirement of Johnny Carson. Like many of the others, it was soon canceled. Since then, Chase has made a number of attempts to revive his movie career. He made the fourth *Vacation* movie (*Vegas Vacation*) in 1997 and began work on a new *Fletch* movie in 1999. Many critics, however, see him as just going through the motions, cashing in on his name and characters before it is too late. The public, however, still thinks of him as Chevy Chase, man of many falls and few competitors.

—John J. Doherty

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## The Chautauqua Institution

During its first eighty years, more famous men and women, including American presidents, appeared under the auspices of the Chautauqua Institution, located on the shore of Lake Chautauqua in an obscure part of northwestern New York, than at any other place in the country. Built in 1874, Chautauqua was headquarters for a phenomenally successful late nineteenth-century religious and mass education movement that satisfied a deep hunger throughout America for culture and "innocent entertainment" at reduced prices.

Philosopher William James visited the site in 1899 and was astonished by the degree to which its small-town values informed nationwide programs. The institution reflected the inexhaustible energies and interests of two founders, Lewis Miller, a wealthy Akron, Ohio, manufacturer of farm machinery (and Thomas A. Edison's future father-in-law), and John Heyl Vincent, who at eighteen had been licensed in Pennsylvania as a Methodist "exhorter and preacher." Both had grown up in rural America, and both were especially knowledgeable about the tastes and yearnings of their fellow citizens.

Long before James's visit, Miller had helped finance revival meetings in a hamlet near Lake Chautauqua, but attendance had

declined. While searching for a way to continue his vision of the Lord's work, Miller read some of Vincent's writings, came to the belief that financial salvation was attainable if some new purpose for the site could be found, and contacted Vincent. Vincent disliked razzle-dazzle evangelism but agreed that training young men and women as Sunday school teachers could be the worthy purpose that Miller sought.

A Sunday School Assembly was formed and enjoyed immediate success. However, a looming problem was that as the school's enrollment steadily increased, so did concerns about chaperoning students. Miller and Vincent feared possible scandals in sylvan glades, unless idle time could be filled with regular and wholesome educational and entertainment programs. To direct such activities, they engaged William Rainey Harper, an Ohio-born educator, who would later be John D. Rockefeller's choice to serve as president of the University of Chicago.

Like Miller and Vincent, Harper never opposed an idea because it was new or unproven. Four years after the Sunday School Assembly began operations the Chautauqua Literary Scientific Circle came into being. One measure of its success was that within twenty years, ten thousand reading circles, all of which took their lead from the institution's example, were operating throughout America. One fourth were in villages of fewer than five hundred people, and Chautauqua served them diligently, providing reading lists and other materials.

But innovations at Chautauqua did not stop with the training of Sunday school teachers and reading circles. As early as 1883, it chartered itself as a university and would remain one for twelve years, until established universities began to offer summer courses. Some three hundred "independent" or loosely affiliated similar institutions used Chautauqua as a model without charge by the institution. As early as 1885, a Chautauqua Assembly was held in Long Beach, California, where rollers breaking on wide stretches of white sand and bracing sea air further encouraged those who sought spiritual and intellectual enlightenment during summer months.

For the benefit of those who could not afford travel to New York, California, or independent Chautauquas, "tent chautauquas" came into being. A tent would be pitched in a meadow and lecturers engaged to inform locals on history, politics, and other subjects of general as well as religious interest. Among the speakers, William Jennings Bryan is said to have given fifty lectures in twenty-eight days. The average price for admission was fifty cents, and no drinking or smoking was allowed. A Methodist Dining Tent or Christian Endeavor Ice Cream Tent supplied all refreshments.

Just after the turn of the century, Chautauqua was a "cultural phenomenon with some of the sweep and force of a tidal wave," wrote historian Russell Lynes. Women, who heretofore had little chance to attend college, for the first time had an organization aware of their educational needs that sought to begin opening up opportunities for them. By 1918, more than a million Americans would take correspondence courses sponsored by the institution. A symphony orchestra was created there, and in 1925 George Gershwin composed his *Concerto in F* in a cabin near the Lake.

In the late 1920s, however, the advent of the automobile and the mobility it offered the masses seemed to signal Chautauqua's end. Not only were untold millions abandoning stultifying small towns for the temptations of metropolises, but those who stayed put had easy access to cities for year-round education and entertainment.

In 1933 the institution went into receivership. Somehow it refused to die. By the early 1970s, with buildings in disrepair and attendance lagging, it appeared finally to be in its death throes—at

which point it renewed its existence. Richard Miller, a Milwaukee resident and great-grandson of founder Lewis Miller, became chairman of the Chautauqua board. He began an aggressive fund-raising campaign and built up financial resources until at the end of the twentieth century the institution had \$40 million and held pledges of another \$50 million from wealthy members.

More importantly, the Chautauqua Institution reached out for new publics even as it preserved its willingness to continue a tradition of serving people with insatiable curiosity about the world in which they lived and a never-ending need for information. Although the tone of its evangelical heritage remained, Catholics were welcome, about 20 percent of Chautauquans were Jews, and members of the rapidly expanding black middle class were encouraged to join.

"This is a time of growth," declared eighty-five-year-old Alfreda L. Irwin, the institution's official historian, whose family had been members for six generations, in 1998. "Chautauqua is very open and would like to have all sorts of people come here and participate. I think it will happen, just naturally."

—Milton Goldin

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## Chavez, Cesar (1927-1993)

Rising from the status of a migrant worker toiling in the agricultural fields of Yuma, Arizona, to the leader of America's first successful farm worker's union, Cesar Chavez was once described by Robert F. Kennedy as "one of the heroic figures of our time." Although by nature a meek and humble man known more for his leadership abilities than his public speaking talents, Chavez appealed to the conscience of America in the 1970s by convincing seventeen million people to boycott the sale of table grapes for five consecutive years. Chavez's United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) spearheaded the drive for economic and social justice for Mexican and Mexican American farm workers. Lending their support for this cause was a wide cross section of Americans, including college students, politicians, priests, nuns, rabbis, protestant ministers, unionists, and writers. By forming one of the first unions to fight for the rights of Mexican Americans, Chavez became an important symbol of the Chicano movement.

It would be a vast understatement to say that Chavez rose from humble beginnings. Born in 1927, Chavez spent his early years on his family's small farm near Yuma. When his parents lost their land during the Great Depression, they moved to California to work in the fields as migrant workers. Young Chavez joined his parents to help harvest carrots, cotton, and grapes under the searing California sun. The Chavez family led a nomadic life, moving so often in search of migrant work that Cesar attended more than thirty elementary schools, many of which were segregated. By seventh grade, Cesar dropped out of school to work in the fields full time.

Following service in the U.S. Navy during World War II, Chavez moved to Delano, California, with his wife Helen Fabela. It was in Delano that Chavez made the decision to take an active role in improving the dire working conditions of migrant workers. In 1952, Chavez became a member of the Community Service Organization, which at the time was organizing Mexican Americans into a coalition designed to confront discrimination in American society. Chavez's job was to register Mexican Americans in San Jose to vote, as well as serve as their liaison to immigration officials, welfare boards, and the police.

It was in the early 1960s, however, that Chavez began working exclusively to ameliorate the economic and labor exploitation of Mexican American farm workers. He formed the Farm Workers Association in 1962, which later became the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA). By 1965, 1,700 families had joined the NFWA, and during that same year the organization had convinced two major California growers to raise the wages of migrant workers. After the NFWA merged with an organization of Filipino workers to form the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC), the UFWOC in 1966 launched a campaign picketing grape growers in Delano who paid low wages. This campaign, which nationally became known as *La Huelga* (The Strike), proved to be the defining moment in Chavez's work as a labor activist. The highly publicized five-year strike against grape growers in the San Joaquin, Imperial, and Coachella valleys raised America's consciousness about the conditions of migrant workers and transformed Chavez into a national symbol of civil disobedience. By holding hunger strikes, marches, and sit-ins, as well as having himself arrested in order to gain attention to his cause, Chavez led a boycott that cost California grape growers millions of dollars. In 1970, the growers agreed to grant rights to migrant workers and raised their minimum wage.

*La Huelga* was the first of many successful boycotts that Chavez organized on behalf of grape and lettuce pickers, and he also fought for the civil rights of African Americans, women, gays, and lesbians. Although membership in the UFWOC eventually waned, Chavez remained a beloved figure in the Mexican American community and nationally represented the quest for fairness and equality for all people. When Chavez died on April 23, 1993, at the age of sixty-six, expressions of bereavement were received from a host of national and international leaders, and a front-page obituary was published in the *New York Times*.

—Dennis Russell

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## Chavis, Boozoo (1930—)

As the leading exponent of a unique musical tradition known as zydeco, Boozoo Chavis is a genuine artist who is inextricably enveloped within the regional landscapes of his culture. Lake Charles, Louisiana, sits at the western apex of a roughly triangular area of south Louisiana that is home to the black French-speaking population known as Creoles. Here, among the horse pastures and the patchwork fields of rice and sweet potatoes, Boozoo Chavis learned to play "la-la music" on the accordion for the rural house dances that formed the centerpiece of Creole social life. When the urbanized sounds of rhythm and blues caught on among local blacks, it was Chavis who first successfully blended traditional la-la songs with a more contemporary bluesy sound and with lyrics sung in English. In 1954 he recorded the now classic "Paper in My Shoe," which told of poverty but with a beat that let you deal with it. Along with Clifton Chenier who recorded "Ay Tete Fee" the following year, Boozoo Chavis is a true pioneer of zydeco music.

In an unfortunate turn of events, Chavis felt he did not receive what was his due from making that early record, and left off pursuing music as an avocation, turning instead to raising race horses at "Dog Hill," his farm just outside Lake Charles. Though he continued to play for local parties and traditional Creole gatherings such as Trail Rides, he did not begin playing commercially again until 1984. Since coming out of semi-retirement he has not wasted any time, however, and has recorded some seven albums loaded with pure gems. *Hey Do Right!* is titled after the nickname for his daughter Margaret.

Wilson Anthony Chavis was born October 23, 1930 some 60 miles east of the Lake Charles area where he would grow up. He does not recall where his peculiar nickname came from, but it is a moniker widely recognized among legions of zydeco fans today—caps and t-shirts in south Louisiana proclaim in bright letters: "Boozoo, that's who!" Even as he approaches his seventieth birthday, Chavis still knows how to work a crowd. Whether it is in the cavernous recesses of a legendary local club like Richard's in Lawtell or Slim's Y-Ki-Ki in Opelousas, or commanding an outdoor stage at the congested New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival, Boozoo performs like the seasoned professional he has become, with great vigor and *joie de vivre*. He characteristically runs through a long sequence of tunes one after another, without even taking a break. His trademark clear plastic apron keeps the sweat from damaging the bellows of his diatonic button accordion, which he still prefers over the piano key instrument that is more common among zydeco artists of his generation. Every Labor Day, Boozoo hosts a picnic at Dog Hill which is open to the public, thereby continuing the tradition of rural house dances where zydeco began. Numerous bands contribute to the day's entertainment, and Boozoo always plays last, making the final definitive statement of what this music is all about.

Afraid of flying, he mainly limits touring to places within easy driving distance of Lake Charles, to all points between New Orleans and Houston, the extremities of zydeco's heartland. But with increasing recognition of his talent and position as leading exponent of zydeco, Chavis has begun to travel more widely, heading for locations like New York, Washington, D.C., San Francisco, or Seattle. No

matter where he plays, Boozoo has never strayed from the recognition that zydeco is first and foremost dance music. His songs include many of the old French waltzes and two-steps from earlier times, but are always spiced up a bit in his inimitable fashion. In a recently published book, zydeco observer Michael Tisserand characterized Boozoo's playing as a "punchier, more percussive style." Thematically, Chavis stays close to home, writing songs about his family, friends, farm, and beloved race horses that sport names such as "Camel" and "Motor Dude."

In the face of ever more urban and homogenizing influences on zydeco, Boozoo Chavis remains rooted in the music's rural traditions. He is just as likely to be fixing up the barn or working with his horses as playing at a dance or a concert. While a half-serious, half in jest controversy has simmered over the years regarding who should follow the reign of Clifton Chenier as the King of Zydeco, most cognoscenti agree that of all the leading contenders for the crown, Boozoo Chavis is most deserving of the accolade. He is the perennial favorite at the Zydeco Festival in Plaisance, Louisiana, where he often waits in the shade of the towering live oaks to greet his many fans and sign autographs. His music, like the person that he is, is the real article.

—Robert Kuhlken

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## Chayefsky, Paddy (1923-1981)

Distinguished playwright, novelist, and screenwriter Paddy (born Sidney) Chayefsky was a major force in the flowering of post-World War II television drama, sympathetically chronicling the lives and problems of ordinary people. His most famous piece of this period is *Marty*, about the love affair between two homely people, which became an Oscar-winning film in 1955. Bronx-born and college educated, he attempted a career as a stand-up comic before military service, and began writing when wounded out of the army. The most acclaimed of his Broadway plays is *The Tenth Man* (1959), drawing on Jewish mythology, but he found his wider audience through Hollywood, notably with original screenplays for *The Hospital* (1971) and *Network* (1976), both of which won him Academy Awards and revealed that he had broadened his scope into angry satire. He controversially withdrew his name from the 1980 film of his novel *Altered States* (1978), which he had adapted himself, and died a year later.

—Robyn Karney

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## Checker, Chubby (1941—)

One of several popular male vocalists to emerge from the Philadelphia rock 'n' roll scene in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Chubby Checker was the chief beneficiary of the fervor created by the dance known as the Twist.

Checker was born Ernest Evans on October 3, 1941 in Spring Gully, South Carolina, the child of poor tobacco farmers. At the age of nine he moved to Philadelphia and eventually began working at a neighborhood produce market where he acquired his famous nickname "Chubby" from his employer. Evans' big break, however, came at age 16 while working at a local poultry market. Proprietor Henry Colt overheard Evans singing a familiar tune as he went about his work. Colt was impressed with Evans' talent and referred him to a songwriter friend named Cal Mann who was, at that time, working with Dick Clark.

Dick Clark and his *American Bandstand* had a lot to do with the popularity of many Philadelphia singers who frequently appeared on the program. Frankie Avalon, Bobby Rydell, Fabian, and Checker were among the teen idols whose careers took off after they gained exposure to millions of American teenagers via television. Checker was one of very few black teen idols of that period, however. In his case, even his stage name derived from contact with Dick Clark. Clark and his wife were looking for someone to impersonate Fats Domino for an upcoming album. Hoping to give Evans' career a boost, Clark's wife is said to have dubbed the young performer "Chubby Checker" because the name sounded like Fats Domino.



Chubby Checker

The song entitled “The Twist” was originally released as the flip side of a 45 rpm single by Hank Ballard and the Midnighters, a popular R&B singing group. Checker released “The Twist” as an A-side on the Parkway label in August 1960, aggressively promoting the record and the dance in personal appearances and on television. Numerous Chubby Checker performances on programs like the Philadelphia-based *American Bandstand* helped fuel both the Twist Craze and Checker’s career.

Chubby Checker’s recording of “The Twist” went to #1 on the *Billboard* Top 40 charts in mid-September, 1960. Eager to capitalize on the success of that record, Checker released several other Twist-related singles such as “Let’s Twist Again,” “Twist It Up,” and “Slow Twistin’.” In fact, almost all of his records were dance tunes, such as the #1 hit “Pony Time,” “The Hucklebuck,” “The Fly,” and the #2 hit “Limbo Rock.”

Several films were produced in an attempt to cash in on the popularity of the Twist, and Chubby Checker was the star of two of them. Alan Freed’s *Rock around the Clock* and *Don’t Knock the Rock* were the first rock ’n’ roll exploitation films ever made, back in 1956; in 1961 Chubby Checker starred in *Twist around the Clock* and *Don’t Knock the Twist*, remakes of the Freed films made after only five years had passed. Checker also went on to appear in other movies such as *Teenage Millionaire*.

Perhaps as a result of the Twist movies being released in the second half of 1961, the Twist craze resurfaced and Checker’s version of “The Twist” was re-released by Parkway. The record was even more successful the second time around, and “The Twist” was the first #1 record of 1962. This is the only case during the rock ’n’ roll era of the same record earning #1 on the Top 40 on two different occasions.

Four months later, in May 1962, Chubby Checker was awarded a Grammy for best rock and roll recording of 1961, ostensibly for “Let’s Twist Again.” The latter was a moderate (#8) hit in 1961, but in no sense the best rock ’n’ roll song of the year. Checker’s triumphant re-release of “The Twist” did set a new record, but that achievement took place in 1962, and technically the song was not eligible for a 1961 Grammy.

Chubby Checker continued to release singles and albums of rock and roll, primarily dance music. Although he had a few more hits, such as “Limbo Rock” in 1962, no subsequent dances were ever as good to Checker as the Twist had been. By the end of 1965 he had placed 22 songs on the Top 40, including seven Top Ten hits, but his best period was over by the end of 1962.

Since the mid-1970s Checker has benefitted from another trend, oldies nostalgia. Along with many other former teen idols, Checker has seen a resurgence of his career at state fairs and on oldies tours, playing the old songs again for a multi-generational audience.

—David Lonergan

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## Cheech and Chong

Cheech and Chong were a comedy team of the early 1970s that opened for rock bands, recorded a series of popular comedy albums, performed on the college circuit, and appeared in their own movies. Their comedy routines consisted largely of “doper jokes,” reflecting the drug culture and scatological humor of the 1960s. Richard “Cheech” Marin (1946—) and Tommy Chong (1938—) met in 1968 in Vancouver, British Columbia, where Cheech had fled to avoid the U.S. draft during the Vietnam War. Together they co-founded an improv group called City Works, and performed in a nightclub owned by Chong’s brother. By 1970 they were known as Cheech and Chong, and were performing in nightclubs in Toronto and Los Angeles.

Canadian-born Tommy Chong, half Chinese and half Scottish-Irish, was playing the guitar in a band called Bobby Taylor and the Vancovers when he met Cheech, who started out singing with the band. Cheech, born of Mexican parents in South Central Los Angeles, grew up in Granada Hills, near the San Fernando Valley. The duo recorded several successful comedy albums in the early 1970s. In 1971, *Cheech and Chong* was nominated for a Grammy for Best Comedy Recording, and their 1972 album *Big Bambu* retained the record of being the largest-selling comedy recording for many years. *Los Cochinos* won the Grammy for Best Comedy Recording in 1973.



Cheech Marin (left) and Tommy Chong

Their humor, although very vulgar at times, was entertaining, with Cheech playing a jaunty marijuana smoking dopehead, and Chong playing a burned out, laid back musician.

Their successful movies of the late 1970s and early 1980s became doper cult classics. *Up in Smoke* was released in 1978, *Cheech & Chong's Next Movie* in 1980, and *Cheech & Chong's Nice Dreams* in 1981. In these three movies they play simple-minded pot heads, or left over hippies, but their comic teamwork has been compared to Laurel and Hardy. The screenplays were written by both Cheech and Chong, with the directing done primarily by Chong. Their last films together were *Things Are Tough All Over* (1982), in which they both play dual roles; *Still Smokin'* (1983); *The Corsican Brothers* (1984), in which they go "straight"; and *Cheech and Chong Get Out of My Room*, directed by Cheech in 1985 for the cable channel Showtime.

The pair split up in 1985, and from there Tommy Chong's career fizzled. He starred in the 1990 film *Far Out Man*, which bombed, and he tried stand-up comedy in 1991 without much success. Cheech Marin, on the other hand, went on to a successful career as a director and actor in several films and television shows. His film *Born in East L.A.* (1987) has become a classic among Mexican Americans and is often included in academic classes of Chicano Studies. In the 1990s he received small supporting roles in several films, including a well-received part in the hit *Tin Cup*, starring Kevin Costner, and played the television role of Joe Dominquez in *Nash Bridges*.

—Rafaela Castro

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## Cheerleading

Few archetypes so exemplify every stereotype of women in modern culture as that of the cheerleader. An uneasy juxtaposition of clean-cut athlete, ultra-feminine bubble-headed socialite, skilled dancer, and buxom slut, the cheerleader is at the same time admired and ridiculed, lusted after and legitimized by everyone from junior high school girls to male sports fans. Though cheerleading began as an all-male domain, and there are still male cheerleaders, it is for girls that the role of cheerleader is a rite of passage, whether to be coveted or scorned. Public figures as widely diverse as Gloria Steinem, John Connally, and Paula Abdul spent part of their early years urging the crowd to cheer for their athletic team.

Cheerleading as we know it began in November 1898 at a University of Minnesota football game, when an enthusiastic student named Johnny Campbell jumped up to yell:

Rah, Rah, Rah

Sku-u-mah  
Hoorah, hoorah  
Varsity, varsity  
Minn-e-so-ta!

The idea caught on, and in the early 1900s at Texas A&M, freshmen, who were not allowed to bring dates to athletic events, styled themselves as yell leaders, with special sweaters and megaphones. They became so popular, especially with women, that soon the juniors and seniors took the role away from the freshmen.

Only men took on the highly visible role of cheerleading until after World War II, when women began to form cheerleading squads, wearing demure uniforms with skirts that fell well below the knee. In the late 1940s, the president of Kilgore College in Texas had the idea of creating an attractive female dancing and cheering squad as a tactic to keep students from going to the parking lot to drink during half time. He hired a choreographer, commissioned flashy costumes, and the idea of cheerleading as a sort of sexy show-biz entertainment took off. By the 1990s, there were over three million cheerleaders nationwide, almost all of them female.

Cheerleading means different things on the different levels it is practiced. In junior high, high school, and college, cheerleading is very much a social construct. Cheerleading tryouts appeal to girls for many reasons. Some seek the prestige and social status afforded those who make the cut. These chosen few are admired by the boys and envied by the girls as they represent their school at games and hobnob with the boys' elite—the athletic teams. Those who are rejected after tryouts often experience deep humiliation. Of course there are many who reject the school status hierarchies and who view the cheerleaders as shallow snobs rather than social successes. Another way to view cheerleaders is as strong athletes who seek recognition in one of the only areas acceptable for females. In fact, in many schools, prior to the Title IX laws of the 1970s, there were no athletic teams for girls, and cheerleading was the only outlet where girls could demonstrate athletic skill.

Many supporters of cheerleading stress the athletic side of cheerleading and the strength required to perform the jumps and gymnastic feats that accompany cheers. There are local and national cheerleading competitions, where squads compete and are judged on creativity, execution, degree of difficulty, and overall performance. Over the years, cheerleading has developed from simple gestures and jumps to difficult gymnastic stunts and complex dance routines. As the athletic skill required to become a cheerleader has increased, so has the number of cheerleading-related injuries. In 1986, the reputation of cheerleading suffered when two cheerleaders in different schools were involved in major accidents within a week. A young woman was killed and a young man paralyzed while practicing their cheerleading stunts. A Consumer Product Safety Commission study in 1990 found 12,405 emergency room injuries that year were related to cheerleading, prompting parental demands for greater safety precautions.

Another sort of cheerleading is found in professional sports. While fitting a standard mold of attractiveness is one of the primary requisites of any sort of cheerleading, the professional squads have taken it to extremes. Tryouts for squads like the Dallas Cowboy Cheerleaders, the New Orleans Saints' Saintsations, and the Buffalo Bills' Buffalo Jills, seem almost like auditions for a Broadway play, with hundreds of flamboyantly made-up dancers and performers competing for a few openings. The cheerleaders perform for exposure and love of their team rather than money. In an industry where the



A group of cheerleaders from Mississippi State University.

athletes might earn millions, most cheerleaders are paid only ten to twenty-five dollars a game. Some are able to acquire contracts for local advertising to supplement their income, and some hope to go on to show business careers, but for many, just as in high school, it is the admiration of the crowd and the identification with the team that is the payoff.

It is in the professional arena that the risqué side of cheerleading has received the most publicity. Because cheerleaders are almost always chosen for standard good looks and shapely bodies in addition to whatever skills may be required, even in high schools, rumors of immorality circulate. In the professional squads, where outfits are often skimpy and the routines flirtatious, the rumors are even more graphic. Though most squads advertise a high moral standard, the stereotype of the sextop cheerleader has been hard to defeat. Movies such as the XXX rated *Debbie Does Dallas* contribute to this, as did the 1979 *Playboy Magazine* spread featuring nude photos of a fictional cheerleading squad called the Texas Cowgirls.

Cheerleading has also grown into a big business. In the 1950s, a former Texas high school cheerleader named James Herkimer (he developed a cheerleading jump called the ‘herkie’) founded the National Cheerleader Association. The NCA is a for-profit enterprise based in Dallas that runs hundreds of cheerleading camps nationwide, teaching young aspiring cheerleaders jumping and cheering skills at a reasonable rate. The cost of the camps is kept low, but the cheerleading squads who attend the camps usually purchase their uniforms and other accoutrements from the NCA-affiliated National Spirit group. Since it costs about \$200 to outfit the average cheerleader, 3 million cheerleaders represent a sizable market, and by the 1990s, the NCA was grossing over 60 million dollars a year.

The huge profits have attracted competition. In the 1970s, Jeff Webb, a former protégé of James Herkimer, began his own company in Memphis, the Universal Cheerleading Association, and its parent

company, the Varsity Spirit Corporation. While Herkimer has clung to the classic cheerleading style, with athletic jumps and rhythmic arm motions, Webb opted for a more modern approach; his camps teach elaborate gymnastic stunts and dance routines, and his supply company markets flashier uniforms and specialty items. Varsity Spirit Corp. has even expanded abroad, signing a deal in Japan, where cheerleading is very popular. Though NCA and UCA are the largest, the expanding ‘school spirit industry’ has prompted the creation of many other cheerleading camp/supplier companies.

Because cheerleaders play such an important role in many schools, cheerleading has become a battleground for social issues. In 1969 over half of the public school students in Crystal City, Texas, staged a walkout for twenty-eight days in protest of their school’s racist policies concerning cheerleader selection. In a district where 85 percent of the students were Chicano, it was not unusual for only one Chicana cheerleader to be selected. The students’ action was successful and it was the root of the Chicano movement organization, Raza Unida. In 1993, four cheerleaders on a high school squad in Hempstead, Texas, found they were pregnant. Only one was allowed to return to cheering; she had an abortion, and she was white. The other students, who were African American, fought the decision with the support of the National Organization for Women and the American Civil Liberties Union. They were finally reinstated. In 1991, another student charged the University of Connecticut with discrimination when they dropped her from the cheering squad for being, at 130 pounds, over the weight limit. Her suit resulted not only in her reinstatement but in the abolition of the weight requirement.

The fierce competition surrounding cheerleading has been documented in a cable-TV movie starring Holly Hunter in the title role of *The Positively True Adventures of the Alleged Texas Cheerleader-Murdering Mom*. The movie takes playful liberties with the true story of Wanda Holloway, who plotted to have the mother of her daughter’s

cheerleading rival killed. Journalists in Texas, where cheerleading is taken seriously, were surprised only by the fact that Holloway presumed that the murder would prevent the rival from trying out for the squad. The media is full of other such stories: the New Jersey cheerleaders who in 1998 fed the opposing squad cupcakes filled with laxatives, and the South Carolina cheerleaders who spiced up a 1995 Florida competition by holding their own private contest—in shoplifting.

Cheerleaders are easy targets for satire, their *raison d'être* construed as boosterism, and they are often stereotyped as being stupid and superficial. In 1990, the University of Illinois was prompted to take the soft-core sexual image of cheerleaders seriously. Noting the high rate of sexual assault on campus, a university task force recommended banning the cheerleaders, the Illinettes, because the all-female squad maintained a high-profile image as sexual objects. In this light, it is easy to see that male cheerleading is a distinctly different phenomenon; men in letter sweaters with megaphones yelling and doing acrobatics clearly fill a different role than scantily-clad women doing the same yells and acrobatics.

Debate continues over whether cheerleaders are athletes or bimbos; whether cheerleading is, in itself, a sport, or an adjunct to the *real* (mostly male) sports. Some women devote their lives to cheerleading, for themselves or their daughters; some women condemn it because it turns women into boosters at best and sex objects at worst. Some men delight in watching the dances of the flamboyant squads at half-time; some men see them as a distraction to the game and believe they should be abolished. And in junior high and high schools across the country, girls, even many who profess not to care, still train to perform difficult routines for tryouts and anxiously watch bulletin boards to see if they made the squad.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Cheers

*Cheers* was the longest-running and most critically acclaimed situation comedy on 1980s television. Combining physical and verbal gags with equal dexterity, *Cheers* turned the denizens of a small Boston bar into full-fledged American archetypes. By the end of the show's run, author Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., was moved to call *Cheers* the "one comic masterpiece" in TV history. The author of many comic fiction classics added, "I wish I'd written [*Cheers*] instead of everything I *had* written. Every time anybody opens his or her mouth on that show, it's significant. It's *funny*."

*Cheers* was set at a Boston bar of the same name owned by Sam Malone (Ted Danson), a good-looking former relief pitcher for the woebegone Boston Red Sox whose career was cut short by a drinking

problem. His alcoholism under control, he reveled in his semi-celebrity and status as a ladies' man. Tending bar was Sam's old Red Sox coach, the befuddled Ernie Pantuso (Nicholas Colasanto), a character obviously modeled on baseball great Yogi Berra. In early 1985, Colasanto suddenly died. He was replaced behind the bar by an ignorant Indiana farm boy, Woody Boyd (Woody Harrelson). Carla Tortelli (Rhea Perlman) was the foul-mouthed waitress; a single mother, she bore several children out of wedlock during the show's eleven-year run. To one woman she threatened, "You sound like a lady who's getting tired of her teeth." The bar's regulars were the pathetic Norm Peterson (George Wendt), a perpetually unemployed accountant trapped in a loveless marriage to the unseen Vera; and the equally pathetic Cliff Clavin (John Ratzenberger), the resident trivia expert and career postal worker, who still lived with his domineering mother.

In the series' first episode Diane Chambers (Shelley Long), a pretentious, well-to-do graduate student, was abandoned at the bar by her fiancé en route to their wedding. Sam offered her a job waitressing, thus beginning one of the most complex romances in prime time TV history. Sam and Diane swapped insults for most of the first season, and a volley of insults on the season's last episode culminated in their first kiss. They consummated their relationship in the first episode of the second season:

SAM: You've made my life a living hell.

DIANE: I didn't want you to think I was easy.

Yet Sam and Diane never tied the knot. Diane left Sam and received psychiatric help from Dr. Frasier Crane (Kelsey Grammer), with whom she promptly fell in love. Diane and Frasier planned a European wedding, but she left him at the altar. By the 1986-87 season Sam and Diane were engaged when, on the eve of their wedding, Diane won a sizable deal to write her first novel. Sam allowed her to leave for six months to write, knowing it would be forever.

Sam sold the bar to go on a round-the-world trip. He humbly returned to become the bartender for the bar's new manager, Rebecca Howe (Kirstie Alley), a cold corporate type. The bar was now owned by a slick British yuppie, Robin Colcord, who had designs on Rebecca. When Robin was arrested for insider trading, Sam was able to buy back the bar for a dollar.

Life went on for the *Cheers* regulars. Dumped by Diane, the cerebral Frasier grew darker and more sarcastic, barely surviving a marriage to an anal-retentive, humorless colleague, Lilith (Bebe Neuwirth). Sam and Rebecca enjoyed a whirlwind romance and contemplated having a baby together out of wedlock. Carla married a professional hockey player, who was killed when a Zamboni ran over him. Woody fell in love with a naive heiress, and by the final season won a seat on the Boston City Council. Norm and Cliff remained loyal customers, serving as Greek chorus to the increasingly bizarre happenings.

Despite the wistful theme song ("Sometimes you want to go / Where everybody knows your name"), the characters were frequently cruel to one another. Norm once stood up for the unpopular Cliff this way: "In his defense, he'll probably never reproduce." During one exchange Carla asked Diane, "Did your Living Bra die of boredom?" They also engaged in elaborate practical jokes; Sam





Ted Danson (second from right) and Shelley Long (right) with the rest of the cast in a scene from the sitcom *Cheers*.

devised one prank which ended with Cliff, Carla, Norm, and Woody on an endless cross-country bus trek. The sadism reached its zenith during a petty rivalry throughout the run of the series with a competing bar, Gary's Olde Time Tavern. The feud culminated during the final season, when the Cheers gang convinced the smug Gary that an investor would pay him \$1 million for his land. Gary gleefully took a wrecking ball to his establishment.

*Cheers* ended in 1993 after 11 seasons and 269 episodes. Series co-creators Glen and Les Charles had once confessed their ideal *Cheers* ending: Sam and Diane admit they can't live with or without each other and take each other's life in a murder-suicide. In the actual finale, Diane did return to the bar, contemplating a reconciliation with Sam, but the two finally realized they were no longer suitable for each other. In other developments, upwardly mobile Rebecca impulsively married a plumber, Cliff won a promotion at the post office, and—miracle of miracles—Norm finally got a steady job. In the last moments of the series, the regulars sat around the bar to discuss the important things in life. As the show faded out one final time, Sam walked through the empty bar, obviously the most important thing to him, at closing time.

There has been no consensus as to the best single episode of *Cheers*. Some prefer the Thanksgiving episode at Carla's apartment, ending in a massive food fight with turkey and all the trimmings in

play. Others recall Cliff's embarrassing appearance on the *Jeopardy!* game show, with a cameo from host Alex Trebek. There was also the penultimate episode, where the vain Sam revealed to Carla that his prized hair was, in fact, a toupee. Perhaps the finest *Cheers* was the 1992 hour-long episode devoted to Woody's wedding day, a classic, one-set farce complete with a Miles Gloriosus-like soldier, horny young lovers, and a corpse that wouldn't stay put.

*Cheers* was inspired by the BBC situation comedy *Fawlty Towers* (1975, 1979), set at a British seaside hotel run by an incompetent staff. That show's creator/star, John Cleese, appeared on *Cheers* in an Emmy-winning 1987 cameo as a marriage therapist who went to great lengths to convince Sam and Diane that they were thoroughly incompatible. Co-creator James Burrows was the son of comedy writing great Abe Burrows, responsible for the long-running 1940s radio comedy *Duffy's Tavern* ("where the elite meet to eat"), a program set in a bar which was also noted for its eccentric characters and top-notch writing.

Grammer reprised his role of Frasier Crane in the spin-off series *Frasier*, which debuted in the fall of 1993 to high ratings and critical acclaim. The series won Best Comedy Emmy awards during each of its first five seasons.

—Andrew Milner

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## Chemise

Fashion designer Cristobal Balenciaga's "chemise" dramatically altered womenswear in 1957. Since Christian Dior's New Look in 1947, women wore extremely narrow waists, full wide skirts, and fortified busts. The supple shaping of Balenciaga's chemise, which draped in a long unbroken line from shoulder to hem, replaced the hard armature of the New Look. The chemise was a hit not only in couture fashion, where Yves Saint Laurent showed an A-line silhouette in his first collection for Dior, but also in Middle America, where Americans copied the simple shape which required far less construction and was therefore cheaper to make. Uncomfortable in the body conformity of the New Look, women rejoiced in a forgiving shape and the chemise, or sack dress, became a craze. The craze was parodied in an *I Love Lucy* episode in which Lucy and Ethel pine for sack dresses but end up wearing feed sacks.

—Richard Martin

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## Chenier, Clifton (1925-1987)

Although he passed away in the late 1980s, Clifton Chenier remains the undisputed King of Zydeco. It was Clifton Chenier who took the old dance music of the rural Louisiana Creoles and added blues, soul, and country and stirred it all up until it became what we now call zydeco. His name was virtually synonymous with this type of music, and he became the most respected and influential zydeco artist in the world. Chenier popularized the use of the big piano key accordion, which allowed him to play a diversity of styles within the expanding zydeco genre. He pushed the envelope with energetic renditions of French dance standards or newer tunes transformed through zydeco's characteristic syncopated rhythms and breathy accordion pulses. Chenier assembled a band of musicians who were not just good but were the best in the business; they were a close-knit group that became legendary for high intensity concerts lasting four hours straight without a break. And there at the helm was Chenier, gold tooth flashing like the chrome of his accordion, having the time of his life.

Clifton Chenier was born on June 25, 1925 into a sharecropping family near Opelousas, Louisiana. He became dissatisfied early on with the farming life, and headed west with his brother Cleveland to work in the oil refineries around Port Arthur, Texas. Having learned from his father how to play the accordion, Chenier decided to attempt a transition toward performing as a professional. Driving a truck during the day and playing music at night, Chenier, along with his



Clifton Chenier

brother on rubboard, soon became a popular attraction in local roadhouses. Often the pair comprised the entire band, and this was zydeco in its purest form, an extension of the earlier French "la-la" music played at Creole gatherings throughout southwest Louisiana, now taken to new heights and amplitude for a wider audience. Chenier credits Rhythm and Blues (R & B) artist Lowell Fulson with showing him how to be a good performer, always mixing it up and pleasing the crowd—these lessons stayed with him for the rest of his career. One of his earliest recordings, "Ay-Tete-Fee" became a hit record in 1955.

During the early 1960s, Chenier began recording albums for Chris Strachwitz's west coast Arhoolie Records, where he eventually became that label's biggest seller. His first Arhoolie album, *Louisiana Blues and Zydeco*, was a hard-fought compromise between the producer's desire for traditional zydeco, and Chenier's wish to cross over into soul and the potentially even more lucrative R & B. The final version of the album represented a mixture of these two directions and included for the first time on record a blues number sung in French. Following that release, Chenier's popularity soared, and a frenetic schedule of touring ensued. Over the next few years, Clifton Chenier would realize the wisdom of Strachwitz's insistence on sticking close to unadulterated zydeco, which was already a musical gumbo of various ingredients, and he became more of a traditionalist himself,

championing Creole culture and the French language wherever he played.

All through the 1970s Chenier and his Red Hot Louisiana Band traveled the “crawfish circuit” between New Orleans and Houston, playing in parking lots, in clubs and bars, and in Catholic church halls where zydeco dances were sponsored with increasing frequency. This kept the music rooted in its place of origin, and served to accentuate the rising awareness of Creole ethnic identity. When touring further afield, he became a regular attraction at blues festivals around the country and even made a successful sweep through Europe. It was about this time that he began wearing a crown on stage, dubbing himself the “King of Zydeco.” His musical performances were featured in several documentary films, including *Hot Pepper* and *J'ai Ete au Bal*. In 1984, Chenier won a Grammy Award for the album *I'm Here*, and was now a nationally, and even internationally recognized musician. But his health had gone downhill. Plagued by poor circulation, he was diagnosed with diabetes and had portions of both legs amputated. After a final, tearful performance at the 1987 Zydeco Festival in Plaisance, Louisiana, he canceled a scheduled tour due to illness, and on December 12, 1987, at the age of 62, Clifton died in a Lafayette hospital. His legacy lives on, as does his fabled Red Hot Louisiana Band, now led by son C.J. Chenier, an emerging zydeco artist in his own right.

There has never been anyone, before or since, who could play the accordion like Clifton Chenier. While his vocal renditions of songs were truly inspired, his voice always served as accompaniment to the accordion, rather than the other way around. Besides having talent and the gift of making music, he was able to establish a warm and unaffected rapport with his audience. He knew who he was, he loved what he was doing, and he genuinely enjoyed people. Fans and critics alike are unreserved in their emphatic assessment of Clifton Chenier's artistry and his place in the annals of popular music. And musicians in the Red Hot Louisiana Band fondly recall the feeling of playing with this soulful master who had so much energy and who injected such pure feeling into his music. As former member Buckwheat Zydeco put it, “Clifton Chenier was the man who put this music on the map.”

—Robert Kuhlken

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## Cher

See Sonny and Cher

## Cherry Ames

Packed with wholesome values and cheerfulness, the Cherry Ames nursing mystery series was popular with girls in the mid-twentieth century. Cherry, a dark-haired, rosy-cheeked midwestern

girl, was always perky and helpful, ready to lend a hand in a medical emergency and solve any mysteries that might spring up along the way. The books never claimed to have literary quality. Their creator, Helen Wells, admitted they were formulaic—not great literature, but great entertainment.

The series consisted of 27 books published by Grosset and Dunlap between 1943 and 1968, authored by Helen Wells and Julie Tatham. Aggressively marketed to girls, the books contained all sorts of consumer perks: the second book in the series was offered free with the first, and each book showed a banner on the last page advertising the next exciting adventure. The first 21 volumes were issued in colorful dust jackets showing Cherry in her uniform, proclaiming “It is every girl's ambition at one time or another to wear the crisp uniform of a nurse.” (Indeed, this uniform was described over and over, along with Cherry's off-duty snappy outfits.) Early copies in the series had yellow spines, but the format was quickly changed to green spines, probably to avoid confusion with the ubiquitous Nancy Drew books. There was also a companion volume written by Wells in 1959, entitled *Cherry Ames' Book of First Aid and Home Nursing*.

In the early years, the novels were patriotic, pro-nursing tales in which Cherry called for other girls to join her and help win World War II. The later books were mysteries, with Cherry as a girl sleuth. Titles followed the format of *Cherry Ames, Student Nurse* and included *Cherry Ames, Cruise Nurse, Cherry Ames, Chief Nurse, Cherry Ames, Mountaineer Nurse*, among many others. Cherry's nursing duties brought her to such exotic locales as a boarding school, a department store, and even a dude ranch.

Wells (1910-1986), the creator of the series and author of most of the books, was no stranger to girls' series—she was also the author of the Vicki Barr flight attendant series and other books for girls. Tatham (1908—), wrote a few books in the middle of the series. Under the pseudonym Julie Campbell she also authored both the Trixie Belden and Ginny Gordon series.

The Cherry Ames series became internationally popular, with editions published in England, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and Japan. In England, books spawned a set of Cherry Ames Girls' Annuals. There was a Parker Brothers board game produced in 1959, “Cherry Ames' Nursing Game,” in which players vie to be the first to complete nursing school.

By the 1970s, the Cherry Ames books were out of print and were being phased out of libraries. The character had a rebirth in the 1990s, however, when author and artist Mabel Maney created a series of wickedly funny gay parodies of the girl-sleuth series books, bringing out their (almost certainly unintentional) lesbian subtext. In her first book, *The Case of the Not-So-Nice Nurse*, the “gosh-golly” 1950s meet the “oh-so-queer” 1990s when lesbian detectives “Cherry Aimless” and “Nancy Clue” discover more than just the answer to the mystery.

—Jessy Randall

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## Chessman, Caryl (1921-1960)

In 1948, a career criminal named Caryl Chessman was charged with being a “red light bandit” who raped and robbed couples in lovers’ lanes near Los Angeles. Chessman was sentenced to death for kidnapping two of the victims. His 12-year effort to save himself from California’s gas chamber intensified the debate over capital punishment. Chessman was successful in persuading various judges to postpone his execution. This gave him time to make legal arguments against his conviction and death sentence and to write *Cell 2455 Death Row*, an eloquent, bestselling book which purportedly described the author’s life and criminal career.

The courts ultimately ruled against Chessman’s legal claims. Many celebrities opposed his execution, including the Pope and Eleanor Roosevelt. In February 1960, Chessman was granted a stay of execution while the state legislature considered California Governor Edmund Brown’s plea to abolish the death penalty. The Governor’s effort, however, failed and Chessman was executed on May 2, 1960.

—Eric Longley

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## The Chicago Bears

Like their home city, the Chicago Bears are a legendary team of “broad shoulders” and boundless stamina. One of the original members of the National Football League (NFL), the Bears have captured the attention of football fans since the heyday of radio. An organization built on innovation and achievement both on and off the field, the Bears’ remarkable victories earned them the nickname “Monsters of the Midway.” Bears players from Red Grange to Walter Payton swell the ranks of the famous in football. By the 1990s the Bears had achieved more victories than any other team in the NFL, and have 26 members in the Pro Football Hall of Fame.

In 1920, A.E. Staley, owner of the Staley Starch Works in Decatur, Illinois, hired 25-year-old George Halas to organize a professional football team. It was a daunting task. Halas approached his former boss, Ralph Hay of the Canton Bulldogs, with the idea of forming a professional football league. On September 17, 1920, Halas met with 12 other team officials in Ralph Hay’s Humpmobile dealership in Canton, Ohio, where they created the American Professional Football Association, the predecessor of the modern National Football League. Of the 13 teams in the original league, only the Bears and Cardinals remain in existence.

The Decatur Staleys—as the Bears were first called—played their first game on October 3, 1920 at Staley Field. The Decatur team was one of only a few to show a profit in the first year of operation. Due to a recession in 1921, Staley was forced to withdraw support for the team; but Halas assumed ownership and transferred the franchise to Chicago. The team selected Wrigley Field as its home. Halas compared the rough and tumble stature of his players to the baseball stars of the Chicago Cubs, and renamed the team the Chicago Bears in January 1922. The team colors, blue and orange, were derived from Halas’s alma mater, the University of Illinois.

The first major signing for the team occurred in 1925, when University of Illinois star Red Grange was hired by Halas. Grange proved to be a strong gate attraction for the early NFL organization. Although he only played in several games due to injury, he nonetheless managed to draw a game crowd of 75,000 in Los Angeles. During the 1920s the team was a success on the field and at the gate, posting a winning season every year except one.

The Bears quickly established a reputation as a tough, brawling team capturing many hard-fought victories. New and exciting players typified the team over succeeding seasons. Bronko Nagurski, a tenacious runner requiring several players to take him down, joined the illustrious 1930 lineup. An opposing coach was rumored to have said the only way to stop Nagurski was to shoot him before he went on the field. Nagurski’s two-yard touchdown pass to Red Grange beat Portsmouth in the 1932 championship game, the first football game played indoors at Chicago Stadium. Sidney Luckman was recruited as the premiere T-formation quarterback in 1939. With Luckman at passer, the reinvigorated T-formation decimated the Washington Redskins in a 73-0 title game rout. The Bears became the “Monsters of the Midway,” and Luckman the most famous Jewish sports legend. The fighting power of the Bears was strengthened by the addition of unstoppable George “One Play” McAfee at halfback. He could score running, passing, kicking, or receiving. Clyde “Bulldog” Turner was selected as center and linebacker to assist McAfee. Turner proved to be one of the fastest centers in NFL history.

Following up-and-down seasons during the 1950s, the Bears regained notoriety by capturing another NFL title in 1963. This was the first game broadcast on closed circuit television. The recruitment of running back Gale Sayers in 1965 revitalized the Bears’ fighting spirit. Sayers was an immediate sensation, setting an NFL scoring record in his rookie year, and rushing records in subsequent years. Sportswriters honored Sayers as the greatest running back in pro football’s first half century. Standing in the shadow of Gale Sayers was halfback Brian Piccolo. The two men were the first interracial roommates in the NFL. Piccolo seldom played until Sayers’s knee injury in 1968. When Sayers was awarded the George Halas Award for pro football’s most courageous player in 1970, he dedicated the award to Piccolo, who was dying of cancer. The bond between Piccolo and Sayers was the subject of the television movie, *Brian’s Song*, as well as several books. The Bears were bolstered by the daunting presence of premiere middle linebacker Dick Butkus, who became the heart and soul of the crushing Bears defense. George Halas announced his retirement in 1968, after 40 seasons, with 324 wins, 15 losses, and 31 one ties. Halas remained influential in the operation of the Chicago Bears and the NFL until his death in 1983.

The Bears played their final season game at Wrigley Field in 1970, and then moved to Soldier Field. Successive coaches Abe Gibrone, Jack Pardee, and Neil Armstrong produced mediocre seasons with the Bears during the 1970s. The one bright spot during this period was the recruitment of Walter Payton. Called “Sweetness”

because of his gentle manner, Payton led the NFL in rushing for five successive years (1976-1980). After four coaching seasons Armstrong was replaced by former Bears tight end Mike Ditka. Under Ditka's command the Bears began winning again. In 1984, Walter Payton broke Jim Brown's career rushing record, and at the end of 1985 the team posted a 15-1 regular season mark, tying an NFL record. On January 26, 1986, in their first Super Bowl appearance, the Bears trounced New England 46-10, setting seven Super Bowl records, including the largest victory margin and most points scored.

The 1990s were a milestone decade for the NFL Chicago franchise: The team played its 1,000th game in 1993, and was the first team to accumulate 600 victories. Mike Ditka was replaced as head coach by Dave Wannstedt in 1993. Following the 1998 season Wannstedt's contract was terminated, and Jacksonville Jaguars defensive coordinator Dick Jauron was named head coach. For almost 80 years, the Chicago Bears have been one of the powerhouse teams in American football. Through all their ups and downs, they have remained true to the city that has been their home—as a tough, proud, all-American sports franchise, whose influence continues to be felt throughout popular culture.

—Michael A. Lutes

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## The Chicago Bulls

One of professional basketball's dynasty teams, the Chicago Bulls were led by perhaps the best basketball player ever, Michael Jordan, from 1984-1993 and 1995-1998. When they began their first season in 1966, the Bulls were a second-rate team, and continued to be so, even posting a dismal 27-win record in 1984. That finish gave them the opportunity to draft the North Carolina shooting guard, and from then on, with his presence, the Bulls never failed to make the playoffs. Jordan led the Chicago team to six National Basketball Association championships, from 1991 to 1993 and again from 1996 to 1998. In the process, the team's bull emblem and distinctive red and black colors became as recognizable on the streets of Peking as they were in the gang neighborhoods of Chicago's South Side. Jordan became a worldwide celebrity, better known than President Bill

Clinton. When he retired from basketball on January 13, 1999, his Chicago news conference was broadcast and netcast live worldwide. Fellow players Dennis Rodman and Scottie Pippen and team coach Phil Jackson never became as well known as the legendary Jordan, but were nonetheless important contributors during the Bulls' championship years.

—Richard Digby-Junger

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## The Chicago Cubs

Secure in their roles as major-league baseball's "lovable losers," the National League's Chicago Cubs have not appeared in a World Series since 1945 and have not won a World Series title since 1907. Despite a legacy of superstar players including 1990s home-run hero Sammy Sosa, 1980s MVP Ryne Sandberg, and the legendary Ernie "Mr. Cub" Banks engaged in the most dramatic home-run race in the history of baseball. He and St. Louis Cardinals slugger Mark McGwire battled each other shot for shot throughout the season, with the Cardinal first-baseman finally slamming 70 home runs to Sosa's 66. Both players shattered Roger Maris's long-standing single-season home run record of 61 while helping to revive the popularity of baseball, whose status had suffered following the 1994 strike.

—Jason McEntee

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## Chicago Jazz

Although New Orleans is the acknowledged birthplace of jazz, Chicago is regarded as the first place outside of the South where jazz



**Chicago Bulls' captain Michael Jordan holding his series MVP trophy and head coach Phil Jackson holding the Bulls' sixth NBA Championship Trophy.**

was heard, and New Orleans-style jazz was first recorded in Chicago. Popular in the 1920s, "Chicago Jazz" refers to a white style of music, closely related to New Orleans Jazz, in which soloists were more prominent than the ensemble. The music is also tighter or less rhythmically realized than the New Orleans style.

When World War I increased employment opportunities for African Americans outside the South, Chicago became a center of the black community. Jazz moved to Chicago to fill the need for familiar entertainment. From the black neighborhoods, jazz moved into the white areas of Chicago, where young Chicago kids were fascinated with the new sounds.

The Original Dixieland Jazz Band, a group of white New Orleans musicians who were the first band to record jazz, included Chicago musicians for their famous appearance at the Friar's Inn. That appearance and their 1917 jazz recording increased its visibility and attracted a large following for the new music. The New Orleans Rhythm Kings, an influence on the great Bix Beiderbecke, followed in 1922 but were no match for King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band, which Oliver had formed in New Orleans and taken to Chicago in 1918, where Louis Armstrong joined in 1922. The Creole Jazz Band recorded the most significant examples of New Orleans-style jazz.

King Oliver's band brought African-American jazz to Chicago and soon attracted a following comparable to that of rock stars today.

Armstrong often played at more than one club in a night. Other New Orleans greats who came to Chicago in the 1920s included Sidney Bechet, both Johnny and Baby Dodds, Jimmy Noone, and Freddie Keppard.

Banjoist Eddie Condon (1905-1973) is considered the leader of the Chicago School, carrying on battles against the boppers, whom he considered to have spoiled jazz. His musicians included cornetist Jimmy McPartland (1907-1991), Bud Freeman, Frankie Teschemacher, and Red McKenzie. This was the core of the Austin High Gang, the core of the Chicago Jazz movement. The first recording of the Chicago style was on December 10, 1927. But Condon says that they were just a bunch of guys who happened to be from Chicago. Condon pioneered multi-racial recordings, getting many of the New Orleans musicians together with white musicians.

Jimmy McPartland (1907-1991), the other link in the Chicago Jazz School, was the center of the Austin High Gang. He learned the solos note for note of the New Orleans Rhythm Kings and then copied Bix Beiderbecke's work. He even replaced Bix in the Wolverines. McPartland carried the message of classic Dixieland cornet around the world and remained associated with the Chicago Jazz style until his death.

—Frank A. Salamone

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## The Chicago Seven

It was violent clashes between anti-war protesters and police during the Chicago Democratic Convention of 1968 that created the Chicago Seven's place in political and cultural history. The seven political radicals were indicted for the so-called "Rap Brown" law, which made it illegal to cross state lines and make speeches with the intent to "incite, organize, promote, and encourage" riots, conspiracy, and the like. There were originally eight defendants: David Dellinger, a pacifist and chairman of the National Mobilization against the Vietnam War; Tom Hayden and Rennie Davis, leaders of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS); Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin, leaders of the Youth International Party—or "Yippies;" John Froines and Lee Weiner, protest organizers; and Bobby Seale, co-founder of the Black Panther Party. The riots and subsequent trial triggered more massive and violent anti-war demonstrations around the country. The conflict in Chicago, however, was not simply about America's involvement in Vietnam. The conflict was also about the political system, and to those millions who watched the confrontations between police and demonstrators on television, it marked a crisis in the nation's social and cultural order.

The demonstrators, many of whom had been involved with civil rights battles in the South, saw their protests at the convention as an opportunity to draw media attention to their cause. Following the murders of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy, many protesters were anxious to become more confrontational and militant

with political and police forces. The Yippies, led by Hoffman and Rubin, looked to harness the energy of America's rebellious youth culture, with its rock music and drugs, to bring about social and political change. The Yippies were formed solely for the purpose of confronting those involved with the Democratic Convention. They believed that the mass media and music could lead young people to resist injustices in the political system. Hoffman and Rubin, the most flamboyant and disruptive participants in the court trial—after Seale was removed—did not believe that the "New Left" would be able to bring about change through rational discourse with existing powers. Hence, they led a movement which relied upon guerrilla theater, rock music, drug experiences, and the mass media to broadcast their agenda of social revolution to a generation of alienated young people brought up on television and advertising. Influencing policies or candidates was not the aim behind the radicalism of the Chicago Seven. Rather, they worked to reveal the ugliness of a country full of poverty, racism, violence, and war through a confrontation with the armed State. The fact that their actions took place in America's second largest city, during a nationally televised political convention, only intensified their message of resistance and rejection.

Chicago mayor Richard Daley and his police force characterized the demonstrations as attacks upon their city and the law. They viewed the Chicago Seven and the national media as outside agitators who trampled on their turf. The Walker Report, however, which was later commissioned to investigate the events of the convention week, concluded that the police were responsible for much of the violence during the confrontations. Perhaps the most memorable statement about the events surrounding the rebellion were uttered by Mayor Daley at a press conference during the convention: "The policeman isn't there to create disorder. The policeman is there to preserve disorder."



Members of the Chicago Seven: (back row from left) Lee Weiner, Bob Lamb, Tom Hayden, (front row from left) Rennie Davis, Jerry Rubin, and Abbie Hoffman.

The trial of the eight defendants began in September of 1969 and lasted for five months. Judge Julius Hoffman inflexibility and obvious bias against the defendants provoked righteous anger, revolutionary posturing, guerrilla theater, and other forms of defiant behavior from the defendants. Bobby Seale's defiant manner of conducting his own defense—his attorney was in California recuperating from surgery—resulted in his spending three days in court bound and gagged. Judge Hoffman then declared his case a mistrial and sentenced him to four years in prison for contempt of court. Hence, the Chicago Eight became the Chicago Seven. William Kunstler and Leonard Weinglass were the defense attorneys. Judge Hoffman and prosecutor Thomas Foran constantly clashed with the defendants who used the court as a setting to continue to express their disdain for the political and judicial system. In February, all of the defendants were acquitted of conspiracy but five were found guilty of crossing state lines to riot. Froines and Weiner were found innocent of teaching and demonstrating the use of incendiary devices. An appeals court overturned the convictions in 1972, citing procedural errors and Judge Hoffman's obvious hostility to the defendants.

—Ken Kempcke

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## Child, Julia (1912—)

Julia Child made cooking entertainment. A well-bred, tall, ebullient woman who came to cooking in the middle of her life, Julia Child appeared on television for the first time in the early 1960s and inaugurated a new culinary age in America. Blessed with an ever-present sense of humor, a magnetic presence in front of the camera, and the ability to convey information in a thoroughly engaging manner, Julia Child spirited Americans away from their frozen foods and TV dinners and back into the kitchen, by showing them that cooking could be fun.

For someone who would become one of the most recognizable and influential women in the world, it took Julia Child a long time to find her true calling. She spent the first 40 years of her life in search of her passion—cooking—and when she found it, she was unrelenting in promoting it. But like so many privileged women of her generation, Julia Child was not brought up to have a career. Born on August 15, 1912 into the conservative affluence of Pasadena, California, Julia McWilliams was the daughter of an aristocratic, fun-loving mother and a well-off, community-minded businessman father. Raised in a close family, who provided for her every need, Julia was a tree-climbing tomboy who roamed the streets of Pasadena with her passel of friends. Her childhood was full of mischievous fun, and food formed only the most basic part of her youth. Her family enjoyed hearty, traditional fare supplemented by fresh fruits and vegetables from nearby farms.



**Julia Child**

By her early teenage years, Julia was head and shoulders taller than her friends, on her way to becoming a gigantic, rail thin 6 feet 2 inches. Lithe and limber, the athletic teenager enjoyed tennis, skiing, and other sports, and was the most active girl in her junior high school. When she graduated from ninth grade, however, her parents decided it was time for Julia to get a solid education, and so they sent her to boarding school in Northern California. At the Katherine Branson School for Girls, Julia quickly became a school leader, known, as her biographer Noël Riley Fitch has written, for “her commanding physical presence, her verbal openness, and her physical pranks and adventure.” As “head girl,” Julia stood out among her classmates socially, if not intellectually. She was an average student, whose interests chiefly lay in dramatics and sports and whose greatest culinary delight was jelly doughnuts. But her education was solid enough to earn her, as the daughter of an alumna, a place at prestigious Smith College in Massachusetts.

In her four years at Smith, Julia continued in much the same vein as in high school. She was noted for her leadership abilities, her sense of adventure, and, as always, her height. At 6 feet 2 inches, she was once again the tallest girl in her class. At Smith, she received a solid education. But, as Julia would later remark, “Middle-class women did not have careers. You were to marry and have children and be a nice mother. You didn’t go out and do anything.” And so after graduation, Julia returned home to Pasadena. After a year, however, she grew restless and returned to the East Coast, hoping to find a job in New York City. Sharing an apartment with friends from Smith and supported mostly by her parents, Julia found a job at Sloane’s, a



prestigious home-furnishing company. She worked for the advertising manager, learning how to write press releases, work with photographers, and handle public relations. She loved having something to do and reveled in the job. Having always been interested in writing, Julia also began submitting short pieces to magazines such as the *Saturday Review of Literature*. Her life now had some larger purpose.

But Julia's stay in New York would only last a few years. Unhappy over the breakup of a relationship and worried about her mother's health, Julia returned home to Pasadena, where her mother died two months later. As the oldest child, Julia decided to stay in California to take care of her father and soon found work writing for a new fashion magazine and later heading up the advertising department for the West Coast branch of Sloane's. But by the early 1940s, with America at war, Julia had grown impatient with her leisurely California life. A staunch Rooseveltian Democrat, Julia wanted to be a part of the war effort and so applied to the WAVES and the WACS. But when her height disqualified her from active service, Julia moved to Washington, D.C., where she began work in the Office of Strategic Services, the American branch of secret intelligence.

With her gift for leadership, Julia quickly rose in the ranks, working six days a week, supervising an office of 40 people. She still dreamed of active service, and when the opportunity arose to serve overseas, she jumped at the chance. In early 1944, 31-year-old Julia McWilliams sailed for India. In April, she arrived in Ceylon, where she went to work at the OSS headquarters for South East Asia. Although she considered the work drudgery, she loved being in a foreign country, as well as the urgency of the work at hand. She met many interesting people, men and women, not the least of whom was a man ten years older than she, an urbane officer named Paul Child.

Stationed in Ceylon and later in China, Julia and Paul became good friends long before they fell in love. She was fascinated by his background—a multilingual artist, he had lived in Paris during the 1920s and was a true man of the world. One of his great passions was food, and he gradually introduced Julia to the joys of cuisine. In China, the two friends would eat out at local restaurants every chance they could. She would later write: “The Chinese food was wonderful and we ate out as often as we could. That is when I became interested in food. There were sophisticated people there who knew a lot about food . . . I just loved Chinese food.”

Julia recognized it first—she had fallen in love. It took Paul a little longer to realize that he was head-over-heels for this tall, energetic, enthusiastic Californian. In fact, after the war, the two went their separate ways, only coming together later in California. In their time apart, Julia had begun perfunctory cooking lessons, hoping to show off her newfound skills to Paul. By the time they decided to drive across country together, they knew they would be married. Julia and Paul Child set up house together in Washington, D.C., awaiting Paul's next assignment. When they were sent to Paris, both were ecstatic.

Julia's first meal upon landing in France was an epiphany. She later reflected, “The whole experience was an opening up of the soul and spirit for me . . . I was hooked, and for life, as it turned out.” While settling in Paris, Julia and Paul ate out at every meal, and Julia was overwhelmed by the many flavors, textures, and sheer scope of French cuisine. She loved everything about it and wanted to learn more. In late October 1949, Julia took advantage of the GI Bill and enrolled at the Cordon Bleu cooking school. It was the first step in a long journey that would transform both her life and American culinary culture.

The only woman in her class, Julia threw herself into cooking, spending every morning and afternoon at the school and coming

home to cook lunch and dinner for Paul. On the side, she supplemented her schooling with private lessons from well-known French chefs, and she attended the Cercle des Gourmets, a club for French women dedicated to gastronomy. There she met Simone Beck and Louisette Bertholle. The three soon became fast friends and, after Julia graduated from Cordon Bleu, they decided to form their own cooking school geared at teaching Americans in Paris. L'Ecole des Trois Gourmands was formed in 1952 and was an instant success. Out of this triumvirate came the idea for a cookbook that would introduce Americans to French cuisine.

With the help of an American friend, the idea was sold to Houghton Mifflin. The most popular American cookbooks, *The Joy of Cooking* and *Fanny Farmer*, were old classics geared toward traditional American fare. Julia envisioned a cookbook that would capture the American feel of *The Joy of Cooking* in teaching Americans about French cuisine. For the next ten years, Julia and her companions labored tirelessly over their cookbook. Even when Paul and Julia were transferred, first to Marseille then to Bonn, Washington, and Oslo, the Trois Gourmands remained hard at work. Julia was meticulous and scientific, testing and re-testing each recipe, comparing French food products to American, keeping up with American food trends, and polishing her writing and presentation style. Less than a year from the finish, however, Houghton Mifflin suddenly pulled out and it seemed that the project would never come to fruition.

Then Knopf stepped in and in 1961, shortly after Julia and Paul returned to the United States for good, *Mastering the Art of French Cooking* was released. An immediate success, the cookbook, with its superb quality, clear and precise recipes, and unique pedagogical approach to cooking, became the standard against which all other cookbooks would come to be judged. At 49 years old, Julia Child was hailed as a great new American culinary voice. In a country where most people's meals consisted of canned items, frozen foods, and TV dinners, the food community hailed her classical training. As Karen Lehrman wrote in “What Julia Started,” “In the 1950s, America was a meat-and-potatoes kind of country. Women did all of the cooking and got their recipes from ladies' magazine articles with titles like ‘The 10-Minute Meal and How to Make It.’ Meatloaf, liver and onions, corned beef hash—all were considered hearty and therefore healthy and therefore delicious. For many women, preparing meals was not a joy but a requirement.” Julia Child would change all that.

Julia and Paul settled in Cambridge, Massachusetts, a decision that would ultimately make Julia Child a household name. As the home of many of the country's finest institutions of higher learning, Cambridge boasted the best-funded educational television station, WGBH. Early in 1962, WGBH approached Julia about putting together a cooking show. Filmed in black and white in rudimentary surroundings, the show was a success from the very start. Julia Child was a natural for television. Although each show was carefully planned and the meals meticulously prepared, on-air Julia's easy going manner, sense of humor, and joie de vivre shone through, making her an instant hit.

Within a year, Julia Child's *The French Chef* was carried on public television stations around the country and Julia Child was a household name with a huge following. As Karen Lehrman describes, “Julia may or may not have been a natural cook, but she certainly was a natural teacher and comedian. Part of the entertainment came from her voice alone, which can start a sentence on a bass note and end of falsetto, and elongate in different keys several seemingly random words in between. But she also had an exceptional presence, a keen

sense of timing and drama, and a superb instinct for what's funny. Most important, she completely lacked pretension: She played herself. She made noises (errgh, oomph, pong), called things weird or silly, clashed pot lids like cymbals, knocked things over, and in general made quite a mess. 'When, at the end of the program, she at last brings the finished dish to the table,' Lewis Lapham wrote in 1964, 'she does so with an air of delighted surprise, pleased to announce that once again the forces of art and reason have triumphed over primeval chaos.'"

For the next 30 years, Julia Child would appear on television, but because she viewed herself as a teacher, only on public television. Supported by Paul every step of the way, Julia would transform cooking from a housewife's drudgery to a joyous event for both men and women. In doing so, she changed the culinary face of America. She became a universally recognizable and much loved pop culture icon. Her shows became the object of kindhearted spoof and satire—the best of which was done by Dan Ackroyd on *Saturday Night Live*—and her image appeared in cartoons. But mostly it was Julia herself who continued to attract devoted viewers of both sexes, all ages, and many classes. As Noël Riley Fitch wrote, "The great American fear of being outré and gauche was diminished by this patrician lady who was not afraid of mistakes and did not talk down to her audience." Julia-isms were repeated with glee around the country, such as the time she flipped an omelet all over the stove and said, "Well, that didn't go very well," and then proceeded to scrape up the eggs and put them back in the pan, remarking, "But you can always pick it up if you're alone. Who's going to see?" Her ability to improvise and to have fun in the kitchen made her someone with whom the average American could identify. As Julia herself said, "People look at me and say, 'Well, if she can do it, I can do it.'"

As America got turned on to food, be it quiche in the 1970s, nouvelle cuisine in the 1980s, or organic food in the 1990s, Julia stayed on top of every trend, producing many more exceptional cookbooks. The Grande Dame of American cuisine, Julia Child remains the last word on food in America. Founder of the American Institute of Wine and Food, Julia Child continues to bring together American chefs and vintners in an effort to promote continued awareness of culinary issues and ideas both within the profession—which, thanks to Julia, is now among the fastest growing in America—and among the public. Popular women chefs, such as Too Hot Tamales, Susan Feniger and Mary Sue Miliken, abound on television, thanks to Julia who, though she did not think of herself as a feminist, certainly liberated many women through her independence and passionate commitment to her career. Karen Lehrman has written, "Julia Child made America mad for food and changed its notions of class and gender." A uniquely American icon, Julia Child not only transformed the culinary landscape of this country, but she became a role model for men and women of all ages and classes.

—Victoria Price

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## Child Stars

In Hollywood, it has been said that beauty is more important than talent, but youth is most important of all. The image of America conveyed by the motion picture industry is one of beautiful, young people in the prime of life. The most youthful of all are the children—fresh-faced innocents in the bloom of youth transformed into Hollywood stars who represent the dreams of a nation. Certainly this was the case during the Depression, when child stars such as Shirley Temple, Freddie Bartholomew, and Deanna Durbin were the motion picture industry's top box office draws, inspiring a global mania for child actors. In what has come to be known as the Child Star Era, these juvenile audience favorites often single-handedly supported their studios, becoming more famous than their adult counterparts. When the Golden Age of Hollywood came to an end after World War II, so did the Child Star Era. But the appeal of child stars remains strong in



Shirley Temple and Bill "Bojangles" Robinson.

film, television, and music. Popular culture will ever worship at the Fountain of Youth.

From the early days of vaudeville in the nineteenth century, child actors have held their own against adult stars. Adored by fans, many became household names across America. In the first decade of the twentieth century, during the infancy of motion pictures, film directors hoped to lure the top tykes from the stage onto the screen, but most stage parents refused, feeling that movies were beneath them and their talented children. Everything changed when a curly haired, sweet-faced sixteen-year-old, who had been a big Broadway star as Baby Gladys, fell on hard times and reluctantly auditioned for movie director D. W. Griffith. Griffith hired the former Baby Gladys on the spot, renamed her Mary Pickford, and made her into “America’s Sweetheart.” She became America’s first movie star. As noted in *Baseline’s Encyclopedia of Film*, Mary Pickford was, “if popularity were all, the greatest star there has ever been. . . . Little Mary became the industry’s chief focus and biggest asset, as well as the draw of draws—bigger, even, than Chaplin.”

The success of Mary Pickford in many ways paralleled the ascendancy of movies themselves. As audiences embraced the young star, they embraced the medium, and movies grew into a national obsession. Along with Pickford, Charlie Chaplin, himself a former child star in British vaudeville, became one of the motion picture industry’s success stories. A huge star by the late teens, Chaplin made the films that America wanted to see. When he discovered a young boy performing in vaudeville who reminded him of himself as a child, Chaplin created a film for them both to star in. Little Jackie Coogan’s endearing performance in *The Kid* made the six-year-old a household name and launched Hollywood’s Child Star Era.

During the 1920s, studios churned out silent films at an amazing rate. Westerns, action pictures, murder mysteries, and romances all drew audiences to the theatres. After *The Kid*, so did movies starring children, including the immensely popular *Our Gang* series. Movie studios sent out continual casting calls in search of clever and cute kids, and parents from all over America began to flock to Hollywood in search of fame and fortune for their offspring. When Jackie Coogan was awarded a million-dollar movie contract in 1923, the race to find the next child star was on. As Diana Serra Carey, a former child star who became very famous during the 1920s and 1930s as Baby Peggy, has written: “Although the child star business was a very new line to be in, it opened up a wide choice of jobs for many otherwise unskilled workers, and it grew with remarkable speed. Speed was, in fact, the name of the game. Parents, agents, producers, business managers, and a host of lesser hangers-on were all engaged in a desperate race to keep ahead of their meal ticket’s inexorable march from cuddly infant to graceless adolescent.” Soon Hollywood was filled with a plethora of people pushing their youthful products.

In 1929, when the stock market crashed and America fell into the Great Depression, the movie industry faced a crisis: in a time of severe economic hardship, would Americans part with their hard-earned money to go to the movies? But sound had just come in, and America was hooked. For a nickel, audiences could escape the harsh reality of their daily lives and enter a Hollywood fantasy. Movies boomed during the Depression, and child stars were a big part of that boom.

By the early 1930s, children had come to mean big business for Hollywood. The precocious and versatile Mickey Rooney had been a

consistent money earner since the mid-1920s, as were new stars such as *The Champ*’s Jackie Cooper. But nothing would prepare Hollywood, or the world, for the success of a curly haired six-year-old sensation named Shirley Temple.

The daughter of a Santa Monica banker and his star-struck wife, Shirley Temple was a born performer. At three, the blond-haired, dimpled cherub was dancing and singing in two-reelers. By six, when she starred in *Stand Up and Cheer*, she had become a bona fide movie star. *Baseline’s Encyclopedia of Film* notes: “Her bouncing blond curls, effervescence and impeccable charm were the basis for a Depression-era phenomenon. Portraying a doll-like model daughter, she helped ease the pain of audiences the world over.” In 1934, she received a special Academy Award. A year later, she was earning one hundred thousand dollars a year. For most of the 1930s, Shirley Temple was the number one box office star. Twentieth-Century Fox earned six million dollars a year on her pictures alone.

During the height of the Child Star Era, the major studios all boasted stables of child actors and schoolrooms in which to teach them. Among the top stars of the decade were the British Freddie Bartholomew, number two to Shirley Temple for many years; Deanna Durbin, the singing star who single-handedly kept Universal Studios afloat; and the incredibly gifted Judy Garland. But for every juvenile star, there were hundreds of children playing supporting and extra roles, hoping to become the next Shirley Temple.

As America emerged from the Depression and faced another World War, the child stars of the 1930s faced adolescence. Shirley Temple, Freddie Bartholomew, and Jackie Cooper had become teenagers, and Hollywood didn’t seem to know what to do with them. Audiences were not interested in watching their idols grow up on screen, and most child stars were not re-signed by their studios. Shirley Temple was literally thrown off the lot that she had grown up on. But there were always new kids to take the place of the old, and in the 1940s, Hollywood’s top stars included Roddy McDowall, Margaret O’Brien, Natalie Wood, and Elizabeth Taylor. As their predecessors had done, these child stars buoyed American audiences through difficult times. And again, when their own difficult times came with adolescence, American audiences abandoned them. Fortunately, for many of the child stars of the 1940s, times were changing, and so was Hollywood. As the studio system and Child Star Era began to crumble in the late 1940s, these youthful actors and actresses found work in independent films and in television.

By the early 1950s, audiences were calling for a different kind of film, and Hollywood was complying. Television became the new breeding ground for child stars, as youthful actors were called upon to appear in such popular sitcoms as *Leave It to Beaver* in the 1950s, *My Three Sons* in the 1960s, *The Brady Bunch* in the 1970s, *Diff’rent Strokes* in the 1980s, and *Home Improvement* in the 1990s. Although TV audiences were interested in watching the children on their favorite shows grow up on the air, making the transition from child to teenager more easily accomplished, because the life of a series was generally short, youthful TV stars faced the same trouble as their child movie star predecessors once the show went off the air. They found it difficult to be taken seriously as adult actors. They also found it difficult to adjust to a life out of the limelight. As Jackie Cooper once said: “One thing I was never prepared for was to be lonely and frightened in my twenties.”

The music industry, too, has always had its fair share of child prodigies. From Mozart to Michael Jackson, audiences have always

been drawn to youthful genius. But while some young stars such as Little Stevie Wonder managed to make the transition to adult stardom, there are equally as many children who have not made it. And when the music industry began creating child acts to promote, it soon found itself facing the same problems as had movies and television. Would audiences who found child singers cute still buy their records when they were less-than-talented adults? In too many cases, the answer was no.

When little Ronnie Howard of *The Andy Griffith Show* was cast as a teenager on *Happy Days*, it was a big step for a child star. When he became a successful movie director, he was lauded as having dodged the stigma of child stardom. Others have followed in his footsteps, most notably Jodie Foster, a two-time Academy Award winner who is one of Hollywood's most respected actresses and directors. And, of course, Shirley Temple went on to have a distinguished political career, serving as a United States ambassador. But for every Ron Howard, Jodie Foster, Roddy McDowall, or Shirley Temple, there are hundreds of former child stars who have had to face falling out of the spotlight. For all the former child stars who have managed to create for themselves a normal adult life, there are far too many who have fallen into a life of dysfunction or drug use. For others, such as Rusty Hamer, a child star for nine years on *Make Room for Daddy*, or Trent Lehman, who played Butch on *Nanny and the Professor*, the transition from child star to adulthood ended in suicide.

In 1938, twenty-four-year-old Jackie Coogan went to court to sue his mother for his childhood earnings, which were between two and four million dollars. Married to a rising young starlet named Betty Grable, Coogan was broke and sought to get what was legally his. By the end of the trial, his millions were found to be almost all gone, and the strain of the trial destroyed his marriage. But out of Coogan's tragedy came the Coogan Act, a bill which forced the parents of child actors to put aside at least half of their earnings. That still hasn't prevented child stars such as Gary Coleman from having to go to court to fight for their hard-earned millions, however.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the motion picture industry has witnessed a resurgence of interest in child stars. River Phoenix and Ethan Hawke, both teenage actors, managed to make the difficult transition to adult roles. But Phoenix, although a seemingly mature young man praised for his formidable talents, found the pressures of a Hollywood lifestyle too much and died of an accidental drug overdose in 1993. In the early 1990s, Macaulay Culkin was perhaps the biggest child star since Shirley Temple. But when audiences lost interest in the teenager, he stopped working altogether. Soon his parents were engaged in a battle over custody and money, while the tabloids ran articles about Culkin's troubled life.

Despite the object lessons drawn from the lives of so many child stars, audiences will continue to pay to see juvenile performers even as the television, movie, and music industries will continue to promote them. Child stars represent the dual-edged sword that is American popular culture. Epitomizing the youthful glamour by which Americans are taught to be seduced, children have entranced audiences throughout the twentieth century. But on the other side of glamour and fame are the bitter emptiness of rejection and the harsh reality of life out of the spotlight. Perhaps former child star Paul Petersen said it best: "Fame is a dangerous drug and should be kept out of the reach of children—and their parents as well."

—Victoria Price

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## *The China Syndrome*

Possibly more than any other film, *The China Syndrome's* popularity benefited from a chance occurrence. *The China Syndrome* showed many Americans their worst vision of technology gone wrong, but it proved entirely too close to reality when its release coincided with a near meltdown at Three Mile Island, Pennsylvania. In the film, Jane Fonda and Michael Douglas play the television news team who, while researching the newly perfected nuclear technology, capture on film an accident resulting in a near meltdown of the power plant. Fonda and Douglas's characters find themselves trapped between the public's right to know and the industry's desire to bury the incident. The nuclear accident depicted by the film became the platform for "NIMBY" culture, in which expectations of comfort and a high standard of safety compelled middle-class Americans to proclaim "Not in my backyard!" Together, these incidents—one fictional and another all too real—aroused enough concern among Americans to prohibit nuclear energy from ever becoming a considerable source of power for the nation.

—Brian Black

## *Chinatown*

Roman Polanski directed this 1974 classic film portraying the mystery and intrigue of Raymond Chandler's fascinating novel. Jack Nicholson played Jake Gittes, a private detective trapped in the odd Asian-immigrant culture of the desert West. Hired to investigate the murder of the chief engineer for the Los Angeles Power and Water Authority in 1930s California, Gittes finds himself pulled into the unique political and economic power structure of the arid region: water politics with all its deceptions and double dealings dominates planning and development.

The film acquired a cult following because of its dark, intriguing story—seemingly based in another world and era—and the enduring popularity of Jack Nicholson. *Chinatown's* film noir setting places it in a long line of fine films deriving from the 1940s mysteries of Alfred Hitchcock. The defining characteristic of such films is uncertainty—of character and plot. Gittes repeatedly appears as the trapped character searching in vain for truth; indeed, the viewer searches with him. In the end, the evil is nearly always exposed. However, typical to film noir, *Chinatown's* conclusion leaves the viewer strangely unsure if truth actually has emerged victorious.



Jack Nicholson in a scene from the film *Chinatown*.

In 1990, Nicholson starred in and directed *Chinatown*'s sequel, *The Two Jakes*, set in 1948 California. Oil has replaced water as the power source for regional wealth, creating a fine backdrop for another dark mystery based on adultery and intrigue.

—Brian Black

## The Chipmunks

The Chipmunks—Alvin, Simon, and Theodore—were the only cartoon rodents to sell millions of records and star in their own television series. The voices of all three chipmunks, as well as the part of David Seville, were performed by actor/musician Ross Bagdasarian (1919-1972). As Seville, Bagdasarian had enjoyed a #1 hit with “Witch Doctor” in early 1958; later that year he released “The Chipmunk Song” (“Christmas Don’t Be Late”) in time for the

Christmas season, and sold over four million singles in two months. The Chipmunks, with their high warbling harmonies, churned out a half dozen records in the late 1950s and early 1960s. All of Bagdasarian’s records were on the Liberty label, and the chipmunks were named for three of Liberty’s production executives.

The Chipmunks’ popularity led to a primetime cartoon series (*The Alvin Show*) on CBS television during the 1961-62 season. In 1983, Ross Bagdasarian, Jr., revived the act with a second successful cartoon series, *Alvin and the Chipmunks*, which aired on NBC from 1983 to 1990, and a new album, *Chipmunk Punk*.

—David Lonergan

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See Cheech and Chong

## Choose-Your-Own-Ending Books

Thanks to the interactive capabilities of the computer, traditional styles of linear narrative in storytelling can be altered by means of hypertext links that allow readers the ability to alter the direction of a story by making certain decisions at various points, in effect choosing their own endings. This interactive style was presaged in the 1970s when several children's publishers began offering books that invited readers to custom-design the flow of a story by offering a choice of different pages to which they could turn. Strictly speaking, "Choose-Your-Own-Ending Books" refer to several series of children's books published by Bantam Books since 1979. Originated by author Edward Packard, Bantam's "Choose-Your-Own-Adventure" series numbered about 200 titles in the first 20 years of publication, with spinoffs such as "Choose Your Own Star Wars Adventure" and "Choose Your Own Nightmare."

The "Choose Your Own Adventure" series has proven to be immensely popular among its young readers, who unwittingly gave their blessing to the concept of interactive fiction even before it became commonplace on computer terminals or CD-ROMs. A 1997 profile of Packard in *Contemporary Authors* quoted an article he wrote for *School Library Journal* in which he stated that "multiple plots afford the author the opportunity to depict alternative consequences and realities. Complexity may inhere in breadth rather than in length." The technique appealed to young readers for whom active participation in the direction of a narrative was a sign of maturity and ownership of the text.

The first book Packard wrote in this style, *Sugarcane Island*, a story about a trip to the Galapagos Islands, did not excite interest among publishers so he put it aside for five years. It finally found a home with Vermont Crossroads Press, an innovative children's book publisher, which brought out the book in 1976. The fledgling series gained national attention when the *New York Times Book Review* (April 30, 1978) devoted half a page to a Pocket Books/Archway edition of *Sugarcane Island* and to a Lippincott edition of Packard's *Deadwood City*. Reviewer Rex Benedict wrote: "Dead or alive, you keep turning pages. You become addicted."

Other reviewers, especially in the school library press, felt that the books were gimmicky and that they prevented children from developing an appreciation for plot and character development. An article in the journal *Voice for Youth Advocates* endorsed the books for their participatory format, however, noting that "readers' choices and the resulting consequences are fertile ground for developing students' ability to predict outcomes or for group work on values clarification."

Writers who have contributed to the series and its various spinoffs have included Richard Brightfield, Christopher Golden, Laban Carrick Hill, Robert Hirschfeld, Janet Hubbard-Brown, Vince

Lahey, Jay Leibold, Anson Montgomery, R. A. Montgomery, and Andrea Packard.

—Edward Moran

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## Christie, Agatha (1890-1979)

Deemed the creator of the modern detective fiction novel and nicknamed the Duchess of Death, Agatha Christie continues to be one of the most popularly read authors since the publication of her first book, *The Mysterious Affair at Styles*, in 1920. Since then, more than 100 million copies of her books and stories have been sold.

Born Agatha Miller on September 15, 1890, in Torquay, located in Devonshire, England, Christie enjoyed a Victorian childhood where her parents' dinner parties introduced her to Henry James and Rudyard Kipling. Formally educated in France and debuting in Cairo,



Agatha Christie

Agatha began writing seriously after she married Archibald Christie in 1914. She wrote her first novel in 1916 in just two weeks. Several publishers rejected the manuscript. Almost two years later, John Lane accepted the book and offered her a contract for five more.

While her creative interests increased, Christie's relationship with her husband steadily declined until he left her in 1926 for his mistress, Nancy Neele. On December 6 of the same year, Christie disappeared for eleven days. Her car was found abandoned at Newlands Corner in Yorkshire. Later, employees at the Hydro Hotel in Harrogate recognized Christie as a guest at the spa resort, where Christie had identified herself to hotel employees and guests as Teresa Neele from South Africa. Christie later claimed to have been suffering from selective amnesia; she never wrote about her disappearance.

Divorcing her first husband in 1928, Christie married Max Mallowan in 1930 after meeting him during an excursion to Baghdad in 1929. Accompanying him on archeological excavations, Christie traveled extensively in the Middle East and also to the United States in 1966 for his lecture series at the Smithsonian Institute. While stateside, Christie began to write a three-part script based on Dickens's *Bleak House*. She only completed two parts of the project before withdrawing herself from the script. While she enjoyed novel and short story writing, Christie cared little for scriptwriting and even less for the film adaptations made from her novels, even though critics praised Charles Laughton's and Marlene Dietrich's performances in *Witness for the Prosecution* (1955).

Several national honors arose in accordance with Christie's popular fame as a novelist. In 1956, she was named Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire, and in 1971, Christie was appointed Dame of the British Empire. Despite these accolades, Christie continued to lead a quiet private life, writing steadily until her death in 1979.

Though mystery novels as a genre became fashionable in the nineteenth century, Christie popularized the format so successfully that mystery writers continue to follow her example. Christie built on an early modern theme of comedies: a misunderstanding, crime, or murder occurs in the first act, an investigation follows with an interpolation of clue detection and character analysis, and the story concludes with a revelation, usually of mistaken identities, leading to the capture of the murderer.

During her life, Christie wrote sixty-six novels, more than one hundred short stories, twenty plays, an autobiography, and other various books of poetry and nonfiction. Though her play *The Mousetrap* (1952) is the longest running play in London's West End, Christie's most enduring work incorporates the two now-famous fictional detectives Hercule Poirot and Jane Marple.

A Belgian immigrant living in London, Hercule Poirot embodies the ideal elements of a modern detective, though Christie clearly fashioned him after Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes. Like Holmes, Poirot studies not only the clues of the crime but also the characters of the suspects. What distinguishes him from Holmes is Poirot's attention to personal appearance. Even while traveling by train in *Murder on the Orient Express*, Poirot finds time to set and style his moustache. Because of his attention to detail, Poirot, in a time before fingerprint matches and DNA testing, solves mysteries by using what he terms "the little gray cells."

Miss Marple, an elderly spinster, acts as Poirot's antithesis except for her ability to solve mysteries. Marple is a successful detective because of her unobtrusive and innocuous presence. Few suspects assume an older woman with a knitting bag can deduce a motive behind murder. Marple, like Poirot, however, does embody a

particularly memorable trait: she doesn't trust anyone. In Christie's autobiography, the author describes Miss Marple: "Though a cheerful person she always expected the worst of everyone and everything and was, with almost frightening accuracy, usually proved right."

Both detectives have been made famous in the United States by the critically acclaimed television series *Poirot* and *Agatha Christie's Miss Marple*, produced by and aired on the Arts and Entertainment network, and beginning in 1989, and on the PBS weekly program *Mystery!* Although more than sixty-five film and made-for-television adaptations have been produced from Christie's novels, none claims the following these series command. Immortalizing the roles of Hercule Poirot and Miss Marple, David Suchet and Joan Hickson have indelibly imprinted images of the detectives in the minds of fans. Though Agatha Christie died long before the creation of the series, her legacy of detective fiction will be remembered in the United States not only in print but on the small screen as well.

—Bethany Blankenship

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## Christmas

For Americans, the celebration of Christmas is often considered one of the most important holidays of the year. Because of the diverse heritages and customs, in addition to Kwanzaa, a tradition begun in the later part of the twentieth century, the American Christmas consists of traditions from not only the German, but English, Dutch, and other Eastern European countries as well. Having religious significance, Christmas also celebrates the child found in each individual and the desire for peace. Falling during the same month as the Jewish observance of Chanukah or Hanukkah (the Feast of Lights) and the African-American celebration of Kwanzaa, the season of Christmas serves as a time of celebration, feasting, and a search for miracles.

While Christmas generally is considered the celebration of Jesus's birth, the early Puritans, who settled the New England region, refused to celebrate the occasion. Disagreeing with the early church fathers who established the holiday around a pagan celebration for easy remembrance by the poor, the Puritans considered the observance secular in nature. Set during the winter solstice when days grow dark early, Christmas coincides with the Roman holiday of Saturnalia; the date, December 25, marks the celebration of Dies Natalis Invicti Solis, or the birth day of the Unconquered Sun by the Romans.



An early Coca-Cola advertising poster featuring the company's famed Santa Claus.

Puritans believed that these pagan customs, which included no work, feasting, and gift giving, were inappropriate for the celebration of the Lord's birth. While the northern colonists did not observe the day, the southern colonists celebrated in much the same style as their British counterparts—with banquets and family visits. Firecrackers or guns were used to welcome the Christ Child at midnight on Christmas. The residents of New York (New Amsterdam) celebrated the season in a similar fashion as their Dutch ancestors had with St. Nicholas Day (December 6), established to honor the patron saint of children. Gradually, all observances became centered around the date December 25, with traditions becoming mixed and accepted between different ethnic backgrounds.

With these strong ties to religion, Christmas serves an important role for the Christian faith. The four Sundays before Christmas, or the season of Advent, prepares the congregation for the arrival of the Messiah. With wreaths consisting of greenery, four small purple candles, and one large white candle, church members are reminded of the four elements of Christianity: peace, hope, joy, and love. This season of the church year ends with the lighting of the Christ candle on Christmas morning, signalling the two week period of Christmastide.

Nativity scenes, or creches, adorn altars as a visual reminder of the true meaning of Christmas.

While attendance at church services and midnight masses seems commonplace, the first visible sign of the Christmas season appears in the decoration of the home. Some families decorate the outside of their home with multi-strings of colored lights, while others focus their decorations around an evergreen tree of spruce, fir, or cedar. In the 1960s, a new type of Christmas tree appeared on the market which allows families to prepare for the season early and leave their decorations up well into the New Year. Artificial trees have ranged in style from the silver aluminum trees (1960s) to the imitation spruce and snow-covered fir. A custom attributed to Martin Luther, the Christmas tree often appears decorated with lights and ornaments consisting of family heirlooms—a central theme which had meaning to the family—or religious symbols. Christmas trees became widely used after 1841 when Prince Albert placed one for his family's use at Windsor Castle. Originally, the Christmas tree was decorated with candles. With the introduction of electricity, however, strings of small and large bulbs ranging in color from white to multi-color illumine the tree. The lighting of the tree dates back to the days when light was used to dispel the evil found in darkness. Around the base of the tree, gifts, creches, or large scale displays of Christmas villages represent some important memory or tradition in the family's heritage or life.

The Christmas tree is not the only greenery used during the holiday season. Wreaths of holly, fir, and pine appear on doors and in windows of homes. Each represents a part of the mystical past or ancestors' beliefs. The holly, which the ancients used to protect their home from witches, also represents the crown of thorns worn by Jesus at His crucifixion. The evergreen fir and pine represent everlasting life. Mistletoe, a Druid tradition and hung in sprigs or as a Kissing Ball, brings the hope of a kiss to the one standing beneath the spray. The red and white flowering poinsettia, native to Central American countries and brought to the United States by Dr. Joel Poinsett, represents the gift of a young Mexican peasant girl to the Christ Child.

Christmas serves as a time when gifts are exchanged between family and friends. This custom, while attributed to the gifts brought by the Magi to the Christ Child, can be traced to the earlier celebration of Saturnalia by the Romans. While the name varies with the country of origin, the bearer of gifts to children holds a special place in people's hearts and comes during the month of December. The most recognized gift-giver is based on Saint Nicholas, a bishop of Myra in 300 to 400 A. D., and the tradition was brought to America by the Dutch of New York. Saint Nicholas' appearance went undefined until the early 1800s when he appeared in the stories of Washington Irving.

While Irving's stories would include general references to Saint Nicholas, Clement Clark Moore would give Americans the image most commonly accepted. A professor of Divinity, in 1822 Moore wrote "A Visit from Saint Nicholas," also known as "The Night Before Christmas," as a special gift for his children. A friend, hearing the poem, had it published anonymously the following year in a local newspaper. Telling the story of the visit of Saint Nicholas, the poem centers around a father's experience on Christmas Eve; the poem reveals and establishes a new vision of St. Nicholas. St. Nicholas drives a miniature sleigh pulled by eight reindeer named Dasher, Dancer, Prancer, Vixen, Comet, Cupid, Donner, and Blitzen. Moore's description of Saint Nicholas describes the clothing worn by the man. "He was dressed all in fur, from his head to his foot, / And his clothes were all tarnished with ashes and soot; / A bundle of toys he had flung



on his back, / And he looked like a peddler just opening his sack.” For the nineteenth century reader, the image of someone dressed like a peddler with a bag of toys on his back could be easily visualized.

Moore did not end his description here, but gave a physical description of the man as well. With twinkling eyes and dimples, Saint Nicholas has a white beard which gives him a grandfatherly appearance. In addition, Moore added: “He had a broad face and a little round belly, / That shook, when he laughed, like a bowlful of jelly.” The jolly gentleman of childhood Christmas fantasy has become a reality. The description is so vivid that artists began to feature this portrait of Saint Nicholas in their seasonal drawings. In 1881 Thomas Nast, a cartoonist in New York, would define the gentleman and give him the characteristics for which he has become known. Saint Nicholas’s name has changed to the simplified Santa Claus and has become a lasting part of the Christmas tradition.

Santa Claus and his miraculous gifts have played such a part of the Christmas celebration that many articles, movies, and songs have been written about the character. The most famous editorial “Yes, Virginia, There Is a Santa Claus,” appeared in *The Sun* in 1897 after a child wrote asking about Santa’s existence. The response to the child’s letter is considered a Christmas classic, with many newspapers repeating the editorial on Christmas Day. This same questioning regarding Santa Claus’ existence is portrayed in the film *Miracle on 34th Street* (1947), where a young girl learns not only to believe in what can be seen but also in the unseen. Johnny Marks adds to the legend of Santa Claus and his reindeer with the song “Rudolph the Red-nosed Reindeer” (1949), which is performed most notably by Gene Autry. This song, while using Moore’s names for the reindeer, adds a new one, Rudolph, to the lexicon of Santa Claus.

The spirit of Santa Claus has not only given the season a defining symbol, but has also created a season with an emphasis on commercialization. Santa’s bag of toys means money for the merchants. Christmas items and the mention of shopping for Christmas may begin as early as the summer, with Christmas tree displays appearing in retail stores in September and October. Christmas has become so important to the business world that some specialty stores dedicate their merchandise to promoting the business of Christmas year-round. Shopping days are counted, reminders are flashed across the evening news, and advertisements are placed in newspapers. The images of Christmas not only bring joy, but also anxiety as people are urged to shop for the perfect gift and to spend more money.

While the season of Christmas symbolizes various things to different people, the Christ Child and Santa Claus represent two differing views of the celebration. The traditions and customs of the immigrant background have merged and provide the season with something for everyone. Adding to the celebration the Jewish festival Chanukah, and the African-American celebration Kwanzaa, the season of Christmas seems to run throughout the month of December. With the merging of the sacred and the pagan, magic is revisited and dreams are fulfilled while money is spent in the never-ending cycle of giving.

—Linda Ann Martindale

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## Christo (1935—)

The most well-known environmental artist of this half century, Christo first captured the public’s attention in the 1960s by wrapping large-scale structures such as bridges and buildings. In the following three decades his artworks became lavish spectacles involving millions of dollars, acres of materials, and hundreds of square miles of land. His projects are so vast and require so much sophisticated administration, bureaucracy, and construction, that he is best thought of as an artist whose true medium is the real world.

Christo Vladimirov Javacheff was born in Gabrovo, Bulgaria, into an intellectually enlightened family. After study in the art academy in Bulgaria, his work for the avant-garde Burian Theatre in 1956 proved decisive. Christo began wrapping and packaging objects—a technique called “empaquetage”—a year after his move to Paris in 1957. Empaquetage was a reaction to the dominance of tachiste painting, the European version of American abstract expressionism. Conceptual in nature, wrapping isolates commonplace objects and imbues them with a sense of mystery. Christo often used transparent plastic and rope to wrap cars, furniture, bicycles, signs and, for brief periods, female models.

In Paris, Christo became acquainted with the Nouveau Réalistes group, which was interested in using junk materials and with the incorporation of life into art. Soon his artworks utilized tin cans, oil drums, boxes, and bottles. He married Jeanne-Claude de Guillebon, who became his inseparable companion, secretary, treasurer, and collaborator. So close is their partnership that Christo’s works often bear Jeanne-Claude’s name as well as his own.

The early sixties witnessed Christo’s first large-scale projects. Several of these involved barrels, the most famous of which was *Iron Curtain—Wall of Oil Drums* (1962). A response to the then-new Berlin wall, it consisted of more than two hundred barrels stacked twelve feet high. It effectively shut down traffic for a night on a Paris street. As the sixties wore on, and particularly after Christo moved to New York, his works became larger and even more conceptual. He created *Air Packages* (large sacs of air that sometimes hovered over museums), wrapped trees, and even packaged a medieval tower. In 1968 Christo wrapped two museum buildings, the Künsthalle Museum in Bern, Switzerland, and the Museum of Contemporary Art in Chicago. The latter required sixty-two pieces of brown tarpaulin and two miles of brown rope.

About this time, Christo’s attention turned to the vast spaces of landscape. For *Wrapped Coast—One Million Square Feet, Little Bay, Australia* (1969) he covered a rocky, mile-long stretch of coastline with a million square feet of polythene sheeting and thirty-six miles of



The “Wrapped Trees” project by Christo and his wife Jeanne-Claude in the park of the Foundation Beyeler in Riehen, Switzerland, 1998.

rope. The work was the first of his projects in which Christo had to solve problems connected to government agencies and public institutions. Controversy erupted when nurses on the privately owned land protested because they thought that hospital money was being diverted and that a recreational beach would be shut down. Actually, Christo paid for the project himself and allowed for the beach to remain open.

While teaching in Colorado, Christo became intrigued by the Rocky Mountain landscape. *Valley Curtain* (1971-72, Rifle Gap, Colorado) was composed of two hundred thousand square feet of nylon hung from a cable between two cliffs. The bright orange nylon curtain weighed four tons. Organizational, economic, and public relations problems delayed construction for a time, but these were exactly the challenges Christo and Jeanne-Claude had become so adept in solving. To raise the \$850,000 needed, the couple created the Valley Curtain Corporation. As would become customary, Christo’s drawings, plans, models, and photographs of *Valley Curtain* were sold as art objects to raise money for building the massive artwork. The first curtain was almost instantly ripped to pieces by high winds; a union boss had told his workers to quit for the day before it was properly secured. The second curtain was ruined by a sandstorm the day after it was hung, but not before it was unfurled to the cheers of media, news crews, and onlookers. A half-hour documentary was

made to register the course of the work’s construction. In all of Christo’s projects, photography and documentary film are used extensively to record the activities surrounding what are essentially temporary structures.

For his next project, *Running Fence* (1976), Christo raised two million dollars through the sale of book and film rights and from works of art associated with the project. Christo obtained the permission of fifty-nine private ranchers and fifteen government organizations. Ironically, the strongest opposition came from local artists who regarded the project as a mere publicity stunt. Christo then became a passionate lobbyist for his project, appearing at local meetings and agency hearings. Winding through Marin and Sonoma counties, the eighteen-foot-high fence traversed twenty-four miles over private ranches, roads, small towns, and subdivisions on its way to a gentle descent into the Pacific Ocean. Open-minded viewers found it lyrically beautiful; indeed, beauty is one of Christo’s unabashed aims.

*Surrounded Islands, Biscayne Bay, Greater Miami, Florida, 1980-83* was Christo’s major work of the eighties and involved floating rafts of shocking pink polypropylene entirely enclosing eleven small islands. It required more than four hundred assistants and \$3.5 million to complete. Sensitive to the environment, Christo decided not to surround three islands because they were home to endangered manatees, birds, and plants. Even so, Christo and Jeanne-Claude still

had to contend with lawsuits, lawyers, and public groups. Though *Surrounded Islands* extended for eleven miles and traversed a major city, it was strikingly lovely. Like *Running Fence*, *Surrounding Islands* existed for only two weeks.

Christo staged *The Umbrellas, Japan—U.S.A. 1984-91* simultaneously in the landscapes north of Tokyo and of Los Angeles. Roughly fifteen hundred specially designed umbrellas (yellow ones in California, blue ones in Japan) dotted the respective countrysides over areas of several miles. Only twenty-six landowners had to be won over in California; in Japan, where land is even more precious, the number was 459. The umbrellas were nearly twenty feet high and weighed over five hundred pounds each. Having cost the artist \$26 million to produce, the umbrellas stood for only three weeks beginning on October 9, 1991. Christo ended the project after a woman in California was killed when high winds uprooted an umbrella. During the dismantling of the umbrellas in Japan, a crane operator was electrocuted.

Altogether, Christo's art involves manipulating public social systems. As the artist has said, "We live in an essentially economic, social, and political world. . . . I think that any art that is less political, less economical, less social today, is simply less contemporary."

—Mark B. Pohlard

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## Chrysler Building

A monument to the glitzy Jazz Age of the 1920s, the Chrysler Building in New York City is America's most prominent example of Art Deco architecture and the epitome of the urban corporate headquarters. This unabashedly theatrical building, which was briefly the world's tallest after its completion in 1930, makes an entirely different statement than its nearby competitor, the Empire State Building. The Chrysler Building's appeal was summarized by architectural critic Paul Goldberger, who wrote, "There, in one building, is all of New York's height and fantasy in a single gesture."

The Chrysler Building was originally designed for real estate speculator William H. Reynolds by architect William Van Alen. In 1928, Walter Percy Chrysler, head of the Chrysler Motor Corporation, purchased the site on the corner of Lexington Avenue and 42nd Street in midtown Manhattan, as well as Van Alen's plans. But those plans were changed as the design began to reflect Chrysler's dynamic personality. The project soon became caught up in the obsessive quest for height that swept through the city's commercial architecture in the 1920s and 1930s. Buildings rose taller and taller as owners sought both to maximize office space as well as to increase consumer visibility. Van Alen's initial design projected a 925-foot building with



The Chrysler Building (foreground)

a rounded, Byzantine or Moorish top. At the same time, however, Van Alen's former partner, H. Craig Severance, was building the 927-foot Bank of the Manhattan Company on Wall Street. Not to be outdone, Van Alen revised his plans, with Chrysler's blessing, to include a new tapering top that culminated in a spire, bringing the total height to 1,046 feet and establishing the Chrysler Building as the world's tallest. The plans were kept secret, and near the end of construction the spire was clandestinely assembled inside the building, then hoisted to the top. The entire episode defined the extent to which the competition for height dominated architectural design at the time. The Chrysler Building's reign was brief, however; even before it was finished, construction had begun on the Empire State Building, which would surpass the Chrysler by just over two-hundred feet.

The finished building is a dazzling display of panache and corporate power. The most famous and notable aspect of the Chrysler Building is its Art Deco decoration. With its polychromy, zigzag ornamentation, shining curvilinear surfaces, and evocation of machines and movement, the Art Deco style—named after the 1925 Exposition Internationale des Arts Decoratifs et Industriels Modernes in Paris—provided Van Alen with a means to express the exuberance and vitality of 1920s New York, as well as the unique personality of

the building's benefactor. The interior of the Chrysler Building reflects the company's wealth. In the unique triangular lobby, reminiscent of a 1930s movie set, the lavish decorative scheme combines natural materials like various marbles, onyx, and imported woods with appropriate machine-age materials like nickel, chrome, and steel. Outside, a white brick skin accentuated by gray brick trim was laid over the building's steel frame in a pattern that emphasized the building's verticality. Steel gargoyles in the form of glaring eagles—representing both America and hood ornaments from Chrysler Company automobiles—were placed at the corners of the building's highest setback. (These gargoyles became famous after a photo of photographer Margaret Bourke-White standing atop one of them was widely circulated). The crowning achievement of the building, both literally and figuratively, is the spire. A series of tapering radial arches, punctuated by triangular windows, rise to a single point at the top. The spire's stainless steel gleams in the sun. The arches at the spire's base were based on automobile hubcaps. In fact, the entire building was planned with an elaborate iconographic program, including radiator cap gargoyles at the fourth setback, brick designs taken from Chrysler automobile hubcaps, and a band of abstracted autos wrapping around the building. The use of such company-specific imagery incorporated into the building's design anticipated the postmodern architecture of the 1980s.

The Chrysler Building was not the first corporate headquarters specifically designed to convey a company's image, but it may have been the most successful. The unique building was a more effective advertising tool for the Chrysler Company than any billboard, newspaper, or magazine ad. The Chrysler Building, with its shining telescoped top, stood out from the rather sedate Manhattan skyscrapers. While some observers see the building as kitsch or, in the words of critic Lewis Mumford, "inane romanticism," most appreciate its vitality. Now one of the world's favorite buildings, the Chrysler Building has become an American icon, symbolizing the pre-Depression glamour and the exuberant optimism of the Jazz Age.

—Dale Allen Gyure

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## Chuck D (1960—)

The primary rapper in one of the most significant hip-hop groups in the genre's history, Chuck D founded the New York City-based Public Enemy in order to use hip-hop music as an outlet to disseminate his pro-Black revolutionary messages. Because of the millions of albums Public Enemy sold and the way the group changed the landscape of hip-hop and popular music during the late-1980s, Public

Enemy's influence on popular music specifically, and American culture in general, is incalculable.

Chuck D (born Carlton Ridenhour August 1, 1960) formed Public Enemy in 1982 with fellow Long Island friends Hank Shocklee and Bill Stepheny, both of whom shared Chuck D's love of politics and hip-hop music. In 1985, a Public Enemy demo caught the attention Def Jam label co-founder Rick Rubin, and by 1986 Chuck D had revamped Public Enemy to include Bill Stepheny as their publicist, Hank Shocklee as a producer, Flavor Flav as a second MC, Terminator X as the group's DJ and Professor Griff as the head of Public Enemy's crew of onstage dancers. Public Enemy burst upon the scene in 1987 with their debut album *Yo! Bum Rush the Show*, and soon turned the hip-hop world on its head at a time when hip-hop music was radically changing American popular music. Chuck D's early vision to make Public Enemy a hotbed of extreme dissonant musical productions and revolutionary politics came into fruition with the release of 1988's *It Takes a Nation of Millions to Hold Us Back*. Recognized by critics at *Rolling Stone*, *SPIN*, *The Source* and the *Village Voice* as one of most significant works of popular music of the twentieth century, *It Takes a Nation...* took music to new extremes. That album combined furiously fast rhythms, cacophonous collages of shrieks and sirens, and Chuck D's booming baritone delivery that took White America to task for the sins of racism and imperialism.

Chuck D once remarked that hip-hop music was Black America's CNN, in that hip-hop was the only forum in which a Black point of view could be heard without being filtered or censored. As the leader of Public Enemy, a group that sold millions of albums (many to White suburban teens) Chuck D was one of the only oppositional voices heard on a widespread scale during the politically conservative 1980s.

Public Enemy's commercial and creative high point came during the late 1980s and early 1990s. The group recorded their song "Fight the Power" for Spike Lee's widely acclaimed and successful 1989 film *Do the Right Thing*, increasing Public Enemy's visibility even more. After the much-publicized inner group turmoil that resulted from anti-Semitic remarks publicly made by a group member, Chuck D kicked that member out, reorganized the group and went to work on the biggest selling album of Public Enemy's career, *Fear of a Black Planet*.

By then, Chuck D had perfected the "Public Enemy concept" to a finely-tuned art. He used Public Enemy's pro-Black messages to rally and organize African Americans, the group's aggressive and propulsive sonic attack to capture the attention of young White America, and their high visibility to edge Chuck D's viewpoints into mainstream discourse. Throughout the 1990s, Chuck D appeared on numerous talk shows and other widely broadcast events.

Taking advantage of his notoriety, Chuck D often lectured at college campuses during the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s. He became a political election correspondent for music video network MTV and, in 1997, he published a book on race and politics in America titled *Fight the Power*.

In a musical genre driven by novelty and innovation, Public Enemy's—and Chuck D's—influence and commercial success began to wane by the mid-1990s. In 1996 he released the commercially unsuccessful solo album, *Autobiography of Mista Chuck*. But unlike many artists who change their formula when sales decline, Chuck D



Chuck D speaks to Columbia University students in 1998.

never changed Public Enemy's course, and in 1998 the group released a highly political and sonically dense soundtrack album for Spike Lee's film *He Got Game*.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## Chun King

Chun King was one of the earliest brands of mass-marketed Chinese food in the United States, offering convenient "exotic" dinners in a can. Beginning with chicken chow mein in 1947, Chun King later expanded its menu to include eggrolls and chop suey. Although chow mein was Chinese-American, the maker of Chun King foods was not. The founder and president of Chun King was

Jeno F. Paulucci, the son of Italian immigrants. Paulucci began his career in the food industry working in a grocery, and later sold fruits and vegetables from a car. Paulucci saw an opportunity in Chinese food and began canning and selling chow mein. The business grew into a multi-million dollar industry, and in the late 1960s Paulucci sold the company for \$63 million. In the 1990s ConAgra and Hunt-Wesson marketed Chun King chow mein, beansprouts, eggrolls, and sauces.

—Midori Takagi

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## Church Socials

A gathering of church members for celebratory, social, or charitable purposes, church socials in America have remained popular—while becoming more varied and elaborate—throughout the past two centuries.

Church socials in America are rooted in ancient Jewish festivals. Jews traveled to Jerusalem to participate in public worship activities that commemorated important events or celebrated the harvest. Because the tribes of Israel were separated geographically, these festivals served the additional purpose of providing the cement needed for national unity. Old prejudices and misunderstandings were often swept away by these major events.

With the birth of the church, Christians shared common meals designed to enhance relationships within the church. The Bible says in Acts 2:46, “. . . They broke bread in their homes and ate together with glad and sincere hearts.” Eventually, the Agape meal or “love feast” became popular. It provided fellowship and opportunity to help the poor and widows. It was later practiced in the Moravian and Methodist churches.

Socials enhance church celebrations of Easter, Christmas, and other holidays. Because the Bible says that Jesus’ resurrection took place at dawn, Christians often meet together early on Easter morning for a “Sunrise Service” followed by a breakfast. An Easter egg hunt is often included, though some frown on this as a secular activity. Churches plan various Christmas socials such as caroling, exchanging gifts, and serving special dinners. Opinions vary on whether to include Christmas trees and Santa Claus. Some avoid them as secular symbols while others include them because they believe these traditions have Christian origins. As American society embraced other holidays such as Mother’s Day, Father’s Day, Valentine’s Day, the Fourth of July, and Thanksgiving, churches discovered fresh opportunities for social activities including mother-daughter, father-son, sweetheart, and Thanksgiving banquets. Churches in communities sometimes join together for patriotic celebrations on the Fourth of July.

Socials get people together in informal settings so that they will become better acquainted and work together more effectively in the church. Congregations in rural and small town America enjoy popular social activities involving food and games. Ham, bean, and cornbread dinners, chili suppers, “pot luck” meals, homemade ice cream socials, wiener roasts, picnics, hayrides, softball games, watermelon eating contests, and all-day singing events are only a few examples. In fact, for these rural congregations, church socials have often been the only source of social activities in a community. In some cases, homes were so far apart, separated by acres of farmland, that churches were the only places where people could go to meet others. Many people went to church socials on dates, and was a place where they often met their future spouses. Some churches included dancing and alcoholic beverages, but others believed those activities were inappropriate for churches to sponsor. Churches in both rural and urban areas often have family nights designed especially for busy families. A family comes to church on a weeknight and shares a meal with other families before Bible study or other small group activities.

In the latter half of the twentieth century, churches began planning more elaborate socials. Churches in or near urban areas attend professional sports. This is so widespread that most professional stadiums offer discount rates for church groups. Churches join together to sponsor basketball, softball, and volleyball leagues. While most churches rent community facilities, some have built their own gymnasiums and recreation halls. Other social activities involve trips to major recreation areas such as amusement parks. Swimming, picnicking, camping, and enjoying amusement rides are a few of the activities that round out these outings that last whole days or even entire weekends. Some church groups in recent years have provided cruises, trips to major recreational sites such as Branson, Missouri, and even vacations to other countries. While more elaborate, a cruise

for Christian singles, for example, serves the same purpose as the traditional hayride and wiener roast.

As the early church was concerned for widows, orphans, the sick and the poor, and gave generously to meet those needs, so modern church socials may be founded on the desire to assist the needy or fund church programs. As a result, activities such as homemade-ice-cream socials, sausage-and-pancake suppers, and craft bazaars are opened to the public. Some Catholic churches sponsor festivals that take on the flavor of county fairs. Amusement rides, carnival games, and food booths draw thousands of people. Money is used to pay for parochial schools or some other church project. (Some Catholic and many non-Catholic churches believe that these activities are too secular. Card playing, gambling, and the drinking of alcoholic beverages included in some of these events have also been quite controversial.) Some churches use their profits to support Christian retirement homes and hospitals. Some believe churches should not sell food or merchandise, but they give free meals away to the poor in the community. Other groups such as the Amish still have barn raising and quilting socials to help others in their community.

—James H. Lloyd

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## Cigarettes

It is highly unlikely that in 1881, when James A. Bonsack invented a cigarette-making machine, that he or anybody else could have predicted the mélange of future symbolism contained in each conveniently packaged stick of tobacco. The cigarette has come to stand for more than just the unhealthy habit of millions in American popular culture. It represents politics, money, image, sex, and freedom.

The tobacco plant held residence in the New World long before Columbus even set sail. American Indians offered Columbus dried tobacco leaves as a gift and, it is rumored, he threw them away because of the fowl smell. Later on, however, sailors brought tobacco back to Europe where it gained a reputation as a medical cure-all. Tobacco was believed to be so valuable that during the 1600s, it was frequently used as money. In 1619, Jamestown colonists paid for their future wives’ passage from England with 120 pounds of tobacco. In 1621, the price went up to 150 pounds per mate. Tobacco later helped finance the American Revolution, also known as “The Tobacco War,” by serving as collateral for loans from France.

Tobacco consumption took many forms before reaching the cigarette of the modern day. Spanish colonists in the New World smoked tobacco as a *cigarito*: shredded cigar remnants rolled in plant husks, then later in crude paper. In France, the *cigarito* form was also



**James Thurber enjoying a cigarette.**

popular, especially during the French Revolution. As aristocrats commonly consumed the snuff version of tobacco, the masses chose an opposing form. A moderate improvement to the Spanish cigarito, the French *cigarette* was rolled in rice straw. In 1832, an Egyptian artilleryman in the Turkish/Egyptian War created the paperbound version of today whose popularity spread to the British through veterans of the Crimean War. In England, a tobacconist named Philip Morris greatly improved the quality of the Turkish cigarette but still maintained only a cottage industry, despite the cigarette's growing popularity.

By the 1900s cigarettes rose to the highest selling form of tobacco on the market. Mass urbanization picked up the pace of daily life and popularized factory-made products such as soap, canned goods, gum, and the cigarette. James A. Bonsack's newly invented cigarette machine could turn out approximately 200 cigarettes per minute, output equal to that of forty or fifty workers. Cigarettes were now a more convenient form of tobacco consumption—cleaner than snuff or chew, more portable than cigars or pipes—and also were increasingly more available. England's Philip Morris set up shop in America as did several other tobacco manufacturers: R.J. Reynolds (1875), J.E. Liggett (1849), Duke (1881, later, the American Tobacco Company), and the oldest tobacco company in the United States, P. Lorillard (1760). The cigarette quickly became enmeshed in American popular culture. In 1913, R.J. Reynolds launched its Camel brand whose instant appeal, notes Richard Kluger in *Ashes to Ashes*, helped inspire this famous poem from a Penn State publication: "Tobacco is a dirty weed. I like it. / It satisfies no moral need. I like it. / It makes you thin, it makes you lean / It takes the hair right off your bean / It's

the worst darn stuff I've ever seen. / I like it." Since their introduction, cigarettes have maintained a status as one of the best-selling consumer products in the country. In 1990, 4.4 billion cigarettes were sold in America. That same year, several states restricted their sale.

The greatest propagator of what King James I of England referred to as "the stinking weed," has been war: the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the Mexican and Crimean Wars, the U.S. Civil War, and the greatest boost to U.S. cigarette consumption—World War I. During the first World War, cigarettes were included in soldiers' rations and as Kluger suggests, "quickly became the universal emblem of the camaraderie of mortal combat, that consummate male activity." Providing the troops with their daily intake of cigarettes, a very convenient method of consumption during combat, was viewed as morale enhancing if not downright patriotic. Regardless of intention, the tobacco manufacturers ensured themselves of a future market for their product.

At the same time, women became more involved in public life, earning the right to vote in 1920, and entering the work force during the absence of the fighting men. Eager to display their new sense of worth and fortitude, women smoked cigarettes, some even publicly. The tobacco industry responded with brands and advertisements aimed especially at women. While war may have brought the cigarette to America, marketing has kept it here. Since the introduction of the cigarette to America, the tobacco industry has spent untold billions of dollars on insuring its complete assimilation into U.S. popular culture. Despite the 1971 ban of radio and television advertisements for cigarettes, the industry has successfully inducted characters such as Old Joe Camel, The Marlboro Man, and the Kool Penguin into the popular iconography. A 1991 study published by the *Journal of the American Medical Association* revealed that 91 percent of six year olds could identify Joe Camel as the character representing Camel cigarettes and that Joe Camel is recognized by preschoolers as often as Mickey Mouse. Aside from advertising, cigarettes have been marketed, most notably to the youth market, through a myriad of other promotional activities from industry-sponsored sporting and entertainment events to product placement in movies. In 1993 alone, the tobacco industry spent \$6 billion keeping their cigarettes fresh in the minds of Americans.

While Hollywood has inadvertently, and sometimes quite intentionally, made the cigarette a symbol of glamour and sexuality—the smoke gingerly billowing as an afterglow of, or substitute for, the act itself—anti-tobacco activists have equally pursued an agenda of disclosure, regulation, and often, prohibition. A war has been waged on the cigarette in America and everyone, smoker or not, was engaged by the end of the 1990s. The health hazards of smoking have been debated since at least the 1600s, but litigation in the twentieth century revealed what the tobacco industry had known but denied for years: that nicotine, the active substance in cigarettes, is an addictive drug, and that cigarette smoking is the cause of numerous diseases and conditions which claim the lives of nearly half a million Americans each year. The cigarette has thus become for many an emblem of deception and death for the sake of profit, or even, with the discovery of second-hand smoke as a carcinogen, a catalyst for social review. For others, it remains a symbol of money and power and politics or the Constitutional First Amendment invoked by so many smokers in their time of need. The cigarette is indeed a dynamic symbol in American society—habit, hazard, inalienable right.

—Nadine-Rae Leavell

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## Circus

Long before the advent of film, television, or the Internet, the circus delivered the world to people's doorsteps across America. Arriving in the United States shortly after the birth of the American republic, the growth of the circus chronicled the expansion of the new nation, from an agrarian backwater to an industrial and overseas empire. The number of circuses in America peaked at the turn of the twentieth century, but the circus has cast a long shadow on twentieth century American popular culture. The circus served as subject matter for other popular forms like motion pictures and television, and its celebration of American military might and racial hierarchy percolated into these new forms. From its zenith around 1900, to its decline and subsequent rebirth during the late twentieth century, the circus has been inextricably tied to larger social issues in American culture concerning race, physical disability, and animal rights.

In 1793, English horseman John Bill Ricketts established the first circus in the United States. He brought together a host of familiar European circus elements into a circular arena in Philadelphia: acrobats, clowns, jugglers, trick riders, rope walkers, and horses. By the turn of the twentieth century, the circus had become a huge, tented amusement that traveled across the country by railroad. In an age of monopoly capitalism, American circuses merged together to form giant shows; for example, the Ringling Brothers circus bought Barnum and Bailey's Greatest Show on Earth in 1907. The biggest shows employed over 1,000 people and animals from around the world. These circuses contained a free morning parade, a menagerie and a sideshow. Their canvas big tops could seat 10,000 spectators and treated audiences to three rings and two stages of constant entertainment. Contemporary critics claimed that the circus was "too big to see all at once." In the early 1900s, nearly 100 circuses, the biggest number in American history, rambled across the country.

In 1900, "circus day" was a community celebration. Before dawn, hundreds of spectators from throughout a county gathered to watch the circus train rumble into town. The early morning crowd witnessed scores of disciplined muscular men, horses, and elephants transform an empty field into a temporary tented city. In mid-morning, thousands more lined the streets to experience, up close, the circus parade of marching bands, calliopes, gilded wagons, exotic animals, and people winding noisily through the center of town. In the

United States, the circus reached its apex during the rise of American expansion overseas. Circus proprietors successfully marketed their exotic performances (even those featuring seminude women) as "respectable" and "educational," because they showcased people and animals from countries where the United States was consolidating its political and economic authority. With its displays of exotic animals, pageants of racial hierarchy (from least to most "evolved"), and dramatizations of American combat overseas, the circus gave its isolated, small-town audiences an immediate look at faraway cultures. This vision of the world celebrated American military might and white racial supremacy. The tightly-knit community of circus employees, however, also provided a safe haven for people ostracized from society on the basis of race, gender, or physical disability.

In the early twentieth century, the circus overlapped considerably with other popular amusements. Many circus performers worked in vaudeville or at amusement parks during the winter once the circus finished its show season. Vaudeville companies also incorporated circus acts such as juggling, wire-walking, and animal stunts into their programs. In addition, the Wild West Show was closely tied to the circus. Many circuses contained Wild West acts, and several Wild West Shows had circus sideshows. Both also shared the same investors. Circuses occasionally borrowed their subject matter from other contemporary amusements. At the dawning of the American empire, international expositions like the Columbia Exposition in Chicago (1893) profitably displayed ethnological villages; thus, circuses were quick to hire "strange and savage tribes" for sprawling new ethnological congresses of their own. The new film industry also used circus subjects. Thomas Edison's Manufacturing Company produced many circus motion pictures of human acrobatics, trick elephants, and dancing horses, among others. Circuses such as the Ringling Brothers Circus featured early film as part of their novel displays. During the early twentieth century, the circus remained a popular film subject in movies like Charlie Chaplin's *Circus* (1928) and Tod Browning's *Freaks* (1932). Several film stars, such as Burt Lancaster, began their show business careers with the circus. Cecil B. DeMille's *The Greatest Show on Earth* won an Oscar for Best Picture in 1952. These popular forms capitalized on the circus' celebration of bodily feats and exotic racial differences.

The American circus began to scale back its sprawling features in the 1920s, owing to the rise of the automobile and the movies. Most circuses stopped holding a parade because streets became too congested with cars. As motion pictures became increasingly sophisticated—and thus a more realistic mirror of the world than the circus—circuses also stopped producing enormous spectacles of contemporary foreign relations. Yet, despite its diminishing physical presence, the circus was still popular. On September 13, 1924, 16,702 people, the largest tented audience in American history, gathered at Concordia, Kansas, for the Ringling Brothers Barnum and Bailey circus. In the milieu of the rising movie star culture of the 1920s, the circus had its share of "stars," from bareback rider May Wirth to aerialist Lillian Leitzel and her dashing trapeze artist husband, Alfredo Codona. Like their movie star counterparts in the burgeoning consumer culture, circus stars began to advertise a wealth of products in the 1920s—from soap to sheet music. Leitzel became so famous that newspapers around the world mourned her death in 1931, after she fell when a piece of faulty equipment snapped during a performance in Copenhagen, Denmark.

During the Great Depression, the colorful traveling circus provided a respite from bleak times. When nearly a quarter of the United



States workforce was periodically unemployed, clown Emmett Kelly became a national star as “Willie,” a tramp character dressed in rags, a disheveled wig, hat, and smudged face, who pined for lost love and better circumstances. The circus continued to profit during World War II, when railroad shows traveled under the auspices of the Office of the Defense Transportation. Circuses exhorted Americans to support the war effort. Yet Ringling Brothers and Barnum and Bailey’s “Greatest Show On Earth” nearly disintegrated after 168 audience members died in a big top fire (sparked by a spectator who dropped a lit cigarette) during a performance in Hartford, Connecticut, on July 6, 1944.

By the early 1950s, circus audience numbers were in decline, in part because the circus no longer had a monopoly on novelty or current events. Television, like movies and radio, provided audiences with compelling and immediate images that displaced the circus as an important source of information about the world. Yet, as a way to link itself to familiar, well-established popular forms, early television often featured live circus and vaudeville acts; circus performers were also featured on *Howdy Doody* as well as game shows like *What’s My Line?* Ultimately, however, television offered Americans complete entertainment in the privacy of the home—which dovetailed nicely with the sheltered, domestic ethos of suburban America during the early Cold War. In this milieu, public amusements like movies and the circus attracted fewer customers. In 1956, just 13 circuses existed in America. As audiences shrank, showmen scaled back even further on their labor-intensive operations. Moreover, the rise of a unionized workforce (during the industrial union movement during the 1930s) meant that circus owners could no longer depend on a vast, cheap labor pool. Thus, John Ringling North cut his workforce drastically in 1956 when he abandoned the canvas tent for indoor arenas and stadiums. Circus employees and fans alike mourned the “death” of the familiar tented circus—a fixture of the circus business since 1825.

American social movements also transformed the circus. Circus performances of racial difference became increasingly controversial during the 1950s. Civil rights leaders had long objected to racist performances in American popular entertainment, but in the context of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, officials in the United States also protested because they feared that racist performances would legitimize Soviet claims that American racism was a product of American capitalism. Consequently, officials no longer aided circus agents’ efforts to hire foreign performers slated to work as “missing links,” “savages,” or “vanishing tribes,” and performances of “exotic” racial difference, particularly at the sideshow, slowly disappeared from the 1950s onward. In addition, disabled rights activists effectively shut down the circus sideshow and its spectacles of human abnormality by the early 1980s.

Lastly, the spread of the animal rights movement in the 1970s transformed the circus. Fearful of picketers and ensuing bad publicity, several circuses in the 1990s arrive silently at each destination and stop at night to avoid protesters. Cirque du Soleil, an extraordinarily successful French Canadian circus from Montreal (with a permanent show in Las Vegas), uses no animals in its performances. Instead, troupe members wear tight lycra body suits, wigs, and face paint to imitate animals as they perform incredible aerial acrobatics to the beat of a slick, synthesized pop musical score and pulsating laser lights. Yet, arguably, Cirque du Soleil (among others) is actually not a circus because of its absence of animals: throughout its long history, the circus has been defined by its interplay of humans and animals in a circular arena.

Despite the transformation of its content, the American circus endures at the turn of the twenty first century. Certainly, towns no longer shut down on “circus day,” yet a growing number of small one-ring circuses have proliferated across America. Shows like the Big Apple Circus, Circus Flora, and Ringling Brothers Barnum and Bailey’s show, “Barnum’s Kaleidoscope,” have successfully recreated the intimate, community atmosphere of the nineteenth century one-ring circus, without the exploitation of physical and racial difference that characterized the older shows. Ultimately, in the 1990s, a decade of increasingly distant, fragmented, mass-mediated, “virtual” entertainment, the circus thrives because it represents one of the few intimate, live (and hence unpredictable) community experiences left in American popular culture.

—Janet Davis

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## Cisneros, Sandra (1954—)

Born and raised in Chicago, Chicana writer and poet Sandra Cisneros is best known for *The House on Mango Street* (1983), a series of interconnected prose poems. She is one of a handful of Latina writers to make it big in the American literary scene and the first Chicana to sign with a large publishing firm. Cisneros graduated from Loyola University in Chicago and went on to the prestigious Iowa Writers Workshop at the University of Iowa where she earned an MFA. Her poetry collections include *My Wicked, Wicked Ways* (1987) and *Loose Woman* (1994). She also has authored a collection of essays and short stories, *Woman Hollering Creek* (1991). Her poems and stories offer a conversational style, chatty and rambling. Her writing is lean and crisp, peppered with Spanish words.

—Beatriz Badikian

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## *Citizen Kane*

Orson Welles' film *Citizen Kane* has been consistently ranked as one of the best films ever made. A masterpiece of technique and storytelling, the film helped to change Hollywood film-making and still exerts considerable influence today. However, at the time of its premiere in 1941, it was a commercial failure that spelled disaster for Welles' Hollywood career.

*Citizen Kane* tells the story of millionaire press magnate Charles Foster Kane (played by Welles). The film opens with Kane on his death bed in his magnificent Florida castle, Xanadu, murmuring the word "Rosebud." A newsreel reporter (William Alland) searches for clues to the meaning of the word and to the meaning of Kane himself. Interviewing many people intimately connected with Kane, the reporter learns that the millionaire was not so much a public-minded statesman as he was a tyrannical, lonely man. The reporter never learns the secret of Kane's last word. In the film's final moments, we see many of Kane's possessions being thrown into a blazing furnace. Among them is his beloved childhood sled, the name "Rosebud" emblazoned across it.

*Citizen Kane* encountered difficulties early on. Welles fought constantly with RKO over his budget and against limits on his control of the production. Furthermore, because the film was based in part on

the life of publisher William Randolph Hearst, Hearst's papers actively campaigned against it, demanding that *Citizen Kane* be banned and then later refusing to mention or advertise it altogether. Although the scheme backfired, generating enormous publicity for the movie, a frightened RKO released the film only after Welles threatened the studio with a lawsuit.

Critics reacted positively, but were also puzzled. They enthusiastically applauded *Citizen Kane's* many technical innovations. Throughout the film, Welles and his crew employed depth of field (a method in which action in both the foreground and background clearly are in focus, and used to great effect by cinematographer Gregg Toland), inventive editing, sets with ceilings, chiaroscuro lighting, and multilayered sound. Although sometimes used in foreign film, many of these techniques were new to Hollywood. They have since, however, become standard for the industry.

Critics also were impressed by *Citizen Kane's* many virtuoso sequences: a "March of Time"-type newsreel recounting the bare facts of Kane's life; the breakfast table scene, where in a few minutes his first marriage deteriorates to the strains of a waltz and variations (by noted screen composer Bernard Herrmann, in his first film assignment); a tracking shot through the roof of a nightclub; and a faux Franco-Oriental opera. None of these sequences, however, are showstoppers; each propels the narrative forward.



Orson Welles (center) in a scene from the film *Citizen Kane*.

That narrative proved puzzling both to critics and to audiences at large. Written by Herman J. Mankiewicz and Welles (although there is considerable controversy over how much Welles contributed), the narrative employs a series of flashbacks that tell different pieces of Kane's life story and reveal the witnesses' various perceptions of him. By arranging these pieces out of order, the script opened the door for later screenwriters to avoid the demands of strict chronology. At the time, however, this innovation confused most audiences.

While *Citizen Kane* did well in New York, the film did poor business in small-town America. The film was a commercial failure, allowing RKO's officials to eventually let go of Welles. Thereafter, he found it increasingly difficult to make movies in Hollywood. Shunned by the studio system, he was forced to spend much of his time simply trying to raise money for his various projects.

For a while, *Citizen Kane* itself seemed to suffer a similar fate. Although the film was nominated for a host of Oscars, Academy members took RKO's side in the studio's battle with Welles, awarding the movie only one Oscar for best original screenplay. The film lost to *How Green Was My Valley* for best picture. *Citizen Kane* soon sank into obscurity, rarely discussed, except when described as the beginning of the end of Welles' film career.

After World War II, RKO, seeking to recoup its losses, released *Citizen Kane* in European theaters hungry for American films and also made it available for American television. Exposed to a new generation of moviegoers, the film received new critical and popular acclaim. Riding the wave of *Citizen Kane*'s new-found popularity, Welles was able to return to Hollywood, directing *Touch of Evil* in 1958.

Consistently ranked number one on *Sight and Sound*'s top ten films list since the mid-1950s, *Citizen Kane* continues to attract, inspire, and entertain new audiences. In 1998, it was voted the best American film of the twentieth century by the American Film Institute.

—Scott W. Hoffman

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## *City Lights*

A silent film at the dawn of the talking picture technological revolution, *City Lights* appeared to popular acclaim and remains, for many, Charlie Chaplin's finest achievement. When Chaplin, known the world over for his "Little Tramp" character, began filming *City Lights* in 1928, talking pictures had become the rage in the movie industry, and most filmmakers who had originally conceived of their works as silent films were now adapting them into partial talkies or junking them altogether. Chaplin halted production on *City Lights* to weigh his options, and, when he resumed work several months later, he stunned his Hollywood peers by deciding to keep the film in a



Charlie Chaplin in a scene from the film *City Lights*.

silent form. "My screen character remains speechless from choice," he declared in a *New York Times* essay. "*City Lights* is synchronized [to a musical score] and certain sound effects are part of the comedy, but it is a non-dialogue picture because I preferred that it be that." For many, the film that resulted is a finely wrought balance of pathos and comedy, the very quintessence of Chaplin. The movie debuted in 1931.

Chaplin, who not only produced, directed, and starred in *City Lights* but also wrote and edited it and composed its musical score, centered his film on the Little Tramp and his relationship with a young, blind flower vendor who has mistaken him for a rich man. The smitten Tramp, not about to shatter her fantasy, undergoes a series of comic misadventures while trying to raise money for an operation that would restore her vision. He interrupts the suicide attempt of a drunken man who turns out to be a millionaire. The two become friends, but unfortunately the millionaire only recognizes the Tramp when drunk. Determined to help the young woman, the Tramp takes on such unlikely occupations as street sweeping and prize fighting (both of which go comically awry) before the millionaire finally offers him one thousand dollars for the operation. Robbers attack at just that moment, knocking the millionaire in the head. Police arrive and assume the Tramp is the thief (the millionaire, sobered by the blow, does not recognize him), but the Tramp manages to give the money to the woman before they catch him and haul him off to jail. After his release, he discovers that the young woman, now sighted, runs her own florist shop. She doesn't recognize the shabbily dressed Tramp at first and playfully offers him a flower. When she at last realizes who he is, the film concludes with the most poignant exchange of glances in the history of world cinema.

Chaplin found the casting of the nameless young blind woman to be particularly difficult. According to his autobiography, one of his biggest challenges “was to find a girl who could look blind without detracting from her beauty. So many applicants looked upward, showing the whites of their eyes, which was too distressing.” The filmmaker eventually settled on Virginia Cherrill, a twenty-year-old Chicagoan with little acting experience. “To my surprise she had the faculty of looking blind,” Chaplin wrote. “I instructed her to look at me but to look inwardly and not to see me, and she could do it.” He later found the neophyte troublesome to work with, however, and fired her about a year into production. He recruited Georgia Hale, who had co-starred with him in *The Gold Rush* in 1925, to replace her but eventually re-hired Cherrill after realizing how much of the film he would have to re-shoot.

Chaplin’s problems extended to other aspects of the movie. He filmed countless retakes and occasionally stopped shooting for days on end to mull things over. Most famously, he struggled for eighty-three days (sixty-two of which involved no filming whatsoever) on the initial encounter of the Tramp and the young woman, unable to find a way of having the woman conclude that the Tramp is wealthy. Inspiration finally struck, and Chaplin filmed a brief scene in which a limousine door slammed shut a moment before the Tramp met her.

Chaplin’s difficulties on the set mattered little to audiences. They loved his melancholy yet comic tale of two hard-luck people and made it an unqualified hit (the movie earned a profit of five million dollars during its initial release alone). A few reviewers criticized the film’s old-fashioned, heavily sentimental quality, but the majority praised Chaplin’s work. Its regressive form and content notwithstanding, *City Lights* appealed strongly to audiences and critics alike.

—Martin F. Norden

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## The City of Angels

The official slogan for the city of Los Angeles (L.A.) is “Los Angeles brings it all together.” Its unofficial name is “The City of Angels.” In the first instance, reality belies the motto in that Los Angeles’ most salient feature is its diffuse layout. In the second, it is difficult to think of someone saying “The City of Angels” without a Raymond Chandler-esque sneer. But that, too, is L.A.; duplicitous, narcissistic, and paradoxical. Perhaps no city has been loved or abhorred with such equal vigor, or typified by so many contradictions. For postmodern philosophers (especially Europeans) who study the city as they would a text, the city fascinates with its sheer modernity—a tabula rasa over which the thick impasto of America’s aspirations and proclivities has been smeared. Viewed from the air, the city

terrifies with its enormity, but one can discern a map of sorts, a guidepost pointing towards the future.

From its very beginning Los Angeles has existed more as a sales pitch than a city; a marketing campaign selling fresh air, citrus fruits, and the picturesque to the elderly and tubercular. In the 1880s, when Los Angeles was little more than a dusty border town of Spanish Colonial vintage, attractively packaged paeans to sun-kissed good-living were flooding the Midwest. Pasadena was already a well-known summer destination for East Coast millionaires, and the campaign sought to capitalize on a keeping-up-with-the-Jones sentiment calculated to attract prosperous and status conscious farmers. Behind the well-heeled came the inevitable array of servants, lackeys, and opportunists. The farm boom dried-up, and the transplanted, oftentimes marooned mid-westerners sat on their dusty front porches wondering where they went wrong—a dominant leit motif of L.A. literature along with conflagrations, earthquakes, floods, crowd violence, and abject chicanery.

Until the film industry invaded in the early 1910s, Los Angeles could offer few incentives to attract industry, lacking a port or even ready access to coal. The only way civic leaders could entice businessmen was by offering the most fervently anti-labor municipal government in the country, and Los Angeles developed a reputation for quelling its labor unrest with great dispatch. L.A.’s leading lights were as canny at pitching their real estate holdings as they were ruthless in ensuring the city’s future prosperity. To insure adequate water to nourish the growing metropolis, founding father William Mulholland bamboozled the residents of Owens Valley, some 250 miles to the northeast, into selling their water rights under false pretenses and building an enormous aqueduct into the San Fernando Valley. In 1927 the embittered farmers, having witnessed their fertile land return to desert, purchased an advertisement in the *Los Angeles Times* which read: “We, the farming communities of the Owens Valley, being about to die, salute you.” The publisher of the newspaper, General Harrison Gray Otis, was a major investor in Mulholland’s scheme. Even back then, irony was a way of life in Southern California.

Fate was kind to Los Angeles. With the film industry came prosperity, and a spur to real estate growth. But beneath the outward prosperity, signs of the frivolity and moral disintegration L.A. was famous for provoking were apparent to those with an eye for details. Thus, Nathaniel West, author of the quintessential Los Angeles novel, *Day of the Locust*, could write of a woman in man’s clothing preaching the “crusade against salt” or the Temple Moderne, where the acolytes taught “brain-breathing, secret of the Aztecs,” while up on Bunker Hill, a young John Fante would chronicle the lives of the hopelessly displaced Midwest pensioners and the sullen ghetto underclass from his cheap hotel room overlooking downtown. Across town, European luminaries such as Arnold Schoenberg, Thomas Mann, and Bertolt Brecht found the leap from Hitler’s Germany to palm trees and pristine beaches a difficult transition to make. The contrast between the European exiles and their American counterparts was as plain as day, and illustrates the contradictory schools of thought about the City of Angels. The Europeans regarded the city as a curiosity to be tolerated, or wondered at, while West, Fante, and their better known brethren were almost uniform in their strident denunciations of what they perceived as overt Philistinism. British novelist Aldous Huxley oscillated between condemnation and approval. These foreigners perceived the myriad contradictions of Los Angeles: The beauty of its locale and the crassness of its people; the film industries’ pollyanna-like flights of fancy and the bitter labor

struggles that accompanied their creation; the beauty of the art deco style that Los Angeles adopted as its own, and the eyesores (building shaped like hot-dogs, space ships, ginger-bread houses) constructed alongside them.

For obvious reasons, L.A. became a center for the defense industry during World War II, and the factories springing up like mushrooms on the table-flat farmland attracted the rootless detritus of the Depression, who only a few years back were regularly turned back at the Nevada border by the California Highway Patrol. The great influx of transplants flourished in their well-paid aerospace assembly line jobs, enjoying a semblance of middle class living. It became the clarion call of a new sales pitch—the suburban myth. The suburbs marketed a dream, that of single family homes, nuclear families, and healthful environment. Within a few years, pollution from the legions of commuters who clogged L.A.'s roadways dispelled the illusion of country living. Another recent innovation, the shopping mall, while invented in Seattle, was quickly adopted as a native institution, to the further degradation of downtown Los Angeles.

The veterans had children, who, nourished on their parent's prosperity, became a sizeable marketing demographic. The children took to such esoteric sports as surfing, hot rodding, and skateboarding, fostering a nationwide craze for surf music and the stylistic excesses of hot-rod artists such as Big Daddy Roth. For a time, Los Angeles persevered under this placid illusion, abruptly collapsed by the 1965 Watts riots and the Vietnam war. In a city without discernible boundaries, the idea of a city center is an oxymoron. Downtown Los Angeles, the nexus of old money Los Angeles, slowly withered, crippled further by urban renewal projects that made the downtown ghost town something of a self-fulfilling prophecy.

This, then, is L.A., a heady mixture of status and sleaze, weirdness and conformity, natural beauty and choking pollution. Los Angeles is indeed the most postmodern of cities, a city with more of a reflection than an image, and where the only safe stance is the ironic one. In the early 1990s, L.A. was hit by earthquakes, fires, and another riot of its black populace, this time provoked by the acquittal of policeman accused of beating a black motorist more briskly than usual. Los Angeles once again managed to recover, refusing once again to be crippled by its inner contradictions. With its limited array of tropes, the city trots out its endgame against any natural limitations to its growth. As the city evolves, postmodern theoreticians stand by rubbing their palms together, predicting the city's inevitable denouement while the sun shines mercilessly overhead.

—Michael Baers

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## Civil Disobedience

Civil disobedience is a nonviolent, deliberate, and conspicuous violation of a law or social norm, or a violation of the orders of civil authorities, in order to generate publicity and public awareness of an issue. Protesters directly confront the rule and confront authorities who would enforce it, and demand a change in the rule. Civil disobedience communicates the protesters' unity and strength of interest in an issue and provides evidence of their commitment and willingness to sacrifice for the cause. It also presents a latent threat of more overt action if the regime fails to act on the issue.

Civil disobedience is a form of political participation available to citizens without the money, media support, lobbying resources, voting strength, political skills, or political access necessary to influence decision-makers through more traditional means. The tactic was used by Mahatma Gandhi in the 1940s to secure the end of British colonial rule in India; by Martin Luther King, Jr. and other American civil rights leaders in the 1960s to end legal racial segregation and to secure voting rights for African Americans; and by non-voting age college students during the 1960s to protest America's war in Vietnam. Civil disobedience brings people into the political system who were previously outside the system and is one of the few tactics available to empower concerned citizens who lack any other means to press their demands for change. Social minorities and deviant subcultures use civil disobedience to challenge and change the norms of society or to demand their independence from the rules of society.

Civil disobedience usually takes one of three forms. First, civil disobedience may take the form of deliberate and purposeful violation of a specific targeted statute or social norm in order to focus popular and media attention on the rule, to encourage others to resist the rule, and to encourage authorities to change the rule. Examples include 1960s American civil rights sit-ins and demands for service at segregated lunch counters, anti-war protesters refusing to submit to selective service calls, and feminists publicly removing restrictive brassieres in protest of clothing norms. In the 1970s, trucker convoys deliberately exceeded the 55-mile-per-hour federal highway speed limit to protest the limit. According to Saul Alinsky in *Rules for Radicals*, this tactic is effective only in non-authoritarian and non-totalitarian regimes with a free press to publicize the violation of the law and basic civil rights to prevent civil authorities and social majorities from overreacting to the violation.

Second, civil disobedience may take the form of passive resistance in which protesters refuse to respond to the orders of authorities but are otherwise in full compliance with the law. Examples have included civil rights protesters and anti-war activists who ignore police orders to disperse and force police to physically carry them from a public protest site. Feminists have resisted social norms by refusing to shave their legs. The organization Civilian Based Defense promoted passive resistance as a national defense strategy and suggested that the threat of withholding cooperation and engaging in active non-cooperation with the enemy may be as effective a deterrent to an invader's aggression as the use of military force.

Third, civil disobedience may take the form of non-violent illegal activity in which protesters disrupt activities they oppose and seek to be arrested, punished, and even martyred to gain publicity and to influence public opinion. Examples have included anti-war protesters who trespass on military installations and illegally seize military property by chaining themselves to it, radical environmentalists who



Student protesters at Woolworth's lunch counter, Atlanta, Georgia, 1960.

“spike” trees with nails to disrupt logging activities, and animal rights activists who throw blood on persons wearing animal fur coats.

Civil disobedience is distinctly different from nonconformity, social pathology, eccentricity, or social disorganization. Nonconformity is willful violation of a rule because the values established in the rule are contrary to the social, cultural, or moral values and norms of a subgroup of the civil society—but the violation is not intended to encourage a change in the rule. For example, a fundamentalist Mormon practices polygamy because he believes religious proscriptions require him to do so, not because he seeks to change or protest the marriage laws of the state. Social pathology is the failure to conform to civil law because failures in the individual's socialization and education processes leave the individual normless and, therefore, free to pursue his personal self-interest and selfish desires without concern for law. Eccentricity is socially encouraged nonconformance in which a cultural hero, genius, intellectual, or artist is granted cultural license to violate the law based on the person's unique status or contributions to society. Finally, social disorganization is the failure of the political or social system to enforce its rules because authority has become ineffective or has been destroyed in war or revolution, leaving individuals in a state of anarchy and licensed to make their own rules.

Civil disobedience as a political tactic and social process increases in popularity and use as society decreases its reliance on violence and force to achieve political goals or to gain the advantage in social conflict or competition. It also increases in popularity when political outsiders seek to assert themselves in the political process and find all other avenues of political participation beyond their abilities and resources or find all other avenues prohibited to them by political insiders or by civil authorities.

—Gordon Neal Diem

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## Civil Rights Movement

The African-American struggle for civil rights marks a turning point in American history because it represents the period when African Americans made their entry into the American mainstream. Although the focus of the long persistent drive for civil rights was centered around political issues such as voting, integration, educational opportunities, better housing, increased employment opportunities, and fair police protection, other facets of American life and culture were affected as well. Most noticeably, African Americans came out of the civil rights movement determined to define their own distinct culture. New styles of politics, music, clothing, folktales,

hairstyles, cuisine, literature, theology, and the arts were all evident at the end of the civil rights movement.

Although African Americans have a long tradition of protest dating back to the seventeenth century, the mid-1950s represented a turning point in the black struggle for equal rights. With the historic *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision that outlawed the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* doctrine of "Separate But Equal," African Americans realized that the time was right to end all vestiges of Jim Crow and discrimination. On the heels of *Brown*, black Southerners undertook battles to achieve voting rights and integration, under the broad leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr. Through marches, rallies, sit-ins, and boycotts, they were able to accomplish their goals by the late 1960s. With voting rights and integration won in the South, African Americans next shifted their attention to the structural problems of northern urban blacks. However, non-violent direct-action was not the preferred tool of protest in the North where the self-defense message of Malcolm X was popular. Rather, the method of protest was urban unrest, which produced very few meaningful gains for African Americans other than the symbolic election of black mayors to large urban centers.

Immediately, the civil rights movement ushered in a new black political culture. With the right to vote won in 1965 with the passage of the Voting Rights Act, African Americans now began to place a



A protest for Civil Rights.

tremendous emphasis on political participation. Throughout the South African Americans went to the polls in large numbers seeking to elect representatives that would best represent their interests. In the North where the right to vote had been in existence since the mid-nineteenth century, a different type of political culture emerged. As a result of the civil rights movement black voters in the North began to move away from the idea of coalition building with white liberals, preferring instead to establish all-black political organizations. These clubs would not only attack the conservativeness of the Republican Party but they would also begin to reassess their commitment to the democratic party at the local, state, and national level. In essence, the race was moving toward political maturity; no longer would their votes be taken for granted.

Another aspect of the nascent black political culture was a re-emergence of black nationalism which was re-introduced into American society by Malcolm X. While a spokesman for the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X made African Americans feel good about themselves. He told them to embrace their culture and their heritage, and he also spoke out openly against white America. Via his autobiography and lectures, Malcolm X quickly emerged as the instrumental figure in this renewed black consciousness. Shortly after his assassination in 1965, the proprietors of black culture immediately gave Malcolm deity status. His name and portrait began to appear everywhere: bumper stickers, flags, T-shirts, hats, and posters. Although Malcolm popularized this new revolutionary frame of mind, by no means did he have a monopoly on it. Throughout the 1960s African Americans spoke of black nationalism in three main forms: territorial, revolutionary, and cultural. Territorial nationalists such as the Republic of New Afrika and the Nation of Islam, called for a portion of the United States to be partitioned off for African Americans as payment for years of slavery, Jim Crow, and discrimination. But they insisted that by no means would this settle the issue. Instead, this would just be partial compensation for years of mistreatment. Revolutionary nationalists such as the Black Panther Party sought to overthrow the capitalist American government and replace it with a socialist utopia. They argued that the problems faced by African Americans were rooted in the capitalist control of international economic affairs. Thus, the Black Panthers viewed the black nationalist struggle as one of both race and class. Lastly, the cultural nationalism espoused by groups such as Ron Karenga's US organization sought to spark a revolution through a black cultural renaissance. In the eyes of his supporters, the key to black self-empowerment lay in a distinct black culture. They replaced European cultural forms with a distinct Afrocentric culture. One of Karenga's chief achievements was the development of the African-American holiday "Kwanzaa." Kwanzaa was part of a broader theory of black cultural nationalism which suggested that African Americans needed to carry out a cultural revolution before they could achieve power.

One of the most visible effects of the civil rights movement on American popular culture was the introduction of the concept of "Soul." For African Americans of the 1960s, Soul was the common denominator of all black folks. It was simply the collective thread of black identity. All blacks had it. In essence, soul was black culture, something separate and distinct from white America. No longer would they attempt to deny nor be ashamed of their cultural heritage; rather they would express it freely, irrespective of how whites perceived it. Soul manifested itself in a number of ways: through greetings, "what's up brother," through handshakes, "give me some skin," and even through the style of walk. It was no longer acceptable to just walk, one who had soul had to "strut" or "bop." This was all a

part of the attitude that illustrated they would no longer look for white acceptance.

One of the most fascinating cultural changes ushered in by the civil rights movement was the popularity of freedom songs, which at times were organized or started spontaneously during the midst of demonstrations, marches, and church meetings. These songs were unique in that although they were in the same tradition as other protest music, this was something different. These were either new songs for a new situation, or old songs adapted to the times. Songs such as "I'm Gonna Sit at the Welcome Table," "Everybody Says Freedom," "Which Side Are You On," "If You Miss Me at the Back of the Bus," "Keep Your Eyes on the Prize," and "Ain't Scared of Your Jails," all express the feelings of those fighting for black civil rights. While these songs were popularized in the South, other tunes such as "Burn, Baby, Burn," and the "Movement's Moving On," signaled the movements shift from non-violence to Black Power. Along with freedom songs blacks also expressed themselves through "Soul music," which they said "served as a repository of racial consciousness." Hits such as "I'm Black and I'm Proud," by James Brown, "Message from a Black Man," by the Temptations, Edwin Starr's "Ain't It Hell Up in Harlem," and "Is It Because I'm Black" by Syl Johnson, all testified to the black community's move toward a cultural self-definition.

African Americans also redefined themselves in the area of literary expression. Black artists of the civil rights period attempted to counter the racist and stereotyped images of black folk by expressing the collective voice of the black community, as opposed to centering their work to gain white acceptance. Instrumental in this new "black arts movement," were works such as Amiri Baraka's *Blues People*, *Preface to a Twenty-Volume Suicide Note*, and *Dutchman*. These works illustrate the distinctiveness of black culture, while simultaneously promoting race pride and unity.

The black revolution was principally the catalyst for a new appreciation of black history as well. Prior to the civil rights movement, the importance of Africa in the world and the role of African Americans in the development of America was virtually ignored at all levels of education, particularly at the college and university level. Whenever people of African descent were mentioned in an educational setting they were generally introduced as objects and not subjects. However, the civil rights movement encouraged black students to demand that their history and culture receive equal billing in academia. Students demanded black studies courses taught by black professors. White university administrators reluctantly established these courses, which instantly became popular. Predominantly white universities and colleges now offered classes in Swahili, Yoruba, black history, and black psychology to satisfy the demand. Due to the heightened awareness, all black students were expected to enroll in black studies courses, and when they didn't, they generally had to provide an explanation to the more militant factions on campus. Students not only demanded black studies courses but they also expressed a desire for colleges and universities that would be held accountable to the black community. Traditional black colleges and universities such as Howard, Spelman, and Fisk, were now viewed with suspicion since they served the racial status quo. Instead, schools such as Malcolm X College of Chicago and Medgar Evers College of CUNY became the schools of choice since they were completely dedicated to the black community.

The 1960s generation of African Americans also redefined themselves in the area of clothing. Again, they were seeking to create something unique and distinct from the white mainstream. The new



attire consisted of wide-brimmed hats, long full-cut jackets, platform shoes, bell-bottoms, leather vests, and wide-collar shirts. These outfits were complimented by African-like beads, earrings, belts, medallions, and bracelets. However, the more culturally conscious rejected all types of western culture in favor of dashikis, robes, and sandals. In response to these new cultural tastes clothing companies began specifically targeting the black consumer by stating that their items were designed to meet the body style of blacks. To complement the new clothing look African Americans also began to reject the European standard of beauty. Whereas African Americans were once ashamed of their full lips, broad nose, high cheekbones, and coarse hair, they now embraced them. Black women took hair straighteners and hot combs out of their bathrooms and began to wear "naturals," cornrows, and beads, which many considered to be the most visible sign of black self-expression.

Interestingly enough, black Americans also experienced a slight shift in eating tastes. Although collard greens, "chitlins," catfish, pigs feet, and fried-chicken had been a staple in the black diet for years, it was now labeled "soul food," because it provided a cultural link to the African ancestral homeland.

African-American folktales took on a whole new importance during the civil rights movement as the famed "trickster tales" became more contemporary. Folklorists made the black hero superior to that of other culture's, by stressing its mental agility, brute physical strength, and sexual prowess. These heroes also reversed the traditional socio-economic arrangements of America as well. Characters such as Long-Shoe Sam, Hophead Willie, Shine, and Dolemite, all used wit and deceit to get what they wanted from white America. In the eyes of black America, traditional heroes such as Paul Bunyan and Davy Crockett were no match for this new generation of black adventurers.

The civil rights movement also encouraged blacks to see God, Jesus, and Mary as black. As their African ancestors, these deities would assist African Americans in their quest for physical, mental, and spiritual liberation. By stressing that a belief in a white God or Jesus fostered self-hatred, clergyman such as Rev. Albert Cleague of Detroit sought to replace the traditional depiction of God and Jesus with a black image. Throughout the country black churches followed Cleague's lead as they removed all vestiges of a white Christ in favor of a savior they could identify with. Followers of this new Black Christian Nationalism also formulated a distinct theology, in which Jesus was viewed as a black revolutionary who would deliver African American people from their white oppressors.

As with other facets of black popular culture, television also witnessed a change as a result of the black revolution. With the renewed black consciousness clearly evident, the entertainment industry sought to capitalize by increasing the visibility of black actors and actresses. Whereas in 1962 blacks on TV were only seen in the traditional stereotyped roles as singers, dancers, and musicians, by 1968 black actors were being cast in more positive roles, such as Greg Morris in *Mission Impossible*, Diahann Carroll in *Julia*, Clarence Williams III in the *Mod Squad*, and Nichelle Nichols, who starred as Uhura in *Star Trek*. While these shows did illustrate progress, other shows such as *Sanford and Son* and *Flip Wilson's Show* all reinforced the traditional black stereotype. In the film industry, Hollywood would not capitalize on the renewed black consciousness until the early 1970s with blaxploitation films. In the mid-1960s however, African Americans were continually portrayed as uncivilized, barbaric, and savage, in movies such as *The Naked Prey*, *Dark of the Sun*, and *Mandingo*.

The principal effect of the civil rights movement on American popular culture was a renewed racial consciousness not witnessed since the Harlem Renaissance. This cultural revolution inspired African Americans to reject the white aesthetic in favor of their own. Although they had fought and struggled for full inclusion into American society, the civil rights drive also instilled into African Americans a strong appreciation of their unique cultural heritage. Through new styles of music, clothing, literature, theology, cuisine, and entertainment, African Americans introduced a completely new cultural form that is still evident today.

—Leonard N. Moore

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## Civil War Reenactors

Reenactors are those people whose hobby involves dressing in the manner of soldiers from a particular period of time in order to recreate battles from a famous war. Those individuals who choose to restage Civil War battles form the largest contingent of reenactors. They are part of a larger group of Civil War buffs who actively participate in genealogy research, discussion groups, and roundtables. The American Civil War divided the country in bitter warfare from 1861 to 1865 but its legacy has endured long since the fighting ceased. The war wrought extensive changes which shaped United States society and its inhabitants. Historian Shelby Foote, renowned for his participation in Ken Burns' popular PBS series *The Civil War*, observes that "any understanding of this nation has to be based, and I mean really based, on an understanding of the Civil War. I believe that firmly. It defined us." The importance of the Civil War in American culture and memory makes it significant in popular culture. The Civil War has a long history of serving "as a vehicle for embodying sentiments and politics in our day." The Civil War has therefore been entwined with popular culture before, during, and since its actual battles occurred as popular cultural producers fought to determine how its meaning would apply to postwar society.

Civil War reenactments range in size from small one-day skirmishes to large encampments like the 125th Anniversary of Gettysburg that attracted 12,000 soldiers and 100,000 audience members. The larger events are great tourist attractions that feature concerts, lectures, exhibitions, encampments, and demonstrations of camp life, hospitals, Civil War fashions, and other topics. These large reenactments are often cosponsored by the National Park Service and local museums as they involve numerous volunteers and intensive



A reenactment of the battle at Andersonville, Georgia.

preparations. The battles themselves are choreographed events where the soldiers shoot blanks and show a great concern for the safety of all involved. The reenactors who stage these events are part of the amateur and living history movement that encourages direct audience interaction and has enjoyed increasing popularity in the late twentieth century. Living history museums rose in popularity in the United States in the 1920s with the founding of automobile giant Henry Ford's Greenfield Village in Michigan and John D. Rockefeller's Colonial Williamsburg village in Virginia. The majority of the people in the United States learn their history from popular culture rather than academic books and classes. Popular cultural forms of history provide their audiences with forms, images, and interpretations of people and events from America's past. Their popularity makes their views on history widely influential. Civil War reenactors understand that popular history is a valuable form of communication. They view living history as a valuable education tool, viewing their participation as a learning experience both for them and for their audience.

The first group to reenact the Civil War consisted of actual veterans belonging to a society known as the Grand Army of the Republic. These late-nineteenth-century encampments were places where these ex-soldiers could affirm the passion and the sense of community to fellow soldiers that their wartime experiences engendered. Veterans also showed their respect for the former enemies who

had endured the same indescribable battle-time conditions. Community sponsored historical pageants replaced the early reenactments as the veterans largely died off, until the fragmentation of society after World War II broke apart any strong sense of community. Reenacting emerged in its late-twentieth-century form during the 1960s Civil War centennial commemorations. The battles staged during this period found a receptive audience. Public enthusiasm for reenactments faded in the late 1960s and 1970s as the result of a national mood of questioning blind patriotism and American values. The phenomenal popularity of the living history movement in the 1980s, however, quickly led to a resurgence of Civil War reenacting.

Twentieth-century Civil War reenactors have found themselves involved in the controversies between amateur and professional historians. Academics have accused the reenactors of engaging in cheap theatrics to capture their audience's interest and questioned the morality of the use of actual battlefields as reenactment sites. They have also been criticized for their sentimentalized historical portraits.

Civil War reenactors have a highly developed sense of culture among themselves. Most are generally white males in their thirties and are very passionate about the endeavor. There are a few women and African-Americans who participate, but they often meet with hostility. Reenactors are mostly not academic historians but are usually quite knowledgeable, conducting considerable research to

create their historical characters and outfit themselves in meticulous detail. They categorize their fellow reenactors by a tiered system that demonstrates their amount of dedication to the activity and to the goal of complete authenticity. “Farbs” are those reenactors who lack seriousness and attention to detail and are usually more interested in the social and alcoholic aspects of the encampments. “Authentic” reenactors concern themselves with detail but are willing to allow some twentieth-century comforts whereas “hard core” reenactors share a precise and uncompromising commitment to accuracy. “Hard core” reenactors are also those who wish to ban women from participation despite the fact that many women disguised as men actually fought in the Civil War. Reenacting involves a great deal of preparation time as participants must obtain proper clothing and hardware and memorize complicated drills for public exhibition. Magazines such as the *North-South Trader’s Civil War*, *Civil War Book Exchange and Collector’s Newspaper*, *Blue and Gray*, *America’s Civil War*, *Civil War News*, *Civil War Times*, and the *Camp Chase Gazette* cater to the large market of Civil War buffs and reenactors looking for necessary clothing and equipment. The reenactor must also make every effort to stay in character at all times, especially when members of the public are present.

The reenactors are largely unpaid amateur history fans who often travel great distances to participate in what can prove to be a very expensive hobby. Many participants welcome the chance to escape everyday life and its worries through complete absorption in the action of staged battles, the quiet of camp life, and the portrayal of their chosen historical character. Many also seek a vivid personal experience of what the Civil War must have been like for its actual participants. They are quite intense in their attempt to capture some sense of the fear and awe that must have overwhelmed their counterparts in reality. They find that experiential learning provides a much better understanding of the past than that provided by reading dry academic works. Jim Cullen observes in that by “sleeping on the ground, eating bad food, and feeling something of the crushing fatigue that Civil War soldiers did, they hope to recapture, in the most direct sensory way, an experience that fascinates yet eludes them.” The immediacy of the battles and surrounding camp life is part of the hobby’s appeal. Cullen also suggests one of reenacting’s more negative aspects in observing that certain participants seek a ritual reaffirmation of their own past which may hide a thinly veiled racism in the face of a growing emphasis on new multicultural pasts.

—Marcella Bush Treviño

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## Claiborne, Liz (1929—)

After spending 25 years in the fashion business, Liz Claiborne became an overnight success when she opened her own dress company in 1976. By the time she and husband Arthur Ortenberg retired in 1989, their dress company had grown into a fashion colossus that included clothing for men and children as well as accessories, shoes, fragrances, and retail stores. Claiborne successfully combined an emphasis on sensible dresses with a keen intuition for the professional woman’s desire to appear sophisticated and dressed up at the office. Her sensibility to what people want in fashion carried over into a successful sportswear line. Her genius as a fashion designer was highlighted by the fact that Claiborne was one of most stable fashion companies on the New York Stock Exchange, serving as a model for publicly-owned fashion companies until it faltered in the 1990s.

—Richard Martin

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## Clairol Hair Coloring

In 1931, Lawrence M. Gelb, a chemical broker, discovered and bought “Clairol” hair color in Europe to market in the United States. From the start, he promoted Clairol with the idea that beautiful hair was every woman’s right, and that hair color, then considered risqué, was no different from other cosmetics. With the 1956 introduction of “Miss Clairol,” the first at-home hair coloring formula, Clairol hair color and care products revolutionized the world of hair color. The do-it-yourself hair color “was to the world of hair color what computers were to the world of adding machines,” Bruce Gelb, who worked with his father and brother at Clairol, told *New Yorker* contributor Malcolm Gladwell.

The firm’s 1956 marketing campaign for a new, Miss Clairol product ended the social stigma against hair coloring and contributed to America’s lexicon. Shirley Polykoff’s ad copy—which read “Does she or doesn’t she? Hair color so natural only her hairdresser knows for sure!”—accompanied television shots and print photos of wholesome-looking young women, not glamorous beauties associated with professional hair color but attractive homemakers with children. With ads that showed mothers and children with matching hair color, Miss Clairol successfully divorced hair coloring from its sexy image. Moreover, women could use the evasive “only my hairdresser knows for sure” to avoid divulging the tricks they used to craft an appealing public self. For women in the 1950s, hair color was a “useful fiction—a way of bridging the contradiction between the kind of woman you were and the woman you were supposed to be,” wrote Gladwell.

Hair color soon became an acceptable image-enhancing cosmetic. In 1959 Gelb’s company was purchased by Bristol Meyers, which has continued to expand the line into the 1990s. From the decade Miss Clairol was introduced to the 1970s, the number of American women coloring their hair increased dramatically, from 7 to 40 percent. By the 1990s, store shelves were crowded with many brands of at-home

hair colorings and the image of hair coloring had changed as the brands proliferated. Hair color was no longer something women hid. Instead women celebrated their ability to change their look on a whim. Supermodel Linda Evangelista would appear as a platinum blonde one day, a redhead the next, and a brunette the next. The brand Féria advertised hair color that didn't pretend to be natural. Clairol's ads accommodated this change as well. While keeping with the image of the-girl-next-door, Clairol's shampoo-in color Nice 'n Easy ads featured Julia Louis-Dreyfus, well-known as Elaine on the popular sitcom *Seinfeld*, spotting women on the street and giving them public hair colorings. Clairol had initiated an appealing formula that gave women new freedom to shape their image as they pleased.

—Joan Leotta

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## Clancy, Tom (1947—)

Known for his potboiling thrillers with political, military, and espionage themes, author Tom Clancy's influence on American popular culture has been incalculable. Within the high-tech action adventure that has proved so beguiling to the movie industry and its audiences, as well as to a vast number of people who buy books of escapist fiction, Clancy evokes a disturbing picture of the world we live in, and has come to be regarded as the spokesman for the American nation's growing mistrust of those who govern them. If his name is instantly identified with the best-selling *The Hunt for Red October* (1984) and the creation of his Cold Warrior hero Jack Ryan (incarnated on screen by Harrison Ford) in a series beginning with *Patriot Games* (1992), his work is considered to have a serious significance that transcends the merely entertaining.

On February 28, 1983, the Naval Institute Press (NIP) received a manuscript from a Maryland insurance broker, whose only previous writings consisted of a letter to the editor and a three-page article on MX missiles in the NIP's monthly magazine, *Proceedings of the U.S. Naval Institute*. The arrival of the manuscript confounded the recipients. As the publishing arm of the U.S. Naval Institute, NIP is an academic institution responsible for *The Bluejackets' Manual* which, according to them, has served as "a primer for newly enlisted sailors and as a basic reference for all naval personnel from seaman to admiral" for almost a century. NIP created an astonishing precedent by publishing the manuscript, and the obscure insurance broker became a world-famous best-selling author of popular genre fiction.

Clancy's manuscript was based on the fruitless attempt of the Soviet missile frigate *Storozhedoy* to defect from Latvia to the Swedish island of Gotland on November 8, 1975. The mutiny had been led by the ship's political officer Valeri Sablin, who was captured, court-martialed, and executed. In Clancy's tale, Captain First Rank Marko Ramius successfully defects to the United States, not in a frigate, but in a submarine, the *Red October*. The Naval Institute Press published *The Hunt for Red October* in October 1984, its first venture into fiction in its long academic history. It skyrocketed onto *The New York Times* best-seller list when President Reagan

pronounced it "the perfect yarn." In March 1985, author and president met in the Oval office, where the former told the latter about his new book on World War II. According to Peter Masley in *The Washington Post*, Reagan asked, "Who wins?" to which Clancy replied, "The good guys."

Born on April 12, 1947 in Baltimore, Thomas L. Clancy, Jr. grew up with a fondness for military history in general and naval history in particular. In June 1969, he graduated from Baltimore's Loyola College, majoring in English, and married Wanda Thomas in August. A severe eye weakness kept him from serving in the Vietnam War, and he worked in insurance for 15 years until the colossal success of his first novel. The book was a bestseller in both hard cover and paperback, and was successfully filmed—although not until 1990—with an all-star cast headed by Sean Connery. Meanwhile, he was free to continue writing, building an impressive *oeuvre* of both fiction and non-fiction. In a 1988 *Playboy* interview, Marc Cooper claimed that Clancy had become "a popular authority on what the U.S. and the Soviets really have in their military arsenals and on how war may be fought today." Indeed, his novels have been brought into use as case studies in military colleges.

In April 1989, Clancy was invited to serve as an unpaid consultant to the National Space Council, and has lectured for the CIA, DIA, and NSA. A 1989 *Time* magazine review added a moral dimension to his growing public authority: "Clancy has performed a national service of some sorts: he has sought to explain the military and its moral code to civilians. Such a voice was needed, for Vietnam had created a barrier of estrangement between America's warrior class and the nation it serves. Tom Clancy's novels have helped bring down this wall." It is the dawning of the idea that the novel as a textual form is slowly attempting to replace that which we conventionally labeled "history" that has been an important factor in the growing critical interest in Clancy's thrillers, dealing as they do with the politics of our times. Whereas the "literary" aspect of a text is traditionally located in its ability to deal with the ontological and existential problems of man and being, we now find "literary" values in those texts that deal with pragmatic problems: man and being in the here and now. Read from this standpoint, Clancy's thrillers can be seen not as an escape from reality, but as presenting real, and relevant, issues and experiences, drawing on society's loss of trust in the great myths of existence: truth, and the questionable value of official and governmental assurances.

Although Clancy claims, in *The Clancy Companion*, that he writes fiction "pure and simple . . . projecting ideas generally into the future, rather than the past," critics have labeled him the father of the techno-thriller. In his novels *Red Storm Rising* (a Soviet attack on NATO; 1986), *Cardinal of the Kremlin* (spies and Star Wars missile defense; 1988), *Clear and Present Danger* (the highest selling book of the 1980s, dealing with a real war on drugs; 1989), *Debt of Honor* (Japanese-American economic competition and the frailty of America's financial system; 1994) and *Executive Orders*, (rebuilding a destroyed U.S. government; 1996), the machine is hero and technology is as dominant as the human characters. In both his fiction and non-fiction the scenarios predominantly reflect the quality of war games. "Who the hell cleared it?" the former Secretary of the Navy, John Lehman, remarked after reading *The Hunt for Red October*. Clancy, whose work includes his "Guided Tour" series (*Marine*, *Fighter Wing*) and the "Op-Center" series (created by Clancy and Steve Pieczenik, but written by other authors), has always insisted that he finds his information in the public domain, basing his Naval technology and Naval tactics mostly on the \$9.95 war game *Harpoon*.

In November 1996 Tom Clancy and Virtus Corporation founded Red Storm Entertainment to create and market multiple-media entertainment products. It released its first game, *Politika*, in November 1997, the first online game ever packaged with a mass-market paperback, introducing “conversational gaming” in a net based environment. Clancy has called it “interactive history.” The huge success of his books, multimedia products, and movies that are based on his novels allowed him to make a successful \$200 million bid for the Minnesota Vikings football team in March 1998.

—Rob van Kranenburg

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## Clapton, Eric (1945—)

Eric Clapton, a lifelong student of the blues, has been in more bands that he himself formed than any other guitarist in rock music. He first distinguished himself with the group, the Yardbirds, where he earned the ironic nickname, “Slowhand,” for his nimble leads. When the Yardbirds went commercial, Clapton left them to pursue pure blues with John Mayall, a singer, guitarist, and keyboard player who was regarded as the Father of British Blues for his discovery and promotion of luminary musicians in the field. Clapton proved to be Mayall’s greatest discovery. On *John Mayall’s Blues Breakers, Featuring Eric Clapton* (1966) Clapton displayed an unprecedented fusion of technical virtuosity and emotional expressiveness, giving rise to graffiti scribbled on walls in London saying, “Clapton is God.”

When jazz-trained bassist Jack Bruce joined the Blues Breakers, Clapton grew intrigued by his improvisational style. He recruited Bruce and drummer Ginger Baker to form the psychedelic blues-rock power-trio Cream. They became famous for long, bombastic solos in concert, and established the “power trio” (guitarist-bassist-drummer) as the definitive lineup of the late 1960s, a form also assumed by Blue Cheer, the Jimi Hendrix Experience, and Rory Gallagher’s band, Taste. Cream disbanded after four excellent studio albums, having set a new standard for rock musicianship and Clapton, bored with the improvisational style, became interested in composing songs.

Blind Faith, a band comprised of established musicians from other famous bands and often called the first “supergroup,” was formed by Clapton in 1969. He retained Ginger Baker, and recruited guitarist/pianist Steve Winwood (from the recently disbanded Traffic) and bassist Rick Grech. They produced only one album (*Blind Faith*, 1969), for Clapton soon transferred his interest to the laid-back, good-vibes style of Delaney and Bonnie, who had opened for Blind Faith on tour. Delaney and Bonnie encouraged him to develop his singing and composing skills, and joined him in the studio to record *Eric Clapton* (1970). Clapton then formed Derek and the Dominos with slide guitarist Duane Allman in 1970 and released *Layla and Other Assorted Love Songs*, one of the finest blues-rock albums ever made. Unfortunately, the band, beset with intense personal conflicts and drug problems, was dissolved and Clapton, increasingly reliant on heroin, became a recluse.

In 1973 Pete Townsend organized the Rainbow Concert with Steve Winwood and other stars to bring Clapton back to his music.

Clapton kicked the heroin habit, and in 1974 resumed his solo career with the classic *461 Ocean Boulevard*. Although *Layla* could never be surpassed on its own terms, *461* was a worthy follow-up, mature and mellow, and set the tone for the remainder of Clapton’s career. He had become attracted to minimalism, in search of the simplest way to convey the greatest amount of emotion. Developments in the 1980s included work on film soundtracks and a regrettable tilt toward pop under producer Phil Collins, but the 1990s found him once again drawn to the blues, while still recording some beautiful compositions in the soft-rock vein.

The subtleties of the mature Clapton are not as readily appreciated as the confetti-like maestro guitar work of Cream or Derek and the Dominos. Once regarded as rock’s most restlessly exploring musician, too complex to be contained by any one band, by the 1990s Clapton had become the “Steady Rollin’ Man,” the self-assured journeyman of soft rock. A younger generation, unaware of his earlier work, was often puzzled by the awards and adulation heaped upon this singer of mainstream hits like “Tulsa Time,” but a concert or live album showed Clapton displaying the legendary flash of old. Except for a few low points (*No Reason to Cry*, 1976), and the Phil Collins-produced albums *Behind the Sun* (1985) and *August* (1986), Eric Clapton aged better than many of his contemporaries, finding a comfortable niche without pandering to every new trend.

—Douglas Cooke

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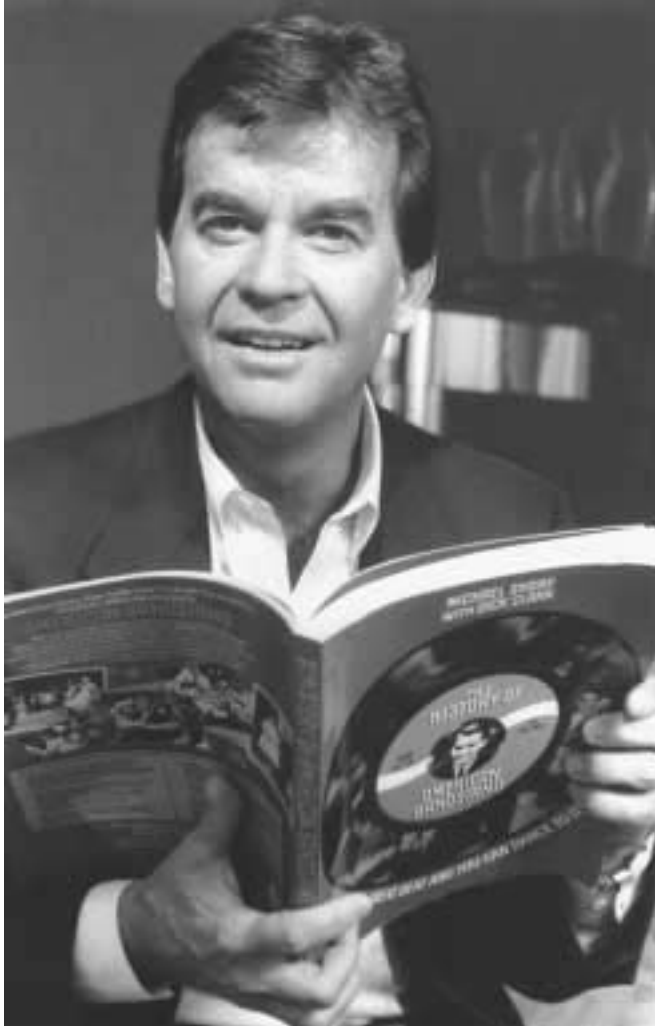
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## Clark, Dick (1929—)

As host of *American Bandstand* for more than 30 years, Dick Clark introduced rock ‘n’ roll music via television to a whole generation of teenaged Americans while reassuring their parents that the music would not lead their children to perdition. With his eternally youthful countenance, collegiate boy-next-door personality, and trademark “salute” at the close of each telecast, Clark is one of the few veterans of the early days of television who remains active after nearly half a century in broadcasting.

Richard Wagstaff Clark was born in 1929 in Mount Vernon, New York. His father owned radio stations across upstate New York, and his only sibling, older brother Bradley, was killed in World War II. Clark grew up enamored of such radio personalities as Arthur Godfrey and Garry Moore, and instantly understood the effectiveness and appeal of their informal on-air approach. Clark studied speech at



**Dick Clark**

Syracuse University, supplementing his studies with work at campus radio station WAER. After graduating in 1951, he worked for several radio and television stations in central New York radio and television, and even briefly adopted the on-air name “Dick Clay,” to his later embarrassment.

In 1953 Clark moved to Philadelphia to host an afternoon radio show, playing popular vocalists for local teenagers. Three years later, he was chosen as the new host of a local-TV dance show, *Bandstand*, which featured the then-new sounds of rock ‘n’ roll music. The show’s previous host, Bob Horn, had been arrested on a morals charge.

Clark was an instant hit with his viewers. By the fall of 1957, *Bandstand* was picked up nationally by the ABC network. *American Bandstand* quickly became a national phenomenon, the first popular television series to prominently feature teenagers. Clark demanded that the teens who appeared on the program observe strict disciplinary and dress-code regulations. Boys were expected to wear jackets and ties, and girls, modest skirts and not-too-tight sweaters. Many of the teens who danced on the show, from Italian-American neighborhoods in south and west Philadelphia, became national celebrities themselves. One of the most popular segments of *American Bandstand* was one in which members of the studio audience were asked to rate

new songs, a poll whose results were taken seriously by record executives. New styles of rock music rose or fell on the whims of the teenagers, who would explain their decisions by such statements as “I’d give it an 87. . . it’s got a good beat, and you can dance to it.” Interestingly, Clark’s audience panned “She Loves You,” the Beatles’ first hit. The *Bandstand* audiences introduced a national audience to such dance moves as the Pony, the Stroll and, most famously, the Twist, by Philadelphia native Chubby Checker.

As Clark was becoming a millionaire, his career was threatened by the payola scandals of the 1950s, when it was learned that record companies illegally paid disc jockeys to play their rock and roll records. Clark admitted that he partially owned several music publishers and record labels that provided some of the music on *American Bandstand*, and he immediately sold his interests in these companies as the scandal broke, while insisting, however, that songs from these companies did not get preferential treatment on his show. Clark made such a convincing case before a House committee studying payola in 1959 that Representative Owen Harris called him “a fine young man” and exonerated him. Clark thus provided rock music with a clean-cut image when it needed it the most.

Clark produced and hosted a series of *Bandstand*-related concert acts that toured the United States in the 1950s and 1960s. During their tours in the South, these were among the first venues where blacks and whites performed on the same stage. Eventually, even the seating in these arenas became desegregated. In 1964, *Bandstand* moved from Philadelphia to Los Angeles, coinciding with the popularity of Southern California “surf” music by The Beach Boys and Jan and Dean. From that point, the show began relying less on playing records and more on live performers. Many of the top acts of the rock era made their national television debut on *Bandstand*, such as Buddy Holly and the Crickets, Ike and Tina Turner, Smokey Robinson and the Miracles, Stevie Wonder and the Talking Heads, and the teenaged Simon and Garfunkel, known then as Tom and Jerry.

During the 1970s and 1980s, Clark expanded his television presence beyond *Bandstand* with Dick Clark Productions, which generated between 150 and 170 hours of programming annually at its peak. During these years, Clark hosted the long-running *\$10,000 Pyramid* game show from 1973 through the late 1980s; in subsequent versions, the word association-based *Pyramid* expanded with inflation, eventually offering \$100,000, and featured numerous celebrity guests. In 1974 ABC lost the broadcast rights to the Grammy Awards, and asked Clark to create an alternative music awards show. The American Music Awards quickly became a significant rival to the Grammys, popular among artists and audiences alike. In the 1980s, Clark also produced and hosted a long-running NBC series of highly-rated “blooper” scenes composed of outtake reels from popular TV series. His co-host was Ed McMahon of the *Tonight Show*, who had been friends with Clark since they were next-door neighbors in Philadelphia during the 1950s. Clark also replaced Guy Lombardo as America’s New Year’s Eve host, emceeing the televised descent of the giant ball in New York’s Times Square on ABC beginning in 1972.

The seemingly ageless Clark, dubbed “America’s oldest living teenager” by *TV Guide*, ushered his series with aplomb through the turbulent 1970s. It was on *Bandstand* where an audience first body-spelled “Y.M.C.A.” to The Village People’s number-one hit. With changes in musical tastes and practices, the popularity of *Bandstand* began to wane. What had begun as a local two-and-a-half hour daily show in the mid-1950s had gradually been whittled down to a weekly, hour-long show by the 1980s. There were several culprits: competing network music programs, including *The Midnight Special*, *Solid*

*Gold*, and even *Saturday Night Live* were competing with *Bandstand* to get the hottest acts of the day. The advent of MTV in 1981, with round-the-clock music videos, further cut into the series' influence. As the years passed, new rock groups devoted more time to video production and promotion, and less to appearing live on shows. Clark retired from *Bandstand* in the spring of 1989; with a new host, a syndicated version of the long-running show called it quits later that year, only weeks shy of making it into the 1990s.

Ironically enough, however, MTV's sister station had a hand in reviving interest in *American Bandstand*. In 1997, VH-1 ran a weekly retrospective, hosted by Clark, of highlights from the 1970s and 1980s version of *Bandstand*. The success of the reruns coincided with the fortieth anniversary of the show's national debut, and Clark returned to Philadelphia to unveil a plaque on the site of the original *American Bandstand* television studio. That same year, Clark published a comprehensive anniversary volume, and he also announced the founding of an American Bandstand Diner restaurant chain. Modeled after the Hard Rock Café and Planet Hollywood chains, each diner was designed in 1950s style, with photos and music of the greats Clark helped make famous.

—Andrew Milner

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## Clarke, Arthur C. (1917—)

British writer Arthur Charles Clarke's long and successful career has made him perhaps the best-known science fiction writer in the world and arguably the most popular foreign-born science fiction writer in the United States. Clarke is best known for *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968), the film script he wrote with noted director Stanley Kubrick.

Clarke's writings are in genre of "hard" science fiction—stories in which science is the backbone and where technical and scientific discovery are emphasized. He is considered one of the main forces for placing "real" science in science fiction; science fiction scholar Eric Rabkin has described Clarke as perhaps the most important science-oriented science fiction writer since H. G. Wells. His love and understanding of science coupled with his popularity made him a central figure in the development of post-World War II science fiction. Clarke's success did much to increase the popularity of science and create support for NASA and the U.S. space program.

For Clarke, technological advancement and scientific discovery have been generally positive developments. While he was cognizant of the dangers that technology can bring, his liberal and optimistic view of the possible benefits of technology made him one of the small number of voices introducing mass culture to the possibilities of the future. His notoriety was further enhanced domestically and globally

when he served as commentator for CBS television during the Apollo 11, 12, and 15 Moon missions.

A second theme found in Clarke's work which resonates in popular culture suggests that no matter how technologically advanced humans become, they will always be infants in comparison to the ancient, mysterious wisdom of alien races. Humanity is depicted as the ever-curious child reaching out into the universe trying to learn and grow, only to discover that the universe may not even be concerned with our existence. Such a theme is evident in the short story "The Sentinel" (1951), which describes the discovery of an alien artifact created by an advanced race, millions of years earlier, sitting atop a mountain on the moon. This short story provided the foundation for *2001* (1968). One of Clarke's most famous books, *Childhood's End* (1950), envisions a world where a portion of earth's children are reaching transcendence under the watchful eyes of alien tutors who resemble satanic creatures. The satanic looking aliens have come to earth to assist in a process where select children change into a new species and leave earth to fuse with a cosmic overmind—a transformation not possible for those humans left behind or for their satanic alien tutors.

Clarke's achieved his greatest influence with *2001*, which was nominated for four Academy Awards, including best picture, and ranked by the American Film Institute as the 22nd most influential American movie in the last 100 years. Clarke's novelization of the movie script, published under the same title in 1968, had sold more than 3 million copies by 1998 and was followed by *2010: Odyssey Two* (1982). The sequel was made into a film directed by Peter Hyams, *2010: The Year We Make Contact* (1984, starring Roy Scheider). Clarke has followed up the first two books in the *Odyssey* series with *2061: Odyssey Three* (1988) and *3001: The Final Odyssey* (1997).

The impact of *2001* is seen throughout American popular culture. The movie itself took audiences on a cinematic and cerebral voyage like never before. As Clarke said early in 1965, "MGM doesn't know it yet, but they've footed the bill for the first six-million-dollar religious film." The film gave the public an idea of the wonder, beauty, and promise open to humanity at the dawn of the new age of space exploration, while simultaneously showing the darker side of man's evolution: tools for progress are also tools for killing. Nowhere is this more apparent than in HAL, the ship's onboard computer. Although Clarke possesses a liberal optimism for the possibilities found in the future, HAL poignantly demonstrates the potential dangers of advanced technology. The name HAL, the computer's voice, and the vision of HAL's eye-like optical sensors have since become synonymous with the danger of over reliance on computers. This is a theme seen in other films ranging from *Wargames* (1983) to the *Terminator* (1984, 1991) series. The killings initiated by HAL and HAL's subsequent death allow the surviving astronaut to pilot the ship to the end of its voyage. Here the next step of man takes place as the sole survivor of this odyssey devolves into an infant. The Star Child is born; Man evolves into an entity of pure thought. The evolution/devolution of the astronaut completes the metaphor that humanity does not need tools to achieve its journey's end, our final fulfillment, but only ourselves.

The message of *2001* is powerfully reinforced by the music of Richard Strauss. Strauss' dramatic "Also Sprach Zarathustra," composed in 1896, was used several times during the movie but never with more impact than in the "Dawn of Man" segment. As the movie progressed, this music (as well as music composed by Johan Strauss) came to carry the narrative nearly as effectively as the dialogue.

Some have even suggested that the film influenced the language of the astronauts aboard the Apollo 13 mission. When HAL reports the “failure” of the AE 35 Unit, he says “Sorry to interrupt the festivities, but we have a problem.” On the Apollo 13 command module, named *Odyssey*, the crew had just concluded a TV broadcast which utilized the famous “Zarathustra” theme when an oxygen tank exploded. The first words sent to Earth were “Houston, we’ve had a problem.”

—Craig T. Cobane

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## Clemente, Roberto (1934-1972)

Longtime Pittsburgh Pirates rightfielder Roberto Clemente is much more than one of the premier major leaguers of his generation. While his statistics and on-field accomplishments earned him election



Roberto Clemente

to the Baseball Hall of Fame, equally awe-inspiring are his sense of professionalism and pride in his athleticism, his self-respecting view of his ethnicity, and his humanism. Clemente, who first came to the Pirates in 1955, died at age 38, on New Year’s Eve 1972, while attempting to airlift relief supplies from his native Puerto Rico to Nicaraguan earthquake victims. He insisted on making the effort despite bad weather and admonitions that the ancient DC-7 in which he was flying was perilously overloaded. This act of self-sacrifice, which came scant months after Clemente smacked major-league hit number 3,000, attests to his caliber as a human being and transformed him into an instant legend.

Roberto Walker Clemente was born in Barrio San Anton in Carolina, Puerto Rico. While excelling in track and field as a youngster, his real passion was baseball—and he was just 20 years old when he came to the major leagues to stay. On the ballfield, the muscular yet sleek and compact Clemente dazzled as he bashed extra-base hits, made nifty running catches, and fired perfect strikes from deep in the outfield to throw out runners. He was particularly noted for his rifle arm. As Brooklyn/Los Angeles Dodgers announcer Vin Scully once observed, “Clemente could field a ball in New York and throw out a guy in Pennsylvania.”

Clemente’s on-field record is exemplary. In his 18 seasons with the Pirates, he posted a .317 batting average. He won four National League batting crowns, and earned 12 consecutive Gold Gloves for his fielding. On five occasions, he led National League outfielders in assists. He played in 12 all-star games. He was his league’s Most Valuable Player (MVP) in 1966, and was the World Series MVP in 1971. When he doubled against Jon Matlack of the New York Mets on September 30, 1972, in what was to be his final major league game, he became just the eleventh ballplayer to belt 3,000 hits.

Yet despite these statistics and the consistency he exhibited throughout his career, true fame came to Clemente late in life. In the 1960 World Series, the first of two fall classics in which he appeared, he hit safely in all seven games. He was overshadowed, however, by his imposing opponents, the Mickey Mantle-led New York Yankees, and by teammate Bill Mazeroski’s dramatic series-winning home run in game 7. Clemente really did not earn national acclaim until 1971, when he awed the baseball world while starring in the World Series, hitting .414, and leading his team to a come-from-behind championship over the favored Baltimore Orioles. According to sportswriter Roger Angell, it was in this series that Clemente’s play was “something close to the level of absolute perfection.”

Clemente was fiercely proud of his physical skills. Upon completing his first season with the Pirates, his athletic ability was likened to that of Willie Mays, one of his star contemporaries. The ballplayer’s response: “Nonetheless, I play like Roberto Clemente.” During the filming of the 1968 Neil Simon comedy *The Odd Couple*, a sequence, shot on location at Shea Stadium, called for a Pittsburgh Pirate to hit into a triple play. In the film, Bill Mazeroski is the hitter. Supposedly, Clemente was set to be at bat during the gag, but pulled out because of the indignity.

In the decade-and-a-half before his 1971 World Series heroics, Clemente yearned for the kind of acknowledgment won by a Mays or a Mantle. Certainly, he was deserving of such acclaim. Had he been playing in New York, Los Angeles, or Chicago, rather than in a city far removed from the national spotlight, he might have been a high profile player earlier in his career. Compounding the problem was Clemente’s ethnic background. Furthermore, Clemente was keenly aware of his roots, and his ethnicity; he even insisted that his three



sons (who were two, five, and six when he died) be born in Puerto Rico. Unfortunately, this pride often was misconstrued—and arguably, one reason why he was not beloved earlier on was racism. The expectation that he blend in rather than exude ethnicity is epitomized by the fact that on all of Clemente's Topps baseball cards issued between 1958 and 1969, his name is Americanized as "Bob" Clemente.

Adding to the affront was that whenever Clemente would comment that other ballplayers of equal accomplishment were luxuriating in the limelight, he would be labeled a complainer and hypochondriac. "As a teammate," fellow Pittsburgh Pirate Willie Stargell observed, "we had a chance to marvel at talents a lot of people didn't understand." So it was no surprise that after the 1971 World Series, upon being handed the MVP trophy, Clemente pointedly declared, "I want everybody in the world to know that this is the way I play all the time. All season. Every season." Then, ever so typically, he spoke in Spanish, asking for his father's blessing.

The rule requiring a ballplayer to be retired for five years prior to earning Hall of Fame eligibility was waived for Clemente. He was inducted a year after his death, becoming the first Hispanic to be so honored. Since then, he has inspired thousands of Latino ballplayers. "Growing up in Puerto Rico, we got to learn a lot about his character," observed Bernie Williams, one of the major league stars of the 1990s. "Clemente is a great hero for all Latin players," added Juan Gonzalez, a Williams peer and fellow Puerto Rican. "Not only was he one of the best baseball players ever, but he was a great human being as well." Clemente also has been cherished by his teammates. After pinch-hitting a game-winning ninth inning single in Game 2 of 1979 World Series, Pirate catcher Manny Sanguillen declared that he wished his feat to be dedicated to the memory of Clemente. "He helped us in a lot of ways," summed up Willie Stargell, "to be the players we were."

Clemente was the second ballplayer (after Jackie Robinson) to be featured on a United States postage stamp. In 1973, the government of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico granted acreage for the development of Roberto Clemente Sports City, which allows Puerto Ricans to participate in a wide range of athletic pastimes. In 1993, his eldest son, Roberto, Jr., established the Roberto Clemente Foundation, which offers recreational and educational activities for Pittsburgh-area children while stressing the relevance of community involvement. In 1994, the Pirates unveiled a statue of Clemente outside Three Rivers Stadium. Throughout 1998—the twenty-fifth anniversary of his death—the Baseball Hall of Fame issued a special Roberto Clemente commemorative admission ticket. Each year, one major leaguer receives the True Value/Roberto Clemente Man of the Year Award for combining on-field heroics with community responsibility.

Roberto Clemente merits every honor he has received. In an era of pampered, egocentric athletes who charge big bucks to little kids for autographs, the manner in which Clemente lived and died is all the more poignant and praiseworthy. As he once observed, "Any time you have an opportunity to make things better and you don't, then you are wasting your time on this earth."

—Rob Edelman

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## Cleopatra

The story of Cleopatra has been a perennial favorite for the Hollywood cinema. The most notorious version remains the 1963 epic starring Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton—a film whose box office failure is credited with helping to destroy the Hollywood studio system. Made for a then staggering 44 million dollars, the production was fraught with setbacks and scandals, and film historian David Cook noted that the "disastrous" four-hour film had not broken even, some thirty-six years later. Received badly by both audiences and critics, *Cleopatra* paled in comparison to the off-screen antics of its stars. The cast's real-life adultery, life-threatening illness, and the grand passion between Taylor and Burton provoked the first major paparazzi feeding frenzy of the 1960s.

—Jeannette Sloniowski

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## Clift, Montgomery (1920-1966)

Four years older than Brando, eleven years senior to James Dean, but finding stardom only just ahead of both, Montgomery Clift is invariably bracketed with them—the leader of the great trio of the beautiful and doomed who emerged from the Actors Studio in New York City to transform the postwar face of screen acting with their individual and collective intensity. He died too soon to recover from his failures and too late to become a mythic icon like Dean or Marilyn Monroe, but to examine his all-too-short filmography is to be reminded of his achievements that have been all too often buried beneath the rubble of his ruined life.

Only cast in serious dramas, the fragile and gifted Clift, frequently quivering with painful introspection, was the screen's great outsider, misfit, or victim during the 1950s—the ultimately rejected fortune hunter of *The Heiress* (1949); driven by despair to murder and by murder to guilt in *A Place in the Sun* (1951), his first film with Elizabeth Taylor; beaten and humiliated for his refusal to fight in the boxing ring as Prewitt in *From Here to Eternity* (1953); a priest tormented by the secrets of the confessional in Hitchcock's *I Confess* (1953); the columnist unable to cope with the pain of the lovelorn in *Lonelyhearts* (1959); a victim of the Nazi concentration camps in *Judgment at Nuremberg* (1961); and last, but far from least, one of John Huston's *Misfits* (1961), corralling wild horses with Clark Gable and Marilyn Monroe.



Montgomery Clift

Born Edward Montgomery Clift in Omaha, Nebraska, the twin brother of a sister and the son of a neurotic, social-climbing and dangerously possessive mother, Clift was taken traveling in Europe from an early age. He acquired polish, manners, and the right acquaintance with art and literature. Precocious and sophisticated, he began acting at age fourteen and was on Broadway a year later. His rise was rapid, his connections influential, and by the time he appeared in two Thornton Wilder plays, *The Skin of Our Teeth* and *Our Town*, he was destined for theater stardom. Encouraged by Elia Kazan, he became a founding student of the Actors Studio in 1947 but soon succumbed to Hollywood, which had been courting him for some time.

Clift's first film was Howard Hawks's *Red River* (1948), which cast him as a cowboy, pitting his almost girlish persona against John Wayne, whose adopted son he played. The film was, however, not released until after Clift's next, *The Search* (1948) for Fred Zinnemann, which gained him the first of his four Oscar nominations for his sensitive performance as a soldier helping a stateless orphan in war-torn Germany find his missing mother. When *Red River* came out Clift became a star, the darling of the fan magazines and the adoring young girls of America.

But Clift, anguished by his homosexuality and increasingly addicted to drugs and alcohol, was an unhappy man with a disastrous private life that he strove to keep secret. In 1956, after a party given by his most devoted friend, Elizabeth Taylor, the actor was involved in a car crash. His severe injuries included the severing of nerves that rendered the left side of his face immobile, effectively destroying the perfection of his fine beauty. He was filming *Raintree County* (1957)

with Taylor at the time and, despite director Edward Dmytryk's efforts to photograph him in such a way as to avoid exposing the extent of the damage, both Clift and the film remained inert.

Driven ever further into self-destruction and loss of control, the actor did well to emerge with credit from *Judgment at Nuremberg* and *The Misfits*, but he was disastrously cast as *Freud* (1962), John Huston's altogether misguided biopic about the analyst, during the making of which Clift, whose staring eyes had become a too-prominent feature of his on-screen face, underwent a double cataract operation. After *Freud*, Clift's mainstream career was over. He had been overshadowed by his nemesis, Brando, in *The Young Lions* (1958) and was of little account in the overwrought *Suddenly Last Summer* (1959) with Taylor and Katharine Hepburn. He dragged himself out of the murky private world into which he had descended to play one last loner in a French film, *L'Espion (The Defector)* in 1966, before dying of a heart attack at the age of forty-five.

—Robyn Karney

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## Cline, Patsy (1932-1963)

Known for her smooth, powerful delivery, Patsy Cline became the first successful crossover female country vocalist with hits in the pop market during the early 1960s. Cline was an aggressive artist who fought against efforts to mold her into a pop sensation. She initially disliked many of the songs that became her biggest hits, preferring up-tempo country tunes to the more accessible ballads that made her famous. As her relatively brief career came to an end in 1963 when she died in a plane crash, the slick recording style known as the "Nashville sound" was taking over the industry. In *Country Music, U.S.A.*, historian Bill C. Malone notes that Cline "moved female country singing closer to the pop mainstream and light years away from the sound" of artists with a more traditional, rural style such as Kitty Wells. Despite her resistance to being typecast as a pop artist, Cline played a major role in Nashville's transformation from hillbilly to "countryopolitan."

Born Virginia Patterson Hensley on September 8, 1932, in Gore, Virginia, Cline began performing at an early age. She won a dancing contest at the age of four, and a few years later she was playing the piano by ear. By the time her family moved to the larger town of Winchester, the teenage Cline was interested in singing professionally. She began appearing regularly on a local radio show after approaching the announcer, who recalls being impressed by her nerve and her voice. In 1948, she traveled to Nashville to audition for the Grand Ol' Opry, and appeared on Roy Acuff's radio program on WSM. Without an immediate offer, however, she could not afford to stay in town for long and returned home after a few days. Winchester



**Patsy Cline**

band leader Bill Peer hired Cline to be the lead singer of his act, the Melody Boys and Girls, in 1952. Peer became her manager, and proposed that she use the stage name Patsy; shortly thereafter, she met and married Gerald Cline.

In 1954, Cline signed a recording contract with Four Star Records that would prove to be a major stumbling block in her career. The contract paid her only small royalties and included a stipulation that her material had to be approved by the label. As a result, almost all of Cline's pre-1960 recordings were songs chosen by the label's owner, Bill McCall, and published by Four Star, enabling the label to profit from the publishing royalties. Four Star made a deal that allowed major label Decca Records to lease Cline's music, giving her the opportunity to work with top Nashville session musicians and a gifted producer, Owen Bradley. Although Cline's talent was apparent to those who heard her sing, the recordings she made in the mid-1950s were largely ignored. A fan of pop singer Kay Starr, she was capable of styles other than country, and Bradley quickly recognized this. Though Cline preferred country material, the songs from her early recordings ran the gamut.

At the end of 1956, at McCall's insistence, Cline recorded "Walkin' After Midnight," a tune she reportedly described as

"nothin' but a little ol' pop song," according to biographer Ellis Nassour. Before the record's release she made her national television debut on *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts* in January of 1957. Cline favored the western outfits commonly worn by country singers of that era, but for this performance she was told to wear a cocktail dress. Godfrey's staff also encouraged her to abandon country music and move to New York. She was not persuaded, however, and continued to promote the record with appearances on the Opry and a rock 'n' roll show in New York hosted by Alan Freed. The song became a Top Ten hit on the country charts and went to number 17 on the pop charts.

That same year, Patsy and Gerald Cline were divorced, and in the fall she married Charlie Dick. Over the next two years, she released several singles and gave birth to her first child. During the summer of 1959, she hired Ramsey "Randy" Hughes as her manager. As the result of Cline's failure to record any major hits after "Walkin' After Midnight," McCall chose not to renew her Four Star contract. At the beginning of 1960, she began performing regularly on the Opry, fulfilling a childhood dream. Decca signed her later that year, and Bradley found the perfect song for her first session. In 1961, "I Fall to Pieces," featuring the background vocals of the Jordanaires, became her first number one country hit, reaching number 12 on the pop charts. The success of this record confirmed Bradley's belief that Cline could capture a much larger audience by focusing her efforts on pop ballads. Later hits such as "Crazy" and "She's Got You" established her as a torch singer, and Bradley began using string accompaniments on a semi-regular basis. These lush arrangements typified the Nashville sound, and Bradley became a proponent for this new style. By late 1962, she was headlining a month long engagement in Las Vegas, wearing evening gowns. On March 5, 1963, a plane crash outside Camden, Tennessee, killed Cline, along with Cowboy Copas, Hawkshaw Hawkins, and Randy Hughes.

Throughout her career, Cline had a reputation for being outspoken and opinionated. Those who knew her described her as a "brassy" woman who drank and cursed along with her male counterparts. She was also noted for being kindhearted and generous, particularly toward other female country artists struggling for success. The male-dominated recording industry of the 1950s was unaccustomed to self-confident women, and Cline's headstrong temperament led to arguments with Bradley over her material. The contradictions between her professional image and her personal background reflect the conflicting forces that were shaping country music in the early 1960s. Despite changes in country and pop styles, the legendary voice of Patsy Cline remains timeless. She gained a new following in 1985, when Jessica Lange starred in the film biography *Sweet Dreams*. Over three decades after her death her recordings continued to appear on the charts.

—Anna Hunt Graves

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## Clinton, George (1940—)

George Clinton was a doo-wop singer until he discovered acid rock and protest music in the late 1960s, a combination to which he added cosmological rants and booming bass lines to create a new style of socially conscious, Afrocentric funk. His bands Parliament and Funkadelic reached black and white audiences alike in the 1970s with their psychedelic live shows and infectious, tongue-in-cheek concept albums (*Mothership Connection*, 1976; *One Nation Under a Groove*, 1978). Clinton disappeared amid drug and financial entanglements, but reemerged in 1983 as rappers and hip-hop artists began sampling his music and borrowing his aesthetics. In response, he formed the P-Funk All-Stars (a permutation of his many splinter groups) to support new albums and reissues of classic works, reinforcing the vitality of his universal—yet pointedly black—music.

—Tony Brewer

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## A Clockwork Orange

*A Clockwork Orange* is one of the finest sociological and science fiction films ever made. With its highly stylized and often comic violence, its over-the-top set decoration, and its unlikeable protagonist, the film has exerted a wide-ranging influence on popular culture. Opening in New York on December 20, 1971, to mostly ecstatic praise, *A Clockwork Orange* immediately revolutionized the science fiction film by opening the way for more elaborate dystopian narratives and intelligent cinematic analyses of social dilemmas.

Based on Anthony Burgess's 1966 novel of the same name, *A Clockwork Orange* tells the story of Alex (Malcolm McDowell), a brilliant young thug whose thirst for violence, rape, and aggression lands him in prison. To free himself from prison, he must submit to a perverse behavior modification technique that strips him of his free will. Director Stanley Kubrick's portrayal of conditioned-reflex therapy, behavioral psychology, and systematized and bureaucratic cruelty placed audiences in the uncomfortable position of feeling sympathy for a brutal and seemingly immoral character.

Kubrick counters Alex's brutality with that of the State police. Alex's earlier crimes pale in comparison to his torture by his old gang buddies-cum-cops. His medical rehabilitation by the Ludovico technique, which includes viewing endless scenes of rape, murder,

lynching, and violence while listening to the music of Alex's beloved "Ludwig Van" (Beethoven), seems more egregious than any injury Alex inflicted. These juxtapositions force the audience to make an uncomfortable moral choice between the virtue of free will with all its perversions and the appeal of legislative/social control with its tendency toward totalitarianism. Though Kubrick had touched on these themes in his earlier films—including *Paths of Glory* (1957), *Dr. Strangelove, Or, How I Stopped Worrying and Learned to Love the Bomb* (1964), and even *Spartacus* (1960) and *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968)—none illustrated his message as well as *A Clockwork Orange*.

Kubrick accentuates the moral choices in the film with brilliant cinematic couplings. He sets a murder/rape scene to "Sing in the Rain," a song celebrating the optimism and bliss of life. He pairs Alex's desire for pain and violence with his love and devotion to Beethoven, which is highlighted by Kubrick's use of both classical and electronic music throughout the film. His elaborate set designs contrast the blue- and white-collar worlds with the State. The Cat Lady's enormous penis sculpture and the submissive, objectified naked female sculptures at the Korova Milkbar are strikingly different from the "flatblock" State architecture of the prison and Alex's parents' home, which is an eerie twin of the Housing Authority projects littering the inner cities of the world. Kubrick also highlights the differences between the flatness of the "official" language and the vitality of the teenage argot, Nasdat: a home is called "HOME," but in Nasdat "horrorshow" means awe and pleasure and "in-out-in-out" is a evocative term for sex.

These cinematic exercises are reflected by innovations in technique specific to Kubrick's filmmaking. His hallmarks include chilling natural lighting, extreme close-ups, interminable tracking or panning shots, jump-cut sequencing, extreme wide-angle lenses, and low-angle and slow motion shots. Kubrick's technical precision is matched only by his deeply intellectual consideration of timeless issues of freedom, pleasure, law, and punishment. Though *New York Times* film critic Pauline Kael criticized the lack of "motivating emotion" in the protagonist and comic violence, many film directors found much worth borrowing from it. Films using similar techniques include *THX-1138*, *Westworld*, and *A Boy and His Dog*. Reflections of the movie's highly complex and ambiguous antihero can be seen in films by Martin Scorsese, David Lynch, and Quentin Tarantino. In addition, the midnight movie crowd adopted the film's unique language called Nasdat and would shout along with the movie on college campuses across the country. Kubrick's daring vision for *A Clockwork Orange* was rewarded with the New York Film Critics Award for Best Picture as well as four Academy Award nominations. The film placed its director in the company of the most influential and creative artists of the twentieth century.

—Scott Thill

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A scene from the film *A Clockwork Orange*.

## Clooney, Rosemary (1928—)

No one more epitomized female vocalists of the 1950s, a time when America was hooked on novelty songs, than Rosemary Clooney. With her strong, belting, melodious style and novelty hits “Come on a My House,” “Mambo Italiano,” and “This Old House,” Rosemary Clooney swiftly achieved stardom in the early 1950s. She also joined the ranks of the era’s top female vocalists, including such stars as Jo Stafford, Peggy Lee, and Patty Page. Her career transcended the concert circuit, including television and film appearances; she proved a perfect match for the rapidly developing television industry. During the later years of Clooney’s career, with a more smoky, rich voice, critics compared her with top performers such as Ella Fitzgerald, Mel Torme, and Frank Sinatra.

Born in Maysville, Kentucky, on May 28, 1928, Rosemary and her sister Betty often performed at political rallies for their paternal grandfather. When Rosemary was 13, the family moved to Cincinnati, Ohio. During her high-school years Rosemary and sister Betty performed with a local band until, at the age of 16, the two were hired by Cincinnati radio station WLW to perform on a nightly music program. Performing under the name “The Clooney Sisters,” the duo continued to work at the station for two years. By 1945, however, the

Clooney Sisters had joined the Tony Pastor band and were performing one-night stands across the country in theaters, hotel ballrooms, and at high school proms. Due to her better mid-range voice, Rosemary sang solos for the sister team. The Clooney Sisters performed with Tony Pastor for two years until, suddenly, during a performance in Elkhart, Indiana in 1949, Betty quit during the intermission. Soon after, Rosemary embarked on a solo career.

Following her departure from the Tony Pastor Band, Clooney signed a modest recording contract with Columbia Records. She had a modicum of success at Columbia with the children’s songs “Me and My Teddy Bear” and “Little Johnny Chickadee.” Mixed in with recording dates were appearances at night clubs, on radio stations, and on television. It was, however, her performance on *Arthur Godfrey’s Talent Scouts* in 1950 that led to her run on *Songs for Sale*, premiering July 7, 1950. Simulcast on radio and television, the program showcased the talents of aspiring songwriters, with Rosemary Clooney and Tony Bennett as vocalists for the program. It was also during this period in her life that, under the influence of Columbia’s artist and repertoire man Mitch Miller, Rosemary Clooney produced her first big hit “Come on a My House,” which sold over a million copies. This was followed by pop hits “Botcha Me” and “Suzy Snowflake.” Countless other chart busters followed including her ballad “Tenderly,” “This Old House,” and “Hey There.”



Rosemary Clooney

Bing Crosby, a big fan of Clooney's music, recommended her for a screen test at Paramount Studios. Cast as a New York vaudevillian who attempts to hide an illegal alien, she made her premiere in the 1953 film *The Stars Are Singing*. Later that year she appeared with Bob Hope in the comedy *Here Come the Girls*, but her most notable achievement in motion pictures occurred in 1954 when she appeared with Bing Crosby in the hit film *White Christmas*. During this period she also began a CBS radio program called *The Rosemary Clooney Show*, which lasted for one season, and made the television variety show circuit as a guest on the *Ed Sullivan Show*, *Perry Como Show*, and *Steve Allen Show*.

In 1957, the Music Corporation of America (MCA) contracted Clooney to produce the syndicated half-hour television program *The Rosemary Clooney Show*. The program was well received by the general public and critics alike, and included notable musical talents the Nelson Riddle Orchestra and the Hi-Los. Seemingly never without energy or creativity, she then began a NBC variety series titled *The Lux Show Starring Rosemary Clooney* in the fall of 1957. Because of personal conflicts between her husband, Jose Ferrer, and Mitch Miller, her career was at an end with Columbia Records and she joined the RCA label.

During the 1960s Clooney's life was in turmoil. Her marriage to Jose Ferrer was on-again-off-again, finally ending in divorce. Clooney was left with five children to rear. She appeared on a number of variety shows and specials on network television, and also performed on the cabaret circuit. By 1968, Clooney was heavily dependent on drugs and had just ended a two-year relationship with a drummer. After working with the Robert Kennedy presidential campaign in

1968, she was devastated by his assassination and suffered a severe nervous breakdown during a performance at Harold's Club in Reno Nevada. She underwent extensive psychotherapy for eight years following the breakdown. She chronicled her psychiatric problems in her autobiography *This for Remembrance*, which was dramatized on television as *Escape From Madness*.

During the 1980s, a much happier and heavier Rosemary Clooney emerged with an assured straightforward belting style all her own. She performed on the Las Vegas nightclub circuit, toured with theatrical revues, appeared on network television programs, and assisted in the television production of her life story *Rosie: The Rosemary Clooney Story*, providing the soundtrack singing voices.

An emblematic figure, at the close of the twentieth century she finds herself revisiting many of her classics from the 1940s and 1950s at concerts and on recordings. Like the changing times in which she lived, Clooney proved that a woman could have a successful career, a family, and survive many setbacks. Her work in the music industry, like many post-World War II female singers, helped pave the way for future generations of women artists.

—Michael A. Lutes

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## *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*

With its elaborate, unprecedented use of special effects and novel portrayal of extraterrestrials, *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* opened to popular acclaim in November 1977, eventually earning \$240 million in worldwide release and significantly contributing to director Steven Spielberg's status as the most commercially profitable filmmaker in the new Hollywood. *Close Encounters* depicts an escalation in the number of UFO sightings worldwide and climaxes in the first "diplomatic" contact between mankind and extraterrestrials at a remote military/scientific base in the Wyoming wilderness. In stark contrast to numerous earlier cinematic portrayals of alien visitors as hostile fiends intent on world domination, Spielberg's utopian film presented the extraterrestrials as childishly mischievous but benign: wondrous new friends from the stars. Spielberg would return to some of *Close Encounters's* themes again in 1982's *E.T.: The Extra-Terrestrial*, another worldwide blockbuster and for a time the most lucrative motion picture ever.

Two parallel stories are developed in *Close Encounters*. The first focuses on a scientific team, led by a Frenchman named Lacombe (famous French film director Francois Truffaut), that tracks global UFO activity. The second centers around a midwestern everyman named Roy Neary (Richard Dreyfuss), who is destined to be humanity's emissary to the stars. The film opens in the windswept Mexican desert, where the airplanes (minus their pilots) of a long-lost military training flight have mysteriously appeared. Lacombe's team discovers that the antique airplanes are in perfect working order. Meanwhile, the skies over the American Midwest are abuzz with strange objects and lights. A power company lineman, Neary sees a group of UFOs flying down lonely back roads near Muncie, Indiana, and becomes



A UFO makes contact, in a scene from the film *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*.

obsessed with encountering the aliens again. Unhappy with the demands of adult married life, Neary shares his obsession with a local woman named Jillian (Melinda Dillon), who is in search of her young son, Barry, following his abduction by a UFO.

As the international scientific team moves closer to setting up a secret landing site at the base of Devil's Tower in Wyoming to beckon the visitors, Neary becomes more fixated on a mental image—that of an oddly shaped mountain—implanted in his head during his UFO encounter. Eventually, his tortured attempts to re-create the image in reality lead him to build a mountain of mud and garbage in his living room and thus drive his family away for good. When he sees Devil's Tower on television during coverage of a supposed nerve-gas spill in the area (actually a hoax concocted by the military to give the UFO team the required secrecy for first contact), Neary finally knows where he has to go and takes Jillian with him. After a hazardous cross-country trek, Neary and Jillian reach the secret landing site and witness mankind's first attempts to communicate with the swarms of beautifully illuminated extraterrestrial craft through a five-note musical tone keyed to a light board. A gigantic mothership—a literal city of light in the night sky—arrives to release numerous abductees, including Jillian's son. Different types of aliens also disembark and mingle with the delighted scientists. Meanwhile, Neary, with Lacombe's blessing, suits up for a long journey aboard the mothership. As soon as

the ecstatic Neary and his alien escort disappear inside it, the mothership soars majestically back into the night.

The film originated in Spielberg's memories of his formative years in Arizona, where as a teenager he had made an 8mm sound film on the subject of UFOs entitled *Firelight*. Throughout the beginning of his career as a professional filmmaker, Spielberg intended to remake his amateur film and call it *Watch the Skies*. During production of *Jaws* (1975), Spielberg often entertained his crew with tales about UFOs and his plans to make a film about them; with the critical and financial success of *Jaws*, Spielberg had the clout to do so. He and other writers, including Paul Schrader, worked on various screenplay drafts, although it was Spielberg who received sole credit. He also retitled the film *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*—a puzzling title to all except UFO buffs, who would recognize the phrase as UFO expert and Northwestern University professor Dr. J. Allen Hynek's terminology for physical contact with extraterrestrials.

Columbia Studios agreed to finance the project at an initial cost of \$16 million. Pre-production scouting settled on the Devil's Tower location as a suitably mysterious backdrop for the film's climax. The film quickly went over budget, finally costing approximately \$20 million because of a host of factors, including the logistical demands of location shooting in Wyoming and India (for a brief sequence involving thousands of extras pointing to the sky); the lengthy

climactic scene, which required an enormous and problem-plagued set in a hangar in Alabama; and the special effects, supervised by Douglas Trumbull, which involved months of planning and consumed millions of extra dollars. Spielberg's fanatic attention to detail and demands for secrecy on the set added to the studio headaches and delayed the film's release date. Producer Julia Phillips did not approve of some key figures associated with the production, including Truffaut, and was eventually fired by the studio head, David Begelman. Columbia itself was suffering from major financial problems and scandals, and a negative early review of the film did nothing to improve frazzled nerves in the production offices. However, once the film opened, the reviews were much more positive, and the film began to make enough money to be considered another huge success for Spielberg.

There are several different versions of the film in existence. A few years after its initial run, Spielberg returned to the film, re-titling it *Close Encounters of the Third Kind: The Special Edition*. At a cost of \$2 million and a seven-week shoot, he filmed new scenes, the most notable of which is a rather disappointing look inside the mothership, and removed some of the lengthy middle portion of the film detailing Neary's breakdown. He also added a brief rendition of "When You Wish upon a Star" to the musical score accompanying the mothership's ascent to the heavens. The new version, actually a few minutes shorter than the original, was released in 1980. A later television version combined elements of both films. The special edition was the version most widely available on videostore shelves until a 1998 video release, subtitled *The Collector's Edition*, a re-edited mix of the original version plus five short sequences from the 1980 special edition.

—Philip L. Simpson

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## The Closet

Since the 1950s, "coming out of the closet" has been the commonly accepted expression for a gay or lesbian person revealing their sexual orientation since the 1950s. Though many advances in gay rights and gay pride have been realized since then, coming out of the closet remained a major milestone in any gay person's life into the late 1990s.

The expression "coming out" originated in the early twentieth century when stylish drag "debutante" balls were popular society events. Especially in African American communities, the drag queen in-the-know aspired to be presented at these balls, just as young heterosexual women "came out" to society at their debutante balls. It was only later, in the 1950s atmosphere of hiding the abnormal, that

the connotation came to be that of coming out of a dark closet. Perhaps playing on the expression "skeleton in the closet," meaning a guilty secret, homosexuals themselves were the sinister skeletons lurking behind the closet door. In the decades since gay liberation began, the expression has slipped into popular usage, and "coming out of the closet" is used in a lighthearted way for any admission of a slightly guilty secret.

The closet remains a metaphor for the shame and oppression that forces many gays to hide their identities. "Closeted" or "closet-y" are also used as adjectives, sometimes derisively, to describe gays who pretend to be heterosexual. "Closet case" refers to someone suspected of being gay but unaware of it or hiding it. "Coming out" is used among gays to signify the first time they acted on their sexuality (as in, "I came out when I was fifteen with my best friend") as well as the traditional means of announcing their sexuality "to the world." "Outing" has gained usage as a verb meaning the exposure of someone else's gayness, particularly someone who is well-known and closeted.

Because of the widespread assumption of heterosexuality in American society, coming out of the closet is a lifelong endeavor for gays. Gay men and lesbians must decide whether to come out to friends, to immediate family, to extended family, at work, and so on, and each decision involves a new set of worries and consequences. Even relatively well-known gays must continually assert their identity in new situations or remain in the closet by default.

Gay activists have long touted the importance of coming out of the closet, insisting that much of the oppression gays experience would be diffused if their true numbers were known. In this spirit, the first National Coming Out Day was declared on October 11, 1988, the first anniversary of the second gay and lesbian March on Washington, D.C. The idea behind National Coming Out Day is to encourage gays to come out of the closet to at least one person on that day. Some organizations have even distributed printed cards for gays to give to bank tellers and store clerks announcing that they have just served a gay client.

Though in the days of gay sitcom characters, noted gays on magazine covers, and many openly gay organizations, the closet may seem like a quaint remnant of a former time. Yet gays who do not live in urban areas, do not have protected jobs, or do not have understanding families still fear the repercussions of coming out. It may be true that tolerance will come only when the public realizes how many gay people there are, even among their friends, family, and most respected public figures. However, to gays who have been harassed or beaten, or gays who have lost or had to fight court battles to keep their children, gays who have lost their jobs, coming out of the closet may seem a luxury they can ill afford.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## CNN

CNN (Cable News Network) was rated “the most believable” of television news sources in a 1990 *Times Mirror* poll. By the end of the twentieth century it had established itself as the leading news-gathering organization, not only in the United States, but in the world. Although in its early days CNN was a little-respected, self-described “rough around the edges” long-shot, by the 1990s other television news departments feared its domination so much that NBC and Fox decided to compete directly, on cable. Early CNN critics doubted that television could host a 24 hour news channel, but executives soon agreed that there was enough of a market for a number of them. By the end of the twentieth century, CNN’s growth into a family of networks—CNN Headline News, CNN International, CNN en Español, CNNfn (financial news), CNN-SI (sports), CNN Airport Network, CNN Radio, and CNN Interactive (Internet)—has positioned it as the first in a now long line of network news shows which feed America’s hunger for critical analysis of daily events.

When Peter Arnett appeared live on CNN from Bagdad while the city was under attack by American bombers, the network’s reputation as the source of first resort for major international news was cemented. Founder Ted Turner had called it “the world’s most important network” from the beginning, but now many others commented on



The CNN newsroom.

the “CNN effect”; how all participants in the war monitored the network for primary information and often seemed to design military movements and press briefings with particular concern for how they would appear on CNN. World leaders now routinely mention the Cable News Network and its programming. Its influence is such that it is referred to as “the sixteenth member of the U.N. Security Council.” At the end of 1980, after half a year of broadcasting, CNN reached 4.3 million subscribers; by 1998 it claimed 184 million households worldwide.

Ted Turner’s 1979 announcement about forming a 24 hour cable news network elicited scoffs and scorn from the mainstream media. The idea that such an enterprise could be profitable, let alone become a dominant world-wide news source, seemed ridiculous. Several major news organizations had looked into forming just such a service, but had determined that it would be far too expensive. The three networks each spent over one hundred million dollars a year on their news divisions, the result of which was the material for a half-hour broadcast each evening. Turner proposed running 24-hour-a-day programming on a budget of less than half that amount.

The America’s cup, WTCCG, and the Braves had already made Ted Turner well-known. He had won the Cup in 1977 and was featured on the cover of *Sports Illustrated*. After inheriting a modest billboard business in 1963, Turner built a media company by buying struggling UHF stations in Atlanta and Charlotte, North Carolina. He surprised the established media in 1972 when his channel 17, WTCCG (later WTBS), beat out WSB, the largest television station in the south, for the rights to broadcast Atlanta Braves baseball games. In 1976 Turner bought the Braves, the Hawks of the NBA (National Basketball Association), and the Chiefs of professional soccer, largely to assure that they would remain in Atlanta where he could continue to broadcast their games. WTCCG’s signal was made available via satellite in December 1976. During the 1970s, cable television was still in its infancy—Home Box Office, one of the first cable channels, was launched in 1975—with only about 14 percent of American households subscribed to cable.

Turner recruited a team of committed news people and for the most part left the planning of the new network to them. They were excited by his vision of a channel dedicated entirely to reporting the news and decided that the emphasis should be on live coverage. Operating out of a former country club, CNN went on the air on June 1, 1980. It started out with a staff of 300 and seven bureaus: Atlanta, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Detroit, London, and Rome. Disparagingly referred to as the “Chicken Noodle Network,” the disparity between its budget and those of the broadcast network news programs sometimes showed in production quality in its first few years. Gaffes and mixed signals seemed endemic at times. More often, CNN claimed, the “raggedness” was unavoidable with uncompromising, unfiltered breaking news coverage to which the network was dedicated. Ignoring the naysayers, producers pushed for close monitoring of potentially developing situations so that when something happened, they could cut to it immediately. Producer Ted Kavanau became known for calling out, “take it!” when he wanted a switch made at once.

It was not until 1985, as it worked to increase viewership and fend off rivals, that Cable News Network was profitable. In 1981, Westinghouse, which owned major cable-provider Group W, announced a partnership with ABC News to take on CNN; they named the venture SNC (Satellite NewsChannel). In direct response, CNN launched Headline News on December 31, 1981, almost six months before SNC was introduced on June 21, 1982. Still, the direct

competition proved to be the greatest challenge to CNN's survival. Ted Turner spent millions of dollars competing with SNC, and finally defeated the network by buying it for 25 million dollars. It ceased programming on October 27, 1983.

For the 1980 major-party political conventions, CNN did not even have floor credentials, but by the 1992 conventions the traditional broadcast networks cited CNN's in-depth, gavel-to-gavel coverage as a primary reason for their limited coverage. Originally CNN had to fight for equal access to the White House, but by October 1987 the White House invited anchors from "all four networks" for a "chat." Respect was acquired gradually. CNN gave the first American report of the Pope's shooting in May 1981 and extensive coverage to the Falkland War in April 1982. The network was providing the only live coverage of the Space Shuttle Challenger launch on January 28, 1986, when it tragically exploded 96 seconds after take-off.

Despite great logistical problems and restrictions by governments, 1989 provided CNN with many riveting images: the Tiananmen Square massacre in May, the failed Russian coup in August (with Boris Yeltsin rallying the throngs from atop a tank), the November fall of the Berlin Wall, and the invasion of Panama in December. These milestones bolstered the network's reputation little by little, but it was the Gulf War that elevated CNN's status to that of undisputed authority for major, breaking news. President George Bush told diplomats, "I learn more from CNN than I do from the CIA."

Time-Warner bought CNN from Ted Turner in 1996 for three billion dollars. Turner also stayed on as an executive vice president. CNN's credibility, however, was damaged in 1998 after an investigative report on the new program *Newsstand*, alleging that American forces used nerve gas in Laos in 1970. Attacks on the credibility of the story led the network to retract the story and fire the producers of the piece.

Despite CNN's undeniable influence, all of the networks again considered starting their own cable news channels in the early 1990s; NBC and Fox went ahead with theirs. Rupert Murdoch, media magnate owner of Fox, said that he wanted to counter what he called CNN's "liberal bias." Ted Turner cast CNN as an agent of global understanding and peace. From the dedicatory ceremony in front of the original CNN headquarters, where a United Nations flag flew alongside those of the United States and the State of Georgia, he has insisted that CNN is a world network, not American. The word "international" is preferred to "foreign," correspondents from all over the world are employed, and CNN's tolerant reporting on many totalitarian governments has provoked withering attacks from some American conservatives. Turner also saw the network as a key element in the "Third Wave" of futurist Alvin Toffler. Toffler predicts that the information age will lead to a global age. Marshal McLuhan also influenced Turner; writer Joshua Hammer writes, "If Marshal McLuhan's global village exists, its capital is the CNN headquarters in Atlanta." CNN International was launched in 1985 and in 1987 CNN introduced a new show called *World Report*, a two hour program featuring unedited three minute segments from local television journalists world-wide.

CNN claims to be different from older network television news because it is an all-news network and it is on cable. Its cable home means that CNN receives approximately half of its income from fees, making it is less dependent on ratings than free broadcast channels are. Therefore, CNN officials argue, the network can cover news more objectively, with less concern for what may titillate viewers. Its news-only format means that it feels no influence from larger entertainment division. In the 1990s CNN was watched by an average half

million households in prime time, while the big three broadcast evening news programs were seen by around 25 million viewers. CNN executives routinely refer to the large broadcast networks as "the entertainment networks." Largely due to its commitment to world-wide, unfiltered coverage, as *Time* magazine wrote on January 6, 1992, "It has become the common frame of reference for the world's power elite." A 1992 poll found CNN the fourth most respected brand name in the United States, surpassed only by Mercedes-Benz, Kodak, and Disney. Despite its relatively low ratings (except during moments of crisis), CNN can legitimately call itself the world's premier television news service, essentially the network of record, equivalent to the *New York Times* in print journalism.

—Paul Gaffney

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## Cobb, Ty (1886-1961)

The most fear-inspiring presence in baseball history, Ty Cobb was unmatched as a performer during his 24-year career in the major leagues. Cobb set statistical marks that, on the eve of the twenty first century, no major-leaguer has equaled. His .367 lifetime batting average is 23 points higher than Ted Williams' second best mark. Cobb's 2,244 runs scored put him well ahead of Babe Ruth. His feat of leading his league in batting average 12 times easily tops Honus Wagner's eight, and his 37 steals of home plate may never be broken. But Cobb is equally well known for his violent style of play and his ferocious temper. Lou Gehrig, angered one day when Cobb brutally spiked a Yankee pitcher on a play at first base, complained that "Cobb is about as welcome to American League parks as a rattlesnake." He was so hated by his teammates that for much of his career he carried a gun in a shoulder strap just in case a group of them jumped him. Cobb's career began at a time when baseball's rules were still in flux, and spanned the "dead-ball" and "rabbit-ball" eras of the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Tyrus Raymond Cobb was born on December 18, 1886 in an area of Georgia known as the Narrows, near Banks County. His mother, Amanda Chitwood, had been a child bride of only 12 years of age in 1883 when she married William Herschel Cobb, then a 20-year-old schoolteacher. Despite these modest beginnings in poor rural Georgia, Ty Cobb was the latest in a long roster of prominent ancestors. The Cobb tribe dated back to Joseph Cobb, who emigrated from England in 1611 and who eventually became a Virginia tobacco tycoon. Thomas Willis Cobb was a colonel in the Revolutionary War and an aide to General Washington. Thomas Reade Rootes Cobb died as a Confederate brigadier general at Fredericksburg and Howell



**Ty Cobb**

Cobb, who served as Georgia's Governor in 1851, was captured by the Federals at Macon in 1865.

Cobb's father impressed upon him the need to uphold the family tradition by either entering a profession, such as medicine or the law, or by attending West Point. Cobb, however, showed little interest in these potential futures. In 1901, at the age of 15, Cobb became aware of major league baseball. He learned, to his astonishment, that in the game he and his friends played with a flat board and a homemade twine ball major league celebrities could earn up to \$8,000 per season.

In 1902, against his father's wishes, Cobb joined the Royston Reds, a semi-pro team that toured Northeastern Georgia. Semi-pro "town-ball" was tough stuff. At this time one of the rules held over from the game's pioneer forms was "soaking," in which base runners could be put out not only by throws to a bag and by hand, but by throwing to hit them anywhere on the body. Hitting the runner in the skull was preferable, because it might take a star opponent out of the lineup. On more than one occasion Cobb was put out by a "soaker" to the ear, which did little to endear baseball to his father.

In 1904 Cobb succeeded in making the roster of the class "C" Augusta Tourists, a league that drew scouts from the major leagues. At Augusta Cobb began to develop his distinctive playing style.

Rather than pull pitches to his natural direction of right field, the left-handed Cobb stood deep in the batter's box, choked up on his 38 ounce bat with a split hands grip, and opened his stance as the pitcher fired the ball. His trademark was to chop grounders and slice line-drives through third-base gaps and into an often unguarded left-field. The Cobb-style bunt, destined to become one of the most deadly weapons since Willie Keeler's "Baltimore Chop," took shape when Cobb retracted his bat and punched the ball to a selected spot between the third baseman and the pitcher, just out of reach. He also began to pull bunts for base hits and once on base he ran with wild abandon, stealing when he wished and running through the stop signs of base coaches, always using his great speed to wreak havoc with opposing defenses. Included in his techniques was a kick slide, in which he would kick his lead leg at the last minute in an effort to dislodge the ball, the glove, and perhaps even the hand of a middle infielder waiting to tag him out. This would, at the major league level, develop into the dreaded "Cobb Kiss," in which Cobb would slide, or often leap, feet first into infielders and catchers with sharpened spikes slashing and cutting. Unique among players of his era, Cobb kept notebooks filled with intelligence on opposing pitchers and defenses. He studied the geometry and angles of the baseball field, and through his hitting and base running strategies engaged in what he called "scientific baseball," a style that would revolutionize the game in the so-called "dead-ball" era before Babe Ruth.

But although he could outrun everybody, had a rifle arm in center field, and hit sizzling singles and doubles to all fields, already at Augusta Cobb was hated by his teammates. He was a loner who early in his career did not drink or chase women, and preferred to read histories and biographies in his room. He constantly fought with his manager, whose signs he regularly ignored. Eventually, none of his teammates would room with him, especially after he severely beat pitcher George Napoleon "Nap" Rucker, a roommate of Cobb's for a short time. Rucker's "crime" had been taking the first hot bath in their room after a game. Cobb's explanation to a bloodied Rucker was "I've got to be first at everything—all the time!" Rucker and the other Tourists considered Cobb mentally unbalanced and dangerous if provoked.

On August 8, 1905 William Cobb was killed by a shotgun blast, fired by his young wife Amanda. Although eventually cleared of charges of voluntary manslaughter, rumors of marital infidelity and premeditated murder continued to swirl around Cobb's mother. The violent death of his father, who had never seen Cobb play but who had softened toward his son's career choice shortly before his death, made Cobb's volatile nature even worse. As Cobb later observed of himself during this period, "I was like a steel spring with a growing and dangerous flaw in it. If it is wound too tight or has the slightest weak point, the spring will fly apart and then is done for."

Late in the 1905 season, a Detroit Tiger team weakened by injuries needed cheap replacements and purchased Cobb's contract. Cobb joined major league baseball during a period in which the game was reshaping itself. In 1901 the foul-strike rule had been adopted, whereby the first and second foul balls off the bat counted as strikes. But of greater importance were the actions of Byron "Ban" Johnson, who changed the name of his minor Western League to the American League and began signing major league players in direct competition with the National League. By 1903 bifurcated baseball and the modern World Series were born, leading to a boom in baseball's popularity as Cobb joined the Tigers.

Cobb impressed from his first at bat, when he clubbed a double off of "Happy" Jack Chesbro, a 41 game winner in 1904. His

aggressive style won over the fans immediately, but from the beginning his Tiger teammates despised Cobb. Most of the Tigers were northerners and mid-westerners, and Cobb, with his pronounced southern drawl and stiff, formal way of addressing people stood out. But more importantly, his sometimes spectacular play as a rookie indicated that he might be a threat to the established outfield corps, and in the hardscrabble game of the turn of the twentieth century such rookies faced intense hazing. Cobb fought back against the veterans and took to carrying a snub-nosed Frontier Colt pistol on his person for protection. The tension led to a mental breakdown for Cobb in mid-summer 1906, leading to a 44 day stay in a sanatorium. Upon his release, Cobb returned to the Tigers with an even greater determination to succeed. "When I got back I was going to show them some ballplaying like the fans hadn't seen in some time," Cobb later recalled.

Cobb fulfilled his promise. He led Detroit to the World Series in 1907, 1908, and 1909, hitting a combined .361 in those seasons with a remarkable 164 stolen bases. Although Detroit faded as a contender after that, Cobb's star status continued to rise. In 1911 he hit .420 with 83 stolen bases and 144 RBIs (runs batted in). In 1912 he hit .410 with 61 steals and 90 RBIs. He batted over .300, the traditional benchmark for batting excellence, in 23 consecutive seasons, including a .323 mark in 1928, his final season, at the age of 42. But while Cobb remained remarkably consistent, the game of baseball changed around him. In 1919 the Boston Red Sox sold their star player, Babe Ruth, to the New York Yankees. In 1920 Ruth hit 54 Home Runs, and in 1921 he hit 59. The "dead-ball" era and scientific baseball was replaced by the "rabbit-ball" era and big bang baseball. Cobb felt that Ruth was "unfinished" and that major league pitchers would soon adjust to his style; they did not. Cobb never adjusted or changed his style. "The home run could wreck baseball," he warned. "It throws out a lot of strategy and makes it fence-ball." As player-manager late in his career, Cobb tried to match the Yankee's "fence-ball" with his own "scientific ball"—and he failed miserably.

Along the way, Cobb initiated a move toward player emancipation by agitating in Congress for an investigation of baseball's reserve clause that tied a player to one team for life. He took the lead in forming the Ball Players Fraternity, a nascent player's union. In retirement he spent some of his estimated \$12 million fortune, compiled mainly through shrewd stock market investments, in supporting destitute ex-ballplayers and their families. But he also burned all fan mail that reached him and ended long-term relationships with friends such as Ted Williams over minor disputes. When he died in 1961, just three men from major league baseball attended his funeral, one of which was old "Nap" Rucker from his Augusta days. Not a single official representative of major league baseball attended the funeral of the most inventive, detested, and talented player in baseball history.

—Todd Anthony Rosa

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## Coca, Imogene (1908—)

Imogene Coca is best remembered as one of the driving forces behind the popular variety show *Your Show of Shows* (1950-54), in which she starred with Sid Caesar. Her physical, non-verbal comedy perfectly offset Caesar's bizarre characterizations and antics. Coca won an Emmy for Best Actress in 1951 for her work on the series. After *Your Show of Shows* was canceled, however, neither Coca nor Caesar were ever able to attain a similar level of popularity and all of Coca's sitcom attempts were soon canceled. Even a series that reunited the two in 1958 was unsuccessful, proving that television popularity is more a function of viewer mood than an actor's talent.

—Denise Lowe

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## Coca-Cola

Coca-Cola, also known as Coke, began in the chaos of the post-Reconstruction South. In May 1886, Georgia pharmacist John Styth Pemberton succeeded in creating what he intended, a temperance drink. With cries against alcohol reaching a fever pitch in the region Pemberton worked to create a drink that could satisfy the anti-alcohol crowd as well as his need to turn a profit. In the ensuing mixing and re-mixing he came up with the syrup base for Coca-Cola. The reddish brown color and "spicy" flavor of the drink helped mask the illegal alcohol that some of his early customers added to the beverage. Little did he know that this new drink, made largely of sugar and water, would quickly become the most popular soft drink in the United States and, eventually, the entire world.

Although John Pemberton created the formula for Coca-Cola it fell to others to turn the product into a profitable enterprise. Fellow pharmacist Asa Candler bought the rights to Coke in 1888, and he would begin to push the drink to successful heights. Through a variety of marketing tools Candler put Coca-Cola onto the long road to prosperity. Calendars, pens, metal trays, posters, and a variety of other items were emblazoned with the Coke image and helped breed familiarity with the drink. Additionally, although the beverage included negligible amounts of cocaine, Candler gave in to the sentiment of the Progressive Era and removed all traces of cocaine from Coca-Cola in 1903. Candler followed the slight formula switch with an advertising campaign emphasizing the purity of the drink. The ad



Assorted bottle styles of Coke.

campaign was enhanced by the development of the unique Coca-Cola bottle in 1913. The new Coke bottle, with its wide middle and ribbed sides, made the Coca-Cola bottle, and by relation its contents, instantly identifiable.

For all of the success that he had engineered at Coca-Cola, Asa Candler lost interest in the soft drink business. Candler turned the company over to his sons who would in turn eventually sell it to Ernest Woodruff. It was Woodruff, and eventually his son, Robert, who guided the company to its position of leadership in the soda-pop industry. As one company employee remarked "Asa Candler gave us feet, but Woodruff gave us wings." The Woodruffs expanded company operations, initiated the vending-machine process, changed fountain distribution to ensure product uniformity and quality, and presided over the emergence of the six-pack. It was also the Woodruffs who recognized that Coke's greatest asset was not what it did, but what it could potentially represent; accordingly, they expanded upon company advertising in order to have Coke identified as the pre-eminent soft drink and, ultimately, a part of Americana.

Coca-Cola advertising was some of the most memorable in the history of American business. Through the work of artists such as Norman Rockwell and Haddon Sundblom, images of Coca-Cola were united with other aspects of American life. In fact, it was not until Sundblom, through a Coke advertisement, provided the nation with a depiction of the red-suited, rotund Santa Claus, that such an image (and by relation Coca-Cola) was identified with the American version of Christmas. Coke's strategic marketing efforts, through magazines, billboards, calendars, and various other product giveaways emblazoned with the name Coca-Cola, made the product a part of American culture. The success of Coke advertising gave the product an appeal that stretched far beyond its simple function as a beverage to quench the thirst. Coke became identified with things that were American, as much an icon as the Statue of Liberty or Mount Rushmore. This shift

to icon status was catalyzed by the company's actions during World War II.

At the outset of the war Coke found its business potentially limited by wartime production statutes. Sugar, a major ingredient in the drink, was to be rationed in order to ensure its availability to the nation's military forces. The company, though not necessarily facing a loss of market share, faced the serious possibility of zero growth during the conflict. Therefore, Robert Woodruff announced that the company would work to ensure that Coke was available to every American serviceman overseas. Through this bold maneuver Coca-Cola was eventually placed on the list of military necessities and allowed to circumvent limits on its sugar supply. Also, thanks in part to Chief of Staff George C. Marshall, the company was able to avoid the massive expense of ensuring Coke's delivery. Marshall believed that troop morale would be improved by the availability of Coca-Cola, and that it was a good alternative to alcohol. Therefore, he allowed for entire bottling plants to be transported overseas at government expense. Thanks to Marshall and others Coca-Cola was able to expand its presence overseas at a faster rate and at less expense than other beverages.

Thousands of American servicemen, from Dwight Eisenhower to the common soldier, preferred Coke to any other soft drink. The availability of the beverage in every theater of the war helped Coke to be elevated in the minds of GI's as a slice of America. In many of their letters home, soldiers identified the drink as one of the things they were fighting for, in addition to families and sweethearts. Bottles of Coke were auctioned off when supplies became limited, were flown along with bombing sorties, and found their way onto submarines. One GI went so far as to call the liquid "nectar of the Gods." Thanks to its presence in the war effort, the affinity which GI's held for the beverage, and the establishment of a presence overseas, Coke became identified by Americans and citizens of foreign countries with the

American Way. After World War II, Coca-Cola was on its way to becoming one of a handful of brands recognized around the world.

However, the presence of Coca-Cola was not always welcomed overseas. During the political and ideological battles of the Cold War, Coke was targeted by European communists as a symbol of the creeping hegemony of the United States. The drink found itself under attack in many European countries and in some quarters its existence was denounced as “Coca-Colonialism.” In addition, the drink often found its presence opposed by local soft drink and beverage manufacturers. A variety of beverage manufacturers in Germany, Italy, and France actively opposed the spread of Coca-Cola in their countries. Despite the opposition, however, the spread of Coca-Cola continued throughout the Cold War. In some cases the sale of the soft drink preceded or immediately followed the establishment of relations between the United States and another country. By the 1970s, the worldwide presence of Coke was such that company officials could (and did) claim that, “When you don’t see a Coca-Cola sign, you have passed the borders of civilization.”

Beginning in the 1970s, Coca-Cola found its greatest challenges in the domestic rather than international arena. Facing the growth of its rival, Pepsi-Cola, Coke found itself increasingly losing its market share. Coke executives were even more worried when the Pepsi Challenge convincingly argued that even among Coke loyalists the taste of Pepsi was preferred to that of Coke. The results of the challenge led Coke officials to conclude that the taste of the drink was inferior to that of Pepsi and that a change in the formula was necessary. The result of this line of thinking was the marketing debacle surrounding New Coke.

In the history of corporate marketing blunders the 1983 introduction of New Coke quickly took its place alongside the Edsel. After New Coke was introduced company telephone operators found themselves besieged by irate consumers disgusted with the product change. Coke’s error was that blind taste tests like the Pepsi Challenge prevented the consumer from associating the thoughts and traditions with a particular soda. Caught up in ideas of product inferiority the company seemingly forgot its greatest asset—the association that it had with the life experiences of millions of consumers. Many Americans associated memories of first dates, battlefield success, sporting events, and other occasions with the consumption of Coca-Cola. Those associations were something that could not be ignored or rejected simply because when blindfolded customers preferred the taste of one beverage over another. In many cases the choice of a particular soft drink was something passed down from parents to children. Consequently, the taste tests would not make lifelong Coke drinkers switch to a new beverage; the tradition and association with Coca-Cola were too powerful for such a thing to occur.

After introducing New Coke the company found itself assaulted not for changing the formula of a simple soft drink, but for tampering with a piece of Americana. Columnists editorialized that the next step would be changing the flag or tearing down the Statue of Liberty. Many Americans rejected New Coke not for its taste but for its mere existence. Tradition, as the Coca-Cola company was forced to admit, took precedence over taste. Four months after it was taken off of the shelves, the traditionally formulated Coke was returned to the marketplace under the name Coca-Cola Classic. Company president Don Keough summed up the episode by saying “Some critics will say Coca-Cola made a marketing mistake. Some critics will say that we planned the whole thing. The truth is we are not that dumb and not that

smart.” What the company was smart enough to do was to recognize that they were more than a soft drink to those who consumed the beverage as well as to those who did not. What they were to seemingly the entire nation, regardless of individual beverage preference, was a piece of America as genuine and identifiable with the country as the game of baseball.

As a beverage the consumption of Coca-Cola has a rather limited physical impact. The drink was able to quench the thirst and to provide a small lift due to its caffeine and sugar content. Beyond its use, however, Coca-Cola was, as Pulitzer Prize-winning newspaper editor William Allen White once remarked, the “sublimated essence of all that America stands for. . . .” Though the formula underwent changes and the company developed diet, caffeine free, and cherry-flavored versions, what Coca-Cola represents has not changed. Coca-Cola, a beverage consumed by presidents, monarchs, and consumers the world over has remained above all else a symbol of America and its way of life.

—Jason Chambers

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## Cocaine/Crack

Erythroxlon coca, a shrub indigenous to the upper jungles of the Andes mountains in South America, has been consumed for millennia by the various Indian tribes that have inhabited the region. The primary alkaloid of this plant, cocaine (first called erythroxyline), earned a reputation throughout the twentieth century as the quintessential American drug. Psychologist Ronald Siegel noted that “its stimulating and pleasure-causing properties reinforce the American character with its initiative, its energy, its restless activity and its boundless optimism.” Cocaine—which one scholar called “probably the least understood and most consistently misrepresented drug in the pharmacopoeia”—symbolizes more than any other illicit drug the twin extremes of decadent indulgence and dire poverty that characterize the excesses of American capitalism. The drug has provoked both wondrous praise and intense moral condemnation for centuries.

For the Yunga and Aymara Indians of South America, the practice of chewing coca was most likely a matter of survival. The coca leaf, rich in vitamins and proteins as well as in its popular mood-altering alkaloid, was an essential source of nourishment and strength in the Andes, where food and oxygen were scarce. The word “coca” probably simply meant “plant,” suggesting the pervasiveness of the shrub in ancient life. The leaf also had both medical and religious applications throughout the pre-Inca period, and the Inca empire made coca central to religious cosmology.

Almost immediately upon its entrance into the Western frame of reference, the coca leaf was inextricable from the drama and violence of imperial expansion. In the sixteenth century the Spaniards first discounted Indian claims that coca made them more energetic, and outlawed the leaf, believing it to be the work of the Devil. After seeing that the Indians were indeed more productive laborers under the leaf’s influence, they legalized and taxed the custom. These taxes became the chief support for the Catholic church in the region. An awareness of the political significance of coca quickly developed among the Indians of the Andean region, and for centuries the leaf has been a powerful symbol of the strength and resilience of Andean culture in the face of genocidal European domination.

In the mid-nineteenth century, when the cocaine alkaloid was isolated and extracted, cocaine began its rise to popularity in Europe and North America. The drug is widely praised during this period for its stimulating effects on the central nervous system, with many physicians and scientists, including Sigmund Freud, extolling its virtues as a cure for alcohol and morphine addiction. Others praised its appetite-reduction properties, while still others hailed it as an aphrodisiac. In 1859 Dr. Paolo Mantegazza, a prominent Italian neurologist, wrote, “I prefer a life of ten years with coca to one of a hundred thousand without it.” Americans beamed with pride at the wonder drug that had been discovered on their continent; one American company advertised at least 15 different cocaine products and promised that the drug would “supply the place of food, make the coward brave, the silent eloquent and render the sufferer indifferent to pain.”

Angelo Mariana manufactured coca-based wine products, boasting having collected 13 volumes of praise from satisfied customers, who included well-known political leaders, artists, and an alarming number of doctors, “including physicians to all the royal households of Europe.” Ulysses S. Grant, according to Mariana, took the cocaine elixir daily while composing his memoirs. In 1885 John S. Pemberton, an Atlanta pharmacist, also started selling cocaine-based wine, but removed the alcohol in response to prohibitionist sentiment and began marketing a soft drink with cocaine and gotu kola as an “intellectual beverage and temperance drink” which he called Coca-Cola.

It was not until the late 1880s and 1890s that cocaine’s addictive properties begin to capture public attention in the United States. While cocaine has no physically addictive properties, the psychological dependence associated with its frequent use can be just as debilitating as any physical addiction. By the turn of the twentieth century the potential dangers of such dependence had become clear to many, and reports of abuse began to spread.

By 1900 the drug was at the center of a full-scale moral panic. Scholars have noted the race and class overtones of this early cocaine panic. In spite of little actual evidence to substantiate such claims, the *American Journal of Pharmacy* reported in 1903 that most cocaine users were “bohemians, gamblers, high- and low-class prostitutes,

night porters, bell boys, burglars, racketeers, pimps, and casual laborers.” The moral panic directly targeted blacks, and the fear of cocaine fit perfectly into the dominant racial discourses of the day. In 1914 Dr. Christopher Koch of Pennsylvania’s State Pharmacy Board declared that “Most of the attacks upon the white women of the South are the direct result of a cocaine-crazed Negro brain.” David Musto characterized the period in this way: “So far, evidence does not suggest that cocaine caused a crime wave but rather that anticipation of black rebellion inspired white alarm. Anecdotes often told of superhuman strength, cunning, and efficiency resulting from cocaine. These fantasies characterized white fear, not the reality of cocaine’s effects, and gave one more reason for the repression of blacks.”

Cocaine was heavily restricted by the Harrison Narcotics Act in 1914 and was officially identified as a “narcotic” and outlawed by the United States government in 1922, after which time its use went largely underground until the late 1960s and early 1970s, when it spread first in the rock ‘n’ roll subculture and then through the more affluent sectors of American society. It became identified again with American wealth and power, and its dangers were downplayed or ignored. As late as 1980 the use of powder cocaine was recognized even by some medical authorities as “very safe.”

During the early 1970s, however, a coca epidemic began quietly spreading throughout South America. While the centuries-old practice of chewing fresh coca leaves by coqueros had never been observed to cause abuse or mania, in the 1970s a new practice developed of smoking a paste, called basuco or basé, that was a byproduct of the cocaine manufacturing process. Peruvian physicians began publicly warning of a paste-smoking epidemic. The reports, largely ignored at the time in the United States, told of basuco-smoking pastaleros being driven crazy by the drug, smoking enormous quantities chronically, in many cases until death.

In early 1974, a misinterpretation of the term basé led some San Francisco chemists to reverse engineer cocaine “base” from pure powder cocaine, creating a smokable mixture of cocaine alkaloid. The first “freebasers” thought they were smoking basuco like the pastaleros, but in reality they were smoking “something that nobody else on the planet had ever smoked before.” The costly and inefficient procedure of manufacturing freebase from powder cocaine ensured that the drug remained a celebrity thrill. This was dramatized in comedian Richard Pryor’s near-death experience with freebase in 1980.

Crack cocaine was most likely developed in the Bahamas in the late 1970s or early 1980s when it was recognized that the expensive and dangerous procedures required to manufacture freebase were unnecessary. A smokable cocaine paste, it was discovered, could be cheaply and easily manufactured by mixing even low quality cocaine with common substances such as baking soda. This moment coincided with a massive glut of cheap Colombian cocaine in the international market. The supply of cocaine coming into the United States more than doubled between 1976 and 1980. The price of cocaine again dropped after 1980, thanks at least partly to a CIA (Central Intelligence Agency)-supported coup in Bolivia.

Throughout the 1980s, cocaine again became the subject of an intense moral panic in the United States. In October of 1982, only seven months after retracting his endorsement for stronger warnings on cigarette packs, President Reagan declared his “unshakable” commitment “to do whatever is necessary to end the drug menace.” The Department of Defense and the CIA were officially enlisted in support of the drug war, and military activity was aimed both at Latin American smugglers and at American citizens. While the United

States Administration frequently raised the specter of “narcoterrorism” associated with Latin American rebels, most analysts agree that United States economic and military policy has consistently benefitted the powerful aristocracies who manage the cocaine trade.

In the mid-1980s, in the heat of the Iran-Contra scandal, evidence that members of the CIA’s contra army in Nicaragua were heavily involved in the cocaine trade began to surface in the American press. This evidence was downplayed and denied by government officials, and generally ignored by the public until 1996, when an explosive newspaper series by Gary Webb brought the issue to public attention. While Webb’s award-winning series was widely discredited by the major media, most of his claims have been confirmed by other researchers, and in some cases even admitted by the CIA in its self-review. The Webb series contributed to perceptions in African-American communities that cocaine was part of a government plot to destroy them.

As was the case at the turn of the twentieth century, the moral outrage at cocaine turned on race and class themes. Cocaine was suddenly seen as threatening when it became widely and inexpensively available to the nation’s black and inner-city poor; its widespread use by the urban upper class was never viewed as an epidemic. The unequal racial lines drawn in the drug war were recognized by the United States Sentencing Commission, which in 1995 recommended a reduction in the sentencing disparities between crack and powder cocaine. Powder cocaine, the preferred drug of white upper class users, carries about 1/100th the legal penalties of equivalent amounts of crack.

The vilified figure of the inner-city crack dealer, however, may represent the ironic underbelly to the American character and spirit that has been associated with cocaine’s stimulant effects. Phillippe Bourgois noted that “ambitious, energetic, inner-city youths are attracted to the underground economy precisely because they believe in Horatio Alger’s version of the American dream. They are the ultimate rugged individualists.”

—Bernardo Alexander Attias

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## Cocktail Parties

Noted essayist and tippler H. L. Mencken once wrote that the cocktail was “the greatest of all the contributions of the American way of life to the salvation of humanity.” While Mencken’s effusive evaluation of the cocktail might be challenged today, the cocktail and the cocktail party remain a distinctively American contribution to the social landscape of the twentieth century.

Although the cocktail party is most closely associated with the Cold War era, Americans were toasting with mixed drinks well before the 1950s. The origin of the word cocktail remains the subject of some debate, with a few bold scholars giving the honors to the troops of George Washington, who raised a toast to the “cock tail” that adorned the General’s hat. Whatever its origins, by the 1880s the cocktail had become an American institution, and by the turn of the century women’s magazines included recipes for cocktails to be made by hostesses, to insure the success of their parties.

The enactment of the 18th Amendment in 1920 made Prohibition a reality, and cocktails went underground to speakeasies. These illegal night clubs caused a small social revolution in the United States, as they allowed men and women to drink together in public for the first time. But it was not until after World War II that the cocktail-party culture became completely mainstream. As young people flocked to the new suburbs in the 1950s, they bought homes that were far removed from the bars and lounges of the city. Cocktail parties became a key form of socializing, and the market for lounge music records, cocktail glasses, and shakers exploded. By 1955 even the U.S. government had realized the importance of these alcohol-oriented gatherings, as the National Institute of Mental Health of the U.S. Public Health Service launched a four-year sociological study of cocktail parties, with six lucky agents pressed into duty attending and reporting back on high-ball-induced behavior. The testing of atomic bombs during the early 1950s in the deserts of Nevada sparked a short-lived fad for atomic-themed cocktails.

The most emblematic drink of cocktail culture remains the martini. The outline of the distinctively shaped glass has become a universal symbol for bars and lounges. As with many aspects of cocktail culture, the origins of the martini remain hazy. One history suggests that the first martini was mixed by noted bartender “Professor” Jerry Thomas at the bar of the Occidental Hotel in San Francisco in the early 1860s for a miner on his way to the town of Martinez. The martini was insured lasting fame by being the favored libation of the popular movie spy James Bond, whose strict allegiance to a martini that was “shaken, not stirred” so that the gin not be “bruised,” encouraged a generation of movie-goers to abandon their swizzle sticks in favor of a cocktail shaker.

In the mid-1990s, cocktail culture experienced a revival through the efforts of a few well-publicized bands interested in reviving the cocktail party lounge sound. The press dubbed the movement, sparked by the 1994 release of Combustible Edison’s album *I, Swinger*, “Cocktail Nation,” and young people appropriated the sleek suits,



snazzy shakers and swinging sounds made popular by their parents' generation. Cocktail nostalgia reached its peak with the 1996 release of Jon Favreau's *Swingers*, a movie about cocktail culture in contemporary Los Angeles.

—Deborah Broderson

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## Cody, Buffalo Bill, and his Wild West Show

Buffalo Bill was not the originator of the Wild West Show or, indeed, the only person to stage one. Frontier extravaganzas had



William Cody

existed in one form or another from as early as 1843. Yet Buffalo Bill Cody is largely responsible for creating our romantic view of the Old West that continues largely unabated to this day. This is due to a combination of factors, not the least of which was Cody's own flair for dramatizing his own real life experiences as a scout, buffalo hunter, and Indian fighter.

The legend of William F. Cody began in 1867 when, as a 21-year-old young man who had already lived a full life as a Pony Express rider, gold miner, and ox team driver, he contracted to supply buffalo meat for construction workers on the Union Pacific railroad. Although he did not kill the number of huge beasts attributed to him (that was accomplished by the "hide hunters" who followed and nearly decimated the breed), he was dubbed Buffalo Bill. He followed this experience with a four-year stint as Chief of Scouts for the Fifth United States Cavalry under the leadership of former Civil War hero Lieutenant General Philip Sheridan. During this service, Cody participated in 16 Indian skirmishes including the defeat of the Cheyenne at Summit Springs in 1869. After this, Cody earned a living as a hunting guide for parties of celebrities, who included politicians and European royalty. On one of these, he encountered the author Ned Buntline who made him the hero of a best-selling series of stories in *The New York Weekly*, flamboyantly titled "The Greatest Romance of the Age." These stories spread the buffalo hunter's fame around the world.

After witnessing a Nebraska Independence Day celebration in 1883, Cody seized upon the idea of a celebration of the West, and played upon his newfound fame to create Buffalo Bill's Wild West, an outdoor extravaganza that depicted life on the frontier from his unique perspective. The show (although he steadfastly avoided the use of the word) was composed of a demonstration of Pony Express riding, an attack on the Deadwood Stage (which was the actual Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage line coach used on the Deadwood run), and a number of rodeo events including riding wild steers, bucking broncos, calf roping, horse races, and shooting. Whenever he could, Cody also employed authentic Western personages such as scout John Nelson; Chief Gall, who participated in the defeat of Custer at Little Big Horn; and later Sitting Bull, to make personal appearances in the show. The grand finale usually consisted of a spectacle incorporating buffalo, elk, deer, wild horses, and steers stampeding with cowboys and Indians.

In 1884, the show played the Cotton Exposition in New Orleans, where Cody acquired his greatest drawing card—sharpshooter Annie Oakley, who was billed as "Little Sure Shot." The following year, Sitting Bull, the most famous chief of the Indian Wars, joined the show. Ironically, Cody's use of Sitting Bull and other Indians as entertainers remains controversial to this day. To his critics, the depictions of Indians attacking stagecoaches and settlers in a vast arena served to perpetuate the image of the Indian as a dangerous savage. On the other hand, he was one of the few whites willing to employ Native Americans at the time, and he did play a role in taking many of them off the reservation and providing them with a view of the wider world beyond the American frontier.

Yet even as many Indians were touring the country with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, the Indian Wars were still continuing on the frontier. Some of Cody's Indians returned to help in the Army's peacemaking efforts, and Cody himself volunteered his services in the last major Sioux uprising of 1890-91 as an ambassador to Sitting Bull, who had returned from Canada to lend his presence as a spiritual leader to his countrymen. This effort was personally called off by President Benjamin Harrison, and Sitting Bull was shot by Indian

police the next day while astride a show horse given to him by Cody. According to historian Kevin Brownlow, the horse, trained to kneel at the sound of gunfire while appearing in the Wild West Show, proceeded to bow down while its famous rider was being shot. When the Indians were ultimately defeated, Cody was able to free a number of the prisoners to appear in his show the following season—a dubious achievement, perhaps, but one that allowed them a measure of freedom in comparison to confinement on a reservation.

Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show reached the peak of its popularity in 1887 when Cody took his extravaganza to London to celebrate Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee. According to sources, one performance featured an attack on a Deadwood Stage driven by Buffalo Bill himself with the Prince of Wales and other royal personages on board. This performance was followed in 1889 with a full European tour, beginning with a gala opening in Paris. It is perhaps this tour, along with Ned Buntline's Wild West novels, that have formed the basis for European idealization of the romance of the Old West.

Returning to the United States in 1893, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show logged the most successful season in the history of outdoor stadium shows. After that high water mark, however, the show began to decline. Other competitors had entered the field as early as 1887 and Wild West shows began to proliferate by the 1890s. In 1902, Cody's partner, Ante Salisbury, died and the management of the show was temporarily turned over to James Bailey of the Barnum and Bailey Circus, who booked it for a European tour that lasted from 1902 to 1906. After Bailey's death, the show was merged with rival Pawnee Bill's Far East and went on the road from 1909 to 1913, before failing due to financial difficulties. Buffalo Bill kept the show going with several other partners until his death in 1917, and the show ended a year later.

Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show remains important today because it was perhaps the single most significant historical factor in the creation of the romantic notion of the West that has formed the basis for the countless books, dramatizations, and motion pictures that have become part of the American fabric. Though the authenticity of Cody's depictions was somewhat debatable, they were nonetheless based on his personal experiences on the frontier and were staged in dramatic enough fashion to create an impact upon his audiences. The show was additionally responsible for bringing Native Americans, frontier animals, and Western cultural traditions to a world that had never seen them close-up. Whether his show was truly responsible for creating an awareness of the endangered frontier among its spectators cannot be measured with accuracy, but it undoubtedly had some impact. And certainly the romantic West that we still glorify today remains the West of Buffalo Bill.

—Steve Hanson

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## Cody, William F.

See Cody, Buffalo Bill, and his Wild West Show

## Coffee

A strong, stimulating beverage with a distinctive aroma and complex flavor, coffee has been a popular drink for centuries. Brewed by the infusion of hot water and ground, roast coffee beans, coffee is enjoyed at any time of the day and night, though it is most associated with a morning pick-me-up. Coffee's primary active ingredient, the stimulant caffeine, is mildly addictive but to date no serious medical complications have been associated with its use. Local establishments such as cafés, coffee houses, coffee bars, and diners attract millions of customers worldwide. Specialty coffee shops serve dozens of varieties, each identified by the geographic growing region and degree of roast. Methods of preparation also vary widely, but in general coffee is served hot, with or without the addition of milk or cream, and sugar or other sweetener. Though coffee has always been popular, it wasn't until the 1980s that a number of specialty coffee retailers enhanced the cachet of coffee by raising its price, differentiating varieties, and associating the drink with a connoisseur's lifestyle.

Coffee houses have been regarded as cultural meeting places since the 17th century in western civilization, when artists, writers, and political activists first started to meet and discuss topics of social interest over a cup of this stimulating drink. The poet Baudelaire, in



A coffee shop sign in Seattle, Washington.

Paris in the 1840s, described coffee as best served “black as night, hot as hell, and sweet as love.” Coffee seems always to have been part of the American landscape, as it was a common feature on the chuckwagons of the prairie pioneers and cattle ranchers, and in the break-rooms of companies and board rooms. Coffee is so popular in diners and roadside eateries that it is served almost as often as water. But for most of its history, coffee was just coffee, a commodity that was not associated with brand name or image. All that changed beginning in the 1980s, as the result of a convergence of two trends. Americans looking for a socially-acceptable alternative to drug and alcohol intake were well-served by a proliferation of retailers eager to provide high-priced “gourmet” coffee to discriminating drinkers. Specialty shops such as Starbucks in Seattle and Peet’s Coffee in Berkeley have expanded to national chains whose popularity has eclipsed that of national brands such as Maxwell House and Folgers, which spread across America in the fifties. In addition, hundreds of independent cafés and coffee houses were founded in every major American city throughout the 1990s. In the Pacific Northwest—the capital of coffee consumption in America—drive-up espresso shacks line the roadsides, providing a variety of coffee drinks to commuters willing to pay \$3.50 for a 20-ounce Café Mocha with a double shot of espresso. Even a small town like Snohomish, Washington, with a population of only 8,000, boasts a dozen espresso shacks.

Percolated coffee, made by a process where coffee is boiled and spilled over coffee grounds repeatedly, was very popular in the 1950s but made coffee which tasted sour, bitter, and washed-out. It has virtually been replaced by filtered or automatic drip coffee and the more exotic “café espresso,” an Italian invention whereby hot water is forced through densely packed coffee grounds resulting in very dark, highly-concentrated coffee. Espresso is a popular favorite in specialty coffee shops and in European cafés. These coffee houses offer a more healthful daytime solution to social interaction than the local bar, which centered around the drinking of alcoholic beverages. The stimulating effects of coffee quite naturally encourage conversation and social discourse. Many coffee houses show artwork and host local musicians; some feature newsstands or shelves of books encouraging patrons to browse at their leisure. Coffee shops are also found around most college and university campuses.

The earliest recorded instances of coffee drinking and cultivation date back at least to the sixth century in Yemen, and coffee houses were popular establishments throughout Arabia for centuries before Europeans caught on, since it was forbidden to transport the fertile seed of the coffee plant. There is botanical evidence that the coffee plant actually originated in Africa, most likely in Kenya. Centuries later, coffee plants were imported by French colonists to the Caribbean and eventually to Latin America, and by the Dutch to Java in Indonesia. Today coffee production is centered in tropical regions throughout the world, with each region boasting distinctive kinds of coffee.

There are two distinct varieties of the coffee plant: *caffea arabica*, which comprises the majority of global production and grows best at high elevations in equatorial regions; and *caffea robusta*, discovered comparatively recently in Africa, which grows at somewhat lower elevations. The robusta bean is grown and harvested more cheaply than arabica. It is used as a base for many commercial blends even though the taste is reported to be poorer by connoisseurs. The coffee bean, which is the seed of the coffee plant, varies widely in flavor dependent on the region, soil and climactic conditions in which it is grown. These flavors are locked inside, for the most part, and must be developed by a roasting process during which the woody

structure of the bean is broken down and the aromatic oils are released. The degree of roasting produces a large degree of variation in how the final coffee beverage looks and tastes.

The principal active ingredient in coffee is caffeine, an alkaloid compound which produces mildly addictive stimulation to the central nervous system, and stimulation to a lesser degree of the digestive system. The medical effects of drinking coffee vary depending on the amount of caffeine in each serving, the tolerance which has been built up from repeated use, and the form in which it is being ingested. Coffee is often served in restaurants as a digestive stimulant, either enhancing the appetite when served before a meal, such as at breakfast, or as an aid to digestion when served, for example, as a “demi-tasse” (French for “half-a-cup”) in restaurants after a fine meal. Although American medical literature reports that up to three cups of coffee may be drunk daily without any serious medical effects, individual limits of consumption vary widely. Many people drink five or six cups or more per day, while coffee consumption has been restricted in cases where gastrointestinal complications and other diagnoses may be aggravated by overstimulation. Though not medically significant, many coffee users experience rapid heartbeat, jumpiness, and irritation of the stomach due to excessive coffee consumption. All of these side effects may seem worth it to a coffee drinker who relies on the certain stimulating effects of multiple cups of coffee. Withdrawal symptoms such as headaches occur when coffee is taken out of the diet due to caffeine deprivation, but these effects usually subside after a few days.

With all the concern about caffeine in coffee, it was a matter of time before scientists found ways to remove caffeine while maintaining coffee’s other more pleasurable characteristics such as taste and aroma. The first successful attempt to remove the kick out of coffee came at the end of the nineteenth century. Distillation and dehydration/reconstitution resulted in a coffee beverage with less than two percent caffeine content. The caffeine-free powder was marketed successfully as Sanka (from the French “sans caffeine” meaning “without caffeine”). Since then, other processes of refinement have succeeded in removing caffeine from coffee while preserving greater and greater integrity of the coffee flavor complex. Most of these decaffeination processes involve rinsing and treating coffee while still in the bean stage. One process, which uses the chemical solvent methylene chloride, has been judged by coffee experts to produce the best tasting decaffeinated coffee since the chemical specifically adheres to and dissolves the caffeine molecule while reacting with little else. Popular outcry arose concerning the use of methylene chloride in the late 1980s when a report was released indicating that it could cause cancer in laboratory animals, but the claim was soundly refuted when it was explained that virtually no trace of the element ever remained in coffee after having been roasted and brewed. Use of methylene chloride was curtailed in the mid-1990s nonetheless, due to a discovery that its production could have an adverse impact on the earth’s ozone layer. Several other methods of decaffeination are currently used, such as the Swiss water method and the supercritical carbon dioxide process, to meet the growing consumer demand. The vast majority of coffee drinkers, however, still prefer their coffee to deliver a caffeine kick.

—Ethan Hay

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## Cohan, George M. (1878-1942)

The musical comedy stage of New York was home to George M. Cohan, vaudeville song-and-dance man, playwright, manager, director, producer, comic actor, and popular songwriter. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, Cohan's style of light comedic drama dominated American theatre, and the lyrics he composed are still remembered at the end of the twentieth century for their flag-waving patriotism and exuberance. His hit song "Over There" embodied the wartime spirit of World War I, and "I'm a Yankee Doodle Dandy" and "Grand Old Flag," have been passed from generation to generation as popular tunes celebrating the American spirit.

Born on July 3 in Providence, Rhode Island, Cohan spent his childhood as part of a vaudevillian family. Living the typical vaudeville life, Cohan and his sister traveled a circuit of stages, slept in boarding houses and backstage while their parents performed, and only occasionally attended school. At nine years old, Cohan became a member of his parents' act, reciting sentimental verse and performing a "buck and wing dance." By the age of eleven, he was writing comedy material, and by thirteen he was writing songs and lyrics for the act, which was now billed as The Four Cohans. In 1894, at the age of sixteen, Cohan sold his first song, "Why Did Nellie Leave Home?" to a sheet music publisher for twenty-five dollars.

In his late teens, Cohan began directing The Four Cohans, which became a major attraction, earning up to a thousand dollars for a week's booking. Cohan wrote the songs and sketches that his family performed, and had the starring roles. At twenty years of age, managing the family's business affairs, he was becoming a brazen, young man, proud of his achievements. When he was twenty-one, he married his first wife, Ethel Levey, a popular singing comedienne, who then became the fifth Cohan in the act.

Within two years, seeking the fame, high salaries, and excitement that life in New York theatre offered, Cohan centered his career on the Broadway stage. His first Broadway production, *The Governor's Son*, was a musical comedy that he wrote and in which he performed in 1901. It was not the hit he hoped for, but after two more

attempts, Cohan enjoyed his first Broadway success with *Little Johnny Jones* in 1904. In this musical, Cohan played the role of a jockey and sang the lyrics that would live through the century: "I'm a Yankee Doodle Dandy, / A Yankee Doodle, do or die; / A real live nephew of my Uncle Sam's / Born on the Fourth of July." Among the other hit songs from the play was "Give My Regards to Broadway." In Cohan's 1906 hit *George Washington, Jr.*, he acted in a scene with which he would be identified for life: he marched up and down the stage carrying the American flag and singing "You're a Grand Old Flag," the song that would become one of the most popular American marching-band pieces of all time. Other of Cohan's most famous plays are *Forty-Five Minutes from Broadway* (1906), *The Talk of New York* (1907), *The Little Millionaire* (1911), *The Song and Dance Man* (1923), and *Little Nelly Kelly* (1923).

In 1917, when America entered World War I, Cohan was inspired to compose "Over There," the song that would become his greatest hit. Americans coast to coast listened to the recording made by popular singer Nora Bayes. Twenty-five years later, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt awarded Cohan the Congressional Medal of Honor for the patriotic spirit expressed in this war song.

Cohan achieved immortality through his songs and performances, and the 1942 film *Yankee Doodle Dandy* perpetuated his image. In it, James Cagney portrayed Cohan with all of Cohan's own enthusiasm and brilliance. The film told the story of Cohan's life and included the hit songs that made him an American legend. The film was playing in American theatres when Cohan died in 1942. President Roosevelt wired his family that "a beloved figure is lost to our national life."

—Sharon Brown

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## Colbert, Claudette (1903-1996)

The vivacious, Parisian-born Claudette Colbert was one of America's highest-paid and most popular actresses during her sixty-year career on stage, films, and television. Her popular "screwball comedies" enchanted movie audiences, and her classic performance as the fleeing heiress in *It Happened One Night* (1934) earned her an Academy Award. Although she continued to star in comedies, she was also an Oscar-nominee for the dramatic film *Since You Went Away* (1944). Her most talked-about scene was the milk bath in *The Sign of the Cross*. In the 1950s she returned to Broadway, and, still active in her eighties, starred in a television miniseries in 1987. She

was honored with an award for lifetime achievement at Kennedy Center in 1989.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Cold War

Struggle between the Western democracies and the Eastern Communist nations was probably inevitable from the first shot fired in the Russian Revolution of 1917. Guided by one of the essential tenets of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' Communist doctrine—"Capitalism contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction"—Eastern nations believed in the eventual worldwide triumph of Communism and were motivated to help speed the day. The nations of the West, on the other hand, long regarded Communism (and those governments espousing it) as a threat striking at the very heart of the capitalist economies that formed the basis of many Western democracies. The differences between these two ideological standpoints produced a state of disharmony that broke into open, if limited, warfare twice (in Korea and Vietnam), but remained for the most part a muted conflict—a "cold" war.

Historians disagree about the exact point at which the Cold War began. Some date it from Winston Churchill's 1946 speech, given in Fulton, Missouri, in which he declared that an "iron curtain" had come down in Europe, dividing the Soviet-occupied countries from those allied with the West. Others argue that the "long twilight struggle," as President Kennedy described it, began in 1947 with the Truman Doctrine—a declaration that the United States would act decisively to prevent the further spread of Communism in Europe. There are even those scholars who believe that the Cold War began when the ink dried on the documents containing the Japanese surrender to the Allies in 1945.

If there is a lack of consensus regarding the cold war's beginning, virtual unanimity exists about its end. In 1991, the Soviet Communist Party was dissolved, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics reverted to what it had once been—a collection of separate slavic nations, the largest being Russia. Although China, the world's most populous country, remained a Communist state, as did North Korea, Cuba, and Vietnam, it is generally believed that when Soviet Communism died, so did the Cold War.

During the approximately 45 year struggle, the opposing nations battled on many levels: economic, political, scientific, diplomatic—and through popular culture. Indeed, there is not an aspect of

American popular culture that was unaffected by the Cold War. The principal media involved included film, both commercial and governmental, television, fiction, and to a lesser extent, theater.

While the government eventually found more subtle ways to communicate anti-Communist messages to the American public, in the early years of the Cold War the U.S. government contributed directly to popular culture by producing a number of "documentaries." These documentaries, produced mostly during the 1950s, alerted citizens to the dangers of Communism. Some, like *The Bell* (1950), took a positive, pro-American outlook, using the Liberty Bell as a symbol behind which people from all walks of American life could rally. Most of these films—such as *Communist Blueprint for Conquest* (1955), *The Communist Weapon of Allure* (1956), and *Communist Target: Youth* (1962), which included an introduction by then-Attorney General Robert Kennedy—were strongly negative in tone and made Communism the object of their censure. The most memorable of these propaganda films, however, was not made in the traditional documentary mode, but rather like an episode of *The Twilight Zone*, a television program that would not appear for another four years. In *Red Nightmare* (1955), narrator Jack Webb (of *Dragnet* fame) presents a typical small-town American family, then shows what their lives would be like if the Communists took over America. Religion is forbidden, education becomes indoctrination, and love of family is made subordinate to party loyalty. When the head of the household (played by Jack Kelly) protests, he is sentenced to be shot. Just as the firing squad is taking aim, he wakes up, back in his beloved America, free from his horrible "red nightmare." As the movie ends, the narrator reminds us that it could happen in America, if citizens ever relaxed their vigilance. Distributed free of charge to civic groups, Scout troops, churches, and schools, the films were even broadcast by local television stations.

The government also distributed films on a related subject: civil defense. Although the United States had never experienced aerial attack, serious discussions of the possibility started early in the Cold War, especially in 1949 when the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb. In response to the perceived military threat, America's leaders greatly increased military budgets, and designed a civil defense program to reassure average citizens that nuclear war could be survived. While most government experts privately shared the view that no man-made structure could withstand a nuclear blast, and that an all-out nuclear exchange with the Soviet Union would produce American casualties numbering in the tens of millions, they also agreed that if the public knew the actual dangers, a panic, or worse, an outbreak of "Better Red than dead" defeatism would threaten the country. Thus, to preserve public morale, the underlying theme of the civil defense program became the illusion of safety. The program conveyed its messages of optimism through pamphlets, posters, and films with titles like *Survival under Atomic Attack*, *Operation Cue*, *The Atom Strikes*, and *You Can Beat the A-Bomb*. At least one civil defense film was intended primarily for schools. Entitled *Duck and Cover*, it featured an animated character named Bert the Turtle. Bert taught children that, in case of atomic attack, all they had to do to protect themselves was crouch down and cover their heads. The patent absurdity of this "defense" against a nuclear blast would be illustrated decades later, in the 1982 satirical documentary *The Atomic Cafe*, and in a 1997 episode of the "adult" television cartoon show *South Park*.

Hollywood films also reflected, and helped to create, the culture of the Cold War. Studios eagerly produced anti-Communist films in the 1950s—partly as a reflection of the temper of the times, but also



A typical bomb shelter built during the Cold War.

because filmmakers themselves had come under investigation by Washington's Red-raiders. During World War II, several Hollywood studios had made pro-Soviet films, such as *Mission to Moscow* (1943) and *Song of Russia* (1944), and these films had been made with both the permission and encouragement of the U.S. government, which wanted to maintain good relations with its Soviet ally. By the 1950s however, the House Un-American Activities Committee (known as the HUAC) came to regard the studios with suspicion. Mindful of the influence that motion pictures can have upon the citizenry, and fearful that the persuasive powers of film might be used to advance the cause of Communism, the HUAC and Senator Joseph McCarthy put the film industry in the thick of the anti-Communist investigations. The atmosphere produced in the industry by these investigations may explain the production of such blatantly anti-Red films as *I Married a Communist* (1950), *I Was a Communist for the FBI* (1951), *My Son John* (1952), *Big Jim McLain* (1952), and *Invasion U.S.A.* (1952).

But by the 1960s, Hollywood's way of dealing with the "Red Menace" changed. Because the heat from Washington had largely abated, and because the propaganda films had not been profitable ventures, Hollywood's depictions of the Cold War began to diversify. Some of the 1960s films dealt with nuclear brinkmanship between the

United States and the Soviet Union. *Fail-Safe* (1964), based on a popular novel, posits a technical glitch that accidentally sends a flight of American nuclear bombers on its way to a pre-assigned target: Moscow. The computer has sent its "war" message to the bombers, and they cannot be recalled. The basic premise of *Fail-Safe* was brilliantly but viciously satirized by Stanley Kubrick in his 1964 film *Dr. Strangelove: Or How I Learned To Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*. It is a thoroughly "black" comedy, as any film that attempts to find humor in nuclear war must be. Another "cold war" film released the same year was *Seven Days in May*, which involves a plot by the U.S. military to take over the government after the President negotiates an unpopular arms-reduction treaty with the Soviets.

A separate course for cold war cinema was charted in 1962, with the release of the first James Bond movie, *Dr. No*. The success of the film, along with the even larger grosses earned by its successors *From Russia with Love* (1963) and *Goldfinger* (1964)—with many others to follow—created a "spy craze" in American popular culture that lasted into the next decade. The "Bond" influence was seen in other films, both serious (*The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*; *The Quiller Memorandum*; *The Ipcress File*) and satirical (*Our Man Flint*; *The Silencers*; *Murderer's Row*), as well as television programs (*I Spy*;

*Secret Agent; The Man from U.N.C.L.E.*) and even men's toiletries ("007" brand cologne; "Hai Karate" aftershave).

As U.S.-Soviet relations improved, the Cold War gradually thawed during the 1970s. The temperature dropped again in 1980, however, with the election of conservative Ronald Reagan to the White House. In his first term, at least, Reagan was frequently given to tough talk about the Communists. In one speech, he referred to the Soviet Union as an "evil empire." On another occasion, just prior to a radio address, Reagan obliged a request for a sound check by saying, "This is the President speaking. I have just outlawed Russia. Bombing begins in five minutes."

In accordance with the Reagan Administration's bellicose attitude toward the Communist world, a new wave of anti-Communist cinema came in the 1980s. *Red Dawn* (1984) portrayed a Soviet occupation of the United States and focused on the activities of a band of American teenagers waging guerrilla warfare against the invaders. *Rocky IV* (1985) pitted Sylvester Stallone's gutsy pugilist against the seemingly unbeatable Drago, the best fighting machine that the Soviet state could produce. *Rambo: First Blood Part II* (1985) sent another popular Stallone character to rescue American POWs still held in Vietnam (and also to kill Communists by the score). The 1984 film *Missing in Action* (along with two sequels) returned Chuck Norris to Vietnam on a series of missions similar to Rambo's. *Invasion U.S.A.* (1985) featured Norris against a small army of Soviet infiltrators sent to disrupt American society. *Rambo III* (1988) saw Stallone's character battling the evil Russians in Afghanistan. *Top Gun* (1986) starred Tom Cruise and extolled the skill and bravery of the Navy's fighter pilots (who even got to shoot down a few Russians in a skirmish near the film's end).

Throughout the Cold War, other forms of entertainment also showed an awareness of some of the issues involved in the East-West struggle. Theater was not one of the hotbeds of social activism during the Cold War, at least until the Vietnam War became a burning issue. But one notable exception to this observation is Arthur Miller's 1953 play *The Crucible*. Nominally concerned with the Salem witch trials of 1692, the play is based on events and characters from the actual trials, but few watching the performance at the time could have any doubt that the play was a commentary on the anti-Communist hysteria gripping the nation. Miller has since been very clear that he intended *The Crucible* as a condemnation of the McCarthy "witch hunts" in which so many reputations, careers, and even lives were destroyed, often without any evidence to support the accusations made.

Miller did face some hostility from the Right over this play, as he had for some of his earlier dramas. Political tensions in the United States affected many Left-wing writers in the 1950s. Once a writer had been branded "subversive" by the HUAC, Senator McCarthy, or some other "authority," many bookstores would not put his or her books on the shelves. Blacklisting limited the works of writers like Dalton Trumbo, Ring Lardner, Jr., Howard Fast, and Dashiell Hammett to a few bookstores dedicated to the writings of the Left.

This did not mean that the Cold War could not be portrayed in novels. Many books were written about the era while it happened, and they were often very successful—as long as they had the "right" viewpoint. *The Ugly American* (1958) by William Lederer and Eugene Burdick critiqued American diplomacy in Asia, and is believed to have given John F. Kennedy the idea for what would become the Peace Corps. Richard Condon's novel *The Manchurian Candidate* (1958) posited that U.S. soldiers captured during the Korean War could be so thoroughly "brainwashed" by the Chinese as to become human robots upon their return home, awaiting only the

right signal to carry out the nefarious missions for which they had been programmed. This novel of political paranoia was later made into a successful film by director John Frankenheimer.

As with film, cold war fiction changed as America entered the 1960s. The early part of the decade featured a number of novels about nuclear brinkmanship. *Fail-Safe* (1962) and *Seven Days in May* (1962) were both written in this period and were soon made into films. Other novels dealing with the possibilities of nuclear war included Pat Frank's *Alas, Babylon* (1959) and William Miller's *A Canticle for Liebowitz* (1959). The novels *The 480* by Eugene Burdick (1964), *Advise and Consent* by Allen Drury (1959), *Night of Camp David* by Fletcher Knebel (1965), and *The Man* by Irving Wallace (1964) explored similar kinds of domestic cold war political tensions found at the heart of *Seven Days in May*.

Although these kinds of political novels continued to appear in the second half of the 1960s, they were far outnumbered by the same genre that had come to dominate the movie screens by that time: the spy story. Although Ian Fleming, the creator of James Bond, died in 1964, the literary trend he started continued long after his passing. Several of Fleming's countrymen wrote spy fiction that was popular in the United States, including John Le Carré, who wrote the bestseller, *The Spy Who Came in From the Cold* (1963). Another British writer, Elleston Trevor, used the pen name Adam Hall to write a series of suspenseful cold war novels featuring a secret agent known only as Quiller, including *The Ninth Directive* (1966) and *The Striker Portfolio* (1969). Many American authors also used the Cold War as a background for tales of suspense and adventure, including Donald Hamilton, who wrote a series of paperback novels featuring "the American James Bond," a U.S. government assassin named Matt Helm. Some of the many titles in this well-written series include *The Ambushers* (1963) and *The Menacers* (1968). Former CIA man David Atlee Phillips wrote a number of novels under the pseudonym Philip Atlee, all of them featuring secret agent Joe Gall, who saved the nation from the Reds in such titles as *The Green Wound Contract* (1963) and *The Trembling Earth Contract* (1969). Even Mickey Spillane, best known for his "tough guy" private eye novels featuring Mike Hammer, began to write spy novels with *Day of the Guns* (1964), which introduced secret agent Tiger Mann.

Television also played its role in the Cold War, through both entertainment programming and news specials. In the 1950s, a number of suspense shows with anti-Communist themes debuted, including *Foreign Intrigue*, *Passport to Danger*, *I Led Three Lives*, *The Man Called X*, *Soldiers of Fortune*, and *Behind Closed Doors*, but few of these shows captured audience interest. In the 1960s, television also participated in the "spy craze." In addition to "serious" espionage shows, 1960s television offered spoofs of the genre, including *Get Smart* (with Don Adams as an inept secret agent) and *The Wild, Wild West* (a Bondian satire set in the Old West).

While local television stations made good use of government-produced short films, both those with anti-Communist themes and those concerned with civil defense, national television stations produced their own documentaries about the dangers posed by world Communism. *Call to Freedom* focused on the history of Austria, to show how that country was able to free itself from partial Soviet occupation following World War II. *Nightmare in Red* was a history of the Soviet Union that suggested that Czarist rule was better than the oppression, tyranny, and drudgery of life in the modern Soviet state. Television also showed the cartoon series *The Adventures of Rocky and Bullwinkle*, with its "villains" the bumbling spies Boris Badinov and Natasha Fatale.

Television provided the American public with one of the clearest views into the HUAC's investigations. Many of Senator Joseph McCarthy's committee's hearings were televised live. At first, the coverage proved to be excellent publicity for McCarthy and his Red-baiting activities. But eventually McCarthy's bullying, demagoguery, and carelessness with facts caught up with him. When attorney Joseph Welch asked McCarthy, live on camera, "Have you no decency, sir? Have you no decency at all?" millions of Americans found themselves pondering the same question about the Senator from Wisconsin—and television made it possible.

—Justin Gustainis

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## Cole, Nat "King" (1916?-1965)

Nat "King" Cole, pianist, songwriter, vocalist, and actor was one of the most influential African American performers from the early 1940s until his untimely death in 1965. Cole's warm, open, liquid, smooth voice was blessed with perfect intonation and diction, and appealed to a crossover audience, garnering not only acceptance in America but also worldwide. As a personality, Cole epitomized the suave sophistication that urban blacks were beginning to aspire to in the 1940s.

Cole's date of birth is in question. For his two marriages in 1937 and in 1948, Cole gave birthdates of 1915 and 1919, respectively. For the selective service he gave the year 1916. James Haskins and Leslie Gourse, two Cole biographers, accepted 1916 since it was his draft registration. Born Nathaniel Adams Coles in Montgomery, Alabama on March 17, Cole was exposed to many types of black music. At the age of four, the family moved to Chicago where jazz and gospel were evolving. Cole's father, Edward James Coles, Sr., was a Baptist minister. His mother, Perlina Adames Coles, a pianist and choir director, taught him to play the piano by ear. At 12, Cole played organ, sang in his father's church, and studied classical piano. In high school, his mentors were N. Clark Smith, bandmaster, and Walter Dyett. His family was indeed musical. His three brothers Eddie, Fred, and Isaac were jazz musicians.

In Chicago, Cole led the Rogues of Rhythm and the Twelve Royal Dukes that often played Earl Hines arrangements. In 1936, Cole left Chicago to lead a band in a revival of the 1921 all black musical comedy *Shuffle Along*, with music by Eubie Blake and lyrics by Noble Sissle. When the show folded in Los Angeles, Cole landed a job as a pianist at the Century Club in Santa Monica. Cole's playing was impressive and thereafter, he began a stint at the Swanee Inn in



Nat "King" Cole

Hollywood. Bob Lewis, the booking agent is said to have mused "Old King Cole" and billed Cole as "King" Cole. The name stuck with him throughout his career.

While Cole was best known as a vocalist and occasional pianist, his most musically enduring work can be heard in the trio format. Cole's piano stylings and compositions draw from be-bop, among other influences. The trio won the coveted Downbeat small combo award from 1944-1947, and the Metronome Apollo award in 1945-1948. Initially called King Cole and His Swingsters and later known as the King Cole Trio, the group was the first African American jazz combo to have its own sponsored radio series, from 1948-1949.

In the trio format, Cole dipped into the wellsprings of black music. The element of play and rhythmic vocal nuances can be heard in "Gone with the Draft." The influence of jive, folk narratives appear in the lyric "cool papa, don't you blow your top," from "Straighten Up and Fly Right." In "Are You Fer It," and "This Side Up," Cole delves into the early California blues tradition with riffs (repetitive phrases) in harmony with Moore's guitar. The new emerging style of be-bop is shown to good advantage in "Babs," while scatting (the interpolation of non-sense syllables) can be heard in "I Like to Riff."

Fats Waller, Count Basie, and principally Earl Hines influenced Cole's piano playing and, in turn, Cole's trio format and piano and vocal stylings influenced a number of subsequent musicians. Notable jazz trios that adopted Cole's instrumental format were the Oscar Peterson Trio, Art Tatum's Trio, and Johnny Moore's Three Blazers, among others. Cole also recorded with Lester Young in a session in Los Angeles in 1942.



The Nat King Cole Trio captured the attention of the popular market and paved the way for Cole to crossover from the rhythm and blues market to the pop charts, and to launch his successful solo career. From 1943 on, many of Cole's songs appealed to popular taste, beginning with "All For You" (1943), "Straighten Up and Fly Right" (1944), "Gee Baby, Ain't I Good to You?" (1944), and "Get Your Kicks on Route 66" (1946). It was "The Christmas Song" (1946), however, that squarely validated his crossover appeal. These standards, with string accompaniment led by arrangers such as Nelson Riddle, would help to build Capital records, Cole's principal recording label. From 1946, Cole became hugely successful as a popular vocalist and by 1951 had abandoned the trio format. Selected songs in this format include "I Love You for Sentimental Reasons" (1946), "Nature Boy" (1948), another recording of "The Christmas Song" (1949), "Mona Lisa" (1950), "Too Young" (1951), "Pretend" (1953), the rhythm and blues flavored "Send for Me" (1957), "Looking Back" (1958), and the country and western tinged "Ramblin' Rose" (1962). Throughout the 1950s, Cole continued to perform in clubs while putting on concerts abroad in Cuba, Australia, and Latin America. Cole also took singing and acting roles in a number of movies such as *Small Town Girl*, *The Blue Gardenia*, and *Haija Baba*, with his most effective role in *St Louis Blues*, where he played W. C. Handy.

Despite Cole's enormous appeal he could not escape the racism rampant in America. When he purchased a house in Los Angeles's fashionable Hancock Park, some white neighbors protested. He had to abandon his series on network television because of the lack of a national sponsor. Cole compromised by playing to segregated audiences, which drew impassioned criticism from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel for the NAACP, commented that all Cole needed to complete his role as Uncle Tom was a banjo. In the 1960s, with the emergence of the civil rights movement, neither Cole's image as a popular vocalist nor his actions adopted the cause of black pride and consciousness. In spite of these setbacks, Cole's music penetrated many boundaries. In his time, Cole was a seminal figure in jazz and popular music, and leaves a legacy of enduring music—both as a vocalist and pianist—that continues to enrich us. Cole, a heavy chain smoker, succumbed to lung cancer and died on February 15, 1965.

—Willie Collins

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## College Fads

Over the course of the twentieth century, each generation of college students seems to have been identified in the public mind with

mindless, often madcap fads, perhaps adopted as a silly counterpoint to the demands of intellectual life. Some of these phenomena have become iconic markers of their decades: the raccoon-coat craze of the 1920s, goldfish swallowing in the 1930s, panty raids and telephone-booth stuffing in the 1950s, piano smashing in the 1960s, and streaking in the 1970s.

The goldfish-swallowing era of campus lunacy peaked in the spring of 1939. Although there were political events unfolding in Europe that would lead to World War II, newspapers devoted much space to this college fad. It all began when Harvard freshman Lothrop Withington, Jr. told friends that he had observed goldfish being swallowed on a Honolulu beach, and that he had done it himself. Someone challenged Lothrop, and a \$10 bet was made, leading to a demonstration in the freshman dining hall on March 3, 1939. While cameras recorded a bit of history, Lothrop picked up a three-inch goldfish by the tail, dropped the little wiggler into his mouth, chewed, and swallowed. Whipping out a toothbrush, he ceremoniously cleaned his teeth. Before sitting down to a dinner of fried sole, he remarked that the "scales caught a bit in my throat."

During the economic depression of the 1930s, there was no large annual college-student migration to Florida, and the less expensive fad of fish-swallowing sufficed for springtime excitement, becoming at once a kind of intercollegiate sport. Frank Hope of Franklin and Marshall College topped Withington by salting and peppering three goldfish and putting them away without chewing. The following day, a classmate named George Raab swallowed six fish. Harvard's Irving Clark vaulted far ahead by force-feeding himself two dozen of the little creatures, also announcing his willingness to eat beetles, spiders, and worms. Subsequent records were soon posted and quickly bested on campuses nationwide: University of Michigan (28), Boston College (29), Albright College (33), and MIT (42). When a student at Kutztown State in Pennsylvania broke the record by swallowing 43, he was suspended for "conduct unbecoming to a student."

After a professor of anatomy at UCLA concluded that an average-size male could safely down 150 live goldfish, the all-time record is reported to have zoomed to 210 fish at one sitting, swallowed by an anonymous BMOC (big man on campus) at St. Mary's University. Within a month, students were looking for variations on the theme, but the munching of 78-rpm phonograph records at the University of Chicago or the masticating of magazines at Lafayette College never captured the public imagination as did the swallowing of little live fish. In the late 1960s goldfish swallows reappeared briefly on college campuses, but during that hectic era of student protests, such meaningless pranks were generally ignored by the press.

In the spring of 1952, an outbreak of panty raids began at the University of Michigan. When 600 students gathered outside a dorm to listen to music on the first evening of spring, someone shouted, "To the women's dorms!" Suddenly the mob of male students forced their way into a dormitory and began dashing into rooms to steal lingerie. Copycat raids quickly followed at colleges and universities from coast to coast. To a writer in *U.S. News & World Report* the fad seemed inappropriate for a nation at war in Korea, and he asked why the panty-raiders were not "in the army if they have so much energy and so little to do?" Some university officials tried to resist, but at the University of Miami panty-obsessed males tore down a heavy wire fence to get to the girls' dorms. A wily director of women's residences at the University of Indiana took the opposite approach and left a barrel of women's underwear in plain view, ready to be confiscated by the fistful. That same spring at Ann Arbor, where the madness had begun, 500 coeds broke into the men's dorm in search of Jockey



An example of the college fad of car stuffing.

shorts and other male underwear. Panty raids have not been revived later, as many fads have been, and one writer suggested a reason: "Probably because the age of sexual permissiveness has rendered such symbolic action as this meaningless."

Telephone-booth stuffing began on American campuses in the spring of 1959, spreading out from California. At UCLA seventeen men squeezed like sardines into a conventional seven-foot high booth, followed quickly by an eighteen-man stuffing at California's St. Mary's University. With all their planning and knowledge of physics, students at MIT could only break that record by one. When students at Modesto Junior College in California reported thirty-four men in one booth, the record was investigated and then thrown out because the booth had been laid on its side, permitting considerably more horizontal stuffers to be accommodated. The most aesthetic booth-stuffing occurred in Fresno, where coeds in one-piece bathing suits gracefully wedged themselves into a booth submerged in a swimming pool. The fad began and ended in the spring of 1959, and was copied several years later by a brief fad involving students stuffing themselves into Volkswagens.

In 1963 a jangling, cacophonous din rose on college campuses as students used sledgehammers and axes to shatter full-size pianos. Students at California Tech did the job in 10 minutes, 44 seconds, but a Wayne State crew set the ultimate record: 4 minutes, 51 seconds. A *Life* Magazine writer called the piano hacking "Andante on a Choppin' Theme," noting that the grand finale was "Chopsticks." Since it was a time of student protest, one of the Caltech choppers called the act a comment on the "obsolescence of society." One group of dismemberers called its members by the academic-sounding name, The Piano Reduction Society.

From late January to mid-March, 1974, when the nation was suffering through a grim economic recession as well as the pains of the Nixon impeachment inquiry, there suddenly appeared the most merrily scandalous of all the college fads: streaking. Beginning in the warmer climates of California and Florida, nude students began to leap from behind bushes and dash across campus, parachute to earth in their birthday suits, and bike through the town *en masse* and unclad. Soon the fad spread throughout the country, even to the University of Alaska, where streakers dashed out in sub-zero weather. The new

craze was difficult for student governments and town fathers to combat. The mayor of Dover Township, New Jersey, threatened to fine streakers one dollar for every pound of flesh they exposed. In Honolulu a male student streaked through an official governmental assembly, declaring himself loudly, “the Streaker of the House.” Spring graduations at many colleges and universities were marked by the shedding of caps and gowns for a short streak. *Newsweek* magazine called the fad “the sort of totally absurd phenomenon the nation needed after a winter of lousy news.”

For the most part it was a male phenomena, but Laura Barton, a freshman at Carleton College, was widely recognized as the first female streaker when she appeared *au naturel* for a curtain call following the college production of *Measure for Measure*. The record for the largest crowd of streakers is claimed by the University of Georgia, which mustered 1,543 nude students for a race through campus. They had been preceded in fame by students at the universities of South Carolina, Maryland, and Colorado.

The commercial value of the fad soon became recognized, and a Connecticut jewelry company sold medallions plated with silver and gold, inscribed for the “free spirit shedding his inhibitions.” Psychological theorists explained the phenomenon as “the peaking of the sexual revolution, which made public nudity, long a taboo, an annoyance for some and an amusement for others.”

—Benjamin Griffith

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## College Football

Until the advent of television, college football was far more popular than its professional counterpart. From the late nineteenth century onward, many of the games greatest moments occurred on the collegiate gridiron. Well before the epochal feats of Jim Brown, Gale Sayers, Joe Willie Namath, and Joe Montana were being relayed by television transmission, sport-writers and radio broadcasters had immortalized Jim Thorpe, Knute Rockne, Red Grange.

Employed as initiation rites beginning in the early nineteenth century, the first college games proved disorderly and were outlawed by university officialdom. After the Civil War, two versions of football appeared at northeastern schools, one resembling soccer, with the picking up of the ball prohibited. On November 6, 1869, approximately 200 spectators watched Princeton and Rutgers battle in New Brunswick, New Jersey. With 25 players on each side, kicking prevailed as Rutgers triumphed 6-4. Another brand of football, similar to rugby, which allowed for the touching of the ball, cropped up at Harvard. In 1876, the Intercollegiate Football Association was formed, with representatives from Princeton, Columbia, Yale, and

Harvard. A touchdown counted for only one point, while a kicked goal was worth four.

Not surprisingly, Ivy League schools dominated college football's early days. Yale's Walter Camp, deemed “the Father of Football,” devised many of the initial rules, thereby ensuring its unique American quality. By 1880, thanks to Camp's input, “American football began,” according to football historian Tom Perrin. As befitting broader changes in American life, it also acquired a more professional cast. The game now featured 11-man lineups, scrimmage lines separating offensive and defensive teams, and the quarterback at the center of the offensive action. Soon, Camp had a hand in reducing the playing field in half, allowing the offense to obtain a first down after amassing five yards in three attempts, devising yard lines, and initiating a modern scoring schema. The offensive line and backs lined up apart from one another, and rules prohibited passes beyond the line of scrimmage. Soon, offensive players were allowed to block for ball carriers. In 1888, Camp called for tackling below the waist. In this same period, graduate coaches—who were generally former players—were often hired; at Yale, Camp served as the adviser to Yale captains and graduate coaches.

Yale was the greatest team of the era, compiling a 324-17-18 record from 1872-1909 and winning 11 national championships, three coached by Camp. At the outset, college football's big games pitted Yale against Princeton or Harvard. In 1889, Camp began announcing his All-American teams, which were dominated by college football's Big Three for the next decade; Yale's greatest star was 5'9", 150 pound Frank Hinkey, a four-time All American end who was proclaimed the top player of his generation. Camp also wrote a series of sports books, advised other coaches, and watched Yale alumni teach his methods across the land.

Football served as a unifying force for the increasingly larger and more diverse pool of college students who almost religiously identified with their teams. Pleased university administrators viewed football as a means to acquire a still larger student body. The Big Game, greater pageantry, mascots, nicknames, songs, and contests attracting 40,000 fans to the Polo Grounds or Manhattan Field, all demonstrated football's increased popularity. So too write-ups in newspapers, which increasingly devoted a full-page or more to sports coverage. Piquing public controversy, however, were injuries and fatalities that led President Theodore Roosevelt to invite representatives from Harvard, Yale, and Princeton “to come to a gentlemen's agreement not to have mucker play.” Led by Camp, promises were made to avoid excessive “roughness, holding, and foul play.” In late 1905, delegates from 62 universities established the Intercollegiate Athletic Association, which in 1910 became the National Collegiate Athletic Association. Rule changes allowing for the forward pass and requiring ten yards to be gained within a four down set eventually resulted in a more wide-open game. In 1912, the value of touchdowns was increased to six points.

Equally important for the sports's increased popularity were mythical tales spun about legendary teams, coaches, and players. The 1901 Michigan Wolverines, spearheaded by newly arrived head coach Fielding H. “Hurry Up” Yost, began a five-year run marred only by one tie in fifty-seven games. Scoring 2821 points, Michigan allowed a mere 40 and shut-out Stanford 49-0 in the first Rose Bowl. In 1905, Michigan's winning streak was ended by Amos Alonzo Stagg's University of Chicago squad, which featured its 5'7", 145 pound quarterback, Walter Eckersall. Following his arrival at Harvard in 1908, Percy Haughton turned the Fighting Crimson into

college football's premier team, winning three national championships in a four-year span, beginning in 1910. Glenn "Pop" Warner's 1912 Carlisle Indians employed the single-wing formation to display the versatility of tailback Jim Thorpe, whose 25 touchdowns and 198 points established a new collegiate scoring record. In 1913, Notre Dame stunned heavily favored Army, 35-13, relying on the passing combination of quarterback Gus Dorias and end Knute Rockne; the previous year's reduction of the ball's circumference helped the aerial game.

In 1918, Rockne became head coach at Notre Dame, which he guided to five perfect seasons and a 105-12-5 record over the next thirteen years. Competing against teams from throughout the land, Rockne helped to popularize college football nationwide. Notre Dame's victory march became the best known, while Rockne ushered in a wide-open brand of football. Attendance at college games soared, and universities built great concrete and steel stadiums that could seat 70,000 or more fans. Notre Dame under Rockne featured stars like All-American fullback George Gipp and the so-called Four Horsemen, the famed 1924 backfield. On his deathbed in 1920, Gipp reportedly told his coach, "Sometime, Rock, when the team is up against it, when things are wrong and the breaks are beating the boys, ask them to win one for the Gipper." After watching the 1924 Notre Dame-Army contest, Grantland Rice waxed eloquently: "Outlined against the blue-gray October sky, the Four Horsemen rode again. In dramatic lore they were known as famine, pestilence, destruction, and death. These are only aliases. Their real names are Stuhldreher, Miller, Crowley, and Layden." Playing in its lone bowl game until 1970, national champion Notre Dame defeated Pop Warner's Stanford team, headed by its great fullback Ernie Nevers, 27-10. The 1929 and 1930 seasons also concluded with Notre Dame as the best team in the nation, but a plane crash near Bazaar, Kansas, in March 1931 took Rockne's life. Rockne left an unsurpassed winning percentage of .881, the use of shock troops that set the stage for platooning, the positioning of an end apart from other offensive linemen, and a more exciting brand of football. Under Rockne, moreover, Notre Dame acquired a national following, particularly among Catholics and ethnics in a period that witnessed the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan.

The greatest individual player during college football's so-called golden era was halfback Harold "Red" Grange of Bob Zuppke's Fighting Illini. From 1923-1925, the Galloping Ghost used his blinding speed to top the nation's rushing charts, lead Illinois to a national championship, and perform epochal feats on the gridiron. In the initial twelve minutes of the 1924 contest against Michigan, Grange scored four out of the first eight times he touched the ball, on a 95 yard kickoff return, and on runs from scrimmage of 67, 56, and 44 yards. He later added a 15 yard touchdown and tossed an 18 yard touchdown pass, leading Illinois to a 39-14 victory. Playing against Penn in Philadelphia in 1925, Grange, disregarding a sloppy field, scored three times, while gaining 363 yards on 36 carries.

By the mid-1930s, the balance of power in the league was shifting, and new football powerhouses were emerging. From 1934-1936, Bernie Bierman's Minnesota Gophers were considered as fine as any team in the country; 1936 witnessed the introduction of the weekly press poll by Alan Gould, Associated Press sports editor. Overland attacks were prominently featured during the depression decade, with Alabama, featuring its ends, Don Hutson and Paul Bryant, beating Stanford 29-13 in the 1935 Rose Bowl. That year, Chicago's halfback Jay Berwanger was named recipient of the first Heisman Award handed out by New York's Downtown Athletic

Club. Jimmy Crowley of Four Horsemen fame constructed a potent unit at Fordham, relying on the "Seven Blocks of Granite," a line that included guard Vince Lombardi, who would later go on to become the legendary coach of professional football's Green Bay Packers. In 1938, 5'7", 150 pound quarterback and Heisman trophy winner Davey O'Brien took TCU to a national title. In 1939—the year USC's Howard Jones won his fifth national championship—Michigan's Tom Harmon led the nation in rushing; the following year, he scored 16 touchdowns and won the Heisman.

While Bierman once again won national championships with Minnesota in 1940 and 1941, followed by Paul Brown's 1942 Ohio State Buckeyes, college football, not surprisingly, was soon dominated by Notre Dame and Army. Frank Leahy, while compiling a record just short of Rockne's—107-13-9—won national crowns with quarterbacks like Angelo Bertelli and John Lujack, and battled Army in a series of monumental games. By 1944, Army coach Earl "Red" Blaik boasted an incredibly deep roster, which included halfback Glenn Davis and fullback Felix "Doc" Blanchard. Eventually, both Mr. Outside and Mr. Inside won Heismans, while Davis twice finished second in the balloting. In 1944, Army, which scored 504 points in nine games, crushed defending national champion Notre Dame 59-0. In 1945, Army won 48-0, while again leading the nation in scoring with a 45.8 point average. Blanchard scored 18 touchdowns, Davis tallied 19 and chalked up an 11.74 yards per carry rushing average. Leahy's team, loaded with All-Americans like guard Bill Fischer, end Leon Hart, and tackle George Connor, rebounded in 1946, battling Army to a 0-0 tie. The Southwest Conference again offered an exciting brand of football, and terrific performers like SMU's Doak Walker, the 1948 Heisman recipient, and Kyle Rote and Texas's Bobby Layne. SMU finished unbeaten in 1947, its record marred only by ties with TCU—a 19-19 game in which Walker was responsible for 471 yards in total offense—and Penn State, in the Cotton Bowl.

In the American heartland, Bud Wilkinson, a guard-turned quarterback on Bernie Bierman's 1935 and 1936 championship teams, continued crafting a stellar record at Oklahoma, which eventually left him with a 145-29-4 record. He also won three national championships and compiled an unbeaten streak of 47 games. Back-to-back undefeated regular seasons in 1949 and 1950 led to Wilkinson's first national title team, as determined by both the AP and the new United Press International polls, although that squad, which had won 31 straight games, lost in the Sugar Bowl to Paul "Bear" Bryant's Kentucky Wildcats, 13-7. Wilkinson's stars included stellar halfbacks Billie Vessels (the 1952 Heisman Award winner), Tommie McDonald, and Joe Don Looney. Oklahoma took the 1955 and 1956 national titles, before finally losing to Notre Dame 7-0 in 1957, ending college football's longest winning streak. While remaining a Big 8 Conference heavyweight, Wilkinson's Sooners increasingly had a tough time defeating Darrell Royal's Texas Longhorns at their annual game in Dallas.

The Wilkinson era ushered in a period of top-notch coaches at many universities. The University of Texas, during Royal's 19 year reign, repeatedly vied for national supremacy, ending up with three national crowns and victories over Roger Staubach and the Naval Academy in the 1964 Cotton Bowl; Joe Namath and Bryant's Alabama Crimson Tide in the 1965 Orange Bowl, and Ara Parseghian's Notre Dame squad in the 1970 Cotton Bowl. UT's triple-option led to 30 consecutive wins before Notre Dame and quarterback Joe Theisman defeated the Longhorns 24-11 in the 1971 Cotton Bowl. That enabled

Nebraska's Bob Devaney to claim share of the first of two successive national titles. Out west, John McKay grabbed four national championships, featuring Heisman trophy tailbacks Mike Garrett and O. J. Simpson. Ohio State's Woody Hayes, relying on a ground game, took hold of three national titles, while Bryant guided Alabama to an unprecedented six national championships. Beginning in 1964, Parseghian revitalized the then dormant program at college football's most historic campus, Notre Dame. After the 1966 and 1973 seasons, his Fighting Irish ended up at the top of the polls, as they would following the 1977 and 1988 campaigns, under coaches Dan Devine and Lou Holtz, respectively. In 1968, Penn State's Joe Paterno had his first of five undefeated seasons, although only one concluded with a national title; on another occasion, his once-beaten Nittany Lions were ranked number one. During the 1980s, Miami won four national titles, twice under coach Dennis Erickson. Devaney's successor at Nebraska, Tom Osborne, did him one better, ending his career with three national championships in his last four years. With crowns in 1974, 1975, and 1985, Oklahoma's Barry Switzer equalled Wilkinson's championship record. Florida State's Bobby Bowden took one lone national title, but his Seminoles were ranked in the top four at the close of twelve consecutive seasons. Following the 1996 season, Grambling's Eddie Robinson retired with a record 402 victories; Bryant's 323 wins topped the charts for Division I-A coaches.

From the 1960s onward, college football's appeal was heightened by the impact of television. Two-platoon systems and clock-stopping rule changes that ushered in many more plays made for an open-ended game, featuring passes and wishbone offenses. Seeking improved television packages, schools withdrew from traditional conferences and joined reconfigured ones. Penn State, for example, entered the Big Ten, while Miami joined the Big East. The historic Southwest Conference collapsed, with Texas, Texas A & M, Baylor, and Texas Tech linking up with the former Big Eight schools to establish the Big Twelve. Professionalization of the sport continued, with elaborate athletic facilities created, nationwide recruiting undertaken, and large bureaucratic apparatuses appearing. Unfortunately, scandals also brewed, with SMU's highly-ranked football program receiving the so-called "death penalty" in February 1987.

—Robert C. Cottrell

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## Collins, Albert (1932-1993)

Guitarist Albert Collins helped modernize blues and bring it to a new audience, blending classic traditions with rock and funk into his high-energy delivery. Born in Leona, Texas, Collins's early influences included T-Bone Walker, John Lee Hooker, and family friend Lightnin' Hopkins. He was also influenced by jazz organists Jimmy Smith and Jimmy McGriff, and saxophone players Arnett Cobb and Illinois Jacquet. Collins's first recording success was the instrumental single "Frosty" recorded in 1962. He signed with Imperial Records in 1968 and moved to the West Coast, where he inspired Robert Cray, Johnny Winter, and Janis Joplin. Collins reached the height of his powers with Chicago's Alligator Records in the 1980s, recording the Grammy Award-winning *Showdown* album with Cray and fellow Texan Johnny Copeland in 1985. He signed with Virgin Records in 1990 and recorded three more albums before his death from lung cancer.

—Jon Klinkowitz

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## Coltrane, John (1926-1967)

Saxophonist John Coltrane exerted a huge influence on the generation of jazz musicians that followed him. In fact, many view Trane, as he was known, as a kind of sacred leader. It is certain that he fostered trends in jazz, while developing those already present. While taking bop trends in harmonization to their ultimate logical conclusion with his stream-of-sound style in the 1950s, Coltrane also explored the simpler modal style as well as Free Jazz, which emphasized melodic development free from the confines of chordal progression. In common with other innovators, he never entirely abandoned the use of one style while moving toward another.

Coltrane was born in Hamlet, North Carolina, in 1926 and grew up in High Point, North Carolina, where his maternal grandfather was a preacher. His father was an established tailor and, thus, in common



**John Coltrane**

with many jazz musicians, Coltrane came from the black middle class. Both his parents were musical and he grew up in a musical environment. He was only 12 when his father died, but his mother kept the family together and provided him with economic and emotional stability. She moved to Philadelphia where jobs were more plentiful in the World War II economy but sent money home for his support. After graduating from high school in 1943, Coltrane joined his mother in Philadelphia, where he studied alto saxophone at the Orenstein School and made an impression with his seriousness, discipline, and eagerness. Drafted into the navy, he spent his service time playing in the navy band in Hawaii, and after his discharge he resumed his saxophone studies. Soon after, he played in a number of rhythm and blues bands, most notably that of Eddie “Cleanhead” Vinson. The spectacle of the serious Coltrane tossing horns to Vinson in a vaudeville setting is hard to imagine but that is what he did, and did well, according to contemporary accounts. Certainly, that rhythm and blues influence was always discernible in his playing and added depth to his ballad performances.

By the mid-1940s Trane was playing tenor saxophone, a switch originally made so as not to compete with Vinson. He listed Dexter Gordon as a major influence but also absorbed the work of many other musicians. Indeed, Coltrane listened to everyone and adapted elements from many that accorded with his own developing style. Unfortunately, Coltrane’s various addictions began to catch up with him at this time. He was an alcoholic, a heroin user, a heavy smoker, and was addicted to sweets—habits that caused the disruption of his personal and professional relationships and damaged his reputation. Eventually, he managed to kick all his habits except his sugar

addiction, which cost him his teeth. Having refused dental care, all his teeth ultimately decayed and had to be removed.

From 1949 to 1951 Coltrane played with Dizzy Gillespie’s band, and it is with them that he recorded his first solo. In 1951, he moved back to Philadelphia with his mother and resumed formal musical studies at the Graniff School of Music. In addition to studying saxophone, he studied theory with Dennis Sandole. Some critics have traced Coltrane’s fascination with bi-tonality and the use of scalar composition to this period in his career. In 1952 he resumed work with a rhythm and blues band, that of Earl Bostic who, interestingly, like Vinson, was primarily noted for his work on alto saxophone. Bostic’s R&B style was enormously popular in the early 1950s and Coltrane was once again exposed to large dance audiences and their emotional reactions to the music. Coltrane soon left Bostic to work with his early idol, Johnny Hodges. Hodges had left Duke Ellington’s band for a brief time to head his own band, one that has been underrated or forgotten over the years. In 1954 Hodges fired Trane because his heroin addiction had made him erratic and undependable.

Once more he returned to Philadelphia where he suffered from physical and emotional problems. In this period, he met Juanita Grubbs, known as Naima, and married her in 1955. He sorted out his problems to the extent that he was able to resume playing, and joined Miles Davis’s classic 1955 quintet. By this time, his style had incorporated elements of Charlie Parker and Coleman Hawkins. While Trane could play gorgeous melodic lines like Parker, in the 1950s he generally preferred to construct arpeggio-like vertical runs at breakneck speed. Alcohol and drug abuse, however, cost him his job with Miles Davis in 1957. Again, he returned to Philadelphia and his mother, but this time he determined to conquer his multiple addictions, locked himself in his room, and subsisted on water for some days. When he emerged he was ready to resume his life and work.

From this time on, he became fascinated by Eastern religions. Although he never practiced an Eastern faith, he studied the teachings and incorporated elements into his music as well as his personal philosophy. Open use of these elements, however, awaited the 1960s and its ethos. Meanwhile, later in 1957, Trane picked up his career with a stunning engagement with Thelonius Monk at the Five Spot in Manhattan. Working with Monk was worth more than all the theory courses combined. Coltrane perfected his sheets-of-sound style with Monk, while absorbing Monk’s unique approach to harmonic conception. Unfortunately, only one record of this fertile period has emerged, but it demonstrates just how vital the partnership was in Coltrane’s development.

When Sonny Rollins left Miles Davis, Coltrane returned. Davis showed some courage in bringing him back against the advice of many friends who considered Trane as too erratic and a man who should have left much of his performance in the practice room. His tone and style were not yet the models they soon became, but Coltrane played well on what is now regarded as one of the classic jazz albums of all time, 1959’s *Kind of Blue*. Record contracts soon followed, and Trane became the darling of the Hard Boppers, his sheets-of-sound period seeming a logical extension of the bop movement.

In 1960 Coltrane struck out on his own and explored different styles of playing. In his 1959 *Giant Steps* album he showed his ability to develop an older style while moving into a newer one. He developed his hard-bop soloing on some cuts while moving into poly-tonality and modal areas on others. His album *My Favorite Things* (1960) marked the return of the soprano saxophone to jazz. Although

many, notably Johnny Hodges, had used it over the years since Sidney Bechet had mastered it, no other major jazz exponent had really turned it into a popular jazz instrument on a regular basis. Trane openly acknowledged Bechet's influence on his soprano work. The instrument, he said, allowed him to play in the higher registers in which he heard music in his head. It also made his modal playing accessible to a larger audience. *My Favorite Things* made the top 40 charts and began Coltrane's career as a show business figure, commanding healthy fees and continuing to release soprano hits such as "Greensleeves."

Meanwhile he grew interested in Ornette Coleman's Free Jazz movement and released "The Invisible" with Don Cherry and Billy Higgins and "India" in 1961. This movement into free jazz, predictably, did not entail an abandonment of earlier styles. *A Love Supreme* (1964) is a modal album and sold 250,000 copies. Such sales resulted from the popular upsurge of interest in Eastern religions and mysticism during the 1960s, and the album was bought by many who had no idea of jazz but were attracted by the music's connections with mysticism. Even in the midst of his freest experiments, "Ascension" and "Expressions," when he recorded with Freddie Hubbard, Archie Shepp, Eric Dolphy, Pharoah Sanders, and Rashid Ali, Coltrane never totally abandoned his love of harmony and melody. He once performed with Thelonious Monk near the end of his life. When it was over, Monk asked Trane when he was going to come back to playing real music such as he had performed that day. Reputedly, Trane responded that he had gone about as far as he could with experimental music and missed harmonic jazz. He promised Monk that he would return to the mainstream.

Whether he was comforting an old friend or speaking his heart, nobody knows, but *Expressions* (1967) was his last recording and included elements from all his periods. Coltrane died at the top of his form when he passed away in 1967 at the age of 40. Though doctors said he died of liver cancer, his friends claimed that he had simply worn himself out. His creative flow had not dried up and it is reasonable to assume that, had he lived, he would have continued to explore new styles and techniques. As it was, he left a body of music that defined and shaped the shifting jazz styles of the period, as well as a reputation for difficult music and a dissipated lifestyle that confirmed the non-jazz lover's worst—and inaccurate—fears about the music and its decadent influence on American culture.

—Frank A. Salamone

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## Columbo

Lieutenant Columbo, played by Peter Falk, remains the most original, best-written detective in television history. Other shows featuring private detectives (*The Rockford Files*) or policemen (*Hill Street Blues*) may contain more tongue-in-cheek humor or exciting action sequences, but when it comes to pure detection, brilliant plotting, and intricate clues, *Columbo* remains unsurpassed. Its uniqueness stems from the fact that it is one of the few "inverted" mysteries in television history. While other mysteries like *Murder, She Wrote* were whodunits, *Columbo* was a "how's-he-gonna-get-caught?" Whodunit was obvious because the audience witnessed the murder firsthand at the start of each episode—also making the show unique in that the star, Falk, was completely missing for the first quarter hour of most episodes. This inversion produced a more morally balanced universe; while the murderer in another show might spend 90 percent of its running time enjoying his freedom, only to be nabbed in the last few scenes, in *Columbo* the murderer's carefree lifestyle was short-lived, being replaced by a sick, sweaty angst as the rumpled detective moved closer and closer to the truth. The climatic twist at the end was merely the final nail in the coffin. The show was consistently riveting with no gunplay, no chase sequences, and virtually all dialogue. The inverted mystery is not new, having been devised by R. Austin Freeman for such books as *The Singing Bone*, but never has the form been better utilized.

*Columbo* sprang from the fertile minds of Richard Levinson and William Link, who met in junior high school and began writing mysteries together. They finally sold some to magazines, then to television, adapting one story they'd sold to *Alfred Hitchcock's Mystery Magazine* for television's *The Chevy Mystery Show*. When Bert Freed was selected to play the part of the detective in this mystery, called "Enough Rope," he became the first actor to play Lieutenant Columbo. Levinson later said the detective's fawning manner came from Petrovich in Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment*, and his humbleness came from G. K. Chesterton's Father Brown. Deciding to dabble in theater, Levinson and Link adapted this story into the play *Prescription: Murder*, which opened in San Francisco starring Joseph Cotton, Agnes Moorehead, and Thomas Mitchell as Columbo. When made-for-TV movies became a popular form, the writers opened up their stagebound story to make it more cinematic, but they needed to cast a new actor as the detective because Mitchell had died since the play's closing. The authors wanted an older actor, suggesting Lee J. Cobb and Bing Crosby, but they were happy with Falk as the final choice once they saw his performance. The film aired in 1968 with Gene Barry as the murderer, and the show received excellent ratings and reviews. Three years later, when NBC was developing the *NBC Mystery Movie*, which was designed to have such series as *McCloud* and *McMillan and Wife* in rotation, the network asked Levinson and Link for a *Columbo* pilot. The writers thought that *Prescription: Murder* made a fine pilot, but the network wanted another—perhaps to make sure this "inverted" form was repeatable and sustainable—so "Ransom for a Dead Man" with Lee Grant as the murderer became the official pilot for the series. These two made-for-TV movies do not appear in syndication with the

series' other forty-three episodes, though they frequently appear on local stations.

*NBC Mystery Movie* premiered in September 1971, and the talent the show attracted was phenomenal. That very first episode, "Murder by the Book," was written by Steven Bochco (*Hill Street Blues*, *NYPD Blue*) and was directed by Steven Spielberg. The series also employed the directorial talents of Jonathan Demme, Ben Gazzara, Norman Lloyd, Hy Averback, Boris Sagal, and Falk himself, among others. Acting talents such as Ray Milland, Patrick McGoohan, John Cassavetes, Roddy McDowell, Laurence Harvey, Martin Landau, Ida Lupino, Martin Sheen, and Janet Leigh contributed greatly to the series, though what made it a true classic was Falk's Emmy-winning portrayal of the rumpled detective. The raincoat, the unseen wife, the dog named Dog, the ragtop Peugeot, the forgetfulness—much of this was in the writing, but Falk added a great deal and made it all distinctly his own. Levinson said, "We put in a servile quality, but Peter added the enormous politeness. He stuck in sirs and ma'ams all over the place." He said another of the lieutenant's quirks evolved from laziness on the writers' part. When writing the play *Prescription: Murder*, there was a scene that was too short, and Columbo had already made his exit. "We were too lazy to retype the scene, so we had him come back and say, "Oh, just one more thing." On the show, the disheveled, disorganized quality invariably put the murderers off their guard, and once their defenses were lowered, Columbo moved in for the kill. Much of the fun came from the show's subtle subversive attack on the American class system, with a working-class hero, totally out of his element, triumphing over the conceited, effete, wealthy murderer finally done in by his or her own hubris.

The final NBC episode aired in May 1978, when Falk tired of the series. Ten years later, Falk returned to the role when ABC revived *Columbo*, first in rotation and then as a series of specials, with at least twenty new episodes airing throughout the 1990s. Levinson and Link wrote other projects, and Falk played other roles, but as Levinson once said, referring to himself and Link, "If we're remembered for anything, it may say *Columbo* on our gravestones."

—Bob Sullivan

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## Columbo, Russ (1908-1934)

Russ Columbo was a popular romantic crooner of the 1920s and early 1930s. Often referred to as "Radio's Valentino," Columbo was so popular he was immortalized in a song of the day, "Crosby, Columbo, and Vallee." Born Ruggerio de Rudolpho Columbo, he

became a concert violinist, vocalist, songwriter, and bandleader. He wrote many popular songs, mainly with partner Con Conrad. One of his biggest hits also became his theme song, "You Call It Madness (But I Call it Love)."

Columbo appeared in a few films and had just signed with Universal Pictures for a series of musicals when he was tragically killed. While looking at the gun collection of friend Lansing Brown, one of the guns discharged, hitting Columbo in the eye. He died a short time later.

—Jill Gregg

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## Comic Books

Comic books are an essential representation of twentieth-century American popular culture. They have entertained readers since the time of the Great Depression, indulging their audience in imaginary worlds born of childhood fantasies. Their function within American culture has been therapeutic, explanatory, and commercial. By appealing to the tastes of adolescents and incorporating real-world concerns into fantasy narratives, comic books have offered their impressionable readers a means for developing self-identification within the context of American popular culture. In the process, they have worked ultimately to integrate young people into an expanding consumer society, wherein fantasy and reality seem increasingly linked.

With their consistent presence on the fringes of the immense American entertainment industry, comic books have historically been a filter and repository for values communicated to and from below. Fashioned for a mostly adolescent audience by individuals often little older than their readers, comic books have not been obliged to meet the critical and aesthetic criteria of respectability reserved for works aimed at older consumers (including newspaper comic strips). Neither have comic books generally been subject to the sort of intrinsic censorship affecting the production of expensive advertising and investment-driven entertainment projects. Consequently, comic books have often indulged in outrageous situations and images more fantastic, grotesque, and absurd than those found elsewhere in American mass culture. These delightfully twisted qualities have always been central to the comic book's appeal.

Comic books first emerged as a discrete entertainment medium in 1933, when two sales employees at the Eastern Color Printing Company, Max C. Gaines and Harry I. Wildenberg, launched an entrepreneurial venture whereby they packaged, reduced and reprinted newspaper comic strips into tabloid-sized magazines to be sold to manufacturers who could use them as advertising premiums and giveaways. These proved so successful that Gaines decided to put a ten-cent price tag on the comic magazines and distribute them directly to newsstands. The first of these was *Famous Funnies*, printed by Eastern Color and distributed by Dell Publications. Other publishers soon entered the emerging comic-book field with similar products. In 1935 a pulp-magazine writer named Malcolm Wheeler-Nicholson began publishing the first comic books to feature original material. A



few years later, his company was bought out by executives of the Independent News Company who expanded the operation's line and circulation. In 1937 they launched *Detective Comics*, the first comic book to feature adventure stories derived more from pulp magazines and "B" movies than from newspaper "funnies." The company later became known by the logo DC—the initials of its flagship title.

By 1938 an embryonic comic-book industry existed, comprising a half-dozen or so publishers supplied by several comic-art studios all based in the New York City area. That same year, the industry found its first original comic-book "star" in Superman. The creation of two teenagers named Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster, Superman's adventures pointed to the fantastic potential of comic books. Because their content was limited only by the imagination and skill of the writers and artists who crafted them, comic books could deal in flights of fantasy unworkable in other visual entertainment media. As an instant commercial success, Superman prompted a succession of costumed superhero competitors who vied for the nickels and dimes of not-too-discerning young consumers. Comic-book characters like DC's Batman, Wonder Woman, and Green Lantern; Marvel Comics' Captain America, and Fawcett Publications' Captain Marvel all defined what comic-book historians and collectors term the "Golden Age" of comic books. Although comic books would later embrace a variety of genres, including war, western, romance, crime, horror, and humor, they have always been most closely identified with the costumed superheroes who made the medium a viable entertainment industry.

Creating most of these early comic books was a coterie that was overwhelmingly urban, under-thirty, lower middle class, and male. They initially conceived Depression-era stories that aligned superheroes on the side of the poor and the powerless against a conspiracy of corrupt political bosses, greedy stockbrokers, and foreign tyrants. As the nation drifted towards World War II, comic books became increasingly preoccupied with the threat posed by the Axis powers. Some pointed to the danger as early as 1939—well ahead of the rest of the nation. Throughout the war, comic books generally urged a united national front and endorsed patriotic slogans derived from official U.S. war objectives. Many eviscerated the enemy in malicious and often, in the case of the Japanese, racist stereotypes that played to the emotions and fears of their wartime audience, which included servicemen as well as children. At least a few publishers, most notably DC Comics, also used the occasion of the war against fascism to call for racial and ethnic tolerance on the American home front.

The war years were a boom time for the comic-book industry. It was not uncommon for a single monthly issue to sell in excess of 500,000 copies. The most popular comic books featuring Superman, Batman, Captain Marvel, and the Walt Disney cartoon characters often sold over one million copies per issue. When the war ended, however, sales of most superhero comic books plummeted and the industry lost its unity of purpose. Some publishers, like Archie Comics, carved out a niche for themselves with innocuous humor titles that enjoyed a certain timeless appeal for young children. But as other publishers scrambled for new ways to recapture the interest of adolescent and adult readers, some turned to formulas of an increasingly controversial nature. Many began to indulge their audience in a seedy underworld of sex, crime, and violence of a sort rarely seen in other visual entertainment. These comic books earned the industry legions of new readers and critics alike. Young consumers seemed to have a disturbing taste for comic books like *Crime Does Not Pay* that dramatized—or, as many would charge, glorified—in graphic detail the violent lives of criminals and the degradation of the American dream. Parents, educators, professionals, and politicians reacted to

these comic books with remarkable outrage. Police organizations, civic groups, and women's clubs launched a grassroots campaign at the local and state levels to curb or ban the sale and distribution of objectionable comic books. Only a few years after the end of its participation in a world war, the comic-book industry found itself engaged in a new conflict—a cultural war for the hearts and minds of the postwar generation.

As the Cold War intensified, comic-book makers responded by addressing national concerns at home and abroad, while hoping to improve their public image in the process. Romance comic books instructed young females on the vital qualities of domesticity and became, for a time in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the industry's top-selling genre. War comic books produced during the Korean War underscored the domestic and global threat of Communism. But, as part of the industry's trend toward more realistic stories, many of these also illustrated the ambivalence and frustration of confronting an elusive enemy in a war waged for lofty ideals with limited means.

Neither the subject matter of romance nor war could, in any case, deflect the mounting public criticism directed at comic books. Throughout the postwar decade comic-book makers found themselves confronted by a curious alliance of liberals and conservatives who feared that forms of mass culture were undermining—even replacing—parents, teachers, and religious leaders as the source of moral authority in children's lives. As young people acquired an unprecedented degree of purchasing power in the booming economy, they had more money to spend on comic books. This in turn led to more comic book publishers trying to attract young consumers with increasingly sensational material. Thus, in an irony of postwar culture, the national affluence so celebrated by the defenders of American ideals became perhaps the most important factor accounting for the existence and character of the most controversial comic books.

The most outrageous consequence of the keen competition among publishers was the proliferation of horror comic books. Popular and widely imitated titles like EC Comics' *Tales From the Crypt* celebrated murder, gore, and the disintegration of the American family with a willful abandon that raised serious questions about the increasing freedom and power of mass culture. At the vanguard of the rejuvenated forces aligned against comic books was a psychiatrist and self-proclaimed expert on child behavior named Dr. Fredric Wertham. His 1954 book *Seduction of the Innocent* set forth a litany of charges against comic books, the most shocking and controversial being that they contributed to juvenile delinquency. Such allegations led to a 1954 U.S. Senate investigation into the comic-book industry. Comic-book publishers surrendered to the criticism by publicly adopting an extremely restrictive self-censoring code of standards enforced by an office called the Comics Code Authority. By forbidding much of what had made comic books appealing to adolescents and young adults, the Comics Code effectively placed comic books on a childlike level. At a time when publishers faced stiff competition from television, and rock'n'roll emerged as the new preeminent expression of rebellious youth culture, the Code-approved comic books lost readers by the score.

By the start of the 1960s the industry showed signs of recovery. DC Comics led the resurgence by reviving and revamping some of its popular superheroes from the 1940s including the Flash, the Green Lantern, and the Justice League of America. These characters marked the industry's return to the superhero characters that had made it so successful in the beginning. But the pristine, controlled, and rather stiff DC superheroes proved vulnerable to the challenge posed by Marvel Comics. Under the editorial direction of Stan Lee, in collaboration with artists Jack Kirby and Steve Ditko, Marvel launched a

series of new titles featuring superheroes “flawed” with undesirable but endearing human foibles like confusion, insecurity, and alienation. Marvel superheroes like the Fantastic Four, the Incredible Hulk, Spider-Man, the Silver Surfer, and the X-Men found a large and loyal audience among children, adolescents, and even adults drawn to the anti-establishment and clever mythical qualities of the Marvel comic books.

During the late 1960s a new wave of “underground” comic books, sometimes called “comix,” emerged as an alternative to the mainstream epitomized by DC and Marvel. These underground comics flourished despite severely limited exposure, and were usually confined to counterculture audiences. With unrestrained subject matter that celebrated drugs, violence, and especially sex, these publications shared more in common with the avant-garde movement and adult magazines than they did with most people’s conception of comic books. Artists like Robert Crumb, Rick Griffin, and Art Spiegelman later found some mainstream success and fame (with *Fritz the Cat*, *Zippy the Pinhead*, and *Maus*, respectively) after getting their start in underground comix. And independent comic books inspired by the underground comix movement continue to enjoy some popularity and sales through comic-book stores throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

Since the 1960s, however, the comic-book industry has been dominated by the superheroes of publishing giants Marvel and DC. Successive generations of comic-book creators have come to the industry as fans, evincing a genuine affection and respect for comic books that was uncommon among their predecessors, most of whom aspired to write or illustrate for other media. During the late 1960s and early 1970s these creators used comic books to comment upon the most pressing concerns of their generation. Consequently, a number of comic books like *The Amazing Spider-Man*, *The Green Lantern*, and *Captain America* posed a moderate challenge to the “Establishment” and took up such liberal political causes as the civil rights movement, feminism, and opposition to the Vietnam War.

Aware of the country’s changing political mood, publishers in 1971 liberalized the Comics Code, making it easier for comic books to reflect contemporary society. Comic-book makers initially took advantage of this new creative latitude to launch a number of ambitious and often self-indulgent efforts to advance mainstream comic books as a literary art form. While many of these new 1970s comic books were quite innovative, nearly all of them failed commercially. Nevertheless, they indicated the increasing willingness of the major publishers to encourage writers and artists to experiment with new ideas and concepts.

As the 1970s drew to a close, the comic-book industry faced some serious distribution problems. Traditional retail outlets like newsstands and “mom-and-pop” stores either disappeared or refused to stock comic books because of their low profit potential. Since the early 1980s, however, comic books have been distributed and sold increasingly through specialty comic-book stores. Publishers earned greater profits than ever before by raising the cost of their comic books, distributing them to these outlets on a non-returnable basis, and targeting the loyal fan audience over casual mainstream readers.

The most popular comic books of the past few decades indicate the extent to which alienation has become the preeminent theme in this medium of youth culture. In the early 1980s, a young writer-artist named Frank Miller brought his highly individualistic style to Marvel’s *Daredevil*, *the Man without Fear* and converted it from a second-tier title to one of the most innovative and popular in the field. Miller’s explorations of the darker qualities that make a superhero

inspired others to delve into the disturbing psychological motivations of the costumed vigilantes who had populated comic books since the beginning. Miller’s most celebrated revisionism in this vein came in the 1986 “graphic novel” *Batman: The Dark Knight Returns*. Such revisionism in fact became the most common formula of recent comic books. Besides such stalwarts as Spider-Man and Batman, the best-selling superheroes of the 1980s and 1990s included the X-Men, the Punisher, the Ghost Rider, and Spawn. All featured brooding, obsessive, alienated antiheroes prone to outbursts of terrifying violence. This blurring of the lines between what makes a hero and a villain in comic books testifies to the cynicism about heroes generally in contemporary popular culture and to the eagerness of comic-book publishers to tap into the adolescent disorientation and anxieties that have, to some degree, always determined the appeal of comic-book fantasies.

Although comic books remained popular and profitable throughout the 1990s, the major publishers faced some formidable crises. The most obvious of these was the shrinking audience for their product. Comic-book sales peaked in the early 1990s before falling sharply in the middle years of the decade. Declining fan interest was, in part, a backlash against the major publishers’ increasing tendency to issue drawn-out “cross-over” series that compelled readers to buy multiple issues of different titles in order to make sense of convoluted plots. Many other jaded buyers were undoubtedly priced out of the comic-book market by cover prices commonly over \$2.50. Special “collector’s editions” and graphic novels frequently sold at prices over \$5.00. Most troubling for comic-book makers, however, is the threat that their product may become irrelevant in an increasingly crowded entertainment industry encompassing cable TV, video games, and internet pastimes aimed directly at the youth market. Retaining and building their audience in this context is a serious challenge that will preoccupy creators and publishers as the comic-book industry enters the twenty-first century.

—Bradford W. Wright

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## Comics

Comic strips and comic books have been two mainstays of American culture during the entire twentieth century. Comic strips

rapidly became a defining feature of modern American culture after their introduction to newspapers across the nation in the first ten years of the twentieth century. Likewise comic books captured the imagination of many Americans in the late 1930s and early 1940s, particularly after the appearance of costumed heroes such as Superman, Batman, and Captain Marvel. From the beginning, comics produced distinct, easily recognized characters whose images could be licensed for other uses. Comic characters united entertainment and commerce in ways that became ubiquitous in American culture.

Although the origin of comic strips is generally traced to the first appearance of the Yellow Kid—so named because the printers chose his nightshirt to experiment with yellow ink—in the *New York World* in 1895, the antecedents of comics are somewhat more complex. When the *World* began a Sunday humor supplement in 1889, it did so to attract the audience of American illustrated humor magazines such as *Puck*, *Judge*, and *Life*. These magazines had drawn on European traditions of broadsheets, satirical prints, comic albums, and journals such as *Fliegende Blätter*, *Charivari*, and *Punch* to create a sharp-edged American style of satirical visual humor. The appearance of the Yellow Kid—in the *Hogan's Alley* series—was not a particularly startling moment but rather grew out of an international and local tradition of illustrated humor. What set the Yellow Kid apart from previous versions of the city urchin genre of illustrated humor were his distinct features and regular appearance in large-scale comic panels.

In October 1896 William Randolph Hearst launched a humor supplement to the Sunday edition of his *New York Journal* and contracted the services of Richard Outcault, the Yellow Kid's creator. In addition, the *Journal* employed Rudolph Dirks and Frederick Opper. Although the Yellow Kid established the importance in comic art of a regularly appearing, distinctive character, Outcault did not use with any regularity two other important features of modern comics—sequential panels and word balloons, both of which had been used for centuries in European and American graphic art. Dirks and Opper introduced and developed these features in the pages of the *Journal*. Between December 1897 and March 1901 Dirks's *Katzenjammer Kids* and Opper's *Happy Hooligan* brought together the essential features of modern comics: a regular, distinctive character or cast of characters appearing in a mass medium, the use of sequential panels to establish narrative, and the use of word balloons to convey dialogue. More often than not Dirks's and Opper's strips used twelve panels on a broadsheet page to deliver a gag.

Between 1900-03 newspaper owners and syndicates licensed comic strips and supplements to newspapers across the country. This expansion was tied to broader developments in American culture including the establishment of national markets and ongoing developments in communication and transportation. Comic supplements were circulation builders for newspapers, and by 1908 some 75 percent of newspapers with Sunday editions had a comics supplement. For most newspapers the introduction of a comic supplement saw a rise in sales. The development of daily comic strips, which started with Bud Fischer's *Mutt and Jeff*, first published in November 1907 in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, added another dimension to the medium. In 1908 only five papers ran daily comic strips; five years later at least ninety-four papers across the country ran daily strips. By 1913 newspapers had also begun to group their daily strips on a single page. In a relatively short space of time comic strips moved from being something new to being a cultural artifact. *Comic Strips and Consumer Culture, 1890-1945* quotes surveys showing that by 1924 at least 55 percent and as high as 82 percent of all children regularly read comic strips. Likewise it showed that surveys by George Gallup

and others in the 1930s revealed that the mean average adult readership of comic strips was 75 percent.

The daily comic strip's four or five panels and black-and-white format as opposed to the Sunday comics' twelve color panels was the first of many thematic and aesthetic innovations that fed the popularity of strips. An important development in this process was the blossoming of the continuity strip. Comics historian Robert Harvey has argued that Joseph Patterson, the proprietor of the *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Daily News*, was instrumental in establishing continuing story lines in comic strips through his development and promotion of Sidney Smith's *The Gumps*, a comic strip equivalent of a soap opera with more than a hint of satire. The continuity strip gave rise to adventure strips such as *Wash Tubbs* and *Little Orphan Annie*, which in turn led to the emergence of science fiction strips like *Buck Rogers* and *Flash Gordon*. Even gag strips such as the working girl strip *Winnie Winkle* adopted continuous story lines for extended periods. The continuity strips led to comic art styles less caricatured in appearance, which for want of a better expression might be dubbed realistic strips, although the story content remained fanciful. No one style of strip ever came to dominate the comics pages, where gags strips, adventure strips, and realistic strips still appear side by side.

From the start, the existence of distinctive characters in comics had offered commercial possibilities beyond the pages of newspapers. The image of the Yellow Kid was used to sell cigars, crackers, and ladies' fans, to name but a few of his appearances. Theater producer Gus Hill staged a musical around the Kid in 1898 and continued to produce comic-strip-themed musicals into the 1920s. Doll manufacturers likewise produced comic strip character dolls. Buster Brown gave his name to shoes, clothing, and a host of other products including pianos and bread. The Yellow Kid's adventures had been reprinted in book form as early as 1897, and throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century publishers such as Cupples and Leon, and F. A. Stokes issued book compilations of popular comic strips. In the early 1930s the commercial dimensions of comic strips were expanded further when advertising executives realized that the mass readership of strips meant that the art form could be used in advertising to draw consumers to a product through entertainment. In 1933, following this strategy, the Eastern Color Printing Company sold a number of companies on the idea of reprinting comic strips in "books" and giving them away as advertising premiums.

After producing several of these advertising premium comic books, Eastern published *Famous Funnies* in 1934, a sixty-four-page comic book of reprinted strips priced at ten cents. Although the company lost money on the first issue, it soon showed a profit by selling advertising space in the comic book. Pulp writer Major Malcolm Wheeler-Nicholson saw an opportunity and joined the fledgling industry with his all-original *New Fun* comic book in February 1935. Wheeler-Nicholson's limited financial resources necessitated a partnership with his distributor, the Independent News Company, run by Harry Donenfeld and Jack Liebowitz, and the three formed a partnership to launch *Detective Comics* in 1937. By 1938 Donenfeld and Liebowitz had eased Wheeler-Nicholson out of the company. Shortly thereafter the two decided to publish a new title, *Action Comics*, and obtained a strip for the first issue that M. C. Gaines at the McClure Syndicate had rejected. Superman by Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster appeared on the cover of the first issue dated June 1938. The initial print run was two hundred thousand copies. By 1941, *Action Comics* sold on average nine hundred thousand copies.

The company followed this success with the first appearance of Batman in *Detective Comics* in May 1939.

The success of Superman and DC Comics, as the company was now known, led other comic book companies to introduce costumed heroes in the late 1930s and early 1940s including All American's (DC's sister company) Wonder Woman and The Flash; Timely's (later Marvel) Captain America, the Human Torch, and the Submariner; and Fawcett's Captain Marvel. Comic book sales increased dramatically and, according to Coulton Waugh, by 1942 12.5 million were sold monthly. Historians such as Ron Goulart have attributed the boom in superhero comic books to Depression-era searches for strong leadership and quick solutions, and the cultural and social disruption brought on by World War II. Moreover, comic books often served as a symbol of America for servicemen overseas who read and amassed them in large numbers.

America's entry into the war also derailed a campaign against comics begun by Sterling North, the literary editor of the *Chicago Daily News*. In 1947 the sales of comic books reached sixty million a month, and they seemed beyond attempts at censorship and curtailing their spread. But in 1948 a New York psychiatrist, Fredric Wertham, began a campaign that led eventually to a Senate investigation on the nature of comic books and the industry's establishing a Comics Code in a successful attempt to avoid formal regulation through self-censorship. Wertham's 1954 book *Seduction of the Innocent* was the culmination of his attempts to mobilize public sentiment against the danger that he believed comic books posed to children's mental health. Wertham's ideas were picked up by the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency and its prime mover Senator Estes Kefauver. A prime target of the subcommittee's hearings was William M. Gaines, the publisher of EC Comics, which had begun a line of horror comics in 1950. Wertham's attack and the introduction of the Comics Code are often blamed for the demise of a "Golden Age" of comics, but historian Amy Nyberg argues that only EC suffered directly, and other factors such as changes in distribution and the impact of television account for the downturn in comic book publishing.

Whatever the impact of Wertham, the comic book industry shrugged it off relatively quickly. In 1956 DC relaunched its character The Flash, which began a resurrection of superhero comic books. In 1960 DC published the *Justice League of America*, featuring a team of superheroes. According to Les Daniels, the good sales of this book prompted DC's competitor to develop its own team of heroes, and in 1961 Stan Lee and Jack Kirby's *Fantastic Four* appeared under the Marvel imprint. The resulting boom in superhero comics, which saw the debut of Spiderman and the Uncanny X-Men, is referred to by fans as the Silver Age of comics. In the late 1950s and 1960s these fans were particularly important in shaping the direction of comic books and comics history. These fans were interested in comic art and story construction rather than simply the entertainment value of the comic books. That many of these fans were young adults had important ramifications for the future direction of comic books. Likewise, their focus on superheroes meant that these comic books have been accorded the most attention, and books from publishers such as Harvey, Dell, and Archie Comics figure little in many discussions of comic book history because their content is held to be insignificant, at least to young adults.

Perhaps the first publisher to recognize that comic books directed specifically at an older audience would sell was William M. Gaines. When Wertham's campaign put an end to his horror line of comics, Gaines focused his attention on converting the satirical comic book *Mad* into a magazine. *Mad's* parodies of American culture

influenced many young would-be artists. In the late 1960s a number of these artists, including Robert Crumb, S. Clay Wilson, and Gilbert Shelton, began publishing underground comics, or comix, which, as the x designated, transgressed every notion of social normality. Nonetheless, the artists demonstrated a close familiarity with the graphic and narrative conventions of comic art. Discussing these comix, Joseph Witek has suggested that they should be seen as part of the mainstream of American comic history not least of all because comix helped transform comic book content and the structure of the industry.

A major shift in the industry occurred in the late 1970s and early 1980s when entrepreneurs following the example of the undergrounds set up specialist comic shops, comic book distribution companies, and their own comic book publishing companies in which artists retained ownership of their characters. These changes led to more adult-oriented comics at the smaller companies and at the two industry giants, DC and Marvel, which between them accounted for about 75 percent of the market in 1993. DC and Marvel also responded to changes in the industry by giving their artists more leeway on certain projects and a share in profits from characters they created. These changes took place during a boom time for the industry with the trade paper Comic Buyer's Guide estimating increases in comic book sales from approximately \$125 million in 1986 to \$400 million in 1992.

This comic book boom was related to the synergies created by the media corporations that owned the major comic book companies. DC had been acquired by Warner in the 1960s for its licensing potential. In 1989 Warner's Batman movie heated up the market for comic books and comic-book-related merchandise. DC, Marvel, the comic book stores, and distributors promoted comics as collectibles, and many people bought comics as an investment. When the collectibility bubble burst in the mid 1990s the industry encountered a downturn in which Marvel wound up bankrupt. Marvel's difficulties point to the necessity of large comic book companies diversifying their characters appearances along the lines of the DC-Warner endeavor. On August 29, 1998, the *Los Angeles Times* reported in some detail the frustrations Marvel had experienced over thirteen years in trying to bring Spiderman to the screen.

As the century draws to a close the art form remains strong in both its comic strip and comic book incarnations. The development of the Internet-based World Wide Web has seen the art delivered in a new fashion where strips can be read and related merchandise ordered on-line. At the close of the twentieth century, then, the essential feature of comics remains its distinctive characters who unite entertainment and commerce.

—Ian Gordon

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## Comics Code Authority

When the Comics Code was drafted in 1954, it was touted by its creators as "the most stringent code in existence for any communications media." It certainly created a fervor, and sparked heated debate about the role of comic books and what they could and should do. The Comics Code Authority, however, was quick to diminish as a censoring body, challenge after challenge reducing it to relative powerlessness. Still, the Code, along with the events leading up to it, had made its impact, not only changing the direction and aesthetics of American comic books, but also affecting this artistic form internationally. Conventions were shaped, as artists endeavored to tell their stories within the Code's restrictions. Meanwhile, working outside of the Code, some artists took special care to flout such circumscription.

Although many factors may be considered in the establishment of the Code, the most widely discussed has been psychiatrist Frederic Wertham's book, *Seduction of the Innocent*, which, in a scathing attack on comic books, claimed that reading comics could lead to juvenile delinquency. The book reproduced isolated panels from several comics and argued that such scenes had a negative impact on the psychology of children. Although some psychologists argued against Wertham's claims, the book was generally well received, becoming a best-seller and creating a furor over the supposed insidiousness of the comic book industry. The release of the book was followed by hearings—commonly referred to as the Kefauver Hearings after presiding senator Estes Kefauver—before the Senate subcommittee on delinquency. Called to testify, Wertham continued his attack on comic books, concluding "I think Hitler was a beginner

compared to the comic book industry." William Gaines, publisher of the much-maligned EC line of comics, argued that these comics were not intended for young children and should not be subjected to protective censorship. Still he found himself forced into a defense not of comics as an expressive art form, but of what constituted "good taste" in a horror comic.

After all was said and done, however, it was not from the outside that the code was imposed, but rather from within the industry itself. The Comic Magazine Association of America (CMAA) was formed on October 26, 1954 by a majority of publishers, in an effort to head off more controversy and to resuscitate declining sales figures. The CMAA served as a self-censoring body, creating a restrictive code forbidding much violence and sexual content as well as anti-authoritarian sentiment, and even limiting the use of specific words like "crime," "terror," or "horror" on comic book covers. Publishers were now obliged to submit their comics for review by the Comics Code Authority (CCA). Approved magazines were granted the cover seal stating, "Approved by the Comics Code Authority." Publishers that failed to meet Code restrictions or that declined to have their books reviewed by the CCA found their distribution cut off as retailers declined to carry unapproved books. Such publishers eventually either submitted to the Code or went out of business. Notably, Wertham had been in favor of restrictions that would keep certain comics out of the hands of children, but he was troubled by what he saw in Code-approved books, which he often found no less harmful than the pre-Code comics.

Two companies, Dell and Gilberton, already regarded as publishers of wholesome comics such as the Disney and Classics Illustrated titles, remained exempt from the Code. Other publishers worked around the Code. Some resorted to publishing comics in magazine format to avoid restrictions. Given the virtual elimination of crime and horror comics, several publishers began to place more emphasis on their superhero books, in which the violence was bigger than life and far from the graphically realistic portrayals in crime and horror comics. It was during these ensuing years that superheroes came to dominate the form and that DC and Marvel Comics came to command the marketplace.

In the 1960s a very different response to the Code manifested itself in the form of underground comics. These independently-produced comic books included graphic depictions of sex, violence, drug use—in short, anything that the code prohibited. Moreover, these comics often paid tribute to pre-Code books and raged against the very censoring agents that had led to their demise.

The first overt challenge to the Code came from Marvel Comics in 1971. Although the Code explicitly prohibited mention of drugs, writer/editor-in-chief Stan Lee, at the request of the Department of Health Education and Welfare, produced a three-issue anti-drug story line in *Amazing Spider-Man*. Despite being released without the code, these comics were distributed and sold wonderfully, aided by national press. It was with this publication that the Code finally changed, loosening up slightly on its restrictions regarding drugs and clothing to reflect a change in times. Still, most of the restrictions remained largely intact.

The power of the CCA was still further reduced with the rise of direct distribution. Shops devoted to selling only comic books, which received their comics directly from publishers or, later, comic distributors, rather than general news distributors began to spring up during the 1970s. With this new system, the vigilance against non-Code books was bypassed. The new marketplace allowed major publishers to experiment with comics geared towards an adult

readership, and allowed more adventurous small publishers to distribute their wares. The way was paved for major “independent” publishers, like Image and Dark Horse, who refused to submit to the CCA’s restrictions.

Although the CCA has but a shadow of its former power over the industry, and although the Code itself has been criticized—even from within the CMAA—as an ineffectual dinosaur, there can be no question of its impact. The comics industry, both economically and aesthetically, owes a great deal to the Comics Code Authority, having been shaped variously by accommodation and antagonism.

—Marc Oxoby

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## Coming Out

Since the 1960s, the expression “coming out”—once reserved for young debutantes making their entrée into society—has been subverted to mean “coming out of the closet,” announcing publicly that one is gay or lesbian. The phrase is ordinarily used in proclaiming one’s identity to a broader public, though it can also mean acknowledging one’s sexual orientation to oneself, or even refer to the first time one acts on that knowledge.

Coming out as a subverted assertion originated in the early twentieth century among the drag “debutante” balls, which were popular social events in the American Southeast, especially among African Americans. Drag queens were presented at these balls, just as young heterosexual women came out at their own events. It was only later, in the 1950s ambiance that placed a premium on hiding the abnormal and atypical, that the connotation of coming out of a dark closet was added, perhaps because of the expression “skeleton in the closet,” i.e., a guilty secret.

In the post-Stonewall days of gay liberation, many younger gay men and lesbians believed that repressing their sexual identities was unhealthy, a stance supported by a growing body of psychological evidence and that reflected the loosening of strict gender demarcations in American society. From the 1970s, aspects of gay culture that had once been secret became widely known for the first time: Straight culture picked up the term “coming out” and began to broaden its meaning. In the tell-all society that emerged in the U.S. after the 1970s, people came out on talk shows and in tabloid confessions as manic-depressives, as neatniks, as witches, and other unexpected forms of identification, some lighthearted, some deeply serious. Even within the gay and lesbian community, the usage has expanded as people came out as everything from bisexuals and transgendered folk to sado-masochists and born-again Christians.

Another related term, “outing,” emerged in the late 1980s as the opposite of the voluntary confession that had by then achieved generally favorable connotations. Some gay activists, angered when some public and successful gay person insisted on remaining in the closet, deemed it a political necessity to reveal that closeted figure’s

identity, especially when his or her public pronouncements were at odds with private behavior. The practice divided the gay and lesbian community, with more radical voices arguing that outing was mere justice, while others holding it to be the ultimate violation of privacy. Outing has also been practiced by vindictive or well-meaning straight people, or by the media, as was the case with lesbian activist Chastity Bono.

Activists have long insisted that much of the oppression gays experience would be diffused if all homosexual people came out publicly. The first National Coming Out Day was declared on October 11, 1988, the first anniversary of the second gay and lesbian March on Washington, D.C. Hoping to maintain some of the spirit of hope and power engendered by the march, organizers encouraged gays to come out of the closet to at least one person on that day. Some organizations have even distributed printed cards for gays to give to bank tellers and store clerks announcing that they have just served a gay client.

Perhaps it is because American society has grown so fond of intimate revelation that the term “coming out” has gained such popularity. Once it was an “in-crowd” phrase among lesbians and gays, who chortled knowingly when the good witch in *The Wizard of Oz* sang, “Come out, come out, wherever you are.” With book titles like Lynn Robinson’s *Coming Out of the Psychic Closet*, and Martin Liberman’s *Coming Out Conservative*, coming out has gone beyond sexual identity to include any form of self-revelation.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## The Commodores

The Lionel Richie-led soul band the Commodores, whose career peaked in the late 1970s before Richie left for solo fame, is a prime example of an R & B crossover success. Beginning as an opening act during the early 1970s for The Jackson Five, the southern-based Commodores released a handful of gritty funk albums before slowly phasing into ballad-oriented material, which gained them the most commercial success. As their audience transformed from being largely black to largely white, the Commodores’ sound changed as well, moving toward the smooth lightness of songs like “Still,” “Three Times a Lady,” and “Easy.”

Formed in 1968 in Tuskegee, Alabama, the group—Lionel Richie on vocals and piano, Walter “Clyde” Orange on drums, Milan Williams on keyboards and guitar, Ronald LaPread on bass and trumpet, Thomas McClary on guitar, and William King Jr. playing a variety of brass instruments—was signed to Motown in the early 1970s. Avoiding Motown’s assembly-line mode of music production—which included in-house songwriters, musicians, and producers to help create “the Motown sound”—this self-contained group of



### The Commodores

talented musicians and songwriters remained relatively autonomous. They maintained their gritty southern-fried funk sound over the course of three albums: their 1974 debut, *Machine Gun*; 1975's *Caught in the Act*; and 1975's *Movin' On*. These three albums built the group a strong base of R & B fans with their consistently good up-tempo funk jams such as "Machine Gun" and "The Zoo (Human Zoo)," but they had not yet made the crossover move. *Hot on the Tracks* (1976) showed signs of this move with its slower cuts ("Just to Be Close to You" and "Sweet Love" are notable examples). Their big crossover move came with 1977's self-titled breakthrough album, which contained such party favorites as "Brick House" and "Slippery When Wet," as well as the adult- and urban-contemporary radio staple "Easy."

It was the massive success of "Easy" that signaled a new direction for the group and prompted a solo attempt by Richie (who, nonetheless, remained in the band for another four years). Next came the Top 40 hit "Three Times a Lady" from the 1978 album *Natural High* and the Billboard number one single, "Still," from 1979's *Midnight Magic* album—both of which continued the Commodores' transformation from a chitlin' circuit southern funk party band to background music for board meetings, housecleaning, and candle-lit dinners. *In the Pocket*, from 1981, was Richie's last album with the Commodores, and within a year he left to pursue a solo career.

Without Richie's songwriting (his songs would always be the Commodores' strength) and charisma, the group floundered through most of the 1980s, with the sole exception of their 1985 Top 40 hit single "Nightshift," for which album J. D. Nicholas assumed lead singing duties. The Commodores suffered another blow when producer/arranger James Anthony Carmichael, the man responsible for shaping the majority of the group's hits, followed Richie's departure in the early 1980s.

Richie went on to have a hugely successful solo career before virtually disappearing from the commercial landscape in the 1990s. Between 1981-87, he had thirteen Top Ten hits, which included a staggering five number one singles—"Endless Love," "Truly," "All Night Long," "Hello," and "Say You, Say Me."

—Kembrew McLeod

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## Communes

Close, interdependent communities not based on family relationships, communes have a long history in the United States and continue to represent a strand of American culture and ideology that sanctions the search for a utopia of peace, love, and equality. Researcher Benjamin Zablocki defines a commune as a group of unrelated people who voluntarily elect to live together for an indefinite time period in order to achieve a sense of community that they feel is missing from mainstream American society. Most commonly associated with the hippie and flower child members of the 1960s and 1970s counterculture, communes have professed a variety of reasons for existence and can be politically, religiously, or socially based and exist in both rural and urban environments. Keith Melville has observed that commune members are linked by “a refusal to share the dominant assumptions that are the ideological underpinnings of Western society.” They are extremely critical of the status quo of the American consumer society in which they live, and they promote a new value system centered on peace and love, personal and sexual freedom, tolerance, and honesty. Members wish to begin living their

vision of a better society away from mainstream society and enjoy the support of their fellow believers.

Communes have existed throughout world history and in the United States since its founding in the seventeenth century. Famous nineteenth-century communes such as the Oneida and Shaker settlements consisted of mostly older, middle-class idealists who strongly believed in the possibility of creating their vision of the ideal society. They shared strong religious or political convictions and were more structured than their twentieth-century counterparts. Many of the later communes would carry on their utopian mission.

The immediate predecessors of the twentieth-century communal movement were the beatniks and African-American activists who fought for social changes that the communalists would later adopt in their created society in a desire to create a new ethics for a new age. While communes promoted rural, community, and natural values in an urban, individualistic, and artificial society, popular cultural images of communes depict isolated, run-down rural farms where barely clothed hippies enjoyed economic sharing and free love while spending most of their days in a drug-induced haze. The high visibility of the countercultural movement with which communes were associated made them a large component in the national debate



A commune in Lawrence, Kansas in 1972.



over the societal effects of the growth of “sex, drugs, and rock ’n’ roll. Commune members were predominantly young, white, middle-class males; and the communes tended to be smaller, unstructured, anarchistic, and more democratically governed than their predecessors. Most twentieth-century communes were not political in nature even though they were generally sympathetic to the left and politically oriented groups such as Students for a Democratic Society and the militant poor.

Famous twentieth-century communes ranged in location from the Farm in Tennessee to Drop City in Colorado and ranged in ideology from the secular Morning Star Ranch to the religious Hare Krishna communal farm. There were also a number of short-lived communal arrangements at the many rock festivals of the period, including the famous Hog Farm at Woodstock. Communes required a strong commitment to the group and a willingness to sacrifice some individual freedom for the group’s welfare. Twentieth-century communes proved to be very fragile, and most existed for only a year or two before internal disputes attributed to male chauvinism, lack of direction, and weak structure broke them apart. The communal movement has continued in relative obscurity since the 1960s and 1970s, and will thus continue to be associated with that time period and the countercultural movement.

Communes have had both positive and negative images in United States society and in popular culture. On the positive side, the nation has always professed to value the new and different, and in the late twentieth century has placed increasing emphasis on the toleration of dissent and diversity exemplified by the multicultural movement. The twentieth-century mass media favored communes as they sought the new and eccentric, good drama, and escapist entertainment. The popular media thus focused on the colorful and controversial aspects of the communal movement including its association with widespread drug use, free love, wild clothing and hair styles, and rock ’n’ roll music. Communes have also met with the strong negative attitudes of many members of mainstream society who favor the status quo and disagree with the communalists’ values or lifestyles. These people comprise the so-called “Establishment” from which the hippies wished to break away. Communal members have been harassed with zoning suits, refused admittance to businesses, spat at, threatened with violence, and attacked. The communal movement also experienced a backlash in the late twentieth century as many people lamented the disrespect and defiance of youth to their elders. The reactionary right wing of American politics used hippies and communalists as conveniently visible scapegoats for all the evils of modern American society. There are also communal links to certain late twentieth-century cults that have generated extremely negative publicity. These included Jim Jones’s followers, who committed mass suicide at Jonestown in the 1970s; Charles Manson’s murderous followers of the 1960s; the Branch Davidians led by David Koresh, who battled the FBI at Waco in the 1990s; and the Heaven’s Gate cult, whose mass suicide also received widespread coverage in the 1990s. Negative associations portray commune members as social deviants who threaten established society.

While communes face the problems of decreasing population and visibility in the late twentieth-century United States, they have not disappeared from the American scene. Communes remain prevalent in the smaller cities and college towns where a hip subculture flourishes. The value system of the hippie communes that slowly faded away in the late 1970s has had a large impact on twentieth-century society. Their legacy is evident in such American cultural phenomena as an increasing awareness of environmental issues, an

emphasis on the importance of health and nutrition, a rise in New Age spiritualism, and a rise in socially conscious businesses such as Ben and Jerry’s Ice Cream.

—Marcella Bush Treviño

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## Communism

Originally outlined by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), Communism is a social and political system in which all property is owned communally and all wealth distributed among citizens according to need. Although it was a product of large-scale industrialization in the nineteenth century, Communism has had a profound influence on the global politics and economics of the twentieth century. In the United States, Communism became popular among American industrial workers during the Depression, and played a more public role in politics during the 1930s. In the 1940s and during the Cold War, the treatment of Communist groups and individuals within the United States sometimes raised questions about the fairness not only of the American justice system, but of the Constitution itself.

Communism is most often associated with the revolution which took place in Russia in November 1917, and the establishment of the federalist Soviet Union (USSR) in 1922. Its first leader was Vladimir Ilich Lenin, whose version of Marxism, known as Marxism-Leninism, became the dominant political and economic theory for communist groups the world over. Under Joseph Stalin after World War II, the USSR succeeded in gaining military and political control over much of Eastern Europe, placing it in direct opposition to the capitalist economies of the United States and Western Europe. When Stalin died in 1953, many of his more brutal policies were renounced by the new regime; but Communism had become a byword for threats to personal freedom and for imperialist aggression. A climate of distrust between the USSR and Western governments, backed by the threat of global nuclear war, prevailed until the late 1980s.

The history of Communism in the United States begins long before the Cold War, however. Left-wing activists and socialist parties had been at work from before the beginning of the century, but communist parties first appeared in the United States in 1919, partly in response to the political developments in Russia. Communism has

unsettled American governments from the beginning, and after a series of raids sanctioned by the Attorney General in 1919, left-wing organizations were forced to become more secretive. It was another ten years before the parties merged to form the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA). The CPUSA's goal of regaining support from union members was certainly helped by the onset of the Depression, and Communism was popular among those who suffered most, such as African American workers and Eastern European immigrants.

Despite dire warnings from the political right, and although large crowds turned out for rallies against unemployment, communists remained a small faction within the trade union movement, and thus were isolated in politics. Only in the 1930s, bravely fielding a black vice-presidential candidate in 1932, opposing fascism in Europe, and openly supporting Roosevelt in some of his New Deal policies, did the CPUSA gain credibility with significant numbers of American voters. Besides industrial workers and the unemployed, communist or socialist principles also proved attractive to America's intelligentsia. Writers such as Theodore Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson, and John Dos Passos all declared themselves as Communist Party voters in 1932, while the radical playwrights Clifford Odets and Lillian Hellman were among many left-wing intellectuals to emerge from 1920s literary New York to work in Hollywood.

In 1940, the Smith Act made membership in revolutionary parties and organizations whose aim was to overthrow the U.S. government illegal, and in 1950, under the McCarran Act, communists had to register with the U.S. Department of Justice. In the same period, Senator Joseph McCarthy began Senate investigations into communists in government, and the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) challenged the political views of individuals in other areas. Many prominent people in government, the arts, and science were denounced to HUAC as dangerous revolutionaries. Because of the moral tone of the investigations and the presentation of Communism as "Un-American," many promising careers ended through mere association with individuals called to explain themselves to the committee. One widely held myth was that the CPUSA was spying for the Soviet government, a fear that, among other things, resulted in the execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in 1953. In most cases there was no evidence for McCarthy's accusations of "un-American activity," and his own career was to end abruptly when he was censured by the Senate in 1954.

Perhaps because of the USSR's imperialist ambitions after World War II, Communism has frequently been presented to the American people since then as a moral threat to "American" values such as individualism and enterprise. U.S. involvement in wars in Korea (1950-53) and Vietnam (1964-72), and military and political actions elsewhere, such as South America and Cuba, have been justified as attempts to prevent the spread of Communism, with anti-war protesters often being branded as "Reds." The Cold War continued until the late 1980s, when Ronald Reagan, who had previously referred to the Soviet Union as the "Evil Empire," began talks with Mikhail Gorbachev over arms reduction and greater political cooperation. In the late 1990s, following the collapse of the USSR in 1991, few communist regimes remained in place, and although Communism remains popular in Eastern Europe, communists in the West form a tiny minority of voters. Their continuing optimism is fuelled by Lenin's claim that true Communism will only become possible after the collapse of a global form of Capitalism.

—Chris Routledge

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## Community Media

Between 1906 and 1922 radio amateurs—who referred to themselves as "distance fiends"—ruled the airwaves. In their enthusiasm to share common concerns, forge friendships with distant strangers, and explore the expressive potential of the new medium, the radio enthusiasts championed democratic communication through electronic media. By the mid-1920s, however, commercial sponsorship of radio programming and corporate control of the newly developed broadcasting industry stifled the participatory potential of the "wireless." At the end of the twentieth century, the rapid commercialization of the internet poses yet another threat to the democratic possibilities of a new communication medium. Although the distance fiends are largely forgotten, their passionate embrace of the communitarian potential of electronic communication lives on through the work of community media organizations around the world.

Community media play a significant, but largely unacknowledged, role in popular culture. Unlike their commercial and public service counterparts, community media give "everyday people" access to the instruments of radio, television, and computer-mediated communication. Through outreach, training, and production support services, community media enhance the democratic potential of electronic communication. Community media also encourage and promote the expression of different social, political, and cultural beliefs and practices. In this way, community media celebrate diversity amid the homogeneity of commercial media and the elitism of public service broadcasting. Most important, perhaps, worldwide interest in community media suggests an implicit, cross-cultural, and timeless understanding of the profound relationship between community cohesion, social integration, and the forms and practices of communication. Despite their growing numbers, however, community media organizations remain relatively unknown in most societies. This obscurity is less a measure of community media's cultural significance, than an indication of its marginalized status in the communications landscape.

In the United States, the origins of the community radio movement can be traced to efforts of Lew Hill, founder of KPFA: the flagship station of the Pacifica radio network. A journalist and conscientious objector during World War II, Hill was disillusioned with the state of American broadcasting. At the heart of Hill's disdain for commercial radio was an astute recognition of the economic realities of radio broadcasting. Hill understood the pressures associated with commercial broadcasting and the constraints commercial

sponsorship places on a station's resources, and, ultimately, its programming. Hill and his colleagues reasoned that noncommercial, listener supported radio could provide a level of insulation from commercial interests that would ensure challenging, innovative, and engaging radio. Overcoming a number of legal, technical, and economic obstacles, KPFA-Berkeley signed on the air in 1949. At a time of anti-Communist hysteria and other threats to the democratic ideal of freedom of speech, KPFA and the Pacifica stations represented an indispensable alternative to mainstream news, public affairs, and cultural programming.

Although listener-supported radio went a long way toward securing local enthusiasm and financial support for creative and provocative programming, this model presented some problems. During the early 1970s demands for popular participation in and access to the Pacifica network created enormous rifts between local community members, Pacifica staff, and station management. Conflicts over Pacifica's direction and struggles over the network's resources continue to contribute to the divisiveness that remains somewhat synonymous with Pacifica at the end of the twentieth century. Still, KPFA and its sister stations consistently broadcast programs dealing with issues considered taboo by commercial and public service broadcasters alike.

Equally important, the Pacifica experience generated remarkable enthusiasm for alternative radio across the country. For instance, in 1962 one of Lew Hill's protégés, Lorenzo Milam, founded KRAB, a listener-supported community radio station in Seattle, Washington. Throughout the 1960s, Milam traveled the country, providing technical and logistical support to a number of community radio outlets: a loose consortium of community stations that came to be known as the KRAB Nebula. By 1975, the National Alternative Radio Conference (NARK) brought together artists, musicians, journalists, and political activists with an interest in participatory, locally-oriented radio. Within a few months the National Federation of Community Broadcasters (NFCB) was established to represent the interests of the nascent community radio movement. Committed to providing "nonprofessional" individuals and marginalized groups with access to the airwaves, the NFCB played a pivotal role in the rise of community radio in the United States. Still active, the NFCB continues to promote noncommercial, community-based radio. Organizations such as the World Association for Community Broadcasters (AMARC) provide similar support services for the community radio movement worldwide.

While Americans were exploring the possibilities of participatory radio, Canadians turned their attention to television. In 1967, the Canadian National Film Board undertook one of the earliest and best known attempts to democratize television production. As part of the experimental broadcast television series *Challenge for Change*, The Fogo Island project brought the subjects of a television documentary into a new, collaborative relationship with filmmakers. Embracing and elaborating upon the tradition of the social documentary championed by Robert Flaherty and John Grierson, *Challenge for Change* undertook the ambitious and iconoclastic task of systematically involving the subjects of their films in the production process. Senior producer Colin Low and his crew invited island residents to contribute story ideas, screen and comment on rushes, and collaborate on editorial decisions. By involving island residents throughout the filmmaking process, producers sought to "open up" television production to groups and individuals with no formal training in program production. Initially conceived as a traditional, broadcast

documentary, the Fogo Island project evolved into the production of 28 short films that focused on discrete events, specific issues, and particular members of the Fogo Island community. The Fogo Island experience stands as a precursor to the community television movement. Not only did the project influence a generation of independent filmmakers and community television producers, the use of participatory media practices to enhance community communication, to spur and support local economic initiatives, and to promote a sense of common purpose and identity has become the hallmark of community media organizations around the world.

The dominance of commercial media in the United States made democratizing television production in this country far more challenging. In response to criticisms that American television was a "vast wasteland" the US Congress passed the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 which sought to bring the high quality entertainment and educational programming associated with public service broadcasting in Canada and the United Kingdom to American audiences. Throughout its troubled history—marked by incessant political pressure and chronic funding problems—the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) has provided American television audiences with engaging, informative, and provocative programming unlike anything found on commercial television. However, rather than decentralize television production and make television public in any substantive fashion, PBS quickly evolved into a fourth national television network. Although PBS remains an important outlet for independent film and video producers, the level of local community access and participation in public television production is minimal at best.

Significantly, the early days of public television in the United States provided the early community television movement with some important precedents and helped set the stage for public access television as we know it today. Throughout the mid-1960s, the development of portable video equipment coupled with an urgent need for programming prompted a unique, if sporadic, community-based use of public television. Media historian Ralph Engelman notes, "Early experimentation in the use of new equipment and in outreach to citizens took place on the margins of public television in the TV laboratories housed at WGBH-TV in Boston, KQED-TV in San Francisco, and WNET-TV in New York." These innovations, most notably, WGBH's *Catch 44* gave local individuals and groups an opportunity to reach a sizable, prime time, broadcast audience with whatever message they desired. These unprecedented efforts were short-lived, however, as public television quickly adopted programming strategies and practices associated with the commercial networks.

Recognizing public television's deficiencies, an assortment of media activists turned their attention away from broadcasting to the new technology of cable television. These media access advocates hoped to leverage the democratizing potential of portable video recording equipment with cable's "channels of abundance" to make television production available to the general public. In the late 1960s, New York City was the site of intense, often contentious, efforts to ensure local participation in cable television production and distribution. George Stoney—often described as the father of public access television in the United States—was a leading spokesperson for participatory, community oriented television in Manhattan.

Stoney began his career in the mid-1930s working in the rural South as part of the New Deal. Through his training as a journalist and educational filmmaker, Stoney understood the value of letting people speak for themselves through the media. The use of media to address local issues and concerns and to promote the exchange of perspectives

and ideas pervades Stoney's work as filmmaker and access television advocate. Following a successful term as executive producer for *Challenge for Change*, Stoney returned to the United States in 1970 and, with the his colleague, Canadian documentary filmmaker Red Burns, established the Alternative Media Center (AMC).

The AMC's legacy rests on its successful adaptation of the *Challenge for Change* model of participatory media production. Like the Canadian project, the AMC gave people the equipment and the skills to produce their own videotapes. Through the AMC, individual citizens and local nonprofit groups became active participants in the production of television programming by, for, and about their local communities. In addition, the Center provided the technical resources and logistical support for producing and distributing community oriented programming on local, regional, and national levels. One of the AMC's primary strategies was to train facilitators who would then fan out across the country and help organize community access centers. Over the next five years, the Alternative Media Center played a crucial role in shaping a new means of public communication: community television. Organizations such as the U.S.-based Alliance for Community Media and international groups like Open Channel, were created to promote community television through local outreach programs, regulatory reform measures, and media literacy efforts.

Like previous technological developments, computers and related technologies have been hailed as a great democratizing force. Much has been made of computer-mediated communication's (CMC) ability to enhance social interaction, bolster economic redevelopment, and improve civic participation in local communities. However, for those without access to computers—or the skills to make efficient and productive use of these tools—the Information Age may intensify social and political inequities. Community networking, like community radio and television, provides disenfranchised individuals and groups with access to communication technologies.

Early experiments in community networking date back to the mid-1970s. In Berkeley, California, the Community Memory project was established specifically to promote community cohesion and encourage community-wide dialogue on important issues of the day. Project administrators installed and maintained terminals in public spaces, such as libraries and laundromats, to encourage widespread use of these new technologies. Somewhat akin to public telephones, these computer terminals were coin operated. Although users could read messages free of charge, if users wanted to post a message, they were charged a nominal fee.

By the mid-1980s computer bulletin boards of this sort were becoming more common place. In 1984, Tom Grundner of Case Western University in Cleveland, Ohio created St. Silicon's Hospital: a bulletin board devoted to medical issues. Using the system, patients could ask for and receive advice from doctors and other health professionals. The bulletin board was an unprecedented success and quickly evolved into a city-wide information resource. After securing financial and technical support from AT&T, Grundner and his associates provided public access terminals throughout the city of Cleveland and dial up access for users with personal computers. The first of its kind, the Cleveland Free-Net uses a city metaphor to represent various types of information. For example, government information is available at the Courthouse & Government Center, cultural information is found in the Arts Building, and area economic resources are located in the Business and Industrial Park section. In addition to database access, the Cleveland Free-Net supports electronic mail and newsgroups. By the mid-1990s, most community

networks typically offered a variety of services including computer training, free or inexpensive e-mail accounts, and internet access.

Through the work of the now-defunct National Public Telecomputing Network (NPTN) Grundner's Free-Net model has been adopted by big cities and rural communities throughout the world. In countries with a strong public service broadcasting tradition like Australia and Canada, federal, state, and local governments have played a significant role in promoting community networking initiatives. In other instances, community networks develop through public-private partnerships. For instance, the Blacksburg Electronic Village (BEV) was established through the efforts of Virginia Tech, the city of Blacksburg, Virginia, and Bell Atlantic. A number of organizations such as the U.S.-based Association for Community Networking (AFCN), Telecommunities Canada, the European Alliance for Community Networking (EACN), and the Australian Public Access Network Association (APANA) promote community networking initiatives on local, regional, and national levels.

Like other forms of community media, community networks develop through strategic alliances between individuals, non-profit groups, businesses, government, social service agencies, and educational institutions; it is the spirit of collaboration between these parties that is central to efficacy of these systems. The relationships forged through these community-wide efforts and the social interaction these systems facilitate help create what community networking advocate Steve Cisler refers to as "electronic greenbelts": localities and regions whose economic, civic, social, and cultural environment is enhanced by communication and information technologies (CIT).

Due in part to their adversarial relationship, mainstream media tend to overshadow, and more often than not denigrate, the efforts of community media initiatives. The majority of popular press accounts depict community media organizations as repositories for depraved, alienated, racist, or anarchist slackers with too much time on their hands, and precious little on their minds. Writing in *Time Out New York*, a weekly entertainment guide in New York City, one critic likens community access television to Theater of the Absurd and feigns praise for access's ability to bring "Nose whistlers, dancing monkeys and hairy biker-chefs—right in your own living room!" Likewise, entertainment programs routinely dismiss community television out of hand. For example in their enormously popular *Saturday Night Live* skit—and subsequent blockbuster feature films—*Wayne's World's* Dana Carvey and Mike Meyers ridicule the crass content, technical inferiority, and self-indulgent style of community access television.

Although few community media advocates would deny the validity of such criticisms, the truly engaging, enlightening, and provocative output of community media organizations goes largely ignored. Yet, the sheer volume of community radio, television, and computer-generated material attests to the efficacy of grassroots efforts in promoting public access and participation in media production and distribution. Furthermore, this considerable output highlights the unwillingness, if not the inability, of commercial and public service media to serve the distinct and diverse needs of local populations. Most important, however, the wealth of innovative, locally-produced programming indicates that "non-professionals" can make creative, substantive, and productive use of electronic media.

Community media serve and reflect the interests of local communities in a number of unique and important ways. First, community media play a vital role in sustaining and preserving indigenous cultures. For instance, in Porcupine, South Dakota community radio

KILI produces programming for local Native Americans in the Lakota language. Similarly, in the Australian outback, Aboriginal peoples use community television to preserve their ancient cultural traditions and maintain their linguistic autonomy. Second, community media reflect the rich cultural diversity of local communities. For example, some of the most interesting sites on Victoria Australia's community network (VICNET) are the pages celebrating Victoria's multicultural heritage ([www.vicnet.net.au](http://www.vicnet.net.au)). These sites contain information of interest to Victorian's Irish, Polish, Hungarian, Vietnamese, and Filipino populations. Likewise, Manhattan Neighborhood Network (MNN) features a variety of programs that showcase Manhattan's eclecticism. On any given day, audiences can tune in to a serial titled *Glennnda and Friends* about "two socially-conscious drag queens," unpublished poetry and fiction by an expatriate Russian writer, a municipal affairs report, or *Each One Teach One* a program dedicated to African-American culture. Finally, community media play a decisive role in diversifying local cultures. Aside from celebrating the region's rich musical heritage, WFHB, community radio in Bloomington, Indiana, exposes local audiences to world music with programs like *Hora Latina* (Latin music), *The Old Changing Way* (Celtic music), and *Scenes from the Northern Lights* (music from Finland, Norway, and Sweden). What's more, WFHB brings local radio from America's heartland to the world via the internet ([www.wfhb.org](http://www.wfhb.org)). As corporate controlled media consolidate their domination of the communication industries and public service broadcasters succumb to mounting economic and political pressures, the prospects for more democratic forms of communication diminish. Community media give local populations a modest, but vitally important, degree of social, cultural, and political autonomy in an increasingly privatized, global communication environment.

—Kevin Howley

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## Community Theatre

Community theatre represents the majority of theatres in the United States, including community playhouses and university and college programs. Although the term "community theatre" has

disparate meanings the term can be applied generally to theatres—whether professional or not—that draw from their communities. The history of community theatre offers a unique perspective on the struggles between artistic endeavors and commercial profit in theatrical productions. While once a product of a movement to improve the artistic quality of theatrical productions, by the end of the twentieth century community theatre had become a venue more for community participation in the arts than a fertile source of avant-garde theatrical productions.

The roots of community theatre can be traced to the "Little Theatre" movement that started in the 1910s. The movement came as a reaction to the monopolistic "Syndicate" theatre system as well as an attempt to join the growing discourse about non-commercial theatre. According to Mary C. Henderson in her book, *Theater in America*, "The 'little-theater' movement, launched so spectacularly in Europe in the 1880s, finally reached America and stimulated the formation of groups whose posture was anti-Broadway and noisily experimental."

By 1895, touring companies became the primary source for theatrical entertainment in the United States. Theatrical producers Sam Nixon, Fred Zimmerman, Charles Frohman, Al Hayman, Marc Klaw, and Abraham Erlanger saw the opportunity to gain control of the American theatre and formed what came to be called "The Syndicate." The Syndicate purchased theatres across the country and blacklisted ones that refused to cooperate with its business practices. By 1900, the Syndicate monopolized the American theatre scene, and between 1900 and 1915, theatre became a mainly conservative and commercial venture. Due to public dissatisfaction, Frohman's death, and an anti-trust suit, the Syndicate system became largely ineffective by 1916.

During this period many of Europe's finest independent theatres began touring the United States; these included the Abbey Theatre (1911), the Ballets Russes (1916), and Théâtre du Vieux Colombier (1917-1919). Robert E. Gard and Gertrude S. Burley noted in *Community Theatre* that "Their tour aroused the antagonism of American citizens against the feeble productions of the commercial theatre, and seemed to be the catalyst that caused countless dramatic groups to germinate all over America, as a protest against commercial drama." In addition, the end of World War I led to a greater awareness of the European theatrical practices of France's Andre Antoine, Switzerland's Adolphe Appia, England's Gordon Craig, and Russia's Vsevolod Meyerhold and Konstantine Stanislavsky.

The publication of Sheldon Cheney's *Theatre Arts Magazine* (1916) helped to broaden audiences for non-commercial theatre and influenced its readers' thoughts surrounding commercial theatre. In 1917 Louise Burleigh wrote *The Community Theatre in Theory and Practice* in which she coined the phrase "Community Theatre" and defined it as "any organization not primarily educational in its purpose, which regularly produces drama on a noncommercial basis and in which participation is open to the community at large." Other publications such as Percy MacKaye's *The Playhouse and the Play* (1909) extolled the merits of "a theatre wholly divorced from commercialism."

During this time several little theatres established themselves. These included the Toy Theatre in Boston (1912); the Chicago Little Theatre (1912); the Neighborhood Playhouse in New York (1915); the Provincetown Players in Massachusetts (1915); the Detroit Arts and Crafts Theatre (1916); and the Washington Square Players (1918). By 1917 there were 50 little theatres, most of which had less

than 100 seats and depended upon volunteers for labor and subscribers for financial support. By 1925 almost 2,000 community or little theatres were registered with the Drama League of America. In her essay "Theatre Arts Monthly" and the Construction of the Modern American Theatre Audience, Dorothy Chansky observed that "The common goals of all these projects were to get Americans to see American theatre as art and not as mere frivolity."

Eventually, drama programs were introduced into colleges and universities. In 1903 George Pierce Baker taught the first course for playwrights at Radcliffe College and by 1925 he had established the Yale School of Drama, which provided professional theatre training. Graduates of Baker's program included such noted theatre artists as playwright Eugene O'Neill and designer Robert Edmund Jones. In 1914, Thomas Wood Stevens instituted the country's first degree-granting program in theatre at the Carnegie Institute of Technology. And by 1940, theatre education was widely accepted at many universities in the United States.

Community theatre was also aided by government support. As part of F. D. Roosevelt's Works Progress Administration (WPA), The Federal Theatre Project was established in 1935. Headed by Hallie Flanagan Davis, the project employed 10,000 persons in 40 states. During this time 1,000 productions were staged and more than half were free to the public. Despite its mandate to provide "free, adult, uncensored theatre," the political tone of some productions eventually alienated members of Congress and funding was discontinued in 1939. In 1965, however, the federal government established the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and also facilitated states in establishing individual arts councils. This, coupled with the inclusion of theatres as non-profit institutions, helped many community theatres remain operational. By 1990, the NEA's budget was cut drastically, but community theatres continued to thrive at the end of the twentieth century despite economic hardships.

Although the artistic ideals of the "Little Theatre" movement have been assumed by larger, professional regional theaters, the drive to produce theatre as a voluntary community activity remains solely in the realm of the community theatre. Though most community theatres no longer feature daring experimental works—offering instead local productions of popular plays and musicals—community theatres remain the most common source for community involvement in the theatrical arts.

—Michael Najjar

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## Como, Perry (1912—)

Crooner Perry Como rose to become one of the dominant American male vocalists of the 1940s and 1950s, and retained a rare degree of popularity over the decades that followed. He achieved his particular fame for the uniquely relaxed quality of his delivery that few have managed to emulate—indeed, so relaxed was he that his detractors considered the effect of his smooth, creamy baritone soporific rather than soothing, and a television comedian once parodied him as singing from his bed.

Born Pierino Como in Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, the seventh of 13 children of Italian immigrants, Como began learning the barber trade as a child, with the intention of buying his own shop as early as his teens. Forced by his mill-worker father to finish high school, he finally set up his own barber shop in 1929. In 1934 he auditioned as a vocalist with a minor orchestra, and sang throughout the Midwest for the next three years, before joining the Ted Weems Orchestra. The orchestra thrived until Weems disbanded it in 1943 when he joined the army, but by then Como had developed quite a following through the years of touring and performing on radio, and his effortless baritone was a popular feature of Ted Weems's 78 rpm records. CBS recruited Como to radio, thus starting him on what proved to be one of the most successful and long-running solo vocal careers of the



Perry Como

century. He also became a highly popular nightclub performer, and signed a recording contract with RCA Victor. Several of his singles sold over two million copies, one over three million, and he had many Top Ten and several number one hits over the years.

By late 1944 Perry Como had his own thrice-weekly radio show, *Supper Club*, on CBS, which from 1948 on was renamed *The Perry Como Show* and broadcast simultaneously on radio and television. He became one of the most popular of TV stars, keeping that show until 1963, and then hosting *The Kraft Music Hall* every few weeks until 1967. One of his noteworthy contributions to music as a radio showman was to invite Nat “King” Cole, R&B group The Ravens, and other black entertainers to guest on his program when most shows were still segregated, or featured blacks only in subservient roles.

In 1943 Como was signed to a motion picture contract by Twentieth Century-Fox. He appeared in *Something For The Boys* (1944), *Doll Face* (1945), *If I’m Lucky* (1946), and, at MGM, one of a huge all-star musical line-up in the Rodgers and Hart biopic, *Words and Music* (1948), but did not pursue a film career further, preferring to remain entirely himself, singing and playing host to musical shows. Como’s best-selling singles included “If I Loved You,” “Till the End of Time,” “Don’t Let the Stars Get In Your Eyes,” “If,” “No Other Love,” “Wanted,” “Papa Loves Mambo,” “Hot Diggity,” “Round and Round,” and “Catch a Falling Star”—for which he won a Grammy Award in 1958 for best male vocal performance. As well as his numerous chart-topping successes, he earned many gold discs, and recorded dozens of albums over the years, which continued to sell very well when the market for his singles tailed off towards the end of the 1950s. In 1968, however, he was approached to sing the theme song from *Here Come the Brides*, a popular ABC program. The resulting “Seattle” was only a minor hit, but it got Perry Como back on the pop charts after a four-year absence, and his singles career further revived in 1970 with “It’s Impossible,” which reached number ten on the general charts and number one on the Adult Contemporary charts.

After the 1960s, Como chose to ease himself away from television to spend his later years in his Florida home. Nevertheless, he continued to tour the United States twice a year well into the 1990s, enjoying popularity with an older audience. In 1987 he was a Kennedy Center honoree, and was among the inductees into the Television Academy Hall of Fame a few years later. Few performers have enjoyed such lasting success.

—David Lonergan

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## Compact Discs

With the 1983 mass market introduction of CDs (compact discs), the face of the music recording and retail industry changed dramatically. As the price of compact disc players tumbled from \$1,500 to

\$500 and below, CDs were quickly adopted by music consumers and pushed the long-playing vinyl record virtually off the market.

CDs offered extremely high sound quality, free from the scratches or needle dust “noise” found on vinyl records. Compact discs were the first introduction of digital technology to the general public. Records and tapes had been recorded using analog technology. Digital recording samples sounds and represents them as a series of numbers encoded in binary form and stored on the disc’s data surface. The CD player’s laser light reads this data and when it is converted back into an electric signal, it is then amplified and played through headphones or loudspeakers. On a CD nothing except light touches the disc with no wear to the recording. In addition to the superior sound of CDs, the new technology also allowed any song, or any part of a song, to be accessed quickly. Most CD players could be programmed to play specific songs, omit songs, or reorder them, providing a “customization” previously unavailable with cassette tapes or records.

While the portability of cassette tapes—with hand-held cassette players like the Sony Walkman and the ubiquity of cassette players in automobiles—slowed the domination of CDs in the market, manufacturers quickly produced products to offer the superior sound quality, flexibility, and longevity of CDs in automobiles and for personal use. By the end of the century, CD players that could hold several CDs at a time were installed in automobiles and people could carry personal CD players to listen to their favorite music with headphones while exercising. Although manufacturers and record companies had for the most part stopped manufacturing both cassette players and prerecorded tapes, cassette tapes continued to be used in home recording and in automobiles. By the late 1990s, cassettes were no longer a viable format for prerecorded popular music in the United States although they remained the most used format for sound recording worldwide.

The physical size of CDs altered the nature of liner notes and album covers. The large size of LP covers had long offered a setting for contemporary graphic design and artwork, but the smaller size of the CD package, or “jewel box,” made CD “cover art” an oxymoron. Liner notes and song lyrics became minuscule as producers tried to fit their material into 5-by-5 inch booklets. The “boxed set,” a collection of two or more CDs in a longer cardboard box, became popular as retrospectives for musicians and groups, collecting all of a musician or groups’ output including rare and unreleased material with a booklet of extensive notes and photographs. Ironically, the average playing time of a CD was more than 70 minutes but most albums continued to hold about 40 minutes of music, the amount available on LPs.

Though the long-playing records were technologically obsolete and no longer stocked on the shelves of major music retailers, they were still found in stores specializing in older recordings and used by rap and hip-hop performers who scratched and mixed records to make their music. LPs also experienced a minor resurgence in 1998 from sales to young people interested in the “original” sound of vinyl. Nevertheless, the CD had become the dominant medium for new music by the end of the century.

—Jeff Ritter

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## Concept Album

The concept album, initially defined as an LP (long-playing record) recording wherein the songs were unified by a dramatic idea instead of being disparate entities with no common theme, became a form of expression in popular music in the mid-1960s, thanks to The Beatles. Their 1967 release of *Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* is generally recognized as the first concept album, although ex-Beatle Paul McCartney has cited *Freak Out!*, an album released in 1966 by Frank Zappa and the Mothers of Invention, as a major influence on the conceptual nature of *Sergeant Pepper*. During the rest of the decade, the concept album remained the province of British artists. The Rolling Stones made an attempt—half-hearted, according to many critics—at aping the Beatles' artistic achievement with *Their Satanic Majesties Request* (1967). Other British rock bands, notably The Kinks and The Who, were able to bring new insights into the possible roles of the concept album in popular music, and it is at this point that the hard and fast definition of the concept album came to be slightly more subjective.

The Kinks, in a series of albums released in the late 1960s, mythologized the perceived decline of British working class values. The songs on these albums told the stories of representative characters and gave the albums on which they appeared conceptual continuity. If the lyrics were conceptually driven, the music was still straightforward rock 'n' roll. The Who, however, experimented with the form of the music as well as the lyrics, creating a conceptual structure unlike anything that had come before in rock music. Songwriter Pete Townshend was largely responsible for the band's best known work, *Tommy* (1969), also popularly known as the first "rock opera." This allegorical story of the title character, a "deaf, dumb and blind kid" who finds spiritual salvation in rock music and leads others towards the same end, was communicated as much through the lyrics as by the complex and classically-derived musical themes and motifs that appeared throughout the album's four sides.

*Tommy* was The Who's most ambitious and successful conceptual effort, but it was not the last. *Quadrophenia*, recorded in 1973, used the same style of recurring themes and motifs, but the characterization and storytelling in the lyrics was considerably more opaque than its predecessor. Both these works were adapted into films, and *Tommy* became a musical stage production in the early 1990s. Largely due to *Tommy*'s popularity, the concept album became synonymous with rock operas and rock and roll musical productions. The recordings of late 1960s and early 1970s works such as *Hair*, *Godspell*, and *Jesus Christ Superstar* are commonly referred to as concept albums, further broadening the scope of their definition.

The burgeoning faction of popular music known as progressive rock, which gained momentum in the late 1960s and early 1970s, embraced the form of the concept album and used it as a means to explore ever more high-flown and ambitious topics. Although the classical portion of the album did not necessarily tie into the concept, The Moody Blues nevertheless used the London Symphony Orchestra to aid in the recording of *Days of Future Passed* (1967), an album consisting entirely of songs that dealt with the philosophical nature of time. This work marked the concept album's transition from simply telling a story to actually being able to examine topics that were heretofore considered too lofty to be approached through the medium of rock music. The excesses to which critics accused progressive rock groups of going also tainted the image of the concept album, making it synonymous with pretentiousness in the minds of most contemporary

music fans. With such records as Jethro Tull's send-up of organized religion in *Aqualung* (1971) and *A Passion Play* (1973), Genesis' *The Lamb Lies Down on Broadway* (1974), an allegory of existential alienation, and Yes' *Tales from Topographic Oceans* (1974), a sprawling, overblown musical rendering of *Autobiography of a Yogi*, the concept album reached an absurd level of pomposity. When progressive rock became déclassé in the punk era of the late 1970s, the concept album was recognized as the symbol of its cultural and artistic excesses.

The concept album did not die out completely with the demise of progressive rock, just as it never was solely the province of that genre despite common misconceptions. Ambitious and brave, singer-songwriters periodically returned to this form throughout the late 1970s and the following decades. Notable among post-progressive rock concept albums were Dan Fogelberg's *The Innocent Age* (1981), Kate Bush's *Hounds of Love* (1985), Elvis Costello's *The Juliet Letters* (1993), and Liz Phair's *Exile in Guyville* (1993), a song-by-song response to the Rolling Stones' *Exile on Main Street*. A curious attribute of these latter day concept albums were their ability to produce popular songs that could be enjoyed on their own terms, apart from the overall conceptual nature of the albums to which they belonged.

Concept albums can be seen to embody two similar but separate camps: the epic, grandiose albums conceived by progressive rock groups, and the more subtle conceptually-based albums created by singer-songwriters who tended to veer away from what was considered to be the mainstream. These singer-songwriters took the baton proffered by The Beatles and The Who in a slightly different direction. Albums like Laura Nyro's *Christmas and the Beads of Sweat* (1970), Van Dyke Parks' *Song Cycle* (1968), and Lou Reed's *Berlin* (1973) directly influenced most of the post-progressive rock albums that were produced from the mid-1970s on.

Other genres of popular music were also infiltrated by the concept album phenomenon. Soul music in the 1970s was one example, evidenced by works such as Marvin Gaye's *What's Going On* (1971) and *Here, My Dear* (1978), Sly and the Family Stone's *There's a Riot Goin' On* (1971), and the outrageous science fiction storylines of several Funkadelic albums. Curtis Mayfield's soundtrack to the movie *Superfly* (1972) also deserves mention, having achieved an artistic success far beyond that of the film. Country and Western was another genre of popular music with its share of concept albums. It could be argued, according to author Robert W. Butts, that some Country and Western artists were attempting to make concept albums long before The Beatles came along; these artists displayed a desire to make their albums more meaningful than "a simple collection of tunes which would hopefully provide a hit or two." It was in the 1970s, however, with "the conscious and successful exploitation of the concept of a concept," according to Butts, that artists like Willie Nelson, Emmylou Harris, and Johnny Cash fully realized the potential of the concept album within the Country and Western genre.

While the concept album in all these genres may have served to raise the level of the respective art forms, the concept album in the cultural consciousness of the late twentieth century exists mainly as a symbol of excess and pseudo-intellectualism in popular music, forever branded by its association with progressive rock. The concept album did not cease to exist as a form of musical expression, but never again did it enjoy the hold it had on the imagination of record buyers, who viewed the phenomenon in the late 1960s and 1970s with



excitement, and who eventually became disenchanted with its further developments.

—Dan Coffey

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## Conceptual Art

Conceptual art transformed the art world beginning in the 1960s by shifting the focus of the work from the art object itself to the ideas and concepts that went into its creation. Such works rose to prominence as a reaction to Western formalist art and to the art writings of Clement Greenberg, Roger Fry, and Clive Bell, theorists who championed the significance of form and modernism. Not far removed from the ideas of the Dadaist movement of the early twentieth century and artist Marcel Duchamp's ready-mades, conceptualism insists that ideas, and the implementations of them, become the art itself; often there is an absence of an actual object. Conceptual art worked in the spirit of postmodernism that pervaded post-1960s American culture.

Joseph Kosuth, one of the primary participants and founders of the conceptual art movement, first formulated the ideas of the movement in his writings of 1969, "Art After Philosophy, I and II". Along with Sol Lewitt's 1967 treatise "Paragraphs on Conceptual Art" (which coined the term "conceptual art"), this article defined the basic ideas of the movement. In general, conceptual art has a basis in political, social, and cultural issues; conceptual art reacts to the moment. Many conceptual art pieces have addressed the commercialization of the art world; rebelling against the commodification of art, artists employed temporary installations or ephemeral ideas that were not saleable. As a result, all art, not just conceptual pieces, has since moved outside of traditional exhibition spaces such as galleries and museums and into the public sphere, broadening the audience. The expansion of viable art venues allowed for a widening scope of consideration of worthy artworks. With the prompting of conceptual artists, photography, bookworks, performance, and installation art all were validated as important art endeavors.

Conceptual artists such as Sol LeWitt, Joseph Kosuth, John Baldassari, and the British group Art and Language created works that were self-referential; the work became less about the artist and the creative process and more about the concepts behind the work. Contemporary artists like Barbara Kruger and Jenny Holzer adapted such tenets from earlier works, and used them in a more pointed way

in the 1980s and 1990s. Their work, along with many other contemporary artists' work, addresses specific political and social issues such as race, gender, and class. Such works attempt to reach beyond an educated art audience to a general population, challenging all who encounter it to reevaluate commonly held stereotypes.

—Jennifer Jankauskas

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## Condé Nast

Condé Nast is the name for both a worldwide publishing company and the man who founded it. Condé Nast (1873-1942), the man, was noted for his innovative publishing theories and flair for nurturing readers and advertisers. With the purchase and upgrading of *Vogue* in 1909, he established the concept of specialized or class publications, magazines that direct their circulation to a particular group or class of people with common interests. By 1998, Condé Nast Publications, Inc. (CNP) held 17 such titles, many of which are the largest in their respective markets. Like its founder, the magazine empire is one of the most powerful purveyors of popular culture, with an average circulation of over 13 million readers a month and an actual readership of more than five times that. The company, now owned by illustrious billionaire S.I. Newhouse, continues to be the authority for many aspects of popular culture.

After purchasing *Vogue* in 1909, Condé Nast transformed its original format as a weekly society journal for New York City elites (established in 1892) to a monthly magazine devoted to fashion and beauty. Over the century, and with a series of renowned editors, *Vogue* became a preeminent fashion authority in the United States and abroad. Its dominance and innovation spanned the course of the century, from its transition to a preeminent fashion authority (under the first appointed editor, Edna Woolman Chase); to the middle of the century when *Vogue* published innovative art and experimented with modernistic formats; and during the end of the century, when editor Anna Wintour (appointed in 1988) redirected the focus of the magazine to attract a younger audience.

Condé Nast bought an interest in *House & Garden* in 1911, and four years later took it over completely. Nast transformed the magazine from an architectural journal into an authority on interior design, thereby establishing another example of a specialized publication. Around this time, Condé Nast refined his ideas about this approach to magazine publishing. In 1913 Nast told a group of merchants: "Time and again the question of putting up fiction in *Vogue* has been brought up; those who advocated it urging with a good show of reason that the addition of stories and verse would make it easy to maintain a much

larger circulation. That it would increase the *quantity* of our circulation we granted, but we were fearful of its effect on the ‘class’ value.”

In 1914, Nast introduced *Vanity Fair*, a magazine that became an entertaining chronicle of arts, politics, sports, and society. Over a period of 22 years, *Vanity Fair* was a Jazz Age compendium of wit and style but attracted fewer than 100,000 readers a month. Perhaps because it was too eclectic for its time, the original *Vanity Fair* eventually failed altogether (and merged with *Vogue* in 1936). After a 46-year absence, however, CNP revived the magazine in 1983, with a thick, glossy, and “self-consciously literate” format. After nearly a year of stumbling through an identity crisis, Newhouse brought in the 30-year-old British editor Tina Brown (who later served as editor of *The New Yorker*), who remade *Vanity Fair* into a successful guide to high-rent popular culture, featuring celebrity worship, careerism, and a glossy peek inside the upper class.

In general, Condé Nast magazines were innovative not only for their content but also for their format. In order to have the preeminent printing available at the time, Condé Nast decided to be his own printer in 1921, through the purchase of a small interest in the now defunct Greenwich, Connecticut, Arbor Press. Despite the hard times that followed the 1929 stock market crash, Condé Nast kept his magazines going in the style to which his readers were accustomed. Innovative typography and designs were introduced, and within the pages of *Vogue*, *Vanity Fair*, and *House & Garden*, color photographs appeared. In 1932, the first color photograph appeared on the cover of *Vogue*.

*Glamour* was the last magazine Condé Nast personally introduced to his publishing empire (1939), but the growth did not end there. In 1959, a controlling interest in what was now Condé Nast Publications Inc. was purchased by S.I. Newhouse. Later that same year, *Brides* became wholly owned by CNP, and CNP acquired Street & Smith Publications, Inc., which included titles such as *Mademoiselle* and the *Street & Smith’s* sports annuals (*College Football*, *Pro Football*, *Baseball*, and *Basketball*). Twenty years later, *Gentleman’s Quarterly* (popularly known as *GQ*) was purchased from Esquire, Inc., and *Self* was introduced. *Gourmet* was acquired in 1983, the same year that saw the revival of *Vanity Fair*. Rounding out the collection, CNP added *Condé Nast Traveler* in 1987, *Details* in 1988, *Allure* in 1991, *Architectural Digest* and *Bon Appetit* in 1993, *Womens’ Sports and Fitness* (originally *Condé Nast Sports for Women*) in 1997, and *Wired* magazine in 1998. Advance Publications (the holding company that owns CNP) acquired sole ownership of *The New Yorker* in 1985, but it did not become a member of the CNP clan until 1999. In 1999, CNP moved into its international headquarters in the Condé Nast Building, located in the heart of Manhattan’s Times Square. Additionally, there are number of branch offices throughout the United States for the more than 2,400 employed in CNP domestic operations.

Condé Nast’s influence on American magazine publishing has been considerable, for he introduced the specialized publications that have since come to dominate the American magazine market. And CNP, with its family of popular publications claiming a total readership of over 66 million, and exposure even beyond that, has exerted a lasting influence of American culture. With such a large reach, CNP publications are a favorite of advertisers, who use the magazines pages to reach vast numbers of consumers. As a source of culture, CNP covers a variety of subjects, although none more heavily than the beauty and lifestyle industries.

—Julie Scelfo

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## Condoms

Once kept in the back of pharmacies, condoms have become common and familiar items in the 1980s and 1990s because of the AIDS crisis. Apart from sexual abstinence, condoms represent the safest method of preventing the transmission of the HIV virus through sexual intercourse, and, consequently, condoms figure prominently in safer-sex campaigns. The increase in demand has led to a diversified production to suit all tastes, so that condoms have been marketed not only as protective items but also as toys that can improve sex. Condoms are so ubiquitous that conservative writer Richard Panzer has despaired that we all live in a Condom Nation and a world of latex.

Condoms are as old as history: a type of modern-day condom may have been used by the Egyptians as far back as 1000 B.C. History blends with myth, and several legends record the use of primitive condoms: Minos, the king of Crete who defeated the Minotaur, is said to have had snakes and scorpions in his seed which killed all his lovers. He was told to put a sheep’s bladder in their vaginas, but he opted instead to wear small bandages soaked with alum on his penis. Condoms have been discussed by writers as diverse as, to name but a few, William Shakespeare (who called it “the Venus glove”), Madame de Sévigné, Flaubert, and the legendary lover Giacomo Casanova.

If it is difficult to come up with a date of birth for condoms, it is even more complicated, perhaps quite appropriately, to establish who fathered (or mothered) them. Popular belief attributes the invention of condoms and their name to a certain Dr. Condom, who served at the court of the British King Charles II. According to a more scientific etymology, the name derives from the Latin “condere” (to hide) or “condus” (receptacle).

Early condoms were expensive and made of natural elements such as lengths of sheep intestine sewn closed at one end and tied with a ribbon around the testicles. Modern rubber condoms were created immediately after the creation of vulcanized rubber by Charles Goodyear in the 1840s and have been manufactured with latex since the 1930s. Also called “sheath,” “comebag,” “scumbag,” “cap,” “capote,” “French letter,” or “Port Said garter,” a condom is a tube of thin latex rubber with one end closed or extended into a reservoir tip. In the 1980s and 1990s condoms have appeared on the market in



Workers of the Gay Men's Health Crisis hand out free Valentine's condoms and AIDS information.

different shapes, colors, flavors, lubrications, and sizes. Some are equipped with ribs, bumps, dots, or raised spirals to enhance stimulation. The safe-sex message originally associated with condoms is now being complemented by the marketing strategy claiming that using condoms is fun, and some are even intended to be used for entertainment only (and not for protection from disease or pregnancy).

Once seen as a great turn off, the condom has appeared with increasing frequency in (mainly) gay porno movies, especially, although not exclusively, in the educational safer-sex shorts produced by AIDS charities and groups of activists. As Jean Carlomusto and Gregg Bordowitz have summarized, the aim of these safer-sex shorts is to make people understand that "you can have hot sex without placing yourself at risk for AIDS." This has raised important questions about the possibility of using pornography as pedagogy. This new use of pornography as a vehicle for safer-sex involves, as safer-sex short director Richard Fung has pointed out, a "dialogue with the commercial porn industry, about the representation of both safer-sex, and racial and ethnic difference."

Looking at the dissemination of "condom discourse" one might be tempted to conclude that society has finally become more liberated. There are condom shops, condom ads, condom jokes, condom

gadgets such as key-rings, condom shirts, condom pouches, condom web-sites with international condom clubs from where chocolate lovers can top off their evening with the perfect no-calorie dessert: the hot fudge condom. Yet how effective really is this "commodification of prophylaxis" (to use Gregory Woods's words) in terms of prevention and saving of human lives? Is it, in the end, just another stratagem to speak about everything else but health care and human rights?

—Luca Prono

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## Coney Island

Coney Island, with its beach, amusement parks, and numerous other attractions, became emblematic of nineteenth- and early- twentieth-century urban condition while at the same time providing relief from the enormous risks of living in a huge metropolis. On Coney Island, both morals and taste could be transgressed. This was the place where the debate between official and popular culture was first rehearsed, a debate which would characterize the twentieth century in America.

Discovered just one day before Manhattan in 1609 by explorer Henry Hudson, Coney Island is a strip of sand at the mouth of New York’s natural harbor. The Canarsie Indians, its original inhabitants, had named it “Place without Shadows.” In 1654 the Indian Guilaouch, who claimed to be the owner of the peninsula, traded it for guns, gunpowder, and beads, similar to the more famous sale of Manhattan. The peninsula was known under many names, but none stuck until people called it Coney Island because of the presence of an extraordinary number of coney, or rabbits.



Coney Island, 1952.

In 1823 the first bridge which would connect Manhattan to the island was built, and Coney Island, with its natural attractions, immediately became the ideal beach resort for the ever-growing urban population of Manhattan. By the mid-nineteenth century large resort hotels had been built. Corrupt political boss John Y. McKane ruled the island, turning a blind eye to the gangsters, con men, gamblers, and prostitutes who congregated on the west end of the island. In 1865 the railroad finally allowed the metropolitan masses their weekend escape to Coney Island, and the number of visitors grew enormously, creating a great demand for entertainment and food. The hot dog was invented on Coney Island in the 1870s. In 1883 the Brooklyn Bridge made the island even more accessible to the Manhattan masses, who flocked to the island’s beach, making it the most densely occupied place in the world. The urban masses demanded to be entertained, however, thus the need for pleasure became paramount in the island’s development. Typical of the time, what happened on Coney Island was the attempt to conjugate the quest for pleasure and the obsession with progress.

The result was the first American “roller coaster,” the Switchback Railway, built by LaMarcus Adna Thompson in 1884. In 1888, the short-lived Flip-Flap coaster, predecessor of the 1901 Loop-the-Loop, used centrifugal force to keep riders in their seats, and an amazed public paid admission to watch. By 1890 the use of electricity made it possible to create a false daytime, thus prolonging entertainment to a full twenty-four hours a day.

The nucleus of Coney Island was Captain Billy Boyton’s Sea Lion Park, opened in 1895, and made popular by the first large Shoot-the-Chutes ride in America. In competition with Boyton, George C. Tilyou opened Steeplechase Park in 1897, where science and technology came together for pleasure and Victorian inhibitions were lifted. The park was centered around one of the most popular rides on Coney Island, the Steeplechase Race Course, in which four couples “raced” each other atop wheeled, wooden horses. Steeplechase Park burned in 1907, but Tilyou rebuilt and reopened it the following year, and it remained in operation until 1964.

When Boyton went broke, Frederic Thompson and Elmer Dundy took over Sea Lion Park, remodeled it and opened it as Luna Park in 1903. Luna was a thematic park where visitors could even board a huge airship and experience an imaginative journey to the moon from one hundred feet in the air. Coney Island was the testing ground for revolutionary architectural designs, and Luna Park was an architectural spectacle, a modern yet imaginary city built on thirty-eight acres and employing seventeen hundred people during the summer season, with its own telegraph office, cable office, wireless office, and telephone service. For Thompson, Luna Park was an architectural training ground before he moved to Manhattan to apply his talent to a real city. Luna Park eventually fell into neglect and burned in 1944. The land became a parking lot in 1949.

In the meantime, Senator William H. Reynolds was planning a third park on Coney Island, “the park to end all parks.” The new park was aptly called Dreamland. In Reynolds’s words, this was “the first time in the History of Coney Island Amusement that an effort has been made to provide a place of Amusement that appeals to all classes.” Ideology had got hold of entertainment. Opening in 1904, Dreamland was located by the sea and was noticeable for its lack of color—everything was snow white. The general metaphor was that Dreamland represented a sort of underwater Atlantis. There were detailed reconstructions of various natural disasters—the eruption of Vesuvius at Pompeii, the San Francisco earthquake, the burning of

Rome—as well as a simulated ride in a submarine, two Shoot-the-Chute rides, and, interestingly, the Incubator Hospital, where premature babies were nursed. Other Dreamland attractions were the Blue Dome of Creation, the “Largest Dome in the World,” representing the universe; the “End of the World according to the Dream of Dante”; three theaters; a simulated flight over Manhattan—before the first airplane had flown; a huge model of Venice; a complete replica of Switzerland; and the Japanese Teahouse. One of the most important structures of Dreamland was the Beacon Tower, 375 feet high and illuminated by one hundred thousand electric lights, visible from a distance of more than thirty miles. Dreamland was a success insofar as it reproduced almost any kind of experience and human sensation. In May 1911, just before a more efficient fire-fighting apparatus was due to be installed, a huge fire broke out fanned by a strong sea wind. In only three hours Dreamland was completely destroyed. It was Coney’s last spectacle. Manhattan took over as the place of architectural invention.

In 1919, Coney Island seemed to regain a sparkle of its old glory when the idea circulated of building a gigantic Palace of Joy—a sort of American Versailles for the people—which would be a pier containing five hundred private rooms, two thousand private bath houses, an enclosed swimming pool, a dance hall, and a skating rink. Sadly, the Palace of Joy was never built. Soon, the main attraction of Coney Island became again its beach, an overcrowded strip of land. In the hand of Commissioner Robert Moses, the island fell under the jurisdiction of the Parks Department. In 1957, the New York Aquarium was established on the island, a modernist building which had nothing of the revolutionary, dreamlike structure of the buildings of Reynolds’s era. By now 50 percent of Coney Island’s surface had become parks again. Nature’s sweet revenge.

—Anna Notaro

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## Confession Magazines

During their first 175 years of existence, American magazines preached long and occasionally in loud tone on personal morality, but rare was the published foray into the real lives of lower-class Americans. That oversight ended in 1919 with the introduction of *True Stories*, the first of what came to be known as confession magazines. Founded by health and physical fitness zealot Bernarr

Macfadden, *True Stories* “had the conscious ring of public confession, such as is heard in a Salvation Army gathering, or in an old-fashioned testimony meeting of Southern camp religionists,” according to Macfadden’s first biographer Fulton Oursler.

It and other confession magazines were “a medium for publishing the autobiographies of the unknown,” as one editor explained, a substitute among the poor for lawyers, doctors, and educators. Although *True Stories* eventually reached a circulation of 2.5 million during the 1930s, it cost less to produce than most other magazines, and therefore earned as much as \$10,000 a day for its founder. *True Stories* and other confession magazines also provided a valuable outlet for otherwise disconnected people to learn appropriate private and public social behavior. During times of rapid change, these magazines helped women to re-establish their identities through the experiences of other women like themselves. Most importantly, in an era when sex was rarely mentioned in public, the confession magazines taught both women and men that sex was natural, healthy, and enjoyable under appropriate circumstances.

The first American magazines were written for upper-class men. Beginning in the 1820s, sections and eventually titles were aimed at upper-class women, but they were written in a highly moralistic tone because women were considered to be the cultural custodians and moral regulators of society. Belles lettres, popular moralistic fiction, became the staple of mid-nineteenth century women’s magazines such as *Godey’s Ladies Book* and *Peterson’s*. Writers sentimentalized about courtship and marriage but offered little practical information on sex to readers. Another generation of women’s magazines appeared after the Civil War, including *McCall’s*, *Ladies Home Journal*, and *Good Housekeeping*. These magazines attracted massive circulations, but were focused on the rapidly changing domestic duties of women, still carried a highly moralistic tone, and had little to say about sex. Even into the twentieth century, the advertising and editorial content of women’s magazines reflected prosperity, social status, and consumerism; hardly the core problems of everyday existence for the lower classes.

The first confession magazine publisher was born August 16, 1868, in Mill Springs, Missouri. Before Bernarr Macfadden was ten, his father had died of an alcohol-related disease and his mother from tuberculosis. Relatives predicted the sickly, weak boy would die young as well. Shifted from relative to relative, the young Macfadden dropped out of school and worked at an assortment of laborer jobs, learning how to set newspaper type in 1885. But he was drawn into the world of physical culture as a teen. He studied gymnastics and physical fitness in St. Louis and developed his body and health as he coached and taught others. To raise money to promote his ideas on exercise and diet, he wrestled professionally and promoted touring wrestling matches. In 1899 he founded *Physical Culture*, a magazine that was devoted to “health, strength, vitality, muscular development, and the general care of the body.” It was the forerunner of contemporary health and fitness publications. Macfadden argued that “weakness is a crime” and offered instruction on physical development. Macfadden’s diets were opposed by medical authorities and the nude or nearly nude photographs in his magazine and advertising circulars came under the scrutiny of obscenity crusader Anthony Comstock and his followers. Macfadden was fined \$2,000 for a *Physical Culture* article in 1907 and the magazine is considered to be the start of the nude magazine industry.

*Physical Culture* was immensely popular, climbing to a circulation of 340,000 by the early 1930s. Macfadden made large profits with it and other publishing ventures including books such as *What a*

*Young Husband Ought to Know* and *What a Young Woman Ought to Know*. His wife Mary later claimed that she suggested he expand his publishing horizons beyond physical fitness around the time of World War I. She had read the thousands of letters to the editor that poured into *Physical Culture* detailing why punching bags, lifting dumbbells, and doing deep knee bends did not always change an individual's love life. Other letters revealed how so-called fallen women who had discovered physical culture had found new lives for themselves as wives and mothers. "The folly of transgression, the terrible effects of ignorance, the girls who had not been warned by wise parents—a whole series of tragedies out of the American soil were falling, day after day, on the desk of [*Physical Culture*'s] editor," Macfadden's biographer Fulton Oursler explained.

In May 1919, the first issue of *True Story* appeared with the motto "Truth is stranger than fiction." For 20 cents a copy, twice the price of most other magazines, readers received 12 stories with titles such as "A Wife Who Awoke in Time" and "My Battle with John Barleycorn." Most of the protagonists were sympathetic characters, innocent, lower-class women who appealed to a feminine readership. Instead of drawings, live models were photographed in a clinch of love or clad in pajamas while a man brandished a pistol, adding more realism to the confessions. The first cover featured a man and woman looking longingly at each other with the caption, "And their love turned to hated!" The magazine also offered "\$1,000.00 for your life romance," a cheap price compared to what many magazines paid for professional contributions. The result was an immediate success, selling 60,000 issues, and the circulation quickly climbed into the millions.

Between 1922 and 1926, Macfadden capitalized on *True Stories* by producing a host of related titles, including *True Romances*, *True Love and Romances*, and *True Experiences*. Young Hollywood hopefuls such as Norma Shearer, Jean Arthur, and Frederic March were used in *True Story* photographs. Movie shorts featuring dramatizations of the magazine's stories were shown in theaters simultaneously with publication. A weekly "True Story Hour" started on network radio in 1928, and editions were published in England, Holland, France, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries. Imitators quickly appeared, each using some combination of the words true, story, romance, confessions, and love. The most successful was *True Confessions*, founded by Wilford H. Fawcett in 1922, who was a one-time police reporter for the *Minneapolis Journal*. Fawcett's first publication, *Captain Billy's Whiz Bang*, started as a mimeographed naughty joke and pun sheet in 1919, and went on to become the male magazine metaphor for the 1920s decline of morality and flaunting of sexual immodesty. *Captain Billy's Whiz Bang* was memorialized in fellow Minnesotan Meredith Willson's 1962 Broadway musical *Music Man* in a recitation attached to the song "Trouble." *True Confessions* attracted a circulation in the millions and became the cornerstone of Fawcett Publications, which eventually included titles such as *Mechanix Illustrated* and comic books like *Captain America*.

By its own 1941 account, *True Story* and its imitators were magazines for the lower classes, readers too unsophisticated, uneducated, and poor to be of interest to other magazines or advertisers. They "made readers of the semi-literate" as the wife of one editor said. Still, a rise in the standard of living during the 1920s meant that lower-class readers finally had enough income to buy magazines. The confession magazines gave them a forum to air their concerns and share solutions in ways not possible in any other publications. Magazine historian Theodore Peterson maintained that confession

magazines were not a new innovation, just another spin on the old rule that sex and crime sell. Before confession magazines there was sob sister journalism, the sentimentalized reporting of crimes of passion and other moral tales in newspapers. Before newspapers, there were fictionalized first-person narratives detailing the temptations of young women such as *Moll Flanders*. And before novels there were seventeenth-century broadsides, written in the first person with a strong moralizing tone, describing the seductions and murders of scullery maids and mistresses. Bernarr Macfadden and his wife Mary simply rediscovered an old formula and applied it the magazine industry.

The mainstream press was predictably critical of confession magazines. At their best, they were considered mindless entertainment for the masses. At their worst, confession magazines parlayed to the worst common denominator of the lower classes; sex and reproduction. *Time* maintained that *True Story* set "the fashion in sex yarns." A writer in *Harper's* complained that "to pound into empty heads month after month the doctrine of comparative immunity cannot be particularly healthy" and that "it is impossible to believe that the chronic reader of 'confessions' has much traffic with good books." Interestingly, a 1936 survey of *True Story* readers showed that a majority believed in birth control, thought wives shouldn't work, opposed divorce, and were religious yet tolerant of other faiths. A study of *True Story* between 1920 and 1985 revealed that the magazine reinforced traditional notions of motherhood and femininity, and challenged rather than supported patriarchal class relations.

Macfadden continued to champion genuine reader confessionals in his publications during the 1920s and ordered that manuscripts should be edited for grammatical mistakes only. Subsequent editors established more control over their productions, beginning with *True Stories'* William Jordan Rapp in 1926. Professionals were hired to rewrite and create stories, especially after Macfadden was successfully sued for libel in 1927. Still, a survey of 41 *True Story* contributors in 1983 revealed that 16 had written of personal experiences, had never published a story before, and did not consider themselves to be professional writers. Macfadden lost interest in his confession magazines, becoming involved in the founding of the *New York Daily Graphic* newspaper in 1924, "the *True Confessions* of the newspaper world." The newspaper failed in 1932, losing millions of dollars but it created a sensation among lower-class newspaper readers.

By 1935, the combined circulation of Macfadden's magazines was 7.3 million, more than any other magazine publisher, but he was forced to sell his holdings in 1941 following accusations that he had used company funds to finance unsuccessful political campaigns, including a bid for the Republican presidential nomination in 1936. Macfadden died a pauper in 1955, succumbing to jaundice aggravated by fasting, failing to live 150 years as he had predicted. *True Stories* took a more service-oriented path after World War II, offering food, fashion, beauty, and even children's features. The major confession magazines had an aggregate circulation of more than 8.5 million in 1963. The successors of Macfadden Publications acquired the major contenders to *True Stories*; *True Confessions* in 1963 and *Modern Romances* in 1978, and continue to publish confessional magazines, but circulation and advertising revenues have dropped. Soap operas, made-for-television movies, and cable channels such as Lifetime and the Romance Channel compete for potential readers along with supermarket tabloids such as the *National Enquirer*. As well, lower-class readers are better educated and have more options for guidance or help in their personal lives. In the end, the ultimate legacy of the confession magazines, beyond giving readers information on sex and

appropriate social behavior, will be that they truly put the word mass in mass media.

—Richard Digby-Junger

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## Coniff, Ray (1916—)

Through a unique combination of genuine musical talent fused with a keen sense of both commercial trends and evolving recording technologies of the 1950s, arranger/conductor/instrumentalist Ray Coniff emerged as one of the most popular and commercially successful musicians during the dawn of the stereo age in the late 1950s. Coniff carried on the big band sound long beyond the music's original heyday in the 1940s, and charted 53 albums between 1957 and 1974, including two million-sellers, and 13 other LPs that reached the Top Ten and/or went gold.

Coniff was born into a musical family in Attleboro, Massachusetts, on November 6, 1916, and followed in his father's musical footsteps when he became the lead trombonist of the Attleboro High School dance band (in which he also gained his first arranging

experience). After graduating in 1934 he pursued a musical career in Boston, and in 1936 moved to New York where he became involved with the emerging swing movement of the late 1930s and early 1940s, playing, arranging, and recording for such top names as Bunny Berigan, Bob Crosby, Glen Gray, and Artie Shaw. With the advent of World War II, Coniff spent two years in the army arranging for the Armed Forces Radio Service, and upon his discharge in 1946 continued arranging for Shaw, Harry James, and Frank DeVol.

But by the late 1940s the Big Band swing era in which Coniff had made his first mark was coming to an end, and, as one source put it, "Unable to accept the innovations of bop, he left music briefly around 1950." While freelancing at various nonmusical jobs to support his wife and three children, Coniff also made a personal study of the most popular and commercially successful recordings of the day in an effort to develop what he hoped might prove a new and viable pop sound. His efforts paid off in 1955 when Coniff was hired by Columbia Records. At Columbia he was soon providing instrumental backup for chart-toppers by the label's best artists, among them Don Cherry's "Band of Gold," which hit the Top Ten in January 1956, Guy Mitchell's "Singing the Blues," Marty Robbins's "A White Sport Coat," and two million-sellers by Johnny Mathis.

His singles arrangements led to Coniff's first album under his own name: *S'Wonderful!* (1956) sold half a million copies, stayed in the Top 20 for nine months, and garnered Coniff the Cash Box vote for "Most promising up-and-coming band leader of 1957." Coniff's unique yet highly commercial sound proved irresistible to both listeners and dancers (and stereophiles) and *S'Wonderful!* launched a long series of LPs, the appeal of which has endured into the digital age.

The classic sound of the Ray Coniff Orchestra and Singers was a simple, but unique, and instantly recognizable blend of instrumentals and choral voices doubling the various orchestral choirs with "ooooo," "ahs," and Coniff's patented "da-da-das." His imaginative arrangements were grounded in the solid 1940s big band sound of his early years, while now placing a greater emphasis on recognizable melody lines only slightly embellished by improvisation. Touches of exotic instrumentation such as harp and clavinet sometimes also found their way into the orchestrations. This jazz-tinged but accessibly commercial sound was backed up by danceable, sometimes electrified modern beats derived in equal parts from the classic shuffle rhythms which Coniff made his own, and more contemporary Latin and rock-derived rhythms. Coniff's initially wordless backup chorus soon graduated to actual song lyrics and, as the Ray Coniff Singers, recorded many successful albums on their own.

The emergence of commercial stereo in the late 1950s emphatically influenced the new Coniff sound, and his Columbia albums brilliantly utilized the new stereophonic, multitrack techniques. Even today they remain showcases of precise, highly defined, and processed stereo sound. Coniff's popularity on records during this period led to live performances, and with his popular "Concert in Stereo" tours the maestro was among the first artists to accurately duplicate the electronically enhanced studio sound of his recordings in a live concert hall setting.

Coniff's best and most enduringly listenable albums date from the period of his initial popularity on Columbia Records in the late 1950s and early 1960s: among them, *Say It with Music* (1960), probably his best and glossiest instrumental album, and *It's the Talk of the Town* (1959) and *So Much in Love* (1961), both with the Ray Coniff Singers. These albums and much of Coniff's original Columbia repertory were drawn mostly from the popular, Broadway, and movie song standards that also had been favored in the big band era.

Coniff also recorded two *Concert in Rhythm* albums showcasing rhythmic pop adaptations of melodies by Tchaikovsky, Chopin, Puccini, and other classical composers. But as his popularity and repertory grew, an increasing emphasis was placed on the contemporary Hit Parade. “*Memories Are Made of This*” (1963), with its calculated awareness of “Top 40” teen hits, was a prophetic album in this respect. By the late 1960s Coniff exclusively recorded contemporary songs, and two vocal albums, *It Must Be Him*, and *Honey*, both went gold.

Coniff’s sales fell off after 1962 but were revived in 1966 by the release of *Somewhere My Love*. The album’s title tune was a vocal adaptation of French composer Maurice Jarre’s orchestral “Lara’s Theme” from the popular 1965 film version of the Boris Pasternak novel *Doctor Zhivago*, and the LP won Coniff a Grammy, hitting No. 1 on both the pop and easy listening charts. While *Somewhere* put Coniff back on the charts, it also ensconced his sound in the “easy listening” mode which would more or less persist throughout the rest of his prolific recording career. (It also might be noted that in 1966 Coniff shared the million-seller charts with the Beatles, the Monkees, and the Mindbenders.)

Coniff continued recording and performing his popular international tours and Sahara Hotel engagements at Lake Tahoe and Las Vegas through the 1980s and 1990s. In March of 1997, at age 80 and after a 40-year collaboration with Columbia/CBS Records/Sony Music that resulted in more than 90 albums selling over 65 million copies, Coniff signed a new recording contract with Polygram Records which released his one hundredth album, *I Love Movies. My Way*, an album of songs associated with Frank Sinatra, was released in 1998.

—Ross Care

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## Connors, Jimmy (1952—)

Born September 2, 1952 in East St. Louis, Illinois, James Scott (Jimmy) Connors started playing tennis at the age of two, and grew up to become one of the most recognizable and successful pros in the history of the sport. His rise to the top of the game helped spark the tennis boom that took place in America in the mid-1970s, bringing unprecedented numbers of spectators out to the stands. Like his equally competitive (and even more temperamental) compatriot John McEnroe, tennis fans either loved Connors or hated him. His determination, intensity, and will to win could be denied by no one, and his penchant for becoming embroiled in controversial disputes over tour policy was legendary.

As was the case with his one-time fiancée, American tennis legend Chris Evert, Connors was raised to play the game by a determined parent who also happened to be a teaching pro. Gloria Thompson Connors had her son swinging at tennis balls even before he could lift his racket off the ground; this early training, combined



Jimmy Connors

with Connors’ natural ability and never-say-die attitude, paved the way for his later success. At the 1970 United States Open in Forest Hills, an 18-year-old and still unknown Connors teamed with his much older mentor Pancho Gonzalez to reach the quarterfinals in doubles. A year later, while attending the University of California at Los Angeles, Connors would become the first freshman ever to win the National Intercollegiate Singles title. But neither that honor, nor his All-American status, was enough to prevent him from dropping out of school in 1972 to become a full-time participant on the men’s pro circuit.

Connors finished 1973 sharing the number one ranking in the United States with Stan Smith. The next year he reigned supreme, not just in the States but around the world. Winner of an unbelievable 99 out of 103 matches, and 14 of the 20 tournaments he entered (including the Australian Open, Wimbledon, the United States Open, and the United States Clay Court Championships), Connors totally dominated the competition in a sport that was exhibiting spectacular growth. Two surveys taken in 1974 showed an eye-popping 68 percent hike in the number of Americans claiming to play tennis recreationally, and a 26 percent jump in the number of those saying they were fans of the pro circuit. As a result, tournament prize money increased dramatically. In 1978, Connors became the first player to exceed \$2 million in career earnings.



Although many potential fans refused to jump on the Connors bandwagon—his behavior towards umpires, linesmen, and opposing players was often reprehensible, and he repeatedly refused to participate in the international Davis Cup team tournament—few tennis lovers could resist watching him perform. Bill Riordan, Connors' shrewd manager, capitalized on his client's charismatic persona by arranging a pair of made-for-television exhibition singles matches dubbed the "Heavyweight Championship of Tennis." Connors, never one to shy away from the spotlight, won them both (years later, he would defeat Martina Navratilova in a gimmicky "Battle of the Sexes" handicap match). The unprecedented media coverage of these much-hyped events landed Connors a *Time* magazine cover photo in 1975. Riordan was also behind the highly publicized \$40 million antitrust suit Connors brought against the Association of Tennis Professionals and Commercial Union Assurance (sponsor of the ILTF Grand Prix) a year earlier. It was alleged that these organizations were conspiring to monopolize professional tennis by barring any player who had signed up to play in the newly formed World Tennis League from competing in the 1974 French Open. Thus, Connors was denied his shot at the elusive Grand Slam that year. By the end of 1975, Connors split with Riordan and dropped the hotly contested lawsuit; only then did his relations with fellow tour players begin to improve.

None of Connors' off-court battles had an adverse effect on his game in the 1970s. Though he lacked overpowering strokes, Connors was a dynamic shotmaker with the mentality of a prizefighter. His trademark two-fisted backhand, along with an outstanding return of serve, surprising touch, and the ability to work a point, all contributed to his success. Number one in the world five times (1974-78), Connors won a total of eight Grand Slam singles championships, including five United States Opens. He is also the only player to have won that title on three different surfaces (grass, clay, and hard courts).

In 1979, Connors disclosed that he and former *Playboy* Playmate-of-the-Year Patti McGuire had gotten married in Japan the previous year. Around this time his game suffered something of a decline. He failed to reach the final round of the United States Open for the first time in six years, and his once-fierce rivalry with Bjorn Borg lost its drama as he got crushed by the Swede four times. But predictably for someone of his competitive spirit, Connors recommitted himself, and won two more United States Open titles in the 1980s.

For a long time, it seemed certain that Connors' biggest contribution to American culture would be the sense of mischief and passion he brought to the once aristocratic game of tennis. But his determination to postpone retirement and continue fighting on court in the latter stages of a storied 23-year career gave him a new claim to fame, as he endeared himself to older spectators and even non-tennis fans. At age 39, Connors rose from number 936 in the world at the close of the previous year to make it all the way to the semifinals of the United States Open in 1991. En route, he came from way behind to defeat a much younger Aaron Krickstein in dramatic fashion. Ironically, it is likely that the match people will remember most is the one that came in a tournament he did not win. Considering that Connors holds 109 singles titles—tops in the Open era—along with 21 doubles titles, this is nothing for him to lose any sleep over. In 1998, Connors was inducted into the International Tennis Hall of Fame.

—Steven Schneider

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## Consciousness Raising Groups

A tactic usually associated with the U.S. Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) and other feminist-activist groupings born in the late 1960s, consciousness raising involved a range of practices that stressed the primacy of gender discrimination over issues of race and class. Grounded in practical action rather than theory, consciousness raising aimed to promote awareness of the repressed and marginal status of women. As proclaimed in one of the more enduring activist slogans of the 1960s—"The personal is political"—consciousness raising took several forms, including the formation of devolved and non-hierarchical discussion groups, in which women shared their personal (and otherwise unheard) experiences of everyday lives lived within a patriarchal society. Accordingly, the agenda of consciousness raising in the early days very often focused on issues such as abortion, housework, the family, or discrimination in the workplace, issues whose political dimension had been taken for granted or ignored by the dominant New Left groupings of the 1960s.

As a political tactic in its own right, consciousness raising received an early definition in Kathie Sarachild's "Program for Feminist Consciousness Raising," a paper given at the First National Convention of the Women's Liberation Movement in Chicago, in November 1968. Many of those involved in the early days of WLM had been politicized in the Civil Rights struggle and the protests against the Vietnam War. But they had become disenchanted with the tendency of nominally egalitarian New Left organizations, such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), to downplay or omit altogether the concerns of women, and had struck out on their own. When challenged on the position of women within his organization in 1964, SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael had replied that "The only position for women in SNCC is prone." As late as 1969 SDS produced a pamphlet that observed that "the system is like a woman; you've got to fuck it to make it change." The frustration of feminist activists in the 1960s produced a new women's movement, which stressed the patriarchal content of New Left dissent, almost as much as it raised awareness about gender and power in the everyday arenas of home and work.

As a political strategy, consciousness raising placed a high value on direct, practical action, and like much political activism of the 1960s and early 1970s, it produced inventive outlets for conducting and publicizing political activity. In 1968 the WLM took consciousness raising to the very heart of New Left concerns by conducting a symbolic "burial" of traditional femininity at Arlington Cemetery—the site of many protests at the ongoing conflict in Vietnam. As an exercise in consciousness raising, the mock funeral aimed to publicize the patriarchal tendency to define grieving mothers and bereaved widows in terms of their relationships with men. Similar guerilla style demonstrations marked the high point of consciousness raising as a form of direct action during the late 1960s. The New York Radical Women (NYRW) disrupted the Miss America pageant at Atlantic City in September 1968; the WITCH group protested the New York Bridal Fair at Madison Square Garden on St. Valentine's Day 1969.

Other groups who employed similar tactics during this period included the Manhattan-based Redstockings, the Feminists, and the New York Radical Feminists.

The emphasis which early WLM consciousness raising placed upon small groups of unaffiliated women shows its roots in the anti-organizational politics of the New Left against which it reacted. The WLM may have reacted sharply against what it saw to be the patriarchal politics of SDS, but it shared with the New Left an emphasis on localized political activity exercised through small devolved “cells,” which valorized the resistance of the individual to institutional oppression. In common with certain tendencies of the New Left, the premium placed upon an overtly personal politics has at times served to obscure the original commitment of consciousness raising to a more collective revolution in social definitions of gender and gender roles. One of the more visible legacies of consciousness raising can be seen in the proliferation of Women’s Studies courses and departments at universities and colleges during the closing decades of the twentieth century.

—David Holloway

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## Conspiracy Theories

Once the province of the far right, conspiracy theories have gained a wider cultural currency in the last quarter of the twentieth century, and have become widely disseminated in our popular culture through diverse sources. Spanning every topic from UFOs to ancient secret societies to scientific and medical research, conspiracy theories are frequently disparaged as the hobby of “kooks” and “nuts” by the mainstream. In fact, many theories are well substantiated, but the belief in a “smoke-filled room” is a patently uncomfortable thought for most. Although the populace has generally shown a preference for dismissing conspiracy theories en masse, nevertheless it is now a common belief that a disconnect exists between the official line and reality. Crisis and scandal have left their mark on the American psyche, and popular culture—especially film and television—have readily capitalized on public suspicions, becoming an armature of the culture of paranoia.

What exactly is a conspiracy theory? Under its broadest definition, a conspiracy theory is a belief in the planned execution of an event—or events—in order to achieve a desired end. “At the center [of a conspiracy] there is always a tiny group in complete control, with one man as the undisputed leader,” writes G. Edward Griffin, author of *The Creature from Jekyll Island*, a work on the Federal Reserve Board which, in passing, touches on many conspiracy theories of this century. “Next is a circle of secondary leadership that, for the most part, is unaware of an inner core. They are led to believe

that they are the inner-most ring. In time, as these conspiracies are built from the center out, they form additional rings of organization. Those in the outer echelons usually are idealists with an honest desire to improve the world. They never suspect an inner control for other purposes.” This serves as an able definition of conspiracy, but for a conspiracy to be properly considered as conspiracy theory, there must be a level of supposition in the author’s analysis beyond the established facts. Case in point: the ne plus ultra of conspiracy theories, the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Regardless of who was responsible for his murder, what is germane is the vast labyrinthian web of suspects that writers and researchers have uncovered. It is these shadowy allegations that comprise a conspiracy theory. The validity of different arguments aside, in the case of JFK, it is the speculative nature of these allegations which has left the greatest impression on popular culture.

Conspiracy theories tend, in the words of James Ridgeway, author of *Blood in the Face*, “to provide what seems to be a simple, surefire interpretation of events by which often chaotic and perplexing change can be explained.” While it would be comforting to be so blandly dismissive, in the end, a conspiracy theory can only be as sophisticated as its proponent. Naturally, in the hands of a racist ideologue, a theory such as a belief in the omnipotence of Jewish bankers is a justification for hatred. Furthermore, as conspiracy theorists are wont to chase their quarry across the aeons in a quest for first causes, their assertions are often lost in the muddle, further exacerbated by the fact that more often than not, conspiracy theorists are far from able wordsmiths. Yet, as the saying goes, where there’s smoke there’s fire, and it would be injudicious to lump all conspiracy theories together as equally without merit.

A brief exegesis of one of the most pervasive conspiracy theories might well illustrate how conspiracy theories circulate and, like the game of telephone—in which a sentence is passed from one listener to the other until it becomes totally garbled—are embellished and elaborated upon. At the close of the eighteenth century, the pervasive unrest was adjudged to be the work of Freemasons and the Illuminati, two semi-secret orders whose eighteenth-century Enlightenment theories of individual liberty made them most unpopular to the aristocracy. These groups were widely persecuted and then driven into hiding. But waiting in the wings, was that most convenient of scapegoats, the Jews.

The Jews had long been viewed with distrust by their Christian neighbors. Already viewed as deicides, in the Middle Ages it was also commonly believed that Jews used the blood of Christian children in their Sabbath rituals. Communities of Jews were often wiped out as a result. Association, as it had so often been for the Jews, was sufficient to establish guilt. Early in the nineteenth century, a theory developed propounding an international Jewish conspiracy, a cabal of Jewish financiers intent on ensnaring the world under the dominion of a world government. The Jews were soon facing accusations of being the eminence grise behind the Illuminati, the Freemasons, and with complete disdain for the facts, the French Revolution.

Stories of an international Jewish cabal percolated until, in 1881, *Biarritz*, a novel by an official in the Prussian postal service, gave dramatic form to them. In a chapter entitled “In the Jewish Cemetery in Prague,” a centennial congregation of Jewish leaders was depicted as they gathered to review their nefarious efforts to enslave the Gentile masses. The chapter was widely circulated in pamphlet form and later expanded into a book, *The Protocols of Zion*, used as inflammatory propaganda and distributed by supporters of the Czar. Distributed widely throughout Europe and America, Hitler would

later cite *The Protocols* as a cardinal influence in his mature political beliefs.

The Jewish conspiracy made its way to America in the 1920s, where the idea was taken up by a rural, white, nativist populace already convinced the pope was an anti-Christ, Jews had horns, and all non-Anglo foreigners were agents of Communism. The industrialist Henry Ford fanned the flames by demonizing Jews in his newspaper, the *Dearborn Independent*, in which he published sections of *The Protocols*. Whether directly associated with Jews or not, the theory that American sovereignty was being slowly undermined became an enduring feature of the nativist right wing. It would be used to explain everything from the two world wars to the Bolshevik Revolution to the establishment of the IRS. Unfortunately, alongside the most rabid anti-Semitic screed there sits many an assertion, both accurate and well documented, and it is this indiscriminate combination of fact and fantasy that makes the allegations so disturbing.

For mainstream America, one could properly say that the age of the conspiracy theory began in the 1950s. More than any obscurantist's diatribe, movies gave life and breath to the conviction that civilization was governed from behind the scenes. Movies were a release valve in which the fears of that era—fears of Communist invasion, nuclear annihilation, UFOs—found release, sublimated into science fiction or crime dramas. The 1950s gave us films with a newfound predilection for ambiguity and hidden agendas—film noir. Films like *Kiss Me Deadly*, *The Shack out on 101*, *North by Northwest*, and *The Manchurian Candidate* explicate a worldview that is patently conspiratorial. They are a far cry from anything produced in the previous decades. The angst and nuances of film noir carried over to the science fiction genre. No longer content with fantasy, the frivolousness of early science fiction was replaced by a dread-laden weltanschauung, a world of purposeful or malevolent visitors from another planet: visitors with an agenda. *The Day the Earth Stood Still*, *Invasion of the Body-Snatchers*, and *Them* are standouts of the era, but for each film that became a classic, a legion of knockoffs stood arrayed behind.

By the time of Kennedy's assassination, Americans were looking at world events with a more jaundiced eye. The movement from Kennedy to Watergate, from suspicion to outright guilt, was accompanied by a corollary shift in media perception. The United States government was directly portrayed as *the enemy*—no longer intuited as it had been in the oblique, coded films of the 1950s. Robert Redford and Warren Beatty made films—*All the President's Men*, *Three Days of the Condor*, and *The Parallax View*—that capitalized on the suspicion of government that Watergate fostered in the public.

It wasn't until the release of Oliver Stone's *JFK* that conspiracy theories made a reentry into the mainstream. Shortly thereafter, the phenomenally popular TV series *The X-Files*, a compendium of all things conspiratorial—properly sanitized for middle-class sensibilities—made its auspicious debut in 1992. For a generation to whom the likelihood of UFOs outweighed their belief in the continuance of social security into their dotage; for whom the McCarthy Era was history, Watergate but a distant, childhood memory, and JFK's murder the watershed in their parents' history, conspiracy theories received a fresh airing, albeit heavy on the exotic and entirely free of racism, xenophobia, and government malfeasance. The show's success triggered a national obsession for all things conspiratorial, and a slew of books, films, and real-life TV programming made the rounds. There was even a film titled *Conspiracy Theory* starring the popular actor Mel Gibson as a paranoid cabbie whose suspicions turn out to be utterly justified.

By their very nature conspiracy theories are difficult to prove, and this fact in and of itself largely explains their popularity. They inhabit a netherworld where truth and fiction mingle together in an endless dance of fact and supposition. They tantalize, for within this symbiosis explanations are set forth. After all, it is easier to acknowledge a villain than to accept a meaningless absurdity. Therefore, as the world grows increasingly complex, it is likely that conspiracy theories will continue, like the game of telephone mentioned earlier, to mutate and multiply—serving a variety of agendas. Their presence in the cultural zeitgeist, however, is no longer assailable: paranoia is the mainstream.

—Michael J. Baers

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## Consumer Reports

Published since 1936, *Consumer Reports* has established a reputation as a leading source of unbiased reporting about products and services likely to be used by the typical American. It counts itself among the ten most widely disseminated periodicals in the United States, with a circulation in 1998 of 4.6 million. In all of its more than sixty years of production, the journal has never accepted free samples, advertisements, or grants from any industry, business, or agency. Maintaining this strict independence from interest groups has helped make *Consumer Reports* a trusted source of information.

*Consumer Reports* is published by Consumers Union, a not-for-profit organization based in Yonkers, New York. Along with the print monthly, Consumers Union also creates and distributes many guide books for consumers, such as the *Supermarket Buying Guide* and the *Auto Insurance Handbook*, as well as newsletters about travel and health issues, and a children's magazine called *Zillions*. There are *Consumer Reports* syndicated radio and television shows, and a popular and successful web page with millions of subscribers. Stating its mission as to "test products, inform the public and protect

consumers.” Consumers Union has more than 450 persons on its staff and operates fifty test labs in nine departments: appliances, automobiles, chemicals, electronics, foods, home environment, public service, recreation and home improvement. The Union operates three advocacy offices, in Washington, D.C., Austin, Texas, and San Francisco, that help citizens with questions, complaints, and legal action about products and services. Consumers Union was also instrumental in the formation of the Consumer Policy Institute in Yonkers, which does research in such areas as biotechnology and pollution; and Consumer International, founded in 1960, which seeks to unite worldwide consumer interests. All together, the organizations that comprise Consumers Union have been pivotal in the creation of a consumer movement and have been responsible for many defective product recalls, fines on offending industries, and much consumer-protection legislation.

The history of the founding of *Consumer Reports* gives a condensed picture of the consumer movement in the United States. In 1926, Frederick Schlink, an engineer in White Plains, New York, founded a “consumer club,” with the goal of better informing citizens about the choices of products and services facing them. With the industrial revolution not far behind them, consumers in the 1920s were faced with both the luxury and the dilemma of being able to purchase many manufactured items that had formerly had to be custom made. Schlink’s club distributed mimeographed lists of warnings and recommendations about products. By 1928, the little club had expanded into a staffed organization called Consumers’ Research, whose journal, *Consumers’ Research Bulletin*, accepted no advertising. That same year Schlink and another Consumers’ Research director, engineer Arthur Kallet, published a book about consumer concerns called *100,000,000 Guinea Pigs: Dangers in Everyday Foods, Drugs, and Cosmetics*.

In 1933, when Schlink moved his organization to the small town of Washington, New Jersey, he was confronted with his own ethical dilemmas. When some of his own employees formed a union, Schlink fired them, prompting a strike by forty other workers demanding a minimum-wage guarantee and reinstatement of their fired colleagues. Schlink responded by accusing the strikers of being communists and by hiring scabs. In 1936, the Consumers’ Research strikers formed their own organization with Arthur Kallet at its head. They called it Consumers Union. Their original charter promised to “test and give information to the public on products and services” in the hopes of “maintaining decent living standards for ultimate consumers.”

Early Consumers Union product research was limited because of lack of funds to buy expensive products to test, but they did research on items of everyday concern to Depression-era consumers, such as soaps and credit unions. Within three months of its formation, Consumers Union published the first issue of *Consumers Union Reports*, continuing the tradition of refusing commercial support. Along with information on product safety and reliability, the new journal maintained a leftist slant by reporting on social issues such as business labor practices. Its first editorial stated, “All the technical information in the world will not give enough food or enough clothes to the textile worker’s family living on \$11 a week.” Threatened by this new progressive consumer movement, business began to fight back. Red-baiting articles appeared in such mainstream journals as *Reader’s Digest* and *Good Housekeeping*. Between 1940 and 1950, the union appeared on government lists of subversive organizations.

By 1942, *Consumers Union Reports* had become simply *Consumer Reports* to broaden its public appeal. Both consumption and the purchase of consumer research had been slowed by the Depression

and World War II, but with the return of consumer spending after 1945, the demand for *Consumer Reports* subscriptions shot up. In the postwar economic boom, businesses had very consciously and successfully urged citizens to become consumers. Having learned to want more than food and shelter, people also learned to want more in less material arenas. They wanted something called “quality of life.” They wanted clean air and water, they wanted to be able to trust the goods and services they purchased, and they wanted their government to protect their safety in these areas.

In the boom economy of the 1950s and 1960s, business felt it had little to fear from organized consumers and did little to fight back. This, combined with the rise of socially conscious progressive movements, gave a boost of power and visibility to the consumer movement. In 1962, liberal president John F. Kennedy introduced the “consumer bill of rights,” delineating for the first time that citizens had a right to quality goods. The same year, Congress overcame the protests of the garment industry to pass laws requiring that children’s clothing be made from flame-resistant fabric. In 1964, the Department of Labor hired lawyer Ralph Nader to investigate automobile safety, resulting in landmark vehicle-safety legislation. A committed consumer activist, Nader joined the Consumers Union board of directors from 1967 through 1975.

In 1962, Rachael Carson sparked a new view of the environment with her ecological manifesto, *Silent Spring*, a work so clearly connected to the consumer movement that Consumers Union published a special edition. The new environmentalists did research that resulted in the passage in 1963 of the first Clean Air Act and in 1965 of the Clean Water Act.

The consumer movement and the movement to clean up the environment attracted much popular support. By 1967, the Consumer Federation of America had been formed, a coalition of 140 smaller local groups. The long-established Consumers Union opened its office in Washington, D.C. to better focus on its lobbying work. Working together, these groups and other activists were responsible for the formation of the Environmental Protection Agency, the Consumer Product Safety Commission, and countless laws instituting safety standards, setting up fair business practices, and regulating pollution.

The thriving consumer movement is one of the most significant legacies of the turbulent period of social change that spanned the period from the 1950s through the 1970s. As more and more products and services have been introduced, activists have continued to instigate legislation and create organizations and networks to help consumers cope with the flood of options. From its roots as a club for consumer advice, Consumers Union has grown into a notable force for consumer and environmental protection, offering research and advice on every imaginable topic of interest to consumers from automobiles and appliances to classical music recordings, legal services, and funerals. It has retained a high standard of ethics and value pertaining to the rights of the common citizen. For most of them, thoughts of a large purchase almost inevitably lead to the question, “Have you checked *Consumer Reports*?” The organization has clung to its progressive politics while weathering the distrust of big business about its motivations and effectiveness.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Consumerism

Consumerism is central to any study of the twentieth century. In its simplest form, it characterizes the process of purchasing goods such as food, clothing, shelter, electricity, gas, water, or anything else, and then consuming or using those goods. The meaning of consumerism, however, goes well beyond that definition, and has undergone a striking shift from the way it was first used in the 1930s to describe a new consumer movement founded in opposition to the increased prevalence of advertising. It is with much irony that by the end of the twentieth century, consumerism came to mean a cultural ethos marked by a dependence on commerce and incessant shopping and buying. This shift in meaning reflects the shift in how commercial values transformed American culture over the century.

In the early decades of the twentieth century, social life became increasingly commercialized. According to the famous *Middletown* studies, automobiles conferred mobility on millions, and amusement parks, movie theaters, and department stores had become serious competitors to leisure pursuits that traditionally had been provided by church, home, and family centered activities. By 1924, commercial values had significantly changed home and leisure life as compared to 1890; even school curriculums were being altered in order to accommodate an increasingly commercialized world.

As a response to these changes, a consumer movement emerged, and in the 1920s was focused on sanitary food production and workers' conditions. But by the 1930s, the rapid commercialization taking place shifted the consumer movement's attention to advertising. This reform movement was predicated on the idea that the modern consumer often has insufficient information to choose effectively among competing products, and that in this new era of increased commercialization, advertisements should provide potential consumers with more information about the various products. They also objected to advertising which was misleading, such as the image-based advertising which often played on people's fears and insecurities (such as suggesting that bad breath or old-fashioned furnishings prevented professional and social success).

Accordingly, the consumer movement sought policies and laws which regulated methods and standards of manufacturers, sellers, and advertisers. Although the preexisting 1906 Food and Drug Act had made the misbranding of food and drugs illegal, the law only applied to labeling and not to general advertising. With the support of a New York senator and assistant Secretary of Agriculture Rexford G. Tugwell, a bill was introduced in the U.S. Senate in 1933 which would prohibit "false advertising" of any food, drug, or cosmetic, defining any advertisement false if it created a misleading impression by "ambiguity or inference." Ultimately, a significantly less strict form of the bill was passed, called the Wheeler-Lea Amendment, which is still the primary law governing advertising today.

In the 1930s, the consumer movement—which was first to use the term consumerism—sought assurances about the quality of goods

sold to the public. For most people, shopping in the early part of the century was still a novelty, and certainly wasn't central to daily life. This was due, in part, to the (relatively) modest amount of goods available, and to the nature of the shopping environment, which was typically an unembellished storefront. Often, the shopkeeper was an acquaintance of the buyer, and frequently the act of buying was dependent upon an active exchange of bargaining. This changed, however, with the expansion of fixed-priced and display-laden department stores which flourished after World War II (though they had been in existence since just after the Civil War).

The end of World War II marked a significant point in the development of consumer culture in its second meaning, which strongly contrasts with the perspective of the consumer movement. At the end of World War II, the return of soldiers, a burgeoning economy, and a boom in marriage rates and child-birth created a new and unique set of circumstances for the American economy. Unprecedented prosperity in the 1950s led people to leave the cities and move to the suburbs; the increased manufacturing capabilities meant a rapid rise in the quantity and variety of available goods; and the rise and popularity of television and television advertising profoundly altered the significance of consumerism in daily life.

The heretofore unprecedented growth in inventions and gadgets inspired an article which appeared in *The New Yorker* on May 15, 1948 claiming "Every day, there arrive new household devices, cunningly contrived to do things you don't particularly want done." The author described Snap-a-cross curtains, the Mouli grater, and the Tater-Baker as examples of the inventive mood of the era. Prepared cake mixes were introduced in 1949; Minute Rice in 1950; and Pampers disposable diapers in 1956. The variety of goods was staggering: Panty Hose debuted in 1959, along with Barbie (the most successful doll in history); and in 1960, beverages began to be stored in aluminum cans. Due to their increased prevalence and an increase in advertising, these items went from novelties to an everyday part of American life. By the end of the century, many of these items were no longer viewed as luxuries but as necessities.

During this time, the government responded by encouraging behavior which favored economic growth. For example, the American government supported ads which addressed everything from hygiene to the "proper" American meal and, ultimately, the media campaign was a crucial element in the development of consumerism, or what had become a consumer culture. In *Mad Scientist*, media critic Mark Crispin Miller argues that American corporate advertising was the most successful propaganda campaign of the twentieth century.

Because most of the consumption was geared towards the household, many television advertisements were geared towards the housewife, the primary consumer in American households. In addition to advertisements, other factors specifically attracted women to shopping, such as the development of commodities which (supposedly) reduced household chores, an activity for which women were primarily responsible. Ironically (but quite intentionally), "new" products often created chores which were previously unknown, such as replacing vacuum bag filters or using baking soda to "keep the refrigerator smelling fresh." In 1963, Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique* which derided suburbia as "a bedroom and kitchen sexual ghetto," a critique partially based on what many experienced as the cultural entrapment of women into the role of homemaker, an identity that was endlessly repeated in advertising images.

The mass migration to the suburbs also resulted in the construction of new places to shop. The absence of traditional downtown areas

along with the popularity of automobiles gave rise to the suburban shopping mall, where typically, one or two large department stores anchor a variety of other stores, all under one roof. The by-now prevalent television advertising was another significant factor contributing to the spread of shopping malls, by further creating demand for material goods. Unlike older downtown centers, the new mall was a physical environment devoted solely to the act of shopping.

The abundance of goods and ease with which to buy them led to a change in the American attitude towards shopping. Visits to shopping locations became more frequent, and were no longer viewed as entirely a chore. Although it remained “work” for some, shopping also became a form of entertainment and a leisure-time activity.

Like the world’s fairs before them, suburban shopping malls displayed the wonders of modern manufacturing and reflected a transition from store as merchant to store as showroom. In what was now a crowded marketplace, imagery became increasingly critical as a way of facilitating acts of consumption. According to Margaret Crawford in her essay “The World in a Shopping Mall”: “The spread of malls around the world has accustomed large numbers of people to behavior patterns that inextricably link shopping with diversion and pleasure.” Although this phenomenon originated outside the United States and predated the twentieth century, American developers—with their “bigger is better” attitude—perfected shopping as a recreational event.

As a result, malls eventually became a central fixture of American social life, especially in the 1980s. Increasingly bigger malls were built to accommodate the rapid proliferation of chain stores and in order to provide the “consummate” shopping experience (and, conveniently, to eliminate the need to leave the mall), additional attractions and services were added. By the 1980s, food courts, movie theaters, and entertainment venues enticed shoppers. These centers became such popular gathering places that they functioned as a substitute for other community centers such as parks or the YMCA. Teenagers embraced malls as a place to “hang-out” and in response, many shops catered specifically to them, which aided advertising in cultivating consumer habits at an early age. Some chain stores, such as Barnes and Noble, offer lectures and book readings for the public. Some shopping malls offered other community activities, such as permitting their walkways to be used by walkers or joggers before business hours. The largest mall in the United States was the gigantic Mall of America, located in Bloomington, Minnesota, which covered 4.2 million square feet (390,000 square meters) or 78 acres. (The largest mall in North America is actually a million square feet larger—the West Edmonton Mall, located in Canada).

Increasingly, many elements of American social life were intermixed with commercial activity, creating what has become known as a consumer culture. Its growth was engineered in part by “Madison Avenue,” the New York City street where many advertising agencies are headquartered. As advertising critics note, early advertising at beginning of the century was information based, and described the value and appeal of the product through text. Advertisers quickly learned, however, that images were infinitely more powerful than words, and they soon altered their methods to fit. The image-based approach works by linking the product with a desirable image, often through directly juxtaposing an image with the product (women and cars, clean floors and beautiful homes, slim physiques and brand-names). Although such efforts to promote “image identity” were already sophisticated in the 1920s and 1930s, the proliferation of television significantly elevated its influence.

The marriage of image advertising and television allowed advertising to achieve some of its greatest influences. First, ads of the 1950s and early 1960s were successful in cultivating the ideal of the American housewife as shopper. Advertisements depicted well-scrubbed, shiny nuclear families who were usually pictured adjacent to a “new” appliance in an industrialized home. Second, advertising promoted the idea of obsolescence, which means that styles eventually fall out of fashion, requiring anyone who wishes to be stylish to discard the old version and make additional purchases. Planned obsolescence was essential to the success of the automotive and fashion industries, two of the heaviest advertisers.

A third accomplishment of image-based advertising was creating the belief, both unconscious and conscious, that non-tangible values, such as popularity and attractiveness, could be acquired by consumption. This produced an environment in which commodification and materialism was normalized, meaning that people view their natural role in the environment as related to the act of consumption. Accordingly, consumerism or “excess materialism,” (another definition of the term) proliferated.

Advertising, and therefore television, was essential to the growth of consumerism, and paved the way for the rampant commercialism of the 1980s and 1990s. Concurrently, there was a tremendous increase in the number of American shopping malls: to around 28,500 by the mid-1980s. The explosion of such commercialism was most evident in the sheer variety of goods created for purely entertainment purposes, such as Cabbage Patch Kids, VCR tapes, Rubik’s cubes, and pet rocks. So much “stuff” was available from so many different stores that new stores were even introduced which sold products to contain all of the stuff. By the mid-1980s, several 24-hour shopping channels were available on cable television and, according to some sources, more than three-fourths of the population visited a mall at least once a month, evidence of the extent to which shopping was part of daily life.

It is important to note that with the development of consumer culture, consumerism in its earlier sense was still being practiced. Ralph Nader (1934—) is credited with much of the movement’s momentum in the late 1960s. In 1965, Nader, a Harvard lawyer, published a book about auto-safety called *Unsafe at Any Speed: The Designed-in Dangers of the American Automobile*. This and the revelation that General Motors Corporation had been spying on him and otherwise harassing him led to passage of the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act in 1966. Nader went on to author other books on consumer issues, and established several nonprofit research agencies, including Public Citizen, Inc. and the Center for Study of Responsive Law. Other organizations also arose to protect consumer interests such as the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), and the Better Business Bureau (BBB). The Consumers Union, which was founded in 1936, continues to be the most well-known consumer organization because of its monthly magazine *Consumer Reports*, which evaluates competing products and services.

Aside from the efforts of such consumerist groups, the forces of consumer culture were unstoppable. By the late 1980s and 1990s, the proliferation of commercial space reached every imaginable venue, from the exponential creation of shopping malls and “outlet stores”; to the availability of shopping in every location (QVC; Internet; mid-flight shopping); to the use of practically all public space for advertising, (including airborne banners, subway walls, labels adhered to fruit, and restroom doors). This omnipresent visual environment

reinforced what was by now an indoctrinated part of American life: consumerism.

The ubiquitousness of consumer culture was so prevalent that a number of artists throughout the century made it their subject matter. Andy Warhol, along with Roy Lichtenstein and others, won worldwide celebrity with endlessly repeated portraits of commodities (Coke bottles, Campbell's soup cans) and of celebrities, which seemed to be wrapped and packaged along with all of the other products. Holidays were created based on buying gifts (Secretary's Day, Halloween), and malls and stores which are sometimes viewed as community space replaced other venues which used to be popular public spaces (bowling alleys, YMCAs, community centers, town halls).

Consumerism became so critical to Americans that millions of people went significantly into debt to acquire goods. Credit, which permits the purchase of goods and services with little or no cash, was essential for average people to be able to buy more and more. Credit cards functioned like cash and, in 1990, the credit card debt of Americans reached a staggering \$243 billion. By 1997, that number more than doubled, reaching \$560 billion, according to the Bureau of the Census. This dramatic increase in credit card spending was undertaken, in part, because of the seemingly constant need to acquire newer or better goods. Oprah Winfrey even held segments on her talk show about how people were dealing with debt, and how to cut up your credit cards.

The relentless consumption over the century has had the inevitable result of producing tons—actually millions of tons—of consumer waste. According to a report produced by Franklin Associates, Ltd. for the Environmental Protection Agency, approximately 88 million tons of municipal solid waste was generated in 1960. By 1995, the figure had almost tripled, to approximately 208 million tons. This means each person generated an average of 4.3 pounds of solid waste per day. For example, Americans throw away 570 diapers per second—or 49 million diapers a year. This astonishing level of waste production has had the effect of rendering the United States a world leader in the generation of waste and pollutants. In 1998, it was projected that annual generation of municipal solid waste will increase to 222 million tons by the year 2000 and 253 million tons in 2010. A full one-third of all garbage discarded by Americans is packaging—an awesome amount of mostly non-decomposable material for the planet to reckon with.

Further, as a variety of social critics such as Sut Jhally have pointed out, consumerism is popular because advertisements sell more than products: they sell human hopes and dreams, such as the need for love, the desire to be attractive, etc. It is inevitable that the hopes and dreams can never be reached through the acquisition of a product, which, in turn, has led to a profound sense of disillusionment and alienation, a problem noted by public thinkers throughout the century, from John Kenneth Galbraith to Noam Chomsky.

Sports Utility Vehicles promise security through domination, Oil of Olay promises beauty in aging, and DeBeers promises eternal love with diamonds. Since these empty solutions run counter to the inevitability of the human condition, no product can ever meet its promise. But in the meantime, people keep on consuming. . . .

—Julie Scelfo

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## Consumers Union

See *Consumer Reports*

## Contemporary Christian Music

In the late 1990s a genre of music, unknown to most of America, began push its way onto the popular American music scene. Contemporary Christian Music or CCM traced its roots to Southern Gospel and Gospel music, but only began to be noticed by a larger audience when the music industry changed the way it tracked record sales in the mid-1990s.

In the late 1960s, Capitol Records hassled a blond hippie named Larry Norman for wanting to call his record *We Need a Whole Lot*

*More of Jesus and a Lot Less Rock and Roll.* In response, Norman decided to make and distribute his own records. Norman's records shocked the religious and irreligious alike. He mixed his strict adherence to orthodox Christianity with honest cultural observations in songs like "Why Don't You Look into Jesus," which included the lines "Gonorrhea on Valentines Day, You're still looking for the perfect lay, you think rock and roll will set you free but honey you'll be dead before you're 33."

Before long Norman's dreams of artistic freedom had become a nightmare when executives took over and created CCM the genre which, unlike the artists who dreamed of singing songs about Jesus for non-Christians, quickly focused on marketing the records to true believers. CCM had become a large industry, signing and promoting artists who were encouraged to make strictly religious records that were heavy on theology but lacking in real world relevance. CCM also began to cater to best-selling "secular" artists who experienced Christian conversions, helping them to craft religious records which both alienated longtime fans and couldn't be distributed through ordinary music channels. Among these were once popular performers like Mark Farner of Grand Funk Railroad, Dan Peek of America, B.J. Thomas, Richie Furay of Poco and Buffalo Springfield, Al Green, Dion, Joe English of Wings, Rick Cua of the Outlaws, and many others.

By the 1980s, other studios became receptive to Christian music, and allowed artists more flexibility with song lyrics. In 1983 a heavy metal band named Stryper comprised of born again Christians emerged from the L.A. metal scene and signed a record deal with a "secular" label Enigma which had produced many of the early metal artists. In 1985 Amy Grant signed her own direct deal with A&M that got her a top 40 single "Find A Way," and led to two number one singles "The Next Time I Fall," in 1987 and "Baby, Baby," in 1991. Leslie Phillips dropped out of CCM in 1987, changed her name to Sam, and signed with Virgin, a company with whom she recorded several critically lauded albums. Michael W. Smith signed with Geffen in 1990 and produced a number six hit "Place In This World."

With the commercial success of Grant and others, many CCM artists no longer wanted to be identified as such, preferring to be known simply as artists. In their view, being identified by their spiritual and religious beliefs limited the music industry's willingness to widely disseminate their music and alienated some consumers. Many of these artists left their CCM labels and signed with "secular" record labels or arranged for their records to be distributed in both the "Christian" and "secular" music markets. By the mid-1990s artists like dc Talk, Jars of Clay, Bob Carlisle, Kirk Franklin, Fleming and John, Julie Miller, BeBe and CeCe Winans, punk band MxPx, Jon Gibson, and others once mainstays of CCM, had signed with "secular" labels.

Christian artists' attractiveness to "secular" record labels increased with the introduction of a new mode of calculating record sales. The introduction of SoundScan, a new tracking system, brought attention to CCM in the mid-1990s. SoundScan replaced historically unreliable telephone reports from record store employees with electronic point-of-purchase sales tracking. SoundScan also began to tabulate sales in Christian bookstores. The result suddenly gave CCM increased visibility in popular culture as many artists who had heretofore been unknown outside the Christian community began to find themselves with hit records.

Jars of Clay, a rookie band which formed at college in Greenville, Illinois, was among the first of these success stories. Signed with a tiny CCM label called Essential Records, their debut record was selling briskly in the Christian world when one single, "Flood"

came to the attention of radio programmers who liked it, and unaware that it was a song from a "Christian" band, began to give it significant airplay in several different formats. Before long "Flood" was a smash hit played in heavy rotation on VH-1 and numerous other music video outlets. Mainstream label Zomba, which had recently purchased Jars' label, re-released the record into the mainstream market and the Jars Boys—as they were affectionately known—began to tour with artists like Sting, Jewel, and the Cowboy Junkies. Their second release "Much Afraid," benefitted from the SoundScan arrangement by debuting at number eight on the Billboard Album chart.

Another band which benefitted from the increased attention that the SoundScan arrangement brought to CCM was a band which formed at Jerry Falwell's Liberty University in the late 1980s and consisted of three young men, one black and two white, who hailed from the Washington D.C. area. dc Talk, as they were known, began as a rap band but evolved over the years into a grunge-pop sound which culminated in their 1995 release "Jesus Freak." Soundscan recorded the strong debut of "Jesus Freak" on the Billboard charts and had many industry executives inquiring about dc Talk. Kaz Utsunomiya, an executive at Virgin Records dispatched one of his assistants to Tower Records to fetch a copy of the album and liked what he heard. Virgin soon signed dc Talk to a unique deal that made them Virgin artists but allowed dc Talk's CCM market label Forefront to continue to distribute to the world of Bible bookstores. Virgin also released a single "Just Between You And Me," which cracked the top 40 list. And dc Talk's follow up album, *Supernatural*, showed the band's power, debuting at number four. Sandwiched between Marilyn Manson and Kiss on the music charts, the debut was rife with symbolism, for Manson was an unabashed Satanist and Kiss, had been labeled—probably unfairly—as Satanists for years by Christians who were convinced that its initials stood for something sinister like "Kings In Satan's Service."

But the greatest triumph belonged to a most unlikely artist named Bob Carlisle who would see his record *Butterfly Kisses*, displace the Spice Girls at the top of the charts. Carlisle was unlikely because he was a veteran of the CCM market who had recently been dropped by the major CCM label Sparrow and picked up by the small independent label Diadem. Carlisle had long played in CCM bands beginning in the 1970s and in the early 1990s had gone solo. Trained to write cheerful, upbeat numbers which the CCM world preferred, Carlisle prepared songs for his record with Diadem, and strongly considered not including "Butterfly Kisses," a song he had written with longtime writing partner Randy Thomas, because it was a melancholy song that was personal to Carlisle and his daughter and one which he wasn't sure the religious marketplace would appreciate. Carlisle's wife's opinion prevailed and he included it. When a radio programmer's daughter in Florida heard the track at church, she told her father who played it on the radio and received an overwhelmingly positive response. Soon word of the song reached Clive Calder, the president of Zomba Music which had recently engineered the purchase of Carlisle's label, Diadem.

In a brilliant series of moves, Calder repackaged and re-released Carlisle's album, replacing Carlisle's too sincere cover pose with an artists rendering of a butterfly and changing the serious title of the record *Shades Of Grace* to *Butterfly Kisses*. Fueled as well by a tear-inspiring performance on Oprah Winfrey's daytime talk show, a feature in the *Wall Street Journal* and airplay on Rush Limbaugh's radio show, "Butterfly Kisses" headed for the top of the album charts and became both a country and pop radio smash hit. Though success



proved elusive for Carlisle—his next record quickly dropped off of the charts—the larger point had been made that large audiences could be interested in CCM if the music was packaged in ways that would appeal to people who didn't necessarily share the artists' deep Christian convictions.

Tens of other artists who considered themselves serious Christians wanted to avoid the restrictive CCM market. But just as they had once been told to stay out of politics by their more conservative brethren, Christians had long been told to stay out of rock music. Christians feared the world associated with rock 'n' roll and many described it as a dirty place, but others couldn't deny the impact that rock music had on American culture. Some Christians wanted the impact of rock 'n' roll to carry their messages, and wanted to avoid the stigma attached to religious music. Some of these artists included King's X, The Tories, Hanson, Gary Cherone of Extreme, and Van Halen, Lenny Kravitz, Moby, Full On The Mouth, Judson Spence, Collective Soul, and Burlap To Cashmere.

Even with so many crossover artists, some artists continued to struggle with labels that kept their music from the general record buying public. Artists like dc Talk and Jars of Clay asked to be treated "normally" and not as religious artists, but they continued to receive Grammy awards in the "Gospel" category and record stores continued to stock their music in the "Inspirational" or "Christian" bins. Nevertheless, by the end of the twentieth century, CCM had evolved to the extent that Christian music could be found not only in the traditional religious categories, but also throughout the many genres of popular music.

—Mark Joseph

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## Convertible

Glamorous automobiles with enormous emotional appeal—conjuring up romantic images of youthful couples speeding across wide-open spaces, sun shining on their tanned faces, wind rushing through their hair as rock music blasts from the radio—convertibles have survived to the end of the century as a symbol of the good life in America.

The term "convertible" refers to a standard automobile body-style designation adopted by the Society of Automotive Engineers in 1928. Short for "convertible coupe," a convertible typically describes a two-door car with four seats, a folding fabric roof (hence the convertible synonym "ragtop") that is permanently attached to the frame and may be lifted and lowered at the driver's discretion, a fixed-position windshield, and roll-up side windows. In the early days,

when automobiles were still built in backyards and small blacksmith shops, they resembled the familiar horse-drawn carriages of the day. Open body vehicles, some came with optional folding tops similar to those on wagons. By the teen years, manufacturers had begun to design automobiles that no longer resembled carriages and to offer various body styles to the driving public. By the late 1920s, practicality pushed closed cars to the forefront, and, ever since, convertibles have been manufactured in smaller numbers than closed cars.

The first true convertibles, an improvement on the earlier roadsters and touring sedans, appeared in 1927 from eight manufacturers. During the 1930s, the convertible acquired its image as a sporty, limited-market auto, surviving the Depression because of its sales appeal—it was the best, most luxurious, and most costly of a manufacturer's lineup, a sign that better days were ahead. 1957-67 was the golden age of convertibles, with the sixties the best years: convertibles held 6 percent of the market share from 1962-66. By the 1970s, however, market share had dropped to less than 1 percent.

Their decline came about because of their relative impracticality (deteriorating fabric tops, lack of luggage space and headroom, and poor fuel economy because of heavier curb weight); the introduction of air-conditioning as an option on most automobiles, which made closed cars quieter and more comfortable; the introduction of the more convenient sunroofs and moonroofs; decline in wide-open spaces; availability of cheaper, reliable imports; the impact of the Vietnam War on a generation of car buyers; and changes in safety standards—due to the efforts of Ralph Nader and insurance companies alarmed by the enormous power of many cars during the 1960s, Washington mandated higher standards of automotive safety and required manufacturers to include lap and shoulder belts, collapsible steering columns, side impact reinforcement, chassis reinforcement, energy-absorbing front ends, and five mph crash bumpers; the threat to pass Federal Motor Vehicle Safety Standard No. 216 (roof crush standard) caused manufacturers to lose their enthusiasm for convertibles. Furthermore, the adage in the automotive industry, "When the market goes down, the top goes up," may have been proven true again as the recession of the 1970s drove a stake through the convertible's heart during that decade. In fact, according to Lesley Hazelton in "Return of the Convertible," no mass-market convertibles were available from the early seventies through the early eighties, though a driver could purchase a convertible "for a price: the Rolls-Royce Corniche; the Alfa Romeo Spider; the Mercedes-Benz 450SL, 380SL, or 560SL."

In 1982, Lee Iacocca, chairman of Chrysler, brought back the convertible after a six-year absence. Buick introduced a new convertible that year, and Chevrolet, Ford, Pontiac, and Cadillac soon followed. With only seven American convertibles and a handful of European and Japanese convertibles being manufactured in the mid-1990s, some question whether the convertible will remain after the turn of the century. Others believe that convertibles will remain an automotive option so long as there are romantic drivers who wish to feel the wind in their hair.

—Carol A. Senf

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## Conway, Tim (1933—)

As the perennial comedy sidekick, Tim Conway was a television comedy mainstay for four decades. He debuted as a repertory player on Steve Allen's 1950s variety show, and co-starred as the nebbishy Ensign Parker on the popular *McHale's Navy* situation comedy during the 1960s. He then became a reliable second banana on *The Carol Burnett Show*, which ran from 1967 until 1978, where he was often paired with the lanky Harvey Korman. Conway's characters included the laconic boss to Burnett's dimwitted secretary, Mrs. Wiggins. He was also a regular performer in children's movies for Walt Disney during the 1970s. In the late 1980s, Conway created his best-known comedy persona by standing on his knees and becoming Dorf, a klutzy sportsman. As Dorf, Conway produced and starred in several popular TV specials and videos. Conway starred in a succession of short-lived TV series in his attempts to be a leading man; he good-naturedly acquired a vanity license plate reading "13 WKS," the usual duration of his starring vehicles.

—Andrew Milner

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## Cooke, Sam (1935-1964)

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, Soul music star Sam Cooke laid the blueprint for many of the Soul and R&B artists who followed him. One of the first major Gospel stars to cross over into secular music, Cooke was also among the first Soul or R&B artists to found his own music publishing company. During a time when many black artists lost financial and artistic control of their music to greedy independent and major record labels, Cooke started his own record company, leading the way for other artists such as Curtis Mayfield to do the same. But it was Cooke's vocal delivery, which mixed a sweet smoothness and the passion of Gospel music, that proved the greatest influence on a number of major Soul stars, most significantly Curtis Mayfield, Bobby Womack, Al Green, and Marvin Gaye. Because Sam Cooke was one of Gaye's musical idols, the man born Marvin Pentz Gay, Jr. went so far as to add an "e" to the end of his name when he began singing professionally, just as Sam Cooke did.

Sam Cooke was born into a family of eight sons in Clarksdale, Mississippi, and began singing at an early age in church, where his father was a Baptist minister. He and his family later moved to Chicago, Illinois, where Cooke began singing in a Gospel trio called the Soul Children, which consisted of Cooke and two of his brothers. As a teenager, Cooke joined the Highway QCs, and by the time he was in his early twenties, Cooke became a member of one of the most important longstanding Gospel groups, the Soul Stirrers. While he

was with the Soul Stirrers, Cooke recorded a number of Gospel classics for Specialty Records, such as the Cooke-penned “Touch the Hem of His Garment,” “Just Another Day,” and “Nearer to Thee.”

In a controversial move, Cooke crossed over into the secular market with the single “Lovable” while he was still singing with the Soul Stirrers. So contentious was this move that the single was released under the pseudonym “Dale Cook.” More importantly, Specialty Records owner Art Rupe distanced the label from Cooke by releasing him from his contract for fear of losing Specialty’s Gospel fan base. Cooke’s breakthrough Pop hit was 1957’s “You Send Me,” essentially a rewrite of a well-known Gospel tune of the time, but with lyrics about the love of another person rather than God. With its Gospel influenced vocal delivery, “You Send Me” provided the foundation for Soul music for forty years to come—a foundation that never strayed very far away from Gospel, no matter how profane the subject matter became.

“You Send Me” went to number one on the *Billboard* charts, beginning a string of thirty-one Pop hits for Cooke from 1957 to 1965 that included “I’ll Come Running Back To You,” “Chain Gang,” “You Were Made for Me,” “Shake,” and “Wonderful World.” While some of his Pop material was frivolous (“Everybody Likes to Cha Cha Cha,” “Twistin’ the Night Away,” and “Another Saturday Night”), Cooke’s ardent support of the 1960s Civil Rights struggle was evident during interviews at the time. His music also reflected his commitment to the struggle in songs such as “A Change is Gonna Come,” a response to Bob Dylan’s “Blowin’ in the Wind.” Then, at the height of his career, Sam Cooke was killed on December 11,



Sam Cooke

1964—shot three times in the Los Angeles Hacienda Motel by a manager who claimed to be acting in self-defense after she asserted Cooke raped a 22-year-old woman and then turned on her. Although the shooting was ruled justifiable homicide, there were a number of details about that night that remained hazy and unanswered, and there has never been a sufficient investigation of his death. For years after his death Cooke has remained a significant presence within Soul music, and in 1986 he was inducted into the Rock & Roll Hall of Fame.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## Cooper, Alice (1948—)

Rock stars come and go, but Alice Cooper’s contributions to the canon of rock ’n’ roll showmanship have been remarkably lasting. In a career spanning three decades, Cooper has elevated the live presentation of rock music with bizarre theatrics, taboo subjects, and an uncompromising hard-rock sound.

Alice Cooper was born Vincent Furnier in Detroit, Michigan, on February 4, 1948, the son of Ether (an ordained minister) and Ella Furnier. The family moved quite frequently. Living in Phoenix, Arizona, Vincent was a high-school jock who was on the track team, and reported for the school newspaper. During his time in school, he met Glen Buxton, a tough kid with an unsavory reputation as a juvenile delinquent who was a photographer for the newspaper. Buxton played guitar; the young Furnier wrote poetry. It wasn’t too long after school that the duo moved to Los Angeles in search of rock ’n’ roll dreams.

While in L.A., Furnier and Buxton enlisted Michael Bruce, Neal Smith, and Dennis Dunnway and began calling themselves the Earwigs. In 1968, the band changed their name to Alice Cooper, noting that it sounded like a country and western singer’s stage name. (Another legend about the name’s origin included a drunken session with an Ouija Board in tow.) In 1974, Furnier legally changed his name to Alice Cooper. Iconoclastic musician Frank Zappa went to one of the group’s Los Angeles club shows. Impressed with their ability to clear a room, Zappa offered the band a recording contract with his label Straight, a subsidiary of Warner Bros. The band recorded two records for Straight, *Pretties For You* and *Easy Action*, before signing with Warner Bros. in 1970.

The band’s first album for Warner Bros., 1971’s *Love It To Death*, featured the underground FM radio hit, “I’m Eighteen,” a paean to youth apathy that predated the nihilistic misanthropy of the punk scene by five years. Later that year, the band recorded *Killer*, which featured some of their most celebrated songs such as “Under My Wheels,” “Be My Lover,” and “Dead Babies.”

The tour in support of *Killer* elevated the band’s reputation in the rock world. Cooper—with his eyes circled in dark black make-up—pulled theatrical stunts such as wielding a sword with an impaled baby



**Alice Cooper**

doll on the end or singing with his pet boa constrictor coiled around him. For the grand finale, Alice was sentenced to “die” by hanging on a gallows set up on stage. The crowds adored him, the critics took note of the band’s energy, and soon Alice Cooper and his band were poised to bid farewell to underground obscurity.

The band followed *Killer* with their breakthrough album, 1972’s *School’s Out*. The title song was an anti-authority rant that became a hit single. The subsequent tour that followed was no less controversial, for the singer was placed in an onstage guillotine (operated by master illusionist James Randi) and decapitated. Later Cooper returned in top hat and tails singing “Elected.” With each year, the presentations became increasingly absurd—with Alice fighting off oversized dancing teeth with an enormous toothbrush during the tour supporting their 1973 album, *Billion Dollar Babies*—and both fans and critics thought the music was beginning to suffer.

The final album by the original Alice Cooper band, 1974’s *Muscle Of Love*, was a financial and artistic failure. The band split up, and Alice pursued a solo career. His 1975 album, *Welcome to My Nightmare*, spawned a hit single (the controversial ballad “Only Women Bleed”), a theatrically-released film of the same name, and

widespread mainstream fame. Cooper became one of the first rockers to perform at Lake Tahoe, play Pro-Am golf tourneys, and appear in films and mainstream shows like *Hollywood Squares* and *The Tonight Show with Johnny Carson*.

Cooper’s post-band work was informed by then-current trends in music and his personal life. He went public with his battle with alcoholism, an experience chronicled on his 1978 album, *From the Inside*. He used synthesizers and rhythm machines on such new-wave tinged records as *Flush the Fashion* (1980) and *DaDa* (1983), and enlisted the services of the late Waitresses singer Patty Donahue for his 1982 *Zipper Catches Skin* album. None of these records catapulted his name back up the charts, and Warner Bros. chose not to pick up an option on his contract.

Cooper returned to the rock marketplace in 1986 with a new album *Constrictor*, on a new label, MCA. He was aping the overproduced metal scene, and the record was a flop. Critics blasted Cooper for staying in the rock game well past his shelf life. But it wasn’t until 1990, when Cooper signed with Epic Records, and made several rock hard albums, *Trash* (1989) and *Hey Stoopid* (1991), that exposed the singer to a new generation of metalheads. In May 1994,

Cooper released *The Last Temptation*, a concept album based on the characters created by respected graphic novelist Neil Gaiman.

Alice Cooper's career is marked by dizzying highs of grandeur and influence, and miserable lows of bargain-bin indifference. The shock-rockers of the 1990s such as Marilyn Manson and Nine Inch Nails are merely driving down the same roads that were originally paved by Alice Cooper's wild imagination.

—Emily Pettigrew

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## Cooper, Gary (1901-1961)

In American cinema history, Gary Cooper reigned almost unchallenged as the embodiment of male beauty—“swooningly beautiful” as Robin Cross defined it in his essay in *The Movie Stars Story*—and an enduring emblem of innocent ideals and heroic virtues. Lanky and laconic, his screen persona often shy and hesitant, there was about him the aura of a solitary man, his clear compelling eyes seemingly focused on a distant and private horizon. Cooper contributed comprehensively to every genre of Hollywood film, working with an unparalleled range of directors and leading ladies. His career spanned 35 years, shorter than that of several of his contemporaries, yet he made an astonishing number of films by any standard—92 in all—which carried him through as a leading man from the silent era to the commencement of the 1960s.

Irrespective of the material, Cooper's casual, laconic delivery remained unmodified by any change of pace or nuance, yet his very simplicity lent truth to his performances. In the public mind, Cooper remains an archetypal Man of the West, most movingly defined by his Sheriff Will Kane in *High Noon* (1952). What he never played, however, was a man of villainy or deceit.

Christened Frank Cooper, he was born on May 7, 1901 to British immigrant parents in Helena, Montana, where his father was a justice of the Supreme Court. He was educated in England from 1910-17, returning to attend agricultural college in Montana, work on a ranch, and study at Grinnell College in Iowa. There, he began drawing political cartoons. He was determined to become an illustrator and eventually went to Los Angeles in 1924 to pursue this goal. Unable to find a job, he fell into work as a film extra and occasional bit player, mainly in silent Westerns, and made some 30 appearances before



Gary Cooper

being picked up by director Henry King as a last-minute substitute for the second lead in *The Winning of Barbara Worth* (1926).

The camera loved Cooper as it did Garbo, and his instant screen charisma attracted attention and a long tenure at Paramount, who built him into a star. He made a brief appearance in *It* (1927) with Clara Bow and became the superstar's leading man in *Children of Divorce* the same year, a film whose box-office was helped considerably by their famous off-screen affair. It was the first of many such liaisons between Cooper and his leading ladies who, almost without exception, found his virile magnetism and legendary sexual prowess irresistible. He finally settled into marriage with socialite Veronica Balfe, a relationship that survived a much-publicized affair with Patricia Neal, Cooper's co-star in the screen version of Ayn Rand's *The Fountainhead* (1949). These exploits did nothing to dent his image as a gentle “Mr. Nice Guy” replete with quiet manly strength or his growing popularity with men and women alike, and by the mid-1930s his star status was fully established and remained largely unshakable for the rest of his life.

Cooper made his all-talkie debut in *The Virginian* (1929), the first of his many Westerns, uttering the immortal line, “When you call me that, smile!” In 1930, for Von Sternberg, he was the Foreign Legionnaire in *Morocco* with Dietrich and emerged a fully established star. He was reunited with her in Frank Borzage's *Desire* in

1936, by which time he had successfully entered the arenas of romantic comedy and melodrama, played the soldier hero of *A Farewell to Arms* (1932), and survived a few near-misses to embark on his best period of work.

From 1936-57 Cooper featured on the Exhibitors' Top Ten List in every year but three, and ranked first in 1953. His run of hits in the 1930s, which began with *The Lives of a Bengal Lancer* (1935), brought one of his most famous roles in 1936, that of Longfellow Deeds, the simple country boy who inherits a fortune and wishes to give it away to the Depression-hit farmers of America. The film, *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town*, directed by Frank Capra, earned Cooper the first of his five Oscar nominations, while another country boy-turned-patriotic hero, Howard Hawks' *Sergeant York* (1941) marked his first Oscar win.

The 1940s brought two films with Barbara Stanwyck, the quintessentially Capra-esque drama, *Meet John Doe* (1941), then Hawks' comedy *Ball of Fire* (1942), in which he was a memorable absent-minded professor. His sober portrayal of baseball hero Lou Gehrig in *The Pride of the Yankees* (1942) won another Academy nomination, as did *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1943) with Ingrid Bergman. The 1950s brought mixed fortunes. In 1957 Billy Wilder cast the 56 year-old Cooper opposite 28 year-old gamin Audrey Hepburn in the sophisticated comedy romance *Love in the Afternoon*. Cooper, suffering from hernias and a duodenal ulcer, precursors of the cancer that would kill him, looked drawn and older than his years, and the May-December partnership was ill received.

The decade did, however, cast him in some notable Westerns. He was a striking foil to Burt Lancaster's wild man in *Vera Cruz* (1954) and was impressive as a reformed outlaw forced into eliminating his former partners in Anthony Mann's *Man of the West* (1958), his last masterpiece in which the ravages of age and illness were now unmistakably apparent. But it was his awesomely contained, determined, and troubled sheriff, going out to face the forces of evil alone in *High Noon* that won him another Oscar and cemented the Cooper image for future generations.

At the 1960 Academy Awards ceremony in April 1961, Gary Cooper was the recipient of a special award for his many memorable performances and the distinction that he had conferred on the motion picture industry. He was too ill to attend and his close friend James Stewart accepted on his behalf. A month later, on May 13, 1961, Gary Cooper died, leaving one last film—the British-made and sadly undistinguished *The Naked Edge* (1961)—to be released posthumously. Idolized by the public, he was loved and respected by his peers who, as historian David Thomson has written, “marveled at the astonishingly uncluttered submission of himself to the camera.”

—Robyn Karney

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## Cooperstown, New York

Home to the National Baseball Museum and Hall of Fame, Cooperstown, a restored nineteenth-century frontier town and country village of about 2,300 inhabitants at the close of the twentieth century, is visited annually by up to 400,000 tourists. Baseball has been described as America's national pastime, and it is fair to say that Cooperstown, in central New York State, draws to its village thousands of American tourists in search of their country's national identity.

When the National Baseball Hall of Fame opened in 1939, Americans from coast to coast read about it and heard radio broadcasts of the opening induction ceremonies. Cy Young, Babe Ruth, Ty Cobb, Grover Alexander, and Walter Johnson were among those inducted as the hall's first members. Every year on the day after the annual inductions, a Major League game is played at nearby Doubleday Field, seating approximately ten thousand, on the spot where many believe baseball to have originated. A legend of the origin of baseball claims that the game was developed in Cooperstown in 1839. According to a three-year investigation of the Mills Commission in the early 1900s, Abner Doubleday and his young friends played a game of “Town Ball” with a hand-stitched ball and a four-inch flat bat. Doubleday is said to have introduced bases, created the positions of pitcher and catcher, and established the rules that defined the game of baseball. Though this legend is disputed by some, even those who disagree accept the village as a symbolic home for the game's creation.

Philanthropist and Cooperstown native Stephen C. Clark founded the Baseball Hall of Fame. Clark inherited his fortune from his grandfather, Edward Clark, who earned his wealth as a partner to Isaac Merritt Singer, inventor of the Singer sewing machine. Through the generosity of the Clark family toward their birthplace, Cooperstown gained not only the baseball museum, but also a variety of other attractions. In the nineteenth century, when Cooperstown was becoming a summer retreat, Edward Clark built Kingfisher Tower, a sixty-foot-high tower that overlooks the natural beauty of Otsego Lake, which spans nine miles north from its shore at Cooperstown. Stephen Clark and his brother, Edward S. Clark, built the Bassett Hospital to honor Dr. Mary Imogene Bassett, a general practitioner of Cooperstown and one of the first female physicians in America. Stephen Clark also brought the New York State Historical Association to Cooperstown in 1939; the village has since been the annual summer site of the association's seminars on American culture and folk art. In 1942, Stephen Clark established the Farmer's Museum, a cultural attraction that displays the customs of pre-industrial America. The museum continued to grow with the 1995 addition of an American Indian Wing containing more than six hundred artifacts that reflect the cultural diversity and creativity of Native Americans.

The exhibits of Native American culture are well suited to Cooperstown since it was a traditional fishing area of the Susquehannock and the Iroquois Indians until Dutch fur traders occupied it in the seventeenth century. It was also the birthplace of James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851), the early nineteenth-century writer whose novels romantically depict Native Americans and the frontier life of early America. *The Pioneers* (1823), the first of Cooper's Leatherstocking Tales, is a novel set in the blossoming village of Cooperstown, and one of its main characters is based on James Fenimore Cooper's father, Judge William Cooper, the founder

of the village in 1786. Another of Cooper's works, *The Chronicles of Cooperstown* (1838), provides a history of the village. The novel *The Deerslayer* (1841) takes place at Otsego Lake during the beginning of the French and Indian War.

An additional Cooperstown attraction, the Glimmerglass Opera opened in 1975 with performances in the auditorium of the Cooperstown High School. In 1987, the Alice Busch Opera Theater was completed to permanently host the Glimmerglass, which has become an internationally recognized organization, producing performances for thirty-six thousand opera fans during the summer festival seasons.

Overall, Cooperstown provides many opportunities to enjoy American culture. Appreciating the music, viewing the scenery, experiencing the American past in this historic village with its cultural museums and the National Baseball Hall of Fame appeals to many as an enjoyable diversion.

—Sharon Brown

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## Coors

"Pure Rocky Mountain Spring Water" isn't just a marketer's phrase; it is the ingredient that fueled Adolph Coors' dream of owning his own brewery in the 1870s, and then went on to make Coors the third largest brewing company in the United States. It might seem easy to dismiss Coors as just another brewery, but Coors has achieved what many other companies—beer or otherwise—would cherish: a mystique that reaches out to more than just beer drinkers.

Adolph Coors (1847-1929) was born in Barmen, Prussia, and worked as an apprentice at the Henry Wenker Brewery in Dortmund, Germany. In 1868, he fled a war-ravaged Germany to the United States as a stowaway on a ship, and in 1872 he arrived in Denver, Colorado, anxious to pursue his dream of owning a brewery. In Golden, Colorado, along the banks of Clear Creek, he found the water that he believed would make the finest tasting beer. Establishing his brewery on the site it still inhabits today, Adolph Coors soon began supplying beer to miners. During Prohibition, which began in Colorado in 1916, Coors kept the business alive by selling malted milk, a

near-beer called Mannah, and the porcelain products that Coors still produces.

With the death of Adolph Coors in 1929, Coor's son Adolph Jr. took over operations and, after Prohibition was repealed, he expanded the market to ten Western states. In 1941, Coors introduced Coors Light, but government restrictions due to World War II forced Coors to limit product offerings. In 1959, Coors introduced the country's first all-aluminum can and got a jump on the ecologists by offering a penny for each can returned for recycling. The mid-1970s brought unrest and decline for the Coors company when Local Union #366 demanded a boycott of Coors beer. Sales dropped and, for the first time in its history, employees were laid off. Although contract negotiations revolved around wages and benefits, the company was affected by bad press about Coors' policy of making potential employees submit to polygraph testing. Workers went on strike on April 5, 1977. The strike officially lasted a little over a year; unofficially it lasted much longer as the company continued to suffer from bad press regarding its treatment of minorities and women, as well as the breakup of the union. These allegations ultimately proved untrue, and Coors was vindicated in 1982 when *60 Minutes* interviewed Coors executives and employees. Coors received a rare favorable report from *60 Minutes* and the judgment that it had been the victim of a smear campaign by the AFL-CIO. An agreement between Coors and the AFL-CIO finally was reached in 1987.

By the late 1970s, consumers were clamoring for a product with fewer calories. In 1978, Coors reintroduced Coors Light, the beer destined to become their number one product and one of the best-selling beers in the country, creating a larger demand for Coors in every state. In 1981, Coors expanded across the Mississippi and by 1991 had reached all 50 states. Operations were expanded to include two new breweries—one in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley, the other in Memphis, Tennessee—both acclaimed for the high-quality water that the Coors family would not compromise.

Coors achieved legendary, even cult, status in the 1960s and 1970s. This "mystique madness" may have started during World War II. Believing that beer would help the morale of the troops, the U.S. government subsidized breweries' materials and costs. Coors allocated half of its production to go overseas. When the war ended and soldiers returned, the Coors beer they had become accustomed to drinking was found in only the Western states, leaving soldiers to pine over what they had left behind. A visit to Colorado eventually became a way to smuggle the Rocky Mountain brew home. Former U.S. President Gerald Ford was known to return to the White House with several cases of Coors aboard Air Force One, as would his Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger. Actor Paul Newman was often seen at functions with a Coors in hand. The mystique of Coors beer was featured in the movie *Smokey and the Bandit*, starring Burt Reynolds. In the story line, Reynolds is challenged to smuggle a truckload of Coors beer from Texarkana to Atlanta in 28 hours for a reward of \$80,000.

What began as a German immigrant's dream in 1873 is now one of the largest and most ethical corporations in America. Its philanthropic endeavors include environmental activities, start-up businesses run by minorities, literacy programs, and veteran affairs. Not content to limit these endeavors to outside interests, Coors also supports better environments for its employees, such as its parental leave policy, its Wellness Center, and its health benefits to partners of



A truck carries three enormous Coors beer cans (each complete with its own tap).

gay and lesbian employees. But even though it is one of the largest corporations in the country, the employees at Coors still talk about its “family feel.” The mystique lives on.

—Cheryl A. Smith

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## Copland, Aaron (1900-1990)

One of the greatest American composers of the twentieth century, Aaron Copland wrote music for American audiences with genuine American themes. He changed the face of a composer's lifestyle by

being involved in activities outside of the concert hall, and he wrote music according to the popular trends of his time. This ability to tap into the pulse of American popular culture elevated Copland to the status of musical icon, although Copland was a humble man who did not have the same ambition to acquire the huge audiences and fame that other musicians sought out. Copland's range of musical styles was diverse, including jazz, opera, and American folk styles. He also taught, lectured, and wrote books on musical topics. To him, music was the ultimate symbol of passion and vigor in a personality.

Copland's family came from Poland and Lithuania to the United States in the 1870s. Aaron was born on November 14, 1900, the youngest of five children. Harris and Sarah Copland, whose department store earned the label “Macy's of Brooklyn,” gave their children a strong work ethic and a sense of orderliness and self-determination that one can see in Copland over the course of his musical career. As a youngster, he quickly realized his love for music as he studied the works of Tchaikovsky, Debussy, and Ravel, among others. He played the piano, and an older sister served as a tutor, but he soon realized that he needed a professional musician if he was going to make a career out of it.

Despite his father's disappointment with his career choice, Copland went to Paris in 1921 to study at the new music school for Americans at Fontainebleau and take in the city's rich, vibrant



culture. He studied harmony under a superb music instructor, Nadia Boulanger. He toured other European cities such as Berlin and Vienna, two world-famous musical centers, to take in as many musical influences as he could. But Copland soon longed for New York, and he returned to the United States in 1924.

During his years in Europe, Copland had formulated a better contemporary understanding of music. He discovered that there were vast differences in musical tastes between Americans and Europeans—the music scene was much more energetic and accomplished in Paris than in New York. Copland's experiences enabled him to write his first major piece, *Symphony for Organ and Orchestra*, in 1924, which premiered with the New York Symphony Orchestra at Carnegie Hall in early 1925. Copland worked with jazz styles and rhythms in his *Music for the Theater* (1925) and *Piano Concerto* (1926). He showed a more abstract style in *Short Symphony* (1933) and *Statements for Orchestra* (1933-35). He changed his style in the following decades and concentrated more on producing works with American folkloric themes, which gained him a wider audience. His most important works during these years included *Billy the Kid* (1938), *Rodeo* (1942), and *Appalachian Spring* (1944). Copland also experimented with opera: *The Second Hurricane* (a "play opera" for high school students in 1937) and *The Tender Land* (1954). His most famous orchestral scores include *El Salón México* (1936) and *A Lincoln Portrait* (1942) with spoken excerpts from Abraham Lincoln's famous speeches. Copland also composed music for films such as *Of Mice and Men* (1939), *Our Town* (1940), *The Red Pony* (1949), and *The Heiress* (1949, for which his score won an Oscar), and he became known as one of the leading composers of movie scores.



Aaron Copland

Copland was the recipient of many distinguished commissions, awards, and prizes, such as the Medal of Freedom in 1964 awarded by the United States Government. Copland's books include *What to Listen for in Music* (1939), *Copland on Music* (1960), and a two-volume autobiography with Vivian Perlis. Copland ceased composing after 1970 but continued to conduct, write, and lecture. He died in Tarrytown, New York, on December 2, 1990.

—David Treviño

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## Corbett, James J. (1866-1933)

Professional prizefighting in the nineteenth century was a semi-legal, bare-fisted fight to the finish, often featuring more wrestling than punching. As the twentieth century approached, changes were made, ostensibly to legitimize "boxing" as credible athletic competition. On September 7, 1892, in New Orleans, the first Heavyweight championship match contested under the relatively new Marquess of Queensberry rules took place. These new rules stipulated three minute rounds with one minute rest periods and the use of five-ounce gloves, worn to protect the combatant's hands. A relic from the bare-knuckle age by the name of John L. Sullivan—"The Boston Strongboy"—was the reigning champion. Sullivan personified nineteenth-century America: rugged, racist individualism. He triumphed in brutal contests of stamina and strength despite his heavy drinking; he sauntered into saloons boasting "I can lick any man in the house!" and he drew the color line, refusing to fight leading black contender Peter Jackson. Sullivan's challenger, a fellow Irish-American pugilist named James J. Corbett, seemed to personify the direction in which boxing was moving, perhaps as a reflection of American society. "Gentleman Jim," as Corbett would come to be known, both for his style of dress outside the ring and his fighting style inside it, was born on September 1, 1866 in San Francisco, California. The son of a livery stable owner, he graduated high school but always found himself fighting, first in the streets and then eventually at the San Francisco Olympic Club. Where Sullivan was an east coast, blue-collar roughneck, Corbett was a west coast, white-collar scientific boxer, who was employed as a bank teller when he began his professional prizefighting career.

Corbett had earned his title shot with a win against an old bare-knuckle nemesis of Sullivan's, Jake Kilrain—with two wins against contender Joe Choynski (who would go on to defeat the great Jack Johnson); and with a 61 round draw with the same Peter Jackson whom Sullivan refused to fight. Gentleman Jim toured the country, fighting from San Francisco to Brooklyn, all the while clamoring for a



A reproduction of a fight between James J. Corbett (left) and John L. Sullivan.

match with the feared and beloved reigning champ. He got his chance in New Orleans, where after 21 rounds Jim Corbett's new-age science prevailed over John L. Sullivan's old-world machismo. In what boxing historian Bert Randolph Sugar nearly a century later called "the most important round in boxing history," the smaller, faster, fitter Corbett claimed the heavyweight throne with a shattering knockout. Modern boxing was born with this fight, as speed, conditioning, and technique triumphed over brute force. Corbett, and especially the Corbett-Sullivan fight, epitomized the evolution of the fight game from a foul-plagued virtual free-for-all to a more organized contest of fists and wit. In a Darwinian twist, after the rules were changed, Corbett-like fighters, who previously had not been as successful as their larger and more powerful Sullivan-like counterparts, were now better adapted for success in boxing.

After his title winning effort, Corbett followed a path similar to John L. Sullivan's. Cashing in on his newfound fame, Corbett toured in theater and vaudeville. By the time he defended his title against Bob Fitzsimmons, Corbett had fought only once in the five years since the Sullivan bout. Gentleman Jim lost his title to Fitzsimmons,

suffering a 14th round knockout. He made two attempts to regain the crown, both against the big and powerful James J. Jeffries. In both fights, Corbett's "science" seemed at first to be carrying the day, but the younger, fresher, Jeffries eventually caught up with the old boxing master, winning with knockouts in the twenty-third round of their first fight and the tenth round of the rematch. With all of the changes in boxing epitomized by Corbett's defeat of Sullivan, there was one aspect of the sport that no rule change could alter, one that remains constant to this day: father time beats all comers.

—Max Kellerman

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## Corman, Roger (1926—)

The king of “B” movies, Roger Corman has produced and/or directed more than two hundred films, half of which have made a profit. After graduating from Stanford with an engineering degree, Corman went into the movie business, working his way up from messenger boy to screenwriter. After a studio tampered with his first screenplay, he decided to produce his own films. *The Monster from the Ocean Floor* (1954) established the Corman formula, as noted in *Baseline’s Encyclopedia of Film*: “Quirky characters; offbeat plots laced with social commentary, clever use of special effects, sets, and cinematography; employment of fresh talent; and above all, minuscule budgets (under \$100,000) and breakneck shooting schedules (5–10 days).” Corman’s movies, such as *The Little Shop of Horrors*, *Machine Gun Kelly*, and the six Edgar Allan Poe pictures starring Vincent Price, became instant cult classics in the 1950s and 1960s. Always quick to spot and sponsor talent, Corman formed his own production company, which became a training ground for such A-list directors and actors as Francis Ford Coppola, Martin Scorsese, Jonathan Demme, Jack Nicholson, Robert De Niro, and Dennis Hopper. With his eye for talent, knack for business, and willingness to take risks, Roger Corman made low-budget movies a staple of American popular culture.

—Victoria Price

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## Corvette

In 1953 General Motors introduced the Chevrolet Corvette sports car, America’s first mass-produced automobile with a fiberglass body. With its sleek design and Americanized European styling, it quickly became the “dream car” of thousands of auto enthusiasts. Though the economy was experiencing a postwar boom in automobile sales, the base price of \$3,498 was prohibitive for many, and only 300 Corvettes were produced the first year. In 1960, its popularity was enhanced by a television series called *Route 66* (1960–1964), which featured two adventurous guys—actors Martin Milner and George Maharis—tooling around the country in a Corvette.

The car was the brainchild of Harley Earl, an auto designer who had made his name turning out one-of-a-kind car bodies for movie stars. Earl’s first design after joining General Motors was the spectacular 1927 Cadillac LaSalle, which was to help convince the automobile industry of the importance of styling. He scored another design coup by putting tail fins on the 1948 Cadillacs, making him the top man in GM styling and giving him the clout to persuade the company to build an entirely new car. Earl noticed that GIs had brought back a distinctive kind of automobile from Europe, a sports car that was fun to drive and had become a kind of cult object to the owners who gathered to race them on dirt tracks. Detroit made no

vehicle to compete with the popular two-seat sports cars such as the MG and Jaguar until Earl convinced his bosses to let him build an American sports car to present at the 1953 Motorama, GM’s traveling show. GM executives agreed after insisting that standard GM parts be used under its proposed fiberglass body. Legend has it that the designers cleared away a ping-pong table and in one night “laid out the whole skin for the first Corvette.” After discarding almost three hundred suggestions for a name, they selected Corvette, the name of a swift fighting ship in the old British navy.

Despite the secrecy surrounding the new Corvette, word leaked out to sports car enthusiasts, and in January, 1953, long lines of curious car buffs waited outside the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City for the Motorama to open. The 300 original models were polo white convertibles with red interiors, and all handmade body panels. The critics pronounced them beautiful, but not very satisfactory as sports cars due to an inadequate, rough-riding suspension system. They proved, however, to be superb investments, and those still owned by collectors are said to be worth more than \$100,000 each. The number of original 1953 cars still existing is variously estimated at 120 to 290.

The engineering problems persisted, and in 1954, only half of the output of 3600 Corvettes were sold. A former racer on the European circuit, Zora Arkus-Duntov, came to GM’s rescue by writing a memo to GM executives outlining the Corvette’s shortcomings and urging the company to create a separate department within Chevrolet to oversee the Corvette’s development. After GM hired Duntov for its Corvette project, his first step was to put a V-8 engine in the 1955 model, and that year GM sold all 700 of the Corvettes that were built.

Duntov went on to become Corvette’s first chief engineer. In 1956 he replaced the automatic transmission with a three-speed manual, and the car became one of GM’s hottest sellers. Corvette owners raced and defeated Jaguars and other European cars, and a modified 240 hp 1956 Corvette—with Duntov driving—set a record-breaking average of 150.583 mph at the Daytona Beach raceway. John Fitch drove a standard Corvette to a new production-car record of 145 mph during Daytona Speed Week in 1956. Later that year, in the 12 Hours of Sebring race, a Corvette showed its durability by winning first in its class. In 1960 three white Corvettes competed in the 24 Hours of LeMans race in France, finishing eighth overall. A 1968 Corvette reached a speed of 210.762 mph in the 1979 Bonneville Speed Week at the Utah Salt Flats, becoming the fastest carbureted car in the world.

The 250,000th Corvette, a gold convertible, rolled off the assembly line in 1969. Although Harley Earl had retired in 1958, being replaced as chief stylist by Bill Mitchell, the car underwent redesigns in 1963, 1968, and 1984. It was Mitchell who got the idea for the body shape of the XP-775, the Corvette Shark, after landing such a fish in deep sea off the Bahamas. The 500,000th Corvette was built in 1977, and the following year a Corvette was used as the pace car for the 62nd Indianapolis 500. In June of 1978 a movie, *Corvette Summer*, premiered in Maumee, Ohio, attracting a parade of Corvette owners that made the *Guinness Book of World Records*, the number estimated at between five and seven thousand cars. That October, another movie, *High Rolling in a Hot Corvette*, was released.

Into the 1980s the Corvette turned a profit for GM of about \$100 million with a small production of around 25,000 cars annually. The Corvettes continued to act as a proving ground for new suspensions, new electronics, new chassis fabrication techniques, and new fiberglass or plastic materials for body parts. The Corvette sold out nearly every year, and Corvette clubs worldwide were filled with proud



**The 1953 Corvette**

owners who esteemed the cars and hailed the arrival of each new model, despite nagging problems such as rattles in the removable hardtop and the resistance of the fiberglass body to durable paint.

In the early months of 1989 was begun the long process of developing a new Corvette from scratch. The dream of developing the C5, the fifth-generation Corvette, coincided with a time of financial disaster at General Motors, which reported a \$2 billion loss in 1990 and predicted even worse results in 1991. Despite this fiscal situation, new competitions were launched to design a C5 Corvette. The next five years proved to be a roller-coaster ride for the prototype due to internal rivalry at GM and budget cutbacks. Problems emerged involving the lubrication of the all-new aluminum engine, the electronic throttle control, and a new fiberglass side structure that failed to pass early tests in the crash laboratory. By 1996 the problems were solved, and C5s were being tested in long-distance drives throughout the United States. In Australia the new model Corvettes were set on cruise control in 110-degree heat and run on the outback roads for 90 to 120 minutes straight, with no problems.

When the new fifth-generation, cherry-red Corvette was unveiled at the Motorama Show the following January, fans were ecstatic about the car's new silhouette and its all-new 5.7-liter V8 345-hp engine, capable of moving from zero to sixty miles per hour in five seconds and delivering a top speed of 172 mph. Though it was still unmistakably a Vette, the wheelbase was longer, and the nose had been lowered for greater aerodynamics and road visibility. The new design reflected the sleekness of the '83 Corvette and the muscle of the '68 model. Other links to past Corvette generations included the air scoop on the front quarter panel, the familiar quad taillamps, and the concealed headlamps. The new version has one-third fewer parts despite the addition of a four-channel anti-lock braking system and complex traction control. Automobile writers raved about this sports car that was "as comfortable as a limousine." GM boasted that with

all the improvements, the \$44,990 sticker price was \$635 less than the 1996 Corvette.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Corwin, Norman (1910—)

Throughout the 1940s, Norman Corwin elevated the fledgling medium of live broadcast radio theatre to its artistic zenith in America. Regarded as radio's poet laureate by fans and contemporaries, Corwin's earnest prosody adapted naturally and easily to radio broadcast, and he wielded the medium to its utmost, celebrating the American citizen during World War II, elucidating the dread of war with a journalist's precision, impugning despotism, or merely lending credence to the vox populi with his intellectual, imaginative use of words, music, and dramatic interplay. Corwin's dramatic use of radio defined an era and an art form. Though Corwin was revered and admired during radio's Golden Age, his popularity ultimately paralleled that of network radio.

Born May 3, 1910, in Boston, Massachusetts, Norman Lewis Corwin was the third of four children in a Jewish Russian-Hungarian family. He was a prankster and a storyteller, and his grades in school were uneven, though teachers discovered early his talent for writing

and appreciation for poetry. Upon graduating from high school, Norman wrote for the *Springfield Republican* covering human-interest stories. When infant station WBZA requested that the newspaper provide a radio news reader, Corwin was assigned, and soon he was producing a poetry program—*Rhymes and Cadences*—while writing newspaper articles and radio copy as well as his first (failed) attempt at a novel. But at twenty-one, Corwin was restless and traveled to Europe with his brother and a friend.

In Germany, in the shadow of World War I, Corwin reflected on the senselessness of war, the ethnic hatred growing in the Weimar Republic, and the political pessimism spreading into adjacent nations. When Corwin returned to the States, his idealism resolved into a sense of purpose, a defiance of inevitability. In 1935 he began reading news on WLW in Cincinnati, Ohio. Less than three weeks later, though, he was fired for challenging a managerial memo forbidding the announcement of a local labor strike. He returned to the *Republican*, but not for long.

Arts, education, and social service organizations were accusing commercial radio stations of polluting the airwaves with a huckstering orgy, serving their own financial interests, and neglecting the quality of their programming. Faced with losing their licenses in a proposed decentralization of frequencies, many stations began hiring writers and directors to expand the formulaic format of commercial broadcasting with “sustaining programs” for discerning audiences.

After a brief stint as a publicity writer for Twentieth Century-Fox, Corwin was hired by the Columbia Broadcast System in 1938 and immediately proved himself a considerable talent, writing (in verse) and directing a fanciful play called *The Plot to Overthrow*

*Christmas* on his new program *Words without Music*. Later he impressed even the venerable CBS newsman Edward R. Murrow with *They Fly through the Air with the Greatest of Ease*, a sharp response to the indifference of Italian bombardiers. Corwin went on to produce and direct the *Columbia Workshop*, showcasing some of the finest writers, actors, and musicians available.

In 1941, Corwin wrote, directed, and produced a live broadcast each week for the eponymous *26 by Corwin* series. With unprecedented autonomy—network censors literally had no time to review his scripts prior to broadcast—Corwin spun each whimsical, fantastic, or dramatic tale, often reminding listeners of the war a horizon away. Later, Corwin produced a celebration piece for the 150th anniversary of the Bill of Rights (“We Hold These Truths”) to be aired on all four networks simultaneously and starring Hollywood luminaries James Stewart, Edward G. Robinson, Marjorie Main, Orson Welles, and many others, as well as president Franklin D. Roosevelt. On December 7, 1941, however, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor caught the nation by surprise, and Corwin retooled the program into a galvanizing documentation of American political determination. Eight days later, more than sixty million people heard “We Hold These Truths” as America’s position on the war became clear: we would fight.

Throughout World War II, Corwin churned out poignant dramatizations of patriotism and thrilled audiences with his candor and eloquence. His series *This Is War!* (1942) was considered radio’s first all-out effort at wartime domestic propaganda, and his series *An American in England*, coproduced on location by Edward R. Murrow, brought the human faces of shell-shocked Britain into American homes. In 1944, CBS broadcast *Columbia Presents Corwin*, a collection of war-inflected plays similar to the *26* series.

When the war in Europe ended, Corwin had prepared a special broadcast for V-E Day, May 8, 1945. Refraining from wild celebration, as the war was still alive in the Pacific Theatre, “On a Note of Triumph” asked tough moral questions of both citizen and government in a relentless prose poem equally evaluating America’s losses and victories punctuated by sound effects and a powerful score by Bernard Hermann. For V-J Day, after the first atomic bombs were dropped on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and Japan subsequently surrendered, Corwin created a solemn closure piece called simply “14 August” (1945), “a fistful of lines” delivered by Orson Welles.

After the war, Corwin received the first Wendell Wilkie One World award and traveled the war-torn globe recording his impressions, producing from these tapes the series *One World Flight* (1947). Corwin’s association with CBS ended in 1948 when the network began to compromise his artistic integrity. He joined United Nations Radio in 1949 amid a national obsession with Communism in which Corwin himself ironically was suspect and created *Pursuit of Peace* (1950), a series which espoused the unity of the world’s nations.

As radio became less lucrative and as the medium of television captured America’s imagination, Corwin faded from public view. Though he authored more than seventeen books and wrote numerous screenplays, he could never recapture the immediate glory of radio’s Golden Age. His programs have long been in circulation among old-time radio enthusiasts, however, and in the 1990s National Public Radio rebroadcast many of his works to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of World War II and even commissioned new plays created by this bard of the airwaves.



Norman Corwin

—Tony Brewer

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## Cosby, Bill (1937—)

As one of the most influential and gifted comics of his time, Bill Cosby dissolved racial barriers on television from the 1960s to the 1980s, created the epochal situation comedy *The Cosby Show*, produced memorable educational programs for children, and made a series of much adored advertisements. Cosby's enormously influential style as an on-stage comic influenced a generation. On the 1968 album *To Russell, My Brother, Whom I Slept With*, Cosby's comedy brings everyday experience away from any broader historical meaning to the level of the mundane and thus, the "universal." This quality of universality helps to account for his ability to traverse ordinarily sensitive racial, gender, and age divides with ease and grace.



Bill Cosby

In the style developed during his early years performing at nightclubs and recording a number of successful comedy albums, Cosby *became* his audience in their most ordinary, everyday aspects. Aware that while there were others who could tell "jokes" as well as or better than he, Cosby's inimitable signature was the domestic anecdote—a charming and instantly recognizable little tale of everyday family experience. Cosby remembers experience to such a degree that he revitalizes it.

Cosby deliberately eliminated anything in his comic presentation that might have divided his audience. According to biographer Caroline Latham, Cosby explained during an interview in the 1960s why he does not do "racially oriented material": "When I told racial jokes, the Negroes looked at the whites, the whites looked at the Negroes, and no one laughed—until I brought them together again, and then I had to tell the jokes over again. . . I try to find a common identity with an audience. I create a situation and say, 'Hey, this happened to me and you're laughing with me about it, so can we really be that different?'"

Born William Henry Cosby, Jr. on July 12, 1937, Cosby grew up in a rough part of Philadelphia essentially a fatherless child. When Cosby was eight years old his six-year-old brother died. Bill's father retreated from this unbearable reality and joined the Navy, leaving his family in dire financial straits. Whatever money he sent home was woefully inadequate to the family's needs and they slid quickly down the economic ladder, occasionally landing on the welfare rolls. Not long after what must be considered a desertion, Cosby's mother obtained a divorce.

"My father left home many times," Cosby has said. "He would leave home when the rent was due, or come home penniless on payday, swearing to my mother that he'd been robbed and leave again. Once he vanished just before Christmas and we didn't have a cent." Cosby's mother Anna assumed the role of family breadwinner and Bill, as the oldest child, was left to "mother" his younger siblings. He cooked, cleaned, and kept order among the kids. Latham quotes Cosby's brother Russell: "He kept us in line and whipped us when we got out of line." His boyhood responsibilities as a caretaker were not something he could either take or leave. It was his responsibility to keep everyday domestic life going. The small joys and pains of this life were as much his experience as they are for any "mother." The structure of Cosby's comedy is rooted in his communication of this experience.

In the routines he would later fashion for the stage, his albums, and for the 1984-1992 sit-com *The Cosby Show*, his portrayals of family life are always idyllic. Annoyance is most often involved but never despair or genuine frustration. The one word observers use to describe the experience of Cosby's comedy more than any other is "reassurance." In Cosby's comedy there is always a sort of small internal war waged between his desire to relate the feel of his actual experience and his apparent need to suppress that experience with a fantasy of patriarchal authority that clearly did not exist for him when he was a child.

Initially a high school dropout, Cosby signed up for a four year Navy hitch when he got his equivalency diploma. . . and did not stop there. While most celebrities settle for honorary degrees, Cosby later returned to college and got his bachelors, masters, and Ed.D. Education became a dragon Cosby would be forever trying to slay; during his career, he always maintained his interest in creating educational programming such as the beloved cartoon *Fat Albert and The Cosby Kids*.

After two years on a track scholarship at Temple University, Cosby started telling jokes professionally, and within a short time became television's Jackie Robinson in his role as Alexander Scott in the NBC series *I Spy* (1965-68). It was the first time an African American character had so significant a role on a television series. While appreciative of the opportunity, Cosby had some reservations about how the character was written: "If Alexander Scott doesn't get to go out with a girl once in a while," Cosby complained at one point, "people are going to wonder about me." According to Latham, Producer Sheldon Leonard (the Branch Rickey of television) responded: "I am not going to feed the concept that says a Negro only responds to the sex drive. We want him to have girls, but there has to be sweetness and dignity to it."

During the 1970s, while Cosby worked toward his doctorate at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, he fashioned a new comedy routine apparently based on his domestic experiences as a father of four daughters and one son. He used the substance of the routine as the foundation for his enormously popular and structurally groundbreaking television series, *The Cosby Show*. The show focused almost entirely on the often-overlooked yet familiar everyday activities of an ordinary, intact upper-middle-class African American family. No such family had ever before been depicted on American television and the show became a landmark success. Cosby finally had a fitting vehicle to fully realize his comic potential and appeal to virtually all segments of American society.

After the show finished its run in the early 1990s, Cosby soon had another sitcom—named simply *Cosby*—that became a moderate success. Then, on the morning of January 15, 1997, Cosby's only son Ennis—the model for the fictional "Theo" of *The Cosby Show*—was shot to death by a man who tried to rob him. Bill Cosby took virtually no time to mourn in private; neither his on-stage nor off-stage attitude could help him confront an experience so far outside of the familiar everyday world he created in his work.

—Robin Markowitz

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## *The Cosby Show*

*The Cosby Show*, a situation comedy that ran for eight seasons on NBC Television, was one of the most intensely and immediately popular shows ever broadcast in America. The show, which began in the fall of 1984, featured comedian Bill Cosby in the role of obstetrician-father Cliff Huxtable and his family: attorney-wife Claire, daughters Sondra (18), Denise (15), Vanessa (11), Rudy (5), and son Theo (13). According to the December 5, 1985 issue of *USA Today*, the program premiered at the number one spot on the Nielson ratings,

reached that spot ten times during the first season, and was number one in every age group. An estimated 62 million people tuned in every Thursday night during the early years of the show's run. More significantly, *The Cosby Show* was the first American television show to feature the daily adventures of a prosperous, intact upper-middle class family of African descent.

The source of the show's popularity and significance in television history stemmed not from Bill Cosby's own intentional presentation of the ideology of African-American upward mobility and the restoration of traditional family values to popular culture, but in the sheer pleasure of the nearly plotless structure of the show. On *The Cosby Show*, the focus on the seemingly "insignificant" bits of business of everyday life became the show's main attraction. It was truly the first "show about nothing" that *Seinfeld* later claimed to be. The first several episodes were drawn almost without alteration from Cosby's early 1980s stand-up routines and it is primarily from his comic vision that the show emerged whole. The show created a safe, crisis-free world that viewers had a chance to enter for a half-hour every week. Regardless of their ethnicity, gender, or age, many viewers immediately recognized themselves in the show: the Huxtable characters enacted the strikingly real ordinary domestic activities of the viewing audience. In its mid-1980s heyday, Thursday night became "Cosby night," a time anticipated with relish.

Only one family comedy before *The Cosby Show* came close to this structural breakthrough. *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* (1951-1966) portrayed a "real" family who "played themselves," as it were. These shows were relaxed in the extreme and the Nelsons themselves seemed to exist in a state of grace; Ozzie, the "head of the household," never seemed to have an occupation and simply sauntered around the house all day. He lived the domestic life of a retired man with a servant (Harriet). There was, more importantly, some slight shift of focus to the everyday "doings" of life rather than on a very tight plotline. We see here only a glimmer of what *The Cosby Show* would bring to fruition and *Seinfeld* would later be so widely noted for.

One early episode of *The Cosby Show*, which concerned Cliff's looking after a slumber party of five-year-olds, disposed of some five to ten minutes of Cliff playing "bucking bronco" with the children: that is, bouncing some ten of them, one at a time, upon his knee. Someone connected with the show told *T.V. Guide* in 1985 that it was "one long Jello commercial." The episode was perhaps the most loosely scripted sitcom episode ever produced: the audience simply delighted in watching Bill Cosby make real children laugh. At this point, it was clear that the show's meandering tone was no mistake, no bug that needed to be worked out (as one might have originally suspected), but in fact, the very secret of show's success. Watching *The Cosby Show*, it appeared as though the cameras were simply stuck in a window, left on, and the finished product assembled at random. Viewers of the show luxuriated in a sort of celebration of banal, ordinary existence and thus participated in a validation of their own, often-overlooked daily life.

The most fascinating aspect of this is that the show's creators seemed utterly unaware of the reasons why people were glued to their show. Bill Cosby, for his part, told Larry King in 1989 that the show was successful because now the parents always get to "win." He reported his distress at programs such as *Silver Spoons* that depicted weak, incompetent parents led around by clever children. Cosby saw himself as the avenging parental Rambo of domestic comedy. The world the show created stands however, quite apart from (and indeed, opposed to) the ideological message Cosby sought to deliver.

What distinguished the Cosby show from virtually all others in the family comedy genre was the almost total absence of struggle or conflict. There is a sense that some measure of real suffering and discord occurred in the past, in previous generations, but not anymore. The grandparents' function in the show is to give some hint of this, as is the display of various icons scattered about the Huxtable home. A picture of Martin Luther King, Jr. reposed on the wall of eldest daughter Sondra's room and in another episode all of the trivial action stopped dead in its tracks when King's 1963 "I Have A Dream" speech appeared unexpectedly on the living room TV screen. It was as if the savior himself had appeared in an apparition. The message was clear: without that struggle, the Huxtables idyllic existence would not be. Now, of course, all struggle is ended. If ever there were an ideal representation of Reagan-era complacency, this was it.

"Significant" things seem to actually go on beyond the door of the Huxtable household, but almost never within its borders. The Huxtables experienced only the banal, uninterrupted hubbub of the everyday, only those aspects of life to which real people rarely give much thought and attention. Every Thursday night during the show's run we watched the children's endless squabbles, activities useful mainly in their ability to allay boredom (playing chess, shooting baskets), recreational cooking (Cliff's Special Secret Spaghetti Sauce), and the annoyances—but never the life-altering burdens of working parents caring for a young child. In a memorable vignette, Cliff asks five-year-old Rudy if she needs to use the bathroom before he puts her into her elaborate snowsuit and, of course once she's zipped into it, she exclaims, giggling, "I have to go to the bathroom!" An exasperated Cliff sent her to her mother.

Observers eventually tried explaining the unprecedented success of the show by suggesting that its success reflected "the love in the house." In fact, a record album released during the show's heyday of theme music connected with the program is called *A House Full of Love*. The reason for this is not the adequacy of the explanation, but Cliff's use of the language of "love" to diffuse any potential conflict. We love each other; therefore we cannot *have* a problem.

In the alternative universe of the Huxtables, it is clear, problems are only apparent: they can't *really* exist. In one episode, Claire knocks 14-year-old son Theo's notebook off the kitchen table. A marijuana joint falls out of the book. The parents look at each as if the sky has fallen. This cannot be happening in our house! Our house full of love! Theo is summoned to make some explanation of the event. He tells them it is not his and they believe him. (Huxtables, like George Washington, cannot tell lies.) This does not thoroughly satisfy Theo, who fears the loss of his parents' trust, so he drags the culprit who hid the joint in his book home with him to explain the situation to his parents. Cliff tells the boy from the errand outside world to see some adult about his problem—perhaps even the good doctor himself. It was not possible for Theo to have been the affected youth. Things like that did not happen to Huxtables.

In an episode from the 1885-86 season, one of the girls tells Cliff that a friend needs a medical appointment with him and that he not contact the girl's parents. Cliff sees her and although it turns out to be a simple problem of no moral consequence, he becomes troubled (a strange state for Cliff). He is worried that his own children will not come to him if they have a problem. He gathers the children around to tell them that they must talk to him if they're ever in trouble; the kids let slip that may have already happened. When the tension increases, they indicate that they were, of course, only kidding. The episode

ends on this note with nary a suspicion that they may have been telling the truth. Cliff had no reason to worry in the first place.

What we saw on *The Cosby Show* is what happens in that part of a fairy tale *after it ends*. The Huxtables were an upwardly-mobile black American family living happily ever after. It was a life devoid of crisis and conflict, a fantasy of upward mobility with no costs: a real American dream. What viewers wanted from the show was a chance to sink into this vision of utopia, this perfect world in which to spend their half-hour. Viewers responded to a utopian vision rooted in real aspects of the lives they actually lived, not Cosby's own ideological utopia of restored traditional family values. Cosby said he wanted his show to serve as both a teaching tool and a means to counter the prevailing trend of "weak parents" in both television and popular culture in general; he made the perhaps incorrect assumption that this message was what viewers most appreciated.

Near the end of the show's run, Cosby's own overt ideological intentions came to overcome the structure of the show. Cliff's funny faces that repress all tension were now backed up by overtly intimidating displays of parental might and even instances of outright emotional cruelty directed toward even the youngest Huxtable. At that point, ratings began to dip and other shows with characteristics similar to the earlier episodes of *The Cosby Show* soon appeared.

There was a time when Cosby himself saw the response to his show perhaps clearer than most observers. "I hardly ever watch my work, but with this show it's different," he says. "I watch every week. And at the end of every segment, I find myself with a smile on my face, because I really like that family and the feeling they give me."

—Robin Markowitz

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## Cosell, Howard (1918-1995)

Identified as the foremost sports television journalist of the 1970s, Howard Cosell consistently distinguished himself from the field by his presentation and content. He was, as a *TV Guide* poll in the 1970s revealed, both the most popular and the least popular sportscaster of his day. Though Cosell proclaimed that he was "just telling it like it is," his careful manipulation of his image helped to make him a celebrity in his own right.

Born Howard William Cohen on March 25, 1918, Cosell grew up in Brooklyn, New York, attended law school, and opened his own Manhattan firm. His clientele included several actors and athletes, the most famous being Willie Mays. Cosell also represented the Little





**Howard Cosell (left) with Muhammad Ali**

League of New York, a connection that soon landed him his first broadcasting job. In 1953, Cosell began hosting a Saturday morning program for ABC in which kids asked sports questions of professional athletes.

Cosell cut his teeth as a boxing commentator for ABC in the 1960s. Cosell critiqued everything in sight that would provide him with fan appeal and approval, yet his career was most clearly tied to the emergence of Muhammad Ali. For many viewers, Cosell's voice provided the soundtrack as *The Greatest* "floated like a butterfly and stung like a bee." The sportscaster served as one of Ali's chief defenders when he was stripped of his title after refusing to join the military due to religious beliefs. Cosell's public support was direct: "What the government did to this man was inhuman and illegal under the Fifth and Fourteenth amendments. Nobody says a damned word about the professional football players who dodged the draft. But Muhammad was different; he was black and he was boastful." Cosell covered the sport of boxing until 1982. After a particularly brutal heavyweight bout, Cosell walked away from the sport, saying: "Boxing is the only sport in the world where the clear intention is for

one person to inflict bodily harm upon the other person. . . ." Evidently, the smooth moves of Ali had prohibited Cosell from realizing this basic reality earlier.

In the late 1960s, ABC President Rooney Arledge, who was well known for his innovative ideas in sports broadcasting, approached Cosell with what many observers considered a ridiculous idea: would he like to host an evening sporting event that competed for prime-time viewers? Cosell teamed with Don Meredith and Frank Gifford to introduce *Monday Night Football* in 1970. Led by Cosell, the program became a kind of traveling road show as fans flocked around the broadcast booth, either to praise Cosell or damn him. Cosell's witty and sometimes caustic exchanges with his fellow broadcasters often drew more attention than the games themselves. *Monday Night Football* became—improbably—one of the most talked about programs of the 1970s.

Though he had a long record of support for civil rights and had offered prominent support to the protests of black runners Tommie Smith and John Carlos at the 1968 Summer Olympics, Cosell drew the wrath of viewers when, while watching *Washington Redskin's*

receiver Alvin Garrett carry the ball during one Monday Night Football broadcast, he said “Look at that little monkey run.” Hounded by critics, Cosell eventually left the broadcast booth in 1984, claiming that pro football had become a “stagnant bore.” Cosell briefly hosted a program called *Sportsbeat* (1985), but the publication of his autobiography *I Never Played the Game*—which contained scathing criticisms of many ABC personnel—soon led to the program’s cancellation. Cosell broadcast intermittently on radio thereafter and retired in 1992, reportedly bitter about his exclusion from a profession he helped to create. He died on April 23, 1995.

No matter the sport he covered, Cosell’s trademark was a steady flow of language unmatched in the trade. He refused to simplify his terminology, often using his nasal voice to introduce polysyllabic words into the foreign area of the boxing ring. He left the game description for his ex-jock colleagues, and he blazed the trail of the commentator role that has become standard in modern broadcasting. Arledge discussed Cosell in 1995: “He became a giant by the simple act of telling the truth in an industry that was not used to hearing it and considered it revolutionary.” This knack grew directly from what others called an “over-blown ego.” When Cosell misspoke about the game, his colleagues would call him to task. The irrepressible Cosell would typically respond with his well-known “heh, heh, heh” admission.

—Brian Black

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## Cosmopolitan

*Cosmopolitan* magazine holds a spot as one of the most successful women’s magazines of all time. In the late 1990s it boasted a circulation of 2.4 million readers in the United States, and an impressive 29 editions in other languages. Its distinctive, come-hither covers seem designed more to catch a man’s eye than any potential female newsstand browser, and inside its pages features give women very specific advice on how to lure—and keep—a man. Yet the *Cosmopolitan* ideology—revolutionary in the 1960s, fitting in perfectly with the liberated-women zeitgeist of the 1970s, and setting the big-haired tone of the 1980s—was the creation of one very female mind: Helen Gurley Brown. The author of the bestselling *Sex and the Single Girl* (1962), as *Cosmopolitan* editor, Brown deployed her array of self-improvement strategies into a monthly format that made her name synonymous with the magazine and enshrined *Cosmo*, as it came to be called, in popular print journalism’s hall of fame.

By tying the consciousness of the sexual revolution of the 1960s—brought about in part by the launch of the oral contraceptive pill on the United States market in 1960—with an accessible, affordable magazine format, *Cosmopolitan* succeeded beyond anyone’s vision. The periodical had actually been in existence since 1886 as a



An American tourist reads *Cosmopolitan* while sunbathing.

general-interest literary magazine; it was a Hearst Corporation holding after 1905, and for years found success with a high-caliber output of fiction. The “Cosmopolitan Girl” originally referred to the illustrated covers of the pre-World War II era; the term would take on an entirely different meaning a few decades later. In the 1950s *Cosmopolitan* began to focus more on attracting female readers with less fiction and more editorial features on women’s problems. Circulation, however, continued to plummet.

Helen Gurley Brown had already attained a certain level of notoriety in the United States with her 1962 book *Sex and the Single Girl*. The onetime advertising copywriter had penned a chatty but frank little how-to guide for young single women aspiring to be glamorous urban sophisticates; *Sex and the Single Girl* dovetailed perfectly with the trend of a greater number of female college graduates in the postwar boom years, a lessening of stigmas attached to unmarried women living on their own, and a delay in the average age of marriage. Brown posited that it was not only okay to be single, but a happy and emotionally healthy way to live—a revolutionary idea at the time, to say the least. The book’s tacit acknowledgment that sex occurred regularly between single, consenting adults outside of the bonds of matrimony was even more radical. Brown tried to find a backer for a magazine of her own after the runaway success of *Sex*; she planned to name it *Femme* and aim it at new young working

women. Instead Hearst hired her to revamp the moribund *Cosmopolitan*, which was near death at the time. With almost no journalism experience Brown became its first female editor.

The first revamped *Cosmo* in July of 1965 launched a new era in women's magazines. It addressed sex in frank terms and gave readers a barrage of upbeat self-improvement tips for sex, work, and the physical self. Naomi Wolf, author of *The Beauty Myth*, termed *Cosmopolitan* the first of "the new wave of post-women's movement magazines" that depicted women as sexual beings. Compared to its predecessors among women's service magazines, *Cosmopolitan*, wrote Wolf, set forth "an aspiration, individualist, can-do tone that says that you should be your best and nothing should get in your way. . . . But the formula must also include an element that contradicts and then undermines the overall prowoman fare" with anxiety-proving articles about cellulite, breast size, and wrinkles.

Brown always focused her magazine's editorial slant on the reader she termed "the mouseburger." Clearly a self-referential term, Brown defined it for Glenn Collins of the *New York Times* in 1982: "A mouseburger is a young woman who is not very prepossessing," Brown said. "She is not beautiful. She is poor, has no family connections, and she is not a razzle-dazzle ball of charm and fire. She is a kind of waif." With a heavy editorial emphasis on sex and dating features, tell-all stories, and beauty and diet tips, *Cosmopolitan* had become an American institution by the 1970s, and the term "Cosmo Girl" seemed synonymous with the ultra-liberated woman in her twenties who had several "beaus," a well-paying job, and a hedonistic lifestyle. The magazine also introduced the male centerfold with a much-publicized spread of actor Burt Reynolds in its April 1972 issue.

Yet the reality was somewhat different: *Cosmopolitan's* demographics were rooted in the lower income brackets, attracting readers with little college education who held low-paying, usually clerical jobs. The "Cosmo Girl" on the cover and the few vamped fashion pages inside reflected this—the *Cosmo* style was far different from the more restrained, elegant, or avant-garde look of its journalistic sisters like *Vogue* or even *Mademoiselle*, which focused on a more middle class readership. Though often a top model or celebrity, the women on *Cosmo's* covers were usually shown in half- or three-quarter-length body shots, often by Francesco Scavullo for several years, to show off the low-cut evening wear. The hair was far more overdone—read "big"—than usual for women's magazines, and skimpy beaded gowns alternated with lamé and halter tops, a distinctly downmarket style. The requisite "bedroom eyes" and pouty mouth completed the "Cosmo Girl" cover shot.

Framing the cover model were teasing blurbs written by Brown's husband, a film producer, such as "You've Cheated. Do You Ever Tell?" Blurbs also trumpeted the pull-out "Bedside Astrology Guide," an annual feature, and articles like "How to Close the Deal"—how to get your boyfriend to agree to marriage. "Irma Kurtz's Agony Column" placated readers with true-life write-in questions and answers from readers with often outrageous personal problems borne of their own bad decisions. "The magazine allows women the impression of a pseudo-sexual liberation and a vicarious participation in the life of an imaginary 'swinging single' woman," wrote Ellen McCracken in her book *Decoding Women's Magazines*. "Although most readers will never dress or behave as the magazine urges, *Cosmopolitan* offers them momentary opportunity to transgress the predominant sexual mores in the privacy of their homes."

By 1981 *Cosmopolitan's* circulation had quadrupled its 1965 figures. Brown never seemed surprised that her magazine had succeeded so well. As she told Roxanne Roberts in the *Washington Post*,

"Cosmo really is this basic message: Just do what's there every day, and one thing will finally lead to another and you'll get to be somebody. . . . I believe most 20-year-old women think they're not pretty enough, smart enough, they don't have enough sex appeal, they don't have the job they want, they've still got some problems with their family," Brown told Roberts. "All that raw material is there to be turned into something wonderful. I just think of my life. If I can do it, anybody can."

For 16 years the magazine, under Brown's editorship, was one of the Hearst chain's top performers. At one point in the 1980s it had the highest number of advertising pages of all women's magazines in the United States. Most of the copies—about 2.5 million—were purchased at the newsstand, an impulse buy and thus more profitable for Hearst than the discounted subscription price, and its "pass-around" rate was also much higher than its competition.

Not surprisingly, *Cosmopolitan* has always been a particular target of feminist ire. As early as 1970 it appeared in the Appendix of the classic tome *Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement* on the "Drop Dead List." But Brown defended her magazine in the 1982 interview with Collins of the *New York Times*. "Cosmo predated the women's movement, and I have always said my message is for the woman who loves men but who doesn't want to live through them. . . . I sometimes think feminists don't read what I write. I am for total equality. My relevance is that I deal with reality." The reality was that sometimes women did sleep with their bosses, or date married men, or use psychological ruses to maintain a relationship or force a marriage, and *Cosmopolitan* was one of the few women's magazines to write about such issues in non-judgmental terms. It was criticized, however, for failing to address safe-sex issues after the advent of AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) in the 1980s.

Helen Gurley Brown retired in 1997 after an interim joint-editorship with the launch editor of *Marie Claire*, Bonnie Fuller. A *Cosmopolitan*-ized version of the French original, *Marie Claire* is the closest American offering on the newsstands to *Cosmopolitan*, but features a more sophisticated, *Elle*-type fashion slant. "The Hearst move was about acknowledging change," noted *Mediaweek's* Barbara Lippert, describing Brown as almost a relic from a quainter, more innocent age. "These days, however, everybody's negotiating a new, much more complicated set of questions than how to land a man . . . the whole Little Miss Secretary Achiever thing is anathema to some twentysomethings, who are more interested in cybersex and the single girl," Lippert wrote. Both the age and the income level of *Cosmopolitan's* average American reader had climbed somewhat, and a higher percentage of married women now read it. By the time of Brown's retirement, *Cosmopolitan* was an international phenomenon, with 29 editions in several different languages. The 1960s-era themes of sexual liberation seemed to catch on most successfully in the newly "de-Communized" countries of the Eastern Bloc, where equal rights for women had once been a hallmark of their legal, social, and economic systems. "Think of it," wrote the *Washington Post's* Roberts. "Cosmo girls everywhere. Like McDonald's with cleavage."

—Carol Brennan

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## Costas, Bob (1952—)

Preeminent broadcast journalist and sportscaster Bob Costas began announcing basketball games for a St. Louis radio station at the age of twenty-two. He joined NBC in 1980, quickly becoming one of the network’s most valuable assets through his work covering major league baseball, football, basketball, and college events, and hosting various shows including *NBA Showtime*, *NFL Live*, and *Costas Coast to Coast*. In 1992, a high-profile stint as the network’s prime-time anchor at the XXV Olympics in Barcelona, Spain, earned him nationwide name recognition. A three-time Emmy winner for his sports announcing and hosting, his colleagues have also named him outstanding sportscaster of the year four times. Moving beyond sports in 1988, he launched a late-night interview television program, *Later with Bob Costas*, that won him another Emmy. When the series ended in 1994, Costas expanded his duties at NBC, contributing to *Dateline*, *Today*, *NBC News*, and anchoring MSNBC’s *Internight*.

—Courtney Bennett

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## Costello, Elvis (1955—)

Born Declan Patrick Aloysius McManus, British singer, guitarist, and composer Elvis Costello has been a mainstay of the popular music scene since his 1977 debut disc, *My Aim Is True*. The son of a jazz bandleader, Costello rode to prominence on the initial wave of British punk—and thanks in part to a stage persona that made obvious reference to Buddy Holly. A gifted lyricist with a flair for wordplay, he did his best work in collaboration with the Attractions, a virtuoso backing band anchored by Bruce Thomas (bass), Pete Thomas

(drums), and Steve Nieve (keyboards). The band’s early records, polished to a metallic sheen by producer Nick Lowe, combined Beatlesque pop smarts with an appreciation for American soul. The best of these are *This Year’s Model*, *Armed Forces*, and *Trust*. Costello escaped from Lowe’s clutches to record what is considered his masterwork, 1982’s lyrically bruising, intricately textured *Imperial Bedroom*.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Costner, Kevin (1955—)

Kevin Costner has as many fans as detractors; he is a steadfast box-office attraction but must strive for artistic respectability with each new film. Seen as the sexy embodiment of a healthy, positive image of American masculinity at the peak of his career in the early 1990s, Costner’s public persona has suffered since then from his failure to live up to the standards set by his predecessors, the male stars of Hollywood’s glamorous past. Because of his role as the dreamer who, guided by a mysterious voice, builds a baseball field in



Kevin Costner in a scene from the film *Dances with Wolves*.

the middle of his cornfield in *Field of Dreams* (1989), Costner was compared, above all, to the Jimmy Stewart of Frank Capra's films. This and other allusions to Gary Cooper, prompted by Costner's similar handsome looks, possibly traced a path for him in the audience's and the critics' imagination very unlike the one Costner actually would follow. This divergence may explain why he is not unanimously greeted as one of the greatest Hollywood stars of the 1990s.

Three main aspects contribute to shaping Costner's uneven career. First, his rather unwise choice of roles, alternating between less popular high quality products like *JFK* (1991) or *A Perfect World* (1993)—in which he plays demanding roles—with impossible blockbusters like *The Bodyguard* (1992). Second, his irregular work as director, which includes a hit like *Dances with Wolves* (1990) and a flop like *The Postman* (1997). And third, the loss of his reputation as the long-married perfect husband in favor of a less popular reputation as a womanizer developed shortly after reaching stardom, which clearly affected his star image. The man destined to represent America's most cherished virtues on the screen has turned out to be a star with little sense of his own limitations as an actor, director, or public figure and with, arguably, an excessive sense of his own value as an artist.

Costner became a rising star with *Silverado* (1985) and *The Untouchables* (1987). Stardom definitively came thanks to two baseball films, *Bull Durham* (1988) and *Field of Dreams*. Games are indeed a leit-motif in Costner's career, which includes two more sports-related films, *Tin Cup* (1996) and *For the Love of the Game* (1999). The success of his excellent performance in *Field of Dreams* prompted Costner to fulfill a long-cherished ambition: directing a film, the low-budget Western epic *Dances with Wolves* based on the novel by Michael Blake. Despite the misgivings of many who thought (even wished) that Costner's film would be an utter failure, this long film well deserves the awards (Oscars for Best Picture, Best Director and Best Adapted Screenplay) and the popular esteem it reaped, for it is a courageous attempt to instill new life into the dying western genre. Unlike typical westerns, Costner's film deals with the confrontation between the white man and the native American from a distinctly antiracist perspective, allowing the language of the native tribes to be heard as was never heard before in cinema. Nonetheless, the film still fails to shift the focus away from the white man—Costner himself plays the main role—and onto the native American.

The paradox is that instead of consolidating Costner's career, the Oscar seems rather to have disrupted it. His role in his friend Kevin Reynolds's *Robin Hood, Prince of Thieves* (1991) earned him little sympathy, while his decision to play the pathetic killer in Clint Eastwood's *A Perfect World*—possibly his best performance to date—was ill-timed, following hot on the heels of his very popular but insubstantial role as Whitney Houston's bodyguard. *The Bodyguard* has, though, the redeeming merit of depicting an interracial romantic relationship under a positive light, which might explain its popularity.

But the two films that have clearly become a sign of Costner's rising megalomania and self-indulgence—at least for his detractors—are *Waterworld* (1995) and *The Postman*. The former, which he co-directed with Kevin Reynolds, was in its time the most expensive film ever made but it failed to generate enough box-office receipts to recoup the impressive investment. Those who ridiculed Costner's wish to film *Dances with Wolves* but were silenced by the Oscars the film won seemingly came back with a vengeance to prey on *Waterworld*. The film broke records eliciting the highest number of negative comment even before actual shooting began. Although it did not

become the success Costner expected, *Waterworld* nonetheless attracted a much larger audience than the critics foretold. Yet, far from learning a lesson from this expensive experiment, Costner plunged next into depths he had not known for years. *The Postman*, Costner's second film as director, simply flopped, despite the good reputation of the novel by David Brin from which it was adapted.

Costner's case is, arguably, paradigmatic of the advantages and the disadvantages that the current system of Hollywood film production offers to today's stars. In the past, Costner's good looks and acting talent would have guaranteed for him a stable place in the sun of any of the main studios. He would have had to sacrifice personal choice to stardom, with all the loss of artistic freedom that this entails. But, in his case, the freedom of choice enjoyed by today's stars seems to be working against him. Other male stars like Arnold Schwarzenegger or Mel Gibson, clearly (and paradoxically) enjoy a steady popularity despite their occasional mistakes. Costner does not. The key to the different treatment Costner meets might well have to do with his reluctance to distance himself from his own star image—in short, to his inability to laugh at his mistakes. The integrity that he exuded in *Field of Dreams* or *The Untouchables* has been subtly transformed into self-centeredness and this is a fault on which his detractors thrive. Fortunately for him, his achievement in *Dances with Wolves* shows that this perceived shortcoming could be forgiven in an artist.

—Sara Martin

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## Cotten, Joseph (1905-1994)

One of Hollywood's most versatile actors, Joseph Cotten is chiefly associated with the films of Orson Welles. Cotten was a latecomer to Hollywood, arriving at age thirty-six after acting on Broadway in Welles's Mercury Theatre. In 1940, Cotten made his first film—Welles's *Citizen Kane*—a film that would come to be regarded as the greatest film ever made. For the remainder of the decade, it seemed as if the talented actor could not turn in a bad performance. Although Cotten continued to work with Welles—starring in *Journey into Fear* and *The Magnificent Ambersons*—many A-list directors clamored to work with the versatile star. Cotten appeared in such classics as George Cukor's *Gaslight*, Carol Reed's *The Third Man*, and Alfred Hitchcock's *Shadow of a Doubt*. With his offbeat good looks and exceptional acting ability, Cotten soon evolved into one of Hollywood's most sought-after leading men, appearing opposite such top stars as Ingrid Bergman, Jennifer Jones, Loretta Young, and Joan Fontaine. Although his career continued well into the 1980s, the good parts were fewer and farther between. Through

his association with Welles, however, his movie immortality remains assured.

—Victoria Price

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## The Cotton Club

Founded by the British-born gangster Owney Madden, the Cotton Club nightclub opened its doors on December 4, 1923, at a time when the black cultural revival known as the Harlem Renaissance was going into full swing. The club provided entertainment for white New Yorkers who wanted to go to Harlem but were afraid of its more dangerous aspects. The Cotton Club has never been surpassed

as Harlem's most outrageous club and its lavish entertainment is still a matter of awe even in this day of Las Vegas excess. The Cotton Club presented the best in black entertainment to an exclusively white audience and became famous for its use of light skinned, or "cotton colored," black women in its chorus line.

Madden opened the club to provide an outlet for his bootleg beer. The club floor was in a horseshoe shape, designed by Joseph Urban. It was decorated with palm trees and other jungle elements. There were two tiers of tables and a ring of banquettes. The menu offered not only Southern food but also elaborate European specialties. Prices were the highest in Harlem but the food was not particularly memorable. The entertainment, however, was spectacular. Black waiters provided an elegant setting with their sophisticated demeanor, a contrast to the whirling servers in neighboring clubs. These waiters also informed patrons that it was not fashionable to put their bottles of beer on the floor. Rather they were instructed to place them in their pockets. Failure to comply led to ejection.

Cotton Club entertainment, or floor shows, lasted as long as two hours. There was a featured act and the gorgeous Cotton Club chorus line. The girls were beautiful and uniformly light skinned; they were also young—under 21—and tall—five-foot six inches or more. Cab Calloway's songs "She's Tall, She's Tan and She's Terrific" and "Cotton Colored Gal of Mine" are apt reflections of the girls in the



The Cotton Club

line. The shows were fast-paced and featured the greatest black entertainment possible. Ethel Waters, Adelaide Hall, Duke Ellington, Cab Calloway, and others performed there.

The Cotton Club was part of the area of Harlem known as “Jungle Alley.” This strip, located on 133rd Street between Lenox and Seventh Avenues, was densely packed with clubs. The Cotton Club was one of eleven clubs in the area, most of which served a white trade. The Cotton Club, Connie’s Inn, and Small’s Paradise were the most renowned.

The color line was strictly enforced at the Cotton Club, and performers and audience were kept separate. White mobsters owned the club, its shows were written by whites (Dorothy Fields was a major contributor), and the audience was all white. Black performers often went next door to drink or smoke marijuana. The only African Americans officially allowed in the Cotton Club were its outstanding performers. On December 4, 1927, Duke Ellington began his run at the Cotton Club, one of the more important engagements in jazz history. The run lasted into 1932, with breaks for movies and tours allowed. In addition to playing his music regularly, writing for the shows, and providing a basic income to keep his men together, the gig provided Ellington with a large radio audience who came to know his music. At this time, Ellington developed what he termed his “jungle sound,” a use of various tonal colors that he associated with Africa, a constant theme in his ever-evolving music. He debuted “It Don’t Mean a Thing (If It Ain’t Got That Swing)” and “Mood Indigo” to Cotton Club audiences.

The Cotton Club of the late 1920s and 1930s helped to define the emergence of African-American culture in the period, coinciding as it did with the Marcus Garvey movement, W. E. B. DuBois’s Pan African Movement, and the flowering of African American literature known as the Harlem Renaissance. The Cotton Club of this era has since been memorialized in E. L. Doctorow’s historical novel *Billy Bathgate* (1989) and in the Francis Ford Coppola movie *The Cotton Club* (1984).

—Frank A. Salamone

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## Coué, Emile (1857-1926)

A French provincial pharmacist, Emile Coué was responsible for a therapeutic mind-over-matter system of “autosuggestion” known as Couéism that influenced the popular culture of the United States when, as in England, it became something of a national craze during the early 1920s. By daily repetition of its still familiar mantra, “Day by day, in every way, I am getting better and better,” Couéism’s adherents hoped to achieve health and success by positive thinking and the expectation of beneficial results. The most succinct definition of Couéism was perhaps Coué’s own: “Couéism is an especial



Emile Coué

technique . . . for the teaching and application of auto- and other methodical suggestion. It is more: it is an attitude of mind directed toward progressive improvement.”

Coué was born of old noble Breton stock in Troyes, France, and attended pharmacy school in Paris before establishing an apothecary in his home town. Observing that he could effect positive results in his clients by encouragement as well as medication, he developed an informal counseling service that became the foundation of his later work. Moving to Nancy in 1896, he came across an advertisement touting hypnotism as a tool for business success. His investigations in this field led him to develop his own system, though he always insisted that positive thinking—not hypnotic trance—was the basis of Couéism, and that he was merely harnessing imagination in the service of will. In 1913 he founded the Lorraine Society of Applied Psychology and, in 1922, the Coué Institute for Psychical Education at Paris. During World War I, he lectured in Paris and Switzerland, with proceeds used for the relief of war victims.

His book *Self-Mastery Through Conscious Autosuggestion* caused a sensation when it was published in England and the United States, in 1920 and 1922, respectively. A steady stream of British pilgrims to Nancy turned Coué’s facilities into a kind of secular Lourdes, especially after such luminaries as Julian Huxley and Sir Alfred Downing Fripp, the King’s physician, endorsed the method. *Emile Coué: The Man and His Work*, a 1935 book by J. Louis Orton, a disaffected ex-associate, quotes Huxley: “He [Coué] goes further than any of the orthodox medical men in his claims for the power of mind over body; he effects remarkable cures, and finally he sums up his ideas in one or two simple generalizations.”

Coué was invited to lecture in England regularly after 1921, where his reputed cure of Lord Curzon's insomnia only added to his reputation. On January 4, 1923 he arrived in the United States for a tumultuous lecture tour that was given substantial coverage in the popular press, especially by the *New York World*. Over the next several weeks, he gave 81 "séances" in major eastern cities, where his treatment of prominent socialites such as Mrs. W. K. Vanderbilt further served to advance his cause. His appeal to American optimism and efficiency was undoubtedly the source of much of his popularity; industrialist Henry Ford was reported to have said, "I have read Coué's philosophy: *he has the right idea*." And Coué himself was described as the "Henry Ford of psychology" by Gertrude Mayo in her 1923 book, *Coué for Children*. She wrote, "Just as M. Coué had first started the engine of the subconscious mind with hypnotic hetero-suggestion and later had substituted the self-starter of conscious auto-suggestion . . . thanks to him people . . . who had never known before they possessed unconscious minds, were finding not only that they had but that they could command them to their great personal advantage and convenience."

A National Coué Institute was founded in New York to train instructors to teach the method, and the American Library Service began publishing his books from New York. Despite Coué's decidedly secular point of view, his lectures evoked comparisons with the faith-healing revivals that were popular at the time, attracting, in the words of J. Louis Orton, "paralytics, asthmatics, and stammerers" seeking respite from their ills. Couéism came under fire from orthodox religious leaders and even Christian Science—which it somewhat resembled—for its secular viewpoint and its purported Freudianism, which it resembled not at all. Coué returned to the United States in 1924 for an extensive lecture tour of the western states, but took ill in England the following year after complaining his nose had been improperly cauterized to cure his recurring nosebleeds during a British lecture tour. He died in his homeland on July 2, 1926, and a huge crowd attended his funeral at a Roman Catholic church. Although his Institutes continued his work in Europe and the United States, the movement quickly declined and was soon all but forgotten.

Thus the Coué craze, especially in America, ended almost as soon as it had begun, leaving the Freudians and fundamentalists to battle it out for the ownership of the "mind-over-matter" question. The popularity of Couéism can be seen as representing a response by mass consumer culture to the spiritual devastation of World War I, which had spawned nihilism, Dada, socialism, and fascism in other contexts. Its pseudoscientific, quasi-religious trappings appealed to a disillusioned public hungry for non-material fulfillment during the 1920s, a decade that embodied the triumph of a modernistic, mechanistic culture. And as an early example of how publicity, hype, and celebrity endorsement were enlisted on behalf of non-material fulfillment, Couéism presaged the work of other self-help gurus and systems during the twentieth century, with voices as diverse as Norman Vincent Peale, L. Ron Hubbard, Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, and Werner Erhard perpetuating their own versions of Coué's self-help message.

—Edward Moran

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## Coughlin, Father Charles E. (1891-1979)

Long before the emergence of present-day radio "shock-jocks," Father Charles E. Coughlin, the "radio priest" of the 1930s, realized the power of using the airwaves as a political pulpit and means to achieve celebrity status. Along with Huey Long, the controversial senator from Louisiana who advocated a massive wealth-redistribution program, Coughlin reflected the frustrations of Americans mired in a seemingly endless Great Depression. Beginning his career as a talented parish priest who used radio broadcasts as a means to raise funds for his church, he became perhaps the most popular voice of protest of his day, reaching millions of listeners each week with a populist message that pitted the common man against the forces of the "establishment." Over time his message developed from one of protest to demagoguery; his career perhaps illustrates both the potentialities and dangers of political uses of mass media.

Born in 1891 in Hamilton, Ontario, Coughlin grew up in a devout Catholic family. There was never doubt that he would enter the priesthood, and at the age of twelve Charles enrolled at St.



Father Charles E. Coughlin



Michael's College in Toronto. He matriculated to a seminary in 1911. After taking the vows of priesthood, he was assigned as parish priest in Royal Oak, Michigan, a suburban community just north of Detroit. Although the parish was tiny and operated on a shoestring budget, Coughlin had grandiose plans for the church—which seemed futile considering the modest number of Catholics in Royal Oak. Two weeks after a new church was built, local members of the Ku Klux Klan burned a cross on the church lawn. Coughlin, known for having a streak of militancy, vowed to overcome local resistance and transform the struggling church into a vibrant, flourishing parish.

His plans for bolstering the church were innovative and wildly successful. He renamed the church the Shrine of the Little Flower and became an indefatigable fund-raiser. He invited members of the Detroit Tigers baseball team to the church as a way to attract attention—Babe Ruth even attended the church once while playing the Tigers and held a basket for donations at the church door. Yet Coughlin's most lucrative idea was to turn to the airwaves. He contacted the manager at local radio station WJR about broadcasting a weekly radio sermon that would confront local issues and raise awareness of the church. The medium was perfect for Coughlin, whose warm, mellow voice attracted listeners throughout Detroit. His sermons offered a variety of religious themes, such as discussions of Christ's teachings and Biblical parables. Soon mail was pouring into the station, hundreds and sometimes thousands of letters each week, most with financial contributions from listeners. Coughlin's plans for the Shrine of the Little Flower were soon realized: a new church was built, with a seating capacity of more than twenty-six hundred, complemented by a tall, granite tower. Attendance boomed as people throughout the region came to catch a glimpse of the "radio priest."

Coughlin's radio talents soon were noticed by executives outside of Detroit. Columbia Broadcasting Service, based in New York, offered Coughlin a deal in 1930 that gave him a national audience, and soon he was reaching as many as forty million listeners each week. Yet as his popularity increased, the tone and content of his broadcasts began to change. Sermons on religious themes gave way to discourses on politics and economics. The Great Depression, he declared, demanded a fundamental restructuring of society in order to overcome the evils of greed and corruption, much of which was intrinsic to "predatory capitalism." Boldly confronting his critics on the air, Coughlin's political speeches generated controversy, so much so that CBS decided to cancel his show despite his growing listener base.

Undaunted, Father Coughlin signed contracts with independent radio stations and continued to reach millions of listeners weekly. His political messages, although impassioned, were rather vague. He supported Franklin Roosevelt in the 1932 presidential election, hailing the New Deal as "Christ's Deal." His greatest complaint was with wealthy financiers and bankers, most of them on the East Coast, who were bilking the "common man." With time, however, he moved away from Roosevelt, believing that New Deal reforms were too mild for a society that required radical change. In 1934, Coughlin founded the National Union for Social Justice, an organization designed to promote his political ideas, which included nationalization of American banks and currency inflation through the coinage of silver. Over the next two years, the organization developed into a third party, the Union Party, and offered William Lemke, a congressman from North Dakota, as a presidential candidate to oppose the reelection of Roosevelt.

After the failure of the Union Party to either capture or significantly influence the 1936 presidential election, Coughlin's popularity began to wane. His weekly radio broadcasts continued to attract a national audience, but he never recaptured his earlier fame. By the late

1930s, his speeches were increasingly shrill. Listeners detected anti-Semitism and demagoguery in his broadcasts—elements that had appeared occasionally before, yet now were becoming more vocal and more frequent. What had in the past, for example, been occasional references to "Shylocks" and international financial conspirators undermining the country became an outright assault against "Communist Jews"; Coughlin also borrowed from the speeches of German Nazi propagandist Joseph Goebbels. He opposed American entry into World War II vehemently, arguing that Jews had been responsible for bringing the nation into the conflict. Such extreme positions lost for Coughlin any significant audience that had remained with him, and he retired from public life during the war and returned to the Shrine of the Little Flower. He died in 1979, at the age of eighty-eight.

—Jeffrey W. Coker

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## Country Gentlemen

Founded in 1957, the Country Gentlemen were the first bluegrass act to bridge the gap between the music's country origins and an urban audience. Combining singer Charlie Waller's Louisiana roots and mandolinist John Duffey's urbane tastes with inspired musicianship, the Gentlemen rode the 1960s folk revival to prominence with a repertoire ranging from ancient ballads to Bob Dylan songs, culminating in the 1971 release of "Fox On The Run." Their version of the number—originally a failed rock 'n' roll single—became one of the few bluegrass songs to achieve popular culture immortality.

—Jon Weisberger

## Country Music

Country music has a history that is deeply rooted in traditional white Southern working-class values, patriotism, conservative politics, and lyrics that tell the unblinking truth about life. An old joke asks, "What do you get when you play a country record backwards?" The answer: "You get your wife back, your truck back, and your dog back." However, country music is much more than songs of hard luck in love and life. Those lyrics that face "the cold hard facts of life," in the words of a Porter Wagoner song of the 1970s, are more than a series of laments. They look at both success and failure, joy and despair with sentiment and realism. And though most country music and country music fans might advocate a straight and narrow conservative path, the lyrics of country songs deal with the dilemmas of life with a complexity not found in any other popular music.



Ricky Skaggs (middle) on stage with members of Bill Monroe's Bluegrass Boys at the Chicago Country Music Festival.

Country music's earliest roots are found in the ballads of the Appalachian Mountains, songs that stemmed from a tradition brought to America by the English, Scots, and Irish who settled that territory. Their religion was a strict Calvinism, and many of their songs were dark cautionary tales of sexuality and retribution. Playwright Tennessee Williams, who came from that Southern Gothic tradition, put these words in the mouth of Blanche Dubois, his most famous heroine: "They told me to take a streetcar named Desire, then transfer to one called Cemeteries." Williams had learned the message of those old songs: "A false-hearted lover will lead you to your grave" ("On Top of Old Smoky"). One song after another told the story of seduction followed by murder. Pretty Polly's false lover tells her, "I dug on your grave the best part of last night." The false lover on the banks of the Ohio admits that "I held my knife against her breast/As into my arms she pressed." In perhaps the most famous of these songs, Tom Dooley meets his lover on the mountain and stabs her with his knife. These dark songs were not the only part of the Southern mountain tradition, however. There were children's play-party songs, danceable tunes, and upbeat, optimistic songs. But the murder songs were so striking, coming as they did out of a tradition of sexual repression combined with stark realism, that they are the most memorable.

The music of the Southern mountains became something more in 1927, when Ralph Peer, a recording engineer for the Victor Talking Machine Co. (later RCA Victor), went to Bristol, Tennessee, to make some regional recordings of what was then called "hillbilly music." He sent out word that he would pay \$50 for every song he recorded, and came away with the first recorded country music.

Peer recorded two memorable acts. The first was the Carter Family (A. P., Sara, and Maybelle Carter), whose songs included both the anthems of optimism ("Keep on the Sunny Side") and the ballads of sex and death ("Bury Me beneath the Willow"). In those recordings, still in print and still considered classics of American

music, the Carter Family created an archetype of country music. From their harmonies to their guitar styles to their plain-spoken emotional directness, they created a template for the music that followed them.

Second, and even more important, was Jimmie Rodgers, a one-time railroad man (on his records he was known as "the Singing Brakeman") who had taken to playing music after ill health had forced him off the railroad. When Rodgers showed up for his first session with Peer, he sang popular songs of the day, which earned him no more than a rebuke. Peer was interested in recording folk singers, singing their indigenous music, and he told Rodgers to come back with some traditional folk songs. Rodgers did not know any traditional music, but he needed the few dollars that Peer was offering for the session. With the help of his sister, Elsie McWilliams, Rogers wrote his own "traditional" tunes, hoping that Peer wouldn't notice the difference. The songs they created made music history.

Rodgers' songs struck a chord with rural America. He glorified and romanticized the day-to-day issues of small-town working people—family, sweetheart, the struggles of the hoboes and the working class—and he placed these issues forever in the lexicon of country music. More importantly, Rodgers introduced the blues to country music. His first big hit, "T For Texas (The Blue Yodel)," created the Jimmie Rodgers sound—a traditional twelve bar blues, ending in a yodel. Rodgers was so steeped in the blues that Louis Armstrong played on one of his blue yodels, and his blues-based style was one of the first important melds of black and white styles in American popular music.

The blues had taken the country by storm in the 1920s, first in the urban, jazz-inflected recordings of artists like Bessie Smith, and then in the rural, country blues recordings of Charley Patton, Blind Lemon Jefferson, and others. The surprise commercial success of phonograph records aimed at a rural black audience encouraged companies like Victor to make a similar pitch to rural whites. The same success

followed. Jimmie Rodgers sold between 6 and 20 million records (by various estimates) before his death in 1933. The blues were hit hard as a commercial medium by the depression, but country music did well in the 1930s. Radio, a more viable medium for white music, kept country music in the public ear with various local “barn dance” programs, including the phenomenally successful *Grand Ole Opry*, which started in 1925.

One singer who emerged from regional radio in the 1930s to reshape country music was Gene Autry. Autry, who had scored a hit record in 1931 with “That Silver-Haired Daddy of Mine,” a sentimental song in the Jimmie Rodgers mode, was summoned to Hollywood in 1934, as the answer to a Republic Studios mogul’s brainstorm: The hottest new trend in movies was the musical talkie, like *The Jazz Singer*, and perennial cinema moneymaker was the Western. With Autry’s enormous success as a singing cowboy in films, “country” became “country and western.” Gene Autry became the first country star to gain an audience beyond the rural South and West, even drawing a million fans at a 1939 performance in Dublin, Ireland. Rather than authentic western songs, Autry sang music composed by Hollywood songwriters, calculated to appeal to audiences that listened to Cole Porter and Irving Berlin as well as Jimmie Rodgers and the Carter Family. The new songs succeeded so well that Berlin would ultimately write his own cowboy song, “Don’t Fence Me In.”

This was country’s first flirtation with the mainstream of American music. Roy Rogers followed Autry’s path to success, and soon they were imitated by a multitude of lesser singing cowboys. There was no country music industry as such in the 1930s, but this outsider/mainstream dichotomy would remain an issue throughout country’s history. The other significant innovation in the country music of the 1930s also came from the West, and was another unlikely fusion. In Texas, Bob Wills and his Texas Playboys blended jazz and country to create a new and infectious dance music.

In the 1940s, country music had its own hit parade, as *Billboard* magazine created its first country chart in 1944. First called the “folk music” chart, it became the “country and western” chart in 1949, and its first number one hit was Al Dexter’s “Pistol Packin’ Mama.” “Folk music” being loosely defined, the early charts included artists like Louis Jordan, Nat “King” Cole, and Bing Crosby. But country was starting to amass its first generation of major stars—singers like Ernest Tubbs, Hank Snow, Red Foley—and the new sound of bluegrass music, which had been popularized by Bill Monroe in the 1930s, but gained its full maturity when Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs joined Monroe’s Bluegrass Boys in the mid-1940s.

In an important sense, country’s key figure in the 1940s was Roy Acuff. Acuff joined the *Grand Ole Opry* in 1938, and not long after became the *Opry*’s host, presiding over its period of greatest popularity. In 1942, Acuff and songwriter Fred Rose started a music publishing company, Acuff-Rose, which signed country songwriters, and created a new standard of professionalism in the field. The *Opry* and Acuff-Rose were, together, the most significant factors in solidifying the place of Nashville as the country music capital of America. World War II brought a lot of young GIs from the north down to army bases in the South, where they heard Acuff’s music and broadened country’s listening base even further.

In 1946, Acuff-Rose signed Hank Williams to a writing contract, and in 1947 Williams had his first chart hit, “Move It on Over.” He joined the *Louisiana Hayride*, the second most influential of the country radio shows (Elvis Presley also began his career on the *Hayride*), in 1948, and came to the *Opry* in 1949. With Hank Williams, country had a star who outshone all who came before, and

who set the standard for all who came after. His songs (like Rodgers’ were deeply blues-influenced) were as simple as conversation, but unforgettable. “Your Cheatin’ Heart,” “Hey, Good Lookin’,” “Cold, Cold Heart,” and “I Can’t Help It if I’m Still in Love with You” are just a few Williams’ tunes that are still classics. Williams, like his contemporaries, jazzman Charlie Parker and poet Dylan Thomas, lived out the myth of the self-destructive, tormented artist and died too young in the back seat of his limousine on the way to a concert on New Year’s Day in 1953; he was 29 years old.

As the 1950s began, mainstream American popular music was becoming moribund. The creative energy of the “Tin Pan Alley” songwriters, the New York-centered, Broadway-oriented popular song crafters, seemed to be flagging. Singers like Tony Martin, Perry Como, Teresa Brewer, and the Ames brothers were only marginally connected to the pulse of the new generation. Country music and rhythm and blues both began to make inroads into that mainstream, but at first it was only the songs, not the singers, that gained popularity. Red Foley had a number one pop hit with “Chattanooga Shoe Shine Boy” in 1950, but for the most part it was pop singers like Tony Bennett and Jo Stafford, the McGuire Sisters and Pat Boone who took their versions of country and R&B songs up the pop charts.

At the same time, country and R&B music were making an alliance of their own. Nashville was now entrenched as the capital of the country music establishment, but the new music came from Sun Records in Memphis, where Sam Phillips recorded Elvis Presley, Carl Perkins, Jerry Lee Lewis, and Johnny Cash. It was called rock ’n’ roll, and the country music establishment did not like it. Elvis began his career as “The Hillbilly Cat,” and was featured on *Louisiana Hayride*, but he never sang on the *Opry*, and rock ’n’ roll, denounced by Roy Acuff, never made an impact there. Racism certainly played a part in the country establishment’s rejection of rock ’n’ roll. The new music was widely denounced throughout the South by organizations like the White Citizen’s Council. At the same time, however, country music was beginning to outgrow its raffish, working-class roots. Eddie Arnold, the biggest star of the late 1940s and early 1950s, called himself “The Tennessee Plowboy,” a nickname he had acquired early in his career, but he was no plowboy. He wore a tuxedo on stage, and had only the barest trace of hillbilly nasality in his voice.

Perhaps the city of Nashville exerted an influence, too. Although Acuff-Rose and other music companies had made Music Row the symbol of Nashville everywhere else in the country, it was an embarrassment to Nashville society. When a Tennessee governor in the mid-1940s was quoted as saying, “hillbilly music is disgraceful,” Roy Acuff responded by announcing his candidacy for governor (he never followed through), but there was a growing feeling that country’s image should not be too raw or “low-class.” So while rhythm and blues performers responded to rock ’n’ roll by joining it, the country establishment rejected it. This was the first of a series of decisions that had the effect of marginalizing what might have become America’s dominant musical style. The country establishment has always sought status and recognition, but until the 1990s, it consistently made the wrong choices in following that ambition. As rock ’n’ roll’s hard edge took over not only the United States but the world, country music became softer and smoother. Brilliant musicians and producers, such as guitar virtuoso Chet Atkins, pooled their considerable talents and came up with The Nashville Sound, a string-sweetened Muzak that was suited to the stylings of Arnold, Jim Reeves, and Patsy Cline, but not to the grittiness of Presley, Perkins, Lewis, and Cash.

Contrary to the popular stereotype, country music has not always been associated with political conservatism. One of the *Opry's* first stars, Uncle Dave Macon, was a fiery radical leftist. Even Gene Autry, early in his career, recorded "The Death of Mother Jones," a tribute to the legendary left-wing labor organizer. But New Deal populism was replaced, over the years, by entrenched racism, Cold War patriotism, and the growing generation gap. By the 1960s, youth, rebellion, and rock 'n' roll were on one side of a great divide, and country music was on the other.

The anthems of 1960s country conservatism were Merle Haggard's anti-hippie "Okie From Muskogee" and chip-on-the-shoulder patriotic "Fightin' Side of Me." But Haggard, an ex-convict who had been in the audience when Johnny Cash recorded his historic live album at Folsom Prison, represented his own kind of rebellion. Along with Buck Owens, Haggard had turned his back on not only the Nashville Sound but Nashville itself, setting up their own production center in the dusty working-class town of Bakersfield, California, and making music that recaptured the grittier sound of an earlier era. Haggard and Owens, for all their right-wing posturing, were adopted by the rockers. The Grateful Dead recorded Haggard's "Mama Tried," and Creedence Clearwater Revival sang about "listenin' to Buck Owens."

The conservative cause stood in staunch opposition to the women's movement, but in the 1960s women gained their first major foothold in country music. There had been girl singers before, even great ones like Patsy Cline, but now Loretta Lynn, Tammy Wynette, and especially Dolly Parton established themselves as important figures. Lynn and Parton wrote their own songs, often with incisive lyrics about the female experience, and Parton handled much of her own production. Country music has been described as "the voice of the inarticulate," and these singers gave a powerful voice to a segment of the population that had never had their dreams and struggles articulated in this way.

The Nashville establishment was still hitching its wagon to a star that shone most brightly over Las Vegas. Still distrustful of rebellion and rough edges, they looked to Vegas pop stars for their salvation. In 1974 and 1975, John Denver and Olivia Newton-John swept the Country Music Association Awards (Denver was Entertainer of the Year in 1975). Country's creative edge moved away from Nashville to Bakersfield and elsewhere. Singer-songwriters Willie Nelson and Waylon Jennings grew their hair long and hung out with hippies and rockers at the Armadillo World Headquarters in Austin, Texas. They made the country establishment nervous, but it did eventually accept the so-called Outlaw Movement, and by 1979, Nelson was Entertainer of the Year. The real working-class music of the new generation of Southern whites never got that acceptance. Although the 1950s rockabilly rebels like Cash, Lewis, and the Everly Brothers now played country venues, the young rockers still scared Nashville. There was too much Jimi Hendrix in their music, too much hippie attitude in their clothes and their hair. The Allman Brothers, Lynyrd Skynyrd, and others played something called Southern Rock that could have been called country, but wasn't. Nevertheless, the kid at the gas station in North Carolina was listening to them, not to John Denver or Barbara Mandrell. By cutting them out (along with white Midwestern working-class rockers like Bob Seger), country music lost a large portion of its new generation of potential listeners.

The country establishment still sought the Vegas crossover secret, and they seemed to find it in 1980, when the movie *Urban Cowboy* created a craze for yoked shirts and fringed cowboy boots. Records by artists like Mickey Gilley, Johnny Lee, and Alabama shot

up the pop charts for a short time, but the "urban cowboy" sound was passing fad, and country music seemed to disintegrate with it. In 1985, *The New York Times* solemnly declared that country music was finished as a genre, and would never be revived.

However, it was already being revived, by going back to its roots. Inspired by the example of George Jones, a country legend since the late 1950s, who is widely considered to possess the greatest voice in the history of country music, country's new generation came to be known as the New Traditionalists. Some of its most important figures were Ricky Skaggs, a brilliant instrumentalist who brought the bluegrass tradition back into the mainstream, Randy Travis, a balladeer in the style of Jones, the Judds, who revived country harmony and the family group, and Reba McEntire, who modernized the tradition of Parton, Wynette, and Lynn, while keeping a pure country sound. The late 1980s brought a new generation of outlaws, too, singer-songwriters who respected tradition, but had a younger, quirkier approach. They included Lyle Lovett, Nanci Griffith, and Steve Earle. These musicians gained a following (Earle, who self-destructed on drugs, but gradually rebuilt a career in the 1990s, remains the most influential songwriter of the era). However, country radio, the center of the country establishment, gave them little air time, and they moved on to careers in other genres.

There had always been country performers on television, Tennessee Ernie Ford in the 1950s, Glen Campbell and Johnny Cash in the 1960s, and Barbara Mandrell in the "urban cowboy" days of the early 1980s. The 1980s also brought cable television, and in 1983, The Nashville Network went on the air with an all-country format of videos, live music, and interview shows. In 1985, TNN broadcast country music's Woodstock—Farm Aid, a massive benefit organized by Willie Nelson for America's farm families. TNN broadcast the entire 12 hours of Farm Aid live, and audiences who tuned in to see the rock stars like Neil Young and John Mellencamp who headlined the bill, also saw new country stars like Dwight Yoakam.

The creative energy that drove country music in the 1980s, had settled into a formula by the 1990s, and it was the most successful formula the genre had ever seen. In 1989, Clint Black, became the first performer to combine the traditionalism of Travis and George Strait, the innovation of Lovett and Earle, and MTV/TNN-era good looks and video presence. Close behind Black came Garth Brooks. With Brooks, the resistance to rock which had limited country's potential for growth for four decades finally crumbled completely.

Brooks modeled himself after 1970s arena rockers like Journey and Kiss, and after his idol, Billy Joel. Rock itself was floundering in divisiveness, and audiences were excited by the new face of country. In a 1991 interview, Rodney Crowell said, "I play country music because I love rock 'n' roll, and country is the only genre where you can still play it." Brooks' second album, *Ropin' The Wind*, debuted at number one on the pop charts, swamping a heavily hyped album by Guns 'n Roses, rock's biggest name at that time. Pop music observers compared the new country popularity to the "urban cowboy" craze, and many predicted it would fizzle again. However, with country finally catching up to rock 'n' roll, 40 years late. Country music had taken on a lot of the trappings that had been associated with rock—sexy young singing idols, arena tours, and major promotions. Country music's audience had also broadened; the kid at the gas station joined the country traditionalists and country's new suburban audience. Country music has as many faces as American society itself, and no doubt will keep re-inventing itself with each generation.

—Tad Richards

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## Cousteau, Jacques (1910-1997)

Jacques Cousteau is the world's most acclaimed producer of underwater film documentaries. His adventurous spirit and undersea explorations, documented in over forty books, four feature films, and more than one hundred television programs, popularized the study of marine environments, and made him a household name in many parts of the world. As principal developer of the world's first aqualung diving apparatus and underwater film cameras, he opened up the world's waters to millions of scuba divers, film makers, and television viewers. A pioneering environmentalist, Cousteau brought home to the public mind the importance of the world's oceans and inspired generations of young scientists to become ecologists and oceanographers.

Jacques-Yves Cousteau was born on June 11, 1910, in the market town of St.-Andre-de-Cubzac, France. Following service in the French Navy, he became commander of the research vessel *Calypso* in 1950. The *Calypso*, where most of his subsequent films were produced, served as his base of operations. His first book, *The Silent World*, sold more than five million copies in 22 languages. A film of the same name won both the Palme d'Or at the 1956 Cannes International Film Festival and an Academy Award for best documentary in 1957. Television programs bearing the Cousteau name earned 10 Emmys and numerous other awards. In the 1950s and 1960s, Cousteau established a series of corporations and nonprofit organizations through which he financed his explorations, promoted his environmental opinions, and championed his reputation as the world's foremost underwater researcher and adventurer. He died in Paris on June 25, 1997.

—Ken Kempcke

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## Covey, Stephen (1932—)

Stephen Covey, one of America's most prominent self-help gurus, owes much to Dale Carnegie, whose best-selling book, *How To Win Friends and Influence People*, and its corresponding public speaking course are models upon which Covey built his success. The first of numerous books written by Covey, *The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People*, was published in 1989 and helped his rise to the position of unofficial consultant to the leaders of corporate America, and guru to those in the lower levels of corporate management. His company, the Covey Leadership Center, founded in 1983, subsequently capitalized on the success of *7 Habits*, which became a catch phrase for any number of simplistic and appealing ideas dealing with personal happiness and efficiency in the workplace.

Covey was born into a Mormon family in Provo, Utah. During the 1950s he completed a bachelor's degree in business administration at the University of Utah and an M.B.A. at Cambridge. In between his academic studies, he served as a missionary in Nottingham, England, training the leaders of recently formed Mormon congregations, and thus became aware of what it meant to train and motivate leaders. As a result of the particular nature of his training experience, a combination of religious and family values formed the core of his programs and writings. Covey taught at Brigham Young University where, in 1976, he earned a Ph.D. in business and education, but left that institution in 1983 to start the Covey Leadership Center.

The Center had an immediate, and almost exclusive appeal to the corporate culture, partly due to its marketing strategies, but also because of the timbre of the times. Corporate America was in a state of unease and flux, and workers and managers were ripe for guidance in their search for a sense of stability in their jobs and careers. The Covey Leadership Center promised solutions to their problems, and both managers and employees were as eager to attend Covey's programs as the corporate leaders—hoping for improved efficiency and morale of their personnel—were to send them. When *The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People* was published, six years after the inception of the Center, it became hugely popular, appearing on the *New York Times* bestseller list for well over five years. The book stood out from the vast quantity of positive-thinking books available in the late 1980s, partially because of Covey's already established credibility, and partly because, as with the courses and programs, there was a real need for his particular take on self-help literature. The sales of the book increased the already sizable interest and enrollment in his leadership programs. Throughout the 1990s, according to *Current Biography*, "hundreds of corporations, government agencies, and universities invited Covey to conduct seminars with, or present talks to, their employees."

While many people attended these seminars and workshops, it is the *7 Habits* book that defines Stephen Covey's identity as a self-help guru. Initially an integral part of corporate management literature, the appeal of Covey's message, as transmitted in his book, spread to people in all walks of life. Its popularity was such that magazine and newspaper editors, in their bids to increase circulation, would play on the "Seven Habits" theme in headlines and articles in much the same way that the title of Robert Pirsig's novel *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* spawned countless sophomoric imitations in the print media.

Stephen Covey was the first to admit that there is nothing new in his writing; indeed the very simplicity of his philosophy has accounted both for its popular acclaim, and for the not insubstantial negative

criticism it has attracted in certain quarters. Each “habit” presented in the book (“Be proactive,” “Begin with the end in mind,” “Put first things first”) draws on time-tested truisms and age-old common-sense principles. Covey’s fans applauded him for putting these adages into print, in a useful modern context; detractors blasted him for repackaging well-worn and well-known information. Covey himself claimed that his book is based on common sense ideas, but that they needed to be restated, because, as he said in an interview in the *Orange County Register*, “. . . [W]hat is common sense isn’t common practice.” Another criticism frequently leveled at Covey is that, in his effort to show that each person is responsible for his or her own success, he trivializes the effects that flaws in the larger corporate system may have on performance. Thus, any failure is blamed only on the individual.

*The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People* has transcended the corporate world and entered into the American collective psyche. The Covey Leadership Center, which merged with the Franklin Quest Company in 1997 to form the Franklin Covey Co., has turned itself into a cottage industry, supplying customers with all manner of related merchandise: magazines, audiotapes, videos, and, perhaps most pervasively, “day-planners”. Once the chief product of the Franklin Quest company, these trendy signs-of-the-times began, after the merger, to include quotes from Covey’s books. In addition to the *7 Habits* book, Covey wrote a number of other books on related topics, including *First Things First*, and *Principle-Centered Leadership*. In 1997, he published a “follow-up” to his popular book, entitled *The 7 Habits of Highly Effective Families*, which promptly landed on the *New York Times* best-seller list. Redirecting the thrust of his wisdom towards problems between family members, Covey seemed to anticipate the changing mood and tone of America, which, in the wake of contradictory political messages, had become, by the late 1990s, more concerned with “family values.”

Stephen Covey is, perhaps, not quite a household name, but the “7 Habits” phrase, and the concept and book from which it originates, has become an emblem of the American people’s desire for stability and self-improvement, in their careers and in their personal lives. It represents the people’s search for an antidote to the confusing, contradictory and often disturbing events in the corporate and political worlds during the 1990s. The extent to which “7 Habits” has permeated the culture shows a desire, in the face of growing and changing technology, for simple truths, and for courses of action that can be easily understood and executed.

—Dan Coffey

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## The Cowboy Look

The cowboy look is a fanciful construction of an ideal cowboy image. Originally, cowboy clothing provided primarily function over fashion, but through America’s century-long fascination with this romantic Great Plains laborer, image has surpassed reality in what a cowboy ought to look like. With the supposed closing of the frontier at the end of the nineteenth century, the ascendancy of the Cowboy President, Theodore Roosevelt, and the growing popularity of artists such as Frederick Remington and Charley Russell, who reveled in a nostalgia for cowboy life, wearing cowboy clothes became akin to a “wearing of history” as twentieth-century Americans tried to hold onto ideals of individualism, opportunity, and adventure supposedly tied to the clothes’ frontier heritage.

Of primary importance in the construction of cowboy fashion are the highly stylized cowboy boots. A mass-produced and mail-order footwear near the turn of the century, these boots protected against rough vegetation with their durable cowhide uppers and provided ease of movement in and out of stirrups with their flat soles and high wooden heels. As cowboys became heroes through the massive popularity of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and later through Hollywood films, cowboy clothing came into vogue in popular culture. Boots in particular started to assume a sense of personalized fashion as specialized bootmakers cropped up in the West, especially in Texas. These bootmakers produced boots from hides as far-ranging as ostrich, elephant, eel, or stingray. The fancy stitching, colored leather, and occasional inlaid precious stone lent these custom boots an air of fashionable individuality. Custom cowboy boots, among those wealthy enough to afford them, became a distinctive mark of an individual’s flair combined with a sense of Western spirit.

But cowboy boots were only a single part of Western fashion popular throughout most of the twentieth century. Necessary fashion accouterments included denim jeans, a Western shirt (usually with designs on the shoulders), large belt buckles, and a broad-brimmed cowboy hat. This fashion remained essentially the same, barring various preferences for shirt designs and boot styles, throughout the twentieth century. Early Western film stars like William S. Hart and Tom Mix popularized the cowboy look, perpetuating the myth of the cowboy hero (always clad in a white hat) over the image of the ranch hand laborer. From the 1930s to the mid-1950s, the cowboy look found immense popularity among children. This trend coincided with the popularity of cowboy movie stars and singers Gene Autry and Roy Rogers who, according to Lonn Taylor and Ingrid Maar in *The American Cowboy*, acted as surrogate fathers for children whose fathers were away fighting in World War II. As television Westerns became more popular in America in the 1950s, the image of a noble and righteous cowboy fighting for justice and ideological harmony on the American frontier found a resurgence once again as America turned its attention to the Cold War.

Along with the popularity of the cowboy look from 1950s television, country music’s presence in popular culture became notable; though most country music from this era sprang from the South, the fashion of the time was essentially Western and demanded cowboy boots and hats. But with the popularity of rock ’n’ roll during the late 1950s and 1960s, cowboy fashion faded from the mainstream of popular culture. By the early 1970s, however, the boots, hats, tight jeans, and plaid work shirts of cowboy fashion started to appear in more urban settings. Growing from the seemingly timeless myth of



John Travolta and Madolyn Smith in a scene from the film *Urban Cowboy* that illustrates the cowboy look.

the cowboy loner—epitomized in 1902 by Owen Wister’s *The Virginian*—, the cowboy look now hit city streets less as a costume and more as a fashion statement. This look culminated with the 1980 release of *Urban Cowboy*, starring John Travolta as an unlikely cowboy figure who finds romance and country dancing in late 1970s Texas honky tonks.

The cowboy look also benefitted from the resurgence in the popularity of country music between the mid-1980s and the mid-1990s. Without any major changes in the foundations, the cowboy look became the Western look, incorporating into the basic clothes some Hollywood glitz and rhinestones, Southwestern Hispanic and Native American styles such as silver and turquoise, and a new kind of homegrown, rural sensibility. The jeans became tighter, the shirts louder, and hats took on the personalized importance of boots. As country music became more popular, huge Western clothing super-stores opened throughout America dedicated solely to supplying the fashion needs of country music’s (and country dancing’s) new devotees.

The icon of Western fashion could no longer be found in movies. Instead, country music stars such as George Strait or Reba McEntire presented the measure for the new cowboy look. The new cowboy look did not focus on the Western hero, the knight in the white hat so popular in the early part of the century, but rather was aimed at the

American worker who gets duded-up to play on the weekend. This new cowboy look was used to sell fishing equipment and especially pick-up trucks to people aspiring toward country or Western lifestyles. Though this country look still appeared as a “wearing of history,” its devotees found in this new fashion a distillation of the American work ethic (that allowed for outlets on Friday and Saturday nights) that had supposedly grown from a country ranching and farming lifestyle. The cowboy look no longer represented the hero, but the American rural laborer, albeit in an overly sanitized fashion. Like the popular country music that spurred this fashion trend, the cowboy look now affected rural authenticity over urban pretensions, valued family and the honor of wage labor, and, like its earlier permutations, elevated American history and culture over any other traditions.

—Dan Moos

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## Cox, Ida (1896-1967)

Billed as the “Uncrowned Queen of the Blues,” Ida Cox (born Ida Prather) never achieved the fame of her contemporaries Bessie Smith and Gertrude “Ma” Rainey. Though she spent most of the 1920s and 1930s touring the United States with various minstrel troupes, including her own “Raisin’ Cain Revue,” she also found time to record seventy-eight sides for Paramount Records between 1923 and 1929. Among these was her best known song, “Wild Women Don’t Have the Blues,” which was identified by Angela Y. Davis as “the most famous portrait of the nonconforming, independent woman.”

Noted record producer John Hammond revitalized Cox’s career by highlighting her in the legendary “Spirituals to Swing” concert at Carnegie Hall in 1939. Cox continued her recording career until she suffered a stroke in 1944. Six years after a 1961 comeback attempt that produced the album *Blues for Rampart Street*, Ida Cox died of cancer.

—Marc R. Sykes

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## Cranston, Lamont

See *Shadow*, The

## Crawford, Cindy (1966—)

Beginning in the 1980s and continuing through the 1990s, Cindy Crawford was America’s most celebrated fashion model and one of the most famous in the world, embodying the rise of the “super model” as a late twentieth century cultural phenomenon. Although there had been star models in previous decades—Twiggy in the 1960s, for example, or Lauren Hutton and Cheryl Tiegs in the 1970s—they did not sustain prolonged mainstream recognition. Cindy Crawford and her contemporaries (Kate Moss and Naomi Campbell among them) no longer merely posed as nameless faces on magazine covers, calendars, and fashion runways but, rather, became celebrities whose fame rivaled that of movie stars and rock musicians. Cindy Crawford stood at the forefront of this insurgence.

Although she found fame through her physical appearance, the brown-haired, brown-eyed Crawford first distinguished herself through her intellectual attributes. A native of DeKalb, Illinois, who was born Cynthia Ann Crawford on February 20, 1966, she was a fine student and class valedictorian at her high school graduation. She enrolled in Chicago’s Northwestern University to take a degree in chemical engineering, but her academic career proved short-lived when, during her freshman year, she left college to pursue a modeling career. Her entrance into the tough, competitive world of high fashion was eased by her winning the “Look of the Year” contest held by the Elite



Cindy Crawford

Modeling Agency in 1982. Within months the statuesque (five-foot-nine-and-a-half inches), 130-lb model was featured on the cover of *Vogue*.

The widespread appeal of Cindy Crawford lay in looks that appealed to both men and women. Her superb body, with its classic 34B-24-35 measurements, attracted men, while her all-American looks and trademark facial mole stopped her short of seeming an unattainable ideal of perfect beauty, and thus she was not threatening to women. Furthermore, her athletic physique was in distinct contrast to many of the overly thin and waif-like models, such as Kate Moss, who were prevalent during the 1990s.

Cindy Crawford stepped off the remote pedestal of a celebrity mannequin or a glamorous cover girl when she began to assert her personality before the public. She gave interviews in which she discussed her middle-class childhood, her parents’ divorce, and the trauma of her brother’s death from leukemia. These confessions humanized her image and made her approachable, and she went on to host MTV’s *House of Style*, a talk show that stressed fashion and allowed her to conduct interviews that connected with a younger market. The Cindy Crawford phenomenon continued with her involvement in fitness videos, TV specials, commercial endorsements, and film (*Fair Game*, 1995, was dismissed both by audiences and critics, but did little to diminish her popularity.) Meanwhile, her already high profile increased with her brief 1991 marriage to actor Richard Gere. The couple was hounded by rumors of homosexuality, fuelled after Crawford appeared on a controversial *Vanity Fair* cover with the openly lesbian singer k.d. lang. She later wed entrepreneur Rande Gerber.



After the arrival of Cindy Crawford, it was not uncommon to see models promoting a vast array of products beyond fashion and cosmetics. Crawford herself signed a multi-million dollar deal to promote Pepsi, as well as her more conventional role with Revlon. Her status was so high that ABC invited her to host a special on teen sex issues with the provocative title of *Sex with Cindy Crawford*. The opening of the Fashion Café theme restaurant in the mid-1990s marked the height of the super model sensation sparked by Crawford. The café's association with Crawford and other high profile models revealed the extent to which the "super model" had become a major figure in American culture. By the end of the twentieth century, Cindy Crawford was still the best known of these celebrities due to the combination of her wholesomely erotic image and her professional diversification through the many available media outlets.

—Charles Coletta

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## Crawford, Joan (1904?-1977)

From her 1930s heyday as a leading MGM box-office draw, to her 1962 performance in the horror classic and cult favorite *Whatever Happened to Baby Jane?*, Joan Crawford incarnated, in the words of Henry Fonda, "a star in every sense of the word." The MGM style of star packaging emphasized glamour, and Crawford achieved her luminous appearance through an extensive wardrobe and fastidious presentations of her gleaming, trademark lips, arched eyebrows, sculpted cheek and jaw bones, and perfectly coiffured hair. Crawford herself famously said, "I never go out unless I look like Joan Crawford the movie star. If you want to see the girl next door, go next door."

Born Lucille LeSueur in San Antonio, Texas, on March 23, 1904, Crawford embarked on a dancing career when only a teenager. She worked cabarets and travelling musical shows until her discovery in the Broadway revue *The Passing Show of 1924*. It would not be long before an MGM executive noted her exuberant energy and athletic skill. Exported to Hollywood on a \$75.00/week contract, Lucille changed her name as part of a movie magazine promotion that urged fans to "Name Her and Win \$1,000." This early link between her professional life and fan magazines presaged a union that would repeatedly shape her long movie star tenure. Throughout five decades, she appeared in magazine advertisements endorsing cosmetics, food products, and cigarettes. She dutifully answered fan letters and once fired a publicity manager who turned away admirers at her dressing room door. Her first marriage to Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., turned into a publicity spectacle. It was a reported feud between Crawford and co-star Bette Davis that was used to generate interest in *Whatever Happened to Baby Jane?* A conflation of Crawford's roles and fan magazine publicity with her personal life formed both the public view of her and her own sense of identity.



Joan Crawford

Crawford garnered her first film role in 1925 and made over 20 silent pictures before 1929, the year of her first hit *Untamed*. Her early career coincided with Hollywood's investment in the production and cultivation of stars as bankable assets. One of the industry's earliest successes, Crawford mutated her star persona over the decades to retain currency. Her first image was as a "flapper," a 1920s free-spirited woman who danced all night in speakeasies and jazz clubs. In the 1928 movie *Our Dancing Daughters*, Crawford's quintessential flapper whips off her party dress and dances the Charleston in her slip. Her date asks, "You want to take all of life, don't you?" Crawford's character replies, "Yes—all! I want to hold out my hands and catch at it." Crawford's own dance-till-dawn escapades frequently provided fodder for the gossip columns.

In the wake of the Depression Crawford transformed into a 1930s "shopgirl"—a willful, hard-working woman determined to overcome adversity, usually on the arm of a wealthy, handsome man played by the likes of Clark Gable or second husband, Franchot Tone. With this new character type, song-and-dance movies gave way to melodramatic fare, in which she uttered lines like this one from the 1930s movie *Paid*: "You're going to pay for everything I'm losing in life." To encourage fan identification with Crawford's "shopgirl" image, MGM promoted Crawford's own hard-luck background, highlighting her travails as a clerk at a department store in Kansas City, Missouri. In 1930, she was voted most popular at the box office. Inherent to this genre was a literal rags-to-riches metamorphosis. *Possessed*, produced in 1931, begins with Crawford working a factory floor in worn clothing and charts her rise in status through increasingly extravagant costume changes. This particular formula

teamed her with *haute couture* designer Adrian, and together they sparked fashion trends. In *Paid*, Crawford dons a huge, black fur-collared coat that, by virtue of her appearance in it, turned into a best-selling item in clothing stores along fifth Avenue in New York. The most famous instance occurred in 1932 with the Letty Lynton dress, reportedly the most frequently copied film-gown in American movies. Featuring enormous, ruffled sleeves and layers of white organdy, the Letty Lynton dress-craze confirmed Hollywood's place as show-case for fashion. The Letty Lynton phenomenon also marked the debut of Crawford's clothes-horse image. The importance of how Crawford looked in a movie soon eclipsed the significance of how she acted.

Crawford's popularity diminished in the 1940s as younger actresses claimed the best MGM parts. She responded by retooling herself into a matriarchal, self-sacrificing businesswoman, her strength symbolized by shoulder pads and dramatically tailored suits. To brook this transition, Crawford departed glamour-factory MGM in 1943 and signed with the crime picture studio, Warner Brothers. The role of the driven self-made restaurateur in the 1945 film noir, *Mildred Pierce*, earned her an Academy Award for Best Actress. At the end of this period, she began portraying desperate, emotionally disturbed women like the lover-turned-stalker *Possessed* (1947), and the neat-freak homemaker whose obsession turns to madness in the title role of *Harriet Craig* (1950). Movie culture in the 1950s expressed anxiety over dominant, self-sufficient female roles, popular in World War II and immediate post-War America, by straight-jacketing Crawford—literally—in *Straight Jacket*, produced by “B” horror film king William Castle in 1964. The 1960s limited her to cheap horror films—*I Saw What You Did*, *Beserk*, *Trog*—and traded on her now severe, lined face and its striking contrast with her trim, dancer's figure. Crawford's late career also ushered in the Hollywood use of product placement. As an official representative of Pepsi-Cola—her fourth and last husband, Howard Steele, was a Pepsi executive—Crawford featured displays of Pepsi-Cola signs and merchandise in several of her last films. For example, while probing a series of ghoulish murders at a circus owned by Crawford in a scene from *Beserk* (1968), investigators pause under a “Come Alive! With Pepsi” banner.

In *Mommie Dearest*, a movie based on an expose written by Crawford's adopted daughter and featuring Faye Dunaway, Crawford is depicted as a bizarrely cruel disciplinarian. The movie not only made a horrific joke of Crawford, but it also maligned Dunaway's acting ability. Portions of the movie became staple skits on late-night television shows like the satiric *Saturday Night Live*. The 1980s and 1990s, however, turned her into a favorite icon of gays and lesbians with Internet websites celebrating her masculine performances in, for example, *Johnny Guitar* (1954). In this movie she plays a gun-belted, top-booted saloon keep whose show-down is against another manish-looking woman.

—Elizabeth Haas

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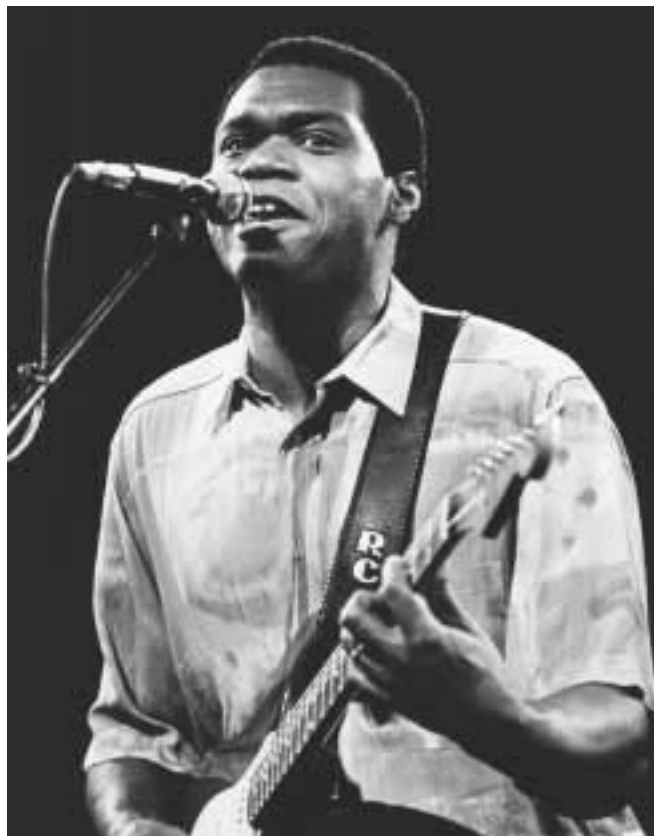
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## Cray, Robert (1953—)

Robert Cray's fusion of blues, R & B, jazz, pop, and soul music earned him critical acclaim and widespread recognition as a critical figure in the “blues boom” of the 1980s and 1990s. Indeed, his original approach to the genre brought an entirely new audience to what had been considered a dying art form. Though blues purists dismissed him as a “tin-eared yuppie blues wannabe,” Cray nonetheless enjoyed success unmatched by any other blues artist.

Born into an army family in 1953, Cray had the opportunity to live in many different regions of the United States before his family settled in Tacoma, Washington, when Cray was fifteen years old. Already a devotee of soul and rock music, Cray became interested in blues after legendary Texas guitarist Albert Collins played at his high school graduation dance. Cray formed his first band in 1974, and this group eventually became Collins's backing band, touring the country with him before striking out on its own.

After a series of moves—to Portland, Seattle, and finally to San Francisco—the Robert Cray Band signed a record deal with Tomato Records and released its first album, *Who's Been Talking?* (later re-released as *Too Many Cooks*), in 1980. Though the album featured convincing performances of classic blues songs, it generated little excitement. Cray and his band subsequently toured with Chicago



Robert Cray

legend Muddy Waters and were featured on the Kings of the Boogie world tour with John Lee Hooker and Willie Dixon.

In 1983, Cray tried a different approach with the funky, original *Bad Influence*, released on the HighTone label. His follow-up effort, *False Accusations*, proved to be the breakthrough. The album made *Newsweek's* list of top ten LPs and shot up to number one on the Billboard pop music charts. That same year, Alligator Records released the Grammy Award-winning *Showdown!*, which featured Cray collaborating with now-deceased blues guitarists Collins and Johnny Copeland.

Success earned Cray the support of a major label, Mercury, and his debut effort for the company is widely believed to be the best work of his career. Released in 1986, *Strong Persuader* was certified platinum (sales of more than one million copies) and put Cray's picture on the cover of *Rolling Stone*. The success of the album also ensured more high-profile collaborations, such as an appearance in the concert and film tribute to Chuck Berry, "Hail! Hail! Rock 'n' Roll!" produced by Keith Richards. After covering Cray's "Bad Influence" on his *August* album, Eric Clapton invited Cray to appear on his *Journeyman* and *24 Nights* albums. Cray also appeared in the Tina Turner video "Break Every Rule," becoming a familiar face on the MTV network.

Cray continued to experiment with soul music on 1990's *Midnight Stroll*, which featured the legendary Memphis Horns, and showed a jazzier side on *I Was Warned*, released two years later. Albert Collins joined Cray and his band on the 1993 album *Shame + a Sin*, the most traditional of Cray's later works. Cray continued to be in demand as a guest performer, appearing on three John Lee Hooker albums including the Grammy-winning *The Healer*, as well as B. B. King's *Blues Summit*. Cray's 1997 release *Sweet Potato Pie* featured a return to the Memphis soul that had characterized his sound from the early 1980s. Despite being panned by the "bluenatics," as Cray labelled the blues purists, the album achieved significant sales, confirming Cray's continuing commercial viability.

—Marc R. Sykes

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## Creationism

Creationism is a Christian doctrine holding that the world and the living things in it—human beings in particular—were created by God. There have been a variety of creationist viewpoints, and some of these viewpoints are in conflict with mainstream scientific theories, especially the theory of evolution.

After Charles Darwin published his *Origin of Species* (1859), which not only defended the pre-existing theory of evolution but also maintained that evolution took place through natural selection, many fundamentalist Christians reacted with horror. Then as now, anti-evolutionists maintained that evolution was contrary to the Bible, that it was atheistic pseudo-science, and that, by proposing that man descended from lower animals, it denied man's spiritual nature. Evolutionists denounced creationists for allegedly misinterpreting both the Bible and the scientific evidence.

In the 1920s, William Jennings Bryan, a former Nebraska Senator, Presidential candidate, and U.S. Secretary of State, joined the movement to prevent the teaching of evolution. In response to lobbyists like Bryan, the state of Tennessee passed a law making it a crime for a public-school teacher or state college professor to teach the allegedly un-Scriptural doctrine that man evolved from a lower order of animals. However, under the Butler Act (and similar laws in other states), it remained permissible to teach the theory of evolution as applied to species other than humans.

A test case of the Tennessee law was arranged in Dayton, Tennessee, in 1925. A teacher named John Thomas Scopes was charged with violating the law. Bryan was brought in to help the prosecution, and an all-star legal defense team, including famed attorney Clarence Darrow, was brought in to defend the young teacher. Scopes was convicted after a highly-publicized trial, but his conviction was overturned on a technicality by the Tennessee Supreme Court. A play based on the Scopes Monkey trial, *Inherit the Wind*, was turned into a movie in 1960. Spencer Tracy, Gene Kelly, and Frederic March were among the cast of this popular and anti-creationist rendering of the trial. The movie altered some of the historical details, but the movie version of the trial was probably better-known than the actual trial.

Arkansas had also passed a "monkey law" similar to Tennessee's Butler Act. In 1968, the United States Supreme Court ruled that the Arkansas law was designed to promote religious doctrine, and that therefore it was an unconstitutional establishment of religion which violated the First Amendment. The *Epperson* decision had no effect on the Tennessee Butler law, since that law had been repealed in 1967.

Since the Scopes trial, the views of some creationists have been getting closer to secular scientific position. Scientists who were evangelical Christians formed an organization called the American Scientific Affiliation (ASA) during World War II. ASA members pledged support for Biblical inerrancy and declared that the Christian scriptures were in harmony with the evidence of nature. Within this framework, however, the ASA began to lean toward the "progressive creation" viewpoint—the idea that God's creation of life was accomplished over several geological epochs, that the six "days" of creation mentioned in Genesis were epochs rather than literal days, and that much or all of mainstream science's interpretation of the origins of life could be reconciled with the Bible. These "progressive creation" tendencies were articulated in *Evolution and Christian Thought Today*, published in 1959. Some of the contributors to this volume seemed to be flirting with evolution, with two such scientists indicating that Christian doctrine could be reconciled with something resembling evolution.

Other creationists moved in another direction entirely—towards "flood geology." This is the idea that God had created the world in six 24-hour days, that all species, including man, had been specially created, and that the fossil record was a result, not of evolution over time but of a single catastrophic flood in the days of Noah. George McCready Price, a Canadian-born creationist, had outlined these ideas in a 1923 book called *The New Geology*. At the time, Price's ideas had not been widely accepted by creationists outside his own Seventh Day Adventist denomination, but in 1961 Price's ideas got a boost. Teacher John C. Whitcomb, Jr. and engineer Henry M. Morris issued *The Genesis Flood*, which, like *The New Geology*, tried to reconcile the geological evidence with a strong creationist viewpoint.

In 1963, the Creation Research Society (CRS) was formed. The founders were creationist scientists (many of them from the fundamentalist Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod), and voting membership

was limited to scientists. The CRS was committed to Biblical inerrancy and a creationist interpretation of the Bible, an interpretation which in practice coincided with the doctrine of flood geology.

The CRS and others began lobbying for the inclusion of creationist ideas in school curricula. This was a delicate task, on account of the *Epperson* decision of the Supreme Court, which prohibited the introduction of religious doctrines into the curriculum of the public schools. Creationists campaign all over the country, trying to get creationism (now often dubbed “creation science”) into textbooks on an equal basis with evolution. Some states allowed the use of creationist texts like Henry M. Morris’ *Scientific Creationism*. The Texas Board of Education required that textbooks used by the state must emphasize that evolution was merely a theory, and that other explanations of the origins of life existed. On the other hand, California—which together with Texas exerted a great influence over educational publishers due to its mass purchasing of textbooks—rejected attempts to include creationism in school texts.

Laws were passed in Arkansas and Louisiana requiring that creation science get discussed whenever evolution was discussed. However, the federal courts struck down these laws. The U.S. Supreme Court struck down the Louisiana law in 1987, on the grounds that creation science was a religious doctrine that could not constitutionally be taught in public schools.

In Tennessee, home of the Scopes trial, the legislature passed a law in 1973 which required that various ideas of life’s origin—including creationism—be included in textbooks. A federal circuit court struck down this law. An 1996 bill in the Tennessee legislature, authorizing school authorities to fire any teacher who taught evolution as fact rather than as theory, was also unsuccessful. But in Tennessee and other states, the campaign for teaching creationism continues.

—Eric Longley

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## Credit Cards

The small molded piece of polyvinyl chloride known as the credit card has transformed the American and the world economy and promises to be at the heart of the future economic system of the world. Social scientists have long recognized that the things people buy profoundly affect the way they live. Microwave ovens, refrigerators, air conditioners, televisions, computers, the birth control pill, antibiotics—all have affected peoples’ lives in profound ways. The credit card has changed peoples’ lives as well, for it allows unprecedented access to a world of goods. The emergence of credit cards as a dominant mode of economic transaction has changed the way people live, the way they do things, the way they think, their sense of well being, and their values. When credit cards entered American life, ordinary people could only dream of an affluent life style. Credit cards changed all that.

Credit cards were born in the embarrassment of Francis X. McNamara in 1950. Entertaining clients in a New York City restaurant, Mr. McNamara reached for his wallet only to find he had not brought money. Though his wife drove into town with the money, McNamara went home vowing never to experience such disgrace again. To guarantee it, he created the Diners Club Card, a simple plastic card that would serve in place of cash at any establishment that agreed to accept it. It was a revolutionary concept.

Of course, credit had long been extended to American consumers. Neighborhood merchants offered credit to neighborhood customers long before McNamara’s embarrassing moment. In the 1930s oil companies promoted “courtesy cards” to induce travelers to buy gas at their stations across the country; department stores extended revolving credit to their prime customers. McNamara’s innovation was to create a multipurpose (shopping, travel, and entertainment) and multi-location card that was issued by a third party independent of the merchant. He took to the road and signed up merchants across the country to save others from his fate.

McNamara’s success led to a host of imitators. Alfred Bloomingdale of Bloomingdale’s department store fame introduced Dine and Sign in California. Duncan Hines created the Signet Club. *Gourmet* and *Esquire* magazines began credit card programs for their readers. But all of McNamara’s early imitators failed. Bankers, however, saw an opportunity. Savvy as they are about giving out money for profit, bankers were more successful in offering their own versions of national cards. Success came to Bank of America and Master Charge, who came to dominate the credit card business in the 1960s. In the late 1970s Bank Americard became VISA and Master Charge became MasterCard. In 1958, American Express introduced its card. Their success the first year was so great—more than 500,000 people signed up—that American Express turned to computer giant IBM for help. Advanced technology was the only way for companies to manage the vast numbers of merchants and consumers who linked themselves via their credit cards, and in the process created a mountain of debt. Technology made managing the credit card business profitable.

To make their system work, credit card companies needed to get as many merchants to accept their cards and as many consumers to use them as they possibly could. They were aided by the sustained

economic growth of the post-World War II era, which saw the United States realize the potential for becoming a true consumption-based society. Credit card companies competed with each other to get their cards in the hands of consumers. With direct mail solicitations, television advertisements, and the ubiquitous placement of credit applications, these companies reached out to every segment of the consumer market. Affluent Americans were flooded with credit card offers at low interest rates, but poorer Americans were also offered credit, albeit with high interest rates, low credit lines, and annual fees. As the cards filled the wallets and purses of more and more consumers, the credit card became the essential tool of the consumer society. At the same time the competition for the consumer heated up at the retail end. First to differentiate themselves from and then to keep up with competitors, more and more retailers, businesses, and services began accepting the cards.

By the 1990s, just 50 years after the birth of the modern credit card, there were more than 450 million credit cards in the United States—about 1.7 cards for each woman, man, and child. Moreover, more than 3 billion offers of credit cards are made annually. VISA administered about 50 percent of the credit cards in circulation. MasterCard had 35 percent, the Discover Card 10 percent, and American Express 5 percent.

The amount of money channeled through credit cards is staggering. By the late 1990s, about 820 billion dollars were charged annually—approximately \$11,000 per family—and credit cards accounted for \$444 billion of debt. About 17 percent of disposable income was spent making installment payments on credit card balances; the average cardholder owed approximately \$150 per month. Eight billion transactions per year involve credit cards. Simply put, credit cards have a profound effect on the economy. To put the force of credit cards into some perspective, in 1998 the Federal Reserve put 20 billion dollars of new money into the economy, while U.S. banks unleashed the equivalent of 20-30 billion dollars of new money into the same economy via new credit cards and increased spending limits.

Given the strong tie between credit card spending and the economy, the fact that consumers have freely used credit cards to fuel their lifestyles has been good for the country, for the stock market, and for retirement plans. But spending is more than simply an economic issue. Spending reflects deeper and broader social and psychological processes. These processes may underlie the true meaning of credit cards in American culture.

Spending money to reflect or announce one's success is certainly not a new phenomenon. Anthropologists have long reflected upon tribal uses of possessions as symbols of prestige. In the past the winners were the elites of the social groups from which they came. But credit cards have leveled the playing field, affording the "common folk" entry into the game of conspicuous consumption. Indeed, the use of credit cards allows people with limited incomes to convince others that they are in the group of winners. Credit cards have thus broken the link that once existed between the possession of goods and success.

Money does buy wonderful things, and many derive satisfaction from knowing that they can buy many things. Credit cards allow consumption to happen more easily, more frequently, and more quickly. The satisfactions achieved through consumption are not illusory. Goods can be authentic sources of meaning for consumers. Indeed, goods are democratic. The Mercedes the rich person drives is the same Mercedes that the middle class person drives. Acquiring possessions brings enjoyment, symbolizes achievement, and creates

identity. Because credit cards make all this possible, they have become a symbolic representation of that achievement. Having a Gold card is prestigious and means you have achieved more in life than those with a regular card. (A Platinum card is, of course, even better.) Credit cards are more than modes of transaction—they are designer labels of life, and thus impart to their user a sense of status and power. People know what these symbols mean and desire them.

The ways that people pay for their goods differ in important social, economic, and psychological ways. Unlike cash, credit cards promote feelings of membership and belongingness. Having and using a credit card is a rite of passage, creating the illusion that the credit card holder has made it as an adult and a success. Unique designs, newsletters, rewards for use, and special deals for holders make owners of cards feel that they are part of a unique group. Prestige cards such as the American Express Gold Card attempt to impress others with how much the user seems to be worth. Finally, credit cards are promoted as being essential for self-actualization. You have made it, card promoters announce, you deserve it, and you shouldn't leave home without it; luckily, it's everywhere you want to be, according to VISA's advertising slogan. Self-actualized individuals with credit cards have the ability to express their individuality as fully as possible.

There are, however, costly, dangerous, and frightening problems associated with credit card use and abuse. First, credit cards act to elevate the price of goods. Merchants who accept credit cards must pay anywhere from 0.3 to 3 percent of the value of the transaction to the credit card company or bank. Such costs are not absorbed by merchants but are passed on to all other consumers (who may not own or use credit cards) in the price of products and services. Second, credit cards create trails of information in credit reports that reveal much about the lives of users, from the doctors they visit to their choice of underwear. Not only do such reports reveal to anyone reading them information that the credit card user might not want made available, but confusion between users can result in embarrassing and costly mistakes. Third, credit card fraud creates billions of dollars in costs which are paid for in high fees and interest rates and, eventually, in the price of goods. VISA estimated that these costs amount to between 43 and 100 dollars per thousand dollars charged. In 1997 credit card companies charged off 22 billion dollars in unpaid bills, 60 million a day. Finally, consumers pay in direct and indirect ways for the personal bankruptcies that credit card abuse contributes to. In 1997 the 1.6 million families who sought counseling with debt counselors claimed 35 billion in debt they could not pay, much of it credit card debt. The result of these problems is the same: consumers pay more for goods.

One of the untold stories in the history of credit cards is the manner in which the poorer credit card holders subsidize the richer. Payments on credit card balances (with interest rates that normally range from 8 to 21 percent) subsidize those who use the credit card as a convenience and pay no interest by paying their charges within the grace period. The 50 to 60 percent of consumers who pay their balances within the grace period have free use of this money, but they could not do so unless others were paying the credit card companies for their use of the money. The people who pay the highest interest rates are, of course, the people with the lowest incomes.

In an obvious way, the convenience of using credit cards increases the probability that consumers will spend more than they might have otherwise. But using credit cards is also a bit like the arms race: the more the neighbors spend, the more consumers spend to

stay even. Such competitive spending, while a source of sport for the wealthy, can be potentially devastating to those on more limited incomes.

Interestingly, credit card spending may facilitate spending in a more insidious manner. Research has shown that the facilitation effect of credit cards is both a conscious/rational and unconscious process. At the rational end credit cards allow easy access to money that may only exist in the future. People spend with credit cards as a convenience and as a means to purchase something that they do not have the money for now but will in the near future. However, as an unconscious determinant of spending, credit cards can irrationally and unconsciously urge consumers to spend more, to spend more frequently, and make spending more likely.

Credit card spending has become an essential contributor—some would argue a causal determinant—of a good economy. Spending encourages the manufacture of more goods and the commitment of capital, and creates tax revenues. By facilitating spending, credit cards are thus good for the economy. Credit cards are tools of economic expansion, even if they do bring associated costs.

In 50 years, credit cards have gone from being a mere convenience to being crucial facilitators of economic transactions. Some would have them do even more. Credit card backers promote a vision of a cashless economy in which a single credit card consolidates all of a person's financial and personal information needs. And every day consumers vote for the evolution to a cashless electronic economic and information system by using their credit cards. Americans are willing prisoners of and purveyors of credit cards, spending with credit cards because of what they get them, what they symbolize, and what they allow them to achieve, experience, and feel. In many ways credit cards are the fulfillment of the ultimate dream of this country's founders—they offer life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

—Richard A. Feinberg and Cindy Evans

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## Creedence Clearwater Revival

By the late 1960s, when Creedence Clearwater Revival (CCR) released its first album, rock 'n' roll was transforming into rock, the more "advanced" and "sophisticated" cousin of the teenaged riot whipped up by Elvis Presley and Little Richard. While their contemporaries (Moody Blues, Pink Floyd, King Crimson, etc.) were expanding the sonic and lyrical boundaries of Rock 'n' Roll, CCR bucked the trend by returning to the music's roots. On their first album and their six subsequent releases, this Bay Area group led by John Fogerty fused primal rockabilly, swamp-boogie, country, r&b and great pop songwriting, and—in doing so—became one of the biggest selling rock bands of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Most of the members of CCR played in what were essentially bar bands around San Francisco and its suburbs. Along with El Cerrito junior high school friends Stu Cook and Doug "Cosmo" Clifford, Tom and John Fogerty formed the Blue Velvets in the late 1950s. The group eventually transformed into the Golliwogs, recording a number of singles for the Berkeley-based label, Fantasy, and then changed its name to Creedence Clearwater Revival in 1967. If the Blue Velvets and the Golliwogs were dominated by Tom Fogerty, then Creedence Clearwater Revival was John Fogerty's vehicle, with John writing and singing the vast majority of CCR's songs. It was clear that John Fogerty's influence was what made the group popular, because under Tom's control, the Golliwogs essentially went nowhere. Further, when John let other members gain artistic control on CCR's *Pendulum*, that album became the first CCR album not to go platinum.

Like Bruce Springsteen, John Fogerty's songs tackle subjects that cut deep into America's core; and like any great artist, Fogerty was able to transcend his own experience and write realistic and believable songs (for instance, the man who wrote "Born on the Bayou" had never even been to Louisiana's bayous until decades later). Despite Fogerty's talents as a songwriter, CCR's first hits from its debut album were covers—Dale Hawkins' "Suzie Q" and Screamin' Jay Hawkins' "I Put a Spell on You." But with the release of "Proud Mary" backed with "Born on the Bayou" from CCR's second album, the group released a series of original compositions that dominated the U.S. *Billboard* charts for three years.

Despite its great Top Forty success and its legacy as the preeminent American singles band of the late 1960s, CCR was able to cultivate a counter-cultural and even anti-commercial audience with its protest songs and no-frills rock 'n' roll. Despite the fact that they were products of their time, "Run Through the Jungle," "Fortunate Son," "Who'll Stop the Rain," and CCR's other protest songs remain timeless classics because of John's penchant for evoking nearly-universal icons (for North American's, at least) rather than specific cultural references.

John's dominance proved to be the key to the band's success and the seeds of its dissolution, with Tom leaving the group in 1971 and John handing over the reins to be split equally with Stu Cook and Doug Clifford, who equally contributed to the group's last album, *Mardi Gras*, which flopped. Tom released a few solo albums, and so did John, who refused to perform his CCR songs well until the early 1990s as the result of a bitter legal dispute that left control of the CCR catalog in the hands of Fantasy Records. One of the most bizarre copyright infringement lawsuits took place when Fantasy sued Fogerty for writing a song from his 1984 *Centerfield* album that sounded too much like an old CCR song. After spending \$300,000 in legal fees and



### Creedence Clearwater Revival

having to testify on the stand with his guitar to demonstrate how he wrote songs, Fogerty won the case.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## Crichton, Michael (1942—)

Published in 1969, *The Andromeda Strain* established Michael Crichton as a major best-selling novelist whose popularity was due as much to the timing and significance of his subject matter as to the quality of his writing and the accuracy of his research. As Crichton had correctly judged, America was ready for a tale that treated both the rationalism and the paranoia of the Cold War scientists' response to a biological threat. From that first success onwards, Crichton continued to embrace disagreeable or disturbing topical trends as a basis for exciting, thriller-related fiction. That several have been

made into highly commercial movies, and that he himself expanded his career into film and television, has made him a cultural fixture in late twentieth-century America. If this was in doubt, his position was cemented by *ER*, the monumentally successful television series, which he devised.

Born on October 23, 1942 in Chicago, Illinois, by the time *The Andromeda Strain* appeared, Crichton had received his A.B. degree *summa cum laude* from Harvard, completed his M.D. at Harvard Medical School, and begun working as a post-doctoral fellow at the Salk Institute for Biological Studies. Most impressively, he had already published six novels (under various pseudonyms), written largely during weekends and vacations, while still at medical school. As an undergraduate, he had intended to major in English, but poor grades convinced him that no amount of creative talent would deter Harvard's faculty from altering its absurdly high expectations. Incipient scientist that he was, Crichton tested this theory by submitting an essay by George Orwell under his own name, and received a B-minus.

This tale, recounted in Crichton's spiritual autobiography, *Travels*, perhaps explains his own lack of interest in producing anything other than commercial fiction. As a result, his journey through medical school seems, in retrospect, more of a detour than a career path, for, by the end of his schooling, he had decided once and for all to become a writer. During his final rotation Crichton concentrated



**Michael Crichton**

more on the emotional than the physical condition of his patients, research that formed the basis of his non-fiction work, *Five Patients: A Hospital Explained*.

But it was *The Andromeda Strain* that permanently changed the trajectory of his future. His previous novels have all fallen out of print, with the exception of *A Case of Need*, published under the pseudonym Jeffrey Hudson and winner of the 1968 Edgar Award from the Mystery Writers of America. While the success of *The Andromeda Strain* lifted Crichton's career to new heights, it did not prevent him from completing other less successful works already in progress. In 1970 and 1971, using the name John Lange, he finished three more novels (*Drug of Choice*, *Grave Descend*, and *Binary*), and with his brother Douglas, co-wrote *Dealing*, under the prescient name Michael Douglas. (The actor would star in the film versions of several of Crichton novels). With three of his novels already filmed—*The Andromeda Strain* (1970), *Dealing* (1972), and *A Case of Need* (retitled *The Carey Treatment*, 1972)—Crichton, who had directed the made-for-TV film *Pursuit* (1972) made his feature film directing debut in 1973 with *Westworld*. Starring Yul Brynner, the film was adapted from his futuristic thriller *Binary* (1971). Crichton now pursued a dual career as moviemaker and writer, having published the second novel to appear under his own name, *The Terminal Man*, in 1972. *Dealing* with a Frankenstein-type experiment gone haywire, it confirmed its author's storytelling powers, sold in the millions, and was filmed in 1974.

Through the rest of the 1970s and into the 1980s Crichton the author continued to turn out such bestsellers as *The Great Train Robbery* (1975), *Congo* (1980), and *Sphere* (1987), but Crichton the

director fared less well. His successes with *Coma* (1977), a terrific nailbiter based on Robin Cook's hospital novel and starring the real Michael Douglas, and *The Great Train Robbery* (1978), were offset by such mediocrities as *Looker* (1981), *Runaway* (1984), and *Physical Evidence* (1989). A major turnaround came when he stopped directing and concentrated on fiction once again. The fruits of his labors produced *Jurassic Park* (1990), *Rising Sun* (1992), *Disclosure* (1994), and *Lost World* (1995). All were bestsellers, with *Rising Sun* and *Disclosure* leaving a fair share of controversy in their wake—the last particularly so after the film, starring Michael Douglas and Demi Moore, was released. In the meantime, Crichton shifted from director to producer, convincing NBC to launch *ER*, which he created and which had been his dream for 20 years. By the end of the 1990s, he was an established and important presence in Hollywood as well as in publishing, enjoying a professional longevity given only to a handful of popular novelists and screenwriters.

Not unlike Tom Clancy, whose success came in the 1980s, Crichton is a masterful storyteller who has been credited with the invention of the modern "techno-thriller." His prose is clear and concise; his plotting strong; his research accurate and, at times, eerily prescient. On the other hand, in common with many fiction writers who depend heavily on premises drawn largely from the science fiction genre, his character development is weak. Despite his protests to the contrary, his penchant for using speculative science as the basis for much of his fiction has landed him willy-nilly within the gothic and science fiction traditions. In *Michael Crichton: A Critical Companion*, Elizabeth Trembley details the extent to which Crichton's work revisits earlier gothic or science fiction classics, from H. Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines*, for example, to *Jurassic Park*, a modern retelling of H. G. Wells' *The Island of Doctor Moreau*.

Michael Crichton's popularity is perhaps best explained by his intuition for presenting through the medium of fiction our own anxieties in consumable form. Often fiction relieves anxieties by reconfiguring them as fantasy. Crichton senses that we worry about biological weapons (*The Andromeda Strain*), mind control technology (*The Terminal Man*), human aggression (*Sphere*), genetic engineering (*Jurassic Park*), and competitive corporate greed (*Rising Sun* and *Disclosure*). His gift is the ability to turn these fears into a form that lets us deal with them from the safety of the reading experience.

—Bennett Lovett-Graff

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## *Crime Does Not Pay*

*Crime Does Not Pay* was a comic book published from 1942-1955 by the Lev Gleason company. Inspired by the MGM documentary series of the same name, *Crime* featured material based loosely on true criminal cases. The stories indulged in graphic violence, sadism, and brutality of a sort that was previously unheard of in children's entertainment. Bullet-ridden corpses, burning bodies, and



horrific gangland tortures were among the more predictable themes found in these comic books.

An unusual comic book when it first appeared amidst the superheroes of the World War II era, *Crime* found a huge audience after the war. Arguably the first “adult” comic book, *Crime* also became one of the most popular titles ever, selling in excess of one million copies monthly. When *Crime*’s formula became widely imitated throughout the industry, it attracted the wrath of critics who charged that crime comic books caused juvenile delinquency.

—Bradford Wright

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## Crinolines

In 1859, French writer Baudelaire wrote that “the principal mark of civilization . . . for a woman, is invariably the crinoline.” The crinoline, or horsehair (“crin”) hoop, allowed women of the 1850s and 1860s to emulate Empress Eugénie in ballooning skirts supported by these Crystal Palaces of lingerie. From Paris to Scarlett O’Hara, women moved rhythmically and monumentally during “crinolineomania” (1856-68), assuming some power if only by taking up vast space. A culture of boulevards and spectatorship prized the volume of crinolines. In the 1950s, crinolineomania recurred: prompted by Christian Dior’s New Look, any poodle skirt or prom dress could be inflated by nylon crinolines as if to become the female version of mammoth 1950s cars and automobile fins. A culture of big cars valued the crinoline as well.

—Richard Martin

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## The Crisis

Founded as the monthly magazine of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910, the *Crisis* has played an important role in the formation and development of African-American public opinion since its inception. As the official voice of America’s leading civil rights organization, the *Crisis* gained entry into a variety of African-American and progressive white homes, from the working class and rural poor to the black middle class. Through the mid-1930s, the *Crisis* was dominated by the character, personality, and opinions of its first editor and NAACP board member, W. E. B. Du Bois. Because of his broad stature within black communities, Du Bois and the NAACP were synonymous for many African Americans. One of his editorials or essays could literally sway the opinions of thousands of black Americans.



*The Crisis*

The teens were a time of dynamic change within black communities as the Great Migration began to speed demographic shifts and African-American institutions grew and expanded. As black newspapers and periodicals gained prominence within these rapidly developing communities, the New York-based magazine the *Crisis* emerged as one of the most eloquent defenders of black civil rights and racial justice in the United States. During this era, the magazine led the pursuit of a federal anti-lynching law, equality at the ballot box, and an end to legal segregation. As war approached, the *Crisis* ran vigorous denunciations of racial violence in its columns. Following a bloody riot in east St. Louis in 1917, Du Bois editorialized with melancholy, “No land that loves to lynch ‘niggers’ can lead the hosts of the Almighty.” In the same year, after black servicemen rampaged through the streets of Houston, killing seventeen whites and resulting in the execution of thirteen African Americans, the *Crisis* bitterly lamented, “Here at last, white folks died. Innocent, adventitious strangers, perhaps, as innocent as the thousands of Negroes done to death in the last two centuries. Our hands tremble to rise and exult, our lips strive to cry. And yet our hands are not raised in exultation; and yet our lips are silent, as we face another great human wrong.”

After the initial success of black troops stationed in France during the summer of 1918, Du Bois penned the controversial editorial “Close Ranks.” In it, he wrote, “Let us, while this war lasts,

forget our special grievances and close our ranks shoulder to shoulder with our own white fellow citizens and the allied nations that are fighting for democracy. We make no ordinary sacrifice, but we make it gladly and willingly with our eyes lifted to the hills.” Appealing to the ideals of patriotism, citizenship, and sacrifice connected to military service, the *Crisis* editors believed that by fighting a war “to make the world safe for democracy,” African Americans would be in a better position to expect a new era of opportunity and equality after the war’s end. As the war drew to a close and black soldiers returned home, the *Crisis* continued its determined efforts to secure a larger share of democracy for African Americans. In “Returning Soldier,” the magazine captured the fighting spirit of the moment: “*We return. / We return from fighting. / We return fighting. Make way for democracy! We saved it in France, and by the Great Jehovah, we will save it in the United States of America, or know the reason why.*”

The next two decades, though, did not bear out the optimism of *Crisis* editors. During the 1920s, as racial conservatism set in nationwide and the hopes of returning black soldiers dimmed, the *Crisis* shifted its focus to the development of the cultural politics of the “New Negro” movement in Harlem. With the addition of celebrated author Jessie Fauset to the editorial board, the *Crisis* printed essays from Harlem Renaissance architect Alain Locke, as well as early works of fiction and poetry by Fauset, Langston Hughes, and Zora Neale Hurston, among others. The 1930s proved contentious years for the *Crisis* as it went to battle with the Communist Party over the fate of nine African Americans in the Scottsboro case. In addition, the Depression put the magazine in financial peril. As Du Bois struggled to find solutions to the dire circumstances facing most black Americans, he published a series of essays advocating the creation of “urban black self-determination” through the creation of race-based economic cooperatives. This stance irked many NAACP leaders who saw the remarks as a repudiation of the organization’s integrationist goals. The clash precipitated a split within the group which resulted in the resignation of Du Bois from both the magazine and the NAACP board in 1934.

What the *Crisis* lost in the departure of Du Bois, it regained with the rapidly increasing membership of the NAACP during the Second World War and the rising tide of civil rights protest throughout the nation. While the magazine no longer had the stature, intellectual respect, or skillful writing associated with Du Bois, it remained an important public African-American voice. In particular, as the NAACP legal attack on segregation crescendoed in 1954 with the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, the *Crisis* ran a special issue dedicated solely to the NAACP victory, featuring the full text of the decision, historical overviews, and analysis. One editorial gloated, “The ‘separate but equal’ fiction as legal doctrine now joins the horsecar, the bustle, and the five-cent cigar.” While the *Crisis* trumpeted the victory, it also kept a pragmatic eye on the unfinished business of racial justice in America, stating, “We are at that point in our fight against segregation where unintelligent optimism and childish faith in a court decision can blind us to the fact that legal abolition of segregation is not the final solution for the social cancer of racism.”

Over the next decade, as the NAACP struggled to find its place in the post-*Brown* movement, the *Crisis* maintained its support of nonviolent civil rights activity, although it no longer set the agenda. Thurgood Marshall, in an article on the student sit-in wave sweeping the South in 1960, compared Mississippi and Alabama to South Africa and argued, “Young people, in the true tradition of our democratic principles, are fighting the matter for all of us and they are

doing it in the most effective way. Protest—the right to protest—is basic to a democratic form of government.” Of the 1963 “Jobs and Freedom” march on Washington, D.C., the *Crisis* beamed, “Never had such a cross section of the American people been united in such a vast outpouring of humanity.” Similarly, in 1964, with the passage of the historic Civil Rights Act, the *Crisis* editorialized, “[the Act] is both an end and a beginning: an end to the Federal Government’s hands-off policy; a beginning of an era of Federally-protected rights for all citizens.”

As the movement spun off after 1965 toward Black Power, increasing radicalization and, in some cases, violence, the NAACP and the *Crisis* began to lose their prominent position in shaping African-American attitudes and opinions. Against these new politics, the *Crisis* appeared more and more conservative. Continuing to oppose violent self-defense and separatism, the *Crisis* also came out against radical economic redistribution as well as the Black Studies movement of the late sixties and early seventies. Over the next two decades, the *Crisis* evolved into a more mainstream popular magazine, upgrading its pages to a glossy stock and including more advertisements, society articles, and human interest stories. Unable to recapture the clear programmatic focus that had driven its contents during the previous fifty years, the *Crisis* articles tended to be more retrospective and self-congratulatory than progressive. In the late 1980s, the *Crisis* took a brief hiatus but reappeared in the 1990s in a revised form, focusing primarily on national politics, cultural issues, and African-American history.

—Patrick D. Jones

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## Croce, Jim (1943-1973)

Singer and songwriter Jim Croce is remembered for beautiful guitar ballads like “Time In a Bottle” and, in contrast, his upbeat character-driven narratives like “Bad, Bad Leroy Brown” that deftly combined folk, blues, and pop influences. Croce’s brief but brilliant musical career was tragically cut short by his death in a plane accident in 1973.

Born to James Alford and Flora Croce in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Croce’s interest in music got off to a slow start. He learned to play “Lady of Spain” on the accordion at the age of five, but didn’t really take music seriously until his college years. He attended Villanova College in the early 1960s, where he formed various bands and played parties. One such band had the opportunity to do an Embassy tour of the Middle East and Africa on a foreign exchange



**Jim Croce**

program, which encouraged Croce to focus on his music. He earned a degree in psychology from Villanova in 1965.

The music career came slowly, though, interrupted by the other odd jobs he took to make a living. Croce worked in construction, welded, and even joined the army. He spun records as a university disc jockey on a folk and blues show in Philadelphia and wrote ads for a local R&B station. He married Ingrid in 1966, and the two spent the summer teaching at a children's camp in Pine Grove, Pennsylvania. He taught guitar, and she taught ceramics and leather crafts. The following autumn he served as a teacher for problem students at a Philadelphia High School.

Finally becoming truly serious about a career in music, Croce moved to New York in 1967 where he and his wife Ingrid played folk clubs and coffee houses. By 1969, the pair were signed to Capital Records where they released an album called *Approaching Day*. The album's lack of success led the couple to give up New York and return to Pennsylvania. Jim started selling off guitars, took another job in construction, and later worked as a truck driver. Ingrid learned how to can foods and bake bread to help stretch the budget. On September 28, 1971, they had a son, Adrian James Croce.

But Croce never lost his love of music, and he played and sang on some commercials for a studio in New York. His break came when Croce sent a demo tape to Tommy West, a Villanova college pal who had found success as a New York record producer. West and his friend Terry Cashman helped Croce land a contract with ABC records. He also had a fortuitous meeting with guitarist Maury Muehleisen while working as a studio freelancer. Croce had played backup guitar on Muehleisen's record, *Gingerbread*. The album

flopped, but Croce remembered the young guitarist and called him in to work with him. The two worked closely in the studio, trading rhythm and lead parts. The first album, *You Don't Mess Around with Jim*, was a huge success, giving Croce two top ten hits with the title track and "Operator (That's Not The Way It Feels)." Before long Croce was a top-billing concert performer, known as much for his friendly and charming personality as for his songs.

His second album, *Life and Times*, had a hit with the July, 1973, chart topper "Bad, Bad Leroy Brown." This first blush of success turned bittersweet for his family and friends, however. Leaving a concert venue at Northwestern State University in Natchitoches, Louisiana on September 20, 1973, Croce's plane snagged the top of a pecan tree just past the runway, and he and Maury Muehleisen, as well as four others, were killed. Croce is buried at Haym Salomon Memorial Park in Frazer, Pennsylvania. The third album, *I've Got a Name*, was released posthumously, and the hits kept coming. The next chart hit was the title track, and "Time In a Bottle" was the number one hit of the year in 1973. The following year, "I'll Have to Say I Love You in a Song" and "Workin' at the Car Wash Blues" hit the charts. The ongoing string of hits only highlighted the tragic loss of a performer who was just coming into his own.

Jim's widow Ingrid opened Croce's Restaurant and Jazz Bar 1985 in San Diego's Gaslamp Quarter in Jim's memory. The restaurant features musical acts nightly and is decorated with Jim Croce memorabilia. Ingrid Croce also wrote a book of recipes and memories called *Thyme in A Bottle*. Son A. J. Croce started his own musical career in the 1990s. He released his eponymous first album in 1993, a 1995 follow-up, *That's Me in the Bar*, and 1997's *Fit to Serve*. He said of his father, "I think the most powerful lesson I learned from him was the fact there is no reason to write a song unless there is a good story there. He was a great storyteller and, for me, if there is any way that we are similar, it's that we both tell stories."

—Emily Pettigrew

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## Cronkite, Walter (1916—)

Walter Cronkite's 19-year tenure as anchorman of the *CBS Evening News* was an uncanny match of man and era. Two generations of Americans came to rely upon his presence in the CBS



**Walter Cronkite**

television anchor chair in times of war and crisis, scandal and celebration. His was a forthright, solemn presence in a time when each new dawn brought with it the prospect of nuclear annihilation or a second American civil war. Yet the master journalist was also a master performer—Cronkite was able and quite willing to display a flash of emotion or anger on the air when it suited him; this combination of stoic professionalism and emotional instinct earned the broadcaster two enduring nicknames: the man known familiarly as “Uncle Walter” was also called “The Most Trusted Man in America.” When Cronkite closed the *Evening News* each night with his famous sign-off “And that’s the way it is,” few doubted he was telling them the truth.

Cronkite’s broadcasting career had a unique prologue; the young war correspondent did what few others dared: he turned down a job offer from Edward R. Murrow. The CBS European chief was already a legend; the radio correspondents known as “Murrow’s Boys” were the darlings of the American press, even as they defined the traditions and standards of broadcast journalism. Cronkite, however, preferred covering the Second World War for the United Press. It was an early display of his preference for the wire-service style and attitude; the preference would mark Cronkite’s reporting for the rest of his career.

When Cronkite accepted a second CBS offer several years later, the budding broadcaster found himself assigned—perhaps relegated—to airtime in the new medium that seemed little more than a journalistic backwater: television.

He anchored the local news at Columbia’s Washington, D.C., affiliate starting soon after the Korean War began in 1950, his broadcast a combination of journalism and experimental theater. There were no rules for television news, and Cronkite had come in on the ground floor. He had little competition; few of the old guard showed much interest in the new medium. Cronkite was pressed into service to anchor the 1952 political conventions and election for CBS television, his presence soon taken for granted in the network anchor chair. Walter Cronkite had established himself firmly as the network’s “face” in the medium which was, by now, quite obviously the wave of the future.

He continued to anchor much of CBS’s special events coverage, including the 1956 and 1960 political conventions. In 1962, he succeeded Doug Edwards as anchor of the *CBS Evening News*, in those days a fifteen-minute nightly roundup that found itself regularly beaten in the ratings by the runaway success of NBC’s anchor team of Chet Huntley and David Brinkley.

Ratings aside, however, television news was finally coming of age; CBS news was expanding staff, adding bureaus and airtime. That TV news veered away from the staged, hackneyed style of its most obvious model, the movie newsreels—and instead became a straightforward, serious purveyor of hard news—is thanks in no small part to the efforts and sensibilities of Cronkite and his colleagues. His *Evening News* expanded to thirty minutes in September, 1963, premiering with an exclusive interview of President John F. Kennedy.

Yet Cronkite, like Doug Edwards before him, regularly spoke to an audience much smaller than that of Huntley and Brinkley. And while it is Cronkite's shirtsleeves pronouncement of the Kennedy assassination that is usually excerpted on retrospective programs and documentaries ("From Dallas, Texas, the flash, apparently official. . . President Kennedy. . . died. . . this afternoon. . ."), the simple fact is that NBC was the clear audience choice for much of the early and mid-1960s.

Cronkite's ratings dropped so low during the 1964 Republican convention, the behind-the-scenes turmoil growing so intense, that he was removed from his anchor chair, replaced for the Democratic convention by Robert Trout and Roger Mudd, two fine veteran broadcasters whose selection nonetheless was a thinly veiled effort to capture some of the Huntley-Brinkley magic. It didn't work; a viewer uprising and a well-timed prank (a walk through a crowded hotel lobby with a high NBC executive) quickly led to Cronkite's re-instatement.

Meanwhile, Cronkite threw himself into coverage of the American space program. He displayed obvious passion and an infectious, even boyish enthusiasm. His cries of "Go, baby, go!" became familiar accompaniment to the roar of rockets lifting off from Cape Canaveral. Cronkite anchored CBS's coverage of every blast-off and splashdown; arguably the single most memorable quote of his career came as astronauts Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin touched down on the moon the afternoon of July 20, 1969. "The Eagle has landed," Armstrong radioed, and Cronkite added his benediction: "Gosh! Oh, boy!" He later recalled it as the only time he'd come up speechless on the air. That afternoon, Cronkite's audience was more than that of NBC and ABC combined. Huntley-Brinkley fever had cooled. Walter Cronkite had become "the most trusted man in America," and his stature in American living rooms resounded throughout the television industry.

This was the age in which local television news departments strove to emulate the networks—not the other way around—and the success of Cronkite's dead-earnest *Evening News* led many local TV newscasts soon to adapt a distinctly Cronkite-ish feel. Likewise, there's no official count of how many anchormen around the world, subconsciously or not, had adapted that distinctive Cronkite cadence and style. Politicians and partisans on all sides complained bitterly that Cronkite and CBS were biased against them; this was perhaps the ultimate tribute to the anchorman's perceived influence on American life in the late 1960s.

In truth, Cronkite had grown decidedly unenthusiastic about the Vietnam War. A trip to Vietnam in the midst of the Tet offensive led to arguably the most courageous broadcast of the anchorman's career. . . . Cronkite returned home, deeply troubled, and soon used the last few moments of a CBS documentary to call for an end to the war. It was a shocking departure from objectivity, easily the most brazen editorial stand since Ed Murrow criticized Senator Joe McCarthy nearly a decade-and-a-half earlier. At the White House, President Lyndon Johnson is said to have remarked "If I've lost Cronkite, I've

lost middle America." Whether the anecdote is apocryphal is irrelevant; that it is widely accepted as fact is the real testament to Cronkite's influence as the 1960s drew to a close.

Cronkite rode his *Evening News* to ratings victory after victory through the 1970s, the whole of CBS news now at the pinnacle of its ability and influence. Cronkite cut short his summer vacation to preside over the August 8, 1974 resignation of President Nixon; he anchored an all-day-and-all-night television bicentennial party on July 4, 1976; later he stubbornly closed every nightly newscast by counting the number of days the American hostages had been held captive in Iran. The Carter administration likely was not amused. When the hostages' release on January 20, 1981 coincided with the inauguration of President Ronald Reagan, Cronkite held forth over his last great news spectacular, calling the historic convergence of events "one of the great dramatic days in our history."

By then, Cronkite was on his way out, giving up the anchor chair to Dan Rather, narrowly forestalling Rather's defection to ABC. Cynics have long speculated Cronkite was, in fact, pushed aside to make way for Rather, but everyone involved—including Cronkite—has clung to the story that the veteran anchorman was genuinely tired of the grind and had repeatedly asked to be replaced. His final *Evening News* came March 6, 1981, his final utterance of "And that's the way it is" preceded by a brief goodbye speech. . . . "Old anchormen don't go away, they keep coming back for more." He couldn't have been more wrong.

Cronkite had not intended to retire completely upon stepping down from the anchor chair, but to his utter astonishment, he found the new CBS news management literally would not let him on the air. An exclusive report from strife-torn Poland was given short shrift; later, his already limited participation in the network's 1982 Election Night coverage was reportedly reduced even further when anchorman Rather simply refused to cede the air to Cronkite. The new brass feared reminding either viewers or a jittery, ratings-challenged Rather of Cronkite's towering presence; Rather himself was apparently enjoying a little revenge. "Uncle Walter" had for years been known behind-the-scenes as a notorious air-hog, filling airtime with his own face and voice even as waiting correspondents cooled their heels. Now, suddenly, the original "800-pound gorilla" was getting a taste of his own medicine.

It only got worse. Cronkite's fellow CBS board members roundly ignored the elder statesman's heated protests of mid-1980s news budget cuts, even as it appeared the staid, substance-over-style approach of Cronkite's broadcasts was falling by the CBS wayside. His legacy was fading before his very eyes. That he never pulled up stakes and left the network (as a disgruntled David Brinkley had recently bolted from NBC) is a testament either to true professional loyalty. . . . or an iron-clad contract.

In the 1990s, however, Cronkite made a broadcasting comeback. He produced and narrated a series of cable documentaries, including a multi-part retrospective of his own career; his 1996 autobiography was a major bestseller. In late 1998, Cronkite accepted CNN's offer to co-anchor the network's coverage of astronaut John Glenn's return to space. On that October day, Cronkite returned to the subject of one of his great career triumphs: enthusiastic, knowledgeable coverage of a manned spaceflight. It was thrilling for both audience and anchor; yet it was also clear Cronkite's day had come and gone. He was frankly a bit deaf; and he thoroughly lacked the preening, all-smiles, shallow aura of hype that seems to be a primary qualification for today's news anchors. His presence that day was, however, undoubtedly a glorious reminder of what Cronkite had been to the nation for so long: the very

manifestation of serious, hard news in the most powerful communications medium of the twentieth century. He was a rock, truly an anchor in some of the stormiest seas our nation has ever navigated.

—Chris Chandler

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## Crosby, Bing (1903-1977)

Bing Crosby is widely recognized as one of the most influential entertainers of all time. He first came to popularity as America's most popular crooner during the 1930s, with his much-copied low-key manner, and during his long career he recorded more than sixteen hundred songs. He also starred in a long string of highly successful movies, including the classic *Going My Way* (1944), and, having amassed a huge fortune, eventually became a major presence behind the scenes in Hollywood.



Bing Crosby

Born Harry Lillis Crosby into a large family in Tacoma, Washington, Crosby grew up to study law at Gonzaga University in Spokane but soon became more interested in playing drums and singing with a local band. It was then that he adopted his professional name, reportedly borrowing the "Bing" from his favorite comic strip, *The Bingville Bugle*. In the early 1930s Crosby's brother Everett sent a record of Bing singing "I Surrender, Dear" to the president of CBS. Crosby's live performances from New York ended up being carried over the national radio network for twenty consecutive weeks in 1932. Crosby recorded more than sixteen hundred songs for commercial release beginning in 1926 and ending in 1977. With his relaxed, low-key manner and spontaneous delivery, Crosby set a crooning style that was widely imitated for decades. At the time of his death, he was considered the world's best-selling singer. Crosby's records have sold in the hundreds of millions worldwide, perhaps more than a billion, and some of his recordings have not been out of print in more than sixty years. He received twenty-two gold records, signifying sales of at least a million copies per record, and was awarded platinum discs for his two biggest selling singles, "White Christmas" (1960) and "Silent Night" (1970).

Crosby's radio success led Paramount Pictures to contract him as an actor. He starred in more than fifty full-length motion pictures, beginning with *The Big Broadcast of 1932* (1932) and ending with the television movie *Dr. Cook's Garden* (1971). His large ears were pinned back during his early films, until partway through *She Loves Me Not* (1934). His career as a movie star reached its zenith during his association with Bob Hope. Crosby and Hope met for the first time in the summer of 1932 on the streets of New York and in December performed together at the Capitol Theater, doing an old vaudeville routine that included two farmers meeting on the street. They did not work together again until the late 1930s, when Crosby invited Hope to appear with him at the opening of the Del Mar race track north of San Diego. The boys reprised some old vaudeville routines that delighted the celebrity audience. One of the attendees was the production chief of Paramount Pictures, who then began searching for a movie vehicle for Crosby and Hope and ended up finding an old script intended originally for Burns and Allen, then later Jack Oakie and Fred MacMurray. The tentative title was *The Road to Mandalay*, but the destination was eventually changed to Singapore. To add a love interest to the movie, the exotically beautiful Dorothy Lamour was added to the main cast. Although *The Road to Singapore* was not considered as funny as the subsequent "Road" pictures, the chemistry among the three actors came through easily and the film was a hit nevertheless.

At least twenty-three of Crosby's movies were among the top ten box office hits during the year of their release. He was among the top ten box office stars in at least fifteen years (1934, 1937, 1940, 1943-54), and for five consecutive years (1944-48) he was the top box office draw in America. But real recognition of his talent as an actor came with *Going My Way*: his performance as an easygoing priest guaranteed him the best actor Oscar. His work in *The Country Girl* (1954)—in which Crosby played an alcoholic down on his luck opposite Grace Kelly—also received excellent critiques.

Crosby married singer Dixie Lee in 1930, and the couple had four sons—Garry, Dennis and Phillip (twins), and Lindsay—all of whom unsuccessfully attempted careers as actors. Widowed in 1952, Crosby married movie star Kathryn Grant (thirty years his junior) in 1957. She bore him two more sons—Harry and Nathaniel—and a girl, Mary, a TV and film actress famed for her role as the girl who shot J. R. Ewing in the television series *Dallas*.

During his four decades as an entertainer, Crosby gathered a fortune from radio, records, films, and TV and invested wisely in a broad array of business ventures. Second in wealth only to Bob Hope among showbiz people, Crosby's fortune was at one time estimated at anywhere between 200 and 400 million dollars, including holdings in real estate, banking, oil and gas wells, broadcasting, and holdings in the Coca-Cola Company. From the 1940s to the 1960s, Crosby owned 15 percent of the Pittsburgh Pirates baseball team, but playing golf was what he liked the most. He died playing at a course outside Madrid—after completing a tour of England that had included a sold-out engagement at the London Palladium.

After his death, Crosby's Hollywood persona—established largely by his role as the warm-hearted, easygoing priest in *Going My Way*—underwent much reassessment. Donald Shepherd and W. H. Allen composed an unflattering portrait of Crosby as an egotistic and heartless manipulator in their biography, *Bing Crosby—The Hollow Man* (1981). In *Going My Own Way* (1983), Garry Crosby, his eldest son, told of his experiences as a physically and mentally abused child. When Bing's youngest son by Dixie Lee, Lindsay Crosby, committed suicide in 1989 after finding himself unable to provide for his family, it was revealed that Crosby had stipulated in his will that none of his sons could access a trust fund he had left them before reaching age sixty-five.

—Bianca Freire-Medeiros

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## Crosby, Stills, and Nash

David Crosby, Stephen Stills, and Graham Nash came together in the late 1960s as idiosyncratic individual talents in flight from famous groups. Their 1969 debut album arguably initiated the dominance of singer-songwriters in popular music until the mid-1970s. After appearing at the Woodstock festival, augmented by Neil Young, they achieved a wider public role as the artistic apotheosis of the hippie ideals of "music, peace, and love." As the 1970s progressed, however, CSN(&Y) became infamous for an inability to show enough peace and love to one another to continue playing and recording music together.

David Crosby had been an integral member of folk-rock pioneers The Byrds until he left the group amidst acrimony in 1967. Crosby had first encountered Stephen Stills when the latter's band, Buffalo Springfield, supported The Byrds in concert in early 1966. In May 1968, just after the demise of Buffalo Springfield, Crosby and

Stills met disillusioned Hollies frontman Graham Nash. As suggested by the unassuming name, Crosby, Stills, and Nash was conceived as a loose collective in order to foster creative freedom and forestall the internal strife which each individual had experienced in his previous band. Yet, with the release of *Crosby, Stills and Nash*, CSN was hailed as a "supergroup," and not just because of their prestigious genealogy. Lyrics which concurred with the ideals of the "counter-culture" were immersed in acoustic guitars and immaculate vocal harmonies. Crosby and Stills' "Wooden Ships" envisioned a new Eden in the aftermath of nuclear apocalypse, while Nash's "Marrakesh Express" less grandly located utopia on the Moroccan hippie trail.

Stills' Buffalo Springfield colleague and rival Neil Young was recruited in June 1969 in order to bolster their imminent live shows. Ominously, there were squabbles over whether Young should get equal billing. With only one recently released record to their name, and in only their second ever concert performance, CSN&Y wowed the Woodstock festival in July 1969. There was a certain amount of manipulation involved in the rapid mythologization of CSN&Y as the epitome of the "Woodstock nation." Their manager, David Geffen, who also represented many of the other acts which appeared, threatened to withdraw his cooperation from the film of the festival unless CSN&Y's cover of Joni Mitchell's Woodstock was used over the opening credits. Their record label, Atlantic, disproportionately featured CSN&Y on two very successful soundtrack album sets. In contrast, CSN&Y's appearance at The Rolling Stones' disastrous free festival at Altamont in December 1969 was, as Johnny Rogan has observed, "effectively written out of rock history" by journalists sympathetic to the CSN&Y-Woodstock cause.

There were unprecedented pre-release orders worth over \$2 million for *Deja Vu*, released in March 1970. Though it was somewhat more abrasive than the debut album, due to the arrival of Young and his electric guitar, *Deja Vu* was suffused with hippie vibes. These were amusingly conveyed on Crosby's "Almost Cut My Hair," but Nash's "Teach Your Children" sounded self-righteous. In May 1970, CSN&Y rush-released the single "Ohio," Young's stinging indictment of President Nixon's culpability for the killing of four student protesters by the National Guard at Kent State University. After completing a highly successful tour in 1970 (documented on the double-album *Four-Way Street*), CSN&Y were lauded by the media as the latest American answer to the Beatles, a dubious honor first bestowed on The Byrds in 1965, but which CSN&Y seemed capable of justifying.

Instead, the foursome diverged into various solo ventures. While this was informed by their insistence that, in Crosby's words, "We're not a group, just one aggregate of friends," individual rivalries and the tantalizing example of Young's flourishing solo career were also determining factors. The flurry of excellent solo albums in the early 1970s, invariably featuring the "friends" as guests, only increased interest in the enigma of the "aggregate." When CSN&Y finally regrouped in 1974, popular demand was met by a mammoth worldwide tour of sport stadia which redefined the presentation, scale, and economics of the rock'n'roll spectacle. But CSN&Y failed to complete an album after this tour, and they never again attained such artistic or cultural importance. After further attempts at a recorded reunion failed, Crosby, Stills, and Nash eventually reconvened without Young for *CSN* (1977). The album was another huge seller and spawned CSN's first top 10 single, Nash's "Just a Song Before I



(From left) David Crosby, Stephen Stills, Graham Nash, and Neil Young, 1988.

Go.” Nevertheless, each member was past his peak in songwriting terms, and their musical style and political views were being vociferously challenged by punk rock and its maxim, “Never trust a hippie.”

Crosby was becoming ever more mired in cocaine and heroin addiction. A farcical series of drug-related arrests culminated in his incarceration in 1986. In that year’s “Hippie Dream,” Neil Young transformed Crosby’s personal fate into a fable of the descent of countercultural idealism into rock ‘n’ roll hedonism (“the wooden ships / were just a hippie dream / capsized in excess”). Crosby’s physical recovery resulted in a much-publicized first CSN&Y album in 18 years, *American Dream* (1988). The artistic irrelevance of Crosby, Stills, and Nash, however, was highlighted not only by comparisons between the new CSN&Y record and *Deja Vu*, but also by *Freedom* (1989), the opening salvo of Neil Young’s renaissance as a solo artist. In the early 1990s, while Young was being lauded as the “Godfather of Grunge,” Crosby, Stills, and Nash operated, as Johnny Rogan observed, “largely on the level of nostalgia. This was typified by their appearance at “Woodstock II” in August 1994. Young refused to appear with CSN, and instead designed a range of hats

depicting a vulture perched on a guitar, a parody of the famous Woodstock logo featuring a dove of peace. It was Young’s pithy comment on the commodification of a (counter) cultural memory with which his erstwhile colleagues were, even 25 years later, inextricably associated.

—Marty Bone

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## Cross-Dressing

See Drag



## Crossword Puzzles

Once a peripheral form of entertainment, crossword puzzles have become a popular national institution. They appear in almost every newspaper, have become the focus of people's daily and weekend rituals, are published in their own books and magazines, appear in foreign languages—including Chinese—and have inspired other gridded word games like acrostic, cryptic, and diagramless puzzles.

Arthur Wynne constructed the first crossword, which appeared in 1913 in the *New York World*. His word puzzle consisted of an empty grid dotted with black squares. Solvers entered letters of intersecting words into this diagram; when correctly filled in, the answers to the “across” and “down” numbered definitions would complete, and hence solve, the puzzle. The layout and concept of the crossword has not changed since its inception.

Although crossword puzzles appeared in newspapers after Wynne's debut, the *New York Times* legitimized and popularized the pastime. The *Times*'s first Sunday puzzle appeared in the *New York Times Magazine* in 1942, and daily puzzles began in 1950.

—Wendy Woloson

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## Cruise, Tom (1962—)

Tom Cruise is perhaps the most charismatic actor of the 1980s and 1990s. Although initially dismissed as little more than a pretty face with a million dollar smile when he made his screen debut as a member of Hollywood's “Brat Pack” generation of youthful leading men in the early 1980s, he has demonstrated considerable staying power and fan appeal. At one point between 1987 and 1989, four of his films combined to post more than one billion dollars in box office receipts. Yet, at the same time, he has proven to be a very serious actor earning Academy Award nominations for “Best Actor” in 1989 in *Born on the Fourth of July*, in which he portrayed disabled Vietnam Vet Ron Kovic, and again in 1996 for a high energy performance in *Jerry Maguire*. The latter film, in fact, served as an extremely insightful commentary on many of the cocky, swaggering characters he had portrayed in such exuberant films as *Top Gun* (1986), *The Color of Money* (1986), *Cocktail* (1988), and *Days of Thunder* (1990).

Cruise made the jump to producer in 1996 with the blockbuster *Mission Impossible*, a big screen remake of the popular 1960s television series. In 1999, he took on his most challenging leading role in Stanley Kubrick's sexual thriller *Eyes Wide Shut*, teaming with his wife, Nicole Kidman.

—Sandra Garcia-Myers

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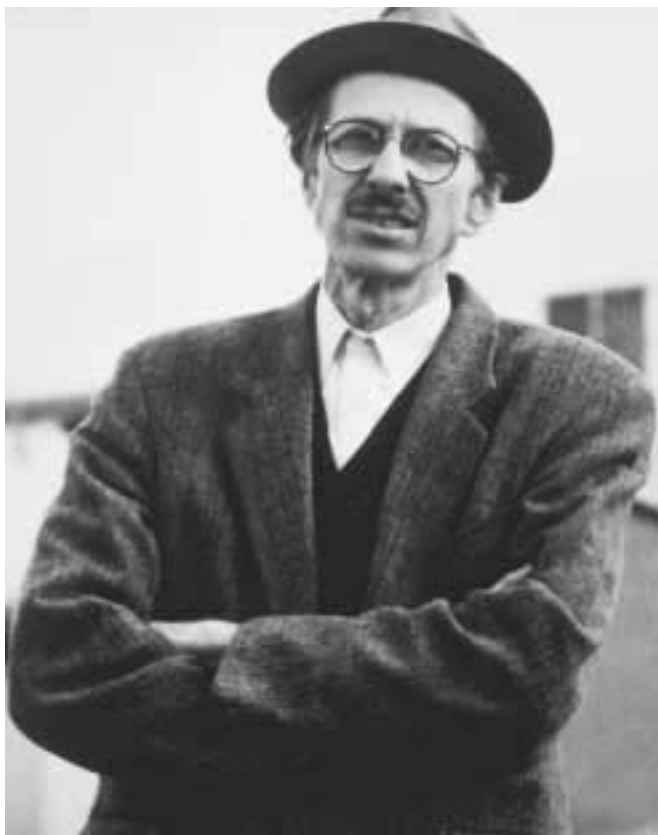


Tom Cruise in a scene from the film *Mission: Impossible*.

## Crumb, Robert (1943—)

Robert Crumb is the most famous and well respected of all underground comic artists, and the first underground artist to be accepted into the mainstream of popular American culture. His comics are notable for explicit, detailed, and unflattering self-confessions, in which strange sexual fantasies abound. When not writing about himself, he has targeted the American consumer-culture establishment, but also anti-establishment hippies and dropouts as subjects for his satire. Crumb's art veers from gritty, grubby realism to extremes of Expressionism and psychedelia. As both an artist and a writer, Crumb is a true original. Relentlessly unrestrained and impulsive, his work reflects few influences other than the funny animal comics of Carl Barks and Walt Kelley, and the twisted, deformed monster-people of *Mad* artist Basil Wolverton.

The Philadelphia-born Crumb lived his childhood in many different places, including Iowa and California. Seeking refuge from an alienated childhood and adolescence, he began drawing comics with his brothers Charles and Max. As a young adult he lived in Cleveland, Chicago, and New York before moving to San Francisco in 1967, the year he began his rise to prominence. He had worked for a greeting card company until he was able to produce comic books full time, and his first strips appeared in underground newspapers such as



**Robert Crumb**

New York's *East Village Other* before the first issues of his *Zap* comic book were published in 1967. *Zap* introduced many of Crumb's most popular characters, as well as the unforgettable "Keep On Truckin'" logo, and made a tremendous impact on the underground comics scene. In 1970, particularly dazzling examples of his bizarre and imaginative art appeared—with little in the way of story—in the excellent *XYZ Comics* (1970).

Among Crumb's most notable characters are Mr. Natural, a sort of sham guru who lives like a hedonist and prefers to tease, and occasionally exploit, his devotees rather than enlighten them, and his occasional disciple, Flakey Foont, emblematic of the suburban nebbish fraught with doubts and hang-ups. Others include Angelfood McSpade, a simple African girl exploited by greedy and lecherous white Americans, diminutive sex-fiend Mister Snoid, and Whiteman (a big-city businessman, proudly patriotic and moralistic yet inwardly repressed and obsessed with sex). But Crumb's most famous character is Fritz the Cat, who first appeared in *R. Crumb's Comics and Stories* (1969). Fritz, a disillusioned college student looking for freedom, knowledge, and counterculture kicks, became popular enough to star in the 1972 animated movie *Fritz The Cat*, directed by Ralph Bakshi, which became the first cartoon ever to require an X-rating. While the movie proved a huge success with the youth audience, Crumb hated the film and retaliated in his next comic book by killing Fritz with an ice pick through the forehead.

By the late 1990s, Crumb's comic-book work had been seen in a host of publications over the course of three decades. In the early days he was featured in, among other publications, *Yellow Dog*, *Home*

*Grown Funnies*, *Mr. Natural*, *Uneeda Comix*, and *Big Ass*. In the 1980s, he was published in *Weirdo* and *Hup*. In addition to his comic-book work, he became well known for his bright, intense cover for the *Cheap Thrills* album issued by Janis Joplin's Big Brother and the Holding Company in 1968. Though much of Robert Crumb's best-loved work was produced in the late 1960s and early 1970s, he reached a peak of widespread fame in the mid-1990s with the successful release of filmmaker Terry Zwigoff's mesmerizing documentary, *Crumb* (1995), which interspersed shots of Crumb's works between frank interviews with the artist and his family, and comments from media and culture critics. *Crumb* won the Grand Jury prize at the Sundance Film Festival and was widely praised by critics. The film's impact is twofold: viewers are stunned by Crumb's genius, while being both moved and disturbed by the images of an unfortunate and dysfunctional family. The film is honest in acknowledging controversial aspects of the artist's work, with critics on-camera pointing out the racist caricatures, perverse lust, and, above all, the overt misogyny that runs through much of Crumb's *oeuvre*. Some of those images have depicted scantily clad buxom women with bird heads, animal heads, or no heads at all.

Despite the controversy, however, the 1980s and 1990s brought a multitude of high quality Crumb compilations and reprints, including coffee-table books, sketchbooks, and complete comics and stories from the 1960s to the present. Meanwhile, his continuing output has included the illustration of short stories by Kafka and a book on early blues music. Profiles of Crumb have appeared in *Newsweek* and *People* magazines, and on BBC-TV, while his art has been featured at New York's Whitney Museum and Museum of Modern Art, as well as in numerous gallery shows in the United States, Europe, and Japan. His comic characters have appeared on mugs, T-shirts, patches, stickers, and home paraphernalia.

A fan of 1920s blues and string band music, Crumb started the Cheap Suit Serenaders band in the 1970s, with himself playing banjo, and recorded three albums. Remarkable in his personality as well as his work, the shy Crumb prefers to dress, not like a bearded longhair in the style of most male underground artists, but like a man-on-the-street from the 1950s, complete with suit, necktie, and short-brimmed hat. In 1993, he left California to settle in southern France with his wife and daughter.

—Dave Goldweber

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## Crystal, Billy (1947—)

Billy Crystal went from stand-up comedy to playing Jodie Dallas, American TV's first major gay character, on the sitcom *Soap* (1977-81). As a cast member on *Saturday Night Live* (1984-85), Crystal was known for the catch-phrases "you look mahvelous" and "I hate it when that happens." After he moved from the small screen to films, Crystal's endearing sensitivity and gentle wit brought him success in movies such as *Throw Momma from the Train* (1987), *When Harry Met Sally* (1989), and *City Slickers* (1991). He made his directorial debut with *Mr. Saturday Night* (1992), the life story of Buddy Young, Jr., a fictional Catskills comedian Crystal created on *Saturday Night Live*.

—Christian L. Pyle

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## Cukor, George (1899-1983)

An American film director whose career spanned over fifty years, Cukor was particularly adept at female-centered melodrama (*Little Women*, 1933; *The Women*, 1939), romantic comedy (*The Philadelphia Story*, 1940; *Adam's Rib*, 1949), and musicals (*A Star Is Born*, 1954; *My Fair Lady*, 1964, for which he received a Best Director Oscar). Often derided as a workman-like technician, revelations about Cukor's homosexuality led to reappraisals of his work by, in particular, queer academics, who focused on his predilection for more 'feminine' genres and gender-bending narratives, as seen in *Sylvia Scarlett* (1935), for example. Cukor has thus, like fellow director Dorothy Arzner, come to be perceived as an auteur, whose sexual identity influenced the final form taken by the Hollywood material he handled.

—Glyn Davis

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## Cullen, Countee (1903-1946)

Among the most conservative of the Harlem Renaissance poets, Harvard educated Countee Cullen exploded onto the New York literary scene with the publication of *Color* (1925) and solidified his reputation with *Copper Sun* (1927) and *The Black Christ and Other Poems* (1929). His verse defied the expectations of white audiences. Where earlier black poets like Paul Laurence Dunbar had written in dialect, Cullen's tributes to black life echoed the classical forms of Keats and Shelley. The young poet was the leading light of the African-American literary community during the 1920s. Although his reputation waned after 1930 as he was increasingly attacked for ignoring the rhythms and idioms of Black culture, Cullen's ability to

present black themes in traditional European forms made him one of the seminal figures in modern African-American poetry.

—Jacob M. Appel

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## Cult Films

Cult films are motion pictures that are favored by individual groups of self-appointed connoisseurs who establish special meanings for the films of a particular director or star or those which deal with a particular theme. In practical terms, however, cult status can be conferred on almost any film. In fact, such an occurrence is particularly sought after by filmmakers to maintain interest in the film once its initial theatrical run has been completed. Thus cult films might be more accurately defined as those special films which, for one reason or another, "connect" with a hard-core group of fans who never tire of viewing them or discussing them.

Cult films, by their very nature, deal with extremes, eschewing, for the most part, middle of the road storylines and character stereotypes commonly seen in Hollywood studio products. These normally small movies present unusual if not totally outrageous protagonists involved in bizarre storylines that resolve themselves in totally unpredictable ways. According to Daniel Lopez's *Films by Genre*, cult films may be divided into three basic categories: popular cult, clique movies, and subculture films.

A prime example of the first type is George Lucas's 1977 *Star Wars*, which began as an evocation of the Saturday matinee serials of the 1940s and 1950s. Using a basic cowboys vs. Indians theme borrowed from the westerns of his childhood, Lucas updated the frontier theme by adding technology and relocating the drama to outer space. His effort, while failing to do much for the Western, created a resurgence of interest in the science fiction and "cliffhanger" serial genres. In the years that followed, Hollywood was inundated with sci-fi thrillers, of which the most popular were the *Star Trek* sagas. At the same time, another Lucas creation, the Indiana Jones films, showed that there was still some interest in action adventure serials, a fact that was further illustrated by Warner Bros. resurrection of the Batman character, who had first come to the screen in the multi-episode adventure short subjects of the 1940s. *Star Wars* elevation to cult status was re-affirmed when it was re-released in theaters in 1997 and broke all existing box-office records as its fans rushed to view it over and over.

Yet widespread popularity and big box office receipts are usually the antithesis of what most cult films are about, a fact

illustrated by the so called “clique” films that appeal to a select few. These are films that tend to be favored by special interest groups such as film societies, cinefiles, and certain academics. Generally speaking the films that appeal to cliques are either foreign, experimental, or representative of a neglected genre. In the latter case, in particular, proponents of a specific film usually believe that it has either been overlooked or misinterpreted by filmgoers at large. They rediscover the works of “B” movie directors such as Douglas Sirk or Sam Fuller and, through retrospective screenings and articles in film journals, attempt to make the case for their status as auteurs whose body of works yield a special message heard only by them. In many cases, the cult status awarded these directors has led to a re-evaluation of their contributions to film by historians and scholars and to the distribution of new prints of their works.

This process also works with individual films made by established directors that somehow made only a slight impact during their initial theatrical runs. The major example is Frank Capra’s *It’s a Wonderful Life* (1946). Originally dismissed as a sentimental bit of fluff, the film was seen primarily at Christmas Eve midnight screenings for its faithful band of adherents until the 1980s, when it was rediscovered by television and designated a classic. Similar transformations have occurred for John Ford’s *The Searchers* (1956) and, surprisingly, Victor Fleming’s *The Wizard of Oz*, which was first released in 1939 to a lackluster reception and did not make money until its second and third re-releases in the late 1940s.

The third type of cult film and, perhaps, the first one that comes to mind for the average person is the “subculture cult film.” These are small films created in a cauldron of controversy, experimentation, and contention in every aspect of their production ranging from story themes to casting. They are often cheaply made and usually don’t last long at the box-office. Yet, to their fans, these films contain special messages sent by the filmmakers and by the stars. Through word-of-mouth contacts and, increasingly, by a variety of new media including video and the Internet, cultists recruit new fans for the film, thus serving to keep it alive well beyond its maker’s original intentions. What is particularly fascinating, however, is the fact that all over the world, a certain segment of filmgoers will react to these exact films in the same way without word-of-mouth or advance indoctrination as to its special status. This is the true measure of a film’s cult potential.

The fanatical appeal of these subculture favorites has also altered the traditional patterns of movie going and the unique role of the audience. In traditional viewing, the audiences are essentially passive, reacting to onscreen cues about when to laugh or cry and whom to root for. The subculture film audience, however, takes on an auteurial role on a performance-by-performance basis. This is due to the fact that the viewers have seen the film so many times that they know all of the lines and the characters by heart. Thus, they attend the screening in the attire of their favorite characters and, once that character appears on the screen, begin to shout out new dialogue that they have constructed in their minds. The new script, more often than not, alludes to the actor’s physical characteristics or foreshadows future dialogue or warnings about plot twists. In many cases, audience members will yell out stage directions to the actor, telling him that he should come back and turn out a light or close a door.

Perhaps the most notable example of this auteuristic phenomenon is the undisputed queen of cult films, the British production *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* (1975), which treats the plight of two newlyweds, Brad (Barry Bostwick) and his virgin bride Janet (Susan Sarandon), who become trapped in a spooky house on a rainy night in

Ohio. They are met by a group of fun loving aliens from the planet Transylvania who are being entertained by Dr. Frankenfurter (Tim Curry), who struts around in sexy female underwear and fishnet stockings belting out gender bending tunes such as “I’m a Sweet Transvestite From Transsexual Transylvania.” He is in the process of creating a Frankenstein type monster, Rocky Horror (Peter Hinwood), to be employed strictly for sexual purposes. During the course of the evening, however, he manages to seduce both of the newlyweds and also causes a suddenly liberated Janet to pursue a fling with Rocky Horror, as well.

The film proved to be a box-office disaster when it was released in 1975 but it did develop an underground “word-of-mouth” reputation, causing its American producer, Lou Adler, to convince Twentieth-Century Fox to search for alternative ways to publicize it in order to prevent a total disaster. The film was re-released at the Waverly Theater in Greenwich Village and soon after at theaters throughout the country for midnight performances. Its first audiences consisted primarily of those groups represented in the film—transvestites, gays, science fiction fans, punk rockers, and college psychology majors (who presumably attended to study the rest of the audience).

For its avid viewers, attendance at a midnight screening began to take on the form of a ritual. In addition to wearing costumes, members of the audience would talk to the screen, create new dialogue, dance in the aisles, and shower their fellow viewers with rice during the wedding scene and water during the rainy ones. Experienced fans, of course, attended with umbrellas but virgins (those new to the film) generally went home bathed in rice and water. In the years since its first screenings, the film has become a staple at midnight screenings around the country and has achieved its status as the most significant cult film of all time.

Performers in subculture films have acquired cult followings as well. Many hard-core fans, in fact, view their favorite performers as only revealing their real personalities in their “special” film. In attempting to interpret the actor’s performance in this context, the fans will also bring into play all of the performer’s previous characterizations in the belief that they have some bearing on this particular role. To such fans, the actor’s whole career has built toward this performance. Although this perception has had little effect on the careers of major stars, at least during their lifetimes, it has enhanced the careers of such “B” movie icons as Divine and horror film actor Bruce Campbell, making them the darlings of the midnight theatrical circuit and major draws at fan conventions. Even deceased performers have been claimed by cult film devotees. The screen biography of Joan Crawford, *Mommie Dearest* (1981), elevated—or lowered—her from stardom to cult status, and Bela Lugosi attracted posthumous fame with fans who revisited his old horror films with an eye to the campy elements of his performances.

While not everyone agrees on which films are destined to achieve special status with subcultures, a great many of them fall into the horror and science fiction genres. The horror films that appeal to this audience share most of the characteristics of cult films in general. They are only rarely major studio productions but they frequently “rip off” such larger budgeted mainstream productions as *The Exorcist* (1973), *The Omen* (1976), or the various manifestations of Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*. Cult horror films inhabit the margins of the cinema in pursuit of off-beat themes, controversial subject matter, and shocking scenes of mayhem. They are either so startlingly original as to be too “far out” for most viewers or they are such blatant derivations of existing films that they are passed over by general audiences and critics alike.

Horror films take on a special status with cultists for a number of reasons. First and foremost is the authorial role certain films allow the audience to play. Most horror film directors do not intend to send out a specific message with their work. They simply want to make some money. For this reason, most plots involve a demonic disruption in the normal order of things which must be righted by each film's protagonist before the status quo can be restored. This fundamentally safe view of the world allows the audience to write its own text with any number of subjective meanings regardless of what happens in the story as a whole. The conservative stance of the filmmakers leaves plenty of room for re-readings of the text to allow issues incorporating a questioning of authority, a rejection of government and the military-industrial complex, sexism, and a host of environmental concerns that inevitably arise when horror films deal with the impact of man upon nature. Perhaps the first cult horror film to raise such issues was Tod Browning's *Freaks* (1932), which was banned for 30 years following its initial release. The film basically dealt with the simple message that beauty is more than skin deep. When the protagonist, a circus trapeze star, attempts to toy with the affections of a side show midget, she is set upon by the side show "freaks," who transform her physical beauty into a misshapen form to reflect the ugliness within her. While Browning was clearly attempting an entertaining horror film which stretched the boundaries of the genre, there is no evidence that he intended the many metaphysical meanings regarding the relationship of good and evil and body and soul that audiences have brought to the film in the 60 years since its initial release.

Another film, 1956's *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*, has been celebrated by scholars as a tract against the McCarthyism of the 1950s, though it is probably more rightly read as a more general statement against conformity and repression of individual thought that transcends its period. Similarly, George Romero's legendary *Night of the Living Dead* (1968) was not only the goriest movie of its time but it also worked on our basic fears. Like its inspiration, Alfred Hitchcock's *The Birds* (1963), it deals with a group of people confined to a certain geographic area while nature runs amok because man has transgressed against the natural law. The film is particularly effective because it deals with gradations of insanity, beginning with stark fear and escalating to show that man is totally powerless to deal with the things that he fears most. Audiences sat riveted to their seats, convinced that there was no way out except death. The film began as the second feature on drive-in movie double bills and, through strong word-of-mouth and gradual acceptance from critics, took on a second life in college retrospectives and museum screenings (where it was declared a masterpiece) before winding up on the midnight movie circuit.

Another reason for the cult appeal of low budget horror films is the fact that they often push the limits of what is traditionally thought to be acceptable. For example, the legendary *Blood Feast* (1976) became the first film to go beyond mere blood to the actual showing of human entrails, a technique that was later picked up by Hollywood for much larger special effects laden films. Another low budget film, *Evil Dead II* (1987), directed by Sam Raimi, surpassed its bloody predecessor presenting extreme violence at such a fast pace that the human eye could barely register the images flashing by.

A final appeal of low budget horror films is the fact that a number of major actors and directors—including Jack Nicholson, Tom Hanks, Francis Ford Coppola, and Roger Corman—got their start in them. Corman once referred to these pictures as a film school where he learned everything he would ever need to become successful in motion pictures. But it worked the other way as well. Many stars on

the downslope of their careers appeared in grade "B" horror films to keep their fading careers alive, hoping that they might accidentally appear in a breakthrough film. Former box-office stars—including Boris Karloff (*The Terror*), Bela Lugosi (*Plan Nine From Outer Space*), Yvonne DeCarlo (*Satan's Cheerleaders*), and Richard Basehart (*Mansion of the Doomed*)—who had been forgotten by Hollywood received a new type of stardom in these grade "B" films, and often spent the last years of their careers appearing at comic book and horror film conventions for adoring fans.

Science fiction films are very similar to horror movies in that they push the cinematic envelope by their very identification with their genre. They are futuristic, technologically-driven films that employ astonishing special effects to create a world that does not yet exist but might in the future. Sci-fi movies can also be horror films as well. It took technology to create the Frankenstein monster and it took technology to encounter and destroy the creature in *Alien* (1979). But, like horror films, they also question the impact of man and his technology on the world that he lives in. They make political statements through their futuristic storylines, saying, in effect, that 20 or more years in the future, this will be mankind's fate if we do not stop doing certain things.

Science fiction films that achieve cult status do so because, even within this already fantastic genre, they are so innovative and experimental that they take on a life of their own. With the exceptions of the *Star Wars*, *Star Trek*, and *Planet of the Apes* series and a number of individual efforts such as *2001* (1968), the films that attract the long term adulation of fans are generally not large studio products. They are normally small films such as the Japanese Godzilla pictures; minor films from the 1950s with their dual themes of McCarthyism and nuclear monsters; and low budget favorites from the 1970s and 1980s.

Again, as in horror, the pictures seem to fall into three categories of fan fascination. These include films such as *Brain Eaters* (1958), *Lifeforce* (1985), and *The Incredible Two-Headed Transplant* (1971) that feature major stars such as Leonard Nimoy, Patrick Stewart, and Bruce Dern on the way up. Conversely, a number of major stars ranging from Richard Burton and Henry Fonda appeared in some otherwise forgettable science fiction films during the twilight of their careers which have made their performances memorable to aficionados of embarrassing moments on film. Still other stars, however, are able to turn almost any film that they are in into a sci-fi cult film. The list is headed by Zsa Zsa Gabor, Vincent Price, Bela Lugosi, and John Agar.

In the final analysis, cult films say more about the people who love them than about themselves. To maintain a passion for a film that would compel one to drive to the very worst parts of town dressed in outlandish costumes to take part in a communal viewing experience sets the viewer apart as a special person. He or she is one of a select few that has the ability to interpret a powerful message from a work of art that has somehow escaped the population at large. In pursuing the films that they love, cultists are making a statement that they are not afraid to set themselves apart and to take on the role of tastemakers for the moviegoers of the future. In many cases, the films that they celebrate influence filmmakers to employ new subjects, performers, or technology in more mainstream films. In other instances, their special films will never be discovered by the mainstream world. But that is part of the appeal: to be different, to be "out there," is to be like the cult films themselves.

—Steve Hanson

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## Cults

The 1978 Jonestown Massacre, where 913 of the Reverend Jim Jones' followers were forced to commit suicide, marked the high point in America's condemnation of cults. Spread across newspaper front pages and national magazines from coast to coast, the slaughter gave focus to an alarm that had grown throughout the decade. Were cults spreading like wildfire? Were Rasputin-like religious leaders luring the nation's youth into oblivion like modern-day Pied Pipers? The Jonestown coverage reinforced the common perception that, in cults, America harbored some alien menace. The perception could not be further from the truth. In a sense, America was founded by cults, and throughout the nation's history, cults and splinter groups from established religions have found in America a fertile cultural terrain. That modern-day Americans find cults alarming is yet another example of America's paradoxical culture.

Webster's Collegiate Dictionary defines a cult as "a religion regarded as unorthodox and spurious; also: its body of adherents." Cults as they are understood in the popular imagination have some additional characteristics, and can include: any religious organization that spends an inordinate amount of time raising money; any religion that relies on a virulent us-vs.-them dogmatism, thereby alienating its members further from mainstream society; and any religion where the temporal leader holds such sway as to be regarded as a deity, a deity capable of treating cult members as financial, sexual, or missionary chattel to be exploited to the limits of their endurance. In this expanded definition, a Pentecostal such as Aimee Semple McPherson, the Los Angeles preacher, and not technically a cult leader, fits adequately into the definition, as does Jim Jones, Charles Manson, or Sun Myung Moon.

Originally, America was a land of pilgrims, and the Plymouth colonists were not the last to view the New World as a holy land. And as in all times and all religions, religious charlatans were a constant. By the close of the nineteenth century, Americans had founded some peculiar interpretations of Christianity. The Mormons, Seventh Day Adventists, Christian Scientists, and Jehovah's Witnesses all had their origins in the nineteenth century, and by dint of accretion, they had developed from dubious, persecuted faiths into respectable institutions. In the history of Mormonism one can discover much that is pertinent to understanding modern-day cults; elements of this tale

are reminiscent of the histories of Scientology, The Unification Church, and People's Temple, among others. A charismatic leader, claiming divine inspiration and not above resorting to trickery, amasses a following, who are viewed with derision by the general populace. The faith aggressively recruits new members and later attempts to gloss over its dubious origins, building enormous and impressive edifices and going out of its way to convey an image of solidity.

From time to time, waves of religious fervor have swept across America—the Shakers and Pentecostals early in the nineteenth century, for instance, or the Spiritualist and Theosophy movements at century's end. In western New York state, where the Church of Latter Day Saints originated, so many evangelical movements caught fire in the 1820s that it was nick-named the "Burned-over District." The church's founder, Joseph Smith, claimed to have received revelation directly from an angel who left Smith with several golden tablets on which were inscribed the story of Hebraic settlers to the New World. Smith and his band of youthful comrades "was regarded as wilder, crazier, more obscene, more of a threat" writes Tom Wolfe, "than the entire lot of hippie communes put together." Smith's contemporaries called him "a notorious liar," and, "utterly destitute of conscience" and cited his 1826 arrest for fortune-telling as evidence of his dishonesty. But by the time Smith fled New York in 1839, he was accompanied by 10,000 loyal converts who followed him to Nauvoo, Illinois, with an additional 5,000 converts from England swelling their numbers. After Smith began a systematic power-grab, using the Mormon voting block in gaining several elected positions, he was lynched by the locals, and (shades of Jim Jones' flight to Guyana) the Mormons continued westward to Utah, where the only threat was the Native Americans.

An earnest desire to bring people into the fold has often devolved into hucksterism in the hands of some religious leaders. Throughout the twentieth century, Elmer Gantry-esque religious leaders, from the lowly revivalist preacher to the television ministries of a Jimmy Swaggart or Oral Roberts, have shown as much concern with fleecing their followers as with saving their souls. When the founder of the Church of Christ, Scientist, Mary Baker Eddy, died in 1910, she left a fortune of three million dollars. George Orwell once mused that the best way to make a lot of money is to start one's own religion, and L. Ron Hubbard, founder of Scientology, took Orwell's maxim to heart.

A pulp fiction writer by trade, Hubbard originally published his "new science of Dianetics," a treatise on the workings of the mind, in the April, 1950 issue of *Astounding Science Fiction*. Dianetics was a technique for self-actualization and understanding, and Hubbard couched his theories in scientific rhetoric and obscure phraseology to appeal to a well-educated, affluent constituency. Published in book form, *Dianetics* became an overnight success, and Hubbard quickly set up a "research institute" and began attracting adherents. Dianetics, as practiced by Hubbard, straddled the gap between the self-actualization movements typical of later religious cults, and religion (though Scientology's mythos was not set down until shortly before Hubbard's death). In *Dianetics*, an auditor ran a potential follower through a list of questions and their emotional response was measured with an e-meter, a simple galvanic register held in both hands. This meter revealed the negative experiences imprinted in one's unconscious in an almost pictorial form called an engram, and *Dianetics* promised to sever the unconscious connection to negative experiences and allow the follower to attain a state of "clear," an exalted state similar to enlightenment. Hubbard's idea appeared scientific, and like psychotherapy, it was an inherently expensive, time-consuming process.

From the beginning, Hubbard ran into all manner of legal troubles. He squabbled with the I.R.S. over the church's tax-exempt status, and the F.D.A. over the use of the e-meter. Scientology met stiff government opposition in every country in which it operated. An Australian Board of Inquiry, convened in 1965, called Scientology "evil, its techniques evil, its practice a serious threat to the community, medically, morally, and socially. . . . Scientology is a delusional belief system, based on fictions and fallacies and propagated by falsehoods and deception"; it was banned from Australia until 1983. The British government banned foreign Scientologists in 1968, and Hubbard was convicted on fraud charges, *in absentia*, by a Paris court in 1978. The Church lost its tax-exempt status in France and Denmark in the mid-1980s, and has had to seriously curtail its operations in Germany. More than most cults, Scientology's travails appeared to be symptomatic of its founder's mental instability. As an institution, Scientology was marked by an extreme fractiousness and a pronounced penchant for litigation. Ruling in a 1984 lawsuit brought by the church, a Los Angeles judge stated, "The organization clearly is schizophrenic and paranoid, and this bizarre combination seems to be a reflection of its founder."

In many ways Scientology anticipated the tactics of the wave of cult groups that would sweep America in the 1960s and 1970s. There numbers are almost innumerable, therefore, a look at two of the most infamous—the Unification Church and the Hare Krishnas—must suffice to explain this religious revival, what Tom Wolfe termed "the Third Wave." Better known by the pejorative term, Moonies, in 1959, the Unification Church, a radical offshoot of Presbyterianism, founded its first American church in Berkeley. Its founder, the Reverend Sun Myung Moon, converted from his native Confucianism as a child, receiving a messianic revelation while in his teens. Moon was expelled from his church for this claim, as well as his unorthodox interpretation of Christianity, but by the late-1950s he had established a large congregation and the finances necessary to begin missionary work abroad. Like many cults, the church's teachings were culturally conservative and spiritually radical. Initially, it appealed to those confused by the rapid changes in social mores then prevalent, offering a simple theology and rigid moral teachings.

The Unification Church was aggressive in its proselytizing. Critics decried its recruitment methods as being callous, manipulative, and deceitful; the charge of brainwashing was frequently leveled against the church. Adherents preyed on college students, targeting the most vulnerable among them—the lonely, the disenfranchised, and the confused. The unsuspecting recruit was typically invited over to a group house for dinner. Upon arrival, he or she was showered with attention (called "love-bombing" in church parlance), and told only in the most general terms the nature of the church. The potential member was then invited to visit a church-owned ranch or farm for the weekend, where they were continually supervised from early morning until late at night.

Once absorbed, the new member was destined to take his/her place in the church's vast fund-raising machine, selling trinkets, candy, flowers, or other cheap goods, and "witnessing" on behalf of the church. Often groups of adherents traveled cross country, sleeping in their vehicles, renting a motel room once a week to maintain personal hygiene, in short, living lives of privation while funneling profits to the church. Moonie proselytizers were known for their stridency and their evasions, typically failing to identify their church affiliation should they be asked. On an institutional level, the church resorted to this same type of subterfuge, setting up dozens of front

groups, and buying newspapers and magazines—usually with a right-wing bias (Moon was an avowed anti-Communist, a result of his spending time in a North Korean POW camp). The Unification Church also developed an elaborate lobbying engine; it was among the few groups that actually supported Richard Nixon, organizing pro-Nixon demonstrations up until the last days of his administration. Allusive, shadowy connections to Korean intelligence agencies were also alleged. The church, with its curious theology coupled with a rabid right-wing agenda, was and is a curious institution. Like Hubbard, many Christian evangelists, and other cult leaders, Moon taught his followers to be selfless while he himself enjoyed a life of luxury. But the depth and scope of his political influence is profound, and among cults, his has achieved an unprecedented level of political power.

Like the Unification Church, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), better known as the Hare Krishna movement, has drawn widespread criticism. Unlike the Unification Church, the Hare Krishnas evince little concern for political exigencies, but their appearance—clean-shaven heads and pink sari—make the Hare Krishnas a very visible target for anti-cult sentiments, and for many years, the stridency of their beliefs exacerbated matters. A devout Hindu devotee of Krishna, A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada, was charged by his guru with bringing Hinduism to the west. Arriving in America in 1965, Prabhupada's teachings became popular with members of the emerging hippie populace, who adopted the movement's distinctive uniform, forswearing sex and drugs for non-chemical bliss. Hare Krishnas lived in communes, practicing a life of extreme asceticism and forsaking ties with family and friends. Complete immersion in the group was de rigueur. The movement spread rapidly, becoming infamous for its incessant street proselytizing, in which lines of devotees would play percussion instruments while chanting for hours. The sect's frequenting of airports and train stations, importuning travelers with flowers or Prabhupada's translation of the classic Indian text, the Bhagavad-Gita, also drew public scorn. Like the Moonies, the Hare Krishna's fundraising efforts helped turn public opinion against the cult.

In the 1970s, as more and more American joined such groups as the Unification Church, the Hare Krishnas, or the "Jesus People" (an eclectic group of hippies who turned to primitive charismatic Christianity while retaining their dissolute fashions and lifestyle), parental concern intensified. An unsubstantiated but widely disseminated statistic held that a quarter of all cult recruits were Jewish, provoking alarm among Jewish congregations. To combat the threat, self-proclaimed cult experts offered to abduct and "deprogram" cult members for a fee, and in the best of American traditions, deprogramming itself became a lucrative trade full of self-aggrandizing pseudo-psychologists. The deprogrammers did have some valid points. Many cults used sleep deprivation, low-protein diets, and constant supervision to mold members into firmly committed zealots. By stressing an us-vs.-them view of society, cults worked on their young charges' feelings of alienation from society, creating virtual slaves who would happily sign over their worldly possessions, or, as was the case with a group called the Children of God, literally give their bodies to Christ as prostitutes.

For those who had lost a child to a cult, the necessity of deprogramming was readily apparent. But in time, the logic of the many cult-watch dog groups grew a bit slim. If anything, the proliferation of anti-cult groups spoke to the unsettling aftershocks of the 1960s counterculture as much as any threat presented by new religions. Were all religious groups outside the provenance of an

established church to be equally condemned? Were all religious beliefs that weren't intrinsically exoteric to be rejected out of hand? By stressing conformity, many watch-dog groups diluted their moral authority.

Ironically, while cult watchdog groups focused public outrage on the large, readily identifiable cults—Scientology, ISKCON, the Unification Church—it was usually the smaller, homegrown varieties that proved the most unstable. Religions are concerned with self-perpetuation. When a charismatic leader dies, stable religious groups often grow more stable and moderate and perpetuate themselves (as has the now respectable Church of Latter Day Saints). But smaller cults, if they do not dissolve and scatter, have often exploded in self-destruction. The People's Temple, the Branch Davidians (actually a sect of Presbyterianism), and the Manson Family were such groups. In 1997, Heaven's Gate, a cult with pronounced science fiction beliefs based in California, committed mass suicide in accordance with the passing of the Hale-Bopp comet.

The Jonestown massacre in the Guyanese jungle in 1978 marks the period when cult awareness was at its height, although incidents like the Heaven's Gate mass suicide have kept cults in the headlines. Such is the degree of public suspicion of cults that, when necessary, government agencies could tap into this distrust and steer blame away from their own wrongdoing, as was the case when the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms and the F.B.I. burned the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, to the ground in 1993 after followers of cult leader David Koresh refused to surrender themselves to authorities. At the time of the massacre, media reportage was uniform in its condemnation of Koresh, and vociferous in its approval of the F.B.I.; it was only with the release of *Waco: The Rules of Engagement*, a 1997 documentary on the FBI's mishandling of the situation, that a dissenting note was finally heard.

America is not unique in its war between the "positive," socializing aspects of religion, and the esoteric, ecstatic spiritualism running in counterpoint beside it. "As Max Weber and Joachim Wach have illustrated in detail," writes Tom Wolfe, "every major modern religion, as well as countless long-gone minor ones, has originated not with a theology or set of values or a social goal or even a vague hope of a life hereafter. They have all originated, instead, with a small circle of people who have shared some overwhelming ecstasy or seizure, a 'vision,' a 'trance,' an hallucination; in short, an actual neurological event." This often-overlooked fact explains the suspicion with which mainstream religions view the plethora of cults that rolled over America since its founding, as well as the aversion cult members show to society at large once they have bonded with their fellows in spiritual ecstasy. It is precisely these feelings of uniqueness, of privileged insight, that fraudulent cult leaders work on in their efforts to mold cult members into spiritual slaves. The problem is this: not all cults are the creation of charlatans, but the opprobrium of society towards cults is by now so ingrained that on the matter of cults, there is no longer any question of reconciling the historical precedent with the contemporary manifestation.

But one salient fact can still be gleaned from the history of cults in modern America: to quote H.L. Mencken, "nobody ever went broke underestimating the intelligence of the American people." Americans are and will continue to be endlessly susceptible to simple, all-encompassing explanations, and what most cults share is a rigid dogmatism that brooks no argument, a hermetically sealed belief-system, eternally vulnerable to exposure from the world-at-large. The rage of a Jim Jones or Charles Manson springs from not only their personal manias, but in their impotence in controlling the world to suit

their teachings. When cults turn ugly and self-destructive, it is often in reaction to this paradox. Like a light wind blowing on a house of cards, cults are fragile structures—it does not take much to set them tumbling down. Still, given mankind's pressing spiritual needs, and despite society's abhorrence, it seems likely that cult groups will continue to emerge in disturbing and occasionally frightening ways.

—Michael Baers

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## Cunningham, Merce (1919—)

The dancer and choreographer Merce Cunningham influenced 20th century art with his postmodern dance and his collaborations with other important figures of the American art scene such as John Cage, Robert Rauschenberg, and Andy Warhol. With his own dance company, founded in 1953, Cunningham challenged traditional ideas of dance and the expectations of audiences. Cunningham declared all elements of a performance—music, dancing bodies, set, and costumes—to be of equal importance, and dispensed with conventional plots. His pioneering video work further questioned the use of the stage. Cunningham and his collaborators incorporated chance into the elaborate systems of their performances, creating abstract and haunting dances.

—Petra Kuppers

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## Curious George

Since 1941, when Curious George was first introduced in an eponymous children's book, the mischievous monkey has been embraced by children and adults alike and has become a cultural icon. The hero of seven books for children co-created by H. A. and Margaret Rey, Curious George retains his appeal because he is like a universal child who often does what his readers are too afraid to do. As well-known author Madeleine L'Engle writes in the introduction to *The Complete Adventures of Curious George*, "George, like most true heroes, is a creature of action; he acts, rather than being acted upon."

Often referred to as the "father" of Curious George, Hans Augusto Rey (1898-1977) began drawing at the age of two. He had a passion for animals, which could be seen in his initial drawings and the menagerie of animals he kept as pets over the years. In his native Hamburg, Germany, H. A. often visited the nearby Hagenbeck Zoo, where he perfected his animal imitations. A love of languages helped H. A. to master four different tongues and encouraged a lifelong fascination with the study of linguistics. As a soldier fighting in World War I, H. A. would pass the time by studying the constellations



An illustration depicting Curious George.

in the evening sky. His interest in astronomy would later lead to two books on the subject, one written for a younger audience and the other for a more advanced reader.

Prior to leaving Germany in 1923 for Rio de Janeiro, H. A. met Margaret (1906-1996) through mutual friends. While H. A. was selling bathtubs in Brazil for a relative's firm, Margaret was studying art at the Bauhaus in Dessau, the Academy of Art in Dusseldorf, and attending art school in Berlin. She worked as a newspaper reporter and a copywriter for an advertising agency. In her memoir, included in *The Complete Adventures of Curious George*, Margaret explains how writing a jingle for a margarine campaign inspired a lifelong distaste for commercials.

In 1935 Margaret left Germany for Rio, where she and H. A. became collaborators in business as well as in life. According to Margaret, they formed "a sort of two-person advertising agency, doing a little of everything..." to make ends meet. After their marriage in 1936, the Reys traveled to Paris, planning to spend only a few weeks. Instead, their visit lasted four years. It was here in Paris that the little monkey first appeared on paper. H. A. had drawn funny illustrations of a giraffe for a Parisian magazine, which caught the attention of French publishing house Gallimard, who approached the illustrator about writing a children's story using the drawings. The result was *Cecily G. and the Nine Monkeys*. This book, which featured a monkey named George, led to other children's books, and if not for the start of World War II, the Reys might have remained in Paris.

In a tale that has become as legendary as their fictional creation, the Reys escaped Paris on bicycles one rainy morning in June of 1940. Strapped to their bike racks were their manuscripts, which included a draft of their first book, *Curious George*. Abandoning their bikes at the French-Spanish border, the Reys hopped a train to Lisbon. By October of that same year, they arrived in New York intent on selling their stories. Shortly after their arrival, they sold *Curious George* to publishers Houghton Mifflin, who released the book in 1941. For the next 20 years, the Reys lived and worked in New York, turning out six more Houghton Mifflin books about the curious monkey and his trusted companion, the man with the yellow hat.

According to Margaret, the Reys did not want to write another book about Curious George, and they took nearly six years to do other things before they published *Curious George Takes a Job* in 1947. Despite their apparent simplicity, the Curious George books took nearly a year to write and were often quite challenging for the couple. "Sometimes, it became more like mathematics than writing a book," Margaret once told an interviewer. Inspiration came from many places: friends, newspaper stories, even chance conversations with strangers. Generally, H. A. presided over the illustrations and Margaret wrote the stories, but the books more often were a complicated merger of the couple's various talents. As Margaret writes in her memoir, "at times it confused even us."

Many have pondered the appeal of Curious George since the first book appeared in 1941. Children like how the pictures tell the story, which liberates non-readers from their literate older brothers, sisters, or parents, and allows them to tell themselves the stories again and again. H. A.'s illustrations deftly capture a sense of George's mischievousness. In *Curious George*, the little monkey takes an unexpected swim in the ocean on his voyage from Africa to the United States, and the illustration of George coughing up sea water and swallowing fish delightfully conveys the results of his curiosity. Children also can

relate to George's curiosity and the trouble this frequently inspires. When the Reys wrote, "George promised to be good, but sometimes little monkeys forget. . .," they could have been writing about any little girl or boy. While George's adventures are thrilling, they also can be scary, and the man with the yellow hat adds a soothing quality to the stories since he often helps George out of his scrapes. George also shows readers that it is okay to be afraid and to cry, but his quick mind demonstrates the benefits of becoming self-reliant, too. Above all, Curious George entertains and delights readers of all ages.

In the 1960s, after writing nearly all of the seven *Curious George* books, the Reys moved from New York to Massachusetts. After a long illness, H. A. died in 1977. In the 1980s, Margaret and collaborator Alan J. Shelleck worked together on a second series of Curious George stories. Through various licensing agreements carefully selected by Margaret and secured through a series of legal battles in the 1990s, the instantly recognizable image of the curious little monkey began appearing on greeting cards, children's toys, clothing, and even CD-ROMs. Since 1941 when the first book appeared, the *Curious George* stories have sold more than 20 million copies and continue to have solid sales each year. *Curious George* sales received a boost in 1994 when the movie *Forrest Gump* featured a scene with Forrest's mother (played by Sally Field) reading a *Curious George* book to her son (played as an adult by Tom Hanks).

Poet W. H. Auden once wrote that a good children's book also should interest a clever adult. If this is true, then the *Curious George* series certainly qualify as good children's books. The stories have been translated into many languages, which further demonstrates their wide appeal. "It does not matter much that there are some I cannot read," wrote Margaret about the different language versions of her books. "It so happens that I know the story."

—Alison Macor

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## Currier and Ives

The decorative and hugely popular colored lithographs mass produced by Currier and Ives in the nineteenth century and familiar to subsequent generations through Christmas cards and calendars illustrate sporting scenes and sailing ships, noteworthy triumphs and disasters, Indian uprisings and comic vignettes, rustic beauty and domestic bliss, and, in general, evoke an idealized and sentimental view of life in nineteenth-century America. Typically, a well-known artist's work would be reproduced as a black-and-white lithograph, hand colored by a team of women, and distributed by the thousands at costs ranging from a few cents to a few dollars, depending on size. The firm was founded in New York City in 1834 by Nathaniel Currier, employed James Merritt Ives in 1852, and became Currier and Ives in 1857; the two were succeeded by their sons, who managed the company until its closing in 1907, by which time more than seven thousand different prints had been produced.

—Craig Bunch

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# D

## Dahmer, Jeffrey (1960-1994)

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At his 1992 trial, Jeffrey Dahmer, an alcoholic worker in a chocolate factory, admitted to the murder of seventeen young men during a thirteen-year killing spree. His gruesome full disclosure, including accounts of cannibalism, fired the popular imagination and helped spawn a virtual cottage industry of books, trading cards, movies, and other products. But behind the monstrous ghoul of popular imagination, there lurked a desperately lonely young man whose killings were the result of years of progressive mental illness.

While pregnant with Dahmer, his mother, Joyce, endured a particularly trying pregnancy, suffering extended bouts of nausea and nervousness and strange fits of rigidity. Doctors prescribed morphine and phenobarbital, among other medications. At one point Joyce was taking twenty-six pills a day, immersing her fetus in a soup of powerful depressants. Joyce Dahmer also found nursing to be acutely unpleasant and within a week of Dahmer's birth was nursing him from a bottle. Nevertheless, Dahmer grew into a happy, normal child, although displaying an aversion to the roughhousing of most boys and a predilection for nonconfrontational games based on themes of stalking and concealment, such as hide-and-seek or kick the can. But after a hernia operation, six-year-old Dahmer's behavior changed profoundly. He became remote, fearful, and distant—sitting for hours



Jeffrey Dahmer

in front of the television without moving. Even his body language changed. His movements grew stiff and labored, like those of an old man.

By the time he began grade school, Dahmer had become so shy and reclusive that a teacher felt compelled to bring his behavior to his parents' attention. Nothing was done, and young Dahmer grew increasingly remote, submerged in a realm of unpleasant fantasies and, in increasing degrees, alcohol. In early adolescence, he often occupied himself by collecting road kills, stripping the flesh and assembling the bones in a nearby wood—once mounting a dog's head on a stick as a bizarre totem. In his late teens, Dahmer's obsessions had begun to overwhelm him. So fearful was he of others that he could only relate to them as inert objects. In 1978 he committed his first murder, picking up a hitchhiker and bringing him back to his parents' house where he plied him with beer and marijuana. As the hitchhiker prepared to depart, Dahmer killed the boy with a piece of gym equipment.

Unaware of Dahmer's blossoming psychosis, his father, Lionel—divorced and remarried—continued to counsel the apathetic boy to the best of his ability, insisting on his enrollment at Ohio State University. At the end of Dahmer's first quarter, he had earned a cumulative GPA of .45. He was returned home, and Lionel drove to the university to pick up his possessions, where he was further dismayed to learn that his son had done little else than drink, selling his plasma to secure the necessary funds. In frustration, his father insisted Dahmer join the military. Packed off to boot camp, Dahmer seemed to blossom under the rigid discipline, but the improvement was short-lived. Stationed for active duty in Germany, his behavior quickly lapsed into a nonstop debauch. He received an early discharge for drunkenness.

Now at his wits' end, the elder Dahmer packed his son off to live with his aging grandmother in a suburb outside Milwaukee. There, Dahmer's behavior became increasingly bizarre. Once, his grandmother found a fully clothed male mannequin in his closet; another time, a .357 under his bed. At times the house would be suffused with unpleasant odors. As he had in the past, Dahmer lamely explained away his activities, though he now convinced no one. Finally, he moved out of his grandmother's house. On the first day at his new apartment, he was arrested for drugging and molesting a thirteen-year-old Laotian boy. Dahmer served a year in a Milwaukee work-release program, during which time his father lobbied aggressively for additional treatment for his alcoholism. It was to no avail. In March of 1990, Dahmer was released on probation.

In the year and a half before his arrest, Dahmer, now living on his own, was able to indulge his tastes fully, killing thirteen men in the ensuing months. His modus operandi consisted of haunting the bars and street corners, trolling for a likely victim from amongst the hustlers who worked his neighborhood, many of them black, a fact that would later lead to charges that the murders were racially motivated when, in fact, the race of his victims was merely a consequence of proximity. To conceal his activities, Dahmer bought a freezer, installed an elaborate security system, and separated his bedroom from the rest of the apartment with a heavy metal door. Once secure within apartment 213, Dahmer would drug, then strangle his victim, molest the corpse, and finally eat or preserve parts of his victim as he saw fit, disposing of the remains with quicklime and an

enormous plastic bucket. He was finally apprehended when a victim escaped his clutches, returning accompanied by police officers, who discovered polaroids of dead and dismembered men strewn about Dahmer's bedroom.

Hoping an insanity defense might lead to institutionalization rather than imprisonment, Dahmer chose a jury trial—during which he was protected from would-be assailants with the aid of a bullet-proof glass booth. Dahmer had said he wanted to find out why he did such things, but the only elucidation to come was from the ravenous public, who ate up the details of Dahmer's crimes. The jury, unmoved by his plea of insanity, sentenced him to nine consecutive life terms.

In prison, Dahmer found Jesus as well as the death he had long desired. He was fatally bludgeoned in 1994 while mopping a bathroom facility. (Dahmer's assailant, himself a convicted killer of questionable mental health, claimed he had acted under God's direction.) A figure at once pathetic and monstrous, Dahmer was generally reviled, although there was still something in his deflated appearance that generated sympathy. The wounded little boy had not been vanquished by the man's acts. And the enormous volume of letters Dahmer received after his incarceration, more often sympathetic than threatening, would seem to bear this out: he was not alone in his alienation. Ultimately, Dahmer killed not out of hatred, but out of loneliness.

In a final footnote to Dahmer's story, in 1996 a Milwaukee civic group bought his belongings for \$407,000 to prevent their public auction on behalf of the victims' families. Instead of the auction block, Dahmer's possessions were incinerated, and the money was distributed to the families without fanfare.

—Michael J. Baers

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## Dallas

With the 1980 episode that answered the question "Who Shot J.R.?", *Dallas* became the most-watched program in the history of television. The originator of the prime-time soap opera, *Dallas*' serial



Larry Hagman (seated) with Steve Kanaly and Linda Gray as they appeared on *Dallas*.

stories about the exploits of a Texas oil family provided fodder for water-cooler gossip as well as real bookie-joint wagering. The program enjoyed a 13 year run, making superstars of Larry Hagman, Victoria Principal, Patrick Duffy, and others. The program foundered in the early 1990s and is remembered more than any other program as the epitome of the unabashedly capitalistic Reagan era.

Premiering April 2, 1978 on CBS, the series revolved around the relationships and tribulations of patriarch Jock Ewing and wife "Miss Ellie" (played by Jim Davis and Barbara Bel Geddes) and their three sons: J.R. (Hagman), the deceitful, conniving businessman who with his father ran the family oil company; Bobby (Duffy) a freewheeling playboy as the series began; and Gary (first David Ackroyd, then Ted Shackelford), a weak-willed alcoholic who long ago had fled the family's Southfork Ranch. J.R.'s wife was boozy Sue Ellen (Linda Gray). Bobby, in the series' first episode, eloped with Pamela (Victoria Principal), the sexy daughter of family arch-enemy Digger Barnes. Their marriage set the stage for years of conflict, especially with Pamela's brother Cliff (Ken Kercheval).

In early episodes, the series was structured as a traditional weekly drama; each episode presented a stand-alone story, with Pamela ostensibly the focal point of the narrative. It quickly became clear, however, that wily J.R. was the real favorite of both the series' writers and the audience. By 1979, the series threaded continuing

stories through several stand-alone episodes. Alcoholic Sue Ellen turned up pregnant: was the baby J.R.'s or Cliff's? J.R.'s turncoat secretary Julie (Tina Louise) was murdered: would J.R. succeed in framing Cliff for the killing?

The series settled into a Friday at 10:00 p.m. time-slot, growing in popularity until the final episode of the 1979-1980 season, when J.R. was shot by an unknown assailant. There was no shortage of suspects: he had spent the season acquiring, then unloading what proved to be worthless Asian oil leases, swindling everyone from the family banker to his own mother in the process; he had driven Bobby and Pam off Southfork; and he had shipped wife Sue Ellen off to a sanitarium, even as he bedded her younger sister.

During that summer of 1980, *Dallas* fever exploded. "Who Shot J.R.?" was a sensation, the subject of everything from fan speculation to Las Vegas betting. The press scrambled in vain to uncover details of the fall scripts; elaborate security precautions were put into effect at the studio. Producers took no chances; each actor was brought in to film scenes of his or her character "shooting" J.R.

A lingering actors' strike—and Larry Hagman's demand for a raise—threatened the solution to the mystery, but the public finally learned the answer on November 21, 1980. Sue Ellen's sister Kristin, J.R.'s former mistress, had pulled the trigger, infuriated by J.R.'s attempts to run her out of town. Sue Ellen herself solved the mystery, realizing her sister was plotting to frame her for the crime. Unfortunately, Kristin revealed she was pregnant with J.R.'s baby; instead of sending her to prison, J.R. shipped his assailant off to California, where she would have her illegitimate child in secret. The episode set an all-time ratings record: an unprecedented 53.3 Nielsen mark, meaning more than half of America's television households were tuned in—the highest rating in history, a figure exceeded only once in later years.

*Dallas* was now the most popular series on American television. Actor Jim Davis passed away in early 1981 and Jock was eventually written out of the series. His will set up a power struggle at Ewing Oil that unfolded over most of the 1982-1983 season, arguably the series' creative peak. Barbara Bel Geddes (Miss Ellie) departed for health reasons in 1984; she was replaced by Donna Reed. Barely a year later, Reed was reportedly livid to discover she had been fired to make way for Bel Geddes' return. She sued the series' producers.

Meanwhile, J.R. and Sue Ellen divorced, remarried, then divorced again; Bobby and Pam had also divorced by 1984. The characters were moving toward reconciliation when actor Patrick Duffy announced he was leaving the show. In the final episode of the 1984-1985 season, Bobby was killed—murdered by his deranged former sister-in-law, even as he had just professed his undying love for Pam.

Yet even as the series spun its larger-than-life stories, it also managed to capture the real-life flavor of a turbulent decade: the 1982-1983 recession figured prominently in the story; later, the mid-decade mania of big-business mergers and take-overs was reflected on-screen. The fictional Ewing Oil was now worth two billion dollars, but the *Dallas* franchise itself was priceless to CBS and its affiliates.

The series had begotten one spin-off (brother Gary and wife Val set up housekeeping in *Knots Landing* in 1979) and a host of imitators, from *Falcon Crest* to *Flamingo Road* to *Dynasty*. *Dynasty*, in particular, caught the public's fancy. Where *Dallas*' stories had at least some grounding in real life, *Dynasty* was simply glamorous, over-the-top high camp. By the end of the 1984-1985 season, *Dynasty* ran neck-and-neck with *Dallas* for the number one position in the ratings.

A behind-the-scenes shakeup followed; that *Dallas* suddenly looked a lot more like *Dynasty*—soapier plots, more elaborate costumes—was apparently no coincidence. When a *Cosby*-led sitcom resurgence pushed all the evening soaps down the ratings chart by 1986, the production staff was overhauled again: much of the old guard returned, and Larry Hagman began assuming some creative control over the series. Hagman himself reportedly engineered one of the biggest television coups of 1986 when he personally convinced Patrick Duffy to return to the series. In the final 1985-1986 episode, Pamela awoke from a night's sleep, only to find the long-dead Bobby lathering up in her shower. The audience was left to wonder all summer: Who was that? How did he get there? The cliffhanger was nearly as big a sensation as "Who Shot J.R." had been six years earlier, and the producers hyped it expertly—going so far as to film fake footage, then allowing it to find its way into the tabloids.

"Bobby in the Shower" was an inspired stunt; the resolution was a disaster. In the opening moments of the fall season, it was revealed that Bobby had never died; instead, Pamela had simply dreamt the entire 1985-1986 season. An entire year's worth of narrative and character development were simply wiped out. Fans howled in protest; the move was a critical and creative debacle.

The episode also turned out to be the last great moment of the "prime-time soap" craze. *Dynasty*'s ratings had collapsed; *Dallas*, while strong, was losing ground. Victoria Principal departed in 1987; several supporting characters were written out about the same time. Everyone from Priscilla Presley to a young Brad Pitt had passed through Southfork by this time, but the characters' antics were becoming sillier. A stranger claimed to be the presumed-dead Jock; he was revealed as an impostor. J.R.'s dirty dealings finally cost him Ewing Oil; he went into business for himself. In 1988, J.R. was held captive by some good ol' boys in Arkansas; he later married their virgin young sister. The character's 1990 stay in a mental institution (he had infiltrated it to meet a business contact, only to find himself committed by his disgruntled illegitimate son) was a low point.

Yet even in its dotage, the series made waves. Location filming in Europe and the Soviet Union in 1989 drew considerable press; later that year, CBS switchboards lit up when Linda Gray's final appearance as Sue Ellen was interrupted for news bulletins (the network repented by showing the "missing minutes" in late-night several weeks later). An experimental return to single-story episodes in 1988 drew little attention; a try-out of several-episode "story arcs" in 1990 featured a guest appearance by Susan Lucci and a reunion with Hagman's *I Dream of Jeannie* co-star Barbara Eden. The venerable series ended its run in May, 1991, with a take-off of *It's A Wonderful Life* where J.R. was visited not by an angel, but by a messenger of Satan (Joel Grey) who, along with favorite characters from the past, presented a series of vignettes demonstrating what life would have been had J.R. never been born. In the series' final scene, the mysterious visitor goaded the character into an apparent suicide attempt.

A pair of mid-1990s reunion movies (J.R. of course had not killed himself, but merely shot a mirror!) failed utterly to capture the spirit of the series in its best day. Inevitably, *Dallas*'s day had come and gone. The free-wheeling, politically incorrect, every-man-for-himself age of the 1980s had long since passed; indeed, *Dallas* was as much period piece as soap, a true historical artifact that both reflects and explains the culture that elevated it to its legendary status.

—Chris Chandler

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## The Dallas Cowboys

The NFL's Dallas Cowboys have been characterized as America's team, thanks to their winning ways and their once squeaky clean image. Their immense popularity comes largely from their success, for the team has won five Super Bowls. The stability of the organization has also been unique. The team has had only three owners and four head coaches, Tom Landry, Jimmy Johnson, Barry Switzer, and Chan Gailey. The first three men led the Cowboys to Super Bowl wins. Landry established himself as one of the greatest coaches in the history of the National Football League. Star players also established the Cowboy's legacy. A brief list of some of the Cowboys reads like a Who's Who of the football world; Bob Lilly, Mel Renfro, Roger Staubach, Randy White, Tony Dorsett, Michael Irvin, Emmitt Smith, and Troy Aikman are just a few of the names associated with the

success of the Dallas Cowboys. The Cowboys are also well known for the prominence of their cheerleading squad, named simply the Dallas Cowboy Cheerleaders. Emerging in the mid-1970s as beguiling half-time entertainment, the cheerleading squad has thousands of fans of its own, as evidenced by the sales of calendars and the turnout at promotional events.

Dallas was awarded a National Football League expansion franchise in 1960. The Cowboys lost their inaugural game 35-28 to Pittsburgh on September 24, 1960. The Cowboys got their first win in 1961 with a 27-24 victory over the Pittsburgh Steelers in the Cotton Bowl in Dallas. In 1966, the Cowboys won their first Eastern Conference championship but lost the NFL Championship to the Green Bay Packers 34-27. Throughout the 1960s the Cowboys were prime competitors for the NFL championship. In 1967, the Cowboys fell to Green Bay 21-17 in the NFL Championship. The game, generally regarded as one of the greatest games in the history of professional football, has become known as the Ice Bowl because it was played in Green Bay in temperatures dropping as low as 13 degrees below zero. In 1969, Cowboy quarterback Don Meredith, who went on to further fame announcing Monday Night Football with Howard Cosell and Frank Gifford, retired. As an announcer Meredith was best known for singing the phrase, "Turn out the lights. The party's over," once the outcome of a game was no longer in doubt.



The Dallas Cowboy Cheerleaders

In 1970, the Cowboys once again won the Eastern Division championship, but lost in their first Super Bowl appearance to the Baltimore Colts, 16-13. In 1971, the Cowboys moved from the Cotton Bowl in Dallas to Texas Stadium in suburban Irving, a facility known for a large hole in the roof, left to preserve the atmosphere of an outdoor stadium, but providing fans with protection from the rain. That year the Cowboys marched through the playoffs and won their first NFL Championship by beating the Miami Dolphins 24-3 in Super Bowl VI in New Orleans. Dallas quarterback Roger Staubach passed for two touchdowns and was named the Most Valuable Player.

The Cowboys missed the playoffs for the first time in eight years when they stumbled to an 8-6 record in 1974. In 1975, the Cowboy's returned to the playoffs as a wild card team. In the opening round, they shocked Minnesota on a last second 50-yard touchdown completion from Roger Staubach to Drew Pearson. One of the most famous plays in NFL history, the pass became known as the Hail Mary. Despite contending for the championship for the next several years, the Cowboys would not win the title again until 1977, when Dallas defeated the Denver Broncos 27-10. Defensive linemen Harvey Martin and Randy White were named co-Most Valuable Players.

On March 31, 1980, legendary quarterback Roger Staubach retired, and on August 2, 1980, Bob Lilly became the first Cowboy to enter the Professional Football Hall of Fame. Behind new quarterback Danny White, the Cowboys made the playoffs as a wild card team and beat Los Angeles 34-13 and Atlanta 30-27 to advance to the NFC Championship, where they lost 20-7 to Philadelphia. In May of 1984 Clint Murchison sold the Cowboys to H.R. "Bum" Bright. The Cowboys then went on to post a 9-7 record and miss the playoffs for the first time in 10 years.

In 1986, the Cowboys streak of 20 consecutive winning seasons was broken when the club finished 7-9. Jerry Jones purchased the Cowboys from Bright in 1989 and shocked the city of Dallas, the state of Texas, and Cowboy fans everywhere when he unceremoniously replaced Tom Landry, the Cowboy's only coach for 29 seasons, with University of Miami head coach Jimmy Johnson. Landry was inducted into the Pro Football Hall of Fame on August 4, 1990.

In 1991, for the first time since 1985, Dallas was back in the playoffs as a wild card. Dallas defeated the Chicago Bears 17-13 in the opening round of the playoffs but then lost 38-6 to the Detroit Lions. The Cowboys claimed the Eastern Division Championship in 1992. They then advanced to the NFC Championship, where they beat the San Francisco 49ers 30-20 and then defeated the Buffalo Bills 52-17 in Super Bowl XXVII in Pasadena. The Cowboys repeated as Super Bowl champions the following year, when they again defeated Buffalo by the score of 30-13.

Due to difficulties with owner Jerry Jones, Jimmy Johnson resigned as the Cowboys head coach, and Barry Switzer became the third head coach in team history on March 30, 1994. Tony Dorsett and Randy White were inducted into the Pro Football Hall of Fame on July 30, 1994. Later that year the Cowboys went on to capture the Eastern Division Championship. However, the Cowboys lost the NFC Championship game to San Francisco 38-28.

In 1995, the Cowboys were again Eastern Division Champions. Dallas beat Green Bay 38-27 to advance to Super Bowl XXX, where the Cowboys knocked off Pittsburgh 27-17. Mel Renfro was inducted into the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 1996; but the Cowboys did not continue to enjoy success under Switzer, and he was replaced by Chan Gailey after the 1997 season. In Gailey's first season as the Cowboys head coach, Dallas won the NFC Eastern Division, but lost in the first round of the playoffs to Arizona 20-7. Few teams in NFL history can

claim the consistent record of success associated with the Dallas Cowboys. They remain one of the preeminent franchises in football history.

—Kerry Owens

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## Daly, Tyne (1946—)

Actress Tyne Daly earned her high profile through her three-dimensional portrayal of Mary Beth Lacey, the dark-haired, well-grounded foil and partner to Sharon Gless's blonde, less stable Christine Cagney in television's pioneering female cop series in the 1980s. She went on to demonstrate her versatility with a stunning, Tony Award-winning performance as Mama Rose in the Broadway revival of the musical *Gypsy* in 1989.

Born Ellen Tyne Daly in Madison, Wisconsin, one of four children of actors James Daly and Hope Newell, she drifted into acting over her parents' objections. Ironically, she auditioned for the role of young Louise (Gypsy Rose Lee) to Ethel Merman's Mama Rose in the original *Gypsy* in 1959, but failed to get the part. Her first television appearance was in *The Virginian*, followed by a brief run with the soap opera *General Hospital* and guest appearances on several other shows. Daly made a handful of films, including *The Enforcer* (1976) opposite Clint Eastwood, before earning her first Emmy Award nomination for the television movie *Intimate Strangers* (1977), and made a number of other TV films before beginning her run in *Cagney and Lacey* in 1982. In real life a divorced mother of three children, Daly brought sympathy and conviction to her role as an undercover detective, coping with the pressures of New York police work while dealing with husband, home, children, and even pregnancy. Her consistently appealing performance over the show's

seven seasons earned her six Emmy nominations and four best actress awards.

—James R. Belpedio

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## Dana, Bill (1924—)

In the heyday of the network era of broadcasting, writer, actor, and producer Bill Dana created a nationally recognized comic character who endured in the American consciousness for over a decade. When that character first uttered his signature phrase, “My name . . . Jose Jimenez,” on *The Steve Allen Show* in 1959, he became one of the clearest representatives of a familiar American type. Portraying a Mexican immigrant on the bottom half of the social ladder, Dana’s Jimenez worked at various times as an elevator operator and a bellboy. By today’s standards, that portrayal, which included Jimenez’s broken English and naive innocence, appears to many condescending at best. However, Jimenez was a singularly noble character, possessing goodness, wisdom, and sincerity, traits comparatively unusual in the history of American TV characters. Although he exhibited



Bill Dana

stereotypical racial characteristics common to the period, at the same time Jimenez displayed more positive tendencies. He was confused and clueless, but also resourceful and crafty; he had a stereotypically huge family back home, but he supported them faithfully through the sweat of his own brow; he worked as a salaried servant of the wealthier residents of the hotel, but he often proved kinder and smarter than his social superiors.

Like many film and television actors, the public identity of Bill Dana became inseparable from the celebrated persona he portrayed. What was unusual about Dana/Jimenez, however, was that he was able to escape the show on which he first appeared and to move fluidly, and often simultaneously, to an assortment of other venues. After Dana introduced Jimenez on *The Steve Allen Show*, the character resurfaced regularly over the next five years on *The Spike Jones Show*, *The Danny Thomas Show*, and *The New Steve Allen Show*, as well as becoming the principal character of *The Bill Dana Show* (NBC, 1963-1965). Through the 1960s, Dana also made guest appearances as Jimenez on a wide variety of contemporary TV series and featured the character in several comedy record albums. Dana (as Jimenez) even showed up briefly in the 1983 feature film, *The Right Stuff*.

By 1970, the ethnic humor and dialect comedy upon which Jose Jimenez depended was growing increasingly less fashionable. The fact that Dana was not himself Hispanic intensified developing claims that the character was a racist representation. As American television moved into the more politically conscious “relevance” era of the 1970s with shows like *All in the Family*, *M\*A\*S\*H*, and *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, Jimenez became a vestige of a bygone time and all but disappeared. Released from his signature creation, however, Dana would reemerge in other roles.

Born William Szathmary in Quincy, Massachusetts, on October 5, 1924, Dana entered the television industry in 1950 as a page at NBC in New York City. Through the 1950s he performed in nightclubs and played bit parts on television shows. He worked as a production assistant on *The Phil Silvers Show*, wrote for *The Milton Berle Show*, and got his big break when he was hired as a writer on *The Steve Allen Show* in 1956. He moved up to head writer, earning an Emmy nomination for his work, and became a performer on the show in 1959.

Though his other achievements were eclipsed by the popularity of his Jose Jimenez, Dana also wrote and produced for the several shows in which Jimenez was featured, and, as a character actor of some note, he played guest roles on a number of series, including *Get Smart*, *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.*, and *Batman*. Dana’s presence on American TV waned after the retirement of the Jose Jimenez character, though he did continue to play occasional parts in TV series into the 1970s. One of the brightest spots in his career came in 1972 when he wrote the classic episode of *All in the Family* in which Sammy Davis, Jr. visits the Bunker household.

In the 1980s, when Jose Jimenez had become a distant memory, Bill Dana moved into a new period of activity. Having appeared in *Get Smart*, he co-wrote and acted in *The Nude Bomb* (1980), a feature film based upon the TV comedy. He was in the principal cast of two network comedy series, *No Soap, Radio* (ABC, 1982) and *Zorro and Son* (CBS, 1983), but neither of these lasted longer than a few months. In 1988 and 1989, he also wrote for and appeared on a series of specials featuring the Smothers Brothers, who had appeared regularly on *Steve Allen* in 1961. During this decade, Dana was also reunited with many other of his co-stars from *The Steve Allen Show*, including Allen himself, Jayne Meadows, Louis Nye, and Tom Poston, all of



whom played recurring guest roles with Dana on the hit medical drama *St. Elsewhere* (NBC, 1982-1988).

—Robert Thompson

## Dance Halls

Dancing has been regarded as a social institution in America for over a century. Many famous dance venues, from the Cotton Club and Roseland in New York, the Avalon Ballroom on Catalina Island, Aly Baba in Oakland, to the Old Roosevelt Hotel in New Orleans, attest to the tremendous influence which dancing has had on American culture. These are just a few of the popular meeting spots where people interact socially and can be seen publicly, dancing to the popular music of the day. Local community dance halls thrive in recreation centers, churches, and high school gymnasiums as well as commercial night clubs. The primary requirement in any dance hall is to provide ample music and the room for people to dance. Food and beverages are often served as light refreshments, and seating arrangements allow people to meet, to comment, and to view others who are out on the dance floor. An important concept of the dance hall is “to see and be seen,” and rites of passage into society including coming-of-age events, proms and pageants, ceremonies such as weddings, and musical debuts have centered around dance events and subsequently are popular uses for dance halls.

The forum of entertainment generally known as the dance hall evolved over the course of several centuries, taking on a distinctive function and purpose in each succeeding generation. The notion of halls as social meeting places may have its origins in northern Europe during the middle ages, when one large, central room with an elevated ceiling was used for dining, reveling, convening, and even sleeping by large groups of tenants and visitors of no particular relation. The British connotation of the word “hall” more often refers to a large common room used as a meeting place for particular events. By contrast, the American sense of the word, as a central space or passageway usually into which the front door opens, is related in the sense that the hall is a room common to all people who enter a particular building.

As feudal houses grew in stature and European nobility became more pronounced, “great halls” were designed as distinct chambers for meeting and gathering. Great halls were featured in many palaces and country manors of the 14th through 18th century, used as places of social gathering for important events, coronations, festivals, and celebrations. Court dancing evolved in these great halls throughout Europe, developing intricate codes of conduct and ritual which persisted through the turn of the 20th century. Grand balls were an important social component of the 17th through the 19th centuries, and dancing was regarded as a prime element of display, courtship, and social manners. Dance balls of the Victorian era usually lasted entire evenings, where the hosts served multi-coursed suppers and attendees literally danced “until they dropped,” finding back rooms and quiet corners to sleep when they could dance no longer. It is notable that most dance events of the western hemisphere are for the celebration of social occasions. In the east, dancing is more often reserved strictly for religious ceremonies, with elaborate costumes and traditions which have remained intact for centuries.

The modern dance hall has a more obscure origin. Dance halls in America seem to have grown out of refugee immigration from eastern

and southern Europe during the mid-1900s. Folk dancing, most particularly the polka, has enjoyed a rich tradition in the immigrant working-class, who find dancing to be an essential element of recreation after long hours in labor-intensive jobs. Dance halls naturally grew up around this need to socialize. Many dance hall regulars attribute the Polish immigration of the 1940s and 1950s with the establishment of the American dance hall. The Nazi and Soviet occupations, leading up to the outbreak of World War II, forced thousands of working-class and minority Poles and Slavs to come to the United States. Once arrived, Polish immigrants succeeded in venerating traditional customs including social folk dancing. Primary among these was the polka. Polka parties, international polka associations, and dance competitions continue to thrive in the late 20th century in the United States, while in eastern Europe this dance form has virtually died out, mostly likely due to the influence of foreign political regimes.

In rural areas, dance halls are generally known for their live bands, and it is not unusual for attendees to drive in from 50 to 100 miles away. Dance halls in rural areas tend to feature food and beverages more prominently, whereas the urban disco will emphasize dance floor decorations, settings, and acoustics. The dance hall’s modern cousin, the discotheque or night club, has distinctly urban origins. Discotheques, or discos, began in Paris with the advent of the phonograph album in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Discos tend to feature more modern forms of popular music, and many new dances have been invented in reaction to new music. Whether the music is being played live or in recordings, the important feature of all dance halls, night clubs, and discos is the emphasis on dancing and socializing.

A resurgence in vintage dancing, most notably 1930s-1940s era swing parties and 19th century Victorian dance balls, has flowered in the United States during the 1980s and 1990s. Vintage dance balls tend to emphasize social entertainment through historic recreation. These recreations can be very elaborate, and authentic period attire or costume recreations, selected beverages and foods of the era, and the teaching and calling of traditional dance forms are key elements of vintage dance events. Attendees are often educated professionals or middle-class descendants of European immigrants. Music is most often supplied by live musicians, although recorded music may be featured in regular clubs.

Dance halls in the 1990s have often featured a wide variety of dance events on their calendars. Many dance halls are rented out for rehearsals, parties, social occasions and receptions, or are otherwise used for public recreational evenings which may or may not feature noted bands. Attendees tend to favor one form or series of forms over others based on cultural bias, perceived social stature, or personal tastes. Fans of noted bands will anticipate scheduled appearances and may prepare for occasions for months in advance. In general, attendees may gather for celebration of a particular event such as a wedding reception, or as a regular social activity with their friends.

—Ethan Hay

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## Dandridge, Dorothy (1924-1965)

Born in Cleveland, Ohio, actor-singer-entertainer Dorothy Dandridge was smart, immensely talented, and alluringly beautiful. In her three-decade career in Hollywood she endured the bittersweet distinction of being the first sexy black woman film artist of the postwar period. Dandridge attempted to forge a career in Hollywood when the only roles for black women were as servants, or in brief, non-speaking cameo roles. Dandridge claimed a number of “firsts”: she was the first African American woman to grace the covers of *Life* magazine; the first black woman to showcase the posh, all-white Waldorf-Astoria; and the first black woman to receive an Oscar nomination for a leading role. Dandridge’s film credits include *Bright Road* (1953), *Carmen Jones* (1954), *Tamango* (1957), *Island in the Sun* (1957), *The Decks Ran Red* (1958), *Porgy and Bess* (1959) and *Malanga* (1959). Dandridge’s tragedy-filled life and her mysterious death on September 8, 1965, resulted in exposés, film biographies, and a major biography.

—Pamala S. Deane

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## Daniels, Charlie (1936—)

Charlie Daniels came to prominence during the early 1970s, at a time when country music was caught up in Vietnam patriotism and anti-hippie sentiment. Rock was the music of the counterculture, which saw the South through newsreels of civil rights battles and movies like *Easy Rider*. A white southern band had to choose one or



Charlie Daniels

the other, and many followed the lead of the likes of the Allman Brothers to create the sound known as Southern Rock. The Charlie Daniels Band began as Southern Rockers with an anti-redneck anthem, “Uneasy Rider” (1973), a song about a longhaired guy going into a bar full of good old boys. One of the few musicians to fit into both rock and country genres, Daniels’ manipulated his image and music brilliantly in an attempt to capture his place in twentieth-century popular culture.

Most of the Southern Rockers separated themselves totally from country music . . . and they remained separate. Even in the 1980s and 1990s, when rock had become a staple of the new country sound, groups like the Allman Brothers, Little Feat, and the Marshall Tucker Band never showed up at country concerts or on the country charts. Daniels was an exception. Right from the start he managed to keep a presence in both worlds, working as a studio fiddle player on Nashville sessions. When pop came to Nashville, Daniels was there, playing hot fiddle parts on Bob Dylan’s album *Nashville Skyline*. Even “Uneasy Rider” made the lower rungs of the country charts (it was in the top ten on the pop charts).

Southern Rock faded as a chart phenomenon with the end of the 1970s; it did, however, retain a core audience. Daniels then made his move toward country. In 1980, country music was in the grip of the Urban Cowboy phenomenon, and there was a lot of country overlap on the pop charts. Daniels was no Urban Cowboy, but he was an artist with the capacity to play to both audiences, and he made the most of it with his biggest hit “The Devil Went Down to Georgia,” which hit number one on the country charts and was number three as a pop hit. It won him a Grammy for best country music performance by a group,

and the Country Music Association award for Single of the Year. The single was Daniels' high water mark as his career was middling through the 1980s. He continued to have a mystique of sorts, remaining signed to the same label (Epic), releasing one record after another, and never cracking the top ten—mostly, in fact, languishing near the bottom of the charts.

Then, in 1989, Daniels had another career breakthrough. His hit album, *A Simple Man*, aggressively advocated the lynching of bad guys and hopped onto the anti-communist bandwagon (a little late) by suggesting that it would not be such a bad idea to assassinate Gorbachev. And, as a final rejection of his youthful fling with the counterculture, he recorded a new version of "Uneasy Rider" in which the hero is himself—one of the good old boys from whom the original uneasy rider had his narrow escape. This time, he accidentally wanders into a gay bar. Daniels had made himself over completely, from protest-era rebel to Reagan-era conservative.

—Tad Richards

## Dannay, Frederic

See Queen, Ellery

## *Daredevil, the Man Without Fear*

*Daredevil, the Man Without Fear* is a superhero comic book published by Marvel Comics since 1965. Blinded by a childhood accident involving radioactivity that has also mysteriously enhanced his remaining senses to superhuman levels, defense attorney Matt Murdock trains himself to physical perfection, and crusades for justice as the costumed Daredevil.

Daredevil remained a consistently popular but decidedly second-tier Marvel superhero until the late 1970s when writer/artist Frank Miller assumed the creative direction of the series. By emphasizing the disturbing obsessive and fascistic qualities of the superhero as a modern vigilante, Miller transformed *Daredevil* into one of the most graphic, sophisticated, and best written comic books of its time. His work on the series became a standard for a new generation of comic-book creators and fans who came to expect more violence and thematic maturity from their superheroes.

—Bradford Wright

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## *Dark Shadows*

In the world of continuing daytime drama, or "the soaps," *Dark Shadows* remains an anomaly. Unlike any other day or evening

television show, *Dark Shadows*' increasing popularity over the course of its five year run from 1966 to 1971 led to the creation of two feature films entitled *House of Dark Shadows* and *Night of Dark Shadows*, a hit record album of themes from the show, and a series of 30 novels, comic books, and other paraphernalia—a development unheard of in the world of daytime television. *Dark Shadows* had unexpectedly evolved from another afternoon soap into a cultural phenomenon and franchise. Indeed, *Dark Shadows* was in a genre all to itself during this period of twentieth-century television history.

Like other soaps, *Dark Shadows* dealt with forbidden love and exotic medical conditions. Unlike any other, however, its conflicts tended to extend beyond the everyday material most soaps cover into more "otherworldly" phenomena. Nestled in the fog-enshrouded coastal town of Collinsport, Maine, the Collins family was repeatedly plagued by family curses which involved ghosts, vampires, werewolves, and "phoenixes"—mothers who come back from the dead to claim and then kill their children. In fact, there were as many curses as there were locked rooms and secret passageways in the seemingly endless family estate known as Collinwood. Characters had to travel back and forth in time, as well as "parallel time" dimensions, in order to unravel and solve the mysteries that would prevent future suffering.

Amazingly, despite its cancellation some 30 years ago and the fact that during its time on the air it was constantly threatened with cancellation by the management of ABC, *Dark Shadows* is fondly remembered by many baby-boomers as "the show you ran home after school to watch" in those pre-VCR days. It is the subject of dozens of fan websites and chatrooms, an online college course, and even a site where fans have endeavored to continue writing episodes speculating what might have transpired after the last episode was broadcast in 1971. There are even yearly conventions held by the International Dark Shadows Society celebrating the show and featuring former cast members who are asked to share their memories.

The concept for *Dark Shadows* originated in the mind of Emmy-winning sports producer Dan Curtis, who wanted to branch out into drama. His dream of a mysterious young woman journeying to an old dark house—which would hold the keys to her past and future—became the starting point, establishing the gothic tone which combined elements of *Jane Eyre* with *The Turn of the Screw*—the latter of which would figure repeatedly in later plotlines.

The young woman was known as Victoria Winters (Alexandra Moltke). She accepted a post as a governess of ten-year-old David Collins (David Henesy), heir to the family fortune and companion to Collinwood's stern and secretive mistress, Elizabeth Collins (Joan Bennett). Believing herself to be an orphan (she is in fact the illegitimate daughter of Elizabeth Collins), Victoria senses that the keys to her past and future lie with the Collins family.

While plot complications in the first few months of the show concerned mysterious threats on Victoria's life, there was little in the turgid conflicts between the Collins family and a vengeful local businessman to attract viewers, and ratings were declining rapidly. This is when Curtis decided to jazz things up by introducing the first of the series' many ghosts. While exploring in an obscure part of the rambling Collins estate, young David encounters the ghost of a young woman, Josette DuPres. As ratings began to rise, Josette becomes integral in helping to protect David from Curtis' next supernatural phenomenon—the arrival of Laura Collins (Diana Millea), David's deceased mother who has risen from the dead as a phoenix to claim him.

While this influx of the supernatural buoyed up the flailing ratings, it was the introduction of Jonathan Frid as vampire Barnabas

Collins—originally intended to be yet another short term monster to be dealt with and destroyed—that established the tone for the show and caused its popularity to steadily rise. Cleverly, Barnabas was not depicted as a mere monster, but as a man tortured by his conscience. Barnabas had once been in love with Josette DuPres and, upon encountering local waitress Maggie Evans (Kathryn Leigh Scott), he attempts to hypnotize her into becoming Josette, hoping to then drink her blood and transform her into his eternal vampire bride. His efforts, however, are thwarted by the intervention of yet another benevolent ghost.

The increasing popularity of the tortured Barnabas and his sufferings in love led the writers to attempt yet another first—in a seance Victoria Winters is instantaneously transported to 1795, and there, along with the audience, witnesses the events surrounding the original Barnabas/Josette love story. This extended flashback—with the cast of actors playing the ancestors of their present characters—ran for months to high ratings as young uncursed Barnabas goes to Martinique on business, and there meets and prepares to marry young Josette DuPres, the daughter of a plantation owner. Simultaneously, he initiates an affair with her maid Angelique Bouchard (Lara Parker), who is herself in love with Barnabas and attempts to use witchcraft to possess him. When he attempts to spurn her, Angelique places an irreversible curse on him and, suddenly, a vampire bat appears and bites him. Though he manages to kill Angelique before he can transform Josette into his vampire bride, the spirit of Angelique appears to her, shows her the hideousness of her future, and in response the traumatized girl runs from Barnabas and throws herself off the edge of Widow's Hill, to be dashed on the rocks below. The fateful lovers' triangle of Barnabas, Josette, and Angelique was repeated in various forms throughout the life of the show.

Always searching for a novel twist, the writers then toyed with the concept of "parallel time." Barnabas discovers a room on the estate in which he witnesses events transpiring in the present, but the characters are all in different roles—the result of different choices they made earlier. This is essentially a parallel dimension, and he enters it, hoping to learn that there he is not a vampire. Kathryn Leigh Scott suggested that this innovation proved to be so complex that it hastened the demise of the show, for both the writers and audience were having trouble keeping track of the various characters in "real" time versus the variations they played in alternate "parallel times." But as Victoria Winters had suggested in her opening voice-over, essentially the past and present were "one" at Collinwood.

Over the course of its approximately 1,200 episodes, *Dark Shadows*' ratings ebbed and peaked, drawing an extremely diverse audience. By May of 1969, the show was at its peak of popularity as ABC's number one daytime drama which boasted a daily viewership of some 20 million. It was this status that led producer/creator Dan Curtis to envision a *Dark Shadows* feature film—yet another first for a daytime drama. Despite the show's success, however, most studios laughed off the idea until Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer (MGM) green-lighted it and *House of Dark Shadows* became the first of the show's movie adaptations. For this big screen incarnation, Curtis decided to go back to the central and most popular plotline involving Barnabas' awakening/arrival at Collinwood, his meeting Maggie Evans, and his subsequent effort to remake her into his lost love Josette. Curtis did attempt to change the tone of the film version of the story—instead of being the vampire with a conscience, Barnabas would be what Curtis originally envisioned him to be; a monster that would motivate the greater gore ratio Curtis intended for the film audiences.

Released in 1971, *House of Dark Shadows* was such a success that some claim it helped to save a failing MGM, and Curtis was commissioned by the studio to create another film. Its successor, *Night of Dark Shadows* was a smaller scale effort. Adapting one of the parallel time plotlines, Quentin Collins (David Selby) inherits the Collins' estate and brings his young wife (played by Kate Jackson, later of *Charlie's Angels* and *Scarecrow and Mrs. King*) there to live. There he begins painting the image of Angelique, whose ghost appears to seduce and take possession of him. Less successful than its predecessor, but still a moneymaker, there were plans to make a third film when *Dark Shadows* was canceled and Curtis decided to move on to other projects.

Some 20 years later, in 1991, Curtis joined forces with NBC to recreate *Dark Shadows* as a prime-time soap opera. In this incarnation, Curtis attempted to initiate things with the arrival of Barnabas Collins (played by *Chariots of Fire* Oscar nominee Ben Cross) and the subsequent recounting of his history via the 1795 flashback. As he did with Joan Bennett before her, veteran actress (and fan of the original show) Jean Simmons took over the role of Elizabeth Collins Stoddard, and British scream queen Barbara Shelley was cast as Dr. Julia Hoffman. This casting also included Lysette Anthony as Angelique, and Adrian Paul—future star of *Highlander: The Series*—as Barnabas' younger brother Jeremiah Collins. Despite much anticipation by fans, the show debuted as a mid-season replacement just as the Gulf War began. It was both pre-empted and shifted around in its time slot due to low ratings until the producers finally chose to cancel it after 12 episodes.

—Rick Moody

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## Darrow, Clarence (1857-1938)

Sometimes reviled for his defense of unpopular people and causes, Clarence Darrow was the most widely known attorney in the United States at the time of his death in 1938. He practiced law in the Midwest, eventually becoming chief attorney for the Chicago and North Western Railways. By 1900 he had left this lucrative position to defend Socialist leader Eugene Debs, who had organized striking American Railway Union workers. Involved in several other labor-related cases and an advocate of integration, he also worked as a defense attorney, saving murderers Nathan Leopold and Richard Loeb from the electric chair in 1924. His 1925 courtroom battle against bible-thumping politician William Jennings Bryant in the Scopes trial—called the "Monkey Trial" due to its focus on teaching Darwin's theory of evolution in schools—was immortalized in the

play and film *Inherit the Wind*. Darrow wrote several books, including *Crime: Its Cause and Treatment* (1922).

—Pamela L. Shelton

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## Davis, Bette (1908-1989)

Born Ruth Elizabeth Davis in 1908, Bette Davis was one of the biggest stars of the Hollywood Studio Era. During her illustrious career, which spanned six decades, she appeared in over 100 films and made numerous television appearances. Her talents were recognized with 11 Academy Award nominations and two awards (1935 and 1938); three Emmy nominations and one award (1979); and she won a Life Achievement Award from the American Film Institute in 1997. In films such as *Marked Woman* (1937), *Jezebel* (1938), and *All About Eve* (1950) she played women who were intelligent, independent, and defiant, often challenging the social order. It is perhaps for these reasons that she became an icon of urban gay culture, for more often than not, her characters refused to succumb to the strict restraints placed on them by society.

—Frances Gateward

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## Davis, Miles (1926-1992)

Trumpet player Miles Davis became famous among both jazz buffs and people who know very little about the art form. He did so through a combination of intelligence, charisma, awareness of his own abilities, and a feel for the music scene rarely equaled in jazz. Some critics note that he did so with less natural technical ability than most jazz stars.

In spite of attempts to portray himself otherwise, Davis was not a street kid. Rather, he came from comfortable, upper-middle-class surroundings. His father was a dentist in East St. Louis, and his



Miles Davis

mother was a trained pianist who taught school. Miles grew up listening to classical and popular music. In common with many teens of his day, he played in the school band and worked in a jazz combo around town. Davis learned quickly from older musicians, and many took a liking to a young man they all described as “shy” and “withdrawn.” Shy and withdrawn as he may have been, young Davis found the audacity to ask Billy Eckstine to sit in with his band. By all accounts, Davis was “awful,” but the musicians saw something special beneath the apparently shy exterior and limited technical ability.

In 1945 Davis went to New York to study at the Juilliard School of Music. In a typical move, he tracked down Charlie “Bird” Parker and moved in with him. Bird sponsored Davis’s career and used him on recordings and with his working band from time to time. Certainly, this work aided Davis in getting jobs with Benny Carter’s band and then taking Fats Navarro’s chair in the Eckstine band. In 1947 Davis was back with Bird and stayed with him for a year and a half. Although he still was not the most proficient trumpet player on the scene, Davis was attracting his own following and learning with each experience. It was, however, becoming obvious that his future fame would not be based on playing in the Dizzy Gillespie style so many other young trumpeters were imitating and developing.

In 1949 Davis provided a clear indication of his future distinctive style and pattern. He emerged as the leader of a group of Claude Thornhill’s musicians, and from that collaboration sprang *Birth of the Cool* and the style of jazz named after it. That Davis, still in his early twenties, would assume leadership of the group that boasted Lee Konitz, Gerry Mulligan, Gil Evans, and others was in itself remarkable, but that he had successfully switched styles and assumed

leadership of the style that he did much to shape was a pattern he repeated throughout his life.

Unfortunately, Davis's heroin addiction became the predominant force in his life, and for the next few years he did little artistically. Stories about his wrecked life circulated in the jazz world, which Davis confronted in his 1990 autobiography. Whether Clifford Brown actually did blow Miles off the stage and scare him straight, which Davis denied, depends upon whose version one believes. The fact is that the challenge of young giants like Brownie, who was Davis's opposite in so many ways, did stir up Davis's pride and led to his kicking his habit.

By 1954 Miles was back and heading toward the most artistically successful years of his life. The Davis style was fully matured; that style of the 1950s and early 1960s was marked by use of the Harmon mute, half valves, soft and fully rounded tones, reliance on the middle register, snatches of exquisite melodic composition, and general absence of rapid-fire runs. Davis attributed his sound to Freddie Webster, a St. Louis trumpet master, and his use of space to Ahmad Jamal, a pianist of great genius.

In the mid-1950s Davis pioneered the funk movement with songs like "Walkin'." He kept his own rather cool approach, accentuated by unparalleled use of the Harmon mute while typically surrounding himself with "hotter" players, such as Jackie McClean or Sonny Rollins. In 1955 the style came together with his "classic" quintet at the Newport Jazz Festival, where the quintet's enormous success led to a lucrative contract with Columbia Records, reputedly making Davis the highest paid jazz artist in history. The Miles Davis Quintet, consisting of John Coltrane on tenor sax, Paul Chambers on bass, Philly Joe Jones on Drums, and Red Garland on piano, was a band of all-stars and the stuff of which jazz legends are made. With the addition of Cannonball Adderly on alto sax, the sextet was able to use combinations and colorations that shaped the course of modern jazz. Above it all was the ultimate personification of cool, *Milestones* and *Bye, Bye, Blackbird* pointing the way to Miles's next experiments.

Davis's 1958 Paris recording of the music for *The Elevator to the Gallows* was a high point in his career. His use of unexpected note placement leading to suspended rhythms and simple harmonic structures led logically into the use of modes or scalar improvisation. (In modal improvisation the improviser uses one or two modes as the basis for improvisation rather than changing chord/scales each measure or even more frequently.) John Coltrane had taken that style to its logical conclusion, developing the work of Gillespie at a frantic pace. Davis had never been comfortable with playing at frantic speeds.

*Kind of Blue*, which featured Bill Evans on a number of cuts, fueled the modal explosion in jazz. Considered one of the finest jazz albums ever made, it was a commercial success, and Davis continued to use compositions from the album over a long period of his career. He did not, however, exclusively feature modal tunes in his repertoire. In fact, it should be noted that Davis never totally dropped one style as he moved on to another one. And the challenge of Free Jazz was about to launch him into another phase of his career, a series of records with his friend Gil Evans featuring a big band. The first album, which some consider the best, was *Sketches of Spain*, featuring "Concierto." Davis did not abandon his small group career, although he did frequently perform with a big band and recorded more albums in that format, including *Porgy and Bess*, featuring the marvelous "Summertime."

By 1964 Davis was ready to change again. His albums were not selling as they once had. They were receiving excellent reviews, but

they were not reaching the pop audience. Davis still refused to try the Free Jazz route of Don Cherry and Ornette Coleman or even of his former colleague, John Coltrane. Davis was more inclined to reach out for the audience his friend Sly Stone had cultivated—the huge rock audience, including young blacks. It was at this point that Davis, already possessing something of a reputation as a "bad dude," truly developed his image of a nasty street tough. He had always turned his back on audiences and refused to announce compositions or performers, but now he exaggerated that image and turned to fusion.

Beginning in 1967 with *Nefertiti* and following in 1968 with *Filles de Kilimanjaro*, Davis began incorporating rock elements into his work. He used Chick Corea on electric piano and replaced his veterans with other younger men, including Tony Williams on drums, Ron Carter on bass, and Wayne Shorter on tenor sax. The success of these records, although somewhat short of his expectations, forced Miles to explore the genre further. That led to his use of John McLaughlin on *In a Silent Way* in 1969 and the all-out fusion album, *Bitches Brew*, the same year. *Bitches Brew*, which introduced rock listeners to jazz, marked a point of no return for Davis. The 1970s were a period that led to great popular success for his group. Davis changed his clothing and performing styles. He affected the attire of the pop music star, appeared at Fillmore East and West, attracted young audiences, attached an electric amp mike to his horn, and strode the stage restlessly.

For a period of years, he stopped performing, and rumors once again surfaced regarding his condition. In the early 1980s Davis made a successful comeback with a funk-oriented group. This was a different sort of funk, however, from "Walkin'" and his other 1950s successes. He was still able to recruit fine talent from among young musicians, as saxophonist Kenny Garrett attests. As the 1980s came to an end, however, Davis's loyal jazz followers saw only a few sparks of the Miles Davis whom they revered. There were, however, enough of these sparks to fuel the hope that Davis might just once more play in his old style.

Finally, at the Montreux Festival of 1992, Quincy Jones convinced Davis to relive the work he had done with Gil Evans. Davis had some fears about performing his old hits, but as he rehearsed those fears subsided, and the documentary based on that performance, as well as the video and CD made of it, demonstrate that he gained in confidence as he performed. While not quite the Davis of the 1950s and 1960s, he was "close enough for jazz." These performances as well as the soundtrack of *Dingo* have gone far to fuel the jazz fans' lament for what might have been. They display a Davis filled with intelligence, wit, and emotion who responds to the love of his audience and who is for once at ease with his own inner demons.

The rest of the Montreux performance featured Miles Davis with members from his various groups over the years. The range of the groups offered proof of Davis's versatility and his self-knowledge of his strengths and weaknesses. After the festival, Davis performed in a group with his old friend Jackie McClean. Rumors persist of tapes they made in Europe which have not yet surfaced commercially. In December 1992, Davis died of pneumonia, leaving a rich legacy of music and enough fuel for controversy to satisfy jazz fans for many years.

—Frank A. Salamone

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## Davy Crockett

Walt Disney's 1950s television adaptation of the Davy Crockett legend catapulted the coonskin-capped frontiersman into a national role model who has had an enduring appeal for both academic historians and popular culture producers and their audiences through the end of the twentieth century. The marketing frenzy surrounding the Crockett fad represented the first real mass-marketing campaign in American history, promoting a new way of marketing films and television shows. Many baby boomers can still recite the lyrics to "The Ballad of Davy Crockett" and have passed down their treasured items, such as Crockett lunch boxes, to their children.

One of the legendary American heroes whose stories dramatize American cultural values for a wide popular audience, the historical David Crockett was born on August 17, 1786, near Limestone, Tennessee. He went from a local folk hero to national media hero during his lifetime when the Whig party adopted him as a political party symbol in the early nineteenth century. He served as commander of a battalion in the Creek Indian War from 1813 to 1814, was a member of the Tennessee state legislature from 1821 to 1824, and was a member of the United States Congress from 1827 to 1831 and again from 1833 to 1835. He was renowned for his motto "be always sure you are right, then go ahead."

The myths surrounding Crockett began as the Whig party created his election image through deliberate fabrication so that they could capitalize on his favorable political leanings. His penchant for tall tales also made him a folk legend rumored to be capable of killing bears with his bare hands and of performing similar feats of strength. Even his trusty rifle, "Betsy," achieved fame and name recognition. Crockett was one of the several hundred men who died defending the Alamo from Mexican attack in March of 1836 as Texas fought for independence from Mexico with the aid of the United States. His legend quickly emerged as a widespread public phenomenon after his heroic, patriotic death at the Alamo. His tombstone reads "Davy Crockett, Pioneer, Patriot, Soldier, Trapper, Explorer, State Legislator, Congressman, Martyred at The Alamo. 1786-1836." His symbolic heroism and larger-than-life figure soon found its way into such popular cultural media as tall tales, folklore, journalism, fiction, dime novels, plays, television, movies, and music. Historian Margaret J. King has called him "as fine a figure of popular culture as can be imagined."

Disney understood the ability of popular culture to manipulate popular historical images and the power of the entertainer to educate. Disney took the Crockett legend and remade it to suit his 1950s audience. Disney planned a three-part series (December 15, 1954's

"Davy Crockett Indian Fighter," January 26, 1955's "Davy Crockett Goes to Congress," and February 23, 1955's "Davy Crockett at the Alamo") to represent the Frontierland section of his Disneyland theme park. Aired on the ABC television network, the series helped ABC become a serious contender among the television networks and catapulted Disney's Davy Crockett, little-known actor Fess Parker, to stardom. The American frontier spirit that formerly had been embodied by Daniel Boone now immediately became associated with Davy Crockett. Walt Disney himself was surprised by the size and intensity of the overnight craze: King quotes him as having said, "It became one of the biggest overnight hits in television history and there we were with just three films and a dead hero." Disney quickly rereleased the series as feature film *Davy Crockett, King of the Wild Frontier* (1955) in order to cash in on the Crockett craze. The weekly television show, which aired on Wednesday nights, also spawned *Davy Crockett and the River Pirates* (1956), which was made from two of the television shows, including the Mike Fink keelboat race story.

Disney's interpretation of the Crockett legend arrived soon after television enjoyed widespread ownership for the first time and leisure activities began to center around the television. Disney proved the powerful ability of television to capture and influence wide audiences. Television programmers and mass advertisers discovered sizable new markets in the children and baby boom audience who quickly became infatuated with all things Crockett. The promotional tie-in has enjoyed widespread success ever since the first young child placed Davy's coonskin cap on his head so that he could feel like Davy Crockett as he hunted "b'ars" in the backyard. Raccoon skin prices dramatically jumped practically overnight. Hundreds of products by various producers quickly saturated the market as Disney was unable to copyright the public Crockett name. Guitars, underwear, clothes, toothbrushes, moccasins, bedspreads, lunch boxes, toys, books, comics, and many other items found their way into many American homes. Many producers simply pasted Crockett labels over existing western-themed merchandise so as not to miss out on the phenomenon. Various artists recorded sixteen versions of the catchy theme song "The Ballad of Davy Crockett," which was originally created as filler. It went on to sell more than four million copies.

The legendary Davy Crockett was born of a long tradition of creating national heroes as embodiments of the national character, most in the historical tradition of the great white male. Disney's Davy Crockett was a 1950s ideal, a dignified common man who was known for his congeniality, neighborliness, and civic-mindedness. He was also an upwardly mobile, modest, and courageous man. He showed that God's laws existed in nature and came from a long line of American heroes who represented the national ideal of the noble, self-reliant frontiersman. It was men such as the legendary Davy Crockett that led the American people on their divinely appointed mission into the wilderness and set the cultural standard for the settlements that would follow. Some detractors, however, felt that some of Crockett's less refined qualities were not the American ideals that should be passed on to their children. This led to a debate over the Disney Crockett's effectiveness and suitability as a national hero. King terms such controversy as exemplary of the volatile encounter among mass media, national history, and the popular consciousness. Disney's Davy Crockett, and the many popular Crocketts that went before, are central figures in the search for how American historical legends have affected what Americans understand about their history and how this understanding continues to change over time.

—Marcella Bush Treviño

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## Day, Doris (1924—)

Vocalist and screen actress Doris Day, a freckle-faced buttercup blonde with a sunny smile that radiated wholesome good cheer,



Doris Day

embodied the healthy girl-next-door *zeitgeist* of 1950s Hollywood. The decade marked the fall of the Hollywood musical and Day, with her pleasing personality and distinctive voice, huskily emotive yet pure and on-note, helped to prolong the genre's demise. Thanks largely to her infectious presence, a series of mostly anodyne musical films attracted bobby-soxers and their parents alike during the otherwise somber era of the Cold War and McCarthyism.

Behind the smile, however, Doris Day's life was marked by much unhappiness endured, remarkably, away from the glare of publicity. She was born Doris von Kappelhoff in Cincinnati, Ohio on April 3, 1924, the daughter of German parents who divorced when she was eight. She pursued a dancing career from an early age, but her ambitions were cut short by a serious automobile accident in her mid-teens, and she turned to singing as an alternative. She had two disastrous early marriages, the first, at the age of 17, to musician Al Jorden, by whom she had a son. She divorced him because of his violence, and later married George Weidler, a liaison that lasted eight months. By the age of 24, she had worked her way up from appearing on local radio stations to becoming a popular band singer with Bob Crosby and Les Brown, and had begun to making records.

In 1948, Warner Brothers needed an emergency replacement for a pregnant Betty Hutton in *Romance on the High Seas*. Day was suggested, got the part and, true to the cliché, became a star overnight. The movie yielded a huge recording hit in "It's Magic," establishing a pattern which held for most of her films and secured her place as a best-selling recording artist in tandem with her screen career. The songs as sung by Day threaded themselves into a tapestry of cultural consciousness that has remained familiar across generations. Notable among her many hits are the wistfully romantic and Oscar-winning "Secret Love" from *Calamity Jane* (1953) and the insidious "Que Sera Sera" from Hitchcock's *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1956), which sold over a million at the time and earned her a Gold Disc.

No matter what the role or the plot of a movie, Day retained an essentially "virginal" persona about which it was once fashionable to make jokes. She confounded derision, however, with sheer energy and professionalism, revealing a range that allowed her to broaden her scope and prolong her career in non-musicals—an achievement that had eluded her few rivals.

Early on, her string of Warner musicals, which paired her with Jack Carson, then Gordon MacRae, or Gene Nelson, were interrupted by a couple of straight roles (opposite Kirk Douglas' Bix Beiderbecke in *Young Man With a Horn* and murdered by the Klan in *Storm Warning*, both 1950), but it was for Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer (M-G-M), in the biopic *Love Me or Leave Me* (1955), that Day won her colors as an actress of some accomplishment and grit. As Ruth Etting, the famed nightclub singer of the 1920s who suffered at the hands of her crippled hoodlum husband (played by James Cagney), she was able to meet the acting challenge while given ample opportunity to display her vocal expertise. She had, however, no further opportunity to develop the dramatic promise she displayed in this film.

The most effervescent and enduring of Day's musicals, the screen version of the Broadway hit *The Pajama Game* (1957), marked the end of her Warner Brothers tenure, after which she studio-hopped for three undistinguished comedies, *Tunnel of Love* (M-G-M 1958, with Richard Widmark), *Teacher's Pet* (Paramount 1958, with Clark Gable), and *It Happened to Jane* (Columbia, 1959, with Jack Lemmon). A star of lesser universal appeal might have sunk with these leaden enterprises, but her popularity emerged unscathed—indeed, in 1958 the Hollywood Foreign Press Association voted her the World's



Favorite Actress, the first of several similar accolades that included a Golden Globe in 1962.

In 1959, any threat to Day's star status was removed by a series of monumentally profitable comedies in which oh-so-mild risqué innuendo stood in for sex, and the generally farcical plots were made to work through the light touch and attractive personalities of Day and her coterie of leading men. The first of these, *Pillow Talk* (1959), teamed her with Rock Hudson, grossed a massive \$7.5 million and won her an Oscar nomination for her masquerade as a buttoned-up interior designer. The Day-Hudson formula was repeated twice more with *Lover Come Back* (1962) and *Send Me No Flowers* (1964). In between, *That Touch of Mink* (1962) co-starred her with Cary Grant, while *The Thrill of It All* and *Move Over Darling* (both 1963) added James Garner to her long list of leading men. The last years of the 1960s saw a decline in both the number and the quality of her films, and she made her last, *With Six You Get Eggroll*, in 1968, exactly 20 years after the release of her first film.

Her third husband Martin Melcher, who administered her financial affairs and who forced the pace of her career in defiance of her wishes, produced most of Doris Day's comedies. After his death in 1968, nervous exhaustion, coupled with the discovery that he had divested her of her earnings of some \$20 million, leaving her penniless, led to a breakdown. She recovered and starred for five years in her own television show to which Melcher had committed her without her knowledge, and in 1974 was awarded damages (reputed to be \$22 million) against her former lawyer who had been a party to Melcher's embezzlement of her fortune.

Other than making a series of margarine commercials and hosting a television cable show *Doris Day and Friends* (1985-1986), she retired from the entertainment profession in 1975 to devote herself to the cause of animal rights. She married Barry Comden in 1976, but they divorced four years later. From her ranch estate in Carmel, she now administers the Doris Day Animal League, working tirelessly to lobby for legislative protection against all forms of cruelty. Her recordings still sell and her films are continually shown on television. To some, Doris Day is a hopeless eccentric, to many a saint, but she continues to enjoy a high profile and the loyalty of her many fans—her celluloid image of goodness lent veracity by her actions.

—Robyn Karney

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## *The Day the Earth Stood Still*

*The Day the Earth Stood Still* (1951), still playing in cinema revivals in the 1990s, at outdoor summer festivals, and regularly on cable channels, was at the forefront of the science fiction film explosion of the 1950s. A number of its basic elements, from its moralizing to its music, from its fear of apocalypse to its menacing



A scene from the film *The Day the Earth Stood Still*.

robot, are aspects of the genre which remain today. Though the film did not bring all these elements to science fiction for the first time, the film's strong and sophisticated visual and aural style was to have a lasting impact on how the scenario of alien visitation has subsequently been presented. *The Day the Earth Stood Still* outlined creatively, some might even say factually, the images of alien visitation that have fascinated increasing numbers of people in the second half of the twentieth century.

Between 1950 and 1957, 133 science fiction movies were released. *The Day the Earth Stood Still* was one of the earliest, most influential, and most successful. Its story was relatively simple: the alien Klaatu (with his robot, Gort) arrives on this planet and attempts to warn Earthlings, in the face of increasing fear and misunderstanding, that their escalating conflicts endanger the rest of the universe. The film was unusual as a science fiction film in this period in that it was produced by a major production company (Twentieth Century-Fox) on a large budget, and this is reflected in the pool of talent the film was able to call upon, in terms of scripting, casting, direction, special effects, and music. The commentator Bruce Fox has even claimed, in *Hollywood Vs. the Aliens*, that the film's resonance in the depiction of alien visitation reflected testimony and information withheld by the government from the public concerning sightings and contact with "real" UFOs at the time.

Director Robert Wise had worked as an editor for Orson Welles (1915-1985) and directed a number of Val Lewton (1904-1951) horror films. In *The Day the Earth Stood Still*, Wise is restrained in the use of special effects (though Klaatu's flying saucer cost more than one hundred thousand dollars), maintaining their effectiveness by

contrasting them with scenes showing a claustrophobic and suspicious Washington in a light we might usually associate with film noir. Edmund North's script, based on the story "Farewell to the Master" by the famous science fiction magazine editor Harry Bates (1900-1981), emphasizes distinct religious parallels while balancing the allegory with Klaatu's direct experience with individual humans' hopes and fears. The film's mood of anxiety is underlined by the score of Bernard Herrmann (1911-75), who was to do the music for a clutch of Hitchcock films and Martin Scorsese's *Taxi Driver* (1976). Herrmann's use of the precursor of electronic instruments, the theremin, as well as the more usual piano, percussion, and brass helped create a disturbing background. It is not until towards the end of the film that the art direction and special effects take over. More than the spaceship, however, the film's biggest selling point was the eight-foot Gort. Though clumsy and simplistic by today's standards, his huge stature and featureless face give a real sense of presence and menace. The talismanic phrase that had to be said to Gort to save the world, "Klaatu, Barada, Nikto," was on the lips of many a schoolchild of the period.

In many ways *The Day the Earth Stood Still* is far from being the most representative or the most original science fiction film of this period. There were many more thematically interesting films that appeared risible because they lacked the budget of Wise's film. The film's liberal credentials seem rather compromised by its lack of belief in the ordinary individual to avoid panic and suspicion in the face of anything different, while there is something rather patrician in the idea that, because Earth cannot be trusted to guard its own weapons of mass destruction, it must be put in the charge of a larger, wiser, scientifically more advanced intergalactic power. This faith in the rationality of the scientist to overcome all the fears and anxieties of the period was far from a unanimously held view.

Despite these drawbacks, *The Day the Earth Stood Still* is a successful film in popular terms for other reasons. Its influence is obvious: its opening scenes of the flying saucer coming in over the symbols of American democracy in Washington, D.C., resonate all the way down to similar scenes in *Independence Day* (1996); the alien craft and the tense scenes when figures descend from the craft to face a watching crowd create an archetypal image repeated again and again in science fiction films, most potently in *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977); finally, Gort is the prototype for the robot in the American science fiction film, a figure both menacing and protective, a precursor to every man-made humanoid machine from Robbie the Robot to the Terminator, one of the most original and beguiling figures the science fiction genre has offered the cinemagoer.

—Kyle Smith

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## *Days of Our Lives*

Developed by Ted Corday, Irna Phillips, and Alan Chase, the daytime drama *Days of Our Lives* premiered on NBC in 1965. With Phillips' creation for Procter & Gamble, *As the World Turns* serving as a model, *Days* proceeded to put increasingly outrageous twists on established formulae for the next three decades. By the mid-1990s, its flights into the postmodern and the macabre had themselves become models for a struggling genre.

"Like sands through the hourglass, so are the days of our lives," proclaims the show's opening narration, voiced by former film actor MacDonald Carey over the appropriate image. Carey portrayed patriarch Tom Horton, all-purpose physician in *Days*' midwestern hamlet of Salem, from the program's inception until the passing of both actor and character in 1994. Accompanied by dutiful wife Alice (Frances Reid), the elder Hortons are two of a handful of veterans who evolved over the years as virtual figureheads on a conspicuously youth-oriented program.

After Ted Corday's passing in 1966, and under the stewardship of his widow, Betty, and headwriter Bill Bell, *Days* began, in the words of author Gerard Waggett, "playing around with the incest taboo." Young Marie Horton (Marie Cheatham) first married and divorced the father of her ex-fiance and then fell for a man later discovered to be her prodigal brother. Marie was off to a nunnery, and the "incest scare" was to pop up on other soaps, including *Young and the Restless*, Bell's future creation for CBS.

The incest theme carried the show into the early 1970s with the triangle of Mickey Horton (John Clarke), wife Laura Spencer (Susan Flannery), and her true desire, Mickey's brother Bill (Edward Mallory)—a story which inspired imitation on *Guiding Light*. Bill's rape of Laura, whom he would later wed, muddied the issue of whether "no" always means "no." Co-writer Pat Falken Smith later penned the similarly controversial "rape seduction" of *General Hospital's* Laura by her eventual husband, Luke. *Days* soon featured another familial entanglement in which saloon singer Doug Williams (Bill Hayes) romanced young Julie Olson (Susan Seaforth), only to marry and father a child by her mother before being, predictably, widowed and returning to Julie's side.

Bell's departure in 1973 provided Smith with interrupted stints as headwriter, as the show's flirtations with lesbian and interracial couplings were short-circuited due to network fears of a viewer backlash. The introduction of popular heroine Dr. Marlena Evans (Deidre Hall) late in the decade was a highlight, but the "Salem Strangler" serial killer storyline spelled the end for many cast members by the early 1980s. Marlena's romance with cop Roman Brady (Wayne Northrop) created a new "super couple" and established the Bradys as a working-class family playing off the bourgeois Hortons.

*General Hospital's* Luke and Laura, along with their fantasy storylines—which were attractive to younger viewers in the early 1980s—were emulated, and thence, by *Days*. Marlena and Roman were followed by Bo and Hope (Peter Reckell and Kristian Alfonso), Kimberly and Shane (Patsy Pease and Charles Shaughnessy), and Kayla and Steve (Mary Beth Evans and Stephen Nichols), who anchored Salem's supercouple era, and whose tragic heroines are profiled in Martha Nochimson's book, *No End to Her*. Their Gothic adventures involved nefarious supervillains such as Victor Kiriakis (John Aniston) and, later, Stefano DiMera (Joseph Mascolo), whose



The cast of *Days of Our Lives*.

multiple resurrections defied any remaining logic. Kayla and Steve's saga revived the program's sibling triangle and rape redemption scenarios. Identities also became tangled, with Roman returning as the enigmatic John Black, portrayed by another actor (Drake Hogestyn), and brainwashed to temporarily forget his "true" identity. When Wayne Northrop was available to reclaim the role, however, Black's identity became a mystery once again.

In the 1990s, with the next generation, Ken Corday was at the producer's helm, and with innovative new headwriter James Reilly, *Days* crossed a horizon into pure fantasy. Vivian Alamain (Louise Sorel) had one rival buried prematurely and purloined another's embryo. Marlena, possessed by demons, morphed into animals and levitated. Later, she was exorcised by John Black, now found to have been a priest, and imprisoned in a cage by Stefano. Super triangles supplanted supercouples, as insecure and typically female third parties schemed to keep lovers apart. The most notorious of these was teen Sami Brady (Alison Sweeney), whose obsession with Austin Reed (Patrick Muldoon, later Austin Peck), produced machinations plaguing his romance with Sami's sister, Carrie (Christie Clark), and led Internet fans to nickname her "Scami." While many longtime fans lamented the program's new tone, younger viewers adored it. By 1996, the program had risen to second in ratings and first in all-important demographics.

To the chagrin of their fans, other soaps soon found themselves subject to various degrees of "daysification," even as *General Hospital* was devoting itself to sober, socially relevant topics. But overall viewership of the genre had diminished, and when *Days*' ratings dipped in the late 1990s, its creators seemed not to consider that postmodern escapism might work to lure very young fans but not to hold them. NBC hired Reilly to develop a new soap and threatened its other soaps with cancellation if they did not get up to pace. Its stories were risky, but in eschewing the socially relevant and truly

bold, *Days of Our Lives* might have succeeded in further narrowing the genre's purview and, with it, its pool of potential viewers for the new millennium.

—Christine Scodari

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## Daytime Talk Shows

The daytime television talk show is a uniquely modern phenomenon, but one with roots stretching back to the beginning of broadcasting. Daytime talk programs are popular with audiences for their democratic, unpredictable nature, with producers for their low cost, and with stations for their high ratings. They have been called everything from the voice of the common people to a harbinger of the

end of civilization. Successful hosts become stars in their own right, while guests play out the national drama in a steady stream of confession, confrontation, and self-promotion.

Daytime talk shows can be classified into two basic formats. Celebrity-oriented talkers have much in common with their nighttime counterparts. The host performs an opening monologue or number, and a series of celebrity guests promote their latest films, TV shows, books, or other product. The host's personality dominates the interaction. These shows have their roots in both talk programs and comedy-variety series. The basic formula was designed by NBC's Sylvester "Pat" Weaver, creator of both *Today* and *The Tonight Show*. Musical guests and comic monologues are frequently featured along with discussion. Merv Griffin, Mike Douglas, Dinah Shore, and Rosie O'Donnell have all hosted this type of show.

The more common and successful category of talk shows is the issue-oriented talker. Hosts lead the discussion, but the guests' tales of personal tragedy, triumph, and nonconformity are at the center. Phil Donahue was the first, beginning in 1979, to achieve national prominence with this style of talk show. Oprah Winfrey was transformed from local Chicago television personality to national media magnate largely on the strength of her talk program. In the 1990s, these shows grew to depend more and more on confession and confrontation. The trend has reached its apparent apotheosis with *The Jerry Springer Show*, on which conflicts between guests frequently turn physical, with fistfights erupting on stage.

With the tremendous success in the 1980s of *Donahue*, hosted by Phil Donahue (most daytime talk programs are named for the host or hosts) and *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, the form has proliferated. Other popular and influential hosts of the 1980s and 1990s include Maury Povich, Jenny Jones, Sally Jesse Raphael, former United States Marine Montel Williams, journalist Geraldo Rivera, actress Ricki Lake, and Jerry Springer, who had previously been Mayor of Cincinnati. On the celebrity-variety side, actress-comedienne Rosie O'Donnell and the duo of Regis Philbin and Kathie Lee Gifford have consistently drawn large audiences.

The list of those who tried and failed at the daytime talk format includes a wide assortment of rising, falling, and never-really-were stars. Among those who flopped with issue-oriented talk shows were former *Beverly Hills, 90210* actress Gabrielle Carteris, actor Danny Bonaduce of *The Partridge Family*, ex-*Cosby Show* kid Tempestt Bledsoe, Mark Walberg, Rolanda Watts, Gordon Elliott, Oprah's pal Gayle King, Charles Perez, pop group Wilson Phillips' Carnie Wilson, retired Pittsburgh Steelers quarterback Terry Bradshaw, and the teams of gay actor Jim J. Bullock and former televangelist Tammy Faye Baker Messner and ex-spouses George Hamilton and Alana Stewart. Others have tried the celebrity-variety approach of Mike Douglas and Merv Griffin; singer-actress Vicki Lawrence and *Night Court*'s Marsha Warfield both failed to find enough of an audience to last for long.

Issue talk shows like *Sally Jesse Raphael* and *The Jerry Springer Show* rely on "ordinary" people who are, in some way, extraordinary (or at least deviant.) Though celebrities do occasionally appear, the great majority of guests are drawn from the general population. They are not celebrities as traditionally defined. Though the talk show provides a flash of fleeting notoriety, they have no connection with established media, political, or social elites. They become briefly famous for the contradictory qualities of ordinariness and difference. Show employees called "bookers" work the telephones and read the great volume of viewer mail in search of the next hot topic, the next

great guest. Those chosen tend to either lead non-traditional lifestyles—such as gays, lesbians, bisexuals, prostitutes, transvestites, and people with highly unorthodox political or religious views—or have something to confess to a close confederate, usually adultery or some other sexual transgression. If the two can be combined, e.g., confessing a lesbian affair, which *The Jerry Springer Show* has featured, then so much the better. The common people gain a voice, but only if they use it to confess their sins.

Like all talk shows, daytime talkers rely on the element of unpredictability. There is a sense that virtually anything can happen. Few shows are broadcast live, they are taped in a studio with a "cast" of nonprofessional, unrehearsed audience members. The emotional reaction of the audience to the guest's revelations becomes an integral part of the show. The trend in the late 1990s was deliberately to promote the unexpected. The shows trade heavily on the reactions of individuals who have just been informed, on national television, that a friend/lover/relative has been keeping a secret from them. Their shock, outrage, and devastation becomes mass entertainment. The host becomes the ringmaster (a term Springer freely applies to himself) in an electronic circus of pain and humiliation.

Sometimes the shock has implications well beyond the episode's taping. In March of 1996, *The Jenny Jones Show* invited Jonathan Schmitz onto a program about secret admirers, where someone would be confessing to a crush on him. Though he was told that his admirer could be either male or female, the single, heterosexual Schmitz assumed he would be meeting a woman. During the taping, a male acquaintance, Scott Amedure, who was gay, confessed that he was Schmitz's admirer. Schmitz felt humiliated and betrayed by the show, and later, enraged by the incident, he went to Amedure's home with a gun and shot him to death. Schmitz was convicted of murder, but was granted a new trial in 1998. In a 1999 civil suit, the *Jenny Jones Show* was found negligent in Amedure's death and the victim's family was awarded \$25 million. The ruling forced many talk shows to consider how far they might go with future on-air confrontations.

Talk, as the content of a broadcasting media, is nothing new. The world's first commercial radio broadcast, by KDKA Pittsburgh on November 2, 1920, featured an announcer giving the results of the Presidential election. Early visions of the future of radio and TV pictured the new media as instruments of democracy which could foster participation in public debate. Broadcasters were, and still are, licensed to operate in "the public interest, convenience and necessity," in the words of the communications Act of 1934. Opposing views on controversial contemporary issues could be aired, giving listeners the opportunity to weigh the evidence and make informed choices. Radio talk shows went out over the airwaves as early as 1929, though debate-oriented programs took nearly another decade to come to prominence. Commercial network television broadcasts were underway by the fall of 1946, and talk, like many other radio genres, found a place on the new medium.

Television talk shows of all types owe much to the amateur variety series of the 1940s and 1950s. Popular CBS radio personality Arthur Godfrey hosted *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts* on TV in prime time from 1948 to 1958. *The Original Amateur Hour*, hosted by Ted Mack, ran from 1948 to 1960 (at various times appearing on ABC, CBS, NBC, and Dumont.) These amateur showcases were genuinely democratic; they offered an opportunity for ordinary people to participate in the new public forums. Talent alone gave these guests a brief taste of the kind of recognition usually reserved for celebrities. Audiences saw themselves in these hopeful amateurs

looking for their big break. Winners were a source of inspiration; losers provided a laugh. Godfrey added another element to this mix: unconventionality. He was unashamedly emotional and unafraid to push the envelope of acceptable (for the era) host behavior. Breaking the rules became part of his persona, and that persona made him a star. Talk show hosts from Jack Paar to David Letterman to Jerry Springer would put Godfrey's lesson to productive use.

One of the earliest daytime talkers was *Art Linkletter's House Party*. Many of the elements of the successful, modern talk show were in place: Linkletter was a genial host who interacted with a live audience. They participated in the program by confessing their minor transgressions and foibles. Linkletter responded with calm platitudes, copies of his book (*The Confessions of a Happy Man*), and pitches for Geritol and Somnex. No matter what the trouble, Linkletter could soothe his audience members' guilt with reassurances that they were after all perfectly normal, and that "people are funny" (an early title for the series.) Sin (albeit venial) was his subject, but salvation was his game. Each show concluded with his "Kids Say the Darndest Things" segment, wherein Linkletter milked laughs from children's responses to questions about grown-up subjects. This bit proved both endearing and enduring; in 1998 it was revived in prime time by CBS as a vehicle for another genial comedian, Bill Cosby.

Linkletter gave the modern talk show confession, but Joe Pyne gave it anger. *The Joe Pyne Show*, syndicated from 1965 to 1967, offered viewers a host as controversial as his guests. Twenty years before belligerent nighttime host Morton Downey, Jr., Pyne smoked on the set and berated his guests and audience. The show was produced at Los Angeles' KTTV. At the height of the Watts riots of 1965, Pyne featured a militant black leader; both men revealed, on the air, that they were armed with pistols. Other guests included the leader of the American Nazi Party and Lee Harvey Oswald's mother. Pyne, like Downey, lasted only a short time but made a major impression.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the celebrity-variety talk show flourished. This was the era of Mike Douglas, Merv Griffin, and Dinah Shore. Douglas was a former big-band vocalist who occasionally sang on his show. *The Mike Douglas Show* ran in syndication from 1961 to 1982. His variation on the daytime talk formula was to have a different celebrity co-host from Monday to Friday each week. For one memorable week in the early 1970s he was joined by rock superstars John Lennon and Yoko Ono. His guests ran the gamut from child actor Mason Reese to pioneering heavy metal rock band KISS. In 1980 his production company replaced him with singer-actor John Davidson, in an unsuccessful attempt to appeal to a more youthful audience. Douglas stayed on the air for two more years, then faded from public view. His impact on daytime talk shows was underappreciated by many until 1996, when *The Rosie O'Donnell Show* premiered to immediate acclaim and ratings success. Multiple-Emy winner O'Donnell frequently cited both Douglas and Merv Griffin as major inspirations.

The modern issue-oriented daytime talk show began with *Donahue*. From the beginning, Phil Donahue knew he was doing something different, neither purely journalism nor purely entertainment. It was not news, but it was always new. The issues were real, the guests were real, but the whole package was ultimately as constructed a piece of entertainment as any of its predecessors. By making television spectacle out of giving voice to the voiceless, Donahue found an audience, thus meeting commercial broadcasting's ultimate imperative: bringing viewers to the set. Though the market has since become saturated with the confessional show, Phil Donahue's concept was as radical as it was engaging. For the first time, the

marginalized and the invisible were given a forum, and mainstream America was fascinated.

A true heir to Donahue's throne did not appear until 1986, with the premiere of *The Oprah Winfrey Show*. Winfrey was a Chicago TV personality who burst onto the national scene with her Academy Award-nominated performance in Steven Spielberg's *The Color Purple* (1985). She took Donahue's participatory approach and added her own sensibility. Winfrey, an African-American and sexual abuse survivor, worked her way out of poverty onto the national stage. When her guests poured out their stories, she understood their pain. Unlike many who followed, Winfrey tried to uplift viewers rather than offer them a wallow in the gutter. She started "Oprah's Book Club" to encourage viewers to read contemporary works she believed important. She sought to avoid the confrontations so popular on later series. After one guest surprised his wife on the air with the news that he was still involved with his mistress, and had, in fact, impregnated her, Winfrey vowed such an episode would never occur again. In 1998, in response to the popularity of *The Jerry Springer Show*, Oprah Winfrey introduced a segment called "Change Your Life Television," featuring life-affirming advice from noted self-help authors. *The Oprah Winfrey Show* has received numerous accolades, including Peabody Awards and Daytime Emmys. Winfrey may well be the most powerful woman in show business, as strong an influence on popular culture as any male Hollywood mogul.

The next big daytime talk success was *Geraldo*. Host Geraldo Rivera made his reputation as an investigative journalist on ABC's newsmagazine series *20/20*. After leaving that show, his first venture as the star of his own show was a syndicated special in 1986. The premise was that Rivera and a camera crew would enter Chicago mobster Al Capone's long-lost locked vault. The program was aired live. All through the show Rivera speculated on the fantastic discoveries they would make once the vault was open. When it finally was opened, they found nothing. What he did find was an audience for the daytime talk series that premiered soon after. He also found controversy, most notably when, during a 1988 episode featuring Neo-Nazis, a fight broke out and one "skinhead" youth hit Rivera with a chair, breaking his nose. In 1996, Rivera ended *Geraldo* and signed with cable network CNBC for a nighttime news-talk hour. Though often accused of sensationalism, even he had become disgusted with the state of talk TV, especially the growing popularity of *The Jerry Springer Show*.

A new era of daytime talk began with Jerry Springer. His is the most popular daytime talk show of the late 1990s, often beating *The Oprah Winfrey Show* in the ratings. Springer's talker began its life as another undistinguished member of a growing pack. Viewership picked up when the subject matter became more controversial and the discussion more volatile. Confrontation over personal, often sexual, matters is Springer's stock in trade. Guests frequently face lovers, friends, and family members with disapproval over their choice of lifestyle or romantic partner. Taking the drama a step beyond other daytime talkers, these arguments have frequently come to physical blows. The fights have become a characteristic, almost expected part of the show, which, indeed, is sometimes accused of choreographing them. The content of the series has inspired some stations to banish it from daytime to early morning or late night hours when children are less likely to be watching. Springer's production company sells several volumes of *Too Hot For TV* videos, featuring nudity, profanity, and violence edited from the broadcasts. Critics declaim the show as a further symptom of the moral decline of America, especially

American television. Some bemoan the “Springerization” of the nation. Springer defends his show as reflecting the lives of his guests, and giving his audience what they want to see. The series’ consistently high ratings, at least, seem to bear out his claim. Springer saw less success when the show became the first daytime talk program to inspire a feature film version, *Ringmaster* (1999). It was a failure at the box office.

With Springer and Winfrey still drawing large audiences, and Rosie O’Donnell’s show a breakout hit, daytime talk shows faced the end of the 1990s more popular than ever. New contenders like former sitcom star Roseanne, comedian Howie Mandel, and singing siblings Donny and Marie Osmond have joined the veteran hosts in the battle for a share of the large talk audience, and new talk programs premiere every season. Many people say that they turn on the television for “company,” and talk shows bring a wide variety of acquaintances into American living rooms, kitchens, and bedrooms. Their revelations, whether it is an unguarded moment with a celebrity or a painful confession from an unknown, give audiences a taste of intimacy from a safe distance. In a world many Americans perceive as more and more dangerous, this is the ultimate paradox of television, the safe invitation of strangers into the house. Whether they inspire sympathy or judgement, talk shows have become a permanent part of the television landscape.

—David L. Hixson

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## Daytona 500

The five-hundred-mile, National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing (NASCAR) Daytona 500 is commonly referred to as “the Great American Race.” Its reputation for exciting finishes, horrendous crashes, Florida-in-February weather, and bumper-to-bumper and door-handle-to-door-handle racing along the Daytona International Speedway’s two-and-a-half-mile, tri-oval, high-banked track with the long back-straight thrills the fans and challenges the drivers and mechanics. Stock car legends are born here.

The first race of the NASCAR season, the Daytona 500 is the final, paramount event of a spring speedweek featuring three weeks of racing starting with the world-famous 24 Hours of Daytona and two qualifying races. Thanks to television and professional marketing, the Daytona 500 is the premier stock car race of the year, bringing the thrills and violence of racing into the homes of millions. Sponsors of the top cars are afforded a three-and-a-half-hour commercial. Although the Indianapolis 500 has a larger viewing audience, in-car cameras at the Daytona 500 allow the viewer to watch the driver, the cars in front, and the cars behind from the safety of the roll cage. A roof-mounted camera shows the hood buckle in the wind. Another allows the viewer to ride out a spin at two hundred miles per hour. Another planted under the rear bumper allows the viewer to read bumper stickers on the car behind.

The winner of the race is awarded the Harley J. Earl Daytona 500 trophy and a quarter million dollars in prize money. (Earl, 1839-1969, was responsible for the design of the modern American car while at General Motors in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s when the “stock car” was born.)

The track was started in 1957 by Bill France to take his fledgling NASCAR franchise off the beach of Daytona and bring it into a legitimate race facility. The first Daytona 500 was run in 1959 and won by Lee Petty. Since that time, the number of fans as well as the speed of the cars have increased. The cost of racing has also gone up, and NASCAR and the Daytona track owners have continued to enlarge their entertainment empire. The corporation that owns Daytona also owns Darlington (South Carolina), Talladega (Alabama), and Watkins Glen (New York) race tracks.

The track design and the speeds require an appreciation, if not a dread, on the part of the mechanics and drivers of the modern high-speed professional racing leagues that use the track. The turns—wide U-shaped continuous corners—are banked at thirty-one degrees, and because there are no short chutes between them, they are called one-two and three-four, too steep to walk up let alone drive on. The tri-oval (sort of a turn five) is relatively flat at eighteen degrees but is connected by short, flat straights from the exit of turn four to the entrance of turn one. Flipped up on their sides by the banking, the drivers look “up” to see ahead in the turns, and have to deal with a downforce caused by the car wanting to sink down into the pavement. Drivers actually steer fairly straight to accomplish a 120-degree change in direction (one thousand foot radius for three thousand feet of turn). Drivers must do all that and keeping his 3,400-pound car out of the front seat of the one next to him.

The road abruptly flattens after three thousand feet of turns one-two where the equally long straight that is the signature of Daytona now requires the driver to draft within a yard of the car in front, race three wide, keep his foot to the floor, and relax—for a moment—until the car upends again in turns three-four. The driver and car suffer gravitational forces that push down and out in the high banks, immediately followed by a tremendous downward slam at the start of the back-straight, and then in the tri-oval the g-forces are more outward than down. The suspension has to keep the wheels evenly on the surface, and the aerodynamics have to keep the car in a line with itself. Two hundred laps, six hundred left turns, three or four stops for gasoline, all lead to one winner.

Daytona is the track where “Awesome Bill from Dawsonville” Elliott achieved fame and fortune, and Lee Petty began the Petty dynasty. It is the race Dale Earnhardt took twenty-one years to win after winning NASCAR races everywhere else. It is the race Mario



Stock cars racing around a curve at the Daytona International Speedway during the Daytona 500, February 18, 1996.

Andretti won once in 1967, but, like Indy (1969), never repeated. Two lasting images from the race are Donnie Allison and Cale Yarborough (1968, 1977, and 1983 winner) duking it out in the back-stretch grass, and Richard Petty and David Pearson colliding with each other after coming out of turns three-four on the last lap—Petty spinning off the track with a dead motor and Pearson sliding along the track killing his engine, too. As Petty, farther downtrack than Pearson, frantically tried to restart, Pearson ground the starter with his Mercury in gear to creep across the finish line and win the race.

—Charles F. Moore

## DC Comics

As the leading publisher during the first three decades of the comic book industry, DC Comics was largely responsible for the look and content of mainstream American comic books. By the end of the twentieth century, DC had become not only the longest established purveyor of comic books in the United States, but arguably the most important and influential in the history of comic book publishing. Home to some of the genre's most popular characters, including Superman, Batman, and Wonder Woman, DC's initial innovations in the field were quickly and widely imitated by its competitors, but few achieved the consistent quality and class of DC's comic books in their heyday.

In 1935, a 45-year-old former U.S. Army major and pulp magazine writer named Malcolm Wheeler-Nicholson started up a small operation called National Allied Publishing. From a tiny office in New York City, Wheeler-Nicholson launched *New Fun* and *New Comics*. Although modeled after the new comics magazines like

*Famous Funnies*, Wheeler-Nicholson's titles were the first to feature original material instead of reprinted newspaper funnies. The Major, remembered by his associates as both an eccentric and something of a charlatan, started his publishing venture with insufficient capital and little business acumen. He met with resistance from distributors still reluctant to handle the new comic books, fell hopelessly into debt to his creditors and employers, and sold his struggling company to the owners of his distributor, the Independent News Company. The new owners, Harry Donenfeld and Jack Liebowitz, would eventually build the Major's tiny operation into a multi-million dollar company.

In 1937 Donenfeld and Liebowitz put out a third comic book title, *Detective Comics*. Featuring a collection of original comic strips based on detective-adventure themes, *Detective Comics* adapted those genres most associated with "B" movies and pulp magazines into a comics format, setting a precedent for all adventure comic books to come. With their own distribution company as a starting point, Donenfeld and Liebowitz developed important contacts with other national distributors to give their comic books the best circulation network in the business. Their publishing arm was officially called National Periodical Publications, but it became better known by the trademark—DC—printed on its comic books and taken from the initials of its flagship title.

What truly put DC on top, however, was the acquisition of Superman. In 1938 Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster reluctantly sold the rights to their costumed superhero to DC for \$130. When Superman debuted in the first issue of DC's *Action Comics*, the impact on the market was immediate. Sales of the title jumped to half-a-million per issue by year's end, and DC had the industry's first original comic book star. In 1939 Bob Kane and Bill Finger created Batman for DC as a follow-up to Superman, and this strange new superhero quickly became nearly as popular as his predecessor. DC's competitors took note of the winning new formula and promptly flooded the market

with costumed imitators. DC immediately served notice that it would protect its creative property and its domination of the market by suing the Fox Syndicate for copyright infringement over “Wonderman,” a flagrant imitation of Superman. It would later do the same to Fawcett Publications over Captain Marvel, in a lawsuit of dubious merit that dragged on for over a decade.

DC made it a policy to elevate the standards of its material over that of the increasing competition. In 1941 the company publicized the names of its Editorial Advisory Board, which was made up of prominent educators and child-study experts, and it assured parents that all of DC’s comic books were screened for appropriate moral content. The strategy worked to deflect from DC much of the public criticism being directed at comic books in general, but it also deprived their publications of the edgy qualities that had made the early Superman and Batman stories so compelling. DC stayed with this conservative editorial policy for the next several decades.

The World War II years were a boom time for DC (as for most other comic book publishers). They added to their stable of stars such popular characters as Wonder Woman, the Green Lantern, the Flash, and the Justice Society of America. More so than any other publisher, DC worked to educate readers on the issues at stake in the war. Rather than simply bombard young people with malicious stereotypes of the enemy as most of the competition did (although there was plenty of that to be found in DC’s comics as well), DC’s comic books stressed the principles of national unity across ethnic, class, and racial lines, and repeatedly stated a simplified forecast of the postwar vision proclaimed by the Roosevelt administration. The company was also consistent enough to continue its celebration of a liberal postwar order well into the postwar era itself, although it generally did so in dry educational features rather than within the context of its leading adventure stories.

During the 1940s and 1950s DC strengthened and consolidated its leading position in the industry. The publisher remained aloof when its competitors turned increasingly toward violent crime and horror subjects and, although it made tentative nods to these genres with a few mystery and cops-and-robber titles, DC was rarely a target of the criticism directed at the comic book industry during the late 1940s and early 1950s. When the industry adopted the Comics Code in 1954, DC’s own comic books were already so innocuous as to be scarcely affected. Indeed, spokesmen for DC took the lead in extolling the virtues of the Code-approved comics. With its less scrupulous competitors fatally tarnished by the controversy over crime and horror, DC was able to dominate the market as never before, even though the market itself shrank in the post-Code era. By 1962, DC’s comic books accounted for over 30 percent of all comic books sold.

The company published comics in a variety of genres, including sci-fi, humor, romance, western, war, mystery, and even adaptations of popular television sitcoms and movie star-comics featuring the likes of Jerry Lewis and Bob Hope. But DC’s market strength continued to rest upon the popularity of its superheroes, especially Superman and Batman. While the rise of television hurt comic book sales throughout the industry, DC enjoyed the cross-promotional benefits of the popular *Adventures of Superman* TV series (1953-1957). Beginning in 1956, DC revised and revamped a number of its 1940s superheroes, and the new-look Flash, Green Lantern, Hawkman, and Justice League of America comprised the vanguard of what comic book historians have termed the “Silver Age” of superhero comics (as opposed to the “Golden Age” of the 1930s-1940s).

DC’s comic books were grounded firmly in the culture of consensus and conformity. In accordance with the Comics Code and

DC’s long-standing editorial policies, the superheroes championed high-minded and progressive American values. There was nothing ambiguous about the character, cause, or inevitable triumph of these heroes, and DC took pains to avoid the implication that they were glorified vigilantes and thus harmful role models for children. All of the superheroes held respected positions in society. When they were not in costume, most of them were members of either the police force or the scientific community: Hawkman was a policeman from another planet; the Green Lantern served in an intergalactic police force; the Atom was a respected scientist; the Flash was a police scientist; and Batman and his sidekick, Robin, were deputized members of the Gotham City police force. Superman, of course, was a citizen of the world. These characters all underscored the importance of the individual’s obligation to the community, and did so to an extent that, in fact, minimized the virtues of individualism. All of the DC heroes spoke and behaved the same way. Always in control of their emotions and their environment, they exhibited no failings common to the human condition. Residing in clean green suburbs, modern cities with shining glass skyscrapers, and futuristic unblemished worlds, the superheroes exuded American affluence and confidence.

The pristine comic books promoted by DC were, however, highly vulnerable to the challenge posed by the new “flawed” superheroes of Marvel Comics. Throughout the 1960s, figures such as Spider-Man, the Incredible Hulk, and the Fantastic Four garnered Marvel an anti-establishment image that was consciously in synch with trends in contemporary youth culture. DC’s star performers, on the other hand, epitomized the “Establishment,” seeming like costumed Boy Scout Troop leaders by comparison. By the late 1960s, DC recognized their dilemma and clumsily introduced some obvious ambiguity and angst into their superhero stories, but the move came too late to reverse the company’s fall from the top. By the mid-1970s Marvel had surpassed DC as the industry’s leading publisher.

In spite of falling sales, DC’s characters remained the most popular and the most lucrative comic book properties. In 1968 DC was purchased by the powerful Warner Brothers conglomerate, which would later produce a series of blockbuster movies featuring Superman and Batman. Throughout the 1970s DC enjoyed far greater success with licensing its characters for TV series and toy products than it did selling the actual comics. In 1976 Jeanette Kahn became the new DC publisher charged with the task of revitalizing the comic books. In the early 1980s Kahn helped to institute new financial and creative incentives at the company. This attracted some of the top writers and artists in the field to DC and set a precedent for further industry-wide creator’s benefits.

From the late 1980s DC found success in the direct-sales market to comic book stores with a number of titles labeled “For Mature Readers Only,” and also took the lead in the growing market for sophisticated and pricey “graphic novels.” Established superheroes such as Batman and Green Arrow gained new life as violent vigilante characters and were soon joined by a new generation of surreal post-modern superheroes like the Sandman and Animal Man. Such innovative and ambitious titles helped DC to reclaim much of the creative cutting edge from Marvel. Although DC’s sales lagged behind Marvel’s throughout the 1990s, the company retained a loyal following among discerning fans as well as longtime collectors, remaining highly respected among those who appreciate the company’s historical significance as the prime founder of the American comic book industry.

—Bradford W. Wright



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## De La Hoya, Oscar (1972—)

Nicknamed “The Golden Boy” for his Olympic boxing achievement during the 1992 Summer Games, Oscar De La Hoya promised his dying mother that he would win the gold medal for her and did just that. He then turned pro and cashed in on his amateur fistic glory. The only fighter campaigning below heavyweight to command eight-figure purses since Sugar Ray Leonard, De La Hoya’s appeal crossed over from mostly male boxing fans to women attracted by his charm and good looks. Guided with savvy by promoter Bob Arum, De La Hoya became one of America’s richest and best-known athletes even before taking on any of the world’s best young fighters. In addition to exploiting the markets that Leonard did before him, De La Hoya also has a huge Latin American fan base as a result of his Mexican American heritage. His willingness to engage opponents in exciting fights makes him a television favorite as well.

—Max Kellerman

## De Niro, Robert (1943—)

For approximately a decade from the mid-1970s, screen actor Robert De Niro came to embody the ethos of urban America—most particularly New York City, where he was born, raised, and educated—in a series of performances that demonstrated a profound and introspective intelligence, great power, and the paradigm skills of the acting technique known as the Method at its best.

In his gallery of violent or otherwise troubled men and social misfits, it is in his portrayal of Travis Bickle in Martin Scorsese’s *Taxi Driver* (1976) that his image is likely to remain forever enshrined. As the disturbed, nervy, under-educated Vietnam vet who, through the skewed vision of his isolation and ignorance, sets out on a bloody crusade to cleanse society’s ills, De Niro displayed an armory of personal gifts unmatched by any actor of his generation. The film itself was a seminal development in late-twentieth-century cinema, and it is not too fanciful to suggest that, without its influence, certain films in which De Niro excelled for other directors, notably Michael Cimino’s *The Deer Hunter* (1978), might not have existed—at least not in as uncompromising a form. It is impossible to catalogue or categorize De Niro’s work without examining his significant actor-director relationship with Martin Scorsese, for, while the actor’s

substantial skills and the concentrated intensity of his persona were very much his own, it is to that symbiotic collaboration that much of his success could be credited. Scorsese explored, interpreted, and recorded the underbelly of Manhattan as no director before him—not even Francis Coppola—had done.

It was *Mean Streets* (1973), Scorsese’s picture of small-time gangster life in New York’s Little Italy, that focused major attention on De Niro, albeit his role as Johnny Boy, a brash, none-too-bright and volatile hustler, was secondary to that played by Harvey Keitel. De Niro had already appeared in Roger Corman’s *Bloody Mama* (1970) and the unfunny Mafia comedy *The Gang That Couldn’t Shoot Straight* (1971) at the time of *Mean Streets*, and he soon became stamped as American cinema’s most authoritative and interesting purveyor of criminals, large and small.

The son of an artist-poet father and an artist mother, Robert De Niro decided in his teens to become an actor and studied at several institutions, including the Stella Adler Studio and with Strasberg at the Actors Studio in New York City. He worked in obscurity off-Broadway and in touring theater companies before Brian De Palma discovered him and used him in his first three little-seen films—*The Wedding Party* (1963, released 1969), *Greetings* (1968), and *Hi Mom!* (1969). In these, the young De Niro revealed an affinity with the anarchic, and, indeed, De Palma perhaps came closest to Scorsese in being, at that time, a natural director for De Niro. They worked together again almost twenty years later when De Niro, honed in cold villainy, enhanced *The Untouchables* (1989) as a mesmerizing Al Capone. It was his supporting role in *Bloody Mama* that brought De Niro meaningful attention, and several minor movies followed before *Mean Streets* and his first real mainstream appearance as the baseball player in *Bang the Drum Slowly* (1973), which earned him the New York Critics Circle best actor award.

His rising reputation and compelling presence survived his somewhat uncomfortable inclusion in Bertolucci’s Italian political epic *1900* and his blank, if elegant, performance in Elia Kazan’s disastrous *The Last Tycoon* (both 1976). His Oscar-nominated Travis Bickle, followed by his Jimmy Doyle in Scorsese’s *New York, New York* (1977) fortunately superseded both. The director’s dark take on a musical genre of the 1940s was badly cut before its release and suffered accordingly. Underrated at the time and a commercial failure, it nonetheless brought plaudits for De Niro, essaying a saxophonist whose humor and vitality masks arrogance, egotism, and an inability to sustain his love affair with, and marriage to, Liza Minnelli’s singer.

Next came *The Deer Hunter*, giving the actor a role unlike anything he had done before, albeit as essentially another loner. A somber treatment of male relationships, war, and heroism in which a bearded De Niro, voice and accent adjusted to the character, was as tough and tensile as the steel he forged in a small, bleak Pennsylvania town. His Michael is the authoritative leader of his pack of hunting and drinking buddies, a fearless survivor—and yet locked into a profound and unexpressed interior self, permitted only one immensely effective outbreak of overt emotion when confronted by the death wish of his buddy (Christopher Walken), which his own heroics are finally powerless to conquer.

De Niro began the 1980s with a triumphant achievement, shared with Scorsese. *Raging Bull* (1980), filmed in black-and-white, dealt with the rise, fall, and domestic crises of middleweight boxing champ Jake LaMotta, an Italian American who copes with his personal insecurities with braggadocio and bullying. It was known that De

Niro went to lengths in preparing his roles, keeping faith with the letter and spirit of the Method in his search for authenticity. In preparing to play LaMotta, he trained in the ring, entering some amateur contests, and famously put on sixty pounds for the later-life sequences. It was a bravura performance in one of the best fight films ever made. The actor was garlanded with praise and awards, including the Best Actor Oscar, and nine years later the film was voted the best of the decade. It was a faultless achievement for both star and director.

Inexplicably, although widely acknowledged and admired as a great *actor*, De Niro, for all his achievements, was not proving a great *movie star*—a label that refers to marquee value and box office clout. It was to the Stallones and the Schwarzeneggers that producers looked for big financial returns, which might account for some of De Niro's erratic choices during the 1980s. He was brilliant on familiar ground, aging thirty years as a gangster in Sergio Leone's epic *Once upon a Time in America* in 1983, the year of *The King of Comedy* for Scorsese. This superb collector's piece for the cognoscenti failed disastrously at the box office, despite De Niro's deathless portrayal of would-be comedian Rupert Pupkin, a pathetically disturbed misfit whose obsessional desire for public glory through television leads him to kidnap TV star Jerry Lewis and demand an appearance on his show as ransom. The film is cynical, its title ironic: tragedy lies at its heart. It lost a fortune, and director and star went their separate ways for seven years.

Until then, and for much of the 1990s, De Niro's career had no discernible pattern. Desirous of expanding his repertoire on the one hand, and seeming bored with the ease of his own facility on the other, he appeared in numerous middle-of-the-road entertainments which had little need of him, nor he of them. After *King of Comedy*, he went into *Falling in Love* (1984) with Meryl Streep, about an abortive affair between two married commuters, largely perceived as a contemporary American reworking of *Brief Encounter*. The result was a disappointment and a box-office failure. *Variety* accurately noted that "The effect of this talented pair acting in such a lightweight vehicle is akin to having Horowitz and Rubinstein improvise a duet on the theme of 'Chopsticks.'" "

Other attempts to break the mold between 1985 and 1999 included a Jesuit priest in *The Mission* (1986), worthy but desperately dull; his good-natured bounty hunter in *Midnight Run* (1988), entertaining but unimportant; an illiterate cook in *Stanley and Iris* (1990), a film version of the novel *Union Street* that verged on the embarrassingly sentimental; *Guilty by Suspicion* (1991) an earnest but unconvincing attempt to revisit the McCarthy era in which De Niro played a film director investigated by the HUAC—the list is endless.

On the credit side, among the plethora of undistinguished or otherwise unworthy vehicles and performances delivered on automatic pilot, De Niro met a major challenge in Penny Marshall's *Awakenings* (1990), earning an Academy Award nomination for his moving portrayal of a patient awakened from a twenty-year sleep by the drug L-dopa; he did all that could have been expected of him in the political satire *Wag the Dog* (1997); and he gave an accomplished character performance in Quentin Tarantino's *Jackie Brown* (1997). Almost unrecognizable as a shambling wreck of an ex-con, he seemed initially disconcertingly blank, but this proved deceptive as, in one of the film's best moments, he revealed the chilling hole where a man's heart would normally reside.

It was, however, three more films with Scorsese that made public noise. Their long separation was broken by *GoodFellas* (1990), a brilliant and violent evocation of the Mafia hierarchy, but while De

Niro shared in the accolades and acquitted himself with the expertise that was only to be expected, he was in a sense retreading familiar ground. The same was true of the over-long and less successful *Casino* (1995). In between, he scored his biggest success as Max Cady, the vengeful psychopath in Scorsese's remake of *Cape Fear* (1991). Threateningly tattooed, the actor broke the bounds of any conventional villainy to come up with a character so evilly repellent as almost, but not quite, to flirt with parody. The film, and his uncompromising performance, raised up his star profile once more, only for it to dissipate in the run of largely unmemorable films.

An intensely private man, Robert De Niro has eschewed publicity over the years and been notoriously uncooperative with journalists. His unconventional private life has been noted but caused barely a ripple of gossip. Married from 1975 to 1978 to Diahnne Abbott, by whom he had a son, he fathered twins by a surrogate mother for his former girlfriend Toukie Smith, and he married Grace Hightower in 1997. He seemed to grow restless during these years of often passionless performances, seeking somehow to reinvent himself and broaden the horizons of his ambition. In 1988 he bought an eight-story building in downtown Manhattan and set up his TriBeCa Film Center. Aside from postproduction facilities and offices, it housed De Niro's Tribeca restaurant, the sought-after and exclusive haunt of New York's media glitterati.

It was from there that De Niro launched himself as a player on the other side of the camera, producing some dozen films between 1992 and 1999. One of these, *A Bronx Tale* (1993), marked his directing debut. Choosing a familiar milieu, he cast himself as the good guy, a bus driver attempting to keep his young son free of the seemingly glamorous influence of the local Mafia as embodied by Chazz Palminteri—a role that he once would have played himself.

After attempting to regain the acting high ground as a tough loner in John Frankenheimer's ambiguous thriller *Ronin* (1998)—material inadequate to the purpose—De Niro began displaying a new willingness to talk about himself. What emerged was a restated ambition to turn his energy to directing because, as he told the respectable British broadsheet *The Guardian* in a long interview during the fall of 1998, "directing makes one think a lot more and I have to involve myself—make my own decisions, my own mistakes. It's more consuming. The actor is the one who has to grovel in the mud and jump through hoops."

His words had the ring of a man who had exhausted his own possibilities and was searching for a new commitment, but whatever the outcome, Robert De Niro's achievements had long assured his place in twentieth-century American cultural history.

—Robyn Karney

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## The Dead Kennedys

Singer Jello Biafra's politically confrontational lyrics lived up to the provocative billing of his group's name: the Dead Kennedys. Biafra's equal-opportunity outrage reproached a wide collection of targets: callow corporations, the Reagan Administration, the Moral Majority, then-California Governor Jerry Brown, feeble liberals, punk rockers with fascist leanings, and MTV. When asked if playing a concert on the anniversary of John F. Kennedy's assassination wasn't distasteful, guitarist East Bay Ray responded that the assassination wasn't in particularly good taste either. Generally acknowledged as pioneers in the American hardcore scene, which was centered in Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles in the early 1980s, the Dead Kennedys' faster variant of punk never fully matched the fury in Biafra's lyrics. By the mid-1980s, in the midst of a political backlash against rock music, Biafra, the group, and its record label became the targets of a misguided obscenity trial. The Dead Kennedys' case was a forewarning of future prosecutions against musicians and record retailers.

The Dead Kennedys' 1981 debut, *Fresh Fruit for Rotting Vegetables*, was released on the group's own label, Alternative Tentacles, and featured the political sarcasm that became the group's strength. The album's opening track, "Kill the Poor," is a Swiftian



The Dead Kennedys with singer Jello Biafra.

proposal about the neutron bomb. "California Uber Alles" imagines Jerry Brown's "Zen Fascist" state: "Your kids will meditate in school . . . You will jog for the master race . . . Mellow out or you will pay." During the same year, the Dead Kennedys' released *In God We Trust, Inc.*, which attacked corporate religion's self-righteousness in the age of televangelism. *Plastic Surgery Disasters* (1982) ridiculed personal identifications such as the preppy, the car enthusiast, and the RV tourist. *Frankenchrist*, the group's first release after a three-year break, was an uneven mixture of scathing commentary and didacticism.

However one felt about his vitriol, Biafra's political carplings often included some sort of constructive solution. For Biafra, merely pointing out the shortcomings in American society was not an answer: "You fear freedom / 'Cos you hate responsibility," he sang in 1985's "Stars and Stripes of Corruption." Even Michael Guarino, the Los Angeles deputy city attorney who unsuccessfully prosecuted the band, was forced to acknowledge the band's social commitment, commenting in the *Washington Post* that, "midway through the trial we realized that the lyrics . . . were in many ways socially responsible, very anti-drug and pro-individual." Biafra's fourth-place run for mayor of San Francisco in 1979 showed that 6600 people had been equally discontented with the establishment and that Biafra's level of political involvement ran deeper than mere complaint. Although his campaign was farcical at times—Biafra's platform suggested that all downtown businessmen wear clown suits—there were serious proposals from the candidate whose slogan was, "There's always room for Jello." For example, Biafra's platform called for neighborhood elections of police officers long before the Rodney King beating compelled urban leaders to demand that local police departments hold themselves more accountable.

Ultimately, the Dead Kennedys' attacks on the status quo didn't provoke authorities so much as the H. R. Giger "Landscape #20" poster in *Frankenchrist* did. Commonly referred to as "Penis Landscape," the poster's artwork depicted an endless series of alternating rows of copulating penises and anuses. Biafra decided that the poster merited inclusion for its depiction of everyone getting screwed by everyone else. A Los Angeles parent filed a complaint in 1986, and police raided Biafra's San Francisco apartment, Alternative Tentacles' headquarters, and the label's distributor. Police confiscated copies of *Frankenchrist* and the Giger poster, charging the Dead Kennedys with "distribution of harmful matter to minors."

The year 1985 had marked the beginning of a national backlash against rock music that had lasting effects. The Parents Music Resource Center, a political action group cofounded by Tipper Gore, held congressional hearings on rock music lyrics. The hearings focused on rap and heavy metal music, but the ensuing publicity questioned rock lyrics in monolithic terms. In 1986, the PMRC succeeded in pressuring the Recording Industry Association of America to voluntarily include warning stickers ("Parental Advisory: Explicit Lyrics") on albums. A series of First Amendment disputes was under way as rock and rap artists faced obscenity charges, and retailers who sold stickered albums to minors faced fines and imprisonment.

Biafra soundly contended that the group's political views, and the limited resources of their independent record company, made them an expedient target. The band found support from other underground musicians who performed benefit concerts to augment the band's defense fund. Pre-trial wrangling pushed the trial's length to a year and a half, and with that, the Dead Kennedys were effectively finished. In 1987, the case was dismissed, due to a hung jury that leaned toward acquittal. His band finished, Biafra became a spoken

word performer, recording *No More Cocoons* (1987), a collection of political satire in the tradition of Lenny Bruce. Biafra recounted the trial in 1989's *High Priest of Harmful Matter—Tales from the Trial*.

The history of censorship in rock and roll reverts back to Elvis Presley's first television appearance, when cameras cut off his performance at the waist. New to this history are politically organized forces of censorship. Large superstores, like Wal-Mart, by threatening not to sell albums that have warning labels, have compelled artists to change lyrics or artwork. These gains by the anti-rock forces made the Dead Kennedys' legal victory a crucial one; the case was an invaluable blueprint for rap groups with incendiary lyrics or sexually explicit lyrics, like 2 Live Crew, who faced prosecution in the late 1980s.

—Daryl Umberger

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## Dean, James (1931-1955)

Perhaps no film actor is as emblematic of his own era as is James Dean of his. Certainly, no screen-idol image has been as widely disseminated—his brooding, enigmatic, and beautiful face has sold everything from blue jeans to personal computers, and 45 years after his death, his poster-size image was still gracing the bedroom walls of millions of teenage girls and beaming down on the customers in coffee bars throughout America and Europe.

Whether or not he intended to take it to its logical and tragic conclusion, James Dean's credo was to live fast, die young, and leave a good-looking corpse. Thus, his legendary legacy is comprised of only three major motion pictures (though he had small roles in three others prior to this), a handful of seldom-seen television dramas, and an admired Broadway stage performance seen only by a relative handful of people. But Dean, like Brando whom he idolized, was able to blend his life and his art so seamlessly that each seemed an extension of the other. And he harbored a long-festering psychic wound, a vulnerability that begged for redemption. It was the omnipresent wounded child in Dean's persona that made him so appealing, and gave his acting such visceral impact.

Born in Marion, Indiana, James Dean spent his early childhood in Los Angeles where his father worked as a dental technician for the Veterans Administration. His mother, Mildred, overly protective of her son and with a preternatural concern for his health, died of cancer when he was nine, and he was sent to live with his father's sister in Fairmount, Indiana. There, he developed the hallmark traits of an orphan: depression, an inexplicable feeling of loneliness, and anti-social behavior. But Dean's childhood was bucolic as well as tormented. His aunt and uncle doted on him, and nurtured his natural talents. Good at sports, particularly basketball (despite his short stature), and theater, the bespectacled teenager nevertheless required a reputation for rebelliousness that made him *persona non grata* with



James Dean

the parents of his classmates—particularly those of female students who, even then, were fascinated by this mysterious, faintly melancholy youth. Dean was also attractive to older men, and it was a local preacher in Fairmount who first sensed the boy's emotional vulnerability, grew fond of him, and showered him with favors and attention. This quality in the young Dean was a dubious asset that he would exploit to his advantage frequently over the course of his brief career.

Dean never entertained the idea of any career but acting. Upon graduating, he rejoined his father in Los Angeles and attended Santa Monica City College and UCLA before dropping out to pursue acting full-time. According to his fellow drama students at the latter institution, he showed little talent. After quitting UCLA, he lived hand to mouth, picking up bit parts on television and film. His acting may have been lackluster, but he had a pronounced gift for evoking sympathy, and it was during a lean stretch that he acquired his first patron. Dean had taken a job parking cars at a lot across from CBS and it was there that he met the director Rogers Brackett, who took a paternal, as well as a sexual, interest in the young man. Eventually Dean moved in with Brackett and was introduced to a sophisticated homosexual milieu. When Brackett was transferred to Chicago in 1951, he supplied Dean with the necessary money and connections to take a stab at New York.

There was nothing predestined about James Dean's eventual success. He went about just as any other young actor, struggling to eat, relying on the kindness of others, and changing addresses like he changed his clothes. At first he was timid; legend has it that he spent his first week either in his hotel room or at the movies, but just as he

had a flair for cultivating older men, he had an impeccable ear for self-promotion and slanting his stories for maximum advantage. Fortunately, his relationship with Brackett gave him entrée to an elegant theater crowd that gathered at the Algonquin and, helped by Brackett's influential contacts, Dean found television work and an agent. In the summer of 1952, he auditioned for, and was accepted into, the prestigious Actors Studio. Once again, the Dean mystique has distorted the facts to fit the legend: he never appeared in a studio production and his fellow members remembered him only as a vague presence, uncommunicative and sullen.

From a purely practical point of view, Dean's casual morals gave him one advantage over his struggling contemporaries. He was not averse to peddling his sexual favors to further his career, and his first real break came from his seduction of Lemuel Ayers, a successful businessman who invested money in the theater, and helped secure the aspiring actor a role in a forthcoming Broadway play called *See the Jaguar*. The play folded after four performances, but 1954 brought him *The Immoralist*, adapted from André Gide's novel, in which he played the North African street Arab whose sexual charisma torments a male married writer struggling with homosexual tendencies. Dean's own sexual charisma was potent, and his performance attracted notice, praise, and Hollywood. By the end of the following year, 1955, he had starred in *East of Eden* for Elia Kazan—mentor to Montgomery Clift and Brando—and, under Nicholas Ray's direction, became the idolized voice of a generation as the *Rebel Without a Cause*.

Many writers have attributed James Dean's winning combination of vulnerability and bravado to his mother's early death; certainly, he seemed aware of this psychic wound without being able to rectify it. "Must I always be miserable?" he wrote to a girlfriend. "I try so hard to make people reject me. Why?" Following his Broadway success, he abandoned his gay friends, as if in revenge for all the kindness they had proffered, and when he was cast in *East of Eden*, he broke away from his loyal patron, Rogers Brackett, then fallen on hard times. When a mutual friend upbraided him for his callousness, his response was, "I though it was the john who paid, not the whore." But to others, Dean seemed unaffected by success. He was chimerical, yet remarkably astute in judging how far (and with whom) he could take his misbehavior. This trait fostered his Jekyll-and-Hyde image—sweet and sensitive on the one hand, callous, sadistic, and rude on the other.

The actor's arrival in Hollywood presented a problem for studio publicists unsure how to market this unknown, uncooperative commodity. They chose to focus on inflating Dean's sparse Broadway credentials, presenting him as the New York theater actor making good in Hollywood. In New York, Dean had been notorious for skulking sullenly in a corner at parties and throwing tantrums and, although he could be perfectly delightful given sufficient motivation, he was not motivated to appease the publicists. What were taken for Dean's Actors Studio affectations—his ill-kempt appearance, slouching, and mumbling—was actually his deliberate attempt to deflate Hollywood bombast and pretension. The reigning queens of Hollywood gossip, Louella Parsons and Hedda Hopper, both took umbrage at Dean's behavior. His disdain for Hollywood was so overt that, before *East of Eden* was even complete, he had managed to set much of the entertainment press squarely against him. *East of Eden*, however, made a huge impact, won Dean an Academy Award nomination and launched him into the stratospheric stardom that was confirmed later the same year with the success of *Rebel Without a Cause*. In both films, the young actor played complex adolescents, alienated from the

values of the adult world around them—tormented, haunted by an extraordinarily mature recognition of pain that comes from being misunderstood and needing to be loved. The animal quality he brought to conveying anguish and frustration struck a chord in the collective psyche of 1950s American youth, and his almost immediate iconic status softened the scorn of journalists. His on-screen charisma brought forgiveness for his off-screen contemptuousness, and his uncouth mannerisms were suddenly accorded the indulgence shown a naughty and precocious child.

Stardom only exacerbated Dean's schizoid nature, which, paradoxically, he knew to be central to his appeal. When a young Dennis Hopper quizzed him about his persona, he replied, "... in this hand I'm holding Marlon Brando, saying, 'Fuck you!' and in the other hand, saying, 'Please forgive me,' is Montgomery Clift. 'Please forgive me.' 'Fuck you!' And somewhere in between is James Dean." But while playing the *enfant terrible* for the press, he reacted to his overnight fame with naïve wonder, standing in front of the theater unnoticed in his glasses and watching the long queues forming for *East of Eden* with delight. That was Dean's sweet side. He exorcised his demons through speed, buying first a horse, then a Triumph motorcycle, an MG, and a Porsche in short order. He delighted in scaring his friends with his reckless driving. Stories of Dean playing daredevil on his motorcycle (which he called his "murdercycle") are legion. Racing became his passion, and he managed to place in several events. His antics so alarmed the studios that a "no-ride" clause was written into his contract for fear that he would be killed or disfigured in the middle of shooting.

With the shooting of *Rebel* completed, he made his third film, co-starring with Rock Hudson and Elizabeth Taylor in *Giant*. As Jet Rink, the graceless farm laborer who strikes oil and becomes a millionaire, Dean was able to play to type for the first half of the film, but was seriously too young to meet the challenge of the second half in which Rink has become a dissipated, middle-aged tycoon. Nonetheless, he collected a second Oscar nomination—but was no longer alive to hear the announcement. On September 30, 1955, almost immediately after the completion of filming, James Dean and a mechanic embarked for a race in Salinas in the actor's new Porsche Spyder. Fate, in the form of a Ford, struck the tiny car head-on, breaking Dean's neck. He was dead at 24 years old.

Part of James Dean's enduring allure rests in the fact that he was dead before his two biggest films were complete. His legacy as an artist and a man is continually debated. Was he gay or straight? Self-destructive or merely reckless? Perhaps he didn't know himself, but doom hung about him like a shroud, and it came as no surprise to many of his colleagues when they learned of his fatal accident. Elia Kazan, upon hearing the news, sighed "That figures." After his death, his friend Leonard Rosenman commented, "Jimmy's main attraction was his almost pathological vulnerability to hurt and rejection. This required enormous defenses on his part to cover it up, even on the most superficial level. Hence the leather-garbed motorcycle rider, the tough kid having to reassure himself at every turn of the way by subjecting himself to superhuman tests of survival, the last of which he failed." Whether Dean had a death wish or simply met with an unfortunate accident will continue to be batted around for eternity; there are as many who will attest to his self-destructiveness as to his hope for the future. So, was it mere bravado or a sense of fatalism that made him remark to his friend and future biographer John Gilmore: "You remember the movie Bogie made—*Knock on Any Door*—and the line, 'Live fast, die young, have a good-looking corpse?' Shit,

man, I'm going to be so good-looking they're going to have to cement me in the coffin."

—Michael Baers

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## Death of a Salesman

In all of twentieth-century American drama, it is Arthur Miller's 1949 masterpiece *Death of a Salesman* that has been lauded as the greatest American play. The play deals with both the filial and social realms of American life, exploring and exploding the concept of the American dream. From its debut in New York in 1949 to its many international stagings since, *Death of a Salesman* has spoken to the concerns of middle-class workers worldwide and their struggle for existence in capitalist society. The play and its initial production set the tone for American drama for the rest of the century through its sociopolitical themes, its poetic realism, and its focus on the common man. Brenda Murphy observes, "Since its premier, there has never been a time when *Death of a Salesman* was not being performed somewhere in the world."

The play revolves around the story of the aging salesman Willy Loman, his wife, Linda, and their sons, Biff and Happy. Willy has reached a critical point whereby he cannot work as a traveling salesman and is disappointed in Biff's unwillingness to fulfill his father's dreams. When Willy finally summons the courage to ask his employer to be transferred to New York, he is fired. Linda informs Biff that Willy has secretly attempted suicide, and through a series of flashbacks it is revealed that Biff had found his father with a mistress, which led to Biff's decline. Two other subplots—involving Willy's neighbors, Charley and Bernard, and the appearance of Willy's dead brother Ben—interweave the story. Charley becomes Willy's creditor, and Bernard is the successful son Willy never had. Ben is the pioneering capitalist Willy could never be. Because he has a life insurance policy, Willy decides he is worth more dead, and he commits suicide. Linda is left at his grave uttering the famous lines "We're free and clear . . . We're free . . . And there'll be nobody home."

The play's subtitle is "Certain Private Conversations in Two Acts and a Requiem." Miller's first concept of the play was vastly different from its current form. "The first image that occurred to me which was to result in *Death of a Salesman* was of an enormous face

the height of the proscenium arch which would appear and then open up, and we would see the inside of a man's head. In fact, *The Inside of His Head* was the first title." Instead, Miller gives us a cross-section of the Loman household, simultaneously providing a realistic setting and maintaining the expressionistic elements of the play.

Miller also employs the use of realism for scenes of the present and a series of expressionistic flashbacks for scenes from the past. In his essay "Death of a Salesman and the Poetics of Arthur Miller," Matthew C. Roudanè writes, "Miller wanted to formulate a dramatic structure that would allow the play textually and theatrically to capture the simultaneity of the human mind as that mind registers outer experience through its own inner subjectivity." Hence, the play flashes back to visits from Ben and scenes from Willy's affair. Miller's juxtaposition of time and place give the play added dimension; Miller never acknowledges from whose point of view the story is told and whether the episodes are factual or recreations based on Willy's imagination. Miller also uses flute, cello, and other music to punctuate and underscore the action of the play.

Many critics have attempted to make connections between the name Loman and the position of the character in society, but Miller refuted this theory in his 1987 autobiography *Timebends: A Life*. He explained that the origin of the name Loman was derived from a character called "Lohmann" in the Fritz Lang film *The Testament of Dr. Mabuse*. "In later years I found it discouraging to observe the confidence with which some commentators on *Death of a Salesman* smirked at the heavy-handed symbolism of 'Low-man,'" Miller wrote. "What the name really meant to me was a terror-stricken man calling into the void for help that will never come." Miller describes the play simply: "What it 'means' depends on where on the face of the earth you are and what year it is."

*Death of a Salesman* originates from two genres: the refutation of the "rags-to-riches" theory first set forth by Horatio Alger, and the form of Miller's self-proclaimed "Tragedy and the Common Man." In stories such as *Ragged Dick*, Alger put forth the theory that even the poorest, through hard work and determination, could eventually work their way to the upper class. Willy Loman seems the antithesis of this ideal, as the more he works toward security the further he is away from it. Thomas E. Porter observes, "Willy's whole life has been shaped by his commitment to the success ideology, his dream based on the Alger myth; his present plight is shown to be the inevitable consequence of this commitment."

Miller attempted to define Willy Loman as an Aristotelian tragic figure in his 1949 essay "Tragedy and the Common Man." Miller stated that he believed "the common man is as apt a subject for tragedy in its highest sense as kings were." He went on to parallel Willy's fall with that of Oedipus and Orestes, claiming that tragedy was "the consequence of a man's total compulsion to evaluate himself justly." Despite Miller's claims, he has been attacked for his views by literary critic Harold Bloom. "All that Loman shares with Lear or Oedipus is agony; there is no other likeness whatsoever. Miller has little understanding of Classical or Shakespearean tragedy," Bloom wrote in *Willy Loman*. "He stems entirely from Ibsen."

The play's placement in the history of American drama is critical, as it bridged the gap between the melodramatic works of Eugene O'Neill and the Theatre of the Absurd of the 1960s. The original production was directed by Elia Kazan and designed by Jo Mielziner, the same team that made Tennessee Williams's *The Glass Menagerie* a Broadway success. Along with the works of Tennessee Williams, Arthur Miller's plays of this period defined "serious"



John Malkovich (left) and Dustin Hoffman in a scene from the television production of Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*.

Broadway theatre. In the 1950s and 1960s, Miller's refusal to submit to the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the onslaught of the avant-garde in the theatre both served to squelch his dramatic voice.

Several productions of *Death of a Salesman* have been performed to great acclaim, including the 1975 George C. Scott production and the 1984 Michael Rudman production starring Dustin Hoffman, John Malkovich, and Kate Reid, which was later filmed for television. Other notable productions include the 1983 production at the Beijing People's Art Theatre and the 1997 Diana LeBlanc production at Canada's Stratford Festival.

—Michael Najjar

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## Debs, Eugene V. (1855-1926)

Eugene Victor Debs, labor leader and five-time Socialist candidate for President, was born in Terre Haute, Indiana, on November 5, 1855. Working on the railroads since he was 14, Debs founded the American Railway Union in 1893. The following year, the union was destroyed and Debs served six months in jail after a failed strike against the Pullman company in Chicago. Subsequently, Debs joined the Socialist Party of America and was their presidential candidate in 1900, 1904, 1908, and in 1912 when he received about 6 percent of

votes cast. Opposing United States entry into World War I, Debs was sentenced to 10 years in prison for sedition in 1918. In 1920, from his prison cell in Atlanta, Georgia, Debs ran for the presidency again gaining about 3.5 percent of the vote. A year later President Warren G. Harding commuted his sentence and Debs spent his last years in relative obscurity until his death on October 20, 1926. Debs is remembered as the most viable Socialist candidate for the nation's highest office and as a champion of workers' rights.

—John F. Lyons

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## Debutantes

The debutante (from the French *débuter*, to begin) is a young woman, usually of age 17 or 18, who is formally introduced to affluent society at a ball or “coming out” party. The original purpose of the “debut” was to announce that young women of prominent social standing were available for courtship by eligible young men. This social ritual was necessitated by the traditional upper-class



The Seattle Rhinestone debutantes of 1956.

practice of sending girls away to boarding school where they were virtually hidden from view—prohibited from dating, attending parties of mixed company, or socializing with adults. A formal announcement thus introduced the debutante to her social peers and potential suitors. The custom had been long established among the aristocracy and the upper classes in England, where debutantes were, until the mid-twentieth century, presented at Court. In America, the debutante ball derived from the formal etiquette of the nineteenth century, but the ritual has been transformed by each generation's evolving notions about the proprieties of class, sexual freedom, and the role of women.

According to the 1883 etiquette reference, *The Manners That Win*, a debutante should have graduated school, sing or play an instrument gracefully, dance with elegance, and know the rules governing polite society. Having mastered these essential skills, she was presumed ready for courtship, leading, of course, to marriage—at the time the single vocational avenue open to the well-to-do woman. A second purpose was, however, implicit in debut parties of the Gilded Age. Since debutante balls were private affairs, held at the family's residential estate or at a fashionable hotel until the early twentieth century, they also pointed to a given family's wealth, prestige, and style.

By the 1920s, some latitude had relaxed the rules of the debut. In her seminal *Etiquette: The Blue Book of Social Usage* (1922), Emily Post described several ways that a young woman might be introduced to society. These included a formal ball, an afternoon tea with dancing, a small dance, or a small tea without music. In addition, Post listed a fifth and more modest way for a family to announce that a daughter had reached the age of majority: mother and daughter might simply have joint calling cards engraved. For the most part, private debuts had become a thing of the past, replaced by public cotillions or assemblies that invited prominent young women to make their debuts collectively. These long established debutante balls include the Passavant Cotillion in Chicago; Boston's Cotillion; the Junior Assemblies in New York; and the Harvest Ball at the Piedmont Driving Club in Atlanta.

After World War II, the debutante ball spread to almost every city in America and enjoyed a heyday during the conservative Eisenhower years. Yet a decade later, anti-establishment sentiment led many young women of even the most affluent status to abandon the event, dismissing it as anachronistic snobbery. In addition, sexual liberation and the feminist movement challenged the very basis of the century-old convention, as women began to seek both sexual and professional fulfillment outside of marriage. In the exuberantly prosperous 1980s, the debutante ball witnessed a popular resurgence and, by the century's end, cotillions were frequently being sponsored by charitable organizations that extended invitations exclusively to philanthropically active women.

If there is one rule that has not changed over the years, though, it is the debutante's dress. She is to wear a white gown, though a pastel shade may be considered acceptable. Loud colors or black have remained always inappropriate.

—Michele S. Shauf

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## *The Deer Hunter*

Before Director Michael Cimino's 1978 film *The Deer Hunter*, the only cinematic treatment of the Vietnam War most Americans had seen was John Wayne's *The Green Berets* a decade earlier. By 1978, however, American audiences were finally ready to deal with the war on-screen. *The Deer Hunter* was popular with audiences and critics alike, nominated for nine Academy Awards and winning five, including Best Picture, Best Director, and Best Supporting Actor (Christopher Walken). *The Deer Hunter* broke the ground in the cinematic treatment of Vietnam, opening the door for films like *Apocalypse Now* a year later, *Platoon* (1986), and *Full Metal Jacket* (1987). All of these "Vietnam" films shared the same shattering emotional impact on audiences, but none was as moving as *The Deer Hunter*.

*The Deer Hunter* deals not only with Vietnam, but also foregrounds the contrast between the soldier's comparatively gentle life at home with the brutal trauma of war. The film opens in the Clairton, Pennsylvania steel mill where Michael (Robert DeNiro), Nick (Christopher Walken), and Steve (John Savage) are working their last shift before shipping out to Vietnam. The quotidian details of their working-class lives revolve around work, hunting, drinking, and playing pool. But Steve, like so many soldiers before him, is getting married before he leaves for the war. Cinematographer Vilmos Zsigmond beautifully photographs the Russian Orthodox wedding ceremony, but portents of the war intrude upon the revelry. A Green Beret mysteriously appears at the wedding like Coleridge's Ancient Mariner, foreshadowing the death and destruction that await in Vietnam.

The brutal rituals of war replace the rituals back in Pennsylvania; however, Cimino and co-writer Deric Washburn use Russian roulette in a North Vietnamese prison camp as their metaphor for combat. The Russian roulette game is an ironic, terrifying counterpoint to the trios hunting and pool playing stateside, and the prison camp scenes are a chilling condensation of the Vietnam war itself—bamboo, rain, and death. The end of the film leaves us with three characters that represent the spectrum of the Vietnam veterans' experience. Nick



A scene from *The Deer Hunter* featuring (from left) John Cazale, Chuck Aspegren, Christopher Walken, Robert De Niro, and John Savage.

dies, Steve returns home in a wheelchair, and Michael returns emotionally crippled.

Besides the emotional impact of the story and the photography, the film benefits from its excellent ensemble cast. In addition to Oscar winner Christopher Walken, Oscar nominee Robert DeNiro (Best Actor), and John Savage, the film stars Meryl Streep (nominee for Best Supporting Actress), George Dzundza, and John Cazale in his last film (Cazale died of cancer right after filming was completed). Stanley Myers' powerful, melancholy musical score, mostly consisting of a solitary, plaintive guitar, adds to the film's heartbreaking effect.

*The Deer Hunter*, according to literary critic Leslie Fiedler, is "the reenactment of a fable, a legend as old as America itself: a post-Vietnam version of the myth classically formulated in James Fenimore Cooper's *The Deerslayer* and *Last of the Mohicans*." The myth that is played out in *The Deer Hunter* is an ancient one: The transition from innocence to experience. War films, according to author John Newsinger, "are tales of masculinity. They are stories of boys becoming men, of comradeship and loyalty, of bravery and endurance, of pain and suffering, and the horror and the excitement of battle. Violence—the ability both to inflict it and to take it—is portrayed as an essential part of what being a man involves." No film before *The Deer Hunter* and few since have so brutally captures war as an initiation rite.

—Tim Arnold

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## DeGeneres, Ellen (1958—)

Ellen DeGeneres attracted massive media attention when she came out as a lesbian on her television show in 1997. Known as "the puppy episode," the program stirred controversy and drew criticism from conservative sectors. DeGeneres and her partner, actress Anne Heche, came out at the same time, DeGeneres appearing on the covers of national magazines. The caption accompanying her photograph on the cover of *Time* read, "Yep, I'm Gay." Her place in history as TV's first gay lead character was thus secured.

Born in New Orleans in 1958, DeGeneres' sometimes difficult life inspired her to use humor as a coping device. After her parents' divorce when she was 13, she and her mother, Betty, moved to Texas.



Ellen DeGeneres

It was a hard time, and DeGeneres used humor to buoy her mother's spirits. "My mother was going through some really hard times and I could see when she was really getting down, and I would start to make fun of her dancing," DeGeneres has said. "Then she'd start to laugh and I'd make fun of her laughing. And she'd laugh so hard she'd start to cry, and then I'd make fun of that. So I would totally bring her from where I'd seen her start going into depression to all the way out of it."

After graduating from high school in 1976, DeGeneres moved back to New Orleans where she worked a series of dead-end jobs: house painter, secretary, oyster shucker, sales clerk, waitress, bartender, and vacuum salesperson. At the encouragement of friends, she tried out her comedy on an amateur-hour audience, in 1981. Her act went over well, and her niche had been found. Only a year later, she entered and won Showtime's "Funniest Person in America" contest. The title, which brought both criticism and high expectations, was her springboard to stardom.

One of her better-known stand-up routines, "A Phone Call to God," came from one of her own darkest moments of despair, when a close friend and roommate had been killed in a car accident while out on a date. The girl was only 23, and it seemed very unfair to DeGeneres. She wanted to question God about a lot of things that seemed unnecessary, and again she turned to humor. She sat down one night and considered what it would be like if she could call God on the phone and ask him about some of the things that troubled her. As if it was meant to be, the monologue poured from her pen to paper, and it was funny, focusing on topics such as fleas and what their purpose might be. DeGeneres performed "A Phone Call to God" on the Johnny Carson show six years later. Everything clicked that night,

and Carson signaled her over to sit on the couch after her performance. She was the only female comedian Carson ever called to come over and talk to him on a first appearance on the *Tonight Show*.

DeGeneres continued on the comedy circuit and started acting; one memorable performance was with dancing fruit in Very Fine juice commercials. She eventually landed small roles in several short-lived television series: *Duet*, *Open House*, and *Laurie Hill*. Her feature acting debut was in the 1993 movie *Coneheads*.

By 1994 she was starring in a series called *These Friends of Mine* on ABC. The first season was aided by a prime slot, following Tim Allen's *Home Improvement*. The network had such confidence in her that they announced that she would be the ABC spokesperson for radio ads and on-air promos, allowing her to introduce the debut of every show in the fall lineup. She also co-hosted the 1994 Emmy Awards ceremony.

Despite DeGeneres' fervent backing by ABC, the show had a number of problems, not the least of which were critical comparisons to *Seinfeld*, and a number of personnel changes on both sides of the camera. The show's name was changed to *Ellen* for its second season, its concept was changed, and Ellen was given more creative input.

By the third season, *Ellen* had failed to find an audience, however, and the show needed a boost. DeGeneres and her producers decided to announce the character's homosexuality to give the show a new edge—and to tell the truth. As DeGeneres told *Time*: "I never wanted to be the lesbian actress. I never wanted to be the spokesperson for the gay community. Ever. I did it for my own truth." After months of hinting around on the show, Ellen came out in an hour-long episode featuring guest stars Laura Dern, Melissa Etheridge, k.d. lang, Demi Moore, Billy Bob Thornton, and Oprah Winfrey. The result was a clamor among conservatives and the religious right; evangelist Jerry Falwell called DeGeneres a "degenerate." The show won an Emmy for best writing in a comedy series, and a Peabody award for the episode. *Entertainment Weekly* named DeGeneres the Entertainer of the Year in 1997. In 1998, the Gay and Lesbian Alliance against Defamation (GLAAD) awarded DeGeneres the Stephen F. Kolzak Award for being an openly gay celebrity who has battled homophobia. The series itself was given the award for Outstanding TV Comedy. The show was even praised by vice president Al Gore for forcing Americans "to look at sexual orientation in a more open light."

In the following season the show continued to focus mainly on gay issues, despite declining ratings, and ABC decided not to renew the show for a sixth season. Critics noted that the show had become one-dimensional, with Ellen's homosexuality overshadowing all other topics. As the show declined, however, DeGeneres began branching out, writing a book, *My Point . . . And I Do Have One*, in 1996 and releasing an album collection of stand-up material called *Taste This*. She also had her first leading role in a film, a romantic comedy with actor Bill Pullman called *Mr. Wrong*. Meanwhile, her series was picked up in syndication by the Lifetime channel in 1998.

—Emily Pettigrew

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## Del Río, Dolores (1905-1983)

Acclaimed as the female Rudolph Valentino, Dolores del Río starred in more than 50 full-length motion pictures including *Flying Down to Rio* (1933), *Journey Into Fear* (1942), *Las Abandonadas* (1944), *Doña Perfecta* (1950), and *El Niño y la Niebla* (1953). With her first husband, millionaire Jaime Martínez del Río, she traveled around the world, learned several languages and moved to Hollywood. She had an intense love life, marrying three times and having affairs with Gilbert Roland and Orson Welles, among others. In 1942, when her career started to decline, she returned to Mexico City. Del Río dropped her "femme fatale" image and through Gabriel Figueroa's camera and Emilio Fernández's direction she helped create the so-called Mexican Cinema Golden Era, winning the Ariel (the Mexican equivalent of the Academy Award) three times, in 1946, 1952, and 1954. In her later years, her work with orphan children was highly praised.

—Bianca Freire-Medeiros

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## DeMille, Cecil B. (1881-1959)

Director Cecil B. DeMille epitomized the film epic and Hollywood's "Golden Age." From the 1910s through the 1950s, he was able to anticipate public taste and gauge America's changing moods. He is best known for his spectacularly ambitious historical and biblical epics, including *The Sign of the Cross*, *The Crusades*, *King of Kings*, *The Ten Commandments*, *Cleopatra*, *Unconquered*, and *The Greatest Show on Earth*, but he also made domestic comedies such as *The Affairs of Anatol*. Originating the over-the-top reputation of



Cecil B. DeMille

Hollywood filmmakers, DeMille is famous for his huge crowd scenes, yet his films also clearly demonstrate his mastery as a storyteller. He avoided camera trickery and developed plots in a traditional manner that film audiences appreciated. In narrative skill and action, DeMille had few competitors.

Cecil Blount DeMille was born in Ashfield, Massachusetts, on August 12, 1881. His father was of Dutch descent and an Episcopalian lay preacher, Columbia professor, and playwright. His mother, Beatrice Samuel, also occasionally wrote plays and ran a girls' school. DeMille attended the Pennsylvania Military Academy from 1896 to 1898 and the American Academy of Dramatic Arts in New York from 1898 to 1900. He had his Broadway acting debut in 1900 and struggled to make his living as an actor for the next decade.

Abandoning his acting career in 1913, DeMille went into partnership with vaudeville musician Jesse L. Lasky and glove salesman Samuel Goldfish (later changed to Goldwyn) to form the motion-picture production company that would eventually become Paramount Studios. It was then that DeMille directed his first film, *The Squaw Man*, shot on location in the Los Angeles area, bringing

DeMille to the southern California locale he would help develop into the enclave of Hollywood. The film's success and popularity established DeMille in the nascent motion-picture industry; he was understood to be the creative force at Paramount, not only directing many films but also overseeing the scripts and shooting of Paramount's entire output.

DeMille capitalized on the same themes throughout his lengthy career. He often used a failing upper-class marriage, an exoticized Far East, and obsessive, hypnotic sexual control between men and women. At the same time, he emphasized Christian virtues alongside heathenism and debauchery. He repeatedly mixed Victorian morality with sex and violence. DeMille's popularity can largely be attributed to his dexterity with these seemingly contradictory positions and their appeal to audiences.

Instead of focusing on big-name stars, DeMille tended to develop his own roster of players. With the money he saved, he centered his energies on higher production values and luxurious settings. The players he developed include soprano Geraldine Ferrar in *Carmen*, *Joan the Woman*, *The Woman God Forgot*, *The Devil Stone*, and

Gloria Swanson in *Male and Female*, *Why Change Your Wife?*, *Something to Think About*, and *The Affairs of Anatol*.

DeMille produced and directed 70 films and participated in many more. He co-founded the Screen Directors Guild in 1931, and from 1936 to 1945, he was a producer for Lux Radio Theater of the Air, a position that consisted of adapting famous films and plays to be read by noted actors and actresses. He was awarded the Outstanding Service Award from the War Agencies of the United States government and he also received a Special Oscar for lifetime achievement in 1949. His long list of awards continues with the Irving Thalberg Award from the Academy of Motion Pictures in 1952, the Milestone Award by the Screen Producers' Guild in 1956, and an honorary doctorate from the University of Southern California.

—Liza Black

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## Democratic Convention of 1968

See Chicago Seven, The

## Dempsey, Jack (1895-1983)

Boxer Jack Dempsey heralded the Golden Age of Sports. Like Babe Ruth, Red Grange, Bill Tilden, and Bobby Jones, Dempsey was the face of his sport. "In the ring, he was a tiger without mercy who shuffled forward in a bobbing crouch, humming a barely audible tune and punching to the rhythm of the song," wrote Red Smith in the *Washington Post*, adding, "he was 187 pounds of unbridled violence." Jack Dempsey was a box-office magnet, attracting not only the first \$1 million but also the first \$2 million gate. He held the world heavyweight boxing title from July 4, 1919, when he knocked out Jesse Willard—who retired at the end of the third round with a broken jaw, two broken ribs, and four teeth missing—until September 23, 1926, when he lost it to Gene "The Fighting Marine" Tunney on points after ten rounds. Of a total of 80 recorded bouts he won 60, lost 6, drew 8, and fought 6 "No Decisions." He knocked out 50 opponents, 25 in the first round; his fastest KO came in just 14 seconds.

Born William Harrison Dempsey in Manassa, Colorado, on June 24, 1895, into a Mormon family of thirteen, young Jack started doing odd jobs early on but eventually finished eighth grade. At fifteen his brother Bernie (a prizefighter with a glass chin) started training William Harry. Dempsey chewed pine gum to strengthen his jaw, "bathing his face in beef brine to toughen the skin," as he wrote in his *Autobiography*. A year later he got his first serious mining job, earning three dollars a day. When William Harry wasn't mining, he was fighting. By 1916 he had already fought dozens of amateur fights.



### Jack Dempsey

As "Kid Blackie" he hopped freight trains and rode the rails from town to town, announcing his arrival in the nearest gym and boasting that he would take on anyone.

"Kid Blackie" became "Jack" Dempsey on November 19, 1915, when he TKOed George Copelin in the seventh round. Dempsey was actually substituting for his brother Bernie, who had until then fought under the name of Jack Dempsey, in honor of the great Irish middleweight Jack Dempsey the Nonpareil, who died in 1895, the year in which William Harrison was born. The newly named Jack Dempsey flooded New York sports editors with clippings of his 26 KOs, though no one noticed him but journalist Damon Runyon, who nicknamed him the "Manassa Mauler." Late in 1917 Dempsey caught the attention of canny fight manager Jack "Doc" Kearns, who recruited him. Under Kearns, the ballyhoo began: Dempsey KOed his way through the top contenders and within 18 months he took the heavyweight title from Jesse Willard. Dempsey's glory was short-lived, however, for the very next day writer Grantland Rice labelled Dempsey a "slacker" in his *New York Tribune* column, referring to his alleged draft evasion. Though a jury found him not guilty of the charge in 1920, it took Dempsey six years to overcome the stigma associated with the label and become a popular champion.

Dempsey soon found himself in a peculiarly modern position: he became a sports hero—or anti-hero—whose image took on extraordinary significance in the climate of publicity and marketing that was coming to dominate sports promotion. Pre-television marketing techniques which stressed his rogue style of fighting and his alleged draft evasion turned his title fight against the decorated French combat pilot George Carpentier into a titanic clash between “Good” and “Evil.” The July 2, 1921, match was a fight of firsts: it was the first fight ever to be broadcast on radio, the first fight to gross over a million dollars, and it was fought before the largest crowd ever to witness a sporting event up to that time. Amid a chorus of cheers and jeers of “Slacker!,” Dempsey dispatched Carpentier in round three and somehow won over the 90,000 member crowd. Dempsey defended his crown several more times, most notably against Argentinian Luis Angel “The Bull of the Pampas” Firpo. Dempsey sent Firpo to the floor seven times before Firpo knocked the champ clear out of the ring to close the first round. Dempsey made it back into the ring and ended the fight 57 seconds into the second round with a knockout.

Dempsey lost his title on points to Gene Tunney. The resulting rematch would become one of the most contested fights in boxing history. Chicago’s Soldier Field was swollen with the 104,943 fans who packed the stadium for the September 23, 1927, fight and provided boxing’s first two-million dollar gate. Referee Dave Barry made the terms of the fight clear: “In the event of a knockdown, the man scoring the knockdown will go to the farthest neutral corner. Is that clear?” Both men nodded. Tunney outboxed Dempsey in the first six rounds, but in the seventh Dempsey unloaded his lethal left hook and sent Tunney to the floor. Barry shouted, “Get to a neutral corner!” but Dempsey stood still. At the count of three he moved to the corner; at five he was in the neutral zone. In one of the most momentous decisions in boxing history, referee Barry restarted the count at “One.” Tunney got up on “Nine”—which would have been “Fourteen” but for Barry’s restart. Tunney stayed out of Dempsey’s reach for the rest of the round, floored Dempsey briefly in the eighth, and won a 10-round decision. The bout, immortalized as “The Battle of the Long Count,” has been described in an *HBO* sports documentary as “purely and simply the greatest fistic box-office attraction of all time.” Despite the fact that Dempsey lost, the fight allowed him to reinvent himself, according to Steven Farhood, editor-in-chief of *Ring* magazine: “He was viewed as a villain, not a hero, but after losing to Tunney, he was a hero and he remained such until his death.”

Dempsey retired after this match, although he still boxed exhibitions. A large amount of the \$3.5 million that he earned in purses was lost in the Wall Street Crash, but Dempsey was a shrewd businessman who had invested well in real estate. In 1936 he opened Jack Dempsey’s Restaurant in New York City and hosted it for more than thirty years. During World War II, he served as a physical education instructor in the Coast Guard, thus wiping his alleged “slacker” slate clean. Jack Dempsey, “the first universally accepted American sports superstar,” according to Farhood, died on May 31, 1983, at the age of 87 in New York City.

—Rob van Kranenburg

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## Denishawn

In 1915, dancers Ruth St. Denis and Ted Shawn founded a pioneering company and training school in Los Angeles that became known as Denishawn. The training they provided for their students—who also served as company members—was highly disciplined and extremely diverse in its cultural and stylistic range. Denishawn toured worldwide and was the first dance company to tour extensively in America, bringing the concept of serious dance and an appreciation of unknown cultures to American audiences. Denishawn students Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, and Charles Weidman went on to become legendary dancer-choreographers. Musical director Louis Horst led the way in the composition of music for dance, while Pauline Lawrence became a legendary accompanist, costume designer, and dance administrator. These students instructed and inspired succeeding generations, and in this way, the “family tree” of Denishawn influenced virtually every American dancer and choreographer in the twentieth century.

—Brian Granger

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## Denver, John (1943-1997)

John Denver, so much a part of 1970s music, always marched to the beat of his own drummer. At a time when the simplicity of rock ‘n’ roll was fading to be replaced with the cynicism of punk rock, Denver carved out his own niche and became the voice of the recently disenfranchised folk-singer/idealist who believed in love and hope and fresh air. With his fly-away blond hair and his signature granny glasses, Denver had a cross-generational appeal, presenting a nonthreatening, earnest message of gentle social protest.

John Denver was born Henry John Deuschendorf on December 31, 1943, in Roswell, New Mexico. His entire life was shaped by trying to measure up to his father, who was a flight instructor for the Air Force. In his autobiography *Take Me Home, Country Roads*, Denver described his life as the eldest son of a family shaped by a stern father who could never show his love for his children. Denver’s mother’s family was Scotch-Irish and German Catholic, and it was they who imbued Denver with a love of music. His maternal grandmother gave him his first guitar at the age of seven.

Since Denver’s father was in the military, the family moved often, making it hard for young John to make friends and fit in with people his own age. Constantly being the new kid was agony for the introverted youngster, and he grew up always feeling as if he should



**John Denver**

be somewhere else but never knowing where that “right” place was. Denver was happier in Tucson, Arizona, than anywhere else; but his father was transferred to Montgomery, Alabama, in the midst of the Montgomery boycotts. John Denver saw Alabama as a place of hatred and mistrust, and he wanted no part of it. It was in Montgomery, however, that he discovered that music was a way to make friends. When he sang and played his guitar, others paid attention to him. Nonetheless, he continued to feel alienated and once refused to speak for several months when he was severely bruised by a broken romance.

Attending high school in Fort Worth, Texas, was a distressing experience for the alienated Denver. Once he gave a party to which no one came. In his third year of high school, he took his father’s car and ran away to California to visit family friends and pursue a musical career. However, he returned obediently enough when his father flew to California to retrieve him, and he finished high school.

While studying architecture at Texas Tech, Denver became disillusioned and dropped out in his third year to follow his dreams. He managed to get a job at Ledbetter’s, a night club that was a mecca for folk singers, as an opening act for the Backporch Majority. Destiny had placed John Denver in the ideal spot for an aspiring young singer because he found himself living and working with more established artists who taught the idealistic young entertainer how to survive in his new world. It was then that he was encouraged to change his name. He chose Denver to pay homage to the mountains that he loved so dearly.

John Denver’s big break came when he met Milt Okum, who represented the folk group Peter, Paul, and Mary. Okum was looking for a replacement singer for another group, the Chad Mitchell Trio,

and Denver perfectly fit the requirements. Although the group disbanded not long after Denver joined, his experience with them taught him much about the world of professional musicians. When the group disbanded because of huge debts, Denver felt a personal obligation to pay them off.

In 1967, while laying over in a Washington airport, John Denver wrote “Oh, Babe, I Hate to Go,” or as it became known, “Leaving on a Jet Plane” out of his sense of loneliness and the desire for someone to ease that desolation. Both the Mitchell Trio and Spanky and Our Gang recorded the song, but it was Peter, Paul, and Mary who turned it into a number one hit in 1969. After being turned down by 16 record companies, Okum negotiated a recording contract for Denver with RCA Records.

Denver met his first wife Annie in 1966 while touring, and they were married in June 1967. In 1970 the couple moved to Aspen, Colorado. They could not afford to build a house on the land they bought, so they rented and saved. No matter, John Denver had come home. He had discovered the place he had been seeking his entire life. Unable to have children, John and Annie adopted Zachery and Anna Kate. Unfortunately, nothing could hold the marriage together, and it ended in bitter divorce. A subsequent marriage also ended unhappily, leaving him with daughter Jessie Bell.

Denver admitted in his autobiography that he had less trouble talking to large groups of people than to those whom he loved. This ability that caused him so much damage in his personal life gave him the uncanny ability to connect with the audience that set his music apart. His purpose was always greater than simple entertainment. He clothed his messages in everyday scenes to which everyone could relate, whether it be the airport of “Leaving on a Jet Plane” or the forests of “Annie’s Song” or the mountains of “Rocky Mountain High” or the homecoming of “Back Home Again” or the country roads of “Take Me Home, Country Roads” or the feather bed of “Thank, God, I’m a Country Boy” or the bad days of “Some Days Are Diamonds (Some Days Are Stone).” People related to John Denver as if he were a friend who shared their personal history. His message behind the simple pleasures of life was always to protect the world that provides so much beauty and to enjoy life to the fullest every day because life is a gift.

John Denver’s success would have been impressive at any time, but it was particularly impressive in the changing environment that made up the 1970s music scene. He had 13 top ASCAP hits, 9 platinum albums, one platinum single (“Take Me Home, Country Roads”), 13 gold albums, and six gold singles. He also had gold records in Canada, Australia, and Germany. In 1975 he was named CMA’s Entertainer of the Year and “Take Me Home, Country Roads” won the best song of the year. He won a People’s Choice Award, a Carl Sandburg People’s Poet Award, and was named the Poet Laureate of Colorado. He made 21 television specials, 8 of which won awards. He was also a successful actor, starring in *Oh, God* and *Walking Thunder*. Denver had come a long way from the young boy whose friends had ignored his party.

Once his consciousness was raised in the early 1970s, Denver became an activist for the causes he loved, including campaigning against nuclear arms and nuclear energy. In 1976, when he was the country’s biggest recording star, Denver established the Windstar Foundation on 1000 acres in Snowmass, Colorado, to fight world hunger. He was deeply hurt when he was not invited to join in the noted album, “We Are the World,” dedicated to that same cause. Denver was also the moving force behind Plant-It 2000, a group that promoted the planting of as many trees as possible by the year 2000.

Denver made his first trip to Africa when he was appointed to President Jimmy Carter's Commission on World Hunger. Always fascinated by space exploration he unsuccessfully sought to be included in a space mission. Upon his first visit to Alaska, Denver was captivated by its beauty and worked hard for its preservation. He became the first American musician to perform in the Soviet Union and mainland China and even collaborated with Russian musicians on a project. He often said that he considered himself a "global citizen" because he believed so strongly in an interconnected world.

After the 1970s, Denver's career declined in the United States and he was arrested for drugs and driving while intoxicated. He was involved in a plane crash from which he walked away. Devastated by his two unsuccessful marriages, Denver remained close to his children. He also continued to be a strong presence on the international music scene. Before his death he had begun to reclaim his domestic audience. With his "Wildlife Concert" in 1995, it was plain to see that he had matured. The glasses were gone, as was the innocence. His hair was shorter and neater. His face was lined and often sad. Yet, his voice was stronger, more sure and arresting. He was still John Denver, and he still knew how to connect with the audience. Denver followed the success of the "Wildlife Concert" with a hit album, *Best of John Denver* in 1997. Tragically, his comeback was cut short on October 12, 1997, when his experimental aircraft crashed into Monterey Bay.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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## Department Stores

With the creation of the first department stores at the end of the nineteenth century, came the inception of that most American of diversions—shopping. Though people had always purchased necessities, it was the development of the emporium that turned the perusal of a wide variety of goods, both the necessary and the frivolous, the affordable and the completely out of reach, into a leisure pastime. Between the late 1800s and the 1970s, department stores continued to grow and evolve as the quintessential modern market-place, both elite and accessible. Huge department stores, named for the families who founded them, dominated urban centers, and store and city became identified with each other. Filene's of Boston, Macy's and Bloomingdale's of New York, Marshall Field of Chicago, and Rich's of Atlanta are only a few of the stores recognized nationwide as belonging to their city. The era of the department store is rapidly fading, replaced by consumer choices that are more consistent with modern economics, just as the department stores themselves once replaced their predecessors.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, citizens began to enjoy the benefits of a new cash economy. Improved postal service and a



Macy's, New York City.

new nationwide rail network allowed for an unprecedented flow of goods. Previously, consumers had been dependent on traveling peddlers, who carried such stock as sewing needles, thread, and fabrics from town to town in bulky packs on their backs or in horse-drawn carts. As these peddlers grew more prosperous, they began to settle in small storefronts. As economic times improved with the modernizations of the late 1800s, savvy shopkeepers began to expand, offering not only a wider variety of goods, but also an air of refinement and personal service that had previously been available only to the very rich. An example of this was Marble Dry Goods, opened by A. T. Stewart in Manhattan in 1846. Stewart set up posh parlors for his female customers with attentive sales clerks and the first Parisian style full-length mirrors in the United States. Thus, department stores drew all classes of customers by making them feel as if they were part of society's elite while shopping there.

Owners of the new department stores were able to undercut the prices of their competitors in the specialty shops by going directly to the manufacturers to purchase goods, bypassing the wholesalers' mark-up. Some even manufactured their own products. Where once stores had been slow, sedate places where goods had to be requested from behind the counter, the lively new department store displayed products prominently within reach and encouraged browsing. To keep customers from leaving, stores expanded to sell anything they



could possibly need. Smaller stores responded with outraged protests that the larger stores were employing unfair practices and running them out of business, but they had little success in slowing the growth of the giant emporiums.

As the cities grew, so did the stores, becoming multi-floor edifices that were the primary generators of retail traffic in newly burgeoning downtown areas. Women, who were enjoying some new rights due to the wave of feminism in the late 1800s and early 1900s, began to have more control over the shopping dollar. By 1915, women did 90 percent of consumer spending in the United States, and the department stores catered to women and began to hire them to work as salesclerks.

Stores competed with each other to have the most refined atmosphere, the cheapest bargain basement, the most fashionable tea room, the fastest delivery, and, most of all, the most attentive service—the most important product offered in the grand emporiums.

In 1911, Sears and Roebuck offered credit to their customers for large mail order purchases, and by the 1920s the practice had spread to most of the large department stores. Customers carried an imprinted metal “charge plate,” particular to each store. Because they were the only form of credit available at the time, department store charge accounts inspired loyalty, and increased their store’s customer base.

In 1946, writer Julian Clare described Canada’s famous department store, Eaton’s, in *MacClean’s* magazine: “You can have a meal or send a telegram; get your shoes half-soled or buy a canoe. You can have your other suit dry cleaned and plan for a wedding right down to such details as a woman at the church to fix the bride’s train. You can look up addresses in any Canadian city. You can buy stamps or have your picture taken.” Department stores also developed distinctive departments, with features designed to attract trade. Filene’s in Boston made the bargain basement famous, with drastically reduced prices on premium goods piled on tables, where economically-minded customers fought, sometimes physically, over them, and even undressed on the floor to try on contested items. Department store toy departments competed to offer elaborate displays to entertain children, who were often sent there to wait for parents busy shopping. Marshall Field’s toy department introduced the famous puppet act “Kukla, Fran, and Ollie” to the Chicago public before they found their way onto television screens, while Bullocks in Los Angeles had a long wooden slide from the toy department to the hair salon on the floor below, where children might find their mothers. Department store window displays were also highly competitive, fabulous artistic tableaux that drew “window shoppers” just to admire them.

Department stores even had an effect on the nation’s calendar. Ohio department store magnate Fred Lazarus convinced President Franklin Roosevelt to fix Thanksgiving on the fourth Thursday of November, rather than the last Thursday that had been traditional. The extra week of Christmas shopping afforded by the switch benefitted the department stores and, Lazarus assured the president, the nation. John Wanamaker of the famous Philadelphia store created Mother’s Day, turning a little-known Catholic religious holiday into another national day of spending. Christmas itself became strongly identified with the stores as thousands of department store Santas were photographed holding future customers on their laps.

In the 1950s, middle class families began to abandon the cities for the suburbs. More and more, only less affluent people were left in the urban centers, and as a result, the great flagship downtown department stores began to lose money. Suburban shopping malls began to spring up, and most department stores opened branches

there. For over 20 years it was considered necessary to have a large department store as an “anchor” for a mall, and customers continued to patronize the department stores as their main retail sources. Beginning in 1973, however, the oil crisis, inflation, and other economic problems began to cause a slowing of growth in the department stores. The arrival of bank credit cards such as Visa and MasterCard put an end to customer dependence on department store credit. Discount stores, large stores that offered a wide inventory like the department stores, but without the grand style and attentive service, often had lower prices. In an economy more and more focused on lower prices and fewer amenities, department stores waned and discount stores grew.

Gradually, many of the once-famous department stores went out of business. Gimbals’, B. Altman’s, and Ohrbach’s in New York, Garfinkel’s in Washington, D. C., Frederick and Nelson’s in Seattle, and Hutzler’s in Baltimore are just a few of the venerable emporiums that have closed their doors or limited their operations. They have been replaced by discount stores, specialty chains, fast-growing mail order businesses, and cable television shopping channels like QVC. Huge discount chains like Wal-Mart inspire the same protests that the department stores drew from their competition at the early part of the twentieth century: they are too big and too cheap, and they run the competition out of business, including the department stores. Chains of specialty shops fill the malls, having national name recognition and offering customers the same illusion of being part of the elite that the department stores once did. Mail order houses flood potential customers with catalogs and advertisements—over fourteen billion pieces a year—and QVC reached five billion dollars in sales within five years of its inception, a goal department stores took decades to achieve.

Besides bringing together an enormous inventory under one roof and customers from a wide range of classes to shop together, department stores helped define the city centers where they were placed. The failure of the department stores and the rise of the suburban shopping mall and super-store likewise define the trends of late twentieth century society away from the city and into the suburb. Though acknowledgment of class difference is far less overt than it was at the beginning of the century, actual class segregation is much greater. As the cities have been relegated to the poor, except for those who commute there to work during the day, public transportation (except for commuter rush hours) and other public services have also decreased in the city centers. Rather than big stores that invite everyone to shop together, there are run-down markets that sell necessities to the poor at inflated prices and specialty shops that cater to middle class workers on their lunch hour. There are few poor people in the suburbs, where car ownership is a must and house ownership a given. There too, shopping is more segregated, with the working and lower middle class shopping at the discount houses and the upper middle class and wealthy frequenting the smaller, service-oriented specialty stores. The department stores that remain have been forced to reduce their inventory. Priced out of the market by discount stores in appliances, electronics, sewing machines, fabrics, books, sporting goods, and toys, department stores are now mainly clothing stores with housewares departments.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Depression

One of the most common modern emotional complaints, depression is sometimes referred to as "the common cold of psychiatric illness." In its everyday usage, the word "depression" describes a feeling of sadness and hopelessness, a down-in-the-dumps mood that may or may not be directly attributed to an external cause and usually lasts for weeks or months. Sometimes it is used casually ("That was a depressing movie") and sometimes it is far more serious ("I was depressed for six months after I got fired"). Though depression has been recognized as an ailment for hundreds of years, the numbers of people experiencing symptoms of depression has been steadily on the rise since the beginning of the twentieth century.

The cause of depression is a controversial topic. Current psychiatric thinking treats depression as an organic disease caused by chemical imbalance in the brain, while many social analysts argue that the roots of depression can be found in psychosocial stress. They blame the increasing incidence of depression on an industrial and technological society that has become more and more isolating and alienating as support systems in communities and extended families break down. Though some depression seems to descend with no explanation, more often depression is triggered by trauma, stress, or a major loss, such as a relationship, job or home. Many famous artists, writers, composers, and historical figures have reportedly suffered from depressive disorders, and images and descriptions of depression abound in literature and art.

In its clinical usage, "depression" refers to several distinct but related mental conditions that psychiatrists and psychologists classify as mood disorders. Although the stresses of modern life may leave a great many people with feelings of sadness and hopelessness, psychiatrists and psychologists make careful distinctions between episodes of "feeling blue" and "clinical depression." According to the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV)*, an episode of depression is not a "disorder" in itself, but rather a "building block" clinicians use in making a diagnosis. For example, psychiatrists might diagnose a person suffering from a depressive episode with substance-induced depression, a general medical condition, a major depression, chronic mild depression (dysthymia), or a bipolar disorder (formerly called manic depression).

Psychiatrists attribute specific symptoms to "major depression," which is diagnosed if a client experiences at least five of them for at least two weeks. In addition to the familiar sad feeling, the symptoms of major depression include: diminished interest and pleasure in sex and other formerly enjoyable activities; significant changes in appetite and weight; sleep disturbances; agitation or lethargy; fatigue; feelings of worthlessness and guilt; difficulty concentrating; and thoughts of death and/or suicide.

Although people of all ages and backgrounds are diagnosed with major depression, age and culture can affect the way they experience and express their symptoms. Children who suffer from depression often display physical complaints, irritability, and social withdrawal, rather than expressing sadness, a depressed mood, or tearfulness. While they may not complain of difficulty concentrating, such difficulties may be inferred from their school performance. Depressed children may not lose weight but may fail to make expected weight gains, and they are more likely to exhibit mental and physical agitation than lethargy.

Members of different ethnic groups may also describe their depressions differently: complaints of "nerves" and headaches are common in Latino and Mediterranean cultures; weakness, tiredness, or "imbalance" are more prevalent among Asians; and Middle Easterners may express problems of the "heart." Many non-western cultures are likely to manifest depression with physical rather than emotional symptoms. However, certain commonalities prevail, such as a fundamental change of mood and a lack of enjoyment of life. Many studies have shown that cross-national prevalence rates of depression seem to be at least partially the result of differing levels of stress. For example, in Beirut, where a state of war has existed since the 1980s, nineteen out of one hundred citizens complained of depression, as compared to five out of one hundred in the United States.

One thing that does appear to be true across lines of culture and nationality is that women are much more likely than men to experience depression. The DSM-IV reports that women have a 10-25 percent lifetime risk for major depression, whereas men's lifetime risk is 5-12 percent. Some theorists argue that this difference may represent an increased organic propensity for depressive disorders, or may be due to gender differences in help-seeking behaviors, as well as clinicians' biases in diagnosis. Feminists, however, have long linked women's depression to social causes. Poverty, violence against women, and lifelong discrimination, they contend, offer ample triggers for depression, especially when coupled with women's socialized tendency to internalize the pain of difficult situations. Whereas men are socialized to express their anger outwardly and are more likely to be diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder, women are far more likely to entertain feelings of guilt and thoughts of suicide. Interestingly, there is evidence that in matriarchal societies, such as Papua New Guinea, the statistics of male and female depression are reversed.

Manic depression or bipolar disorder is the type of depression which has received the most publicity. The theatrical juxtaposition of the flamboyant manic state and incapacitating depression has captured the public imagination and been the inspiration for colorful characters in print and film from Sherlock Holmes to Holly Golightly. Clinicians diagnose a bipolar disorder when a person experiences a manic episode, whether or not there is any history of depression. The DSM-IV defines a manic episode as "a distinct period of abnormally and persistently elevated, expansive or irritable mood that lasts at least one week," and is characterized by: inflated self-esteem or grandiosity; decreased need for sleep; excessive speech; racing thoughts; distractibility; increased goal-directed activity and/or agitation; and excessive pleasure-seeking and risk-taking behaviors (the perfect personality for a dramatic hero). Bipolar disorders are categorized according to the type and severity of the manic episodes, and the pattern of alteration between mania and depression.

Depression is not only an unpleasant experience to live through, it is often fatal. Up to 15 percent of those with severe depression commit suicide, and many more are at risk for substance abuse and

other self-destructive behavior. It is no wonder that doctors have tried for centuries to treat those who suffer from depression. Aaron Beck, author of *Depression: Clinical, Experimental, and Theoretical Aspects*, credits Hippocrates with the first clinical description of melancholia in the fourth century B.C.E. and notes that Aretaeus and Plutarch—both physicians in the second century C.E.—described conditions that would today be called manic-depressive or bipolar disorders. Beginning in antiquity, melancholia was attributed to the influence of the planet Saturn, and until the end of the seventeenth century, depression was believed to be caused by an accumulation of black bile, resulting in an imbalance in the four fluid components of the body. Doctors of the time used purgatives and blood-letting to treat depression. Despite changes in the nomenclature and the attribution of causes for melancholia, contemporary psychiatric criteria for major depression and the bipolar disorders are strikingly consistent with the ancient accounts of melancholia.

In the nineteenth century, melancholia was similarly described by such clinicians as Pinel, Charcot, and Freud. In his essay “Mourning and Melancholia,” written in the 1930s, Sigmund Freud distinguished melancholia from mourning—the suffering engendered by the loss of a loved one. In melancholia, Freud argued, the sufferer is experiencing a perceived loss of (a part of) the self—a narcissistic injury that results in heightened self-criticism, self-reproach, and guilt, as well as a withdrawal from the world, and an inability to find comfort or pleasure. Freud’s psychoanalytic interpretation of melancholia reflected a shift from away from biological explanations.

Following Freud, clinicians ascribed primarily psychological causes—such as unresolved mourning, inadequate parenting, or other losses—to the development of depression, and prescribed psychotherapy to seek out and resolve these causes. Today, the pendulum has swung back to include the biological in the understanding of depressive disorders. While most contemporary clinicians consider psychological causes to be significant in triggering the onset of depressive episodes, research has indicated that genetics play a significant role in the propensity toward clinical depression. In the 1960s and 1970s radical therapy movements, along with feminism and other social movements, began to question the entirely personal interpretation placed on depression by many psychiatrists and psychologists. These activists began to look to society for both the cause and the cure of depression and to question therapy itself as merely teaching patients to cope with unacceptable societal situations.

Along with “talking therapy,” science continues to search for a medical cure. In the 1930s, Italian psychiatrists Ugo Cerletti and Lucio Bini began to experiment with electricity to treat their patients. Electroconvulsive shock therapy (ECT) became a standard treatment for schizophrenia and depression. ECT lost favor in the 1960s when many doctors and anti-psychiatry activists, who considered it as barbaric and dangerous as leeches, lobbied against its use. Shock therapy was often a painful and frightening experience, sometimes used as a punishment for recalcitrant patients. Public feeling against it was aroused with the help of books such as Ken Kesey’s *One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest* in 1963, actress Frances Farmer’s 1972 autobiography *Will There Really be a Morning?*, and Janet Frame’s *Angel at My Table* in 1984. Perhaps as a testimony to the inherent drama of depression and its treatment by ECT, each of these books were made into films: *One Flew Over a Cuckoo’s Nest* (1975), *Frances* (1982), and *Angel at My Table* (1990). ECT made a comeback in the 1990s, when proponents claimed that improved techniques made it a safe, effective therapy for the severely depressed patient. Side effects of ECT still include loss of memory and other

brain functions, however, and in 1999, Italy, its birthplace, severely restricted the use of ECT.

Many medications have been developed in the fight against depression. The tricyclics—which include imipramine, desipramine, amitriptyline, nortriptyline, and doxepin—have been found to be effective in controlling classic, melancholic depression, but are known for triggering side effects associated with the “flight or fight” response: rapid heart rate, sweating, dry mouth, constipation, and urinary retention. Another class of antidepressant medication, the monoamine oxidase inhibitors (MAOIs) have been more effective in alleviating the “non-classical” depressions that aren’t helped by tricyclics. Although the MAOIs—phenelzine, isocarboxazid, nialamide, and tranylcypromine—are more specific in their action, they are also more problematic, due to their potentially fatal interactions with some other drugs, alcohol, tricyclic antidepressants, anesthetics, and foods containing tyramine. The most dramatic and widely publicized development in the psychopharmacological treatment of both major depression and chronic mild depression has been the availability of a new class of antidepressant medication, the selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors (SSRIs). SSRIs increase brain levels of serotonin, a neurotransmitter linked to mood. These medications—which include Prozac, Paxil, and Zoloft—are highly effective for many people in alleviating the symptoms of major depression, and have had a surprising success in lifting chronic depressions as well. They are touted as having far fewer adverse effects than drugs previously used to treat depression, which has contributed to their enormous popularity. However, they do have some serious side effects. These include reduced sexual drive or difficulty in having orgasms, panic attacks, aggressive behavior, and potentially dangerous allergic reactions. Prozac, probably one the most widely advertised medicinal brand names in history, has also had considerable exposure on television talk shows and other popular media, and has become the antidepressant of the masses. By 1997, just ten years after it was placed on the market, twenty-four million people were taking Prozac in almost one hundred countries. While most of these were grasping at the appealing notion of a pill to make them feel happier, Prozac is also prescribed in a wide variety of other cases, from aiding in weight loss to controlling adolescent hyperactivity.

In general, psychiatrists do not prescribe antidepressant medications in the treatment of bipolar disorders, because of the likelihood of triggering a manic episode. Rather, extreme bipolar disorders are treated with a mood stabilizer, such as Lithium. Lithium is a mineral, which is found naturally in the body in trace amounts. In larger amounts it can be toxic, so dosages must be closely monitored so that patients do not develop lithium toxicity. Lithium has received much popular publicity as a dramatic “cure” for manic-depression, notably in television and film star Patty Duke’s autobiography, *Call Me Anna* (1987), where Duke recounts her own struggles with violent mood swings. Other, more extreme, drugs also continue to be prescribed to fight depression. These are the anti-psychotics, also called neuroleptics or even neurotoxins. These drugs, such as Thorazine, Mellaril, or Haldol—may be used to alleviate the psychotic symptoms during a major depressive episode. The neuroleptics can have extremely harsh adverse effects, from Parkinson’s disease to general immobility, and are sometimes referred to as “pharmacological lobotomy.” The stereotypical movie mental patient with glazed eyes and shuffling gait is derived from the effects of drugs like Thorazine, which are often used to subdue active patients.

In 1997, antidepressants represented an almost \$7 billion a year industry. Though safer and more widely available antidepressant medication has clearly been a breakthrough for many of those who suffer from debilitating depression, three out of ten depression sufferers don't respond at all to a given antidepressant, and of the seven who respond, many do so only partially or find that the benefits "wear out." Some therapists and other activists worry about the implications of the "chemical solution," claiming that antidepressants are over-prescribed. For one thing, all of the drugs have worrisome adverse effects, which are often downplayed in manufacturers' enthusiastic advertisements. For another, there has been successful research into using antidepressants to help victims of rape, war, and other traumatic stress. In a study at Atlanta's Emory University, four out of five rape victims became less depressed after a twelve-week program of the SSRI Zoloft. While some greet this as a positive development, others are chilled at the prospect of giving victims pills to combat their natural reactions to such an obvious social ill. Most responsible psychologists continue to see the solution to depression as a combination of drug therapy with "talking therapy" to explore a client's emotional reactions.

Many famous artists and historical figures have reportedly suffered from depression (melancholia) or bipolar disorder (manic depression). Aristotle wrote that many great thinkers of antiquity were afflicted by "melancholia," including Plato and Socrates, and cultural historians have included such names as Michaelangelo, Danté, Mary Wollstonecraft, John Donne, Charles Baudelaire, Samuel Coleridge, Vincent Van Gogh, Robert Schumann, Hector Berlioz, Virginia Woolf, Sylvia Plath, and Anne Sexton among their lists of melancholic artists, writers and composers.

Depression has also been described in literary texts throughout history. In his seminal essay "Mourning and Melancholia," Freud referred to Shakespeare's Hamlet as the archetype of the melancholic sufferer, and Moliere's "Misanthrope" was "atrabilious," a term denoting the "black bile" that medieval medicine considered to be the cause of melancholia. Descriptions of characters suffering from depression can also be found in Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* and Kafka's *Metamorphosis*. The poetry of Edna St. Vincent Millay presents a depressed cynicism that is the result perhaps of both personal loss and the wider cultural loss of disillusion and war. And of course, Sylvia Plath's *The Bell Jar* (1963) is one of the most finely crafted modern portraits of the depressed heroine, "the perfect set-up for a neurotic. . . wanting two mutually exclusive things at the same time." In recent years, perhaps in response to the increasing discussion of depression, a new genre has appeared, the memoir of depression. *Darkness Visible* (1990) by William Styron, *Prozac Nation: Young and Depressed in America* (1995) by Elizabeth Wurtzel, and *An Unquiet Mind* by Kay R. Jamison (1995) are examples of this genre, where the author explores her/his own bleak moods, their causes, their effects on living life, and—hopefully—their remedy.

Whether one defines depression as a biological tendency that is activated by personal experience or as a personal experience that is activated by socio-political realities, it is clear that depression has long been a significant part of human experience. Coping with the complexities and contradictions of life has always been an overwhelming prospect; as society becomes more complex, the job of living becomes even more staggering. In words that still ring true, Virginia Woolf, who ended her own recurrent depressions with suicide at age 59, described this feeling:

Why is life so tragic; so like a little strip of pavement  
over an abyss. I look down; I feel giddy; I wonder how I  
am ever to walk to the end.

—Tina Gianoulis and Ava Rose

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## Derleth, August (1909-1971)

A better description of August Derleth's massive output could not be found than in Alison M. Wilson's *August Derleth: A Bibliography*. Born February 24, 1909, "August Derleth . . . one of the most versatile and prolific American authors of the twentieth century is certainly one of its most neglected. In a career that spanned over 40 years, he produced a steady stream of novels, short stories, poems, and essays about his native Wisconsin; mystery and horror tales; and biographies, histories, and children's books, while simultaneously writing articles and reviewing books for countless magazines and newspapers, and running his own publishing house." Despite the flood that streamed from his pen, none of Derleth's critically acclaimed regional novels ever sold over 5,000 copies, while his fantasy, children's, and mystery fiction fared only marginally better. Since his death in 1971, he is best remembered for his Solar Pons stories, modeled closely on Doyle's Sherlock Holmes tales, and for his founding with Donald Wandrei in 1939 of Arkham House, a publishing concern that specialized in macabre fiction. Arkham House was notable for publishing the work of neglected pulp fiction horror and fantasy writers of the 1930s like H. P. Lovecraft, as well as European weird fiction writers such as Arthur Machen and Lord Dunsany.

—Bennett Lovett-Graff

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## Detective Fiction

Mysteries and their solutions have always been used in fiction, but detective fiction as a recognisable genre first appeared in the mid-nineteenth century. Despite detective fiction becoming one of the most popular of literary genres of the twentieth century, disputes over the point at which a story containing detection becomes a detective fiction story continued. In its most obvious incarnation detective fiction is to be found under the heading “Crime” in the local bookstore; it includes tales of great detectives like Holmes and Dupin, of police investigators, of private eyes, and little old ladies with a forensic sixth sense. But detective fiction can also be found disguised in respectable jackets, in the “Classic Literature” section under the names Dickens and Voltaire. Within detective fiction itself, there are many varieties of detectives and methods of detection; in its short history, the genre has shown itself to be a useful barometer of cultural conditions.

Defining detective fiction, then, is fraught with problems. Even its history is in dispute, with critics claiming elements of detective fiction in Ancient Greek tragedies, and in Chaucer. Part of the problem is that while the category “Crime Fiction” includes all fiction involving crime, and, very often, detective work as well, “Detective Fiction” must be restricted only to those works that include, and depend upon, detection. Such a restrictive definition leads inevitably to arguments about what exactly constitutes “detective work,” and whether works that include some element of detection, but are not dependent on it, should be included. Howard Haycraft is quite clear on this in his book *Murder for Pleasure* (1941), when he says, “the crime in a mystery story is only the means to an end which is—detection.”

Perhaps the first work in English to have its entire plot based around the solution to a crime is a play, sometimes attributed to Shakespeare, called *Arden of Faversham*. The play was first published in 1592, and is based on the true story of the murder of a wealthy, and much disliked landowner, Thomas Arden, which took place in 1551. Arden’s body is discovered on his land, not far from his house. The fact that the body is outside points to his having been murdered by neighbouring farmers and labourers, jealous at Arden’s acquisition of nearby land. What the detective figure, Franklin, sets out to prove is that Arden was murdered in his house, by his adulterous wife, Alice, and her lover. He manages to achieve this by revealing a clue, a piece of rush matting lodged in the corpse’s shoe, which could only have found its way there when the body was dragged across the floor of the house.

Although the plot of *Arden of Faversham* revolves around the murder of Thomas Arden and the detection of its perpetrators, Julian Symons suggests that the purpose of the play itself lies elsewhere, in characterization, and, among other things, the moral issues surrounding the allocation of land following the dissolution of the monasteries. Because the element of crime and detection is merely a vehicle for other concerns, the place of *Arden of Faversham* in the canon of detective fiction remains marginal. But this is a debatable point. As Symons says, the exact position of the line that separates detective from other fiction is a matter of opinion. Nevertheless, early detective stories such as this play, and others, by writers such as Voltaire, certainly prefigure the techniques of detectives like Sherlock Holmes and Philo Vance.

What critical consensus there is on this topic suggests that the earliest writer of modern popular detective fiction is Edgar Allan Poe.

In three short stories or “tales,” “The Murders in the Rue Morgue” (1841), “The Mystery of Marie Rogêt” (1843), and “The Purloined Letter” (1845), Poe established many of the conventions that became central to what is known as classical detective fiction. Perhaps reacting to the eighteenth-century idea that the universe is a mechanical system, and as such can be explained by reason, Poe devised a deductive method, which, as he shows in the stories, can produce seemingly miraculous insights and explanations. This deductive method, sometimes known as “ratiocination,” goes some way in defining the character of the first “great detective,” C. Auguste Dupin, whose ability to solve mysteries borders on the supernatural, but is, as he insists to the narrator sidekick, entirely rational in its origins. The third important convention Poe established is that of the “locked room,” in which the solution to the mystery lies in the detective’s working out how the criminal could have left the room unnoticed, and leaving it locked from the inside.

Other writers, such as Wilkie Collins and Emile Gaboriau, began writing detective stories after Poe in the mid-nineteenth century, but rather than making their detectives aristocratic amateurs like Dupin, Inspectors Cuff and Lecoq are professionals, standing out in their brilliance from the majority of policemen. Gaboriau’s creation, Lecoq, is credited with being the first fictional detective to make a plaster cast of footprints in his search for a criminal. Perhaps the most famous of the “great detectives,” however, is Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s creation Sherlock Holmes, whose method of detection, bohemian lifestyle, and faithful friend and narrator, Watson, all suggest his ancestry in Poe’s creation, Dupin, but also look forward to the future of the genre. Although Conan Doyle wrote four short novels involving Holmes, he is best remembered for the short stories, published as “casebooks,” in which Holmes’s troubled superiority is described by Watson with a sense of awe that the reader comes to share. Outwitting criminals, and showing the police to be plodding and bureaucratic, what the “great detective” offers to readers is both a sense that the world is understandable, and that they themselves are unique, important individuals. If all people are alike, Holmes could not deduce the intimate details of a person’s life from their appearance alone, and yet his remarkable powers also offer reassurance that, where state agents of law and order fail, a balancing force against evil will always emerge.

While Holmes is a master of the deductive method, he also anticipates detectives like Sam Spade and Philip Marlowe by his willingness to become physically involved in solving the crime. Where Dupin’s solutions come through contemplation and rationality alone, Holmes is both an intellectual and a man of action, and Doyle’s stories are stories of adventure as well as detection. Holmes is a master of disguise, changing his appearance and shape, and sometimes engaging physically with his criminal adversaries, famously with Moriarty at the Reichenbach Falls.

The Poe-Gaboriau-Doyle school of detective fiction remained the dominant form of the genre until the late 1920s in America, and almost until World War II in England, although the influence of the short story gradually gave way to the novel during that time. Many variations on the “great detective” appeared, from G. K. Chesterton’s priest-detective, Father Brown, solving crime by intuition as much as deduction, through Dorothy L. Sayers’s return to the amateur aristocrat in Lord Peter Wimsey, Agatha Christie’s unlikely detective Miss Marple, and her eccentric version of the type, Hercule Poirot. In Christie’s work in particular, the “locked room” device that appeared in Poe occurs both in the form of the room in which the crime is committed, and at the level of the general setting of the story; a

country house, an isolated English village, a long-distance train, or a Nile riverboat, for example. This variation of the detective story became so dominant in England that classical detective fiction is often known as the “English” or “Country House” type.

However, detective fiction of the classical type was very popular on both sides of the Atlantic and the period from around 1900 to 1940 has become known as the “Golden Age” of the form. In America, writers like R. Austin Freeman, with his detective Dr. Thorndike, brought a new emphasis on forensic science in the early part of the twentieth century. Both Freeman and Willard Huntingdon Wright (also known as S. S. Van Dine), who created the detective Philo Vance, wrote in the 1920s that detective fiction was interesting for its puzzles rather than action. Van Dine in particular was attacked by critics for the dullness of his stories and the unrealistic way in which Philo Vance could unravel a case from the most trivial of clues. Nevertheless, huge numbers of classical detective stories were published throughout the 1920s and 1930s, including, in the United States, work by well-known figures like Ellery Queen (the pseudonym for cousins Frederic Dannay and Manfred B. Lee), John Dickson Carr (Carter Dickson), and Erle Stanley Gardner, whose series detective, Perry Mason, has remained popular in print and on screen since he first appeared in 1934. Elsewhere, the classical detective story developed in the work of writers such as Georges Simenon, Margery Allingham, and Ngaio Marsh. While all of these writers have their own particular styles and obsessions—Carr is particularly taken by the locked room device, for example—they all conform to the basic principles of the classical form. Whatever the details of particular cases, the mysteries in works by these writers are solved by the collection and decoding of clues by an unusually clever detective (amateur or professional) in a setting that is more or less closed to influences from outside.

Just as the classical form of the detective story emerged in response to late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century beliefs in the universe as rationally explicable, so hard-boiled detective fiction appeared in the United States in the 1920s perhaps in response to doubts about that view. Significantly, just as the influence of the short story was declining in the classical form, early hard-boiled detective fiction appeared in the form of short stories or novellas in “pulp magazines” like *Dime Detective* and *Black Mask*. These magazines were sold at newspaper stalls and station bookstores, and the stories they published took a radical turn away from the sedate tone of classical detective fiction.

Hard-boiled detective stories, as they became known, for their clipped, unembroidered language, focus not on the detective’s intellectual skill at interpreting clues, but on his—and, since the 1980s, her—experiences. This type of detective fiction encourages the reader to identify with the detective, rather than look upon him/her as a protective authority; it champions the ability of “ordinary” people to resist and combat the influences of crime and corruption on their lives. As part of their rejection of the puzzle as a center for their narratives, hard-boiled detective stories are also concerned with the excitement generated by action, violence, and sex. So graphic did their description of these things seem in the 1920s that some stories were considered to border on the pornographic. The effect of this on detective fiction as a genre, however, was profound for other reasons. Hard-boiled detective stories described crimes taking place in settings that readers could recognize. No longer was murder presented as a remote interruption to genteel village life, but something that happened to real people. Crime was no longer the subject of an interesting

and challenging puzzle, but something with real human consequences, not only for the victim, but for the detective, and society at large. This new subject matter had limited impact within the restricted space of the short story, but came to the fore in the hard-boiled detective novels that gained popularity from the late 1920s onwards.

Carroll John Daly is usually credited with the invention of the hard-boiled detective, in his series character Race Williams, who first appeared in *Black Mask* in 1922. But Dashiell Hammett, another *Black Mask* writer, did the most to translate the hard-boiled detective to the novel form, publishing his first, *Red Harvest*, in 1929. The longer format, and the hard-boiled form’s emphasis on the detective’s actions, meant that Hammett’s detectives, who include the famous Sam Spade, could confront, more directly than classical detectives, complex moral decisions and emotional difficulties. Raymond Chandler, who also began his career writing for *Black Mask* in the 1930s, took this further, creating in his series detective, Philip Marlowe, a sophisticated literary persona, and moving the focus still further away from plot and puzzle and on to the detective’s inner life. Chandler is also well known for his realistic descriptions of southern California, and his view of American business and politics as underpinned by corruption and immorality.

Other writers picked up where Hammett and Chandler left off; some began using their work to explore particular issues, such as race or gender. Ross MacDonald, whose “Lew Archer” novels are generally considered to follow on from Chandler in the 1950s and 1960s, addresses environmental concerns. Mickey Spillane, who began publishing in the late 1940s, and has continued into the 1990s, took the sub-genre further by having his detective, Mike Hammer, not only confront moral dilemmas but take the law into his own hands. Sara Paretsky, writing in the 1980s and 1990s, reinvents the masculine hard-boiled private eye in V.I. Warshawski, a female detective whose place in a masculine environment enables her to explore feminist issues, while Walter Mosley uses a black detective to explore problems of race. While hard-boiled detective fiction shifts the focus from the solution of the problem to the search for that solution, and in doing so is able to address other topics, it remains centred on the idea of the detective restoring order in one way or another. Hard-boiled detectives do, in most cases, solve mysteries, even if their methods are more pragmatic than methodical.

In the 1920s, hard-boiled detective fiction was considered a more realistic approach to crime and detection than the clue-puzzles of the classical form. Since the early 1970s, however, the idea that a single detective of any kind is capable of solving crimes has seemed more wishful than realistic. In the three decades since then, the police-procedural has become the dominant form of detective fiction, overturning the classical depiction of the police as incompetent, and the “hard-boiled” view of them as self-interested and distanced from the concerns of real people. Police-procedurals adapt readily for TV and film, and come in many forms, adopting elements of the classical and hard-boiled forms in the police setting. They range from the tough “precinct” novels of Ed McBain, to the understated insight of Colin Dexter’s “Inspector Morse” series, or P. D. James’s “Dalglish” stories. The type of detection ranges from the violent, chaotic, and personal approach of the detectives in James Ellroy’s L.A. series, to the forensic pathology of Kay Scarpetta in Patricia Cornwell’s work. What all of these variations have in common, however, is that the detectives are backed up by state organization and power; they are clever, unusual, inspiring characters, but they cannot operate as detectives alone in the way that Sherlock Holmes and Philip Marlowe can.

This suspicion that detectives are not the reassuring figures they once seemed is explored in a variation of the classical form known as “anti-detective” fiction. In the 1940s, Jorge Luis Borges produced clue-puzzle detective stories whose puzzles are impossible to fathom, even by the detective involved. At the time, the hard-boiled novels of Dashiell Hammett and Raymond Chandler were also challenging the idea that the detective could know or fathom everything, but Borges’s work undermines even the very idea of finding truth through deductive reasoning. In one well-known story, “Death and the Compass” (1942), Borges’s detective unwittingly deduces the time and place of his own murder. In the 1980s, Paul Auster’s *New York Trilogy* (1988) explored contemporary theories about language and identity to produce detective stories with no solution, no crime, and no detective. Anti-detective fiction provides an interesting view of detection, and a comment on the futility of trying to understand the universe, but it is of limited scope and popular appeal.

Detective fiction in the 1990s remains highly popular in all its forms. It has also begun to be appreciated in literary terms; it appears as a matter of course on college literature syllabuses, is reviewed in literary journals, and individual writers, like Conan Doyle and Chandler, are published in “literary” editions. Much of that academic attention might seem to go against the popular, commercial, origins of the form. But whatever its appeal, detective fiction seems to reflect society’s attitudes to problems of particular times. That was as true for Poe in the 1840s, exploiting his culture’s fascination with rationality and science, as it is for the police-procedural and our worries about state power, violence, and justice at the end of the twentieth century.

—Chris Routledge

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## The Detroit Tigers

Baseball—with its cheap bleacher seats, Sunday doubleheaders, and working-class heroes—is the most blue-collar of all sports. It is therefore no surprise that one of the most famous, durable, and successful baseball teams should be from the bluest of blue-collar cities, Detroit, Michigan. With a professional club dating back to 1881, Detroit was one of the charter members of the American League in 1901. While never as successful as the New York Yankees, the Tigers have a rich history and tradition. Like the city’s dominant economic force, General Motors, the Tigers have been a conservative force, resisting change to the game. When free-agent frenzy hit in the

1970s, the Tigers reacted to the new high salaries, according to baseball writer Bill James, “like a schoolmarm on a date with a sailor.”

While the Tigers have not always had the best teams, many times they have had the brightest star on the field. Ty Cobb was baseball’s first superstar: he *was* Tiger baseball from 1905 to 1928, their top player and, in his later years, the team’s manager. He played hero for hometown fans, but acted as villain on road trips when his intensity led to many violent confrontations, some with fans. Cobb was suspended in 1912 for punching a fan, but the team backed him and went on strike, forcing management to put together a team of sandlot players for a game against Philadelphia.

The year 1912 also moved the Tigers into Navin Field on the corner of Michigan and Trumbull. Named after team owner Frank Navin, the ballpark would remain in use for the rest of the century. Although led by Cobb, as well as stars like Sam Crawford, the team competed for some years without capturing a pennant. In the 1930s, three future Hall of Fame icons—Charlie Gehringer, Hank Greenberg, and Mickey Cochrane—wore Tiger uniforms. The decade also gave birth to another Detroit tradition: when spectators hurled garbage onto the field during the 1934 World Series, they initiated a tradition of hooliganism among Tiger fans which persisted for years afterward.

After a World Series victory in 1935, the Tigers ownership changed hands when Walter Briggs, an auto parts manufacturer, purchased the team. His family owned not only the team but also its playing field, which was renamed Briggs Stadium. Although they enjoyed a World Series win in 1945, the Tigers—like the rest of the American league—were overshadowed by the dominance of the Yankees from 1949 to 1964. Only the development of outfielder Al Kaline, who played his entire Hall of Fame career with the Tigers, highlighted this period of Tiger history. The Briggs family sold the team in 1952 to a group of 11 radio and television executives led by John Fetzer, an event that foreshadowed the marriage of media and sports that became a trend in the next decades. Thus, for once, the Tigers were ahead of the curve. With Detroit’s WJR station broadcasting games across the entire Midwest, the team’s following spread beyond Michigan to Ohio, Wisconsin, Indiana, and across the river to Ontario, Canada. Later, its TV broadcasting team, with former Tiger George Kell on play-by-play, created even more fans.

With the Tigers’ conservative tradition and the arguably racist nature of both its management and its blue-collar fans, Detroit was slow to integrate black players into the team. Despite the steady increase in Detroit’s black population, throughout the 1960s the team rarely included more than a small handful of black players, among them the city’s already established sandlot star Willie Horton. The contradictions of racial politics in Detroit exploded, literally, in the 1967 riots that changed the history of the city. The violence resulted in unprecedented white flight that left parts of the city, including the neighborhoods around Tiger Stadium, devastated. Ravaged and divided, the city came together as the Tigers won the 1968 World Series. Although the factual basis for the team’s role in uniting Detroit communities has remained debatable, sports historian Patrick Harrington noted that “the myth of unity is important, illustrating the impact many Detroiters give baseball as a bonding element.”

The key to the 1968 team was Denny McLain, an immature wonderkid with a great arm, who won 31 games that year, but whose career then self-destructed. McLain was baseball’s equivalent to football’s Joe Namath—brash, cocky, quotable, and unconventional. The 1968 Tigers team held together for a few more years and, managed by Billy Martin, another brash, cocky and quotable figure,

won the Eastern division crown on the last day of the 1972 season. While the team attempted to rebuild its strengths over the next decade, it endured many setbacks. Racial tensions and economic conditions in the city worsened, spectator attendances declined, and the Tigers lost 100 games in the 1975 season. Yet, from the mire emerged one more bright shining star: Mark “the Bird” Fidrych. Nicknamed after the *Sesame Street* character Big Bird because of his lanky appearance and curly blond mane, Fidrych was a right-handed pitcher with the eccentric on-field habit of talking to the baseball. Already a local hero, he burst into the national spotlight with a masterfully pitched victory over the Yankees on ABC’s *Monday Night Baseball* in 1976. He was quickly on the cover of *Sports Illustrated* and his games, both at home and on the road, were sellouts. Yet, like McLain before him, Fidrych’s immaturity (he injured his knee horsing around in the outfield) led to his rapid decline.

The franchise, however, was improving. The devastation of the economy in Detroit in the late 1970s led to the dispersal of Tiger fans across the country, but the team’s popularity in the 1980s was acknowledged when Tom Selleck’s *Magnum PI* character donned the navy blue Tigers cap with the Old English “d” on it. The Tigers were a hot item. After hiring manager Sparky Anderson and developing a stable of great young players, the Tigers went 35-5 to start the 1984 season. This was the first year of new ownership under Tom Monaghan, a lifelong Tiger fan who made his fortune with the Domino’s Pizza franchise. The 1984 World Series win by the Tigers was the “fast food series”—the Kroc family of McDonald’s fame owned the opposing Padres. The 1984 season was also marked by two significant spectator developments. Fans at Tiger Stadium popularized “the wave,” a coordinated mass cheer from fans who jumped from their seats with their hands in the air in succession around a stadium. Less happily for the game, they also popularized the ritual of turning victory celebrations into all-night melees, with some becoming near riots as Detroit fans gave the city another black eye. Coupled with the annual “Devil’s Night” fires and Detroit’s dubious position as leader of the nation’s crime rate, even the frenzy over the Tigers’ triumph couldn’t mask the problems in the Motor City.

Monaghan ran into financial problems and sold the team to his business rival, Mike Illitch, owner of the Little Caesar’s pizza chain, in 1992. The franchise had been in trouble for many reasons, among them “a series of public relations disasters, including the botched dismissal of popular announcer Ernie Harwell that alienated its most loyal followers,” according to Harrington. At the same time, the city was harming rather than helping as “a bellicose mayor alienated the suburbanites and outsiders. A few highly publicized incidents in the downtown area magnified fear of coming to the Stadium. . . . The club became separate from the city, and the wider community divorced itself from the city.” Despite having Cecil Fielder, a home-run hero and the team’s first black superstar in over 20 years, the main interest in the Tigers concerned the team’s future. By the late 1990s, following years of bitter debate, lawsuits, and public hearings, the building of a new stadium was begun in downtown Detroit to keep the team in town. Although the 1994 baseball strike, and poor teams devastated Tiger attendance in the late 1990s, the new century held promise with a new ballpark. The move marked a break with the past as baseball prepared to leave the corner of Michigan and Trumbull, accompanied by the hopes of owners and city leaders, that the tradition of blue-collar support for the Tigers would continue in the new millennium.

—Patrick Jones

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## Devers, Gail (1966—)

Labeled “the world’s fastest woman” after she won the 100-meter dash and a gold medal in the summer Olympics at Barcelona in 1992, Gail Devers has become exemplary of excellence, grace, and courage, and has served as an inspiration to other athletes, especially women, throughout the world. In 1988, she set an American record in the 100-meter hurdles (12:61). What happened to Devers between 1988 and 1992, however, created a story, notes Walter Leavy in *Ebony*, “that exemplifies the triumph of the human spirit over physical adversity,” for Devers was sidelined with Graves disease, a debilitating thyroid disorder. After nearly having to undergo the amputation of both feet in March 1991, Devers not only recovered to run triumphantly in 1992 but went on to win her second gold in the 100 meters at the Atlanta Olympics in 1996, becoming only the second woman to win back-to-back gold medals in this competition.

—John R. Deitrick

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## Devo

Proving that America’s most engaging and original artists do not have to come from culture industry hubs like New York and Los Angeles, Ohio’s Devo crawled out of the Midwest industrial city of Akron to become one of the most well-known conceptual-art-rock outfits of the late twentieth century. Formed in 1972 by a pair of offbeat art student brothers and their drummer friend, Devo began making soundtracks for short films such as *The Truth About De-evolution*. Over the course of the 1970s, the group went from being an obscure Midwest oddity to, for a brief moment, one of New Wave’s most popular exports. While Devo did adopt a more accessible sound at their commercial peak, they never toned down the “weirdness factor,” something that may have alienated mainstream audiences once they ran out of ultra-catchy songs.

Devo was formed by brothers Jerry and Bob Casale (bass and guitar, respectively) and Mark, Jim, and Bob Mothersbaugh (vocals,





### Devo

drums, and lead guitar, respectively—Alan Myers replaced Jim Mothersbaugh early in Devo’s career). The name Devo is derived from their guiding conceptual principle, “de-evolution.” As a concept, “de-evolution” is based on the notion that, rather than evolving, human beings are actually de-volving—and the proof is manifested in the myriad of social problems of the late twentieth century that, from Devo’s point of view, are the result of a conformist American ideology that renders its population mindless clones. “De-evolution” was derived from a crackpot text the brothers found entitled *The Beginning Was the End: Knowledge Can Be Eaten*, which maintained that humans are the evolutionary result of a race of mutant brain-eating apes.

Part joke, part art project, part serious social commentary, Devo went on to make the short film, *The Truth About De-evolution*, which won a prize at the Ann Arbor Film Festival in 1976, garnering them significant—though small scale—attention. This helped push the band to move to Los Angeles, where Devo gained even more attention as a bizarre live act which, in turn, led to a hit British single on the Stiff label and, soon after, an American contract with Warner Brothers

Records. Between the band’s formation and its Brian Eno-produced debut album in 1978, the band recorded a number of tracks on a basement four track recording studio; many of these songs were documented on Rykodisc’s two volume *Hardcore Devo* series. These unearthed songs showcase a band that, with the exception of the arty-weirdos the Residents, created music without precedent. At a time dominated by prog-rock bands, disco acts, and straightforward pop/rock, Devo was crafting brief, intense bursts of proto-punk noise that fused electronic instruments, rock ’n’ roll fervor, and ironic detachment.

The Brian Eno-produced *Q: Are We Not Men? A: We Are Devo!* announced to the world their de-evolution philosophy, and sold respectfully, though not spectacularly. Sonically speaking, the group’s second album, *Duty Now for the Future*, matched Devo’s conceptual weirdness to the point that it was their most challenging album. Their breakthrough came with the ironically titled *Freedom of Choice*, where the group adopted a more New Wave synth-pop sound that did not reduce Devo’s musical punch, it just made them more accessible to a wider audience. The success of “Whip It,” the group’s sole Top 40 hit, was in part due to their edgy video, making them one of the few

American groups to embrace music videos during the early stages of MTV (Music Television).

Devo's popularity and artistic quality steadily dropped off with their release of *New Traditionalists*, *Oh, No! It's Devo*, and *Shout*, all of which replace the playful quirkiness of their earlier albums with a more heavy-handed rendering of their philosophy (which may have been a reaction to their brief popularity). During the mid-1980s when Devo was largely inactive, Mark Mothersbaugh made a name for himself as a soundtrack producer on the demented Pee-Wee Herman Saturday morning live action vehicle *Pee-Wee's Playhouse*, which led to numerous other scoring jobs. In 1988 Devo returned with *Total Devo* on the indie label Enigma, which did not restore anyone's faith in this band's relevance. They followed that album with an even less worthwhile effort, the live *Now it Can Be Told*. Still, they were able to produce a few decent songs, such as "Post-Post-Modern Man" from their 1990 album *Smooth Noodle Maps*. In 1996, Devo released a CD-Rom and soundtrack album, *Adventures of the Smart Patrol*, and played a few dates for the Alternative music festival, Lollapalooza.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## Diamond, Neil (1941—)

In a career spanning four decades, Neil Leslie Diamond offered his listeners a collection of songs that were sometimes schmaltzy, sometimes openly patriotic, but always melodic and well-sung. Beginning his career while a student at New York University, Diamond worked as a Tin Pan Alley writer before starting his solo career. His songs, ranging from "Solitary Man" (1966) to "Headed to the Future" (1986), reflected the condition of the era in which they were written and performed, while songs like "Heartlight" (1982) reflected a nation's consciousness. Known for his pop hits, Diamond also tried his hand at country music and traditional Christmas songs. Diamond's ventures into films include *Jonathan Livingston Seagull* (1973) and *The Jazz Singer* (1980), in which he starred. Diamond's works have been performed by such diverse groups as the Monkees and UB40.

—Linda Ann Martindale

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## Diana, Princess of Wales (1961-1997)

The most charismatic and publicly adored member of the British royal family, Diana, Princess of Wales not only imposed her own distinctly modern style and attitudes on Great Britain's traditionalist monarchy, but served to plunge that institution into its lowest level of public unpopularity, fueling support for Republicanism and, after her death, forcing the Royal family to moderate its aloof image. However, as a glamorous and sympathetic icon of an image-driven and media-fueled culture, Diana's celebrity status and considerable influence traveled across continents. Her fame, matched by only a handful of women during the twentieth century, notably Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis and Princess Grace of Monaco (Grace Kelly), made her a significant popular figure in the United States, where her visits were welcomed with the fervor once reserved for the most famous stars of the Golden Age of Hollywood. Diana was the most photographed woman in the world, and from the time of her marriage to her premature and appalling death in 1997, she forged a public persona that blended her various roles as princess, wife, mother, goodwill ambassador for England, and international humanitarian. Diana's fortuitous combination of beauty and glamour, her accessible, sympathetic, and vulnerable personality, and an ability to convey genuine concern for the affairs of ordinary people and the world's poor and downtrodden, set her apart decisively from the distant formality of the British monarchy. She became an object of near-worship, and her lasting fame was ensured. Ironically, the intense media attention and public adulation that came to define her life were widely blamed for



Diana, Princess of Wales

the circumstances of her death. Her untimely demise, however, served only to amplify the public's romantic perception of her as a modern goddess cruelly destroyed by a faithless husband, unsympathetic in-laws, and prying *paparazzi*. The life and death of the Princess of Wales, is, indeed, a monument to sad contradictions and ironies.

Lady Diana Spencer was born into aristocratic privilege, the daughter of Viscount Althorp, on July 1, 1961 at the remote and spacious family estate near Sandringham in Norfolk. Her parents divorced when she was still a child, leaving Diana and her siblings in the care of her father and his second wife. She was a shy child, unhappy about the absence of her mother, and early on developed a passion for children, which led her to become a nursery school teacher in London. At 18, she re-met Prince Charles, 13 years her senior and heir to the British throne, whom she had known slightly in childhood. Their courtship became public, and she had the first taste of the media circus that was to dog her every move for the rest of her life. On July 29, 1981, three weeks before her twentieth birthday, Diana married her prince—the first English woman in 300 years to become the wife of a future English king—in a wedding aptly described by the Archbishop of Canterbury as “the stuff of which fairy tales are made.” The ceremony took place before an overflowing congregation of some 2,500 in London's St. Paul's Cathedral and drew a record-breaking global radio and television audience of nearly one billion. A worldwide media event, the wedding affirmed Diana's value as an internationally marketable personality whose image soon appeared not only in magazines, newspapers, and television programs across the globe, but also adorned an unending stream of merchandise ranging from postage stamps to coffee mugs.

Diana's married life revolved around her official Court duties and, increasingly, her own public causes. Ten days after her twenty-first birthday, the princess gave birth to the next heir apparent, Prince William, and, two years later, to Prince Henry (known as Harry). She insisted on taking her young sons on “normal” outings to cinemas and theme parks and on informal holidays abroad, and she bestowed lavish affection on them in public. Her conduct represented a sharp break from the stiff conventions of royalty and contributed to her position as the media's darling and to the discomfiture of her less demonstrative mother-in-law. On the one hand, Diana seemed determined to protect her sons from the harsh glare of public scrutiny; on the other, she kept the people abreast of the family's life by granting interviews and making numerous public appearances. She fed the media's hunger even while expressing despair at its persistence.

By the mid-1980s, rumors of a rift between Charles and Diana were growing, accompanied by whispers of infidelity and reports that the princess was far from well or happy. By the end of the decade, it was public knowledge that Diana was suffering from bulimia, a fact that she courageously admitted in public in hopes of helping other sufferers; that Charles had resumed his long-standing love affair with Mrs. Camilla Parker-Bowles early in his marriage; and that Diana had sought solace in an affair with an army officer named James Hewitt, who co-operated in a scandalous tell-all book about their relationship.

For a time, Diana was cruelly treated by the media and criticized by the public, who simultaneously relished and disapproved of a spate of further revelations. When, however, Charles consented to an in-depth television interview with his biographer Jonathan Dimbleby, and confessed to the Parker-Bowles affair, Diana retaliated with her

own interview that effectively put the knife into the royal family and re-established her position in the public affection. To the evident distress of the queen, the couple announced a separation in 1992, the year in which Britain and America were agog at the publication of Andrew Morton's book, *Diana, Her True Story*. The royal divorce followed four years later.

Her marital woes and personal troubles only served to raise Diana's public profile even higher, and she took advantage of the media's relentless coverage of her every move by redirecting their attention from her private life to her charity work. Though stripped of her full title—no more Her Royal Highness—she continued to upstage her beleaguered husband and his family in the public eye. She ruffled the feathers of politicians with her international campaign for the banning of land mines, visited lepers, and indicated her sympathy and support for AIDS sufferers by embracing one such for the television cameras.

But even as Diana worked to focus the world's attention on her pet causes, the public remained most keenly interested in her post-divorce love life. The public's seemingly insatiable appetite for detail was both whetted and offended by Diana's sudden whirlwind romance with Egyptian playboy Dodi Al-Fayed, which hit the headlines in 1997. Her new lover was the son of Mohammed Al-Fayed—the owner of Harrod's department store and the Ritz Hotel in Paris, from where the couple left on their last fateful car journey—and had long been a figure of ugly controversy in Britain. When the Mercedes in which Diana and Al-Fayed were traveling crashed at high speed in a Paris tunnel on the night of August 30, 1997, immediate blame was laid at the door of the press photographers who were giving chase to the car, and gave rise to protracted legal hearings in Paris in a futile attempt to charge somebody with the couple's senseless deaths.

The news of Princess Diana's death sent shock waves around the world and plunged millions into a near-hysterical frenzy of grief. The profound sense of loss that was experienced, particularly in Britain, elevated Diana's mythic-martyr status to unprecedented levels. In the aftermath of Diana's death, her brother, Earl Spencer, remembered his sister as “the very essence of compassion, of duty, of style, and of beauty.” Indeed, when, in the eyes of the public, the queen failed to show the requisite level of emotion at the news of Diana's death, she endured outraged criticism for “not responding to the pain of Britons.” To quell the anger, she spoke publicly about Diana's death on television, and agreed to lower the Union Jack atop Buckingham palace to half-mast—an honor that had, for nearly a thousand years, been reserved solely for reigning monarchs. As further evidence of Diana's impact on staid British institutions, although a divorcee, she was given a state funeral on September 5, 1997. Her coffin was borne, in a simple but ceremonial procession, from her home at Kensington Palace to Westminster Abbey, where the service was conducted in the presence of television cameras. The cameras then followed the cortege to her final resting-place at Althorp, and two-and-a-half billion television viewers in 210 countries worldwide watched the hours of filmed coverage. In Britain, sporting events were postponed, bells chimed every minute, and a moment of silence was observed before the take-off of each British airline flight in memory of the princess.

In death, Diana hardly eluded the international cult of celebrity that had haunted her during her life. Thriving on the controversy over who was to blame for her death, the international media sold more magazines and newspapers worldwide than they had at any time

during her life. Even the charities to which she had been patron were complicit in exploiting her valuable name and image. The Diana, Princess of Wales Memorial Fund, established to endow a suitable memorial, was still riven by indecision, controversy and exploitation by the end of the 1990s, while her name and likeness was continually exploited by the souvenir market. While Diana's status as an exemplary mother and world-class humanitarian became cemented in the popular imagination, she left behind a darker legacy, that of a public figure who became a past master at manipulating the media and the celebrity culture that had both exploited and promoted her. As the object of the world's infatuation, Diana was, in the words of her brother, "the most hunted person of the modern age." The British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, however, addressing the nation on the Sunday morning following the accident, dubbed her "The People's Princess." So she was, and so she is remembered.

—Lauren Supance

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## DiCaprio, Leonardo (1974—)

After his critically-acclaimed performances in *This Boy's Life* (1993) and *What's Eating Gilbert Grape* (1993), Leonardo DiCaprio quickly gained a reputation for playing tormented young men in such films as *The Basketball Diaries* (1995), *Total Eclipse* (1995), and *William Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet* (1996). His boyish good looks and sensitive, troubled persona made DiCaprio a favorite of young women. Starring in the romantic tragedy *Titanic* (1997), which grossed more money than any film ever had before, broadened DiCaprio's popularity even further.

—Christian L. Pyle

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## Dick and Jane Readers

For nearly 40 years, from 1930 through about 1970, more than 85 million American schoolchildren learned to read using the *Dick and Jane* readers that were part of a series published by the Scott Foresman Company. The books took their name from the series' lead characters who, with a dog named Spot and a kitten named Puff, inhabited a nostalgic, innocent American landscape of white picket fences and neighborliness. So deeply have the *Dick and Jane* stories been etched into the minds of the Baby Boomer generation and their immediate predecessors that the repetitive phrase "See Spot run! Run, Spot, run!" is today remembered by millions as the very first sentences they could read on their own. It has been estimated that four-fifths of the nation's schools were using *Dick and Jane* readers, ranking the books with the venerable *McGuffey Readers* of the nineteenth century as a tool of universal literacy.

With an emphasis on methodology over content, the *Dick and Jane* series was conceived in part as a rebellion against then in-vogue didactic traditions that relied heavily on moralistic and patriotic texts drawn from the Bible, Shakespeare, and American historical legends. The *Dick and Jane* readers emphasized non-phonetic sight reading and repetitive, limited vocabulary, a formula that became a parody of itself by the time their approach was jettisoned in the tumultuous 1960s, to be replaced by phonics and books with more diverse characters and situations. The fact that method trumped content in the choice of storylines for the Dick and Jane readers provoked frequent criticism, such as this acerbic remark from educational critic Arther S. Trace: "Students could learn a great deal indeed from early American readers, but the only possible answer to what children can learn from the *Dick-and-Jane* type reader is, 'Nothing of any consequence.'"

The *Dick and Jane* program was developed by three people—Dr. William S. Gray, an authority on pedagogy, and by Zerna Sharp and Harry B. Johnston. Working with teachers and school psychologists, the three worked as a team to develop the Scott Foresman series, using the limited vocabulary technique advocated by Dr. Gray. Thus, the first grade *Dick and Jane* readers had only about 300 words, the third grade reader about 1,000, and the sixth grade reader about 4,000. Writers for the series had to adhere to strict guidelines about using limited words, and were required to introduce only a few of them on each page, then repeat them frequently in forthcoming pages. Poetry and imaginative literature were nonexistent. All this led to criticism that the books were uninteresting and unnatural.

Dick and Jane first made their appearance in 1930, in a primer of the *Elson-Gray* basic reader series, with stories in large type under vividly colored heavy-line illustrations set in boxes according to 1920s graphics conventions. It was not until 1941, when Eleanor Campbell began illustrating the series, that the Dick and Jane characters, in pastel, took on the rounder, "cuter" form known to most Baby Boomers, inviting comparisons with Norman Rockwell for their evocation of idyllic small-town life and situations. Within a short time, other books were added to the series, including *More Dick and*

*Jane Stories* and *Dick and Jane*. In 1937, a pre-primer *Before We Read* was introduced. The concept caught on, and by the end of the 1930s half of America's schoolchildren were learning to read with Dick and Jane.

The *Dick and Jane* series was completely revised in 1940, introducing Campbell's illustrations and three paper-bound pre-primers—*We Look and See*, *We Work and Play*, and *We Come and Go*, which prepared students for the 160 page primer *Fun With Dick and Jane*. It was in this edition that "Baby" became known as "Sally," that Spot became a long-haired spaniel, and in which the kitten previously known as "Little Mew" was renamed "Puff." In 1950 another revision introduced *The New Basic Readers*, with updating of storylines and illustrations to reflect a more suburban postwar lifestyle.

In 1941, a special edition of the *Dick and Jane* readers was developed for Roman Catholic schools, the nation's largest non-public school system. Called the *Cathedral* series, this version featured Catholic situations and even changed the names of the characters to children with more "Catholic" names—John, Jean, and Judy.

The universe of the *Dick and Jane* readers was one of optimism and innocence, inviting criticism that the situations were unreal and stereotypical. As Sara Goodman Zimet writes in *What Children Read in School*: "Dick and Jane's world is a friendly one, populated by good, smiling people who are ready and eager to help children whenever necessary . . . There are no evil impulses to be controlled. Instead, free rein and encouragement is given for seeking more and more fun and play." Arther S. Trace, Jr. complained that the *Dick and Jane* readers ironically painted authority figures in an unfavorable light, noting that "Father behaves like a candidate for the all-American clown. He acts, in fact, like an utter ass, and Mother is almost as good a representative of the female of the species . . . These stories do, of course, help adjust students to life if their fathers and mothers are fools . . . The Dick and Jane readers for the early grades are comic books in hard covers." City life is generally ignored in the *Dick and Jane* readers, leading other critics to implicate the books as partially responsible for low reading scores in inner-city schools. The series was not adapted for racial diversity until shortly before its demise; it was not until 1965 that African American characters were introduced in the form of Dick and Jane's neighbors, Mike, Pam, and Penny. The *Dick and Jane* readers fell into general disfavor around this time, partly due to changes in reading pedagogy that advanced more realistic and relevant storylines, and partly because of complaints of the book's racial and sex-role stereotyping. Still, the books retain a sentimental hold over the millions of Americans who learned their first words within their covers, and the *Dick and Jane* readers have become both collectors' items and cultural icons.

—Edward Moran

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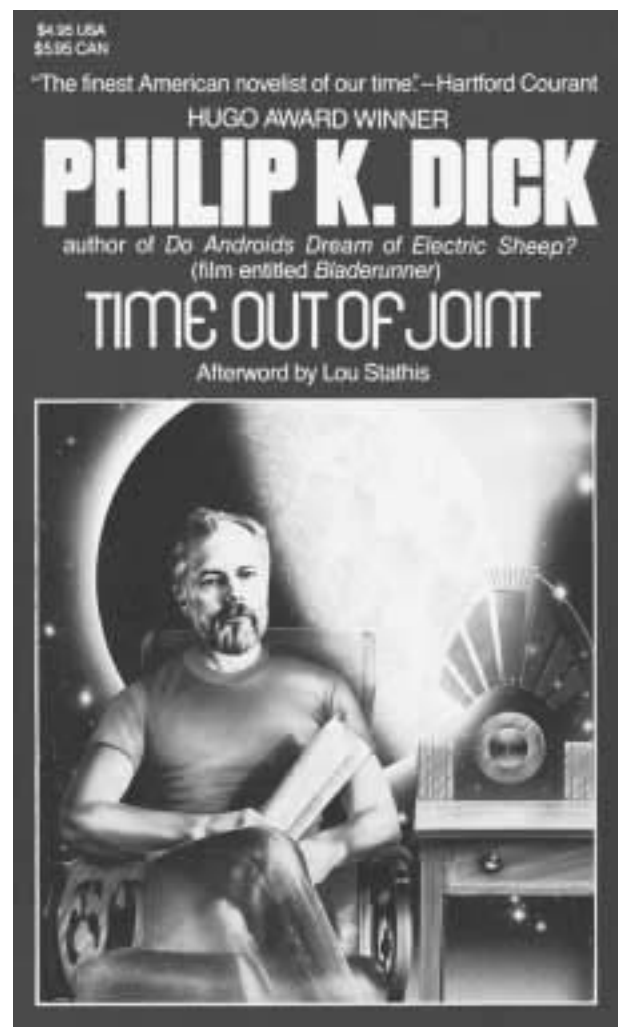
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## Dick, Philip K. (1928-1982)

Author of 26 novels and 112 short stories, Philip K. Dick started his career as a science fiction writer in 1952. He was awarded the Hugo Award, a presentation made by fans, for his novel *The Man in the High Castle* in 1962, but he had to wait until the late 1970s to receive critical acclaim rivalling his popular reputation. His novels are uneven in quality, most containing powerful social satire. Dick has been immensely influential in contemporary science fiction writing, identifying many of the prominent concerns of cyberpunk, particularly consumerism, the cyborg, issues surrounding memory, surveillance, and mediated or artificial reality. *Bladerunner* (1982), the film version of his novel *Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep?* (1968), has become a central reference point for critical discussions of both science fiction and modern technologically driven society.

Dick's career can be roughly divided into three main stages. In the 1950s, after he had been expelled from the University of California at Berkeley, he produced fiction for magazines and Ace books. Writing against a backdrop of McCarthyism, the first novels Dick produced present satirical dystopias, exaggerating aspects of contemporary social experience. *Solar Lottery* (1955) presents an economic



The cover illustration of Philip K. Dick's *Time Out of Joint*.

dystopia, *The World Jones Made* (1956) concerns the power of the police, *Vulcan's Hammer* (1956) the rise of a computer technocracy, and *The Man Who Japed* (1956) examines the totalitarianism inherent in democracy. These novels also established his interest in themes of political power and messianic figures.

It is, however, the consideration of different levels of reality and the world of appearances imposed upon ordinary characters which marks out Dick's work as radically creative and culturally astute. *The Eye in the Sky* (1957), *The Cosmic Puppets* (1956), and *Time Out of Joint* (1959), which all have structural inconsistencies in the worlds they portray, each deal with shifting realities and characters who defy illusion. These convoluted plots circle the issue of defining the real from the ersatz, which is a predominant theme throughout Dick's work.

*The Man in the High Castle* (1962), which earned Dick his Hugo Award, also debates the same theme. It is an alternate history, where the Allies have lost World War II. The novel stands out from his earlier work because it is less allegorical; its length allows Dick the space for deeper characterization and to dwell on ambiguity and irony. From this point Dick writes about existence within depleted environments and derelict worlds, particularly the harshness visualized in the Martian colonies. In *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch* (1964) Dick concentrates on the use of drugs which allow Martian colonists to escape the severity of their lives. Dick's fiction often explores the social use of drugs, including their economic and psychological effects. This interest culminates in *A Scanner Darkly* (1977), where drugs promote such powerful illusions that they preempt reality.

*Flow My Tears the Policeman Said* (1974) was nominated for both the Nebula (writers) and the Hugo (fan) awards and it won the John W. Campbell Award, which is presented by academic writers for the best science fiction novel of the year. The book marked a stage in which Dick was ready to cast aside the more traditional conventions of science fiction, e.g., time travel, space colonies, technology, aliens, and telepathy, in order to focus on the more philosophical concerns of mainstream writing. He wrote a series of non-generic novels during the 1950s, but only one—*Confessions of a Crap Artist* (1975)—was published in his lifetime. His last novels, *VALIS* (1981), *The Divine Invasion* (1982), and *The Transmigration of Timothy Archer* (1982) combine autobiography and realism with the metaphysical search for God.

Dick will be most remembered for *Do Android's Dream of Electric Sheep?*, which best exemplifies his preoccupation with the nature of humanity, realized in the dystopia of a society that has wiped out animal life and supplanted it with androids. It is a novel of deep existential insight which expands its hardboiled genre for the popular market. Dick died of a stroke just before the completion of *Blade Runner*. In acknowledgement of his achievements, the Philip K. Dick award was established after his death to recognize the best novel of the year published originally in paperback.

—Nickianne Moody

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## Dick Tracy

Dick Tracy has been called America's most famous detective, but his fame does not stop in this country. With his chiseled countenance and tough-guy morality, Tracy has become recognizable throughout the world. When Chester "Chet" Gould created the character—the first *Dick Tracy* comic strip ran on October 4, 1931—he could not have foreseen the influence of his tough but honest police detective. In fact, the influence extends well beyond the comics, into film, radio, and television. The timing of the comic strip's release was perfect. The Depression paved the way for a character who upheld traditional values even as he fell hard on the sordid underworld—he was just a regular guy fighting to make the world a better place. Moreover, prohibition, though nearing its demise, had established heretofore unknown levels of underground criminal activity. The strip also suggested better times with its presentation of new inventions, tools to continue the war against crime, and more importantly, inspiring signs of progress to come. *Dick Tracy* was created as a reflection of his times, and Gould's genius is reflected in the fact that the comic strip has survived for so long.

Gould always regarded himself as a cartoonist and he had done quite a number of odd illustration jobs before showing a strip called *Plainclothes Tracy* to Captain Joseph Medill Patterson, co-founder and director of the New York Daily News. Patterson was himself something of a powerhouse in the world of comics. He was the editorial force behind the development of such strips as *Little Orphan Annie*, *Moon Mullins*, and *Gasoline Alley*. Patterson saw promise in "Plainclothes Tracy" and set up a meeting with Gould. It was Patterson who was responsible for the name change. The name "Dick" was slang for a detective, and complemented "Tracy," Gould's play on the word "tracing." Patterson also suggested a basic outline for the first story, in which the father of Tess Trueheart, Tracy's sweetheart, was robbed and murdered and, consequently, Tracy went into the crime fighting business. Dick Tracy made his premier in the Detroit *Sunday Mirror* and about a week later, on October 12, 1931, began as a daily.

*Dick Tracy* quickly became not only Gould's claim to fame, but also Patterson's greatest success in the field. For readers, *Dick Tracy* was something completely different. Moral tales in the comics, nearly half of which at the time were serial strips like *Dick Tracy*, were not uncommon. But *Dick Tracy* presented a rough kind of morality. Tracy was always good, the villains always evil, and the confrontations always flamboyant. The level of violence was new to the comics, and Gould was not above bringing his villains to the cruelest of all possible ends. Audiences were also fascinated by the details of police procedure. Fisticuffs and gunfire were there, but Gould always remembered that Dick Tracy was first and foremost a detective.

The strip also gained notoriety for its take on technology and its pageant of some of the most bizarre villains to appear anywhere. Of the inventions, the most famous was the two-way wrist radio which later became a television and, finally, a computer. Gould believed that technology was the key to the future. Because of this, he was always experimenting with new fictional inventions that would range from items that would eventually find equivalents in the real world, like the Voice-O-Graph voice print recorder, to the absurd. His placement of an antennae race of humanoids and giant snails on the moon is, however, regarded by many as the low point of the strip. At any rate, Gould lent the strip a gruesome edge with the villains whose corrupted morals were reflected by their physical deformities. The names of

the criminals are evocative in and of themselves: The Blank, Flyface, The Mole, Pruneface, and B-B Eyes.

When Chester Gould retired from *Dick Tracy* in December of 1977, its artistic responsibilities were taken over by Gould's longtime assistant Rick Fletcher while the writing became the responsibility of Max Allan Collins. Collins was a young mystery novelist who would also go on to script comic books like *Batman* along with his own detective creation, Ms. Tree. Fletcher was eventually replaced by Pulitzer Prize winning political cartoonist Dick Locher in 1983 and Collins was later replaced by Mike Killian.

Although Gould himself did not give it much consideration, *Dick Tracy* refused to be simply confined to the comics page. He would appear on radio and television, in books and movies—serial and feature—and in animated cartoons. He has been personified by the likes of Ralph Byrd, Morgan Conway, Ray MacDonnell, and, in a 1990 motion picture, Warren Beatty. In addition, *Dick Tracy* has been the basis for a great multitude of licensed products, from toys to clothing, and, of course, watches.

Clearly, the influence of *Dick Tracy* can be seen across a spectrum of media. Although the serial strip has lost much of its foothold in American newspaper comics, comic books owe much to *Dick Tracy*. Though perhaps not the greatest draftsman to work in comics, Gould was, without a doubt, original. His use of shadows opened doors for comics to explore darker visuals. One might even see Gould's work as a precursor of sorts to the techniques of *film noir*, and the police procedure of *Dick Tracy* became a staple of detective stories in virtually all narrative media. *Dick Tracy* also served as the model for yet another icon of American culture. Bob Kane credited *Dick Tracy* as the inspiration for his own creation, the Batman, and Gould's menagerie of grotesque villains found reflection in the likes of the Joker and Two-Face, a virtual duplicate of Gould's Haf-and-Haf. It could be argued that *Dick Tracy* invented the look that would come to be associated with both an era and a type of character. When we hear the words "hard-boiled" we can't help but think of the trenchcoat and fedora pioneered by the famed *Dick Tracy*.

—Marc Oxoby

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## Dickinson, Angie (1931—)

An attractive and talented film actress of the 1960s and 1970s, and star of the popular television show *Police Woman*, Angie Dickinson's lasting image was thrust upon her by Brian De Palma in 1980. By then an elegant and sophisticated presence, she was cast in De Palma's *Dressed to Kill* as a woman who is brutally and shockingly slashed to death in an elevator. Competing with the shower scene in *Psycho* as one of the most uncomfortably enduring celluloid murders of modern times, Dickinson's bloody demise guaranteed her immortality. Earlier in her career, Dickinson (born Angeline Brown in North

Dakota), exuded a unique blend of up-front acting, all-American girl charm, sympathetic femininity, and good-natured sex appeal. She was perfect as both foil and comfort to the men in her several male-oriented films, beginning with *Rio Bravo* (1959). Although she played many sympathetic characters, a tougher quality was exploited in *The Killers* (1964) and *Point Blank* (1967). She was married for a time to Burt Bacharach.

—Robyn Karney

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## Diddley, Bo (1928—)

Best known for the "shave-and-a-haircut" beat that bears his name, Bo Diddley helped build the rhythmic foundations of rock and roll with a string of hits during the mid-1950s. Diddley came out of the Chicago blues scene, but also brought the African American traditions of child game songs, tall-tale telling, and ritualized rounds



Bo Diddley

of bragging and insults into popular music, making him an early practitioner of rap. Diddley's chunky riffs and early use of distortion and tremolo effects on his unique square guitar were later used in 1960s funk and 1970s heavy metal.

The history of Diddley's beat has been traced to African Yoruba and Kongo cultures in Nigeria, and from there to Cuba, where the clave pattern was the basis for nineteenth century dance hall music. Early New Orleans jazz composer Jelly Roll Morton employed it in "Black Bottom Stomp" in the early twentieth century, and it was a common rhythm played by children on diddley bows—homemade single-stringed instruments—in rural Mississippi. The rhythm is also commonly referred to as "hambone," a method of slapping and stomping often used by shoeshine boys.

Diddley was born Ellas McDaniel in McComb, Mississippi, and moved to Chicago at the age of eight where he was undoubtedly exposed to these traditions. "Truthfully, I don't know where it came from exactly. I just started playing it one day," Diddley said in George R. White's biography *Bo Diddley: Living Legend*. "I figured there must be another way of playing, and so I worked on this rhythm of mine. I'd say it was 'mixed-up' rhythm: blues, and Latin American, and some hillbilly, a little spiritual, a little African and a little West Indian calypso . . . I like gumbo, you dig? Hot sauces, too. That's where my music come from: all the mixture."

Young Ellas was entranced one day shortly after moving to Chicago by a man playing a violin. He signed up for classical lessons from Professor O.W. Frederick at the Ebenezer Baptist Church, where he studied for 14 years. After hearing John Lee Hooker on the radio, however, he decided to play guitar. His sister, Lucille, bought Diddley his first guitar when he was 13. According to Diddley, ". . . the violin was the railroad track, or lifeline, to me playing a guitar . . . I used the bow licks with the guitar pick, and that's the reason for the weird sounds. That was my way of imitating with the bow on the violin strings, and that was the closest I could get to it."

Diddley attended Foster Vocational High School, where he learned to build violins and guitars, but quit school to work manual labor jobs and play on street corners. He formed a small group and played in neighborhood taverns, recording a demo that got the attention of Chess Records. Diddley, along with maracas player Jerome Green, joined Otis Spann on piano, Lester Davenport on harmonica, and Frank Kirkland on drums to record "Bo Diddley" and "I'm a Man" in 1955.

Chess was prepared to issue the single under McDaniel's real name, but harmonica player Billy Boy Arnold suggested Bo Diddley, a slang term for a comical-looking, bow-legged, short guy. The name and the single caught on, reaching number two on Billboard's rhythm and blues singles chart. He charted six more singles through 1960 on Checker, a Chess subsidiary, and recorded 22 albums for Chess/Checker through 1974.

Countless artists have had hits using Diddley's rhythm, including Buddy Holly ("Not Fade Away") and Johnny Otis ("Willie and the Hand Jive"). Many more, including the Rolling Stones and Eric Clapton, have had hits covering these tunes. The Who, the Yardbirds, Ronnie Hawkins, and the Doors all employed Diddley's beat at one time or another. Unfortunately for Diddley, American copyright law does not cover a beat or rhythm—only lyrics or a melody—and he therefore never received royalties from these songs.

Diddley released a few albums in the 1980s and 1990s with his own company, BoKay Productions, and other small labels, but he found it difficult to fit in with the new style of popular music. Diddley returned to form with the release of *A Man Amongst Men* on Atlantic

Records in 1996. Featuring guest musicians Jimmie Vaughan, Ron Wood, Richie Sambora, Billy Boy Arnold, Johnnie Johnson, and Johnny "Guitar" Watson, the album was nominated for a Grammy Award as Best Traditional Blues Album.

—Jon Klinkowitz

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## Didion, Joan (1934—)

Joan Didion has proven herself one of the most acute observers of and commentators on American life in the latter half of the twentieth century. Her widely anthologized essays have been required reading for two generations of college students. Combining old-fashioned investigative reporting and New Journalistic subjectivity, she has brought her trademark style and deeply skeptical intelligence to bear on a variety of cultural phenomena, from her own marriage and the rock group the Doors, to the terror in El Salvador, Cuban exiles in Miami, and the Central Park jogger case. Her highly cinematic novels are stylistically and tonally of a piece with her nonfiction and have become increasingly journalistic and more political over the years. Focusing on women who are affluent but adrift, Didion's decidedly pessimistic novels expose not just her characters' self-delusions, but the political and psychological shortcomings of an American Dream gone sour. As such, the novels, along with the essays, give laconic voice to the disillusionment and pessimism that is the other face of the radicalism of the 1960s.

—Robert A. Morace

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## Didrikson, Babe (1911-1956)

More than a hero to feminists and young women who aspire to athletic achievement, athlete Babe Didrikson was a sports hero in the finest American tradition, larger than life, with super-sized faults to match her virtues. Carrying a chip on her shoulder from her rough and tumble upbringing, Didrikson approached life with a swagger and a wisecrack. She brought controversy and excitement to the refined world of women's golf, and challenged assumptions everywhere she went. She broke world records regularly and broke barriers set up





**Babe Didrikson**

against women. Her statistics are an inspiration to women athletes everywhere. But it is the flesh and blood Didrikson, angry, cocky, competitive, and irrepressible, that forged her place in history's sports hall of fame.

"Before I was even into my teens I knew exactly what I wanted to be when I grew up," Didrikson wrote, "My goal was to be the greatest athlete who ever lived." Didrikson achieved her goal. The Associated Press named her Female Athlete of the Year six times between 1932 and 1954, and in 1950, they gave her the title Female Athlete of the Half Century. She was an All-American basketball player, an Olympic gold medal winner in track and field, a record-breaking golf champion, and a proficient dabbler in other sports from swimming to shooting pool. Didrikson's athletic achievements clearly transcend the footnote usually allowed for women in sports.

Mildred Didrikson was born in the south Texas town of Beaumont. The sixth of seven children in a working-class family, she learned early the value of toughness and self-reliance. Roaming the streets of Beaumont, she taught herself to run by racing the streetcars and learned hurdles from leaping over hedges. It was the boys in her hometown who gave her the name "Babe" because she hit so many home runs in their sandlot games.

Didrikson dropped out of high school and was playing semi-professional basketball when she was made an All-American in 1932. That year she participated in an Amateur Athletic Union track-and-field championship as a one-woman team. She entered eight events and won six, and the championship. A team of twenty-two women came in second, eight points behind Didrikson. That day on the field, the smart-aleck kid from south Texas set world records for the high jump, the eighty-meter hurdles, the javelin, and the baseball throw. A few weeks later, competing in the Olympics in Los Angeles, she won gold medals for the javelin and the eighty-meter hurdles and a silver for the high jump. She would have won the gold for the high jump, but her best jump was disqualified on a technicality because her head went over the bar before her feet.

In 1935, Didrikson took the golf world by storm. Before her career was over she had won fifty-five professional and amateur tournaments and set a record with seventeen wins in a row. Staid golfing audiences were put off by Didrikson's irreverent, wisecracking style, but her drives were regularly fifty to one hundred yards longer than her opponents', and it was not uncommon for her to come in well under the men's par, so she was hard to dismiss. The upper-class golfing establishment tried to exclude her because she played professionally and most women's golf consisted of amateur events, but Didrikson got around them in typical aggressive style. In 1949, she helped found the Ladies Professional Golfers Association to put women's golf on more even footing with men's by giving professional women golfers a venue.

Didrikson remained the cocky, streetwise, tough kid from south Texas. Her style was both confrontational and comic, sometimes charming her audiences with silly trick golf shots, sometimes shocking them with her directness. Many of her opponents hated her, perhaps because she was an egotistical and graceless winner. The press nicknamed her "muscle moll," and college physical education departments warned women against emulating her. Didrikson was unabashed. She continued to start her golf matches with a grin and the quip, "Well, I'm just gonna have to loosen my girdle and let 'er fly!" She also continued to play almost every sport available. She played exhibition games in baseball and football, shot exhibition pool, and even sang and played harmonica on the vaudeville stage. When asked if there was anything she didn't play, Didrikson answered dryly, "Yeah. Dolls."

Didrikson married professional wrestler George Zaharias in 1938. They had met when they were partnered in the Los Angeles Open golf tourney. In 1941, Didrikson underwent surgery for colon cancer, and doctors told her that her athletic career was over. With typical unconcern for the opinions of naysayers, she continued to play, and in 1954, she won five golf tournaments, playing with pain, fatigue, and a colostomy bag. Two years later, she died. The epitaph on her tombstone in Galveston, Texas, reads "Babe Didrikson Zaharias—1911-1956—World's Greatest Woman Athlete."

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Dieting

It would be hard to find anyone in the United States, or in any other part of the Western world, who has not at one time gone on a weight-loss diet. Perhaps the most long-lived fad of our society, the diet craze has grown and expanded its influence until almost every issue of every popular publication contains at least one diet article and television talk shows regularly feature diet gurus and those offering weight loss testimonials. With little evidence that such diets work, and with quite a bit of evidence to the contrary, a multi-billion dollar industry has grown up around the modern obsession with thinness. Women are the vast majority of consumers in the diet industry, and, though men do diet, it is almost exclusively women who focus a significant portion of their time and energy on the effort to become thin.

Though Americans are constantly bombarded with the concept of thinness as an ideal of health and beauty, it is a relatively new concept that would have seemed laughable just one hundred years ago. Though standards of beauty have varied from culture to culture and from century to century, plumpness has widely been viewed as signaling health, success, and sensuality. Many modern cultures do not place the same value on thinness as much of western society. Some, such as those in Polynesia and east and central Africa, value fat women to the extent of fattening up daughters to make them more marriageable.

Human bodies evolved in response to a struggle to survive with an uncertain food supply. The ability to store fat was a valued genetic trait. As long ago as 30,000 to 10,000 B.C.E., statues like the so-called Venus of Willendorf show an ideal of feminine beauty that includes large thighs, broad buttocks and pendulous breasts. The Biblical book of Proverbs says, "He that putteth his trust in the Lord shall be made fat." Even in Medieval Europe, when the religious art showed lank, acetic Marys and Eves, the secular art pictured round, fleshy women, brimming with laughter and sexuality. A fat, dimpled buttock or thigh was a universal symbol of sex appeal.

On the contrary, thinness was viewed as a sign of weakness, disease, and poverty. Eighteenth-century diet specialist Jean-Anthelme Brillat-Savarin called thinness "a terrible misfortune" for a woman. "Every thin woman wishes to put on weight," he said, "This is an ambition that has been confided to us a thousand times." He obliged them by prescribing fattening diets. By the end of the nineteenth century, women had begun to slim their waists through the use of tightly laced corsets, but ample cleavage and voluminous hips were still very much the style, helped along by contrivances called farthingales, panniers, and bustles. These were wire frames worn under the clothes to add desirable inches (or feet) to hips and buttocks. Indeed, most changes deemed necessary in the body were effected by additions to the costume. Only later would women begin to consider the idea of altering the body itself.

As the 1900s began, the country was in an era of tremendous growth and change. The industrial revolution was bringing science into the day-to-day lives of common citizens. A feminist age was beginning as women entered the work force in unprecedented numbers and began to demand more rights. Along with these changes came a new look in women's fashions. The corsets and cumbersome contraptions were gone and so was the abundant flesh. By the 1920s women were supposed to be slim, straight, and boyish. Hair was bobbed, breasts and hips were bound, and women began to try to lose

weight. Along with such extreme treatments as electrotherapy, tapeworm pills, and hot baths to melt fat off, miracle diets promised to fatten the scrawny as well as slim the stout.

Around the same time, the newly burgeoning insurance industry began to study the effects of weight and other features on longevity. Inspired perhaps by the fashion of thinness, researchers tended to ignore the evidence that the underweight and the tall had higher death rates too, and they only focused on the overweight. Even though their research methods were questionable and their samples included only the upper classes who had the money and inclination to purchase life insurance, the insurance tables were popularly accepted as fact in terms of optimum height-weight ratios. These tables have remained a standard by which modern people measure themselves, even though their recommendations have varied widely over the decades.

It was also around the 1920s that doctors began to abandon their condemnation of thinness as a sign of the common disorder "neurasthenia" and to attack excess weight as the cause of many health problems. Even then, there was not widespread belief that people could control their body size, and doctors worried that dieting, especially the dieting of young women, was dangerous to health.

The Roaring Twenties' dieting craze, which never penetrated much beyond the upper classes, waned during the late 1930s and early 1940s, as the poverty of the depression years deepened. But by the 1950s, the preference for thinness and disgust with fat was on its way to becoming a national obsession. This obsession was perhaps useful to a society which was trying to distract women from the increased responsibility they had been given during the war and refocus them on home, family, and fashion. The number of magazine articles about weight and diet skyrocketed, and fatness, which once had been viewed as a physical characteristic like any other, had become a vice and a moral failing. Weight loss products and diet foods began to appear on grocery shelves, and dieters bought them in huge quantities. Pharmaceuticals firm Mead and Johnson created an all-liquid diet food called Metrecal that boosted their earnings over 300 percent in the years between 1958 and 1960. Just as quickly, however, profits dropped again, as unsuccessful dieters moved on to try other products. Amphetamines, a fairly new drug about which little was known, were prescribed freely to women as a weight loss aid.

Diet books also began to appear, some with a health food bent, others purely fashionable. Exercise had long been seen as having a negative effect on weight loss because it stimulated the appetite, but modern experts made the case for exercise as an adjunct to a weight-loss diet. Fad and novelty diets began to pop up, often having nothing more to recommend them than sheer weirdness, but promising "miracle" results. The Drinking Man's Diet, offered permission to imbibe; the grapefruit diet ascribed extraordinary fat burning qualities to the acidic yellow fruit which was to be eaten several times a day. One diet prescribed only steak, another suggested eating foods high in fat. Americans were willing to try anything that promised results.

Medical opinions about the effects of obesity continued to follow closely the guidelines and research done by the insurance industry, even though that research was proved flawed and limited on many occasions. Since the major factor in body size seemed to be genetic, doctors began to prescribe weight-loss diets even for pregnant women and young children. As fat was seen as the result of moral flaws such as lack of willpower, it was also seen as a psychological problem, and fat people were sent to psychiatrists to seek the deep root causes of their body size.

The 1960s and 1970s saw the continued increase of the thinness obsession, perhaps more than coincidentally with the rise of a second

wave of women's liberation. Some feminists speculate that each time women gained power and pushed for more rights, they were purposefully distracted by a cultural insistence on an unattainable female body ideal. Women, though genetically predisposed to be fatter than men, have always borne the brunt of the weight-loss fad. Though some dieting occurs among men, it is far more common that even men who do not fit the media mold of beauty have little shame over exposing bellies and bare chests in public, while women, even admired models and actresses, experience shame and self-loathing about their bodies. Perhaps because men have had more economic and political power, it has been necessary for women to fit the mold most pleasing to men. If the eating disorders and obsession with dieting that women exhibit are reflected anywhere among men, it is among gay men, who have the same need that heterosexual women have to fit the male standard of beauty. Nowhere has that standard been challenged more strongly than within the lesbian community. Though not immune to cultural beauty standards, lesbians' relative independence from men has given them both room and incentive to question those standards. That questioning has led to pioneering work in the fat acceptance movement, which challenges the diet industry and medical establishment's demonization of fatness.

By the 1990s the diet fad has become so widespread that most Americans are continually on one sort of weight-loss plan or another, and most women consider themselves fat, no matter what their actual size. Studies have been done that show a high percentage of girls as young as eight years old have begun to diet. Fashion models appear acutely undernourished and even they must have their pictures airbrushed to remove offending flesh. Eating disorders such as anorexia (the rejection of food to achieve ever-increasing thinness) and bulimia (binge eating followed by forced vomiting or laxative-induced diarrhea) which once were rare, have become epidemic. Surgical procedures such as stomach-stapling and liposuction are in demand even though they are known to have dangerous or even deadly effects.

The media abounds with new "miracle" diets, and the diet business has grown from a few companies with names like Weight Watchers and Slenderella to a 50 billion dollar-a-year industry. With ads offering such perplexing promises as "Lose ten pounds for only ten dollars," these diet companies have perhaps finally achieved the perfect American solution to excess weight. If willpower, therapy, and even prayer don't work, one can *buy* weight loss.

The success of products like Metrecal in the 1950s has led to a boom in diet products and organizations. While some products like SlimFast and Lean Cuisine specialize in diet food, others have jumped on the bandwagon by offering "lite" or "lo-fat" versions of their products. Soft drink companies were among the first to offer profitable diet alternatives. These are guzzled in astounding quantities by Americans of all sizes, even though their artificial sweeteners, first saccharin, then cyclamates, and most recently aspartame, have in some cases been found to have damaging effects on the body. Often, as in Metrecal's case, when a new product is introduced, there is a rush to try it. When it proves to be less than miraculous, sales may drop as consumers move on to the next new promise.

Another form of diet business is the dieter's organization or "club." Affluent dieters often pay high prices to attend spas and "fat farms" to help them lose weight. For middle and working class dieters there are more affordable alternatives. Organizations like Weight Watchers and Jenny Craig offer counseling and group support for a price, plus a line of food products that are required or strongly suggested to go with the program. The twelve-step approach of

Alcoholics Anonymous is emulated by groups like Take Off Pounds Sensibly (TOPS) and Overeaters Anonymous, which tend to view fatness as a sign of addictive attitudes towards food and offer free support groups to combat the addiction.

Over the years, many weight-loss "gurus" have risen to media prominence, producing books or videos to promote their personal recommendation for weight loss. As early as 1956, Roy de Groot published his low-protein "Revolutionary Rockefeller Diet" in *Look* magazine, leading the way for Robert Atkins' *Dr. Atkins' Diet Revolution* in 1972, Herbert Tarnower's "Scarsdale" diet in 1979, and Jane Fonda's books and videos in the 1980s and 1990s. Trading on medical credentials or celebrity, these diet "experts" often become corporations in themselves, profiting handsomely from sales and public appearances.

Yet many Americans are still overweight. In fact, diets have never been successful at making fat people thin. Only about ten percent of dieters lose anything close to their goals, and only about half of those keep the weight off for an extended period of time. The body is an efficient processing machine for food and its response to the starvation message sent by dieting is to become even more efficient, thereby needing less food to maintain the same weight. The World Health Organization's definition of starvation is 1200 calories per day, the same intake as an average weight-loss diet. Even when caloric reduction causes the body to use stored resources, there is no guarantee that unwanted fat will be used. The body might as easily draw from muscle tissue, even from the brain or heart, with life-threatening results.

Some researchers claim that the rising numbers of fat people are caused by the incessant dieting practiced by most Americans. Each bit of weight loss causes the body to respond as it would to recurring famine, by storing food, and fat, more efficiently. Even aside from overtly dangerous diets, such as liquid protein diets or extreme 400 to 500 calorie diets, any sort of weight-loss diet can have seriously negative effects. Depression, irritability, and fatigue are frequent side effects, along with amenorrhea for women, muscle damage, and stress on liver, kidneys, and the cardiovascular system. In the long run, medical studies on the negative effects of being fat become useless, for, in a society where everyone diets, fat people, persecuted for being fat, often spend a large part of their lives dieting. It is difficult to separate the effect of weight on health from the effects of long-term dieting and from the stress of being fat in a culture that demeans fat people.

Though dieting has become so entrenched in American culture, some voices are being raised in protest. The fat-positive movement (also called the size-acceptance or size-diversity movement) is growing, energized by people who are no longer willing to devote their lives to fitting an impossible ideal. An anti-diet movement has arisen, drawing attention to the dangers of dieting with an annual International No-Diet Day. Concerned by the rising numbers (over 11 million in the 1990s) of young girls afflicted with anorexia and bulimia, some parents and educators are calling for more focus on raising the self-esteem of adolescent girls. However, surveys still report that a large percentage of women would prefer being run over by a truck or killed by a terrorist to being fat, and American culture has a long way to go to leave superficial values behind. Perhaps as long as there is still so much money to be made off of Americans' preoccupation with thinness, dieting will remain a lifestyle and an obsession.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Dietrich, Marlene (1901-1992)

Marlene Dietrich is a mythical woman and actress who worked actively on the creation of her myth. Her ability to create and manipulate a recognizable and durable star image influenced modern popular icons such as Madonna. The German Marlene Dietrich emerged onto the world stage as a screen idol taking Hollywood by storm in the 1930s, moved on to become a troop entertainer during the Second World War, and ended her career as an age-defying concert singer in the 1950s and 1960s. Gender-bending Marlene enjoyed many decades of a stardom that was predicated on one core attribute—her ability to remain ambivalent and mysterious.

Maria Magdalene Dietrich was born a policeman's daughter in Berlin, although her father died when she was young. She was a schoolgirl during the upheavals of World War I, during which her step-father, a colonel, died of war wounds. Although Marlene—a contraction of her first two names—played the violin and the piano, she was not accepted at the Weimar music school. Thus, after the depression following the war and with Weimar cultural life blooming around her, Marlene forsook her middle-class background and embarked on a more dangerous and decadent path: the stage. She found



Marlene Dietrich

entry into the Max Rheinhardt School, a renowned theater school with very good stage connections. By 1922, Marlene Dietrich was on the stage. With ceaseless energy, Dietrich worked her way through small supporting roles and, like many stage actors of the time, appeared in many silent films. By 1927, Dietrich had made it. Her sensuous appearance had won her the Berlin audience. Two years later, a big Hollywood director decided to come to Berlin to look for his latest star for the film *The Blue Angel* (1930), and a Hollywood legend began: the collaboration of Marlene Dietrich and Joseph von Sternberg. Dietrich was already well aware of her ability to embody ambivalent sex. Her risqué performances with well-known lesbian Maro Lion in their duet "It's in the air" had been deliciously scandalous. Under the guidance of her "Svengali" von Sternberg, this ability became the core of her star persona. Together, they fashioned the myth of Dietrich, a myth of sex, sadomasochism, cool poise, and darkness, which transplanted surprisingly well from permissive Weimar Berlin to a more strict Hollywood. In *The Blue Angel*, Dietrich played Lola Lola, the ruin of a professor who falls desperately in love with her and is treated cruelly and dismissively by his love object. In this film, Dietrich established her gender-bending image for the American audience by donning tails and a top hat. Another trademark which was to become mythical was displayed in detail to U.S. audiences—the long, sensual Dietrich legs.

The legs and trousers became fetishes of a woman surrounded by mystery. Dietrich wore her slacks outside the studio and, as a result, was called "the best dressed man in Hollywood." In a time when studios had a morality clause in their contracts allowing them to dispense with any star overstepping the rules, Dietrich's open bisexual affairs were indulged. Her foreign, ambivalent, dangerously sexual image, portrayed by an equally mysterious foreigner with strange tastes, was recognized as the main box-office draw. Films such as *Morocco* (1930) and *Blonde Venus* (1932) consolidated Dietrich as the cool, poised femme fatale in feathers and fur: an image of an erotic and sophisticated dominatrix made immortal in Sacher-Masoch's novel *Venus in Furs*. After the end of her relationship with von Sternberg, Dietrich continued to be a successful and (in)famous star, even if occasionally touted as "box office poison." Dietrich's desire to broaden her appeal and develop her image led to leads in productions by Ernst Lubitsch—*Desire* (1936) and *Angel* (1937)—which allowed her to display humor as well as sex. Other ventures into different genres include a western parody, *Destry Rides Again*, directed by George Marshall and released in 1939.

During the war-years, however, a new side was added to Marlene Dietrich's image. Her foreign origin, accent, and the decadent sexual persona of continental European ancestry were a recognized part of her image, but now a vehemently anti-Nazi stance and a belief in the American way of life led Dietrich to help the war effort. She worked for the United States Entertainment Organization, appeared at fund-raising events, and entertained the troops on the front-lines in Europe. Her most famous song, "Lili Marleen", stems from this period. The head of the German Nazi Ministry of Culture had earlier asked her to return, to be a great Nazi star, even after some of her films were banned in Germany. As an answer, Dietrich became a United States citizen in 1939. In 1945, she was back in Germany, to bury her mother, and, according to her daughter Maria Riva, to bury the Germany she once knew and loved.

After the war, Dietrich's film roles were sporadic. Films such as *Rancho Notorious* (1952) and *A Touch of Evil* (1958) are tongue-in-cheek takes on her own carefully nurtured star persona. Dietrich's main activity was now the stage: she had recaptured her original

calling from the years in Weimar, and embarked on a new, successful career as an international cabaret star. Although her singing voice was criticized, Dietrich's delivery was a full-blown stage cabaret show. Her repertoire embraced sexy songs, often originally written for male singers, allowing her worldly charm and eroticism full range. Numbers recorded by Dietrich include "One for My Baby," "One More for the Road," and "Makin' Whoopee." The older image of Dietrich as femme fatale was soon supplemented by a newer strand of anti-war songs including "Sag mir wo die Blumen sind" (Where Have All the Flowers Gone), as well as other Pete Seeger and Bob Dylan songs. During her concert in Israel she broke the taboo against the German language by singing her cry against wars in her mother tongue. She also went back to Germany, despite the fact that the voices calling her a traitor had not stopped. The concert was a success.

Dietrich paid a price for her decades of working and the self-fashioned myths around her. More and more scotch accompanied her touring. Finally, she ended her stage career when she broke a leg on stage in 1975. With many of her old friends dead, including her husband from her Weimar years, Dietrich led a lonely existence in Paris.

For decades, she had been a focal point for the famous. Her rumored lovers included Ernest Hemingway, Greta Garbo, and Jean Gabin. At the end of her career, she claimed that it was not vanity that made her camera-shy, but her need to sustain and nurture the myth of what she had become—an icon of glamour, ambivalent sexuality, erotic sophistication, and unknowable mystery. Her skill was well rewarded. Later generations of artists have plundered and recycled the rich image of Dietrich. Her most well-known "interpreter" has become Madonna—another star of ambivalence and mystery.

In her book *ABC*, Dietrich writes: "Dietrich—In the German language the name for a key that opens all locks. Not a magic key. A very real object, necessitating great skill in the making." Even her death did not erase this fascinating object.

—Petra Koppers

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## *Diff'rent Strokes*

For eight seasons and 189 episodes, Americans tuned in to *Diff'rent Strokes*, a sitcom chronicling the family life of a wealthy white industrialist who adopts two African American children. The tepid comedy's lengthy television run made many cultural observers wonder if its creators had made a deal with the devil. Certainly the show's trinity of child stars seems to have spent the ensuing years in show business purgatory.

Developed by Norman Lear, the brains behind *All in the Family*, *Diff'rent Strokes* began as a well-meaning, if patronizing, look at America's racial and economic divides. Conrad Bain, a veteran of Lear's *Maude*, was cast as Philip Drummond, the white Daddy Warbucks to black ragamuffins Arnold and Willis Jackson, played by



(From left) Gary Coleman, Dody Goodman, and Conrad Bain in a scene from *Diff'rent Strokes*.

Gary Coleman and Todd Bridges. Stringy Dana Plato rounded out the main cast as Drummond's natural daughter, Kimberly. A succession of brassy housekeepers, vanguarded by Charlotte Rae, commented mordantly on the goings-on.

Conceived as an ensemble, *Diff'rent Strokes* quickly became a star vehicle for the adorable Coleman, a natural comedic talent relegated to Lilliputian stature by a congenital kidney condition. "What you talkin' 'bout, Willis?," Coleman's Arnold would bellow repeatedly at his older, worldlier sibling. Eventually this interrogative came to be something of a catch phrase, flung promiscuously by Coleman at any of the show's characters and accompanied by a mugging double take. As the years went by, however, Coleman's stunted growth began to take on an eerie, side show quality. Only at the very end of the eight-year run was his character allowed to grow up, "dramatically speaking," date girls, and behave like something other than a mischievous eight-year-old. Coleman was 17 at the time.

Medical oddities aside, *Diff'rent Strokes* was little more than light entertainment for the home-on-Saturday-night crowd. It did, however, occasionally tackle meaningful subject matter. In one memorable episode, Arnold converted to Judaism after attending a friend's bar mitzvah. Likening the solemn ceremony to a "Jewish Academy Awards," and pleased with his complimentary "yamaha," the diminutive adoptee was dissuaded from his change of faith only after Drummond engineered a visit from Milton Berle as a wisecracking rabbi. Terrified by the prospect of Hebrew School and Jewish dietary obligations, the impressionable tyke opted to forego his opportunity to celebrate "Harmonica."

Not all series installments, however, addressed weighty issues with such rampant insensitivity. Rotund *WKRP* fixture Gordon Jump played a child molester (all too believably) in one topical episode, while First Lady Nancy Reagan herself dropped by for a memorable 1983 show about drug abuse. The jaded Coleman was non-plussed by the visit from the power-suited astrology enthusiast, who stiffly hugged a group of child actors for the cameras and accepted a pair of *Diff'rent Strokes* tee-shirts from Conrad Bain before departing in a four-car motorcade. "It was just another show," Coleman shrugged after Reagan's visit. "We didn't talk about much. She came in, did her job, and left."

When the program's three young stars made their exits following *Diff'rent Strokes*' 1986 cancellation by ABC, they had no way of knowing that a living tabloid hell awaited them. Dana Plato posed nude for *Playboy* in 1989 to pay off her mounting personal debt, then robbed a Las Vegas video store at gunpoint in 1991 after being turned down for a job cleaning toilets. Her career reached a nadir in 1997 with an appearance in a porno film entitled *Different Strokes: The Story of Jack and Jill . . . and Jill*. (Plato died of an accidental drug overdose in 1999.) Todd Bridges was arrested for cocaine possession and later for shooting an accused drug dealer in a crack house. (He was subsequently acquitted of the latter crime.) He later blamed his problems on a cocaine habit dating back to 1982.

Even Gary Coleman, the little pixie with the atrophied kidney, could not escape controversy. In 1989 he sued his real-life adoptive parents and his former business manager, claiming they had stolen more than \$1 million from him. Tabloid rumors began to circulate reporting that Coleman had legally changed his name to Andy Shane and asked a female housemate if he could suck her toes. In 1998, the tubby actor, now working as a mall security guard, was himself sued by a Los Angeles bus driver who alleged that he had assaulted her after she asked him for an autograph.

"The world don't move to the beat of just one drum," went the theme to *Diff'rent Strokes*, the television show. "What might be right for you, may not be right for some." The program's troubled stars seem to have been following a rhythm all their own in their personal lives as well.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Dilbert

*Dilbert*'s subject matter "strikes a nerve," as *Newsweek*'s cover story shouted in August of 1996, because it "portrays the bedrock truth of the American workplace, at least in the white-collar caverns where clerks, engineers, marketers, and salespeople dwell." This comic strip presents aspects of the corporate culture that veterans of the cubicle easily identify with: company monitoring of employee e-mail; management double talk; carpal tunnel syndrome; endless and pointless meetings; inane team-building exercises; and lower back pains resulting from excessive hours in front of the computer screen. Since his initial appearance in the early 1990s as the brain-child of

MBA-trained former Pacific Bell software engineer Scott Adams, Dilbert, a nerdy engineer and the strip's main character, has become a sort of corporate everyman.

The strip centers around an anonymous company where Dilbert is employed in an unnamed department. With co-workers, he struggles to meet deadlines, withstand management trends, and endure other indignities. Each of the strip's main characters is described in Adams' 1997 retrospective *Seven Years of Highly Defective People*, and was inspired and shaped by bits and pieces of Adams's own experience at Pacific Bell. Much of the subject matter is supplemented by "war stories" taken directly from reader e-mail and visitors to the "Dilbert Zone," Adams' web site. Each character, therefore, embodies some facet of actual corporate reality, which is probably why readers familiar with the environment identify with the strip's material so readily.

The more significant of Dilbert's co-workers are Wally, a fellow engineer and "thoroughly cynical employee who has no sense of company loyalty and feels no need to mask his poor performance or his total lack of respect," and Alice, a no-nonsense go-getter known for her "pink suit, her fluffy hair, her coffee obsession, her technical proficiency, and her take-no-crap attitude." Other characters include the "generic guy" Ted, whose manic work habits go unnoticed by the company bigwigs, and Tina, the technical writer who resents the engineers for their failure to appreciate her talents.

This motley cast struggles to withstand the whimsical machinations and inane directives of Dilbert's dog, the annoying know-it-all Dogbert; his cat, the head of the Evil Human Resources, Catbert; the troglodytes of the Accounting Department; the Teflon-coated PR types in marketing who have no clue about what engineers do; and ultimately, the "Pointy-Haired Boss," whose coif reflects his ultimately demonic stature as a figure of management inanity and cluelessness. Together, these characters represent the worst face of corporate culture, and are frequently seen drafting dehumanizing policies, issuing obscure directives, arbitrarily demonstrating their authority, and generally making miserable the lives of the employees who nonetheless "see through" their motives.

The reality of Dilbert's world isn't too different from that of his audience of real-life counterparts who identify with his struggle to maintain his sanity. In the mid 1990s, *Dilbert* became a hot topic for discussion among management strategists and human resource officers, and a voice of late-capitalist corporate worker cynicism. Management Consultant Tom Brown notes that Adams' strip "take(s) virtually every HR issue of the past 20 years and catapults it to the top of many management agendas via trenchant cartoons and scathing essays in books. . . . *Dilbert* is about human rights, human purpose, and human potential. It's what the human resources profession is about, or ought to be, as well." Indeed, recent years have seen Adams' comic lampoons of corporate America achieve their status as mandatory reading for those in the management and human resource professions.

Along with his stature as an embodiment of worker frustration, Dilbert has also become a prosperous commodity as a merchandising icon. In the late 1990s, the nerdy engineer's visage could be found on everything from ties to mouse pads to coffee mugs, and his website was both the bane and the boon to other corporations, some of whom advertised on it while others blocked employee access to it. An *Economist* article from April 1997 observed that "There are Dilbert Dolls, Dilbert calendars and ties, a \$20m contract for another five Dilbert books, plus plans for Dilbert-based television programmes and computer software. There is even talk of a Dilbertland theme

park, complete with boss-shooting galleries. Mr. Adams only real worry is over-exposure—and, as he happily points out, ‘you can’t get to over-exposure without going through filthy rich first.’” The prediction of a television show came true in 1999, when the pilot for *Dilbert* was aired on the Fox network.

Given its run of success, the strip has inevitably prompted criticism from those who see it as yet another management tool. Its critics argue that it nothing less than a statement that champions the virtues of efficacy, good sense, and common sense by assailing foolish bureaucracy, reductive company policy, and faddish but ineffective management schemes. In his 1997 critique *The Trouble with Dilbert: How Corporate Culture Gets the Last Laugh*, author Norman Solomon contends that with *Dilbert*, “corporate America is not selling us the rope to hang it with; corporate America is selling us the illusions to exculpate it with. To mistake pop-culture naughtiness for opposition to the corporate system is an exercise in projection—and delusion.” Others have also found it easy to point to the strip’s popularity and overexposure as signs that it represents not a paean to disenfranchised workers, but just another capitalist success story.

Within its series of strategies for avoiding work while still looking busy, *Dilbert*’s ultimate message is that the greater the technological and organizational sophistication in the workplace, the more opportunities exist to create the false image of actual productivity, as well as the documentation to validate it as production. Whether it be regarded as a subversive attack on the corporation or merely as a “steam valve” to give release to the corporate worker’s frustrations, *Dilbert* continues to provide an important voice in the dialogue between the corporation and those at the lower levels who make it run.

—Warren Tormey

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## Dillard, Annie (1945—)

One of the best-known writers of the twentieth century and winner of the 1975 Pulitzer Prize for general nonfiction, Annie

Dillard developed a following unique among writers. Her readers embrace her mixture of literary, philosophical, theological, and scientific themes regardless of the genre in which they appear, from the essays of *Pilgrim at Tinker Creek*, *Holy the Firm*, and *Teaching a Stone to Talk*, to the poetry of *Tickets for a Prayer Wheel* and *Mornings Like This*, and from the autobiographical prose of *Encounters with Chinese Writers*, *An American Childhood*, and *The Writing Life* to the literary criticism of *Living by Fiction* and the fiction of *The Living*. In part, Dillard achieved her popularity because of her ongoing interest in spiritual experience, interdisciplinary knowledge, and aesthetic creation, all topics that mirror the concerns of a growing segment of the reading public.

Born Meta Ann Doak in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on April 30, 1945, Dillard was the oldest of Frank and Pam Doak’s three daughters. She spent her youth reading books, studying the natural world, and “getting religion,” experiences she recounts in detail in *An American Childhood*. After graduating from the Ellis School in Pittsburgh, she attended Hollins College in Roanoke, Virginia, where she received her B.A. (1967) and M.A. (1968) in English literature. While there, she met her first husband—her writing teacher, Richard Dillard—whom she married in 1965 and whose name she retained after the marriage ended.

Her first book, the slim volume of poetry titled *Tickets for a Prayer Wheel* (1974), was well received, but its publication was overshadowed by *Pilgrim at Tinker Creek* (1974), released only a few months later. Described by Dillard, quoting Thoreau, as “a meteorological journal of the mind,” the book recounts the year (1972) she spent walking, reading, and journal-keeping while living on Tinker Creek in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia. After advance chapters were published in *Harper’s* and the *Atlantic*, the book was widely and enthusiastically reviewed, launching its 29-year-old author into instant literary celebrity.

Disturbed by the attention she was receiving, especially after winning the Pulitzer Prize, Dillard accepted a position as scholar-in-residence at Western Washington University in 1975 and moved to an isolated island in Puget Sound. There she wrote *Holy the Firm* (1977), a short but powerful prose narrative about the relationship between beauty and violence, a topic she had previously begun to explore in *Pilgrim*. Inspired by a plane crash in which a neighbor’s child was badly burned, the book relates Dillard’s process of coming to terms with the seeming contradiction between the existence of human suffering and the idea of a loving and all-powerful God.

In 1979, Dillard took up a new post as visiting professor of creative writing at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut, where she subsequently remained as writer-in-residence. Having divorced her first husband in 1975, Dillard married anthropologist Gary Clevidence in 1980. In 1982 she published two books, *Teaching a Stone to Talk: Expeditions and Encounters* and *Living by Fiction*. The first, a collection of essays, received excellent reviews; the second, a work of literary criticism, garnered more muted praise. She followed these two works in 1984 with *Encounters with Chinese Writers*, an account based in part on her visit to China in 1982 as a member of a cultural delegation.

In 1988, having published *An American Childhood* (1987), Dillard divorced Gary Clevidence and married Robert D. Richardson, Jr., whom she had met after reading his biography, *Henry Thoreau: A Life of the Mind* (1986). At this time she also worked on *The Writing Life* (1989), a description of the writing process and the creative energies it entails.

Dillard published her first novel, *The Living*, in 1992. Expanding a short story of the same name that she had written for *Harper's* in 1978, the story spans 42 years, from 1855 to 1897, and explores the frontier history of Whatcom, a town on Bellingham Bay in Washington State. Although the tale is related by an omniscient narrator, *The Living* nonetheless reflects Dillard's continuing concerns throughout her books with the arbitrariness of death, the insignificance of individuals in an indifferent universe, and the necessity of faith despite the knowledge of these uncomfortable truths.

The popularity of Dillard's writing during the late 1980s and 1990s can be judged by the frequency with which her work was reprinted during these decades. As well as excerpts included in multi-author collections, the four-volume *Annie Dillard Library* appeared in 1989, followed by *Three by Annie Dillard* (1990), and *The Annie Dillard Reader* (1994). During these years, she also served as the co-editor of two volumes of prose—*The Best American Essays* (1988), with Robert Atwan, and *Modern American Memoirs* (1995), with Cort Conley—and crafted *Mornings Like This: Found Poems* (1995), a collection of excerpts from other writers' prose, which she reformatted into verse.

Though a minor work, *Mornings Like This* could be said to encapsulate all of the qualities that have made Dillard's work consistently popular among readers: clever and playful, it displays her wide learning and eclectic tastes, her interest in the intersection of nature and science with history and art, and her desire to create beauty and unity out of the lost and neglected fragments of human experience.

—Daniel J. Philippon

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## Diller, Phyllis (1917—)

Comedienne Phyllis Diller occupies a unique position in the annals of American stand-up comedy as the first woman to make her name in that previously all-male preserve. Remarkably, her show business career began in 1955 when she was 37 years old. In four decades, Diller progressed from being the only touring female comedienne within the United States to one of the world's most successful and best-loved comics, and the acknowledged forerunner to the many female comics who have followed her.

Diller was born Phyllis Ada Driver in Lima, Ohio. She studied classical piano at the Sherwood Conservatory of Music and received a

music education degree from Bufferton College, but shelved her music career to marry Sherwood Diller and start a family. It wasn't until almost fifteen years and five children later, in California, when desperation rather than dormant ambition drove her to reconsider a stage career.

As a housewife and mother, Diller's life began to fall apart in 1953. Her husband had lost his job, bills were past due, and it began to look as if the family would lose their house. Gathering her courage, Diller found herself a job writing for a local radio station; two years later, turning courage into chutzpah, she quit that job to pursue a career as a stand-up comic. She auditioned at San Francisco's Purple Onion, and, though female comedians were extremely rare, she was engaged for a two-week stint. Her instant popularity with audiences turned the two weeks into an 87-week run. In 1959 she appeared before the nation on Jack Paar's *Tonight Show*, and in 1960 she performed at Carnegie Hall, not at the piano, but on it—vamping and slithering, and singing satirical songs interspersed with rapid-fire comic patter.

Calling her comedy "tragedy revisited," Diller based her act on her experiences as a housewife. Dressed in outrageous costumes, with wildly disheveled bleached-blond hair and a raucous maniacal laugh, she lampooned housework, her neighbors, a fictitious husband she called "Fang," and, most of all, herself. She has always written her own material, and the jokes come fast and furious, sometimes as many as twelve punch lines a minute. She takes pride in the fact that her jokes are "clean," though she has been criticized by feminists for her self-deprecating put-downs of her own looks and abilities. Though "Fang" is a creation of her act and, she claims, not based on either of her two husbands, the family of her first husband once brought an unsuccessful lawsuit against her for denigrating him in her routine.

Diller continued to perform her comedy act in arenas as diverse as Las Vegas supper clubs and Madison Square Garden. She did, however, return to her classical music roots from 1971 to 1982, when she played as a soloist with over a hundred different symphony orchestras around the country, using the "virtuoso" name, Illya Dillya. She has also performed in stage shows and many films. Her one dramatic role was a surprising tour de force as the wife of Zero in the film version of Elmer Rice's expressionistic play, *The Adding Machine* (1969); while a high point of her stage career was on Broadway in 1970 where, for several months, she played Dolly Levi in *Hello Dolly!*

Though it was the comedic projection of herself as a frumpy grotesque that won Diller her fame and fortune, her image covered an intense insecurity about her looks. Determined to change the things she did not like about her face and body, she became notorious for her relationship with cosmetic surgery. Blatantly outspoken, she has always admitted to having herself "fixed," saying, "I used to be young and ugly. Now I'm old and gorgeous." Her very public admission of her many procedures—facelifts, nose job, tummy tuck, cheek implants, and straightened teeth among them—have caused plastic surgeons to hail her as a boon to their business. She has written humor books, and made many best-selling comedy albums. A gourmet chef, she turned entrepreneur to market her own chili and has sold her own lines of cosmetics and jewelry. There is, however, another side to Phyllis Diller. Like many celebrities, she has used her fame and wealth to support humanitarian causes and has been honored accordingly.

—Tina Gianoulis



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## Dillinger, John (1903-1934)

During the Great Depression, many Americans, nearly helpless against forces they didn't understand, made heroes of outlaws who took what they wanted at gunpoint and stole from the institutions that they felt were oppressing them. Of all these lurid desperadoes, John Dillinger came to evoke this Gangster Era, and stirred mass emotion to a degree rarely seen in this country.

In truth, Dillinger was not the leader of a crime syndicate but was merely a brutal thief and a cold-blooded murderer. From September, 1933, until July, 1934, he and his violent gang terrorized the Midwest, killing 10 men, wounding seven others, robbing banks and police arsenals, and staging three memorable jail breaks, killing a sheriff



John Dillinger

during one and wounding two guards in another. He became something of a folk hero for successfully thwarting his pursuers for a time.

John Herbert Dillinger was born on June 22, 1903, in the middle-class Oak Hill section of Indianapolis. His father, a hardworking grocer, raised him in an atmosphere of disciplinary extremes, harsh and repressive on some occasions, but generous and permissive on others. John's mother died when he was three, and when his father remarried six years later, John resented his stepmother.

In adolescence, Dillinger was frequently in trouble. Finally, he quit school and got a job in a machine shop in Indianapolis. Although intelligent and a good worker, he soon became bored and often stayed out all night. His father, worried that the temptations of the city were corrupting his teenaged son, sold his property in Indianapolis and moved his family to a farm near Mooresville, Indiana. However, John reacted no better to rural life than he had to that in the city and soon began to run wild again.

After being arrested for auto theft, Dillinger was given the opportunity to enlist in the Navy. There he soon got into more trouble and deserted his ship when it docked in Boston. Returning to Mooresville, he married 16-year-old Beryl Hovius in 1924 and moved to Indianapolis. Dillinger, finding no work in the city, joined the town pool shark, Ed Singleton, in his quest for easy money. They tried to rob a Mooresville grocer, but were quickly apprehended. Singleton pleaded not guilty, stood trial, and was sentenced to two years. Dillinger, following his father's advice, confessed, was convicted of assault and battery with intent to rob and conspiracy to commit a felony, and received joint sentences of 2-to-14 years and 10-to-20 years in the Indiana State Prison. Stunned by the harsh sentence, Dillinger became a tortured, bitter man in prison.

Dillinger's notoriety grew when he made a successful prison break. On May 10, 1933, he was paroled from prison after serving 8-1/2 years of his sentence, and almost immediately Dillinger robbed a bank in Bluffton, Ohio. Dayton police arrested him on September 22, and he was lodged in the county jail in Lima, Ohio, to await trial. In frisking Dillinger, the Lima police found a document outlining a plan for a prison break, but the prisoner denied knowledge of any plan. Four days later, using the same plans, eight of Dillinger's friends escaped from the Indiana State Prison, using shotguns and rifles that had been smuggled into their cells and shooting two guards.

On October 12, three of the escaped prisoners and a parolee from the same prison, Harry Pierpont, Russell Clark, Charles Makley, and Harry Copeland, showed up at the Lima jail where Dillinger was incarcerated. They told the sheriff that they had come to return Dillinger to the Indiana State Prison for violation of his parole. When the sheriff asked to see their credentials, one of the men pulled a gun, shot the sheriff, and beat him into unconsciousness. Then, taking the keys to the jail, the bandits freed Dillinger, locked the sheriff's wife and a deputy in a cell, and, leaving the sheriff to die on the floor, made their getaway.

Dillinger and his gang pulled several bank robberies and also plundered the police arsenals at Auburn, Indiana, and Peru, Indiana, stealing several machine guns, rifles, and revolvers, a quantity of ammunition, and several bulletproof vests. On December 14, John Hamilton, a Dillinger gang member, shot and killed a police detective in Chicago. A month later, the Dillinger gang killed a police officer during the robbery of the First National Bank of East Chicago, Indiana. Then they made their way to Florida and, subsequently, to Tucson, Arizona. There on January 23, 1934, a fire broke out in the hotel where Clark and Makley were hiding under assumed names. Firemen recognized the men from their photographs, and local police

arrested them, as well as Dillinger and Harry Pierpont. They also seized three Thompson submachine guns, two Winchester rifles mounted as machine guns, five bulletproof vests, and more than \$25,000 in cash, part of it from the East Chicago robbery.

Dillinger was sequestered at the county jail in Crown Point, Indiana, to await trial for the murder of the East Chicago police officer. Authorities boasted that the jail was "escape proof," but on March 3, 1934, Dillinger cowed the guards with what he claimed later was a wooden gun he had whittled. He forced them to open the door to his cell, then grabbed two machine guns, locked up the guards and several trustees, and fled in the sheriff's car, hightailing it to nearby Illinois. The stunt earned headlines around the world and put Dillinger as a top priority on FBI director J. Edgar Hoover's hit list.

By stealing the sheriff's car and driving it across a state line, Dillinger had violated the National Motor Vehicle Theft Act, which made it a Federal offense to transport a stolen motor vehicle across a state line. A Federal complaint was sworn charging Dillinger with the theft and interstate transportation of the sheriff's car, which actively involved the FBI in the nationwide search for Dillinger.

Meanwhile, Pierpont, Makley, and Clark were returned to Ohio, convicted of the murder of the Lima sheriff, with Pierpont and Makley being sentenced to death, and Clark to life imprisonment. But in an escape attempt, Makley was killed and Pierpont was wounded. A month later, Pierpont had recovered sufficiently to be executed.

Hoover protégé Melvin Purvis was put in charge of capturing Dillinger, and in late April, "Nervous" Purvis received a tip-off that the bandit was holed up at Little Bohemia, a lakeside resort in Wisconsin. Purvis and his team blundered onto the resort grounds and blazed away indiscriminately at what proved to be innocent customers leaving a restaurant.

While an agent was telephoning about the debacle, the operator broke in to tell him there was trouble at another cottage about two miles away. FBI Special Agent W. Carter Baum, another FBI agent, and a constable went there and found a parked car which the constable recognized as belonging to a local resident. They pulled up and identified themselves. Inside the other car, "Baby Face" Nelson, a member of Dillinger's gang, was holding three local residents at gunpoint. He turned, leveled a revolver at the lawmen's car, and ordered them to step out. But without waiting for them to comply, Nelson opened fire. Baum was killed, and the constable and the other agent were severely wounded. Nelson jumped into the Ford they had been using and fled.

For the second time in three weeks, Dillinger had made the Feds look like fools. Hoover appointed a trusted Washington inspector, Sam Cowley, to take thirty handpicked men and form a special Dillinger squad in Chicago, though Purvis remained Agent in Charge. Dillinger was rated Public Enemy Number One and was featured on Wanted posters all over the United States. Eliminating him had become a public relations imperative, despite the lack of proof that he personally had ever killed anyone.

Late in the afternoon of Saturday, July 21, 1934, the madam of a brothel in Gary, Indiana, contacted one of the police officers with information. This woman called herself Anna Sage; however, her real name was Ana Cumpanas, and she had entered the United States from her native Rumania in 1914. Because of the nature of her profession, she was considered an undesirable alien by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and deportation proceedings had started. Anna was willing to sell the FBI some information about Dillinger for a cash reward, plus the FBI's help in preventing her deportation.

At a meeting with Anna, Cowley and Purvis were cautious. They promised her the reward if her information led to Dillinger's capture, but said all they could do was call her cooperation to the attention of the Department of Labor, which at that time handled deportation matters. Satisfied, Anna told the agents that a girl friend of hers, Polly Hamilton, had visited her establishment with Dillinger. Anna had recognized Dillinger from a newspaper photograph.

Anna told the agents that she, Polly Hamilton, and Dillinger probably would be going to the movies the following evening at either the Biograph or the Marbro Theaters. She said that she would notify them when the theater was chosen. She also said that she would wear a red dress so that they could identify her.

On Sunday, July 22, Anna Sage called to confirm the plans, but she still did not know which theater they would attend. Therefore, agents and policemen were sent to both theaters. At 8:30 p.m., Anna Sage, John Dillinger, and Polly Hamilton strolled into the Biograph Theater to see Clark Gable in *Manhattan Melodrama*. Purvis phoned Cowley, who shifted the other men from the Marbro to the Biograph.

Cowley also phoned Hoover for instructions, who cautioned them to wait outside rather than risk a shooting match inside the crowded theater. Each man was instructed not to unnecessarily endanger himself and was told that if Dillinger offered any resistance, it would be each man for himself.

At 10:30 p.m., Dillinger, with his two female companions on either side, walked out of the theater and turned to his left. As they walked past the doorway in which Purvis was standing, Purvis lit a cigar as a signal for the other men to close in. Dillinger quickly realized what was happening and acted by instinct. He grabbed a pistol from his right trouser pocket as he ran toward the alley. Five shots were fired from the guns of three FBI agents. Three of the shots hit Dillinger and he fell face down on the pavement. At 10:50 p.m. on July 22, 1934, John Dillinger was pronounced dead in a little room in the Alexian Brothers Hospital.

The agents who fired at Dillinger were Charles B. Winstead, Clarence O. Hurt, and Herman E. Hollis. Each man was commended by J. Edgar Hoover for fearlessness and courageous action. None of them ever said who actually killed Dillinger. The events of that sultry July night in Chicago marked the beginning of the end of the Gangster Era. Eventually, 27 persons were convicted in Federal courts on charges of harboring and aiding and abetting John Dillinger and his cronies during their reign of terror. "Baby Face" Nelson was fatally wounded on November 27, 1934, in a gun battle with FBI agents in which Special Agents Cowley and Hollis also were killed.

Dillinger was buried in Crown Point Cemetery in Indianapolis, Indiana. It has long been rumored that his supposedly generously endowed member was kept in storage at the Smithsonian. In his 1970 book *The Dillinger Dossier*, Jay Robert Nash, citing flaws in the autopsy evidence and detailed testimony, even offers the thesis that Dillinger did not die in Chicago at all, but rather an underworld fall guy sent to take his place.

In 1945, former bootleggers turned filmmakers, the King Brothers, Frank and Maurice, produced a low budget, largely non-factual biography of Dillinger called *Dillinger*, which starred Lawrence Tierney and was scripted by famous front Philip Yordan. It surprised the film industry by turning a tidy profit. A third of the film consisted of stock footage lifted from other classic gangster films, from Howard Hawks' *Scarface* to Fritz Lang's *You Only Live Once*. The film's non-stop action set a pattern for future gangster epics from the 1960s onward, but was unique for its time.

Writer-director John Milius made his film debut with another biography of Dillinger called simply *Dillinger* (1973) and starring Warren Oates, though it too owes little to the actual facts of Dillinger's life. Dillinger's noted demise also inspired Lewis Teague's film *The Lady in Red* (1979; also known as *Guns, Sin and Bathtub Gin*), scripted by John Sayles with Robert Conrad playing the famed bank robber. Other treatments of Dillinger on film include *Young Dillinger* (1965), *Dillinger and Capone* (1995), and a documentary, *Appointment with Death: The Last Days of John Dillinger* (1971).

Dillinger's legacy continued to be enshrined in song and story. Hoover put a plaster cast of the gangster's face on display at FBI headquarters and for years Hoover's reception room contained a .38 automatic that was purported to be Dillinger's gun, even though the particular make of Colt did not leave the factory until December 1934, five months after the Dillinger shooting. Dillinger had been inflated from a simple bank robber into a legend, and remains one to this day.

—Dennis Fischer

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## DiMaggio, Joe (1914-1999)

Joe DiMaggio is one of the few athletes who truly transcend their sport. His Hall of Fame career, leading the Yankees to nine World Series in 13 years, bridged two great eras of baseball—the post-war days of Babe Ruth and the post-integration days of Jackie Robinson. But he will always be best known as “Joltin’ Joe,” whose record-breaking 56 game hitting streak in 1941 captivated the country. DiMaggio's fame only grew after retirement, with his brief, but highly publicized marriage to movie star Marilyn Monroe, and frequent public appearances. The cool, classy ballplayer was immortalized in music and literature, as an enduring symbol of decency and order during a confusing era. In the words of the *New York Times* on the day of his retirement, DiMaggio had “something that no baseball averages can measure.”

He was born Joseph Paul DiMaggio in San Francisco in 1914, one of nine children; his parents were part of a wave of Sicilian immigrants to emigrate to the United States at the turn of the twentieth century. The shy, unsociable DiMaggio was expected to get an education, but his only true interest was baseball, so he dropped out of school at age 16 . . . a decision he would later regret. The story of DiMaggio's discovery has become baseball legend; a member of the San Francisco Seals organization spotted the thin 17 year old peaking through a hole in the outfield fence, hoping to find his brother Vince, a Seals player. The Seals offered the talented sand-lot player an

opportunity to play, and he stayed for four years, becoming a hero in the Italian community in San Francisco. The year 1933 proved to be a harbinger of things to come; DiMaggio chalked up a minor league record with his 61 game hitting streak.

At the end of the 1935 season, the New York Yankees signed DiMaggio, hoping he would lead the team into the post-Ruth era. Despite the pressures of following Ruth, DiMaggio had a fabulous rookie season in 1936, hitting .323 with 29 home runs, 125 RBIs, and a league leading 15 triples. Writers across the country marvelled at his exceptional clutch hitting, skilled base running, and graceful defensive play. The shy, conservative DiMaggio, a sharp contrast from the wild gregarious Ruth, became an instant celebrity. He led the Yankees to four straight World Series titles from 1936 to 1939 and constantly appeared among the leaders in batting, home runs, and RBIs. He became the most popular player in baseball, although he angered fans in 1938, sitting out the beginning of the season due to a contract dispute, a theme prevalent throughout his career. Despite the new celebrity status, DiMaggio continued to live a very normal life, returning to San Francisco to live with his family during the winter. At the end of the 1939 season, DiMaggio married Dorothy Arnold, and two years later, they had a son, Joe Jr.

All of the fanfare could not prepare DiMaggio for the 1941 season. DiMaggio collected a hit in every game from May 15th to July 14th, an astonishing stretch of 56 games. Never before did an individual sports record receive so much public attention; radio stations across the country regularly interrupted broadcasts to give updates on “the streak.” It seemed to come at a perfect time for a nation on the brink of war. Songwriter Alan Courtney wrote “Joe, Joe, DiMaggio, we want you on our side,” as if his hitting streak could protect America from the turmoil overseas. DiMaggio himself joined the Air Force at the end of the 1942 season, while in the prime of his baseball career. Like many ballplayers, he saw no combat, spending the majority of his service time entertaining the troops in exhibition games. But the distance from his family was frustrating, and in 1944 Dorothy DiMaggio filed for divorce.

When DiMaggio returned to baseball in 1946, his finest years were clearly in the past. He did, however, add to his fame by constantly playing through injury. In 1949, he made a remarkable comeback from a leg injury and “took his place in that select circle of athletes, like Babe Ruth and Jack Dempsey, who are not only adored but beloved,” according to *Life Magazine*. DiMaggio continued to show flashes of his former brilliance, but lost consistency and fought with Yankee manager Casey Stengel. At the end of the 1951 season, DiMaggio retired having amassed a .325 lifetime average and 361 career home runs in 13 seasons. That same year, he was immortalized in the Ernest Hemingway classic *The Old Man and the Sea*, the tale of an tired, aging fisherman, stuck at seas for days, and turning to “the Great DiMaggio” for solace.

Unlike many former players, DiMaggio had little trouble adjusting to life without baseball. He spent his first year of retirement working as a broadcaster for the Yankees, and went on to work in public relations with a variety of companies and charitable foundations. DiMaggio reentered the public consciousness in 1952 when he met a young Marilyn Monroe. The relationship between these two very different celebrities—the quiet, conservative former ballplayer and the beautiful but troubled movie star—was instant front page news. They married on January 14, 1954, but constantly fought over DiMaggio's traditional views of marriage and views of the Hollywood life, and divorced just nine months later. DiMaggio remained a close, dependable friend to Monroe, right until her death in 1962. He



### Joe DiMaggio

made all the funeral arrangements, excluding the Hollywood crowd in the hope it would restore some dignity to her tragically short life.

In 1967, DiMaggio was introduced to a new generation of Americans by Paul Simon and Art Garfunkel's "Mrs. Robinson," a sad lament to lost innocence from the film *The Graduate*. Simon and Garfunkel asked "Where have you gone, Joe DiMaggio?," looking for a hero to guide them through troubled times. More than 25 years after the magical summer of 1941, Joltin' Joe became a symbol of fundamental good to a confused generation. His image continued to grow through the 1970s and 1980s, through his charitable work and public appearances. DiMaggio died on March 8, 1999, after a bout with cancer.

—Simon Donner

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## Dime Novels

A popular form of literary entertainment in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, dime novels were works of sensational fiction published in paper-covered booklets, issued at regular intervals, and priced at five to ten cents. Profitable mainstays of the

American publishing industry for many years, dime novels gradually waned as pulp magazine consumption increased, and by 1915, motion pictures had replaced dime novels as inexpensive forms of entertainment. Since that time, dime novels have become significant resources for examining the development of American popular culture in that they exemplify early printing methods, serve as rudimentary forms of genre fiction, and reflect aspects of the social history of the United States.

Published in four basic formats between 1860 and 1915, dime novels usually possessed pictorial covers with black-and-white or colored illustrations, ranged in size from four by six inches to eight by 12 inches, and varied in length from 32 to 250 pages. Initially produced for an adult market, early versions detailed life on the American frontier. Later publications, however, featured detective mysteries, adventure stories, and science fiction tales and were primarily read by juveniles.

The idea of producing cheap paper-covered novels in a continuous series was conceived by Irwin P. Beadle. In 1860, Beadle, along with his older brother, Erastus, and Robert Adams, established the publishing firm of Beadle & Adams in New York City and launched *Malaeska, the Indian Wife of the White Hunter* by Mrs. Ann S. Stephens, as the first entry in a series entitled *Beadle's Dime Novels*. Achieving success with the publication of this story and others, Beadle & Adams were for a time the principal publishers of dime novels until competitors George P. Munro, his brother Norman L. Munro, Frank Tousey, and Street & Smith began to publish dime novels as well.

Dime novel authors had strict guidelines to follow—stories had to be exciting, entertaining, and moral. Each of the major publishers employed regulars who wrote for a particular series. In some instances, authors published stories for several firms. Prolific contributors to *Beadle's Dime Novels* (1860-1874) included Mrs. Ann S. Stephens, Mrs. Metta Victor, Edward S. Ellis, Edward L. Wheeler, Philip S. Warne, and Ned Buntline. George P. Munro's *Old Sleuth Library* (1885-1905) highlighted the detective adventures of Old Sleuth, a pseudonym for Harlan Page Halsey, and other authors. His brother, Norman, published works by W. I. James in the *Old Cap Collier Library* (1883-1899), another dime-novel detective series. Frank Tousey's small group of authors wrote under so many pseudonyms that the amount of contributors to the *Wide Awake Library* (1878-1898) appeared greater than it actually was. Street & Smith, as the last major publishing firm to produce dime novels, featured authors Horatio Alger, Jr., Ned Buntline, Gilbert Patten, and Colonel Prentiss Ingraham, among others, in several series between 1883 and 1899. When dime-novel production ceased, most of the once prolific authors faded into obscurity.

Often, characters appearing in dime-novel series were better known than their authors were. Ned Buntline's famous western hero, Buffalo Bill, based on United States scout and performer William Frederick Cody, appeared in numerous publications by Beadle & Adams, Street & Smith, and Frank Tousey. Amateur detective Nick Carter proved to be so popular after his first appearance in *The Old Detective's Pupil* (1886), that Street & Smith featured his adventures in three different series between 1891 and 1915, *The Nick Carter Library*, *The New Nick Carter Weekly*, and *Nick Carter Stories*. Similarly, the exploits of Deadwood Dick, Kit Carson, Jr., Jesse James, Old Sleuth, Young Wild West, Frank Reade, Jr., Tiger Dick, and Frank Merriwell appeared in more than one dime novel.

Covering a wide variety of subjects, dime novels promoted traditional American values of patriotism, rugged individualism, and moral behavior. Many of the early dime novel stories focused on

historical events such as the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and conflicts with Native Americans. Others were set in gold mining camps or towns within the expanding western frontier, and featured gunfighters, villains, and damsels in distress. Reflecting the urbanization of cities, the industrial revolution, and increased transportation modes, subsequent dime novel subjects included circuses, railroad workers, firefighters, sports, science fiction, fantasy, sea or polar explorations, and mysteries with detectives from every walk of life. Moving beyond the borders of America, a few detail adventures in distant places.

In the 1990s, few original dime novels exist outside of libraries and personal collections. Moreover, owing largely to their sheer numbers and past popular appeal, dime novels are seldom considered by literary scholars to be good examples of American literature. Their value as historical artifacts, however, is considerable.

—Marlena E. Bremseth

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## Dime Stores/Woolworth's

Dime Stores, or five-and-dimes, maintained a central place in American life from before 1900 until after World War II. Woolworth's was the original and dominant dime-store chain. In the first half of the twentieth century, the main street of virtually every town and city in the United States featured a Woolworth's; it was the first place many people went to look for basic merchandise of all sorts. Woolworth's offered its customers a wide assortment of very affordable household items and the working class appreciated finding basic things at basic prices. The dime store's lunch counter was a common meeting place, its toys made it a favorite destination of children, and its endless locations meant it served as the neighborhood store for many. Although part of Woolworth's appeal was in its ubiquitous presence, local stores were also encouraged to remain local institutions. They varied widely from region to region and from city to town. Each filled a particular role and developed its own character.

In 1919, when F. W. Woolworth died, his chain of five-and-dimes consisted of 1,081 stores in the United States and Canada. At that time, department stores were all regional; Woolworth's was one of a very few nationwide chains. Department stores were also notably more lavish and expensive than dime stores. Millions of working people depended on Woolworth's and other five-and-dimes for many basic needs. As the nation's largest food-service retailer by the 1940s, Woolworth's maintained nearly a thousand inexpensive lunch counters across the United States before the first McDonald's opened.

Before Woolworth, shopping meant bartering. Merchandise was kept behind counters or on inaccessible shelves and customers had to ask clerks to show them an item. Fixed pricing had begun appearing in



An F. W. Woolworth Co. five and dime store.

a few places, notably Michigan, in the 1870s, but was sporadic and unorganized. Other merchants had set up five-cent counters from time to time for limited runs, but no one had worked hard to make it consistently profitable, and certainly no one had devoted an entire variety store to the same fixed price. Frank Woolworth was not a natural salesman or bargainer, but he held a strong Yankee work ethic and recognized and exploited a good idea. He assiduously sharpened his bargaining skills until he became known for them. They helped him negotiate endless deals with wholesalers which allowed Woolworth's to make a profit on items under 10¢.

He had opened his first "5¢ store" in Utica, New York, on February 22, 1879, with \$350 loaned him by his former employer. That first store barely turned a profit, but it spawned twenty more over the next ten years, twelve of which were partnerships and five of which failed within a few months. His fourth store, opened in Scranton, Pennsylvania, on November 6, 1880, was the first "5-&-10¢ store." Frank Woolworth never stopped opening or buying new stores: he ran twelve in 1890, fifty-four in 1900, two hundred thirty-eight in 1910, and three hundred nineteen by the December 1911 merger that created F. W. Woolworth & Co. Combined with his brother Charles's fifteen stores, his cousin Seymour Knox's ninety-eight, Fred Kirby's ninety-six, Earle Charlton's thirty-five, and William Moore's two, Woolworth became the first retail company to

operate stores in all forty-eight states. As he planned for the merger that created F. W. Woolworth & Co., Frank Woolworth also oversaw the construction of the Woolworth Building in Manhattan. The tallest building in the world at the time of its completion in 1913, Woolworth insisted that it surpass the Metropolitan Life Building, which company had refused him a policy when he was laying the foundation for his empire.

Frank Woolworth said that he aimed "to open a store in every civilized town throughout the world." He expanded into England in 1909, then Germany, Canada, South Africa, and elsewhere. Woolworth's critics complained that Woolworth's was creating a monopoly and Congressman John J. Cochran championed legislation that would have taxed Woolworth's into collapse. Many people were dismayed by "the chain store menace" of Woolworth's in the 1930s, just as many recoiled when Wal-Mart built stores in their communities in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1935 Representative Cochran led a congressional investigation into the "super-lobby" of chain store interests. Woolworth's and drug-store chain A&P were the primary targets. Fortunately for the chains, a 1939 bill that would have broken them up died in committee. Woolworth's did indeed try to drive out or buy out much of its competition. The company knew that many of the towns and districts where they opened could not support more than one dime store.

Woolworth's remained literally a dime store for over fifty years, until 1932, when the top price was raised to 20¢. In 1935 the limited price policy ended as the company expanded into higher-priced merchandise such as furniture and appliances. Despite fixed, low prices, Woolworth paid better wages than most of his competitors. He introduced minimum wages for all positions, paid vacations, and Christmas bonuses. These things were far from standard early in the twentieth century. Woolworth's was also a major employer of women, although by the 1950s many were protesting their lack of promotion in the company.

Woolworth's lunch counters will be long remembered as the site of civil-rights sit-ins in 1960. The first one began at the Woolworth's in Greenville, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960. Soon protesters throughout the South were occupying lunch counters and calling for a nationwide boycott against Woolworth's. The company's earnings dropped 8.9 percent in March. Many cities integrated their restaurants after a few weeks, but Greenville endured sit-ins and demonstrations until July 25.

Woolworth's perfectly filled a key place in American culture in the first half of the twentieth century, but as the culture changed after World War II, Woolworth's importance waned. As other chains emulated Woolworth's low-cost approach, it became little more than another department store. The 2,850 Woolworth's stores of the early 1960s sold enormous quantities of merchandise, but held onto a very thin profit margin.

In the postwar era, Woolworth's seemed stale and staid; its workforce aged with its clientele as it failed to change with the times. A succession of company-trained presidents found it impossible to halt the gradual decline. The last 400 Woolworth's in North America were closed in 1997 and 1998. Woolworth's survives in the United States as Venator, a corporation consisting primarily of Footlocker athletic shoe stores. In Great Britain and Australia Woolworth's remains a major variety and, in Australia, grocery chain.

Yet the legacy of the dime store thrives in the myriad discount department stores throughout the world, in the many "dollar stores" now occupying the neighborhood malls that have taken the place of downtown shopping districts, and in the merchandise purchasing, display, and pricing policies that have become standards of modern commerce.

—Paul Gaffney

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## Diners

Restaurants commonly referred to as "diners" have held a special place in American popular culture since the 1930s. Once sleek, futuristic icons of post-war optimism, they now capture our

attention as objects of nostalgia. As the precursor to fast-food restaurants, diners were one of the unique building types spawned by the burgeoning automobile society. Their very appearance—with streamlined, movement-implying shapes and bright neon lights—captured the spirit of the new mobile culture.

The diner evolved from horse-drawn night lunch wagons of the late nineteenth century. These convenient wagons served walk-up customers in downtown areas after restaurants had closed for the evening. The next generation of wagons featured indoor seating; by the turn of the century, many lunch wagons had become stationary. The early diners' forte was the quick, inexpensive meal—atmosphere was not important. The clientele consisted of night workers and late revelers. Sandwiches, hamburgers, pies, hot dogs, and breakfast fare were standard items. By the 1890s, Thomas H. Buckley was mass-producing lunch wagons and had placed them in at least 275 cities across the country. Early diners were also converted from railroad or trolley cars.

The diner that has become the object of popular affection dates to the 1930s and 1940s. The machine-influenced, Art Deco or Moderne design style that emphasized smooth curves, simplicity, and shiny surfaces was inherent in much product design of the time, but in the diner it was integrated into a total environment. Diners from the Golden Age were long and low in shape, with streamlined effects and clean surfaces, evoking a feeling of both futurism and movement. Formica, stainless steel, and Naugahyde were the most popular interior materials. Diners contained booths, but the highlight of the interior was a long, shiny counter. Meals were simple and inexpensive. The imagery of speed and progress fit perfectly with the rapidly developing mobile society, in which the automobile was reshaping the landscape and creating opportunities for new building.

In the 1950s, as more families began to eat outside the home, and the diner became more "respectable," diners expanded in size and menu. The 1960s marked a turning point for the diner, as the fast-food restaurant industry proliferated. Fast-food represented standardization, as opposed to the uniqueness of diners. You knew beforehand what was on the McDonald's menu, while every diner had a specialty and a different atmosphere. In response, many diners tried to emphasize their individuality by expanding their menus and adopting more conservative imagery. Apart from their smaller size and the word "diner," many of these diners became difficult to distinguish from standard restaurants. Booth and table service came to predominate over the traditional counter. Colonial and Mediterranean architectural styles often replaced the Art Deco model familiar from past decades.

Beginning in the 1970s, diners began to make a comeback as nostalgic reminders of a more innocent time. They also became legitimate subjects of study by architectural and popular culture scholars. In 1978 the Cooper-Hewitt branch of the Smithsonian held an exhibit on architectural packaging which looked at four popular American building types: fast-food restaurants, diners, gasoline stations, and museum-village restorations. An article by Richard Oliver and Nancy Ferguson, the curators of the exhibit, appeared in *Architectural Record* for February 1978 and also as a reprint catalog. Also, Barry Levinson's 1982 movie *Diner* helped introduce the phenomenon to a new audience. In the late 1990s, diners were still being manufactured and patronized. Many older models have been restored. Diners are the subject of books and museum exhibitions. The Henry Ford Museum in Dearborn, Michigan, now includes a 1946 diner as part of its collection of twentieth-century cultural artifacts, in an exhibition entitled, "The Automobile in American Life." Diners have thus been recognized as unique cultural inventions which, like



An example of the diner, 1952.

the gas station and fast-food restaurant, were byproducts of the automobile revolution of the twentieth century.

—Dale Allen Gyure

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## Dionne Quintuplets (1934—)

Yvonne, Annette, Cécile, Émilie, and Marie Dionne are the first monozygotic—all from one fertilized ovum—quintuplets known to have survived to adulthood. They were nearly sextuplets, but the sixth fetus miscarried in the third month of pregnancy. Born to Oliva and Elzire Dionne, French-Canadian peasants, in their seven-room farmhouse near Callander, Ontario, the premature babies weighed a total of 13 pounds, 6 ounces. They owe their survival to the quick and intelligent care of the local general practitioner, Dr. Allan Roy Dafoe, who collected virtually every incubator in the province and kept the

tiny girls alive through his excellent scientific care. Nevertheless, the significance of the Dionne Quintuplets rests not in their place in medical history, but as examples of exploitation and publicity. Their birth and survival created a worldwide sensation, and their father collected a fortune by serving as their "manager," selling the right to photograph them, to have them appear in motion pictures, and to secure their "endorsement" of various products. They were made wards of the Canadian government in 1935, and for their first ten years were raised in a special nursery built for them out of public funds. After a protracted lawsuit, their parents recovered custody in 1944.

The birth of multiple children in the United States never garnered as much interest as that of the Dionne quintuplets. However, the subsequent birth of the Thompson sextuplets and the McCaughey septuplets in 1997 brought to light racial tensions in the United States. Unlike the worldwide attention given to the Dionne family, the birth of the first African-American sextuplets on May 8, 1997 came with little fanfare. Living in a two-bedroom apartment, the Thompson family struggled to make ends meet with the money Linden Thompson could make from his two jobs. Only after the much-publicized birth of the white McCaughey septuplets, seven months later that year, did corporations extend the same free products and aid to the Thompson sextuplets as well. Although not the riches given to the Dionne family, the lifetime of free diapers, college scholarships, and use of a mini-van relieved some of the stresses on the newly enlarged families.

—Gerald Carpenter

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## The Dirty Dozen

Directed by Robert Aldrich, *The Dirty Dozen* tells the story of Major Reisman (Lee Marvin) and the twelve hardened convicts he selects to join him on a suicide mission behind German lines in 1944. *The Dirty Dozen* remains an interesting and popular film, as it is meticulously crafted, deftly edited, and features several future stars at the beginning of their careers (including Donald Sutherland, Charles Bronson, and Telly Savalas). Although released in 1967 at the height of the anti-Vietnam war movement, *The Dirty Dozen* was nevertheless a success, becoming one of the biggest box-office hits in MGM's history. War protesters readily accepted the film's depiction of officers as indiscriminate killers, while more militaristic moviegoers approved of the film's brutal combat scenes.

—Robert C. Sickels

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## Disability

The presence of disability in popular culture has taken many forms; indeed, people with disabilities (PWDs) have appeared frequently across the pop-culture spectrum: movies, television, print media, dance, theater, music, and sports. Disability representations have never been in short supply, though many produced by the mainstream cultural industries remain questionable at best, hurtful and divisive at worst.

Images of disability have perhaps found their most frequent expression in movies, with the vast majority created from the perspective of able-bodied filmmakers and intended primarily for able-bodied audiences. The earliest silent movies, each only a few minutes long, tended to portray PWDs as comic figures given to pursuing others or being pursued themselves, as in *The Legless Runner* (1907), *The Invalid's Adventure* (1907), and *Don't Pull My Leg* (1908). As the medium matured, moviemakers borrowed heavily from such nineteenth-century literary fare as *Moby Dick*, *A Christmas Carol*, *Notre Dame de Paris* (*The Hunchback of Notre Dame*), *Treasure Island*, and *The Two Orphans*, to create more intricate narratives that

portrayed disabled people either as innocent victims or incarnations of evil. The films in this tradition included *Orphans of the Storm* (1921), *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1923, but many versions made since), *The Sea Beast* (1926), and numerous adaptations of *A Christmas Carol*. The 1930s saw a continuing interest in such stereotypical extremes—most notably in *Moby Dick* (1930), Charlie Chaplin's *City Lights* (1931), Todd Browning's famous gallery of grotesques, *Freaks* (1932), and a 1939 remake of *Hunchback*. Such images began fading during the World War II era in favor of relatively realistic and sensitive portraits of disabled veterans. *Pride of the Marines* (1945) and *Bright Victory* (1951) both dealt with blinded ex-servicemen; real-life veteran Harold Russell, whose service legacy was to lose his hands (replaced by metal hooks), played himself in *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946), and Fred Zinnemann's *The Men* (1951), Marlon Brando's first film, dealt with paraplegics. These images, in turn, began giving way to famously larger-than-life civilians who "triumphed" over their disabilities: opera singer Marjorie Lawrence and Franklin D. Roosevelt, both polio victims, in *Interrupted Melody* (1955) and *Sunrise at Campobello* (1960) respectively, Helen Keller, deaf, dumb, and blind, in *The Miracle Worker* (1962). Stanley Kubrick's *Dr. Strangelove* (1964), however, mocked these latter types with its title character, and signaled their temporary demise.

With alarming regularity, Hollywood has continued churning out regressive disability movies such as *Hook* (1991), *The Fugitive* (1993), *Speed* (1994), and *Forrest Gump* (1994), reflecting the age-old practice of linking evil or innocence with disability, but an increasing number of films since the 1960s have offered positive images. Hollywood has often reserved the most resonant and poignant portrayals for disabled Vietnam veterans, as in *Coming Home* (1978), *Cutter's Way* (1981), and *Born on the Fourth of July* (1989). Other memorable, if not entirely progressive, films since the 1960s include *The Other Side of the Mountain* (1975), *The Elephant Man* (1980), *Children of a Lesser God* (1986), *Rain Man* (1988), and *Scent of a Woman* (1992), which range over a variety of afflictions and film styles.

Despite its relatively short history, the television industry has also demonstrated an interest in portraying the disabled experience, with a number of series presenting disabled characters in continuing roles. *Gunslinger's* mobility-impaired sidekick Chester Goode, played by Dennis Weaver for nine seasons (1955-1964) during the program's 20-year run, competes with Raymond Burr's wheelchair-dependent police detective on *Ironside* (1967-1975), as television's most popular disabled character, while James Franciscus played a blind insurance investigator on *Longstreet* (1971-1972). Taking a different approach, nuclear-powered prostheses and implants turned disabled figures Steve Austin (Lee Majors) and Jaime Sommers (Lindsay Wagner) into the title characters of *The Six Million Dollar Man* (1974-1978) and *The Bionic Woman* (1976-1978), respectively. Later, LeVar Burton played the blind chief engineer Lt. Geordi LaForge in *Star Trek: The Next Generation* (1987-1994) and a string of follow-up movies.

Most of these films and TV programs featured able-bodied actors playing the disabled characters, a situation that some disability activists have likened to the now discontinued practice of white actors masquerading in blackface as African Americans or Shakespeare's Othello. Actors with actual disabilities have been employed only sporadically in the film and television industries, but their influence continues to rise. Some old-line actors, such as Sarah Bernhardt, Harold Lloyd, Herbert Marshall, and Lionel Barrymore, tended to mask their disabilities before the cameras (Barrymore's performance

in the 1946 film *It's a Wonderful Life* is a notable exception), but for more recent actors, their disabilities became part of the characters they played. Harold Russell, whose hands were blown off in a demolition exercise, won two Oscars for his work in *The Best Years of Our Lives*, and Marlee Matlin, a hearing-impaired performer, won an Oscar for her role in *Children of a Lesser God* (1986) and went on to play bank-robber-turned-mayor Laurie Bey in the final years of the acclaimed TV series *Picket Fences*. Chris Burke, a developmentally disabled actor, co-starred as Corky Thatcher on the popular drama *Life Goes On* during its 1989-1993 run, and wheelchair-user Nancy Becker Kennedy played a sharp-tongued secretary on *The Louie Show* in 1996. Mitch Longley, a wheelchair-using heartthrob who once modeled shirts for Ralph Lauren, appeared as Byron Pierce on the soap opera *Another World* during the 1991/92 season and, beginning in 1997, played the double role of Dr. Matt Harmon and Eric Mancusi on the long-running soap opera, *General Hospital*, and its spin-off, *Port Charles*.

Longley is only one of several PWDs who have also made inroads into the modeling field. One of the most famous, wheelchair-user Ellen Stohl, posed nude for the July 1987 issue of *Playboy*, making her that magazine's first disabled centerfold, while runway models now have PWDs among their ranks, including Kitty Lunn and Kim Barreda. A number of American corporations, such as McDonald's and K-Mart, have begun using disabled performers in their commercials. A prime example is The Home Depot, which has featured disabled employees Henry Gibson and Dan Brady in its ads.

Since the latter decades of the twentieth century, PWDs have taken a more direct role in the creation of a pop-culture presence. Ron Kovic, a disabled Vietnam veteran who wrote the searing autobiography, *Born on the Fourth of July*, in 1976, also co-wrote the screenplay, in which he was played by Tom Cruise, for the like-titled movie in 1989. Three years later, Neil Jimenez wrote and co-directed *The Waterdance*, a film modeled largely on his own experiences as a newly disabled person. Billy Golfus, who suffered brain damage during a 1984 vehicular accident, eventually secured funding through the Independent Television Service to produce *When Billy Broke His Head . . . and Other Tales of Wonder* in 1995. This documentary film told not only his story but also the "tales" of other PWDs and their struggles for civil rights. Disabled journalist and poet Mark O'Brien collaborated with Jessica Yu on *Breathing Lessons: The Life and Work of Mark O'Brien* (1996), an Oscar-winning film for best short-subject documentary and a recipient of a special National Educational Media Network award. In 1992, Greg Smith founded *On a Roll*, a nationally syndicated radio talk show dedicated to disability issues, while John Hockenberry, a two-time Peabody Award-winning TV network correspondent, shared his perspectives about life as a disabled person in a 1995 memoir, *Moving Violations*, and in his one-man show, *Spokesman*, produced off-Broadway in 1996. Christopher Reeve, whose spinal cord was severed in a 1995 horseback-riding accident, directed a one-hour AIDS drama in 1997 titled *In the Gloaming*, and served as an executive producer for the 1998 TV remake of Hitchcock's *Rear Window*, in which he played the James Stewart role of a wheelchair-bound man who witnesses a murder across the courtyard of his apartment building.

Many other PWDs have contributed to the performing arts. Among the more notable are three singers who happen to be blind: Ray Charles and Stevie Wonder, who have enjoyed long careers as popular musicians; and Andrea Bocelli, who crossed over from opera to become something of a pop sensation. The National Theater of the Deaf, a mixed troupe of hearing and deaf actors founded in 1965, has

performed across the country and on national TV. Mary Verdi-Fletcher, a wheelchair-user born with spina bifida, founded the Cleveland Ballet Dancing Wheels, a group of dancers with differing degrees of mobility that has given hundreds of performances on several continents.

PWDs have had their greatest successes in the literary field, with memoirs and poetry volumes. Nancy Mairs' *Waist-High in the World* (1996) and Kenny Fries' anthology *Staring Back* (1997) are prominent among the countless examples. The influence of the disability press has also grown appreciably, with *New Mobility*, *The Ragged Edge* (formerly *The Disability Rag*), and *Mouth* playing crucial roles.

In the world of sports, the Paralympic Games typically attracts thousands of amateur athletes and delegates from more than a hundred countries and are by far the most famous of competitions for PWDs. Among professional athletes, Monty Stratton pitched professional baseball for a few seasons in the 1940s despite having lost a leg in a 1938 hunting accident. He went on to supervise *The Stratton Story* (1949), a movie based on his life, which starred James Stewart. Despite a congenitally deformed hand, Jim Abbott enjoyed several seasons as a Major League pitcher and threw a no-hitter for the New York Yankees in 1993. In the National Football League, New Orleans Saints place kicker Tom Dempsey, born without a right hand and only half a right foot, used that foot to kick a 63-yard field goal against the Detroit Lions in 1970, a NFL record that stood unmatched for 28 years. Casey Martin, a professional golfer with a rare and painful birth defect in his right leg, made headlines in early 1998 by suing the PGA Tour and winning the right to ride in a cart while participating in the pro golf tour.

Of all pop-culture arenas, comic-strip art is decidedly the most problematic as regards the treatment of disability. Berke Breathed's syndicated cartoon strip *Bloom County* and its wheelchair-using Vietnam vet, Cutter John, are among the high points, but the field has generally been dominated by cartoonists such as Charles Addams and Gahan Wilson, long known for their "sick-humor" takes on such topics as blindness, deformity, and dismemberment. Their work arguably paved the way for John Callahan's repellent *Hustler* cartoon images and Gary Larson's skewed view of disabling conditions in his near-legendary strip, *The Far Side*.

Despite the excesses of comic-strip art and certain other media, however, the pop-culture representation of disability is constantly advancing. As more and more PWDs get involved in the creation of popular culture, the images can only improve.

—Martin F. Norden

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## Disaster Movies

In disaster movies, natural disasters, accidents, and terrorist actions provide the setting for daring escapes and incredible heroism. The films rely heavily on special effects to recreate on screen the violent consequences of earthquakes, plane crashes, and meteorite storms; the category also includes monster-disaster movies in which an enraged, oversized creature destroys buildings and other large objects. It is an important part of disaster movies that in them heroic acts are performed by unlikely heroes—by people with psychological wounds, with limited experience of the things they are asked to do, and in situations where the odds against success seem impossibly high. Because these films are about averting and surviving disaster, it may be significant that disaster movies began to be produced in large numbers in the years after the horrors of World War II. If the twentieth century has seen great advances in technology, disaster movies reflect a fear that technology alone will not save us. Although their plots are

often unrealistic and the acting and special effects unconvincing, they offer the message that, through self-belief and the right moral choices, people just like us have the ability to save themselves.

Disasters featured in disaster movies can be divided into three main types: natural disasters, disasters caused by technology failing or being accidentally damaged, and disasters caused by terrorism or by the recklessness of an individual or agency. The most successful disaster movies are usually the simplest, but popular disaster-based films can contain elements of one, two, or even all of these scenarios. The actual type of disaster involved is only one of many reasons for a particular film's popularity. Among other things, audiences want to know how the characters will escape with their lives, they watch for the special effects, and also for sentimental reasons; popular disaster movies almost always include a love affair developing alongside the disaster plot. When the type of disaster is significant, it is often because it reflects current or local concerns. In the 1990s, for example, perhaps cashing in on pre-millennium fears, a rash of films such as *Independence Day* (1996) and *Deep Impact* (1998) appeared, with plot lines based around threats to life on earth posed by attacks from extraterrestrials or from asteroids. Similarly, in the 1980s films such as *Testament* (1983) and *The Day After* (1983) appeared in response to the threat posed by the nuclear arms race. Because most disaster movies are made in Hollywood and Japan, it is probably no



Passengers struggle for survival during a scene from the disaster film *The Poseidon Adventure*.

coincidence that a large number of them feature earthquakes, tidal waves, and volcanic eruptions.

The history of disaster movies is a relatively short one. Although disasters have featured in movies from the beginning of the twentieth century, films in which the disaster is the reason for making and watching the film did not become common until the 1950s when alien invasion and monster movies were popular. Before then, disasters of various kinds had appeared in adventure films and films about war, but true disaster movies were rare. One precursor to modern monster-disaster movies such as *Jurassic Park* (1993) is Cooper and Schoedsack's *King Kong* (1933), but the film is really an exotic adventure thriller with only a small element of disaster movie action. Such extravagant special effects as were needed to make the famous scene on the Empire State Building are remarkable for their time, but it was not until the 1950s that such effects could be achieved with much regularity.

In the 1950s, advances were made in film technology that allowed filmmakers to make better use of special effects techniques pioneered in the 1930s. Many of the resulting films were a combination of science fiction and horror, but disaster was often at their heart, as titles such as *When Worlds Collide* (1951) and *War of the Worlds* (1954) suggest. It has been suggested that the new threat of nuclear destruction meant that filmmakers and audiences became concerned with global, rather than local, conflicts and many of the monster-based disaster movies of the 1950s involve mutant creatures terrorizing and destroying cities. New film techniques such as "3-D," made possible by improvements in color film, made monster movies still more thrilling as giant creatures appeared to step off the screen and into the audience. Perhaps because of the Japan's own experience of nuclear destruction the Japanese film industry has been prolific in the field of atomic monsters, its most famous being Inoshiro Honda's *Godzilla, King of Monsters* (1954).

In the 1960s, science fiction disaster movies and nuclear accident films remained popular in Japan, where Honda's *Godzilla* and other monster series continued until late in the decade. Although extra footage of well-known American actors was added to Honda's films for American distribution, disaster movies in the United States generally did less well in this period. American disaster movies in the 1950s had mostly upheld Hollywood's conservative values and, in the 1960s, the genre perhaps seemed less suitable for exploring the new moral climate than, for example, the westerns of Sam Peckinpah or the thoughtful science fiction of Stanley Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey*. It was not until 1970, with the release of *Airport*, that disaster movies became popular again.

The Golden Age for American disaster movies was the 1970s. As Hollywood re-embraced the idea of making popular, big budget features, the disaster movie became an important format for demonstrating spectacular special effects and for drawing in audiences to watch destruction on a large scale. Exactly what appeals to audiences in watching planes crash, ships sink, trains collide, and tall buildings burn will probably never be known for sure, but films like *The Poseidon Adventure* (1972), *The Towering Inferno* (1974), and the *Airport* series gave Hollywood some of its most lucrative successes. Unlike the futuristic films of the 1950s, disaster movies in the 1970s often dealt with familiar events and situations, ones that already caused anxiety for many people. For example, the number of miles Americans travelled by air doubled between 1965 and 1970, and air travel is one of the most common themes for disaster movies of the 1970s. Similarly, at a time when many new highrise blocks were being built and planned, Paul Newman and Steve McQueen braved

flames and smoke to rescue people from a party on the top floor of "the tallest building in the world" in John Guillermin's *The Towering Inferno*.

While the special effects in films like *The Towering Inferno* are impressive for their time, as with many disaster movies the biggest challenge its makers faced was to prevent the record-breaking skyscraper—the "Tower of Glass"—from looking like a model. In the 1990s the situation has been helped by improvements in digital technology and, in particular since the late 1980s, the ability to mix live action with what are known as Computer Generated Images (CGI). CGI has become widely used in the production of many kinds of films, but it is used most spectacularly in disaster movies which, in the 1990s, have become much more realistic in terms of sound and vision. The turning point in the relationship between conventional filmmaking and CGI was James Cameron's deep-sea disaster movie *The Abyss* (1989). The plot of Cameron's film peripherally involves a research team working on the edge of a deep ocean trench, whose seabed living quarters seem certain to be dragged down into the abyss. The discovery of friendly aliens living at the bottom of the trench allows the opportunity for some impressive effects, such as a suspended column of seawater known as a "pseudopod," exploring the corridors of the deep-sea craft. Cameron used CGI and improved digital sound technology to excellent effect in his 1997 disaster film *Titanic*, creating convincing footage of the great ship's final hours. Director Steven Spielberg used similar techniques to bring dinosaurs back to life in *Jurassic Park* (1993) and the more overtly disaster-based *The Lost World* (1997).

Disaster movies have a tendency to take themselves too seriously and if improvements in special effects mean that comical visual effects are rarer in the 1990s, disaster movie plots have improved very little. Emotions are still crudely acted and contrived situations—such as the appearance of a dinosaur in San Diego in Spielberg's *The Lost World*—still challenge audiences to believe. Because of these weaknesses and responding to the popularity of disaster movies in the 1970s, parodies of disaster movies have also proved popular. In particular, the *Airport* series of films, the last of which appeared in 1979, was parodied in 1980 by *Airplane!*, a film advertised with the tag-line "What's slower than a speeding bullet, and able to hit tall buildings in a single bound?" The film spoofs the typical disaster movie plot when a pilot who is afraid of flying becomes the only person capable of flying the plane, while the score by Elmer Bernstein parodies the melodramatic music that accompanies all popular disaster movies.

While disaster movies have tended to be made as fictional entertainment, other categories of disaster movie have taken a more serious approach. There are films based on the Exxon Valdez oil spill and the Mount St. Helens volcanic eruptions, while others, such as the many Titanic disaster films, add a fictional or semi-fictional dramatic element to the real-life story. Still others, such as the British-made semi-documentary *Threads* (1985), mix documentary reporting with dramatization to make a serious point, in this case about the threat of nuclear war and its long-term effects. Whatever the reason for their appeal, in the 1990s disaster movies continue to be produced in large numbers and with great commercial success. Hard-core disaster movie fans will argue that they watch for the scenes of destruction and to revel in the special effects, but the importance of even a basic human story unfolding alongside the disaster suggests that their popularity has as much to do with sentiment as with spectacle.

—Chris Routledge

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## Disc Jockeys

Since the early days of radio broadcasting, the disc jockey or DJ has been an essential part of radio, not just playing records but serving as an intermediary between the listening audience and the stars of popular music. Disc jockeys enjoyed the most influence on their listeners in the 1950s and 1960s, when they introduced new music to Americans and made rock and roll the dominant force in youth culture.

In the first two decades of radio in the United States, the person who introduced records and made station announcements was usually a technician who worked the broadcast equipment. It was a policy of the large radio networks to avoid recorded sound as much as possible and rely on live programming. Thus there was little call for disc jockeys in the 1920s and 1930s. The radio networks were forced to drop their opposition to canned music as their studio musicians were called up to join the armed forces in the 1940s. Thus began the rise of the radio announcer who played recordings on the air, the so-called disc jockey.

The most popular was Martin Block, whose “Make Believe Ballroom” invited listeners to a pretend concert and entertained them with humor and records. His program was networked in the 1940s and reached a national audience. The monopoly of the three national radio networks—NBC, CBS and ABC—was broken in the 1950s and this allowed many small independent stations to go on the air. Lacking the programming resources of the great networks, the independent stations relied on recorded music. The man spinning the records also made commercial announcements and read the news. At this time an estimated 75 percent of all programming on American radio came from records, providing many job opportunities for young men with ambitions in the music industry. Many important entertainers, record producers, and entrepreneurs of the 1950s got their start on local radio



Famed disc jockey Wolfman Jack.

stations playing records, including Bill Haley, Norman Petty, and Sam Phillips.

African Americans in southern cities and urban ghettos in the Northeast were an important new market for independent radio and many urban stations began to realign their programs to suit a predominantly African American audience. Ownership of black radio remained in the hands of whites, but gradually black disc jockeys were allowed to broadcast. It was this group that began to play rhythm and blues records and create a new kind of radio personality who was to inaugurate the era of rock and roll.

Most radio announcers maintained a dignified demeanor and spoke in clear, correct English, but some African American disc jockeys broke all the rules of on-air behavior and invented outrageous alter egos for themselves. Their antics were rapidly copied by their white counterparts, who also stole the most commercial songs from their playlists and introduced them to the great white teenaged audience.

It is significant that the term “rock and roll” was coined by a white disc jockey from Cleveland, who played rhythm and blues records and created an entertaining on-air personality for himself. Alert to telephone requests and the sales of records in local stores, Alan Freed responded quickly to the growing appeal of R&B and turned his show into a showcase for the music. In 1951 he started to call it rock and roll. Such was the success of his “Moondog’s Rock and Roll Party” that he moved to New York in 1954 and a much larger audience. The program climbed to the top of the ratings chart as rock music became more and more popular. Freed was America’s most influential disc jockey, a conduit through which the “race” music of the 1940s became the rock and roll music of the 1950s.

The disc jockey of the late 1950s and early 1960s was an extremely important figure in the business of popular music. Radio play constituted the main form of promoting a record and many stations allowed the disc jockey to choose what records were to be broadcast. He decided which up-and-coming bands would get the radio play essential to selling records and moving up to bigger audiences and better paying shows. Disc jockeys found that repeated play of a record could make it a hit and the mythology of rock and roll is full of stories of unknown performers becoming stars overnight because of a radio personality who “broke” the record to his listening audience. Disc jockeys did a lot more than play records—they managed bands, promoted tours and public appearances, acted as master of ceremonies in rock shows, and became friends and advisors to the stars. Their name would share equal billing on the billboard of a typical rock and roll performance of the 1950s and early 1960s, as announcer and promoter. They became active intermediaries between rock and roll musicians and their audiences. Several of them, such as Alan Freed and “Murray the K” Kaufman, became stars of popular culture in their own right. Murray the K of station WINS of New York played an important part in introducing American youth to the Beatles during their first tour of the United States in 1964. Kaufman certainly promoted the Beatles but his position on the Beatles’ bandwagon also helped his own career and his station.

The great power enjoyed by disc jockeys in the marketing of recordings encouraged corruption. The practice of “payola” (a contraction of “pay” and “Victrola”) in which the disc jockey was bribed with money or a share of the publishing rights of the song was widely used to get airplay. The smaller record companies commonly paid disc jockeys and juke box operators to use their recordings. This practice came under scrutiny of the U.S. House of Representatives at the end of the 1950s and the ensuing Payola scandal ended the careers of several influential disc jockeys, including that of Alan Freed. The

payola scandal was only one of the factors reducing the power of disc jockeys in the 1960s. The move to the Top 40 format—in which the playlist was based on the Billboard charts—narrowed down the choice of records to be played, and the gradual consolidation of the radio industry—with one business organization controlling several stations—often took the decision about what records were to be played out of the hands of the on-air staff.

The great technological watershed of the late 1960s and 1970s was the migration from AM to FM broadcast bands, which brought a significant increase in sound quality and encouraged stations to use high fidelity long playing records rather than the 45 rpm singles that had been the staple of commercial radio for two decades. The typical disc jockey of the FM album-oriented station was much quieter and unobtrusive compared with the radio personalities of the 1950s and 1960s. The person playing the records was expected to have more knowledge of the music and indulge in less histrionics. Women were now finding it easier to get jobs in radio stations as the archetype of the disc jockey was recast.

Although disc jockeys were still instrumental in finding new music and introducing new performers, their power in popular music was in constant decline in the 1970s and 1980s. Commercial radio relied less on the individual in front of the microphone and more on the programming director and market analyst to choose the records to be played. The flamboyant radio personality survived only on the morning show; the rest of the days broadcast was handled by anonymous interchangeable voices. Disc jockeys did find opportunities to set themselves up as independent businessmen who played parties and clubs. The creation of rap and hip-hop came out of the activities of disc jockeys in the New York area, who kept the records playing while “toasters” or master of ceremonies spoke over and in between the music. The introduction of music television in the 1980s raised expectations that the presenter would wield some influence but the “vee jay” proved as disposable and ephemeral as his or her counterpart on the radio. The continuing pattern of consolidation in the American radio industry in the 1990s ensured that the disc jockey would be the person playing the records not the unique performer influencing musical trends and making the stars of popular culture.

—Andre Millard

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## Disco

Derived from the French discotheque, disco refers not only to a musical style but to a unique brand of dance-club decor, a sexy-synthetic manner of dress, a style of dance, and an attitude toward

sexual promiscuity and night life, all of which came together during the 1970s as “disco,” one of the most glitzy and celebrated fads in American popular cultural history. Between 1975 and 1979, the established sensibilities of rock and pop, which emphasized sincerity, emotion, and rebellion, gave way to the enchantment of dance floor rhythms, which colonized popular imagination as an alluring dream-scape of pleasure and sexual utopia. In disco, the boundary between commercial fabrication and real experience became blurred. Disco ushered in a new post-1960s concept of hedonistic weekends, holidays, and exciting after-hours activity that was open to anyone with a reasonable income, a basic sense of rhythm and a good body. However, for all its fashionable accouterments, what lay at the essential heart of the disco craze was the music. Characterized by an insistently repetitive base and a hypnotic beat, overlaid with teasing, sexy vocals, it captivated and mesmerized its adherents.

Though psychedelic dance bars had experimented with combinations of dance, music, and lighting since the 1960s (“oil wheels” and “sound-to-light” systems), it was during the 1970s that the technological, musical, and fashion elements that define the culture of the dance club were refined and popularized. In the early 1970s discos began expanding their equipment to include a wider array of musical and visual props. The “mirror ball,” which could fragment a white spotlight into a million rotating dots, became the symbol of the new disco, along with synchronized lights that were matched to the bass track of a record. Later, with the appearance of the smoke machine and dry ice, came the “pin spot” light, which could stab through a cloud of smoke to cast an illuminated shaft across a darkened room. Throughout the 1970s, commercial dance clubs sprang up across the country, ranging from fashionable and exclusive big city venues like New York’s Studio 54, to more modest hotel discos and revamped bars and clubs. The larger venues included advanced lighting and music systems controlled by a disc jockey, or DJ, who lorded over the collective euphoria from an elevated booth, cajoling the crowd to “get down and boogie.” Disco fashions highlighted the tight fit, high heels, platforms, and the funky “gentleman’s” three-piece suits, and displayed an unabashed preference for polyester.

Pop music had always been danceable and flamboyant, but what set disco apart was that it was not only music *for* dancing, but also music *about* dancing. The disco beat was the anthem of the dancers, the disco floor a wonderland of sexual promise where anything might happen, providing the perfect environment to indulge the pursuit of one’s fantasy. Unlike the “be-ins,” the pot parties, and other escapades favored by hippies, disco promised an experience of the exotic that could be easily slotted into a well ordered working week and coordinated with a regular pattern of one night stands. Film titles such as *Thank God It’s Friday* and *Saturday Night Fever* reflected the compartmentalized nature of this package-tour utopia. Though disco’s dreamland of sexual fulfillment is often remembered as the longing of the heterosexual male libido, the real origins of disco’s sexual imagery lie in the gay club scene of New York and San Francisco, where its camp atmosphere of sexual reverie was first born. This fact was largely obscured from disco’s audiences at the time. With hindsight, it is astonishing that middle-class, heterosexual listeners were oblivious to the homo-erotic suggestions that permeate the songs of such widely accepted groups as The Village People—songs such as “Macho Man,” “In the Navy,” and “YMCA.” As it matured, disco sanitized and commercialized itself and, at its peak, it was targeted at an age group too young to be admitted to a real dance club, let alone have any clue as to what separated gay from straight dance culture.

Disco’s real ground zero, however, was not the concert hall or even the dance floor, but the AM radio dial. Mainstream radio started playing disco music in the mid-1970s, and by December 1978, 200 disco-only formats aired across the country. Six months later, the number had increased by a further 50. In 1974 and 1975 respectively, George McCrae’s “Rock Your Baby” and Van McCoy’s “The Hustle” introduced the sounds of disco to AM radio, though it was a few years before artists such as Kool & The Gang, Gloria Gaynor, Donna Summer, the Bee Gees, KC and The Sunshine Band, Sister Sledge, Diana Ross, and the Village People rode the wave of disco enthusiasm. By the time disco dominated the airwaves in 1979, even Rod Stewart and the Rolling Stones were among those who had hopped onto the bandwagon.

No group stands out as more emblematic of the period than the Bee Gees, who began the 1970s as a British-Australian pop phenomenon with moderate sales, and made a sensational breakthrough on the soundtrack of *Saturday Night Fever*. The film, which made a star of John Travolta, focused on a working-class youth who escapes the mundane reality of life by becoming a demi-god of the local disco scene. The soundtrack was originally released as a double LP in 1977, becoming the industry’s biggest selling soundtrack album and producing ten singles hits from its 17 tracks, of which “How Deep Is Your Love,” “Stayin’ Alive,” and “Night Fever” dominated the pop charts in 1977 and 1978. The famous image of Travolta, wearing a white polyester suit, his pelvis thrust forward and his finger raised skyward against a background of disco lights, came to define the decade, an emblem of disco’s garish eroticism. The Bee Gees, whose thumping, squealing ballads of sexual enterprise saturated the film, typified disco music for the remainder of the decade. Ironically, both Travolta and the Bee Gees later fell victim to the fickleness of fads and fashion, and became easy objects of ridicule for some years to come.

By the end of 1979, disco’s celebration of the fanciful and the fake was beginning to wear thin. After a stream of “one-hit wonders,” disco seemed to be more the product of producers and promoters than of the artists themselves. One of the problems was that disco music seemed to lack talented performing musicians: electronically manipulated sounds replaced the bass, drums and guitar that had typified rock, and in live performances disco stars came to rely increasingly on recorded tracks and off-stage musical support. The Village People, largely a stage act, kept back-up singers entirely out of view of the audience. More than this, disco proved notoriously adaptable to a variety of commercial marketing devices. A record called *Hooked on Classics*, whose cover featured a Mozart-like character mimicking Travolta’s famous pose from *Saturday Night Fever*, mixed well-known classical music hits to a disco beat. Novelty songs like “disco duck” climbed the AM charts, and even the theme from the film *2001: A Space Odyssey*, was re-recorded as a disco hit.

Perhaps the most interesting thing about disco was its strange demise and long disgrace. Its commercialism, its ersatz sexuality and its reliance on radio to reach an average music consumer—rather than record sales to reach a “fan” market of countercultural listeners—seemed to violate everything rock stood for, and provoked a powerful backlash from fans of “real” rock. Hostility came to a head in 1979 when a “Disco Demolition Derby” was organized by radio DJ Steve Dahl at a baseball game at Detroit’s Tiger Stadium. Anti-disco fans burned more than 100,000 albums, hoisted “disco sucks” banners, and rioted, forcing the cancellation of the game. The precise nature of this backlash remains unclear: Dahl’s event, which has since been compared to fascist book burnings, may have been homophobic, sexist or racist, or it may have expressed a widespread disappointment

with the increasing commercialism of a supposedly rebellious musical form. It was most likely a combination of these factors, but, whatever the case, not since John Lennon's fateful remark about the Beatles being more famous than Christ had there been such a widespread consumer revolt against the music industry. The reaction against disco's commercialism, cheap sentiment, and *faux* sexuality fueled the emergence of other more "authentic" expressions of youth culture, punk and heavy metal. By 1981 the disco boom was bust.

—Sam Binkley

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## Disney (Walt Disney Company)

When it was founded in 1923, Walt Disney Productions consisted of a small cracker-box studio in Hollywood housing a small group



Mickey and Minnie Mouse in Disneyland.

of creative artists headed by a young visionary who had recently arrived from the Midwest to produce cartoons for the movies. Beyond that, there was little more than a paper menagerie of barnyard animals and a mouse nicknamed "Mickey" who emerged at night to seek crumbs left behind by the artists. Five years later, that mouse had made the jump to the silver screen starring in *Plane Crazy* (1928) with the assistance of artist Ub Iwerks who supplied the artwork and Walt Disney, himself who came up with the trademark squeaky voice. The company was on its way.

At the end of the twentieth century, The Walt Disney Co. was considered by many to be the most influential company in the world surpassing even its founder's vision as it has established footholds not only in motion pictures but in such diverse industries as television, electronic media, book publishing, hotels, transportation, tourism, amusement parks, real estate, sports, and communications. In an industry where "vertical integration" had become increasingly important, Disney and its chief rival Time Warner have their corporate fingers in more pies than any other entertainment entities. Yet, the mouse continued to lead the way.

Perhaps, the most recognizable logo in the history of the world, Mickey Mouse has left his footprints on every country and culture in the world but the road to success has not been entirely without its share of ups and downs. Walt Disney was born in Chicago in 1901, the son of a ne'er-do-well father who drifted from one job to another. He learned to work hard early in life and had very little escape from the drudgery of his life except for the drawings he would create when no one was looking. This early experience instilled two traits in Disney that would follow him for all of his life. One was that he learned the value of hard work and became a compulsive "workaholic." The other was a firm belief that the public thirsted for escapism and "happy endings."

In 1919, Disney went to work for the Kansas City Film Ad Company where he put his drawing talents to use working on short animated commercials for local merchants. He also met another young artist named Ub Iwerks. Together the two learned the fundamentals of animation and decided to strike out on their own producing a series of ads and comic shorts called Newman's Laugh-O-Grams for the local Newman's Theater. In 1922, Disney took the Newman's concept further by creating pure entertainment oriented theatrical cartoons satirizing popular fairy tales. Unfortunately, he had the habit of spending more money on the production and technical aspects of each film than they brought in. The result was that, artistically, the films were quite polished for their time with full background detail and a full spectrum of wash tones that served to establish the basic Disney style. Financially, however, the company was forced to go out of business because its production costs were simply too high.

In 1923, Disney moved to Hollywood with his brother Roy and formed the Disney Brothers studio to produce short subjects which combined both live action and animation. The impetus for the move was based on an experimental short subject based on *Alice in Wonderland* which was a reversal of rival animator Max Fleischer's *Out of the Inkwell* series which featured a cartoon clown having adventures against a live background. Disney's version featured a live Alice character juxtaposed with cartoon backgrounds and animated characters. The series, which was dubbed *Alice in Cartoonland* was picked up by a Los Angeles distributor named M.J. Winkler. Yet, with the formation of the company, both Disney brothers realized that animation was not a one or two man job. Additionally, Walt realized that he was not the animator that his friend Ub Iwerks was so he hired a small staff including Iwerks and an up and coming animator named



Hugh Harmon. Some of the titles in the “Alice Series” included *Alice’s Wild West Show* (1924), *Alice’s Egg Plant* (1925), and *Alice Chops the Suey* (1925). These shorts were innovative in that they integrated the real and animated action, showing a live girl jumping out of an animated ink well or blowing animated smoke rings or being splattered with cartoon eggs. Yet, at the speed that the small studio was required to turn them out (approximately one every two weeks), they couldn’t experiment with too many ideas and the novelty began to wear off.

Disney quickly introduced a new character and series—“Oswald the Lucky Rabbit.” These cartoons reflected a higher quality of animation and experimented with a variety of visual effects, particularly the manipulation of light and shadow, not seen in the Alice series. In addition, the use of an animated central character as opposed to a live figure made a certain reality defying flexibility possible. In one adventure, Oswald attempts to kiss a medieval maiden’s hand and arm and keeps pulling more and more arm out of her sleeve until he has a seemingly endless expanse of arm to kiss. In another cartoon, his car expands and contracts to fit a variety of continuously changing road conditions.

Like the cartoons themselves, the planning sessions for them were equally flexible. Instead of formal scripts, the stories were conceived at what amounted to corporate bull sessions consisting of Disney and four other animators. Ideas were tossed into the ring until a basic plot evolved. Disney would then divide the elements into four sequences with each animator responsible for his own area of the cartoon’s action. Each animator could then freely improvise within his own area subject to Disney’s approval.

The Oswald series was so fresh and innovative that it made Disney’s company a modest success. Yet, when he approached his current distributor Charles Mintz who had taken over the Winkler Company for larger production budgets, Mintz refused and took both Oswald and all of the key animators who participated in the project away from Disney. Only Iwerks remained. The experience made the Disney brothers determined to own all of their own films and copyrights in the future.

In 1928, Disney and Iwerks fashioned another animal character to replace Oswald. However, Mickey Mouse who made his debut in *Plane Crazy* followed by *Galloping Gaucho* was not an immediate success. Although the animation and story ideas were good, the character itself looked like Oswald with shorter ears and a longer nose. There was nothing intrinsically interesting about the character to separate it from the multitudes of other animals cavorting on the screen. It took the invention of sound in 1928 to make Mickey Mouse a superstar. While the first live action sound films such as *The Jazz Singer* (1928) put the sound in somewhat gratuitously counting on the technology to thrill the audience, Disney created an integrated film in which sound and images worked together. When *Steamboat Willie* was released at the end of the year, audiences were captivated by the idea that a character plainly drawn with pen and ink could actually sing and dance in rhythm. The secret was that Disney began with song and music first and then drew the characters and backgrounds to reflect the sounds.

Disney built on the success of *Steamboat Willie* by working with his musical director Carl Stallings to create animated cartoons based on specific musical pieces. The first of these was *Skeleton Dance* (1928), a non-character cartoon that demonstrated animation’s ability to evoke mood and atmosphere. Suddenly cartoons were no longer the poor relative of live action feature films but works of art in themselves. In the years that followed, Disney created the *Silly Symphonies*

series of music-based animation and introduced new characters including Pluto (1930), Minnie Mouse (1933), and Donald Duck (1934). In 1932, he switched to the new medium of Technicolor for *Flowers and Trees* and won the Academy Award for “Best Short Subject.” After that, the young company maintained an exclusive agreement with Technicolor for all of their animated productions.

But, cartoon shorts could only evolve so far. Disney became determined to create a feature length animated film. Although conventional Hollywood wisdom dictated that an animated cartoon could not hold audience interest beyond seven minutes, Disney envisioned a fairly simple structure, which would allow one sequence to flow into another and in which musical numbers would evolve from and add to character development, as a viable formula for such a film. In *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1938), he created seven distinctly individual personalities in addition to his main characters, a feat which never before had been accomplished in animation. To accomplish such distinction, Disney crafted the characters, particularly Snow White, in such a degree of detail that they could convey human emotions in a believable manner. Audiences reacted to *Snow White* as if the characters were real, showing a variety of emotions ranging from horror at the sight of the queen’s transformation into a witch to happiness as Snow White frolics with the dwarves and charms the woodland animals.

Following *Snow White* came a steady flow of animated features, each one expanding the techniques of animation. By the beginning of the 1940s, the company geared up to produce a steady stream of animated features and literally become an animation factory employing hundreds of artists and technical personnel even though the studio had not gained “major” status as a full production/distribution entity on a par with Warner Brothers or Columbia. *Pinocchio* and *Fantasia* appeared in 1940, blazing a trail for such other notable productions as *Dumbo* (1941), *Bambi* (1942), *Cinderella* (1950), *Sleeping Beauty* (1959), and *101 Dalmations* (1961). Interspersed with these animated features were documentary and live action productions, including *The Living Desert* (1953), *20,000 Leagues Under the Sea* (1954), and *Mary Poppins* (1964). During the early 1950s, Disney founded his own distribution company, Buena Vista, to release these films thus freeing him from his reliance on RKO and other larger companies to determine the venues for his products.

But Disney did not confine himself to one medium. In 1954, he made the jump to the new medium of television with a weekly series called *Disneyland* which would be followed by an afternoon children’s series the *Mickey Mouse Club*. In 1955, he fulfilled his personal vision by creating an escapist world in Anaheim, California, in which reality dare not intrude. The Disneyland theme park featured a nostalgic Main Street USA and four thematically constructed “lands”: Adventureland, Fantasyland, Frontierland, and Tomorrowland. Each of these lands reflected motifs first delineated in Disney films or television programs. It was a “first” for the entertainment industry in that for the first time, viewers could actually enter the world of their favorite Disney films and interact with fictional characters. The company also led the way in creating spin-off products from the films and theme parks with lines of toys, clothing, records, and similar merchandise. By the end of the 1950s, Walt Disney was America’s undisputed king of family entertainment.

After its founder’s death in 1966, the company coasted along for a number of years turning out acceptable products and fulfilling several of Disney’s unrealized dreams, notably an updated East Coast version of Disneyland, Walt Disney World in Orlando, Florida, in 1971, and the futuristic Epcot Center several years later. Under the

management of Disney's successor E. Cardon Walker, the company was faced by a defection of a number of its leading animators led by Don Bluth, who felt that the company's standards had deteriorated after Walt's death. Yet, after venturing out on their own, they quickly discovered that while they could duplicate the legendary Disney animation, they could not capture the elusive Disney touch which transformed drawings into real characters capable of expressing human emotions within innovative storylines.

Walker's successor Ron Miller, faced with declining film revenues created a new division called Touchstone in 1984 to turn out more adult products than the Disney image would allow. This prompted Roy Disney, still a major shareholder in the company to resign from the board of directors, initiating a management struggle for control of the company which by the mid-1980s was producing only four films a year and was reliant on the theme parks for the bulk of its revenue (nearly 83 percent in 1983 alone).

Miller resigned under pressure in September 1984 just as Touchstone's first release, *Splash*, boosted the film division's earnings to record highs, and became the highest grossing film in Disney history while making a star of Tom Hanks. His successor, Michael Eisner, lured from Paramount Pictures, appeared cut from the Disney mold. He followed up on the success of *Splash* with two more non-traditional features *Down and Out in Beverly Hills* (1985) and *Three Men and a Baby* (1987). These would be followed by the worldwide mega-hit *Pretty Woman* (1990), a story of a romance between a prostitute and a millionaire which took the old Cinderella story in a modern direction that Walt probably would not have approved of. With chairman Jeffrey Katzenberg, Eisner effected a renaissance of the animated feature at a time when conventional wisdom had declared it moribund. Beginning with the critically acclaimed *The Black Cauldron* in 1985, Eisner started a new golden age of animation which surpassed the box-office successes of the 1930s and 1940s. Yet, the formula was very much the same: realistic characters that tugged at the viewers emotions, superb animation, and memorable music. Such films as *The Little Mermaid* (1989), *Beauty and the Beast* (1991), *Aladdin* (1992), and *The Lion King* (1994) generated grosses in the hundreds of millions prompting many of Hollywood's major studios to jump into animation in order to compete. *Beauty and the Beast* became the first animated feature to be nominated for an Academy Award.

By the mid-1990s, production at Disney had risen from the four films per year of a decade earlier to more than 20 per annum. Eisner's strategy of producing tightly budgeted films pairing "low cost name talent" such as Richard Dryfuss and Bette Midler who were in temporary career lulls with widely appealing stories paid major dividends. Films such as the aforementioned *Pretty Woman*, *Sister Act*, *Stakeout*, and *Honey I Shrunk the Kids* achieved grosses that greatly exceeded their small (by Hollywood standards) production budgets. The success of these features prompted the studio to open a third production entity, Hollywood Pictures, in 1990.

Disney had at last acquired major studio status by the 1990s. It's distribution company Buena Vista was regularly in the top one or two in film grosses and it was out-producing all of the studios in Hollywood in sheer number of films. With its ownership of a cable TV channel, a successful video distribution empire, and the ability to distribute its product worldwide via satellite, Disney became one of the earliest studios to realize the financial value of a large library. In 1996, the company purchased the ABC television network for \$19 billion, giving it a national outlet for its product as well as an all encompassing venue for plugging its upcoming films. While the

network has not regained the top spot it held in the 1970s, it nonetheless presents some of the more innovative new shows on television and is a leader in sports and news programming.

Eisner also took major steps to revitalize the theme park side of the ledger by creating EuroDisney outside of Paris in 1992, a wild animal theme park in Florida in 1997 and by starting a project to expand the original Disneyland in Anaheim, California. The ancillary markets for Disney product were expanded as well. The company refurbished the El Capitan Theater in Hollywood as a showcase for its new releases and added promotional stage acts as well as a place to buy the company's products in the lobby.

On the opposite coast, Disney refurbished a Broadway theater and began to turn its film hits, including *Beauty and the Beast* and *The Lion King*, into musical plays with new numbers and scenes added to make them successful on the stage. Similarly, several of the animated productions were turned into ice extravaganzas which toured the country blending the traditional stories and songs with fancy skating numbers arranged specifically for the frozen medium.

Yet, the ultimate spin-off of a motion picture concept occurred in the early 1990s when Eisner bought an Anaheim NHL hockey franchise and named it after a moderately successful live action feature *The Mighty Ducks*. The company purchased the Anaheim Angels baseball team and the highly popular cable TV station Entertainment and Sports Network (ESPN). After these purchases, Disney had only two rivals in the sports arena: Rupert Murdoch with his Fox Sports Cable Channel on the Fox Network; and the ownership of the Los Angeles Dodgers, the Angels' chief rival for the L.A. sports dollar.

By the end of the twentieth century, The Walt Disney Company had grown from the small Hollywood studio of 1923 to a recreational empire. With holdings so expansive, the nostalgic Disney vision has been applied beyond mere entertainment. The company's theme-oriented steamship line (floating Disneylands), Disney Stores, innovative theme parks, music, video and television endeavors, have allowed the company unprecedented power to shape the perceptions of consumers, offering people the chance to see, experience, and purchase Disney-styled versions of Americana.

—Steve Hanson

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## Ditka, Mike (1939—)

Football player-turned-football coach “Iron” Mike Ditka is described in his Football Hall of Fame enshrinee data as a “fast, rugged, outstanding blocker [and a] great competitor.” In 1960, he was a consensus All-American at the University of Pittsburgh, and became the Chicago Bears’ number one draft pick the following year. From 1961 through 1972, Ditka was a hard-nosed tight end for the Bears, Philadelphia Eagles, and Dallas Cowboys. He was the NFL rookie of the year in 1961, starred on the Bears’ 1963 NFL title squad, and scored the final touchdown for the Cowboys in Super Bowl VI. During his career, he caught 427 passes for 5,812 yards and 43 touchdowns. He made all-NFL four times, played in five straight Pro Bowls, was named to the NFL 75th Anniversary Team, and in 1988 became the first tight end to enter the Hall of Fame.

Despite Ditka’s eminence as a player, he is best known today as an NFL head coach. He worked as an assistant under Tom Landry in Dallas from 1973 through 1981, and was hired to lead the Bears in 1982. While Ditka has willingly parodied his in-your-face, bullying, drill-instructor coaching style on television shows and particularly in TV commercials, he is all business when it comes to winning football games. During eleven seasons coaching the Bears, he led the team to six NFC Central crowns, three trips to the NFC Championship game, and a 46-10 whipping of the New England Patriots in Super Bowl XX. After retiring from the Bears in 1992 and working as an NBC sports broadcaster, he was lured back onto the field in 1997 as coach of the New Orleans Saints.

—Rob Edelman

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## Divine (1945-1988)

The obese transvestite character-actor Divine personified self-consciously campy underground films and ushered in a new threshold of bad taste in cinema. Starring mainly in the films of offbeat director John Waters, Divine cultivated an outrageous drag queen image, with gaudy makeup, a blonde mane the texture of cotton candy, and tight dresses on his more-than-300-pound frame. In the majority of his films, he played female characters and dressed in women’s garb during his short-lived career as a singer. Though Divine was poised to break through into mainstream film and television at the end of his



Divine (right) with Grace Jones.

life, most of his appearances were in films with shocking subject matter. He will likely remain famous for his role as the Filthiest Person Alive” in the 1972 Waters film *Pink Flamingos*, especially due to the notorious scene at the end in which he consumes freshly excreted poodle dung.”

Divine was born Harris Glenn Milstead on October 19, 1945, and raised in an upper-middle-class home in a suburb of Baltimore, Maryland, the city that provided the backdrop for the bulk of his films. His parents ran a successful nursery and regularly attended a local Baptist church. As a teen, Divine was active in school plays, and began associating with Waters, who lived nearby. They were both outcasts, and Divine noted in Waters’ book *Shock Value* that he required a daily police escort to and from school to avoid constant beatings by other students. After high school, Divine graduated from beauty school and became known as an excellent stylist. His parents even bought him his own salon, but he became bored with it. He later opened a fashion boutique in Provincetown, Massachusetts. Meanwhile, he also began acting in Waters’ independent movies. His first role was in *Roman Candles* (1966), a home movie of Waters’ friends stealing and then modeling dresses. It was at this time that Waters recognized the actor’s potential and renamed his friend “Divine.”

After that unceremonious induction into film, Divine starred in *Eat Your Makeup* (1968), in which he played the part of Jacqueline

Kennedy in the movie's central scene re-enacting President John Kennedy's assassination. Subsequently, Waters made another film of questionable taste that is rarely noted in official sources, *The Diane Linkletter Story*, named after Art Linkletter's daughter, who committed suicide allegedly after taking large amounts of hallucinogenic drugs. In 1969, Waters and his troupe, known as the Dreamlanders, made *Mondo Trasho*, which established Divine's bizarre look. In *Not Simply Divine*, Bernard Jay quoted Divine as saying that his new image was based on Waters' concept of a blend of "the wicked stepmother in *Cinderella*, the evil queen of *Snow White*, and the bad witch in *The Wizard of Oz*," combined with a touch of Jayne Mansfield. Continuing down a slippery slope of poor taste, *Mondo Trasho* was followed by *Multiple Maniacs* in 1970, which professed that Divine was the actual killer in what were later dubbed the Manson Family murders. It also featured Divine being raped by a 15-foot-tall lobster.

After *Multiple Maniacs*, Divine and Waters garnered a good deal of attention from underground publications. Their next collaboration, though, dwarfed their previous efforts. *Pink Flamingos* was the tale of a battle for the title of "Filthiest Person Alive," and featured a couple who kidnap women, impregnates them, and sells the babies to lesbians on the black market in order to raise money for their elementary school heroin ring. They want to take the distinction away from Divine, an incestuous, trailer-dwelling matriarch who firmly maintains her disgusting reputation with the dog excrement scene. *Pink Flamingos* generated a flurry of attention and became one of the premier cult films of all time.

Divine had acted in stage plays in San Francisco in the early 1970s, and after *Pink Flamingos*, began appearing off-Broadway in productions such as *Women Behind Bars* (1976) and *The Neon Woman* (1978). He also launched a disco singing career. In fact, he often attended the legendary Studio 54 disco in full drag and mingled with other icons of the day. Divine made a number of other films with Waters throughout the years, including *Female Trouble* (1975), *Polyester* (1981), and *Lust in the Dust* (1985), as well as a few on his own. Though Divine made his mark as the garish caricature of himself that people usually saw, he grew weary of dressing in drag and yearned to be accepted as a talented character actor. Finally, in 1988 he was noticed for his dual role in Waters' *Hairspray* as both proud stage mother Edna Turnblad and bigoted television executive Arvin Hodgepile. After that, he was slated to appear on the popular television program *Married . . . With Children*, and was eager to line up other work as well. Just as he seemed on the verge of making an entrance into the mainstream, however, Divine died of a heart attack in a hotel room in Los Angeles on March 7, 1988. Almost a decade after his death, *Pink Flamingos* stirred a new wave of publicity with its 25 year anniversary release, padded with new footage and commentary by Waters.

—Geri Speace

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## Divorce

Marriage, the legally sanctioned and structured pairing of heterosexual couples, has long been an established practice in human civilization all over the world. Divorce, the dissolution of a marriage agreement, is as old as marriage itself. Since the 1960s, rapidly rising divorce rates have placed the ending of marriage among the most common rituals of modern society. In the late 1990s, almost half of all marriages ended in divorce, and the prevalence of divorce has changed not only the nature of marriage, but the definition of family as well.

Early cultures often permitted divorce with relative ease. Roman law allowed couples to divorce simply by mutual consent, while Jewish Talmudic law granted divorce on a variety of grounds, including adultery and desertion. Greek, Germanic, and Frankish law also recognized couples' right to divorce, as did Islam and the Orthodox Church. The Roman Catholic Church became one of the first institutions to outlaw divorce, claiming marriage as a sacrament of the church. Dissolution of marriage could only be granted by the church under special circumstances, such as an annulment if one's spouse was a close relative, or a "judicial separation," where husband and wife were permitted to live apart without remarrying. Repercussions of the attitudes of the Catholic church about divorce were felt into future centuries and in lands as far apart as Ireland, Latin America, and parts of the American South.

The Protestant Reformation brought with it new perspectives on marriage. While Catholics had viewed it as a sacred sacrament, taken for life, Protestants saw marriage as a contract, changeable if it no longer met the needs of the contracted parties. Likewise, while Catholics had primarily defined the purpose of marriage as procreation, Protestants included in it such functions as companionship, support, and sexual pleasure, inspiring radical Protestants, such as poet John Milton, to argue that divorce should be allowed for simple incompatibility.

In the United States, from colonial times to the present, divorce was widely permitted but frowned upon socially. By the time of the Civil War, divorces were granted in most parts of the country on grounds of cruelty, abandonment, drunkenness, nonsupport, or verbal threats or insults. As legal divorces became easier to obtain, the divorce rate began to climb steadily. By the early 1900s the United States was granting the most divorces of any Western country, six times as many as France, in second place. The number had risen dramatically, from 7,380 divorces nationwide in 1860 to 83,045 in 1910.

In the 1950s, divorce dropped somewhat with that decade's glorification of the nuclear family. Women who worked as homemakers, supported by their husbands, found themselves unprepared to support themselves and their children should they divorce. In contrast, the 1960s and 1970s saw more women graduating from college with career aspirations and the skills to achieve them. The divorce rate shot up, as these women no longer felt forced to remain in unhappy marriages.

Though more and more marriages ended in divorce each decade, divorce was still largely stigmatized by society and pathologized by experts who defined divorced people as neurotic and sought cures for their ills. This perception finally began to change in the 1970s when feminism and the sexual revolution combined to give divorce a positive new image of liberation and independence. In the 1980s, rates dipped once again as the threat of AIDS encouraged monogamy. In addition, married baby boomers of the 1980s began to find

financial reasons to stay together, since two incomes were needed to support their lifestyles. These factors, coupled with the 1980s political conservatism and backlash against feminism, caused more couples to seek counseling to save their marriages. The divorce lull did not last, however. Rates continue to climb as, approaching the twenty-first century, generation Xers, many the children of divorce themselves, attempt to determine the boundaries of commitment. Divorce is such a commonplace that while many couples still use lawyers to work out their disputes, others now go to mediators and many more execute their own divorces quite amicably. Along with divorcing couples, there are now numerous cases of children divorcing their parents and vice versa.

Until fairly recently, wives were considered little more than the property of their husbands, and the treatment of women in the divorce process has reflected this attitude. Though many women have been unhappy in the marital roles assigned them, women have always had more to lose financially from divorce. Less valued in the marketplace than men, women often lose further ground by removing themselves from the work force while working as mothers and homemakers. When a woman divorces, the standard of living for her and her children falls an average of 73 percent, often placing them below poverty level. Men, by contrast, released from familial obligations, are free to put more energy into their existing jobs. After divorce, a man's average standard of living rises 42 percent. The devaluing of women's role in the home has also contributed to unfair distribution of assets after divorce. Except in "community property" states, where any property acquired by either partner during the marriage is divided equally, a woman may receive little or none of the family resources, which may be in the husband's name.

Beginning with the so-called "tender years" legislation of the nineteenth century, custody of young children has traditionally been awarded to the mother in divorce settlements. Courts may also choose to award child support and alimony, or spousal support payments, which also traditionally were paid by the husband as the primary earner. In recent years, courts have begun to change assumptions about gender roles, sometimes awarding custody and even spousal support to the husband if he is judged to be the better parent or the wife has greater earning power. "No-fault" divorce, a concept developed in the 1980s, has further eroded the system of spousal support by removing the factor of blame and responsibility for the end of the marriage. While many applaud these changes, they often have resulted in even worse conditions for women following divorce.

Another product of the rising divorce rate has been the prenuptial agreement, wherein couples plan for the possibility of divorce before they are married and agree upon future division of property. Originated by the lawyers of wealthy people who felt they had lost an unfair amount in a divorce, the "pre-nup" is now as much a part of an upper-class wedding as the wedding cake.

Social attitudes toward men and women surrounding divorce have tended to be quite different, especially prior to the 1970s. Divorced men have often been viewed as roguish or even slightly dangerous, not undesirable qualities in a male. Also, the addition of another available man to the social pool is generally looked upon as a good thing. Divorced women, on the other hand, have been seen traditionally as promiscuous, and the addition of an unattached woman to society is usually viewed as threatening to other women.

Images of divorce in the media have contributed to these perceptions. Entertainers have always lived by their own rules, and even in decades when divorce was most stigmatized in ordinary society, the public avidly followed the marital adventures of the

movie stars. Even in the repressive 1950s, actors such as Elizabeth Taylor and Mickey Rooney set records for numbers of marriages that are still impressive today. Fascinated fans reacted with outrage when divorcee Taylor broke up the "idyllic" marriage of Eddie Fisher and Debbie Reynolds. In the mid-1970s they formed strong opinions about the so-called "palimony" suit following the breakup of long-term unmarried lovers Lee Marvin and Michelle Triola when Triola insisted that she was entitled to spousal support after their six-year relationship ended.

Films tended to both reflect and mold social attitudes. In 1934, Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers danced their way through lighthearted marital misunderstandings in *The Gay Divorcee*. In the early 1960s, anti-divorce attitudes won out in *The Parent Trap*, when twin daughters (played by Hayley Mills) of a divorced couple managed to reunite their parents, whose breakup was clearly ill-advised. The 1980s backlash was represented nowhere better than in the Oscar winner for best picture *Kramer vs. Kramer*, in which Dustin Hoffman and Meryl Streep played divorcing parents. Both were motivated by their own selfishness, but in the end it was the husband who was redeemed by learning the joys of familyhood and was rewarded with custody of the couple's son.

By the 1990s, divorce was so common that it had lost much of its social stigma and much of its value as scandal. Fans still followed the love lives of the stars, but it took an exceptionally short marriage or brutal breakup to arouse much public interest. Celebrity-watchers felt vindicated when superstar Julia Roberts walked away from unlikely spouse Lyle Lovett after only a few months, and they cheered for beloved icon Carol Channing when she left her forty-one-year marriage at age seventy-seven, citing lack of sex as one of the reasons. Film portrayals tended to show divorce as a positive solution to a bad situation. The 1989 film *The War of the Roses* was a disturbing comedy about violent breakup where neither partner was presented in a positive light, while *The First Wives Club* (1996) was a sort of revenge comedy where the mistreated wives took action against their boorish ex-husbands.

In past centuries, marriage was a pragmatic agreement and the family an economic unit, whether industrial or agricultural. Members each had a unique function and derived stability and protection from their place in the unit, which was most often an extended family comprising elders, adults, and children. Marriage and the creation of a family was part of survival. As American society evolved, the nuclear family replaced the extended family as the major social unit, and its function has more and more become that of emotional support and physical caretaking rather than working together. As partners enter marriage, they have higher expectations of happiness and satisfaction. Some sociologists cite these rising expectations as the reason for rising rates of divorce, while others contend that since marriage and family are no longer a necessity of physical survival, it is natural that couples tend to drift apart.

As divorce becomes more prevalent, the image of the family continues to change. Though political and religious conservatives have tried to restore a more traditional concept of the nuclear family, they have not been able to stop these changes. While many bemoan the ill-effects of divorce on children, most modern studies show that children do not benefit from growing up in a traditional nuclear family where the parents are unhappy together. The definition of family is now broadening to include not only nuclear families, but also unmarried heterosexuals and gays living together, single-parent families, stepfamilies, foster and adoptive families, childlessness, nonmonogamous relationships, and multiple-adult households. Family

is not only biological, but also chosen, a complex network of economic support and affection that is no longer easily catalogued. Even Madison Avenue has begun to understand and speak to these changes, as companies such as Hallmark Greeting Cards and John Hancock Insurance develop advertising campaigns directed at the families of divorce and other nontraditional units. A Rite-Aid Drug ad, first screened in 1998, shows two girls helping their mother get ready for her first (postdivorce) date, while a 1991 MCI Communications ad shows a workaholic father sadly explaining how his personal toll-free number helps him keep in touch with the son who now lives with his mother far away. These images show how the reality of divorce has been incorporated into American culture, and, indeed, culture worldwide.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Dixieland

Dixieland jazz is a style that blends New Orleans jazz and classic jazz—also called "Chicago jazz"—of the 1920s. The music is generally thought of as a collective improvisation during the choruses, with individual solos that include riffing by the horns, and a two- to four-bar call and response tag game between the drummer and the full group at the closing of the song. While almost any song can be played in the dixieland style, the music is most often associated with about forty songs, including "That's a Plenty" and "Tin Roof Blues." Most dixieland bands are comprised of a trumpet or cornet, a harmonizing trombone, a clarinet, and a piano, string bass, or tuba. Occasionally a guitar or banjo is also included. The style has enjoyed many revivals throughout the years and "dixieland" has become a blanket term for the earliest blending of New Orleans and Chicago jazz between 1917 and 1923, as well as the many revivals of the style.

Despite the wide use of the term, some confine the definition of dixieland jazz to New Orleans music played by white New Orleans performers or in their style. Others limit the definition to the earliest white players in Chicago. Some of the most important albums of the dixieland style include Louis Armstrong's 1927 *Hot Fives and Sevens*, Vol. 3, Eddie Condon's 1939 *Dixieland All-Stars*, Kid Ory's Creole Jazz Band's 1955 *Legendary Kid*, and Pete Fountain's 1965 *Standing Room Only*.

Despite the controversy surrounding how the term should be used, many musicians have been labeled and identified as playing dixieland music. The white Chicago musicians usually included as dixieland musicians are Jimmy McPartland, Bud Freeman, and Frank Teschemacher. These musicians first heard the white New Orleans bands of the 1920s associated with Nick LaRocca in the Original Dixieland Jass (later Jazz) Band which began recording in 1917, and with Paul Mares in the New Orleans Rhythm Kings (originally the Friar's Society Orchestra), which recorded between 1922 and 1923. This "white" style had a great influence on the development of jazz and was not too far removed from the style of the great black pioneers. White New Orleans bands and their dixieland followers drew less on ragtime and ethnic African sources than did the black pioneers. They also drew quite heavily on European sources. One of the most inspirational musicians of the dixieland sound of the 1920s was Louis Armstrong, who noted opera as a strong influence on his style.

The popularization of jazz beyond the New Orleans area and the development of dixieland can be traced to the U.S. Navy's 1917 closure of the Storyville base near New Orleans' red light district. The closure put many musicians out of work. Seeking work, musicians relocated to Chicago, Illinois. Joe "King" Oliver was the hottest cornetist in New Orleans in 1917 and by 1918 he had moved to Chicago. Jelly Roll Morton, jazz's first noted composer and innovative pianist, had moved to Chicago at the turn of the century. Many of New Orleans' best musicians followed and played for a time in Chicago. Others moved elsewhere: from 1919-1924 Kid Ory worked in Los Angeles and Sidney Bechet, the fine clarinetist and soprano saxophonist, played in London. As the musicians moved, the music they played changed and dixieland became a discernable style.

The carefree style of dixieland music soon lost favor to swing, especially after the stock market crash in 1929, but it did not disappear. From 1945 through 1960 dixieland actually became one of the more popular forms of jazz. The revival of dixieland in the 1940s can be traced to Lu Watters' Yerba Buena Jazz Band out of San Francisco. Much of the music was based on King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band, but Watters' developed his own style, sometimes called San Francisco Jazz. Eddie Condon was also influential in the revival of dixieland; he featured a dixieland band on his weekly half-hour radio broadcast *Town Hall Concerts* from 1944 to 1945 and led a band at his Chicago nightclub for a few decades. And though there were many styles of jazz at the time, Louis Armstrong disbanded his big band in 1947 and led his All-Stars as a dixieland style sextet for the rest of his career. Despite the overwhelming popularity of rock 'n' roll after the 1950s, Armstrong proved dixieland's lasting appeal in 1964 with the success of his "Hello Dolly."

The success of the dixieland style in the mid-1940s ignited the release of a flurry of hasty and uninspired imitations of the music. By the 1950s dixieland was often associated with the embarrassingly garish groups who played amateurishly and donned straw hats and wore vintage clothing. Nevertheless, serious and competent musicians still played dixieland music. In 1974 the first Sacramento Dixieland Jubilee was held, the success of which inspired other such

events. By the end of the twentieth century, jazz festivals that feature dixieland along with other styles could be found throughout the year and many record labels such as Stomp Off, GHB, and Jazzology continued to release dixieland music. Many of the greatest players and innovators of dixieland are dead, but younger musicians like Winston Marsalis and Jim Cullum continue to incorporate the dixieland style into their music.

—Frank A. Salamone

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## Do the Right Thing

As many film scholars have noted, the Hollywood film industry's construction of race has been problematic, reflecting the racial divisions of the wider culture. While whites have been considered as representing the "norm," people of color have been rendered invisible, stereotyped, and denigrated in every decade and in every genre. A major shift occurred in the 1980s, when an unprecedented number of studio-backed films written and directed by African-American filmmakers were released. This movement was led by Spike Lee, whose arthouse success, *She's Gotta Have It*, opened doors previously closed to black filmmakers. Able to control the images presented, Lee and the African-American directors who followed brought to the screen issues and concerns so often ignored by Hollywood. One such film, *Do the Right Thing*, written and directed by Lee and released in 1989, is a postmodern masterpiece and a controversial film about issues of race, gender, class, and politics.

The film is set in the predominantly African-American neighborhood of Bedford Stuyvesant, located in Brooklyn, New York. It covers twenty-four hours of the hottest day of the year, which is communicated well by the award winning cinematography of Ernest Dickerson, with its use of highly saturated reds and orange. Featuring an ensemble cast—Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Giancarlo Esposito, Rosie Perez, Danny Aiello, John Turturro, Bill Nunn, Robin Harris, Roger Guenveur Smith, and Lee himself—the film presents a tense atmosphere of varied characters with differing political outlooks. Full of numerous confrontations, the main conflict concerns the decor of

the local pizzeria, Sal's, owned by an Italian American. Buggin Out, who wants the "wall of fame" to display pictures of African Americans rather than Italian Americans, tries to organize the community in a boycott. Incensed, he enters the pizzeria with Radio Raheem, who carries with him a portable stereo blaring the anthem "Fight the Power" by hip hop artists Public Enemy. Radio Raheem engages in a physical dispute with Sal and, in the midst of the struggle, is killed by a policeman's stranglehold. A riot ensues and Sal's Pizzeria is burned to the ground.

As noted above, the film created a controversy in both critical and popular circles. What is the right thing? Does the film advocate violence? Some panned the film because it did not make use of well-rounded, complex characters, did not support productive collective action, and presented less-than-positive images of women. Yet the film brought forth a dialogue about one of the most ingrained aspects of American culture—racism. It presents the issue as complex and multi-faceted, while at the same time questioning the ideologies represented by the numerous characters.

—Frances Gateward

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## Dobie Gillis

*The Many Loves of Dobie Gillis* is a classic sitcom of the late 1950s. If on the surface the show seems unassuming and standard early sitcom fare, just below the surface is a show that breaks new ground in television. Two significant aspects set it apart from the other shows of that era and make it watchable and influential well into the 1990s. First is the show's focus on teenagers. Second is the addition of a new type of character in the form of Maynard G. Krebs, the outsider.

Dobie Gillis is a teenager in small-town America; the plot revolves around Dobie's life and thoughts. In the course of the show Dobie graduates from high school, briefly joins the army, and returns to the same town to attend college. The show was adapted from Max Shulman's short stories of the 1930s and was updated for the teenagers of the 1950s. It premiered in September of 1959 and ran until 1963. The main characters were Dobie Gillis (Dwayne Hickman), the forever-girl-chasing and money-short lead; his best friend and side-kick Maynard (Bob Denver) the cool jazz beatnik; Dobie's hard-working father Herbert T. Gillis (Frank Faylen); and Zelda Gilroy (Sheila James), who was determined to marry Dobie one day.

Before Dobie there had been teenagers in television shows but always in secondary roles and usually within the confines of a very structured family—e.g., *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* and *Father Knows Best*. While there were occasional episodes dealing with teenage issues, they were usually reserved for comic relief or family homilies. *Dobie Gillis* offered an entirely different way of viewing the subject. Although most of the stories deal with the basic trials and tribulations of teenage life—getting a date, getting money, and getting out of work—they are taken seriously; each show starts and ends with Dobie speaking to us from a pose near a replica of the



A publicity shot for *The Many Loves of Dobie Gillis*.

Rodin sculpture known as “The Thinker.” In this way, we are told that the problems of money, girls, and work are important to the youth.

Dobie’s world includes several recurring characters who provide the basic themes for the show. His father runs the Gillis Grocery Store and cannot understand his son (he continually tries to instill in him the need for hard work), while his mother (Florida Friebus) attempts to mediate between father and son. In the beginning of the series Tuesday Weld plays Thalia Meninger, Dobie’s dream girl whom he hesitates to pursue because he does not have money. As one might expect, there are several rivals who do have money—Milton Armitage (Warren Beatty), followed by Chatsworth Osborne Jr. (Stephen Franken). It is their presence that generates many of the show’s conflicts.

As the series unfolds a more striking character also takes form, that of Maynard. Maynard is the classical beatnik: he has the goatee, the ripped sweatshirt, the love of jazz, and the “like” vocabulary. He seems out of place in this little town, and that is the point. Maynard (played by Bob Denver, later of *Gilligan’s Island*) is Dobie’s “good buddy” and he is loyal to him to the end. While Dobie dreams of money so that he can get the girls, Maynard has no need for either. His mannerisms and clothes make him stand out from everyone, and his simple ways and shuddering at the thought of work seem to hold him apart from the suburban dream. Maynard sets a standard for every other outsider with a message in shows to come.

Despite the concentration on themes of money and dating, or perhaps because of it, the show occasionally slides into uncharted areas. Dobie tends to think and speak about life in terms of big questions or, more accurately, he tends to make whatever he is thinking about seem big. Dobie, like many teenagers, is in search of many things, including an understanding of himself and the world in which he lives.

The impact of this show extends far beyond the 1950s. Shows that centered on teens and tried to gather the baby-boomer-market would be a staple from the 1960s on. The outsider beatnik character could easily metamorphose into the hippie of the 1960s or even to “The Fonz” of *Happy Days*. Dobie has since resurfaced in two sequels; a 30-minute pilot for a revival of the show in 1977 named *What Ever happened to Dobie Gillis?*, and a reunion movie in 1988 called *Bring Me the Head of Dobie Gillis*.

—Frank E. Clark

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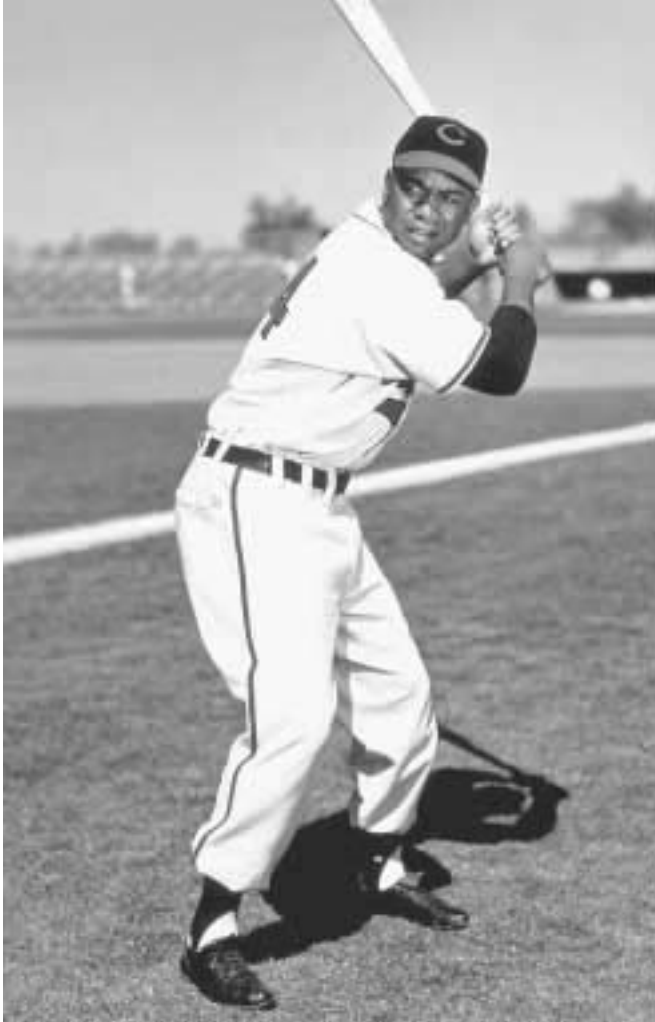
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## Doby, Larry (1923—)

African-American baseball player Larry Doby was an unlikely Civil Rights pioneer. Unlike Major League Baseball’s first Black player, Jackie Robinson, Doby was “shy, quiet, and unassuming”; he’d grown up in integrated Patterson, New Jersey, attended predominantly white Long Island University and lived a life far more sheltered from the stings and arrows of racial prejudice than the vast majority of African Americans. Yet it was Doby, even more than Jackie Robinson, whose courage and determination helped transform Major League Baseball into a national pastime for people of all races. In 1947, Doby became the first African-American player in the American League; he was also the first player to jump straight from the Negro Leagues to the majors. He later integrated Japanese baseball in 1962 and went on to become the sport’s second Black manager and one of its first African-American executives. However it was in his role as the second Black player in baseball that Doby had his most significant impact on professional athletics. His Major League debut demonstrated to the American public that Jackie Robinson’s entrance into white baseball was not a publicity stunt and that Black players were destined to become permanent fixtures in Major League Baseball.

When integration-minded Cleveland Indians owner Bill Veeck sought to sign a Black player in 1947, the Newark Eagle’s Doby appeared to be the obvious choice. The twenty-two year old Doby, a former high school football and basketball star, led the Negro National League with a batting average of .458 and thirteen home





Larry Doby

runs. He was the top Black prospect who had not already signed a contract with the Brooklyn Dodgers (After Jackie Robinson's successful debut, the Dodgers had acquired several other talented African Americans for their minor league clubs). Veeck, unlike the Dodgers' general manager Branch Rickey, was determined to integrate his organization from the top down. On July 5, 1947, he purchased Doby's contract from the Eagles for \$10,000. Three hours later, he sent the surprised young athlete onto the field as a pinch hitter against the Chicago White Sox. This courageous decision, coming without warning, drew 20,000 letters of protest from irate fans.

Doby's sudden entrance into the majors relieved much of the pressure on the Dodgers' Robinson. Both men faced extraordinary pressures that first season, including open hostility from teammates and opposition players, and they formed a close relationship that endured through their lifetimes. Upon Doby signing, Robinson stated, "I no longer have the feeling that if I don't make good, it will kill the chances of other Negro players." Doby's debut opened the way for three more Blacks to enter the majors within a month and made it clear that baseball was on a permanent course toward integration. His presence on the Indians also contributed to the more general cause of Civil Rights for African Americans when Washington's exclusive

Hotel Statler, formerly whites-only, permitted Doby to room with his team.

After a rough first season in which he batted only .156 in a limited thirty at-bats, Doby found his stride and became one of the game's marquee figures. In 1948, he batted an impressive .301 with 14 homeruns and 65 runs batted in. He led the Indians to a victory over the Boston Braves in the World Series, becoming the first African American to play on a World Series Champion team. He later led the American league in home runs in 1952 and again in 1954. When he retired after thirteen seasons with the Indians, White Sox, and Detroit Tigers, he had a formidable career batting average of .283 and 253 lifetime homeruns. For these achievements, he was elected to Baseball's Hall of Fame in 1998.

Long after Major League baseball had fully integrated, Doby continued to be a pioneer among Black athletes. In 1962, he became one of the first Blacks to play professional baseball in Japan. He returned to the United States and served in several administrative jobs with the Montreal Expos, Indians, and White Sox. He became the Indians' manager in 1978—after Frank Robinson, the second African American ever to manager a Major League club. He later returned to executive duties as a special assistant to Dr. Gene Budig, the President of the America League. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s—when Blacks were welcome on the baseball field and in the stands but not in the front office—Doby continued to push for expanded opportunities for African Americans.

After Jackie Robinson's death, the "Silk City Slugger" became a living symbol of the early Civil Rights movement. He is indisputably the most popular player in the history of the Cleveland Indians and, along with later Black stars Willie Mays and Hank Aaron, continues to be one of baseball's chief attractions at special events and Old Timers' games.

—Jacob M. Appel

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## Doc Martens

More than just functional footwear, Doc Martens shoes and boots have become a staple among decades of style-conscious subcultures and eventually emerged as a fashion phenomenon. Once synonymous with angry British youth, Doc Martens, like their sturdy leather uppers, have mellowed with age. Bavarian physician Claus Maerten designed the clunky, cushiony, thick-soled boot out of old tires in 1945 after a skiing accident necessitated more comfortable footwear. Union-plagued customers became converts until the 1960s,

when fascist skinheads appropriated the boots. Rock stars soon followed the trend, and after punk rockers in the 1970s began painting on their own designs, the company came out with wildly colored and patterned models. The brand was a must-have for the young and hip throughout the 1980s, from hip-hop to grunge fans. By the late 1990s, women accounted for seventy percent of the fast-growing market, picking up the pairs at upscale department stores.

—Geri Speace

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## Doc Savage

During the 16-year run of *Doc Savage Magazine*, Clark Savage, Jr. (better known as Doc) was one of the most exciting and popular pulp magazine characters. The appeal of Doc Savage is succinctly stated in the promotional blurb that appears on the back of the Bantam paperback editions that reprint his pulp adventures: "To his fans he is the greatest adventure hero of all time, whose fantastic exploits are unequalled for hair-raising thrills, breathtaking escapes, and bloodcurdling excitement." Doc is a transitional hero who unites the intellect



Ron Ely stands beside a painting of the pulp fiction character Doc Savage, who he played on screen in 1975.

of Sherlock Holmes and the physical prowess of Tarzan with the best gadgets imagined by the new genre of science fiction. In bringing together all of these elements, Doc Savage served as a model for the superheroes that followed.

Doc Savage was the creation of Street and Smith business manager Henry Ralston and editor John Nanovic, who hoped to duplicate the success of the company's first single-character pulp magazine, *The Shadow*. While Ralston and Nanovic created the concept, the characters, and even many of the colorful details, it was a young writer named Lester Dent who brought Doc Savage to life. The house byline used was Kenneth Robeson, and there were six different authors who contributed Doc Savage stories under that byline. Lester Dent, however, wrote the vast majority of the Doc tales and edited, or at least approved, the work of the writers who ghosted for him. It was also Lester Dent, following his "master plot" outline and hammering out his pithy prose, who established the distinctive style of the Doc Savage adventures.

Doc Savage appeared in 181 fantastic pulp magazine adventures from 1933 to 1949. In October of 1964, Bantam Books began paperback reprints of every one of the pulp stories, plus one previously unpublished Doc manuscript by Lester Dent (*The Red Spider*). In 1991 Bantam began publishing original Doc Savage material. *Escape from Loki* was written by long-time Doc aficionado Philip Jose Farmer. Doc Savage fan and scholar Will Murray wrote seven books based on Lester Dent story fragments and outlines. There was a Doc Savage radio show in the 1930s, a Doc Savage movie in the 1970s, another radio show in the 1980s, and Doc Savage comic books from at least six different publishers, but the true Doc Savage adventures are the 182 stories written for the pulps.

Doc Savage is a hero of mythic proportions. Clark Savage, Jr., was born one stormy night aboard a tiny schooner anchored off Andros island in the infamous Bermuda Triangle. Doc dwells far above ordinary humans on the eighty-sixth floor of the Empire State Building. Both his strength and intellect are herculean. At the age of 14 months he began his strenuous and life-long training. Even after Doc reaches adulthood and begins traveling the globe to right wrongs and help the oppressed, he adheres faithfully to a two-hour routine of intensive exercises for his muscles, senses, and mind. Though he excels in virtually every endeavor, Doc displays his most prodigious talent in the practice of medicine. By the time he was 30, Doc Savage was the world's most brilliant surgeon. In fact, he "rehabilitates" criminals using an intricate brain surgery procedure only he has the skill to perform.

When Doc first appears in 1933 he is six feet tall and weighs 200 pounds. In later tales Doc is usually described as somewhat larger—around six feet eight inches and weighing 270 pounds. Yet, his build has such symmetry and proportion that he does not look big unless he is standing next to someone. Beneath his sun-bronzed skin, his muscles are "like cables" or "bundles of piano wire." When he flexes those great muscles he often rips his shirt and coat. His hair is combed straight back and resembles a metal skullcap. Doc's most riveting characteristic is the gently swirling flakes of gold in his eyes. Thanks to the dynamic covers painted by James Bama for the Bantam reprints, a virtual costume was established for Doc. On most paperback covers Doc wore boots, aviator pants, and a very precisely ripped shirt.

The first Doc Savage story, *The Man of Bronze*, establishes that the men who compose Doc's amazing crew are "the five greatest brains to ever assemble in one group." They include: "Long Tom," the frail-looking wizard of electricity who is a wildcat in a fight;

“Renny,” a grim-faced giant of a man who likes to smash his huge fists through solid panel doors and is the greatest engineering expert of his time; the tall, gaunt, bespectacled Johnny, with his bulging forehead and big words, who is one of the world’s foremost experts on geology and archaeology; “Ham,” who is a dapper clothes horse and possibly the greatest lawyer Harvard has ever produced; and the most remarkable of Doc’s companions “Monk,” a short, barrel-chested man whose knuckles nearly drag the ground. Although he looks like a red-haired ape pretending to be a man, he is one of the world’s top chemists. Monk, however, would much rather work with his fists than with test tubes. The frontispiece of the Bantam paperbacks gives this characterization of the men who joined Doc Savage in his work: “Together with their leader, they would go anywhere, fight anyone, dare everything—seeking excitement and perilous adventure.”

Although Doc Savage is a relatively minor fictional character, he has influenced some major popular culture icons. Superman is the most obvious “descendent” of Doc. In fact, in the stories themselves and in the advertisements for the magazine, Doc was often referred to as a “superman.” In addition to sharing the first name Clark, both heroes have a Fortress of Solitude somewhere in the arctic. Both also have female cousins that look like them, have their powers, and want to horn in on their adventures. Doc was known as the Man of Bronze, and Superman is known as the Man of Steel. Doc’s connection to Batman is less obvious, but more fundamental. Both heroes are “self-made supermen” who, beginning in childhood, devoted themselves to intense training. Both have considerable scientific know-how, as evidenced by Doc’s utility vest and Batman’s very similar utility belt. It is even possible that the batmobile is patterned after Doc’s bulletproof and gadget-filled sedan.

—Randy Duncan

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## Doctor Who

*Doctor Who* is the world’s longest continually produced science fiction serial. It aired on the British BBC network from 1963 until 1989, and was revived briefly as a television movie in 1996. In the United States, *Doctor Who* first began broadcasts on independent channels in 1972, and was still broadcasting on some local PBS affiliates in the late 1990s. It has, like *Star Trek*, engendered movies, radio dramas, lucrative novel series, non-fiction, comic books, and an extensive home video market.

*Doctor Who* revolves around the adventures of the mysterious time-traveling title character, simply known throughout as The Doctor. The Doctor, as first seen in the 1963 pilot episode, broadcast in the midst of the BBC’s coverage of the Kennedy Assassination, is outwardly human. William Hartnell, the actor to first portray the Doctor (1963-1966), presented audiences with a cranky old man who

had a gross lack of basic human kindness. Initially, the Doctor was accompanied on his travels through time and space by his granddaughter and her human school teachers. In the serial’s second episode, he seemed to encourage his companion to kill an incapacitated caveman. Later, his selfish, obsessive desire to learn placed him and his companions in danger when they met the alien Daleks. The character began to soften his edges as he was exposed to the ideals and attitudes of his human companions. His scientific curiosity and towering ego remain, but his ego became tempered with an increasing respect for his companions and the races that he encountered.

When Hartnell became too ill to continue the role, the producers came up with the ingenious idea of having the character “regenerate” into a new body with a new personality. Since 1966, the Doctor has been played by seven more actors: Patrick Troughton (1966-1970), Jon Pertwee (1970-1974), Tom Baker (1974-1981), Peter Davison (1981-1983), Colin Baker (1983-1986), Sylvester McCoy (1986-1989), and Paul McGann (1996). Richard Hurndall also played the role of the First Doctor in place of the late William Hartnell in the 1983 anniversary serial “The Five Doctors.” This change in the lead actor (and usually in the rest of the cast and the production teams) allowed the show to adapt to and change with the times. Hartnell’s serials began originally as a children’s program, but by the late 1970s Tom Baker’s serials were also targeted towards the science fiction aficionado. Low ratings and lack of support from the BBC (it went on an 18 month hiatus in the middle of Colin Baker’s tenure) soon saw the serial descending into self-parody. Towards the end it began to recover some of its ground, but in 1989 it was taken off the air, though never officially canceled. The 1996 television movie was co-produced by the BBC and the FOX Network in the United States at a sum of \$5 million (an unusual amount for such a production), but it did not achieve great ratings. There are constant rumors among fans of another revival; meanwhile the serial continues in original novels published first by Virgin Books and later by BBC Books.

Two theatrical movies were made in the 1960s, based on the scripts of two of the television serials, *Doctor Who and the Daleks* (1965) and *Daleks—Invasion Earth, 2150 A.D.* (1966), starring Peter Cushing as the Doctor. In the television serial, it was the popularity of the Daleks, created by writer Terry Nation and a BBC special effects wizard, that propelled the Doctor to instant stardom in the United Kingdom. It was not until the first Tom Baker serials began broadcasting in the United States, however, that the show earned anything more than an American cult audience. The Doctor has since earned cameos in episodes of *The Simpsons*, and cancellation of the serial usually results in a PBS station being inundated with masses of fan mail.

Like *Star Trek*, the fans of *Doctor Who* run major conventions every year which are attended in the thousands by fans sporting scarves and cricket jackets. Instantly recognizable at these conventions is the Doctor’s unique TARDIS—an acronym for Time and Relative Dimension in Space. On the outside it resembles a battered London police call box. Inside, however, it is, in reality, a large ship, its cavernous interior seemingly endless. The Doctor and his fans also have a strong presence on the Internet, where hints of new television projects compete for attention with spoilers of the novel plots.

Icons of the show include the pepperpot shaped Daleks, and the silver enshrouded Cybermen. Also earning a place in history was the show’s electronic theme music, which evolved over the years but still retained an eerie hint of the otherworldly. On the whole, the show was a hodge-podge of what is good and bad about long-running serial television: devoted audiences, a long history, and very bad continuity.

The video market ensures that the show is introduced to new audiences and that it has a life beyond its original television run.

—John J. Doherty

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## Doctor Zhivago

This only novel by the famed Russian poet Boris Pasternak received the 1958 Nobel Prize for literature. The story traces the experiences of a Moscow doctor, Yuri Zhivago, during the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the ensuing civil war from 1918 to 1921. Zhivago's independence, religious convictions, and conflict with the Soviet regime were considered too controversial for publication by the editors of the leading Soviet literary journal, *Novy Mir*, to which Pasternak had submitted his work, despite the fact that the Soviet Union was experiencing greater openness following the death of dictator Joseph Stalin in 1953. Pasternak had the manuscript smuggled out of the Soviet Union in late 1956, and it was first published in Italy in November 1957. The book was translated into more than twenty languages in the next two years and became an international best-seller. A 1965 film adaptation of the book, directed by David Lean, received five Academy Award nominations.

—Jason George

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## Doctorow, E. L. (1931—)

As Matthew Henry noted in *Critique*, "E.L. Doctorow has made a career out of historical fiction, and he is renowned for both examining and rewriting the American past . . . because for Doctorow there is no fact or fiction, only narrative." In his attempt to examine the cultural myths of America and their impact on society, E.L. Doctorow created some of the most noted works of postmodern historical fiction of the late twentieth century through his unique ability to weave documented historical facts and figures with invented ones. As Henry noted, this brand of historical fiction allowed Doctorow to present different histories, not only those accepted by consensus. Doctorow's approach to history and his style of writing mark him as one of the significant contributors to the postmodern literary movement.

Edgar Laurence Doctorow was born in 1931 in New York City, the setting of many of his novels. Doctorow began his writing career



**E. L. Doctorow**

within a decade after graduating from Kenyon College in 1952. His first three novels were experiments with different fiction genres. The first novel, *Welcome to Hard Times*, was a western and focused on the common theme of man's relationship to evil. *Big as Life*, Doctorow's second novel, was a science fiction work about two giants materializing in New York City. Yet, it was not until Doctorow experimented with the historical form in his third novel, *The Book of Daniel*, that he achieved commercial and critical success. It was here, in Doctorow's account of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and their children, where he first experimented with what would later be called postmodern historical fiction—historical facts blended with contemporary fiction styles and elements.

Doctorow's postmodern historical fiction approached the writing of history as a reconstitution of history. Unlike the many historical fiction writers before him, he did not attempt to present history as fact. As he did with the Rosenbergs in *The Book of Daniel*, Doctorow's interweaving of historical facts and figures with fictional ones was best done in his fourth novel, *Ragtime*. This novel intertwined the lives of many famous historical figures, such as Harry Houdini, Henry Ford, and Emma Goldman, with three fictional families—an upper class white family, a poor immigrant family, and a ragtime black musician's family. By mixing history with fiction, Doctorow confused and, to a degree, falsified history as he investigated the myths and realities of the American dream in *Ragtime*, a theme that reappears in his next novel, *Loon Lake*.

It is Doctorow's approach to history and writing style that make his novels postmodern. Just as Toni Morrison did in her novel *Jazz*, Doctorow used the combination of the repetition and improvisation in

music to create a relentless narrative prose style in *Ragtime*, a style that would continue in his following novels. What at first may look like out of control prose became finely crafted prose that worked on multiple levels of meaning and interpretation, what Andrew Delbanco called more associative than sequential and what Michelle Tokarczyk called “accessible experimentation.” Doctorow experimented with syntactical structures as well as point of view and voice, so there were many instances in his novels where it was difficult to ascertain who was saying what to whom, where the narrative did not instantly reveal itself. This postmodern language play added to the historical reconstructions, sometimes labeled allegorical romances, of twentieth-century American life as it occurred in Doctorow’s novels.

In addition to writing novels, in the 1990s Doctorow has used his position in American society to take on many social issues. Citing what he called a “gangsterdom of the spirit,” Doctorow believed American life near the end of the twentieth century was suffering from a loss of cohesion and morality. Some of his social projects of the 1990s include the saving of Walden Woods in Massachusetts, developing a cable television channel dedicated to books, peacefully settling the American conflict with Iraq, and analyzing the presidencies of Ronald Reagan and Bill Clinton.

—Randall McClure

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## Docudrama

Docudrama is a film genre which is found primarily, but not exclusively, on television. *Brian’s Song* (1970)—the story of the tragic death of football player Brian Piccolo—was the first notable U.S. example. The success of *Brian’s Song* proved to the television networks that the made-for-television, reality-based telefilm could be both a critical and popular success. However, the docudrama has been

a controversial form in North America because of its apparently cavalier mixture of truth and fiction, drama and documentary—a case of blurred boundaries which unsettles some viewers and critics. The genre has had at least a dozen names and several uncomplimentary epithets applied to it: drama-documentary, dramatized documentary, dramadoc, faction, infotainment, reconstruction, historical drama, biographical drama, historical romance, thesis drama, problem play, and “based-on-fact.”

For many of those who do not like the form, the television docudrama is a cheap replacement for the more distinguished Hollywood social-issue picture. But docudramas have been extremely popular with audiences (and hence advertisers), and cheaper to make than theatrical feature films. Because the majority of them are based on some well-known recent event, they require much less in the way of promotion since the audience already knows at least part of the story. The turnaround time (the time between a public event and the film based on it) for such films has become incredibly brief; the most infamous example was the filming of the story about the violent deaths of several FBI agents and members of a religious cult in Waco, Texas, while those tragic events were still unfolding (*In the Line of Duty: Ambush in Waco*, 1993).

Until very recently, the docudrama has generally been considered a hybrid form, caught somewhere between documentary and drama, often doing justice to neither. Film and television critics have tried to define its conventions with mixed success since the seventies. Andrew Goodwin and Paul Kerr, authors of the *BFI Drama-Documentary Dossier*, even claim that it is impossible to define the genre, arguing that such failure is a result of “the break up of consensual views of social reality” in a postmodern world. For these critics and others the mixture of fact and fiction leads to the creation of a “hyperreality” where audiences can no longer make the distinction between truth and fiction—with the result that history, as told by the media, tends to become reality itself. Steven Spielberg’s *Schindler’s List* (1993) is often cited as a prime example since the only information that many people around the world have about the Holocaust comes from the film, known for its fictionalizing of “the truth.”

Critic Derek Paget has argued that the docudrama has been around long enough to be considered a genre in itself with well established conventions. He traces the U.S. history of the form from early documentary-like television anthology programs like *Armstrong Circle Theatre* or *Kraft Television Theatre*, through a second phase of made-for-TV movies like *Brian’s Song* or *Roots* (1977), and finally to a more controversial type of “trauma drama” which has been largely influenced by tabloid television with stories based upon well-known scandals such as the Amy Fischer “Long Island Lolita” attempted murder, *Amy Fisher: My Story* (1992) and *The Amy Fisher Story* (1993), or the O.J. Simpson murder trial, *The O.J. Simpson Story* and *The Trial of O.J. Simpson* (both 1995).

Critical quibbling aside, the docudrama is one of the most popular and lucrative genres in North America, perhaps because it blurs the boundaries between reality and fiction and in the process draws attention to the media’s manipulation of “fact.” One need only think of the battles fought in the United States over docudramas like Oliver Stone’s *JFK* (1991) or *Nixon* (1995) to see the heat which docudrama has generated. The docudrama has become a culturally important form which is the site of political battles over the nature of “truth,” “reality,” and the tabloidization of everyday life.

—Jeannette Sloniowski

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## Do-It-Yourself Improvement

The term "do-it-yourself" applies in its broadest sense to a range of tasks, usually domestic projects of repair or improvement, completed by individuals who are amateurs in the field. Instead of hiring professional contractors, many homeowners enjoy the challenge of learning new skills, adapting individual styles, and incorporating materials and techniques from local sources to beautify and improve their homes. The high degree of personal satisfaction, not to mention cost-of-labor savings, provide substantial incentives to many do-it-yourselfers. Many view the work they do on their homes as a

hobby, and do-it-yourselfers can now learn and master home improvement methods and techniques from an enormous variety of books, television shows, and multimedia computer programs.

Though people had relied on manual skills before industrialization, personal skills and expertise gave way to organized labor and specialized craftsmanship by the early nineteenth century when early industrialization and the infusion of power-driven machinery created a revolution in manufacture. Items which had been hand-crafted and individually created could now be produced by machine automation. The novelty of mass production generated a craze in the purchase of prefabricated goods. By the 1950s in America, mass production had spread to home building, as evidenced by the first neighborhood tract homes.

People have turned to hand-crafting in times of hardship such as the Great Depression and World War II when there were shortages of building materials and sundry items. Shortages fostered the development of independent home improvement solutions ranging from construction using found materials to the brewing of homemade beer. Propaganda during war time also encouraged individual thrift and problem-solving as important contributions to the war effort. In addition, following the Allied victory, many people returned home with new skills gained through military service and focussed on rebuilding their homes and families. Do-it-yourself home building kits were available in America as early as the late 1940s.

But during the prosperity of the 1950s, home improvement was enjoyed as a family hobby and social activity among neighbors. By the 1960s, young homeowners began home-crafting and personalized home improvement less as a hobby and more as a statement of individuality. While rebelling against what was generally called "the establishment," young people saw opportunities in home industry which provided an avenue of freedom from commercial and industrial ventures. Homemade items from clothing to bread to wall-hangings and interior decorations enjoyed popularity throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

Interest in homemade items waned in the 1980s as Americans returned to more conservative politics, but the spirit of being able to "do-it-yourself" continued not only among first-time home-buyers, who were principally interested in savings (not to mention putting a personal "stamp" on their new homes), but also among the wealthy who continued the trend in home improvement as a personal hobby. Many chose to develop home improvement projects themselves not because politics or economics dictated that they do so, but out of the personal satisfaction derived from individual achievement. A week-end painting project, for example, provided the opportunity to enhance one's self-esteem as well as reduce stress. People who do-it-themselves tend to see themselves as competent, capable, and goal-oriented.

In this light many women increased their involvement in home improvement activities throughout the 1990s, taking on plumbing, minor carpentry, and mechanical repair jobs which were previously considered to be a man's job. In this way women have been able to express their self-confidence and ability in ways which had previously been discouraged.

By the end of the twentieth century, do-it-yourself projects were supported by a growing network of home improvement stores. With vast inventories and knowledgeable salespeople providing instruction, stores like the Home Depot, HomeBase, and Lowe's Improvement Warehouse helped people finish their own projects.

—Ethan Hay

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## Domino, Fats (1928—)

The music of Fats Domino embodies the spirit of early rock and roll. His work reveals the links between rock and roll, rhythm and blues, and the black Southern singers of the early twentieth century. His music was recorded by most of the rock artists of the 1950s, who recognized his significant contribution to establishing the rock and roll sound, and he is acknowledged as a pioneer in leading the way across the racial barriers of the music industry. With more than 65 million record sales, Domino was second only to Elvis Presley in popularity during the 1950s, and is credited with bringing mass attention to the New Orleans sound, inspiring many other Southern black singers to record for white audiences.

Domino's New Orleans style of piano playing is a combination of traditional jazz, Latin rhythms, blues, Cajun, and boogie woogie that reflects that city's rich heritage of cultural amalgamation. From the mid-1940s through the early 1950s he was an established rhythm and blues recording artist who had successfully toured the nation, but his pounding playing style made him well suited to crossover into the emerging rock format. Domino's greatest popularity arrived in 1955 with the release of "Ain't That a Shame," which became an early rock hit, and although his career began to fade somewhat in the 1960s, he continued to tour and record into the 1990s.

The man considered the most famous New Orleans-born musician since Louis Armstrong was born Antoine Domino, one of a large family, on February 26, 1928. He developed an early interest in music, began playing the piano at age nine, and was performing publicly at local honky-tonks a year later. He quit school at 14 and took a job at a bedspring factory so that his nights would be free to play the area bars and clubs. A large young man, at this time he acquired the nickname "Fats" from bandleader Bill Diamond. The entertainer was spotted in 1949 by trumpeter Dave Bartholomew and Lew Chudd of Imperial Records, who soon signed him to a recording contract. His first hit song, "The Fat Man," sold more than a million



**Fats Domino**

copies. Domino formed an especially close professional relationship with Bartholomew, and the pair co-wrote, arranged, and produced most of the singer's material for the next two decades. Among his hits of this period are "Goin' Home," "Goin' to the River," and "Every Night about This Time."

Domino's rollicking piano playing allowed him to cross onto the pop charts in the mid-1950s, the time when young white audiences were discovering rock and roll. However, white artists were also covering his initial pop records—Teresa Brewer recorded "Bo Weevil" and Pat Boone's mild version of "Ain't That a Shame" sold even more copies than Domino's own—but he broke into the pop Top Ten himself with the release of "I'm in Love Again." Fats Domino became a national sensation and was one of the first black recording stars to prove that he could appeal to white listeners. He proceeded to enjoy a string of major hits from 1955 to 1960, of which the most instantly recognizable are "Blueberry Hill," "Blue Monday," "I'm Walkin'," "My Blue Heaven," "Whole Lotta Loving," and "Walkin' to New Orleans."

The second half of Fats Domino's career lacked the continuous commercial success of the first half. Although he continued to tour and did occasionally produce some notable recordings, more magnetic (and frenetic) performers such as Little Richard, Chuck Berry, and Jerry Lee Lewis eclipsed his gentle, laid-back stage persona. In the 1970s, he released a New Orleans-style version of the Beatles' "Lady Madonna" that gained some attention, and in 1993 he returned to the recording studio for the first time in nearly 25 years to produce his *Christmas Is a Special Day* set. The results received much critical acclaim. In his later years Domino was much honored for his

achievements: in 1986 he was in the inaugural group of artists inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame, and in 1998 President Clinton awarded him the National Medal of Arts. By the late 1990s, though entering his seventies, Fats Domino was still touring in between enjoying life in his palatial New Orleans home.

—Charles Coletta

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## Donahue, Phil (1935—)

Talk show host Phil Donahue is credited with pioneering the daytime television talk show format. His programs introduced viewers to sensitive and intelligent discussions of topics and issues that had never before been seen on the small screen. From the debut of *The Phil Donahue Show* in 1969, which originated out of Dayton, Ohio, Donahue challenged, informed, and entertained daytime audiences and helped establish the talk show as one of television's most prolific

and profitable formats. Beginning in the 1970s, his promotion of feminism, and the frequent airing of women's health issues on his program identified him as the embodiment of the "sensitive man." As daytime TV shows became raunchier in the 1990s, Donahue came to be viewed as the patriarch of the genre. While he did present programs with outrageous content—senior citizen strippers, for example—he continued to offer sober conversations about politics and social concerns and a mix of celebrity interviews. Phil Donahue's decision to treat the female television viewer as an intelligent, active, and aware participant in society challenged those programmers wedded to the conviction that women would only watch soap operas and cookery demonstrations.

For a man who later symbolized the modern era's willingness to talk openly about the most personal issues, Donahue's beginnings were very traditional. He was born Phillip John Donahue, the son of a furniture salesman in Cleveland, Ohio, on December 21, 1935. He was an altar boy and, after graduating high school, studied for a B.A. in theology at the University of Notre Dame. After completing his degree, he found work as a radio announcer in Cleveland and, later, Dayton. (One of his first professional positions involved delivering the five a.m. hog report.) His first talk show was a Dayton radio program titled *Conversation Piece*, which aired from 1963 to 1967. He later accepted a position with Dayton's WLWD television station



Phil Donahue (right) and guests on *The Phil Donahue Show*.



to host a local call-in talk show but, unable to attract top guests, he and his producers focused each episode on relevant issues of the day.

*The Phil Donahue Show* premiered in November 1967 with an appearance by celebrated atheist Madalyn Murray O'Hair, who was considered by some the most hated woman in America for her anti-religion stance. That first week also included film of a woman giving birth and a discussion on the appropriateness of anatomically correct male dolls. Donahue's likable personality and his ease in addressing often uncomfortable issues tempered the daring subject matter. A further innovation was his solicitation of questions and comments from the studio audience, previously regarded as little more than background for hosts and their guests. Donahue's charm, coupled with his bold choice of topics, attracted national attention when he moved his show, renamed simply *Donahue*, to Chicago in 1974. The program was soon syndicated nationwide and boasted millions of viewers, of whom 85 percent were women.

In a career that spanned more than 6000 hours of programming, there was no subject that Phil Donahue was unwilling to confront and present to mainstream America. Some complained that his choices were often inappropriate or too outlandish. TV host Merv Griffin expressed the opinion of many when he complained that Donahue and his imitators were most interested in controversy and titillation. Griffin stated, "What they have to resort to in subject matter is sometimes a pain in the neck. You know, the sex lives of Lithuanian doctors and dentists is not all that interesting." Donahue did, indeed, parade bizarre guests at times and was not above risking offense to capture high ratings. He interviewed nudists, drag queens, neo-Nazis, and strippers of all sorts. The episode that caused the most controversy and hysteria was titled "Transvestite Fashion Show" and featured Donahue wearing a dress.

However, complaints that daytime talk shows peddled only salacious material ignored Donahue's many episodes that focused on serious issues such as race relations, class differences, and feminist causes. In 1982, he presented the first national program devoted to the AIDS crisis, and a high point of his series was a 1988 discussion of the disease in children, led by the HIV-positive boy Ryan White. Over the years the series also welcomed politicians and advocates from across the political spectrum to express their views. In the late 1980s, Donahue initiated a series of "space bridge" shows with Russian TV host Vladimir Pozner, designed to promote understanding between the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union. The host's own stand on abortion rights, the Equal Rights Amendment, and other feminist causes, identified him as one of TV's outstanding liberal voices.

Donahue's success continued into the 1980s and 1990s. In 1980, the divorced father of five married actress Marlo Thomas, best known for TV's *That Girl*. The couple had met several years earlier when Thomas was a guest on Donahue's program. The series relocated to New York in 1985, but the following year saw the first real challenge to Donahue's ratings dominance with the arrival of Oprah Winfrey. The pair battled for the position of TV's top daytime talk show host for a decade until Donahue announced his retirement in 1996. The final episode of his show was a national event.

After his departure, daytime TV sank into a mire of freak shows, fights, and shocking behavior. The intelligence, curiosity, and humane probing that characterized Donahue's approach were sadly absent in an era filled with hosts such as Geraldo Rivera, Jenny Jones, and Jerry Springer. Where Donahue had sought to inform and entertain, others set out to demean, to provoke and to shock—an unworthy tribute to Phil Donahue's ability to present often controversial subjects to the mass American audience which had once appeared

to mark the nation's growing willingness to confront previously taboo topics.

—Charles Coletta

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## Donovan (1946—)

The rise and fall of British singer Donovan's career and popularity paralleled that of the 1960s counterculture. In the dreamy world of the late 1960s, the exotic and popular performer personified the earthly flower child. Appearing simultaneously wide-eyed and cynical, a little silly yet nobody's fool, and an intensely commercial hippie, he seemed to embrace antithetical categories in popular



Donovan (right) with his musical director, David John Mills.

culture. For five years between 1965 and 1970, he lived so close to the cutting edge of each new trend that it almost seemed as if he had initiated them. Then, with shocking rapidity, he became irrelevant, discarded—like the counterculture—by critics and audiences alike as passé and/or uncool. Yet, for a singer so identified with that specific time and world view, his best songs never lost either their catchiness or their ability to charm.

Donovan Leitch was born in an old section of Glasgow, Scotland, but his family moved to the outskirts of London in 1955. He learned the rudiments of music at folk enclaves in St. Albans, north of London and in the coastal artists' colony of St. Ives in Cornwall. At age 18 he began recording demo discs which were heard by talent scouts from the British rock television show *Ready Steady Go*, and he began appearing regularly on the program in 1965. Initially, Donovan's music was entirely acoustic and, while noting his English accent and more romantic attitude, critics labeled him "Britain's answer to Bob Dylan." In 1965, thousands of youngsters learned to play the guitar using the chords to his first hit, "Catch the Wind." Follow-up singles included the folksy "Colours," Buffy St. Marie's "Universal Soldier" (a standard of the anti-war movement), and a jazzy drug-tour of "Sunny Goodge Street," with one of the first explicit references to hashish in rock music. Donovan made his American debut at the Newport Folk Festival in 1965, the same year the crowd booed Bob Dylan for performing with electric accompaniment.

By 1966, the 20-year-old Donovan had shed his anti-bomb rhetoric and completely reinvented himself as a psychedelic troubadour of "flower power," the epitome of 1960s mysticism. With Mickie Most, his new producer at Epic Records (with whom he worked until 1969), Donovan kept the folk-like refrains of his songs, but added quirky pop instrumentation (sitar, flutes, cellos, and harps). His work in this period often exhibited wonderful musical inventiveness and a fine ear for a lyrical phrase, although he occasionally crossed the line into pomposity and pretension. His biggest hit, "Sunshine Superman," reached number one in July 1966 in both Britain and the United States, and remains one of the most engaging and innovative singles of the 1960s. The album of the same name also included drug favorites, "The Trip," and the ominous "Season of the Witch." Later that year, Donovan released "Mellow Yellow" (which reached the number two spot with lines whispered by Paul McCartney). Baby boomers everywhere debated whether the lyrics advocated smoking banana peels, although Donovan later claimed the song concerned an electric dildo. His subtle drug references endeared him to the hippie movement, though some complained that his songs were mawkish, the lyrics overloaded with images of trees, sunny days, and laughing children.

Donovan seemed omnipresent in the late 1960s, hanging out with the Byrds, the Rolling Stones, and Dylan, and parodied in Peter, Paul and Mary's "I Dig Rock 'n' Roll Music." The hits kept coming, including the druggie "Epistle to Dippy," and "Young Girl Blues," with its perfectly captured sense of rock ennui set off by the shocking-for-the-times sexual imagery. He was a "must" to headline the Monterey Pop Festival in 1967, but his visa was revoked due to a drug charge. He then traveled to India at the same time as the Beatles to study with the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi. Shortly thereafter, he publicly renounced drug use and requested that his followers substitute meditation for getting stoned. Donovan now appeared on stage in

flowing robes with love beads; one album cover depicted him, scepter in hand, in a ceremonial barge at England's romantic Bodiam Castle, a leaf-strewn lake in the foreground.

Nowhere was Donovan's versatility better displayed than in the hit singles he penned in rapid succession in 1968. His acoustic skill was featured in the sweet hymn to childhood, "Jennifer Juniper"; in "Wear Your Love Like Heaven," the soft, layered harmonies consisted of little more than the names of exotic colors, and the song later gained wide circulation as the ubiquitous advertising jingle for Love cosmetics. At the other end of the popular music spectrum, the drug/fairy tale imagery of the Top Ten hit "Hurdy Gurdy Man," featured Donovan's distinctive, tremulous intonation against layers of Jimmy Page's wailing guitars. Three-quarters of the future Led Zeppelin group played on the single, and they later used the same contrast between acoustic and electric sound to great effect.

Donovan's work continually displayed an original bent and a desire to move beyond traditional popular forms while retaining commercial appeal. "There is a Mountain," a hypnotic calypso-based song with lyrics inspired by Japanese haiku, reached the top fifteen in 1967, and he also borrowed successfully from West Indian traditions in "Rikki-Tikki-Tavi" (1970). In 1969, the unique, albeit bizarre story-song "Atlantis" was the last of his efforts to make the top ten. He also experimented with jazz-based sound, most noticeably in "Goo Goo Barabajagal (Love is Hot)," a searing collaboration with the Jeff Beck Group that marked the end of his string of popular hits.

Ironically, just as the singer-songwriter movement seemed to peak in the early 1970s, Donovan completely fell from commercial grace. A critical backlash intensified after he released a double album of children's songs, and the underrated album *Open Road* in 1970 failed to stem the decline. After his sparsely attended 1971 American tour, he became involved with movies, and wrote scores for, among others, Franco Zeffirelli's *Brother Sun, Sister Moon* (1973). His early 1970s albums met with mixed critical acclaim and declining sales. Among these was *7-Tease* (1974), a conceptual album about a young hippie and his search for inner peace, which also toured as a stage revue with some collaboration from David Bowie. By 1980 Donovan had ceased to be a concert attraction and lacked any major record company affiliation. He recorded only sporadically in the next decade.

After several inactive years, the musician enjoyed a minor renaissance in the 1990s. The spacey British dance band Happy Mondays brought Donovan back into favor by praising his work and touring with him. In 1991, they included an irreverent tribute to Donovan on *Pills 'n' Thrills and Bellyaches*; the hit album precipitated a flood of Donovan reissues. There was considerable interest in *Sutras*, Donovan's "comeback" effort in 1996, but the purely acoustic work, filled with cosmically sincere and occasionally cloying material, found no audience.

Donovan will undoubtedly be forever associated with naive psychedelia. This is unfortunate, because he was a consistently imaginative lyricist who pioneered novel sounds such as Caribbean forms long before such work became fashionable. His popular music career may have fit the typical rock star paradigm, but the best of his work remains uniquely original.

—Jon Sterngass

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## The Doobie Brothers

The Doobie Brothers, or "Doobies," are a California-based rock band, formed in 1970, whose most popular singles stand among the definitive songs in 1970s rock and roll. Their hits "Listen to the Music," "Long Train Running," "China Grove," and "Takin' It to the Streets" all possess the trademark upbeat, easygoing, Doobie Brothers sound, influenced by R&B and soul. Their two number one hits, "Black Water" (1975) and "What a Fool Believes" (1979) have become soft-rock classics. Not quite as original or as influential as the Eagles, the Allman Brothers, or Steely Dan, the Doobie Brothers must yet be counted among the best of the American light rock and country rock groups of the 1970s. Successful on stage as well as over the airwaves, they continued to tour after the peak of their popularity had passed, and still released occasional albums throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

—Dave Goldweber

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## Doonesbury

On October 26, 1970, Garry Trudeau's comic strip *Doonesbury* debuted in 28 newspapers around the United States, revolutionizing the language and cultural significance of cartoon art forever with its depth of focus, breadth of satirical targets, and richness of character development. From its roots as a *Yale Daily News* strip satirizing college life, *Doonesbury* expanded the horizons of its content and its popularity until, almost 30 years after its first national appearance, it was a feature in over 1,350 newspapers across the country.

Following on ground broken by Walt Kelly's *Pogo*, Trudeau challenged the definition of the comic page as escape and silliness by bringing sharp satire, social commentary, and adult issues into his strip. His heroes, and their quirky responses to the ups and downs of life in the late twentieth century, have stood the test of time, chronicling the changing priorities and dilemmas of the baby-boom generation from college into middle age. His style of cartooning, with its panels of complex artwork and extensive bubble-free dialogue, has been much imitated.

In the 1970s, the initial *Doonesbury* focus was on the inhabitants of an anonymous eastern college campus and its nearby Walden

commune. Conservative, gung-ho football star B.D. (a tribute to a real Yale athlete, Brian Dowling) and his loopy, girl-crazy roommate Mike Doonesbury formed the initial core of the strip. Soon they were joined by "Megaphone Mark" Slackmeyer, a campus radical, Calvin, a revolutionary Black Panther, and Zonker, a stoned, irreverent hippie. B.D.'s cheerleader girlfriend Boopsie, and her intellectual roommate Nicole have perpetual disagreements about women's liberation, while the clueless college president constantly tries to sidestep controversy. As time passes, Mike learns about economics, racism, and class when he tutors a savvy inner-city black kid, while B.D. takes his raging drive to win from the football field to Vietnam, where he is captured by Phred, a charming Viet Cong terrorist who teaches him something about the history of Vietnam and the absurdities of war. Those still left at school move to a communal house on idyllic Walden Puddle, where they are joined by still more refugees of the turbulent 1970. One such is Joanie Caucus, an older housewife who has left her stifling life and her husband behind to return to college, and becomes the spokesperson for women's liberation while she tries to get into law school.

Across the decades, these core characters, and many others, tracked the trends and current events of their time and place in history, graduating from college, surviving the yuppie years, and experiencing marriage, divorce, and parenthood. Through many thousands of ingeniously created panels, *Doonesbury* has offered complex insights into personal relationships together with incisive social commentary. Joanie Caucus, remarried to Washington, D.C. columnist Rick Redfern, bemoans the difficulty of non-sexist child rearing as her young son, holding the doll she gave him for Christmas as if it were the rifle she would never buy him, aims it straight at her. Radio talk-show host Mark Slackmeyer, still the leftist radical, comes out as gay late in the 1980s, but his boyfriend is a dyed-in-the-wool conservative who gets along with Mark's right wing father better than Mark ever did. The quandaries of everyday modern life ring true, as does Trudeau's ironic, wish-I'd-said-that dialogue.

Interspersed with the "personal" stories of the characters are direct visitations from public figures. A favorite *Doonesbury* scenario is a four-panel strip with the White House in each panel, unchanged except for dialogue. In these, presidents from Nixon to Clinton are effectively skewered by the words Trudeau puts in their mouths. In later years, with a technique possibly inspired by the icons of modern computer jargon, presidents and others have been represented only by meaningful icons—a floating feather for vice-president Dan Quayle, for example, or a buttery waffle for Bill Clinton, proving perhaps that a symbol may be worth a thousand caricatures.

One of the most powerful symbols Trudeau created is that of Mr. Butts, the talking spokes-cigarette for the tobacco lobby. Mr. Butts originally appeared in a troubled Mike Doonesbury's nightmares when Mike, by then an advertising agent, is asked to design a campaign to improve tobacco's image. The cynical Mr. Butts has reappeared frequently thereafter to lampoon the tobacco lobby, becoming a powerful image in the anti-smoking campaign. Indeed, *Doonesbury* has frequently been a catalyst for change as well as presaging events. Senator Bob Dole once called the strip the "best source for what's going on in Washington." In 1971, well before the conservative Reagan years, a forward-looking B.D. called Ronald Reagan his "hero." In 1984, almost 10 years before Congressman Gingrich became Speaker of the House, another character worried

that he would “wake up someday in a country run by Newt Gingrich.” Repressive laws in the wealthy town of Palm Beach, Florida, allowed people of color to be stopped regularly by police, and required domestic servants to register with local authorities. After the bright light of *Doonesbury*’s satire was focused on the town’s policies for a time, the laws were repealed.

Because of its mission to attack difficult issues and mock public figures, *Doonesbury* has always roused controversy. Many newspapers place the strip on their editorial page, considering it inappropriate for the comics, while others regularly pull individual strips when the content is judged too extreme. In the 1990s, when *Doonesbury* came out with a series of strips in support of legalization of marijuana for medical use, the attorney general of California railed against the strip and tried unsuccessfully to have it pulled from papers in the state. It is this hard-hitting political satire that earned Garry Trudeau the Pulitzer Prize for political cartoon commentary in 1975, the first time that honor had ever been conferred on a comic strip.

Trudeau, born into a family of physicians in New York City in 1948, came honestly by his gift for trouble-causing satire—his great-great-grandfather was driven out of New York because of the caricatured sculptures he made of his colleagues. Known for his avoidance of the press, Trudeau, an avid student and researcher of the U.S. political scene, also writes editorials and draws editorial cartoons for the *New York Times*. He has written film scripts, and the book for a Broadway musical of *Doonesbury* in 1983, though many critics did not think the cartoon translated well to the stage. He has also created *Doonesbury* television specials and a musical revue called *Rap Master Ronnie*, spoofing the Reagan years. For decades, he refused to compromise the principles of his creation by allowing merchandising, but he finally succumbed in 1998, when he permitted *Doonesbury* products to be sold, with all proceeds going to the campaign for literacy.

In 1988, when president George Bush said of Trudeau, “He speaks for a bunch of Brie-tasting, Chardonnay-sipping elitists,” he was simply referring to the most negative baby boomer stereotype of the 1980s, the pampered yuppie. But Trudeau’s strip speaks for more than the elite, clearly addressing a far wider audience than liberal Americans of a certain generation. *Doonesbury* fills a need in the American press for progressive readers who appreciate the demystification of complex issues through no-nonsense, direct language and humor. Though, by the late 1990s, many other comics had appeared that attempted to fill this need (even one especially for conservative readers), *Doonesbury* paved the way for these, and for a comics page that explores adult issues through humor. The characters who inhabit the panels of *Doonesbury* are old friends to its readers, and one of Trudeau’s great talents is his ability to make these characters—with the possible exception of faceless politicians—lovable to his readers. They keep reading to enjoy a cynical and satirical take on current events. And they keep reading to see how life is turning out for the old gang.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## The Doors

With their mix of music, poetry, theater, and daring, the Doors emerged as America’s most darkly innovative, eerily mesmerizing musical group of the 1960s. Founded concurrently with the English invasion, the college-educated, Los Angeles-based group stood apart from the folk-rock movement of Southern California and the peace and flower power bands of San Francisco. In exploring death, doom, fear, and sex, their music reflected the hedonistic side of the era. Writing for the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1967, Joan Didion called them “the Norman Mailers of the Top 40, missionaries of apocalyptic sex.” The group’s flamboyant lead singer, Jim Morrison, said, “Think of us as erotic politicians.” A seminal rock figure, Morrison’s dark good looks and overt sexuality catapulted him to sex symbol status, akin to that of Elvis Presley.

Morrison’s provocative stage presence, combined with the group’s mournfully textured, blues-rooted music, suggested the musical theater of Kurt Weill and Bertolt Brecht, and the edginess of the avant-garde troupe, The Living Theater. But the complicated, clearly troubled Morrison could not overcome personal demons, which he sated with drugs and alcohol. By late 1968, his frequently “stoned” demeanor became off-putting, his on-stage rants pretentious. His behavior at a Miami concert in March 1969, and his resulting arrest on charges including indecent exposure, represented not only his downfall but also the Doors’ looming disintegration. But if the group’s rise and fall was fast and furious, encompassing just four years, their anarchist influence is undeniable. Their hard-driving music bridged the heavy-metal 1970s; their murky, cerebral lyrics spanned the new wave 1980s, and the alternative 1990s, and Jim Morrison remains the undisputed forerunner of the sexy, leather-clad, on-the-edge rock martyr.

The Doors’ saga began in the summer of 1965 on the beach at Venice, California, where singer-musician Ray Manzarek ran into his former UCLA classmate, Jim Morrison. After listening to Morrison sing the haunting lyrics to a song he had written called “Moonlight Drive,” Manzarek proposed they start a band, and “make a million dollars.” Manzarek then approached two other musicians who were studying with him at a Maharishi meditation center. Thus, with Manzarek on piano and organ, songwriter Robbie Krieger on guitar, John Densmore on drums, and Morrison before the microphone, the group was in place. It was Morrison who came up with their moniker, derived from a William Blake passage, which had inspired the title of Aldous Huxley’s book about his mescaline experiences, *The Doors of Perception*. As paraphrased by Morrison: “There are things that are known and things that are unknown, in between [are] the doors.”

Working their way through the Los Angeles club scene, the Doors initially performed blues and rock ‘n’ roll standards, in addition to material written by Morrison. They were playing the London Fog on the Sunset Strip, making five dollars apiece on weeknights, ten dollars apiece weekends, when they were spotted by a female talent booker who was especially struck by the star quality of the lead singer. Hired to work the Strip’s popular Whiskey a Go Go, the Doors became the club’s unofficial house band, second-billed to groups including the Turtles, Them, and Love. During sets, the group was an anomaly; the four members appeared disparate, as if each were on a plane all his own, but their sound had a synchronicity. And there was no denying the allure of the group’s pretty-boy singer.



**The Doors: (from left) John Densmore, Robbie Krieger, Ray Manzarek, and Jim Morrison.**

In his earliest performances, Morrison was so introverted that he performed with his back to the audience. Some nights, his baritone was barely audible. However, his confidence grew with the group's reputation and, certainly, his stage presence was unique. He had languid body movements, tended to throttle the microphone, and often emoted with closed eyes as if in a spectral trance. Also, he could be counted on to be unpredictable. Sometimes he dropped to the floor to sob out his lyrics; other times he danced with abandon as if possessed. One night at the Whiskey in late 1966, he delivered an improvised rendition of his oedipal song, "The End." The eleven-and-a-half minute song climaxed with a young man's screaming threat to kill his father and rape his mother, but Morrison used a word other than "rape," bringing the entire club, including the go-go girls in hanging cages, to a stunned silence. That very night the Doors were fired. They would, however, ultimately have left on their own accord, for they already had a contract with Elektra Records.

Released in January 1967, their debut album *The Doors* included "Light My Fire," which, at six minutes and 50 seconds, was considered too long for Top 40 airplay. As the group toured nationally, a shorter version began climbing the AM charts; meanwhile, the full-length version became a favorite of FM. Eschewing the matching costumes that were then in vogue among music groups, the Doors also had no official leader, but in interviews, as well as on the stage, it was

invariably Morrison who took the spotlight. Shrewdly, the photogenic singer-songwriter exploited his rapport with the camera, as well as his appeal to journalists, who found him sensual, mystical, and eminently quotable. For the erudite rock star was also a poet, who read and quoted the nineteenth-century French poets Arthur Rimbaud and Charles Baudelaire, and German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche. Moreover, when not waxing metaphysical or apocalyptic, Morrison could be surprisingly playful. When asked how he had prepared for stardom, he once quipped, "I stopped getting haircuts."

In his Elektra Records publicity biography, he claimed to have no family; in fact, he was the son of a Navy rear admiral, and from a family of career militarists. As a performer, Morrison assumed various alter egos. For a while, he called himself the "King of Orgasmic Rock," and as the "Lizard King" he donned tight-fitting snakeskin pants. He also claimed to be possessed by the spirit of a dead Indian, the result of a childhood trip across the desert. He and his family had once passed an overturned truck, which had resulted in fatalities, and Morrison claimed that the spirit of one of the dead Indians somehow entered him. He accessorized that persona by donning a concho belt, leather pants, and dancing in a ritualistic style.

But the role he played to the hilt was that of the rebel. When the Doors appeared on *The Ed Sullivan Show* in September 1967, Morrison defied the famed host's request that a particular line, with

possible drug connotations, be deleted from "Light My Fire." Three months later, the singer made headlines when he was arrested on stage in New Haven, Connecticut, on charges including "breach of the peace" and indecent and immoral exhibition. In August 1968 he was again arrested, this time for disorderly conduct on board a flight to Phoenix.

Increasingly, Doors concerts became known for their dangerous atmosphere, as an incorrigible and no-longer-slender Morrison staggered across the stage, taunting the audience, inciting them to riot, screaming at them to "Wake up!" He also clutched at his crotch and tugged threateningly at his pants. The Doors were in a slump when they embarked on a 21-city tour in March 1969 and, following the arrest of the bloated, bearded Morrison in Miami, the rest of the tour was canceled. The group's symbiosis was on the wane when they recorded their blues-oriented collection, *L.A. Woman*. Afterward, it was a burned-out Morrison who headed for Paris to concentrate on his poetry. He was just 27 when he died on July 3, 1971, reportedly of a heart attack suffered while in the bathtub. Because of Morrison's penchant for substance abuse, and the curious handling of his death and burial by several close friends, questions persist over how he actually died. Since his body was found by his common-law wife, who died in 1974 of a heroin overdose, there have long been allegations that drugs were a factor. Whatever the cause, his death was yet another reminder of the perils of the dark side of rock 'n' roll. It was also the third untimely passing of a rock star in less than a year, following those of heavy metal guitarist Jimi Hendrix and rock-blues queen Janis Joplin, both of whom died of overdoses.

Following Morrison's death, the surviving Doors recorded two additional albums. Manzarek also sought to reinvent the group, with Iggy Pop as lead singer, but it was clear that the magic had died with Morrison. It was Morrison's mystique that led to a Doors rediscovery that has enshrined the rock star as a modern-day Dionysus, the Greek god of revelry and wine who was dismembered, and later resurrected. The 1980 rock biography, *No One Here Gets Out Alive*, by rock journalist Jerry Hopkins and Doors associate Danny Sugerman, spurred on the revival, and sent other biographers in search of similarly debauched rock subjects. And the 1980 reissue of the Doors' *Greatest Hits* album, which entered *Billboard's* Top 10 Chart, proved that defunct groups can sell as well as those still active. *Rolling Stone* acknowledged the power of dead celebrity with its September 1981 Morrison cover story, proclaiming "He's hot, he's sexy and he's dead." Hollywood heralded Morrison in 1990 when a decade-long quest to make a feature film was realized by controversial filmmaker Oliver Stone, with the movie *The Doors*, starring Val Kilmer.

In the era of incarnations that dawned in the 1990s, Morrison was depicted as a poet trapped in a self-created rock star image. He is, after all, buried in Pere La Chaise Cemetery, the famous final resting-place in Paris of such notables as Edith Piaf, Oscar Wilde, Honoré de Balzac, and Frédéric Chopin. Moreover, the poetry he self-published in 1970 was republished in the late 1980s and during the 1990s. His writings have also been the subject of scholarly studies, including one in which he is compared to his idol, the French symbolist, Rimbaud.

Yet if the Doors' spotlight remains on Morrison, his musical legacy came from his collaborative work with Manzarek, Krieger, and Densmore. Benchmarks of the 1960s Doors songs—among them "Light My Fire," "Hello, I Love You," "Touch Me," "Love Her Madly," "People Are Strange," and "Riders on the Storm"—have

remained accessible. Staples of the airwaves, they attest to the power of provocative music, and to the seemingly-enduring interest wrought by the potent combination of sex, drugs, and rock 'n' roll.

—Pat H. Broeske

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## Doo-wop Music

"Doo-wop" is a form of close-harmony singing, based in rhythm-and-blues. The style became popular in the 1950s, originating among African-American vocal groups in urban centers. One of the most common rhythm phrases used by 1950s groups in performance and on their recordings, "doo-wop" came to name the musical style. To sing in the doo-wop style, phonetic or nonsense words are used as rhythmic parts in harmonic arrangements. Usually this is done by a trio or quartet of vocalists, over which a soloist sings a melody. The melody is expressed through understandable words, often accented by the nonsense words of the vocal accompaniment. By the end of the 1960s, doo-wop groups were losing popularity. Yet rock 'n' roll musicians would often use doo-wop for their background vocal arrangements, and in this way the style continued to develop beyond the 1950s and to exert its influence on popular music.

—Brian Granger

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## Dorsey, Jimmy (1904-1957)

In the 1920s, Jimmy Dorsey toured with the Paul Whiteman and Red Nichols bands, and was considered an excellent clarinet performer and the leading jazz performer on alto saxophone, influencing such



Tommy (left) and Jimmy Dorsey

jazz greats as Charlie Parker and Lester Young. He and his brother, Tommy, founded the Dorsey Brothers Orchestra 1933, starring Glenn Miller on trombone and Ray McKinley on drums. After Tommy left to form his own orchestra in 1935, Jimmy Dorsey led the band to national stardom in the 1940s, featuring the popular singing duo of Helen O'Connell and Bob Eberly. The song "Green Eyes," as sung by O'Connell, was the band's most requested number. In 1953, the brothers reunited.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Dorsey, Tommy (1905-1956)

A trombone-player known for his warm, silken tone on ballads as well as upbeat improvisations, Tommy Dorsey, "The Sentimental Gentleman of Swing," led one of the most versatile orchestras of the big band era. With its premier jazz stars, the band could swing with the best, and none equaled its style on slow ballads, as sung by Frank Sinatra and Jo Stafford.

By age 25, Tommy had become a successful free-lance radio and recording star, and in 1933 he and his brother Jimmy formed the Dorsey Brothers Orchestra. Within two years Tommy left to start his own orchestra. His band's best-selling record was the swinging *Boogie-Woogie*, selling over four million copies, but the most requested number was the poignant "I'll Never Smile Again." The brothers reunited in 1953.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Double Indemnity

*Double Indemnity* (1935) is one of the classic, tough-talking murder stories of the late 1930s. Written by controversial mystery novelist James M. Cain (1892-1977), *Double Indemnity* is based upon a true story about a weak-willed insurance agent, Walter Huff, who falls for sultry blond, Phyllis Nirdlinger. Nirdlinger's inconvenient husband has to be eliminated so that his wife and her lover can collect on his life insurance, a policy which doubles in value if the holder dies by accident.

Like *The Postman Always Rings Twice*, upon which it is modeled, l'amour fou, or sexually charged obsessive love, is at the heart of this psychologically realistic novel. Cain, along with, for example, Raymond Chandler and Dashiell Hammett have been called, perhaps unjustly in Cain's case, members of the hard-boiled school of detective novelists. Edmund Wilson has referred to them as "the poets of the tabloid murder" because of their interest in the low life aspects of American culture, and the often sordid stories of murder, eroticism, and adultery that fascinated them.

Unlike Chandler, with whom he has been compared (and who wrote the screenplay for the film version of *Double Indemnity*), Cain's writing is deeply pessimistic and far less romantic. His characters are terribly flawed yet very human in their failings, and the eroticism of many of his novels made them controversial in their day. Cain's interests and lean writing style also made him stand apart from much of the popular writing of his time. His gritty, downbeat, stories, like *The Postman Always Rings Twice*, *Mildred Pierce*, and *Double Indemnity* had a pictorial quality which made them attractive for adaptation to the movies. All, however, underwent considerable sanitation before the more censorship-plagued Hollywood studios could make them into films.

In the case of *Double Indemnity*, the novel ends with Huff and Phyllis on a freighter going nowhere in particular, unable to return to the United States because of their murderous pasts, and contemplating suicide by jumping off the boat into shark infested waters. As Phyllis says, "There's nothing ahead of us, is there Walter." And Walter replies, "No, nothing." This existential gloom did not survive in the film version where Walter, after narrating his sordid tale of adultery and betrayal, lies dying from a gunshot wound inflicted by, perhaps, Phyllis, who he has murdered a few hours before.

Billy Wilder turned the novel into a convention-setting film noir in 1944, starring Fred MacMurray, Barbara Stanwyck, and Edward G.



Barbara Stanwyck and Fred MacMurray in a scene from *Double Indemnity*.

Robinson. Told in a confessional flashback by the dying insurance agent, Wilder's more cynical, but less gloomy version, helped establish flashback—first person narration as a convention in film noir. The unconventional casting of Fred MacMurray, who was noted for his roles in comedy, helped the audience identify with the amoral, but ruthless Huff, who is now called Walter Neff.

In the film version, the first person narration helps to draw the audience into a morally complex position where they viscerally experience the amoral world in which Neff and Phyllis operate—we see the events unfold through his eyes. To put the spectator on edge, Wilder sets the rigid and righteous Barton Keyes (Edward G. Robinson), an insurance investigator and Neff's boss and friend, up against the Neff character, giving the audience a choice between identifying with a slippery, ruthless, and greasily charming insurance salesman or his cold and obsessive nemesis. As in Alfred Hitchcock films, the audience becomes ethically involved with the criminals hoping that they will elude the ever present, relentless Keyes. With its raw, more naturalist flavor, and serious, unsentimental prose the novel makes identification with the characters more difficult. Thus in the film

when Neff sets out to kill Phyllis, the audience is uncomfortably aware that they have identified with a hero who is a callous and brutal loner.

—Jeannette Sloniowski

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## Douglas, Lloyd C. (1878-1951)

With the publication of *The Robe* in 1942, Lloyd C. Douglas became the most influential religious novelist in the world. Following in the tradition of Lew Wallace's *Ben Hur* (1880), Douglas' novels satisfied a reading public's demands for rollicking adventure and historical romance, combined with piety. *The Robe* purports to tell what happened to the Roman soldier who acquired Jesus' garment at the Crucifixion. After many adventures, this soldier meets St. Peter and accepts Christianity, later to die a happy martyr's death. Douglas, who retired from the Congregational ministry to write, never pretended his novels were refined works of literature. He graciously suffered the attacks of reviewers, who found him loquacious and sentimental. Yet he proved incapable of writing a book that did not become a best seller; the public loved his vintage narratives of decent characters who worked through problems to happy resolutions. In 1953, Henry Koster directed a major Hollywood film adaptation of *The Robe* which is still highly regarded. Douglas' continuing though diluted influence may be seen in books by Fulton Oursler, Taylor Caldwell, and Frank G. Slaughter.

—Allene Phy-Olsen

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## Douglas, Melvyn (1901-1981)

Although he acted in motion pictures from the early 1930s to the late 1970s, Melvyn Douglas was never especially fond of most of the more than three score and ten movies in which he starred. He much preferred the theater and returned to the stage whenever he got the chance. A versatile actor, he excelled in both dramatic and comedy roles. He appeared in horror films, mysteries, and melodramas, but is best remembered for playing opposite Greta Garbo in the comedy *Ninotchka* (1939). Later in his screen career, when he'd ceased doing dapper leading man roles and was showing up in character parts, Douglas earned two supporting actor Oscars. A dedicated liberal, he was active in politics and his wife, Helen Gahagan Douglas, ran against Richard Nixon for the United States Senate but was defeated.

Born Melvyn Hesselberg in Macon, Georgia, he grew up in the Midwest. He served in the Army during World War I, but never went overseas—"The closest I personally came to death was in the kitchen, narrowly avoiding a meat cleaver thrown at me by a furious

cook," he remembered in *See You at the Movies*. After the war, he joined his family—his father was a modestly successful concert pianist—in Chicago. Douglas hadn't yet picked a career and had "no idea what to do with my life." By the early 1920s he'd decided on the theater and was touring the Midwest. After several years of this, with an assortment of companies, he reached Broadway in 1928 in *A Free Soul*. He played the gangster, a role that made Clark Gable a star when he appeared later in the movie version.

Melvyn Douglas's work in the 1930 Broadway comedy *Tonight or Never* changed his life in two important ways. It was in the play that he first met Helen Gahagan, his costar, and fell in love with her. And when the play was filmed, Douglas repeated his role in Hollywood. He went on to make several films in the early 1930s, including *The Vampire Bat* (1933), *The Old Dark House* (1932), and *As You Desire Me* (1932), in which he first starred opposite Garbo. Unimpressed with the movie business, the actor left Hollywood for a time to return to the New York stage. "I had gotten disgusted with being photographed at close range," he later explained, "with a microphone down my throat."

He soon was lured back to Hollywood and began working again in a wide variety of films. He played such reformed rogues as the Lone Wolf and Arsene Lupin and a range of sleuths in mystery movies such as *Fast Company* (1938), *Tell No Tales* (1939), and *There's That Woman Again* (1939). He also began to shine in a successful string of screwball comedies. He worked opposite Irene Dunne in *Theodora Goes Wild* (1936), with Marlene Dietrich in *Angel* (1937), and with Myrna Loy in *Third Finger Left Hand* (1940). In 1939 he made Garbo laugh in Ernst Lubitsch's *Ninotchka*.

Douglas said that he didn't become politically active until "just before Roosevelt's reelection in 1936." His wife was a singer as well as an actress and he'd accompanied her on a tour that took her to Germany. Once they saw Hitler's campaign against the Jews firsthand, Helen Douglas cancelled her tour and they returned home. Melvyn Douglas joined the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, worked for the rights of migrant workers, campaigned for the Democratic candidate for governor, and in June of 1938 he organized the Motion Picture Democratic Committee, the earliest group of movie people to campaign for a specific political party. Never a Communist, Douglas found himself attacked by the local members of the party when he called Russia as big a totalitarian threat as Germany and Italy. And for his criticisms of Nazi Germany he was labeled a "premature anti-Fascist." When Helen Gahagan Douglas ran against fledgling politician Richard Nixon for the U.S. Senate in 1950, some of Nixon's campaigners introduced a strong note of anti-Semitism. And in speaking of his opponent, the future President of the United States would often refer to her as Mrs. Hesselberg. One of Nixon's more extreme supporters, the racist Gerald L. K. Smith, told his followers that they must "not send to the Senate the wife of a Jew."

During World War II Douglas enlisted in the Army and was eventually stationed in the China-Burma-India war area. He returned to the movies after the war—notably in *Mr. Blandings Builds His Dream House* (1948) with Cary Grant and Myrna Loy. But after 1951, he concentrated on the stage again, winning a Tony for his performance in Gore Vidal's political drama, *The Best Man*. Older, and letting his age show, Douglas reentered motion pictures once again in the early 1960s. He made over a dozen films in his last years, including *Hud* (1963) for which he won his first Oscar, and *Being There* (1979) for which he won his second.

—Ron Goulart

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## Douglas, Mike (1925—)

Daytime television talk show host Mike Douglas personified mainstream popular entertainment during the 21-year run of *The Mike Douglas Show* from 1961 to 1982. The show, which initially originated from Cleveland, Ohio, and later moved to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, was a 90-minute syndicated program that dominated the ratings during the important weekday afternoon/early evening time slots. Douglas served as an affable Midwestern everyman who welcomed guests from show business, politics, and current events. Unlike many daytime shows of the 1990s, which focused primarily on confrontations between outrageous and often vulgar guests, *The Mike Douglas Show* offered viewers a mixture of thoughtful conversation and wholesome entertainment. Douglas once described his personality and appeal to the mass audience by stating, "I'd have to say I'm square and I'm happy that I am." His charming "Mr. Nice Guy" image made him the quintessential TV host and encouraged such personalities as Marlon Brando, John Lennon, Barbra Streisand, Rose Kennedy, and Princess Grace of Monaco to choose his program for their rare talk show appearances.

Born Michael Dowd on August 11, 1925, in Chicago, Illinois, Mike Douglas served in the Navy during World War II and first attracted attention with an impromptu singing performance while visiting the famous Hollywood Canteen. His rendition of "When Irish Eyes Are Smiling" so impressed nightclub manager Earl Carroll that the young sailor was given a standing offer of a job as a singer as soon as he was free to take it. However, upon leaving the service in 1945, Dowd turned down Carroll's offer and a Hollywood film contract to join Kay Kayser's big band as a featured male singer. For five years Douglas, whose professional name was bestowed upon him during a performance by Kayser, sang on both the radio and television versions of *Kay Kayser's Kollege of Musical Knowledge*. Among his most popular songs with Kayser and his own spin-off group Michael Douglas & The Campus Kids were "Ole Buttermilk Sky" (1946) and "The Old Lamplighter" (1947). Upon Kayser's retirement in 1950, Douglas began a solo singing career. His most noteworthy performance of this period occurred when he provided the singing voice for Prince Charming in Walt Disney's animated fairytale classic *Cinderella* (1950).

Douglas moved into television in the early 1950s and appeared on numerous programs originating from Chicago. In 1961, he arrived in Cleveland to launch his own talk show. Westinghouse, which syndicated the Douglas show, owned KYW-TV in Cleveland and believed it would be most cost-effective to originate the program from those facilities. Later, an FCC ruling on a legal technicality forced Westinghouse and NBC to swap their stations in Cleveland and Philadelphia. In 1965, Douglas and his successful program relocated to Philadelphia's Independence Mall. Each episode of *The Mike Douglas Show* began with Douglas singing an opening number (most often "On a Wonderful Day Like Today") and then commenting on his personal life with his wife Genevieve and their three daughters.

He then welcomed various guests and participated in comedy-variety segments.

One of the most noteworthy elements of the *Douglas Show* was the inclusion of a celebrity guest co-host each week. Performers such as Rosemary Clooney, Jim Nabors, Fred Astaire, Gene Kelly, and Gloria Swanson would join Mike in this role for five days. Perhaps Douglas's most unconventional co-hosts were John Lennon and Yoko Ono, who appeared for a week in February 1972. The couple introduced Douglas and his Middle American audience to such counterculture figures as Jerry Rubin, Black Panther Bobby Seale, and several segments of performance art. Highlights of the unusual week included Lennon playing with his rock idol Chuck Berry and Douglas joining the couple in an unrehearsed segment where they phoned strangers to say they loved them.

Mike Douglas symbolized family entertainment during the turbulent 1960s and 1970s. He was extremely popular and prominent on the American scene. Beyond his own afternoon program, he often substituted for Johnny Carson on *The Tonight Show*. Douglas even produced a hit record, "The Men in My Little Girl's Life," a song about fatherhood that reached number three on the *Billboard* charts. He was even seen on the big screen when he made a cameo appearance as a southern governor in the Burt Reynolds film *Gator* (1976). After *The Mike Douglas Show* ceased production in 1982, the host moved to the fledgling CNN cable network to briefly host an interview show. Douglas remained out of the spotlight until 1996 when he made a special guest appearance during the premiere week of *The Rosie O'Donnell Show*. Rosie O'Donnell credited Douglas as the inspiration for the positive, entertainment-based, and family-friendly show she hoped to create. Her great success in the late 1990s proved the daytime talk show format pioneered by Mike Douglas still resonated with many Americans.

—Charles Coletta

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## Downs, Hugh (1921—)

Throughout his more than sixty years in broadcasting, Hugh Downs has been the embodiment of reassurance and congeniality. Learning his craft as a radio announcer in the late 1930s and 1940s, Downs became the master host of television. After serving as announcer on *Caesar's Hour* and *The Tonight Show*, Downs simultaneously hosted an early morning series, *Today*, and a daily game show, *Concentration*. Always curious about health and science, Downs oversaw the first successful series on aging, *Over Easy*, for PBS. When the magazine series, *20/20*, was floundering, ABC lured the affable Downs out of semi-retirement to anchor the show in 1978. He reported on many of his special interests, including sailing, psychology, and astronomy, for *20/20*, helping to make it the network's signature primetime newsmagazine for over two decades. Because of his decency and trustworthiness, Downs is one of the most familiar and reassuring figures in the history of television, clocking more

hours on the air than any other network personality according to *The Guinness Book of World Records*.

—Ron Simon

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## Doyle, Arthur Conan (1859-1930)

So great is the influence of Sherlock Holmes, that only the truest of the great detective's fans know that his creator, Arthur Conan Doyle, thought far less of Holmes than he did of his other creative efforts. For Doyle was not a stock-in-trade mystery writer, a genre that was still finding its legs. He certainly had not "invented" the genre of detective fiction, a privilege that belonged to Edgar Allan Poe and his own creation, master detective August Dupin. Although Doyle claimed that Holmes had been modeled on his medical school teacher, Dr. Joseph Bell, the writings of Edgar Allan Poe, as well as Emile Gaboriau, Charles Dickens, Eugene Vidocq, and Wilkie Collins, were what provided Doyle with the basic elements for building his mythic detective.

Arthur Conan Doyle was born on May 22, 1859 in Edinburgh, the eldest son of Charles Altimont Doyle and his wife, Mary Foley. Doyle's father, a builder and designer in the Edinburgh Public Works



Arthur Conan Doyle

Office, was from a staunchly Catholic family. In 1869, Doyle was enrolled in Hodder Preparatory, a Jesuit school in Lancashire. Two years later he attended the Jesuit college, Stonyhurst School, also in Lancashire. Upon graduating, he traveled to Austria, where he spent a year studying German in Feldkirch School before entering Edinburgh University in 1876 to study medicine. Despite his Jesuit education, Doyle's year in Austria proved a major turning point, as a crisis of faith led him to abandon his Catholic upbringing for a studied agnosticism. This change in religious perspective, based on his own faith in scientific reasoning, prepared Doyle for the rigors of medical school.

Interestingly, it was Doyle's avowed agnosticism and unwavering commitment to honest dealing that led to his becoming a writer. After he informed his father's well-to-do family of his religious disillusionment, all social and financial help was withdrawn. Barely able to support himself, Doyle turned in his third year in medical school to writing fiction for extra cash, using as material his own adventures serving while in school as a ship's doctor on a whaling vessel to the Antarctic and later on an African freighter. Between the few stories he published, which paid just enough to keep him and his family afloat, Doyle racked up a good number of rejections before achieving steady work as a writer.

In 1882, Doyle established a private practice in Southsea, Portsmouth. Three years later, he married Louise Hawkins, whose own small family income offered him greater freedom to write more. His first novel, *The Firm of Girdlestone*, written in 1886, was soundly rejected by the British publishing industry and did not see publication until 1890. His next work was his first Sherlock Holmes story, the novella *A Study in Scarlet*, which after several initial rejections, was published in the 1887 issue of *Beeton's Christmas Annual*. Despite Doyle's faith in the quality and originality of the story's hero, *A Study in Scarlet* gained little notice among readers. His next novel, however, *Micah Clarke* (1889), caused a great stir after its publication—following the usual round of rejections by British publishers—by Andrew Lang, as chief editor at Longmans Publishing Company. *Micah Clarke*, a story about the dangers of fanaticism, was Doyle's first work of historical fiction and an immediate success, propelling the author into literary stardom in England.

Meanwhile, despite the poor showing Holmes had made in his creator's home country, Doyle's detective fared quite well in the United States, where a request for another story about the master detective was made to Doyle while he was deep in his next historical novel, *The White Company* (1890). As soon as Doyle had completed *The White Company*, which was to be his personal favorite, he dashed off *The Sign of Four* (1890) which was, once again, well received in America. Fortunately for Doyle, Holmes' stock, despite his poor initial showing, was beginning to rise in England by leaps and bounds. In July 1891, Doyle wrote his first of six Sherlock Holmes tales for *The Strand*, making Doyle England's most popular serialized fiction writer. Doyle continued to write Sherlock Holmes stories over the next two years until he decided to have Holmes killed by his arch-nemesis, Dr. Moriarty, in December 1893, with the story "The Final Problem."

Doyle's decision was a momentous one. Holmes' death was met with howls of outrage and large-scale subscription cancellations of the magazine. The pressure on Doyle was enormous to continue the series, but he was adamant about letting Holmes rest in peace. As it was, the production of a Holmes story for serial publication proved to be an enormous strain on Doyle's creative powers, draining precious energy that he thought better spent on his now little known historical

novels, such as *Rodney Stone* (1896) and *Uncle Bernac* (1897). In the early 1900s, Doyle added to his output two works of historical nonfiction, *The Great Boer War* (1900) and *The War in South Africa* (1902), which sought not only to document the Boer War but to defend the British role in it.

In 1901, Doyle published *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, in which Holmes was reintroduced to solve one of his older cases. By 1903, Doyle had accepted an American offer of \$5,000 per story for a series of new tales about the great detective, regardless of how many Doyle wrote or how often. Doyle continued to write stories of Holmes and his companion Watson over the next 20 years, although they tended to appear in short bursts, when they appeared at all. After Holmes' resurrection, Doyle's early passion for historical fiction sought an outlet in other genres, such as the scientific romance, resulting in the writing of *The Lost World* (1912), *The Poison Belt* (1913), and *The Land of Mist* (1926). Concurrent with these began a spate of Spiritualist works that included *The New Revelation* (1918), *The Vital Message* (1919), *The Wanderings of a Spiritualist* (1921), *The Coming of the Fairies* (1922), and the two-volume *History of Spiritualism* (1926).

Many consider Doyle's turn to spiritualism at the end of his life one of the strangest events to occur in the life of a man whose greatest creation was a detective who drew his conclusions from a hard and cold reality that disavowed all things supernatural. Few, however, recognize the important nuances in Doyle's thoughts about spiritualism, as well as the nuances within the spiritualist movement itself, which sought to treat spirits as a scientific reality, a view that Doyle favored. Doyle, after all, was an agnostic, not an atheist, and there is little doubt that notwithstanding his medical training and belief in scientific method, he remained unable to reconcile the loss of his childhood Catholic faith with his belief in a greater good that directed human conduct and morals. Indeed, Holmes' own work as a detective of "setting the world to rights" suggests a moral imperative that is explained more by Doyle's faith—in goodness, in man, and perhaps even in God—than his reason.

—Bennett Lovett-Graff

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## Dr. J

See Erving, Julius "Dr. J"

## Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde

The phrase "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" is a popular metaphor to express the dual nature of human beings, who are capable of such

great goodness and almost unbelievable evil. It is derived from the respectable Victorian doctor with a demonic alter ego who first appeared in the eponymous novella (1886) by Scottish writer Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-94). The tragedy of the scientist who finds the formula to isolate his evil side but fails to control it has been frequently transferred to the screen. The story was first filmed in 1908, and versions range from Robert Mamoulian's 1931 film, with Academy Award-winner Fredric March in the title role, to Stephen Frears' irregular *Mary Reilly* (1995). However, the presence of Jekyll and Hyde can be detected in many other films, novels, and comics of the last one hundred years only remotely inspired by Stevenson. Stories dealing with scientists involved in fatal accidents, tormented serial killers, and even secret superheroes are ultimately indebted to Stevenson's Gothic masterpiece.

—Sara Martin

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## Dr. Kildare

In 1938 Metro Goldwyn Mayer (MGM) acquired the rights to author Max Brand's creation, *Dr. Kildare*, and began a series of popular films about a young intern in a metropolitan hospital, and his struggle to learn his profession and earn the respect of a crusty senior doctor in his specialty, internal medicine. In 1961 the same characters, with different actors, made a nationwide success of the television adaptation of *Dr. Kildare*, becoming the forerunner of the many medical dramas, like *ER* and *Chicago Hope*, that lit up the small screen in the 1990s.

In the cinema version, Lew Ayres starred in the title role and Lionel Barrymore played the senior doctor, a sharp-tongued old curmudgeon with a heart of gold, which he tried to conceal. The first in the series, *Young Dr. Kildare* (1938), presented a cast of regular characters that included Nat Pendleton as the ambulance driver and featured Laraine Day, who stayed in the troupe for five pictures. MGM released three Kildare pictures in 1940 alone, including *Dr. Kildare Goes Home*, *Dr. Kildare's Crisis*, and *Dr. Kildare's Strange*

*Case. Dr. Kildare's Wedding Day*, Laraine Day's last in the series, was one of the most popular and was marked by one of Red Skelton's early screen appearances. Lew Ayres, who had chosen to be a conscientious objector and refuse certain military duties, left the cast in 1941. Van Johnson and Keye Luke vied to become Dr. Gillespie's assistant in two films, *Dr. Gillespie's Criminal Case* and *Dr. Gillespie's New Assistant*.

Finding the right stars to play Kildare and Gillespie on television was a challenge. The first pilot shot for the series had Lew Ayres return to his role as a more mature Kildare, but executive producer Norman Felton said "The result was a clinical sort of film, too much like a documentary." They decided on a second pilot and quickly signed Raymond Massey, a Canadian actor famous for his portrayal of Lincoln, as Dr. Gillespie. More than 35 actors read for the Kildare part, and William Shatner was the leading contender for the role until he canceled out to accept the Captain's chair in a new science fiction series called *Star Trek*. One of the remaining actors was a nervous newcomer named Richard Chamberlain, who had done a few minor television roles and was then collecting \$38 a week at the unemployment office. Despite his lack of experience, the producer thought he had just the right physical appearance and decided to let him take the lead in the pilot film.

The show was an overnight success, and Chamberlain found himself the object of mobs of squealing women wherever he went. His boyish blond looks attracted 4,500 fan letters a week. The character of Dr. Kildare, however, a medical crusader and straight-arrow idealist, did not entirely appeal to Chamberlain. He told an interviewer in the *Saturday Evening Post* that Kildare is "nobler than humans prefer other humans to be. If I were to mold Kildare, I would make him more subject to faults and weaknesses—like the rest of us. I might even have him pinch a nurse or two." It was an attitude Dr. Gillespie would not have endorsed.

Despite the development of the show into a world-wide hit, with more than 80 million admirers around the globe, the series ended in 1966 after a five year run. Toward the end, the ratings declined somewhat as the show strayed from the key relationship between Kildare and Gillespie and focused more on the medical problems of its guest star patients. During the final season, some of the episodes were serialized in a 30 minute format rather than continuing in the hour-long version that had been so effective. Following the show's demise, Chamberlain, rather than being forced to return to the unemployment line as he feared, went on to become the "king of the miniseries" in the 1970s and 1980s, starring in such blockbusters as *Shogun*, *The Thornbirds*, and *Centennial*.

In 1972 MGM tried to revive the series in a new format called *Young Dr. Kildare*, starring Mark Jenkins as Kildare and Gary Merrill as Gillespie, but the series had a brief run, followed by a short after-life in syndication. Many have commented on the coincidence that two of the most successful medical shows ever to air on television arrived in the year 1961, with *Ben Casey* premiering four days after *Dr. Kildare*.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Dr. Seuss (1904-1991)

Author, illustrator, editor, and publisher, Dr. Seuss revolutionized materials directed at young readers by introducing humorous, rhymed, and colorful books using limited vocabularies and simple, appealing illustrations. Uniquely inventive in the annals of twentieth-century children's books, Seuss openly acknowledged that helping to kill off the predictable "Dick and Jane" primers of the 1950s was one of his proudest accomplishments. The bizarre creatures of his stories, which contained subtle moral messages that could be read on different levels, often acted with what their author termed "logical insanity." For example, if an animal had two heads, he must also have two toothbrushes.

Twice-married but childless, Seuss had not started out to be a children's book innovator. He was born Theodor Seuss Geisel in Springfield, Massachusetts, the son of a German immigrant who ran a brewery until the arrival of Prohibition. He later commented that his father was on track to become company president until circumstances forced him to switch his careers and become commissioner of parks. This helped instill an early cynicism in the future Dr. Seuss, while his frequent trips to the zoo thereafter helped to stimulate his fertile imagination.



Theodor "Dr. Seuss" Geisel

His mother, Henrietta Seuss Geisel, unwittingly lent him her maiden name, which he first used when writing a humorous scientific piece. While reading for a B.A. in English from Dartmouth, Seuss contributed to the school humor magazine, *Jack O'Lantern*, then studied literature for one year at Oxford. Returning to the United States in 1927, Seuss sold cartoons to the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Judge*, and *Vanity Fair*. He always considered himself to be an artist first and an author second. This belief received some confirmation in many of his books for which he initially drew sketches, afterwards devising dialogue to accompany them. When he later wrote books without illustrating them himself, Seuss used the pseudonym Theo LeSieg (Geisel spelled backwards.)

Seuss composed advertising illustrations for Standard Oil of New Jersey for 15 years after a company executive saw his cartoon of a knight trying to kill dragons with the insecticide Flit. This led to one of the 1930s most famous ad slogans, "Quick, Henry, the Flit." In 1932, Seuss wrote an ABC book for children but could not find a publisher. In 1936, while crossing the Atlantic by ship, he composed *And to Think That I Saw It On Mulberry Street* in rhyme inspired by the rhythm of the vessel's engines. About a boy whose imagination transformed a horse and wagon into various beasts, the book became his first published monograph, bought by Vanguard Press after some 20 other publishing houses had turned it down.

Vanguard also published his next book, *The 500 Hats of Bartholomew Cubbins*, in 1938. Seuss then moved on to Random House, where he remained for the rest of his life, founding its Beginner Books division in 1958. The year 1939 witnessed both *The King's Stilts* and Seuss's only novel, *The Seven Lady Godivas*, a commercial failure and one of only two books he wrote for adults. From 1940 to 1942, he worked as a political cartoonist for the anti-isolationist *PM* newspaper, revealing both his political concerns and his preference for drawing. The perennial favorite *Horton Hatches the Egg* appeared in 1940. Critics variously regard this first Horton book as a parable about the virtue of intervening in crises, about protecting unborn life, about perseverance and integrity, or as just an amusing story.

During a stint in the army Seuss worked with Warner Brothers cartoonist Chuck Jones (who later brought *How the Grinch Stole Christmas* to television) on training films. He also collaborated on documentaries in the Army Signal Corps with film director Frank Capra, from whom he learned the importance of plot development, and one could argue that the triumph of physically weak protagonists and the essential goodness that Seuss saw in most people reflect a Capraesque sensibility. Seuss garnered three Academy Awards in his lifetime: for two documentaries, *Hitler Lives* (1946) and *Design for Death* (1947, about the Japanese people), and for his animated cartoon *Gerald McBoing-Boing* (1951).

His postwar book production continued with *McElligot's Pool* (1947), *Thidwick the Big-Hearted Moose* (1948), *Bartholomew and the Oobleck* (1949), *If I Ran the Zoo* (1950), *Scrambled Eggs Super!* (1953), *Horton Hears a Who* (1954), *On Beyond Zebra* (1955), *If I Ran the Circus* (1956), and *How the Grinch Stole Christmas* (1957). But the debut of *The Cat in the Hat* in 1957 was the event that established Seuss's reputation. Produced as a supplementary first-grade reader with a controlled vocabulary of 223 words, it was the tale of a mischief-maker who teaches children to misbehave while their mother is away. Its success allowed Seuss to establish Beginner Books.

According to E. J. Kahn, Jr., writing in a December 1960 issue of *The New Yorker*, Geisel was a perfectionist. He often labored more than a year on a book and threw away 99 percent of his material before

he was satisfied, afterwards haunting the production department to ensure that it got his material right. Geisel later observed that his favorite book was *The Lorax* (1971), which came almost effortlessly to him, allegedly taking only 45 minutes to compose. This environmentally conscious allegory about trees so loved that they are all cut down and become extinct, was also the only one of his books that anyone ever tried to ban. That effort occurred in 1989 in the northern California logging town of Laytonville. Other direct message books such as *Yertle the Turtle and Other Stories* (1958), about a deceitful leader, and *The Sneetches and Other Stories* (1961), about a hateful competition between two kinds of creatures, had received uniformly welcome responses.

The characters in the Dr. Seuss books often encounter fearful situations, but wit and good luck see them through. Even the baddies are not irredeemably evil. The Grinch, for example, who starts out with a heart two sizes too small, ends up with one three sizes bigger than before. Seuss's trademarks are nonsense, humor, mischief, galloping rhymes, and tongue twisters. Some of his words are his own inventions; others, such as "burp," had never before been used in children's books. His illustrations—gangling cartoon-style figures, generally depicted in simple primary colors—are of ordinary characters with which children readily identify. All of his people look very much alike, which perhaps is part of the message. The lead characters are also invariably male, if they can be identified by gender at all. The novelist Alison Lurie asserted in the *New York Review of Books* in 1990 that there was an inherent sexism in his characters' roles. One book with a female protagonist, however, *Daisy-Head Mayzie* (1995), was published posthumously. Seuss's focus on the issues of aging, tolerance, laziness, individuality, and persistence were usually subtly intertwined in his stories.

In a career that spanned six decades, Dr. Seuss published 48 books, including his second for adults, this time the successful *You're Only Old Once: A Book for Obsolete Children* (1986). They sold 100 million copies in 18 languages. According to *Publishers' Weekly* in 1996, of the top 10 bestselling children's books of all time, Seuss wrote three: *The Cat in the Hat*, *Green Eggs and Ham* (1960, written in response to a challenge from publisher Bennett Cerf to write a book using 50 words or less), and *One Fish Two Fish Red Fish Blue Fish* (1960). Many others of his works were not far behind in popularity.

The last of Seuss's books to be published in his lifetime, *Oh, the Places You'll Go!* (1990), addressed the highs and lows of human experience—facing fear, loneliness, and confusion—and fittingly appealed to both adults and children. With its presence on the *New York Times* adult best-seller list for two years (1990-92), its author could say: "I no longer write for children, I write for people!" Older readers could appreciate the satire, younger readers the charm. In the end, Seuss's hegemony was challenged by lushly illustrated and more pragmatic books with more direct messages, but his books have retained their popularity.

—Frederick J. Augustyn, Jr.

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Peter Sellers (left) as President Muffley in a scene from Stanley Kubrick's *Dr. Strangelove, or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*.

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### ***Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb***

Produced and directed by Stanley Kubrick, this dark satire on Cold War relations paints a searing portrait of a world accidentally plunged into nuclear warfare. Intermingling sex, love, and war in unexpected ways (for example, its characters' names often suggest "strange loves" of various types), *Dr. Strangelove* (1964) is a rich, provocative film that stands up well to repeat viewings.

*Dr. Strangelove* tells the story of an insane Air Force general named Jack D. Ripper who orders a bomber wing to drop a nuclear bomb on the Soviet Union. Ripper, who favors rainwater as a drink mixer, believes the Soviets are poisoning "our precious bodily fluids," an allusion to an actual Cold War belief that the fluoridation

of America's water supply was a Communist plot. As the bomber unit headed by Major T. J. "King" Kong relentlessly approaches its primary target—a missile complex called Lapuda, a reference to a place in Jonathan Swift's satiric 1726 novel *Gulliver's Travels*—Soviet Ambassador de Sadesky confronts the president of the United States in the latter's "War Room" and tells him that a nuclear strike will detonate a Doomsday Device that will annihilate all living things on the surface of the planet. The wheelchair-using Dr. Strangelove, a presidential advisor on international political affairs and weapons development, explains the ramifications of the Doomsday Device while attempting to keep his bionic arm under control; during tense moments, the prosthesis has a tendency to choke its owner or give Nazi salutes. While making plans with others in the War Room for living underground in the post-Armageddon world, Strangelove unexpectedly rises out of his wheelchair and takes a few steps. "Mein Führer, I can walk!" he exclaims to the president, but his excitement is short-lived; Major Kong's bomber wing completes its grim mission at that moment, and a series of thermonuclear bomb blasts accompanied by the strains of the schmaltzy Vera Lynn tune "We'll Meet Again" concludes the film.

Kubrick began developing *Dr. Strangelove* in 1961 after reading *Red Alert* (also known as *Two Hours to Doom*), a 1958 Cold War novel written by ex-Royal Air Force officer Peter George. Kubrick

purchased the novel's screen rights and began working with George on the script with the hope of maintaining the book's solemn tone. His plans changed, though, as the screenplay took shape. As Kubrick told *New York Times* reporter Eugene Archer, "I was fascinated by the book—*Red Alert*, a serious suspense novel about what happens when one of the great powers pushes the wrong button. The film keeps the same suspense frame. But the more I worked on it, the more I was intrigued by the comic aspects—the facade of conventional reality being pierced." Shortly before filming started in early 1963, Kubrick brought in Terry Southern, a writer known for his sardonic humor, to play up the script's sense of absurdity.

Kubrick assembled an eclectic group of actors for his film, including Sterling Hayden as General Ripper, Slim Pickens as Major Kong, Keenan Wynn as Colonel "Bat" Guano, George C. Scott as General Buck Turgidson, Peter Bull as Ambassador de Sadesky, and James Earl Jones as Lieutenant Lothar Zogg. Heading the cast was Peter Sellers, a highly versatile actor at the peak of his powers. Sellers played three roles: British Col. Lionel Mandrake; American president Merkin Muffley; and Dr. Strangelove, a German presidential advisor—Kubrick wanted him to play a fourth character, Major Kong, but eventually assigned the role to Slim Pickens after Sellers begged off. Kubrick, who shot the movie in Great Britain mainly to accommodate Sellers, allowed the actor to improvise much of the Strangelove character, including the dramatic rise from the wheelchair. Sellers greatly appreciated the artistic license given him. "I especially enjoyed doing the mad scientist in *Dr. Strangelove* because Stanley Kubrick likes free improvisation that can be so stimulating," he told *New York Times* writer Howard Thompson. "Given a free hand, you can build, construct into the characterization. It's all any actor could ask for." His improvisation, in turn, helped Kubrick develop a strong finish for the film (he had originally filmed a monumental pie fight in the War Room but abandoned it, believing its slapstick tone would conflict with the rest of film).

Though its power has diminished somewhat during the post-Cold War era, *Dr. Strangelove* and its nightmarish visions of a world gone mad remains an important milestone in screen satire.

—Martin F. Norden

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## Dracula

Cursed to an endless life, Count Dracula is eternally resurrected in film and fiction, as well as in the vampire myth. Bela Lugosi's Dracula has become an indelible figure haunting the popular imagination since the release of *Dracula* in 1931. The definitive vampire,



Bela Lugosi as "Dracula."

Lugosi's well-groomed Count has spawned a diverse group of vampires, including *Sesame Street*'s Count, Grandpa Munster, Blackula, Duckula, and Count Chockula. The only vampire most people know by name, Dracula has sold innumerable books, plays, movies, costumes, toys, consumer products, and even tours of Romania.

Tod Browning's 1931 film *Dracula* is probably the most famous version of Bram Stoker's 1897 novel. Often criticized for its over resemblance to the drawing-room melodrama from which it was derived, the film has nevertheless had a tremendous and lasting impact on both film and popular culture. The film follows the journey of Renfield, a British businessman, who is visiting Count Dracula in Transylvania in order to sell the Count some London property. Slowly, Renfield realizes that he is a prisoner and that the Count is a vampire. Once in London, the Count must battle Professor Van Helsing, a doctor who specializes in ferreting out and eradicating the undead. Van Helsing and Count Dracula fight over the soul of the innocent Mina, and finally Van Helsing kills the Count by plunging a wooden stake through the vampire's heart.

*Dracula* was so successful that, almost single-handedly, it rescued Universal Studios from folding, giving the studio its first profit in two years. More importantly, it established talking horror movies as a popular and profitable genre. Lugosi's quintessential Dracula set the stage for the filmic and fictional vampires that



followed. Certainly Lugosi's sartorial elegance has become a trademark of Count Dracula—as George Hamilton complains in *Love at First Bite* (1979), “How would you like to spend 400 years dressed like a head waiter?” From the 1950s forward, Lugosi's image graced a staggering number of incongruous consumer goods, including swizzle sticks, jewelry, card games, decals, transfers, tattoos, cleaning products, Halloween costumes, albums, pencil sharpeners, greeting cards, plastic and wax figurines, clothing, puzzles, wind-up toys, candy, comic books, and bath products. By the 1960s, *Dracula* had become such a marketable image that he could be co-opted to sell just about anything.

The late 1950s and 1960s saw a resurgence of interest in monster culture centered around television showings of classic horror movies by hosts including Vampira and Ghoulardi, the proliferation of magazines like *Famous Monsters of Filmland*, and the development of popular television series like *The Munsters* and *The Addams Family*, which parodied the American nuclear family. Lugosi's disdainful Count (barely even interested in his female victims) was recreated by Christopher Lee in five films, beginning with *Horror of Dracula* (1958); by Jack Palance in a prime-time version of *Dracula* (1973); and by Louis Jordan in a BBC miniseries, *Count Dracula* (1978). While the kitsch market bearing Dracula's image continues to spread seemingly unabated, like vampirism itself, a new vampire has emerged who bears a resemblance to Lugosi's elegant, aristocratic Dracula, and yet who is markedly sympathetic as well as erotic. Beginning with Anne Rice's *Interview with the Vampire*, published in 1976, novels and movies told from the vampire's point of view have become increasingly popular, as have vampire stories and films created by and for women (e.g., the films *Lust for a Vampire* and *The Hunger*, and the novels *The Vampire Tapestry* (1983) and *A Taste of Blood Wine* (1992).

The repeated adaptation of a text can serve as a guide to changes in popular understandings of psychological and social issues. Vampirism has been read as a metaphor for gender and racial “otherness”; for the simultaneous desire and fear of female sexuality, male sexuality, and/or homosexuality; for contagion of all sorts; and for the relationship between the “new” worlds of Western Europe and North America and the “old” world of Eastern Europe. *Dracula* itself has been variously interpreted as a parable of the oppression and resistance of marginalized groups, the power and alienation resulting from technological reproduction, the repression of sexuality and desire, the effects of industrial capitalism on the working class, and the complex interdependencies of colonialism. Of course, on one level, *Dracula's* popularity lies in its face-value: the fear of (and possible desire for belief in) the notion that the dead are not really dead. Like much horror and monster culture, *Dracula* deals in the (linked) questions of sex and death. And like most horror films, *Dracula* tells the story of a contest between good and evil, between the normal and the abnormal or pathological.

*Dracula* also follows generic conventions by installing normalcy at the end of its story, reinstating and reaffirming the good and the true after an anxious yet enjoyable period of peril. And yet, *Dracula* plays with the boundary between good and evil, between the normal and the pathological, in a way that goes a long way in explaining the story's popularity. *Dracula* blurs and transgresses the distinctions between living and dead, East and West, male and female, heterosexual and homosexual, aristocratic and professional, healthy and diseased, and British and foreign before finally reinstating those terms as pairs of fixed opposites with the (apparent) death of the Count. It is Dracula's ability to appear normal, after all, to pass in the

nighttime streets of London, which make him both so dangerous and fascinating. Dracula does not look like a monster—in fact, he looks like an upscale version of his victims. It is, in the end, Dracula's very adaptability, his ability to confuse epistemological and social categories, which ensures his everlasting capacity to both frighten and entertain us.

—Austin Booth

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## The Draft

From America's founding through the twentieth century, the draft has been a familiar way to ensure the country's safety in terms of the numbers of soldiers it can mobilize to fight in wars. In the twentieth century, the draft has been used—in one way or another—during all of our major wars, from World War I to the Vietnam War. Naturally, then, draft-dodging has also played a part in American war history. From the famous to the infamous, numerous Americans—for one reason or another—have used whatever means they could to change their lot in the military during times of war or to avoid participation in war altogether.

The draft existed before American independence. In the colonies, young and middle aged (white) men were declared by law to constitute the militia of the colony, and such men were subject to compulsory militia training. After the adoption of the federal Constitution, Congress left militia matters largely to the judgment of the states.

In response to the Civil War, a federal draft law was passed in 1863 (and modified in 1864). The Civil War draft was not particularly effective: The draft law brought 46,000 draftees and 118,000 substitutes into the Union Army, which was eight percent of the federal army's total strength.

Congress passed a draft law in May, 1917 which lasted during America's participation in World War I. A majority of American troops who went to France during this war were draftees. The draft was administered by a decentralized civilian agency, the Selective Service System, whose power was largely exercised by local draft boards (the Civil War draft had been administered by the military).

In 1940, Congress again passed a draft law. Except for a draft-free period in 1947 and 1948, this law was renewed at four-year intervals until 1971, when it was renewed for two years. The draft then expired in 1973 when Congress failed to renew it. A Selective Service System, similar to that of World War I, supervised the draft.

During both world wars, the government eventually chose to rely solely on the draft for its military manpower needs, and volunteering for the military was forbidden. After World War II, however, the bans were lifted but by 1953 (the last year of the Korean War), still over half of enlisted men were draftees. After Korea, the military

increasingly came to rely on volunteers (some of them motivated by the desire to avoid the draft), and the proportion of draftees in the armed forces was further reduced. There was an upsurge in the use of draftees during the Vietnam period, but the majority of enlisted men remained volunteers.

Some young men were able to find various techniques of dodging the draft. Draft-dodging was a widespread practice whenever the United States had a draft. Draft-dodging means deliberately modifying one's behavior—legally or illegally—for the purpose of avoiding the draft. Draft-dodging is different from draft resistance, which involves the open defiance of the draft law.

One popular method of draft-dodging was to volunteer for military service before the draft caught up with you. To enter military service voluntarily had certain advantages over the draft. A volunteer had some control over which branch of the service he entered, whereas draftees tended to end up in the Army rather than the Navy or Air Force. A volunteer could choose a branch of the armed services, or a specialty, where there was less of a danger of doing infantry combat duty. For those who volunteered for the National Guard, one's tour of duty would be done in the United States. A Vietnam-era study of those who had volunteered for the armed forces found that 40 percent of the respondents indicated that the draft led them to enlist. The number of draft-dodgers in the Vietnam-era National Guard and reserves was even higher—70.7 percent, according to a 1964 Defense Department survey.

Another method of dodging the draft was simply ignoring the law. According to one estimate, 160,000 men on the side of the Union failed to appear when summoned by their draft boards during the Civil War. During the World War I draft, between 2,400,000 and 3,600,000 men failed to register for the draft as required. The federal government held "slacker raids" during World War I in which federal authorities (civil and military), with help from vigilantes, would stop and detain draft-age men and find out if they were properly registered. In other periods, the draft laws were enforced by more conventional law enforcement techniques.

Married men were more likely to get deferments, a fact which did not escape draft-dodgers. The draft law of 1940 seems to have prompted some marriages: While in 1939 there was a total of 1,404,000 marriages, there were over 5,000,000 marriages in 1940 in the 18 to 29-year-old group alone. The Selective Service was aware that some men were using marriage and fatherhood to avoid their military responsibilities, and tightened the regulations in response. By the Vietnam-era, marriage and having children were not particularly effective ways of dodging the draft.

Fleeing abroad was another method of avoiding the draft. Mexico was a destination for some draft-dodgers during World War I, while Canada was a destination during the Civil War and the Vietnam War—Sweden was also a popular destination for some Vietnam-era draft-dodgers.

Under the old militia laws in the various states, a man who had enough money could avoid militia duty by paying someone to go in his place. This method of hiring substitutes was included in the federal draft law in the Civil War. Until June 1864, those who could not afford substitutes could avoid the draft by paying a commutation fee of \$300.00. Many local and state governments gave financial assistance so that draftees could hire substitutes.

After World War II, attending a post-secondary school could also be a method of draft-dodging. If a college student satisfied the Selective Service that he had a good academic record, he could stave off the draft at least until graduation (in 1967, Congress made

deferments available to all undergraduates, regardless of their academic standing).

Draft-dodgers (and draft resisters) have sometimes benefitted from Presidential amnesties, including Franklin Roosevelt's limited amnesty for World War I offenders in 1933, Harry Truman's limited amnesty for World War II offenders in 1947, and Jimmy Carter's complete amnesty for non-violent Vietnam-era offenders in 1977.

Eminent draft-dodgers include future President Grover Cleveland, who hired a substitute so as to avoid the Civil War draft, future President William Clinton, who made use of student exemptions and the ROTC program to avoid the Vietnam War, and future Vice-President Dan Quayle, who joined the Indiana National Guard.

—Eric Longley

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## Drag

"Drag" was originally a theatrical term used to describe the women's clothing a man wore on stage. It came into use in the 1870s at the same time that cross-dressing, or dressing as the opposite sex, became popular in vaudeville variety shows. Men would dress in "drag" and women would "wear breeches," each one poking fun at the foibles and anxieties of the opposite sex. By the 1940s, drag had come to describe professional female impersonators and had begun to take on meanings associated with male homosexuality. Gay men who wore women's clothes off-stage started to be characterized as men in "drag" by mid-century.

Since the 1950s, the term "drag" has come to describe a form of cross-dressing for both men and women that intends to expose itself as false. In other words, men and women in drag broadcast the fact that they are *dressed up* as one sex or the other. Unlike some cross-dressers, they are not interested in wearing costumes that disguise who they "really" are underneath. Instead, they make costumes that are clearly costumes, putting on clothes that are stereotypically men's or women's, like floor length evening gowns, high heels, bow ties, or three-piece suits. Men and women in drag work to exaggerate masculine and feminine gestures, facial expressions, tones of voice,



A man in “drag” applies lipstick before a photo shoot in Philadelphia, 1995.

and scenarios in order to simultaneously enhance their performance and underline the fact that they are performing. Drag is most commonly associated with “drag queens,” or male performers who dress up as women. But, it can still describe women dressed as men, or even women dressed as women or men dressed as men as long as their outfits are designed to produce the sense that the gender they are performing is self-consciously acted out.

Gay male nightclubs often host “drag shows” as part of their nightly or weekly ritual, especially in urban areas with large gay populations like San Francisco or New York. These variety shows usually feature a line-up of drag queens who “lip-sync” to popular songs by female artists—moving their lips and performing along with previously recorded music. These numbers are often outrageously dramatic, extremely sentimental, or bitingly satirical. Each one is treated as an opportunity to experiment with the meanings of gender on stage. Sometimes performers make fun of mainstream gender relations, while at other times they take the insights of the songs they sing very seriously. Drag shows are usually emceed by a drag performer, who often presents a comedy routine on topics ranging

from gay sex to contemporary politics. Some clubs only hire professional performers, while others are strictly amateur.

There are many fewer drag kings than drag queens and they are far less visible. However, some lesbian clubs do sponsor drag shows that provide a forum for drag king performances. These shows often feature women dressed up in female drag as well as male drag. In other words, women dress in “campy” or exaggerated female clothes that draw attention to the ways that they must perform their femininity as they interact with other women who are dressed as men and who are drawing attention to their self-conscious decision to dress as their chosen gender.

Ultimately, drag performers explain, drag exposes the ways that everyone “performs” their gender, even when they are “wearing” the socially appropriate role. If gender can be successfully understood through sex-role behavior that is outrageous and clearly fake, then logically it follows that those traits and characteristics that we uncritically associate with one sex or the other are being put on or taken off by everyone. Rather than naturally coming out of biological sex, sex-role behavior is learned, performed, and always unreal.

Drag has become more mainstream in the last decade, both within the gay community and in American culture more generally. RuPaul was a crossover sensation in the early 1990s, and was, according to *People* magazine “the first drag queen ever to land on the pop charts.” Her album, *Supermodel of the World*, brought her into the limelight in 1993 and her perfectly accessorized seven foot frame has kept her in the public eye. Like other drag performers, RuPaul often openly reflects on the meanings of drag. “Drag queens,” she once explained, “are like the shamans of our society, reminding people of what’s funny and what’s a stereotype.”

*Wigstock*, an annual day-long drag show held on Labor Day in New York City, is another example of the mainstreaming of drag. It has attracted thousands of spectators and hundreds of local and national performers throughout the mid to late 1990s. A number of movies have also caught the national eye. The popularity of the Australian film *The Adventures of Priscilla, Queen of the Desert* in the United States as well as the success of *To Wong Foo, Thanks for Everything, Julie Newmar* attest to the American cultural interest in drag and particularly drag queens in the 1990s. Both of them feature a group of drag queens travelling across their respective countries and ultimately finding themselves stranded in backward small towns. *To Wong Foo*, especially, captures the bland moral most commonly associated with drag queens in popular culture. By first experiencing discrimination and then “educating” the provincial residents with whom they come into contact, the three drag queens represent American cultural fantasies about victimized people. Confronting and overcoming their oppression by drawing on the drag queen “spirit,” the queens of *To Wong Foo* tell Americans what they already think they know: that a good attitude on the part of oppressed people is the best way to overcome injustice.

While mainstream movies make these simple connections, drag queens and kings themselves discuss the disruptive potential of drag. Rather than reinforcing American’s comfort with oppression and their resolve not to take responsibility for victimization, drag underlines American cultural anxieties about difference and forces men and women to think critically about how cultural ideas structure their identities and their sense of possibility.

—Karen Miller

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## Drag Racing

Drag racing, an acceleration contest from a standing start between two vehicles covering a measured distance, is probably as old as the automobile itself. As a legal and commercially organized sport, however, it began on Sunday, June 19, 1950. On that day at an airstrip near Santa Ana, California, C. J. Hart, originally of Findlay, Ohio, hosted with two partners the Santa Ana Drags. A year before that, in Goleta, California, a drag race was held on a closed-off section of road with approval of the police, but it was only a one-time event. The surge of returning veterans at the end of World War II, many of whom could afford an automobile and had a sense of adventure as well as a desire to test the performance of their machines, gave rise to street racing or “hot rodding.” It was street racing, illegal and dangerous, which led to the need for safely organized events. Today drag meets take place all across the United States with some contests attracting upwards of 50,000 spectators.

Although drag racing has become more professional and commercialized than in the beginning, many hobbyists still have the opportunity to participate. There are a multiplicity of race classes, each held to certain rules regarding the weight of the vehicle, engine size and modification, and body configuration. In any major drag-race event there will be dozens of class winners. Drag meets in the United States are sanctioned by the National Hot Rod Association (NHRA), the American Hot Rod Association (AHRA), or the International Hot Rod Association (IHRA). These associations establish and enforce contest and safety rules. The NHRA, founded in 1951 by Wally Parks, remains the most influential drag-racing entity. The first NHRA national championship meet was held in Great Bend, Kansas, in 1951.

The measured course for most races is a quarter-mile, although some competitions are limited to one-eighth of a mile. The track is a straight strip made of asphalt or concrete. Race events usually begin with each class conducting trials; the 16 drivers with the lowest times are allowed starting positions in the official competition. After the 16 compete, eight winners advance to the semi-finals until the two remaining victors drag for the championship. The format and rituals of the race are generally the same for all race classes. In the “burnout box” behind the starting line, drivers will spin their rear tires to generate heat for better traction. Then on signal by the Christmas tree, the electronic starting pole, they will advance to the staging area and then to the starting line. The race will begin when three amber lights, mounted in a vertical row for each driving lane, flash in quick succession from top to bottom, followed by the green light. Should a racer start too soon, a red light at the very bottom of the Christmas tree will turn on, meaning automatic disqualification for the driver at fault. Most races, which last from five to ten seconds, are won and lost at the starting line for either “red lighting” or for not “attacking the green,” respectively.

Broadly, the main professional categories of racers are pro stock, top fuel, and funny cars. The pro stockers consist of production cars in which the engine is made by the same manufacturer as the body with the wheel base remaining unaltered. Otherwise, many performance modifications are allowed, including rebuilt engines, hood scoops, and header exhaust systems. While pro stockers must run only on gasoline, top fuel dragsters burn nitro, an explosive mixture of nitromethane and alcohol, commonly known as rocket fuel. The V-shaped racers—known as dragsters, rails, stilettos, or slingshots—are



Shirley Muldowney during a typical race.

25 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 3 feet high, and can clock speeds in excess of 300 miles per hour. Funny cars, sometimes called floppers, also run on nitro, but they have a body made of one piece of lightweight fiberglass or carbon fiber, not metal, and it is mounted over top of the driver and hooked to the chassis, or frame, of the vehicle. Both top fuelers and funny cars must use parachutes to aid in braking at the end of the race.

Three legendary top-fuel competitors are Don “Big Daddy” Garlits of Tampa, Florida; Don “The Snake” Prudhomme of Southern California; and Shirley Muldowney of Mount Clemens, Michigan. In 1964 Garlits was the first to break the barrier of 200 miles-per-hour. Later, Prudhomme would clock a speed of 300 miles-per-hour. During the 1980s Muldowney won the top-fueler championship three times. Both Prudhomme and Muldowney had started out racing funny cars. Muldowney’s life story was dramatized in the Hollywood movie *Heart Like a Wheel* (1983), starring Bonnie Bedalia. In 1984 Garlits opened his Museum of Drag Racing and International Drag Racing Hall of Fame in Ocala, Florida.

The culture of drag racing has been represented in various media, from a plethora of specialized magazines—including *Hot Rod Magazine*—and novels such as Henry Gregor Felsen’s *Street Rod* (1953), to recording group Tommy Dugan and the Hot Rodders. In the early 1960s, Charlie Ryan recorded several songs on car racing,

including the popular “Hot Rod Lincoln.” During the 1960s and 1970s, the California rock band the Beach Boys further glamorized hot rodding with the hits “Little Deuce Coup,” “409,” “Shut Down,” and “Fun, Fun, Fun.” Mattel, one of the first toy manufacturers to recognize the appeal of drag racing to young people, introduced Hot Wheels, a line of miniature die-cast cars, which included replicas of funny cars raced by Don “The Snake” Prudhomme and Tom “Mongoose” McEwen. In 1992, the NHRA established the Junior Drag Racing League, where drivers between the ages of eight and 17 could race half-sized copies of top fuelers, funny cars, and pro stockers.

—Roger Chapman

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## Dragnet

Within two years of its 1952 small-screen debut, the eight-year long (1949-1957) radio series *Dragnet* had become television's number-one rated program. Created by actor Jack Webb, the series broke new ground from the outset, offering radio listeners rare authenticity of experience as they "accompanied" the police in following a case from beginning to final sentencing. Each episode unfolded at a measured pace, as detectives Friday and Smith followed clues, interviewed witnesses both friendly and hostile, and checked with various branches of law enforcement for information. Documentary realism was a key element of the show's appeal, with Jack Webb's own deadpan delivery and opening gambit, "This is the city. Los Angeles, California," making the mundane routine seem hip and cool.

The idea for *Dragnet* came to Webb after he had played a police lab technician in Anthony Mann's *He Walked by Night* (1948). He shared a belief with that film's technical adviser, Sgt. Marty Wynn of the LAPD, that pure investigative procedure was dramatic enough without introducing the traditional melodrama of the fictional hard-boiled private eye. In early 1949, Webb secured the cooperation of the LAPD and Chief William H. Parker. As long as Webb didn't compromise confidentiality, or portray the police in any "unflattering entanglements," Parker granted him access to all actual case files. Early in 1949, thus armed, Webb approached NBC with his radio pilot for *Dragnet*.

Webb's radio style was to underplay. He stood way back from the microphones and potted everything up high so that all of the ambient sounds could be heard. He told *Time* magazine that "underplaying is still acting . . . . We try to make it as real as a guy pouring a cup of coffee." And the series was realistic. When Webb and his partner walked up the steps to headquarters, listeners heard the exact number of steps it took. With his tremendous success on radio, Webb took *Dragnet* to television.

On television, *Dragnet* was extraordinarily conservative. Webb put the hard-boiled edge of nonconformist heroes like Sam Spade and Philip Marlowe into the conformist mouth of a downtown cop: "My name's Friday. I carry a badge." The character of Friday had no tolerance or sympathy for anyone outside the system. Los Angeles lawbreakers had to be punished, and Friday's investigations were carried out with a terse, no-nonsense approach. "Just the facts, ma'am," he often said to witnesses who digressed from the point. He had no interest in witnesses as personalities, nor did he have any interests in life outside of police work. His whole duty was to "serve and protect." By contrast, his partner Frank Smith, played by former child star Ben Alexander, was much more human, and often fretted over his health or his wife, Fay. Friday's diligence, however, fit well within a 1950s Cold War context of conformity. During a time in which Americans feared the spread of Communism and atomic weaponry, Friday was a figure of dependability and stability. During *Dragnet*'s seven-year run, so pervasive was his image that, despite the rise in the national crime rate, the public came to believe that crime had diminished and that their city streets were safer than ever before.

The conservative tenor adopted by Webb can be detected in several episodes that border on a hysterical and paranoid vision. In

"The Big Producer," a bunch of "dirty" joke books and nude photographs make their way into a high school, but Friday and Smith can't bring themselves to label the materials pornography. Instead, a series of ellipses between the two convey their fear over this "filth." In "The Big Seventeen," the duo cracks down on drugs, "H" for heroin, in the schools, but they are too late to save a 17-year old boy from overdosing. The endings of this, and several other episodes, were downbeat, and in a 1950s context, the hysteria and paranoia worked. When *Dragnet* was revived for the "Go-Go" years, 1967-1970, the hysterical mood was far too judgmental for later audiences.

Stylistically, *Dragnet* generated a unique syntax on the American landscape in its use of abbreviations and numerical codes. MO (modus operandi), DMV (Department of Motor Vehicles), and APB (All Points Bulletin) became part of everyday speech, along with 212 (robbery), 459 (burglary), and 311 (lewd conduct). Walter Schumann's four-note theme musical theme, "Dum-de-dum-dum," was a motif evoking justice and retribution, but also a mood of agitation. The motif was taken up in popular culture as a metonym for trouble. In "Better Living Through TV," an episode of *The Honeymooners*, for example, Norton hums Schumann's *Dragnet* motif when Alice catches wind of another one of Ralph's "hare-brained schemes." And in the 1980s, a series of Tums ads that attacked antacid modified Schumann's theme to "Tum-te-tum-tum."

The series was immensely popular. Parodies of it abounded in the 1950s. *Mad Magazine* attacked its conformity and shilling for Chesterfield cigarettes. Radio comedians such as Stan Freberg and Bob and Ray had fun with its narrative excesses while, in a classic Chuck Jones cartoon, *Rocket Squad* (1954), featuring Daffy Duck and Porky Pig in the Friday and Smith parts, the two intrepid heroes become the villains. Moreover, the look of *Dragnet*, its reliance on shot/reverse shots and eyeline matches to connote judgment—a witness says something; Friday shakes his head and looks at an offscreen Smith; Smith shakes his head and looks in return at the offscreen Friday—became an industry standard in shooting such scenes with effective economy of style.

No doubt the success of *Dragnet*, and its chief ratings rival, *I Love Lucy*, in the early 1950s helped shape the direction of television's cop shows and sitcoms for years to come. The series also contributed to the positive portrayal of law enforcement that prevailed until the shocking images of Rodney King's beating in the early 1990s shook enlightened Americans' faith in the police. When loyal cop supporter Jack Webb died of a heart attack on December 23, 1982, the LAPD flew its flags at half-staff.

—Grant Tracey

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## Dragon Lady

In movies and comic strips, the Dragon Lady epitomized a mythic female legend; the seductive, “exotic,” yet deadly Asian black widow. Although there is no evidence that a real Dragon Lady ever existed, her character was treated as real and was embodied by Anna May Wong in the 1931 Fu Manchu thriller, *Daughter of the Dragon*. The Dragon Lady persona gained additional popularity in Milton Caniff’s 1930s comic strip *Terry and the Pirates*. In this comic, the Dragon Lady “captivates men with her beauty then tramples them like insects when they cross her.” During World War II, the Dragon Lady persona became associated with an English-speaking radio announcer for Radio Tokyo, whose voice was broadcast to American soldiers. The American media dubbed her Tokyo Rose, and portrayed her as an Asian Mata Hari. Rose turned out to be a naive Japanese American girl named Iva Ikuko Toguri.

—Midori Takagi

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## Dream Team

The United States’ vaunted Dream Team—unquestionably the greatest collection of basketball talent ever assembled—rolled to a gold medal in the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona, Spain. Comprised of eleven National Basketball Association members and one collegian, the Dream Team’s very existence was made possible by a 1989 agreement with the International Amateur Basketball Federation to allow professionals to participate in the Olympic Games. While the American team was greatest beneficiary of the rule change, its international organization, USA Basketball, had voted against the inclusion of NBA players. As David Wallechinsky noted, concerns were expressed that financial support for women’s and junior basketball programs would diminish and that one-sided games would markedly reduce the television audience.

The American team, averaging 117 ¼ points per game, swept to eight consecutive wins in Barcelona, while holding its opponents to 73 ½ points a game; the actual margin of victory could have been even greater had not various ailments afflicted several of the U.S. players, while others held back through fear of injury. The American roster nevertheless was star-studded. The Dream Team boasted the presence of Michael Jordan, Larry Bird, Magic Johnson, Charles Barkley, Karl Malone, Patrick Ewing, David Robinson, Scottie Pippen, Clyde Drexler, and John Stockton, all to be inducted into the Hall of Fame later. Also on the team were NBA star Christopher Mullin and Duke University’s Christian Laettner, while the coaches included Detroit’s Chuck Daly, Atlanta’s Lenny Wilkens, Portland’s P. J. Carlesimo, and Duke’s Mike Krzyzewski.

With the United States having lost the 1972 and 1988 Olympic Games, as well as a series of subsequent international events, Chicago Bull Michael Jordan, who had recently led his team to its second consecutive NBA championship, asserted, “We’ve got to regain our



**Dream Team member Magic Johnson (center) watches as Michael Jordan (right) and David Robinson (left) go for a rebound.**

sense of pride, our dignity. Some way—even if it’s just basketball. We can at least show the world that *we can take control of something*.” But it was the possibility of a financial windfall that undoubtedly led the NBA to support the sending of its greatest players to Barcelona, with Commissioner David Stern envisioning the possibility of a transoceanic league. NBA teams had recently added Lithuania’s Sarunas Marciulionis, Croatia’s Drazen Petrovic, Germany’s Detlef Schrempf, and Yugoslavia’s Vlade Divac to their rosters, and looked expectantly to the likes of Toni Kukoc, Arvidas Sabonis, and Dino Radja.

With its opponents already thoroughly intimidated before the first jump ball, the Dream Team, whose members received the public adulation generally reserved for pop stars, had to contend with the fact that the competition often seemed thrilled just to occupy the same basketball court. While the U.S. team was crushing defending champions Argentina 128-87 at the Tournament of the Americas, Jordan dunked the ball, resulting in wild cheering from the Argentine bench. Center Hernan Montenegro declared, “I played with great happiness against the monsters.” Guard Marcelo Milanesio stated, “When we met at the center of the court, I was very excited that it was Magic Johnson shaking my hand.” After a 136-57 shellacking, Cuban coach Miguel Gomez philosophized, “One finger cannot cover the sun.” American observers, such as Princeton coach Pete Carril, also waxing eloquent about the American players, said, “This is not a great team. This is the greatest team ever.”

During the Barcelona Olympics, the Americans, despite playing under international rules—two 20 minute halves, a shorter three-point

line, and zone defenses—scored better than 100 points each time out. The two closest games involved Croatia, featuring Petrovic and Kukoc, but the margins of victory were each better than 30 points. In their meeting, Chicago's Pippen shut down Kukoc, who had been offered more money by Bulls' general manager Jerry Krause than Jordan's teammate had been. The greatest notoriety involved Barkley's elbowing of an Angolan player in the midst of an opening-game rout (116-48). Jordan remarked, "Charles is Charles. He's not crazy. He just likes to push his behavior to the edge." Angolan coach Victorino Cunha dismissed the concerns: "We know Charles Barkley. No problem. He does this ten times a year in the NBA."

Following the Dream Team's gold medal win over Croatia, 117-85, Mullin mused about "everybody willing to throw egos, individual statistics and all that other stuff out the window to prepare to be the best team ever. Nope, it won't happen again." Johnson, speaking rhetorically, asked reporters, "When will there be another Olympic team as good as this one? Well, you guys won't be around, and neither will we." While Barkley led the team in scoring with an 18.0 point average, Jordan contributed 14.9 points per game and provided a tournament-high 37 steals. The most perceptive analyst of the Dream Team, *Sports Illustrated's* Jack McCallum, insisted that "on the most star-studded team in history, Jordan was, simply, the star stud. When Magic was on the floor finishing the fast break, Jordan was his finisher. When Jordan was called upon to run the offense, he did so with control and a few dazzling no-look passes. When Daly gave the ball to Scottie Pippen, Jordan acted as a decoy. When the [team] needed a defensive stopper, Jordan got the call. And when the team need a scoring jolt, Jordan went out early and kick-started the offense." The Dream Team was, indeed, as Coach Daly described it, "a majestic team."

—Robert C. Cottrell

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## Dreiser, Theodore (1871-1945)

A journalist turned novelist, Dreiser was at the forefront of the battle for social fact and sexual candor in the early twentieth-century

novel, treating popular sentimental and realist subjects with a refreshing lack of moralizing. Dreiser produced a number of dense, uneven, and controversial novels about the attempts of men and women to adapt themselves to the new urban, secular order of industrial capitalism. *An American Tragedy* (1925), Dreiser's great public success, is one of the first serious psychological studies of an American murderer.

Dreiser escaped a very poor and deeply religious upbringing through a successful career in journalism in the 1890s, writing his first novel, *Sister Carrie*, in 1900. Though the book had been recommended by rising author Frank Norris, publisher Doubleday's management was unhappy with what it considered the immorality of the story and published it without publicity. This, coupled with reviews uneasy with both its moral tone and scrappy prose, saw the book achieve initial sales of a mere nine hundred. This fiasco and Dreiser's failing marriage brought on a nervous breakdown, and he returned to journalism, not publishing another novel for a decade. His second novel, *Jennie Gerhardt*, (1911), began an increasingly fruitful fictional output (though his sexual frankness and social criticism continued to hamper his success) during the next fourteen years, including *The Financier* (1912), *The Titan* (1914), *The Genius* (1915), and most favorably, *An American Tragedy*. This last was based on a number of real-life murder cases and told the story of Clyde Griffiths: his youth, the murder of his pregnant girlfriend, and the court case that followed. The novel became a play and was filmed twice: in 1931 by Joseph von Sternberg and in 1951 under the title *A Place in the Sun*. Dreiser's output reduced once more as he involved himself with various left-wing causes.

Dreiser grew out of the newspaper and magazine revolution of the 1880s and 1890s, and though his novels reflect many of the themes of the sentimental tradition (marked by the love of the rags-to-riches story), he handles them in a way inflected by issues that came to the fore in the best journalism of his day (crime, disease, prostitution, vagrancy, and the violence and double-dealing behind huge wealth). Dreiser's subject matter also appears journalistic in its use of personal experience (*Sister Carrie* was based on one of his sisters) and real-life stories (*The Financier* is the first of a trilogy of novels based on Chicago financier Charles T. Yerkes, and *An American Tragedy* was based, centrally, on the murder trial of Chester Gillette). Dreiser's books, though berated for their style—their circumlocution, inversion, uncertain vocabulary, and overburdened syntax—are marked by a singular level of excited detail and documented fact. This reliance on facts and details reflects a contemporary scientific methodology pursued eagerly by Dreiser (he read widely on the subjects of biology, psychology, and sociology). Although Balzac, Zola, Tolstoy, and Hardy were all important literary models for him, literary allusions appear much less prevalent than scientific ones: his interest in every minute detail of biological and sociological influences on his characters pushes the literary into the background.

The characterization of his central figures is Dreiser's main achievement. His interest in what drives Carrie Meeber or Clyde Griffiths makes the figures around them appear little more than phenomena affecting them, while these major characters themselves become little more than the drives and desires brought on by economic, genetic, and psychological circumstances. These desires were not necessarily beautiful, imaginative, or morally right, and it was this, coupled with Dreiser's unflinching candor, that made his books so



controversial. Dreiser simply ignored genteel aspirations and probity, as he drew characters, logically and objectively, whose aspirations were powerful enough for a poor girl to become a kept woman, for a boy to kill a pregnant lover. Such desires destroy everything in their paths and do not bring happiness, certainly not the familial stability and financial security of the middle classes.

Dreiser was not the first novelist of his generation to write of the squalor, poverty, and violence of the city; both Stephen Crane and Frank Norris had done that before him, but he was singular in his personal experience of poverty. This is undoubtedly a major reason he was able to capture in such detail the desire to escape poverty and the desire to possess wealth in a society that was in a period of transformation. The tide of migration from country to city; the impersonal nature of the urban setting of factories, tenements, and department stores; the contrast of poverty and wealth; the new culture of conspicuous consumption were all at the center of Dreiser's work. Where many of the new journalistic, realist writers around him attempted to represent want, its nature and effects, Dreiser investigated wanting, one of the central mechanisms of the twentieth century. His attempts to delineate desire are what made him interesting and influential to many writers from F. Scott Fitzgerald to Saul Bellow. It is in showing a less intellectualized, aspirational, amorality deep within the American way of life that makes Dreiser the most radical, the most realistic, writer of his generation.

—Kyle Smith

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## The Drifters

When Clyde McPhatter formed The Drifters in 1953, a new musical voice emerged. Combining doo-wop with gospel stylings, rhythm and blues changed. Songs like "Money Honey" (1953) and "White Christmas" (1954), second only to Bing Crosby's version, increased their popularity. McPhatter left the group in 1954, and a series of lead singers fronted the group until the arrival of Ben E. King in 1959, who changed the Drifters' image and sound. The baion, a Latino rhythm, and the addition of strings made songs like "There Goes My Baby" (1959) a success. From 1953 to 1966, The Drifters proved a driving force for Atlantic Records from which many rising musicians gained inspiration. The Drifters, who were inducted into the Rock 'n' Roll Hall of Fame in 1990, provided the music for a southeastern coastal dance, "the shag."

—Linda Ann Martindale

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## Drive-In Theater

As early as 1928, Richard Hollingshead, Jr., owner of an auto products business, was experimenting with screening films outdoors. In the driveway of his New Jersey home he mounted a Kodak projector atop his car and played the image on a nearby screen. In time, Hollingshead refined and expanded his idea, registering his patent for a drive-in theater in 1933. In doing so, he not only re-created an American pastime, but he also contributed to American popular culture for some time to come.

Drive-in theaters, also known as "ozoners," "open-air operators," "fresh-air exhibitors," "outdoorers," "ramp houses," "under-the-stars emporiums," "rampitoriums," and "auto havens," were just that . . . places where people drove their cars to watch movies on a huge outdoor screen. This was a seemingly preposterous idea—one would drive to a gate, pay an admission fee, park their car on a ramp to face the movie screen, and watch the movie from the car, along with hundreds of other people. But the drive-in caught on because it tapped into America's love for both automobiles and movies; going to the drive-in became a wildly popular pastime from its inauguration in the 1930s through the 1950s.

The first drive-in opened on June 6, 1933, just outside of Camden, New Jersey. The feature film was *Wife Beware*, a 1932 release starring Adolph Menjou. This movie was indicative of those commonly shown at drive-ins: the films were always second rate (B movies like *The Blob* or *Beach Blanket Bingo*) or second run. People, however, did not object. Throughout the drive-in's history its films were always incidental to the other forms of attractions it offered its patrons.

Around 1935, Richard Hollingshead sold most of his interest in the drive-in, believing that the poor sound and visuals, the great expense of construction, the limited choice of films, and other factors (like reliance on good weather) were enough to keep investors and customers alike from embracing this new form of entertainment. But people did not mind that viewing movies outdoors was not qualitatively as "good" as their experiences watching movies at indoor theaters. Just a few years after the first New Jersey drive-in opened, there were others in Galveston, Texas, Los Angeles, Cape Cod, Miami, Boston, Cleveland, and Detroit. By 1942 there were 95 drive-ins in over 27 states; Ohio had the most at 11, and the average lot held 400 cars.

Drive-ins peaked in 1958, numbering 4,063. They proved to be popular attractions for many reasons. After World War II, industries turned back to the manufacture of domestic products and America enjoyed a burgeoning "car culture." In addition, the post-War "baby boom" meant that there were more families with more children who needed cheap forms of entertainment. Packing the family into a car and taking them to the drive-in was one way to avoid paying a babysitter, and was also a way that a family could enjoy a collective activity "outdoors." Indeed, in the 1940s and 1950s many owners capitalized on this idea of the drive-in being a place of family entertainment and offered features to attract more customers. Drive-ins had playgrounds, baby bottle warmers, fireworks, laundry services, and concession stands that sold hamburgers, sodas, popcorn, candy, hotdogs, and other refreshments.



A typical drive-in theater.

Although owners emphasized family activities, by the 1940s and 1950s teenagers had taken over rows at the drive-in to engage in more private endeavors. Known as “passion pits,” drive-ins became places where kids went to have sex, since they could not go to their parents’ houses but did have access to automobiles. Therefore, families parked their cars in the front rows, dating teens sat in the middle rows, and teens having sex occupied the dark back rows. Sneaking into drive-ins was another popular teenage activity, with kids hiding in the trunk until the car was parked well away from the entrance booth. Teenagers from the 1960s on also used drive-ins as places to drink alcohol and smoke marijuana.

In the late 1940s, drive-ins became more popular than indoor theaters. One improvement that led to this was the development of a viable in-car speaker through which to hear a movie’s sound. Before the implementation of individualized speakers, drive-in owners used “directional sound,” three central speakers that projected the movie’s soundtrack over the entire drive-in. The sound was not only distorted, but also was nearly impossible for the cars in the back rows to hear. In addition, it was so loud that owners received complaints from neighbors who were usually unhappy about a drive-in’s presence to begin with. The first in-car speakers were put into production by RCA in 1946. In the 1950s people began experimenting with transmitting movie sound over radio waves; this was not feasible until

1982, when 20-30 percent of drive-ins asked viewers to tune in their radios. By 1985, 70 percent of drive-ins were using this sound transmission technique.

The drive-in business started to stagnate in the 1960s and began its decline in the 1970s. Land prices were increasing and drive-ins took up a lot of space that could be made more profitable with other ventures. By this time the original drive-ins were also in need of capital improvements in which many owners chose not to invest. In addition, theaters continued to get only B movies or second or third run pictures, and the industry charged higher rental fees and required longer runs, making it extremely difficult to compete with the multiplex indoor cinemas.

In the 1980s, the drive-ins lost most of their key audiences—by 1983 there were only 2,935 screens. Families could stay home and watch movies on cable television or on their video cassette recorders. When teenagers found other places to have sex, the drive-in was no longer a necessary locale for this activity. Due to gasoline shortages, many people opted for compact cars, which were not comfortable to sit in during double or triple movie features. By the 1990s there were few drive-ins left; those that remained were reminders of an American era that revered cars and freedom, with a little low-budget entertainment thrown in.

—Wendy Woloson

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## Drug War

The Drug War has attempted to diminish the flow of drugs into the country, the manufacture of drugs within American borders and the desire to use drugs with supply and demand tactics. On the supply side, legislators have created severe penalties for possession and sale, and toughened border patrols. To reduce the demand for drugs, community programs, television campaigns and crime-watch programs educate citizens on the dangers of drug use and abuse. The Drug War helped create drug-free school zones and increased penalties for drug crimes that involved weapons.

Although the intensity of the drug war escalated in the mid-1980s, legislators first enacted drug laws in 1914 with the Harrison Narcotics Act which taxed narcotics and required licensure for those who dispensed drugs. The Marijuana Tax Act of 1937 categorized marijuana as a narcotic for taxation and legislation purposes. Mandatory prison terms for drug use and sale were first introduced in the 1956 Narcotics Control Act.

Prior to the 1914 Harrison Narcotics Act, highly addictive opiates were the primary ingredient in the widely used elixirs. The users were mostly middle-class women and their addictions were not seen as a societal problem. The Civil War, however, brought the subject of addictions to the forefront. When physicians treated soldiers with morphine, they developed an addiction referred to as "soldier's disease."

When drug abuse was confined to non-threatening social classes, public knowledge and debate were minimal. In 1900, society pitied drug addicts. They were considered unfortunate citizens with medical problems. By 1920, the drug user became known as a drug fiend, an immoral outcast who spread his addictive disease to everyone he touched. Anti-drug campaigns blamed Chinese immigrant laborers who were railroad workers in California for bringing opiates into the country and encouraging Americans to smoke opium. In the South, anti-drug campaigns said blacks developed super-human strength after sniffing cocaine. The Mexicans were blamed for marijuana's popularity.

Legislation and anti-drug campaigns helped contain drug use until it became mainstream in the 1960s. In 1971, President Richard Nixon declare the first a "war on drugs" when he coordinated drug policies and legislation, and provided federal funds for education and prevention. He consolidated federal agencies into the Drug Enforcement Agency.

Cocaine use rose in the 1970s and 1980s. With the media sensationalism of such events as the death of Boston Celtic Len Bias and the arrest and conviction of Manuel Noriega, the drug war grew rapidly. Despite the lack of proof that a national drug use epidemic existed, Americans bought the media portrayal of the "crack baby" and inner city drug busts. In reality, the "crack baby" was the result of poverty and malnutrition and crack the result of prohibition. The

television reports of inner-city warfare and drug busts pinpointed young black men as the primary perpetrators.

By the mid-1980s, Congress and most state legislators enacted mandatory prison sentences based on the weight or quantity of a drug. The majority of federal and state drug offenders incarcerated in the 1990s were low-level sellers and dealers. High level traffickers and other dealers with information to share would trade information for lenient sentences. The prison industry grew faster than any other American industry in the 1990s and Americans incarcerated more of its own citizens than any other nation in the world.

The Drug Abuse Act of 1986 and 1988 set draconian penalties for drug possession and sale, including life in prison to property forfeiture. Other measures designed to curtail drug use and sale include denying convicted ex-drug offenders social programs such as government-backed college loans and grants, and welfare assistance. The Omnibus Crime Act of 1984 allowed police to confiscate property without due process. Authorities only needed an accusation or suspicion to enter such private domains as homes and cars, and conduct warrantless searches and seizures. Many critics argue that this practice violates basic personal liberties.

In the 1990, critics of the Drug War stated that American drug policies failed to put a dent in the drug trade. The U.S. government spent billions of dollars each year to improve border interdiction, increase the number of drug arrests and convictions, and build more prisons to house drug offenders.

The Drug War is also known for such issues as medical marijuana availability, legalization and decriminalization. Critics of the drug war argue that prohibition increases crime, deepens social and class conflict and defies basic democratic ideals. It increases health problems by denying treatment to and incarcerating addicts. It tears families apart by incarcerating small-time users and sellers for long prison sentences. It promotes poverty by denying welfare and educational assistance to ex-offenders and their dependents, and increases recidivism. Critics relate issues such as AIDS, IV drug use, street-level dealers, and gang-warfare to drug prohibition, not drug use.

—Debra Lucas Muscoreil

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## Du Bois, W. E. B (1868-1963)

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois is remembered as one of twentieth-century America's foremost black leaders, intellectuals, and spokesmen. Multi-talented, in a long life he wrote as a sociologist, historian, poet, short story writer, novelist, autobiographer, and editor—and in all of these roles he was a crusading champion of racial justice. Though his ideological outlook changed many times during



W. E. B. Du Bois

his life, through phases of Darwinism, elitism, socialism, Pan-Africanism, voluntary self-segregation, and ultimately official communism, Du Bois consistently reiterated the view that the major problem of the twentieth century was “the problem of the color-line.” As historian Eric Sundquist has noted, Du Bois was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, 1868, the same year as the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted, and spent his life attempting to make the principles, promises, and protections of this landmark political article a reality for black Americans.

Despite the complex mixture of a racial background he summarized as “a flood of Negro blood, a strain of French, a bit of Dutch, but thank God! no ’Anglo-Saxon,’” the young Du Bois soon learned that his black ancestry assumed the greatest significance in the minds of his white school companions, the fact of his darker skin placing a “vast veil” between their social worlds. An exceptional student, Du Bois won a scholarship to enter Fisk University in 1885. The Nashville black college gave him the experience of extreme Southern racism and a new racial identity fostered by exposure to the region’s strong sense of African American culture and community. Moved by the religious faith and “sorrow songs” he came across during his stay in Tennessee, Du Bois later used these distinctive cultural expressions to recover, highlight, and discuss the meaning of the black historical experience in *The Souls of Black Folk*—which in turn inspired an

increased popular interest in black vernacular art forms. Graduating from Fisk in 1888, Du Bois took a second undergraduate degree at Harvard in 1890. In 1895 he became the first African American to gain a doctoral degree from Harvard, and publishing his thesis in 1896, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States, 1638-1870*, Du Bois launched successful academic and publishing careers.

Accepting an invitation from the University of Pennsylvania to conduct a study examining the condition of the black population in Philadelphia, Du Bois published *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* in 1899—this seminal critical survey cemented his academic reputation, and was cited as an influential model by sociologist Gunnar Myrdal some 45 years later. Between 1897 and 1910, Du Bois taught history and economics at Atlanta University. Here he had one of his most productive spells as a writer, and began to advance a political program that insisted on higher education as the foundation for black racial progress. This emphasis upon the ideals of the academy, together with his political activity in first, the Niagara Movement, then later as one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), placed Du Bois in opposition to the more vocationally oriented and seemingly accommodationist approach of Booker T. Washington. Editing and directing the publication of a multi-volume study of African Americans under segregation known as the Atlanta University Studies series, and a journal *The Horizon* from 1907-1910, Du Bois was gaining prominence as the self-appointed spokesman of what he called the black community’s “Talented Tenth”—“developing the Best of this race that they may guide the Mass away from the contamination and death of the Worst, in their own and other races.” Du Bois enhanced this position as race leader in his role as the editor of *The Crisis* from 1910 to 1934, the official organ of the NAACP that grew to have over 100,000 subscribers by the end of World War I. In this magazine, Du Bois featured the indignities and atrocities of racism in the United States, including regular reports and investigations into lynching, yet his appeal remained for the most part limited to the privileged literate Northern black middle classes and their white supporters.

As a scholar, propagandist, and organizer of the Pan-Africanist movement, Du Bois sought the means of uniting and making sense of the apparent disparate experiences of diaspora blacks. Unlike another of his African American political rivals of the 1920s, Marcus Garvey, Du Bois did not advocate a return to Africa as the route to black American political liberation. Instead, for Du Bois, Africa was more a source of common identity for blacks, and in the continent’s battle against European colonial domination, he found parallels with African Americans struggling for civil rights. Following his decision to leave the NAACP and resign his post at *The Crisis*, Du Bois no longer commanded a popular audience. In this period, however, he returned to Atlanta as Professor of Sociology and produced some of his most significant work, writing a history of *Black Reconstruction* (1935), *Dusk of Dawn* (1940), an autobiography, and founding *Phylon: The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture* (1940). Although he briefly returned for a second period with the NAACP during World War II, Du Bois’ politics of self-segregation and a Marxist interpretation of history soon put him at odds again with the organization’s leadership and he was dismissed at the age of 80 in 1948. Du Bois’ life ended in intellectual exile from the United States, joining the Communist Party in 1961 and moving to Ghana where he died in 1963, the day before Martin Luther King Jr. led the long planned Civil Rights March on Washington.

Perhaps *The Souls of Black Folk* is Du Bois' most valuable literary legacy. Its recovery of the neglected black voices from the days of slavery, potent idea of "double-consciousness," and critique of modernity, continues to influence generations of black novelists (including Jean Toomer, Richard Wright, Ralph Ellison, and Alice Walker), historians, and scholars of culture and civilization in equal numbers.

—Stephen C. Kenny

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## Duck Soup

Though it failed at the box office upon its release, The Marx Brothers' 1933 feature *Duck Soup* is widely regarded as the comedy team's masterwork. By turns madcap, scathingly satirical, and genially surreal, the film chronicles the war fever that engulfs the mythical nation of Freedonia when Groucho becomes its dictator. Harpo and Chico play bumbling spies, with Zeppo relegated to the romantic subplot. Some critics found an anti-war subtext in the proceedings, but the brothers always denied any political agenda. Classic scenes abound, including the famous "mirror routine" and a rousing musical finale. Woody Allen paid homage to *Duck Soup*'s enduring comedic power by including scenes from it in the climax of his own classic *Hannah and Her Sisters* in 1986.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## The Dukes of Hazzard

The *Dukes of Hazzard* television show, airing on CBS from 1979 to 1985, blended down-home charm, handsome men, beautiful women, rip-roaring car chases, and the simple message of good triumphing over evil; this successful combination made the program a ratings success and a longstanding campy cult favorite. The Dukes were country cousins Bo, Luke, and Daisy Duke, who lived in backwoods Hazzard County on their Uncle Jesse's farm. The formula storyline

usually involved the Dukes versus the town's gluttonous bigwig, Boss Hogg, and his lackey, Sheriff Rosco P. Coltrane. Episodes were liberally punctuated with raucous car chases in their orange 1969 Dodge Charger, the "General Lee," and Daisy's trademark short shorts inspired a 1993 hit rap song, "Dazzezy Dukes," which led to the term's use as a synonym for such apparel. The cast reunited for a television movie on CBS in 1997.

—Geri Speace

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## Duncan, Isadora (1877-1927)

The great American icon of dance, Isadora Duncan, who rose to prominence early in the twentieth century and met a tragic death at age 50, was ahead of her time in both her artistic ideals, her modes of physical expression, and her controversial private life. Greatly admired by many, she also became an object of scorn and derision, mocked for her uninhibited approach to her work and pilloried for her scandalous love affairs and "bohemian" associations and lifestyle. Ironically, Isadora Duncan's art has always been more highly valued abroad than in her native land, but her cultural influence in America was considerable. The development of the modern dance form as exemplified by Martha Graham and her contemporaries and successors owed much to Duncan's unshakable belief in the power and force of female self-expression.

Angela Isadora Duncan was born in San Francisco, the daughter of poor but liberal, art-loving parents, who gave relatively free rein to their children. Isadora and her siblings became involved with movement and dance early on, and taught the waltz and the mazurka to their friends. Meanwhile, Isadora attended sessions in gymnastics, a vigorous and increasingly fashionable form of exercise, free of the constraints of corsets or heavy clothing. The contrast with the rigidly formal balletic style that she and her family saw on the stages of local theaters was marked, and held more appeal for her. Isadora was still in her teens when she and her sister Elisabeth were listed in the San Francisco directory as teachers of dance, an occupation in which their brothers soon joined them. The Duncans loved to perform, and soon Isadora was part of a small family variety show touring California.

It did not take Duncan long to combine her love of expressive movement with the relative freedom offered to the female body by gymnastics. Delsarte's movement vocabulary, which sought exact expressions of emotions and inner states through physical actions, was much in fashion during the 1880s, and Duncan's later dances showed this influence in her use of a trained body, able to single out and intensify a whole-body expression. Another influence from her early years could be traced to the 1893 World Exhibition in Chicago. There, the Art Nouveau displays made a strong impression on her



**Isadora Duncan**

imagination, and her dances later reflected the organic lines and swirls that characterized Art Nouveau design.

After two years with a touring company and many excursions into acting, singing, and dancing, Isadora Duncan became bored with a theatrical environment which did not allow for the expression of her individuality. She began to develop her own style and work on a dance repertoire, and on March 14, 1899 she gave a solo performance in New York in which she danced to poetry. Her bare arms and legs caused some ladies to leave the auditorium, but those that remained were entranced by the classical purity of her art. Duncan had found her way out of the “low art” of club and theater dance to a new, high form of dancing, whose form was influenced by Greek statues, classical music, and poetry, and whose physical disciplines had their roots in calisthenics. Her favorite poet, Walt Whitman, inspired her to use her body as the instrument of a new poetry.

Later the same year, declaring the dedication of her life to Art and Beauty, Isadora Duncan embarked on travelling the world, taking her art to the sophisticated centers of 1920s bohemia: London, Paris, Berlin, and Moscow. She caused a sensation wherever she went and became an inspiration to poets, musicians, and painters, taking a succession of lovers from among their ranks. Among her most famous

liaisons was that with the famed English stage designer of the time, Gordon Craig, and she married the Russian poet Essenin.

In performance, Duncan was a euphoric dancer of sensual dreams. A free-thinking woman and an artistic visionary, she focused on the concerns of her time and translated them into movement, deserting the relatively static displays of the period for generous, sensitive dances in which she brought the accompanying music to three-dimensional life. To music that ranged from Schubert through Wagner to Chopin, she would fill the stage, her voluptuous body dressed in a Greek-style tunic, or veils, expressing her feelings and emotions through movement, able to communicate her presence to the audience. The influence of this style, while considerable, was concealed within the images of free, gracious, sensuous, and powerful dancing that mesmerized her audience through its simplicity—the Duncan approach could not be studied through preserved step patterns, finished dances, or her writings.

Parallel with her position as an exponent of a new form of dance, Duncan became an early symbol of personal women’s liberation, and of general political freedom. In her writings she attacked the constraints imposed on women, and exercised none in the conduct of her permissive sexual life. She even danced while pregnant. Although Duncan advocated the equality of both men and women in a new morality, she did not perceive her own work as erotic: her freedom was the freedom of the naked Greeks. Her audiences appreciated her in different ways, some for her purity of expression, others undoubtedly with prurient interest as they waited (successfully) for her breasts to fall out of her loose costume. It was not only gender politics that excited her: she saw Communism as a way forward, and offered her services to the Russian republic.

After a wandering life filled with ideas, achievements, personal tragedies such as the death of her children, many men, and few places to call home, Duncan died in a horrible yet appropriately flamboyant way. Her trademark flowing silk scarf became entangled in the wheels of a Bugatti sports car, causing a fatal broken spine.

The schools Duncan founded did not do very well, and few of her adopted daughters took on the mantle of teaching the next generation. Ballet masters dismissed her dances of free expression for their lack of technique, and saw Duncan herself as a mere amateur. Her writings were revived in the back-to-nature days of the 1970s, but had very little sustained influence on the further development of modern dance, but her powerful, free, and beautiful image has stayed with dancers all over the world. Isadora is cemented as one of the great feminine myths of the twentieth century, and was played by Vanessa Redgrave in Karel Reisz’s 1969 film, *The Loves of Isadora* (aka *Isadora*).

—Petra Koppers

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## Dungeons and Dragons

Dungeons and Dragons, more commonly and affectionately known by its players as D&D, is the first and most famous of the

fantasy role playing games (RPGs). *Dungeons and Dragons* is based on traditional fantasy literature such as J.R.R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* trilogy. In the game, players cast themselves as imaginary characters and go on imaginary adventures in a fantasy world of their own design. Gaining popularity in the 1980s, D&D perhaps symbolized the existential angst of a youth worried about inheriting a world that was not their own.

In D&D, the Dungeon Master (DM) creates an imaginary world full of monsters, dangers, and magic. Character-players then journey through the DM's world fighting battles, stealing treasures, or outwitting monsters. The game is played verbally with conflicts settled by a role of dice.

The players create characters for themselves based on a variety of traits; strength, intelligence, and endurance are three key qualities. The level of each trait that a character acquires is determined by the roll of a dice before the game starts. Players can choose a variety of roles for their characters such as thief, assassin, fighter, and cleric, among others. Players can also choose the race for each character; choices include humans, elves, and dwarfs. The game can be played with varying degrees of complexity, depending on the experience of the players and the Dungeon Master.

D&D was originally created by Gary Gygax and Dave Arneson. They simplified the game, moving from the action of regiments to the actions of individual fighters to create D&D. The first two print runs of the game sold out. TSR, Inc. produced the *Dungeons and Dragons* series starting in 1974. When D&D became very popular, especially among the college crowd, a whole industry arose. TSR published supplementary guides, including books of monsters and demigods based on world myths and legends. *Dragon Magazine* and other magazines devoted to gaming campaigns hit the newsstands. TSR also published book lines like *Forgotten Realms* and *Dragonlance* that had their origins in the games. Other fantasy authors incorporated D&D motifs into novels as well.

In addition to being popular, D&D was also very controversial. Campaigns can take hours, days, and sometimes even weeks to finish. Tales arose of promising college students flunking out of school because they spent all their time playing D&D. Other accusations against the game were even harsher. Many people accused it of instilling violence in the minds of the players; others said it produced suicidal tendencies, especially when a player over-identified with a character that had been killed during a game. Organizations and religious groups accused the game of being Satanic since it sometimes dealt with demons and conjuring devils. The campaign against *Dungeons and Dragons* eventually spawned a group known as BADD, (Bothered About *Dungeons and Dragons*). The group was founded by a woman who claimed that her child killed himself because of the game. The game took another publicity hit when the television movie *Mazes and Monsters* came out. The movie was based on an account of how D&D players took their role playing too seriously and started acting out the campaigns in the tunnels and sewers of their college.

Proponents of the games fought back, arguing that a game alone could not be the main cause of any psychological problems certain players were exhibiting. Advocates emphasized the notion that the game helped stimulate imagination and problem solving skills. Others claimed it helped vent violent feelings through imaginary play instead of acting such feelings out.

The debates about D&D generated negative publicity for the games and many concerned parents did not want their children playing. TSR continued its own positive publicity, and they began to

tone down some of their manuals and game-based fiction, especially the parts that dealt with demons and conjuring. Eventually, new technologies helped D&D and other role playing games recover some popularity. One player made an interactive on-line computer version of the game called a M.U.D., a Multi-User Dungeon. MUDs became the place where computer aficionados went to play.

The greatest blow against TSR and *Dungeons and Dragons* came in the 1990s, not from concerned parents but from bad business. TSR had its book contracts through Random House, which distributed the books through chain book stores. When the chain book stores stopped carrying the books, they tore off the covers and dumped them. Instead of a check from Random House, TSR received a huge bill they were not prepared to pay. In 1997, Wizards of the Coast, the producers of *Magic: The Gathering Cards*, another type of game playing, bought them out. Wizards of the Coast revived many TSR projects, including *Dragon Magazine* and D&D, in an attempt to keep the game alive. In the year following the buyout, the gaming industry started to swing back to RPGs and away from card games. Indeed, the future of RPGs continues to look promising.

—P. Andrew Miller

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## Dunkin' Donuts

Associated with the working man's coffee break, Dunkin' Donuts catered to Americans' desire for a strong cup of coffee and a sweet treat long before Starbucks' coffee shops first started selling fancy pastries and gourmet coffee. Started in 1950, Dunkin' Donuts was ranked by *Entrepreneur* and *Franchise Times* magazines as one of the top franchises of 1998, when it was operating over 3,700 stores in 21 countries worldwide. In addition to coffee and doughnuts, the retail chain, with its ubiquitous pink and orange signs, sells muffins, bagels, and other bakery products. The world's largest chain of coffee and doughnut shops in the 1990s, founder William Rosenberg developed the chain from a string of canteen trucks after World War II. He bequeathed the business to his son Robert, who had managed doughnut shops during summer breaks from Harvard Business School. In 1989, Allied Domecq PLC, a British-based food and beverage conglomerate, whose portfolio of American quick service restaurants also includes Baskin-Robbins ice cream stores and Togo's sandwich shops, acquired Dunkin' Donuts. Dunkin' Donuts is Allied Domecq's flagship American operation, accounting for 70 percent of its total United States sales of \$2.5 billion in 1998.

—Courtney Bennett

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## Dunne, Finley Peter

See Mr. Dooley

## Dunne, Irene (1898-1990)

Dubbed "The First Lady of Hollywood" in her day, her persona always charming, sweet, resourceful, and dignified, Irene Dunne evokes nostalgia for an era of romantic escape from harsh reality. Kentucky-born Dunne carved a successful career in musical comedy before entering films in 1930 (she starred as Magnolia in *Show Boat*, 1936), and was in the first rank of sympathetic screen heroines throughout the 1930s. She suffered gracefully through several sentimental, sometimes tragic, love stories, famously including *Back Street* (1932), *Magnificent Obsession* (1935), and *Love Affair* (1939), but also revealed an exceptional aptitude for comedy in such films as *Theodora Goes Wild* (1936) and *The Awful Truth* (1937). She received her fifth Oscar nomination for *I Remember Mama* (1947) which, together with *Life with Father* (1948), marked her last big successes. Dunne retired from the screen to devote herself to civic, philanthropic, and Republican political causes. Also a prolific radio and television performer, in 1985 she was honored at the Kennedy Center for her achievement in the performing arts.

—Robyn Karney

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See Buckwheat Zydeco

## Durán, Roberto (1951—)

Roberto "Manos de Piedra" (Stone Hands) Durán is one of the few boxers in history to win world boxing titles in four different weight divisions—lightweight, welterweight, junior middleweight, and middleweight. Born in the poverty-stricken barrio of Chorillo, Panama, on June 16, 1951, Durán only received a third-grade education, after which he became a "street kid," making his living selling newspapers, shining shoes, committing petty theft, and doing whatever else he could to earn some money for his mother and eight siblings. Clearly one of the most talented boxers to enter the ring, Durán is also

well known for his contributions to the poor and his loyalty to family and friends.

Durán eventually followed an older brother into boxing and turned professional at the age of 16. A wealthy ex-athlete, Carlos Eleta, befriended Durán and arranged for his training with one of the best tacticians in American boxing, Ray Arcel, who taught Durán to become ambidextrous in the ring. Arcel also hired Freddie Brown, a trainer for 12 world champions, to work with Durán.

All of the attention paid off in 1972, when Durán won his first title as a lightweight against Ken Buchanan. Durán defended his title 11 times and won 70 of his first 71 fights. He reigned as a national hero in Panama, where he fed the poor, gave to numerous charitable causes, and was more than generous to his family. He made sure, in addition, to employ residents from his old barrio on his estate and in his various enterprises. In 1975, the most famous (or infamous) promoter in the fight game took on Durán—Don King. Durán's appetite for food forced him to move up in the weight divisions, as did the larger prizes that were offered through the assistance of King. One of the highlights of his career was his victory over one of the greatest boxers of all time, Sugar Ray Leonard in 1980 for the WBC (World Boxing Confederation) welterweight championship.

After this pinnacle of success, Durán gorged himself and could not control his weight before the Leonard rematch; he trained in a rubber corset and took diuretics before the weigh in, but soon stuffed himself with steaks and, by the time of the match, was too bloated and exhausted from the desperate training to put up a credible fight. Durán walked out of the ring in the eighth round, exclaiming a now infamous phrase: "No más . . . no peleo más" (No more . . . I won't fight anymore). Durán explained to the press that he had stomach cramps, but his reputation was sullied in the world sports press and among late-night television hosts, who satirized his surrender mercilessly. Durán, nevertheless, had earned \$3 million for the fight, but had lost Brown and Arcel from his team. In Panama, he was shunned and all of his acts of charity and goodwill were quickly forgotten.

In 1983, Durán made a comeback by winning the junior middleweight title from Davey Moore at Madison Square Garden, but soon lost a round of bouts. He came back once again to win the WBC middleweight title in 1989, after 22 years in the ring. Durán continued to fight into his forties, and became known as "the old man of boxing."

—Nicolás Kanellos

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## Durbin, Deanna (1921—)

Deanna Durbin's overnight rise to fame as an adolescent movie star began with *Three Smart Girls* (1936) and *One Hundred Men and a Girl* (1937). Her box office success was widely credited with saving Universal Studios from bankruptcy. Fans and critics alike were taken by her mature soprano voice and her wholesome, yet feisty, characters. Born Edna Mae Durbin in Winnipeg, Canada, she was dubbed "America's Kid Sister" and in 1939 was awarded a miniature Oscar. Although praised for her successful transition to adult roles in the 1940s, her popularity declined. In 1948, she permanently traded her





Roberto Durán (left) in a match against Marvelous Marvin Hagler, 1983.

13-year, 21-film career for a private life in France with her third husband, French filmmaker Charles David, and their family.

—Kelly Schrum

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## Durocher, Leo (1905-1991)

Leo Durocher, states one baseball publication, “was squarely at the center of some of the most exciting and controversial events in the

history of the game.” Durocher’s colorful and eventful baseball career spanned nearly 50 years as a major league player, manager, coach, and television commentator. But it was his tenure as a manager in New York City from 1941 to 1955 that made him a national sports celebrity and placed him at the heart of so many significant baseball events. Baseball writer Roger Kahn fondly remembered that era “when the Yankees, Giants, and Dodgers ruled the world.” On the field, Durocher managed both the Brooklyn Dodgers and the New York Giants; was directly involved in the controversy surrounding the game’s first black player, Jackie Robinson; and was a participant in what many sports writers consider the greatest game in baseball history—the 1951 final playoff between the Giants and the Dodgers.

Born in the industrial slums of West Springfield, Massachusetts, the young Durocher worked in factories and hustled pool to make money. He was suspended from high school for slapping a teacher and never returned. He began playing baseball on a railroad company team and made it to the major leagues in 1925. His playing career was mediocre at best, and his hitting was weak, but his flashy and acrobatic fielding was enough to make him an All-Star in 1936, 1938, and 1940. Durocher played for two of the most celebrated teams of the early twentieth century: in 1928 he spent his first full season in the major leagues with the legendary New York Yankees, led by Babe Ruth; and in 1934, he captained the St. Louis Cardinals, a team better



Former Giants manager Leo Durocher with his son.

known as the “Gas House Gang.” Those boisterous Cardinals were a hell-raising group that played hard on and off the field. Durocher and the Cardinals won the 1934 World Series.

In 1939, Durocher became player-manager for the Brooklyn Dodgers. He helped the Dodgers to a National League pennant in 1941 and, in what was perhaps his finest moment in baseball, stymied a 1947 rebellion by some Dodgers players protesting the presence of Jackie Robinson on the team. During spring training, Durocher discovered that several Dodgers were circulating a petition vowing they would never play on the same team as Robinson. Durocher called the team together and told them that Robinson was a great player and would help them to victory. He declared that, “He’s only the first, boys, only the first! There are many more colored ballplayers coming right behind him and they’re hungry, boys. They’re scratching and diving. Unless you wake up, these colored ballplayers are going to run you right out of the park. I don’t want to see your petition, I don’t want to hear anything else. This meeting is over.”

But he never had the opportunity to manage Jackie Robinson. A controversial figure, Durocher was suspended by the baseball commissioner for the entire 1947 season on the vague charge of moral turpitude. He had been under suspicion for being too friendly with New York gamblers and other shady characters, such as mobster Bugsy Siegel; and he had married movie actress Laraine Day in Mexico before her California divorce was final. Already a twice-divorced Catholic, Durocher had made enemies of powerful Roman Catholic Church officials and politicians in Brooklyn. Thus, public pressure, and the threat of keeping Catholic youth organizations from the ballpark, forced Durocher’s year-long sabbatical.

When he returned in 1948, the Dodgers faltered and he was fired early in the season. To the amazement of New York fans, however, he was immediately hired as manager of the cross-town rival, the New York Giants. He was also managing the Giants at the time of the legendary 1951 playoff game with the Brooklyn Dodgers on 12 August 1951. The Giants, trailing the first-place Dodgers by 13½

games, tied their rivals by season’s end and forced a three-game playoff. In game three, the Dodgers were leading 4-1 in the final inning when Bobby Thomson hit a dramatic home run to win the pennant for the Durocher-led Giants. Durocher took the team to two World Series, winning the 1954 contest, but despite these successes, the Giants finished a weak third in 1955 and Durocher was fired at the end of the season.

After working as a television commentator and coaching for several years with the Los Angeles Dodgers, Durocher returned to manage the Chicago Cubs in 1966. The Cubs had been one of the worst teams in baseball for nearly three decades, but Durocher helped turn them into winners. In 1969, his Cubs held a 9 ½-game lead in early August, but they folded in the last two months of the season and lost the National League pennant to the New York Mets. Durocher was criticized for not resting his players during the humid days of summer. He left the Cubs in 1972 and managed one more season with the Houston Astros before retiring.

Leo Durocher remains among the all-time leaders in games managed (3,740) and games won (2,010). In addition, he is the only baseball player cited in Bartlett’s Quotations. His quote, “Nice Guys Finish Last,” is also the title of his autobiography, which he wrote after leaving baseball. That renowned quotation was attributed to Durocher in 1947 and referred to his opinion of then Giants manager Mel Ott, whose team had been underachieving during the season. “Leo the Lip,” as the irascible Durocher was called, maintained that Ott and most of the Giants players were nice guys, but they would never be winners because nice guys finish last.

—David E. Woodard

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Veteran American actor Robert Duvall has been an integral part of a large portion of Hollywood cinema throughout his lengthy career, thanks to his ability to metamorphose fully into each character he plays. He is also a skilled director, producer, screenwriter, singer, and songwriter. One of his most memorable roles is as Colonel Kilgore in the 1979 Francis Ford Coppola film *Apocalypse Now*, in which he uttered the classic line, “I love the smell of napalm in the morning.”

Duvall also won an Academy Award for best actor for his part as a country singer in 1983's *Tender Mercies*, for which he wrote and performed some of the songs. In 1997 Duvall won critical plaudits for *The Apostle*, a pet project that was a long time coming. He wrote, directed, starred in, and funded the picture about a flawed southern minister.

—Geri Speace

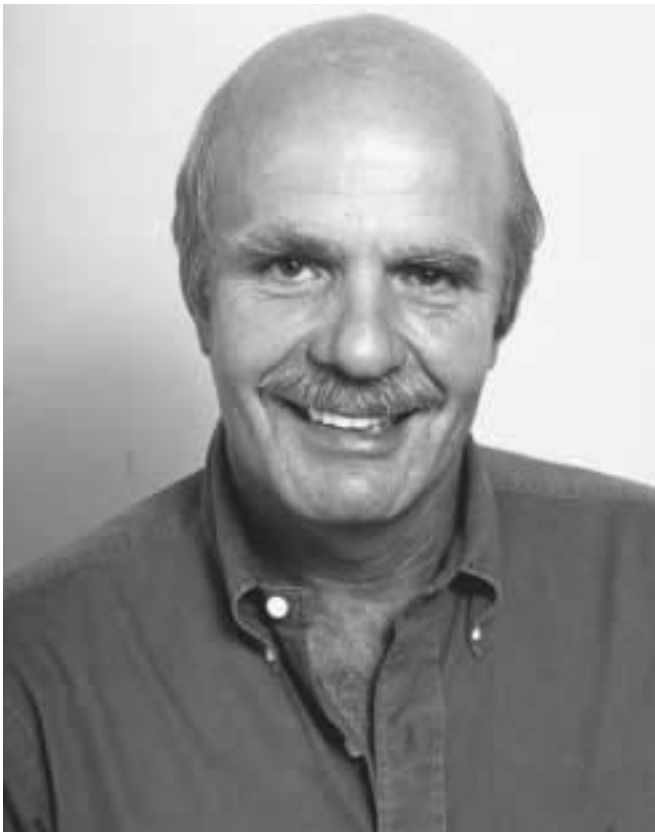
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Charismatic and camera-friendly, Wayne Dyer became well-known after the phenomenally successful publication of his first best-selling book, *Your Erroneous Zones* in 1976. From that time, he became a constant proponent of such typically "New Age" concepts as "living in the moment" and making "choices that bring us to a higher awareness," as he told a reporter for the *St. Petersburg Times* in 1994. Since *Your Erroneous Zones*, Dyer has used books, tapes, and the broadcast media to his advantage, securing his position as a



Wayne Dyer

late-twentieth-century cultural icon, and a leading light in the areas of motivation and self-awareness.

Wayne W. Dyer was born in Detroit, Michigan, and began his professional career in Detroit as a high-school guidance counselor in 1965. In 1971, after earning a doctorate of education, he was appointed a professor of counselor education at St. John's University in Jamaica, New York, and began contributing articles to professional journals and co-authoring books on counseling with his colleague John Vriend. These established his credentials in academia, while, at the same time, he ran a lucrative private clinical psychology practice. His lectures at St. John's taught exercises in motivational speaking, and his upbeat, positive message was very well-received; students began bringing their friends to Dyer's lectures, and he amassed a small following.

News of these lectures intrigued a literary agent, who approached Dyer about the possibility of writing a book based on their ideas. He agreed, and wrote *Your Erroneous Zones*, sales of which were initially abysmal. Undaunted, its author bought up all the copies and, quitting both his teaching position and his practice, set out on the road with the books to make publishing and self-marketing history. In four months, Dyer covered all of the contiguous United States, making personal appearances at bookstores and giving radio and television interviews. By the end of his journey, he had been a guest on nationally televised talk shows and was interviewed by the likes of Phil Donahue, Johnny Carson, and Merv Griffin.

Wayne Dyer's status as a celebrity allowed him to publish more books on the same theme, and to generate an audience for his informal lecture tours. These tours cemented his following, and became the basis for the many acclaimed, high-selling audiotope sets that he recorded. His message offered something for everyone, since it was not specific to either any religion, or any particular portion of society. This was in contrast to self-help heroes such as Dale Carnegie and Stephen Covey, whose philosophies were somewhat hemmed in by their affiliations and concerns with the business and corporate worlds. Dyer even resisted the New Age tag, warning his audience in one of his tapes that the New Age phenomenon and its proponents were often superficial and could be dangerously misleading.

While his books all offered variations on the same theme, that theme became steadily more convoluted and esoteric as his career continued, accruing a certain degree of mysticism to accompany his pop psychology. In *Real Magic* (1993), for example, he discusses the potential for spiritual experience, while *Your Sacred Self* (1996) further expounds on the benefits of attaining a higher consciousness. Having remarried in 1979, he and his wife were raising a family of eight children throughout the 1980s, and his books largely recounted experiences and anecdotes culled from his family life. In 1998 he published *Wisdom of the Ages*, a collection of essays that reflected on the essence of certain literary quotations.

Dyer often said that his own life was his own best example, and much of his appeal can be attributed to his life experience, which he used consistently as an entry point into his discussions and writings. Many of his pre-teen years were spent in an orphanage, and although he grew up to be successful, he was also profoundly unhappy until he decided to take responsibility for his own life in the mid-1970s. The fact that his ideas were based on the psychological mechanisms that worked so well for him gave him his credibility among the consumers of self-development media.

Although the book sales and attendance numbers at Dyer's lectures were a testament to his following, and his continued appearance on talk shows throughout the 1980s kept him in the wider public

eye, he had his share of critics. Interviewing him in a 1983 issue of *Life* magazine, Campbell Geeslin suggests that Dyer's message is "a gospel in praise of the superficial" and that "Dyer is selling simplistic solutions to life's inevitable difficulties." Wayne Dyer, who was his own best advertisement in the late 1970s, turned out to be his own saboteur in the early 1990s. While remaining a hugely successful author, his increasingly mystical approach to his subject matter made him less desirable as a guest on the talk-show circuit and, while still visible, his voice and message no longer saturate the airwaves.

—Dan Coffey

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## *Dykes to Watch Out For*

In the mid-1980s lesbian cartoonist Alison Bechdel began to create the family of lesbians who comprise her popular comic strip, *Dykes to Watch Out For*. By the mid-1990s, the strip—the first continuing lesbian cartoon—had been syndicated in over 50 lesbian, gay, and alternative periodicals and had been published in more than seven collections. *Dykes to Watch Out For* had become an institution.

The strip is a little like a soap opera, with a developing storyline, and a lot like a peek behind the scenes of any lesbian community. The cast of characters is a group of lesbian friends in a nameless mid-size city in the United States. Just as in any real group of friends, pairings change and priorities evolve, influenced by events both internal and external. Much of the action takes place at Madwimmin Books, a feminist bookstore owned by Jezanna, a no-nonsense lesbian entrepreneur. Among the staff at Madwimmin are Mo, a lovable curmudgeon filled with leftist angst, and Lois, a butch rake with a girl in every port. Their friends include Toni and Clarice, an accountant and lawyer with a baby boy—however uncomfortably, they are upwardly mobile and nuclear-family-bound. Lois lives in a group house with Ginger, an academic, and Sparrow is a pagan spiritualist who works at a battered women's shelter.

These women, and the friends who ebb and flow around them, form a diverse community. Through them, Bechdel pokes gentle fun at the foibles of lesbians, be they politically earnest, promiscuous, or pretentious. She also allows them to change as they experience the events of the real world, mirroring the real changes that occur both among lesbians and in the larger community. Just as traditional media reflects the effects of phenomena on the larger culture, *Dykes to Watch Out For* reflects lesbian culture. Presidential elections, the O.J. Simpson trial, prozac, sado-masochism, transsexuality—all appear in the panels of the comic strip, analyzed and digested by Bechdel's family of lesbians.

Bechdel calls her strip "half op-ed column and half endless Victorian novel." While her primary alter-ego is clearly Mo, the

anguished leftist, Bechdel does not take herself or her characters too seriously. She occasionally has her characters break the "fourth wall" and address her readers directly, or interact with each other as if they are quite different characters performing in the strip. One of the strip's calendars shows a large panel of the "green room" where characters display heretofore unseen personality traits as they wait for their "entrance" onto the strip. In another strip, characters of color, a Jewish character, and a disabled character bewail their token status in the storyline.

It is a tribute to Bechdel's skill as an artist and a writer that she can bring her characters enough life to argue with her from the page. Her drawings are clean yet complex, filled with subtle references and in-jokes for her audience, and the dialogue is lively and incisive. In fact, Bechdel's work and the success of *Dykes To Watch Out For* drew the attention of the mainstream press when Universal Press Syndicate approached her with an offer that could have placed her in the daily "funny papers." Though their interest was exciting to Bechdel, it only took a moment's thought to realize that whittling down her work to fit the narrow niche of the mainstream would have changed her work beyond recognition. The title would have to go, "dykes" being far too controversial, and out of six main characters only two would have been allowed to be lesbians. Unwilling to give up her vision of a strip that reflected the realities of lesbian life, Bechdel refused the offer and remained in the alternative press, where her uncensored style was welcome.

Her strips, collections, and calendars have always been eagerly awaited by her fans. In fact, the main dilemma for Bechdel's readers seems to be expressed by an urgent letter she received from a fan. "DO YOU HAVE ANY IDEA," the reader wrote, "WHAT IT'S LIKE TO HAVE A CRUSH ON A CARTOON CHARACTER?!?!?"

—Tina Gianoulis

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## *Dylan, Bob (1941—)*

The most influential musician to emerge out of the social unrest of the early 1960s, Bob Dylan dramatically expanded the aesthetic and political boundaries of popular song. Recognized almost immediately as the voice of his generation, Dylan began his brilliant career by performing blues, folk ballads, and his own topical compositions, many of which addressed issues of racial injustice and protested against the threat of nuclear war. By 1965 he transformed himself into a rock star, the first of many metamorphoses he would undergo over the next three decades. Mercurial, iconoclastic, and enigmatic, Dylan variously presented himself as a poet, gospel singer, bluesman, country musician, and minstrel, recording more than thirty albums that would make him one of the major popular artists of the twentieth century.

"Dylan has invented himself. He's made himself up from scratch," wrote playwright Sam Shepard. The point, Shepard suggested, "isn't to figure [Dylan] out but to take him in," to use him "as



**Bob Dylan**

a means to adventure.” Dylan began his extraordinary odyssey as Robert Zimmerman, the son of Jewish merchants from Hibbing, Minnesota, where he enjoyed a comfortable middle-class life. Although he was bar mitzvahed, Dylan listened to prophets who were unfamiliar to his parents. Little Richard, Elvis Presley, and Hank Williams inspired the young guitar player, while the rebels James Dean and Marlon Brando shaped the attitude he carried to the University of Minnesota in 1959.

His days as a student were numbered. Having received an assortment of Huddie “Leadbelly” Leadbetter’s recordings for graduation gifts, Dylan was more interested in music than his studies and promptly matriculated to Dinkytown, a hip section of Minneapolis renowned for its folk scene. It was here that he obtained a copy of Woody Guthrie’s autobiography, *Bound for Glory* (1943), a book that inspired him to learn the Dust Bowl balladeer’s compositions and to perform them in local coffeehouses. By 1960, this nineteen-year-old changed his name and adopted Guthrie’s nomadic ways, embarking on a cross-country trip that ended in New York City early in 1961.

Dylan immersed himself in the bohemian culture of Greenwich Village, where leftists old and new were participating in the folk music revival. Pete Seeger, Ramblin’ Jack Elliot, Ralph Rinzler, and scores of other young people enamored with folk music attended jam sessions in Washington Square Park and gathered regularly to pay

homage to Guthrie, the movement’s patron saint. Hospitalized with Huntington’s chorea, Guthrie made weekend visits to the East Orange, New Jersey, home of Bob and Sidsell Gleason, where Dylan temporarily resided. The two men established a warm relationship. Disease had nearly destroyed Guthrie’s creative and communicative abilities, but he managed to express his enthusiasm for his admirer. When Dylan debuted at Gerde’s Folk City in April, 1961, he donned one of his mentor’s old suits for the occasion.

A self-described “Woody Guthrie juke box,” Dylan recalled that he was “completely taken over by his spirit,” a claim to which his self-titled album (1962), attests. Released soon after he was signed to Columbia Records by John Hammond, this collection of folk standards and two originals established Dylan’s credentials as an authentic traditional artist, and as a nasal-voiced, road-weary traveler who had hoboed for most of his young life. The album included the poignant “Song to Woody,” a ballad written to the tune of Guthrie’s “1913 Massacre” that musically, stylistically, and lyrically declared Dylan’s intent to carry his hero’s mantle. Cover versions of songs by bluesmen Blind Lemon Jefferson and Bukka White placed Dylan firmly in the folk tradition as did a 1961 press interview, during which he claimed to have played with Jefferson and the Texas songster Mance Lipscomb.

Bored with the predictability and sheltered nature of his middle-class life, Dylan fabricated a past full of hard traveling and hard living. If, like his fellow baby boomers, his life was smothered by relative affluence and haunted by the specter of nuclear war, his ersatz travels were filled with adventure and possibility. But if Dylan responded to his generation’s ennui and malaise, he also began to absorb and shape its politics. “Whether he liked it or not, Dylan *sang for us*,” wrote the former president of Students for a Democratic Society, Todd Gitlin. “We followed his career as if he were singing our song; we got in the habit of asking where he was taking us next.”

*The Freewheelin’ Bob Dylan* (1963) was born out of his emerging political consciousness. Perhaps the most stinging indictment of the United States government ever released by the commercial recording industry, “Masters of War” condemned the men who produce weapons of mass destruction and warned them that even the most benevolent God would not absolve their transgressions. The politics of *Freewheelin’* did not stop here. “Oxford Town” mocked segregation at the University of Mississippi; “A Hard Rain’s A-Gonna Fall” imagined a stark and terrifying post-nuclear landscape; and “Blowin’ in the Wind,” which became a hit for Peter, Paul and Mary, was a simple, though poetic, call for racial harmony. After becoming the star of the 1963 Newport Folk Festival, Dylan actively supported a number of political causes, performing at a voter registration rally in Mississippi and at the March on Washington that summer. Meanwhile, the title track for his third album, *The Times They Are A-Changin’* (1964), furnished the anthem for a generation dedicated to transforming the social order.

*Another Side of Bob Dylan* (1964) suggested, however, that the artist was moving in new directions. Bitter love songs such as “It Ain’t Me Babe” replaced the moralism of *Freewheelin’* and *Times*, while “Chimes of Freedom” cloaked its social concerns beneath a virtuosic lyricism. Both the album and Dylan’s promotion of it at the 1964 Newport Festival were poorly received by members of the folk press, many of whom opined that their hero’s preoccupation with aesthetics forsook his political commitment. Their accusations were not unfounded. Unwilling to be shackled with the duties of generational spokesman, Dylan publicly renounced his involvement with the New

Left and, after shedding his denim shirt for black leather and sunglasses, repackaged himself as a poet and rock star.

By the end of 1965, perhaps the most important year in Dylan's career, the transformation was complete. Following the release of *Bringing It All Back Home* that March, Dylan embarked on a tour of England where he was met by transfixed crowds, screaming girls, and adoring musicians. D.A. Pennebaker's documentary film *Don't Look Back* (1967) chronicles the tour, presenting an increasingly arrogant artist who sounded more like an existentialist than a proponent of civil rights. In his interactions with the press, an irreverent Dylan attacked those who tried to categorize and explain his art. In fact, his most recent material seemed to question the ability of language to convey a sense of reality. Rather than writing topical songs, he assailed the social order by intimating that it was unreal, absurd, a mere construction of language. *Home*'s "Mr. Tambourine Man" (which the Byrds successfully covered in 1965) suggested that drugs may have been helping Dylan alter his own private reality, but the apocalyptic images encountered by the bizarre characters who traveled *Highway 61 Revisited* (1965)—Napoleon in rags, Einstein disguised as Robin Hood, and Mr. Jones—insinuated that an unjust present could only be transcended by the act of artistic creation itself.

To be sure, Dylan's complex, poetic lyrics altered the face of pop music and legitimated the genre as an art form. When Bruce Springsteen inducted Dylan into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1988, he recalled that when he first heard "Like a Rolling Stone," it "sounded like somebody'd kicked open the door to your mind." The six-minute single redefined the limits of popular song, declaring, Springsteen later recalled, that "everything"—aesthetics, politics, power, and perhaps reality itself—"was up for grabs."

Those who followed Dylan's career closely should not have been surprised when he turned his back on the folk revival at Newport in 1965. The breaking off of his romantic relationship with Joan Baez, his work on a collection of poems entitled *Tarantula* (eventually published in 1971), his arcane lyrics, and his interest in the musical arrangements of the Beatles, whom he had met on his British tour, all pointed to his intention to leave the movement. Nevertheless, his followers were shocked when Dylan appeared with an electric guitar. Among the stalwarts who suggested that rock-and-roll musicians had sold out to commercial interests, Seeger was rumored to have been so outraged that he tried to cut the power supply. The audience nearly booed Dylan from the stage. Although shaken, Dylan remained resolute about his artistic decision. After meeting The Band (then the Hawks) in the summer of 1965, he took his electric show on a tour of England, during which he continued to incur the wrath of folk purists. This reaction—as well as the stunning music that Dylan and The Band produced—is documented on *Live 1966* (released in 1998). Recorded at Manchester's Free Trade Hall, this concert included a riveting acoustic set which ultimately yielded to a full-blown rock show, where Dylan's voice and the masterful playing of his musicians soared above the audience's cries of betrayal.

Exhausted from the tour, Dylan returned to the United States, where, after sustaining serious injury in a motorcycle accident, he repaired to his home in Woodstock, New York. The silence of his convalescence ended in the summer of 1967, when he and the Band initiated a five-month jam session, most of which was released as the critically acclaimed *Basement Tapes* (1975). The search for personal redemption ("I Shall Be Released"), a sense of disillusionment and abandonment ("Tears of Rage"), and a persistent existential angst ("Too Much of Nothing"), remained prominent themes, but if the Dylan of 1966 was trying to inter the musical past, the *Basement*

Dylan exhumed it. Dock Boggs, Clarence Ashley, and Jefferson, traditional musicians whom Dylan encountered on the Folkways *Anthology of American Folk Music*, seemed to have a palpable presence on these recordings.

*The Basement Tapes* provide a segue between the modernism of *Blonde on Blonde* (1966) and *John Wesley Harding* (1968), the first album to appear after the accident. Replete with Biblical allusions, *Harding* was a largely acoustic collection of parables and allegories, one of which, "All Along the Watchtower," became a standard in Jimi Hendrix's repertoire. But if the children of Woodstock continued to embrace one of upstate New York's most famous residents, the artist himself seemed to be far removed from the Summer of Love. In the same year that flower children frolicked in the rain and mud, Dylan traveled south to record *Nashville Skyline* (1969), a collection of country-tinged love songs that included a duet with Johnny Cash. The man who began his career with protest songs ended the turbulent 1960s by embracing the form that such artists as Merle Haggard used to condemn the anti-war movement.

The albums that carried Dylan into the 1970s showed little of the genius that characterized his earlier work. The soundtrack to *Pat Garrett and Billy the Kid* (1973), a film in which Dylan played a bit part, was notable for the inclusion of "Knockin' on Heaven's Door," a song later covered by Eric Clapton and Guns 'n' Roses. *Before the Flood* (1974), a live album recorded with The Band, suggested that Dylan was perhaps undergoing a creative renaissance, an assessment that *Blood on the Tracks* (1975) confirmed. Here again were songs of love, but crisp acoustic guitar, wailing harmonica, and a voice filled with doubt and disappointment convey the pain, anguish, and longing of "Tangled Up in Blue" and "Shelter from the Storm" with remarkable weight and precision.

*Desire* (1976) indicated a renewed interest in politics. "Hurricane," the lengthy centerpiece, was the angriest song Dylan had recorded since "Masters of War." Co-written with Jacques Levy, this fierce narrative impugned the American justice system by considering the murder trial of former professional boxer Rubin "Hurricane" Carter. Contending that Carter's trial had been conducted unfairly, Dylan publicized the jailed athlete's case by marshaling the forces of his Rolling Thunder Revue, a melange of some seventy artists—Baez, Shepard, Elliot, and Allen Ginsberg among them—that toured the States under Dylan's direction. Dylan, who performed most of the shows with his face covered in white pancake make up, designated appearances in Madison Square Garden and the Astrodome as benefits for Carter. Although the Revue's efforts may have played a part in convincing a New Jersey court to throw out Carter's first conviction, the boxer was found guilty a second time. *Hard Rain* (1976) provides a sampling of the dramatic ways that Dylan rearranged his music during the tour.

After the unremarkable *Street-Legal* (1978), Dylan chose a path previously untrodden: the artist who spent much of the early 1970s exploring his Jewish roots suddenly became a born again Christian. Fans and critics had little tolerance for the musician's choice, particularly when he proselytized at concerts and refused to play his better-known songs. The dogmatic lyrics may have made audiences uneasy, but the music on *Slow Train Coming* (1979), *Saved* (1980), and *Shot of Love* (1981) was triumphant and exhilarating. Backed by powerful gospel arrangements, Dylan sings with a passion that convinces the congregation that he had finally found his direction home. "Gotta Serve Somebody," the single from *Train*, earned Dylan his first Grammy Award.

*Infidels* (1983) explored both political and spiritual issues, but perhaps because it eschewed the religious fanaticism of his previous efforts, it received warm praise from critics. Indeed, when such songs as “Jokerman,” “License to Kill,” and “I and I,” are heard alongside “Blind Willie McTell” and “Foot of Pride,” both of which were released on *The Bootleg Series, Volumes 1-3* (1991), these sessions rate among the most innovative of Dylan’s career.

If Dylan’s commitment to Christianity had not faded on *Infidels*, it was clear he had change a of heart when, on *Empire Burlesque* (1985), he proclaimed that he “never could learn to drink that blood and call it wine.” That same year he released *Biograph*, a retrospective of his career that included much previously unreleased material and initiated the “boxed-set” format to the recording industry. With his popularity again peaking, he participated in efforts to alleviate famine in Ethiopia, joining the chorus of U.S.A. for Africa to record “We Are the World” and issuing a ragged performance at the Live Aid Concert in Philadelphia. Political commentary extended into the 1990s. When he accepted a Grammy for lifetime achievement during 1991 Gulf War, he performed “Masters of War.”

Although Dylan released lackluster studio albums in the mid-1980s, he launched separate but noteworthy tours with Tom Petty and the Heartbreakers and the Grateful Dead. Perhaps his most interesting work from this period came as a member of the Traveling Wilburys, a group comprised of Petty, George Harrison, Roy Orbison, and Jeff Lynne. Released in 1988, the first of the Wilburys two albums included the foot-tapping singles “Handle Me with Care” and “End of the Line.” Dylan capped the 1980s with the critically acclaimed *Oh Mercy* (1989), which included the socially conscious “Political World” as well as “What Was It You Wanted,” a song that recalled the bitterness of such earlier compositions as “Don’t Think Twice, It’s All Right.”

His fourth decade of recording brought accolades and continued success. In October 1992, a panoply of artists including Harrison, Cash, Petty, Lou Reed, and Neil Young assembled at Madison Square Garden to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of Dylan’s first album. When the honoree opened his own set with “Song for Woody,” he indicated that his career had come full circle. To be sure, his next two albums returned to his roots: *Good As I Been to You* (1992) and *World Gone Wrong* (1993) were both collections of traditional folk songs. Because these releases contained no new material, critics opined that Dylan’s creative powers were again on the wane. Their diagnosis was premature. In 1997, this man who once issued a resonant challenge to the American political system was recognized as one of the nation’s most important artists when he was feted at the Kennedy Center Honors. Soon thereafter he experienced a life-threatening illness and responded with the Grammy-winning *Time Out of Mind* (1997). Here the aging Dylan tried to come to terms with the emptiness of love and the limits of his own humanity. “The shadows are falling and I’ve been here all day,” he sings in “Not Dark Yet.” “It’s too hot to sleep and time is running away.” The hobo’s travels had not yet ended, but he was now worried about “Tryin’ to get to heaven before they closed the door.”

Dylan’s career had not yet ended, but the photograph that appeared on the inside cover of the *Time Out of Mind* compact disc box proclaimed a sense of closure. Shot from the shoulders up, a corpse-like Dylan stares into the camera, the soft focus connoting an elusiveness, his pale, worn face suggesting a weariness, his eyes glistening with the sadness of experience yet not devoid of hope, his riverboat minstrel costume, complete with string tie, underscoring the timelessness so powerfully communicated by the soulful and battered

vocal performance rendered on the album. As a new generation embraced him, as his son, Jacob, began his own recording career with the Wallflowers, Dylan had, like the hard-traveling minstrel he emulated, become the progenitor of the cultural and musical traditions he so carefully studied. His remarkable body of work and enigmatic persona had, in effect, delivered him out of time, had elevated him to the status of national myth. Nearly forty years after his first record, Dylan continued to provide audiences with a “means to adventure.”

—Bryan Garman

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## Dynasty

Produced by Aaron Spelling for the ABC television network, *Dynasty* was introduced to American television as a three-hour movie, and lasted nine seasons in the form of a weekly one-hour drama serial, from 1981-89. Perfect for the decade, which, despite the conservatism and family values of the Reagan years, was characterized by increasing mass consumption, materialism, and the “me generation,” *Dynasty* celebrated glamour, wealth, and capitalism. Inspired by the monumentally popular CBS program *Dallas*, *Dynasty*, along with *Dallas* and *Falcon Crest* (also on CBS) helped to define a new genre—the prime-time soap opera—while reaching unprecedented heights of melodramatic, over-the-top, escapist absurdity. Like their daytime counterparts such as *General Hospital*, the prime-time soaps presented serialized narratives, with each episode ending on a “cliffhanger,” or storyline left unresolved at the highest point of tension, to be taken up in the next installment. The technique ensured a captive audience, and *Dynasty* came to be one of the most popular shows of the decade, dominating television screens not only in the United States, but also in more than 70 other countries.

The show centered on the lives of the dynastic Carrington family, headed by the patriarch Blake Carrington (John Forsythe), a Denver oil tycoon. To the traditional story formula of the daytime soaps was added a potent brew of adultery, murder, and deceit, as well as complicated plotlines centered in corporate greed, rivalries, takeovers, and mergers consonant with the patina of outrageous wealth that



Members of the cast of *Dynasty*: (from left) John Forsythe, Linda Evans, Rock Hudson, and Ali MacGraw.

was evident everywhere. Women were integral to *Dynasty*, no more so than the character of Alexis, who became a byword for female power and high-octane glamour. Ruthless, vengeful and cunning, she was played by Joan Collins and the role made her a major star and a household name in America and many other countries.

Much of *Dynasty*'s action involved the rivalry between Alexis, as Blake's ex-wife, and Krystle (Linda Evans), his current spouse, as they battled for dominance, both figuratively and literally, in numerous "cat fights." One of the most interesting aspects of their characters lay in presenting them as glamorous and sexy, albeit that they were over 40—a rare departure for American television which, like the movies, has tended to regard such attributes as belonging to the younger generation (of whom *Dynasty* had its fair share of both sexes). Audiences found the character of Alexis so deliciously conniving that she became the center of the weekly spectacle.

Because of their highly stylized representations of domesticity and personal problems, often characterized by excess, soap operas have been much denigrated by the high-minded. However, *Dynasty* was enjoyed by huge numbers of educated and intellectual viewers and, as many scholars have pointed out, it is the soap opera that has brought to American television those inflammatory issues so often ignored by more seriously intentioned programs. Towards the end of its run, it featured the first significant African American character in a prime-time soap, Dominique Deveraux, played by Diahann Carroll. Though the program did not directly confront issues of racism, Deveraux's presence raised the subject of interracial relationships, while in Steven Carrington (played by Al Corley and later, Jack Coleman), it introduced one of popular television's first regular homosexual characters.

—Frances Gateward

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ST. JAMES ENCYCLOPEDIA OF  
**POPULAR**CULTURE

# ST. JAMES ENCYCLOPEDIA OF POPULARCULTURE

**VOLUME 2: E - J**

**EDITORS:** Tom Pendergast Sara Pendergast

with an introduction by Jim Cullen

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## EDITOR'S NOTE

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Thirty some years ago Ray Browne and several of his colleagues provided a forum for the academic study of popular culture by forming first the *Journal of Popular Culture* and later the Popular Culture Association and the Center for the Study of Popular Culture at Bowling Green State University. Twenty some years ago Thomas Inge thought the field of popular culture studies well enough established to put together the first edition of his *Handbook of Popular Culture*. In the years since, scholars and educators from many disciplines have published enough books, gathered enough conferences, and gained enough institutional clout to make popular culture studies one of the richest fields of academic study at the close of the twentieth century. Thirty, twenty, in some places even ten years ago, to study popular culture was to be something of a pariah; today, the study of popular culture is accepted and even respected in departments of history, literature, communications, sociology, film studies, etc. throughout the United States and throughout the world, and not only in universities, but in increasing numbers of high schools. Thomas Inge wrote in the introduction to the second edition of his *Handbook*: “The serious and systematic study of popular culture may be the most significant and potentially useful of the trends in academic research and teaching in the last half of this century in the United States.”<sup>2</sup> It is to this thriving field of study that we hope to contribute with the *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture*.

The *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture* includes over 2,700 essays on all elements of popular culture in the United States in the twentieth century. But what is “popular culture?” Academics have offered a number of answers over the years. Historians Norman F. Cantor and Michael S. Werthman suggested that “popular culture may be seen as all those things man does and all those artifacts he creates for their own sake, all that diverts his mind and body from the sad business of life.”<sup>1</sup> Michael Bell argues that:

At its simplest popular culture is the culture of mass appeal. A creation is popular when it is created to respond to the experiences and values of the majority, when it is produced in such a way that the majority have easy access to it, and when it can be understood and interpreted by that majority without the aid of special knowledge or experience.<sup>3</sup>

While tremendously useful, both of these definitions tend to exclude more than they embrace. Was the hot dog created for its own sake, as a diversion? Probably not, but we’ve included an essay on it in this collection. Were the works of Sigmund Freud in any way shaped for the majority? No, but Freud’s ideas—borrowed, twisted, and reinterpreted—have shaped novels, films, and common speech in ways too diffuse to ignore. Thus we have included an essay on Freud’s impact on popular culture. Our desire to bring together the greatest number of cultural phenomena impacting American culture in this century has led us to prefer Ray Browne’s rather broader early definition of popular culture as “all the experiences in life shared by people in common, generally though not necessarily disseminated by the mass media.”<sup>4</sup>

### *Coverage*

In order to amass a list of those cultural phenomena that were widely disseminated and experienced by people in relatively unmediated form we asked a number of scholars, teachers, librarians, and archivists to serve as advisors. Each of our 20 advisors provided us with a list of over 200 topics from their field of specialty that they considered important enough to merit an essay; several of our advisors provided us with lists much longer than that. Their collective lists numbered nearly 4,000 potential essay topics, and we winnowed this list down to the number that is now gathered in this collection. We sought balance (but not equal coverage) between the major areas of popular culture: film; music; print culture; social life; sports; television and radio; and art and performance (which includes theatre, dance, stand-up comedy, and other live performance). For those interested, the breakdown of coverage is as follows: social life, 23 percent (a category which covers everything from foodways to fashion, holidays to hairstyles); music, 16 percent; print culture, 16 percent; film, 15 percent; television and radio, 14 percent; sports, 10 percent; and art and performance, 6 percent. A variety of considerations led us to skew the coverage of the book in favor of the second half of the century. The massive popularity of television and recorded music, the mass-marketing of popular fiction, and the national attention given to professional sports are historical factors contributing to the emphasis on post-World War II culture, but we have also considered the needs of high school and undergraduate users in distributing entries in this way.

### *The Entries*

The entries in this volume vary in length from brief (75 to 150-word) introductions to the topic to in-depth 3,000-word explorations. No matter the length, we have asked our contributors to do two things in each entry: to describe the topic and to analyze its

significance in and relevance to American popular culture. While we hope that users will find the basic factual information they need concerning the topic in an entry, it was even more important to us that each user gain some perspective on the cultural context in which the topic has importance. Thus the entry on MTV, for example, chronicles the channel's rise to world popularity, but also analyzes the relationship between MTV, youth culture, and consumerism. The entry on John Ford, while tracing the outlines of the film director's long career, assesses the impact Ford's films have had on the film Western and on Americans' very perceptions of the West. Given the brevity of the entries, we chose to emphasize analysis of a topic's contribution to popular culture over a full presentation of biographical/historical information. The entry on World War I, for example, offers an analysis of how the war was understood in popular film, print culture, and propaganda rather than a blow-by-blow description of the actual military conflict.

Entries are accompanied by a list of further readings. These readings are meant to provide the user with readily accessible sources that provide more information on the specific topic. As befits a multimedia age, these "further readings" come not just from books and magazines, but also from albums, liner notes, films, videos, and web sites. Users of the Internet know well the perils of trusting the information found on the World Wide Web; there are as yet few filters to help browsers sift the useful from the absurd. We cited web sites when they provided information that was unavailable in any other known form and when our reasonable efforts to determine the veracity of the information led us to believe that the information provided was valid and useful. We have occasionally provided links to "official" web sites of performers or organizations, for the same reason that we provide citations to autobiographies. All web links cited were accurate as of the date indicated in the citation.

### *Organization and Indexing*

Entries are arranged alphabetically by the name under which the topic is best known. For topics which might reasonably be sought out under differing names, we have provided in-text cross references. For example, a user seeking an entry on Huddie Ledbetter will be referred to the entry on Leadbelly, and a user seeking an entry on Larry Flynt will be referred to the entry on *Hustler* magazine. Far more powerful than the cross references, however, are the indexes provided in the fifth volume of the collection. The general index is by far the most powerful, for it leads the user searching for information on Humphrey Bogart, for example, to the entries on Lauren Bacall, *Casablanca*, *The Maltese Falcon*, *The African Queen*, and several other entries that contain substantive information about Bogie. Equally powerful is the subject index, a list of categories under which we listed all pertinent entries. Consulting the subject index listing for Sex Symbols, for example, will lead the user to entries on Marilyn Monroe, the Varga Girl, *Playboy* magazine, David Cassidy, Mae West, and a long entry on the Sex Symbol, among others. Finally, a time index, organized by decades, provides a list of the entries that concern each decade of the twentieth century. Those entries that concern nineteenth-century topics are indexed by the first decade of the twentieth century.

We encourage readers to use the indexes to discover the fascinating intertwinings that have made the development of popular culture in the twentieth century such a vital field of study. Using the indexes, it is possible to uncover the story of how the American humor that was first made popular on the vaudeville stage evolved into first the radio comedies that entertained so many Americans during the Depression and War years and later the sitcoms that have kept Americans glued to their television screens for the last 50 years. That story is here, in the entries on Vaudeville, the Sitcom, *Amos 'n' Andy*, and the many other programs and comedians that have defined this tradition. A teacher who wishes students to uncover the similarities between sitcoms of the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s might well ask the students to use this collection to begin their research into such comedies. Similarly, a teacher who asks students to explore the cross-pollination between musical genres will find that the indexes reveal the mixing of "race music," rhythm and blues, gospel, soul, and rock 'n' roll. It is hoped that this collection will be of particular use to those instructors of high school and undergraduate courses who challenge their students to discover the real cultural complexity of the music, films, magazines, and television shows that they take for granted. This collection should also be of use to those more advanced scholars who are beginning new research into an area of popular culture or who are looking for some context in which to place their existing research.

### *Acknowledgments*

The *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture* represents the work of hundreds of people, and we owe our thanks to all of them. We have had the privilege of working with 20 advisors whose experience, knowledge, and wisdom have truly helped shape the contents of this collection. Each of our advisors helped us to discover hidden corners of popular culture that we would not have considered on our own, and the breadth of coverage in this collection is a tribute to their collective knowledge. Several of our advisors deserve special thanks: Paul Buhle, George Carney, B. Lee Cooper, Jerome Klinkowitz, and Ron Simon all showed an extraordinary level of commitment and helpfulness.

It has been a pleasure to work with the nearly 450 contributors to this collection; we've appreciated their expertise, their professionalism, and their good humor. Several of our contributors deserve special mention for the quality of their contributions to this collection: Jacob Appel, Tim Berg, Pat Broeske, Richard Digby-Junger, Jeffrey Escoffier, Bryan Garman, Tina Gianoulis, Milton Goldin, Ian Gordon, Ron Goulart, Justin Gustainis, Preston Jones, Robyn Karney, Deborah Mix, Leonard Moore, Edward Moran, Victoria Price, Bob Schnakenberg, Steven Schneider, Charles Shindo, Robert Sickels, Wendy Woloson, and Brad Wright. Our team of copyeditors helped us bring a uniformity of presentation to the writings of this mass of contributors, and spotted and corrected innumerable small errors. Heidi Hagen, Robyn Karney, Edward Moran, and Tim Seul deserve special thanks for the quality and quantity of their work; we truly couldn't have done it without them. The contributors and copyeditors provided us with the material to build this collection, but it has been the editors' responsibility to ensure its accuracy and reliability. We welcome any corrections and comments; please write to: The Editors, *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture*, St. James Press, 27500 Drake Road, Farmington Hills, MI 48331-3535.

Gathering the photos for this collection was an enormous task, and we were helped immeasurably by the knowledgeable and efficient staff at several photo agencies. We'd like to thank Marcia Schiff at AP/Wide World Photos; Eric Young at Archive Photos; and Kevin Rettig at Corbis Images. Lisa Hartjens of ImageFinders, Inc. also helped us acquire a number of photos.

We would like to thank Shelly Andrews, Anne Boyd, Melissa Doig, Tina Gianoulis, Heidi Hagen, Robyn Karney, Edward Moran, Victoria Price, Rebecca Saulsbury, Tim Seul, and Mark Swartz for their careful copyediting of the entries.

At the St. James Press, we'd like to thank Mike Tyrkus for his good humor and efficiency in helping us see this project to completion; Peter Gareffa for his usual wise and benevolent leadership; Janice Jorgensen for helping us shape this project at the beginning; the permissions department for smiling as we piled the photos on; and the staff at the St. James Press for their careful proofreading and for all their work in turning so many computer files into the volumes you see today.

Finally, we'd like to thank Lee Van Wormer for his sage management advice and our children, Conrad and Louisa, for their warm morning cuddles and for the delightful artwork that adorns our office walls.

—Tom Pendergast and Sara Pendergast,  
Editors

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# INTRODUCTION

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## *The Art of Everyday Life*

Sometimes, when I'm wandering in an art museum looking at the relics of an ancient civilization, I find myself wondering how a future society would represent a defunct American culture. What objects would be chosen—or would survive—to be placed on display? Would I agree with a curator's choices? Were I to choose the items that some future American Museum of Art should exhibit to represent twentieth-century American culture, here are some I would name: an Elvis Presley record; a Currier & Ives print; a movie still from *Casablanca*. To put it a different way, my priority would *not* be to exhibit fragments of an urban cathedral, a painted landscape, or a formal costume. I wouldn't deny such objects could be important artifacts of American culture, or that they belong in a gallery. But in my avowedly biased opinion, the most vivid documents of American life—the documents that embody its possibilities and limits—are typically found in its popular culture.

Popular culture, of course, is not an American invention, and it has a vibrant life in many contemporary societies. But in few, if any, of those societies has it been as central to a notion of national character at home as well as abroad. For better or worse, it is through icons like McDonald's (the quintessential American cuisine), the Western (a uniquely American narrative genre), and Oprah Winfrey (a classic late-twentieth century embodiment of the American Dream) that this society is known—and is likely to be remembered.

It has sometimes been remarked that unlike nations whose identities are rooted in geography, religion, language, blood, or history, the United States was founded on a democratic ideal—a notion of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness elaborated in the Declaration of Independence. That ideal has been notoriously difficult to realize, and one need only take a cursory look at many aspects of American life—its justice system, electoral politics, residential patterns, labor force, et. al.—to see how far short it has fallen.

American popular culture is a special case. To be sure, it evinces plenty of the defects apparent in other areas of our national life, among them blatant racism and crass commercialism. If nothing else, such flaws can be taken as evidence of just how truly representative it is. There is nevertheless an openness and vitality about pop culture—its appeal across demographic lines; its interplay of individual voices and shared communal experience; the relatively low access barriers for people otherwise marginalized in U.S. society—that give it real legitimacy as the art of democracy. Like it or hate it, few dispute its centrality.

This sense of openness and inclusion—as well as the affection and scorn it generated—has been apparent from the very beginning. In the prologue of the 1787 play *The Contrast* (whose title referred to the disparity between sturdy republican ideals and effete monarchical dissipation), American playwright Royall Tyler invoked a cultural sensibility where “proud titles of ‘My Lord! Your Grace/To the humble ‘Mr.’ and plain ‘Sir’ give place.” Tyler, a Harvard graduate, Revolutionary War officer, and Chief Justice of the Vermont Supreme Court, was in some sense an unlikely prophet of popular culture. But the sensibility he voiced—notably in his beloved character Jonathon, a prototype for characters from Davy Crockett to John Wayne—proved durable for centuries to come.

For much of early American history, however, artists and critics continued to define aesthetic success on European terms, typically invoking elite ideals of order, balance, and civilization. It was largely taken for granted that the most talented practitioners of fine arts, such as painters Benjamin West and John Singleton Copley, would have to go abroad to train, produce, and exhibit their most important work. To the extent that newer cultural forms—like the novel, whose very name suggests its place in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century western civilization—were noted at all, it was usually in disparaging terms. This was especially true of novels written and read by women, such as Susanna Rowson's widely read *Charlotte Temple* (1791). Sermons against novels were common; Harvard devoted its principal commencement address in 1803 to the dangers of fiction.

The industrialization of the United States has long been considered a watershed development in many realms of American life, and popular culture is no exception. Indeed, its importance is suggested in the very definition of popular culture coined by cultural historian Lawrence Levine: “the folklore of industrial society.” Industrialization allowed the mass-reproduction and dissemination of formerly local traditions, stories, and art forms across the continent, greatly intensifying the spread—and development—of culture by, for, and of the people. At a time when North America remained geographically and politically fragmented, magazines, sheet music, dime novels, lithographs, and other print media stitched it together.



This culture had a characteristic pattern. Alexis de Tocqueville devoted 11 chapters of his classic 1835-40 masterpiece *Democracy in America* to the art, literature, and language of the United States, arguing that they reflected a democratic ethos that required new standards of evaluation. “The inhabitants of the United States have, at present, properly speaking, no literature,” he wrote. This judgment, he made clear, arose from a definition of literature that came from aristocratic societies like his own. In its stead, he explained, Americans sought books “which may be easily procured, quickly read, and which require no learned researches to be understood. They ask for beauties self-proffered and easily enjoyed; above all they must have what is unexpected and new.” As in so many other ways, this description of American literature, which paralleled what Tocqueville saw in other arts, proved not only vivid but prophetic.

The paradox of American democracy, of course, is that the freedom Euro-Americans endlessly celebrated co-existed with—some might say depended on—the enslavement of African Americans. It is therefore one of the great ironies of popular culture that the contributions of black culture (a term here meant to encompass African, American, and amalgamations between the two) proved so decisive. In another sense, however, it seems entirely appropriate that popular culture, which has always skewed its orientation toward the lower end of a demographic spectrum, would draw on the most marginalized groups in American society. It is, in any event, difficult to imagine that U.S. popular culture would have had anywhere near the vitality and influence it has without slave stories, song, and dance. To cite merely one example: every American musical idiom from country music to rap has drawn on, if not actually *rested* upon, African-American cultural foundations, whether in its use of the banjo (originally an African instrument) or its emphasis on the beat (drumming was an important form of slave communication). This heritage has often been overlooked, disparaged, and even satirized. The most notable example of such racism was the minstrel show, a wildly popular nineteenth century form of theater in which white actors blackened their faces with burnt cork and mocked slave life. Yet even the most savage parodies could not help but reveal an engagement with, and even a secret admiration for, the cultural world the African Americans made in conditions of severe adversity, whether on plantations, tenant farms, or in ghettos.

Meanwhile, the accelerating pace of technological innovation began having a dramatic impact on the form as well as the content of popular culture. The first major landmark was the development of photography in the mid-nineteenth century. At first a mechanically complex and thus inaccessible medium, it quickly captured American imaginations, particularly by capturing the drama and horror of the Civil War. The subsequent proliferation of family portraits, postcards, and pictures in metropolitan newspapers began a process of orienting popular culture around visual imagery that continues unabated to this day.

In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, sound recording, radio transmission, and motion pictures were all developed in rapid succession. But it would not be until well after 1900 that their potential as popular cultural media would be fully exploited and recognizable in a modern sense (radio, for example, was originally developed and valued for its nautical and military applications). Still, even if it was not entirely clear how, many people at the time believed these new media would have a tremendous impact on American life, and they were embraced with unusual ardor by those Americans, particularly immigrants, who were able to appreciate the pleasures and possibilities afforded by movies, records, and radio.

Many of the patterns established during the advent of these media repeated themselves as new ones evolved. The Internet, for example, was also first developed for its military applications, and for all the rapidity of its development in the 1990s, it remains unclear just how its use will be structured. Though the World Wide Web has shown tremendous promise as a commercial enterprise, it still lacks the kind of programming—like *Amos 'n' Andy* in radio, or *I Love Lucy* in television—that transformed both into truly mass media of art and entertainment. Television, for its part, has long been the medium of a rising middle class of immigrants and their children, in terms of the figures who have exploited its possibilities (from RCA executive David Sarnoff to stars like Jackie Gleason); the new genres it created (from the miniseries to the situation-comedy); and the audiences (from urban Jews to suburban Irish Catholics) who adopted them with enthusiasm.

For much of this century, the mass appeal of popular culture has been viewed as a problem. “What is the jass [*sic*] music, and therefore the jass band?” asked an irritated New Orleans writer in 1918. “As well as ask why the dime novel or the grease-dripping doughnut. All are manifestations of a low stream in man’s taste that has not come out in civilization’s wash.” However one may feel about this contemptuous dismissal of jazz, now viewed as one of the great achievements of American civilization, this writer was clearly correct to suggest the demographic, technological, and cultural links between the “lower” sorts of people in American life, the media they used, and forms of expression that were often presumed guilty until proven innocent.

Indeed, because education and research have traditionally been considered the province of the “higher” sorts of people in American life, popular culture was not considered a subject that should even be discussed, much less studied. Nevertheless, there have always been those willing to continue what might be termed the “Tocquevillian” tradition of treating popular culture with intellectual

seriousness and respect (if not always approval). In his 1924 book *The Seven Lively Arts* and in much of his journalism, critic Gilbert Seldes found in silent movies, cartoons, and pop music themes and motifs fully worthy of sustained exploration. Amid the worldwide crisis of the 1930s and 1940s, folklorist Constance Rourke limned the origins of an indigenous popular culture in books like *American Humor* (1931) and *The Roots of American Culture* (1942). And with the rise of the Cold War underlining the differences between democratic and totalitarian societies, sociologists David Riesman and Reuel Denny evaluated the social currents animating popular culture in Denny's *The Astonished Muse* (1957), for which Riesman, who showed a particular interest in popular music, wrote the introduction.

European scholars were also pivotal in shaping the field. Johan Huizinga's *Homo Ludens* (1938), Roland Barthes's *Mythologies* (1957), and Antonio Gramsci's prison letters (written in the 1920s and 1930s but not published until the 1970s) have proved among the most influential works in defining the boundaries, strategies, and meanings of popular culture. While none of these works focused on American popular culture specifically, their focus on the jetsam and flotsam of daily life since the medieval period proved enormously suggestive in an American context.

It has only been at the end of the twentieth century, however, that the study of popular culture has come into its own in its own right. To a great extent, this development is a legacy of the 1960s. The end of a formal system of racial segregation; the impact of affirmative action and government-funded financial aid; and the end of single-sex education at many long-established universities dramatically transformed the composition of student bodies and faculties. These developments in turn, began having an impact on the nature and parameters of academic study. While one should not exaggerate the impact of these developments—either in terms of their numbers or their effect on an academy that in some ways has simply replaced older forms of insularity and complacency with new ones—it nevertheless seems fair to say that a bona fide democratization of higher education occurred in the last third of the twentieth century, paving the way for the creation of a formal scholarly infrastructure for popular culture.

Once again, it was foreign scholars who were pivotal in the elaboration of this infrastructure. The work of Raymond Williams, Stuart Hall, and others at Britain's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in the 1950s and 1960s drew on Marxist and psychoanalytic ideas to explain, and in many cases justify, the importance of popular culture. Though not always specifically concerned with popular culture, a panoply of French theorists—particularly Jacques Derrida, Louis Althusser, and Michel Foucault—also proved highly influential. At its best, this scholarship illuminated unexamined assumptions and highly revealing (and in many cases, damning) patterns in the most seemingly ordinary documents. At its worst, it lapsed into an arcane jargon that belied the directness of popular culture and suggested an elitist disdain toward the audiences it presumably sought to understand.

Like their European counterparts, American scholars of popular culture have come from a variety of disciplines. Many were trained in literature, among them Henry Nash Smith, whose *Virgin Land* (1950) pioneered the study of the Western, and Leslie Fiedler, who applied critical talents first developed to study classic American literature to popular fiction like *Gone with the Wind*. But much important work in the field has also been done by historians, particularly social historians who began their careers by focusing on labor history but became increasingly interested in the ways American workers spent their free time. Following the tradition of the great British historian E. P. Thompson, scholars such as Herbert Gutman and Lawrence Levine have uncovered and described the art and leisure practices of African Americans in particular with flair and insight. Feminist scholars of a variety of stripes (and sexual orientations) have supplied a great deal of the intellectual energy in the study of popular culture, among them Ann Douglas, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, and Jane Tompkins. Indeed, the strongly interdisciplinary flavor of popular culture scholarship—along with the rise of institutions like the Popular Press and the Popular Culture Association, both based at Bowling Green University—suggests the way the field has been at the forefront of an ongoing process of redrawing disciplinary boundaries in the humanities.

By the 1980s, the stream of scholarship on popular culture had become a flood. In the 1990s, the field became less of a quixotic enterprise than a growing presence in the educational curriculum as a whole. Courses devoted to the subject, whether housed in communications programs or in traditional academic departments, have become increasingly common in colleges and universities—and, perhaps more importantly, have become integrated into the fabric of basic surveys of history, literature, and other fields. Political scientists, librarians, and curators have begun to consider it part of their domain.

For most of us, though, popular culture is not something we have to self-consciously seek out or think about. Indeed, its very omnipresence makes it easy to take for granted as transparent (and permanent). That's why trips to museums—or encyclopedias like this one—are so useful and important. In pausing to think about the art of everyday life, we can begin to see just how unusual, and valuable, it really is.

—Jim Cullen

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for Retired Persons)  
ABBA  
Abbey, Edward  
Abbott and Costello  
Abdul-Jabbar, Kareem  
Abortion  
Abstract Expressionism  
Academy Awards  
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Ace, Johnny  
Acker, Kathy  
Acupuncture  
Adams, Ansel  
Addams, Jane  
Addams Family, The  
Adderley, Cannonball  
Adidas  
Adler, Renata  
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Harriet, The*  
Advertising  
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Air Travel  
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Alabama  
Alaska-Yukon Exposition  
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Album-Oriented Rock  
Alda, Alan  
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 Betty Crocker  
*Beulah*  
*Beverly Hillbillies, The*  
*Beverly Hills 90210*  
*Bewitched*  
 Bicycling  
 Big Apple, The  
 Big Bands  
 Big Bopper  
 Big Little Books  
*Big Sleep, The*  
 Bigfoot  
 Bilingual Education  
 Billboards  
*Bionic Woman, The*  
 Bird, Larry  
 Birkenstocks  
*Birth of a Nation, The*  
 Birthing Practices  
 Black, Clint  
*Black Mask*  
 Black Panthers  
 Black Sabbath  
 Black Sox Scandal  
*Blackboard Jungle, The*  
 Blackface Minstrelsy  
 Blacklisting  
*Blade Runner*  
 Blades, Ruben  
 Blanc, Mel  
 Bland, Bobby Blue  
 Blass, Bill  
 Blaxploitation Films  
*Blob, The*  
 Blockbusters  
*Blondie* (comic strip)  
 Blondie (rock band)  
*Bloom County*  
 Blount, Roy, Jr.  
*Blue Velvet*  
*Blueboy*  
 Bluegrass  
 Blues  
 Blues Brothers, The  
 Blume, Judy  
 Bly, Robert  
 Board Games  
 Boat People  
 Bob and Ray  
 Bobbsey Twins, The  
 Bobby Socks  
 Bochco, Steven  
 Body Decoration  
 Bodybuilding  
 Bogart, Humphrey  
 Bok, Edward  
 Bomb, The  
 Bombeck, Erma  
 Bon Jovi  
*Bonanza*  
*Bonnie and Clyde*  
 Booker T. and the MG's  
 Book-of-the-Month Club  
 Boone, Pat  
 Borge, Victor  
 Borscht Belt  
 Boston Celtics, The  
 Boston Garden  
 Boston Marathon  
 Boston Strangler  
 Boston Symphony Orchestra, The  
 Bouton, Jim  
 Bow, Clara  
 Bowie, David  
 Bowling  
 Boxing  
 Boy Scouts of America  
 Bra  
 Bradbury, Ray  
 Bradley, Bill  
 Bradshaw, Terry  
*Brady Bunch, The*  
 Brand, Max  
 Brando, Marlon  
 Brat Pack  
 Brautigan, Richard  
*Breakfast at Tiffany's*  
*Breakfast Club, The*  
 Breast Implants  
 Brenda Starr  
 Brice, Fanny  
*Brideshead Revisited*  
 Bridge  
*Bridge on the River Kwai, The*  
*Bridges of Madison*  
*County, The*  
 Brill Building  
*Bringing Up Baby*  
 Brinkley, David  
 British Invasion  
 Broadway  
 Brokaw, Tom  
 Bronson, Charles  
 Brooklyn Dodgers, The  
 Brooks, Garth  
 Brooks, Gwendolyn  
 Brooks, James L.  
 Brooks, Louise  
 Brooks, Mel  
 Brothers, Dr. Joyce  
 Brown, James  
 Brown, Jim  
 Brown, Les

- Brown, Paul  
 Browne, Jackson  
 Brownie Cameras  
 Brubeck, Dave  
 Bruce, Lenny  
 Bryant, Paul “Bear”  
 Brynner, Yul  
 Bubblegum Rock  
 Buck, Pearl S.  
 Buck Rogers  
 Buckley, William F., Jr.  
 Buckwheat Zydeco  
 Budweiser  
 Buffalo Springfield  
 Buffett, Jimmy  
 Bugs Bunny  
 Bumper Stickers  
 Bundy, Ted  
 Bungalow  
 Burger King  
 Burlesque  
 Burma-Shave  
 Burnett, Carol  
 Burns, George, and Gracie Allen  
 Burns, Ken  
 Burr, Raymond  
 Burroughs, Edgar Rice  
 Burroughs, William S.  
*Buster Brown*  
*Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*  
 Butkus, Dick  
 Butler, Octavia E.  
 Butterbeans and Susie  
 Buttons, Red  
 Byrds, The  
  
 Cabbage Patch Kids  
 Cable TV  
 Cadillac  
 Caesar, Sid  
*Cagney and Lacey*  
 Cagney, James  
 Cahan, Abraham  
 Cakewalks  
 Caldwell, Erskine  
 Calloway, Cab  
*Calvin and Hobbes*  
 Camacho, Héctor “Macho”  
*Camelot*  
 Camp  
 Campbell, Glen  
 Campbell, Naomi  
 Camping  
 Cancer  
*Candid Camera*  
 Caniff, Milton  
 Canova, Judy  
 Canseco, Jose  
  
 Cantor, Eddie  
 Capital Punishment  
 Capone, Al  
 Capote, Truman  
 Capra, Frank  
 Captain America  
*Captain Kangaroo*  
 Captain Marvel  
*Car 54, Where Are You?*  
 Car Coats  
 Caray, Harry  
 Carey, Mariah  
 Carlin, George  
 Carlton, Steve  
 Carmichael, Hoagy  
 Carnegie, Dale  
 Carnegie Hall  
 Carpenters, The  
 Carr, John Dickson  
 Cars, The  
 Carson, Johnny  
 Carter Family, The  
 Caruso, Enrico  
 Carver, Raymond  
*Casablanca*  
 Cash, Johnny  
 Caspar Milquetoast  
 Cassette Tape  
 Cassidy, David  
 Castaneda, Carlos  
 Castle, Vernon and Irene  
 Castro, The  
 Casual Friday  
 Catalog Houses  
*Catch-22*  
*Catcher in the Rye, The*  
 Cather, Willa  
*Cathy*  
*Cats*  
 Cavett, Dick  
 CB Radio  
*CBS Radio Mystery Theater, The*  
 Celebrity  
 Celebrity Caricature  
 Cemeteries  
 Central Park  
 Century 21 Exposition (Seattle, 1962)  
 Century of Progress (Chicago, 1933)  
 Challenger Disaster  
 Chamberlain, Wilt  
 Chandler, Raymond  
*Chandu the Magician*  
 Chanel, Coco  
 Chaplin, Charlie  
 Charles, Ray  
 Charlie Chan  
 Charlie McCarthy  
  
*Charlie’s Angels*  
 Charm Bracelets  
 Chase, Chevy  
 Chautauqua Institution  
 Chavez, Cesar  
 Chavis, Boozoo  
 Chayefsky, Paddy  
 Checker, Chubby  
 Cheech and Chong  
 Cheerleading  
*Cheers*  
 Chemise  
 Chenier, Clifton  
 Cherry Ames  
 Chessman, Caryl  
 Chicago Bears, The  
 Chicago Bulls, The  
 Chicago Cubs, The  
 Chicago Jazz  
 Chicago Seven, The  
 Child, Julia  
 Child Stars  
*China Syndrome, The*  
*Chinatown*  
 Chipmunks, The  
 Choose-Your-Own-Ending Books  
 Christie, Agatha  
 Christmas  
 Christo  
 Chrysler Building  
 Chuck D  
 Chun King  
 Church Socials  
 Cigarettes  
 Circus  
 Cisneros, Sandra  
*Citizen Kane*  
*City Lights*  
 City of Angels, The  
 Civil Disobedience  
 Civil Rights Movement  
 Civil War Reenactors  
 Claiborne, Liz  
 Clairol Hair Coloring  
 Clancy, Tom  
 Clapton, Eric  
 Clark, Dick  
 Clarke, Arthur C.  
 Clemente, Roberto  
*Cleopatra*  
 Clift, Montgomery  
 Cline, Patsy  
 Clinton, George  
*Clockwork Orange, A*  
 Clooney, Rosemary  
*Close Encounters of the Third Kind*  
 Closet, The  
 CNN

- Cobb, Ty  
 Coca, Imogene  
 Coca-Cola  
 Cocaine/Crack  
 Cocktail Parties  
 Cody, Buffalo Bill, and his  
     Wild West Show  
 Coffee  
 Cohan, George M.  
 Colbert, Claudette  
 Cold War  
 Cole, Nat ‘‘King’’  
 College Fads  
 College Football  
 Collins, Albert  
 Coltrane, John  
*Columbo*  
 Columbo, Russ  
 Comic Books  
 Comics  
 Comics Code Authority  
 Coming Out  
 Commodores, The  
 Communes  
 Communism  
 Community Media  
 Community Theatre  
 Como, Perry  
 Compact Discs  
 Concept Album  
 Conceptual Art  
 Condé Nast  
 Condoms  
 Coney Island  
 Confession Magazines  
 Coniff, Ray  
 Connors, Jimmy  
 Consciousness Raising Groups  
 Conspiracy Theories  
*Consumer Reports*  
 Consumerism  
 Contemporary Christian Music  
 Convertible  
 Conway, Tim  
 Cooke, Sam  
 Cooper, Alice  
 Cooper, Gary  
 Cooperstown, New York  
 Coors  
 Copland, Aaron  
 Corbett, James J.  
 Corman, Roger  
 Corvette  
 Corwin, Norman  
 Cosby, Bill  
*Cosby Show, The*  
 Cosell, Howard  
*Cosmopolitan*  
 Costas, Bob  
 Costello, Elvis  
 Costner, Kevin  
 Cotten, Joseph  
 Cotton Club, The  
 Coué, Emile  
 Coughlin, Father Charles E.  
 Country Gentlemen  
 Country Music  
 Cousteau, Jacques  
 Covey, Stephen  
 Cowboy Look, The  
 Cox, Ida  
 Crawford, Cindy  
 Crawford, Joan  
 Cray, Robert  
 Creationism  
 Credit Cards  
 Creedence Clearwater Revival  
 Crichton, Michael  
*Crime Does Not Pay*  
 Crinolines  
*Crisis, The*  
 Croce, Jim  
 Cronkite, Walter  
 Crosby, Bing  
 Crosby, Stills, and Nash  
 Crossword Puzzles  
 Cruise, Tom  
 Crumb, Robert  
 Crystal, Billy  
 Cukor, George  
 Cullen, Countee  
 Cult Films  
 Cults  
 Cunningham, Merce  
 Curious George  
 Currier and Ives  
 Dahmer, Jeffrey  
*Dallas*  
 Dallas Cowboys, The  
 Daly, Tyne  
 Dana, Bill  
 Dance Halls  
 Dandridge, Dorothy  
 Daniels, Charlie  
*Daredevil, the Man*  
     *Without Fear*  
*Dark Shadows*  
 Darrow, Clarence  
 Davis, Bette  
 Davis, Miles  
*Davy Crockett*  
 Day, Doris  
*Day the Earth Stood Still, The*  
*Days of Our Lives*  
 Daytime Talk Shows  
 Daytona 500  
 DC Comics  
 De La Hoya, Oscar  
 De Niro, Robert  
 Dead Kennedys, The  
 Dean, James  
*Death of a Salesman*  
 Debs, Eugene V.  
 Debutantes  
*Deer Hunter, The*  
 DeGeneres, Ellen  
 Del Río, Dolores  
 DeMille, Cecil B.  
 Dempsey, Jack  
 Denishawn  
 Denver, John  
 Department Stores  
 Depression  
 Derleth, August  
 Detective Fiction  
 Detroit Tigers, The  
 Devers, Gail  
 Devo  
 Diamond, Neil  
 Diana, Princess of Wales  
 DiCaprio, Leonardo  
*Dick and Jane Readers*  
 Dick, Philip K.  
 Dick Tracy  
 Dickinson, Angie  
 Diddley, Bo  
 Didion, Joan  
 Didrikson, Babe  
 Dieting  
 Dietrich, Marlene  
*Diff'rent Strokes*  
*Dilbert*  
 Dillard, Annie  
 Diller, Phyllis  
 Dillinger, John  
 DiMaggio, Joe  
 Dime Novels  
 Dime Stores/Woolworths  
 Diners  
 Dionne Quintuplets  
*Dirty Dozen, The*  
 Disability  
 Disaster Movies  
 Disc Jockeys  
 Disco  
 Disney (Walt Disney Company)  
 Ditka, Mike  
 Divine  
 Divorce  
 Dixieland  
*Do the Right Thing*  
 Dobie Gillis  
 Doby, Larry  
 Doc Martens  
 Doc Savage  
*Doctor Who*  
*Doctor Zhivago*  
 Doctorow, E. L.  
 Docudrama

- Do-It-Yourself Improvement  
 Domino, Fats  
 Donahue, Phil  
 Donovan  
 Doobie Brothers, The  
*Doonesbury*  
 Doors, The  
 Doo-wop Music  
 Dorsey, Jimmy  
 Dorsey, Tommy  
*Double Indemnity*  
 Douglas, Lloyd C.  
 Douglas, Melvyn  
 Douglas, Mike  
 Downs, Hugh  
 Doyle, Arthur Conan  
 Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde  
*Dr. Kildare*  
 Dr. Seuss  
*Dr. Strangelove or: How I  
 Learned to Stop Worrying  
 and Love the Bomb*  
 Dracula  
 Draft, The  
 Drag  
 Drag Racing  
*Dragnet*  
 Dragon Lady  
 Dream Team  
 Dreiser, Theodore  
 Drifters, The  
 Drive-In Theater  
 Drug War  
 Du Bois, W. E. B.  
*Duck Soup*  
*Dukes of Hazzard, The*  
 Duncan, Isadora  
 Dungeons and Dragons  
 Dunkin' Donuts  
 Dunne, Irene  
 Duran, Roberto  
 Durbin, Deanna  
 Durocher, Leo  
 Duvall, Robert  
 Dyer, Wayne  
*Dykes to Watch Out For*  
 Dylan, Bob  
*Dynasty*
- Eames, Charles and Ray  
 Earth Day  
 Earth Shoes  
 Eastwood, Clint  
*Easy Rider*  
 Ebbets Field  
*Ebony*  
 EC Comics  
 Eckstine, Billy  
 Eco-Terrorism  
 Eddy, Duane
- Eddy, Mary Baker  
 Eddy, Nelson  
*Edge of Night, The*  
 Edison, Thomas Alva  
 Edsel, The  
 Edwards, James  
 Edwards, Ralph  
 Eight-Track Tape  
 Einstein, Albert  
 Eisner, Will  
 El Teatro Campesino  
 El Vez  
 Electric Appliances  
 Electric Guitar  
 Electric Trains  
 Elizondo, Hector  
 Elkins, Aaron  
 Ellington, Duke  
 Ellis, Brett Easton  
 Ellis, Perry  
 Ellison, Harlan  
 Elway, John  
 E-mail  
 Emmy Awards  
 Empire State Building  
 Environmentalism  
 Equal Rights Amendment  
*ER*  
 Erdrich, Louise  
 Erector Sets  
 Ertegun, Ahmet  
 Erving, Julius "Dr. J"  
 Escher, M. C.  
 ESPN  
*Esquire*  
 est  
*E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial*  
 Etiquette Columns  
 Evangelism  
 Everly Brothers, The  
 Everson, Cory  
 Evert, Chris  
 Existentialism  
*Exorcist, The*
- Fabares, Shelley  
 Fabian  
 Fabio  
 Facelifts  
 Factor, Max  
 Fadiman, Clifton  
*Fail-Safe*  
 Fairbanks, Douglas, Jr.  
 Fairbanks, Douglas, Sr.  
 Fallout Shelters  
*Family Circle*  
*Family Circus, The*  
*Family Matters*  
 Family Reunions  
*Family Ties*
- Fan Magazines  
*Fantasia*  
*Fantastic Four, The*  
*Fantasy Island*  
*Far Side, The*  
*Fargo*  
 Farm Aid  
 Farr, Jamie  
 Fast Food  
*Fatal Attraction*  
 Father Divine  
*Father Knows Best*  
 Father's Day  
 Faulkner, William  
 Fauset, Jessie Redmon  
 Fawcett, Farrah  
*Fawty Towers*  
 FBI (Federal Bureau of  
 Investigation)  
 Feliciano, José  
 Felix the Cat  
 Fellini, Federico  
 Feminism  
 Fenway Park  
 Ferrante and Teicher  
 Fetchit, Stepin  
*Fibber McGee and Molly*  
*Fiddler on the Roof*  
 Fidrych, Mark "Bird"  
*Field and Stream*  
*Field of Dreams*  
 Field, Sally  
 Fields, W. C.  
 Fierstein, Harvey  
 Fifties, The  
 Film Noir  
 Firearms  
 Firesign Theatre  
 Fischer, Bobby  
 Fisher, Eddie  
 Fisher-Price Toys  
 Fisk, Carlton  
*Fistful of Dollars, A*  
 Fitzgerald, Ella  
 Fitzgerald, F. Scott  
 Flack, Roberta  
 Flag Burning  
 Flag Clothing  
 Flagpole Sitting  
 Flappers  
*Flash Gordon*  
 Flashdance Style  
 Flatt, Lester  
 Flea Markets  
 Fleetwood Mac  
 Fleming, Ian  
 Fleming, Peggy  
*Flintstones, The*  
 Flipper  
 Florida Vacations

- Flying Nun, The*  
 Flynn, Errol  
 Foggy Mountain Boys, The  
 Folk Music  
 Folkways Records  
 Follett, Ken  
 Fonda, Henry  
 Fonda, Jane  
 Fonteyn, Margot  
 Ford, Glenn  
 Ford, Harrison  
 Ford, Henry  
 Ford, John  
 Ford Motor Company  
 Ford, Tennessee Ernie  
 Ford, Whitey  
 Foreman, George  
*Forrest Gump*  
 Forsyth, Frederick  
*Fortune*  
*42nd Street*  
 Fosse, Bob  
 Foster, Jodie  
 Fourth of July Celebrations  
 Foxx, Redd  
 Foyt, A. J.  
 Francis, Arlene  
 Francis, Connie  
 Francis the Talking Mule  
 Frankenstein  
 Franklin, Aretha  
 Franklin, Bonnie  
*Frasier*  
 Frawley, William  
 Frazier, Joe  
 Frazier, Walt "Clyde"  
 Freak Shows  
*Freaks*  
 Frederick's of Hollywood  
 Free Agency  
 Free Speech Movement  
 Freed, Alan "Moondog"  
 Freedom Rides  
*French Connection, The*  
 French Fries  
 Freud, Sigmund  
 Friday, Nancy  
*Friday the 13th*  
 Friedman, Kinky  
*Friends*  
 Frisbee  
 Frizzell, Lefty  
*From Here to Eternity*  
 Frost, Robert  
 Frosty the Snowman  
 Frozen Entrées  
 Fu Manchu  
*Fugitive, The*  
 Fuller, Buckminster  
 Fundamentalism  
 Funicello, Annette  
 Funk  
 Fusco, Coco  
  
 Gable, Clark  
 Gambling  
 Game Shows  
 Gammons, Peter  
 Gangs  
 Gangsta Rap  
 Gap, The  
 Garbo, Greta  
 Gardner, Ava  
 Garfield, John  
 Garland, Judy  
 Garner, James  
 Garvey, Marcus  
 Garvey, Steve  
 Gas Stations  
 Gated Communities  
 Gay and Lesbian Marriage  
 Gay and Lesbian Press  
 Gay Liberation Movement  
 Gay Men  
 Gaye, Marvin  
 Gehrig, Lou  
*General, The*  
*General Hospital*  
 General Motors  
 Generation X  
*Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*  
 Gere, Richard  
 Gernsback, Hugo  
*Gertie the Dinosaur*  
*Get Smart*  
 Ghettos  
 GI Joe  
*Giant*  
 Gibson, Althea  
 Gibson, Bob  
 Gibson Girl  
 Gibson, Mel  
 Gibson, William  
 Gifford, Frank  
 Gillespie, Dizzy  
*Gilligan's Island*  
 Ginny Dolls  
 Ginsberg, Allen  
 Girl Groups  
 Girl Scouts  
 Gish, Dorothy  
 Gish, Lillian  
*Glass Menagerie, The*  
 Gleason, Jackie  
 Glitter Rock  
 Gnagy, Jon  
*Godfather, The*  
 Godfrey, Arthur  
 Godzilla  
 Gold, Mike  
 Goldberg, Rube  
 Goldberg, Whoopi  
 Golden Books  
 Golden Gate Bridge  
*Golden Girls, The*  
 Goldwyn, Samuel  
 Golf  
*Gone with the Wind*  
*Good Housekeeping*  
*Good, the Bad, and the Ugly, The*  
*Good Times*  
*Goodbye, Columbus*  
 Gooden, Dwight  
*GoodFellas*  
 Goodman, Benny  
 Goodson, Mark  
 Gordy, Berry  
 Gospel Music  
 Gossip Columns  
 Goth  
 Gotti, John  
 Grable, Betty  
 Graceland  
*Graduate, The*  
 Graffiti  
 Grafton, Sue  
 Graham, Bill  
 Graham, Billy  
 Graham, Martha  
 Grandmaster Flash  
 Grand Ole Opry  
 Grant, Amy  
 Grant, Cary  
*Grapes of Wrath, The*  
 Grateful Dead, The  
 Gray Panthers  
 Great Depression  
*Great Train Robbery, The*  
 Greb, Harry  
*Greed*  
 Greeley, Andrew  
 Green, Al  
 Green Bay Packers, The  
 Green Lantern  
 Greenberg, Hank  
 Greene, Graham  
 Greenpeace  
 Greenwich Village  
 Greeting Cards  
 Gregory, Dick  
 Gretzky, Wayne  
 Grey, Zane  
 Greyhound Buses  
 Grier, Pam  
 Griffin, Merv  
 Griffith, D. W.  
 Griffith, Nanci  
 Grimek, John  
 Grisham, John

- Grits  
Grizzard, Lewis  
Groening, Matt  
Grunge  
Grusin, Dave  
Guaraldi, Vince  
Guardian Angels, The  
Gucci  
*Guiding Light*  
Gulf War  
*Gunsmoke*  
Guthrie, Arlo  
Guthrie, Woodie  
Guy, Buddy  
Gymnastics
- Hackett, Buddy  
Hackman, Gene  
Haggard, Merle  
Hagler, Marvelous Marvin  
Haight-Ashbury  
*Hair*  
Hairstyles  
Halas, George “Papa Bear”  
Haley, Alex  
Haley, Bill  
Hall and Oates  
*Hallmark Hall of Fame*  
*Halloween*  
Halston  
Hamburger  
Hamill, Dorothy  
Hammett, Dashiell  
Hancock, Herbie  
Handy, W. C.  
Hanks, Tom  
Hanna-Barbera  
Hansberry, Lorraine  
*Happy Days*  
Happy Hour  
Hard-Boiled Detective Fiction  
Harding, Tonya  
Hardy Boys, The  
Hare Krishna  
Haring, Keith  
Harlem Globetrotters, The  
Harlem Renaissance  
Harlequin Romances  
Harley-Davidson  
Harlow, Jean  
Harmonica Bands  
Harper, Valerie  
*Harper’s*  
Hate Crimes  
Havlicek, John  
*Hawaii Five-0*  
Hawkins, Coleman  
Hawks, Howard  
Hayward, Susan  
Hayworth, Rita
- Hearst, Patty  
Hearst, William Randolph  
Heavy Metal  
*Hee Haw*  
Hefner, Hugh  
Hellman, Lillian  
*Hello, Dolly!*  
Hell’s Angels  
Hemingway, Ernest  
Hemlines  
Henderson, Fletcher  
Hendrix, Jimi  
Henry Aldrich  
Henson, Jim  
Hep Cats  
Hepburn, Audrey  
Hepburn, Katharine  
Herbert, Frank  
*Hercules: The Legendary Journeys*  
Herman, Woody  
Herpes  
Hersey, John  
Hess, Joan  
Heston, Charlton  
Higginson, Major Henry Lee  
*High Noon*  
Highway System  
Hijuelos, Oscar  
Hiking  
*Hill Street Blues*  
Hillerman, Tony  
Himes, Chester  
*Hindenberg*, The  
Hippies  
Hirschfeld, Albert  
*Hispanic Magazine*  
Hiss, Alger  
Hitchcock, Alfred  
Hite, Shere  
Hockey  
Hoffman, Abbie  
Hoffman, Dustin  
Hogan, Ben  
Hogan, Hulk  
*Hogan’s Heroes*  
Holbrook, Hal  
Holden, William  
Holiday, Billie  
Holiday Inns  
Holliday, Judy  
Holly, Buddy  
Hollywood  
*Hollywood Squares*  
Hollywood Ten, The  
*Holocaust*  
Holyfield, Evander  
*Home Improvement*  
Home Shopping Network/QVC  
*Honeymooners*, The
- Hooker, John Lee  
*Hoosiers*  
Hoover Dam  
Hoover, J. Edgar  
Hopalong Cassidy  
Hope, Bob  
Hopkins, Sam “Lightnin”  
Hopper, Dennis  
Hopper, Edward  
Hopscotch  
Horne, Lena  
Horror Movies  
Hot Dogs  
Hot Pants  
Hot Rods  
Houdini, Harry  
Houston, Whitney  
*How the West Was Won*  
*Howdy Doody Show*, The  
Howe, Gordie  
Howlin’ Wolf  
Hubbard, L. Ron  
Hudson, Rock  
Hughes, Howard  
Hughes, Langston  
Hula Hoop  
Hull, Bobby  
Hunt, Helen  
Hunter, Tab  
Huntley, Chet  
Hurston, Zora Neale  
*Hustler*  
Huston, John  
Hutton, Ina Ray
- I Dream of Jeannie*  
*I Love a Mystery*  
*I Love Lucy*  
*I Spy*  
*I Was a Teenage Werewolf*  
Iacocca, Lee  
IBM (International Business Machines)  
Ice Cream Cone  
Ice Shows  
Ice-T  
*In Living Color*  
Incredible Hulk, The  
*Independence Day*  
Indian, The  
Indianapolis 500  
Industrial Design  
Ink Spots, The  
*Inner Sanctum* Mysteries  
International Male Catalog, The  
Internet, The  
*Intolerance*  
*Invisible Man*  
Iran Contra  
Iron Maiden

- Ironman Triathlon  
 Irving, John  
*It Happened One Night*  
*It's a Wonderful Life*  
*It's Garry Shandling's Show*  
 Ives, Burl  
 Ivy League  
  
 J. Walter Thompson  
 Jack Armstrong  
 Jackson Five, The  
 Jackson, Jesse  
 Jackson, Mahalia  
 Jackson, Michael  
 Jackson, Reggie  
 Jackson, Shirley  
 Jackson, "Sholess" Joe  
 Jakes, John  
 James Bond Films  
 James, Elmore  
 James, Harry  
 Japanese American Internment Camps  
*Jaws*  
 Jazz  
*Jazz Singer, The*  
 Jeans  
 Jeep  
 Jefferson Airplane/Starship  
*Jeffersons, The*  
 Jell-O  
 Jennings, Peter  
 Jennings, Waylon  
*Jeopardy!*  
 Jessel, George  
*Jesus Christ Superstar*  
*Jet*  
 Jet Skis  
 Jewish Defense League  
*JFK (The Movie)*  
 Jogging  
 John Birch Society  
 John, Elton  
 Johns, Jasper  
 Johnson, Blind Willie  
 Johnson, Earvin "Magic"  
 Johnson, Jack  
 Johnson, James Weldon  
 Johnson, Michael  
 Johnson, Robert  
 Jolson, Al  
 Jones, Bobby  
 Jones, George  
 Jones, Jennifer  
 Jones, Tom  
 Jonestown  
 Jong, Erica  
 Joplin, Janis  
 Joplin, Scott  
 Jordan, Louis  
  
 Jordan, Michael  
*Joy of Cooking*  
*Joy of Sex, The*  
 Joyner, Florence Griffith  
 Joyner-Kersee, Jackie  
 Judas Priest  
*Judge*  
 Judson, Arthur  
 Judy Bolton  
 Juke Boxes  
*Julia*  
 Juliá, Raúl  
*Jurassic Park*  
 Juvenile Delinquency  
  
 Kahn, Roger  
 Kaltenborn, Hans von  
 Kansas City Jazz  
 Kantor, MacKinlay  
 Karan, Donna  
 Karloff, Boris  
 Kasem, Casey  
*Kate & Allie*  
*Katzenjammer Kids, The*  
 Kaufman, Andy  
 Kaye, Danny  
 Keaton, Buster  
 Keillor, Garrison  
 Keitel, Harvey  
 Kelley, David E.  
 Kelly Bag  
 Kelly, Gene  
 Kelly Girls  
 Kelly, Grace  
 Kennedy Assassination  
 Kent State Massacre  
 Kentucky Derby  
 Kentucky Fried Chicken  
 Kern, Jerome  
 Kerrigan, Nancy  
 Kershaw, Doug  
 Kelsey, Ken  
 Kewpie Dolls  
 Key West  
 Keystone Kops, The  
 King, Albert  
 King, B. B.  
 King, Billie Jean  
 King, Carole  
 King, Freddie  
*King Kong*  
 King, Larry  
 King, Martin Luther, Jr.  
 King, Rodney  
 King, Stephen  
 Kingston, Maxine Hong  
 Kingston Trio, The  
 Kinison, Sam  
 Kinsey, Dr. Alfred C.  
 Kirby, Jack  
  
 KISS  
 Kitsch  
 Kiwanis  
 Klein, Calvin  
 Klein, Robert  
 Kmart  
 Knievel, Evel  
 Knight, Bobby  
*Knots Landing*  
 Kodak  
*Kojak*  
 Koontz, Dean R.  
 Koresh, David, and the Branch Davidians  
 Korman, Harvey  
 Kosinski, Jerzy  
 Kotzwinkle, William  
 Koufax, Sandy  
 Kovacs, Ernie  
*Kraft Television Theatre*  
 Krantz, Judith  
 Krassner, Paul  
*Krazy Kat*  
 Krupa, Gene  
 Ku Klux Klan  
 Kubrick, Stanley  
*Kudzu*  
 Kuhn, Bowie  
*Kukla, Fran, and Ollie*  
*Kung Fu*  
 Kwan, Michelle  
  
*L. A. Law*  
 L. L. Cool J.  
 "La Bamba"  
 Labor Unions  
 Lacoste Shirts  
 Ladd, Alan  
 Laetrile  
 Lahr, Bert  
 Lake, Ricki  
 Lake, Veronica  
 LaLanne, Jack  
 Lamarr, Hedy  
 LaMotta, Jake  
 Lamour, Dorothy  
 L'Amour, Louis  
 Lancaster, Burt  
 Landon, Michael  
 Landry, Tom  
 Lang, Fritz  
 lang, k.d.  
 Lansky, Meyer  
 Lardner, Ring  
*Larry Sanders Show, The*  
 LaRussa, Tony  
 Las Vegas  
 Lasorda, Tommy  
 Lassie  
*Late Great Planet Earth, The*

- Latin Jazz  
*Laugh-In*  
 Lauper, Cyndi  
*Laura*  
 Laurel and Hardy  
 Lauren, Ralph  
 Laver, Rod  
*Laverne and Shirley*  
 Lavin, Linda  
 Lawn Care/Gardening  
*Lawrence of Arabia*  
 Lawrence, Vicki  
 La-Z-Boy Loungers  
 le Carré, John  
 Le Guin, Ursula K.  
 Leachman, Cloris  
 Leadbelly  
*League of Their Own, A*  
 Lear, Norman  
 Leary, Timothy  
 Least Heat Moon, William  
 Leather Jacket  
*Leave It to Beaver*  
 Led Zeppelin  
 Lee, Bruce  
 Lee, Gypsy Rose  
 Lee, Peggy  
 Lee, Spike  
 Lee, Stan  
 Legos  
 Lehrer, Tom  
 Leisure Suit  
 Leisure Time  
 LeMond, Greg  
 L'Engle, Madeleine  
 Lennon, John  
 Leno, Jay  
 Leonard, Benny  
 Leonard, Elmore  
 Leonard, Sugar Ray  
 Leone, Sergio  
 Leopold and Loeb  
*Les Misérables*  
 Lesbianism  
*Let Us Now Praise  
     Famous Men*  
*Let's Pretend*  
 Letterman, David  
 Levin, Meyer  
 Levi's  
 Levittown  
 Lewinsky, Monica  
 Lewis, C. S.  
 Lewis, Carl  
 Lewis, Jerry  
 Lewis, Jerry Lee  
 Lewis, Sinclair  
 Liberace  
*Liberty*  
 Lichtenstein, Roy  
 Liebovitz, Annie  
*Life*  
*Life of Riley, The*  
*Like Water for Chocolate*  
 Li'l Abner  
 Limbaugh, Rush  
 Lincoln Center for the  
     Performing Arts  
 Lindbergh, Anne Morrow  
 Lindbergh, Charles  
 Linkletter, Art  
*Lion King, The*  
 Lionel Trains  
 Lippmann, Walter  
 Lipstick  
 Liston, Sonny  
 Little Black Dress  
 Little Blue Books  
 Little League  
 Little Magazines  
 Little Orphan Annie  
 Little Richard  
 Live Television  
 L.L. Bean, Inc.  
 Lloyd Webber, Andrew  
 Loafers  
 Locke, Alain  
*Lolita*  
 Lollapalooza  
 Lombard, Carole  
 Lombardi, Vince  
 Lombardo, Guy  
 London, Jack  
 Lone Ranger, The  
 Long, Huey  
 Long, Shelley  
 Long-Playing Record  
 Loos, Anita  
 López, Nancy  
 Lorre, Peter  
 Los Angeles Lakers, The  
 Los Lobos  
*Lost Weekend, The*  
 Lottery  
 Louis, Joe  
 Louisiana Purchase Exposition  
 Louisville Slugger  
*Love Boat, The*  
 Love, Courtney  
 Lovecraft, H. P.  
 Low Riders  
 Loy, Myrna  
 LSD  
 Lubitsch, Ernst  
 Lucas, George  
 Luce, Henry  
 Luciano, Lucky  
 Ludlum, Robert  
 Lugosi, Bela  
 Lunceford, Jimmie  
 Lupino, Ida  
 LuPone, Patti  
 Lynch, David  
 Lynching  
 Lynn, Loretta  
 Lynyrd Skynyrd  
  
*Ma Perkins*  
 Mabley, Moms  
 MacDonald, Jeanette  
 MacDonald, John D.  
 Macfadden, Bernarr  
 MacMurray, Fred  
 Macon, Uncle Dave  
 Macy's  
*MAD Magazine*  
 Madden, John  
 Made-for-Television Movies  
 Madonna  
 Mafia/Organized Crime  
*Magnificent Seven, The*  
*Magnum, P.I.*  
 Mah-Jongg  
 Mailer, Norman  
 Malcolm X  
 Mall of America  
 Malls  
*Maltese Falcon, The*  
 Mamas and the Papas, The  
 Mamet, David  
*Man from U.N.C.L.E., The*  
*Man Who Shot Liberty  
     Valance, The*  
*Manchurian Candidate, The*  
 Mancini, Henry  
 Manhattan Transfer  
 Manilow, Barry  
 Mansfield, Jayne  
 Manson, Charles  
 Mantle, Mickey  
 Manufactured Homes  
 Mapplethorpe, Robert  
 March on Washington  
 Marching Bands  
 Marciano, Rocky  
*Marcus Welby, M.D.*  
 Mardi Gras  
 Mariachi Music  
 Marichal, Juan  
 Marie, Rose  
 Marijuana  
 Maris, Roger  
 Marlboro Man  
 Marley, Bob  
*Married . . . with Children*  
 Marshall, Garry  
 Martha and the Vandellas  
 Martin, Dean  
 Martin, Freddy  
 Martin, Quinn



- Martin, Steve  
 Martini  
 Marvel Comics  
 Marx Brothers, The  
 Marx, Groucho  
*Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*  
 Mary Kay Cosmetics  
*Mary Poppins*  
*Mary Tyler Moore Show, The*  
 Mary Worth  
*M\*A\*S\*H*  
 Mason, Jackie  
 Mass Market Magazine  
     Revolution  
*Masses, The*  
 Masterpiece Theatre  
 Masters and Johnson  
 Masters Golf Tournament  
 Mathis, Johnny  
 Mattingly, Don  
*Maude*  
 Maupin, Armistead  
*Maus*  
 Max, Peter  
 Mayer, Louis B.  
 Mayfield, Curtis  
 Mayfield, Percy  
 Mays, Willie  
 McBain, Ed  
 McCaffrey, Anne  
*McCall's Magazine*  
 McCarthyism  
 McCartney, Paul  
 McCay, Winsor  
*McClure's*  
 McCoy, Horace  
 McCrea, Joel  
 McDaniel, Hattie  
 McDonald's  
 McEnroe, John  
 McEntire, Reba  
 McGwire, Mark  
*McHale's Navy*  
 McKay, Claude  
 McKuen, Rod  
 McLish, Rachel  
 McLuhan, Marshall  
 McMurtry, Larry  
 McPherson, Aimee Semple  
 McQueen, Butterfly  
 McQueen, Steve  
 Me Decade  
 Meadows, Audrey  
*Mean Streets*  
 Media Feeding Frenzies  
 Medicine Shows  
*Meet Me in St. Louis*  
 Mellencamp, John  
 Mencken, H. L.  
 Mendoza, Lydia
- Men's Movement  
 Merton, Thomas  
 Metalious, Grace  
*Metropolis*  
 Metropolitan Museum of Art  
 MGM (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer)  
*Miami Vice*  
 Michener, James  
*Mickey Mouse Club, The*  
 Microsoft  
*Middletown*  
 Midler, Bette  
*Midnight Cowboy*  
*Mildred Pierce*  
 Militias  
 Milk, Harvey  
 Millay, Edna St. Vincent  
 Miller, Arthur  
 Miller Beer  
 Miller, Glenn  
 Miller, Henry  
 Miller, Roger  
 Milli Vanilli  
 Million Man March  
 Milton Bradley  
 Minimalism  
 Minivans  
 Minnelli, Vincente  
 Minoso, Minnie  
 Minstrel Shows  
 Miranda, Carmen  
*Miranda Warning*  
 Miss America Pageant  
*Mission: Impossible*  
*Mister Ed*  
*Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*  
 Mitchell, Joni  
 Mitchell, Margaret  
 Mitchum, Robert  
 Mix, Tom  
 Mod  
*Mod Squad, The*  
 Model T  
 Modern Dance  
*Modern Maturity*  
*Modern Times*  
 Modernism  
 Momaday, N. Scott  
*Monday Night Football*  
 Monkees, The  
 Monopoly  
 Monroe, Bill  
 Monroe, Earl "The Pearl"  
 Monroe, Marilyn  
 Montalban, Ricardo  
 Montana, Joe  
 Montana, Patsy  
*Monty Python's Flying Circus*  
 Moonies/Reverend Sun  
     Myung Moon
- Moonlighting*  
 Moore, Demi  
 Moore, Michael  
 Moral Majority  
 Moreno, Rita  
*Mork & Mindy*  
 Morris, Mark  
 Morrissette, Alanis  
 Morrison, Toni  
 Morrison, Van  
 Morse, Carlton E.  
 Morton, Jelly Roll  
 Mosley, Walter  
 Moss, Kate  
 Mother's Day  
 Mötley Crüe  
 Motley, Willard  
 Motown  
 Mount Rushmore  
 Mountain Biking  
 Mouseketeers, The  
 Movie Palaces  
 Movie Stars  
 Mr. Dooley  
*Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*  
*Mr. Wizard*  
*Ms.*  
 MTV  
 Muckraking  
 Multiculturalism  
 Mummy, The  
 Muni, Paul  
*Munsey's Magazine*  
 Muppets, The  
*Murder, She Wrote*  
*Murphy Brown*  
 Murphy, Eddie  
 Murray, Anne  
 Murray, Arthur  
 Murray, Bill  
 Murray, Lenda  
 Murrow, Edward R.  
 Muscle Beach  
 Muscle Cars  
 Muscular Christianity  
 Musical, The  
*Mutiny on the Bounty*  
*Mutt & Jeff*  
 Muzak  
*My Darling Clementine*  
*My Fair Lady*  
*My Family/Mi familia*  
 My Lai Massacre  
*My So Called Life*  
*My Three Sons*  
 Nader, Ralph  
 Nagel, Patrick  
 Naismith, James  
 Namath, Joe

- Nancy Drew  
 NASA  
*Nation, The*  
 National Basketball Association (NBA)  
 National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA)  
*National Enquirer, The*  
 National Football League (NFL)  
*National Geographic*  
 National Hockey League (NHL)  
*National Lampoon*  
 National Organization for Women (N.O.W.)  
 National Parks  
*Natural, The*  
*Natural Born Killers*  
 Nava, Gregory  
 Navratilova, Martina  
 Naylor, Gloria  
 Neckties  
 Negro Leagues  
 Neighborhood Watch  
 Nelson, Ricky  
 Nelson, Willie  
 Nerd Look  
*Network*  
 Networks  
 New Age Music  
 New Age Spirituality  
 New Deal  
 New Kids on the Block, The  
 New Left  
 New Look  
 New Orleans Rhythm and Blues  
*New Republic*  
 New Wave Music  
 New York Knickerbockers, The  
 New York Mets, The  
*New York Times, The*  
 New York Yankees, The  
*New Yorker, The*  
 Newhart, Bob  
*Newlywed Game, The*  
 Newport Jazz and Folk Festivals  
*Newsweek*  
 Newton, Helmut  
 Niagara Falls  
 Nichols, Mike, and Elaine May  
 Nickelodeons  
 Nicklaus, Jack  
*Night of the Living Dead*  
*Nightline*  
 Nike  
 1980 U.S. Olympic Hockey Team  
 1968 Mexico City Summer Olympic Games  
 Nirvana
- Nixon, Agnes  
 Noloesca, La Chata  
 Norris, Frank  
*North by Northwest*  
*Northern Exposure*  
 Novak, Kim  
 Nureyev, Rudolf  
 Nylon  
*NYPD Blue*
- Oakland Raiders, The  
 Oates, Joyce Carol  
 Objectivism/Ayn Rand  
 O'Brien, Tim  
 Ochs, Phil  
 O'Connor, Flannery  
*Odd Couple, The*  
 O'Donnell, Rosie  
 O'Keefe, Georgia  
*Oklahoma!*  
 Old Navy  
 Oliphant, Pat  
 Olivier, Laurence  
 Olmos, Edward James  
 Olsen, Tillie  
 Olympics  
*Omnibus*  
*On the Road*  
*On the Waterfront*  
 Onassis, Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy  
*One Day at a Time*  
*One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*  
*One Man's Family*  
 O'Neal, Shaquille  
 O'Neill, Eugene  
 Op Art  
*Opportunity*  
 Orbison, Roy  
*Organization Man, The*  
 Original Dixieland Jass (Jazz) Band  
 O'Rourke, P. J.  
 Orr, Bobby  
 Osborne Brothers, The  
 Osbourne, Ozzy  
 Ouija Boards  
*Our Gang*  
*Outer Limits, The*  
 Outing  
*Outline of History, The*  
 Owens, Buck  
 Owens, Jesse  
 Oxford Bags
- Paar, Jack  
 Pachucos  
 Pacino, Al  
 Paglia, Camille
- Paige, Satchel  
 Paley, Grace  
 Paley, William S.  
 Palmer, Arnold  
 Palmer, Jim  
 Pants for Women  
 Pantyhose  
 Paperbacks  
 Parades  
 Paretzky, Sara  
 Parker Brothers  
 Parker, Charlie  
 Parker, Dorothy  
 Parks, Rosa  
 Parrish, Maxfield  
 Parton, Dolly  
*Partridge Family, The*  
 Patinkin, Mandy  
*Patton*  
 Paul, Les  
 Paulsen, Pat  
 Payton, Walter  
 Peale, Norman Vincent  
*Peanuts*  
 Pearl Jam  
 Pearl, Minnie  
 Peck, Gregory  
 Peep Shows  
*Pee-wee's Playhouse*  
 Pelé  
 Penn, Irving  
*Penthouse*  
*People*  
 Peppermint Lounge, The  
 Pepsi-Cola  
 Performance Art  
 Perot, Ross  
 Perry Mason  
 Pet Rocks  
 Peter, Paul, and Mary  
 Peters, Bernadette  
 Pets  
 Petting  
 Petty, Richard  
 Peyton Place  
 Pfeiffer, Michelle  
*Phantom of the Opera, The*  
*Philadelphia Story, The*  
*Philco Television Playhouse*  
 Phillips, Irna  
 Phone Sex  
 Phonograph  
*Photoplay*  
 Picasso, Pablo  
 Pickford, Mary  
 Pill, The  
 Pink Floyd  
 Pin-Up, The  
 Piper, "Rowdy" Roddy  
 Phippen, Scottie

- Pittsburgh Steelers, The  
 Pizza  
*Place in the Sun, A*  
*Planet of the Apes*  
 Plastic  
 Plastic Surgery  
 Plath, Sylvia  
*Platoon*  
*Playboy*  
*Playgirl*  
*Playhouse 90*  
*Pogo*  
 Pointer Sisters, The  
 Poitier, Sidney  
 Polio  
 Political Bosses  
 Political Correctness  
 Pollock, Jackson  
 Polyester  
 Pop Art  
 Pop, Iggy  
 Pop Music  
 Pope, The  
 Popeye  
 Popsicles  
*Popular Mechanics*  
 Popular Psychology  
 Pornography  
 Porter, Cole  
 Postcards  
*Postman Always Rings  
     Twice, The*  
 Postmodernism  
 Potter, Dennis  
 Powell, Dick  
 Powell, William  
 Prang, Louis  
 Preminger, Otto  
 Preppy  
 Presley, Elvis  
*Price Is Right, The*  
 Price, Reynolds  
 Price, Vincent  
 Pride, Charley  
 Prince  
 Prince, Hal  
 Prinze, Freddie  
*Prisoner, The*  
 Professional Football  
 Prohibition  
 Prom  
 Promise Keepers  
 Protest Groups  
 Prozac  
 Pryor, Richard  
 Psychedelia  
 Psychics  
*Psycho*  
 PTA/PTO (Parent Teacher  
     Association/Organization)
- Public Enemy  
 Public Libraries  
 Public Television (PBS)  
 Puente, Tito  
*Pulp Fiction*  
 Pulp Magazines  
 Punisher, The  
 Punk  
 Pynchon, Thomas
- Quayle, Dan  
 Queen, Ellery  
*Queen for a Day*  
 Queen Latifah  
 Queer Nation  
 Quiz Show Scandals
- Race Music  
 Race Riots  
 Radio  
 Radio Drama  
 Radner, Gilda  
 Raft, George  
 Raggedy Ann and Raggedy  
     Andy  
*Raging Bull*  
 Ragni, Gerome, and James  
     Rado  
*Raiders of the Lost Ark*  
 Rainey, Gertrude “Ma”  
 Rains, Claude  
 Raitt, Bonnie  
 Rambo  
 Ramones, The  
 Ranch House  
 Rand, Sally  
 Rap/Hip Hop  
 Rather, Dan  
*Reader’s Digest*  
 Reagan, Ronald  
*Real World, The*  
 Reality Television  
*Rear Window*  
*Rebel without a Cause*  
 Recycling  
 Red Scare  
*Redbook*  
 Redding, Otis  
 Redford, Robert  
 Reed, Donna  
 Reed, Ishmael  
 Reed, Lou  
 Reese, Pee Wee  
 Reeves, Steve  
 Reggae  
 Reiner, Carl  
 Religious Right  
 R.E.M.  
 Remington, Frederic  
 Reno, Don
- Renoir, Jean  
 Replacements, The  
 Retro Fashion  
 Reynolds, Burt  
 Rhythm and Blues  
 Rice, Grantland  
 Rice, Jerry  
 Rich, Charlie  
 Rigby, Cathy  
 Riggs, Bobby  
 Riley, Pat  
 Ringling Bros., Barnum &  
     Bailey Circus  
 Ripken, Cal, Jr.  
*Ripley’s Believe It Or Not*  
 Rivera, Chita  
 Rivera, Diego  
 Rivera, Gerald  
 Rivers, Joan  
 Rizzuto, Phil  
 Road Rage  
 Road Runner and Wile E.  
     Coyote  
 Robbins, Tom  
 Roberts, Jake “The Snake”  
 Roberts, Julia  
 Roberts, Nora  
 Robertson, Oscar  
 Robertson, Pat  
 Robeson, Kenneth  
 Robeson, Paul  
 Robinson, Edward G.  
 Robinson, Frank  
 Robinson, Jackie  
 Robinson, Smokey  
 Robinson, Sugar Ray  
 Rock and Roll  
 Rock, Chris  
 Rock Climbing  
 Rockefeller Family  
 Rockettes, The  
 Rockne, Knute  
 Rockwell, Norman  
*Rocky*  
*Rocky and Bullwinkle*  
*Rocky Horror Picture  
     Show, The*  
 Roddenberry, Gene  
 Rodeo  
 Rodgers and Hammerstein  
 Rodgers and Hart  
 Rodgers, Jimmie  
 Rodman, Dennis  
 Rodriguez, Chi Chi  
*Roe v. Wade*  
 Rogers, Kenny  
 Rogers, Roy  
 Rogers, Will  
 Rolle, Esther  
 Roller Coasters

- Roller Derby  
*Rolling Stone*  
 Rolling Stones, The  
 Romance Novels  
 Romero, Cesar  
*Roots*  
 Rose Bowl  
 Rose, Pete  
*Roseanne*  
*Rosemary's Baby*  
 Rosenberg, Julius and Ethel  
 Ross, Diana, and the Supremes  
 Roswell Incident  
 Roundtree, Richard  
 Rouse Company  
 Route 66  
 Royko, Mike  
 Rubik's Cube  
*Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer*  
 Run-DMC  
 Runyon, Damon  
 RuPaul  
 Rupp, Adolph  
 Russell, Bill  
 Russell, Jane  
 Russell, Nipsey  
 Russell, Rosalind  
 Ruth, Babe  
 RV  
 Ryan, Meg  
 Ryan, Nolan  
 Rydell, Bobby  
 Ryder, Winona
- Safe Sex  
 Sagan, Carl  
 Sahl, Mort  
 Saks Fifth Avenue  
 Sales, Soupy  
 Salsa Music  
 Salt-n-Pepa  
 Sam and Dave  
 Sandburg, Carl  
 Sanders, Barry  
*Sandman*  
 Sandow, Eugen  
*Sanford and Son*  
 Santana  
 Sarandon, Susan  
 Saratoga Springs  
 Sarnoff, David  
 Sarong  
 Sassoon, Vidal  
*Sassy*  
 Satellites  
*Saturday Evening Post, The*  
 Saturday Morning Cartoons  
*Saturday Night Fever*  
*Saturday Night Live*
- Savage, Randy "Macho Man"  
 Savoy Ballroom  
*Schindler's List*  
 Schlatter, George  
 Schlessinger, Dr. Laura  
 Schnabel, Julian  
*Schoolhouse Rock*  
 Schwarzenegger, Arnold  
 Science Fiction Publishing  
*Scientific American*  
 Scopes Monkey Trial  
 Scorsese, Martin  
 Scott, George C.  
 Scott, Randolph  
*Scream*  
 Screwball Comedies  
*Scribner's*  
 Scruggs, Earl  
 Sculley, Vin  
 Sea World  
 Seals, Son  
*Search for Tomorrow*  
*Searchers, The*  
 Sears Roebuck Catalogue  
 Sears Tower  
 Second City  
 Sedona, Arizona  
*Seduction of the Innocent*  
 Seeger, Pete  
*Seinfeld*  
 Selena  
 Seles, Monica  
 Sellers, Peter  
 Selznick, David O.  
 Sennett, Mack  
 Serial Killers  
 Serling, Rod  
*Sesame Street*  
*Seven Days in May*  
*Seven Year Itch, The*  
*Seventeen*  
*Sex and the Single Girl*  
 Sex Scandals  
 Sex Symbol  
 Sexual Harassment  
 Sexual Revolution  
 Shadow, The  
*Shaft*  
 Shakur, Tupac  
*Shane*  
 Shaw, Artie  
 Shawn, Ted  
*She Wore a Yellow Ribbon*  
 Sheldon, Sidney  
 Shepard, Sam  
 Sherman, Cindy  
 Shirelles, The  
 Shirer, William L.  
 Shock Radio  
 Shore, Dinah
- Shorter, Frank  
*Show Boat*  
 Shula, Don  
 Shulman, Max  
 SIDS (Sudden Infant Death Syndrome)  
 Siegel, Bugsy  
*Silence of the Lambs, The*  
 Silent Movies  
 Silver Surfer, The  
 Simon and Garfunkel  
 Simon, Neil  
 Simon, Paul  
 Simpson, O. J.  
 Simpson Trial  
*Simpsons, The*  
 Sinatra, Frank  
 Sinbad  
 Sinclair, Upton  
 Singer, Isaac Bashevis  
*Singin' in the Rain*  
 Singles Bars  
 Sirk, Douglas  
 Siskel and Ebert  
 Sister Souljah  
 Sitcom  
*Six Million Dollar Man, The*  
*60 Minutes*  
*\$64,000 Question, The*  
 Skaggs, Ricky  
 Skateboarding  
 Skating  
 Skelton, Red  
 Skyscrapers  
 Slaney, Mary Decker  
 Slang  
 Slasher Movies  
 Slinky  
 Sly and the Family Stone  
 Smith, Bessie  
 Smith, Dean  
 Smith, Kate  
 Smith, Patti  
 Smithsonian Institution  
 Smits, Jimmy  
 Smothers Brothers, The  
 Snoop Doggy Dogg  
*Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*  
 Soap Operas  
 Soccer  
 Social Dancing  
 Soda Fountains  
 Soldier Field  
*Some Like It Hot*  
 Sondheim, Stephen  
 Sonny and Cher  
 Sosa, Sammy  
 Soul Music  
*Soul Train*

- Sound of Music, The*  
 Sousa, John Philip  
*South Pacific*  
*South Park*  
 Southern, Terry  
 Spacek, Sissy  
 Spaghetti Westerns  
 Spalding, Albert G.  
*Spartacus*  
*Spawn*  
 Special Olympics  
 Spector, Phil  
 Spelling, Aaron  
 Spice Girls, The  
 Spider-Man  
 Spielberg, Steven  
 Spillane, Mickey  
 Spin  
 Spitz, Mark  
 Spock, Dr. Benjamin  
 Sport Utility Vehicles (SUVs)  
*Sporting News, The*  
 Sports Hero  
*Sports Illustrated*  
 Spring Break  
 Springer, Jerry  
 Springsteen, Bruce  
 Sprinkle, Annie  
 Sputnik  
 St. Denis, Ruth  
*St. Elsewhere*  
 Stadium Concerts  
*Stagecoach*  
 Stagg, Amos Alonzo  
 Stallone, Sylvester  
*Stand and Deliver*  
 Standardized Testing  
 Stand-up Comedy  
 Stanley Brothers, The  
 Stanwyck, Barbara  
 Star System  
*Star Trek*  
*Star Wars*  
 Starbucks  
 Starr, Bart  
 Starr, Kenneth  
*Starsky and Hutch*  
 State Fairs  
 Staubach, Roger  
*Steamboat Willie*  
 Steel Curtain  
 Steffens, Lincoln  
 Steinbeck, John  
 Steinberg, Saul  
 Steinbrenner, George  
 Steinem, Gloria  
 Stengel, Casey  
 Steppenwolf  
 Stereoscopes  
 Stern, Howard  
 Stetson Hat  
 Stevens, Ray  
 Stewart, Jimmy  
 Stickball  
 Stiller and Meara  
 Stine, R. L.  
 Stock-Car Racing  
 Stock Market Crashes  
 Stockton, "Pudgy"  
 Stokowski, Leopold  
 Stone, Irving  
 Stone, Oliver  
 Stonewall Rebellion  
 Stout, Rex  
 Strait, George  
 Stratemeyer, Edward  
 Stratton-Porter, Gene  
 Strawberry, Darryl  
 Streaking  
 Streep, Meryl  
 Street and Smith  
*Streetcar Named Desire, A*  
 Streisand, Barbra  
 Strip Joints/Striptease  
 Stuart, Marty  
 Stuckey's  
 Student Demonstrations  
 Students for a Democratic  
     Society (SDS)  
 Studio 54  
*Studio One*  
 Studio System  
 Sturges, Preston  
 Styron, William  
 Suburbia  
 Suicide  
 Sullivan, Ed  
 Sullivan, John L.  
 Summer Camp  
 Summer, Donna  
 Sun Records  
 Sundance Film Festival  
 Sunday, Billy  
 Sunday Driving  
*Sunset Boulevard*  
 Super Bowl  
 Superman  
 Supermodels  
 Surf Music  
 Susann, Jacqueline  
 Susskind, David  
 Swaggart, Jimmy  
 Swann, Lynn  
 Swatch Watches  
 Sweatshirt  
 Swimming Pools  
 Swing Dancing  
 Swinging  
*Sylvia*  
 Syndication  
 Tabloid Television  
 Tabloids  
*Tales from the Crypt*  
 Talk Radio  
 Talking Heads  
 Tang  
 Tanning  
 Tap Dancing  
 Tarantino, Quentin  
 Tarbell, Ida  
 Tarkanian, Jerry  
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 Zorro  
 Zydeco  
 ZZ Top

# E

## Eames, Charles (1907-1978), and Ray (1916-1988)

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The husband and wife team of Charles and Ray Eames created a multitude of artistic works in various fields from the 1940s to the 1970s. Charles Eames was trained as an architect; Ray (Kaiser) was an artist. After their marriage in 1941, they formed an unparalleled design team. Together the Eames' designed stage and film sets, furniture, exhibitions, interiors, houses, multimedia presentations, short films, graphic designs, industrial products, and books. Their greatest impact may have come from their work in two particular areas—architecture and furniture. The Eames' two Case Study Houses (1945-1950) with Eero Saarinen, Incorporated, prefabricated elements into a simple rectangular box; the houses became internationally famous as premier examples of domestic modernism. The Eames' furniture work evolved out of a series of experiments with molded plywood done for the Navy during World War II. "Eames Chairs" were widely praised in the 1940s and 1950s for their curving plywood forms, light weight, simplicity, and inexpensive price; they were also widely imitated.

—Dale Allen Gyure

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## Earth Day

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Inspired by anti-war "teach-ins" and the activist culture of the late 1960s, United States Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin organized the first Earth Day on April 22, 1970, to raise awareness of environmental issues and elevate the state of the environment into mainstream political discourse. Rachel Carson's book, *Silent Spring* (1962), examined why there were increasing levels of smog in the nation's cities, and focused attention on environmental disasters such as the Santa Barbara oil spill (1969) and the fire on Cleveland's Cuyahoga River due to oil and chemical pollution (1969), and gave rise to local groups of concerned citizens and activists. Enlightening photographs of the Earth taken by astronauts underscored the fact that we inhabit a finite system, small in comparison with the vastness of the solar system, and changed the way people visualized the planet. On that first Earth Day, an estimated 20 million people participated in peaceful demonstrations, lectures, and celebrations all across the country—10,000 grade schools and high schools, 2,000 colleges, and

1,000 communities were involved. Extensive media coverage of the events succeeded in alerting people to the deteriorating condition of the environment and increased the influence of environmental groups on government and industry. For many, Earth Day 1970 radically altered the image of nature and how society should treat it, and marked the beginning of the modern environmental movement.

The dramatic rise in citizen awareness after Earth Day made pollution a major news story. Programs on pollution appeared on television, newspapers hired environmental reporters, advertisements stressed the ecological qualities of products, and books and magazines addressed the protection of nature. Within months of the original Earth Day, the Environmental Protection Agency was created. The Clean Air Act, the Clean Water Act, and several other important environmental laws were passed in the early 1970s. Politicians spoke out on ecological issues in their campaigns and speeches. Companies that violated pollution laws were taken to court, and membership in many environmental groups doubled and tripled. The construction of nuclear power plants in the United States halted in 1978. Many experienced activists, trained in the anti-war, civil rights, and women's movements, used civil disobedience to combat polluters. Subsequent Earth Days continued to put pressure on government and industry to act responsibly toward the environment.

Along with some environmental organizations, Earth Day lost steam during the pro-environmental Carter administration, as people perceived that ecological problems were being addressed. Some conservation efforts also prompted an angry backlash by conservative groups. During the 1980s, the Reagan and Bush administrations systematically dismantled many environmental laws. When Reagan named the imprudent and insensitive James Watt to the position of Secretary of the Interior, however, environmental organizations became rejuvenated and their membership rolls increased. In 1989, the editors of *Time* magazine abandoned their tradition of featuring a man or woman of the year in favor of featuring "The Endangered Planet." In reaction to such environmental concerns as global warming and the depletion of the ozone layer, and such eco-disasters as Bhopal, Chernobyl, and the Exxon Valdez oil spill, organizers of Earth Day intensified their efforts on the twentieth anniversary in 1990.

In 1990, Earth Day turned global. On April 22, Earth Day united more people concerned about a single cause than any other event in the history of the world—139 nations participated. The *New York Times* reported that 200 million people took part in the largest grassroots demonstration in history. More than one million people gathered in Central Park to hear speakers and entertainers, and more than 200,000 people assembled in front of the United States Capitol to listen to music and speeches.

The environmental movement is one of the most successful and enduring reform movements of the twentieth century. A majority of Americans now believe that the poor quality of the environment is one of our most serious national problems. Millions of families take for granted the policy of reduce, reuse, and recycle. While all environmental accomplishments since 1970 cannot be directly attributed to Earth Day, it has succeeded in transforming a fairly specialized interest into a pervasive, popular one, and has made ecological consciousness part of the American value system.

—Ken Kempcke



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## Earth Shoes

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When the Earth Shoe was brought to America in 1970, its advertising campaign promised to bring wearers closer to nature. With "negative" heels that sat lower than the front, Earth Shoes claimed to offer wearers a more natural posture, closer to aboriginal human locomotion. The shoes were a startling multi-million dollar success for two reasons. First, the back-to-nature promise of Earth Shoes resonated with members of the burgeoning environmental movement. Second, the boxy appearance of the shoe was viewed as an antifashion statement; as such, it was a social statement favoring simplicity over image, substance over style. In time the square, broad shape of the Earth Shoe was emulated in a wide range of other shoes; for a few years its look became a hallmark style of the 1970s.

—Dylan Clark

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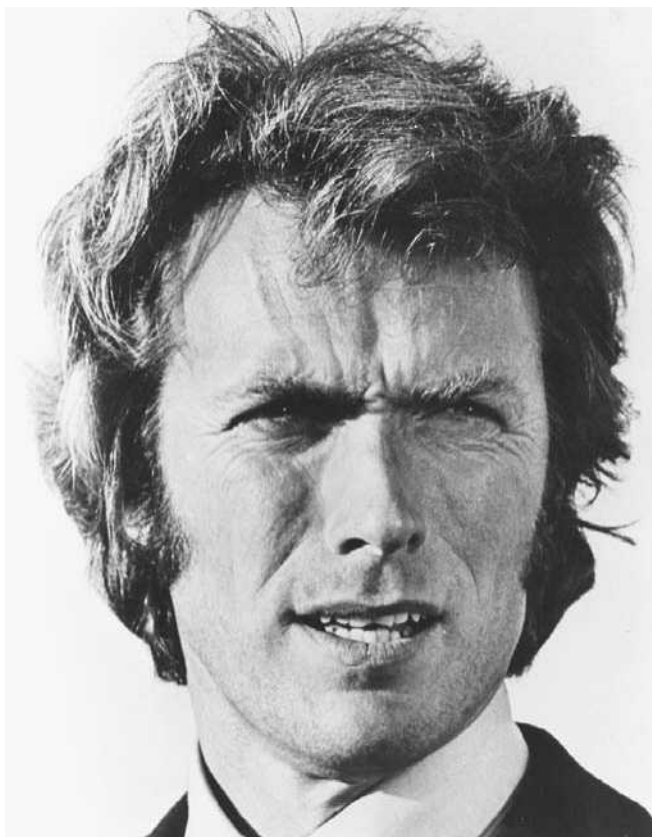
## Eastman Kodak Company

See Kodak

## Eastwood, Clint (1930—)

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In the course of a career that, by the late 1990s, had spanned almost half-a-century, Clint Eastwood rose from obscure bit-part movie actor to America's number one box-office star, became a producer for his own highly successful company, Malpaso, and established himself as a film director of some accomplishment. He is often compared with Gary Cooper—both men have been frequently



Clint Eastwood

and accurately identified as long, lean, and laconic—but Eastwood's dark good looks and granite-like persona, often self-mocking under a cloak of grim impassivity, are very different from the earlier icon whose career ended as Eastwood's began.

Eastwood's own iconic associations are, most famously, the cheroot-chewing Man With No Name, poncho-clad, unkempt, and unshaven as he goes about his bloody business; he is also Harry Callahan, dark avenger of the San Francisco police force, clean-cut and neatly suited as he goes about even bloodier business. His true significance in the history of Hollywood filmmaking, however, attaches to the fact that, as both director and actor, he breathed new life into a dying American art form, the Western. Finally, with *Unforgiven* (1992), Clint Eastwood subverted the myth of this historic canon, inverting his own practiced characterization to transmit a moral message for a modern age. His now reluctant avenging gunslinger was Harry Callahan or, more appropriately, Josey Wales, grown weary of violence—a capitulation that, perhaps, paved the way for Frank Horrigan protecting the American president (*In the Line of Fire*, 1993) or, further expanding his range, Robert Kincaid surrendering to a woman's love (*The Bridges of Madison County*, 1995).

Born in San Francisco on May 31, 1930, Clinton Eastwood Jr. passed an itinerant, Depression-hit childhood with schooling to match. After high school, he earned his keep variously logging wood, stoking furnaces, and pumping gas before joining the army for four years, where he coached athletics and swimming. Subsequently, he briefly attended Los Angeles City College, where he met his first wife, Maggie Johnson (the mother of his actress daughter, Alison). In 1955, on the strength of his looks and physique, Eastwood was signed

to a \$75-a-week contract—dropped after eighteen months—by Universal Studios, one of a standard, low-paid intake of good-looking men whose screen potential studios neglected to nurture. For four years he passed unnoticed in a string of parts, ranging from tiny to small, in ten or so largely forgotten films beginning with *Revenge of the Creature* (1955), ending with *Lafayette Escadrille* (1958) and taking in along the way the Rock Hudson vehicle *Never Say Goodbye* (1956) and his first (and some say worst) excursion into cowboy territory, *Ambush at Cimarron Pass* (1958).

During this time, Eastwood supplemented his income with odd jobs until he was cast in a new TV Western series of uncertain future. In the event, *Rawhide* ran for eight seasons from 1959-1966 and Rowdy Yates, played by Eastwood, became a familiar figure to followers of the series. More importantly, he was noticed by the Italian director Sergio Leone, offered a part in Italy, and found himself launched as The Man With No Name in *A Fistful of Dollars/Per un Pugno di Dollari* (1964). The film emerged from a genre newly popular in Italy during the 1960s that mined the ore of American cowboy films in a peculiarly bloody way and came to be known as spaghetti Westerns. *A Fistful of Dollars*, given a facelift by the presence of an American actor-hero and Leone's particular facility with celluloid violence, was astonishingly successful and two sequels—*For a Few Dollars More/Per Qualche Dollari in piu* and *The Good, The Bad and the Ugly/Il Buono il Brutto il Cattivo*—both starring Eastwood, followed in 1966 and 1967, bringing Leone a fortune and an invitation to Hollywood and catapulting Clint Eastwood to international stardom.

The first two of the Leone trilogy were released in America in 1967; the third followed a year later. The silent, detached, gun-comfortable bounty hunter of the films returned to America, set up his Malpaso production company and, in a lucrative deal with United Artists, relaunched himself on home soil with *Hang 'em High* (1968), an unashamed attempt to emulate the noisy gore of his Italian vehicles, in which the newly-minted star, saved from a lynching and appointed as a deputy sheriff, grimly sets out to take revenge on nine men. The film was slick, violent, and not particularly good but, coinciding as it did with the popularity of the spaghetti Westerns, it established Eastwood with the cinema-going public and, indeed, with hindsight, one detects the first seeds of the avenging angel—or devil—which would come to mark his more serious and ambitious mid-period Westerns.

When the box-office top ten list was issued in 1968, the cowboy star was in at number five, having begun his association with director Don Siegel in *Coogan's Bluff* (1968). This "urban Western" let Eastwood loose in Manhattan as an Arizona sheriff whose methods clash with those of Lee J. Cobb's city detective. It was an explosive crime melodrama with Eastwood seen, for the first time, in modern clothes and minus his hat. Attempts to broaden his range in 1969 took him to World War II in *Where Eagles Dare* and back to the Gold Rush days in the musical *Paint Your Wagon*. The first was a soldiering potboiler, the second a visually attractive failure, but neither dented his popular image. He retained his number five position and, by 1970, after the crude war film *Kelly's Heroes* and *Two Mules for Sister Sara*, in which he reverted to cowboy hat and five o'clock shadow to play a taciturn mercenary protecting a supposed nun (Shirley MacLaine) from rapists, he rose to number two.

Nineteen seventy-one was a key year in Eastwood's career. Displaying the business acumen and Midas touch that would in time make many millions of dollars for Malpaso, he rejoined director Don Siegel for *Dirty Harry*, bringing to the disillusioned Harry Callahan

the same implacable qualities that had been displayed in his cowboy roles. The film is uncompromisingly brutal and raised questions in certain quarters as to its morality, perceived by some as favoring the vigilante methods of the ultra-conservative Right. A closer look confirms that it is, rather, a protest against messy loopholes in law enforcement. The moral message or otherwise aside, however, the film was monumentally successful, catering to audiences' taste for psychopathic serial killers and tough anti-heroes, and was followed by four increasingly formulaic and cynical sequels over the next 16 years.

More importantly for the long term, 1971 brought Eastwood's directing debut, *Play Misty for Me*. As he would continue to do in all but a couple of his self-directed films, he cast himself in the lead, here as a radio disc jockey who becomes the obsessive object of a murderously psychotic fan's infatuation. The film demonstrated that he had learned much from Siegel—it was taut, tense, entertaining, and very beautifully photographed in Carmel and Monterey. From 1971 to 1998, Clint Eastwood made 31 feature films, directing 18 of them and producing several. While bent, successfully, on proving he was not just a pretty face and a fine figure of a man, he veered alarmingly between the ambitious, the worthwhile, and the purely commercial. In the last category his intelligent judgment sometimes faltered, badly with the nonsensical tedium of *The Eiger Sanction* (1975); and although his screen presence only grew more charismatic with age—the body startlingly well-preserved, the seamed face topped by graying hair increasingly handsome—he made a number of films that were essentially worthless retreads of familiar ground (e.g. *The Gauntlet*, 1977, *City Heat*, 1994, *The Rookie*, 1990, and *A Perfect World*, 1993, in all of which he played cops of one sort or another).

At the same time, he experimented, not always successfully, with material that, in the context of his recognized oeuvre, was distinctly off the wall as in *Every Which Way but Loose* (1978), in which he crossed the country accompanied by an orangutan won in a bet. There was, however, a wistful sweetness about the small-scale *Honkytonk Man* (1982), in which he directed himself as an aging alcoholic country singer and allowed himself to play guitar and sing to touching effect.

During the 1980s, Eastwood the actor retained his superstar status, undamaged by the tabloid headline-making scandal of his affair with actress Sondra Locke, for whom he left his wife of 27 years. Indeed, he seemed to rise above gossip and escape mockery, despite court cases—Locke sued him, he sued the *National Enquirer*—and a liaison with actress Frances Fisher that produced a child, only for him to leave and marry Dina Ruiz in 1986, becoming a father for the fourth time. Eastwood the director, meanwhile, his best work yet to come, was held in increasing esteem by his peers, who acknowledged his unshowy professionalism. As early as 1980 the Museum of Modern Art in New York held a retrospective of his films; in 1985 he was given a retrospective at the elite Cinematheque Francaise in Paris and made a Chevalier des Arts et Lettres by the French government. From 1986-1988 he served as the elected mayor of his beloved Carmel, where Malpaso is based. Also during the decade, he made *Pale Rider* (1985) which, with *High Plains Drifter* (1972) and *The Outlaw Josey Wales* (1976), form a trio of classic Westerns, spare in execution against an epic landscape, in all of which the actor played the mysterious loner pitting himself against dark forces and giving no quarter.

Long a jazz aficionado (he played jazz piano in *In the Line of Fire*), in 1988 Eastwood made, as director only, *Bird*, a biopic of Charlie Parker (played by Forest Whitaker). Somewhat restrained and

over-long—a recurring weakness of his more ambitious films—it was nevertheless lovingly crafted and raised his status as a serious director. He had his failures, too: the public did not respond to *White Hunter*, *Black Heart* (1990), an interesting faction about the making of *The African Queen*, while he was unable to find the key to capturing on film John Berendt's enthralling Savannah odyssey, *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil* (1997).

As the first century of the Hollywood film approached its end, Clint Eastwood had, however, earned universal respect and admiration for his achievements. The holder of four Academy Awards (including Best picture and Director) for *Unforgiven*, and presenting himself in public with gravitas and impeccably groomed dignity, he had become the elder statesman of the industry's creative arm, a position that was, as David Thomson put it, "rendered fitting by his majesty."

—Robyn Karney

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## Easy Rider

With *Easy Rider*, writers and co-stars Peter Fonda and Dennis Hopper captured in a popular medium many of the ideals of the youthful "counterculture" circa 1969. *Easy Rider* presented both the hedonism of drug use and the sober idealism of the hippy commune. The film also used a hip coterie of cutting-edge rock groups to articulate its indictment of conformist American culture. However, *Easy Rider's* continuing cultural resonance and filmic influence also owes much to its evocation of more traditional myths of American identity.

Dennis Hopper came to prominence for his precocious performance in an earlier film about youthful rebellion, *Rebel without a Cause* (1955). After appearing again with James Dean in *Giant* (1956), Hopper became a proto-hippy drop-out from the Hollywood system, smoking pot and eating peyote in preference to making mainstream movies. In 1967, Hopper acted with his friend Peter Fonda, scion of Hollywood icon Henry, in *The Trip*. Director Roger Corman refused to spend time or money on pivotal scenes concerning LSD "trips," so Hopper and Fonda shot the scene themselves at their own expense, garnering valuable experience and ideas for their future masterpiece. *The Trip* was co-written by Jack Nicholson, who in the same period scripted another avant-garde psychedelic film, *Head* (featuring the

previously strait-laced Monkees), and starred in *Hells' Angels on Wheels*, an excruciating attempt at combining two types of cultural rebels—bikers and drug-taking hipsters—in one film. Fonda and Hopper worked on two more motorcycle movies—the high-grossing *Wild Angels* and *The Glory Stompers* respectively—before reuniting as co-writers (with Terry Southern, author of *Candy*) and co-stars (with Nicholson) for what Hopper called "another bike film. But a different one."

*Easy Rider* was "different" because, unlike *Hells' Angels on Wheels*, it successfully infused the "bike film" genre with the psychedelic surrealism of *The Trip* to produce a movie which could viably claim to reflect the ethics and aesthetics of contemporary youth culture. The film begins with two bikers, Wyatt/Captain America (Fonda) and Billy (Hopper), receiving payment for their role as middlemen in a cocaine deal, before setting off for Mardi Gras in New Orleans. The narrative thereafter is deliberately loose, but essentially focuses on the bikers' heroic will to freedom from the moral strictures of American society, which Wyatt and Billy periodically encounter from assorted, prejudiced provincials. When Billy complains that "All we represent to them, man, is somebody needs a haircut," alcoholic ACLU lawyer George Hanson (Nicholson), who joins the bikers' odyssey in Texas, explains that: "What you represent to them is freedom. . . . It's real hard to be free when you're bought and sold in the marketplace. . . . They're not free. . . . Then they're gonna get real busy killin' and maimin' to prove to you that they are." *Easy Rider's* clarion call to "freedom" was also expressed by the titles of soundtrack songs such as "Born to Be Wild" (Steppenwolf) and "Wasn't Born to Follow" (The Byrds). This utilization of rock 'n' roll, the most popular mode of expression for youth culture in the late 1960s, was inspired. In *Village Voice*, Robert Christgau enthused: "*Easy Rider* is a double rarity . . . not only does it use rock successfully, it also treats the youth drop-out thing successfully. You can't have one without the other."

However, like its literary, beat generation antecedent, Jack Kerouac's *On the Road*, *Easy Rider* also tapped into older American notions of liberty and individualism. That the heroes' names echo Wyatt Earp and Billy the Kid is no accident. Billy and Wyatt move from the urbanized, un-Wild West to the Deep South reclaiming rural America (lovingly filmed by director of photography Laszlo Kovacs) as a frontier. Early in *Easy Rider*, Wyatt and Billy stop at a ranch, and an elaborate comparison is constructed between the rancher's horses and the bikers' machines. *Easy Rider* evinces some unease as to whether being perpetually on the road, astride a product of modern technology, is the most satisfactory form of "freedom." Wyatt lauds the rancher: "It's not every man who can live off the land. Do your own thing in your own time." Here, the free man is no less than Thomas Jefferson's ideal, the yeoman farmer. The hippy commune which Wyatt and Billy later visit is a countercultural reconstruction of this agrarian ideal: disillusioned young urbanites ("All cities are the same" says one) going back to the garden, even if this Eden is the desert landscape of the Southwest. As Frederick Tuten observed in 1969, "the commune scene is at the center of the film's nostalgic values." *Easy Rider's* "nostalgia for a still beautiful America" (Tuten), and for a pre-urban, pre-capitalist American hero, is apparent in the doom-laden climax of the movie. While Billy rejoices "We're rich. . . . You go for the big money and you're free," his brooding compadre insists "We blew it." For Wyatt, the tainted cash gained from the cocaine deal has not facilitated liberty. Finally, even Wyatt and Billy have been "bought and sold in the marketplace," just like



Peter Fonda in a scene from the film *Easy Rider*.

the stereotypical Southern rednecks who murder the outlaws in the movie's final scene.

As well as projecting Jack Nicholson from art-house obscurity to Hollywood stardom, *Easy Rider* was extremely influential in establishing the road movie as the modern paradigm of the frontier freedom fable. *Vanishing Point* (1971) replaced *Easy Rider*'s pot fumes with amphetamine-fuelled paranoia appropriate to the decline of the hippy dream, while *Badlands* (1973) and *Natural Born Killers* (1994) both combined *Easy Rider*'s legacy with that of another neo-Western counterculture allegory, *Bonnie and Clyde*. *Thelma and Louise* (1991) went some way to revising the insidious sexism of *Easy Rider* and the genre in general, but in attempting to reveal "the vanishing face of America" (director Ridley Scott), this "feminist road movie" retained the convention of the hero(in)es' gloriously tragic demise.

—Martyn Bone

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## Ebbets Field

From 1913 to 1957 Ebbets Field was the home to major league baseball's Brooklyn Dodgers. The venue was considered by many to be the heart and soul of Brooklyn, New York, but it is arguable that at no other point in sports history has there been an environment in which the players, the fans, and the ballpark were so intertwined. Ebbets Field, in all its baseball glory, gave Americans much to celebrate about the game that so closely mirrored the aspirations of their society. Ebbets Field stood as a symbol for the unique character of Brooklyn—a city not only with a baseball team, but one with an independent identity, different to the other boroughs of New York. The ballpark provided a setting in which everyone in the ethnically and racially diverse community of Brooklyn could come together on an equal footing. The electric environment of the Dodgers and their home ground helped maintain that interracial unity for the better part of the first half of the twentieth century. At Ebbets Field, the Dodgers and their fans pulled together in a common cause: the establishment of a baseball tradition in Brooklyn that would best reflect the identity of the people and the culture of the borough.

Charlie Ebbets, the owner of the Dodgers from 1898 to 1925, moved the team to the new venue, which he named after himself, after their old ballpark, Washington Park, became too crowded. Ebbets



**Ebbets Field during the 1956 World Series.**

Field opened on April 9, 1913, with a seating capacity of 25,000. In later years the stadium came to hold over 30,000 people. Renovations transformed the park over the years from a pitcher's to a hitter's stadium. The park was small, but it was acceptable to Brooklyn because it was very comfortable. When Dodger fans went to the stadium to see a game, the experience was made additionally interesting by the many different types of characters who were rooting for the team. The "Dodger Sym-phony," for example, was made up of five fanatical fans who danced and played in the stands and on top of the dugout. Before each game, fans lined up along the railing to shake the hands and acquire autographs of the players. The players and fans had a personal relationship that was unique to major league baseball. The Dodger fans loved their team because the Dodger players symbolized the working class ethos prevalent in Brooklyn society at the time; the fans could identify with the players and respect their efforts.

There were several milestones reached at Ebbets Field that affected major league baseball and American popular culture. The first ever televised major league baseball game was played at Ebbets Field on August 26, 1939 when Brooklyn met the Cincinnati Reds in

the first game of a Saturday afternoon doubleheader. Televised by NBC, the contest paved the way for the regular TV transmission of sport programs in later decades. The second milestone witnessed at this ballpark was more significant. On April 15, 1947, Jackie Robinson became the first African-American to play in a major league game, thus breaking the color barrier that baseball had been forced to adopt back in the 1880s. The Dodgers became the first integrated team in major league baseball, thanks to their innovative president and general manager, Branch Rickey. Soon, the sport would truly become interracial, with many African American players admitted to the major leagues. It was appropriate that Ebbets Field, a park that was already known for its ethnic and racial diversity among the fans, should have pioneered integration on the field.

Winning was as important to Dodger fans as it was to fans of other teams, but Dodger fans also supported their team through many losing seasons. Still, the Dodgers did win nine National League pennants and secured the World Series title, for the only time in their history, in 1955. The people of Brooklyn did much celebrating after that championship, acknowledging their team's star quality as they

had always done, but this time giving them a victory parade. But their joy was short-lived. After the 1957 season, the Dodgers left Brooklyn and Ebbets Field for Los Angeles, where greater profits could be made. It was not an issue of attendance, for the Dodgers had always drawn well, but one that revolved around new financial opportunities on the West Coast. When the Dodgers left, the heart of Brooklyn departed with them and things were never the same again for the borough. Sadly, Ebbets Field, which had signified the ideal of what an American ballpark should be—a place of true community on the field and off—was demolished in 1960.

—David Treviño

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See Siskel and Ebert

## Ebony

In 1945, John H. Johnson conceived of a new magazine showing positive photographs of African Americans. The result was *Ebony*, the most successful African American publication in history, with a one-time circulation of more than two million and a pass-around readership of nine million. Building on the success of *Ebony*, Johnson went on to make privately-held Johnson Publishing Co. one of the five largest Black-owned businesses in the United States. With its sister magazines, including *Jet*, a Johnson publication reached one out of every two African-American adults by the end of the twentieth century, a saturation rate few other publishers could match. Johnson was one of the richest men in the United States and perhaps the most influential African American to ever live even though readers have not always been able to relate to the image of Blacks as presented in *Ebony*.

The first African American magazines, like Black newspapers, were born during the period of agitation against slavery that led in part to the Civil War. Titles such as the *Mirror of Liberty* and *National Reformer* were linked to abolitionism, but the French language *L'Album Litteraire*, *Journal des Jeunes Gens*, and *Les Canelles* and the American *Anglo-African Magazine* treated literature and other political issues as well. New Black magazines began appearing after the war and emancipation. Some of the more successful post-bellum titles that spoke to the conditions of their readers were *Southern Workman*, *African Methodist Episcopal Church Review*, *Colored American Magazine*, and *Voice of the Negro*. In the early twentieth century, the NAACP's *Crisis* briefly attracted more than one hundred thousand readers. It was joined by the *Messenger*, *Journal of Negro History*, *Opportunity*, *Journal of Negro Education*, *Phylon*, and



*Ebony* founder John H. Johnson with his daughter, 1992.

others. But none of these publications could boast of sustained mass circulation. They were read and supported by relatively small numbers of the better educated, upper-class Blacks. The vast majority of literate middle and lower-class Blacks read nationally-circulated newspapers like the *Negro World*, *Chicago Defender*, and *Pittsburgh Courier* before World War II.

John Harold Johnson was born into poverty in rural Arkansas City, Arkansas, on January 19, 1918. His father was killed in a sawmill accident when he was eight years old and his mother remarried in 1927. The curriculum for black students in the segregated Mississippi River town of Arkansas City stopped at the eighth grade, so Johnson and his family became part of the early twentieth-century Black diaspora to the North and migrated to Chicago in 1933, in part because of the World's Fair there. Johnson became an honor student at DuSable High School. At a convocation, he delivered a speech heard by Harry H. Pace, president of the Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company, a company that sold to Blacks who would not have been otherwise able to get life insurance.

Pace had encouraged a number of talented young Blacks, including singer and actor Paul Robeson, and gave Johnson a part-time job at his insurance company so Johnson could attend the University of Chicago. Johnson's interests were in the business world however, and he dropped out of college to marry and work full time for Pace's insurance company. Among Johnson's duties was to collect news and information about African Americans and prepare a weekly digest for Pace, loosely based on the format of the popular *Reader's Digest*. Johnson reasoned that such a Black digest could be marketed, and sought a \$500 bank loan in late 1942. The only

collateral that he could offer was some new furniture that he had helped his mother buy. She considered his offer, but refused to give an answer until she had prayed on the matter. Without an answer a week later, Johnson offered to pray with her, as his 1989 autobiography relates. A few days later, check in hand, *Negro Digest* was born and reached \$50,000 in sales within a year.

With the end of World War II in 1945, Johnson predicted that returning Black veterans would need a new magazine to help them cope with the racism back home. He was particularly concerned by how the White mainstream press portrayed African Americans. No notice was given of Black births, education, marriages, achievements, or even deaths in daily newspapers. Only when a Black committed a crime were names and photographs published. "We believed in 1945 that Black Americans needed positive images to fulfill their potential," Johnson wrote. "We believed then—and we believe now—that you have to change images before you can change acts and institutions." Johnson also recognized that the great Black and White magazines of words, *Time*, *Reader's Digest*, *Saturday Evening Post*, and his own *Negro Digest*, had reached their peak and were giving way to what he called the "blitzkrieg of the photograph." *Life*, a weekly magazine founded by Henry Luce in 1936, and *Look*, which first appeared in 1937, featured full page pictures by the leading photographers of the day and developed massive circulations. Johnson believed that the photographic magazines of the 1940s, including his monthly *Ebony*, accomplished what television did in the following decades, "opened new windows in the mind and brought us face to face with the multicolored possibilities of man and woman."

The first issue of *Ebony* appeared on November 1, 1945, sold for 25 cents, and featured a black-and-white photograph of seven boys, six White and one Black, from a New York City settlement house on its front cover. Inside were articles on novelist Richard Wright, a Black businessman who went from "slave to banker," and the first appearance of a regular feature, a photo-editorial, on post-war unemployment. The magazine was not an instant success. Johnson was eager to imitate the success of *Life*, which devoted a significant portion of each weekly issue to the activities of rich, famous, and glamorous people. Johnson sought to emphasize the more glamorous aspects of African-American life, in contrast to the negative tone of *Negro Digest*, so he concentrated on Black accomplishments in the worlds of entertainment and business. His elitist perspective did not always represent the aspirations of middle and lower-class Blacks, who bought the magazine for escapism rather than inspiration. Black press historian Walter C. Daniel observed that the early *Ebony* advanced a two-society portrait of American life, one Black and another White. "*Ebony* extracted a journalism model and economic clout from one and used these to propel the accomplishments and aspirations of the other without the encumbrances of philanthropy that had obligated almost every previous black institution," Daniel wrote. Still, *Life* and *Look* had much the same rose colored perspective as *Ebony*, and did not begin to promote actively more serious photojournalism, at least on their covers, until the 1950s and 1960s.

Before the first issue, Johnson had announced that he would not accept any advertising until *Ebony* had achieved a circulation of 100,000 copies. The first issue sold 50,000 copies but Johnson had to wait until May 1946 before accepting his first ad. He wanted to publish full page four-color ads like *Life* and *Look*, but most Black companies could not afford the cost. Johnson wrote to the chief executives of large corporations trying to convince them to consider Black as well as White publications for their advertising. He struck pay dirt with Eugene F. MacDonald, the CEO of the Chicago-based

Zenith Corporation. MacDonald was a former arctic explorer and personal friend of Matthew Henson, a Black man who was one of the first to step on the North Pole. Zenith was not the first White owned company to advertise in Black publication. Wrigley's gum and Bayer Aspirin had advertised in the *Negro World* in the 1920s. But a long term contract with Zenith opened doors to other White corporations and insured *Ebony's* continued profitability as its circulation grew. Over its history, *Ebony* meant prestige to its advertisers even as the magazine was criticized for an excess of alcoholic beverage ads and the use of lighter hued Black models.

Along with profiles of celebrities and businessmen, *Ebony* provided reliable news on the battle against segregation and the rise of the Civil Rights movement during the 1950s and 1960s. Johnson's pictorial editorials praised student activism and condemned so-called Uncle Tom faculty and administrators in traditional African-American colleges and universities. *Ebony* presented news and analysis on the rise of nationalism among former African colonies, including biographical sketches of diplomatic and government officials in the new nations and the representatives they sent to the United States and United Nations. A 1953 photograph of Harry Belafonte with actors Janet Leigh and Tony Curtis was the first time a Black person was seen with two Whites on the cover of a U.S. magazine. Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., published an article on a visit to India in *Ebony* and contributed a regular question and answer column, "Advice for Living By." *Ebony* photographer Moneta Sleet, Jr., became the first Black male to be awarded a Pulitzer Prize in 1969.

Johnson openly endorsed political candidates in *Ebony*, beginning with Harry Truman in 1948, in contrast to the more politically obtuse *Life*. He encouraged Blacks to think of politics in economic rather than racial terms, but remained a Democrat through the years, supporting Adlai Stevenson over Dwight Eisenhower, who had justified the Army's Jim Crowism during World War II. Johnson supported John F. Kennedy in 1960, and an *Ebony* writer predicted that Kennedy would support liberal race legislation in Congress, a promise fulfilled by Lyndon Johnson in 1964 and 1965. Johnson has met with every subsequent president, including his home state governor, Bill Clinton.

*Ebony's* bicentennial issue in 1976 presented "200 Years of Black Trials and Triumphs," an overview of African American history. On the occasion of its 35th anniversary in 1980, *Ebony* claimed a total readership of over six million readers. *Ebony* celebrated its 50th anniversary in 1995 with Johnson's daughter, Linda Johnson Rice, as president and chief operating officer. The issue featured "50 Who Have Changed America," a list of prominent Blacks including Rosa Parks, Michael Jordan, Colin L. Powell, and Oprah Winfrey. Johnson, written about and honored more than any living Black journalist, began the issue by observing "institutions, corporations, magazines, principalities have lived and died since Nov. 1, 1945, and *Ebony* is still here, and still No. 1" and repeated his favorite saying, "the only failure is failing to try." *Ebony* remains his living legacy to that end.

—Richard Digby-Junger

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## EC Comics

EC Comics was arguably the most innovative and controversial company in the history of mainstream comic-book publishing. Although EC thrived for only half-a-decade in the early 1950s, it accounted for a body of comic-book work that shook up the industry and has continued to influence popular culture artists ever since. EC's publications featured some of the cleverest writing and most accomplished artwork ever to appear in comic books, and attracted a fanatically enthusiastic following; but they also provoked harsh criticism from those who charged that they degraded the morals of the nation's youth. Whatever might be said of EC's comic books, they certainly left few readers disinterested.

EC began in 1946 as a company called Educational Comics. Its founder, Max C. Gaines, was one of the original entrepreneurs responsible for the development of comic-book magazines. In 1947 his son William M. Gaines inherited the company and soon thereafter embarked upon a new editorial direction for the line. Keeping the imprint EC, the younger Gaines changed the company's full name to Entertaining Comics in 1950 and launched a series of new titles promoted as EC's "New Trend" comic-books. These titles eventually included three horror comics called *Tales from the Crypt*, *The Vault of Horror*, and *The Haunt of Fear*; the crime titles *Crime Suspense Stories* and *Shock Suspense Stories*; the science-fiction series *Weird Fantasy* and *Weird Science*; the war comics *Two-Fisted Tales* and *Frontline Combat*, and a humor comic called *Mad*.

The New Trend titles were different from anything that had come before them. All featured quality artwork—some of the most innovative and accomplished ever seen in the medium, and writing that, while often crude, was still far more sophisticated than the norm for comic books. William Gaines and his chief collaborator, Al Feldstein, wrote most of the stories for the horror, crime, and science-fiction titles, and they obviously enjoyed their work. As Feldstein later explained, "We always wrote to our level." They aimed the stories at adolescents and young adults, although their audience doubtless included many children as well. The stories commonly incorporated such "adult" themes as murder, revenge, lust, psychosis, political intrigue, and scathing satire.

An alternative, irreverent, and even confrontational perspective on American Cold War culture informed the stories in EC comics, which criticized, satirized, and subverted prevailing values, conventions, and institutions. At a time when the mass entertainment industry in general remained captive to conservative financial and

political concerns, such social criticism was seldom to be found in popular media offerings, and EC comic books rank collectively as perhaps the most subversive work produced for profit by an entertainment enterprise during the McCarthy era.

The war comics, published concurrently with the Korean War, qualified as the first truly anti-war comic books ever produced. Harvey Kurtzman wrote and drew many of these, bringing to them both his penchant for historical accuracy and his gift for irony. In Kurtzman's hands, historical stories, ranging from Julius Caesar to the Battle of Little Big Horn to the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, became parables on the dangers inherent in military authority and the utter futility and horror of war—weighty material for comic-books.

In their science-fiction and crime titles, Gaines and Feldstein often attacked such social ills as racism and bigotry, and even dared to point the finger at McCarthyism. *Shock Suspense Stories* in particular was a vehicle for realistic and damning portrayals of the violence and injustice inflicted upon African Americans, Jews, and Latinos. No other comic book even began to approach this kind of social commentary, and few contemporary movies or television series did so either.

Under the editorial direction of Harvey Kurtzman, *Mad* became the first and best satirical comic book ever published. Besides mocking many of the conventions, institutions, and icons held dear by mainstream America, *Mad* also took aim at its own competition with devastating parodies of such inviting targets as *Superman*, *Batman*, and *Archie*. This irreverence branded EC as a maverick within the comic-book industry, a distinction that Gaines welcomed.

EC became best known, however, for its horror comic books. Titles such as *Tales from the Crypt* offered readers some of the most grotesque and grisly images available in mass culture. To say that violence and murder were commonplace in these comics, hardly begins to do justice to stories wherein people were chopped to pieces, ground into pulp, deep-fried, and even eaten. One infamous story, called "Foul Play," ended with a baseball team murdering a rival player, disemboweling his corpse, and playing a baseball game with his body parts. There was usually a tongue-in-cheek quality about these atrocities, as evidenced by the ghoulish narrators who introduced and concluded each tale with gallows humor and bad puns. Husbands murdered wives, wives murdered husbands, parents abused their children, and children rose up to murder their parents. Stories like these sold over half-a-million copies per issue and found a revealingly large audience within a society dominated elsewhere by images of affluence and vapid suburban conformity. They also made EC the most controversial publisher in the business and the one most vulnerable to the charges of the industry's critics. It was, therefore perhaps unsurprising that EC was unable to survive the crisis that engulfed the comic-book industry in 1954-55.

In 1954, Gaines testified before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee that was investigating the alleged influence of crime and horror comic books on juvenile delinquency. At one point he found himself in an absurd (and often recounted) debate with Senator Estes Kefauver over the artistic merits of an EC horror comic with an image of a severed head on the cover. When Gaines' competitors formed the Comics Magazine Association of America and adopted the self-censoring Comics Code, he initially refused to join the organization. He subsequently capitulated, but nervous distributors nevertheless refused to handle the EC publications, code-approved or not. In 1955 Gaines canceled the entire EC line except for *Mad*, which then enjoyed a long run of success in a black-and-white magazine format.

Long after its demise as a comic-book publisher, EC's influence remained evident. Successive generations of comic-book creators



drew inspiration from the imaginative ideas of EC's writers and artists. Hard Rock acts such as Alice Cooper and Rob Zombie incorporated EC's grotesque world view into their own musical tributes to American junk culture, while horror novelist Stephen King has cited EC as a profound early influence on his imagination; he paid tribute to their horror titles in his 1982 movie *Creepshow*. Many of EC's crime and horror stories have been adapted into the successful live-action anthology series *Tales from the Crypt* on the HBO and Fox networks, and the original comic books themselves continue to be reprinted and sold in comic-book stores in the 1990s. As an exemplar of mass entertainment of the most inspired, gutsy, and irreverent sort, EC's place in comic-book immortality is assured.

—Bradford W. Wright

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## Eckstine, Billy (1914-1993)

Although he was best known after 1948 as a singer of popular ballads, Pittsburgh-born Billy Eckstine was a standout jazz singer from 1939-43 with Earl Hines' Band and best known for his bluesy recording of "Jelly, Jelly." He also led a jazz orchestra in the mid-forties that was many years ahead of its time. During the transitional bebop era, Eckstine assembled such cutting-edge jazz stars as trumpeters Dizzy Gillespie and Miles Davis, saxophonists Charlie Parker and Dexter Gordon, and Art Blakey on drums. He also gave a start to Sarah Vaughan, one of the most innovative of jazz singers. Unfortunately, the Eckstine Band was so poorly recorded that no evidence remains of its extraordinary music.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Eco-Terrorism

In the latter decades of the twentieth century, terrorist activity expanded into an ever-present threat in the United States of America and elsewhere, penetrating the fabric of national consciousness much as the specter of Communism had done during the Cold War years. Generally perpetrated by political and religio-political fanatics, terrorism has, however, developed a new and significant strain, perceived to have noble aims but intended, nonetheless, to wreak

domestic havoc. The Federal Bureau of Investigation defines terrorism as "the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives." The term "eco-terrorism" (or ecoterrorism) refers to two different kinds of terrorism: (1) terrorism intended to hinder activities considered harmful to the environment, and (2) terrorism intended to damage the environment of an enemy.

In February 1991, when Iraqi troops retreated from Kuwait during the Gulf War, they set more than 600 wells in the Greater Burgan oilfield on fire, a deed that has been referred to as "the world's worst act of eco-terrorism." Most popular cultural references to eco-terrorism, however, refer not to this second form of terrorism but to the first, which intends to preserve the environment, not harm it. Used in this manner, eco-terrorism is a highly contested term. Ron Arnold, a leader of the anti-environmental "Wise Use" movement, argues for a broad definition of eco-terrorism that includes almost every crime committed on behalf of the environment, even acts of civil disobedience. Many environmentalists, however, passionately disagree with this usage, preferring to distinguish between "eco-sabotage" (an assault on inanimate objects) and terrorism (an assault on living things). The environmentalist David Brower, for instance, has argued that the real terrorists are those who pollute and despoil the earth, not those who seek to protect it.

This distinction between violence toward property and violence toward living things reflects the influence of "deep ecology," a philosophy upon which much radical environmental action has been based. In 1973, the Norwegian Arne Naess distinguished between what he called "shallow ecology" (or human-centered environmentalism) and "deep ecology" (or earth-centered environmentalism). A central component of deep ecology, according to Naess, is the idea of "Self-realization," in which the "Self" is understood to include not just the individual consciousness, but all of human and non-human nature. Some environmentalists, therefore, argue that eco-sabotage cannot be labeled terrorism, because from this perspective it is actually an act of self-defense.

The roots of eco-sabotage or eco-terrorism can be traced back to the early nineteenth century, when bands of English craftsmen known as Luddites destroyed the textile machinery that was rendering their skills increasingly redundant. Generally masked and operating at night, the Luddites claimed to be led by Ned Ludd, an apparently mythical figure whom many modern eco-saboteurs have taken as their namesake. Henry David Thoreau, though by no means an eco-terrorist, has also been cited as a forerunner of the radical environmental movement. In *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (1849), Thoreau mourned the inability of shad to bypass the Billerica Dam in the Concord River. "I for one am with thee," Thoreau wrote of the fish, "and who knows what may avail a crow-bar against that Billerica Dam?"

Modern eco-terrorism came into being after the first Earth Day, held in 1970, when a handful of environmentalists in the United States began using force to achieve their political goals. In Arizona, the "Arizona Phantom" tore up railroad tracks and disabled equipment in an attempt to stop construction of a coal mine in the desert highlands. A group of college-age boys calling themselves the "Eco-Raiders" burned billboards, disabled bulldozers, and vandalized development projects in and around Tucson, causing over half a million dollars of damage. In Illinois, a man going by the name of "The Fox" plugged drainage pipes, capped factory smokestacks, and

dumped industrial waste from a U.S. Steel plant into the office of the company's chief executive. In Michigan, the "Billboard Bandits" cut down roadside signs with chainsaws, and in Minnesota, a group of farmers calling themselves the "Bolt Weevils" disabled 14 electrical towers that were part of a high-voltage power line being built across the prairie.

These early eco-radicals may have been encouraged by the founding in 1971 of the environmental group Greenpeace, which advocated non-violent direct action against high-profile targets. They may also have been influenced by the publication of several books, including *The Anarchist Cookbook* (1971), by William Powell; *Ecotage!* (1972), edited by Sam Love and David Obst; and *The Monkey Wrench Gang* (1976), by Edward Abbey, a novel about four "ecoteurs" who roam the Southwestern United States blowing up bridges and vandalizing bulldozers in the name of environmental protection.

*The Monkey Wrench Gang* not only gave the activity of eco-sabotage its popular moniker ("monkeywrenching"), it also inspired the formation of the environmental group most closely associated with eco-terrorism in the popular imagination—Earth First! Founded in 1980 by Dave Foreman and other disenchanting activists, Earth First! took as its motto the phrase "No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth," and its journal served as a clearinghouse for monkeywrenching tactics, though the group never officially advocated the practice. In 1985, however, Foreman edited the first of several editions of *Ecodefense: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching*, which contained instructions for such actions as how to spike trees, close roads, and burn machinery. By 1990, monkeywrenching was estimated to be costing business and industry from \$20 to \$25 million a year, had spawned federal legislation against tree-spiking, and had caught the attention of the FBI, Scotland Yard, and other intelligence organizations.

Whether incidents of eco-terrorism are increasing or decreasing in frequency is unclear, due in part to the elastic nature of the term itself. Opponents of eco-terrorism point to incidents such as the October 1998 burning of a Vail, Colorado, ski resort as evidence that eco-terrorism is on the rise. The arson, which caused some \$12 million in damage, was attributed to the Earth Liberation Front, a radical environmental group, working to prevent the expansion of the ski resort into one of the last known habitats of the lynx. Author David Helvarg, however, contends that radical environmentalists have become less likely to resort to monkeywrenching tactics and more likely to employ civil disobedience to achieve their goals. Similarly, he claims that environmentalists are more likely to be victims of violence than to act violently. In 1998, for instance, David Chain, an Earth First! protestor, was killed by a tree felled by a Pacific Lumber logger in Humboldt County, California.

Whatever the future of eco-terrorism, its appearance in such films as Terry Gilliam's *12 Monkeys*, novels such as Tom Clancy's *Rainbow Six*, and such computer games as Eidos Interactive's *Final Fantasy VII*, suggests that this highly contested term has quite clearly hit a nerve.

—Daniel J. Philippon

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## Eddy, Duane (1938—)

Known for his "twangy" guitar sound, Duane Eddy was a leading rock and roll instrumentalist, with fifteen Top 40 hits between 1958 and 1963. Born in upstate New York, Eddy moved to Arizona at the age of thirteen. He was an early experimenter with natural sources of echo and reverberation, which resulted in the "twangy" sound that quickly became his trademark. Eddy recorded on the Jamie label through 1961, and moved to the more prestigious RCA Victor label for his last few records in 1962 and 1963.

His popularity and good looks led to a few supporting roles in motion pictures such as *Because They're Young* (for which he also performed the main theme song), along with a custom line of Duane Eddy signature guitars. There was an excessive similarity inherent in the various songs Eddy recorded, and only two ever reached the major success of the Top Ten. Those were "Rebel Rouser" in 1958 and "Forty Miles of Bad Road" in 1959.

—David Lonergan

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## Eddy, Mary Baker (1821-1910)

Mary Baker Eddy is regarded as one of the most influential women in American history. In 1992 the Women's National Book Association recognized her *Science and Health* as one of the 75 books by women "whose words have changed the world." In 1995 she was elected into the National Women's Hall of Fame as the only American woman to have founded a religion recognized worldwide.

Eddy was born the sixth child of a Puritan family outside of Concord, New Hampshire on July 16, 1821. As a child she was extremely frail and suffered from persistent illnesses. In 1843, Eddy married her first husband, Major George Washington Glover, who died of yellow fever six months after their marriage, leaving her penniless and 5 months pregnant. Once born, her son was taken from her and given to a couple who had just lost twins. In 1853, Eddy married her second husband Daniel Patterson, a Baptist dentist. Since her health was persistently in decline, she began to investigate many "mind over matter" theories that were popular at the time. She even went so far as to consult a psychic healer in 1862.



**Mary Baker Eddy**

Eddy's struggle with illness lasted until her epiphany experience on February 4, 1866. Eddy was bedridden after having sustained critical spine injuries from a fall on an icy sidewalk. She came across a story in the Bible about a palsied, bedridden man who is forgiven by Christ and made to walk. She then formed her theory that the power to heal sin is the same power that heals the body. Indeed, she believed and got out of bed. Patterson left her that year, and, seven years later, Eddy divorced him.

After her transforming spiritual realization, she preached her discovery of Christian Science. She had found the answer to her quest for health, and she wrote her first book on the subject, *Science and Health with a Key to the Scriptures* (1875). And, in 1877, Eddy was married for a final time to Asa Gilbert Eddy.

Christian Science is based on her beliefs that anything associated with the physical world is an illusion (including pain), and that mind, life, and spirit are all that exist and are all part of God. Healing for her meant recognizing the error of believing in the flesh. Eddy's philosophy, however, cannot be considered a mind over matter philosophy because, in Christian Science, the concept of matter does not exist.

Eddy's writings and beliefs quickly helped her become the leader of thousands of people in the Christian Science movement. By the year 1900, only 34 years after her revelation and only 25 from the publication of her first book, over 900 churches participated in the Christian Science movement. Eddy obtained a nearly god-like status in her churches by her death in 1910.

The Christian Science Church, from its "Mother Church" headquarters in Boston, Massachusetts, has been a major media influence. *Science and Health*, reissued in 1994, immediately became

an annual best seller among religious books. Eddy also wrote 20 other books and pamphlets, including other theology books and a book of her poetry and letters. In 1883, Eddy published the first issue of *The Christian Science Journal*. In 1899 she established both the *Christian Science Sentinel* and *Christian Science Quarterly*. She had a strong influence as editor of these periodicals. And, finally, in 1908 she requested that a daily newspaper be started called the *Christian Science Monitor*. Both the *Christian Science Journal* and the *Christian Science Monitor* are still in print and continue to be very well respected.

In 1989, the *Christian Science Monitor* launched The Monitor Channel, a cable network that failed and collapsed in 1992. At the same time, the church also started a radio network and a public affairs magazine that both fell through. Although Christian Science has remained politically powerful throughout the second half of the twentieth century, estimated membership totals have shown a drop, from 270,000 members before World War II to 170,000 in the 1990s. Branch churches have declined from 3,000 in 37 countries to fewer than 2,400 in the 1990s.

A major criticism of Christian Science is that its members are often unwilling to seek medical help for themselves or their critically ill children. In the last half of the twentieth century, Christian Scientists have even succeeded in most states to establish the right to deny their children medical treatment. Part of the decline of the church population is due to an increasing trust of traditional medicine.

The followers of Christian Science revere Mary Baker Eddy. Outside of the religion she is heralded as having made major feminist accomplishments. In *Science and Health*, she pushed for the equality of the sexes, female suffrage, and the right of women to hold and dispose of property. She also pushed for an understanding of both the motherhood and the fatherhood of God. Eddy's ideas, although spawned and proliferated in her time, have outlived her.

—Adam Wathen

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## Eddy, Nelson (1901-1967)

With his captivating good looks, military uniform, and baritone voice, Nelson Eddy was the epitome of the Hollywood musical hero in the 1930s and 1940s. He and Jeanette MacDonald became known as “America’s Singing Sweethearts” because of their eight MGM film collaborations.

Born in Providence, Rhode Island, on June 29, 1901, Eddy grew up in a musical household. He sang major roles at New York’s Metropolitan Opera before becoming known as a radio singer and eventually as a film star. Although he sang with such esteemed leading ladies as Eleanor Powell and Rise Stevens, it was with Jeanette MacDonald that he was most often associated. The films of the so-called “Beauty and the Baritone” included *Naughty Marietta* (1935), *Rose Marie* (1936), *Maytime* (1937), *The Girl of the Golden West* (1938), *The New Moon* (1940), *Bitter Sweet* (1940), and *I Married an Angel* (1942). Other Eddy films include *The Chocolate Soldier* (1941) and *Phantom of the Opera* (1943). In addition to his film appearances, Eddy made numerous recordings and sang frequently in concert and on the night club circuit. He died in Miami, Florida, on March 6, 1967.

—William A. Everett

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## *The Edge of Night*

*The Edge of Night*, one of the top ten longest running soap operas in daytime television history, debuted on April 2, 1956 on CBS, along with *As the World Turns*. The two shows were the first soaps to air for a full half-hour on a major television network, and the enthusiastic audience response marked a new trend in the orientation of popular television. *The Edge of Night*’s original time slot, 4:30 p.m., inspired the show’s title, but the title reflected the content, which was at times graphically violent. While some television critics, including the redoubtable *TV Guide*, have argued that *The Edge of Night* was technically a serialized melodrama rather than a soap opera, over its almost three-decade run the show turned to themes most commonly associated with soap opera drama: sex, romance, and family turmoil.

Set in Monticello, a turbulent midwestern town, *The Edge of Night* revolved around the criminal investigations of Mike Karr and his sometimes unorthodox detective work and courtroom tactics. After the first couple of seasons, Karr married his devoted assistant, Sara Lane, though the writers had her run over by a bus on the February 17, 1961 episode. Lane was the first major soap character to

be killed off, and the high realism of the accident—the show was broadcast live until 1975—sent the audience into shock. Thousands of letters and phone calls deluged the network and prompted a televised announcement by Teal Ames and John Larkin, the actors who played Sara and Mike, explaining that Ames was fine in real life and had left the show to pursue other opportunities.

Over the years Mike Karr was played by three different actors—John Larkin from 1956 to 1961; Laurence Hugo from 1962-1971; and Forrest Compton from 1971-1984. Exemplifying a paradox that television audiences have simply come to accept, the three replacements were neither announced nor explained, but did nothing to disturb the sense of realism so central to *The Edge of Night*’s success. By the 1970s, however, the show’s writers perhaps did push the limits of believability in the popular Adam-Nicole love story. Nicole (Maeve McGuire; later Jayne Bentzen and Lisa Sloan) had been killed off in a drowning during the explosion of a yacht, only to rejoin the show two years later when it was discovered that in fact she had survived the drowning, joined a gang in France, and suffered a long bout of amnesia before returning to Monticello.

After the show’s sponsor, Procter and Gamble, requested a time change in the 1970s, *The Edge of Night* experienced a ratings slump from which it never recovered. The show moved to ABC on December 1, 1975, the first daytime serial to change networks, but was canceled on December 28, 1984. A few years later it enjoyed a short-lived cult revival in syndication on the USA cable network. Among the sophisticated luminaries who had early on enjoyed some of its 7,420 episodes were Cole Porter, P. G. Wodehouse, Tallulah Bankhead, and Eleanor Roosevelt.

—Michele S. Shauf

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## Edison, Thomas Alva (1847-1931)

Thomas Alva Edison, inventor of the phonograph in 1878 and the incandescent light bulb in 1879, is considered to be one of America’s most creative minds. He is the only American to have patented an invention every year for 63 consecutive years, beginning in 1868 with his invention of an electrical vote recorder. Altogether, Edison held 1,093 patents including those for a stock ticker, a component of mimeograph systems, and a telephone transmitter that led to commercial telephone and radio broadcasting. Using a mobile studio and a photographic device he designed, Edison also created the first apparatus for projecting motion pictures. The invention, along with George Eastman’s refinement of film, set the stage for the creation of the motion picture industry. It is appropriate that the creator of so many products, a man whose impact on America proved revolutionary, should have provided a symbol to represent originality and intelligence, the shining light bulb, used in logos to represent a “bright idea.”

—Sharon Brown

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## Edmonds, Kenneth

See Babyface

## The Edsel

Announced with great fanfare in 1957 after almost a decade of planning, the Ford Motor Company's Edsel model car became one of the great flops in automotive history. The car was forecasted to sell over 200,000 units in its first year, but sold less than 85,000 during its three year run. Despite massive advertising—including pre-empting *The Ed Sullivan Show* with *The Edsel Show* featuring Bing Crosby and Frank Sinatra—the Edsel was the wrong car at the wrong time. The auto industry, after years of massive sales, hit a post-Sputnik slump and the new car, with its strange oval grille, was doomed. Named after Henry Ford's son Edsel, the name is now synonymous with failure. As such, Edsel is often used as a punchline and visual gag. The car can be seen in films such as *Pee Wee's Big Adventure*,

and in *Airplane II*, where the engine from a 1959 Edsel is used to jumpstart a space shuttle.

—Patrick Jones

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## Edwards, James (1916?-1970)

With his thoughtful intelligent manner and splendid good looks, African American actor James Edwards came to epitomize the "new Negro" in post-World War II Hollywood film. His moderately successful motion picture acting career spanned four decades, from the late 1940s to his final appearance in 1970. His contribution to film history, however, is not attributed to a sterling performance in a wildly successful classic. Edward's legacy is that he was a ground-breaker, and his work helped to forge change during a significant period in American social history.



The 1958 Edsel Citation

Younger film devotees may find it difficult to appreciate the impact that black film stars such as Edwards and his contemporaries Sidney Poitier and Harry Belafonte had on the psyche of postwar Blacks and Whites, and on the state of race relations in the United States. Edward's portrayal as a victim of bigotry in *Home of the Brave* (1949) was widely hailed as the first feature film to deal honestly with race issues in America. It was an early example of the cycle of "message pictures" that appeared during the volatile period of bus boycotts, school desegregation, and protest against systematic discrimination.

Historically, African Americans had appeared in motion pictures as soon as the first murky images appeared in nickelodeons during the early days of the twentieth century. By the late 1910s, as filmmakers fine-tuned the possibilities of storytelling on film, Black people (along with recent immigrants, women, and Native Americans) found themselves viscerally lampooned with the most egregious of film stereotypes. During the Golden Age of Hollywood (1929-1939) a number of Black film "types" appeared: Black film characters were relegated to a few roles as maid, butler or, most notably, comic-relief—the dim-witted, bug-eyed, darkie servant who was the butt of everyone's jokes. War and organized protest helped to forge change and by the postwar period, though the stereotypes had hardly disappeared and the number of roles for Black performers was small, Hollywood pictures could now feature Blacks as lawyers, teachers, soldiers, and otherwise contributing members of society.

Like Poitier, James Edwards began his acting career in theater. He was born in Muncie, Indiana, and attended Indiana and Northwestern University, earning a B.S. in 1938 for dramatics. As a lieutenant in the Army he was wounded in battle. Surgeons had to rebuild his face and he endured a long, painful convalescent period. It was suggested that he take lessons in elocution. Recovered, he pursued an acting career and appeared in the controversial 1945 stage production of *How Deep are the Roots* (in which he portrayed the love interest of a very white, Barbara Bel Geddes). His first film appearance appears to have been a bit part as a boxer in the 1949 film noir classic, *The Set-Up*.

The year was 1948 and President Harry Truman signed an order that would begin the long and painful process of desegregating the nation's armed forces. Far away from Washington, D.C., and working in total secrecy, young filmmaker Stanley Kramer worked on a film that intended to exploit the ramifications of Truman's order. Featuring James Edwards in the title role, the film *Home of the Brave* was released May 1949, less than a year after the president's missive. Based loosely on the stage play (which had anti-semitism as a theme), *Home of the Brave* told the story of a young Black soldier on duty in the Pacific who succumbs emotionally and physically to the torment of racial prejudice.

To contemporary viewers the film may appear contrived and corny, replete with staid dialogue and sometimes tacky sets. With its strong theme and frank language, however, it was praised by both the white press and black press—which noted with encouragement that Hollywood was finally putting the old film stereotypes of Blacks to rest. It also won recognition for Edwards in the form of an Oscar nomination for Best Supporting performance. He became a Black movie idol and his exploits were covered in the black fanzines of the time.

Issues of race were depicted in varying degrees in several of Edward's films. In 1951 he appeared in *Bright Victory*, portraying a blinded Black soldier whose white (and also blind) friend rejects him

when he learns Edwards is black. In his role as Corporal Thompson in the Sam Fuller Korean War cult classic *The Steel Helmet* (1950), a Communist officer chides Edwards for risking his life for a country that requires him to sit in the back of bus. His other roles as a soldier include *Battle Hymn* (1957), *Men in War* (1957), *Blood and Steel* (1959), and the star-studded Lewis Milestone production of *Pork Chop Hill* (1959).

Bright, personable, and well-spoken, Edwards was a welcome alternative to the Black film stereotypes of the past. In effect, however, one stereotype replaced another. The bug-eyed comics of the 1930s were replaced in the 1960s by the "Good Negro"—intelligent, articulate, and most importantly, non-threatening.

But in some ways, Edwards was no Hollywood Negro poster-boy. He was an out-spoken critic of discrimination and he is said to have refused to testify during the infamous House Un-American Affairs Committee hearings of the 1950s. A 1953 article by Edwards appearing in the December issue of *Our World* magazine was titled "Hollywood: So What?" Unlike Poitier, who was seen at the time as, perhaps, a bit more accommodating, Edwards apparently spoke his mind.

Edward's other film roles include *Member of the Wedding* (1952), *The Joe Louis Story* (1953), *Seven Angry Men* (1955), *The Phenix City Story* (1955), *Battle Hymn* (1957), *The Killing* (1956), *Anna Lucasta* (1959), *Night of the Quarter Moon* (1959), *The Manchurian Candidate* (1962), *The Sandpiper* (1965), and his final appearance as a personal aid to General George Patton in the academy award winning 1970 production of *Patton*. Edwards was not to enjoy the success of *Patton*. He died in 1970 of a heart attack, leaving behind a wife and daughter. Curiously, obituaries list his age at the time of his death as anywhere from 42 to 58.

If not for the influence of cable movie channels and video collections, many of Edwards' films would have by now been relegated to the land of long-forgotten "B" movies. His legacy to film history, therefore, is not a classic film but his efforts and work as a Hollywood actor to help forge change in attitudes about race during a time in the social history of America when change was sorely needed.

—Pamala S. Deane

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## Edwards, Jodie and Susie

See Butterbeans and Susie

## Edwards, Ralph (1913—)

Television producer Ralph Edwards is best known for creating the game show *Truth or Consequences*. Edwards began his career in the entertainment industry as a radio announcer while attending the University of California, Berkeley. After graduating, Edwards moved to New York and became a nationally syndicated radio personality. In 1940 Edwards produced, wrote, and emceed the radio version of *Truth or Consequences*, which aired for 38 consecutive years on radio and television. Edwards introduced the “live on film” technique by having *Truth or Consequences* filmed before a live studio audience when it debuted on television in 1950; the show was hosted for 18 years by Bob Barker, who went on to become television’s most durable game show host with *The Price Is Right*. Edwards produced dozens of television game shows, including *This Is Your Life*, *Knockout*, *Place the Face*, and *It Could Be You*. In 1981 Edwards teamed up with producer Stu Billett to create a show that introduced a new form of the reality genre to television; they called their show *The People’s Court*.

—Lara Bickell



Ralph Edwards

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## Eight, The

See Ashcan School, The

## Eight-Track Tape

In the 1960s, the eight-track tape player was an ambitious attempt to employ magnetic prerecorded tape in a convenient format for use in home and automobile stereos. The eight-track was significant evidence that Americans now demanded music while they travelled and that the automobile had become a place to experience entertainment. By the early 1980s, however, the eight-track became a symbol of obsolescence in audio technology and an artifact of 1960s and 1970s nostalgia.

In the 1960s, several manufacturers developed tape cartridges as a format for recorded sound. The Lear Company, a manufacturer of executive jet airplanes, produced a continuous-loop cartridge with four sets of paired stereo tracks—thus the name eight-track. In 1964, representatives from Lear approached Ford Motor Company with a plan to introduce this format into automobiles. People wanted to select their own music to listen while travelling, and the eight-track tape was convenient for the driver because it could be inserted into the player with one hand.

Ford equipped millions of automobiles with eight-track players and millions more were manufactured for use in home radio/phonographs. Although the eight-track format became a major format for pre-recorded popular music in the 1960s and 1970s, it was not an entirely satisfactory product for the user who could not record on it and found it difficult to access selections. By the end of the 1970s, the eight-track tape had been overtaken by the compact cassette and dropped by audio manufacturers and record companies.

—Andre Millard

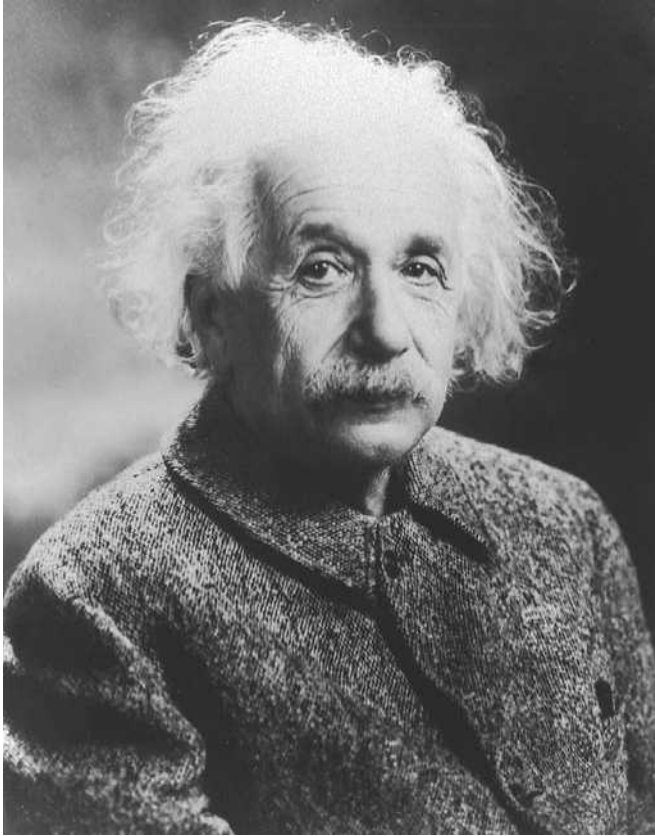
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## Einstein, Albert (1879-1955)

In the 1910s, Albert Einstein proposed a series of theories that led to new ways of thinking about space, time, and gravitation. For the



**Albert Einstein**

first time, the scientific world raced far beyond the theories of the seventeenth century English scientist Sir Isaac Newton, who began his study of gravity by observing an apple fall from a tree. Einstein's famous energy-mass equation, which asserts that a particle of matter can be transformed into an astounding quantity of energy, led to the construction of atomic and hydrogen bombs with unimaginable capacities for destruction. In his own time he was widely recognized as one of the most innovative geniuses in human history. Today, in the realm of popular culture, his name is synonymous with genius, and many a young prodigy has been called an "Einstein."

He was born in Ulm, Germany, on March 14, 1879, and grew up in Munich, where he was educated in public schools that he found to be boring, as well as highly regimented and intimidating. He showed such little ability as a student that his mother recommended that he study music, and he became an accomplished violinist, playing throughout his life for relaxation, not for public performance. Under the influence of two uncles, the boy Einstein began to develop a curiosity about science and mathematics, and at age 12 he announced that he would concentrate his mind on solving the riddle of the "huge world."

At age 15, with poor grades in languages, history, and geography, he left his German school without a diploma and moved with his family to Milan. He resumed his education at the famous Federal Polytechnic Academy in Zürich, where he completed four years of physics and mathematics. After graduating in the spring of 1900, Einstein began a two month tenure as a mathematics teacher before being employed as an examiner in the Swiss patent office in Bern. He

continued his research and writing and in 1905 published a thesis entitled *A New Determination of Molecular Dimensions* that won him a Ph.D. from the University of Zürich. Four more important papers were published that year in the prestigious German journal *Annalen der Physik*, forever changing man's view of the universe.

Now accepted by his colleagues as one of Europe's leading physicists and much sought-after as a consultant, Einstein left the patent office and returned to teaching in universities in Switzerland and Germany. In 1914 he moved to Berlin, where he worked at the Prussian Academy of Sciences, doing his research on the general theory of relativity and lecturing occasionally at the University of Berlin. He published his findings in 1916 in an article entitled (in translation): "The Foundation of the General Theory of Relativity." He postulated that gravitation was not a force, as Newton had thought, but a curved field in a space-time continuum. This could be proved, he wrote, by measuring the deflection of starlight during a period of total eclipse. In 1919 British scientists photographed a solar eclipse from Principe Island in the Gulf of Guinea, and their calculations verified Einstein's predictions. Einstein was amazed at the world-wide acclamation he received, but he resented the constant interruptions his new fame brought. In 1921 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Physics.

During the 1920s Einstein worked toward finding a mathematical relationship between electromagnetism and gravitation, thus relating the universal properties of matter and energy into a single equation or formula. This quest for a unified field theory, which occupied the rest of his life, proved futile. The rapidly developing quantum theory showed that the movement of a single particle could not be predicted because of the uncertainty in measuring both its speed and its position at the same time. The first version of the unified field theory was published in 1929, but the tentative, preliminary nature of the work was apparent to the scientific community.

In the 1930s, Einstein spent as much time championing the cause of peace as he did discussing science. He established the Einstein War Resisters International Fund to bring massive public pressure on the World Disarmament Conference, scheduled to meet in Geneva in 1932. After the failure of the conference, which he termed "farical," Einstein visited Geneva to focus world attention on the failure and on the necessity of reducing the world's firepower.

When Adolf Hitler became chancellor of Germany in 1933, Einstein warned the world that Nazi Germany was preparing for war, then renounced his German citizenship and moved to America. He accepted a full time position at the newly formed Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, New Jersey. Nazi storm troopers ransacked his summer home near Berlin in reprisal.

His life at Princeton remained the same for the next 20 years. He lived in a simple frame house, daily walking a mile or so to the Institute, where he worked on his unified field theory and talked with colleagues. In a 1994 movie entitled *I.Q.*, Walter Matthau played the role of Einstein enjoying his intellectual life at Princeton. Einstein rarely traveled, preferring to relax with his violin and sail on a local lake. He took no part in the work at Los Alamos, New Mexico, where the nuclear fission bombs were being made. When he died in his sleep on April 18, 1955, his wife found an incomplete statement, written to honor Israeli Independence Day, on his desk. It included this statement: "What I seek to accomplish is simply to serve with my feeble capacity truth and justice at the risk of pleasing no one."

—Benjamin Griffith



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## Eisner, Will (1917—)

With a career as a writer and artist that spans virtually the entire history of the medium, Will Eisner is one of the most innovative and influential creators of comic books and graphic novels. From his earliest work on the newspaper supplement, *The Spirit*, Eisner strove to understand and develop his chosen art form. His career has been driven by his canny business sense and by a belief that sequential art (as he prefers to call comic books and graphic novels) is a valid medium of artistic expression that deserves wider acceptance and respect.

As a teenager, Eisner’s artistic talent simply represented a way out of the grim reality of Bronx tenement life during the Depression. After a brief stint studying at the Art Students League and working in a magazine advertising department, Eisner began writing and drawing comics for *Wow, What a Magazine!* in 1936. Samuel “Jerry” Iger was editing *Wow*, and when the magazine folded after four issues, Eisner and Iger formed their own studio to package comic book material for Fiction House, Fox Comics, and other publishers. At first, the prolific Eisner produced most of the work under different pen names. As the Eisner-Iger Shop flourished, however, the young Eisner began supervising a staff of artists that included Bob Kane and Jack Kirby.

In 1939 Eisner was approached by a features syndicate about producing a comic book supplement for newspapers. He jumped at the chance to reach a more mature audience through newspaper distribution. Because the syndicate had approached him—they were not likely to find anyone else capable of producing a complete comic book every week—Eisner was able to retain ownership and creative control of the feature. He sold his interest in the Eisner-Iger Shop to Iger and took four of the staff with him to form Will Eisner Productions.

The newspaper supplement that debuted in 1940 was simply called *The Comic Book Section*, but it became better known by the title of the lead feature, *The Spirit*. The syndicate saw the supplement as a way to benefit from the growing national market for comic books that was sparked by the appearance of *Superman* in 1938 and *The Batman* in 1939, and they envisioned the *Spirit* as a superhero very much in the mold of these two characters. Will Eisner was more interested in telling good stories, and his only concessions to the superhero concept were a simple domino mask and a pair of gloves.

When Eisner was drafted in 1942, his assistants, primarily Lou Fine, took over for the duration of the war. Fine was true to the style Eisner had set for the book, and it was a subtle change compared to what happened when Eisner returned from the Army. Many early stories from *The Spirit* were whimsical and fantasy-oriented, but when Eisner returned from the war his stories had greater realism and concern for the human condition—in his work that usually means the condition of humans crowded together by big city life. As Catherine Yronwode puts it in *The Art of Will Eisner*, “New York, or more

properly, Brooklyn and The Bronx, was, in Eisner’s metaphoric world, transformed into a stage upon which the most wide-sweeping and the most intimate dramas of human life were enacted.”

Eisner had used his art to escape from the tenements of New York, but eventually he used his art to explore the personal and universal meanings of those youthful experiences—it just took a while. Eisner stopped producing *The Spirit* in 1952 and devoted his time to his new venture, American Visuals Corporation, which was a successful producer of educational and corporate comics for the next 25 years. Then, in 1976, inspired by the decidedly non-adolescent material that he discovered in the underground comix of the late 1960s and early 1970s, he began creating a major comic book work that he hoped would find an adult audience. When his 192 page work, *A Contract With God*, appeared in 1978 it was not the first use of the graphic novel format (although Eisner did coin the phrase), but it was ground breaking in that it deviated from the usual adventure material to present more realistic and intimate human dramas. At 60, Eisner began blazing a new trail in the medium and followed his first graphic novel with innovative and deeply-felt works such as *A Life Force* (1983), *To The Heart of the Storm* (1991), and *Family Matter* (1998).

Eisner soon became the internationally acclaimed master of the comics medium. The major artistic awards of the American comic book industry, the Eisners, were named in his honor. He was asked to teach comics courses at the School of Visual Arts. Eisner reworked his lecture material and published two books, *Comics and Sequential Art* (1985) and *Graphic Storytelling* (1995), that have helped advance both artistic and critical understanding of the medium.

It was Eisner’s experimentation with layout and composition in *The Spirit* stories that clearly established the comic book as a medium distinct from its comic strip origins. It was his championing of new forms and mature content in the graphic novel that helped establish comics as an art form. And, much of the visual language of the form was invented, or at least perfected, by Will Eisner. In the afterword to Eisner’s *New York the Big City*, acclaimed comic book writer Alan Moore provides an eloquent statement of Will Eisner’s importance to the medium: “He is the single person most responsible for giving comics its brains.”

—Randy Duncan

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## El Teatro Campesino

The United States’ annexation of Mexico’s northern territories in 1858 marked the beginning of the Mexican-American theater arts tradition. Mexican-American (California Chicano, Texas Tejano, and New Mexico Hispano inclusive) theater evolved as an amalgamation of Mexican street theater arts such as the *carpa* (traveling tent theater) and the *zarzuela* (Spanish comedic opera) with a European, Bertolt Brechtian brand of sociopolitical drama. Until the 1960s civil rights

movements, however, Mexican-American theatrical arts had not received mainstream recognition. In 1965, two Chicano activists—the young, fiery new actor/director, Luis Valdez, and the powerful farmworkers’ organizer César Chávez—teamed up during California’s “Great Delano Strike” and founded El Teatro Campesino Cultural (The Workers’ Cultural Center). Valdez drew on first-hand experience as an actor/director working in San Francisco’s Mime Troupe and a broad knowledge of Mexican drama, history, and myth to train striking farmworkers to perform and write politically savvy, bilingual performances. Valdez writes in his book, *Actos: El Teatro Campesino*, of El Teatro Campesino’s mission: “Chicano theater must be revolutionary in technique as well as in content. It must be popular, subject to no other critics except the pueblo itself; but it must also educate the pueblo toward an appreciation of social change, on and off the stage.”

El Teatro Campesino’s performances became well-known among those involved in the “Brown Power Movement” of the 1960s. For example, one of El Teatro’s first productions, titled *Las dos caras del patroncito* (*The Two-Faced Boss*), fully embodied El Teatro’s ideal of developing a socially aware dramatic art form combining Aztec and European traditions. The loosely improvised, bilingually acted piece—composed of ten to 15 minute actos, or skits—not only candidly addresses a farmworker’s plight at the hands of a money-grubbing boss, but does so with a tinge of humor; the influence of satirically playful Italian *comedia dell’arte* allows the piece to both incite action and offer the audience the possibility of laughing at “The Boss,” who dons a yellow pig-face mask and hides behind a rent-a-goop bodyguard.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s El Teatro performed a series of plays that utilized the *mito*, or culturally anchored act, to explore the plight of the Chicano/a dwelling increasingly in inner-city barrios (“neighborhoods”). For example, in *Las Vendidas* (*The Sell-Outs*), the audience not only meets a Chicana Republican, Miss Jiménez, a gangbanger pachuco, and a revolucionario, but also gets a big taste of Aztec mythology and Mexican culture. *Las Vendidas* won the prestigious Obie Award in 1967. In 1971 Valdez and a professionalized El Teatro troupe moved to San Juan Bautista, where a range of performances continued to infuse the mythical dimension of Chicano/a identity—figures such as Huitzilpochtil (the Sun God), Quetzalcoatl, and the Virgin de Guadalupe would appear symbolically—to explore the everyday struggles of survival, from border crossing tragedies to romances and family breakups.

El Teatro’s professionalization and broadened scope quickly led to recognition by mainstream critics. In the mid-1970s the famed British artistic director and drama critic Peter Brooks traveled to San Juan Bautista to work with El Teatro. The result: *The Conference of the Birds*, whose nation-wide success opened doors outside the Americas. El Teatro’s follow-up production, *La Carpa de los Rasquachis* (*The Tent of the Underdogs*), toured eight European countries. And in 1979 El Teatro’s *Zoot Suit*—a music-infused drama that retells the story of the 1942 Zoot Suit riots in Los Angeles of 1942 from a Chicano, Aztec-mythic point of view—was the first Chicano play to open on New York’s Broadway. While *Zoot Suit* only had a short run, flopping at the box office, it received glowing critical reviews from drama critics.

Now in its thirtieth year as a professional theater-arts organization, El Teatro is recognized as a major contributor to dramatic arts. While El Teatro continues with performances in the Old Mission at San Juan Bautista—at Christmas they regularly perform their Chicano re-visioned miracle plays such as the *La Virgen Del Tepeyac* and

*La Pastorela*—the members continue to experiment with new forms and techniques. El Teatro has moved into television, and Valdez has directed several films. Finally, it is largely due to El Teatro’s struggle to clear a space in the dramatic arts terrain that opportunity has opened up for many contemporary Chicano/a playwrights—Cherie Moraga, Ricardo Bracho, and Octavio Solis, to name a few—to express a more complicated (queer sexuality and gender inclusive) vision of what it means to be Latino/a in the United States.

—Frederick Luis Aldama

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## El Vez (1960—)

Unlike most Elvis impersonators, Robert Lopez has created his own successful and unique character from the King’s legacy. Looking back on his uneventful life growing up in Chula Vista, California, Lopez recalls that his uncles would wear “continental slacks and slight pompadours in that Elvis style.” With this in mind, maybe it is not so surprising that the shy boy from Chula Vista would one day transform himself into the nationally acclaimed Virgin-de-Guadalupe, jumpsuit-wearing, sombrero-sporting, pencil-line-mustachioed Chicano musician/performance artist El Vez.

In 1988, while showcasing an Elvis-inspired kitsch/folk art exhibition at La Luz de Jesús Gallery on Melrose in Los Angeles, a 29 year-old Lopez received his true calling—to combine his talents as a musician (he used to play for the Southern California punk band The Zeroes) with his taste for Mexican kitsch and re-invent himself as El Vez. Just in time for Weep Week (the annual celebration of Elvis Presley’s birthday), Lopez traveled to Memphis, Tennessee, where he secured himself a spot at Graceland’s hot spot for Elvis impersonators, Bob’s Bad Vapors. Lopez’s over-the-top costume, super-gelled hair coif, “Mexican Elvis” identifying sign, and Mexican corrido (ballad) cut-n’-mixed into Elvis tunes were a huge success. With the help of newspaper wire services, Lopez became an overnight, nationally recognized celebrity. Certain of his destiny, El Vez—along with his Memphis Mariachis and the hip-gyrating Lovely Elvettes (Gladysita, Lisa María, Precillita, and Qué Linda Thompson)—went on tour all over the United States and Europe and has received critical recognition and applause from the *New York Times* and *Rolling Stone*. He has appeared on such television shows as *The Late Night Show*, *Oprah*, and *CNN* (*Cable News Network*). El Vez has a dozen CDs out, with titles such as *El Vez is Alive, Not Hispanic, G.I. Ay, Ay Blues*, and the album *A Merry Mex-Mus*, in which reindeer called Poncho and Pedro join Santa’s team.

El Vez is certainly not only a novelty Elvis act. Along with Mexican mariachi tunes, Lopez uses a range of popular music sounds from the likes of Elvis, David Bowie, T. Rex, Queen, and The Beatles, to address issues such as California’s anti-immigration act and California governor Pete Wilson’s racism. The lyrics, for example, in his song “Chicanisma” (a version of Elvis’ “Little Sister”) are critical of the male-dominated Chicano community’s oppression of women, while his revision of “Mystery Train” (called “Misery

Train”) tells the story of Pancho Villa and Los Zapatistas destroying “los capitalistas.” “Viva Las Vegas” is a crash course in pre-conquistador Mexican civilization, mixing musical styles and speeches to discuss the plight of the Mexican immigrant worker. In his album *Graciasland*—a rockabilly/country version of Paul Simon’s *Graceland*—he identifies the Southwestern United States as the spiritual homeland, Aztlan, for Chicanos. As a reporter for the *New York Times* wrote in December 1995, “He may look and dress like a young Elvis Presley (though Elvis never had El Vez’s pencil-thin mustache), but El Vez is his own creation.”

—Frederick Luis Aldama

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## Electric Appliances

By the turn of the twentieth century, it was common knowledge that the American home did not function efficiently. With increasing interest in efficiency, homemaking became more scientific. Instead of assigning more domestic servants to the task, home economists and other observers began analyzing the processes of the home and how they could be carried out more effectively. This sensibility provided the crucial entrée for technological innovation to find its way into the American home.

Household technology, especially in the form of electric appliances, radically altered the American home in the twentieth century. These innovations, of course, relied on the inventions of Thomas Edison and others who would perfect the generation and transferral of



An electric iron.

electric energy for home use in the early 1900s. Many American homes would remain without electricity through World War II, but the American ideal of the electrified home had clearly been put in place.

To say that one single electric appliance altered American life more than another is difficult, but a good case could be made for the electric refrigerator, which, as it took form in the 1920s, revolutionized food storage capabilities in a fashion that dramatically altered American life. Improving upon the “ice box,” which was limited by the melting of a block of hand-delivered ice, electricity enabled the use of pumps relying on centrifugal pressure to push cooling fluids throughout an insulated box. Improved for safety reasons and efficiency, the refrigerator soon became the mainstay of any home. The refrigerator allowed homemakers to keep perishable items in the home, ending the necessary habit of frequent trips to the market. Moreover, this appliance allowed for the creation of the frozen food market. In 1941, 52 percent of American families owned refrigerators; ten years later, this proportion had risen to 80 percent and by 1980 refrigeration was almost universal.

Shifts in home technology after World War II were based most around labor-saving devices. Increased electrification, especially spurred by New Deal policies, offered the power source, and a new ideal of the American housewife offered suitable rationale. During these years, the growing middle class raised the national ideal of a standard of living to include the trappings of affluence that included electric kitchen appliances, washing machines, and televisions. In the late twentieth century, the cultural imperative for each American to own his or her own home was extended to shape expectations for the contents of the typical home. The re-formed cultural ideals identified the home as a self-sufficient support mechanism. The modern middle-class home became a facilitator that should ease the pressures of everyday life through the application of modern technology. Whereas domestic servants had aided many homemakers previously, the modern American housewife relied predominantly on the assistance of electric appliances.

The crystallizing moment of Americans’ idealization of their new home is known as “the kitchen debate.” In this astonishing 1959 Cold War conversation, Vice-President Richard Nixon and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev discussed ideology and domestic technology in a “model American home” constructed in Moscow. Nixon drew attention to the washing machines and said, “In America, these are designed to make things easier for our women.” Khrushchev countered Nixon’s boast of comfortable American housewives with pride in the productivity of Soviet female laborers. In summing up the capitalist ideal, Nixon responded, “What we want is to make easier the life of our housewives.”

No gadget sums up this desire to ease pressures better than the microwave. Perfected in 1946 but reaching widespread acceptance only in the 1980s, these ovens cook by heating water and chemical molecules in food with short-wave radio energy, similar to that used in radar and television. In addition to rapid heating without creating a heated environment, microwaves altered American patterns of life by making it much easier to defrost food items. In a recent survey by the appliance manufacturer Maytag, consumers chose the ubiquitous microwave as the most indispensable item in the kitchen.

Electric appliances changed the American home and gender roles after 1945. They continue to be a source of innovation and gadgetry as engineers try to solve the problems of the American home.

—Brian Black

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## Electric Guitar

This instrument has dominated the production of popular music since its invention in the 1940s. Although primarily identified with both the sound and the image of rock 'n' roll, the electric guitar has made its mark on all genres of popular music, from country to world beat. Combined with an amplifier, and armed with a large inventory of special effects, the electric guitar is an extremely versatile instrument that can produce an infinite variety of sounds. Its ease of playing and low cost have made it an important consumer good of the twentieth century. It has given the baby boom generation the means to make their own music and emulate the great guitar heroes of their times.

Musicians began to consider electric amplification of the acoustic guitar during the 1930s when guitar players sat in the rhythm sections of the big bands and struggled to be heard. The Western Electric system of amplification was readily available and was soon employed to power the signal coming from the first primitive guitar pickups. The first electric guitars were hollow bodied acoustic models with pickups attached, but in the 1940s guitars were made with solid bodies to better suit electric amplification. Leo Fender was the first to mass produce solid bodied electric guitars and his Telecaster (1951)



Wes Montgomery playing an electric guitar.

and Stratocaster (1954) models remained in production in the 1990s. Fender established the basic layout of the electronics and the shape of his Stratocaster has been the most copied by other manufacturers of electric guitars.

The increased volume of the electric guitar was soon heard in popular music. Les Paul used a model of his own design to make successful records in both the country and popular fields in the 1940s and 1950s, but it took rock 'n' roll to showcase the power of the instrument and the great number of new sounds it could make. The electric guitar figured large in the two well springs of this new popular music: rhythm and blues from the black urban centers and rockabilly from the country. Blues musicians like Muddy Waters electrified a traditional music and brought it into the urban context, using the harder sounds of the electric guitar to make the blues more urgent and menacing. Country players had been the first to adopt the electric guitar perhaps because their audiences were used to the metallic sounds of the steel guitar which was extremely popular in the 1940s and 1950s. The high, ringing tones of the Fender guitar became the trademark of a new type of country music which was both more traditional than the popular records made in Nashville and more modern in its stark metallic tone. The Bakersfield sound of players like Merle Haggard and Buck Owens was created not far from the Fender factory in California and soon spread across the country.

The first rock guitarists—players like Scotty Moore, Chuck Berry and Buddy Holly—were inspired by both sides of the racial divide in popular music and the successful hybrid they produced came to be called rock 'n' roll. Buddy Holly was the most influential exponent of the rock guitar not only because of his playing, which used basic chords in an energetic and exciting way, but also because he popularized the all guitar lineup of the rock 'n' roll band: lead, bass (and later rhythm) guitars playing through the same amplification system in front of the drums. Holly's music was widely disseminated on records and the simplicity of his playing made it easy to copy; thousands of teenagers learned how to play rock guitar by listening to his recordings and many of them went on to form their own bands.

Leo Fender had designed his solid bodied guitars with ease of manufacture in mind and quickly moved into mass production. The unprecedented appeal of rock 'n' roll created an enormous demand for electric guitars and by the 1960s the production of instruments had become a highly profitable and crowded industry. Most of the manufacturers of acoustic guitars, such as Gibson and Gretsch, had moved into electric models and a host of new companies entered the field: including Mosrite and Peavey. There were also many new manufacturers of amplifiers and the effects boxes which added reverberation and echo to the sound of the guitar.

But rock 'n' roll music never relied on the sound of the electric guitar alone—the amplifier created the sound and the signal it received could be altered by the electronic circuits of the effect boxes. Thus the clear, high "Fender sound" heard on surf guitarist Dick Dales' records is not just the sound of his Fender Stratocaster but also of the Fender Showman or Bassman amplifier and the 6G-15 Reverb unit plugged in between guitar and amplifier. Musicians began to experiment with this technological system in their continual attempts to find new sounds. Pete Townshend of The Who was the great innovator in using all parts of the system to generate new sounds, his rapid turning on and off of the power switch on his guitar made a memorable ending to several of The Who's songs.

The man playing an electric guitar became a universally recognized image of rock 'n' roll and the instrument itself became a symbol of empowerment for a generation of teenagers who yearned for the

abilities and successes of their guitar playing heroes. The myths of rock 'n' roll leaned heavily on the rags to riches tradition in the United States whereby ambitious immigrants could, with "luck and pluck," rise to the top of their profession and achieve the affluence and security of the American dream. The stories of the stars of rock 'n' roll followed this tradition and placed totemic importance on the tools of the trade: the electric guitar. Chuck Berry's "Johnny Be Goode," one of the great anthems of rock 'n' roll, tells the story of a young boy who leaves home, with only a guitar on his back, to seek out fame and fortune. This story resonated in thousands of other songs, most of which cast the hero as a guitar player.

The mass adulation of a few leading guitar players in the 1960s was a measure of the size of audience for the music and the market for the instruments. It also marked a return to an older tradition in the popular culture of the guitar, when the solitary bluesman was the center of attention. Several English musicians, including Jeff Beck and Eric Clapton, had spearheaded a blues revival in the early 1960s. This invigorated both blues and pop music and also created a new wave of guitar heroes who reflected some of the characteristics of the blues musicians who inspired them: outlaws and outcasts who travelled from place to place living on their wits and enjoying the rewards of their virtuosity on the guitar. The bluesman was a special person, either gifted or damned by the Gods, whose freedom and powers (especially over women) were highly valued in the popular culture of the 1960s. Jimi Hendrix was the greatest of all the guitar heroes; his unequalled virtuosity on the instrument was only matched by the excesses of his lifestyle which were also embodied in his songs.

The steady advance of the technology of electric guitars was centered on two main goals: increasing the volume and finding ever more electronic effects. In the 1960s amplifiers were made larger and more efficient and the separate amplifier unit and speaker boxes replaced the old amplifiers which had electronics and speakers in the same box. The banks of Marshall 4X12 speaker units became the backdrop for the typical rock 'n' roll performance. More complicated devices were used to manipulate electronic feedback and create new sounds. Guitar players could surround themselves with effects boxes, such as "fuzz" and "wah wah," that were operated by foot switches. The sound of psychedelic music of the 1960s was essentially the sound of controlled feedback from the electric guitar.

The increasing popularity of other methods of manipulating electronic sounds in the 1970s, such as the Moog synthesizer and electric organ, threatened to end the dominance of the electric guitar in popular music. But there were several sub genres of rock 'n' roll that were still completely dominated by its sound: heavy metal which made a cult of loudness and made futuristic guitars the center of theatrical stage shows; and punk which returned to the basic guitar sound of early rock 'n' roll. Punk musicians made a virtue out of amateurism in their rejection of the commercialization of pop music and the elevation of guitar virtuosos. They encouraged everybody to pick up a guitar and advised the aspiring musician that only a few chords needed to be mastered before forming a band. On the other hand, advocates of heavy metal wanted to be transported to an imaginary world of outlandish stage shows, outrageous costumes and unusual guitar shapes. Both groups of musicians used exactly the same equipment, but to different ends.

Although each decade after the 1960s produced an "alternative" music to rock 'n' roll, the electric guitar's ubiquitous presence in popular music was not challenged. Disco (1970s) and rap (1980s) still relied on the supple rhythm lines of the electric bass. The guitar based rock band continued to dominate both professional and amateur

music in the 1990s, ensuring that the instrument will prosper into the twenty-first century.

—Andre Millard

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## Electric Trains

Even as transportation improvements accelerated through the twentieth century, the railroad still best symbolized the ability of mechanized invention to conquer distance; electric trains continue to epitomize this cultural belief in such technological progress. From children's playthings, they have evolved into accurately scaled and finely detailed models. Several gauges provide size options for modeling railroads, from the tiny N-scale and the highly popular HO at 1/87 scale, up to O-gauge and Standard gauge. In Europe, Märklin in 1901 manufactured the first model trains run by small electric motors. In 1910 the Ives Corporation of Bridgeport, Connecticut, introduced electric trains to this country; they remained their leading manufacturer up to the First World War. As the hobby caught on, other manufacturers began producing electric trains, including Marx, Varney, Mantua, American Flyer, and Lionel. Collecting and operating model trains is a pastime now enjoyed by people around the world.

—Robert Kuhlken

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## Elizondo, Hector (1936—)

A physically compact character actor with a brilliantly economical technique to match, Hector Elizondo delighted audiences and gained fame with his polished performance as the hotel manager in *Pretty Woman* (1990), one of several films he made for Garry Marshall. This New York-born actor of Hispanic parentage, who trained at the Actors Studio, proved exceptionally versatile, playing a

wide range of supporting roles, utilizing different accents and dialects, and capturing the essence of a character, whether in drama or comedy, by an expert flick of expression. His multitude of television appearances include Sandy Stern in *Burden of Proof* (1992) and the put-upon hospital chief Dr. Philip Watters, authoritative, weary, and not always wise, in *Chicago Hope* from 1994. He came to television and film with an impeccable Broadway provenance, beginning his career in *Mister Roberts* (1961) for distinguished director Edwin Sherin.

—Robyn Karney

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## Elkins, Aaron (1935—)

Aaron Elkins is the creator of two mystery series. The Gideon Oliver novels feature a forensic anthropologist frequently compelled to work not with ancient bones, but with modern murders. *Fellowship of Fear* (1982) initiated the series, followed by *The Dark Place* (1983), an unusually poetic mood-piece, and *Murder in the Queen's Arms* (1985). *Old Bones* (1987) received the 1988 Edgar Award for Best Mystery Novel. Subsequent Gideon Oliver novels include *Curses!* (1989), *Icy Clutches* (1990), *Make No Bones* (1991), *Dead Men's Hearts* (1994), and *Twenty Blue Devils* (1997). The Chris Norgren novels, whose hero is a museum curator, include *A Deceptive Clarity* (1987), *A Glancing Light* (1991), and *Old Scores* (1993). He has also co-written golf mysteries with Charlotte Elkins: *A Wicked Slice* (1989), *Rotten Lies* (1995), and *Nasty Breaks* (1997). Elkins' forté lies in combining intriguing characters and plots with exotic settings, as far ranging as England, Germany, Mexico, Alaska, Egypt, Tahiti, and the Pacific Northwest.

—Michael R. Collings

## Ellen

See DeGeneres, Ellen

## Ellington, Duke (1899-1974)

Heralded by many as the greatest composer in jazz history, pianist and bandleader Duke Ellington composed and arranged most of the music played by his famous orchestra. His 1932 recording of "It Don't Mean a Thing (If It Ain't Got That Swing)" gave a name to the Swing Era, when jazz music and jitterbug dancing swept the nation in the late 1930s and early 1940s.

Born Edward Kennedy Ellington into a modestly prosperous family in Washington, D.C., he began studying piano at age seven. His graceful demeanor earned him the aristocratic nickname, Duke. Continuing to study piano formally, as well as learning from the city's ragtime pianists, Ellington formed his own band at age 19, and soon was earning enough playing for parties and dances to marry Edna Thompson. The band's drummer was his friend, Sonny Greer, who would anchor the Duke's rhythm section for the next 33 years.



Duke Ellington

After moving to New York City in 1923, Ellington began assembling jazz musicians whose unique sounds enhanced his own arrangements. With his new ensemble, he launched Duke Ellington and the Washingtonians. The band first worked for the legendary singer Ada Smith (better known later in European clubs as Bricktop). In 1924 Ellington wrote his first score for a revue, *Chocolate Kiddies*, which ran for two years in Germany, but was never produced on Broadway.

The band's big break came in 1927, when it began a five-year engagement at Harlem's Cotton Club, the site of frequent national broadcasts. Soon the Ellington name was widely known for Duke's signature style of improvisational and ensemble jazz. His earliest arrangements included what he at first called the "jungle style," which achieved unusual effects and rhythms through the use of plunger mutes on the trumpets and trombones. Major sidemen who joined the Duke Ellington Band in the Cotton Club era included Barney Bigard on clarinet, Johnny Hodges on alto and soprano sax, and Cootie Williams on the trumpet. The ensemble's first great recorded hit was "Mood Indigo" of 1930, which featured the band's inimitable tonal colors, made possible by the special sounds and styles of each individual musician. In 1933, a tour of England and the Continent brought the band worldwide fame.

With very little change in personnel over the beginning years, the orchestra was able to play with unheard-of ensemble precision. Such melodic recordings as "Solitude," "Sophisticated Lady," and "In a Sentimental Mood," won Ellington and his band a wide audience. But it was the uniquely orchestrated ensemble jazz in such pieces as "Daybreak Express," "Harlem Speaks," and "Rockin' in

Rhythm,” that impressed fellow jazzmen such as Billy Strayhorn, who joined the band as assistant arranger in 1939. It was Strayhorn’s composition “Take the A Train,” which became the orchestra’s theme song.

In 1943 the band began a series of annual concerts in Carnegie Hall that would continue until 1950. The first concert included Ellington’s earliest attempt at a nearly hour-length jazz composition, *Black, Brown, and Beige*, which he envisioned as a “musical history of the Negro.” It was his most ambitious work to date, one which musicologist and composer Gunther Schuller believes has “not been surpassed” in “scope and stature.” In subsequent Carnegie Hall concerts Ellington played such lengthy compositions as *Deep South Suite*, *Blutopia*, and *New World A-Comin’*. *Harlem*, another suite, was the centerpiece of an Ellington concert at the Metropolitan Opera House in 1951.

Although the Ellington ensemble continued to be ranked as one of the top two or three jazz orchestras during the 1950s, their difficult repertoire, coupled with frequent personnel changes, led to spotty performances that were often disappointing to their fans. However, after giving a smash-hit performance at the Newport Jazz Festival in 1956, followed by a 1957 CBS-TV special on Ellington entitled *A Drum Is a Woman*, the band’s fortunes were revived, and the Duke began a period of prolific composing. He and Strayhorn wrote a suite based on Shakespearean characters, *Such Sweet Thunder*, performed at New York’s Town Hall in 1957. In 1958, his first European tour in eight years proved a stunning success—one that he repeated the following year. In 1959 Ellington wrote his first score for a film, Alfred Hitchcock’s *Anatomy of a Murder*, which was recorded by Ellington’s band.

Up until his death of lung cancer in May of 1974, Ellington continued to write important music, much of it devoted to other cultures and to religious themes. For more than a half century, Duke had led one of America’s most popular and successful bands. As George T. Simon wrote, “No other bandleader ever did this nearly so long so well as Duke Ellington. No other bandleader created as much and contributed as much to American music.” A chorus of jazz critics agrees that Duke may be the greatest single talent in the history of jazz.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Ellis, Bret Easton (1964—)

Born and raised in Los Angeles, writer Bret Easton Ellis belongs with novelists Jay McInerney and Tama Janowitz to New York’s literary “brat pack,” writers who achieved early success with their portraits of lonely types isolated in sparkling 1980s New York. Ellis has published four books: the novels *Less Than Zero* (1985), *The Rules of Attraction* (1987), and *American Psycho* (1991), and the

short story collection *The Informers* (1994). A rumored fourth novel on the world of fashion’s top models remained unpublished in the late 1990s.

Published when Ellis was twenty-one years old, *Less Than Zero* narrates the sorry lives of a group of Los Angeles young people. No longer teenagers, these people epitomize what would later be known as “Generation X” in Douglas Coupland’s popular phrase. The lives of the main character, Clay, and those of his well-to-do friends revolve around sex and drugs, in which they try to find the essence of a world that eludes them. Similar empty people populate the short stories of *The Informers*. Outstanding among them is the satirical “The End of the Summer,” in which the Californians of *Less Than Zero* appear as happy vampires.

An ebb in Ellis’s popularity came in 1987 when both the film adaptation of *Less Than Zero* and his novel about a triangular relationship, *The Rules of Attraction*, failed. But in 1991 he became a social phenomenon thanks to the publication of his outstanding *American Psycho*, the first-person narration of the exploits of serial killer Pat Bateman, a Manhattan yuppie. The extreme graphic violence and nihilism of the novel became controversial even before its publication. Following complaints by people working on the manuscript, Simon & Schuster withdrew the book from publication, losing a \$300,000 advance. The excerpts published by *Time* and *Sky* contributed to the controversy. The book was finally published as a Vintage paperback, becoming a best-selling novel in the United States and abroad. Its publication was greeted with a barrage of criticism, especially from feminists, and lukewarm reviews that missed much of the book’s originality to focus only on its nastier passages. Ellis himself confessed in an interview with Leslie White in 1994 that the controversy felt “like a joke, a huge postmodernist irony—the book was so badly misread.”

David Skal complains in *The Monster Show* that “although the whole incident [involving Ellis’s novel] was endlessly discussed in terms of taste, misogyny, and political correctness, a subtext of class snobbery predominated.” Skal argues that what really irritated feminists and moral guardians alike is the fact that Bateman is upper-class and that Ellis’s book is literature unlike the books by, for instance, Stephen King. This is possibly correct, yet *American Psycho*’s status as a literary text is still ambiguous. The book has sold remarkably well in many countries, creating a cult reflected in the many Internet websites devoted to its discussion, but critics and academics show an equivocal attitude toward it. Arguably, the book is commendable if only because it questions in depth the meaning of the word literature, together with the meaning of other relevant words such as homophobia, racism, misogyny, and classism.

*American Psycho* is essentially a radical indictment of the American culture of the Reagan era, a very bleak portrait of a time and place obsessed by money. Bateman’s insanity is, nonetheless, close to the existentialism of characters such as the anonymous protagonist of Albert Camus’s novel *The Outsider* (1946). In his lucidity Bateman is also a brother of the infamous Hannibal Lecter of the film *Silence of the Lambs* (also 1991) and of Mickey Knox in Oliver Stone’s *Natural Born Killers* (1994). Bateman’s diary narrates his frivolous life and that of the yuppie crowd that surrounds him. Bateman engages in a series of increasingly grisly murders of homosexuals, women, and male business colleagues which he describes with a stark, functional prose. This is hard to read because of its realism, but it may not be, after all, the true essence of the book. Perhaps a more remarkable peculiarity of Bateman’s style is that his descriptions of characters and places abound with information about designer objects seemingly

taken straight from catalogues. The violent passages that were published in isolation missed much of the irony of the book: characters mistake each other all the time because they all wear the same expensive clothes, Bateman's appraisals of pop idols such as Whitney Houston makes them appear trivial and boring, and restaurant surrealistic scenes are enriched by funny dialogue with plenty of non sequiturs showing the abysmal depth of the yuppies' ignorance.

It is undeniably true that many of the scenes in the book may offend the sensibilities of the average reader. But the fact that Bateman is addicted to Valium and Halcion suggests that, perhaps—hopefully, for some readers—the bloodbaths are just a product of his imagination, which is why nobody suspects him. Of course, this point is irrelevant to the question of what Ellis's intention was when writing such a remarkable book. Yet it is hard to see why so few reviewers have seen Ellis's fierce attack against yuppieism. *American Psycho* shows no mercy at all with a society that allows people like Bateman a room at the top. The reading is, nonetheless, complicated by Ellis's risky choice of Bateman as both his mouthpiece and his target. The deep morality of the book is thus purposely blurred in a literary game of mirrors, but readers should not make the mistake of identifying character and author. Ellis does challenge the reader to face Bateman's cruelty for the sake of reaping the reward of the final message of the book: "Surface, surface, surface was all that anyone found meaning in . . . this was civilization as I saw it, colossal and jagged," Bateman says at the end of the novel. So does Ellis. After reading *American Psycho*, the reader can only sympathize with this view of life at the end of the twentieth century.

—Sara Martin

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## Ellis, Perry (1940-1986)

Virginia-born Ellis took his talents from fashion merchandising to fashion design in 1975. In 1978, he founded Perry Ellis Sportswear, a name that immediately recognized his fashion niche. Strong color, luxury fabrics, and a rich-suburban nonchalance were chief characteristics: women prized his cashmere and silk hand-knitted sweaters and throws. He offered a young outlook on old-money styles. He also designed menswear and home fashions. A ruggedly handsome man and a famously affable figure in American fashion, he fell gravely ill in the mid-1980s, but denied that the cause was AIDS, then a scourge of New York design talent. Ironically, despite his denials, Ellis's struggle with disease and his early death was a point-of-conscience and conversion for the fashion industry which began aggressively to

raise funds for AIDS research. Since his death, Perry Ellis continues as a popular licensing name.

—Richard Martin

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## Ellison, Harlan (1934—)

Diminutive author Harlan Ellison has been called "one of the great living American short story writers." He has been called a lot worse by the many enemies with whom he has sparred in print, online, and in countless combative convention appearances. Ellison, whose major works include "I Have No Mouth and I Must Scream" and "Jeffty Is Five," began writing professionally at age 15, when his first story appeared in *The Cleveland News*. Since then he has been a prolific, at times logorrheic, presence on the American literary scene, penning essays, reviews, and teleplays in addition to his speculative fiction. A self-proclaimed humanist, Ellison writes dark fantasies that challenge the technological optimism prevalent in the science fiction genre. His idiosyncratic style has put off many mainstream science fiction readers, but few living scribes have been nominated for as many different honors (including, at last count, an Emmy, a Grammy, and a Humanitas Prize) as this complex, controversial figure.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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*See Invisible Man*

## Elway, John (1960—)

With nicknames ranging from "The General" to "The Comeback Kid," National Football League quarterback John Elway of the Denver Broncos can add one more name to the list: "Super Bowl Champion." During his 16-year career in the NFL Elway earned a reputation as a fearless competitor, leading the Denver Broncos to five Super Bowls—three of which the Broncos lost. However, in his final two Super Bowl appearances (1998 and 1999), Elway led his team to victories over the Green Bay Packers and Atlanta Falcons, respectively, thus securing a place for the Broncos in the upper echelon of NFL history and a place for himself in the NFL Hall of Fame. Although he often chose to run with the ball, sacrificing his body for an extra yard or two, Elway gained a reputation as a finesse quarterback. In addition to holding the record for most wins by an NFL quarterback, Elway also holds the record for most come-from-behind victories (45), and finished the 1999 season just behind Dan





**John Elway**

Marino of the Miami Dolphins in total career passing yardage. Elway earned the NFL's Most Valuable Player award for the 1987 season, and played in 8 NFL Pro Bowls. Elway retired from the NFL in 1999.

—Jason McEntee

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## E-mail

The most important new medium of mass communication of the past 40 years was not in any way connected with television, moving pictures, or the recording industry; it initially emerged, instead, as a project of the U.S. Defense Department. In the 1960s, the department's Advanced Research Projects Agency, in coordination with several research institutions, came up with a system for connecting or "networking" distantly located computers using independent, dedicated telephone lines. Researchers using the system experimented with sending simple text messages to one another over the network. Soon, the trickle of research-oriented messages and data became a tidal wave of information exchange of all kinds. The new medium of

"electronic mail" eventually changed the way we interact with our friends, co-workers, and families. It also brought our everyday reality much closer to Marshall McLuhan's pipedream of a genuine worldwide community rooted in technology.

The practice of sending electronic messages from one person to another actually predated computer networking. A few years before the ARPANET, users of "time-sharing"-style computer consoles developed a simple system of sending memos to a central "mailbox" located on a mainframe computer used by a variety of users at different times. Each user had a file of their own to which the messages were directed and were able to pick up their messages during the time when they were using the computer. The practice was important to the future development of electronic messaging, but had little or no utilitarian value at the time; it was a mere toy. The ARPANET engineers later picked up on the idea and decided to see if they could send small messages and memos from one computer to another. It worked; they then began to send messages over the span of the nationwide ARPANET itself. To paraphrase one beneficiary of the ARPA's research, it was a small step for a few computer geeks, a giant leap for the global village.

The system was not only useful for the researchers but also proved to be a pleasant pastime—so pleasant, in fact, that ARPA director Stephen Lukasik worried that it could jeopardize the entire enterprise. In Katie Hafner and Matthew Lyon's history of the Internet, *Where Wizards Stay Up Late*, Lukasik said he told the researchers that if "you're going to do something that looks like it's forty thousand miles away from defense, please leave our name off of it." It was clear early on that e-mail was useful for much more than just the military and technological research for which the ARPA was founded in 1957.

By the mid-1970s, engineers discovered that messages could be sent through the ARPANET by those without official authorization to use it. The message-sending capability of this network was obviously universal, and through the demonstrated use of satellite technology, global. Anyone could tap into the network to send messages of any sort to virtually anyone else, anywhere else in the world. The message of this medium was limitless interactivity, not mere broadcasting. The ARPANET eventually gave way to a new, more enveloping network known as the Internet and the uses of e-mail quickly mushroomed.

The possibilities of the Internet were soon tested. In the early 1970s, individuals wrote anti-war messages and mass-mailed them; one electronically advocated Nixon's impeachment. Other mass-mailings became routinized around a variety of subject-headings that were of interest only to certain groups: this later became that part of the Internet known as Usenet. On Usenet, e-mail messages were sent to a central server and mass posted to a kind of electronic message board where all could read and even reply to the message. If one was interested in gardening and wanted to talk about it with other gardeners around the world, one could use software and server space to organize a group. Other forms of mass-e-mailings included discussion lists; in these, one needed to subscribe privately to the list and messages were routed directly to one's private mailbox rather than to a public message board.

E-mail also entertained in more traditional ways. Many used the Internet's e-mail capabilities early on to play fantasy role-playing games like *Dungeons and Dragons*. More serious uses of e-mail soon came to the attention of the U.S. Postal Service, and even President Jimmy Carter—who used a primitive e-mail system during his 1976 campaign—proposed ways of integrating the new technology into a postal system that originally delivered messages on the backs of ponies.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the culture that first blossomed in the 1970s began to flourish among a worldwide community of computer users. Hundreds of thousands of people now understood what it meant to be “flamed” (told off in a vicious manner). Multitudes decoded the meanings of the symbols called “emoticons” that attempted to convey facial expression through text. ;-) meant a wink and a smile: the messenger was “just fooling” and used the emoticon to make sure his plain text words were not misunderstood.

As the medium matured, private companies like Compuserve and America Online built private networks for individuals to dial in to send and receive electronic messages. New electronic communities formed in this way and were soon burdened with such “real world” issues as free speech, crime, and sexism. Many women complained of electronic abuse by the predominantly male on-line community. Predators sent electronic messages to children in attempts to commit crimes against them. Some of the private networks regulated speech in “public” forms of electronic communication and this met with scorn from the on-line community. Others used e-mail as an advertising medium, mass-mailing ads to hundreds of thousands of Internet users. This practice, known as “Spam,” is held in almost universal disrepute, but is as unavoidable as smog in Los Angeles.

E-mail became ubiquitous by the late 1990s and the lines blurred between public, corporate, and private networks. By the late 1990s, many large corporations standardized their e-mail systems on Internet protocols so that interoffice mail shattered the physical boundaries of the “office” itself. Using e-mail, one could now effortlessly “telecommute” to work, rather than physically move from home to a separate workplace. With the boundarylessness of Internet-based e-mail, users could play at their work, and work at their play. The discovery of e-mail literally changed the ways that we live, work, and communicate with one another.

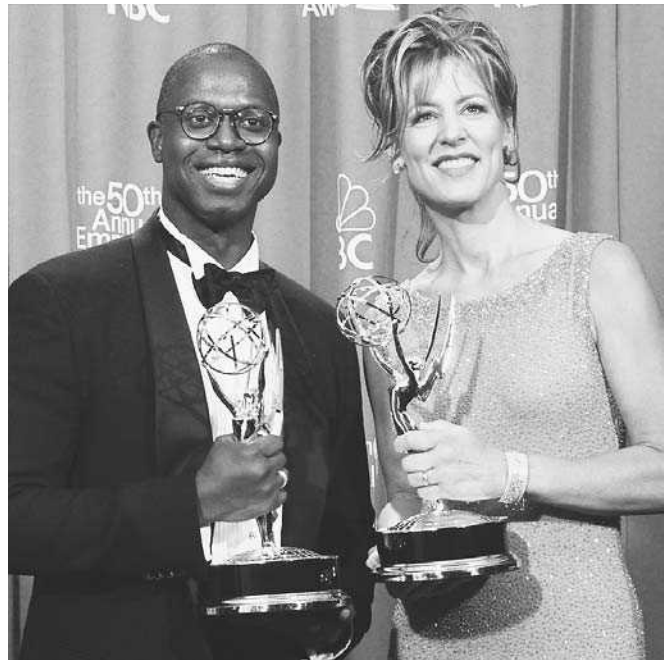
—Robin Markowitz

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## Emmy Awards

The movies have their Oscars. Broadway has its Tonys. Off-Broadway has its Obies. And television has its Emmys. Ever since January 1949, when the Academy of Television Arts & Sciences first presented them at the Hollywood Athletic Club, the Emmy Awards have remained the most highly visible and coveted honor earned for



**Best Actor and Best Actress in a Drama Series Emmy Award winners Andre Braugher and Christine Lahti with their statuettes, 1998.**

achievement in television. The trophy’s name was derived from “Immy,” a word routinely employed to signify the image orthicon camera tube, which was in use during the early years of television. The statuette—a gold-plated winged lady hoisting a globe—was designed by television engineer Louis McManus, using his wife as a model. McManus himself was honored during that first ceremony with a special award “for his original design of the Emmy.”

Over the years, the Emmy Awards have expanded and evolved. In 1949, six trophies were handed out; today, scores of Emmys are won each year for both national and local programs. The initial master of ceremonies for the awards was Walter O’Keefe, a long-forgotten radio quiz show emcee and celebrity interviewer. Across the decades since, the ceremony has been hosted by a gallery of star names, including Fred Astaire, Frank Sinatra, Bill Cosby and Johnny Carson; while among the many great acting legends who have won the award are Helen Hayes, John Gielgud, Julie Harris, Laurence Olivier, Dustin Hoffman, Bette Davis, Anthony Hopkins, Hume Cronyn, Jessica Tandy and Ingrid Bergman. The first Emmy recipient was Shirley Dinsdale and her puppet, Judy Splinters, categorized as “Most Outstanding Television Personality.”

The Emmy categories, particularly during the early years, were frequently, and somewhat arbitrarily, re-named. Actor William Frawley, for example, was nominated for five successive years for his role as Fred Mertz in *I Love Lucy*. His first nomination, in 1953, was as “Best Series Supporting Actor”; the following four were re-designated annually as “Best Supporting Actor in a Regular Series,” “Best Actor in a Supporting Role,” “Best Supporting Performance By an Actor,” and “Best Continuing Supporting Performance By an Actor in a Dramatic or Comedy Series.” The procedure for securing nominations and naming winners also changed, while the number and variety of categories expanded. By the end of the 1990s, the most popular and high-profile awards—as with the Oscars—remained those for best performers and best programs, but established Emmy

Award categories had come to include directing, writing, casting, and hairstyling, and to acknowledge technological expertise with awards for technical direction, electronic camerawork, film editing, and videotape editing.

The Emmys have been fraught with controversy and internal conflict, characterized by in-fighting between the New York and Hollywood chapters of the Academy of Television Arts & Sciences, and disputes between other Academy factions, followed by lawsuits, rule changes and separations of power and responsibility. Some of the most publicized Emmy squabbles have involved boycotts. Upon learning that their awards would not be handed out during the televised broadcast, TV directors and writers banded together and threatened to boycott the 1974-75 show. In the previous decade, the news branches of CBS and ABC snubbed the 1963-64 Emmys. At the time, CBS News President Fred Friendly alleged that voting practices were “unrealistic, unprofessional and unfair,” and CBS News again refused to participate in 1964-65 and 1965-66. The 1979-80 affair was also boycotted—on that occasion by performers wishing to coerce the TV networks to resolve a seven-week-old strike by the Screen Actors Guild and the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists.

Another cause for concern is the situation whereby certain actors have amassed more trophies than can fit on their mantels for playing the same character year after year, while other equally fine performers have remained unrewarded. Susan Lucci, for example, nominated for umpteen Emmys for her performance as Erica Kane in the soap opera *All My Children*, and Angela Lansbury, similarly singled out for playing Jessica Fletcher in *Murder, She Wrote*, by the late 1990s had never won. Their failures to collect a single statuette became a national joke. Nonetheless, echoing the annual hype that surrounds the Oscars, critics and viewers continue to speculate as to the nominees and the winners, and gather before their television sets for the star-studded prime-time ceremony. And the winners, setting aside any behind-the-scenes tension, beam proudly for the cameras as, gratefully, they accept their gold-plated Emmys.

—Rob Edelman

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## Empire State Building

Constructed in 1930-31, the Empire State Building was the tallest building in the world for forty years, until the construction of New York’s World Trade Center in 1971 and, despite being overtaken in terms of its height, both in the United States and abroad, has remained America’s most internationally famous architectural icon. It is both a shining example of the aesthetic and functional possibilities of the skyscraper form, and a potent symbol of the Manhattan metropolis it inhabits. The Empire State has played a prominent role in several Hollywood movies and has been the subject of countless



The Empire State Building, New York City.

essays and artworks, while an infinite number of products have been marketed, capitalizing on its familiar image.

The building demonstrated the extent to which corporate capitalism came to represent America to the rest of the world. It was the fruit of a speculative real estate venture by the Empire State Company, an organization whose major investors were John J. Raskob of General Motors and Coleman and Pierre du Pont. The former New York governor and presidential candidate Alfred E. Smith served as the company’s president and front man. The project began with the purchase of land, formerly owned by the Astor family, on Fifth Avenue between 33rd and 34th Streets in midtown Manhattan. From the start, there was no “anchor tenant” or big company to occupy and associate with the building, unlike the nearby Chrysler Building or the famous downtown Woolworth Building. In 1929, just two months after the first public announcement of the Empire State venture, “Black Friday” struck on Wall Street, but the developers gambled on an economic turnaround and proceeded with their plans.

On May 1, 1931, at a ceremony attended by President Herbert Hoover and New York Governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the Empire State Building was officially opened. Construction had taken only 12 months—a remarkable rate of progress, during which the building’s steel skeleton was erected in a mere 23 weeks. (During one period in 1930, workers put up 14 floors in ten days!) For promotional purposes, the developers had specifically set out to build the tallest building in the world. They achieved their goal. Reaching a height of 1,250 feet, the Empire State was almost 200 feet taller than its rival, the glitteringly flamboyant Chrysler Building, by comparison with

which its design style, by the architectural firm of Shreve, Lamb and Harmon, was relatively sedate. The building's form was determined by its height and the setbacks required by the 1916 New York Zoning Laws. There was no elaborate decoration on the limestone exterior to attract the eye; instead, the building relied on its graceful form, enlivened by the conscientious use of setbacks, to provide an aesthetic effect. At the top, on the 102nd floor, was an open-air observation deck beneath a huge mooring mast intended by the developers to serve as an enticement for zeppelin landings. (No zeppelin ever docked, though).

The first years, however, were lean. The building was only half-full when it opened, and with only a twenty-five percent occupancy rate during the 1930s, was often dubbed the "Empty State Building." At times it seemed that only the income from the popular 86th and 102nd floor observation decks were keeping the premises alive. Nonetheless, almost immediately after opening, the Empire State Building became a cultural icon. In its first year of operation, over one million sightseers visited the observation decks, and Hollywood soon spotted its movie potential. The building's association with the movies famously began with *King Kong* in 1933, and surfaced as an integral plot strand many times since, including in *An Affair to Remember* (1957) and *Sleepless in Seattle* (1993). The building is a ubiquitous icon of the city's tourist trade, and millions of replicas of varying sizes have been sold to visitors and native New Yorkers alike.

There is no obvious explanation as to why the Empire State Building has continued to attract successive generations of visitors and admirers. People remain fascinated by the sheer (and ever increasing) size of skyscrapers, but impressive edifices such as Chicago's Sears Tower or New York's World Trade Center, have failed to capture the public affection in which the Empire State is held. The Empire State has not been the world's tallest building in decades; neither is it universally considered to be the most beautiful or the most interesting of the world's skyscrapers. Nevertheless, its special place in the hearts of Americans has not been superseded. During the Depression, the building was a stalwart symbol of optimism. As Alfred E. Smith said at the dedication ceremony, the Empire State Building is "the greatest monument to ingenuity, to skill, to brain power, to muscle power" And he might have added, to triumph in the face of adversity. After World War II, it was the emblem of America's triumphant emergence as the world's preeminent economic and cultural power; from the 1950s onwards, the building's elegant beauty put to shame (with certain honorable exception such as Mies van der Rohe's Seagram building) the forest of impersonal glass boxes that came to alter the face of Manhattan. With its many historic and romantic resonances, The Empire State Building represents much more than just a pioneering triumph of scale.

—Dale Allen Gyure

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## Environmentalism

American environmental concern traces back to Jeffersonian ideas of a unique American connection to land and the romantic ethos of the nineteenth century. Open land, sometimes viewed as "wilderness," defined the New World for many European settlers. Thomas Jefferson argued that this open land could be transferred into an American strength if development were directed toward an agrarian republic. While much of the nation would pursue land-use similar to the landscape of Jefferson's ideal, some urban Americans remained intrigued by Jefferson's idea of a unique American connection to the natural environment. This can be seen in the adoption of European forms such as parks and gardens and in the intellectual tradition of romanticism and transcendentalism. By the end of the 1800s, wealthy urbanites pursued "wild" adventures in sites such as the Adirondacks, initiated organizations to conserve animal species or limit pollution, and, finally, set aside areas of nature from development. While the first national parks, Yellowstone and Yosemite, proved to be watershed events in environmental history, they were not initially set aside to protect wilderness areas.

Much nineteenth century environmentalism occurred without a strict organization or philosophy, and the first national parks are a primary example of this. Some scholars have chosen to view nineteenth century environmentalism as a product of Gilded-Age decadence and not an emerging new consciousness toward natural resource use. For instance, Yellowstone, established as the first national park in 1872, developed closely with railroad interests who hoped it would attract tourists to the American West. Its oddities—geysers, waterfalls—proved more important to observers than its unspoiled wilderness. They also made its utility for settlement questionable, which allowed its sponsors to dub the area "worthless for development." Such a designation made lawmakers more willing to sponsor setting it aside for altruistic reasons.

The progressive period energized many Americans to identify social ills and use the government to correct them. The impulse to discontinue waste of resources and the pollution, physical and spiritual, of American communities rapidly became an expression for Americans' unique connection to the land. The leadership of President Theodore Roosevelt and his Chief of Forestry Gifford Pinchot galvanized the upper-class interest with national policies. These policies deviated in two directions, preservation and conservation. Roosevelt greatly admired the national parks as places where "bits of the old wilderness scenery and the old wilderness life are to be kept unspoiled for the benefit of our children's children." With his spiritual support, preservationists linked securing natural areas apart from development to icons of Americanness, including Jeffersonian

ideals and romanticism. Finally, though, preservationists argued that a society that could exhibit such restraint as to cordon off entire sections of itself had ascended to the level of great civilizations in world history. While Roosevelt is thought to have had preservationist convictions, his main advisor on land management, Pinchot, argued otherwise for the good of the nation.

Conservationists, such as Pinchot, sought to qualify the preservationist impulse with a dose of utilitarian reality. The mark of an ascendant society, they argued, was the awareness of limits and the use of the government to manage resources in danger. Forest resources would be primary to Pinchot's concern. The first practicing American forester, Pinchot urged Americans to manage forests differently than had Europe. Under Pinchot's advice, President Theodore Roosevelt moved the few National Forests created in 1891 out of the jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture and into an independent Forest Service. During his administration, Roosevelt added 150 million acres of National Forests. The U.S. Forest Service became one of the most publicly-recognized government agencies of the Roosevelt era under Pinchot's direction. A mailing list of over 100,000, frequent public appearances, and penning articles for popular magazines combined with Pinchot's personal connections to help make forests a national cause celebre. This public standing, created through forest conservation, further inflamed the approaching alteration that would define the early environmental movement.

While the difference between preservation and conservation may not have been clear to Americans at the beginning of the twentieth century, popular culture and the writing of muckraking journalists clearly reflected a time of changing sensibilities. After the San Francisco fire, the nation confronted its feelings in order to define national policy. San Francisco, in search of a dependable supply of water, requested that the Hetch Hetchy Valley, located within the boundaries of Yosemite National Park, be flooded in order to create a reservoir to protect against future fires. Preservationists, rallied by popular magazine articles by naturalist John Muir, boisterously refused to compromise the authenticity of a National Park's natural environment. Reviving romantic notions and even transcendental philosophies, Muir used this pulpit to urge "Thousands of tired, nerve-shaken, over-civilized people are beginning to find out that going to the mountains is going home; that wildness is a necessity; and that mountain parks and reservations are useful not only as fountains of timber and irrigating rivers, but as fountains of life." He called those wishing to develop the site "temple destroyers." In reaction, Pinchot defined the conservationist mantra by claiming that such a reservoir represented the "greatest good for the greatest number" of people, and therefore should be the nation's priority. The dam and reservoir would be approved in 1913, but the battle had fueled the emergence of the modern environmental movement.

Environmentalism continued to emerge as a portion of twentieth-century culture throughout the period before World War II. Most importantly, the New Deal brought the connection of scientific understanding to the popular appeal of not abusing natural resources. Particularly as New Deal agencies strove to win public approval for their back-to-work programs, popular periodicals were deluged with scientifically-based articles discussing land-use practices being carried out by New Deal agencies. This development incorporated the emergence of ecology, also taking place in the 1930s, with federal policies to manage watersheds, maintain forests, teach agriculture,

and hold fast the flying soils of the Southern Plains. Press coverage of the "dust bowl" of the 1930s, for instance, presented a natural disaster caused by drought and bad luck. Through government-made documentary films such as *The Plow that Broke the Plains*, the New Deal infused a bit of ecological background to explain desertification and agricultural practices that can be used to combat it. In the process of a natural disaster, the American public learned a great deal about its role within the natural environment.

This lesson became more pronounced as Americans increased their lifestyle standards and their expectations for safety. Historians point to a clear correlation between the 1950s growth in the middle class and the popularity of environmentalism. Samuel P. Hays wrote that this era "displayed demands from the grass-roots, demands that are well charted by the innumerable citizen organizations. . . ." that grew out of such public interest. Within growing suburbanization, middle-class Americans expected health and home safety. While there was as yet little regulative authority available, grass-roots environmentalists demanded their government to intercede and insure community safety. The groundswell of interest mobilized with the counter-culture movements of the 1960s, and activists seized a national stage to link scientific data with environmental concern.

The initial interest of the public in the 1940s and 1950s was garnered through an event similar to Hetch Hetchy. The Bureau of Reclamation, an agency developed by applying Pinchot's idea of conservation to waterways of the American West, set out to construct the Echo Park Dam along the Utah-Colorado border, and within a little used National Monument, named Dinosaur—even though most of its fossils and bones had been stolen. As Congress neared a vote on the issue in 1950, 78 national and 236 state conservation organizations expressed their belief that National Parks and Monuments were sacred areas. David Brower, executive director of the Sierra Club and Howard Zahniser of the Wilderness Society used the opportunity to create a model for environmental lobbyists to follow. Direct-mail pamphlets asked: "What is Your Stake in Dinosaur?" and "Will You DAM the Scenic Wildlands of Our National Park System?" Additionally, a color motion picture and a book of lush photos, each depicting the Echo Park Valley's natural splendor, were widely viewed by the public. Such images and sentiments forced Americans to react. With mail to Congress late in 1954 running at eighty to one against the dam, the bill's vote was suspended and the project eventually abandoned. The issues had been packaged by environmentalists to connect concerns with romantic images of the American past. The American public reacted as never before.

Zahniser identified this moment as the best to press for the environmental movement's greatest goal: a national system of wilderness lands. Based on the idealistic notion of pristine wilderness, such a system had been called for beginning with Aldo Leopold in the 1910s. With increased recreation in parks and public lands, argued Zahniser, it had become even more crucial that some of the land be set aside completely. His bill, introduced to Congress in the 1950s, precluded land development and offered recreational opportunities only for a few rather than for the great mass of travelers. Such an ideal goal required great salesmanship, and Zahniser was perfect for the job. As the political climate shifted in the early 1960s, lawmakers became more interested in wilderness. Finally, in 1964, President Lyndon Johnson signed the Wilderness Act into law. The United States had taken one of the most idealistic plunges in the history of

environmentalism: nearly ten million acres were immediately set aside as “an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain.” Additional lands were preserved in similar fashion by the end of the decade.

While the concept of wilderness forced the general American public to begin to understand ecosystems and the webs of reliance operating within natural systems, the application of scientific understanding to environmentalism occurred most often in other realms. Pollution composed the most frequent complaint, but its nuisance derived more from physical discomfort than a scientific correlation with human health. Rachel Carson, a government biologist turned nature writer, presented the American public with its lesson in science in 1962 with the publication of *Silent Spring*. The bestseller told the story of pollution (particularly that from the popular pesticide DDT) and its effect on ecological webs of life linked water runoff to fish health and then to depletion of the Bald Eagle population. Readers were left to infer the effects of such chemicals on humans. Flexing their increased environmental awareness, the American public scurried to support Carson’s parade through television talk shows. The Kennedy administration appointed a commission to study Carson’s findings and a year later banned DDT from use in the United States. Carson became identified with “mother nature” and a maternal impulse to manage the natural environment through federal regulation.

Over the next decade, a deluge of environmental legislation responded to the public’s demand for action. The public outcry was so severe that even a conservative such as Richard Nixon could be deemed “the environmental President” as he signed the National Environmental Protection Act in 1969, creating the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). The public entrusted the EPA as its environmental regulator to enforce ensuing legislation monitoring air and water purity, limiting noise and other kinds of pollution, and monitoring species in order to discern which required federal protection. The public soon realized just how great the stakes were. During the 1970s, oil spills, river fires, nuclear accidents, and petroleum shortages made it appear as if nature were in open rebellion. Rapidly, this decade instructed Americans, already possessing a growing environmental sensibility, that humans—just as Carson had instructed—needed to live within limits. A watershed shift in human consciousness could be witnessed in the popular culture as green philosophies infiltrated companies wishing to create products that appealed to the public’s environmental priority. Recycling, day-light savings time, car-pooling, and environmental impact statements became part of everyday life after the 1970s.

The culture expressing this environmental priority has taken many forms since the 1970s. Earth Day 1970 introduced a tradition that has evolved into an annual reminder of humans’ tenuous existence. As many as twenty million Americans participated in the first celebration. Some celebrants protested polluting companies, others planted trees, and still others cleaned up trash. Particularly for school-age children, a single day has evolved into continuous awareness. Ideas such as highway trash cleanup and recycling have become part of everyday American society. Many parents find children acting as environmental regulators within a household. Mixing science with action, environmentalism proved to be excellent fodder for American educators. More importantly, though, the philosophy of fairness and living within limits merged with cultural forms to become mainstays

in entertainment for young people, including feature films such as *Lion King* and *Fern Gully*, environmental music, and even clothing styles. The audience of children and youths quickly became an outlet for ideals for which many adults longed but from which society limited their access. In essence, after 1980 many American parents expressed their own convictions by supporting the environmental idealism of youth culture.

Earth Day 1990 continued such traditions, but also marked an important change in environmentalism’s scope. Worldwide, 14 nations and more than 40 million humans marked some kind of celebration on Earth Day 1990. While a global perspective seemed inherent in the web of life put forward by Carson and others, it would take global issues such as the Chernobyl nuclear accident in 1986 and shared problems such as greenhouse gasses and global warming to bind the world into a common perspective, fueled to action by the Western environmental consciousness. Most importantly, the United Nations presented a tool for facilitating such efforts. With its first meeting on the environment in 1972, the global organization created its Environmental Program. This organization would sponsor the historic Rio Conference on the Environment in 1992 and that on global warming in 1997. In response to such activities, the U.S. federal government declared the environment a genuine diplomatic risk in global affairs by creating a State Department Undersecretary for the Environment in 1996. What began as an intellectual philosophy had so impacted the human worldview that it would now influence global relations.

By the late 1990s, polls revealed that nearly 70 percent of Americans referred to themselves as “environmentalists.” But of those who called themselves environmentalists most did not hold deep philosophical commitments. More often, they expressed themselves in reaction to mass mailings put out by any of the hundreds of environmental special interest groups developed by the 1990s. Starting from associations of conservation hunters, including the Audubon Society founded in the 1870s, organizations such as the Sierra Club, Wilderness Society, and the American Wildlife Federation have evolved with the environmental movement. Additionally, the global emphasis spawned Greenpeace, the world’s largest environmental organization. Financial support from membership dues broadens the cultural impact of environmental philosophies while also allowing many Americans to define themselves as supporters while possessing little of the movement’s primary convictions.

The twentieth century has witnessed the development of a consciousness that transcends the preservation of special places and the regulation of damaging pollutants. From romantic beginnings, Americans have been moved to ask serious questions about their very basic idea of progress. For many Americans, increased environmental awareness has moved them to alter their actions and priorities. American culture, though, has become more “green” for every observer.

—Brian Black

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## Equal Rights Amendment

While the history of slavery is well known in the United States, the fact that married women were legally subservient until the nineteenth century is less well known. The doctrine of *coverture*, practiced throughout the United States, meant that married women were covered by their husbands and had no separate legal existence. In practice, this resulted in the inheritance of women being assigned to their husbands, the guardianship of minor children being decided by the father, earnings of wives and minor children being claimed by the father, and lack of protection from abusive husbands. Many states allowed husbands to beat their wives to correct them as long as the means of punishment was no thicker than his thumb. This is where the rule of thumb derived. The Seneca Falls Convention in 1848 had paved the way for the rights of women, but it was not until 1920 that women had won the right to vote with the 19th Amendment. Once the vote was assured, women's groups launched a campaign to provide for equal rights amendments at both the state and national levels.

The push for equal rights was led by the National Women's Party (NWP) who succeeded in 1925 in convincing Congress to hold the first congressional hearings on the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). The amendment stated that "men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction." The National Association for Women's Suffrage of America (NAWSA), headed by Carrie Chapman Catt, also worked for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. Alice Paul, a veteran of the English campaign for women's rights, joined Catt in her struggle and accepted the presidency of the NWP. She introduced the first version of the Equal Rights Amendment to Congress, arguing that the purpose of the amendment was to allow women to be all that they could be. Opponents to the ERA could be found both in and out of the women's movement. From within, Florence Kelly led the fight against it, believing that it would take away existing protections for which women had fought.

In 1940, the Republican party endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment, and the Democrats followed in 1944. In 1946, an attempt to steer the amendment through the Senate failed. By 1950 the intent of the amendment had been weakened by a rider that exempted all laws designed to protect women. Then in 1953, the amendment was sent to congressional committees where it remained for the next two decades.

When the "second wave" of the women's movement was launched in 1963 with the publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, new attention was focused on the Equal Rights Amendment. In 1923, support for the ERA had been considered radical, but in the 1970s support came from mainstream America as well as from more liberal elements. Advocates included The League of Women Voters, the Business and Professional Women, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the American Association

of University Women (AAUW), Common Cause, and United Auto Workers (UAW).

Representative Martha Griffith reintroduced the Equal Rights Amendment in 1970, with a slight rephrasing: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." In 1972, the new version of the Equal Rights Amendment passed both houses of Congress with large majorities. The stiffest battle was still ahead, however, as supporters of the amendment set out to garner the necessary approval of three-fourths of the 50 states. It was not to be. Thirty-five states ratified, but the sophisticated organization of the opposition prevented passage in the three additional states needed for ratification.

Opponents to the Equal Rights Amendment pointed out that the 14th and Fifth Amendments to the United States Constitution contained guarantees of equality and that existing laws, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Equal Pay Act provided practical protections of rights. They painted horrifying portraits of women in combat, co-ed restrooms, and working mothers who neglected their families. To no avail, supporters countered with arguments that laws were more transitory than amendments and that women had an equal responsibility to protect their countries. They pointed out that women already worked outside the home, and that traditional families were still the norm.

Most amendments are given seven years from the date of congressional approval to win ratification by the necessary 38 states. The Equal Rights Amendment was given an unprecedented three-year extension. But in 1983, the extension expired, and the Equal Rights Amendment was never made a part of the United States Constitution. Supporters of the amendment continue to offer it up for approval at both the national and state levels, but the urgency for its passage has dissipated. As a whole, women no longer feel as threatened by the lack of an ERA because they have enjoyed the successes of a society more open to women's rights and have reaped the benefits of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which banned discrimination based on sex. In a landmark case in 1972, the Supreme Court held in *Reed v. Reed* that legal classifications could not arbitrarily be based on sex. Subsequent cases have upheld women's right to serve on juries, to practice law and medicine, to work in bars, to be protected from pregnancy discrimination, and to take control of their reproductive lives. Ruth Bader Ginsburg, appointed to the Supreme Court by President Bill Clinton in 1993, successfully argued as a practicing lawyer that the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment should protect individuals from sexual discrimination. Even though the Equal Rights Amendment was never added to the United States Constitution, protection for those rights has now become part of the fabric of American law and society. While women continue to be discriminated against in practice, they are legally protected from intentional discrimination. It could be argued that the defeat of the ERA paved the way for the success of the goals of the amendment.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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## ER

The Emmy-Award-winning television drama *ER* premiered in the fall of 1994. It became the most richly compensated show in television history in 1998 when NBC agreed to pay the show's production company, Warner Brothers, 13 million dollars per episode for three seasons. Best-selling author and film producer Michael Crichton (*Jurassic Park*, *Disclosure*) created the hour-long drama, which centers on a staff of young medical professionals who work in

the emergency room of an inner city hospital in Chicago. The show's collection of talented actors, writers, and producers garnered *ER* an average of 30 million viewers per episode. The show's blockbuster ratings and critical acclaim accelerated the 1990s trend toward cross-pollination between the television and film industries. Many members of the cast branched into film work while honoring contracts with the show. Crichton shared duties as executive producer with famous Hollywood producer and director Steven Spielberg and veteran television producers John Wells, Lydia Woodward, and Carol Flint.

The NBC-Warner Brothers financial agreement concerning *ER* signaled a shift in television economics. In the decade leading up to the deal, increased competition brought about by cable and satellite technology found traditional networks straining to maintain their dwindling audiences. Suddenly, exceptionally popular programs like *ER* enjoyed increased bargaining power. As a result, a two-tiered system took shape in which one or a handful of shows would carry a network—not necessarily by generating direct profits (although advertisers did pay \$500,000 per 30 second spot during *ER* broadcasts),



*ER* cast members: (from left) NBC President Warren Littlefield, Laura Innes, series executive producer John Wells, Anthony Edwards, Julianna Margulies, George Clooney, Noah Wylie, Kellie Martin, and Gloria Reuben celebrate the show's 100th episode.



but by luring viewers to the network, thus generating interest on the part of advertisers to invest in less-popular shows.

Frenzied pacing and frankness in depicting emergency medical procedures characterized the show. Its immediate popularity also afforded *ER* directors considerable room for artistic experimentation. In attempting to reproduce an edgy documentary style, for instance, “Ambush,” the opening episode of the fourth season, was broadcast live and shot on video rather than on traditional film stock. The daring episode (which some called a publicity stunt) received mixed reviews. Ultimately, producers shifted the focus of the drama away from its hyperactive emergency scenes, toward the soap-opera-like personal lives of the characters.

Web sites centered on the show’s doctors and nurses proliferated on the Internet. Viewers enjoyed the medical heroics performed by the characters, but also sympathized with the tragic humanity of their flaws and their weekly attempts to hold together their neglected personal lives. Series favorites include Dr. Mark Greene (Anthony Edwards), a senior attending physician whose career cost him his marriage; Dr. Doug Ross (George Clooney, whose 1999 departure from the show was one of the most-watched episodes), a handsome, philandering pediatrician; Dr. Peter Benton (Eriq La Salle), an intense and egotistical surgeon; Dr. John Carter (Noah Wyle), a well-intentioned but naive son of one of Chicago’s wealthiest families; Carol Hathaway (Julianna Margulies), a compassionate, earthy nurse who struggles to determine her own self-worth; Jeanie Boulet (Gloria Reuben), an HIV-positive physician’s assistant; Dr. Kerry Weaver (Laura Innes), an abrasive attending physician and administrator; and Dr. Elizabeth Corday (Alex Kingston), a winsome and intelligent visiting surgeon from England perplexed by the seriousness of her American colleagues. In addition to these favorites, series regulars have included various characters who lasted a season or two.

—Adrienne Russell

## Erdrich, Louise (1954—)

Of mixed Chippewa and German-American ancestry, Louise Erdrich addresses the concerns of modern Native Americans in a way that appeals equally, if somewhat differently, to Native American and mainstream readers alike. “Indianness” matters in her work, but Erdrich is far more interested in affirming important aspects of Native American experience—attitudes toward sexuality and nature, women’s power, and communal ethics and aesthetics in particular—than in accusing Euro-American culture (and readers) of past wrongs. Her Faulknerian preoccupation with place has led her to create a sprawling, loosely connected multi-novel saga that deals mainly, but not exclusively, with Native American life in the latter half of the twentieth century. Her fiction (she also writes poetry and essays) weaves together realism and fantasy, sensuality and lyricism, short story and novel, oral and written traditions, comic sensibility and tragic awareness. The popular and critical success of her National Book Award-winning first novel, *Love Medicine* (1984), and the physical attractiveness that led *People Magazine* to include her in its list of “most beautiful” people have helped make her one of the most recognizable and influential Native American writers of her generation.

—Robert A. Morace

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## Erector Sets

Sets of metal girders, nuts, bolts, gears, and electric motors that could be used to build numerous structures and vehicles, Erector sets were a popular construction toy for decades and spawned other lines of construction sets, including Legos.

A. C. Gilbert, founder of the Mysto Magic Company in 1909, which sold magic trick equipment, introduced the Erector set in 1913. Inspired by the girders he saw being installed along the New Haven railroad, he was influenced by similar toy construction sets already on the market, including the English Meccano, which was made up of strips of metal, bolts, and nuts that could be put together to build various small models. Gilbert’s Erector set, however, could use gears and electric motors, a feature which made Erector a leader among construction toys.

The success of the Erector set was due to its versatility and response to new technological developments. Gilbert originally created pieces and designs for his sets which could be put together to create square girders that allowed for the construction of impressive buildings and bridges in imitation of the engineering feats of the burgeoning skyscraper architecture. In the 1920s, Erector sets could build models of trucks, Ferris wheels, and zeppelins. In the 1940s, Gilbert introduced the Parachute Jump. Gilbert and his company produced his toys until his death in 1961. In 1965 Gabriel Industries purchased the A.C. Gilbert company, but by the end of the twentieth century, Meccano S. A., who had purchased the Erector trademark around 1990, produced Meccano sets labeled with the Erector name. But the nostalgia surrounding the original Erector sets made them collectors items.

—Wendy Woloson

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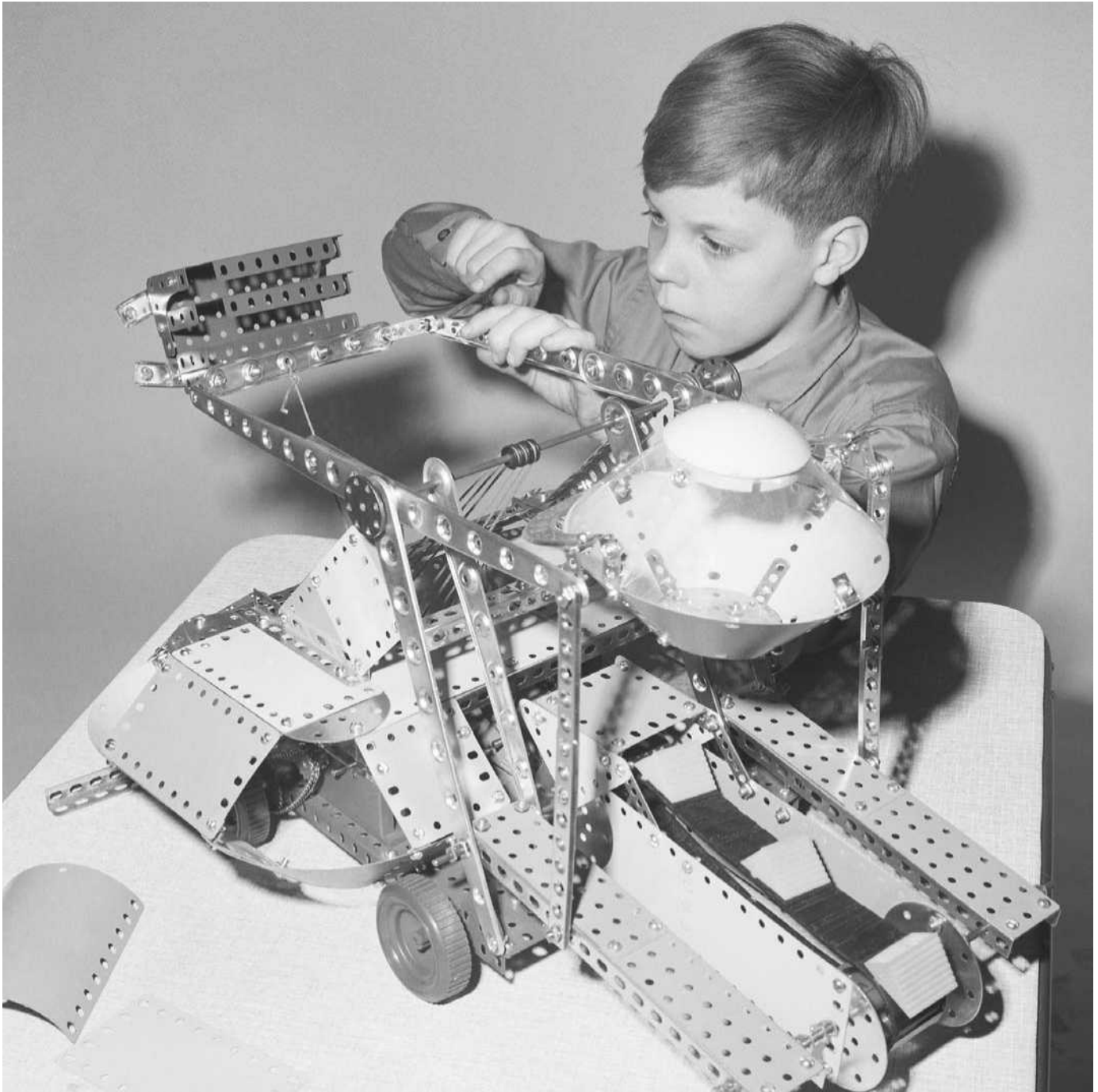
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## Erhard Seminar Training

See est



A young boy builds a “planetary probe” with his new Erector Set, 1963.

## Ertegun, Ahmet (1923—)

Ahmet Ertegun is the foremost music entrepreneur of the rock 'n' roll age. He and partner Herb Abramson founded Atlantic Records in 1947 on a loan of \$10,000. Under Ertegun's guidance, Atlantic Records was a key force in the introduction of rhythm and blues (R&B) and rock 'n' roll into the American mainstream. Atlantic has since become one of the top labels in the world. Ertegun's impact extends well beyond Atlantic Records. His astute guidance helped

shape the career of dozens of other top music executives, among them mega-mogul David Geffen. Ertegun is also a founding member of the Rock 'n' Roll Hall of Fame and served as its chairman. He was inducted into the hall in 1987 and the museum's main exhibition hall bears his name. Interestingly, Ertegun was also instrumental in bringing soccer to the United States—he was president of the highly successful New York Cosmos team during the 1970s. Clearly an ingenious mind, Ertegun has also won many prestigious humanitarian awards for his tireless efforts on a number of civil rights and civil liberties fronts.

Ertegun's unique ear for talent and his penetrating insight into the music industry were developed early. A child of the Turkish Ambassador, Ertegun and his older brother Nesuhi spent many of their formative years in Washington D.C. where they became ravenous jazz and blues fans. Their teenage record collection is reported to have numbered in the thousands and long before they were of legal age, the brothers had seen many of the great jazzmen of the era, including Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington.

While studying philosophy at St. John's College, Ertegun became increasingly frustrated in his search for the recordings of many of the jazz and blues performers he had seen live. In response, he decided to start Atlantic Records in order to record many of these unrecognized talents. Atlantic, however, was never intended to be an archival label. Ertegun envisioned Atlantic as a vehicle for mainstreaming blues and jazz. In order to realize this goal, Ertegun concentrated on finding and recording musicians that did not easily fit the dominant black music styles of the day.

Ertegun's reputation in the industry was built upon his great "ears" for talent. His intimacy with the black musical idiom and his willingness to scour clubs and juke joints in any neighborhood and any region of the country set him apart from other talent scouts of the day. His successes in the field of A&R stand still as the yardstick by which others are measured. Among the more influential artists Ertegun brought to Atlantic during the early years were Ray Charles, Big Joe Turner, Ruth Brown, The Drifters, The Clovers, and The Coasters. Jazz masters John Coltrane and Professor Longhair also recorded for Atlantic during this era. Once artists were contracted with Atlantic, Ertegun continued to work closely with them in the studio. On occasion he also wrote songs for his artists. Under the pseudonym "Nugetre" (Ertegun spelled backwards), he penned several hits, including "Don't Play that Song," "Chains of Love," "Sweet Sixteen," and "Mess Around."

More important, though, was Ertegun's ability to coax from a variety of musicians a sound that found widespread appeal among white audiences. The Atlantic sound evolved into a "danceable" compromise that borrowed from both country blues and big band jazz. It laid critical groundwork for the development of R&B (a genre label coined by Nesuhi Ertegun) and ultimately rock 'n' roll. By successfully bringing R&B to the mainstream market, Atlantic established itself as one of the first and most successful of the emergent "independent" record labels. Along with Chess and Sun Records, Atlantic eroded the corporate oligopoly of the recording industry (e.g., Columbia, RCA, and Decca).

In the early 1960s, when many independent labels faltered, Atlantic's successes mounted. Ertegun's musical instincts kept Atlantic from buying too heavily into the faddish teenybopper rock of that early period. Instead, the label concentrated on popularizing the emergent soul sound. Atlantic signed during this era soul legends Otis Redding, Wilson Pickett, Sam and Dave, and perhaps most importantly Aretha Franklin. In the later 1960s, Ertegun's insight into the nature of the British Invasion prompted him to lead scouting missions to England where Atlantic tapped into London's blues revivalism. Atlantic's discoveries during this era include megastars Cream and Led Zeppelin. Ertegun was also instrumental in bringing art-rock to American shores, signing or helping sign Genesis, Yes, and King Crimson. From the West Coast scene, Atlantic signed Buffalo Springfield, Crosby Stills and Nash, and Neil Young among others.

Although he sold the label in 1967 to Warner-Seven Arts, Ertegun stayed on as chairman of the Atlantic group and guided the

label to greater glories in the 1970s. Atlantic's climb toward preeminence among rock labels was largely a product of Ertegun's personality and professional reputation. By the early 1970s, Ertegun had come to be regarded as one of the most knowledgeable, charismatic, and trustworthy industry executive. His abiding love of the music itself, his street savvy, and his legendary hedonism won him respect and admiration from musicians everywhere. In addition, his long-term friendship with Mick Jagger helped Atlantic steal the Rolling Stones from their long-time affiliation with Decca records, a deal which sealed Atlantic's standing as the preeminent rock label of the era. In 1997, Ertegun was still CEO at Atlantic, was still a vital personality on the New York nightclub circuit, and the label he founded 50 years earlier was the top market share holder.

—Steve Graves

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## Erving, Julius "Dr. J" (1950—)

Julius Erving led a revolution in the style and substance of the game of basketball beginning in 1971, when he joined the Virginia Squires of the American Basketball Association (ABA), following his junior year at the University of Massachusetts—it was playing college basketball that he earned his famous nickname, Dr. J. As a collegiate player with the Minutemen, Erving was one of only six players in NCAA history to average more than 20 points and 20 rebounds per game. During a professional career that spanned two leagues and 16 years, Erving redefined the role of a forward in not only the professional game, but in basketball as a whole. His athletic talents evoked an artistic flare that the professional game had never seen before. Erving also became an ambassador for the sport and a driving force in the revitalization of the game as a profitable spectator event.

During his five years in the ABA with the Squires (1971-1973) and the New York Nets (1973-1976), Erving was voted the league's Most Valuable Player (MVP) three times (1974, 1975, 1976), and led the Nets to the ABA Championship in 1974 and 1976. He was credited by many with single handedly keeping the financially strapped ABA afloat. Because the league had no national television exposure, many teams struggled at the box office. Arenas throughout the ABA, however, were consistently sold out for games in which the Nets and the flamboyant Erving participated. In his five ABA seasons, Erving averaged 28.7 points and 12.1 rebounds per game, led the league in scoring in 1973, 1974, and 1976, and was a four-time first team ABA All-Pro.

Following the 1975-76 season, four ABA teams merged with the larger and more financially stable National Basketball Association (NBA). This merger, which had been the initial hope and dream of the



Julius Erving, “Dr. J.,” in mid-air, gets ready to shoot.

original founders of the ABA, was due in large part to the popular and charismatic play of Julius Erving and a handful of other star ABA players.

After the NBA/ABA merger, Erving joined the Philadelphia 76ers, with whom he played for the next eleven years. During his NBA career, Erving was a five-time first team NBA All-Pro (1978, 1980, 1981, 1982, and 1983), and was voted the league’s Most Valuable Player in 1981. In 1983, the 76ers, led by Erving and teammate Moses Malone, won the NBA Championship, the third championship of Dr. J.’s illustrious career. In addition to the 1983 title, the 76ers appeared in the Championship Series three other times during Erving’s tenure with the club (1977, 1980, and 1982). As an NBA player, Dr. J averaged 22.0 points and 6.7 rebounds per game. Over the course of his career, Erving would leave his mark throughout the combined NBA/ABA record books, ranking in the top ten in career scoring (third), field goals made (third), field goals attempted (fifth), and most steals (first). At the time of his retirement in 1987, Dr. J was one of only three players to have scored over 30,000 points (30,026) as a professional player.

Julius Erving was chiefly recognized as a player who helped to establish the individual artistic creativity that has come to permeate professional basketball since the 1980s. Erving was the first player to win a league wide slam-dunk contest in 1976 while in the ABA, a feat he repeated several years later during his NBA career. He also possessed magnetic charm and an unquestionable dignity, which attracted the admiration of basketball fans and the general public in a manner few other players have enjoyed. The equally talented and charismatic Michael Jordan is known to have stated that he would

never have conceived of his basketball style without having seen Dr. J play during the prime of his professional career.

Since his retirement as a player, Erving continues to be a worldwide ambassador for the game, both through his personal business dealings and his regular appearances on NBA television broadcasts as a commentator. In 1993, Erving was inducted into the Basketball Hall of Fame in Springfield, Massachusetts.

—G. Allen Finchum

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## Escher, M. C. (1898-1972)

With his fantastically precise, yet hallucinatory and illusionary imagery, graphic artist M.C. Escher became a favorite of students and those who indulged in chemically altered states in the 1960s. Escher was best known for his tessellation, or repeating geometric patterns, and he also liked to draw scenes that incorporated several different spatial perspectives. In the course of time, his work became some of the most recognizable in the art world. Today, decks of playing cards and T-shirts decorated with his distinctive black and white patterns are usually found in museum gift stores next to the Van Gogh items—somewhat ironic in that, during his lifetime, Escher was dismissed by the traditional arts establishment as “too cerebral.”

Escher died in 1972, not long after the heady counterculture of the 1960s had elevated his art to iconic status. “The hippies of San Francisco continue to print my work illegally. I received some of the grisly results through a friendly customer over there,” he wrote in his journal on April 20, 1969. He was born Maurits Cornelis Escher in the Dutch city of Leeuwarden in 1898. As a youth he studied architecture, but then switched to graphic art. From 1923 to 1935 he lived in southern Italy, where he sketched traditional landscapes and architectural sites, from which he made woodcuts or lithographs. Some of this work, however, foreshadowed his later creativity; the pattern he painstakingly reproduced in *St. Peter’s, Rome* (1928), for example, served as a precursor to his penchant for infinitely repeated abstractions, while his fascination with the hallucinatory is presaged in the 1935 woodcut *Dream*, in which an enormous insect visits the body of a recumbent bishop.

In the mid-1930s, the artist spent time in Spain, and his visits to Granada’s Alhambra and the famed La Mezquita (mosque) of Cordoba gave him fresh inspiration. Both of these impressive architectural legacies from Spain’s Moorish past housed a treasure of decorative art in abstract patterns, since Islamic art prohibited any representational

imagery. At this point Escher began to think more about spatial relationships and the depiction of the infinite. His work soon took another direction when he began to fill space entirely with a repeating image.

In other works he would create a fantastical scene that had no counterpart in reality. The 1938 woodcut *Day and Night* depicts checkerboard farm fields, which morph into birds; the black birds are flying to the left into daylight, while the white flock heads toward darkness. Escher also somehow managed to mirror the opposite but concurrent hours into the landscape below them. Another famous work from this era, the 1942 lithograph *Verbum*, represents his fascination with the “closed cycle” in its images of reptiles that become fish who then become birds. Amphibians always remained a particular favorite for the artist: in the 1943 lithograph *Reptiles*, his subjects crawl off a piece of paper in a circular trajectory, during which they become three-dimensional; one exhales a little smoke before it returns to two dimensions.

These, and other creations, wrote Robert Hughes in *Time*, “are scientific demonstrations of how to visualize the impossible.” Yet far from being a capricious fantasist, Escher was deeply interested in the hard sciences. The artist regularly corresponded with mathematicians, and had little contact or respect for other artists, especially those working in modernism. “I consider 60 percent of the artists nuts and fakes,” he once said of those whose work hung in Amsterdam’s famed Stedelijk Museum. He handled much of the business of art himself, selling his images directly to college professors who had requested them for use in mathematical textbooks. He also sold inexpensive prints of his works in college bookstores, which helped give him a certain cachet among the brainy. One of the most enthusiastic of American collectors during his lifetime was the engineer grandson of Teddy Roosevelt, Cornelius Van Schaak Roosevelt, but, for the most part, Escher was largely ignored by the art world. In the 1960s, among the very few periodicals that ran articles on him were *Life*, *Scientific American*, and *Rolling Stone*, whose issue No. 52 also ran an article speculating about the possible breakup of the Beatles.

A 1968 retrospective of Escher’s work in The Hague, Holland’s seat of government, gave his popularity something of an international boost, and an Escher Foundation was established in 1968 to market and promote his prints. Rock album covers began using his imagery, which further popularized it, and items with his signature double helixes or reptilian nightmares began appearing in the hippie mail-order bible, *The Whole Earth Catalog*. In 1971 the staid art-book publisher Abrams issued a well-received tome, *The World of M. C. Escher*. Shortly after his death in 1972, Washington D.C.’s National Gallery hosted an exhibition of Escher graphics. “Once the focus of a small, rather cultish, mostly non-art-world audience . . . Escher has in recent years become the focus of a vast rather cultish, mostly non-art-world audience,” wrote Peter Schjeldahl in the *New York Times* that same year. The art critic, noting that Escher’s fan base seemed confined to “scientists and stoned kids,” observed dryly that the “psychedelic young” had seized upon Escher imagery in part because of his “terrific virtuosity” and “gamut of fanciful imagery,” not to mention accessibility. “Renditions of easily grasped intellectual and sentimental conceits, laced with the bizarre, they yield their essences, it might be said, with alacrity,” Schjeldahl declared. “They play intricate tricks in a direct, even blatant way, thus teasing the viewer and flattering him at once.”

—Carol Brennan

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## ESPN

The Entertainment and Sports Programming Network (ESPN) has become the dominant sports network on cable television. ESPN started when cable television was available to less than 10 percent of the population. ESPN’s irreverent style, brilliant advertising, and excellent programming and business decisions have catapulted it into over 70 million homes in the United States, as well as broadcasting in over 150 countries around the world.

When ESPN first began showing sports programming 24 hours a day in 1979, most industry experts concluded it had little chance of survival. With a limited budget and no connections to major sports programming, ESPN was forced to run such oddities as Australian Rules football, college lacrosse matches, and other rarely watched sporting events. Unable to raise the money to carry football, baseball, or any of the other major sports, ESPN concentrated its efforts on its news programming. Resources were poured into *Sportscenter*, the flagship news show for the network. In addition, network executives turned college basketball games and the National Football League draft into television events.

As ESPN gained in popularity, more and more sports fans began to subscribe to cable simply to get access to its excellent news coverage. By 1983, demand for ESPN became so great that the network was the first basic cable network to demand an operating fee from cable franchisers. As cable television continued to expand exponentially throughout the United States, ESPN became an integral part of any basic cable package.

In 1987, the network made two moves that would prove to be its most brilliant. The first move was the acquisition of the rights to televise National Football League games on Sunday nights, which immediately put ESPN in the same category as the major broadcast networks for sports coverage. The addition of football dramatically increased the network’s visibility in the sports marketplace, and drew millions of new viewers to their other shows.

The second move was the hiring of John Walsh, who would transform *Sportscenter* into the must-see sports show on television. Walsh brought his background as managing editor of the weekly news magazine *U.S. News and World Report* to *Sportscenter*, transforming it into a news broadcast about sports, rather than a sports broadcast. Walsh created a network that no longer simply showed highlights but also covered the news like any other major nightly news show. ESPN



ABC-TV president Robert Iger (left) and NHL commissioner Gary Bettman at a press conference announcing the NHL's expanded distribution deal with ABC and ESPN through the 1999-2000 season.

added investigative news coverage with *Outside the Lines*, a show that was to examine such controversial issues as racism and gambling in sports. A regular interview show, *Up Close*, was also created and it featured the greatest names in sports on a daily basis. Walsh created a news organization that covered sports at a level of detail never before seen on television.

Walsh endeavored to give ESPN its own personality, one that was humorous, intelligent, and absolutely in love with all types of sports. He hired anchors for *Sportscenter* that epitomized this personality, including the dominant personalities of Dan Patrick and Keith Olbermann. Patrick and Olbermann became the must-see anchors on ESPN, throwing out catch phrases, humor, and information at a rapid-fire pace. Olbermann and Patrick's 11 p.m. edition of *Sportscenter* soon became known as the "Big Show" among sports fans, and the devotion the two received reached almost obsessive levels.

By the late 1980s, ESPN had become THE network for the serious sports fans and players alike. Professional athletes made it clear that making the highlight reel on *Sportscenter* was important to

them. Fans held up signs at games addressed to the *Sportscenter* anchors using the catch phrase of the week. The focus on *Sportscenter* became so strong that the anchors could literally create a trend overnight. During one news broadcast, anchors Olbermann and Craig Killborn shouted the word "salsa!" every time someone scored a basket in college basketball. The very next night, college basketball fans throughout the country were seen holding up "Salsa!" signs whenever the home team made a basket. ESPN had clearly become a dominant cultural phenomenon.

In the 1990s, ESPN's influence grew even further. ESPN radio debuted in 1992, and ESPN2, a second all-sports network, began broadcasting in 1993. The expansion continued, and by 1995 ESPN Sportzone became a presence on the internet, the all-news network ESPNNews began in 1996, and *ESPN: The Magazine* emerged as a major competitor to the industry giant *Sports Illustrated* in 1998. In addition, the network began selling licensed ESPN sportswear and other products. ESPN programming now reaches over 70 million households in the United States, one of only three cable channels to

have achieved that mark, and ESPN2 is close to reaching it as well. The demand for ESPN programming is so high that the network now commands the highest operating fees and advertising rates on cable. Through saturation and careful marketing, ESPN has become virtually synonymous with sports in the United States.

Before ESPN began broadcasting, most sports coverage was limited to eight minutes on local news channels. Although the major broadcast networks would occasionally run half-hour sports news shows on the weekends, the shows were generally little more than compilations of highlight films. ESPN provided the serious sports fan with a wide variety of news and sports coverage that was unmatched on the airwaves. Fans tuned in to *Sportscenter* to see a full hour of highlights and analysis focused exclusively on sports, a level of detail never before available outside of the sports sections of major newspapers.

Although the level of coverage clearly made ESPN popular, volume is no substitute for quality. If *Sportscenter* had simply been another bland collection of highlight reels, the network would not be the success it is today. Clearly, a large part of the network's success is its ability to tap into the mind of the sports fan. ESPN designed its programming to appeal to the serious fan. *Sportscenter* runs several times during the day, from 5 a.m. to midnight, each show covering the latest news from the sporting world. In addition, the personnel have a clear love for the sports they cover, and this is made apparent to the viewer. Anchors constantly rattle off detailed histories, statistics, and biographies, demonstrating their level of knowledge. ESPN also has succeeded in attracting a broad audience to its programming. Although viewers are predominantly male, their coverage of women's sports, including basketball, soccer, and gymnastics, has drawn more and more women into the ranks of ESPN viewers.

Finally, the anchors are not afraid to inject humor into their coverage. Rather than resorting to the slapstick "blooper" reels so commonly seen on local network television, ESPN anchors interject far more cerebral humor into their coverage. This humor, including a willingness to make fun of themselves, created a bond between the anchors and the viewer. The inside jokes and catch phrases created by the anchors became a language of its own, known only to the serious sports fans of the world.

While there are many things that ESPN did to become successful, one must also recognize that the network came along at just the right time. The 1980s was a decade in which sports franchises around the country experienced a resurgence in popularity. The decade saw the emergence of some of the greatest sports figures of all time, including Michael Jordan, Wayne Gretzky, Joe Montana, and Barry Bonds. Fans were flocking to sporting events in greater numbers than ever before, and ESPN was a clear beneficiary of it. In a symbiotic way, the resurgent popularity of sports drew more fans to ESPN and, in turn, the network created fans for other sports. ESPN's regular coverage of college and professional basketball, professional hockey, and professional soccer was at least partially responsible for the phenomenal growth in attendance for all four sports.

ESPN remains the dominant force in the sports news industry. Other cable networks have attempted to clone its success, but none of them have achieved anything close to their ratings. As the sports industry continues to grow, ESPN will continue to capitalize on that growth.

—Geoff Peterson

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## Esquire

From its Depression-era origins as a men's fashion magazine with high literary aspirations, through a brief period when it threatened to devolve into a semi-girlie pulp magazine, *Esquire* emerged by the 1960s as one of America's brash and most sophisticated monthlies, with hard-hitting articles by the nation's leading writers and journalists on the hot-button cultural and political issues of the decade. At the same time, the periodical served as a Baedeker of sorts to a new generation of leisure-driven, style-conscious, sexually sophisticated men who were abandoning the austerity of the 1930s, the wartime privations of the 1940s, and the conformity of the 1950s for the more carefree, swinging lifestyle of the 1960s.

*Esquire* magazine was founded in 1933 by Arnold Gingrich and David Smart, who conceived of the publication as a magazine for the "new leisure," one that would be distributed largely through men's clothing stores, a plan that was quickly reversed when newsstands quickly and unexpectedly sold out their limited allotment of 5000 out of the 105,000 initial press run. From the beginning the magazine was known for its literary excellence—it published such authors as Erskine Caldwell, John Dos Passos, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Dashiell Hammett, and Ernest Hemingway—and for its lack of bigotry—it featured cartoons by E. Simms Campbell, the only black artist whose work appeared regularly in a mainstream national magazine, and fiction by Langston Hughes. Perhaps most notable, though, was the magazine's virtual reinvention of American masculinity. In place of the hard-working man of character who plodded through the pages of most American magazines, *Esquire* promoted men who were interested in leisure, were avid consumers, and had a keen interest in sex. Such representations of manhood were soon to become commonplace in American culture, but they first appeared regularly in *Esquire*.

Despite a cover price of fifty cents, double that of most magazines, circulation soared to 675,000 within a decade, emboldening its entrepreneurial founders to launch several other lifestyle magazines, including *Coronet*, *Verve*, and *Ken*. Another circulation-boosting factor was a series of controversial incidents in the early 1940s over the issue of censorship. *Esquire* first became the target of a boycott led by Roman Catholic leaders when *Ken* published some articles the church had found unpalatable. In another well-publicized case, *Esquire's* practice during World War II of printing double-page pinups as a morale-booster for its military readership prompted the U.S. Post Office to deny the publication its second-class mailing privileges, a decision that was eventually reversed by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Arnold Gingrich withdrew from the publishing partnership soon after World War II, and Smart appointed Frederic A. Birmingham to assume the editorship. Under Birmingham's direction, the publication veered away from its original stylish and literary format in favor of more Western and detective stories, as in other popular pulp magazines of the time. "The design was garish, confused," wrote Carol Polsgrove in her 1995 book *It Wasn't Pretty Folks, But Didn't*

*We Have Fun: Esquire in the Sixties.* “Circulation stayed high—around 800,000 in the early fifties—but blue-chip advertisers, wary of Esquire’s naughty wartime reputation, stayed away,” she wrote.

In 1950, *Esquire* moved from Chicago to New York, with Gingrich returning as publisher just a few months before Dave Smart’s death. Gingrich took on the task of trying to restore polish to the magazine, which over the next few years was forced to weather challenges from television and from other upscale periodicals like Hugh Hefner’s *Playboy*. With his first priority the reestablishment of *Esquire*’s literary reputation, Gingrich asked authors like Paul Gallico, Aldous Huxley, and George Jean Nathan to come on board as regular contributors. By this time, L. Rust Hills had come on board as literary editor and took responsibility for organizing the magazine’s annual literary symposia on college campuses. In 1956, Harold Hayes, who had worked for *Picture Week* and *Pageant* magazines, was hired by Gingrich, who wrote in his memoir, *Nothing but People*, “I took him in like the morning paper, knowing that in a Southern liberal who was also a Marine reserve officer I had an extremely rare bird.” Gingrich began to withdraw in favor of a younger generation of editors. Ralph Ginzburg and Clay Felker became editors in 1957, and the young Robert Benton took over as art editor, solidifying a team that, despite an acrimonious working style and the sudden firing of Ginzburg soon afterwards, would remold the magazine to appeal to younger demographics and that would turn *Esquire* into the power magazine it would become in the 1960s.

By 1960, *Esquire* was already earning a reputation for publishing serious, even philosophical, articles that could appeal to a more educated audience, such as the correspondence between Elia Kazan and Archibald MacLeish during the production of MacLeish’s drama, *J.B.* This editorial policy prompted Carol Polsgrove to declare that the *Esquire* editors were trying to “make thought entertaining. In an age where a whole generation of young men had gone to college on the GI Bill, why not put out a magazine for an audience that cared about rock and roll and the spiritual position of modern man, an audience that had heard of French playwrights and existentialists, an educated audience weary of television and eager to taste the delights of the mind, the cultivations of spirit and sense—and have fun doing it, too?”

Hayes was vowing to publish a magazine that would help America, particularly its men, resolve “a period of self-doubt and anxiety of great magnitude.” His prescription was an *Esquire* with “humor, irreverence, fashion, fine writing, controversy, topicality and surprise.” Diane Arbus was commissioned to do a photo spread of offbeat New York scenes and characters for a special July, 1960, issue on the city that included articles by James Baldwin, Gay Talese, and John Cheever. Among the many notable writers and journalists who would contribute to Hayes’s mission over the next several years were Saul Bellow, Richard Rovere, Gloria Steinem, Malcolm Muggeridge, Dwight Macdonald, John Updike, Gore Vidal, and Norman Mailer. The latter had been assigned to cover the Democratic National Convention in 1960 that nominated the youthful John F. Kennedy for President, though Mailer vehemently quit the enterprise when he objected to *Esquire*’s editors changing a word in his title from “Supermarket” to “Supermart.” Mailer was persuaded to return to the fold, however, and he was signed up to write a monthly column beginning in 1962, which quickly attracted critical attention for its audacity and imagination; Mailer later wrote a report on the Republican convention of 1964 that had nominated Barry Goldwater for president. It was also in 1962 that *Esquire* began bestowing its annual Dubious Achievements Awards, a semi-humorous feature concocted largely by a new member of the editorial staff, David

Newman. By this time, Hayes had assumed the role of editor-in-chief and brought in John Berendt as editor. It was also during the early 1960s that *Esquire* gained widespread reputation for publishing both serious and satirical articles on fashion, making the magazine the *de facto* arbiter of sartorial style for sophisticated and would-be sophisticated American men.

In the fall of 1963, when a fledgling writer named Tom Wolfe began to publish his onomatopoeic “new journalism” pieces in *Esquire*, the magazine’s circulation had risen to 900,000 and it was being regarded as one of America’s most influential publications. It devoted many pages over the next few years to some of the controversial social issues that were cleaving the American body politic, such as the militant black-power movement and the Vietnam war. Michael Herr went to Southeast Asia as a war correspondent for the magazine, and Tom Hedley contributed in-depth reports about unrest on American college campuses. Another young writer, Gary Wills, got his career underway under contract for *Esquire*, covering strife in the nation’s black ghettos and the assassination of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968. Publication of contentious articles by the feuding William F. Buckley, Jr. and Gore Vidal in the summer of 1969 led to libel suits that were eventually settled in Buckley’s favor. The following year, the magazine published John Sack’s interviews with Lt. William L. Calley, Jr. about atrocities allegedly committed by American soldiers in Mylai, Vietnam. About that time, Gordon Lish, the new fiction editor, helped establish the career of writer Raymond Carver by publishing his short stories in *Esquire*, often over the objections of Hayes.

During most of the 1960s, the provocative and offbeat covers by George Lois were credited with helping stimulate newsstand impulse sales and by 1972, the magazine’s circulation had peaked at 1.25 million. Newsstand sales soon began to decline, however, perhaps in part because the issues that had fueled *Esquire* during the turbulent 1960s were running out of steam. Many of the prominent writers who had brought the periodical to the pinnacle of literary and journalistic prominence, like Wolfe, Talese, and Vidal, could no longer be relied upon as regular contributors, and Mailer had again become estranged. In the fall of 1972, with the retirement of Gingrich, Hayes became editor and assistant publisher and Don Erickson was appointed executive editor. Hayes left *Esquire* in April of 1973 due to “irreconcilable differences” with management. Soon afterwards, George Lois ended his connection with the publication. Within the next three years, the magazine suffered sharp declines in readership and advertising lineage. In 1977, *Esquire* was sold to Associated Newspapers, a British concern that had a partnership agreement with Clay Felker. In 1979, the magazine was sold to Sweden’s Bonnier Newspaper Group and a firm owned by Phillip Moffitt and Christopher Whittle, with Moffitt becoming editor. In 1987, *Esquire* was purchased by the Hearst Corporation, which continues as its publisher. Data posted on the magazine’s website in early 1999 claimed a circulation of 672,073, of which 588,007 were subscription and 84,066 newsstand. The median age of its reader, says Hearst, is 42.6 years. David Granger, editor-in-chief, was quoted as saying “*Esquire* is special because it’s a magazine for men. Not a fashion magazine for men, not a health magazine for men, not a money magazine for men. It is not any of these things; it is all of them. It is, and has been for sixty-five years, a magazine about the interests, the curiosity, the passions, of men.”

—Edward Moran



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## est

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Werner Erhard's est (Erhard Seminar Training and Latin for "it is"), established in 1971 in San Francisco, has come to epitomize the "me decade," a time when people began to focus on self-improvement and the articulation of identity. One of the more successful motivational therapy groups to spring from the "human-potential movement," est used strict training within a group format to build self-awareness and offer individual fulfillment, while training people to get "It." Est is an example of what psychologists call a Large Group Awareness Training program, in which dozens of people are given intense instruction aimed at helping them discover what is hindering them from achieving their full potential. Although est no longer exists in its original form, its offshoot, the Landmark Forum (launched in 1984), continues to attract people who have a growing need to see themselves in a new way, while capitalizing on the past success and popularity of est's teachings.

Like most people, Jack Rosenberg was interested in human development and potential. Confused about his own identity, Rosenberg, a used car salesman, walked away from his family and his life in 1960, in search of answers. Changing his name to Werner Erhard (taken from theoretical physicist Werner Heisenberg, and Ludwig Erhard, the West German Minister of Economics), he went to California to dabble in various human potential disciplines and Eastern religions. He became very interested in L. Ron Hubbard and the Church of Scientology's practices, concluding that "the course was brilliant," and progressing through five Scientology levels. That exposure catalyzed the birth of his own teachings, which caused some controversy with the Church as to their origins, though Erhard insisted the two were different: "Ron Hubbard seems to have no difficulty in codifying the truth and in urging people to believe in it . . . in presenting my own ideas . . . I hold them as pointers to the truth, not as the truth itself." Scientologists continue to accuse Erhard of having stolen his main ideas from Hubbard, while Erhard claimed the Church was behind attempts to discredit him, even hiring hitmen to kill him. An avid reader, Erhard used a mixture of ideas culled from

existential philosophy, motivational psychology, Zen Buddhism, Alan Watts, and Sigmund Freud, among others, to build est. His own proverbial "enlightenment" occurred while driving across the Golden Gate bridge in San Francisco, where he says he was "transformed" into a state he described as "knowing everything and knowing nothing." The result was est.

The militant sessions (trainees were not allowed to speak to each other or take bathroom breaks) took place rigorously over two consecutive weekends. People were egged on by confrontational trainers who told them flatly "your life doesn't work" and to "wipe that stupid smile off your face, you a-hole." But the goal was "to get rid of old baggage" and to learn a "more profound sense of responsibility, a sense of potency," said Erhard in a 1988 interview. "My theory is that a person's vitality will generally equal their commitments, and if you'd like to have more vitality, make bigger commitments." Besides personal fulfillment, another benefit touted by the seminars was strengthening relationships. Although est helped many couples, Erhard couldn't do the same for his own two failed marriages.

Part of the controversy surrounding est (besides whether or not it should be classified as a cult) is its offering of quick-fix solutions in a psychologically manipulative setting, and its overly aggressive approach, which often continued after people finished their sessions, in the guise of persistent phone calls haranguing them to sign up for "follow-up" seminars, and forcing them to become recruiters. Erhard and est have had their share of lawsuits related to the seminars, but many who went through the program (an estimated 750,000 over the last 20 years, with centers in 139 cities throughout the world) maintain their loyalty. However, the organization, its lingo, and zealous followers were often satirized as self-obsessed cultists, who sported glazed, exuberant demeanors that made people uncomfortable. Characteristic of other similar movements, est attracted its share of celebrities who became public advocates of the program, such as actress Valerie Harper, singer John Denver, and artist Yoko Ono, which helped to bring the organization and its beliefs more into the public eye. Est and its buzz words started to become more a part of popular culture when advertisements capitalized on its popularity; for example, an ad campaign for MasterCard used "master the possibilities," one of Erhard's famous aphorisms.

Erhard saw himself as a strict but passionate coach for people receptive to exploring life's possibilities through self-awareness and "transformation." Est "transformed" Erhard's life, making him a rich executive/guru who reigned over his self-help empire. But after it began to crumble in the 1990s, he vanished amidst reports of tax fraud (which proved false) and allegations of incest (which were later recanted), lurid details that continue to keep him alive in popular imagination.

—Sharon Yablon

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## ***E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial***

Released in 1981, Steven Spielberg's *E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial* touched the emotions and the collective imagination of moviegoers of all ages, breaking all previous box-office records to become the most profitable film of its time until it was ousted by Spielberg's own *Jurassic Park* 12 years later. Exciting, moving, thought-provoking and funny, as well as inventive and skillful, the film's importance, however, transcends that of box-office success or entertainment value.

Made and released early in the Reagan years, *E.T.* exemplified a shift in America's cultural values after the 1960s and 1970s, during which the Vietnam War, the Watergate scandals, and the Iran hostage crisis had convulsed the nation. The emergence, too, of the new youth culture that had accompanied these turbulent decades, had manifested itself in a new cinema that began with *Easy Rider* in 1969. With the onset of the 1980s, Americans were seeking reconciliation and a reassertion of family values. The perceived message of the times, albeit clothed in political conservatism, was one of hope, love, and nostalgia for a gentler past, which was faithfully reflected in the majority of Hollywood movies.

Thus it was that Spielberg's film proved timely to its age, reflecting the spirit and values that were being so eagerly sought by a troubled nation, and thereby appealing to adults and children alike. The expertise and imagination with which it was made, however, gave it lasting properties well beyond the 1980s and has made it a favorite film of audiences throughout the world. Indeed, it might be seen as serving the same purpose and exerting the same degree of magic as the perennially beloved *Wizard of Oz* (1939), although it is a product of the technological age in both its vision and its realization.

Considered at the time to be Steven Spielberg's masterpiece, and undoubtedly his most personal film, this story set in middle-class suburbia grew out of the director's own lonely childhood in Scottsdale, Arizona, the son of a father who left the family home. He has said, "I use my childhood in all my pictures, and all the time. I go back there to find ideas and stories. My childhood was the most fruitful part of my entire life. All those horrible, traumatic years I spent as a kid became what I do for a living today, or what I draw from creatively today." *E.T.* was the culmination of several ideas that had germinated, been explored, and even filmed, over a number of years. One of Spielberg's major contributions to late-twentieth-century culture is the concept of the benign alien. Virtually all previous science fiction films grew out of fears of invasion, war, and the threat of nuclear annihilation that loomed large during the Cold War years. It was posited that aliens with the technology to reach Earth would also have the technology to unleash incredible destruction; and these fears were reflected in stories of invasion, aggression, colonization, and extermination. In Spielberg's mind, however, "Comics and TV always portrayed aliens as malevolent [but] I never believed that. If they had the technology to get here, they could only be benign."

His first creative expression of this concept resulted in one of the most profoundly searching and brilliantly executed films of the century, *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977), at the end of



Henry Thomas and E.T. in a scene from the film *E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial*.

which an alien creature steps off the ship—allowing Spielberg the opportunity to create and show an alien, even though the scene lasted only a half minute or so. Then, in 1979, after dreaming up an idea he called “Night Skies,” a tale about 11 aliens terrorizing a farm family, he put the project into development at Columbia and turned it over to writer/director John Sayles to flesh out the script. Sayles made a number of changes that included the introduction of a friendly alien who befriends an autistic child, and ended his script with the kindly alien being stranded on Earth. This last scene became the first scene of *E.T.*, though Sayles never pursued screen credit, considering his script “more of a jumping-off point than something that was raided for material.”

In 1980, while filming *Raiders of the Lost Ark* on location in Tunisia, Spielberg was turning over the idea of following *Raiders* with a simpler, more personal project. Looking for someone as a sounding board for his idea of an interplanetary love story, he turned to Harrison Ford’s girlfriend, screenwriter Melissa Mathison, who had accompanied Ford to Tunisia. Mathison subsequently said the story was already half-created in Spielberg’s mind, but she spent weeks pitching ideas back and forth with him for both the story and for the creature’s visual image. Among other things, they decided that the creature’s neck should elongate like a turtle’s, so that the audience would instantly know that they were not watching an actor in costume, while Spielberg knew that he wanted the creature’s communication to rest in emotion rather than intellect.

Back in the United States, while Spielberg edited *Raiders*, Mathison began writing the screenplay in earnest. An earlier version depicted E.T. as an interplanetary botanist stranded on Earth, at first more empathetic with plants than animals, and discussing with artichokes and tomatoes whether he should make contact with the humans. He finally does so by rolling an orange toward the boy Elliott’s feet. In the hours spent by Spielberg and Mathison discussing changes, the orange became a baseball. Spielberg went to Columbia, which had already spent \$1 million in development of “Night Skies” and offered them *E.T.* instead, but the studio, perceiving the idea as a children’s picture with only limited commercial potential, said no. Universal was interested, but Columbia, because of their investment in “Night Skies,” retained the rights to the property and refused to co-produce with Universal. They finally relinquished the rights in exchange for five percent of the net profits, and earned a fortune. (Spielberg, meanwhile, also convinced MGM to produce “Night Skies” which, after extensive rewrites to distance its subject matter from *E.T.*, became director Tobe Hooper’s *Poltergeist*, 1982).

The storyline of *E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial* is simple enough: One night, in the woods behind a hillside development of split-level homes, a spacecraft lands, disgorging a group of strange little creatures who shuffle off into the night until the appearance of humans—menacing from their point of view—forces them to re-enter their craft and take off, with one of their number left behind. The terrified creature hides out in a back yard, and is found by Elliott, the youngest boy of the family and a child at once sensitive, bold, and canny. They form a close friendship, communicating largely through instinctive understanding (*E.T.* has telepathic powers), which ends when Elliott becomes sadly aware that the creature wants to go home. Within this plot, Spielberg unfolds an empathetic tale of love and sympathy, pitted against fear and suspicion. The characterizations, including those of Elliott’s mother (Dee Wallace), his siblings (Drew Barrymore, Robert MacNaughton), and an initially menacing authority figure played by Peter Coyote, are richly three-dimensional. But the high ground is shared between Henry Thomas’ enchanting,

fatherless Elliott, and the bizarre little alien, an Oscar-winning triumph of imagination, created and made by artist Carlo Rambaldi in accordance with Spielberg’s humane vision.

More than one creature was built: there was a mechanically controlled version for scenes requiring large body movements, one with electronic controls for subtler articulation, and another to contain an actor (one of three used for the purpose) for the few scenes where E.T. has to lurch across the floor. Commentators have drawn parallels between E.T. and Christ, pointing to, among other aspects, the creature’s arrival, his healing touch, his persecution by civil authorities, and his ascension into the heavens. Spielberg gave E.T. an appearance “only a mother could love,” then wisely made him as afraid of Earthlings as they are of him, disarming Americans in particular, conditioned by years of Cold War sci-fi films to fear extra-terrestrials. Interestingly, unlike the main character in *Close Encounters*, Elliott does not heed E.T.’s request, “Come,” but chooses to stay behind with his family, perhaps reflecting Spielberg’s own maturity and sense of responsibility. At the end, to lessen the pain of E.T.’s departure, Coyote’s character, Keys, is subtly transformed from the antagonist to a possible new father, linked in two-shots with Elliott’s mother as they watch the spaceship fly off.

The logistics, statistics, and tales both apocryphal and accurate surrounding the genesis and the making of *E.T.* have been frequently recounted in books and articles, but its importance lies in the finished product and the response it evoked, and continues to evoke, in all who see it. There is not a dry eye in the house at the film’s climax, but the message is one of hope, within which is a serious subtext (shared by *Close Encounters*) that aims to defuse our nameless and parochial fears of “otherness.” The film embodies its director’s excursion into the wishes, dreams, and fantasies of his own past; but, significantly, that excursion brought audiences a return to innocence, love, and faith within a realistic contemporary social context.

With rare exceptions, the film, originally unveiled at the Cannes Film Festival, collected only superlatives from reviewers, and grossed millions for Spielberg personally, as well as for Universal studios. When the Academy Awards came around, *E.T.* lost out to *Gandhi*, but by the end of the twentieth century had become established as an acknowledged classic of the cinema.

—Bob Sullivan

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## Etiquette Columns

Targeted primarily at women, etiquette columns have appeared in American newspapers and magazines since the mid-nineteenth century to guide readers through the tangled thickets of social convention and polite behavior. In part, these columns began as responses to the cultural anxieties of a newly emerging middle class,

but they also derived from related American mythologies of moral perfection and self-improvement. And despite contemporary society's avowed indifference to propriety, these concerns clearly persist, as evidenced by the enthusiastic readership of Judith Martin's etiquette column "Miss Manners."

*Godey's Lady's Book* was among the first periodicals to dispense etiquette advice to American women. In the years before the Civil War, when literacy rates had reached 50 percent, *Godey's* enjoyed a circulation of 150,000. Editor Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale was determined to avoid subjecting her subscribers to the day's political unpleasantness, so she frequently turned to contributor Mrs. James Parton, known to readers as Fanny Fern, for sharp and amusing columns on "Rules for Ladies."

Following the Civil War, publishers and editors were so concerned about the moral decay presumed to be an inevitable result of bad manners that etiquette columns began to appear further afield. *Appleton's Journal*, the *Atlantic*, the *Galaxy*, and the *Round Table* all tendered advice on appropriate behavior, though social education continued to be the special purview of women's magazines. Readers who had questions on both fine and general points of etiquette began directing their inquiries directly to the magazines. Among the first to address these questions in a regular column was the *Ladies Home Journal*, whose editor Edward Bok created "Side-Talks with Girls," written by "Ruth Ashmore" (actually Isabel A. Mallon), but it was not until 1896 that newspapers began to include subjects of special interest to female readers. That year "Dorothy Dix" (Mrs. Elizabeth M. Gilmer) started her etiquette column in the *New Orleans Picayune* and, soon after, etiquette columns appeared in newspapers throughout the country.

The nineteenth century's true expert on etiquette, however, was undoubtedly Mary Elizabeth Wilson Sherwood. Mrs. Sherwood first offered etiquette advice in a series of features for *Harper's Bazaar*, at the time noted for presenting European fashions to American women. Readers immediately took Mrs. Sherwood's advice as exact and authoritative. She greatly embellished her writing with florid details so that readers could visualize the fork or finger bowl she was describing, but it wasn't only this attention to detail that made her such a popular columnist. Unlike her predecessor Henry Tomes, whose etiquette columns from *Harper's* were eventually collected in an edition called the *Bazaar Book of Decorum*, Sherwood was convinced that American women were not crude by nature. They desperately wanted wise advice on manners and deportment, she argued, but existing articles and books were either inaccessible or wrought with error. Mrs. Sherwood thus set out to do more than codify the rules of good behavior; in *Manners and Social Usages* (1884), she sought to whet the nation's appetite for gracious living.

Although etiquette was to change dramatically in the new century, the first decade of the 1900s was seemingly obsessed with the subject. Over 70 books and at least twice as many magazine articles appeared between 1900 and 1910. Of these books, Marion Harland's *Everyday Etiquette* (1905) had the widest appeal. Miss Harland (the *nom de plume* of Mrs. Albert Payson Terhune, wife of a prominent clergyman) also wrote for many magazines. Another popular etiquette columnist at the time was Gabrielle Rozière, whose articles in the *Delineator* centered on the "E. T. Quette" family. Columns in *Current Literature*, *Munsey's*, *The Independent*, and *Century Magazine* all decried the decline of manners, especially the manners of women.

Of the early twentieth-century columnists, the best known were Florence Howe Hall, her sister Maude Howe, and their mother Julia

Ward Howe, better remembered for her "Battle Hymn of the Republic." Like their fellow writers, the Howes avoided the term "society," which had, by the turn of the century, become equated with showy extravagance and vulgarity. In a similar fashion, the members of society likewise avoided "etiquette"—reasoning that those who required such advice did not really belong in society. But none of the hundreds of etiquette books and thousands of advice columns had the cultural impact of Emily Post's *Etiquette: The Blue Book of Social Usage* (1922). Almost immediately, Post became synonymous with etiquette. No one, it seemed, was embarrassed to have "Emily Post" on their shelves, and her book went immediately to the top of the nonfiction bestseller list.

As Post saw it, etiquette was nothing less than "the science of living," and her systematic approach to the subject promised firm guidance to everyone afloat in a sea of social uncertainty. Yet perhaps most important was the way Mrs. Post dramatized etiquette. She introduced characters such as the Oldnames, Mr. Richan Vulgar, and Mrs. Cravin Praise to personify elegance, rudeness, or gaucherie so that readers understood these were not abstractions but very real qualities (or shortcomings) embodied in real people. If earlier writers had used this technique, no one had deployed so extensive a cast. Post's *Etiquette* thus enjoyed popularity for two reasons. Certainly it was the manual of taste and decorum, but it also allowed average readers to glimpse through a keyhole into the world of footmen and debutante balls that they were unlikely to experience directly. Post's success might also be traced to the burgeoning advertising industry. Her book was heavily advertised and easily played into an advertising strategy as common then as now: exploiting the insecurities of the socially inexperienced.

Like Mrs. Sherwood before her, Mrs. Post was a socialite, and, until she came to write her own book, she had always considered etiquette advice to be an act of sabotage, an easy way for parvenus and social climbers to worm their way into society. She steadfastly maintained this view until she was approached by the editor of *Vanity Fair*, Frank Crowninshield, and Richard Duffy of Funk and Wagnalls to write an etiquette book. She refused until they sent her a copy of a new etiquette manual to review, which she found condescending and useless. Only then did Mrs. Post agree that a new book was badly needed.

With her impeccable background, Emily Post was an obvious choice for the job. Born in 1872 to a wealthy architect, Brice Price, and his wife, she debuted in 1892 and shortly thereafter married Edwin Post, an affluent financier. The couple eventually divorced amid some indiscretions committed by Post's husband. After her divorce Mrs. Post, who had been drawn to intellectual and artistic pursuits since childhood, turned to writing and enjoyed success as a novelist and feature writer before turning to etiquette. After the enormous popularity of *Etiquette*, she published many revisions of the book and in 1932 began a syndicated etiquette column that eventually appeared in 200 newspapers.

In its first 20 years, *Etiquette* sold 666,000 copies, and after its 50th anniversary "Emily Post" had been through 12 editions, 99 printings, and sold 12 million copies. For a time, it was used as a textbook in poise and good manners for high-school classes throughout the country, and by the late 1990s, Mrs. Post's great-granddaughter-in-law, Peggy Post, was writing the latest editions of the book. "Emily Post," which is now a registered trademark, remains the authoritative voice on all matters of good taste and polite behavior.

—Michele S. Shauf

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## Evangelism

From frontier camp meetings of the early 1800s, to the urban revivals of the late 1800s and early 1900s, to late twentieth century

Christian television networks, evangelism has been a prominent feature of American Protestantism. The process of evangelism focuses primarily on encouraging others to accept Christianity, usually through a personal conversion experience; but in the United States, evangelism has also been closely related to revivalism, the process of encouraging existing believers to renew their commitment to particular forms of Christian practice and belief.

Evangelism emerged as an important feature of American religious culture for several reasons. The American policy of religious voluntarism, which rendered religious affiliation a matter of personal choice rather than civic obligation, precluded even large denominations from taking their membership for granted. Evangelical efforts to acquire new members and to retain existing ones became an important church function, particularly within the Protestant churches and among interdenominational movements such as fundamentalism and Pentecostalism. In addition, secular influences have had pronounced effects on American society as it has gone through the processes of modernization and urbanization. The weakening role of religion in many aspects of American life has in turn motivated religious leaders and institutions to increase their involvement in evangelistic endeavors. Finally, the evangelical Protestant denominations, which defined



An evangelist, the Rev. Jerry Falwell.

the nation's religious establishment during most of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, placed a strong doctrinal emphasis on evangelism and the conversion experience.

In promoting evangelism, different groups and individuals have developed diverse approaches to spreading their message. The most conspicuous form of evangelism early in the nineteenth century was the camp meeting, where believers would gather for several days of sermons, prayer, and religious testimony. Although the camp meetings were primarily a phenomenon of the frontier, many of their features persisted in the efforts of the itinerant evangelists who staged so-called tent meeting revivals in small towns and rural communities throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth. As the United States became increasingly urbanized during this period, however, so did evangelistic activity; and by the early 1900s the most prominent evangelists worked primarily in urban settings. The urban revivals that they staged retained the focus on charismatic leadership and personal conversion, including the climactic "altar call" during which participants declared their faith; but the urban revivals reached audiences numbering in the millions, and produced converts by the thousands. The urban evangelists also incorporated a greater degree of showmanship, perhaps best exemplified by the garrulous, dramatic style of Billy Sunday during the 1910s.

Changing social conditions led to a decline in professional evangelism after World War I, particularly in urban settings. After World War II, however, a new generation of evangelists appeared on the American religious scene. These new crusaders became highly influential during the religious resurgence of the 1950s, although more so within the conservative wing of American Protestantism than among the mainstream churchgoers targeted by earlier revivalists. The leading figure in this new evangelical movement was Billy Graham, a conservative Baptist minister who spread his message through a wide variety of mass media, including radio, television, the cinema, and mass market publications. Graham's early use of television to promote evangelistic activities proved to be particularly important. By the 1970s, television had become a primary medium of mass evangelism in the United States—a position that was strengthened in the following decade as cable television enabled various Christian broadcasting networks to reach audiences dispersed throughout the country. As televangelism expanded, it also became increasingly associated with conservative perspectives in both religion and politics, and it generated considerable controversy during the 1970s and 1980s after a number of its major proponents lent their support to conservative political causes.

The shift in focus of mass evangelism during the twentieth century, from a broad connection to the Protestant mainstream to a narrower association primarily with religious conservatives, has had significant implications for its relationship to American cultural generally. The leading televangelists especially have become less exclusively concerned with the individual conversion experience, and increasingly concerned with general trends within American popular culture. In this sense, evangelism has evolved from a primarily religious phenomenon to one that has had significant impacts on politics and public policy in the United States.

—Roger W. Stump

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## Evangelists

See Religious Right, The

## The Everly Brothers

One of the greatest singing brother duos of all time, the Everly Brothers' close harmonies became one of the most identifiable sounds of the early rock 'n' roll era of the late 1950s and early 1960s. Hits such as "Bye Bye Love," "Wake Up Little Susie," and "Love Hurts" are long ingrained in the memories of Americans who grew up listening to the Everly Brothers. While they were heavily influenced by other singing brother duos like the Delmore Brothers and the



The Everly Brothers: Phil (left) and Don

Louvin Brothers, the Everly Brothers went on to influence such groups as the Beatles and Simon & Garfunkel (who covered “Wake Up Little Susie” on their *Bridge Over Troubled Water* album). After their pop stardom declined, they followed the same path as Jerry Lee Lewis and other early rock ’n’ rollers, becoming country music artists.

Phil (born January 19, 1939) and Don (born February 1, 1937) were raised in a musical family, singing with their guitarist father Ike and other family members on radio broadcasts in the early 1950s. Raised in Brownie, Kentucky, these brothers were heavily influenced by such country legends as the Louvin Brothers (and the Louvin’s inspiration, the Delmore Brothers), as well as a number of other singing brother duo acts. After a very brief and unsuccessful stint at Columbia Records, the two did not hit their commercial stride until they joined Cadence records, which released the number two *Billboard* hit and rock ’n’ roll classic, “Bye Bye Love.” The two had a number of hits for Cadence including “Wake Up Little Susie,” “Bird Dog,” “(’Til I Kissed You,” “All I Have to Do is Dream,” and “When Will I Be Loved.”

In 1960, the two joined Warner Brothers Records, hitting their commercial peak with songs such as “Cathy’s Clown,” helping to establish Warner Brothers as a major player in the music business in the process. In a similar way that their idols, the Louvin Brothers, succumbed to the pressures of success, Don Everly turned to drinking and drugs (in much the same way that Ira Louvin did), nearly dying of an overdose in 1962. Soon after their signing to Warner Brothers, the Everly Brothers hit a number of career setbacks, including the both of them being drafted into the Army and, a career killer for numerous early rock ’n’ rollers, the British Invasion led by the Beatles.

After their last Top Ten hit, the aptly titled 1962 song “That’s Old Fashioned,” the group’s career floundered as the two released a series of albums that were nothing less than careless contract fillers. In 1968, the Everly Brothers revived themselves, artistically at least, with *Roots*, a country-rock album that—along with the Byrd’s *Sweetheart of the Rodeo*—became a major influence on the country-rock movement that inspired such groups as Poco and the Flying Burrito Brothers, as well as pioneering artists like Gram Parsons. Sibling rivalry and record industry-induced pressure led to the duo’s dramatic demise at a 1973 concert in which Phil smashed his guitar and stormed off stage. After a decade of poorly received solo albums, the two resumed singing together in 1983, primarily performing on the oldies circuit.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## Everson, Cory (1959—)

Best-known of all the Ms. Olympia winners, bodybuilder Cory Everson grew up in Deerfield, Illinois, where she was an outstanding athlete throughout high school and college. Everson, whose maiden name was Knauer, attended the University of Wisconsin and won the Big Ten Championship in the pentathlon for four consecutive years. While attending the university, Cory met Jeff Everson, a competitive



Cory Everson

weightlifter and bodybuilder who worked there as a strength coach. Following her marriage to Everson and her graduation from college, Cory began to train seriously as a bodybuilder. Blessed with outstanding genetics for bodybuilding, she made rapid progress, especially after she and Jeff moved to Los Angeles. She won the Ms. Olympia competition in 1984, the first time she entered, and won every year until 1989, when she retired. Everson soon became part of the fitness show phenomenon on cable television with her *Bodyshaping* program. She also had roles in such films as *Double Impact* (1991), *Natural Born Killers* (1994), and *Tarzan, the Epic Adventures* (1996). In the late 1990s she authored several fitness and health books, including *Cory Everson’s Lifebalance* (1998).

—Jan Todd

## Evert, Chris (1954—)

One of the greatest female tennis players of all time, Chris Evert ruled the sport for more than ten years (1974-1985) and established herself as a cultural icon in America and around the world. Born December 21, 1954 in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, Christine Marie Evert started playing tennis at the ripe age of six. With her father (teaching

pro Jimmy Evert) as coach, Evert showed promise early on, rising to number two in the United States in the 12-and-under age group. By the time she was 15, she had established herself as the country's top amateur player by defeating such stars as Billie Jean King, Virginia Wade, and the world's number one player at the time, Margaret Smith Court. At 16, she made it all the way to the semifinals of the U.S. Open. In 1972, Evert was a winner at both the Virginia Slims Championship and the United States Clay-Court Championship. In December of that same year, on her 18th birthday, Chris Evert turned professional.

In 1974, still only 19 years old, Evert won singles titles at Wimbledon, the French Open, and the Italian Open, lost in the finals at the Australian Open, and was a semifinalist at the U.S. Open. Already a popular player, the poise and intense concentration exhibited by Evert that year made her a favorite of sportswriters and spectators alike. Her engagement to budding American tennis hero Jimmy Connors (who was then 21) in late 1973 also contributed to Evert's rising fame. Dubbed the "King and Queen of tennis" by columnists, the couple called off the marriage in 1975. Four years later, Evert wed British Davis Cup player John Lloyd; the union lasted until 1987.

Evert won her first U.S. Open singles title in 1975, defeating Yvonne Goolagong in the finals at Forest Hills. She would keep her crown for the next three years, and finished her career a six-time U.S. Open champion. But her best surface was clay, and the French Open was where she had the most success. Evert made it to the finals at Roland Garros nine times, losing only twice; her seven French Open singles titles remain a record. Evert's career highlights also include



Chris Evert

two Australian Open titles (1982 and 1984) and three Wimbledon titles (1974, 1976, and 1981). This last is all the more impressive considering Evert's reluctance to come up to net, a necessity on Wimbledon's grass surface according to conventional wisdom. Nor did her preference for staying at the baseline prevent Evert from winning three Grand Slam doubles titles. All told, Evert won at least one Grand Slam title per year for 13 straight years (1974-86), a statistic that testifies to her legendary consistency.

Evert's combination of charm and intensity helped attract large audiences and significant prize money to women's tennis. Nicknamed "The Ice Maiden" and "The Ball Machine" by her peers, Evert was extremely disciplined and almost never lost her composure on court. In this respect, she stood in stark contrast to other American tennis stars of the time, in particular Connors and John McEnroe. In 1976, Evert became the first female player to reach \$5 million in career earnings. At risk of turning fans off by winning almost *too* easily, her rivalry with Martina Navratilova took on increasing importance. After 16 years, and dozens of hard-fought battles, Evert's career record against Navratilova ended at 37 wins and 43 losses. It should be noted, however, that the majority of these matches were not played on clay.

One year after a disappointing early exit in the 1988 Olympics, Evert retired from competitive tennis ranked number four in the world—her lowest ranking since turning pro 17 years earlier. Among Evert's immense list of on-court accomplishments, the following stand out: for 133 consecutive weeks (starting in 1975) she held the number one ranking in singles; she won 125 consecutive matches on clay—no one has won more matches consecutively on *any* surface; she took home a total of 157 singles titles, second only to Navratilova; and her career winning percentage of .900 (1309 victories against a mere 146 losses) ranks first in the history of the game. In 1995, Evert earned a rare unanimous selection to the International Tennis Hall of Fame.

It would be nearly impossible to overestimate Evert's popularity during her playing career. In 1985, the Women's Sports Foundation voted her Greatest Woman Athlete of the Last 25 Years. In November 1989, she became the first female athlete to host television's *Saturday Night Live*. In 1991, a poll conducted by American Sports Data, Inc. found her to be the most widely-known athlete in the nation. What accounted for her high degree of fame? One of the first players to rely on a two-handed backhand, Evert's unprecedented success with this stroke encouraged a generation of novices to copy her. Her grace and professionalism on and off the court led to her unofficial canonization as a role model for young people of both sexes. Her high-profile romances with male sports stars (in 1988 she married ex-Olympic skier Andy Mill, with whom she has three children) kept her in the gossip columns as well as the sports pages. But it was Evert's 17-year-long reign at or near the top of women's tennis that finally ensured her celebrity status. Although not blessed with prodigious athletic ability, Evert's honed-to-perfection strokes, along with a fierce will to win and an uncanny ability to exploit opponents' weaknesses, gave her an air of dominance that eventually became a source of national pride. Since her retirement, Evert has worked as a color commentator for network-television broadcasts of major tennis tournaments. She is also host of the annual Chris Evert Celebrity Tennis Classic in Boca Raton, a charity event that raises money to help drug-exposed, abused, and neglected children.

—Steven Schneider



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## Existentialism

Existentialism is a term that incorporates both a specific philosophical history and its subsequent literary reception and popular use. Philosophically, "existentialism" loosely describes a reaction against abstract rationalist philosophical thought, and is mainly found in the work of Søren Kierkegaard, Friedrich Nietzsche, Martin Heidegger, Karl Jaspers, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Gabrielle Marcel (who in fact coined the term). Each of these thinkers argued in various ways for the irreducibility of the subjective, personal dimension of human life against the objective or formal considerations of "being" or "existence" found in other philosophical traditions. Existentialism generally holds that "Man" is a conscious subject, rather than a thing to be predicted or manipulated; he exists as a conscious being, and not in accordance with any pre-determined characteristics.

Given this, existentialist thought is largely concerned with the realms of ethics, politics, personal freedom, and will. Always central is the role of the individual in constituting these arenas. Difficulties arise for "existential man" in the clash between the preexisting material or social world and that same individual's will or real ability to constitute meaning or social relations on his or her own terms. One potential outcome of this conflict is pessimism, an attitude common among existential writers. Generally however it produces anxiety, a vague sense of unease regarding the structure of one's life, which in the absence of any external threat is considered to be a manifestation of one's own responsibility for this structure.

This emphasis on the individual and his or her problematic relation to the social whole becomes thematic in the existentialist literature of Albert Camus, Fyodor Dostoevsky, and Franz Kafka, and likewise in the drama of Samuel Beckett, Eugene Ionesco, the early Harold Pinter, and Sartre. Contemporary expressions of existentialism can be found in the novels of Milan Kundera (e.g., *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*), some films by Woody Allen (e.g., *Crimes and Misdemeanors*), and Peter Shaffer's play *Equus*. Although such an expansive list of figures emphasizes the wide influence of existentialism in cultural life, it also reveals its nebulous character. In common parlance, the term existentialism has been overused, becoming a mere catch-all for unconventional thought. The often spoken of "existential dilemmas" of the modern individual extend from the difficulties of adolescence to the mid-life crisis. Latent in these notions are the same concerns regarding freedom and choice that are central to philosophical existentialism. These issues have only become more dramatic in the wake of the post-WWII popularization of existential thought marked by the incorporation of existential tenets into the youth culture of the 1960s. From the "hippie" culture of that period to the Generation X of the 1990s, emphasis has been placed on questioning the predominantly middle-class social paradigm and its role in constituting the lives of an increasingly vocal and "self-actualized" youth. Existentialism can even be found underwriting popular "self-help" books and other works which attempt to give

expression to the individual need to organize one's life according to a self-derived logic. In the face of decline of existential philosophy in academic circles, this dissemination into popular culture has assured its wide-ranging significance.

—Vance Bell

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## The Exorcist

The first major blockbuster in the history of horror cinema, William Friedkin's *The Exorcist* (1973) has exerted a powerful influence on the subsequent development of the genre and on public



Linda Blair (close-up) in the film adaptation of Peter Blatty's *The Exorcist*.

reception of it. Never before had a horror film been the subject of so much prerelease hype, so much gossip about postproduction strife, so much speculation as to why people of all ages would stand in line for hours to watch something reputed to induce fits of vomiting, fainting, even temporary psychosis. The cultural impact of *The Exorcist* can hardly be overestimated: it challenged existing regulations specifying what was acceptable to show on the big screen, stole U.S. newspaper headlines away from the ongoing Watergate scandal (at least for a little while), led to a detectable increase in the number of “real-life” possessions reported, and, in the words of gross-out film expert William Paul, “established disgust as mass entertainment for a large audience.”

In 1949, reports came out in the press of a thirteen-year-old Maryland boy whose body was said to have been taken over by demonic forces. After seeing household objects fly around his room, the boy’s distraught parents called in a Jesuit priest, who conducted a thirty-five-day-long exorcism with the help of numerous assistants. While the priests recited their holy incantations, the boy spit, cackled, urinated, writhed in his bed, and manifested bloody scratch marks on his body that spelled out words such as “Hell,” “Christ,” and the far more mysterious “Go to St. Louis.” Fortunately for everyone involved, the alleged demon departed shortly after Easter. Novelist William Peter Blatty, inspired by this tale, made the possessee a girl (supposedly to protect the boy’s anonymity, though his readiness to disclose information in later media interviews suggests this was unnecessary), sensationalized many of the details, added heavy doses of philosophical-theological speculation on the nature of evil, and came out with *The Exorcist* in 1971. An instant sensation, Blatty’s novel would remain on the *Publishers Weekly* bestseller list for almost an entire year.

Even before its publication, Blatty signed a deal with Warner Brothers for the rights to make a film version of the novel. Warner agreed to Blatty’s choice of director, William Friedkin, on the strength of his not-yet-released action movie, *The French Connection*, for which he won an Academy Award in 1971. After numerous and painstaking rewrites of the original script, Blatty finally came up with a screenplay of *The Exorcist* that managed to meet Friedkin’s exacting demands for more mystery, more drama, and, above all, more direct confrontation between (good) priest and (evil) demon than were in the novel. For his own part—and with Warner’s considerable financial backing—Friedkin employed a range of sophisticated cinematic techniques, along with state-of-the-art special-effects technology, to give the film’s supernatural occurrences and gory physical details a degree of realism never before achieved.

The plot of *The Exorcist* is deceptively simple and has its roots in storytelling conventions well established in American cinema. After a lengthy prologue that is nearly incomprehensible to anyone who has not read the book, the first half of the film methodically develops the essential character relationships and establishes the crisis situation. Regan MacNeil (Linda Blair) is the adorable, almost-pubescent daughter of divorcee and well-known film star Chris MacNeil (Ellen Burstyn). After Regan prophesies the death of her mother’s acquaintance and urinates (standing up, no less) in front of a roomful of shocked dinner guests, Chris starts to wonder what has “gotten into” her daughter. More odd behavior, and a wildly shaking bed, lands Regan in the hospital, where she is subjected to a battery of extremely

invasive procedures best described as “medical pornography.” A brain lesion is suspected, but the tests turn up nothing. When Regan, supposedly under hypnosis, responds to the smug questions of a hospital psychologist by grabbing his scrotum and rendering him immobile, it is recommended that Chris seek the Church’s help. She does, pleading with doubt-ridden Jesuit priest Damien Karras (Jason Miller, Pulitzer Prize-winning playwright of *That Championship Season*) to perform an exorcism. The second half of the film culminates in an intense one-to-one fight to the finish between Karras and Regan’s demonic possessor, after the more experienced exorcist on the scene, Father Merrin (Bergmanian actor Max von Sydow) dies in the struggle. Karras finally saves Regan by accepting the demon into his own body, only to throw himself (or at least allow himself to be thrown) out of a window to his death.

Although the Catholic Church originally supported Friedkin’s efforts in the hopes that he would present Catholicism in a positive light, they ended up retracting that support after viewing the infamous scene in which Regan-demon violently masturbates with a crucifix in front of her powerless mother. For many audience members, the highly sexualized profanities spewing out of twelve-year-old Regan’s mouth (the voice of the demon, Mercedes McCambridge, had to sue for credit) were as offensive as the green bile she vomited on Karras’s face. In an era of student protest, experimental drug use, and general questioning of authority, *The Exorcist* allowed viewers to take pleasure in the terrible punishments inflicted on the rebellious (“possessed”) Regan. But by making Regan-demon so fascinating to watch, so filled with nasty surprises, *The Exorcist* also allowed viewers to take pleasure in that rebelliousness.

*The Exorcist* did not merely give rise to a slew of imitations and variants on the possession theme, it made the child with special powers a dominant motif in modern horror cinema. Two mediocre sequels—*The Exorcist II: The Heretic* (1977) and *The Exorcist III* (1990)—followed, the second one written and directed by Blatty; neither involved Friedkin at all. Richard Donner’s highly polished *The Omen* (1976) added an apocalyptic edge to the demonic infiltration theme. Linda Blair, who attained cult-figure status with her role as Regan, reprised it in a Leslie Nielsen spoof entitled *Repossessed* (1990).

—Steven Schneider

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## Fabares, Shelley (1944—)

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In 1958, when Shelley Fabares was cast as Mary Stone in television's *The Donna Reed Show* at the age of 14, she was already an acting veteran. Born in Santa Monica, California, this niece of actress Nanette Fabray had been working in movies and on television since childhood, but it was as Mary Stone that she established her image as the ideal teenager: pretty, perky, smart, and sweet. After four years of the show's five-year run, its producer (and Donna Reed's husband) Tony Owen persuaded Fabares to record "Johnny Angel" and she lip-synched the tune on an episode in January 1962. By March, the single had climbed to number one on Billboard's Hot 100 chart, and eventually sold over three million copies. Shelley Fabares grew up on *The Donna Reed Show* and, as Mary, went away to college. In real life, she moved to the movies, donning a bikini to co-star with Fabian in *Ride the Wild Surf* (1964), and played leading lady to Elvis Presley in *Girl Happy* (1965), *Spinout* (1966), and *Clambake* (1967)—the only actress to do so three times—but her big-screen career never fulfilled the promise of her teenage years. Fabares continued to appear in a number of TV roles through the 1980s and 1990s, most notably as one of the central characters on the popular ABC comedy *Coach*.

—Jennifer Davis McDavid

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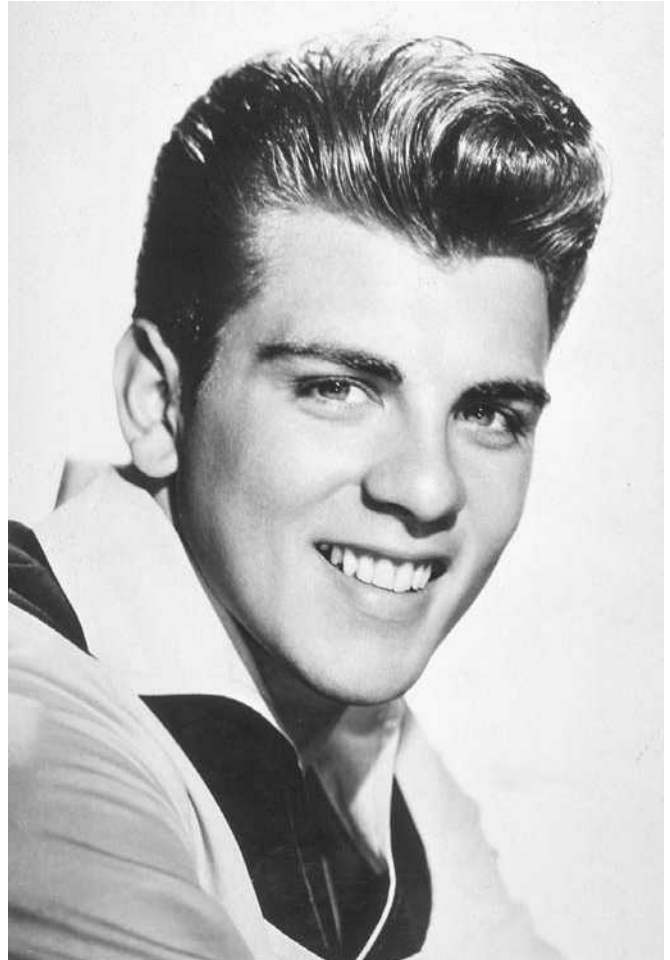
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## Fabian (1943—)

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Perhaps the quintessential teen idol of the 1950s, Fabian was only fourteen when he was plucked from obscurity and thrust into the idol-making machinery by Philadelphia record producer-promoter Bob Marcucci. Though he had failed his high school chorus classes, the darkly handsome Fabian Forte hit the national charts with the off-key single, "I'm a Man." The hits "Turn Me Loose" and "Tiger" followed. Critics savaged him; *Time* labeled him a "tuneless tiger." But to teenage girls lamenting Elvis Presley's tenure in the U.S. Army, Fabian filled a void. Aware that he was being marketed like "a thing," Fabian left music in the early 1960s to pursue a Hollywood career. But after proving an affable co-star in popular movies such as *High Time* and *North to Alaska*, his career stalled. His career was



**Fabian**

revived in the 1980s by "golden oldies" tours, which continued into the 1990s.

—Pat H. Broeske

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## Fabio (1961—)

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The boom in romance novels in the mid-1980s propelled cover model Fabio to the heights of superstardom. With his broad, bare chest and long (dyed) blond hair, Fabio became an international sex symbol. Although his subsequent film and television career was limited to cameos playing himself, in the 1990s he parlayed his fame

into a job as a spokesperson for I Can't Believe It's Not Butter and made it onto MTV with a spot in Jill Sobule's music video for "I Kissed a Girl." As his career as a model has faded, Fabio has returned to romance novels, this time as an author.

—Deborah Broderson

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## Facelifts

"Facelift" is a term that encompasses a variety of surgical procedures intended to restore sagging facial skin to youthful smoothness. Conventionally, incisions are made around the frontal hairline and ears allowing the facial skin to be detached by inches and "buffed" underneath, then "lifted" in an upward pull, trimmed, and sutured. The aftermath includes bleeding, swelling, bruising, and sometimes regret and depression at electing to undergo this surgery. The facelift represents the consumer potential of post-World War II society to purchase beauty and success in addition to material goods. The decades since the 1950s have seen the term facelift generalized to include specific surgical facial enhancements, from eye-lid and jaw-line lifts, to nose reshapings and lip implants. Hi-tech tools of the 1980s and 1990s have produced specialty procedures, including laser hair removal and collagen and body-fat injections.

By the 1990s, the facelift was but a core element within a North American growth industry of medical procedures, out-patient clinics, and cosmetic products, all of which can be subsumed under the wider term "beauty culture." Beauty culture is nurtured by the print media, particularly glamour and lifestyle magazine genres (for example, *Vogue* and *Cosmopolitan*), sold in drugstores and convenience stores across the continent. Such mass-marketed magazines create and promote the illusionist images and ideology of beauty culture, often using teen models in advertisements and fashion spreads to emulate the sleek look of worldly women. Commonly, these magazines also feature culturally correct articles on the pros and cons of cosmetic surgery and related procedures. Drug and department stores, as well as specialty "anti-aging" shops, carry out the magazines' pervasive double-coded system of "dos" and "don'ts," selling treatment products, creams, and lotions whose packaging adopts the familiar language ("lift," "firming") of the surgical facelift and of advertising rhetoric.

Beauty culture underlies the American entertainment industry, with pop stars such as Michael Jackson and Cher reinventing themselves as plastic icons, as if they were born into their altered bodies. Over the course of their numerous surgeries, Jackson and Cher have become self-parodies; respectively, specimens of racial bleaching and frozen glamour. Cher was the central player in a television infomercial endorsing so-called revolutionary face-care products, the hypocrisy being that Cher's appearance is not the result of these potions.

The surgical lifts, implants, and failed body alterations of popular culture figures have been fodder for tabloid television and

newspapers, circulating a mixed message of celebrity surveillance and social warning. They reveal both the lure and baggage of the American star system in movies, pop music, and television. Pamela Anderson's Barbi-doll iconography has only shifted laterally between beach babe (*Baywatch*), centerfold (*Playboy*), movie vixen (*Barb Wire*), and sex object (x-rated "honeymoon" video with Tommy Lee). The processes of retaining a seemingly ageless public face have been taken up by figures in American political culture as well as by middle-class women, men, and even teens who can afford the procedures. When she was the First Lady of the United States, Nancy Reagan's perpetual startled expression in media images gave the impression of either too many facelifts or overdetermined surgery. The presumed power of looking white and Western is being adopted by women of China who, despite poor wages, pursue for themselves and their daughters the eyelid surgery that gives them the "fold" that Asiatics genetically lack. Skin bleaching among Chinese women is another signal that the West, especially American popular culture, sets global standards of beauty and achievement.

In 1982, filmmaker Michael Rubbo's documentary, *Daisy: The Story of a Facelift* addressed the processes and implications of the facelift in twentieth century culture. What he finds in his middle-aged title subject, Daisy, is a nostalgic desire to redress personal and emotional insecurity by making herself romantically fit, through a facelift, for a phantom suitor. The facelift scene in Rubbo's documentary is performed on a man who, like Daisy, also seeks an improved image for his personal security. Both Daisy and this man adopt the same path, cracking the gender assumption that only women are the subjects and consumers of the facelift. What we as privileged viewers observe through Rubbo's camera in the surgical theatre is a drama that resembles the gruesome imagery associated with the horror film. Rubbo's research prompted him to conclude that in North American the face is our most "mobile body part" . . . "a moving image" in the desire for uniform, look-alike faces rather than unique physical character.

At the end of the twentieth century, when both visible and hidden piercings and tattoos are commonplace, it should not be surprising that even female genitalia must pass the test of the voyeur's gaze, as North American middle-class and "trophy" women apparently are flocking to cosmetic surgical clinics to undergo the labial "trim." This replication of the high production photographic look established by *Playboy* in the 1960s implies that the public and private body in contemporary culture is a series of discrete components that can be standardized in the industrial manner of auto-parts manufacturing.

—Joan Nicks

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## Factor, Max (1872-1938)

Best known for the cosmetic line that bears his name, Max Factor also pioneered screen makeup for motion pictures. When films were in their infancy, stage makeup was generally used on the actors but it did not photograph well. Factor created a makeup more suitable to film lighting. He also popularized the use of human hair in wigs. He later won a special Oscar in 1928 for his panchromatic makeup. He

made what would become his most famous product, Pancake Make-up, when the advent of Technicolor film required a another new type of makeup. His line of skin-toned foundations disguised facial imperfections and was soon marketed for home use to mainstream America. Max Factor cosmetics remained one of the most popular brands of stage and street makeup into the 1990s.

—Jill A. Gregg

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## Fadiman, Clifton (1904-1999)

Clifton Fadiman is a man of letters whose effectiveness as a broadcast personality helped him spread the gospel of the rewards of book reading to a wide public. A book reviewer for *The New Yorker* and other distinguished periodicals, Fadiman found fame in the late 1930s and most of the 1940s as the host of the radio quiz program, *Information, Please!* Taking advantage of his radio popularity, Fadiman appeared in magazines as an essayist and critic, and between hard covers as an anthology editor and introduction writer. Through his introductions and prefaces to the world's great books, he became one of the first and most distinguished of that unique breed of twentieth-century scribes: the "popularizer." The advent of television kept Fadiman in the public eye, and he continued to be an unpretentious but fervent advocate for the joys of reading and the pleasures of the civilized life.

Clifton (Paul) Fadiman ("Kip" to his friends) was born May 15, 1904 in Brooklyn, New York. Before he had graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Columbia University in 1925, he had already managed a bookstore, devised the standard translation of Nietzsche's *Ecce Homo*, and begun selling articles to national periodicals, including book reviews for the *Nation*. In 1927, Fadiman began a fruitful association with Simon and Schuster when he was hired as a reader and assistant editor. Within two years, he had been promoted to general editor, a position he held until the mid-1930s. While still with Simon and Schuster, Fadiman wrote book reviews for *Harper's Bazaar* and *Stage*; in 1933, he began a ten-year stint as the *New Yorker's* book editor. Urbane yet unpretentious, Fadiman claimed that, "I look for clarity above all in what I read." These qualities—plus his penchant for the "atrocious" pun—made him the perfect person to peddle erudition to the masses when, in 1938, he was hired to moderate a distinguished but good-humored panel—Franklin P. Adams, John Kieran, and Oscar Levant—on the NBC radio program, *Information, Please!* Aided considerably by Levant's iconoclastic wit, the show, in which listeners competed for sets of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* by submitting questions with which they hoped to "stump the experts," became both a critical and popular success, running for the next ten years.

During this period, Fadiman expanded his activities to include writing introductions for such classics as *War and Peace* and *Moby Dick*. He left the *New Yorker* to join the editorial board of the Book-of-the-Month Club, but he continued to promote the classics through the writing and editing of various introductions and anthologies, and the creation of a *Lifetime Reading Plan*. *Information, Please!* faded in

the late 1940s, and the 1950s found Fadiman writing a series of essays in *Holiday* magazine under the title, "Party of One." He also had no trouble making the transition from radio to television, where he contributed his witty presence to such quiz shows as *What's in a Word?* and *The Name's the Same*, although probably closer to his heart was the radio show he co-hosted concurrently on NBC with Columbia Professor Jacques Barzun, *Conversation*.

In his writings, Fadiman came across as learned but genial, and far from snobbish (although he was not above quoting a remark of Dvorak without translating it into English). His inclusion of science fiction stories in his anthologies, *Fantasia Mathematica* and *Mathematical Magpie*, probably helped create the atmosphere in which that once-despised genre began acquiring literary respectability. To the general public, Fadiman so personified the world of great books that when one man was asked to name his favorite work of literature, he responded: "Clifton Fadiman's introduction to *War and Peace*."

—Preston Neal Jones

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## Fail-Safe

Released in 1964, Director Sidney Lumet's taut nuclear thriller is based on the 1962 Eugene Burdick and John Wheeler novel of the same title. Examining the changing face of war in the nuclear age, *Fail-Safe* depicts the possible consequences of the military's ever increasing reliance on computers. This is where *Fail-Safe* differs from its famous cousin of the genre, *Dr. Strangelove*, where a lone military madman plots an atomic attack upon the Soviet Union. In *Fail-Safe* nuclear apocalypse is at hand as an electronic error directs a squadron of U.S. long-range bombers to drop their nuclear payloads on Moscow. Through the exchange of sharp dialogue, the concepts of limited war in the nuclear age, the decreased time of humans to analyze potential nuclear strikes, and the survival of a nation's culture after the bomb are effectively challenged.

—Dr. Lori C. Walters

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## Fairbanks, Douglas, Jr. (1909—)

Although his famous father did not want him in the business, the son of swashbuckling actor Douglas Fairbanks, Sr. started acting at an



Douglas Fairbanks, Jr. (far left), in a scene from the film *Gunga Din*.

early age and eventually went on to become the first second-generation movie star. When he was barely a teenager, the studios sought to trade in on the Fairbanks name by casting Douglas Jr. in swashbuckling films, but ultimately he managed to carve his own niche as a debonair actor in supporting and leading roles. Although often overshadowed by other actors of the same type, he was always enjoyable to watch. When his career began to fade, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr. gracefully turned to producing and writing, although he occasionally returned to acting.

Born to one of the world's first movie stars, Douglas Fairbanks, Sr., and his first wife, Beth, initially the younger Fairbanks was not really interested in a career in acting. He eventually became drawn to it as a way, he hoped, of becoming closer to his distant father. Jesse Lasky of Paramount Pictures, eager to attract the loyal Fairbanks fans, cast Douglas Jr. in *Stephen Steps Out* (1923), when he was only thirteen. The film was a failure, but Fairbanks continued to try to make a name for himself. He was able to get a contract with Paramount, although his career did not go anywhere.

At seventeen, he co-starred in the silent version of *Stella Dallas* (1926), receiving critical acclaim but no notable follow-up work. Fairbanks continued to be cast in small parts, but was forced into work

as a title writer to make ends meet. Although he also did some stagework in Los Angeles, his career remained stagnant until he met and married a young starlet, Joan Crawford. The couple became the darlings of the Hollywood gossip columns and fan magazines.

The positive press he received because of his marriage led to some good parts, usually as villains. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) cashed in on fan interest in the couple by co-starring Fairbanks and Crawford in the motion picture, *Our Modern Maidens* (1929). However, it wasn't until Fairbanks appeared in two strong supporting roles in *Dawn Patrol* (1930) and the hit gangster film, *Little Caesar* (1931) starring Edward G. Robinson, that his talent was finally noticed. By this time his marriage was ending, but his career was progressing.

Warner Brothers Studios gave Fairbanks a contract which allowed the actor more control over his career; most of the roles that followed, however, were forgettable. He appeared with Katharine Hepburn in *Morning Glory* (1933), a film for which she won an Academy Award, but which did little for Fairbanks' career. In 1937 Fairbanks played the memorable villain in *The Prisoner of Zenda*. He then appeared in what is arguably his most famous role in the 1939 hit, *Gunga Din*, co-starring Cary Grant. In that same year he married his second wife, Mary Hartford. However, World War II was looming on

the horizon and Fairbanks willingly put his career on hold to join the U.S. Navy. He became a Lt. Commander and was among the most decorated of all the Hollywood stars who served in the armed forces.

After the war, Fairbanks was knighted by the British Empire. Unfortunately, by the late 1940s, his career as an actor was in sharp decline. Although he appeared in the successful *Sinbad the Sailor* (1949), he had fallen out of the public eye during the time spent in the service, and his career had suffered. After appearing in *Mr. Drake's Duck* in 1951, he virtually retired from the screen, not appearing in another feature film for twenty years.

Fairbanks then began producing films, mostly for television. Occasionally, he also appeared in stage productions, including *The Pleasure of His Company* (1973) in London. The seventy-year-old actor had somewhat of a career resurgence when he appeared in the supernatural film, *Ghost Story* (1981) co-starring Fred Astaire. He also appeared with some regularity on popular television programs of the 1970s and early 1980s. Interest in his life and career was similarly revived by two very well received autobiographies, which appeared in 1988 and 1993. Mary died in 1988, and in 1991 he married Vera Shelton.

Although Douglas Fairbanks, Jr. may still be best remembered as the son of his famous father, he nonetheless managed to prove himself a worthy successor to the Fairbanks name. As a charming and debonair actor who created his own legacy as an actor, producer and writer, Fairbanks epitomized the elegance and manners of a bygone era of motion picture history.

—Jill A. Gregg

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## Fairbanks, Douglas, Sr. (1883-1939)

The silent-screen star who would become famous for his tireless energy and all-American attitude was born Douglas Ulman in Denver, Colorado, in 1883. Commentator Vachel Lindsay described Douglas Fairbanks, Sr.'s on-screen persona in terms of two key concepts: architecture-in-motion and sculpture-in-motion. In the 1910s and 1920s, the star's acrobatic stealth and extroverted performance style appeared to mirror the flickering electricity and seemingly endless possibilities of the newly emerging form of moving pictures. Always known for his insistence on maintaining a good deal of control over his films, Fairbanks was one of the founders of United Artists with Mary Pickford, Charlie Chaplin, and D. W. Griffith.

After leaving his mother and stepfather behind in Colorado when he was a teenager and surviving a brief stay at Harvard, Fairbanks tried his hand on the New York stage and soon made it to Broadway. In 1907, he married Anna Beth Sully and attempted to transform himself into her father's protege, first working as an executive in the family's soap company and then as a broker on Wall Street. The couple had a son, actor Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., in 1909. After a handful of years trying to conform to his wife's wishes for



Brandon Hurst (left) turned to Douglas Fairbanks, Sr., in a scene from the film *The Thief of Bagdad*.

him, Fairbanks returned to Broadway, achieving a successful comeback in *He Comes up Smiling* (1913).

Informed by his prejudice against the nascent industry of films, the star begrudgingly signed a contract with Triangle-Fine Arts in 1915 and made his debut in *The Lamb*, playing a wealthy, idle, relatively effeminate fellow who is disenchanted with life on Wall Street but decides to build himself up for the woman he loves. Fairbanks would develop this theme throughout his films of the teens, both with director Allan Dwan in films such as *The Half Breed* (1916) and *Manhattan Madness* (1916), and with director John Emerson and screenwriter Anita Loos in *His Picture in the Papers* (1916) and *The Americano* (1916).

His screen stories reinforced the philosophies he espoused in fan magazines and advice manuals (such as *Laugh and Live* in 1917 and *Making Life Worthwhile* in 1918), which followed Theodore Roosevelt's emphasis on clean living and hardy individualism. Fairbanks became a role model for young boys everywhere, evangelically touting, "To be successful you must be happy . . . to be happy you must be enthusiastic; to be enthusiastic you must keep mind and body active." His intense love of activity was probably easier to read about

in articles or watch on screen than to confront personally. Foreign dignitaries and royal guests were obligated to accompany the star to his private gymnasium on the studio lot and endure a “basic training” which left many of them crawling to the steam room.

In 1917, Fairbanks signed on as his own producer with Artcraft films, a subsidiary of Famous Players-Lasky. There, he continued his tradition of gymnastic stunts and masculine transformation in films such as *Wild and Woolly* (1917), *Reaching for the Moon* (1917), and *A Modern Musketeer* (1918). He then made a move which gave him full reign over his films when he cofounded United Artists in 1919. He starred in *The Mollycoddle* (1920) and *The Nut* (1921), among others, while beginning to make the transition to the swashbuckler, a genre for which he became famous. These costume dramas, such as *The Mark of Zorro* (1920), *The Three Musketeers* (1921), and *The Thief of Bagdad* (1924), offered him a formula by which he could continue his traditions of physically demanding stunts and chases but tailor them for his maturing persona.

Fairbanks has been congratulated for being a star auteur, one of Hollywood’s first actors to exercise control over the development and production of his films. He participated in the scripting of many of his early films under the pseudonym Elton Thomas. By the middle 1920s, he demonstrated a keen understanding of the importance of publicity, going so far as to finance a New York City screening of *The Thief of Bagdad* in which he reportedly had the female ushers dress in harem costumes, serve Arabian coffee in the lobby, and waft perfumes from inside the auditorium.

Fairbanks married “America’s Sweetheart” Mary Pickford in 1920, and, together, they reigned over Hollywood in their palatial Pickfair estate for more than a decade. His interest in overseas travel and international celebrity associations meant that the couple made a number of renowned world tours throughout the 1920s. Later, Pickford preferred to remain settled in California, and her husband would embark on these trips with comrades and often stay in Europe for months or years at a time.

Fairbanks was relatively successful in talkies (making his sound debut with Pickford in *The Taming of the Shrew* in 1929), and he was named the president of the Academy of Motion Pictures, Arts, and Sciences in 1927. But, because of his international interests, he came to be viewed as something of an expatriate by 1930. The star lost public favor to an even greater extent when he was named co-respondent with British noblewoman Lady Sylvia Ashley in a divorce suit filed by Lord Ashley in 1933. An ex-chorus girl, Lady Ashley had been married three times by the time she was romantically linked with Fairbanks. The crumbling marriage of two of Hollywood’s most famous stars played out turbulently in America’s national press, with tabloid newspapers intercepting their private telegrams and publishing them as headlines. Pickford and Fairbanks divorced in 1936, after which he quickly married Lady Ashley and relocated to his house in Santa Monica, California. Though many of his friends said Fairbanks was content in his third marriage, it also was reported that the star spent many an afternoon sitting by the pool at Pickfair repeatedly mumbling his apologies to Pickford.

Once middle age required him to curtail his acrobatic characters, Fairbanks starred in a couple of travelogue-inspired films, *Around the World in 80 Minutes* (1931) and *Mr. Robinson Crusoe* (1932). His final film, *The Private Life of Don Juan* (1934), was directed by Alexander Korda and parodied the romantic image of hero Don Juan as he came to terms with his age and receding popularity, a commentary on the fleeting nature of fame notably coinciding with its star’s own downward spiral.

Fairbanks died of a heart attack at the age of fifty-six. The prevailing consensus at the time was that Fairbanks had pushed his body so hard for so many years that his muscles literally turned in on him and caused his organs to degenerate.

—Christina Lane

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## Fallout Shelters

Part of American culture since 1949, fallout shelters were inspired by fear of nuclear attack; and their subsequent waxing and waning popularity has been directly related to U.S.-Soviet relations. A fallout shelter, sometimes known as a bomb shelter, is a structure designed to allow those inside it to survive a nuclear blast and its likely aftermath of fire, radiation, and societal disruption. Although some large shelters were built by the U.S. government during the Cold War, most were smaller, designed to protect the family whose backyard they occupied. A prototypical fallout shelter was made of concrete and steel, and sunk in the earth for added protection, although those who could not afford such a construction project sometimes set aside a corner of their basement or dug a makeshift shelter under the crawlspace of a house. A shelter would usually be stocked with canned food, bottled water, medical supplies, a radio, a Geiger counter, and a chemical toilet, among other necessities.

The initial interest in fallout shelters within the United States can be traced to 1949, the year that President Harry Truman informed the nation that the Soviets had exploded an atomic bomb. This ended the American monopoly on nuclear weapons and introduced the world to the possibility of nuclear war between the two superpowers. Aside from the attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States had never, in all its wars, suffered such an attack from the air; but the nuclear age, with its long-range bombers and intercontinental ballistic missiles, made that threat very real.

Truman responded to the heightened public anxiety by creating the Federal Civil Defense Administration in 1951. Although scientists disagreed as to the effectiveness of shelters in the event of a



nuclear war, Truman and his advisors knew that public belief that shelters worked would be a boon to morale in an otherwise nervous age. In fact, Truman was walking a tightrope in dealing with American public opinion about the Soviet menace. On the one hand, he was convinced that massive defense spending was essential if the United States were to stop Communist expansion throughout Europe. But postwar America was tired of high taxes and huge military budgets, and would only support these if the danger to the nation's security was both obvious and grave. On the other hand, Truman did not want fear of nuclear war to lead the public to outbreaks of panic, pacifism, or "Better red than dead" fatalism. Thus, fallout shelters were portrayed as realistic protection if worst should come to worst.

After President Truman left office in 1952, Americans' interest in shelters blew hot or cold in keeping with the temperature changes of the Cold War. There was relatively little interest in shelters during much of the Eisenhower administration until 1957—the year that saw both the launch of the first orbiting satellite (the Soviet *Sputnik*) and the release of the Gaither Report in the United States. The latter was the work of a blue-ribbon panel selected by Eisenhower to assess the relative nuclear capability and civil defense preparedness of the United States and the Soviet Union. The report concluded that the Soviets would soon surpass America in all categories of nuclear weaponry and that civil defense preparations in the USSR were already far ahead of American efforts. The supposedly secret document, which leaked to the press a week after being presented to President Eisenhower, led to an upsurge in public concern about fallout shelters, even though Eisenhower himself believed that true national security lay in U.S. superiority in offensive nuclear weapons.

The heyday of the fallout shelter occurred during the administration of John F. Kennedy, which saw both a rise in international tensions and Kennedy's advocacy of shelters as part of the American response. During the Berlin Crisis of 1961, precipitated by Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev's aggressive moves toward West Berlin, Kennedy gave a nationally televised speech explaining the gravity of the situation. He also endorsed the construction of fallout shelters, saying, "In the event of an attack, the lives of those families which are not hit in a nuclear blast and fire can still be saved if they can be warned to take shelter and if that shelter is available." If further inducement for building shelters was needed, it was provided fifteen months later by the Cuban Missile Crisis, in which the world came closer to nuclear war than it ever had before.

The popular culture of the late 1950s and early 1960s also contributed to public concern about nuclear war and hence increased interest in fallout shelters. The best-selling novel *Fail-Safe* (also made into a popular film) features a technical glitch that results in the nuclear destruction of both Moscow and New York. Other novels portrayed the aftermath of a nuclear exchange. Some, like Pat Frank's *Alas, Babylon*, were guardedly optimistic. Others, such as Nevil Shute's *On the Beach* and Walter Miller's *A Canticle for Liebowitz*, presented bleak and pessimistic visions.

Civil defense programs, sponsored by both federal and state governments, were designed to increase both Americans' optimism and their chances for survival in the event of nuclear attack. In addition to encouraging the building of shelters, the Federal Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization advised communities to conduct air-raid drills. The importance of such drills was emphasized by government-produced instructional films that were shown on television, as "short subjects" in movie theatres, and in schools. Some of these films manifest a degree of naive optimism about nuclear war that today seems absurd, such as a short animated film in which a

character named "Bert the Turtle" (a talking amphibian in a civil defense helmet) tells children that a nuclear blast can be survived by those who learn to "Duck and Cover" (crouch down and cover one's face and head).

Although concern about "The Bomb" was gradually replaced in American consciousness by the Vietnam War, interest in fallout shelters was revived in the 1980s. Consistent with its vigorously anti-Communist foreign policy, the Reagan administration devoted considerable rhetoric and resources to civil defense. This effort included the development of evacuation plans for people living near probable nuclear targets as well as a new shelter program designed to protect the rest of the population. However, the program languished during Reagan's second term as U.S. relations with the Soviet Union dramatically improved.

In the 1990s and beyond, the limited interest in fallout shelters (as evidenced by the dozen or so World Wide Web sites devoted to them) was apparently restricted to hard-core "survivalists," who wished to be prepared for anything, even the end of the world.

—Justin Gustainis

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## Fame

See *Celebrity*

## Family Circle

One of the most widely circulated magazines in the United States, *Family Circle*, like its sister magazines—*Ladies Home Journal*, *McCall's*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Better Homes and Garden*, and *Woman's Day*—, has not only disseminated and popularized expert knowledge about children, but has also been a major contributor to the nation's parent-education curriculum, a vehicle for the transfer of culture, and an exporter of American culture. It has been a medium through which information and ideas about children, adolescents, parenting, and the family have been transmitted to parents, especially, but not exclusively, to mothers, for over half a century. It has served, especially during the post-World War II era, as a guide and manual for families trying to make a comfortable home for themselves and their children with the limited resources at their disposal. Its readers were early proven to be good users of price-off coupons. Through most of its history it has been distributed in a way that has made it accessible to a very wide segment of the population, perhaps to a population that did not have easy access to other such media. When it first appeared, it was not available by subscription and was confined to chain grocery stores—whenever bought groceries in a supermarket all but inevitably saw it at the checkout counter.

In large measure *Family Circle*, like *Woman's Day*, has been overlooked by scholars and not received the attention they deserve,

perhaps because they were started and continued for many years as magazines found only in grocery stores. Yet, their circulation has been greater than virtually all other similar magazines. While each has been described as belonging to the seven sisters—*Ladies Home Journal*, *McCall's*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Better Homes and Garden* (at times not included in this grouping), and *Cosmopolitan*—it may be more appropriate to view them as stepsisters. *Family Circle*, like *Woman's Day*, may justly be described as a store-distributed magazine, but neither is insignificant. There is no doubt that distributing magazines at the supermarket checkout stand was successful. In the 1930s and 1940s that spot was the exclusive domain of *Family Circle* and *Woman's Day*. They were joined there by *TV Guide* and *Reader's Digest* in the 1950s. By the early 1950s, according to *Business Week*, they were “hard on the heels of the big women’s service magazines.” Subsequently, others wanted their place there too.

*Family Circle* began to assume its present form when the United States was in the midst of its new consumer culture, rearing the children who would express themselves as young adults in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and when the American household was, as historian William E. Leuchtenburg observed in *A Troubled Feast: American Society Since 1945*, adopting “a style of consumption that was more sophisticated, more worldly [and] more diversified” than ever before. As Landon Y. Jones recorded in *Great Expectations: America and the Baby Boom Generation*, it was the era during which the United States became a “vast maternity ward.” By the end of the 1950s, 40 million new babies had arrived, and the number of children between ages five and 13 was increasing by a million a year. *Family Circle* provided the parents of those new babies with information on how to feed, bathe, educate, entertain, and how not to spoil them. Indeed, from its very beginning, *Family Circle* offered parents advice about children’s development and behavior. Its first issue (September 1932) included both Dr. Julius D. Smith’s “Judging the Health of Your Baby,” information about baby’s health, and what Dr. Arnold Gesell said they could expect from a child at six months.

The ways in which Americans lived changed significantly between the end of World War II and the beginning of the 1960s. The places and the social-economic context in which American children were reared were radically transformed. Those who gave birth to the baby boom were mostly born in the 1920s and experienced the Great Depression and World War II. Those to whom they gave birth had no such experiences, and many were brought up in what some believed would be an increasingly affluent society presided over by the organization man. A new culture was being made. Parents who were reared in either an urban neighborhood or a small town now lived and reared their children in a new kind of living place and dwelling, the developer’s house in the suburb. *Family Circle* served as an inexpensive and handy directory and manual for families who were adjusting to and embracing the new way of life the affluent society seemed to be promising. According to *Business Week*, magazines such as *Family Circle* told “the housewife how to cook economically, how to bring up her children, how to clothe them and herself, and how to take care of her house. To the budget-minded, this makes good sense.” It was a “good formula for many new and young housewives who want[ed] help at their new job.”

*Family Circle*’s appearance in September 1932 was, as Roland E. Wolseley reported in *The Changing Magazine*, the beginning of “the big boom in store-distributed magazines.” Of the many store-distributed magazines founded since the 1930s—perhaps as many as a hundred—*Family Circle*, like *Woman's Day*, is one of the two that have survived and prospered. In *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*,

Theodore Peterson reported that “when the old *Life* was undergoing one of its periodic readjustments, its managing editor, Harry Evans, joined with Charles E. Merrill, a financier with an interest in grocery chains, to start a magazine that would be distributed free but that would carry advertising.” At the time, Merrill was a member of Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner, & Smith which controlled Safeway Stores. Evans reasoned that since radio programs were broadcast to listeners without charge, it should be possible to secure advertisers for a magazine for which the reader did not pay. His hope that *Family Circle* would reach a circulation of 3 million (almost ten times greater than the initial circulation) was soon realized. By the end of 1933, its circulation was nearly a million (964,690); it was slightly over a million (1,068,106) a few weeks later (February 9, 1934).

*Family Circle*’s initial circulation of 350,000 was distributed through Piggly Wiggly, Sanitary, and Reeves grocery stores in Richmond, Baltimore, and Manhattan. The first issue of the 24 page gravure-printed tabloid weekly contained recipes and items on beauty, fashions, food, humor, movies, and radio, and was mostly written by Evans. It survived the years of the Great Depression, and was clearly prospering in the 1940s. It lost its giveaway status on September 3, 1946, became a monthly, and sold for five cents. It then assumed its present format and began its use of color. In the post-war era, it grew with the baby boom. In 1949, when the Kroger stores joined the other chains in selling it, its distribution was national. By 1952 it was available in 8,500 grocery stores and was able to guarantee its advertisers a circulation of 3.5 million. In 1958 when it took over *Everywoman's*, it announced a 5 million circulation rate base and was then able to claim that *Everywoman's Family Circle* would be available in nearly 12,000 chain stores (nearly all of which were self-service stores) in over 1,800 counties where 93 percent of all retail sales in the United States occurred. By the end of the 1950s, its circulation was 5.1 million. By the end of the 1970s, its circulation was over 8 million. At the end of the 1980s, its audience was over 21 million. It then claimed it was the “World’s largest women’s magazine,” a claim made on the Australian as well as the American edition.

*Family Circle* used celebrities as either authors or on its covers to increase its appeal and to satisfy the interests of readers. Covers of early issues featured Bing Crosby, Joan Crawford, and Douglas Fairbanks, Jr. Other early covers featured figures such as Mussolini, Stalin, Eleanor Roosevelt (December 29, 1933), and Amelia Earhart (December 8, 1933). During the Presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Eleanor Roosevelt contributed articles to *Family Circle* as well as to its arch rival *Woman's Day*. In the April 1955 issue, Quentin Reynolds wrote about the problems of adolescence in an article called “Help Over the Teen-Age Hurdle.” The next month Art Linkletter explained “Why People Are Funny,” and in September, Herman Hickman explained that “Football Is a Ladies’ Game.” When *Everywoman's* told its readers in 1958 that the next issue would be *Everywoman's Family Circle*, it also promised that in the first issue of the merged magazines *Ivy Baker Priest*, Treasurer of the United States, would switch to her role as a “successful mother” and ask: “Are we neglecting our children enough?”

The use of celebrities has endured and has earned *Family Circle* free advertising. The *New York Times* reported in February 1976 that Susan Ford, daughter of President Ford, was in Palm Beach “working as a model . . . for *Family Circle* magazine.” It reported in 1981 that Nancy Reagan told *Family Circle* that she “had just gotten out of the tub” and Ronald Reagan was in the shower when “President Jimmy Carter went on national television to concede the election.”

Charges that *Family Circle's* content is primarily about economical cooking, styling hair, or that it is primarily a woman's magazine can be made only by those who have not bothered to turn the covers of the magazine. In *Magazines in the United States*, Wood reported that *Family Circle* was "a full magazine, carrying romantic fiction with housewife appeal, feature articles on such subjects of family interest as sports, law, divorce, teen-age problems, gardening, and travel." Its largest department was "All Around the House" which included material on food and its preparation, household equipment, decoration, home building, and home furnishings. In "Your Children and You," one found articles on child care, parent-child relationships, and how to organize successful parties for children. A typical issue contained sections by contributors headed "The Personal Touch," notices of new movies under "The Reel Dope," "Beauty and Health" departments, and a "Buyer's Guide" that told where and how the products mentioned in the magazine could be acquired. As was announced in its first issue, it was designed as a magazine with something for all members of the family. While a very large portion of its editorial content, probably a majority of it, was devoted to food, needlework, and other activities traditionally identified as women's activities, it did not ignore fathers and activities traditionally identified as men's activities.

*Family Circle* also included material directed to children and teenagers. For example, when the first monthly issue appeared in September 1946, it included "Teen Scene" by Betsy Bourne, a feature addressed not to parents but to teenagers themselves. It was similar to the feature *Woman's Day* introduced in 1939, Susan Bennett Holmes' "School Bus." Although most of it was addressed to females, some sections were addressed to males. Bourne, however, addressed only a portion of the nation's teenagers. There was no mention or acknowledgment of race. That may be explained by the period during which she was working, a period that ended with the *Brown* decision (1954). She further tacitly accepted that the families of the teenagers she addressed were all very much alike. There certainly was no significant acknowledgment of the great variety of familial forms and styles that prevailed throughout the nation. The topic that received most attention—Social Skills—told teenagers, especially girls, how they could manipulate and manage others—their parents and their peers—and how they could manage to get their own way. Girls were given instructions on how to catch boys and what to give and not to give boys.

Teenagers, especially the females, who followed Bourne's advice were being prepared to be good middle class wives. They would understand their husbands, be considerate, know how to dress, how to groom themselves, how to give parties, and how to participate in volunteer work. While they were being told how to manage, manipulate, and get their own way, they were not being told how to be independent or to pursue their own careers. Boys were given instructions on how to please girls. Presumably, that would transfer to pleasing their wives.

*Family Circle* has served as a successful exporter of American culture. In 1965 its Canadian circulation was 350,000. A British version appeared on September 23, 1964. By early 1966 it was the most successful monthly for housewives in Britain. Its initial circulation of 700,000, distributed through 9,000 markets, increased to 850,000 distributed by 13,000 stores by the beginning of 1966. On March 24, 1966, 5,000 self-service stores in Germany began distribution of a German edition, *Ich und meine Familie* with a circulation of 500,000 guaranteed through 1967. Most of its editorial content was to be provided by the Germans, but a significant portion of the material

on health and infant care was scheduled to come from *Family Circle*. An Australian edition appeared in Australian supermarkets in May 1973. *Family Circle* and Vanchen Associated of Hong Kong entered into a licensing agreement in 1984 to make it available in Hong Kong and Taiwan. The first issue was written in Chinese, but the recipe headings were in English.

—Erwin V. Johanningmeier

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## *The Family Circus*

Bil Keane's daily single-frame comic strip began chronicling the mild misadventures of a white, middle-class suburban family on February 19, 1960 and is currently distributed to over 1,300 newspapers, making it the most popular panel in the world. Comics historian Ron Goulart has called *The Family Circus* "one of the gentlest and most heartwarming panels in comics history," and it is precisely this wryly humorous perspective which has made Keane's creation one of the clearest, most significant examples of the deep-seated American belief in the nuclear family as the moral center of domestic life. If a "circus" can be accurately described as a form of entertainment which displays human beings in control of both wild beasts and their own fears, then the ring which surrounds each panel of Bil Keane's strip is apt indeed, for *The Family Circus* takes everything that might be threatening or frightening about children or parenting and tames it with the whipcrack of a grin, the safety net of a smile.

Keane has reported that the idea for a comic strip poking fun at the foibles of family life occurred to him as early as 1952 while he was still involved in producing *Chanel Chuckles*, a daily comic which encouraged readers to laugh at the new medium of television and at their own compulsive interest in it. Keane began keeping notes on 3x5 cards of the funny turns of phrase and humorous misunderstandings of his own children until, as he later said, he had "enough material for

maybe 50 years.” When *The Family Circus* debuted in 1960 (as *The Family Circle*), the Keane family’s ink-drawn counterparts consisted of a Daddy in horn-rimmed glasses, a pert and neatly dressed Mommy, and three children—seven-year-old Billy, five-year-old ponytailed Dolly, and three-year-old Jeffy. Another baby arrived two years later and PJ has since been permanently fixed at a toddling 18-months. Barfy the Dog and Kitty cat are the pets of the family, and all are occasionally visited by a stereotypical crew of in-laws, neighbors, and schoolchums—with the principal focus remaining exclusively on the central family of parents and children. The perpetual preadolescence of the brood enables Keane to ignore the more disturbing issues of parenting which arise with puberty, and a typical *Family Circus* panel is a simple illustration of a child’s malapropism, mild misunderstanding of the adult world, or parental eye-rolling. Any variation from this formula is usually confined to the more experimental (and larger) format offered by the Sunday panel, and here Keane makes regular, innovative use of an overhead perspective tracing one child’s path through the neighborhood and of a version of the strip “as drawn by” little Bobby—usually as a Father’s Day “present” to the hardworking Bil.

Keane has helped define the unique tenor of his strip by noting that “There’s a general tendency among people who want to be funny to exaggerate. I do just the opposite. I tone down every idea I get.” While the resulting moderation can easily lull a reader into taking the strip for granted, the comic industry and the American public have been generous in their persistent recognition of Keane’s consistently popular, understated art. The National Cartoonists Society has awarded Keane its highest honor, the Reuben, as Outstanding Cartoonist of the Year (1982), and *The Family Circus* characters themselves have appeared in three television specials, over 40 book collections, and uncounted calendars, figurines, advertisements, greeting cards, and Christmas ornaments.

While an occasional reference to contemporary matters helps keep the panel meaningful to its wide audience (e.g., a caption of Dolly advising Jeffy that “Conscience is e-mail your head gets from Heaven”), the strip retains its focus upon the timeless center “ring” of the family—the mild pleasures, sighing frustrations, and deep love which makes the “circus” a place we want to visit whenever it comes to town or is delivered to our doorstep.

—Kevin Lause

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## *Family Matters*

The longest running black sitcom in history, *Family Matters* debuted in 1989 and aired on prime-time television for a total of nine



Jaleel White as Steve Urkel and Michelle Thomas as Myra Monkhouse in *Family Matters*.

years. Created by William Bickley and Michael Warren, the show featured a multi-generational, working-class black family living under the same roof. Originally a spin-off from *Perfect Strangers*, in which actress JoMarie Payton-France played an elevator operator, the series placed her character of Harriette Winslow in her own home with her husband, a Chicago police officer (Reginald Vel Johnson), and three children (Kellie Shanygne Williams, Darius McCrary, and Jaimee Foxworth). Other family members were Carl’s mother, Estelle Winslow (played by Rosetta LeNoire) and an adult sister (Telma Hopkins).

Much as Henry Winkler’s “Fonzie” unexpectedly stole the *Happy Days* thunder from his co-stars in the 1970s, *Family Matters* also witnessed the breakout performance of an actor named Jaleel White during its first season. Written into the script as the world’s worst blind date—arranged for Laura by her father—12-year-old “Urkel” was a neighborhood goofball who fell instantly in love with the Winslows’ daughter.

For his audition, White borrowed a pair of oversized work glasses from his dentist father, hiked his pants up to “flood” length, and proceeded to wheeze and snort his way into a character who would soon become television’s most famous nerd. Urkel was an instant hit. In fact, White’s performance was so stellar that producers

quickly snatched him up as a regular cast member. Bickley claimed that he knew Urkel would be big after overhearing some teenagers imitating him in a shopping mall. As one reviewer put it, kids took to the character like quarters to arcade games. Before long there were Urkel t-shirts, jigsaw puzzles, and even a talking doll that recited favorite Urkel phrases such as, “No sweat, my pet.”

In the midst of an otherwise unremarkable series, it was Urkel who drew both the bulk of criticism and praise for the program. Denounced as “cartoonish” by many he was, in many ways, a stereotypical buffoon. Even more insulting to many critics, was the show’s clichéd portrayal of the Winslow family’s matriarch. Whereas her husband was often bumbling and unsure, Harriette Winslow was the sassy decision-maker; the domineering “powerhouse of reality” in the home. It could also be argued, however, that Urkel challenged racial stereotypes. Depicted as the son of a neurosurgeon, he was a studious bookworm with genius-like abilities in math and science; traits that made him a rare representation of black youth for prime-time television.

Nestled between *Full House* and *Perfect Strangers* on ABC’s Friday night “TGIF” lineup, *Family Matters* was a black-cast series that found mainstream success among white, American audiences. Although it never won critical praise or Emmy awards, viewers were warmed by the show, which was a consistent favorite in its time slot. Unlike some of the more politicized black series of its era, such as *The Cosby Show* and *A Different World*, *Family Matters* did not emerge from a black sensibility. In fact, the white producing team of Bickley and Warren (who later created *On Our Own*, another black comedy for ABC) made a conscious effort to fashion a “universal” family, unmarked by racial difference. As actor Reginald Vel Johnson once noted, *Family Matters* was never nominated for any NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) Image Awards. Despite its all-black cast, it was perhaps seen as being “too white . . . to be considered a black show.”

Even after its retirement from prime-time, *Family Matters* continued to be a hit on cable. After a brief and unsuccessful run on the lily-white CBS, the series migrated to the Turner Broadcasting System (TBS) cable network, where it ranked number nine among cable programs for children in 1997.

—Kristal Brent Zook

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## Family Reunions

The idea of gathering together all of one’s family members at a central place and at a given time emerged as a popular American pastime in the 1960s, although family reunions had been held in the United States since the 1880s. Throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, however, reunions grew in both popularity and scale as the baby boomer generation aged. To many people, reunions represent an

opportunity to return to the “old days” when families resided in the same locale and knew each other very well. While many Americans attend family reunions for purely nostalgic reasons, others are motivated by the urge to get in touch with the family’s “roots.”

During the 1980s, the advent of computers and the Internet began an ongoing interest in amateur genealogy. The many Americans who trace their heritage are often the primary organizers of a family reunion. They wish to share their findings with family members as well as gather new information through personal contact. Furthermore, the Internet has made it easier to advertise reunions as well as to find and correspond with distant relatives.

Some reunions attract a gathering in the hundreds, often held at or near convenient popular resort areas, though smaller reunions remain common. Reunions are usually held in June, July, or August to correspond with family vacations and, since many are often held outdoors at state parks or campgrounds, to coincide with good weather. Making an occasion of mealtimes is an essential ingredient of the American family reunion, typically with each family contributing dishes to the large buffets that are held. The get-togethers might last anywhere between one and three days, with the participants enjoying pastimes that range from games and sports to sightseeing outings, but for many the most enjoyable pastime of all is sitting around talking. Recalling memories of youth, and passing those memories on to the next generation, are important goals of a family reunion. Many adults want their children to get to know their cousins or other extended family members, who influenced their own lives.

Because of their large scale, by the 1990s reunions had come to involve much careful planning and organization. Near the close of a reunion, families often hold a meeting to elect officers to organize the next get-together and perhaps set a date and place where it will be held. A family historian is usually entrusted with the task of recording the events of the reunion, as well as keeping the family history and genealogy up to date. Some families even appoint a fundraising committee to organize events that will pay the costs of getting everybody together and accommodating them. Despite the hard work and responsibilities that go into the arranging of a successful gathering, families enjoy being a part of the communal group that makes up a large reunion.

To commemorate the occasion, organizers often provide a variety of souvenirs for family members to purchase. T-shirts printed with the family name, and the date and place of the reunion are common, while other popular items might include caps, bumper stickers, tote bags, pencils, complete genealogies and family recipe books. Family members also take an abundant number of photographs and home videos to preserve the memory of the gathering.

By the 1990s it was estimated that over 200,000 American families attend a family reunion every year. In an age of smaller nuclear families and changing definitions of a family in general, reunions offer an opportunity for many people to feel a sense of belonging in a larger, extended family unit. Many families are forced to live far distant from their relatives because of work or other circumstances, and reunions give them an opportunity to keep in touch. Whatever a family’s interests, or those of the individuals within it, reunions offer something for everyone to enjoy within the enhanced sense of close community that they create.

—Angela O’Neal

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## Family Ties

President Reagan once named NBC's *Family Ties* his favorite show, despite the fact that the show was originally intended as a parody of Reagan-style values. The premise of the Emmy-winning series, which ran from 1982 to 1989, was the generation gap between the Keaton parents, who came of age in the 1960s and whose hippie leanings were evident from the opening sequence, and their children, who were products of the materialistic 1980s. The eldest child, Alex (Michael J. Fox, who became a star because of the series), wore suits, read the *Wall Street Journal*, and worshipped Richard Nixon and William F. Buckley. Middle child Mallory was rather dim and obsessed with shopping. The youngest, Jennifer, was a precocious sitcom kid. As viewers became more interested in the kids, the generation gap theme was dropped.

—Karen Lurie

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## Fan Magazines

Although many fields of endeavor such as sports, auto racing, radio, and music have all spawned "interest magazines" that provide inside information for devotees of a particular subject or pursuit, it is to the motion picture industry that America owes the long-established concept of the fan magazine. Conceived to promote, popularize, and trade off the fledgling art of film in early Hollywood, the publication of fan magazines dates back to 1911 when *Motion Picture Story* magazine and *Photoplay* first appeared. These magazines provided readers with an illusion of intimacy with the stars, and fed into their fantasies of the opulent lifestyles and sometimes scandal-ridden private lives of the famous. At the same time, they purported to reveal the mechanics of the star making process, allowing the average reader—an outsider looking in—to claim spurious knowledge and form a personal judgment as to a player's screen image, talent, off-screen personality and character, and to hold opinions about the best career moves for their favorites.

Initially, fan magazines relied on a formula that packaged a gallery of movie star portraits and illustrated stories of popular motion

pictures, together with a few specialized features such as reader inquiries. Each issue was rounded off with short fictional pieces. However, as early as 1912, the magazines began to print interviews with stars, articles on various phases of film production, and even motion picture scenarios. The magazines were targeted to appeal primarily to female readers who, in the belief of most film industry executives, formed the large majority of the filmgoing public. By the same token, most of the magazine contributors were also women, and included such notables as Adela Rogers St. John, Hazel Simpson Naylor, Ruth Hall, and Adele Whitely Fletcher, who all wrote for several different publications under a variety of pen names. Other contributors came from the ranks of press representatives for both actors and film studios. Occasionally, a magazine would publish an article purportedly written by a star, or print an interview in which the actor or actress supposedly solicited readers' opinions on career moves, etc. Though these pieces were normally the result of collaboration between the editorial staff and the subject's press agent, there would be an accompanying photograph, or a set of handwritten responses to questions, supposedly supplied by the star, in order to lend authenticity to the enterprise. These editorial ploys gave the impression that the magazines were essentially uncritical mouthpieces, fawning on an industry that fed them tidbits so as to heighten the public's interest in films.

While this was not without some truth, fan magazines were, for the most part, published independently of the studios, although this did not always guarantee objectivity. The publications were dependent on the studios to organize interviews with actors and to keep them supplied with publicity releases and information about the stars and the films. Nonetheless, the magazines could be critical at times, particularly from 1915 when they began publishing film reviews. It was not uncommon to see both *Photoplay* and *Motion Picture Story* giving the "thumbs down" to pictures that they didn't think their readers would enjoy, although the sort of harsh criticism or expose that became a feature of the tabloids in the late decades of the twentieth century were generally avoided. Articles that dealt with the private lives of screen personalities tended to overlook any sordid doings and placed their emphasis on family values, domestic pursuits, and the aesthetics of the Hollywood home and hearth. From the 1930s onwards, it was commonplace to see major photographic features showing the famous names hard at work gardening, cooking, washing the car, or playing with the baby.

This was in extreme contrast to Hollywood coverage in the national press. The circulation of tabloid newspapers thrived through titillating their readers with detailed reportage of the numerous scandals that erupted in the early decades. A notorious example of this was the murder trial of Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle during the 1920s. The magazine *Screenland* (published from 1921 to 1927) took Hollywood's side against the sensationalism of the Arbuckle case by publishing a piece in defense of the comedian (later found innocent), but other fan publications, notably *Photoplay*, took a decidedly neutral stance on Hollywood scandal. Such incidents as the murder of director William Desmond Taylor, of which Mabel Normand was briefly suspected, Rudolph Valentino's divorce, and Wallace Reid's drug-related death, while prompting the implementation of the motion picture production code in the early 1930s, were pretty much neglected in the fan magazines, or treated in vague general terms within an article presenting a star and his family bravely overcoming

adversity. That this approach worked as well as it did demonstrates the devotion of film fans to the romanticized image of their screen idols as peddled by the fan magazines. Most readers were well up on the current scandals, and when the fan magazines alluded to a star's "brave fight" or "lingering illness," they were knowledgeable enough to translate the terms into "drug addiction," or to know that "young foolishness," or "hot-headed wildness" meant sexual indiscretions of one kind or another.

Most film historians view the fan magazines of the silent era as having more scholarly validity than those after the advent of sound. Such publications as *Filmplay Journal*, *Motion Picture Classic*, *Motion Picture*, and *Movie Weekly*, gave readers well-written film reviews and factual, biographical information that could not be found anywhere else. They have come to provide modern scholars with fascinating sociological insights into the phenomenon of filmgoing in the first two decades of American motion picture history.

After the advent of sound, the fan magazines became less serious and more concerned with sensationalism and sex. The magazines played a major role in creating the lasting impression of Hollywood as the center of glamour during the 1930s. To a country mired in the economic consequences of the Great Depression, fan magazines presented an image of the American dream as attainable to the average person. They treated as gospel such myths as Lana Turner being discovered by a producer while eating a sundae at Schwab's Drug Store or Hollywood talent scouts combing the country for "unknowns" to be turned into stars. The myth-makers were preaching the messages of the Dream Factory to a nation only too willing to believe them. In the make-believe world that formed the setting of the majority of popular movies, crime was punished, courage was rewarded, and lovers lived happily ever after.

Fan magazines presented all movie actresses as icons of perfect beauty. At one end of the scale they were pictures of fresh prettiness (Fay Wray, Deanna Durbin); at the other, stylish and glamorous sophisticates (Garbo, Dietrich, or Myrna Loy). Their handsome male counterparts were either debonair (Cary Grant, Errol Flynn) or the epitome of masculine strength (Gary Cooper, Clark Gable). Everything about the stars was larger than life—their homes, their lifestyles, their passions, even their sins. In short, they had everything except the ability to visit with their fans. Hence, such magazines as *Modern Screen*, *Movie Action Magazine*, *Movie Classic*, *Movie Mirror*, *Silver Screen*, and *Motion Picture Classic* came into being to reveal the inside scoop on their lives to the fans. Articles such as "Jean Harlow—From Extra to Star"; "Shirley Temple's Letter to Santa"; "Motherhood: What it Means to Helen Twelvetrees"; and "The Bennetts Answer Hollywood Gossip" allowed the readers momentarily to forget their drab existence during the Depression and live vicariously through the pages of the magazines.

Conversely, the magazines also let the public know that these glamorous stars did not really have it all; indeed, they envied the simple pleasure enjoyed by their fans. Shirley Temple, they reported, wished she could visit a department store Santa; Deanna Durbin longed to eat fudge like an ordinary teenager, but couldn't lest she put on weight; Myrna Loy wanted the freedom to walk into a department store without being recognized. The conspiracy between editors and publicists that created this communication between the stars and their fans was a significant factor in keeping movie theaters filled with customers.

During the 1940s and 1950s, the pattern remained pretty much the same. The leading magazines during this period were *Photoplay*, *Modern Screen*, *Silver Screen*, *Movie Fan*, *Movie Stars Parade*, *Screen Album*, *Screen Stars*, and *Movie Story*. However, with the arrival of post-World War II affluence, the public grew less impressed with the wealth of the stars and more appreciative of pin-up poses of both sexes, and stories that revealed the less savory antics of stars such as Elizabeth Taylor, Errol Flynn, and Frank Sinatra. It was the beginning of the end of fan magazines as they had been known and loved for almost half a century. With the onset of the 1960s, they came increasingly to resemble the tabloids, trumpeting banner headlines such as "Liz will adopt a Negro Baby" (*Movie Mirror*, April, 1967), and containing little real news.

It was in the 1960s, too, that a number of specialty magazines began to appear. *Screen Legends* and *Film and TV Careers* devoted each issue to only one or two personalities, and included filmographies and interviews; *Famous Monsters of Filmland* dealt only with horror films and monsters; and *Serial Quarterly* concentrated on "cliffhangers" and Saturday matinee serials. As the traditional fan magazines fell away, eventually to disappear and leave the market to these specialist publications and to the scandal-mongering tabloids, a new style of movie magazine was created in the 1980s that has continued to fill the void. In the 1990s, film fans were buying magazines such as *Entertainment Weekly*, *Movieline* and, most notably, *Premier*, which blend interviews, filmographies, and production pieces with serious analysis of film trends and lifestyle fashion. They largely avoid sensationalism, but are not above criticism. They have become the new reading habit for the fans of an industry that is almost unrecognizable in terms of the old studio-based Hollywood, and the great gossip magazines, highly prized by collectors, have taken their place in Hollywood legend.

—Steve Hanson

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## *Fantasia*

A seminal film in the development of animated features, and a cultural cornerstone in leading children to classical music, Walt



The “Night on Bald Mountain” sequence from the film *Fantasia*.

Disney’s *Fantasia* (1940) has entranced six generations of viewers in America and Europe. Named as one of the American Film Institute’s Top 100 Movies of All Time in 1998, it has served as the inspiration for, among others, Bruno Bozetto’s *Allegro Non Troppo* and Osamu Tezuka’s *Legend of the Forest*. Although influential, it remains unique, one of the most masterful combinations of sound and images ever committed to celluloid.

Only the third full-length feature to be made by Walt Disney, at its inception it was one of the Hollywood film industry’s most significant experiments since Warner Bros. introduced sound with *The Jazz Singer* 13 years earlier. The finished film, introduced by Deems Taylor, with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Leopold Stokowski providing the music, had grown out of a chance meeting between Stokowski and Disney. The famous conductor had expressed an interest in working with Disney; the master of animation was looking to restore Mickey Mouse to his former level of popularity. It was felt that a visual realization of composer Paul Dukas’s “The Sorcerer’s Apprentice” might do the trick.

Stokowski and Disney were both world-class showmen and in love with technological gimmickry. Stokowski was one of the earliest experimenters in stereophonic sound and suggested that the film’s sound re-create that of a concert hall. This was done by recording the orchestra on three separate channels (right, left, and surround).

However, recording the sound to the conductor’s satisfaction wound up costing more than it would have been possible to recoup on a short subject. Disney then committed to making what he initially called a “Concert Feature,” a collection of shorts that would make up a concert. According to Stokowski, he wondered why Disney planned to stop at a short subject; why not a full-length film with several other musical works to suggest “the mood, the coloring, the design, the speed, the character of motion of what is seen on the screen,” as he later expressed it. In short, a fantasia, which means a free development on a given theme.

It was decided to open the film with Stokowski’s own orchestral transcription of Bach’s “Toccatina and Fugue in D Minor,” complemented by visual detailing suggestive of falling asleep at the orchestra. Recalled Disney, “All I can see is violin tips and bow tips—like when you’re half asleep at a concert,” not, apparently, an uncommon occurrence for the easily bored studio executive. In preparing for *Fantasia*, Disney subscribed to a box at the Hollywood Bowl where, he told a colleague, he invariably fell asleep, lulled by the music and the warmth of the polo coat he liked to wear. There is also a story that he ridiculed an animator on the film, calling him homosexual for taking a music appreciation class in preparation for the project. However, when the film opened, Disney told the reporter from the *New York World Telegram*, “I never liked this stuff. Honest, I just



couldn't listen to it. But I can listen to it now. It seems to mean a little more to me. Maybe it can give other people the same thing."

The final film, a glorious marriage of sound and image, is not without flaws. Oskar Fischinger, an avant-garde painter who had worked with director Fritz Lang on the special effects for *Die Frau im Mond* (aka *The Woman in the Moon*) in Germany in 1929, helped design *Fantasia's* opening sequence. However, the literal-minded Disney, who denied him credit and had his designs altered, considered his vision too abstract. There were musical compromises, too.

Bach, best experienced with the original instrumentation, was given a bombastic transcription for full orchestra, and Igor Stravinsky's "Rite of Spring" was seriously distorted under Stokowsky's baton. (Disney offered the composer \$5,000 for his work, pointing out that since Stravinsky's work was copyrighted in Russia, and as the United States had not signed the Berne copyright agreement, he could simply pirate the music). Beethoven's "Pastoral Symphony" was truncated, a problem exacerbated later when a piccaninny centaur was excised from the film on subsequent reissues as being in poor taste. The female centaurs in that sequence were originally bare-breasted, but the Hays office insisted that discreet garlands be hung around their necks.

Other aspects of the film have remained a continual source of delight. The design for the excerpts from Tchaikovsky's "Nutcracker Suite," an enchanted forest peopled by mushroom Chinamen and Cossacks as dancing flowers, is a visual and aural feast; "The Sorcerer's Apprentice" starring, as intended, Mickey Mouse, is wonderfully inventive and amusing; "The Dance of the Hours" (from Ponchielli's opera *La Gioconda*) is a memorably comic sequence, with balletic ostriches and dancing hippopotami lampooning cultural pretensions.

Mussorgsky's "Night on Bald Mountain," with its gargoyles, demons, and other frightening creatures of the night, remains the high spot of the film, accompanying a visual battle between the forces of good and evil. The spirits of the night rise from the local graveyard and travel to Bald Mountain for a celebration of Evil, a ritualistic bow to Tchernobog, the Black God. The flames transform into dancers, then animals, and then lizards, at the whim of the great Black God, who revels in the passionate exhibition. However, as morning approaches and church bells are rung, the Black God recoils in horror and is driven back until he is vanquished. The music segues into Schubert's "Ave Maria," scored for solo voice by the composer, but here given a choral treatment (with new lyrics by Rachel Field) which blasts the preceding crescendo of magnificent malevolence out of existence.

Bela Lugosi was hired to perform the part of Tchernobog, a figure of ultimate evil. He was photographed miming the actions of the character—the legendary horror star's expressions on the character's face are unmistakable—and his image was then altered and incorporated by Vladimir Tytla, one of Disney's greatest master animators. (Tytla left Disney after the famous studio strike of 1941, brought on by Disney's refusal to allow a union, and went on to direct Little Lulu cartoons, among other things). Disney had been rotoscoping live action figures as guides to animation as far back as *Snow White* (1938) (despite Ralph Bakshi's claim of rotoscoping as an important innovation in the 1970s), and for *Fantasia* members of the Ballet Russe, notably Roman Jasinsky, Tatiana Riabouchinska, and Irina Baranova, modeled for the elephants, hippos, and ostriches (respectively) in the "Dance of the Hours" sequence.

The finale after "Night on Bald Mountain" is an anti-climactic version of Schubert's "Ave Maria," which was innovatively filmed as one long continuous take that required five days to shoot. The first time it was attempted, someone had placed the wrong lens on the camera, thus exposing the background on each side of the artwork. A second attempt was made mere days before the film's opening and was briefly disrupted by an earthquake on the third day of filming, fortunately with no ill effect.

Disney had wanted to shoot the film in widescreen and offer it on a reserved-seat basis before giving it a general release; however, his bankers objected and the only innovation Disney was able to offer was "Fantasound," an early stereo process that was available in only a few theaters.

By the time *Fantasia* opened, Disney had spent a fortune building his dream studio, but World War II shut down his foreign market and a significant portion of his revenues. The banks closed off his line of credit in 1940, and he was forced to offer stock to the public for the first time. *Fantasia* fared badly on its initial release, trimmed to 88 minutes, pleasing neither the audience (who wanted and expected more films like *Snow White*) nor the critics (who decried the misuse of classical music). However, Disney and *Fantasia* both survived, with the latter achieving classic status and more than recouping its costs (about \$2,250,000). Until the film became available on video, it remained one of the classic Disney perennials, screened as a staple of children's vacation time.

One of Disney's ideas for the project was to periodically re-release it with the order and selection of musical programs altered. Such tunes as Debussy's "Clair de Lune," Weber's "Invitation to the Waltz," "Humoresque," Sibelius' "Swan of Tuonela," Wagner's "Ride of the Valkyries," and Prokofiev's "Peter and the Wolf" were considered for insertion into future releases. However, only "Peter and the Wolf" reached the animation stage in Disney's lifetime, narrated by Sterling Holloway in *Make Mine Music* (1938), though the "Clair de Lune" material formed the basis for Bobby Worth and Ray Gilbert's "Blue Bayou" in the same film.

*Fantasia* stands acknowledged as one of cinema's undisputed works of art, visually, musically and technically.

—Dennis Fischer

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## *The Fantastic Four*

*The Fantastic Four* is a comic book published by Marvel Comics since 1961. Created by Stan Lee and Jack Kirby, the Fantastic Four

are a family of superheroes—Mr. Fantastic, the Invisible Girl (renamed the Invisible Woman in 1985), the Human Torch, and the Thing. The series departed significantly from previous superhero comic books by casting characters as distinct individuals plagued by human failings like self-doubt, jealousy, and even occasional antipathy toward the society that they have sworn to protect. With his monstrous orange rock-skinned appearance, the Thing especially was prone to alienation and periods of self-loathing. And he quickly emerged as the favorite among fans of the comic.

*The Fantastic Four* was the first of the Marvel comic books to predict the anti-conformist themes soon to become prevalent in the youth culture of the 1960s and subsequent decades. Along with *The Incredible Hulk* and *The Amazing Spider-Man*, *The Fantastic Four* formed the core of Marvel's 1960s comic-book publishing boom. It remained one of the company's most popular titles in the 1990s.

—Bradford Wright

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## *Fantasy Island*

Producer Aaron Spelling once said that of all the characters he created, the one he most identified with was *Fantasy Island*'s Mr. Roarke, because he made dreams come true. Following *The Love Boat* on Saturday nights on ABC from 1978 to 1984, *Fantasy Island* offered viewers a chance to imagine romantic escapes and gave B-list celebrities such as Bill Bixby, Joseph Campanella, Adrienne Barbeau, Karen Valentine, and Victoria Principal another opportunity to appear on the small screen. Unlike the comedic *Love Boat*, however, *Fantasy Island* was a romantic drama, complete with suspense and ironic twists. Each episode carried the implicit warning to be careful what you wish for.

The premise of *Fantasy Island* was simple: each of the three weekly visitors to the tropical Fantasy Island paid \$10,000 to make a lifelong dream come true. Awaiting the visitors was their host, Mr. Roarke (Ricardo Montalban), a suave, mysterious man in a white suit, and his similarly white-suited midget attaché, Tattoo (Herve Villechaize). Mr. Roarke managed the visitor's fantasies, directing his retinue to smile as the seaplane landed to Tattoo's now infamous call of "The Plane! The Plane!" From show to show the visitors' fantasies varied: one visitor was an ugly duckling who longed to be a sex symbol, another was a frustrated salesman looking for the business coup of a lifetime, yet another was a henpecked family man looking for a little respect. The visitors had one thing in common: they all imagined a life more glamorous or exciting than the one they left behind.

Roarke provided the magic that made fantasies come true, but he also proved a wise advisor to those guests who realized that their fantasies often led them where they did not want to go. When a



Ricardo Montalban and Hervé Villechaize in a scene from *Fantasy Island*.

pregnant woman certain to die during childbirth asks to see the life of her as yet unborn child, for example, she is horrified at the way the child's life turns out. As the guests' fantasies went awry, and they always went awry, Roarke was there to help his guests realize that some fantasies are best left fantasies. As the seasons went on, the show delved more into the supernatural. Roarke was suddenly able to bring about events from the future and the past, cast spells and mix up magic potions, and even do battle with the devil, played in a recurring role by a sinister Roddy McDowall. Was Roarke God? An angel? Or just a figure who let viewers indulge their taste for tropical fantasy while reassuring them that they were better off in the lives they had?

*Fantasy Island* was very much a product of its times, for it attempted to indulge the popular appetite for wealth and glamour that brought shows like *Dallas* and *Dynasty* such success. At the same time, the show addressed the age-old fears of those who worried that greed could only bring trouble. ABC brought back a revamped and "edgier" *Fantasy Island* in the fall of 1998, featuring Malcolm McDowell as Roarke, wearing a black suit this time, and accompanied by a few disgruntled assistants. Though the show had the basic same premise, it was far more interested in exploring the horror of a fantasy realized that was its predecessor. The revival was short-lived, leaving the air after just one season.

—Karen Lurie

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## *The Far Side*

Debuting in 1980, *The Far Side*, a single-panel comic strip written and drawn by Gary Larson, was different from anything previously seen on a comics page. Its offbeat and obscure humor drew epithets such as “tasteless,” “sick,” or “demented,” but the cartoon became immensely popular during its fifteen-year tenure, appearing in more than 1,900 daily and Sunday newspapers and being translated into seventeen languages. More than twenty *Far Side* collections and anthologies reached the bestseller lists and were available in bookstores long after Larson stopped producing the cartoon in 1995. *The Far Side* made its way to greeting cards, T-shirts, and calendars—including the especially popular desk calendars of 365 daily *Far Side* cartoons, which are produced and sold each holiday season.

Unlike other comics, *The Far Side* did not feature the same characters in each installment, although it did repeat types of characters. Farm animals, especially cows, chickens, and ducks, made frequent appearances. Among other animals featured were snakes and squids. Larson's love of biology showed itself in numerous insect jokes. (An entomologist even named a species of chewing lice after Larson for his contributions to biology. The insect was named *strigiphilus garylaroni*. Larson considered it a great honor.) The people who appeared in *The Far Side* usually were similar in appearance: most of the children had big heads and glasses; the women had big hair and glasses; the men had long noses and often wore glasses. In fact, most of Larson's characters fit the stereotypical image of the nerd. Neanderthal men and aliens appeared as well.

The jokes found in *The Far Side* ranged from puns to the silly to the intellectual to the morbid. A cartoon about a sticky widget (a strange device covered in honey) could be followed by a joke referencing Mary and Louis Leakey and their discovery of Lucy. (That particular cartoon showed the Leakeys uncovering a cave painting of Lucy from the *Peanuts* cartoon strip.) On the morbid side, Larson often had animals or people meet their end in untimely and ironic ways. One panel showed a mother bear using the skulls of two young hunters to entertain her cubs. She had her hand inside each skull and mimicked the boys' last words about entering the cave. In fact, the panels that drew the most complaints usually depicted some cruelty done to an animal, usually by another animal. For example, one cartoon with the caption “Tethercat” showed a cat tied to a pole by its neck while two dogs batted it around. And as often as he got complaints, Larson got letters asking for him to explain the joke.

Larson also created an animated television special: *Gary Larson's Tales from the Far Side* (1994). Larson won the Reuben Award for

Best Cartoonist in 1991 and 1994. *The Far Side* was awarded the Max & Moritz Prize for best international comic strip/panel in 1993 and best syndicated panel in 1985 and 1987.

After Larson's retirement from the comics page, other single-panel comics that took up his style included *Off the Mark* and *Speed Bump*. Larson went on to other projects such as a book titled *There's a Hair in My Dirt: A Worm's Story* in 1998.

—P. Andrew Miller

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## *Fargo*

In order to gain a piece of his father-in-law's fortune, a financially desperate husband (William H. Macy) hires two hitmen (Steve Buscemi and Peter Stormare) to fake a kidnapping of his wife in Joel and Ethan Coen's 1996 noir-comedy film, *Fargo*. Frances McDormand won a 1996 best actress Oscar for her portrayal of the pregnant police chief who cracks the botched-kidnapping, multiple-homicide case. More than murders, people-pulverizing woodchippers, and snowstorms, *Fargo* brought allegedly genuine midwestern mannerisms and dialect to urban America, and an Academy award for best original screenplay to the native-Minnesotan Coen brothers.

—Daryna M. McKeand

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## Farm Aid

Farm Aid is an advocacy group that, since the mid-1980s, has called attention to the plight of the American family farm through a series of high-profile live concerts that feature many of the music industry's leading performers. Led by its president, country-music star Willie Nelson, and based in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Farm Aid was created in response to a comment by Bob Dylan at the 1985 Live Aid for Africa Concert: “Wouldn't it be great if we did something like this for our own farmers right here in America?” At the time, poor markets and high operating costs were driving an estimated 500 family farmers out of business every week. Nelson, Neil Young, and John Mellencamp responded immediately, and six weeks later the first Farm Aid concert, in Champaign, Illinois, attracted some 80,000 fans and raised over \$7 million for the cause. Farm Aid II (1986) took place in Austin, Texas, and Farm Aid III (1987) in Lincoln, Nebraska. Participating artists have included performers as diverse as Bob Dylan, Lyle Lovett, Steppenwolf,



Willie Nelson performs at Farm Aid V in 1992.

Hootie and the Blowfish, Wilco, Loretta Lynn, the Beach Boys, Steve Earle, Elton John, Stevie Ray Vaughn, Johnny Cash, the Grateful Dead, Ringo Starr, Martina McBride, and Phish. Over the years, Farm Aid has raised \$14 million and evolved into a two-part organization, one that produces the fund-raising concerts and another that administers support programs for family farmers and lobbies for political change. Farm Aid has also provided a forum for some exciting musical collaborations, such as Bob Dylan's work with Tom Petty and the Heartbreakers, which led to a substantial tour.

Farm Aid began to affect U.S. farm policy in 1987 when Nelson, Mellencamp, and a group of family farmers were called to testify before Congress, which later passed the Agricultural Credit Act. This act mandated that the Farmer's Home Administration could not foreclose on a family farmer unless the organization would make more money through foreclosure than it would by investing in the farm to make it profitable. Farm Aid saw this as a significant step forward.

In 1989, Nelson took Farm Aid on the road with 16 of his own shows, asserting that "The fight to save family farms isn't just about farmers. It's about making sure that there is a safe and healthy food supply for all of us. It's about jobs, from Main Street to Wall Street. It's about a better America." In 1991, Farm Aid focused on dairy farmers who had experienced a sharp drop in prices and teamed with

ice-cream maker Ben & Jerry's. In 1993, Farm Aid raised money to aid farmers affected by the Mississippi River floods which destroyed 8 million acres of crops and damaged 20 million more. In 1994, Willie Nelson, on behalf of Farm Aid, successfully urged President Bill Clinton to pardon Nebraska farmer Ernest Krikava, who had been imprisoned for illegally selling hogs during a bankruptcy proceeding to feed his desperate and starving family. Farm Aid has also continued to emphasize the environmental responsibility of family farmers who, according to the organization, are more conscientious about land, water, and food purity.

Farm Aid's mega-concerts during the 1990s were produced in Indianapolis (1990), Dallas (1992), Ames, Iowa (1993), New Orleans (1994), Louisville (1995), and Columbia, South Carolina (1996). Even though the 1997 Farm Aid concert in Dallas was unsuccessful due to poor ticket sales, it rebounded with its 1998 concert in Chicago. According to its own literature, since 1985, Farm Aid has "granted over \$14 million to 100 farm organizations, churches, and service agencies in 44 states. Nearly half of those grants are used for direct services such as food, emergency aid, legal assistance, and hotlines." Other funds are "distributed as 'Program Grants' to promote outreach, education, and the development of long-term solutions."

—S. Renee Dechert

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## Farr, Jamie (1936—)

Jamie Farr is best known as Maxwell Q. Klinger, the soldier who wore women’s clothing in an attempt to get an insanity discharge in the Korean War sitcom *M\*A\*S\*H* (1972-1983). Late in the show’s run, Klinger stopped wearing dresses and took over as his unit’s company clerk after “Radar” O’Reilly (Gary Burghoff) left the show in 1979. Klinger married a Korean woman, Soon-Lee (Rosalind Chao), in the show’s final episode, and their life in America was chronicled in the spinoff *After M\*A\*S\*H* (1983-1984). Farr’s film work includes *Blackboard Jungle* (1955—credited as Jameel Farah), *With Six You Get Eggroll* (1968), and *The Cannonball Run* (1981).

—Christian L. Pyle

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## Fast Food

Even more than hotdogs and apple pie, the hamburgers and french fries found at ubiquitous fast food restaurants represent America’s quintessential food and, in many ways, America’s quintessential culture.

The rise of the fast food restaurant would not have been possible without concomitant changes in American culture. Beginning in the 1920s, thanks in large part to developments in technology and industry, the American lifestyle began to change. Formerly distinctive regional and ethnic cultures were now meeting up with each other, blurring differences in identity. More people were moving off the farm and into the city in search of lucrative and exciting careers. In addition, the widespread use of inventions like the telephone and the increasing acceptance of mass media meant that there was a larger degree of cultural interaction.

The development of an affordable automobile and the simultaneous governmental support of new road systems physically reinforced this cultural melding, enabling car owners, especially, to go to places they had never been before. This sparked a boom in the tourist industry: travelers who once went by rail, boat, or horse, were now moving faster by car, and began to value things such as speed and convenience as part of their trips. Not only did they need affordable and reliable places to stay, but they also needed similarly reliable places to eat.

While local diners and eateries offered good, wholesome home-cooked meals, they were often located far away from main thoroughfares, making them inconvenient for the interstate traveler. Travelers, however, were not the only ones eating on the run; private dining, once a formal ritual among family members and close friends, was



A Taco Bell fast food restaurant.

becoming a thing of the past, and eating in public was becoming much more acceptable for everyone. The increased pace of life, especially in urban areas, meant that people no longer ate as a group around the table, but favored sandwiches and other foods that could be eaten quickly and on the go. Food carts had been familiar urban sites since the late 1800s, eventually evolving into more permanent “short order” joints and diners. Cafeterias like Horn and Hardart in Philadelphia featured Automat systems in the early 1900s that allowed people to extract foods such as pies, sandwiches, and entrees from vending machines for a penny or nickel. Food was becoming merely a fuel, like gasoline, for the human working machines.

The need for fast, reliable, affordable, and convenient food, along with an increasing acceptance among Americans of a more homogenous culture, led to the rise of the fast food industry, and in particular, of the hamburger’s and french fries it served. Purveyors of fast food sprang up in both urban areas and along the nation’s highways. During the 1920s, the hamburger experienced a complete change of identity that attested to Americans’ collective willingness to accept the new culture of food service. At the beginning of the decade the humble meat patty, served between layers of bun and often garnished with onions, ketchup, and mustard, was considered a lowly, working-class food held largely in disrepute. At this time, most hamburger stands were located close to factories and in working-class neighborhoods. By the end of the decade, however, the hamburger had come into its own, gaining widespread popularity and being considered a staple food, as evidenced by the overwhelming success of the “hamburger stand.” The cartoon Popeye even featured a character, Wimpy, who gorged himself on nothing but hamburgers.

The most successful of these stands quickly multiplied, taking advantage of the growing popularity of this new “fast” food and applied industrial principles of standardization to its development. White Castle, founded in Wichita, Kansas, in 1921 by Billy Ingram and Walt Anderson, is considered the first fast food restaurant. Anderson had originally been a fry cook who perfected one version of the hamburger—square with small holes for better cooking, topped with fried onions and placed on a bun of soft white bread. Ingram recognized the potential of this relatively simple food, devised a limited menu around it, and standardized its production so that the White Castle hamburger could be found in many different cities, but would be uniform. While White Castle was never the largest of the fast food chains, it was the first and most influential, beginning the franchise system that inspired many imitations, including White Tower, White Clock, Royal Castle, and White Palace.

The methods and success of White Castle outlets had many implications for business and culture. They sold their five-cent burgers “by the sack,” and encouraged carry-out for those customers on the go. They also developed standard floor plans and architectural designs that could be easily duplicated wherever a new White Castle was to be erected. They standardized the operations of the cooks so that even human workers behaved like machine mechanisms. All of these things were implemented in order to produce a uniform product and to divest the hamburger of its formerly negative reputation as a working-class foodstuff made of dubious ingredients. In order to implement these ideas, White Castle even adopted a system of vertical integration: the company produced the white porcelain and steel panels used for its buildings, owned the bakeries that made its buns, and even started a company to make the disposable paper hats and aprons worn by its employees.

White Castle hamburgers were so tasty, affordable, and increasingly ubiquitous that there was a marked increase in beef production in addition to the mass consumption of hamburgers. As historian David Hogan has remarked, “White Castle advanced food production and distribution to the volume demanded by the expanding population, and it gave an American democracy an accessible, egalitarian, and standardized style of eating. It also supplied America with a distinctive ethnic symbol: people the world over now readily identify fast-food hamburgers as the food of Americans.” By the end of the decade, White Castle had brought their burgers and cultural ethos to Omaha, Kansas City, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Indianapolis, Louisville, Cincinnati, Chicago, and finally to the east coast in 1929, inspiring successful imitators wherever they went, and making “White Castle” almost a generic name for hamburgers by the end of the 1920s.

The hamburger fulfilled economic as well as cultural needs. During the Depression, affordable food like that found at the local hamburger stand was a godsend, especially to those who were unemployed; White Castle’s hamburgers, for example, cost just five cents each until 1946, when the price doubled due to beef shortages caused by World War II. At the end of 1930, the company had sold over 21 million hamburgers; at the end of 1937, this number had increased to over 40 million.

Even though the first drive-in restaurant, Royce Hailey’s Pig Stand in Dallas, Texas, was opened in 1921, it was not until nearly three decades later that the drive-in restaurant enjoyed a degree of success. Drive-ins, another fast food institution, celebrated the cultural importance of the automobile, allowing the car itself to be a dining room of sorts, from which people could order their food and eat it in the open air without having to unbuckle their seatbelts. “Car hops,”

as they were also called, became familiar congregation centers for teenagers as well.

At the same time, various businessmen, impressed by the enduring success of hamburger stands, especially White Castle, capitalized on these cultural shifts by developing sophisticated franchise operations to run new fast food companies. The franchise was a distinct business strategy that standardized not only the specific product sold, but the very institution that sold it. This form of organization exploited economies of scale and therefore was highly successful; as one entrepreneur remarked, there was “more money to be made selling hamburger stands than hamburgers.”

Franchises were not unique to the 1950s; they had been around since the early decades of the twentieth century, patronized by a public increasingly used to and insistent upon the supposed reliability and trustworthiness of branded goods. White Castle was one of the first successful franchises, but was quickly followed by A & W Rootbeer in 1925, and Howard Johnson’s, which began operations in 1935. But it took the ideals of postwar culture to wholly support the fast-food franchises and make many of them into companies worth billions of dollars. The idea of the franchise operation itself was attractive, melding otherwise conflicting postwar desires: after the War, the big business economy was a reiteration of American power; that this economy was made up of small businesses simultaneously expressed traditional American values.

McDonald’s, the most successful fast food franchise, was started in 1955 by Ray A. Kroc (1902-1984), a Chicago milk shake machine salesman. While Kroc did not invent the hamburger, nor the concept of the hamburger stand, nor even the franchise system, he combined these elements in such an astute way as to make both his name and his company synonymous with fast food. When Kroc sold some of his milk shake equipment to Richard and Maurice McDonald of San Bernardino, California, for their popular hamburger stand, he was so impressed with their operation that he joined them in partnership in 1955. The first McDonald’s outlet opened in Des Plaines, Illinois, that same year. By 1960, Kroc had opened 228 of these “golden arches” drive-ins, selling fifteen-cent hamburgers, ten-cent french fries, and twenty-cent milkshakes; in 1961 Kroc bought out the McDonald brothers, name and all. Original McDonald’s architecture was red and white tile with a golden arch abutting each end of the building. Criticized as too gaudy, McDonald’s moved to a more modest brown brick design with a shingled mansard roof in the mid 1960s, but kept the golden arches, now attached to form an “M,” as their widely recognized logo.

Kroc’s success lay in his approach not specifically to cooking individual food items, but in conceiving of his franchise operation in its entirety. His outlets were food factories—everything was systematized to ensure sameness, even the smiles on the clerks’ faces. Kroc did not promise the best burger in the world, but the same burger throughout the world; indeed, the public came to accept this dictum, preferring predictability over quality. Every McDonald’s had the same menu and the same general layout (with minor variations to acknowledge regional differences). The workers, all dressed alike, used the same techniques and equipment to prepare the food in the same way. In addition, Kroc established these as “family” restaurants that were clean, well-lit, and free from pay phones and pin ball machines that would encourage loitering.

McDonald’s periodically introduced new products in response to perceived consumer demand and competition from other chains. The Filet-O-Fish entered the menu in 1962 in an attempt to attract

Catholic customers on Fridays. The “Chevy of Hamburgers,” the Big Mac, appeared in 1967 to directly compete with Burger King’s The Whopper. In 1971 McDonald’s introduced the Egg McMuffin, and developed an entire breakfast line from it. Chicken McNuggets were added in 1981.

The 1960s through the 1990s was considered the “golden age” of fast food, and saw the explosion of various fast food chains and the subsequent creation of “the strip” in almost every town—the piece of road or highway flanked by franchise after franchise—which became a trademark feature of the suburban landscape. Fast food restaurants along the strip sold not only hamburgers, but also hotdogs, fish, pizza, ice cream, chicken, and roast beef sandwiches. Their brightly colored, neon signs advertised such various businesses as A & W, Arby’s, Big Boy, Blimpie, Burger Chef, Burger King, Carrol’s, Church’s Chicken, Dairy Queen, Domino’s Pizza, Hardee’s, House of Pizza, Howard Johnson’s, Jack in the Box, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Long John Silver’s, Pizza Hut, Ralley’s, Red Barn, Roy Roger’s, Royal Castle, Sandy’s, Shakey’s Pizza, Taco Bell, Taco Time, Taco Tito’s, Tastee Freez, Wendy’s, White Castle, White Tower, and many others.

McDonald’s experienced its stiffest competition in the 1960s from Burger Chef, which was eventually sold to General Foods and absorbed by Hardee’s in the early 1970s. Burger King was a more enduring rival. It began in 1954 as a “walk-up” called InstaBurger King, and offered no interior seating. Dave Edgerton and Jim McLamore, its Miami founders, shortened the name to Burger King in 1957. While the business featured hamburgers, similar to McDonald’s and White Castle, it set itself apart by offering the “flame-broiled” Whopper—a much larger hamburger (one quarter of a pound compared to the 1.6 ounce McDonald’s hamburger)—and instituted an advertising campaign that promised people could “Have It Your Way,” by letting customers choose their own toppings.

Kentucky Fried Chicken, also a viable competitor to McDonald’s, took a different approach by offering stereotypical southern food—buckets of fried chicken, coleslaw, mashed potatoes, and biscuits and gravy. Founded by “Colonel” Harlan Sanders (1890-1980) in 1954, the franchise that made chicken “Finger Lickin’ Good” consisted of over 300 outlets by 1963 and was enjoying revenues of over \$500,000; by 1966 KFC had a gross income of \$15 million.

There were other fast food franchises that bear mentioning. Arby’s first appeared in 1964 in Boardman, Ohio, and was the brainchild of Forrest and Leroy Raffel, who tried to attract a more discriminating clientele by offering roast beef sandwiches, using an old west decor, and featuring more expensive menu items. Dairy Queen, started in 1944 by partners Harry Axene and John McCullough of Davenport, Iowa, sold hotdogs and ice cream, and had 2,500 outlets by 1948. Domino’s, with delivery-only pizza service, was founded by Tom Monaghan, who opened his first shop in 1960 and turned to franchising in 1967. At the end of 1986, Domino’s sold over 189 million pizzas, accruing sales of \$2 billion. Hardee’s, largely an imitation of Burger King, began in Greenville, North Carolina in 1961, and its outlets numbered over 900 by 1975. Howard Johnson’s, named for its founder and known for its bright orange rooftops and homemade ice cream, started out as a set of franchised roadside restaurants in 1935. By 1967 “HoJo’s” boasted over 800 restaurants, but was a victim of the “burger wars” in the 1980s, eventually going out of business.

Expanding into “ethnic food,” Taco Bell originated in 1962 in San Bernardino, California. Even though it came from the idea of Glen Bell, a telephone repairman, John Martin better merchandised the company beginning in 1983, and was responsible for much of its

success. Among other things, Martin omitted all ethnic symbols to counteract the negative associations people made with Mexican restaurants; he even changed the logo from a sleeping Mexican with a sombrero to a pastel-colored bell. Wendy’s, specializing in bigger, better, and more expensive hamburgers, introduced the first drive-thru windows at their restaurants, which were so popular that Burger King and McDonald’s had to follow suit. Founded in 1972 by R. Dave Thomas in Columbus, Ohio, it had 9 outlets and sales of \$1.8 million at the end of that same year.

McDonald’s, Burger King, Taco Bell, Wendy’s, and Kentucky Fried Chicken remained the most successful fast food chains at the end of the twentieth century, edging out most of their competitors during the “burger wars” of the late 1970s and 1980s, a time when large companies bought up fast food franchises and either made them more successful or put them out of business. There were other factors that also led to many franchise downfalls. Beginning in the 1970s, these operations were faced with increasing criticism about everything from employees’ working conditions and the nutritional value of the food they served, to the impact the “fast food” mentality was having on the public at large.

Franchise success was almost wholly based on the principles of standardization and a machine ethic. This included the laborers working within, who were treated as parts of the machine meant to run as efficiently as possible. Training was based on the idea that basic skills substituted for high turn-over rates—the guarantee that the food could still be made the same even from unskilled hands. The short order cook of the early diners, who was considered an artisan of sorts, was replaced by teenager working for minimum wage and no benefits.

Nutritionists targeted the composition of the meals themselves, identifying them as laden with too much fat, cholesterol, and sugar, and not enough vegetables. They worried that people eating a steady diet of fast food would go without basic nutrients, and also become too accustomed to unhealthy meals. Historian David Hogan underscored this point by remarking that “Americans consumed 50 percent more chicken and beef in 1976 than they had in 1960, mainly because the fast-food chains usually served only those two meats.”

Critics coined the pejorative phrase “fast food culture” as a metaphor for the quick-service industries and excessive standardization seen in late-twentieth-century culture and consumption. This homogenization, they believed, not only affected American culture, erasing once vibrant ethnic and regional traditions, but also was beginning to influence the entire world—a cultural imperialism enacted on an international level.

The major franchises tried to combat these critiques to greater and lesser success. They hired older workers in an attempt to seem beneficent, giving job opportunities to those past retirement age while never addressing the real issue of wages. To counter the protests of nutritionists, they introduced salad bars and “lean” burgers, which were largely ignored by fast food customers. They tried to soften their image in a number of ways, chiefly by marketing themselves as family restaurants.

They also targeted children, creating loyal future consumers as well. Most chains had mascots. McDonald’s had Ronald McDonald, a clown who debuted in 1963. (Ronald was so successful that a study conducted in 1973 found that 96 percent of American children recognized him, second only to Santa Claus). Ronald’s friends who lived in “McDonaldland” with him included Grimace, the Hamburglar,

Mayor McCheese, Captain Crook, and the Professor. McDonald's also built brightly-colored playgrounds at their restaurants beginning in the 1980s. Burger King's mascot was the Magic Burger King. Kentucky Fried Chicken used the colorful Colonel himself as a spokesman long after he had sold the rights to his company. Most fast food franchises also introduced specially packaged children's meals that contained prizes; many were even sites for children's birthday parties. In addition, these franchises openly founded or contributed to charitable organizations. McDonald's established Ronald McDonald houses which provided lodging to parents whose children were getting treatment in nearby hospitals. Both Burger King and Wendy's supported programs for needy children, and Colonel Sanders was an outspoken supporter of the March of Dimes.

By the final decades of the twentieth century, Americans had fully embraced their "fast food culture." In 1994 alone, fast food restaurants in the United States sold over 5 billion hamburgers, making it a favorite meal and an important commodity. In 1996, seven percent of the population ate at the 11,400 McDonald's each day; males from their mid-teens to their early 30s comprised 75 percent of this business. By this time, fast food had become a cultural phenomenon that reached beyond America's borders. In 1996 McDonald's owned over 7,000 restaurants in other countries, including: 1,482 in Japan; 430 in France; 63 in China; two each in Bulgaria and Andorra; and one in Croatia. These outlets acknowledged some cultural differences—in Germany they sold beer, in France they sold wine, and in Saudi Arabia they had separate sections for men and women and closed four times a day for prayers. But for the most part the fast food fare was the same, homogenizing culture on an international level. The overwhelming success of the fast food culture invasion, and of McDonald's in particular, was realized when that chain opened its first store in India in 1996, and sold no hamburgers at all.

—Wendy Woloson

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## Fatal Attraction

Released in 1987 by Paramount Pictures, *Fatal Attraction* was one of the biggest box-office attractions of the year. More than just a popular success, the film, directed by Adrian Lyne, was a cultural phenomenon, inspiring discussion across the nation. The film is the story of an extramarital affair between Dan Gallagher, played by Michael Douglas, a married attorney and father of one, and Alex Forrest, a single, successful professional played by Glenn Close. After a brief, and seemingly uninvolved two night fling, Gallagher is stalked and terrorized by the obsessed Alex. The film sparked a new genre—that of the female psychopath—that included such films as *The Hand That Rocks the Cradle* (1992), *Single White Female* (1992), and *Basic Instinct* (1992). Though dangerous women have existed long before *Fatal Attraction*, the murderous female characters in these films were more violent, sexualized, and devious. Many critics view *Fatal Attraction* as characteristic of the 1980s and 1990s backlash against the feminist movement. The character of Alex, with her gender-neutral name, financial independence, and ability to express and act on her desire, though a far cry from the traditional Hollywood depiction of women as passive sexual objects, presented female power as destructive and deadly.

—Frances Gateway

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## Father Divine (18??-1965)

Despite certain ambiguities of character, the self-appointed Father Divine was undoubtedly both charismatic and clever and prospered in one of the few leadership roles open to black males in early twentieth-century America. Divine's theology blended various Christian traditions with a belief in positive thinking in ways that foreshadowed a number of contemporary New Age spiritual trends; and his career demonstrated how a promise of religious salvation, political progress and the philanthropic provision of basic social services can attract a large following in times of racial and economic turmoil. From obscure and humble origins Father Divine fashioned himself into a cult leader of god-like pretensions and created a controversial church whose beliefs fascinated America throughout the 1930s and 1940s.

There are a number of competing versions of the history of his early life—sources conflict as to his birthdate, variously noted as between 1874 and 1882—but the most plausible account is that





**Father Divine**

Divine was born George Baker to ex-slave parents in a Maryland African-American ghetto in about 1880. By the early years of the twentieth century he was traveling with a wandering evangelist who styled himself Father Jehovia, while the young Baker called himself the Messenger. After some years of preaching together they parted, and Baker began to refer himself as Major Jealous Devine and to proclaim himself as God. With a small band of followers in tow, he moved to New York where he changed his name yet again to Father Divine.

By 1919 he had obtained a base for his new Universal Peace Mission Movement in Sayville, Long Island, where his preaching initially attracted a mainly black audience. The years following World War I had seen a massive migration of southern African Americans to northern industrial cities, and Divine's message of self-respect and racial equality drew an increasingly large following. The Universal Peace Mission mandated celibacy and modesty and shunned improvidence and debt, but it was its provision of employment, cheap lodgings, and inexpensive food to its adherents during the Great Depression that brought thousands of worshippers, white as well as black, flocking to Sayville. The influx aroused the ire of local residents whose complaints resulted in Father Divine's arrest. He was charged with disturbing the peace, convicted in 1932, and sentenced to a year in jail. The court proceedings brought Divine widespread

notoriety when, two days after sentencing him, the judge suffered a fatal heart attack. From his prison cell, the self-styled "God" proclaimed "I hated to do it"—a remark that, trumpeted by the media, confirmed their leader's claims to divine being among his followers.

Moving the mission's headquarters to Harlem, Divine continued to attract national attention on two fronts: by his lavish lifestyle and rumors of his sexual adventures, and by the progressive social ideas his believers practiced. The Mission's services were scrupulously integrated racially, and the movement led the way in pressing for anti-lynching laws and for public facilities to be open to all races. In a time of economic disaster it rejected relief and welfare and bought hotels, which it termed "heavens," where its members could live modest, mutually supportive lives free of alcohol, tobacco and reliance on credit.

In 1946 Divine was again in the headlines when he married one of his young followers, a white Canadian woman named Edna Rose Hitchings, also known as Sweet Angel. By the 1950s, however, he was in deteriorating health. His public profile dwindled alongside the importance of his movement as other, less outrageous, African-American leaders rose to prominence. Father Divine died in 1965 at his Philadelphia estate, where his wife, known as Mother Divine, was still presiding over the remains of the Universal Peace Mission Movement in the late 1990s.

—Gerry Bowler

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## *Father Knows Best*

*Father Knows Best*, which began life as a radio series in 1949, evolved into a CBS television sitcom in 1954. An archetypal representation of 1950s ideals of family life, it came to be regarded as an important influence on American family values. Actor Robert Young (the only member of the original radio cast who continued his role on television) starred as Jim Anderson, an agent for the General Insurance Company, who lived with his wife, Margaret, and their three children at 607 South Maple Lane in Springfield, a wholesome Midwestern suburban community. Jane Wyatt co-starred as Margaret Anderson, and their offspring—17-year-old Betty (called "Princess" by her father), 14-year-old Jim Jr. (or Bud), and Kathy, the baby of the family at age nine and fondly known as "Kitten" to her dad, were played by Elinor Donahue, Billy Gray, and Lauren Chapin respectively. The stories revolved around the various exploits of the Anderson family, whose problems were neatly solved in each 30-minute episode by listening to Father (and, by extension, Mother) and doing the right thing.

Although critically acclaimed, the show's initial season on television in the Sunday 10:00 p.m. slot was considered a ratings failure, and CBS canceled it in the spring of 1955. Despite the ratings, the cancellation brought protests from viewers, who demanded not



The cast of *Father Knows Best*.

only the return of the show but an earlier time slot to allow the youngsters to watch it. This audience reaction brought a response from NBC, who picked up the show, aired it earlier, and were rewarded with a hit. Robert Young decided to leave in 1960, but such was the show's popularity that CBS, in a highly unusual move for network television, aired re-runs in prime time for two more years.

The most remarkable episode of *Father Knows Best*, however, was never seen on television. In a move that pointed toward the national importance it had assumed in its healthy depiction of family life, the U.S. Treasury Department commissioned a special episode in 1959 to be distributed to schools and civic organizations throughout the country. Titled "24 Hours in Tyrantland," the story disseminated a masterful piece of Cold War propaganda through the plot device of Jim Anderson being asked to head Springfield's U.S. Savings Bond drive. Delighted at being charged with this worthwhile task, Jim decides to enlist the help of his family in the campaign. Predictably, Margaret is entirely supportive, but the kids, caught up in other concerns, are less than enthusiastic. Upset by their unwillingness to help, Jim strikes a bargain: he gives them each the cost of a U.S. Savings Bond, but decrees their home a Communist state for 24 hours. If, he tells them, they can stand to live in "Tyrantland" for 24 hours, they can keep the money to use however they choose. If they don't make it, they have to use the money to buy a bond and help him in the drive. Throughout the day, "tyrant" Jim works them to the bone and taxes them into poverty, while they repeatedly assert the unfairness of the situation. Jim reacts to their complaints as would a man who has no concept of fairness. The children make it through the 24 hours, but, just when time is up and Betty is about to go out on her Saturday evening date, Jim turns back the clock an hour. The tyrant is all-powerful; he can even reverse time. This is too much for Betty, who breaks down and sees the error of her ways. She is now proud to help sell bonds, and her siblings follow suit.

Over a 20-year period from the 1970s, reruns of *Father Knows Best* have frequently been seen on television, offering a nostalgic reminder to the baby boomers who came of age watching this almost perfect suburban family. Like many a sitcom of its period, it came to acquire the camp appeal of the quaintly outmoded, particularly in its treatment of gender issues. Women knew their place in the Anderson family (and in 1950s America), and in the rare instances when they momentarily lose sight of that place, some revelatory incident gently nudges them into submission, because "Father knows best."

—Joyce Linehan

## Father's Day

The origin of Father's Day represents a grassroots phenomenon that characterizes American reverence for the family. Although deeply rooted in North American social culture, the popularity—and, some might say, the commercial exploitativeness—of Father's Day has crossed national boundaries to become popular in other countries such as Canada and Britain. Americans and Canadians set aside the third Sunday in June as the day when children show their appreciation and gratitude for their fathers, but the earliest Father's Day celebration on record appears to have been held on July 5, 1908, in a church in Fairmont, West Virginia.

Father's Day was first celebrated in local towns and cities scattered across America. The citizens of Vancouver, Washington

claim to have been the first town to officially hold a Father's Day ceremony, beginning in 1912. In 1915, the president of the Uptown Lions Club in Chicago was hailed as the "Originator of Father's Day" when he suggested that the Lions hold a Father's Day celebration on the third Sunday in June of that year. The day was chosen as being closest to President Wilson's birthday.

Perhaps the most famous promoter of this holiday, though, was Sonora Smart Dodd of Spokane, Washington. Her inspiration for a Father's Day celebration came while she was listening to a Mother's Day sermon in 1909. Dodd wished to show appreciation to her own father because he had raised six children after her mother died in 1898. Her own father's birthday was June 5, so she petitioned the Spokane Ministerial Association to set aside that day in June of 1910 as a special day to honor fathers. The Association honored her request, but changed the date of the celebration to June 19. On that day, the city of Spokane became the first city to honor fathers in this way, beating Vancouver's official claim by two years.

The governor of Washington took note of the celebration and declared that the entire state should observe the day as Father's Day. Newspapers around the country carried stories about Spokane's celebration of Father's Day, and the celebration soon received national recognition. In 1916, President Woodrow Wilson joined in a celebration of Father's Day by pressing a button in Washington D.C. which caused a flag to unroll in Spokane. In 1924, President Calvin Coolidge recommended that the third Sunday in June be set aside as "Father's Day" in all states.

In the following years, there were several attempts to pass a resolution in Congress declaring Father's Day an official holiday. In 1957, Senator Margaret Chase Smith attempted to pass such a resolution, arguing that it was the "most grievous insult imaginable" that Father's Day had not been recognized as an official holiday, despite the fact that Mother's Day had been celebrated as a national holiday since 1914. Finally, in 1972, President Nixon signed a law making Father's Day an official national holiday.

This holiday is marked by many interesting traditions. Roses are worn to honor Fathers: red for living fathers and white for those who have died. Many families celebrate the day by preparing the father's favorite meal, while children often buy special gifts for their fathers. The necktie is a perennial favorite, though power tools have become a popular choice in smaller towns, especially in the northern states. In larger cities, where a growing number of employers allow casual dress at work, sports shirts have become a popular gift. Thus, the customs of Father's Day can be seen to have evolved to reflect social change. Over two thousand different Father's Day cards are available each year—less than the variety on offer for Mother's Day and Valentine's Day—but Father's Day cards hold the distinction of having the highest percentage of humor. Approximately 100 million of these cards are sold annually, compared to sales of around 150 million Mother's Day cards, but both are far outstripped by the almost 900 million Valentine's Day cards given each year.

Numerous churches continue the century-long tradition of recognizing fathers. Sermons often honor fathers and deliver encouragement to stronger family relationships. Indeed, for all the commercial and private family aspects of Father's Day, churches in America have remained the backbone of organized Father's Day celebrations, continuing to pay tribute to the work and dedication of fathers in a society that has seen many changes and convulsions in family life during the late twentieth century.

—James H. Lloyd

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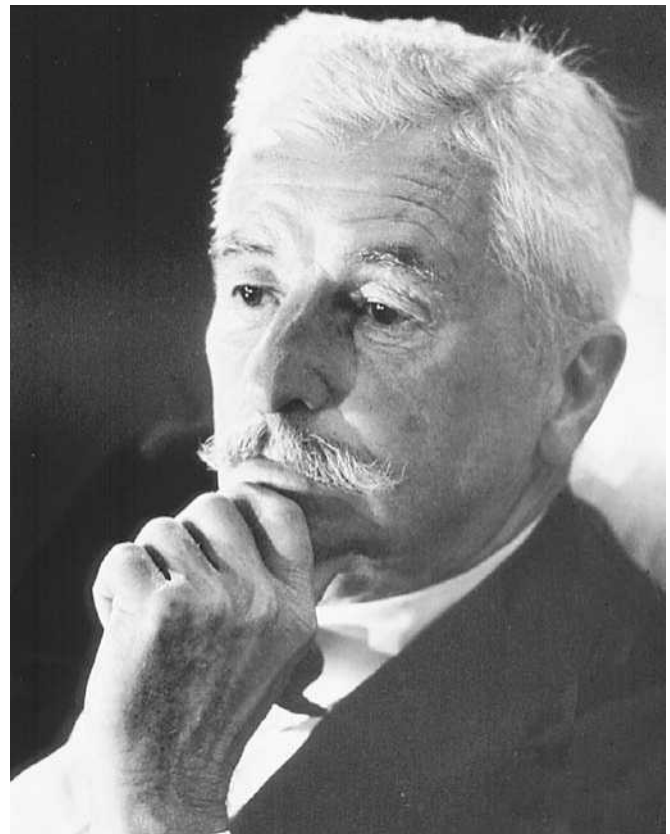
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## Faulkner, William (1897-1962)

William Faulkner is widely regarded not only as the greatest American novelist but also as one of the great novelists of world literature. Born September 25, 1897, in New Albany, Mississippi, Faulkner spent most of his life in Oxford, Mississippi, the small town that provided inspiration for his novels. He began his writing career as a poet, but soon turned to prose, although he retained a poetic, flowery style. His first novel, *Soldier's Pa* (1926), was a typical postwar novel of disillusion. *Mosquitoes* (1927), a Huxley-style novel of ideas, concerned a group of artists and intellectuals. Not until *Flags in the Dust* did Faulkner find inspiration in his Southern heritage. He invented the town of Jefferson, Mississippi, modeled after his own Oxford, and peopled it with dozens of characters based on his family



William Faulkner

and townsmen, most of whom reappear in later novels. In the Southern setting Faulkner found the great themes that would occupy him for the remainder of his career: family curses, the burden of guilt that slavery had left upon whites, the romance of the Southern aristocracy and its ghostly influence upon modern social codes, the transmission of a defeated culture through the telling of stories and gossip, the advent of the automobile and its intrusion upon the settled ways of the rural South. In these themes one finds the clash of old and new, past and present, fiction and reality, absolutism and relativity, which Faulkner would develop further in later novels. *Flags* was a long, complex, and fragmented novel, and the editors drastically cut the manuscript and published it as *Sartoris* in 1929. (A partially restored edition was published as *Flags in the Dust* in 1973).

Upset by the changes and convinced that he would never make money from novels, Faulkner began writing for himself rather than for the public. He wrote *The Sound and the Fury* (1929), a book that he thought no one would ever understand. It is indeed one of the most difficult novels ever published, but it is also one of the greatest. Abandoning the rambling, omniscient style of *Sartoris*, Faulkner utilized several modernist techniques: multiple narrators and jumbled chronology that had been used so successfully by Joseph Conrad, and the James Joyce-ian stream-of-consciousness technique that meticulously reports the thoughts of characters without the filter of dialogue or paraphrase. Thus, the simple story of Caddy, a rebellious girl who loses her virginity, becomes very complex: each of the first three sections is told by one of her three brothers, who reveal through their thoughts what Caddy's loss of virginity means to them. The final section is told by an omniscient narrator, but focuses on the family's servant, an aged black woman who knows that Caddy's loss of virginity does not mean anything at all.

It is ironic, but highly significant, that Caddy does not tell her own story. This decentralization of the main character has significant modernist implications: Faulkner implies that there is no objective reality, that all exists in the eyes of the perceiver, that meaning does not inhere in facts and deeds but is assigned to them by the perceiver—hence the objective, meaningless *sound* and the subjective, interpretive *fury*. Thus, concepts like virginity, honor, and sin are not God-given constants; they are social constructs created within a patriarchal society. These modernist ideas reverberated throughout the century. However, *The Sound and the Fury* is no mere novel of ideas. It is a gripping, passionate tale of human love and suffering. Faulkner's genius lies in the artistic union of the universal and the particular: the treatment of cosmic themes through vivid, sympathetic portraits of believable characters.

After *The Sound and the Fury*, Faulkner continued to experiment with narrative techniques and to explore universal themes through the microcosm of the South. *As I Lay Dying* (1930), *Light in August* (1932), *Absalom, Absalom!* (1936), and *Go Down, Moses* (1942) are all considered masterpieces of modernist fiction. Less experimental but also great are *Sanctuary* (1931), *The Unvanquished* (1938), and *The Hamlet* (1940).

Unfortunately, only *Sanctuary*, a stark potboiler about gangsters and prostitutes, sold well, and Faulkner was forced to write for Hollywood in order to make money. His screen credits included *To Have and Have Not* (1944) and *The Big Sleep* (1946). The drunken screenwriter in the film *Barton Fink* (1991) seems to be based on Faulkner during his Hollywood years.

In 1946, when all his novels were out of print, *The Portable Faulkner* was published. This anthology gradually exposed him to a wider audience, and in 1950 Faulkner was awarded the 1949 Nobel

Prize, followed by the Pulitzer Prize in 1954. Faulkner's career in the 1950s was devoted to filling in the history of the mythic town of Jefferson and Yoknapatawpha County. This work is marked by continuing experimentation, but also a decline in emotion, giving way to a hyperbolic rhetoric that makes the some of these novels almost unbearable. These problems may have been related to his life-long battle with alcoholism. Faulkner died on July 6, 1962, leaving scholarships for black students and grants for the advancement of American literature.

Because of his radical experiments, his recondite diction, and his long, convoluted sentences that sometimes last several pages, Faulkner is notoriously difficult, and has never attained widespread readership. Nevertheless, his books sell by the thousands each semester in college bookstores, and students find their efforts rewarded by a powerful intellectual experience. He had a great influence on the French "New Novelists" of the 1950s and Latin American authors of the "Boom" period of the 1960s. As one of the great modernists, Faulkner has influenced almost every writer today, whether they have read him or not. Often noted for his cinematic qualities, many of Faulkner's techniques are now used routinely in movies and television (notably *The Godfather Part Two*). Whether we realize it or not, we are more sophisticated viewers and readers because of Faulkner.

Another more amusing legacy is the annual Faux Faulkner contest. A prize is awarded to the writer of the funniest parody of Faulkner's distinctive style. The contest is sponsored by Jack Daniels Distillery.

—Douglas Cooke

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## Fauset, Jessie Redmon (1882-1961)

Writer Jessie Redmon Fauset represented the emergence of an authentic African-American voice in American literature. Fauset corresponded with W.E.B. Du Bois while she attended language courses at Cornell University. Impressed by her writing, Du Bois invited Fauset to join the staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) magazine, *The Crisis*. As literary editor from 1919 to 1926, Fauset encouraged black writers, serving as a mentor to such artists as Langston Hughes, who said she was one of the "midwives" of the Harlem Renaissance. Fauset wrote four novels, *There Is Confusion* (1924), *Plum Bun* (1929), *The Chinaberry Tree* (1931), and *Comedy, American Style* (1933). Racial identity was a major theme of Fauset's work. Her writing stressed her belief that middle class African Americans could overcome prejudice but not self-loathing. Through her characters,

Fauset revealed the complex literary and artistic lives of Harlem Renaissance figures, including herself. Hoping to mitigate racism, she wanted to enlighten white Americans about the realities of African-Americans' experiences. Fauset also developed *The Brownies' Book*, a monthly publication for black children in 1920 and 1921. Fauset's novels were reprinted during the 1960s Civil Rights Movement.

—Elizabeth D. Schafer

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## Fawcett, Farrah (1947—)

Best known for her role in the television series *Charlie's Angels*, which ran on ABC from 1976-1981, Farrah Fawcett became one of the biggest influences on American style during the late 1970s. With a



Farrah Fawcett

plot that revolved around a trio of female private investigators—Fawcett and costars Kate Jackson and Jaclyn Smith—the campy TV show relied heavily on the physical attributes of its leading actresses. As the standout on the series during its first season, the blonde, attractive Fawcett set the trend for millions of women, who copied her trademark feathered hair and bought hair care products marketed under her name. But it wasn't only women who liked Farrah. The most popular poster of the decade, featuring Fawcett's toothy smile, flipped-back, bushy mane, and slim, athletic physique shown off in a wet swimsuit, became a staple on untold numbers of boys' bedroom walls during the era. After becoming a superstar on the top-rated show during the 1976-77 season, Fawcett left to pursue more serious acting roles, but met with little success. She never reclaimed the status that she once held, although she continued to appear regularly on television and in films into the 1990s and retained a cult following by those enamored with 1970s nostalgia.

Mary Farrah Leni Fawcett was born on February 2, 1947, in Corpus Christi, Texas. She attended Catholic school until the sixth grade, after which she went to public school at W. B. Ray High School. She then enrolled at the University of Texas in Austin, where she planned to study microbiology, but later changed her major to art. In college, she began modeling for newspaper advertisements and art classes. When she was voted one of the ten most beautiful women on campus, a publicist contacted her and suggested that she pursue a career in entertainment. At the end of her junior year, Fawcett went to Hollywood, landed an agent, and met actor Lee Majors, who helped jumpstart her acting career. They married in 1973 but divorced in 1982.

During the 1960s, Fawcett guest starred on a number of popular television shows, while maintaining a lucrative career on the side as a model. She appeared in top magazines and on commercials for Noxzema shaving cream, Ultra-Brite toothpaste, and Wella Balsam shampoo. In 1969 she saw her screen debut in the French film *Love Is a Funny Thing*, and in the early 1970s she began to find work in television movies. Her big break came in 1976, when she was cast as one of three attractive female private eyes, who work for a mysterious, wealthy man, in *Charlie's Angels*. Playing the athletic Jill Munroe, Fawcett's character was known for her sense of humor and card skills. Kate Jackson was cast as the intelligent Sabrina Duncan, while Jaclyn Smith provided street smarts as Kelly Garrett.

*Charlie's Angels* became the top-rated show of the 1976-77 season, thanks to its appeal to both men and women. Men enjoyed watching the women clad in scanty costumes as they went undercover as prostitutes or go-go dancers, and they relished the melodramatic situations that found the trio tied up by ne'er-do-wells. However, women also enjoyed the program, finding a feminist slant amid the eroticism because the program broke ground as a prime-time action-adventure program that featured the women in a variety of daring situations. Women viewers appreciated the Angels' courage, quick thinking, and resourcefulness—they were quick draws and could hold their own in a fight—in addition to their stylish sensuality.

Fawcett quickly emerged as the most popular of the three stars. Her wholesome likeness spawned a cottage industry of merchandise, including one of the defining pieces of 1970s popular culture: the famous Farrah Fawcett poster. An estimated six million of these pictures were eventually sold, and Farrah's image also landed on T-shirts, lunch boxes, and more. Salons nationwide turned out scores of women with the curled-back, mussed-up coiffure, and teenage boys everywhere tacked the picture to their bedroom walls. With her career at its peak, Fawcett left *Charlie's Angels* after the first season to pursue more serious drama.

Farrah initially found it hard to break away from her *Charlie's Angels* image and at first her foray into serious acting met with little luck. Finally, in 1981, Fawcett landed a role in the comedy *Cannonball Run*, starring Burt Reynolds, and also that year starred in the made-for-television movie, *Murder in Texas*. Fawcett subsequently found her niche in made-for-TV movies, particularly those based on true stories, and was highly acclaimed for her role in the 1984 television movie, *The Burning Bed*, an emotional tale of domestic abuse. Her acting in *Extremities*, a dramatic film about a woman who is attacked by a rapist in her own house, was also highly praised. Fawcett made news again in 1995 after posing for nude pictures in *Playboy* magazine and a video. Two years later, the media focused positive attention on her acting again for her role in *The Apostle* (1977).

Fawcett began a long-term relationship with actor Ryan O'Neal in the early 1980s and has a son, Redmond O'Neal, with him, but the couple broke up in 1997. Fawcett later began dating producer James Orr, who was convicted of assaulting her in 1998 in a highly publicized scandal, that was played up in the tabloids. Though Fawcett has never been one of Hollywood's top leading actresses, and has enjoyed only a sporadic television career, she made a lasting imprint on the style of the 1970s during her heyday and is still regaled on a number of fan web sites by nostalgia buffs and longstanding fans.

—Geri Speace

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## Fawly Towers

*Fawly Towers* was a British television comedy starring John Cleese as hotel proprietor Basil Fawly. Cleese, one of the original members of *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, returned to television as the writer and star of *Fawly Towers*. Although only twelve episodes were produced (six in 1975, six in 1979), it remains one of the most widely syndicated comedy series in television history, and continues in regular syndication on public television stations throughout the United States to this day. Much as *All in the Family* broke ground by portraying a flawed family, *Fawly Towers* took the premise to its comedic extreme. Fawly and his wife constantly argued, insulted each others' intelligence, and generally made each other miserable. Their pointed barbs and insults marked a new high (or low) in television dialogue. *Fawly Towers* proved critically, if not commercially, successful. The series garnered two British Association of Film and Theatre Actors awards for Best Comedy Series and Cleese received an award from The Royal Television Society for his writing and acting.

—Geoff Peterson

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## FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation)

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is housed under the Department of Justice with field offices throughout the country. Its agents are responsible for federal cases as diverse as white collar crime, serial killing, and espionage. Attorney General Charles Bonaparte and President Theodore Roosevelt established the forerunner of the FBI in 1908 with the designation of Special Agents assigned to the Department of Justice. Their desire to create a bureau of agents to strengthen the Federal Government's crime fighting capabilities grew out of the early nineteenth-century Progressive era's desire for reform. The Department of Justice's agents later formed the Bureau of Investigation, the United States Bureau of Investigation, and finally, in 1935, the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The American public calls the agency simply by its initials or as the Bureau.

Known individually as the dashing secret agent saving America from communism or as the mysterious man in black, FBI agents have enjoyed a leading role in American popular culture almost since the Bureau's inception. Radio shows, movies, novels, magazines, and television shows have all featured the FBI agent and his adventures. The American public called both real life and fictional FBI agents "G-men." The FBI's public popularity demonstrates the American public's fascination with crime and punishment as moral drama between good and evil. As scholar Richard Gid Powers notes, "a formula adapts the universal myth to the national experience so that national history might be understood as an instance of the eternal struggle between good and evil." The FBI and its agents became potent forces in this eternal struggle as it played out in American popular culture.

The FBI gained power and popular notoriety during the gangster era of the 1920s and 1930s. This era was characterized by a general sense of lawlessness accompanying the Constitutional Amendment prohibiting the use of alcohol as well as the despair and fear brought about by the 1929 stock market crash and the Great Depression. Organized crime became increasingly visible because of its involvement in the production and distribution of illegal alcohol. Americans felt that they were witnessing illegal activity with increasing frequency and that criminals were lurking on every corner. The famous kidnapping and murder of Charles Lindbergh's infant son and the crimes of the legendary gangster Al Capone captured Americans' imaginations and they demanded revenge. Powers explained that the American public feared that this seeming crime explosion was undermining the country's moral base. These developments led to a desire for a strong national crime fighting presence both in reality and in popular culture. People also sought escape from the troubling times through popular entertainment. Popular culture anointed the FBI as the nation's solution to the problem of the mythical public enemy. Gangsters and their FBI pursuers quickly found their way into movies, detective fiction, magazines, and radio shows. Popular culture helped the FBI agent become a beacon of hope that American values would survive the crime wave and the economic despair of the nation.

No figure has been more closely associated with the popular image of the FBI as national defense against crime than J. Edgar Hoover, the Bureau's most infamous leader. President Calvin Coolidge selected Hoover as the young Bureau's next head in 1924. Hoover quickly gave the Bureau a more professional image and greater strength by firing unqualified agents and establishing formal



A kidnapping victim's body is carried away by FBI agents after being discovered in a shallow grave in St. Joseph, Missouri, 1953.

training for all agents at the newly created National Academy in Quantico, Virginia. He also oversaw the creation of the FBI's Technical Laboratory and the establishment of a nationally centralized fingerprint database to aid in tracking criminals. Hoover was not only a great leader, he was also a great publicity agent who carefully presided over the growing public popularity of both himself and his organization. In his day, Hoover was a dominant presence that the government, his agents, and the public both feared and admired. Though Hoover and his G-Men set the early standard for the quintessential FBI agent, Hoover's image did not survive his death in 1972 and a subsequent public reevaluation of his methods. He became widely associated with the negative image of government as "Big Brother," spying on the average citizen and maintaining secret files. He also gained much notoriety with his widely rumored penchant for cross-dressing. Hoover's legacy also became entwined with the increasingly negative American popular images of government that began in the late 1950s and 1960s.

The middle decades of the twentieth century witnessed a growing public distrust of government and its official representatives for a number of reasons. The FBI was not immune to this image problem. Some of the government's most notorious actions involved the

witchhunts for suspected communists that dominated the World War I, World War II, and Cold War periods. The FBI assisted Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer during World War I in the quest to expose American communists and communist sympathizers. The FBI then gained its own power to investigate subversives during World War II. When Senator Joseph McCarthy and the House Un-American Activities Committee went too far in the minds of most Americans, all government officials involved in the hunt for communists were caught in the scandal. The FBI's role in detecting subversion, sabotage, and espionage had at first enhanced its image as protector of the American way of life but ultimately led to a more negative image of the FBI as "Big Brother." During the 1960s, the FBI's image suffered again. Many Americans found the FBI's overall treatment of minorities and those people the Bureau labeled as subversives to be questionable at best. Many citizens felt that the FBI unjustly persecuted anti-establishment groups such as anti-Vietnam War demonstrators, radical students, and minority activists. The FBI was also involved in such controversial 1960s civil rights investigations as the Mississippi murders of three civil rights workers later immortalized in the movie *Mississippi Burning*. The culmination of the growing popular cynicism toward government and authority,

however, is widely regarded as the 1970s Watergate scandal that brought down the Presidency of Richard Nixon.

The FBI also garnered a negative image by figuring prominently in a number of conspiracy theories that captured the American imagination. Perhaps the most famous of these theories have revolved around the 1963 assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Much controversy surrounded the official Warren Commission's report of the events responsible for Kennedy's death and the naming of Lee Harvey Oswald as the sole killer. Oliver Stone offered one of the most famous treatments of these conspiracy theories in his movie *JFK*. Conspiracy theories have also circulated widely on the question of whether UFOs existed and whether the government was responsible for covering up any such knowledge. Many rumors centered on the alleged crash of one such UFO at Roswell, New Mexico. The popularity of the 1990s television show *The X-Files* proved that the popularity of these theories of alien contact continued to thrive into the late twentieth century. The show portrayed two FBI agents assigned to investigate unexplained X-File cases of possible paranormal and extraterrestrial activity as well as government conspiracies to conceal the truth. Lingering questions over FBI involvement in hampering the search for truth in matters such as what really happened to John F. Kennedy and are we alone in the universe continued to hurt the Bureau's credibility.

The latter decades of the twentieth century witnessed a revival of the get-tough-on-crime stance that first made the FBI popular in the 1920s and 1930s. The largely positive response from the American public to this stance was due to an alarming growth of terrorist incidents, the illegal drug trade, and white collar crime. Infamous serial killers such as Ted Bundy and Jeffrey Dahmer also instilled fear into the American public. But crime fighting techniques were developed to combat these threats. The FBI behavioral sciences unit pioneered the technique of profiling violent and serial offenders as DNA technology greatly aided the fight against crime. The television show *America's Most Wanted* as well as the Bureau's Ten Most Wanted lists involved the public in the FBI's manhunts.

Despite the events that recaptured the "tough guy" image of the FBI, other incidents challenged the public's views of the Bureau's policies. The 1992 death of a U. S. Marshall led to a standoff at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, between the FBI and fugitive Randall Weaver during which Weaver's wife was accidentally killed by a sniper's bullet. The Branch Davidians led by David Koresh isolated themselves in their compound near Waco, Texas, leading to another FBI siege in 1993. This siege later ended amid much controversy when some cult members deliberately set fire to their compound rather than surrender. The negative publicity garnered by these events and led to governmental inquiries into the FBI's conduct. They also quickly became made for television movies. While the FBI's role has always centered on the mythical struggle between the forces of good and evil, the FBI's changing image shows that it is often difficult to distinguish between these seemingly diametrically opposite forces.

—Marcella Bush Treviño

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## Feliciano, José (1945—)

José Feliciano is one of the most passionate balladeers and guitar virtuosos on the popular music scene. Because of his bilingual abilities, Feliciano has achieved popularity throughout the Americas where his English and Spanish language albums have often topped the charts. His 1968 *Feliciano!* is today considered a classic as is his number one hit single "Light My Fire."

Born the second of twelve children on September 10, 1945, in Puerto Rico, Feliciano was raised on the Lower East Side of New York City. Feliciano was born blind from congenital glaucoma, but nevertheless was a musical prodigy who by age six was playing instruments. Today, he is known to perform credibly not only on his



José Feliciano



favorite, the guitar, but also on the bass, banjo, organ, mandolin, harmonica, piano, harpsichord, and several Afro-Caribbean percussion instruments. Because of his exposure to both Latin and American pop musical traditions, Feliciano developed an eclectic taste and style, and has been able to master folk, flamenco, salsa, rock guitar, and vocals. His folk-rock performances got him onto stages at the beginning of his career during his teens, in Greenwich Village cafes. At age 17, Feliciano dropped out of high school to become a professional musician, with his first road show booked at the Retort Coffee House in Detroit in 1963. He soon signed a recording contract with RCA Victor and became a frequent performer at coffee houses and night clubs around the country and in San Juan, Puerto Rico resort hotels.

Feliciano's first album, *The Voice and Guitar of José Feliciano*, appeared and went unnoticed in 1964, and both he and RCA experimented for the next few years in finding an appropriate niche for the eclectic singer and musician. In those years, the greatest success came with Feliciano's Spanish language recordings and his Latin American tours; in 1966, for instance, his concert in Buenos Aires drew an audience of 100,000. Finally in 1968, his album *Feliciano!*, which included the Doors' "Light My Fire," achieved mainstream success. "Light My Fire" became the third most popular single that year and *Feliciano!* reached number two on the album charts. To top this, Feliciano won Grammy awards for Best New Artist of 1968 and Best Contemporary Male Pop Vocal Performance for "Light My Fire."

After 1968, Feliciano has continued as a standard and recognized artist in both American and Latin pop music, but has never again achieved the popularity or success in the United States that he had that stellar year. One tune, however, has made Feliciano a seasonal staple—his bilingual classic "Feliz Navidad (I Wanna Wish You a Merry Christmas)." Feliciano has, however, remained enormously popular internationally, especially in Latin America and Europe. He has earned 40 international gold and platinum records and won Grammy awards for best Latin pop performance in 1983, 1986, 1989, and 1990.

In the mid-1970s, Feliciano left RCA and went on to record with a number of other houses. At times, his relationships with the studios have been rocky because the performer insists on his unique style and on "doing it my way." Feliciano's way has pioneered a place for intercultural musicians and opened up a new space for Hispanics in American pop culture.

—Nicolás Kanellos

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## Felix the Cat

The creation of Otto Messmer (1892-1983) and Pat Sullivan (1885-1933), Felix the Cat first appeared as an animated cartoon

character (under another name) in 1919 in *Feline Follies*. Felix had a lively personality, an expressive manner, and solved problems in a creative fashion. For this later facet of Felix's personality his creators took full advantage of the animation medium and metamorphosed body parts into useful tools. The first major funny animal character to star in a series of animated cartoons, Felix appeared in some 150 shorts in the 1920s before the introduction of new sound technology saw his popularity wane. Meantime, however, King Features had commenced a Felix the Cat comic strip in 1923 and his trademark likeness had been licensed to many products.

Not only was Felix the first star of animation, he was also the product of a particular business arrangement that would become commonplace in animation studios. Messmer and Sullivan were the creative force behind the character. Messmer, a talented artist, took creative control of the movies and Sullivan, a lesser artist but a driven entrepreneur, arranged distribution and licensing. Sullivan retained all rights for the character and for many years his was the only name publicly associated with Felix. Messmer remained an employee.

Messmer, the son of German immigrants, was born just across the river from New York in Union City. Before joining Sullivan he worked variously as a scene painter, cartoonist, and as an animator for Henry "Hy" Mayer. Sullivan, of Irish heritage, was born in a tough working class neighborhood of Sydney, Australia. After some limited success as a cartoonist, during which time he shortened his name from O'Sullivan, he departed Australia for London in 1907. By 1909 he was in New York where in 1911 he found work as an assistant to William F. Marriner on his comic strip *Sambo and His Funny Noises*. Felix would later demonstrate some of Sambo's trickster qualities.

When Messmer and Sullivan joined forces in 1916, the worldly Sullivan had established his own animation studio releasing Sammy Johnsin animated shorts based on the Sambo strip, but renamed to avoid litigation. Sullivan's studio, however, was put on hold in 1917 when he was convicted of rape and sentenced to two years in Sing Sing. Messmer went back to work for Mayer before being drafted. The two met up again in 1919 on Messmer's return from the First World War and Sullivan's release from jail. They collaborated on the aforementioned *Feline Follies*, which helped re-establish the Sullivan studio.

The 1920s were Felix's decade. Sullivan shopped his character around film distributors. Historian John Canemaker has estimated that some 30 Felix shorts were released through Famous Players - Lasky from 1919-1921. In 1922, finding himself without a distributor, but with the ownership of an established character, Sullivan struck a deal with distributor Margaret J. Winkler and from 1922 to early 1925 her company distributed 50 Felix animations. In these years Bill Nolan influenced Messmer to soften Felix's features and a rounder Felix became the cartoon norm.

In 1925 Sullivan broke his ties with Winkler and signed a new distribution contract with Educational Films. Winkler turned to a young Walt Disney who had already turned out a Felix clone named Julius in a series distributed by Winkler. Disney's new character, Oswald the Lucky Rabbit, had many similarities to Felix. In 1928 Disney lost control of Oswald to Winkler and had to create a new character: Mickey Mouse.

Meanwhile, Felix had been licensed extensively to doll, toy, and pencil manufacturers, as well as cigarette companies. He was also the subject of popular songs and generated income for Sullivan from sheet music sales. The comic strip, which according to Canemaker was not widely popular, nonetheless appeared from coast to coast in the papers of William Randolph Hearst. Felix was also extremely

popular in the United Kingdom and Sullivan's native Australia. In 1928 Felix was at the height of his fame. So ubiquitous was his fame and appearance that NBC used a Felix doll to test television cameras and transmission. In the strong visual presence of Felix lay the seeds of his downfall.

Disney's debut of Mickey Mouse in the sound film *Steamboat Willie* introduced a new dimension to animated shorts. Felix embodied the perfect characteristics for silent animation. To meet the challenges of sound he had to change, and the change undermined his character. Moreover, whereas Disney carefully pre-planned his animation to fit music and sound effects, the Sullivan studio, when it eventually introduced sound, did so as a post animation process. Inevitably the Disney product was superior.

By 1930 Felix had faded from the screen. Sullivan died in early 1933 from the effects of alcoholism. His heirs and lawyer briefly revived Felix in film in 1936, but the lackluster efforts were short lived. Felix lived on in a weekly and daily comic strips which ran to 1943 and 1967 respectively. He also appeared monthly in a Dell comic book. In 1959 Joe Oriolo revived Felix in a series of cartoons for television. Oriolo resurrected Felix again in another television series in 1982. Retrospectives of early Felix shorts were held at the Whitney Museum of American Art and at the Museum of Modern Art in 1977. In the late 1980s, Felix cropped up in a number of licensed merchandise ventures.

Felix is an icon of twentieth-century American popular culture. That he was created by an Irish-Australian and a German-American and was popular world-wide reminds us of the transnational character of popular culture in the twentieth century.

—Ian Gordon

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## Fellini, Federico (1920-1993)

Italian film director Federico Fellini helped bring the cinema to a mature state of expressive quality, introducing an eye-opening kaleidoscope of psychological symbolism and sometimes bawdy imagery to popular audiences and art-house denizens alike. Beginning in film as a screenwriter for famed filmmaker Roberto Rossellini, Fellini came into his own directing a number of masterpieces in the 1950s which expanded upon the natural, visually stark style of Italian Neorealism pioneered by Rossellini. Most notable of these were *La Strada* and *Nights of Cabiria*, both of which boasted emotionally rich performances by Fellini's wife, the gamine-faced Giulietta Massina. However, it was during the 1960s that Fellini reached the height of his international stature with films such as *La Dolce Vita*, *8 1/2*, and *Juliet of the Spirits*, wherein Fellini evinced a circus-like, sometimes surreal, and always highly personal vision of the world that could only be achieved through the cinema. Fellini continued directing films until his death in the early 1990s, consistently creating worlds so unique that the word "Felliniesque" found its way into the popular vocabulary.

—Shaun Frentner

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## Feminism

Feminism, the ideology that supports uplifting the status and improving the rights of women, has been one of the most influential political ideas of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Since its inception, it has been both hailed as a profound liberation of society, and condemned as a philosophy of victimhood, responsible for the breakdown of the nuclear family and the degradation of society in general. There is no doubt, however, that the work of feminist activists and reformers has been responsible for enormous improvements in the position of women in the United States over the past 200 years. Equally indisputably, a glance at the power structure of most of the world's governments and businesses shows that male dominance is still very much a reality. In spite of this, feminism has changed the American social order, from the superficial, such as media portrayals of women, to the deepest underlying assumptions of science and religion.

Throughout Europe and the United States, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were a time of sweeping ideological changes. A new humanism was developing, with a focus on the "rights of man." The principles of both the American and French revolutions of the late 1700s and the publication of the Communist Manifesto in 1848 were examples of this new atmosphere of brotherhood and justice. As white males were discovering and outlining their inalienable rights, women were still largely trapped within a patriarchal family system, kept there by economic necessity and rigid social convention. Basically considered the property of husband or father, women were not permitted to vote, own property, operate businesses, attend colleges, or make legal decisions concerning their children or themselves. Politically aware women had already begun the work to change these conditions, such as Abigail Adams and Mercy Otis, who unsuccessfully lobbied the authors of the United States Constitution to include women's rights in their plan for the new country, and Britain's Mary Wollstonecraft, who published the landmark *Vindication of the Rights of Women* in 1792.

By the early 1800s, many progressive men and women began to join the abolitionist movement to work for the end of slavery. One liberation ideology led naturally to another, and a number of abolitionist women drew parallels between the slavery they fought and the plight of women. "The investigation of the rights of the slave has led me to a better understanding of my own," wrote anti-slavery activist Angelina Grimke in 1836. This growing understanding of the condition of women led to the first Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. Organized by abolitionists Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, the convention drew dozens of women and a number of supportive men as well. Together, convention participants drew up the Declaration of Sentiments, outlining both the rights of women and a set of demands, such as equality in law, education, and wages and the right to vote.

By the 1860s, the fight for women's rights led to a split in the abolition movement. Some anti-slavery activists felt that women



A feminist protest of the Miss America Pageant 1968.

should step back and focus on the fight against slavery, even if that meant prioritizing the rights of black men, while others felt that changes in the status of slaves and changes in the status of women must go hand in hand. Foreshadowing a recurrent issue in the struggle for women's rights, men's role in the women's movement also became controversial. In 1867, as the 15th Amendment to the Constitution was giving the vote to black men, the abolitionist movement divided. The National Women's Suffrage Association, led by Stanton and Susan Brownell Anthony, was an all-women's organization which opposed the 15th Amendment. The American Women's Suffrage Association, led by Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe, supported legalization of black male suffrage and included men in its membership.

By the 1890s however, both factions reunited to push for the still-elusive women's suffrage. Women's clubs began to form to foster discussions about politics, culture, and education. In 1896, The National Association of Colored Women formed, uniting the separate black women's clubs. Other important women's organizations were the temperance societies. Often mocked as prim and puritanical, the temperance societies were in reality an attempt to protect women and children from the abuse and poverty that were often a result of male drunkenness. Toward the end of the suffrage battle, the word "feminism" first came into use. The feminists differed from the suffragists

by claiming to work for a broader liberation of the social order than would be achieved simply by attaining the vote.

Gradually, some states began to grant the vote to women in local elections. In 1917, Jeannette Rankin of Montana became the first woman elected to the U.S. Congress, and in 1920, women finally won the vote. Within two years of the ratification of the 19th Amendment to the Constitution, the National Women's Party proposed an Equal Rights Amendment, which was defeated.

Both before and after suffrage was attained, feminist activists continued to work on gaining a measure of control over their lives, bodies, and property. Gradually they chipped away at the laws that put women in the power of men, and women won the right to own property, attend college, and many of the other rights they had demanded at the Seneca Falls convention. Because childbirth and the work of raising children has affected women's lives so deeply, birth control and abortion have always been central issues in any feminist movement. The American Birth Control League, organized by Margaret Sanger in 1921, was one of the earliest attempts to make family planning available to U.S. women.

The "Roaring Twenties" was a decade of new independence for women. Once women were able to vote and obtain birth control, even fashion followed suit, as Coco Chanel and other modern designers discarded the painful, restrictive corsets women had once laced

around themselves. The new fashions emphasized freedom and even androgyny, as women cut off long, time-consuming tresses and sported the free and easy bobs that symbolized the era. With the approach of the depression of the 1930s, the feminist movement subsided into quiescence for several years. Though women were given unprecedented opportunities to work in male dominated industries during World War II, when the war ended, they were unceremoniously sent back home. The 1950s was a paradoxical decade, conventional and conformist on the exterior, and seething underneath with repressed rebellion. In the upper and middle classes, more women than ever before were attending college, where they developed intellectual comradeships and learned to take themselves seriously before being isolated and often ignored raising families in suburban homes. In the working class, women were frequently stuck in repetitive dead-end jobs, which generally paid them around 50 cents for every dollar earned by the men working next to them. Within all these women the knowledge began to slowly awaken that something was not working in their lives.

The dilemma of the middle class woman was articulated powerfully in a pivotal book published in 1963. *The Feminine Mystique* by Betty Friedan marked the official beginning of the "second wave" of U.S. feminism. Describing the stultifying life of women in American suburbs, Friedan captured the deep longing within girls and women for "something more" than their prescribed roles as cheerleaders and helpmates for men and caretakers for children. It was a message women had been waiting to hear, and around the country they began to discuss an innovative concept: women's liberation.

Just as nineteenth century feminism had been a part of a larger social liberation movement, the second wave of feminism was fired by the same energy that fueled the civil rights movement, the anti-war movement, and the gay and lesbian liberation movement. In the same way that the female abolitionists had been inspired by the fight against slavery to fight for their own rights, women in the civil rights and other movements began to feel empowered to challenge their own second-class citizenship, not only in the larger world but even among their male colleagues within the movement.

Following the passage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, prohibiting discrimination based on sex, race, religion, or national origin, government agencies began to document cases of sex discrimination. Even women themselves were appalled to see the evidence of so much blatant discrimination. They began to gather in "consciousness raising" groups to discuss their own experiences. Women's isolation was beginning to break down, and the competition and mistrust that had been fostered among women by patriarchal society, began to be replaced by communication and alliance. Though the National Organization for Women (NOW) was formed by Friedan and others in 1966, it was the solidarity created by the consciousness raising groups that was the heart of the new movement. Though threatened males of every political stripe ridiculed the personal and revelatory nature of the groups, the feminists responded by saying "the personal is political." The phrase became the very basis of women's liberation, meaning that each individual life has political meaning and each personal action requires responsibility.

By the early 1970s, NOW had over 400 chapters around the country, working to change the laws that oppressed women and to raise women's consciousness about their own potential. In 1972, Title IX of the Education Amendments prohibited sex discrimination in all education programs receiving federal funds, an act that promised to revolutionize women's education. In 1973, the landmark *Roe v. Wade* decision in the Supreme Court made legal abortions available to

women throughout the United States, ending decades of dangerous and traumatic illegal abortions and unwanted childbirths.

The ideas and energy of women's liberation spread around the country, touching women from the university towns to the suburbs and from the PTA to the factory floor. Feminists began to create a "woman's culture" where women could gather to discuss and disseminate the new ideas. Women's bookstores, coffeehouses, journals, publishing houses, and community centers were energized by the new spirit of sisterhood. Women's Studies courses were introduced at colleges and universities to focus on women's history and perspectives. Feminist health care workers created women's clinics to prioritize issues of women's health. Women, who had been encouraged to view their bodies as inferior and even slightly disgusting, attended classes where they learned to appreciate and understand their bodies. Feminist psychotherapists developed feminist therapy that included an analysis of women's oppression. Rape crisis centers opened to publicize and fight violence against women. From family to language to religion, no nook or cranny of modern society or history escaped the feminist critique as feminists sought to reinterpret a male-defined world from a women's perspective.

The media also responded to the new movement, at first with ridicule, then with more serious analysis. In 1972, the premier issue of *Ms.*, the first national feminist magazine, appeared on newsstands. Even on television, that most conservative organ of the status quo, independent women began to spring up on sitcoms and dramas of the 1970s. Mary Richards, solid, sensible heroine of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* (1970-1977) was a single career woman, who had real friendships with her more flighty woman friends, not just double dates or competitions over boyfriends. Maude Findlay, outspoken, bitchy, and unashamedly middle-aged, appeared first on *All in the Family* (then was given her own spinoff *Maude* (1972-1978) as audiences responded enthusiastically to the non-stereotypical portrait of a wife and mother. Though it did not debut until 1982, *Cagney and Lacey* was also part of the wave of feminist television. The show, an innovative police drama, paired tough-talking, hard-drinking single girl Chris Cagney with down-to-earth happily married mama Marybeth Lacey. Neither silly nor superhuman, Cagney and Lacey brought a sympathy and compassion to the police show that drew audiences for six years.

Though the feminist ideal of sisterhood was exhilarating, it was also flawed. Lesbians, who were naturally drawn to a movement that empowered women, had been among the first activists of women's liberation, but straight women immediately sought to disassociate them from the movement. Calling the issue the "lavender menace," many heterosexual feminists were uncomfortable with the idea of lesbianism and feared that inclusion of gay women would discredit the movement. Lesbians fought for recognition of their place within the women's movement, but many were hurt by the movement's denial of them, and remained mistrustful. Some even withdrew from feminism, calling themselves lesbian separatists, and began focusing on lesbian issues only.

Women of color and working-class women also had to fight for their place in the women's liberation movement of the 1970s. Though the intellectual ideology of the movement had been developed in universities among largely white, middle-class academia and suburban housewives, working-class women and women of color often had the largest stake in the feminist cause. Issues of pay and advancement at work, abortion and birth control within the body, and abuse at home were often survival issues for working-class women. Though many

working-class women and women of color were active in the movement, white feminists often had to be compelled to confront their own racism and classism, and many did little to fight the media stereotype of feminism as a white, middle-class movement.

The 1980s saw a sharp backlash to the advances made by women in the 1970s. While most people, even feminism's enemies, professed to believe in "equal pay for equal work," many were threatened by the deeper societal changes suggested by feminist analysis. Using the age-old weapons of ridicule and threat, anti-feminist writers and pundits announced that women had achieved equality and no longer needed to be liberated. (This cheery mythology has continued through the 1990s, even in the face of the fact that in 1998, women still earned only 76 cents for every dollar earned by men.) In the 1980s feminism's critics threatened women by describing a world where women had unprecedented equality in the work place, but were frustrated, unhappy, and unfulfilled in their personal lives. Conservative religious leaders assured women that their place in the home was divinely ordained. Popular feminist novels of the 1970s like Erica Jong's *Fear of Flying* (1973) and Marilyn French's *The Women's Room* (1977) were replaced in the 1980s by grim tales of the price of independence, like Gail Parent's *A Sign of the Eighties* (1987) and Freda Bright's *Singular Women*. In film too, *Kramer vs. Kramer* (1979) won an Oscar for punishing a confused mother who leaves her child with his father so that she can explore her own identity.

The 1990s have left the most virulent phase of the backlash behind, merely using the phrase "post-feminist" to describe the lack of need for a women's liberation movement. Though in a *Time/CNN* poll in 1998, over 50 percent of women, aged 18 to 34, said they had "feminist values," there is little public support for calling oneself a feminist. Young women of the 1990s have developed a feisty culture of "grrl power" that promises to support strength in a new generation of women, but the anti-feminist media has succeeded in turning the word "feminist" into a pejorative for many people.

Feminist activists still proudly claim the title however, and many still work for change in the status of women independently or in local or national groups. Many of the old issues remain: women are still paid less than men for identical or comparable work, and advance less quickly and less far on the job; sexual harassment, domestic violence, and rape continue unabated; childcare remains prohibitively expensive and stigmatized as the choice of selfish mothers. Even causes that were once won, such as abortion rights and welfare rights for single mothers, have returned to be fought for again as conservative forces gain power.

However, though feminism has not totally succeeded in achieving economic and political equality for women, the various feminist movements have dramatically improved women's position in American society. The feminist critique has challenged patriarchal interpretations of history and science and brought the light of public discussion to issues of women's lives once considered matters of personal decision for husbands and fathers. Feminism has embraced the question of children's rights, the politics of the family, and internationalism. Like the abolitionist/suffragists of the nineteenth century, feminists approaching the twenty-first century seek to unite the struggles of the helpless and disenfranchised.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Fenway Park

Together with Chicago's Wrigley Field and New York's Yankee Stadium, Boston's Fenway Park is one of the archetypal American baseball facilities. Called "a lyric little bandbox" by no less an eminence than John Updike, the park's idiosyncratic design is as legendary among baseball aficionados as is the futility endured by its home team, the Boston Red Sox. Together, team and park have suffered all manner of near-miss and could-have-been finishes since the stadium's triumphal opening in 1912.

The ballpark derived its name from the Fenway Realty Company, the business that owned the plot of marshland on which the ballpark was constructed. The Osborne Engineering Company of Cleveland designed the concrete and steel structure, which was modeled in part on Philadelphia's Shibe Park. The famous wall in left field, known popularly as the "Green Monster," was not part of the original ballpark. Fenway's asymmetrical configuration was largely a function of location, nestled as it was just across the Massachusetts Turnpike from bustling Kenmore Square.

Fenway Park opened on April 20, 1912. The sinking of the Titanic was still front-page news in the *Boston Globe* that morning as the Red Sox prepared to play the New York Highlanders before a crowd of twenty-four thousand. Boston Mayor John F. "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald threw out the ceremonial first pitch, and the hometown club went on to win 7-6 on an extra-inning single by Tris Speaker. The Highlanders, later rechristened the Yankees, were to remain integral intertwined with the ballpark's history over the ensuing decades.

At first, the new park seemed to be a good-luck charm for the Red Sox. The team won the American League pennant in 1912, as Fenway played host to its first World Series in October. Fred Snodgrass's error in the tenth inning of the deciding game gave the series to the Sox, four games to three, over the New York Giants. But what seemed like an auspicious beginning to the Fenway Era was actually the start of one of the longest championship droughts in baseball history.

Fenway Park took a major step forward in its evolution in 1934, when the original wall in left field was leveled and a thirty-seven-foot-high metal fence was installed. Initially covered with advertising signs, in 1947 the wall was painted green. The Green Monster would go on to become one of the most distinctive features of any American ballpark. Officially listed as 315 feet from home plate (though some aerial photographs have indicated that 300 feet is more likely), the Green Monster continues to bedevil American League left fielders

while providing an all-too-tempting target for right-handed power hitters looking to pull a ball out of the park.

One such power hitter was New York Yankee Bucky Dent, a diminutive shortstop who clouted one of the signature home runs in Fenway Park's history on October 2, 1978. The towering pop fly off Red Sox pitcher Mike Torrez landed on the screen above the Green Monster and helped the Yankees capture the American League East Division championship in a one-game playoff. Dent's blast was just one in a long line of tragic moments for the Red Sox's long-suffering fans, who have watched their beloved team fail time and time again in their quest to capture the franchise's first World Series title since 1918.

The Red Sox returned to the World Series in 1946 and again in 1967 but were turned away in seven games on both occasions. They took the Cincinnati Reds to seven thrilling games in 1975 in one of the greatest championship sets ever played. That series saw Fenway play host to one of the most dramatic games in baseball history, the sixth game in which Boston catcher Carlton Fisk clouted a twelfth-inning, game-winning home run just inside the left field foul pole. True to form, the Red Sox proceeded to lose the decisive game in heartbreaking fashion.

As the twentieth century draws to a close, Fenway Park remains one of Major League Baseball's oldest, smallest, and most revered ballparks. Besides the Green Monster, its distinctive features include one of the last remaining hand-operated scoreboards (the initials of the club's late owner, Thomas A. Yawkey, and his wife, Jean R. Yawkey, are inscribed vertically in Morse code on the face of the scoreboard) in the majors. In typically eccentric Fenway fashion, only the American League scores are recorded.

Despite its aesthetic and historic value, the park faces an uncertain future. Its seating capacity (about thirty-five thousand) is woefully small by modern ballpark standards, and there are few provisions for such revenue-generating gewgaws as luxury boxes and interactive entertainment centers. The club was said to be actively seeking a new home for the next millennium. Red Sox fans could only hope that a new facility retained the charming architectural features and rich sense of place that marked the original.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Ferrante and Teicher

Piano stylings of pop music themes were in vogue during the post-war "lounge music" or "mood music" style, and Arthur Ferrante (1921—) and Louis Teicher (1924—) were the duo-piano team that capitalized most prolifically on this genre during the 1960s. Imitating the sound of the Romantic-era piano concerto, and at times

including novelty effects such as "prepared" pianos, Ferrante and Teicher recorded lush arrangements of film themes, Broadway tunes, and other melodies backed by full orchestra and chorus. Both pianists pursued their early training at the Juilliard School in New York, but gradually dropped their classical repertoire in favor of pop and light comedy performance elements. After signing with United Artists in 1960, they had their first American chart hits with the million-plus seller theme from *The Apartment* and Ernest Gold's main theme from *Exodus*; in 1969, their arrangement of "Midnight Cowboy" was a Billboard Top 10 single. Their discography numbers over 60 albums and compilations.

—Ivan Raykoff

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## Fetchit, Stepin (1902-1984)

The first black actor to receive featured billing in Hollywood movies, Stepin Fetchit has passed into the culture as an emblem of the shameful racial stereotyping that reflected early twentieth century America's perception of blacks as servile, lazy, feckless, and stupid. However, throughout the gravy years of his career during the 1930s,



Stepin Fetchit

this talented actor entertained movie audiences with his skillfully comic portrayals of slow-talking, dim-witted, shuffling slaves and servants, and earned a large, albeit temporary, fortune.

Born Lincoln Perry in Key West, Florida, on May 30, 1902, he went on the road as an entertainer in medicine shows and vaudeville before arriving in Hollywood in the late 1920s. His stage act with comic Ed Lee was spotted by a talent scout, engaged by Fox studios, and he took his screen name, which turned out ironically appropriate to many of his screen roles, from a racehorse on whom he had placed a winning bet. He was in the 1929 part-talkie version of *Show Boat*, the same year that he played a major role in the first all-black musical, *Hearts of Dixie*. As Gummy, a workshy layabout on a cotton plantation, Fetchit stole the show, but none of the several subsequent musicals in which he was cast gave him a similar opportunity to shine with such prominence.

Fetchit worked steadily throughout the 1930s, rapidly becoming one of the best known, best-loved, and most instantly recognizable of black actors. However, by virtue of his color, he was more often than not confined to cameos and small featured roles. Among the 26 films he made between 1929 and 1935 were three with Shirley Temple, most noticeably in *Stand Up and Cheer* (1934), and five for director John Ford. The Ford films included *Steamboat 'Round the Bend* (1935), one of four popular Will Rogers films in which Fetchit played the star's servant and comic sidekick.

Invariably typecast as the arch-coon, a tall, bald servant wearing a grin and hand-me-down clothes too large and loose for his lanky frame, his servile image eventually alienated him from black audiences and offended civil rights advocates. Walter White of the NAACP declared that Fetchit's flunky roles reinforced the white man's racist image of blacks, while the black press repeatedly criticized his perpetration of unwelcome stereotypes. By the mid-1940s, these protests against his racist caricatures curtailed his career. Moreover, he had dissipated his wealth on the extravagant lifestyle he had adopted—at one time he owned six houses and 12 cars, and employed 16 Chinese servants—and was forced to declare bankruptcy in 1947, the year he starred in *Miracle in Harlem*.

In the early 1950s, after making only a handful of movies, some of them all-black productions, Fetchit disappeared from the screen for 20 years and, in the late 1960s, having suffered his share of personal tragedy with the death of his son by suicide, he converted to the Black Muslim faith. In 1970, he unsuccessfully brought a defamation suit against CBS for using "out of context" clips from his work to demonstrate black caricature in American movies. The 1970s, brought something of a renaissance to the then almost forgotten actor. He returned to the Hollywood screen with roles in *Amazing Grace* (1974) and *Won Ton Ton the Dog Who Saved Hollywood* (1975); in 1976, his earlier perceived slights on his own people forgiven, he received a special Image Award from the Hollywood branch of the NAACP, and in 1978 he entered the Black Filmmakers Hall of Fame.

Stepin Fetchit died in Woodland Hills, California, on November 19, 1984. Over the years, film scholars had come to recognize the wealth of comic talent and the flawless timing that underpinned the characters who defined his screen image. Robert Townsend paid him lasting tribute with his brilliant impersonation of Fetchit in his own independent film, *Hollywood Shuffle* (1987), and, thanks to television reruns of movies, he lives on for later generations as more than just a quaint name.

—Peter C. Holloran

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## *Fibber McGee and Molly*

Out of Fibber McGee's famous closet came a 24-year radio run whose success and innovation were matched by few broadcasters in the 1930s and 1940s. The series helped forge the genre later called "situation comedy"; it also invented the concept of the "spin-off," with not one but two popular supporting characters winning their own series in the 1940s. Through it all, Jim and Marian Jordan continued as Fibber and Molly, their program setting both ratings records and a patriotic example during the war years, its stars perhaps more deserving of the title "beloved" than any other performers of network radio's glory days.

The Jordan's early broadcasting careers were inauspicious at best. The couple were already battle-worn vaudevillians when, on a bet, they performed on a Chicago radio station in 1924. But their obvious talent soon won them their own music and patter series. By the early 1930s, Jim and Marian Jordan had hosted or appeared on numerous local music and banter programs; their work gradually evolved into a series that would finally win them a spot on a national NBC hookup.

For *Smackout*, the Jordans teamed up with Don Quinn, the gifted writer with whom they would collaborate for more than 15 years. In the new series, the couple played multiple roles, among them the proprietors of a depression-era grocery always "smack out" of everything. An existing 1931 recording reveals that Marian perfected her "Teeny" character, the precocious adolescent she would continue to portray when *Smackout* gave way to *Fibber McGee and Molly* in 1935.

After years of work, it was undeniably the "big break" for the Jordans and writer Quinn. From Chicago, *Fibber McGee and Molly* was broadcast nationwide over the NBC network on April 16, 1935 to middling reviews; the premiere show was an uneasy mix of swing music and comedy segments in which Molly was an unadulterated battle-ax who spoke in a thick Irish brogue, and Fibber was a tale-spinning loudmouth who more closely resembled his *Smackout* character Uncle Luke than the character the nation would come to know as Fibber McGee. Yet the series became a moderate success, at least winning time to develop its style and characters. Within a year, Quinn and the Jordans had shaped the characters into the warmer, funnier personas they would inhabit for the rest of their careers.

The scripts were pure corn, with each episode revolving around the thinnest of plots. Fibber remained a big-talking but inept spinner of yarns; Molly was his long-suffering but big-hearted companion. The couple had no obvious source of income; most of their Tuesday night adventures took place in the McGee home at 79 Wistful Vista,

with a company of popular supporting characters parading through the house for brief appearances. Even announcer Harlow Wilcox was made a character, his job being to work in a clever plug for sponsor Johnson's Wax. Many of the supporting characters were played by Bill Thompson, a genuine vocal acrobat who brought life, among others, to "Wally Wimple," a perpetually henpecked husband whose every syllable bespoke his suffering; and the "Old Timer," a talkative curmudgeon whose catchphrase "That ain't the way I hear'd it!" became national slang by 1940.

In the late 1930s, the series weathered a crisis that threatened its very existence. Marian Jordan was forced off the show for health reasons in November, 1937; her hiatus ultimately lasted 18 months. Fans and historians have spent the intervening decades debating the true nature of her absence: press accounts at the time said only Marian had been sent to a "sanitarium" for a "rest," while fans have long whispered she had actually suffered a nervous breakdown. In 1998, radio historian John Dunning, citing an impeccable but anonymous source, revealed that Marian was actually battling alcoholism during her absence. The show limped along without her under the title *Fibber McGee and Company*. Marian—and Molly—returned on April 18, 1939, her reappearance drawing both press attention and a huge ovation from the studio audience.

Then, seemingly out of the blue, the series' popularity simply exploded. Paired with Bob Hope's new NBC series on Tuesday night, *Fibber McGee and Molly* suddenly found itself shooting to the very top of the ratings chart—part of a late-1930s spate of new radio hits that included stars such as Hope, Red Skelton, and Edgar Bergen. One of the Jordans' supporting cast proved so popular during this period that he was given his own show: broadcasting's first "spin-off" was *The Great Gildersleeve* (1941), in which Hal Peary reprised his role of bombastic-but-lovable Throckmorton P. Gildersleeve, who had delighted audiences for several years as Fibber's ever-feuding next-door neighbor.

Fibber's famous closet was opened for the first time on March 5, 1940, in a sound effects extravaganza in which years' worth of piled-up junk came pouring out to the delight of the audience; the oft-repeated gag became one of the best known in broadcast history.

The series was one of the first to go for all-out flag waving upon the outbreak of war on December 7, 1941; two days later, Marian Jordan may have uttered the first broadcast joke of World War Two (Gale Gordon's Mayor LaTrivia tells Molly he's shopping for a globe. "You want a globe with Japan on it?" Molly asks. "Then you better get one quick!"). The series almost weekly featured patriotic themes during the war years; an April, 1943 program in which Fibber buys and then gets sick from black market meat is a perfect example—forceful without being preachy, and very funny. The McGees even took in a boarder at mid-war, opening their home to war-plant worker Alice. By February, 1943, *Fibber McGee* was drawing record ratings—quite a feat considering a significant percentage of the population was off fighting the war!

The series suffered a major hit during this period, when actor Bill Thompson joined the service. The slack, however, was taken up in large part by the appearance of the McGee's feisty maid Beulah: a giggly, vivacious—and African-American—bundle of energy whose catchphrases "Somebody bawl fo' Beulah?" and "Love that man!" became two of the most popular slang phrases of the war. The character's popularity only increased when the audience learned the black female Beulah was actually portrayed by a white man—actor Marlin Hurt, who became so famous in the role that he, too, was given his own series. *Beulah* premiered in 1945; upon Hurt's sudden death

the next year, it became the first radio comedy to feature a black actress in a starring role—perhaps making up somewhat for the unapologetic caricature which had first given the series life.

The McGees' ratings suffered only slightly after the war, but the late 1940s proved more troublesome. Bob Hope never recaptured the overwhelming success of his war-years tours of service camps; the entire NBC Tuesday schedule suffered somewhat as Hope's ratings fell. By 1950, the previously obscure CBS sitcom *Life with Luigi* was besting Hope's ratings. But the biggest threat was television: the new medium's first real sensation—Milton Berle's *Texaco Star Theatre*—was slotted on Tuesday night, directly opposite Hope and the McGees. *Fibber McGee and Molly* performed impressively against long odds, but NBC radio's Tuesday night glory days were clearly over.

By then it barely mattered; the series had long ago crossed the line from popular entertainment to American institution. The Jordans stayed with NBC when many of the chain's top comedians bolted to CBS in the 1948-'49 talent raids; writer Quinn departed in 1950. Longtime sponsor Johnson's Wax dropped the series the same year; later sponsors included Reynolds Aluminum (which used its commercial time to introduce a revolutionary new product—Reynolds Wrap!) and Pet Milk. In 1953, with network radio dying, the Jordans gave up their weekly series and embarked on a nightly 15-minute version of *Fibber McGee and Molly*; this ran four years. The McGees were still on the air performing short segments on NBC's innovative *Monitor* series into 1958 and 1959.

By then the "golden age" of radio was long over; the Jordans' refusal to appear in a television version of their creation virtually guaranteed failure upon its premiere in 1958. Marian Jordan died in 1962; Jim lived another quarter century. They had set a decent, honest example for their audience during the era of depression and war; they had also invented and honed many of the formats and techniques broadcast writers and comedians utilize to this day. The phrase "Fibber's Closet" may be a distant memory, but the McGee's legacy is alive and well.

—Chris Chandler

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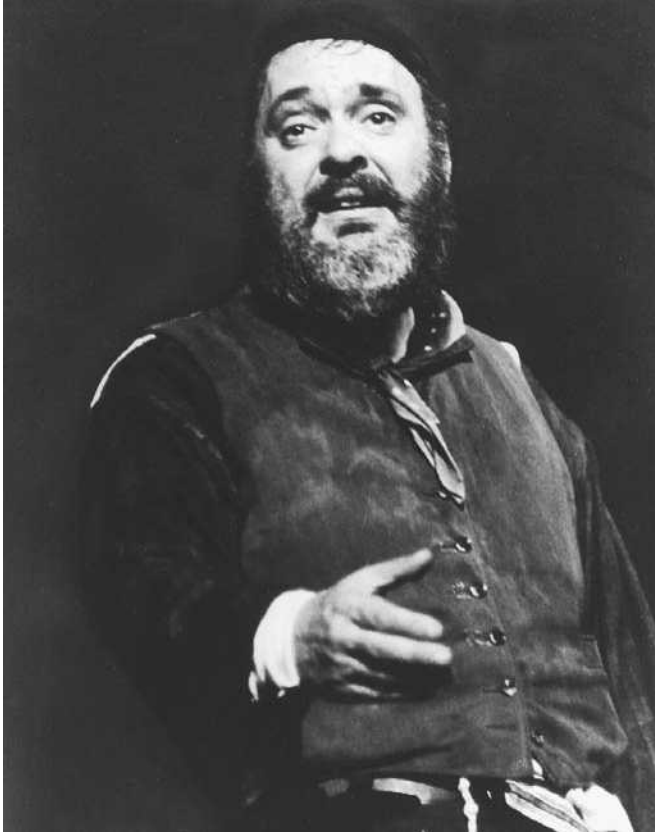
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## *Fiddler on the Roof*

One of the most important musicals of the 1960s, in many ways *Fiddler on the Roof* represents the end of the classic mid-twentieth century American musical theater. The tale of Tevye, a Jewish peasant in turn-of-the-century Russia, and his difficulties with maintaining tradition in the midst of change, has had universal appeal ever





Zero Mostel in *Fiddler on the Roof*.

since its premiere in 1964. The score includes the hit songs “Tradition,” “To Life,” “If I Were a Rich Man,” and “Sunrise, Sunset.”

In the early 1960s, composer Jerry Bock, lyricist Sheldon Harnick, and librettist Joseph Stein decided that they wanted to write a musical together. After looking at numerous potential plot sources, they chose Sholom Aleichem’s short story “Tevye and His Daughters.” The trio persuaded Harold Prince to produce the show, who in turn advised them to engage Jerome Robbins as director-choreographer. With Prince and Robbins—two of Broadway’s most significant creative personalities—involved with the production, its success was virtually secure.

*Fiddler on the Roof* takes place in the Jewish village of Anatevka, Russia, in 1905. Its plot revolves around Tevye, a dairyman, his wife Golde, and their five daughters. Tevye reveals his creed in his opening monologue:

A fiddler on the roof. Sounds crazy, no? But in our little village of Anatevka, you might say every one of us is a fiddler on the roof, trying to scratch out a pleasant, simple tune without breaking his neck. It isn’t easy. You may ask, why do we stay here if it’s so dangerous? We stay because Anatevka is our home. And how do we keep our balance? That I can tell you in a word—tradition!

Tevye’s world is challenged by impending change. Tzeitel, his eldest daughter, marries a poor tailor after Tevye has promised her to a

wealthy widowed butcher. Hodel, his second daughter, marries a revolutionary and follows him to Siberia, while Chava, his third daughter, marries a Christian. At the end of the musical, the Czar’s Cossacks destroy Anatevka as Tevye and his family leave for an unknown future in America. The show’s title—a fiddler on the roof who tries to maintain his balance while playing—suggests the desire for constancy in the face of mutability. The image itself was inspired by Marc Chagall’s painting *The Green Violinist*.

*Fiddler on the Roof* opened on Broadway on September 22, 1964, at the Imperial Theater, where it played for 3,242 performances—the longest run in the history of the American musical theater to that time. Zero Mostel created the role of Tevye. Other original cast members included Maria Karnilova, Beatrice Arthur, Joanna Merlin, Julia Migenes, Bert Convy, and Tanya Everett. The musical garnered numerous Tony Awards, including best musical, score, book, actor (Mostel), featured actress (Karnilova), choreographer (Robbins), and costumes (Patricia Zipprodt). Topol starred in the London production, which ran for over 2,000 performances, as well as in the 1971 film version.

The success of the show was due largely to its superb musical score. The opening number, “Tradition,” is a joyous celebration of life, as is the wedding number “To Life.” The waltzes “Matchmaker” and “Sunrise, Sunset” capture the nostalgia of bygone traditions and the passing of time, while Tevye’s splendidly dramatic monologue, “If I Were a Rich Man,” is one of the great soliloquies of the musical theater. Tevye and Golde’s comic duet “Do You Love Me?” is a frank expression of the love that can develop between two people over a lifetime. This expression of matrimony based on traditional matchmaking is contrasted with the “modern” concept of marriage based on love and choice in “Now I Have Everything” and “Miracle of Miracles.” The music of *Fiddler on the Roof* does not generally fit into the standard mold of Broadway show tunes; traditional folk idioms fill the score and infuse it with a particular yet accessible ethnic character that distinguishes it from other shows of its era. As such, it opened the door for more variations on the traditional American musical theater genre through the end of the century.

*Fiddler on the Roof* is imbedded within its Jewishness without being parochial. The show’s emphasis on family and religious interactions against a backdrop of a disintegrating social order gives it a universality that transcends time, place, and ethnicity. Its popularity through professional, amateur, and school productions remains as strong as ever more than thirty years after its premiere.

—William A. Everett

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## Fidrych, Mark “Bird” (1954—)

The American League’s Rookie of the Year for 1976, pitcher Mark Fidrych briefly captured the imagination of baseball fans with his bizarre on-the-field antics. Dubbed the “Bird” for his lanky, ostrich-like frame, the 6’3” right-hander with the mop of curly blonde hair won 19 games for the Detroit Tigers that season, compiling 24 complete games and a 2.34 earned run average. But it was the way he pitched more than the results that filled ballparks that summer. Fidrych was far more animated than any pitcher before him: he talked to the baseball and shook hands with his infielders after good plays. After one stellar season, however Fidrych blew out his arm and never regained his rookie form. He attempted several abortive comebacks and retired in 1983.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## *Field and Stream*

*Field and Stream* magazine, America’s fishing and hunting bible, was born in a Minnesota duck blind in 1895. With contemporaries such as *Sports Afield* and *Outdoor Life*, it challenged the nineteenth-century stereotype that hunting and fishing were the domain of fur trappers and frontiersmen such as Daniel Boone, Davy Crockett, and Christopher “Kit” Carson, or amusements for the idle rich. Coupled with technological innovations that made shooting and fishing more accurate and easier, the new magazines demonstrated that hunting and fishing were recreational activities that could be enjoyed by all, especially the growing middle class. Through the twentieth century, *Field and Stream* has crusaded for conservation measures, developed a library of wildlife film and video, and commissioned wildlife images by well-known artists and photographers without ever forgetting its basic purpose, to provide the stuff of dreams for generations of hunters and fishermen.

The Civil War marked a new interest among Americans in sporting activities, most notably horse racing, boxing, track and field, and the relatively new sport of baseball, but also in hunting, fishing, and other outdoor activities. *The Sporting News* debuted in St. Louis in 1885, and its quick success encouraged newspaper publishers such as Joseph Pulitzer to add sporting news sections to their daily newspapers. Sports were considered entertainment and a form of escapism from what the late nineteenth century considered a frantic lifestyle, but they also taught an important lesson, especially to the young. Like life, sports had rules, and one needed to learn and obey them to succeed and win. The alternative, disobedience, meant failure, disgrace, and perhaps even death in a society obsessed with social Darwinism.

Magazine publishers were not far behind their newspaper counterparts in filling the new void for sports information. *Sports Afield* was founded in 1887, followed by *Outdoor Life*, which began as a Denver-based bicycling magazine in the early 1890s. John P. Burkhard and Henry W. Wack were talking in their duck blind in September 1895 about the wholesale slaughter of wildlife by so-called sportsmen. The conservation movement was in full swing, inaugurated by the establishment of Yellowstone National Park in 1872 and fanned by advocates such as John Muir and Gifford Pinchot. Burkhard and Wack disapproved of thrill shooting and set out to preach the new gospel of conservation to middle-class hunters and fishermen in their publication, *Western Field and Stream*, which was published in their hometown of St. Paul, Minnesota.

Theodore Roosevelt was the first of many notable conservationists to appear in the publication. Writing in January 1899, the president-to-be noted of the grizzly bear, “He has been hunted for sport, and hunted for his pelt, and hunted for the bounty, and hunted as a dangerous enemy to stock, until, save the very wildest districts, he has learned to be more wary than a deer.” Another article on childhood hunting observed a few years later, “All little boys crave the out-of-doors—when they don’t get enough of it.” The magazine was moved to New York in the first years of the twentieth century and its title modified, but it continued to struggle financially. Reportedly Henry Ford offered Burkhard and Wack \$1,200 worth of stock in his new motor car company in 1905 in exchange for twenty full-page advertisements, but the pair turned him down because they were desperate for cash. Eltinge Warner, a printing salesman and circulation manager, took over the business side of the magazine in 1906 and purchased the publication upon Burkhard’s death in 1908.

Circulation climbed, and *Field and Stream* prospered as conservation measures advocated by the magazine increased animal and fish populations. Warner became involved in the motion picture industry and published other magazines using profits from *Field and Stream*, but his first magazine kept to its original course. “When trout are rising, hope is strong in the angler’s heart, even though he may not have determined in what position or upon what insects the fish are feeding,” a *Field and Stream* article on fly-fishing maintained in 1912. An article on a shark attack in 1933 portended, “terrible things . . . there in the murky water and the misty moonshine.” The magazine also featured the self-deprecating humor of Gene Hill and the off-the-wall antics of Ed Zern.

A boon in men’s magazines during and after World War II expanded the circulation of *Field and Stream*. By 1963, *Sports Afield*, *Outdoor Life*, and *Field and Stream* had a combined circulation of 3.7 million. Warner sold *Field and Stream* to the book-publishing house of Holt, Rinehart, and Winston in 1951, which was subsequently absorbed by CBS magnate William S. Paley and reorganized into the CBS Magazine division in 1971. The magazine peaked in size at about 200 hundred pages per issue during the 1970s, because of the payment method for writers. “We don’t pay by the word any more,” said managing editor Margaret Nichols in 1995. “Long ago, when we paid a nickel a word, some people let their stories drag on and on. Fish would jump, then jump again and again and again.” The circulation plateaued at two million during the 1980s and 1990s, but the venerable *Field and Stream* faced two new challenges. It was sold twice, ending up with Times Mirror Magazines, the publisher of *Outdoor Life*, in 1987. And a host of more health and fitness-conscious men’s outdoor magazines, with titles such as *Outside*, *Backpacker*, and *Bike*,



Burt Lancaster (left) and Kevin Costner in a scene from the film *Field of Dreams*.

stagnated advertising and circulation rates and left more traditional outdoorsmen's publications like *Field and Stream* hunting for a new image.

—Richard Digby-Junger

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## *Field of Dreams*

Ostensibly about baseball, the emotional, magical *Field of Dreams* became more than just a movie for many people following its release in 1989 to both critical and popular acclaim. Directed by Phil Alden Robinson and starring Kevin Costner, James Earl Jones, and Ray Liotta, the film made almost sixty-five million dollars at the box office and another forty million in video rentals and purchases.

Based on W. P. Kinsella's book *Shoeless Joe*, *Field of Dreams* is a story of faith, forgiveness, and redemption. Iowa corn farmer Ray Kinsella (Costner) and his family lead a normal, if boring, existence until, during one of his regular inspection walks through the cornfields, Kinsella hears a ghostly voice whispering the phrase ". . . if you build it, he will come." At first Kinsella assumes he is hallucinating, but the voice returns. After seeing a vision of a baseball diamond in the middle of his corn, Kinsella plows up the corn and builds a ballpark, although doing so puts his family and farm in a precarious financial position. Just at the point when Kinsella is convinced he has gone mad, Shoeless Joe Jackson (Liotta), Kinsella's late father's favorite player, walks out of the corn to play baseball on the field.

Although Kinsella believes he has fulfilled his mission to bring Shoeless Joe back to redeem himself, he continues to hear messages from the voice in the corn. The voices eventually lead him to Terence Mann (Jones), an author and activist Kinsella followed in the 1960s. Mann has given up his activism and become a software designer. Kinsella convinces Mann to return to Iowa with him, and on their way, they are told by the voice to find an old country doctor, Moonlight Graham (Burt Lancaster), who played one game in the major leagues but never got to bat. Although the doctor is long dead, he appears as a young man to Kinsella on his way back to Iowa. When Kinsella, Mann, and the teenage Graham return to Iowa, Kinsella meets the ghost of his father as a young minor league baseball player. For the first time, Kinsella is able to understand his father and the deeper meaning behind his father's obsession with baseball and Shoeless Joe Jackson. Not long after this, bankers come to foreclose on the farm. As Kinsella begins to realize the extent of his plight, an enormous line of cars begins to form outside of his home—people wanting to pay to watch Shoeless Joe and his fellow ghosts play baseball on Kinsella's field.

*Field of Dreams* touched a particular chord with baby boomers. Kinsella himself represents the average boomer male, forgetting how important baseball was to him as a child. Mann is clearly symbolic of all of the activists in the 1960s who sold out their principles to make money. The bankers foreclosing on the Kinsella farm represent the faceless corporations that now own baseball teams, focusing entirely on profits rather than a love of the game. The connection between boomer children and baseball is perhaps best explained by Mann, who looks out onto the field of ghost players and proclaims, "The one constant through all the years, Ray, has been baseball. America has rolled by like an army of steamrollers. It's been erased like a blackboard, rebuilt, and erased again. But baseball has marked the time. This field, this game, is a part of our past, Ray. It reminds us of all that was once good, and what could be good again."

*Field of Dreams* started a resurgence of baseball nostalgia, with dozens of books and movies recounting the "good old days" when children collected baseball cards for trading, rather than saving them as an investment. The actual "Field of Dreams" movie site on the Lansing Farm in Dyersville, Iowa, continues to be one of the top ten tourist attractions in the state. People flock from all over the United States to visit the field, trying to make the same connection with the lost innocence of youth that the film so effectively portrayed.

—Geoff Peterson

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## Field, Sally (1946—)

From perky, surf-loving Gidget in 1965 to gray-haired, frumpy Mrs. Gump in 1994, Academy award-winning actress Sally Field has exhibited a wide range of talent and an enduring likability in a profession that too often ignores women over the age of 40. If her roles have a common theme, it is that women are intelligent, strong, and capable of heroic deeds. Born in Pasadena, California, on November 6, 1946, Field was brought up by her actress mother and



Sally Field

her step-father Jock Mahoney. At 17, while most young women were deciding whether to go to college or to get married, Field won the starring role in the television show *Gidget* (1965-66), a role originally played by Sandra Dee in the hit movie of the same name. *Gidget* epitomized the typical teenager of the early 1960s, and Field was ideal for the role, establishing herself as a television star that gave young women a positive role model: enthusiastic and slightly goofy, but always inherently obedient and moralistic. The role of *Gidget* was followed by the even more endearing role of Sister Bertrille in *The Flying Nun* (1967-70). Ironically, Field was pregnant with her son Peter while flying through the air around the convent. She had married her high school sweetheart Steve Craig in 1968. Field gave birth to a second son, Eli, but the couple divorced in 1975. Field's last series, *The Girl Was Something Extra* (1973-74), told the story of a young newlywed who had extra-sensory perception (ESP).

The breakout performance of Field's early career came with the role of Sybil in 1976. Playing a young woman with multiple-personality disorder, Sally Field sealed her place in American television history and won an Emmy for her efforts. *Sybil* was as different from *Gidget* as it was possible to be. Bound up in her mental illness, *Sybil* took no pains with her appearance and had very few people skills—traits that were the essence of *Gidget*. While she met the challenges of this difficult role with apparent ease, Field paid a price

for playing against type. She was no longer perceived as an attractive leading lady. In 1977 she took on a different type of challenge with the role of young, attractive, fun-loving Carrie who accepts a ride from trucker Burt Reynolds while fleeing her wedding in *Smokey and the Bandit* (1977, 1980, 1983). With their seven-year alliance, the two became constant fodder for tabloids. However, while Field was entering her prime as an actress, Reynolds entered a period of decline, and the romance ended.

In 1979, Sally Field won her first of two Academy awards as Best Actress for her role in *Norma Rae*, the story of an Alabama textile worker who fought for unionization. When Field, as Norma Rae, stood up, holding her placard for union rights, and faced down irate mill owners, no one thought of Gidget. It was a moment that cemented the maturity of Sally Field as an actress and illustrated the gains made by women in American film. Unlike earlier female stars who had become known mostly for romantic and maternal roles, women of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s were allowed to become heroes by standing up for what they thought was right. Field's second Academy Award for Best Actress came with 1984's *Places in the Heart*. Playing Edna Spaulding, a Depression-era widow and the mother of two who fought to save her farm with only the help of a black man and a blind man, Field demonstrated that heroes could be more traditional than Norma Rae and still be memorable. Field said in a 1984 interview that Edna was her favorite role because she identified with her fierce love for her children and her strong will to survive. It was when accepting this Academy award that Field won a unique place in the award's history. Accepting the honor as proof that she had surpassed the roles of Gidget and Sister Bertrille, Field effused: "You like me—You really like me!" Rather than being accepted as the words of a woman who had matured from being a little girl struggling to please her absent father to a mature actress accepted by her peers, critics, and comedians had a "field" day with her acceptance speech.

Throughout her career, Sally Field has demonstrated versatility as an actress. In 1984's *Absence of Malice* with Paul Newman, Field played a reporter determined to get her story even at the cost of destroying innocent people. In 1985, Field played the much-younger love interest of veteran actor James Garner. Even though the movie was a romantic comedy, Field managed to strike a blow for women's rights with the role of a single-mother trying to raise her son by boarding horses. In 1989, Field led an all-star cast in *Steel Magnolias*, a fact-based story of six southern women who hang out at a beauty shop, loving and supporting one another and remaining strong even when death claims one of their group.

Continuing to take chances, Sally Field played the stable wife of a forever-youthful Robin Williams in *Mrs. Doubtfire* (1993), the voice of Sassy the cat in the two *Homeward Bound* (1993, 1996) movies, and justice-seeking mothers of an abducted daughter in *Not without My Daughter* (1991) and of a slain daughter in *Eye for an Eye* (1996). She again became involved in an Academy award-winning movie in 1994 when she accepted the role of Mrs. Gump in *Forrest Gump*. Ironically, Field played the mother of Tom Hanks, who had played opposite her six years before in *Punchline*. In 1998, Field continued to hold her own in the world of entertainment. She directed and starred in a segment of Tom Hank's phenomenal *From the Earth to the Moon* (1998) and remains active in improving the image of women in the entertainment industry and in a number of charitable works.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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## Fields, W. C. (1879-1946)

One of film comedy's best-loved performers, W. C. Fields has inspired countless impersonators but few imitators. In more than forty films over three decades, the bulbous-nosed actor perfected a unique comic persona marked by a love of whiskey, a hatred of small children and animals, and a love of underhanded chicanery. Among the memorable quotes attributed to Fields are "Anyone who hates dogs and kids can't be all bad" and "A thing worth having is a thing worth cheating for." His famous epitaph, "All things considered, I'd rather be in Philadelphia," paid mocking tribute to his birth city.

Born William Claude Dukenfield, Fields left home at age eleven to escape his abusive father. By age thirteen he was a skilled pool player and juggler, and was soon entertaining customers at amusement parks. By the age of twenty-one, he was one of the leading lights of Vaudeville. He played the Palace in London and starred at the Folies-Bergere in Paris. He appeared in each of the Ziegfeld Follies from 1915 through 1921. Fields's stage act, which featured both



W. C. Fields with Charlie McCarthy.

comedy and juggling, was immortalized in 1915 in his first silent film, *Pool Shark*. He devoted himself to films throughout the 1920s, though his comic persona did not find full flower until the advent of sound in the next decade.

Fields's best silent feature, *It's the Old Army Game* (1927), was later remade as his breakthrough talkie, *It's a Gift* (1934). That film, which cast Fields as a grocery clerk who moves his family west to manage a chain of orange groves, established for all time the incomparable W. C. Fields persona. His nose reddened by excessive drink, speaking sarcastic asides in a comic snarl, forever bedeviled by animals and children, Fields was the cantankerous bastard inside of every moviegoer, the personification of the male id unleashed. This emerging comic identity was also on view in a series of classic shorts he made for Mack Sennett. Most notable among these are *The Dentist* (1932), *The Barber Shop*, and *The Pharmacist* (both 1933).

Fields proved himself more than a mere clown, however. He also found a niche playing character roles in adaptations of the classics. He portrayed Humpty Dumpty in the all-star 1933 film version of *Alice in Wonderland*, then replaced Charles Laughton as Micawber in the 1935 adaptation of *David Copperfield*. Fields was also given serious consideration for the title role in 1939's *The Wizard of Oz*, though that part eventually went to Frank Morgan.

As the 1930s drew to a close, Fields began work on one last stretch of classic films. He teamed up with ventriloquist Edgar Bergen and his dummy Charlie McCarthy for the 1939 circus farce *You Can't Cheat an Honest Man*. *My Little Chickadee* (1940) paired Fields with Mae West, an inspired bit of casting that produced some of their best work. *The Bank Dick*, which Fields wrote using an alias, was perhaps his finest starring vehicle. Fields's last full-length starring feature was 1941's *Never Give a Sucker an Even Break*, an anarchic comedy whose plot outline Fields reportedly sketched out on a cocktail napkin.

Battling poor health, Fields continued acting in bit parts well into the 1940s. His infirmities eventually caught up with him, and he died of pneumonia on Christmas Day, 1946. In the decades after his death, Fields's filmic oeuvre generated a vibrant cult following. His works became a staple of late-night art house film festivals, and he was particularly beloved on college campuses. In 1976, Rod Steiger gamely impersonated the comic legend for a well-received biopic *W. C. Fields and Me*.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Fierstein, Harvey (1954—)

The gravel-voiced Harvey Fierstein was one of the first openly homosexual American actor/playwrights who lent his name and support to gay rights and AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) activism during the 1980s and 1990s. His breakthrough work was the autobiographical 1982 play *Torch Song Trilogy*, dealing with a young man's coming out and his relationship with his mother. Fierstein became familiar to moviegoers for his work as a supporting

actor in such blockbuster hits as *Mrs. Doubtfire* (1993) and *Independence Day* (1996) and he narrated the 1984 Oscar-winning documentary *The Times of Harvey Milk*, about an assassinated gay politician.

—Andrew Milner

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## The Fifties

The 1950s were a time of rapid change and lock step conformity, of new forms emerging out of old, and technical innovations proceeding at a breakneck pace. For all the talk of traditional American values, the country was shedding its past as a snake sheds its skin. By the decade's end, so much had changed—internationalism replacing isolationism; rampant consumerism replacing thrift; the extended family network, once the social glue binding the country, superseded by the suburban nuclear family—that the country was scarcely recognizable. Yet, the 1950s continues to be perceived as the ultra-American decade. Nostalgic for a time when America was without question the most powerful nation on earth, and, like the biblical land of milk and honey, overflowing with bounty, America has projected its anxieties back to this supposedly Golden Age. This perception does not bear scrutiny. At the time, it seemed as if overnight a familiar way of life had been replaced by shopping malls and prefabricated suburbs, the atom bomb and television sets—especially television sets.

It is almost impossible to calculate the effect television had in the first decade of its usage. Television intruded into every aspect of American life, leaving almost nothing untouched. Book sales declined; radio listenership slumped precipitously; the film industry, already in shambles, was dealt a staggering blow. By 1951, movie theaters had begun to close throughout the country—134 in Southern California alone—and even cities with only one television station were reporting drops in film attendance of between 20 and 40 percent. So fascinated was the public with this new medium, according to a 1951 study, that when a popular program was on, toilets would flush throughout the city as if on cue, in concert with commercial breaks or the conclusion of a program. Television altered the country's mores and conventions, its collective vision of the nation and the world, and the very nature of electoral politics. Television brought America the wars abroad and the war at home—the Arkansas National Guard blocking court-ordered school desegregation in Little Rock, the French Catastrophe at Dien Bien Phu—and the confluence of these forces, racial tension and American internationalism, would foster the more radical changes of the 1960s.

Nowhere was the effect of television so pervasive as in advertising, and so great was the effect of television advertising on consumer habits, it was almost Pavlovian. "Television was turning out to be a magic machine for selling products," writes David Halberstam, author of an exhaustive survey of the decade, "and the awareness of that was still dawning on Madison Avenue in the late 1950s." Six months after Revlon began sponsoring the popular game show, *The \$64,000 Question*, for instance, the company's revenues had risen 54 percent. The next year sales had risen to \$85.7 million, a \$33 million

increase, a figure close to Revlon's total profits prior to television. Obviously, there were winners and losers in this equation. The companies that could afford national advertising gained market share, and smaller companies lost it. In short, television furthered the subsumption of market capitalism under the hegemony of multinational corporations, a profound blow to the free-market that television so zealously trumpeted.

Television advertising was also used to great effect in politics. The campaign commercial became an integral part of the American electioneering, as did television coverage, replacing the whistle-stop tour as a tool of effective voter-outreach. Television could make or break a candidate: it was Richard Nixon's famous televised "Checkers" speech that saved his 1952 vice-presidential candidacy, and television again that proved his undoing against John F. Kennedy in 1960. In their debate, Nixon, exhausted by his arduous campaign schedule, and with the sweat washing away his makeup, appeared so haggard and pale that acquaintances called afterwards to inquire after his health. Kennedy, on the other hand, having spent the previous week relaxing poolside in Southern California, literally radiated vitality; the choice was apparently between a derelict used car salesman and a bronzed demi-god.

There was a schizoid quality to life in the 1950s, a manic oscillation between paranoia and omnipotence. The disjunct was fueled by the long shadow of the Depression and among certain parties, a blind, unreasoned hatred of Communism. "You and I were trained for a conflict that never came," writes D. J. Waldie in his memoir of life in Lakewood, California, the second, mass-produced suburb built in America (Levittown, New York, was first). "At my grade school, the Sisters of St. Joseph made me hate Communists, then intolerance, and finally everything that could break the charmed pattern of our lives. I am not sure the Sisters of St. Joseph expected this from their daily lessons on the Red threat." One might attribute this hyper-vigilance to a form of collective post-traumatic stress disorder, a reaction to defeating the Nazis, as if prosperity—linked as it was to war production—was contingent on possessing a worthy enemy to defeat.

In fact, this was precisely the case. The American economy had become beholden to Keynesian theory, perpetual war production. As it was, America had already experienced a series of recessions since the end of the war. The more leftist historians of the age would argue that the bellicose nature of our foreign policy—Korea, our material support of France's struggle in Indochina, our numerous covert actions in places like Guatemala and Iran—and our strident anti-Communism was in fact a method of keeping the war machine chugging away full blast. It was the Monroe Doctrine expanded to include the entire world. In addition, our numerous foreign interventions coincided with vested interests, and it was often at the behest of large corporations that foreign policy was molded. One seldom mentioned proof of this thesis is the new zeal with which Americans were taxed—they were spending more, but they were also, many for the first time, paying an income tax, much of which went to supporting our foreign excursions. By the end of the decade, even Eisenhower could not ignore the changes the cold war had wrought, and his farewell address carried a dire warning.

Above all else, red-baiting made for effective campaign politics. Richard Nixon, perhaps America's most opportunistic politician, first saw the value of red-baiting, using the Alger Hiss hearings before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) as a bully pulpit, pushing anti-Communist legislation through sub-committee when the matter seemed all but dead. Nixon then seized the moral high ground

in his 1950 senatorial race, mercilessly baiting his liberal opponent, Helen Gallagher Douglas, at every opportunity. Senator Joseph McCarthy became the most notorious red-baiter of all, stepping into the role of what David Halberstam called an "accidental demagogue" when he casually mentioned a fictitious list of State Department Communists at a Lincoln Day Celebration in Wheeling, West Virginia. McCarthy's campaign to ferret out Communism lasted four long years, fueled as much by a lust for headlines as by ideological conviction. It ended with his ill-conceived attack on the U.S. Army, leading to his censure by the Senate and political disgrace. The red scare was, as Maryland Senator Millard Tydings said of Joseph McCarthy, "a hoax and a fraud . . . an attempt to inflame the American people with a wave of hysteria and fear on an unbelievable scale." As such, it was a smashing success. Nixon was victorious in his senatorial campaign against Douglas in 1950. Tydings, whose comments exposed him to the full brunt of far right wrath, was not: he lost his seat in 1956.

If America was exporting spear rattling abroad, at home the good life was being rationalized as never before. Technology and the mania for speedy service had crept into almost every facet of commerce from restaurants (McDonald's) to motels (Holiday Inn) to shopping (E.J. Korvetts, and the many discount department stores Korvetts inspired) to farming itself. Family farms disappeared at a staggering rate, replaced by large agribusiness conglomerates, whose indiscriminate use of pesticides and feed additives, along with promotion of the beef industry, changed forever the American diet. Whatever product or service could be performed, could be performed better and more efficiently as part of a chain, or so it was thought. Ray Kroc, the original franchiser of McDonald's, demonstrated this with stunning success. It was part of a democratization of goods and services. What had formally been the province of the upper-middle class—leisure, cars, houses—was now available to the working man, albeit in a watered-down form. Nowhere was this dual relationship—technology and egalitarianism—in commerce more apparent than in the housing industry.

Housing had suffered from the paucity of building supplies during World War II. In 1944 there had been a mere 114,000 new house starts, and with the return of America's soldiers, the housing shortage became a housing crisis. Bill Levitt, himself a veteran of the Seabees, began thinking about applying assembly line techniques to housing before the war, and had bought a plot of farmland on Long Island with his brother for that very purpose. Levitt wanted to bring housing to the working class and emancipate them from the inner city. Following the war, Levitt, with the aid of Federally-insured mortgages, began building a community of 17,000 minimalist Cape Cod houses, a scale of production heretofore unknown. Everything was pre-fabricated and transported to the building site, where specialized crews moved from one lot to the next in assembly-line fashion performing their single task. Construction was finished within a matter of months.

"This is Levittown! All yours for \$58. You're a lucky fellow, Mr. Veteran," proclaimed an ad in the *New York Times*. "Uncle Sam and the world's largest builder have made it possible for you to live in a charming house in a delightful community without having to pay for them with your eye teeth." Veterans stormed Levitt's sales office; in one day alone 1,400 contracts were drawn up. The new owners were pioneers in what became a mass exodus from city to suburb as all across the nation similar projects were initiated. Levitt himself built several other Levittowns along the East Coast. It was a revolutionary change in living for the nuclear family. In 1955, Levitt-type suburbs accounted for 75 percent of the new housing starts. Within thirty years

some 60 million people had moved to the prefabricated suburbs Levitt had helped to create, while fifteen of the twenty-five largest cities had declined in population, a massive migration that would have dramatic consequences in the ensuing years.

The ranks of the suburbanized middle class were swelling, but what was the price of this newfound affluence? The suburbs were clean and safe, but living in them could be enervating, especially to college-educated women who had forsaken careers for domesticity and child-rearing. Nor were men spared the malaise. It was ironic, an irony not lost on many returning veterans, that having risked their lives in war, they had returned to another kind of death, that of the colorless organization man. In 1950 sociologist David Reisman published *The Lonely Crowd*, his psychological exploration of middle class anomie. Shortly thereafter, Sloan Wilson quit his advertising job to write *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*, his 1955 novel portraying the emptiness of the suburbs. "Have we become a nation of yes-men?" these books asked. Was solace to be found in blind materialism? Many sensed the danger, but could not resist the allure. "*The Lonely Crowd* was anatomized in 1950," wrote Richard Schickel, "and the fear of drifting into its clutches was lively in us. *White Collar* [C. Wright Mills' truculent attack on conformist culture] was on our brick and board bookshelves, and we saw how the eponymous object seemed to be choking the life out of earlier generations . . . though of course, even as we read about these cautionary figures, many of us were talking to corporate recruiters about entry-level emulation of them."

While the nation fell further under the sway of homogeneity, it was no surprise that a kind of exaggerated rebel would become a popular cultural icon, an omnipresent figure in literature (the Beats), in rock and roll, and the movies. Stars such as James Dean, Marlon Brando, and Montgomery Clift assayed a new type of masculinity; sensitive, brooding, and rebellious, while Elvis Presley, and to a greater degree, Jerry Lee Lewis, comported themselves with a haughty menace. These sneering film and music stars were America's surrogate rebels, acting out in ways most people could ill afford to chance. America's contempt for what it had become was caught in the sneer, an expression that, when employed by Marlon Brando or James Dean or Elvis Presley, contemptuously leveled the organization man and the carrot-on-a-stick world of nine-to-five.

Rock and roll was this rebellious spirit's most potent manifestation. The culmination of years of cross-cultural evolution, teenagers began enthusiastically seeking out "race" music, one of a variety of blues and rhythm and blues (R&B), in the early 1950s, an enthusiasm all the more attractive for the disapprobation with which parents reacted to it. Rock and roll was unabashedly sexual, exuberant, and raucous. To parents everywhere it represented a threat, an insidious menace crawling up from the cellars of the lower classes. In 1951, a Cleveland record store owner reported this new craze to DJ Alan Freed, then playing classical music on a late-night show, and prevailed upon him to change his show to the nascent rock and roll, making Freed one of the first disc jockeys in the country to program bi-racially. Previously, a Memphis DJ, Dewey Phillips, had devised a show, *Red, Hot and Blue*, that had become the rage among Memphis's hip youth. Memphis was thoroughly segregated, but on Phillips show one could hear Ike Turner, Fats Domino, and B. B. King alongside Bill Haley, Hank Williams, Johnny Cash; in short, the two styles from which rock and roll derived played side-by-side.

Elvis Presley, who listened religiously to Phillips show, exemplified this hybrid, blending country-western, blues, and evangelical mania, presented with a sneer ripped straight off the face of James

Dean, whom the young Elvis worshipped. Linking the surliness of Dean with the frenzy of the gospel revivalist was an inspired combination. "This cat came out in a coat and pink shirt and socks and he had this sneer on his face and he stood behind the mike for five minutes, I'll bet, before he made a move," said country singer Bob Luman in recalling an early Elvis show. "Then he hit his guitar a lick and he broke two strings. . . . So there he was, these two strings dangling, and he hadn't done anything yet, and these high school girls were screaming and fainting and running up to the stage and then he started to move his hips real slow like he had a thing for his guitar." This was the threat that parents worried over, why religious groups burned rock and roll records, and why the music was ineluctably attractive to the kids, and the nature of music, and musical celebrity would never be the same.

The change in rock and roll over the course of the decade, from unbridled passion to commercial product, was an early lesson in co-optation. But for the Beat writers, defiance to American values, such as they were, was a central tenet of their thinking, and they were regularly castigated for it. Writing in the November 1959 issue of *Life*, Paul O'Neill called the Beat writers "undisciplined and slovenly amateurs who have deluded themselves into believing their lugubrious absurdities are art simply because they have rejected the form, styles, and attitudes of previous generations." The Beats rejected American consumerism and the plastic world of mortgages and car payments, living, instead, on the periphery. "In their discontent with American values," writes Ted Morgan, William S. Burroughs' biographer, "with cold-war suspicion, with loving the bomb, with a society shaped by corporate power and moral smugness, they had come up with something more vital. . . . In their rejection of the boring, the conventional, and the academic, in their adoption of a venturesome lifestyle, they gave everyone the green light to plumb their own experience." And while they were derided in the 1950s, endlessly examined for moral failings, labeled as naysayers and saddled with the diminutive, Beatnik (after Sputnik), America could not be rid of them. Within a few short years, their progeny, the baby-boomers who read them in high school, were omnipresent.

The most common representation of the 1950s is a sort of glossy coffee table *histoire*, heavy on photographic images and short on historical fact. It is these images of tail fins and spotless kitchens and poodle skirts that endure, as if the other America, the America of violent racist attacks, of Little Rock and Montgomery—the incipient racism and paranoia of the most powerful country on earth—never existed. "One reason that Americans as a people became nostalgic about the 1950s more than twenty-five years later," writes Halberstam, "was not so much that life was better in the 1950s (though in some ways it was), but because at the time it had been portrayed so idyllically on television. It was the television images of the era that remained so remarkably sharp in people's memories, often fresher than memories of real life. Television reflected a world of warm-hearted, sensitive, tolerant Americans, a world devoid of anger and meanness of spirit and, of course, failure." Those aficionados of the decade who dress in vintage clothing, drive 1950s-era cars, and listen to the music, have made of the 1950s a virtual cult of style. Their strivings to elude the present constitutes a nostalgic retreat, a harkening back to a Golden Age through the mute power of artifacts. This beneficent image, the make-believe world represented by such movies and television shows as *Grease*, *Happy Days*, *Sha Na Na*, and *Laverne and Shirley*, constitutes an evasion, a return to a time of clear cut values, which is all the more insidious for being a fiction. As a



decade, the 1950s represents a sort of idealized America, but this image has more to do with the 1970s television show, *Happy Days*, than with any objective reality.

It is perhaps to be expected, then, that, compared to the abundance of memoirs, histories, analyses, and so on published about the 1960s, there is such a paucity of historical material on the 1950s. Ironic, and unsettling, because the America we have inherited, and with which some take umbrage, was shaped in great part by the 1950s. Much of the landscape we take for granted—fast food franchises and foreign policy, corporate hegemony and interstate freeways—was brought into being during that era, as was the generation that went to college, protested the war, took acid, and wrote a memoir. They prefer to remember the 1950s as a bad dream.

—Michael Baers

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## Film Noir

The genre known as film noir emerged from economic, political, and moral crises in European and American cultures in the years

leading up to World War II. Its American origins are in the “tough-guy” and “hard-boiled” novels that became popular in the 1920s and 1930s, and which, as Hollywood became more liberal in the 1940s and 1950s, could more easily be adapted for the movies than before. Such novels were also popular in Europe, particularly in France, where they were known as “romans noirs,” and were published under imprints with titles such as “La Série Noire.” When the embargo on American films that existed in France under German occupation was lifted in 1944, many of the films that first arrived were based on hard-boiled novels, and it seems natural for French critics to have begun categorizing these films as “film noir.” The European influence on film noir is not restricted to its name, however. Many of the cinematic techniques, and the overall pessimistic outlook of these movies, can be found in French “poetic realist” films made in the 1930s, and more especially, the work of German Expressionist film makers, many of whom emigrated to the United States to escape the Nazis and went on to work in Hollywood.

German directors such as Fritz Lang and Robert Siodmak, and cinematographers, such as Hungarian-born John Alton, used contrasting light and shade, odd camera angles, and scenes dominated by shadow, to reproduce on screen the bleak vision of hard-boiled writers such as Dashiell Hammett, Cornell Woolrich, and others. Movies in the film noir style can be recognized by their visual dependence on the effect of *chiaroscuro*, the contrast between light and shade. Characters and objects in film noir are often backlit, so that they cast long shadows and their features are obscured, or else the principals are brightly lit from the front so that the background is dark. Faces are pictured half-observed by darkness, or crosshatched by the shadows of prison bars, window frames, or banister rods; the corners of rooms are dark and the interiors of cars provide a gloomy, claustrophobic setting.

Although many of its visual codes are familiar, the overall concept of film noir is notoriously difficult to pin down; although their plots usually center on crime, films included in the corpus cannot easily be identified as belonging to one particular genre. For example, Howard Hawks's *The Big Sleep* (1946), an adaptation of Raymond Chandler's novel of the same name, is a detective thriller, while Charles Laughton's *The Night of the Hunter* (1955) concerns an ex-con's search for the proceeds of a robbery committed by his former cellmate. Billy Wilder's *Sunset Boulevard* (1950) depicts a vain and ageing star of silent movies obsessed with loyalty, her lost beauty and star status; it ends with her murder of the young man who rejects her and is narrated, famously, by the victim, face down in the swimming pool. What these films do have in common, however, is a fascination with psychological instability, sexual obsession, and alienation. Unlike the “Hollywood Gothic” of films such as *Dracula* (1931) or *The Bride of Frankenstein* (1935), what appears as monstrous in film noir derives not from the half-human horrors of the vampire or Frankenstein's monster, but from the all too human characteristics of jealousy, greed, lust, and ruthless self-interest.

Such themes are by no means exclusive to film noir, of course, and film categories must be defined as much by their technical and visual features as by thematic and formal tendencies. If film noir is difficult to define in terms of the plots of the films it includes, the problem is hardly eased by critics' reliance on terms such as “style,” “mood,” and “sensibility” when discussing films of “noir” pedigree. Rather than seeing film noir as a genre, many critics instead view it as a movement, a set of films and filmmakers expressing a common approach to life using similar literary sources, narrative structures, and visual codes.

The difficulties of describing film noir as a genre combine the problem of the sheer variety of different types of stories such films encompass, and the question of what it is exactly that distinguishes them from other films. Many films, for example, use *chiaroscuro* but can be described only as *noir-ish*, while others, such as *Gilda* (1946) are accepted as film noir, but betray their otherwise pessimistic tone with a happy ending of sorts. A further complication is that while genres seem not to be trapped in a particular time or place, film noir is very closely linked with the Hollywood of the 1940s. A significant proportion of films in the film noir mode that have been made since then refer back, in some way, to the immediate post-war period, and many of the reasons for film noir's appearance at that time and place have to do with the particular culture of Hollywood. Financial restrictions on filmmakers during the war have already been mentioned, but other factors, such as the perception of German Expressionist style as "quality," and the need among the smaller studios for new and distinctive film products, are also important. The opportunities film noir gave for directors and cinematographers to "show off" their talents, combined with the gradual relaxation of the Hays Code, which controlled the "moral content" of movies, made Hollywood cinema receptive to the content, mood, and style of film noir in the 1940s.

Because most noir films were "B" movies, or at least made much of their money in the so-called "grind houses"—small theatres playing a rolling program and catering for people on the move from one town to another—budgets for sets, costume, and film stock were limited. This was particularly the case with films made during and just after the war, when money for new sets was restricted to \$5000 per film. The shadowy look of what has become known as film noir could be used to conceal props and sets lacking in detail, or perhaps missing altogether. While much of this could be achieved by lighting effects alone, cinematographers such as John Alton, or Gregg Toland, who worked on Orson Welles's famous early noir film, *Citizen Kane* (1940), enhanced and spread out the darkness in their pictures by underexposing slow film. Faster film stock, which had only recently become available, was, in any case, much more expensive.

Besides economic considerations, the visual style of film noir owes much to the ideas and techniques of émigré directors such as Lang, Siodmak, and Wilder. Lang's German film, *M* (1931), for example, uses shadowy streets, empty, darkened office buildings, and unlit attics to depict the inner turmoil of the child murderer, played by Peter Lorre. If the chaos of the murderer's mind is represented by the cluttered attics in which he hides, so the dank, half-lit cellar in which he is lynched by a mob of "decent" people suggests that humanity at large is troubled by a dark inner life. This view of the human psyche as dark and troubled, brought by directors such as Lang and Siodmak from Nazi Germany, appears too in the "tough" stories written in America during the 1920s and 1930s. Combining such a view of humanity with the American themes of urban alienation, organized crime, and fear of failure, such stories became ideal vehicles for the émigrés and their followers, and it is from this combination that the mood and sensibility of film noir developed.

Robert Siodmak's 1946 film of Ernest Hemingway's short story "The Killers" (1927) is a good example of the interplay between the look of film noir and its exploration of the ambiguities of the human psyche. *The Killers* concerns a man known as "The Swede" (Burt Lancaster) who waits in his small, dark room for his killers to arrive, accepting his fate because "I did something wrong. Once." Hemingway's story takes us only to the moments before the killers arrive,

while the film uncovers what it was he did wrong through a narrative constructed mainly from flashbacks. The images of The Swede's last moments include shots of him, in a darkened room, lying half-dressed on the bed, deep in thought. The impenetrable shadows around him suggest the impenetrability of his thoughts. His enigmatic and ambiguous answer to the man who warns him of his approaching death suggests the possibility of regret for a criminal past, but turns out to refer to his obsession with a woman. Through flashbacks, and the insurance investigator's haphazard reconstruction of events, it emerges that what The Swede has "done wrong" has nothing to do with the fact of his criminal past but with the psychological reasons for it.

This emphasis on The Swede's psychological state is representative of film noir's fascination with psychoanalysis. Frank Krutnik suggests in *In a Lonely Street* (1991) that Freudian psychoanalysis became popular in America during the late 1930s and 1940s and coincided with the adaptation of hard-boiled crime stories such as "The Killers" by Hollywood. Krutnik argues that the shift in crime thrillers towards highlighting the psychological reasons for and consequences of crime can be attributed to this popularization of psychoanalysis. This is evident, he thinks, in the complex narrative structures of many films noirs, including *The Killers*. In these films, "the process of storytelling becomes submerged"; it becomes unclear who is telling the story, whose version is true, and what their motives are for telling it in a particular way. *Citizen Kane*, for example, addresses directly the process of telling and retelling stories, being the story of the rise and fall of a newspaper magnate. In *Citizen Kane*, as in film noir in general, the margins between fantasy, psychosis, and reality become blurred; the film emerges as the story of Kane's psychological flaws, centering on an incident from his childhood. All of these signs of unstable psychological states are enhanced by film noir's adoption of techniques from Expressionist cinema: exaggerated darkness and light/shade contrast, strange camera angles, and plain, unrealistic sets.

While the political conditions of Europe in the 1930s affected the American film industry through the arrival of talented filmmakers, film noir is also a product of the political instability of the period during and after World War II. Critics point to a crisis in American national identity, the problems of war veterans readjusting to civilian life, and the new threats of the atom bomb and the Cold War, as possible cultural reasons for the flourishing of film noir in the period 1941 to 1958. Certainly the aftermath of war meant that large numbers of young men, to some extent institutionalized by life in the forces, and often physically or psychologically damaged, now had to look after themselves and find work in a competitive labor market that included many more women than before. They returned from war anxious that their contribution be acknowledged, yet questioning what they had fought for, given the new threat that was emerging in Eastern Europe and the Far East. On a more personal level, many returned to wives and families who were no longer dependent on them for financial or emotional support, whose lives had continued without them for several years, and who were unable to understand the ordeal they had suffered. All of this contributed to a sense of instability and hostility in the culture at large that is a central feature of film noir.

Like many films of the time, *The Blue Dahlia* (1946) makes direct reference to the concerns and problems associated with returning war veterans. The story revolves around the return of Johnny Morrison (Alan Ladd) from service in the Navy and his discovery of his wife's infidelity. Helen Morrison (Doris Dowling) represents the new moral possibilities for women in the years following the war, abandoning the traditional roles of wife and mother and declaring her

freedom to go where and do what she wants. She goads Johnny into using violence against her, and so unwittingly makes him a suspect for her murder. The exchanges between her and Johnny represent a challenge to old-fashioned versions of masculinity, based on physical strength and power over women and the family. While Johnny's violence is presented in the film as unacceptable and excessive, the idea that he is in some way struggling to come to terms with a changed world presents itself as a way of understanding his actions. The male characters in this film, like The Swede in *The Killers*, and men in film noir in general, command our sympathy because they have all in some way been deprived of their defining masculine roles by forces beyond their control. As is also common in film noir, Johnny finds emotional support in his relationships with other men. Frank Krutnik suggests that the problems Johnny experiences in his conventional family are offset by the stability of the "all-male Navy family" that consists of his friends George and Buzz.

Women in film noir tend to fall into two main categories: those who support the hero as good, wives, or pliant molls, and those who use their sexuality in an explicit way to manipulate men and get what they want. Women in this second group, a key feature of film noir, are known as "femmes fatales," dangerous women who encourage the hero's obsessive sexual interest to the point where he will risk his job, his freedom, or even his life for her. The insecurity of the hero's identity, outlined above in the case of The Swede in *The Killers*, leads him to "over-invest" in a version of her sexuality which he himself has invented; the femme fatale is awarded power over the hero by the (weakened) hero himself. Her inevitable death can be seen as punishment for her "unfair" exploitation of her advantage.

The many examples of cheating wives like Helen Morrison, and more obvious femmes fatales whose overt sexuality plays a part in the hero's misery, is often given as evidence of film noir's inherent misogyny, of a conservative core in what otherwise appears to be a subversive alternative to classical Hollywood cinema. But the femme fatale is usually drawn in at least as much psychological detail as her male counterpart, and the emergence of that unexpected complexity often takes the place of the quest or mystery plot at the center of the hero's attentions. She rejects classical Hollywood cinema's version of passive womanhood and, by whatever means she has at her disposal, actively seeks independence and freedom from men. She is remembered by audiences not for her death, but for her strength in life, her sexual power, and the deadly challenge she represents to the male's attempt to solve the mystery or reach the end of his quest. If film noir is concerned with exploring ambiguities of perspective (through voice-overs and flashbacks), the limits of subjective vision (through the use of shadow, and unnatural camera angles), and the instability of the human psyche, then the femme fatale represents a further interference with clarity of vision. Like the heroes of film noir, the femme fatale is an ambiguous figure, at once the victim of society's restrictions and the defiant answer to them. Her strength, sexual independence, and freedom pose a direct challenge to the masculine gaze of the hero and the male majority of film noir's original audience.

The origins of film noir in the political turmoil of pre-war Europe, and post-war America and Hollywood would seem to limit its scope to the historical period from which it springs. Although film noir was at its most popular during the late 1940s and 1950s, "noir" and "neo-noir" films have appeared right up to the 1990s. Some of these, like *Farewell, My Lovely* (1975), have been remakes of films made in the 1940s; others, such as *Chinatown* (1974), recreate the

look of 1930s Los Angeles. *Taxi Driver* (1976) and *Seven* (1995) bring "noir" sensibilities to their contemporary settings, while *Blade Runner* (1982) adds a futuristic, science-fiction setting that compounds the ambiguities, instabilities, and uncertainties of more conventional film noir. If film noir viewed 1940s America through the bleak sentiments of pre-war Europe, it remains a "dark mirror" in which we look to find out who we are, and what we might become.

—Chris Routledge

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## Firearms

The right to carry a gun, whether for purposes of self-protection or hunting animals, is an emotional issue embedded deep in the cultural consciousness of the United States. By the 1990s, after some eight decades of destruction wrought by the use of guns by organized crime, political assassins, and dangerous psychopaths, many Americans were growing disturbed by their gun heritage, but they remained in a hopeless minority when it came to effecting anti-gun legislation.

The American love of firearms probably originated in a combination of frontier actuality and propaganda coup. When English colonists and Native American cultures collided, the usual result was gunfire from the colonists, who won the Pequot and King Philip's wars and secured their toeholds in North America. When Revolutionaries created an icon of independence, it was the Minute Man, usually portrayed with plow in the background and long rifle in hand. According to Samuel Adams and the Concord Battle Monument, it was the Minute Man who defeated the British and won the Revolution. That heroic figure of the liberty-loving, citizen-soldier hovers over all twentieth-century discussions of gun control and the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, whose complete text reads, "A well-regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State,



A Thompson Machine gun and a Colt .45.

the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.’’ Those individuals and organizations like the NRA (National Rifle Association) who favor individual gun ownership stress the last two phrases of the Second Amendment. Those who support gun control or elimination argue that the complete Amendment provides for police organization, not for an individual right.

In the twentieth century, certain specific weapons have achieved iconic status for Americans. In popular military imagination, there are only two American rifles. The first is the M1, or Garand Semi-Automatic Rifle, which General George S. Patton memorialized in his famous assertion, “In my opinion, the M1 rifle is the greatest battle implement ever devised.” The M1 is the final development of infantry doctrine which stresses target selection, accuracy, and measured fire. (The original design specifications excluded full automatic firing.) For perhaps 25 years (1944-1969), the M1 was a symbol of American might, rooted in GI grit and bravery, and reluctantly deployed in order to save the world. Some of the best movie images of M1s in skilled acting hands can be seen in William Wellman’s *Battleground* (1949) and Samuel Fuller’s *Fixed Bayonets* (1951).

The second legendary American military weapon is the M16 rifle. Imaginatively speaking, the M16, which can be toggled for either semi-automatic or full automatic firing, figures in the moral ambiguities of the late Cold War and post-Cold War periods. Late twentieth-century infantry doctrine takes as fundamental the statistical fact that, under fire, the majority of riflemen in World War II did not fire their weapons, and those who did tended to fire high. The M16, with its automatic-fire option and light recoil, lets a soldier “cover” a target area without particular target selection. Probability, more than aim, determines the results.

One of the most enduring and disturbing images of the M16 resides in a television interview during the 1968 Tet Offensive in Vietnam. The reporter questions a rifleman (Delta Company, 5th

Brigade, 1st Marine Division) who repeatedly jumps into firing position, shoots a burst of automatic fire, and drops down to relative safety. He first tells the reporter, “The hardest thing is not knowing where they are.” After another burst, he says, “The whole thing stinks, really.”

When such confusion, which must be common to the experience of all soldiers in the field, is replayed uncensored on television, the iconography shifts from democratic Dogface to enduring but victimized Grunt, doing the will of (at best) deluded leaders. The M16 shares in this imaginative legacy of the Vietnam War, whereas M16s in the hands of young, drug-busting Colombian soldiers, or crowd-controlling Israeli soldiers are more likely to provoke sympathy for peasants and protesters than concerns for enlisted men.

The counterpart to the M16 is the Soviet AK47, which expresses the same combat doctrine. With its characteristic banana-clip and crude wooden stock and fore-piece, the AK47 has a somewhat sharper emblematic presence than the high-industrial M16, perhaps because it is associated with the uprising of the oppressed. It was the weapon of the victorious North Vietnamese Army, and figures in the artful, controlled imagery from that side of the war. In contemporary Mexico, the contrast between M16 and AK47 is stark. The army is equipped with M16s. When one of their most militant opponents, Sub-commander Marcos of the Zapatista National Liberation Army, appears for photo opportunities, he does so “in full military garb with an AK47 automatic rifle strapped across his chest” according to the *New York Times*.

The M16 carries its ambiguous military significance into equivocal imaginations of civilian life. While there are relatively few images of the M1 deployed on American streets, the M16 figures prominently in urban American drug movies. Police SWAT teams carry the weapons in various configurations, ever more technically advanced. In such modern, nihilistic gangster movies as Michael Mann’s *Heat* (1995),

Val Kilmer's split devotion to family and to casually murderous excitement has him emptying uncounted magazines of .223 ammunition at expendable policemen, his weapon always toggled to full automatic. The camera delights in shattered windshields, while the exquisite audio-track records the counterpoint of firing with the clinking sound of spent cartridges hitting the streets and sidewalks.

Moving from long guns to hand guns, the American pistol that probably holds pride of place in twentieth-century civilian imagination is the ".45 Automatic," Colt's Model 1911, semi-automatic military side-arm whose high-caliber, relatively low-velocity cartridge was meant to knock a man down, wherever it struck him. It had a name-recognition advantage, since the other Colt .45, a six-shooter, is the favorite gun of such Western movies as *High Noon* (1952). A presentation-grade version of the 1911 Semi-Automatic Colt .45 appears in the movie *Titanic* (1997). The counter-image to the .45 automatic is the German Luger, officer issue in the German army. The pistol's narrow barrel and curved trigger-guard give it a sinuous, European quality, in contrast to the bluff (and heavy) American .45. In cinematic imagination, seductively evil men use Lugers in such movies as Clint Eastwood's *Midnight in Garden of Good and Evil* (1997).

The more visually and audibly stimulating weapon associated with mid-twentieth-century urban mayhem is the "Tommy gun," whose movie and comic-strip rat-a-tat-tat! lights up the seemingly countless gangster-vs.-cops movies. A Tommy gun is the .45 caliber, fully automatic Thompson sub-machine gun. The "sub" simply means that it is smaller in size and magazine capacity than a military machine-gun. There is a famous photograph of smiling John Dillinger, with a drum-magazine Tommy gun in one hand, a small Colt automatic pistol in the other. The most eroticized, cinematic realization of the Tommy gun's power is in the slow-motion shooting of Warren Beatty and Faye Dunaway at the end of Arthur Penn's *Bonnie and Clyde* (1969).

Other handguns permeate late-twentieth-century popular culture. The *James Bond* novels and movies briefly popularized the Walther PPK, and Clint Eastwood's *Dirty Harry* series gave us "Go ahead, make my day," but few know the make of gun down which he speaks (it's a Smith & Wesson .44 Magnum). There are Uzis (Israeli micro sub-machine guns) and the MAC-10, but none of these weapons has the imaginative staying power of the M1, M16, AK47, Colt .45, Luger, and Tommy gun.

—Jonathan Middlebrook

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## Firesign Theatre

With their education, artfulness, attention to detail, and full use of the newly emerging multitrack technologies, the four members of The Firesign Theatre—Peter Bergman (1939—), David Ossman (1936), Phil Proctor (1940—), and Phil Austin (1947)—were the Beatles of recorded comedy. Writing and performing their own material, they created multi-layered surrealist satires out of the very stuff of popular culture: television shows, the Golden Age of Radio, old movies, commercials, literature, music, etc. At a time when the Who was pioneering the rock concept album, Firesign was pioneering the comedy concept album. Their humor reflected the times; complaints about their occasional drug references may be misplaced, since it would be difficult to represent southern California in the 1960s and 1970s without mentioning drugs. But their comedy was much more than an amalgam of cultural references. One 40-minute album might be as tightly structured as a one-act play, achieve real poignancy, and convey new ways of looking at things, new connections; the first cut on their first album, for example, presents a brief aural history of the United States from the Indians' point of view. The group's comedy albums are among the few that can be listened to repeatedly and still be enjoyed, each new listening revealing subtle asides, missed connections, and hidden messages.

Bergman and Proctor first met while studying playwriting at Yale, and Bergman went on to work on a British radio show with Goon Show alumnus Spike Milligan. While in England, Bergman saw the Beatles for the first time, and vowed someday to become part of a four-man comedy team. The foursome came together in 1966 as part of "Radio Free Oz," a free-form late-night FM radio show on KPFK in Los Angeles, hosted by Bergman. Guests included Andy Warhol and Buffalo Springfield, but the show developed a cult following because of the group's improvisations. No one was aware of the size of their following until the group began promoting a Love-In (a word coined by Bergman) in Elysian Park in Los Angeles, and 40,000 hippies showed up. Seeing the commercial potential, CBS record producer Gary Usher signed the group to a record contract. Their first four albums for CBS remain the core of their work, include their best albums, and show the group's evolution: the transition from shorter pieces to album-length fantasies, and the emergence of the Fifth Crazee Guy. The Firesign Theatre's publishing company is called 4 or 5 Crazee Guys Publishing because the group found that, when all were contributing and when each had ultimate veto power (if anyone of them didn't like a line, it was out), a tangible entity emerged that was much more than the sum of its parts: the Fifth Crazee Guy. According to Austin, "It's like, suddenly there is this fifth guy that actually does the writing." And who is the Fifth Crazee Guy? He's Clem riding the bus, he's George Leroy Tirebiter, he's Mr. and Mrs. John Smith from Anytown, USA, he's the audience's laughter, he's an everyman (and everywoman) reflecting our culture and our collective unconscious. To begin to grasp how the Fifth Crazee Guy manifests itself on Firesign albums, imagine someone who had The Goon Show and the Beatles as parents but grew up in America, and then, at some point, was sucked into an alternate universe.

Their first album, *Waiting for the Electrician or Someone Like Him* (1968), contains several short pieces on Side One (including the Indians'-eye view of American history and some drug humor), with all of Side Two taken up by a comic nightmare journey through Turkish security, complete with the now-classic game-show sendup Beat the Reaper. That album sold poorly, but their sophomore effort,

*How Can You Be in Two Places At Once When You're Not Anywhere At All* (1969), benefitted from the emergence of FM radio as a significant force and the willingness of FM deejays to play long cuts. The title piece is a sonic delight that puts you behind the wheel of a motor home with climate control that changes the climate as no car ever has before. And *Side Two* contains the piece that is most likely to convert the uninitiated: *Nick Danger, Third Eye*, a pun-filled satire of noir radio dramas involving a Peter Lorre soundalike and bizarre time-travel convolutions. Their third and fourth albums, considered to be their best, each contain one long cut (interrupted only by the pre-CD need to turn the album over). *Don't Crush That Dwarf, Hand Me the Pliers* (1970), the first of their albums recorded on 16 tracks, mingles the recollections of film producer George Leroy Tirebiter with footage from one of his teen comedies, "High School Madness," to produce a moving nostalgia piece loaded with laughs. But nothing could prepare fans for the total sonic immersion of *I Think We're All Bozos On This Bus* (1971), a sensurround trip to and through the Future Fair—a cross between Disneyland and a World's Fair—complete with clones, computers, and holograms, where our hero, Clem, eventually breaks the president and has a showdown with the computer controlling everything. Repeated listenings reveal hidden subtleties. The fourth time through the listener may realize that, while passengers are warned to pump their shoes before walking across the water, Clem gave up shoes years ago. And the sixth listening might reveal that, when Clem talks about how he's going to just "sink in" to his bus seat and the P.A. says to get "in sync," the words "sink" and "sync" are, in fact, in sync. At the end of the millennium, Firesign was still going strong, producing the album *Give Me Immortality or Give Me Death* (1998), set at Radio Now (a station so cutting-edge that it changes formats every commercial break) on the last hour of the last day of 1999. And individual troupe members continued to lend their vocal talents to everything from *The Tick* TV series (1995) to *A Bug's Life* (1998).

—Bob Sullivan

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## Fischer, Bobby (1943—)

In 1972, American Robert "Bobby" James Fischer became the world's chess champion after defeating Soviet Boris Spassky. This match, set against the backdrop of Cold War rivalries, marked the pinnacle of Fischer's often turbulent career. In 1975, Fischer was stripped of his title after refusing to defend it. Despite his eccentricities, Fischer's demands initiated improvements in playing conditions and the financial rewards of professional chess. In the western world, Fischer's dramatic rise to international prominence revitalized popular interest in chess.

In 1992, Fischer, still claiming to be the legitimate world champion, ended his self-imposed exile to play a return match against Spassky. Played in war-torn Yugoslavia in violation of United States and United Nations sanctions, this match again made Fischer the center of popular controversy. Fischer defeated Spassky with 10 wins,

5 losses, and 15 draws, and received \$3.65 million as the winner's share of the prize fund. Following the match Fischer returned to seclusion.

—Christopher D. O'Shea

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## Fisher, Eddie (1928—)

For a brief time, Eddie Fisher was the most popular male vocalist in America, but for a longer period, the affable crooner was the center



Eddie Fisher

of a highly-publicized series of romantic entanglements, involving some of the most famous celebrities of his generation.

One of seven children of a Jewish grocer in South Philadelphia, Edward Fisher had a Depression-era childhood of poverty and frequent moves. He sought a singing career from an early age, and became a regular performer on Philadelphia radio by the age of fifteen. Two years later, the seventeen-year-old Fisher obtained a tryout with the Buddy Morrow band in New York, but he was only employed for a few weeks. Calling himself Sonny Edwards, Fisher haunted the city's nightclubs for months, searching for work. In an audition at the Copacabana, Fisher impressed the owner with his voice, but his immature looks and manner detracted from his talent. Fortunately, the nightclub owner put Fisher in touch with publicist and celebrity manager, Milton Blackstone, who in turn found the youthful entertainer a summer job at Grossinger's resort hotel in the Catskills. There Fisher set about learning as much as possible, not only by honing his own skills, but also by studying the behavior of the famous acts that performed at Grossinger's.

In the fall of 1946 Fisher returned to the Copacabana, where he was given a small job, and the ambitious young singer spent the next three years in a vain effort at becoming a star. Frustrated with his progress, in 1949 Fisher put himself fully under the control of Blackstone, and made one last effort at establishing himself as a singing sensation. Now 21, he was more mature and his stage presence had greatly improved, so Blackstone decided to manufacture a groundswell of popularity for Fisher, and persuaded the famous comedian Eddie Cantor to "discover" Fisher during a performance at Grossinger's.

Blackstone paid for "fans" to sit throughout the hall, and to cheer wildly during Fisher's act. Cantor set up the audience to love Eddie Fisher, and Fisher performed very well. Several reporters, who had been alerted by Milton Blackstone of a breaking show-business story, covered the "discovery" for major newspapers. A star was born in one hour of conniving, where four years of talented and honest effort had achieved nothing.

Cantor then took Eddie Fisher under his wing, giving him a place on his current national tour and television show, and even wrangling invitations for the young singer on other major television programs. Finally, Cantor and Blackstone arranged for Fisher to sign with RCA Victor, one of the biggest recording companies. Throughout the rest of 1949 and all of 1950, Fisher's career grew at a rapid pace. He had several hit records, performed frequently on television and on tour, and was given *Billboard* magazine's award as Most Promising Male Vocalist of 1950.

Early in 1951, Eddie Fisher was drafted into the Army during the Korean War. But Blackstone used his influence to ensure that Fisher would spend his two years in the military crooning with the U.S. Army Band. In fact, given that his recording dates, television appearances, and tours continued without a hitch, Fisher's career probably benefited from his military service. Not until Fisher made a personal request to President Truman did the Army allow him to visit Korea and entertain fighting troops.

Returning to civilian life in early 1953, Fisher found that his handlers had set up a television program for him to host, a twice-weekly show on NBC. Sponsored by the Coca Cola corporation, the show was called *Coke Time*, as Fisher's popularity with teenagers made soft drinks a logical sponsor. The show lasted over three years on radio as well as on television; when it ended, NBC found another show (albeit a less successful one) for him until 1959.

Television was just part of Fisher's hectic performance schedule, which included tours as well as frequent live shows in New York. After excessive singing began to harm his voice, Fisher was taken to celebrity physician Dr. Max Jacobson and given an injection of special vitamins, or so he was told. He felt better immediately, and turned to Dr. Jacobson more and more often in the years to come. The shots were a mixture of substances, but mostly amphetamines or "speed;" Jacobson would eventually lose his license to practice medicine, but not before Eddie Fisher had become a confirmed drug addict.

Fisher's youth, fame, and wealth carried him through the next several years, and his records continued to sell well. Drug use made Fisher easier for his handlers, who booked him into almost continuous performances, to manage. His income and popularity soared. In 1954 Fisher won the *Cash Box* magazine Top Male Vocalist award.

In the same year, Fisher began seeing a young but already established movie star named Debbie Reynolds. His base of operations in New York and hers in Los Angeles limited their interaction, but they became close. The media quickly promoted Fisher and Reynolds as America's sweethearts, but when marriage began to appear imminent Fisher's fans (mostly young and female) turned on him. Record sales declined, and Fisher's managers attempted to block the marriage. Finally in late 1955 Fisher and Reynolds were married at Grossinger's.

Throughout 1956 Fisher experienced a career decline. Coca Cola cancelled his program, his records were not selling well, and rock and roll was erupting into the popular music scene. Almost from the outset, Fisher's marriage was in trouble too. The media once again made much of this celebrity couple, chronicling the supposed ups and downs of the marriage, casting Fisher as the thoughtless villain and Reynolds, whose film career as a sweet young thing was at its height, as the put-upon wife. There was a lot of truth in what the reporters wrote. Fisher was a dope addict, an irresponsible husband and father, and a compulsive gambler. He still made a huge income, but he was virtually spending it all.

After the death of one of Fisher's closest friends, the producer Mike Todd, Fisher's marriage disintegrated completely, and he began dating Todd's widow, actress Elizabeth Taylor. The media responded predictably to this famous romantic triangle, casting Taylor as the evil "other woman." Eddie and Debbie were divorced in February 1959. (Their daughter, Carrie, would go on to become famous as *Star Wars*' Princess Leia and as a bestselling author.) Three months later, Eddie married Liz. Fisher's career had slipped so badly by that point that he has never been able to make an effective comeback.

Fisher had hoped to parlay his singing success into a movie career, and in 1956 he had starred with then-wife Reynolds in *Bundle of Joy*. It was no more successful than his performance opposite Taylor in *Butterfield 8* in 1960; she won the Academy Award for Best Actress, but Fisher was never again invited to act in a major film. A year later on another film set, the epic *Cleopatra*, Taylor switched allegiances once more, this time to co-star Richard Burton. Fisher was the media's innocent, sympathetic character this time, in an orgy of gossip reporting that outdid all earlier efforts.

The next several decades followed a sad pattern for Eddie Fisher—high profile romantic involvements, attempts to get off drugs, failed comebacks, and tax troubles. Even a former celebrity can earn a lot of money in America, but Fisher could never get ahead. His drug habit and erratic behavior kept him from building a strong second career from the wreckage of the first. He was the last of the

old-style crooners, and the least capable of recovering from changes in American popular music.

—David Lonergan

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## Fisher-Price Toys

One of the most famous American toymakers, Fisher-Price has been part of children's play for almost seven decades. While Fisher-Price is still creating low-cost and durable playthings for infants and preschoolers, older Fisher-Price toys are now prized collectibles, coveted by the same owners—now adult toy aficionados—who once clutched them in crib and playpen. From Granny Doodle and Snoopy Snuffer in the 1930s, through the decades with Tick Tock Clock, Pull-a-Tune Xylophone, and Little People, to computer software for toddlers in the 1990s, the Fisher-Price name has long been in the forefront of imaginative and educational play for children.

The company was founded in 1931 in East Aurora, New York, by Herman G. Fisher, Irving Price, and Helen M. Schelle, who began with \$5,000 and the idea of creating an innovative line of toys for very young children. Though they managed to build their factory and began producing toys during the difficult Depression years, few had money to spend on luxuries, and during World War II the factory was refitted to produce goods needed for the war effort. By the 1950s, however, toy production was up and running again, which coincided with the arrival of the Baby Boomer generation during a more prosperous period when more disposable income was available for spending on leisure-time products like toys. With the demand for toys skyrocketing, Fisher-Price was forced to build another plant. For the first time, the company began to make its own metal parts for toys and to make them with an exciting and popular new material—plastic.

By the 1960s, Fisher-Price produced twice as many toys as in the three previous decades combined. Discretionary income of American families would continue to vary, but by the 1960s the idea had been firmly established that “store-bought” toys were necessities for children. Television commercials for toys began to be aimed at children themselves, who became the best lobbyists for toy companies. In 1969 Quaker Foods bought the toy company, and the 1970s saw the opening of new Fisher-Price plants in New York, Texas, Mexico, Belgium, and England.

Much of Fisher-Price's success was due to its focus on and understanding of toys for infants and preschool children. The darkest days for the company came in the 1980s when it attempted to branch out into toys for older children. This new line included make-up kits and battery-powered sports cars, and even a toy video camera that used audiotapes that could be played back through a television. The new products failed miserably. This failure, coupled with large order cancellations caused by Fisher-Price's inability to meet delivery deadlines, gave competing toy manufacturers Mattel and Hasbro a significant advantage. In 1991, Fisher-Price went back to its specialty: producing simple toys beloved by infants and toddlers. The company streamlined its operation and regained its status among

toymakers. In 1993, competing toy giant Mattel acquired Fisher-Price and continues to expand the Fisher-Price niche in the United States and abroad.

As toys have grown more and more sophisticated, Fisher-Price has kept up, producing educational computer games for two and three-year-olds. But the Fisher-Price standbys remain its most popular items. The Bubble Mower, which emits a stream of soap bubbles as it “mows” the floor, the Corn Popper, a clear plastic dome in which colored balls jump energetically as it is pushed, and SnapLock Beads, which teach dexterity, are among the favorites. Perhaps the most popular of all are the Little People, small wooden figures that are little more than colorful heads on wooden pegs that fit into various vehicles and toy houses. Created decades ago, the older Little People are valued by adult toy collectors, while the newer ones, little changed except for racial diversity and wider plastic bodies, are equally in demand in the playroom. These toys are durable in every sense of the word, their appeal is diminished neither by time, nor by the vigorous chewing of a two-year-old.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Fisk, Carlton (1947—)

Despite the fact that he holds the all-time major league career records for games played and home runs by a catcher, Carlton Fisk will always be remembered for his dramatic, extra-innings, game-winning home run in game six of the 1975 World Series. With the score tied in the bottom of the twelfth inning and his Boston Red Sox trailing the Cincinnati Reds three games to two, he hit a long line drive down the left field line. As the ball started curving foul, Fisk hopped down the first base line and waved his arms towards fair territory willing the ball to stay in play. After the ball bounced off of the foul pole for the series-tying home run, he jumped in the air, arms outstretched in celebration. Although the Sox would lose the series the next day, Fisk's spontaneous and joyous reaction captured the public's imagination, as it seemed to exemplify the purity and innocence of baseball during a time of contentiousness and increasing labor strife in the game. Fisk was traded to the Chicago White Sox in 1980 after eight years with the Red Sox and retired in 1993.

—Gregory Bond

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## *A Fistful of Dollars*

The film *A Fistful of Dollars*, released in 1964, was the first of the “spaghetti Westerns” to gain a large audience in the United States. Directed by Sergio Leone, it starred Clint Eastwood, who was then best known to American audiences as a supporting actor on the television Western *Rawhide*. Eastwood’s television character, the fresh-faced, slightly naive Rowdy Yates, was far removed from his first starring film role as the unshaven, cigarillo-smoking, deadly bounty hunter known only as “The Man with No Name.”

The plot was blatantly lifted from Akira Kurasawa’s Japanese classic *Yojimbo*. In both films, a mercenary shows up in a town that is being terrorized by two rival gangs. The stranger cleverly plays each gang off against the other, then ruthlessly wipes out those who are left. This storyline was revived yet again for the 1996 Bruce Willis vehicle *Last Man Standing*. The worldwide success of the film led to Eastwood’s reprising his role in two Leone-directed sequels: *For a Few Dollars More* (1965) and *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly* (1966).

—Justin Gustainis

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## *Fitzgerald, Ella (1918-1996)*

The flawless voice and delivery of singer Ella Fitzgerald is woven tightly into the tapestry of American popular music. Her place in the canon of jazz artists was ensured early on in her career, while she reached a wider audience throughout the world with her renditions of those enduring songs that have come to be known as standards. Her name is almost synonymous with the compositions of Irving Berlin, George Gershwin, Rodgers and Hart, and Cole Porter, as well as the music of Duke Ellington. Her interpretation of their music is forever enshrined in her famous “Song Book” series of albums, in which she uniquely included the verses to the songs. Billed as “The First Lady of Song,” she commanded sell-out attendance at her concerts at home and abroad, touring extensively from the



Clint Eastwood in a scene from the film *A Fistful of Dollars*.



**Ella Fitzgerald**

mid-1940s onwards, but her unique integrity to the music and the high standards she set herself never wavered in the face of her immense popularity.

Born in Newport News, Virginia, and raised in Yonkers, New York, Ella Fitzgerald was discovered at the age of 16 while singing in a talent contest at the Apollo Theater in Harlem. She joined the Chick Webb band in 1935 and became the idol of Harlem's Savoy Ballroom. She was featured on most of Webb's recordings, and Decca was committed to pushing her recording career, which began with "Love and Kisses" in 1935. She had her first hit with the humorous and perkily tuneful ditty, "A-Tisket, A-Tasket," in 1938, which propelled her to the top of the charts. In the course of her subsequent recording career, she made over 250 albums and won 13 Grammy Awards.

Ella inherited Webb's band after his death in 1939, and just muddled along until Norman Granz, later her manager (and instigator of her "Song Book" albums), began to feature her in his Jazz at the Philharmonic Concerts. Mingling with great jazz musicians at a time when jazz drew enormous audiences and dominated the popular music scene, gave her the exposure and education that allowed her to move to the front rank of vocalists. Her live recordings demonstrate the musical affection she and her audience shared. *Ella in Berlin*, for example, has her forgetting the words to her version of "Mack the Knife," but she keeps going, making it up as she playfully teases herself. The audience loved it. This moment would probably have been cut out of a studio recording. Ella enjoyed touring and continued to do so for most of her life until ill health prohibited her from doing so. She generally appeared with a trio, but was also frequently found at festivals where she would join groups of varying sizes. Fortunately,

many of these live performances, in which she was in great form, were recorded.

Ella Fitzgerald was blessed with a crystal clear voice and perfect pitch. Indeed, the Memorex Corporation capitalized on her ability to break glass in their famous commercials that asked whether it was Ella or Memorex tape. Her tone was generally bright and cheerful, and some critics caviled that her sense of fun got in the way of her overall art, depriving her of emotional depth. In fact, her technique enabled her to do anything she desired with a song, and she loved what has come to be termed the Great American Songbook (Berlin, Porter et al.). Her clarity of diction was the admiration of her peers, including her male counterpart of perfection, Frank Sinatra, and her live performances were suffused with warmth and a quality of youthful vulnerability that she never lost.

Ella Fitzgerald is often bracketed with Billie Holiday, her contemporary, as among the greatest of jazz vocalists, but although she could, and did, swing and scat with the best of them, her repertoire was not jazz dominated. Holiday is generally defined as the more emotional and sensual of the two, implying her greater depth and sophistication, while Fitzgerald is considered to have greater simplicity and directness. Her dexterity was considered equal to that of the best horn players, and Bing Crosby was not alone in saying she had "the best ear of any singer ever" and called her "the greatest."

Duke Ellington said that Ella's skill (she is commonly referred to simply as Ella) "brings to mind the words of the maestro, Mr. Toscanini, who said concerning singers, 'Either you're a good musician or you're not.' In terms of musicianship, Ella Fitzgerald was beyond category." Mel Tormé marveled that "Anyone who attempts to sing extemporaneously—that is, scat—will tell you that the hardest aspect is to stay in tune. You are wandering all over the scales, the notes coming out of your mouth a millisecond after you think of them. . . . Her notes float out in perfect pitch, effortlessly and, most important of all, swinging." Ella loved Louis Armstrong, and the three albums and many radio checks she made with him can be placed with her best work. The respect and affection these artists had for each other shines through their recordings, and their *Porgy and Bess* album remains essential to any jazz collection.

A favorite guest artist on television programs—Dinah Shore and Bing Crosby featured her often—Ella was in particularly good form on the *Swing into Spring* programs of 1958 and 1959, and in a program produced by Norman Granz on PBS in November 1979, which featured Count Basie and his Orchestra, Roy Eldridge, Zoot Sims, Joe Pass, and many other leading jazz artists. She also made a number of cameo appearances in movies, and was featured more substantially in *Pete Kelly's Blues* (1955) and *St. Louis Blues* (1958).

Ella Fitzgerald came of age in a period that respected elegance and artistry. She continued to hone her craft throughout her long career, and her fans instinctively appreciated her note-perfect musicianship and precise technique that was so admired by the cognoscenti. Her long career saw her singing in numerous and varied settings and winning fans across several generations. She rose from simple origins to become a good will ambassador for America.

In 1947 Ella married bass player Ray Brown and the couple adopted a son, Ray Brown, Jr., before divorcing in 1953. She suffered some eye trouble in the 1970s, but continued to perform happily at concerts and festivals until the late 1980s when she grew debilitated as a consequence of the diabetes from which she had suffered for a number of years. In 1992, she had to have a toe removed as a result of the disease, and gave the final concert of her career in Palm Beach,

Florida, in December of that year. The following year both her legs were amputated, and she died three years later at the age of 78.

—Frank A. Salamone

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## Fitzgerald, F. Scott (1896-1940)

Perhaps because so much of his writing is autobiographical, F. Scott Fitzgerald is as famous for his personal life as he is for his writing. In his career as a writer, Fitzgerald proved to be gifted in a



F. Scott Fitzgerald

number of forms—he excelled as a novelist, a short story writer, and an essayist. But because his personal and professional histories paralleled the times in which he lived and wrote, Fitzgerald will be forever identified with The Jazz Age of the 1920s and the ensuing Great Depression of the 1930s.

F. Scott Fitzgerald was born on September 24, 1896, the namesake and distant cousin of the author of the National Anthem. His father, Edward, who viewed himself as an old Southerner, was from Maryland, while his mother, Mary (Mollie) McQuillan, was the daughter of an Irish immigrant who was a successful St. Paul grocery wholesaler. After Fitzgerald's father failed as a businessman in St. Paul, Minnesota, he relocated the family to upstate New York, where he worked as a salesman for Procter and Gamble. In 1908 Fitzgerald's father was let go and he moved the family back to St. Paul. After two years at the Newman School, a Catholic Prep school in New Jersey, Fitzgerald enrolled at Princeton in the Fall of 1913.

It was during his years at Princeton that Fitzgerald first applied himself to the pursuit of a literary life. He wrote for the Princeton Triangle Club's musicals and also contributed pieces to the *Princeton Tiger* and the *Nassau Literary Magazine*. In addition, he cultivated life-long relationships with fellow students who also went on to achieve literary success, including Edmund Wilson and John Peale Bishop. Unfortunately, Fitzgerald's dedication to the literary life resulted in his neglecting his studies. In 1917, after being placed on academic probation and realizing that he was unlikely to graduate, Fitzgerald dropped out of Princeton and joined the army, in which he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the infantry.

Like so many others who were slated to see action in Europe, Fitzgerald was certain his days were numbered. Accordingly, he quickly turned out a novel entitled *The Romantic Egoist*, which was an autobiographical work chronicling the Princeton years of "Armory Blaine." Although the novel was rejected by Charles Scribner's Sons, it was praised for its originality and invited to be resubmitted after revision. In the summer of 1918 Fitzgerald was assigned to Camp Sheridan, outside of Montgomery, Alabama. While there he met Zelda Sayre, the debutante youngest daughter of an Alabama Supreme Court Judge. Thus began one of the most famous tragic romances in American history. Fitzgerald pursued Zelda with vigor, but was not particularly well liked by her family; who thought he was an ill-suited match for Zelda. He placed high hopes in Scribner's accepting his revised novel, which would, he hoped, make him worthy of Zelda's hand. They rejected it, which ultimately resulted in Zelda breaking off their engagement. Shortly before Fitzgerald was to go overseas, the war ended and he was discharged. In 1919 he left for New York intending to make his fortune in order to persuade Zelda to marry him.

Amazingly, Fitzgerald succeeded. After a brief stint in New York, he returned to St. Paul to dedicate himself to rewriting his novel yet again. The finished product, *This Side of Paradise*, was published on March 26, 1920. The novel was an immediate smash hit, making Fitzgerald suddenly famous as the voice of his generation. A week later he married Zelda in New York and the couple began their life together as young celebrities. In order to support their lavish lifestyle, Fitzgerald wrote short stories for mass-circulation magazines, which he did for the remainder of his life. Most of his stories were published in *The Saturday Evening Post*, which resulted in his becoming known as a "Post Writer." Since he wrote many of them for money, Fitzgerald often felt that his short stories were not artistic achievements on par with his novels. However, literary history has proven

Fitzgerald's estimation of his short stories wrong. Fitzgerald published some 160 magazine stories in his lifetime, an extraordinarily high number by any count. Although many of these are second rate, his finest pieces nevertheless rank at the forefront of American short stories. Among his best are "Bernice Bobs Her Hair," "May Day," "The Diamond as Big as the Ritz," "Winter Dreams," "The Rich Boy," "Babylon Revisited," and "Crazy Sunday."

After spending a summer in Connecticut the Fitzgeralds moved to New York City, where Fitzgerald wrote his second novel, *The Beautiful and the Damned* (1922), which tells the story of the dissipation of Anthony and Gloria Patch. Much of the book's events were inspired by the Fitzgeralds' drunken lifestyle, particularly during their time in Connecticut. The novel was not particularly well received, nor did it make much money. The Fitzgeralds, especially Scott, were quickly gaining a well-deserved reputation as hard drinkers. Although he claimed never to have worked while under the effects of "stimulant"—and judging by the quality of his work it's likely the truth—Fitzgerald's reputation as a carouser hurt his literary standing.

After their first trip to Europe, the Fitzgeralds returned to St. Paul, where in October of 1921 Zelda gave birth to, their only child, a daughter, Frances Scott (Scottie) Fitzgerald. In the mean time, Fitzgerald wrote *The Vegetable*, a play he was sure would result in financial riches. The Fitzgeralds moved to Great Neck, Long Island in order to be closer to Broadway. Unfortunately, the play bombed at its tryout in November of 1923. Fitzgerald was bitterly disappointed. The distractions of New York proved too much for Fitzgerald. He was not making progress on his third novel, and he and Zelda were increasingly fighting, often after heavy drinking. The Fitzgeralds retreated to Europe in an attempt to find peace.

In April of 1925 Fitzgerald published *The Great Gatsby*, the book that was to become his literary legacy. Through the recollections of Nick Carraway, *The Great Gatsby* recounts the history of Jay Gatz and his love for Daisy Buchanan. As Matthew Bruccoli writes in his introduction to *A Life in Letters*, "Fitzgerald's clear, lyrical, colorful, witty style evoked associations with time and place. . . . The chief theme of Fitzgerald's work is aspiration—the idealism he regarded as defining American character. Another major theme was mutability or loss. As a social historian Fitzgerald became identified with 'The Jazz Age': 'It was an age of miracles, it was an age of art, it was an age of excess, and it was an age of satire.'" *Gatsby* is the essential Jazz Age document—the work most commonly considered an accurate reflection of the ultimately irresponsible optimism of the Roaring Twenties boom years. Jay Gatz started off with a traditional American work ethic, but in his pursuit of the American Dream his ethic eventually gave way to the pursuit of money. The inevitable failure of his dreams, which were all along founded on a fallacy, anticipated the demise of the postwar prosperity that characterized the 1920s, which officially came to a close with the stock market crash on October 29, 1929.

Fitzgerald knew *Gatsby* was good, but the reviews were lukewarm and sales were extremely disappointing. In fact, at the time of his death the book had sold less than 23,000 copies. But in the end, Fitzgerald was proved correct; in the years following his death, *The Great Gatsby*, along with the rest of Fitzgerald's work, underwent a remarkable renaissance. Beginning in the 1950s, Fitzgerald's literary reputation skyrocketed. Book after book was reissued and numerable new collections of his stories were released to keep up with demand. In the 1990s, *The Great Gatsby* remained by far the most frequently assigned book in American high schools and colleges.

After being labeled the voice of his generation and experiencing fame and notoriety as someone whose life was representative of the Jazz Age, Fitzgerald, like the nation around him, fell on extremely hard times. In 1930 Zelda experienced her first mental breakdown. Her mental problems lasted the remainder of her life, which she spent in and out of sanitariums. Zelda's medical condition was of great concern to Fitzgerald, who by all accounts never stopped loving her. Unfortunately, his drinking increased concurrently with his need for more money. Scottie was in private schools and Zelda's medical expenses were immense. From the publication of *The Great Gatsby* in 1925, Fitzgerald had been writing almost exclusively short stories in order to counteract cash flow problems. But in the early 1930s his price, which had peaked at \$4,000 per story for his *Post* stories, began to plummet. Fitzgerald's *Post* stories no longer had an audience; the country, deep in economic depression, no longer wanted to read about the Jazz Age. In truth, Fitzgerald's stories are often neither optimistic nor do they always end happily. But Fitzgerald's reputation as Jazz Age figure could not be separated from his fiction. His star fell rapidly.

Fitzgerald's final completed novel was *Tender is the Night*, a tale about the fall of Dick Diver loosely based on Fitzgerald's experiences with Zelda's various breakdowns. The 1934 publication was a critical and financial failure. Although not as well crafted as *Gatsby*, *Tender* has since earned its proper place as an American masterpiece. For the remainder of his life, Fitzgerald scrambled to make a living, writing essays and stories for magazines and spending time in Hollywood as a contract writer. Towards the end of his life he appeared to have finally put things in order. He was sober, in a stable relationship with Hollywood movie columnist Sheila Graham, and in the midst of writing *The Last Tycoon*, which even in incomplete form has the characteristics of his finest work. Just as America appeared to be coming out of the Depression, so too did Fitzgerald seem to be on the brink of making a return to his former glory. But such was not to be. On December 21, 1940, Fitzgerald died of a heart attack in Graham's apartment. He was 44 years old.

Despite his meteoric posthumous rise to the forefront of American letters, the myth of Fitzgerald as an irresponsible writer has persevered. In fact, Fitzgerald was a meticulous craftsman—a dedicated reviser who went through countless drafts of everything he ever wrote. But when we think of Fitzgerald, we think of a raucous prodigy whose Jazz Age excesses became larger than life. Or perhaps we think of the tragic figure of the 1930s whose fall from grace somehow seemed to be the inevitable price he had to pay for his earlier actions. Either way, Fitzgerald's art ultimately supersedes his life. The events of his life will continue to fascinate us as legend, but the grace and beauty of his uniquely American works will forever serve as a testament to the truth of Fitzgerald's opinion of himself: "I am not a great man, but sometimes I think the impersonal and objective quality of my talent, and the sacrifices of it, in pieces, to preserve its essential value has some sort of epic grandeur."

—Robert C. Sickels

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## Flack, Roberta (1939—)

One of the most popular female singers of the early 1970s, Roberta Flack was critically praised for her impressively beautiful and classically controlled voice, as well as her performance style: powerful, yet intimate in its delivery. Flack was a musical prodigy, and achieved her mastery of song interpretation early on. After years of study and working as a music teacher, she began recording professionally in 1969. Her biggest success came in 1971 with the song "The First Time Ever I Saw Your Face." By the following year, it was the number one song in America, popularized in part through its inclusion in the soundtrack of Clint Eastwood's *Play Misty for Me*. Over the next two decades Flack's successes were sporadic, but interest in her music surged again in the late 1990s, inspired by the Fugees' popular hip-hop remake of her 1973 song "Killing Me Softly."

—Brian Granger

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## Flag Burning

Though the burning of the American flag does not occur very often, when it does it leads to strong emotions from both supporters and those who oppose the activity. The issue of flag burning reached the Supreme Court in 1989 in the *Texas v. Johnson* case. In this case, Texas resident Gregory Johnson was convicted of flag desecration. Justice William Brennan, writing for the Court, said "to say that the Government has an interest in encouraging proper treatment of the flag, however, is not to say that it may criminally punish a person for burning a flag as a means of political protest," allowing that a person has the right to burn the flag as political protest.

Many groups have led the charge to add a flag desecration amendment to the Constitution. The proposed amendment has passed

the House of Representatives, but by the end of 1998, had not achieved the necessary 67 votes in the Senate before it could be sent to the states for ratification. Those who did not endorse the amendment believed that one should not limit the right to protest, protected under the First Amendment. As Robert Justin Goldstein noted in his 1996 book concerning the issue of burning the flag, "forbidding flag burning as a means of peaceful political protest will surely diminish the flag's symbolic activity to represent political freedom." The issue is sure to spark heated debate for some time to come.

—D. Byron Painter

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## Flag Clothing

In the United States, flag clothing is highly subjective; it can be either seditious or patriotic, depending upon context. Radical Abbie Hoffman was arrested in the disestablishment year 1968 for wearing a flag shirt; beginning in 1990, designer Ralph Lauren had knitted or applied the flag into sweaters and sportswear almost as a brand logo, and by 1995, so had designer Tommy Hilfiger. Actress Sherilynn Fenn appeared on the July 7, 1990 cover of *New York Magazine* wearing only the Lauren hand-knitted "Betsy" throw. In 1998, Lauren gave the Smithsonian \$13 million to restore the Star Spangled Banner, a less than equal return on the money Lauren had made on the flag. Critics continue to ponder whether flag clothing amounts to desecration or exaltation, whether it's equivalent to flag burning or flag waving.

—Richard Martin

## Flagpole Sitting

One of the more outlandish fads associated with the Roaring Twenties, flagpole sitting, like marathon dancing and bunion derbies, was an endurance feat performed for fame and money during a decade of change and restlessness. Less well known than Bobby Jones, Babe Ruth, Henry Houdini, or Charles Lindbergh, Alvin "Shipwreck" Kelly traveled across America, setting up and sitting on flagpoles through extremes of weather for increasingly longer periods of time. Seated atop a flagpole, he took only liquids for nourishment (hoisted to him by rope and pail), voiding his waste through a tube attached to the pole. In 1927, he perched on a flagpole in Baltimore for 23 days and 7 hours, while thousands stood and gaped, a feat which has become a metaphor for an American obsession with endurance feats and records, crazy thrills, and outlandish exploits.

—John R. Deitrick

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## Flappers

In the 1920s a new and popular model of modern womanhood dominated the American cultural scene. Although not all American women of the early twentieth century would emulate the flapper model, that model quickly came to represent the youthful exuberance of the post-World War I period. According to F. Scott Fitzgerald, the author whose novels set a tone for the 1920s, the ideal flapper, representing the ideal modern woman, was “lovely, expensive, and about nineteen.” Originally merely a symbol of young and daring female chic, the flapper came to embody the radically modern spirit of the 1920s. Not merely a fashion trend, “flapperhood” came to represent an entire new set of American values.

The term “flapper” originated in England, where it was used simply to describe girls of an awkward age. American authors like Fitzgerald transformed the term into an iconic phrase that glorified the fun-loving youthful spirit of the post-war decade. The flapper ideal,



A flapper girl, c. 1922.

along with the look, became popular, first with chic young moderns, then with a larger body of American women. The flapper was remarkably identifiable. With her bobbed hair, short skirts, and penchant for lipstick, the starlet who had “it,” Clara Bow, embodied the look. Other celebrity women, from the film star Louise Brook to the author Dorothy Parker, cultivated and popularized the devil-may-care attitude and fashion of the flapper. America’s young women rushed to emulate the flapper aesthetic. They flattened their chests with tight bands of cloth in order to look as young and boyish as possible. They shortened the skirts on their increasingly plain frocks, and they bought more cosmetics than American women ever had before.

But flapperhood was more than mere fashion. To an older generation of Americans the flapper symbolized a “revolution in manners and morals.” Flappers did not just look daring, they were daring. In the 1920s growing numbers of young American women began to smoke, drink, and talk slang. And they danced. Not in the old style, but in the new mode inspired by jazz music. The popularity of jazz and dancing hinted at new attitudes toward sexuality. The image of the “giddy flapper, rouged and clipped, careening in a drunken stupor to the lewd strains of a jazz quartet,” gave license to new ideas about female sexuality. As F. Scott Fitzgerald claimed, “none of the Victorian mothers . . . had any idea how casually their daughters were accustomed to being kissed.” Flappers presented themselves as sexual creatures, radically different to the stable maternal women who epitomized the ideal of the previous generation.

And yet the popularity of the flapper did not, as one might suppose, signal the triumph of feminism in the early twentieth century. For the flapper, for all her sexual sophistication and her rejection of her mother’s Victorian values, did not pose any real threat to the gender status quo. Although the flapper presented a positive image for modern women, with her athleticism and her adventurous spirit, the flapper remained a soft creature who demurred to men. Indeed, it was precisely the flapper’s “combination of daring spirit and youthful innocence that made her attractive to men.” The flapper was a highly sexualized creature, but that sexuality retained an innocent, youthful, romantic quality. Ultimately, flappers married and became the mothers of the 1930s.

Although flappers presented a new model of single womanhood that would have positive ramifications because it gave license to women to work and play alongside men, that model had its limits. The transformative cultural promise of the flapper moment would recede just like the fashion for short skirts and short hair. In the long years of the Depression the desire to emulate reckless rich girls faded along with the working girl’s ability to afford even the cheapest imitation of flapper chic. Remnants of the flapper lifestyle, however, remained popular—a youthful taste for music and dancing, smoking and swearing, sex and sexiness. And the market for goods that had emerged to meet the consuming passions of flapper women gained in strength and power. Even after the flapper disappeared from the American scene the feminine ideal that she had popularized lingered—along with a culture of consumption designed to help women pursue that impossibly impermanent idea. For the ideal modern woman of America’s imagination, although no longer officially a “flapper,” was to remain infuriatingly “lovely . . . and about nineteen.”

—Jackie Hatton

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## Flash Gordon

The most successful of the *Buck Rogers* imitators, *Flash Gordon* began as a Sunday page early in 1934. It was drawn by Alex Raymond, written by erstwhile pulp magazine editor Don Moore, and syndicated by King Features. The strip commenced with handsome, blond Flash and lovely Dale Arden, destined to be his love interest for the life of the strip, taking off in a rocket ship with brilliant, bearded Dr. Zarkov. Due to a miscalculation, they ended up on the planet Mongo, a considerable stretch of which was ruled over by a ruthless dictator known as Ming the Merciless. A combination of all the terrible qualities of Fu Manchu, Hitler, and the villain of a Victorian melodrama, Ming became Flash's prime antagonist. Flash and his friends underwent a series of picaresque adventures that took them, often while aiding local guerilla activities, to dense jungles thick with monsters, to strange arboreal kingdoms, to realms beneath the sea, and to whatever other stock science fiction locales Moore could borrow from the pulps. While the writing, which appeared in captions below the drawings, was stodgy and noticeably purple, Raymond quickly developed into a first-rate illustrator. Within a year the feature was one of the best-looking and most impressive in the Sunday funnies. In those pages, as one comics historian has noted, readers were able to see their "adolescent dreams of romance and adventure . . . given life."

*Flash Gordon* soon began being reprinted in comic books and Big Little Books and within two years was also in the movies. Universal produced three extremely popular serials based on the strip. Loosely adapted from some of Moore's newspaper continuities, they starred Buster Crabbe, his hair dyed blond, as Flash. Jean Rogers was Dale in the initial two, Frank Shannon portrayed Zarkov in all three and Charles Middleton, a veteran cinema villain, brought just the right degree of camp to the part of Ming. The first of the chapter plays, titled simply *Flash Gordon*, was released in 1936. *Flash Gordon's Trip to Mars* came along in 1938, followed by the more flamboyantly titled *Flash Gordon Conquers the Universe* in 1940. Filled with rocket ships, ray guns, mad-doctor apparatus, and young women in skimpy costumes, the *Flash Gordon* serials aren't noted for their state-of-the-art special effects. Yet they do possess a sort of tacky charm and the performances make up in exuberance for what they lack in dramatic depth.

Such was the popularity of the strip that King decided to add a daily in the spring of 1940. Raymond chose to devote all of his time to the Sunday, while his longtime assistant Austin Briggs, an established magazine illustrator in his own right, drew the weekday version. Never a particular success, it was dropped in 1944. About that time Raymond entered the Marines and Briggs took over the Sunday *Flash Gordon*. Determined to abandon comics eventually and devote himself full-time to illustration, Briggs never signed the page. He quit in 1948 and went on to become one of the highest paid magazine and

advertising artists in the country, as well as a founder of the Famous Artists School.

Mac Raboy, a comic book artist who had drawn such superheroes as Captain Marvel, Jr. and the Green Lama, followed Briggs on the Sunday page, doing a flamboyant and formidable job. In the early 1950s the daily version was revived with Dan Barry, another very good alumnus of comic books, as the artist. Various science fiction writers, including Harry Harrison, wrote the scripts. Barry added the Sunday page to his chores after Raboy's death in 1967; eventually he turned over the drawing to Bob Fujitani. In the late 1990s, *Flash Gordon*, was once again only a Sunday, appearing in a handful of newspapers and written and drawn by Jim Keefe.

—Ron Goulart

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## Flashdance Style

The 1983 film *Flashdance* was an instant phenomenon in the United States. It not only created a new fashion style instantaneously embraced by females of all ages, but also introduced the world to actress Jennifer Beals and the wholesome but sexy character she played who welded by day and danced by night. The "look" consisted of worn-in sweatshirts ripped at the neckline that slipped off the shoulder casually, revealing some but hinting at more. Combining comfort with sexuality, the style also embraced an athleticism for women by making workout wear sexy. In the early 1980s, punk music and its fashions were starting to fade, and break dancing was the new fad—and with it, a new style was born: sportswear worn as everyday wear. Moving away from lace and other classic feminine clothing, the *Flashdance* look celebrated a new kind of woman, independent and down-to-earth, athletic and sexy.

—Sharon Yablon

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## Flatt, Lester (1914-1979)

Born in Sparta, Tennessee, Lester Flatt's friendly, down-home vocal style, solid rhythm guitar, and songwriting were instrumental in

both creating and popularizing bluegrass music. Joining Bill Monroe's Blue Grass Boys in 1945, Flatt's warm lead vocals were an integral part of the original bluegrass sound created in 1946-48, as was "the Lester Flatt G-run," a guitar figure used to punctuate song verses. Together with Earl Scruggs, he departed in 1948 to form the Foggy Mountain Boys, and throughout the 1950s and early 1960s the ensemble was one of the most visible and successful bluegrass acts. Creative differences led to a breakup in 1969, and Flatt formed a new band, the Nashville Grass, to pursue the earlier act's more traditional sound. With both former Foggy Mountain Boys and new musicians backing him up, Flatt remained a popular elder statesman of bluegrass until his death.

—Jon Weisberger

## Flatt, Lester

See also Foggy Mountain Boys, The

## Flea Markets

Markets where hundreds and sometimes thousands of people gather to buy and sell goods, flea markets are literally a material accumulation of American culture in a concentrated area. At a single flea market one can see—and buy—lamps, cookbooks, shoes, tools, clocks, toys, uniforms, salt-and-pepper shakers, cookie jars, ratchet sets, tarpaulins, radios, paintings, porcelain sinks, drinking glasses, bookends, duct tape, and candy dishes. The variety of goods constitutes the very nature of the flea market. New but discounted merchandise is common and runs the gamut from pet supplies, housewares, and tube socks to boxes of laundry detergent, canned goods, and toothpaste. Used items are generally household cast-offs, including baby clothes, furniture, stereo equipment, carpeting, and automobile tires. Flea markets contain objects both of the past and present, revealing obsolete technologies like eight-track players and Atari video games, and out-of-date clothing like bell-bottom pants, wide ties, and polyester shirts. Some people even sell antiques, not higher-end goods like Tiffany lamps and fine china, but more affordable collectibles like vintage pottery and prints. Flea markets may offer fresh produce from local farms, plants, and sometimes pets. Flea market operators often put restrictions on the types of things that are sold and usually prohibit the sale of firearms and other deadly weapons, stolen property, illicit drugs, pornography, and liquor. While most also officially prohibit "gray market" (counterfeit) items, these goods are usually in evidence at every flea market, with vendors selling imitation designer sunglasses, T-shirts, watches, and jewelry. Many medium-sized towns enjoy their own weekly or monthly flea markets.

Also known as swap meets, trade days, and peddlers' fairs, the flea market derives from the Greek *agoras* and other open-air markets of ancient times. It is believed that the term "flea market" comes from the French *Marché aux Puces*, the name of an outdoor bazaar known for the fleas that infested the upholstery of used furniture sold there. A popular pastime for people who frequent them regularly, flea markets allow people of all classes to enjoy a degree of economic power and autonomy—being able to buy or sell what they want at a price they more or less determine—outside of the highly regulated, inflexible, and taxable sphere of retail commerce.

Ubiquitous across the country for more than a century, one of the first American flea markets was the Monday Trade Days in Canton, Texas, which began in 1873 as a place where people would go to buy horses; later, they brought their own goods to sell or trade. Other towns quickly adopted this pattern of trade, but the modern flea market was supposedly the brainchild of Russell Carrell, an east-coast antique show organizer. Working as an auctioneer in Connecticut, Carrell thought to run an antique show like an outdoor auction, only forgoing the tent, which because of fire hazards was too expensive to insure. Carrell's 1956 Hartford open-air antiques market, he claimed, was the first modern incarnation of the flea market, although the true flea market does not consist of professional antique dealers, but rather of people looking to make some extra money on the side.

The different characteristics of flea markets reflect the diversity of the goods they offer and the people who attend them. Some are completely outside, others take place indoors, while still others have both inside and outside areas to sell goods. They usually take place at drive-ins, parking lots, race tracks, and fairgrounds. Paying a flat fee to the flea market's organizer (about ten to twenty dollars per day in the 1990s), vendors come equipped with tables, racks, and shelves on which to display their merchandise, or merely a sheet or blanket to cover the ground. Flea markets usually take place on the weekends, although not always: some convene on Fridays or on particular weekdays. Northern markets sometimes shut down during the winter while southern ones do the same in the hot summer months.

For all of their differences, flea markets and the people who frequent them have some things in common. Flea markets are characterized by the unpredictability in goods offered and the prices asked. Most certainly, every buyer is looking for a bargain—some hope to find valuable antiques and collectibles hidden among the cast-offs, while others look for utilitarian goods that are cheaper than in the retail marketplace. To this end, "haggling" is commonplace at flea markets, with buyer and seller both working to agree on a fair price, but using their own strategies. The seller "talks up" his or her merchandise to make it as appealing as possible, while the buyer points out defects or claims to have only a certain amount of money left in his or her pocket. Other tactics include, conversely, coming early to get first pick of the goods, and staying late, hoping that sellers will be more willing to unload items cheaply rather than taking them home.

—Wendy Woloson

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## Fleetwood Mac

Founded as a British blues band in 1967, Fleetwood Mac exploded as an American rock 'n' roll phenomenon in 1975, when a pair of young Californian songwriters joined the group. The bewitching Stevie Nicks and guitar genius Lindsey Buckingham rounded out the band of songwriter/keyboardist Christine McVie, bassist John McVie, and drummer Mick Fleetwood. Their first album together, the eponymous *Fleetwood Mac* (1975), hit number one with three hit





The 26<sup>th</sup> Street Flea Market in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York.

singles; but these merits were far overshadowed by the follow-up album, *Rumours* (1977). Songs of love, anger, heartbreak, and hope launched the band into stardom, but the drama between the grooves mirrored that raging between the members of the band: Christine and John McVie divorced after seven years of marriage, Stevie Nicks and Lindsey Buckingham ended their long-time romance, and Mick Fleetwood split with his wife, Jenny Boyd.

Audiences sang along and sympathized, sending *Rumours* to the top of the charts and winning it the title of best selling album of all time to date. Fleetwood Mac continued to tour and make music together for the next ten years, while four of the five members also began solo careers. Of these Stevie Nicks garnered the greatest success, with her husky voice, mystical lyrics, boots and shawls, touring in support of *BellaDonna*, *The Wild Heart*, and other records, magnifying her identity as a popular culture icon. (New York City holds a Night of 1000 Stevies each year, when thousands of men and women pay tribute to the woman and her style by emulating her dress and gestures.) Lindsey Buckingham self-produced two albums, *Law and Order* and *Go Insane*, during this period as well, and Christine McVie made a self-titled LP.

Continuing tensions and creative dissention caused Buckingham to leave after 1987's *Tango in the Night* album, and Stevie Nicks and Christine McVie followed not long after. As he had in the past, Mick

Fleetwood again scouted out new talent to keep the band going: Bekka Bramlett, Billy Burnette, and Rick Vito toured and recorded with the band's founders, but the *Rumours* line-up re-joined to perform at President Bill Clinton's inauguration in 1993, and continued to flirt with group projects, culminating in a CD, tour, and video, called *The Dance*, in 1998. After several road dates, the band disbanded once again, citing old difficulties, both personal and creative. Nonetheless, Fleetwood Mac not only remains synonymous with the 1970s, but their musical and pop cultural influence endures.

—Celia White

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## Fleming, Ian (1908-1964)

Writer Ian Fleming created one of the major male icons of the second half of the twentieth century, the spy James Bond—as Alan Barnes suggests, “the only fictional character of the twentieth century to have acquired the aura of myth.” The series of novels containing Bond not only concocted a new heroic figure, its immense success and popularity (Fleming had sold thirty million books by the time of his death) kick-started indigenous spy writing in America. Bond on film was also hugely successful, adding to the lustre of the spy and increasing the popularity of British music and cinema in 1960s America.

Son of a major and member of the British parliament, and younger brother of author Peter Fleming, Ian Fleming’s English background was privileged and reflected the expected route of one of his class (Eton, Sandhurst, a job in the “City”) rather than the adventurous spirit of his most famous creation. It was Fleming’s periods as a journalist in Moscow at the beginning and end of the 1930s, along with his work in World War II as a high-ranking officer in naval intelligence, that provided much of the background for the novels. Fleming was in his forties when he began his writing career with *Casino Royale* in 1953 followed by ten more Bond novels (the best of which were written in the 1950s) and two collections of short stories. Fleming also wrote a column under the pseudonym Atticus for the London *Sunday Times* in the 1950s and contributed to other magazines. He had one son, named Caspar.

The plots of the Bond stories reflect the heritage of the previous half century of British popular spy and thriller writing. Fleming laid out “the right ingredients” for these works in *Dr. No* (1958): “physical exertion, mystery and a ruthless enemy . . . a good companion,” and a certainty that the “cause was just.” The James Bond character was based on a number of soldiers and agents Fleming knew during the war, but the author, as quoted in Andrew Lycett’s biography, wanted the character to be “unobtrusive”: “Exotic things would happen to and around him, but he would be a neutral figure—an anonymous blunt instrument wielded by a government department.” Bond’s enemies and their conspiracies took their power from an almost mythical badness, and the battles were more parables of good and evil than political thrillers. Yet Fleming covered these parables with a veneer of reality, which, in its intensity, was perhaps his biggest influence on the genre. His prose describes closely many of the most attractive and expensive places in the world, from beautiful islands to expensive restaurants. He also described in detail the possessions of the rich and successful, whether it be the most reliable guns or smoothest cigarettes, the finest car or best mixed cocktail. Comparable to this closely described visible consumption was the depiction of women, built to Playboy specifications, whom Bond seduced, bedded, and discarded with astonishing ease. There was something of the Playboy philosophy to Fleming’s novels, of men as adventurous and potent while still at ease with consumer society.

Fleming’s work did much to change attitudes toward the figure of the spy in American culture. Fleming’s Bond was praised by John F. Kennedy and recommended by Allan Dulles, head of the CIA. Bond made the spy acceptable, shifted the perception from 1950s associations with the Rosenbergs and muddied the moral problems the spy had always held in the American psyche. Bond was a very English figure, of class and with imperial concerns, but he was also an international, professional figure fighting evil. As America moved to the forefront of world politics, its own intelligence service could be

drawn in such a light, an international, professional movement against evil.

The Bond novels reflect a moment in time after World War II, beyond rationing in Britain and beyond the darkest days of the cold war in America when tourism, visible consumption, and sexual freedom came to the fore. It was at this point in the early 1960s that they made it onto the screen. Cubby Broccoli, producer of the majority of the Bond movies, pinpoints the strengths Fleming’s work offered: “a virile and resourceful hero, exotic locations, the ingenious apparatus of espionage and sex on a fairly sophisticated level.” It was these elements that would sell the films as the racism and misogyny (in their most extreme forms) and much of Fleming’s British imperial nostalgia were sloughed off. Bond, as a character, was fleshed out by Sean Connery into a less one-dimensional character with a more attractive and humorous rebelliousness. *Dr. No*, the initial film, came out in 1962, quickly followed by *From Russia with Love* (1963) and *Goldfinger* (1964). These films showed the British industry turning away from the “kitchen sink” dramas of the previous few years to more slick and upbeat movies that were enormous commercial successes in America, increasingly interested in British pop music and culture. *Dr. No* had been made cheaply, but a great deal of American money was pumped into its sequels—money well spent, as the series became successful on an increasingly global scale.

—Kyle Smith

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## Fleming, Peggy (1948—)

Peggy Fleming remains the best-known and universally respected American figure skater in history. After an outstanding amateur career capped by her winning the 1968 Olympic Ladies’ Figure Skating gold medal in Grenoble, France, Fleming embarked on a career as a professional skater, signing first with the Ice Follies and then pioneering as a solo act on television specials when the professional skating field was largely limited to ice shows. Corporate endorsements were minute compared to the enormous financial rewards available to most competitors today, but Fleming broke new ground here, too, becoming the spokesperson for over 30 sponsors in her career. In 1981, she became an anchor of ABC Television’s figure skating coverage, usually paired with Dick Button, two-time men’s Olympic champion and skating entrepreneur. With grace and ability, Fleming has maintained a presence in the world of figure skating for over 30 years. Known for her poise, elegance, and professionalism, Peggy Fleming has been the inspiration for three generations of skaters, all hoping to achieve her prominence in the sport.

Peggy Gale Fleming was born July 27, 1948 in San Jose, California, the second of four daughters. The Fleming family was often short on cash, and one summer, the entire family camped out in Oregon while her father worked; the girls never suspected they were



**Peggy Fleming**

homeless because they were enjoying their adventure. A tomboy, Peggy began skating at the age of nine and won her first competition at ten. Her mother Doris is credited by Dick Button as being “. . . forceful, domineering, and the perfect mother for Peggy”; Mrs. Fleming’s role as the quintessential skating mother is well-known. Doris Fleming pushed her daughter to excel, providing an A to Z support system for the young skater: making all her costumes, driving her to practices, grilling her coaches on Peggy’s progress, and generally stage-managing her career. Her father Al, a newspaper pressman, believed his working-class daughter could succeed in the sport of the well-to-do; Peggy’s family moved constantly to support her career. Another skater would not have done well with such an unsettled life style, but Peggy seemed only to improve with such unorthodox training routines.

In 1961 an unprecedented tragedy in the sports world pushed Peggy Fleming to the forefront of skating; a plane carrying the entire United States Figure Skating Team crashed near Brussels, killing all aboard, including Fleming’s coach. She was noticed as an up and coming competitor and in 1964, she had a stunning victory at the National Championships. Still only 15, she was suddenly propelled into the international spotlight when she headed the American team going to the Olympics at Innsbruck, Austria. She placed sixth, performing with a high fever but gaining invaluable experience on the world stage.

After the Olympics, Doris Fleming sought the best coach for her daughter and selected Carlo Fassi, whom she believed would help Peggy with “school figures”—the grueling and precise art of tracing figures in the ice which at that time was the major part of a skater’s

marks. Fassi and Fleming proved to be a perfect match in every respect—a coach of rare ability and artistic refinement, he brought out the best in the young woman who continued to improve and win every title in her progress towards the Olympic gold medal. She became World champion in 1966 in a major upset and retained her National and World titles in 1967. Grenoble was the pinnacle of her amateur career—in a chartreuse costume sewed by her mother, Peggy Fleming won the gold medal (the only one for the United States in those Winter Games). Known for her balletic style that incorporated superior jumps with graceful moves such as her trademark layback spin (the pose made famous by a well-known Olympic photo), Fleming set the sport a new level of achievement that has been approached by only a few skaters since: Dorothy Hamill, Kristi Yamaguchi, and Michele Kwan are the three most often cited.

Her popularity was tremendous, and almost immediately Peggy was approached to make television skating specials which drew high ratings and critical approval—her Sun Valley special won two Emmy awards and *Peggy Fleming in the Soviet Union* (1974) made history as a television first, a cooperative venture between America and Russia. The professional success of Peggy Fleming was important beyond skating; she was arguably the first female sports superstar. In 1994, *Sports Illustrated* named Peggy one of “40 for the Ages”: “40 individuals who have most significantly altered or elevated the world of sports in the last 40 years.”

Her private life has been quietly successful as well; Fleming met Dr. Greg Jenkins, her future husband, when both were pupils of Carlo Fassi. They married in 1970, and Peggy remained active as a skater without significant interruptions to her family life. She is the mother of two sons, Andrew (born 1977) and Todd (born 1988). Although her relationship with her mother was often strained by Doris’ need to control Peggy’s life, she speaks with great affection of both her parents, now deceased. Al Fleming died at 41 of a heart attack shortly after driving across country to see his daughter perform after capturing a World title.

Peggy Fleming made news on the eve of the Michelle Kwan-Tara Lipinski battle for the Olympic gold medal in 1998. Diagnosed with breast cancer, she withdrew from her commentator duties for ABC and had successful surgery followed by chemotherapy. Characteristically, she began to speak out on breast cancer awareness immediately; her self-detection and her candor about her experience have motivated a noticeable increase in women seeking medical attention. Throughout her career, she has worked for numerous charities (March of Dimes, Osteoporosis Foundation, Kidney Foundation) but now her advocacy is more significant due to her successful return to skating and her characteristically modest account of her remarkably rapid recovery. A decidedly low-key ice princess, Fleming has retained her striking good looks and has never suffered any bad publicity, the lot of nearly every skater since Sonja Henie.

—Mary Hess

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## *The Flintstones*

Every prime-time animated television series traces its lineage back to *The Flintstones*, the first show to disprove the notion that cartoons are suited only for children. From 1960 to 1966, the comical adventures of the stone-age Flintstone family unfolded weekly on ABC. Essentially a pre-historic version of *The Honeymooners*, the program revolved around Fred Flintstone, an irascible blowhard (voice of Alan Reed), his pliant pal Barney Rubble (voice of Mel Blanc), and their long-suffering spouses. Cartoon veterans William Hanna and Joseph Barbera produced the cheaply-animated half hour. A live action movie version, starring John Goodman as Fred, was produced in 1994, but was not as popular with audiences as the original cartoon.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Flipper

The bottlenose dolphin star of two 1960s feature films, a television series from 1964 to 1968, and a 1996 film revival, Flipper educated Americans about the intelligence, loyalty, and compassion toward humans that characterizes the several dolphin species. Flipper rescued people from perilous situations, fought sharks, and warned individuals about impending dangers. Through Flipper, viewers were entertained by an unusual animal friend with a built-in smile, and were made aware of a dolphin's ability to communicate with and respond to people.

Flipper was born of the vision of movie and television underwater stuntman Ricou Browning. While watching *Lassie* on television with his children, Browning was inspired to invent an underwater counterpart to the courageous collie and wrote a story about a boy and a dolphin named Flipper. He offered the property to Ivan Tors, the producer of the successful television series *Sea Hunt* (1957-1961). Tors was fascinated by the idea and agreed to produce a feature film.

Browning acquired a dolphin named Mitzi and began training her for the stunts in the film, which included having a boy ride on her back. The training for this stunt required Browning to get into the water with the dolphin, a technique that was highly unusual for the time—trainers who worked with dolphins generally remained outside the water, but Browning discovered that being in the water with Mitzi seemed to accelerate her learning process.



Flipper saves a puppy in an episode of his television series.

The stunt that required Mitzi to carry a boy on her back was one of those that gave her the most difficulty. Browning finally overcame the problem by employing a variation of the retrieving behavior with the assistance of his son, Ricky. Browning picked up Ricky, commanded Mitzi to fetch, and then threw the boy into the water near the dock where the training session was being conducted. After several attempts, Mitzi grabbed Ricky, he took hold of her fins, and she pulled him back to Browning. The trainer was thrilled that his dolphin had been able to master this routine, considered to be an impossible feat.

Mitzi starred, with Luke Halpin as the boy, in the feature film *Flipper* (1963) and in the sequel, *Flipper's New Adventures* (1964), both filmed in the Bahamas. The commercial success of the movies led to the television series, *Flipper* (1964-1968), which aired on NBC, starring Brian Kelly as Porter Ricks, a ranger in Coral Key Park, Florida; Luke Halpin as his elder son, Sandy; and Tommy Norden as his younger son, Bud. The episodes related the adventures of the boys and their aquatic pet, who rescued them from many dangerous situations.

A dolphin named Suzy was selected as the lead dolphin for the television series, and quickly learned the 35 to 40 behaviors necessary for any script circumstance. However, some behaviors she seemed to exercise on her own. For example, before diving with Suzy, Luke Halpin gulped air from the surface then plunged beneath the water, holding onto the dolphin as she swam toward the bottom. The actor noticed that whenever he needed more air, Suzy returned to the surface. Since she repeated this behavior regularly, Halpin concluded that Suzy's keen hearing and sonar ability probably allowed her to monitor his heart and respiration rates and thus know when the boy needed air. Offscreen, Suzy demonstrated a newly learned trick to

producer Ivan Tors. While visiting the set, Tors walked down to the dock and greeted Suzy, who returned the courtesy by squirting water on his shoes.

For three consecutive years from 1965-1967, “Flipper,” who enthralled, entertained and enlightened millions, was honored with three PATSY Awards (Performing Animal Top Stars of the Year), the animal equivalent of the Academy Award, given by the American Humane Association. The Flipper idea was revived in the 1990s—as part of a general revival of television shows from the 1960s—with the movie *Flipper* (1996) and the television series of the same name (1995). The Flipper legacy lives on in increased interest, awareness, and concern for dolphins.

—Pauline Bartel

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## Florida Vacations

For much of the twentieth century, Florida’s warm sunshine and long sandy beaches have been associated with an exotic escape from the northern states’ frigid winter weather. Though Florida vacations were once luxurious adventures for the wealthy, mass transportation soon opened the state to all. But it was not Florida’s warm climate or accessibility that made the state one of the most popular vacation spots in the world. Walt Disney would combine the grand and luxurious image of the Florida vacation and create a comparable entertainment palace, the Magic Kingdom. As construction continued, the Walt Disney resort complex, Disneyworld, attracted visitors from all over the world, making the Florida vacation one of the most treasured winter escapes in the world.

While the heyday of vacations to the “Sunshine State” lies in the post World War II era, its foundation is set firmly in the nineteenth century. At a time when few individuals ventured more than one hundred miles south of the Florida-Georgia border, entrepreneur Henry Flagler envisioned Florida as a winter vacation playground for wealthy northern tycoons. To access the southern portion of the state and its warm year round climate, Flagler forged a railway through its dense natural vegetation to open the palatial Ponce de Leon hotel and introduce the wealthy winter weary to St. Augustine’s pristine beaches in 1888. Visitors flocked to the hotel, inspiring Flagler to continue expansion southward with his railway line and accompanying hotels. By 1894, the Royal Poinciana Hotel opened in Lake Worth near Palm Beach, accommodating 1,200 guests. As his railway stretched down the coast, with its terminus in Key West, Henry Flagler succeeded in

making the warmth of Florida a mere thirty-six hour train ride from the frozen north.

Spurred by cleverly designed advertisements in national magazines and northern newspapers featuring bathing beauties basking in sunshine during the dead of winter, vacationing to Florida continued to grow. Immediately following World War I the newly affordable mass-produced automobile opened the state to many average Americans who could not manage the considerable railway fare and rates of the posh established hotels. Funneled into Florida via the “Dixie Highway” network of roads, this new breed of tourist came complete with their own tents and food provisions. In an era before motels, “tin can tourist camps” sprang up around the state to assist in accommodating the budget-conscious travelers. However, the onset of Great Depression stifled the burgeoning middle-class tourist trade.

During World War II, Florida became a center for training military personnel, exposing an incredible number of servicemen to its attractive winter climate. With fond recollections of sunshine many returned to the state with young families in tow following the war’s conclusion. Other concurrent factors assisted in Florida’s ascendance as a tourist mecca in the 1950s and 1960s. First was an incredible period of national economic prosperity providing expendable cash for vacations. Also, the development of the interstate highway system reduced automobile travel time, permitting more relaxation time at the vacation destination. Finally, perhaps most important of all, the rise of affordable air conditioning opening the state to year-round tourism by making the humid summers comfortable.

The Gold Coast, stretching from Vero Beach south to Miami Beach along the Atlantic, became the destination of choice for vacationers. Its semi-tropical climate permitted Americans to visit the tropics without necessity of a passport or knowledge of another language. While southeast Florida may have been their ultimate destination, a multitude of tourist attractions popped up along the major traffic arteries. A few captured the natural beauty of Florida, most notably Silver Springs with its glass bottom boats. Others capitalized on “Florida living” activities such as the water skiing extravaganzas at Cypress Gardens or the underwater mermaids at Weeki Wachee. Gatorland and the famous “gator jumparoo show” became an instant hit with children. The tacky tourist emporiums did not stop once families reached the Gold Coast. In Miami there was Parrot Jungle, Monkey Jungle, the Miami Seaquarium, and perhaps most memorable of all, the Miami Serpentarium. Audiences thrilled to death defying Bill Haast milking venom from cobras and other poisonous snakes. With a drive south to the Keys children could even see the real “Flipper.”

Though tacky tourist attractions proliferated, Florida, and especially Miami Beach, remained the ultimate prestige vacation to an entire generation. The Fontainebleau and Eden Roc were veritable land-locked luxury cruise ships rivaling the Queen Mary. James Bond stayed at the Fontainebleau in *Goldfinger*. Jackie Gleason touted Miami Beach as the fun and sun capitol of the world on the *Honeymooners*. And America watched as Lucy, Ricky, and the Mertzes took off to Miami Beach for a holiday in the sun on the television show *I Love Lucy*.

Florida vacationing reached a transition phase in the 1970s. The rise of the popularity of jet aircraft and decreased airfares led many vacationers to seek out new winter destinations. Bermuda, the Bahamas, or even Hawaii were now within the grasp of many. A series of racially-motivated riots at the decade’s end tarnished the image of South Florida. Miami Beach no longer held the same mystique as it

had during the 1950s and 1960s. But with the decline of fun in the sun vacation in the southern portion of the state, central Florida witnessed the birth of the greatest tourist attraction in Florida's history. The Magic Kingdom, the first phase in the Walt Disney World resort complex, opened its gates in 1971. The entertainment theme park building bonanza that ensued transformed Orlando into one of the most popular vacation destinations in the world and preserved Florida's long vacation heritage.

—Dr. Lori C. Walters

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## The Flying Nun

Julie Andrews, Whoopi Goldberg, and Mary Tyler Moore have all played nuns, but the most notorious TV nun was played by Academy Award-winner Sally Field, much to her chagrin. *The Flying Nun* television series soared on ABC from 1967 to 1970, bringing viewers a concept that still seems ridiculous years later. Sister Bertrille (Field) was a bubbly young ninety-pound novice at the



Sally Field as the flying nun.

ancient Convent San Tanco, which sat on a hilltop in Puerto Rico. Whenever a stiff wind caught the starched cornette worn by her order, Bertrille was lifted into the air, becoming the “flying nun.” The convent’s conservative Mother Superior, Reverend Mother Plaseato (Madeleine Sherwood), wasn’t too impressed, but Sister Bertrille did get along well with wise and humorous Sister Jacqueline (Marge Redmond) and Sister Sixto (Shelley Morrison), a Puerto Rican nun who had trouble with English. And, because even a show about nuns needed to have a little sex appeal, Bertrille was admired from a distance by Carlos Ramirez (Alejandro Rey), a wealthy, handsome playboy, owner of a discotheque in town, and patron of the convent.

Bertrille’s avian ability got her into some hot water, sometimes literally: she was occasionally dunked into the ocean. Once she was almost shot down because she was mistaken for an enemy aircraft; another time a pelican fell in love with her. The novice took it all in sunny stride, but Sally Field was anything but sunny about this role, as she explained in *Playboy* in 1986: “In *Gidget*, I had things to play, scenes with fathers and people; here I had nothing. Just complete silliness—someone got into the convent who shouldn’t have and we’d have to hide him. . . . There were no life problems going on, nothing I could relate to. It made no sense to me. I started refusing press interviews and getting a bad reputation. But I couldn’t go and hype the show, saying, ‘I’m having such a good time’ when I wanted to say, ‘Let me out of here!’ Flying Nun was a one-joke show, and I don’t know why it was successful.”

Field took the role because she was a teenager and believed she’d never work again after *Gidget* made her, or at least her character, the butt of jokes. Comics like Bob Hope had a “field day” making cracks about the series and turning all of the standard nun jokes into flying nun jokes. Besides feeling hurt by the jibes and feeling the ennui of an actor with no challenge, Field had another problem during her holy tenure—she was pregnant with her first child. During filming she had to carry books in front of herself to hide her growing belly.

For Field, there was one good thing that came of the role. Castmate Madeleine Sherwood took her to the Actors Studio, where Field could hone her craft with the likes of Ellen Burstyn, Jack Nicholson, Sally Kellerman, Bruce Dern, and Lee Strasberg. “It changed my life,” she said in *Playboy*. “I found a place where I could go and create.” But before Field left the world of light, gimmicky sitcom fare to begin her career as one of America’s finest actresses, she would complete her wacky TV trilogy with *The Girl with Something Extra*, in which her character has ESP.

Not everyone hated *The Flying Nun* as much as Field; after all, it lasted three years. In a 1996 article in *Psychology Today*, Will Miller wrote, “This show is actually a provocative lesson about personal power . . . this show says, if you’ll stop resisting the environment, if you’ll only attune yourself to nature, to the direction and flow of the world’s winds, you too can fly!” *The Flying Nun* was also commended by religious orders for “humanizing” nuns and their work. The series was based on the book *The Fifteenth Pelican* by Tere Rios.

—Karen Lurie

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## Flynn, Errol (1909-1959)

The facts of Errol Flynn's life and work reveal a pathetic tragedy of self-destruction and wasted gifts. His place in popular culture was assured equally by fame and notoriety. A heroic swashbuckler on screen, seducing audiences with his fresh charm, devil-may-care personality, athleticism, and dazzling good looks, he scandalized the public and his peers with his private exploits. A boon to gossip columnists he undoubtedly was, but while they charted his barroom brawls and questionable boudoir escapades (which gave the English language the expression "In like Flynn"), he steadily disintegrated, dying of drink, drugs, and despair at the age of 50.

From an early age, Flynn's nature—adventurous, reckless, unstable—was evident. Born into a comfortable and well-educated



Errol Flynn in a scene from the film *The Sea Hawk*.

family in Hobart, Tasmania, he was expelled more than once from the good schools to which he was sent and became a shipping clerk at the age of 15. He had an affinity with boats and sailing and, still in his mid-teens, went wandering in search of gold. At 21 he bought a boat in which he made a seven month journey to New Guinea where he worked on a tobacco plantation and was a correspondent for an Australian newspaper. Back in Sydney, his looks brought an offer to play Fletcher Christian in a semi-documentary film (*In the Wake of the Bounty*, 1932), and he caught the acting bug. He went to England, joined a provincial repertory company, and played the lead in a B-picture which led to a contract with Warner Brothers.

Flynn arrived in Hollywood in 1935, married actress Lily Damita, and made brief appearances in a couple of low budget movies. Before the year was out, he played *Captain Blood*, surgeon-turned-pirate during the reign of James II, and became a star. This first foray into swashbuckling adventure demonstrated his grace and agility in wielding a sword, notably in a brilliant duel with Basil Rathbone's villain, and the public responded favorably to the combination of Flynn and then relative newcomer Olivia de Havilland. Backed by a stirring score from composer Erich Korngold, Warners' experienced craftsman Michael Curtiz directed with panache.

The studio was quick to grasp that they had found a winning formula and the natural heir to Douglas Fairbanks. De Havilland co-starred with Flynn in another seven films and, more significantly, Curtiz directed him in a further ten, beginning with *The Charge of the Light Brigade* (1936) and ending with *Dive Bomber* (1941). These ten included the actor's first Western, *Dodge City* and the same year—1939—*The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex* in which Flynn, bravado substituting for skill and experience, played second fiddle to Bette Davis' awesome *Virgin Queen*. He was never a great actor and his range was limited, but when the beguiling personality matched well with the vehicle, it did not seem to matter. Such was the case with the most memorable of the Curtiz collaborations, *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938). Indeed, the film endures as a classic in its own right, distinguished by outstanding Technicolor and Academy Award-winning design, a host of marvelous supporting performances, and what David Thomson aptly calls Flynn's "galvanizing energy" and "cheerful gaiety." It is as Robin Hood, handsome, dashing, brave, and humorous that Flynn is, and should be, best remembered.

Many commentators consider that the actor owed much of his success to the good fortune of being assigned first to Curtiz, then to the more serious-minded Raoul Walsh. They made seven films together, beginning with *They Died With Their Boots On* (1941), in which the star was a sympathetic General Custer, and including what is arguably his best performance, as prizefighter *Gentleman Jim* (1942). *Objective Burma* (1945), however, gave much offense to the British for creating the impression that the Americans single-handedly conquered the Japanese in Burma; and Flynn, although winningly portraying the heroic leader of a crucial and life-endangering mission, already looked weary and older than his years.

In truth, his notoriety had been rising in direct proportion to his stardom. He was tried, and eventually acquitted, for the rape of two teenage girls aboard his yacht in 1942, the year he was divorced from Lily Damita (by whom he had a son); in 1943 he married Nora Eddington (they divorced in 1949 and he married the last of his wives, Patrice Wymore, in 1950); his heavy drinking and smoking was on the increase and he began experimenting with drugs.

From the late 1940s on, Flynn's life and career reflected a downward slide. Weary of swashbuckling and looking for new directions in his work, he left Hollywood for Europe in 1952, played

in several films probably best forgotten, and bankrupted himself in a failed attempt to finance a production of *William Tell*. He sailed around aimlessly in his yacht, and returned to Hollywood in 1956, a ravaged shadow of his former self, to face the final irony of his self-destruction: praise for his performance as a drunken wastrel in *The Sun Also Rises* (1957). He played two more drunks the following year in *Too Much Too Soon* (as John Barrymore) and in Huston's *The Roots of Heaven*, and ended his career, shortly before his death, with the nadir of his achievements, a semi-documentary about Fidel Castro called *Cuban Rebel Girls* which he wrote, co-produced, and narrated.

Movie stars biographer Charles Higham, in *Errol Flynn: The Untold Story*, suggested that the actor had been a Nazi agent for the Gestapo and a bisexual who had affairs with several famous men. Needless to say, the object of these scurrilous accusations was no longer alive to defend himself, and it is kinder and rather more rewarding to remember him for the considerable pleasure he gave at the height of his popular success.

—Robyn Karney

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See *Hustler*

## The Foggy Mountain Boys

Created in 1948 by Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs, the Foggy Mountain Boys were one of bluegrass music's most popular acts, introducing millions of listeners to the style through their association with well-known movies and television shows in the 1950s. Though the act's full name was Flatt and Scruggs and the Foggy Mountain Boys, they were widely referred to as Flatt & Scruggs, as the two co-leaders were the sole permanent members of the band during its almost 20-year existence.

The Foggy Mountain Boys' first recordings were made shortly after Flatt and Scruggs left Bill Monroe's Blue Grass Boys in 1948, and in the space of little more than a year they created 28 of the most influential and enduring songs in the style, virtually all of which have become standards. With John Ray "Curly" Seckler singing tenor harmony to Flatt's genial lead vocals, and Scruggs providing the lower, baritone harmony part, the band sought to distinguish itself from Monroe's by downplaying the role of his instrument, the mandolin, featuring instead Scruggs' dazzling banjo picking and the work of a succession of fiddlers, including Benny Sims, "Chubby" Wise, "Howdy" Forrester, and Benny Martin. Where Monroe's sacred ("gospel") songs were performed with spare backing featuring the mandolin, Flatt and Scruggs opted to retain the full band's

sound, with the substitution of Scruggs' bluesy, finger-picked lead guitar for his banjo. Working for a succession of radio stations in places like Danville, Virginia; Bristol, Tennessee; Atlanta, Georgia; and Versailles, Kentucky, they quickly built a devoted following that made them an attractive acquisition for the Columbia label, whose roster they joined in 1950, remaining for the duration of the band's career.

While the Foggy Mountain Boys scored their first charting record in 1952, "'Tis Sweet To Be Remembered," their real breakthrough came when the Martha White Mills signed on as their sponsor, a relationship that was to continue for as long as the band existed. The deal gave Flatt and Scruggs an early-morning show on Nashville's WSM, the radio home of the Grand Ole Opry, starting in the spring of 1953, which led to regular weekly appearances on a Martha White-sponsored portion of the Opry, as well as a series of television shows that aired in cities around the South. Together with a busy touring schedule and regular recording sessions and releases, these appearances kept the Foggy Mountain Boys before an increasingly devoted audience, while the security of their Martha White sponsorship allowed them to retain a relatively stable lineup—Paul Warren on fiddle, Burkett "Uncle Josh" Graves on dobro (resonator guitar), Seckler and English "Jake" Tullock on string bass—at a time when other bluegrass acts were suffering the economic effects of the rock'n'roll boom of the late 1950s.

Indeed, Flatt and Scruggs' defied conventional wisdom by achieving their greatest success during a period when many country and bluegrass acts were suffering hard times. On the one hand, their increasingly sophisticated recorded sound—often augmented by drums, additional guitars, and other instruments—found favor on the country charts (they placed six singles in the Top 40 between 1959 and 1962), while on the other, Earl Scruggs' brilliance on the banjo brought the act attention from the growing numbers of urban folk revival enthusiasts, which was carefully tended to by his wife, Louise. The greatest boost to their popularity, however, was their recording of the theme song for television's *Beverly Hillbillies*, which spent three weeks at the top of the country chart and exposed millions of viewers to their music—and to the co-leaders directly, as they made several guest appearances on the show. When they appeared at Carnegie Hall in New York the same December, 1962, week that "The Ballad Of Jed Clampett" reached #1, it was apparent that the Foggy Mountain Boys had reached hitherto unattained heights of popularity for a bluegrass act.

From then on, the band led what amounted to a double life, aiming single records at country radio, LP albums at the folk audience, and making appearances at both folk and country venues, including at the prestigious and increasingly well-attended Newport Folk Festivals in the mid 1960s. Though the strategy worked well from a commercial point of view, many of their fans were dismayed by the resultant changes to their music, which drew increasingly from the folk realm, both older, traditional numbers as well as songs written by newer, urban folk artists such as Bob Dylan. The Foggy Mountain Boys' sound moved increasingly in the direction of folk-rock, with an ever-growing number of studio musicians playing a prominent role in their recordings; the change was further sharpened as Earl Scruggs, encouraged by his teenaged sons, began to develop a greater interest in contemporary popular styles, while Flatt yearned for a return to the more countrified, strictly bluegrass sound of the 1950s and early 1960s editions of the band.

By 1969, despite even greater popularity resulting from the prominent use of their "Foggy Mountain Breakdown" as background music in the movie *Bonnie and Clyde*, both Flatt and Scruggs



were unwilling to maintain their association, and the Foggy Mountain Boys disbanded shortly after Scruggs' appearance with his sons at an anti-Vietnam War demonstration in Washington, D.C. Both of the leaders established their own groups, Flatt forming The Nashville Grass, with a more traditional sound, Scruggs creating the Earl Scruggs Revue with his sons and other young musicians interested in a bluegrass-rock hybrid. The Foggy Mountain Boys passed into history. The band's reputation, tarnished by the end, rebounded as their earlier recordings were reissued, and their influence has proven to be both immense and enduring; most of their recordings from the band's first 15 years of existence have become staples of the bluegrass repertoire, and virtually no bluegrass festival takes place without the performance of a healthy number of the Foggy Mountain Boys' classic songs.

—Jon Weisberger

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## Folk Music

Before the twentieth century, a dichotomy prevailed between cultivated music, by educated, formally trained musicians and composers, and folk music, performed by everyone else. Cultivated music was created by and for the upper classes, and was taught and transmitted within a written tradition, while folk music was created by and for the lower classes, and was transmitted orally. Since folk songs were remembered rather than written down, they changed over time—sometimes gradually over centuries, sometimes all at once at the hands of a particularly innovative interpreter. The changes might be accidental, resulting from a lapse of memory, or a deliberate improvement. This communal re-creation is one of the defining characteristics of folk music. The songs and variation belonged to the whole community and were not associated with specific individuals. The names of great classical composers were transmitted in the written tradition along with their compositions, but traditional folk songs are anonymous. Cultivated music had to please the wealthy patron who paid the composer, but a folk song had to appeal to the entire community in order to survive over generations. Thus cultivated music was aristocratic and folk music was communal. Each reflected its audience's values. Cultivated music was often quite complex and required specialized musicians who were hired to perform it, whereas folk songs remained simple, so that anyone could memorize, sing, or play them.

One innovation which compromised the oral nature of folk music was the broadside. Broadside were lyrics printed on large sheets of paper and sold at the marketplace. There was often an instruction to sing the lyrics to the tune of a well-established song.



Folksinger Buffy Sainte-Marie, 1971.

This introduced a degree of literacy to folk music, and many “broadsides” exhibit literary qualities. But the major change that permanently affected folk music was the advent of mass media. Records, movies, radio, and television all gave rise to popular music accessible to everyone from coast to coast. Individuals were able to become rich, or at least make a living, by performing music which appealed to millions of people. This has caused difficulty for musicologists in defining folk music. Popularity itself does not disqualify a song as folk music, but some musicologists claim that it ceases to be folk when it conforms to mainstream styles and tastes. In the latter half of the twentieth century there are very few communities unaffected by mainstream culture (with the exception of isolationist communities like the Amish). One may be immersed in one's own regional or ethnic tradition, but hardly anyone is completely sheltered from mass media. Consequently, individual traditions have shed their particularities and conformed to mainstream tastes. Folk has given way to folk rock and folk pop. The same can be said of blues, bluegrass, and country. These were originally types of folk music which have been popularized into mainstream genres.

American folk music is among the richest and most variegated in the world, owing to the many ethnic groups that make up the American people. The major strains of American folk music are Irish, Scottish, English, and African. Other European traditions, notably

Spanish, have also exerted some influence. The American Indians have a rich musical heritage, but it was never integrated with the European or African traditions. Some instruments of American folk music are the guitar, string bass, mandolin, autoharp, dulcimer, fiddle, and banjo.

The most intriguing genre of the American folk song is the ballad, a song which tells a story. The earliest American ballads came from the British Isles and thrived for centuries in Appalachian areas. Ballads can often be traced to mythic or epic traditions. "Polly Vaughan" (Peter, Paul and Mary) can be traced back to Celtic mythology. (Note: in this discussion, examples of ballads will be followed by popular performers who have recorded the song. More traditional versions of many of these ballads may be explored in Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*.) "Polly Vaughan" tells the story of a hunter who accidentally kills his wife, having mistaken her for a swan. The story has a supernatural element: in some versions Polly is resurrected as a swan; in others her ghost visits the courtroom where her husband is tried. "John Riley" (Joan Baez, the Byrds) tells of a man who, returning from a seven-year expedition, disguises himself from his wife to find out if she has been faithful. John Riley has obvious parallels with the Greek Odysseus. Many ballads derive from the Biblical tradition, as in "Samson and Delilah," also called "If I Had My Way" (Grateful Dead, Peter, Paul and Mary).

Although there are some comic ballads, most ballads are tragic and have a tone of inevitability which exerts a strange power over the listener. Many tell of the hero's ruin and seek to deter the listeners from a similar fate by delivering a moral at the end. "The House of the Rising Sun" (Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, Odetta, the Animals), tells the tragic tale of a woman lured into prostitution and warns the listener "not to do what I have done." The fidelity of women is a common theme, as in "John Riley" mentioned above, and "Gallows Tree," also called "Hangman" (Peter, Paul and Mary, Odetta), which tells of a man at the gallows abandoned by father, mother, and brother, until his true love finally comes to pay his fee (a very different version of this song is recorded by Led Zeppelin as "Gallows Pole"). The infidelity of men is an equally common motif, as in "Come All Ye Fair and Tender Ladies," also known as "Tiny Sparrow" (Peter, Paul and Mary).

Ballads may be inspired by local events, such as battles, uprisings, disasters, trainwrecks, and shipwrecks (including the *Titanic*). A shipwreck is the subject of "Sir Patrick Spens," one of the oldest and most famous of all British ballads, often included in literature anthologies for its deft, concise poetry and symbolism. Train songs are very common. The advent of the train captured the folk imagination for its great economic and cultural impact upon rural America. "John Henry" (Odetta) tells of a railroad laborer who tried to outperform the steam drill using his bare hands to drill the railroad tracks. "Casey Jones" tells of an engineer who died in a trainwreck (the Grateful Dead's "Casey Jones," from the album *Workingman's Dead*, is their own composition, only marginally related to the original). The Badman Ballad was also popular. Often petty criminals and bandits attained legendary status and became tragic or ironic antiheroes in ballads such as "Jesse James" or "Pretty Boy Floyd."

One of the major genres of American folk music is the protest song. Wars have always been a topic of protest songs. "Cruel War" (Peter, Paul and Mary) goes back to the American Revolution. But in this century it was the "union singers," declaiming the atrocious labor conditions of the Industrial Age, that made protest songs notorious. One of the first union singers was a Swedish immigrant named Joe Hill. He was a member of the Industrial Workers of the

World and contributed to their book, *Songs to Fan the Flames of Discontent*. He was executed in 1915, accused of murdering a businessman. (Joan Baez commemorated him in the song "I Dreamed I Saw Joe Hill.")

But the great flowering of protest songs arose from the hardships of the Great Depression. Notable among these are the Dust Bowl ballads of Woody Guthrie. Guthrie added his own lyrics to folk and country songs to tell what he saw and suffered in his travels across America during the Depression. He modified the Badman Ballad to write songs about good men down on their luck. Thus one of his major contributions was the emphasis on new lyrics. Guthrie traveled with folksingers like Ramblin' Jack Elliott, Cisco Houston, and Huddie (Leadbelly) Ledbetter. In 1941 he joined the Almanac Singers, who played topical songs that would inform people of current events which might not be covered honestly in the media. They formed a commune in Greenwich Village and charged 35 cents for daylong performances which demanded audience participation. (Such group participation in folk music is called a hootenanny.) The purpose of these folksingers was to promote group solidarity and rally listeners into supporting workers' rights by joining unions. Though Guthrie and his companions would be hailed as "authentic" folksingers by a later generation, many folk musicologists of the time objected to this popularization of folk music for the sake of political causes. Guthrie himself denied that he was a folksinger. He hated the beautifully sad songs of the "silk-stocking balladeers" of an ancient British tradition which held no hope of social mobility for the lower classes.

Another important folksinger of the period was Pete Seeger, a musicologist and Harvard dropout who, like Guthrie, was bent upon traveling and recording his experiences in song. He traveled to other countries, learned their traditions, and included them in his repertoire. Seeger also joined the Almanac Singers, though he was more famous for his next band, the Weavers. Seeger, Guthrie, and others were affiliated with Communism, like many left-wing activists of the time. In 1953, the Weavers disbanded, effectively silenced by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In 1954 Guthrie entered the hospital, debilitated by Huntington's Chorea. He ceased to write songs, though he did not die until 1967. Without these major players, folk music subsided in the mid-1950s, forgotten by the mainstream amid the excitement of a thrilling new sound called rock 'n' roll.

But folk music became chic among certain middle-class college students who disdained rock 'n' roll as an inane, fleeting fad. Eventually folk scenes arose in Berkeley and Cambridge, and Albert Grossman opened the Gate of Horn folk club in Chicago. Grossman was also responsible for producing the Newport Folk Festival, which became an annual event. The first festival, in 1959, introduced Joan Baez. But the most exciting folk scene was in Greenwich Village, in coffee houses like the Bitter End and the Gaslight Cafe. (This scene was later satirized in Dylan's "Talking New York," and commemorated more abstrusely in Simon and Garfunkel's "Bleeker Street.") Grossman visited Greenwich Village, and, moved by the devotion of college students buying expensive coffee while watching grubby folksingers, he decided the time was right to cash in on folk. He converted three clean-cut California boys into the Kingston Trio in 1957. They recorded "Tom Dooley" (1958), a traditional ballad about a man sentenced to death, which sold two million copies. Soon a proliferation of polished, cleancut folkies imitated the Kingston Trio: the Folksingers, the Limelitters, the Ramblers Three, the Brothers Four, the Chad Mitchell Trio, the New Christy Minstrels, and Peter, Paul and Mary. But a remarkable new talent distinguishing himself from the crowd was Bob Dylan, who wrote his own material in

addition to covering traditional songs. Dylan was audacious, perhaps even pretentious: his “Song for Woody” compared his own travels to the hardships Guthrie endured during the Depression. However, Dylan soon proved to be a poet worth listening to. When his songs were covered by Peter, Paul and Mary they became hits, and Dylan finally got his deserved recognition. Soon the folk popularizers, and then mainstream acts, were covering his material. But a more significant outgrowth of Dylan’s success was the emergence of folksingers who, rather than simply covering his songs, were inspired by Dylan’s example to write and perform their own songs. Tom Paxton, Tim Hardin, Phil Ochs, Judy Collins, and Gordon Lightfoot were all indebted to the standard of originality, creativity, and intelligence established by Dylan. Peter, Paul and Mary’s reputation hovered between the popularizers and the earnest folkies, until Dylan’s nostalgic poem commemorating their performances at the Gaslight was published on their album *In the Wind* and boosted their credibility. In February 1964, Peter, Paul and Mary were at the height of their popularity, with all three of their albums in the top ten, when the Beatles invaded America and awoke the sleeping giant of rock ‘n’ roll.

It was inevitable that folk and rock would merge. Rock was always an eclectic genre, born of blues and country music, and was always ready to absorb influences. After the Beatles began to dominate the charts, other bands sought some something new to hook fickle teen tastes. In September 1964, the Animals attacked “House of the Rising Sun” with electric guitars and organ. The song was a hit, and suggested to the folkies that they too could cash in on the hybrid.

1965 saw the explosion of folk rock. This year was important for several reasons. In January, Bob Dylan shocked the folkies by “going electric” on the single “Subterranean Homesick Blues.” They hoped the new style was a put-on, a satire of the rock craze, but these hopes were shattered in March by the equally electric album *Bringing It All Back Home*. At the Newport Folk Festival in July Dylan and his electric guitar were booed offstage after three songs, despite the fact that Muddy Waters had played an electric guitar at the 1964 festival. Meanwhile, the Byrds had released *Mr. Tambourine Man* (June 1965), featuring Dylan songs and other folk songs revitalized by their electric twelve-string guitars and harmonies. They followed this up with another fine album in December, *Turn! Turn! Turn!* The Byrds were essentially folk musicians, who shrewdly recognized rock as the new direction in popular music. Simon and Garfunkel were also urban folkies transformed into folk rockers. Their first album, *Wednesday Morning, 3 A.M.*, was, like Dylan’s first album, a mixture of traditional folk songs and authentic-sounding original compositions. In spite of its great musical and lyrical qualities, the album did not sell well. But when their producer added electric guitars and drums to one of these songs, “Sounds of Silence,” and re-released it as a single, it reached the top of the charts. Fortunately, Paul Simon was able to live up to the expectations stirred by the folk rock version. He had been uncomfortable with the “authenticity” demands of the folkies and proved to be an original and intelligent songwriter, free of Dylan’s evasiveness and posturing. Simon created much of folk rock’s finest music throughout the rest of the decade.

Meanwhile, the Beatles also had come under the influence of Dylan. Inspired by his mellow introspection and elusive symbolism, Lennon responded with “You’ve Got To Hide Your Love Away,” and McCartney offered the folksy, wordy “I’ve Just Seen a Face” (*Help!*, August 1965). By December the Beatles were rising to the challenge of the upstart Byrds, and exhibited a more pronounced folk

influence on *Rubber Soul*. It never occurred to the Beatles to explore their own British tradition of folk music. This task was taken up by the Scottish troubadour Donovan Leitch. Donovan combined the ballad tradition of the British Isles with Dylanesque lyrics and was quickly hailed the “Scottish Dylan.”

By 1966 folk rock was seemingly everywhere. Worthy folk rockers included the Lovin’ Spoonful, the Mamas and Papas, Buffalo Springfield, and the Turtles. But the “folk” label was often abused as a marketing device applied to anyone slightly eclectic, from Janis Joplin to the Youngbloods. Even Sonny and Cher were considered folk rock. On the other hand, the Grateful Dead are rarely considered folk, but produced great folk rock on *Workingman’s Dead*, *American Beauty*, and later *Reckoning* by mingling blues, country, jugband, bluegrass, and Appalachian styles. The Dead’s lyricist, Robert Hunter, was a poet whose literary qualities rivaled Paul Simon or Dylan. His terse, ironic tales of the struggles and adventures of simple folks were closer to genuine folk song than many others ever came.

Much of what passed for folk rock was the appropriation of several features with varying relevance to traditional folk song. First of all, anyone holding an acoustic guitar was called a genuine folkie, and the electric twelve-string guitar was also labeled folk, based on the Byrds’ precedent. And then there were the vocal harmonies associated with Peter, Paul and Mary (though these were just as often borrowed from the Beatles or the Everly Brothers). Finally, “sensitive” lyrics, whether political or personal, were a sure sign of folkdom. Dylan’s songwriting was the widest and most enduring influence, though not always for the best: his style of protest—detached, ironic, and accusing—was eventually imitated in every area of popular music, reaching a crescendo of sanctimony in the “Art Rock” of the 1970s. The “other side of Bob Dylan,” his cryptic autobiographies, also exerted an unfortunate influence, as less skilled writers began to bare their soul with diminishing subtlety and sophistication. The 1960s spirit of togetherness, embraced by everyone from Peter, Paul and Mary to Crosby, Stills and Nash, was abandoned in the 1970s as these and so many other groups splintered into solo artists. Retreating from the political chaos of the late 1960s, the singer/songwriters resorted to whiny introspection and self-infatuation. Some of them, such as John Prine and Jim Croce, maintained a sense of humor and irony which made them worthy folksingers. Others, such as Joni Mitchell and Leonard Cohen, relied on their literary prowess to grace their gloom with a little dignity.

Folk rockers of the British Isles tended to avoid the singer/songwriter melody. In the late 1960s and 1970s, Fairport Convention, the Incredible String Band, Jethro Tull, Led Zeppelin, and Irish guitar maestro Rory Gallagher successfully blended folk influences into their eclecticism. These were usually musical influences, without the ideological baggage associated with folk music. The folk spirit of protest, homespun integrity, and anti-corporate independence was eventually seized by a new and very different breed of “simple folks”—the punk rockers.

—Douglas Cooke

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## Folkways Records

Founded by Moses "Moe" Asch in 1948, Folkways Records evolved into perhaps the most important independent record label in the history of American popular culture. Determined to document the authentic musical traditions of the world, Asch assembled an eclectic catalogue of more than 2,200 titles that featured such artists as Huddie "Leadbelly" Ledbetter, Woody Guthrie, Pete Seeger, Coleman Hawkins, Mary Lou Williams, and John Cage. In addition to assembling an impressive collection of children's and world artists, Folkways played a prominent role in shaping the canon of American folk music, exerted tremendous influence on left-wing culture, and, in part, inspired the folk revival of the 1960s.

Born in 1905 in Warsaw, Poland, in 1914 the nine-year-old Moses Asch emigrated with his family to New York City, where his father, the renowned Yiddish novelist Sholem Asch, sought to forge relationships with other Jewish intellectuals. In 1923, Sholem sent his son to Germany to study electronics, and when Moe returned to New York in 1926, he opened a radio repair shop and pursued a career as a sound engineer. Eager to gain his father's approval, he then sought a more literary occupation. During his sojourn in Germany, he had read John Lomax's *Cowboy Songs* (1910), which sparked his interest in American folklore and convinced him that folk music constituted the literature of the "common" people. In 1939, he established Asch Records to document their voices, recording traditional Yiddish folk songs and cantorial's. Asch's repertoire expanded in 1941 when he released a collection of children's songs performed by Leadbelly, the former Lomax protégé who would become central to the label's success.

The release of Leadbelly's material as well as *The Cavalcade of the American Negro* (1941) underscored Asch's commitment to preserving the cultural heritage of African Americans. These racial politics were indicative of his general leftist sympathies. Reared in a family of socialists, he enthusiastically embraced the Popular Front, a loose affiliation of left-wing and liberal artists and intellectuals who, at the suggestion of the Communist Party International, committed themselves to the defeat of European fascism and the promotion of racial and economic equality. Although Asch was wary of communism, in 1944 he opened his studio, now under the banner of Disc Records, to the leftist American Folksong Movement. Seeger and his Almanac Singers, Cisco Houston, Brownie McGhee, Sonny Terry, and Woody Guthrie gathered to record traditional tunes and politically-inflected songs. Folkways was particularly supportive of Guthrie's

career and, between 1944 and 1945, Asch recorded nearly 140 Guthrie selections and meticulously archived the musician's voluminous notebooks, letters, and drawings.

Disc Records ended in bankruptcy, but when Asch and his assistant, Marian Distler, launched Folkways in 1948, he refused to make efforts to sign commercially successful artists. Marquee performers, he worried, would compromise the label's integrity among academics as well as his attempts to chronicle the lives of "real" folk. As a result, he continued to record music that appealed to small but well-defined audiences: white leftists, jazz aficionados, librarians, and teachers. In its fledgling years, Folkways rereleased Guthrie's *Dust Bowl Ballads* (which RCA originally recorded in 1940), expanded its jazz catalogue, and, under the direction of ethnomusicologist Harold Courlander, promoted the Ethnic Series.

In 1952, Asch hired Harry Smith to assemble the *Anthology of American Folk Music*, a compendium that introduced a new generation, notably Bob Dylan and Bruce Springsteen, to the genre. This seminal album became a cultural touchstone for the many white students who, inspired by the success of the Weavers and the Kingston Trio, sought to celebrate folk musicians and their traditions. Under Asch's auspices, Mike Seeger, Pete's half-brother, reclaimed and recorded Southern traditions, while Ralph Rinzler documented such virtuosos as Clarence Ashley and Arthel "Doc" Watson. A burgeoning interest in folk music opened a new market to Asch, impelling him to rerelease older materials and to issue new recordings by such legends as Sam "Lightnin'" Hopkins and Big Joe Williams.

This renaissance gained momentum when, in the early 1960s, Dylan and Joan Baez began to write and perform topical songs that both reflected and shaped the politics of the Ban the Bomb and Civil Rights Movements. Interested in the New Left's use of the folk idiom, Folkways created the Broadside label to document songs written for the radical underground publication of the same name. Replete with Dylan compositions, the *Broadside Ballads* featured a host of folksingers, including Seeger, Phil Ochs, and Dylan himself, performing under the pseudonym Blind Boy Grunt. Folkways captured other sounds of the decade by employing Guy and Candie Carawan to record the music and speeches of the Civil Rights Movement.

A sizable catalogue, a vault of vintage recordings, and a handful of new projects sustained Folkways through the 1970s, but as the 1980s approached, Asch focused on finding a way to preserve his life's work. Moe Asch died in 1986 and, in 1987 the Smithsonian Institution acquired his collection and reorganized the company under the rubric Smithsonian-Folkways. To fund the venture, the Smithsonian enlisted a coterie of popular musicians to cover material for an album entitled, *A Vision Shared: A Tribute to Leadbelly and Woody Guthrie* (1988). The artists who participated in this effort attest to the enduring legacy that Folkways and its most recognizable legends passed to American popular music. Dylan, Springsteen, Willie Nelson, Little Richard, John Cougar Mellencamp, and Emmylou Harris were among those who identified Leadbelly and Guthrie as their cultural forebears. The Smithsonian agreed to keep each of Asch's original titles in print and has continued to issue previously unreleased materials from his archives.

—Bryan Garman

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## Follett, Ken (1949—)

Writer Ken Follett burst upon the American fiction scene in 1978 with his mystery spy story *Eye of the Needle*. A taut thriller, it portrayed a central female character rising to heroism and a humanized villain together with a convincing image of World War II lifestyles, sensibilities, and attitudes. Characterized by fast-paced action and an economic, readable style, the book was greeted with enthusiasm by public and reviewers alike. It became an American Literary Guild selection garnering sales of more than ten million copies. This was to be the start of Follett's continued success in America from the 1970s through the 1990s. With *Eye of the Needle*, he gained the coveted "Edgar" award from the Mystery Writers of America, a prize honoring the father of the American detective story, Edgar Allan Poe. The novel was later adapted for the screen by Stanley Mann, starring Donald Sutherland and Kate Nelligan. With its release in 1981, the film secured Follett's reputation as a top-notch writer in the spy genre.

He followed his first success with four more best-selling thrillers: *Triple* (1979), *The Key to Rebecca* (1980), *The Man from St. Petersburg* (1982), and *Lie Down with Lions* (1986). American television miniseries of both *The Key to Rebecca*, starring Cliff Robertson and David Soul, and *Lie Down with Lions* in 1994, starring Timothy Dalton, enhanced his popular reputation. A further miniseries of *On Wings of Eagles* (1983), a true story of an Iranian rescue mission, cemented his standing and following.

*Pillars of the Earth*, which has since achieved a worldwide cult status, was published in 1989. It was a radical departure from Follett's spy stories. The novel about building a cathedral in the Middle Ages was on the New York Times best-seller list for 18 weeks. This book was followed by *Night Over Water*, *A Dangerous Fortune*, and *A Place Called Freedom*, which again were not in the spy genre, but had elements of suspense and intrigue. In 1997, Follett's thriller *The Third Twin*, a suspense novel about a young woman scientist who stumbles over a genetic engineering experiment, was ranked number two in the world, beaten only by John Grisham's *The Partner*. Miniseries rights for the book were sold to CBS for \$1,400,000, and its broadcast in 1997 was a further indication of Follett's rank in American popular culture. *The Hammer of Eden* (1998) is a contemporary suspense story with all of the elements of fast pace and intriguing characters established in his earlier efforts.

Follett began his career as a fiction writer while working for the *London Evening News*. He produced a series of mysteries and thrillers under various pseudonyms until he felt he had learned enough and written well enough to author under his own name. His early works were, in Follett's words, "intentionally very racy, with lots of sex."

Each of his best works grew out of news stories and historical events. Cinematic in conception, they follow a hunter-hunted pattern that leads to exciting chase scenes and games of wit and brinkmanship. His most successful works have dealt with World War II, perhaps because he requires a wide backdrop and world-shaking events to justify the tumultuous passions he instills in his characters. At its best, Follett's prose is lean and driven. His forte lies in setting up a chain of events in chronological sequences. Follett's ideal is a compromise between the serious and the popular, the "plot, story, excitement, sensation and the world outside the mind" that he

believes serious writers often ignore merged with the graceful, powerful prose and more complex "character development" that mass-market writers fail to take time for.

Born in Cardiff, Wales, on June 5, 1949, Follett was encouraged to read from a very early age, openly acknowledging his debt to the access to free books he had from the local library, and often saying in lectures that it is axiomatic that a writer is also a reader. He attended University College, London, where he received a BA in philosophy in 1970. While at University, he married his first wife, Mary Elson, and had a son and daughter. His second wife, Barbara Follett, became the Member of Parliament for Stevenage in Hertfordshire. Follett has major interests in music, playing bass guitar in a band called Damn Right I Got the Blues; the theater, especially Shakespeare; and his work as president of the Dyslexia Institute.

—Jim Sinclair and Joan Gajadhar

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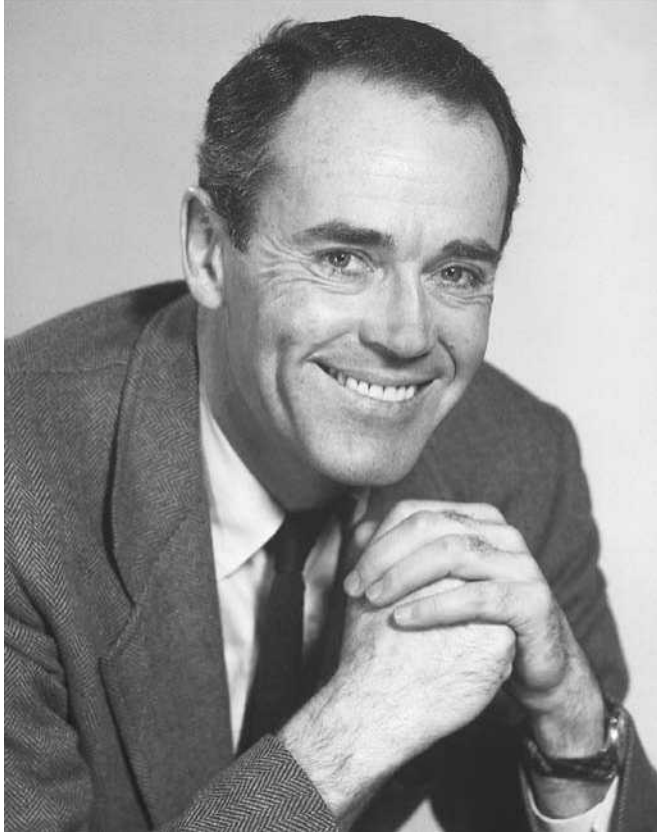
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## Fonda, Henry (1905-1982)

Although cast in a similar mold to his contemporaries Gary Cooper and James Stewart, Henry Fonda was one of the most distinctive American screen actors. Tall, dark, good-looking, and quietly spoken, he exuded decency, sincerity, and understated authority, and spent much of his 46-year career being offered up as a repository of honesty, a quiet American hero and man of the people. He will forever be remembered as the incarnation of the president in *Young Mr. Lincoln* (1939), Steinbeck's Tom Joad in *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940)—both for John Ford, with whom he did much of his finest work—and the subtly persuasive jury member in *Twelve Angry Men* (1957), but his roles ranged wide and his successes were numerous. He was an engagingly absent-minded dupe, turning the tables on Barbara Stanwyck in Preston Sturges's sparkling comedy *The Lady Eve* (1941), the voice of conscience in William Wellman's *The Ox-Bow Incident* (1943), and a memorable Wyatt Earp for Ford in *My Darling Clementine* (1946). He created the role of *Mister Roberts* on Broadway and on-screen, and played presidential candidates in two of the best political films of the 1960s, *Advise and Consent* (1962) and *The Best Man* (1964).

Fonda was born on May 16, 1905 in Grand Island, Nebraska. After high school, he enrolled for a degree in journalism at the University of Minnesota, but dropped out and became an office boy. Asked to play a role in an amateur production with the Omaha Community Players, he found his calling, went on to work in summer stock, and joined the University Players, a new group of students who aspired to the theater. The guiding light was future director Joshua Logan, and the young company included James Stewart and Margaret Sullavan. From there, with his friend Stewart, he made his way to



**Henry Fonda**

New York and the Broadway stage in the early 1930s, and married Margaret Sullivan—the first of his five wives—in 1932. The marriage was over in 1934, the year when, having enjoyed a Broadway success in *The Farmer Takes a Wife*, he signed a contract with film producer Walter Wanger.

Victor Fleming's film version of *The Farmer Takes a Wife* (1935) marked Henry Fonda's screen debut. He repeated his lead role, cast opposite Janet Gaynor, and progressed steadily to popularity and stardom through the rest of the decade. He played a backwoods pioneer in the first outdoor Technicolor adventure movie, *The Trail of the Lonesome Pine* (1936), the film that established his idealistic resolute persona (cartoonist Al Capp later claimed that he had based L'il Abner on Henry Fonda), and in 1937 was invited to star in the first British Technicolor picture, *The Wings of the Morning*. In 1938 he played Frank James in the first Technicolor Western, *Jesse James*, making him Hollywood's first Technicolor star. However, his best work of this early period was in Fritz Lang's social conscience drama, *You Only Live Once* (1938). Set against the background of the Depression, Fonda played a fundamentally decent young man driven to crime by force of circumstance and on the run with his wife (Sylvia Sydney). Other career highlights of the 1930s were William Wyler's Civil War melodrama *Jezebel* (1938), in which he costarred as the exasperated but intractable beau of a willful Bette Davis, and the start of his collaboration with John Ford. *Young Mr. Lincoln*, in which he limned a dreamy, political calm while maintaining a commitment to justice and decency, found him perfectly cast. His frontier pioneer in *Drums Along the Mohawk* (also 1939) followed, and confirmed (after his Frank James) that Fonda, who detested guns and didn't care

much for horses, was nonetheless a sympathetic candidate for the Westerns genre.

He played Frank James again in *The Return of Frank James* (1940), a memorable but sadly underrated Western from Fritz Lang, but it was indubitably Ford who engraved Fonda's image on the Western. In Ford's hands, Fonda was a kind of Sir Galahad of the Prairie: polite, laconic, slow to anger, but a man of his word who means what he says. They made only one more Western together (*Fort Apache*, 1948), but Fonda's mature postwar demeanor served Anthony Mann's *The Tin Star* (1957) and Edward Dmytryk's uneven *Warlock* (1959). Meanwhile, there was Tom Joad.

Although a major star by 1940, Fonda, dissatisfied with his material, wanted out of his contract with 20th Century-Fox and Walter Wanger. However, he desperately wanted to play Joad, and reluctantly signed a seven-year deal with Fox in order to get it. Ford directed *The Grapes of Wrath* from his own screenplay adaptation of the novel. It was a powerful depiction of the plight of the Dust Bowl migrants, in which Fonda's Joad, a decent man just out of jail after killing in self-defense, is dismayed to find his family farm a ruin. Undaunted by adversity, he helps his family make it to California against the odds, only to find the poor are oppressed there, too. Following the death of Casey (John Carradine), an inspirational figure, Joad, in a classic speech lifted directly from Steinbeck's novel, vows to fight injustice wherever it may be. Fonda was Oscar-nominated for his performance but lost, ironically, to his close friend James Stewart's comedy performance in *The Philadelphia Story*.

In 1936, Fonda had married socialite Frances Brokaw. The marriage lasted until 1950 when, following a mental breakdown, she committed suicide. Brokaw, the second Mrs. Fonda, was the mother of future actors Jane and Peter. In the early 1940s, Fonda was able to escape from a couple of years of his contractual obligations to Fox thanks to active service during World War II. His postwar return was *My Darling Clementine*, and after a handful of films, ending with *Fort Apache*, he deserted Hollywood for the Broadway stage, and was off the screen for eight years. During this time, his notable successes included *The Caine Mutiny* *Court Martial* and *Mister Roberts*, the play that brought him back to the screen when John Ford insisted he recreate his stage role for Warner Bros.' 1955 film version. (Warner Bros. had wanted William Holden or Marlon Brando to star). Sadly, the filming was marked by dissension between star and director, and Ford's increasing illness, and the picture was completed by Mervyn Le Roy.

In 1956, the actor starred as Pierre, opposite Audrey Hepburn's Natasha in King Vidor's lumbering, multi-million-dollar version of *War and Peace*. Fonda insisted on wearing spectacles to give the character a suitably distracted, intellectual air but, unfortunately for the film, as *Time* magazine noted, Fonda gave "the impression of being the only man in the huge cast who had read the book." Also in 1956, Fonda's third wife divorced him, citing his affair with Adera Franchetti, who became his fourth wife in 1957. That year, he starred in one of his biggest successes of the decade, Alfred Hitchcock's *The Wrong Man*, playing the victim of a case of mistaken identity, fighting to save himself from a wrongful charge of murder. The 1960s began with a fourth divorce, and brought marriage (in 1965) to his fifth and last wife, Shirlee Mae Adams. During this decade, too, his public profile became somewhat eclipsed by those of his children, notably his daughter Jane, who was a prominent political activist as well as an increasingly successful actress. Both children were publicly outspoken in their criticism of their famous father, and his image as the nicest guy in town was somewhat tarnished.

On the professional front, he continued active. He made a number of television specials, including *Clarence Darrow*, and produced and starred in *The Deputy* from 1959 to 1961; and alternated between the live theater and films, but the Hollywood glory days were over and the good roles were few and far between. There were exceptions, notably in three overtly political films to which the gravitas of his demeanor was perfectly suited, and in which he was uniformly excellent. He was the candidate running for the office of Secretary of State, but dogged by a dark secret, in Otto Preminger's *Advise and Consent* (1962); an Adlai Stevenson-like presidential nominee with high ideals in Franklin Schaffner's adaptation of Gore Vidal's Broadway play, *The Best Man* (1964); and a heroic president staving off a nuclear holocaust by extreme means in Sidney Lumet's *Fail Safe* (1964). He made cameo appearances in such major, all-star productions as *The Longest Day*, *How The West Was Won* (both 1962), *Battle of the Bulge* and *In Harm's Way* (both 1965), and, in a late reprise of his Westerns career, but in a reversal of his "good guy" image, starred as a ruthless gunman in Sergio Leone's epic *Once Upon a Time in the West* (1969).

During the 1970s, with ill health gradually creeping upon him, Henry Fonda's illustrious career gradually wound down, though never quite out. In 1974, he was a presenter at the Tony Awards, was honored by the American Civil Liberties Union, and narrated a history film series for colleges and universities. He also opened on Broadway in the one-man show *Clarence Darrow*, but the show closed after 29 performances when Fonda collapsed in his dressing room from total exhaustion. He was rushed to the hospital and a pacemaker was implanted, but he later revived the play at the Huntington Hartford Theater in Los Angeles, where it was taped and presented on NBC later the same year. In 1977 he made a splash as a crusty old Supreme Court Judge in Robert E. Lee and Jerome Lawrence's *First Monday in October*, which played in Los Angeles, on Broadway, and in Chicago.

In between work, Fonda found time to paint (his watercolors hang in several galleries), do needlework, and experiment with haute cuisine. He was honored by the American Film Institute with a Lifetime Achievement Award in 1978, and by the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, and was given an honorary Oscar at the 1981 Academy Awards ceremony "in recognition of his brilliant accomplishments."

Henry Fonda stepped into the Hollywood spotlight once more to costar with Katharine Hepburn in *On Golden Pond* (1981). The film went some way to healing the rift with his daughter Jane, who played his daughter in the film, and, at age 76, he became the oldest recipient of the Best Actor Oscar—the first of his long and distinguished career—for his performance as a retired professor grown curmudgeonly with age and the fear of approaching death. He was, alas, too ill to attend the Oscar ceremony in March 1982, and Jane Fonda, herself a nominee that year, collected the statuette on her father's behalf. Henry Fonda, one of the best loved actors of Hollywood's Golden Age, and of the Broadway theater, died in August of that year.

—Dennis Fischer

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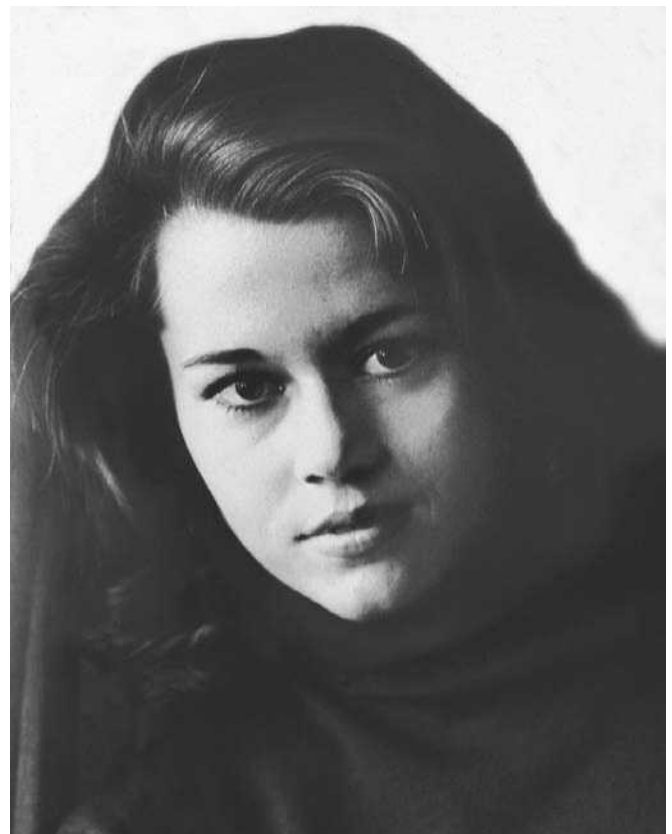
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## Fonda, Jane (1937—)

A popular culture icon alternately revered and reviled by American audiences, Jane Fonda is an actress whose career often has been overshadowed by her very public personal life. The quintessentially mod sixties cinematic sex symbol in *Barbarella*, Fonda soon became one of America's most controversial figures following her highly publicized trip to Vietnam in which she spoke out against the war. Despite public disapproval, Fonda nonetheless became one of Hollywood's most popular actresses, nominated for six Academy Awards and winning two. Off-screen, Fonda has been known as a dedicated political activist, a hugely successful workout guru, and wife to three prominent men—French film director Roger Vadim, politician Tom Hayden, and media mogul Ted Turner.

A member of Hollywood's aristocracy since birth, Jane was born in New York City to the legendary Henry Fonda and his socialite wife, Frances Seymour Brokaw. Jane spent her early years at the Fonda home in the mountains above Santa Monica, California, where Tomboy Jane and her younger brother, Peter, spent an idyllic childhood climbing trees and riding horses. After World War II, Henry returned to Broadway to star in *Mister Roberts*, and the family moved



Jane Fonda

to Connecticut, where the Fondas hoped to raise their children away from the Hollywood limelight. But the marriage quickly disintegrated after Henry fell in love with Susan Blanchard, the twenty-one-year-old stepdaughter of composer Oscar Hammerstein. Shortly thereafter, Frances, who had long suffered from depression, had a series of nervous breakdowns and was committed to a sanatorium, where she committed suicide by slashing her throat. Feeling that his twelve-year-old daughter and ten-year-old son were too young to know the truth, Henry told his children that their mother had died of a heart attack. Both Jane and Peter later learned the truth through the press.

As a teenager, Fonda showed little interest in following in her father's footsteps. Educated at the elite girls' school Emma Willard and later at Vassar, she earned a reputation as a free spirit and rebel whose chief interests were boys and art. But when the opportunity came to costar with her father and Dorothy McGuire at the theatre where the two stars had made their debuts, Fonda accepted and, in 1954, made her own acting debut in the Omaha Playhouse production of *The Country Girl*. Yet, she continued to envision a career as a painter, studying at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris and the Art Students League in New York.

After meeting famed acting teacher Lee Strasberg in 1958, Fonda became interested in acting but was afraid of being compared to her famous father. It wasn't until Strasberg told the twenty-one-year-old Fonda she had talent that she decided to become an actress. Fonda joined the Actors Studio in 1958 and two years later made her film debut opposite Anthony Perkins in *Tall Story*. Fonda soon found regular work on Broadway and in Hollywood, where her beauty and talent won her a growing public following. During the sixties, she starred in such popular films as *Walk on the Wild Side*, *Cat Ballou*, and Neil Simon's *Barefoot in the Park* with Robert Redford.

In 1965, Fonda married French director Roger Vadim, and it was her controversial nudity in Vadim's futuristic film *Barbarella* which catapulted her to international stardom. Her next two films, *They Shoot Horses, Don't They?* and *Klute*, revealed her growing reputation as one of Hollywood's top actresses, earning her two Academy Award nominations. In 1971, Fonda took home the Oscar for best actress for *Klute*.

In 1972, Fonda traveled to North Vietnam. Shocked by the devastation, she agreed to make ten propaganda broadcasts to U.S. servicemen. This earned her the pejorative nickname "Hanoi Jane," and her speeches, calling U.S. soldiers war criminals and urging them to disobey orders, were carried around the world, along with pictures of her on the North Vietnamese guns used to shoot down American planes. Fonda's fame skyrocketed as she became both the darling of the antiwar movement and the sworn enemy of the Establishment, the U.S. military, and countless Vietnam veterans. For the rest of her life, Fonda would be associated with her trip to Vietnam, greeted with praise or literally shunned and spit upon.

Following her divorce from Vadim, Fonda became increasingly politically active after marrying radical politician Tom Hayden in 1972. The Haydens supported countless liberal causes, becoming one of Hollywood's most outspoken political couples. Fonda's reputation as an actress continued to grow. During the late seventies, she appeared in such film classics as *Julia*, *Comes a Horseman*, and *Coming Home*, for which she won her second Oscar.

In 1981, Fonda finally was given the opportunity to act opposite her father on film. *On Golden Pond*, starring Henry, Jane, and the

inimitable Katharine Hepburn, would be Henry's last film and would earn the ailing actor an Academy Award. Jane continued to make movies throughout the eighties, appearing in *Agnes of God*, *The Morning After*, and *Old Gringo*, but much of her time was taken up with a new role, as she once again became an iconic figure in a new movement—the fitness revolution. She produced "The Jane Fonda Workout" series of fitness videos, which became national bestsellers even as the money they earned benefited the liberal political causes she and Hayden espoused.

In 1988, during an interview with Barbara Walters on television's *20/20*, sixteen years after her trip to Vietnam, Fonda publicly apologized for her bad judgment in going to Vietnam and particularly rued the effects her trip had had on Vietnam veterans. She would later meet with Vietnam veterans in a semi-successful effort to heal old wounds.

In 1989, Fonda and Hayden were divorced. After a difficult period of adjustment, Fonda began dating Ted Turner. They married in 1991, and their union is thought to be a happy one. So happy, in fact, that Fonda has retired from acting, preferring to devote her time to her marriage and to the social causes she continues to support. As Jennet Conant wrote in an April 1997 *Vanity Fair* article, Fonda is now "the star turned supporting player, the activist turned philanthropist." After a lifetime in the public eye, the more private Jane Fonda nonetheless remains one of America's most intriguing popular culture icons.

—Victoria Price

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## Fonteyn, Margot (1919-1991)

Prima ballerina of the British Royal Ballet for over forty years, Margot Fonteyn was one of the greatest dramatic dancers of the twentieth century. Fonteyn was the first ballerina trained in a British school and company to achieve international stature. Artistic partnerships were integral to her career; her forty-year collaboration with Frederick Ashton was the longest between a ballerina and choreographer in dance history. As she prepared to retire at age 43 in 1962, her career was revitalized by her partnership with Rudolf Nureyev, who, at age 24, had just defected from the Soviet Union. "It was an artistic love affair conducted in public" said dance critic Clement Crisp. Fonteyn's career was unusually long for a ballet dancer and she continued to perform until her mid-sixties.

—Jeffrey Escoffier



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## Ford, Glenn (1916—)

One of the most pleasing, consistent, thoughtful, and prolific of screen actors, Glenn Ford (born Gwyllyn Newton in Quebec) was a regular feature of the Hollywood landscape, particularly the sagebrush, given the large number of Westerns in which he starred. Initially a leading man of the second rank, he enjoyed full stardom from 1946 until the late 1950s. He owed his elevation to *Gilda*, Charles Vidor's classic *film noir* in which he tangled angrily and enigmatically with Rita Hayworth in a seedy South American nightclub, and subsequently demonstrated his worth and versatility in a wide range of material. He subsumed his natural likability to play hard men (e.g. *3.10 to Yuma*, 1957) and revealed comedy talent in *Teahouse of the August Moon* (1956), but his most memorable performances were as the revenge-obsessed detective in Fritz Lang's *The Big Heat* (1953) and the teacher dealing with delinquents in *The Blackboard Jungle* (1955). His star waned in the 1960s, owing to poor material, but he proved his durability on TV and made a noteworthy appearance in *Superman* (1978).

—Robyn Karney

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## Ford, Harrison (1942—)

Starring in two of the most successful film trilogies of all time, the *Star Wars* and Indiana Jones adventures, actor Harrison Ford became the action hero for a new generation of blockbusters in the 1970s and 1980s. Throughout the 1990s he further consolidated his film star appeal and was voted "The Greatest Movie Star of All Time" by *Empire* magazine in October 1997.

Ford's most notable roles prior to *Star Wars* were appearances in George Lucas's *American Graffiti* (1973) and Francis Ford Coppola's *The Conversation* (1974), establishing him as a competent character actor and, more importantly, making him known to the "Movie Brat" directors who came to dominate commercial cinema in the 1970s and 1980s. The most famous biographical fact about Ford was that he was working as a carpenter to the stars when Lucas called him in to take part in auditions for a new science-fiction project. Breaking all box office records and establishing the trend for special-effects blockbusters, *Star Wars* (1977) was a much bigger film than any of its actors;



Harrison Ford in a scene from the film *Raiders of the Lost Ark*.

but Ford's Han Solo clearly had the edge as an attractive rogue—a cowboy in the first film, a romantic hero in *The Empire Strikes Back* (1980), and a freedom fighter in *Return of the Jedi* (1983).

Apart from a lighthearted cowboy role in *The Frisco Kid* (1979), for a while it seemed that Ford was going to be typecast in war movies, as the Vietnam veteran in *Heroes* (1977), the action man in *Force 10 from Navarone* (1978), the romantic hero in *Hanover Street* (1979), and the sum of his associations as Captain Lucas in Coppola's *Apocalypse Now* (1979). But it was with the release of Steven Spielberg's *Raiders of the Lost Ark* in 1981 that Ford was able to take center screen in an altogether different, but still highly familiar set of adventures. As an archaeologist in the 1930s, the Indiana Jones character was able to combine all of the essential action fantasies of the Lucas-Spielberg team; as typified by the first film, for example, this adventurer could take part in a mythic quest against the Nazis—fantasy and war movie heroics lovingly packaged in Saturday morning serial form. The two sequels, *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom* (1984) and *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* (1989), clearly established Ford as the family action hero of the decade, an actor who combined elements of Humphrey Bogart, Gary Cooper, and Cary Grant, partly in his looks and his acting style, partly in the types of pastiche films which he chose, and all in contrast to the solely muscle-bound poundings of Sylvester Stallone and Arnold Schwarzenegger.

Ford's performances in Ridley Scott's *Blade Runner* (1982) and Peter Weir's *Witness* (1985) may, in fact, remain his most interesting in this respect. Not overtly commercial films, they nevertheless established Ford as an actor with understated authority, comparisons with 1940s film noir in the former and *High Noon* in the latter, serving to enhance, rather than detract from his contemporary generic appeal. Although possibly Ford's least favorite film, *Blade Runner* nevertheless gained cult and now classic status, and for *Witness* he gained his only Academy Award nomination. Ford probably demonstrated his greatest acting range as a stubborn inventor in Weir's *The Mosquito Coast* (1986), but it is still a performance in a film without simple

generic identity, balanced by his next two films, Mike Nichols's romantic comedy *Working Girl* (1987) and Roman Polanski's Hitchcockian thriller *Frantic* (1988).

Ford's attractiveness lies in the fact that he's something of a reluctant star who can nevertheless bring authority and appeal to the most generic of films. Part of his ongoing success has been due to the deliberation and discrimination with which he has chosen his films, taking care to alternate action with light comedy and drama, and working with the most professional directors available. After two of his most mediocre films, Alan J. Pakula's solid courtroom drama *Presumed Innocent* (1990) and Mike Nichols's sentimental *Regarding Henry* (1991), Ford had the sense to move on to action thrillers, starring as Jack Ryan in the high-tech Tom Clancy adaptations *Patriot Games* (1992) and *Clear and Present Danger* (1994), and as the innocent doctor on the run in *The Fugitive* (1993).

Two of Ford's most ill-received films appeared in 1995 and 1996; in the old-fashioned remake of *Sabrina* he played the Bogart role, and in *The Devil's Own* he courted controversy. Though Ford often noted that he choose films with "strong" stories, some of his films have had controversial political agendas. Both *Patriot Games* and *The Devil's Own* offered a simplistic vision of the IRA situation in Ireland. *Clear and Present Danger*, however, is actually quite radical in its attack on sub-Republican government, while *Air Force One* (1997) offers a more populist political agenda. Directed by Wolfgang Peterson, *Air Force One* is an undeniably professional action film, but with Ford playing a U.S. president who gets to fight back at terrorists, too contemporary, perhaps, to avoid "political" readings. From these films with deliberate political currents, Ford moved on to Ivan Reitman's lightweight "castaway" comedy *Six Days, Seven Nights* (1998), playing the sort of cantankerous figure Cary Grant played in his later years. Another classic comparison for an actor who also happens to be one of the most important stars of the contemporary era.

—Stephen Keane

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## Ford, Henry (1863-1947)

As founder of the Ford Motor Company, Henry Ford epitomized the can-do optimism of the industrial age. His homespun, folksy persona charmed Americans and redefined an alternate image of the wealthy industrialist. His Model T automobile, rolled out of his Michigan headquarters in 1908, was the first car to capture the national imagination and the first to sell in mass quantities. Upon doubling his workers' wages in 1914, Ford became an overnight celebrity.

Though he earned his fame as a wealthy industrialist, Ford grew up on a modest family farm. Born July 30, 1863, in Dearborn, Michigan, he spent his early years doing chores and tinkering with watches and steam engines. At age seventeen, he left home to take a job in Detroit for a manufacturer of railroad boxcars. For the next twenty years, he worked at a succession of technical jobs, eventually landing the position of chief engineer at a power company. All the

while, he tinkered in his off-hours with homemade steam and, ultimately, gasoline powered engines and vehicles.

In 1899, at age thirty-eight, Ford quit the power company and, with some partners, founded his first automobile manufacturing enterprise. While this attempt failed, as did a second, his third try, the Ford Motor Company, founded in 1903, grew into one of the largest, wealthiest companies of the century. The introduction of the Model T in 1908 revolutionized the young industry. Ford quite intentionally set out to, in his words, "build a motor car for the great multitude." Ford continually reduced the retail price, bragging "Every time I reduce the charge for our car by one dollar, I get a thousand new buyers." Each price decrease was heralded by national press coverage. The first car aimed at the middle class, the Model T was an immediate best-seller—so much so that building enough cars to meet public demand became a significant challenge.

Ford worked with his team to develop a number of refinements to the production process, culminating, in 1913, with an assembly line, where each worker had one small task to repeatedly perform and remained in place while an automated belt rolled the cars past. These improvements cut production time by 90 percent. Ford's competitors were forced to adopt the same methods, and the assembly line became a standard fixture of manufacturing operations.

Previously, craftsmen had worked on a job from beginning to end, but the division of labor necessary to boost efficiency on an assembly line required the breaking of the production process into a series of repetitive, boring, less-skilled tasks. The implementation of the assembly line increased worker turnover and absenteeism. Soon the Ford Motor Company was spending \$3 million a year training new workers to replace those who had quit. In response, Ford raised the daily wage of his laborers from \$2.35 to \$5.

While the success of the Model T gained Ford some renown as a successful inventor and industrialist, the "five-dollar day," as it became known, heralded his arrival as a national celebrity. All the newspapers of the day reported it, many editorializing for or against.

Becoming a household name, Ford was asked to opine on all manner of popular issues and eagerly did so with a commonsensical folk wisdom that endeared him to many. Ford's populist pronouncements, such as "the right price is the lowest price an article can be steadily sold for and the right wage is the highest wage the purchaser can steadily pay," set him in stark contrast to the monopolistic robber barons of the previous era such as Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, and Cornelius Vanderbilt. The left-wing magazine *The Nation* marveled that this "simple mechanic" didn't need "combination or manipulation or oppression or extortion" to dominate his market but instead "distanced his competitors by no other art than that of turning out his product by more perfect or more economical methods than they have been able to devise or execute."

Ford basked in the favorable attention lavished on him, but he was unprepared for the increased scrutiny he received in the public eye. In 1915 the national press ridiculed him when, in an effort to avoid war with Germany, he chartered an ocean liner to take himself and his "delegates" to Europe to mediate and negotiate for peace. In 1918 he was chastened by the personal attacks he and his family endured as a result of his narrowly unsuccessful run for the Senate. In 1919 Ford sued the *Chicago Tribune* when it labeled him "ignorant." In the ensuing trial and surrounding media circus, the *Tribune's* lawyer proceeded to humiliate Ford by exposing his utter lack of historical knowledge.

Ford nonetheless became a folk hero to the public in the 1910s and 1920s. He was a man of little formal education who, through his



### Henry Ford

own wits, became one of the richest men in the country, yet continued to espouse populist values, paying his workers well and lowering the price of his cars nearly every year. A 1923 *Collier's* poll showed him far ahead of Warren G. Harding, Herbert Hoover, and everyone else in a theoretical presidential race. It has since become routine to accept populist political and social wisdom from wealthy titans of industry such as Lee Iacocca and Ross Perot.

Ford, the farmer, tinkerer, inventor, industrialist, and populist social critic, died in 1947. The automobile had long since become an American icon, as had the man himself.

—Steven Kotok

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### Ford, John (1894-1973)

Film director John Ford is a profoundly influential figure in American culture far beyond his own prolific, wide-ranging, and often impressive output in a 50-year plus cinema career that began in the silent era with *The Tornado* (Universal, 1917). Despite the variety of subject matter he tackled for the screen, he remains historically, critically, and in the public consciousness, as the architect of the Western, the genre on which he cut his teeth during the silent era. It was, however, not only the numerous popular and acclaimed Westerns he made for which he is important: his romantic, émigré's vision of the Old West and the pioneering spirit has crept into the perception of American history, blending idealized fiction into the harsher truth of fact for generations of Americans and, certainly, for non-Americans in the many countries where his work is regarded as a classic staple of Hollywood cinema at its best.

John Ford is the most decorated director in Hollywood history, and his four Academy Awards as best director in part illustrate his range while, curiously, ignoring his westerns (from which he took a decade-long break from 1927). He won his first Oscar for a return to the political roots of Ireland with *The Informer* (RKO, 1935), a tale of a simple-minded Irishman (Victor McLaglen) who betrays an IRA leader. It was garlanded with Oscars and extravagant critical praise

for its stylization and grim atmosphere. Ford returned to Ireland again for *The Quiet Man* (1952), a Technicolor comedy, vigorous and funny. In between, he was honored by the Academy for *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940), from Steinbeck's novel about a family trekking to California to escape the disaster of the 1930s dust-bowl, and *How Green Was My Valley* (1941), a nostalgic tearjerker set in a Welsh mining community. To these films, add *The Whole Town's Talking* (1935), a comedy melodrama with Edward G. Robinson; the Shirley Temple vehicle *Wee Willie Winkie* (1938), set in colonial India; *Young Mr. Lincoln* (1939), *What Price Glory* (1952), *Mogambo* (1953) and his last feature, *Seven Women* (1966), set in an isolated Chinese mission in the 1930s, and one gets an inkling of the depth and range of Ford's interests and his professional skill.

Ford was born Sean O'Feeney in Portland, Maine, on February 1, 1894, one of the many children of his first-generation Irish immigrant parents. Of his siblings, he was closest to his brother Francis, some 12 years his senior. Always restless, Francis ran away from home to seek his fortune at an early age, changed his name to Ford, and forged a modest acting career in the theater, before moving into the film business with Edison and Biograph. By 1913, he was in Hollywood, writing, directing, and acting in silent action serials at Universal Studios, where, in 1914, his younger brother joined him. Known initially as Jack Ford—the name under which he was credited when he began directing, changed to John in 1923—Ford learned the rudiments of filming as gopher, jack-of-all-trades, and apprentice to Francis, eventually being allowed a hand in acting, writing, and camera work. In 1917, just as Francis Ford's star was fading, Universal's founder and chief Carl Laemmle made John Ford a director, entrusting him with *The Tornado*, a two-reel short. The film was a success, and thus launched the most prolific directing career in film history. In Ford's four and a half years at Universal he made his reputation as a director of westerns, and forged a significant creative relationship with actor Harry Carey, whom he later frequently cited as having been the most important influence on his work outside of his brother Francis. When the fledgling director met Carey, 16 years his senior, the actor had already worked in almost 200 films, and would appear in 25 of Ford's 39 films for Universal. By 1921 Universal had relegated Carey to "B" westerns, but Ford's stock had risen considerably. He had proved himself capable of making films that came in on time, often under budget, and generally turned a profit.

Ford used his increasing reputation to jump ship to Fox, where he made 50 films. The move was well-timed: within a few years after his arrival, Fox rose from a second tier studio to an industry leader, and although Ford, always stubborn, had run-ins with management from time to time, for the most part he enjoyed a freedom few of his counterparts could claim. By 1939 Ford's stock could not have been higher, but he had been absent from his first love, the western, for some ten years. Aware that the genre was not taken seriously by critics but that he certainly was, he determined to use his reputation and influence to bring prestige to westerns. The first fruit of his ambition was *Stagecoach* (1939), a watershed film that marked the first of the director's nine films to be set in his signature landscape of Monument Valley, and the first of his famous collaborations with John Wayne. Contemporary audiences think of the Valley as a cowboy movie cliché, but *Stagecoach* was its first appearance and it owes its resonance and associations to Ford's work. As Jane Tompkins argues, for a western film "not just any space will do. Big sky country is a psychological and spiritual place known by definite physical markers. It is the American West, and not just any part of that but the West of the desert, of mountains and prairies, the West of Arizona,

Utah, Nevada, New Mexico, Texas, Colorado, Montana, Wyoming, the Dakotas, and some parts of California." Ford's repeated use of Monument Valley caused it to become an archetypal mythic landscape, a virtual stand-in for any and all of the above named places. Never identified by name in any of the Ford films in which it is featured, Monument Valley serves to represent locations as diverse from one another as the city of Tombstone, Arizona (*My Darling Clementine*, 1946) and the Texas plains (*Rio Grande*, 1950, *The Searchers*, 1956).

*Stagecoach* is in many ways essentially a "B" western, rife with stereotypes, that follows the structure of what would later be known as a "road movie." However, Ford was fully aware of the stereotypes, the use of which, as Richard Slotkin observes, "allowed him to take advantage of genre-based understandings—clichés of plot, setting, characterization, and motivation—to compose an exceptional work marked by moral complexity, formal elegance, narrative and verbal economy, and evocative imagery." Stereotypes or no, the characters were given rich life by a superb cast led by Wayne, Claire Trevor, and Thomas Mitchell, who won an Oscar. The film also won for its music score, and garnered five additional nominations, including those for picture and director. Exquisitely photographed, critic Frank Nugent has called it "A motion picture that sings the song of camera," while John Baxter, writing in 1968, identifies it as "The basic western, a template for everything that followed."

With the huge critical, popular and financial success of *Stagecoach*, Ford earned the freedom to make just about any western he wanted. By 1941, however, his Hollywood career was on hold while he served as Lieutenant Commander Ford attached to the Navy during World War II. Appointed Chief of the Field Photographic Branch of the Office of Strategic Services, he made two Academy Award-winning documentary propaganda films, *The Battle of Midway* (1942) and *December 7* (1943). After the war Ford returned home and, although he made many other films in between, focused steadily on the eastern, beginning with *My Darling Clementine* (1946), starring Henry Fonda, which marked the beginning of a near ten-year period of filmmaking by Ford that frequently reflected mainstream America's post-war optimism. As Mark Siegel notes, "*Clementine* seems to reflect an America looking back on the recent world war. One image Americans held of their participation in World War II was that . . . America needed not just to revenge itself but to make the world a safe and decent place in which to live. . . . [T]he hopefulness of this movie, which shows Tombstone as an increasingly civilized social center, seems typical of American optimism immediately after World War II." Ford's optimism continued throughout the late 1940s and early 1950s, evidenced by such films as his marvellous Cavalry Trilogy, starring Wayne—*Fort Apache* (1948), *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949), and *Rio Grande* (1950)—and *Wagon Master* (1950). But that optimism would not last.

According to Peter Stowell, most of Ford's westerns presented America as a "strong, vibrant, frontier culture that must retain its strength through a wilderness frontier hero, while it demonstrates its progress through a series of civilizing factors." Thanks to Ford's influence, most classic Hollywood westerns share these traits, but towards the end of his career Ford's optimism turned to cynicism, and he began lamenting the progress he had once celebrated. In his later films, most notably *The Searchers* (1956)—a bitter revenge western starring John Wayne and considered by many to be the director's masterpiece—*The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962) and *Cheyenne Autumn* (1964), he began to question the myths that he, more than any other filmmaker, had played such a central role in creating.

As Jon Tuska observes, “memories, instead of being cherished, became bitter; progress became a hollow drum that beat mechanically.” While Ford’s earlier westerns established the tone and morality that typify the classic Hollywood western, these late works, notably *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*, paved the way for the moody revisionism that has characterized much of western cinema since.

John Ford died of cancer on August 31, 1973. Shortly before his death he was made the recipient of the first American Film Institute Lifetime Achievement Award. Since that time Ford’s reputation as a filmmaker has continued to grow, and by the end of the twentieth century he was widely considered the most influential director in Hollywood history. His gifts and his influence have been acknowledged over the decades by the finest of his peers throughout world cinema, and Orson Welles spoke for many when, asked which American directors most appealed to him, he replied, “The old masters . . . by which I mean John Ford, John Ford, and John Ford.”

—Robert C. Sickels

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## Ford Motor Company

By 1920, the immense scale Henry Ford’s international fame could be matched only by the size of his financial assets and the magnitude of his ego. Though Henry would not wrest sole control of Ford Motor Company—the automobile manufacturer he founded with twelve investors in 1903—until the 1920s, the wild success of the car maker was attributed entirely to his individual genius. During Ford’s early years, the company was virtually indistinguishable from its founder. “Fordism,” as it came to be known—a system of mass

production which combined the principles of “scientific management” with new manufacturing techniques, such as the assembly line—created more than fantastic profits for his company: it literally revolutionized industry on a global scale within twenty years of its implementation at Ford’s factory in Highland Park, Michigan. Away from the factory, the Model T, produced between 1908 and 1927, defined the mass consumer market of the 1920s, and in the process helped make the automobile an essential component of American culture. After Henry’s resignation in 1945 and series of problems throughout the 1950s, the remarkable success of the Mustang in the 1960s re-established the prominence of Ford Motor Company in the postwar era.

The rapid growth of Ford Motor Company during the first twenty years of this century was due to the astounding sales record of the Model T, or “Tin Lizzie” as it came to be known. Because the cost of early automobiles was prohibitive for most Americans, cars were essentially luxury items and few manufacturers saw the potential for mass appeal of the motorized vehicle. With a debut price of only \$850, significantly less expensive than its competitors, the Model T was within the budget of many potential consumers. Because Ford’s ingenious labor-saving techniques were not yet available—the assembly line, for instance, would later quadruple productive capacities and reduce labor expenses—Ford kept costs for the Model T low by producing only one type of car (other companies tried to build several different models simultaneously) but assembling it with interchangeable body styles. Due to its functional simplicity, the car was often ridiculed for its aesthetic shortcomings, and Ford himself boasted that consumers could purchase the Model T “in any color they want so long as it’s black.”

Despite its competitive price, the Model T did not sell particularly well during its initial release. It was aggressive marketing that turned the Model T into the best selling car in history. Henry Ford had originally won financial backing for Ford Motor Company by racing cars and he turned to racing once again in an effort to sell his new product. This competition, however, was a much-publicized transcontinental race. Though the winning Ford car was later disqualified for irregularities, the Model T gained enormous notoriety for its victory and Ford turned that success into massive sales. Later, Ford would market the Model T by appealing to his own person: purchasers could buy a piece of Henry Ford’s genius as well as a part of America itself.

To a large extent, we can trace the evolution of America’s “car culture” to Ford and the Model T. It was the first car marketed to a large consumer audience, and this alone redefined the role of the automobile industry in the United States. In their famous sociological study *Middletown*, Robert and Helen Lynd conclude that the automobile, by 1925, was already an accepted and indispensable part of American life. It is no exaggeration to suggest that the Model T permanently changed the geography of this country: the popularity of the car made the huge suburban building booms of the 1920s possible, while millions of miles of paved roads were built in response to the demands of new motorists. In addition to the changes brought by the automobile, Ford’s production of tractors and other internal combustion farming equipment had a lasting effect on the rural landscape and the agricultural business. Though Henry himself came from a farming community and had nostalgic sympathies for the family farm, his products made life difficult for many small farmers who could not afford (or make profitable) the new harvesting machines. As much as Henry may have loved the farmer, he hated the inefficiency of small operations and imagined an agriculture of mass scale.



The unveiling of the Ford Motor Company's Mustang, 1964.

By 1911, the popularity of the Model T began to present fresh challenges to Ford and its management team. The young company had already moved its base of operations to Highland Park after reaching productive capacity at its Detroit shop and was rapidly approaching its limit once again. The appetite of consumers was far from sated, but labor shortages and productivity ceilings were arresting further plans for expansion. Over the next five years or so, Henry Ford began to develop the concept of “Fordism,” an industrial regime which would shortly revolutionize factory production on a global scale. In its early years, the philosophy of Fordism rested on two simple strategies: the invention of the assembly line and the increase of wages. Before the introduction of linework at Ford, the bodies of cars remained stationary while teams of workers moved from station to station. By simply putting the unfinished body on rails and attaching it to a drive train, Ford could move the car from point to point while groups of laborers remained at their assigned posts. This new method allowed for greater specialization of tasks among the workers and permitted management to monitor the efficiency of laborers. And though Henry Ford did not “invent” the assembly line, he has been credited with the development and refinement of this manufacturing technique.

One of the earliest and most persistent critiques of the assembly line came from craftsmen who complained that the division of labor reduced the level of skill required for employment. The assembly line created a distinct division of labor, and the standardization of tasks it required led to a more general deskilling of workers. In order to induce workers to accept this new industrial regime, Ford decided to raise wages. Although this contradicted the logic of supply and demand (with the assembly line, fewer workers could produce more), Ford reasoned that workers would only accept more mundane work in return for better compensation. With the introduction of the eight-hour, five-dollar day (more than doubling the average daily pay) in 1914, Ford single-handedly revolutionized wage structures. Thousands of job-seekers flooded employment offices across the Detroit area looking for positions at Ford, and Henry himself later said that the five-dollar day was the best idea he ever had.

Ironically, the concept of higher wages also permitted the company to discriminate in the workplace. Employees of eastern European and middle-eastern descent were given the most dangerous and physically taxing jobs, while African-Americans were not hired until World War I and women were a rarity before World War II. Meant to bring stability to the organization, the five-dollar day was introduced as part of a larger profit-sharing scheme: workers were only eligible after six months at the company and had to pass a battery of “tests” in order to qualify.

To this end, Ford recruited an army of “social workers,” whose ranks included physicians, nurses, and sociologists, to inspect the habits and living arrangements of its employees. To his credit, Henry seemed genuinely concerned with the safety of his employees and built a hospital where they could receive treatment at any time of day. Ford’s paternalistic attitude towards his employees, however, had more questionable results in other areas. The company produced a series of “instructional manuals” through the 1910s and 1920s, encouraging its employees to practice thrifty lifestyles and conform to “American” ways of living. Employees who were unmarried or did not live in “sanitary” homes were consistently denied a share of profits. To assist its many immigrant employees, Ford established an official program of “Americanization” that included English language training, courses on household thrift, and moral instruction.

Not surprisingly, employees of “British” descent often qualified for profit-sharing with little scrutiny; most other immigrants had to pass the course of “Americanization” before they could hope to realize the five-dollar wage.

The glory years of Ford ended during the 1930s, and the next thirty years were a very tumultuous time for the company. In keeping with his philosophy, Ford actually raised wages after the stock market crash of 1929 in an effort to stimulate demand. Unwilling to find other supporters in industry, Ford was compelled to reverse his policy shortly thereafter. Labor unrest and unionization during the 1930s forced Ford to reassess his authoritarian discipline and recognize the power of organized labor. Henry stepped down as President in 1945, and though profits had been maintained during the war, Ford’s arcane organizational structure was limiting profitability, and the ensuing power struggle eventually led to Ford’s public stock offering. The Edsel, Ford’s economy model of the late 1950s, named after Henry’s son, was the most spectacular failure in the history of American automobile production and symbolized the mood in the company and its public reputation. Although Ford kept its position as an industrial giant (it has consistently been the third largest American manufacturer during the postwar era), General Motors established itself as a much larger and more profitable rival.

On the road, Ford maintained its visibility during the 1950s with the Thunderbird. Its eight cylinder engine was one of the most powerful in its time, but its size necessitated a fairly large body. Because it was priced in the range of other luxury cars (the Chevrolet Corvette was the only true sports car made in the United States), the Thunderbird faced stiff competition from sleek foreign models though it always achieved high sales figures. New technology of the early 1960s allowed for more streamlined vehicles, and Ford responded by releasing the Mustang in 1963 (under the direction of a young Lee Iacocca). Smaller and more affordable than the Thunderbird, the Mustang became all things to all people: at once a sports coupe and a touring sedan, it offered a unique combination of practicality and flair. Its remarkable success helped invent the genre of the sports-sedan and reinvigorated Ford’s lagging profits. Although the 1970s and early 1980s were a difficult time for Ford and the other American auto manufacturers—the oil crisis of 1973 and competition from Japanese firms sapped profits, while the well-publicized safety problems of the Pinto did little to enhance the company’s image—Ford re-emerged during the 1980s with the Escort, a functional, economy car designed for the growing legions of suburban Americans. The Escort was the best-selling car in the world for a number of years during that decade and it helped catapult Ford into a period of renewed profitability. With the Escort, Ford returned to its roots, using the principles of functionality and reliability to once again capture a mass consumer audience.

—Peter Kalliney

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## Ford, Tennessee Ernie (1919-1991)

With his smooth bass voice and warm country charm, Ernest Jennings "Tennessee Ernie" Ford became one of the first country music stars to cross both musical and cultural boundaries to reach a truly national audience during the 1950s. Working as a disk jockey and radio performer in California after World War II, Ford came to the attention of Capitol Records, which signed him in 1949. A string of hits followed, most of them in the "country boogie" style he helped pioneer that married boogie-woogie rhythms with country music themes and instrumentation, including "The Shot Gun Boogie," "Anticipation Blues," and "I'm Hog-Tied Over You." He became a national figure when his recording of "Sixteen Tons" became both a country and pop hit in 1955. He starred in his own television programs between 1955 and 1961 and later recorded a number of highly successful gospel albums.

—Timothy Berg



Tennessee Ernie Ford (right) with Gary Crosby on the Tennessee Ernie Ford Show.

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## Ford, Whitey (1928—)

Edward Charles "Whitey" Ford was the dominating left-handed pitcher for the New York Yankees from 1950-67, a 17-year period that coincided with the team's greatest success. Manager Casey Stengel nicknamed Ford "Slick," with good reason: Ford, born and raised in New York, was a city slicker who often relied on guile—and perhaps a scuffed ball on the mound—and liked to take a drink now and then. "The Chairman of the Board," as he was known, chalked up a career record of 236-106, the highest winning percentage for any twentieth-century pitcher, and came to hold a nearly unsurpassable World Series record for wins, strikeouts, and consecutive scoreless innings. Whitey Ford, Mickey Mantle, and Billy Martin constituted a New York trio in the 1950s that shared a public passion for baseball, drinking, and women. They did much to establish the image of the baseball player as an overgrown boy: silly, crude, and outrageous, but basically harmless.

—Jon Sterngass

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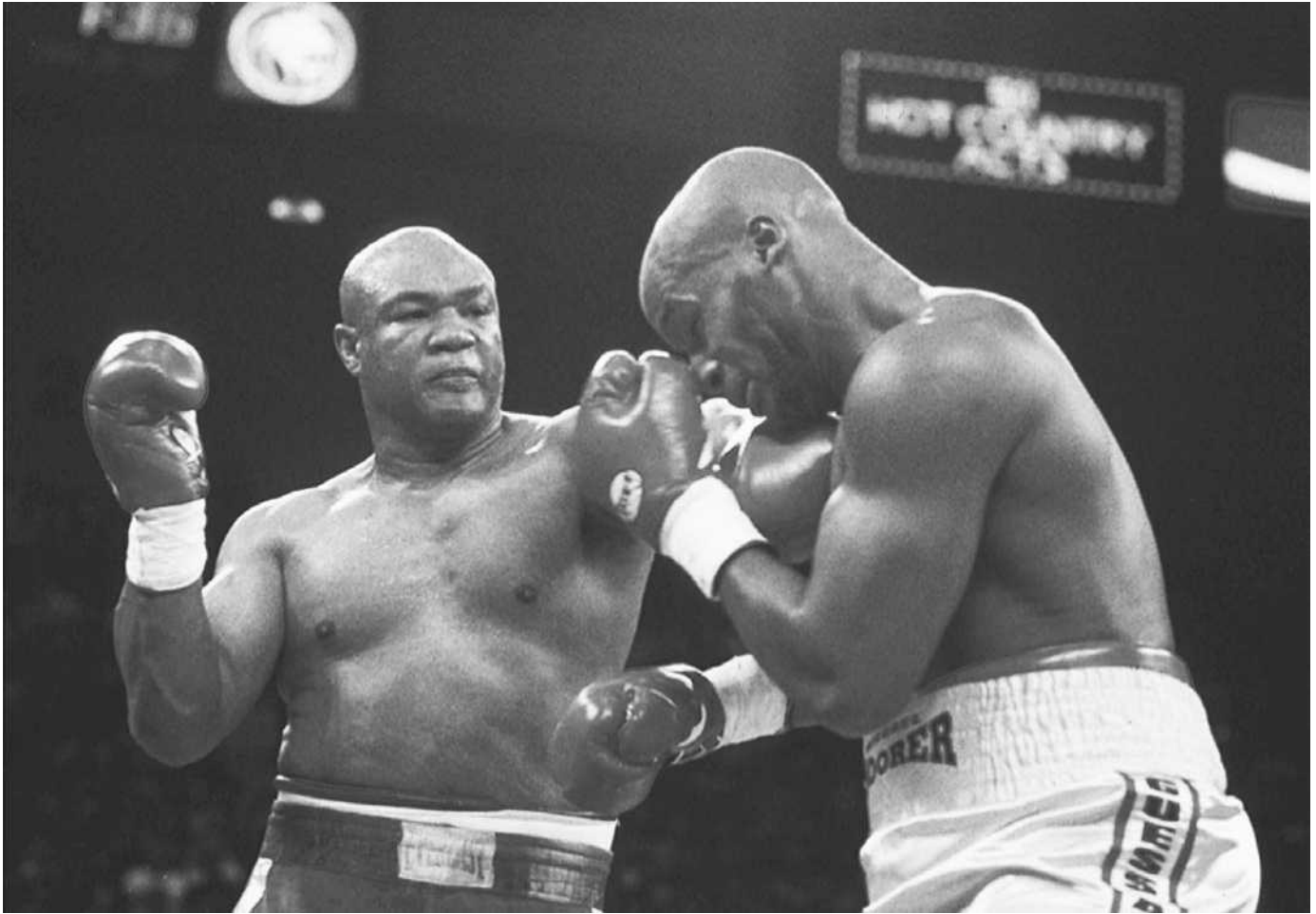
## Foreman, George (1949—)

Boxer George Foreman is best known not as the fierce young heavyweight fighter of his youth, but as the oldest man ever to claim the heavyweight championship. Foreman has had a boxing career in two distinct eras, the first spanning the glory years of heavyweight boxing in the late 1960s and 1970s, and the second defined by his astonishing comeback in the 1990s. The forty-plus-year-old Foreman's comeback earned him the status of an American icon, and as he boxed and boasted about his ability to eat, he became a symbol of determination for a generation many considered over the hill.

In 1968 Foreman won an Olympic Gold medal in Mexico City. After turning professional he beat Joe Frazier to capture the world heavyweight championship. In one of the most publicized fights in history he lost his championship to Muhammad Ali in Zaire. By 1977 Foreman had retired from boxing and become a preacher. But he returned to the ring a decade later, an object of ridicule because of his weight and age. In 1994—at the age of forty-five—he recaptured the heavyweight crown.

Foreman was born January 10, 1949, and was reared in an impoverished area known as the Fifth Ward of Houston, Texas, by his mother. Foreman dropped out of school in junior high, and earned a





**George Foreman (left) and Michael Moore during their 1994 heavyweight championship fight.**

reputation as a fighter. After quitting school, Foreman joined the Job Corps. He was shipped first to the Fort Vanney Training Center outside Grant Pass, Oregon, then to the Parks Job Corps Center outside Pleasanton, California. After years of being a bully, this is where Foreman began to box. After graduating from the Job Corps, Foreman worked at the Pleasanton Center and continued to train as a fighter. As an amateur Foreman went on to win the gold medal in the tumultuous 1968 Olympics. John Carlos and Tommie Smith, two American sprinters, had been expelled from the Olympic Village for flashing the Black Power salute during their medal ceremony. Foreman waved a small American flag after winning his gold medal match.

After the Olympics, Foreman turned pro and in his first professional fight knocked out Don Waldheim on June 23, 1969, in Madison Square Garden. Foreman advanced through the heavyweight ranks and on January 22, 1973, in Kingston, Jamaica, Foreman knocked out Joe Frazier in the second round to win the heavyweight championship.

After compiling a record of 40-0, Foreman lost his first professional fight and the heavyweight crown to Muhammad Ali on October 30, 1974, in Zaire. His second loss came to Jimmy Young in March of 1977 in San Juan, Puerto Rico. After his loss to Young, Foreman experienced a religious conversion, retired from boxing, and became a street preacher and ordained minister. He eventually became a radio evangelist in Los Angeles and Houston and, finally, established his

own church in Houston. He also established the George Foreman Youth and Community Center.

In an effort to raise money for his youth center—at the age of 37 and 10 years removed from professional boxing—Foreman decided to return to the ring. Foreman’s comeback began in March of 1987 in Sacramento against Steve Zouski. The first loss of Foreman’s comeback came on April 19, 1991, in Atlantic City, when he lost a 12-round decision in a heavyweight championship bout with Evander Holyfield. However, on November 5, 1994, at the age of 45, Foreman recaptured the heavyweight championship with a 10th round knockout of Michael Moore.

Foreman’s return to boxing prominence was accompanied by a rush of media attention, and Foreman proved himself as adept a media celebrity as he was a boxer. With his bald pate, broad smile, and massive physique, Foreman made good copy as he boasted about the numbers of hamburgers he loved to eat. Quipped Foreman to a reporter, “Today the biggest decisions I make aren’t related to the heavyweight title. They are whether I visit McDonalds, Burger King, Wendy’s, or Jack-in-the-Box.” It might have all seemed a joke had he not backed up his words with a powerful punch. In 1999, with a career record of 76-5, Foreman’s fans wondered if he could win his next championship in his fifties.

—Kerry Owens

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## *Forrest Gump*

The film *Forrest Gump* represents the ultimate American dream in a land of opportunity. It is a history lesson that takes the viewer from Alabama, where Forrest Gump, an improbable modern hero and *idiot savant*, was born, across America, and back again to the fishing village of Bayou La Batre on the Gulf coast. Governor George Wallace is once again seen standing in the schoolhouse door as he vows “segregation now, segregation forever”; Coach Paul “Bear”

Bryant, the legendary University of Alabama football coach, recognizing how Forrest can run, makes him a Crimson Tide gridiron star. Eventually Forrest comes home again to his sweet home Alabama (represented also in song) and makes a fortune in a shrimping business. He had promised his “best good friend,” Bubba, that he would go into business with him when the two boys returned from the war. But Bubba was killed and didn’t return, so Gump gives half of the million dollars he makes to his friend’s family in the small fishing village of Bayou La Batre.

Based upon the novel by Winston Groom, Eric Roth transformed the book into a screenplay that grossed over \$636 million dollars and also won the Oscar for Best Picture of 1994. The film affirms possibility and hope: no matter how grim things may seem, it is possible, as Gump says, “to put the past behind you and move on.” He shows that a gimpy kid in leg braces can become a football hero, win a Congressional Medal of Honor for bravery in Vietnam, become a Ping Pong champion, crisscross America from sea to shining sea, and marry his childhood sweetheart, who bears him a son to carry on the father’s good name.



Tom Hanks in *Forrest Gump*.

In spite of the film's positive message, life, as portrayed in *Forrest Gump*, is not "just a box of chocolates." It is more than candy-coated sentimentality. The viewer witnesses the assassination attempt on George Wallace, and the assassinations of John F. Kennedy and Robert Kennedy; the struggles over civil rights; and the war in Vietnam. Lieutenant Dan (Gary Sinise) portrays the bitter horror of what it is like to lose both legs and live as a cripple. Jenny (Robin Wright), born in poverty and molested by her father, becomes a stripper and a slut, a drug addict caught up in the counterculture of love-ins and psychedelics, flower power and antiwar demonstrations. Though Jenny becomes pregnant with Forrest's child and eventually marries him, she lives a short, unhappy life that is only a questionable testimony to the overriding power of love. Forrest tells her "I'm not a smart man, but I know what love is"—but it isn't enough to save her life or that of his friend, Bubba, or to prevent Lieutenant Dan from losing his legs. At the beginning of the film, a feather floating in the wind lands at Forrest's feet; he picks it up and places it in his worn copy of *Curious George*, the book his mother used to read to him. At the end of the film, he passes the book on to his son with the feather intact. "What's my destiny?" Forrest once asked his mama. *Forrest Gump* shows that every man and woman, idiot or President of the United States may be blown about by the whims of chance or fate, but that it is still possible to prevail.

In addition to the Oscar for Best Film, *Forrest Gump* earned five more Academy Awards. Tom Hanks was voted Best Actor for his masterful portrayal of Gump, and Robert Zemeckis was awarded the Oscar for Best Director. The film also won awards for Film Editing, Best Adapted Screenplay, and for Visual Effects. It is the masterful visual effects that enabled Forrest to shake the hand of President John F. Kennedy, have Lyndon B. Johnson place a Congressional Medal around his neck, meet Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan, not to mention John Lennon, Dick Cavett, Bob Hope, Captain Kangaroo, and Chairman Mao. Elvis Presley, the King, even learns to swivel his hips by watching little crippled Forrest dance.

Although some critics are not enchanted with the fantastic Gump, the movie affirms the values that Americans hold dear. Forrest's mother exemplifies the ideals associated with motherhood. Over and over, Forrest repeats: "As my Mama always said," and his words reverberate almost as a refrain throughout the movie. "Don't ever let anybody tell you're they're better than you," she tells her boy, even though he has an IQ of 75. Life, after all, is a box of chocolates. Even if "you never know what you're going to get," *Forrest Gump* gives people hope.

—Sue Walker

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## Forsyth, Frederick (1938—)

Frederick Forsyth shot to fame in America in 1971 as a top thriller writer with the publication of *The Day of the Jackal*, which dealt with the attempt by a hired killer, "the Jackal," to murder French president Charles de Gaulle. In it, Forsyth meticulously and precisely described how things worked, ranging from the construction of a special rifle to the last detail of the "procedure" the Jackal

used to acquire his new passport, a style which was to be the hallmark of his books, a meticulous attention to realistic detail. In researching the book, Forsyth consulted a professional assassin, a passport forger, and an underground armorer. In later best-sellers he improvised car bombs (*The Odessa File*, 1972), gunrunning (*The Dogs of War*, 1974), the innards of oil tankers (*The Devil's Alternative*, 1979), and the assembly of miniature nuclear bombs (*The Fourth Protocol*, 1984). *Icon* (1996), a spine-chilling action thriller which deals with an ex-CIA agent returning to Moscow on the brink of anarchy, has been another in his long list of best-sellers. His popular appeal has been fueled by the blockbuster films made of his books. He has won the Edgar Allan Poe Award from the Mystery Writers of America twice.

Forsyth's books have been criticized for containing recipes for forged passports and explosive bullets. And some actual crimes have seemed to be copycats of crimes described in Forsyth's books. Some examples include: After Yigal Amir was arrested for the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin in 1995, Israeli police searching his apartment found a copy of *The Day of the Jackal* among his Orthodox Jewish literature; John Stonehouse, former British labour minister, faked his death in Florida and began a new life in Australia with a new partner; when geophysicist Karen Reid was shot dead in May 1994, mercury bullets were found near the scene.

Forsyth's interests lay in the relationship of an individual to the organization. In his suspense thrillers, a man of action, a consummate professional, is pitted against an establishment, bureaucracy, or organization. The hero, a maverick who succeeds by cutting through standard procedure, often has difficulty in fitting into society. Forsyth suggests that it is the lone professionals, whether opposed to the organization or part of it, who truly create history, but a history which is only barely represented on the front pages of newspapers. His technique suggests a hidden pattern governing a great event, a pattern not always obvious even to the participants, much less to newspaper readers or devotees of CNN. It is a style very similar to a docudrama which was very popular in the American sixties with such books as Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood* and Norman Mailer's experiments with fact and the novel form.

Forsyth was born in Ashford, Kent, in 1938 and educated at Tonbridge School where he studied French and German. He ended his formal education at the age of seventeen. His background as pilot, journalist, world traveller, and speaker of several languages has served him well in his writing career, where he employs a terse journalistic style using real people, places, and events. From 1958 to 1961 he was a reporter for the *Eastern Daily Press*, first in Norwich and later in King's Lynn, Norfolk. In 1961, he was a Reuters correspondent travelling between Paris, London, and East Berlin, serving as bureau chief in the East German capital because of his knowledge of languages. Next he acted as a BBC radio reporter in London between 1965 and 1967, and as an assistant diplomatic correspondent for BBC television in 1967 and 1968, when he was recalled after his pro-Biafran coverage offended Sir David Hunt, British High Commissioner in Lagos.

Forsyth enjoys fishing in the streams on his leafy country estate in Hertfordshire where he lives with his second wife, Sandy, and two sons, Frederick and Shane. A serious angler who also enjoys the calm of fishing in the Caribbean, Mauritius, and the Andaman Sea, he says the plots of some of his best-sellers gel in his mind during hours of staring into space. He also says that the weirdest and loneliest job in the world is being a writer. An actor has a cast, a pilot has a crew, a doctor a patient, but a writer has only himself. His own life is reflected in the characters depicted in his nine thrillers and anthology of short

stories, *No Comebacks* (1982). The effect he achieves is less that of fiction than a projection into real lives.

—Joan Gajadhar and Jim Sinclair

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## Fortune

Despite an inauspicious launch in February 1930, just four months after the Wall Street Crash, *Fortune* magazine became established as the premier business publication in the United States. Symbolic of the success and status of *Fortune*, its annual listing of the top performing companies—the Fortune 500 (est. 1955)—rapidly became, and remains, the highest accolade of American business. Determined to avoid the banality of the trade journal, *Fortune* aimed instead to become “the literature of enterprise.” To this end, the magazine published high quality copy, written by established intellectual figures like Dwight MacDonal, in a high quality, glossy format. *Fortune* humanized the world of commerce by combining its stories and values with those of the broader social and political world, and it presented the face of business through the inventive use of photojournalism. Both approaches were to profoundly influence Time Inc.’s next publication, the more populist *Life* magazine, which in turn was to influence a whole generation of journalists and publishers.

—Emma Lambert

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## Fortune Tellers

See Psychics

## 42nd Street

The first of a series of Depression-era musicals released by the Warner Brothers Pictures, *42nd Street* is notable for its role in reviving and redefining a cinematic genre which had begun to fade by 1933. Following the industrywide adaptation of sound films in 1929, Hollywood promptly released a plethora of musicals to excited audiences. Unfortunately, the majority of these products were hastily

conceived and often hindered by the still unresolved technical mysteries of “talking” pictures. Such artistic shortcomings conspired with a saturation of the marketplace, and the public’s enthusiasm for such fare rapidly faded.

The successful release of *42nd Street* in March of 1933 reversed this trend, and convinced the major studios to reexamine the commercial possibilities for screen musicals. By the end of the year, Warner had released two follow-up films, *Goldiggers of 1933* and *Footlight Parade*. Other studios embraced this trend, most notably RKO-Radio that began production of a series of pictures starring Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers. In general, musicals would remain a significant component of Hollywood’s product well into the World War II era.

The plot of *42nd Street* revolves around the efforts of a Broadway director (Warner Baxter) struggling to revive his failing reputation with the creation of a lavish extravaganza. The majority of the film details the rigors and hardships of backstage life with a clear eye for the steamier side of show business. On the eve of the show’s debut, the leading lady breaks her leg, leaving the director no recourse but to take a chance on a neophyte but determined chorus girl (Ruby Keeler). Following Baxter’s now legendary warning—“You’re going out a youngster, but you’ve got to come back a star!” Keeler takes the stage and delights the audience. Although this should provide Baxter’s triumph, the film ends on a somber note. As the director stands outside of the theater to assess the comments of the exiting crowd, the loudest sentiments are complaints about the position of Baxter’s name on the marquee. To the audience, it was the dancer, not the director who deserved the credit for the show’s success.

While the backstage setting of *42nd Street* would be used in dozens of subsequent musical films, the basic story was not an innovation at the time. Earlier productions, most notably MGM’s *Broadway Melody* (1929), had focused on a similar theme without such lasting impact. What set *42nd Street* apart from its predecessors was a unique collaboration of actors, songwriters, and directors. The film benefitted from a strong cast; Baxter and Keeler shared the screen with Bebe Daniels, Ginger Rodgers, Dick Powell, Allen Jenkins, Una Merkle, and Guy Kibbee. The team of Al Dubin and Harry Warren composed the music. Although the picture was directed by the dependable craftsman Lloyd Bacon, the musical numbers, which were the main focus of the film, were staged and created by Busby Berkeley.

This assemblage of talent formed a reliable unit that continued to produce highly successful musicals throughout most of the 1930s. Although actors came and went over time, Powell and Keeler were often the focus of these films. Joan Blondell soon joined the stock company as a frequent co-star, while Jenkins and Kibbee routinely provided support. Dubin and Warren were prolific songwriters and seldom failed to include at least one tune per film that would become a popular standard. For *42nd Street*, the duo provided “Shuffle off to Buffalo.” In subsequent movies, they debuted soon to be familiar titles such as “We’re in the Money,” “I Only Have Eyes For You,” “Don’t Give Up the Ship,” and “The Lullaby of Broadway.” Although Bacon continued to direct musicals such as *Footlight Parade*, *Wonder Bar* (1934), and *In Caliente* (1935), he was a versatile filmmaker, and the studio often utilized his talents on other projects. At various times, Mervyn LeRoy, Ray Enright, and Frank Borzage directed musicals for Warner.

The dominant figure in the creation of the Warner musicals was Busby Berkeley. Rising to prominence as dance director for Broadway showman Florenz Ziegfeld, Berkeley came to Hollywood in



The chorus line from *42<sup>nd</sup> Street*.

1931 to work for Samuel Goldwyn. In 1933 Warner signed Berkeley to a lucrative seven-year exclusive contract with *42nd Street* as his initial assignment. Berkeley's work is best described as kaleidoscopic. Employing a system of overhead and moving cameras, Berkeley organized his dancers into a dizzying array of geometric patterns. Such activity could occur on stages as diverse as an indoor waterfall or a gigantic typewriter. The dancers might possess props as innocuous as parasols or as surreal as neon-trimmed violins. Berkeley's imagination seemed endless, and with each film, the musical numbers became increasingly outlandish.

The fantasy world of Berkeley's dance numbers provided the perfect counterpart to the back stage grittiness of *42nd Street*. As a tremendously popular film released in the depths of the Great Depression, the movie remains a valuable key to the needs and tastes of the American public at a specific time in history. The story focuses on the hopes of the downtrodden, and through luck and determination, a hero emerges. At the same time, the swirling elegance of the elaborate musical numbers provided a healthy dose of escapism from the worries of the day. However, the topical nature of the film should

not be over exaggerated. Some fifty years later, the story would be revived as a major Broadway play.

—J. Allen Barksdale

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## Fosse, Bob (1927-1987)

Director-choreographer Bob Fosse forever changed the way audiences around the world viewed dance on the stage and in the film



**Bob Fosse**

industry in the late twentieth century. Visionary, intense, and unbelievably driven, Fosse was an artist whose work was always provocative, entertaining, and quite unlike anything ever before seen. His dances were sexual, physically demanding of even the most highly trained dancers, full of joyous humor as well as bleak cynicism—works that addressed the full range of human emotions. Through his films he revolutionized the presentation of dance on screen and paved the way for a whole generation of film and video directors, showing dance through the camera lens as no one had done before, foreshadowing the rise of the MTV-era of music video dance.

Robert Louis Fosse was born in Chicago, Illinois, on June 23, 1927. Bob was the youngest of six children and quickly learned to win attention from his family through his dancing. It was not long before he was recognized as a child prodigy. His parents sent him to formal lessons, where he immersed himself in tap dancing. A small boy who suffered from nagging health problems, he nevertheless was so dedicated that by the time he reached high school, he was already dancing professionally in area nightclubs as part of their sleazy vaudeville and burlesque shows. The sexually free atmosphere of these clubs and the strippers with whom Fosse was in constant contact made a strong impression on him. Fascinated with vaudeville's dark humor and teasing sexual tones, he would later develop these themes in his adult work. After high school, Fosse enlisted in the navy in 1945. Shortly after he arrived at boot camp, V-J day was declared, and World War II officially came to an end. Fosse completed his two-year duty and moved to New York City.

For the next seven years, Fosse went through two rocky marriages with dancers Mary Ann Niles and Joan McCracken, all the

while performing in variety shows on stage and on television. He had a few minor Broadway chorus parts, but his big break came with his brief appearance in the 1953 MGM movie musical *Kiss Me Kate*. Fosse caught the immediate attention of two of Broadway's acknowledged masters: George Abbott and Jerome Robbins.

Fosse's first fully choreographed show was 1954's *The Pajama Game*. Directed by Abbott, the show made Fosse an overnight success and showcased his trademark choreographic style: sexually suggestive forward hip-thrusts; the vaudeville humor of hunched shoulders and turned-in feet; the amazing, mime-like articulation of hands. He often dressed his dancers in black and put them in white gloves and derbies, recalling the image of Charlie Chaplin. He incorporated all the tricks of vaudeville that he had learned—pratfalls, slights-of-hand, double takes. Fosse received the first of his many Tony Awards for Best Choreography for *The Pajama Game*.

His next musical, *Damn Yankees*, brought more awards and established his life-long creative collaboration with Gwen Verdon, who had the starring role. With her inspiration, Fosse created a stream of classic dances. By 1960, Fosse was a nationally known and respected choreographer, married to Verdon (by then a beloved Broadway star) and father to their child Nicole. Yet Fosse struggled with many of his producers and directors, who wished him to tone down or remove the "controversial" parts of his dances. Tired of subverting his artistic vision for the sake of "being proper," Fosse realized that he needed to be the director as well as the choreographer in order to have control over his dances.

From the late 1960s to the late 1970s, Fosse created a number of ground-breaking stage musicals and films. These works reflected the desire for sexual freedom that was being expressed across America and were huge successes as a result. Before Fosse, dance was always filmed either in a front-facing or overhead view. In his 1969 film version of *Sweet Charity* (Fosse's 1966 stage version was based on an earlier movie by Italian director Federico Fellini, about a prostitute's search for love; the film was commissioned by Universal Studios after the success of the stage version) and in later works, Fosse introduced unique perspective shots and jump cuts. These film and editing techniques would become standard practice for music video directors decades later.

His 1972 film *Cabaret* was based on Christopher Isherwood's stories of pre-Weimar Germany. Articles on the film appeared in all the major magazines. Photos appeared on the covers of *Time* and *Newsweek*. The film was Fosse's biggest public success and won eight Academy Awards. Fosse's *Pippin* (1972) became the highest earning Broadway show in history, as well as the first Broadway show to advertise on national television. *Pippin* was awarded five Tony Awards for the 1972-73 season, one of them given to Fosse for best direction and choreography. Fosse staged and choreographed a variety show special for NBC starring Liza Minnelli, *Liza with a Z*, which brought Fosse an Emmy Award and made him the first person to ever win top honors in three entertainment mediums—stage, film, and television.

Two stage musicals followed: *Chicago* (1975) and *Dancin'* (1978). During rehearsals for *Chicago*, Fosse suffered a heart attack. He survived and used much of that traumatic experience in 1979 in his semiautobiographical dance film *All That Jazz*. Two other films, *Lenny* (1974) and *Star 80* (1983), were not the popular successes that his other shows had been. *Big Deal*, Fosse's last musical, was also poorly received. During a rehearsal for *Big Deal*, Fosse suffered a massive heart attack and died on the way to the hospital. Fosse's contribution to American entertainment continued after his death via

show revivals and dance classes. His most prominent contribution was through the body of his work recorded on film and video.

—Brian Granger

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## Foster, Jodie (1962—)

Actress Jodie Foster earned a reputation as a precocious, complicated preteen in Martin Scorsese's *Taxi Driver* (1976) and went on to prove herself as a no-nonsense actress/producer/director in the 1990s. When, in 1981, the tabloid spotlight unexpectedly hit her following John Hinckley, Jr.'s attempt to assassinate President Ronald Reagan, she displayed a grace and reserve to the media that reinforced her status as an intelligent woman. Having won two Academy Awards for Best Actress, Foster has established herself as one of Hollywood's most powerful women and one of the few female stars able to guarantee astronomical box-office receipts in the increasingly important global market.



Jodie Foster

In 1962, Alicia Christian Foster was born the youngest of four siblings in Los Angeles, California. She was tightly bonded to her mother, Evelyn "Brandy" Foster, in part because her father had abandoned the family before she was born and in part because her mother actively promoted Foster's acting talents from an early age. Foster made a popular Coppertone commercial when she was three years old and garnered a minor television role on *Mayberry RFD*, a program in which her brother Buddy was also a star.

Her film debut came with Disney's *Napoleon and Samantha* (1972), and she went on to play a number of children's roles on-screen. It was her infamous performance as Iris, a child prostitute who soberly and unaffectedly carried her pain and powerlessness through a New York City world of moral corruption, opposite Robert De Niro in *Taxi Driver*, which won her a National Film Critics Award. This part also affirmed the fact that the capricious, nimble-witted characters she took on at Disney made her incredibly well-suited for more adult material. After *Taxi Driver*, she starred in *Freaky Friday* (1977), a family film in which her character finds herself in the skin of her mother (Barbara Harris) for a day, as she humorously confronts the realities of being an adult housewife.

While actively pursuing her career as a performer, Foster graduated and was valedictorian at the Lycée Français in Los Angeles and went on to earn a cum laude degree in literature at Yale University. It was while she was at Yale that she was stalked by John Hinckley, Jr., whose obsession with *Taxi Driver* motivated him to shoot President Reagan in 1981. Though Foster was trying to carry on the life of a "normal college student," she immediately held a press conference on campus in hopes of containing the publicity and went on to write an article titled "Why Me?" for *Esquire* magazine which explained her experiences as one of Hinckley's targets.

Once out of college, in an attempt to recharge her acting career, Foster lobbied for the role of a working-class rape victim in *The Accused* (1988). She won a difficult competition among a number of up-and-coming female stars, even dropping weight for the part upon request from studio executives, and went on to score her first Academy Award. She battled yet again for the role of FBI agent Clarice Starling in the thriller *The Silence of the Lambs* (1991), convincing director Jonathan Demme that she had a better psychological understanding of the "rising heroine" character than the other top-notch stars he preferred. This performance garnered her a second Best Actress Oscar.

Foster moved into the role of director with two Hollywood feature films, *Little Man Tate* (1991) and *Home for the Holidays* (1995). The former film tells the story of a young child prodigy and his complicated relationship with his struggling, little-educated, waitress mother, played by Foster. At the release of the film, Foster admitted that her interest in it partially stemmed from her own experiences as a child living in a world beyond her years. With *Home for the Holidays*, which was produced through Foster's company, Egg Pictures, the director follows an insecure single mother (Holly Hunter) as she journeys home to her eccentric family for Thanksgiving.

While increasing her power as a producer/director, Jodie Foster continued to turn in remarkable performances in films such as *Nell* (1994), in which she plays a rugged wild child brought painfully into contemporary society, and *Contact* (1997), an adaptation of Carl Sagan's science fiction story about a woman who explores the possibility of life in outer space.

Foster developed a reputation as an anti-establishment pragmatist who remained within the Hollywood system in order to transform its representations of women and bring unconventional character

pieces to the screen. She is also known as a down-to-earth, democratic star who, throughout her twenties, lived in the less-than-glamorous “valley” of Los Angeles and reportedly refused to rely on a personal assistant for mundane tasks such as picking up dry cleaning or going to the post office. Foster fiercely protects her private life, having earned the respect and protection of Hollywood trade reporters and mainstream journalists. She became mother to a boy, Charles Foster, in the summer of 1998, provoking a relatively minor outcry when she refused to name the baby’s father.

In films such as *Silence of the Lambs* and *Contact*, Foster drew on the androgyny and maturity of her childhood characters and solidified a reputation as an actress who rebelled against traditional feminine stereotypes and sought out complex acting opportunities that had been relatively unexplored by female stars. She became notorious for taking disenfranchised, scrappy characters and moving them closer to heroic self-empowerment. In a 1993 discussion of Hollywood, Foster explained, “. . . 95 percent of the people will always try to maintain the status quo. It’s the other five percent that move the art form further. . . . What’s different about [women] is that we identify with the underdog, so we spend a lot of time thinking about who’s left out. When you sit around a table like this with a bunch of guys, they spend a lot of time thinking about who’s on top.” The first three decades of Foster’s career leave little doubt that she stands within “the other 5 percent” and that, despite her immense Hollywood power, she has spent considerable efforts “thinking about who’s left out.”

—Christina Lane

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## Fourth of July Celebrations

As the day designated to commemorate the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the anniversary of America’s birth, the Fourth of July has been celebrated since the Revolutionary War Era. However, after the war was over it was only sporadically celebrated and did not become a regular observance in many parts of the country until after the turn of the nineteenth century.

Although the Continental Congress formally passed the resolution for independence on July 2, 1776, it was not until July 4, 1776 that Congress finally voted to approve the Declaration of Independence, which stated the reasons for the break with England. In fact, on July 3, 1776, John Adams wrote his wife that July 2, 1776 would be “the most memorable epocha in the history of America,” according to historian Daniel Boorstin. Adams then outlined the contours of the

“great anniversary festival” which he thought should include: “. . . solemn acts of devotion to God Al-mighty . . . with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations from one end of this continent to the other. . . .”

While it is a mystery to historians why July 4th was designated to commemorate independence and the signing of the Declaration, this date marked the annual official celebration during the Revolutionary War period. Afterwards, official festivities became sporadic and eventually evolved into incredibly partisan events, which persisted for more than three decades. These often included separate observances held by the different political parties. As a day of political dissension, the celebrations at times erupted into violence. In particular, it was used by both the Federalist and Republican parties to hold what amounted to political rallies, with separate orations, dinners, and processions.

It was not until 1826, after a second successful war against Britain and the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the new nation, that newspapers across the country called for an end to partisanship. They encouraged plans for orations, military processions, private gatherings, public dinners, and picnics to celebrate American independence. As this day became popular as a community event, its rituals affirmed community ties as well as national identity and became linked to other community events such as ground breakings, building dedications, and rededications of historic sites.

Communitywide celebrations continued in popularity from the early nineteenth century until the Civil War, and included parades, ceremonies, sporting events, and fireworks. During the Civil War, Independence Day celebrations were no longer held in many parts of the country, especially in the South.

In the postwar era, the urban celebrations on the East Coast were often sites for clashes between the upper and middle classes and the working class (especially immigrants) over the style of celebration and the use of public space. A genteel or “respectable” celebration was favored by the middle and upper classes, with an emphasis on picnics, private gatherings, games like croquet and lawn tennis, and retreats into the countryside. The working class, however, typically favored rowdy and carnivalesque festivities such as unruly parades, drunkenness, rough games, and noisy discharges of firecrackers and fireworks.

Significantly, celebratory styles were debated back in the Revolutionary Era in hopes of standardizing festivities throughout the Colonies. Members of the Continental Congress weighed the advantages of the rowdy or carnival style of celebration—with its ability to stimulate crowds and allow the venting of tensions—in contrast to the solemn style—with its ability to unify a diverse populace. Eventually, in the interests of national unity, the solemn or respectable style was favored and became associated with the notion of civil religion. In newspaper accounts of Independence Day thereafter, celebrations in this style were typically emphasized while coverage of regional Fourth of July celebrations and their local variations in the carnival style were often neglected.

Although incompatible with urban order, the rowdy style of celebration regained popularity with immigrants in many urban areas in the early nineteenth century. Rooted in the European carnival customs of the working class, these celebrations included masking, charivaris (noisy demonstrations to humiliate someone publicly), and calithumpian parades (parades of urban maskers whose “rough music” mocked “real music”). Over time, tamed versions of these working-class practices were adopted and modified to accommodate





**Fourth of July fireworks in downtown Detroit, Michigan.**

urban order and to avert class conflicts that had previously erupted over the clash of styles.

In the late nineteenth century, the Safe and Sane Fourth of July Program promoted standardized Fourth of July celebrations across the country, emphasizing the solemn or respectable style of celebration. Aimed at the socialization and “Americanization” of immigrants, the program was developed by progressive reformers to promote safety and to establish social order. A primary goal of this program was to legitimate the respectable style as “American” behavior. This program banned all firecrackers and encouraged noise abatement. Reformers produced and disseminated a standardized format in which a formal program was devoted to promoting the values of social order, solemn patriotism, and moderation. In addition, the program emphasized speeches and orations related to the Declaration of Independence. Progressive reformers also encouraged parades featuring patriotic pageantry with selected folk traditions to model the respectable version of America’s history.

In many small towns and remote areas, the Fourth of July has typically been a communitywide celebration in which distinctive rituals and traditions have reflected the interests of the residents. In Lititz, Pennsylvania, for example, community members prepare for

the Fourth by producing thousands of tallow candles in old-fashioned molds during the winter in a tradition dating back to 1843. The town’s Fourth of July festivities begin with a baby parade in which children dressed in patriotic costumes ride on floats decorated in red, white, and blue. A queen of candles is chosen from the senior high school class to preside over the evening ceremony in which boys of the town light many of the candles in the park and float them on the water. In the town of Bridgeport, California, the Declaration of Independence has traditionally been read at the county courthouse, children ride in a parade on decorated bicycles, and a pie-eating contest is a featured event. The participants include community members as well as Native Americans and cattlemen from neighboring ranches who ride in a parade on decorated horses. Other events include picnics, sporting events, and a barbecue.

For more than 100 years, Biwabik, Minnesota, a town of 1,500, has seen its population grow to more than ten times its size during the Fourth of July. Its traditional celebration includes patriotic and calithumpian parades, fireworks, and games like egg-tossing contests and three-legged races. In some of the western states like Colorado and Texas, Fourth of July celebrations have often revolved around rodeos featuring events like roping and riding contests. In 1959 when

Alaska became the 49th state and in 1960 when Hawaii was added as the 50th state, commemorations of these occasions were held across the country on the Fourth of July.

Although Independence Day has been celebrated since the Revolutionary War Era, it was not made a federal legal holiday until 1941. Most recently its status as a holiday from work has taken precedence over the emphasis on commemorating America's birthday, and in some parts of the country celebrations are no longer held. In addition, a pattern of waxing and waning of interest in holding Independence Day programs is evident in many urban areas. The years in which its popularity has peaked were during periods of patriotic fervor such as the centennial in 1876, the years after both World War I and World War II, the 175th anniversary in 1951, and the Bicentennial in 1976. The turn of the century in the year 2000 is also expected to stimulate a resurgence of interest in Fourth of July celebrations across the country.

—Mary Lou Nemanic

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## Foxx, Redd (1922-1991)

Born John Elroy Sanford in St. Louis, Missouri in 1922, Redd Foxx became one of America's most beloved comedic figures in the 1970s. Called Redd because of his complexion, he took the last name of baseball star Stan Fox—though by adding his distinctive double “x,” nobody would have known this—, and left home at the age of 16 to join a New York street band. Through the 1940s and 1950s, Foxx worked as a stand-up comedian and became known for his “party records,” recordings of his bawdy stand-up act. The most famous of these was 1955's “Laff of the Party,” but he recorded many more. Over 15 million copies of his records were reportedly sold, although Foxx claimed to have received no royalties.

Redd Foxx is best remembered for his role as junk dealer Fred G. Sanford, the cantankerous but lovable elderly widower of NBC's hit comedy *Sanford & Son* (1972-1977). The show was the second smash hit (after *All in the Family*) for Norman Lear and Bud Yorkin, whose topical comedies of the 1970s addressed issues of bigotry regarding race, gender, and sexuality to a degree that had never been seen on American television before. Fred Sanford was a black counterpart to *All in the Family*'s Archie Bunker. *Sanford & Son* was based on the hit British comedy *Steptoe & Son*, which revolved around a cockney junk dealer. The American version was set in the Watts section of Los Angeles, where Fred and his son Lamont (played by Demond Wilson)

are partners in the business. Fred is content to eke out a living as a junkman, though he is constantly hatching all kinds of get-rich-quick schemes, which make Lamont crazy. Lamont, by contrast, is seeking a better life, and many of the sitcom's conflicts arise out of Lamont's desire to get out of the junk business and Fred's attempts to make him stay. Their arguments frequently end with Fred feigning a heart attack, clutching his chest, and calling to his dead wife, “I'm coming to join you Elizabeth!” With this conflict between family and ambition at the center, the Sanfords interact with other engaging characters, many of them played by older black actors who Redd Foxx had worked with in his early stand-up days. The results were hilarious.

Foxx left *Sanford and Son* at the end of the 1976-77 season amidst reported contract disputes with the producers and an argument with NBC over an appropriate dressing room. He signed with ABC for the *Redd Foxx Comedy Hour*, in which he spotlighted some of his old show business friends, and communicated his version of events in American history in a regular spot called “The History of the Black in America.” The show, however, proved a ratings bomb and lasted only a few months.

After a few years working in Las Vegas clubs and making guest appearances on other people's variety shows, Foxx returned to television in 1980 when NBC tried to revive the earlier hit series as *Sanford*. The cast of characters was new, the writing poor, and that show, too, suffered the fate of his *Comedy Hour*, lasting only a few months. In 1986, *The Redd Foxx Show* attempted to present its star in an entirely new guise as a kindly newsstand operator with a white foster daughter. It was retooled after a couple of episodes when network research showed that Americans liked Foxx better as a grumpy character. The daughter was written out and a nagging ex-wife was written in. The series failed to survive.

In the late 1980s, Foxx was forced to file for bankruptcy. Three divorces and an extravagant lifestyle had forced him into a position where the IRS seized most of his assets, but 1989 brought a change of fortune. He appeared in Eddie Murphy's film *Harlem Nights*, received good notices and went on to a role in a new Murphy-produced series called *The Royal Family*. On October 11, 1991, after filming only seven episodes, Redd Foxx collapsed on the set during rehearsals, provoking laughter from cast and crew who thought he was doing his “Elizabeth, I'm coming to join you!” routine from *Sanford and Son*. He had, however, suffered a fatal heart attack, dying in harness as he no doubt would have wished.

—Joyce Linehan

## Foyt, A. J. (1935—)

A. J. Foyt is one of the premier names in motor sports, having enjoyed an auto racing career that spanned four decades, beginning in the 1950s. No other driver achieved such a unique combination of longevity, dominance, and versatility in motor sports, on which he left a permanent mark wherever he raced. Known as “Supertex” to his many fans, Hoyt gained a reputation for a uniquely tough and aggressive style that brought a new excitement to the sport, and he is probably the most popular driver ever to have run at “The Greatest Spectacle in Racing,” the Indianapolis 500.

Anthony Joseph Foyt, Jr. was born on January 16, 1935 in Houston, Texas, where he became familiar with racing cars from an



### Redd Foxx

early age. His father owned the Burt and Foyt Garage that specialized in the vehicles, and Foyt had already decided to make a career of racing when he was no more than five years old. By his late teens he was driving midget racers on the Midwestern circuit.

In the years that followed, A. J. Foyt firmly established himself in various aspects of the sport: midgets, sprints, stock cars, sports cars, and Indy cars. He emerged from quarter-mile dirt ovals to become arguably the most dominant driver in the history of the Indianapolis 500. At Indianapolis, Foyt qualified for a record 35 consecutive races, and was the first driver to win Indianapolis four times, a feat later matched only by Al Unser and Rick Mears. By the late 1990s, he still held the record for the most Indy Car wins with 67 victories and has thus far remained the only driver in the history of the sport to win seven national Indy car titles.

Foyt was also highly successful in other areas of car racing. He won the 24 Hours at Le Mans in 1967, captured the 24 Hours at Daytona in 1983 and 1985, and was victorious at the 12 Hours of Sebring in 1985. Perhaps one of the most amazing aspects of Foyt's career is that so successful an Indy car driver was also able to achieve

victories in major stock car events. After recording 41 wins in United States Auto Club (USAC) stock car racing, he joined the famous Wood Brothers team and became a significant force on the NASCAR circuit, winning seven NASCAR Winston Cup races, including the 1972 Daytona 500. His astonishing record was enhanced even further when he captured the world closed course speed record for an Oldsmobile in 1987, recording a 257-m.p.h. lap in a Quad-4 powered Aerotech.

In 1993, at the age of 58, A. J. Foyt announced his retirement from race-car driving. However, he retained his connection with the sport as a car owner, including his proprietorship of A. J. Foyt Honda in Houston. He also bought several cattle and horse ranches in Texas, and was appointed to the boards of both Riverway Bank and Service Corporation International. He continued living in Houston with his wife Lucy. Of Foyt's four children, three have followed in their father's footsteps: Jerry pursues a career in stock car racing, Larry races go-carts, and A. J. Foyt IV races junior dragsters.

—James H. Lloyd



A. J. Foyt crosses the finish line at the 1967 Indianapolis 500.

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## Francis, Arlene (1908—)

During her long career as one of television's most versatile hostesses, Arlene Francis was the quintessence of wit and charm.

Beginning her career as an actress on the stage and screen, Francis hosted a precursor to *The Dating Game*, called *Blind Date*, for three years in the early 1950s, while also emceeing the talent shows *By Popular Demand* and later, *Talent Patrol*. At the same time she radiated sophistication and good cheer as a regular panelist on *What's My Line*, the popular game show with which she was associated for 25 years. In 1954 NBC president Sylvester "Pat" Weaver chose Francis as host and editor-in-chief for a new concept in daytime television, *Home*, a serious talk show for women. The three year run of *Home* established Francis' credentials as a pioneer in the talk format. She returned to public affairs television in the early 1980s when she hosted a New York program, *The Prime of Your Life*, a noteworthy series for senior citizens.

—Ron Simon

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## Francis, Connie (1938—)

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, singer Connie Francis reigned as America's top-selling female vocalist and the female counterpart to teen idols such as Frankie Avalon and Fabian. Cute, as opposed to glamorous, the diminutive brunette with the perky demeanor typified the girl next door. Teenage girls wanted to be her best friend; teenage boys dreamed of dating her. The media called her "America's sweetheart."

Born Concetta Rosa Maria Franconero in Newark, New Jersey, Francis was just three years old when her roofing-contractor father presented her with an accordion. A year later she was performing at family events, churches, and hospitals. She was eleven when her father took her to Manhattan to meet the producer of the TV show *Startime*, which featured child performers; she appeared on the program for the next four years. She was later showcased on TV variety shows, including Arthur Godfrey's *Talent Scouts*. It was Godfrey who suggested that she change her name. He also suggested that she put away her accordion to concentrate on singing.

Francis began her recording career cutting demo records for various music publishing companies. Then came a 1957 recording contract with MGM and ten failed singles. It was at her father's suggestion that she did an up-tempo version of the 1923 standard



Connie Francis

"Who's Sorry Now?" for what she anticipated would be her final recording session for the label. To her surprise, the record found favor with Dick Clark, congenial host of the popular *American Bandstand*. Touting the new "girl singer," Clark played her record on a 1958 New Year's Day telecast. Over the next five weeks, the record sold a million copies to become Francis's first gold record. Francis, who became a frequent guest on *Bandstand*, later admitted that were it not for Clark and his support, she would have given up on her musical career.

She instead became a perennial on the charts. Along with outselling all other female artists from 1958 to 1964, she became the first female singer to have consecutive number-one hits with the 1960 songs "Everybody's Somebody's Fool" and "My Heart Has a Mind of Its Own." A household name, her likeness appeared on paper dolls, diaries, and other merchandise aimed at teenage girls. Then came a quartet of MGM films. First and most memorable was *Where the Boys Are* (1960), about college girls looking for love during spring break in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida. Though the film is today best known for its heartflick title song, performed by Francis, its plot and setting were mimicked myriad times in succeeding decades, especially during the 1980s when youth-oriented movies were the rage.

As her fame grew, Francis began recording songs with adult appeal; the Italian-American also recorded albums in numerous foreign languages. As a result, the mature Francis was able to establish herself as a strong nightclub draw. In the late 1960s, during the cultural revolution which saw American audiences clamoring for performers with British accents, Francis took her act overseas.

But there were personal trials, including failed marriages and disagreements with her domineering father-manager. Then came an emotionally shattering rape and beating, which she suffered hours after performing at Long Island's Westbury Music Fair in late 1974. The headline-making experience left Francis psychologically unable to perform. Three years later she suffered another setback, when cosmetic surgery on her nose affected her voice. It was a 1978 television concert show, hosted by longtime friend Dick Clark, that marked Francis's return, but unbeknownst to audiences, the still-fragile Francis had to lip-sync to a prerecorded medley of her hits. Three years later, she suffered yet another crisis, the 1981 gangland-style murder of her younger brother, but she went on to face a live audience later that year. In fact, she bravely played the same venue where she had performed the night of her rape and beating. Explained Francis, "I had to put my fears to sleep."

Sadly, Francis's various fears continued to resurface. The recipient of sixteen gold records suffered nervous breakdowns, involuntary confinements in mental facilities, and was diagnosed as a manic-depressive. In interviews and in her 1984 autobiography, she attributed some of her woes to her relationship with her overprotective father: "Thanks to my father, I [grew up] the typical horribly repressed Italian girl. I was this nice little girl that no man was supposed to touch. . . . Probably the biggest regret of my life is that I allowed him to exercise all that control. It was a form of emotional abuse. . . ."

Still, through the 1990s, Francis has made intermittent comebacks. In performance, the woman who led the way for today's female superstars, including Madonna, Janet Jackson, and Celine Dion, continues to project the engaging demeanor of the girl next door, albeit one who is sadder but wiser.

—Pat H. Broeske

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## Francis the Talking Mule

Francis was the smart, sassy talking mule who led a bumbling but sincere human sidekick into and out of trouble in seven films for Universal Pictures from 1949 to 1956. For all but the last film, the sidekick was played by singer/dancer Donald O'Connor, and the voice of Francis was supplied by character actor Chill Wills. The special effect of talking was achieved by feeding a strong thread from the bridle to the mule's mouth. A gentle off-camera tug on the thread caused the animal to try to dislodge the annoyance by moving its lips. The film series was considered silly by the critics, but moviegoers enjoyed the antics of a mule who not only talked but who was more intelligent than his owner. As the first non-cartoon talking movie animal, Francis paved the way for television's talking horse, *Mister Ed*.

—Pauline Bartel

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## Frankenstein

On the shores of Lake Geneva in the summer of 1816, nineteen-year-old Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley (1797-1851), her future husband, Percy Shelley, and their charismatic friend Lord Byron engaged in a ghost-story contest. After seeing a vision of what she called "the hideous phantasm of a man," Mary Shelley began writing *Frankenstein, or The Modern Prometheus*, the gothic novel that would bring her lasting fame. Even before Shelley's name was widely known, theatrical versions of her novel—the tale of Victor Frankenstein and his monster—frightened and appalled audiences all over Europe. The popularity of stage adaptations in the nineteenth century foreshadowed the emergence of the Frankenstein monster as an icon of film, television, and other forms of popular culture in the twentieth century, including everything from comic books to Halloween costumes. Indeed, the creature's deformity and pathos have earned it such an indelible position in the popular imagination that the name "Frankenstein" has come to denote not the scientist who bears the name or even the novel which gave it life, but rather the image of a scarred and lumbering monster in angry revolt against its creator and society. On one level, the creature exists simply as a horror-movie staple, like Dracula or the Wolf Man. But it is the monster's value as a

powerful symbol of our fears regarding the dangers of science, technology, and industrialization, as well as the perils of man's hubristic attempts to control nature, that has given Shelley's "hideous progeny" such an enduring and ubiquitous afterlife.

No other medium exploited, influenced, and perpetuated the Frankenstein myth like film. One of the first movies ever made, Thomas A. Edison's sixteen-minute silent film *Frankenstein* (1910), began the transformation of Shelley's literary creation into its numerous cinematic offspring. But it was the 1931 Universal Studio release of director James Whale's *Frankenstein* that exerted the greatest impact on Frankenstein mythmaking. In his career-making performance as the monster, Boris Karloff reduced Shelley's articulate, intelligent, and agile creature to a silent brute that was nevertheless endearing in its child-like innocence. Ironically, Karloff's monster—furnished with a protruding and stitched forehead, eyes devoid of intelligence, and electrodes in his neck—all but replaced Shelley's original creation in the popular imagination. As well as cementing Karloff's creature as a cinematic icon, the film also gave rise to enduring "Frankenstein movie" conventions such as the elaborate creation scene, the mad doctor's laboratory, his demented hunchback assistant, Fritz, his infamous ecstatic cry at the moment of creation ("It's alive!"), and the angry torch-carrying rabble who pushed the monster to its fiery death. For two decades, Universal profited immensely from the Frankenstein series with the much-praised *Bride of Frankenstein* (1935) and several lesser but popular sequels, such as *Frankenstein Meets the Wolf Man* (1943). The film series also yielded several spin-off characters, including Elsa Lanchester's Bride of Frankenstein, whose teased-up hair with white "lightning streaks" made her a comparable, though lesser known, pop icon.

Embodying the postwar optimism and prosperity of the late 1940s, the Frankenstein monster shifted into the comic genre when Universal released *Abbott and Costello Meet Frankenstein* in 1948. This "horror-comedy" approach to the Frankenstein myth, complete with slapstick gags, marked a departure from Whale's more serious pictures of the 1930s. But the title's explicit focus on the Frankenstein monster—and the film's positive reception with audiences and critics—evinced the creature's ongoing mass-market appeal and presaged the onslaught of low budget films such as *I Was a Teenage Frankenstein* (1957) in the following decades.

After Abbot and Costello's satire of "classic" monster movies proved that the more serious Frankenstein formula had grown tired, Frankenstein films suffered a hiatus until the British studio Hammer Films released *The Curse of Frankenstein* in 1957. The movie marked the beginning of a more serious and gory approach to big-screen versions of the Frankenstein story. Peter Cushing, who played Baron Frankenstein in numerous films for the Hammer series, captured the psychological struggle of the "mad" scientist so memorably that his character soon overshadowed the monster in much the same way that Karloff's creature had usurped the fame of his creator in the Whale films.

This focus on the psychology of the mad scientist, however, was short-lived. Capitalizing on the prevailing counter-cultural climate and the renewed popularity of classic horror characters in the 1960s and 1970s, the Frankenstein monster made a comeback as a popular symbol of nonconformity. Exemplary of this new trend, interpretations of Frankenstein in the 1970s subverted and even perverted more traditional representations. In 1974, cult artist Andy Warhol produced *Flesh for Frankenstein* (or *Andy Warhol's Frankenstein*), an ultragory retelling in which Baron Frankenstein and his "zombies" display overtly homoerotic, sensual, and necrophilic behavior. In the same year, Mel Brooks's *Young Frankenstein* cleverly parodied the



A scene from the film *Frankenstein*, with Boris Karloff (standing) and Mae Clarke, 1931.

Frankenstein myth and answered the long-unspoken question about the monster's sexual girth. The cult film *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* (1975) even featured a transvestite named Frank-n-Furter and his creation Rocky Horror.

The Frankenstein monster also infiltrated America's rising TV culture in two very similar shows about eccentric nuclear families. Both *The Munsters* (CBS, 1964-66) and *The Addams Family* (ABC, 1964-66) featured a Frankenstein-like character that was essentially a nostalgic reproduction of Karloff's famous creature. In telling the weekly stories of these suburban families who were, besides their monster-movie appearance, normal in every respect, these shows satirized the quaint, white, middle-class family sitcoms of an earlier decade and capitalized on the comic implications of a "domesticated" Frankenstein's monster. (In *The Addams Family*, for instance, the creature named Lurch served as the terse family butler.) The popularity of such series in TV reruns and feature films suggested that the Frankenstein monster, and its attending creature culture, had become a cuddly household commodity now endlessly recycled for comic effect and commercial gain. It was not until the 1990s, in fact,

that any significant attempt was made to reestablish a more serious approach to this material. Kenneth Branagh's 1994 film *Mary Shelley's Frankenstein* returned to Shelley's original novel and captured much of its gothic terror but also added popular movie formulas such as the creation of the monster's bride.

Despite the endless dilutions, distortions, and recyclings, the force of the Frankenstein myth remains undiminished as contemporary society continues to incorporate technological advances—in fields such as genetic engineering—into everyday life while growing increasingly apprehensive about their potential dangers. Each version of Frankenstein's monster acts not only as a potent reminder of the dark side of man's creative idealism—the dangers of trying to play God—but also as a powerful representation of the collective fears and desires of the particular era in which it was conceived. The Frankenstein legend continues to endure as a deformed mirror held up to human nature, *re-formed* from parts of the dead past—with our imagination providing the electrical spark.

—Kristine Ha

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## Franklin, Aretha (1942—)

As the career of singer, songwriter, and pianist Aretha Franklin makes evident, the black church—its ministers, its members, and its music—have had a profound influence on popular music. A fruit of the black Baptist church, Franklin is one of the most important female

artists to translate gospel music—with all its intensity—into soul music. Her talent was nurtured by a who's who of gospel song—Clara Ward, James Cleveland, and Mahalia Jackson—and her father, Reverend C. L. Franklin, was a gospel singer in his own right. For the past thirty years, Franklin has reigned as the “Queen of Soul,” winning more Grammy Awards than any other female vocalist—at least one a year from 1967 through 1974 and then in 1981, 1985, and 1987. From 1960 to 1992, 89 of her songs were in the pop or R&B Top Forty, with twenty of them reaching number one on the R&B chart. Franklin was the first African-American woman to appear on the cover of *Time* magazine (in June, 1968), and in 1987 she became the first woman to be inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. By the mid-1980s, Franklin had racked up a total of twenty-four gold records. The state of Michigan has designated her voice as a natural resource.

The eldest of three sisters, Aretha Franklin was born in Memphis, Tennessee, on March 25, 1942. During her childhood, her family moved to Buffalo and then to Detroit, where she grew up. Her father, the celebrated Reverend C. L. Franklin, ministered the 4,500 member New Bethel Baptist Church. Rev. Franklin was one of the first ministers to have a nationally broadcast radio program, and at one time he earned up to \$4000 per sermon. His eldest daughter taught herself to play the piano at the age of eight. Her father's national stature and influence drew such well-known gospel singers as James



Aretha Franklin



Cleveland, Mahalia Jackson, and Clara Ward to their home for improvisational praise sessions. Two of the Clara Ward Singers helped rear Aretha after her mother's separation from the family. Franklin absorbed the rich black musical experience in her father's church and by the age of twelve began touring with him, singing solos.

Her recording career began in 1951 when she and her sisters Carolyn and Erma made a 78, singing behind their father on the Gotham label. In 1956, Franklin recorded the hymn "Where We'll Never Grow Old," profoundly influenced by her mentor, Clara Ward. Following the path of one of her idols, Sam Cooke, who had made a successful transition from gospel to pop, at the age of eighteen Franklin left Detroit for New York, where Major Holley, a bass player for jazz pianist Teddy Wilson, helped look after her while she made the rounds in an attempt to be discovered. John Hammond, the legendary impresario who had encouraged Columbia Records to sign Mahalia Jackson, among other talents, heard Franklin and encouraged the company to sign her. While with Columbia, Franklin released a number of recordings: "Today I Sing the Blues" and "Won't Be Long" were moderately successful R&B hits.

After her contract expired with Columbia, Franklin signed with Atlantic Records in 1967. With the savvy producing skills of Jerry Wexler, Franklin recorded "I Never Loved a Man (The Way I Love You)" with the Muscle Shoals, Alabama, rhythm section, her own piano accompaniment, and the backup vocals of her sisters. The single and the album of the same title achieved gold status, and Aretha had arrived. A string of gold records followed, including "Respect," her first single to top both the R&B and Pop Charts. The album also included such popular hits as "Dr. Feelgood," "Baby, I Love You," "Chain of Fools," and "Since You've Been Gone." Her next hit songs, "Think" and "I Say a Little Prayer," went gold, along with her *Lady Soul* album in 1968. In 1969, "See Saw" and the album *Aretha Now* similarly attained gold status. "Don't Play that Song" in 1970 and her 1971 version of Simon and Garfunkel's "Bridge Over Troubled Water" also were hits. In 1972, she won two Grammys for the albums *Young, Gifted, and Black* and *Amazing Grace*. In 1973, Franklin scored again with "Master of Eyes" and in 1974 with "Ain't Nothin' Like the Real Thing."

The mid- to late 1970s saw a dry spell in Franklin's creative hitmaking. Disco had begun to gain favor, adversely impacting the sale and popularity of soul and R&B. In 1980, Franklin signed with Arista Records, and by 1982 she had made a successful comeback with the album *Jump on It*. In 1985, the *Who's Zooming Who* album, with the hit "Freeway of Love," went gold. But in 1987, Franklin returned to her roots with the album *One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism*, her first gospel collection in fifteen years. A duet with George Michael entitled "I Knew You Were Waiting" became her second number one Pop hit.

Franklin's relentless productivity, diverse repertoire, and sheer volume of recordings make a simplified overview of her style difficult. To be sure, if one were to distill her style, it would boil down to her rhythmic gospel piano style and arrangements that accompany her voice with all its ecstatic tension. Beginning with her recording for Atlantic, Aretha Franklin essentially defined soul music as vital, genuine, sexual, and visceral, reflecting the struggles and triumphs of the human spirit. "It is her fierce, gritty conviction. . . . She flexes her rich, cutting voice like a whip; she lashes her listeners—in her words—"to the bone," for deepness," *Time* magazine observed. All in

all, it has been Franklin's faith and "hard knocks" that enabled her to embrace a song, dramatizing it and making it her own.

The early Columbia sessions were a fallow period in terms of her mature individual stylistic development, persistently marred by the company's attempt to pigeonhole her style into jazz and pop arrangements, not allowing for her freedom of expression. But at Atlantic, the arrangements of Franklin's music were based on her piano accompaniment to her voice. Upon her arrival at the studio to record, arrangers such as Arif Mardin would base everything around her piano and voice renditions, adding the backup vocals of sisters Carolyn and Erma. Atlantic allowed Franklin to exercise a great deal of artistic control, encouraging her creativity and a selection of songs that meant something to her. The first album, *I Never Loved a Man (The Way I Love You)*, paid homage to her musical idols: Sam Cooke in "A Change Is Gonna Come" and "Good Times," and Ray Charles, who had previously merged gospel with pop beginning with the recording of "I've Got a Woman," is represented in a moving and undeniably convincing "Drown in My Own Tears."

Franklin's personal life has been a turbulent one. During her childhood she faced one traumatic experience after another. At the age of six, her mother abandoned the family, leaving Aretha's father to provide the nurturing and support of the children. From a young age, Aretha toured on the gospel highway, where the attendant pitfalls that she encountered on the road were not always in her best interest. She was the mother of two boys by the time she reached seventeen. Her marriage to her manager, Ted White, who had been known to rough her up from time to time, ended in divorce. Her second marriage to actor Glynn Turman also ended in divorce. In 1979, her father was shot by a robber in his home and remained in a coma for several years, never recovering. Through it all, Franklin has ardently guarded her private life and remained the "Queen of Soul."

Franklin has been active for several social causes and an activist for black pride and Civil Rights. Her father was a friend of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; Franklin sang at King's funeral. She recorded "Young, Gifted and Black" as an affirmation of positive black consciousness and pride. Her unabashed celebration of sexual liberation with "sock it to me" in "Respect" and "taking care of business is really this man's game" in "Dr. Feelgood" was liberating to many women. Franklin sang for the Democratic National Convention in 1968, for the inauguration of President Jimmy Carter in 1977, and again for the inauguration of President Bill Clinton in 1993. Three television specials—*Aretha* in 1986; *Aretha Franklin: The Queen of Soul* in 1988; and *Duets* in 1993—have featured Franklin's life and music.

Franklin has shared her songs of love, hurt, respect, and black pride, but not much of her personal life. The Queen of Soul may soon talk in the form of an autobiography in collaboration with David Ritz, biographer of B. B. King, Marvin Gaye, Etta James, and Ray Charles. Whether singing gospel or pop, music is a balm and an alter ego for Franklin. "It does get me out of myself. . ." she has said. "I guess you could say I do a lot of traveling with my voice."

—Willie Collins

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## Franklin, Bonnie (1944—)

An actress and dancer best known for her portrayal of Ann Romano—TV’s first “Ms.”—on Norman Lear’s sitcom *One Day at a Time*, Bonnie Franklin was born January 6, 1944, in Santa Monica, California. She started tap dancing when she was nine years old, appearing with Donald O’Connor on the *Colgate Comedy Hour*, and began teaching at the age of twelve. Franklin appeared in the original *Munsters* and *Man from U.N.C.L.E.* but became a household name from 1975 to 1984 on Lear’s sitcom. Franklin dabbled in directing (*New Munsters*), TV movies (*Portrait of a Rebel: The Remarkable Mrs. Sanger*), and exercise videos (*I Hate to Exercise—I Love to Tap*). In the 1990s she could be found doing regional theater.

—Karen Lurie

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## Frasier

*Frasier*, a popular situation comedy starring Kelsey Grammer as the pompous, insecure psychiatrist Dr. Frasier Crane, first premiered



The cast of *Frasier*: (from left) David Hyde Pierce, Peri Gilpin, Kelsey Grammer, Jane Leeves, John Mahoney, and Moose.

on NBC in September 1993. The character had appeared originally in the long-running and much-loved comedy show *Cheers*, with which *Frasier* shared the same creative team. *Frasier* relocated the doctor from his original *Cheers* setting in a Boston tavern to Seattle, where he became the host of a call-in radio show on fictional local station KACL. *Frasier* immediately won accolades for its sophisticated humor and literate dialogue, and secured a consistent position in the top 15 network shows. In 1998, the show became the first to win five consecutive Emmy awards for Outstanding Comedy Series, ensuring its place in television history.

Grammer’s character was moved to Seattle in order to give the show enough distance with which to create a sense of identity separate from *Cheers*, yet the choice of Seattle also meant that the show reflected (and contributed to) the heightened profile of the Northwest City in the 1990s and a range of popular accounts that hailed Seattle as a desirable and sophisticated place to live. For example, in place of the *Cheers* tavern, one of the main settings of *Frasier* is the upscale Café Nervosa, where Frasier and his snobbish brother, fellow psychiatrist Niles (David Hyde Pierce) sip their cappuccinos and lattes. Much of the show’s best comedy lies in the ensuing conversations between the two brothers, sharp retorts flying as each tries to undermine and outdo the other in everything, from successful careers to suit fabrics.

The brothers are of one mind, however, when dealing with their father, retired ex-cop Martin Crane (John Mahoney). Gruff and blue-collar, Martin was forced to move into Frasier’s expensive, lofty apartment after being injured in the line of duty. With his dog, Eddie, (recipient of much fan mail) and his liking for beer, hot dogs, and *Monday Night Football*, Martin constantly frustrates Frasier’s attempts to create a tasteful, chic ambience for the apartment. Martin’s English live-in homecare provider, Daphne Moon (Jane Leeves), also provides the object of Niles’s frustrated affection and adds another hilarious dimension to the complex domestic dynamics.

Critics have noted the way that the best episodes feel like little 22-minute plays because of the combination of high quality writing and ensemble acting. The episodes often take place within one confined, high-pressure setting, such as Frasier’s apartment or the radio station, where the doctor battles against a constant stream of irritating callers with his slightly jaded producer, Roz (Peri Gilpin).

Off-screen, Kelsey Grammer had some well-publicized battles with substance abuse; he checked himself into the Betty Ford Clinic in the fall of 1996. On-screen, the show continued to move smoothly from strength to strength, and in November 1997 celebrated its one hundredth episode by uprooting from its studio in Hollywood to shoot on location in Seattle. Eschewing its usual stage-bound format, the episode took in the sights of the city and starred the real mayor of Seattle, Norm Rice, who declared it “Frasier Day” in Seattle.

The show’s reward for continued critical and ratings success was in taking over for *Seinfeld* in the coveted NBC prime-time slot in the fall 1998 schedule. This slot had been filled previously by some of the most successful and critically acclaimed series in American television history, including *The Cosby Show*, *Hill Street Blues*, and *L.A. Law*. What made *Frasier*’s rise to the number one comedy slot all the more unusual was that it bucked the trend in situation comedy in the 1990s. Instead of building itself around a celebrity personality (often a stand-up comedian), as in the case of *Seinfeld*, *Roseanne*, or *Ellen*, *Frasier* relied upon the continuing appeal of a well-drawn fictional character.

—James Lyons

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William “Bill” Frawley left his mark on American cinema during the 1930s as one of the medium’s first character actors. Appearing in more than 150 films from *Miracle on 34th Street* to *Huckleberry Finn*, the strong-faced Iowan depicted surly, middle-aged men who hid their compassion behind masks of crustiness. He later adapted his trademark role to the small screen where he created two of television’s most memorable supporting roles: Fred Mertz on the *I Love Lucy* show (1951-1957) and “Bub” O’Casey on *My Three Sons* (1960-1964).

Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz selected Frawley for the role of Fred Mertz after their first choice, Gale Gordon, turned out to be unavailable. CBS executives warned Ball and Arnaz against the choice: Frawley had a reputation for heavy drinking. Yet the veteran actor rose to the occasion and created in Fred Mertz the prototype of the stick-in-the-mud husband and penny-pinching landlord. He even managed to tolerate Vivian Vance, who played his on-screen wife Ethel Mertz, although the two strongly disliked each other. “She’s one of the finest girls to come out of Kansas,” he once observed, “But I often wish she’d go back there.” After the *I Love Lucy* show, Frawley created the role of Michael Francis “Bub” O’Casey, Fred MacMurray’s gruff father-in-law and housekeeper on the sitcom *My Three Sons*. William Demarest replaced him on his retirement in 1964. Fittingly, Frawley’s last television appearance was a cameo on a 1965 episode of Lucille Ball’s *The Lucy Show* entitled “Lucy and the Countess Have a Horse Guest.” On that episode, Lucy Carmichael (Ball) jokes about how familiar Frawley seems to her. As Fred Mertz, whose name is almost synonymous with the old neighborhood landlord, Frawley is equally familiar to us all.

—Jacob M. Appel

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## Frazier, Joe (1944—)

Joe Frazier was a quintessential pressure fighter. He came forward at all costs, throwing his vaunted left hook at opponents until he broke their spirits or bodies or, as was often the case, both. A great heavyweight champion by any standard of measurement, Frazier left his mark in his three-fight series against Muhammad Ali. In 1967, Ali had been stripped of his heavyweight crown and his license to box for

refusing induction into the United States Army during the Vietnam War. In Ali’s absence, an elimination tournament was held to determine his successor to the heavyweight throne. Frazier won the tournament, tearing through the division’s contenders and establishing himself as the best active heavyweight in the world. When Ali’s license to box was reinstated, a superfight was made between Joe Frazier, the undefeated reigning champion, and Muhammad Ali, the undefeated former champ. The fight, which promised to be a thrilling encounter pitting Ali’s speed and athleticism against Frazier’s strength and determination, was billed as the “Fight of the Century.” On March 8, 1971, at New York City’s Madison Square Garden, Ali and Frazier split what was then a record-setting purse of five million dollars, and staged a fight that may have even exceeded its hype.

The fight was of such import that singer, actor, and pop culture icon Frank Sinatra was enlisted as a photographer for *Life* magazine. The bout’s significance owed not merely to the high quality of the match itself, but also to the social and political symbolism attached to its participants. While Ali’s refusal of induction into the armed forces and his outspoken stances on various political and religious issues made him a representative, in the eyes of many, of oppressed people all over the world, Frazier unwittingly came to represent the establishment and the status quo of the white American power structure. Smokin’ Joe, as he was nicknamed for his relentless style, resented the perception of himself as the “white hope.” Frazier was proud of his racial identity and noted on several occasions that, ironically, he was darker complected than Ali. Nevertheless, Ali vilified Frazier as representing white America, and in turn an enraged Frazier handed Ali his first professional loss, a 15 round unanimous decision defeat. Frazier even knocked Ali down in the last round for good measure.

The two boxers fought a rematch three years later, this time with no title on the line (as Frazier had lost his title in a humiliating knockout at the hands of the murderous hitting George Foreman). This time Ali took revenge with a 12 round unanimous decision victory. The third and final meeting rivaled their fist encounter as the most famous heavyweight title fight in history. Dubbed by Ali “The Thrilla in Manila,” this 1975 classic was a contest of wills unlike anything witnessed in the division’s illustrious history. Ali was champion by this time, having knocked out the same George Foreman who so easily beat Frazier. Figuring that Frazier would be old and ineffective this time around (though Ali himself was the elder of the two by two years), Ali took him lightly and did not expect a tough fight. To add insult to injury, Ali took to calling him “The Gorilla.” Frazier’s pride was hurt once again by his antagonist, and he presented Ali with the toughest test of his career—14 grueling rounds, ending only when Frazier’s chief cornerman, the venerable Eddie Futch, refused to let Joe whose eyes were swollen nearly shut, come out for the last round. Cast unwillingly in a role he despised, Joe Frazier nevertheless etched his name into the American consciousness. If Muhammad Ali was the greatest heavyweight champion who ever lived (and even if he was not), then Joe Frazier was his greatest rival. Their names go down in history together, as Frazier himself said, “whether he [Ali] likes it or not.”

—Max Kellerman

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## Frazier, Walt “Clyde” (1945—)

Walt Frazier was the epitome of “cool” in a basketball era that worshiped the style that the flamboyant “Clyde” came to symbolize. Frazier was an All-American at Southern Illinois University, and led his team to the 1967 National Invitational Tournament (NIT) Championship, coincidentally in New York’s Madison Square Garden, where he would continue his career as a professional. Frazier was an All-Star guard for the New York Knicks from 1967-1977, and was the undisputed floor leader of two Knick teams that won National Basketball Association (NBA) titles in 1970 and 1973. Combined with his smooth and explosive offensive talents, he was also one of the league’s premier defensive players, always assigned to control the opponents’ primary outside offensive threat. Frazier is most remembered, however, for his resplendent wardrobe, as well as his calm and dignified demeanor that earned him the nickname “Clyde.” Frazier was inducted into the Basketball Hall of Fame in 1987.

—G. Allen Finchum

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## Freak Shows

By the mid-twentieth century the display for profit and entertainment of people known in the United States as “freaks” had for the most part become an anachronism. Parading disabled people before a staring public for amusement has, along with public executions, become socially unacceptable. But as our lingering collective memory of P. T. Barnum suggests, from about 1830 to 1940 in the United States, as well as in Europe, people with congenital disabilities or other physical traits that could be turned into curiosities were displayed on stages, in dime museums, in circuses, and at fairs as a part of a growing culture of popular performance that was driven by the increased commercialism, leisure, and urbanization of modernity. Whereas the term “freak” now connotes a negative departure from the norm, in the nineteenth century “freak” meant a whimsical fancy. This shift in meaning suggests the long history of exhibiting people whose bodies are presented as extraordinary and the enduring interest that they inspire in the popular imagination.

Extraordinary bodies have obsessed humankind since antiquity. The nineteenth century “freak” was known as a “monster” in ancient times and considered to be a prodigy. The birth of such an individual, as with natural events such as comets and earthquakes, was thought to portend grave or disastrous events. Stone-age cave drawings record monstrous births, while prehistoric grave sites evince elaborate ritual sacrifices of such bodies.

As the narrative of the natural world shifted from one of divine determination to secular explanations, early science viewed exceptional bodies as indices to the order of things or proof of God’s abundance, but also as sources upon which to hone medical expertise. Early scientists and philosophers kept cabinets of curiosities full of items like shark’s teeth, shrunken heads, and bottled fetuses that they

regarded with a mixture of awe and curiosity. At the same time, these extraordinary bodies were commercialized at public fairs, like London’s famous Bartholomew Fair, and on streets by monster mongers who charged for viewings and sold pamphlets called monster ballads, which offered morals drawn from the wondrous bodies. Congenitally disabled newborns, called monstrous births, continued to be interpreted as exegeses of the divine and natural orders by figures as respected as Cotton Mather and John Winthrop well into the seventeenth century. Disabled people were often celebrities or kept at court as “Fools” or in the role of pets, as were many dwarfs. For example, a powdered and wigged Matthew Buchinger, who was virtually armless and legless, dazzled eighteenth century Europe with his conjuring, musical performances, calligraphic skills, and marksmanship with the pistol. These monsters filled their viewers with awe and curiosity; they were seen as “marvels” and “wonders,” not as what the twentieth century observer would interpret as abnormal or inappropriate to stare at.

By the 1840s, P. T. Barnum—nineteenth-century America’s Walt Disney—institutionalized the once itinerant practice of showing monsters in halls and on streets when he opened in New York his American Museum, which aspired to middle-class status with temperance tracts, appeals to education, entrepreneurship, and other gestures toward bourgeois respectability. An entertainment industry in freaks and other curiosities flourished in dime museums and later as circus sideshows throughout Victorian America. The secularizing, mobile, rapidly changing social order dominated increasingly by market economics, individualism, and a developing mass culture generated this boom in staring at “curiosities,” which was part of a larger culture of display manifest in museums, circuses, grand expositions, photographs, parades, theater, department store displays, and what Thorstein Veblen called “conspicuous consumption.”

These shows gathered an astonishing array of wonders, from Wild Men of Borneo to Fat Ladies, Living Skeletons, Fiji Princes, Albinos, Bearded Women, Siamese Twins, Tattooed Circassians, Armless and Legless Wonders, Chinese Giants, Cannibals, Midget Triplets, Hermaphrodites, Spotted Boys, and much more. Augmenting these marvels were ancillary performers like ventriloquists, performing geese, mesmerists, beauty contestants, contortionists, sharpshooters, trained goats, frog eaters, sword-swallowers, and tumbling monkeys. From Queen Victoria and Henry James to families and the humblest immigrants, Americans gathered together in this most democratizing institution to gaze raptly at freaks of display. Freaks were the highest paid performers in the industry; many such as Tom Thumb were celebrities, who made their handlers rich. But freaks were more than simply disabled people; they were figures created by the shows’ sensationalized and exaggerated conventions of display. Elaborate costuming, exotic sets, bizarre “true-life” pamphlets, the hyperbolic rant of the pitchmen, photographs for audiences to collect, and scientific testimonials all surrounded these bodies to produce freaks and marvels from people who had unusual bodies that could be appropriated for the shows.

Into the nineteenth century, scientists and doctors participated in the show culture by examining the performers for scientific study and by verifying the freaks’ authenticity, lending prestige to the exhibitions. Alongside its involvement with the entertainment industry, however, science institutionalized its preoccupation with monsters by 1832 with the development of teratology, the scientific study of monsters. Teratology endeavored to harness the ancient power of prodigies by creating pigs with cleft palates and elaborate taxonomies of physical deviation. As science and medicine began to separate

from the shows and become more elite, such developments as statistics, the idea of the average man, the pathologizing of disabilities, and the eventual belief that extraordinary bodies should be standardized for the good of both the individual and society helped turn the wondrous freak into the medical problem.

A complex, interrelated combination of historical and social factors ended the immense popularity and proliferation of the freak show by the mid-twentieth century. The medicalization of disability, the rise of the bourgeoisie, the sentimentalizing of disabled people as pathetic rather than wondrous, and the sinking of freak shows to lowbrow culture, among other developments, snuffed out the form of the freak show that Barnum so masterfully exploited. Its allure lingers nevertheless in such transmuted forms as talk shows, bodybuilding, and wrestling matches, science fiction narratives like *Star Trek*, or even performers such as Michael Jackson.

—Rosemarie Garland Thomson

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## Freaks

Perhaps the most unsettling horror film to follow in the wake of *Frankenstein's* enormous financial success in 1931, *Freaks* (1932) tells the story of seemingly childlike carnival “freaks” who wreak unspeakable revenge on two able-bodied swindlers. Adapted from the Tod Robbins short story “Spurs” and directed by Tod Browning, this untidy little film shocked audiences with its use of actual disabled performers: midgets, an armless woman, a “living torso” (a man whose body ended slightly below his ribcage), and many others.

Receiving mostly negative reviews and faring poorly at the box-office, *Freaks* ran afoul of censorship boards across the United States and was banned in Great Britain for three decades. After playing the exploitation-film circuit for years, it received acclaim at the 1962 Venice Film Festival and enjoyed some popularity among counterculture “freaks” during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The Library of Congress honored *Freaks* by adding it to the National Film Registry in 1994.

—Martin F. Norden

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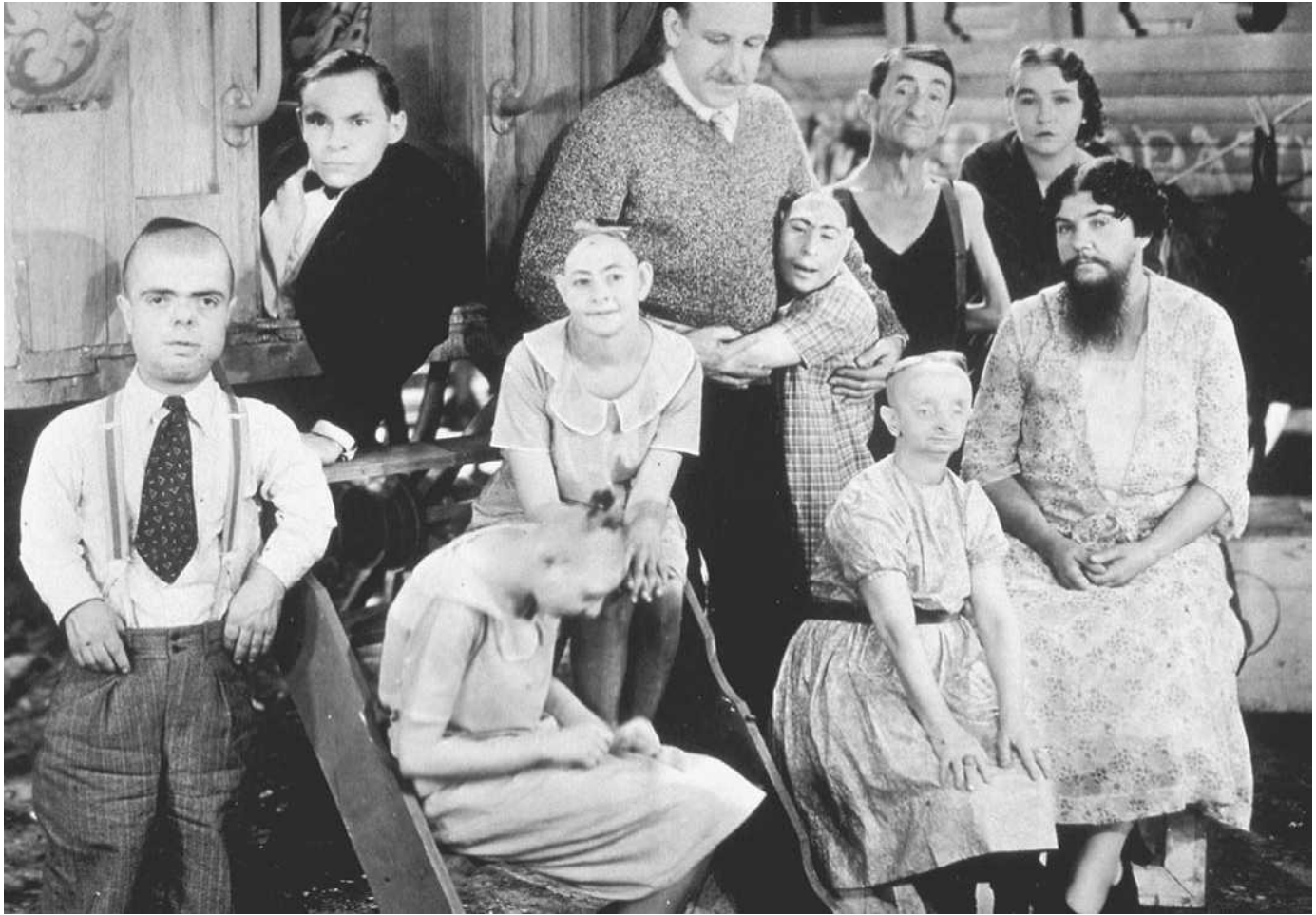
## Frederick's of Hollywood

Frederick's of Hollywood is an innovative lingerie company established by Frederick N. Mellinger on New York's Fifth Avenue in 1946. A year later he moved his business to the West Coast. Originally a mail-order house, by 1998 it had expanded to include 205 retail outlets and an on-line presence at its web site at [www.fredericks.com](http://www.fredericks.com). For many years, corporate headquarters were located at 6608 Hollywood Boulevard and housed in an art deco building, which was informally known as the Purple Palace for its garish lavender facade.

During World War II, Mellinger was stationed in Europe, where he noticed the French preference for black undergarments at a time when Americans preferred white. Mellinger formulated a theory of female pulchritude centered on proportional perfection. When he returned to the United States, he studied anatomy so as to be better prepared to contend with such phenomena as sagging breasts, midriff bulges, lackluster posteriors, and something that he referred to as “piano legs,” to name a few. Stern and Stern, in *The Encyclopedia of Bad Taste*, proffer the following quote, which addresses the issue of Mellinger's motivation: “I knew there had to be ways to reportion women and give every lovable one of them EQUAL OPPORTUNITY in the eyes of men.” A popular Mellinger slogan—“Came in looking like a Chevy and left looking like a Cadillac”—epitomizes the Frederick's philosophy throughout much of the company's history.

Frederick's-style perfection can be achieved with the assistance of a number of innovative products. For the poorly contoured buttocks, there is the Living End padded girdle. For the woman who requires flexibility in regard to bust size, there is the Light 'N' Lovely Air-Lite Inflatable Bra, whose cups can be expanded to the desired degree with the aid of straws. Or, for those who prefer a brassiere that more nearly approximates tactile perfection, there is the H<sub>2</sub>O Water Bra, which features pads containing a water-and-oil mixture. A salient nipple effect can be achieved with the aid of prosthetic-nipple-pad bra inserts.

The Mellinger concept of femininity, the one that Frederick's has projected throughout much of its history, extolled the symmetrical, the curvaceous, the buxom, and the docile: the image of the sex kitten and the harem girl, adumbrations of which were even evident in



Tod Browning (wearing sweater) and the cast of the film *Freaks*.

some of the company's product names—Sheik's Choice pajamas, for instance. Males made many of the purchases or told their women what to buy. The image of Mellinger as "Mr. Frederick" appeared throughout the catalogue proffering tips on such subjects as male preferences and drooping breasts. The male orientation of the firm was unmistakable.

In an era when many American women are financially independent of their male partners, and rapid progress has been made toward sexual equality, it is not surprising that Frederick's, with the death of Mr. Mellinger in 1991, has considered altering its image. *New York Times* contributor Jennifer Steinhauer related Frederick's CEO Terry Patterson's plans for the company: "Over all . . . Frederick's of Hollywood stores would attempt to whisper seductively to the modern female consumer, instead of simply leering salaciously at her boyfriend. 'I'm dressed, I'm corporate, I'm successful, I can play with the big boys . . . And you don't know I'm a Frederick's woman.' That is where I see the company now."

—William F. O'Connor

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## Free Agency

Free agency has created a controversial revolution in professional athletics since the 1980s. Free agency is the ability of professional team athletes to change teams when their contracts expire. Players can entertain offers from the teams interested in signing them and choose from the available choices. In theory, players use the principles of a free-market economy to receive salaries commensurate with their abilities. Some pundits believe that free agency has been extremely beneficial to professional sports, allowing the best players to be paid what they are worth. Others argue that the dramatic increases in salaries and the tendency of players to change teams every few years has been detrimental.

For most of the history of professional athletics, players were forced to stay with the team that drafted them through a "reserve clause" in their contracts. The only way an athlete could change

teams was to be traded by the team's management. Athletes' salaries were completely at the discretion of the owners. Professional baseball, football, basketball, and hockey players found themselves completely at the mercy of the team owners and managers. Stories abound of players who were named the Most Valuable Player or won a league scoring title only to find their salaries stagnate or even decrease. The athletes found themselves bound to their teams regardless of their wishes, and they could be traded to other teams without being consulted.

Anger over the reserve system grew in professional sports. In 1969, Curt Flood, a center fielder for the St. Louis Cardinals, was traded to the Philadelphia Phillies, one of the worst teams in the league. Flood had played for the Cardinals for twelve years, earning a reputation as an outstanding center fielder (226 consecutive games without an error) and an excellent hitter (lifetime average of .293). In addition, Flood was deeply involved in the community and well-liked by the people of St. Louis. Flood asked the commissioner of baseball to declare him a free agent so that he could decide for himself where he would end his career. The commissioner refused, and Flood took major league baseball to court. The case eventually wound up in front of the Supreme Court. In 1972, the Supreme Court ruled by a five to three margin against Flood, but the door had been opened. Although Flood would never return to the sport he loved, he had paved the way for the current system of free agency.

In 1976, pitcher Bill Campbell successfully negotiated a free agent contract with the Boston Red Sox. By the start of the 1980s, free agency was a fact of life in baseball. Players' salaries began to increase rapidly, with Nolan Ryan becoming the first player in history to sign a contract worth \$1 million per year. The concept of free agency spread to other team sports throughout the decade. By the early 1990s, all professional team sports had some form of free agency, although some were more restrictive than others.

As more players began changing teams and increasing their salaries, team owners began to argue against the free agent system. They argued that teams based in smaller cities, such as St. Louis or Portland, could not offer comparable salaries to teams based in New York and Los Angeles. This growing gap between small-market and large-market teams was addressed in most sports (with the exception of baseball) through revenue sharing and the implementation of a salary cap on the total amount a team could spend on its players.

Free agency has been a boon to professional athletes, but it also has many detractors. Traditionalists argue that fan support has faded as players move from team to team for financial gain. Many critics believe that the constantly changing rosters alienate fans who can no longer find players to support. To counter that argument, supporters of free agency point out that attendance at sporting events has increased dramatically in the past twenty years. If fans were truly feeling alienated by the roster changes, then attendance should be decreasing.

—Geoff Peterson

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## Free Speech Movement

The Free Speech Movement started as a dispute over 26 feet of sidewalk and escalated into a pitched battle for control of the University of California at Berkeley. In the process, an entire school, students and faculty alike, was polarized into two camps fundamentally at odds with each other, both ideologically and in terms of rhetoric. The Free Speech Movement represented the adoption of civil rights protest techniques—pickets, sit-ins, and other non-violent methods—in a hitherto untested arena, the university. As it turned out, it was the opening salvo in a long, drawn-out battle, a tumult that would ultimately affect one out of every ten college and university campuses nationwide (a conservative figure), rending the country in two along ideological and generational lines.

Over the summer of 1964, the administration of the UC Berkeley changed its rules on political activism on campus, eliminating a narrow strip of sidewalk at the intersection of Telegraph Avenue and Bancroft Way that had been a main point of egress to the campus, and a traditional location for political activity. To the student activists, the administration's ruling was an attack not only on their individual rights but also on the civil rights movement itself. Concerned student activists met with administrators, and were able to win back their right to set up tables, but the administration refused to budge on matters of fund-raising or political advocacy.

This set the stage for a series of escalating protests, as students tested the power of their as-yet-untried political muscle. Fundraising and advocacy activities resumed at the Bancroft/Telegraph intersection under the auspices of the United Front, an ad-hoc organizing committee, and after a week had passed without incident, new tables were set up at Sather Gate, a hundred yards inside the campus. On September 30, five students were cited for manning them. Five hundred students signed a letter of complicity, crowded Sproul Hall, which they occupied until early morning, and demanded that the administration discipline all of them. Eight students were suspended indefinitely, and the following day Jack Weinberg, a recent graduate and a leader of the campus Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), was arrested as he manned a table. Hundreds of students surrounded the police car containing Weinberg and, for the next 32 hours, the crowd maintained a vigil, with speakers holding forth from atop the car's bonnet.

The more intransigent the administration appeared, the more radicalized the movement became. "Beginning with concern about rights to a small strip of territory," wrote Max Heirich, a sociologist who studied the movement as it was happening, "the students had shifted their focus to freedom of expression and advocacy on the campus as a whole. After the arrest of October 1, they began to talk about the proper purpose of the university." The weeks wore on without resolution and more students were swept up in the conflict, forced to choose a side amidst the growing rancor. Chancellor Edward Strong remained firmly opposed to any concessions, convinced that student opinion was volatile and would peter out of its own accord. There were indeed indications that the protest was losing steam: after the UC Board of Regents ruled against the FSM in a November 20 meeting, a rally and sit-in the following Monday ended in disarray, with the student leadership disheartened and student support flagging. Over the Thanksgiving break, however, disciplinary letters were sent to four FSM leaders, rekindling the fickle flames of student unrest and inflaming the FSM leadership by this show of bad faith. The FSM reacted by submitting an ultimatum to the

administration—if the charges were not dropped, a sit-in would begin on Wednesday, December 2, followed by a general strike.

The administration did not deign to respond, and students set about occupying Sproul Hall. Far from housing an angry mob, the occupied premises had a festive air as the students passed the time square dancing, and conducting teach-ins and religious services. Joan Baez led a folk singalong; Laurel and Hardy films were shown. On Governor Pat Brown's orders, police officers began clearing Sproul Hall early Thursday morning. By daybreak, the exhausted police officers were growing rough with the students—who went limp in classic civil rights fashion—and those en route to their morning classes were treated to the sight of fellow students being manhandled by the California Highway Patrol, and cries of police brutality echoing through Sproul Hall. The next day pickets appeared.

In the end, the administration capitulated. Perhaps it was the threat of a prolonged strike, perhaps the pressure of faculty members, who voted at an Academic Senate to support the students' demands. However, the tenor of the conflict can be summed up in a single event: at an assembly on the Monday following the successful strike, the entire student body watched as Mario Savio, one of the most charismatic of the movement's leaders, strode to the lectern, only to be tackled by Berkeley policeman and quickly hustled offstage. Savio had been forbidden to address the students, and his decision to take the platform appeared to be calculated for maximum impact. The incident had the desired effect, cementing student support for the FSM. In the weeks following the strike, Chancellor Strong was relieved of his duties by the regents, and a chancellor who was sympathetic to FSM goals was appointed. In the elections held the week following the strike, FSM candidates swept into ASUC office. In the space of a semester, the climate of UC Berkeley changed irrevocably from comfortable complacency to overt radicalism. The campus would remain at war for the next five years.

The triumph of the Free Speech Movement against Berkeley's administration encouraged a wave of protests over alleged administrative abuses nationwide. The following year, 14 schools experienced outbreaks of student unrest, and student revolt developed into a worldwide phenomenon, culminating in the massive protests, strikes, and general unrest of 1968. Berkeley itself became the site of bitter, protracted battles that eventually led to fatalities. Max Heirich wrote, of the protests that followed, "With increasing momentum each side seemed to create its own 'self-fulfilling prophecies' of what opponents would do," adding to the rampant paranoia.

Nowhere, then, was the revolt as typical as at Berkeley, where the privileged sons and daughters of the middle class had risen up with such force and determination. Theirs was a political conversion unique in world history—a revolution fomented by abundance. "... We were the first generation in the history of the world that had never gone hungry," wrote David Lance Goines, one of the eight students suspended on October 2, 1964. "Our parents trembled at the memory of the Great Depression, but it meant nothing to us. We didn't have much notion of not getting what we wanted, when we wanted it." True to Goines' appraisal, Berkeley students got what they wanted—indeed, perhaps rather more.

—Michael Baers

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## Freed, Alan "Moondog" (1921-1965)

One of the most popular and influential pioneering radio disc jockeys, Alan "Moondog" Freed helped make Cleveland, Ohio, an early hotbed of rock 'n' roll music through the programs that he hosted on radio station WJW there in the 1950s. Moving to WINS Radio in New York, he soon became a nationally-known celebrity as one of the first important supporters of the new youth-oriented music that was sweeping the country during that decade. His theory that white teenagers would listen to and purchase rhythm and blues records by black artists proved insightful. For more than a decade, Freed constantly promoted the emergent music format via stage shows, national radio, television, and in a series of movies. Although he did not coin the phrase "rock 'n' roll," he is credited with popularizing the term which had originally been a euphemism for sexual intercourse on "race" records beginning in the 1920s. Freed's



Alan Freed



talent for promotion soon became his downfall as he and other disc jockeys across the nation were implicated in the payola scandals in 1959. Author John Jackson underscores Freed's contribution to contemporary American music by stating he "proved how essential the disc jockey was to the growth of rock & roll."

Aldon James Freed, who was born on December 21, 1921, and raised in rural Salem, Ohio, had a strong interest in music from childhood. While attending Ohio State University he became fascinated with the activity at WOSU Radio, the university station. He did not become involved with the station during his stay at the university, but, instead, enrolled in a broadcasting school in Youngstown, Ohio. Throughout the 1940s he toiled at a variety of small, local radio stations in Pennsylvania and Ohio where he held numerous positions such as sweeping floors, news and sports announcing, and playing music. The young announcer's fortunes changed dramatically when he took a position with Cleveland's WJW (850 AM) as host of a rhythm and blues program in 1951. He adopted the name "Moondog" from a raucous recording featuring a howling dog titled "Moondog Symphony." Freed's on-air antics soon made him a popular personality with Cleveland's young black community. Six months after the debut of his late night radio broadcast, he and the owner of the area's largest record store entered a partnership to promote a dance called the "Moondog Coronation Ball." On March 21, 1952, more than 10,000 mostly black teens packed the Cleveland Arena to see rhythm and blues performers Paul Williams, Varetta Dillard, and the Dominoes. The arena became so overcrowded with the unexpectedly large mass of people that city officials were forced to stop the show for safety reasons. The Moondog Coronation Ball is considered a significant moment in the development of rock 'n' roll. Bill Randle, one of the nation's most respected deejays in the 1950s, characterizes Freed's 1952 event as the "beginning of the acceptance of black popular music as a force in radio. It was the first big show of its kind where the industry saw it as big business."

By 1954, Freed's relentless promotion of himself as well as the rhythm and blues style cemented his position as the music's chief spokesperson. Increasingly, young white record buyers began to cross the racial barrier that had separated mainstream pop songs from rhythm and blues. Freed was further able to enlarge his growing white audience when he moved his program to the powerful WINS radio station in New York. The disc jockey became a national figure through his syndicated radio program, many television appearances, and his role in the film *Rock Around the Clock* (1956). Playing himself, Freed portrayed a disc jockey encouraging adults to accept the new rock 'n' roll music as sung by Bill Haley and the Comets. The film's great success in the United States and across Europe significantly boosted the exposure of rock music to new audiences.

As the influence of rock 'n' roll spread worldwide, Freed became embroiled in a scandal that would tarnish the remainder of his career. The House Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight, which in 1959 had concluded its investigation of corruption on television quiz shows, began to probe charges that songs heard and heavily promoted on the radio were selected for airplay due to commercial bribery. These secret payments in return for record promotion were known as "payola," a portmanteau word combining "payoff" and "victrola." After years of legal wrangling and a steadily diminishing career, Freed eventually pleaded guilty on December 10, 1962, in the New York Criminal Court to accepting payments and gifts from Superior Record Sales and the Cosant Distributing Corporation "without the knowledge and consent" of his employers. He was sentenced to a six-month suspended jail term and fined \$500. He later noted that payola

practices had not been ended despite all the government's efforts. Freed never regained his earlier prominence and died on January 20, 1965, after a long illness.

Alan Freed has secured a place in American music history as the first important rock 'n' roll disc jockey. His ability to tap into and promote the emerging black musical styles of the 1950s to a white mainstream audience is seen as a vital step in rock's increasing dominance over American culture. Freed's contribution to the music he sold so successfully was honored in 1986 by the Rock 'n' roll Hall of Fame, which selected him as one of the first inductees in the special "non-performer and early influences" category. In 1995, the city of Cleveland hosted the Rock 'n' roll Hall of Fame and Museum's dedication not far from the site of Freed's Moondog Coronation Ball and the radio station where he popularized the phrase "rock 'n' roll."

—Charles Coletta

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## Freedom Rides

Throughout the long struggle for civil and political rights, African Americans utilized a number of protest methods. One of the most favored of these were the "Freedom Rides" that captured the country's attention and imagination in the early 1960s, and successfully influenced the cultural consciousness of the nation with regard to matters of racial prejudice. The goal of the freedom rides was simply to end segregation in interstate travel. Although the United States ruled the segregation of interstate facilities unconstitutional, the edict went largely ignored in the Jim Crow South.

In 1949 the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) launched a freedom ride throughout the upper South to highlight the discrimination African Americans faced when traveling below the Mason-Dixon Line. However, the efforts of these interracial, nonviolent, and pacifist organizations were unsuccessful, largely because they were unable to attract press attention. Nonetheless, the foundation was laid for a tactic that came to achieve amazing results in the early 1960s.

As the federal government began to illustrate a sincere concern for the rights of African Americans in the aftermath of the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, CORE once again launched the idea of "Freedom Rides" to the same purpose as before. For CORE leader James Farmer the concept was simple: (1) have an interracial group take a bus across the South (2) demand service at all terminals, and (3) if arrested, refuse bail and fill up the jails. The entire program was designed to attract media attention to the brutal conditions that black people faced in the Southern states.

CORE's initial "freedom riders" left Washington, D.C. in May 1961, and headed for the South. All was well until they approached Anniston, Alabama, on Mother's Day, when they were greeted by mobs of whites who beat them severely. They encountered further trouble in Birmingham where the local Ku Klux Klan (which had been granted 15 minutes of immunity by the local police force) unleashed their frustrations upon the riders. The protest was postponed when the riders could not find a driver to continue the trip.



A group of freedom riders.

Ironically, however, the brutality was instrumental in awakening the consciousness of Americans to the appalling plight of the freedom riders because the national media gave extensive coverage to the incident and disseminated the images of the badly beaten protesters.

After a cooling-off period the freedom ride continued from Birmingham to Montgomery. Upon arriving in Montgomery the courageous protesters were hit with pipes, baseball bats, billy clubs, and other such objects, and once again the national media was there to give the incident widespread coverage. In the aftermath of the Alabama beatings, young SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) activists wanted to continue the rides, in spite of the reluctance of CORE and the SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference). They did. In late May SCLC initiated a ride from Montgomery to Jackson, Mississippi, hoping to encounter brutality which would then be broadcast to the world. Contrary to their expectations, however, on their arrival they were peacefully arrested. This response by the Jackson Police Department established a pattern for future "Freedom Rides."

In the summer of 1961 the traditional civil rights organizations created the Freedom Rides Coordinating Committee (FRCC) which sponsored Freedom Rides throughout the country. As a result of the continued protest, the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) banned racial segregation and discrimination in interstate travel. Although

many civil rights leaders took credit for the legislation, the victory belonged to CORE, who had initiated the protest, and to the young activists in SNCC who were persistent in their quest for civil rights. The ruling by the ICC dealt a massive blow to Jim Crow.

—Leonard N. Moore

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### The French Connection

*The French Connection*, the 1971 Best Picture Oscar winner, remains the best existential cop film ever made, contains arguably the best chase sequence ever committed to film, and turned Gene Hackman

into a major star. The film is based on the real-life French connection heroin bust by NYPD narcotics division detectives Eddie “Popeye” Egan and Sonny “Cloudy” Grosso. That investigation lasted from the night of October 7, 1961 when off-duty detectives Egan and Grosso noticed Pasquale Fuca talking with some known drug dealers in the Copacabana nightclub to the day four months later when Fuca and five others were arrested for drug trafficking.

Producer Philip D’Antoni owned the rights to Robin Moore’s book about the case, and when William Friedkin agreed to direct the film, a succession of writers was hired. Ernest Tidyman finally wrote a screenplay good enough to get the project green lighted by Twentieth Century-Fox. Friedkin, who began his career making documentaries on topics ranging from law enforcement to pro football for a Chicago television station and then ABC, brought a documentarian’s sensibilities to the project. When he decided to direct the film, he strapped on a .38 pistol and spent nearly a year riding around with Egan and Grosso, visiting drug houses and shaking down bars. Once production began, Friedkin had immediate problems directing his actors. We first see Jimmy “Popeye” Doyle (Hackman) dressed as Santa Claus, and he and his partner, Buddy “Cloudy” Russo (Roy Scheider), sprinting after and catching a fleeing suspect. Friedkin decided to stage the interrogation scene as it usually happens in real life, with the suspect sitting in the squad car and being grilled by the two detectives. Dissatisfied with the dialogue as written, Friedkin wrote some dialogue based on actual interrogations he had seen Egan and Grosso conduct, dialogue which he later referred to as Pinteresque. But thirty-two takes later, Friedkin still didn’t have anything on film that satisfied him. According to Friedkin, he realized later that night what was wrong with the scene: “This is not Harold Pinter. This is a street show. I’ve got to let them improvise that scene.” The scene was reshot in an open courtyard—one take, two cameras—and Friedkin used the best moments captured on film. Many other scenes were likewise improvised, with Hackman and Scheider taking their cues from Egan and Russo: Egan really did dress up as Santa and really did ask suspects if they “picked their feet in Poughkeepsie.”

The film itself is brilliantly photographed and edited, making superb use of visual storytelling. Friedkin has pointed out that, of the film’s twelve reels, six contain no dialogue at all, yet the silence isn’t conspicuous because the acting is so good that viewers can almost hear what the characters are thinking. An excellent example of this is the cat-and-mouse game Popeye plays with Frog One (Fernando Rey) on the New York City subways, an incident that actually happened the way it was shown on film. Another example involves something D’Antoni and Friedkin had agreed to include in the film, even though it never happened in real life and wasn’t in the book or screenplay: a car chase. The sequence starts when Frog Two (Marcel Bozzuffi) tries to shoot Popeye from a rooftop; Popeye runs after him, Frog Two hops on an elevated train, and Popeye commandeers a car to chase him. The ten-minute virtually wordless sequence has pedestrians and other cars in almost every shot, so Friedkin knew he couldn’t undercrank the camera to simulate speed. The feeling of speed was ultimately obtained by having someone actually driving through New York streets at speeds approaching ninety miles per hour. What was to have been a near miss accidentally became the chase sequence’s first collision. Most of this sequence, like 70 percent of the rest of the film, was shot with hand-held cameras, adding to the documentary feel.

Although Hackman wanted to humanize his character, Friedkin kept insisting, “No, this man is a pig. He’s as rotten as the criminals he’s chasing.” This characterization also adds to the realism and is perhaps the most divisive aspect of the film. Popeye is portrayed as

brutal, racist, foulmouthed, lecherous, and continuously violating suspects’ rights—unlike the way cops are usually portrayed on film. Many saw the film as being right-wing because it humanized cops trampling on civil liberties, and many saw it as being left-wing because it showed cops as they really are, so Friedkin thought he’d achieved the correct balance. What he was striving for was a kind of hyperkinetic activity for its own sake, to little or no avail. Friedkin has said that the police really work hard, killing themselves and sometimes other people, “yet basically they’re involved in a line of work that is frustrated, ineffectual.” He believes narcotics is an impossible job, with too many ways to get drugs into the country and too many people wanting them. Friedkin and his actors capture this frustration while telling a gripping tale that proves a police procedure can be fast-paced and riveting if the storytelling and performances are so good that viewers really care what happens to the characters.

—Bob Sullivan

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## French Fries

America’s love affair with french fries started in 1789 when Thomas Jefferson, fancier of French cuisine and especially of *pommes frites*, introduced the delicacies to his fellow citizens when he returned home after serving as American ambassador to France. Two



French fries, cheeseburger, and a soft drink.

centuries later, french fries, those thin strips of potato cut lengthwise that have been deep-fried until crisp, are internationally associated with hamburgers and fast-food meals. Their popular success benefitted from advances in food processing and the growth of the fast-food trade. They became a fetish of the McDonald's corporation: "The french fry would become almost sacrosanct for me, its preparation a ritual to be followed religiously" wrote Ray Kroc in his book *Grinding It Out: The Making of McDonald's*. Famous for their high quality, McDonald's french fries are essential to the chain's success, with more than 6.8 million pounds prepared every day in 1998. On the eve of the twenty-first century, french fries changed national identity as fast-food ventures in Japan and Southeast Asia promote them as "American fries."

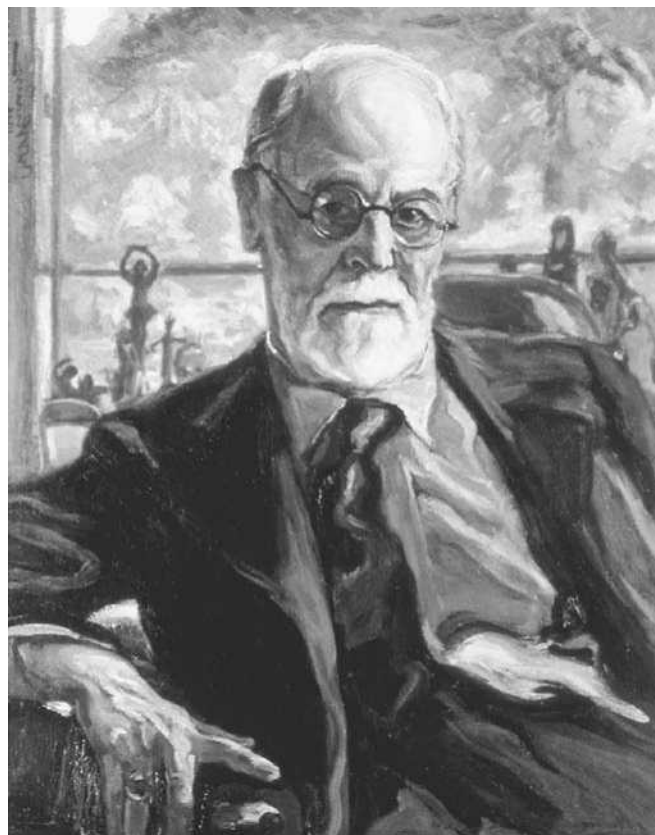
—Catherine C. Galley & Briavel Holcomb

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Sigmund Freud

## Freud, Sigmund (1856-1939)

Sigmund Freud is widely known as the founding father of psychoanalysis, and is probably the most famous and influential theorist and practitioner in the field of psychology to date. His works are studied not only by mental health professionals, but by students of philosophy, humanities, art, literature, and culture as well. Probably Freud's most widely known contributions are his theories about the motivating force of the libido, his descriptions of the effect of childhood experiences on the adult psyche, and his theories of dreams, the mind, and the unconscious. His writings have been translated into most modern languages, and are collected in twenty-four volumes in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Works of Sigmund Freud*, but people who have never read a word Freud wrote or even an essay about him are familiar with the Freudian implications of dreams. Many of Freud's concepts have been popularized by their usage in novels, movies, and self-help movements, and Freud himself is a widely recognized icon in Western societies, so much so that the standard film and television stereotype of a psychiatrist or psychologist will have a beard, a cigar, and an Austrian accent.

Freud's theories have always aroused controversy. Many of his contemporaries greeted Freud's ideas with overt hostility and ridicule. Some of this was due to widely prevalent anti-Semitism and some was due to the Victorian sexual standards of his day, which found his graphic discussion of sexuality distasteful. Since the women's liberation movement of the 1970s, feminists have questioned Freud's understanding of women, and blamed his male-identified theories for much of the damage done to women by mental health institutions. Other psychiatrists and psychologists began to challenge what they call the "hero worship" of Freud. Writers like

Richard Webster and Frederick Crews accuse the father of psychotherapy of fraud, saying he stole many of his ideas and often forced patients to conform to his theories.

Freud was born May 6, 1856, in the small town of Freiberg in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The son of a moderately successful Jewish wool merchant, Freud was raised in Vienna. Though an innovative thinker, Freud was most definitely a product of his time. The mid-nineteenth century was at a crossroads between the Romantic movement and a new orientation toward the scientific. Freud was deeply interested in Romantic subjects like philosophy and the humanities, and felt it necessary to balance this passion with the study of science. His work came from that blending of the intensely humanistic notion of the value of the individual experience and the new growth of medical science, along with influences from the Germanic *Naturphilosophie* and the Jewish philosophers of his own heritage. Though his contributions were in part scientific, the way his theories have shaped the public imagination for decades may have more to do with their mythical power.

Freud studied medicine at Vienna University and later worked at the Salpêtrière hospital in Paris, where Jean-Martin Charcot was director. Charcot's influence on Freud was significant: the famous French professor of neurology was the leading expert on hysteria, the study and treatment of which eventually led Freud to develop the theory and method of psychoanalysis. Hysteria was an ailment presumed to afflict a large number of women at the time. While its symptoms—such as paralysis, seizures, anorexia, and aphasia—had previously been viewed as resulting from a literal irritation of the uterus (the word hysteria derives from the Latin for uterus), Charcot

viewed hysteria as a neurological disorder that was caused by trauma, and could be treated through hypnosis. Charcot's idea that a person's experiences, thoughts, or emotions might cause physiological symptoms had a profound influence on Freud's subsequent work.

In *Studies on Hysteria* (1895), Freud and his colleague, Josef Breuer, proposed the radical thesis that hysteria was in fact caused by sexual traumas—specifically, childhood sexual abuse, and quite often incest—that the patient was re-enacting through her bodily symptoms. Freud's radical insight about the origins of hysteria led to his revolutionary theory of the unconscious mind, which he conceived as a literal place in the brain to which intolerable memories, thoughts, feelings, desires, and conflicts were relegated. Freud's and Breuer's treatment of women diagnosed with hysteria also led to the development of the "talking cure," the cornerstone of the psychoanalytic method. The "talking cure" began with Breuer's treatment of "Anna O." (Bertha Pappenheim), an hysterical patient who was resistant to hypnotic suggestion, but found that "talking out" her memories and experiences had the cathartic effect of "talking away her symptoms."

In 1896, Freud renounced his original theory that hysteria was caused by the patient's real traumatic experiences of childhood sexual abuse, and instead began explaining patient's symptoms in terms of their own incestuous desires and fantasies. This evolved into Freud's well-known theories of infantile sexuality—which include the oral, anal, and phallic drives—and the postulation of a universal "Oedipus complex," named for the Greek tragic hero who killed his father and married his mother. According to this theory, childhood development involves a progression from oral desires (for the mother's breast); through anal drives (the desire for mastery and control of one's bodily products); and culminates in overtly genital sexuality, which for Freud is always phallic.

For boys, the Oedipus stage of development as Freud describes it involves incestuous desires toward the mother, and feelings of rivalry toward—and fear of retaliation from—the father. This retaliation is also understood in terms of male genital sexuality as the threat of castration. According to Freud's theory, the psychological conflicts of desire, guilt, and castration anxiety must be resolved in favor of the boy's gender identification with his father, and sublimation of his incestuous desires toward his mother. Freud postulates that the lack of such resolution is the root of much adult male psychopathology.

In the female version of the Oedipus complex, Freud believed the young girl must first shift away from her primary (originally oral) desire for her mother, toward a more mature oedipal desire for her father. The girl's normal development involves a recognition that because she lacks a penis, she cannot fulfill her sexual desire for her mother, nor identify with her father, but must accept her role as the passive recipient of men's desire. Further, in discovering that she lacks a penis, the girl must contend with the realization that she is "already castrated," mutilated, and inferior. Freud described the inability of some female patients to accept their lack of a penis, to renounce their "phallic" (clitoral) desire, and to accept and embrace the passive feminine role, as "penis envy," which he considered a common female psychopathology.

Freud's theories of female sexual development have engendered decades of debate both within psychoanalysis and beyond. For example, feminists have pointed out that Freud's conceptualization of both normal and pathological female development require the girl's renunciation of some part of herself—either her agency as an active, desiring subject, or her feminine gender identity. Freud has been sharply criticized for his equation of sexual activity with masculinity,

for his arguments that women are biologically, intellectually, and morally inferior to men, and for his insistence that, in female development, "Anatomy is destiny." From Freud's contemporaries Karen Horney and Joan Riviere, to modern feminists such as Nancy Chodorow and Jean Baker Miller, Freud's theories of female psychology have undergone intense scrutiny and revision.

The shift in Freud's focus from real sexual traumas to infantile sexuality and incestuous desires has itself been the subject of controversy. Freud's followers believe that his shift from real incest to oedipal fantasies reflected a more mature and sophisticated understanding of the mind and of personality formation and allowed for the recognition of infantile sexuality and the psychological importance of fantasies, guilt, and repression. On the other hand, many contemporary scholars have argued that Freud's original belief in the reality and psychological significance of child sexual abuse was scientifically valid, while his later reversal was personally, professionally and culturally motivated. According to his critics, Freud's reversal denied the role that actual incestuous abuse had played in the emotional problems of his patients, and contributed to a cultural refusal to acknowledge the realities of widely prevalent sexual abuse and other traumas experienced predominately by women and children in a patriarchal society.

Despite Freud's theoretical shift from exploring real traumas to emphasizing unconscious desires and conflicts, Freud continued to develop and employ the "talking cure" that he and Breuer had used in treating hysterics. This cathartic method evolved into the technique of free association and interpretation that characterizes psychoanalytic practice, and has had a profound influence on nearly all other forms of psychotherapy. While subsequent practitioners have differed from Freud in their use of techniques—such as free association, hypnosis, the analytic couch, and interpretation—the essential practice of encouraging patients to talk about their experiences and express their deepest thoughts, feelings, wishes, and fears has remained a central part of psychotherapy since Freud.

While Freud's psychoanalytic method had a profound influence on psychotherapeutic practice, it is his theories of the mind—and particularly his conceptualization of the unconscious—that have arguably been his most important and influential contributions to contemporary thought. Freud conceived of the mind in spatial terms, viewing the unconscious as the area to which our socially unacceptable desires and fantasies are relegated, and well as the area from which jokes, slips of the tongue, dream imagery, and much of our creative ideas flow. Freud elaborated a schematic of the mind that corresponded with his view of personality development. The *id* consisted of the primary drives and impulses, such as oral and sexual desire and the aggressive instincts. The *superego* was the internalization of familial and social rules, particularly the prohibitions against primitive desires and instincts. And the *ego* was essentially the socialized self, capable of defenses, sublimation, rational thought, and creativity. While these theories have been elaborated and debated within psychoanalytic circles, the rudimentary concepts are familiar to most people in western cultures, and have been largely, if crudely, incorporated into contemporary thinking about the mind and the personality.

In addition to Freud's profound influence on ideas of the mind, the significance of early life events, and the dynamics of personality development, contemporary culture owes many of its assumptions about the symbolism of dreams, jokes, and cultural products to Freud's writings. Freud considered his seminal and perhaps most

famous text, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1899), to be the key to his work, and pronounced dreams “the royal road to the knowledge of the unconscious.” His understanding of dreams, jokes, and slips of the tongue as laden with unconscious meanings has permeated western thinking. Terms such as “repression,” “projection,” “ego,” and “superego” have become part of everyday parlance; and it is common for inadvertent—yet potentially significant—errors in speech to be referred to as “Freudian slips” (such as the postcard from the erring husband to his unsuspecting wife which reads, “Wish you were her.”) Freud himself applied many of his theories to the study of art and literary texts—including the works of Da Vinci, Goethe, Michelangelo and, of course, Shakespeare—and many culture scholars since Freud have used psychoanalytic ideas about desire, fantasy, language and the unconscious in their interpretations of artist’s works.

The notion of repression of memory has particularly grasped the modern imagination. From Henry James’ *Turn of the Screw* (1898), which was written in Freud’s time, to such modern classics as *The Manchurian Candidate* (published 1959; filmed 1962) and *Psycho* (filmed 1960), audiences have been fascinated with the potential depths of the mind, and the horrors that can be stored there, just out of reach. Even Homer Simpson, *pater familias* of the wacky television cartoon family portrayed on the television series *The Simpsons* (1989—), understands the uses of repression, when he tells his daughter: “The important thing is for your mother to repress what happened, push it deep down inside her, so she’ll never annoy us again.”

One of Freud’s most significant impacts on modern culture has been the popularization of psychotherapy. While once reserved for the rich and introspective, psychotherapy is now widely available to a broad spectrum of people. As the stigma of seeing a “headshrinker” has lessened, therapy has become an increasingly popular way of dealing with life’s troubles. In the United States alone, over 10 million people talk out their problems with psychiatrists, psychologists, and psychiatric social workers. Untold numbers of others see marriage counselors and other, often self-styled, therapists. All of these counselors are direct descendants of Freud’s “talking therapy.”

The idea that people’s adult actions are influenced by their childhood experiences has become a widely held social belief. While this has led, on the one hand, to a certain “democratization” of mental and emotional problems and has inspired social reform movements, some social critics believe it has also led to a failure to take personal responsibility for one’s actions, since everything can be traced back to parental abuse or rejection. From the notorious Menendez brothers, who insisted that constant childhood abuse led them to murder their parents, to Kitty Dukakis, wife of 1988 presidential candidate Michael Dukakis, who wrote an autobiography attributing her adult alcohol and drug abuse to her mother’s rejection, the idea that parental failings cause our adult pain has taken root in society. Freud’s belief that our lives are determined by how we come to terms with our sexuality shows up at the center of serious social analysis as well as cocktail party chat, and in cultural representations from Broadway theater (*Equus*, *Who’s Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*) to soap operas.

Much is known about Freud’s life because of his prolific correspondences with friends, colleagues, students and patients—many of whom were famous figures in their own right—and because of his self-analysis. At the same time, much about Freud has been obscured—both by his own silences and contradictions, and by the deliberate obfuscations of those who have wished to discredit or to

protect him. Freud himself was sharply aware of his place in history and zealously guarded his image, hoping to control the picture of him that would be written down in history. Modern critics accuse Freud of failing to acknowledge the contributions of his mentors. Some even charge him with outright theft of his ideas of the unconscious and his “talking therapy” from such influential teachers as Josef Brauer and Wilhelm Fleiss. Many of Freud’s detractors also point to his practice of bullying patients into agreeing with his pre-conceived theories. They quote Freud himself, who advised his students:

The work [of therapy] keeps coming to a stop and they keep maintaining that this time nothing has occurred to them. We must not believe what they say, we must always assume, and tell them too, that they have kept something back. . . . We must insist on this, we must repeat the pressure and represent ourselves as infallible, till at last we are really told something. . . .

Critics contend that this image of the infallible psychiatrist has been the most damaging influence of psychotherapy. Still others call psychotherapy itself a fraud, especially Freud’s model of psychoanalysis, saying that there is no real evidence that it works.

Freud’s persona itself shows up regularly in the popular media, whether it is the actual character of Freud assisting fellow cocaine addict Sherlock Holmes with cases (as in *The Seven Percent Solution*, 1976) or merely his voice speaking through controversial television heroine Murphy Brown when she intones the famous Freud quote, “Sometimes a cigar is just a cigar.” Freud has been the prototype for many popular culture representations of psychologists, psychiatrists, and psychoanalysts. His face and habits—such as his cocaine use and his cigar smoking—are widely recognized icons even seven decades after his death in 1939. Many have argued that Sigmund Freud was the most influential thinker of the twentieth century. Others have insisted that his theories reflect a decidedly nineteenth-century emphasis on biological determinism, sexuality, and bourgeois patriarchal values. For better or worse, Freud has had a profound impact not only on psychological theory and practice, but on culture and the way we understand it.

—Tina Gianoulis and Ava Rose

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## Friday, Nancy (1938—)

There is a cliché in American culture that men are principally interested in sex, while women are mostly concerned with love. In helping to debunk this myth, Nancy Friday has performed an invaluable national service. She is one of the relatively small number of modern writers who has gathered and published evidence that women's fantasies are often as sexually explicit as men's. Her books devoted to relating women's sexual fantasies work effectively on several levels: as psychology, as sociology, and as pornography. In addition, Friday has produced several other important books on subjects of interest to modern women: jealousy, beauty, and the mother-daughter relationship.

Nancy Friday grew up in Charleston, South Carolina, the child of a single mother. She moved to New York City in the early 1960s, where she was simultaneously introduced to the sexual revolution and the women's movement, both of which would influence her life, and writing, profoundly. She worked at *Cosmopolitan* magazine and *The Examiner* before deciding to devote her energies to writing books.

Friday's first book, *My Secret Garden: Women's Sexual Fantasies*, appeared in 1973. It attracted considerable attention, partly because of its sexually explicit language and subject matter, but



Nancy Friday

mostly because these "nasty" words and scenarios were coming from the minds of women. In 1973, the idea that respectable, normal women had such steamy, even "kinky" thoughts was considered something of a revelation. The book was a bestseller, as was its 1975 sequel, *Forbidden Flowers*.

Her third book was something of a departure. *My Mother/My Self*, which appeared in 1977, was an exploration of the mother/adult daughter relationship, including the ways that mothers' implicit messages can influence their daughters long past childhood. The book was a huge success, and interest in the subject was suddenly on the public agenda, spawning workshops, TV programs, and books by a host of authors.

In her next work, Friday returned to familiar territory, but with a twist. *Men in Love* (1980) was a collection of male sexual fantasies. Friday's choice of title was a reflection of her conclusion after reading the anonymously submitted fantasy material. Contrary to widely held belief, Friday said, men's fantasies about women were mostly not violent, hateful, or exploitative; instead, they were passionate, inventive, and, yes, loving.

Friday waded into another subject of intense interest to many women with her 1985 book, *Jealousy*. An immense volume (running over 500 pages), the book combines a discussion of the psychological literature on the subject with interview material and Friday's brutally honest account of how jealousy had played such a major role in her own life. Friday admits that her principal reasons for approaching the project were personal, and much of the book is a description of her own personal struggles with the "green-eyed monster."

With *Women on Top*, Friday returns to the milieu of women's sexual fantasies, but the book's subtitle is her justification for visiting the territory again: *How Real Life Has Changed Women's Sexual Fantasies* (1991). Friday wanted to find out whether the passage of fifteen or so years since her last visit had changed the landscape of women's private sexual longings. Her conclusion: women have ceased to dream of passivity and submission. They now are excited by thoughts of sexual power, aggression, and dominance. The fantasies submitted for consideration this time, she found, were much more likely to portray the woman as taking charge of her partner, her relationship, and her own sexual satisfaction.

The year 1996 saw the publication of *The Power of Beauty*, possibly Friday's most ambitious work yet. As with her earlier books on mother/daughter relationships and jealousy, Friday combines survey research, psychological insights, and her own candid history into a meditation on the ways that physical attractiveness (or the lack thereof) influences, for good or ill, many aspects of modern life—from who you will marry to where you will work, to the degree of success you will enjoy in your job.

Nancy Friday established her own web site in 1997. It allows users to read Friday's thoughts on a variety of subjects, leave their own messages for her, share their sexual fantasies, and read excerpts from several of Friday's books.

—Justin Gustainis

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## Friday the 13th

Made on a budget of less than \$600,000, with mostly unknown actors, corny dialogue, and a hastily prepared script (completed in under two weeks), the original installment of *Friday the 13th* in 1980 nevertheless went on to gross over \$70 million at box offices around the world and launch a cottage industry of sequels, spoofs, spin-offs, and outright rip-offs. No modern horror film monster, save perhaps for Freddy Krueger, has managed to capture our culture's collective imagination as much as has Jason Voorhees, the speechless, seemingly immortal psychopath with a hatred for promiscuous adolescents. Along with John Carpenter's *Halloween* (1978), *Friday the 13th* is credited with initiating the notorious "stalker cycle" of horror films—an immensely popular, and heavily criticized, subgenre that would continue to draw huge audiences through the mid-1980s.



Jason from *Friday the 13th, Part IV*.

Whereas *Halloween* is best known for the cinematic conventions it helped to establish, *Friday the 13th* has managed to transcend the world of film. The series has come to serve as a point of departure in public debates over the consequences of exposing youths to representations of graphic violence in the name of entertainment.

Sean Cunningham, producer, director, and co-writer of the original *Friday the 13th*, had gained a measure of infamy in film circles for producing Wes Craven's ultra-violent underground hit, *Last House on the Left*, in 1972. (Craven, who would go on to direct *A Nightmare on Elm Street* (1984) and *Scream* (1996), returned the favor by doing some uncredited editing on the first *Friday*.) But this infamy turned out to be a benefit, as Paramount, United Artists, and Warner Brothers—all eager to repeat the commercial success of the independently produced *Halloween*—entered into a bidding war for Cunningham's low-budget vehicle about a psychopath determined to kill off all the counselors at Camp Crystal Lake (otherwise known as "Camp Blood"). Paramount won the war and launched *Friday the 13th* with a \$4 million advertising campaign. The studio's confidence was quickly rewarded, as the film grossed \$31 million in its first six weeks alone, surpassing such major productions as Stanley Kubrick's *The Shining* and James Bridges' *Urban Cowboy*. On the strength of Tom Savini's make-up and special effects wizardry, the progressively gory murders taking place in *Friday the 13th* ensured that whatever the movie lacked in narrative sophistication, it would more than make up for in violent spectacle.

Although it was not the very first stalker film, *Friday the 13th* is widely regarded as the prototype of the subgenre. In sharp contrast to *Halloween*, fans, critics, and theorists alike have emphasized the movie's essential reliance on formula and convention, denying it any claim to cinematic originality. Andrew Tudor, in his influential history of the horror film, writes that "in practice, *Friday the 13th* is no more than a crude template for the creation of formula *Halloween* clones." It is true that the subjective ("point-of-view") camera work, the cat-and-mouse-style killing of vapid, horny teenagers, the prolonged final battle pitting psychopath against virginal, sensible, ultimately victorious "good girl," all come straight out of *Halloween*.

But it is also important to note the ways in which *Friday the 13th* breaks with stalker convention and establishes precedents of its own. Contrary to popular belief, the killer in Part One is not Jason, but Mrs. Voorhees, who blames her son's drowning death in 1958 on the camp counselors who neglected their responsibilities. Twenty years later, she seems not to care that the counselors have changed; nor does she seem to care about the gender of her victims. All this creates difficulties for those who would argue that modern horror film monsters represent nothing more than the sadistic wish-fulfillments of misogynistic male viewers. Furthermore, the surface normality of Mrs. Voorhees—she looks and talks just like a conservative, middle-class mom when she's not slitting people's throats—anticipates the all-too-realistic serial killers populating such films as *The Stepfather* (1987), *White of the Eye* (1988), and *Henry: Portrait of a Serial Killer* (1990).

With the disfigured Jason taking over his mother's murderous attacks in *Friday the 13th, Part 2* (1981), and especially after his decision to don a goalie mask in *Friday the 13th, Part 3: 3D* (1982), the series' transformation was complete. Under the direction of Steve Miner, these films saw the replacement of a human psychopath whose actions are at least somewhat explicable in quasi-Freudian terms with a supernatural agent of evil whose sole intent seems to be the violent eradication of America's adolescents. Jonathan Crane asserts that "Jason, as well-known as any prominent American personality, ranks



among the foremost of all popular signs embodying meaning's demise." It is not only the apparent randomness with which Jason chooses his victims that leads Crane to this conclusion. It is the fact that Jason's single-minded devotion to murder, his virtual indestructibility, and, above all, his inevitable return from the dead all serve as prime sources of pleasure for the mostly teenage audiences who, well into the 1990s, came out in droves to see the further adventures of their "hero."

Besides its record number of sequels (eight and counting), *Friday the 13th* has been the inspiration for parodies such as *Saturday the 14th* (1981), generic rip-offs such as *Campsite Massacre* (1983), a Canadian television show (1987-90), a series of young adult novels, a heavy metal song by Terrorvision, and a successful run of porno movies that began with *Friday the 13th: A Nude Beginning* (1987). In the late 1990s, blockbuster "neo-stalkers" such as *Scream* and *I Know What You Did Last Summer* (1997) scored points with audiences by explicitly foregrounding a number of *Friday's* plot devices. All of which supports the view that *Friday the 13th*, despite being nominated worst picture at the 1981 Razzie Awards, inaugurated the most successful franchise in modern horror cinema.

—Steven Schneider

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## Friedman, Kinky (1944—)

Founder and leader of the Texas Jewboys, an iconoclastic country and western band of the 1970s, Richard "Kinky" Friedman has since become better known as a comic novelist.

Born in Chicago (not—as often claimed—in Palestine, Texas) on Halloween, Friedman was the son of a psychology professor and a speech therapist. The family moved to Texas during his childhood, buying a ranch near Medina to create the Echo Hill Ranch summer camp for boys. Interested in both music and chess from an early age, Friedman was chosen when he was seven years old to be one of fifty local chess players to challenge Polish-born U.S. grand master Samuel Reshevsky to simultaneous matches in Houston. While Reshevsky won all fifty matches, Friedman was by far the youngest competitor.

Friedman was a junior counselor at Echo Hill Ranch and then an honors psychology student at the University of Texas (B.A., 1966). He spent the next two years as a Peace Corps volunteer in the Southwest Pacific, ostensibly as an agricultural extension agent. According to Friedman, his greatest achievement in the Peace Corps

was to introduce the Frisbee to Borneo. Upon his return to America he pursued a career in country music; he had already been in a moderately successful rock 'n' roll band in Austin, while an undergraduate. This band, King Arthur and the Carrots, had a local hit with "Schwinn 24," a parody of Beach Boys-type drag racing songs, this one about a boy and his bicycle.

In the early 1970s Friedman formed his own band, the Texas Jewboys. The name is a multilayered pun on Bob Wills and His Texas Playboys, a famed Depression-era country band. Many musicians performed with Friedman, so there is no one correct lineup for the band. A central factor in the band's material, almost all of which was at least co-written by Friedman, is the tension in his background as a Jewish intellectual raised in rural Texas. His songs explore many topics, including feminism, racial relations, the stresses of a musician's life, and nostalgia for the past, but anti-Semitism and clashes with rednecks are frequent concerns. Among his most famous songs are "They Ain't Makin' Jews Like Jesus Anymore" and "Ride 'Em Jewboy." The latter song, in which the Holocaust is compared with a cattle drive, is a beautiful ballad with eerie lyrics, considered to be Friedman's most affecting song.

Some of Friedman's songs are strictly played for laughs, and a few are more traditional country tunes without an overt sermon, but most have some kind of social message embedded in them. His audiences have frequently mistaken Friedman's song persona for his authentic feelings and social agenda, as when the National Organization for Women gave him its Male Chauvinist Pig of the Year award in 1974 for "Get Your Biscuits in the Oven and Your Buns in the Bed," a satirical song about a redneck and his women's-libber girlfriend.

The band was heckled for that and other songs, and some of their bookings were canceled, but this notoriety also led to greater success. In 1973 Friedman obtained a recording contract with Vanguard, releasing *Sold American* later that year. Another album followed in 1974, and in 1976 Friedman achieved his musical high-water mark with an album on the Epic label, *Lasso From El Paso*. (The song was originally titled "Asshole from El Paso," a parody of Merle Haggard's "Okie from Muskogee," but Epic required a title change before issuing the record.) On *Lasso*, Friedman had guest artists like Eric Clapton and Bob Dylan, having met Dylan and gone on his Rolling Thunder Revue tour the year before. Other important songs on his early albums include "Sold American," "Wild Man from Borneo," and "Homo Erectus." More recently, he has released *From One Good American to Another*, and a "greatest hits" compilation entitled *Old Testaments And New Revelations*.

Friedman spent several years living in a Greenwich Village loft in New York City. While there, he was a frequent performer at the Lone Star Cafe, a Texas-themed hangout in Manhattan. His act and a bit of his lifestyle are described in *No Laughing Matter*, by Joseph Heller and Speed Vogel, and *Thin Ice: A Season In Hell With The New York Rangers*, by his close friend Larry Sloman. In the early 1980s Friedman returned to the Echo Hill Ranch, eager to make a radical change in his life after seeing several friends die from drug-related causes. Back in Texas, Friedman began writing comic mystery novels, set in New York, with a fictionalized version of himself as the sleuth. He has published nearly one every year since 1986, with such memorable titles as *A Case of Lone Star* (1987), *Elvis, Jesus, and Coca-Cola* (1993), and *God Bless John Wayne* (1995). The fame resulting from his second career has helped create a renewed demand



### Kinky Friedman

for his recorded music, though he expresses little interest in performing again.

—David Lonergan

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## Friends

Six attractive, barely employed but financially comfortable Manhattanites in their twenties constituted the eponymous core of

*Friends*, the TV sitcom that burst onto NBC for the first time during the 1994-1995 season, and rocketed to instant, “must-see” popularity. Single young viewers, bored with sitcoms about family life, latched enthusiastically onto this group of pals in cute clothes and trendy haircuts, who spend much of their time sitting around in a coffee bar conversing and exchanging banter, and who treat each other like family. *Friends* is an ensemble show that appeared to have been directly modeled after the Fox sitcom *Living Single*, which began its run a year earlier and featured an almost identical premise except that the cast was African American.

Created by Marta Kauffman and David Crane, the group of friends is divided equally between the sexes. The girls are Monica Geller (Courteney Cox), a chef and a neatness freak, her old high school friend and roommate Rachel Green (Jennifer Aniston), and the flighty Phoebe Buffay (Lisa Kudrow). Phoebe is Monica’s college friend and a massage therapist and guitarist who plays at the coffee bar/hangout Central Perk. (her signature song is “Smelly Cat”). Rachel began the series by leaving her daddy’s financial support and her dentist fiancé at the altar to make it on her own. Monica’s slightly older brother Ross (David Schwimmer) is a well-meaning paleontologist whose wife divorced him upon realizing that she’s a lesbian; Ross’ college pal Chandler Bing (Matthew Perry) lives across the hall from Monica and is the smart-ass of the group, while his roommate Joey

Tribbiani (Matt LeBlanc) is a none-too-bright aspiring actor who completes the sextet.

The show's theme song, The Rembrandts' Beatle-esque "I'll Be There For You," is insidiously infectious, a suitable metaphor for the show itself. Each week, this clique of attractive idlers discusses life in general and relationships in particular, with the on-again, off-again romance between Ross and Rachel a recurrent theme, and an almost constant cliffhanger. Ross is wild about Rachel; so much so that, even at the altar about to marry Emily (Helen Baxendale) in 1998, Ross said, "I, Ross, take thee Rachel."

The best known cast member when the show started was Courteney Cox, who had made a few movies and was on *Family Ties* for a season as Michael J. Fox's girlfriend. She no doubt felt immediately at home with Matthew Perry's Chandler, whose comic timing and delivery is heavily reminiscent of Fox. And Lisa Kudrow's Phoebe appears to have borrowed most of her mannerisms from Teri Garr, who was brought on to play Phoebe's long lost mother briefly in 1997.

Cox, Aniston, Perry, LeBlanc, Kudrow, and Schwimmer all became household names as a result of *Friends*. Not only are they a beguiling and talented assembly, but the show has the weight of an incomparable publicity machine behind it, and these six people, together and separately, have appeared on the cover of almost every

entertainment magazine in the United States. All have tried to cultivate movie careers, with Aniston, by the late 1990s, having had the most success with big-screen ventures.

All the episode titles of *Friends* start with "The One with. . ." as in, "The One with the Embryos" and "The One with George Stephanopolous." Many critics might well name the whole series "The One with the Hairdos." No television show has influenced hairstyles as much as *Friends* has done, with variations on "the Rachel" still in evidence four years after the show premiered. The enormous popularity of the series spawned dozens of imitator shows in the 1990s, all of which featured attractive, witty young men and women hanging out together, but *Friends* had outlasted them all by the end of the decade. This can mostly be credited to the high standard of witty, imaginative and well-constructed scripts, which have helped garner critical acclaim and ratings success for a series that, by 1999, had received 14 Emmy nominations.

Notwithstanding its popularity and success, the series does have its share of vehement detractors. Certainly, not much happens on the show and the charm of its stars, along with the witty one-liners, is what carries it. For those who fail to find the *Friends* charming, there isn't much reason to tune in (but the same could be said of *Seinfeld*). Critics have maintained that the show bears no resemblance to reality, from the trouble these gorgeous people have finding love interests (so



(From left) Matt LeBlanc, Courteney Cox, Matthew Perry, Jennifer Aniston, and David Schwimmer.

much so that they seem to be turning to each other), to the one-dimensional nature of the characters, to the fact that no one ever seems to be working, and those who do, don't do it much. The fans answer that there are plenty of workplace comedies out there, but this show is about hanging out with your friends. And that's what the characters do—hang out with their friends.

—Karen Lurie

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## Frisbee

The Frisbee, a plastic flying disc, has been a required component of any American child's toy collection for most of the latter half of the twentieth century. It is widely believed that Ivy League students

began flinging and catching pie and cookie tins in the 1920s and 1930s, naming the practice "Frisbee-ing," after a local pie company. Wham-O Toy Company, producers of the Hula Hoop, began mass production of Frisbees in 1957.

An affordable and portable toy with no set rules, the Frisbee enjoyed a boom in sales and public familiarity in the anti-establishment atmosphere of the late 1960s. This new generation of Frisbee fans invented Frisbee Golf, Guts, and Ultimate Frisbee, but it was freestyle frisbee, with its behind-the-back and between-the-legs catches, trick throws, and leaping, Frisbee-catching dogs, that did the most for visibility of the growing sport. By the end of the twentieth century, over 50 colleges featured interscholastic Ultimate Frisbee teams, and Frisbee Golf courses peppered suburbs across the continent. And it was still a mark of pride among American youth to be able to fling a Frisbee straight and far.

—Colby Vargas

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A group of frisbee enthusiasts.

## Frizzell, Lefty (1928-1975)

One of country music's greatest vocal stylists, Lefty Frizzell's syllable-stretching, note bending style has influenced singers like Merle Haggard, George Jones, Willie Nelson, George Strait, and Randy Travis. Frizzell's meteoric rise to fame in country music may be unparalleled. Both sides of his first single ("If You've Got the Money I've Got the Time" b/w "I Love You a Thousand Ways") for Columbia Records in 1950 hit number one on the country charts, and at one point in 1951, he had four singles in the top ten. Largely because of his alcoholism and brushes with the law, Frizzell's career suffered ups and downs. From 1953 to 1958, though he continued to tour and record, he had no hits. In 1959 he staged a comeback with "Long Black Veil," followed a couple of years later by the number one hit "Saginaw Michigan." Lefty continued to work until his death from a stroke in 1975.

—Joyce Linehan

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## *From Here to Eternity*

First as a novel and then as a film, *From Here to Eternity* enjoyed enormous critical and popular success in the early 1950s. The novel, the first published work of James Jones, is a long and powerful fictional treatment of the United States Army climaxing with the December 7, 1941, Japanese attack on U. S. military installations at Pearl Harbor. The bulk of Jones's novel relentlessly exposes the exploitation of enlisted men by a cynical officer class. Its naturalistic descriptions of an inhumanly brutal stockade constitute some of the most harrowing passages in American fiction. Still, the novel is, to a large degree, a kind of elegy for the sustaining camaraderie among enlisted men as well as for the sanctuary that the army offered the economically destitute during the Great Depression. It is then a unique variation on proletarian fiction with officers equated to corrupt capitalists and enlisted men to oppressed workers. Jones's book was awarded the National Book Award for 1952, received overwhelmingly favorable reviews, and became a sensational best-seller (in no small part because of an elaborate publicity campaign by its publisher, Scribner's). The novel's two central characters, Robert E. Lee Prewitt, a boxer and bugler of unusual talent and unyielding principles, and Sergeant Milton Anthony Warden, also a man of integrity but a master manipulator and covert enemy of the officer class as well, are exceptionally well realized.

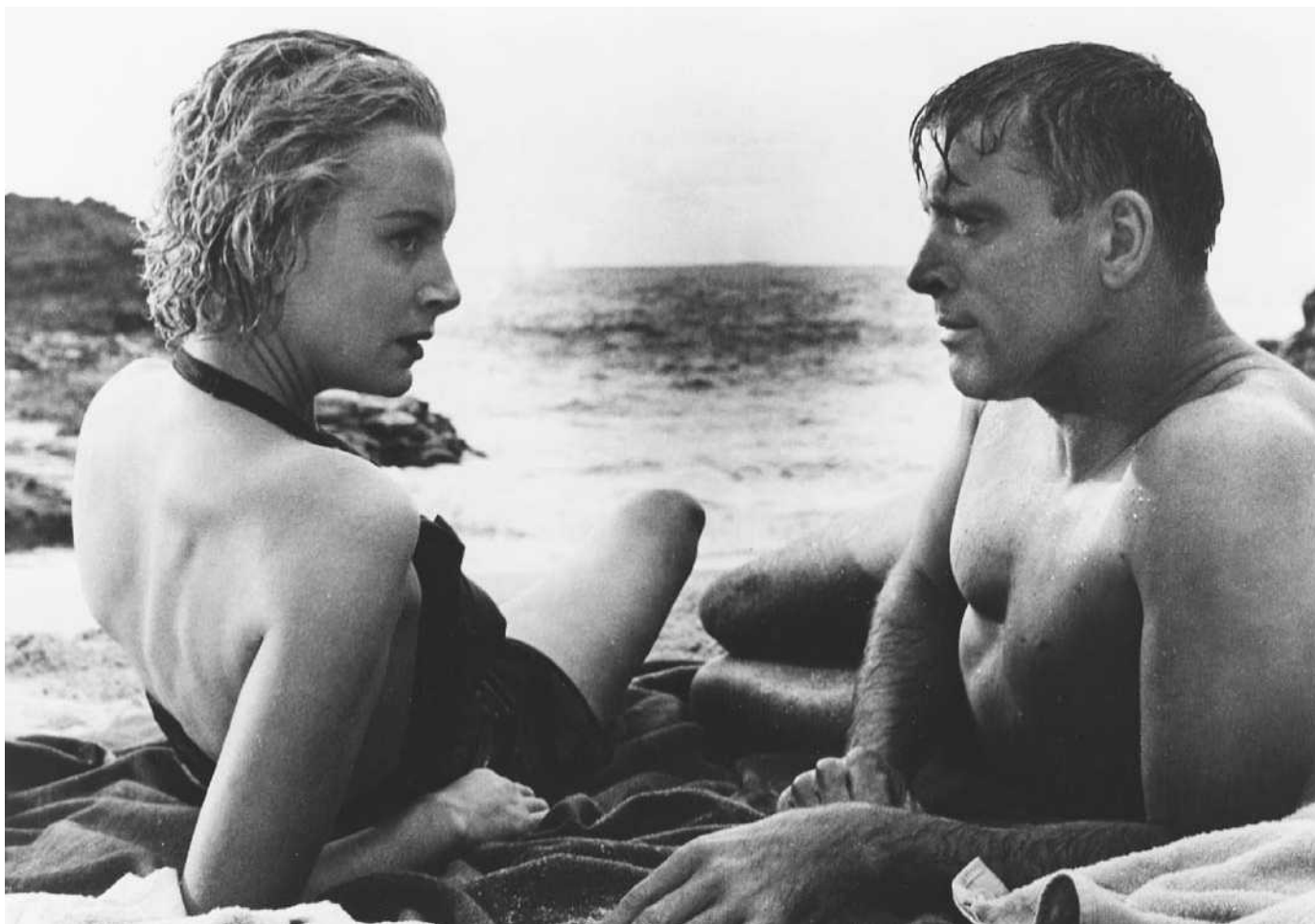
Largely because of its unrelenting expose of the corrupt officer class in the old peacetime army and the frankness of its treatment of sexuality, *From Here to Eternity* benefitted, in its popular success, from the public's appetite for sensationalism. These two motifs are carefully intertwined in Jones's text. For instance, Warden sets out to seduce Karen Holmes, the allegedly promiscuous wife of his corrupt commanding officer, merely as a political statement but quickly finds himself falling in love with her. Prewitt, after being forced to desert the army following a horrendous experience in the stockade during which he experiences physical torture and sees another soldier die at

the hands of Sergeant "Fatso" Judson, seeks refuge with his prostitute girlfriend, Alma Schmidt, who has taken the professional name of Lorene. The novel contains a comically graphic scene in the brothel where Alma works and in which Prewitt finds relief from the endless harassment which he is receiving at the direct orders of Lieutenant "Dynamite" Holmes. In the scene, Prewitt is accompanied by the only friend that he has in C Company, Private Angelo Maggio, an enormously likeable but recklessly defiant young man from Brooklyn.

Despite (or because of) the novel's sensational elements, producer Harry Cohn of Columbia Pictures eagerly purchased the rights to film it and hired Jones, who had by then become something of a celebrity (partly because of extensive coverage in *Life* magazine) to write the screenplay. Cohn also acquired the services of Fred Zinnemann, the acclaimed director of *High Noon* and other successful films. Jones's screenplay was rejected in favor of a subsequent effort by film writer Daniel Taradash. Because of the novel's emphasis upon memorable characters, Cohn and Zinnemann realized that casting would be a crucial element in the success of their final work. In this, they were to be extremely fortunate. For the crucial role of Prewitt, Cohn initially pushed for actor Aldo Ray, but ultimately yielded to Zinnemann's insistence upon the casting of Montgomery Clift, whose ability to project a threatened sensitivity had been established in such films as George Stevens's *A Place in the Sun* (1951). Burt Lancaster and relative film newcomer Ernest Borgnine were easy choices to portray Sergeant Milt Warden and "Fatso" Judson, but the casting of the two female roles surprised many Hollywood observers. Initially, Joan Crawford was chosen to play Holmes, but she withdrew from the project before filming began and was replaced by Deborah Kerr, unquestionably a fine actress, but one best-known for portraying genteel and sometimes aloof characters. The choice of Donna Reed for the role of Alma was unexpected for comparable reasons. Even though the script overtly made her a dance-hall hostess instead of a prostitute, the character's original identity as conceived by Jones in his novel was more than implied; and Reed was known for such "wholesome" performances as the wife of James Stewart in Frank Capra's *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946). The process of choosing the actor to play Angelo Maggio became the stuff of Hollywood and pop legend. Then at the nadir of his career as a singer, Frank Sinatra, who had read Jones's novel and identified with Maggio, campaigned tirelessly for the part and was somewhat reluctantly given it. This episode would be fictionalized by Mario Puzo in his novel *The Godfather*.

Taradash's screenplay downplayed Jones's depiction of military corruption. For instance, the corrupt Captain "Dynamite" Holmes is exposed and disgraced in the film, when Jones's novel last shows him rising higher in the military command; and the stockade sadism is largely kept offscreen. Still, the finished film, released in 1953, captured much of the novel's emotional power primarily because of Zinnemann's directing and the exceptional performances of his cast. Critics Pauline Kael and Michael Gebert have correctly observed that Clift's inspired interpretation of Prewitt is the real heart of the film and is so intense as to be almost unbearable at times. Lancaster and Kerr are exceptional in playing off each other, and a scene in which, dressed in bathing suits, they kiss while lying on a beach with the waves splashing over them is probably the movie's best-known single image (ironically the scene does not exist in the novel). Sinatra, Reed, and Borgnine are perfect in their secondary roles.

Not surprisingly, the film gathered a number of major awards. Out of thirteen Academy Award nominations, it won eight, including



Deborah Kerr and Burt Lancaster in a scene from the film *From Here to Eternity*.

best picture, Zinnemann as best director, Taradash for writing, and Sinatra and Reed as supporting actor and actress (Clift, Lancaster, and Kerr were also nominated). It also received the best picture award from the New York Film Critics Circle, and Zinnemann was named the year's best director by that organization and by the Directors Guild of America. In 1953, much of the film's power originated in its being filmed in black and white in a technicolor-dominated age. This deliberately anachronistic approach achieved the realistic effect that Zinnemann wanted.

Both as novel and as film, *From Here to Eternity* occupies an important place in American culture. In the conformist and sexually repressive 1950s, its advocacy of oppressed enlisted men and its frank depiction of their sexual hunger seemed daring and even revolutionary. Some of the images from the film (Lancaster and Kerr on the beach, Montgomery Clift playing "Taps" for the dead Frank Sinatra) are indelibly engraved on the consciousness of a generation of moviegoers; and Jones's novel remains perhaps the best fictional treatment of the U.S. Army. Despite its considerable length, it was, in fact, conceived by Jones as the first volume in an "Army trilogy," the last two volumes of which appeared as *The Thin Red Line* (1962) and *Whistle* (published posthumously in 1978).

—James R. Giles

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## Frost, Robert (1874-1963)

The image of Robert Frost nurtured by most Americans is of a white-haired, rustic saint writing poems about the mellow glories of nature and the pastoral idylls of New England rural life. When not shining in this bucolic light, he glows with a patriotic aura as America's Poet Laureate reading his work at the inauguration of John F. Kennedy, presaging through his presence the imminent wonders promised by the young president's election. But this idealistic image of Frost was more the product of marketing by the poet himself than a true reflection of any innate homespun charm. Frost was, indeed, a great poet, but he was also a bitter, egotistical writer who resented the late recognition of his genius. To understand how he came to be both the great poet and bitter man requires foraging in the woods of his life.

Robert Frost was born in San Francisco, California, on March 26, 1874, the son of William Prescott Frost and Isabelle Moodie. Frost's father was a journalist whose drinking habits led to an early death by tuberculosis at age 34 in 1885. After his death, Frost's mother moved the family to Massachusetts, where Frost graduated as one of two valedictorians in 1892 from Lawrence High School. His co-valedictorian was his future wife, Elinor Miriam White. After high school, Frost enrolled at Dartmouth College, while Elinor attended St. Lawrence. Frost left Dartmouth early, unable to contain his bouts of jealousy over Elinor's refusal to leave her studies and marry him. After Elinor graduated in 1895, she took a teaching position at the school Frost's mother had started and shortly afterwards married Frost. Frost at the time worked as a teacher and reporter, publishing



Robert Frost

what little poetry could get past the stodgily Victorian editors who ruled the world of American letters. The Frosts started bearing children shortly after their marriage, increasing the pressure on Frost to make good on his own evolving opinion of himself as a poet worth serious consideration. Financial strains were eased when Frost's grandfather let the entire family reside at Derry Farm in New Hampshire. (The farm was shortly afterwards bequeathed, with a small annuity, to the still growing family.)

By 1907, Frost had six children and still no steady form of income beyond the annuity. On October 23, 1912, Frost left America for England, fed up with the obtuseness of the American poetry establishment. In England, he discovered an entirely new and altogether exciting world of letters. There were the modernist giants—Ezra Pound, T. S. Eliot, Ford Maddox Ford, William Butler Yeats—fashioning with great broad strokes a new poetic reality. Frost published his first book of poetry, *A Boy's Will*, in April 1913, which was favorably reviewed in Ezra Pound's *Poetry* within a month. Many of the poems featured in *A Boy's Will* had been written during Frost's years at Derry Farm, as were the poems in his next two works, *North of Boston* (1914) and *Mountain Interval* (1916). *North of Boston* offered some of Frost's best work, including "After Apple-Picking" and "The Wood-Pile," while *Mountain Interval* featured "The Road Not Taken" and "An Old Man's Winter Night."

Frost returned to the United States after the publication of *North of Boston* to resounding critical praise. He was named Phi Beta Kappa Poet by Tufts University and a few years later at Harvard as well. His election to the National Institute of Arts and Letters and appointment as a professor at Amherst College assured the recognition he had always craved and the income he and his family had to do without for so long. In 1922, he received his first of four Pulitzer Prizes for poetry with his collection *New Hampshire*, which included "Fire and Ice," "Two Witches," and his most famous work, "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening." Five years later *West-Running Brook* appeared, again to high praise, but featuring, as did *New Hampshire*, individual poems with a decidedly political cast. In 1930, he received his second Pulitzer Prize for *Collected Poems of Robert Frost*, while in 1936 a third was awarded for the much more openly political *A Further Range*. Yet despite the obvious compliment implied in winning a third Pulitzer, *A Further Range* drew fire from major literary critics such as Newton Arvin and R.P. Blackmur for Frost's conservative overtones, which ran contrary to the general political feeling during the Great Depression.

In 1942, Frost received his fourth and last Pulitzer Prize for poetry. The collection responsible was *A Witness Tree*, which included "Beech," "The Most of It," "November," and the poem he would read at Kennedy's inauguration 20 years later, "The Gift Outright." Afterwards, Frost was never quite the same as a poet, despite the occasional powerful lyric. *Steeple Bush* (1947), *A Masque of Mercy* (1947), *A Masque of Reason* (1948), and *In the Clearing* (1962) were themselves vitiated by a writer whose creative genius had run its course and whose destiny appeared for the final 20 years of his life to be one of putting out collections of his earlier poetry and racking up all of the remaining accolades except the one he desired most, the Nobel Prize for literature.

Frost's genius emanated in large part from his conscious decision during the modernist era not to follow the lead of his fellow poets and experiment with *vers libre*. Frost's poems were thematically and metrically unified by his belief in the idea—shared by other American modernists like Wallace Stevens—that the chaos of reality is given order by the extension of the perceiver's will. A cross between the

stoic naturalism of Jack London and Frank Norris and the Americanized Nietzscheanism of William James and John Dewey, Frost's poetry illustrates the ways in which the decaying effects of nature are held at bay by the forms into which we mold our understanding of our environment. As a result, Frost integrates the formal rigidities of blank verse and sonnet with a distinctly regional coloration that depends heavily on the use of common speech, standard word order, and metaphors grounded in natural events. Although, like other contemporaries, Frost saw in free verse an opportunity to retreat from the high diction of earlier poetical traditions, the chaotic freedom of its metrical format could not accommodate a personal philosophy that saw the economy and rhythm of poetry as an instrument for taming the uncertainties of lived reality. Thus in a poem like "Nothing Gold Can Stay," it is the simple rhyme scheme that staves off the decay of nature. Or consider his "Once by the Pacific," which attempts to contain the dark irony of the inherent destructiveness of nature in a highly structured metrical format. Even "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening" manages to restrain the suicidal intensity of the narrator's tone, rhythmically counterbalancing his response to the woods "lovely, dark and deep" with the "promises" left "to keep." Frost's dark vision may belie the idyllic sweetness that has grown up around the image of him, but in many ways they represent far more closely the anxieties he sought to capture of the American spirit seeking to understand the limits of freedom and the wisest use of it.

—Bennett Lovett-Graff

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## Frosty the Snowman

Frosty the Snowman has entertained American children during the winter holidays since his creation in 1950. Frosty originated in the song, "Frosty the Snowman," by Steve Nelson and Jack Rollins which then inspired the Golden Book of 1951 adapted by Annie North Bedford and illustrated by Corine Malverne. The song and book tell of a snowman that comes alive and takes the children who created it on sledding and ice-skating adventures. But Frosty melts when he and the children go to the village to see the shop windows. Golden Books kept Frosty popular for later generations with an animated video narrated by Jimmy Durante (1969). For half a century, the song has

been included on Christmas albums by popular performers. The concept was also used in *Jack Frost* (1998), a motion picture starring Michael Keaton as a deceased father who comes back to life in the snowman built by his children.

—Sharon Brown

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## Frozen Entrées

Frozen entrées, appetizing or otherwise, came to revolutionize the social culture of America and, in due course, the entire First World. Although the science of quick freezing had its beginnings early in the century, by the 1950s, the development of the process and the successful marketing of frozen food products came both to reflect and advance wider changes in working, family, and social habits. Despite the criticism that has always attached to frozen cuisine by those of more discerning palates, convenience has triumphed over considerations of taste in sufficient quantity to support a massive frozen food industry. By the end of the twentieth century, these "instant meals" had become an accepted constituent of American domestic life.

People who lived in harsh winter conditions with access to ice and snow, had always slow-frozen foods as a means of preserving them. Slow freezing, however, causes irreparable harm to the cellular structure of organic material, making it barely edible when thawed out. Clarence Birdseye was the first to accomplish quick-freezing, inspired by his work as a naturalist and then a fur trader in Montana from 1910 to 1917. When Birdseye noticed that fish caught at temperatures of 50 degrees below zero froze almost immediately, and upon being thawed, were still fresh and tasty, he was inspired to develop his own quick-freezing techniques. He first employed these in 1924, freezing fish, fruits, and vegetables. He had two methods: to chill foods by means of a very cold (-40 to -45 degrees) calcium chlorate solution, or, through the vaporization of ammonia, to chill foods to -25 degrees. The other important component of successful quick-freezing, Birdseye discovered, was to encase the food in protective packaging before freezing it, and thus to protect it from the deleterious effects of direct contact with the cold.

In 1929, the Postum Company (founded by C. W. Post) bought Birdseye's frozen haddock factory and became General Foods. The first line of Birdseye frozen foods, which included peas, spinach, raspberries, cherries, meats, and fish appeared in 1930, but struggled to catch on in the marketplace for several reasons. The public was inclined to view the frozen foods with suspicion, considering that they were inferior in quality and fit only for institutional use, or even that they had been accidentally exposed to cold and then resold as "frozen." In addition, during the 1930s fewer than half of Americans had iceboxes or electric refrigerators, and fewer still had mechanical freezers in which to store frozen food. The first dual-compartment, dual-temperature refrigerator came on the market in 1939, promising greater success for frozen foods, but World War II forced appliance manufacturers to turn their production efforts toward war materials instead.



The end of the war brought a boom in retail manufacturing and sales, and also a new American ethos that began to value convenience over quality. General Foods had offered a few frozen dinners, such as Irish stew, in the 1930s, but the post-war culture saw a great expansion in frozen dinner lines. In 1945 Maxson Food Systems, Inc. introduced “Strato-Plates,” individual frozen meals on trays for both military and civilian airplane passengers. In 1951 Swanson came up with Pot Pies, and followed these with their mass-marketed “TV Dinners” in 1955. A turkey dinner with cornbread dressing, gravy, peas, and sweet potatoes comprised their first offering and sold for about one dollar. Roast beef, fried chicken, Salisbury steak, and ham with raisin sauce quickly followed as additional entrée choices. Other companies eventually joined in the trend, among them Stouffer, Banquet, and On-Core. According to *Consumer Reports*, “By 1959 frozen dinners had become the best-selling of all frozen food items, outstripping the ever-popular meat pot pie.” Americans bought 70 million dinners in 1955, 214 million in 1960, and an incredible two billion in 1994.

The first frozen dinners came in compartmentalized aluminum trays which held meat, vegetables, a starch (usually mashed potatoes), and dessert. The entire meal was baked in an oven anywhere from 45 minutes to two hours. These dinners represented a revolution in food preservation technology and, more significantly, a change in American eating patterns. The frozen dinner meant that American family members no longer had to eat the same thing at the same time; and the American housewife did not have to cook it. Children and husbands could prepare frozen dinners, and they could be eaten in front of the television on “TV trays,” rather than at the dining room table. Further, people were no longer tied to the seasons or regions for their choice of food—quick-freezing meant that they could have any meat, fruit, or vegetable at any time.

Swanson launched the “Hungry Man’s Dinner” in 1972, appealing to those who wanted larger quantities of meat and potatoes. During the 1970s the company also changed its product name from the “TV Dinner”—which had become a generic term in the American vocabulary—to the “Frozen Dinner.” The 1980s saw an influx of new products. Individual dinners were broken up into individual components, with “frozen entrées” overtaking dinners in popularity. In 1986, the four-section aluminum tray had been superseded by plastic serving dishes, which could be placed in the microwave oven for quicker heating. These contained more specialized meals to suit various palates and dietary needs, and by 1990, 651 new entrées came on the market, compared with 55 dinners that same year. Companies introduced ethnic cuisine, pizzas, gourmet meals, side dishes, cakes, and pies. Lean Cuisine, Budget Gourmet, Le Menu, Weight Watchers, and Healthy Choice were among the main market competitors producing these ranges.

For all the apparent variety that frozen entrées offer, people generally agree that the food is mediocre at best. Meats contain fillers and constitute only a small percentage of the total food in the dinner, while vegetables taste bland and too often need the addition of salt. Nonetheless, with the development of domestic technologies, leading to the widespread popularity of freezers and microwave ovens in the home, attitudes to eating have changed. Where once the evening dinner was a requisite social activity that reinforced familial bonds, by the 1990s people were content to eat their own individual meals alone, sacrificing taste and conviviality for standardization and convenience.

—Wendy Woloson

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## Fu Manchu

First introduced to western reading audiences in 1913 by Sax Rohmer (pseudonym of Arthur Sarsfield Wade, 1883-1959), Fu Manchu quickly became considered the quintessential sinister Chinese villain. Featured in over a dozen books, Fu Manchu used blackmail, kidnapping, and murder in his efforts to achieve world domination. The popularity of Fu Manchu increased when the character with the long face, goatee, and wispy mustache hit the silver screen (1920s), radio airwaves (1920s-30s), comic books (1930s), and television (1950s). Since his creation, Fu Manchu has become a damaging stereotype for Asians, suggesting that they are inscrutable and evil. Fu Manchu has also become the name for a style of beard (goatee and thin mustache), and a popular California rock band that released its first album in 1990.

—Midori Takagi

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## The Fugitive

A man wrongly convicted of the murder of his wife escapes the train taking him to death row. He wanders America in search of the real killer, a one-armed man, pursued by the lieutenant who investigated the murder and lost the prisoner. This was the story of the ABC television drama *The Fugitive*. The saga of Dr. Richard Kimble and Lt. Gerard, a mix of *Les Misérables* and a real life case, produced not only the highest rated television series broadcast of the 1960s, but also a hit movie and a sequel in the 1990s.

The series first aired September 17, 1963. Roy Huggins, who had created *Maverick* and would co-create *The Rockford Files*, devised *The Fugitive* based heavily on the Victor Hugo novel *Les Misérables*, with Lt. Gerard based on Inspector Javert, the indefatigable pursuer. But *The Fugitive* was also inspired by the real-life case of Dr. Sam Shepard, who was sentenced to prison for killing his wife after a sensational trial. He always maintained someone else had killed his wife and in fact he was later acquitted after winning a new trial. (The appeal, based on the circuslike atmosphere of the original trial, went to the United States Supreme Court and launched the career of F. Lee Bailey. Shepard died a few years after his release, tarnished



David Janssen, star of the television show *The Fugitive*.

by the case. His son is still trying to have the state of Ohio pardon his father, due to the fact that later DNA testing of blood evidence indicates that Shepard may not have been the murderer.)

Huggins devised the basic plot, explained in the opening narration of each episode. Dr. Richard Kimble, convicted of killing his wife, was riding to prison on a train, shackled to Lt. Gerard. Kimble was still insisting a one-armed man killed his wife. The train crashed, Kimble was thrown clear, and escaped. Dyeing his hair, changing his name, he traveled America, working a series of odd jobs and intruding on guest stars' crises, always eluding Lt. Gerard. David Janssen, with his world-weary manner and voice, played Kimble; Barry Morse showed up several times a season as Gerard. Bill Raisch played the one-armed man. The series trademark was actor William Conrad's dramatic voiceover in the title sequence, explaining the backstory, and announcing "The Fugitive—A QM Production." (QM stood for producer Quinn Martin). The series won an Emmy for best Drama in 1965-66 (its only nomination), and Janssen was nominated several times for best actor (1963-64, 1964-65, and 1966-67).

In 1967, ABC cancelled the series and producers decided to go out with a flourish, wrapping up the story in a two-part episode airing at the very end of *The Fugitive*'s last season. The final episode, airing August 29, 1967, had Kimble corner the one-armed man and Gerard arrive in time to hear the man confess. Conrad read the closing narration, "August 29. The day the running stopped." The episode was the most viewed episode of a regular series until that time and its 72 percent share of the viewing audience stood as a landmark until the "Who Shot JR?" resolution episode of *Dallas*. Ironically, the show's famous ending was said to have worked against it. While ABC ran

daytime repeats of the series the following year (April 1967 to March 1968), the series was never a big hit in syndication.

In the 1990s, with the burgeoning market for revivals of old TV series, *The Fugitive* seemed to be a natural, despite the death of Janssen. It took a while to get off the ground, but the movie finally made it to the screen in August 1993. Dr. Richard Kimble became a top-notch surgeon in Chicago, whose wife is murdered by a one-armed man as part of a plot to cover up a medical company's corruption. Again, Kimble escapes in a spectacular train crash. However, he's hunted by a federal officer this time, U.S. Marshal Sam Gerard, who has no connection with the case (and, famously, when Kimble insists "I didn't kill my wife" responds, "I don't care").

The movie focused on Kimble's efforts to track the one-armed man while Gerard and his oddball team try to track Kimble. Gerard investigates the crime in an effort to find Kimble, but he uncovers more and more evidence that Kimble didn't commit the crime until, like the original Gerard, he is on Kimble's side when he confronts the villain. The presence of Harrison Ford as Kimble, plus the taut script, made the movie a hit, but it was Tommy Lee Jones as Gerard who stole the show, and the Oscar and Golden Globe for Best Supporting Actor. The film's other Oscar nominations were for Best Picture, Sound Effects Editing, Film Editing, Original Score, and Sound.

After much wrangling over whether Ford would be back for the inevitable sequel, it was Jones and his ragtag team who made it to the 1998 sequel, *U.S. Marshals*, in which they sought another fugitive.

—Michele Lellouche

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## Fuller, Buckminster (1895-1983)

Best known as the inventor of the Geodesic Dome, engineer, architect, inventor, and philosopher Buckminster Fuller epitomized old-fashioned American know-how, and was an apostle of the democratizing possibilities of technology. Convinced his inventions and designs might prove the salvation of the human race, for more than 50 years the diminutive autodidact talked a blue streak, tirelessly lecturing to audiences around the world, all the while churning out a seemingly endless procession of designs and elaborations on earlier designs. Circumnavigating the globe twice in the year of his death, he went to his grave convinced of the efficacy of these beliefs—that one day, his inventions would revolutionize human life.

Born to an illustrious New England family, Richard Buckminster Fuller (nicknamed Bucky as a child, an appellation he would never outgrow) was an awkward child with poor eyesight and mismatched legs requiring the insertion of a lift in one shoe. His physical defects were countered with a precocious intelligence and startling perspicacity, abetted, in fact, by his poor eyesight, which taught him not to trust overly the verity of physical appearances. A late bloomer, Bucky twice was sent down from Harvard, and at nineteen his family apprenticed him to a Canadian cotton mill.

In 1922, Fuller was again out of work when his four-year-old daughter, Alexandra, died, victim to the postwar influenza epidemic. Fuller would later credit this event with sparking his interest in

housing, becoming obsessed with the part drafty houses played in spreading the contagion. As a salesman for his father-in-law's company, selling a new building technique, he rose to vice president before his father-in-law sold his shares and Fuller was let go. Contemplating suicide on the shores of Lake Michigan, a "private vision" spoke to Fuller, saying, "You do not have the right to eliminate yourself. You do not belong to you. You belong to the universe." Like Saul's vision on the road to Damascus, this experience galvanized Fuller into action.

He removed his small family (a second daughter having been born in 1927) to a Chicago tenement, beginning a year of intense introspection. Fuller devoured books at a fantastic rate and emerged from his year of unceasing cerebration the author of an impenetrable thirty-thousand-word essay alternately titled "4-D" or "Timelock," and designer of a mass-produced house, also called 4-D. The former was privately published and sent out to two hundred notables, many of whom professed incomprehension. The latter, whose patent application had been turned down, was presented as a gift to the American Institute of Architects, who imperiously rejected it, saying they could not endorse "pea in a pod" designs.

Fuller was nothing if not resolute. He spent the 1930s refining his Dymaxion house design—interrupted by three years devoted to a revolutionary but flawed vehicle called, fittingly enough, the "Dymaxion car." Frequently, he wrote about technology for *Fortune* magazine and published his own journal, *Shelter*. During World War II, Fuller served under Henry J. Kaiser on the Board of Economic Warfare and used his position to promote the Dymaxion house. In 1944, he submitted a proposal to Kaiser in which he craftily combined the exigencies of economic conversion with the anticipated housing shortage brought on by the legions of returning vets. His solution was to refit aircraft manufacturing to mass-produce his house, using the same light-weight duralumin used to manufacture planes. Kaiser thought enough of the idea to finance its development. The 1946 Wichita house, produced at Beech Aircraft's Wichita facility, was the first successful application of Fuller's precepts, anticipating the mass-produced suburbs of the 1950s. Some 60,000 houses were ordered, but Fuller insisted on further refinements, and in his intransigence, he lost his backers; Fuller Houses, Inc., dissolved into nothingness.

This failure drove him into the world of academia. Always loquacious, the job of lecturer was perfectly suited to Fuller and gave him the opportunity to refine his ideas without the fickle backing of industry. He moved from university to university, and while in residence at the now-famous experimental Black Mountain College, Fuller built his first Geodesic Dome. It was made from vinyl louvers and collapsed within seconds of erection. But in 1949, Fuller received a patent for the Geodesic Dome and founded Geodesics, Inc. He received royalties for each dome built, so for the first time in his life, Fuller was free from economic woes. He could devote more time to what he called "thinking out loud." Traveling incessantly, circling the globe so often he was given to wearing five watches at a time, Fuller would talk to audiences for four or five hours at a stretch.

By the 1960s, he had become a counterculture legend, the messiah of modern technology, and film exists of the diminutive Bucky, with his thick glasses, close-shorn white hair, and conservative, three-piece suits, lecturing to auditoriums full of ecstatic hippies. His commission for the 1967 Montreal Expo, and perhaps his crowning achievement, was a magnificent seventy-six-meter-wide dome encased in transparent plastic tiles; it was photographed endlessly, gracing magazine covers worldwide. One visitor wrote: "Inside the dome the walls start going away from you . . . suddenly you realize the walls are not really there . . . And it was not done according

to the aesthetics of architecture as it had been practiced up to then. It was done simply in terms of doing the most with the least."

For the rest of his life, Fuller refined and expanded upon the implications of this idea. Martin Pawley writes, "Fuller had converted the Bauhaus epigram 'Less is more' into its Dymaxion derivative 'More for less.'" The domes themselves were the first link in this thought-chain; tensegrity, a building application utilizing continuous tension/discontinuous compression, was a further refinement. Tensegrity made building structures of enormous size and tensile strength—for instance, a three-kilometer dome that could enclose a part of Manhattan—a possibility. Fuller published elaborate schemata for these and other ideas verging upon science fiction. He envisioned enormous housing developments, self-sufficient islands set offshore, or kilometer-high pyramids, one of which he imagined as replacing a blighted Harlem. Fuller had logged out a logarithm of human need, and he would follow its varied implications to their logical conclusions. In 1983, he collapsed and died at his wife's bedside; she died thirty-six hours later.

From his "silent year" in Chicago onward, Fuller had worked ceaselessly for the betterment of mankind, seeing in his creations the means to realize a more equitable society. But outside of certain limited applications, (the Geodesic Dome house enjoyed a brief vogue with hippies, although industrial applications have proved more enduring), Fuller's inventions failed to revolutionize modern culture. The philosophical underpinnings of his inventions (altruism, ephemeralization, mass housing) remained unpopular ideas—if intermittently expedient. But Fuller saw his creations as part of the evolutionary process, envisioning that his revolutionary designs would inevitably supplant conventional architecture. One day history may prove him correct.

—Michael Baers

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## Fundamentalism

The emergence, growth, and entrenchment of fundamentalism as an active ideological stance in the course of the twentieth century became a major source of social and cultural controversy within the United States. As the twentieth century began, the effects of modernism and secularism on American culture produced a growing sense of alarm among conservative Protestants, who believed that these innovations threatened to undermine the traditional values and moral authority of evangelical Christianity. They responded by reasserting their unyielding commitment to certain fundamental beliefs, such as the divine authorship and literal truth of the Bible, and by working to

ensure the survival of those beliefs in American institutions and public life. By the 1920s, this movement came to be known as fundamentalism, and, since that time, its views have permeated swathes of the social and cultural fabric of America. The fundamentalists' stand against innovations in theology and their strict adherence to Biblical doctrine have repeatedly placed them in conflict with mainstream trends in American popular culture—not only in religion, but in the realms of education, politics, entertainment, and the arts. In resisting such trends, fundamentalists have also engaged in various forms of activism, from public demonstration to political organization, and in the process have made their influence felt throughout American society.

The fundamentalist movement originated within the evangelical Protestant churches, particularly among Baptists and Presbyterians. An emphasis on revivalism and the conversion experience had contributed to the rapid growth of the evangelical churches during the 1800s, and by the end of the century they defined the mainstream of religious life in the United States. As they grew, however, these groups found it increasingly difficult to maintain a denominational consensus on certain theological issues. One major source of controversy was the doctrine of biblical inerrancy, which asserted that the Bible is literally true in every detail. Liberal adherents of the evangelical churches gradually abandoned this doctrine, arguing that the Bible must be reinterpreted within the context of contemporary thought. In their view, for example, the biblical account of creation could not be taken literally because it conflicted with the findings of modern science. Conservatives, on the other hand, rejected modernist revisions of the meaning of scripture, holding to the idea that the Bible contains factual truth, and believing that to say otherwise undermined the certainties of their faith.

Another important controversy developed around the doctrine of dispensational millennialism, which became widely accepted among conservative Protestants late in the 1800s. According to this doctrine, human history comprises a series of distinct eras, or dispensations. During each dispensation, humanity is subjected to a divine test which it ultimately fails, resulting in a catastrophic event such as the banishment from Eden, the Flood of Genesis, or the crucifixion of Christ. Dispensational millennialism asserts that the end of the next-to-last dispensation is approaching, and will be followed by the final dispensation, the "Millennial Age," during which Christ will rule on earth for a thousand years. Although this doctrine was not universally accepted by conservatives, it became a major theme in the thinking of key fundamentalist leaders during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, clearly setting them apart from moderate and liberal Protestants who, by this time, had begun to de-emphasize the supernatural aspects of Christian belief.

As these theological controversies developed, liberals and conservatives within the evangelical Protestant denominations found themselves increasingly at odds with one another. Both sides tried to ensure that their point of view would define their denomination's policies and statements of faith; as a result, bitter disputes developed within several of the larger Protestant groups. Some of the evangelical denominations actually experienced little conflict, because one side or the other dominated their membership so thoroughly. The widespread acceptance of modernist theology by Congregationalists, for example, precluded extensive debate within that group, as did, conversely, the widespread rejection of modernism by the Southern Baptists. But within other groups, such as the Northern Baptists, Northern Presbyterians, and Disciples of Christ, the diversity of beliefs led to serious conflict. In each of these denominations,

however, fundamentalists in the end lacked the numbers needed to ensure that their views would prevail. Realizing that the spread of modernism had made it impossible for them to take control of these groups, the fundamentalist faction within each split off from its parent body to start a new denomination.

The fundamentalists' failure to control most of the large evangelical denominations did not deter them from promoting their views. They established a variety of programs and organizations that focused on advancing the fundamentalist cause outside of the existing structure of Protestant denominations. An early example of these non-denominational efforts was the publication of a series of booklets, entitled *The Fundamentals*, which described and justified various conservative theological positions. Distributed to religious leaders, students, and pastors throughout the English-speaking world, these booklets helped spread the fundamentalist message, and provided the source of the fundamentalist movement's name. Fundamentalists also established dozens of non-denominational Bible institutes and colleges during the early twentieth century, in part to provide clergy for the many independent fundamentalist churches organized during this period. And as the century progressed, fundamentalists became very active in religious broadcasting, which enabled them to disseminate their beliefs to much larger audiences than they could reach within the confines of their own congregations.

While developing its own institutional structure, the fundamentalist movement adopted an increasingly oppositional stance with respect to contemporary culture, and began to develop strategies to reform American society. The first major issue raised by the fundamentalists in this context was the teaching of scientific concepts that contradicted traditional interpretations of the Bible. They focused in particular on the teaching of evolution in public schools and universities, which they sought to ban either by legislation or through the regulations of local school districts. Anti-evolution laws were subsequently enacted in a number of states, primarily in the South where the influence of fundamentalism was greatest. The controversy surrounding these laws became widely publicized during a celebrated case in Tennessee, the so-called Scopes Monkey Trial, in which biology teacher John Scopes was tried in 1925 for violating the state ban on teaching Darwin's theory of evolution. Although this event provided a forum for one of the most eloquent supporters of the fundamentalist position, William Jennings Bryan, it also subjected fundamentalists to widespread criticism and ridicule in the national and international press, perhaps most notably by columnist H. L. Mencken. As a result, the movement lost much of its credibility, and became increasingly alienated from the mainstream of American popular culture.

Following their defeats within the mainstream denominations and in the public debate over the teaching of evolution, fundamentalists entered a period of withdrawal and consolidation. Rather than attempting to reform society at large, they concentrated on building a separate structure of religious institutions consisting of Bible colleges and institutes, non-denominational fundamentalist churches, independent missionary organizations, revival meetings, and the like. They also became increasingly involved in religious broadcasting, first in radio and then television. Televangelism provided an especially effective outlet for the fundamentalists' efforts to expand their base of support. By enabling them to operate outside traditional institutional structures, it gave them a means of addressing new, untapped audiences as well as their existing followers. The broadcast media also suited the preaching style of many of the leading fundamentalist evangelists, who relied heavily on their personal charisma. Through

such efforts, fundamentalism remained an active if unobtrusive force within American culture during the 1950s and 1960s.

A conservative turn in American politics during the 1970s gave fundamentalists a new opportunity to bring their agenda before the public. Through movements such as the Moral Majority and the Christian Coalition, fundamentalists became extensively involved in political action during the 1970s and 1980s, and formed the core of the “new religious right.” Although the religious right supported a range of conservative positions on policy issues, the fundamentalists’ primary goal was again to reform American society by addressing issues of faith and morality. They were especially concerned with trends that appeared either to undermine traditional religious belief or to limit the traditional role of religion in American life. They again confronted the issue of the teaching of evolution in public schools, now cast as a conflict between Darwinian theory and creationism, a defense of the Biblical account of creation presented in scientific terms; and in a number of locales, primarily in the South and West, they succeeded in influencing curricular policies, although not to the point of banning evolution from science classes. Their concern with the public role of religion not only involved them most directly in the effort to restore prayer to the public schools, but also engaged them in the debates over a variety of social issues and public policy that they believed should be guided by religious principles. These issues included gay rights, pornography, immorality in the entertainment industry, and equal rights for women. They continued to face strong opposition from moderates and liberals on these issues, but, nonetheless, their efforts to organize politically substantially enhanced their influence on American culture, particularly during the Reagan administration of the 1980s, when candidates such as Pat Robertson entered the active political arena.

During the 1990s, fundamentalists maintained their commitment to political action, although developments at the national level, such as Pat Robertson’s failed bid for the Republican presidential nomination in 1988, led many to focus on local or grassroots efforts. Control of local school boards became one of the most common objectives of fundamentalists in their attempts to influence public policy. They also adopted a more direct approach to expressing their opposition to trends within the entertainment industry through boycotts of entertainment production companies and their advertisers. Thus, although its prominence in national politics had declined, fundamentalism continued to offer a substantive critique of mainstream American culture. Finally, it has also provided a model for understanding the resurgence of militant religious traditionalism in other regions of the world, within religious cultures as different as Islam, Judaism, and Hinduism. In this sense, the term “fundamentalism” now applies not only to a conservative wing of evangelical Protestantism in the United States, but to a variety of analogous social trends, sometimes accompanied by the violence of “Holy war,” that have developed around the globe.

—Roger W. Stump

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## Funicello, Annette (1942—)

During the height of her fame at Walt Disney Pictures, *Mickey Mouse Club* star Annette Funicello received more mail than the studio’s two most popular leading “men”: Mickey Mouse and Zorro. To young people she was, quite simply, the quintessential dream girl. Males liked her because, over the course of the series’ run, from 1955 to 1959, she blossomed into a buxom beauty before their eyes. Females liked her for her sweetness and sincerity, and for her winning smile. She was so beloved that she became known, and was often billed, by her first name alone.



Annette Funicello

Born in Utica, New York, Annette was twelve years old when Walt Disney saw her dancing the lead in *Swan Lake* at a school recital. Annette had dreamed of becoming a ballerina. She instead donned mouse ears to become an original member of Disney's pioneering children's show. Emerging as the series' most popular performer, Annette was increasingly showcased, even starring in her own *Mickey Mouse Club* serial, "Annette." Disney also licensed Annette merchandise, including paper dolls, lunch pails, and jewelry. And in the tradition of "girl detectives" Nancy Drew and Trixie Belden, a fictional Annette starred in a series of books in which she helped solve mysteries.

Meanwhile, fan magazines recounted the seemingly fairy-tale existence of the real-life teen idol. Readers learned of her romance with another teen idol, Paul Anka, which was inspiration for his hit tune "Puppy Love." Fans likewise were treated to details about her customized T-Bird, with its forty coats of purple paint, purple tuck-and-roll upholstery, and purple carpeting. Along with cruising the streets of Burbank, home to the Disney studio, Annette cruised the airwaves. It was her popularity, more than vocal talents, that led to strong record sales for songs including "Tall Paul," "First Name Initial," "How Will I Know My Love?" and "Pineapple Princess." Among the 15 albums she turned out on the Disneyland/Vista label were those bearing the titles *Hawaiianette*, *Italiannette*, and *Danceannette*.

When the *Mickey Mouse Club* ended its run, Annette was the only Mouseketeer to remain under contract to Disney. She appeared in a string of movies for the studio including *The Shaggy Dog* (1959) and *Babes in Toyland* (1961), and then segued to American International Pictures for *Beach Party*. The 1963 sand-and-surf youth picture found her cast opposite Frankie Avalon, whom she had dated in the 1950s. In *Beach Party*, the raven-haired Annette managed to be both voluptuous and wholesome. Honoring the request of her mentor, Walt Disney, she would not wear a navel-baring bikini. Nor would her screen character succumb to her boyfriend's romantic urges. As an unapologetic Annette once related, "My big line was always, 'Not without a ring you don't'. . . [and] I believed what I was saying wholeheartedly." In large part because of the Avalon-Funicello chemistry, *Beach Party* spawned a series of sequels, including *How to Stuff a Wild Bikini* (1965) and *Pajama Party* (1964). Annette also ventured into the fast track with a pair of innocuous car-racing movies opposite Avalon and Fabian, respectively. And she put in a cameo in the 1968 cult picture *Head*, starring the Monkees.

During the 1970s and for much of the 1980s, the twice-married mother of three made only intermittent appearances on TV, including as a pitch woman for products such as Skippy peanut butter. She did not return to the screen until 1987's *Back to the Beach*, in which she and Avalon poked fun at their anachronistic images. Their reunion prompted a wave of nostalgic publicity. In fact, such was Annette's status that her watershed moments have become media milestones. When she was married for the first time, the famed *Peanuts* comic strip depicted Snoopy the dog lamenting, "I can't stand it! This is terrible! How depressing—Annette Funicello has grown up!" A more sobering milestone was Annette's 1992 disclosure that she suffered from multiple sclerosis. An entire generation suddenly felt much older, as well as sadder.

Despite her illness, Annette went on to launch several new business ventures, including a line of collectible teddy bears. She also authored an optimistic, scandal-free autobiography, which became a highly rated TV movie. With hopes of finding an eventual cure for

MS and other neurological disorders, she has also set up the Annette Funicello Research Fund for Neurological Diseases.

—Pat H. Broeske

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## Funk

A rhythmically-driven, bass-heavy form of Black music, funk provided the bridge between 1960s soul music and late-1970s Disco. Emerging in America at the same time as the civil rights movement, funk became implicitly associated with Black pride because of its unapologetic celebration of traits that were often negatively associated with Black people. The key attributes that separated funk from other forms of popular music were expressiveness, unbridled sexual energy and a raw, gritty attitude. After its 1970s commercial heyday, funk continued to influence a variety of genres, most notably hip-hop—with the massive back-catalog of funk records providing a large reservoir of different sounds.

As a musical form, credit for funk's origins is overwhelmingly given to James Brown. As a bandleader, he developed the use of the guitar, horns, and keyboards as purely rhythmic instruments used to support the bass and drum rhythm section. One of the first funk recordings is considered to be James Brown's 1965 single "Papa's Got a Brand New Bag," which provided the syncopated blueprint for many of his later recordings such as "Cold Sweat," "Funky Drummer," and—the quintessential Black pride song—"Say It Loud, I'm Black and I'm Proud." The rhythmic experimentalism of these songs would widely be imitated, and expanded upon, by the likes of Sly & the Family Stone, Parliament-Funkadelic and Curtis Mayfield.

As a genre, funk's lineage can be traced relatively easily. But as a term, "funk's" origins are more unclear, though the following explanations are most likely. Just like jazz and rock 'n' roll, funk was used as a euphemism for sexual activity in many African-American communities throughout much of the twentieth century. Funk was used to connote something that is dirty and sexual, and by the late 1960s it soon became associated with the most earthy, gritty, and raw danceable forms of Black music.

Though it is possible to overemphasize Brown's importance in the development of funk, it is hard to do because many of the players pulled into Brown's orbit and schooled by him went on to become key players in the genre. Most notably, Fred Wesley, Pee Wee Ellis, Maceo Parker, and Bootsy Collins went on to play in Parliament-Funkadelic, Fred Wesley's Horny Horns, Bootsy Collins' Rubber Band, and a slew of lesser-known but no less significant outfits.

Funk was rife with fusion. Jazz musicians immediately gravitated toward funk, with Miles Davis, Herbie Hancock, Lonnie Smith, and Donald Byrd (who formed the popular Blackbyrds in the 1970s)

pioneering Jazz-fusion. Jimmy Castor and Rufus Thomas used funk to score a number of weird, dancable novelty hits, while other acts like War, Graham Central Station, and Mandrill fused rock with funk by adding a heavier beat and more distorted guitars.

Artists like Bootsy Collins, particularly during his tenure in the George Clinton-masterminded operation Parliament-Funkadelic, pushed the envelope of what was acceptable in Black and popular music. And others like Sly & the Family Stone blurred the lines between rock, soul, and funk music on dense, high concept albums like *There's a Riot Goin' On*. Silky-smooth soul stars soon incorporated funk into their music, with musicians like Curtis Mayfield, Stevie Wonder, Al Green, and Marvin Gaye making some of the best music of their careers using strains of funk.

Though the genre was dominated by men, which was typical of any genre of the time, Millie Jackson, Betty Davis, and Jean Knight proved that women could add a female-centered perspective to the music, and still be just as tough and assertive as their male counterparts.

By the late 1970s, the experimental left-of-center nature of funk had been largely smoothed over by the standardized pulsating beat of disco. During the 1980s, when slickness ruled the R & B and pop airwaves, the raw crudeness that characterized funk made it a dirty word again—commercially speaking, at least. At this time, many of the most essential funk recordings had gone out of print, and interest in the genre had waned. But the emergence of hip-hop, with its widespread use of 1960s and 1970s funk samples, rejuvenated interest in classic funk recordings by the late 1980s. Referring to a hip-hop song by Eric B. & Rakim that sampled James Brown, hip-hop group Stetsasonic rapped in their song 1988 song, “Talkin’ All That Jazz”: “Tell the Truth/James Brown was old/Til Eric B. came out with ‘I Got Soul’/Rap brings back old R & B/If we would not/People could have forgot.”

As the result of hip-hop artists sampling old funk records and the extensive reissues of funk albums on compact disc, Bootsy Collins, George Clinton, Maceo Parker, James Brown, and others maintained modestly successful careers throughout the 1990s, touring and releasing records.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## Fusco, Coco (1960—)

Born Juliana Emilia Fusco Miyares in New York City, Coco Fusco is a Cuban-American performance artist, writer, teacher, and cultural critic. After earning a B.A. in Semiotics and Literature and Society from Brown University in 1982 and an M.A. from Stanford University's Modern Thought and Literature program in 1985, Fusco first worked as a curator and writer and then turned primarily to developing sociopolitically infused performance art that would, as she writes in her book *English Is Broken Here*, “make sense out of the clashes between cultures” that shape U.S. Latino/a identities. One of her more controversial *tableaux vivants*, titled “Two Undiscovered Aborigines Visit. . .” was first performed in 1992 to critique the quincennial celebration of Columbus' discovery of America. Fusco and collaborator Guillermo Gómez-Pena posed as “exotic” Caribbean islanders in a museum cage for three days, performing what anthropologists call “traditional tasks.” As a symbolic act expressing five hundred years of resistance to colonial oppression, the piece, as Fusco states in *English Is Broken Here*, performs a “reverse ethnography,” blurring the distinctions between art object and body, reality and fantasy, history and dramatic enactment. In 1993 “Two Undiscovered Aborigines Visit. . .” was invited to several international exhibitions including the 1993 Whitney Biennial, the 1992 Sydney Biennial, and the 1992 Edge Festival in London and Madrid.

Fusco has brought her performance art on tour to Europe, Australia, the United States, New Zealand, South Africa, Canada, and Latin America. She is also actively committed to identifying—through her journalism, teaching, and curatorial work—films and other art media that have been censored within the U.S. and abroad. Coco Fusco's performance art and other critical inquiries into Latino/a culture have complicated the erstwhile notion of an “authentic” Latino identity; her interrogation of identity as formed by senses of nation, race, sexuality, gender, and class has helped to dramatically alter the way ethnic identity is understood today.

—Frederick Luis Aldama

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# G

## Gable, Clark (1901-1960)

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An icon of Hollywood's Golden Age, Clark Gable was dubbed "The King," and so he remained, a symbol of commanding virility through dozens of indifferent films, three generations of leading ladies, and the eventual decline—but never the entire death—of his popularity. His own golden age was the 1930s, and his image—tough, confident, and handsome—reached its apogee and has spoken to all generations since in the guise of Rhett Butler, famously and frankly not giving a damn about loving and leaving the ravishing Scarlett O'Hara (Vivien Leigh) in *Gone with the Wind* (1939).

The word macho, not yet in use in the 1930s, might have been coined for Clark Gable. The rough-hewn independence of his screen persona cannot have been unconnected to his own background. Born William Clark Gable in Ohio, the son of an itinerant oil-driller, he left school at fourteen to labor in an Akron factory. It was there that he first saw a play, determined on a life in the theater, and got himself some bit parts with a stock company before his father took him away to drill oil until he was twenty-one. Penniless, he worked at lumberjacking and other odd jobs until he joined a touring theater company run by Josephine Dillon, a veteran actress fourteen years his senior.



Clark Gable

The young Gable was then a gangling youth with jug ears and bad teeth, which Dillon paid to have fixed. She also coached him in acting and, in 1924, became his first wife. (They divorced in 1930.) The couple settled in Hollywood where Gable picked up a few engagements as a movie extra before going on the road again, eventually making it to Broadway and thence to the lead in the Los Angeles production of *The Last Mile*. MGM and Warners both rejected him after screen tests, but he played a villain for Pathe in a William Boyd Western, *The Painted Desert* (1931), and MGM came back with a contract.

In 1931, Gable began his twenty-three-year tenure at MGM with a bit part as a milkman in *The Easiest Way*; by the end of the year he was a star. Not yet sporting his trademark mustache, the actor had a threatening mien well-suited to playing brutes and roughnecks, which he did in several supporting roles before starring as Norma Shearer's gangster lover, slapping her around in *A Free Soul*; costarring in two of seven films—*Laughing Sinners* and *Possessed*—with Joan Crawford, a pairing that made for a potent sexual charge on screen (and off); and essaying a nobler character as Garbo's ill-used swain in *Susan Lenox: Her Fall and Rise*. Also that year, he married wealthy socialite Rhea Langham, seventeen years his senior.

Swiftly established as the archetypal "man's man," tough, rugged, and confident, whose good looks and earthy sex appeal also fed the fantasies of legions of women. Gable's rating rose even higher in 1932 with the studio's incendiary combination of the actor with their newest female star, Jean Harlow, in *Red Dust*. They made three more films together before Harlow's untimely death during the filming of their last, *Saratoga* (1937). However, despite his popularity, MGM's choice of vehicles for their premier male star often appeared decidedly odd. Throughout his career, much of the material foisted upon him was run-of-the-mill, and it seemed as though, rather than capitalizing on his charisma to create films of real quality, the bosses exploited his drawing power to sell the mediocre. Efforts in 1932 to lift him out of the rut of his typecasting were even odder: reunited with Norma Shearer in the film version of Eugene O'Neill's *Strange Interlude* and quaintly, even bizarrely miscast as a clergyman restoring a fallen woman (Marion Davies) to grace in *Polly of the Circus*. But nothing seemed bad enough to tarnish his image or diminish his popularity.

Gable himself, though, was increasingly unhappy and made his dissatisfaction felt. In what he viewed as disciplinary action to contain his money-making asset's recalcitrance, Louis B. Mayer loaned a reluctant Gable to the then Poverty Row studio, Columbia, for a comedy to be directed by Frank Capra. The film was *It Happened One Night* (1934), with Claudette Colbert as a runaway heiress who found herself embroiled with a broke journalist looking for a scoop. The film was a masterpiece of screwball comedy, and Capra took full advantage of Gable's range. With the famous mustache now well in place, he delivered a thoroughly delightful characterization embodying his down-to-earth practicality, good-natured cockiness, recklessness, charm, humor, and tenderness. It was neither the first nor last newspaperman he played, but this one brought Gable his only Academy Award and the first of his two most enduring successes.



Back at MGM, it was much the same mixture as before: Gable met the challenge of Fletcher Christian with an Oscar-nominated performance in *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1935), was perfectly cast in *San Francisco* (1936), survived a disaster as the Irish politician Parnell (1937), and was everybody's ideal *Test Pilot* (1938). But 1939 was the year in which Gable ensured his immortality as Rhett Butler. *Gone with the Wind* swept the board at the Oscars, except for the leading man, who, though nominated, lost out to Britain's Robert Donat. Gable, separated from his second wife since 1935, had become involved Carole Lombard, his costar in *No Man of Her Own*. She proved the great love of his life, and, in the midst of filming *Gone with the Wind*, Gable married her in a partnership that was swiftly recognized as a fairy-tale romance. Three years later the beautiful and gifted Lombard was killed in a plane crash.

A devastated Gable dealt with the shock by joining the United States Air Force, rising to the rank of major, and was off the screen until 1945. His return to MGM in *Adventure*, publicized with the phrase "Gable's Back and [Greer] Garson's Got Him," was not successful and began the slow decline of the star's postwar career. Prematurely aged and drinking heavily, he attempted unsuccessfully to find happiness in a brief fourth marriage to Lady Sylvia Ashley, something of a Lombard look-alike, while his film output steadily decreased, despite teamings with stars such as Lana Turner and Hedy Lamarr. His public still held him in affection, however, and there were a few last successes, notably *The Hucksters* (1947), with Deborah Kerr, and *Mogambo* (1953), a remake of *Red Dust* with Ava Gardner subbing for Jean Harlow, in which Gable was as charismatic as ever.

Gable's MGM contract expired in 1954, and his last years were spent as a freelance in films of little distinction except for a few interesting Westerns (e.g., *The Tall Men*, 1955) in the "veteran cowboy" tradition to which he had proved himself well suited. In 1955 he married his fifth wife, Kay Spreckels, another Lombard type, who was pregnant in 1960 when her husband joined Marilyn Monroe and Montgomery Clift on location in the Nevada desert for John Huston's *The Misfits*. Written by Arthur Miller, this bleak and powerful portrait of lost men roping wild stallions to sell was deeply ironic in that the protagonists were as doomed off-screen as their characters were in the film. The production was fraught with difficulties, and Gable, who insisted on doing his own stunts, was exhausted by the physical demands this made on him. His weighty performance, considered by some his best ever, was his last. He lived neither to receive the critical acclaim that greeted it, nor to see his first and only child, a son, who was born after his death. Gable suffered a fatal heart attack at age fifty-nine, shortly after *The Misfits* finished shooting, and Hollywood mourned the passing of its only king.

—Robyn Karney

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## Gambling

From TV programs such as *Wheel of Fortune* to daily point spreads in newspaper sports pages, the gambling spirit is everywhere in American life. Casinos have spread beyond tawdry, out-of-the-way locations such as Las Vegas to Indian reservations and cities across the country. Riverboats, with their poker machines and blackjack tables, ply the nation's great rivers again, as their predecessors did over a century ago. The gambling and casino boom has breached even the citadel of middle-class respectability in the form of hotels such as Las Vegas' Circus Circus and Treasure Island, featuring "family" entertainment within yards of slot machines. Various blamed on de-industrialization, a decline in the American work ethic, and a lapse in moral values, gambling's something-for-nothing mentality has become an important part of the American consciousness. Long a refined diversion for the wealthy and a desperate last chance for the poor, it is perhaps only technology and style that separates twentieth century gambling from its primeval counterparts.

Gambling, the betting or staking of something of value, is as old as humankind itself. Betting on horses began as soon as the animals were domesticated, and gambling's ties to sports date back as far as 1450 B.C.E., when Egyptians competed against each other in jumping, wrestling, and ball game competitions, centuries before the first Greek Olympics. As many as 250,000 spectators watched, and gambled on, chariot races in Rome's Circus Maximus. Gospel writers Matthew and Mark report that Roman guards gambled for Jesus' garments following his crucifixion, "casting lots upon them, what every man should take." Towns challenged towns in medieval archery matches, and gambling was an ever present accompaniment as sports competitions became organized in Europe during the Renaissance and early Modern periods.

In the New World, special days were set aside by the Northwest Coast Indians for "mook-te-lo," or wagering on games. The Iroquois played a betting game called "hubbub" with dice made from peach stones. Participants hit themselves on the chest and thighs, crying "hub hub hub" so loudly that they could be heard a quarter-of-a-mile away according to a contemporary report. The first deck of cards to be manufactured in the Western hemisphere was made by Columbus' crew in 1492. According to the story, the sailors threw their European cards overboard because they believed gambling was bringing them ill fortune during their long voyage. Once ashore in the New World, they regretted their impulsive behavior and made substitute decks from the large leaves of the copas tree. Lotteries, begun in England in 1566, were approved for the new Jamestown settlement in Virginia by King James I in 1612. Proceeds were used to sustain the struggling colony until the king withdrew his permission in 1621.

The Puritans first objected to popular recreations like gambling during the seventeenth century because they violated Sabbatarian principles. In the Puritan's distinctive mixture of capitalism and Calvinism, gambling was a double sin, a violation of the Lord's day of rest and an ungodly diversion from work the other six days of the week. Puritans had little success convincing Europeans to stop betting but they established strict statutes against gambling and other worldly distractions in their early American settlements beginning in 1638. Lotteries were unnecessary appeals to providence, according to Puritan minister Increase Mather, who believed that "God determines the cast of the dice or the shuffle of the cards, and we are not to implicate His providence in frivolity." The Puritans' holy opposition to gambling faded in the New England colonies during the eighteenth



**The Argosy Gaming Boat, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.**

century, and they had never had much influence on mid-Atlantic and southern colonists, but the Puritan association of gaming and wagering with alcoholism, idleness, and ungodliness became a recurrent theme in numerous anti-gambling crusades during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Lotteries were a common recourse for eighteenth-century American colonists in search of funds for wars, schools, charities, or other purposes. George Washington himself bought and sold lottery tickets, and Benjamin Franklin spoke in favor of a lottery to finance the purchase of a cannon battery for Philadelphia in 1748. In 1758, once-Puritan Massachusetts authorized a lottery to fund an expedition against Canada during the French and Indian Wars. Gambling was still considered a vice, however, and during the first days of the American Revolution, various colonial “committees of safety” opposed gambling as a means of galvanizing public morality. General Washington, a frequent gambler at cards, forbade gambling among his soldiers when it distracted them from their military duties, even during the grueling winter at Valley Forge. However, the Continental Congress sponsored a national lottery in 1777, promoting it as a contribution “to the great and glorious American cause,” only to be disappointed by the proceeds because the loosely-knit colonists failed to gamble as freely as their more sophisticated English counterparts.

On the rough-and-tumble borders of the new country, however, gambling was a primary diversion. Thoroughbred horse racing, cockfights, card games, billiards, and fighting over the outcome of such contests were favorite past times of eighteenth-century frontier inhabitants, and gambling, alcoholism, prostitution, and related social vices continued to be associated with the American frontier as it spread westward throughout the nineteenth century. The 1803 Louisiana Purchase opened the western Ohio and Mississippi, and as commerce developed on the waterways, so did gambling. New Orleans evolved as America’s first gambling city as flatboat men,

farmers, and plantation owners played a French card game named “poque.” With a few modifications, draw “poker” became the quintessential American card game. Gambling was outlawed in the rest of the huge Louisiana territory in 1811 in the wake of a popular anti-gambling tract written by Mason Locke Weems (better known for authorship of the myth about George Washington chopping down the cherry tree), but gambling remained a critical component of New Orleans’ economy and politics for another century.

The first American gambling casino was opened in New Orleans around 1822. Owner John Davis provided gourmet food, liquor, roulette wheels, faro tables, poker, and other games, made certain that prostitutes were never far away, and kept his club house open twenty-four hours a day. Dozens of imitators soon made gaming, drink, and women of easy virtue the primary attractions of New Orleans. The city’s status as an international port and its thriving gambling industry created a new profession, the card “sharper.” Professional gamblers and cheats gathered in a waterfront area known as “the swamp,” an area even the police were afraid to frequent, and any gambler lucky enough to win stood a good chance of losing his earnings to thieves outside of the gambling rooms and saloons. The slot machine, invented by Charles Fey in San Francisco in 1895, first became popular with New Orleans gamblers. Reform movements struggled to limit gambling and prostitution to a red light district until military restrictions put the halls and brothels out of business during World War I.

The nineteenth-century relationship between gambling and western expansion was epitomized by the early West’s favorite son, President Andrew Jackson. Jackson was not the first president to gamble openly, but he bet with such an intensity that he created an image that came to stereotype all Westerners. He bet on cards, lotteries, and cockfights, but he preferred horse racing, a sport suited to his western Tennessee roots. Jackson hated losing, and his advice to a nephew summarized not only his personality but the mood of entire nation

during his presidential term: "You must risk to win." New frontier settlements risked everything for success, and those that prospered almost always embraced gambling. Chicago became a city in 1837, the same year it ostensibly outlawed gambling, but gaming "hells" continued to flourish along with drunkenness and prostitution. By 1849, there were as many gambling establishments in Chicago per capita as New York City and more than 1,000 women were said to be employed as prostitutes in 1856. The New England-bred Mayor "Long" John Wentworth ordered the destruction of gambling houses along Chicago's notorious Sands riverfront district in 1857, but the denizens simply moved to more law-abiding sections of the city where open gambling continued until 1904 when Mayor Carter Harrison closed all of the city's horse-racing tracks.

Gambling thrived in the South as well. Horse racing was the most popular sport for betting, and formal racing sessions were organized by the upper class in Williamsburg, Fredericksburg, Annapolis, and Alexandria well before the Revolutionary War. Slaves rode Southern race horses until replaced by white riders after the Civil War, inspiring the black jockey lawn ornaments that persisted into the twentieth century. The development of the telegraph, especially a modification permitting the transmission of more than one message at a time, allowed betting from a distance and made betting on the races a major business in the South. The first sports pages in American newspapers were reports on horse racing until the rise of professional baseball after the Civil War. Baseball, too, attracted gamblers. The Chicago "Black Sox" scandal of 1919, which saw the best team in baseball lose a World Series on purpose, was predated by the Louisville Greys, who threw enough games to go from a comfortable first place in the National League standings to late season also-rans in 1877.

Steamboats and riverfront gambling houses along the lower Mississippi attracted swarms of professional gamblers. A host of companies specialized in manufacturing and selling card cheating devices. One riverboat gambler named George Devol was so proud of his ability to slip a stacked deck into a game that he once used four of them in one poker hand, dealing four aces to each of his four opponents. Devol bragged of his exploits in his 1887 memoir, *Forty Years a Gambler on the Mississippi*. Children looked upon such professional gamblers as heroic figures. "To me as a boy, the gambler was an object of awed admiration," sportswriter Hugh Fullerton recalled of his Southern boyhood in the 1870s. But anxious townfolk viewed the presence of such confidence men as a vestige of an unruly frontier past. Five "sharps" were lynched by vigilantes in Vicksburg, Mississippi, in 1835, less for religious reasons than to preserve civic respectability, and other river cities applied similar, if less stringent preventatives. Still, the riverboat gambler came to symbolize freedom in dime novels and other popular literature, even though most died poor.

California established a reputation for professional gambling as well. In the wake of the state's 1848 gold rush, European traveler Friedrich Wilhelm Christian Gerstaecker observed that "gambling houses are now to California what slave-holding is to the United States." Professional gamblers became so wealthy and influential that they managed to become controlling political forces in the state for short periods of time. In San Francisco, gamblers played all day and all night at games that were refined into a high-volume industry. Rather than cheating and deceit, the city's gambling saloons relied on percentages and odds for their profits, foreshadowing the Las Vegas casinos a century later. Miners did not seem to mind. San Francisco gambling mirrored the entire gold rush mentality that "the fun would

be worth a fortune almost," as one contemporary wrote. Professional gamblers were an implicit, if not sanctioned, part of the casino scene until journalist and businessman James King launched such a vigorous crusade against them that he was murdered in 1856. In revenge, his alleged killer and a professional dealer named Charles Cora were lynched by vigilantes. Nonetheless, gaming continued in San Francisco, on a less ostentatious scale, into the 1910s.

Gambling flourished in other Western mining camps and towns that supplied the prospectors. Virginia City, Comstock, and Deadwood became as well known for faro and gunfights over card games as they did for mineral wealth. Even cattle towns such as Dodge City, Kansas, had forty saloons and gambling houses to cater to the cowboys, buffalo hunters, and railroad workers that visited it in 1875. But prohibition was in the wind. Scandals involving lottery ticket sales, including a massive fraud in the Louisiana lottery in 1894, the rise of baseball and other spectator sports, and a revival of moral concerns against idleness, drunkenness, and debauchery led to laws against lotteries and gambling in most states by 1910. "Puritanism [was] the inflexible doctrine of Los Angeles," one historian noted. By 1908, 289 of the nation's 314 thoroughbred horse race tracks had been closed.

Horse racing was the first gambling industry to be reborn. Colonel Matt J. Winn, president of Churchill Downs, dusted off old pari-mutual machines stored in the back of the track's storehouse, banished illegal bookmakers, and made sure the state of Kentucky got a share of every bet made at his track. Pari-mutual horse wagering was legalized in other states, especially during the cash-strapped Depression years. State racing boards or commissions supervised the tracks, reducing cutthroat competition and providing an aura of respectability for a public concerned about the connection between gambling and crime. Professionals gamblers remained, epitomized by George E. Smith, better known as "Pittsburgh Phil," who made horse betting into a science. Bookmakers prospered as well, off track, aided by advances in communication such as radio. Although state lotteries were not revived until 1964, numbers games were introduced to Harlem by West Indian immigrants in the 1920s and spread to other cities. Manufactured games such as pull tabs and punch boards appeared in rural areas, as did illegal slot machines and other electronic devices. Almost 25 percent of Americans admitted gambling on church-sponsored bingo games and lotteries in a 1938 Gallop poll. New York Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia stated the obvious, "if bingo is unlawful in one place, it cannot be lawful in another." Politicians have tried to resolve this dilemma over the remainder of the twentieth century.

Most casinos and "gambling hells" were shut down during the early 1900s, even in obscure locations such as French Lick, Indiana, and Canton, Ohio. True to the worst fears of the Puritans, gangsters combined liquor and gambling in New York, Cleveland, Chicago, and other cities during the 1920s. Florida temporarily legalized slot machines during the depths of the Depression at about the same time that El Monte and Gardena, California, licensed poker. But it was a dusty little Nevada town located on the old Spanish Trail that reintroduced casinos and gambling to twentieth-century America.

Las Vegas was established as a Mormon mission before the Civil War. Its future was assured when the San Pedro, Los Angeles & Salt Lake railroad laid track in 1904 and three other railroads, including the Union Pacific, soon followed suit. The railroads were the town's primary employer but the providing of ice, refreshments, shelter, and other amenities became almost as important. Although gambling was banned in Nevada in 1909, Las Vegas continued to grow, reaching a

population of 5,165. It remained a railroad town until divorce and gambling laws were relaxed and the federal government began the construction of Hoover Dam in 1930. The first major hotel, the 100-room Apache, opened in 1932 to augment an active red light district patronized by dam workers. So many workers and their families poured into Las Vegas that the *New York Times* claimed the city had "a touch of Mexico's Tijuana" in 1936. Still, Las Vegas continued to be outpaced by its primary competitor, Reno, and boasted only six casinos and sixteen saloons by 1939.

The post-World War II improvement of automobiles and highways, especially to and from Los Angeles, forever changed Las Vegas. Downtown's Fremont Street became "Glitter Gulch" and the vacant Las Vegas Boulevard was renamed the "Strip." Three casinos opened in 1946 including mobster Benjamin "Bugsy" Siegel's Flamingo Hotel. The Horseshoe Club began hosting the World Series of Poker in 1951. Motion pictures such as the 1952 *Las Vegas Story*, starring Jane Russell and Victor Mature, and the 1959 *Oceans Eleven*, which featured the "rat pack," Peter Lawford, Sammy Davis, Jr., Frank Sinatra, Dean Martin, and Joey Bishop, promoted the growing sophistication of Las Vegas. The movies also helped establish gambling as an adult entertainment in a decade noted for juvenile attractions from Elvis Presley (who later became a Las Vegas star) to McDonald's. They also helped erase gambling's disreputable, low-class image. Las Vegas' gambling industry survived and even thrived under scrutiny from investigators led by Senator Estes Kefauver. His Senate Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime leaned heavily on gambling during the early 1950s, but only a few of the committee's proposals were legislated.

The Golden Nugget was the first Las Vegas property created specifically as a hotel-casino, but every hotel provided gambling. Eventually all would feature big-name entertainment, led by pianist Liberace, who headlined the new Riviera in 1955. The city's reputation as the "last" frontier served not only as a recurring casino and hotel theme, but intensified the gambling experience. Just as thrill seekers had swarmed San Francisco's casinos a century earlier, gamblers escaped their ordinary lives in the fantasy world of Las Vegas, surrounded by flashing lights and jingling coins, visual and auditory "noise" that heightened their sensations of gambling. Sports betting became popular, influenced in part by the banning of Pete Rose from baseball in 1989. The first theme property, the Circus Circus Hotel Casino, opened in 1968, was joined by the Mirage in 1989, the Excalibur in 1990, and Treasure Island in 1993, attracting a new type of visitor, the middle-class family. The introduction of gambling in Atlantic City and other locations induced Las Vegas to reinvent itself once again, providing educational attractions such as dolphin habitats and family entertainment acts like magicians Siegfried and Roy.

Beginning in New Hampshire in 1964, lotteries spread to more than thirty states, usually claiming to devote a large percentage of the profits to state education. Multi-state lotteries offered payouts of over one hundred million dollars. The first legal casino in the United States outside of Las Vegas opened on Atlantic City, New Jersey's Boardwalk in 1978, providing an influx of jobs and money even as the outer city remained impoverished. Deadwood, South Dakota, opened its streets to gambling in 1989. Gaming on Indian Reservations, the so-called "return of the buffalo," was re-legalized by Congress in 1988. Dozens of tribes across the country competed to provide casinos and hotel-casinos almost as glitzy as Las Vegas and used the profits to bolster their dying cultures and communities. River and lake boats, off-track and bingo parlors, dog and horse racing tracks, all vied for

what economists called discretionary funds. In every case, what had been once a sin, like divorce or deficit spending, was re-merchandised into an economic and social virtue. Even the Indian casinos and the state lotteries, however, must continually fight against gambling's shadowed twin, corruption. The same qualities of desperation and greed that guarantee success to gambling enterprises, also impel those who try to "beat the system." "Gambling is the child of avarice, the brother of iniquity, and the father of mischief," wrote George Washington, and, whether the gambling is for fun or for charity, that lineage seems to remain the same.

—Richard Digby-Junger

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## Game Shows

It is not surprising that the game show has been one of the most enduring mass media formats. Combining entertainment and competition, celebrities and ordinary people, populism and the promise of instant success, game shows have tapped into elemental parts of the collective American psyche. America's most acute "quiz mania" occurred during the decades from the 1930s until the mid-1950s as a new incarnation of the American dream in which ordinary people, through luck and pluck, could rise from rags to riches overnight.

One of the first quiz programs appeared fairly early in radio's history. To increase its readership, *Time* magazine aired current events quizzes over the radio with *The Pop Question Game*, which lasted from 1923 to 1926. Other early radio contests of the 1920s included *The Brunswick Hour Musical Memory Contest*, *The Radio*



A fun-filled moment during the game show, *Let's Make a Deal*.

*Digest*, *Do You Know*, and *Ask Me Another*. The Depression years also encouraged Americans' interest in game shows and quiz contests. Because listening to the radio was still free in an era of tight budgets and unemployment, people flocked to their sets for diversion. Local movie theaters picked up on the game craze by offering bingo games and bank nights to lure people in with the promise of affordable entertainment and the possibility of winning prize money. People were attracted to quizzes for these practical purposes, but the shows also tapped into more elemental needs and desires like the pursuit of fame. During the Depression people experienced both economic and social hardships, often feeling like they were "lost in the crowd," their individual needs abandoned by governmental and financial institutions. In 1932, workers at the Houston radio station KTRH tried to counteract this malaise by taking a microphone outside and asking passersby their opinions on the Roosevelt/Hoover election and other more random questions. First called *Sidewalk Interviews* and later renamed *Vox Pop*, the show, which offered prize money to its participants, lasted until 1948, and spawned similar interview shows all across the country.

*Professor Quiz*, originating in 1937 in Washington, D.C., was the first genuine money quiz. The show not only awarded money to individual contestants, but also sent money to people who submitted questions used on the air, immediately increasing participation from

the on-air contestants to, potentially, the entire listening audience. In this way, even the early radio quiz shows spurred national interest and involvement, making them games of mass culture and mass appeal. *Professor Quiz*, for example, was so successful that within two years it had inspired over 200 variations, including a very popular version called *Dr. I.Q.* Other shows emphasized mental acuity by asking difficult questions. Of these, *The Answer Man* was one of the most popular, running for 13 years. It combined information and entertainment, becoming a frequent bet settler and voice of authority. The format of another show, *Information Please*, was designed to stump a panel of experts rather than the common man. Indeed, appearing as the weekly guest on the panel was a source of prestige, and often attracted entertainers and politicians to sit with the regular panelists. Created by Dan Golenpaul and launched in 1938, *Information Please* was so popular that in 1939 it had boosted sponsor Canada Dry's sales by 20 percent. In addition, in one of the first quiz show promotional tie-ins, there were items of spin-off merchandise, including *Information Please* home games and the still-active *Information Please Almanac and Yearbook*. This game and others like it (including a version for younger participants called *Quiz Kids*) gave the public new role models beyond sports and film stars, adding credibility and worth to intellectuals and academicians. Quiz language even entered the vernacular: the phrase "the \$64 question," meaning a particularly

tough question, came from *Take It or Leave It*, a popular gambling-based game show.

Like other media programming, quiz shows reflected the interests of the times. The Big Band influence of the late 1930s led to the creation of Kay Kyser's *Kollege of Musical Knowledge*, which ran for 13 seasons, *Melody Puzzle*, *Beat the Band*, and *So You Think You Know Music*, among others. During World War II, "quiz programs and audience-participation shows stressed themes of patriotism and sacrifice, while boosting morale and offering a measure of 'escapist' cheer," in the words of historian Thomas DeLong. These shows often featured members of the armed forces, asked questions about the War itself, encouraged enlisting, raised money for war bonds, and frequently awarded war stamps and bonds as prizes.

After the war, quiz shows once again returned to emphasizing individual pursuits and pleasures, clearly expressing America's post-war preoccupations. Consumption and the possession of goods were seen as a solution to many personal problems and served as psychological and material relief after war-time rationing. Beginning in 1946, manufacturers shifted their production away from military products and back to domestic goods, but these items were still in short supply. Many game shows whetted the consumer appetite by taking place on location in department and grocery stores—traditional sites of merchandise display and mass consumption. Their titles included *Bride and Groom*, *Second Honeymoon*, *Missus Goes a-Shopping*, and *Give and Take*. In 1948 the four major radio networks alone gave away about \$90,000 a week in merchandise spread over 54 programs, totaling \$4.5 million by year's end. *Go For the House* offered the grand prize of a fully furnished \$7,000 house; *Break the Bank* presented the chance at a \$5,000 jackpot; and *Stop the Music*, hosted by Bert Parks, featured, in addition to a wealth of prizes, a jackpot that accrued weekly. This show and others like it, in which the studio called a random person who was listening to the show at home, even sparked an increased purchase of telephones so that people could feel as if they had an equal chance of participating.

Encouraging women's return to the domestic sphere after their war-time factory work, many shows blatantly pandered specifically to perceived female desires. *Ladies Be Seated*, hosted by Johnny Olson, involved women performing pranks for merchandise. Perhaps the most unfortunate example of this genre was *Queen for a Day* (1945-64), which was more an audience-participation show than a quiz show. On this program women told various tales of woe, from dead or out of work husbands to sick relatives and impending house foreclosures. The "winner"—the woman whom the judges deemed to be in the worst straits—received prizes meant to fulfill her special wishes. In 1946 alone over 40 companies supplied \$250,000 worth of products to the show. *Queen for a Day* did not showcase the intellect of the common man, but instead spotlighted and exploited the financial and emotional burdens of the common woman, an early form of mass media therapy and confessional that presaged the daytime television talk shows of the 1980s and 1990s. Another show, *Strike It Rich*, similarly exploited people's misfortunes, but also required them to answer questions to receive cash and prizes. Various sponsors telephoned the "Heart Line," offering donations to these needy people while at the same time receiving on-air promotions. *New York Times* critic Jack Gould said at the time that the show "callously exploits human anxiety to sell the product of a soap manufacturer and does it with a saccharine solicitude that hits the jackpot in bad taste."

Successful radio emcees of the 1940s included John Reed King, Bert Parks, Bud Collyer, Jack Barry, Johnny Olson, Bill Slater, and

Bill Cullen, and many of them were equally successful when the quiz shows went to televised broadcasts. The first televised quiz shows appeared in 1941 with *Uncle Jim's Question Bee* (hosted by Bill Slater) and *Truth or Consequences* (hosted by Ralph Edwards). Indeed, many of these former radio shows easily translated to television, and were often broadcast simultaneously in both mediums. New shows were also developed to take advantage of the visual aspects of television and its burgeoning stable of talent. *Telequizzicals* and *Pantomime Quiz* were both based on charades, and the latter featured guest appearances by actors such as Roddy McDowell, Jimmy Durante, Lucille Ball, Steve Allen, and Danny Thomas. In 1949, *Pantomime Quiz* won television's first Emmy as its most popular show.

However, tremendous popularity often brings a backlash, and, in the late 1940s game shows experienced a wave of negative publicity. People began to feel that the shows emphasized money at the expense of talent and intellect. The 1950 film *The Jackpot*, starring Jimmy Stewart, depicts the problems a man faces after winning prize money, which, far from bringing instant happiness, almost ruins his life. In effect a morality tale, the film points out many of the reservations people had about instantly winning, rather than earning, money and merchandise. In addition, in 1948, the FCC, in an attempt to improve the quality of programming in general, tried to outlaw most quiz shows as a form of a broadcast lottery, which was then illegal. After many legal maneuverings, the courts ruled in 1953 that banning quiz shows from the airwaves would constitute censorship, and thus allowed them to continue. The standard game shows of the late 1940s and early 1950s nevertheless sank in popularity and were replaced with comedy shows. The game shows that did appear on the air were, not surprisingly, influenced by this new trend and included such offerings as *Tag the Gag*, *Stop Me If You've Heard This One*, *Draw Me a Laugh*, *Draw to Win*, *Doodles*, Groucho Marx's *You Bet Your Life*, and *Beat the Clock*. The last, the most popular of the comedy-quiz shows, was born of the prolific game show production team of Mark Goodson and Bill Todman. *Beat the Clock*, combining circus influences and sight gags, required people to successfully perform very difficult stunts in a limited amount of time. Future playwright Neil Simon helped write the show's stunts, while future actor and screen idol James Dean auditioned them in front of test audiences.

The early 1950s also saw the winning combination of Hollywood talent and intellectual prowess in popular panel games which featured celebrities and were hosted by academicians. The number of veterans who had recently completed their studies with the help of the GI Bill meant that there were more educated people who found entertainment both as contestants and audience members for quiz shows. The stars who appeared on these panels also benefited from this arrangement—the work paid well, afforded good publicity for an entertainer, showcased comedic talent, and often helped revitalize the careers of older comedians and actors. *What's My Line*, which began in 1950, was one of the longest running shows on television, becoming a Sunday night fixture on CBS for over 17 years. In this program panels, by asking yes or no questions, were enlisted to guess the unusual occupation of the night's guest. Over the years, panelists included such well-known entertainers as Steve Allen, Fred Allen, Arlene Francis, Errol Flynn, Ronald Reagan, Ernie Kovacs, and Jane Powell. Special guests included actor Frederic March, Mike Todd and his new wife Elizabeth Taylor, Frank Lloyd Wright, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, Milton Berle, and Art Carney. *What's My Line* inspired a slew of more and less successful imitations including *The Name's the Same*, *I've Got a Secret* (with Bess Myerson, Henry Morgan,

Betsy Palmer, and Bill Cullen), and *To Tell the Truth* (with Kitty Carlisle, Peggy Cass, Tom Poston, and Orson Bean). The panel shows amassed devoted followers who tuned in every week to witness the banter of their old friends; these followers were so loyal that they guaranteed the success of the shows even in the face of the quiz show scandals of the mid-and late 1950s.

*The \$64,000 Question* (1955-58) was the first big-money television quiz show and was inspired by *Take It or Leave It*'s "\$64 question." Incorporating a televisual aesthetic that would reappear in shows like *The Price Is Right* and *The Wheel of Fortune*, *The \$64,000 Question* was described by *Newsweek* at the time of its first airing as "vaguely sleazy . . . compounded of beaverboard and sequins, liberally decorated with the name of the sponsor." The show was also referred to as the "Mount Everest" of quizzes because, to reach the peak prize, contestants had to return in subsequent weeks to risk their winnings to date for double the amount, beginning at \$8,000. *The \$64,000 Question* along with *The \$64,000 Challenge* and *Twenty-One* created ongoing televisual dramas that pitted contestants against each other and provided suspense for the viewing audience. In addition, these shows created overnight folk heroes in their winners, who were equal parts intellectual and common man. Many were offered university lectureships, commercial endorsements, and guest appearances on television shows.

Although audiences believed that the player-against-player drama was naturally inspired by the tension of the games themselves, in actuality many of the contestants were coached by show producers. *Twenty-One* was the first show to blatantly use coaching as a method to create more on-air drama and to force larger stakes in order to draw a larger viewership. Out of greed and actual financial need, Herbert Stempel, a homely Jewish ex-soldier working his way through the City College of New York, knowingly participated in the fraud perpetuated by producer Daniel Enright. While Stempel had a photographic memory, Enright continued to coach him about the correct answers to questions to be posed on air. When Enright realized that Stempel was not a popular contestant, he recruited Charles Van Doren, tall, aristocratically handsome, and an Ivy League graduate who wanted the prize money to be financially independent of his family. Although Van Doren was at first reluctant to cheat, the producers convinced him that his repeated appearances on *Twenty-One* would be a good influence on national attitudes about teachers, education, and intellectual life. He relented, lasting 15 telecasts, accumulating \$143,000 (the most single amount ever won on a quiz show), marriage proposals, a regular spot on *The Today Show*, and a teaching position at Columbia.

Stempel, angered at having to "take a dive," began to expose the quiz show rigging to journalists, who in 1957 discovered more jilted contestants and began formal investigations into the fraud at this and many other shows, including *Tic Tac Dough* and *Dotto*. Van Doren, after numerous protestations to the contrary, finally testified before a grand jury in 1959, admitting his collusion in the rigging of *Twenty-One*. The next day, he resigned his position at Columbia and the day after that was fired from *The Today Show*. Eventually he took a position as a columnist for *Leisure* magazine, and found regular employment at the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Ironically, Van Doren was seen by many as a sympathetic figure, and the media compared him to "Shoeless" Joe Jackson, who fixed the 1919 baseball World Series.

The scandals not only ended the impressive reign of the quiz shows, but also forced larger cultural discussions about the nature of American morality and the role of television "entertainment." To the

media's chagrin, the general public lacked outrage, believing the issue to be irrelevant. Some in the television industry, in fact, claimed that the print media exaggerated the scandal in order to penalize a rival medium; yet these same people took steps to minimize the scandal's fallout, canceling all dubious shows and temporarily banning canned laughter and applause. CBS even went so far as to cancel Edward R. Murrow's six-year-old and respected *Person To Person* interview show because it was "rehearsed."

*The Price Is Right*, which first aired in 1956, weathered the scandal days to become one of the most popular game shows in America. Originally hosted by Bill Cullen, it encouraged the American consumer ethos by not only awarding prizes, but also rewarding people who were good shoppers—people who could come closer than their rivals to guessing the retail prices of goods (anything from a box of detergent to a yacht) without going over, would then win those goods. After a three-year hiatus, *The Price Is Right* returned to the air in 1972 hosted by the avuncular Bob Barker. It featured a glitzy studio and beautiful models who caressed the items "offered up for bid" and were as objectified as the goods themselves. Chosen middle-American audience members were exhorted by the announcer to "Come on down!" to be the next contestant, echoing the populist strains of the early quiz shows.

The quiz shows of the 1960s, in order to distance themselves from the scandals, renamed themselves "game" shows, and stayed away from big money prizes. *Jeopardy*, created by former game show host Merv Griffin in 1964, reversed the normal question and answer format by providing an answer and requiring contestants to supply the question. It was wildly popular especially among college students who regularly skipped class to watch it. Its original host, Art Fleming, was replaced by Alex Trebek in 1984. The 1970s saw a decrease in the number of and enthusiasm for game shows. As Thomas DeLong has written, "It seemed clear that prize money had become less of a riveting attraction to viewers and contestants alike. For the thousands who lined up at a game show studio with the hope of being selected as a contestant, it was less the promise of dollars and merchandise. The lure was television itself." Producer and game show host Chuck Barris, who referred to his shows as "popcorn for the mind," capitalized on this new attitude with the double entendre-filled *The Dating Game*, *The Newlywed Game*, and *The Gong Show*. *Let's Make a Deal* with Monty Hall also lured Americans looking for televised attention—the most outlandishly costumed people were chosen out of the audience by Hall to be the day's contestants. These shows reflected the increasing desire among the populace for fame rather than fortune. The longing to appear on television in front of millions of viewers seemed to take precedence over anything else—even prize money.

Notable shows of the 1970s included *The \$100,000 Pyramid* with Dick Clark, and new versions of old shows like *Super Password*, *The \$1,000,000 Chance of a Lifetime*, *The \$128,000 Question*, and *Tic Tac Dough* (with game show veteran Wink Martindale). *Family Feud* with Richard Dawson, added a twist that seemed particularly suited to the conformist backlash of the late 1970s. Rather than coming up with the *right* answer to a question, *Feud*'s teams of families had to guess which answer most people would give. Among the most outstanding shows beginning in the 1970s was the wholesome *Wheel of Fortune*, combining the children's game of Hangman with a Las Vegas-like spinning wheel to determine prize money. Originally hosted by Chuck Woolery (who later went on to host *Love Connection* and *Scrabble*), *Wheel* gained its greatest popularity in prime time when it was hosted by Pat Sajak and featured the

fashionably bedecked former Miss America Vanna White as the letter turner. Still a favorite in the late 1990s, this show is often televised in conjunction with *Jeopardy* during early prime time hours, and the two together are a study in contrasts: *Wheel* relies partly on luck, celebrates the simple accomplishments of the common man, and encourages a camaraderie where contestants clap in support for one another. *Jeopardy*, in contrast, maintains a more reserved atmosphere. It is strictly an answer-and-question game that hearkens back to the intellectual challenges of *Twenty-One* and *Information Please*, requiring smart players to answer difficult questions before their opponents do.

Game shows have had a difficult time competing with the drama found in the daytime talk shows of the 1980s and 1990s. No longer do producers have to pay or reward people to come on television and tell their stories—people do it for free just for the temporary chance at fame and the spotlight. *The Price Is Right* has remained daytime television's game show mainstay, accompanied mostly by soap operas and talk shows. Prime time hours during these decades have witnessed the entrenchment of *The Wheel of Fortune* and *Jeopardy*, and the resurgence of *Hollywood Squares*, a celebrity-based show, modeled on tic tac toe. In addition, in the late 1990s, shows like *Jeopardy* and *Wheel of Fortune* have developed interactive computer games that allow people to play at home, and The Gameshow Network, which televised both classic game shows and new ones, debuted in 1998, at once reviving the game show format and relegating it to a single marginalized cable network.

—Wendy Woloson

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## Gammons, Peter (1945—)

During the 1980s and 1990s, respected baseball analyst Peter Gammons has become virtually ubiquitous as a commentator on America's "national pastime," both in print and on television. Gammons writes a regular Sunday newspaper column for the *Boston Globe*, which refers to Gammons as the "Unofficial Commissioner of Baseball," covering issues dealing with both the local Boston Red Sox as well as the sport of baseball as whole. Since 1988, Gammon has served as a studio analyst and regular reporter for the cable television Entertainment and Sports Programming Network during the baseball season, offering a popular report called "Diamond Notes" during the network's *Sportscenter* program.

Gammons grew up in Groton, Massachusetts, as a lifelong Red Sox fan. He attended the University of North Carolina in the late

1960s, and after his graduation in 1969 began a seven-year stint as a sportswriter for the *Boston Globe*. In 1976, Gammons left the *Globe* to work for the prestigious national weekly *Sports Illustrated* until 1978, during which time he covered college basketball, the National Hockey League, and Major League baseball. As a senior writer from 1986 to 1990, he concentrated on Major League baseball. He has worked for the *Globe* again since 1990.

Gammons offers penetrating insights on the state of the game of baseball, including its past and future, instead of simply discussing day-to-day events. He has been highly critical of skyrocketing player salaries and the emphasis of baseball owners on television revenues, as evidenced by his book with Jack Sands, *Coming Apart at the Seams: How Baseball Owners, Players, and Television Executives Have Led Our National Pastime to the Brink of Disaster* (1993). He also has written *Beyond the Sixth Game* (1985), which deals with the issue of free agency in baseball, and he helped former Boston Red Sox pitcher Roger Clemens write his autobiography, *Rocket Man: The Roger Clemens Story* (1987).

Gammons was voted the National Sportswriter of the Year in 1989, 1990, and 1993 by the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Association. He also received an honorary Pointer Fellowship from Yale University. In a July 1998 chat session on the ESPN SportsZone web site, Gammons offered the following advice for aspiring sportswriters: "Take as many English, Political Science and History classes as you can. Then try to write for as many publications that will take your copy. Doesn't matter if it's a small-town, weekly newspaper or collector's news or *Sports Illustrated*. The more you write, the better you get."

—Jason George

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## Gangs

Youthful street gangs have become a seemingly ineradicable fixture of American urban life. Stories abound of well-armed black or Latino teenagers locked in heated battle, often to the death, with their rivals, growing rich off the profits of drug dealing, and swelling the ranks of already overcrowded state prisons. By the end of the twentieth century, as hysteria over the existence of these gangs increased, a sort of historical amnesia appeared to take hold of the press and the general public. It is easy to forget—or so it would seem—that the existence of gangs has been a consistent social phenomenon since the nineteenth century, causing sociologists to





**Crips gang members in Los Angeles.**

lock horns in debating the origins and motivation of the street gang. Common sense, however, dictates that any group, such as deprived inner-city youth, excluded from the general prosperity, will compensate for deprivation by staking a claim to their neighborhood, to the square blocks of ghetto they can control with relative impunity, and will profit from their position by any means at hand.

Prior to the Civil War, gangs of young Irish toughs were common in New York City. (In the field of gang studies, New York virtually monopolized the attention of sociologists, criminologists, psychologists, and others until the mid-twentieth century.) These youths had, by all accounts, provoked and fanned the draft riots that consumed New York in 1863, leaving an estimated 5,000 dead. With colorful names—such as the Pug Uglies (who took their name from their battered pug hats), the Dead Rabbits, and the Swamp Angels—and distinctive costumes, the different gang contingents were easily recognizable to each other and had an unsettling effect on the more genteel folk in the neighborhood. They engaged in street crime and extortion, murder and mayhem for hire, their services itemized in a price list that gang-members often carried with them. Such a list carried by one Piker Ryan priced ear removal at 15 dollars; murder itself commanded a mere 100. As an additional source of revenue, certain gangs leased their services to Tammany Hall politicians, intimidating voters and controlling elections. With the support of the

corrupt Tammany Hall politicians, and payoffs to local police, the street gangs could indulge in all manner of petty larceny, and were much feared in the neighborhoods they controlled. In reading accounts of their activities, the parallel with gang activities in the South Central area of Los Angeles in the late twentieth century is striking, but with two major differences: the early gangs were white (“no dogs and Irish” signs appeared in New York business premises at the time), and they did not carry automatic firearms.

By the turn of the century, politicians were forced to buckle under public pressure and withdraw their patronage from the gangs, and with it, police protection for their illicit activities. By then, the hegemony of Irish gangs throughout the Eastern seaboard was being challenged by successive waves of immigrants from Europe, and Italian and Jewish street gangs mushroomed, impinging on Irish territory and profits. In a perverse example of market demand, the price for strong-arm services fell to a new low. Many gangs began diversifying their activities, adding union-busting (or striker protection) to their racketeering in extortion and protection. It was a volatile situation. “By the latter part of 1913,” wrote the historian Herbert Asbury, “it is likely that there were more gangs in New York than in any other period in the history of the metropolis; the number and the ramification of their alliances were so bewildering that of hundreds there now [1927] exists no more than a trace. . . .”

Less than ten years later, gangs were spoken of in the past tense; an overly optimistic assessment as many gang members, cognizant of street crime's limitations, had simply gone professional, attaching themselves to one or another of the Irish, Jewish, or Italian mobs. In the 1920s, Prohibition provided ample and lucrative opportunities in the bootlegging trade, and with newfound wealth came a patina of respectability. The now fully fledged criminals forsook raffish outfits for smart, if ostentatious, business wear, bought fancy cars, and acquired a certain prestige in their communities; money brought them the temporary illusion that they had transcended their marginal social position.

Inner city neighborhoods are like fragile ecological systems, their balance of power disrupted by new arrivals. In New York waves of Puerto Rican and black immigrants arrived throughout the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. They came to seek an escape from rural impoverishment, but found, instead, its urban corollary. Following a by then familiar pattern, neighborhood youths organized under distinctive names, using the local candy store or soda shop as a base from which to enforce their territorial prerogative. They established alliances and bitter rivalries, often but not exclusively along color lines, and made war in the time-honored fashion. Now street fighting was called "rumbling," and it was fought with knives, chains, and homemade zip guns, but seldom with actual firearms. Of course, in this more civilized age, mayhem no longer had the same fiduciary incentive, and street gang crime was petty rather than serious. In short, the newer generations seemed more driven by the emotional need to form bonds and establish a distinctive identity.

The public, however, reacted to the mid-century gangs as if they were some fascinating new phenomenon. Their very existence may have been seen as an affront by the police, but sociologists studied them intently and a regular cottage industry was comprised of professors writing about "alienation and the juvenile delinquent." Hollywood capitalized on the  *Sturm und Drang* of disturbed youth, romanticizing their fashions, their primitive chivalry, and their violence. To all appearances, it was as if the term juvenile delinquent, having been thus coined, made the problem more comprehensible, but it was never clearly understood. Perhaps Hollywood came closest to doing the topic justice. Broadway's hit musical *West Side Story* (subsequently filmed) gave a romantic gloss to the subject of gang warfare by very virtue of the music, dance, and love story at its center, but *The Blackboard Jungle* (1955) caught the tenor of urban alienation, and *Rebel without a Cause*, released the same year, captured the flavor of suburban teendom and the ways in which it aped the anomie of the ghettos. A consequence of these films was to inspire teenagers everywhere to adopt the "delinquent" style of dress—black leather jacket, greased hair, tight jeans—and to unleash a wave of mindless and destructive middle class hooliganism.

By the 1960s, many gangs had assumed a radical agenda, as much a sign of the changing times as the radicalization of the poor. In an inversion of this trend, the Black Panther Party adopted a stylized version of gang-wear, sporting uniform black leather suit-jackets and berets. The Panthers, who could not technically be considered a gang, as well as bona fide gangs, initiated community self-protection (and self-help) programs, while joining the throngs in search of War on Poverty grants and lobbying the Federal government for funding. In his long essay, *Mau-Mauing the Flak-Catchers*, Tom Wolfe caught the methods of intimidation—not so different from the tactics adopted when extorting money from neighborhood businesses—used by gang members to cash in on the Federal largesse. With the collapse of the War on Poverty, economic and territorial imperatives reasserted

themselves and gangs returned to the petty crimes and drug dealing that had long supported them.

Out of the wreckage of the 1960s, new gangs emerged, and with them, a new hysteria. Left to their own devices, gangs in public housing projects, like the infamous Cabrini Green in Chicago, turned to drug dealing, especially after the introduction in the early 1980s of crack cocaine, a cheap, smokable, and virulent form of the drug. Projects and ghetto neighborhoods like South Central Los Angeles became no-go areas, patrolled by the new breed of gangster, or gang-bangers as they called themselves, well-armed, tightly-organized cadres inured to violence and ready to give their lives for their colors. Especially in Los Angeles, the new breed of gangs—the Crips, the Bloods, the Mexican Mafia—introduced a paramilitary discipline to their activities, enforcing the age-old territorial imperative with an impressive array of weaponry. These gangs became one of Los Angeles' most talked-about exports, with Crips and Bloods appearing as far afield as small towns in the Midwest.

The "rumble" was a thing of the past. Now gangs engaged in a sort of automotive warfare, the drive-by shooting, that bore as much resemblance to the rumble as a duel to an air raid. And once again, Hollywood turned the social unrest to its advantage, churning out a string of dystopic (*The Warriors*, 1979) or topical (*Colors*, 1988, *New Jack City*, 1991) gang films, while gangsta rap, a sub-genre of rap that celebrated the gang-banging lifestyle in graphic terms, made billions for record companies. Young white suburbanites did not fail to appreciate the nuances of "the life," and gangster slang and fashion overran white America, much to the distress of suburban parents. As in the 1950s, a cognitive dissonance developed between the fictitious depiction of gangs in music and film, enormously popular amongst white suburban teenagers, and the gangs themselves, who were vilified in the press and subjected to increasingly restrictive police measures. But no one would argue that cost in human life merited the celebration, especially after several high-profile rappers died (most prominently, Tupac Shakur, the son of a Black Panther, who had already survived one murder attempt) as the result of bi-coastal gang feuding; was it art imitating life or life imitating art?

It would appear that few social problems have remained as intractable as the street gang. But are street gangs a genuine danger or simply a bugbear, conveniently trotted out to justify the growth of police departments? This is of some import since, historically, gangs are depicted in the language of crisis. It becomes difficult to separate the phenomenon itself from the overlay of media coverage that concurrently obscures and defines the street gang. But for the atomized middle class public towards whom most media is slanted, gangs remain a disturbing phenomenon. That the media hysteria itself might not have an agenda is seldom discussed. It may be true that over the years the excesses of street gangs have become more alarming (there is no way to put a positive spin on the spate of random assaults and murders that have plagued New York, the result of "wilding," that is, young gangs hunting in packs for their human prey), but those who would vilify poor colored youth, fail to see their relationship to the problem, a relationship as intractable as the problem itself. John Q. Public would do well to read accounts of gang activity in the nineteenth century. He would soon realize that gangs are inextricably related to socio-economic conditions, and not a sign of impending societal collapse—the barbarians clamoring at the gate. The barbarians have always been among us.

—Michael Baers

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## Gangsta Rap

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Gangsta rap is the most controversial style of the rap music genre. It has achieved global prominence through its vivid sexist, misogynistic, and homophobic lyrics, as well as its violent depiction of urban ghetto life in America. Gangsta rap has also helped bring attention to other styles of rap music.

Although gangsta rap originated in New York in the late 1970s, it has widely become associated with the West Coast, particularly Los Angeles, due to the multi-million sales of rappers such as Ice Cube, Ice T, Dr. Dre, and Snoop Doggy Dogg. Los Angeles might proclaim itself as the home of gangsta rap, but gangsta lyrics and style were part of the hip-hop scene from its origins in the South Bronx in the mid-1970s. The inspiration behind the specific style known as gangsta rap in the late 1990s was Schooly D's *Smoke Some Kill* (1987) and Boogie Down Production's *Criminal Minded* (1987). In particular, the latter's track "9mm Goes Bang" has been seen as a pioneering force in gangsta rap's development. However, it was West Coast based Ice T's *Rhyme Pays* (1987), which ranged from humorous boasts and tales of crime and violence to outright misogyny, together with N.W.A.'s (Niggaz With Attitude) underground album *Straight Outta Compton* (1988) that established gangsta rap firmly within the American music scene. Its keynote track "F\*\*\* Tha Police" was considered so shocking that radio stations and MTV refused to play it. Nonetheless, the album went platinum. N.W.A. and gangsta rap's popularity was compounded with the release of their second album *EFILAZAGGIN* in 1991, which debuted at number two in the *Billboard* chart with neither a single nor a video and became the first rap album to reach number one. Snoop Doggy Dogg then became the first rapper to go straight to number one with his album *Doggystyle* (1993).

Gangsta rap is distinctive for its rich descriptive storytelling laid over heavy funk samples from Parliament-Funkadelic, Sly Stone, James Brown, Rick James, Average White Band, Ohio Players, and George Clinton. Although it originated in New York, gangsta rap has evolved a unique West Coast flavor. Its roots can be traced to early depictions of the hustler lifestyle and low-budget blaxploitation movies of the 1970s, which glorified blacks as criminals, pimps, pushers, prostitutes, and gangsters. And since many of rap's early pioneers were gang members, gangsta rap came from the life experiences of the rappers. Gangsta rappers have become high-profile figures, many of them featured in Hollywood films such as *Boyz 'n' the Hood* (1991), *New Jack City* (1991), and *Menace II Society* (1993), which have brought views of ghetto life to the masses.

The reliance on crime in the lyrics of gangsta rap fuels much of the controversy surrounding the musical style. Too Short, Above the Law, Mr. Scarface, and Big Daddy Kane, for example, all celebrate

pimping. While it has been criticized for glorifying the negativity of the streets, gangsta rap's defenders claim that the rappers are simply reporting what really goes on in their neighborhoods; that drugs, prostitution, violence, and sexual promiscuity are all features of their daily existence. As N.W.A. proclaim, "It's not about a salary, it's all about reality." Nonetheless, this has led to suggestions that rap reinforces negative stereotypes of the black community and lionizes anti-social behavior. What is more, many of gangsta rap's high-profile rappers have acquired public notoriety. Some like Snoop Doggy Dogg have been implicated in gangland murders, while others such as Tupac Shakur and the Notorious B.I.G. have been killed.

Gangsta rap has become popular with those who have no direct experience with the lifestyle it depicts. The sexually explicit lyrics combined with graphic portrayals of gang killings have appealed to many middle-class white male youths. Indeed, some critics have suggested that a directly proportional relationship has developed between gangsta rap's explicitness and the sale of its records. Critics note that the violence and gangsterism has been over-exaggerated as a highly effective marketing ploy by the white-owned record companies. This has been helped by the addition of "parental advisory" stickers to many of their albums. For white middle-class male youths, gangsta rap possibly fulfills the same role as the blaxploitation films, attracting listeners for whom the "ghetto" is the location of adventure, violence, erotic fantasy, an alternative to the conformity and banality of suburbia. This voyeurism helps to explain gangsta rap's large following outside its communities of origin.

—Nathan Abrams

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## The Gap

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The Gap casual apparel stores have become a ubiquitous fixture in malls and urban shopping districts around the world. Their high-quality, classic designs have remained wardrobe staples for youthful customers, older shoppers, and their children, bridging that "generation gap" that originally gave rise to its name. Founded in San Francisco in 1969 by Donald and Doris Fisher as a place for youngsters to buy jeans in a variety of sizes, The Gap by the 1990s warranted mentions and appearances in films and television shows, winning a prominent place in the 1994 hit movie *Reality Bites* and spawning a satire on the skit program *Saturday Night Live*. Detractors criticize the store's style as generic, but steadily increasing sales have made it a multibillion dollar company.

—Geri Space

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## Garbo, Greta (1905-1990)

Swedish actress Greta Garbo accomplished in less than two decades what advocates for women's rights had sought for centuries: she showed the American public that feminine sexuality was compatible with intelligence. During the 1920s, when liberated flappers still attracted scorn from mainstream society, Garbo's depiction of independent yet feminine beauties helped convince millions of American women that sexual initiative was not a man's prerogative. Garbo "was allowed the right to have amorous needs and desires," according to biographer Karen Swenson, and her popularity with both sexes enabled her to challenge "traditional roles with few negative consequences." At the same time, Hollywood's highest paid female star eschewed media attention and created a mystical image around her indifference to public opinion. At the age of thirty-six, Garbo retired to a life of almost hermetic seclusion. Film critic David Thomson saliently observed that "in making the journey away from fame into privacy she established herself forever as a magical figure, a true goddess, remote and austere, but intimate and touching."



Greta Garbo

Hollywood's Viking beauty began life as Greta Lovisa Gustafsson on September 18, 1905. She grew up in an impoverished Stockholm household and went to work as a lather girl in a barber shop at age fourteen. By sixteen, the aspiring actress had garnered admission to Sweden's exclusive Royal Dramatic Theater Academy. She soon impressed Scandinavia's foremost director, Mauritz Stiller, with her perfect instincts and dignified beauty. He gave her the stage name Garbo and cast her as Countess Elizabeth Dohna in the silent screen masterpiece *The Story of Gosta Berling*. A leading role in G. W. Pabst's *Joyless Street* (1925) soon followed. The part, that of a struggling Viennese woman on the verge of prostitution, permitted Garbo to explore sexuality on screen for the first time. The film itself shattered box office records and became an enduring masterpiece of realistic cinema. Garbo's great break occurred when Louis Mayer of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer recruited Stiller for his Hollywood studios. The established director insisted that his relatively obscure nineteen-year-old starlet accompany him to the United States. Stiller was soon exported back to Stockholm while Garbo became a box office sensation.

The eleven silent movies that Garbo filmed between 1925 and 1929 earned her critical claim as Hollywood's most talented female actress. Starring across from leading man John Gilbert in *Flesh and the Devil* (1927) and *Love* (1927) she awed audiences and shocked censors with her forthright sexuality. Garbo displayed her wide range playing a Spanish opera singer in *The Torrent* (1926), a Russian spy in *The Mysterious Lady* (1928), an English aristocrat in *A Women of Affairs* (1928) and a southern belle in *Wild Orchids* (1929). The star's appearance influenced an entire generation as millions of female fans copied her tastes in clothing and hair styles. Crazes for artificial eye lashes and cloche hats swept the nation. Meanwhile Garbo, whom Claire Booth Luce described as "a deer in the body of a woman living resentfully in the Hollywood zoo," distanced herself from both the public and the Los Angeles social scene.

Garbo may have been one of the leading box office draws of the silent era but few critics expected her to make the transition to talkies. The advent of sound ended the careers of most silent stars and the Swede's deep voice and heavy accent were expected to turn off audiences. Instead, the twenty-five-year-old actress gave her most compelling performance in an adaptation of Eugene O'Neill's play *Anna Christie* (1930). She played a waterfront streetwalker searching for her barge-captain father. Her opening words, at that time the longest sound sequence ever heard in a film, are cinematic legend: "Gimme a whiskey, ginger ale on the side . . . and don't be stingy, baby!" Other hits followed. *Mata Hari* (1932), *Queen Christina* (1935), *Anna Karenina* (1935) and *Camille* (1936) confirmed her reputation as the leading lady of the early sound era. Garbo's greatest role, that of the suicidal Russian dancer Grusinskaya in *Grand Hotel* (1932), ranks among the best female leads ever seen on the large screen. It is here that she declares her haunting wish: "But I want to be alone." After surprising success as the comic lead in *Ninotchka* (1939), Garbo filmed the lackluster *Two-Face Woman* (1941) and then retired from the public eye. She was thirty-six years old.

During the last five decades of Garbo's life, "The Scandinavian Sphinx" established herself as cinema's leading enigma. She travelled extensively but turned down all requests for public appearances. Instead, she entertained such close friends as Winston Churchill and Martha Graham in her posh New York City apartment. As one of the *grande dames* of American cinema, her intimates included William Paley, Anthony Eden, Jean Cocteau, Irwin Shaw, Dag Hammarsjokld, Cole Porter, and Jacqueline Kennedy. She also devoted herself to amassing an internationally renowned art collection which boasted

masterpieces by Renoir and Bonnard. Garbo received an Honorary Academy Award in 1954 for “unforgettable screen performances.” She died in New York City on April 15, 1990.

Greta Garbo entered the American consciousness during the mid-1920s at an historical moment when gender roles were in flux. The young actress came to represent a palatable form of female liberation and brought the icon of the independent woman home to Middle America. As biographer Karen Swenson described the star, “Her intimate posture and kisses suggested a woman—not a vamp—who was secure in her sexuality.” Garbo’s influence endured long after she became film’s most celebrated recluse. Throughout her life, she remained private, elusive, and conspicuously unmarried. “There is no one who would have me. I can’t cook,” she once joked—displaying the combination of independence and feminine intelligence which made her famous.

—Jacob M. Appel

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## Gardner, Ava (1922-1990)

Film actress Ava Gardner was the last, and least typical, of the screen’s Love Goddesses, superseding Rita Hayworth and outliving Marilyn Monroe. As the hard-bitten press agent (Edmond O’Brien) in *The Barefoot Contessa* (1954) says of the Madrid slum gypsy (Gardner) elevated to screen stardom, “Whatever it is, whether you’re born with it, or catch it from a public drinking cup, she’s got it; and the people with the money in their hands put her there.” Joseph L. Manckiewicz’s film was dubbed “a trash masterpiece” by critic Pauline Kael, but trash or not, it perhaps gave the fullest expression to the magic sensuality of its titular star. Tall and lissome, Gardner was frequently likened to a panther and her sinuous grace inspired publicists for *The Barefoot Contessa* to trumpet her as “The World’s Most Exciting Animal.” Dark-haired, smokily glamorous, and husky-voiced, her sex appeal was subtly come-hither, and with her “natural” quality she was a beauty both dazzling and refreshingly uncontrived.



Frank Sinatra and Ava Gardner

To quote from *The Barefoot Contessa* again, “Life, every now and then, behaves as though it has seen too many bad movies.” Spoken by Humphrey Bogart, the words might well have reflected the less happy aspects of Ava Gardner’s life although, by all accounts, she was a warm, generous, witty, and life-loving free spirit. However, she was as famed for her torrid love affairs and her heavily publicized marriages as for her legendary looks. Indeed, fame first came her way not for her work, but for her first marriage to an unlikely husband, the pint-sized Mickey Rooney, in 1942. It lasted 17 months, and her second, to bandleader Artie Shaw in 1945, was even shorter. Most famously, her third and last husband was Frank Sinatra. They married in 1951, separated in 1954, and divorced in 1957, but it was a grand passion and a tempestuous liaison that resonated for years to come in their lives and in the pages of an eager tabloid press.

Popular myth has it that Ava Gardner (her real name) suffered an unhappy childhood as a daughter of dirt-poor tenant farmers in North Carolina. In reality, life was a struggle for her Depression-hit family, but nobody went hungry. In 1940, aged 18, Ava visited her married sister in New York where she intended to become a secretary. Her photographer brother-in-law took pictures of her and sent them to somebody at MGM, resulting in a screen test and a seven-year contract with the studio that boasted “more stars than there are in heaven.” It took six years before Gardner was one of them. She was put through the usual rigors of studio training in how to walk, how to talk, how to pose for publicity pictures (of which, in her case, there would be thousands), but MGM initially failed to realize her potential. She was given small roles in a variety of films and lent to other studios. It was only after she played the sultry temptress opposite Burt

Lancaster in *The Killers* (1946)—on loan to Universal—that stardom beckoned. The path to the top was uneven—leads alternating with supporting roles. She played her first starring role, appropriately as a goddess, in the none-too-successful *One Touch of Venus* (1948), but the public was entranced by her. Whether playing secondary parts or leads in less than distinguished films, she retained top star status until her career ended in 1982, her beauty matured but intact.

Gardner's high public profile, arising from her private life—after parting from Sinatra she lived for a time amidst the Jet Set in Madrid, romancing with playboys and matadors—tended to obscure her professional accomplishments. Cinema historian David Shipman wrote "Ava Gardner has seldom been accused of acting," and many considered that she held the world in thrall with her ravishing looks but had little talent. Time proved this a common misperception. Although her range was limited, her intelligence was unmistakable, and she revealed a touching vulnerability that enhanced characters as diverse as her critically well-received mulatto Julie in *Show Boat* (1951), her gutsy Hemingway woman in *The Snows of Kilimanjaro* (1952), the half-caste Anglo-Indian of Cukor's *Bhowani Junction* (1956), and the small but significant role of the patriotic discarded mistress of a deranged general (Burt Lancaster) in *Seven Days in May* (1964).

Gardner was never more beautiful than as Pandora in the mythical, mystical hokum that was *Pandora and the Flying Dutchman* (1951), ensnaring and redeeming eternally wandering sea captain James Mason; and she was nominated for an Academy Award for her performance as a tough-talking, witty good-time girl, costarring with Clark Gable in *Mogambo* (1953), a remake of his outing with Jean Harlow in *Red Dust* (1932). To her detractors, the biggest surprise was her performance in John Huston's screen version of *The Night of the Iguana* (1964). No longer youthful, but still oozing sexual charisma, she did creditable justice to Tennessee Williams's play, at the center of things as the heavy-drinking hotel keeper lusting after Richard Burton's defrocked priest.

Ava Gardner retired from the screen in 1982 and made a late television debut in 1985 in *Knot's Landing*. She played three more roles on television, notably as the scheming Agrippina in the miniseries *AD*, before settling to a reclusive life in London, England, where she died of pneumonia at the age of 67. Her autobiography, compiled by Alan Burgess and Kenneth Turan from interview tapes, was published posthumously.

—Robyn Karney

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## Garfield, John (1913-1952)

The original movie rebel, ruggedly handsome John Garfield rose to fame with his post-Depression portrayals of cynical men who reflected the era's social unrest. As depicted by Garfield, characters no longer were readily identifiable as either good or evil—the rebel



**John Garfield**

characterization which became the calling card of iconoclastic actors including Marlon Brando, Montgomery Clift, James Dean, Steve McQueen, and Al Pacino. Garfield also endures as a strong sexual presence, particularly in his teaming with Lana Turner in the 1946 adaptation of James M. Cain's steamy *The Postman Always Rings Twice*, and, a year later, opposite Joan Crawford in *Humoresque*.

Born Julius Garfinkle on New York's Lower East Side, Garfield was the son of a coat presser and cantor, and a mother who died when he was seven. He spent much of his childhood on the streets, where he ran with Bronx gangs. As a teenager, his life took a turn when he came under the tutelage of noted educator Angelo Patri, who encouraged him to study drama. "Julie," as Garfield was called throughout his life by friends and family, went on to earn a drama scholarship at the Heckscher Foundation Drama Workshop. Through the workshop he met playwright Clifford Odets, who helped to pave his way into the innovative Group Theater.

It was in a Group Theater February 1935 performance of Odet's play *Awake and Sing* that Garfield first caught the attention of reviewers. Yet, he might have remained a stage performer if not for his disappointment over the casting of Odets's *Golden Boy*. Though the central role had been written with Garfield in mind, it instead went to the director's brother-in-law. Garfield, who took a lesser role, was primed for a career change when he was approached by Warner

Brothers. Then known for its movies for and about the working class, the studio signed him to a contract.

Garfield's talents and rebellious persona were apparent with his first film, *Four Daughters*, for which he was nominated best supporting actor of 1938. As Mickey Borden, an orchestrator who comes into the life of a sunny blonde and her musical family, he sardonically surmised, "The fates are against me. They tossed a coin—heads, I'm poor, tails I'm rich. So what did they do? They tossed a coin with two heads." That sense of fatalism would become a Garfield motif. Indeed, he enjoyed his only traditionally heroic role in the 1945 title *Pride of the Marines*, which followed the return home and rehabilitation of real-life marine Al Schmid. Blinded during a bloody night attack on Guadalcanal, Schmid nonetheless machine-gunned some two hundred Japanese soldiers.

An actor who identified with characters who lived on the edge, Garfield also tackled roles because of his admiration for particular artists and themes. He starred in *The Sea Wolf* (1941) because he revered the writings of Jack London. He took a supporting role in the seminal movie *Gentleman's Agreement* (1947) because it examined anti-Semitism. Said Garfield, "That was a part I didn't act. I felt it with all my heart."

Frequently, the men he played were on the run—from themselves as well as from the law. In *They Made Me a Criminal* (1939) he was a prizefighter who headed west following his involvement with a murder; in *Dust Be My Destiny* (1939) he was an escapee from a prison work farm; in *The Breaking Point* (1950) he was a boat captain who smuggled illegal aliens; in his final film, the 1951 *He Ran All the Way*, his character goes into hiding following his involvement in a payroll robbery in which a policeman is killed.

Within the Garfield oeuvre, redemption came at a significant price. *Body and Soul* (1947), about an unscrupulous prizefighter, climaxes when Garfield's character refuses to throw a fight. "What are you gonna do, kill me? Everybody dies," he says, in a defiant but downbeat climax. Renowned for its realistic boxing sequences, the movie earned Garfield a best actor Oscar nomination. In the similarly dark *Force of Evil* (1948), Garfield was a crooked lawyer involved in a numbers syndicate. Both movies, which were produced by Garfield's own company, continue to enjoy cult status, in part because of the involvement of filmmaker Abraham Polonsky, who was later blacklisted.

Because of his own outspoken liberal views, Garfield also came under the scrutiny of the House Un-American Activities Committee during its investigation of the Communist infiltration of Hollywood. During his 1951 testimony, Garfield surprised friends and associates by contradicting his well-known viewpoints. In the aftermath of his testimony, major film offers ended. The actor was estranged from his family when he succumbed to a heart attack at age thirty-eight. Those closest to him claimed that the stress of the investigation contributed to his death.

Because Garfield had an off-screen reputation as a lothario, and because he died in the bed of a female friend, there have long been rumors regarding details of his death. In the 1993 movie *Indecent Proposal*, in which multi-millionaire Robert Redford has a contract drawn up regarding a pending sexual liaison with Demi Moore, the lawyer adds a "John Garfield clause," explaining, "That's if you die in the act." But the sexual lore about Garfield pales alongside his fiercely memorable screen images. With his tousled hair, ubiquitous cigarette, and embittered world-weariness, he is a reminder that life is a survival course.

It could also be said that the original movie rebel helped to make possible a far more legendary career: Garfield originally was sought for the role of Stanley Kowalski in the Broadway play *A Streetcar Named Desire*. He turned it down, believing that the character of Blanche du Bois overshadowed Kowalski. The role went to a twenty-four-year-old unknown named Marlon Brando. In essence, one rebel passed the torch to another.

—Pat H. Broeske

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## Garland, Judy (1922-1969)

At the end of the twentieth century, 30 years after her tragically premature death, Judy Garland is still a legend to legions of fans the



Judy Garland

world over, who recognize in her one of the twentieth century's all-time great American talents. As Dorothy in *The Wizard of Oz* (1938), she symbolized the innocence and hope that would both desert her in her own life, which came to represent an unhappy paradigm of the fate that befell so many child stars who were victims of the old Hollywood studio system. As an MGM "triple threat" from 1938 to 1950, she acted, danced, and sang her way through more than two dozen feature films, many of which are now considered classics of the Hollywood musical genre. She possessed a powerful and expressive voice, unique in tone, and full of pain and vulnerability—she once said, "I have a voice that hurts people when they think they want to be hurt." She recorded nearly 100 singles and more than two dozen albums with that voice. Diminutive, but vibrating with nervous energy and charisma, she became a gay icon among show business devotees, much as Maria Callas did among opera buffs. Her life was turbulent and terrible, her legacy a joyous inspiration. She was an underused and brilliant actress as well as one of the greatest-ever popular singers. Above all, she had that indefinable quality that makes a star.

Garland was born Frances Gumm on June 10, 1922 in Grand Rapids, Minnesota, to vaudevillian parents Frank and Ethel Gumm. From the time she was a toddler, "Baby Gumm" performed with her two older sisters in a stage act called "The Gumm Sisters Kiddie Act." Her rendition as a two-year-old of "Jingle Bells," performed on stage at the New Grand Theater (her father's cinema), brought the house down. The act later became the "Garland Sisters," with Judy billed as "the little girl with the great big voice." Her own name was changed when she was 12—comedian George Jessel gave Judy and her sisters the moniker Garland when he introduced them at the 1934 World's Fair in Chicago, and she herself chose Judy, after the title of a Hoagy Carmichael song.

In 1935, at the age of 13, Garland signed a contract with MGM. In November of that year, she did several radio broadcasts, singing "Broadway Melody" and what would later become one of her several signature songs, "Zing! Went the Strings of My Heart." A few days later, her father died of spinal meningitis; Judy's reaction was a day-long crying binge, indicative of the raw emotionalism that would dog her always. Initially, studio chief Louis B. Mayer was unsure how to use Garland. Her vocal quality was so adult, it was feared that audiences would not believe it came from the child, but they put her into a two-reel short called *Every Sunday* (1936) with another youthful newcomer named Deanna Durbin. Durbin was dropped and Garland kept on, but her first feature, *Pigskin Parade* (1936) was made on loan-out to Fox. Then, in 1938, she virtually stole the show from a starry cast in MGM's *Broadway Melody of 1938*, tremulously singing "Dear Mr. Gable/ You Made Me Love You" to a photograph of the macho star.

In 1937 Judy appeared in *Thoroughbreds Don't Cry*. The film was neither here nor there, but marked a significant first pairing with the other multi-talented performing child genius of the age, Mickey Rooney, with whom she would co-star nine times in all. With the young Lana Turner, she appeared with Rooney again in *Love Finds Andy Hardy* (1938), an entry in America's most famous ever "family entertainment" screen series. But the film that elevated her to superstardom was *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), in which the studio cast her with some reluctance when Mayer failed to get his chosen Dorothy, Shirley Temple.

The role of Dorothy, who yearns for a place where "the dreams that you dare to dream really do come true," only to discover after a series of fantastic adventures, that "home is best," unleashed and

defined Garland's extraordinary talent, and revealed the heartbreaking vulnerability that uniquely characterized her persona. Garland's portrayal of Dorothy was the defining role of her life, while "Somewhere Over the Rainbow" pursued her for the rest of her life. It became an anthem of hope in England during World War II, and later, she would sing the last eight bars over the phone to President John F. Kennedy whenever he needed cheering up. No concert audience would have permitted her to leave the stage without performing the number, which she generally used as her finale; it had profound personal significance for her and for the concert fans, who often shed a tear when listening.

The Academy Award-nominated film lost out to *Gone with the Wind*, but 16-year-old Judy Garland, an instant legend, received a special miniature Oscar in recognition of her performance. Meanwhile, off-screen, her personal life was already subject to the patterns that would destroy her. Controlled by an archetypal stage mother on the one hand and the ruthless rules of the studio on the other, she was put on a strict diet to contain a tendency to over-weight. A doctor recommended appetite suppressants. Simultaneously, the pressures of work were taking their toll and soon she was living on pills—diet pills, pills to sleep, pills to keep awake. At 19 she married orchestra leader David Rose, the first of her five husbands. Two years later they were separated and officially divorced in 1945, by which time she had made several in the cycle of juvenile, "lets-put-on-a-show" musicals with Mickey Rooney that remain classics of their kind—exuberant, and bursting with the combined powerhouse of dancing, singing, and acting talent provided by their young stars. The cycle began with *Strike Up the Band* in 1940, and included *Babes on Broadway* (1942) and *Thousands Cheer* (1943) along the way.

In 1944 Judy starred in one of the American cinema's landmark musicals, *Meet Me in St. Louis*, directed by the great colorist of the musical screen, Vincente Minnelli. The film yielded another of Garland's signature tunes with "The Trolley Song" and led to her second marriage. Minnelli became her husband in 1946, and the father of her daughter Liza. The marriage was over by 1949 but, under her husband's direction, Garland made *The Clock* (1945). Co-starring Robert Walker, the small-scale, black-and-white film concerned the meeting of a girl and a soldier under the clock at Grand Central, and their brief idyll and marriage during his 24-hour leave. Charming and poignant, it marked a departure for Garland, who revealed her considerable talents as a straight actress.

While the systematic disintegration of her health and psyche continued, rendering her subject to professional unreliability, the star continued to make millions for MGM. She starred in *The Harvey Girls* and *Ziegfeld Follies* in 1946 and *In the Good Old Summertime* (1949); her guest appearance in *Till the Clouds Roll By* (1946), in which, as Broadway star Marilyn Miller, she memorably rode bareback in a circus, sang "Who (stole my heart away)," and, smudge-nosed and aproned, rendered "Look for the Silver Lining" while up to her ears in a pile of dirty dishes, were among the highlights of a film packed with them. The most enduring musical of the period saw her paired with Fred Astaire in *Easter Parade* (1948), the film in which, dressed in tattered top hats and tails, the pair famously sang "A Couple of Swells."

By 1950, however, Garland's increasing failure to appear on set and her emotional setbacks, which caused monumental difficulties for *Summer Stock* with Gene Kelly, had become intolerable, and MGM fired her. She published a somewhat disingenuous open letter (doubtless concocted by her publicist or some such person) to her fans in *Modern Screen*, saying she had suffered from depression and a



“mild inferiority complex,” and needed a vacation. Garland thanked her fans for their stalwart support and said, “A lot of fanciful stories have depicted me as the victim of stark tragedy, high drama, and all sorts of mysterious Hollywood meanderings. All that is bunk. Basically, I am still Judy Garland, a plain American girl from Grand Rapids, Minnesota, who’s had a lot of good breaks, a few tough breaks, and who loves you with all her heart for your kindness in understanding that I am nothing more, nothing less.”

In 1951, Garland and her third husband, Sid Luft, staged her first big “comeback”—a concert appearance at the Palace Theater on Broadway. The record-breaking show ran for 21 weeks. She continued to appear on the international concert circuit through the 1950s and 1960s—when, that is, her shaky emotional stability allowed her the strength to keep her engagements, but her film career shuddered to an almost total halt, but for perhaps her greatest screen achievement, as Esther Blodgett/Vicki Lester in Warner’s 1954 remake of *A Star is Born* (1954). Co-starring James Mason and directed by George Cukor, the film showcased an amalgam of all the Garland gifts, both musical and dramatic, highlighting her vulnerability, her intensity, her energy and her sense of humor. It is a spectacular performance in a spectacularly good film (musical highlights include “The Man That Got Away” and “Born in a Trunk”) and she was nominated for the Best Actress Oscar. In a decision that remains an eternal blot on the Academy’s integrity, the coveted statuette went to Grace Kelly for *The Country Girl*, rendering Garland a body blow.

She remained an Academy Award nominee only again in 1961, deservedly acknowledged for her heart-rending straight dramatic performance in Stanley Kramer’s *Judgment at Nuremberg*. Another dramatic performance, opposite Burt Lancaster in Kramer’s *A Child Is Waiting* (1963), was even more heart-rending, as was the film itself, set in a home for autistic children. On CBS television, *The Judy Garland Show* during the early 1960s was short-lived, but her Carnegie Hall appearance, in 1962, the recording of which received an unprecedented five Grammy Awards, including Album of the Year, was a now legendary success. At this concert, and those at the Palace and the London Palladium (where she appeared in an emotional shared concert with Liza), the hysterical screaming and crying was comparable only to that found at rock concerts. There was a real chance that “The World’s Greatest Entertainer” would collapse or fail on stage, but audiences were rooting for her; they loved not only Garland’s voice and talent, they loved *her*. Legend has it that once, when she called for requests, one audience member yelled, “Just stand there!”

In 1963, Judy Garland made the last, and least, of her films. Indeed, *I Could Go on Singing*, opposite Dirk Bogarde, was a travesty and a humiliation as the once great star played herself—a dumpy, frowsty, unhappy washed-up singing star attempting to make a comeback amid the ruins of her private life. That, fortunately, is not how she is remembered.

Her marriage to Sid Luft (the father of her children Lorna and Joey) was over in the early 1960s, and their divorce in 1965 followed an exhausting battle over custody of the children. In the wake of Luft, she married an unsuccessful actor named Mark Herron, seven years her junior, but they were separated after only six months. Worn out from long years of concert tours, lawsuits, depression, substance abuse, nervous breakdowns, failed marriages and suicide attempts, Garland went to London in early 1968, married her fifth husband—35-year-old disco manager Mickey Deans—and appeared for a three-week season at *The Talk of the Town*.

She was clearly in a bad way, and drew unsympathetic audiences who were vocal in their hostility. The run was a humiliating fiasco, but she planned yet another comeback at the same venue the following year. Garland once said she’d had so many comebacks that every time she came back from the bathroom it was regarded as a comeback. It was an ironic comment: On June 22, 1969, she never came back from the bathroom of her London hotel suite where Deans found her, dead of a drug overdose. Alas, although millions grieved, few were surprised. Vincent Canby wrote in the *New York Times*, “The greatest shock about her death was that there was no shock.” She was 47 years old and died four million dollars in debt.

While Garland attracted a wide cross-section of the population, both at home and abroad, she held a particular appeal for gay men, and her status as a gay icon remains probably unmatched. She collected a gay following quite early on in her career and by the 1970s the phrase “a friend of Dorothy” was understood as describing someone as gay. She was adored by drag queens, an idolatry that led to a line in the play, (and film) *The Boys in the Band* where one character rhetorically asks, “What’s more boring than a queen doing a Judy Garland imitation?” Even the gay pride rainbow symbol connects to her most famous iconic image. Garland’s frequent suicide attempts became a bizarre element of her legend, and with each new attempt reported in the tabloids, gay fans wore Band-Aids on their wrists in solidarity. Some say Garland’s New York City funeral contributed to the power of the pivotal Stonewall rebellion. With emotions running high in the aftermath of the funeral, gay and lesbian patrons at the Stonewall Inn in Greenwich Village fought gay-bashing police and sparked a series of riots in New York that heralded the beginning of the gay liberation movement.

A powerful, and sad, echo of Judy Garland has lived on in the voice, persona, and tortured personal life of her gifted daughter, Liza Minnelli, while Lorna Luft, too, pursued a show business career and wrote a tell-all book about her mother, *Me and My Shadows: A Family Memoir* (1998). Her great legacy, though, rests in the films and recordings by which she lives on and, as Frank Sinatra so aptly put it after her death, “the rest of us will be forgotten—never Judy.”

—Jessy Randall

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## Garner, James (1928—)

Playing wandering gambler Bret Maverick in the television western *Maverick* (1957-60), James Garner established the persona of

the cynical, witty anti-hero, a persona which he would carry with him in the majority of his later roles. Garner enjoyed television success again in *The Rockford Files* (1974-80) as crusty private eye Jim Rockford, a role which earned him an Emmy (1976). In films such as *The Americanization of Emily* (1964), *Support Your Local Sheriff!* (1969), *H.E.A.L.T.H.* (1979), *Victor/Victoria* (1982), and *Barbarians at the Gate* (1993), Garner has proven that his trademark persona has an enduring popularity.

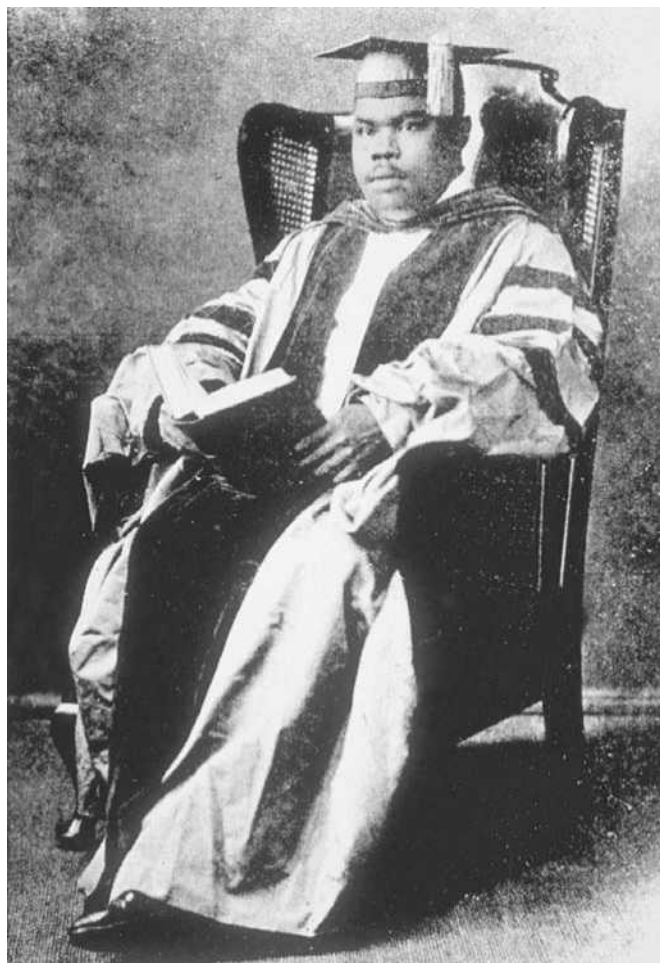
—Christian L. Pyle

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## Garvey, Marcus (1887-1940)

As an activist who promoted Black pride, Marcus Garvey founded one of the largest mass movements of Black Americans. Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) offered



Marcus Garvey

new hope for working-class Blacks in the 1920s. At the same time, Harlem Renaissance artists also encouraged racial pride like Garvey, but within that movement opportunities came to only a limited number of creative African American individuals. Garvey's clarion call for Black nationalism resonated primarily among lower- and working-class blacks and inspired numerous Black mass-appeal leaders and movements. The appeal of Garvey himself faded by the late 1920s, but he remained a complex and controversial figure for his views on Black nationalism and cultural militancy, which energized many Black Americans in the post-World War I era.

Although he would become a pioneering Black nationalist in the United States, Garvey grew up in rather inauspicious surroundings in Jamaica. He was born on Saint Ann's Bay, Jamaica, on August 17, 1887. As a young man, Garvey moved to Kingston, where he worked as a printer and editor. After traveling extensively in the West Indies and Central America and living briefly in England, Garvey became convinced that Black people suffered a sort of universal cultural and economic exploitation wherever they lived outside Africa. Garvey worked to resolve this by preaching cultural unification of Blacks worldwide, stressing the idea of going back to Africa. In 1914, Garvey organized the Universal Negro Improvement Association in Jamaica as the organizational arm of his Black nationalist "Back to Africa" Movement. Soon his oratorical skills drew many supporters. By the time Garvey moved to the United States in 1916, the UNIA had become a budding international movement for downtrodden Blacks seeking help in improving their lives as a collective voice. It was the desperate post-World War I Black population of inner-city New York that provided Garvey with the most recruits and support.

By the early 1920s, Garvey had made Harlem the home base for the UNIA. During numerous rallies, parades, and similar demonstrations, Garvey preached a message of racial pride and cultural unity to millions of Blacks throughout the United States and the world. Garvey's then-radical message appealed especially to Black Americans who, as a result of the "Great Migration" of the early twentieth century (which had moved millions of blacks from the rural South to the urban North), could easily spread Garvey's message through their new urban-based culture. Garvey's fervent nationalism became epitomized in his cry, "Up, Up You Mighty Race! You Can Accomplish What You Will!" By the mid-1920s, the UNIA claimed almost two and a half million members and sympathizers, although in retrospect that number seems inflated.

Yet, by the late 1920s, the mass cultural appeal of Marcus Garvey and the UNIA quickly decreased. In 1925, Garvey received a five-year prison sentence for mail fraud, even though the evidence indicated that his subordinates may have committed the crimes without Garvey's knowledge. In 1927, President Coolidge commuted Garvey's sentence and ordered him deported to Jamaica. Without the dynamic Marcus Garvey as its leader, the UNIA quickly disintegrated into a moribund movement. As the Great Depression swept America in the 1930s, Garvey's once forceful movement slipped into anonymity. Garvey sought to resurrect the movement in London in 1935, but gained little success and died a largely forgotten man in London in 1940.

Though Garvey faded from popularity after his incarceration in 1925, his teachings and ideas became a lasting legacy. His emphasis on racial pride, understanding the African heritage, and Black unity shaped the thinking of Malcolm X (whose father was a Garveyite) and the program of the Black Muslims in the 1930s. Garvey's memory also inspired the Black Power movement of the 1960s. Moreover,

Garvey's stress on self-reliance is still an important theme among many African-American community leaders. Marcus Garvey remains an undisputed icon of Black pride.

—Irvin D. Solomon

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## Garvey, Steve (1948—)

Baseball great Steve Garvey was one of the most popular and successful players in Major League Baseball during the 1970s. Garvey was named the National League's Most Valuable Player in 1974 and went on to play in four World Series as first baseman with the Dodgers. He was voted to the All-Star team eight times as a Dodger, and was named the All-Star Game's Most Valuable Player twice, in 1974 and 1978. He and wife Cynthia Garvey, who had a very successful television career, became known as the "Barbie and Ken" of baseball because of their good looks and apparent perfect lifestyle. Marital infidelity plagued both of the Garveys, and the couple eventually divorced. Garvey completed his playing career with the San Diego Padres where he retired in 1987.

—Jay Parrent

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## Gas Stations

Gas stations are embedded in our urban and rural landscape, pervasive symbols of the automobile's domination of twentieth-century society. Like the fast-food restaurant, the motel, and the

shopping mall, gas stations are buildings whose very existence was generated by the automobile. The gas station also demonstrates the extent of corporate control over our lives. On a more philosophical note, they represent what one writer has referred to as "a potential point of pause" in our unceasingly mobile culture.

Gas stations have changed over the course of the century from strictly functional to multipurpose. Their evolution allows us to glimpse the development of a consumer society in the twentieth century, fueled by the power of advertising and increasing corporatization. Early motorists purchased their gasoline by the bucket from a dry goods or hardware store. The first gas stations were simple sheds or shacks with a gas pump. By the 1910s, however, they began to take on a unique identity in the landscape. Oil companies created standardized buildings for the distribution of their product. The Texas Company (Texaco), for example, constructed its first station in 1916. Each distinct station provided a means of corporate identity. Since the motorist was in no position to judge the quality of gasoline and therefore distinguish any one brand from another, the oil companies had to instill brand loyalty in their customers. The distribution of gasoline was therefore linked from the beginning to a marketing/advertising system. Corporate logos and slogans were created to help the public identify with the company. Visible gasoline pumps, which allowed the motorist to see the product as it was pumped into the car, led to the practice of dyeing gasoline with colors like red, blue, or purple in an effort to distinguish one brand from another. Companies also began to diversify the range of products and services available to the public. Maintenance and repair services turned the filling station into the all-around car-care station.

The standardization of the 1910s gave way to the eclecticism of the 1920s. Oil companies' drive to make their product identifiable led to the creation of exotic eye-catching buildings designed to look like Greek temples, Chinese pagodas, and Swiss chalets. By the end of the 1920s, a nationwide gasoline distribution system was in place in America that has not changed since. At the same time, a highway-building boom allowed motorists to expand their range of travel. Gas stations arose along the new highways to provide necessary and convenient services. These non-urban stations were dedicated as much to the customer as the car—they offered amenities for the new long-distance traveler unnecessary in urban locales. Stations offered clean rest rooms, free maps, soft drinks, and snacks. As traffic increased and the automobile culture expanded, gas stations attracted other businesses, such as motels and diners, to their location. The desire to make the customer feel comfortable also led these early stations to clothe their employees in military-style uniforms, which added an air of legitimacy to a still relatively novel enterprise. Slogans like Texaco's "You can trust your car to the man who wears the star" also encouraged consumer comfort.

In the 1930s and 1940s, the eclectically styled gas stations of the previous decade diminished as a new, "modern" design aesthetic—reflecting public fascination with images of the future—swept through the industry. Stations emphasized clean surfaces and streamlined curves. "Art Deco" or "Moderne" style gas stations became popular symbols of the new machine age. Oil companies hired famous designers to update and promote their image. In 1934, Norman Bel Geddes provided a new design for the Socony-Vacuum Oil Company (now Mobil), which proved too avant-garde and was never built. In the same year, Walter Dorwin Teague was hired by Texaco for the same purpose. His streamlined box design was an instant success and was used in more than 10,000 stations across the country. Teague



An early Gulf gas station.

created a universally adaptable form and an immediately recognizable symbol for Texaco products. Other companies attempted to duplicate this achievement but were not as successful.

By the 1950s, a “functional” aesthetic began to prevail in the design of gas stations across the country. Historic and modern elements were rejected in favor of a design that emphasized function. Logos became more important as symbols of corporate identity. The impact of television as an advertising medium lessened the need for the gas station to serve as a three-dimensional billboard. For example, the Pure Oil Company sponsored a television quiz show in 1950, in which the company’s slogan “Be Sure with Pure” was constantly repeated. The Texaco Star Theatre, with Milton Berle, was the most successful of these ventures—the show was the most popular television program in America in the 1950s.

The nature of the gas station began to change in the 1960s with the emergence of self-service stations and convenience stores. Self-service actually dated back to the 1930s, but in the interim most states had passed legislation requiring that only station personnel attend the pumps. The link between gas station and grocery store was even older; in the 1910s, many general stores in rural areas also had a gas pump. Also developing during this time period were truck

stops and “highway hubs”—small nodes of consumerism at highway interchanges.

In the late twentieth century, as repair and maintenance services have come increasingly within the purview of specialty shops and automobile dealerships, and gasoline pumps have been added to convenience stores as a secondary service, the traditional filling station is almost extinct, but as long as our society remains dependent on the automobile, the gas station, in whatever form it may take, will be a permanent part of our landscape.

—Dale Allen Gyure

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## Gated Communities

Gated communities are residential areas, ranging in size from individual streets and neighborhoods to entire cities, enclosed by walls and gates that are intended to prevent unauthorized entry by nonresidents. In many gated communities further protection against the outside world is provided by private security guards and electronic security systems. Most such communities operate as Common Interest Developments in which residents collectively own the common spaces or shared amenities, and a private homeowners association oversees community affairs. The population of these fortified enclaves tends to be overwhelmingly middle- or upper-class, white, and middle-aged or older. The primary reason they settle in such places, according to surveys, is to escape the crime, traffic, and noise of the cities and ungated suburbs. To many observers, the rising number of gated communities constitutes, in the words of Clinton Administration Labor Secretary Robert Reich, “the succession of the successful” from the civic life of the broader society.

Although gated communities in one form or another have existed in America since the colonial era, up until the late 1960s they were popular only with the ultra-rich and privacy-conscious celebrities. In the 1970s, developers built a few master-planned walled subdivisions aimed primarily at senior citizens and retirees. By the 1980s and 1990s, gated communities designed for ordinary middle-class families were proliferating at a rapid rate, particularly throughout the Sun Belt states. Researchers agree that middle-class fears about rising crime and concerns about the deterioration of municipal services are the most important factors behind the boom in gated developments. In their book *Fortress America*, Edward Blakely and Mary Gail Snyder estimate that by 1997 the United States had approximately 20,000 gated communities with some three million units of housing and 8.4 million residents. Some of the gated developments being built in the 1990s attempt to incorporate all the traditional features of city living behind their walls. An excellent example of this trend is Green Lake, Nevada, a sprawling walled suburb outside Las Vegas that is expected to have 60,000 residents by the year 2005. It is divided by house size and cost into prefabricated “villages,” each with its own meeting hall, recreational center, school, park, and in the more exclusive tracts, an entrance with a manned guardhouse. At the same time, more and more preexisting neighborhoods and suburbs are walling themselves off from surrounding cities by barricading public streets and installing gates and security systems.

In the majority of gated developments that are organized as CIDs, homeowners associations function as a kind of private government. People who buy property in such developments are forced to join the association, pay dues, and agree to abide by its rules. Homeowners associations deliver such traditionally public services as trash collection, policing, snow removal, road maintenance, and street lighting. They also make regulations governing all aspects of life in the community, including rules limiting the hours and frequency of visitors, setting the minimum age of residents, banning the display of flags, prohibiting certain kinds of pets, and specifying what

color paint owners can use on their houses. Fairbanks Ranch, an affluent gated community in Southern California, is patrolled by private security officers who enforce a speed limit set by the homeowners association which fines repeat speeders \$500 and bans them from the community’s streets for a month. A few gated communities have succeeded in incorporating themselves as full-fledged municipalities (in which the elected city government usually defers to the rule-making authority of the homeowners association).

As the proportion of the population living in them has risen, gated communities have gradually become a political force to be reckoned with. In California, private homeowners associations have lobbied state legislatures for the right to deduct homeowner dues from state income taxes. In New Jersey, private homeowner associations in 1990 pushed legislation through the state legislature which entitles their members to rebates on the property taxes they pay to support city services.

Yet even as gated communities were beginning to enjoy the fruits of their new-found power, there were signs in the late 1990s of a growing backlash against what planner Norman Krumholtz has called the “balkanization” of America’s cities. Four communities in suburban Dallas—Addison, Plano, Richardson, and Southlake—decided to prohibit barriers on public roads and even placed moratoriums on the construction of private gated developments. In 1995, both San Diego and Portland began studying policies that would limit the spread of gates within their boundaries. Proposals to erect walls around existing communities and close public streets have been successfully fought in courts and city councils in Los Angeles, Chicago, Atlanta, Sacramento, and elsewhere.

Ultimately, however, whether the number and population of America’s fortified enclaves continues to expand will be determined less by political battles than by the desires and decisions of millions of home buyers in the years to come. As long as fear of crime and the desire for peace and quiet outweigh the lure of public life in the minds of those who can afford to choose where they live, gated communities will continue their inexorable spread across the nation’s landscape.

—Steve Macek

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## Gay and Lesbian Marriage

The advent of marriage between same-sex couples marked one of the major cultural and social changes of the twentieth century in the United States. In 1970 gay and lesbian couples requested so many

marriage licenses from the Los Angeles County Clerk, that the Clerk's office requested the California legislature tighten California marriage laws. However, despite this auspicious start, and the continued efforts of gay and lesbian activists and their supporters, it was not until the late 1980s that homosexual marriage was again hotly contested in the courts, the state and national legislatures, by the public at large, the mass media, and within the gay and lesbian community itself.

In 1971, Richard John Baker and James Michael McConnell brought the first case of same-sex marriage to court in Minnesota. Along with arguing their constitutional rights, they cited recent anti-miscegenation laws in support of their plea, all of which the court rejected. The first lesbian case, *Jones v. Hallahan*, was brought in Kentucky in 1973. Again, as would continually happen, the case was lost on the grounds of falling outside the "dictionary" definition of marriage. During the 1970s, a number of other court cases were lost, though there were a few small victories, such as a marriage license granted to a gay couple in Boulder, Colorado, which encouraged numerous gay and lesbian couples to apply successfully for marriage licenses. However, the decision was later overturned by the Attorney General and all licenses were revoked. In 1975 the Arizona legislature passed an emergency bill defining marriage as only being possible between a man and a woman. This bill set up a precedent for other state legislatures.

From the 1970s through the mid-1980s the rise of radical lesbian-feminism, coupled with AIDS concerns, dominated political energy and time within the lesbian and gay communities. Early radical lesbian-feminist theory argued against the institution of marriage in general, and many lesbians questioned the focus on lesbian and gay marriage rights. The graver issue of the AIDS epidemic so dominated people's lives that comparatively lesser issues such as marriage rights became secondary. Yet, ironically, it might be argued that both the lesbian-feminist movement and AIDS activism may have provoked the issue of same-sex marriages to re-surface by encouraging more people to come out. By politicizing increasing numbers of homosexuals, raising public consciousness about lesbian and gay issues, and attempting to eradicate the image of gays—most particularly men—as promiscuous people incapable of long-term relationships, the marriage issue once more came up for discussion. Additionally, the feminist movement's push towards passing the Equal Rights Amendments later had a great effect on an extremely prominent same-sex marriage case in Hawaii in the 1990s, where the state ERA was used as an argument for legalizing such marriages.

In 1986, the American Civil Liberties Union declared that they would seek to eliminate those legal barriers preventing lesbians and gays from marrying. In 1989, the San Francisco Bar Association called for gay and lesbian marriages, and two gay Chicago journalists filed complaints with the Illinois Department of Human Rights, accusing the state of sex discrimination for refusing gay marriages. By the 1990s, many activists were trying to force the passing of pro-marriage bills, while license applications and court cases continued, along with the filing of discrimination complaints with Human Rights Commissions. The issue started gaining momentum in the general public and, in 1989, a *Time* magazine poll reported 69 percent disapproval, 23 percent approval, and eight percent unsure on the issue of legalizing same-sex marriages. Three years later, in a 1992 *Newsweek* survey, the figures had altered to 58 percent against, 35 percent for, and seven percent unsure.

The most well-known court case to act as a catalyst in advancing the cause of same-sex marriage was that of *Baehr v. Lewin*, heard in Hawaii in 1991. Three same-sex couples sued the state of Hawaii for refusing to issue them marriage licenses, claiming that the refusal violated Hawaii's state Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) barring discrimination on the basis of sex. In May 1993, for the first time in U.S. legal history, the Hawaii Supreme Court ruled in favor of lesbian and gay marriage. In a December 1996 trial, Circuit Judge Kevin Chang ruled against the state of Hawaii on almost all counts, declaring that the state could not deny marriage licenses to same-sex couples and ordering the state to pay the plaintiffs' litigation costs. The next day, the judge stayed his decision pending appeal to the Hawaii Supreme Court.

Anti-gay groups and political leaders feared that lesbians and gays would flock to Hawaii to marry. They furiously worked to change the constitutional mandate providing interstate recognition of marriage whereby each state must recognize and honor a marriage license granted in any other state. The biggest blow to the gay and lesbian community came with the passage of the Federal government's Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) in 1996, which defined marriage for federal purposes as a legal union between one man and one woman, and permitted states to ignore out-of-state gay and lesbian marriages, despite constitutional law that ruled otherwise. Activists planned to challenge DOMA.

By the late 1990s, over 30 states enacted some type of anti-same-sex-marriage legislation, explicitly limiting marriage to one man and one woman. These 1990s laws differed from those passed in the 1970s because they discussed marriages within their own state as well as the interstate recognition of marriages. In the November 1998 elections Hawaii voters passed a ballot saying there should be a constitutional amendment defining marriage as one man and one woman. Although a blow to advocates of gay and lesbian marriage, a committee had yet to draft an amendment on which a vote would be taken. If passed, the amendment would make it more difficult, but not impossible, for a judge to declare same-sex marriage legal.

While conservative and right-wing elements battled against the gay marriage activists, the lesbian and gay communities also debated the issue. Many fought for same-sex marriage rights, believing they deserved the same civil rights as heterosexual couples. Others felt fighting for marriage rights was a middle-class white issue that detracted from broader issues, and that fighting for marriage rights was bowing to a conservatism to be "just like everyone else." Some lesbians and gays felt it was more important to fight for domestic partnership rights for all and abolish the age-old unjust institution of marriage for everyone.

Both within the lesbian and gay communities and the heterosexual constituencies, the heated debate as to what defines marriage continues to rage, and plays into the hands of the Moral Majority. Irrespective, however, to which side of the argument any one individual, state, or religious body adheres, the issue is one of major significance for legal and civil rights in both the national and local political arenas of the United States.

—tova gd stabin

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## Gay and Lesbian Press

For fifty years gay and lesbian presses in America have published papers and magazines that give a distinctive voice to their concerns. Their editorial approach and journalistic style—unabashed, irreverent, and confrontational—reflect a commitment to bolstering the strength of the gay community that they serve, and to documenting the homophobic attitudes of society. The dissemination of ideas through the written word of the gay and lesbian presses has been a building block in the development of the gay subculture. The publications act as a powerful resource in the promotion of homosexual rights on a national and international scale, and as a coalescing agent in bringing together gay activists and closeted individuals, those from rural areas and urban gay ghettos. Mirroring the diversity of the gay and lesbian community, its presses are as varied as the interests of its constituency. Some publishers focus upon either gay or lesbian issues, while others maintain a more inclusive gender stance.

The core of the press group is comprised of a small collection of specialist presses, along with a widespread array of local and national newspapers and magazines. Historically, the distribution of gay and lesbian books was generally through privately owned gay and lesbian bookstores, located in urban gay neighborhoods. Initially there was strong opposition by regular booksellers to stocking gay and lesbian titles, but this changed by the 1990s when booksellers, along with other commercial enterprises, had come to recognize the gay and lesbian market as a vast untapped resource. It was predicted that by the year 2000, more than 20,000 gay and lesbian titles would be published.

During the first half of the twentieth century most of the materials published that provided a positive viewpoint on homosexuality were issued through private presses. Often the publications produced were of poor quality, frequently printed by hand, typed, or copied on mimeograph machines. In this discrete endeavor, the print runs were necessarily small, though there were notable exceptions in the literary field, where homosexual concerns were explored under

the guise of metaphorical language and symbolism. The precursor to the modern-day gay and lesbian presses can be observed in two early twentieth-century German periodicals, *Der Eigene* and *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen*.

The sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld was the editor of the *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen* from 1899 to 1923. Published in Berlin, the journal contained an academic perspective on homosexuality featuring full-length articles, bibliographies of new books, and articles by Eugen Wilhelm. *Der Eigene*, headed by Adolf Brand, was devoted to the field of arts, and later developed into a publication of *Gemeinschaft der Eigenen*, a German homosexual movement. The publication was high in quality, with many black and white, sepia, and color illustrations. *Der Eigene* was published from 1898 to 1930, until the rise of the National Socialist movement in Germany, which culminated in the upswing of Nazi persecution of homosexuals in the mid-1930s, bringing the flourishing gay presses to an abrupt halt.

During the 1920s small and secretive gay presses started to emerge in the United States. The first gay publication to emerge was Henry Gerber's short-lived *Friendship and Freedom* (1924). The magazine was published by the Society for Human Rights, founded by Gerber in Chicago. Two issues were published, produced on a mimeograph machine and running to approximately 100 hundred copies. When police learned of the activities of the Society for Human Rights they seized the remaining copies of *Friendship and Freedom* and arrested the membership of the group, including Gerber, who was dismissed from his postal job as a result of his activities. He also worked on another publication, *Chanticleer*, during the 1930s, of which 50 percent of the contents were devoted to homosexual issues and the remaining proportion to atheistic advocacy. Gerber also published a single-sheet mimeographed newsletter for Contacts pen pal club from 1930 to 1939. The newsletter contained a few short news articles and was distributed among 30 to 70 members of the club. None of these publications were able either to appeal to or demand a large readership due to limited publishing numbers, geographic constraints, and the restrictive attitudes of society. Most existed on the margins of journalism, fearing the intervention of the police or government officials under one pretext or another.

Following World War II there was a revival of the Homophile Movement in the United States, and new gay and lesbian journals began to emerge. The earliest surviving publication, *The Ladder*, dates back to 1947, and was edited by Lisa Ben in Los Angeles. Lisa Ben was the author's pseudonym, an anagram for lesbian, used to conceal her actual identity. Small press runs of *Vice Versa* were printed from 1947 to 1948. Typical of publishing during the era, the periodical was typed on a dozen carbon copies and distributed by hand at several Los Angeles lesbian bars. *Vice Versa* helped to lay the groundwork for the creation of a gay and lesbian press in the United States. Early in 1953 Martin Block, Dale Jennings, and Bill Lambert planned what would become the first openly sold gay and lesbian magazine in the nation. The title, *ONE Magazine*, was derived from the Carlyle quote "A common bond of brotherhood makes all men one." Martin Block edited the first issues of *ONE* in 1953, and Dale Jennings took over for the final part of the year. The format was small, a six by seven-inch pamphlet, with only 500 copies printed, and sold for 20 cents. Distribution and sales occurred primarily at gay and lesbian bars and organized homophile meetings. Most of the issues focused on news, homosexual persecution, and police harassment, but the journal went further than some of its predecessors and included fiction, poetry, and theoretical and political articles. The mission of the editors and staff of *ONE* was to remove homophobic

attitudes from within the homosexual community as well as from society at large, while simultaneously creating and nurturing the community and its culture. From *ONE Magazine* also sprang the membership newsletter, *ONE Confidential*, and the first scholarly treatment of homosexual issues, *ONE Institute Quarterly of Homophile Studies*.

Jim Kepner joined the staff of *ONE Magazine* in 1954. A victim of police harassment in a bar raid, Kepner's writings advocated the need for gay self-respect, education, community-building, and gay identity. While the writings of Kepner and others at *ONE* took a militant stance, *The Mattachine Review*, established by Harold Call in 1955, subscribed to an assimilationist and conformist viewpoint. A squeaky clean image was advocated and promoted by the *Mattachine Review* and by *The Ladder*, a Daughters of Bilitis publication, as the tool for gays and lesbians to gain entree into a society known to repress homosexuals. In spite of the fact that these early gay presses worked collegially well together, *ONE* was frequently chastised by *Mattachine* for its aggressive and confrontational attitudes, while the Daughters of Bilitis were offended by it. The women of the Daughters of Bilitis, *Mattachine*, and *ONE* denied that there were separate women's issues as such during this period. Many insisted they were just like everyone else, with a strong sense of commitment to the gay community. Many women were included as authors in *One Magazine*, with an all-women's issue printed in February of 1954. Topical concerns and coverage of women was also a key facet of *ONE Magazine*.

By the end of the 1950s, monthly homosexual magazines were being discreetly mailed, first class, in plain brown wrappers to avoid interception by postal authorities. The contents mainly contained news articles, editorials, literature, and non-erotic illustrations that were subtly suggestive rather than graphic. Personal ads did not appear due to legal and societal constraints.

The turbulence of the 1960s saw both a changing attitude towards homosexuality and the development of an underground press, which acted as fertile ground for new gay publishers. These unprecedented materials held a hard edge and bite. Obscene language appeared frequently in the articles, and personal ads became a regular feature, in which the authors would express their most intimate desires and fetishes. The Gay Liberation Movement had found its voice by the end of the decade in publications such as *The Advocate*, *The Body Politic* (Toronto), *Come Out, Gay Community News* (Boston), *Gay Sunshine*, and *Gay* (New York).

During the 1970s gay and lesbian presses grew and flourished. More magazines, newspapers, and newsletters began to appear, many with a specialized identity featuring religious, political, or professional interests. Local and regional publications also burgeoned, and as the proliferation of gay and lesbian periodicals increased so did the "in your face" frankness of the content. New homosexual organizations were created on both sides of the gender divide, many of them distributing their own publication. Some of the new periodicals had a short life, while others have continued printing to the present day.

Glossy illustrated magazines focusing on male nudity, erotic illustrations, short stories, and personal and classified advertisement rich in graphic detail became a common feature of the gay press during this period. Magazines such as *Blueboy*, *In Touch*, and *Mandate*, became more readily available on the newsstands or by subscription. Their articles and editorials quickly reached a nationwide audience, creating a norm of taste and attitude within the gay community. Beyond the major urban centers, many smaller cities began producing local gay newspapers. Often distributed at the gay

bars, some became known as "bar rags." Many of these newspapers joined forces to found the Gay and Lesbian Press Association. More importantly, new scholarly journals such as the *Gai Saber* (1997-1978), *Gay Books Bulletin/Cabirion* (1979-1985), and *Journal of Homosexuality* (1974—) provided an academic basis for the pursuit of in-depth gay and lesbian research and university studies.

The gay and lesbian press market has predominantly been segregated by gender. Book sales are ranked on separate male and female bestseller lists, with few bestsellers appearing simultaneously on both. During the 1960s and early 1970s many of the lesbian publications were usurped under the feminist banner. Signs of a developing lesbian press could be observed from Marie Kuda's Lesbian Writers Conferences, which were held annually from 1974 until 1979. The establishment of lesbian-friendly presses made it possible for fiction and non-fiction to be published in book form rather than in small circulation magazines. Support for lesbian writing was due in large part to women's bookstores across the country, which made lesbian books more accessible than ever before. These bookstores have continued to play a significant role in the sale of lesbian materials.

Through the power of the written word gay and lesbian presses have created a common language and a shared frame of reference for a diverse population of gays and lesbians. Bonding together through periodicals and books, the specter of isolation has been removed, and replaced by a sense of "gay identity." The presses have also created a window through which the outside world can look at the many aspects of gay life, and have provided a written record for deeper understanding and further research.

—Michael A. Lutes

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## Gay Liberation Movement

The tidal wave of social change that began with the black civil rights movement of the early 1960s carried many other social movements on its crest. These included the anti-Vietnam War protests, women's liberation, and the gay and lesbian liberation movement, and all of these movements owed tremendous debts to each other. Many gay men and lesbians worked in the civil rights, anti-war, and feminist movements and their labor to fight oppression in these movements sparked dissatisfaction with the hidden oppression in their own lives. Many people, even those working politically in other



movements, saw sexual orientation as a personal issue, removed from politics. Even progressive activists, who were sympathetic and respectful of many differences among people, often ridiculed gays as savagely as their conservative counterparts. Feminism, in particular, began to change this perception, with its emphasis on the political meaning in each person's experience. Gays began to view their sexuality as a political issue rather than a shameful personal secret.

Though there had been work historically to improve the status of homosexuals, the beginning of the gay liberation movement is often officially marked on the night of June 28, 1969 at the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in New York's Greenwich Village. In the pre-gay liberation 1950s and 1960s, even in known gay neighborhoods like the Village, gay bars were shadowed places. Gay people kept their sexuality hidden, and much about homosexuality was illegal, from cross-dressing to same-sex dancing. Gay bars were one of the few places gays could meet in public, and these bars were often run by members of organized crime, who were happy to profit from the illegitimate status of homosexuality. Police frequently raided gay bars, where proprietors sometimes had warning systems so that gay men and lesbians could switch partners quickly when the police entered a bar. Gay bar raids were also often an opportunity for police to brutalize gays, with little fear that their victims would report them and chance being publicly labeled "queer." Those who looked most obviously

gay—the drag queens in dresses and high heels and the lesbians in men's suits—were singled out for harshest treatment. That June night at the Stonewall Inn, the patrons of the bar did not respond in the passive way gays had usually responded to attacks by the police. Tired of being helpless victims, the gays fought back, rioting in the streets of "their" neighborhood, shouting the new rallying cry, "Gay Power!" The riots lasted for three days and received unprecedented media coverage.

Popular mythology says that the riots occurred on the day that singer Judy Garland died from a drug overdose, thought by many to have been intentional. Many gays, especially gay men, identified strongly with Garland's ravaged vulnerability and passionate singing style, and the story goes that when the police arrived to harass a gay community grieving over the loss of an idol, something snapped and anger and pride welled up to take the place of shame. In fact, Garland's death took place almost a week before the riots, on June 22. But there is a truth that underlies all mythology, and the truth is that the Stonewall riots were a watershed that marked a change in gays' and lesbians' perceptions of themselves. The status of homosexuals did not change overnight, but neither could things ever go back to the way they had been before the riots. Almost as if they had been waiting for a catalyzing event, gay liberation organizations began to spring up across the United States and around the world.

There had always been gay men and lesbians, and they had been more or less visible and more or less oppressed, depending on their time in history and their cultural context. In previous centuries, for example, upper-class women had lived together in lesbian relationships called "Boston marriages" which were socially tolerated. It was not uncommon for women in pioneer country to pass as men to attain some of the freedom of movement and financial independence denied to them as women, and frequently these women married and lived with their "wives." Many Native American cultures made a place for both women and men who did not identify with their traditional gender role, or who had same-sex lovers. In the early part of the twentieth century, African-American drag "debutante" balls, were major social events that drew elite society, straight and gay alike. These balls were satirical reproductions of the traditional balls where young women were presented to society, and it is from them that we derive the term "coming out," for gays and lesbians publicly announcing their gayness. The more repressive connotation, that of gays "coming out" of a dark closet, did not arrive until the 1950s, and the less socially lighthearted atmosphere of that decade.

In Europe, World War II meant Nazi aggression and the attempted genocide of European gays. However, the upheaval of war brought openness and opportunity to gays in the United States, whether in the military or on the home front. Military service had always provided a same-sex environment and gays often connected there, and the necessities of war did not permit an anti-gay campaign which would reduce U.S. forces. The defense industry attracted thousands of people to urban centers where gays who had formerly been isolated in small towns around the country could find each other. Once the war was over, society took on the job of repressing those women and gays who had found unusual freedom during wartime. Heterosexual women were sent home to be housewives, and gays and lesbians were the subject of a concerted "witch hunt" by the Truman administration. Hundreds of gays working for the government lost their jobs.

Gay and lesbian organizing itself did not originate with the 1970s gay liberation movement. As early as 1924 Henry Gerber was jailed and fired from his job for founding the gay and lesbian Society for Human Rights in Chicago. In Los Angeles, in 1950, foreshadowing the connection of gay liberation and leftist politics, a group five men, three of them Communist Party members founded the Mattachine Society. The group's goal was "to promote a sense of solidarity and group identity among homosexuals." Mattachine was one of a number of early "homophile" associations which included the lesbian group Daughters of Bilitis, founded in San Francisco in 1955. These groups promoted acceptance of homosexuals; their members wrote, spoke, and even picketed in defense of that cause. Their other function was to provide a safe place for lesbians and gays to meet, apart from the bars. Certainly the idea of social safety for gays was radical enough, but by the 1970s, influenced by the civil rights movement and feminists, gays demanded more.

Following the Stonewall Riots, new gay liberation organizations began forming. Some, like New York's Gay Liberation Front and Radical Fairies had chapters across the country. Others were smaller, local organizations, created by activists in many urban areas and progressive small towns nationwide. The Furies in Washington, DC, the Lesbian Alliance in St. Louis and the Atlanta Lesbian Feminist Alliance (ALFA) were only a few of hundreds of groups that formed and re-formed. Political gays and lesbians began by reclaiming the names that had been used against them. "Gay" itself, once a general term for immorality, had been used by gay men in the 1920s and 1930s as a code word to identify each other. Once the term "gay" had

been reclaimed by homosexuals to describe themselves, radicals began to look for ways to disempower the anti-gay epithets that had been hurled at them. They began to reclaim words such as "dyke" and "faggot" for use among themselves, thus denying the words their negative power, much as African Americans had reclaimed racist slurs for an exclusive usage that reinforced black solidarity.

With few exceptions, homosexuality had previously been treated in American society as either a crime or a disease. Homosexuals who did not regularly end up in jail, often ended up in mental hospitals subjected to various brutal "cures," such as aversion therapy and electroshock therapy. Since any deviation from their prescribed societal role often landed women in mental hospitals, many lesbians suffered this form of oppression. After the Stonewall Rebellion, as it came to be called, gay activists began to work not only for social acceptance, but for legal rights. They demanded the right to live and work, free from discrimination, and they demanded that homosexuality be removed from the American Psychiatric Association's list of mental diseases. In 1973, thanks to the work of lesbian and gay activists, the APA did remove homosexuality from the list.

Gays also began to work on decriminalizing homosexuality, which was illegal in many states. In 1962, Illinois became the first state to repeal its anti-gay laws, and activists kept up the pressure until by 1998, only 19 states still had anti-gay laws on the books. Not content with mere legality, gay rights activists worked for gay rights protections with varying degrees of success. One example: in 1973, the city council in the liberal university town of Boulder, Colorado voted in a gay rights law. Outraged, the conservative citizenry not only repealed the law, but voted to recall every member of city council that voted for it.

With the new movement and the increasing number of new organizations inevitably came differences and conflict. Older gays who had come out without the support of a very public movement resented the often dismissive attitudes of the young "liberated" gays. Younger gays challenged the political conservatism and butch and femme gender roles that had often been practiced by their predecessors. Some gays, many of them white men, were fairly comfortable with their place in society, and felt that changing society's attitudes about homosexuality was all that was needed. Others saw many things about American society that needed to be changed and viewed gay liberation as inevitably connected to other progressive liberation movements. This argument over whether gay rights was a "single issue" fight or part of a larger leftist liberation struggle was to become perhaps the second biggest split in the movement.

Possibly the biggest split was between men and women. Some lesbians, coming to the movement through feminism, questioned their commonalities with gay men, preferring to ally themselves with heterosexual women instead. Insisting that "gay" was a word that defined gay men, many chose to distinguish themselves by using the word "lesbian" or "dyke." The feminist movement began by resisting accusations of lesbians in its ranks, fearful that identification of lesbians with feminism would undermine the legitimacy of women's liberation. However, many of the feminist leaders were lesbians, and, in the increasing atmosphere of gay openness, they demanded recognition. More divisions followed: lesbian feminists threatened not only the heterosexual male establishment, but also heterosexual feminists and non-feminist lesbians. Lesbian feminists themselves split, dividing those who still identified with heterosexual women's issues from the separatists, who tried to have as little as possible to do with men or non-lesbian women. While these splits created discord and discomfort, they also created an energy that propelled dozens of

groups, conferences, newspapers, bookstores, and small presses throughout the country. The new atmosphere of gay liberation was creating a frenzy of dialog on subjects that had once been shrouded in silence.

Though, as with feminism, the gay liberation movement was usually presented by the press as a white and middle-class movement, gay activists came from all classes, races, and ethnic backgrounds. Many of these activists attempted in their agendas to focus on the racism, classism, and sexism within the movement, though their attempts were not always successful. Some gays of color and Jewish gays formed their own groups, seeking solidarity and support. Events such as the 1976 West Coast Conference on Faggots and Class Struggle in Eugene, Oregon, and the Dynamics of Color lesbian conference in San Francisco in 1989 are examples of the many efforts made to address difficult intra-movement conflicts.

Perhaps the most controversial aspect of the gay and lesbian liberation movement was its connection to the counterculture. Movement gays were no longer content to ask for acceptance by society; they demanded that society change to reflect the evolving definitions of gender and gender roles. Radical gays challenged the ideas of nuclear family, of monogamy, of capitalism, and, though not all gays agreed, the movement brought up topics of discussion, and those discussions would forever change the way American culture saw itself.

Lesbians were intent on creating and developing “women’s culture” that included new forms of spirituality, literature, and music, all stemming from and connected to lesbian feminist politics. Lesbian music became a growing art form and women’s recording artists gained popularity on both coasts and in the midwest. In 1975, hundreds of women attended Michigan Women’s Music Festival. The Michigan festival, organized by lesbians, combined concerts and political workshops and was the largest of many regional women’s cultural events.

The notion of free sex, espoused by the counterculture hippies had opened up acceptance of differing sexual lifestyles among the young, as well as legitimizing styles of dress and appearance formerly considered outlandish. Gay men in particular reveled in the new sexual openness. Their celebratory exuberance resulted in the rocketing popularity of the disco phenomenon. As gay identity became more proud and less shameful, the image of the gay bar as a dark hideaway also changed. Gay disco bars, which had flashing lights and loud music with a driving sexual beat became the social centers for gay men, and, to a lesser extent, lesbians. The trendy, exciting bars also attracted straight people, and this moved gay culture into the mainstream in a way that demonstrations could not accomplish. The disco scene was also heavily associated with casual sex and recreational drug use, which in part was responsible for its end.

By 1981, medical authorities were beginning to identify a new virus the called GRID or Gay Related Immune Deficiency. Soon, they had changed the name of the disease to Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) and re-evaluated its connection to the gay community. Though AIDS is not a gay disease, it is sexually transmitted and the promiscuous lifestyle and drug use common within many gay male communities made them an ideal place for the virus to spread. It did spread, and, as thousands of gay men died, AIDS became a focus for the work of gay rights activists.

By the late 1970s, the revolutionary fervor that had characterized early gay liberation politics, had succumbed to the same backlash that had quieted much of the 1960s activism. Fundamentalist Christians were particularly threatened by any legitimization of gay lifestyles, and the anti-gay agenda became a platform issue for conservative

Republicans. Right-wing Christian activist Anita Bryant launched her anti-gay Save Our Children campaign in 1977, and many gay rights advances were threatened. Though leftist gay activists continued to fight the challenges of the right wing, the excitement of the nationwide movement had been dampened. In 1987, the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT-UP) formed to fight for de-stigmatization of the AIDS virus, money for AIDS research, and other AIDS related issues. The arrival of ACT-UP with its 1960s-like aggressive street tactics, politicized the gay male community and many supportive lesbians around the issue of AIDS, and led the way to other “second generation” activist organizations such as the Lesbian Avengers, which originated in New York and expanded to chapters across the country. The first gay and lesbian rights march in Washington, D.C., in 1979, attracted one hundred thousand marchers. By 1993, when the third march on the capitol was held, almost a million people attended.

Of all the contributions that gay activism has made to society, one of the most unexpected is that it has given young gays a very public older generation. As in every other grouping, an older generation supplies mentors and role models—and something to rebel against. Like other children of the baby-boom generation, the 1970s gay activists have been nonplussed to find their own “children” espousing quite different politics and beliefs than the ones that drove them. Where post-Stonewall gays rejected gender roles, 1990s gay youth has rediscovered and embraced butch and femme. While feminism provided the foundation for many 1970s lesbians to discover and acknowledge their own identities, some lesbians in the 1990s call themselves “post feminist” and reject what they see as the unnecessary polarity that feminism espouses. Their gay liberation movement has expanded to include bisexuals and transgendered people.

The Stonewall riots are commemorated each year around the end of June on Gay Pride Day. In cities all over the world, gays gather for parades, marches, celebration, and political action. The 1990s have brought renewed energy to right-wing attacks on gay rights as well as “gay bashing” and other violent attacks on gays. Media coverage of gays and lesbians is limited to gays that fit the conservative “middle America” stereotype, and coverage of radical gays is almost non-existent. Disagreements among gays over sex, race, class, and politics continue. Gay and lesbian identity is still stigmatized, and “coming out of the closet” is still an act of personal courage and risk that many feel unable to perform. However, gays are no longer invisible figures of the shadows. Gay characters appear on many prime-time network television shows and on the covers of national magazines, not only as political figures or as curiosities, but as celebrities and role models. Gay and lesbian youth, while still at risk in many ways, no longer have to rely on whispered epithets to learn what the words “gay” and “lesbian” mean. The decades of secrecy, shame, and oppression that culminated in three days of rioting in Greenwich Village ended that summer, and a new era began. That era is still unfolding.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Gay Men

While homosexuality has been documented in most cultures throughout history, the modern American gay male community began to form itself in the early 1900s. The word "gay," once widely used in the nineteenth century to describe any sort of debauched behavior, gained a new meaning when gay men in the 1920s and 1930s used it as a code word to identify each other. Though their communities were kept underground for decades, hidden from a larger society, which for the most part condemned homosexuality as immoral and perverted, gay men have exerted a tremendous influence on that society. Through arts, fashion, literature, entertainment, and politics, gay men, both visible and invisible, have been one of the major forces in shaping the twentieth century.

Around the 1920s, urban gays had begun to find ways to meet and socialize. Most gay meeting places were clandestine, but some were tolerated or even considered fashionable by straight society, such as the African-American drag "debutante" balls of the early twentieth century, which were major social events that drew elite society, straight and gay alike. "Drag," where men dress in women's clothes, complete with wigs and makeup, has long been a staple of some men's gay identity, and the gay drag queen is both stereotype and icon.

The 1940s were a galvanizing time for gay communities. World War II caused major population shifts, as young people left rural areas to join the army or get jobs in cities in the defense industry. Gays began to find each other in unprecedented numbers, and, having made these connections, they were reluctant to return to the isolation of small town life. Many remained in urban centers and developed their communities, opening clubs and bars where they could meet and socialize.

The return to "normalcy" after the war led to increased repression and even "witch hunts" for gays in the late 1940s and 1950s, but, like a pressure cooker, repression eventually led to release. The black civil rights movement of the 1960s and later the anti-war movement and women's liberation inspired gays to seek their own rights. In 1969, decades of repression exploded in the "Stonewall Rebellion," three days of rioting in the gay section of New York's Greenwich Village. In the forefront of the riots were the drag queens, the most visible of gay men. By the 1970s, gays enjoyed a visibility and freedom previously unknown in American history.

Though male homosexuality has been stigmatized by mainstream culture both historically and in the present, it is widely known that many men who would never identify themselves as gay have had sexual experiences with other males. In situations where a same-sex environment is enforced, such as prisons and male boarding schools, it is recognized, if not totally accepted, that men and boys will "make do" with other males until females are available to them. That this behavior is considered inevitable has to do in part with the view of male sexuality, which is often seen as a driving force which must be satisfied, quite apart from affection and romance. Gay men, freed from the constraints of female expectations around sexuality, have

often reveled in sex itself, creating clubs and baths for easy access to anonymous sex and claiming areas of public parks as "cruising" areas. While there are certainly many gays who are celibate or monogamous, many gay men freely admit to dozens or even hundreds of sexual partners.

The gay liberation movement of the 1970s, while challenging the oppression of gays, also offered gay men a new pride in their sexuality. As gay identity became more proud and less shameful, the image of the gay bar as a dark hideaway also changed. Gay disco bars, which had flashing lights and loud music with a pounding, sexual beat became the social centers for gay men. The trendy, exciting bars also attracted straight people, moving gay culture dramatically into the mainstream. The disco scene was also heavily associated with casual sex and recreational drug use, which in part was responsible for its end.

By 1981, medical authorities were beginning to identify a new virus the called GRID or Gay Related Immune Deficiency. Soon, they had changed the name of the disease to Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) and re-evaluated its connection to the gay community. Though AIDS is not a gay disease, it is sexually transmitted and the promiscuous lifestyle and drug use common within many gay male communities made them ideal conduits for the virus to spread. The virus did spread, and, as thousands of gay men died, AIDS became a focus for the work of gay rights activists. Galvanized by the deaths of their friends and lovers, gay men began to organize to fight for de-stigmatization of the AIDS virus, money for AIDS research, and other AIDS related issues.

Because AIDS affects them so deeply, it has continued to be a central issue for the gay men's community into the 1990s. Controversy continues over community response to the virus. Some insist that modification of gay male sexual behavior, such as safe sex and monogamy, is the only responsible way to confront the disease, while others argue that such modification erodes the fabric of promiscuity that is the very basis of gay male identity. Some support Human Immuno-deficiency Virus (HIV) testing, while others question the connection between HIV and AIDS, and most are suspicious of the willingness of government or society to guard the health and rights of gay citizens.

Gay men have been severely punished for their sexual preference by ridicule, threats, and physical abuse. Perhaps because of the misogyny that is rampant in U.S. society, tomboyish behavior in girls is often tolerated and even rewarded, while feminine behavior in a male is almost universally condemned. Boys who are small, gentle, or artistic will in all likelihood, be taunted, sneered at, or beaten at school and even within their own families. "Gay bashings," vicious physical attacks on those suspected of being gay, are still common occurrences. Many states continue to allow a so-called "unwanted homosexual advance" defense for such assaults, the argument being that a flirtation or proposition from a gay is so repugnant that one may be excused for responding with violence.

While gayness has been highly stigmatized, there has been a traditional acceptance, even expectation of gay men in certain occupations. Hairdressers and interior decorators are generally supposed to be gay, and many are, if only because these are occupations that have traditionally been open to identifiably gay men. Fields such as music, art, and theater, have also attracted gay men who wish to be open about their lifestyle, since the arts community tends to be tolerant. Writers like Walt Whitman and James Baldwin, musicians like Cole Porter, and playwrights like Noel Coward are only a small sampling of the many gay men who have made unparalleled cultural contributions.

Gay men have not only been influential in the arts, but also in many other areas where it has been more necessary to keep their sexual preference a secret. On two ends of this spectrum we find Bayard Rustin and J. Edgar Hoover. Rustin, a civil rights leader on a par with Martin Luther King, Jr., was forced to downplay his public identification with the movement by those who thought his gay identity would harm the black struggle. Hoover, head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for almost 50 years, hid his longtime relationship with Clyde Tolson, his second in command at the FBI, while using his knowledge of the power of such information to manipulate public policy by keeping files on the guilty secrets of public figures.

One well-known facet of gay male culture is the glorification of the diva. Perhaps because they can identify so strongly with public vulnerability, gay men have traditionally selected certain female stars to revere and emulate. Some of these, like singers Barbra Streisand and Bette Midler, owe their propulsion into stardom to their gay male audiences. Others, like Judy Garland and Joan Crawford, simply became icons, one the vulnerable waif, the other the tough bitch, that many gay men identified with.

The identification with the diva is part of another cultural phenomenon, the friendship between gay men and straight women. Sometimes derisively called “fag hags,” straight women who choose gay men for friends are usually seeking a non-threatening relationship with a man. Gay men may also offer more emotional depth in a friendship with a woman than a heterosexual man. Similarly, a gay man may find it comforting to receive emotional support from a source that is not sexual. Such relationships between straight women and gay men (even though the men may not always be overtly gay) have been depicted in films such as *Breakfast at Tiffany's* (1961), *Cabaret* (1972), and *My Best Friend's Wedding* (1997). Even on television, where homosexuality has been scarce, shows like *Love, Sidney* (1981-1983) and *Will and Grace* (1998—) have found success by the safe pairing of gay men with straight women.

While gay-identified men are often oppressed, some social analysts argue that American society itself has a male homosexual perspective that stems from its sexism and patriarchy. Like ancient Greece, where love between men was viewed as the highest form of spiritual and physical connection, American society endows male friendship with a loyalty and honor it does not deem possible in heterosexual relationships. Much is made of male bonding rituals, and, while a slap on the back or a punch in the jaw might take the place of a kiss, nonetheless, male bonding is deeply physical and emotional. A man might never expect to share the intimacy with his wife that he does with his football, hunting, or poker buddies, and, indeed, heterosexual men often voice a low opinion of women. Perhaps it is because gay men demonstrate the tenderness of this male bonding that they are so threatening to a society where men must be rough, tough, and in charge of women. Perhaps in the long run, gay liberation, will result in nothing less than a wider liberation of the social order.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Gaye, Marvin (1959-1984)

During his tenure at Motown records, vocalist and songwriter Marvin Gaye expanded the boundaries of what soul music could address *and* how it could sound. His early Motown hits “How Sweet It Is (To Be Loved by You),” “Ain't That Peculiar,” and “Ain't Nothing Like the Real Thing” (with Tammi Terrell) helped define the 1960s Motown sound. His 1968 “I Heard It through the Grapevine” became Motown's biggest-selling record to date. On genre-defying albums such as 1971's *What's Going On*, Gaye opened soul music to allow for overt political protest, while on 1978's *Here, My Dear* he reduced his subject matter to a level of pain and honesty that had rarely been touched in any form of popular music. During his lifetime, Gaye battled many demons—the most significant of which was his father, a man with whom Gaye had an ongoing, troubled relationship. That relationship ended tragically April 1, 1984, when Gaye's father gunned him down in his parents' home after a heated argument.

Born Marvin Pentz Gaye, Jr. to a devoutly religious family that belonged to the House of God (a conservative Christian sect that drew from Pentecostalism and Orthodox Judaism), Marvin had a troubled childhood growing up in Washington, D.C. Gaye was beaten almost daily by his father, an ordained minister at the local House of God church, and felt stigmatized and out of place among his peers because of his shy nature and the gossip-attracting, flamboyant personality of his father. Gaye grew up amid perpetual confrontations with his father and, by most accounts, was an unhappy child, except when he was singing.



Marvin Gaye

Starting at a very early age, Gaye buried himself deep in music, learning to play drums and piano in church, and later becoming a soloist in his father's church choir. Upon graduating from high school, Gaye enlisted in the Air Force to escape his family life, but after his discharge he returned to Washington, D.C., and sang around town in a number of Doo-Wop groups. During a tour stop as a backing vocalist with the Moonglows in Detroit, Gaye caught the attention of Motown founder Berry Gordy Jr., who hired him as a session musician and eventually signed him as a Motown artist in 1961. Gaye got to know, and fell in love with, Gordy's sister, Anna (who was 17 years Gaye's senior). They were married in late 1961.

After a few minor hit singles and a poor-selling album in the style of his hero, Nat King Cole, Gaye scored his first Top Ten hit with the up-tempo "Pride and Joy." But Motown's pigeonholing of Gaye as an upbeat party song singer ran in opposition to his desire to sing sweet, romantic ballads and resulted in Gaye's long-running conflicts over artistic direction and control of his career. In addition to churning out up-tempo numbers, Gaye also became known as a duet singer, his most beautiful and gut-wrenching songs sung with Terrell. This pairing generated such classics as "Ain't No Mountain High Enough," "Your Precious Love," and "You're All I Need to Get By." Their musical affair sadly ended when she collapsed in his arms onstage, eventually dying of a brain tumor in 1970. By all accounts, Gaye never emotionally recovered from the loss of Terrell, a woman with whom he had a deep emotional connection, though not a romantic relationship.

By the end of the 1960s, America was in the middle of a social upheaval generated by, among other things, the Civil Rights Movement and the Vietnam War. Gaye wanted to find a way to musically address his social concerns but found Motown's assembly-line hit-making method increasingly constraining. Gaye fought against Motown for the release of *What's Going On* (1971), his personal testament against the horrors of the Vietnam War, environmental destruction, and the indignities of ghetto life. Opening with the strains of his tenor voice singing "Mother mother / there's too many of us dying," *What's Going On* was a landmark album. Released to universal critical praise in magazines from *Rolling Stone* to *Time* (which devoted a long, two-column review to the album), the album freed soul music from the limiting subject matter of simple love songs. It also featured more complex and jazzy arrangements that used strings, as well as songs that seamlessly segued into each other. The album became the best-selling album of Gaye's career, a demonstration that an artist's muse and commerce could successfully coexist.

In 1972 Gaye followed up *What's Going On* with the soundtrack to the blaxploitation flick *Trouble Man*, and in 1973 he released the deeply erotic *Let's Get It On*. It, too, was a massive hit. Now at the high point of his career, he sank to one of the lowest points in his life. Severely depressed, he increasingly took large amounts of cocaine while his marriage to Anna dissolved. During the course of his marriage, Gaye's weakness for women made him unfaithful, but the last straw for Anna occurred when he had a second child with Janis Hunter (whom he later married). In a bizarre divorce settlement, Gaye agreed to pay the entirety of royalties for his next album to Anna. Briefly contemplating making a toss-off album, he instead delved deep into their relationship and created what is among the most unusual albums in popular music history, *Here, My Dear*, a double concept album that documented the rise and fall of their marriage, his unfaithfulness, his cocaine habit, his obsession with prostitutes, and other very personal subjects with songs such as "When Did You Stop Loving Me, When Did I Stop Loving You?" and "You Can Leave,

but It's Going to Cost You." Even the album's cover art visually represented their crumbling marriage. Confronting an audience that was clearly unprepared for such a display of raw emotion and dirty laundry, the album flopped.

Gaye sank deeper into a drug-induced depression and financial collapse. He moved to Europe, where he pulled himself out of his hole and recorded 1982's *Midnight Love*, an album that contained his last big hit and winner of two Grammy Awards, "Sexual Healing." Marvin Gaye was shot and killed by his father in 1984; he was posthumously inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1987.

—Kembrew McLeod

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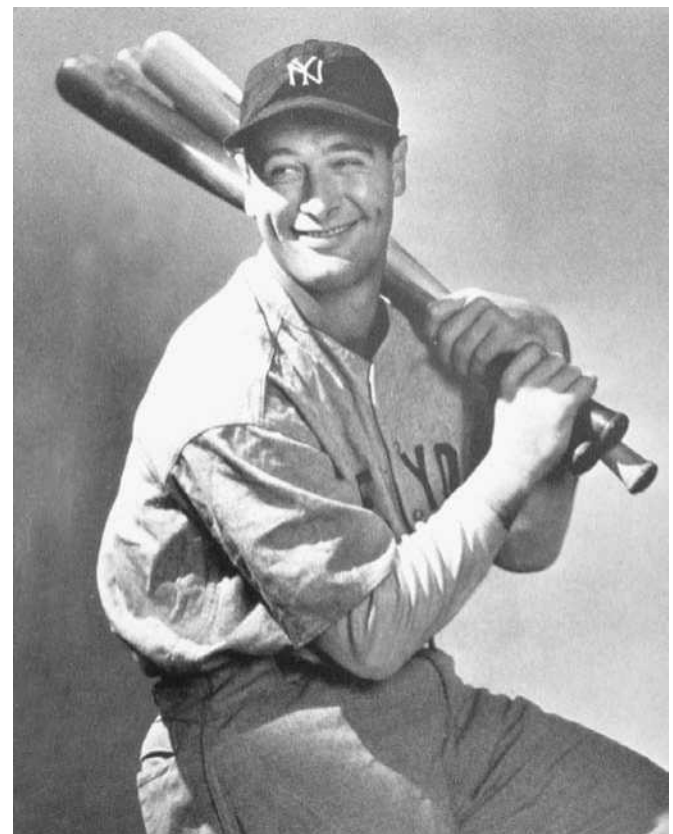
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## Gehrig, Lou (1903-1941)

Baseball great Lou Gehrig (the "Iron Horse") was, alongside teammate Babe Ruth, a powerhouse player on the New York Yankees



Lou Gehrig

during the 1920s and 1930s until his career was cut short by the degenerative disease that bears his name. Born Henry Louis Gehrig in 1903, he was the son of German immigrants who were living in Manhattan. Gehrig's high-school accomplishments earned him an opportunity to play sports at Columbia University, but he was coaxed into signing a professional contract with Hartford of the Eastern League under the surname Lewis. Gehrig hid his identity but not his talent, and the ruse was soon discovered. Columbia University promptly declared him ineligible for the 1921-1922 school year, but in his second year of college, he played exceptionally in both football and baseball. Paul Krichell of the New York Yankees discovered Gehrig in 1923 and offered him a \$1,500 signing bonus, which Gehrig accepted despite his parents' objections. He played most of the year in the minors before making his Yankee debut in September. Likewise, Gehrig spent most of the 1924 season playing in the minors, but in June of 1925, he began a consecutive game streak that would not end until 1939.

Lou Gehrig made an immediate impact on the Yankees, and his ability to hit propelled him to national stardom by the late 1920s. He hit behind Babe Ruth on baseball's most powerful lineup, which the press nicknamed "Murderer's Row," and succeeded in outhitting Ruth by the early 1930s. Gehrig compiled a streak of thirteen consecutive years with more than 100 runs and runs batted in, and a 12-year streak of hitting over .300. He led the American League in home runs three times and in runs four times, and ranks third all-time in RBIs and slugging percentage. The durable first baseman was selected as the American League's Most Valuable Player twice, won the Triple Crown in 1934, and won six world championships as a Yankee.

Statistics alone did not endear Lou Gehrig to the nation. Representing the tireless worker during the Great Depression, the "Iron Horse" established a record for the number of consecutive games played: 2,130 games in succession from 1925 to 1939. Gehrig's consecutive game streak continued despite back spasms, a broken toe, a broken thumb, and 17 different hand fractures. This record stood for more than half a century until it was surpassed in 1995 by Cal Ripken, Jr. of the Baltimore Orioles.

Gehrig's statistics began to slip in 1938, and he lacked his usual strength and mobility. When Gehrig's teammates congratulated him on a routine ground ball in 1939, he knew it was time to take himself out of the game, and he never again played for the Yankees. His ailing health led him to the Mayo clinic where doctors diagnosed him with a rare and fatal degenerative disease called amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS). Since his diagnosis, ALS has been commonly called Lou Gehrig's disease.

On July 4, 1939, the Yankees honored the newly retired Lou Gehrig in front of 62,000 fans. He received awards, retired his number, and then gave one of the most famous speeches in baseball history. Gehrig thanked the many people who touched his life, telling the crowd "Yet today I consider myself the luckiest man on the face of the earth." The powerful speech electrified the nation and epitomized his humble nature.

Gehrig spent the remaining two years of his life working for the New York City Parole Commission and spending time with family and friends. The Baseball Hall of Fame exempted him from the five-year waiting period, and he was honored by induction in Cooperstown in 1939. The story of unconditional love between Lou and his wife, Eleanor, received national attention, and shortly after Gehrig's death, Hollywood made *Pride of the Yankees*, a movie about his life and

marriage that starred Gary Cooper as Lou Gehrig. The movie was a box-office success and was nominated for Best Picture.

—Nathan R. Meyer

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See Dr. Seuss

## *The General*

Johnnie Gray (Buster Keaton) has two loves: his locomotive *The General* and Annabelle Lee (Marion Mack). As the Civil War begins, both *The General* and Annabelle are captured by Union spies and taken north across enemy lines. Johnnie follows and rescues both his loves. Although it was a flop when it was first released in 1927, *The General* is probably the best known and most popular of Keaton's films; it has a more cohesive plot than many of his other works and a larger background with an elaborate battle sequence. Johnnie is consistent with other Keaton characters: he meets every adversity with a solemn lack of facial expression and an unbeatable determination.

—Christian L. Pyle

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Created by writers Frank and Doris Hursley, *General Hospital* was one of two hospital-based daytime dramas to premiere on April 1, 1963 (The other was *The Doctors*). Though pre-dating the height of the feminist movement by several years, it nonetheless appealed to a female audience that enjoyed broadening its attention beyond the home by shifting the conventions of the soap opera from the kitchen to the workplace, and from a focus on the family dynamics to one on relationships between coworkers. The show's developers created the hospital staff as a large surrogate family, and wrote storylines that were in a constant state of flux between the personal and professional challenges presented to the main characters.

During its first few years the drama centered on the friendship of Dr. Steve Hardy and nurse Jessie Brewer, and on their complicated love lives. The self-sacrificing Brewer had suffered for years in a marriage to an unfaithful husband who was much younger than she; although she went on to have a number of relationships and several



Emily McLaughlin and John Berardino in a scene from the television show *General Hospital*, 1972.

marriages, she always seemed to return to her original spouse and to further abuse until his death finally freed her. For his part, Dr. Hardy faced his own problems due to an on-again, off-again relationship with an ex-stewardess named Audrey March. In one storyline Audrey becomes pregnant by artificial insemination during a separation from Steve, goes to Vietnam, returns, marries someone else, becomes pregnant again as a result of marital rape, leaves that husband, and reconciles with the always understanding Steve, who adopts her child.

*General Hospital* seemed to lose its focus during the late 1970s despite the efforts of the Hursleys and later writers, including their daughter Bridget, to stick to themes that had brought the show success in the past. When ratings hit rock bottom in 1977 and ABC was considering canceling the program, a last ditch effort at resuscitation brought in writer Douglas Marland, who had created a number of highly successful, youthful storylines on *The Doctors*, and Gloria Monty, who had directed *Secret Storm*, as the new producer. Monty infused the show with prime-time production values by introducing new scenery, crosscutting, and new lighting, and demanding that the actors speed up the pace of the show. Marland created a new storyline centered on 15-year-old Laura Vining (Genie Francis), a previously peripheral character, and her relationship with Scotty Baldwin (Kin Shriner). The story was further complicated by the introduction of a new rival for Laura, the scheming Bobbie Spencer. When Laura killed a taunting older lover in a rage and allowed her self-sacrificing mother to take the blame, the show's ratings really took off, bringing in a younger audience who became particularly hooked on the unfolding tragedy of the mother and daughter.

While Marland continued to develop the stories into the 1980s, Monty continued to shorten scenes, emphasize action over dialogue, and synthesize emerging trends into the show's plots. The efforts of the two practitioners returned *General Hospital* to a top-ten spot in the ratings.

The show reached its peak in popularity in the early 1980s following the departure of Marland and the hiring of his replacement Pat Falken Smith. Smith created what many considered the most controversial story in soap opera history, that of having Laura marry Scotty, but then become fascinated with an older, more sophisticated man, antihero Luke Spencer (Anthony Geary), who raped her in his deserted disco. The show couldn't afford to slow its pace by having a trial or ordering the incarceration of Luke, so the incident was passed off as a seduction, although Laura subsequently spent a year in therapy trying to recover from the emotional damage done by the attack. Nonetheless, whether it was rape or seduction, the chemistry between the two characters incited fan interest to a fever pitch and, despite critical outcries denouncing the producers for condoning rape, the show began to increase its focus on Luke and Laura. As this happened, mainstay characters Steve and Jessie were demoted to supporting status with but a few lines of dialogue each week.

Luke and Laura's wedding on November 16 and 17, 1981, became the most-watched event in the history of daytime TV, even attracting a guest appearance by Elizabeth Taylor, a fan of the show. Monty then steered the show in a more fanciful direction by having Luke and Laura confront the efforts of a mad scientist who, in an attempt at global domination, decides to freeze the world. Although the storyline disappointed *GH* purists, the theme attracted a new teenage audience, and ratings soared. Within a couple of years, however, both actress Genie Francis and writer Pat Falkin Smith departed the show to develop their careers further. Monty assumed the role of head writer. Although plots were both hit and miss among fans, the ratings continued to increase.

By early 1985, after a succession of writers had tried to move the show in different directions with limited success, Smith returned many of the original characters to prominent roles while his focus continued to be on action-adventure themes. When Smith was succeeded by Claire Labine in the 1990s, the emphasis shifted to social issues such as AIDS, organ transplants, and other emerging medical/ethical issues, and *General Hospital* came full cycle, returning, at least in part, to its original premise of drama in the lives of hospital personnel.

—Sandra Garcia-Myers

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## General Motors

The impact of auto manufacturer General Motors on American culture, the economy, and politics is staggering, as is the sheer size of the corporation. For years, GM was the largest corporation on earth, its value greater than most nations. It was the first company to gross more than one billion dollars a year. When GM had a bad year in 1957, commentators said, “GM sneezed and the economy caught a cold,” so interdependent were the U.S. GNP and the fortunes of GM. Controlling more than half of the market and creating more cars than its domestic rivals combined, GM made and sold cars everywhere in the world. Although regulation, foreign competition, and oil shocks have rocked GM the past few decades, for most of its history it has towered over not just the auto industry, but all industry. And from the farmer-friendly, half-ton pick-ups of the 1930s, to the luxurious Cadillac Coup De Villes or the space-age looking Buick LeSabre of the 1950s, to the Pontiac GTO for the youth longing for “muscle cars” in the late 1950s, to the “uniquely American” 1957 Chevy, to sports cars like the Pontiac Trans-Am of the 1970s, to the one and only Chevy El Camino half car/half pick-up of the same decade, GM has produced not just cars, but symbols of American culture.

While Henry Ford staked his claim on manufacturing genius, the “father” of General Motors, Billy Durant, brought to the industry “the art of the deal.” Durant was not just an entrepreneur, he was an expert dealmaker who merged companies and formed GM as a large holding company. GM started with Olds and Buick in 1908, then added Cadillac a year later. Durant, however, expanded too quickly and was forced out by bankers. Undeterred, Durant hired a racecar driver named Louis Chevrolet to design a new car, and in 1915, Durant merged the two companies and regained control. Durant continued to buy not only auto companies, but also suppliers (Fisher Body) and related companies (Frigidaire, which was sold in 1979). Yet, again, Durant overextended and was forced out in 1920, his place soon taken by Alfred Sloan.

If Ford created modern manufacturing techniques (Fordism) to conquer the massive scale of making automobiles, then Sloan created management techniques (Sloanism) to master the managing of a large-scale firm. Sloan’s management ideas on hierarchical line authority became the model for all large corporations for years. Sloan also became the first GM president to engage in collective bargaining when the United Auto Workers staged a series of successful sit-down strikes in GM plants in Flint, Michigan, in 1937. But Sloan’s greatest triumph was his creation of a styling and color department under the direction of designer Harley Earl in 1927. From this concentration on styling, thus on marketing, GM cemented in the American psyche the fact that, according to David Halberstam, “the car was not merely transportation, but a reflection of status, a concept to which most Americans responded enthusiastically as they strove to move up into the middle class, and then the upper middle class.” With the annual model changes—which were often only cosmetically different from the previous year—new car buyers were hooked. It was Sloan and Durant’s vision of a car for every market niche: new car buyers could start cheap with a Chevy and then, as they earned more, work their way up to an Olds, and everyone would dream of owning a Cadillac.

The war years made GM rich, but its wealth became unprecedented in the 1950s with a combination of pent-up demand, the need for a car for suburban living, and the coming of the interstate highway system. In addition to lobbying for the automobile as *the* mode of transportation for Americans, GM also did its best to destroy the

competition. In 1949, GM, Standard Oil, Firestone, and other companies were convicted of criminal conspiracy to replace electric transit lines with gasoline or diesel buses. GM had replaced more than one hundred electric transit systems in forty-five cities with GM buses. Despite a fine and the court ruling, GM would, with the aid of urban planners like Robert Moses, block efforts at mass transit.

With Earl’s love of the “jet engine look” GM cars came to resemble planes, loaded with chrome and fins. Advances in engineering could have made cars more fuel efficient; instead, GM opted to make cars more powerful and loaded with expensive options like air-conditioning. GM showed off its cars with road shows called Motoramas, which annually drew more than one million spectators. The Motoramas ended in 1961 as GM concentrated its advertising dollars on television. During the 1960s, GM divisions sponsored hundreds of TV shows. With famous ads like “See the USA in the Chevrolet,” GM created a national car culture, made even more attractive with the coming of color television.

Yet, the events of the 1960s also brought about the first chinks in GM’s armor. A poorly designed knock-off called the Corvair inspired a young lawyer named Ralph Nader to write a book about auto safety (or the lack thereof) called *Unsafe at Any Speed*. While the book was troubling to GM, more embarrassing was GM’s clumsy attempt to investigate and intimidate Nader. This led to the spectacle of GM issuing Nader a public apology. The safety issues led to more government regulation of the auto industry, which escalated with emissions and other standards enacted in the 1960s and 1970s. Like all large institutions, GM found itself under attack in the 1960s, but nothing compared to the shocks it would face in the next decades.

Beginning with a lengthy UAW strike in 1970, through oil embargoes, inflation, and recessions, GM lost profit, market share, respect, and dominance into the 1990s. The company underwent a series of huge reorganizations coupled with a titanic downsizing of its work force. The devastating effect of GM’s layoffs is best chronicled in Michael Moore’s bitterly funny 1989 film *Roger & Me*. After a series of management shake-ups, some at the behest of new board member Ross Perot (whose Electronic Data Systems Corporation had been purchased by GM in the 1980s), GM tried to reinvent itself with the Saturn project in 1984. Saturn was an attempt to develop not just a new car, but a new method of manufacturing and selling automobiles based on the Japanese model. While new, Saturn also represented something old in GM’s past: producing the right car for the right market.

—Patrick Jones

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## Generation X

Throughout the twentieth century, American historians and social commentators have placed labels on various generations in an effort to capture their characteristic spirit. Generation X—roughly defined as the more than 79 million people born between 1961 and 1981—has been characterized by the media as lazy, laconic, and unfocused, but in the eyes of many, the pejorative label represents propaganda rather than reality. For those outside this generation, the X stands for some unknown variable, implying young adults searching aimlessly for an identity. Many members of Generation X think otherwise, however, and they fill in the blank with such descriptors as diverse, individualistic, determined, independent, and ambitious.

The term “Generation X” worked its way into popular vernacular after the release of Douglas Coupland’s 1991 novel, *Generation X: Tales for an Accelerated Culture*, about three twentysomethings who are underemployed, overeducated, and unpredictable. Other nicknames have emerged, such as the more neutral “13ers” (which indicates the 13th generation since the pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock). However, most of the other markers have negative overtones, such as “slackers,” “latch-key generation,” “MTV generation,” and “baby busters.” Many members of this generation reject these labels for they not only stigmatize and stereotype, but also reinforce the negative behavior they describe. On the other hand, Karen Ritchie, author of *Marketing to Generation X*, actually prefers the label “Generation X,” for she sees “something anticommmercial, antislick, anti-Boomer, and generally defiant about the ‘X’ label.” She also predicts that soon enough, and rightly so, this generation “will name themselves.”

The members of Generation X can be seen as natural products of the intellectual atmosphere in which they have grown up, for they are the first generation to be raised in the age of postmodernism—a widespread cultural development of the last quarter of the twentieth century. Understanding the often rocky transition from modern to postmodern culture is necessary to understanding how many members of Generation X think and operate. While modernism values a single world view rooted in objective science, postmodernism values multiple world views based on subjective experiences and contingencies. Information and knowledge is gathered in a linear fashion by the modernists, but for postmodernists, particularly those of Generation X, information comes from fragmented and non-linear sources, often in the form of hypertext or visual images. While the modernists revere the classics of art and literature, postmodernists have a broader frame of reference: they not only revere the classics, but they also grant status and value to the productions of popular culture. Ethics for the modernists can be rigid, even self-righteous, but postmodernists have a more situational ethic that resists the concept of “Universal Truth.” Monolithic institutions such as government, education, corporations, and the press which are seen as authoritative by the modernists are viewed with caution and distrust by members of Generation X.

Xers have grown up during the cultural transformation from modernism to postmodernism. The sensibilities of postmodernism are naturally appealing to many members of Generation X, because their young adulthood has been constructed by the postmodern society. Paradoxically, they have simultaneously been victimized by

a society trying to come to terms with a paradigm shift that many find threatening. Members of Generation X often represent that threat to their elders. As a result, these youth are both the product and the scapegoat of a culture in a state of flux.

True to this variable spirit of postmodernism, Generation X defies homogeneity. Extremely diverse in race, class, religion, ethnicity, and sexual orientation, Xers often feel a collective uniqueness that has emerged from shared experiences and cultural circumstances. The unrest of the late 1960s and early 1970s, followed by the uneasy discomfort of the late 1970s and the self-involved consumption of the 1980s, have been the foreground to the 1990s—a decade laden with problems. Social ills like the rise in teen suicide, widespread homelessness, proliferating toxic waste, violent crime, the AIDS epidemic, and a “down-sizing” workforce, coupled with fundamental changes in social structures like the family, caused by rising divorce rates and working parents, have been the realities of the world as Generation X has come of age. Like most younger generations, many Xers resent their parental generation—the baby boomers—for leaving them to repair or endure a society on the brink of collapse. Considering the problems Xers face, it is perhaps no wonder that one of their favorite T-shirt slogans is “NO FEAR,” and it is also representative of the contradictions of their culture that NO FEAR is the corporate brand name of a line of sports clothes.

Lack of fear, however, is not enough to manage America’s social problems, and many baby boomers voice concern that most members of Generation X evince distaste for politics and public affairs. The trust of all Americans in their government has reached increasingly low levels in the 1990s, as members of Generation X have come of age politically. Because they view politics as a hostile and corrupt environment, Xers have tended to be disgusted by political machinations, and thus often disengaged. Political apathy among young people is not a new phenomenon; personal challenges such as education, careers, and relationships often consume their time and energy, leaving little left over for political affairs. Furthermore, political scientists report that, historically, levels of public participation increase with age. However, Xers have never experienced political innocence and have lived within a negative climate of politics their entire lives. This climate has caused many to turn their backs on political involvement, in turn causing a potentially devastating problem in terms of Xers’ future civic and political responsibility.

Neil Howe and Bill Strauss provide a more pragmatic perspective in their oft-cited *13th Gen: Abort, Retry, Ignore, Fail?*, in which they lay out a five-point political credo of Xers: 1. “Wear your politics lightly”; 2. “Survival comes first”; 3. “Try to fix only what’s fixable”; 4. “Clean up after your own mess”; and 5. “Personal style matters.” Howe and Strauss posit that for the 13th Generation, “national politics will drift toward the personal, non-sense, survivalist approach.” Xers are already employing this do-it-yourself attitude by saving early for their retirement. According to Richard Thau, in a 1994 poll of 18-34 year olds, 82 percent believe that Social Security, the U.S. government’s largest benefit program, will deconstruct before their retirement. Thau is the Executive Director of the Third Millennium, a political advocacy group centered in New York with hundreds of members who are dedicated to speaking out on behalf of the interests of the Generation X age group. Likewise, Hans Riemer and Chris Cuomo cofounded 2030, what they describe as a “political action-tank” for Generation X. In Riemer’s words, “so much of what is going wrong today requires innovation and new thinking, and we can respond to these requirements at a more rapid pace than other generations could.” These informed Xers

are responding to the concerns of “massive ignorance” through practical action.

Xers’ cautious and fiscally conservative sensibility has been a challenge to America’s mostly middle-aged advertisers and marketers who have recognized Generation X as a viable and large market. However, they are also the best educated generation in America’s history and were raised on commercial hyperbole. While Xers might respect and enjoy advertisements that are crisp, sophisticated, humorous, and informative, they are savvy enough to realize when hype or insincerity is at work. Karen Ritchie recognizes that “no icon and certainly no commercial is safe from their irony, their sarcasm or their remote control. These are the tools with which Generation X keeps the world in perspective.”

Xer Richard Thau confirms such use of satire and irony in explaining the wild popularity of the “fictional buffoons” who have largely defined Generation X for the nation: Beavis and Butthead, Bill and Ted, Wayne and Garth, Bart Simpson, and the children who live in South Park. Members of Generation X, claims Thau, are clearly educated enough to enjoy “watching these morons because they satirize the image older generations have of us.” Shows like *Friends*, *ER*, *Seinfeld*, *Melrose Place*, *The X-Files*, and *Party of Five* are popular among Xers because they employ friends as family, serialized story lines, and the use of music, three ingredients favored by Generation X viewers. The effect of Generation X on current TV programming can clearly be measured by the launching of three broadcast networks—Fox, UPN, and WB—specifically targeted at Generation X.

Perhaps one of the more joyful memories from the early days of Xers is those three-minute jingles that provided Saturday morning lessons in grammar, math, civics, and science: ABC’s *Schoolhouse Rock*. Rob Owen, author of *Gen X TV*, claims that “these little ditties entered the Gen X consciousness and stayed there.” He also posits that these musical education segments were the forerunner to what we later came to know as music videos. Unlike any preceding generation, the visual element is essential to Xers. Since they have grown up with television, video games, and computers, it is natural that theirs is the generation that added pictures to rock songs. Owen contends that the introduction of the Music Television channel (MTV) “raised the ante” in the entertainment industry when television producers blended music, visuals, and quick cuts for the sophisticated viewing demands of Generation X. When MTV went on the air in August, 1981, targeting the 12-34 age group, members of Generation X responded immediately, so much so that Xers are criticized for having an MTV-attention span, alluding to the quick-cut and fast-paced conventions of music videos. Despite this criticism, the attraction of MTV remains constant, explains Meredith Bagby, because MTV has quite literally made it their business to keep up with the changes in Generation X.

The musical interests of Xers are as diverse as the members themselves. In the early 1990s, many members of Generation X revered grunge rock groups like Nirvana with their furious, angst-ridden lyrics and wailing guitar licks. Nirvana railed against the establishment and a decaying society—issues with which Xers could readily identify. Kurt Cobain was their poet, but his suicide in April, 1994 brought his anguished alienation to a crashing halt. The bullet that ended Cobain’s life created a collective heartache for many members of Generation X. While Cobain screamed in despair, rappers continue to provide their version of the nightly news concerning the happenings on America’s urban streets. Hip-hop and rap music appeal to members of Generation X across all race and ethnic

lines, for like Cobain, rappers speak of the issues of the day while simultaneously affirming black identity. Howe and Strauss describe inner-city Xers as “unmarried teen moms and unconcerned teen fathers; lethal gangsters . . . and innocent hiphoppers who have no illusions about why older white guys cross the streets to avoid them.” Rappers like Tupac Shakur, Queen Latifah, Snoop Doggy Dogg, Master P, Puff Daddy, and Dr. Dre are significant voices for many members of Generation X. The success of Black Entertainment Television (BET), a music network which focuses on urban contemporary sounds, attests to the far-reaching appeal of black music among Generation X. In addition to alternative rock and rap, other genres of GenX music include ska, techno, industrial, country, reggae, and goth.

Though many Xers have a deep connection to music, they are not merely tuning in to the various music networks and dancing at all-night raves. Some have a strong entrepreneurial spirit that belies their media reputation for laziness and lack of focus. For example, Jerry Yang and David Filo, both graduate students at Stanford, cofounded Yahoo!, the first online navigational guide to the Web. Xer Adam Werbach is the youngest president of the Sierra Club, the largest grass-roots environmental organization. Xer Eric Liu edited a collection of essays about Generation X called *Next* and is a foreign-policy speech writer for Bill Clinton. At age 25, Steve Frank became a journalist for the *Wall Street Journal*. Jonathan Karl was hired as a reporter for CNN to represent his generation. Xer David Mays is the founder and editor-in-chief of *The Source*, the immensely popular magazine of hip-hop music, culture, and politics. Twentysomething Kevin Smith financed his first movie, *Clerks*, on his credit card and then went on to make *Chasing Amy*, which earned him the respect of mainstream moviemakers. Beth Kobliner, writer for *Money* magazine, also wrote the bestseller on personal finance for Generation X, *Get a Financial Life!* At only 26, Jeff Shesol is considered an acclaimed historian for his book *Mutual Contempt* about Robert Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson; Shesol also serves as a presidential speech writer for Bill Clinton. Although the title of the 1991 movie, *Slackers*, has been used to label members of Generation X, the above accomplishments clearly negate such a reputation.

In the face of dismissive and stereotypical media portrayals as they learn to navigate the increasingly fast-paced world around them, members of Generation X have learned to cope with guarded optimism, and practical confidence. Although they may be cynical about the conditions of the world in which they came of age, they do embrace an American Dream, albeit a different one from that of their predecessors.

—Judy L. Isaksen

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## Gentlemen Prefer Blondes

Novel, stage play, and, most notably, popular 1953 film *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* began as a series of satiric sketches written by Anita Loos and published by *Harper's Bazaar* in 1925. The series featured two pretty and bright but unschooled flappers, Lorelei Lee and Dorothy Shaw, who joyfully infiltrated the bastions of the ruling class. "The strength behind Loos's heroines lies not in their sexuality per se," as Regina Barreca notes, "but on the fact that they remain on the periphery of social and cultural structures." Their profound hunger to be fully accepted into society is at odds with their outsider's recognition of society's entrenched moral hypocrisy. The series struck a chord with readers, and by the third installment, *Harper's Bazaar* had tripled its newsstand sales.

Loos developed the premise into a novel, which was translated into thirteen languages and adapted into a stage play the following



Marilyn Monroe (left) and Jane Russell in a scene from the film *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*.

year. The narrative took the form of a diary written by Lorelei, whose attempts to sound cultured resulted in malapropisms ("A girl like I") and whose childlike observations satirized the surrounding society ("He really does not mind what a girl has been through as long as she does not enjoy herself at the finish"). The first film version premiered in 1928 to rave reviews. "Those two energetic and resourceful diamond diggers, Lorelei Lee and Dorothy, have come to the Rivoli Theatre in a splendid pictorial translation of Anita Loos's book," wrote Mordaunt Hall for the *New York Times*; "This film is an infectious treat." The story was transformed into a Broadway musical that made Carol Channing a star in 1949. It was produced as an elaborate technicolor film by Twentieth Century-Fox in 1953, revived as a musical entitled *Lorelei* in 1974, and enacted as a stage play by the National Actors Theatre in 1995. But the most influential vehicle for the story is undoubtedly the 1953 film.

Directed by Howard Hawks, *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* starred Marilyn Monroe as Lorelei and Jane Russell as Dorothy. The film rose to number one in the nation in August 1953 and generated more than \$5 million for Fox by the end of the year. Monroe got second billing, earning less than one-tenth of Russell's \$200,000 for her work on the film. She was even refused her own dressing room, since she wasn't considered a star. By the end of the year, however, Monroe had starred in three hit films, appeared on the cover of *Look* magazine, and was voted top female box-office star by American film distributors. *Playboy* magazine took advantage of Monroe's sudden celebrity by putting her on the cover of its first issue in December and printing five-year-old nude photographs of her as its first centerfold. The embodiment of the *Playboy* philosophy—combining desirability with vulnerability and exuding sexuality as something natural and innocent—Monroe was perfect for the role of Lorelei, who, as one critic remarked, sometimes "employs an imploring expression, one which seems to imply that she is totally ignorant of her physical attraction." Monroe's star persona coalesced with the film, and thereafter roles such as Pola in *How to Marry a Millionaire* (1953), "The Girl" in *The Seven Year Itch* (1955), and Sugar in *Some Like It Hot* (1959) were written with her specifically in mind.

In the early 1970s, film critics such as Molly Haskell criticized Monroe for "catering so shamelessly to a false, regressive, childish, and detached idea of sexuality." It might seem surprising, then, that *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* was revived as "a feminist text" by film scholars in the early 1980s. Lucie Arbuthnot and Gail Seneca, for example, pointed out that "Given the mammary madness of the fifties, it is striking that Hawks chose to dress Monroe and Russell in high-necked sweaters and dresses." Actually, the costumes—including skin-tight, red-sequined dresses with thigh-high slits—are far from modest. And the high necklines were not Hawks's choice, but the result of the Motion Picture Association of America going "on breast alert," insisting on seeing costume stills for each of the outfits the two stars would wear in advance. The MPAA red-lined suggestive phrases such as "bosom companions" but allowed lines like the famous "Those girls couldn't drown" to remain in the finished film.

Feminist scholars made a stronger case for the film's progressive depiction of female friendship: "the absence of competitiveness, envy or pettiness" between Dorothy and Lorelei. By many accounts, this reflects a genuine affinity between Russell and Monroe, belying rumors that Monroe couldn't get along with other women. The popular press predicted a giant feud between the two stars during filming, a "Battle of the Bulges" as one male columnist inevitably called it. In fact, according to Todd McCarthy, Russell "welcomed

Monroe at once and gained her confidence professionally and personally.” In Monroe’s last interview with *Life* magazine, conducted just two days before her death in August 1962, she recalled that Russell “was quite wonderful to me.”

Perhaps most strikingly for contemporary feminists, *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* can be said to draw a moral parallel between the motivations of women who pursue men for their money and men who pursue women for their beauty. Hollywood, of course, has traditionally vilified the former as gold digging and celebrated the latter as love at first sight. But songs like “Diamonds Are a Girl’s Best Friend” suggest that men are fickle and women have but one commodity to exchange under patriarchal capitalism: their youthful beauty. “Men grow cold as girls grow old / And we all lose our charms in the end / But square-cut or pear-shaped / These rocks won’t lose their shape / Diamonds are a girl’s best friend.” Proving herself not to be as dumb as her future father-in-law thinks, Lorelei proclaims that “A man being rich is like a girl being pretty. You might not marry a girl just because she’s pretty, but my goodness, doesn’t it help?”

“The line which separates celebration from satire in American culture is perniciously thin,” as Maureen Turim writes, and “no place is that lack of differentiation more evident than in Howard Hawks’s *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*.” It is not surprising, then, that Madonna, whose work is characterized by a similar ambiguity, chose to restage Monroe’s “Diamonds Are a Girl’s Best Friend” performance in her 1985 hit music video “Material Girl.”

—Jeanne Hall

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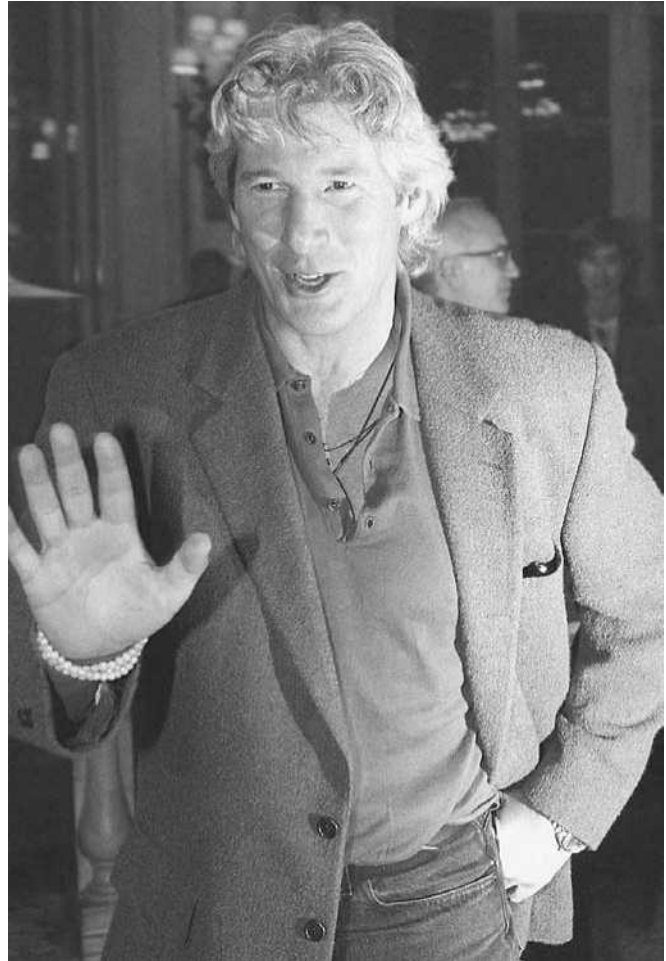
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## Gere, Richard (1949—)

Actor Richard Gere has evolved from a typically brash young leading man, whose career was based primarily on his sexy good looks, into a devoted Buddhist and champion of oppressed people.

A deft musician, composer, and gymnast in high school, Gere attended college on a gymnastics scholarship, then dropped out to pursue a career in music. Acting and composing in summer stock led to a position as an understudy for the lead in the Broadway production of the rock musical *Grease* in 1972, then the opportunity to play the lead in the London production the following year. This was followed by the rare opportunity (for an American actor) to play a season with



Richard Gere

the Young Vic Company in such offerings as *The Taming of the Shrew* in 1974.

His film debut in 1974 was in a bit part as a pimp in *Report to the Commissioner*, which was followed by a more high-profile but similar role as a sexually charged street hustler involved with Diane Keaton in 1977’s *Looking for Mr. Goodbar*, and his status as a sex symbol was confirmed by his starring role in the breakthrough hit *American Gigolo* in 1979. His career then suffered a marked decline due to inferior choices of roles; critics claimed that it was because his film work came second after his burgeoning interest in Buddhism. Having studied the religion, Gere made a visit to the Tibetan refugee camps in Nepal in 1978, and after meeting with the Dalai Lama, declared himself a disciple.

Following his embrace of Buddhism, Gere attempted to break free of his sex-symbol status and try more character-driven work. Returning to the stage in a highly praised performance as a gay concentration camp prisoner in the Broadway play *Bent*, he then accepted an equally challenging role as a desperate young man struggling to get through brutal military officer’s training in *An Officer and a Gentleman* (1982), which proved a box office hit and suggested Gere possessed untapped skills as an actor. However subsequent misfires such as the remake of *Breathless* (1983), *Beyond the Limit* (1983), *King David* (1985), and even Francis Ford Coppola’s

ill-fated *The Cotton Club* (1984) lowered his credibility until his unexpected breakthrough performance opposite Julia Roberts in 1990's megahit *Pretty Woman*, caused producers to take notice. Since that time Gere has re-established his leading-man status in respectable films such as 1993's *Sommersby* (the remake of the French film *The Return of Martin Guerre*), and thrillers such as *Primal Fear* (1996) and *The Jackal* (1997). But Gere's "heart project" was *Red Corner* (1997), which allowed him to bring his career and private concerns together in the story of an American businessman visiting China who is framed for a murder, wrongly imprisoned, and forced to struggle against China's rigidly oppressive legal system.

Devout in his religion, Gere maintained that he meditated daily and spent his time between projects in India with the exiled Tibetans. In fact his very public twenty-year devotion to the faith led the Dalai Lama to personally request Gere's high-profile assistance in the crusade to end China's tyrannous rule of Tibet—a cause which Gere championed to the extent of making a very public plea at the Academy Awards, which in turn led to his banishment from the event. He was also actively involved in campaigning to raise public awareness of the religious and cultural heritage of Tibet in an effort to push for an American boycott of China. Gere has also published a book of photographs he has taken of Tibetans, *Pilgrim*, the proceeds of which were donated to the cause of Tibetan autonomy.

Gere's sense of universal responsibility has also extended to his taking up the cause of oppressed Central American refugees by lobbying Congress on their behalf in 1986, and launching an AIDS awareness program in India, for which he received a Harvard Award in 1997.

—Rick Moody

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## Gernsback, Hugo (1884-1967)

An American publisher, editor, and author, Gernsback is perhaps best known as the founder of the modern science fiction literary genre. It was his publication of *Amazing Stories* (1926) that gave him this distinction and drew Americans into reading stories about an unknown future. Indeed, Gernsback's imagination was not only limited to the abstract—not in the sense that what he wrote about was impossible—but his speculation about future technological advancements had a solid basis in science . . . as any good science fiction does. In this sense, he was one of the twentieth century's greatest visionaries.

Gernsback immigrated to the United States from Luxembourg in 1904 and established The Electro Importing Company, the first electrical importing business in America. In 1905 he designed and produced the world's first home radio set and began publishing a mail-order catalog, which he filled with articles discussing new technologies. By 1908, Gernsback's mail-order catalog had grown and evolved into *Modern Electrics*, the first electronics magazine of its kind in the world.

Gernsback began experimenting with science fiction as a way to speculate on the new technologies that exploded on the scene at the

start of the twentieth century. He serialized his first such story, "Ralph 124C 41+: A Romance of the Year 2660," in *Modern Electrics* from April 1911 to March 1912. Though clumsy and simplistic by today's standards, "Ralph 124C 41+" was based on solid scientific principles and made a number of remarkable technological predictions: fluorescent lighting, plastics, synthetic fabrics, stainless steel, juke-boxes, hydroponics, tape recorders, loudspeakers, microfilm, television, radio networks, vending machines, nuclear weapons, and solar energy. Gernsback's story proved so popular among his mostly young and technologically curious readers, that he began including at least one such story in each issue.

Gernsback sold *Modern Electrics* in 1912 and started a larger periodical, *The Electrical Experimenter*, in 1913, which he retitled *Science and Invention* in 1920 (later absorbed into *Popular Electronics*). By this time Gernsback was publishing two or more stories in each issue of *Science and Invention* as well as in its companion publication *Radio News*, and he began to suspect there might be a market for an all-fiction science magazine. In August 1923 he found out when he published a special "Scientific Fiction Number" of *Science and Invention*, which contained six new "scientifiction" stories (Gernsback's term for the new genre) and cover art depicting a man in a space suit. It was so successful that on April 5, 1926, the enterprising Gernsback launched the first magazine in the world devoted exclusively to science fiction, *Amazing Stories*.

Aware of the "historical interest" posterity would have in this new genre, Gernsback stressed both literary quality and scientific accuracy in his new magazine. At first he filled its pages with reprints of stories by Jules Verne, Edgar Allan Poe, and H.G. Wells. But Gernsback quickly attracted such visionary writers as E.E. "Doc" Smith, Jack Williamson, Ray Cummings, and John W. Campbell, whose groundbreaking stories would map out science fiction's major themes. Gernsback also hired Austrian-born artist Frank R. Paul to provide illustrations for many of the magazine's covers and interior stories. Paul's bold style, vivid use of color, and imaginative depiction of scientific gadgetry, future cities, and alien worlds gave *Amazing Stories* a distinctive look and was an important factor in the magazine's success. Bolstered by that success, Gernsback followed *Amazing Stories* with an expanded edition of the magazine titled *Amazing Stories Annual*, which was so popular Gernsback immediately changed it to the more frequent *Amazing Stories Quarterly*.

Gernsback lost control of *Amazing Stories* in 1929 in a bizarre legal maneuver rumored to have been orchestrated by one of his competitors. Within a month, however, the crusading editor launched four new science fiction magazines: *Science Wonder Stories*, *Air Wonder Stories* (both merged in 1930 as *Wonder Stories*), *Science Wonder Quarterly*, and *Scientific Detective Monthly*. Gernsback's new magazines were an overnight success, in part because of Gernsback's solid reputation, but also because he took with him Frank R. Paul and many of *Amazing Stories*' best science fiction writers. But it is Gernsback's editorial in the first issue of *Science Wonder Stories* that is of particular interest to the history of popular culture. It is there he gave the world the term "science fiction."

Scholars have noted that if Gernsback had not launched the first science fiction magazine in 1926, someone else would have seen the market opportunities and published something very similar. As important as timing was in the success of Gernsback's magazines, however, his contribution to the genre goes far beyond having an uncanny business sense. Gernsback had a genuinely altruistic, though perhaps simplistic, belief that technology could bring about a human utopia, and he saw it as his role to instill a love of science and

technology in his mainly adolescent readers. His argument that science could not only be extrapolated but also taught through fiction was one he returned to over and over, and one that was not lost on his readers.

Throughout his life Gernsback continued to invent electronic devices, patenting nearly 80 before his death in 1967. And though he published more than 50 magazines devoted to such diverse topics as radio, humor, sex, economics, crime detection, and aviation, it was with the publication of *Amazing Stories* that he achieved his lasting fame and exerted his most profound influence on popular culture. Shortly after its publication, magazines and newspapers began to carry science fiction stories geared for a wider audience and science fiction quickly began appearing in nearly every artistic medium including books, radio, film, comic books, and television. Moreover, Gernsback's actions inspired two generations of readers and writers and played a major role in establishing science fiction as an independent literary genre. As a tribute to Gernsback's overall contribution to the field, in 1953 the prestigious Science Fiction Achievement Awards were named the "Hugo" Awards.

—Anthony Ubelhor

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## *Gertie the Dinosaur*

Billed as "The Greatest Animal Act in the World," the animated cartoon *Gertie the Dinosaur* premiered in Chicago in February 1914. "She eats, drinks, and breathes! She laughs and cries! Dances the tango, answers questions and obeys every command! Yet, she lived millions of years before man inhabited this earth and has never been seen since!!" claimed the posters. Though Gertie was not the first cartoon character to come alive on screen, she might as well have been. As American film critic Leonard Maltin has written, "One might say that Gertie launched an entire industry." Created by the American comic strip artist Winsor McCay, Gertie's silent debut preceded Walt Disney's Mickey Mouse sound film, *Steamboat Willie*, by 14 years. Though animated cartoons date to experiments in Thomas A. Edison's film studio as early as 1906, it was McCay's sophisticated drawings, charming story, and ingenuity that first really gave "life" to animated characters. It was Gertie's charming personality that captured the imagination of filmgoers.

Popular comic strips were made to move early in the history of cinema, but the development of the art and craft of animation was initially inhibited by economic constraints. While audiences and exhibitors expected animated cartoons to be produced with the same frequency as newspaper comic strips, one minute of an animated cartoon required about 1000 drawings (each film frame was one drawing, and passed at the speed of 16 frames per second). The speed of production precluded much analysis of the art, and early animators had to depend on visual gags and dialogue balloons to get a laugh.

McCay, a well-known newspaper cartoonist, inspired by his son's flip-up books and the pioneering films of J. Stuart Blackton, began experimenting with cartoons and motion pictures in 1907. Four

years later, in April, 1911, he premiered his first animated cartoon, *Little Nemo*, based on one of his popular comic strip characters. This short film had no story. Instead, the character asked the audience, in a dialogue balloon, to watch him move as he jumped, flipped, ran, and bounced. To create this short film, McCay hand-colored four thousand frames of 35mm film. He incorporated *Little Nemo* into his vaudeville act and the audience loved it.

Next, McCay created *The Story of a Mosquito*, which took him about a year to make. This new cartoon advanced the techniques used for *Little Nemo*, this time telling a story—of a mosquito's experience with a drunken man. Although McCay's second film, which also premiered as part of his vaudeville act, was well-received, audiences and critics had a hard time accepting that drawings could be brought to life on film, and suspected that the movement was some sort of trick produced with wires and figures.

*Gertie the Dinosaur* was McCay's answer to the sceptics. He chose a dinosaur as his character because the animal was long extinct and no one could claim that the artist was employing trickery to make her move. The idea of a dinosaur as the subject of an animated drawing was far-fetched. McCay's ingenuity, however, lay in the manner in which he presented the one-reel film in his vaudeville act. As Leonard Maltin describes it, McCay performed on-stage with the cartoon, playing Gertie's trainer and interacting with the motion picture. Gertie "obeyed" his commands, cried when he reprimanded her, ate the snacks he tossed her, and playfully teased her trainer. At the end of the film, McCay walked onto the screen, becoming part of the animation, and together he and Gertie walked away.

*Gertie the Dinosaur* was a one-reel film, lasting about 12 minutes. To create his memorable character, McCay inked 10,000 drawings on rice paper and then mounted them on cardboard. He invented a flip machine to check the animation. Most astonishing, perhaps, for current aficionados accustomed to animation cells and computer-generated animation, McCay had to redraw the dinosaur and her background for every frame. He drew over 10,000 Gerties himself, and enlisted John A. Fitzsimmons to reproduce the backgrounds, often by tracing.

The film and its "leading lady" were wildly popular and the dinosaur became an instant star. McCay, however, had little desire to remain involved in the industry that his work had spawned. He preferred, instead, to continue with his newspaper comic strips and vaudeville acts, and to work on his films for his own satisfaction. In further developing the art of animation, McCay created, among others, *The Centaurs* and *The Sinking of the Lusitania*. In these, as in *Gertie*, his graphic precision was far more sophisticated than that of his contemporary animators. Eventually, McCay stopped making films altogether, although early animators, including John Randolph Bray, the inventor of the cell, considered McCay to be the father of their art and their craft. Indeed, McCay himself is reported to have proudly christened himself "the creator of animated cartoons."

—Ilene S. Goldman

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## Get Smart

The James Bond craze of the 1960s produced a host of spy heroes eager to cash in on the popularity of 007. Some were slavish imitations, but others reflected a willingness to poke fun at the genre. One of the most successful satires, created by Mel Brooks and Buck Henry, was the television series *Get Smart*, which ran on NBC from 1965 to 1970.

Don Adams played Maxwell Smart, Agent 86 of CONTROL. Barbara Felton was Smart's partner, Agent 99. The inept spy and his far more capable partner fought against the evil organization KAOS. They usually won, mostly due to Smart's tendency to do the right thing for the wrong reason. The show made two contributions to popular culture in the late 1960s—the phrase “Sorry about that, Chief,” and a running gag built around the question “Would you believe,” as in, “Would you believe you're surrounded by 100 armed agents?” “No, I wouldn't.” “Would you believe four Boy Scouts and an angry nun?”

—Justin Gustainis

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## Ghettos

If it is true that the poor will always be with us, then, by extension, one can argue that ghettos, “the huts where poor men lie,” to quote the poet Wordsworth, are equally eternal, a seemingly insoluble social problem with a long past. The word ghetto carries dark and distressing historical resonance for the Jews of Russia and Europe who, for centuries, culminating in the Nazi atrocities of World War II, were segregated into particular areas by governmental decree. The appalling living conditions that characterized these ghettos carried over to the modern United States, whose cities contain areas that exemplify the dictionary definition of a ghetto as “a densely populated area of a city inhabited by a socially and economically deprived minority.” The existence of American ghettos, determined by specific social and economic contingencies, are also too often dictated by ethnicity, providing a disturbing echo of disadvantage based on race or color for those whose fate has confined them to ghetto conditions.

The ghettos of America began as virtual warehouses for cheap immigrant labor in the late nineteenth century, and evolved into holding pens for disadvantaged humanity, a lost and forgotten segment of the populace. Between 1970 and 1990, the number of persons living in ghettos grew by 92 percent, a figure that continued to rise throughout the 1990s. In this era of global economy, industrial flight threatens to turn not only cities, but also suburbs into new ghettos, which stand as a bleak testament to the vicissitudes of economic exigency that is fed by the manic flight of capital into and out of cities, and, finally, abroad.

Through the late nineteenth century, as coal and electricity supplanted water power, industry moved from riverside factory towns to cities. Proximity to markets, rail transport, and the availability of



Children play on a street in Harlem, 1941.

cheap labor provided economic incentives for the industrial migration, which gave rise to sub-standard housing for the work force built adjacent to the factories with little regard to hygiene or creature comforts. Hence, conditions were crowded and unsanitary. Nonetheless, the dreadful conditions that prevailed in these early ghettos were ameliorated somewhat by the strong social and cultural ties that held the immigrant communities together. For example, Yiddish newspapers and theaters thrived within the close confines of New York's lower East side in the early 1900s, while the 1920s and 1930s saw the process repeated in the black community of Harlem (where, incidentally, middle class Jews had moved to escape the confines of the East side), ushering in the artistic and intellectual burgeoning of the Harlem Renaissance. While the ghettos grew out of economic exploitation and crime flourished in their streets, they housed viable communities to whom the street became a meeting place for the people and an extension of the tenement apartments they occupied. Thus, the ghettos functioned as tight social entities that belied their external appearance of chaos and disorder.

As industry increasingly clogged the inner cities, wealthier residents sought escape from the noise and pollution, and thus began an exodus to bedroom communities outside the city proper. The poor filled the vacuum, occupying once upscale neighborhoods vacated by the affluent where mansions were turned into rooming houses and residential hotels. Bunker Hill, for example, with its stately Victorian mansions situated west of downtown Los Angeles, had been the premier neighborhood in the 1890s. But as the city encroached upon the area and its wealthy residents fled, the stately mansions were parceled into boarding houses for the poor and elderly, a process that



repeated itself in every neighborhood adjacent to the downtown. Over time, these areas became not only physically dilapidated but also morally impoverished. Through newspapers, books—Raymond Chandler in particular, linked Bunker Hill with vice and depravity—and films, the association of ghettos with every manner of social ill spread through the public mind. During the 1940s and 1950s, *film noir* movies frequently used Bunker Hill locations as representative of an imaginary ghetto, a place blighted and beyond redemption. The process of ghettoization was not particular to Los Angeles, but typical of virtually every major American city.

Ironically, as congestion and union activism began to undermine the economic gains that had initially prompted industry moves to central cities, manufacturing, too, abandoned the city, relocating in the suburbs, and away from the threat of union activism. Then, too, the migration of African Americans and other people of color to the cities added to the disfavor in which ghettos were held. For European immigrants, ghettos had often been the first step in a trajectory that led to full assimilation. This could not be said of people of color, large numbers of whom have tended to remain economically, politically, and socially disenfranchised, creating a permanent underclass, trapped in a culture of poverty with few avenues of escape.

Stripped both of employment in industry, and the wealth-creating proximity of middle-class urbanites, poverty-stricken neighborhoods sank deeper into decline as a result of neglect and increasing crime. By the 1940s inner city decline had become a matter of paramount importance to the Federal government. Following World War II, urban theorists began mapping strategies to save the decaying inner cities or, alternatively, to contain the spreading contagion of poverty. Whole city blocks in inner cities were red-lined as slums, thus effectively depriving residents of bank loans, and were subsequently purchased under eminent domain laws, razed to the ground, and replaced by high-rise apartment buildings.

There were several reasons for this particular approach to the problem. It has often been asserted that these planners were utopians, wishing to overlay their international modernist vision on the inner city. In many cases they knew little about how neighborhoods operated, but these massive public works netted huge profits for large-scale contractors, while providing a short-term solution to a desperate housing shortage, and infused massive amounts of Federal funds into the local economy. Unfortunately, Project Housing, as it became known, failed to provide a convivial living environment, neither did they foster stable neighborhoods. The consequence of high-rise projects was further to contain and isolate disadvantaged groups from society at large, causing a concomitant rise in chronic unemployment, youth gangs, and crime—all of the ills, in short, that these projects had sought to eradicate. Neighborhood streets once lined with small businesses and apartment buildings were replaced by sterile plazas, arid and inhospitable; amenities that had once been close at hand now required a trip outside the immediate neighborhood, thus further disabling local economies and rendering them increasingly reliant on Federal assistance.

Racism was implicit in the planning of these massive construction projects, designed to contain and quarantine poor minority groups. Lewis Mumford once wrote that the function of a city street is “to permit . . . the greatest potential number of meetings, encounters, challenges, between all persons, classes, and groups.” This was a view antithetical to the utopian planners. “In the view of the planners,” writes Marty Jezer, “slums and overcrowding were the root cause of crime. The new high-rise red brick housing projects were seen as antidotes to crime, and this became their most spectacular

failure.” In San Francisco’s Western Addition area, a bustling black neighborhood west of the civic center, more than 300 apartment buildings and small businesses were razed, replaced by barracks-like public housing. A functioning neighborhood was thus obliterated in the service of an idea, grim proof of the adage that sometimes the cure is worse than the disease. Perhaps the most significant refutation of postwar urban policy was seen in the 1960s, and again in the 1990s, when overcrowding, misery, frustration, poverty, and despair erupted into riot and conflagration. By the 1990s, projects had become the breeding ground for a major escalation of the trade in and addiction to crack cocaine, with appalling social consequences. Projects have undoubtedly served to intensify African-American and Hispanic feelings of disenfranchisement, and can be pointed to as the match that lit the powder kegs of violence.

The monumental failure of public housing lay in its attempt to impose a bird’s-eye view on social organizations without consideration for the lived experience at ground level. Caught in a spiral of increased public expenditure without the tax base to sustain them, many cities slipped into a long period of decline. In once thriving rust belt cities such as Detroit and Milwaukee, the entire inner city was in effect a ghetto, ringed by suburban bedroom communities. In addition, many inner city projects are being torn down, replaced by middle-income housing (the land is now too valuable to be occupied by the poor), and their former residents dispersed throughout metropolitan areas in a deliberate policy of “spatial deconcentration” intended to offset the possibility of further large-scale riots.

In the postwar era, the creation of ghettos could at times be attributed to the political disenfranchisement of poor people. Massive public works projects such as highways, freeways, and parkways could change a neighborhood from stability to impoverishment by destroying the built environment. Often political expediency rather than sensible and equitable planning determined the route of such public works. Robert Moses, the longtime planning commissioner of New York, leveled 54 six- and seven-story apartment buildings in East Tremont, a Bronx neighborhood inhabited by elderly Jews and Eastern Europeans, in order to build the Cross-Bronx-Expressway. Another route, which would have destroyed fewer residences, but not spared several commercial structures, was available, but the factory owners had the influence that the residents of East Tremont sorely lacked. Soon East Tremont became a no-man’s-land of condemned apartments and vacant streets. Large swathes of the Bronx suffered a similar fate, making it one of the most desolate and inhospitable urban neighborhoods within the United States, and a reproach to the urban policies of modern America.

In the last three decades of the twentieth century, as the existence of ghettos proved an intractable problem, sociologists postulated various hypotheses to explain the ghetto. De-industrialization, industrial relocation, and neighborhood sorting (the tendency for minorities to leave a neighborhood once a certain economic status is reached) have all been offered as reasons for the proliferation of ghettos in the postwar period. “Neighborhood poverty is not primarily the product of the people who live there or a ghetto culture,” writes sociologist Paul Jaworsky, “but the predictable result of the economic status of the minority communities and the degree to which minorities are segregated from whites and from each other by income.” The problem has been further exacerbated by gentrification (the reclamation of inner city housing by middle-class whites) on the one hand, and further spatial isolation on the other. Indeed, the more desirable inner-city locales become, the more impacted the plight of the poor. The result has been intermittent rioting and a culture of

desperation. Nevertheless, the by-products of ghetto culture—gangster rap, drugs, clothing styles, and drugs—find ready buyers in white, middle-class America. This is perhaps the greatest paradox of the ghetto, that while experiencing almost total disenfranchisement, the music, fashions, and ethos of its inhabitants had come to dominate the trendy styles of the late-twentieth century.

With the present-day policy of destroying the high-rise projects, combined with the cessation of welfare, the ghetto stands to become a much more mobile phenomenon, a ghetto made of shopping carts, cars, vans, and prison cells. The criminalizing of larger sectors of the population is one of the more obvious consequences of the “War on Drugs,” which is in effect a war on the urban poor. Forty years of government policy has done little to ameliorate the problem of the ghetto. If anything, the problem has been exacerbated by Federal intrusion. One is finally drawn to the inescapable conclusion that, unless society finds the will and the means to educate and employ all its members, it will continue to be plagued by a permanent and destabilizing underclass.

—Michael Baers

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## GI Joe

The GI Joe action figure, a plastic doll twelve inches tall and dressed as a military man, was the first action figure and the first exclusively boy’s doll, disguised as a war toy. Extremely popular, it was at the same time controversial because of the fighting in Southeast Asia: its introduction by Hassenfeld Brothers in 1964 coincided with the U.S. Congress’ passing of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution which escalated American involvement in Vietnam. Invented by Stanley Weston, GI Joe was inspired by Mattel’s Barbie, which made its debut in 1959, but GI Joe was different from Barbie in that it had twenty-one movable joints, enabling it to be configured in various combat poses. In the “razor and razor blade” principle of marketing, GI Joe, like Barbie, was “accessorized”; that is, designed to need



A GI Joe action figure.

additional paraphernalia. “Items sold separately” was the saying which accompanied every advertisement for the dolls.

Although the GI Joe action figure originated during the Cold War, it was nonetheless made in the image of the World War II fighting man. According to Hassenfeld’s promotional campaign, the face of GI Joe comprised a composite of the faces of twenty Medal of Honor recipients from the war. American television and cinema were, at the time, frequently glorifying the soldier of the “Good War” in adventure series (*Combat*, *The Lieutenant*, and *Rat Patrol*), docu-cameo-epics (*The Longest Day*, *The Battle of the Bulge*, and *In Harm’s Way*), and big-war films (*The Great Escape* and *Von Ryan’s Express*). Comic books made the World War II fighter a hero as well, represented by DC Comics’ “Sgt. Rock” and Marvel Comics’ “Sgt. Fury.” America’s fascination with the World War II past may have been linked to the uncertainties felt during the Cold War era, as was their fascination with the GI Joe action figure.

A year after its introduction, the GI Joe line was augmented by an action nurse, featuring blonde rooted hair and painted green eyes; and a black soldier heralded as “Action Negro.” Neither sold well, and the nurse was discontinued soon thereafter. On the other hand, GI Joe accessories like the plastic jeep and space capsule were very

popular. In 1968 the Talking Joe offered combat discourse, eight phrases per action figure, produced by the pull of a color-coded string. Not everything that GI Joe said was celebratory (for example, “Medic, get that stretcher up here” and “Prepare wounded for helicopter pick-up”), although it was certainly less negative than what a real soldier would have said slogging in the mire of Vietnam. When war protests grew more bitter, fighting Joe dolls were converted into the Adventure Team to look for buried treasure or to capture wild animals. The logo worn by the Adventure Team uncannily resembled a peace sign. By 1976, the GI Joe action figure became Super Joe and was reduced in size to eight inches, for cheaper production and to enable the selling of more affordable accessories. Two years later, with Kenner dominating the market with its Star Wars action figures, racking up nearly \$100 million in sales, GI Joe was discontinued.

The GI Joe story does not end there, however. Many children wrote Hasbro (Hassenfeld’s later name), asking for the toy soldier’s return. In the year of Ronald Reagan’s first inauguration, GI Joe was reintroduced as “A Real American Hero.” Standing at less than four inches tall, a size based on the Star Wars figures, the new GI Joe was the best-selling toy of the 1982 holiday season. This was quite a feat considering that Mattel at the same time introduced its He-Man and Masters of the Universe action figures. The following year, Mattel hired a film company to create a TV cartoon series based on the Masters of the Universe, inspiring Hasbro to do the same for Joe. In 1983 Mattel sold twenty-three million Masters of the Universe figures, and in the following year sales increased to \$250 million. In 1984 Tonka entered the competition with its GoBots, and Hasbro responded with its Transformer line featuring “good” Autobots and “evil” Decepticons.

In the meantime, the second wave of GI Joe dolls continued to fill a niche, dealing with new foes such as “Destro” and “Drednoks.” In 1986, GI Joe had \$185 million in sales. Two years later, Hasbro claimed that two-thirds of American boys between the ages of five and eleven owned GI Joe dolls. What was new was the official narrative offered by the GI Joe animation series (1983-1987, 1989) and the comic book *G.I. Joe: A Real American Hero* (1982-1994), creating a need for clear enemies. In 1986, the line encompassed all four branches of the American military and was augmented by Japanese, German, Russian, British, French, and Australian fighters. This was in keeping with its World War II theme. Even so, little was suggested by the manufacturer on how boys should play with these figures.

If by the Reagan years it was necessary for a story line to be more explicit, World War II seemed too remote for development. On the other hand, a plot directly focusing on the Cold War was risky during the era of Mikhail Gorbachev. The comic book and animation series created fictional events and a line of enemy soldiers known as Cobra, a group of warriors who sought “to conquer the world for their own evil purposes!” The Gulf War did inspire Hasbro to create a “Duke” figure, a friendly soldier dressed in camouflage fatigues, back at the original twelve inches of height. By alluding to the film actor John Wayne, Duke linked not only World War II (a la *Sands of Iwo Jima*) with the Cold War (as in *The Green Berets*), but also the New World Order (represented by the international coalition which opposed Iraq). Among Hasbro’s new GI Joe offerings for 1998 was the General Colin Powell doll.

—Roger Chapman

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## Giant

George Steven’s 1956 film *Giant* reveals the ethics and personalities of the Texas oil industry as it shifted from individually driven concerns to large-scale corporate dominance. Rock Hudson plays Bick Benedict, who presides over the 595,000-acre Benedict Reata Ranch. James Dean plays the film’s most memorable character, Jett Rink, the rebellious upstart who labors on the ranch before striking oil on his small plot of land. Dean, drenched in crude, arrives at Reata in a great moment in American film. Rink becomes the symbol of “new money,” a corrupt, flamboyant oil tycoon and he and Benedict battle for the affections of Leslie Lynton, played by Elizabeth Taylor. *Giant* was Dean’s last film; he died in a car accident on the Texas highway just as the filming was completed.

—Brian Black

## Gibson, Althea (1927—)

Althea Gibson is one of the foremost names in American tennis and in African American history. In a prejudiced, segregated society, and in the even more segregated world of tennis, she carved out a place for herself with her aggressive serve and volley game. She won four grand-slam tournaments and several international titles, in both singles and doubles. But in the United States of the 1950s and 1960s there were few financial rewards for a black woman athlete, and Gibson grew discouraged and reclusive. While her name is known and celebrated by many, few know of the poverty and obscurity in which she currently lives.

Gibson was born in August 1927 on a Silver, South Carolina, cotton farm, the oldest of five children. In 1930, her family moved to Harlem, where her aunt made a living selling bootleg whiskey. The difficulties of growing up on the streets were tempered by the supportive black community atmosphere of Harlem. Tall and strong, Gibson played basketball with the boys and shot pool in the corner pool halls, but it was the game of paddle ball, played in streets blocked to traffic, where she excelled. When blues musician Buddy Walker observed how she easily defeated all comers, he bought her a tennis racquet and arranged for lessons for her at the Cosmopolitan Tennis Club in Harlem.

Gibson once said, “No matter what accomplishments you make, somebody helps you.” In her own case, she received encouragement not only from Walker, but from boxer Sugar Ray Robinson and from



**Althea Gibson**

doctors Hubert Eaton and Robert Johnson, all of whom took particular interest in encouraging young black athletes. With their support, she began to play in tournaments through the American Tennis Association, the oldest black sports organization in the United States. Gibson won the girl's singles championship in 1944 and 1945, and, starting in 1947, she continued to win the title for ten years in a row.

Though Gibson dropped out of high school, her mentors helped her to return, and in 1949, she received a tennis scholarship to Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University in Tallahassee. In 1950, she broke into the world of white tennis. Former tennis champion Alice Marble pleaded her cause with the U.S. Lawn Tennis Association, and Gibson was allowed to play in their famous tournaments at Forest Hills, New York. Though she won her first tourney, she lost the second and became discouraged. The pressure of serving as a role model for her race coupled with persistent money troubles almost forced her to quit the game, but in 1955 the USLTA and the U.S. State Department chose Gibson to represent the United States on a goodwill tennis tour of Asia. This sign of acceptance by the white tennis establishment restored much of her confidence and renewed her commitment to tennis.

Gibson was almost thirty years old when she began the most dramatic phase of her career. She became the first African American to win an international championship when she won the French Women's Singles in 1956. She then went on to win the Italian championship in 1957, and Wimbledon and the U.S. Nationals two years in a row in 1957 and 1958. She was part of the winning doubles team for three years at Wimbledon, as well as in the French Open and the Australian Open. Her powerful game became legendary. "People

thought I was ruthless," she wrote later, "which I was. I didn't give a darn who was on the other side of the net. I'd knock you down if you got in my way."

In 1958, Gibson was the top-ranked women's tennis player when she decided to go professional. Financially, she simply could not afford to continue on a strictly amateur basis. However, her professional career never took off the way she had hoped. She did have a successful run touring with the famous Harlem Globetrotters, playing exhibition tennis games as an opening act before their novelty basketball games. Otherwise, she did not get many offers to play for money and had little success in her bids to initiate a film or recording career. In the 1960s she played professional golf, becoming the first African American member of the Ladies Professional Golfers Association, but her golfing career was undistinguished. After that, she earned a living by working as a tennis coach and for state government sport agencies in New Jersey, where she lived.

Gibson was elected to the Tennis Hall of Fame in 1971. In 1997, she was honored as a barrier-breaking African American athlete at the dedication of the Arthur Ashe Stadium in New York City. Gibson herself did not attend the ceremonies, but few knew it was because she had suffered several strokes and was living in poverty in East Orange, New Jersey, depressed, reclusive, and gravely ill. Some women athletes and coaches were horrified to learn of Gibson's circumstances. Pooling their energies and resources, these women staged a benefit and tribute for Gibson, raising more than thirty-five thousand dollars to help with medical bills and other expenses and to found an Althea Gibson Trust Fund to grant scholarships for women athletes. When she learned of the work that had been done on her behalf, and was given a video in which old friends and young newcomers alike testified how Gibson's life had inspired their own careers, her spirits were lifted immeasurably.

Though she contributed greatly to the sport of tennis, Gibson had to fight against prejudice throughout her career, whether it was a hotel that refused to book a luncheon in her honor or the unwritten prohibition against women earning money from sports. Her career is both an inspiration and a cautionary tale for aspiring young athletes: some games cannot be won with skill and aggressive determination. Perhaps a whole life will only be one point won in the game of changing a culture.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## **Gibson, Bob (1935—)**

Bob Gibson's pitching for the St. Louis Cardinals earned him a dominant place in baseball history. The 6'1" right-hander used an overwhelming fastball and a peerless array of breaking pitches to strike fear in the hearts of National League batters throughout the



**Bob Gibson**

1960s and early 1970s. Gibson reserved his finest performances for the biggest games, outshining all competitors in the three World Series in which he pitched.

A frail child who suffered from a heart murmur, Gibson was encouraged to pursue sports by his older brother, a YMCA athletic director. He signed with the St. Louis Cardinals in 1957 for \$4000, but did not crack the team's starting rotation until 1961. His breakthrough season came in 1963, when he went 18-9, and the Cardinals emerged as a contender for the National League pennant.

Gibson earned a reputation as the ultimate big game pitcher by winning the clinching games of the 1964 and 1967 World Series. In 1964, he held a powerful New York Yankees lineup in check on only two days of rest. In 1967, he beat the Boston Red Sox almost single-handedly, recording three of the Cardinals' four victories. All these wins were just a prelude for what was to come, however.

In 1968, Gibson enjoyed one of the finest seasons ever registered by a major league pitcher. He won 22 games against only nine losses, including a streak of 15 consecutive victories. He recorded 13 shutouts, highlighted by a stretch of 92 innings in which only two runs

were scored against him. His earned run average of 1.12 set a National League record, and was the lowest recorded for a pitcher since 1914. For his efforts, Gibson was voted the National League Cy Young Award by the Baseball Writers Association of America.

As impressive as he was in the regular season, Gibson was even more dominant in the World Series. He struck out a record 17 Detroit Tigers in the opening game of the Fall Classic, prevailing 4-0 over 30-game winner Denny McLain. He won Game Four as well, 10-1, to run his World Series record to 7-1. But when he tried to pitch the deciding seventh game on just two days of rest, even the unhittable Gibson met his match. He carried a shutout into the seventh inning but was beaten by the Tigers' Mickey Lolich, 4-1. It was Gibson's last World Series game.

Thanks in large measure to Gibson's efforts, 1968 went down in baseball history as the "Year of the Pitcher." To compensate for a perceived imbalance, the next season Major League Baseball lowered the pitcher's mound, giving batters a fighting chance against the new breed of power pitchers led by Gibson and the New York Mets' Tom Seaver. Despite these adjustments, Gibson continued to dominate

National League batters well into the 1970s. He won 20 games in each of the next two seasons and was named to the All-Star team both years.

Gibson was feared around the league as one of the most intense, aggressive competitors in baseball. He believed it was a pitcher's right to knock down a batter with a high, inside fastball if the occasion demanded it. Gibson's intimidating demeanor even extended to his own teammates. On one occasion, when catcher Tim McCarver approached the mound for a conference, Gibson glowered at him angrily. "The only thing you know about pitching is you can't hit it," he informed the terrified receiver. McCarver slunk back behind the plate with his words of advice still stuck in his gullet.

Although the Cardinals did not return again to the World Series, Gibson continued to reach personal milestones. He registered 56 total shutouts and became the second pitcher in major league history to amass 3000 strikeouts. When a series of injuries to his arms and legs began to take a toll on him, Gibson realized the end of his career was at hand. After Pete LaCock, a light-hitting first baseman known primarily for being the son of *Hollywood Squares* host Peter Marshall, crushed a grand slam off him in September of 1975, Gibson decided to call it quits. He retired as the winningest pitcher in St. Louis Cardinals history.

In recognition of his achievements, Gibson was elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1981. He worked as a baseball broadcaster, a

Major League pitching coach for several teams, and in 1998 he accepted a position as an advisor to the commissioner of baseball. He continued to speak out on the art of pitching and the state of the game at the close of the century.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Gibson Girl

A creation from the pen of illustrator Charles Dana Gibson (1867-1944), the Gibson Girl came to be viewed as an ideal image of youthful femininity in the early 1890s. Statuesque and athletic, she was a contemporary incarnation of the beautiful, desirable, and modern woman. In one drawing from around 1900 she is pictured on the golf course in her signature long skirt and blouse. She stands tall and straight, one hand planted firmly on her hip, and lifts her head



Charles Dana Gibson's illustration of "The Weaker Sex."

majestically. Her male partner stands well to the side and stares in rapt admiration. The captivating Gibson Girl appealed to the imagination of a nation that craved an image of femininity that was fresh and uniquely American.

Gibson, the most popular illustrator in the United States at the turn of the century, began his career in New York during the early years of what has come to be known as the golden age of American illustration—the mid-1880s. By 1890 he was drawing for *Life*, *Scribner's Magazine*, *Century*, *Harper's Magazine*, and *Harper's Weekly*. He began drawing the Gibson girl in the early 1890s. She was featured in the first folio edition of his work, which appeared in 1894, and soon became a national sensation. Gibson's wife, the aristocratic Irene Langhorne Gibson, whom he met in 1893 and married in 1895, was widely believed to have been the inspiration behind her husband's creation, but she could not have been his original model. There was, in fact, no single model for the Gibson Girl, and the artist himself claimed that he had used several; moreover, he said that he had never intended to represent any one particular type of woman. Many young society women did actually seek out the illustrator, hoping to enhance their social standing further by posing for the famous Gibson Girl.

As Lois Banner observes, the Gibson Girl has often been identified with high society, the American "aristocracy" to which Gibson himself belonged. Nonetheless, she had qualities that also endeared her to the working class. Two working-class women, in particular, were thought to have been her inspiration: Minnie Clark, a professional model with an Irish working-class background, and the unnamed personal maid to the dancer Loie Fuller. The Gibson Girl, however, was rarely pictured as a working girl, and the settings in which she appeared were almost invariably fashionable. We see her at fancy dress balls, musical and theatrical events, and engaged in then-elite sporting activities. She was essentially a privileged socialite and her image, despite its modern trappings, incorporated traditional aspects of femininity. Contemporary feminists, such as writer Charlotte Perkins Gilman, saw in her the strength, ability, and freedom of the "new woman," although her fundamental appeal was her feminine beauty. Charles Dana Gibson emphasized her decorative qualities when he designed wallpaper for bachelors' rooms featuring a dense pattern of Gibson Girl faces.

The popularity of the Gibson Girl was reflected in many related phenomena in American popular culture. She was a paragon of beauty and style for millions of American women, who sought to emulate her in dress and hairstyle. Songs and plays were written about her, and her image was reproduced everywhere: on dishes and clothing, tablecloths and pillow covers, ashtrays and umbrella stands. For almost two decades she wielded a powerful influence in American popular culture. By the early 1910s, however, her vogue began to wane as a new image of femininity began to emerge—that of the liberated style and daring spirit that would culminate in the Jazz Age flapper at the end of World War I.

—Laural Weintraub

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## Gibson, Mel (1956—)

American-born, Australian-reared actor Mel Gibson has remained one of the world's most popular film stars for nearly 20 years, and his reputation as a producer and director is on the ascendancy in the late 1990s. With his natural good looks, highlighted by piercing blue eyes, his rich speaking voice, and humorous "bad boy" manner, he long ago went beyond the label *People* magazine placed on him in 1985 as their first ever "Sexiest Man Alive."

Gibson first came to international attention in his second picture, the low-budget 1979 Australian film *Mad Max*. As Max Rockatansky, a highway patrolman living in postapocalyptic Australia, the then 23-year-old Gibson was a bit wooden, but his screen charisma, good looks, and emotional intensity were a hit with audiences throughout the world. Despite the fact that Gibson's then-strong Australian accent was dubbed by an American for U.S. release, the film has remained a cult favorite. Gibson has maintained the "Mad Max"



Mel Gibson

mantle, portraying characters on the edge, from *Lethal Weapon*'s Martin Riggs, his most financially successful characterization, to Scottish patriot William Wallace in *Braveheart* to the lovable paranoid cabby Jerry Fletcher in *Conspiracy Theory*.

Following *Mad Max*, Gibson appeared in several more Australian films. He won an Australian Academy Award for Best Actor for *Tim*, a sentimental love story about a slow-witted man who falls in love with a middle-aged business woman. This was followed in 1981 by an outstanding performance in Peter Weir's antiwar masterpiece *Gallipoli* and an enormously popular cult film *The Road Warrior* (released internationally as *Mad Max 2*).

Although Gibson's early post-Australian films were critically and financially mixed, his reputation grew internationally. Some of his early U.S. films faltered at the box office: *The River*, *Mrs. Soffel*, *The Bounty*, and the Australian-made Warner Brothers release *Mad Max Beyond Thunderdome* were made within an 18-month period in the mid-1980s, and only *Thunderdome* proved financially successful.

The stress of work, success, and long separations from his wife and growing young family proved troublesome for Gibson personally. An arrest for drunk driving in Toronto while filming *Mrs. Soffel* and subsequent bouts of erratic behavior and drinking almost brought his career to an end and earned Gibson the moniker "Mad Mel." To address his problems, Gibson returned to his ranch in Australia and did not make any pictures for almost two years. His next film, the 1987 Richard Donner-directed *Lethal Weapon*, costarring Danny Glover, proved to be his greatest career success to that time and placed him on the level of solid international stardom.

In the early 1990s, Gibson moved permanently from Australia to the United States and began to take charge of his career, moving into the area of producing and directing. With partner Bruce Davey, Gibson had formed Icon Productions in 1989. In addition to producing or coproducing many of Gibson's own star vehicles, Icon turned out more than a dozen films in the late 1990s, including some small films ranging from *Immortal Beloved* to *87*. Its most financially and critically successful film was Gibson's second directorial effort, *Braveheart* (1995), which grossed more than \$200 million worldwide and earned five Oscars, two of which went personally to Gibson, as director and as producer, along with Davey and Hollywood veteran Alan Ladd.

Following on the heels of *Braveheart*'s success, Gibson immediately made the intense action drama *Ransom*, directed by Ron Howard. The film was an immediate hit, earning more than \$300,000 worldwide and bringing Gibson his first Golden Globe Award nomination as best actor. The period 1994-1997 was a high point in Gibson's career, with three of his films earning more than \$1 million domestically, including a fourth installment of the *Lethal Weapon* series. In addition, Gibson cemented his position as a Hollywood mainstay by winning his second People's Choice award for favorite actor and a firm position either at the top or near the top of the annual Harris Poll of America's favorite actors and the world's list of top box-office stars.

On the personal side, unlike most Hollywood stars, Gibson has maintained a solid life away from show business, having married his wife, Robyn Moore, in 1980 and produced seven children. Gibson's religious and political views remain conservative, and his Catholicism has led him to espouse views often unpopular in Hollywood against abortion rights and abortion. His highly publicized distaste for political correctness, love of practical jokes, and bad puns have sometimes gotten him into trouble, as have comments that have occasionally labeled him as anti-feminist and anti-gay.

In early 1999, Gibson and Davey made the decision to move Icon from Warner Brothers (which had been the headquarters since the company was founded and had been Gibson's primary studio for more than a decade) to the Paramount lot in Hollywood, where Gibson had recently completed work on the film noir *Payback*, whose tagline was "prepare to root for the bad guy." In addition to his contacts with Paramount, and the possibility of releasing at least one additional film as part of his 1996 deal with Warner, Gibson and Davey were partnered with Rupert Murdoch in a new Australian studio, planned as the site of Gibson's next directorial effort, an adaptation of Ray Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451*.

—Steve Hanson

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## Gibson, William (1948—)

An American science-fiction writer most renowned for coining the term "cyberspace" in *Neuromancer* (1984), the book hailed by many critics and technology buffs as the seminal work in the cyberpunk genre, William Gibson is most poignant in simultaneously relishing and demonizing the technologies which increasingly shape human relationships at the end of the millennium. The now-legendary idea of cyberspace, defined in *Neuromancer* and employed throughout his fiction, anticipated the Internet as a virtual playground where information is exchanged and where corporations rise and fall: "A consensual hallucination experienced daily by billions of legitimate operators, in every nation, by children being taught mathematical concepts . . . A graphic representation of data abstracted from the banks of every computer in the human system. Unthinkable complexity. Lines of light ranged in the nonspace of the mind, clusters and constellations of data. Like city lights, receding." In a November 1994 interview for the Swedish news program *Rapport* (which is appropriately available on the Internet), Gibson calls the Internet "as significant as the birth of cities" and "a new kind of civilization" in its being primarily user-driven and transnational. Nevertheless, he also admits to not using "too glamorous" e-mail or even "browsing the 'Net," despite their correlation to his fiction, because of their great time investment and tendency to mark elitist distinctions of social class. As quoted by many of the Internet sites dedicated to his work, Gibson has said, "I'm not a techie. I don't know how these things work. But I like what they do, and the new human processes that they generate."

Gibson grew up in a small town on the edge of the Appalachian Mountains, dropped out of high school in 1967, and ended up in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. There he married Deborah Thompson



in 1972. The couple has two children. He later earned a B.A. in 1977 from the University of British Columbia. By the early 1980s, Gibson was making a name for himself with stories such as “Johnny Mnemonic” and “Burning Chrome,” many published in *Omni* magazine.

In his debut novel *Neuromancer*, Gibson evokes a near-future world organized by technological-corporate enclaves that circulate power through an elite of specialized information-manipulators. The players are typically “console cowboys” (cyberspace operators) who navigate the hallucinatory data-field which is cyberspace, “razor girls” (free-lance cybernetic assassins) who roam the “Sprawl” (the extended and dirty metropolis of discarded and constantly renovated technology), and a myriad of Japanese and Chinese syndicates who pull the strings. Hailed by the science-fiction community at its inception and increasingly studied at the university setting, *Neuromancer* won the prestigious Hugo Award, the Philip K. Dick Memorial Award, and the Nebula Award for best novel. It is the first of the Sprawl trilogy, a series which charts how disconnected members of a technological elite inadvertently make possible an AI (artificial intelligence) which covertly seeks to revolutionize human-machine relations. The equally compelling *Count Zero* (1986) and *Mona Lisa Overdrive* (1988) complete the trilogy.

Gibson’s real-life fear of technology-born inequality also shows itself in his fiction. Written during a robust 1980s economy which saw unprecedented economic mergers, the Sprawl trilogy resonates with a new sense of the corporation (“zaibatsu”) as an indomitable Hydra: “the multinationals that shaped the course of human history, had transcended old barriers. Viewed as organisms, they had attained a kind of immortality. You couldn’t kill a zaibatsu by assassinating a dozen key executives; there were others waiting to step up the ladder, assume the vacated position, access the vast banks of corporate memory.” In the *Rapport* interview though, Gibson reveals more real-world optimism in having “great hopes for the Internet” of individual initiative and “very little hope for commercial versions.” Making a prophetic gesture before the National Academy of Sciences in May 1993 with colleague Bruce Sterling, Gibson advocated enhanced online teaching, free software to *all* teachers, and corporate-provided computers to *only* the most economically disadvantaged school districts as an equalizing move for the United States.

Hollywood brought Gibson to the silver screen with *Johnny Mnemonic* (1995), an adaptation of his short story published in the Nebula award-winning *Burning Chrome* (1987), a collection of Gibson’s short fiction. The film stars Keanu Reeves as an “information-courier” whose cerebral data capacity is dangerously overloaded with information critical to an anti-technology resistance movement. Despite its often lethargic plot and juvenile characterization, the film is most successful in casting rapper Ice-T and singer Henry Rollins as prominent “Lo Teks,” a band of renegade fighters which quietly undermines corporate power. The film therefore continues the idea of an “underground” use of discarded technology, established in his fiction, as the ground for resisting larger institutions.

Gibson also has written *Dream Jumbo* (1989), a text to accompany performance art; *Agrippa, A Book of the Dead* (1992), a poem about his father which was encoded on computer disk and eroded rapidly after being read; and, with novelist Bruce Sterling, *The Difference Engine* (1991), a retroactive science fiction novel set in Victorian England. Gibson’s latest prose works, *Virtual Light* (1993) and *Idoru* (1996), continue the provocative vision established in the Sprawl trilogy. Although he spends no time there, the Internet is

fertile with talk of Gibson and itself resonant with the implications of his work.

—Anthony Cast

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## Gifford, Frank (1929—)

On the football field, Frank Gifford starred for the New York Giants in the 1950s and early 1960s during the final days of the two-way player. Away from the game, his movie-idol visage made him a larger-than-life sports hero, a figure synonymous with another famous New Yorker of the 1950s, ball player Mickey Mantle. But it was a book about failure that cemented Gifford’s cultural standing. The football star was cast as a central figure in Frederick Exley’s autobiographical novel, *A Fan’s Notes*. After retiring from the Giants in 1964, Gifford married television personality Kathie Lee Johnson, and joined the Monday Night Football broadcasting team helmed by Howard Cosell. He made headlines again in the late 1990s when a tabloid newspaper paid a former flight attendant to seduce him in a bugged hotel room. When the scandal hit, Gifford’s fairytale marriage seemed to be over, but Kathie Lee stood by her man and Frank Gifford’s late-life sin did little to change his standing as an All-American icon.

—Geoff Edgers

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## Gillespie, Dizzy (1917-1993)

On stage, wearing his black beret, goatee, and wire-rimmed glasses, Dizzy Gillespie was the much-imitated archetype of the jazz hipster. When he raised his trademark bent horn and began to play, cheeks puffed out like a giant chipmunk, he created a sound that defined American jazz, and many of his compositions become lasting jazz standards. Gillespie came of age during a golden time in jazz. In the 1930s and 1940s, brilliant musicians like Gillespie, Charlie Parker, Thelonious Monk, Miles Davis, and Max Roach were playing together in wildly creative jam sessions that would change the face of American music. Though Gillespie’s technical expertise and soaring harmonies on the trumpet made him an integral part of this new movement, perhaps his greatest contribution was his ability to thrive as an African-American musician and public figure in the inhospitable climate of the pre-civil-rights United States. During a career that



**Dizzy Gillespie**

lasted six decades, Gillespie's upbeat attitude, personal stability, and charismatic showmanship were major factors in the popularization of jazz.

Gillespie was born John Birks Gillespie, the youngest of nine children, in the small town of Cheraw, South Carolina. His working-class parents had little energy to devote to their youngest son's education, but Gillespie's father was a part-time bandleader on his weekends off from his bricklaying job. Young John practiced on the band instruments around the house, learning piano and percussion before finally settling on the trumpet as his favorite. When a Works Progress Administration job convinced him he did not want to do manual labor, Gillespie got a scholarship to attend the all-black Laurinburg Technical Institute in North Carolina. There he began to study music theory and the principles of harmony with which he would experiment throughout his career.

In 1935, Gillespie quit school to move to Philadelphia, where he honed his skills on the horn in jam sessions and joined his first band. By 1937, he had arrived at the new jazz mecca, Harlem. Gillespie began to prove himself to the great New York bandleaders and soon had a job in Cab Calloway's band, wowing audiences and musicians alike with his creative virtuosity and stage antics. Fellow trumpeter Palmer Davis gave him the name Dizzy because of his childlike exuberance and zaniness on stage. "Man, this is a dizzy cat," Davis said, and the name stuck. Adding to Gillespie's eccentric image was his unique trumpet, the horn of which was bent almost straight up. Created by accident when a drunken reveler stepped on it, Gillespie insisted on keeping his "bent horn," claiming he could hear his own sound better.

Though it endeared him to fans, Gillespie's unbridled humor got him in trouble more than once, and he lost his job with Calloway in the mid-1940s when the bandleader tired of being the butt of jokes. It was then that Gillespie joined the famous Harlem jam sessions that produced the wildly radical, urgent beat that came to be known as bebop. Polished and developed by Gillespie and saxophonist Charlie "Bird" Parker, bebop got its name from Gillespie's chanted intro to the songs: "Dee-ba-pa-'n-bebop. . . ." Soon fans were yelling, "Play some of that bebop music." Bebop gave jazz a deeper and more complex dimension, and Parker and Gillespie's innovations continue to influence the development of jazz. Though jazz is perhaps the most intrinsically American of all music forms, like everything in America, it is a combination of many influences. Early in his career, Gillespie was introduced to Cuban music, with its roots in the rhythms of Africa. Together with Cuban musicians like Charo Pozo, Gillespie was instrumental in developing the genre of Afro-Cuban jazz, which he worked to popularize up until his death. In 1946, Gillespie started his first big band, where he introduced Pozo on the conga drum. This was an historic event because African-style drums had been banned since the days of slavery, and Gillespie's band marked the first time a jazz drummer had used his hands rather than sticks to play his instrument. It was by such subtle, yet joyously radical maneuvers that Gillespie managed to challenge the racist system while keeping his good nature and popularity. The 1989 film *A Night in Havana* documents Gillespie's connection to Cuban music and culture.

Unlike many other jazz musicians, Gillespie did not fall victim to substance abuse or a self-destructive lifestyle. He married dancer Lorraine Willis in 1940 and remained happily married to her until his death in 1993. In the 1960s, he converted to Baha'i, a religion of Persian origin that focuses on tolerance and love. Gillespie himself was widely loved and respected, even in unexpected places. In 1956, the State Department chose Gillespie as a good will ambassador and sent him to the Middle East and Latin America. Principled as ever, the jazz man refused to speak for the government. Instead, he got to know individuals, played free concerts for children and the poor, and brought back rhythms like the samba and bossa nova to enrich American musical culture.

In 1964, Gillespie surprised the public by running for president. Running on a platform that included abolishing racism and uniting the world's people, Gillespie as always had his tongue in cheek, proposing that the White House be renamed the "Blues House" and suggesting Miles Davis as CIA chief and Malcolm X as attorney general. One of his campaign songs advised, "Your politics oughta be a groovier thing / So get a good President who's willing to swing."

Until his death from cancer in 1993, Gillespie maintained a vigorous schedule, releasing more than five hundred recordings and performing in close to three hundred live concerts a year. His contribution to jazz and to American music in general resides not only in his considerable legacy of classic hits such as "A Night in Tunisia," "Groovin' High," and "Salt Peanuts," but also in his down-to-earth ability to make his music accessible and transcendent at the same time. Drummer Max Roach said of him, "Dizzy was the catalyst, the man who inspired us all."

—Tina Gianoulis

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## *Gilligan's Island*

Airing only three seasons, 1964-1967, *Gilligan's Island* remains one of the best-known shows in television history. The premise of the show is basic: seven castaways are shipwrecked on an uncharted island following a storm and have to survive until they are rescued. The show is remarkable in its popularity and longevity almost in spite of itself. In its first season it received almost universally terrible reviews from television critics. It is still seen by many as one of the dumbest and most absurd shows on television, but its 98 episodes have been in constant syndication since it went off the air more than 30 years ago. Three reunion/sequel television movies in the late 1970s and early 1980s all received good ratings, and the show was the inspiration for two children's animated series.

*Gilligan's Island* was created and nurtured by Sherwood Schwartz (who would go on to create that other astounding hit of the 1960s and 1970s, *The Brady Bunch*). In fact, the show would not have been made at all except for Schwartz's persistence; his book *Inside Gilligan's Island* describes the long struggle to get the show made against the desires of the CBS network chief. Winning its time slot in each of its three seasons, it was abruptly cut from the lineup to make room for the network president's favorite show, *Gunsmoke*.

In describing *Gilligan's Island*, Schwartz said that his plan was to create a microcosm of society. The characters in this society were

extremes in social, financial, and intellectual terms: the leader—Skipper (Alan Hale, Jr.), the bumbling sidekick—Gilligan (Bob Denver), the wealthy—Mr. and Mrs. Howell (Jim Backus and Natalie Schafer), the country girl—Mary Ann (Dawn Wells), the movie star—Ginger (Tina Louise), and the academic—Professor (Russell Johnson). Indeed, the Skipper tries to lead, the Professor is looked to for solutions to problems, the rich people and the movie star sit in an island version of luxury, and Gilligan and Mary Ann are left to do much of the manual labor.

The actual stories relied on slapstick humor. Ostensibly, the castaways wanted to be rescued from their isolation on the island, and in almost every episode they were presented with a possibility of escape. Invariably something happened to foil the plan, usually involving an innocent accident on the part of Gilligan. Quite often the viewer is required to suspend disbelief and accept the fact that the same group that can create elaborate equipment and solve problems with items available on this ever-abundant island is somehow incapable of making good on the many possibilities of rescue. What's more, though upset at the failings, they seem content with their home. They accept each other for their characteristics and their weaknesses, and persist.

Even though this was an uncharted island, many stories included the arrival and departure of a new person to the island only to leave the main characters stranded once again. These guests included everyone from Russian cosmonauts to natives to Hollywood producers to foreign spies and South American dictators, and allowed for comment on contemporary issues and events of the day such as space flight, South American politics, radioactivity, surfing, spies, and Mars pictures.

One of the highest rated film specials in television history, *Rescue from Gilligan's Island* finally brought the castaways home in 1978 where each one found unhappiness with his former way of life. At the end of the movie, they are contentedly shipwrecked again on the same island. *The "Castaways" on Gilligan's Island* (1979) was



The cast of *Gilligan's Island* as they appeared in the 1978 television movie *The Return from Gilligan's Island*.

an attempt to make a new series in the mode of a Fantasy Island/Love Boat resort on their island. *The Harlem Globetrotters on Gilligan's Island* followed in 1981.

—Frank E. Clark

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## Ginny Dolls

Ginny is an American made 8-1/2 inch doll immensely popular from 1951 through 1959. Produced by Jennie Graves, owner of Vogue Doll Company, Ginny was made of hard, durable plastic developed first for war uses. The doll's size and durability made it convenient for her to accompany a child everywhere. Storybooks relating Ginny's activities such as a trip around the country piqued children's imaginations while quantities of meticulously designed outfits and accessories encouraged play related to the doll's activities. Ginny was a forerunner of action figure dolls that contribute to children's development by encouraging factual-based play. The reasonably priced Ginny dolls were sold many places including drug-stores and department stores.

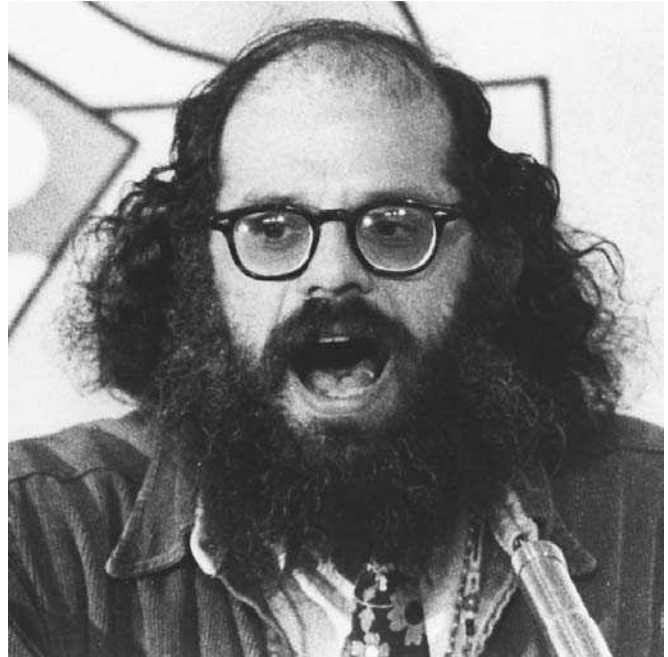
—Taylor Shaw

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## Ginsberg, Allen (1926-1997)

The poet Allen Ginsberg, an iconoclast in both his politically charged writing and unconventional lifestyle, epitomized the anti-establishment "Beat" movement of the 1950s and 1960s. In the



Allen Ginsberg

midst of a generation shaped by the aftermath of the Holocaust and the atomic bomb, mass conformity, the hysteria of McCarthyism, and government censorship of personal liberties and civil rights, Ginsberg became a popular voice of artistic defiance. In American popular and academic culture, Ginsberg's influence as a poet, musician, artist, professor, and agitator has continued to grow even after his death. Bearing unofficial titles such as the "father of the Beat Generation," the "prophet of the 1960s," and the "guru of the counterculture movement," Ginsberg remains a cultural icon of one of America's most socially and politically turbulent eras.

Along with other Beats like Jack Kerouac and William S. Burroughs, Ginsberg embraced Eastern philosophies and African American culture, experimented with various drugs, used the raw materials of life as the basis for his art, and subverted numerous societal and middle-class conventions in order to achieve spiritual, political, and sexual liberation. The opening lines of Ginsberg's *Howl*, the poetic manifesto of Beat attitudes and Ginsberg's most widely known work, exemplifies the gritty nature of his poetry: "I saw the best minds of my generation destroyed by madness, starving / hysterical naked, dragging themselves through the negro streets at dawn looking for an / angry fix." Because of its graphic sexual references, *Howl*, became the subject of a 1957 obscenity case that resulted in a landmark acquittal of the poem's publisher, Lawrence Ferlinghetti of City Lights Books. The trial's notoriety pushed Ginsberg into the public spotlight and ensured his status as a popular poet, an indelible symbol of Beat defiance, and a lasting representative of the rebellious spirit of the 1960s.

Despite his reputation as a boisterous nonconformist, Ginsberg grew up shy. He was born in New Jersey on June 3, 1926, to Louis Ginsberg, a moderate socialist and an accomplished lyric poet, and to Naomi Ginsberg, a radical communist during the Depression, who suffered from psychotic delusions until her death. Ginsberg discovered the poetry of Walt Whitman in high school, which sparked his interest in becoming a poet. However, upon his father's advice, he

entered Columbia University in the mid-1940s with the intent of becoming a labor lawyer. At Columbia, he joined a circle of friends that included Kerouac, Burroughs, and Neal Cassady. They exposed him to Manhattan's varied subcultures and fostered his artistic, philosophical and sexual development; each of them would contribute greatly to the Beat movement a decade later.

Ginsberg eventually changed his major to literature and after receiving his bachelor's degree in 1948 was hired as a market researcher in New York City. During this time, Ginsberg experienced a vision of William Blake and awoke, in his own words, "into a totally deeper real universe." He introduced himself to fellow New Jersey poet William Carlos Williams, whose poem about Paterson, New Jersey, moved Ginsberg greatly; Ginsberg would eventually incorporate Williams's broad narrative style into his own poetry. Ginsberg quit his job and left New York in 1953, traveling to Cuba and Mexico. Bearing a letter of introduction from Williams, he arrived at San Francisco in 1954 to meet Kenneth Rexroth and the group of poets, writers, artists, filmmakers, and avant-gardists who would later be at the core of the Beat movement. It was here that Ginsberg composed and first read *Howl* as part of the Six Gallery reading in October 1955.

Not since Brook Farm (a transcendentalist utopian community established in Massachusetts in 1841) had an American cultural-literary group enjoyed such cohesion as the Beat and counterculture movements. At the center of the community was Ginsberg—who coined the term "flower power" in 1965—promoting free love, LSD, and group living in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district, the national epicenter of counterculture. He also stood out as a major figure in Vietnam War protests. He was arrested in 1967 in an antiwar demonstration in New York City along with Dr. Benjamin Spock, the famed child psychologist.

In the post-Vietnam War years, Ginsberg's reputation as an agitator grew even more widespread when countries such as Cuba, the former Soviet Union, and Poland deported him for speaking against communism and the persecution of homosexuals while he attempted to establish residency. Within the United States, he participated in the antinuclear, environmental, and gay liberation movements in the 1970s and 1980s. During the first term of the Reagan administration, the FBI placed him on a list of people deemed "unsuitable" as government paid speakers abroad, a list on which black leader Coretta Scott King, feminist Betty Friedan, and consumer advocate Ralph Nader also appeared.

Ginsberg wrote more than forty books of poetry in his lifetime, working up to his death in 1997. His uncensored free-verse style produced as much controversy among academics as his profanity did among the government authorities. However, despite the stones of disdain and censorship thrown in Ginsberg's path, *Howl* has become required reading on college campuses throughout the United States, and his *Fall of America* won the National Book Award in 1972. He was also a member of the American Institute of Arts and Letters.

Ginsberg's love for poetry inspired him to take an active and highly public role in its promotion. In 1974, he helped found the Jack Kerouac School of Disembodied Poetics at the Naropa Institute, the first accredited Buddhist college in the Western world, located in Boulder, Colorado. He also taught English at Brooklyn College in New York. During the 1970s and 1980s, Ginsberg recorded spoken words and songs, and sometimes toured with popular musicians such as the Clash, and Bob Dylan, who cited Ginsberg as one of the few literary figures he could stand. In the 1990s, Ginsberg made more

recordings, collaborating with artists such as Paul McCartney and Phillip Glass. Ginsberg also had a talent in photography; he depicted his subjects—many of whom were people—with great depth of character, expressing visually what he achieved poetically. In 1996, his photographs were displayed in "Beat Culture and the New America: 1960-1965," an exhibition organized by the Whitney Museum of Art, suggesting that Ginsberg's anti-establishment life and work had, near the end of his life, become fully embraced by the country's most entrenched cultural institutions.

—Nancy Lan-Jy Wang

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## Girl Groups

"Girl group" is a popular descriptive term referring to a genre of all-female singing groups and to the distinctive style of music such a



The Chiffons

group performs. Sexual desire is essential to the girl group image and sound. The genre was nonexistent in the sexually restrictive, first half of the twentieth century, although some all-female groups (like the Boswell and Andrews Sisters) existed. The rise of the genre helped challenge sexual mores in society and helped nurture the growth of a youth-driven culture in America. By 1960, the image of the girl group was everywhere in popular culture—spread across the nation through radio and television. The genre had its ultimate expression in the Supremes in the 1960s. By the 1990s, the image of the girl group, such as the Spice Girls, had become an established musical and cultural symbol.

The girl group image alludes to both youthful innocence and sexual desire (desire usually for the heterosexual men for whom the groups were originally marketed). Traditionally a trio or quartet in number, members are young, attractive women who are groomed in a noticeable way—they appear in matching clothes, for example, or wear designer dresses. Their hair is styled fashionably and members often wear makeup. The image is one of a young woman representing the heterosexual man's ideal woman or Dream Date. She is pretty, she is all made-up, and she is dressed for a lovely dinner, a night of dancing, or a romantic movie. Sex is always a part of the image, although this theme has been used in different degrees throughout the genre's history. The Dream Date is multiplied in the image of her sister singers, and so, together, the group appears as a harem of sorts, ready to entertain and please the man lucky enough to choose (or be chosen by) the women.

Musically, the girl group sound is meant to complement this narrow but highly identifiable physical image of youthful, desirable women. To emphasize the notion of youth, all members generally have young-sounding voices: thin, high alto to soprano range, sometimes nasal in tone. The thinness of each woman's voice allows for easy blending and a uniformity of tone. A voice that is low—say, tenor range—or too full or distinctive is uncommon in the genre, as such voices are considered too mature to convey qualities of youth or too individual to blend invisibly into the sound of the other members' voices. To emphasize the notion of sex, sometimes the voices are decidedly breathy—borrowed from the popular images of the Hollywood sex symbols (such as Marilyn Monroe) of the first half of the twentieth century. As with much popular music, the songs themselves are short and repetitive, therefore memorable, and usually address or convey a situation or emotion right away, allowing the remainder of the song to be used as a showcase for the group's romantic or sexual appeal. The lyrics of girl group songs deal with predicaments of love and sexual relationships, often revolved around pre-coital stress. Before the "Sexual Revolution," many lyrics were controversial, for it was not considered proper for a woman—whose cultural image in America had long been synonymous with virginity—to consider or voice her own thoughts about sexual intercourse, especially in a public forum.

The barriers to what was lyrically acceptable had come down in the 1950s with male musicians such as Chuck Berry, Elvis Presley, and Jerry Lee Lewis, solo artists who were writing and performing songs that entertained and were relevant to teenage experience—particularly the desires for freedom and sexual expression that teenagers were developing from beneath the oppressive morality of the 1940s and early 1950s. By the mid-1950s, these themes of love and sexual relationships were being explored by groups of male singers, and the genre of all-male singing groups became popular. Finally, five classmates at a school in Harlem decided to form an all-female group similar to the male groups that were so popular. Known

as the Bobbettes, they recorded their smash, top ten hit song "Mr. Lee" in 1957. The song had both the flavor of doo-wop (a style many male singing groups were having success with at that time) and many of the characteristics of what would become the "girl group" style: the lyrics were simple and repetitive, and the song emphasized youthful innocence and budding sexual desire. In this case, the song concerned a girl's affection for her favorite teacher. The Bobbettes' later recordings never achieved the level of success that their first single had reached, but another girl group called the Chantels released their first song only a few months after the appearance of "Mr. Lee," and so a trend had begun.

A year later, four other high school girls formed a group of their own. Fans of the Bobbettes and the Chantels, they called themselves the Shirelles and soon became one of the most popular girl groups in the rock 'n' roll era. Their biggest hit was "Will You Still Love Me Tomorrow?" The lyrics described a young girl musing on the loss of her virginity and were well ahead of the times. The song raced to the number one spot on the record charts, making the Shirelles the first black all-female group to have a number one record. Within a few years, dozens of girl groups formed and recorded records, all with varying degrees of success. All followed the girl group format, using slight variations to distinguish themselves from one another. Some of the most popular groups were the Crystals, the Marvelettes, the Chiffons, and the Shangri-Las. Two groups—Martha and the Vandellas, and the Ronettes—brought their own self-confident, "tough girl" innovation to the girl group sound.

Prior to the 1960s, audiences knew a singer's physical image from the live performance. Records were popular, but artists were, in the beginning, rarely shown on the covers of rock 'n' roll records. As girl groups began to appear more regularly on teen-oriented television shows such as Dick Clark's *American Bandstand*, and as their pictures began to show up on record covers, the idea of developing a visual image that supported either a group's tough or softly sweet (but in any case, sexually appealing) sound also became common.

The Motown Records company knew exactly how to use public visual image to their advantage. With shrewd business savvy, the company turned the Supremes—one of the many groups they managed—into the most successful girl group in popular music history. The Supremes capitalized on the use of a group name that implied divinity, on a public image that strove for larger-than-life beauty and sexual appeal, and through the sheer number of record-breaking achievements (including 12 number one hit records). A charm school run by the company taught the three young girls how to behave, dress, dance, and present themselves as young ladies. The Supremes' music was true to the girl group mold—simple, highly repetitive songs about love, yet audiences all over the world took notice of lead singer Diana Ross's breathy, seductive voice—light and thin but unquestionably distinctive. Their performances showcased their graceful, thoroughly choreographed routines and their often dazzling designer dresses. Motown owner Berry Gordy assembled a gifted team of writers to supply the Supremes with an almost endless stream of popular songs. The Supremes also appeared almost weekly on television variety shows and commercials, so by the end of the 1960s their name was household, and their image had become almost the sole representation of the term "girl group": three beautiful women, shining in sequined dresses, singing seductively to the listener. So completely did the Supremes seem to embody the concepts of the girl group that all other girl groups were subjected to a doomed comparison. Through the 1970s and 1980s a number of innovative all-female or female-led

groups appeared (the Pointer Sisters, Heart, the Go-Gos, the Bangles), but these were of a very different sort. Any female group performing in the “girl group” style—now embodied by the Supremes—was guaranteed to fail in the public’s eye as mere imitators.

Girl groups were often hired by other musicians to perform as background singers, so even when the genre began to move out of the public’s eye, its influence was present in much of the subsequent popular musical work that was done in America. By the 1990s, the term “girl group” had developed a negative connotation for some, drawing on the worst stereotypes of the style: music thought of as shallow, low on talent, or vocal beauty but high on studio polish and gimmickry; highly sexual lyrical content; simplistic lyrical texture; and heavy emphasis on public image and physical sexual appeal rather than on the quality of the musical product or performance. In the 1990s a resurgence in the girl group style occurred in rhythm and blues music. Of these groups, a talented few (such as En Vogue) arose that functioned traditionally in many ways, yet embodied the best of what the genre had to offer and received, in return, their share of recognition. However, most of the girl groups in the 1990s had to struggle, in the general public’s eye, to prove themselves against the later, negative image of the girl group.

—Brian Granger

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## Girl Scouts

The Girl Scouts would probably never have come into being if the Boy Scouts had not been exclusively for boys. During the first decade of the twentieth century several thousand girls had wanted to join the new youth group created by General Sir Robert Baden-Powell in England shortly after the Boer War in South Africa, and a parallel organization called the Girl Guides had been quickly organized, with Baden-Powell’s sister Agnes at its head.

Juliette Gordon Low, a native of Savannah, Georgia, had married an Englishman; at the time that she met the Baden-Powells in 1910, she was a wealthy widow who had survived her increasingly abusive marriage, and now had both energy and funds to spare. After a turn at leading a Guides group in Scotland, Low threw herself with gusto into creating an American analogue to the organization, and on returning to Savannah in 1912 formed the first troops in the United States with the eager support of a distant cousin, Nina Anderson Pape, and a naturalist, W. J. Hoxie. Hoxie also collaborated with Low on

revising Agnes Baden-Powell’s Girl Guides handbook for American consumption, including writing some new chapters on camping and nature lore. The first edition of *How Girls Can Help Their Country* was published in 1913. In 1915 the name of the American organization was changed from Girl Guides to Girl Scouts and its headquarters moved from Savannah to Washington; in 1916 the national office moved to New York, where it remained for the rest of the century.

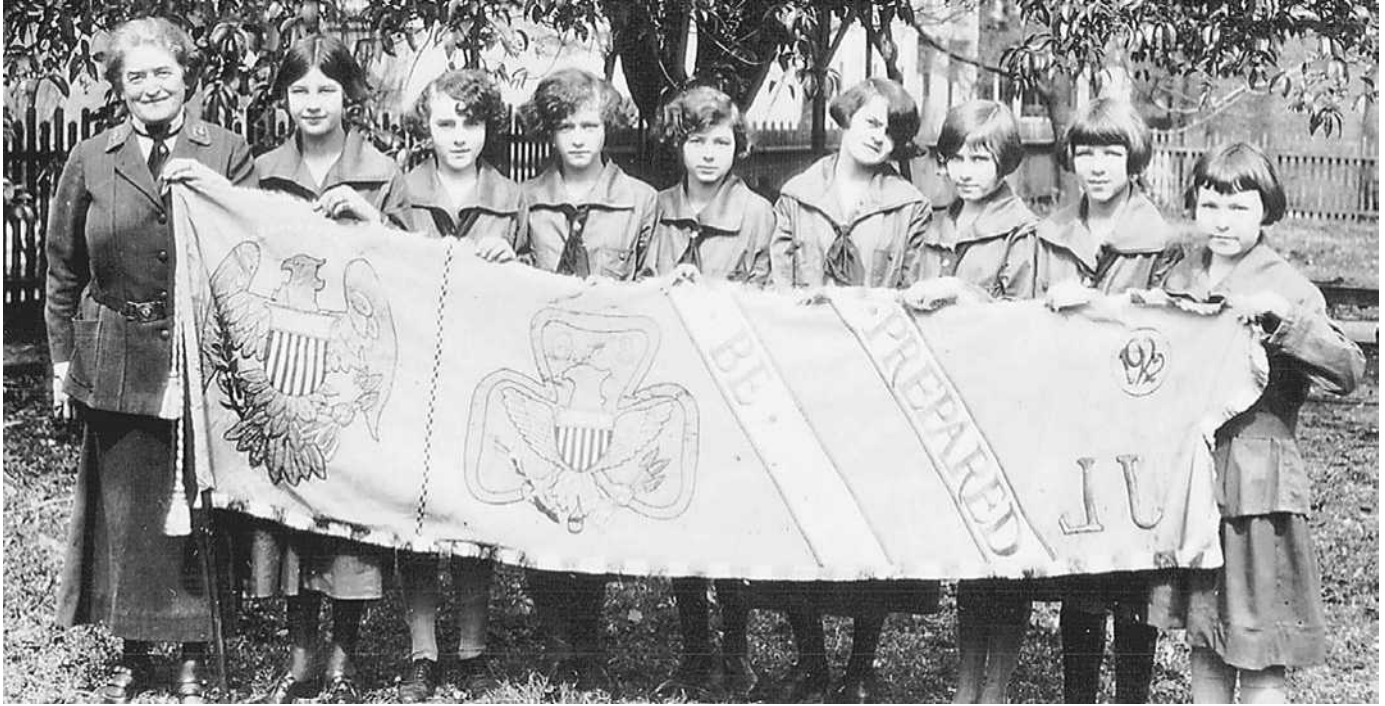
Robert Baden-Powell saw Scouting for boys as a means to a specific end: “to help them become handy, capable men and to hold their own with anyone,” he wrote, adding that a woman with similar training as Girl Guides “can be a good and helpful comrade to her brother or husband or son along the path of life” and that the Girl Guides during the First World War had “quickly showed the value of their training by undertaking a variety of duties which made them valuable to their country in her time of need.” So Girl Scouts, like Boy Scouts, were taught how to survive in the wilderness and the basics of water safety and first aid, and encouraged to learn how to handle firearms. With the motto “Be prepared,” members of both organizations still promise “to do my duty to God and my country, to help other people at all times, and to obey the Scout Laws.” Both groups award merit badges for the acquisition of particular skills. And both sexes wear uniforms—the Girl Scouts’ originally were blue like the Girl Guides’ but were soon switched to khaki, green uniforms being substituted in the late 1920s.

Nevertheless, the separation of the two branches meant that there was less emphasis on a military agenda for the Girl Scouts, and more on developing proficiency in skills rooted in a gendered division of labor. In addition to scoutcraft (woods lore, trailblazing, and mapping, Morse and semaphore flag signaling, and other outdoor skills) the first Girl Scout handbooks contained highly practical instructions in hygiene, cooking, housekeeping, gardening, and child care.

As in England, girls flocked to join the movement in America. Like female suffrage, Scouting implicitly challenged the Victorian ethos of women’s assignment to a male-protected domestic sphere. By getting girls outdoors and into each other’s company, the Girl Scouts offered mastery of real-world skills and gender solidarity. The separate governance of the two organizations also allowed the Girl Scouts to continue to follow a policy of inclusiveness when, in the early 1990s, the Boy Scouts took a stand against membership for religious nonbelievers and homosexuals (losing, as a result, some financial support from corporations and foundations with nondiscrimination policies).

Funding for the Girl Scouts was seeded by Juliette Low’s personal fortune, but the organization remained throughout the century the only entity of its size supported primarily by a bake sale: the annual Girl Scout Cookie drive. The shortbread trefoils and chocolate mints became as much a part of American popular culinary culture as apple pie. Individual member dues are *not* a major source of revenue: at the end of the century, membership was just six dollars a year.

Original Girl Scout Laws mandating kindness to animals and thrift were later broadened into the ecological and social directives to “use resources wisely” and to “make the world a better place.” A significant difference is the extension of the old “clean in thought, word, and deed” rule from personal and public health to include instruction on how to deal with sexual harassment and psychological challenges of adolescence such as stress, moodiness, and self-esteem. One clause which has not changed is the commitment to “be a sister to every Girl Scout,” a fellowship which transcends national barriers. Girl Scouts of the U.S.A. is a member of the World Association of



A Girl Scout troop, c. 1920s.

Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS), which has eight million members in 100 countries, and international meeting centers in England, Switzerland, India, and Mexico.

Girl Scouts range in age from Kindergarten-aged Daisies (named after Juliette Low, whose childhood nickname was Daisy), Brownies (ages 6 through 8), Junior Girl Scouts (aged 8-11), Cadettes (aged 11-14), and Senior Girl Scouts (aged 14-17). A girl may become an Adult Scout at age 18. Not all Scouts follow the progression from Daisy all the way up through Senior, as the many other activities of adolescence, including boys, make competing claims on their time. (“We are feminist rather than feminine,” explained a former Scout leader in the 1990s.) And some girls abandon Scouting because of what they saw as excessively religious undercurrents, despite the organization’s efforts to be nonsectarian and inclusive. Nevertheless, many American women regard Scouting as a happy aspect of their childhood, and one they would readily see their own daughters experience as well.

—Nick Humez

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## Gish, Dorothy (1898-1968)

One of the pioneering actresses of silent film, Dorothy Gish starred in over 20 films directed by legendary filmmaker D. W. Griffith. Like her older sister and co-star, Lillian, Gish played roles that embodied Griffith’s vision of ideal womanhood—charming, chaste, and strong-willed. In particular, Gish earned acclaim for her comic portrayal of “The Little Disturber” in Griffith’s *Hearts of the World* (1918) and as the blind Louise in *Orphans of the Storm* (1921). Even though Gish left film for a successful stage career in the 1930s, in the eyes of the public she remained forever Griffith’s *gamine*.

—Samantha Barbas



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## Gish, Lillian (1893-1993)

Both frail and tough, innocent and powerful, charming and serious, actress Lillian Gish has defied both categorization and convention. Best known for her work with director D. W. Griffith, in her younger years Gish portrayed pale, waiflike heroines who used emotional strength, hard work, and persistence to protect their chastity—and spirit—from destruction at the hands of lustful men. To many filmgoers, Gish served as a bridge between nineteenth- and twentieth-century values, uniting Griffith's Victorian views on sexual purity with the strong-willed independence of the "modern" girl. Even after Gish left Griffith's studio in 1923, she continued to shy away from overtly sexual roles, and for the rest of her career, Gish remained an



Lillian (left) and Dorothy Gish in a scene from the film *Orphans of the Storm*.

icon of propriety—and a firm believer in the dignity of acting. Gish, who pioneered many of the acting techniques of silent film, worked tirelessly to elevate the cinema from the status of mere entertainment to serious art.

For an actress who championed the respectability of film, Gish's introduction to the world of drama was less than highbrow. At the age of five, Gish debuted in a vaudeville melodrama called "In Convict's Stripes," and a few years later, Gish, her mother, and her sister Dorothy had joined vaudeville touring companies and were traveling around the country with a child actress named Gladys Smith. In New York in 1912, Lillian and Dorothy went to visit Smith, who had been renamed Mary Pickford and was working at D. W. Griffith's Biograph studio. Pickford urged Griffith to hire the Gish sisters, and in the next three years Lillian and Dorothy appeared in over 35 short films. In 1914, Gish starred in her first feature-length film, *Judith of Bethulia*, and in 1915 played heroine Elsie Stoneman in *The Birth of a Nation*. During the next seven years, Gish developed and refined her on-screen persona: in *Hearts of the World* (1918), *Broken Blossoms* (1919), and *Orphans of the Storm* (1922), Gish played downtrodden characters who survived poverty, abandonment, and abuse through tenacity, sacrifice, and luck. In the most famous of these roles, in *Way Down East* (1921), Gish's character Anna Moore floated down a river on an ice floe, hand and hair dragging in the frigid water, until saved by her lover. Prevented by the silent film medium from using spoken words, Gish perfected the art of facial expression, and Griffith, the pioneer of the close-up shot, used Gish's wide eyes and cautious smile to create a depth and intensity unparalleled in early film.

In 1923, a dispute with Griffith over her salary drove Gish to Inspiration Pictures, where she appeared in *Romola* (1924) with William Powell; in 1926, she moved to MGM and starred in *La Bohème* (1926), *The Scarlet Letter* (1926), and *The Wind* (1928). Gish's films at MGM, though, were largely box-office failures, and production head Irving Thalberg suggested that the studio invent a scandal for Gish to boost her popularity. Gish refused, leaving MGM and signing with rival United Artists in 1930. Soon afterwards, when *One Romantic Night* (1930) proved a commercial disappointment, Gish asked to be released from her contract, thus concluding her most productive and creative years in film. As actress Louise Brooks lamented, "Stigmatized as a grasping, silly, sexless antique. . . the great Lillian Gish left Hollywood forever, without a head turned to mark her departure." Brooks, however, turned out to be wrong. Although Gish devoted most of the next five decades to the stage, she returned to Hollywood for a few notable films. In 1947, Gish received an Academy Award nomination for her role in *Duel in the Sun* and, in 1955 she gave a powerful performance as an old woman protecting a group of children from a maniacal killer in *The Night of the Hunter*. No longer the gamine, Gish increasingly portrayed mature, if not spinsterish characters. In 1960, Gish played Burt Lancaster's mother in *The Unforgiven*, and in 1969 she appeared in a television version of "Arsenic and Old Lace," playing one of the spinster sisters with Helen Hayes. In real life, Gish did not marry, although she was admired by many suitors. When asked in the 1920s why he was so fascinated with Gish, co-star John Gilbert, one of her more ardent followers, replied, "Because she is unattainable."

By the 1970s, Gish was widely celebrated as "the first lady of film," and in 1971 she received an honorary Academy Award for her contribution to motion pictures. "This beautiful woman so frail and pink and so overwhelmingly feminine has endured as a working artist from the birth of the movies to its transfiguration," Melvyn Douglas read at the ceremony, "for underneath this wisp of a creature there is

hard steel.” Gish’s iron constitution served her well: in her eighties, Gish continued to act in television, theater, and film, giving her final performance in *The Whales of August* in 1987. She died in 1993, leaving a legacy of hard work, creativity, and versatility. While Hollywood vamps, goddesses, and bombshells came and went, Gish remained a testament to the timelessness of the fine art of acting.

—Samantha Barbas

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## The Glass Menagerie

Tennessee Williams’s 1944 drama *The Glass Menagerie*, his self-described “memory play,” has been considered a classic of the American Theatre since its debut. The play is Tom Wingfield’s reminiscence of his youth living in a St. Louis tenement in the 1930s with his domineering mother Amanda and his handicapped sister Laura. The 1945 Broadway production was awarded The New York Drama Critic’s Circle “Best American Play.” Since that time, the play has gone on to be performed internationally and adapted several times to film. Its success is attributed to its autobiographical story, its poetic language, and its vivid characterizations.

—Michael Najjar

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## Gleason, Jackie (1916-1987)

As his sobriquet, The Great One, implies, Jackie Gleason was a comedian of superlative talents, but one whose persona housed enormous contradictions. A literally larger-than-life performer who became a star on the small screen when he failed to achieve headline status on stage and in the movies during the 1940s, Gleason became “Mr. Saturday Night” during the next two decades, and helped to define the comic possibilities of television. Although he hosted a variety series for over 20 years, the corpulent comedian is best remembered for a situation comedy that lasted only one season: *The*

*Honeymooners*. A high-living *bon viveur*, Gleason achieved success by never forgetting the lowly “Ralph Kramdens” who populated his boyhood.

In a medium where understatement is the cool virtue, broad physicality and verbal bombast were the red-hot core of Jackie Gleason’s game. Even as the medium became more refined, extravagance was Gleason’s badge of distinction. His programs were always lavish spectacles, highlighted by gaudy dance numbers and glamorous starlets. On stage and off, Gleason presided like a monarch.

But poverty and abandonment defined Gleason’s childhood and his later conception of himself. Even in his glitziest productions, there was always a reminder somewhere of the tough mean-streets of his youth. He was born in an impoverished section of Brooklyn on February 26, 1916. His brother died when Jackie was three and his father, an insurance clerk, deserted the family when he was eight. Gleason’s mother supported her son by working in a subway token booth and living with rented furniture.

Jackie quit school at an early age and worked as a pool hustler, comic high diver, and carnival barker to pay the rent. He found his calling as a master of ceremonies at Brooklyn’s Folly Theater, and across the Hudson River at Newark’s Miami Club. His quick wit with hecklers and his energetic charm landed him steady employment at Club 18, a cabaret in Manhattan. Movie executive Jack Warner caught his act and signed him to a Hollywood contract. Beginning in 1941, he played minor parts in a series of movies, including the musical *Navy Blues* (1941) with his idol, Jack Oakie, and *All Through the Night* (1942), a gangster yarn with Humphrey Bogart. Unrecognized by the movie crowd, he returned to New York in 1944 and began to attract notice on Broadway. His appearance in *Artists and Models* led to a larger role in the musical comedy *Follow the Girls*, for which *Time* lauded him as a “likably Loony comic.” Gleason stole the show by impersonating a female naval officer, proving to himself that he could “get away with more as a fat man.” Offers began to pour in: he replaced Bob Crosby on a Sunday night radio show and emceed at Billy Rose’s Diamond Horseshoe. In 1949 he was featured in the Broadway revue *Along Fifth Avenue* with comedienne Nancy Walker. Brooks Atkinson of *The New York Times* recognized Gleason’s ability to move on stage as “a priceless accomplishment in a man who wants to be funny.”

Later in 1949, Gleason returned to Los Angeles to star in a blue-collar situation comedy, *Life of Riley*, a television adaptation of a popular radio series about a bumbling aircraft worker. Producer Irving Brecher was unable to sign the lead of the original radio program, William Bendix, because of movie commitments. Gleason was recruited to play the goodhearted but incompetent Chester A. Riley in one of television’s first comedies recorded on 35mm film. Chester’s catchphrase, “What a revoltin’ development this is!” caught on, but Gleason’s edginess and *joie de vivre* were missing without an audience. Although the series received an Emmy Award for “Best Film Made For and Viewed on Television” (there wasn’t much competition), *Life of Riley* was canceled after 26 weeks. Bendix revived the role for television in 1953, and that incarnation ran for five years.

Several months after the cancellation, Gleason landed a television role that was totally suited to his strengths. He was hired as host of the live variety series, *Cavalcade of Stars*, on the DuMont television network. DuMont was a struggling fourth network with little money for programming, but proved an excellent training ground for future stars on the established networks. Both previous



**Jackie Gleason**

hosts of *Cavalcade*, Jack Carter and Jerry Lester, were stolen by NBC for big-time variety shows. In the two years that Gleason hosted the low-budget DuMont show, he laid the groundwork for his impending future success.

On *Cavalcade* the comedian developed the variety format, and his repertory of characters that would serve him well for the next 20 years. Unlike other variety hosts, such as Milton Berle or Sid Caesar, who relied mostly on new sketches each week, Gleason based his comedy on recurring characterizations, many of which were comic extensions of people he grew up with in Brooklyn. There was the ever complaining Charles Bratton, known as The Loudmouth; the sweetly meek Fenwick Babbitt, who would sometimes explode; the hapless Bachelor, a silent figure struggling to cope alone; and garrulous Joe the Bartender, caught in an endless monologue about the idiosyncratic patrons of his establishment. Two creations revealed the polar sides of Gleason's sensibility: the innocent savant, The Poor Soul, a silent homage to the vulnerable, saintly Little Tramp of Charlie Chaplin, and the ostentatious playboy, Reginald Van Gleason III, a baroque vision of wealth and grandeur.

Jackie's most famous character, Ralph Kramden, debuted later than the others, but was probably Gleason's best understood creation. There were, as he explained, "hundreds of them in my neighborhood." Gleason was so close to the yearning and unquiet desperation of his bus driver that he gave him the same address as his boyhood residence, 358 Chauncey Street. *The Honeymooners* began modestly enough as a six-minute sketch portraying a long-married working-class couple who stayed together despite life's blows and disappointments. Unlike the foolishness of *Life of Riley*, Gleason wanted this pair based on realism; he instructed his writers "to make it the way people really live." Pert Kelton first played Alice, the wife, and gave her a battle-scarred feistiness. To everyone's surprise, the audience identified with the Kramden's struggles and *The Honeymooners* sketches became longer and richer in comic incident.

For an early Reggie van Gleason sketch, the show hired an agile player from *The Morey Amsterdam Show*, Art Carney. Gleason and Carney hit it off immediately and remained partners in one way or another until the end. Carney had a cameo in the first *Honeymooners* sketch as a policeman, but he was so adept at playing sidekicks that

the role of Ralph's buddy, the sewer worker Ed Norton, was quickly created for him. This pairing eventually developed an archetypal resonance with Carney who would be a Sancho Panza to Gleason's Don Quixote.

The other networks quickly recognized Gleason's popularity on DuMont. He appeared as a special guest star on CBS' *The Frank Sinatra Show* and there was talk about making him a regular. He also hosted *The Colgate Comedy Hour* on NBC, and in 1952 William Paley, Chairman of CBS, lured Gleason and his staff to CBS by quintupling his salary. The bigger budget for *The Jackie Gleason Show*, which premiered on September 20, 1952, allowed for splashier production numbers, including an opening extravaganza with the June Taylor dancers which Busby Berkeley would have been proud to own. Gleason also employed beautiful chorines, known as the Glea Girls, to introduce segments of the show, while he himself became one of the show's grand inventions, sipping his "tea" as if it were laced with alcohol and uttering his trademark phrases "How sweet it is," "You are a dan-dan-dandy crowd," and "And Away we go!" Soon the Gleason show owned Saturday nights and was second in the overall ratings, behind *I Love Lucy*.

On top for the first time, Gleason pushed himself into other creative arenas. Although he could not read music, he composed the signature melody for his variety show, *Melancholy Serenade*. Deciding that the common man needed background music for his pleasures, he composed over 40 mood albums, beginning with *Music for Lovers Only*, whose collective sales reached 120 million. He scored an "original symphony in ballet," entitled *Tawny*, which *The New York Times* called "a poem for eye and ear, a simply superb example of inspired television artistry." In 1954 Gleason also produced a summer music show for the Dorsey brothers, Tommy and Jimmy, which became the regular series, *Stage Show*. The comedian took personal credit for giving Elvis Presley his first network exposure on the Dorsey program.

In 1953 Gleason made his dramatic acting debut, portraying a manipulative comic in a *Studio One* production. He starred in several live television dramas, which led to the resurrection of his movie career. He received an Academy Award nomination for his role as Minnesota Fats in *The Hustler* (1961) and critical acclaim for his sleazy boxing manager in *Requiem for a Heavyweight* (1962), but was less successful as a deaf mute in *Gigot* (1962), a sentimental tale that he also wrote. In 1959 he made a triumphant return to the stage as an irresponsible drunk in *Take Me Along*, a musical adaptation of Eugene O'Neill's *Ah, Wilderness!*

Gleason strayed several times from his successful variety formula. In 1955 Buick offered him one of the largest contracts in television history to produce *The Honeymooners* on film, but Ralph and Alice (played by Audrey Meadows since the move to CBS) did not click with the audience. Eventually, however, these 39 episodes of *The Honeymooners* became a financial bonanza in syndication. In 1961 Gleason inexplicably tackled the quiz show format, and his *You're in the Picture* became one of television's most notorious debacles, lasting only one week. During the early 1960s he launched *The American Scene Magazine*, using his characters to comment on societal change. In 1964, when he relocated his television series to Miami Beach, "the Sun and Fun Capitol of the World," he reverted to his characteristic brand of splashy entertainment. Although the variety format was losing its luster, Gleason remained in the Nielsen Top Ten throughout the decade.

After his move to CBS, Gleason insisted on total control of his variety series. He participated in every aspect of production, from

casting to set design to merchandising. With Orson Wellesian bravado, his end credit proclaimed, "Entire Production Supervised by Jackie Gleason." As he once explained, "I have no use for humility . . . In my work, I stand or fall by my own judgment."

Gleason emerged in an era of live television when comedians dominated the airwaves. Despite changes in American culture and television, he was able to produce and star in his type of variety program until 1970. After that, he revived *The Honeymooners* as holiday specials and starred as a Southern sheriff in several *Smokey and the Bandit* movies. When he died on June 24, 1987, the country was rediscovering the "lost" episodes of *The Honeymooners* from the 1950s. Gleason demonstrated that commercial television could be a medium for original comic expression, and his work has spoken to the American Everyman. As critic Tom Shales has noted, "Gleason was perhaps as much the auteur as Chaplin was or as Woody Allen is."

—Ron Simon

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## Glitter Rock

From 1972 to 1974, a wave of primarily British rock acts—dubbed Glitter Rock—emerged to enjoy massive success with a sound that marked a radical departure from the peace/love/sandals vibe of the recent past. The new movement celebrated the superficial, made androgyny look cool, and marked a complete departure from the more earnest "save the world" sentiments of the hippie era. *Rolling Stone* writer David Fricke described glitter rock as "the tidal splash of pop guitars, raging puberty, and elegant anarchy." Male singers often sported shag haircuts, eyeliner, lipstick, outrageous clothing, and towering platform shoes with abandon. Yet the music that came out of this era—David Bowie and Roxy Music would create some of glitter's greatest sonic legacies—would land an assured place in the annals of rock history, and the genre has been posited as the most innovative event to sweep through the pop music landscape before punk rock.

"Glitter was urban panic music," wrote Jon Savage in *Gadfly*, in describing the marked distinction between glitter rock and hippie



Glitter rock artist Gary Glitter.

rock. “Instead of natural fibers, you had crimplene, glitter, fur; instead of LSD, alcohol and downers; instead of albums, singles were the focus; instead of authenticity, synthetic plasticity ruled; in place of a dour, bearded machismo, you had a blissful, trashy androgyny.” The summer of 1972 is usually tagged as the moment of glitter’s genesis, and London the place, but the chart-success version of glitter—called glam in the United Kingdom—did owe a small debt to an obscure young American band, the New York Dolls. Living in Greenwich Village and originally playing Otis Redding covers in what was called the “Oscar Wilde Room” at the Mercer Art Center, the Dolls had long hair, dressed in platform shoes, and wore a great deal of makeup. Part of their inspiration came from the late 1960s Greenwich Village theater scene—particularly the gross doings of the Ridiculous Theater Company—and they became the next hot band to catch when Andy Warhol and his entourage began frequenting the Mercer shows.

A management team thought it better to launch the Dolls first in London, and they flew over and found instant success. Contracted to open for Rod Stewart, they became the first group in music history to tour with a major rock act without ever having produced an album or even a single. Then one of the Dolls, Billy Murcia, died of a Quaalude

overdose, and the band was eulogized in the music press for a time. They emerged again with a new drummer in December of 1972, signed to the Mercury label, but their career fizzed after just two albums. To add to the band’s troubles, American audiences assumed that they were gay at a time when homosexuality was a new and very controversial topic for many.

Back in London, however, the vibe was quite different. Glitter/glam rock was huge by the summer of 1972. Its precursor came in the spring of 1971 with a young and attractive singer, Mark Bolan, and his band T. Rex. “Get It On (Bang the Gong)” and subsequent tracks like “20th Century Boy” and “Diamond Meadows” came to be deemed classics of glitter. Like most pop culture movements, glitter originated as a reaction against something else. In this case it was the ubiquity of the hippie. By 1972 the long-hair-and-granola look was even being coopted in advertising images. The Beatles were gone, and bands like Yes, the Moody Blues, Fleetwood Mac, and Led Zeppelin were huge, as was country rock; long dirge-like tunes were in vogue. Glitter celebrated artifice and the *soignée*, and through it ran strong elements of camp. Furthermore, the spectacle of men wearing makeup was still enough to make people halt on the street and cause periodic uproars in the mainstream press. Homosexuality had only been decriminalized in Britain in the late 1960s, and the gay-rights movement in the United States only dated back to the summer of 1969. The average man or woman of a certain age still found it dreadfully uncomfortable even admitting that gay men and women existed at all, so taboo was the topic prior to these years. Thus glitter rock and its accoutrements—the weird album covers, the high-resolution rock poster, the aping of the look of one’s favorite singer—found great resonance with the teen generation.

Several crucial albums were released in 1972 that portended a new era in rock. Roxy Music, led by Bryan Ferry and including Brian Eno at the time, has been termed the ideological vanguard of the movement. Their self-titled debut LP and the single “Virginia Plan” both arrived in the summer of 1972 to massive success. Very rock-guitar chords and booming drums melded with Ferry’s arch, almost poetic lyrics, and made Roxy perhaps the most enduring of all glitter bands, and one that virtually never fell out of critical favor. This Eno period is usually termed their zenith; they disbanded after the release of *Country Life* in 1974 and subsequent reformations never really achieved the initial edge.

David Bowie and his Ziggy Stardust persona is also inextricably linked with glitter rock. His massive success with androgynous outfits and spacey lamé bodysuits was the mainstream rock manifestation of the whole glam movement. His 1972 album *The Rise and Fall of Ziggy Stardust and the Spiders from Mars* is deemed one of the quintessential releases of the genre. Moreover, Bowie would produce a number of significant albums in a short span of time, also vital to the glam-rock discography: Mott the Hoople’s *All the Young Dudes*, Lou Reed’s *Transformer*, and Iggy Pop and the Stooges’ *Raw Power*, all released in 1972. That same year, Bowie told an interviewer in the British music paper *Melody Maker* that he was gay (later amending it to “bisexual”), which caused a huge stir. He became the first pop star to ever to make such an admission.

Further musical events that summer of 1972 made glam/glitter a commercially viable movement. Gary Glitter, a forgotten English singer from the 1950s and 1960s, had a huge hit with the kazoo-like guitars and one-word lyrics (“Hey!”) in “Rock and Roll (Part II).” A massive success in England that reached the Top Ten in the United States, the single would go down in history as the essential sports-stadium rouser by the 1990s. “Instantly nostalgic, but like nothing

else on earth, 'Rock and Roll' cut through everything that was around that English summer, through the T. Rex sparkle and David Bowie sashay, through Slade's patent stomp and Sweet's candied pop," wrote Dave Thompson in *Goldmine*, "and though it didn't quite make #1, it hung around the chart so long there's not another song on earth that recaptures the moment like [this] one."

Several other tracks signify the glitter rock moment, such as the cult favorite "Baby's on Fire," from a Brian Eno solo project. Other British bands quickly climbed onto glam once its moneymaking potential had been established, but produced music with far less panache and artistic endurance than Bowie, Roxy, or T. Rex. Slade and Sweet were two such acts, and would become the begetters of the 1980s glam metal movement; Queen also grew out of this era, and surprised many by successfully riding the glitter rock well past its announced demise. Glitter rock also marked a turning point in pop music: prior to 1972, American and British tastes had more or less corresponded. Yet glam failed to catch on in the United States as it did in Britain, and the shock-rock proto-Goth Alice Cooper was its only true homegrown commercial success.

By 1974, the New York Dolls had disintegrated after more problems with drugs, the Stooges broke up, Bowie released an album of vintage cover tunes, and Elton John—perhaps the most commercial and internationally successful manifestation of glitter rock—was a huge success. The cross-dressing camp of glitter rock was successfully translated into a stage play, *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*, which became a cult film almost from its debut in 1975. The last gasp of real glam in the United States came with Sweet's Top Ten hit, "Ballroom Blitz," in the summer of 1975.

Already by that summer, punk was in its nascent stages in England and would hit full-force the following year. Hallmarked by vulgarity, tattered clothing, and almost unlistenable, anything-but-melodic music, punk was, not surprisingly, a reactionary movement—against the satiny, coiffed look of glitter with its electric pianos and Wildean sentiments. A little over a decade later the outlandishness and alternative sexuality of glitter rock were standard pop music clichés, embodied most successfully by Boy George, Prince, and even Madonna. *Velvet Goldmine*, a 1998 film by Todd Haynes, borrowed its title from a Bowie song of the era and was heralded as a sign of glitter rock's revival. Set in London in the early 1970s, it follows the rock 'n' roll love story of a bisexual rock star in space-age apparel and his far punker American friend, a clear stand-in for Iggy Pop. Numerous luminaries from alternative music stepped in to create and/or record for the *Velvet Goldmine* soundtrack, and filmmaker Todd Haynes recalled in interviews how profoundly some of the music and imagery from the glitter rock era had affected his adolescent years. "It was a moment when it was cool even for straight people to appear bisexual," the film's editor, Jim Lyons, told Amy Taubin in the *Village Voice*. "There's a clear nostalgia for that period when we believed that we were going to have a better and better society, and that feminism would win, and homosexuality would be completely accepted."

—Carol Brennan

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## Gnagy, Jon (1906?-1981)

Jon Gnagy was a man who taught himself how to draw and then taught millions of youngsters how to follow in his footsteps, thanks to the then-new medium of television. With his checkered shirt and vandyke beard, Gnagy was one of the fixtures of 1950s television, demonstrating simplified techniques of line and shade to children, many of whom were drawing along in front of their television sets at home with the aid of one of Gnagy's *Learn to Draw* workbooks. Although criticized in some esoteric art circles, Gnagy defended his methods, which enabled him to remain popular on the tube from the beginning of the 1950s until the middle of the decade. In the years since, other telegenic art instructors have found similar success by patterning their shows after the man who introduced a generation of baby-boomers to the world of do-it-yourself art.

The Kansas-born Gnagy taught himself how to create art while recovering from a childhood illness. The skill later helped him earn a living as everything from a sign-painter to an advertising art director. He started teaching his techniques—based on Cezanne's fundamentals, he claimed, using the basic tools of cube, ball, and cone—on experimental video outlets in 1946. CBS started featuring Gnagy nationally in 1950 on 15 minute shows known variously as *Draw with Me*, *You Are an Artist*, and *Jon Gnagy Learn to Draw*. Though criticized for oversimplification and for promoting imitation rather than creativity, Gnagy felt that his methods were appropriate for his medium and his audience. There was no quarrel from the many youngsters who faithfully watched his shows and had their parents buy his instruction kits throughout the early 1950s. After leaving television, Gnagy continued to lecture on his favorite subject. He died in 1981 at age 74.

—Preston Neal Jones

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## *The Godfather*

One of American popular culture's most resilient narratives is that of the Mafia and its antiheroic gangsters, and one of this genre's most popular and poignant products is Francis Ford Coppola's *The Godfather* trilogy, based on Mario Puzo's novel of the same name. Released in 1972 to universal acclaim and rewarded with several Academy Awards, including Best Picture, *The Godfather* instantly fixed its place in the American cultural psyche, establishing itself as the de facto gangster film to which all other subsequent exercises in the genre would be compared.

Powered by Marlon Brando's timeless delivery of the film's namesake, Godfather Vito Corleone, the film also established the futures of Hollywood royalty Al Pacino (Michael Corleone), Robert Duvall (Tom Hagen), and James Caan (Sonny Corleone), all of whom are most recognized for the roles they played in this sprawling and sensitive study of two generations of Mafia membership and power—especially Pacino, who would go on to the starring role in *The Godfather Part II* (1974) and *The Godfather Part III* (1990). More importantly, the blinding success of the first two *Godfather* films immediately marked Coppola as a major player in Hollywood, allowing him green lights on almost any project he set his hands on, leading to the legendary conflicts with his producers as well as

Brando during the shooting of *Apocalypse Now* (1979) and his ambitious attempt to form his own studio/distributor conglomerate, Zoetrope Studios, in 1980.

In 1972, Coppola adapted Mario Puzo's popular novel for the screen, and although the two worked together on the script, Coppola dramatically shaped the project during the shooting. The second installment was entirely his creation. Cutting out much of the novel's romanticized violence, the director decided to instead focus on the Corleone family dynamics, personalizing the film in accordance with his own experience growing up as the second-generation son of an Italian immigrant. The Mafia, as always, was the perfect vehicle for the consideration of American culture and values, Coppola asserted in an interview: "I feel that the Mafia is an incredible metaphor for this country. Both America and the Mafia have roots in Europe . . . both the Mafia and America feel they are benevolent organizations. Both the Mafia and America have their hands stained with blood from what it is necessary to do to protect their power and interests. Both are totally capitalistic phenomena and basically have a profit motive."

Indeed, the strength of *The Godfather* trilogy's appeal lay in the collusion of the two phenomena, one which ran throughout the genre in its most moving expressions, from Paul Muni's bravura performance in *Scarface* (1932) to Martin Scorsese's immediately canonical *GoodFellas* (1990). All installments in the gangster genre engaged



The cast of *The Godfather*: (from left) Al Pacino, Marlon Brando, James Caan, and John Cazale.

the audience's sympathies for the lead character as an independent businessman living out his version of the American Dream. In fact, there is a built-in bias toward the Mafia, especially within *The Godfather*, as a conglomerate of well-intentioned businessmen looking out for the best interests of their families; as critic Roger Ebert has explained, "During the movie we see not a single actual civilian victim of organized crime . . . The only police officer with a significant speaking role [Sterling Hayden] is corrupt." The ideas of law and order are specific to the machinations of the various families of the Mafia, replacing the exterior world with the cloistered, fiercely loyal world of organized crime; in fact, one of the first scenes in *The Godfather* involved Brando castigating an undertaker, who describes himself as a "good American," for going to the police for help. Interestingly enough, the film's violent finale, which juxtaposes the exhaustive murders of each of Michael Corleone's opponents (a figurative baptism of Corleone power through death) with the literal baptism of his child, was cheered by audiences as a shining example of American triumph. This moral ambiguity and veiled criticism of the American legal and political system's inefficacy is one which has coursed through popular culture's fascination with organized crime, one which was an interesting accident to Coppola, who had actually structured his movie to be a criticism of the ethnic and religious hypocrisy within the Mafia. Instead, the audiences were attracted by the poignant scenes of family cohesion in the face of social and economic pressure; in this sense, Coppola's film had the endearing, if violent, nature of some of the best work of Frank Capra, including his classic *It's a Wonderful Life*.

*The Godfather Part II* applied Coppola's intended criticisms of organized crime and religious hypocrisy even further, culminating in Michael Corleone's assassination of his own brother Fredo and his disruption of his marriage for the sake of the family business. There is no noble Brando figure in the second installment: everyone from Michael, his family, the Nevada governor, and local citizenry is completely corrupt. The ethnic cohesion and protection which coursed through the first installment is totally disrupted, a monumental disappointment augmented by Coppola's insertion of an earlier scene of a cheerful birthday party for Vito Corleone at the end of the film. An ultimately tragic figure, Michael Corleone, by the end of *The Godfather Part II*, has compromised not only his Italian heritage, his ethnic identity, and his family, but has positioned himself as the type of win-at-all-costs American immigrant criticized in the first installment, one who, even in the possession of unquestionable power and influence, can no longer trust anyone because he can be trusted by no one. By *The Godfather Part III*, Michael has extended his power as far as the Vatican, which he implores for redemption for the murder of his brother, but he still ends up powerless as his daughter is murdered at his side by the end of the film.

Resistant to the idea of establishing his *Godfather* series as a trilogy for years (Coppola asserted that if he ever did make a third installment, it would have to be a farce), the failure of his Zoetrope Studios (in which a good deal of his personal funds were invested) and the relative failure of his artistic product following *The Godfather* and *The Godfather Part II* (only one of his post-*Godfather* films, *The Outsiders* in 1983, met with any measurable mainstream success), Coppola capitulated to the American infatuation with the Corleone family business and released *The Godfather Part III*, inciting further controversy by casting his own daughter, Sofia, as Andy Garcia's love interest. Sofia Coppola's mediocre delivery shattered the prodigious but deteriorating reputation of her father, whose legendary status seemed to exist parallel to the lasting impact of the trilogy. But

it did not diminish the technical skill, daunting vision, and deeply personal attention which Coppola nevertheless employed in his following films. Regardless of his future projects, Coppola has assured himself immortal status in film history on the strength of *The Godfather* trilogy alone. *The Godfather Part III*, predictably, was a moderate success at the box office, garnering \$70 million, but it was another star vehicle for Pacino and newcomer Andy Garcia. It also fulfilled American popular culture's desire for closure while fulfilling Coppola's desire for a sharp critique of the inherent destruction and corruption within the relentless pursuit of power and wealth which lies at the heart of the American Dream.

—Scott Thill

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## Godfrey, Arthur (1903-1983)

The arrival of genial, folksy Arthur Godfrey on television was the most publicized event of the 1948-49 season. The reviewers pulled out all the stops in praising "the old redhead," and he became the only personality in TV history to have two top-rated programs run simultaneously in prime time for an extended period. *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts* aired on Mondays and *Arthur Godfrey and His Friends* on Wednesdays for eight-and-a-half seasons. In 1952-53, the programs ranked two and three, just behind *I Love Lucy*. Even more remarkably, Godfrey's morning radio show, every Monday through Friday, continued during this time with high ratings, his fan base growing with multiple exposures. TV critic Ben Gross of the *New York Daily News* summed up Godfrey's appeal: "It is his friendliness, his good cheer, his small-boy mischievousness, and his kindly philosophy."

*Godfrey's Talent Scouts* brought little known or newly discovered professional talent to perform before a live nation-wide audience, with an applause meter deciding the winner. The host's witty banter and interviews with contestants plus a high quality of talent delighted the listeners. Some of the winners—including Pat Boone, Carmel Quinn, the Chordettes, and the McGuire Sisters—later became regulars on *Arthur Godfrey and His Friends*. Also appearing on the show were many other soon-to-be-famous performers, including Rosemary Clooney, Tony Bennett, Connie Francis, Steve Lawrence, Leslie Uggams, and Patsy Cline. Two big stars missed by the show's screening staff, Elvis Presley and Buddy Holly, both flunked the show's auditions.

For his weekly variety hour, Godfrey assembled a personable group of talented regulars, chosen with an eye to audience demographics. Frank Parker and Marion Marlowe sang romantic duets for the mature audience, and Julius LaRosa was the bright young singer with appeal to bobby-soxers. There was also the bashful Hawaiian singer, Haleloke, as well as the Chordettes, a squeaky clean





Arthur Godfrey

barbershop quartet from Wisconsin. Other popular regulars were Janette Davis, Bill Lawrence, and the Toppers. Tony Marvin was the mellow-voiced announcer, while Godfrey enhanced the proceedings, sometimes playing his ukulele and singing in a gravelly croon. As he had on radio, Godfrey kidded his sponsor's products, but he refused to endorse any product he did not like personally.

When Godfrey underwent surgery for a hip replacement in May 1953, it almost seemed as though the whole country sent him get-well cards. The press continued to revere him until October of that year, when a dramatic turnaround occurred and Godfrey became controversial—suddenly maligned by columnists who had praised him. The controversy was ignited by his firing members of his popular TV family of stars for what seemed to be petty reasons. He dismissed Julius LaRosa on the air in October 1953, charging that he “had become too big a star.” He told the press that LaRosa had lost his “humility,” a remark that was to come back and plague Godfrey for the rest of his career. LaRosa made immediate well-publicized appearances on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, cut several hit records, and was given a series of his own, before his career faded after a few years. In April 1955, Godfrey fired Marion Marlowe, Haleloke, and the Mariners in one fell swoop.

Part of the public forgave him. His *Talent Scouts* continued until July 1958, and the *Friends* show until April 28, 1959, but his popularity never matched that of the sensational early 1950s. Godfrey survived an operation for lung cancer in 1959 but, except for a brief interval on television's *Candid Camera* in 1960-61, his television career was over. He worked on radio until 1972, when he broadcast a tearful farewell over CBS. Coincidentally, it had been tears that

brought him to national attention as he gave a touching description of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's funeral in 1945.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Godzilla

The lead monster character in a series of successful Japanese science fiction films, Godzilla has rampaged across movie screens worldwide for over 40 years. His popularity and recognition rivals that of Superman and Mickey Mouse. In Japan, where he is known as Gojira, he has dominated popular fantasy for every generation to come of age since the 1950s. The films have inspired toys, games, clothes, model kits, comic books, novels, fan magazines, candy, television commercials, and countless imitations. Godzilla movies are often lumped in with B-grade and camp cinema in America, where audiences almost exclusively see edited, badly dubbed versions of the Japanese originals. Fans who investigate the series carefully discover that many entries, particularly the early ones, are thoughtful, well-crafted efforts by respected members of the Japanese film community. Though an American remake in 1998 did not fare as well as expected, the character maintains a loyal following in the United States and abroad. The “King of the Monsters,” as he has been called often, is likely to reign for years to come.

Godzilla's screen debut was in Toho Co. Ltd.'s *Gojira* (1954). The name, meaning “whale-ape,” was allegedly inspired by a burly studio employee. *Gojira* was, at the time, the most expensive movie ever produced in Japan, costing around \$900,000. The film was a huge success—grosses topped \$7 million—and the film spawned a new style of Japanese cinema: the *kaiju eiga*, or giant monster genre.

Toho producer Tomoyuki Tanaka was first inspired to make a monster movie by the successful reissue of RKO's *King Kong* (1933) in 1952. By the next year, a new breed of American science fiction creature, the giant monster, was drawing audiences to U.S. theaters and the newly popular drive-ins. Films like *The Beast from 20,000 Fathoms* (1953) and *Them!* (1954) played off Cold War anxieties; the monsters' creation and/or release on the world was the result of nuclear energy. The terror of nuclear war took physical form as the atomic mutant. As the only nation ever attacked by atomic weapons Japan had its own reasons to fear such mutations, and memories of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings were still fresh in the early 1950s. *Gojira* turned these fears and memories into cinematic terror.

As an enduring character Godzilla is largely the product of four men. Producer Tanaka oversaw the original *Gojira* and remained with the series through the 1990s. Director Ishiro Honda was a friend and colleague of Akira Kurosawa, arguably Japan's greatest cinematic genius. A visit to Hiroshima in 1946 inspired in Honda a desire to tell the story of atomic devastation on film. He regarded monsters as



**Godzilla**

tragic figures, the result of mankind's abuse of technology. Special effects director Eiji Tsuburaya was an admirer of Willis O'Brien's stop-motion effects in *King Kong*. His work in the Godzilla films pioneered what would come to be called "suitmation" (suit + animation); his monsters were played by actors in molded latex suits. The process eventually became synonymous with Japanese monster movies, though not everyone could do it as well as Tsuburaya. Composer Akira Ifukube was a respected classical musician and scholar. His score, parts of which reappear subsequently in the series, became nearly as recognizable as Godzilla himself. The booming contrabass perfectly symbolizes the monster's rumbling gait.

*Gojira* came to America two years later as *Godzilla, King of the Monsters* (1956). B-movie producers Richard Kay and Harold Ross purchased the American distribution rights from Toho and, along with Joseph E. Levine, adapted the film for U.S. audiences. The dialogue was dubbed in English (as would be all successive U.S. theatrical and TV releases of Godzilla movies.) The producers reconstructed the original sets to shoot new footage with Raymond Burr as American newspaper reporter Steve Martin. All mentions of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were edited out. *Godzilla, King of the Monsters* opened in New York City in April, 1956. Levine promoted the film heavily, and it proved a huge hit in the United States, becoming the first Japanese picture to play outside art cinemas, in mainstream first-run theaters.

In film, success breeds sequels. Toho released its second Gojira film, *Gojira No Gyakushu* (1955) ("Gojira's Counterattack") only months after the first, and a year before the creature's American debut. With this feature, Toho began its longstanding practice of

selling the rights to each of its monster movies individually. Warner Brothers acquired *Gojira No Gyakushu* for the American market. They did not, however, acquire the name Godzilla, even though Toho owned it and could have sold it to them. Consequently, the film was released as *Gigantis the Fire Monster* (1959).

The sequel received a somewhat shabbier treatment than its predecessor. Warner originally intended to construct an entirely new film using only the special effects sequences from *Gojira No Gyakushu*, but it was never made. Instead the Japanese original was dubbed in English. Voice performers include George Takei, who gained fame as *Star Trek*'s Mr. Sulu, and *Kung Fu*'s Keye Luke, best known then as Charlie Chan's number one son. (In 1978 he would again lend his voice to a Japanese-to-American adaptation when Sandy Frank brought the animated *Science Ninja Team Gachaman* to America as *Battle of the Planets*.) Narration was provided by Daws Butler, who gave voice to a number of Hanna-Barbera's animated characters. Stock footage of rockets and creature effects was added. The original score by Masaru Sato was replaced with music from Universal's film music library, including the theme from *The Creature from the Black Lagoon* (1954). Upon release *Gigantis the Fire Monster* was placed on a double feature with the American *Teenagers from Outer Space* (1959), a film so bad its director was never allowed to make another.

Godzilla disappeared from theaters until 1962 while Toho and Ishiro Honda branched out to other creature features like *Rodon* (1956) (called *Rodon* in America) and *Daikaiju Baran* (1958) (U.S. title *Varan the Unbelievable*). The monster's return came about due to the efforts of Willis O'Brien. His concept for a *King Kong* sequel, wherein the giant ape fought a rebuilt Frankenstein monster, was purchased by Toho. They took out Frankenstein and added Gojira. Tanaka, Honda, Tsuburaya, and Ifukube all returned to the positions they held on *Gojira*. The film they made, *Gojira tai Kingukongu* (1962), departed from the atomic age terror themes of the first two films, taking a more comedic, family-friendly tone with elements of slapstick and satire. It became the most widely seen Gojira film in Japan.

The U.S. release, Universal's *King Kong vs. Godzilla* (1962), loses much in the translation. Sequences are cut, and scenes of English-speaking television reporters are added in an attempt to clarify the truncated action. Ifukube's score is gone, replaced by music from the distributor's previous films. Without the subtleties of the original, the film is little more than an extended build-up to a fight between two men in monster costumes. For the first time, American audiences received a taste of what the genre would devolve into in a few short years.

For years after the film's release a rumor circulated among fans that there were two different endings to *King Kong vs. Godzilla*. Allegedly, Godzilla is triumphant in the Japanese version, but the outcome was changed to please U.S. audiences by having "their" monster win. The story, though, is apocryphal. Kong is, and always was, the winner.

Gojira/Godzilla returned in 1964 in *Mosura tai Gojira*, known in the U.S. as *Godzilla vs. The Thing*. This time Godzilla's enemy is a Toho-created monster, the title creature of *Mosura* (1961), called *Mothra* in America (she is a benevolent giant moth). In this film the creative team of Tanaka, Honda, Tsuburaya, and Ifukube delivered a somewhat different, but extremely enjoyable, spin on the *kaiju eiga* motif. For the last time until 1984 Godzilla is portrayed as a threat to the world. Mothra is called upon to fight the lizard, though she has just laid an egg and is about to die. A battle royal ensues. In what is likely the most touching sequence in the entire series, Mothra sacrifices

herself fighting Godzilla. Soon after she dies, her egg hatches—and two larval Mothras emerge. They spin a cocoon around Godzilla, who falls into the ocean in defeat. The film reprises the more purely fantasy atmosphere of *Mothra*, bringing back the two pretty, six-inch-tall female fairies who act as heralds to the creature. The women are as memorable a part of the film as the monsters: they speak in unison, and sing a song to Mothra whenever they wish to call her. The emotional core of *Godzilla vs. The Thing* has long made it a favorite of fans, many of whom regard it as the high point in the series.

Godzilla, Mothra and the twin fairies, and Rodan returned only nine months later in *Ghidrah, The Three-Headed Monster* (1964). While not on the level of its immediate predecessor, it is an exciting film with much action and excellent suitmation effects. It is most notable as the beginning of Godzilla's "good monster" phase. Godzilla, Rodan, and Mothra team up to rid the earth of the menace of Ghidrah, a golden, fire-breathing dragon from outer space. In Japan, the monster was understood to be a metaphorical representation of China, symbolizing Japanese fears of Maoist expansionism. This was largely lost on American matinee audiences. Mothra, always a good monster, jumps into the fray immediately, but Godzilla and Rodan would at first rather fight each other. They eventually experience a change of heart (after a "discussion" in monster growls and roars) and the three earth creatures drive Ghidrah back into space.

For the rest of the 1960s and into the 1970s, the Godzilla films closely followed a formula established by the next entry, *Kaiju Daisenso* (1965). The title translates as "The Giant Monster War" though the U.S. title is *Monster Zero*, or *Godzilla vs. Monster Zero* for home video versions. In this film, an alien race tries to take over earth using a monster. Godzilla stops them. It was the first Godzilla film to use an American actor, Nick Adams, in the original cast. Director Ishiro Honda left the series for a time after this film, citing his reluctance to humanize Godzilla. His vision and style would be sorely missed.

Godzilla releases had become an annual event for Toho, but with increased quantity came decreased quality. *Ebirah, Horror from the Deep* (1966)—better known as *Godzilla vs. the Sea Monster*—saw Jun Fukuda step in as director. Akira Ifukube was replaced. Godzilla is missing from the first half of the picture, which is padded out by a story of a group of young men who discover an island where the natives are being enslaved by a vaguely defined paramilitary organization based on another island. Godzilla fights their monster and puts things right. *Son of Godzilla* (1967) is an outright children's film. Godzilla and his little mutant lizard son, Minira (Minya in the U.S.), battle a giant spider. The baby Godzilla is laughable; he resembles Barney the Dinosaur far more than he does Godzilla. His freakish appearance and strange, crying noises make him Toho's most annoying creation.

*Kaiju Soshingeki* (1968), released in the U.S. as *Destroy All Monsters*, was the last vestige of the exciting and creative original Godzilla series. In an attempt to regain its older fans, Toho pulled out all the stops. Honda returned, and so did most of Toho's stable of monsters. As the film begins all of the monsters are exiled to a peaceful life on a remote island. But aliens again attack earth, taking control of the monsters and unleashing them on major cities. After much destruction, the earth people regain control of the creatures and turn them on the aliens—only to have Ghidrah appear out of space, leading to a final decisive showdown. Naturally, the good monsters win. The film offers more action than the previous two combined. For a brief moment, the excitement which spawned the films' earlier success was back.

From *Godzilla's Revenge* (1969) and through the 1970s the Godzilla films went steadily downhill. Eiji Tsuburaya died and Ishiro Honda left Toho. Fukuda returned as director. *Godzilla vs. the Smog Monster* (1971) tries, unsuccessfully, to integrate anti-pollution messages with its juvenile monster story. While the monster Hedora (meaning "pollution") is an interesting amalgamation of aquatic creature and industrial waste, he is not nearly enough to redeem the picture. *Godzilla on Monster Island* (1972), known on home video and cable as *Godzilla vs. Gigan*, sees the lizard destroying an amusement park (complete with Godzilla attraction) which serves as a base for aliens and their monster. In a creative move perhaps more misguided than the creation of Minira, Godzilla speaks. In *Godzilla vs. Megalon* (1973), he is teamed with Jet Jaguar, a robotic rip-off of the popular television character Ultraman (who was, ironically, the creation of Eiji Tsuburaya). The series was now firmly lodged in juvenile territory. *Megalon*, along with *Sea Monster*, would eventually become fodder for cable's *Mystery Science Theater 3000*, wherein a man and his robot puppets mercilessly mock the worst movies ever made. *Godzilla vs. the Cosmic Monster* (1974) featured a robotic "Mechagodzilla." Honda and Ifukube returned for *Terror of Mechagodzilla* (1975), but it was too late. There would be no more Godzilla movies for nine years.

Godzilla was temporarily gone, but definitely not forgotten. By this time his name and image had entered the popular consciousness. In the United States the movies played as reruns on local television. With *Star Wars* (1977) creating a boom in science fiction, the door was open for new Godzilla product. In the fall of 1978, NBC offered *The Godzilla Power Hour* as part of its Saturday morning children's lineup. The series was an animated adventure from Hanna-Barbera. Ted Cassidy (Lurch of *The Addams Family*) provided Godzilla's roars. Godzilla's adventures were packaged with other animated shows in various combinations and aired until May, 1981.

Godzilla's true return came with the remake/sequel *Gojira* (1984), released in the United States a year later as *Godzilla 1985*. Based on an original story by Tomoyuki Tanaka, the film takes Godzilla back to his origins as a city-stomping bad monster. Raymond Burr returns (in the American version) as the reporter Martin (but not Steve this time), the only living American who had seen Godzilla during his initial attack. The story ignores the sequels. Heavy promotion on both sides of the Pacific helped the film achieve some financial success, despite a nearly universal critical drubbing. Godzilla's new profile even earned him appearances in TV advertisements for Nike shoes and Dr. Pepper soft drink.

The King of the Monsters was back. Toho's new sequels, starting with *Gojira tai Biorante* (1989), never reached American theaters, though it did receive an official U.S. home video release as *Godzilla vs. Biollante*. As they became available on VHS and laserdisc in Japan (and sometimes before), the new Godzilla films began to be traded among tape-collecting fans in America. These unauthorized copies, known as "bootlegs," kept Godzilla alive in front of the eyes of a small but very dedicated and resourceful group of monster-movie lovers. Toho continued through the early 1990s, as Godzilla once again met Ghidrah, Mothra, and Mechagodzilla, as well as Space Godzilla. The new series climaxed with *Gojira tai Desutoroia* (1995). Godzilla is apparently wiped out by a weapon called the "oxygen destroyer," the same device which had dispatched him in the 1954/1955 film. His end came mainly to make way for yet another incarnation: a big-budget, Hollywood treatment of the story.

An American Godzilla film seemed only logical given the success of Steven Spielberg's dinosaur epic *Jurassic Park* (1993). Digital technology made realistic dinosaurs possible on the screen. A script was written which had the lizard being discovered in the Pacific and shipped to New York City for study, where he breaks loose and wreaks havoc. Jan DeBont, fresh from his success on the film *Speed* (1994), was set to direct. DeBont believed only a huge epic could sell Godzilla to a 1990s audience. "You can do a Godzilla movie two ways," he declared, "like the Japanese do it with men in costumes and miniatures . . . the other way is to do it right." Though he stressed the need for a compelling story, he still seemed to view the digital special effects as the key. Fortunately for him, it was two other filmmakers who would learn firsthand how wrong he was.

DeBont left the project over TriStar's refusal to let the budget exceed \$100 million. The studio was subsequently acquired by Sony, who could afford to put that and more into a film. The project fell into the hands of Dean Devlin and Roland Emmerich, creators of the hugely successful alien invasion movie *Independence Day* (1995). Hopes were high among fans and studio executives when the pair announced that their next project would be a Godzilla adaptation. It soon became the most anticipated film of 1998. Posters, merchandise, and theatrical trailers (which did not show the monster) whetted the public's appetite. Other studios shuffled their summer release schedules; none wanted to open their event movie (expected blockbuster) against the King of the Monsters. Box office gross in the United States alone was expected to reach \$250 to \$300 million.

Trouble appeared even before the film's release. Devlin and Emmerich scrambled to make the announced release date of May 18, 1998. Time to finish the digital effects grew short. Many full-body shots of the monster were replaced with quicker, cheaper ones of the feet or tail. Fans and the press wondered why no still photos of the monster were being released. The budget reached \$125 million, with tens of millions more spent on promotion.

*Godzilla* (1998) opened big, but disparaging reviews and bad word-of-mouth soon took their toll. Many fans were left unimpressed by the redesigned Godzilla, who looked and moved like a Tyrannosaurus Rex. The scaled-down effects were further diminished by much of the action taking place at night, in the rain. The slim plot lifted elements from previous science fiction hits, including *Alien* (1979) and *Jurassic Park*. Large quantities of tie-in merchandise went unsold. Hardcore fans took to referring to the new monster by the acronym GINO: Godzilla in Name Only. The dank, charmless film earned \$138 million dollars in America, and another \$221 million overseas. *Godzilla* became the latest example of a relatively new species in Hollywood: the \$100 million-plus grossing flop. While not a financial disaster of *Waterworld* (1995) proportion, it was nonetheless a major disappointment in relation to cost and expectation. Most in Hollywood agreed that, at least in the immediate future, a sequel was unlikely.

All was by no means lost for Toho's best known creation. The 1998 movie was released on VHS, laserdisc, and DVD, earning more than respectable figures on sales and rentals. Fan publications such as *G-Fan* and countless internet sites feed the public's appetite for news and discussion on the character. In 1999 Toho announced tentative plans for a new Japanese film which would take Godzilla into the new millennium. More importantly, the character is alive in the imagination of moviegoers worldwide. Godzilla is like Dracula or the Frankenstein monster: he will never die, no matter how many times movie heroes might kill him. He is inescapable, a part of our culture and language. His shadow looms large not only over Tokyo Bay, but

anywhere lovers of fantastic films sit facing a lighted screen or cathode ray tube, awaiting the next jolts of excitement and adventure. The King of the Monsters has well and truly earned his throne.

—David L. Hixson

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## Gold, Mike (1893-1967)

Born to Jewish immigrants on New York's Lower East Side, Itzok Issac Granich changed his name to Mike Gold to avoid persecution in the Red Scare of 1919. A Harvard dropout, Gold entered Greenwich Village circles in 1914 and became perhaps the most influential leftist literary critic of the 1920s. After authoring "Towards Proletarian Literature" (1921), a radical manifesto that encouraged writers to promote revolution, Gold assumed editorship of *New Masses* in 1926. In 1930, he published *Jews Without Money*, a work of autobiographical fiction inspired by his tenement-house childhood. He spent the Depression decade writing for the Communist *Daily Worker*. Brash, irreverent, and dogmatic, he praised the class-conscious radicalism of Woody Guthrie and Langston Hughes and assailed Ernest Hemingway and Thornton Wilder for failing to promote social change. His politics confined him to France in the late 1940s and 1950s, and to relative obscurity in American literary

history. His influence on radical writers, however, has been recovered in the late 1990s.

—Bryan Garman

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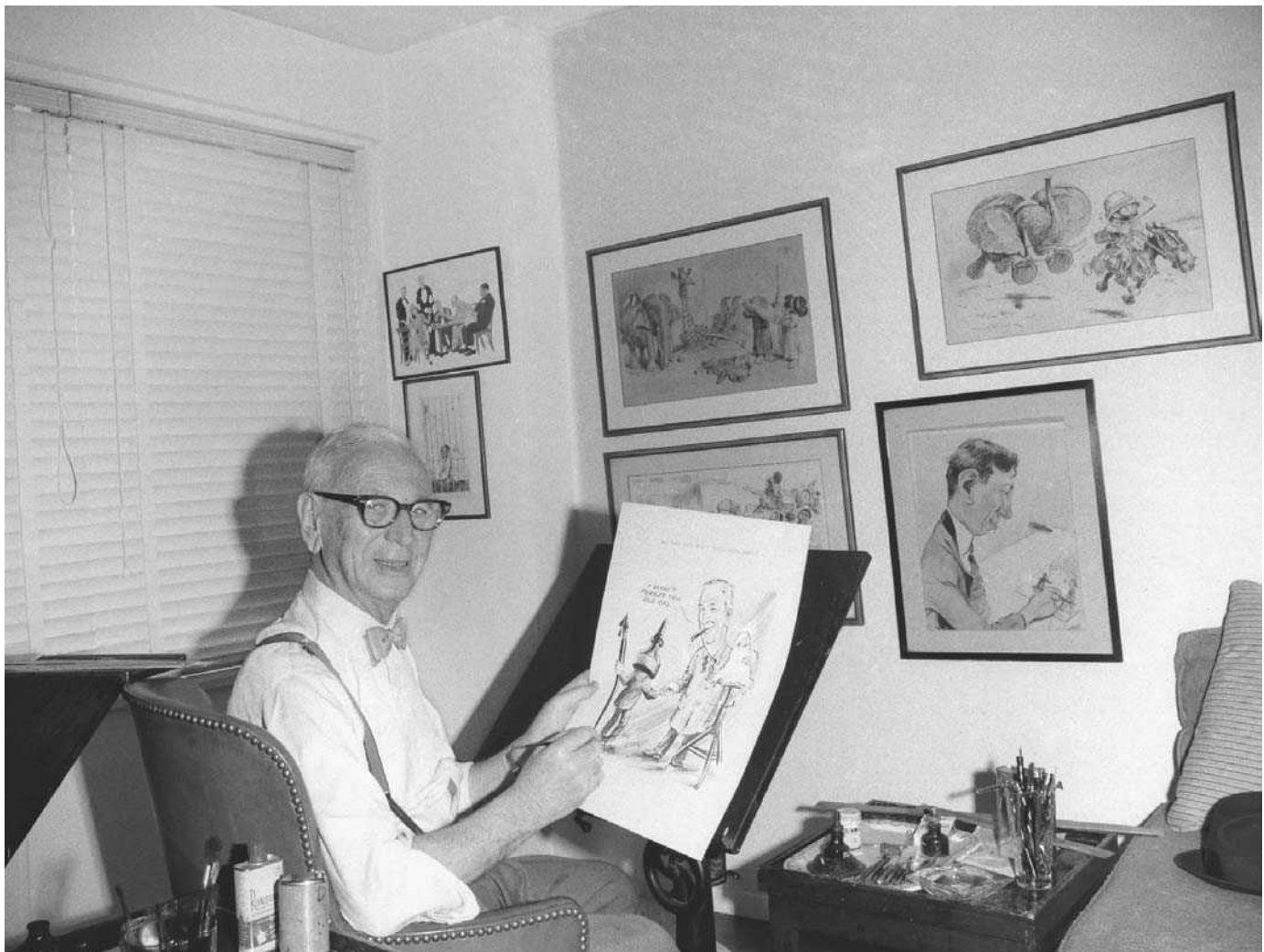
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## Goldberg, Rube (1883-1970)

Rube Goldberg was a professional cartoonist for over 60 years, the creator of more than a dozen nationally syndicated comic strips, and the winner of a Pulitzer Prize for political cartooning, yet he is remembered at the end of the twentieth century chiefly for one thing—the Rube Goldberg Invention. In various strips over the years

he concocted elaborate, multi-part machines to perform the simplest of tasks. These struck readers as extremely apt comments on the overly complicated and often circuitous lives led by just about everybody in modern society. Eventually, Goldberg's inventions earned him a listing in most dictionaries and made his name part of the language. Rube Goldberg Machine competitions continue to be held in high schools and colleges around America, and Purdue University has an annual National Competition for the best Goldberg variations.

Born Reuben Lucius Goldberg into an affluent San Francisco family, Goldberg attended the University of California at Berkeley and majored, at his father's urging, in engineering. But he was also in on the founding of the college humor magazine, *The Pelican*, to which he became a contributing cartoonist. By 1904, in spite of his engineering degree, young Goldberg was working on the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and a year later he was drawing sports cartoons for the *San Francisco Bulletin*. Soon he moved to New York City to draw for an assortment of newspapers, starting with the *Evening Mail*, at impressive increases in salary each time he moved to the next publication. He drew such daily strips and panels as *Mike and Ike*, *They Look Alike*, *Lunatics I Have Met*, *I'm The Guy*, *Cartoon Follies*, *The Candy Kid*, and *Foolish Questions*. This last-named panel, much imitated



Rube Goldberg

over the years, offered rude answers to obvious inquiries—“Q. Did your hat fall in the water? A. No, I threw it in there for some frogs to use as a ferry boat. Q. Is this number 99? A. No, mister, it’s number 66—we turned the house upside down just for a change.”

Goldberg began including inventions in his strips, often attributing them to Professor Lucifer Gorgonzola Butts, a sort of screwball anagram of his own full name. The inventions, which were presented in cartoon diagram form, involved not only sundry mechanical devices, especially pulleys, but ingredients that were not always readily available to more conventional inventors. These included a hungry goat, a dancing Eskimo, a miniature elephant, waltzing mice, a college boy, a penguin, an electric eel, Miss Las Vegas, and a palooka hound, plus numerous bowling balls, pistols, midgets, fish, and umbrellas. The components of each mechanism were labeled with letters of the alphabet so that a reader could construct his own intricate machine to perform such simple tasks as opening a can, uncorking a bottle, or slicing bread. The typical description accompanying a Goldberg invention is exemplified by that for a device designed to wash dishes while one is out. It begins, “When spoiled tomcat (A) discovers he is alone he lets out a yell which scares mouse (B) into jumping into basket (C), causing lever end (D) to rise and pull string (E),” etc. Goldberg sometimes admitted that an invention might not function perfectly and so he offered alternatives. The dishwashing instructions concluded with, “If the cat and turtle get on to your scheme and refuse to cooperate, simply put the dishes on the front porch and pray for rain.”

Goldberg’s major Sunday page, *Boob McNutt*, began in 1915 and survived until 1934. The strip was syndicated in the Hearst papers by the McNaught Syndicate. It starred a plump, redheaded, and accident-prone young man, dressed somewhat like a silent movie comedian, and, as his name implied, was naïve and none too bright. The feature has been described as “an eclectic jumble of satire, burlesque, fantasy and cockeyed technology.” From 1922 onward Boob was preoccupied with the courtship of a pretty girl named Pearl, who was the target of many a fiendish scheme constructed by the strip’s villains. Mike and Ike, their panel defunct, joined the cast, along with Bertha the Siberian Cheesehound. Goldberg had done a mock adventure strip, *Bobo Baxter*, in the middle 1920s, and in the early 1930s he drew a serious daily. *Doc Wright* was ahead of its time, trying soap-opera continuities years before *Mary Worth* made them fashionable, but it lasted less than two years.

*Lala Palooza* came along in 1936, daily and on Sundays, and concerned itself with the humorous adventures of the plump, rich Lala and her layabout brother Vincent. Even though Vincent now and then came up with an invention in the Professor Butts vein, *Lala* was not successful and ended in 1939. Next came Goldberg’s last go-round in the funny papers with *Side Show*, a Sunday page that offered a hodgepodge of different features under one roof: *Crackpot College*, *Little Butch*, *Brad and Dad* and, of course, a *Weekly Invention*. By then, Goldberg was getting considerable help with the drawing from his longtime assistant Johnny Devlin. He and Devlin also had a hand in putting together *Feature Funnies* in 1937. When the comic book ceased reprinting *Lala Palooza* pages in its lineup, Devlin drew new ones, glamorizing and streamlining Lala considerably.

Goldberg began drawing political cartoons in the early 1940s for the *New York Sun*, and after the paper suspended publication he signed with the *New York Journal American* and King Features Syndicate. He had quite a bit of help from Warren King, who later became the political cartoonist for the *New York Daily News*. One of these collaborations won Goldberg a Pulitzer in 1948. He also put

together many cartoon books, wrote a novel, and helped found the National Cartoonist Society. The highest annual NCS award is called a Reuben in his honor.

—Ron Goulart

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## Goldberg, Whoopi (1949—)

Whoopi Goldberg rose from humble circumstances and a troubled youth to become a highly respected and successful actress. As one of the first African American actresses to maintain mainstream success, she personifies America’s growing acceptance of performers from across the racial spectrum. Her outspoken nature and willingness to present her offscreen persona to the public has made her one of the most high-profile African Americans of the 1990s.

Rising to prominence in the mid-1980s, Goldberg became one of the most recognizable faces in the entertainment industry as she moved easily between comedy and drama on both stage and screen.



Whoopi Goldberg

Her outspoken humor reflected her experiences as a former drug addict and welfare mother who had moved from the depths of poverty to the heights of celebrity. Goldberg first appeared onstage at the age of eight but did not gain attention until 1982 with the premiere of *Spook Show*, a one-woman review in which she played several characters. She made her film debut in *The Color Purple* (1985). Offscreen, she occasionally found herself at the center of controversy as she sparred with other prominent African Americans.

Born Caryn Johnson on November 13, 1949 (some sources list the year as 1955), the girl who would later assume the name of Whoopi Goldberg was raised in the multicultural section of New York City called Chelsea. She was an imaginative child who was encouraged to become a performer by her mother. Her life took a downward spiral, however, when she dropped out of school in the ninth grade. She began to use drugs, had several abortions, and found herself living on the streets. By age seventeen she had weaned herself off heroin, and she eventually married her drug counselor. The couple had one daughter, but the marriage was short-lived. As a single mother, Goldberg survived on welfare and through a series of temporary jobs such as bricklayer and mortician's make-up artist. Throughout this period she was determined to have a career in theatre. In the mid-1970s, Caryn Johnson decided to change her professional name to "Whoopi Cushion" so agents and audiences would remember her. Her mother suggested she use the last name "Goldberg" because it sounded more serious. Author James R. Parrish notes Goldberg's gimmicky name soon gained her great attention: "Audiences were forever surprised that the owner of this odd Jewish-sounding name turned out to be an African American who had a strange hairdo and a very special look."

Goldberg moved to the West Coast in 1974 to perform with several drama and improvisation groups in the San Diego and San Francisco areas. Her reputation grew with the premiere of *Spook Show*, which showcased her range of characterizations. Among her most popular personas were "Little Blonde Girl" and "Fontaine," an educated junkie. Goldberg populated each performance with more than a dozen alter egos engaging audiences with their provocative views on contemporary society. In early 1984, director Mike Nichols saw her show and immediately offered to produce it on Broadway. Nichols's interest in the young actress gained her much media attention and shifted her career into high gear. Steven Spielberg cast Goldberg as the abused Celie in the film version of Alice Walker's *The Color Purple*. Her movie debut won raves, and she was nominated for an Academy Award. After her promising start in film, Goldberg's career began to skid as she appeared in a series of forgettable and overly-broad comedies like *Jumpin' Jack Flash* (1986), *Burglar* (1987), and *Fatal Beauty* (1988). She rebounded in 1990 as Oda Mae Brown, a storefront medium, in the popular film *Ghost*. This performance earned Goldberg an Academy Award for best supporting actress and made her the first black woman to win an Oscar since Hattie McDaniel in 1939. Goldberg's subsequent film work offered audiences a strong mix of comedy and drama. In *The Long Walk Home* (1990) she played a Southern maid in the 1950s, while Robert Altman's 1992 *The Player* showcased her as a no-nonsense detective. She endeared herself to children as the voice of a hyena in *The Lion King* (1994) and enjoyed much acclaim for her *Sister Act* nun comedies in 1992 and 1993.

Goldberg's TV career failed to match the success of her movie work. In 1990 she starred in *Bagdad Café*, a mediocre sitcom, and 1992 saw her as host of a syndicated talk show. She did, however, find

some small-screen success through a recurring role as an alien on *Star Trek: The Next Generation* and as the center square on 1998 revival of the game show *Hollywood Squares*. Goldberg twice hosted the Academy Awards.

Goldberg's on-screen persona has tended to be that of a sassy, self-reliant, and always likable woman. Away from the set, however, she became known for being unafraid to court controversy. She angered Jews with several ethnic jokes in her selection "Jewish American Princess Fried Chicken" in the book *Cooking in Litchfield Hills*. Other high-profile blacks, including Jesse Jackson and Spike Lee, criticized her for her infamous 1993 appearance at the Friars Club with then-companion Ted Danson. Public outrage ensued as Danson appeared in blackface mouthing offensive jokes written by Goldberg. The pair later apologized for the incident. On the other hand, Goldberg has garnered respect for her appearances as a co-host, with Billy Crystal and Robin Williams, at the annual Comic Relief telethons for the homeless.

—Charles Coletta

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## Golden Books

From its humble beginnings in the Midwest, Golden Books publishers developed into the most successful publisher and entertainment company for children in North America with such classics as *Pat the Bunny* and *The Poky Little Puppy*. By the end of the century, in addition to storybooks, Golden Books Entertainment products included children's television productions, audio and video recordings, interactive software, educational workbooks, craft products, puzzles, party accessories, gift-wrap products, invitations, and stationery. As of Golden Books' fiftieth anniversary in 1992, there were more than one thousand Golden Books titles.

In 1907, Edward Henry Wadewitz purchased a small printing company for less than three thousand dollars. He and his partner, Roy A. Spencer, operated it in the basement of a building in Racine, Wisconsin. Incorporating small publishers, puzzle makers, playing card manufacturers, and stationery engravers and adding high-volume printing equipment, the company grew under the name of Western Printing and Lithographing. The leap toward children's publishing began in 1933, when Wadewitz signed a contract with Walt Disney for exclusive book rights to all Disney licensed characters. In 1939, with Simon and Schuster, Western printed Walt Disney's *Bambi*, the precursor to the Golden Books that would dominate the juvenile book market for the rest of the twentieth century. The series developed, by 1942, into Simon and Schuster's

“Little Golden Books” line of hardcover, forty-two page, illustrated story books for children.

Little Golden Books became standard fare in home libraries from that decade on through the 1960s. In part, their appeal went beyond entertainment to include a smattering of educational value: the books’ title pages included a note that the stories were “prepared under the supervision of Mary Reed, Ph.D., [who was associated with] Teachers College of Columbia University.” But the main attraction came in owning these brightly illustrated, neatly bound, and affordable stories at a time before local public libraries included much in the way of children’s literature. For the children who read them and the adults who purchased them, they suggested a value beyond their twenty-five-cent price. The books appeared to be expensive with a distinct, gold-colored, foil trim along their spines. They contained a decorative space on the inside cover that read “This Little Golden Book belongs to” with a line for the child to personalize. And children loved the famous characters in the stories. With these features, the company created a sense that Golden Books provided a special treasure for each child who owned one.

In association with Whitman Publishing Company, Dell Publishing Company, Simon and Schuster Incorporated, and Walt Disney, Western Printing maintained the lead in children’s favorites. Western moved its corporate headquarters to Fifth Avenue offices in New York and changed its name to Golden Books Family Entertainment Incorporated. Golden Books printed many popular titles that continue to be sold from generation to generation. *Pat the Bunny*, first published in 1940, is noteworthy as one of the first touch-and-feel books for children and has been a continual best-seller among children’s books. *The Poky Little Puppy* (1942), one of the original twelve Golden Books, tells the story of an adventurous puppy; its sales exceeded fourteen million copies by the end of the century. Other celebrated publications from the company’s early years include books about Lassie, the Lone Ranger, Mickey Mouse, Donald Duck, and other animated Disney characters, and a holiday collection including *Frosty the Snow Man*, *Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer*, and *Baby’s Christmas*. Religious titles include *David and Goliath*, *Noah’s Ark*, and *My Little Golden Book about God*.

The company’s early domination of the children’s book market enabled it to continually secure contracts with well-known children’s authors, illustrators, and entertainers. Golden Books produced popular works by Margaret Wise Brown, Richard Scarry, and Mercer Mayer. Jim Henson’s Muppets and Sesame Street characters have been featured in Golden Books since the 1970s. Other popular stories to which Golden Books secured printing rights are Winnie-the-Pooh, Tarzan, and Star Wars. In the 1990s, Golden Books bought rights to Shari Lewis productions, including videos and television shows featuring the famous Lamb Chop and Charley Horse puppets. Even a European favorite, Ludwig Bemelmans’ *Madeline*, became property of Golden Books with the production of Golden Books Entertainment videos based on Bemelmans’ books.

—Sharon Brown

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## Golden Gate Bridge

The Golden Gate bridge, with its soaring art deco design, its ability to sway 27.5 feet in high winds, and its arches posed against the backdrop of the sea, more than any other monument symbolizes San Francisco. It spans a submerged cleft in the coastal mountain range, dubbed the “Golden Gate” by prospectors on their way to California’s gold fields in the mid-1800s. When completed in 1937, it was the world’s longest suspension bridge (1.86 miles) and the highest structure west of New York (745 feet). Its chief engineer was Joseph Strauss.

Its daily load of approximately 100,000 cars is supported by cables that are three feet in diameter. When the thick fog pours in rendering it invisible from land, the bridge’s distinct color, “international orange,” keeps seagulls from crashing into it.

—Adrienne Russell



The Golden Gate bridge, in San Francisco.



## *The Golden Girls*

The situation comedy *The Golden Girls*, which aired on NBC from 1985 to 1992, was one of television's first successful representations of the lives of older women and an unlikely hit in a television landscape populated by young, sexy performers in shows designed to appeal to a youthful audience. The series focused on four single women living together in Miami as they faced the issues of aging in America. Created by veteran television writer and producer Susan Harris, the show balanced controversial social themes with raucous, often ribald, humor. Starring a cast of seasoned actresses, who were all in their late fifties or early sixties, *The Golden Girls* emphasized that life does not end with menopause and that older women are still vital, energetic, and worthy of the attention of the mass viewing audience. Audience acceptance of the series was immediate. It placed in the top ten its premiere season by winning a following among all age groups. Strong public approval was matched by much critical praise. The series was twice named best comedy, and each of the leads earned Emmy awards for their performances.

One of TV's dominant female voices, Harris (who wrote for *All in the Family* and *Maude*, and created *Soap*) earned her greatest critical and commercial success with *The Golden Girls*, representing a breakthrough for women on television both in front of and behind the camera. In 1984, actress Selma Diamond appeared in a brief sketch titled "Miami Nice" at an NBC affiliates meeting. The performance was designed to test the audience's reaction to a comedy revolving around an older woman. The positive response to the piece encouraged NBC to purchase a pilot of the premise written by Harris. She assembled a strong cast of actresses to play the group of women facing their "golden years" together. Bea Arthur, the star of *Maude*, played Dorothy, a loud divorcee and substitute teacher. She lived with housemates Blanche (Rue McClanahan), a lusty Southern widow, and Rose (Betty White), a naive widow from a tiny town in Minnesota. The trio was joined by Sophia (Estelle Getty), Dorothy's Sicilian mother who moved in after a nursing-home fire. The pilot episode also featured actor Charles Levin as the women's gay housekeeper, but the character was dropped by the second show. The friendship of the "girls" as they supported each other through various problems became the core of the series.

The series' humor grew from Harris's distinctive writing and her actresses' strong characterizations. Arthur's Dorothy was an extension of her *Maude* character. Divorced from a husband who betrayed her with a younger woman, no-nonsense Dorothy embodied the sense of reason for the series as she demonstrated that a woman did not need a man to be happy. Throughout the series her more flighty roommates tested her patience. Blanche appeared to have stepped from a Tennessee Williams play, the Southern belle struggling to hold onto her former glory. Much of the show's raunchy humor came from her recounting a lifetime of wild sexual exploits. Rose provided a contrast to Blanche in that she was more innocent and conservative. A highlight of many episodes consisted of her telling stories about the loony inhabitants of her hometown of St. Olaf. The series' most popular character was the octogenarian Sophia, played by the much younger Getty. Her sarcasm was said to come from the effects of a stroke that destroyed the "tact" portion of her brain. This allowed the character to speak her mind and make jokes at the others' expense.

Harris gave her characters many opportunities to discuss issues beyond aging. Dorothy faced clinical depression, Rose befriended a lesbian, Blanche was distant with her children, and Sophia briefly

remarried. Most of all, they displayed the strength of female bonding. In 1992, the series ended as Dorothy married and moved away. The remaining cast returned to TV the following year with the short-lived sitcom *The Golden Palace*, in which Rose, Blanche, and Sophia ran a small hotel on Miami Beach.

*The Golden Girls* proved both that audiences would accept older female characters on series television and that a woman could helm a series and provide it with a distinctive voice and personality. Television historians David Marc and Robert Thompson view the series as an indicator of future programming as baby boomers age and begin to demand more senior characters on the small screen.

—Charles Coletta

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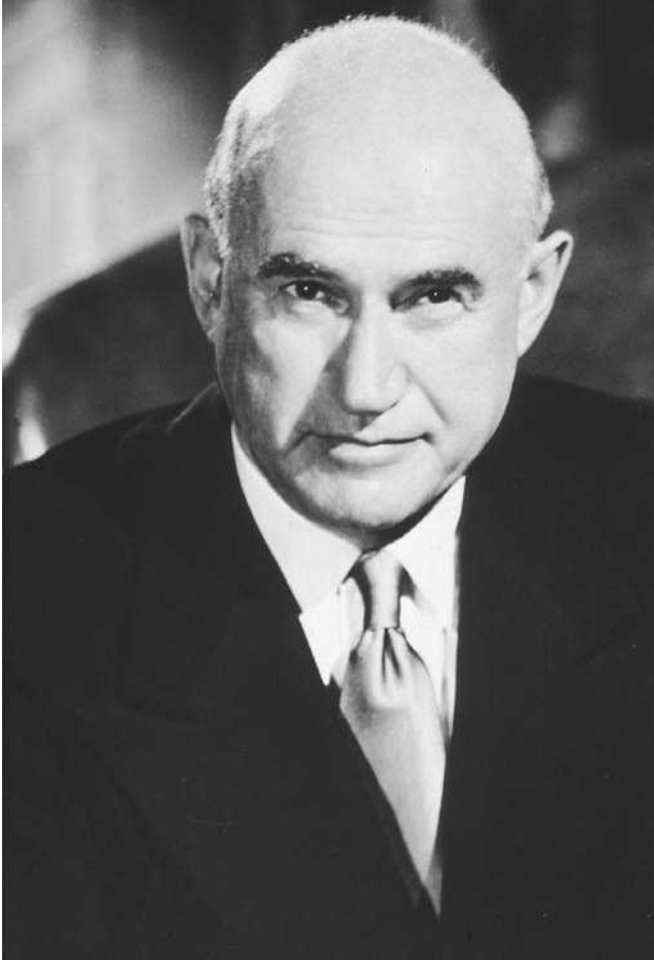
## **Goldwyn, Samuel (1879-1974)**

One of the most successful of the early independent film producers, Samuel Goldwyn will be remembered for many of his classic films, for his uncultured style, and for his misuse of the English language—so-called Goldwynisms such as "a verbal agreement isn't worth the paper it's written on." Goldwyn was one of a pioneering group of immigrant men who came to America and helped shape the Hollywood studio system.

He was born Samuel Gelbfisz in Minsk, Poland. At 16, he emigrated to London and then New York state to make his fortune. Once in America, Goldfish, as he was now called, obtained work at Louis Meyers and Son as a glovemaker and by age 18 was one of the top glove salesmen in the world and a partner in the Elite Glove Company. When the woman he was trying to court married Jesse Lasky instead, Goldfish was introduced to Lasky's sister, Blanche. They married in 1910 and had a daughter, Ruth.

In 1913 Goldfish became interested in a career in the motion picture industry. From his initial idea of owning movie theaters he progressed to a desire to be a motion picture producer. Eventually he persuaded his brother-in-law to join him, and together they formed the Jesse Lasky Feature Play Company with Goldfish managing sales for the company. In 1914 the company had its first release with Cecil B. DeMille's successful *The Squaw Man*, one of the first feature-length films made in Hollywood. In 1916 the Goldfishes divorced, and it was only a matter of time before Goldfish had a falling out with his Lasky. The company's partners overthrew him, but when the company merged with Adolph Zukor's Famous Players to form Famous Players-Lasky Corporation, Zukor named Goldfish chairman of the board. By the end of 1916, however, Goldfish had managed to sabotage his position there and was forced to resign.

In November 1916 Goldfish formed a partnership with the Selwyn brothers and formed Goldwyn Pictures. The company selected the original Leo the Lion as its company logo, and eventually Goldfish changed his last name to Goldwyn. He broke away from



Samuel Goldwyn

Goldwyn Pictures in 1922 after a contract dispute and was therefore only a stockholder when it merged to form Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. He immediately formed a new Goldwyn Pictures Company and produced projects independently through United Artists. His first success as an independent producer, *The Dark Angel* starring Ronald Colman, was released in 1925, the same year he married Frances Howard. The couple later had a son, Samuel, Jr.

While his output could not match the major studios, Goldwyn produced several successful movies. Colman, the only star he had under contract, starred in several of these: *Bulldog Drummond* (1929), *Stella Dallas* (1929), and *Dodsworth* (1936). In the early 1930s Goldwyn had what was probably his greatest failure. He discovered a Swedish actress named Anna Sten and was convinced he had found a star who would be greater than Greta Garbo. Unfortunately, Sten had a problem with the English language and did not show much talent. It took Goldwyn several years and several bad films before he admitted his mistake and released her from her contract.

The year 1939 is considered special for the number of classic films it produced. One of these was the Goldwyn film *Wuthering Heights*, starring Laurence Olivier and Merle Oberon. That same year James Roosevelt, son of the U.S. president, was selected as president of United Artists. By 1940, Goldwyn and United Artists were calling it quits, and Goldwyn thereafter distributed his work through RKO

Studios. Goldwyn continued producing films that would become classics, such as *The Little Foxes* (1941) and *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946), generally considered his finest. Its unflinching look at veterans returning home after World War II won nine Academy Awards.

In 1954 Goldwyn paid \$1 million plus 10 percent of profits for the film rights to the Broadway musical *Guys and Dolls*—the largest sum paid to that time. While that film in 1955 and Goldwyn's final film, *Porgy and Bess*, in 1959 were minor successes, Goldwyn's time had passed, and he knew it. The golden era of Hollywood was over, and many of his contemporaries were dead. Goldwyn would survive until 1974, but his career was finished.

—Jill A. Gregg

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## Golf

Golf is the strangest of games. Invented by the Scots perhaps as early as the 12th or 13th century, it is played in an area that can vary in size anywhere from 30 to 200 acres; it can be an individual or a team sport; it is essentially a mental game rather than a physical one; and it pays homage to a concept largely ignored in other sports: aesthetics. Golf also has an established code of honor that is a rarity in most sports. When a player breaks a rule, accidental or not, they are expected to penalize themselves. To the eye, golf appears a sedate game devoid of action. To the player, it is a mind-numbing, physically demanding, and more often than not, demeaning, sport—a test of character more than athletic ability. It is game played in the mind, on a field awash with lush grass, stately trees, meandering creeks, and manicured greens, each of which are physically endearing but taken together represent an obstacle course to be negotiated for 18 arduous holes. The ultimate and all-too-simple goal: to hit the ball as few times as possible.

The story of golf is as much a tale about change as it is tales about great players, miraculous shots, and dramatic victories. Great players have been the constant in a game that has changed dramatically over the last 700 years. From wooden balls (prior to 1440), to feather-stuffed, leather-covered balls known as “featheries” (1440 to 1848), to gutta percha balls made from the sap of trees indigenous to Malaysia (1848 to 1901), to rubber balls made from winding rubber thread around a solid rubber core (1901 to the present), to the solid core balls commonly used today, the game has relentlessly evolved. And, of course, as balls changed, so did clubs. The first clubs had shafts made of wood, probably ash. Wood clubs had long, broad heads while the irons tended to have large faces, square toes, and nicked sockets. Sometime during the feather ball period, perhaps in the late 1770s, club-making became profitable enough that artisans began taking up the craft. By the 1800s most shafts were made from ash or hickory, while all sorts of woods—beech, pear, apple—were used to fashion the heads of wooden clubs. Depending on the course, the number of holes also varied, usually ranging from five to 18. The

shape and size of club heads also regularly were changed in the early years of the game, either to improve accuracy or increase distance, or both. As time passed, the number of clubs also increased: from two or three in the 1600s, to four or five in the 1700s, to five or six in the 1800s, to eight or nine or even ten by the late 1900s. Today, a normal set of clubs numbers 14, and can be made of materials with space age sounding names like graphic, tungsten, and titanium. Every year hundreds of companies produce thousands of variations of golf clubs in what appears to be a never-ending technological war, all with the purpose of helping a golfer hit a little white ball toward a very small hole an awful long distance away.

Not surprisingly, the first golf club and course was established at St. Andrews, Scotland, in 1754, the place many golf historians believe the game was first played (Some historians argue that the game may have been invented much earlier by the Romans, but there exists little substantial evidence to support this theory.). One hundred and three years later, in 1857, St. Andrews hosted the first National Club Championship with 11 clubs participating. Three years later Willie Park became the first British Open champion when he won at Prestwick. The popularity of golf in the British Isles spread throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, and by 1888, the first club in the United States, also called St. Andrews, was open for play. In 1895, the United States Golf Association (USGA) sponsored its first championship: the Men's Amateur. Before the end of the year, however, two other championships were contested: the Men's Open and the Women's Amateur. Championship golf was embraced by both the British and Americans, and would lay the groundwork for golf's vast growth in the twentieth century on both the amateur and professional levels.

Although the history of the game is difficult to compartmentalize because of its longevity, once golf clubs began to open and championships were initiated, three distinct periods can be discerned—the early period (1896-1916), the golden age (the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s), and the television era. The beginning of the early period is marked by Harry Vardon's victory in the British Open in 1896 and ends with the formation of the Professional Golfers' Association (PGA) in 1916. The golden age was marked by some of the greatest legends the game has seen. In the 1920s, two players dominated the game, Bobby Jones and Walter Hagen. By the 1930s, men like Gene Sarazen, Lawson Little, Sam Snead, Ben Hogan, Ralph Guldahl, Craig Wood, Henry Picard, and Jimmy Demaret pushed the game to even greater popularity. In the early 1950s, Ben Hogan and Sam Snead held sway, but the popularity of the game reached an all-time high with the coming of Arnold Palmer and the television era. With his trademark attacking style and charismatic personality, Palmer revolutionized the game from a marketing standpoint, and television rushed in to capitalize. Although the game was still considered one played by the well-to-do, Palmer's dynamic style of play and his incredible popularity brought the game to millions of Americans who previously displayed little interest in the game.

Palmer's emergence in the 1950s as the dominant player also laid the groundwork for a recurring theme in golf—head-to-head competition for the top spot. In the 1920s, Jones and Hagen battled; in the 1940s it was Hogan and Snead. By the 1960s Palmer and Jack Nicklaus had become the marquee players. In each instance the result was the same—the game grew in popularity. Although Nicklaus has since been named golfer of the century, he, too, was challenged by players like Tom Watson, Johnny Miller, and, later, Greg Norman. By the 1990s, the newest "personalities" in golf—Tiger Woods and the

Ryder Cup (a team competition between the best golfers in Europe and the United States)—have been responsible for popularizing the sport to heights never previously attained.

At the professional level, golf appears to be in an upward growth pattern. Besides the PGA pro tour in the United States, professionals play on tours in Asia, Europe, Africa, and Latin America. There is a women's tour, the LPGA, a senior tour, and the Nike tour, for players attempting to earn their way unto the more lucrative PGA tour.

Golf, however, still exists primarily for the amateur player. Perhaps the most dramatic change in recent years (besides the ongoing technological changes in club design and composition), has been demographic. More Americans than ever play—26.5 million in 1997—and more blue-collar workers—about 34 percent of all golfers—have taken up what once was once termed the "Royal and Ancient Sport." In the United States, women now comprise almost 22 percent of the golfing population, and because of the influence of players like Tiger Woods, more minorities and children are playing the game. Since 1970, the number of players has increased by more than 15 million while the number of golf courses has risen by almost 6,000, from 10,848 to 16,010 in 1997. While the game has traditionally been considered one played by rich people on private courses, more than 70 percent of the courses in the United States are open to the public, and four out of every five courses being built are public facilities.

However, the exclusion of minorities from many private clubs, at least until recently, had for years been golf's "dirty little secret." The original constitution of the PGA of America required that members be Caucasian, and not until black golfer Bill Spiller filed suit against the PGA did that change in the early 1950s. Unfortunately, conservative traditionalism blended with elitism to keep most private country clubs "white only" facilities well into the 1980s. When it was revealed that Shoal Creek Country Club near Birmingham, Alabama, the site of the 1990 PGA championship, had no black members, adverse publicity seemed to accomplish what years of criticism failed to yield—a realization among many private clubs that exclusionary policies were both racist and non-productive. Within a year of the 1990 PGA, both Shoal Creek and Augusta National, the home of The Masters golf tournament and generally considered the last bastion of segregated golf, had black members. Other clubs around the country followed suit. With the emergence in the 1990s of Tiger Woods, who was part African American, as one of the best players in the world and the biggest drawing card since Arnold Palmer, the golfing public was more integrated than ever before.

—Lloyd Chiasson, Jr.

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## *Gone with the Wind*

*Gone with the Wind*, the epic Civil War-era novel and film, described as “the romance of a baggage and a bounder,” has no peer in literary history when its longevity and profitability are considered. Beloved by readers and filmgoers throughout the world for over sixty years, *Gone with the Wind* continues to captivate audiences and generate profits, and for many Margaret Mitchell’s novel supersedes history in depicting “the War Between the States.” Called racist and inaccurate by historians who find its sugarcoating of the Old South and the Ku Klux Klan appalling, nonetheless it has created an industry of literary and commercial output that shows no sign of slowing down as *Gone with the Wind* approaches its 70th anniversary. Its appeal is worldwide, and the epic is particularly popular in Japan, Germany, and Russia, perhaps indicating that *Gone with the Wind* has a special resonance for nations who have experienced defeat and occupation. The ur-text of “The Lost Cause,” *Gone with the Wind*’s most powerful moment comes when a famished and exhausted Scarlett, defiant, vows: “As God is my witness, I won’t let them lick me! If I have to lie, steal, cheat, or kill—I’ll never be hungry again!”

The author, Margaret Mitchell, reluctantly allowed her manuscript to be published in 1936, and then was stunned and overwhelmed by its success. The book has sold more copies than any book besides the Bible, and won the Pulitzer Prize in 1936, a sensation in Depression-era America. The film adaptation premiered in 1939 to immediate acclaim, culminating in 10 Academy Awards. *Gone with the Wind* reigned supreme as the box office champion until the 1970s and remains the most popular film of all time (when dollars are adjusted for inflation). As with the novel, the love story of Scarlett O’Hara and Rhett Butler has fared less well at the hands of some critics, notably author Lillian Smith, who described the novel as “slick, successful but essentially mediocre fiction. . .”; [*Gone with*



Vivien Leigh and Clark Gable in a scene from the film *Gone with the Wind*.

*the Wind*] “wobbles badly like an enormous house on shaky underpinnings.” Despite its flaws, what is obvious is its staying power, proof of *Gone with the Wind*’s timeless appeal for its fans.

*Gone with the Wind* is a rich, sentimental, and starkly partisan story of a Southern belle, charming and selfish, who recklessly pursues the wrong man (the genteel Ashley Wilkes) throughout the narrative which spans the Civil War and Reconstruction, marrying three times, enduring war, famine, and personal tragedy. At the story’s end, after the death of the saintly Melanie Wilkes, who resolutely loved Scarlett despite her pursuit of her husband, she finally recognizes that her now-departing husband Rhett Butler is indeed her true love. Rhett, weary of her contrivances, answers her heartfelt “Oh, where shall I go, what shall I do?” with one of the best-known exit lines in literary history: “Frankly, my dear, I don’t give a damn.” Not to be outdone, Scarlett sniffs a bit, then declares brightly: “I’ll get him back . . . I’ll think about that tomorrow. After all, tomorrow is another day!”

Much has been made of the connections between Scarlett, the flirtatious and determined heroine, and her creator. Margaret Mitchell (who had first named her character Pansy) was a young reporter who stubbornly went her own way throughout life: routinely flying in the face of Atlanta society, marrying (and divorcing) the unsuitable and abusive Red Upshaw, then marrying his best friend, John Marsh. Marsh is best known for his literary midwifery: he brought a typewriter to his restless wife, then mending from an accident, and suggested she write her novel. From these modest beginnings came the phenomenon of *Gone with the Wind*: “I would go to the apartment and frequently she was at that little table where she worked,” recalled Harvey Smith, a friend of Mitchell’s. “We all joked about it: ‘Well, you know she’s writing the world’s greatest novel.’ . . . And, by God, she was.”

Peggy Mitchell furtively wrote her epic novel in a tiny, cramped apartment in a down-at-the-heels house in midtown Atlanta; she affectionately called the place “The Dump.” While Mitchell drew on her own life to create her characters, her primary inspiration was her family lore: her mother Maybelle and particularly her grandmother Fitzgerald were her models for Scarlett. Mitchell’s Irish Catholic background allowed her to further enhance her tale; a successful immigrant plantation owner, Gerald O’Hara rebukes his frivolous daughter and evokes her spiritual connection to Tara, the family plantation. “Why, land’s the only thing in the world worth working for, worth fighting for, worth dying for, because it’s the only thing that lasts” is the unifying theme of *Gone with the Wind*.

Ignoring the standard wisdom that Civil War films were “box office poison,” producer David O. Selznick fought to bring the novel to the screen, and in wheeling and dealing in pursuit of his goal lost the majority of the financial rights to the film to MGM in return for the coveted services of the “King of Hollywood,” Clark Gable. The film’s pre-production has generated legends of its own, from the discovery of the manuscript by Selznick assistant Kay Brown (sold for a record \$50,000) to the “Search for Scarlett”—a publicity stunt dreamed up by publicist Russell Birdwell, a nationwide search for the right woman to portray Mitchell’s heroine. The episode was portrayed amusingly by Garson Kanin in his novel and television film *Moviola: The Scarlett O’Hara War* (1979 and 1980, respectively). The screen tests of actresses famous and on the rise are an indication of how fiercely this battle raged in Hollywood: Paulette Goddard, Bette Davis, and Alabama-born Tallulah Bankhead claimed they alone could portray Scarlett, and even arch-Yankee Katherine Hepburn was discussed. Although there is considerable dispute about the way

Selznick found Vivien Leigh, the exquisite British actress who would win an Oscar for her portrayal, the legend is that Selznick's brother Myron, a leading agent, brought Leigh to the set of the "Burning of Atlanta" scene, arguably the most famous sequence of the film. "I want you to meet Scarlett O'Hara," said Myron, as the flames consumed old sets and illuminated Leigh's lovely face. In fact, she had been brought to his attention earlier, but the contrived "introduction" may indeed have persuaded Selznick, as he confided to his wife Irene in a letter, calling her "the Scarlett dark horse—she looks damn good."

Casting the other leads proved to be problematic as well, especially in the case of Leslie Howard, who, like Gable, resisted being cast. Gable, the overwhelming choice of the public, feared he wasn't able to handle the part of the blockade-running romantic lead. Said Gable: "It wasn't that I didn't appreciate the compliment the public was paying me," he said. "It was simply that Rhett was too big an order. I didn't want any part of him. . . . Rhett was too much for any actor to tackle in his right mind." Howard believed himself too old and miscast as the hopelessly idealistic and weak-willed Ashley. Olivia de Havilland, under contract by Warner Brothers, effectively wore down the resistance of the studio heads with her persistence; she knew Melanie was the role to establish her as a serious performer. One of the film's finest performances is Hattie McDaniel's Mammy; her sensitive and slyly subversive portrayal won the best supporting actress Academy Award, the first Oscar for a black actor. Butterfly McQueen, so memorable and very controversial as Scarlett's skittish and indolent servant Prissy, similarly transformed what might well have been a one-note characterization by a lesser talent.

Further complicating matters were the three directors of *Gone with the Wind*: George Cukor was fired early in the production, although de Havilland and Leigh secretly sought his advice during filming, then Victor Fleming, Gable's close friend and a "man's director," (also director of *The Wizard of Oz*) walked off the picture, and Sam Wood was brought in; he and Fleming split up the work, which was staggering by any measure. Vivien Leigh, featured in nearly every scene, worked constantly, and permanently damaged her fragile health. Sidney Howard's script trimmed some characters and plot, yet remained remarkably faithful to the book. Finally, after 11 months of shooting and over four million dollars spent, *Gone with the Wind* at last premiered in a much-ballyhooed spectacle staged by the city of Atlanta in 1939, attended by the stars, Selznick, and Mitchell herself.

The cultural impact of the film is hard to overestimate—in southern theaters as late as the 1960s, the technically astonishing and highly effective crane shot of the ragged Confederate flag fluttering over the vast assembly of Atlanta's dead and wounded provoked sobs, applause, and spontaneous emotion, including the occasional "rebel yell." The film's length of 222 minutes (punctuated by an intermission) deterred few, swept up as they were by the storyline. Max Steiner's stirring "Tara's Theme" is ubiquitous among movie scores, a perennial favorite. Film historian Leonard Maltin called *Gone with the Wind* "if not the greatest film ever made, certainly one of the greatest examples of storytelling on film. . . ." Even in numerous re-releases, and after being shown on television many times, *Gone with the Wind* continues to do well; in 1998, a restoration of the film's original negative led to lucrative video and DVD releases, as well as a theatrical re-release. A spectacularly visual film, *Gone with the Wind* used Technicolor to its greatest effect; William Cameron Menzies' brilliant cinematography remains a landmark achievement.

*Gone with the Wind* has unlimited kitsch potential: from Madame Alexander dolls to Scarlett Christmas ornaments, souvenir books (including the *Gone with the Wind Cookbook*, which has plenty of recipes from Mammy and Melanie, but none from Scarlett), fan clubs, online websites crammed with *Gone with the Wind* trivia and news, and in—an echo of the "Search for Scarlett"—"lookalike" contests and professional Scarlett, Melanie, and Rhett lookalikes, the story continues to fascinate. Bed and Breakfasts (notably the "Inn Scarlett" in Georgia) offer the fan a *Gone with the Wind* immersion experience, and exact replicas of the famed "Green Curtain" dress or "the Barbecue dress" are widely available. *Gone with the Wind* has been the subject of many parodies—memorably by comedian Carol Burnett, who lampooned Scarlett while wearing the "curtain dress" with the rod intact. "The Dump," now handsomely restored by German company Daimler-Benz and a favorite tourist destination, survived two arson attempts and opened in 1997.

The literary reputation of Mitchell's book has been favorably reassessed by numerous critics, and with the rise of Southern history and literature as a subject of scholarship, *Gone with the Wind* has become a touchstone, spawning numerous symposiums and studies, with Scarlett herself lionized as "modern" and a feminist heroine. In 1988, the Mitchell estate finally allowed an authorized sequel; *Scarlett* (by romance writer Alexandra Ripley) appeared in 1991. Panned by critics but financially successful, the CBS 1996 miniseries similarly proved popular.

—Mary Hess

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## Good Housekeeping

By dint of its very title, *Good Housekeeping* magazine stands as a symbol of a past era in American life. Along with *Redbook*, *Woman's Day*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, and others, *Good Housekeeping* belongs to what is known in industry parlance as the "Seven Sisters" of women's service magazines, and achieved its most pervasive success in an era when the bulk of middle-class women stayed at home and focused their energies on cooking, cleaning, and their children. *Good Housekeeping* and its cohorts "gradually built up the power of the matriarchy," wrote John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman in *The Magazine in America, 1741-1990*. "Mom was . . . a figure of responsibility, dignity, and authority in the magazines." *Good Housekeeping*, however, differed from the other women's service magazines in its slightly elitist air; clearly aimed at women running economically stable households, in its heyday the periodical featured articles on how to choose a children's camp while, in a 1998 issue, readers received a run-down on the capital-gains tax.

*Good Housekeeping* began in 1885 as a ten-cent bi-weekly founded in Holyoke, Massachusetts, by Clark W. Bryan, a local journalist. Following on the heels of the success of *Ladies' Home Journal*, from the start *Good Housekeeping* catered to the young, affluent homemaker, a distinction that would later set it apart from its competitors in the field. It did not shy away, for instance, from feature stories on how to deal with hired help around the house. The first edition solicited reader contributions for a write-in contest on the topic "How To Eat, Drink and Sleep as a Christian Should." In 1891 it became a monthly, and in 1911 it was acquired by the Hearst publishing empire and its offices relocated to New York City.

From the start *Good Housekeeping* offered domestic guidance in the form of recipes, etiquette advice, and child care issues; it also contained more fiction and poetry in its pages than other women's magazines. In 1900, the magazine founded its famous Good Housekeeping Institute, which moved to state-of-the-art facilities in New York in 1912 and came under the guidance of a renowned former chemist from the United States Department of Agriculture. The GHI conducted research into food purity, tested products for safety, and in general brought a scientific approach to housekeeping. Its findings often became editorial features in the magazine itself, and from 1902 the magazine offered its "Ironclad Contract," the promise that any product advertised in *Good Housekeeping* would perform as promised. The "Seal of Approval" evolved over the next few decades in legal language and scope of guarantee, in order to deal with enforced compromises that result from this problematic mix of editorial focus and advertising revenue.

Circulation achieved the one-million mark in the 1920s, and the magazine—like much of the old-money, upper middle class in America—was virtually unaffected by the Great Depression of the 1930s, though its competitors suffered. Much of *Good Housekeeping's* tone was set in the years between 1913 to 1942 under the editorship of William Frederick Bigelow. (The magazine would not

have its first female editor until 1994.) Bigelow introduced renowned writers such as W. Somerset Maugham and Booth Tarkington to the roster of fiction contributors, and the illustrations came from the pen of celebrated American artists such as Charles Dana Gibson. Keeping true to the magazine's focus on the sanctity of motherhood, its cover featured illustrations of children, at least through the 1950s; adult celebrities began appearing in the 1960s, but the December issue almost always still features an elaborate gingerbread house, with instructions inside on how to bake and construct this time-consuming *piece de resistance* of holiday festivities.

In the golden era of the Seven Sisters—the 1950s and 1960s when circulation and advertising pages reached an all-time high—*Good Housekeeping* continued to set itself apart, and above, its competitors in the field. It maintained its policy against liquor or tobacco advertising, and shied away from the tragic first-person tales found in other women's magazines, but did have an advice column written by Dr. Joyce Brothers. An etiquette column from Elizabeth Post, a descendant of the legendary authority Emily Post, gave readers advice about table manners and dealing with nosy neighbors; Elizabeth Post's daughter-in-law Peggy continued the column in the late 1990s.

After a circulation high of 5.5 million in 1966, *Good Housekeeping* lost readership and with that, advertising revenues, over the subsequent decades, as more American women entered the workforce on a full-time, permanent basis throughout the 1970s and 1980s. *Redbook* and other service publications responded to the trend, focusing their features and advice on how to manage both a household and a job outside the home, but *Good Housekeeping* did not. By the early 1990s, this orthodoxy had served the magazine well, and it began positioning itself toward a new demographic: career women who were giving up work in their thirties to become full-time suburban moms. The magazine launched its "New Traditionalist" ad campaign to attract readers and revenue with this focus. It remains one of the top performers in the Hearst media empire.

—Carol Brennan

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## *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*

The last and most expensive of director Sergio Leone's "Dollar" trilogy grossed a respectable \$6.1 million in 1966 and solidified Clint Eastwood's status as a major Western star. Following the success of Leone's *A Fistful of Dollars* (*Per un pugno di dollari*, 1964) and *For a Few Dollars More* (*Per qualche dollaro in piu*, 1965), *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly* (*Il buono, il brutto, et il cattivo*, 1966) signifies the aesthetic high point of the Italian-produced spaghetti westerns, which revitalized the western hero through Eastwood's portrayal of the calculating "Man with No Name." Energized by Leone's vibrant film style and Ennio Morricone's didactic score, *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly's* international influence permanently altered popular conceptions of the western and its themes.

*The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly's* plot follows the progress of three ruthless gunfighters racing to obtain \$200,000 in stolen Confederate gold. Beginning the film with a series of three lovingly constructed murder scenes, Leone employs extreme long shots and close-ups, piercing sound spikes, and dramatic freeze frames that introduce Tucco the Ugly (Eli Wallach), Angel Eyes the Bad (Lee Van Cleef), and "Blondie" the Good (Clint Eastwood) with his signature style of bravado exposition. As the story unfolds, all three principals form and break alliances in search of Bill Carson's hidden treasure.

The epic design of Leone's scenarios redefined the film image of the American West. After early collaborations with innovators like Michelangelo Antonioni and Robert Aldrich, Leone invested his



Clint Eastwood in a scene from the film *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*.

western scenes with an obviously distorted, often frenetic perspective. Unlike the stagy studio sets of B-grade Hollywood Westerns, Leone's plastic camera expanded adobe farm houses and barren deserts into exaggerated oceans of space peopled by minuscule though deadly specks of humanity. No Westerns since John Ford's dramatic Monument Valley films had offered such profoundly dynamic compositions. Leone's wild spectacles of dueling gunfighters, public hangings, Civil War battles, and prison camps create an darkly comic, self-consciously chaotic view of western society. At one point, Tucco and Blondie engage a pack of Angel Eyes' assassins in the middle of a bombed-out ghost town. While artillery continues to demolish the buildings around them, Tucco and Blondie nonchalantly utilize the rising dust as cover and peep out of new bomb craters to survey their enemies. Leone's freewheeling camerawork reaches its expressive heights during the montage of whip pans and zooms that describe the finale of an absurdly bloody Civil War battle on a bridge, and during the tension-building long shots that commence the climactic three-way gunfight in a sprawling deserted cemetery.

Much of *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly's* success depends on Ennio Morricone's infamously parodic score. As a discordant aural accompaniment to the crazed animations and incongruous antique fonts that constitute the title sequence, Morricone's campy revision of distinctive western sounds gives all three "Dollar" films a Monty Python-flavored musical edge. For *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*, Morricone deconstructs clichés of the western soundtrack to create a distinctively catchy theme of shriek-propelled, psychedelic yodeling that became as popular as Eastwood's nameless hero. In the spring of 1966, *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly's* main theme went to No. 1 on the American billboard charts alongside the Rolling Stones' "Jumpin' Jack Flash." With all its crazed energy, Morricone's score thematically accentuates key moments of Leone's narrative through its invocation of familiar western harmonies. In *Once upon a Time: The Films of Sergio Leone*, Robert Cumbow explains:

The score to *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly* taps Civil War movie conventions in its use of a lilting sentimental ballad played off a recurring march tune. The ballad, "Story of a Soldier," is derivative of the Confederate standard "Lorena" (a leading motif in Max Steiner's score to *The Searchers* . . . and in David Buttolph's music for *The Horse Soldiers*, for which it is the main theme). Sung phonetically by an Italian chorus, the lyrics of the song are only sporadically intelligible, but they reflect an antiwar tone consistent with both the film's treatment of war and the prevailing mood of ballads appearing during the period.

Cumbow also notes the innovative use of human voices and unconventional instruments in the soundtracks to all three "Dollar" films as an especially affecting element of "Morricone's offbeat orchestration." In *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*, Morricone's campy vocal orchestrations amplify not only the opening credits but also the introductory vignettes and Tucco's frantic, nearly orgasmic search for the buried gold in the cemetery.

In many ways, the spectacle of Eli Wallach's drunken, disheveled Tucco embodies the heart of Leone's film. Eastwood is undoubtedly the box-office star, but the plot and the camera continually privilege Tucco's furious escapades. Grinning, chuckling, and thieving his way through crowds of bitterly serious supporting characters, Tucco's vulgarity, tenacity, and humor make him the most endearing

of the three mercenaries. Leone gives Tucco the most entertaining scenes as he crashes half-shaven through a barbershop window after plugging three bounty hunters, makes faces at an appalled elderly bystander during his own execution, and surprises a would-be assassin by hiding his pistol under the froth of his bubble bath. Tucco even rules the final moments of Leone's 160-minute film as his cursing of Blondie rises in a shocking echo that initiates the last flourish of Morricone's score. Tucco clearly personifies the aesthetic agenda of Leone's entire "Dollar" trilogy. In *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*, themes of war, murder, and greed fuse into a pseudo-serious, gore-punctuated epic that intercuts Tucco's torture scene with the lilting strains of a band in a Civil War prison camp. Combining the deadly serious with the sickly comic, Leone's entertaining, anarchic western formula parallels James Whale's Universal horror films, Stanley Kubrick's satirical science fiction, and Tim Burton's gothic *Batman* series.

—Daniel Yezbick

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## Good Times

Throughout its initial success and later criticism, sitcom *Good Times* revolutionized prime-time television. While the story lines of 1950s and early 1960s television sitcoms provided little more than cautious counsel on the minor vicissitudes of family life, the decade of the 1970s ushered in what came to be known as the era of relevancy in television programming. In *Good Times*, which aired on CBS from February 1974 to August 1979, suburban street crime, muggings, unemployment, evictions, Black Power, and criticism of the government were frequent and resounding themes. The show is regarded as perhaps the first in prime-time television to tackle such issues with any measure of realism. It stretched the boundaries of television comedy and provided a different view, not only of black family life, but of the social fabric of 1970s American society in general.

*Good Times*, along with *Maude*, *Sanford and Son*, *The Jeffersons*, and television's most controversial sitcom *All in the Family*, was the creation of independent producer Norman Lear, whose programs, built on confrontational and ethnic-style humor, helped revolutionize prime-time television during the 1970s. *Good Times* was developed as a spin-off of the earlier hit show *Maude*, which starred Bea Arthur and Bill Macy, and featured the sometimes controversial machinations of a well-appointed, middle-aged, married couple. Their black housekeeper, Florida, was portrayed by veteran actress Esther Rolle, who was chosen to star as Florida Evans in *Good Times*.

The appearance of *Good Times* is noteworthy in that, along with *The Jeffersons* and *Sanford and Son*, it was one of the first prime-time television sitcoms featuring a mostly African-American cast since the controversial *Amos 'n' Andy* show had been canceled amid a firestorm of protest in 1953. *Good Times* was also unique in its funny but sometimes poignant portrayal of an African-American family eking

out an existence in a high-rise tenement apartment in an urban Chicago slum. The program exploited, with comic relief, such volatile issues as inflation, unemployment, discrimination, and the apparent reluctance of the government to do anything about them. In addition to the Florida character and James (John Amos), her frequently unemployed, but looking-for-work husband, the cast of *Good Times* included their teenage son, J.J., portrayed by comedian Jimmie Walker; their grown daughter, Thelma (Bernadette Stanis); and an adolescent son, Michael, portrayed with gusto by a talented young Ralph Carter. A fortyish woman named Wilona (Ja'net Dubois) made frequent appearances as the Evans's supportive neighbor. Later in the series, a very young Janet Jackson of the musical Jackson Family fame joined the cast as Wilona's adopted daughter.

*Good Times*'s popularity and good ratings were rooted in the fact that it offered solace for a TV audience fed up with the Vietnam War, Watergate, high interest rates, and unemployment. Both blacks and whites could identify with the difficulties the Evans family faced, and the show became a champion for the plight of the underclass. Black viewers especially appreciated how the program highlighted the good parenting skills of James and Florida. In spite of their difficult situation, they never shirked on their responsibility to teach their children values and accountability. The Evans's ability to remain stalwart in the face of difficult odds was the underlying theme of many episodes.

*Good Times* is also significant for the controversy that haunted the show's production. Disputes developed about the program's changed direction; in particular, the ever-popular J.J. character. J.J.'s comical, but at times undignified, antics raised the resentment of many in the black community. With his toothy grin, ridiculous strut, and bug-eyed semblance, to some he had metamorphosed into a coon-type stereotype of former times. More and more episodes were centered around his farcical exploits, featuring his trademark exclamation, "DY-NO-MITE!" All but forgotten was the daughter Thelma, James's search for a job, Michael's scholastic interests, and family values. "We felt we had to do something drastic," Rolle stated in the *Los Angeles Times* in 1978, "we had lost the essence of the show." After both Rolle and Amos left the program in protest, attempts were made to soften the J.J. character and continue the program without the James and Florida characters. But with an employed and more mature-acting J.J., and the return of Rolle, ratings for *Good Times* declined. The program failed, and the series was canceled but continued to enjoy success in syndication.

—Pamala S. Deane

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(From left) Ralph Carter, Ja'Net DuBois, Jimmie Walker, Esther Rolle, and John Amos in a scene from the television show *Good Times*.

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## Goodbye, Columbus

A collection of five stories and one novella, *Goodbye, Columbus*, Philip Roth's first book, published in 1959, introduces the basic themes that Roth explores more fully in the novels that have followed and that have in turn been shaped by the critical response to *Goodbye, Columbus*. Published at a time when anti-Semitism was still prevalent in the United States and memories of the Holocaust still fresh, *Goodbye, Columbus* led a number of influential Jewish readers to question Roth's depiction of American Jews from the perspective of a writer for whom Jewishness was more cultural than religious, and assimilation and individual identity more pressing matters than survival and collective memory. While some charged Roth with disloyalty and self-hatred, others welcomed *Goodbye, Columbus'*

author into the front rank of the diverse group of Jewish-American writers then beginning to dominate American fiction. The less specifically Jewish implications of Roth's comic genius and irreverence were underscored by the release of the successful film version of the title novella in 1969, two years after *The Graduate*.

—Robert A. Morace

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## Gooden, Dwight (1964—)

Pitcher Dwight Gooden enjoyed one of the fastest rises to stardom in baseball history, but he ended up the sport's major casualty

in the 1980s war against cocaine. Gooden won the National League Rookie of the Year Award in 1984 for the New York Mets; the following year, at the age of 20, he became the youngest pitcher ever to win the Cy Young Award. Heralded as “Doctor K,” Gooden quickly became the toast of New York, but by 1987 the young pitcher was forced to enter a drug rehabilitation center for his cocaine addiction. Repeated violations of league drug policy limited Gooden’s effectiveness and ultimately resulted in his suspension from baseball for the 1995 season. He subsequently kicked his drug habit and enjoyed some success with the New York Yankees and the Cleveland Indians in the late 1990s, notably in pitching a no-hitter against the Seattle Mariners on May 14, 1996.

—Scott Tribble

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## GoodFellas

Chosen by the American Film Institute as one of the 100 greatest American films of the last 100 years, Martin Scorsese’s *GoodFellas* (1990) has done more to demythologize organized crime than any other major contemporary film, while cementing its maker’s reputation as, arguably, America’s greatest director still living and working at the end of the twentieth century. *GoodFellas* was based on Nicholas Pileggi’s 1985 bestseller, *Wiseguy: Life in a Mafia Family*, which recounted the true story of Henry Hill. A low-level mobster who rose up through the ranks, Hill was involved in the biggest cash robbery in America’s history, was caught dealing cocaine, turned



The cast of *GoodFellas* (l-r) Ray Liotta, Robert De Niro, Paul Sorvino, and Joe Pesci.

State’s evidence, and entered the Federal Witness Protection Program. Behind its glossy and absorbing gangster-thriller surface, the film offered an unvarnished account of Mafia brutality that came to set a standard—seldom achieved since—for the moral focus of serious crime films, and illuminated public understanding of the culture in which organized crime flourishes.

Set in Scorsese’s home ground of New York City, whose underbelly he had so successfully exploited in many of his films, including the early *Mean Streets* (1973) and the masterly *Taxi Driver* (1976), *GoodFellas* marked the climactic contribution to the director’s cycle of underworld subjects, and the one to which he successfully brought an epic approach. His by now practiced craft and brilliantly individual brand of expressionistic realism imbued *GoodFellas* with black comedy, often memorably ironic, sharp social observation, and scenes of deeply shocking but never gratuitous violence. The film is very long, but absolutely enthralls in its unfolding of a tale in which audiences watch the young lad Hill grow to manhood in the Mafia, and was lent further power by a large cast that, as British critic Max Loppert wrote, was “a galaxy of New York character acting at its athletic, up-front best.” At the center was Ray Liotta as Hill, surrounded and supported by, among others too numerous to mention, a menacingly detached Robert De Niro, Oscar-winning Joe Pesci as the viciously manic Tommy DeVito, Paul Sorvino as Mafia boss Paul Cicero and, as Hill’s middle-class Jewish wife, a superb Lorraine Bracco. Together, this ensemble vividly and realistically impersonated the real-life sociopaths they were portraying, articulating a world of men whose daily business embraces every known felony from arson and extortion through dealing in drugs and firearms to cold-blooded killing in the pursuit of money and power.

Hill was an insider who remained outside; although he was involved in the mob’s scams, thefts, and murders, he was half-Irish and half-Sicilian, and only thoroughbred Sicilians could become “made men” within the Mafia. While the book dealt with the facts of the case, Scorsese puts flesh on the bones by making choices as to what he includes and how he treats it. The book, for example, detailed the 1978 theft of six million dollars from a Lufthansa cargo at Kennedy Airport, but where a lesser director would show the theft in all its detail, Scorsese shrewdly omits it entirely; his concern is with the lives of the perpetrators and how they are affected in the aftermath of the operation. The haul is so huge that a number of them, though warned to lie low, start living extravagantly, thus worrying De Niro’s Jimmy Conway that their behavior will tip off the cops. He deals with their indiscretion by having each of them—some ten in all—killed, fully aware that their elimination will bring the added advantage of increasing his own percentage of the take.

This expert and imaginative ability to transpose and select creates dramatic juxtapositions from the start. Pileggi’s book began with Hill describing his childhood, lived across the street from a cab stand controlled by the mob. He reveals how he was attracted by the apparent glamour of the mobsters’ lives, admiring them for their power and wealth so that, from the age of 12, his dream was to be one of them. By contrast, *GoodFellas* opens midway through the story, with the adult Henry driving along a deserted road at night, accompanied by Jimmy and Tommy. He hears a strange thumping sound, speculates on its cause (a flat? Did he hit something?), and they pull over to investigate. The three men climb out, circle to the back of the car, and Henry opens the trunk to reveal a beaten and bloody cohort who, to their collective astonishment, is still breathing. Tommy lunges forward with a huge knife and brutally stabs him, after which Jimmy pumps four bullets into him. As the stunned Henry moves to

close the trunk, he says in voice over, “As far back as I can remember, I always wanted to be a gangster.”

The story then flashes back to Henry’s formative years across from that cab stand, his first youthful errands for the mob, and his meeting of Jimmy and Tommy. In a now classic scene, Tommy is first spotted telling an anecdote that has his fellow mobsters in stitches and Henry saying, “You’re funny.” Tommy suddenly becomes threateningly confrontational. “Funny how? . . . I mean funny like I’m a clown? I amuse you? I make you laugh?” The tension builds until Henry finally realizes that Tommy is putting him on, and everyone laughs. From then on, whenever Tommy starts down the same confrontational road with someone else, audiences are lulled into thinking he’s kidding again, so that his eventual explosion into uncompromisingly bloody violence is all the more shocking.

The film moves at a dazzlingly fast but perfectly controlled pace, its imagery enhanced by freeze-frames, jump-cuts, continuous takes, voice-overs, and on-screen date-and-place information that emphasizes its biographical origins. Unlike the book, which ends with Henry purporting to be happily ensconced in the Witness Protection Program, the movie ends with a distraught Henry trapped in suburbia. As he picks up the morning paper from the front porch of a row of identical houses, he says in voice over, “I’m an average nobody. I get to live the rest of my life as a schnook.”

Comparisons with Coppola’s *The Godfather* and its sequel proved inevitable—they are great films, epic in scope, and making much of the Family’s code of honor. But as Nicholas Pileggi told the *New York Times*, “The honor code is a myth. These guys betray each other constantly. Once Henry’s life is threatened, he has no qualms about testifying. He does no soul-searching, because he has no soul.” *GoodFellas* is mired in the minutiae of everyday life, set among the lawns and shrubs of suburbia and stripped of other than fleeting, vulgar, and spurious glamour. The beatings and killings are always sick and brutal, never macho or alluring. The effect is to expose the sickening reality of the criminal lifestyle, revealing it in all of its violence, dishonor, and empty aspirations.

—Bob Sullivan

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## Goodman, Benny (1909-1986)

Known as the “King of Swing,” bandleader Benny Goodman left his mark on the swing era of the late 1930s and early 1940s in several important areas. He adapted both jazz and popular songs into a unique style of big band jazz. His superb technique and distinctive



**Benny Goodman**

solo style made him the outstanding clarinetist of that era. During a time of racial segregation, he became the first leader to include African Americans in his orchestra. He innovatively returned jazz to its roots by using band members in small combos—from trios to sextets. His career was long-lasting, and when almost seventy, he impressed jazz critic John McDonough as “the only bankable jazz star left who can fill a concert hall all by himself,” adding that “the Goodman mystique has not only survived, it’s thrived.”

When Chicago-born Benny was ten he joined a synagogue boys band, immediately showing a natural aptitude for the clarinet. Within a year he enrolled in the boys’ band at famous Hull House, which offered free instruction in the arts to children of immigrant families. There his teacher was Franz Schoep, an instructor of woodwinds in the Chicago Symphony. Benny was twelve when he appeared on stage in Chicago doing an impersonation of clarinetist Ted Lewis, even then attracting the attention of bandleader Ben Pollack, who later hired him. At thirteen Goodman was playing phenomenal jazz solos with the famous Austin High Gang, which included such stars-to-be as saxophonist Bud Freeman, drummer Dave Tough, cornetist Jimmy McPartland, and clarinetist Frank Teschemacher. When he first jammed with the band, McPartland said, “This little monkey played about sixteen choruses of ‘Rose’ and I just sat there with my mouth open.”

At thirteen, he was a full member of the musicians’ union and working several nights a week in clubs and dance halls. In August 1925, the sixteen-year-old prodigy left Chicago wearing adolescent knickers to join Ben Pollack’s band in Los Angeles. Pollack led one of the best jazz bands in the United States during the late 1920s and early

1930s. By 1927 Goodman was gaining the respect of other musicians, and that same year Melrose music publishers issued a folio called *One Hundred Jazz Breaks by Benny Goodman*. In 1928 he left Pollack briefly for the Isham Jones band, but when Pollack got a job that year in New York City, young Goodman rejoined him for the chance to play regularly with such standout jazzmen as Bud Freeman, Jimmy McPartland, Glenn Miller, and Jack Teagarden. He was undaunted by his fellow stars, and Pollack commented that “Benny Goodman was getting in everybody’s hair about this time, because he was getting good and took all the choruses.”

In 1929 he began a successful career as a freelancer in New York City, playing in Broadway pit bands and on recordings and radio. Of the 130 recording dates Goodman made during this period, only about fifteen were genuine jazz sessions. In these, however, he played with such jazzmen as Bix Beiderbecke, Red Nichols, Joe Venuti, Fats Waller, blues queen Bessie Smith, and even his early idol, Ted Lewis.

By 1933, having determined the kind of music he wanted to play, Goodman began making plans to organize his own band, and in 1934 the Benny Goodman Orchestra was featured on an ongoing NBC radio series called “Let’s Dance.” After a few recordings on Columbia, he signed a long-term contract with Victor in 1935 and took his band on the road. Success was gradual at first, but with the extraordinary arrangements of Fletcher Henderson, enhanced by the solos of Goodman, trumpeters Bunny Berrigan, Ziggy Elman, and Harry James; pianists Jess Stacey and Teddy Wilson, and drummer Gene Krupa, the band attained phenomenal nation-wide success in 1936. On January 16, 1938, Goodman, wearing white tie and tails, led his band into Carnegie Hall for the first pure jazz concert held there. The vocals of Peggy Lee—including “Why Don’t You Do Right?” and “My Old Flame”—helped the orchestra remain a prime attraction until it was disbanded in mid 1944 to allow Goodman to focus on concerts with his combo groups.

He reorganized his big band in 1945 and appeared as its leader off and on until 1950, when he toured Europe with a sextet. After that, he fronted the big band on only one brief tour in the spring of 1953, involving himself in a number of other projects. He assembled a special band in 1955 to record the soundtrack for the film *The Benny Goodman Story*, starring Steve Allen as Goodman.

A wide variety of projects drew his attention: in the winter of 1956-57 he toured the Far East and in 1962 the Soviet Union, both for the State Department; sandwiched between were appearances with the Budapest String Quartet as well as concerts of works he had commissioned from Bartok, Hindemith, and Copland.

In the early 1970s he presented a television show from Carnegie Hall in which he reunited his original quartet and played a memorable version of “I’m a Ding Dong Daddy from Dumas.” The same group, with an ailing Gene Krupa, played the 1973 Newport Jazz Festival.

By the 1980s Goodman’s health problems began to increase as he suffered from arthritis in his fingers and a heart ailment that required a pacemaker. As late as 1986 he continued to play with a big band on occasional radio broadcasts. His biographer, Russell Connor, found these performances “brilliant, effortless, faultless, inspiring,” adding that the sidemen were “visibly impressed.”

The respect of his peers was far more important to Goodman than the long string of victories in jazz polls taken by *Downbeat*, *Metronome*, *Playboy*, and *Esquire*. His special niche was to change the course of jazz during the swing era. He was the “King of Swing,” who, as James L. Collier wrote, “opened the door for the bands which rushed through the gap—among them Basie, Herman, Barnet,

Lunceford, Berigan, Crosby, Webb, Shaw, and eventually Kenton, Raeburn and the modernists.”

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Goodrich, William

See Arbuckle, Fatty

## Goodson, Mark (1915-1992)

Fondly known as the godfather of television game shows, Mark Goodson produced and created some of television’s top-rated and most enduring programs, including *The Price Is Right*, *The Match Game*, and *Family Feud*.

Born in Sacramento, California, to Russian immigrant parents, Goodson was a shy and introverted child. Despite his reserved character, he pursued a career in the radio industry. In 1937 he landed his first job as a disc jockey at radio station KCBS in San Francisco. Two years later he was hired by Mutual Broadcasting System as an announcer, newscaster, and station director. In 1941 Goodson moved to New York to work as a radio announcer. It was here that he first became involved with game shows by emceeing the radio quiz show *The Jack Dempsey Sports Quiz*. In addition, Goodson tried his hand at acting while performing on the radio program *We the People* that aired during the Second World War; Goodson depicted the characters who had German and Japanese accents. In 1943 Goodson created his first network show for ABC, *Appointment with Life*, a dramatic series based on the files of a marriage counselor. During this time Goodson was also writing and directing installments of *The Kate Smith Variety Hour*.

In 1946, Goodson teamed up with Bill Todman to form Goodson-Todman Productions. Their first creation was a radio game show entitled *Winner Take All*, which aired on CBS. During the next couple of years, the two created several more successful radio shows, thereby creating a strong presence in network television. Goodson created the duo’s first television program, *What’s My Line*, which premiered on CBS on February 1, 1950. The program was an overnight success, airing weekly for seventeen years. Over the next thirty years, Goodson-Todman Productions continued to produce hit game shows and develop the widely used formats.

Complementary opposites, Todman managed the business side, while Goodson was the creative and productive force. Goodson created many of the essential attributes that define game shows. For example, Goodson-Todman Productions was one of the pioneers in set design, using bright colors and flashing lights. Goodson also pioneered the celebrity panel on the game show. In an attempt to boost ratings, Goodson introduced the celebrity panel in the 1950s on

*What's My Line?* The program featured a panel of four celebrity guests who guessed the occupations of the contestants. Over the years Goodson perfected the practice of the celebrity panels on programs such as *Password* and *The Match Game*. Goodson's celebrity panels were and still are imitated by other game show producers.

In 1979 Bill Todman died, leaving all of Goodson-Todman Productions in control of his partner. The name of the company was changed to Goodson Productions, and Goodson continued to focus on producing game shows and expanding his media group. In 1986, Goodson created the Goodson Newspaper Group, which consolidated several daily and weekly newspapers. By 1992 the group published eight daily, six Sunday, and twenty-five weekly newspapers.

Two weeks before his death in December 1992, Goodson was inducted into the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame. This award topped a long list of other achievements that included three Emmy awards, the National TV award of Great Britain, and a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame.

Yet nothing represents Goodson's contribution to television better than the longevity of the shows themselves. There has not been a weekday since 1946, when *Winner Takes All* premiered on radio, that a Goodson program has not been on the air. Goodson-Todman's thirty-plus game shows include *Winner Takes All* (1948-52); *Beat the Clock* (1950-62, 1968-71, 1979-80); *What's My Line?* (1950-74); *The Price Is Right* (1956-65, 1972—); *To Tell the Truth* (1956-77); *Password* (1961-67, 1971-75, 1979-81, 1985—); *The Match Game* (1962-69, 1973-82); *He Said, She Said* (1969); *Concentration* (1973-79); *Tattletales* (1974-80, 1982-84); *Mindreaders* (1979); *Blockbusters* (1980-82, 1987); *Match Game/Hollywood Squares Hour* (1982-83); and *Trivia Trap* (1984).

Goodson-Todman also produced a few episodic shows: *The Rebel*, *Jefferson Drum*, *The Richard Boone Show*, *Philip Marlowe*, and *The Don Rickles Show*.

—Lara Bickell

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## Gordy, Berry (1929—)

Founder of the Motown music empire, Berry Gordy was for many years America's most successful black businessman.

Gordy was one of eight children from a middle-class family in Detroit; his father, Berry Gordy, Sr., was a contractor and entrepreneur. The elder Gordy's gospel of achievement and competition found a respectful audience in his son, but Berry Gordy, Jr., always sought wealth rather than merely middle-class success. Gordy dropped

out of high school to pursue a career in boxing and fought in 19 mostly successful professional bouts, but he quit the ring after concluding that he would never be great. Shortly afterwards he was drafted, serving in Korean War combat.

Returning to Detroit in 1953, Gordy started a jazz record store with borrowed money. It failed after a short time, and he next took an assembly line job at a Ford plant. Gordy's sisters had by then obtained the cigarette concession at one of Detroit's better black nightclubs, and he began spending much of his free time there. He was composing songs in his head during his long, boring shifts at Ford, and attempted to persuade the nightclub's talent to use his material. In 1957, with the first of his marriages falling apart, Gordy quit his Ford job to devote himself to composing full-time.

It was Jackie Wilson, an old acquaintance from his boxing days, who first recorded songs by Berry Gordy. Wilson was just on the brink of success when Gordy gave him "Lonely Teardrops" and several other songs to use, but he quickly discovered that a composer's royalties were very small, especially in the frequently corrupt music business of the day. He started doing freelance record producing as well, learning valuable lessons but still not making much profit.

In 1959, on a shoestring budget, Berry Gordy founded his own music production company. He named it Motown after Detroit, the Motor City, and brought several of his siblings and their spouses into the business. One brother-in-law was writer/producer/singer Harvey Fuqua of Harvey and the Moonglows; another was Marvin Gaye, who would become one of Motown's biggest, and most troubled, stars. Gordy also employed a number of would-be singers and writers in secretarial and production capacities, thus assuring a constant supply of willing talent at very little cost to himself.

Berry Gordy's earlier careers had prepared him well for Motown. From the outset he was a stickler for high production values, and quickly created a recognizable "Motown sound." He also sought to broaden his appeal beyond his core customer base of young black people to a larger and more affluent older white audience. In order to mask how many records Motown was releasing, Gordy created and managed a variety of labels, such as Tamla, Soul, Gordy, Rare Earth, and many others.

Early acts produced by Motown included Smokey Robinson and the Miracles, Mary Wells, Marvin Gaye, the Temptations, Martha and the Vandellas, the Spinners, the Marvelettes, and Stevie Wonder. In the years to come, Gordy would sign up such performers as the Four Tops, Gladys Knight and the Pips, Junior Walker and the All-Stars, the Isley Brothers, the Commodores, and the Jackson Five. In many cases, after a few years in Motown's mixture of production wizardry and tight-fisted, arbitrary control, the now-established stars left for greener pastures. Some critics argue that few ever sounded as good after Motown as they had as part of it.

Gordy retained almost complete ownership of his company, making him a very wealthy man. When his struggling female group, the Supremes, finally began to make a name for themselves, he determined to make Diane Ross—as she was then known—into a major star. Diane Ross was a skinny schoolgirl when the Supremes started with Gordy's record label, and was plunged, like many other new acts, into Motown's whirlwind of training bent on making stars. Following the practice of the big Hollywood studios, Motown's Artist Development Department coached the youngsters on speech, choreography, stage behavior, costume, and of course on singing. Diane, soon Diana, Ross of the Supremes was Motown's greatest success story, rising from poverty in Detroit to international stardom, just as Berry Gordy willed it. His strategy was methodical. First, he put



Berry Gordy (right) receiving the NAACP Award of the Year from commentator Barry Gray, 1968.

Ross's name ahead of the group, then he fired Florence Ballard, her former equal and arguably the best singer ever to call herself a Supreme. Next, he separated Ross from the group and built her up as a solo act. Finally, he began to invest some of his millions in motion picture production, but only when Diana Ross was given the lead in each film. *Lady Sings the Blues* (1972), a biographical film about Billie Holiday, was a smash hit.

During production of the next film, *Mahogany* (1975), the producer's suggestions came so often that the director resigned, and Berry Gordy eventually took directorial credit for the film. It was

quite successful; other films in which Gordy was involved were less so. *The Wiz* (1978) was an abject flop, losing millions despite the presence of Ross and Michael Jackson. Gordy left the movie business shortly thereafter. In 1972, much to the chagrin of Detroit residents and his employees, Berry Gordy relocated Motown to Los Angeles.

Gordy lived through many changes in the American recording industry, and left an indelible mark on popular music. A list of the artists who recorded for Motown's many labels over a 35-year period would include a disproportionate number of major stars whose songs

created a musical dynasty. It was the end of an era when Berry Gordy sold Motown to the media conglomerate MCA in 1994.

—David Lonergan

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## Gospel Music

Gospel music is arguably the most important African-American musical tradition. Throughout the twentieth century it has managed to instill a vision in African-Americans with its message of hope, love, and compassion through the power of Jesus Christ. Gospel music has also had a profound influence on religious and secular music, enabling it to become a part of the broader American culture.

During the Antebellum period, African-Americans used religious and sacred songs as a tool of liberation in order to help them survive the terrible institution of slavery. Once emancipation had been achieved, they then relied upon spirituals such as “Nobody Knows the Trouble I See,” “Steal Away,” “Didn’t My Lord Deliver Daniel,” “Ezekiel Saw the Wheel,” and “In that Great Gettin’ up Morning,” to help them make the transition from slavery to freedom. Beginning in the early twentieth century, however, African-American religious music would enter a new age with the birth of black Pentecostal churches and denominations. With a strong worship emphasis on emotionalism and speaking in tongues, many traditional hymns were instantly “gospelized” by increasing the tempo and, at times, by adding percussion accompaniment. Instrumental in this phenomena was Charles Price Jones of Jackson, Mississippi, founder of the Church of Christ (Holiness) USA, who as the father of African-American Pentecostalism composed over 1,000 songs for his congregation. Jones’ songs—such as “I’m Happy With Jesus Only” and “Jesus Only”—were unique in that they expressed the feelings and expressions of African-Americans after slavery.

Beginning in the 1920s, black religious music was introduced to the Quartet movement. Whereas most sacred music was sung by congregations, The Fisk Jubilee Singers of Nashville were responsible for popularizing the groups as they sprang up east of the Mississippi River. Because of their amazing popularity, record companies such as RCA Victor, Paramount, and Columbia, cashed in on the demand for this type of music in the Urban North by recording and promoting the quartet sound. Radio stations also sought to capitalize on the growing popularity of black religious music. Stations such as WLAC of Nashville, with its 50,000 watts, played the music at night to listeners as far away as Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York.

Seeking to take advantage of the growing popularity of black religious music, Thomas A. Dorsey of Chicago took African-American religious music to a new level by combining blues and jazz rhythms to traditional hymns; he labeled his sound “gospel.” Dorsey, a former jazz and blues pianist, decided to give his talents to “the Lord” in 1932 and in that same year he organized a gospel choir at Chicago’s Pilgrim Baptist Church. One year later he organized the

National Convention of Gospel Choirs and Choruses (NCGCC). Thus, he had begun a career that would eventually lead him to compose over 500 songs. His most famous was “Take My Hand Precious Lord.” In addition to directing and composing, Dorsey also opened a gospel music publishing house and soon thereafter he was labeled the “Father of Gospel Music.” Although Dorsey was indeed a prolific songwriter, he did not operate in isolation. He worked with other artists such as Sallie Martin and the popular Mahalia Jackson. Between 1938 and 1947 Jackson made several recordings, but her most popular—“Move On Up A Little Higher”—catapulted her into gospel music fame. On the heels of the popular recording she secured a weekly CBS radio program and she also made a number of appearances at the famed Apollo Theater and the on *Ed Sullivan Show*. Since she was one of the first gospel artists to take her work to a secular audience, Jackson quickly became an international star and many today consider her the “World’s Greatest Gospel Singer.”

Beginning in the 1950s, other artists—the Dixie Hummingbirds, the Blind Boys of Alabama, and the Sensational Nightingales—filled churches, auditoriums, and jazz festivals with their unique style as they followed Jackson’s lead in taking their message to a broader audience. Again, the media sought to take advantage of the popularity of gospel music by establishing such nationally syndicated television programs as *TV Gospel Time*. Although the show had a short existence it was nonetheless instrumental in bringing gospel music to a non-religious crowd.

While some artists were bringing gospel to new listeners, others such as James Cleveland were gaining notoriety within traditional gospel circles. Born in 1930 in Chicago, Cleveland served as composer, arranger, and pianist for several gospel groups before starting his own, the James Cleveland Singers, which performed many of his 500 songs. What made Cleveland unique was that he introduced the nation to the “Gospel Choir.” At times, his choirs would number several hundred as they entertained audiences with their hand clapping, dancing, and singing, while arrayed in their fashionable robes. In 1968 Cleveland organized the Gospel Music Workshop of America (GMWA) and because of his success he received three Grammy Awards; in 1981 he was awarded a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame.

In spite of Cleveland’s broad appeal, there was a faction inside the gospel music industry that wanted to take gospel into the mainstream; quite simply, they wanted to imitate the more popular rhythm and blues songs. Leading this movement was Edwin Hawkins, who in 1969 recorded “Oh Happy Day,” which rose to number one on the Top Fifty Chart with its catchy beat and rhythmic sound, but without any references to God or Jesus. A new generation of gospel was born.

Other artists such as Andrae Crouch followed Hawkins’ crossover success by writing gospel lyrics for more popular secular songs. Although Hawkins and Crouch were forerunners of this “new gospel music,” their popularity was still largely confined to the ears of black churchgoers. Beginning in the late 1980s, however, contemporary gospel groups such as Take 6 and the Winans began to take the gospel message to an ever wider audience. During their heyday both groups could easily fill a concert hall as they played their new style to the sacred and the secular. By the 1990s gospel music had grown to a billion-dollar industry, thanks in part to such artists as Kirk Franklin, whose debut album *Why We Sing* reached number one on the Billboard Gospel Chart and Number 13 on Billboard’s Rhythm and Blues listing. Today, gospel music continues to be an important thread in the fabric of American popular music.

—Leonard N. Moore

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## Gossip Columns

As America shed its provincial nineteenth-century sensibilities and slowly entered the modern era, the media emerged as one of the twentieth century's most powerful forces. But until the early 1920s, journalism was still influenced by an older ethos of taste and good



Gossip columnist Hedda Hopper in 1959.

breeding—until Walter Winchell. An ambitious young New York newspaperman, Winchell brought gossip into the mainstream media, breaking longstanding taboos in favor of a press for whom nothing was sacred and no one was guaranteed privacy. During his heyday, two-thirds of the adult population of America listened to Winchell's radio broadcast or read his column, as America clamored to learn "the dirt" about the rich, the famous, and the powerful. The ultimate tool of a democracy, gossip became the great leveler, breaking down distinctions of class, race, and gender, in favor of a society where no one is above reproach and everyone is the subject of gossip. His influence was pervasive, spawning such hugely successful gossip mongers as Hollywood's Hedda Hopper and Louella Parsons, whose fame soon came to exceed even Winchell's. What once was shocking soon became expected and, over the course of the twentieth century, gossip has become an integral component of mainstream journalism from which no one has become exempt—not even, as the world found out in 1998, the President of the United States.

The emergence of gossip columns and columnists as powerful new journalistic forces and voices during the early twentieth century would not have been possible without the creation of a new class of Americans—celebrities. The invention of motion pictures and their consequent development into an immensely popular form of entertainment gave birth to a new kind of fame—celebrity. Where once fame had been the result of heroism, genius, talent, wealth, or aristocratic birth, the movie industry promoted their new personalities to bring in audiences. A truly democratic art form, movie actors may have been more beautiful, more ambitious, and sometimes even more talented than the average American, but they were generally no better born. Celebrities were thus tantalizing to the American public, who saw in them the breakdown of an old social order and new possibilities for themselves. The public clamored to know as much as possible about celebrities and the media tried to meet their demand. This reciprocal relationship spawned the mass media frenzy that has defined the twentieth century.

Gossip has always existed, but it did not become a big business until the 1920s in the United States. Although Walter Winchell made gossip a staple of the modern press, as his biographer, Neal Gabler, has written, the tough-talking Winchell "no more invented gossip than he invented slang." During the 1880s, Louis Keller, a New York patent attorney, published a rag called *Town Topics*, devoted exclusively to the goings on of high society and the nouveau riche—as Gabler notes, "the bawdier the better." Soon most of the major papers had society columns, but most stayed clear of hard line gossip. In the 1920s, however, Stephen Clow started *Broadway Brevities and Social Gossip*, on the premise that he could make money by getting people to pay him not to print gossip about them. Clow was later brought to trial, but the idea stuck and would continue to crop up throughout the twentieth century. Still, the traditional press tried to avoid engaging in libelous gossip, particularly after Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis wrote an important article in the *Harvard Law Review* condemning gossip and arguing for the legal right to privacy. But the tide was turning.

Neal Gabler writes that the media "were exerting an almost inexorable pressure toward gossip by engendering a fascination with personalities. In the movies, magazines and the tabloids, personalities were sales devices; once the public became aware of these personalities, its curiosity was insatiable. With the interest in place, all that was needed to cross the line to gossip was someone with the audacity and nerve to begin writing frankly about the various private doings of the



celebrated—someone who would defy the taboo. That was where Winchell came in.”

Although the “respectable” papers refused to have anything to do with reporting gossip, for the tabloids the line was a little blurrier. In 1924, a new tabloid called the *Graphic* hit the streets—a publication dedicated to the masses that would not be afraid to splash sex across its front pages. On the staff of the *Graphic* was a 27-year-old former vaudevillian named Walter Winchell, who had spent the past four years establishing his reputation as a Broadway reporter; Winchell loved gossip, and he longed to print it in his column.

Inspired by the *Graphic*'s dictum to print “Nothing but the Truth,” Winchell’s Monday column, “Mainly About Mainstreeters,” stunned the theater and journalism worlds. He printed straight gossip. Sex, extra-marital affairs, and illegitimate children all found their way into Winchell’s Monday pieces. Nothing was out of bounds. And Winchell made it additionally juicy by printing the gossip in bold type, virtually creating a new gossip lingo composed of innuendo, double entendre, and slang. Gabler writes:

Not surprisingly, the journalistic Old Guard was enraged by the affront to privacy, but the avidity with which the Monday column was devoured by readers left no doubt that Walter had tapped into the American psyche, into something beyond voyeurism, even if it would always be difficult to define precisely what he had struck. Part of it was the general interest in anything that had to do with the new class of celebrities. Part of it may have been attributable to urbanization . . . As the twenties transformed America from a community into a society, gossip seemed to provide one of the lost ingredients of the former for the latter: a common frame of reference. In gossip everyone was treated as a known quantity . . . Like slang, gossip also made one feel knowing, ahead of the curve . . . The rich, the powerful, the famous and the privileged had always governed their own images. Now Winchell, with one act of defiance, had taken control and empowered his readers.

Walter Winchell once said, “Democracy is where everybody can kick everybody else’s ass. But you can’t kick Winchell.” During the height of his power, Winchell was untouchable. He struck fear into the hearts of the rich, famous, and vulnerable, even as he delighted a national audience of millions. He became one of the most powerful men in America, a friend to J. Edgar Hoover, an advisor to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and, later, a staunch supporter of McCarthyism. The puissance of his pen became the scourge of his enemies, for although he could make someone’s reputation, he could also break it. Yet, as Alistair Cooke once wrote, his devastating power “was the promise of American freedom and uninhibited bounce, he was Americanism symbolized in a nose-thumbing at the portentousness of the great.”

There were, of course, many others who jumped on the gossip bandwagon. Ed Sullivan began his career writing a theater column for the *Graphic*. Other major gossip columnists would include Dorothy Kilgallen, Sidney Skolsky, and, of course, Louella Parsons and Hedda Hopper. Hopper and Parsons would, in fact, come to rule Hollywood much as Winchell did New York.

More than 15 years younger than Winchell, Louella Parsons was a large, strong-willed woman who carved out a career for herself

when she was in her thirties, working as a Chicago reporter on the fledgling movie business. When she moved to New York in 1918, she began campaigning to earn the attention of media mogul William Randolph Hearst, by inserting glowing praises and weekly mentions of his paramour, actress Marion Davies, in her weekly column. By the early 1920s, Hearst had given Parsons a job and by the mid-1920s, she had moved to Hollywood and had become globally syndicated. She quickly became the most powerful woman in Hollywood, demanding and receiving every scoop in the movie business. Like Winchell, she was unafraid to print the truth, to sniff out scandal, and to tell secrets.

In the mid-1930s, a former actress named Hedda Hopper was hired to write a competing column. Though she and Parsons had once been friends, they soon became arch-enemies, competing for every scoop. Their rivalry upped the ante immediately, and gossip flew from their dueling pens. For almost 30 years, Hollywood was held in their grasp—as Hopper and Parsons made and ruined careers. When Louella Parsons broke the story of Ingrid Bergman’s illegitimate child with director Roberto Rossellini, the actress did not work in Hollywood for almost a decade. Neither Parsons nor Hopper were above being vindictive and destructive, and both could inspire genuine rage among members of the motion picture community helpless to fight them. When Joseph Cotten once kicked the chair on which Hopper was sitting to bits, after having an extra-marital affair announced in her column, his house was filled with flowers and telegrams from others who had been similarly maligned. But like Winchell, when Hopper and Parsons liked someone, nothing was too much to do to help—and their power could become a boon for someone struggling to make it in movies.

As the Golden Age of Hollywood ended and the studio system crumbled, Hopper and Parsons no longer wielded the clout they had once had when all the moguls were forced to kowtow to them. Winchell, too, began to lose his former hegemony, as his New York connections no longer gave him the edge on gossip in film and television. But the die was cast. Gossip had become an integral part of the media, carried on not only by actual gossip columnists such as Liz Smith, but also by mainstream journalists, eager to spice up the news to make a good read.

With the evolution of the Internet, gossip found another happy home. And when Internet gossipmonger Matt Drudge began to spread rumors of President Clinton’s extra-marital affairs, it was not long before it became mainstream news. But the political and media crisis of 1998 has spawned a new debate. Has the media gone too far in reporting the private affairs of public people? Is the press telling the public more than it wants to know? Seventy-five years after Walter Winchell introduced gossip into the mainstream media, we are still reeling from the results. The public debate will undoubtedly continue. The fact, however, remains—American popular culture is saturated with gossip, and its effect will always be felt.

—Victoria Price

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## Goth

Although members of this youth subculture may differ in their own definitions, goth can be characterized by a fascination with all things otherworldly, from vampires to magic and beyond. Like punk, goth comprises a musical genre as well as an attitude, represented by somber acts like Bauhaus, Dead Can Dance, Christian Death, and Faith and the Muse. Often perceived by the general public as little more than “kids who wear black clothes,” the goth scene is in fact a fusion of attitudes stemming from the sublime emotion of Romantic poetry, the macabre images of decadent Victorian poetry, and the contempt for normative bourgeois complacency found in the punk movement. While it is true that goth has been centered around themes of death and morbidity, what often goes unnoticed is goth’s sense of humor—albeit a decidedly black one.

—Shaun Frentner

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## Gotti, John (1940—)

Known as the “Teflon Don” for his ability to win acquittal during several criminal trials and as the “Dapper Don” for his penchant for expensive, custom-tailored suits, John Gotti was the most visible organized crime figure of the late twentieth century. A media celebrity in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the boastful Gotti offered a public image of macho ultra-confidence that many admirers associated with the iconic American figure of the rebel, and crowds of his supporters often gathered outside the court during his trials. Within the mob, Gotti was reportedly a ruthless enforcer who controlled New York’s Gambino crime family after the 1985 assassination of Paul Castellano outside a Manhattan restaurant. Gotti was ultimately betrayed by his closest associate, Salvatore “Sammy the Bull” Gravano, and convicted on federal racketeering and murder charges in 1992. In addition to Gravano’s devastating testimony, thousands of hours of taped conversations in which Gotti discussed criminal activities with his top associates secured the government’s case against him. He is serving a life sentence in the maximum security federal penitentiary in Marion, Illinois.

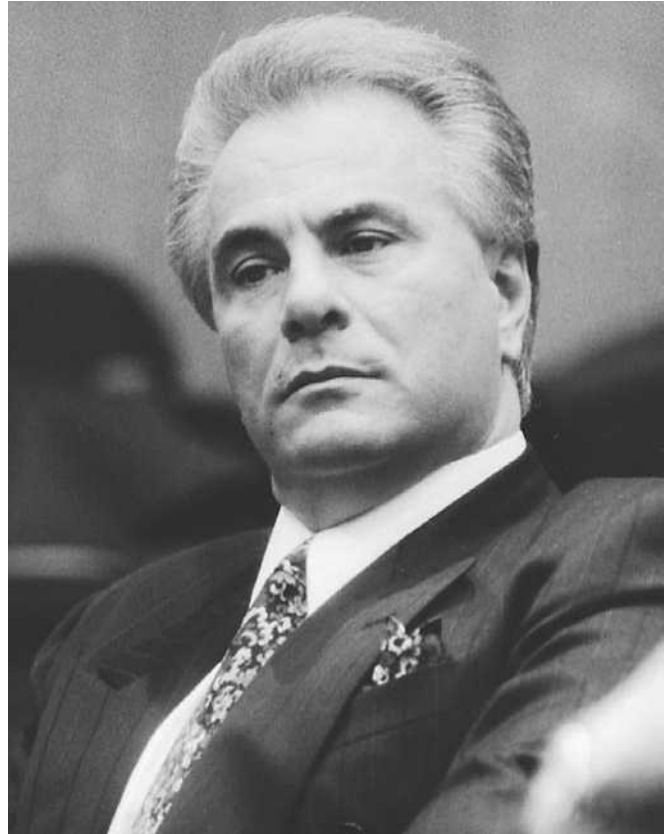
—Laurie DiMauro

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John Gotti

## Grable, Betty (1916-1973)

The most popular pinup of American servicemen during World War II, actress, dancer, and singer Betty Grable was the symbol of an era. Dressed in a bathing suit and looking over her shoulder at the camera in her famous pinup, she radiated the optimism of an all-American girl and gave the American servicemen a vision of what they were fighting for. Not only did her image adorn barracks all over the world, but her likeness was used by the military to teach their men how to read grid maps. The star of Technicolor musicals at Twentieth Century-Fox, she reigned supreme, registering as the number one box office star in 1943 and appearing on the list of top stars from 1942-1951. Her legs were considered so close to perfection that they were insured by Lloyd’s of London for one million dollars as a publicity stunt.

Born Ruth Elizabeth Grable in St. Louis, Missouri, her starstruck mother, Lillian, determined to make one of her daughters a star. She failed with elder daughter Marjorie, but Betty, as she was called, not only had talent but was enthusiastic about a show business career herself. She studied dance, singing, and the saxophone. She appeared in her first movie at the Fox Studios in the chorus of *Happy Days* (1929) in a black-face number. She was signed to a one-year contract by lying about her age, but when the executives discovered she was only thirteen, they dropped her option. Her mother was not deterred and arranged for her to appear in Eddie Cantor’s *Whoopie* (1930). Betty was signed as a Goldwyn Girl with a five-year contract, but her career still did not take off. She appeared in a few other films, then



**Betty Grable**

signed to the Frank Fay musical *Tattle Tales*, which closed after only a few performances.

With her film career going nowhere, Grable spent time as a vocalist for several orchestras. During the mid- to late 1930s Grable appeared in more than a dozen films, but it was an appearance in a Fred Astaire/Ginger Rogers film that first brought her some notice. In 1934's *The Gay Divorcee* Grable did a dance number with character actor Edward Everett Horton called "Let's K-knock K-knees." In 1937 Grable married former child actor Jackie Coogan, who at the time was embroiled in a lawsuit against his parents regarding his earnings, and this put much strain on the marriage. Coogan and Grable appeared together in *Million Dollar Legs* (1939), but they later divorced.

Grable was finally being noticed, and Daryl F. Zanuck of Twentieth Century-Fox signed her to a contract. He did not have any immediate plans for Grable, so he allowed her to appear in a musical called *DuBarry Was a Lady* on Broadway. The show starred Ethel Merman and Bert Lahr, but it was Grable who caused a sensation performing the number "Well Did You Evah" with Charles Waters. In 1940 Grable left the show to replace an ailing Alice Faye in *Down Argentine Way*. The film was a huge success, and Grable immediately became a superstar. To follow her "instant" success Grable appeared in musicals such as *Moon over Miami* and *Springtime in the Rockies*. It was during the latter film that she met bandleader Harry James, whom she married in 1943 and with whom she had two daughters.

Although her famous pinup may have been her greatest contribution to the war effort, Grable joined other stars in war bond rallies, entertaining the troops, and appearing at the Hollywood Canteen.

Grable continued to make successful films, although after the late 1940s her popularity began to wane. She also fought with Zanuck, who wanted to put her in serious films, but which Grable knew was not her forte. To make Grable toe the line, Zanuck brought several blond starlets to the studio. Grable appeared with Marilyn Monroe in *How to Marry a Millionaire* (1953), and rather than being threatened she took the younger woman under her wing. Grable had had it with Twentieth Century-Fox, however, and left shortly after. When *Millionaire* was released, it was Grable who received the most critical praise, and she was persuaded to return for the film *How to be Very, Very Popular* (1955), a flop which was Grable's last film.

Grable continued to make successful appearances on television and in live theater productions such as *Guys and Dolls* and in a touring company of *Hello Dolly*. While things were still going well for Grable careerwise, her personal life was not. In October of 1965 she divorced James after more than twenty years of marriage.

In 1969 Grable went to London for the production of a new musical, *Belle Starr*, which was written especially for her. It flopped and closed after sixteen performances. In 1972, shortly after appearing on the Academy Awards telecast, Grable was diagnosed with cancer. After extensive treatments she decided to return to work appearing in *Born Yesterday* in Florida. Unfortunately, the cancer had spread, and within a few months Grable died.

—Jill A. Gregg

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## Graceland

Graceland mansion, home to rock-and-roll phenomenon Elvis Presley for the twenty years preceding his 1977 death, became world-famous after it was opened to the public in 1981. Before the end of its first decade as a tourist attraction (or pilgrimage destination for some fans), Graceland had hosted more than one million tourists, and by the late 1990s it served as a symbol of both the indefatigable hope and immense costs of the American Dream.

Named after the first owner's aunt Grace, Graceland was built in the 1930s to resemble an antebellum, plantation-style manor home. Elvis paid \$100,000-plus for the mansion in 1957. Located on "Elvis Presley Boulevard," a portion of Highway 51 South in Memphis, Tennessee, the majestic-looking Georgian mansion sits amidst an extraordinarily overflowing mass of plasticized suburban sprawl. There are an astounding number of fast-food establishments within a one-mile radius of the estate.

Inside, the front rooms of the house have been designed for the eyes of "company"; in this case, company that would be curious to



**The Graceland mansion in Memphis, Tennessee.**

know how a poor farmhand's son would live in an atmosphere of newly acquired wealth. There is the obligatory glitzy chandelier in the foyer, an elegant dining room, marble and glass-topped tables, fine porcelain statuary, a gilded piano, overdone white carpeting, yards of gilt-edged draperies hanging about the rooms—in fact, just about everything is trimmed in gold—and much else to indicate wealth and status. A television set sits smack in the middle of one of the front rooms.

Visitors are guided down a dark staircase with carpeted walls and a mirrored ceiling to Elvis's pleasure palace in the basement. One room sports a blinding yellow, white, and black color scheme; one wall of the room houses three built-in TV sets, side by side. Elvis got the idea from President Lyndon Johnson, who needed to monitor all of the evening newscasts at the same time, but Elvis wanted to watch all of the Sunday football games at once. The billiards room is entombed in yards of printed, pleated fabric that covers the walls and ceilings and that enforces a sensation of profound claustrophobia even in those not ordinarily afflicted. Although the pool table was torn years before Presley's death, and he never had it fixed, the keepers of Graceland decided to maintain most such flaws to create a sense that the home is frozen in time. This is a well-intended, though inaccurate depiction of Graceland as it was when Elvis lived there; many of Elvis's latter-day decorating decisions have been swept away. The blood-red carpeting and drapes were changed to a more pleasing blue hue, and a rotating glass statue in the foyer that spurted water was simply discarded as an embarrassment.

There was no way, though, that the keepers could enforce any more than the smallest degree of upper-class nobility upon Graceland. The coup de grace is what everyone at Graceland calls "the jungle room." According to Graceland-approved legend, Elvis and his father happened upon a most intriguing collection of "Polynesian" wooden and fake fur furniture at a Memphis establishment called

Donald's Furniture in the early 1960s. Vernon Presley remarked that it was the ugliest furniture he'd ever seen in his life. Elvis arranged to buy the entire collection. The "throne," as it might be called, features a wooden owl's head at the top and claws dangling from each arm. Fake greenery languishes about the room, and a small waterfall flows behind the throne. The jungle room is at once horrifying and hilarious.

—Robin Markowitz

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## *The Graduate*

For some the 1967 film *The Graduate* was a sex farce, for others, a generation gap comedy, and for still others, a ballad of alienation and rebellion. In the film, Benjamin Braddock (Dustin Hoffman), a recent graduate of an Eastern college, comes back to his parent's California home with no ambition, no plans, and no self-esteem. He wanders through a maze of suburban clichés and expectations looking



An advertising poster for the film *The Graduate*.

for something to care about, feeling like a pawn in society's chess game. Along comes Ben's father's partner's wife, Mrs. Robinson (Anne Bancroft), offering something to wake him out of his stupor—herself. Content for a while, Ben soon finds his tryst depressing; he is, after all, still aimless. His parents, trying to focus him on something, have picked the perfect girl for him, Elaine Robinson (Katherine Ross), Mrs. Robinson's daughter. Mrs. Robinson forbids the date, and Ben tries to prove Mrs. Robinson right by humiliating Elaine at a strip club, but they end up connecting, and Ben finally feels something. Mrs. Robinson tries to end the relationship by telling her daughter about the affair, but Ben has decided that only Elaine can save him. He pursues her to Berkeley, learns she's about to be married, and barges in on the wedding. Elaine leaves the altar and runs off with Ben; they hop on a passing bus and ride off together.

Happy ending? Those who wanted this to be a romantic comedy thought so. But these virtual strangers barely look at each other on the bus, the triumphant smiles fade from their faces, and they don't utter a word as the haunting beginning of the song "Sounds of Silence" rises on the soundtrack: "Hello darkness, my old friend. . . ." This late 1960s movie took a different look at the generation gap than, say, *Easy Rider*. There were no hippies or protests in this film, no talk of the Vietnam War, and no rock music; easy-listening bards Simon and Garfunkel provided the soundtrack. All of that might have kept the film from being dated, but the film still managed to tell a tale of distinctly generational woe.

*The Graduate*, which was directed by Mike Nichols, is filled with delightful moments: the fleeing lovers use a giant cross to lock their families in the church; an alienated Ben is decked out in scuba gear like an astronaut landing on the Planet of the Parents; a corporate wonk at his parents' party tells Ben that he should think about one word, "plastics"; a classic shot views Ben as a small, frightened man seen under the arch of Mrs. Robinson's bent leg; Ben calls his now-regular lover by the appellation "Mrs."; and perpetual landlord Norman Fell asks Ben if he's "one of those outside agitators." He's not; in fact, Ben may not even be a rebel. He seems to enjoy the products of the corporate culture he despises, like his graduation present, a new Alfa Romeo, and his parent's swimming pool. The real rebel against the status quo, at least at first, is Mrs. Robinson. Aside from depictions of prostitutes, when had a woman with such sexual authority, confidence, and cool intelligence ever been portrayed on screen? But Mrs. Robinson is transformed into a demon. She forbids Ben to see Elaine, not because she wants him to herself, but because the guy she commits adultery with is no longer good enough to date her daughter.

As an odd representative of purity, Elaine falls into a marriage with someone she's "sort of" engaged to, mostly because it's what her parents want. Doesn't she represent what Ben hates? Not to Ben. She's safe, clean, and forgiving, nothing like her mother, and in the same boat as he is. Young Ben, hating everything his parents stand for but never articulating why, gets to screw them in the person of his

father's partner's wife. But ultimately, he ends up with the girl his parents picked for him, and he's still aimless. The film seems to deliberately sow confusion. When he gets off the bus, will Ben look into a future in plastics? Will the lovers live without their parents' financial help? Will they even stay together? These unanswered questions are part of the meaning of the film.

Though Hoffman had been in a few movies, Ben is the role that brought him (and director Nichols, who won an Oscar) fame. Hoffman was 30 when he played the 20-year-old Ben, and Bancroft was only 36. Robert Redford turned down the role of Ben out of fear that he wouldn't be able to convey Ben's naivete. Charles Grodin was cast in the role, but there was a salary dispute. Anne Bancroft wasn't the first choice for Mrs. Robinson, either. The role was offered to Patricia Neal, who was ill, and Doris Day, who was reportedly offended by the character.

*The Graduate* made the third highest box-office profit of any American film up to that time. Written by Calder Willingham with help from Buck Henry (who has a cameo as the hotel clerk), it was based on the novel by Charles Webb. Ironically, the Simon and Garfunkel song "Mrs. Robinson" as we know it was not on the movie's soundtrack—only an instrumental part was. After the film's successful release, Nichols persuaded Paul Simon to write an actual song with lyrics, for use as a marketing tool. It became a huge hit.

—Karen Lurie

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## Graffiti

People have been scribbling on walls as long as they have been building them. "Graffiti"—the word comes from the Italian verb *graffiare*, "to scratch"—covers a wide range of public inscriptions, from the early paintings on the walls of caves at Lescaux to quips hastily inked up on contemporary bathroom stalls. The late-twentieth century has seen the development of a market for graffiti as an art form, although the majority of graffiti remains unsolicited and anonymous.

Historically, graffiti has been used primarily as a form of personal communication. One of the earliest uses developed in the United States among hobos who rode the rails across the country in the first decades of the twentieth century. The complicated symbolic language of these transients was scratched in chalk on fence posts and other unobtrusive spots to communicate the receptivity of the townspeople to future travelers.

One of the most famous examples of graffiti in the twentieth century came in the image of Kilroy. James J. Kilroy, a shipyard inspector during World War II, wrote the words "Kilroy was here" in chalk on bulkheads to indicate that he had inspected the riveting. U.S. troops added the scribbled drawing of Kilroy leering over a wall to accompany the inscription "Kilroy was here" and Kilroy became an internationally known phenomenon during the 1940s and 1950s. Kilroy turned up in some very odd places; his first appearance is reputed to have been on the side of the battleship *New Yorker*, discovered by U.S. inspectors after the atomic bomb test at the Bikini atoll, but he has also appeared on top of the torch of the Statue of Liberty and under the Arc de Triomphe.

While American soldiers were spreading Kilroy across the globe, another ultimately more influential form of graffiti was developing in the United States during the 1940s. The exterior walls of



A graffiti-covered wall in Venice Beach, California.

buildings in Hispanic communities in postwar Los Angeles were increasingly decorated with a kind of marking subsequently designated as “old school.” Before the advent of spray paint, these black-and-white drawings were realized entirely in marker to communicate the boundaries of neighborhoods controlled by rival gangs.

Although graffiti continued during the 1960s, it was not until the 1970s that it started attracting public attention as a serious social problem. The visibility of graffiti had steadily been increasing, as graffiti artists started using spray paint to cover larger areas more colorfully than was previously possible. One of the first graffiti artists to achieve notoriety was a tagger, or name-writer, whose signature “Taki 183” began appearing on walls in four boroughs of New York in 1971. Taki was followed by a hoard of fellow taggers, and by the mid-1970s the primary target of graffiti artists hungry for name-recognition had become the trains of the New York City subway system. Throughout the decade, the city of New York fought a battle with enterprising taggers, whose projects grew rapidly from quick signatures to elaborately stylized versions of their street names, dubbed “Wild Style,” that could cover an entire subway car. Even as the transit authorities struggled to remove the colorful paintings, or “throw-ups,” New York graffiti was achieving international recognition as part of a nascent hip-hop culture that included rap music and break dancing. Several films immortalize this period, including *Wild Style* (1982) and *Beat Street* (1984).

Eventually, a coating was developed that inhibited the application of spray paint onto the surfaces of trains, and in the 1980s a booming art market developed an interest in graffiti marketed as an art form. Several galleries in Manhattan began specializing in graffiti art, and former graffiti artists such as Keith Haring, who got his start doing quick marker drawings in his characteristic outline style, and Jean-Michel Basquiat became instant celebrities, with works selling for hundreds of thousands of dollars. The public fascination with graffiti faded by the end of the decade, as graffiti became increasingly associated with the activity of urban gangs.

—Deborah Broderson

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## Grafton, Sue (1940—)

Along with fellow writers Sara Paretsky and Marcia Muller, Sue Grafton has been credited with popularizing the mystery sub-genre of the female private eye. Although there have been female detectives almost from the beginnings of mystery fiction, in the past they were almost exclusively amateur sleuths rather than detectives for hire. The tough female private eye, written in the tradition of a Mike Hammer or a Philip Marlowe, was unheard of until the late 1970s. Women

writers of this type of mystery were also rare. Due to the growing popularity of Grafton, Paretsky, and Muller, however, other authors have begun to introduce many new female detectives. However, Grafton's Kinsey Milhone remains among the most popular.

It now seems almost inevitable that Grafton would become a mystery writer. She was born in Louisville, Kentucky, the daughter of teacher Vivian Harnsberger and attorney, C. W. Grafton, himself a mystery writer of some note who had several books published in the 1940s and 1950s. She earned her Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Louisville in 1961 with a major in English Literature. After graduation, Grafton worked in the medical field in various capacities while pursuing her writing. She also married twice and began a family that would eventually include three children.

Grafton's initial forays into novel writing were not in the mystery realm. Her first novel, *Keziah Dane*, was published in 1967. Her second novel, *The Lolly Madonna War*, published in 1969, was made into the motion picture *Lolly-Madonna XXX* in 1973, with Grafton co-writing the screenplay. This led to her early career as a writer for television. During that time she wrote episodes for several television programs such as *Rhoda* and *Seven Brides for Seven Brothers*. Grafton was also a prolific writer of made-for-television movies, such as *Walking through Fire*, for which she won a Christopher Award; the critically acclaimed *Nurse*, which starred Michael Learned; and *Sex and the Single Parent*. With third husband and writing partner, Steven Humphrey, she adapted two Agatha Christie novels for TV—*A Caribbean Mystery* and *Sparkling Cyanide*. It was the experience of working as a writer of television and movies that later made Grafton vow that no Kinsey Milhone novel would ever be used for a motion picture.

Although she was a successful screenwriter, Grafton was determined to leave Hollywood. She planned to try her hand at a mystery novel, as her father had forty years before, and she decided her main character would be a female private detective. Grafton based Kinsey Milhone largely on herself. In 1982 she began the alphabet mystery series with ‘A’ *is for Alibi*, for which she won an Anthony Award. She plans to continue the series through the letter Z and, at her current rate of one Milhone book a year, she should reach that goal about the same time she turns seventy years old. Grafton has won many awards since the first Milhone book, including three more Anthony Awards, a Shamus Award, and an American Mystery Award.

Sue Grafton has had an impact on television and its culture with her screenplays and television shows. However, it is with the popular Kinsey Milhone that she has continued to stretch not only the boundaries of mystery fiction, but also those of acceptable behavior for women, whether fictional or flesh and bone.

—Jill A. Gregg

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## Graham, Bill (1931-1991)

Bill Graham revolutionized the music industry by providing a forum for the explosion of artistic expression in rock and roll during



**Bill Graham**

the 1960s. A teetotaling prime mover of the psychedelic movement, Graham used his shrewd business acumen to present music to the world, making it profitable and self-sustaining. In the process, Graham drew attention to this brilliant period of cultural revolution and focused its creative energy into a performance ethic that has become the standard for live stage presentation.

Born Wolfgang Grajonca January 8, 1931, in Berlin, Graham was the only son in a large Russian-Jewish family. He was sent away to school to escape the Hitler Youth movement, and later, when Hitler invaded Poland in 1939, Bill and his younger sister were transported to France as deportation to labor camps became inevitable. Graham developed few memories of his family, having spent his formative years surrounded by air raids and bomb shelters, and as the Nazis pushed into France in 1941, Bill was separated from his ailing sister as he fled (mostly on foot) with the other refugees. Meanwhile, all but two of his sisters were deported to the concentration camp at Auschwitz.

Like many Jewish refugees during World War II, Bill was sent to New York City. He languished in a foster home until he was adopted by Alfred and Pearl Ehrenreich in 1941, and he quickly learned English from his step-brother Roy. Though he was not a United States citizen, and was ridiculed for his heavy German accent, he became an active, integral part of his ethnic community. When World War II ended he corresponded, and later was reunited, with his surviving sisters.

In high school and in community college, Bill was a hard worker if not a stellar pupil. He worked several jobs and enjoyed the positive reinforcement of a good tip for a job well done, especially as a waiter at various resorts in the Catskills Mountains in the late 1940s. Here he also developed his passion for show business and immersed himself

in theater, film, and Latin music while rubbing elbows with pretentious, high-society vacationers and the stars they came to see. In 1950, though, Graham was drafted at the onset of the Korean War. In the army, he changed his name to Bill (the American equivalent of Wolfgang) Graham (closest to G-R-A-J in the phonebook) and served until 1953, receiving a Bronze Star for valor and—at last—United States citizenship.

Discharged and aimless, he hitchhiked across America and worked with theater troupes in New York City and San Francisco, eventually meeting his future wife Bonnie as well as finding a steady job with the San Francisco Mime Troupe, a politically aware artists' collective. It was when the group was arrested for performing in a public park without a permit that Graham discovered his true organizational calling.

In 1965 Graham arranged a benefit to raise bail money for the Mime Troupe and, seeing a business opportunity, set to work organizing larger and more elaborate community events. A strange synthesis was brewing in San Francisco. The rise of a counter-culture involved attempts at changing society. Performers did more than entertain; they also educated and informed, but too often without a legitimate venue in which to express themselves. Bill Graham filled this void by opening the Fillmore Auditorium, which quickly became the performance space for important cultural and musical events.

Charging nominal fees, Graham exposed the general public to local groups (Grateful Dead, Jefferson Airplane) as well as eclectic opening bands (Ravi Shankar, Miles Davis), claiming “vegetables before dessert” were important. He also supported performance artists, acid tests, be-ins, love-ins, and any other human social experiment in need of a decent sound system. Light shows backed up the music, and shows were advertised by local artists in psychedelic poster art. The Fillmore thus became the entertainment nexus of San Francisco counterculture.

As the 1960s wore on, and more and more initiates were “turned on” to the hippie aesthetic, Graham branched out and opened auditoriums on both coasts. He made a sizable profit from the flower power phenomenon which caused some tension between him and his more obstinate cohorts from the early days. As ticket prices increased so did the pretensions of many performers, and Bill was also often regarded as one of Them—a member of the Establishment. Yet he managed to straddle the line between exploiter and exploited, earning the trust of many musicians and artists whom he helped to foster.

Inevitably, his grassroots business went national. Bill was an integral organizer of the legendary Monterey Pop Festival, and though he only advised its organizers, he made Woodstock possible as well. Due to the widening gulf between audiences and performers in the 1970s, however, Graham closed his Fillmores and began promoting tours to properly present rock and roll to the world. In the 1980s, as behemoth sports arenas seating thousands of people became the standard venue, Bill's production company, “Bill Graham Presents,” pioneered the rock concert as a social statement while his t-shirt and poster business boomed. He promoted some of the first rock concerts in Eastern Europe and organized historic benefits such as Amnesty International's Conspiracy of Hope tour and the Live Aid concert which brought famine relief to Ethiopia.

On October 25, 1991, while leaving a concert he had promoted, Bill Graham was killed in a helicopter crash. A week later, Bill Graham Presents put on a massive free concert in his honor at the Polo Field in Golden Gate Park in San Francisco, the site of many past benefit concerts Bill had organized. Though there was no announcement made regarding who would play, the crowd was estimated at



nearly half a million. Many important groups to whom Bill had given their first break paid tribute to this capitalist who played no instrument, yet whose influence over music and public presentation forever changed popular culture and its interpretation by mass media. He was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1992.

—Tony Brewer

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## Graham, Billy (1918-)

Billy Graham, one of the most prominent of America's Protestant evangelists, has preached to more than 200 million people in his many crusades throughout the world, and to countless other millions through the media of radio and television. Considered one of the most successful evangelists in the history of Christianity, he is admired even by many who do not share his religious beliefs. For five decades Americans have named him to the Gallup Poll's lists of the "Ten Most Admired Men in the World." Graham has spoken intimately with many of the most powerful figures of the twentieth century, including ten American presidents, Winston Churchill, Mikhail Gorbachev, Kim Il Sung, and Pope John Paul II. Former President



Billy Graham

George Bush has called him "America's pastor," but Graham's influence is global.

When he was born on November 7, 1918, in Charlotte, North Carolina, there was nothing to suggest that William Franklin Graham, Jr., would become a world-renowned personality. His parents were God-fearing country people who reared Billy Frank and his siblings to read the Bible, pray often, and work hard on the family's dairy farm. Graham was 16 years old when Mordecai Ham, a fire-and-brimstone evangelist, came to Charlotte. Like most adolescent males, Billy Frank was more interested in cars, baseball, and girls than in anything an evangelist had to offer. Even after his confession of faith at a Ham service, visible changes in him were slight. Graham admits in his 1997 autobiography, "Although I had been converted, I did not have much of a concept of my life coming under some kind of divine plan. . . . I had no inkling of what my life work would be." He was certain, however, that undertaking and preaching could be ruled out.

Nevertheless, by 1938, Graham, who by this time had dropped the "Frank," felt that God had called him to preach. From that moment his commitment was unswerving. During his years at the Florida Bible Institute, young Graham preached in small churches, in mission services, and on street corners. Later studies at Wheaton College in Illinois gave Graham a liberal arts background and reinforced his conservative biblical interpretation. Time would mellow Graham in many respects; his staccato delivery would become more conversational, his Protestantism would become more ecumenical, his social views would become less judgmental, but he would never swerve from his allegiance to what "the Bible says."

Another significant event of his Wheaton years was his encounter with Ruth Bell, daughter of medical missionaries, who had spent her first 17 years in Asia and was planning to return as a missionary to Tibet. Instead, in 1943, she became the wife of Billy Graham. The young Grahams served briefly as pastor and wife, but Graham soon resigned his church to become a charter vice-president and the first full-time evangelist of Youth for Christ International. He covered the country, conducting YFC meetings in Atlanta, Norfolk, Indianapolis, Princeton, and dozens of other cities.

It was a fortuitous moment. Post-World War II America was a nation of seekers; church membership, sales of religious books, and enrollment at religious institutions were all on the rise. Predictably, so were evangelists. Among their number were some that were no more than confidence men and others who soon fell prey to the temptations of the flesh and the world. Graham, concerned with what he referred to as the Elmer Gantry problem, called together his associates during a Modesto, California campaign. In what came to be known as the Modesto Manifesto, team members agreed that the sponsoring committee would be asked to handle funds with no contributions passing through the hands of the Graham team. They further agreed that each would avoid situations that would place him alone with a woman not his wife. These simple but effective measures protected the Graham team from the scandals that toppled many other evangelists.

A year later California was again the setting for a Graham milestone. The young evangelist had been invited to be the featured speaker at the annual Christ for Greater Los Angeles revival. The Graham team began an operation that would in its general shape become their operating policy for the next five decades: preparatory revivals, small group-prayer meetings, area-wide choir recruitment, counselor training—nine months of preparation in all coupled with thousands of dollars worth of publicity. Despite these efforts, attendance at the services was not extraordinary. Celebrity conversions resulted in a flurry of interest, but then William Randolph Hearst gave

the order that became part of Graham legend: "Puff Graham," he instructed his papers. The result was media saturation that no amount of money could have purchased. Headlines in Hearst papers were followed by wire-service coverage that was followed by coverage in national newsmagazines. By the time Graham left Los Angeles, the revival had run for eight weeks, the aggregate congregation had reached into the hundreds of thousands, and Billy Graham had become a national celebrity.

A 12-week crusade in London, followed by a European tour where he preached to record crowds in Stockholm, Amsterdam, and Berlin, proved Graham's appeal was not limited to Americans. Nevertheless, his greatest triumph may have been the 1957 New York crusade where he preached to two and a half million people in services that lasted from mid-May through Labor Day. The New York Crusade was important for more than its numbers. Graham, whose critics have long faulted him for failing to use his status more aggressively for social causes, integrated his own team with the addition of Howard O. Jones, an action that led to a wave of protests from segregationists. Graham also met privately with Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and invited King to be a platform guest. There can be little question that Graham was uncomfortable with confrontation, and that the concept of civil disobedience troubled the evangelist whose patriotic fervor and anti-Communist rhetoric had been part of his early appeal. But Graham was convinced of the immorality of racism, and as early as 1952 had refused to hold segregated services in Jackson, Mississippi and other Southern cities. Graham's actions may have made a stronger statement to other moderates than his critics recognize.

The New York crusade was also important because for the first time a Graham crusade was broadcast on network television. Graham had already shown himself astute in utilizing media to promulgate his message. *The Hour of Power* radio broadcasts reached millions, as did his syndicated newspaper column "My Answer." The Billy Graham Evangelistic Association would go on to use film, video, and the Internet to reach target audiences, but perhaps no other avenue did so much to make Graham known and admired by most Americans as did the intimate medium of television which brought his crusades into the living rooms of Americans of all creeds, classes, and colors. By the late 1990s the audience for Graham's televised crusades reached 60 million annually.

The 50 years after the New York crusade saw Graham preach in hundreds of countries across the face of the globe. He organized crusades in the former Eastern bloc nations, the People's Republic of China, and, in 1973, one in South Korea where he addressed 1.2 million people, the largest public religious gathering in history. He also served as an unofficial spiritual adviser to President Richard M. Nixon during the Watergate crisis. Thus, Graham had literally taken his message "unto all the world."

His audiences may be worldwide, but Billy Graham remains a peculiarly American figure. His rise from North Carolina farm boy to become the companion of presidents; his curious mix of religion, politics, and celebrity; his eagerness to be liked; his simple faith; his paradoxical blend of ego and humility are all elements of the American psyche. Graham has been presented with the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the Congressional Gold Medal, and a star on Hollywood Boulevard. But Graham answers reporters' queries about how he wishes to be remembered with the single word "integrity," a word that means not only honesty but also completeness, a lack of division. At the end of his autobiography, Graham regrets lost time with his family, lost opportunities for study, and foolish slips into

partisan politics. The one thing for which he has no vestige of regret is his "commitment many years ago to accept God's calling to serve Him as an evangelist of the Gospel of Christ."

—Wylene Rholetter

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## Graham, Martha (1894-1991)

The greatest and most influential choreographer of modern dance, Graham built on the foundations created by American pioneers like Isadora Duncan, Ruth St. Denis, Ted Shawn, and Doris Humphrey. She created and codified a dance language that stressed the downward pull of gravity and balance—and, along with it she identified a series of gestures and movements to express particular emotions in dance. Early in her career she explored American experience in such works as *Steps in the Streets* (1936) about homelessness, *El Penitente* (1940) about a religious cult in the Southwest, and a Shaker wedding in *Appalachian Spring* (1944). Later, Graham explored the spiritual and psychological meaning of classical myths like, for example, the myth of Oedipus in *Night Journey* (1944) and *Clytemnestra* (1958). She began dancing in 1916



Martha Graham

and retired as a dancer in 1970, although she continued to choreograph for her company until her death at 96.

—Jeffrey Escoffier

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## Grandmaster Flash (1958—)

Grandmaster Flash (Joseph Saddler) was a hip-hop pioneer. Using his skills as an electronic engineer he perfected the art of punch phasing and mixing by constructing the first twin-deck turntable using a mixer, headphones, and a monitor switch. Flash polished his technique on the “wheels of steel” and took the art of “scratching” to a new level. He has been imitated by rap deejays ever since. His quick mixing and scratching skills can be heard on his *The Adventures of Grandmaster Flash and the Wheels of Steel*, which was the first rap record to use samples. Flash began to add snippets of rhyme and boasting to his deejaying and soon formed The Furious Five, who did the rapping for him. Together they released the seminal track “The Message” (1982), a vivid portrayal of the underside of the American Dream in New York’s urban ghettos. Flash’s early experimenting with the new hip-hop genre helped to bring it out of abandoned buildings in the South Bronx and into the homes of millions worldwide.

—Nathan Abrams

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## Grand Ole Opry

The longest-running radio show in broadcasting history, the *Grand Ole Opry* has long been the symbolic center of country music. It represents the pinnacle of success for performing artists, for whom the *Grand Ole Opry* is the country music equivalent of playing Carnegie Hall. The *Opry* is, however, much more than simply a prestige performance venue. Since its inception in 1925, it has brought country music to listeners all across the United States, helping to transform the genre from a regional musical form to a national one. For its rural listeners, spread out across the vast stretches of open space, the *Opry* became part of the common bond that united rural folk across the country, not only providing musical entertainment, but also creating a cultural home for its many thousands of rural listeners.

In the early 1920s, radio was still a new means of communication. As its commercial potential grew, certain radio stations began to

broadcast programs with special appeal to rural listeners. In 1925, George D. Hay, formerly an announcer at WLS in Chicago, which featured a country music program called *The National Barn Dance*, took a job as station director at the new WSM radio station in Nashville, Tennessee. Hay’s first program was the WSM *Barn Dance*, a copy of the WLS show in Chicago which featured just two performers, 77-year-old fiddle player Uncle Jimmy Thompson and his niece, pianist Eva Thompson Jones. The hour-long show consisted of nothing more than fiddle tunes with piano accompaniment, but the show drew such a favorable response that the format was continued for several weeks. Soon, however, the roster and the repertoire broadened, as other local musicians, including banjo and guitar players, came to perform on the show. Most were amateurs and none were paid. The image of *Barn Dance* as a rural program was important, and Hay made sure his performers kept things “down to earth.”

The show’s success continued, and in 1927 George D. Hay changed the name of the show to the *Grand Ole Opry*. The name “Opry” was an intentional jibe at the world of classical music, often perceived as pretentious, and the *Grand Ole Opry* followed NBC’s national *Musical Appreciation Hour*, a show devoted to classical music and opera. Hay announced one evening that although listeners had spent the last hour hearing grand opera, he would now present what he called the “Grand Ole Opry.” The name proved popular, and it became the official name of the show that year. Hay, who called himself the “Solemn Old Judge,” opened the show every Saturday night with the words “Let her go, boys.” And off they went. Among the early popular favorites were banjo player and singer Uncle Dave Macon, African-American harmonica player Deford Bailey (the only African-American performer until Charley Pride in the mid-1960s), and Dr. Humphrey Bate, who hosted one of the many string bands featured on the early *Opry*. As the show grew in popularity, the station’s power grew as well. By the early 1930s, the station’s signal could reach 30 states and parts of Canada.

In the 1930s, the emphasis of the *Grand Ole Opry* shifted away from its rough rural edge and moved more in the direction of modern country music. The *Opry* had proved that country music had a wide appeal, and the potential of that appeal to turn profits for country musicians and for the corporate sponsors of radio programs like the *Opry*, moved the show in a new direction—toward the creation and marketing of country music “stars.” In 1928, Harry Stone joined WSM as an announcer and quickly assumed supervisory duties, replacing George Hay who was relegated to announcing duties on the *Grand Ole Opry*. With his brother David Stone, and stage manager Vito Pellettieri, Harry Stone furthered the commercial potential of the *Opry*. In 1934 Pellettieri began dividing the show into sponsored segments as a way of increasing revenue. Commercial sponsorship of the *Grand Ole Opry* was still very inexpensive in the mid-1930s; a 15-minute segment cost a sponsor only \$100. Promoting new star talent, however, was where the real money could be made. Stone moved the *Opry* away from the amateur string band sound favored during the 1920s, and began promoting new individual stars such as singer Roy Acuff. Stone also managed WSM’s Artist Service, which booked *Opry* stars for personal appearances within the territory reached by WSM’s radio signal. Stone used the *Opry* as an avenue to promote individual stars, whose personal appearances could make good money, of which the *Opry* got a cut as manager. Performers were paid very little for their appearances on the show, but the exposure was invaluable in providing opportunities for stardom, while ensuring that the artists made a living from concert appearances.

This star system, very much akin to the system used to promote Hollywood movie stars at the time, brought new talent to the *Opry* in the 1930s and 1940s. Notable among them were the Delmore Brothers, Eddy Arnold, Hank Snow, Pee Wee King, Ernest Tubbs, Minnie Pearl, Bill Monroe, and others, all of whom were among the biggest names in country music. The biggest newcomer to the *Opry* in the 1930s was Roy Acuff, who joined it in 1938. Acuff had worked earlier in his life as a musician with a traveling medicine show. He recorded his first songs in 1936, and had an early hit with “The Great Speckled Bird.” With his band the Tennessee Crackerjacks (later renamed the Crazy Tennesseans and, later still, the Smoky Mountain Boys), Acuff soon became the leading performer on the *Grand Ole Opry*. At a time when cowboy music was sweeping country music, Acuff managed to prosper under the *Opry*’s new star system, while still keeping close ties to his own southern rural roots, which he had in common with his listeners. Those rural roots were also kept alive by the emerging bluegrass sound of Bill Monroe and his Bluegrass Boys, who were developing a new, hard-driving, string-band sound that combined virtuoso musicianship with close harmony vocals. Among the *Opry*’s biggest female stars in the 1940s and beyond was Minnie Pearl, one of country music’s greatest comediennes, known for her flower hats with the price tag attached, her high-pitched “Howdee!” greeting, and her routines that lovingly chronicled rural life. In the late 1940s, one of country music’s biggest stars, Hank Williams, became an *Opry* regular, thrilling audiences with his honky-tonk sound until his unreliable appearance schedule led to his dismissal in 1952, followed shortly thereafter by his death in 1953.

The *Opry* continued to grow during these years, playing to a continually expanding audience. In October 1939, the *Opry* went national when a half-hour of the show was featured on NBC’s national Saturday night line-up. This was known as the *Prince Albert Show*, sponsored by Prince Albert Tobacco. The *Opry* was also the subject of a motion picture in 1940, called simply *Grand Ole Opry*, and featuring Uncle Dave Macon, Roy Acuff, George Hay, and others. In 1943, the show moved its location to Nashville’s historic Ryman Auditorium in order to accommodate the increased demand among fans to attend the live performances. In 1948, the *Opry* expanded to include a spin-off show on Friday nights on WSM called *Friday Night Frolics*.

During the 1950s, the *Opry*’s sound moved further and further away from its rural origins. New *Opry* managers Jim Denny and Jack Stapp attempted to modernize the show, and although old-timers like Roy Acuff, Bill Monroe, and Hank Snow still made appearances, often hosting their own segments, the *Opry* continued to use its star system approach, promoting younger stars to add to the roster of older, established stars. The *Opry* in the 1950s remained a crucial stepping stone for country talent, hosting such emerging stars as George Jones, Johnny Cash, Webb Pierce, Stonewall Jackson, Little Jimmy Dickens, Porter Wagoner, and others. These trends continued in the 1960s, a decade that saw the emergence of Loretta Lynn, Jim Reeves, Patsy Cline, and Dolly Parton.

By the late 1960s, however, even though the *Grand Ole Opry* remained a prestige performance venue for country musicians, it no longer had the same star-making power. This was a reflection of the declining influence of Nashville, brought about by the realization that it was not the nation’s sole preserve of country music. In the 1960s, California country artists such as Buck Owens and Merle Haggard had demonstrated that country music talent could come from anywhere, and often with a more authentic sound than the more commercial country-pop Nashville had been offering since the late 1950s.

Other factors also reduced the *Opry*’s influence. It refused to acknowledge the growing popularity of rockabilly and rock ’n’ roll music in the 1950s, both of which had country influences, and as a result the show lost a portion of its younger audience. Also, early in the 1960s, the *Opry* lost two major stars with the deaths of Patsy Cline and Jim Reeves. Matters were not made any easier by the fact that the *Opry* paid its performers poorly. Contracts with musicians stipulated a certain number of appearances each year, but the high number of appearances at union scale wages made touring for some of the stars difficult. Consequently, staying close to Nashville in order to fulfill their contractual obligations cut into their income potential from concert performances.

In the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, the *Opry* largely redefined itself as a repository for country music’s historic traditions. The show moved out of the Ryman Auditorium in 1974 and into more modern and spacious accommodations in the new Opryland amusement park outside Nashville. There, it continued to draw huge crowds each week, an indication that many were hungry for a taste of this country past. By the end of the 1990s, the *Opry* was still a prestige venue for both established and up-and-coming stars. The relaxation of contractual obligations, put in place by *Opry* manager Hal Durham during the 1970s and 1980s, allowed such younger stars as Clint Black, Reba McEntire, Vince Gill, Alan Jackson, Alison Krauss, and Garth Brooks, among others, to make occasional appearances on the show without cutting too heavily into their concert schedules. Despite the rarity of appearances by country stars of this stature, and the fact that the *Opry* has become home more regularly to older or lesser stars who are no longer making hit records, the *Grand Ole Opry* remains one of the greatest of country music traditions. Most importantly, it has preserved the old-time radio show format that began entertaining country music audiences back in the 1920s.

—Timothy Berg

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## Grant, Amy (1960—)

Bringing a flamboyant and youthful sound to what had generally been considered a stiff and formal musical field, Amy Grant changed the face of Christian music. When Grant emerged on the Christian music scene in the 1980s, four categories existed: classical, traditional, gospel, and Jesus rock. Seeing the need for the expression of personal feelings, Grant developed her unique style, which made the old form of Jesus rock acceptable to a greater audience. The Christian message reached a mainstream following of teenagers, college students, and twenty-somethings, through Grant’s use of a rock beat. Contemporary Christian music finally had a young, visible face with a vibrant sound.

Born in Augusta, Georgia, on November 25, 1960, Amy Lee Grant moved to Nashville, Tennessee, as an infant. Religion played an important role in her family life, with her strong belief being



**Amy Grant**

reflected in the songs that she wrote as a teenager. Reflecting what were sometimes intensely personal feelings, her songs served as an outlet through which Grant expressed her thoughts.

Amy Grant's career was launched when Chris Christian played a tape, which Grant had made for her parents, for the Christian music company, Word. Word and the Myrrh label offered the teenage Grant a recording contract, allowing her to present her first album to the Christian market at age 16. The eponymous work, *Amy Grant*, was recorded in Christian's home basement studio. Beginning with this album's release, a gradual change in religious music took place, bringing Jesus rock into a new era. Grant gave contemporary Christian music a revitalized image.

Through her high school and college years, Grant continued to record and perform. Her life revolved around family, church, school, and friends. With each new album, her audience grew, as did her appeal. People began to accept her style, unique sound, and the fresh messages found in the lyrics of her songs. Grant also branched out to record works written by others, most notably her future husband, Gary Chapman ("Father's Eyes"), and a young man, Michael W. Smith ("Thy Word"), who served as her co-writer and eventually followed her into the contemporary Christian field. Grant's popularity continued to increase, as did her honors, awards, and media recognition. Winning numerous Grammys and GMA Dove Awards, her albums have received gold and platinum awards from the music industry.

While Grant's earlier recordings include deeply religious works such as "El Shaddai" (1982) and "Thy Word" (1984), her music began to change with the release of the album, *Unguarded* (1986).

This album created controversy especially the song, "Find a Way." The video for this particular number caused Christian traditionalists concern because of the lack of references to God both in lyrics and imagery. That same year, Grant recorded "Next Time I Fall" with Peter Cetera, which raised more questions about the type of music she was choosing to record.

In spite of these concerns in the Christian community, Grant's popularity continued to grow. She countered the worries on the Christian music front with the album *Lead Me On* in 1988. In 1991, A & M Music, in conjunction with Word, released Grant's first pop collection *Heart in Motion*, in both the Christian and secular markets. With songs like "Baby, Baby," which Grant wrote for her infant daughter, her music reached the Top 40 echelon and her songs became standards. Her critics, however, found the song too sexual in content for a Christian singer. While the album was not overtly religious, the music still carried messages of hope, love, and family. In 1994, Grant released *House of Love*, which combined secular and Christian music with powerful messages regarding all varieties of love—including God's love. Her 1997 album, *Behind the Eyes*, returned Grant to her musical roots as a solo performer using acoustical guitar accompaniment with thought provoking but not necessarily Christian lyrics.

Grant's tours have played to diverse audiences. In the beginning of her career, she performed as a solo act on a bare stage. By 1981, Grant had added a live band and a new performing image. She exhibited dance movements on stage that were more common to rock performers than to Christian singers. Not afraid to let her emotions show, Grant expressed her feelings through both facial expressions and heartfelt pleadings. This exuberance led to a steady increase in young adults attending her concerts, which in turn increased the exposure of a growing contemporary Christian music field. Grant's performance at the Grammy Awards in 1985 gave contemporary Christian music an unprecedented exposure during a primetime live network broadcast, at a time when the musical form needed exposure to the masses. She served as a pioneer in the field, thus opening the door for a wider range of contemporary Christian artists, including the pop stylings of Michael W. Smith, the hard rock sound of Petra, and rap by DC Talk.

—Linda Ann Martindale

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## Grant, Cary (1904-1986)

A top box-office draw from the 1930s through the 1960s, movie star Cary Grant personified the ideal attributes of the "leading man" during the golden age of Hollywood. Darkly handsome, with that trademark cleft chin, elegantly attired whether in dinner clothes or soldier's uniform, meeting every challenge with self-deprecating savoir-faire, ready with witty banter or eloquent gesture and possessing a flair for comic timing second to none, Grant was adored by women and admired by men for three decades. Though he occasionally veered from his popular image by attempting more serious roles,



Cary Grant

Cary Grant's forte was light, romantic comedy. He brought to his films a buoyant charm and an effortless improvisational quality that belied the hard work spent making it look so easy. He was Fred Astaire minus the music and plus the chiseled good looks.

The persona the world came to know as "Cary Grant" was the carefully crafted creation of Alexander Archibald Leach, born in Bristol, England, in 1904. As a teenager, Leach forsook an unpromising existence in Bristol for the uncertainties of a theatrical career, joining Bob Pender's theatrical troupe in vaudeville performances throughout England. Pender's Troupe eventually played America, and young Archie went with it. After deciding to settle in the United States, Leach occasionally found vaudeville work, but just as often found hard times. Once in 1922, he earned his keep as a Coney Island stiltwalker. By the late 1920s, Archie's perseverance was finally paying off in leading roles on Broadway. His first film appearance, as a sailor in *Singapore Sue*, a musical short shot at New York's Astoria Studio, led to a contract with Paramount in Hollywood, where he began acting under his new moniker, Cary Grant.

Grant's earliest film roles reveal that he had already developed his "Cary Grant voice," with its unique inflection of Americanized Cockney, impossible to place geographically and therefore concealing his humble origins. But the process of becoming Cary Grant was a slow one, evolving from film to film. "I guess to a certain extent I did eventually become the characters I was playing," Grant once confessed. "I played at being someone I wanted to be until I became that person. Or he became me." At first, nothing more was required of Grant than that he be the stalwart leading man, though he soon displayed hints of the charm to come in his badinage with Mae West in *She Done Him Wrong* and *I'm No Angel*, (both 1933). Under George Cukor's direction, Grant began to loosen up and find himself, portraying a Cockney con-man opposite Katharine Hepburn in *Sylvia Scarlett* (1936). Playing a devil-may-care ghost in 1937's *Topper* seems to have freed Grant still further. That same year's *The Awful Truth* featured Grant's first full-out comedy star-turn. Leo McCarey's direction encouraged improvisation, and the interplay between Grant and Irene Dunne delighted audiences. This hit was immediately followed by Howard Hawks's *Bringing Up Baby*, again co-starring Katharine Hepburn. It was a box-office disappointment but is now recognized as one of the archetypal classics of screwball comedy.

Once he had hit his stride, Grant moved from strength to strength as one of the first big stars to become an independent agent and shop his wares at different studios, thus enabling him to have his pick of the best scripts, directors, and co-stars. Grant proved he could shift suavely from the knockabout Kipling adventure of *Gunga Din* (1939) to the sophisticated romance of *The Philadelphia Story* (1940). Alfred Hitchcock was the first director to take advantage of a certain dark undercurrent in Grant by casting him as a murder suspect in *Suspicion* (1941), though the studio insisted the story be re-written to exonerate Grant's character at the fade-out. Hitchcock and Grant would team memorably thrice more, with *Notorious* (1946), *To Catch a Thief* (1955), and *North by Northwest* (1959). Highlights of Grant's romantic-comedy filmography include *His Girl Friday* (1940, with Rosalind Russell), *The Bachelor and the Bobby-Soxer* (1947, Shirley Temple and Myrna Loy), and *That Touch of Mink* (1962, Doris Day). Grant's career as a top box-office draw was a long one, sustained partly by his shrewd emphasis on the light romantic fare his public seemed most to favor—although there were occasions when Grant attempted a "stretch," as with "Ernie Mott," the impoverished Cockney he played in Clifford Odets' *None but the Lonely Heart* (1944).

In many ways, Ernie Mott was the man Archie Leach might have become had he never left Bristol. An important element of *Lonely Heart* was Ernie's relationship with his mother, played by Ethel Barrymore. Archie's own mother had strangely disappeared for a time when he was a boy, and the adult Cary Grant's relations with women were not as effortless in life as they were on the screen; he was married five times and divorced four. Grant's search for meaning in his life at one point led him to participate in early clinical experiments with LSD, which he claimed were beneficial. Still handsome in his sixties, but growing uncomfortable at playing love scenes with younger actresses, Grant retired from the screen after playing his first character lead in *Walk, Don't Run* in 1966. Film offers kept coming his way, but Grant was content to pursue other business interests and, more importantly, spend time with his daughter Jennifer, the product of his marriage to wife number four, actress Dyan Cannon. In 1986, while on a speaking engagement in Davenport, Iowa, with his wife Barbara Harris, Grant suffered a fatal stroke.

Much though he doted on his real-life role as father, Grant's image in the public mind would always be the dashing chap in the tuxedo who was never at a loss for the right words to charm Grace Kelly or Audrey Hepburn. Thanks to such 1990s films as *Sleepless in Seattle*, Grant's 1957 *An Affair to Remember* remains evergreen in the popular consciousness as the epitome of movie romance. Cary Grant never fully abandoned Archie Leach, and Grant has also come to symbolize the power of creating one's own persona, thus giving a world of Archie Leaches hope for the fulfillment of their own dreams. Once, when told that every man would like to be Cary Grant, the actor replied, "So would I."

—Preston Neal Jones

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## *The Grapes of Wrath*

Written by John Steinbeck and published in 1939, *The Grapes of Wrath* describes the Depression era journey of the fictional Joad family from the Dust Bowl of Oklahoma to the agricultural fields of California. A film version of the novel, directed by John Ford and starring Henry Fonda, followed in 1940. Together with evocative photographs by Dorothea Lange, the novel and film focused national

attention on the plight of migrant farm workers in California and earned Steinbeck the Pulitzer Prize in fiction in 1940.

The novel recounts the westward journey of the Joads, a three-generation Oklahoma family pushed off their land through a combination of dust storms and foreclosures. Eldest son Tom returns home from the state penitentiary to find the family preparing to head to California in the hopes of obtaining work and eventually a farm of their own. Tom, along with parents, grandparents, an uncle, siblings, and a brother-in-law, are joined in their trek by Jim Casy, an ex-preacher looking to fill the void left by his loss of "the Holy spirit." After leaving Oklahoma, they discover that California is not the land of milk and honey where they can become independent farmers, but rather it is a cold, harsh, uninviting environment, in both the towns and the countryside. Through their journey, Tom and Casy learn about the exploitative practices of landowners and the avenues open to farm laborers to challenge the power of the farm owners. Ma Joad learns, over the course of the novel, that her responsibilities extend beyond the limits of the "family" to "the people." She learns the importance of solidarity in regaining and maintaining human dignity, just as Tom learns the value of solidarity in gaining respect in labor. This message is reinforced in the novel's final scene, in which Tom's sister, Rosasharn (Rose-of-Sharon), having just given birth to a stillborn child, gives her maternal breast to a dying man. By the end of the novel, the Joad family has grown to include the family of man.

*The Grapes of Wrath* is a prime example of the proletarian novel that was popular during the Great Depression in which ordinary working class families (especially agricultural workers) became the focus. Steinbeck strongly believed in the power of literature to bring about change in society through education and example. By exposing the corrupt ways of agribusiness and the benefits of government intervention into the agricultural economy, Steinbeck sought to bring about the creation of a farm labor proletariat. The novel ignited an explosion of controversy over the problems of migrant labor. Accusations about the novel's accuracy led to debates such as the 1940 radio broadcast of "America's Town Meeting of the Air," which addressed the issue "What should America do for the Joads?" Criticisms about the representations of California growers and Oklahoma natives resulted in bans on the book in communities across the nation and most publicly in Kern County, California, a heavily agricultural region of the state.

Stylistically, the novel also recalls the documentary movement of the 1930s in its use of interchapters which depart from the narrative of the Joad family and describe phenomena representative of the migrant population as a whole. The interchapters authenticate the narrative by placing the plight of the Joads within the larger context of Dust Bowl migrants, the agricultural economy, and the American proletariat. Steinbeck portrayed the "Okie" migrants as uneducated, unsophisticated, earthy, and decent folk whose humanity provided a counterpoint to the inhumanity of industrial/agribusiness exploitation. Much like the photography of Margaret Bourke-White, Dorothea Lange, and Walker Evans; and documentary books like Bourke-White and Erskine Caldwell's *You Have Seen Their Faces* (1937), Lange and Paul Taylor's *An American Exodus: A Record of Human Erosion* (1939), and Evans and James Agee's *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1941), *The Grapes of Wrath* sought to improve society through the presentation of information in a highly emotionally charged narrative.

Upon publication, Daryl Zanuck of Twentieth Century-Fox studios acquired the rights to the novel and set screenwriter Nunnally



Henry Fonda (right) at the bedside of Shirley Mill (left) and Jane Darwell in a scene from the film *The Grapes of Wrath*.

Johnson to the task of adapting Steinbeck's prose into a screenplay. Production proceeded under tight security conditions as controversy over the novel mounted. Renowned western director John Ford gathered together a cast of actors including Henry Fonda (Tom Joad), Jane Darnwell (Ma Joad), and John Carradine (Preacher Casy). The film's look, through the stark cinematography of Greg Toland, recalls the documentary vision of government photographers like Russell Lee, Arthur Rothstein, and Dorothea Lange. While more optimistic in tone than the novel, the film presents a bleak look at the conditions of migrant farm workers during the Great Depression. John Ford received the Academy Award for Best Director for *The Grapes of Wrath*.

—Charles J. Shindo

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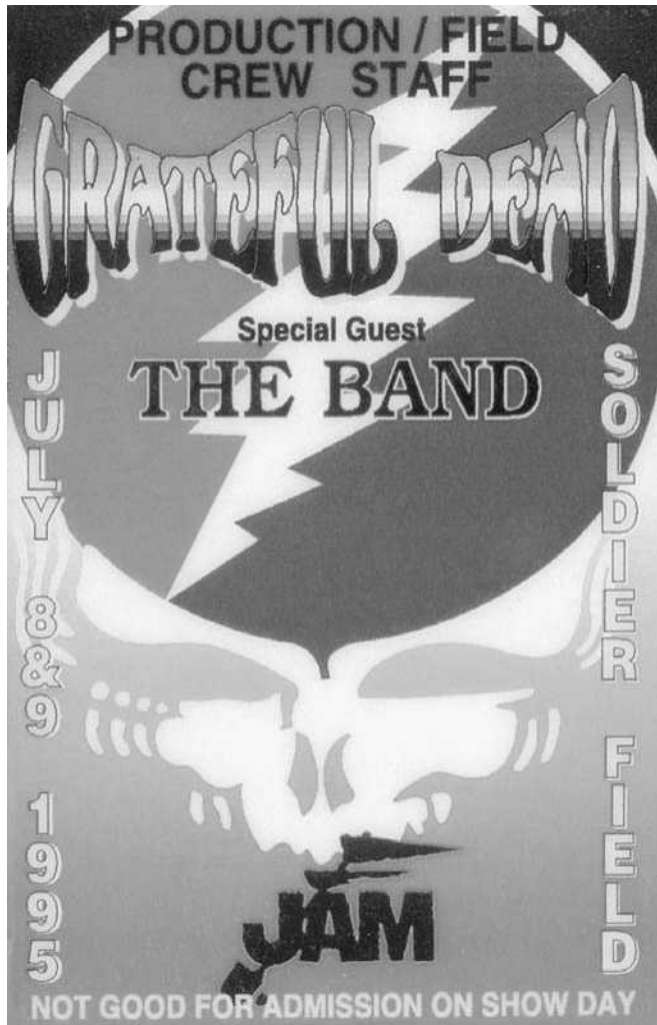
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## The Grateful Dead

The Grateful Dead, with its notorious founding member Jerry Garcia, was a band that epitomized the psychedelic era of American rock 'n' roll music from the 1960s to the 1990s. Even after Garcia's death in 1995, members of the band continued to tour, in part to satisfy the yearnings of the most dedicated group of fans ever to bind themselves to a musical group, the so-called Dead Heads.





A backstage pass from a Grateful Dead concert.

Garcia and friends Bob Weir, Ron “Pigpen” McKernan, Bill Kreutzmann, and Phil Lesh formed the band in the San Francisco Bay Area in 1965 after various incarnations as a blues and bluegrass influenced jug band (Mother McCree’s Uptown Jug Champions) and a blues/rock ensemble (The Warlocks). The various members, especially keyboard players, who were to come and go, included Tom Constanten, Donna and Keith Godchaux, Brent Mydland, Bruce Hornsby, and Vince Welnick. Mickey Hart joined the band shortly after its inception, complementing Kreutzmann as a second drummer, left for a while after his father ripped off the band, and later rejoined them. Pigpen died and the band kept on playing, but with the death of Jerry Garcia the remaining members finally disbanded. They kept playing in their various individual bands, however, and in a combined band called The Other Ones, which approximated the Grateful Dead and continued the Dead’s summer tour tradition.

According to Garcia, he found the name “Grateful Dead” by randomly opening a book and coming upon a dictionary entry describing the legend of those who, returned from the dead, reward a living person who had unwittingly aided them. The folk derivation of the name was fitting, since it summed up the roots of the founding members in the bluegrass, blues, and folk music that was performed in

the early 1960s by artists such as Bob Dylan and Joan Baez. The Dead continued to play folk classics like “Peggy-O,” “Jack-a-Roe,” and “Staggerlee” until the end. The grounding of the Grateful Dead in the American folk tradition contradicts its image as a corrupt purveyor of hallucinatory drugs, but their roots can also be traced to free-spirited Ken Kesey’s Merry Pranksters and Beat figures like Neal Cassady. Jerry Garcia acknowledged this very explicitly in a 1991 interview with *Rolling Stone*: “I owe a lot of who I am and what I’ve been and what I’ve done to the beatniks of the Fifties and to the poetry and art and music that I’ve come into contact with. I feel like I’m part of a continuous line of a certain thing in American culture. . . .” Like the Beats, the hippies and their house band the Grateful Dead continued the rebellion against the conformist 1950s and the middle class culture that had by and large given birth to them.

Some of the Grateful Dead’s first concerts were known as the Acid Tests of the San Francisco Bay area where psychedelic music, visuals, and hippies all came together as harbingers of the raves of the 1990s and the Dead’s concerts between the 1970s and the 1990s. They spawned bands like Phish, which recreated the Dead’s spontaneity in improvisation, and in its nomadic fans and epic tours that extended across America and sometimes Europe.

The Grateful Dead cult started after a call to fans, “Dead Freaks Unite—Who Are You? Where Are You?” was published in the 1971 album *Grateful Dead* (also known as *Skull and Roses*). The Dead fans who answered received concert updates and news that would eventually result in the band’s formation of Grateful Dead Ticket Sales, which successfully bypassed music company and corporate control by selling up to half the tickets to concert venues by mail. From 1973 to 1976 the band also had its own recording company, Round Records/Grateful Dead Records. However, this collective thumbing of noses at the recording industry came at a price, costing them the respect of critics who saw the band as an aberration and a throwback.

There was another downside to the burgeoning Grateful Dead industry. In his last few years Garcia occasionally wearily commented on the fact that a whole group of people—not just the traveling circus of Dead Heads and unauthorized vendors, but the Grateful Dead ticketing and merchandising industry controlled by the band—were dependent on the Dead. Ironically, as the Dead found more popular success after issuing *In the Dark* (1987), problems abounded with unruly fans who crashed the concert gates and participated in uncontrolled vending, sometimes even of controlled substances.

The Grateful Dead’s cult following was almost religious in its intensity. Dead Heads, as they were known, showed their loyalty (or perhaps obsession) by watching *Dead-TV*, a television cable program that first aired in 1988; hitting Grateful Dead-related computer online groups like Dead-Flames, DeadBase, and Dead.net; reading Dead theme magazines like *Relix* and *Golden Road* and the compendium of Dead statistics known as *DeadBase*; tuning into the nationally broadcast Grateful Dead radio hour, aired weekly from the San Francisco Bay Area’s KFOG radio station by long-time fan and Dead historian David Gans; buying the recordings that continued to be issued even after Garcia’s death from the band’s own master sound board tapes of concerts in the “Dick’s Picks” series; and trading the “bootleg” tapes of Dead concerts recorded by fans almost from the beginning, a practice the band in the end condoned. Garcia didn’t make the mistake John Lennon made of comparing his band’s popularity to that of Jesus Christ, but he did remark on the ritualistic nature of its concerts in *Rock and Roll: An Unruly History*: “For some people, taking LSD and going to a Dead show functions like a rite of passage. . . . Each person deals with the experience individually; it’s an adventure that

you can have that is personalized. But when people come together, this singular experience is ritualized. I think the Grateful Dead serves a desire for meaningful ritual, but it's *ritual without dogma*."

Also unlike the Beatles, fans were allowed this great road adventure because the band preferred making its money by touring (or perhaps was forced to tour because of the lack of conventional success) rather than by recording studio albums. Garcia explained in an interview published in *Rock Lives*, "Mostly we're always on the road, because we earn our living by playing. So we haven't had much of the luxury where you just go into the studio for no particular reason to screw around." At the time of Garcia's death, the band was in its 30th year.

In a 1989 *Rolling Stone* interview, Jerry Garcia talked about the last adventure in America that touring with the band allowed. Asked why the fans kept coming back, he answered:

They get something. It's their version of the Acid Test, so to speak. It's kind of like the war-stories metaphor. Drug stories *are* war stories, and the Grateful Dead stories are their drug stories, or war stories. It's an adventure you can still have in America, just like Neal [Cassady] on the road. You can't hop the freights any more, but you can chase the Grateful Dead around. . . . You can have something that lasts throughout your life as adventures, the times you took chances. I think that's essential in anybody's life, and it's harder and harder to do in America. If I were providing some margin of that possibility, then that's great. That's a nice thing to do.

Though Garcia was certainly the charismatic spokesman for the band in its later years, early on Pigpen was the draw for the band. The son of a San Francisco Bay area disc jockey, Ron McKernan was steeped in the blues, playing organ and harmonica, and singing in a harsh, anguished voice perfect for the medium. It was Pigpen who largely set the tone of albums like *Workingman's Dead* and *American Beauty*, classic Dead recordings. It wasn't until 1970 with *Live/Dead* and *Workingsman's Dead* that the band's records really began attracting a sizable number of fans outside of the San Francisco Bay area, and the band toured extensively. Pigpen sang many of the tunes that characterized the Dead at that time, and some which they kept playing until the end—covers such as "Good Morning Little School Girl," "Viola Lee Blues," "In the Midnight Hour," "Beat It On Down the Line," and "Cold Rain and Snow." His death at 27 in 1973 from liver damage was a serious blow, although before his death his absence from gigs due to deteriorating health had begun to lessen his influence on the band. After Pigpen's death, Donna and Keith Godchaux joined the band as keyboard player and vocalist, respectively. As William Ruhlmann points out in *The History of the Grateful Dead*, both events caused the band to diversify its repertoire and approach. Hank Harrison puts it differently in *The Dead*, claiming that the old band also died with Pigpen.

Other neglected de facto "members" of the band included their frequent lyricists, Robert Hunter and John Barlow. Hunter collaborated with Jerry Garcia, while Barlow worked with Bob Weir, and, while he was in the band, Brent Mydland. Robert Hunter, himself a musician, was a member of the San Francisco scene from the beginnings of the Grateful Dead. He never played with them, but penned several of their trademark songs, including "Terrapin Station," "Touch of Grey," "Jack Straw," "Tennessee Jed," "It Must

Have Been the Roses," "Playing in the Band," and "Truckin'." Most of the time Hunter collaborated with Garcia in composing songs. In a 1988 interview with David Gans, published in *Conversations with the Dead*, Hunter was asked why he didn't collaborate with other members of the band more often. He replied that "Garcia makes it easy. You know, he makes himself available to do it, and when I give him a piece of material he'll either reject it or set it, and he gives me changes, which I *will* set, generally—he doesn't give me anything I don't like. . . he's a genius, he's got an amazing musical sense, and no one else makes themselves available or particularly easy to work with."

Hunter was probably referring to the Dead's other primary singer, Bob Weir, who could be difficult to work with. John Barlow, a childhood friend of Weir, referred to himself in interviews with David Gans as "the Grateful Dead's word nigger," but explains that although sometimes Weir may abuse him, he is "only that way when he's feeling a bit uptight and overworked. Then he gets very headstrong about certain creative decisions, and I'm not in a position to gainsay him because he's got to get out in front of a whole bunch of people and sing that stuff." Barlow, an active member of cyberspace by the late 1990s, started out as a poetry and fiction writer, but Weir persuaded him to try his hand at song lyrics after Weir joined the Dead. Barlow's patience was in evidence when the very first song he wrote, "Mexicali Blues," was transformed into a polka number by Weir, something that Barlow hadn't envisioned. As with those lyrics, Barlow often infuses a Western flavor into his songs; they include "Estimated Prophet," "Looks Like Rain," "Cassidy," "Hell in a Bucket," "Heaven Help the Fool," and "Black Throated Wind." Collaborations with Brent Mydland include "Easy to Love You," and "Just a Little Light," while "Throwing Stones" was a Barlow, Weir, and Mydland effort. Mydland's death in 1990 of a drug overdose ended what had promised to be a fruitful collaboration.

Studio albums present polished versions of the Dead's songs, but the concert experience was the essence of the Dead. Improvisation was their chosen method; they claimed never to perform with a set list (although drummers Hart and Kreutzmann admitted practising the famous extended drum solo features known as "Space" that were a capstone of a Dead show's second set). This is one reason why, perhaps, the Dead could keep filling large stadiums on their tours, even in the early 1990s when the live concert industry hit a slump. In 1991 they were the top grossing concert band in the United States. The Dead never had a number one hit—in 1987 the Hunter/Garcia song "Touch of Grey" went only to number nine—but their music was being listened to, and no one knows how many bootleg tapes were trading, and continue to trade, hands.

Every former member of the Grateful Dead, except Bill Kreutzmann, formed a separate band with which they performed, toured, and recorded. Lesh, the only classically trained musician in the group, played on occasion with the San Francisco symphony until he underwent a liver transplant in 1998; upon his remarkable recovery from this operation, Lesh immediately began performing occasional gigs with a roving cast known as "Phil and Friends." Mickey Hart, the most eclectic member of the band, went on to compose and perform experimental pieces, even contributing a composition used in the opening ceremony of the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta. He also composed music for Francis Ford Coppola's film *Apocalypse Now* (1979).

At the end of the twentieth century, members of the Grateful Dead were continuing as an industry unto themselves. The band is the

most complete and longest lasting representation of the San Francisco counterculture, begun in the 1950s with the Beats and flowering in the 1960s with the hippies. The band helped to propagate and preserve the spirit of 1960s America at home and abroad with its recordings and tours. That it was never in need of reviving, and continues to thrive in various guises, attests to a thread of continuity in fast-paced American pop culture.

—Josephine A. McQuail

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## Gray Panthers

The Gray Panthers seek to redefine old age in America. Founder Maggie Kuhn emphasized that "ageism" diminishes all people by stigmatizing young and old people as less than full members of society. Their mission statement affirms the importance of their relationship: "The Gray Panthers is an intergenerational advocacy organization. We are Age and Youth in Action—activists working together for social and economic justice. Our issues include universal health care, jobs with a living wage and the right to organize, the preservation of Social Security, affordable housing, access to quality education, economic justice, environment, peace and challenging ageism, sexism and racism." The Gray Panthers work with other organizations (notably AARP—the American Association of Retired Persons) for issues of common interest (e.g. preserving Social Security), but they are distinctive in placing a primary emphasis on activism, particularly for those not normally active in the political process.

Philosophically, the Gray Panthers are to the left of AARP, which is more conservative and allied with a variety of businesses and services. For over 25 years, the Gray Panthers have advocated social change, inspired by the dynamic example of founder Maggie Kuhn, who urged, "Speak your mind. When you least expect it, someone may actually listen to what you have to say. Even if your voice shakes, well-aimed slingshots can topple giants."

Maggie Kuhn (1905-1995) had been an activist for many causes during her life, but the organization that made her famous came about when she was forced to retire from the job she loved as an executive of the United Presbyterian Church at age 65. Infuriated by the wasteful nature of bureaucracies that mandated retirement for workers at 65, Kuhn began the process of organizing an advocacy group for older Americans. She recalled the awakening of her consciousness in her autobiography, *No Stone Unturned*: "Something clicked in my mind and I saw that my problem was not mine alone. I came to feel a great kinship with my peers and to believe that something was fundamentally wrong with a system that had no use for us." She believed that the talents, energy, and wisdom of older Americans were being wasted.

With five friends, Kuhn began to hold meetings to try to address the problem, and it quickly grew from six to a hundred members in a year. The original name of the group was the Consultation of Older Persons, which was changed to the Gray Panthers when a member of the media suggested it to Maggie Kuhn as a better fit for her activist organization. This caused some confusion for people who were intimidated by the name, which recalled the Black Panthers, a militant activist organization of the Civil Rights movement. One woman wrote to Kuhn that she wanted to join but didn't want to be part of any "bombings." The new organization was helped significantly by consumer advocate Ralph Nader, who incorporated his own seniors group (Retired Professional Action Group) into the Gray Panthers. His organization had investigated the hearing aid industry, and he published an exposé, "Paying through the Ear." Nader also contributed \$25,000 to the Gray Panthers, which helped significantly as they began their next campaign for nursing home reform. Their efforts (in conjunction with the National Citizen Coalition for Nursing Home Reform) produced a handbook, "Nursing Homes: A Citizen Action Guide," which documented nursing home abuses. By 1974, the Gray Panthers were making their influence felt across the country.

Annoyed by television talk-show host Johnny Carson's character "Aunt Blabby," Kuhn turned her guest spot on the show in 1974 into a tour de force, charming Carson and not incidentally promoting the Gray Panthers. In 1975 the Gray Panthers established a National Media Task Force, which documented ageist stereotyping in broadcasting, which led the National Association of Broadcasters to amend the Television Code of Ethics to include "age along with race and sex." In 1978, the Gray Panthers won perhaps their most satisfying reward for their efforts: the Age Discrimination in Employment Act was passed, raising the mandatory retirement age from 65 to 70. The 1980s were a very successful decade for the organization; the Reagan era provided a spur to activist groups and the Panthers reached an all-time high of 80,000 members. While the Gray Panthers have a much lower profile than the AARP, Maggie Kuhn had a keen sense of what the press would pick up on and always provided them with good copy. She once said, "Old age is an excellent time for outrage. My goal is to say or do at least one outrageous thing every week." In that same spirit, membership materials affirm that "the Gray Panthers movement is in the trenches fighting for the values in which we believe—taking the far out positions which lead to real change."

The Gray Panthers have a strong bond with organized labor and walked the picket line in the successful 1997 United Parcel Services strike. The organization has requested all members who are also union retirees to identify themselves as such so that the Gray Panthers can continue to solidify the close relationship with the AFL-CIO and other unions in their quest for social and economic justice. Many members of the Panthers are lifetime activists, participating in union and progressive politics at a level of commitment that makes them extremely skillful as organizers. Networking is crucial to the success of the Gray Panthers: rather than employ the high-power lobbying techniques of AARP to influence members of Congress, the organization uses its modest resources to work directly with other progressive organizations such as Food First (The Institute for Food and Development Policy).

In 1995, the 10th Biennial Convention honored Founder and National Convener Maggie Kuhn. Kuhn passed away shortly after the convention, and on what would have been her ninetieth birthday, August 3, 1995, the Gray Panthers celebrated her memory in ceremonies across the country. The Panthers' most important achievement after Kuhn's passing was a joint event with the United States Student Association, the first "Age and Youth in Action Summit" in Washington, D.C. in 1996. The next year the organization regrouped and focused attention on producing a successful convention. With the election of a new national chair, 55-year-old Catherine DeLorey, president of the Women's Health Institute, the organization seeks to reaffirm its intergenerational character as it moves into the twenty-first century.

—Mary Hess

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## Great Depression

Starting in 1929 and ending with America's entry into World War II in 1941, the Great Depression marked a turning point in American history by establishing the enlarged federal bureaucracy associated with the post-WWII state. While first and foremost an economic event, the Great Depression affected every aspect of



Workers on relief line during the Great Depression.

American political, social, and cultural life. It was during the depression that the radio and film industries, along with developments in documentary photography, reportage, and literature, helped to develop a national culture based in uniquely American practices, environments, experiences, and ideals.

While the stock market crash of October 1929 is often viewed as the start of the Great Depression, it was by no means the cause of the depression. The crash, and its aftermath of unemployment, bank closures, bankruptcies, and homelessness, were caused by fundamental flaws in the prosperity of the 1920s. The availability and widespread use of credit, the increasingly unequal distribution of wealth, the problems of falling farm prices, and the corporate consolidation of American industry all contributed to the overproduction of farm and industrial goods and the overexertion of credit and speculation. In the wake of the crash, American industrial output decreased rapidly, reaching in 1932 the same level of production as in 1913. Employment reached an all-time low, with 13 million people out of work, roughly 25 percent of the population. For farmers, crop prices had fallen drastically; a bushel of wheat that sold for three dollars in 1920 brought only thirty cents in 1932.

The effect of the depression on American culture was felt in both the public and private sectors. The federal government, through its New Deal programs, subsidized writers, composers, musicians, performers, painters, sculptors, and other artists, and it developed and encouraged cultural programs which focused attention on the United States, its history, traditions, and native arts and crafts. The Federal Writers Project employed writers, editors, and researchers to not only produce works of fiction, usually with American themes, but also to

create several series of books such as the *State Guide Series*, consisting of all-purpose guide books for each state of the union. The Federal Arts Project hired painters and sculptors to create public art for post offices and other public buildings, and developed a network of community art centers in cities and towns across the country. The Federal Theater Project sought to bring the dramatic arts to the general public through local programs such as the Living Newspaper, in which local news stories were acted out in community theaters. Additional programs employed musicians, composers, architects, and other artists. Preservation programs such as the Index of American Design and the Library of Congress' Archive of Folk Song sought to preserve the inherently American character of folk arts. In all, the cultural programs of the New Deal focused attention on the unique aspects of American culture, not only in past arts and crafts, but also in the creation of new works of art.

The mass-media industries of broadcasting and motion pictures responded to the economic realities of the depression and the government sponsored trend towards reinforcing traditional American values. In the 1930s, radio dominated Americans' leisure time. Nearly one third of all Americans owned at least one radio, and even those who did not own a radio usually had access to one through family, friends, or neighbors. The potential radio audience for any program was estimated at sixty million people. As a result of these vast audiences and the huge profits to be made, the radio industry became big business with production companies selling "pre-packaged" shows to sponsors and stations, along with syndicates and networks developing and growing. During the 1930s, comedians were the most popular radio personalities. Jack Benny, Fanny Brice, George Burns and Gracie Allen, Bob Hope, Milton Berle, and Jimmy Durante all had popular radio shows. Musical shows were also a favorite of audiences as almost every station presented remote broadcasts from hotel ballrooms featuring dance orchestras and jazz bands such as Paul Whiteman ("The King of Jazz"), Ralph Ginsberg and the Palmer House Ensemble, and Phil Spitalny and his All-Girl Orchestra, featuring Evelyn and her Magic Violin. Daytime programming was dominated by the soap opera, so named because most were sponsored by soap manufacturers. Writer James Thurber described soap operas as "a kind of sandwich, whose recipe is simple enough. . . Between thick slices of advertising, spread twelve minutes of dialogue, add predicament, villainy, and female suffering in equal measure, throw in a dash of nobility, sprinkle with tears, season with organ music, cover with a rich announcer sauce, and serve five times a week." As opposed to daytime serial dramas, evening dramas contained much better production values and more sophisticated material featuring famous actors. *The Texaco Theater*, *The Philip Morris Playhouse*, *Grand Central Station*, and other hour-long programs presented serious dramatic fare, but the most popular shows were the half-hour long crime-suspense-adventure shows, including *Sam Spade*, *Jack Armstrong: the All-American Boy*, *The Thin Man*, *Sargent Preston of the Yukon*, *The Green Hornet*, *The Shadow*, and *The Lone Ranger*. Even news reporting took on a more entertaining flavor as radio newsmen became celebrities, such as Lowell Thomas, Edward R. Murrow, and Floyd Gibbons, who introduced himself as "the fastest talking man in radio." Forty percent of all Americans preferred to get their news and information from radio, more than any other single source.

Radio took on a whole new importance in the wake of the Depression, primarily through the use of the medium by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. In his "fireside chats," Roosevelt addressed

the country directly from the White House. This mediated communication, due to the intimacy associated with radio broadcasting, developed a more personal relationship between the president and the public than ever before, reinforcing the expansion of federal, especially executive, authority. Radio became much more than a source of local information and entertainment; it became a vital tool of the government to promote and support its programs. Roosevelt's first "fireside chat," explaining the purpose of the bank holiday and subsequent banking legislation, produced enough confidence in Roosevelt and the government that the following day bank deposits outnumbered withdrawals for the first time since the stock market crash almost four years earlier. Radio not only informed people, but also brought them under the influence of a centralized medium which homogenized the information it was disseminating. As Warren Susman argues in his essay "The Culture of the Thirties," radio "helped mold uniform national responses; it helped create or reinforce uniform national values and beliefs in a way that no previous medium had ever been able to do." Illustrating one such uniform national response was the euphoria witnessed in communities, both black and white, over Joe Louis' heavyweight title fights in 1937 and 1938. Informing the public became such a vital part of the radio industry, and so accepted by the public, that a fake "emergency bulletin" as part of Orson Welles' 1937 radio production of H. G. Wells' *War of the Worlds* created pandemonium in towns and cities across America.

As a result of the depression, Hollywood experienced a decline in movie attendance, and it compensated by using the latest technology to its fullest impact to produce movies which would appeal to adult males, the segment of the movie audience that had declined the most. War films such as *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930) and *The Dawn Patrol* (1930); horror films such as *Dracula* (1931), *Frankenstein* (1931), and *King Kong* (1933); gangster movies such as *Little Caesar* (1930), *The Public Enemy* (1931) and *Scarface* (1932) all took advantage of sound technology to enhance the filmgoing experience. Movies such as Marlene Dietrich's *Blonde Venus* (1932), Jean Harlow's *Red Dust* (1932), and Irene Dunn's *Back Street* (1932) all challenged the prevailing notions of respectable women's roles. Even the glamorous Greta Garbo, in her sound film debut, did not play a socialite, but rather a prostitute. The long awaited moment when Garbo first spoke on film was in *Anne Christie* (1930) as she addressed a waiter in a waterfront dive: "Gimme a viskey. Ginger ale on the side. And don't be stingy, ba-bee." Even a film as superficial as *Gold Diggers of 1933* implied that for women there were limited career paths. In the film's most memorable song, "We're in the Money," chorus girls joke that if they had to give up performing they would have to enter into the world's oldest profession: "We're in the money. We're in the money. We've got a lot of what it takes to get along." Even comedies emphasized this tendency towards anarchy and sex. The most popular film comedians, the Marx Brothers and Mae West, relied heavily on sound to convey their primarily verbal humor, yet both also depended on visuals for the strong physical presence necessary in both slapstick comedy and body enhancing sexual innuendo.

This "golden age of turbulence," according to film historian Robert Sklar in *Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies*, lasted from 1930 to 1934 when Hollywood, under pressure from civic organizations like the Catholic Church's League of Decency, discovered there was as much, if not more, profit to be made on supporting traditional American values as there was in challenging them. With the 1934 introduction of the Breen Office

(officially the Production Code Administration, but popularly named after Joseph Breen, the film industry's self-imposed censor who had absolute power), the movie industry stopped challenging traditional values by becoming one of their most staunch supporters.

The Breen Office brought about the "golden age of order" in which the social order was restored in films that reinforced traditional notions about social roles and American ideals. Screwball comedies set among the upper classes, such as *Bringing Up Baby* (1938) and *The Philadelphia Story* (1940) replaced the anarchic vision of the Marx Brothers and the brazen sexuality of Mae West. Gangster movies focused not on the lawless, but on the government agent, the G-man. And Hollywood began producing socially conscious films such as *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940) and the films of Frank Capra.

Frank Capra best exemplifies the "age of order" with his morality plays set among the common people of America. Capra produced films which encouraged Americans to reaffirm their beliefs in democracy, community, and humanity. In his "American trilogy," of *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936), *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939), and *Meet John Doe* (1941), Capra presented American democracy at its best with each protagonist (Deeds, Smith, and Doe) overcoming the challenges to honesty and decency through perseverance. In *Mr. Deeds*, Gary Cooper stars as Longfellow Deeds, who plans to use his inherited millions on establishing farmers on their own small plots of land in an attempt to recreate the Jeffersonian vision of the democratic yeoman farmer. In *Mr. Smith*, James Stewart stars as Jefferson Smith, a junior senator who envisions a boys' camp in the western wilderness to teach boys the virtues of independence, self-sufficiency, and frontier democracy. And in *John Doe*, Gary Cooper once again stars, this time as Long John Willoughby, a down-and-out baseball player recruited by a big city newspaper to play the role of John Doe, a "common" man who has threatened to end his life as a protest against modern society. John Doe not only becomes a circulation booster, but his simple ideas about neighborly consideration and the "little guys" watching out for each other is readily picked up by an eager public searching for solutions to the depression. The John Doe Movement, with the establishment of John Doe clubs, is manipulated by the tyrannical newspaper owner D. B. Norton, who aspires to political office. Norton and Willoughby come into conflict when Norton's machinations are revealed and Willoughby seeks to stop him. Norton exposes the "fake" John Doe and the movement crumbles. In the end, Willoughby seeks to follow through on "John Doe's" original promise to jump off the city hall tower on Christmas Eve. Like all Capra movies, the honest and decent hero survives the attacks against him through the faith of a loving woman and the eventual realization of "the people." Capra reaffirms traditional ideas about self-help and the private function of charity in the face of adversity, as opposed to more modern ideas in which the federal government assumes responsibility for the health and welfare of individual citizens. Despite the revolutionary medium of motion pictures, late 1930s movies overwhelmingly reinforced traditional values.

In general, the reaction to the Great Depression, by the federal government and the mass media industries, served to maintain traditional American values in the face of economic, political, and social change.

—Charles J. Shindo

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## The Great Train Robbery

Made in 1903, Edwin S. Porter's eleven minute *The Great Train Robbery* is a landmark in the evolution of film editing. Porter's film, in its cutting back and forth between multiple simultaneous story lines, showed that movies need not be restricted to linear story-telling. *The Great Train Robbery* is also interesting as a transitional film; in some scenes the backgrounds are clearly painted, while in others, such as the famous train-top fistfight scene, the action is thrillingly "real."

—Robert C. Sickels

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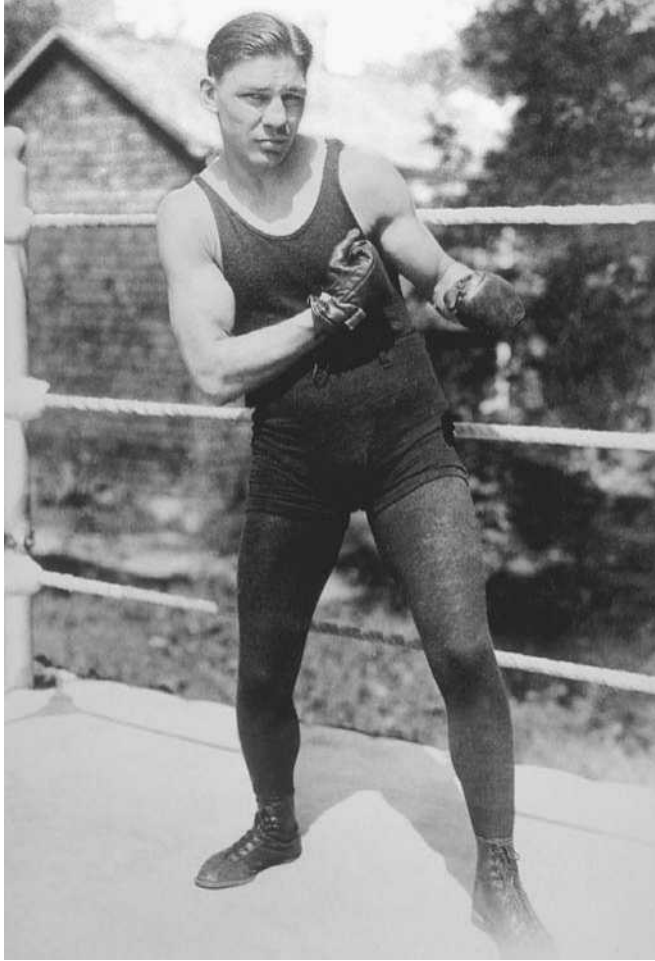
## Great War, The

See World War I

## Greb, Harry (1894-1926)

Edward Henry "Harry" Greb epitomized the Roaring Twenties. Middleweight champion by 1923, "The Pittsburgh Windmill" lived hard, played harder, and fought hardest. Greb made the sports pages for his myriad, perhaps even historically unparalleled, accomplishments inside of the ring, and he made the front pages for his antics outside of it. Affairs with married women, car crashes, drunken brawls, law suits: Greb was the original media bad boy. He once fought fellow Hall of Famer Mickey Walker outside a pub, several hours after their bruising title fight (Greb won the title fight, Walker the street brawl). His non-stop attack and indomitable fighting spirit seemed to carry over from the ring to his personal life, and in spite of his negative press (and maybe in part, because of it), Harry Greb was a beloved sports icon. According to boxing historian Bert Randolph Sugar, Ernest Hemmingway once accused another writer who did not know who Greb was of "not knowing one of our greatest Americans."

—Max Kellerman



Harry Greb

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## *Greed*

The bowdlerization of Erich von Stroheim's *Greed* (1924) is almost more famous than the film itself. An adaptation of *McTeague*, Frank Norris' epic novel of avarice, desire, and disintegration, it stars Gibson Gowland as the dentist McTeague, ZaSu Pitts as the wife he murders for money, and Jean Hersholt as the brute Marcus with whom he fights to their mutual destruction in Death Valley. In realizing a cherished dream to do literal justice to the book, Stroheim broke new ground in cinematic realism, both in characterization and the use of actual locations in San Francisco and Death Valley, but emerged with a 42-reel, ten-hour film. Producer Irving Thalberg, the director's nemesis with whom he had previously tangled, ordered cuts and Stroheim tried to oblige. The film, however, was taken away from him and the cuts became a massacre. The final release version was a little short of two hours, with much careful detail lost and the dramatic balance seriously upset by the removal of sub-plots and subsidiary

characters. Nonetheless, *Greed* remains a powerful masterpiece of the silent cinema from one of the medium's few geniuses.

—Robyn Karney

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## Greeley, Andrew (1928—)

A self-described "faintly comic Celtic Lancelot" and "perennial dissident priest," Catholic priest, sociologist, and writer Andrew Greeley has stirred frequent controversy within and outside the Church and produced enormous amounts of written work in widely different fields. Beginning late in the 1950s and continuing at a relentless pace thereafter, the water-skiing, celibate priest published countless articles in newspapers, magazines, and scholarly journals, as well as more than 100 books. These range from obscure sociological tracts on religion and ethnicity in the United States to racy bestselling novels filled with sex and corruption, as well as works on relationships, photography, and mysteries. If a central theme ties his work together, it may be his possibly quixotic crusade to "free the riches of the Catholic tradition from the stranglehold of a decrepit and corrupt bureaucracy" and to bring a sense of "God's merciful love" to readers.

A lifelong resident of Chicago, Greeley has been a professor at both the University of Chicago and at the University of Arizona and a longtime researcher at Chicago's National Opinion Research Center. He has become embroiled in numerous controversies, offending persons of all political stripes. His advocacy of liberalization of Church policies on birth control, divorce, and women in the priesthood has angered a conservative Catholic hierarchy, while his opposition to abortion and support of priestly celibacy has offended many liberals. Despite his success as a writer of bestselling novels, he claims his primary occupation as a parish priest and cites his popular books as his most successful outreach.

As a youth Greeley attended Catholic schools and admired the works of G. K. Chesterton, Graham Greene, and other Catholic writers. He decided he wanted to be a priest in second grade and was ordained in 1954. While serving as an assistant pastor in Chicago, he began writing articles for religious publications under a pseudonym and later under his own name. His first book, *The Church and the Suburbs* (1959), grew out of two of his articles that examined the effects of increased affluence on religious belief. In 1962 he earned a doctorate in sociology from the University of Chicago. His sociological work, often based on surveys generated at NORC, has included studies of Catholic education, the priesthood, the paranormal, ethnicity and alcoholism, and Irish Americans, among other things. Religious works like *The Mary Myth* (1977) suggest the "womanliness of God," a recurrent theme in Greeley's nonfiction and fiction. Books like *The Unsecular Man* (1972) make a case for the persistence of religious belief in a supposedly secular age.



Gibson Gowland (left) and ZaSu Pitts in a scene from the film *Greed*.

One of Greeley's main offenses against conventional Catholic doctrine has been to suggest that sex is a sacrament and an expression of God's love rather than a sin when it is not a means of procreation. His outspokenness on this and other issues brought him into conflict with leading church authorities, including John Cardinal Cody of Chicago. Greeley's most critically-acclaimed work of popular non-fiction, *The Making of the Popes, 1978: The Politics of Intrigue in the Vatican* (1979), examines papal politics in Rome in the style of Theodore White, deglamourizing, demystifying, and exposing the papal selection process as an unfair practice in which popes are chosen secretly, undemocratically, and often ineptly. Although the book sold only moderately well, it earned plaudits for its close observation, detailed reporting (much of it thanks to a source Greeley termed "Deep Purple"), and analysis of a rite that has remained shrouded in secrecy for centuries.

In the mid-1970s, convinced that the power of storytelling and emotion rather than dry exposition and philosophy were key to religious belief, Greeley began writing poetry and fiction. His first two novels sold poorly, but his third, *The Cardinal Sins* (1981), made him an overnight celebrity. The story of two boyhood friends, one who goes on to become a simple parish priest and the other who

becomes a cardinal, is laced with sex and corruption. It remained on bestseller lists for more than a year, selling more than three million copies. Greeley followed with dozens of other novels, many of them bestsellers that often included sex, corruption, and violence, set in Chicago, and featuring religious or mystical characters. Like *The Cardinal Sins*, many were better received by the public than by reviewers, who often have complained that Greeley's writing is stiff and his characters two-dimensional. Catholic officials (many of whom, Greeley claimed, never read the books) often criticized the novels for their sex scenes, although Greeley has defended his depiction of sex as tasteful and claimed his own surveys show that his books brought a majority of Catholic readers closer to the Church. He described his novels as "comedies of grace"—parables of God's grace through love—and "the most effective priestly activity in which I have ever engaged," and blamed the anger of his priestly critics on their envy of the wealth and fame his books brought him. Though he has owned expensive houses and cars, he claims he has given away most of his earnings to charity.

Reaching his 70th birthday in 1998, Greeley, who has attributed his productivity to celibacy and long hours at the computer terminal, allowed that he would slow down his pace. But the previous decade



had brought little evidence of declining energy. He produced more than a score of books of nonfiction and fiction. Although the latter earned many unfavorable reviews, they continued to receive an enthusiastic reception from loyal fans. According to Greeley, readers who write him often tell him that his stories have had “an enormous effect on their personal and religious lives, giving them new hope and a new (or renewed) sense of God’s forgiving love.” Among his later works were mysteries somewhat reminiscent of Chesterton’s Father Brown series that feature the adventures of Father Blackwood Ryan, monsignor, who represents the best attributes of Catholic priests: “intelligence, pragmatism, zeal, wisdom, and wit,” rather than the selfishness and insensitivity of other priests portrayed in the books. Greeley also continued to write popular books on relationships, including *Sexual Intimacy: Love and Play* (1988) and *Faithful Attraction: Discovering Intimacy, Love, and Fidelity in American Marriage* (1991).

—Daniel Lindley

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## Green, Al (1946—)

Admirers call eight-time Grammy winner and Rock ‘n’ Roll Hall of Fame inductee Al Green “the quintessential soul man.” Born in Arkansas, Green grew up in Michigan, and as a youngster toured with his father in a family gospel quartet. He formed his own group “The Creations,” in the mid-1960s, later becoming lead singer for “The Soul Mates.” A solo career with Memphis-based Hi Records rocketed him to fame in the 1970s, becoming “that decade’s most popular purveyor of soul music,” according to the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. In eight years, Green co-wrote thirteen charting singles including “Tired of Being Alone,” and “Let’s Stay Together.” Fourteen of Green’s albums have appeared on the Top 200 charts; five went gold. Ordained in 1976, he serves as pastor and proprietor of Memphis’ Full Gospel Tabernacle, and recorded nine bestselling gospel albums in the 1980s.

—Courtney Bennett

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## The Green Bay Packers

As the National Football League’s most successful franchise, with 12 titles since 1929, the Green Bay Packers overcame early financial hardship and a location in a city smaller than any other professional sports team to become one of the most popular teams in all of American sport. In addition to their 12 league titles, the Packers have placed 19 members into the Professional Football Hall of Fame, and they are the only NFL franchise to win three straight league titles, having done so twice (1929 to 1931 and 1965 to 1967). With this long history of amazing success, the Packers have even given a nickname to their hometown of Green Bay, Wisconsin—Titletown, USA. However, the city has undoubtedly earned its strong connection to the club, as city leaders and citizens have aided the team many times since it was founded.

Founded by Earl L. “Curly” Lambeau and George Calhoun in 1919, the Packers owe their team name to the Indian Packing Company, a meat-packing firm in Green Bay. The company, which employed Lambeau at the time as a meat cutter, provided the initial funds for necessary equipment, and allowed the club to use their private athletic fields for practice sessions. Due to the strong debt initially owed to the packing house, the team chose to use “Packers” as their name, Calhoun was named club president, and Lambeau was elected as vice-president and coach, a position he would hold for 30 years. In their first season the Packers won 10 of 11 games against other club teams in the Wisconsin area, but after this auspicious start even bigger things were on the horizon.

In 1921, officials of the company encouraged Calhoun and Lambeau to secure a franchise in the new national professional football league that had formed a year earlier, and would later become the modern National Football League (NFL). Following this grand leap, a long string of financial troubles beset the team, the first of which allowed Lambeau to take full ownership of the club in 1922. The financial difficulties continued throughout the 1920s, however, and it was during this decade that Lambeau sought citywide assistance for the club and formed the Green Bay Football Corporation with financial help from business leaders throughout Green Bay and the surrounding region.

Once the corporation was established, and with it a more stable financial base, Lambeau was able to secure the services of better players and acquire first-rate equipment, allowing the team to become more competitive in the growing professional football world of the late 1920s. By 1929 the Packers had won the first of three consecutive NFL titles during what is commonly known as the Iron-Man Era of professional football, when players commonly played both offense and defense for the entire game. Following these early championships, legal problems in the mid-1930s led the club into financial problems once more, but the local business community again came to the rescue with an infusion of capital, and the team was saved.

In 1935 a new weapon was added to the Packers’ arsenal of great football players, a young end from the University of Alabama named Don Hutson. He became an immediate star in the fledgling NFL, so great that he would be named to the 75th Anniversary Team in 1994, 50 years after his retirement. Hutson led the league in receiving seven times, scoring five times, and also set an all-time record in 1945, personally scoring 29 points in one period. In the Hutson era, the



**The Green Bay Packers with head coach Vince Lombardi, 1967.**

Packers won three more NFL titles (1936, 1939, and 1944). During this period the Packers gained national recognition with their success on the gridiron, and fans throughout the country began to follow the team and the legendary Hutson.

Following Hutson's retirement in 1945, the Packers' fortunes on the field began to decline, along with their gate receipts. By 1949 the club was yet again struggling financially, this time nearing complete bankruptcy. The situation led Lambeau to search for greener pastures, and he left the club to become coach of the Chicago Cardinals. However, the community would not forsake their beloved Packers, and in 1950 a giant public stock sale was organized that raised \$125,000 to save the club from dissolution. This sale, the third such effort by the club since 1923 and the first to be open to the general public, formed a stable financial base for the franchise that has continued ever since. While the club was only moderately successful throughout the remainder of the 1950s, the ground had been laid to set the course for the greater success yet to come.

In 1959 the Packers hired Vince Lombardi, an assistant coach from the New York Giants, to become only the fifth head coach of the team in 40 years. Over the next nine years, Lombardi became a legend in Green Bay and throughout the country, both because of the success to which he led his teams, and for the unswerving loyalty he demonstrated to his players, friends, and colleagues in Wisconsin and

the pro football community. By Lombardi's third season as coach (1961) he had transformed the Packers from a mediocre club to NFL Champions, a feat the team would repeat four more times under his (1962, 1965, 1966, 1967). Within this span the Packers won the first two Super Bowls in 1966 and 1967, setting in motion the development of the Super Bowl as America's premier one-day sporting spectacle. The team's dominance was so commanding during this era that the NFL named the Super Bowl Championship trophy after the Packers legendary leader, the Vince Lombardi Trophy. This honor could be attributed in part to Lombardi's phenomenal success as a coach in Division and League Championship games alone, winning nine out of ten such games in which his teams participated.

During the Lombardi era, Green Bay was not only blessed with exceptional coaching, but also with a collection of Hall of Fame caliber players seldom matched in the history of the NFL. Lombardi himself was inducted into the Hall of Fame in 1971, and ten players who played for him in Green Bay are now also enshrined in the Pro Football Hall of Fame in Canton, Ohio. These players are Jim Taylor, Forrest Gregg, Bart Starr, Ray Nitschke, Herb Adderley, Willie Davis, Jim Ringo, Paul Hornung, Willie Wood, and Henry Jordan. Starr led the Lombardi-era teams as quarterback, and later followed his legendary mentor as Packers Head Coach from 1975 to 1983. His successor in that position was his Green Bay teammate and fellow

Hall of Fame member Forrest Gregg, who led the team from 1984 to 1987, having previously taken the Cincinnati Bengals to Super Bowl XVI in 1982. All of Lombardi's players praised their demanding coach for pushing them to give their very best, but also for his undying loyalty to those men who showed their dedication to him. The influence of Lombardi's charismatic leadership ability has remained evident in the way that many coaches and business executives have continued to follow his axioms, while some even continue to play taped speeches he made regarding leadership, effort and teamwork.

Following the Lombardi era, the Packers slipped into another period of on-field mediocrity, although the fans in Green Bay and throughout Wisconsin continued to support the team unflinchingly with their attendance at games in Lambeau Field. During this period, some critics, skeptical of the Packers' location in a small, mid-western city, blamed the team's poor performance on their hometown. However, the residents of Green Bay, as well as Packer fans throughout Wisconsin and across the country, never lost hope that the team would return to greatness. Following the Starr and Gregg coaching periods, Green Bay hired noted offensive innovator Lindy Infante to coach the team, but nobody was able to emulate the success of coaching legends Lambeau and Lombardi. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, therefore, the Packers remained a second division team in the NFC Central Division, making the league playoffs only twice between 1968 and 1993.

In 1992 the Packers hired Mike Holmgren, the offensive coordinator of the San Francisco 49ers as Head Coach, and a new era of success dawned. By Holmgren's third season new players had been brought in through the college draft, shrewd trades, and free agency, who would help lead the Packers back into the NFL elite. These players included a young quarterback acquired from the Atlanta Falcons named Brett Favre and a talented veteran defensive leader named Reggie White who was signed as a free agent from the Philadelphia Eagles. These players would lead the Packers on the field as Holmgren and his coaching staff devised schemes that would confound opponents into numerous strategic errors, in a manner similar to the Lombardi era. In 1994 the Packers returned to the playoffs for the first time since 1983, and by 1996 the team had risen to the top of the league, winning Super Bowl XXXI. In 1997 the Packers again reached the Super Bowl, but were forced to bow to the Denver Broncos in one of the closest and most hard fought battles the game had seen in many years. During this dramatic run of success, Favre proved the greatest beneficiary of Holmgren's coaching, moving from a reserve player with the Falcons to winning the League MVP award for three consecutive seasons from 1995 to 1997.

Through all of the team's successes and hardships, the citizens of Green Bay and fans throughout the United States have always supported the Packers. While playing in the smallest city to hold an NFL franchise, the Packers have enjoyed unparalleled fan support, ranging from consistent sell-outs at Lambeau Field to the financial aid of the stock sales that have made the team the only publicly held franchise in professional sports. The Packers have become an institution in American sport, and a "pilgrimage" to Lambeau Field is among the most cherished events for many professional football fans throughout the country. Legions of Packer fans have come to be known as "Cheeseheads" for their devotion to the club, and the comical cheese-wedge shaped hats they wear in honor of the state's most famous dairy product. The cheese-adorned paraphernalia, which

Packer fans wear in concert with the club's green and yellow colors, are among the most popular souvenirs for NFL teams, as well as in all of sport. No other professional franchise enjoys the complete support of its community in quite the same manner as the Green Bay Packers.

—G. Allen Finchum

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## Green Lantern

Green Lantern is one of the oldest and most popular comic-book superheroes. The character first appeared in DC comic books in 1940. Wielding a magic power-ring capable of performing a variety of feats, Green Lantern spent his early years championing the interests of common citizens against crooked stock brokers, greedy businessmen, and corrupt politicians before taking on America's enemies in World War II.

Although his initial comic-book series was canceled in 1949, DC revived and revised the character ten years later and has kept him in publication ever since. The "modern" Green Lantern uses his power-ring in the service of an intergalactic police force. In 1970, Green Lantern's comic book became a vehicle for "relevant" stories that critiqued America's social ills.

—Bradford Wright

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## Greenberg, Hank (1911-1986)

Noted as the first Jewish baseball star, Hank Greenberg became a hero to a generation of Jewish fans and led the way for greater Jewish opportunities in baseball. Greenberg debuted at first base for the Detroit Tigers in 1933 and faced anti-Semitism from fans and opposing teams. Yet "Hammerin' Hank" withstood this and managed to win two Most Valuable Player awards, earn four batting titles, hit 58 home runs in 1938, and get inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1956. Greenberg fought over four years in World War II, and set a precedent after the war by becoming the first Jewish owner and general manager in baseball. Greenberg's popularity changed America's perspective on Jews, and he has come to symbolize a hero who

overcame prejudice to lead his baseball team, his country, and his faith.

—Nathan R. Meyer

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## Greene, Graham (1952—)

His Academy Award nomination for the supporting role of Kicking Bird in *Dances with Wolves* (1990) has made Graham Greene one of the most recognized Native American actors. Greene, a full-blooded Oneida Sioux, was born on the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford, Ontario, and at age 16 left the Reserve to pursue a variety of careers, including welder, drafter, and roadie. He began acting in Toronto in 1974 and landed his first film roles in the early 1980s with roles in *Running Brave* (1983) and *Revolution* (1985). In 1989 he received the Dora Mavor Moore Award of Toronto for best actor for



Graham Greene in a scene from the film *Dances with Wolves*.

the play *Dry Lips Oughta Move to Kapuskasing*. After *Dances with Wolves*, he went on to appear in numerous films, including *Clearcut* (1992), *Thunderheart* (1992), and *Die Hard with a Vengeance* (1995). In addition to television appearances on *Lonesome Dove: The Series* (1992) and *Northern Exposure* (1990), he starred in the 1992 HBO film *The Last of His Tribe*.

—Eugenia Griffith DuPell

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## Greenpeace

Formed in 1971 by a group of Canadian and expatriate American Sierra Club members who wanted a more active form of environmentalism, Greenpeace is a global environmental organization with offices in 23 countries and international headquarters in Amsterdam. Its major campaigns include Atmosphere and Energy, Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear Power, Tropical Rainforests, Toxics, and Ocean Ecology. Its mission combines both environmental and peace issues. Since its inception, Greenpeace has been involved in hundreds of highly publicized direct-action campaigns against major polluters and government nuclear testing. Its flamboyant protests in the cause of ocean ecology in the 1970s heightened public awareness to environmental abuses around the world and drew millions of people to its membership list. Political pressure exercised by Greenpeace led to global treaties protecting whales and dolphins. It shocked public sentiment into action with graphic footage of baby seals being bludgeoned to death. In 1998, Greenpeace, one of the world's largest, wealthiest, and most successful environmental groups, had a membership totaling over 5 million people worldwide.

Greenpeace relies heavily on canvassing, telemarketing, and direct mail campaigns for mobilization, retention, and fund raising. Not allied with any political party, it accepts no corporate donations, and ninety percent of its revenues come from membership dues and other contributions. To promote their confrontational tactics, Greenpeace operates an international information service that consists of four units: Hard News and Features, Film and Video, Photo Desk, and Publications Division. It also runs mass-media crusades, drafts and lobbies for international conventions, participates in educational campaigns, and sells Greenpeace merchandise such as T-shirts and posters. Greenpeace concerts, albums, and compact discs, featuring groups such as U2, REM, and other major acts, market the organization's message to the world's youth.

The elemental principle behind the operation of Greenpeace is the American Quaker tradition of "bearing witness"—drawing attention to objectionable activity by unwavering presence at the site of abuse. The organization has a "navy" of eight ships, an "air force" of one hot air balloon and two helicopters, as well as an "action bus." Its bold protests have included sailing into nuclear testing zones, intercepting whaling vessels, and hanging banners from bridges,



A Greenpeace activist hangs on the anchor of a Japanese whaling ship, 1998.

skyscrapers, and smokestacks. In the 1970s and 1980s, these demonstrations drew enormous media attention and Greenpeace became a model for other organizations by utilizing the mass media to influence public opinion. As a result of its campaign against the killing of harp seals, people around the globe changed their buying habits and stopped purchasing products made out of the seal pelts. In 1985, After protests against nuclear testing in the South Pacific, the French government sabotaged the organization's flagship, the *Rainbow Warrior*, in New Zealand. The sinking killed Fernando Pereira, a Greenpeace photographer, and sparked worldwide condemnation against France. This incident resulted in a doubling of the group's membership and a tripling of its revenues. It became the organization of choice for many high-profile celebrities and the pet issue for many Western politicians. The French government eventually paid Greenpeace \$8 million in compensation for the destruction of the *Rainbow Warrior*.

During the 1990s, Greenpeace increasingly moved into the corporate board rooms, law offices, and scientific laboratories of the mainstream, but direct action—nonviolently confronting polluters and marine mammal killers—is what Greenpeace is best known for in the public mind. As Chris Rose, program director of Greenpeace UK

in 1993 pointed out, "The moral imperative of demonstrators and direct action to save whales on the high seas was set against rationalizations and sales images of conventional commerce, and the whales won." The mythology of Moby Dick and Captain Ahab that had dominated human consciousness about whaling for over a century had been destroyed. The story became one of courageous whales fighting men in giant boats. Greenpeace's media exploits and public relations drives were the centerpiece of its strategies and the prototypes for other social movements striving to assert a presence in the electronic age. With its reputation as an effective, persistent, and uncompromising environmental organization, grown from its prowess as an efficient publicity machine, Greenpeace has been instrumental in alerting people around the world to environmental evils. Together with other organizations, it succeeded in moving the protection of the environment from a marginal to a central public and moral concern.

—Ken Kempcke

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## Greenwich Village

Greenwich Village's known history dates back to the sixteenth century, when it was a marshland called Sapokanikan by Native Americans who fished in the trout stream known as Minetta Brook. When the Dutch first settled on Manhattan in 1621, naming the area New Netherlands, all but a small area on the Southeastern tip of the island was left untouched by the Europeans. When the colony passed to British hands in 1664 and became New York, a few farms and estates emerged some miles to the north of the city; the settlement evolved into a country hamlet, first designated Grin'wich in 1713 Common Council records.

The village was transformed overnight in 1828, when yellow fever caused thousands of city dwellers to flee to the Greenwich countryside. Many of these displaced city-folk enjoyed the country, and throughout the following decade the village grew as businesses and residents moved their permanent homes there.

As the population of Manhattan grew, the city felt the need for northern expansion in an orderly fashion. The city council adopted a grid plan in March 1817 which would have placed gridded streets running from river to river, cutting through the heart of the fledgling village. The village people were outraged. During the year that the grid war waged, an anonymous 62-page pamphlet was submitted to the city laying out an argument against the plan. Soon after, the council backed down and limited the grid to the east of what is now Sixth Avenue and north of what is presently Fourteenth Street.

During the early nineteenth century, as New York University grew on the east side of Washington Square, religious denominations



A Greenwich Village street at night, 1955.

commissioned buildings with elaborate decorative schemes and the neighborhood soon became the site of art clubs, private picture galleries, learned societies, literary salons, and libraries. Fine hotels, shopping emporia, and theaters also proliferated. The character of the neighborhood changed markedly at the close of the century when German, Irish, and Italian immigrants found work in the breweries, warehouses, and coal and lumber yards near the Hudson River and in the Southeast corner of the neighborhood. Older residences were subdivided into cheap lodging hotels and multiple-family dwellings, or demolished for higher-density tenements.

The Village at the turn of the twentieth century was a quite picturesque and ethnically diverse area. By the start of World War I it was widely known as a bohemian enclave with secluded side streets, low rents, and a tolerance for radicalism and nonconformity. Attention became increasingly focused on artists and writers noted for their boldly innovative work. The bohemian atmosphere helped to make Greenwich Village an attraction for tourists. Entrepreneurs provided amusements ranging from evenings in artists' studios to bacchanalian costume balls. During Prohibition local speakeasies attracted uptown

patrons. Decrepit rowhouses were remodeled into "artistic flats" for the well-to-do, and in 1926 luxury apartment towers appeared at the northern edge of Washington Square. The stock market crash of 1929 halted the momentum of new construction.

During the 1930s, galleries and collectors promoted the cause of contemporary art. Sculptor Gertrude Whitney Vanderbilt opened a museum dedicated to modern American art on West 8th Street, now the New York Studio School. The New School for Social Research, on West 12th Street since the late 1920s, inaugurated the "University in Exile" in 1934.

The Village had become the center for the "beat movement" by the 1950s, with galleries along 8th Street, coffee houses on MacDougal Street, and storefront theaters on Bleecker Street. "Happenings" and other unorthodox artistic, theatrical, and musical events were staged at the Judson Memorial Church. During the 1960s a homosexual community formed around Christopher Street; in 1969 a confrontation by the police culminated in a riot known as the Stonewall Rebellion, regarded as the beginning of the nationwide movement for gay and lesbian rights. Greenwich Village became a rallying place for

antiwar protesters in the 1970s and for activity mobilized by the AIDS epidemic in the 1980s.

—Anna Notaro

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## Greeting Cards

Forms of correspondence with preprinted written sentiments and illustrative pictures, greeting cards have in many ways replaced more traditional and personalized forms of communication like letter writing by appealing to the needs of busy Americans and their willingness to mark an increasing number of holidays and events in largely commercialized ways. Rather than writing lengthy missives by hand, Americans since the turn of the century have found it easier to purchase prewritten sentiments in the form of greeting cards that they need only sign, address, and mail.

The earliest objects resembling greeting cards were handmade Valentines, popular in Europe and America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By the 1840s, both English and German chromolithographers had developed techniques allowing them to publish full-color postcards commemorating, primarily, Christmas and Valentine's Day. These enjoyed large commercial success in America as well as Europe, beginning what would become an American habit of sending manufactured rather than personal correspondence. The popularity of these early holiday cards also marked

the increasing mobility of Americans and their need to communicate with friends and relatives now miles rather than blocks away, and appealed to the needs of busy people.

After the Civil War, the United States experienced what historian Leigh Eric Schmidt has termed the "commercialization of the calendar," an increasing prevalence of business-inspired holidays that were marked in increasingly homogenous ways. In about 1866, Louis Prang, a Boston printmaker, perfected his "chromo" process and was therefore able to produce finely detailed printed images in full, bright colors. Prang applied his talents to media of all sorts, including advertising trade cards, fine art prints, and calendars. His work producing Christmas cards, beginning in 1874, was the start of American greeting card production and the gradual unseating of European imports. Soon after Prang's first cards, he added birthday, New Year's, and Easter cards. These early cards, still in postcard form, were often embellished with detailed surface embossing, applied glitter, and silky fringe.

In the first decade of the twentieth century American producers completely overtook European manufacturers, creating a new sensibility for greeting cards and establishing the most enduring form of the greeting card, the folded piece of paper with a picture on the front, a written sentiment of verse inside, and a size-matched envelope. These early companies included the A. M. Davis Company, Rust Craft Publishers, the Keating Company, the Gibson Art Company, Hall Brothers, and American Greetings, which all enjoyed industry solidarity after the formation of the National Association of Greeting Card Manufacturers (later, The Greeting Card Association) in 1913. The success of these companies relied on Americans' increasing propensity to acknowledge a greater number of holidays: Mother's Day, Father's Day, and St. Patrick's Day were quickly added to the modern celebratory schedule. The greeting card industry worked together with the floral, jewelry, and confectionery industries not only to ingrain the importance of holiday celebrations in the collective American psyche, but also to make Americans feel more comfortable about relying on premade commodities to do so.

The most enduring of the early greeting card manufacturers were Hallmark, American Greetings, and Gibson Greetings, all founded between 1907 and 1914. Hallmark, established in 1914 in Kansas City, Missouri, by Mr. Joyce C. Hall and his brother Rollie, was the most successful of the three—in 1995, Hallmark possessed 42 percent of the market, followed by American Greetings with 35 percent and Gibson with 8 percent. With revenues estimated at \$3.8 billion in 1994, it is no wonder that Hallmark has been called the "General Motors of emotion." As such, the company also cultivated its image of being a producer of down-home, conservative sentiments. J. C. Hall was a close friend of Walt Disney, and often incorporated wholesome Disney images into his cards, along with the works of other traditional illustrators like Norman Rockwell. In addition, Hallmark sponsored television's well-known drama series, the Hallmark Hall of Fame, beginning in the 1950s, and coined the slogan, "When You Care Enough to Send the Very Best." To critics, Hallmark had achieved the dubious reputation of being a purveyor of bland, mass-produced feelings that reflected the most banal of middle-American thoughts.

Greeting cards have not only tapped into, but also reflected changing American sentiments, aesthetic preferences, and preoccupations throughout the twentieth century. During the Depression,

some Mother's Day cards came embellished with a precious piece of lace; and special Mother's Day cards during World War II were made and sent to women who had lost their sons in the war. Continuing to tap into the contemporary zeitgeist for their success, card companies in the late 1970s responded to a growing American cynicism, producing "alternative" humor lines alongside their more conservative and sentimental staples. By the mid-1980s larger companies began to capitalize on baby boomers' growing desire for self-expression and feelings of individuality by developing more specific lines of greeting cards. By the 1990s Hallmark itself had its own alternative humor card line called Shoebox Greetings. Its Mahogany line, targeted toward African-American audiences, strove to open up the world of greeting cards to nonwhite faces and sensibilities. Hallmark's Recovery line offered cards for former addicts, and the Thinking of You line included cards for such late-century concerns as downsizing, the needs of caregivers, new divorcees, PMS, and the struggles of weight loss.

With the help of women, who purchased more than 85 percent of all greeting cards in 1998, Hallmark enjoyed \$3.7 billion in revenue, while American Greetings took in \$2.2 billion. Card companies have also realistically acknowledged the potential encroachment of computers into their businesses by setting up in-store kiosks where one can create one's own computer-generated card. Hallmark has even developed a computer program that allows one to produce individualized cards at home.

—Wendy Woloson

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## Gregory, Dick (1932—)

Dick Gregory brought a unique approach to political activism: he was one of the first African Americans to use his celebrity to promote a variety of political causes. He has intertwined his political beliefs with his work as an athlete, comedian, author, actor, and nutritionist since the 1950s. As the first Black comedian to work in "top-of-the-line" white nightclubs and on television, Gregory was one of the first African Americans to define Black issues for a mainstream white audience. He reached millions with his popular satirical comedy, bringing to light such issues as racism, civil rights, segregation, and nonviolence. He also used his humor to promote his



Dick Gregory

ideals in his movie appearances and books. In the 1960s, Gregory used his visibility as an entertainer to bring political causes like the civil rights movement, the antiwar movement, and the fight against violence, hunger, drug and alcohol abuse, and poor health care to popular attention. He combined his celebrity with such "attention-getting" tactics as fasts for political causes.

Born Richard Claxton Gregory on October 12, 1932, he was raised in poverty in St. Louis, Missouri. Gregory realized the power of politics at an early age; while in high school he was president of his graduating class and organizer of a march against conditions in segregated schools. With his interest in activism, Gregory soon learned the benefits of combining fame with politics. An athletic scholarship to Southern Illinois University (SIU) helped him achieve athletic fame on the track team as the fastest half-miler ever at SIU, and, in 1953, he was the first Black student awarded the school's Outstanding Athlete of the Year award. Gregory used his prominence to desegregate Carbondale's only movie theater.

While in the Army, Gregory performed comedy shows, and by the late 1950s he had begun working in Chicago nightclubs. He parlayed a one-night gig at the prestigious Playboy Club into a six-week run that brought him national recognition, winning him coverage in *Time* magazine and an appearance on the popular *Jack Paar Show*. He subsequently had gigs at numerous nightclubs, concerts,



and on other television shows. Gregory's unique ability to use humor and wit to publicize political discourse to a large cross-section of the general population also brought the attention of Medgar Evers and Martin Luther King, Jr., who asked him to become more involved with the civil rights movement. He performed at benefits for groups like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). He became involved with Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference programs, and in 1963 he helped collect and deliver 14,000 pounds of food to people in Leflore County, Mississippi. A strong advocate of King's non-violent movement, he was often jailed with King for civil disobedience.

In the 1960s Gregory wrote a number of books which continued his campaign for the civil rights movement. He titled his 1964 autobiographical work *Nigger* as a shock tactic. The tactic seemed effective as the book sold over a million copies. Gregory ran for mayor of Chicago in 1966 and for president of the United States in 1968. Those experiences were recounted in his book *Write Me In*. Gregory continued his fight to promote civil rights and his theories on how the government has tried to kill the civil rights movement and its leaders in books like *No More Lies: The Myth and the Reality of American History* and *Code Name Zorro: The Murder of Martin Luther King*, which he co-authored with Mark Lane. In addition to his books, Gregory made social commentary comedy records to spread his message even further. One of his records was the first "talk" record to sell over a million copies.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, Gregory had expanded his activism to address issues including the Vietnam war, healthcare, capital punishment, Native American land and fishing rights, violence, and world hunger. Gregory began using fasts to bring attention to issues. In the tradition of Ghandi, Gregory began one of his many fasts in 1967 to protest the Vietnam War. His forty-day fast was sprawled over the media. Since that first fast, Gregory has fasted over 100 times for political causes, including one fast of 71 days.

In addition to his political causes, Gregory became one of the first celebrities to strongly advocate vegetarianism, becoming an expert on nutrition and a marathon runner in the 1970s. He jogged across the country to gain recognition for his political analysis of health and nutrition issues and his belief that nutritional solutions can help alleviate world hunger. In 1973, he published *Dick Gregory's Natural Diet for Folks Who Eat: Cooking with Mother Nature* and formed Dick Gregory Health Enterprises, Inc. around his nutritional product, the chemical-free, dairy-free Bahamian Diet in 1984. Gregory focused his health work on the African American community, blaming their lower life expectancy on poor nutrition and alcohol and drug addiction. To do his part to alleviate world hunger, he donated 2,600 pounds of his nutritional formula to starving Ethiopians. Gregory's approach to nutrition brought together issues of healthy eating, world hunger, and racism.

Throughout the 1990s, Gregory continued fighting for and gaining recognition for a wide spectrum of political causes. Despite being credited with "opening the door" for many Black comedians, Gregory stayed out of the entertainment business. Instead, his ability to combine wit, intelligence, humor, and political conviction continued to help support many political causes.

—tova stabin

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## Gretzky, Wayne (1961—)

The greatest hockey player of his generation and one of the greatest of all time, Wayne Gretzky's greatest contribution to the sport is his part in helping to popularize it throughout the United States. The National Hockey League has successfully expanded in California and across the Sun Belt (often, it must be said, at the expense of the game's Canadian roots); NHL-licensed apparel is worn by millions of American young people; and an increasing percentage of players joining professional teams are from the United States.

Gretzky was born in Brampton, Ontario, Canada, began skating at age two-and-a-half, and was taught hockey by his father, Walter. Even as a small child Gretzky's hockey skills were remarkable—at age ten he scored 378 goals in 69 games for a local peewee team,



Wayne Gretzky.

attracting the attention of professional scouts and the national media. When the up-start World Hockey Association began signing players at a younger age than the established NHL, Gretzky became a pro at the age of seventeen, agreeing in 1978 to a contract with the Indianapolis Racers. Like many other WHA teams, the Racers were under-financed, and owner Nelson Skalbania was forced to sell the skinny center to the Edmonton Oilers in one of the most ill-conceived transactions in the annals of professional sports.

In Edmonton, Gretzky joined a team possessed of a number of promising young players. After one year the Oilers organization joined the National Hockey League and Gretzky was able to demonstrate his talents to a larger audience. Despite doubters who pointed to his slight build and lack of speed, in 1979-1980, his first season in the NHL, Gretzky won the Rookie of the Year award. In his second campaign he broke Phil Esposito's single-season points record, and in his third he smashed his own record with an astonishing 92 goals and 212 points. In a sport where fifty goals in a season of eighty games denoted a superstar, Gretzky raised the level of superlatives by reaching the mark of fifty goals in thirty-nine games. In the mid-1980s, the Edmonton Oilers were one of the most exciting and successful teams in league history, winning the Stanley Cup in 1984, 1985, 1987, and 1988.

By 1988, however, Gretzky's talents could command more in salary than a small-market team like the Oilers claimed they could afford, and he was dispatched to Los Angeles for a package of players, draft choices, and \$15 million. The trade that was a disaster for Edmonton fans turned out to be a gift to professional hockey in general and the Los Angeles Kings in particular. With Gretzky's marquee presence in a major mediacentre, the profile of the sport was raised enormously in California and throughout the United States. Gretzky's amiable features appeared in national endorsements, he hosted *Saturday Night Live*, gave interviews to Johnny Carson, and was even cast in a television soap opera. The Forum arena was sold out for the entire season, celebrities flocked to games, and more American children started to play hockey.

The same level of success on the ice was harder to come by. Despite leading the Kings to the Cup finals in 1993, where they lost to the Montreal Canadiens, Gretzky found team management unable to assemble a supporting cast of players as talented as he had enjoyed in Edmonton. At his request, he was traded to the St. Louis Blues in 1996, but this proved to be an unhappy experience, and after that season he signed with the New York Rangers. Once more, his arrival in a large American market sparked media interest, but again his skills, declining with age though still considerable, were insufficient to lift his team to cup-winning form. Gretzky retired from the game on April 18, 1999.

Gretzky holds sixty-one NHL individual records. He won the scoring championship ten times and was voted Most Valuable Player nine times; eighteen times he was voted to the All-Star team (and three times he was the game's MVP). Along with his four Stanley Cups, he played a leading part in three of his country's Canada Cup victories.

—Gerry Bowler

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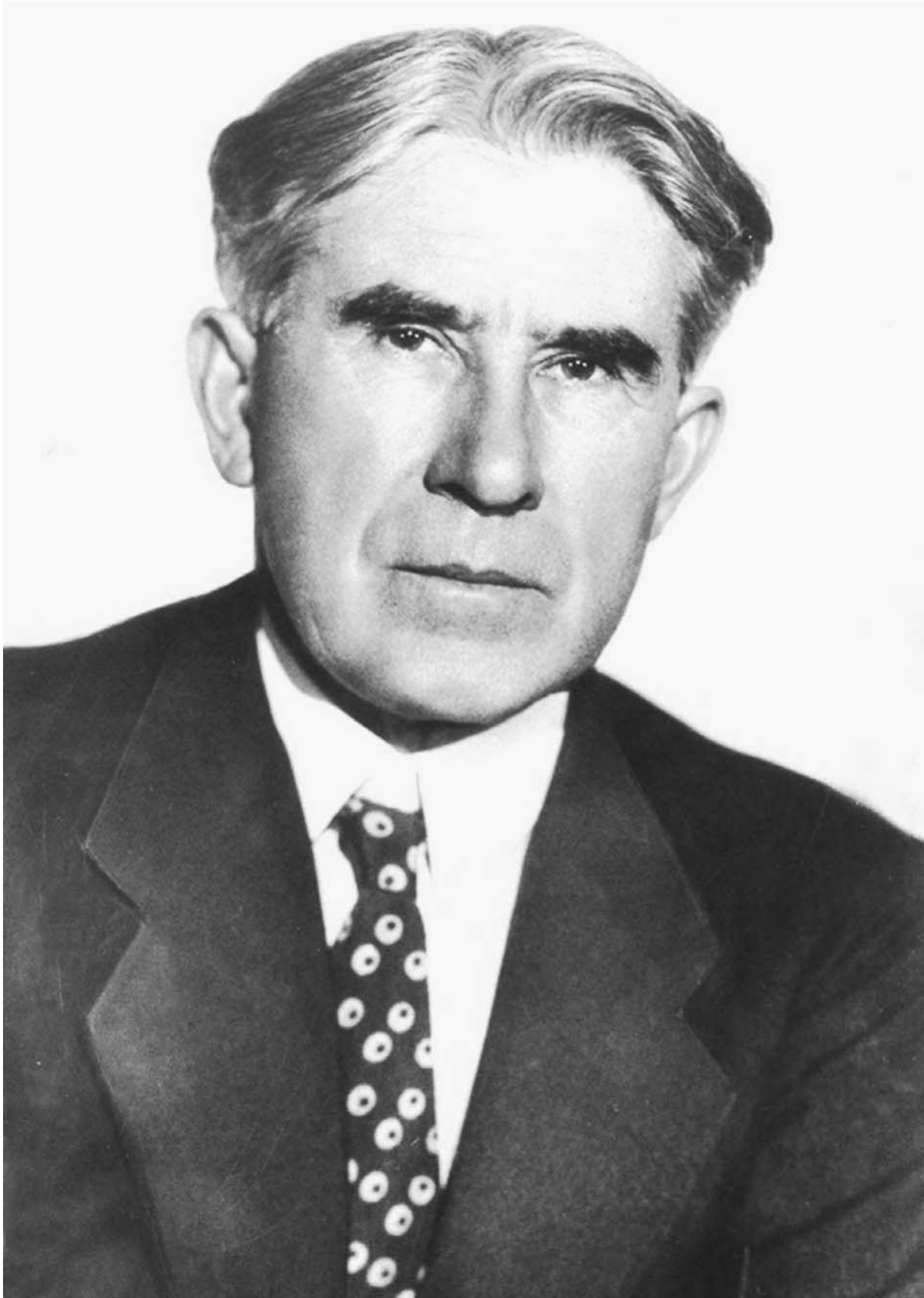
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## Grey, Zane (1875-1939)

Author Zane Grey had a significant and lasting influence on American culture. Considered the creator of the modern Western novel, his work shaped the imagery of the West in the popular imagination. Many evaluations of the genre concentrate on the literary attributes of its writers. These literary considerations tend to outweigh the cultural resonance of the Western's popular appeal and often lead to the underrating of Grey's work in particular. As well as his ability to establish place and evoke the landscape of the mythical West, Grey endowed his work with a sense of popular history. He also negotiated cultural tensions that revolve around such issues as the coming of modernity, marriage, religion, and the returning veterans of World War I, which appealed to an exceptionally broad range of readers. He was serialized in the *Ladies Home Journal* as well as *Colliers Country Gentleman* and *McCalls*, and numerous books of his were translated into films, some made by his own company. He insisted that these were shot on location, thus introducing, through the cinema, a very particular visual depiction of the West that still endures. Arizona is now known to tourists as Zane Grey country.

Grey was born in Zanesville, Ohio, in 1875. He studied dentistry at Pennsylvania University, and then practiced in New York, where he published his first novel *Betty Zane* under his real name, Pearl Grey. His first books, set in Ohio, were based on family history of the pioneer period, and followed in the tradition of James Fennimore Cooper. However, although filled with adventure, they did not really convey the sense of the Wild West in a cohesive or effective form. Then, in 1907, at the Campfire Club in New York, Grey met Charles Jesse "Buffalo" Jones, a conservationist who labored to save the buffalo from extinction. He joined Jones as a writer and photographer on a trip to Arizona and across the Painted Desert and the Grand Canyon, and during these travels met and lived with Native Americans, cowboys, and Texas rangers; thereafter his writing evolved into authentic and convincing descriptions of the West. He wrote his first account of his travels in *Last of the Plainsmen* (1908), but did not become successful until the publication of *The Heritage of the Desert* (1910), which established his individual style. In the prefatory note to *Last of the Plainsmen*, Grey writes, "As a boy I read of Boone with a throbbing heart, and the silent moccasined, vengeful Wetzel I loved. I pored over the deeds of vengeful men—Custer and Carson, those heroes of the plains. And as a man I came to see the wonder, the tragedy of their lives, and to write about them."

Grey's novels use the frontier west of the 98th Meridian to create a new landscape for the West. This rugged and exacting territory, inhabited by extremes of good and evil, legitimates violence, yet offers redemption. It also provided Grey with a fictional space through which to address the anxieties of the period in which he was writing, and to offer the prospect of escape from them. *The Heritage of the Desert* opens with intense religious imagery projected on to the desert landscape and leads into a dramatic romantic adventure. The eastern hero is nursed back to health by a Mormon, and falls in love with his half Navajo, half Spanish adopted daughter. The girl needs to be rescued from an impending marriage to the villain, a circumstance that culminates in a climactic shoot out. It was, however, with *Riders of the Purple Sage* (1912) that Zane Grey made his name. Originally rejected by the publishers because of its harsh treatment of Mormon



**Zane Grey**

culture, the novel went on to sell two million copies. Grey continued to travel throughout his career and incorporated his experience of landscape and knowledge of oral history directly into his fiction. He published 54 novels in his lifetime, and more were released posthumously. For the most part, they have very simple adventure plots, but are structured into thrilling and romantic episodes sustained by their evocative settings.

At the height of his popularity between 1917 and 1924, Grey's novels made Bookman's top ten bestseller list every year. *The U.P. Trail* (1918) and *The Man of the Forest* (1920), the two major bestsellers, illustrate the appeal of Grey's work. *The U.P. Trail* is based very specifically on the history of the Union Pacific Railroad between 1864 and 1869, and incorporates the endurance of the pony express rider and the introduction of the telegraph to the West. The background to the narrative accords with popular memory. *The Man of the Forest* is set in 1885, within living memory, and the story follows the integration of a woodsman into the community of the West through his romance with a spirited eastern girl. She finds her full potential in the West and is ready to build a homestead in "Paradise Park." Novels such as *The Desert of Wheat* (1919), *The Call of the Canyon* (1924), *The Vanishing American* (1925), *Under Tonto Rim* (1926), and *The Shepherd of Guadaloupe* (1930) are set contemporaneously and deal with modern issues and recent changes. They therefore establish the ethos of the West as a living idea rather than a lost ideal.

The formula that Grey established for the modern Western is one of moral regeneration or redemption, with heroic individuals proving themselves by living up to basic code of American values. His characters live by a "Code of the West" that differentiates between hero and villain, and leads to inevitable confrontation. He presented the Western hero in a manner that would become a central convention. He pays much attention to details of dress, appearance, and stance of his heroic characters. In *Riders of the Purple Sage*, for example, Lassiter is the mysterious gunfighter delineated by his fast draw, his costume, his honor, and his shady past. Here Grey introduced the professional gunman as a hero, but in the majority of his Westerns the older heroes are ready to be re-incorporated into society or commit themselves to very independent heroines. In most cases these women also come to recognize higher moral values through their experience in the West.

Although women are largely absent in the action of the Western, Grey's novels often feature a female protagonist, or pioneer characters. Heroines true to romantic formula are introduced at a stage where they have lost their social identity, which is restored in the course of the narrative through their own test of character in the Western landscape and not merely by the hero. In *Riders of the Purple Sage* Jane Withersteen attempts to stand up to the patriarchal Mormon power structure in which she has been orphaned. Part of the oppression she faces is the terrorism of a gang of outlaws, especially "The Masked Rider" who is revealed to be a girl brought up in the immoral culture of men. Grey is often accused of priggishness in his depiction of his heroes, and this tendency is also found in his heroines. He perfected two extremes of heroine: the cold, flirtatious, eastern sophisticate who reveals her deep and passionate love for the hero, and the practical, unladylike western girl, whose seeming promiscuity proves to be a blind.

These simplistic characters, and his constant appeal to religious symbolism and heightened moral codes, lead Grey's stories very

easily into the realm of melodrama and sentimentality in which the stories address particular fantasies of freedom away from the corruption and constraints of city life. His characters frequently confront the dilemmas of modern life, as does the flapper heroine of *Code of the West* (1934) who chooses marriage to the hero because she recognizes his worth. More pointedly, a similarly drawn heroine in *The Call of the Canyon* (1924) marries a shell-shocked World War I veteran and chooses the harsher, but more essentially American West in which to raise a family. The Western landscape, with its promise of abundant riches, offers the protagonists a chance to re-make their lives according to higher moral values, in contrast to their old life and that of those around them.

Grey is often accused of being either ambivalent or complacent about the Native Americans who feature in his stories. For *The Vanishing American* (1925) he adopted the melancholy stance of Fennimore Cooper regarding the inevitably doomed fate of Native American culture; while the nobility of the Indian is part of the Western myth, he cannot win against the dishonesty of the white man. Regret at the passing of the buffalo herds and other species of wildlife and their habitats can also be detected in Grey's writings, and *The Vanishing American* gives evidence of Grey's grounding in other contemporary concerns, such as corruption in the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, which is exposed by the narrative.

After 1925, Grey no longer appeared on the bestseller list, but his influence continued during the 1940s and 1950s through films based on his books, as well as through *Zane Grey's Western Magazine* and television's *Zane Grey Theatre* (1956-61). However, the Western film as a high budget production went into decline after 1930 until the formula was successfully reworked in John Ford's *Stagecoach* (1939). Although based on an Ernest Haycox story, the film—shot in Arizona and famously featuring Monument Valley—was a perfect expression of Zane Grey's articulation of the West. The revitalized formula, of which Ford was the master, explored the psychological depth of its characters at a time when the morality and romance of the 1920s Westerns seemed old-fashioned and melodramatic to Depression audiences with more complex concerns. Grey continued to publish fiction until his death in 1939, and sold his version of the winning of the West to an international audience, sustaining a myth that remains embedded in popular culture.

—Nickianne Moody

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## Greyhound Buses

There is barely a town or a city in the United States that is not served by Greyhound bus lines, which began operating in 1914 and became a romantic emblem of America, its wide open spaces and its freedom to travel cheaply and explore the horizons of the country. Swedish immigrant Carl Eric Wickman began the enterprise in Hibbing, Minnesota, shuttling miners to and from work in a seven-passenger Hupmobile. He quickly expanded his operation and began buying out competitors; by 1935 the Greyhound Corporation owned 1,726 buses running over 46,000 route miles. Although their surrounding neighborhoods may have come to seem dilapidated, bus stations often served as the focal point of many a downtown district. Even in this age of the frequent flyer, Greyhound transports more than 45 million passengers annually. The well-known slogan "Go Greyhound . . . and leave the driving to us" rests within our collective consciousness, and the familiar red, white, and blue bus with its

painted profile of an outstretched racing dog has become as much a part of popular culture as any single icon of the road.

—Robert Kuhlken

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## Grier, Pam (1949—)

In the early to mid-1970s, American actress Pam Grier emerged as a tough heroine in the genre of "blaxploitation" films. With Hollywood's history of relegating African Americans to demeaning roles and women to love interests or other support positions, Grier quickly stood out as a groundbreaker. Though she got her start in "B" movies such as *The Big Bird Cage* and *Beyond the Valley of the Dolls* in 1969, Grier soon rose to stardom playing grass roots vigilantes in

*Coffy* (1972) and *Foxy Brown* (1974). Many critics faulted her films for their violence, sensationalism, and reliance on her attractive physique, but also recognized them as vanguard vehicles for portraying blacks as smart and self-sufficient, as well as giving women an important place as strong, confident, and active players. The rise in women's rights and civil rights at the time probably played a factor in the success of Grier's films.

—Geri Speace

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## Griffin, Merv (1925—)

Talk show host Mervyn Griffin began his entertainment career as a singer and emcee with the Freddy Martin big band in the late 1940s. Griffin parlayed his quick wit and affable personality into movie acting opportunities as well as hosting television game and travel shows in the 1950s. He earned his place in the public consciousness, though, as the host of *The Merv Griffin Show*, which ran for 24



Merv Griffin

years from 1962 to 1986. This highly popular television show was, at various times, syndicated by Westinghouse Broadcasting Company and Metromedia as well as playing on the NBC and CBS networks. Known for his jovial, friendly style, Griffin was disparaged as a "softball" questioner by some, and accused of being more concerned with ingratiating himself with his guests than with being a "tough" interviewer. He also founded Merv Griffin Productions, making a fortune producing his talk shows, and packaging dozens of game shows that have continued to grip the nation such as *Jeopardy* and *Wheel of Fortune*. Griffin later made an even larger fortune as an owner of hotels and casinos across the country.

—Steven Kotok

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## Griffith, D. W. (1875-1948)

Considered the father of the motion picture and the first great artist of the cinema, director D. W. Griffith revolutionized filmmaking with technical innovations and a narrative structure still in use at the end of the twentieth century. His most significant and controversial movie, *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) established the feature-length film and the Hollywood star system. After a private viewing at the White House, President Woodrow Wilson reportedly remarked that the film "was like writing history with lightning." Released on March 3, *The Birth of a Nation* was not only the longest and most expensive movie to date, but it was the most popular movie of its time and the most politically explosive film in American history.

David Wark Griffith was born on January 23, 1875, in the town of Crestwood in Oldham County, Kentucky. He was an aspiring actor from 1897-1907, traveling from Portland, Oregon, to Boston, Massachusetts, working in stock companies under the name Lawrence Griffith. In 1906, while in Boston, he married his first wife, Linda Arvidson Johnson. His days as a stage actor were unfruitful.

In 1908, the famed director Edwin S. Porter introduced Griffith to his associates at the Biograph Company on 14th Street in Manhattan. Here the young actor gave up his first love to sell stories and ultimately to begin making movies himself. Along with his trusted and accomplished cameraman, G. W. "Billy" Bitzer, Griffith worked at a tremendous pace. From August 1908 through August 1911, he completed an astonishing 326 one-reel films. Through these early years, Griffith experimented with different camera angles, editing, and narrative styles. He used close-ups to produce greater emotional drama and sharp cuts between scenes to quicken a story's pace, believing that action rather than written titles should propel the movie's plot. In 1912 Griffith made a short, *The New York Hat*, with Lionel Barrymore and a young Mary Pickford based on a story submitted by sixteen-year-old Anita Loos, soon to be the most sought-after scenarist in Hollywood. Griffith stayed with Biograph just one more year, but he made his longest and most elaborate film to



D. W. Griffith (third from left) on location.

date in 1913, *Judith of Bethulia*. At four reels, it was four times longer than the standard movie.

Griffith reportedly convinced Bitzer to leave Biograph by telling him that he planned on making the greatest film in history. As an independent producer, Griffith acted as director, producer, distributor, and press agent for his epic *Birth of a Nation*. Based on Thomas Dixon's novel *The Clansman* (1905), Griffith's movie faithfully depicted the Reconstruction Era that immediately followed the U.S. Civil War as a period in which African-American men threatened the purity of the white race politically, socially, and sexually. From 1915 to 1946, a reported two hundred million people saw the film. During the first weeks of the movie's release, Americans lined up along sidewalks and in New York City paid the extraordinary price of \$2.00 a seat for a chance to see the most talked-about movie of the year. With more than twelve reels of film, it ran a record two hours. The movie cost more than \$100,000 to film but grossed an astonishing \$18 million.

The technical innovations that Griffith employed to make his film have continued to impress viewers and film historians alike since 1915. For example, Griffith had Bitzer set up his camera at ground

level to capture the power and frantic torrent of horse hoofs at full gallop on a dusty road. Such a scene illustrated the capabilities of the movie camera if freed from its stationary position in front of a stage. Using an array of camera angles—close-ups, long shots, cutbacks—Griffith proved that directors could make long movies and still hold the audience's attention. Parallel editing—cross-cutting footage of different events—achieved suspense and created the illusion of simultaneous action.

Repugnant to modern audiences yet reflecting widespread American sentiments at the time, the overt racist and nativist imagery, specifically the sympathetic portrayal of the Ku Klux Klan, throughout *Birth of a Nation* provoked the NAACP, a young organization in 1915, to rally black and white people around the country to picket theaters showing the movie. Surprised by the strong reaction to the film and believing it threatened his freedom of speech and, perhaps more importantly, his artistic integrity, Griffith released the anti-bigotry epic *Intolerance* in 1916. As popular as *Birth of a Nation* was, *Intolerance* proved to have a stronger effect on other directors. Among those under Griffith's influence was the famous Soviet director Sergei Eisenstein, who believed the American's style of rapid-fire editing had advanced filmmaking by a decade.

Griffith directed another twenty-six features between 1916 and 1931 but never again enjoyed adulation as the world's most brilliant director. He ended his career working from his Mamaroneck studio, a suburb of New York City, to be closer to the financial center of the movie industry.

—Ray Haberski, Jr.

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## Griffith, Nanci (1954—)

Almost alone among commercially successful singer-songwriters within folk and country music, Nanci Griffith represents a refreshing contrast to the bland offerings of the music industry's hit-making machinery. Defying easy categorization into the standard pigeon-holes, Griffith once described her own style of music as "folkabilly." After 15 albums Nanci Griffith still seems to be steaming ahead at full throttle. No longer scaling the heights but rather traversing the summit ridge of her creative powers, several of her most recent releases have been met with widespread critical acclaim. She has also captivated a legion of loyal fans.

Nanci Caroline Griffith was born July 6, 1953 near Austin, Texas—a town full of good music, where she penetrated the competitive ranks of a near legendary songwriting tradition. She has portrayed her parents as "beatniks" who enthusiastically supported her attempts to become a folksinger. Nanci's first paid gig was at the age



Nanci Griffith

of 14, when she played at the local Red Lion and made \$11. She graduated from Austin's Holy Cross High School, where she strummed guitar for folk mass, then stayed in the neighborhood by enrolling at the University of Texas. Nanci began playing every Sunday night—and would continue to play for five years—at the Hole in the Wall, a dingy little bar across the street from campus. The bar became her proving ground, for—as she once described it—if you can get loud beer-drinkers to hush up a moment and listen to your songs then you must be doing something right. She tried teaching kindergarten for a while, but by this time her heart was firmly attached to her true calling.

Nanci writes and plays folk music. Not one to shy away from this particular "f-word," she capitalizes the term because the people are important to her and so is the music. Invoking the muses of this particular genre has turned into a one-woman crusade to resurrect what's good and true among the earthier forms of the American song canon. In 1994 Griffith won a Grammy Award for her 1993 album *Other Voices, Other Rooms*, which paid tribute to songwriters she has come to admire. Her 1998 release, *Other Voices, Too (A Trip Back to Bountiful)*, serves as a continuation of this project. She cites Carolyn Hester as an influential figure in her early career, but also draws motivation from the Carter Family, Buddy Holly, and the Everly Brothers. By all accounts, Nanci is even more popular in the British Isles than in the United States. Perhaps this stems from her own Anglo ancestry, or perhaps because British sensibilities allow for greater sophistication in popular music. It may also reflect her residential choices: she has maintained a loft in Dublin for more than a decade, and now divides her time between Ireland and a small farm south of Nashville.



Nanci's first album was recorded in 1978 and subsequently reissued by folk-oriented Philo/Rounder Records (as were her next three). A good representation from this initial foray into record making would be the 1984 title, *Once In a Very Blue Moon*. In 1987 she switched to the predominantly country label MCA, and over the next five years released a series of rich offerings with more production input than the spare earlier records. It was also during this time period that Griffith assembled a first-rate touring band—the Blue Moon Orchestra—that has stayed together and backed her efforts for over a decade. Since 1992 Nanci has recorded on the Elektra label, which has given her wide latitude to experiment with new ambitions and soundscapes. Unanimously well received by critics was a 1994 album, the very personal and heartfelt *Flyer*. She has also recorded with artists as diverse as Bruce Cockburn, John Gorka, The Chieftains, and Hootie and the Blowfish. Her songs have been covered—often as hit records—by many other performers, including Willie Nelson, Suzy Bogguss, and Kathy Mattea.

Stylistically, Griffith is capable of assuming many postures. Her voice, at once so full and supple, can be delicate and hesitant one moment, and growling with anger or unassailable determination the next. That soft Texas twang is never too far away. A true storyteller, she likes to experiment with dialect and playful pronunciation. She has great range of expression, and uses her vocal chords like a richly textured instrument. Whether accompanied only by acoustic guitar or backed with a full string orchestra, it makes no difference; Nanci Griffith is able to reach out and tell us about ourselves through song. Thematically, Griffith takes on the broad sweep of land and life, especially trials of the common person trying to negotiate the lonely distances of modern times. There are accounts of working in orchards and on street corners, of dusty towns, drive-in movies and dashboard lights. She writes of rivers and lakes and fields of bluebonnets, geographical metaphors for sensing our place; there are also railroads and highways, and always the alternative of moving on. She accusingly points to racism, violence, and the inexcusable folly of warfare as pernicious tragedies we can ill afford. An avid reader, Nanci credits writers such as Larry McMurtry, Carson McCullers, and Eudora Welty as major inspirations. Her own stories put to song are situated squarely within the great literary tradition of the South, where the people, the lives they lead, and the land they live on are all worthy of notice. But there is something sad and melancholy about this artist's persona, reflecting bittersweet memories of lost loves and roads not taken. There have been some hard times, perhaps even a few regrets. In this, there is more than a hint of autobiography, thereby lending authenticity to its emotional impact. Her characters often live alone, their broken or half-baked dreams seeing them through one day at a time. Yet there is always hope, the yearning for fulfillment and intimacy never quite extinguished. Such an undeniably romantic vision is usually sustained at great cost. Deep down inside Nanci knows that love is a choice we make—though she can never bring herself to venture a decision.

Fortunately her fans do not face the same dilemma. In one of those paradoxes of popular culture, it seems the more things become homogenized and mass-produced, the more we yearn for interaction with a genuine and distinct expression of artistry. Well loved by a devoted group of admirers, Nanci Griffith has one of the more active news groups on the Internet. Members of "NanciNet" discuss everything from favorite albums and musical influences to the social and political commentary inherent in Griffith's songs. Numerous web pages exist that pay tribute to her artistic achievements. For this

reclusive, self-avowed folk singer, such grass roots activism by the people must be gratifying indeed.

—Robert Kuhlken

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## Grimek, John (1910-1998)

During John Grimek's career as a weightlifter, bodybuilder, and magazine editor—which began in the late 1920s and ended in the mid-1980s—he saw weight training change from being an activity shunned by athletes and exercise scientists into an activity universally embraced by these groups. What's more, because of his remarkable combination of muscle mass, athleticism, and flexibility, he was one of the main instigators of the change in attitude. In the mid-1920s, when young John first began to lift, following the example of his older brother George in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, there were very few men and virtually no women in the United States who trained with heavy weights. It was not that heavy lifting was unknown; it was that lifting was anathema throughout the culture. How such nonsense came to be believed by so many people is important to an understanding of the role John Grimek played in demystifying the notion of heavy lifting.

Beginning in the latter half of the nineteenth century, several influential writers began to argue that the lifting of heavy weights would make a person slow and inflexible, and a new word came into the English language: musclebound. These writers, who included Dr. Dio Lewis, William Blaikie, and Dr. Dudley Allen Sargent, warned prospective weight trainers that, in the words of Blaikie, "If you do work suited to a draft horse, you will surely develop the ponderous qualities of that worthy animal." The arguments of these men, who misunderstood genetics as thoroughly as they misunderstood physiology, were soon bolstered by a group of unscrupulous lifters who had built muscular bodies with weight training and wanted to use those bodies to make money. These lifters realized that it would be difficult to prosper by selling barbells and dumbbells through the mail because such weights were expensive to manufacture and costly to ship. However, they also realized that if they denounced heavy weight training in their mail order advertisements, they could then either sell equipment that was very light (e.g., rubber expanders) or simply sell a course of instruction explaining how to do various callisthenic exercises that required no apparatus.

Together, the misguided writers and the dishonest entrepreneurs gave birth to the myth of the musclebound weightlifter, and almost all coaches, athletes, and trainers came to believe that the worst thing an athlete could do was to lift heavy weights. Thus it was that, throughout the first half of the twentieth century, young men such as John Grimek were looked on with suspicion and even hostility as they pursued their dreams of size and strength. Perhaps because of the

belief that weights would make a person slow and “tie you up,” many lifters during that period worked on their flexibility and athleticism so they could disprove the belief. As for Grimek, it became especially important, as he gained muscular size very quickly and easily. In a few short years, his robust constitution and genetic predisposition combined to produce a body of previously unsurpassed perfection.

During most of the 1930s, there were no bodybuilding contests, and the only place where a young lifter/builder could compete in the “iron game” was on the weightlifting platform. Grimek’s first competition was the New Jersey State Championships in Newark, which he won easily, lifting in the heavyweight class (over 82.5 kg or 181.75 pounds). Later that same year he entered the U.S. National Championships, and exceeded the national record in the press, with 242.5 pounds. He moved to York, Pennsylvania, in 1936 to train with the York Barbell Club and to work for the York Barbell Company, and by winning the National Championships that year he qualified for the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin.

For the next several years, Grimek continued in competition, reaching his best total in 1940 at the National Championships with a press of 285 pounds, a snatch of 250, and a clean and jerk of 325. That same night, he won his first Mr. America title, and by that time he was far more famous in the small subculture of heavy lifting as a bodybuilder than as a weightlifter. In order for him to compete with the true heavyweights in America and around the world, some of whom weighed up to 300 pounds, it would have been necessary for him to gain 40 or 50 pounds, which would have spoiled the symmetry of his already legendary physique. Robert (Bob) Hoffman, the coach of the York Barbell Club team and owner of the York Barbell Company, analyzed the situation correctly: “I frequently say that a man can’t have everything. John Grimek has more than his share and has done more than his share for weightlifting. . . . He became a weightlifter to prove that there is power in a shapely physique . . . Grimek would be stronger if he was heavier, but he would not have his present physique. I think his physique does weightlifting and the entire cause of weight training more good than would his winning of the world’s championship.”

One of the ways Grimek helped the “cause of weight training” was to serve as the prime example of flexible muscle in Bob Hoffman’s magazine, *Strength & Health*, for which Grimek worked as a writer/editor. From 1932 on, in every issue of his magazine, Hoffman hammered away at the myth of the musclebound lifter and Grimek was his biggest weapon. Photographs of Grimek’s flexibility and stories of his athleticism filled the pages of *Strength & Health* and helped to convince skeptical readers that heavy weights would help them, as Hoffman always said, “in their chosen sport.” Another important way in which Grimek helped the “cause” was by taking part in the many exhibitions arranged by Hoffman. Whenever Hoffman was asked to bring some lifters and put on an exhibition, he would accept if at all possible. He knew that only by exposing the public to the truth that heavy lifting would help a man or a woman at his or her chosen sport, could he hope to dispel the myth of the musclebound lifter. All of these exhibitions chipped away at the myth, as audiences saw for themselves how quick and flexible the lifters were, but in the spring of 1940 Hoffman took a group of lifters, including John Grimek, to Springfield College in Massachusetts. What happened there became a pivotal event in the destruction of the myth.

Fraysher Ferguson, a student at Springfield College (where most of the country’s Y.M.C.A. directors were trained), invited Hoffman to

bring the lifters to Springfield for an exhibition because none of his professors believed him when he said that his lifting helped him as an athlete. One of those professors was Dr. Peter Karpovich, the most widely respected physical educator in America at that time and an avowed enemy of heavy lifting. The hall was packed with students and staff that day, and after Hoffman introduced the two top lifters, John Grimek and world heavyweight champion John Davis, Davis did some heavy lifting and Grimek gave a posing exhibition. Although physiques such as Grimek’s had become common by the last decades of the twentieth century, none of the people in attendance in 1940 had ever seen a man with such huge, defined muscles. Following the exhibition, Hoffman invited questions, and the students turned to Dr. Karpovich. True to form, he rose and asked if “Mr. Grimek would mind scratching the back of his neck.” After drawing a laugh by saying his neck didn’t itch, Grimek obliged, then went on to a series of stunts that included standing on a low stool and touching the floor, straightlegged, with his fingertips and then doing a full side to side leg split. John Davis then did a back flip while holding a 50-pound dumbbell in each hand. The audience burst into shocked applause at each new shattering stunt, and afterward Karpovich came down and privately apologized, vowing to undertake research studies that would help him understand how he could have been so mistaken. Indeed, though World War II intervened, when Karpovich returned to his lab in the late 1940s he directed a series of studies that proved to his satisfaction that far from slowing a person down, weight training increased a person’s speed. In time, these studies were published in the most important journals in the field, and the musclebound theory was gradually laid to rest.

It is doubtful whether a person with significantly less muscle mass could have caused such a change in the thinking of those who saw Grimek perform his feats of flexibility. If anyone appeared visually to symbolize the word “musclebound” it was John Grimek during the 1930s and 1940s. Yet if such a man was both limber and graceful, it flew in the face of the myth. Part of Grimek’s power as a performer came from his dramatic ability to pose his body. Many who saw him in his prime have said that his posing was a “ballet of power,” in which he moved from pose to pose in a fluid, natural manner. Most historians of physical culture place Grimek above all bodybuilders before or since in his mastery of physical display. According to Joe Weider, who began his publishing empire in 1940, Grimek “invented modern posing, and no one has ever matched his ability on the posing platform.” Films that remain of Grimek on the platform reveal a performance that combined grace, power, drama, masculinity, and beauty. He was never defeated in bodybuilding competition, and he was the man to whom all other lifter/builders would point when they were told that “lifting will make you musclebound.” As Grimek himself told a group of skeptical Y.M.C.A. directors after an exhibition in which he posed and performed his seemingly miraculous stunts, “Can you do what I do? If you can’t, then you’re the ones who are musclebound.”

—Jan and Terry Todd

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## Grisham, John (1955—)

John Grisham's contributions to the world of popular culture in the late twentieth century are enormous. Not only is he largely responsible for the elevation of legal thrillers to a level of popularity never before seen in literary circles, but he has also transcended that genre as his books are eagerly anticipated by those in the movie industry. Ironically, the best-selling author did not find instant success. While working as a lawyer and a Mississippi state legislator, Grisham took four years to write his first novel, *A Time to Kill*. When he finished in 1987, he sent the manuscript to 16 agents, finally connecting with agent Jay Garon. Over two dozen publishers rejected the book before Wynwood Press accepted it. Wynwood decided on a small print run, only 5000 copies, and paid Grisham a mere \$15,000 for what many believe to be his finest book. This, however, would be the last time Grisham was to meet with such difficulty in getting his work published.

Grisham wrote *The Firm* based on guidelines in a *Writer's Digest* article on writing a suspense novel. Paramount bought the film rights for \$600,000 in 1990 before the novel even had a publisher. After the film rights sold, publishers lined up to offer Grisham a



John Grisham

contract. Doubleday, one of the many publishers that rejected *A Time to Kill*, won out and signed Grisham to a three book contract. Grisham closed his law practice and began devoting his time entirely to writing. He wrote his third book, *The Pelican Brief*, in only 100 days. He took six months to write his next book, *The Client*. Grisham found himself in 1993 with *The Client* at number one on the *New York Times* hardcover bestseller list, and *The Pelican Brief*, *The Firm*, and *A Time to Kill* within the first five slots on the *New York Times* paperback bestseller list.

Grisham has not only had a huge impact on the publishing industry. Almost all of his novels have been made into relatively successful films. They have been directed by such big-name directors as Joel Schumacher, Sydney Pollack, and Francis Ford Coppola. They have attracted such critically acclaimed and popular actors as Susan Sarandon, Tommy Lee Jones, Tom Cruise, Gene Hackman, Denzel Washington, Julia Roberts, Matt Damon, Danny DeVito, and Claire Danes. *The Gingerbread Man*, a film released in 1998, was based on Grisham's first original screenplay.

As bestsellers, Grisham's novels have received a great deal of critical attention, and the reviews have been mixed. He is most often criticized for writing formulaic novels and sacrificing character development for plot. Still, even his critics usually admit that he writes a thrilling page-turner. He is often compared to his contemporary Scott Turow, best-selling author of legal thrillers *Presumed Innocent* and *Burden of Proof*. Grisham and Turow, whose first book appeared in the year Grisham finished *A Time to Kill*, are credited with making legal thrillers a hot commodity in the 1990s, adding fuel to the careers of such authors as Richard North Patterson, Steven Martini, and Brad Meltzer.

Grisham's books appeal to a sense of paranoia that prevailed in the 1990s. His books and the films they inspire often deal with people who are fighting corruption and others' self-serving interests at every turn. In *The Firm*, Mitchell McDeere is stuck between the corrupt firm that lured him straight out of law school with an \$80,000 salary and a new BMW, and the FBI agents who are trying to bully him into helping them bring the firm down. In *The Pelican Brief*, law student Darby Shaw stumbles on the truth behind the assassination of two Supreme Court justices and finds herself pursued not only by the man behind the assassinations, but also by various government representatives. The American public seems very ready and willing to believe that the wealthy and the government are corrupt and in cahoots with one another, and that an earnest and intelligent person can get out of even the worst of situations.

Indeed, the 1990s saw an explosion of legal thrillers in print, film, and television. From 1991 to 1998, Doubleday released a new Grisham novel every spring. In a *Publishers Weekly* article, Jeff Zaleski describes the frenzy this begets: "To accommodate it, booksellers around the country clear miles of shelf space; book and audio clubs quicken to fill orders; motion picture studios cajole and connive to get a first peek at galleys." Grisham's impact on publishing is obvious, he is the kind of author, in company with such mega-selling authors as Stephen King and Danielle Steel, who creates big sales for publishers and bookstores alike. His influence reaches into the entire entertainment industry, where film and television studios look to capitalize on Grisham's popularity.

—Adrienne Furness

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## Grits

Made from finely ground dried and hulled corn kernels, or hominy, grits are a central feature of Southern foodways. Grits are commonly eaten for breakfast and complimented by a wide variety of condiments; including red-eye gravy, butter, cheese, ham, bacon, salmon, shrimp, and sausage. While generally boiled to a porridge-like consistency, grits can also be served with milk and sugar or even cold-sliced and fried. Generations of Southerners have enjoyed grits since Native Americans first introduced Virginia colonists to unrefined hominy, but this Southern staple apparently has little culinary currency outside the region. Indeed, grits are an important element of Southern distinctiveness and celebrated in the region through festival, humor, literature, and song. Packaged instant or quick, grits are a key ingredient in Southern cooking and an enduring feature of Southern identity.

—Stephen C. Kenny

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## Grizzard, Lewis (1946-1994)

Lewis McDonald Grizzard, Jr., was a popular and sometimes controversial newspaper columnist who gained fame in the 1980s and 1990s with his popular syndicated newspaper column. Throughout his career, Grizzard's wit entertained readers with a commentary that was unabashedly pro-Southern. His love for his alma mater, the University of Georgia, his attitude toward Yankees, and his well-known marital failures all provided material for his columns, numerous books, audiocassettes, and personal and television appearances. But it was in his life-and-death struggle with heart disease that he touched the hearts of his loyal readers.

Grizzard grew up in the small town of Moreland, Georgia, where he had been born on October 20, 1947. He attended the University of Georgia in Athens, but because he accepted a job with the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* in his senior year, he did not graduate until years later. Despite his delayed graduation, Grizzard was awarded the distinguished alumni award from his alma mater's College of Journalism and Mass Communication.

Before settling down as a syndicated newspaper columnist, Grizzard worked as sports editor at newspapers in Atlanta and Chicago. By the time of his death in 1994, his columns had appeared in more than 200 newspapers across the United States, and he had authored 14 books of his collected humor. Many of Grizzard's books found their way to the *New York Times* best-selling list, and most remain in print years after his death. True to his persona as a southern "good old boy," he never used a word processor or computer, preferring instead an old manual typewriter.

While his humor won him fame, Grizzard often endured conflicting attitudes toward his work. Some condemned his brand of humor as sexist, homophobic, jaded, and cynical, while others praised him as a great storyteller and a modern-day Mark Twain. A publisher once compared the writer to Faulkner, but implied that Grizzard was more attuned to the average person. Grizzard met criticism of his work with an honesty that marked his writing and humor as distinctly his own. His popularity quickly spread from syndicated columns to books to audiotapes and personal appearances. Probably his best-known appearance was on the sitcom *Designing Women*, in which he played Julia and Suzanne Sugarbaker's (Dixie Carter and Delta Burke) half-brother.

Despite his commercial success, Grizzard's personal life seemed far from successful. He had three failed marriages, which he often wrote about in his columns and books. He married his fourth wife, Dedra, just days before his death. Grizzard had one stepdaughter and no children of his own.

After years of illnesses and surgeries, Grizzard died from complications following heart surgery in Atlanta. After his death, the Lewis Grizzard Museum, operated by the Lewis Grizzard Memorial Trust, was established in his hometown of Moreland. Though admission is free, visitors may donate one dollar to support the Lewis Grizzard Scholarship. Visitors can view such items as the writer's baseball glove, his letter jacket, and his childhood rocking chair among other mementos. Grizzard's book *I Took a Lickin and Kept on Tickin* is a posthumous compilation of previously published essays employing humor to detail his battle with the heart disease that eventually led to his early death.

—Kimberley H. Kidd

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## Groening, Matt (1954—)

Matt Groening graduated from Evergreen State University in 1977 expecting to become a writer, but cartooning became his claim to fame. By 1991, the creator of the animated television series *The Simpsons* and the nationally syndicated comic strip *Life in Hell* had received his first two Emmys and was listed as one of the Forbes Top 40 earners in the entertainment industry.

Groening's struggles as a writer in Los Angeles after college led to the creation of *Life in Hell*, a comic strip about Binky, a hostile,



### Matt Groening

frustrated rabbit (the only recognizable animal Groening could draw). Instead of sending correspondence to his relatives and friends, Groening sent his first comics because they communicated his feelings. He also tried to sell booklets of his comic strips in the “punk” section of the record store where he worked. In 1978, *Wet*, a magazine which showcased unconventional graphics, ran a few installments of the strip. In 1980, the *Los Angeles Reader*, a weekly alternative paper, hired Groening as circulation manager and began to run *Life in Hell* regularly. Groening transformed Binky from a grouchy pessimist to a hapless victim. He added several characters, Binky’s son, Bongo; his girlfriend, Sheba; and Akbar and Jeff, the identical fez-wearing entrepreneurs. By 1983, the strip was being published in twenty papers and its success led to Groening’s first book, *Love Is Hell*, published in 1984. By 1997, Groening had published twelve *Life in Hell* books, and that year the comic appeared in more than two hundred newspapers.

In 1985, Groening resigned from the *Reader* along with Deborah Caplan (who worked in the paper’s advertising department). Together they established Life in Hell, Inc., with Caplan as the company’s business manager. They married on October 29, 1986, and later had two children—Homer and Abraham. In 1987, James L. Brooks (creator of the television shows *Taxi* and *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, and director of *Terms of Endearment* and *As Good as It Gets*) approached Groening to create short animated segments of *Life in Hell* for the Fox network’s *The Tracey Ullman Show*. Groening agreed to do segments for the show but, unwilling to relinquish the rights to *Life in Hell*, created an entirely new set of characters—the Simpsons, a blue-collar family including parents Homer and Marge, son Bart, and daughters Lisa and baby Maggie.

By 1989, the Simpsons had become so popular on *The Tracey Ullman Show* that Fox commissioned thirteen episodes for the 1989 fall season. After a delay, the first episode of *The Simpsons* aired in

January 1990, and, within two months, the show was ranked in the Nielson’s top fifteen most watched shows on American television. The creator, developer, animator, director, and executive producer of *The Simpsons*, Groening was nominated for an Emmy for outstanding animated program every year the Simpsons appeared on *The Tracey Ullman Show* and won Emmy awards in that category for each of *The Simpsons*’ first two seasons. He won again in 1994, 1996, and 1998. In 1997, Groening was awarded the George Foster Peabody Award for excellence in broadcasting for *The Simpsons*.

Groening further broadened the appeal of *The Simpsons* in 1993 when he started the Bongo Comics Group (for which he received the Diamond Distribution Gem Award for new publication of the year), which included four monthly comic books—*Simpsons Comics*, *BartMan*, *Itchy & Scratchy*, and *Radioactive Man* (Bart Simpson’s favorite comic book hero). In 1995, Groening founded and published Zongo Comics, established to publish the work of alternative independent artists, which includes the titles *Jimbo*, *Fleener*, and *Hopster’s Tracks*. He added *Krusty Comics* and *Lisa Comics* to the Bongo Comics Group, and *Roswell* in 1996.

Groening’s philosophies are deeply integrated into *The Simpsons*. As he indicated in a 1993 interview with the *Washington Post*, the Simpsons are a blue-collar family similar to cartoon greats like the Flintstones and the Jetsons, but *The Simpsons* tries to go for “real emotions.” Although the characters encounter exaggerated events, the writers have tried to make them react as people would. Episodes of *The Simpsons* are replete with cultural references, from “Dr. Zaius,” the song referring to the 1968 film *Planet of the Apes* sung to the tune of Falco’s 1985 hit “Rock Me Amadeus,” to Mayor Quimby’s Kennedy-esque Boston accent.

The Simpsons have become one of the most recognizable television families in the world. Bart Simpson even made *Time* magazine’s list of the one hundred most important people of the

twentieth century as one of the top twenty Artists and Entertainers. Groening's show has not only captured the television market, but has overwhelmed the commercial market with the Simpsons appearing as toys, in their own video game, on T-shirts, as product endorsers, on compact disks, and on their own Internet web page.

Groening has a second project in production with Fox: an animated series called *Futurama*. Beginning mid-season 1999, *Futurama* is an animated story about a twentieth-century man dealing with life in the year 3000.

—Adam Wathen

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## Grunge

Grunge is the name given to the hard rock music produced by bands such as Nirvana, Soundgarden, and others, in Seattle, Washington, from the mid-1980s through the mid-1990s. While the term provides a convenient blanket description, it also hides fairly substantial stylistic differences between the bands. Few, if any, of those groups ever described themselves as "grunge," and the stereotyping of grunge as humorless and angst-ridden is a serious distortion. Nonetheless, the same media scrutiny that bred those misrepresentations turned grunge into a worldwide phenomenon that shaped not only music, but also other aspects of popular culture such as fashion.

Through the late 1970s and early 1980s, punk and hard-core rock had embraced a do-it-yourself attitude in defiant opposition to the bombast and big money of heavy metal and arena rock. However, as the hard-core and punk movements began to wane in the mid-1980s, many of those independent bands retained their amplifiers and distortion pedals but began slowing the tempos of their songs considerably. As a result, many bands (intentionally or not) began to reproduce the sound of the arena rock bands on which they had originally turned their backs. Although this trend occurred throughout America, it became particularly noticeable in two groups of musicians in Seattle, The Melvins and Green River. Hailing from Aberdeen, Washington, The Melvins played a particularly sludgy form of hard rock, touring with their friend Kurt Cobain at the wheel of their



Members of the grunge band Nirvana, from left: Chris Novoselic, Dave Grohl, and Kurt Cobain.

tour bus before he formed Nirvana. Green River also received some attention in independent music circles, before splitting up to re-form as Mudhoney and Mother Love Bone.

Those two groups nicely illustrate the two poles of the grunge movement. Fronted by flamboyant lead singer Andrew Wood, Mother Love Bone's music clearly indicated the band's commercial ambitions, and after just a handful of shows they secured a contract with PolyGram Records—a situation amounting to heresy in the independent music scene. After Wood's death in 1990 from drug-related causes, members of the band secured the talents of San Diego-based singer Eddie Vedder and formed Pearl Jam.

In contrast to Mother Love Bone, Mudhoney openly satirized the entire notion of rock stardom. Their sound was considerably rougher, with front man Mark Arm's vocals closer to a hoarse shout than to singing. Taking their name from the title of a soft-core film directed by Russ Meyer, they embraced a *faux*-sexism that simultaneously spoofed and celebrated the excesses of big-name rock bands.

Soundgarden fell somewhere between the blatant commercialism of Pearl Jam and the unpolished garage sound of Mudhoney. Lead singer Chris Cornell possessed a powerful falsetto that went well beyond that of Black Sabbath's Ozzy Osbourne, his most obvious influence. Soundgarden built its reputation as an independent band, satirizing the misogyny of heavy metal in songs such as "Big Dumb Sex," but a lot of listeners seemed to miss the joke. The group's 1989 album, *Louder than Love*, was nominated for a Grammy, and *Superunknown*, released in 1994, debuted at number one on the *Billboard* charts. By that time the band's sound was closer to

Metallica or Guns 'N' Roses (with whom they had once toured) than to Mudhoney or Nirvana. Soundgarden broke up in 1997.

It is likely that many of these bands would have vanished quietly, or perhaps not even formed at all, if it were not for Sub Pop Records. Founders Bruce Pavitt and Jonathan Poneman recognized the strength of the Seattle music scene and, like Berry Gordian, whose Motown label had popularized the pop and rhythm-and-blues of Detroit in the 1960s, they set out to promote their city's bands. From the label's inception, they showed an ambition previously absent from independent labels. Sub Pop's first release, a compilation of bands who, for the most part, weren't from Seattle at all, described the label as "The new thing, the big thing, the God thing: A multi-national conglomerate based in the Pacific Northwest." Most people thought it was a joke, but Pavitt and Poneman weren't kidding.

Many independent record labels in America had been releasing excellent music that never achieved any degree of commercial success, but Pavitt and Poneman were shrewd marketers with an unrivaled gift for generating hype. They hired a British press agent to promote their bands, and paid a correspondent from the British music newspaper *Melody Maker* to come to Seattle. They believed—correctly—that the best way to promote their bands in the United States was through a reputation that was built abroad. Soon the city was renowned as one of the foremost centers of independent music in the world.

Nonetheless, by early 1991, Sub Pop was nearing bankruptcy. Its salvation came from the wholly unexpected success of Nirvana's first full-length album, *Nevermind*. When David Geffen's DGC label signed Nirvana, the contract stipulated that Sub Pop would receive a two percent royalty if the album sold more than 200,000 copies. Most observers expected it would sell a fraction of that number. However, "Smells Like Teen Spirit," the album's first single, became an overnight anthem, combining an infectious riff with a heavy guitar sound and lyrics which expressed a wry world-weariness. A few months earlier, Nirvana had been known to only a small number of independent music cognoscenti; now they were receiving airtime on top 40 rock and alternative stations throughout the world. Within a year, *Nevermind* had sold four million albums. Pearl Jam's *Ten* was released the same month as Nirvana's album, and although sales were initially slower, it sold an equal number of copies during its first year.

With the success of Nirvana and Pearl Jam, journalists, film crews, and fashion designers began flocking to Seattle to cash in on the music, which the world outside Seattle was calling "grunge." The flannel shirt became the ultimate symbol of grunge couture, although flannels had been popular for years in the national hard-core scene because they were cheap, comfortable and durable. Soon, upscale stores were selling "designer grunge," a bizarre inversion of a look essentially the opposite of fashion. Seattle bands on tour often found crowds dressed in flannels, ripped jeans, and Doc Marten boots: "more Seattle than Seattle" as one musician observed.

Many bands who had prided themselves on a punk ethos now found themselves signing very lucrative contracts. A popular tee-shirt in Seattle depicted the irony. It featured a large picture of a heroin syringe with the caption "I came to Seattle to score, and all I got was this stupid recording contract." The standard defense was an equally ironic pose. Kurt Cobain appeared on the cover of *Rolling Stone* with a hand-lettered tee-shirt which read "Corporate mags still suck"—an allusion to the bumper-sticker "Corporate music still sucks." Even Mudhoney signed with a major label and, in concert, began changing the lyrics of their song "Touch Me, I'm Sick" to "Fuck Me, I'm

Rich." While those might have been effective comebacks, they did nothing to disguise or alter the fundamental fact that bands that had begun by satirizing rock stars suddenly became rock stars.

One of the reasons for that irony is the music that influenced grunge. While most independent music up until that time ignored commercial hard rock (or at least pretended to), grunge reveled in it. Kurt Cobain said "we just accepted the fact that we liked the music we grew up on: Alice Cooper, the MC5, Kiss. . . . We're paying homage to all the music we loved as kids, and we haven't denied the punk-rock energy that inspired us as teenagers." But, with commercial success, many bands began to spend more time polishing their recordings in the studio. That effectively destroyed the "Seattle Sound," much of which came from producer Jack Endino, who used a simple four-track recorder to get a deliberately rough sound. Cobain himself admitted that he thought the production of *Nevermind* was a little too slick. Punk energy was often filtered out by producers looking to make a more palatable recording.

By 1994, many of the original grunge bands had cut their hair and begun to release more mainstream albums. Effectively, Grunge ended with the suicide of Kurt Cobain in the spring of 1994. Nonetheless, it had already forced an essential change in the recording industry; major labels became much more willing to sign new acts, even when they did not fit into a preconceived commercial formula.

—Bill Freind

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## Grusin, Dave (1934—)

Combining classical music training, jazz virtuosity, and a popular culture sensibility, Dave Grusin has become one of the most prolific composers of the late twentieth century. Born and raised in Littleton, Colorado, Grusin was a classical piano major at the University of Colorado. But he had an affinity for jazz and played with such visiting artists as Art Pepper and singer Anita O'Day. After moving to New York to pursue an academic career, Grusin found a job touring behind Andy Williams. He became Williams' musical director and moved to Los Angeles to work on *The Andy Williams Show*. Grusin left the show in 1964 to score the Norman Lear/Bud Yorkin film, *Divorce American Style*. Since then, Grusin has been one of Hollywood's premier composers. Nominated for eight Academy Awards for his scores for such films as *Heaven Can Wait*, *On Golden Pond*, *Tootsie*, and *The Fabulous Baker Boys*, Grusin won an Oscar for *The Milagro Beanfield War*. His work is also familiar to television audiences—he wrote the theme songs for *Good Times*, *Maude*, *Baretta*, and *St. Elsewhere*. Despite his cinematic successes, Grusin has remained true to his jazz roots. Highly respected in the jazz community, his successful recording and performing career has spanned three decades and he has won ten Grammy Awards, making him a modern day musical Renaissance man.

—Victoria Price

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## Guaraldi, Vince (1928-1976)

Vince Guaraldi was one of the finest jazz pianists of the 1950s and 1960s. Eventually the leader of his own group, his resume also included time with jazz greats Cal Tjader and Duke Ellington. In 1963 he won a Grammy for his song “Cast Your Fate to the Wind,” and although Guaraldi recorded many successful albums and had a thriving concert career, he will forever be known as the composer for the Charlie Brown television specials. His music for *A Boy Named Charlie Brown* and *A Charlie Brown Christmas* became irrevocably linked to the Peanuts franchise, and several of his songs, including “Linus and Lucy,” “Red Baron,” and “Great Pumpkin Waltz,” became standard music for all Peanuts specials. Guaraldi’s music introduced children to jazz, and his upbeat, bouncy style seemed a perfect fit to the characters created by Charles Schultz. Although Guaraldi died unexpectedly in 1976, performers from Wynton Marsalis to David Benoit continue to play his compositions and his albums continue to sell.

—Geoff Peterson

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## The Guardian Angels

Founded by Curtis Sliwa in 1979, the Guardian Angels are a volunteer organization dedicated to protecting law-abiding citizens from violent crime on the New York subway. The organization subsequently spread throughout the United States, and ‘chapters’ were established in cities in Canada, South America, Australia, and Europe. The members, who wear a uniform of red berets and white sweatshirts, carry no weapons, but undergo training in martial arts, first aid, and instruction in citizen’s arrest laws. In 1993, revelations that Sliwa had staged some of the Angels’ much-publicized successes caused the decline of many chapters. However, while law enforcement agencies have tended to skepticism about the Angels’ effectiveness in crime prevention, their presence has frequently shamed authorities into improving policing on subway systems.

—Chris Routledge

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## Gucci

The history of the Gucci brand illustrates the precariousness of luxury brand names. Guccio Gucci founded his leather business in Florence in 1906, having been inspired by the beautiful leather luggage of guests at the Ritz Hotel in London where he had worked in the kitchen. After World War II when leather was scarce, Gucci printed his company’s interlocked-G’s logo on canvas luggage and accessories in bright red and green. This phenomenal success in placing high prices on what was inherently less expensive to produce fueled the imagination of the second-generation Guccis. Interlocked G’s were licensed shamelessly and any number of products enjoyed Gucci cachet, despite degenerating quality. In the 1970s, Gucci leather loafers with a gilt horse-snaffle were an expensive favorite of the nouveau riche. By the 1980s, the luxury brand had become a bad joke. In the 1990s, some selectivity was restored, Tom Ford was garnering hype for vulgar but media-generating clothes, and Gucci seemed a business reborn.

—Richard Martin

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## Guiding Light

The longest running soap opera in broadcast history, Procter & Gamble’s (P&G’s) *The Guiding Light*, premiered on radio in 1937. Although recognized as one of the many soaps developed by the legendary Irna Phillips, a 1946 lawsuit ruled that a former writer, Emmons Carlson, share credit for its creation. The veteran soap’s logo, a rotating lighthouse beacon, was an apt metaphor for its significance as a guidepost in the cultural lives of generations of fans and for the genre itself. Over the decades, *Guiding Light* evolved into a paradigm model for the melodramatic excesses of soap opera, both influencing, and being influenced by, its imitators and successors. Within the liberating parameters of its world, it was frequently a ground-breaker, daring to dramatize previously taboo topics, and through its sheer longevity, has permeated American popular culture.

Reverend John Ruthledge (Arthur Peterson) served as the program’s central character for many years, counseling not only family and flock in the fictional hamlet of Five Points, but the nation’s radio audiences, comforting them through economic depression and war, and preaching against such evils as racism. When the show moved production from Chicago to Los Angeles, Peterson resigned, Ruthledge



was killed off, and Five Points was transformed into the town of Selby Flats, California. The original thrust of the program was left far behind, and a new set of characters, the Bauers, became the core family in *Guiding Light*'s new incarnation. The ratings suffered and, with Hollywood thought to be the culprit, the production migrated once again, this time eastward to New York.

*The Guiding Light* premiered on CBS television in 1952, and ran parallel with continuing radio broadcasts for the next four years. Meta Bauer (Jone Allison, later Ellen Demming), who would maintain a presence for four decades, emerged as a popular young heroine at this juncture. When Phillips exited the show in 1958, she eliminated Meta's stepdaughter by having her crippled and then killed in a traffic accident, eliciting a howl of protest from viewers. The proprietorial involvement of soap opera fans thus made its existence known to the creators.

The 1960s saw *The Light*'s setting shift once again, this time to the Midwestern town of Springfield. Agnes Nixon, future creator of *All My Children*, took over the reins as head writer and proceeded to afflict matriarch Bertha Bauer (Charita Bauer) with cervical cancer, a trend-setting idea that had both P&G and CBS worried about negative fallout. However, the only consequence was to educate female viewers about the need for a yearly Pap smear. Nixon was also instrumental in bringing racial integration to Springfield, with Billy Dee Williams and Cicely Tyson, and later James Earl Jones and Ruby Dee, inhabiting the roles of Dr. Jim and Martha Frazier, a professional, African-American couple. This new strand happily failed to validate the misgivings of executives who thought ratings might suffer; rather, it influenced other soaps to strive for racial diversity. In the 1970s, the husband-and-wife writing team of Jerome and Bridget Dobson offered a timely marital rape story based on the real-life Rideout case. The installment, involving nefarious Roger Thorpe (Michael Zaslow) and his wife Holly Lindsey (Maureen Garrett), was imitated by such programs as *Days of Our Lives* and *Another World*. In 1978 the series title was simplified to just *Guiding Light*.

The writing turnover continued in the 1980s. *General Hospital* had recently set the standard for appealing to Baby Boomers and *Light* was now duty-bound to follow its lead. When writer Douglas Marland left *General Hospital* due to creative differences, *Guiding Light* snapped him up. After listening to his own teenage niece's romantic fantasies, Marland paired teen Morgan Richards (Kristin Vigar, later Jennifer Cooke) with much older medical student Kelly Nelson (John Wesley Shipp) and added a jealous golddigger, Nola Reardon (Lisa Brown). Morgan and Kelly slept together while she was still a minor, but CBS balked, albeit briefly, at allowing them to marry. The story turned the coupling of innocent teenage girls with experienced older men into a soap opera staple.

The newly introduced Reardons provided a working-class presence, and after Nola manipulated Kelly into believing he had fathered her unborn child while in a drunken stupor, and as she contemplated abortion, a series of vignettes in which she imagined herself the heroine of such classic films as *Dark Victory* and *Casablanca* delighted fans and prompted mimicry on other programs. In 1982, Marland's tenure with the show ended when he challenged the dismissal of a favorite actor. During this period, scholar Michael Intintoli had ventured behind the scenes at *Guiding Light*, generating a published study entitled *Taking Soaps Seriously*. Among other things, Intintoli chronicled the creators' concerns about targeting youthful demographics.

Various writers tried their hand in Marland's wake, continuing to highlight tangled teen romances. The Lewis oil dynasty and the

upper-crust Spauldings had been added to the cast of characters in the early 1980s, with the Spauldings, especially, slowly displacing the Bauers at *Guiding Light*'s core. But it was brazen Reva Shayne (Kim Zimmer) who emerged as the program's vixen-turned-heroine by marrying her former father-in-law, Lewis patriarch H.B. (Larry Gates), and finally settling on her former brother-in-law Josh Lewis (Robert Newman) for an on-again, off-again, "super couple" turn.

The 1990s began at a cracking pace with the resurrection of villain Roger Thorpe and the death of Reva, and quickened further under executive producer Jill Farren Phelps. A blackout story produced new and intriguing character links. Later, soaps such as *All My Children* and *Sunset Beach* attempted similar shakeups with their own disaster scenarios. Phelps angered fans by killing off matriarch Maureen Bauer (Ellen Parker) in response to focus group data, but the working-class Coopers, led by Vietnam veteran Buzz (Justin Deas), gained a foothold. The super-coupling of Buzz's daughter Harley (Beth Ehlers) and her fellow police officer encouraged replication a few years later on *Another World*. A planned love story between Buzz's other daughter, virginal Lucy (Sonia Satra), and drifter Matt Reardon (Kurt McKinney) did not materialize after Matt's affair with forty-something divorcée Vanessa Chamberlain (Maevie Kincaid). Fans enthralled with the May/September romance wanted more, and writers obligingly shepherded the pair into matrimony and parenthood. Lucy was eventually raped by a cross-dressing psychopath in a story line that had Internet fans fuming about women's victimization and creeping sensationalism.

*Guiding Light*'s top-tier ratings of the 1950s and 1960s had dipped downward with the Baby Boom influx. Caught lagging behind in its attempts to lure this generation and younger viewers, the show failed to recoup its losses during the next two decades. The 1990s saw a parade of personnel, including Phelps and several older actors, axed, while Reva was brought back, first as a spirit and, later, fully embodied—an absurdity that actually gave the show a boost. However, when producer Paul Rauch went further and tried to ape the fantasy-oriented NBC soap *Days of Our Lives* by cloning Reva, Internet fans, who named the clone "Cleva," bristled. Still, as the millennium drew near, the show had become such a comforting fixture in its continuity, trend-setting social relevance, and comparative verisimilitude throughout the better part of six decades, that many of these sometimes disgruntled viewers have remained faithful and "keep turning on the *Light*."

—Christine Scodari

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## Gulf War

In the early nineties, the Gulf War marked a new dawn for American hegemony. Former adversaries of American militarism—the Communists, the Arabs, and the American left—were held in check, as the United States armed forces were able to quickly expel an Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. With her Soviet, Chinese, and Arab rivals needing American economic support, the United States obtained the consent of many governments for a war in the Persian Gulf. New techniques in public relations extended this consent to a vast majority of American citizens, making it the most popular war since World War II.

On August 2, 1990, Iraq invaded the kingdom of Kuwait. President Saddam Hussein of Iraq contended that the attack was justified because Kuwait's royals were plundering a commonly held

oil field. Within hours, the large army of Iraq overwhelmed puny defenses and occupied Kuwait. The next day, a majority of Arab states called on Hussein to withdraw. On August 6, the United Nations Security Council imposed a total trade embargo against Iraq. By August 31, Operation Desert Shield had deployed over 60,000 United States troops in Saudi Arabia. In September, the Soviet Union gave support to armed intervention, and on November 29 the United Nations Security Council voted, for the first time since 1950, to use force.

In the Gulf, the new might or New World Order of the United States was unveiled. The unprecedented consent of Communist and Arab states showed how completely the United States dominated politics. With little opposition, Americans acted to preserve the lifeblood of Western economies: the steady flow of cheap oil. On January 17, 1991 military operation Desert Storm, an attack plan to free Kuwait, was unleashed. The United States Air Force flew 1,300 sorties, while the Navy fired hundreds of cruise missiles; almost immediately air supremacy was established and heavy casualties were inflicted on the ground. On February 24, ground forces began their attack. Within 100 hours they were deep inside of Iraq. Six weeks after it had begun, the Gulf War was essentially won.

Satellite transmissions for the first time televised war instantly. With televisions now in nearly every home in America, the war was



General Colin Powell visiting troops in the field during the Gulf War.

broadcast widely and played to high Nielson ratings. American newsmedia, now global corporations vying for market share, sought to outdo one another in a heated competition for the large viewing audience. Live updates, exclusive Pentagon interviews, and dazzling graphics captured the public's attention. Detailed discussions of American military technology helped to explain America's superior machinery of war. As daily reports of United States victories came home, President George Bush's approval rating soared to a presidential record 90 percent. Bush pronounced, "We've licked the Vietnam syndrome!"

At home, some critics accused journalists of anti-Arab and anti-Muslim bias in reporting, but pro-war propaganda mostly avoided the tradition of racializing the enemy. Nor, as in times past, was the invaded country a featured victim. Kuwait's brutal monarchy did not invite a great deal of sympathy. In a highly publicized testimony before the United States Congress, however, a young Kuwaiti aristocrat sobbed as she testified that Iraqi troops had torn babies from hospital incubators and skewered them on their bayonets. The testimony, which was later exposed as a fabrication, helped arouse both public and political sentiment against the purported barbarism of Iraqis.

Most pro-war propaganda targeted Saddam Hussein, whose name became synonymous with evil. From President Bush to the editorials of major newspapers, "Saddam" was the entire focal point for American bombs. Saddam was said to have stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons, a budding nuclear weapons program, and designs on conquering Israel and Saudi Arabia.

Perhaps the most startling Gulf War legacy left to American popular culture was the transformed nature of mass-mediated information. Unlike the Vietnam War, journalists were denied access to the front and could report only on the Pentagon's tightly controlled press releases. Moreover, a great deal of the information and military photography provided to journalists was falsified to augment the image of American military and technological prowess. Reports of Patriot missiles intercepting enemy SCUD missiles later proved to be completely untrue. Dramatic footage of a smart or guided missile entering the shaft of an Iraqi building was discovered to be a hoax. Scenes of death from friendly fire, Iraqi civilian casualties and other carnage were censored by the Pentagon. As it turned out, the much lauded surgical strike, the clean precision of American smart bombs, was actually the neat appendectomy of objective journalism. In the made-for-television coverage of the war, only the most optimistic scenes reached the viewing audience.

Critical opinions of the war had limited space in the newsmedia. The accusation that the United States fought only to restore the flow of cheap oil from Kuwait's dictatorship went unheard. On the home front, massive antiwar rallies in San Francisco and Washington D.C. and at universities and elsewhere received little coverage in the news, and were often balanced with scenes of small gatherings of people displaying yellow ribbons. Yellow ribbons, the symbol of support for the war, adorned schools, shopfronts, citizens, and were included in corporate advertising. Many members of the newsmedia used a graphic of the yellow ribbon in their broadcasts of the war. New advances in the crafting of political spin, military public relations, and television computer graphics collaborated to make a collage of smooth triumph. The soundbite, the live satellite broadcast, and other recent innovations were utilized in the journalistic arena as never before. A picture of national solidarity blanketed the nation. Not since the World War II had such journalistic unity or common opinion been realized.

Despite overwhelming public approval for the war, President Bush and General Colin Powell feared that a prolonged war would generate dissent. Declaring Kuwait liberated and Saddam's might curtailed, Bush terminated the war and declared victory. In the war's aftermath, Bush's popularity fell with an economic recession and with the continued bellicose posturing of Saddam Hussein. Hussein held power through widespread famine and disease resulting from a continuous embargo of Iraq, and remained the single most demonized figure on the political landscape of the 1990s.

—Dylan Clark

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## Gunsmoke

In a 1993 *TV Guide* article, *Gunsmoke*, the longest running Western drama, as well as the longest running prime-time show with continuing characters in history (from 1955 to 1975), was named one of the "All-Time-Best TV Programs." The magazine was succinct: "No contest, this was THE TV Western." The series marked a revolutionary approach to a familiar Westerns formula, and its popularity, which led to extensive merchandising that included Matt Dillon dolls, *Gunsmoke* trading cards, and comic books, precipitated a rash of TV Westerns—so much so, that at one point there were approximately 30 prime time contributions to the genre.

Originating as the vanguard of the "adult Western," the show had its genesis as a CBS radio drama that began in 1952, and endeavored to bring realism—and considerable violence—to standard heroics, claiming in its opening narration to be "the story of the violence that moved west and the man that moved with it." The premise involved the denizens of Dodge City, Kansas, circa 1873, who were protected by Marshal Matt Dillon (William Conrad), a tough but fair lawman, who often struggled to reconcile the differences between the law and his personal feelings. Dillon was assisted by the crusty but soft-hearted "Doc" Adams (Howard McNear), and loved by Kitty Russell (Georgia Ellis), the owner of the Long Branch Saloon.

Praised as being better acted and scripted than other radio Westerns, the show enjoyed immense popularity, and its twice-weekly broadcasts were transmitted to U.S. forces abroad during the Korean War. The recipient of several broadcasting awards, *Gunsmoke* had been extensively researched by its writers, who injected such a sense of veracity into the scripts that the head of the Chamber of Commerce of Dodge City is said to have written the producers inquiring as to what years Matt Dillon served as sheriff.

While the radio version continued to run until 1961, the television version of the show debuted as a half-hour drama on September

10, 1955, introduced by John Wayne as “a new kind of Western.” And so it proved. The opening episode, entitled “Matt Gets It,” had its leading character getting shot and, as one critic described it, “left lying in the dusty streets of Dodge, ministered to by a cheap dance hall girl and a seedy looking doctor, while his crippled deputy stood by.” This was a gritty and realistic departure from the formula wherein the heroes of other popular shows such as *The Lone Ranger* and *Hopalong Cassidy* were always larger than life and escaped such indignity.

The television incarnation also featured different actors. While the radio actors had been considered, the producers felt that the visual medium made strongly attractive physical attributes a major requirement, particularly for the role of Matt Dillon. Among the several replacements considered, who were either rejected, or who themselves turned down the offer because TV was still viewed by some as an unworthy medium, were Raymond Burr, Richard Boone, and Robert Stack. While the rumor that John Wayne was approached to play Dillon was without foundation, the big screen’s most famous Western star did suggest a young actor that he’d worked with named James Arness. Beyond bit parts, Arness’ claim to fame was playing the title character in Howard Hawks’ sci-fi classic, *The Thing* (1950). However, his commanding six-foot-seven-inch frame and strong, silent demeanor secured him the role. Feature film veteran Milburn Stone was cast as Doc Adams, and Amanda Blake inherited the role of Kitty, both of them staying with the show for most of its run. Prior to his feature film career and TV star turn in *McCloud*, Dennis Weaver played Dillon’s first deputy, Chester Goode. He was replaced in 1964 by Ken Curtis, a former singer with the Tommy Dorsey band who played scruffy hillbilly deputy Festus Hagen. Also of note was Burt Reynolds’ pre-superstar turn as half-breed blacksmith Quint Asper from 1962 to 1965, during which time many opportunities were found to feature him without his shirt. After Reynolds’ departure, Roger Ewing joined the show as the young novice, followed by Buck Taylor (son of actor Dub Taylor) who arrived in 1967 to play the humble gunsmith Newly O’Brian.

Debuting opposite the popular *George Gobel Show*, television’s *Gunsmoke* was not an immediate hit, but its popularity rose steadily, taking it to number eight in the ratings in its second season. By its third season (1957/58), it displaced the ever-popular *I Love Lucy* to become number one, and remained there for the next four seasons. The series and its cast were all nominated for Emmys that year, with the show winning for Best Dramatic Series. (Dennis Weaver later won in 1959, and Milburn Stone in 1968.)

While the majority of the *Gunsmoke* radio episodes conveniently served as fodder for the teleplays, their brutality had to be toned down for the small screen. While William Conrad’s Matt Dillon was a hardened, abrasive, and often pessimistic loner who could make tragic mistakes, Arness rendered the television Matt as a man of few words, vulnerable, often restraining his personal feelings in order to do the right thing, and never making a mistake. Likewise, while Georgia Ellis’ Kitty was portrayed as a toughened whore and barfly who was nevertheless Matt’s confidante, Amanda Blake became “Miss” Kitty, the owner of the Long Branch saloon who, as Blake contended, “had to walk a very narrow line between schoolmarm sweet and saloon hall tough.” Owing to the restraint of the writing, many have speculated over the Matt-Kitty “friendship,” but the chemistry between them, and the many plot lines requiring their sacrifices for each other, indicated deep and abiding love. That they never married is easily explained: as long as he remained a lawman Matt would not want to risk leaving Kitty a widow. Finally, while

Howard McNear’s Doc could be guilty of greed and cynicism on radio, Milburn Stone transformed the television character into an irreproachable ideal of the dedicated, kindly, and wise country doctor.

Like the radio show before it, the substance of *Gunsmoke* lay in its morality, which pitted the good people of Dodge City against the ugly forces of lawlessness. However, in remaining true to a realistic approach, the scripts not only avoided sentimentality and pat endings, but the writers made sure that, just as in life, the evildoers were not always brought to justice. Then, too, in response to the anti-violence movement of the 1960s, the show’s emphasis shifted from physical confrontation and gunplay to dramatic situations that were more character and issue-driven. *Gunsmoke* began dealing with race, religion, and other social conflicts, and evolved into a sort of dramatic anthology series with the interaction between the regular characters taking a back seat to conflicts faced by characters (often played by guest stars) who were passing through Dodge.

Despite these changes, the central characters and setting of *Gunsmoke* took on a mythic status in America’s collective consciousness. This lofty position was confirmed by events in the late 1960s. Despite its expansion to an hour, and the transition to color by 1966, the show so declined in ratings that CBS decided to cancel it at the end of the 1966/67 season, the producers claiming it to be the victim of “program fatigue.” Public response, however, was immediate and vehement. Letter-writing campaigns were mounted, and CBS affiliates in the Midwest threatened to boycott all of the network’s programs unless *Gunsmoke* returned. Senator Byrd even went so far as to criticize the network’s decision from the floor of Congress. The end result was that CBS president William Paley interceded, and in a last-ditch effort, switched the show to Monday nights when it miraculously zoomed into the top ten until its run finally ended in 1975. It was the last prime time Western series on television.

After its initial run, *Gunsmoke* was revived in a succession of TV movies, beginning with *Gunsmoke: Return to Dodge* in 1987, which up to that date was the most expensive made-for-TV movie of all time. Costing \$3.5 million, it featured James Arness, Amanda Blake, and Buck Taylor. The story had Kitty, who had left Dodge a year before the series’ cancellation, back in her hometown, New Orleans. Matt Dillon has retired from the law to become a trapper, and Newly O’Brian is the new sheriff. The TV movie’s popularity led to four further sequels in the early 1990s. In *Gunsmoke: The Last Apache* (1990), Matt learns that he had sired a daughter by Mike (Michael Learned), the woman he had become romantically involved with while suffering from amnesia in an earlier episode of the series, and sets out to look for the girl, who has been taken by an Indian tribe. The movie was dedicated to Amanda Blake, who, sadly, had recently died from AIDS. *Gunsmoke: To the Last Man* (1991) concerned feuding in the Pleasant Valley Wars of the 1880s and the death of Mike. *Gunsmoke: The Long Ride* was broadcast in 1992, while the last, *Gunsmoke: One Man’s Justice* (1993) found Matt Dillon owning his own ranch. It also revealed details of Matt’s background, and the fact that he had been motivated to become a lawman because his father, a Texas Ranger, had been shot in the back and killed.

*Gunsmoke* retained an extensive supporting cast of townspeople, and supplied many character actors with the opportunity to play a variety of roles over the years. Victor French, later of *Little House on the Prairie* and *Highway to Heaven* fame, played 19 different characters in the course of the run, and directed five episodes. Morgan Woodward, Jack Elam, Denver Pyle, Jim Davis, Claude Akins, Strother Martin, and Lane Bradbury appeared in ten or more roles,

while one of Jeanette Nolan's nine roles—as itinerant “Dirty Sally”—resulted in a short-lived spin-off series in 1974. (Interestingly having been rejected for the television series, William Conrad went on to star in *Cannon*, *Nero Wolfe*, and *Jake and the Fat Man* on TV, while Howard McNear was Floyd the Barber in TV's *The Andy Griffith Show*).

*Gunsmoke* was in television's top ten most watched programs for 13 seasons and was named in first or second place as Best Western Series by the *Motion Picture Daily* annual television poll throughout its run. A 1966 episode entitled, “The Jailer,” starring Bette Davis, was ranked 27th by TV Guide's 100 Greatest (Television) Episodes of All Time. All of the leading actors were inducted into the National Cowboy Hall of Fame, while James Arness received an International Broadcasting Award as Man of the Year in 1973, and in 1989 was voted the number six television star of all time by *People* magazine. The series also won several awards for writing and technical achievement in the course of its long run.

—Rick Moody

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## Guthrie, Arlo (1947—)

Folksinger Arlo Guthrie has preserved the musical and political heritage he learned from his father, Woody Guthrie. He debuted at the 1967 Newport Folk Festival, where he introduced the talking blues composition “Alice's Restaurant Massacre.” This 18-minute anti-war song became a favorite among draft resisters and provided the title for both his first album and a feature film (1969). His popularity soared with his appearance at Woodstock in 1968, and peaked with the release of the single, “City of New Orleans” (1972). By the mid-1970s, Guthrie had re-embraced his folk roots, releasing albums of folk standards and, in 1984, hosting a documentary about his father. In 1991, he opened a community center for HIV/AIDS patients at the Stockbridge, Massachusetts, church in which much of *Alice's Restaurant* was filmed. After landing a role in Steven Bochco's short-lived television series, *Byrds of Paradise* (1994), Guthrie released *Mystic Journey* (1996) on his own label, Rising Son Records. Throughout the 1990s, he wrote books for children, and has toured and performed with his own son, Abe.

—Bryan Garman

## Guthrie, Woody (1912-1967)

Folk singer, composer, writer and homegrown radical, Woody Guthrie became the self-appointed folk spokesman for the Dust Bowl migrants and agricultural workers during the Great Depression. His pro-labor/anti-capitalist stance attracted many radical and left-leaning liberals during the 1930s and 1940s, but his lasting fame came from his influence on the folk revival of the 1960s, especially on Bob Dylan. Best known for ballads such as “This Land is Your Land,”



Woody Guthrie

“This Train is Bound for Glory,” and “Union Maid,” Guthrie's music extended beyond the bounds of radical protest to become American folk classics.

Born in Okemah, Oklahoma, and named in honor of the presidential nominee, Woodrow Wilson Guthrie spent his childhood in several different households in various parts of Oklahoma and Texas. His mother suffered from Huntington's Chorea (the same disease that Guthrie himself later struggled with for 15 years before finally succumbing to it in 1967), and he was often left to his own devices. In 1933, at the age of 21, he married his best friend's sister, but a necessary search for work, coupled with a restless nature, took him on the road, traveling along with many other “Okies” and “Arkies”—displaced farmers and others—who headed to California in search of work. In Los Angeles, Guthrie found work with his cousin Jack “Oklahoma” Guthrie, the singing cowboy, and together they presented the *Oklahoma and Woody Show* on KFVD. Woody's popularity grew as he attracted an audience of transplanted southwesterners who enjoyed his traditional songs and “cornpone philosophy.” He also became politically educated at KFVD, encouraged by station owner Frank Burke, who also produced the radical newspaper *The Light*, for which Guthrie occasionally wrote.

Guthrie's national notoriety developed when he wrote and performed songs about the influx of Dust Bowl migrants into California, and contributed to the communist newspaper *People's World*. In 1940, he released his first album, *Dust Bowl Ballads*. The album included “I Ain't Got No Home in This World Anymore,” a parody of a traditional Baptist hymn; “Vigilante Man,” describing the vigilante tactics of farm labor employers; “Pretty Boy Floyd,” about

the exploits of the Oklahoma outlaw; “Goin’ Down This Road Feelin’ Bad,” a song used in the film version of *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940), and “Tom Joad,” a song about that film’s hero figure that Guthrie wrote after seeing it.

His reputation as a spokesman for the down and out was reinforced through his association with folklorist Alan Lomax of the Library of Congress and singer Pete Seeger. With Lomax, Guthrie recorded songs and stories for the Library of Congress and, with Seeger, he joined the Almanac Singers, a folk-oriented protest group. Lomax, Guthrie and Seeger collaborated on a collection of folk songs published as *Hard Hitting Songs for Hard Hit People* (1967). Guthrie also appeared on numerous radio programs, including *Pipe Smoking Time* and *Cavalcade of America*. Hired for one month by the Bonneville Power Administration in 1941, he composed 26 songs about the hydro-electric construction projects of the Pacific northwest, including “Roll On Columbia,” “The Grand Coulee Dam,” and “Pastures of Plenty.” In 1943, he published the autobiographical *Bound for Glory* (made into a 1976 film by Hal Ashby, starring David Carradine as Guthrie). Throughout the late 1940s and early 1950s, he continued to write protest songs such as “1913 Massacre” about a strike in Calumet, Michigan, and “Deportee” (a.k.a. “Plane Wreck at Los Gatos”) about a plane crash of Mexican deportees. He also began writing songs for children, such as “Take Me for a Ride in the Car-Car,” and “Put Your Finger in the Air.” Guthrie’s *People’s World* columns were collected in *Woody Sez* (1975), and a second literary work, *Seeds of Man*, appeared in 1976. A volume of previously unpublished writings, *Pastures of Plenty: A Self-Portrait*, was published in 1990.

Throughout his writings, Guthrie expressed his belief in justice and his faith that it could be brought to prevail through action. For him personally, action took the form of singing and writing, best exemplified by the slogan proudly displayed on his guitar: “This Machine Kills Fascists.” His sense of the role of a folksinger as crusader for the less fortunate and as a critic of society’s oppressors and manipulators had greater influence on the course of American popular music than his style of singing or any one composition. His philosophy—that “a folk song is what’s wrong and how to fix it”—permeates the protest music of the late twentieth century, from anti-Vietnam War songs of the 1960s to songs of victimization in the 1990s.

From the late 1950s onwards, Woody Guthrie’s influence on a successive crop of folksingers was evident. It began with “Ramblin’ Jack Elliot (who often claimed to be his son), The Weavers, who had a national hit with the Guthrie song “So Long, It’s been Good to Know Ya,” and Bob Dylan, who arrived at his fascination for Guthrie through Elliot. Dylan visited the dying Guthrie in New York in 1961 and composed “Song for Woody,” a tribute using the melody of Guthrie’s “1913 Massacre.” Guthrie’s influence on Dylan is most readily seen in Dylan’s early albums such as *Bob Dylan* (1962), *The Freewheelin’ Bob Dylan* (1963) and *The Times They Are A-Changin’* (1964), and even in the style of the monochrome cover photograph of *The Times They Are A-Changin’*. Protest music of the 1960s owed much to this remarkable individual, whose compositions were revived by new folk groups such as Peter, Paul and Mary, while Phil Ochs and Barry McGuire adopted his style in their own original songs. Woody’s son, Arlo Guthrie, began performing in the 1960s, presenting his father’s work, as well as his own songs such as “Alice’s Restaurant Massacre” (1967).

Reverence for Guthrie continued into the late 1980s and 1990s, with performers such as Bruce Springsteen and John Mellencamp

attributing their own development to his influence in a documentary tribute recording titled *A Vision Shared: A Tribute to Woody Guthrie and Leadbelly* (1988). Springsteen credited Guthrie with the development of his own social consciousness: “To me, Woody Guthrie was that sense of idealism along with a sense of realism that said maybe you can’t save the world, but you can change the world.” Guthrie’s influence on Springsteen is best demonstrated in *Nebraska* (1982), and the Dust Bowl-inspired *The Ghost of Tom Joad* (1995). Mellencamp, believing that later contributions to protest music pale in comparison to Guthrie’s, said, “None of us are ever going to make the impact that Woody made.” Mellencamp’s pro-family farmer songs on *Scarecrow* (1987) illustrate Guthrie’s impact, and Mellencamp even sports a Guthriesque anti-fascist statement on his guitar in the music video, “Your Life is Now” (1998). *A Vision Shared* also features, among others, Emmylou Harris, Arlo Guthrie, Pete Seeger, and the Irish rock band U2, whose lead singer Bono states that “the thing Woody Guthrie left behind to me was a sense of the poetry of ordinary lives . . . I see Woody Guthrie as a poet.”

In 1998 a new collection of Guthrie songs, *Mermaid Avenue*, unveiled lyrics written in the late 1940s and early 1950s, with music composed by British singer/songwriter Billy Bragg and American neo-country rock band Wilco. Augmented with performances by Natalie Merchant, the album is the result of a collaboration between the musicians and Woody’s daughter, Nora, who initiated the project and opened up the Guthrie archives to them. The result introduced his music to yet another generation of listeners.

—Charles J. Shindo

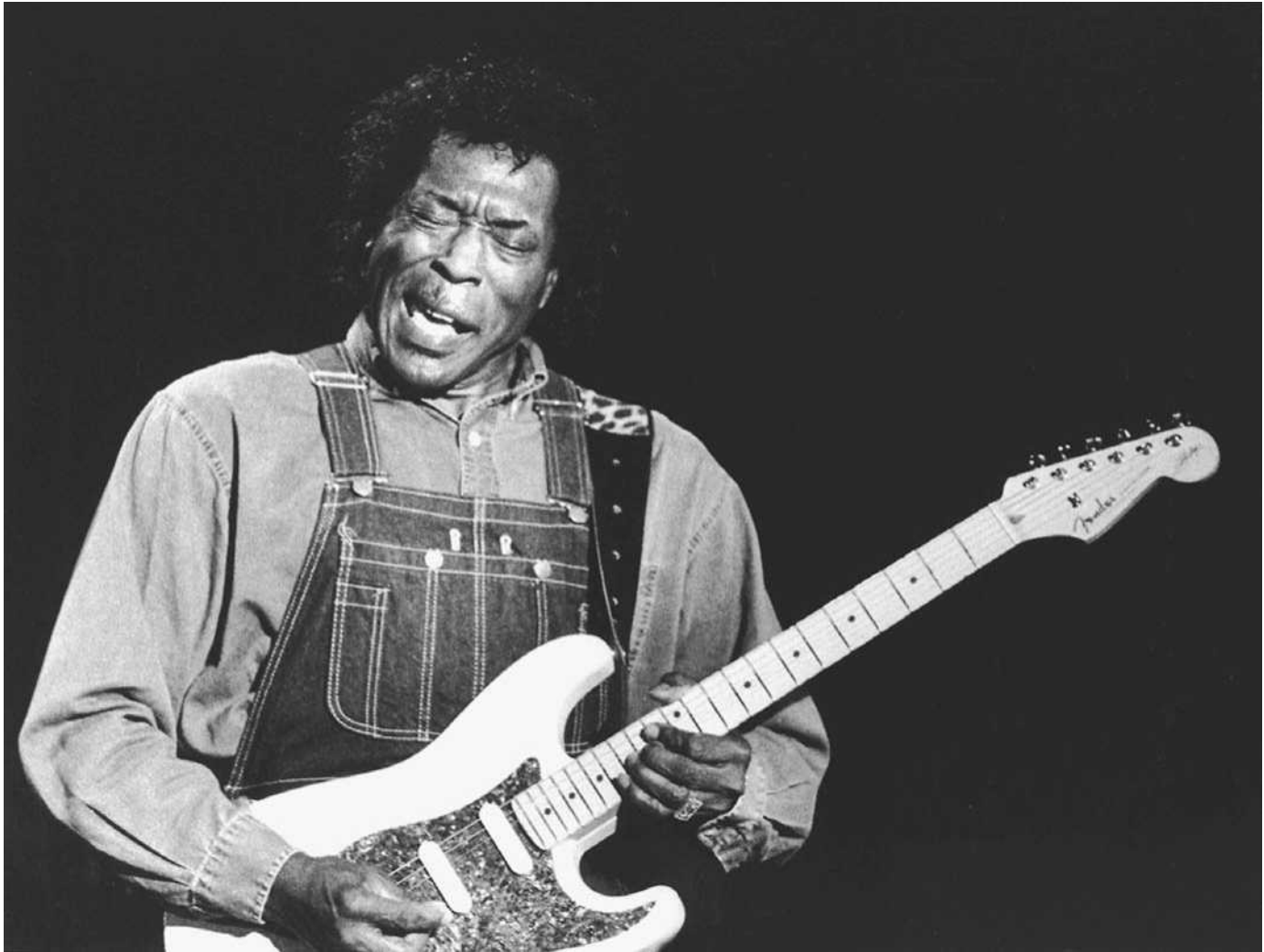
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## Guy, Buddy (1936—)

Perhaps the greatest showman to ever play blues guitar, Buddy Guy was a crucial link between blues and rock ’n’ roll. Virtually unknown to the general public for most of his career, Guy was universally hailed by rock musicians from America and Britain. Guitarists Stevie Ray Vaughan and Jimi Hendrix cited him as a prime influence, and Eric Clapton stated in *Musician Magazine* in 1986 that Buddy Guy “is by far and without a doubt the best guitar player alive.”

The reason for such praise stemmed not just from Guy’s technical skill, but also from his astounding and often unpredictable antics



### Buddy Guy

on stage. Guy held nothing back in performance, torturing his guitar into sonic oblivion and singing himself into a frenzy. Although others have been known to play with their teeth and parade through audiences, Guy was one of the first to do so. Before Guy came to Chicago, blues was played sitting down.

Born on July 30, 1936 in Lettsworth, Louisiana, into a family of sharecroppers, George “Buddy” Guy spent much of his spare time during childhood listening to Muddy Waters, Howlin’ Wolf, and Sonny Boy Williamson on the radio. As Guy grew older, he began hanging out at the Temple Roof Garden, a 300-seat club in Baton Rouge where he would see B. B. King, Bobby Bland, and his biggest inspiration, Guitar Slim.

Guitar Slim (Eddie Jones) had a Number 1 R&B single with “The Things (That) I Used to Do” in 1954 and was the top draw of the southern “Chitlin’ Circuit” of black clubs. Slim was a wild man on stage, wearing outlandish costumes with matching wigs, swinging from the rafters and dancing through crowds on a 150-foot guitar cable. “When I saw him . . . I’d made up my mind,” Guy said in Donald E. Wilcox’s biography, *Damn Right I’ve Got the Blues*. “I wanted to play like B. B. but act like Guitar Slim.” Around this time, an uncle bought Guy his first real guitar for \$52.50.

By the mid 1950s, he was playing around Louisiana behind local musicians “Big Poppa” John Tilley and Raful Neal. In 1957, Guy recorded a demo tape at radio station WXOK in Baton Rouge and decided to try to make it big in Chicago. Guy brought his tape to Chess Records, the top label in town, but got nowhere. After six months of struggling, Guy finally got to sit in with Otis Rush. He began to play regular gigs around town, and his frantic stage show soon set him apart from the crowd.

“Buddy’s act was not premeditated or contrived,” Wilcox said in his biography of Guy. “His style was merely a natural by-product of being self-taught, having a compulsion to play, and being insecure enough to feel that if he didn’t dazzle and hypnotize his audience with the flamboyant techniques he’d seen work for Guitar Slim, he’d be buried by competition from guitarists who were better technicians.”

Word of the crazy kid from Louisiana spread and Chess producer and songwriter Willie Dixon soon recognized Guy’s talent. Dixon brought Guy in and immediately put him to work as a session musician with Muddy Waters, Howlin’ Wolf, Sonny Boy Williamson, and Koko Taylor.

Chess tried recording Guy as a solo artist, but failed to find the right niche. R&B ballads, jazz instrumentals, soul, and novelty dance

tunes were all recorded during the early 1960s, but none were released as singles. Guy wanted to record a set similar to his live shows, boosting his guitar's volume and cutting loose, but Chess wouldn't take the chance. Meanwhile, Guy's reputation spread to Great Britain, where young rockers like Clapton and the Rolling Stones were seeking out Chess singles and learning about Guy. His tour of England in 1965 brought exposure to a generation of musicians eager to soak it up, repackage it, and turn around and sell it to Americans as the hip new thing. "[Chess founder] Leonard Chess would eventually realize his mistake in not recognizing Buddy's appeal in the clubs, or that much of the appeal of the British rock bands was based on the kind of 'noise' that Buddy was producing live," Wilcox noted in his biography of Guy. "Still, Chess had not yet released a single album by Buddy Guy. What saved Buddy at Chess was his versatility."

Guy was invited to play with harmonica player Junior Wells on his Delmark album *Hoodoo Man Blues* in 1965. Delmark, a small jazz label, wasn't interested in producing singles, and encouraged the band to play as if it were a live show. The result was the first recording of a Chicago blues band in its natural environment and the album became the best-selling record in the label's history. On the first pressing, Guy was listed only as "Friendly Chap" due to his contract with Chess.

After leaving Chess in frustration in the late 1960s, Guy recorded for Vanguard Records and continued to play with Wells. In 1972, Eric Clapton convinced Atlantic Records to record Guy and Wells and *Buddy Guy and Junior Wells Play the Blues* was the result. The album should have been Guy's breakthrough, but Clapton's work as producer was hampered by his heroin addiction. The album wasn't completed for two years and was virtually ignored.

Guy continued to record on various small labels, often in Europe, through the 1970s and 1980s, and he bought the Checkerboard Lounge on Chicago's South Side. He later opened Buddy Guy's Legends just south of Chicago's Loop, which soon became the city's premier club.

Guy often jammed with prominent guitarists like Clapton, Vaughan, and Robert Cray and his higher profile helped him land a contract with England's Silvertone Records, which released *Damn Right, I've Got the Blues* in 1990. With guests like Clapton and fellow Brit Jeff Beck, the album was criticized by purists as leaning too far towards rock. Still, it won a Grammy Award as best contemporary blues album and he collected five W. C. Handy awards in 1992. Guy recorded four more albums for Silvertone through 1998, influencing a new generation of young guitarists, including Jonny Lang and Kenny Wayne Shepherd.

—Jon Klinkowitz

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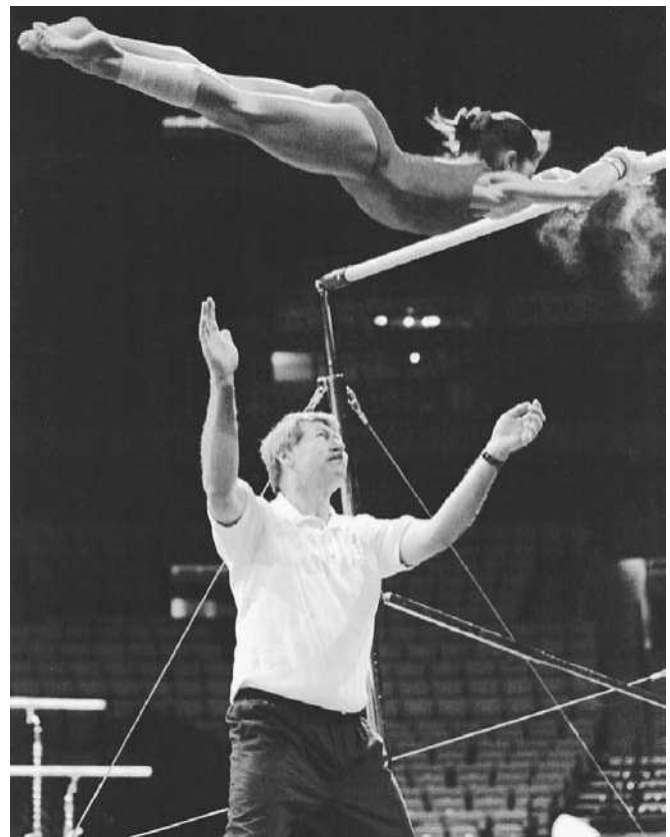
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## Gymnastics

Once an exercise for warriors preparing for battle, gymnastics has evolved into one of the most avidly followed Olympic events and a popular conditioning activity for all ages. Though male gymnasts are admired for their strength and skill, it is largely women's gymnastics that captivates audiences and inspires thousands of children to take up the sport.

Derived from the Greek word *gymnos*, which means naked, the combination of acrobatics and tumbling that we call gymnastics was devised by the Greeks as an exercise to balance the mind and body and learn skills useful in battle. Other ancient cultures, notably the Chinese, Indians, and Persians, performed similar conditioning exercises. It was in the early nineteenth century that the benefits of gymnastics were popularized in Europe when Friedrich Jahn established *Turnvereins*, or gymnastics clubs, all over Germany. American clubs in the style of Jahn's clubs were opened in Cincinnati in 1848 and in St. Louis in 1865.

By 1881 the European Gymnastics Federation was established in Belgium (renamed International Gymnastics Federation or FIG in 1921), and gymnastics became an Olympic event in 1896. Women's Olympic gymnastics began in 1928. Olympic events involve performing athletic feats of leaping, swinging, and tumbling on a variety of apparatus, judged on the basis of the Code of Points, established and regularly updated by the FIG. For men, there are six types of official apparatus: the floor exercise, the pommel horse, the still rings,



Legendary gymnastics coach Bela Karolyi spots for 14-year-old Dominique Moceanu during the 1996 U.S. Olympic Gymnastic Team Trials.



the vault, the horizontal bar, and the parallel bars. Women do the floor exercise as well, along with the vault, the uneven parallel bars, and the balance beam.

Gymnastics underwent an enormous leap in popularity in the early 1970s. In the 1972 Olympics, Soviet gymnast Olga Korbut dazzled both judges and spectators around the world with her athletic and aggressive style, performing a back flip on the balance beam for the first time ever. In 1976, Romanian Nadia Comaneci became the first person in history to earn perfect scores for her gymnastic routines.

The dramatic performances of these skilled athletes and many others created a shift in perspective for women's gymnastics. No longer a demonstration of graceful motion juxtaposed with the male gymnast's display of power and strength, women's gymnastics became a powerful sport in its own right. With the new respect for women gymnasts came a surge in the popularity of gymnastics in the general population. In 1972, fifteen thousand amateur athletes learned acrobatics and tumbling at gymnastics clubs in the United States. A decade later there are one hundred fifty thousand, and the number continues to increase considerably after each summer Olympics. Whether it is Olympic hopefuls training to compete or children learning to tumble at the local community center, gymnastics has taken its place in American society.

With this new popularity comes a certain amount of worry. Competitive gymnastics can be a grueling sport, causing injuries to muscle, bone, and ligament. A 1990 study of Swedish male gymnasts found they had as many degenerated disks in their spines as the average sixty-five-year-old man. While male gymnasts reach their peak of performance in their late teens and early twenties, female gymnasts peak while they are still children of thirteen to sixteen, before bones and other bodily structures are fully formed. Some concerned trainers and parents refer to the "female athlete triad" of eating disorders, delayed onset of menstruation, and premature osteoporosis, which endanger female athletes who begin their careers at increasingly younger ages. It is not uncommon for young gymnasts to begin their training at age five and to work out for five hours a day

by the time they are teenagers. Such demanding schedules combined with super-competitive coaching have pushed young gymnasts to injury and beyond. Small slips while practicing flips and leaps have resulted in several cases of paralysis, the most famous being Sang Lan of China, who fell in a practice session during the 1998 Olympics, breaking her neck.

In response to concerns about the physical and emotional effects of competition on very young girls, the Olympic Committee has changed its rules, making sixteen the minimum age for Olympic teams. Parents and many coaches have also tried to refocus the sport on fun and personal accomplishment and away from the intense competition that drives athletes to risk injury and permanent damage.

Gymnastics continues to grow more popular, especially among young girls, who find needed role models in the strong young women who fly so gracefully through the air at the Olympics. The parameters of the sport keep expanding. When Olga Korbut performed her back somersault on the balance beam in 1972, the move was revolutionary. In less than three decades, ten year olds could do it in gymnastics class, and elite gymnasts in competition perform three back flips in a row. Perhaps that is the real romance of such athletic displays: the ability of a vulnerable young girl to increase the limits of human physical achievement.

—Tina Gianoulis

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# H

## Hackett, Buddy (1924—)

Though primarily known in the 1990s for his nightclub comedy, Buddy Hackett is a versatile performer whose career spans more than half of the twentieth century. He has performed in films, television and cable specials, and has written a book of poetry. He was offered, and refused, the opportunity to replace Curly in *The Three Stooges*, preferring to remain a solo act. Hackett frequently makes himself—his short stature, his rotund build, and his Jewishness—the subject of his humor. His stand-up is risqué in an old-fashioned way; little of the anger and social commentary of Lenny Bruce, Richard Pryor, or Chris Rock is to be found. His cherubic face, twinkling eyes, and gentle self-mockery take off much of the sting from his profane language.

Buddy Hackett was born Leonard Hacker on August 31, 1924, in Brooklyn, New York. After serving in the United States Army he tried his luck as an upholsterer (like his father) and a waiter. Comedy, though, was his calling. He honed his craft at the resorts of the Catskill Mountains, 100 miles northwest of New York City, in the area known as “The Borscht Belt.” Many American Jews came there to vacation in an atmosphere where Jewish culture was celebrated and Jewish humor brought distraction from the troubles of the city. Hackett made his reputation in Catskill venues like the Concord Resort Hotel.



Buddy Hackett (center), Dean Jones, and Michele Lee in a scene from the film *The Love Bug*.

Television was enjoying its first “Golden Age” when Buddy Hackett made his premiere appearance. His night club style fit perfectly with the Dumont series *School House*. The premise came straight from vaudeville: a teacher character (Kenny Delmar) played host to a variety of unruly “students,” actually comedians doing their shtick. Buddy Hackett was among the ever-changing cast, which also included Wally Cox and Arnold Stang. *School House* aired only from January through April of 1949. Hackett remained a presence on early television, however, appearing on *The Tonight Show*, *The Jack Paar Show*, and *The Jackie Gleason Show*.

As the 1950s progressed the television situation comedy developed into the medium’s dominant form. From September 1956 to March 1957, Hackett starred in NBC’s live sitcom *Stanley*. He played Stanley Peck, a newsstand owner who constantly gets in trouble trying to help other people. Future variety series star Carol Burnett played Stanley’s girlfriend, Celia; the voice of imperious hotel owner Horace Fenton was provided by comedian Paul Lynde. The show was not a success. A bigger misstep was CBS’ attempt the next fall to pair Hackett with comedian Jackie Gleason in a revival of the latter’s comedy-variety program. Audiences refused to accept Hackett in Art Carney’s role as Gleason’s sidekick; the series lasted only three months.

Buddy Hackett made a number of memorable film appearances throughout the 1960s, including *The Music Man* (1962), *The Wonderful World of the Brothers Grimm* (1962), and the teen comedy *Pajama Party*. His manic performance in Stanley Kramer’s *It’s A Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World* (1963) stood out among the film’s overcrowded cast.

The greatest showcase of his acting ability came on television in 1979. NBC’s *Bud and Lou* was a made-for-television biography of the comedy duo of Bud Abbott and Lou Costello. Hackett shined as Costello opposite Harvey Korman’s Abbott. Though the film recreated many of the team’s classic bits, it was the portrayal of their often strained relationship and the sadness of Costello’s later life which allowed Hackett to show the world he could embody a complex dramatic character.

Stand-up comedy remained the backbone of Buddy Hackett’s career. He frequently played casinos in Las Vegas and Atlantic City. In 1983, a new generation discovered his Catskills roots with the Home Box Office (HBO) special *Buddy Hackett—Live and Uncensored*. New fans learned that the funny little guy from Walt Disney’s *The Love Bug* (1969) could swear and speak graphically, and hilariously, about his bodily functions. The program was so successful that in 1986, HBO’s live comedy series *On Location* featured the episode “Buddy Hackett II—On Stage at Caesar’s Atlantic City.”

Hackett has lent his distinct raspy voice to several animated productions, most notably Disney’s *The Little Mermaid* (1989). His character, a seagull named Scuttle, was patterned after him. Scuttle shares Buddy’s hefty build and habit of talking out of the side of his mouth. Much less successful was CBS’ *Fish Police*, a failed attempt to cash in on the success of Fox’s *The Simpsons*, which ran for only a few weeks in 1992.

Buddy Hackett is a comedy legend. In 1997 he appeared in the PBS (Public Broadcasting Station) *Great Performances* special “The College of Comedy with Alan King.” Fellow Catskills veteran King moderated a discussion of comedy with Hackett, Tim Conway, Paul Rodriguez, and Judy Gold. Hackett showed off his willingness to joke

about politically incorrect subjects like Alzheimer's Disease and disability. As always, his high spirits and self-deprecation kept the humor from being insulting. Hackett earned a mark of pop culture distinction when, in 1995, he was the subject of a gag on *The Simpsons*. It comes in the episode "Lisa's Wedding," which is set in the year 2010. In a joke so fast it can only be seen if viewed frame-by-frame, a television newscast announces the search for a series of outlaw celebrities, including "The Artist Formerly Known as Buddy Hackett." The real Buddy Hackett can be found entertaining night club and talk show audiences with simple, bawdy humor which transcends fashion and generations.

—David L. Hixson

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## Hackman, Gene (1930—)

Gene Hackman quickly gained critical recognition and Academy Award nominations for his roles in *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967), *I Never Sang for My Father* (1970), and *The French Connection* (1971). Hackman demonstrated considerable range, from the mousy surveillance expert involved in a murder in *The Conversation* (1974) to the delightfully overplayed Lex Luthor in *Superman: The Movie* (1978). Playing an inspirational basketball coach in *Hoosiers* (1986) revived his career from a slight slump. In the 1990s, Hackman found considerable success playing psychologically complex antagonists in movies such as *Unforgiven* (1992), *Crimson Tide* (1995), and *Extreme Measures* (1996). Even when he plays the villain, Hackman retains an amiable integrity that makes his performances compelling.

—Christian L. Pyle

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## Haggard, Merle (1937—)

Country singer, songwriter and guitarist Merle Haggard was among the founders of the popular and distinctive "Bakersfield



**Merle Haggard**

sound." While Nashville was, and is, the undisputed capital of country music, Bakersfield, California, often called the "second Nashville," emerged as its rival, noted for an element of western swing that produced a more up-tempo style than the "Nashville sound." Haggard, with Buck Owens, Tommy Collins, Red Simpson, and Billy Mize, was the core of this western headquarters of country music, and Haggard and Owens rode the sound to stardom over the next two decades. After helping to establish this new "honky-tonk" music, known for its harder edge and barroom themes, Haggard branched out into other styles of music and, by the 1970s, had joined the ranks of country's crossover artists. His career represents a combination of change and tradition: despite the diversity of his music, he always tried to maintain his ties to traditional country music, which earned him a reputation as contemporary country's music-historian. Haggard's unique blending of tradition and change proved to be a recipe for overwhelming success.

While Haggard showed an interest in music from a very early age, his early life was anything but indicative of future success. He was born into poverty in Oakdale, California in 1937, his parents having migrated westward from Oklahoma during the Dust Bowl to seek work as itinerant farmers. His father died when Merle was very young, and the boy lived a rough and reckless childhood. As a teenager he alternated between odd jobs and reform school, and as a young man spent time in jail for various petty crimes. An arrest for burglary finally landed him in San Quentin Penitentiary for three years, an experience that gave him the resolve to change his life. After being paroled in 1960 (Governor Ronald Reagan granted him a full pardon in 1973), he went to Bakersfield and worked a series of odd jobs, mostly manual labor, while moonlighting as a guitarist in the raucous nightclubs and bars in the "beer can hill" area. Over time, his troubled youth became one of his greatest assets, as he churned out hit after hit revolving around themes of barrooms, prisons, and life on the margins of society.

Haggard landed a job as guitarist for a band led by singer Wynn Stewart, and eventually signed his first recording contract with Tally Records. His first hit was “Sing a Sad Song” (1963), followed by a Top Ten single (“My Friends Are Gonna Be Strangers.”) The success of this tune brought a deal with Capitol Records, and by the mid-1960s Haggard was becoming a country music sensation with his songs of drinking, cheating, and breaking the law. During these years he married Bonnie Owens, a musician also under contract with Tally, and assembled a band, the Strangers. Soon Merle Haggard and the Strangers were producing a string of hits, including “Swingin’ Doors” and “The Bottle Let Me Down,” both recorded in 1966, and, that same year, his first number one single, “I’m A Lonesome Fugitive.” Several more of his songs reached the top of the charts in the late 1960s, among them “Branded Man” (1967) and “Mama Tried” (1968). These successes earned him his first Top Male Vocalist of the Year award from the Academy of Country Music. His outlaw image set a trend in the industry—several artists emerged during these years who sought popularity by cultivating a reputation of lawlessness.

Yet, just as he had risen to fame as an outlaw, Haggard soon became a patriotic hero to a large and different sector of the nation. He attracted national attention and caused controversy with the release of “Okie From Muskogee,” in 1969, a song that centered on life in a small Oklahoma town and championed the attitudes of the “silent majority” during the social tumult wrought by the Vietnam War. The song, which declared “we don’t burn our draft cards down on main street,” and “we don’t smoke marijuana in Muskogee,” became an anthem for those Americans who had tired of social unrest and viewed protest against the nation’s policies in Southeast Asia, or American society generally, as a lack of patriotism. Haggard later claimed to be somewhat surprised by the attention the song received, asserting that it had been written as a satire. Nevertheless, in 1970 he recorded “The Fightin’ Side of Me,” also based on the theme of patriotism.

By the early 1970s, the country music industry was undergoing great change as audiences responded to new styles that combined country with elements of other musical genres. Nashville, alert to the trend, introduced a wave of “crossover” artists who could sell records on multiple charts, while more traditional musicians were given correspondingly less play time. Haggard responded well to these changes, revealing perhaps his greatest talent: his ability to maintain his reputation as a traditional country musician and survive the seemingly constant changes in audience taste. His enormously successful single “If We Make It Through December” (1973) established him as one of the industry’s crossover artists by reaching the pop charts; yet he complemented this success with tribute albums to earlier country music icons. The first of these was *Same Train, A Different Time* (1969), dedicated to the music of the “singing brakeman,” Jimmie Rodgers, followed by an album recognizing Bob Wills’ contributions to country music, *A Tribute to the Best Damn Fiddle Player in the World* (1970). It was not long after that Haggard branched out into areas far removed from the honky-tonk style of his early career. His concept albums were well-received: *Land of Many Churches* (1973), a double album focusing on gospel recordings, and *I Love Dixie Blues* (1974), recorded in New Orleans. These brought him recognition and respect both from fans and his peers in the industry for his versatility. By the late 1970s, he was a fixture of the country music scene, making numerous television appearances and even a cameo appearance in the Clint Eastwood movie *Bronco Billy* (1980).

These years brought increased recording success and national popularity. In 1977 Haggard signed with MCA Records, where he

produced even more number one hits, including “Think I’ll Just Stay Here and Drink” and “Rainbow Stew,” bringing his number of chart-making recordings to over fifty. He also made celebrated duet albums with George Jones and Willie Nelson, both of which generated hits: “Yesterday’s Wine” with Jones and “Pancho and Lefty” with Nelson. The album *Pancho and Lefty* earned Haggard and Nelson the Country Music Association’s Best Album of the Year Award.

In 1990 Merle Haggard signed with Curb Records, and was still continuing to compose, record and tour at the end of the decade. His album *Merle Haggard 1996* represents a musical overview of his entire career, offering a wide variety of styles, and duets with country stars young and old. “The Hag,” as his fans came to call him over the years, received almost every major award offered by the country music establishment; and his band, the Strangers, has shared in the fame, garnering numerous accolades from the country music industry, including several Touring Band of the Year awards.

—Jeffrey W. Coker

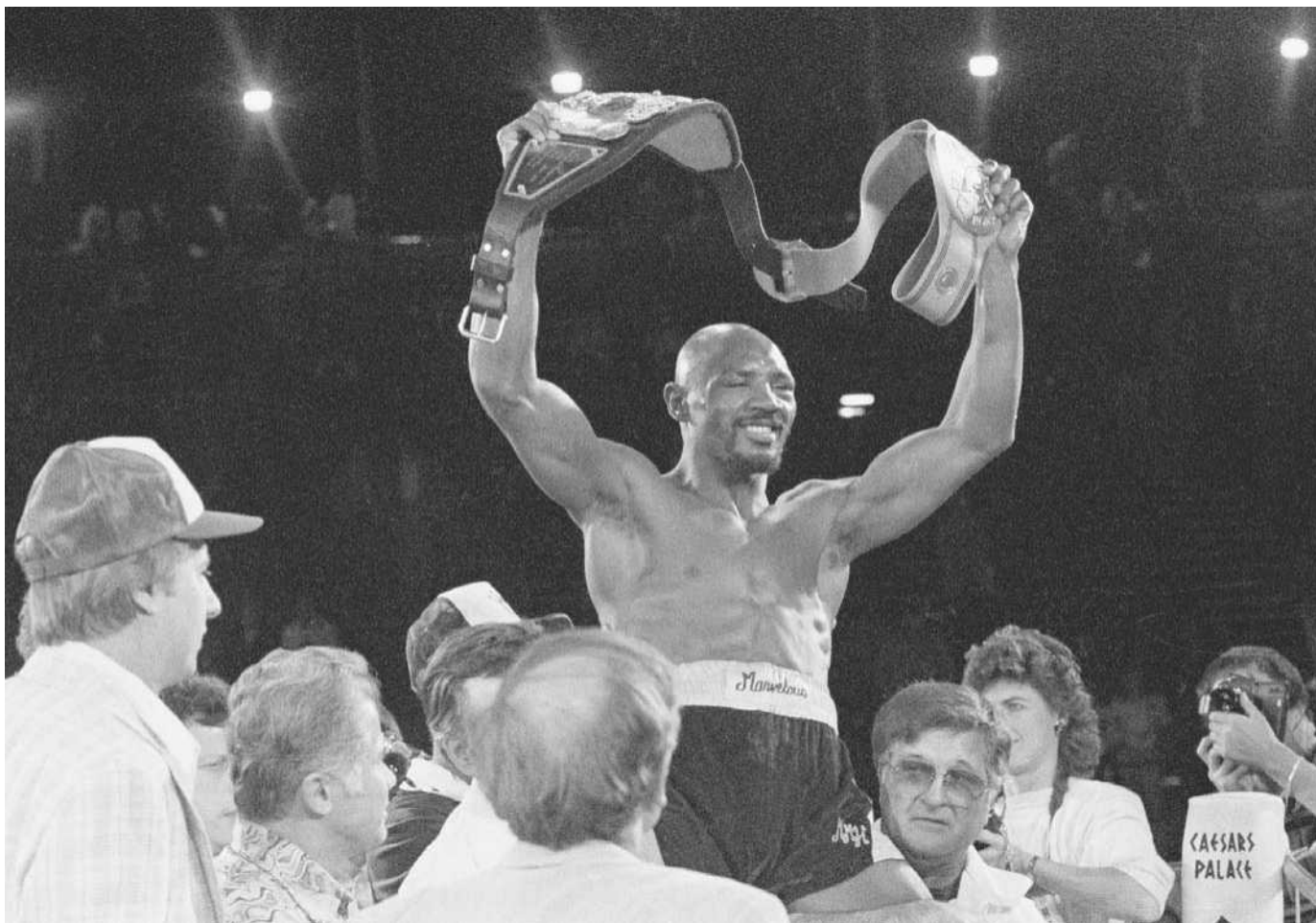
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## Hagler, Marvelous Marvin (1954—)

Known outside of boxing circles for his bald head, goatee, menacing stare, and muscular physique, a ring announcer once told Marvin Hagler that if he wanted to be announced as “Marvelous Marvin,” he should go change his name. So Hagler did just that, legally changing his name to “Marvelous Marvin Hagler.” During the 1980s, when athletes’ incomes skyrocketed and attitudes towards athletes in the media changed from idolatry to suspicion and scorn, Hagler came to symbolize the throwback fighter of yesteryear. Where his nemesis Sugar Ray Leonard fought his first professional fight in 1976 on national television for a five figure purse, Hagler began his professional career in obscurity, fighting for very little money. Hagler and Leonard fought for their first world titles on the same card but not against each other; Hagler fought the preliminary bout against middleweight champion Vito Antfermo for \$40,000 and failed to gain the middleweight title when he was awarded a draw in a fight most observers felt he won, while Leonard fought the main event for \$1,000,000 and won the welterweight title with a 15th round knockout against Wilfred Benitez. Leonard was the media darling whose career was carefully orchestrated, Hagler was the blue collar champion who earned everything he ever received.

As a struggling middleweight contender unable to get a title shot, Hagler was once told that he had three things going against him—he was black, he was left-handed, and he was good. In fact that statement was only partly true. Hagler is in fact African American, but while he could fight southpaw, he could also fight right-handed, and he was not just good, he was great. As a result of his being better than just good, he was able to rise above the obscurity to which most talented, black left-handers have been relegated throughout boxing history.



### Marvelous Marvin Hagler

When Sugar Ray Leonard retired in 1982 due to a detached retina, Hagler, who was by then the undisputed middleweight champion of the world, took Leonard's place as the biggest star in boxing. Wins in highly publicized bouts against fellow Hall of Famers Roberto Duran and Thomas Hearns led to endorsement deals, most notably for Right Guard deodorant. Right Guard used Hagler's instantly recognizable face, and the association of his face with brutality, and made an ironic, comic television commercial in which Hagler, perched atop a horse and dressed in equestrian attire, declares that anything less than Right Guard would be "uncivilized." Marvelous Marvin Hagler, the everyman champion, had finally reached the superstar plateau that Sugar Ray Leonard had occupied in his own heyday.

When Leonard eventually returned to the ring in 1987, he and Hagler met in one of the most anticipated fights in the history of boxing. During negotiations for the bout, Hagler insisted on more money than Leonard. Leonard complied, and Hagler received \$14,000,000 to Leonard's \$12,000,000, instead of a \$13,000,000 apiece split. In exchange for the million dollars, Hagler agreed to a 12 round rather than a 15 round distance. The shorter distance theoretically benefitted Leonard, the naturally smaller fighter who would have to expend more energy than Hagler in order to remain competitive in the bout. As it turned out, Leonard started the fight quickly and Hagler came on strong later. Marvelous Marvin's late rounds rally

was not enough, and Leonard won the split decision, taking Hagler's middleweight title. Unlike almost all other former champions, Hagler never made a comeback. Instead he moved to Italy, where this blue collar throwback fighter became, of all things, a popular and successful Italian action-movie star.

—Max Kellerman

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## Haight-Ashbury

There are few crossroads with the name recognition of the San Francisco intersection of Haight and Ashbury. A seemingly enchanted place, the Haight-Ashbury district begins at the top of a rise that gradually makes its way west to the beach. The fog drifts up past Golden Gate Park with ritual regularity, settling over the gingerbread Victorians and the Monterey Pines. In the space of a little under five years, the Haight traced an arc from a quaint if somewhat dilapidated

working-class neighborhood to the Mecca of the psychedelic counter-culture and back again. By the early 1970s, there was no longer any indication that the street had once hosted a vibrant alternative society. It had collapsed utterly under the weight of its own inner contradictions.

Comprised of a nine-block stretch of Haight Street ending at Golden Gate Park to the west, Haight-Ashbury, or The Hashbury as it was affectionately dubbed, was the result of a mixture of happenstance and proximity, and the peculiar tolerance of San Francisco, a city well known for a certain moral lassitude left over from the Gold Rush era when it was a lascivious rough-and-tumble city of dubious morality, heralded as the Babylon of the west. The city's reputation made it an attractive spot for bohemians; waves of disaffected artists made habitual migrations to the City by the Bay throughout its history—most notably the Beats of the 1950s, who made it a prime destination in the world-wide Beatnik circuit, along with Paris, Tangiers, New York, and Los Angeles.

In 1963, Beatniks were fleeing North Beach to take advantage of the cheap rents and available storefronts of the Haight. But a sea change took place between the scruffy existential Beats and the earliest denizens of the Haight: LSD. Haight-Ashbury was the site of a remarkable syncretism, an admixture of influences that coalesced

over time into the psychedelic eddy that Haight Street became. Like the collection of thrift-store finery and period costumes the original hippies fancied, their philosophy was fashioned from Eastern mysticism, comic books, science fiction, and the Beat writers who acted as a filtering agent through which the younger poets picked and chose their reading. Similarly, acid-rock emerged out of a grab-bag of styles: Be-bop Jazz improvisation, folk and bluegrass modalities, dabbed on a heavy *impasto* of garage-rock primitivism. For the hippies, LSD was their communion, and rock music their liturgy.

At first the scene was remarkably self-supporting, with small venues catering to a local group of cognoscenti. In 1965, there were an estimated 800 hippies in residence. By 1966, new arrivals had flooded the Haight, with an estimated 15,000 hippies in residence. A more disturbing statistic, but at this point hardly a blip on the radar were the 1,200 runaway teens who flocked to the Haight as if guided by some special teen-alienation magnet. Shops, boutiques, restaurants, and clubs sprang up to cater to the new arrivals, and an activist collective, the Diggers, provided for the needs of the more indigent among them with a soup kitchen, crash pads, and later, a free store.

The year 1967 started off optimistically enough with the first “Be-In,” a massive free concert and showcase of the local musicians.



A hippie parade in the Haight-Ashbury district, 1967.

It was by all accounts a magical event. The next logical phase, or so it seemed to the movers-and-shakers of the community, was to invite the youth of America to the Haight for the summer. They envisioned a kind of hippie training: the youth would come, get turned on, and return from whence they came with the blueprint for a new culture. It didn't quite turn out that way. Young people did arrive for the summer, but they were not the beautiful people the Haight habitués anticipated. "They had bad teeth and acne scars and it was easy to see why they hadn't been voted homecoming king or queen back in Oshkosh or Biloxi or wherever they'd come from," wrote Jay Stevens. "These kids were rejects; they'd come here because they were losers, and while they had a certain Christian appropriateness, it was not what the Council for the Summer of Love had expected."

By summer's end, the dream of a self-sufficient urban conclave of tripping Luddites had dissolved in a miasma of hard drugs, runaways, and incipient neglect. The fragile social infrastructure the counterculture had built was overcome by the onslaught. Tour buses and sight-seers flooded the district, as did reporters. Their dispatches only added to the throng of destitute, addled kids. The indiscriminate use of every variety of drug was legion, as were drug busts, hence informing and informers. "The language was Love," writes Hunter S. Thompson, "but the style was paranoia." That October, the Diggers held a mock burial of the "Hippie, son of Media" in Golden Gate Park. It was a pointed bit of street theater, but it was after the fact. The wave had surged and broken, leaving human jetsam in its wake. By then, the Haight-Ashbury pioneers had already fled to higher ground.

By 1971 Haight Street was once again a depressed commercial district with a couple of struggling mom-and-pop enterprises which predated the hippies. Then came the lean years, the urban blight and street violence, but through the district's darkest hour, tour buses continued to visit the neighborhood, offering a glimpse of what had been. By the mid 1980s, boutiques, used clothing stores and coffee shops lined the street. Bookstores, head-shops, and galleries peddled sixties nostalgia to the new generation of adherents—college students and European tourists who looked on the street as a holy relic. And with the new-found prosperity, old problems reasserted themselves. Homeless celebrants ranged through the park and panhandled on the street corners, their ranks swelled by a second wave of runaway kids: teenage adherents of the Grateful Dead, punk rockers, racist skinheads. Predictably, street violence and drug abuse were not short in following.

Haight Street now lives on marketing the allure of that brief, heady period. There is no longer a pretense that Haight-Ashbury is anything but what it appears to be. Ironically, this new business cycle has thrived longer than the cultural moment on which its products are based. Without its idealistic communitarian ethos, the Haight-Ashbury is certainly more resilient, but what was at one time disturbing, or thrilling, is now little more than a titillation, a pleasant way to spend an afternoon.

—Michael Baers

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## Hair

A new milestone in Broadway history was set in 1968 when *Hair*, the first rock musical, opened to mass popularity. Tackling controversial and explosive issues of the era in a theatrically innovative fashion, the brash and exciting musical sustained a five year run at New York's Biltmore Theater. The show eventually spawned a total of fourteen national companies and produced eleven cast albums in different languages worldwide. A concept musical reflecting the anti-establishment energy of 1960s American "hippie" youth culture, *Hair* was seen by over four million people in its first two years of production, and the show ultimately grossed over \$22,000,000 in revenue. The revolutionary musical generated several hit radio singles and brought to public attention a number of talented performers. The enormous success of *Hair* paved the way for a series of ambitious rock musicals, including *Jesus Christ Superstar* in the 1970s and *Rent* in the mid-1990s.

The project that eventually came to be known as *Hair* evolved in 1965 from the creative minds of Broadway performers Jerome Ragni and James Rado. Although they had never formally written a musical project before, the two co-authors were fascinated by the as yet untapped theatrical potential of 1960s youth culture and began to do field research in New York City. Ragni and Rado interviewed and documented the lifestyles of hippies who had rejected dominant social mores and values, choosing instead to fight for abstract principles like freedom, justice, and liberty. Celebrating the newly arriving "Age of Aquarius," these youth held decided opposition to American military involvement in Vietnam, carried a fondness for marijuana and other experimental drugs, cherished a newfound sense of sexual freedom, and positioned themselves firmly against environmental destruction, racial segregation, and religious dogma.

Ragni and Rado were also enticed by the opportunity to breathe new life into the musical theater scene. Daring musicals like *Cabaret*, *West Side Story*, and *Fiddler on the Roof* had already begun to experiment with form, relying less on text and placing more emphasis on music and dance. In 1968, *Hair* would come to alter the formal possibilities for musicals by explicitly drawing on both experimental theatrical techniques, including those pioneered by visionaries such as Antonin Artaud and Jerzy Grotowski, and on the energy of the avant-garde downtown New York theater scene. In contrast to *Okla-homa*, which had revolutionized Broadway theaters in the 1940s, *Hair* was less concerned with character and plot, and instead focused on thematic content and the depiction of lifestyle.

After completing the bulk of their field research, Ragni and Rado decided to collaborate with Canadian composer Galt McDermot, who wrote the amiable and infectious rock tunes that would bring *Hair* to public endearment. The nearly incoherent plot centered on Claude, a young man who had been drafted to service in Vietnam; his friend Berger who had "dropped out" from society; and their friend Sheila, an anti-war student at New York University. Joseph Papp of the New



A scene from the stageplay *Hair*.

York Shakespeare Festival took an interest in the experimental script and decided to produce it at his Public Theater in downtown New York. Papp's off-Broadway run of *Hair: An American Tribal Love Rock Musical* at the Public Theater was only a modest success, however. Ragni and Rado came into frequent conflict with director Gerald Freedman, who chose to concentrate on the book of the musical and to polish its look rather than attempt to convey the "authenticity" of the youth counterculture on to the stage.

Upon the completion of the run of *Hair* at the Public Theater, Michael Butler, a young wealthy political with a pressing concern for the welfare of Native Americans, took an interest in producing the experimental musical. Butler financially backed the show at the Cheetah, a popular dance hall discotheque in Manhattan. The unsuccessful run proved that the show needed to be overhauled before being brought to Broadway. Tom O'Horgan, a director who had honed an impressive amount of experience in his work at the avant-garde New York theater LaMama, was hired to revamp the show; while Robin Wagner, Jules Fisher, and Nancy Potts were respectively hired to redesign the scenic design, lighting design, and costume design.

O'Horgan virtually wiped the show clean of its narrative and concentrated more intently on the concept. Thirteen songs were added to enhance the show's pro-love, pro-sex, pro-drugs, and racial harmony message.

In its new form, the show fearlessly broke certain taboos of the theater. Headed by the two authors in the leading roles, the young and talented cast demolished the "fourth wall" of the theater by entering through the audience to arrive on stage. The cast often switched roles interchangeably. For the first time on the mainstream stage, audiences witnessed drug use, explicit language, an openly gay character, and drag queens. During the infamous "Be-In" scene, the cast stripped nude under blinking strobe lights to the shock and surprise of the spectators. The show's popularity was enormous; and in April of 1968, the members of the original cast performed a free, jam-packed show in Central Park.

For all its experimental bravery, *Hair* was met with derision by distinguished theatrical critics and lost the Best Musical Tony Award to a more traditional musical, *1776*. Nonetheless, the musical brought to attention a series of gifted performers like Ben Vereen, Diane



Keaton, Melba Moore, and Nell Carter, each of whom went on to greater success in areas of film, television, and music. The musical also spawned a series of spin-off albums like *Disinhearted* that consisted largely of outtake material that had been excised on the show's path to Broadway. As performed by groups like the Fifth Dimension and the Cowsills, infectious songs like "Let the Sunshine In," "Good Morning Sunshine," and "Aquarius" soon topped the American pop charts.

After generating an impressive number of road shows, *Hair* closed on Broadway in 1972. The show was revived in 1977, but by then, the material no longer seemed as topical and original as it had in 1968. In 1978, the musical became reworked as a critically acclaimed film directed by Milos Forman, and in 1988 some of the original cast members rejoined at the United Nations to celebrate the musical's twentieth anniversary reunion concert. A European tour of the musical continued to prove successful into the 1990s; and in 1998, an off-Broadway revival of *Hair* briefly played to commendable reviews. Yet, as evidenced by the success of the rock musical *Rent* in 1995, the impact of *Hair* has been long lasting. A document of a profoundly turbulent and explosive era in American history, *Hair* forever changed not only the look and the sound of the Broadway musical, but also its very possibilities.

—Jason King

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## Hairstyles

Human beings have styled and adorned their hair since the beginning of recorded history. This styling has different and often contradictory purposes. As an intrinsic, yet malleable part of the body, the hair and its styling can serve as an intimate form of self-expression. Yet hair is also a public and very visible part of personal presentation, and, as such, hairstyle becomes a public, even a political statement. As part of the physical body, hair has a role in sexuality, and it is often one of the first things noticed in a prospective sexual partner. Hair is also a major component of fashion, the way that society dictates its members should look. Because of its many interpretations, hairstyle can serve as a medium of conformity or rebellion, it can lure or rebuff prospective mates, and it can be a constant source of frustrating labor for the individual who cannot get it to behave.

Though hairstyles have constantly changed, and those changes have often been seen as radical innovations, most styles have come and gone many times. The straight hairstyle that has become popular for women in the late 1990s and was *de rigueur* in the late 1960s and early 1970s is basically the same style that was considered appropriate for unmarried girls in medieval Europe. Though hairstyles are constantly changing, there are usually strictly enforced cultural norms, beyond which it is forbidden to deviate. These norms are enforced by rules in schools and on the job as well as by social pressure.

Throughout history, hair has been shaped and decorated to announce its wearer's place in society. In ancient Egypt, nobility was denoted by a bald, shaved head which was then covered by thick, black wigs made of wool, palm fibers, or human hair, braided and decorated. Ancient Romans made marble wigs for their statues in order to update them as hairstyles changed. They changed often, according to one Roman writer: "It would be easier to count the acorns on an oak tree . . . than to count the number of new hairstyles that appear every day."

In fifteenth-century Europe, a high forehead was prized, and Elizabethan women plucked their hair out to the very tops of their heads. Queen Elizabeth herself had more than eighty red wigs to make sure that her hairstyle was always in perfect condition. Louis XIV brought wigs into fashion in early eighteenth-century France when he wore them to conceal his balding head. In the late 1700s, Madame de Pompadour, mistress of Louis XV, led French fashion with the elaborate hairstyle that was named for her. Women of the day wore flowers, feathers, jewels, and even model ships in hair that was piled high and held in place with beef fat. This pomade often attracted insects, and folklore of bugs and even mice living in the depths of elaborately styled hair persisted right up to the beehives of the 1950s.

Up until World War I, respectable American women wore their hair primly up on their heads, but by the 1920s, women were entering a freer era, as documented in F. Scott Fitzgerald's story "Bernice Bobs Her Hair." Men often express a preference for long, flowing hair on women, and a by-product of both twentieth-century waves of feminism has been the popularity of short hairstyles, announcing a new independence from men. The short bobs of the Roaring Twenties were appropriate for the breezy informality of the times as well as being a sort of feminist statement, freeing suffragists and their sisters from the time-consuming triviality of hair care.

The 1930s and 1940s marked a return to glamour, with cascading tresses. These were reined in somewhat during World War II by a severe, all-business style that reflected women's role working on the home front. In the 1950s and early 1960s, big hair was back, with beehives and stiffly lacquered curls. Many women teased their hair to get the desired volume or wore "rats," balls of hair or netting that were placed underneath to increase hair height. As the hippie counter-culture rose at the end of the 1960s, the natural look came into vogue, and women who had once tortured their hair into tight curls began to iron it or roll it on beer cans and toilet paper rolls to achieve the lank straightness prized both on fashion runways and at university sit-ins. Men, too, began to wear their hair long in the late 1960s, and long, straight hair became a symbol of the youthful culture of protest and revolution. The Broadway musical that claimed to define the generation was called, simply, *Hair*.

With the punk movement of the 1980s, hair fashion exploded beyond any modern precedent. Expressing the nihilistic angst of youth rebelling against complacency, punks made themselves look freakishly dramatic. Both women and men dyed their hair bright blues, purples, and oranges, using gel or dramatic cuts to create sculpted spikes of hair. Some wore their hair in "mohawks," imitating the traditional hairstyle of an American Indian tribe who shaved the sides of the scalp, leaving a sheaf of hair standing in the middle. Though conservative society despaired, the punk rockers did much to liberate the boundaries of fashion.

Though women are usually considered the primary slaves to fashion, men are also quite attentive to their hair, and men's hairstyles have often been the focus of media scrutiny. Whether it was the slicked-back duck tails of the 1950s, the revolutionary shaggy bangs



Several examples of male hairstyles, 1955.

of the early 1960s Beatles' haircut, or the defiantly shoulder- and waist-length tresses of the hippies of the late 1960s and 1970s, men have frequently used hairstyle as rebellion and self-expression. Sometimes male hair experimentation has drawn more dramatic reactions

than women's changing styles. Perhaps because women are expected to follow fashion, even to look ridiculous in its name, women are allowed more flexibility in hairstyle. A man who deviates from the narrow range of conservative hairstyles permitted for men faces



An example of several women's hairstyles, 1970.

derision and worse. Long-haired hippies of the 1970s were mocked, threatened, even beaten because of the length of their hair. Schools and businesses have also been slow to permit men freedom to wear their hair in unconventional styles.

Male pattern baldness, and the desire to conceal it, has long been a motivating factor in the hairstyles of older men. Some men try drugs or hair transplants to fight hair loss, while others attempt the often-ridiculed approach of growing one side long and combing it over the top of the head to cover bald spots (a method called a “comb over”). Male baby-boomers now entrenched in middle age have brought into fashion a neat ponytail, often acceptable in the modern business world, which, even paired with a balding pate, makes a discreet statement about its wearer’s “hipness.”

Almost all modern American hair fashion is predicated on the fairly straight or wavy European hair type. Those whose hair is by nature very different from that model, such as African Americans, some Jews, and others, are hard put to force their hair into the prescribed styles. For African Americans especially, hair has been an intensely political issue. Because all things black have been long stigmatized by white American culture, blacks tried for decades with chemicals, machines, and intensive labor to change their hair, even calling natural, tightly curled black hair “bad” hair and straighter hair “good” hair. In the late 1960s, with the rise of the civil rights movement, a notion of “black pride” took hold, and many blacks began to grow their hair out in Afros or “naturals,” which sometimes stood several inches out from the head. In the 1970s and 1980s, inspired by the politics and culture of the Jamaican Rastafarians, some blacks began to let their hair grow long and gather naturally into dreadlocks, soft ropes of hair that retain their shape as they grow.

Many whites find both Afros and dreadlocks on blacks to be threatening, perhaps both because they often go along with radical anti-racist politics and because they represent a new positive black-identified culture that might challenge the dominion of white culture. One reaction of white culture to this challenge has been to repress such expressions of ethnic identity, such as forbidding certain hairstyles in the workplace, but another reaction has been to appropriate them. Many blacks were outraged in 1979 when actress Bo Derek appeared in the film *10* wearing her hair in “cornrows,” or many small braids close to the head. Cornrow braids had long been a traditional African-American hairstyle, but the media and much of the white public greeted Derek’s style as an innovation. Though cornrows enjoyed a brief popularity among whites, few credited the black community as its source. Similarly, in the 1980s and 1990s, some young counterculture whites, seeking a rebellious political statement, or identifying with black struggles, trained their hair to grow in an approximation of dreadlocks. While some blacks may find this imitation to be a kind of support, many consider it to be insulting and ignorant.

If European styles were historically shaped by kings and courtesans, American styles have been most consistently influenced by our own form of nobility—film and television stars. Dynamic actress Louise Brooks led the way to the boyish bobs of the 1920s, while “blonde bombshell” Jean Harlow and redhead Rita Hayworth made flowing curls a fashion favorite. Veronica Lake popularized her trademark look by letting her blond hair cascade in front of one eye. In more recent years, Farrah Fawcett’s shaggy “disco mane” became the most imitated style of the 1970s, and in the early 1990s women flocked to hairdressers requesting the “Rachel” worn by Jennifer Aniston’s character on the television series *Friends*. Men, too, imitate the hairstyles popularized in the media, whether Michael Jackson’s 1980s “Jeri curls” or the slicked-back retro look of “gangster chic”

returning to the 1990s. Even lack of hair became a fashion as some shaved their heads after seeing the style on Irish singer Sinéad O’Connor and actress Sigourney Weaver in *Aliens*.

Hairstyle is not only a personal choice, a fashion statement, or even political action, it is also a multimillion dollar industry. As people struggle to coax their hair into the latest style, the popular color, or the perfect statement of their own values, they purchase a variety of hair products and fashion magazines, and spend hundreds of dollars a year on hairdressers. There is even computer software that allows a user to view her/himself in various hairstyles before making the crucial decision. The hair care industry often relies on a culturally induced insecurity about looks, particularly among women, as well as the notion that a different “look” will bring happiness and fulfillment. The media feeds this insecurity with its ads (“Is it true blondes have more fun?”), talk-show makeovers, and slavish reportage of celebrity fashion. As more images bombard us, it becomes harder and harder to find the personal element of style. However, whether it is African Americans reclaiming a cultural heritage, 1970s lesbians recognizing each other by their close-cropped hair, or punk rockers throwing a purple spiky head in the face of convention, there always seems to be room for genuine identity to peek through the rigidity of fashion.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Halas, George “Papa Bear” (1895-1983)

George Stanley Halas was “Papa Bear” to almost anyone familiar with the Chicago Bears football team . . . and rightly so. For 61 years Halas was affiliated with the Bears in one capacity or another—he named the Bears, played for the Bears, coached the Bears, and owned the Bears. At the time of his retirement as a coach in 1968, he had compiled the best coaching record in the history of professional football, with 326 wins, 150 losses, and 31 ties. Halas’s teams became known as the “Monsters of the Midway,” winning 11 championships, primarily for their physical brand of football. His greatest moment probably came in the 1940 championship game when his underdog Bears crushed the Washington Redskins, 73-0. From 1970 until his death, Halas served as the first president of the National Football Conference.

—Lloyd Chiasson, Jr.

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## Haley, Alex (1921-1992)

In 1976, author Alex Haley did something no black person had been able to do before: he got Americans to view history from a black perspective. The vehicle he used was *Roots: The Saga of an American Family*, his 688-page fictional interpretation of the genealogy of his family beginning with a kidnapped African boy brought to the United States as a slave in the mid-1700s. It was not the first time Haley had successfully shown readers life from the black perspective. Before he wrote *Roots*, he wrote *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, a story about the transformation of Malcolm Little from a street-savvy hustler to Malcolm X, a Black Muslim who went from hating whites to becoming an advocate of integration just before he was assassinated by fellow Black Muslims. When Alex Haley died, one creative writing professor, referring to *Roots* and *Malcolm X*, said that Haley had produced two classics in his lifetime. That was not bad for a college dropout who began his career in the Coast Guard as a messboy waiting on white officers.

Haley embarked upon his writing career while still in the Coast Guard. He began by composing love letters for shipmates who did not feel up to the task and then produced articles for magazines. One of his articles, "Hope Springs Eternal," appeared in *Atlantic* in June 1954. While it focused on one of his great aunts, the article mentioned his grandmother's having "a paper tracing her family back to a freed slave," a hint of the phenomenal family saga Haley would interpret a decade later in *Roots*.

About halfway through Haley's 20-year Coast Guard career, the admiral he served as a steward was so impressed by one of Haley's articles that he successfully petitioned the Coast Guard to create the rating of journalist for Haley. After retiring from the Coast Guard in 1959, Haley became a freelance writer, eventually conducting the first *Playboy* interview (with Miles Davis) and several others, including Martin Luther King, Jr., Cassius Clay (later to become Muhammad Ali), Sammy Davis, Jr., Johnny Carson, and George Lincoln Rockwell, a racist and anti-Semitic neo-Nazi.

Just as a modest article about a great aunt became *Roots*, Haley's interview with Malcolm X and an earlier article about the Nation of Islam for *Reader's Digest* led to Haley's collaborating with Malcolm X to write *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. The book was in type when Malcolm X was assassinated on February 24, 1965, and Haley immediately wrote a lengthy epilogue explaining how he and Malcolm X had collaborated on it. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* became a bestseller and was adopted in college literature courses around the country. The book was published at a time of growing racial divisions in the United States and rising interest in African-American leaders. Malcolm X, for example, was routinely written

about in the mainstream press and his pronouncements were well publicized. His assassination increased interest in his life, although the book, because it tells the story of redemption and transformation, transcends that tragedy. Spike Lee based his movie *Malcolm X* on Haley's book.

When *Roots* appeared in 1976, it too became an immediate bestseller. News accounts tell of Haley appearing at an autograph session expecting to find hundreds of people, only to be swamped by thousands. He had given African-Americans their sense of identity; he had given them a history. The book appeared during the nation's bicentennial year and Haley dedicated it "as a birthday offering to my country within which most of *Roots* happened." It is worth repeating the subtitle of the book, *The Saga of an American Family*, for it demonstrates that Haley was trying to make a broad statement about everyone's roots, not just those of African Americans, and no doubt he struck a chord. It was as if the entire country was having an identity crisis and readers of any race could better understand their own lives through the multigenerational saga Haley had written.

*Roots* consumed Haley both in researching and writing, and also after it was published. He spent about 12 years doing research, even traveling in the hold of a ship to get a feel for how slaves must have felt when they were being transported in chains from Africa to the United States. He became even more popular after *Roots* appeared as a six-night 12-hour miniseries on television, a show watched by 130 million people. Haley was overwhelmed with speaking engagements and requests he could never satisfy. He gave the world two classics in his lifetime and that is what he will be remembered for.

—R. Thomas Berner

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## Haley, Bill (1925-1981)

Often referred to as the founding father of rock 'n' roll, Bill Haley was the first performer to become famous in association with the new genre. William John Clifton Haley was born near Detroit, but raised in rural Pennsylvania. He left school in 1940, having completed the eighth grade. Coming of age during World War II, Haley was spared military service by a blind left eye. He had become interested in country and western music as a child, and during the war he began to perform on a semiprofessional basis.



**Bill Haley and His Comets**

By late 1943 Haley was a regular member of a country band, and for the next several years he sang, yodeled, and played rhythm guitar in bands like the Down Homers. In 1946 he struck out on his own with a group he called the Range Drifters. Like the other bands with which Haley was associated before 1952, the Range Drifters wore “drug store” cowboy outfits, like Roy Rogers. After a year of unprofitable touring, the Range Drifters broke up and Haley found work of a different kind. He spent the next few years as a disc jockey in various parts of New England and Pennsylvania. On one station, he was able to indulge his growing appreciation of “race music” or R&B, when the station owner began a daring policy of mixing genres—playing country, pop, and R&B shows during the course of any given day.

Bill Haley capitalized on his growing popularity in Pennsylvania and surrounding states by forming a new band, the Four Aces of Western Swing. As the name indicates, the band attempted to bring musical genres together. It was regionally successful and even recorded a few singles in 1948 and 1949. Along with occasional personnel changes over the years, the band also changed its name. By 1950 it was Bill Haley and His Saddlemen and was recording actively on a variety of labels. Increasingly Haley’s repertoire included covers of R&B hits, like the popular “Rocket 88” that the Saddlemen released in 1951. The following year Haley moved to the Essex label and changed the band’s name for the last time. Bill Haley and His Comets was a much better name for a band that by then sought to minimize its Western influences and to shoot for pop stardom.

The Comets had their first real hit, “Crazy Man, Crazy,” in 1953. The next year the band released several records, including “Rock Around the Clock,” which were met with only tepid response. It was in the summer of 1955 that the song finally became a national hit. Its innovative use as theme music in *The Blackboard Jungle*, a powerful motion picture about juvenile delinquency in a New York high school, brought the song (and Bill Haley) to the attention of millions of theater-goers in a few weeks’ time. Decca, Haley’s label,

quickly rereleased “Rock Around the Clock” and it raced to the number-one position on the *Billboard* singles charts in July 1955.

Some commentators find the beginning of the rock ‘n’ roll era in the moment when “Rock Around the Clock” became the number-one pop single in America, ostensibly the first rock ‘n’ roll hit on the pop charts. However, Haley himself could take credit for the first rock hit with “Crazy Man, Crazy” in 1953, as well as a major hit with “Shake, Rattle and Roll” in 1954. The first number-one pop hit that would later be acknowledged as a rock ‘n’ roll song was probably the Crew Cuts’ summer 1954 cover of “Sh-Boom,” originally by the Chords. (“Rock Around the Clock” had its dismal first release at about the same time that “Sh-Boom” was rising to number one.)

Bill Haley and His Comets enjoyed some indisputable firsts, however. They were the first rock ‘n’ roll band to achieve stardom due to exposure in a movie, *The Blackboard Jungle*. In 1956 they became the first band to star in rock ‘n’ roll exploitation films: Alan Freed’s *Rock Around the Clock* and *Don’t Knock the Rock*. Haley’s success in the pop music business was inseparable from his stature as a media star, a correlation that would come to be routine for music giants like Elvis Presley, the Beatles, and many more.

Unfortunately for Bill Haley, rock ‘n’ roll changed rapidly during the late 1950s, while he and the Comets were left behind. After “Shake, Rattle and Roll” and the rerelease of “Rock Around the Clock,” Haley had only two more major hits. “Burn That Candle” came out in November 1955, and “See You Later, Alligator” was released two months later. Aside from a few minor songs to follow, the group was essentially washed up in the United States before the end of 1956. The Comets’ careers as worldbeaters were over in well under two years.

Haley’s problems were just starting. His business manager took the band into bankruptcy shortly thereafter, and his world tour of 1958 resulted in teenage riots and anti-rock editorials in more than one nation. Haley continued to record singles and albums at a furious pace and sold a large number of them around the world without making the Top 40 again. Finally he fled the country, spending most of the 1960s in Latin America in fear of the Internal Revenue Service. In Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America he made and sold many Spanish- and English-language records. On occasion he would tour Europe and South America, places where his popularity had not diminished.

After settling his income tax problems in 1971, Haley returned to live in the United States. His touring continued, however, with longer periods of retirement in between. In 1979 he played for Queen Elizabeth II in a Royal Command Performance, a high point of his career.

For many fans of rock ‘n’ roll, Haley remained one of the most important and influential musicians of his generation. For others, he was an obscure curiosity, unable to change with the times. It is beyond dispute that popular music was heavily influenced by his innovation of mixing country instruments and vocal styles with R&B; the full development of this trend was left to the much younger and more charismatic Elvis Presley, who sprang to stardom only six months after Haley. On February 9, 1981, Bill Haley died in his home in Harlingen, Texas, of a heart attack. He was 55.

—David Lonergan

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## Hall and Oates

Comprised of singer Daryl Hall and guitarist/vocalist John Oates, the middle-of-the-road, Philadelphia-based pop duo Hall and Oates rose to fame in the mid-1970s with emotive ballads like “Sarah Smile” and “She’s Gone.” Initially dubbed “blue-eyed soul” by some critics, stressing that the twosome was a white act singing “black music,” Hall and Oates veered towards a more rock oriented sound at the end of the 1970s, resulting in a slew of platinum singles and albums such as *Private Eyes* and *H2O*. By 1984, their sales had made them the biggest selling duo in history, replacing the 1960s folk act the Everly Brothers. Despite such success, Hall and Oates parted ways after the phenomenally successful 1984 effort *Big Bam Boom*. After the breakup, most of the duo’s backing musicians went on to form the house band for television’s *Saturday Night Live*, while Hall embarked on a mildly successful solo career, and the thickly mustached Oates remained in relative obscurity until a Hall and Oates reunion in the 1990s.

—Shaun Frentner

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## Hallmark Hall of Fame

The *Hallmark Hall of Fame* specials are among the high points of each television season. The dramas, usually movie-length, bring to the viewers fine actors in quality adaptations of recent Broadway shows or older classic plays, as well as screenplays based on popular books. The presentations are shown during holiday seasons, which are peak card-giving periods, and times that the sponsor, Hallmark Cards, wants to get its name before the public. While the programs are praised for their quality, by industry standards they are not always big hits in terms of ratings. Yet, Hallmark has been steadfast in their support because the quality of the programs enhances the corporate reputation for quality.

The first special was presented on December 24, 1951 as a “thank you” to the consumers who had sent Hallmark Cards over the holidays. The host, Sarah Churchill, briefly thanked the viewers for their support of Hallmark Cards, then Gian Carlo Menotti’s Christmas opera, *Amahl and the Night Visitors* was shown without further interruption. It was the first opera to be shown on television.

Each succeeding year Hallmark has presented some of the most acclaimed programs of any given season. The first specials were often



Jason Robards as Abraham Lincoln in a scene from the *Hallmark Hall of Fame* production *Abe Lincoln in Illinois*.

Shakespearean plays such as *Hamlet* (1953 with Maurice Evans and restaged in 1970 with Richard Chamberlain), *MacBeth* (1954), and *Taming of the Shrew* (1956), but the first programs also included non-classical plays such as *Alice in Wonderland* (1955), *Born Yesterday* (1956), and *Victoria Regina* (1961). The series has been responsible for bringing to television viewers such exceptional plays as *Anastasia* (1967), *Winter of Our Discontent* (1983), *The Secret Garden* (1987), *Stones for Ibarra* (1988), *April Morning* (1988), and *Sarah, Tall and Plain* (1991) which was the highest rated movie of the season—two years later the sequel, *Skylark*, was aired (1993). Also presented in 1993 was *To Dance with the White Dog* which was the top-rated movie for the 1993-1994 season.

*Hallmark Hall of Fame* has also showcased other plays by Shakespeare, including *Richard II* and *The Tempest*, as well as six plays by George Bernard Shaw, including *Pygmalion*, *Saint Joan*, and *Caesar and Cleopatra*. More current works have included Rod Serling’s *A Storm in Summer*, James Costigan’s *Little Moon of Alban*, John Nuefeld’s *Lisa Bright and Dark*, and Sherman Yellen’s *Beauty and the Beast*.

In addition to critical acclamations, some of the presentations have won praise for their depiction of current social problems. Two such acclaimed specials were *Promise* (1986) which concerned the difficulties faced by a man caring for his mentally ill brother, and *My Name is Bill W* (1989) which chronicled the life of the founder of Alcoholics Anonymous. Both specials starred James Garner and James Woods.

Often cited as epitomizing the company slogan, “when you care to send the very best,” *Hallmark Hall of Fame* received a Peabody in 1964 and Joyce Hall, president of Hallmark Cards, was inducted into the Television Hall of Fame in 1985.

—Denise Lowe

## Halloween

Nothing less than a horror-film renaissance was spawned with the release of director John Carpenter’s *Halloween* in 1978. *Halloween* also gave independent film producers something to scream about. With a budget of around \$300,000 and no major studio behind them, executive producers Irwin Yablans and Moustapha Akkad backed the film, which Carpenter co-wrote with Debra Hill (who also served as producer). The film went on to earn an estimated \$55 million, siring several not-so-memorable sequels as well as some worthy and unworthy imitators in the early 1980s.

The plot of *Halloween* is a deceptively simple one. The film begins in the sleepy town of Haddonfield, Illinois, on Halloween night, 1963. Little six-year-old Michael Myers has just murdered his sister with a butcher knife. Cut to fifteen years later. Michael has reached the age of twenty-one within the walls of a mental hospital, under the care of Dr. Loomis (played with fidgety obsessiveness by Donald Pleasence). Loomis describes Myers as a monster who must never be released or allowed to escape. Of course, he escapes on the day before Halloween and returns to Haddonfield to finish what he started. With Loomis giving chase, Myers (described as “the Shape” in the credits, played by Nick Castle) returns home. Myers’ modus operandi is consistent: he goes after high-school girls, including Laurie Strode (played by Jamie Lee Curtis in her first and most recognizable screen role).

With a lean budget and only one star, Carpenter had to depend upon skill and luck to author a film with a tone that is as eerie as it is unprecedented in horror. His musical score is the sparsest imaginable, but the tinkling piano keys above the menacing drone of electronically produced strings and brass set a terrifying mood. Thanks to cinematographer Dean Cundey, *Halloween*’s bright, but somehow claustrophobic daylight exterior shots make even the quiet neighborhoods of Haddonfield seem ominous. The shadowy interiors of Haddonfield’s houses only half reveal the terror within them, making that threat seem even greater.

By locating the threat within a mundane, middle-class suburb, *Halloween* creates the giddy unease of an urban legend. The chants of trick-or-treat rhymes at the beginning of the film, the sexual precocity of the teenaged characters, the babysitting nightmare, the legendary murder fifteen years before—all recall the themes of urban legends, evoking similar campfire-ghost-story responses without exploiting them as mere plot devices. Carpenter’s greatest innovation, as well as his most copied, is the use of the point of view of the monster/stalker. Audiences used to the syntax of horror films—the empty dark space over the heroine’s shoulder, the fake-terror-relief-then-real-terror economy in classic horror films by William Castle and Roger Corman—were introduced to a new phenomenon. By offering the point of view of the Monster, audience instincts for fight or flight were frustrated

and tension in the audience soared. Finally, the monster himself: created by production designer Tommy Lee Wallace simply by painting a two-dollar William Shatner mask white, this false face became the most uncanny of monsters, a blank slate that could hold infinite horrors in the imagination of the audience.

In 1978, audiences consisted mainly of kids the same age as the teenagers being murdered and mutilated in the film. These audiences responded enthusiastically to the psychosexual themes in *Halloween*. Like the many imitators and their sequels that followed—*Friday the Thirteenth*, *Prom Night*, etc.—*Halloween* consisted of teenagers being maimed and slaughtered before, during, or after intercourse. Sex precedes death in these films. Coitus became the foreplay for the climax(es) of the film, the murders of promiscuous (and mainly female) teenagers. Despite the apparent Puritanism and sexism of *Halloween* and its cousins, California-Berkeley Professor Carol Clover finds an almost feminist formula in them. Clover points out that it is, after all, Laurie Strode who survives *Halloween*: “The image of the distressed female most likely to linger in memory is the image of the one who did not die: the survivor, or Final Girl. She is the one who encounters the mutilated bodies of her friends and perceives the full extent of the preceding horror and of her own peril; who is chased, cornered, wounded; whom we see scream, stagger, fall, rise and scream again. . . . She alone looks death in the face, but she alone also finds the strength either to stay the killer long enough to be rescued (ending A) or to kill him herself (ending B). But in either case, from 1974 on, the survivor has been female.”

—Tim Arnold

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## Halston

Halston’s (Roy Halston Frowick, 1932-1990) first fame was the simple and much-imitated pill-box hat Jacqueline Kennedy wore at the 1961 Presidential Inauguration. His success continued in the 1970s. Within the maelstrom of Paris fashions, youthquake, minis, and maxis, Halston reasserted the unadorned cut and practicality of American sportswear: easy, simple, and eternal. In 1972, his plain Ultrasuede shirtwaist sold 60,000 copies. Halston’s flowing movement and versatile layers allowed women of all sizes and shapes to find him their perfect designer and Halston came to claim that he would design for every woman in America, to say nothing of custom-order clients Liza Minnelli, Martha Graham, and Elizabeth Taylor. In 1983, he initiated Halston III for J. C. Penney and was dropped from stores who would not permit him to design for their elite clientele and for everyone. Brilliant and charismatic, Halston could make and market anything, except genuine democracy in American fashion.

—Richard Martin

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## Hamburger

In the mid-twentieth century, the hamburger emerged as a symbol of American democracy and prosperity. As fast food became dominant on the American landscape, the hamburger provided to millions of people an inexpensive serving of meat. To consume a hamburger was, in a sense, to fulfill the promise of democracy, and to enact one's Americanness.

The hamburger or "burger," minimally defined as a cooked ground beef patty between two pieces of bread, was born in America sometime around 1890. Loosely based on the ground-beef steak popular in the German town of Hamburg, the hamburger gained national repute at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair. In the 1920s the White Castle chain of restaurants helped popularize the hamburger,

which was beginning to become a common food in many regions. In the 1930s and 1940s, the Great Depression and World War II severely impacted the ability of most Americans to purchase meat, but after the war, America's economy began to boom, and the hamburger rode the crest of a wave of new prosperity. Simple to prepare and available in every corner of America, the hamburger made meat cheaply available to a nation familiar with hunger and rationing. The hamburger celebrated the end of the war, the democratization of wealth, and America's robust economy.

By 1954, when Ray Kroc bought McDonald's, the hamburger was becoming popular nationwide at diners and roadside stands. With the rapid diffusion of McDonald's franchises in the 1960s, and later with a national advertising campaign for the Big Mac, the hamburger began to take on increased cultural importance. Because of its popularity, its standardization, and its heavy representation on television, the hamburger came to be identified as the most American food. It appeared alongside celebrities and the stars-and-stripes, and it was heralded in television drama, movies, and rock and roll.

The hamburger's surge in importance collaborated with widespread ownership of automobiles. Together, the burger and the car appealed to and reinforced American affinities for speed and convenience. Drive-in and drive-through restaurants proliferated, buoyed by their staple food, the hamburger. The burger could be prepared



The hamburger's popular culture influence is apparent in this sign advertising the Bun Boy fast food restaurant in Indiana, 1989.



rapidly, eaten without utensils, and eaten on the run. In the new culture of fast food, the hamburger could be eaten alone, breaking many ethnic traditions of social dining.

As the quintessential American food, the hamburger was the main way Americans ingested beef, and, in the same bite, the mythologies of beef. In addition to prosperity, beef was linked to manliness and patriarchy, to domination over nature, to physical strength, to athletic prowess, and to being a “red-blooded” or an authentic American. The low cost and widespread availability of hamburgers ensured that all citizens could symbolically—and democratically—impart these national ideals.

Beef’s popularity peaked in 1976, when each American ate 127 pounds of it a year, with the hamburger patty as its most popular shape. In the late 1970s, new consciousness about dietary fat markedly reduced the hamburger’s popularity. By the 1980s red-meat consumption, including hamburgers, was considerably reduced, and many medical studies were linking red meat consumption to cancer and heart disease. While the cattle industry responded with a multi-million dollar ad campaign: “Beef: Real Food for Real People,” fast-food restaurants began to diversify their offerings. While the beef hamburger remained the bedrock of fast food, salads, chicken, fish, and burritos made inroads into the market.

Down from prior levels, Americans in 1995 still consumed twenty-nine billion hamburgers a year: an average of 120 per capita. Together, fast-food chains and cattle ranching made one of the largest industries in America, impacting ecosystems, water resources, and land ownership of large parts of America in its push for a large supply of inexpensive beef—the key to success for the fast-food hamburger. By converting much of the Western wilderness into ranch land, and by securing water rights and government subsidies, cattle ranchers could profitably sell beef at less than a dollar per pound. Powered by the popularity of hamburgers, an enormous cattle industry transformed millions of acres of wilderness. Barbed wire fences, cattle manure, grazing, and drought caused by the diversion of water sources radically altered land from Texas to Oregon. From the 1960s onward, parts of Latin-American rain forests were cleared to raise beef for American fast-food burgers.

By the close of the century, the traditional hamburger was in decline. Environmentalists alleged that the hamburger was a major threat to ecosystems, and health advocates warned Americans to reduce intake of red meat. The small but growing popularity of vegetarianism also challenged the hamburger, and even though most Americans did not disavow meat altogether, many reduced their intake. But while the beef burger was waning in popularity, other versions of the burger were ascendant: the “hamburger” was being reinterpreted. “Burgers” were being made with fish, chicken, turkey, soy beans, or grains. In the 1990s, the “veggie burger,” a grain-based burger, rapidly increased in popularity.

—Dylan Clark

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## Hamill, Dorothy (1956—)

Easily recognizable for the pixie haircut that is her trademark, Dorothy Hamill created one of the first true media frenzies surrounding a figure skater. Hamill reigned as a National, World, and Olympic Champion in the 1970s and helped develop the popularity of professional ice skating shows. During the 1976 Olympics, girls all over the world copied her hairstyle, which led to Hamill becoming a spokesperson for hair care products.

Born in Riverside, Connecticut, to Chalmers and Carol Hamill, Dorothy became interested in skating at the age of eight. She began taking lessons with former Czech champion, Otto Gold, in 1965. Almost immediately, the Hamill family decided that their talented daughter should train seriously, with the idea of competing at the national level. Dorothy passed her first Preliminary Test to compete



Dorothy Hamill

in 1965. By 1967 she had switched coaches to train with Swiss coach, Gustav Lussi. She later studied with former U.S. Champion, Sonya Klopfer Dunfield.

Hamill became the U.S. National Ladies Novice Champion in 1969, at the age of 12, and continued to move up the skating ranks. Another coaching change was soon made, and the teenager began studying with Carlo Fassi, who had also coached champion Peggy Fleming. Hamill soon moved up to the Senior Ladies Division. In her first National Championship in 1971, she placed a very respectable 5th place. By 1973 she had matured so much that she barely lost to the National Championship to Janet Lynn. That same year, Dorothy came in 4th in the World Championships.

In 1974 Hamill won the National Championship and went on to represent the United States at the World Championships, which were held in Munich, Germany. During the competition an incident occurred, which will long be remembered by the skating fans who witnessed it. The audience for the long program, upset by low scores given to local skater, Gerti Schrandel, began booing as Hamill prepared to skate. Although they were not booing her, Hamill became so upset she left the ice in tears. A few moments later she again took the ice, having declined the opportunity to compose herself and skate later in the competition. Showing the determination that had already gotten her so far, Hamill skated almost flawlessly and finished with the silver medal behind Christine Erath of East Germany.

During the 1975 season, Hamill defended her National Championship and again finished second at the World Championships, this time to Diane deLeeuw of the Netherlands. Things continued to heat up throughout the season before the 1976 Olympic Games in Austria. Hamill and World Champions deLeeuw and Erath remained neck in neck, with no clear favorite for the Olympic Gold medal. In the media frenzy before the games, however, it became clear that Hamill was the press and audience favorite. Her parents and coach, Carlo Fassi, tried to insulate Hamill from the spotlight as she continued to train for the Olympics. When the games were over, Hamill was crowned the new Olympic Champion. Shortly thereafter, she captured the World Championship, and the interest in Hamill and her professional and private life grew. She became a commercial spokesperson for Short & Sassy hair care products, which capitalized on her famous haircut.

After she turned professional, skating with the Ice Capades, Hamill continued to command the spotlight, although not to the extent she had during the Olympics. She starred in ice shows and popular television specials, such as *Romeo and Juliet On Ice*. It was Hamill who really brought worldwide interest to professional ice shows.

When her first marriage to actor Dean Paul Martin broke up, she married sports-medicine specialist, Dr. Kenneth Forsythe. In 1993, after she had skated with the Ice Capades for several years, Hamill, her husband, and businessman Ben C. Tinsdale, purchased the show. Her first production as part owner was *Cinderella . . . Frozen in Time*. Although the show was a success, the company did not prosper as hoped and, in 1994, a conglomerate acquired it.

Dorothy Hamill helped increase interest in figure skating, both on the amateur and professional levels. She became one of the first real superstars of figure skating. Along the way she also became an icon to young girls all over the world.

—Jill A. Gregg

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## Hammerstein, Oscar, II

See Rodgers and Hammerstein

## Hammett, Dashiell (1894-1961)

For a writer who turned out only five novels, Dashiell Hammett made a strong and lasting impression on the twentieth century and is considered one of the founding fathers of the hard-boiled school of detective fiction, a tough, unsentimental style of American crime writing. In *The Maltese Falcon* he introduced Sam Spade; in *The Thin Man* it was Nick and Nora Charles. Four decades after his death all his novels remain in print along with many of the short stories and novelettes he wrote for the *Black Mask* detective pulp magazine. The Bogart film version of *The Maltese Falcon* (1941) can still be seen regularly on television or video. All six of the *Thin Man* films,



Dashiell Hammett

starring the memorable team of William Powell and Myrna Loy, are also easily accessible.

Born in Maryland, Samuel Dashiell Hammett dropped out of school while in his early teens, later worked as an operative for the Pinkerton Detective Agency in Baltimore, and served as a driver in the Ambulance Corps during World War I. In the early 1920s, married and living in San Francisco, he began submitting stories to magazines and soon became a regular contributor to *Black Mask*. Using a restrained yet tough vernacular first-person style, he wrote a series about a plump, middle-aged operative anonymously known as the Continental Op who worked for the Continental Detective Agency in Frisco. Based in part on his own experiences as a Pinkerton, the stories offered considerable action, gunplay, romance, and melodrama. When Joseph T. Shaw took over as *Black Mask* editor in 1926, he quickly decided that Hammett was the best man he had; he promoted Hammett to star contributor and worked to persuade other writers to follow in his footsteps.

Of the several dozen stories Hammett wrote for the pulp, nearly thirty were about the Continental Op, and the fat private eye also figured in his first two novels. After being serialized in *Black Mask*, both *Red Harvest* and *The Dain Curse* were published by Alfred A. Knopf in 1929. *The Maltese Falcon* began that same year as a serial and was published as a book by Knopf in 1930, followed by *The Glass Key* in 1931. Hammett's final novel, *The Thin Man*, first appeared in *Redbook* in 1933 and as a book, with a few allegedly risqué lines restored, in 1934.

Both critics and readers were enthusiastic about the Hammett books, and his reputation soon spread beyond the pulpwood and mystery novel ghettos. *The Maltese Falcon* was early added to the Modern Library list and the little remaining fiction Hammett wrote was found in such glossy paper, and high-paying, magazines as *Collier's*. More important to Hammett's future and his finances was the fact that Hollywood took notice of him. The year after *The Maltese Falcon* was published, Sam Spade took his first step into another medium. The initial Warner Brothers version starred former Latin lover of the silents Ricardo Cortez as Spade, and the second, titled *Satan Met a Lady* and ineptly played as a comedy, featured Warren William as the sleuth. Finally in 1941 John Huston persuaded the studio to let him write and direct a new version that stuck closely to the Hammett original. That *Maltese Falcon* became the definitive one, gave Humphrey Bogart the role that helped rejuvenate his career, and helped establish the film noir genre. Hammett, who sold all motion picture rights to his book back in 1931, didn't profit directly from the later two adaptations.

The earliest radio Sam Spade was Edward G. Robinson, who played the role in a 1943 broadcast of the *Lux Radio Theatre*. Bogart himself repeated his role in an early 1946 half-hour version for a short-lived show called *Academy Award*. That same year *The Adventures of Sam Spade* became a regular weekly show. While this latest Spade was not exactly Hammett's Spade, he was a tough, whimsical, and appealing operative; and the show was a hit. Produced by William Spier, it was written for the most part by Gil Doud and Bob Tallman. Howard Duff, who hadn't yet begun his movie career, was cast as Spade. He had a distinctive radio voice and could sound hard-boiled and still get the most out of the gag lines that showed up often in this less gloomy recreation of Hammett's world. The show remained on the air until 1950, when Hammett's political troubles made sponsors and networks wary of him. *The Adventures of the Thin Man* radio show, which had been broadcast fairly regularly from 1941 to 1950, also fell victim to the greylisting of the era. A third Hammett radio

show, *The Fat Man*, was heard from early 1946 to early 1951. Besides allowing his name to be tacked on the program and the nickname of the villain from *The Maltese Falcon* to be used as the nickname for a fat private eye, Hammett had nothing to do with the production. It, too, fell when the other shows did.

Hammett went to Hollywood in 1930 and remained there throughout the decade. According to one of his biographers, "during this period he was credited with one screenplay and contributed original screen stories on at least six credited productions." Some of those original screen stories were contributed to the Thin Man movies that followed the initial one. His other avocations were drinking and Lillian Hellman, neither of which contributed significantly to his well-being, although Hellman was supposedly the inspiration for Nora in the Thin Man series.

Hammett's literary reputation slipped during the 1930s and early 1940s, despite the branching out of his characters into movies and radio. But in the early 1940s Frederic Dannay, the literary half of Ellery Queen, began reprinting Hammett's old pulp stories in the new *Ellery Queen's Mystery Magazine*. That was followed by a series of several paperback reprint collections. These did a good deal to bolster Hammett's standing and gain a new audience for his written work.

Long suspected of being too liberal, Hammett was caught by a subpoena in 1951. As a bail bond trustee for an organization called the Civil Rights Congress, he was asked to provide the names of contributors to the fund. The questioning had to do with four suspected Communists who had jumped bail and vanished. Hammett, although he reportedly didn't know any, nevertheless refused to name names. Convicted for contempt, he spent nearly six months in a federal prison. After suffering from tuberculosis for much of his life, Hammett died in New York in 1961.

—Ron Goulart

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## Hancock, Herbie (1940—)

Herbie Hancock has forged a career that has pushed the envelope of jazz music and, in doing so, has reached a wider audience than any other jazz musician ever has. His 1973 album, *Head Hunters*, is the biggest selling jazz record in history. This Chicago native is easily among the most eclectic musicians of any genre. Hancock has worked within the field of jazz playing free, bebop, and fusion styles, and outside performing world music, hip-hop, funk, and dance music. Along with Miles Davis, he helped create the style known as jazz fusion in the late 1960s and, as a solo artist during the early 1970s, Hancock was one of the first to pioneer the use of synthesizers within jazz. And on his 1983 hit single, "Rockit," he introduced the mainstream pop world to turntable scratching, an element of hip-hop music that uses a turntable and an album as a musical instrument by manually manipulating the sounds it makes. Throughout his long



### Herbie Hancock

career, Herbie Hancock has continually evolved and challenged genre boundaries in all forms of music.

A child prodigy, Hancock studied music in school and, at age 11, performed with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra at a young people's concert. He later formed a high school jazz group, played with the likes of Donald Byrd and Coleman Hawkins at local Chicago jazz clubs, and then left for New York City in 1960 to join and record with Donald Byrd's combo. Soon after working with Byrd, Hancock was offered a solo contract with the jazz label Blue Note, which released his 1962 debut, *Takin' Off*. The album spawned the hit and soon-to-be jazz standard "Watermelon Man," positioning Hancock as an important jazz band composer. During the 1960s, Hancock wrote such classics as "Maiden Voyage," "Dolphin Dance," and "I Have a Dream" (a tribute to Martin Luther King, Jr.).

After an extended stint in Miles Davis' second legendary quintet (which also included Wayne Shorter, Ron Carter, and Tony Williams), Hancock released a number of solo albums. He then formed his first important group, Mwandishi, which included Joe Henderson, Johnny Coles, Garnett Brown, Albert "Tootie" Heath, Buster Williams, and, of course, Hancock. From 1969 to 1972, the Mwandishi band explored funk and rock fusion, and was one of the first jazz groups to use a synthesizer, specifically the Moog. Displeased with the poor commercial reception of the records this group produced,

Hancock disbanded Mwandishi, but not before he released *Sextant*, a landmark album that heavily incorporated the synthesizer into the band's laid-back funk vamps.

Hancock then formed the Headhunters, an instrumental jazz/pop/rock/funk combo (featuring Hancock, Bennie Maupin, Paul Jackson, Harvey Mason, and Bill Summers), that became hugely popular. That group's 1973 album, *Head Hunters*, sold more records than any jazz record had ever sold before, beginning a steady stream of success for Hancock that included 17 albums charting from 1973 to 1984. Due to his widespread popularity, many charges of "selling out" were leveled against him—charges which he dismissed as merely being "elitist." His popularity culminated with the release of 1983's "Rockit," an electro-funk breakdancing staple that featured the turntable wizardry of Grandmaster D.S.T., marking the first time the art of the hip-hop DJ was heard by a mainstream audience. This song has been cited as a major inspiration for a generation of hip-hop DJs and artists which followed.

During the rest of the 1980s and 1990s, Hancock released a handful of modestly-selling albums, which included the world music fusion of *Ids Is DA Drum* and, in 1998, an album by the reformed Headhunters.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## Handy, W. C. (1873-1958)

Though he never would have called himself a blues musician, W. C. Handy is often hailed as the "Father of the Blues." Handy grew up immersed in the folk music of the African American people, a music nurtured by slavery and with roots in the various African cultures from which slaves were torn. A trained musician, Handy translated this "primitive" music into compositions that revealed the richness and diversity of the black musical tradition. His "Memphis Blues" was the first published blues tune, and he left a legacy of musical compositions to which much of the modern blues can trace its roots.

William Christopher Handy was born on November 16, 1873, in either Florence or Muscle Shoals, Alabama. Both his father and grandfather were clergymen and were eager for young Handy to follow in their shoes, but Handy developed an early love for music. He recalled in his autobiography, *Father of the Blues*, that his father stated that he would rather follow his son's hears than have him become a musician. Still, Handy persevered, taking vocal lessons



W. C. Handy

from a church singer and secretly buying a cornet and taking lessons from its former owner. By the time he was a teenager, Handy had amassed a good deal of training in music and, at age 15, he joined a travelling minstrel show that began a tour of the South. The tour soon fell apart, however, and Handy returned home to start a normal life.

In 1892, Handy graduated from the Huntsville Teachers Agricultural and Mechanical College and began working as a teacher—until he found out that he could make more working for a pipeworks factory in Bessemer, Alabama. When wages there were cut, Handy left the factory to follow his first love, music. He organized a group called the Lauzette Quartet and left to play the Chicago World's Fair—only to find that they had arrived in Chicago a year early. Dejected, Handy travelled to St. Louis, Missouri, where he eked out a living playing his cornet and soaked up the downscale ambiance of the city's impoverished black population.

Shortly thereafter, Handy, whose reputation as a talented horn player was spreading, had the good fortune to be hired to play for wealthy Southerners in Henderson, Kentucky. "I had my change that day in Henderson," Handy wrote in his autobiography. "My change was from a hobo and a member of a road gang to a professional musician." Handy also found an opportunity to study with a local music teacher, who taught him more about music in a few short months than he had yet learned in a lifetime.

In 1896, a minstrel group known as W. A. Mahara's Minstrels asked Handy to join them, and he traveled extensively with the group from 1896 to 1900 and from 1902 to 1904. On his travels, the group played to an Alabama audience that included Handy's father. "Sonny," his father told him, "I haven't been in a show since I professed religion. I enjoyed it. I am very proud of you and forgive you for becoming a musician." During this time, Handy's band played for white and black audiences. The story is that a white audience asked him to play some of his own music; Handy failed to meet their request and the audience protested. Handy's band was replaced by a group of three local black musicians who played a type of early blues on string instruments. Handy decided that in spite of his musical erudition, he had missed an important lesson. He decided to look into the blues.

Handy put that lesson to good use in 1909 when he was asked to write a campaign song for Edward H. "Boss" Crump of Memphis, Tennessee. The song was soon adapted to include the following lyrics:

Mr. Crump won't 'low no easy riders here.  
We doan care what Mr. Crump don't 'low,  
We gon'to bar'l-house anyhow.  
Mr. Crump can go and catch hissself some air.

This tune, with new words, soon became famous as "The Memphis Blues." It was the first written composition to use the flatted thirds and sevenths, the "blue notes." The great jazz bandleader Noble Sissle claimed that "The Memphis Blues" was the inspiration for the fox trot. Vernon and Irene Castle heard their musical director, James Reese Europe, use the "Memphis Blues" as a cooling off piece during intermissions. The Castles loved the rhythm and developed a slow dance to it, called first the Bunny Hug and then the Fox Trot.

Following the success of this song, Handy decided to specialize in a type of music that was little known outside the South, the blues. Handy had a great musical memory, coupled with a well-developed musical knowledge. He freely acknowledged the roots of his blues being in black folk songs.

Each one of my blues is based on some old Negro song of the South. . . . Something that sticks in my mind, that I hum to myself when I'm not thinking about it. Some old song that is a part of the memories of my childhood and of my race. I can tell you the exact song I used as a basis for any one of my blues.

At the time, the blues had not yet taken on the classical form in which they are known today. This 12 or 16 bar form in which the I-IV-V chords are used in a set pattern, open to variations, was basically established by Handy as he wrote down the music he heard on his band tours. Handy's blues are more polished than the "primitive" blues that preceded him and were played well into the century by musicians such as John Lee Hooker.

In 1912, Handy, after much struggle, published his first song, "Memphis Blues." Others soon followed, including "St. Louis Blues" (1914), "Beale Street Blues" (1917), and 1921's "Loveless Love," a favorite of Louis Armstrong. The difficulty that Handy experienced in publishing his first song led him to found his own publishing house, but he still had a hard time getting his music distributed. In his autobiography he remembered an encounter with a retailer:

At the time I approached him his windows were displaying "At The Ball" by J. Lubrie Hill, a colored composer who had gone to New York from Memphis some time earlier. Around it were grouped copies of recent successes by such Negro composers as Cole and Johnson, Scott Joplin, and the Williams and Walker musical comedies. So when he suggested that his trade wouldn't stand for his selling my work, I pointed out as tactfully as I could that the majority of his musical hits of the moment had come from the Gotham-Attucks Co., a firm of Negro publishers in New York. I'll never forget his smile. "Yes," he said pleasantly. "I know that—but my customers don't."

Despite such difficulties, Handy continued to publish his works, selling many of them from his own music company, the still-existing Handy Brothers Music Company of Manhattan.

Handy's "St. Louis Blues" is the most recorded song in musical history. At his death in 1958 it was still earning him \$25,000 per year. It was the King of England's favorite song and became the Ethiopian fight song against Mussolini. Bessie Smith, with Louis Armstrong on cornet, immortalized the work. Armstrong later recorded the tune a number of times, even playing it as a tango.

In 1917 Handy moved to New York City where he recorded with his Memphis Orchestra. He began his own recording company in 1922, though it soon failed. Handy's written output faltered, as a result of his increasing eye problems, but he continued playing cornet and recorded with a number of top jazz musicians, including Henry "Red" Allen and Jelly Roll Morton.

In 1928 Handy became the first black performer to play in New York's Carnegie Hall. That concert was one of the only elements of Handy's life that was recreated accurately in his film biography *St. Louis Blues* (1958), which starred Nat King Cole as Handy. While largely inaccurate, the film served to spark rerecordings of many of Handy's tunes. Shortly before Handy's death, Louis Armstrong and the All Stars recorded an album of Handy tunes and Handy was recorded reflecting on his career and on Armstrong. The album, *Louis*

*Armstrong Plays W.C. Handy* (1954), was a fine corrective to the movie.

Handy's autobiography, *Father of the Blues* (1941), relates his story and struggles in establishing his work. The fact that the blues were so identifiably black in origin and so different from the usual Tin Pan Alley tunes eventually worked in his favor. Anyone could put the word blues in a song, but not everyone could write an authentic sounding blues tune. Handy could and did. The blues became part of jazz and the basis of rock 'n' roll. Handy's music is inseparable from twentieth-century world music, a fact recognized by the city of Memphis, in which Handy is a legend. There is a park named in his honor, and a statue of Handy stands prominently. Handy is in the Alabama Music Hall of Fame, has had a postage stamp named after him, and is recognized as a major contributor to American music.

—Frank A. Salamone

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## Hanks, Tom (1956—)

One of only two men to ever win back-to-back Academy Awards for Best Actor, Tom Hanks has proven that he is one of the most talented and versatile actors of the twentieth century. From his early days as cross-dressing Kip in the television show *Bosom Buddies*, Hanks went on to win Oscars for two vastly diverse roles. First, he won Best Actor for 1993's *Philadelphia*, in which he played Andrew Beckett, a gay lawyer dismissed from his law firm after being diagnosed with AIDS. In 1994, Hanks brought home a second statue for his portrayal of the title character in *Forrest Gump*, an amiable Southerner with questionable intelligence and the good fortune to be present at a number of important historical events. For his role as Andrew Beckett, Hanks lost so much weight that he lent grim reality to the deteriorating physical condition of the gay lawyer. In *Forrest Gump*, Hanks developed a slow drawl that perfectly presented Gump's drawn-out mental processes and childish naivete. Not one to be satisfied with making history, Hanks followed up the two wins with an Oscar-worthy performance that allowed him to bring a life-long dream close to reality by playing astronaut Jim Lowell in *Apollo 13* (1995). Hanks was also nominated for his performance in 1998's *Saving Private Ryan*, Steven Spielberg's gripping World War II drama.

Tom Hanks was born July 9, 1956, in Concord, California. When he was only five years old, his parents divorced. Hanks and his older siblings lived with his father, while the youngest child remained with his mother. The divorce was followed by multiple sets of step-parents and frequent moves. As the perennial new kid on the block, Hanks learned that people liked him when he made them laugh, so he became



Tom Hanks (left), Matt Damon (center), and Ed Burns in a scene from the film *Saving Private Ryan*.

a clown. In 1978 he married Samantha Lewes, with whom he has two children, son Colin and daughter Elizabeth. They divorced in 1985. In 1985, while filming the comedy *Volunteers*, Hanks met Rita Wilson and they were married in 1988. Hanks and Wilson have two sons, Chester and Truman. While accepting the Academy Award for *Forrest Gump* in 1994, Hanks brought tears to many eyes with his acknowledgement of their mutual love and respect.

The years between *Bosom Buddies* (1980-82) and his two Academy awards were full of both successes and failures for Hanks. Director Ron Howard gave Hanks his first shot at superstardom by casting him opposite mermaid Darryl Hannah in *Splash* (1984). He followed these movies with comedies, such as *The Man with One Red Shoe* (1985) and *The Money Pit* (1986), that endeared him to fans but which were panned by critics. However, in 1988 Hanks won over the critics with the role of Josh Baskin in Penny Marshall's *Big*. This story of a young boy who gets his wish to grow up overnight was the perfect vehicle for Hanks because it allowed him to combine his youthful appeal with a mature performance, garnering a Best Actor nomination. Unfortunately, Hanks followed up his success in *Big* with less successful roles in *Punchline* (1988), *Turner and Hooch* (1989), and *The Bonfire of the Vanities* and *Joe Versus the Volcano* (both 1990). His return to critical acclaim came in 1992 with the role of Jimmy Dugan in Penny Marshall's *A League of Their Own*. While

the female stars were the focus in this tale of a women's baseball team, Hanks more than held his own as the bitter, tobacco-chewing, has-been manager of the team.

Hanks' versatility is the key to his success as an actor. The physically and mentally draining role of the gay lawyer in *Philadelphia* was immediately followed by a love story that was to become a classic: *Sleepless in Seattle* (1993). *Sleepless* drew on the earlier classic love story of *An Affair to Remember* (1957) for its plot. Instead of star-crossed lovers, Hanks and Meg Ryan play potential lovers who never get together until the final scene, which takes place at the Empire State Building in New York City. The phenomenal success of *Forrest Gump* was followed by the Disney favorite *Toy Story* (1995). Hanks lent his voice to Woody, a computer-generated cowboy puppet displaced in his boy's affections by spaceman Buzz Lightyear (the voice of Tim Allen). Even in this children's tale, Hanks presents a character to whom his audience can relate and offers friendship as a moral lesson and proof of character development.

Adding producer, writer, and director to his list of accomplishments, Tom Hanks created his own movie with *That Thing You Do!* (1996), a charming, simple story of a one-hit 1960's rock band. *From the Earth to the Moon*, a 1998 mini-series, proved to be even more ambitious. In several installments, the mini-series followed the entire history of the space program.

Tom Hanks has frequently been compared to Jimmy Stewart, an actor who was so well loved that the Los Angeles airport was renamed to honor him after his death in 1997. Hanks and Stewart are, indeed, similar in their appeal to both men and women and in their versatility. It is likely that Tom Hanks will go down in history as the most popular and the most critically acclaimed actor of the latter half of the twentieth century.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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## Hanna-Barbera

William Hanna and Joseph Barbera, both through their own creativity and that of their studio, were second only to Walt Disney in the number of memorable, durable, and famous characters they introduced to the art of American animation. Known and loved throughout the world, the Hanna-Barbera cartoons differed from those of Disney in exclusively mining contemporary American life for their ideas, permeating the popular culture with images that reflected it in cartoon form. Their output was prodigious and many of their creations famous, but they will forever be synonymous with the world's most popular cat-and-mouse duo, Tom and Jerry, whose inspired an hilarious adversarial relationship, serviced over 100 cartoon shorts, and won Academy Awards for seven of them, of which *Johann Mouse* (1952) is perhaps the most outstanding of all.

Born in 1910 in Melrose, New Mexico, Hanna began his professional career at age 20, working as a story editor, lyricist, and composer for an independent studio; Barbera, born in New York City in 1911, was an accountant and a freelance magazine cartoonist. The two men met at MGM in 1937, the year they both joined the studio and, with Fred Quimby, created Tom and Jerry. The imaginative narrative line of the cartoons, in which Jerry Mouse emerged the victor of the battles, pushed the frontiers of animated entertainment and risked using more sadistic imagery than was then usual in the genre. Jerry had the distinction of being taught to dance "The Worry Song" by Gene Kelly in a stunning sequence, combining live action and animation, in MGM's *Anchors Aweigh* (1945). And for Kelly's *Invitation to the Dance* (1956), Hanna, Barbera and Quimby directed the third segment of the film, in which cartoon characters and Kelly danced to Rimsky-Korsakov's "Scheherazade."

In 1957 MGM closed its cartoon division, whereupon William Hanna and Joseph Barbera set up their own production company,

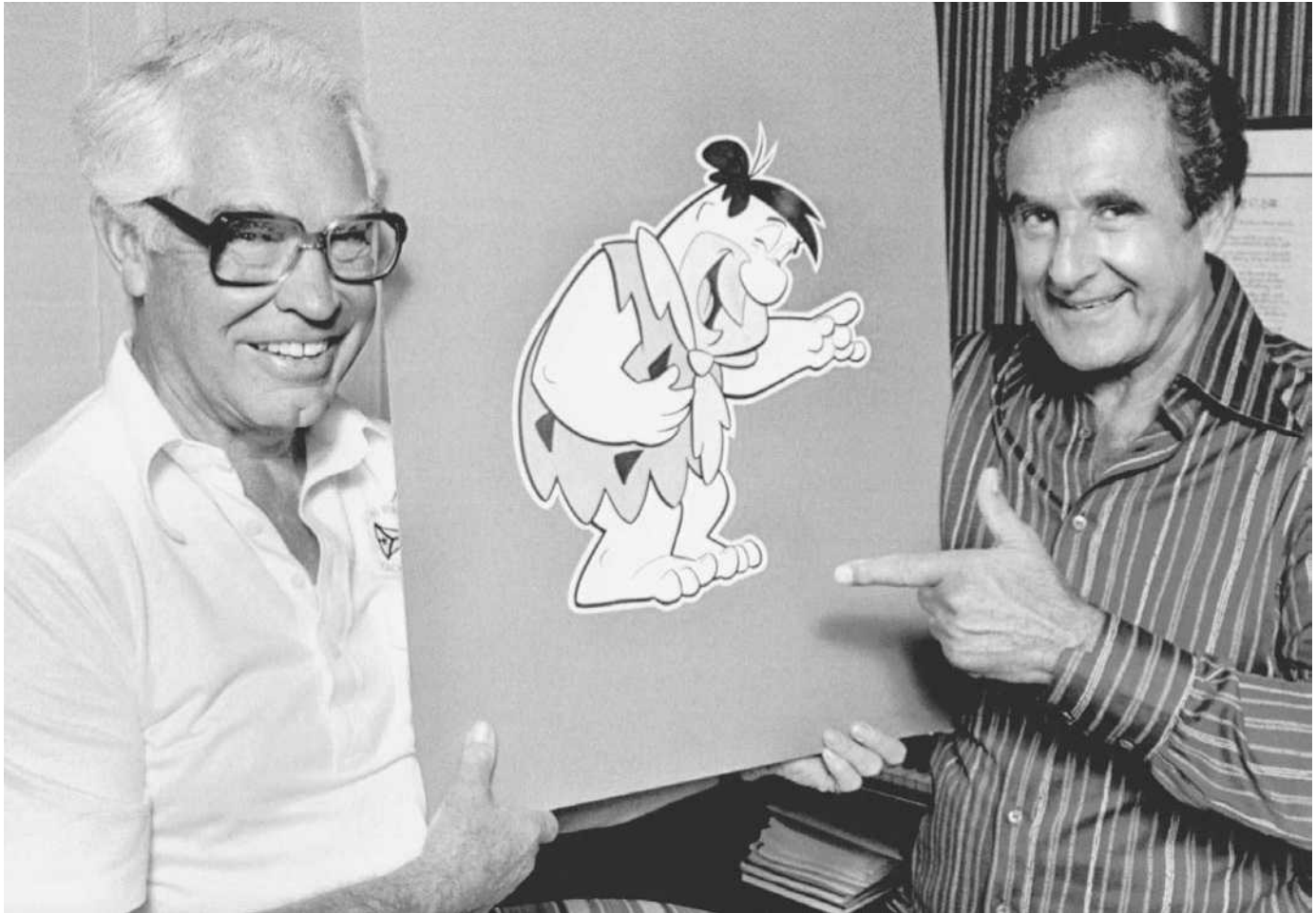
Hanna-Barbera, and launched themselves into a new medium—television. They created the first cartoons for television at a time when many people thought it couldn't be done, partly because the expense of the animation process only seemed feasible for feature films. Hanna and Barbera, however, devised a less expensive technique by reducing the size of the storyboards, and if the results lacked the detail and background of animated features, they were nonetheless highly successful. *The Ruff and Reddy Show* premiered on NBC in 1957, paving the way for several decades of Hanna-Barbera cartoons and Saturday morning viewing rituals, and creating characters who became entrenched in American popular culture, recurring in syndication and cartoons for decades. Among the best known were Yogi ("smarter than the average bear") Bear and his sidekick Boo Boo Bear, Augie Doggie and Doggie Daddy, Huckleberry Hound, Quickdraw McGraw, and Snagglepuss. Perhaps their most famous and durable creation was *The Flintstones*. When it aired in 1960, it was the first animated half-hour prime time sitcom on television. Modeled after *The Honeymooners*, *The Flintstones* earned Hanna-Barbera a permanent place in American television history. As the first animated cartoon featuring human characters, the series laid the ground for such later shows as *The Simpsons* and *King of the Hill*.

Besides the lovable and goofy characters of its early years, Hanna-Barbera productions created action and super-hero cartoons in the 1960s. One of the first of these was *The Adventures of Johnny Quest*. Johnny went on adventures with his scientist father and companions Hadji and Race Bannon. First appearing in 1964, the show was revamped in the 1990s with a focus on computer animation. Other heroes of the time were Space Ghost, the Herculoids, Birdman, the Mighty Mightor, and animated versions of the comic-book super team, The Fantastic Four. However, parents' groups eventually objected to the violence and Hanna-Barbera returned to making more humorous cartoons.

The company turned out product at an extraordinary rate and embraced computerized systems. Of their later cartoon characters, Scooby-Doo (named after lyrics from a Frank Sinatra song), was the most popular. A cowardly and often ravenous Great Dane, Scooby-Doo starred in *Scooby-Doo, Where Are You?* (1969) with four teenage co-stars. They traveled around in a psychedelic van called the Mystery Machine, solving mysteries that usually had a supernatural slant. Scooby and the gang enjoyed several incarnations over the next several decades. Also popular in the 1970s were *Josie and the Pussycats*, the *Hair Bear Bunch*, *Penelope Pittstop*, and the villains *Dastardly and Muttley*, while Hanna-Barbera's biggest success of the 1980s was *The Smurfs*, small blue creatures whose names (Handy and Vanity, for example) matched their dominant traits. Led by the red-clad Papa Smurf, the Smurfs constantly fought against the evil Gargamel. Besides the Smurfs, Hanna-Barbera did animated versions of nationally popular live action shows. Cartoon versions of *Happy Days*, *Laverne and Shirley*, *Mork and Mindy*, and *The Dukes of Hazzard* appeared on Saturday mornings courtesy of Hanna-Barbera. Some shows, such as *Josie and the Pussycats* and *Pebbles and Bamm Bamm*, incorporated contemporary rock music into their shows. Though not as memorable as the Disney classics, the songs keyed into the tastes of their audiences at the time, especially the pre-teen audience.

Also during the 1960s, Hanna-Barbera expanded their activities to make a handful of feature films, beginning with *Hey, There, It's Yogi Bear* (1964), and ending with *Jetsons: The Movie* (1990),





**William Hanna (left) and Joseph Barbera**

featuring the characters from their TV series of the same name. If individual Hanna-Barbera characters did not reach quite the icon status of Mickey Mouse, they were more typically American and of this world than Disney's famous creations. The *Jetsons*, for example, were space age counterparts to the *Flinstones*, all of them archetypal American families. The shows exploited the conflicts that typically occur in American homes, while adding gags appropriate to the period. The contemporaneous approach was what probably made these two cartoon families the most famous and memorable of the Hanna-Barbera stable.

Hanna and Barbera won many awards. In addition to their Oscars, there were Emmys, and, in 1988, 50 years after they met, they received the Governor's Award from the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences. That year, too, the company was absorbed into the Great American Broadcasting company, with Joseph Barbera as president. But perhaps their greatest honor is the impact they had on the American public. Their TV cartoon series were significant in the lives of countless, who entered adulthood still able to sing part, if not all, of the theme songs, and reciting such catch phrases as "Yabba dabba do," "Smarter than the average bear," "Jane, stop this crazy thing!," and "Heavens to Murgatroyd," which had their origins in Hanna-Barbera's cartoons.

—P. Andrew Miller

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## **Hansberry, Lorraine (1930-1965)**

A black American playwright who produced only two plays before her death from cancer at 34, Lorraine Hansberry nonetheless made a tremendous contribution to the American stage and to African American culture. Her first and best known play, *A Raisin in the Sun* (1959), winner of the New York Drama Critics Circle Award, is now considered a landmark of American drama. The story of the struggling Younger family, who aspire to a better life, *A Raisin in the Sun* was the first Broadway production by a black woman, and its commercial success opened the stage doors to other black writers. *The Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window*, Hansberry's challenging but commercially disappointing second play, followed in 1964. Posthumously produced plays *To Be Young, Black, and Gifted* (1969), *Les Blancs* (1970), and *What Use Are Flowers?* (1972), adapted by her ex-husband and literary executor Robert Nemiroff, confirm Hansberry's

great ability to combine artistic integrity and skill with commitment to social reform.

—Barbara Tewa Lupack

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## Happy Days

For ten years, from 1974 to 1984, a fictional image of suburban Milwaukee brought the 1950s back to America through ABC's *Happy Days*. The picture of the world that was painted by this television comedy shaped a whole generation's image of the 1950s. It was world of drive-ins and leather jackets, of cars and girls, but mostly of hanging out and solving day to day problems. It was noticeably *not* the 1950s of McCarthy and Korea. In the first seasons of the show, a number of episodes focused on specific 1950s topics: electioneering for Adlai Stevenson, Beatniks, rock 'n' roll shows, gangs; but after that, *Happy Days* settled into its stride to present a more general backdrop of the period, against which the Cunninghams and Fonzie developed as characters.

In addition to *Laverne and Shirley* and *Joanie Loves Chachi*, *Happy Days* spawned a Saturday-morning cartoon show, *The Fonz and the Happy Days Gang*. Also, the much-loved 1978 sitcom *Mork & Mindy* was based on an episode of *Happy Days*. Indeed, the series was influential in setting the standard for popular comedies during the later 1970s and through the 1980s.

*Happy Days* was created by Garry Marshall, a veteran comedy writer who had worked on the *Dick Van Dyke Show* and who had produced *The Odd Couple*. Marshall produced a pilot for ABC in 1971, titled *New Family in Town*. The network was not interested, and the pilot later surfaced as a segment of *Love, American Style*. Aired on February 25, 1972, it was titled "Love and the Happy Day," and featured Ron Howard, Marion Ross, Harold Gould, and Susan Neher as a 1950s family acquiring their first TV set. In the meantime, however, film director George Lucas had seen the pilot, and used it as the inspiration for his tremendously popular movie *American Graffiti* (1973), with Ron Howard as a 1950s "Everyteen." The success of the movie rekindled ABC's interest in Garry Marshall's original pilot.

Over its lifetime, *Happy Days* was really at least three shows. In the first two seasons, it focused on the life of Richie Cunningham (Ron Howard) and his family, which consisted of Dad (Tom Bosley), a hardware storeowner, Mom (Marion Ross), and little sister Joanie (Erin Moran). Early on, there was also a basketball-wielding, monosyllabic older brother, Chuck, but he left the collective memory along with the actor when cast changes were made after the second season. Outside of the family home, Richie's social life was lived primarily at Arnold's Drive-in, where he hung out with his friends Potsie Weber (Anson Williams) and Ralph Malph (Donny Most), and consulted with his leather-jacketed mentor, Fonzie (Henry Winkler). This early

incarnation was much like the 1950s comedies it emulated, offering a basic and likable story. Then they discovered Fonzie.

By the third season, things on *Happy Days* had changed. The show went to the top of the ratings and became the foundation for ABC's rise as the powerhouse of television in the 1970s. No longer just a show about the antics of high school kids, the series began to focus on the relationship of Fonzie and Richie, their mutual admiration and dependency, and the growth and development of Fonzie.

Eventually, both the fictional Richie Cunningham and actor Ron Howard grew up and left the show, leaving it to feature a younger generation of characters and an adult Fonzie in its final years. While attention was transferred to Joanie and her friends in high school, but within the basic format, the dynamic of the show changed as Fonzie's transformation from rebellious youth to mentor and folk hero became complete.

Two things were true at the outset of this show. Before Ron Howard would accept a role as another television youth (after practically growing up on the *Andy Griffith Show*), he made Marshall promise that his character would be allowed to age each year through high school into college. Fonzie had originally been envisioned by Marshall—and portrayed by Winkler—as a brooding, rebellious dropout. In one of those great bits of television folklore, the ABC network had decreed that Fonzie should wear a cloth jacket rather than the "threatening" leather one. Marshall suggested a compromise, permitting Fonzie to wear the leather jacket when he rode or worked on his motorcycle. So, in the beginning, Fonzie was not seen without his motorcycle. Eventually, however, Fonzie rode his motorcycle less and less, but continued to wear his leather jacket.

Fonzie was originally intended as a minor character, but proved to be extremely popular with the audience and they decided to emphasize the role. To take advantage of Fonzie's popularity, he was moved into an apartment above the Cunningham's garage in 1975. The move enabled Fonzie to maintain his independence, but allowed the scriptwriters to involve him in the Cunninghams' domestic life. The Chuck character was no longer necessary, since Fonzie would fill the role as big brother to Richie.

As *Happy Days* moved into its second and third years, Fonzie received ever more attention. He made *Happy Days* unique and distanced the show from the middle-class family. In many ways, the middle years of this show seemed simultaneously anti-authority, yet accepting of it. Fonzie epitomized all that the middle-class 1950s were supposed to fear. He is cool, he is a drop out, and he gets all the women. Fonzie was the working class character, and the leader of the youth pack around Arnold's Drive-in, the youth Mecca in *Happy Days*' Milwaukee. When Fonzie first came to the forefront, he was the prototypical "hood," whose menace served as a counterpoint to the goodness of Richie and his friends.

This new Fonzie was a more human Fonzie, one who can show his feelings and vulnerability without sacrificing the essential toughness of his character. In this permutation, he became a combination of father confessor and guru to Richie's pals. Fonzie is the epitome of cool (almost to the point of caricature), he is the one who can dispense advice, settle disputes, and serve as role model. This was all a far cry from the standard 1950s sitcom, where only parents could dispense wisdom to children, and working class, non-educated teens were perceived as a threat rather than a role model.

This new dynamic powered the show to its huge success. The rest of the characters, too, were pulled up with Fonzie, but over time it got to be too much—too much formula, not enough pizzazz. So much



The stars of *Happy Days* (from left) Don Most, Henry Winkler, Anson Williams, and Ron Howard.

so, that several years of episodes would feature a trip (to a dude ranch, to Hollywood) where Fonzie can save the day by riding a bull or water skiing over a shark. He became one of the family, and was thus diluted into a stereotype, a “good” role model, as the character was gradually stripped of most of his threatening qualities.

This was not all bad, and the interaction between Richie and Fonzie provided the opportunity to broaden the show’s topics, while Ralph and Potsie were relegated to comic relief. In the fall of 1977, Richie, Potsie, and Ralph began college at the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee. Joining the cast that season were Scott Baio as Fonzie’s enterprising young cousin, Charles “Chachi” Arcola, who became Joanie’s boyfriend, and Lynda Goodfriend as Richie’s girlfriend, Lori Beth Allen.

Ron Howard and Donny Most left the series in 1980, written out by having Richie and Ralph leave to join the army; in May of 1981 Richie married Lori Beth by proxy, and their baby, Richie, Jr., was born in the fall of 1981. Meanwhile, Fonzie had become a teacher of auto shop at good old Jefferson High. Joining the cast were Ted McGinley as Marion’s nephew Roger, who became Jefferson’s new basketball coach and English teacher, and Cathy Silvers (1980 to 1983) as Joanie’s boy-crazy girlfriend, Jenny Piccalo. In the fall of 1982 Fonzie found himself falling in love with a divorcée named Ashley (played by Linda Purl). Ashley’s daughter was played by Heather O’Rourke. In addition Crystal Bernard joined the show as Howard’s niece, K.C., who lived with the Cunninghams. One reason for this addition was that Joanie was not at home, having moved to her own (short-lived and unsuccessful) spin-off, *Joanie Loves Chachi*. By the fall of 1983, in what would be *Happy Days*’ final season, Fonzie had become the dean of boys at George S. Patton Vocational High. Joanie and Chachi, whose spin-off had flopped, came back to Milwaukee, and plans were made for their wedding. Also returning were Richie and Ralph, who showed up in a special two-part episode.

Increasingly, over its ten-year run, the life of the show took on a more 1970s feel in clothes, in language, and, occasionally, in storyline. It retained the music and basic settings, but seemed to stop caring about the period that was its inspiration. Though Fonzie rose to prominence, it was always Richie who provided the focus and balance for the show. When he left, it was never the same again, and many would say it never recovered, although it went on for four more seasons.

Though it appeared at the same time as reality-based comedies like *All in the Family* and *M\*A\*S\*H*, *Happy Days* opted for lighter humor and interaction. Due primarily to Fonzie, who became such a cultural icon that his leather jacket is part of the Smithsonian collections, this show became a part of social consciousness. For the generation of Vietnam and Watergate, it represented a perfect combination: a nostalgic reflection on an earlier time when life seemed less difficult, with a strong character that can solve the problems and who, while allowing us to see his failings, can retain that strength. Last but not least, *Happy Days* reflected the problems of everyday life, placed at a safe remove and tempered by humor.

—Frank E. Clark

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## Happy Hour

Happy hour is the two-hour period before dinner when bars offer discounted alcoholic beverages. In the 1920s, “happy hour” was Navy slang for the scheduled period of entertainment on-ship. After the passage of the Volstead Act, civilians held “cocktail hours” at speakeasies, and in their own homes, to fortify themselves before dinner. Post-prohibition cocktail lounges continued the custom of pre-dinner cocktails. “Happy hour” became a common term around 1960; it appeared in a 1959 *Saturday Evening Post* article on military life. Owing its name to the word “happy” as meaning “slightly drunk,” happy hour became known more as an after-work ritual, instead of a prelude to the evening. In the 1980s, bars offered complimentary hors d’oeuvres for happy hour, in response to the heightened enforcement of anti-drunk-driving laws. The military reflected these changes too, when in 1984, General John A. Wickham, Jr. abolished happy hours at United States military base clubs.

—Daryl Umberger

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## Hard-Boiled Detective Fiction

Hard-boiled detective fiction is often defined in terms of what it is not. It is not set in an English village; the solution is not reached by analyzing clues. To paraphrase Raymond Chandler, one of its most famous writers, it is not about dukes and Venetian vases, or handwrought duelling pistols or curare or tropical fish. Hard-boiled detective fiction emerged in 1920s America as an antidote to such things. It exploits familiar urban and industrial settings; its heroes, and now heroines, are ordinary people, working alone.

Hard-boiled detective fiction can be recognized by four main elements: the language, the setting, the detective, and the detection. The first of these is what links hard-boiled detective fiction with other literature of the period. Hard-boiled language describes things rather than ideas: adjectives are kept to a minimum; it reports what happened and what was said, not how it felt. Perhaps the most famous writer of non-detective fiction in this style is Ernest Hemingway, and many writers of hard-boiled detective fiction have said that they began by imitating him.

This style was also affected by financial concerns. Hard-boiled detective fiction first appeared in the “pulp” magazines and novelettes that were popular during the 1920s; the writers for these magazines were paid by the word, and editors were keen to eliminate unnecessary description that would cost them money. Some “pulp” writers, such as Horace McCoy and Dashiell Hammett continued to use this pared-down style in their later novels, while others, such as Raymond Chandler, thought that readers would actually enjoy description if it were done well. His language still reports only what happened and what was said, but settings and people are described in a poetic and often complex way. Since the 1980s, some hard-boiled writers, such as James Ellroy, have tried to eliminate the single narrative voice altogether; Ellroy presents his readers with transcripts of newspaper and radio reports about the investigation, heightening the illusion of realism and objectivity.

The setting for hard-boiled detective fiction is almost always urban. Perhaps because of its origins in the period of Prohibition and the Depression of the 1920s, the cities it describes tend to be dark, dangerous places run by corrupt politicians and gangster syndicates. Early writers of hard-boiled detective fiction considered themselves to be describing city life in a new, realistic way. The sort of crime that takes place in their stories also could be read about in newspapers. The people in the stories were like people the readers knew or had heard about; they seemed to speak as people really spoke. As Raymond Chandler puts it, the world they describe is “not a very fragrant world, but it is the world you live in.”

The hero of hard-boiled detective stories is most often, though not always, a private detective. It is generally thought that he first appeared in *Black Mask* magazine in 1922 in the form of Carroll John Daly’s Race Williams. Sara Paretsky, who began her V. I. Warshawski series in the 1980s, was among the first to create a hard-boiled detective heroine. Before then he was always a man, and the audience for the stories he appeared in was almost exclusively male. The origins of the hard-boiled detective hero are in the frontier heroes of the nineteenth century, and it could be argued that both types of hero bring order to the lives of the people they choose to help. Where they differ is that the frontier hero assists in establishing new settlements and a new civilization, while the hard-boiled detective only patches up an old and corrupt one. Despite the efforts of writers like Paretsky, since the mid 1970s the police procedural has been the dominant detective fiction form. While the language and action of these novels often owes much to the hard-boiled style, the emphasis on the police implies that the lone hard-boiled private detective is no longer a convincing defense against society’s many ills.

The fourth defining characteristic of hard-boiled detective fiction is the method of detection itself. In keeping with origins in Western and romance stories, the hard-boiled detective is usually presented as being on a quest, and it is the quest itself, rather than its solution that forms the main source of interest for readers. Even in the best examples of the genre, the solution to the mystery is often unsatisfactory or contrived, but rather than wanting to know what has already happened, readers want to find out what will happen next. More particularly, they want to know how the detective will deal with physical and moral difficulties encountered along the way.

From Race Williams to V. I. Warshawski, hard-boiled detective fiction reassures us that individuals can succeed where government law enforcement has failed. Hard-boiled detectives are ordinary people who take extraordinary risks for the sake of what they see as right. They suggest to their fans that however mundane their lives

may seem, and however dangerous the world appears, they too have a little of what it takes to be heroic.

—Chris Routledge

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## Harding, Tonya (1970—)

Tonya Harding, considered one of the greatest athletes in women's figure skating in the 1990s, has always been a hard-luck case in that glamorous sport. According to sportswriter Joan Ryan, "Harding's unforgivable sin in the skating community was not that she had no class or taste but that she refused to allow anybody to give her some." National Champion in 1991, Harding's career veered wildly between success and disaster, and was finally ended by her participation in a plot that disabled Nancy Kerrigan on the eve of the 1993 Nationals, which Harding went on to win. The much-hyped "duel" between Kerrigan and Harding at the Olympics fizzled when Harding performed poorly. Capitalizing on the public fascination with the rivalry, a television film, *Tonya and Nancy*, appeared in 1994.

She avoided imprisonment, but was barred from amateur competition and stripped of her National title, and has since struggled to return to skating.

—Mary Hess

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## The Hardy Boys

*The Hardy Boys Mystery Stories* debuted in 1927 as the first series of mysteries written for children, and eventually became the

longest-enduring series of boys' fiction in American history. The Hardys' influence on juvenile fiction and television has been pervasive, while their unequalled longevity has made them icons of nostalgia. A product of the Stratemeyer Syndicate, the company that produced Tom Swift and the Bobbsey Twins, the Hardy Boys first took shape when Edward Stratemeyer pitched the series to his publishers at Grosset & Dunlap in 1926. Expressing the belief that "detective stories are as interesting to boys as grown folks," he outlined a series of adventures that would center on two teenage brothers, whose "work as amateur detectives would furnish plenty of incident, exciting but clean." With those few words, Stratemeyer set the tone that would propel the Hardy Boys from a humble idea to a national phenomenon, encompassing multiple forms of popular media.

Stratemeyer tapped one of his ghostwriters, Leslie McFarlane, to launch the series. As McFarlane later explained in his autobiography, *Ghost of the Hardy Boys*, he welcomed the opportunity to originate a series, rather than merely add to a pre-existing one. "It seemed to me that the Hardy boys deserved something better than the slapdash treatment [prior assignments] had been getting. It was still hack work, no doubt, but did the new series have to be all that hack? There was, after all, the chance to contribute a little style. . . I opted for Quality." Under the pseudonym Franklin W. Dixon, McFarlane continued as the Hardys' primary ghost for twenty years before retiring. By then the series was well established and well loved, and easily survived the transition to different (and often less able) writers.

Educators, however, were not fans of the books, and mounted a strong opposition. Even before the birth of the Hardys, products of the Stratemeyer Syndicate were shunned by librarians and teachers for their sensationalism, flatly formulaic structure and minimal literary value. Despite the truth of these observations, children embraced the books and made them bestsellers.

The popular Hardy formula drew much inspiration from preceding series. Like Stratemeyer's earlier brother-protagonists, the Rover Boys, Joe and Frank Hardy traveled in a pack of three, with their chum Chet Morton (other friends appeared frequently, too) and enjoyed unfettered mobility. On motorcycles, in their boat the *Sleuth*, in planes, trains and automobiles, the Hardys could go anywhere their cases led them. Early volumes mostly kept them in or near their hometown of Bayport, a fictional city on the Eastern seaboard, but as the years passed their travels increasingly took them to foreign countries. The books also offered their readers the vicarious thrill of gadgetry; the Hardys had a laboratory where they used microscopes, fingerprinting kits and other tools of the trade to analyze clues. They could fix anything, could pilot any type of vehicle, and kept abreast of whatever technological innovations were available at the time—from short-wave radios in the 1940s to voice-printing techniques in the 1970s.

The major factor in the Hardy Boys' success, however, was the ingredient that Stratemeyer had believed would make the series unique: its adaptation of the mystery genre for a pre-teen audience. Scholar Carol Billman, calling the Hardys "soft-boiled" detectives, notes that they were launched in the same period that saw the increasing growth of adult detective fiction. What Dashiell Hammett and Raymond Chandler did for mature audiences, "Franklin W. Dixon" did for children. The Hardy Boys, as Billman observed, provided "the novel lure of the detective mystery [fused] with the earlier adventure tale tradition," a combination that accounted for their wide appeal both at home and abroad. (The books have been translated into more than a dozen languages.)

Unlike Chandler's sinister Los Angeles, the Hardys' milieu had to be "exciting but clean," as dictated by Stratemeyer. Bayport is full

of criminals, yet remains a fundamentally safe community. The crimes committed are wicked but not gruesome; Frank and Joe can fight the villains with their fists, they never shoot or stab them. The heroes never smoke, drink, or discover the joys of sex. Although Stratemeyer provided the brothers with “girlfriends,” the relationships were kept innocent and superficial; indeed, the action is decidedly gender-exclusive, with women and girls barely registering but for the more substantial character of the bossy but lovable Aunt Gertrude. The Hardys live in a male-oriented, protected and self-referential world, rich in preposterous adventure yet devoid of any real threats to a child’s peace of mind. The narrowly observed gender distinctions of the Hardy Boys’ universe insulate its young readers from insecurity.

Inevitably, the Hardy Boys’ steadfast purity over the decades gradually reduced them to objects of ridicule as the century grew more knowing and sophisticated, and its youth precocious. After the 1960s, parodies in print and on stage showed the boys in narcotic and sexual situations, including homosexual spoofs that called them the “Hardly Boys.” But the books’ spirit of eternal youth and innocence, so absurd to cynical adults, has been a crucial element of their success with children. Their existence outside social anxieties make them especially appealing to the age group most wracked by those problems. Indeed, the Hardys’ innocence surpasses even that of other Stratemeyer characters. Noting that early Syndicate blockbusters the Rover Boys and Tom Swift lost their popularity after marrying and having children, Stratemeyer’s heir, Harriet Adams, decreed that the Hardy Boys would not suffer the tragedy of maturing. They aged early on in the series, from their mid-teens to their late teens, but thereafter dwelled in a state of arrested development.

Two significant events altered the tone and direction of the *Hardy Boys Mysteries*. A massive revision project was begun in 1959 to modernize the books and erase the most egregious racial stereotyping. Ranging from simple “cut-downs” to completely rewritten stories, the revisions scrubbed away the original narrative flavor, along with the automats, running boards, and ghastly depictions of non-WASPs. The second significant change accompanied Simon & Schuster’s acquisition of the title after Harriet Adams’ death. The publishers revitalized the series, adding new dimensions to plots, locales, and characterizations. The changes influenced the age group the publisher targeted. Between the 1920s and 1950s, Grosset and Dunlap had targeted the series to 10 to 15 year-olds. Simon and Schuster pitched the series to 8 through 11 year-olds. They also extended the franchise, introducing several spin-off series. *The Hardy Boys Case Files*, conceived in 1987 for older readers, increased the levels of danger and violence. The boys’ cases now included murders, while they demonstrated a heightened awareness of the opposite sex (but still no sexual activity). The Nancy Drew and Hardy Boys *Supermysteries*, begun in 1988, featured collaborations between Frank and Joe, and their popular girl-detective counterpart, and another collaboration was attempted in 1992 when the publishers briefly paired the Hardys with Tom Swift. The Clues Brothers, starring grammar-school versions of Frank and Joe, debuted in 1997 for younger children. While these ancillary series were appearing, the core Hardy Boys continued to expand.

Television has adapted the Hardys many times, with varying degrees of success. In 1956 they appeared under the auspices of the Disney juggernaut, starring in two serials on *The Mickey Mouse Club*. The boys, played by Tommy Kirk and Tim Considine, were portrayed as roughly 12 and 13 years old, far younger than their book-ages of 17 and 18. A decade later, Twentieth Century-Fox produced a pilot for an

hour-long series starring a young Tim Matheson as Joe and newcomer Rick Gates as Frank. Though slightly older than Kirk and Considine, these actors were still only about 15, proving that America’s popular imagination definitely saw the Hardys as “boys,” not as young men, no matter what the books implied. In 1969 the Hardys re-emerged as the stars of a Saturday morning cartoon on ABC, characterized as leaders of a “rock” group that solves mysteries between gigs. Reflecting the social inclusivity of the era, the show added a girl and an African-American boy to the Hardys’ band, along with old friend Chet Morton (renamed “Chubby”). Perhaps because the tone of the books had been too compromised, the animated Hardy Boys were a failure, lasting only one season. Among the surprising amount of merchandise inspired by this short-lived program were two record albums of the group’s sugary pop music.

Not until 1977 did the Hardys truly succeed in a television market. Universal Studios’ *The Hardy Boys/Nancy Drew Mysteries* was a prime-time series that alternated episodes of the Hardys’ adventures with those of Nancy Drew in an hour-long format. Shaun Cassidy and Parker Stevenson, clearly young men rather than boys, achieved fame as teen-idols for their roles as Joe and Frank. The series lasted nearly three seasons, each of which took the Hardys progressively further away from the insularity of the books. By the end of its run, *The Hardy Boys Mysteries* (renamed after the cancellation of the Nancy Drew episodes) had the brothers working for the U.S. Justice Department, and routinely involved in romance as well as mystery. In 1995, Nelvana/New Line television produced a half-hour series which aired in syndication, again with a companion Nancy Drew series. After a search that included casting calls over the Internet, Paul Popowich and Colin Gray were chosen to play the brothers. The series received lukewarm reviews, and its popularity was further hindered by its floating status in syndication. Without a prime-time slot or heavy promotion, the show died quickly.

At the same time, the success of the Hardy Boys books began to wane as young readers increasingly turned to more sensational fare. R. L. Stine’s *Goosebumps*, and other series flavored with science fiction or horror, routinely outperformed the classic Stratemeyer Syndicate books. That the Hardy Boys were eclipsed in popularity could be put down to their success in revolutionizing their field—a success largely responsible for the continuing tradition of serial adventures for children, featuring numerous imitators. Ironically, just as the Hardys began to falter with their primary audience, they became increasingly popular with adults. The outpouring of merchandise (toys, puzzles, games), from the multiple television series, as well as the ever-evolving changes in the books’ formats, created a healthy market of adult collectors. The Hardy Boys retains a formidable status as the best-loved American series of boys’ books of the twentieth century.

—Ilana Nash

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## Hare Krishna

Of the colorful and exotic features of the American urban landscape during the hippie era in the late 1960s and 1970s, none, perhaps, was so striking as the small bands of men with shaved heads and saffron robes and women in saris gathering at love-ins or on street corners. Together they danced to the sound of Indian drums as they recited their mantra—"Hare Krishna, hare Krishna, Krishna Krishna, hare hare; hare Rama, hare Rama, Rama Rama, hare hare"—and solicited alms.

The worldwide Krishna movement was founded by one elderly man from India who came to America with a vision, determination, and hardly a penny to his name. Born in 1896, Abhay Charan De had already studied economics and English at the University of Calcutta when he became a disciple and the eventual successor of Bhaktisiddhanta Sarasvati Swami, the tenth in a line of gurus beginning in the late fifteenth century with Lord Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, who had founded a religious system within Hinduism particularly devoted to the god Krishna.

A divinity with many of the attributes of the trickster archetype, Krishna appears in India's epic poem the *Mahabharata* as charioteer to his friend Arjuna. A great battle has begun in which, Arjuna realizes, he will have friends and relatives on both sides. He asks



A group of Hare Krishnas involved in public chanting.

Krishna whether he ought to fight or not, and Krishna explains why he should do so, in a classic discourse about reality and illusion (the source of Ralph Waldo Emerson's lines "If the red slayer thinks he slays / And the slain thinks he is slain"). This interlude on the eve of the battle is also the setting for the *Bhagavad-Gita*, or "Song of God," a central text in Hindu religious literature.

Chaitanya and his successors revered Krishna as the essential manifestation of God and prescribed a way of life which eschewed earthly sensory pleasures in favor of meditative practice, study of the *Bhagavad-Gita* and other holy books, and the chanting of the "Hare Krishna" mantra. As such, the followers of Krishna might have been simply one of many Indian sects within Hinduism. The crucial difference came when Abhay Charan De, now called Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhuda, brought his teaching to America, arriving in New York on a freighter in 1965.

Starting with evening lectures on the *Bhagavad-Gita*, Bhaktivedanta Swami soon attracted a small but enthusiastic band of followers who became the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) in 1966; two years later the group acquired a farm in West Virginia which they dubbed New Vrindavana (after the town in India which was believed to be Krishna's birthplace) and which later grew to 1,000 acres. In 1972, to educate the increasing number of Hare Krishna children, ISKCON started the Gurukula School and its enrollment grew to 150 over the next three years. By the time of Bhaktivedanta Swami's death in 1977, the Krishna movement boasted 10,000 full-time members worldwide, 5,000 of them in America alone, and could claim several million others who came to worship at ISKCON temples.

Those who joined the communities were expected to abstain from drugs, including alcohol, tobacco, coffee, and tea. Sexual relations were permitted only for couples married by an ordained minister in Krishna Consciousness; there was to be no courtship or dating as such, either within the community or with outsiders. Also forbidden were gambling and "frivolous games and sports"; children, however, were encouraged to play games such as a Krishna version of hopscotch called "Hopping to the Spiritual World," "I Love Krishna," and "The Hanuman Hop." For adults, the everyday routine included six temple ceremonies, several hours of classes, work within the temple compound for three hours in the morning, and *sankirtana*—public chanting, preaching, and solicitation of alms—for another three hours each afternoon.

Many devotees saw in the Krishna communities a welcome refuge from a prior life of adolescent turmoil, insecurity, and drug use. But relatives and friends of converts, alarmed by the strictures of the temple regimen and the apparently hypnotic effect of chanting the Hare Krishna mantra 108 times a day, sometimes brought accusations of brainwashing and coercion, particularly when children were involved. The grandparents of one boy whose mother had joined the movement spent 16 months finding him and restoring him to his father, ultimately resorting to counter-demonstrations at Chicago's O'Hare airport, a favorite *sankirtana* site.

Such clashes of worldviews raised troublesome civil liberties issues for the courts and generated adverse publicity for the movement. The public backlash made it harder to raise money openly for Krishna Consciousness, so that sales of books and incense on the street came to be divorced from preaching (some males donned toupees to cover their shaved heads), seeming to defeat the purpose of *sankirtana*.

Anticipating his death, Bhaktivedanta Swami had designated 11 gurus to preside over districts within the worldwide organization, as

well as a Governing Body Council (GBC), which was to be ISKCON's central administrative committee. A crisis of conflicting authority soon erupted between the GBC and several of the regional gurus, four of whom resigned during the next decade. There was also bad press from a California police raid which turned up a large cache of firearms on a ranch owned by the movement, and from the murder of a former member, turned vocal critic, at the New Vrindavana compound.

Nevertheless, ISKCON survived, making changes to accommodate members unable or unwilling to join the temple communities (including outreach to expatriate Indians), and broadening its product line to include vegetarian specialty foods and restaurants. A new generation has found the Krishna-Conscious lifestyle an appealing alternative to what one convert, a former heavy-metal musician, described as "fashion, cliques, sex, drugs, and loud music." As sociologist E. Burke Rochford put it, "ISKCON's ability to adapt to what have often been the most adverse circumstances points to the flexibility and ultimate resiliency of the movement. It is these qualities, combined with the deep faith and commitment of the devotees themselves, which will be the Krishna movement's greatest assets as it approaches the twenty-first century."

—Nick Humez

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## Haring, Keith (1958-1990)

Among the most popular and frequently reproduced graphic images to have emerged from the 1980s are the broad cartoonish outlines of a baby on all fours, a boxlike barking dog, and a series of identical funny little men striking a variety of energetic poses. These figures—featureless yet evocative through outline alone—had their genesis in the spontaneous ink drawings Keith Haring began making in 1980, drawings out of which, the artist told his biographer John

Gruen, his "entire future vocabulary was born." Seeking the incompatible goals of immediate acceptance with the masses and critical recognition from the art establishment, Haring lived fast, painted furiously, and died tragically young.

Growing up in Kutztown, Pennsylvania, where as a young child he drew pictures with his father, Haring was obsessed with the art of Walt Disney, Dr. Seuss, and Charles Schulz's earliest Charlie Brown comics. Television cartoons and the cartoonish sitcoms of the 1960s fascinated him, and he started a local Monkees fan club. In junior high school he won an award for a drawing on adding-machine tape which pitted the hippies against the police—a sign, perhaps, of his budding rebelliousness. After high school, Haring briefly attended the Ivy School of Professional Art in Pittsburgh and worked at the Pittsburgh Arts and Crafts Center. During this period he was influenced profoundly by Robert Henri's book *The Art Spirit*, which echoed Haring's own artistic musings, and by a 1977 retrospective of Pierre Alechinsky, whose work, said Haring, "was the closest thing I had ever seen to what I was doing with these self-generative little shapes."

In 1978 Haring moved to New York City to attend the School for Visual Arts, where his introduction to semiotics, or the study of signs, made a deep impression. He was fascinated by the graffiti in the New York streets and subways and was by 1980 making graffiti himself, eventually collaborating with and promoting other graffiti artists. In the early 1980s he became well-known for a series of surreptitious drawings he made in the New York subway stations on the empty black panels placed there to cover up old advertisements; the barking dog, the "Radiant Baby," and the active little men which became fixtures in much of his later work were all present here. The opening of his big show at New York's Shafrazi Gallery in 1982 was a sensation, attended by famous painters and graffiti artists alike.

Haring often created the art for his gallery shows on-site a few days before their opening. Onlookers were amazed at his ability to complete huge projects quickly with nary a false brush stroke, whether on paper, tarpaulins, canvas, or building facades. Large-scale projects ranged from a section of the Berlin Wall to the walls of museums, hospitals, and churches, generally with the blessing of property owners and often for socially conscious causes. His collaborators included Andy Warhol and William S. Burroughs, both of whom he considered mentors, and armies of neighborhood children. Haring dabbled in body painting and designed sculpture. Commercial projects included painting a car for BMW, ads for Absolut Vodka, and watch faces for Swatch. In 1986 Haring, wanting as usual to communicate to a wide audience, opened the Pop Shop in New York City to sell inflatable babies, toy radios, buttons, embroidered patches, and T-shirts bearing his and others' designs; a similar venture in Tokyo failed. Haring's work was extremely popular in Europe and Japan and as early as 1983 the artist had noticed imitations of his work "springing up all over the world." Throughout much of the late 1970s and 1980s Haring was immersed in recreational drugs and sex, the New York club scene, and friendships with celebrities including Madonna, Brooke Shields, Andy Warhol, and Timothy Leary. Haring died from AIDS in 1990 at the age of 31.

At the close of the twentieth century, Keith Haring's artistic legacy is still being debated. Calvin Tomkins, writing in the *New Yorker*, described Haring's natural gift as "the ability to cover and animate a surface with strong, simple, cartoon-style images that had an iconic resonance." Kurt Andersen, writing in the same publication, found Haring's work unpretentious and unimportant and saw in Haring all the salient artistic features of the 1980s: "a return to figurative style, the disappearance of distinctions between high and



low, and the rise of full-bore marketing and of the overnight sensation.” A major retrospective at New York’s Whitney Museum of American Art in 1997 revealed Haring to be a more versatile and, often, sexually provocative artist than his mass-produced images would suggest. Certainly he was a master of line drawing, a tireless worker, and an adept self-promoter. While antecedents from Fernand Léger to R. Crumb may be cited, Haring’s immediately recognizable work bears his own unique imprint.

—Craig Bunch

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## The Harlem Globetrotters

Since 1927, the Harlem Globetrotters have toured continually showcasing the skills of African American basketball players and developing an entertaining blend of athletics and comedy. In the process they have helped to introduce basketball throughout the world, inspired athletes of all races, and laid the ground work for the freewheeling “showtime” style of basketball that has contributed to the growth of basketball’s popularity since the early 1970s. The Globetrotters’ style of basketball, and particularly their style of comedy, were products of American racial segregation and discrimination. Their fancy dribbling, flamboyant passing, and spectacular leaping, which they pioneered, were seminal expressions of an African American athletic style. Their comedic routines (called “reems” by the Globetrotters), drew upon older minstrel show traditions and Sambo stereotypes of African Americans as childish clowns. Both of these dimensions of the Globetrotter—one forward looking and celebratory of African American creativity and excellence; the other looking backward and reinforcing racist images—have contributed to their success.

On their early tours, the Globetrotters and owner/booking agent/coach Abe Saperstein (a Jewish immigrant of Polish parentage), crammed into a small coupe and drove throughout the upper Midwest, taking on town teams for a percentage of the gate. They rarely had money for hotels, and when they did, they often found themselves barred because of their race. The same was true for restaurants. In some locales, the Globetrotters were treated as an anthropological exhibit by people who had never met anyone of African ancestry. Unlike other African Americans who had to endure these indignities, the Globetrotters could also enjoy the subversive pleasure of getting paid to consistently beat white teams on the court. Although the

origins of the Globetrotters’ move into comedy have been shrouded by Saperstein’s myth-making, it is clear that the primary motivation was to increase the likelihood of a return engagement by not running up the score against inferior competition, and providing extra entertainment for fans who were bored by lopsided contests. By the late 1930s, basketball tricks and comedy were an integral part of most performances by the Globetrotters.

The lead clowns—such as Reece “Goose” Tatum and Meadow “Meadowlark” Lemon—enjoyed the laughter, attention, and extra money that their comedic talents brought them. Rather than complaining about assaults to their dignity, they seized opportunities to expand upon the traditional reems. Despite the fact that their humor could easily be interpreted as reinforcing negative racial stereotypes, few Globetrotters have publicly expressed misgivings. One notable exception is Connie Hawkins, a basketball hall-of-famer who spent four years in the 1960s with the Globetrotters. In a 1972 biography, *Foul*, by David Wolf, Hawkins complained that the Globetrotters were “acting like Uncle Toms. Grinnin and smilin and dancin around—that’s the way they told us to act, and that’s the way a lot of white people like to think we really are.” Hawkins’ observations help explain how the Globetrotter’s humor contributed to the team’s success by undercutting the racial implications of their superiority as basketball players.

The formula has been very successful. First, in the 1930s and 1940s their tours expanded to encompass the entire North American Continent. In 1950, they undertook their first European visit, and the following year embarked on an around-the-world tour. The State Department found that the Globetrotters’ happy-go-lucky style was an effective counter to communist propaganda about American race relations, and, along with the armed forces, provided logistical support for their overseas trips during the Cold War. The demand for the Globetrotters was so great in the 1950s, that the team fielded three separate units in the United States, and an all star international squad. Since 1954, the Globetrotters have made numerous television appearances and have starred in their own cartoon series (1970-1973), and a variety show (1974). Although their cultural import has diminished, the Globetrotters continue to tour, make appearances on television and in advertisements, and recently have secured lucrative corporate sponsorships.

As straight basketball players, the Globetrotters were once formidable and influential. Prior to the integration of the National Basketball Association (NBA) in 1950 (a move that Saperstein resisted), playing for the Globetrotters was nearly the only way that an African American could make a living from basketball. Their victory in the 1940 World Tournament of Basketball, demonstrated that they were among the best professional teams in the United States. Wins over the National Basketball League champion Minneapolis Lakers in 1948 and 1949 further enhanced their reputation, and struck a blow for racial equality. Even after the integration of the NBA, the Globetrotters had to be taken seriously as a straight basketball team. From 1950 to 1962 they played an annual series against teams of college all-stars, winning 162 games, and losing only 44. Since the conclusion of this series, the Globetrotters have all but abandoned straight basketball in favor of comedy and entertainment.

More important than their ability to beat top teams was the Globetrotters’ style of play. Against real competition, they generally dropped the reems, but retained the rest of their repertoire. Where most of the white teams in the first half of the century played a stilted, regimented game, the Globetrotters freelanced and had fun. In recent years, the no-look and behind the back passes, thrilling dunks, flashy



The original Harlem Globetrotters, 1941.

dribbling, and gambling help-out defense that they developed and displayed during years of barnstorming, have entered mainstream basketball as key elements of an African American athletic aesthetic. Perhaps their greatest impact has been in demonstrating how basketball skills could be a form of entertainment. NBA stars like Ervin “Magic” Johnson often cite the Globetrotters, particularly master dribbler Marques Haynes, as an inspiration. Much of basketball’s growth in popularity since the 1970s has been due to casual fans who savor those moments that most resemble the Globetrotters at their best. Players who induce smiles and laughter, not with comedic set pieces, but with a surprising pass, a crossover dribble, or an acrobatic shot in the heat of competition are an important part of the Globetrotters’ legacy.

—Thomas J. Mertz

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## Harlem Renaissance

Post-World War I Harlem was the undisputed center of a complex cultural movement out of which emerged a proliferation of black intellectuals, writers, musicians, actors, and visual artists. Variouslly called the Harlem Renaissance, the Negro Renaissance, and the New Negro Movement, it was an artistic flowering that coincided with socio-political expressions of black pride—the rise of the “New Negro” and Garveyism—in much the same way as the

Black Arts and Black Power Movements emerged simultaneously in the 1960s. Although scholars posit differing views on when it began and ended, most agree that the movement was at its height between the dawning of the Jazz Age in 1919 and the stock market crash in 1929.

Harlem, the area James Weldon Johnson dubbed the Black “culture capital,” was appropriately the center of this outpouring of black creativity, in part because it held one of the largest settlements of blacks in any area outside the south and, in part, because of the prevailing *zeitgeist* of racial affirmation. Intellectuals such as Johnson and Alain Locke saw Harlem as a place of great opportunity where blacks could, according to Locke, shed the “chrysalis of the Negro problem.” Locke’s 1925 landmark essay “The New Negro” announced the demise of the “Old Negro” and became a kind of cultural manifesto for artists then and for, at least, the next generation.

The creation of a “Negro” Harlem was indeed remarkable, a curious admixture of affluence and poverty, of black creativity and black exploitation. On the one hand, music, literature, plays, and paintings depicting black life flourished; black entrepreneurship thrived; on the political front, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (1909) continued its work as the largest civil rights organization in the United States, alongside the National Urban League (1911) and the more controversial politics of Marcus Garvey, who was laying the groundwork for his project of African colonization. On the other hand, even well-intentioned white patrons helped to perpetuate stereotypes of black life that resulted in the paradoxical “Negro vogue” of the 1920s when white spectators went “slumming” in Harlem to see blacks perform in Jim Crow night clubs. They patronized small bars and cabarets formerly frequented only by blacks and, according to Langston Hughes in his autobiography *The Big Sea*, were given “ringside tables to sit and stare at the Negro customers—like amusing animals in the zoo.”

Yet these very contradictions helped to make Harlem the exciting city within a city that it was then and the cultural icon it has since become, in terms of both the place itself and the artists associated with it. It was a place and a time of burgeoning African American music—notably the blues and jazz—and a long list of black performers were recording their own compositions and appearing in black musicals, in concerts, and on radio programs. Classic jazz composers and performers all over the United States were increasingly drawn to New York as the nation’s music center. Articles and books devoted exclusively to jazz were being published, and recording companies specializing in jazz were established. Black female blues and jazz singers, while held in high regard by their fans, were often considered “unrespectable” and their music “low culture” by some members of the black bourgeoisie. The blues revivals of the 1960s and 1980s reflected a major shift in that thinking. Both popular and lesser-known performers of the 1920s were rediscovered through new releases of their recordings that reached broader audiences. Angela Davis, in *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism*, notes that “with the globalization of music distribution . . . the scope of black music and its historically broad cultural implications can no longer be confined to African American communities.” Indeed, in 1987, Congress passed a resolution declaring jazz “a rare and valuable national treasure.”

Writers such as Hughes, Claude McKay, Nella Larsen, Jessie Fauset, Countee Cullen, Zora Neale Hurston, and Jean Toomer appeared on the literary scene, forming a kind of literati that they themselves jokingly referred to as the “Niggerati.” Publishers clamored for anything “Negro,” as Nella Larsen observed, and white patrons such as Carl Van Vechten and Charlotte Osgood Mason (self-proclaimed the “Godmother” because of her financial support of

artists) saw to it that they got what they wanted. Indeed, the overwhelming popularity of Van Vechten’s own controversial novel *Nigger Heaven* (1926), depicting a seamy side of black life in Harlem, epitomized what publishers believed “Negro” actually meant. Similarly, early productions of work by white playwrights Eugene O’Neill and Frederick Ridgely Torrence were instrumental in creating interest in the plays of black writers, and also in bringing talented young black actors, singers, and dancers to the stage. Eubie Blake and Noble Sissle’s 1921 musical comedy *Shuffle Along* was the first black Broadway show of the decade, and Hughes cites it as the show that gave a “scintillating send-off to the Negro vogue.” At various points during its first run, it showcased the talents of Paul Robeson, Florence Mills, and the exotic, controversial entertainer Josephine Baker. Aaron Douglas designed posters advertising the work of various writers and entertainers but is best known for his contributions to major periodicals, including *The Crisis* and *Opportunity*, official publications of the NAACP and The National Urban League, respectively. The simultaneity of art and politics is vividly represented in the use of these two magazines, devoted in part to socio-political reporting of black experience but also to the artistic endeavors of the young black literati.

Clearly, a black cultural flowering was taking place in other major cities at the same time. However, despite the ongoing debates about whether or not the Harlem Renaissance is a misnomer, whether or not it was a successful movement or any kind of movement at all, black Harlem of the 1920s has become a symbolic “figure” that resonates across time and space, as well as across gender, racial, and cultural boundaries. According to James De Jongh, in the epilogue of *Vicious Modernisms: Black Harlem and the Literary Imagination*, “many writers of European and Asian as well as African descent have found the idea of Harlem to be relevant to their preoccupations and employed the figure of black Harlem in significant ways.” Striking examples are the “blaxploitation” films of the 1970s where Harlem is seen as a haven for drug dealing and other illicit operations, teeming with violence. Black filmmakers of the 1980s and 1990s, especially males, have modeled their notions of the “Hood”—any black poor and working-class urban community—on a symbolic figuration of Harlem. Some of the most popular films, although not necessarily set in Harlem, for example *Boyz n the Hood* (1991), attempt to reinterpret the concept of the black urban environment promulgated by earlier popular movies such as *Shaft* (1971) and *Superfly* (1972) with images of racially self-aware men who are connected to, rather than alienated from, family and community. Harlem, reinterpreted, provides the actual setting for one of Spike Lee’s major films, *Jungle Fever* (1991); and the opening of *She’s Gotta Have It* (1986) pays homage to Zora Neale Hurston, a writer rediscovered, indeed reclaimed, by black feminists and co-opted by a host of academicians in a wide range of disciplines. Similarly, novels and short stories set in Harlem continued to be published into the 1990s, and *The Music of Black Americans: A History* cites Quincy Jones’ *Back on the Block* as the album that “took his listeners back to the old inner-city neighborhood” to learn the history of black music.

In many ways, this idea of Harlem has shaped later generations’ views of individual Renaissance artists, thereby determining who emerges as most representative of the place and the period. At the time, however, the issue of representation was hotly debated. Many of the black intelligentsia believed that the cultural arts were a means to correct the distorted images of blacks and to advance their political agendas. Charles S. Johnson, editor of *Opportunity*, set strict guidelines for literary submissions to the magazine. Marcus Garvey was

critical of those he believed “prostituted” their intelligence and art by succumbing to the demands of white audiences. W. E. B. Du Bois espoused the idea that “all Art is propaganda and ever must be.” While some tried in various ways to escape the stigma of “blackness,” others, such as Langston Hughes, one of the chief poets of the period, turned to the folk as a source of material for their work. Hughes proclaimed that the younger black artists were determined to portray their “dark-skinned selves without fear or shame” regardless of what audiences, black or white, thought. This is the attitude that has had the most profound effect on a hip-hop generation of youths who have both reclaimed and reinvented black cultural traditions in their language, music, and dress.

With the stock market crash came the end of an era and, as Hughes put it, the end of the gay times. By then, some of its most enthusiastic proponents were growing disillusioned with the concept of the “New Negro.” Some had simply moved on to take up their careers elsewhere. Garvey had been convicted of mail fraud, spent two years in an Atlanta prison, and been deported in 1927. However, though the “Negro vogue” ended, art and activism did not. Renewed interest in the Harlem Renaissance and in individual artists has prompted a plethora of scholarship, biographies, docu-dramas, plays, and personal sojourns into the past, such as Alice Walker’s search for Zora Neale Hurston’s resting place. Black American music has helped to lessen the gap between “high” and “low” culture. A shift in views about paintings depicting black life might best be exemplified by the current respect for Palmer Hayden, whose work was dismissed during his own day as simplistic and naive, but who notable black artists such as Romare Bearden later extolled as the “leading folklorist” among them. This revival of interest focuses on the Renaissance as a pivotal period in African American culture that intersects with a rich cultural past and a promising future. Through their music, drama, art, and literature, blacks in Harlem’s heyday confronted blackness head-on in a profound desire for self-discovery and, in so doing, left Harlem its most enduring cultural legacy.

—Jacquelyn Y. McLendon

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## Harlequin Romances

In a market where 60 percent of all households in the United States do not purchase even one book per year, romance novel readers

spend an average of 1,200 dollars a year on their addiction, whether for escape or titillation. Though the compilers of “bestseller” lists scorn to include romance novels, the genre accounts for over 40 percent of all paperback sales in North America and is spreading in popularity to a surprising number of countries around the world. Employing strictly formulaic guidelines and innovative marketing, Canadian publisher Harlequin Enterprises controls 85 percent of the romance market worldwide. Any supermarket or variety store customer will recognize the mildly lurid cover with a title like *Savage Promise* or *Fierce Encounter* on sale by the checkout stand as a romance novel, and almost all will be familiar with the name that is almost synonymous with the romance novel, Harlequin Romance.

Harlequin Enterprises began as a small reprint house in Winnipeg, Manitoba, in 1949 under the leadership of Richard and Mary Bonnycastle. The Bonnycastles bought reprint rights to a variety of out-of-print books in the United States and Great Britain and republished them for Canadian audiences. When Mary Bonnycastle noticed the popularity of their reprints of the romance novels of British publisher Mills and Boon, she suggested that Harlequin focus on romances alone. Her idea was so successful that by 1971 Harlequin had bought Mills and Boon and begun to amass its own stable of writers to churn out romances.

In the 1970s, Larry Heisey, a marketing specialist who had previously worked at Proctor and Gamble, created Harlequin’s most innovative and most successful marketing strategy. Reasoning that almost the entire readership of the romance novel was comprised of women, Heisey figured that the same techniques that sold cleaning products to women could sell them novels—a clearly recognizable brand name and convenient one-stop availability. He developed the Harlequin Presents series with uniform trademark covers, differing only by the particular title, author, and racy cover art. Further, he marketed the books in the places where women already shopped: the grocery store, the drug store, and the variety store. Using these skillful marketing practices, Harlequin’s profits began to rise. In 1975, the company was bought by publishing giant Torstar, which also owns the *Toronto Star* newspaper. In 1985, troubled by competition from Silhouette Books, Simon and Schuster’s new romance division, Harlequin slid around anti-trust laws in the United States to gobble up Silhouette, thus gaining the power to claim a huge share of the romance market which many claimed was on the verge of dying.

In the years following the start of the women’s liberation movement, social critics had predicted the death of the pulp romance novel. Women, they said, would no longer be hypnotized by the gauzy fantasy romances that had allowed them escape in more repressive times. The critics turned out to be wrong. Spurred by its acquisition of Silhouette and its expansion abroad, Harlequin continued to grow. By the 1990s, it had become the world’s largest publisher of romance fiction, releasing over 60 new titles per month and selling over 165 million books per year, in 23 languages and in over 100 countries.

Employing around 2,000 writers and cover artists, Harlequin Enterprises has created a system that turns the writing of romance novels into a kind of science. With strict guidelines as to length (exactly 192 pages for Harlequin Presents novels), and content (plots “should not be too grounded in harsh realities”; writers should avoid such topics as drugs, terrorism, politics, sports, and alcoholic heroes), Harlequin does not allow much room for pesky creativity that could lead to failure. Traditional romance novels all loosely follow the same general formula: a young and beautiful heroine with a romantic name

such as Selena, Storm, or Ariana, meets a rakishly handsome man, often older, often darkly brooding, with a romantic name such as Bolt, Colt, or Holt. They encounter difficulties—perhaps she is unsure for most of the novel whether the man is hero or villain—but by the end of the novel they are passionately reconciled. Happy endings are an absolute requirement for the Harlequin Romance.

Company research shows that the average Harlequin Romance reader is a 39-year-old woman with a household income of 40,000 dollars a year. Forty-five percent of romance readers are college graduates and 50 percent work outside the home. With an ever sharp eye on the consumer market, Harlequin continues to branch out within its chosen genre, offering several different series of novels, with differing guidelines, to appeal to different readers. The Romance line guidelines for authors recommend avoiding “explicit sexual description,” while the Temptation line suggests, “love scenes should be highly erotic, realistic, and fun.” The Superromance and American Romance lines offer longer, more sophisticated novels, while the Love Inspired line consists of Christian romances where faith is featured as prominently as passion. The Golden Eagle adventure line and the Worldwide Mystery line represent Harlequin’s more successful attempts to reach out to the male reader.

Even in foreign countries, the Harlequin formula seems to work. In 1992, the romances sold in Hungary at the astounding rate of 17,000 per day. Even in cultures that are very different from the Western European culture reflected in the novels, such as Japan and the Philippines, Harlequin Romances are welcomed with very little change apart from translation. Indeed, with Caucasian couples in rapt embrace on the cover, the books sell as rapidly in Asia as in Canada. In North America as well, even though heroes and heroines are almost universally white, the books are consumed ravenously by whites and people of color alike, perhaps proving the power of fantasy.

It is perhaps the mostly female writers of the novels who are left with the fewest illusions about the world of the Harlequin Romance. Signed to restrictive contracts, writers are required to choose pen names, also often romantic, such as Desiree or Jasmine, which Harlequin insists add to the fanciful image of their books. There is, however, a very practical side to the pen-name requirement. If an author leaves Harlequin to go to another publishing house, her pen-name remains the property of Harlequin Enterprises, who will probably use it on the work of another writer. This effectively prevents the author from retaining any following she may have gained under the pen name. Another conflict between publisher and author has arisen over the issue of the reversion of rights. It is common practice with most publishers to allow copyright on out of print works to return to the author, so that the author can make use of writing that is no longer being used by the publisher. Harlequin Enterprises has frequently not been willing to return rights to authors, often citing its ownership of the pen name as reason.

Though writers and agents have attempted to reason or force Harlequin into a position more favorable to author’s rights, the publisher has not only refused but often retaliated by refusal to assign more books to recalcitrant writers, and by threatening to convert its contracts to “work for hire.” Under a traditional author’s contract, Harlequin writers are paid an advance fee for a novel (2,000 to 3,000 dollars for beginners, as much as 15,000 for a veteran). After the book is published, authors are paid royalties, or a percentage of sales. A hot seller can bring an author as much as 40,000 dollars in royalties. Under a “work for hire” contract, a publisher buys an author’s work outright, with no further compensation no matter how high the sales.

In spite of such threats, organizations like the Author’s Guild and Novelists, Inc. continue to investigate Harlequin’s questionable policies, including the legality of its 1985 acquisition of Silhouette.

Notwithstanding the drama unfolding around its own corporate policies, Harlequin Enterprises continues to crank out volumes of lushly improbable escape for readers mired down in “harsh realities.” While men might find their escape in sports or action movies, women have tended to seek an exotic world, where women are surrounded by adventure with a passionate reward at the end. Somewhat like magazine serials and somewhat like television soap operas, these romances are not meant to be taken seriously; they are meant to provide a temporary reality far removed from mundane modern concerns. Their popularity is merely an indication of just how much this alternate reality continues to be needed in modern society.

—Tina Gianoulis

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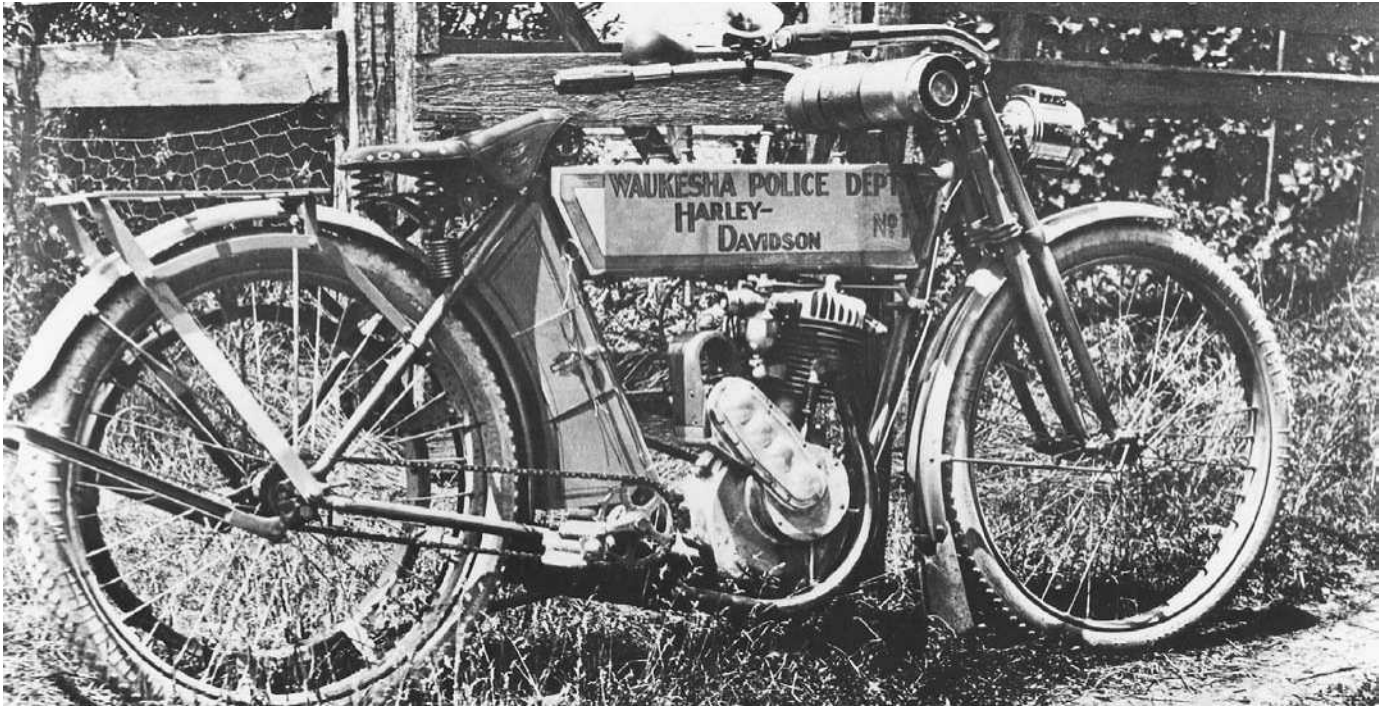
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## Harley-Davidson

There are few material objects that hold the degree of mystique that envelops the Harley-Davidson motorcycle. The very name conjures a warehouse of connotations: the loud rumble of a Harley engine; black leather riding apparel; and, of course, the Hell’s Angels and other stereotypically unsavory, grizzled, bearded, beer-swilling, tattoo-covered biker gangs. Over the years, the “hog,” as the bike is affectionately known by its riders, developed a reputation as the preferred transportation of outlaws; a gritty subculture grew up around the motorcycle and established it as an iconic badge in America and abroad. Though remaining the ride of choice for hard core bikers, by the end of the 1990s the Harley—once feared and despised by law-abiding middle and upper-class Americans—had been gradually transformed into well-polished, sporty recreational vehicles for “weekend warriors.” Ironically, possession of a Harley—with its rich history and lore—was becoming a status symbol.

Harley-Davidson motorcycles neither set out to target the fringe element of the market, nor consciously to create the wild image that developed around their products. Soon after the dawning of the twentieth century, draftsman William Harley and his pattern-maker friend Arthur Davidson, set out simply to design and manufacture a motorized bicycle that would eliminate the need for pedals. They were helped along by Ole Evinrude, a German draftsman who later became known for his superior outboard boat motors. Evinrude had worked in a French factory and provided the duo with De Dion engine drawings to get them started. Davidson made the patterns for a small air-cooled engine while Harley designed the bicycle. In need of an



A Harley-Davidson motorcycle, c.1911.

experienced mechanic, they called upon Davidson's brother Walter, a machinist for a Kansas railroad, to come home to Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Another brother, William, later joined the operation as well.

The Davidsons' father, a cabinet maker named William C. Davidson, assisted the entrepreneurs by fixing up a ten-by-fifteen-foot shed in the backyard as the first factory with "Harley-Davidson Motor Company" painted on the door. The "factory" was officially opened in Milwaukee in 1903, and the Harley-Davidson Motor Company was incorporated in 1907. The Harley-Davidson company web site (<http://www.harley-davidson.com>) proposes two reasons why Harley's name comes first: because he built the actual bicycle, or, perhaps, thanks to a gentlemanly gesture by the Davidsons, who outnumbered Harley three to one. Harley became the company's chief engineer and treasurer, while Arthur Davidson was secretary and general sales manager. Walter Davidson was appointed company president, and William Davidson held the position of works manager.

Nicknamed the "Silent Gray Fellow," the original Harley-Davidson motorcycle was a far cry from the thundering, macho vehicle it later became. Initially, the company installed large mufflers to subdue the noise, and tried to sell the bikes as practical family transportation, provided a sidecar was purchased. The product, however, instead caught on with fun-loving sportsmen.

Into regular production of their bikes by 1905, the Harley-Davidson firm moved their factory to Chestnut Street, now called Juneau Avenue, in Milwaukee, where the corporate offices still stand. Their uncle, James McLay, a beekeeper, loaned them money to build the 2,380-square-foot shop. In 1907, they produced 150 motorcycles, and in 1909, the number had increased to 1,149. By 1912, Harley-Davidson cranked out over 9,500 vehicles in one year. The company's sales and their reputation were growing due to the rugged strength and reliability of the bikes, but the firm really started to make its mark in racing competitions. By mid-1910s Harley-Davidson was

the third largest motorcycle manufacturer in the country, and by 1920 held the number one position, with dealers in 67 countries.

With Arthur Davidson concentrating on sales strategy and Bill Harley focusing on testing and development, the company ensured its staying power. By 1953, when its main competitor, Indian, closed its doors, Harley-Davidson became the sole remaining American motorcycle company, and by 1995 it boasted a production of over 105,000 bikes, with demand continuing to grow. Its legendary Sportster model was first released in 1957. Part of Harley-Davidson's success was due to Davidson's initiative in setting up a network of dealers that would sell only Harley-Davidson motorcycles, with an accompanying dedication to those dealers that their profits would come first. In addition, the company boasted a strong product guarantee. Harley-Davidson even survived during difficult economic times, thanks to its foreign sales, and the fact that it supplied the U.S. Postal Service and police departments.

In both World War I and II, Harley-Davidsons were used to run dispatch on the front lines; in fact, nearly all of the company's output during the World War II went to support the Allied forces. At that time, soldiers began the practice of chopping off parts—including headlights and fenders—to make the machine go faster. Thus, the word "chopper" came to refer to an altered Harley. Eventually it was expected that "hog" owners would personalize their bikes, not only by making them into choppers, but also with custom paint jobs or fenders and other unique touches. A couple of theories have evolved as to why Harleys were also dubbed "hogs." One story notes that a Harley racing enthusiast around 1920 used to do his victory laps with his pet pig accompanying him on the bike; the Harley-Davidson web site claims the term is an acronym for the Harley Owner's Group, the company-sponsored club that was formed in 1983.

In 1947, the image of the outlaw biker gained full momentum when an article in *Life* magazine detailed the horrors of a rebel

motorcycle gang who terrorized a town in California. No longer seen as simply sporting enthusiasts, most riders were now lumped with those known as Hell's Angels, a group of criminal-element bikers who took their name from a 1930s Howard Hughes film about flying men. This was bad publicity for Harley-Davidson, but grist to the media mill, which continued to beef up the stereotype, with films like Marlon Brando's *The Wild One* (1954) portraying the biker subculture. Unfortunately, the stories surrounding biker gangs—rape, robbery, beatings, looting—were often more truth than fiction. In the 1960s, journalist Hunter S. Thompson infiltrated the ranks of the Hell's Angels, posing as a member, and wrote a full-length book on his experiences called *Hell's Angels: The Strange and Terrible Saga of the Outlaw Motorcycle Gang*. After his exposé was published, he was mercilessly beaten up by a group of members.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the preferred vehicle for a mainstream motorcycle enthusiast was usually a lower-priced Japanese model, derogatorily nicknamed a "rice burner" and denounced by Harley riders as watered-down imitations of "true" motorcycles. However, foreign bikes were more accepted in polite society because they were free of the stigma of the Harley, which had come to symbolize low-class, dirty deviants. Magazines like *Easy Rider*, featuring half-naked cover models, contributed to the bike's sleazy connotations. However, during the 1980s the image of the Harley rider began to change again. Though the leather-clad anti-social bike gang members still existed, more and more "yuppie" bikers began to take to the open road. In addition to the appeal of Harleys as well-made American vehicles, a new class of men was undoubtedly also intrigued by the outlaw image.

Harley-Davidsons soon became a recreational vehicle for successful businessmen, much like a boat or Jet-Ski. The bikes could be seen lined up outside hip nightspots in major cities on weekends, and streaming down highways headed out of town. Harley accessory boutiques mushroomed in upscale shopping districts around the country. The company set up a slick web site, and appropriated events like Daytona Bike Week in Florida and the annual motorcycle rally and races in Sturgis, South Dakota, for generating corporate publicity. In 1994 Turner Original Productions produced a television special titled *Harley-Davidson: The American Motorcycle*, narrated by actor James Caan and featuring celebrities such as David Crosby, Peter Fonda, Wynonna Judd, and a leather-clad Larry Hagman touting their love of the bike and its accompanying aura. *The Tonight Show* host Jay Leno became another well-known aficionado. As the Harley-Davidson approached its hundredth anniversary, it seemed to be regaining its originally intended use as a vehicle for genteel sportsmen and women, while its continuing popularity remains a tribute to American entrepreneurship and hard work.

—Geri Speace

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## Harlow, Jean (1911-1937)

Known for her platinum blonde hair, low-cut gowns, and buxom figure, Jean Harlow was Hollywood's original "blonde bombshell." Harlow's bold sexuality—she refused to wear undergarments, for example—made her both a box-office hit and an icon of modern sexual freedom. But it was not only Harlow's starring roles—in such films as *Platinum Blonde* (1931), *Red Dust* (1932), and *China Seas* (1936)—that made news. The unexplained suicide of her husband, MGM executive Paul Bern, and her own mysterious death from uremia at age 26, made Harlow a tragic symbol of the fleeting pleasures of Hollywood stardom.

—Samantha Barbas

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## Harmonica Bands

Although harmonica bands and orchestras have generally been forgotten, the harmonica was one of the most popular musical instruments from the 1920s through the 1940s. Its cheapness made it an ideal instrument for teaching music to children during the Depression, and the harmonica youth orchestras were influential in instilling discipline. In the years between the two world wars—a period called the "the golden age of the mouth organ in America"—sales of the tiny, inexpensive instrument increased dramatically. Bands of harmonica players became famous on the vaudeville circuit, on radio, and in Hollywood films; whole orchestras of harmonica-playing youth were organized in cities all over the United States, and public schools offered harmonica instruction courses. The craze finally hit its peak in 1947 when the Harmonicats' rendition of "Peg O' My Heart" became the number one hit of that year.

It all began during the Boy Council of Philadelphia's 1923 "Boy Week" celebration when philanthropist Albert Hoxie began organizing successful harmonica contests. Hohner Company, a German manufacturer of harmonicas, began sending experts to public schools that year to teach children how to play the instrument. In 1924, over ten thousand children participated in the contest, and in the following years harmonica youth bands began forming, including one led by Hoxie himself: the Philadelphia Harmonica Band. Hoxie's band,

consisting of about 60 young men, was modeled on military lines—the musicians wore marching-band uniforms, were given ranks, and ended each show with “Stars and Stripes Forever.” The band lasted until 1936, traveling around the country and playing for presidents, royalty, and visiting dignitaries, and at events such as the Philadelphia celebration of Charles Lindbergh’s transatlantic flight, the heavy-weight championship fight between Jack Dempsey and Gene Tunney, and Franklin D. Roosevelt’s inaugural parade.

Hoxie also sent harmonica assistants to schools to encourage children to play the affordable instrument during the Depression years. His efforts paid off. By the end of the 1930s over 150 harmonica youth orchestras existed in Chicago alone; 1,200 public school children learned to play it in Dayton, Ohio, and in Los Angeles 115,127 children were enrolled in the harmonica band program from 1927 to 1937. Boy Scouts could earn merit badges for harmonica playing, and over two thousand harmonica bands were formed in the United States during the Depression.

Albert Hoxie’s efforts were not the only factor responsible for the appeal of harmonica bands in the schools. Up until the 1920s the harmonica was based on the diatonic scale and each instrument was limited to the notes found in the key to which it was tuned. However, in the mid-1920s, Hohner Company developed the polyphonia, bass, chord, and chromatic models, which expanded the range of the instrument and the overall sound of the bands. Vaudeville acts using the new instruments began to appear as early as 1927, when the Harmonica Rascals combined music and slapstick comedy onstage. Other bands soon followed, making the instrument even more popular as fans were inspired to try it themselves.

The Harmonica Rascals, formed by Borrah Minevitch, were like “the Three Stooges with mouth organs” and audiences loved them. Their image was based on the ragamuffin/tramp motif and their act centered on Johnny Puelo, a four-foot-one-inch midget who played the largest harmonica available, the polyphonia, for comic effect. The Harmonica Rascals were so successful that Minevitch simultaneously ran three separate bands by that name—each with its own midget—in different regions of the country until the end of World War II. Besides appearing on vaudeville, the Harmonica Rascals had a weekly radio program, and appeared in nine movies between 1935 and 1943. Other 1930s bands, inspired by the Harmonica Rascals, included the Harmonica Scamps, a vaudeville band that featured an African-American midget, and the Harmonicities, an all-girl band boasting a female midget. The Harmonica Harlequins, whose members dressed in clown outfits, formed in 1934 as a competitor to the Harmonica Rascals and worked the vaudeville circuit, played on the radio, and recorded. Other bands from the 1930s include the Cappy Barra Harmonica Ensemble and the Philharmonics, both of whom specialized in big band arrangements; the Harlemonicats, a jazz trio; the Three Harpers, the Stagg McMann Trio, the Harmonica Hi-Hats and the Harmonica Lads.

World War II ended the golden age of the harmonica. A ban on German goods prohibited the importation of harmonicas from Germany, where the highest-quality instruments were made; youth orchestras disbanded and schools halted their instruction programs; and large harmonica bands pared down to smaller units, usually trios. The most famous trio materialized when former Harmonica Rascals Jerry Murad and Don Les teamed up with Al Fiore to form the Harmonicats in the mid-1940s. Their 1947 version of “Peg O’ My Heart”—recorded as a B-side filler—stayed at number one on the *Billboard* chart for 26 weeks. The record subsequently sold over 20

million copies to become the second-most popular 78 rpm of all time, surpassed only by Bing Crosby’s “White Christmas.” The record’s success even convinced the Musician’s Union to accept the harmonica as a legitimate instrument and allow harmonica players to join.

The Harmonicats went on to record 36 albums, and Murad kept the trio alive (Les retired in 1972, Fiore in 1982) until his death in 1996. Other harmonica bands also performed after World War II, but none equaled the success of “Peg O’ My Heart.” The Don Henry trio had a minor hit in the 1950s with their version of “The Saber Dance.” Johnny Puelo, the original midget from the Harmonica Rascals, formed the Harmonica Gang, which appeared on television with Milton Berle, Dean Martin and Perry Como in the 1950s, played live at the Latin Quarter in New York and the Stardust in Las Vegas, and recorded seven albums until Puelo’s retirement in 1973; and Dave Doucette had some success with his quintet The Stereomonic in 1968, and with the Big Harp in 1975.

The size and versatility of the harmonica—in all of its forms—allowed entertainers to combine music with comedy on the vaudeville stage, which proved to be the inspiration and/or the training ground for many future American harmonica soloists and session players such as Richard Hayman, Pete Pedersen, Mike Chimes, Leo Diamond, Alan Shackner, Charles Newman, and the world-famous soloist Larry Adler, who elevated the tiny instrument to near-classical status in the concert hall.

—Richard Levine

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## Harper, Valerie (1940—)

Valerie Harper was a little-known actress-dancer when she was cast as Rhoda Morgenstern, neighbor and best buddy of Mary Richards, on CBS’s landmark 1970s TV sitcom *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. Harper emerged as one of television history’s most beloved second bananas. The Jewish, Bronx-accented Rhoda was a true New York neurotic: obsessed by her weight and her looks; uncomfortably single and ever-anxious in her relationships with men; and a perfect wisecracking comic contrast to Mary, the more subdued, always perfectly-coifed Midwesterner.

Harper won three Comic Supporting Actress Emmy Awards for playing Rhoda. In 1974, she left the series to star in *Rhoda*, a *Mary Tyler Moore Show* spin-off. Here, Rhoda Morgenstern was relocated to New York, and her character was far more attractive and assertive. Early in the show’s first season—in one of the all-time top-rated TV sitcom episodes—Rhoda married Joe Gerard (David Groh). Meanwhile, Rhoda’s sister and neighbor Brenda (Julie Kavner) became the homelier, insecure second banana. *Rhoda* lasted four seasons, during which she and Joe separated—and Harper added another Emmy to her mantle, this one as Outstanding Series Comic Actress.

—Rob Edelman



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## Harper's

*Harper's* magazine, one of America's most culturally significant periodicals, was founded in 1850 under the name *Harper's New Monthly* magazine by the New York-based Harper & Brothers, the largest publishing company in nineteenth-century America. Initially conceived as a miscellany—a collection of reprints from other publications—consisting mostly of fiction, *Harper's* gained a broad middle-class audience by positioning itself as the Victorian reader's gateway to refinement and respectability. In the twentieth century, *Harper's* transformed itself into the magazine of choice for an elite, well-educated readership whose opinions and tastes have helped shape the nation's political debates and social trends.

With an antebellum circulation of two hundred thousand, *Harper's* was easily the best-read and most influential magazine of its time; its list of nineteenth-century contributors reads like a roll call of some of the era's finest British and American fiction writers. But in spite of its long record of prosperity, by the end of World War I, *Harper's* was in financial trouble, its circulation down to seventy-five thousand. Over the course of the first few decades of the twentieth century, the genteel, culturally ambitious, middle-class readership upon which *Harper's* had based its success had fragmented. A number of forces, including a widening income gap between rich and poor, increasing cultural diversity through immigration, the rise of the suburbs, and the impact of emerging technologies such as film and radio, split the relatively unified nineteenth-century reading public into lowbrow, middlebrow, and highbrow audiences. Those periodicals which were able to maintain a mass national circulation, such as *Ladies' Home Journal* or the *Saturday Evening Post*, did so by cutting prices and simplifying article content in order to appeal to the largest possible audience, while relying on extensive advertising to compensate for lost subscription revenue.

Rather than follow the lead of the mass-market magazines to try to regain its position as market leader, *Harper's* decided to redefine itself as the journal for the well-educated and well-read, seeking serious, though not scholarly, discussion of the issues of the day. In 1925, editor Thomas Wells redesigned the magazine, slimming it down and removing most of the elaborate artwork. The new *Harper's* assumed a distinctly progressive—never radical—political tone. Most significantly, the amount of fiction, long the magazine's hallmark, was reduced and replaced by nonfiction articles debating major social and political issues to satisfy its readership.

As its mid-century editor, Frederick Lewis Allen, noted, the types of issues discussed in the magazine's pages evolved with the changing interests of its audience. In the 1920s, *Harper's* was full of articles on the social upheaval of the modern era. Numerous articles voiced concerns about the role of the newly enfranchised and emancipated woman and her impact on family life. Other writers like James Truslow Adams in "Is Science a Blind Alley?" expressed fears about the decline of religion in the face of rapid technological change. By

the 1930s, moved by the Great Depression and the specter of war in Europe, *Harper's* turned toward political and economic issues, such as the rise of German and Japanese power abroad and the possibility of social unrest among the unemployed at home.

The entrance of the United States into World War II solidified the magazine's increasingly global focus. *Harper's* wholeheartedly supported the war effort; Henry L. Stimson defended the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in its pages. Editor Lewis H. Lapham has noted that through the 1950s and the 1960s *Harper's* was a significant forum for America's cold-war intellectuals, including Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Van Wyck Brooks, Richard Hofstadter, and Henry Steele Commager. Later, as the role of the public intellectual waned, and as public cynicism waxed in the Vietnam and Watergate eras, *Harper's* responded again by changing to a more journalistic, exposé-oriented style.

In 1965 *Harper's* magazine was acquired by the Minneapolis Star and Tribune Company, which was buying up Harper & Row (the successor of Harper & Brothers) stock. By 1980 the magazine was once again in debt. When the new owners considered terminating *Harper's*, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and the Atlantic Richfield Company provided funds to set up the *Harper's* Magazine Foundation, headed by John R. MacArthur, to publish the magazine independent of its parent and make it less reliant on subscription and advertising revenue.

In 1984, under the leadership of editor Lapham, *Harper's* was again redesigned. In a pair of editorials, Lapham invoked the nineteenth-century origins of the magazine, comparing the situation of Americans of the 1850s facing a new national industrial economy to that of his own readers as the country became integrated into a new global economic order, and vowed to continue to provide a national forum for debate on issues of social and political importance. Interestingly, Lapham also reaffirmed *Harper's* original mission as a miscellany, but with a difference. While the editors of 1850 had offered their readers what they felt was the best in entertaining and useful information, Lapham announced new departments which would offer representative statistics, or small excerpts from significant publications or public documents in a context often designed to startle the reader and to demystify or even mock the offered text. That change alone, from a tone of Victorian earnestness to one of postmodern irony, speaks volumes about the altered self-image of the writer-intellectual—from ardent educator to alienated commentator—over the course of more than a century. Lapham also promised to continue what he suggested the magazine had tried to do since its inception, to steer a middle course between the banalities of mass-market journalism and the jargon of highly specialized publications.

The magazine's major goal at the end of the twentieth century—to provide a national forum for debate on those forces and trends with global origins and impact to an elite readership—is perhaps problematic. There is some difficulty inherent in identifying national interests as being those of this comparatively small group of readers. As of 1998, *Harper's* had a circulation of 216,630, a healthy and respectable number, to be sure, but hardly comparable to the million-plus circulations of mass-market periodicals, and only slightly more than the magazine's highest circulation in the nineteenth century. Whether *Harper's* magazine's fiercely loyal readers continue to represent, under rapidly changing conditions, what editor Lapham has called the nation's "general interest" is a question only the twenty-first century can answer.

—Anne Sheehan

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**Hart, Lorenz**

See Rodgers and Hart

**Hate Crimes**

Crimes of violence motivated by hatred based on race, religion, ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation have always been a part of the American political landscape. At various times legislative efforts have been made to address the problem, such as laws passed in the late 1960s making it a federal crime to interfere violently with black Americans exercising their legal civil rights. In the 1980s, an American society trying to assimilate the changes wrought by the various liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s began to look for stronger ways to show its intolerance for bias-motivated crimes. Defining these crimes as "hate crimes," some groups began to lobby for them to be treated as more heinous than crimes not motivated by the perpetrator's prejudice and to be punished more severely.

Political organizations such as the Southern Poverty Law Center and the New York City Lesbian and Gay Anti-Violence Project began to keep records of the occurrence of bias-motivated crimes. Pressured by such groups and by the victims of hate crimes, the federal government passed the Hate Crimes Statistics Act. Passed in 1990, and later extended at least through 2002, the act requires the Federal Bureau of Investigation to monitor and keep reliable statistics on crimes motivated by prejudice based on race, religion, ethnic or national origin, disability, or sexual orientation. In 1996, these statistics showed that 8,759 hate crimes were reported, the majority of them racially motivated.

More than forty states have enacted hate crimes statutes requiring stiffer penalties for a crime if it is categorized as a hate crime. These laws are controversial for many reasons. Conservatives minimize the occurrence of hate crimes, accusing interested groups of

inflating the figures. They ridicule the laws as "identity politics," insisting that "thought police" will be required to prove motivation. Even some liberals express concern that the laws potentially interfere with free speech. Racial bias, homophobia, and other prejudices are cultural problems, they say, and must be solved by education rather than legislation. Supporters of hate crime legislation argue that hate crimes deserve greater penalties because they have more serious implications for society than crimes which are not motivated by bias. They cite the fear engendered in targeted groups as a whole by the crimes of intimidation against them, and point to Nazi attempts at the genocide of Jews, Gypsies, gays, and other groups as an example of what can occur in a society that tolerates hate crimes.

Another element of controversy is the inclusion of sexual minorities as a protected group. Of the states that do have hate crime laws, only about half include sexual orientation in their wording. While right-wing groups and politicians resist any sort of legitimization of gay lifestyles, many gay and lesbian groups continue to fight for state and federal hate crime laws that will include crimes against them.

Part of the problem of enacting hate crime legislation lies in attempting to define hate crimes. While beatings, murders, and firebombings of churches, synagogues, or community centers are clear examples of criminal activity, some actions are less obvious. Some states have included cross burnings and swastika displays under their hate crime laws only to be challenged in court for limiting free speech. Many groups, especially colleges and universities, have instituted codes of speech in an effort to outlaw racial epithets and slurs but many argue that the abridgment of free speech is not the answer. Many feminists have lobbied to have rape and domestic violence included as crimes of hate against women. That definition was included in the 1993 Violence Against Women Act, but the hate-crime wording was eliminated in the final version. Though hate-crime legislation was primarily introduced in the hopes of curbing the cross-burnings, synagogue-bombings, and beatings associated with racism, anti-Semitism, and homophobia, it also covers any bias-related crime. Ironically, one of the first supreme court decisions supporting hate-crime laws dealt with an African-American perpetrator in a crime against whites.

Though the debate goes on over the best way to deal with hate crimes, it seems to be clear from statistics that bias-motivated crime continues to be a global problem. Whether the perpetrators are angry, often disenfranchised, individuals or members of an organized hate group such as the Aryan Nation or the Ku Klux Klan, perhaps the debate itself is an important step in eliminating these crimes. The light of exposure robs them of their most frightening and powerful aspect—the secret complicity of society.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Havlicek, John (1940—)

While the National Basketball Association's Boston Celtics have had a history of illustrious players, perhaps none is as closely associated with a single moment in the team's history as John Havlicek. Few Celtics fans cannot imitate long-time Celtics' announcer Johnny Most's raspy yell, "Havlicek Stole the Ball, Havlicek Stole the Ball," describing the player's crucial steal as time ran out in the seventh and deciding game of the 1965 Eastern Division Finals against perennial Boston rival Philadelphia, which preserved a narrow one-point win for Boston and opened the way for another Boston championship.

Perhaps it is ironic that Havlicek is so famed for a single play, for his career was marked by a longevity and consistency which few players in NBA history have been able to match. Havlicek's steal came early in a distinguished career, during which he played on eight NBA Championship teams and appeared in 13 All-Star games, among his many honors. His hallmark was an almost supernatural endurance, as Havlicek remained in perpetual motion on both offense and defense throughout entire games. At 6 feet, 5 inches, Havlicek was able to play both guard and forward, using his size and strength to overpower smaller guards and his quickness to beat larger, slower forwards with drives to the basket and quick passes. In addition to his



John Havlicek

physical stamina, Havlicek also was an avid student of the game. Longtime Boston sportswriter Bob Ryan notes in *The Boston Celtics* that Havlicek's "physical abilities were exceeded by his extraordinary basketball mind. If he saw his opponents run a play, he made a note of the hand signal or verbal call that initiated it. Thereafter he always got the jump on it. He couldn't understand why other players didn't retain basketball knowledge equally well."

A three-sport star in high school, Havlicek initially played both baseball and basketball at Ohio State University, although he cut short his baseball career at OSU to concentrate on basketball. Nonetheless, Havlicek's versatility and athletic ability was so great that he was drafted by both the National Football League's Cleveland Browns in the seventh round of the NFL draft and the Celtics in the first round of the NBA draft following his graduation from OSU in 1962. Havlicek was the last player cut by the Browns, where he tried out as a wide receiver, which allowed him from that point on to devote himself solely to basketball.

Havlicek joined the Celtics in the midst of the team's run of eight consecutive championships between 1959 and 1966. For his first four seasons, a time when the Celtics were rich with veteran players, Havlicek enjoyed the role of "Sixth Man," coming off the bench late in the first quarter of games to provide instant scoring at a time when other players were putting their weaker reserve players in the game. While Havlicek played this vital reserve role on the Celtics championship teams of the early and mid 1960s, he became an even more central figure in the teams' 1968 and 1969 championship seasons, as older veterans gradually became less effective. In 1968, for example, Havlicek scored 40 of Boston's 100 points in a hard-fought seventh game victory over Philadelphia in the Eastern Division Finals, which put the Celtics into the NBA Finals.

The early 1970s were a more difficult period for the Celtics following the retirement of Bill Russell in 1969, although Havlicek raised his level of play to a new high, enjoying his best scoring seasons in 1970-71 and 1971-72 and leading the league in minutes played in both seasons. In 1972-73, the Celtics had their best-ever regular season record, 68-14, but lost in the Eastern Conference Finals against the New York Knicks, hampered by a shoulder injury that Havlicek suffered in the third game of the series.

Havlicek, or "Hondo," as he came to be known by Celtics fans in an homage to the John Wayne movie of the same name, concluded his career as a leader and elder statesman for a younger generation of Celtics during championship campaigns in 1974 and 1976, both of which offered a number of memorable moments. In the 1974 NBA Finals, the Celtics defeated the Milwaukee Bucks in a seven-game series that included one overtime and one double-overtime game. Havlicek was named the Most Valuable Player in that series. In the 1976 NBA Finals, the Celtics faced the Phoenix Suns, who played the Celtics in the first four games of the series for a 2-2 tie. Boston won Game Five by a score of 128-126 in three overtimes in one of the greatest games in NBA history, due in no small part to several key baskets by Havlicek, and returned to Phoenix to close out the series in six games.

Following the 1976 season, the Celtics nucleus of the past two championships began to disperse for various reasons. Havlicek retired following the 1977-78 season, one of the worst in Boston history, at age 37, as the sixth-leading scorer in NBA history, scoring an impressive 29 points in his final game at Boston Garden. Havlicek's all-around play and consistency is reflected in his career statistics. Havlicek holds Boston records for most games played, most minutes played, and most points scored, and he ranks second in team history in

assists and third in rebounds. He was elected to the Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame in 1983 and named one of the NBA's 50 greatest players in 1996.

—Jason George

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## *Hawaii Five-O*

By the time the final episode aired on April 4, 1980, *Hawaii Five-O* was the longest continuously running police drama in the history of television. The show premiered in September of 1968 and retained loyal viewers for most of its 278 episodes. Producer Leonard

Freeman, the main creative force behind the show, brought together the elements that made the show a hit: a well chosen cast that went virtually unchanged for ten years, dynamic music, and the lush scenery of Hawaii.

The main appeal of the show was the main character, the tough, no-nonsense Steve McGarrett, who was the head of the Five-O. McGarrett's elite special investigating unit dealt with crimes that were too big for conventional police forces, and he answered only to "the Governor and God." Freeman's original title for the series was *The Man*, and every criminal in the Aloha State knew that McGarrett was the man. And when the wrong element came to the Hawaiian shores from elsewhere, McGarrett was quick to let them know "you're on my rock now." In the pilot, recurring nemesis Wo Fat described McGarrett as "the proverbial character you would not want to meet in a dark alley."

Jack Lord played the role of McGarrett with intensity. Lord was a driven perfectionist and dedicated himself to the show. Lord's McGarrett was a larger-than-life character who struck fear into the hearts of the islands' criminal element and inspired fierce loyalty from the men and women he commanded. After Freeman's death in 1974, Lord became the guiding force behind the show.

McGarrett's right-hand man was Danny "Danno" Williams, played by James MacArthur. In the pilot, the part of Danno had been



Jack Lord on the beach filming an episode of *Hawaii Five-O*.

played by Tim O'Kelly, but when he did not get a favorable rating from a test audience in New York Freeman replaced him with MacArthur before the regular series began filming. MacArthur proved to be a crucial ingredient in the successful chemistry of the show. The best remembered and most often repeated line from *Hawaii Five-O* was McGarrett's clipped command of "Book 'em Danno." For eleven seasons, Danny Williams was a loyal and stolid sidekick to McGarrett. MacArthur tired of the role and left the show at the end of the 1978-79 season. The successful formula was lost, and the series could only limp along for one additional year.

While the network required that the two lead characters be played by haoles (Caucasians from the mainland), the other members of the Five-O team were played by local actors. Kam Fong Chun (credited as Kam Fong), who had served on the Honolulu Police Department for eighteen years before turning to acting, played Chin Ho Kelly for ten seasons. For the first five years of the series, local musician and stand-up comic Gilbert "Zoulou" Kauhi (credited as Zulu) played Kono Kalakaua. After Zulu's departure two new characters were introduced: Ben Kokua, played by Al Harrington, and Duke Lukela, played by Herman Wedemeyer.

In addition to dealing justice to murderers and mobsters, Hawaii Five-O was occasionally called on to save the free world from Communism. McGarrett fought his own cold war against red Chinese spy Wo Fat, played by Khigh Dhiegh. Wo Fat matched wits with McGarrett in the series pilot, "Cocoon," and in ten episodes of the series. In the final episode of the series, titled "Woe to Wo Fat," their conflict came to a resolution when McGarrett personally locked Wo Fat behind bars.

Perhaps the most memorable element of *Hawaii Five-O* was Morton Stevens's driving theme music. Stevens won Emmys for his scores to the episodes "Hookman" and "A Thousand Pardons, You're Dead."

The cast played out their dramas in the midst of the photogenic scenery of the Hawaiian Islands. Producer Freeman insisted that the series be filmed entirely on location in Hawaii. Some members of the Hawaiian tourism industry initially were concerned that the weekly portrayals of murder and corruption would make the islands seem too dangerous. However, the small screen visions of palm trees and blue skies enticed many viewers to take a firsthand look. As *Hawaii Five-O* became a hit, tourism soared.

—Randy Duncan

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## Hawkins, Coleman (1904-1969)

The first jazzman to win fame as a tenor saxophonist, Coleman Hawkins joined Fletcher Henderson's band in 1923 and was already its star when young Louis Armstrong was added a year later. Unmatched on his instrument—once ignored by jazzmen—Hawkins brought his distinctive warm tone to slow ballads like "Body and Soul" and a surging profusion of notes to fast numbers. In the 1930s he worked for five years in Europe, enhancing his international

reputation. When bebop appeared on the scene in the 1940s, the innovative Hawkins recorded this new jazz form with Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie. His primary interest remained conventional swing, working often with his favorite trumpet man, Roy Eldridge, in both Europe and America.

—Benjamin Griffith

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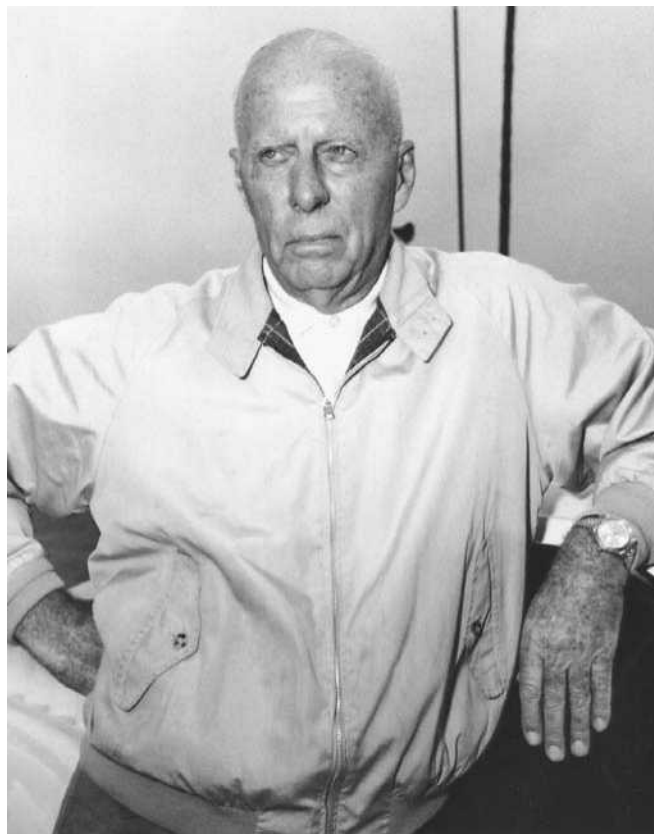
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## Hawks, Howard (1896-1977)

Considered one of the great film auteurs of the Hollywood Studio era, Howard Hawks directed forty-six films and has the distinction of being one of the few directors to work in every major genre, including the gangster film (*Scarface*, 1932); the war film (*The Road to Glory*, 1936, and *Air Force*, 1943); the screwball comedy, (*Bringing Up Baby*, 1938); the biopic (*Sergeant York*, 1941); the Western (*Red River*, 1948, and *Rio Bravo*, 1959); science fiction (*The Thing*, 1951); film noir (*The Big Sleep*, 1946); and the musical



Howard Hawks

(*Gentleman Prefer Blondes*, 1953). His films are among the most popular still shown on U.S. television.

Hawks started in film as a prop man for the Mary Pickford Company in 1919. Within six years, he had risen to editor, scriptwriter, and assistant director. He directed his first feature film in 1926. His first all-talking film was produced four years later, a First National release entitled *The Dawn Patrol*. Arguably, his most important film as a director during his early years was *Scarface*, starring Paul Muni and Ann Dvorak. Though finished in 1930, the film was not released until 1932 because the producer, Howard Hughes, fought over censorship issues with the Hays Office, the administrative body which oversaw the industry's Production Code, which found the film too violent and amoral. Upon release, it was a critical and popular success, and was instrumental in establishing the gangster genre.

Other films for which Hawks is praised include *Only Angels Have Wings* (1939), *His Girl Friday* (1940), and *To Have and Have Not* (1944). As with most auteurs, artists of the cinema who have managed to transcend the studio system and "imprint" on their oeuvre thematic motifs and a formal style unique to their use of film as personal expression, Hawks is noted for his visual style and recurring character types and themes. The "Hawksian vision," as described by film scholar Peter Wollen, consists of a high value placed on the camaraderie of exclusive all-male groups with women as threat to the all-male community, professionalism of the protagonists; and in comedy, regression to childhood and the reversal of gender roles.

In 1975, the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences presented Hawks with an Honorary Award, for a master American filmmaker whose creative efforts hold a distinguished place in world cinema.

—Frances Gateward

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## Hayward, Susan (1918-1975)

After some years of apprenticeship, stardom and the first of five Oscar nominations came to former photographer's model Susan Hayward with *Smash-Up—The Story of a Woman* (1947). From then on the gifted, husky-voiced, and ravishing redhead, despite playing a range of parts that included sultry temptresses, rich bitches, and intrepid heroines, became uniquely identified with suffering, both harrowing and poignant but always gutsy. A huge box-office draw during the 1950s, she won hearts portraying singer Jane Froman who was crippled in an air crash, was superb as singer Lilian Roth suffering from alcoholism in *I'll Cry Tomorrow* (1956), won her Academy Award for *I Want to Live* (1958) in which she went to the gas chamber, and was the natural choice to star in the remakes of *Back Street* (1961) and *Dark Victory* (retitled *Stolen Hours*, 1963). Born

Edythe Marrener in Brooklyn, New York, she suffered much off-screen, too—a stormy marriage, custody battles, and a suicide attempt before dying of a brain tumor at the age of 56.

—Robyn Karney

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## Hayworth, Rita (1918-1987)

The most glamorous Hollywood screen idol of the 1940s, it was Rita Hayworth for whom the press coined the phrase "love goddess." Expertly packaged and produced by various different men throughout her career, Rita Hayworth was transformed from a half-Spanish dancing girl into an "American classic" and the favorite pin-up to thousands of GIs. Best known for her role as the *femme fatale* Gilda in Charles Vidor's 1946 film of the same name, she embodied a dangerous brand of femininity.

She was born Margarita Carmen Cansino in Queens, New York, to an Irish mother and Spanish father. The Cansinos were a family of professional dancers. "They had me dancing almost as soon as I could walk," Hayworth later recalled. As a voluptuous thirteen-year-old Hayworth became her father's co-star and began captivating audiences with her sensual stage presence. It was in 1933 that Hayworth was spotted by executives from the Fox Studios and was given her first break as a dancer in the epic *Dante's Inferno*. After a string of second-rate movies, her contract at Fox was terminated when



Rita Hayworth

her mentor Winfield Sheehan was fired and she was subsequently dropped. She then met the middle-aged Edward Judson, a shrewd businessman who saw her as a marketable product. They married in 1937. Judson negotiated her contract at Columbia, where she was to work for the next twenty years for the tyrannical Harry Cohn, who treated her as a “combination daughter, slave and financial investment.” Between them, Judson and Cohn created her new image, removing all traces of Latiness: her surname was changed to the Anglo “Hayworth,” a new spelling of her mother’s maiden name, her low hairline was lifted by electrolysis and her hair dyed auburn. These flowing auburn locks became Hayworth’s trademark; directors would urge her to “act with her hair” which she does unforgettably on her entrance in *Gilda*.

At Columbia, Hayworth’s break as a serious actress came with the film *Only Angels Have Wings* (1938) with Cary Grant. Her success in this picture and a subsequent photo shoot for *Life* magazine turned her into a real star. She starred in a couple of musicals with Fred Astaire, *You’ll Never Get Rich* (1941) and *You Were Never Lovelier* (1944), and the couple caught the public’s imagination. Astaire allegedly named her as his favorite dancing partner. Hayworth had her biggest success with the movie *Cover Girl* (1944) with Gene Kelly. Divorced from Judson since 1942, Hayworth announced she had married noted director and wunderkind Orson Welles during the shooting of *Cover Girl*.

Gossip columnists were puzzled by this match between Beauty and Brains, but the couple were famously smitten by each other. In 1944 Hayworth gave birth to a baby girl, Rebecca, but by 1946 the marriage had ended. That same year Hayworth starred in *Gilda*. The ad line announced, “There never was a woman like Gilda”; Hayworth was soon to learn that there was never a *role* like Gilda either. The film is a tale of a destructive love triangle, in the words of the leading man Glenn Ford, about “how hate can be as exciting an emotion as love.” Hayworth’s mesmerizing dance routine to the song “Put the Blame on Mame,” in which she performs a partial strip tease, removing two long black satin gloves and throwing them to the crowd, is highly erotically charged. In a concession to the film censors, the script later reveals Gilda’s virtue, she had only pretended to be a tramp to incense her lover. The film was a box-office smash.

In 1948 Harry Cohn assigned Hayworth to work with her estranged husband Orson Welles on *The Lady from Shanghai*. Hayworth played the “preying mantis” Elsa, a twisted version of Gilda upon whose fame Welles was hoping to cash in. Welles, in a characteristically maverick move, had Hayworth’s hair cropped short and bleached blonde for the part. Hayworth’s new hair was not a success with her fans nor with her boss at Columbia and the film flopped. Cohn rushed through Hayworth’s next movie *The Loves of Carmen* for release that same year to soften the blow.

Later that year Hayworth went on a trip to Europe, where she met and fell in love with the international playboy Prince Aly Khan. Their subsequent marriage made Hayworth a princess. Aly had been entranced by the film *Gilda*, as was often the case with the men in her life. Hayworth remarked sadly to a friend, “Every man I’ve known has fallen in love with Gilda and woken up with me.”

Hayworth’s comeback movie *Affair in Trinidad* (1952), in which she starred with Glenn Ford again, was the last time she played the central sex symbol. Hayworth continued to work consistently throughout the 1950s while her personal life continued in its disastrous vein, with two more marriages that both ended in divorce. She began to suffer from alcoholism and later on from Alzheimer’s; after a

long struggle with the disease she died in 1987. Her last film was *The Wrath of God* at MGM in 1972.

Hayworth was a typical product of Hollywood, transformed from Margarita Cansino and relentlessly promoted by husbands, directors, and studio bosses. Adored by men but also admired by women, she was the symbol of American glamor and beauty of the time. Although she played a catalog of siren roles, including the legendary Carmen and Salome, in reality she was the exact reverse: unassuming, reserved, and eager to please. Ultimately Rita Hayworth was the hardest role for the reserved Margarita Cansino and playing it took its toll upon her life.

—Candida Taylor

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## Hearst, Patty (1954—)

The granddaughter of newspaper publisher William Randolph Hearst, 19-year-old heiress Patty Hearst was abducted from her Berkeley college residence in February 1974, sparking the biggest manhunt since the Lindbergh kidnapping. Surprisingly, Hearst was next spotted in bank surveillance footage, brandishing automatic weapons during robberies. She released statements stating she had sided with her captors, members of the revolutionary Symbionese Liberation Army, and renounced her family. Los Angeles police had a televised shootout with SLA members, but Hearst, who now called herself “Tania,” fled. She was apprehended in September of 1975. At her trial, famed defense attorney F. Lee Bailey maintained that Hearst had been brainwashed by SLA leaders through psychological torture, and was thus not responsible for her crime spree. Hearst was nonetheless convicted and sentenced to prison in 1977. Two years later, her sentence was commuted by President Jimmy Carter. The Hearst episode was sensationalized in the media of the day. She married her prison guard and retired to life as a middle-class homemaker. By the 1990s, however, she was resigned to her notoriety and began writing mystery novels and acting in outré movies, including bad-taste auteur John Waters’ *Pecker* (1998).

—Andrew Milner

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## Hearst, William Randolph (1863-1951)

Larger-than-life American publisher William Randolph Hearst acquired his first newspaper, the *San Francisco Examiner*, in 1886. Over the next two decades, he built a media empire which revolutionized journalism. His dictatorial style and sensational approach to the news generated a fortune as well as controversy. Hearst's seemingly limitless ambition led him to campaign for social reforms, serve in Congress, run for the presidency, famously ignite the Spanish-American war, and become, according to recent biographer Ben Proctor, "arguably the best-known American, not just in the United States but around the world."

In the eyes of many, Hearst personified the American dream. Born to Phoebe Apperson, a Missouri school teacher, and George



William Randolph Hearst

Hearst, a self-made millionaire miner and rancher, William Randolph Hearst parlayed family support, fierce independence, and a sense for drama into enormous wealth and power. In 1880 his father acquired the *Examiner* as payment for a gambling debt. "I am convinced," Hearst wrote to his father from Harvard six years later, "that I could run a newspaper successfully. Now, if you should make over to me the *Examiner*—with enough money to carry out my schemes—I'll tell you what I would do. . . ."

At its height, Hearst's empire published twenty-eight newspapers and nine magazines. His motto was simply "Get Results." Within a year he doubled the *Examiner's* circulation. He modeled it after Joseph Pulitzer's newspapers, emphasizing human interest, crusading for worthy causes, and making up news stories if there were none to be found. His newspapers were among the first to offer obituaries and to regularly cover weather and women's issues. Hearst also made it a policy to pay for talent. He invested in stars like Thomas Nast, Stephen Crane, Mark Twain, and the great "sob sister" investigator Annie Laurie.

In 1895 he bought the *New York Journal* and entered into a circulation war with Pulitzer. Within a year the *Journal's* circulation tripled. Not even the comics pages escaped the competitive frenzy. Pulitzer ran the popular strip "The Yellow Kid." Hearst hired the cartoonist away. When Pulitzer hired a new cartoonist, the two newspapers' advertising departments plastered the city with yellow promotional flyers. The campaign gave rise to the term "yellow journalism," which subsequently became a derisive reference to the sort of sensational excesses in news coverage that characterized the Hearst-Pulitzer circulation war.

A legendary anecdote, perhaps apocryphal, describes the excessive competition between the two men, the increasing power of the press, and Hearst's reckless force of will. From roughly 1895 until the end of the Spanish-American war in 1898, Hearst and Pulitzer attempted to attract readers with trumped-up anti-Spanish atrocity stories from Cuba. Although Spain had consented to U.S. demands with respect to Cuban politics, Hearst sent artist Frederick Remington to the island. Remington cabled Hearst to say "[e]verything is quiet. There is no trouble here. There will be no war. Wish to return." Hearst replied: "Please remain. You furnish the pictures, I'll furnish the war."

Hearst's newspapers were distinguished largely by their style. They were among the first to use striking photographs and illustrations. They specialized in flashy headlines and sensational reports of topics like fires, crime, sex, and sports. Hearst encouraged his editors to conduct endless streams of lotteries, giveaways, and serials. He formed a "murder squad" of writers who chased criminals and a "detective corps" of investigative reporters paid to keep check on people in positions of power. Hearst also demanded his newspapers serve the masses. They ran stories calling for improved police and fire protection, better roads, sewers, schools, and hospitals. They promoted the eight-hour workday and public assistance after the 1906 San Francisco earthquake.

Overt political stances taken by Hearst publications eventually provoked accusations of opportunism. Critics maintained that Hearst abused his First Amendment rights. They accused him of recklessness and insatiable greed, suggesting that he sparked the Spanish-American War just to sell his newspapers. Readers also grew wary of Hearst's tactics, boycotting his newspapers in the wake of the



assassination of President McKinley in 1901 because they believed that relentlessly inflammatory articles and editorials endorsed by Hearst inspired the assassin.

Although he was often denounced for his nationalist politics, Hearst publications helped construct an American national identity, especially within burgeoning early-twentieth-century immigrant communities. In his efforts to reach the widest possible audience, Hearst directed his editors to seize upon the human element in the news, to encourage writers to craft stories which emphasized similarities among Americans by underlining universal fears and desires.

By the time he entered into politics at the turn of the century, Hearst was well practiced at using his media outlets to fuel his political interests. Although many believed he orchestrated both Theodore and Franklin D. Roosevelt's successful presidential campaigns, he largely failed to realize his own political ambitions. He served two terms as a U.S. representative, but lost bids to become governor of New York and mayor of New York City.

Despite his unsuccessful foray into formal politics, Hearst and his movie-star mistress Marion Davies often entertained world leaders and celebrities at his California estate, San Simeon, a museum-like place many referred to simply as Hearst Castle. People accepted invitations to visit San Simeon out of friendship, curiosity, and fear. Hearst reveled in his role as eccentric kingmaker, unabashedly using his media power to promote his friends and ruin his enemies. In the end, however, he seemed to consider more people enemies than friends. He gained a reputation as a xenophobe, a red-baiter, and a fascist. He vehemently opposed anything or anyone who interfered with his profits, forbidding his employees to unionize, fighting against taxation, and demonizing hemp growers with a famous "reefer madness" campaign because they posed a threat to the profits he made supplying timber to the paper-making industry.

Hearst's life inspired the 1941 Orson Welles film *Citizen Kane*, a stirring portrait of a media tycoon ruined by his own excesses. After a Hollywood preview, Hearst launched a full-scale campaign against the movie and its director, effectively blocking the film's distribution by threatening lawsuits, running venomous reviews, and yanking advertising.

Even into his eighties, Hearst maintained firm control over his newspapers, regularly sending out memos to editors across the country. His print-media companies were among the first to enter radio and television broadcasting. He also produced movie newsreels and is widely credited with creating the comic strip syndication business. Hearst's King Features Syndicate became the largest distributor of comics and text features in the world. Threatening, inspiring, domineering, William Randolph Hearst was a genius entrepreneur with an appreciation for the value of information that was ahead of his time.

—Adrienne Russell

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## Heavy Metal

Heavy metal, a genre of rock music that was hugely popular in the United States and much of the world during the 1980s, not only left an influence on successive trends in rock music, but affected the cultural tastes and style of its many fans. The heavy metal sound was characterized by loud and distorted guitars and vocals; its image by aggressive male posturing and a preoccupation with sexuality, identity, and the corrosion of traditional social institutions. While sometimes causing controversy, even outrage among the establishment for its perceived negative influence on youth, heavy metal expanded the range of recognized images and sounds in rock 'n' roll, developing a formula that combined musical virtuosity with social rebellion. While the groups achieved little Top 40 success even at the height of the genre's popularity, their albums and concerts outsold all their contemporaries, and outlasted them in influence.

Historically, the term "heavy metal" refers to radioactive elements or powerful artillery units. While heavy metal music was not directly named to signify either of these traditions, the bands have always welcomed the associated imagery. Rock critics first began applying the label in the late 1960s, referring primarily to the British bands Deep Purple, Led Zeppelin, and Black Sabbath. These three are considered to have laid the framework for the genre. Deep Purple brought classical influences, Led Zeppelin adapted and applied the African-American blues hook, and Black Sabbath lent an air of dark mysticism to their work. Each stressed the importance of distorted guitar sound and long guitar solos.



Axl Rose of the heavy metal band Guns N' Roses.

Heavy metal might never have reached beyond a fanatical cult following if not for a reintroduction of the genre's principles by British and American chart-friendly bands at the beginning of the 1980s. From overseas came Def Leppard, Judas Priest, Iron Maiden, and Ozzy Osbourne (the original vocalist of Black Sabbath). Home-grown American metal of this era included KISS, Van Halen, and Mötley Crüe. This second generation of heavy metal artists was better groomed and less gloomy than their predecessors, and their heavy metal was about lifestyle as well as music. Their songs were played on MTV as often as on the radio and, for the first time, heavy metal records found a market among women and minorities. However, the music never lost its core following of white, teenage suburban males. Record sales remained more stable than any other genre of the 1980s, and bands from the expanding array of heavy metal groups often dominated the top five album spots. Pop and rap acts incorporated guitar solos, a revived blues tradition, and power chords. MTV premiered *Headbanger's Ball* in 1986, and the show quickly became their top-rated offering. Throughout the decade, heavy metal dominated summer tour attractions such as the "Monsters of Rock" and "US Festival."

With so much commercial success, heavy metal was bound to splinter. Bands who toned down their anger, and the volume on their guitars, came to be referred to as "glam metal" or "pretty metal." Groups such as Bon Jovi, Warrant, and Poison sold albums on their hairsprayed, long locks and sexually risqué lyrics. Bon Jovi produced the third-best-selling album of the decade in 1986 with *Slippery When Wet*. By contrast, bands like Metallica and Megadeth were intent on preserving a rawer, purer form of heavy metal, and gained the mainstream in the late 1980s. Termed "speed metal" or "thrash" because of their blistering drum beats, these bands infused an animal, Punk-rock sensibility into heavy metal, playing loud and hard, growling or screaming, and delving into the psychological and pathological. Crunching along amid the mainstream were the gloomy "dark metal" bands, a subgenre of throwbacks to the early days—led by Judas Priest and Iron Maiden—who employed visual and lyrical images of fantastic worlds, monsters, and heroes.

The heyday of heavy metal appeared to coincide with a period of cultural mistrust in America. The divorce rate was increasing and an American president had resigned. While disco and lite rock dominated the airwaves, heavy metal, like punk rock, built a following around tearing down discredited social institutions. The thrill of a heavy metal concert or a punk show lies at least partially in the bold flaunting of as many rules of decency as possible. While punk called for a rebellious stance against conformity and a simplicity in its attack on social mores, heavy metal insisted on musicianship and even virtuosity. Guitar heroes of the heavy metal age needed to display stage presence, pure speed, and a thorough knowledge of blues and classical music. Heavy metal publicized their heroes through extravagant concert productions and live videos.

The enormous negative reaction of mainstream America to heavy metal music indicates just how influential it was. Tipper Gore, wife of then-senator Al Gore, formed the Parental Music Resource Center in the early 1980s to examine the effects of modern music lyrics on American youth. The PMRC took Ozzy Osbourne to court for "Suicide Solution," a song they claimed encouraged and glorified suicide (Ozzy maintained that it warns of the dangers of drink). Their next target was Judas Priest—the PMRC claimed that when they played Judas Priest's 1978 album *Stained Class* backwards they found satanic messages on it. Though each case was resolved in the

musicians' favor, critics continued to connect heavy metal to Satanism, violence, and drug use. Black Sabbath's use of symbols such as the inverted cross, and Iron Maiden's album, *Number of the Beast*, seem to invite such attacks. The bands almost always pointed to the ultimately positive message of their work—while, for example, they openly dabbled in the occult, the good guy always won.

The graphic imagery of heavy metal's most lasting offspring, speed metal, horrifies many casual listeners. "Landmine has taken my head/has taken my arms/has taken my legs . . ." shouts Metallica in 1998's "One." Again, a closer examination of the song reveals an anti-war theme. Heavy metal artists have never denied that they lead a life laced with sex and drugs—Van Halen's 1978 debut single "Running With The Devil," long considered a prototype of the genre, celebrates a life led with no regard for social convention or restriction. "We're not like this because we're in a rock band," said Van Halen's David Lee Roth in one interview, "we're in a rock band because we're like this."

Whether or not one gives any credence to the supposed sociological or psychological messages claimed by its adherents, heavy metal indubitably advanced rock 'n' roll by breaking through visual and lyrical taboos. Though eventually commercially successful in their own right, heavy metal bands climbed to that success through the ranks of the counterculture, and proved that there was much more to the American popular music scene than reaching the Top 40. Its hard-core, purist nature would demand "authenticity" from the next generation of musicians. The guitar heroes of heavy metal upped the ante for rock stars of their era by insisting on classical training and technical prowess, while their feral, sexual lead singers reminded fans and singers that the essence of rock 'n' roll lay in excess.

—Colby Vargas

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## Hee Haw

This long-running (1969-92) television series kept the comedy-variety genre alive into the 1990s with its mix of down-home humor and musical performances from top country and western acts. *Hee Haw* was one of the first shows to draw a southern rural audience to network television. Sketches set in fictional "Kornfield Kounty" affectionately parodied the lives of farmers, moonshiners, and small town dwellers. Hosts Roy Clark and Buck Owens were established country stars who brought musical credibility to the comedic proceedings. The series garnered consistently high ratings, both during its CBS run and as one of the pioneer successes in first-run syndication.



Willard Scott (left) and Roy Clark on the television show *Hee Haw*.

*Hee Haw* had the longest run of original syndicated episodes of any television series.

This quintessential show of the South was actually the product of three Canadians and a New York City-born Italian-American. In 1967 producer Sam Lovullo (the New Yorker) was working on CBS' *The Jonathan Winters Show* when writers John Aylesworth and Frank Peppiatt were brought on board. *The Jonathan Winters Show* was a comedy-variety series with an audience composed mostly of urban northeasterners. Lovullo noticed that ratings, particularly in the South, rose significantly when the musical guests were country and western stars like Roy Clark and Jimmy Dean. At the same time, CBS was seeing ratings success with rural situation comedies like *The Beverly Hillbillies* and *Green Acres*. A rural variety show seemed a logical move for the network. Aylesworth and Peppiatt created the concept. Their personal manager and fellow Canadian Bernie Brillstein came up with the name *Hee Haw*. When CBS canceled *The Jonathan Winters Show* after the 1968-69 season they sent Lovullo, Aylesworth, and Peppiatt to Nashville, Tennessee, to produce the new show in the country music capital of America.

Hosts Clark and Owens were natural choices. Roy Clark was a virtuoso on guitar and banjo. His amiable comedic personality had been previously showcased on *The Jonathan Winters Show* and *The Beverly Hillbillies*. Buck Owens was one of Nashville's premiere songwriter-performers. At the time of *Hee Haw*'s creation he was hosting a regionally syndicated television variety series and looking for a vehicle with which to reach the national audience. He too had appeared on *The Jonathan Winters Show*. Owens and Clark's wide-ranging abilities helped blend together the series' mix of country music and broad sketches.

The cast included a number of comedians and musicians with a country background and style. Writer-actor Archie Campbell, twins Jim and Jon Hager, Louis "Grandpa" Jones, Lulu Roman, David "Stringbean" Akeman, and former real-life moonshiner Junior Samples were among the original group to populate sketches like "The

General Store" and "The Kornfield." In 1970 the show acquired perhaps its most prized catch: comedienne Minnie Pearl. Her trademark gingham dresses, hat with price tag attached, and gently humorous anecdotes on rural life became staples of the show. In later years, George "Goober" Lindsay (of *The Andy Griffith Show*), Misty Rowe, actor Slim Pickens, and even Jonathan Winters would spend time in *Hee Haw*'s ensemble.

The show debuted June 15, 1969. It was an instant ratings success. The traditional music and "down-home" humor struck a chord with audiences weary of social unrest and uninterested in seeing television taboos shattered by comedians like the Smothers Brothers. Though originally a summer replacement series, *Hee Haw* was added to CBS' prime time line-up in December 1969. Its impact was already clear. Earlier that year, on the weekend of August 15-17, half a million rock fans, hippies, and war protesters made Woodstock the counterculture event of the twentieth century; the rest of America made *Hee Haw* the number one show of the weekend.

During its run *Hee Haw*'s guest list was a virtual who's who of country music in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Merle Haggard, George Jones, Tammy Wynette, Ray Charles, Waylon Jennings, Charlie Rich, Ronnie Milsap, Johnny Cash, and Boxcar Willie all graced the *Hee Haw* stage. Singers like Garth Brooks, Randy Travis, and Vince Gill, who would see great success in the country music boom of the 1990s, made some of their first national television appearances on *Hee Haw*. Even non-country performers visited the Korn field: pop vocalists Sammy Davis, Jr. and Phil Harris, baseball legends Mickey Mantle, Johnny Bench, and Roger Marris, and actors Ernest Borgnine, Leslie Nielsen, and John Ritter all made appearances.

CBS canceled *Hee Haw* after the 1971-72 season. The network had tired of its rural image; also axed that year were *The Beverly Hillbillies*; *Green Acres*; *Gomer Pyle, USMC*; and *Mayberry RFD*. The producers wasted no time in finding a new home for the show. *Hee Haw* debuted in first-run syndication September 18, 1971. Most markets aired it Saturdays at 7:00 p.m., a time slot ceded to local stations as a result of the Federal Communications Commission's Prime Time Access Rule, which forbade off-network reruns on affiliates from 6:00-8:00 p.m. These stations needed programming, and *Hee Haw* was a pre-packaged, proven hit.

*Hee Haw* was so popular it spawned a spin-off in the fall of 1978. *Hee Haw Honeys* starred regulars Misty Rowe, Gailard Sartain, Lulu Roman, and Kenny Price, and young actress Kathie Lee Johnson, who would become better known by her married name, Kathie Lee Gifford. Their characters—Misty, Willie Billie, Lulu, Kenny, and Kathie Honey—are a Nashville family who own a country nightclub. Like its parent show *Hee Haw Honeys* featured musical guests and cornpone humor. It failed to match the older show's success, lasting only 26 episodes.

*Hee Haw* remained relatively unchanged until 1991. Slipping ratings inspired Gaylord Entertainment, the owners of the show, to revamp the format. Much of the cast was replaced. The old "Korn field" set was gone, and a new bright, modern stage appeared. The look was reminiscent of the 1980s pop music series *Solid Gold*. Longtime viewers felt angry and betrayed. Ratings fell precipitously, and the series was canceled. The last original *Hee Haw* aired May 30, 1992.

Though production ended, the series was far from gone. Reruns of the classic episodes began airing on the Nashville Network. *Hee Haw* quickly became one of the cable network's most popular offerings. A live stage version at the Grand Ole Opry in Nashville

brought the Korn field briefly back to life. *Hee Haw* is still treasured by fans of traditional country music and down-home, simple good times.

—David Hixson

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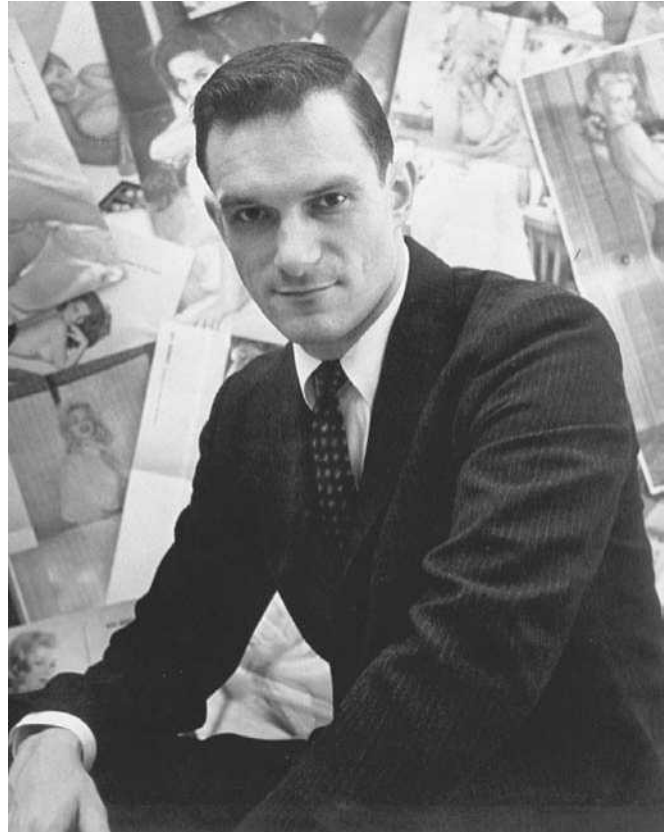
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## Hefner, Hugh (1926—)

If America experienced a sexual revolution in the latter half of the twentieth century, then one of the first shots surely was fired by Hugh Marston Hefner in 1953, the year that he introduced *Playboy* magazine to the world. The first issue of the magazine featured a centerfold of a nude Marilyn Monroe (who had posed for it years earlier, before attaining the stardom she enjoyed in 1953), and it sold well enough to guarantee that other issues would follow in the months to come.

The "shocking" new magazine was based in Chicago, the city where Hefner, the older of two sons, had grown up in a typical middle-class household. After army service and college, Hefner married and then tried to earn a living as a free-lance cartoonist. In this he was unsuccessful, but he did land a low-level job with *Esquire* magazine, the most prestigious "men's magazine" of the day, which featured articles and photo layouts on elegant clothing, sports cars, and other "male" interests. Nude photos in American periodicals in the early 1950s were limited to a few "nudist" and "art photography" magazines that skirted the edge of the law and were sold "under the counter" at newsstands when they were available at all.

Within a year after *Playboy's* premiere, Hefner's life had undergone significant changes. He was devoting all of his time to the magazine, except for the attention he gave to the beautiful and sexually available young women who worked for, or posed for, the magazine. The Hefners separated in 1955, with divorce to follow in 1959. Mrs. Hefner retained custody of the couple's two children. As the magazine's circulation continued to grow, Hefner began to adopt the lifestyle epitomized by his publication's title. He *became* a playboy, and he had the business sense to realize that being a public embodiment of what the magazine was all about could attract even more readers. For *Playboy* was, from the beginning, more than just a "skin magazine." There were the nude pictorials, of course—generally three per issue, including the centerfold "Playmate of the Month"; but like *Esquire* before it, *Playboy* featured articles about luxury cars, fine food, wine, stereo equipment—in short, everything the modern "playboy" would want to own. And if, as was likely, the



Hugh Hefner

reader's income was insufficient to support the described lifestyle—well, he could always dream, and *Playboy* would be there to provide the material for his fantasies.

Hefner's playboy image shifted into high gear in 1959 with his purchase of a seventy-room mansion on Chicago's Gold Coast. After extensive remodeling (including installation of a revolving, circular bed, eight feet in diameter, in the master bedroom), the Playboy Mansion was open for business, and its business was pleasure—pleasure for its sole permanent resident and for his many and frequent guests. A brass plate on the mansion's front door had engraved on it the Latin phrase "Si non oscillas, noli tintinnare," which the host loosely translated to mean "If you don't swing, don't ring."

Beginning in 1962, the magazine's articles on the good life began to be accompanied by a dose of philosophy—*Playboy* style. The December issue of that year included the first installment of Hefner's "Playboy Philosophy." There would be twenty-five installments in all (amounting to about 150,000 words) before the series ended in 1966. In these columns, Hefner defended his magazine's content and values, assailed his critics, and espoused positions on social issues—he was in favor of increased sex education, legalized abortion, and freedom of expression; and opposed to censorship, prudery, and archaic sex laws. In addition to decrying the sexual puritanism of American life, Hefner was also an early and vocal advocate of civil rights for minorities. The magazine's editorial content reflected this view, as did Hefner's policy for booking entertainers at the mansion, the chain of Playboy Clubs that began in 1959, and two syndicated television shows (*Playboy's Penthouse*, 1959-61, and *Playboy after Dark*, 1968-70). Hefner brought in black

entertainers (such as Sammy Davis Jr., Dick Gregory, and Nancy Wilson) at a time when having “black” acts in a predominantly “white” venue just was not done.

Hefner’s empire went through some tough times in the late 1970s and 1980s. Circulation of the magazine declined, partly due to competition from publications like *Penthouse* and *Hustler*, both of which were often more sexually graphic than Hefner wanted *Playboy* to be. Further, the close relationship existing between the Reagan administration (which came into office in 1981) and fundamentalist Christian groups like the Rev. Jerry Falwell’s Moral Majority made for a political climate that was inhospitable to sexual liberationists like Hefner.

Hefner unloaded the Chicago Playboy Mansion in the early 1980s and moved full-time into Playboy Mansion West, an estate he had purchased in Los Angeles. After suffering a mild stroke in 1985, Hefner began turning over day-to-day operation of his empire to his daughter Christie, whom he had brought into the business eight years earlier. In the late 1990s, Christie Hefner worked as chairman and CEO of Playboy Enterprises, Inc., although her father remained listed as editor-in-chief of the magazine.

Hugh Hefner was married a second time in 1989, to former Playmate of the Year Kimberly Conrad. The union produced two children, but the couple separated in January of 1998, allowing Hefner to return once again to his “playboy” lifestyle.

—Justin Gustainis

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## Hellman, Lillian (1906-1984)

One of the most daring and inventive playwrights of her generation, Lillian Hellman’s own life was the stuff of drama. As Carl Rollyson has written, “The key to Lillian Hellman’s character, to what made her a legend in her own time, was her sense of herself as a grande dame.” Indeed, Hellman is not only remembered for her work—award-winning plays such as *The Children’s Hour*, *The Little Foxes*, and *Watch on the Rhine*—but for her audacious persona. A tough-talking, cigarette-smoking Jewish woman from New Orleans, Lillian Hellman loved attention. She got it through her plays, through her difficult relationship with the brilliant writer Dashiell Hammett, and through her left-wing politics. When called before the House Un-American Activities Committee, Hellman refused to be a friendly witness, uttering her most famous line: “I cannot and will not cut my conscience to fit this year’s fashions.” In her advancing years, Hellman wrote three extraordinary memoirs, making her very public life even more so. When a story from one of them was made into a major motion picture, *Julia* (1976), starring Jane Fonda and Vanessa Redgrave, Hellman became a heroine to a new generation of women. Lillian Hellman liked money; she also liked fame. She got both, and became, in the process, a one-of-a-kind American icon.

—Victoria Price

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## Hello, Dolly!

*Hello, Dolly!* occupies an enduring place in popular American culture. Not only has it become one of the most popular Broadway musicals since its opening in 1964, but it is a musical adaptation of playwright Thornton Wilder’s *The Matchmaker*. The original production furnished Carol Channing with one of her trademark roles as turn-of-the-century New York widowed matchmaker and “fixer” for all occasions, Dolly Gallagher Levi. Dolly’s second-act entrance at the Harmonia Gardens Restaurant, where she sings the title song as she descends a red-carpeted staircase into the company of her admirers for a show-stopping production number, has become one of the classic scenes of the musical theater.

With music and lyrics by Jerry Herman, book by Michael Stewart, and choreography and direction by Gower Champion, *Hello, Dolly!* played 2,844 performances in its initial New York run. The show won a myriad Tony Awards, including best musical, book, score, actress (Channing), and director-choreographer. Channing’s co-stars in the original cast included David Burns, Eileen Brennan, and Charles Nelson Reilly. The 1969 film version, which Herman considers definitive, starred Barbra Streisand and Walter Matthau, was directed by Gene Kelly, and marked the last of the big Hollywood musicals. It is oft-revived all over the world and on Broadway.

—William A. Everett

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## Hell’s Angels

During the height of their notoriety, the motorcycle gang Hell’s Angels made headlines from coast to coast, with stories appearing in the *New York Times*, *Newsweek*, *Time*, *True*, the *Nation*, and a host of other publications. With their death’s-head emblem, outré habits, and the mystique of modern-day Quantrill’s raiders, the Angels were tantalizing to the press. In fact, their seedy allure was heightened by the press to such a degree that it spawned a national—and then



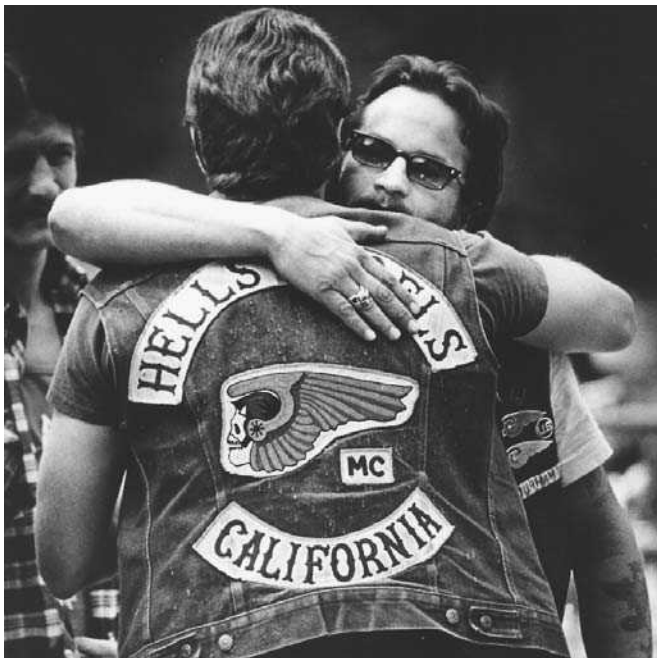
Barbra Streisand and Louis Armstrong from the film *Hello, Dolly!*

international—fascination with outlaw motorcyclists. From magazines and books, the Angels' story spread inexorably to movie theaters, and biker movies became so popular that they inspired a rash of films based on the Angels' true-life exploits. Predictably, the fictional amplification of their misdeeds bore only a faint resemblance to the real-life models, increasing their fascination, so much so that the Angels now have charters throughout Europe and beyond.

It all started in California after World War II "when most ex-GIs wanted to get back to an orderly pattern: college, marriage, a job, children—all the peaceful extras that come with a sense of security," wrote Hunter S. Thompson, whose book is perhaps the definitive work on the Angels. But not everybody felt that way: "There were thousands of veterans in 1945 who flatly rejected the idea of going back to their prewar pattern. They wanted more action, and one of the ways to look for it was on a big motorcycle." In California, where the weather is clement year-round and a premium is placed on mobility of all kinds, these young men congregated in groups—adopting names like the Booze Fighters or the Market Street Commandos—regularly making runs to resort towns throughout the state—trips that were always tinged by menace. These were the culprits who tore up the agricultural town of Hollister, California, in 1947, the first motorcycle riot, coverage of which inspired producer Stanley Kramer and actor Marlon Brando to make *The Wild One* in 1954.

In Fontana, California, a steel town east of Los Angeles, the original Hell's Angels emerged out of the wreckage of an earlier club, the Booze Fighters. They were blue-collar types, scornful of normalcy, and among motorcycle outlaws, the Angels were soon known as the toughest, most obdurate of the motorcycle outlaws—kings of violence and depravity. For fifteen years the San Bernardino Angels were the de facto leaders, bestowing new charters at their whim. But the Berdoo Angels, as they were called, who had a reputation for inspired depravity, persisted in their folly a might too long. They became the victims of massive police harassment—much deserved no doubt—and soon the chapter had been decimated by an exodus to Oakland, known as the promised land to Angels, and by the early 1960s a large concentration of Angels had gathered in the Bay Area.

For all their colorful ways, it took until the mid-1960s for them to come to the attention of the state law enforcement apparatus. The occasion was a Labor Day Run to Monterey which had resulted in allegations of rape, and although the defendants were eventually acquitted, the state attorney general's office was alarmed enough to launch a six-month investigation. Much of the report was unfounded or so prejudiced as to be beyond credulity, and the Angels might have faded back into obscurity were it not for a sole *New York Times* correspondent in Los Angeles who filed a lurid dispatch. Appearing in the *Times* gave the bikers credibility. *Newsweek* and *Time* weighed



Two members of the Hell's Angels.

in with their own alarms. Other publications followed, and soon the bikers had grown accustomed to the media's presence and were earnestly trying to capitalize on their new-found fame.

The heightened publicity had benefits and drawbacks. The Angels truly enjoyed seeing themselves in print, and their presence acquired a certain amount of hip cachet in bohemian circles throughout the Bay; but police harassment had increased exponentially, and many of the outlaws were summarily dismissed by their employers as a result of the ensuing hysteria. Many of the Angels grew restive over the fact that they had failed to profit from the storm of controversy that had swept over them. And they had become self-conscious. Oakland President Sonny Barger, having grown accustomed to giving well-attended press conferences, took himself seriously enough to attack a peace march in Oakland, the first time the Angels had shown even the faintest interest in politics. The attack and its subsequent notoriety heralded a drop in media interest, but Hollywood was just catching on.

From the philosophical 1969 *Easy Rider* (not so much a biker film as a paean to the myth of the outlaw biker), arguably the best of the lot, to the outlandish *Werewolves on Wheels*, the myth of the nefarious yet noble biker was worked through all its possible permutations to varying degrees of success and/or profit. First of the group was *The Wild Angels* (1966), starring Peter Fonda and Nancy Sinatra. Director Roger Corman, always quickest to the draw, had cobbled together a story from elements of the Lynch Report; and in its story of paying tribute to a fallen comrade (based on the death of a Sacramento Angel that January), *The Wild Angels* came closest to portraying the Angels in their natural state. Yet, the film had an equivocal tone, part denunciation, part hero worship, and it set the standard for the rash of biker films that would follow. *The Born Losers*, released the following year, concentrated on the Angels' reputation for gang rape, and so was a slightly less sympathetic account. After the Angels' participation in the havoc at Altamont, the Angels' screen persona degenerated further. By the early 1970s, the genre was commonly linked with the occult or Satanism.

Since the coverage of the Hollister motorcycle riot in 1947, the relationship between the media and the bikers has always been symbiotic. The Angels' appeal was archetypal—the vanishing outlaw beset on all sides by an increasingly regimented society. It is arguable that had not the national news media, and then Hollywood, exploited the Angels' very existence, they would have remained a local phenomenon. As it was, Hell's Angels clubs sprang up in Great Britain, Germany, the Scandinavian countries, even in the Soviet Union where Angels rode World War II-era army surplus machines when they rode anything. In 1994, the Angels made news when a rival gang blew up the Swedish Hell's Angels clubhouse near Oslo with hand-launched rockets stolen from a Swedish military base. The Hell's Angels phenomenon was truly international in scope.

As for the California Angels, they persisted at the fringes of society, often making headlines for their role in various drug-smuggling conspiracies, but the threat and the allure were gone. They seemed more like picturesque anachronisms than voracious, threatening marauders. As of the late 1990s, there are magazines devoted to outlaw motorcyclists, and an annual run to Sturgis, North Dakota, is a well-organized, fairly tame event, drawing participants from around the world. But still, when a big Harley piloted by an Angel in cutoff jeans jacket and the ubiquitous death's-head patch pulls past on the freeway, the frisson is palpable, and one can imagine the fear and trepidation such a sight would have inspired back in the summer of 1965.

—Michael Baers

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## Hemingway, Ernest (1899-1961)

At the height of his popularity, Ernest Hemingway was hailed as the greatest writer of American literature, a hero of several wars, a world-class sportsman in the fields of bullfighting, boxing, hunting, and fishing, and a connoisseur of food, wine, writing, and painting. He was viewed as a colossus who strode all fields of action, excelling in all the manly pursuits. At his worst, Hemingway was derided as a writer who specialized in evasion and repression; an illiterate, inarticulate ox who avoided literary circles to disguise his own limitations; a bully, misogynist, and homophobe with the world's most famous castration anxiety; a self-aggrandizing egotist and poseur who



**Ernest Hemingway**

shamelessly promoted the legend of his exploits in popular magazines; a belligerent and jealous writer who betrayed and publicly insulted all the authors who helped his career; an overpaid, glorified journalist who sold his talent to feed his ego, ending up as a rich, decadent alcoholic who succumbed to dementia in later years, and who finally took his own life when he realized that he could not write anymore.

Born Ernest Miller Hemingway in Oak Park, Illinois, on July 21, 1899, Hemingway developed his terse style by writing for the *Kansas City Star* in 1917. In 1918 he volunteered as a Red Cross ambulance driver in Italy, where he was badly wounded attempting to save a soldier's life. Hemingway's war experiences and his severe injuries seem to have carved a deep scar in the young man's psyche, and he suffered from insomnia and a fear of sleeping in the dark. All his early writing reveals a preoccupation with violence and wounds, and a terror of death. The honesty with which Hemingway wrote about naked emotions in the 1920s—which contrasts sharply with the bloated legend of himself that he promoted in the 1930s and beyond—was immediately greeted as a major innovation in modern writing. His rapid development and swift rise to acclaim derived from his willingness to learn from older writers: while living in Paris among the expatriates he sought, and followed, the advice of Gertrude Stein, James Joyce, Ezra Pound, Ford Madox Ford, and F. Scott Fitzgerald.

Though most famous for his terse, stark narrative style and realistic dialogue, Hemingway was certainly not the first to write plainly and simply; he did not singlehandedly overthrow the decadent conventions of the Victorian novel. Many predecessors, including Mark Twain, Gertrude Stein, and Sherwood Anderson, had cleared

the prolix path that Hemingway strode more boldly. He did however drive verbal terseness and austerity to its limit, setting an unsurpassable standard, while avoiding Stein's and Anderson's eccentricities. Hemingway's early prose was taut and brittle, achieving its effects through extremely subtle suggestion while refusing to be "literary." He jettisoned the worn accouterments of alliteration, assonance, simile, and metaphor to look directly at life and report only what he saw, unencumbered by literary conventions. This does not mean, however, that Hemingway's fiction was stripped of emotion, as it may seem to a careless reader. Hemingway refrained from describing emotion, avoiding phrases like "he felt," or "he thought," and discarding adverbs and adjectives, but he suggested the characters' emotions by reporting what they saw, noticed, or did. For instance, in the short story "Big Two-Hearted River," Hemingway conveys the anxiety of a veteran, Nick Adams, returning home from the war and trying to repress his painful memories. But the author does this not by telling us that Nick is trying to repress his thoughts, but rather by meticulously reporting Nick's concentration on mundane but consoling activities such as fishing and making lunch. Such indirect and subtle effects were quite powerful when done well, but could result in long passages of pointlessness when done badly, as in some of his later work.

Also notable in his early writing is a willingness to portray what his characters really felt rather than what they were supposed to feel. He did not care to write edifying stories: if his character felt empty and hollow after an event that was supposed to make a respectable man feel sad, the story gained power through its honest realism. The most successful specimens of Hemingway's method were his short stories. His first novel, *The Sun Also Rises* (1926), also managed to sustain the dramatic tension and power of the shorter works. Hemingway made extensive revisions at Fitzgerald's suggestion, and the book revealed remarkable parallels with Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (1925). But ironically Hemingway soon displaced Fitzgerald as the major new author of the postwar generation. Fitzgerald had been feted as the author of the Jazz Age, and appealed to collegiate readers stateside. Hemingway became known as the author of the "Lost Generation" (though the phrase, made famous by Gertrude Stein, referred cynically to the same generation as Fitzgerald's Jazz Age). Hemingway made a stronger impression among war veterans, and *The Sun Also Rises* became the most significant work of the growing genre of post-war novels about world-weary veterans. The book was amazingly influential: young women began talking like the flippant heroine, Brett Ashley, and young men started acting like Jake Barnes or Hemingway's other male characters, muttering tough-sounding understatements and donning the repressive sackcloth of machismo. Hemingway's portrayal of the wounded, taciturn hero resounded among men who might not ordinarily read "serious literature," and validated an archetype in popular culture which survived for several generations in icons such as John Wayne, Charles Bronson, and Clint Eastwood.

Hemingway's next novel, *A Farewell to Arms* (1929), returned to the theme of the wounded soldier, and the pastoral charms of escape and a "separate peace." It was a bestseller, as all of Hemingway's subsequent books would be, and secured his reputation as a major author. Unfortunately, *A Farewell to Arms* marked the end of Hemingway's rapid development and uncompromised artistic integrity. In 1932, he published *Death in the Afternoon*, a handbook on the art of bullfighting. Treating bullfighting as a tragic ritual, the book provides many insights into Hemingway's views on death, performance, courage, and art—all important themes in his fiction. Although the book has interesting digressions on literature, it also has entire



chapters devoted to specific bullfighting techniques or appraisals of long-dead bullfighters which make for very tedious reading.

But the real subject of the book was not bullfighting; it was Hemingway. In *Fame Became of Him*, John Raeburn identifies nine personae that Hemingway projected in *Death in the Afternoon* and in later autobiographical works: world traveler, arbiter of taste, bon vivant, heroic artist, exposé of sham, initiated insider, battle-scarred stoic, sportsman, and manly man. Three of these—arbiter of taste, world traveler, and bon vivant—form a cluster of roles typical of the literary gentleman. Writers can often be counted on to offer tips on wine, dining, arts, and travel. In these roles Hemingway was similar to the effete, foppish dilettantes whom he usually detested, such as Ford Madox Ford or Henry James. To a lesser extent, the roles of heroic artist, exposé of sham, and initiated insider are also common among writers. The heroic artist who suffers for his muse was a familiar pose of the Romantics (particularly Byron), and the exposé of sham has a long pedigree in satirical writing. The battle-scarred stoic had become a common, though resonant, figure in post-war writing. The initiated insider was partly related to the veteran figure, but initiation into a select fraternity of like-minded fellows became quintessentially Hemingway. He pretended to follow a code of conduct which was all the more dignified for being unspoken, above defense, and inscrutable to outsiders.

But the uniqueness and popularity of Hemingway's public personality lay in joining these highbrow roles with those of sportsman and manly man. Readers knew of his interest in fishing, hunting, and bullfighting from his early fiction, where these sports were embraced as pastoral pleasures of escape for the physically or mentally wounded, solitary pastimes for taciturn men. But when described as Hemingway's own hobbies in his non-fiction, they lost the therapeutic element—presumably because Hemingway was loath to admit any psychological wounds—and became games of competition, obligatory tasks of masculinity, demonstrations of "cojones," or balls. Indeed, Hemingway seemed to devote the rest of his life from the 1930s onward to proving his *cojones*, perhaps embarrassed by theories that Jake Barnes, the protagonist of *The Sun Also Rises* whose penis was shot off in the war, was an autobiographical character. In later works Hemingway seemed to dissociate himself from such vulnerable characters, and also alienated himself from writers—an unmanly lot—by quarreling with, defaming, and even threatening almost every major writer of his generation. He derided homosexuals in *Death in the Afternoon*, dismissing the artistry of Gertrude Stein, Oscar Wilde, André Gide, Walt Whitman, and Francisco Goya on the theory that they were inherently flawed and therefore disqualified as artists.

Such masculine posturing proved enormously popular, and soon after *Death in the Afternoon* Hemingway began a series of essays for the newly founded men's magazine, *Esquire*, which was marketed toward a sophisticated, though not intellectual, audience. He wrote 36 *Esquire* essays on topics such as fishing, hunting, and wine. He even wrote beer ads disguised as essays. Whereas *Death in the Afternoon* had a professed artistic impetus in Hemingway's desire to view death in order to write "truly" about the experience, the *Esquire* articles lacked any artistic purpose and were pointedly non-literary. Hemingway was beginning to fashion a new character, whose name was Ernest Hemingway. He continued this farce in another book of non-fiction, *Green Hills of Africa* (1935). A personal account of Hemingway's safari adventure, *Green Hills of Africa* reads more like a novel than *Death in the Afternoon*, sporting vivid descriptions of action and dialogue. But Hemingway's style of writing "truly" faltered the

more he wrote about himself: the book simply promoted the virile Hemingway legend without revealing anything intimate about the author. The *Esquire* experience and his swelling fame distorted his self-awareness and blurred his ability to distinguish fact and fiction. His self-aggrandizing grew more frequent as the burgeoning medium of photojournalism got bigger and flashier. Hemingway's striking demeanor and handsome, husky appearance made him a favorite of glossy magazines such as *Life* and *Look*, which wedded big colorful photos to the trenchant aphorisms Hemingway was happy to provide.

Another product of Hemingway's African adventure was the short story, "The Snows of Kilimanjaro," which told of a writer who, dying of gangrene while hunting in Africa, realizes too late that he has squandered his talent. The protagonist laments "poor Scott Fitzgerald" as a writer ruined by his fascination with the rich. Hemingway thus deflected suspicion that the ruined writer of the story might represent himself by this slanderous jab at Fitzgerald. Whether or not he needed this decoy to write with his old frankness, he wrought a rich and complex story. However, most critics recognized that the declining writer was Hemingway himself, and soon it would be obvious to everyone.

When Hemingway finally returned to novel writing in 1937 with *To Have and Have Not* he was a very different writer from the artistic innovator of the 1920s. Whereas his earlier fiction masterfully portrayed vulnerable characters through extremely subtle prose which seemed to mirror the repressed nature of the character himself, in *To Have and Have Not* repression triumphs over revelation. Masking his own vulnerabilities, Hemingway also masked those of his characters, stripping them of human interest. His latest protagonist, Harry Morgan, a tough-talking weapons smuggler in trouble with the mafia and the government, betrayed no weakness and awoke no pathos. After losing his arm in an accident, he stoically responds, "[If] you lose an arm, you lose an arm." The novel was barely distinguishable from pulp fiction. Hemingway's half-hearted attempts at political significance made the work more embarrassing than redeeming. During the Depression, critics of the New Left favored novels of social relevance, like those of John Steinbeck or Sinclair Lewis. Many writers of the 1920s, such as Fitzgerald and Thornton Wilder, had fallen out of critical favor for their indifference to politics. Hemingway, who seemed to appeal to the common man because of his simple prose and simple pleasures, was urged by some critics to write more socially relevant stories. He capitulated with *To Have and Have Not*, and found favor with the more naive members of the Left, but most critics recognized the novel as politically simplistic. Although the novel was a bestseller, and Hemingway was more popular than ever, his critical reputation sunk to its lowest.

Whereas William Faulkner had spent the 1930s producing one masterpiece after another in the most astonishing series of achievements in American literature since Henry James, Hemingway had churned out a preponderance of facile nonfiction, mostly in slick popular magazines. Always jealously competitive, Hemingway responded to the challenge of Faulkner's achievement and set out to regain the championship he had held in the 1920s. The result was *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940), his longest and most ambitious work. The novel seems to have been intended as his masterpiece, embracing a wider range of themes than any of his previous novels. However, Hemingway's carefully crafted style was ill-suited for such a broad canvas, and the novel's sheer bulk diluted the potency of his prose. The novel was almost as politically simplistic as *To Have and Have Not*. Although Hemingway strove to weave grand themes of nature,

technology, and the unity of mankind, his truer, deeper preoccupations were still with the solitary man proving his mettle and facing death alone. The hero, Robert Jordan, was cut from the same cloth as earlier Hemingway heroes, solitary, glum, absinthe-drinking men. Robert Jordan was a professor of Spanish, but the intellectual side of the character was sketchy, unconvincing, and incongruent with his more familiar Hemingwayesque traits. The intended effect of the novel was unachieved. Hemingway failed to unify his themes and symbols, all the more ironic since the unity of mankind was the overarching theme. Nevertheless, the novel was extraordinarily successful, selling 360,000 copies and generating a movie.

Hemingway continued to make money by writing for *Collier's* magazine as a war correspondent in Europe during World War II. The 1940s were highly profitable for Hemingway, and brought him fame as a war hero (although the extent of his military participation is disputed). He did not return to novel writing until 1950. At the pinnacle of fame and arrogance, Hemingway consented to an interview with Lilian Ross, in which he boasted about his forthcoming work and his enduring position as "champ" in American fiction. This memorable character sketch, entitled "How Do You Like It, Now, Gentlemen?," was very different from the usual adulating articles honoring Hemingway as a champion sportsman and manly man. Although affectionate, the sketch revealed Hemingway's eccentricities and egotism. He called himself Papa, posing as the wise, grizzled old man of American letters. He claimed that he had once lived with a bear in Montana, where they drank and slept together. But what proved to be most embarrassing to Hemingway was his boast that his forthcoming novel would be his best ever. When *Across the River and into the Trees* appeared four months later, it was almost unanimously regarded as the worst novel of his career. It was an abysmal work, so poorly written that it seemed a parody of his own style, riddled with his pet words "good," "true," "well," and so on. Though not without redeeming qualities, it is best enjoyed as a parody of the famous Hemingway style from the master's own pen.

The contrast between Hemingway's published boastfulness and the critics' sudden disfavor became even more painful when Faulkner won the Nobel Prize that same year. Five years earlier Faulkner had been a well-kept secret, and Hemingway (in his role as initiated insider and arbiter of taste) had been able to confide to Jean-Paul Sartre and others that Faulkner was a better writer than himself. Once Faulkner won the Nobel Prize, and myriad belated accolades tumbled his way, Hemingway could no longer regard himself as the champ of American letters, as he had boasted in the Ross interview, and he turned on Faulkner, declaring that no one ever wrote a decent novel after winning the Nobel Prize. Meanwhile, Hemingway labored over a long autobiographical novel, *Islands in the Stream*. The novel was disjointed, tedious, and uninspired. Aging, alcoholic, and unhealthy, Hemingway seemed to be losing his talent. However, he salvaged the last part of the novel and published it as an independent work in *Life* in 1952 as *The Old Man and the Sea*. A painfully poignant tale of an aged fisherman who catches the biggest marlin of his life and loses it to sharks, the story was told in a beautifully simple, chaste style that surpassed anything Hemingway had written since the 1920s. Struggling with artistic and physical decline, Hemingway had made one final effort to write truly, and succeeded by reaching inside himself to wrench out the painful theme of failure. "Man was not made for defeat. A man can be destroyed but not defeated." The *Life* issue sold five million copies, and the story was instantly hailed as a masterpiece. In 1954, Hemingway won the Nobel Prize, largely on the achievement of *The Old Man and the Sea*.

Throughout the 1950s Hemingway worked on a novel, *The Garden of Eden*, but remained unhappy with it and withheld publication. He also discovered a cache of memoirs he had begun in the 1920s, and proceeded to revise and expand them into a book called *A Moveable Feast*. The rediscovered writings reminded Hemingway of his youth, when he was establishing his reputation as a bold new artist of uncompromised integrity, and made it painfully clear that the aging writer had squandered his talent for the gratifications of fame. Although he had accused Fitzgerald and Faulkner of ruining their talent on stories for the *Saturday Evening Post* and movies for Hollywood, Hemingway had compromised his talent even more grotesquely by creating an absurd fabrication of himself. His public persona was his own worst character and had infected most of the characters he had created since the 1920s. Realizing that he could no longer write, nor maintain his own egotistical standards, Hemingway shot himself on July 2, 1961.

The adulation continued years after his death, and posthumous novels, stories, and nonfiction continued to appear well into the 1990s. But biographies also appeared, and emerging evidence gradually revealed Hemingway to be a despicable man motivated by egotism, jealousy, and a sexual insecurity that led him to ridicule others and prove his own manhood ad absurdum. Such macho posturing already seemed out of place in the 1960s, and utterly ridiculous by the 1990s, though academic interest in Hemingway continued to thrive under deconstructive and feminist approaches to literature. By the turn of the century it seemed unlikely that Hemingway would ever regain the swollen stature of his middle period. However, his influence over American literature is immense and ubiquitous. As one of the major prose stylists of the English language, he has bred more imitators than any other American writer. But few authors were able to attain the suggestive power and subtlety of Hemingway's finest work. Faulkner captured it in his stark, brittle potboiler, *Sanctuary*, and Fitzgerald employed a certain Hemingwayesque subtlety amid the softly echoing motifs of *Tender Is the Night*. But more often one found mere verbal imitation by inferior authors such as Erskine Caldwell, who simply borrowed the outward trappings of conscientious monosyllables and tough dialogue for their otherwise conventional narrative and perfunctory symbolism. Hemingway's best fiction set a standard that few could attain, not even the later Hemingway.

—Douglas Cooke

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## Hemlines

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Hemlines have been equated with both fashion and culture, defining particular decades, generations, economies, media, and gendered ideologies, thereby working as imagistic markers within systems of popular culture. Couture culture's system of design traditionally has fed the contents of fashion magazines with fantasy imagery fabricating a "look," color, or hemline for readers. Such is the case with Christian Dior's New Look of 1947, the essential feature of which was the full skirt fish-tailing from cinched waist to mid-calf. This shape and length were adapted for department-store and catalogue sales and for home-sewing patterns, thus becoming part of popular fashion.

Hollywood's studio system of the 1930s and 1940s established a primary place for designers, whose costumes glamorized the female star, made her a screen icon, and typified the genre character she played, especially in melodrama and film noir. Two films released in 1957, *Designing Woman* (Minnelli) and *Funny Face* (Donen), parodied the arbitrariness of the fashion system and its fixation on the viewable woman.

Television sitcoms of the 1950s and 1960s conventionalized the look of the well turned-out wife and mom, dressing her in the essential style and hemline seen in the costuming of Gracie Allen (*The George Burns and Gracie Allen Show*), Lucille Ball (*I Love Lucy*), Harriet Nelson (*The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*), and June Cleaver (*Leave It to Beaver*). Weekly, these original sitcom women performed their domestic roles wearing variations of the New Look's vertical line, most commonly the shirtmaker dress of trim bodice and sleeves, tailored collar, buttoned front, and mid-calf skirt flaring out from a defined waist. The full skirt was often underpinned by a crinoline. But, whether flaring or straight, their dresses often were accessorized by that symbol of the proper woman, a neat strand of cultured pearls. The middlebrow American homemaker represented in these sitcoms was a picture of postwar comfort, consumerism, and suburbia. She was also a trickster who juggled her husband's money to maintain her image by shopping for fashionable clothes.

British designer Mary Quant's radical miniskirt of the 1960s, emerging out of a "swinging" London of Carnaby Street and boutique-store culture, countered the Americanized femininity of Lucy and her sitcom generation.

Boutique culture's eclecticism prevailed into the 1970s, displacing the long-or-short hemline dilemma with fashionable options, notably the "maxi," which fell to the ankle or below. Mid-calf lengths, given the term "midi," were reincarnated in looser styles and fabrics. By the 1980s, the long-or-short hemline dilemma had become passe, though still part of fashion rhetoric in style magazines and department store flyers promoting "seasons," "the new" or "the latest" in ready-to-wear labels and commercial brands.

Asymmetrical hemlines in variation (a short front with dipping back, or a side-to-side diagonal) signalled the compromise of designers in the 1980s and early 1990s. Similarly, the flash effect of vertical off-side slits, found on every skirt length from maxi to mini, made one leg visible and emphasized the thigh. Manufactured in office wear as well as evening garb, this style allowed for greater mobility but also a loss of skirt-control when the wearer sat down. The ladylike posture of crossed legs became an instinctive defence against exposure. The vertical side-slit was less about utility than about projecting a feminine essence—reminiscent of the New Look, if more sexualized.

In the late 1990s the hemline debate has been given timely twists and fell victim to self-conscious parody in the popular television series *Ally McBeal*. Ally's short skirts (the micro-mini in tailored form) are a feminine tool to test, sometimes to arrest, the sexist patriarchal structures of the legal system and courtroom. Anne Hollander argues in *Sex and Suits*, "... the first [1960s] function of small, short modern skirts was to put women's clothed bodies into a complete physical correspondence with men's ... visual assumption of public equality for men and women." Ally McBeal's ultra short skirts bring forward this struggle for the contemporary young woman within American culture who presumably strives to be taken seriously as a professional and to be desirable to men. Ally's short hemlines and sputtering naive persona externalize the cultural tentativeness that followed a long line of fashionable sitcom figures, from Lucy and Gracie as maneuvering wives in the 1950s to Mary Tyler Moore's single woman negotiating with male newsroom colleagues and boy-friends in the 1970s.

Ally McBeal's character is popular culture's good girl reincarnated, whose short skirts do not render her sexually secure or successful. At the same time, Ally's quirkiness exudes what the cool if neurotic bad girl of 1950s "B" movies had to suppress. The "bad but beautiful" movie genre persona of actress Ida Lupino in *Women's Prison* (Seiler, 1950) is embodied by her simple, sophisticated costuming. In her pencil-slim, mid-calf dark skirt and crisp white blouses, Lupino's mean prison warden metes out a professional woman's control. Unable to handle power, in this tale of morality she is not only asexual but must die. It is the decent women prisoners, garbed in striped shirtmaker dresses, midi-length, who are domesticated and make sacrifices in order to survive. In the moment of her destruction, the warden's clean blouse and midi skirt give way to a straightjacket, her cold femininity and existence erased.

American film, television, and magazines can be charted historically through fashion and hemlines for shifts and slippage in the popular imagery and ideologies of femininity. One slippage is the persistence of retro hemlines and looks. In late 1998 *Vogue Patterns*, a magazine for home sewers, launched a Vintage Vogue Collection of their patterns from the late 1930s to mid-1940s, a service said by the editor to be based on contemporary readers' "wishes" and "needs." Pleated, straight, and A-line skirts all fall below the knee or to mid-calf in these designs, perhaps a conservative reordering in the face of Ally McBeal's minis and the trendy knit maxi skirt of the 1990s.

—Joan Nicks

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## Henderson, Fletcher (1898-1952)

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As a bandleader, composer, and arranger, Fletcher Henderson was one of the definers and shapers of jazz music in the swing era of the 1940s and 1950s. After graduating from Atlanta University with majors in chemistry and math, Henderson moved to New York in

1920 for post-graduate study. There he accepted a part-time job as a pianist with W. C. Handy, and his career goals changed. In 1923 he assembled a band widely recognized as the first large jazz orchestra, one that included such celebrated sidemen as Louis Armstrong, Coleman Hawkins, and Benny Carter. His most lasting work came in the swing era as an arranger for the Dorsey brothers and Benny Goodman. His style of big band jazz featured the reeds pitted against the brass section as well as highly rhythmic passages of ensemble chords by the entire band. Typical Henderson arrangements can be heard on recordings of “King Porter Stomp” and “Sometimes I’m Happy” by the Goodman band.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Hendrix, Jimi (1942-1970)

Jimi Hendrix was the quintessential 1960s rock star. A black superstar in what was by then predominantly a white industry and an American who first found success in Great Britain, Hendrix embodied many of the contradictions of the late 1960s music scene. As a guitar player, he single-handedly redefined the genre’s most important instrument and remains widely considered the best ever to have played it. As a performer, he combined showmanship and musicianship in equal parts, and played the best remembered sets of the two best remembered music festivals of the period. His death at age 27 from an overdose of drugs (albeit prescription) completed the picture of what became a cultural archetype of the late twentieth century: that of the enormously talented, misunderstood rock star whose meteoric rise to fame is matched by a tragic fall and early death.

Johnny Allen Hendrix was born in Seattle on November 7, 1942, to 17-year-old Lucille Hendrix while his father, Al, was in the army. His early childhood was one of nonstop confusion, as he lodged with a variety of family members in houses and hotels as far away as Texas, California, and Vancouver. In 1946 Al changed his son’s name to James Marshall. Lucille died in 1958 when Jimmy was 15, the same year he got his first guitar. He began playing in the high school band until he dropped out in 1960. Arrested for riding in a stolen car, Hendrix received a suspended sentence by promising to sign up with the military. He became a parachutist in the 101st Airborne in 1961. He soon tired of the military life, though, and was discharged after breaking his ankle in 1962. At this point he became a professional musician, setting up his own group in Nashville with army buddy Billy Cox, and backing up a variety of rhythm-and-blues artists who came through town. In the spring of 1963, Hendrix left Nashville as part of “Gorgeous” George Odell’s band.

For the next three years, Hendrix backed up many of the biggest names in R & B—the Isley Brothers, Little Richard, Ike and Tina Turner, King Curtis, Sam and Dave—though he made no significant recordings. Anxious to make his own music, he settled in New York City in 1965 and by early 1966 was focusing his efforts on his own band, Jimmy James and the Blue Flames. They performed in the



Jimi Hendrix

Greenwich Village folk-rock club Café Wha? for a pittance in front of a scant audience, but his astonishing command of blues, soul and rock guitar styles greatly impressed fellow musicians like Mike Bloomfield, John Hammond Jr., and a small group of cognoscenti. In September of 1966, Animals bassist Chas. Chandler, who was looking to make his mark as a manager and producer, signed Hendrix and took him to England.

London was in the midst of a blues craze, led by John Mayall, the Rolling Stones, and Eric Clapton. It was immediately apparent that Hendrix was head and shoulders above the top local guitarists: Clapton, Jeff Beck, and Pete Townshend all made a point of seeing Hendrix wherever he was playing, before he had a recording contract or even a band. After sitting in at London’s hippest clubs, Hendrix formed the Jimi Hendrix Experience with two young white Englishmen, bassist Noel Redding and drummer Mitch Mitchell. At Chandler’s insistence, the group’s first single was a cover, “Hey Joe,” but the gifted guitarist soon demonstrated his skill as a composer and came up with the next single, “Purple Haze”—probably his best known composition. Though there is no evidence that Hendrix had taken LSD at that point, his generous use of guitar effects—unusual intervals like flatted fifths and sharp ninths, and bizarre lyrical themes—perfectly suited him to lead the psychedelic movement which was starting to sweep through rock ‘n’ roll.

Released in the spring of 1967, the first Experience album, *Are You Experienced?* was a tour de force, replete with complex guitar sounds that had never been heard before. By then, following the Beatles' lead, every British band that counted was scrambling to pile up as many weird sounds and special effects as they could, but none had Hendrix's touch for making consistent musical sense with them. Like Stevie Wonder a few years later, Hendrix humanized electronic effects, using the rapidly advancing technology of the late 1960s to communicate timeless emotions. And when it suited the material, he could create perfectly beautiful music without any effects at all (as in "The Wind Cries Mary," the third Experience single). The album also contained his first protest song, "I Don't Live Today," which he often dedicated in concert "to the American Indian." And he wasn't above exploiting the stereotype of the macho black male, as in "Fire."

The U.S. release of the album was supplemented with the "A" sides of the first three singles; two blues numbers were excised, helping create the myth of Hendrix as an ahistorical, purely intuitive talent. A highly anticipated performance at the Monterey Pop Festival in June 1967 marked the Experience's American debut, complete with guitar-burning theatrics, and cemented Hendrix's reputation as an international star, though his wild appearance and demeanor tended to be promoted at the expense of his musicianship. A second album, *Axis: Bold As Love*, followed close behind the first; it contained his most-covered composition, "Little Wing," the individualist anthem "If 6 Was 9," and an experimental tape collage, "EXP," plus innovative use of effects like wah-wah and phasing.

By the end of 1967 Hendrix's relationship with Chas. Chandler had deteriorated, and he took over the production reins himself for his next album, *Electric Ladyland*, at the same time keeping to a heavy touring schedule. Released as a double LP in October 1968, the set's sprawl offended some critics, and the UK cover, featuring photos of 21 nude women, caused some controversy, but it went to the top of the charts (the only No. 1 album Hendrix ever had in the United States) thanks to hard rock classics including "Voodoo Chile (Slight Return)" and the Bob Dylan cover "All Along the Watchtower." Despite their commercial success the Experience was having problems. Hendrix was arrested in Sweden in January 1968 after smashing up his hotel room, a lawsuit by unscrupulous producer Ed Chalpin was holding up the band's royalties, and Noel Redding was more interested in his side project, Fat Mattress. The Experience broke up in June 1969 after abortive attempts at a fourth album, and Hendrix went into seclusion in upstate New York while he tried to figure out his next move.

Even without a steady band, Hendrix's mystique was enough to earn him headliner status at the Woodstock Music and Arts Festival. Unfortunately, being the final act at a chaotic three-day show meant that he and his barely rehearsed rag-tag group finally went on stage at eight o'clock on Monday morning when most of the crowd had already left. If not for the sound and film crews on hand, Hendrix's performance might have gone virtually unnoticed. As it was, his ear-splitting rendition of "The Star Spangled Banner" became the symbol of the peace-and-love counterculture celebration. Offstage, however, Hendrix was overwhelmed by problems. He was busted for bringing drugs into Canada; his Band of Gypsies group with Buddy Miles and Billy Cox fell apart shortly after forming; nearly every dollar he made touring was sunk into the building of his own state-of-the-art recording studio, Electric Lady Studios. Several more attempts at recording went sour, even though a new band stabilized around Cox and Mitchell, and it wasn't until mid-1970, after the studio was completed, that Hendrix was able to make a serious push to finish a new

album, tentatively titled *First Rays of the New Rising Sun*. Recording was complicated by a judgment awarding Ed Chalpin rights to one album's worth of Hendrix material. The award was based on a 1965 contract Hendrix had signed with Chalpin that Chandler had inadvertently failed to buy out—not a bad return on a one dollar investment—and several songs intended for *First Rays* wound up on a hastily assembled live recording, *Band of Gypsies*, released in April 1970. Though seriously flawed, the album did include "Machine Gun," an anti-war number with a lengthy, breathtaking guitar solo. *Band of Gypsies* was the last album Hendrix would live to see released.

In August 1970, Hendrix reluctantly left New York, where the new album was nearing completion, for a European tour. He played in front of his largest audience yet at the Isle of Wight Festival, but the tour fell apart a few days later after a bad LSD trip sent Cox into paranoid delusions. On September 18, after spending several days visiting friends, Hendrix took several prescription sleeping pills belonging to girlfriend Monica Dannemann, fell asleep and never woke up—he choked to death in the ambulance en route to the hospital. Though Rolling Stone Brian Jones had died prematurely in 1969, Hendrix was the first well-known rock star to die of a drug overdose. What seemed a tragic isolated accident at the time soon became just another cliché surrounding the fast-paced rock 'n' roll lifestyle: Janis Joplin died of a heroin overdose two weeks later, and Jim Morrison followed in less than a year, giving anti-hippie pundits plenty of ammunition to attack rock music as hedonistic and self-destructive.

But Jimi Hendrix's three complete albums (dozens more, mostly of abominable quality, followed after his death) and countless live appearances had changed popular music more than any superficial moralizing could undo. Beyond his direct imitators—Stevie Ray Vaughan, Ernie Isley, Robin Trower, Funkadelic's Eddie Hazel and Mike Hampton—Hendrix's influence extended directly and indirectly to all pre-punk guitar players; Led Zeppelin and a horde of hard rock and heavy metal bands made their careers exploring areas Hendrix had opened up. In rock 'n' roll, almost any black man with a guitar was compared with Jimi Hendrix, including musicians as dissimilar as Vernon Reid and Prince; while Chuck Berry and Little Richard are remembered as musical founders but not as continuing sources of inspiration. Criticism is necessarily reductive: a white rock band will often be compared to the Beatles, the Stones or the Velvet Underground; a white male solo artist to Bob Dylan, Jim Morrison or Bruce Springsteen; a female singer to Janis Joplin or Joni Mitchell. But for black men in rock, Jimi Hendrix is the only archetype available.

—David B. Wilson

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## Henry Aldrich

The quintessential teenager of the 1940s, Henry Aldrich was born on the Broadway stage in 1937. He reached his widest audience

through radio, a string of “B” movies, and a television series. Henry Aldrich, who was likable, clean-cut, and monumentally prone to mishap, influenced a whole generation of teen characters on the radio, in movies, and even in comic books.

While college youths had become popular culture stereotypes in the 1920s, high school kids didn’t really get that much notice until a decade later. Swing music and the jitterbug craze helped put them on the map. Writer Clifford Goldsmith introduced Henry Aldrich in his play *What A Life!* According to radio historian John Dunning, Goldsmith “was virtually penniless and making his living on the high school lecture circuit when he wrote the play.” In 1938, the then immensely popular crooner Rudy Vallee invited Goldsmith to write some skits about the Aldrich Family for his weekly radio variety show. Next came a similar invitation from Kate Smith’s variety show, and by the autumn of 1939 *The Aldrich Family* was a regular weekly radio program, sponsored by Jell-O on NBC.

The family lived in a typical small town and consisted of Henry, his parents, and his older sister Mary. His high school pal Homer was underfoot virtually all of the time. The opening of the show became one of the best known, and most quoted, in radio. Henry’s long-suffering mom would call him—“Henry, Henry Aldrich!”—and he’d reply, in his harried adolescent croak, “Coming, Mother!” Ezra Stone, who had created the role on the stage, was the first radio Henry, with Jackie Kelk as Homer. House Jameson, who also played the radio detective known as the Crime Doctor, was the head of the household.

The show, though it touched on real family situations, was played for rather broad comedy. Preoccupied with girls, cars, and school, Henry saw no reason why he shouldn’t have all the rights and perks of the adult he felt he’d be any day now. His anxious and elaborate schemes and his frequent dreams of glory led him into all sorts of unforeseen complications. His parents, of course, rarely understood him, and often acted as though he might have contracted some rare disease that caused him to run amok on occasion, or behaved as if he might even be an alien invader masquerading as their son.

Paramount Pictures turned Goldsmith’s play into a movie in 1939, casting Jackie Cooper as Henry. The script was by Charles Brackett and writer-director Billy Wilder, whose several brilliant creations included the same year’s *Ninotchka* for Garbo. Cooper appeared in the second film in the series in 1941, with Eddie Bracken as his sidekick, and then turned the role over to Jimmy Lydon. Less handsome and gawkier than Cooper, Lydon made nine Henry Aldrich films. John Litel, who’d also been girl detective Nancy Drew’s screen father, was Sam Aldrich, and Olive Blakeney was Henry’s mom. She later became Lydon’s off-screen mother-in-law.

Henry and his kin were early arrivals on television, with *The Aldrich Family* premiering on NBC on October 2, 1949. An actor named Robert Casey was the first of five juveniles who took turns enacting the role of Henry Aldrich. Jackie Kelk moved from radio to TV to play Homer, and House Jameson returned to repeat Sam Aldrich. Three actresses portrayed Mrs. Aldrich: Lois Wilson (1949, 1951), Nancy Carroll (1950-51), and Barbara Robbins (1952-53). Jean Muir, a movie actress in the 1930s and 1940s, had been scheduled to take over the part in 1950, but because of her liberal sympathies she found herself listed in *Red Channels*, the right-wing publication dedicated to rooting out alleged Communist sympathizers from the entertainment business. Muir was blacklisted by the sponsor and the network and never got the chance to say, “Henry, Henry Aldrich!”

*The Aldrich Family* remained on radio and television until 1953, when Henry stepped aside to make way for a new breed of teenage stereotypes.

—Ron Goulart

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## Henson, Jim (1936-1990)

Puppeteer and filmmaker/director Jim Henson was the genius behind the world famous puppet creations known as Muppets. By the end of the twentieth century, Henson’s name was synonymous with modern puppetry, children’s television programming, and family based entertainment. With his talented team of artists, he revolutionized the ancient art of puppetry by fusing it with twentieth century technology—first through his television shows *Sesame Street* (1969) and *The Muppet Show* (1976), then through films and computer animation. Yet Henson was not famous solely for his technical innovations. His work expressed a strong moral vision—humorous, uplifting, full of tolerance, and love—that viewed all individuals as worthy of respect. It was this vision, expressed through his life-like puppets, that transcended lines of age and culture (Henson’s work has been seen in 120 countries), and brought Jim Henson praise as his century’s greatest entertainer-educator.

—Brian Granger

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See also Muppets, The

## Hep Cats

An important term in the history of African American slang, a “hep cat” was a jazz aficionado in the marijuana-using urban subculture of the 1940s and 1950s. A hep cat’s essential qualities included a free-spirited rejection of societal convention, intense creativity, and an unflagging rejection of all things “square.” First entering the language in the late 1930s, the term was an amalgam of “hep,” an older term meaning “smart” or “aware,” and “cat,” slang for “man.” Its roots stretch back to the Wolof language of Africa where

“hepi” meant “to see,” and “hipi” meant “to open one’s eyes,” while “hipicat” translated as “wise” or “informed.” As hep cat was appropriated by white beatniks in the 1950s, African Americans turned to using fresher terminology like “hip” and “hipster.” Continuing to evolve with stylistic changes in American musical and drug-related subcultures, its roots survive in terms like hippie and hip-hop.

—Steve Burnett

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## Hepburn, Audrey (1929-1993)

From her first starring role as a princess in *Roman Holiday* (1953), Audrey Hepburn, the daughter of an Anglo-Irish banker and a Dutch aristocrat, was lauded for bringing a stately “European” elegance to Hollywood. Her director in 1954’s *Sabrina*, Billy Wilder, declared: “After so many drive-in waitresses in movies, here is class.” Hepburn’s androgynous looks and waifish physique—photographer Cecil Beaton called her “the gamine, the urchin, the lost Barnardo boy”—challenged and redefined the dominant popular image of femininity in the fifties, the curvaceous, all-American bombshell typified by Marilyn Monroe. Hepburn often played royalty (*Roman Holiday*; *War and Peace*, 1956) or a poor, modest girl who achieves a fairy-tale rise to high society (*Sabrina*; *Funny Face*, 1957; *My Fair Lady*, 1964). Though cast somewhat against type as a scandalous socialite in *Breakfast at Tiffany’s* (1961), Hepburn’s Holly Golightly, as Robyn Karney observes, “passed into the iconography of the 1960s.”

—Martyn Bone

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## Hepburn, Katharine (1909—)

Always a role model for female independence, self-determination, and integrity, actress Katharine Hepburn is thought by many to be one of the most monumental and enduring of all of Hollywood’s stars. At the end of the twentieth century, Hepburn holds the record for Oscar wins (four) and nominations (twelve).

Hepburn spent her early years in Hartford, Connecticut, where her parents were liberal intellectuals who did not raise their children along traditional sex roles, but encouraged them to excel at all their endeavors and expand their boundaries. Her father was a successful physician and her mother an active suffragette, which gave Hepburn an expanded view of woman’s role from an early age.



Audrey Hepburn

Hepburn was drawn to acting early and participated in local productions before going to Bryn Mawr and appearing in college theatricals. She graduated in 1928 and made her Broadway debut in *The Warrior’s Husband* (1932) for which she garnered critical praise. She was then approached by Hollywood, but thinking Hollywood was not “legitimate,” she demanded an extremely high salary, which, to her amazement, RKO accepted. Hepburn made her screen debut in 1932 in *Bill of Divorcement* starring John Barrymore, which was both a critical and box-office success. Upon her arrival in Hollywood Hepburn refused to conform to the standard starlet mold. She preferred to wear slacks to revealing dresses, avoided publicity, and closely guarded her private life. She shunned the party crowd of Hollywood and demanded to be dealt with respectfully.

She won her first Oscar for her third film, *Morning Glory* (1933), in which she played the aspiring actress/understudy who, after many manipulations, becomes an overnight success when the veteran actress has a breakdown that necessitates the understudy taking her place. The same year she appeared as Jo in *Little Women*, a role that she found personally rewarding. One of her next projects was the screwball comedy *Bringing Up Baby* (1938), which ranks as one of the best examples of the genre. Hepburn portrayed the madcap heiress

Susan Vance, who falls in love with an absentminded paleontologist (Cary Grant) and enlists his aid in caring for a tame leopard named Baby to keep him from marrying his staid assistant. Later that same year Hepburn appeared in *Holiday*, again with Grant.

For some reason, film exhibitors branded her “box office poison” despite her many successes, and Hepburn left Hollywood for Broadway, where she appeared in *The Philadelphia Story*, forgoing a salary in favor of a percentage of the profits and screen rights. It was a huge hit and enabled Hepburn to return to Hollywood with the upper hand. She sold the screen rights to MGM but maintained creative control, which allowed her to choose the director and her costars (Cary Grant and James Stewart). The film broke attendance records and won Hepburn the New York Film Critics Award as well as her third Oscar nomination.

Her next film, *Woman of the Year* (1942), paired her for the first time with Spencer Tracy and began a twenty-five-year-long relationship that ended only with Tracy’s death. On-screen they were a remarkable team that made eight more films together: *Keeper of the Flame* (1942), *Without Love* (1945), *The Sea of Grass* (1947), *State of the Union* (1948), *Adam’s Rib* (1949), *Pat and Mike* (1952), *Desk Set* (1957), and their final film, *Guess Who’s Coming to Dinner?* (1967). Offscreen they remained devoted to one another and were seldom seen apart. Hepburn did appear in several films without Tracy during this period. In *African Queen* (1952) she portrayed an uptight spinster who falls in love with Humphrey Bogart’s reprobate supply-boat “captain.” She also appeared in *Summertime* (1955); *The Rainmaker* (1956); *Suddenly, Last Summer* (1959); and *Long Day’s Journey into Night* (1962).



Katharine Hepburn

She retired from the screen for several years as Tracy became more ill but both returned in 1967 to appear in their last picture together, *Guess Who’s Coming to Dinner?*, for which she won her second Oscar. She won her third Oscar for *The Lion in Winter* (1968) in which she portrayed Eleanor of Aquitaine, and her fourth for *On Golden Pond* (1981), for which she also won the British Academy Award.

While her work on television has not been as extensive, her performances have been of consistent quality. She received Emmy nominations for her performances in *The Glass Menagerie* (1973) and *The Corn Is Green* (1979), and won an Emmy for her portrayal of an elderly woman who finds *Love among the Ruins* (1975). She has also starred in several television movies including *Mrs. Delafield Wants to Marry* (1986), *Laura Lansing Slept Here* (1988), *The Man Upstairs* (1992), and *This Can’t Be Love* (1994).

—Denise Lowe

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## Herbert, Frank (1920-1986)

Science fiction writer Frank Herbert is ranked among such well-respected authors of imaginary worlds as J. R. R. Tolkien, C. S. Lewis, and Isaac Asimov. Though he wrote more than twenty novels and several short stories, his fame is linked to his “Dune Chronicles.” His first book in the series, *Dune* (1965), won the first-ever Nebula award and shared a Hugo award for best novel. Although initially rejected by twenty publishers, the book became the best-selling science fiction book in history, with more than twelve million copies sold. By the end of the twentieth century the book had not yet gone out of print. Intended as the beginning of a trilogy, *Dune* instead spawned five sequels, with a sixth left unfinished at the time of Herbert’s death in 1986. *Dune* was made into a major motion picture in 1984. The series, set on the planet of Arrakis, or Dune, follows the history of the Atreides family over thousands of years. The “Dune” saga is considered one of the greatest science fiction stories ever written.

Born in Tacoma, Washington, in 1920, Frank Patrick Herbert possessed a wide-ranging mind. He attended the University of Washington for a year in 1946 before becoming a reporter. He worked as a reporter and editor of west coast newspapers, including the *Glendale Star* (California), the *Oregon Statesman*, the *Seattle Star*, and the *San Francisco Examiner*, between 1939 and 1969, and later an educational writer for the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* from 1969 to 1972. With the success of *Dune* in 1965, however, Herbert was able devote his attention to his novel writing. But he did continue to lecture and act as a social and ecological consultant.

A strong believer in self-reliance and ecological harmony, Herbert generated his own energy on his small farm with solar heating, methane gas from chicken dung, and wind power (from an



improved windmill design for which he was awarded a U.S. patent). Herbert wove many of his ecological ideas into all his novels. Throughout his work Herbert provides his readers with complex adventure plots and probing questions about the cosmos, human nature, and society.

*Dune* is a work of extraordinary complexity, telling the story of the desert planet Arrakis and its inhabitants. Set 25 centuries in the future, the novel introduces a universe that is controlled by two opposing political powers, the Imperium and the Great Houses. The interstellar civilization is a precarious balance between the political, military, and economic forces of the largest powers as well as the disruptive smaller independent organizations, including the Spacing Guild (which has a monopoly on interplanetary travel), the Bene Gesserit order, the massive CHOAM trading company, and the Bene Tleilax. The story is a remarkable metaphor of late twentieth-century American society with the blending and balancing of political, economic forces with religious, cultural, and business interests—and of course the ever present, but largely ignored, ecological phenomena. *Dune* successfully created the most complete and detailed imaginary world ever before written.

The success of *Dune* was a turning point in science fiction publishing. The book's popularity broadened the audience of science fiction. It also "paved the way for large advances, bigger printings, best-seller status, and heavy subsidiary sales for many other writers," according to Willis E. McNelly. The ecological thinking examined in *Dune* made it a college campus cult classic, in fashion with J. R. R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* or the original *Star Trek* series. The attention directed toward *Dune* in the 1970s and 1980s was in many ways the predecessor of the type of fandom that sprang up around *The X-Files* in the 1990s. Many young people strived to become more ecologically minded, patterning themselves after Herbert's character Liet Kynes, the planetary ecologist, who was aware of and concerned with the consequences of human actions on the environment. The novel also attracted those interested in the effects of drugs on behavior. The book discussed a substance called spice, which increased awareness and cerebral functions and allowed Mentats (human computers) to pursue their vocation in a world that has banned thinking machines. Users of controlled substances claimed many of the same effects as those discussed in *Dune*. Although illegal, hallucinogens called "smart drugs" were used in areas of California to aid complex problem solving and another street drug, named "ecstasy," reportedly improved sexual awareness and pleasure.

Despite the intense interest in turning *Dune* into a movie, a script written by David Lynch, and a 40- to 50-million dollar budget, the resultant film flopped in 1984. But the disappointing film did not damage the cult-like interest in Herbert's original material. By the late 1990s, New Amsterdam Entertainment (NAE) announced that, in cooperation with ABC and The Sci-Fi Channel, it would produce a six-hour miniseries adaptation of *Dune* (although the future of this series is uncertain).

Herbert's "Dune Chronicles" inspired several popular musicians. Iron Maiden, a heavy metal band, performed what they called a Dune song, "To Tame a Land," on their 1983 *Piece of Mind* album. The Blind Guardian released a Dune inspired song, "Traveler in Time," from *Tales From the Twilight World* in 1991. A German techno band called itself Dune. The band's electronic instrumentals were popular in American techno dance clubs in the mid-1990s where the oft repeated refrain of "the spice must flow" could be heard.

Some of the jargon found in *Dune* has infiltrated popular speech. Many analogies have been made between the *Dune* storyline, with its

obsession over the spice melange, and the Middle Eastern oil reserves and their influence on the global economy. "The spice must flow," a quote from a third grade guild navigator, is referred to quite often in its modern version "the oil must flow." In addition, statements such as "long live the fighters," "the gom jabbar," and "fear is the mind killer" are as ingrained in popular jargon as "may the force be with you" from *Star Wars* and "Grokking" and "Sharing Water" from *Stranger in a Strange Land* by Robert Heinlein.

The *Dune* story has been adapted into several games. In 1979, Avalon Hill created a board game called "Dune the Board Game" based on the novel. Five years later, Parker Brothers developed a board game titled "Dune," which was based on the movie. Computer versions of the *Dune* saga soon appeared on the market. In 1992, the first computer *Dune* game combined both strategy and adventure. A sequel, titled "Dune II: The Builders of Dynasty," followed in 1993. An improvement over the first, *Dune II* became an even bigger hit. It was awarded the 1993 Strategy Game of the Year Award. The continuing success of *Dune II* led to the introduction of "Dune 2000," released in 1998. "Dune 2000" is a real-time strategy game that can be played singly on CD-rom, over the Internet, or over local area networks. The game is focused on military strategy and political intrigue with Fremen warriors battling legions of Sardaukar and House Harkonnen plotting against House Atreides while the Emperor, the Guild Navigators, and the Bene Gesserit reek havoc where they can. Five Ring Publishing produced "Dune: The Eye of the Storm," a customizable card game, which was very popular in the 1990s. Though the games follow much of the *Dune* saga, none have incorporated any serious consideration of ecology, which was one of Herbert's central ideas in the series.

Herbert had considered *Dune* a "training manual for consciousness." Others agreed and the *Dune* Chronicles have been used in architecture, literature, and philosophy, among other courses at universities across the country. Herbert attributed the popularity of *Dune* in college classrooms to the genre of science fiction, which he noted "lends itself to that because we're dealing with ideas a great deal of the time." Indeed, Herbert's greatest contribution lies in his imaginative ideas.

—Craig T. Cobane

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## ***Hercules: The Legendary Journeys***

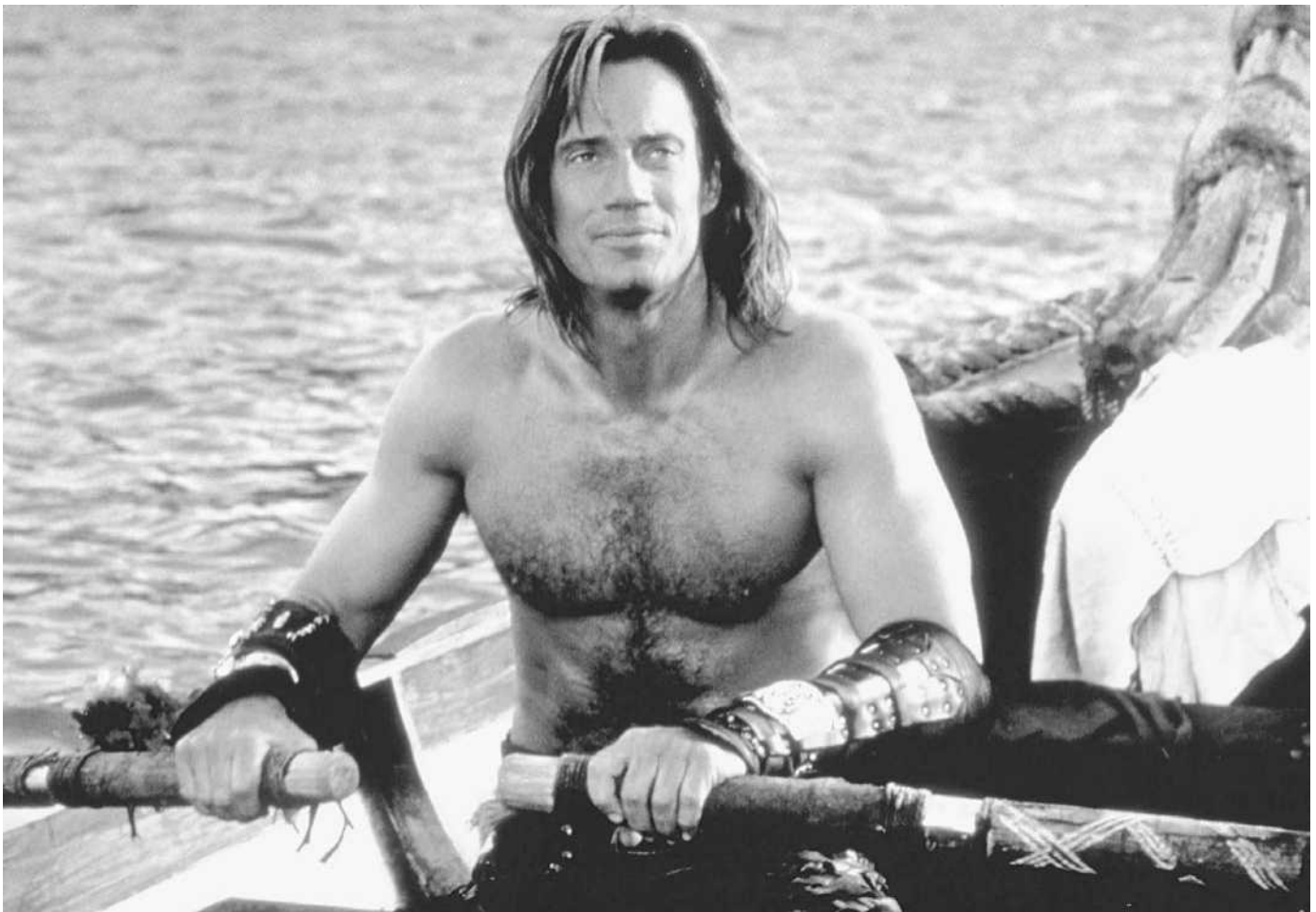
Initially starting out in 1993 as a made-for-TV movie, *Hercules: The Legendary Journeys* became a syndicated television series in the 1995-96 television season. Starring Kevin Sorbo as the half-god Hercules, the series combined action, special effects, and camp to create one of the most popular syndicated shows of the 1990s, rivaling the *Star Trek* franchise and *Baywatch* for ratings. In fact, the show spawned a number of spin-offs and imitators.

The show's executive producers, Sam Raimi (the writer and director of cult favorite movie *The Evil Dead*) and Ron Tapert, combined unlikely elements to make the show a success. The show deviated from previous incarnations of the Greek hero played by such

musclemen as Steve Reeves and Lou Ferrigno. Sorbo, while lean and muscular, was not just a muscle bound hero. Though he usually beat up villains and groups of bad guys in highly choreographed and often farcical fights, he was chiefly portrayed as a hero with heart. The show's title narration told the story: It was a time when the gods were cruel and played with mortals. Hercules, the son of Zeus and the mortal Alcmena, stood up for the common man against his family, the gods.

But just portraying Hercules as champion of the people didn't account for the show's popularity. Many reviewers gave credit to the fact that the show used pop culture references and a healthy dose of camp to entertain a broad spectrum of the television audience. For instance, the show didn't care about historical or mythological accuracy. It went instead for hipness and, at times, silliness. In one episode titled "Porkules," Hercules was transformed into a super-strong pig. Ares, the god of war, was always dressed in leather as was the goddess Discord. Their choice of attire was the source of many double entendres about their possibly kinky preferences. Apollo, the sun god, was portrayed as riding a type of golden snowboard and talking like a late-twentieth-century adolescent.

The show offered plenty of action. Almost every episode featured Hercules and Iolaus, or one of the other heroes, battling a group of armed men. These scenes feature Hercules and his cohorts butting



Kevin Sorbo in a scene from the television series *Hercules: The Legendary Journeys*.

heads, throwing men through the air, doing flips, and throwing old fashioned punches. While violent, most shows had no deaths. Occasionally though, a battle scene was just that, a battle with fatalities. Hercules also faced off against special effects monsters, such as Echidna.

The show also displayed wit and imagination. The producers did a post-modern episode that featured the cast looking for Kevin Sorbo, the actor. Another episode was a retelling of the movie *Some Like It Hot*. The producers and writers of the show weren't afraid to take chances.

Besides Hercules, the show had a cast of regular characters. Hercules's constant sidekick throughout the first five seasons was Iolaus, played by Michael Hurt. Ares, played by Kevin Smith; Autolycus, the King of Thieves, played by Bruce Campbell; and Salmeoneus, played by Robert Trebor, were also regulars. On some occasions, the show never even featured Hercules but focused on the supporting characters.

One of the characters to appear on the series was Xena, Warrior Princess. Xena's character was spun off into its own series, and actually became more popular than *Hercules*. The two shared supporting casts and occasionally crossed over from one show to the other. The characters were also the co-stars of an animated movie. A second spin-off of the show was *Young Hercules*, a show broadcast on Saturday mornings on the Fox network. The show featured the adventures of the juvenile Hercules and Iolaus.

After *Hercules* scored big in the ratings, other companies brought out mythic figures to try to cash in on the show's success. However, such shows as *Sinbad* and *Tarzan* didn't have the popular appeal of *Hercules*. Besides television, Hercules and Xena found a large home on the Internet with many fan pages devoted to both shows. Computer games and multi-player on-line games featured the characters as well.

—P. Andrew Miller

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## Herman, Woody (1913-1987)

Along with Benny Goodman and Artie Shaw, Woody Herman was one of a triumvirate of clarinet-playing band leaders in the big band era. Playing a high-pitched instrument that could cut through the sound of the ensemble in those days of poor amplification, Herman for more than fifty years headed one of the most popular and innovative of the bands in the swing era. His greatest contributions to jazz history came from his ability to organize and sustain a talented big band that was wholly dedicated to the cutting edge of jazz during the severe economic trials of the Great Depression. His band, Herman's Herd, spawned a number of great jazz soloists as well as writers and arrangers of major importance.

Born Woodrow Charles Thomas Herrmann of German parents in Milwaukee in 1913, Herman seemed destined for the spotlight from the age of nine. He toured the state of Wisconsin for eight weeks as one of a troupe of actors who played a live prologue to the



Woody Herman

screening of silent films. That same year Herman began studying the alto sax and clarinet. His teacher, Herman recalled, was Art Beuch, "an old German fellow who would take nothing but hard work." His advice to the budding jazzman was: "Practice until you turn blue and your lip is numb and your teeth hurt and you may accomplish something."

When Herman began playing in local dance bands in high school, he became dedicated to the life of a jazzman. He left home at seventeen with a band led by Tom Gerun, playing in a reed section that included Tony Martin, who later gained fame as a singer and film star. After unsuccessfully trying to form his own band, Herman joined the Isham Jones orchestra in 1934 and was featured on tenor sax, clarinet, and vocals on the band's Decca records. When the band folded two years later, the 23-year-old persuaded key sidemen to join a band he was organizing on his own. In that year—the depth of the Great Depression—Herman ran his band on a cooperative, share-the-profit basis. Featuring the blues as well as some pop songs in their repertoire, the band slowly gained fame, soon to be enhanced in 1939 by their biggest hit, the upbeat blues piece "Woodchopper's Ball," which ultimately was to reach the five million mark in sales.

Still overshadowed by the Basie, Ellington, and Goodman bands, Woody Herman's Herd had begun to attract national attention. Dave Dexter, writing in *Downbeat* in January 1940, suggested that a part of the band's problem in finding major bookings was the delay caused by the band members (as shareholders) voting on each booking proposition.

In 1941 the band filmed a musical short for Warner Brothers in Brooklyn, and later that year they went to Los Angeles to be featured

in a Universal picture called *What's Cookin'?*. The Andrews Sisters and Donald O'Connor also appeared in this "typical wartime musical," as Herman called it.

When the band began a new recording contract with Columbia in 1945, it was coming under the strong influence of the new bebop style of jazz played by Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie. Joining the band at this time were three devout boppers: Neal Hefti, Shorty Rogers, and Pete Candoli, and Herman's First Herd was soon widely known as one of the most advanced and innovative bands of its era. Davey Tough, the perfect drummer for the new Herd, received belated acclaim when he raised the band to new heights in 1944-45 on a series of nationwide radio programs. His unique style can be heard on such Columbia record hits as "Apple Honey," "Laura," and "I Wonder."

In 1946 the great Russian composer Igor Stravinsky composed *Ebony Concerto* expressly for the Herman band, adding to the band's prestige after a sold-out performance in Carnegie Hall. That year the band won the *Downbeat*, *Metronome*, *Billboard*, and *Esquire* polls. Gunther Schuller, in his book *The Swing Era*, attributed this great success to the highly original arrangements by Ralph Burns and Neal Hefti and to the band's playing "night after night with an infectious exuberance, an almost physically palpable excitement and a never-say-die energy."

In 1986, still active at age 73 after fifty years as bandleader, Herman led his band on a jazz cruise aboard the *SS Norway*, and after spending time in the hospital with heart problems, led the Herd in November at the Kennedy Center awards ceremony in Washington. He died in October of the following year.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Herpes

The Herpes simplex virus I (oral) and II (genital) are persistent, embarrassing, and often devastating sexually transmitted diseases. Symptoms can include small painful blisters or lesions around the lips, nose, mouth (cold sores), or genitals; fever; headaches; swollen lymph glands; and feelings of isolation and depression. Herpes spreads through direct contact with infected areas, and is only detectable with a blood test as the virus can remain dormant indefinitely. After an initial outbreak, herpes can disappear for months, only to recur during periods of stress or a weakened immune system. Between 50 and 80 per cent of the American adult population is infected with a form of herpes, yet only one third of these carriers ever experience symptoms. There is no known cure for herpes, but it is not life threatening, and advances in treatment have made living with herpes more manageable and less stigmatizing.

—Tony Brewer

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## Hersey, John (1914-1993)

Born in China to missionaries, John Hersey began his journalism career as a correspondent for *Time* and went on to cover World War II for that magazine and *Life*. He had already won a Pulitzer Prize for a World War II novel he had written—*A Bell for Adano* (1944)—when in 1946 *The New Yorker* published in a single issue his most famous and enduring work, titled simply *Hiroshima*. The 31,147 word nonfiction story described the experiences of six survivors of the atomic bombing by the United States of the Japanese city. The bomb killed 78,150 people, injured 37,425, and left 13,983 missing. Forty years after *Hiroshima* appeared, Hersey updated the story with an epilogue telling how the lives of the six survivors had progressed. Overall, he published 25 books during his career.

—R. Thomas Berner

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## Hess, Joan (1949—)

Joan Hess has infused her mystery writing with her knowledge of her home state of Arkansas and its regional culture. She has two important mystery series—the first features Claire Malloy, a book store proprietor who is the widow of an English professor, and the second is set in Maggody and features Arly Hanks, who returns to Maggody after an unsuccessful marriage, as its central character. Both series are set in Arkansas and are marked by a kind of off-center humor that enlivens the action and rounds out the characters. Among the books in the two series are *Strangler Prose*, *The Murder at the Mimosa Inn*, *Dear Miss Demeanor*, *A Diet to Die For*, *A Holly Jolly Murder* (all Claire Malloy), *Malice in Maggody*, *Mischief in Maggody*, *Maggody in Manhattan*, *O Little Town of Maggody*, and *The Maggody Militia* (all Arly Hanks). In addition, Hess has another series featuring Theo Bloomer, written under the name Joan Hadley. Hess has won the American Mystery Award, among others, and is president of the American Crime Writers League.

—Frank A. Salamone, Ph.D.

## Heston, Charlton (1924—)

"'Hard' is what I do best," Charlton Heston once told a photographer. "I don't do 'nice.'" Strange words, perhaps, coming from an actor who has specialized in playing symbols of rectitude

such as Moses, Judah Ben-Hur, and even Jehovah Himself. Yet this steely-eyed, jut-jawed performer has excelled at infusing his heroic portrayals with an almost fearsome iconic power. He has brought a comparable flintiness to his civic life as a firearms activist and itinerant right-wing gadfly.

A speech and drama graduate of Northwestern University, Heston was a stolid if unspectacular presence in Westerns and war pictures of the 1950s. He made his big (Red Sea) splash playing Moses in the 1956 epic *The Ten Commandments*. That Biblical classic started him on a long string of historical parts, including the title roles in *Ben-Hur* (1959), for which he earned a Best Actor Oscar, and *El Cid* (1961). He also played a muscular Michelangelo in *The Agony and the Ecstasy* (1965).

In 1968, Heston made *Planet of the Apes*, a film *Entertainment Weekly* called “the *Citizen Kane* of guilty pleasures.” As George Taylor, an astronaut stranded on a world ruled by simians, Heston chews the scenery with the voracity of a starving dog attacking a T-bone steak. Glowering, grimacing, and barking at his ape captors through clenched teeth, Heston is the apotheosis of Nixonian macho. “Damn you! God damn you all to hell!” he rails into the empty sky at the film’s climax—and we feel like lining up obediently to face the brimstone.

*Planet of the Apes* proved a career turning point for Heston—the precise moment he made the transformation from respected leading man to endearing camp figure. He solidified that newfound status with two early 1970s science-fiction films, *The Omega Man* in 1971 and *Soylent Green* two years later. Both pictures traded on his macho man persona, affording him copious amounts of screen time with his shirt off and an automatic weapon in his hand. The reactionary subtext was unmistakable. In the first film, he fights off an army of hippie zombies; in the second he vainly tries to save the planet from government-sponsored euthanasia (those damned liberals!). In both movies he ends up prostrate (“Soylent Green is PEE-pullllll!!!”), sacrificing his own life for humanity, in a crucifixion pose. Perhaps Heston wished to end his career by playing every possible permutation of the godhead.

There were other prominent roles for Heston in the 1970s. He did a string of disaster movies, most notably *Earthquake* (1974), but turned down the lead in *Jaws* when he had tired of them. After growing too old to carry a picture by himself, he settled comfortably into character actor status. He was used, effectively, by Kenneth Branagh as the Player King in the British auteur’s 1997 production of *Hamlet*.

For the most part, however, Heston concentrated on political endeavors. He spoke out often and endlessly on right-wing causes, from family values to “white pride.” “I’m pissed off when Indians say they’re Native Americans,” he railed to *Time* in 1998. “I’m a Native American, for Chrissakes!” Especially dear to Heston’s heart was the right to gun ownership. In 1997, “Moses,” as his critics invariably derided him, was elected first vice president of the National Rifle Association (NRA). The next year the actor ascended to the presidency itself, ousting a candidate who was deemed “too conservative” by the NRA rank and file. While liberals may have shuddered at the thought of Charlton Heston being considered a moderate alternative, the actor continued to provide them with red meat for their fundraising letters. In speeches, he publicly called for the return of a society where one could “love without being kinky . . . be white without feeling guilty” and other back-to-the-future nostrums.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Higginson, Major Henry Lee (1834-1919)

A Boston Brahmin who had been a major in the Civil War, Higginson was the sole founder of the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1881. He set the example for other businessmen to establish a tradition of noblesse oblige in the performing arts that in Europe had initially been the province of landed aristocracy.

Higginson approached the task with a unique blend of “boosterism,” sound business principles, and overtones of evangelical Christianity and patriotism. He would not tolerate any deviance from the high musical and operational standards he set by the professionals he engaged. Higginson believed firmly that men who had survived the Civil War (he himself had been wounded) had a moral obligation to make America a better country, which meant creating better cultural institutions. It also meant a willingness for an aristocracy—in America it would be comprised of businessmen—to step forward and take responsibility for those developments.

—Milton Goldin

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## High Noon

Director Fred Zinnemann’s film *High Noon* was made during the McCarthy era. Consequently, it has been invested with political significance way beyond the striking simplicity of its plot. The allegorical claims that are made for it originated with its screenwriter Carl Foreman, a victim of the McCarthy witchhunt in Hollywood, who professed to see his script as an allegory of his own situation. Fred Zinnemann denied this interpretation, considering it the story of a man driven to act in accordance with his own conscience, while conceding that the town in which the action takes place is “a symbol of democracy gone soft.” The nature of the film’s message continues to challenge the film scholars, historians and critics who examine and analyze it, but in the annals of popular culture it remains a classic Western, one of the best of all time. To legions of ordinary moviegoers, *High Noon* conjures the lasting image of Gary Cooper’s weary and reluctant hero, the young Grace Kelly’s ice-maiden beauty, Dmitri Tompkin’s haunting theme song, “Do Not Forsake Me, O My Darling,” and Floyd Crosby’s atmospheric black and white photography.

Carl Foreman based his screenplay on “The Tin Star,” a two-page magazine story. Played out in “real time”—the 90 minutes in which the incidents take place correspond to the 90-minute running-time of the film—denoted by Zinnemann’s artful use of a clock as a



Gary Cooper as Sheriff Will Kane in the film *High Noon*.

marker that contributes to the tension, the story begins 10:40 a.m. on a Sunday morning in the fictional frontier town of Hadleyville. Sheriff Will Kane (Gary Cooper), is at his own wedding reception, prior to retiring and leaving town to start life afresh with his young quaker bride, Amy (Grace Kelly). During the festivities, however, Kane is warned that Frank Miller (Ian MacDonal), a murderer whom he had helped to convict, has been released from the penitentiary. Miller is heading for Hadleyville to exact revenge by killing Kane and will arrive on the 12:00 noon train. Three of Miller's old cohorts are already waiting at the otherwise deserted train depot to escort him into town for the fatal shoot-out.

Amy implores her new husband to leave town immediately but, determined to face out Miller and rid the town of the killer's malign influence, he ignores her pleadings, and those of others, including Helen Ramirez (Katy Jurado), his former lover, who urges him to take his new bride and escape to safety. For an hour, between 10:45 a.m. and 11:45 a.m., Kane attempts to drum up support from among the townspeople, but nobody is willing to stand by him. A number of people begin to throw their belongings into wagons, preparing to leave town temporarily before the trouble starts at noon; even Kane's deputy, resentful at having been passed over for the job in favor of a

stranger, deserts him. Amy, too, prepares to leave—on the same train that is bringing Miller to town—and, while waiting at the hotel, learns from the clerk that many inhabitants of Hadleyville would like to see Miller kill her husband because they want a return to the kind of town where saloons and gambling are allowed to flourish.

The noon train arrives on time. Frightened and alone, but wedded irrevocably to his own moral code, Kane makes out his will and prepares to face the gunmen, who ride into town. He ambushes one, and kills a second in a shoot-out. Hearing the gunfire, Amy rushes to her husband's aid, shoots another of Miller's henchmen in the back, but is seized by Miller himself as a hostage. During the struggle that ensues in her trying to free herself, Kane is able to shoot Miller dead. He throws his badge in the dust and rides out of the deserted town with his wife.

When *High Noon* was released it was not an immediate hit. In the strained climate of the times, that gesture of Kane's—throwing away his badge—was interpreted by some as an insult to Federal authority and led to accusations of subversion. As Zinnemann interpreted it, Kane's action was simply intended as "a gesture of contempt for a craven community." The film captured the public imagination only gradually, but its excellence was recognized in the winning of four Academy Awards (music score, title song, editing, and best actor) and three nominations (picture, screenplay, and director), and over the years it came to gross several million dollars of profit.

While widely viewed as a "classic" Western, several commentators consider *High Noon* a realist Western, providing a documentary depiction of a place and its people that was undoubtedly representative of a hundred towns across the frontier during the 1870s. It can also be read as a commentary on the genre itself, one that observes the classical unities of time and action. Some have even credited the film with inaugurating a new subgenre, the "adult western," in its mature treatment of its otherwise familiar "good vs. evil" theme. What cannot be denied, however, is that *High Noon* changed the Western genre by both streamlining and rethinking it as both an extension and a commentary upon the classic tradition.

As opposed to the ultimate redemption of townspeople in such later films as *The Magnificent Seven*, the citizens of Hadleyville are craven to the end. This is, of course, in direct opposition to the mythology of the West, in which the venality of the common man is redeemed by a folk hero whose bravery in the face of overwhelming odds inspires them to rise above themselves for the common good. On the other hand, the contradictory currents running through the town (development vs. frontier lawlessness) and the ambivalence of the citizens who, each for their own reasons, refuse to side with Kane can be taken to represent the currents of the American political climate in the 1950s. This interpretation is underpinned by the deliberate vagueness of the town's location and the film's exact historical time period. Thus, on an allegorical level, Hadleyville could be any town at any point in history, where the common man falls prey to cowardice and fear, and the high moral courage of the few is severely tested. The chronological symmetry of the film and the relentless progress of the ever-present clock not only helps create and maintain tension, but counterpoints Kane's agonizingly slow progress in trying to recruit help and decide his course of action.

In its characterizations, the film offers an anti-mythological touch that sets it apart from most examples of the Western genre. Will Kane does not conform to the usual heroic figure that audiences of the 1950s had come to expect. Both the character and the man who portrayed him are somewhat past their prime. Cooper, who was not in the best of health, appeared haggard and drawn, and conveyed an air

of world weariness—precisely the quality that director Zinneman had in mind. The female characters also depart from the female stereotype found in most Westerns. Though both Helen and Amy are emotionally involved with Will and are diametrically opposed (Helen is a fiery Hispanic businesswoman, Amy a Nordically cool and devout Quaker pacifist), both are highly principled and intelligent and cannot be pigeonholed. They are allowed to move the action forward by their principled stands, and are able to bond across racial lines while respecting their differences. Both survive the action and give strong evidence of strength and independence. This was not only rare in traditional bound Westerns, but flew in the face of 1950s American social convention when women had not yet assumed positions of power.

In the opinion of many, *High Noon* has continued to stand head and shoulders above most frontier Westerns in its depiction of ethical conflicts and ideas that cannot be confined to one particular genre, place, or time, but which always seem to manifest themselves in their most elemental form in the Western. The film has been credited as a significant influence on later Westerns, inspiring such thoughtful and revisionist films as *Pat Garrett and Billy the Kid* (1973), *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969), *The Wild Bunch* (1969), *High Plains Drifter* (1973), *The Shootist* (1976), and *Unforgiven* (1992), all of which dealt with the ending of the Western way of life and the death of the “six-gun mentality.”

—Steve Hanson

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## Highway System

In the mid-1950s, at a time when Detroit automobile manufacturers sold 7.92 million cars in one year and 70 percent of American families owned automobiles, the American road system was still noted for its inadequacies. No four-lane highways existed, except for the eastern toll roads, and expressways were to be found only in the nation’s cities. President Dwight Eisenhower, who once made the trip from coast to coast along the nation’s roads, was well aware of the problems and became the originator of the interstate highway system. Building a national highway system was more expensive and elaborate than most New Deal programs. In addition, the highway system shifted economic power to the Sunbelt, bypassing the main streets and roadside towns that had been travel waystations, and homogenizing

American roadside culture. By making longer commutes possible, the highways changed how many of us worked.

Americans have had a long fascination with transcontinental travel and with linking both coasts by roads. The first continental crossing by automobile was made in 1903 by physician H. Nelson Jackson, who drove from San Francisco to New York in 65 days. As early as 1911, legislation was introduced in Congress calling for seven national highways, one of which was to be transcontinental.

Traveled Americans at this time were often more familiar with Europe than with their own country. New York socialite Emily Post’s 1915 cross-country automobile trip illustrates how little faith Americans had in the transcontinental road system. When Post asked a well-traveled friend the best road to take across the country, she replied, “the Union Pacific (Railroad).” Her friend greeted Post’s intentions with incredulity:

Once you get beyond the Mississippi the roads are trails of mud and sand. . . . Tell me, where do you think you are going to stop? These are not towns; they are only names on a map, or at best two shacks and a saloon! This place North Platte why, you couldn’t stay in a place like that!

Post’s friend might seem to be the quintessential ethnocentric Manhattanite, but her concern was not misplaced. Most of the improved roads early in the century were centered around cities. Often, “improvement” merely meant that the road was graded; there was no asphalt or concrete, and brick and gravel roads were scarce. If the rain did not make roads impassable for motorists, a trip during dry weather was bumpy and dusty.

After the formation of the Lincoln Highway Association in 1913, the first coast-to-coast highway was completed by 1915, running from San Francisco to New York, at a cost of \$10 million. Sensing the commercial importance of a continuous route, towns and cities in between the coasts competed to have the highway run through their towns. Known as “America’s Main Street,” the Lincoln Highway “was the last, great nineteenth-century trail,” Lyell Henry, Iowa City historian and Mount Mercy College professor, told writer Dave Rasdal. “In the early days, automobile routes were called trails. The Lincoln does overlap a considerable amount of the Oregon Trail.” Now, a sixty to ninety day transcontinental automobile trip had been cut to twenty to thirty days. Despite the improvements, the two-lane routes, with their low speed limits and stop-start traffic, hampered the trucking industry.

By the 1930s, road travel was further eased by the completion of long-span bridges like the San Francisco Bay Bridge, the Golden Gate Bridge, and the Mark Twain Bridge which spanned the Mississippi at Hannibal, Missouri. Popular tourist attractions, like the Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village, accelerated tourism in the late 1920s.

Before the 43,000 mile interstate system was created, the toll roads had been the first major development in the highway system. The Pennsylvania Turnpike, the nation’s first toll road, was “the first long-distance, high-speed, limited-access, four-lane divided road—the direct conceptual predecessor of the interstate system,” writes Dan Cupper in *American Heritage*. The Lincoln Highway (U.S. Route 30) and the William Penn Highway (Route 22), may have provided continuous routes, but such narrow two-lane roads were a nightmare to drive, especially in rough terrain like the Allegheny Mountains of western Pennsylvania. During winter, the narrow roads’ sharp curves and steep grades made travel so treacherous that trucking



Typical freeway traffic, c. 1960s.

companies rerouted their shipping hundreds of miles to avoid trouble spots.

When the Pennsylvania Turnpike opened in 1940, only 11,070 out of 3 million miles of roadway were wider than two lanes. But turnpike engineer Charles M. Noble wrote in *Civil Engineering* in 1940 that the days when roadways were challenges to be surmounted by motorists were coming to an end:

Every effort has been directed towards securing uniform and consistent operating conditions for the motorist. . . . [T]he design was attacked from the viewpoint of motor-car operation and the human frailty of the driver, rather than from the difficulty of the terrain and methods of construction.

On opening day, a sunny October 6, 1940, motorists waited up to four hours to enter the turnpike and join the new accessible automotive experience.

After decades of false starts by Congress on the issue of highway development, Eisenhower began the first moves towards a national highway system in 1954. Like many other Americans who fought in Europe during World War II, Eisenhower was impressed by Hitler's autobahns, Germany's modern and broad four-lane highway system.

In addition, Eisenhower sought a national transport system that could facilitate military movement or evacuation from the cold war threat of nuclear attack. This need was underscored by the Formosa Straits crisis of 1955, in which tensions rose between the U.S. and China over the perceived threat to Taiwan by the mainland communists. More than any real danger of military conflict with China, the incident raised concerns about America's ability to evacuate cities like Washington, D.C.

Eisenhower knew the hardships of road travel from personal experience. In 1919, as a lieutenant-colonel, Eisenhower joined an army truck convoy on a cross-country trip to test Army vehicles. Traveling mostly along the Lincoln Highway, from Washington, D.C., to San Francisco, the convoy contained almost 300 men and took 56 days. Eisenhower's biographer, Stephen Ambrose, describes Eisenhower's experience as "a lark. He camped out for the entire summer . . . went hunting and fishing, played practical jokes and poker, and thoroughly enjoyed himself." However, the trip also impressed upon the future president just how "miserable the American road network was—the convoy hardly averaged five miles per hour."

Eisenhower's goal to improve the nation's roads faced many of the same obstructions as road builders of the prior two decades. One of the constant factors had been federal/state disputes over who pays



for construction. As Phil Patton, the author of *Open Road: A Celebration of the American Highway*, argues, “the whole phylogeny of federal-state relations is recapitulated in the ontogeny of every interstate.” Once the project was underway, Eisenhower soon discovered that it would not be easy to realize his vision. The high price of urban land acquisition drove costs higher, and construction stalled as funding methods were debated. Eisenhower, writes Ambrose, “envisioned a road network that would link all U.S. cities with populations of 50,000 or more with defense installations.” He also felt that the main part of the system would be composed of farm-to-city routes, with highways that traveled around the cities, rather than through them. In order to sway Congressional votes for the 1956 Interstate Highway Bill, the administration negotiated a large share of expenditures for big cities which largely opposed the bill. Foreseeing how “very wasteful (it is) to have an average of just over one man per \$3,000 car driving into the central area and taking all the space required to park the car,” Eisenhower once considered a tax on city-bound automobiles, but soon abandoned the idea. Another aspect of the president’s vision failed to materialize: he did not want to see billboards along the new highways.

Regardless of the obstacles and imperfections, the effects of the new highway system were enormous. Economic power shifted away from the small towns that the old routes passed through as new sectors of the economy grew around the beltways. City freeways changed the patterns of urban life as entire neighborhoods were sacrificed, and highways facilitated the spread of the suburbs that created a middle-class exodus from the city limits. The era of building the system ended around 1969 as a backlash emerged against tearing down entire city neighborhoods for highways. Money was diverted towards mass transit, and Congress slowed funds for maintaining the highway system.

The man who shared Eisenhower’s vision, Francis Turner, the secretary to the committee that was charged with implementing the highway system, found himself caught in the backlash just as he became the head of the Federal Highway Administration. Turner had shared Eisenhower’s vision of the farm-to-city routes. “Having conquered mountain ranges, rivers, and swamps,” writes Patton, “they were being stopped by human forces. Soon no mayor could support a downtown interstate.” Turner derided mass transit, commonly referred to as “rapid transit”; Turner called it “rabbit transit.” “If you like waiting for elevators,” Patton quotes Turner as saying, “you’ll love rabbit transit.”

If the Eisenhower administration was unconcerned with the project’s social effects, others, argues *American Heritage* contributor Lawrence Block, decried the changes in roadside culture, citing the highway system as a homogenizing factor:

When you drove across the country in 1954, bouncing along on bad roads, risking ptomaine in dubious diners, holing up nights in roadside cabins and tourist courts, you were rewarded with a constant change of scene that amounted to more than a change of landscape. There were no chain restaurants, no franchised muffler-repair shops, and even brands of beer and gasoline were apt to change when you crossed a couple of state lines.

Once the national highway system was built, writes Drake Hokanson in *The Lincoln Highway*, it became possible to “cross the entire state of Wyoming and never smell sagebrush,” instead to enjoy a “great franchised monoculture that extends from sea to sea.”

These lamentations for the changes along the road might be labelled as mere nostalgia, if it were not for the overwhelming role that the road and road travel has played within American culture. As early as the nineteenth century, Alexis de Tocqueville in *Democracy in America* recognized the restlessness in our national character:

If at the end of the year of unremitting labor [the American] finds he has a few day’s vacation, his eager curiosity whirls him over the vast extent of the United States, and he will travel fifteen hundred miles in a few days to shake off his happiness.

“O public road,” serenaded Walt Whitman in 1856, “You express me better than I can express myself.” John Steinbeck portrayed the road as symbolic of the Okie’s search for prosperity during the depression-era migration to California in *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939). The modern myth of the road is contained in the works of Jack Kerouac, especially *On the Road* (1957), as a place to find the real America as well as a forum for self-discovery.

The sense of adventure afforded by the new roadways was popularized in the media by productions like the television show *Route 66* (1960-1964). Named after the highway that ran through the American southwest, *Route 66* featured two young drifters who traveled the road in their Corvette. True to the myth of hitting the road to discover America, the TV heroes traveled through small towns and cities, encountering outcasts and dreamers in an existential drama. Kerouac’s beatnik vision was converted for mainstream palatability, putting a stamp of approval upon “the search for America.”

Of course, not all Americans lamented the passing of the highway system of old. On the new highways, long-haul truckers and travellers now found it possible to drive from one coast the other in less than a week. Many regarded the new roadways as technological marvels. Cloverleaf intersections, in which two highways interchange through a series of entrance and exit ramps that resembled the shape of a four-leaf clover, were one such marvel. In the era of the Sputnik launch, even highways were associated with the Space Age by being called “roads to the future.” Early postcards of highways depicting tunnels and cloverleaves, with the legend “America’s Super Highway,” portray the sort of regard for highways that would seem inconceivable in later years.

The changes to American life and the benefits provided by the interstates are now so largely taken for granted that they exist below the level of consciousness. Because the highways have become so much a part of the landscape, these changes were seldom felt, although they can be easily measured. In 1994, for instance, the average motorist traveled about 3,000 miles a year on the interstate system. The number of accidents per year remained more or less constant prior to, and after, the construction of the interstates; however, the number of vehicles tripled between the 1950s and 1990s.

The mythic qualities of the road are connected to regaining the sense of discovery embodied by the pioneers. Several car models were named after explorers: DeSoto, Cadillac, Hudson. The frontier sense of car travel did not seek to compare itself to the hardships felt by the pioneers, but to the sense of adventure one gained in discovering one’s own land. These qualities were manifested by strange people, places, and food, the threat of speed traps, wrong turns, or the backwoods sheriff who could turn a minor road violation into a night in jail. In this analogy, the highways acted as the settlement, and fears of the unknown were mitigated by roadside tourist attractions, familiar brand-name advertising, and restaurant and hotel chains. In a

decade that many Americans look back upon as dull and sterile, the “frontier” was being tamed for a second time.

—Daryl Umberger

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## Hijuelos, Oscar (1951—)

New Yorker Oscar Hijuelos’ bestselling novels are epic family sagas of the twentieth-century Cuban-American experience. His debut, *Our House in the Last World* (1983), charts the cultural identity crisis of two brothers and their Cuban-born parents in New York during the years after World War II. Pulitzer Prize-winning *The Mambo Kings Play Songs of Love* (1989) flamboyantly depicts 1950s New York as a musical, multicultural melting pot. The Irish-Cuban protagonist of *The Fourteen Sisters of Emilio Montez O’Brien* (1993) is torn between fulfilling the mainstream American Dream of movie stardom and the dotting, redeeming love of his all-female family. All of Hijuelos’ novels, including even the more understated and contemplative *Mr. Ives’ Christmas* (1995), exhibit a troubled fascination with the cultural hegemony of Hollywood. It is therefore appropriately ironic that the 1992 Warner Brothers production, *The Mambo Kings*, brought Hijuelos’ work to a wider, moviegoing public.

—Martyn Bone

## Hiking

As views of nature in America have changed during the twentieth century, so too has the recreational practice of hiking. Throughout the twentieth century hiking was linked to a love of the outdoors, and was a means by which to express a connection to the land. But as the meaning of the American landscape for Americans changed with time, so too did the popular meaning of hiking.

The idea of hiking for amusement would not gain widespread attention until the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt (1901-09). With the ear of the nation, Roosevelt became the greatest proponent of outdoor appreciation. Where earlier politicians had urged Americans to exploit natural resources, farm, and conquer wilderness, Roosevelt often called for preservation of nature. Deeply influenced by the British Imperial fashion of making one’s manhood by entering and besting nature, Roosevelt traveled to many wild places. In the Dakotas, Michigan, and other parts of America, Roosevelt “roughed it” camping and hunting. He helped to popularize a masculinity based not on comfort and cultivation, but upon strength and the ability to tolerate hardship. By entering nature, one could prove one’s “rugged individualism.”

Roosevelt’s regard for nature and individualism coincided with and helped forge America’s emerging sense of itself as a new kind of nation. United States democratic ideals clashed with popular concepts of the limp-wristed privilege and elitism of European aristocracy. Fearing European “flabbiness” and “slothful ease,” Roosevelt and others promoted contact with nature so as to cultivate in Americans a “vigorous manliness” and a “life of strenuous endeavor.”

America also came to view itself as a growing industrial giant, reaping seemingly limitless resources from a great expanse. To hike was to enter nature to appreciate the stuff of which America was made. America was coming to see itself as a nation favored by God, and its land was part of God’s gift to the nation. Roosevelt, and “naturalists” such as John Muir and Aldo Leopold, were also concerned to preserve the stunning beauty of America. Europe had annihilated much of its wilderness, and Americans had already plundered millions of acres. The still popular writings of Henry David Thoreau and John Muir, the paintings of Thomas Moran, and later the photography of Ansel Adams, revealed new ways of seeing the natural world. A powerful American “wilderness cult” became the vanguard of a movement to protect millions of acres of wilderness. This movement somewhat slowed resource extraction and greatly accelerated forest recreation. Out of all of these ideas “hiking” came into being.

Ironically, it was the popularity of the automobile which gave hiking its greatest boost. As the twentieth century aged, the proliferation of cars brought millions of Americans to their forests and parks. In the 1950s, widespread car ownership, new parks, and new ideas about recreation in nature resulted in an explosion in visits to wilderness preserves. At this time, “hiking” was typically a short jaunt from the car, followed by a picnic. Though adventurous, hiking was closely affiliated with the prevailing notion that leisure was to be relaxing and peaceful.

People often see wilderness as the antithesis of civilization. As such, hiking in the wilderness offers salvation from a variety of social ills. For example, urbanites throughout the twentieth century sometimes went hiking to have contact with a natural world which they seldom saw. Overdeveloped suburbs and “concrete jungles” of urban blight left some people alienated from the natural world. Hiking

could “renew the spirit.” In the 1970s, the fitness movement and the environmental movement changed the practice of hiking. Better and lighter equipment—the external frame backpack, the down sweater, and the lighter hiking boots—helped to increase enjoyment of overnight adventures.

In the 1970s and 1980s, hiking grew exponentially. As the nation sought to move beyond the pain of the Vietnam War and as environmentalism grew in popularity, communing with nature was a way of living simply and finding harmony with the Earth. By being in the woods, many hikers were enacting their environmental beliefs and “getting back to nature.” Groups such as the Sierra Club not only lobbied government to preserve wilderness, but recruited hikers as part of their preservation strategy. Hikers were easily converted to conservation, and hikers helped to change the way wilderness was used. In the later quarter of the twentieth century, hiking was extended to all parts of the continent, as places once looked upon as “wastelands” were seen and experienced as sites of stark, arid beauty. In a sense, these areas were symbolically reclaimed for nature through the act of hiking. Land once considered “useless” for anything but resource extraction could be transformed by hiking—hiking literally made use of the land.

—Dylan Clark

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## Hill, Anita

See Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas Senate Hearings

## Hill Street Blues

First airing on January 15, 1981 and ending its broadcast television run on May 12, 1987, *Hill Street Blues* broke new ground to become one of the most critically acclaimed television dramas ever, and won 26 Emmy Awards for NBC. Police dramas had been a staple, if not a cliché, since the beginning of prime time television broadcasting, with shows such as *California Highway Patrol* and *Dragnet* setting the standard from the 1950s onwards. These series featured straight-laced, tight-lipped cops upholding the law in a black-and-white world where every crime was solved within 30 minutes. The focus changed radically when NBC President Fred Silverman, his network mired in third place, gave Steven Bochco free rein to create and produce a show that would reinvent television police drama. As Robert J. Thompson, Director of the Center for the study of Popular Television at Syracuse University summarized it, “What Bochco



The cast of *Hill Street Blues*.

did in 1981 was change the television cop show by making it more realistic.”

Steven Bochco had chosen television over work in film, and both he and the medium benefited. After graduating from Carnegie Tech, Bochco had a film script produced at Universal Studios in 1971. By the time *Silent Running* (a knockoff of *2001: A Space Odyssey*, starring Bruce Dern) was released, he had decided to leave film for television. Bochco told British ITV’s distinguished *South Bank Show* presenter Melvyn Bragg, “In a week and a half I wrote a script. . . . It was a shocking experience for me. It was so devalued by the actors involved, and . . . it made me determine somehow to get more control over the things I wrote.” Seeking that control in television, Bochco wrote several scripts for NBC’s Sunday Mystery Movie, *Columbo* (also produced at Universal Studios), between 1971 and 1973 and, with these writing credits to back him up, he created or produced several television pilots and series for NBC, including *The Invisible Man* (1975), *Delvecchio* (1976), and *Paris* (1979). With his television apprenticeship behind him and NBC’s Nielsen ratings in the doldrums in the late 1970s and early 1980s, Bochco got his opportunity. The result was *Hill Street Blues*.

Much of the show’s style derived from police documentary films, particularly Susan and Alan Raymond’s *Police Tapes* (1977) and Frederick Wiseman’s *Law and Order* (1969). The *cinema verite* style adopted for *Hill Street Blues* had previously been seen on television only in the news, and it lent a startling immediacy and realism to prime time drama. *Hill Street* employed shaky, hand-held cameras and grainy film stock that appeared to be the result of pre-exposing, or “flashing,” the stock. The result was a low-contrast,

shadowy, and claustrophobic world, well suited to the characters and story lines. Interior shots were particularly tight, busy with supporting cast members and extras going about police business in the background while close shots of the main characters filled the foreground. This heightened realism had a profound influence on the genre, and altered the style of successive series, which were quick to apply the new gritty, hard-edged approach of *Hill Street*.

In addition to its landmark style, *Hill Street*'s plot lines and subject matter were also new to prime time network dramas. Law and order was negotiated in interrogation rooms and courtrooms, and the lines between criminal and cop were often blurred. The serial nature of *Hill Street* was also critical to this more naturalistic treatment of the criminal justice system. While prime time soap operas like *Dallas* had serial plots, the impulse of most police dramas was to present a self-contained story in a closed 30-minute format or, as Bochco had learned with *Columbo*, a two-hour movie slot. But the plots and the characters that filled *Hill Street* were too complex for quick resolution.

The characters, too, were innovative, exhibiting human dimensions of weakness as well as strength that came to dictate character-driven cop series such as the contemporaneous *Cagney and Lacey* and, notably, of course, Bochco's later *NYPD Blue*. Bochco, rather curiously, described his characters in a 1997 *New York Times* interview as "broad-brushed, almost comedic. . . ." Foremost among the ensemble cast was Precinct Captain Frank Furillo, played by Daniel J. Travanti. Furillo is an unwaveringly ethical leader, a recovering alcoholic (as was Travanti) married to sane and professional Public Defender Joyce Davenport, played by Veronica Hamel. Other characters are more idiosyncratic: Frank's shrill ex-wife (played by Bochco's wife Barbara Bosson) is arrested for marijuana possession in one episode; Sergeant Phil Esterhaus (Michael Conrad) died of a heart attack *in medias coitus*; and Detective Mick Belker (Bruce Weitz) was not above biting suspects to subdue them. Other cast members included Charles Haid, Michael Warren, Taurean Blacque, Kiel Martin, Ed Marinaro, Joe Spano, Rene Enriquez, James B. Sicking, and Dennis Franz as Detective Norman Buntz. Franz's relationship with Bochco crossed over into *NYPD Blue*.

*Hill Street Blues*, along with the sitcom *Cheers*, made NBC's Thursday lineup unbeatable and helped the network climb back into the Nielsen ratings race by the mid-1980s. Mike Post's theme music became a hit on radio, just as his theme for *The Rockford Files* had done in the 1970s. By the end of the decade *Hill Street* had spawned innumerable imitators, including *St. Elsewhere* (often called "*Hill Street* in a hospital") by Bochco protégé David E. Kelley. Bochco continued experimenting with the form, creating a show about minor league ball players called *Bay City Blues*, but he was not infallible. The 1990 musical drama *Cop Rock*, in which characters launched into song in the middle of an arrest or a court proceeding, was a bizarre and unfortunate mistake. *NYPD Blue*, Bochco's series for ABC, first aired in October of 1994 and continued to push the envelope where content was concerned, airing mild nudity that caused some affiliates to cancel or pre-empt the show. The furor died down after the first season, and *NYPD Blue* became a huge and ongoing critical and ratings success. Bochco then broke new ground yet again with *Murder One* (1995), a one-season serial that followed one murder trial to its conclusion, and carried unmistakable resonances of the O. J. Simpson case.

In a 1995 interview in the *New York Times*, Bochco, referring to *Murder One*, clarified his vision for television drama. "What we're trying to do," he said, "is create a long term impact. One which requires its viewership to defer gratification for a while, to control that

impulse in anticipation of a more complex and fully satisfying closure down the road. It's the same commitment you make when you open up to the first page of a novel." And Daniel J. Travanti reminisced in a 1997 interview in *The Washington Post*, "It's nice to know that in a minor key, we are legendary." Unlike most such legends, however, *Hill Street Blues* indubitably impacted on American cultural expectations of the genre, and the successful series that have followed in its wake stand on its shoulders.

—Tim Arnold

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## Hillerman, Tony (1925—)

Since 1970, writer Tony Hillerman has developed the detective fiction genre with his highly regarded series of detective novels set on Navajo customs and culture. His two Native American detectives, Joe Leaphorn and Jim Chee, pursue their investigations in and around the Navajo reservation that covers parts of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah. Hillerman's major innovation to detective fiction has been to transplant an essentially European American method of detection into the Native American cultural context. The effect is to reveal the method's shortcomings and address Native American concerns by showing that a detective must have intimate knowledge of the specific culture in which a crime takes place. Without that knowledge of cultural difference, the so-called analytical method of detection cannot be used successfully to solve a mystery. For a white writer even to consider entering such a difficult cultural arena as this is remarkable in itself, but criticism of Hillerman's work suggests he has done so with great sensitivity, subtlety, and no little success.

Hillerman was born and brought up in a small farming settlement near Konawa, Oklahoma. His father and uncle ran a farm and a general store during the 1930s, and Hillerman attributes his skill as a storyteller to the social gatherings on the front porch of the store; he describes his mother in particular as a great storyteller. He escaped dust-bowl-struck Pottawatomie County first by attending Oklahoma State University and later, having dropped out of his chemical engineering degree to help on the farm, by enlisting in the army and going to fight in Europe.

Extracts from his wartime letters home were published as a story by a journalist with the *Daily Oklahoman*, and it is this that pushed Hillerman toward writing as a career. After the war he returned to the University of Oklahoma where he gained a bachelor of arts degree in journalism. Suitably qualified, he found work as a journalist for newspapers and news bureaus in Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico. His decision to begin writing fiction coincided with his return to academic study, and after completing a master of arts degree in 1965, he became a faculty member at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque, where he eventually became chair of the Department of Journalism.

Only one of Hillerman's fourteen published detective novels does not have a Native American setting or theme. In 1995 he departed a second time from the Navajo theme, and also from detective fiction, to write a novel, *Finding Moon*, based in Asia at the time of the fall of Saigon. He has written detective short stories and

nonfiction essays and books on subjects such as the southwestern states, Navajo culture, and the process of writing. He has also written a children's book, edited various collections of essays about the West, and (with Rosemary Herbert) is the editor of a collection of American detective stories.

For a man who grew up in relative poverty and cultural isolation, Hillerman has achieved remarkable success, both in his career on the faculty of the University of New Mexico, but especially as a writer of detective fiction. Critical responses to his fiction have been almost universally good, and his books have sold well. Among the several awards he has won are the prestigious Mystery Writers of America Edgar Allan Poe Award for *Dance Hall of the Dead* (1973) and the Mystery Writers of America Grandmaster Award (1989).

—Chris Routledge

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## Himes, Chester (1909-1984)

College dropout, pimp, bootlegger, and convicted armed-robber, Chester Himes began writing his acclaimed "Harlem Cycle" of crime novels in Paris in 1957. His most famous creations, the black detectives Coffin Ed Johnson and Gravedigger Jones work as a team and deal with transgressors in a ruthless, violent way, brandishing and using huge guns to settle disputes. The absurdity of the level of violence the two detectives both mete out and suffer is presented as representative of the wider absurdity of the lives of African Americans, and perhaps the absurdities of Himes's own life. Whatever Coffin Ed and Gravedigger do, they cannot end the cycle of crime and violence that grips black city life, just as, in Himes's view, whatever African Americans do, they cannot escape the cycle of racism that controls their lives.

The "Harlem Cycle" crime thrillers describe life among the struggling poor of Harlem in such vivid detail as can only come from experience, but Himes was born into a respectable, middle-class family in Jefferson City, Missouri. His father was a college professor who was head of the mechanical department of the Lincoln Institute in Jefferson and later worked at Alcorn College in Mississippi. His mother was a descendent of wealthy southern whites and made a point of declaring the family's superiority whenever she could, often criticizing her husband for his dark skin. This contrast between his father's dark skin and his mother's pride in her pale almost-whiteness reappears in Himes's novels as a dynamic of good and evil; evil

characters in his work tend to have light-colored skin. After his father lost his job at Alcorn, the Himes family moved to St. Louis and later to Cleveland, Ohio, where the relationship between his parents deteriorated. Himes graduated from high school in Ohio and, after recovering from falling down an elevator shaft, began studying at Ohio State University.

Himes's university career did not last long. In his own way he began to resist the discrimination he experienced even among young African Americans by rejecting what he called the "light-bright-and-damn-near-white" social clique at the university in favor of friends he made among gamblers, pimps, and prostitutes in the ghetto. As a result he was forced to resign his college place, and began a short but formative career as a criminal, selling bootleg whiskey during Prohibition and taking part in robberies. After his parents' divorce, and his father's decline into menial, low-paid jobs, Himes was eventually involved in an armed robbery, for which he was given a twenty-year prison sentence. With encouragement from his devoted mother, he began to write in prison, and published stories in magazines such as *Abbott's Monthly*, owned by and marketed to African Americans. He also managed to sell occasional stories to the more lucrative *Esquire* magazine, from which he concealed his racial origins.

Himes served seven and a half years in prison and, when he was paroled in 1936, began trying to earn a living from his writing. He continued to write for the magazines, but when he and his first wife, Jean, moved to California during the war, he worked in the shipyards and began to write his first novel, *If He Hollers Let Him Go*, which he completed in 1945. Himes had a difficult time with the autobiographical protest novels he wrote in the following seven years, all of which struggled to find publishers. His parents died, his marriage to Jean failed, and his various affairs with white women, most notably with Vandi Haygood, ended in disaster. In 1953, with money from the advance on *Cast the First Stone*, he bought a ticket to France. He lived briefly in London and Mallorca, co-wrote a novel with a woman he had met on the ship from New York, and finally moved to Paris.

In 1957, he met Marcel Duhamel of the publishing house Gallimard, which published American hard-boiled novels under the famous imprint, "La Série Noire," and was recruited to write detective stories. The first of these, published in America as *For Love of Imabelle* (1957), and now known as *A Rage in Harlem*, won the "Grand Prix de la littérature policière" in France and made him famous overnight. He wrote a total of ten detective novels, nine involving Gravedigger and Coffin Ed, one of which, *Plan B*, was published posthumously in 1993. The "Harlem Cycle," as these novels have become known, allowed him to address the themes of racism and violence that had made his earlier novels unpopular. As Stephen F. Soitos states, in Himes, racism is present among both blacks and whites, and as such his novels represent the growing awareness among African Americans in the 1950s of race and class, though his attitude towards women is far from progressive. His detectives are only too aware of the absurdity of their real task. They must protect whites and white society from black criminals and the latent chaos of Harlem so that they do not become too afraid to go there. If that should happen, black criminals and con artists would be deprived of their income.

Although his Harlem crime novels won awards and sold well from the start, it is only since the 1980s that they have been given the critical attention they deserve. Like James Baldwin, another African American writing in France about life in New York, Himes looked back at America with the clarity of an exile's eye. His elaborate hierarchies of good and evil characters, signaled by their skin color,

and his experiments with nonlinear time and simultaneous plot events in his novels have informed the work of later novelists such as Ishmael Reed. Although they were written for commercial reasons, Himes's crime novels are an angry continuation of his early challenges to America, and a significant contribution to the development of American detective fiction.

—Chris Routledge

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## The Hindenburg

The May 1937 explosion of the German airship *Hindenburg* is one of the most memorable disasters of the twentieth century, outshining other more serious and costly catastrophes. Of the ninety-seven passengers and crew on board, thirty-six lost their lives in the conflagration. Images of its fiery denouement would make their way through the pop culture pantheon, onto T-shirts and album covers (most famously, the eponymous debut of Led Zeppelin), while the mystery of the *Hindenburg's* final flight would inspire a feature film (1975) and numerous documentaries. Various theories on the cause of the explosion blame a hydrogen leak, electrostatic discharges in the air igniting the ship's highly flammable fabric covering, or an anti-Nazi act of sabotage. A NASA scientist claimed to have resolved the dispute in favor of the flammable covering thesis in 1997, but doubters remained. "For reasons which are not clear to me even now, however," wrote Michael Mooney in his history of the flight, "the *Hindenburg* disaster seemed to sear the memory of everyone even remotely connected to it." Perhaps it was a conjunction of the times, the fragile peace preceding World War II, and the spectacular manner of the airship's end.

Perhaps it was because the *Hindenburg* was destroyed in direct view of the assembled press, with cameras clicking and newsreel film rolling and radio announcers squawking excitedly into their microphones, their coverage competing with the screams of the dying. "Here it comes, ladies and gentlemen, and what a sight it is, a thrilling one, a marvelous sight," exclaimed radio announcer Herb Morrison for the benefit of his listeners in Chicago as the *Hindenburg* prepared to dock over a Lakehurst, New Jersey, airfield. Only moments later his tenor changed abruptly from enthusiasm to abject terror. "It's burst into flames," cried the horror-stricken reporter, "It is burning, bursting into flames and is falling . . . Oh! This is one of the worst . . . Oh! It's a terrific sight . . . Oh! . . . and all the humanity!" Morrison broke down, finding himself unable to continue.

Spectators on the ground claimed they saw a small explosion toward the stern followed by an enormous secondary burst. The

lighter-than-air *Hindenburg* plummeted toward earth, passengers leaping from the observation platform as it descended. Others managed to flee from the wreckage once it came to rest on the airfield—some parting the white-hot aluminum superstructure with bare hands. The unlucky were trapped in the burning superstructure or were mortally wounded in escaping.

Zeppelin travel had attracted those who disliked sea travel, those for whom time was of the essence, and a great many who were attracted by the sheer novelty of airships. Thus far, zeppelins had provided safe, fast transport between the Americas and Germany for close to twenty years. (Only Germany had managed to master the art of the zeppelin, with French and English efforts ending in failure.) Having served a year of regular flights between Germany and New York, the *Hindenburg*, 804 feet long with a cruising speed of 78 miles per hour, was the largest and most advanced of the airships, providing comfortable, luxurious passage in a fraction of the time it would take the fastest steamer to traverse the Atlantic.

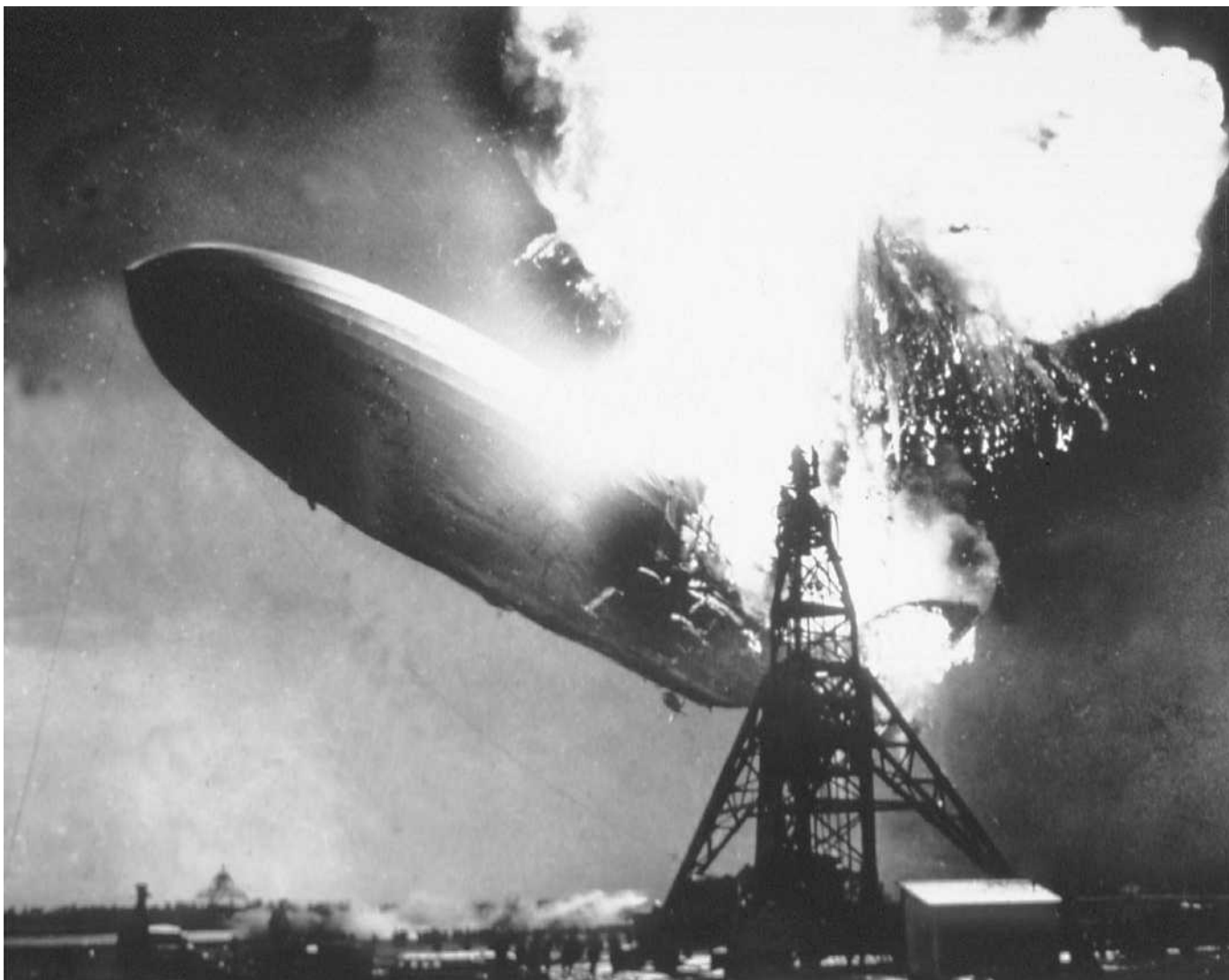
According to the dramatic sabotage legend, a letter had arrived at the German Embassy in Washington, D.C., the day before the flight warning of a saboteur among the paying passengers. As a result, security was unusually thorough, and Captain Ernst Lehmann, the newly appointed director of the Zeppelin Company (his predecessor having resigned in disgrace), and two SS officials scrutinized the passengers. By journey's end, Captain Lehmann was convinced the letter was a figment of SS paranoia. Nothing of import had transpired. He did not know that Erich Spehl, a young rigger on the ship whose job it was to tend to the bags of highly flammable hydrogen within the aluminum superstructure, had surreptitiously planted a bomb within Gas Cell IV long before the ship had left its hangar. It was left to Spehl to rip open the gas bag shortly before landing and set the timer on his rudimentary bomb. It was not Spehl's intention to kill anyone: the innocent farm lad was motivated to perform his "act of genius" by his older, sophisticated girlfriend under whose tutelage Spehl had grown violently opposed to the Nazi regime. As the *Hindenburg* circled to position itself for landing, Erich Spehl slit the gas cell and set the bomb's timer for two hours, long after the passengers and crew should have disembarked. Unfortunately, the timer malfunctioned, or in his haste, he set it wrong. The *Hindenburg* was just preparing to dock when the bomb exploded, burning the silk bag and allowing air to rush in and mix with the highly flammable hydrogen.

Whether the explosion was caused by such a saboteur or not, a more dramatic black eye for the Nazi regime could scarcely have been planned. The disaster was featured in newsreels within the week, and it made a phenomenal spectacle, the bright white flames leaping into the dark sky as the silhouetted bulk of the zeppelin descended gracefully toward the earth. The German government, hoping to avoid an international incident, ascribed the disaster to "an act of God." A binational commission was convened, but the Germans had been expressly warned not to find any evidence of sabotage. The FBI, in turn, played along, but the commission met nightly, and convictions were aired off the record. The decision to sweep the mess under the rug abruptly brought any further experiments with passenger airships to an end.

—Michael Baers

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## Hip-Hop

See Rap/Hip-Hop

## Hippies

The post war “baby boom generation” was something of an anomaly both to parents and to the children they would eventually

raise. Growing up amid the contradictory conditions of prosperity and paranoia that prevailed during the 1950s, as they grew into adults this young generation tired of abundance and yearned for a more “authentic” life. Their quest initiated outlandish fashions and tastes, broke taboos, and, together with an eager television and music business, monopolized the culture industry, saturating public discourse with hedonistic and sentimental idioms. With the objective of a new classless society of sincerity and trust, some of these young people adopted the term “hip” from beatnik slang and donned the flowery, flamboyant posture of “hippies.”

By the mid-1960s, hippies began to appear in high schools, colleges, and enclaves around the country. Their unique combination of hedonism and morality depended on the spin they placed on the “generation gap” that separated them from their elders: in high moral gear, hippies projected every conceivable social and ethical defect of society onto their parents—the generation who, having survived depression and war, clung to middle-class prosperity and values like drowning sailors to a life vest. From the perspective of the young, this “materialism” was evidence of the bleak life of “straight” society,

and of the moral bankruptcy that spawned war, environmental damage, racism, and sexual persecution.

Starting around 1964 and increasing steadily into the early 1970s, hippies began gathering in lower income, inner city neighborhoods (the same areas their parents had worked so hard to escape) such as New York's East Village and, particularly, San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury, and later formed communes and settlements in the countryside. Largely white, middle class, and educated, hippies whipped up their own philosophy of natural living, easy sexual and social relations, sincerity, and hedonism through a blend of Eastern mysticism, left-wing social critique, and Beatnik appropriations of African-American slang. To the hippies, "squares" were "uptight," out of touch with their feelings and with each other, and it was this isolation from human feeling which had made them such aggressive, authoritarian, and often brutal people. The hippie lifestyle, on the other hand, was not only more fun, it was morally superior.

Drugs played a special part in this hedonistic moral rebirth. By "blowing one's mind," drugs allowed one to see through the fake values of middle-class materialism and into the profound layers of one's innermost being. The hippie political outlook was just as fanciful. Hippies imagined the older generation working together in a massive authoritarian conspiracy called "the Establishment," or "the Man." They believed the main objective of the recognized social order was to restrain and control the innocent love of life, nature, and happiness that defined hippie life. The Vietnam war provided a ready target for hippie opposition and rebellion: the words "peace" and "love" became symbolically loaded terms, lumping together a call for military withdrawal from Vietnam, an attitude of

mutual acceptance and trust between people, and a sense of personal awareness and happiness. The famous photograph of a hippie protester inserting flowers into the rifle barrels of a line of National Guard troops demonstrates the unique style of hippie morality, which connected personal feeling with political intent.

It is possible to bracket a viable and active hippie counter culture between the years 1965 and 1973. Over this period, a few important dates stand out: in 1966, the Beatles, having already made long hair an important emblem of youth culture, released *Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*, rock's first concept album. The jacket featured the band in lavish, mock Napoleonic military garb, a look that coined much early hippie camp and whimsy. One song in particular, "A Day in the Life," crystallized the hallucinatory drug-induced sense of the absurd which was to become known as "psychedelic." The song wove together two quite different sounds; one, sung by Paul McCartney, took an everyday, commonsensical tone, "woke up, got out of bed, dragged a comb across my head. . . ," while the other, sung by John Lennon, interrupted McCartney's narrative to coo dreamily, "Ahhhhhhh. . . I'd love to turn. . . you. . . on. . ." The song seemed to split reality into two, the mundane and the fantastic, the square and the hip. And, along with another track on the record, "Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds," *Sergeant Pepper* was thought to advocate psychedelic drug use as the necessary bridge from the drab world of old straights to the lush and expressive world of the young and the free.

In 1967, the Monterey Pop Festival provided the first in a series of major outdoor rock concerts, and in 1969, the Woodstock Music and Arts Festival provided the movement's thrilling climax. Hundreds of thousands of hippies clogged the region around the concert trying to get in, and, after airlifts of food, water, and flowers from state troopers, the event subsided without incident, a testimony to the solidarity and mutual goodwill of a counterculture guided by feelings of love and peace. However, over time, the climate of the counterculture changed: hippie urban frolicking turned into serious homelessness and poverty, and the drug culture grew into an organized and dangerous underworld. Petty criminals, drifters, and profiteers overran many of the hippie hangouts and communes. The Manson murders and a violent outbreak of violence and murder at a concert at Altamont, California, in 1969 brought to the fore a growing tension within hippie culture between middle class and idealistic hippies and a growing criminal drug culture with no idealistic pretensions to speak of.

But more than the criminal underclass, the hippie movement faced a far greater challenge from the same force that had brought it into existence: the mainstream media, which commercialized hippie culture and dulled its radical edge. By 1970, psychedelic styles were a common feature of advertising, bell-bottom pants were marketed to children, and even conservatives were seen to sport sideburns and long hair. When Lyndon B. Johnson was photographed in retirement on his farm with hair down to his shoulders, it was clear that the counterculture had become mainstream culture.

—Sam Binkley

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A Hippie couple.



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## Hirschfeld, Albert (1903—)

Since 1927 Al Hirschfeld's instantly recognizable pen-and-ink drawings for the *New York Times* have chronicled the worlds of theater, film, television (when it came along), and indeed virtually every area of performance based artistry in the last three-quarters of the twentieth century. His mastery of the sinuous line to reveal the essence of a performer or role remains undiminished. Calling himself not a caricaturist but a "characterist," Hirschfeld has relied on wit and humor, never malice, to bring life to his subjects and a smile to the faces of those who read the *New York Times*. Since the birth of his daughter Nina in 1945, Hirschfeld has regularly hidden her name in the folds of clothing or elsewhere, prompting many admirers to an even closer reading of his eloquent drawings. Energy unabated, he produced in 1991 the designs for a set of United States postage stamps honoring great American humorists, while in its final 1997-1998 season he drew a set of *TV Guide* covers featuring the stars of *Seinfeld*.

—Craig Bunch

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## *Hispanic Magazine*

A "Latino version of *People*" at the time of its 1988 debut, *Hispanic* was one of the first general interest magazines for Hispanic Americans to be printed in English and nationally distributed. Launched in Washington, D.C. by Cuban native Fred Estrada, with former New Mexico governor Jerry Apodaca as his publisher, *Hispanic* initially revolved around celebrity photo spreads and articles that were roundly dismissed as "fluff." The debut issue featured Raquel Welch "of all people" on its cover, as Estrada's son Alfredo would later lament. After a dismal first year of receipts, *Hispanic* underwent extensive reformatting. Becoming far more career and professional-oriented, the magazine's new focus was on the achievements of Hispanic business leaders and politicians such as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Henry Cisneros, with regular articles on corporate America and its relationship to Hispanics.

The shift was successful. Almost immediately, ad pages increased by more than 200 percent and, by its third year, *Hispanic* was turning a profit. Reformatting was so successful, in fact, that *Hispanic* continues to be confused with its competitor, the California-based *Hispanic Business* (founded in 1979), which threatened a copyright infringement lawsuit in 1993.

While many print periodicals faced increasing difficulty in an era of expanding media technology, *Hispanic* remained solvent throughout the 1990s, largely due to the rapidly increasing demographic of Hispanic Americans, whose numbers were growing at five times the rate of the general population. It was a trend that advertisers had taken over two decades to grasp. Whereas in 1977, the total national ad expenditures in all Hispanic print media were only about \$800,000, by 1997 that figure had skyrocketed to \$492 million. As Alfredo Estrada noted, referring to the "lean" early years, "the idea that Hispanics spoke English was heresy [in those days] . . . even now, some advertising agencies remain wedded to the idea that the only effective way to reach Hispanics is in Spanish." Indeed, as recently as 1992, *Hispanic* challenged *Forbes* magazine for its claim that the Hispanic market was practically non-existent. Why then, asked a Hispanic writer, had 70 of the Fortune 500 companies invested in it?

Early pioneering Latino magazines such as *Nuestro* (published from 1975 to 1981) and *Latina* (1982-1983) may not have survived long enough to witness the exponential growth in advertising revenue, but the fact that they existed at all certainly paved the way for publications like *Hispanic*. In turn, the hard work of the Estrada family broke down barriers for later competitors, some of whom were based in large entertainment and publishing conglomerates, such as *People en Español*, launched by Time Warner in 1996, and *Latina*, which was first published by African American-owned Essence Communications in 1996.

In the 1990s, *Hispanic* saw several changes in operation strategies and long-term goals, which seemed both to expand and focus its efforts at once. The publication instituted, for example, the "Latina Excellence Awards," in an effort to "honor Hispanic American women who have made significant contributions in their chosen field of endeavor," as well as the "Schools of Excellence Awards," to pay tribute to secondary-school principals with unique academic and enrichment programs for Hispanic students.

Other changes included relocating its family-owned publishing headquarters, in 1994, from Washington, D.C. to Austin, Texas. The consortium (which now owned Florida-based *Vista* as well), also joined the new wave of publishers offering titles for Latinas; its quarterly supplement, *Moderna*, became a stand-alone publication in 1996.

In 1999 *Hispanic's* circulation was a solid 250,000. Estrada remained chairman and founder, while Alfredo, a former lawyer and graduate of Harvard University, served as editor and publisher. When the elder Estrada heard one advertiser note that the flood of new publications for Latinos had finally "brought credibility to Hispanic print," he asked, incredulous, "What am I, chopped chorizo?" By the year 2050, Hispanics will comprise nearly 25 percent of the American population. Over a decade ago, *Hispanic* was one of the first to offer them a publication that honored their dreams and triumphs.

—Kristal Brent Zook

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## Hiss, Alger (1904-1996)

Alger Hiss's life up to 1948 seemed, on the surface, to be an American success story. He attended Johns Hopkins and Harvard Law School and was a stellar student at both institutions. As he pursued his law career and joined the State Department in Washington, D.C., his road to success was soon blocked by accusations that he was a Soviet spy. Hiss would work relentlessly to clear his name, but to no avail. He died haunted by the specter of accusations brought against him during a period in America marked by political infighting and mass hysteria.

At Harvard, Hiss met a professor named Felix Frankfurter—a future Supreme Court justice. He served a term as a law clerk to Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, continuing what he thought was his pursuit of a successful career in law. This was followed by private law practice in Boston and New York. The election of Franklin Roosevelt, however, brought Hiss to Washington to work on the New Deal. He worked at the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and was also a lawyer for the Nye Committee, a committee of Congress which was investigating the arms industry. In 1936, Hiss joined the State Department.

In 1939, a man named Whittaker Chambers paid a visit to Assistant Secretary of State Adolf Berle. Chambers claimed to be a former Communist who knew of the existence of “fellow travelers” in the federal government. Chambers made similar claims in follow-up interviews with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Alger Hiss was one of the persons fingered by Chambers, but the allegations were not acted on at the time.

Hiss took part in the 1944 Dumbarton Oaks Conference, which tried to lay the framework for a postwar United Nations Organization and an international economic order. Hiss also accompanied President Roosevelt to the historic 1945 conference of the major Allied leaders in Yalta. In 1947, he became president of the Carnegie



Alger Hiss

Endowment for International Peace after being recruited by John Foster Dulles, a New York lawyer who later became President Eisenhower's hard-line anti-Communist Secretary of State.

In 1948, the Hiss Case began when Chambers gave testimony to the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC). Chambers alleged that he had known Hiss in the 1930s, and that both of them had been Communists. Hiss was allegedly part of a Communist underground which existed in the federal government during Roosevelt's administration and which tried to turn federal policy in directions desired by the Communists. Chambers denied, however, that he had been involved in any spying.

Hiss demanded, and got, an opportunity to appear before HUAC. He denied the charges of Communism, and he denied having known Chambers. Hiss gave an impressive performance, but one member of HUAC, a freshman Republican congressman named Richard Nixon, wanted to look deeper into the matter. HUAC agreed that Nixon could continue with the investigation in order to find out if Chambers and Hiss had actually known each other.

Chambers was then summoned to give testimony in executive session, where he gave details (some accurate, some not) about Hiss and his wife from the period when Chambers claimed to have known Hiss. There was then a secret session at which Hiss was examined by HUAC members. Hiss backtracked on his earlier denial of having met Chambers. He had met a man called George Crosley who might have been Chambers. But Hiss denied knowing “Crosley” as a Communist. In a later face-to-face confrontation, Hiss confirmed that Chambers was the George Crosley he had known in the 1930s. Hiss also challenged Chambers to repeat his allegations outside the context of a congressional hearing so that Hiss could file a defamation lawsuit.

Chambers did indeed repeat outside of Congress his charge that Hiss was a Communist. Hiss, as promised, sued Chambers for defamation. Then, during the pretrial discovery phase of the lawsuit, Chambers made new accusations. Reversing his earlier testimony, Chambers said that Hiss had spied for the Soviet Union, using Chambers as a courier. To back up his dramatic accusation, Chambers produced various documents, including what he said were papers typed by Hiss—allegedly copies of government (mostly State Department) documents which Hiss had made, and then turned over to Chambers for use by the Soviets. Chambers also produced some allegedly incriminating microfilm representing State Department documents which Hiss had desired to send the Soviets. The microfilm had been hidden in a hollowed-out pumpkin on Chambers's farm until he felt able to turn them over to HUAC.

Chambers's espionage allegations were serious, and federal prosecutors believed them, but the statute of limitations on espionage had expired in Hiss's case. He was, however, indicted by a New York grand jury for allegedly committing perjury about espionage and his relationship with Chambers.

In Hiss's two trials, the prosecution backed up Chambers's story by trying to show that the Hiss typewriter had been used to write some of the documents in Chambers's possession. Hiss countered by attacking Chambers's credibility and by using character witnesses. And the list of character witnesses was impressive. Felix Frankfurter (Hiss's former teacher, now on the Supreme Court), Justice Stanley Reed, and Illinois governor Adlai Stevenson all appeared to vouch for Hiss's character. His first trial in 1949 ended with a hung jury (the vote was eight to four for conviction). At a second trial, Hiss was convicted, and he subsequently served forty-four months in prison.

For the remainder of his life, Hiss denied having spied for the Soviets. He wrote two books defending his innocence, and he had

many supporters among those who thought that the Hiss prosecution was simply a politically motivated effort by conservatives to smear the New Deal and the Democrats by making up stories about Communists in the government. According to the pro-Hiss view, the Hiss prosecution was a product of the anti-Communist hysteria of the times. When Richard Nixon resigned from the Presidency as a result of the Watergate scandal, Hiss supporters argued that if Nixon was capable of the “dirty tricks” of the Watergate period, he was certainly capable of fabricating a case against Hiss. In the post-Soviet era, a Soviet general in charge of certain secret archives announced that there was no evidence in the archives that Hiss had been a spy, although he later added that such evidence might have been overlooked or destroyed.

Hiss’s opponents cite Soviet documents which seem to confirm Chambers’ account of a 1930s spy ring in Washington. Hiss’s enemies also point to recently declassified United States translations of secret Soviet communications. One of the communications describes an agent who is described in such a way as to fit only four people, including Hiss. Historians and others continue to debate the veracity of Chambers’s claims as part of the continuing reassessment of events during the Cold War.

—Eric Longley

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## Hitchcock, Alfred (1899-1980)

Universally acknowledged as “The Master of Suspense,” the British-born film director Alfred Hitchcock reached the zenith of his accomplishments within the American film industry, with a series of now classic psychological thrillers that remain a constant presence in the cultural landscape of the moviegoer. Regarded as one of the major artists of Hollywood’s Golden Age, Hitchcock created and perfected his own genre of thriller, one which was by turns romantic, comedic, and macabre, and his unique gift for creating suspense has given the adjective “Hitchcockian” to the language. A supreme cinematic stylist, it was said of him that he filmed murder scenes as if they were love scenes and love scenes as if they were murder scenes. Thanks to his hosting of *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* during the 1950s, he became probably the only film director whose face was recognizable to the general public, although, master showman that he was, he made a fleeting trademark appearance in virtually every one of his films,



Alfred Hitchcock

giving audiences the added *frisson* of trying to spot him on the screen. His mastery of film technique, refined in the silent era, combined with his ability to, as he put it, “play the audience like an organ,” made his films extremely popular—so popular, in fact, that the respect of his critics and peers was not immediately forthcoming. Today, however, his place in the cinematic pantheon is secure, and his work continues to exert an overwhelming influence on upcoming generations of filmmakers. For better or worse, Hitchcock’s most lasting impact may prove to have been the floodgate of still-escalating violence which he unleashed on screen in his 1960 masterpiece, *Psycho*.

Alfred Joseph Hitchcock was born in suburban London on August 13, 1899. Raised in a Catholic household by an emotionally repressed father, he was a painfully shy child. Years later, he would often repeat the story of how his father had instructed the local police to place the boy in a cell for a short time in order to demonstrate what happens to bad little boys who misbehave. A recurring theme of his films is a fear of the police. Young Hitchcock developed an interest in art, but his first job was as a technical clerk in a telegraph company. In 1919, he joined the Islington branch of the Famous Players Lasky film company as a designer of title-cards. He was hired as an assistant director for the production company run by Michael Balcon and Victor Saville in 1923, where he met Alma Reville, a petite film editor whom he married three years later. Reville would remain Hitchcock’s collaborator and confidante for the remainder of his life. After starting to write scripts, Hitchcock was sent to work on a German-British co-production at the UFA studios, famous home of the German Expressionist cinema, which would eventually reveal its influence in his own work.

By 1925, he had worked on half-a-dozen British silents in various capacities as assistant director, art director, editor, and co-scriptwriter. That year he directed his first solo feature, *The Pleasure Garden*, but it was his third, *The Lodger* (1926), that began to earn him his early reputation. Starring the British composer of “Ruritanian” musical romances and matinee idol of the musical stage, Ivor Novello, the tale concerned a mysterious stranger wrongly thought to be Jack the Ripper. Many years later, Hitchcock said of the film, “It was the first time I exercised my style . . . you might almost say it was my first picture.” He only returned to the thriller form six pictures and three years later with *Blackmail*, the first British talkie or, more accurately, part-talkie (it had begun shooting as a silent). Alternating thrillers with “straight” pictures for a time, Hitchcock truly hit his stride in 1934 with *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, a fast-paced story of kidnapping and espionage, filled with memorable set-pieces such as the assassination attempt during a concert at Albert Hall. He remade it in 1956 starring James Stewart, Doris Day, VistaVision and the song “Que Sera Sera”, but despite its massive box-office success, critics continue to agree that the early version was the more refined and effective.

*The Man Who Knew Too Much* launched what is now referred to as Hitchcock’s “British period,” in which he turned out one successful thriller after another, notably *The Thirty-Nine Steps* (1935) and one of the most famous of British films, *The Lady Vanishes* (1938). The former, one of several screen versions of John Buchan’s novel, starred Robert Donat and Madeleine Carroll, and set the tone for many Hitchcock classics to follow, in its combination of comedy, action, and romance, and its theme of an innocent man hounded by the police as well as the arch-villains. Though it would take a generation for the more intellectual film critics to catch up with the public which made these movies hits, Hitchcock’s films were remarkable for the craft with which they so skillfully hooked audiences and kept them in suspense for an hour and a half. The director paid immaculate attention to working out every detail, and often claimed that, with the script and storyboard complete, the actual filming itself was an anticlimax. He called upon the fullest vocabulary of cinema, from casting and camera-work to editing and sound, to tell his stories, and was a great believer in the power of montage, which he employed masterfully.

Inevitably, Hollywood beckoned, and Hitchcock signed a contract with producer David O. Selznick. Their first collaboration, *Rebecca* (1940), from the novel by Daphne Du Maurier and starring Joan Fontaine and Laurence Olivier, was largely British in flavor, but won Hitchcock the first of his five Academy nominations for Best Director, seven additional nominations (including one for Judith Anderson’s immortal Mrs. Danvers) and carried off the Best Picture and Cinematography Oscars. *Rebecca* was an unqualified triumph, but Hitchcock chafed under the oppressively hands-on methods of his producer, and yearned for artistic independence. Meanwhile (sometimes on loan-out to other studios), he directed American films that continued his cycle of spy-chase thrillers but, in keeping with the World War II years, cunningly carried anti-Nazi propaganda messages as in *Foreign Correspondent* (1940, with Joel McCrea in the title role as an American war correspondent tangling with Nazi thugs), *Saboteur* (1942, with Robert Cummings tangling with Fifth Columnists), *Lifeboat* (1944, with Tallulah Bankhead and others surviving a German torpedo and seeking safety), and *Notorious* (1946), the second of three with Ingrid Bergman and four with Cary Grant, who infiltrate a group of Nazi conspirators in South America in one of the director’s most stylish thriller-romances.

Sometimes cited by Hitchcock as his personal favorite, *Shadow of a Doubt* (1943), which starred Joseph Cotten as a killer escaping detection by “visiting” his adoring relatives, brilliantly dramatized the terrors that can lurk in the shadows of a seemingly normal small town. It was this penchant for perceiving the disturbance underneath the surface of things that helped Hitchcock’s movies to resonate so powerfully. Perhaps the most famous demonstration of this disjunction would come in *North by Northwest* (1959), where Cary Grant, seemingly safe on a sunny day, surrounded by miles of empty farm fields, suddenly finds himself attacked by a machine-gunning airplane. Before the rich collection of war years thrillers, there was a beguiling and polished foray into domestic comedy drama with *Mr. and Mrs. Smith* (1940, with Carole Lombard and Robert Montgomery) and the romantic and sophisticated suspense tale *Suspicion* (1941, Grant and Fontaine), which pointed the way toward Hitchcock’s fertile 1950s period.

The postwar decade kicked off with the adaptation of Patricia Highsmith’s novel *Strangers on a Train* (1950), in which Farley Granger and Robert Walker swap murders. The film climaxed with one of Hitchcock’s most famous and memorable visual set pieces, a chase in a fairground. It was filmed in black and white, as was *I Confess* (1952, with Montgomery Clift as a priest who receives an unwelcome confession). To date, the Master of Suspense had only ventured into color twice (*Rope*, 1948, and, one of his rare failures, *Under Capricorn*, 1949). Now, he capitulated to color for the remainder of his career, with the well-judged exceptions of the Henry Fonda vehicle, *The Wrong Man* (1956), and his most famous film, *Psycho*. Along with color, his taste for blonde leading ladies took on an almost obsessional aura and led, during the 1950s, to films with Grace Kelly, Doris Day, Eva-Marie Saint, Kim Novak, Janet Leigh, Julie Andrews, and, famously in *The Birds* (1963) and then in *Marnie* (1964), the previously unknown Tippi Hedren (whose career swiftly petered out thereafter).

His professional reputation secure, Hitchcock gained his artistic independence and entered a high period in which he turned out success after success, some better than others, but all of them entertaining. However, along with *North by Northwest*, which saw out the 1950s, the two masterpieces of the decade emerged from his three-picture collaboration with James Stewart, and marked a new dimension of interior psychological darkness that, in each case, infused every frame of an absorbing plot line. The films were, of course, *Rear Window* (1954) and *Vertigo* (1958), both of which dealt with obsession under the deceptive guise of a straightforward thriller. The first, with Stewart laid up with a broken leg and witnessing a murder across the way as a result of spying on his neighbors by way of a pastime, hinted at voyeurism; the second, in which he turns the lookalike of an illicit dead love into an exact copy of her predecessor (both played by Kim Novak), deals in guilt and sick delusion. *Vertigo*, for sheer artistic expertise, combined with Stewart’s grim, haunted performance and the disturbing undertones of the piece, is quite possibly the most substantial of the postwar Hitchcock oeuvre, but the public impact of his first for the new decade capped all of his recent accomplishments.

The director’s first excursion into unabashed horror, *Psycho* (1960) sent shock waves which continue to reverberate through the genre. The murder of Janet Leigh in the shower has been imitated, suggested, and ripped off in countless films since, and has become part of the cinema’s iconography. In certain cases, such as *Dressed to Kill* (1980), Brian De Palma made no secret of the fact that he was drawing on the association in open homage to Hitchcock. *Psycho*

(which drew on the Ed Gein multiple murder case for its inspiration) caused much controversy on its release, and has since been analyzed endlessly by film historians and academics. When a shot-by-shot color remake by Gus Van Sant, made ostensibly as the highest form of compliment to the original, emerged late in 1998, a rash of fresh argument was unleashed as many bemoaned the pointlessness of the exercise or, indeed, the travesty that many considered it to be. The original is generally considered as Hitchcock's last great film, attracting additional reverence for the contribution of his frequent collaborators Bernard Herrmann (who composed the pulsating score) and Saul Bass, the great designer of opening titles. Several of the Hitchcock masterpieces owe a debt to these two creative artists, and the Bass titles for *Vertigo* remain a work of art in their own right.

The follow-up to *Psycho*, *The Birds* (1963) was less highly regarded, but is a durable and complex experiment in terror, and a monument to technical expertise. In the late 1990s it, too, became the subject for renewed examination and analysis, notably by the controversial feminist academic Camille Paglia, who admired it greatly. There were only five more after *The Birds*—a varied quintet that signaled a decline in the director's prodigious powers—and he bowed out, somewhat disappointingly it has to be said (but he was, after all, 77 years old), with *Family Plot* in 1976. By then, however, thanks to TV's *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, he had cemented his image in the public consciousness as the endearingly roly-poly master of dryly witty gallows humor. In his later years, Hitchcock had the pleasure of being lionized by the newer generations of film-makers, and the wistful experience of attaining honors which long earlier should have been his. Although, inexplicably, he never won an Oscar for directing, the Academy did ultimately honor him with the Irving Thalberg Award in recognition of his work, and he was also made the recipient of the American Film Institute Lifetime Achievement award.

Knighted by Queen Elizabeth II, he died Sir Alfred Hitchcock a few months later, at his Bel Air home in 1980. Almost two decades after his death, and almost 40 years after his last great film, Hitchcock remains a symbol of a certain kind of entertainment and excitement in a darkened movie theater. He is still one of the most admired and most emulated of movie-makers, but his many imitators have never remotely replicated his consummate artistry or penetrated the personal and private obsessions that drew him to stories of innocence accused, double identities, morbid romance, and the other themes and undercurrents now recognized as Hitchcockian. If the mid-twentieth century has rightly been called "The Age of Anxiety," then Hitchcock was the quintessential artist of his time.

—Preston Neal Jones

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## Hite, Shere (1942—)

Shere Hite burst upon the American scene in 1976 with the publication of her first book, *The Hite Report: A Nationwide Study on Female Sexuality*. Since then, she has authored a number of other best-selling books on sex and relationships—delighting her publishers, intriguing her public, and frustrating many social scientists, who consider her research to be seriously flawed.

Born Shirley Diana Gregory in St. Joseph, Missouri, Hite spent her childhood being shuttled between parents, grandparents, and other relatives. She earned bachelor's and master's degrees in history from the University of Florida. She then moved to New York City, where she dropped out of a doctoral program at Columbia, worked as a model, and eventually joined the National Organization for Women (NOW). Feminism led her to the realization that female sexuality had rarely been studied scientifically, and the determination to change that fact set Hite on the path that ultimately led to the writing and publication of *The Hite Report*.

The method that Hite used to gather data for her first book was also employed in most of the succeeding volumes. Hite pays to have surveys printed in a number of national publications, and invites readers to answer the questions (all requiring mini-essays) and mail in the surveys. For *The Hite Report*, she placed her surveys in such publications as *Ms. Magazine*, the *Village Voice*, and *Modern Bride*.

It is this method of research which has brought Hite so much criticism from those versed in the techniques of survey administration. Her approach to data gathering involves what is referred to in social science as a "self-selecting sample"—that is, the only people included in the "sample" (the pool of respondents) are those who choose to participate by answering and returning the questionnaire. Such respondents are likely to be both few in number and extreme in their views on the subject of the survey, since only those with the strongest opinions will usually take the trouble to fill out and mail the survey.

This approach to gathering data may explain the results that Hite reported in her books. She found that 70 percent of her responding women who had been married more than five years reported having an affair, and 76 percent of them claimed not to have feelings of guilt about their infidelity. More than 95 percent of women surveyed for Hite's third book claimed to have suffered "emotional and psychological harassment" from their men, and 98 percent replied that they desired "basic changes" in their relationships with husbands or lovers.

These, and similar results, which Hite freely generalizes to all American women, are usually at odds with other surveys using more traditional methods. For example, Hite's statistic about a 70 percent infidelity rate is in sharp contrast to a survey funded by *Playboy* that found 34 percent of married women reporting infidelity, and another study, sponsored by *Redbook* magazine, which reported the figure to be 29 percent.

Undeterred by her critics, Hite continued to produce books using similar survey methods, several of which were best-sellers. In the 1980s, she moved to Paris and her books began to take on more of a

“self-help” aspect, such as her 1989 work, *Good Guys, Bad Guys: The Hite Guide to Smart Choices*. In the 1990s, she published her first novel, *The Divine Comedy of Ariadne and Jupiter*, and also set up an internet site, through which she offered her services as either a “business consultant” or “personal consultant,” and where she posted an exhibition of her art works.

—Justin Gustainis

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## Hobo

See Tramps

## Hockey

North American hockey is a fast and violent game, played on ice, which began in Canada in the mid-nineteenth century. The six-member teams, wearing skates and heavy pads, use sticks with which to propel a flat rubber disk known as the puck. It is thought that hockey derives its name from the French word for a shepherd’s crook, in reference to the shape of the sticks with their curved playing end. The origins of ice hockey are much debated, and have been sought in several other sports such as hurly, shinty, bandy, field hockey (played with a small, hard ball) or the Native American Mic Mac game; but there seems to be general agreement that the earliest match that can be identified with any certainty as hockey was played in 1855 on a frozen harbor by soldiers of the Royal Canadian Regiment in Kingston, Ontario. It remained an outdoor game for the next 20 years, played by nine-man teams, and—influenced by the rules of rugby—no forward passing.

Students at Montreal’s McGill University played the first indoor game in 1875, and developed the first hockey league in 1877. In 1883, the McGill team won the first game to be termed a “world championship” and, ten years later, teams were competing for the Stanley Cup, donated by Canada’s governor-general, Lord Stanley, in a national championship. By then, the game had spread across the border to Yale and Johns Hopkins universities in the United States, and to Europe.

In the spirit of most sport during the Victorian era, when competing for financial gain was considered ungentlemanly and socially unacceptable, hockey flowered as an amateur game. This changed in the first decade of the twentieth century, which saw the advent of professional hockey. The world’s first professional team, the Portage Lakers of Houghton, Michigan, was American, albeit using imported Canadian players. It was organized in 1903 by J. L. Gibson, a dentist, who, in 1904, established the first professional circuit, the International Pro Hockey League. Other leagues soon sprang up in Canada: the Ontario Professional League, the Pacific Coast Hockey Association, and the National Hockey Association. By this time most teams were using only seven players a side, but the

NHA, for reasons of economy, dropped yet another man from the ice, and six a side eventually became the standard team composition.

The most innovative of the leagues was the PCHA formed by the wealthy Patrick family. They led the way in building arenas for indoor hockey played on artificial ice. They also pioneered rules that allowed the goalie to move about, permitted forward passing, and credited with an “assist” those players setting up a goal-scorer. The league expanded to the American northwest and in 1917 the Seattle Metropolitans became the first U.S. team to win the Stanley Cup.

In 1917 the NHA gave way to the National Hockey League, which was to become the dominant professional league in the world. The NHL had teams in Toronto, Montreal, Hamilton and Ottawa, and after 1926, when it shrewdly bought out the Pacific Coast League and acquired all its players for \$250,000, it had no rival. It began to admit American franchises, of which the first was the Boston Bruins in 1924, followed by short-lived teams such as the Pittsburgh Pirates, Philadelphia Quakers, St. Louis Eagles, and the New York (later Brooklyn) Americans. American teams that endured included three that entered in 1926: the New York Rangers, the Detroit Cougars (later the Falcons, later the Red Wings), and the Chicago Blackhawks. Canadian franchises that flourished for a time, only to disappear, included the Ottawa Senators (which had won four cups during the 1920s), Hamilton Tigers, Montreal Wanderers, Montreal Maroons, and Quebec Bulldogs.

When World War II ended, only six teams remained in the NHL but many consider the period between 1945 and 1967 to have been the golden age of hockey. It was certainly the era of elegant skaters and scorers such as Maurice “Rocket” Richard and Jean Beliveau of the Montreal Canadiens, Frank Mahovlich of the Toronto Maple Leafs, and Andy Bathgate of the Rangers; and of powerful forwards such as Johnny “The Beast” Bucyk of the Bruins, and Gordie Howe and “Terrible” Ted Lindsay of the Red Wings. There has never been a trio of goaltenders to match Chicago’s Glen Hall, Montreal’s Jacques Plante (inventor of the goalie mask), and Detroit’s Terry Sawchuk. Rock-hard defensemen like Doug Harvey and Elmer “Moose” Vasko contended with players who had perfected the slap-shot which could propel the puck over 100 mph—shooters such as “The Golden Jet” Bobby Hull and Bernie “Boom Boom” Geoffrion.

The expansion of the NHL to six more American cities in 1968 and the appearance in 1971 of 12 more teams in the rival World Hockey Association diluted the quality of the sport. Players of exceptional talent, however, such as the magical Bobby Orr, could still shine. Orr revolutionized his position when he became the first defenseman to win the scoring trophy. The bidding wars for players that ensued during the 1970s drove up salaries and costs, thus causing many franchises to go under during the decade, and the frenzy stopped only in 1979 when the WHA folded and its four remaining teams were accepted into the NHL. One of the players who came in to the NHL from the WHA was Wayne Gretzky of the Edmonton Oilers, who went on to set innumerable scoring records in the 1980s and 1990s before retiring amid fanfare in 1999.

Up until the 1980s the overwhelming majority of professional players were Canadian, but developments in world hockey soon began to change that. An amateur team from the United States had caused an upset in the 1960 Winter Olympics when they returned with the gold medal, but that victory did not have nearly the impact of the 1980 “Miracle On Ice” when an under-dog American squad, amid Cold War tensions, defeated the seemingly unstoppable Soviets to reach the Olympic finals where they beat Finland for the gold. A number of players on this team went on to the NHL and their example



A physical altercation develops between the Philadelphia Flyers and the Boston Bruins during the 1974 Stanley Cup Finals.

encouraged many more young Americans to take up the game and do well at it. These new recruits to the big league were joined by a flood of highly skilled players from newly democratized countries in Eastern Europe seeking employment in North America.

There was plenty of work for the newcomers. The NHL was committed to a relentless policy of expansion, targeted particularly in the American west and sun belts, with the expectation that, by 2001, there would be 30 teams in the league, 24 of them in the United States. The aim was to penetrate large media markets that would provide the kind of giant television contracts that American networks were handing to professional baseball, basketball, and football leagues. The NHL had not yet hit television paydirt by 1999 (largely because Americans still preferred watching televised bowling and stock car races to seeing hockey on the small screen), while spiraling costs had caused the demise of small-market clubs in Canada and stretched the resources of many franchises in America.

As the millennium approached, the fate of hockey looked uncertain. College hockey in the United States, and women's hockey throughout the world, seemed set for more success; in Russia, however, once mighty teams were in a state of poverty-stricken post-communist collapse. Canada seemed destined to breed great players, while being unable to afford to watch them play in person. In the United States, the question was whether the National Hockey League

could afford to continue relying largely on gate revenues, with so little financial assistance from television. Faster than football, more violent than pro wrestling, at once graceful and crude, hockey had yet to completely win over the American sports fan.

—Gerry Bowler

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## Hoffman, Abbie (1936-1989)

One of the most colorful figures to emerge from the social turmoil of the 1960s, Abbie Hoffman put his personal stamp on the

activism of the decade with his insistence that radical politics find expression in personal attitudes as well as political positions. Linking the spirited hedonism of the hippies with the politics of the Civil Rights movement, the New Left and the anti-war movement, Hoffman's attitude was pure hippie—*Revolution for the Hell of It* was the title of his first and most influential book. His doctrine of absurdity and wit, combined with an unmatched media savvy, marked him for the elite ranks of the counter-culture. A founding Yippie, and a hippie, activist, visionary and knave, he left an enduring legacy of influence and controversy.

Born in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1936, Abbie Hoffman's life was an extraordinary patchwork of triumphs, calamities, and accidents. After fighting the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi, he moved to New York where he joined the hippie counter-culture and undertook a series of flamboyant public stunts designed to infuse the growing hippie mob with political purpose. After organizing protests at the Democratic National Convention in 1968 he went underground in 1973, reappeared in 1980 to resume his activist work, and committed suicide in 1989.



Abbie Hoffman



In 1967, Hoffman left the Deep South for Manhattan's Lower East Side, where he joined the "diggers," a group of hippie community pranksters and activists, and opened a store to sell craft products produced in Mississippi homesteads. Together with Jerry Rubin, Hoffman formed the "Yippies" ("Youth International Party" was offered as the formal name only when pressed by reporters), and began a campaign of high-profile stunts meant to focus media attention on the movement. He understood what the media wanted and he set out to give it to them, aiming to swell the ranks of the movement with new conscripts through publicity. His actions, promoted with press releases and high-level media contacts to ensure maximum hype, emphasized the whimsy and humor characteristic of hippies. In one incident, bags of dollar bills were dumped from the visitors' gallery onto the floor of the New York Stock Exchange, causing mayhem as investors squabbled over the cash. In another, soot bombs were sent to Con Edison to protest pollution standards, and over 3,000 marijuana cigarettes were mailed to people randomly selected from the phone book, one of who turned out to be a prominent journalist. A celebration of the Spring Equinox at Grand Central drew over 6,000 hippies to a midnight gathering at the cavernous station, where police in riot gear waited nervously outside as hippies ran wild, tearing the hands off clocks, dancing, and squealing "Yippee!!" Hoffman's "Exorcism of the Pentagon" was another landmark event, drawing 50,000 hippies to the nation's capital in an effort to levitate the entire Pentagon complex through magical means. The hippies joined hands, forming a human chain around the building as television crews soaked up the colorful event.

However, the tone of Yippie activism changed at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago. Yippies gathered there to offer a "festival of life" to counter what they called the "convention of death," but their innocence and prankishness turned into ugly riot as the demonstration was consumed in police violence. Outside the convention, where Hubert Humphrey was clinching the Democratic nomination for president, hippies, anti-war activists, and others massed, chanted, and sang, and when Chicago Mayor Richard Daley ordered police to disperse the throng, widespread panic and bloodshed resulted, lending credibility to the conservative call for law and order then being touted by Republican presidential candidate Richard Nixon. Hoffman and seven others stood trial as "the Chicago Eight" for conspiring to incite the riot, though after Black Panther Bobby Seale was remanded for separate trial by Judge Julius Hoffman, the Chicago Seven (which included Rubin and other Yippies and anti-war activists) achieved nationwide notoriety. Though Judge Hoffman issued 175 contempt citations during the trial, the seven were ultimately found innocent and other charges of "crossing State lines to incite a riot" were dropped on appeal in 1973.

By the early 1970s, however, Abbie Hoffman had other problems. Faced with accusations of egoism and showmanship from the organized left, and charged with chauvinism and authoritarianism from feminists, hippies, and other cultural factions, he now found himself standing at the center of a splintering movement. His response was to "resign" in an open letter addressed to the movement in 1971, and in 1974, fearing a lifetime jail term on a cocaine possession charge, he went into hiding, where he would remain for six years. Even underground, however, Hoffman retained his media "smarts," granting a well-publicized interview to *Playboy* magazine, in which he pledged to maintain his resistance and organize an underground movement aimed at toppling the government of the United States. After undergoing plastic surgery and taking up a prominent role incognito as a community environmental activist in

Canada, Hoffman came out of hiding in 1980 to face charges. He served only a short term before he was once again free to resume his activism until his death. Hoffman's public stunts secured his lasting reputation as a spirited activist, cemented by the wide circulation of his books. *Revolution for the Hell of It*, *Steal This Book*, and *Woodstock Nation* were, and continue to be, staple reading for activists and latter-day hippies. His later titles included *Steal This Urine Test*, a commentary on the drug testing craze of the 1980s, and *Square Dancing in the Ice Age*.

—Sam Binkley

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## Hoffman, Dustin (1937—)

Beginning in the late 1960s, Dustin Hoffman established himself as one of his generation's finest film actors and helped usher method acting into the American cinema mainstream. From his first screen success as Benjamin Braddock in *The Graduate* (1967), Hoffman appeared in a series of diverse films that showcased his great range and indicated the rise of the character actor as superstar. He and actors such as Gene Hackman, Jack Nicholson, and Robert De Niro symbolized a new breed of movie star that was known more for fully inhabiting their characters than for their perfect profiles. Hoffman was, at times, criticized for being "difficult" to work with, but none could criticize his ability to employ the teachings of the method tradition that stressed the performer's ability to temporarily "become" his character.

Born on August 8, 1937, in Los Angeles, California, this son of a Columbia Pictures set decorator and an aspiring actress was named after silent screen cowboy star Dustin Farnum. He developed an early interest in performing, and his acting career began at age 12, when, as the shortest boy in John Burroughs High School, he was recruited to play Tiny Tim in a production of *A Christmas Carol*. He was an accomplished pianist and enrolled in the Los Angeles Conservatory of Music to study classical and jazz piano. By 1957, he began to devote less time to his music and increasingly concentrated on acting. He studied at the famed Pasadena Playhouse and later moved to New York. He entered The Actor's Studio, where he developed his craft alongside his roommates, future film stars Robert Duvall and Gene



**Dustin Hoffman**

Hackman. Under the direction of noted acting teacher Lee Strasberg, Hoffman was taught the method's performance goal of becoming rather than acting. To support himself he took on a series of jobs, such as janitor, waiter, and weaver of Hawaiian leis. He even worked as a hospital attendant in a psychiatric ward, where he observed the patients' behaviors in the hopes of improving his dramatic technique. Hoffman established himself as a respected New York theater actor in the early 1960s by appearing in acclaimed works like *The Journey of the Fifth Horse* and the British comedy *Eh?* However, Hoffman's ultimate goal was to become a film star.

After years of honing his craft, Hoffman became an "overnight" sensation in 1967 with the release of director Mike Nichols's *The Graduate*. The film concerned an innocent college graduate who is seduced by an older woman. Although Charles Webb's novel, upon which the film was based, described the character of Benjamin Braddock as a handsome, well-bred, surfer-type, Nichols gave the role to the short, dark Hoffman. Furthermore, at age 30, Hoffman was a decade older than the character. Hoffman's performance as the confused and depressed college graduate who begins an affair with a friend of his parents, the infamous Mrs. Robinson, captured the mood of the American youth of the late 1960s who had grown disenchanted with their parents' generation. Author Jeff Lenburg quoted a letter to *The New York Times* written by a university student shortly after the film's release to demonstrate the impact it had upon the youth culture. The student wrote: "I identified with Ben . . . I thought of him as a spiritual brother. He was confused about his future and about his place in the world, as I am. It's a film one digs, rather than understands intellectually." The baby boomer generation's uncertainty of the

future was best captured in the film's final scene where Ben and Elaine (Mrs. Robinson's daughter) flee her wedding and mother only to realize the uncertainty of their final destination. Hoffman was nominated for an Academy Award for his portrayal of the embodiment of 1960s youth angst.

Following his early success in *The Graduate* Hoffman appeared in a number of landmark films. In 1969, he starred as the tubercular small-time street hustler Ratso Rizzo in *Midnight Cowboy*. The controversial film about male prostitution was an enormous hit and the first x-rated film to win the Academy Award for best picture. For *Little Big Man* (1970), Hoffman aged on screen from a teen to the age of 121 to play Jack Crabb, a witness to U.S. mistreatment of the American Indians. He portrayed the doomed comedian Lenny Bruce in *Lenny* (1974) and starred as *Washington Post* reporter Carl Bernstein in the Watergate drama *All the President's Men* (1976). He was named best actor in 1979 for his performance as a divorced father facing a child-custody battle in *Kramer vs. Kramer*. In 1984, he returned to the stage for a widely praised performance as Willy Loman in *Death of a Salesman*. His ability to play both straight drama and broad comedy is seen in his most acclaimed roles. In *Tootsie* (1982) Hoffman mocked his reputation as a difficult actor by playing a man who disguises himself in drag to get a job on a soap opera. For *Rainman* (1988) he masterfully depicted an autistic savant. He earned a second Oscar for this classic performance. Hoffman remained a popular performer into the 1990s and scored another hit as a Hollywood producer attempting to cover up a presidential sex scandal in *Wag the Dog* (1998). Hoffman's filmography also contains one of Hollywood's most notorious disasters—the comedic misfire *Ishtar* (1987).

Dustin Hoffman has remained a star after more than 30 years in film because he invests all his portrayals with sensitivity and realism. He commented on his technique by stating: "All I know is I try to be as personal as I can in my work, by being personal, to be able to bring to it a truth in what I observe and what I feel." Through his method acting skills and non-flashy, realistic appearance he opened mainstream American film to a style of performance that had seldom been achieved before on screen.

—Charles Coletta

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## Hogan, Ben (1912-1997)

With his perfect swing, golfer Ben Hogan achieved a kind of mythic stature in the collective mind of the American public. During his career, Hogan won sixty-three tournaments, including nine major championships. He was the PGA tour's leading money-winner five times, won the Vardon Trophy for lowest scoring average five times, and was one of the first inductees into the World Golf Hall of Fame in 1974. As awesome as that record is, the folklore concerning Hogan's



**Ben Hogan**

arduous rise to the top of his profession and his famed comeback after a near-fatal auto accident nearly transcends it.

Perhaps the most famous photograph of Hogan (collected in *The Hogan Mystique*, 1994) captures much of the essence of the mystique: a shot of Hogan's flawless swing taken at its height and from the golfer's back, it extends outward to feature an attentive gallery on two sides of a tree-lined fairway. Thus, Hogan's face is not shown; his personal identity is subordinated to a frozen image of the mechanical perfection of his golfing prowess. Throughout his career, Hogan was notoriously aloof from competitors, the press, and even his public. In addition, the peak years of his achievement preceded the wide coverage of golf by television; thus he was not captured repeatedly in widely distributed images as were Arnold Palmer, Jack Nicklaus, Gary Player, and Lee Trevino. Hogan became, though, something of an icon to these later figures, and what they admired was "Hogan's game" and the story of the literally painful way in which it had been developed.

The son of a blacksmith, Hogan was born in small-town Dublin, Texas, in 1912 and moved with his family to Fort Worth in 1921. His father, who had suffered from depression and alcoholism, committed suicide the following year, and Hogan's family was immediately plunged into poverty. In order to help out financially, young Ben became a caddie at Glen Garden Country Club, thus discovering the

sport that would change his life. At Glen Garden, he met a fellow caddie, Byron Nelson, with whom he quickly became a fierce competitor.

Hogan turned professional in 1930 but would achieve success only after years of relative obscurity. Throughout this early period, his status on the PGA tour was always subordinate to that of Nelson. Hogan was not in effect a natural golfer and only realized his famous swing by regularly practicing until his hands literally bled. Perfection resulting from a puritan work ethic, long a central ingredient in American mythology, would become an essential element of the Hogan mystique. This grim self-creation was also a key factor in his legendary aloofness; always struggling to improve, he never felt that he had time for, nor did he see any point in, small talk with his playing partners or courting tournament galleries.

Hogan did not win his first tournament on the tour until 1940, when he won four. He followed that with five victories in 1941, but his new success was interrupted when he was drafted into the U.S. Army in 1943. It was in the immediate postwar period that Hogan began to dominate the PGA tour and his legend started to take form. He won his first major title, the PGA tournament, in 1946. In 1948, he repeated his success in the PGA and, in a rare exhibition of golfing perfection, won his first of four U.S. Open championships. Just as he seemed finally to have reached the peak of his success and his career, he was nearly killed in an automobile accident in February of 1949. His doctors were not certain first that he would live, then that he would walk again, and then that he would play competitive golf again. Hogan did all three, returning to the tour in January of 1950. In that year, he won his second U.S. Open: the often recounted "Hogan comeback" was under way, and the final ingredient was added to the Hogan mystique, that of the courageous underdog who survived extreme adversity.

The story would prove so compelling that Hollywood would have to film it, even if inadequately. *Follow the Sun*, supposedly the story of Hogan's life and climaxing with his comeback, was released in 1951. Its script was clichéd; and Glenn Ford, as Hogan, was badly miscast. In the words of Hogan biographer Curt Sampson: "Ford, an unathletic man whose hobby was gardening, held the club as if it were a trowel and swung it like a rake."

In 1953, Hogan reached the pinnacle of his golfing career when he won the U.S. Open, his second Masters tournament, and his first British Open, thus sweeping three of professional golf's four major events (he did not enter the PGA tournament that year). The British Open win in Carnoustie, Scotland, especially contributed to the Hogan myth. Already known as "Bantam Ben," he was nicknamed "The Wee Ice Mon" by Scottish fans who were simultaneously paying tribute to his determined concentration and his triumph over physical adversity. (Hogan was, in fact, of average height). In July of that year, he was treated to a ticker tape parade down Broadway in New York City.

Hogan wrote a popular five-part series on the basic elements of the correct golf swing for *Sports Illustrated* beginning March 11, 1957. After retiring from competitive golf in 1971, Hogan fittingly devoted his time to manufacturing and selling golf clubs until his death on July 25, 1997.

—James R. Giles

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## Hogan, Hulk (1953—)

While limited in his talent as an in-ring performer, Hulk Hogan's physique, interviews, and incredible personal charisma made him the undisputed star of a professional wrestling boom that began in 1984 and remains, with the exception of a few years, stronger than ever in the late 1990s. Throughout this time, Hogan has been the most recognizable personality to nonprofessional wrestling fans. To promoters, Hogan has been a marketable presence, headlining live events, selling merchandise, performing on television, and appearing in the main event for the majority of Pay-per-View (PPV) shows. Hogan has parlayed his wrestling fame into roles in movies, television, and commercials. Simply, he is the greatest drawing card in the history of professional wrestling.



Hulk Hogan

Born Terry Bollea, Hogan began weightlifting as a teenager while living in Tampa, Florida. After studying business administration and music at the University of South Florida, he was discovered by two professional wrestlers when he was playing bass in a rock band. Hogan started wrestling in the southern United States under names such as Terry "the Hulk" Boulder and Sterling Golden. Hogan first hit the big time with the World Wrestling Federation (WWF) in the early 1980s. With "heel" manager Classie Freddie Blassie at his side, Hogan played the muscular, egotistical blond villain. As was then a common occurrence, Hogan left one wrestling territory and moved to the next: the Minneapolis-based American Wrestling Association (AWA).

Though Hogan had appeared in both the WWF and AWA, it was his trips to Japan which created the phenomenon known as "Hulkamania." Japanese wrestling fans immediately took to Hogan, and he became a superstar. Upon his return to the United States, he was booked back in the AWA as a "heel." But the fans rejected that role for Hogan and, instead, cheered him. He was turned "baby face" and quickly set attendance records across the Midwest. Hogan extended his success in the ring with a small but very noticeable part in *Rocky II*; playing "Thunder Lips" he was paired with Rocky in a charity boxer vs. wrestler match. By 1983, Hulk Hogan was the biggest name in professional wrestling, but this was only the beginning.

Vince McMahon, Jr. lured Hogan from the AWA and made him the star of his nationally expanding WWF promotion. In 1984, Hogan defeated the evil Iron Sheik in less than ten minutes at New York's Madison Square Garden to become the WWF champion. Hogan began starring in wrestling shows across the country as the WWF became nationally syndicated and featured on cable programs. Hogan's feud with Roddy Piper in 1984 led first to the "brawl to settle it all" broadcast live on MTV, and then a few months later to "Wrestlemania," the first wrestling event broadcast on closed-circuit TV nationally. Hogan teamed with TV actor Mr. T in the main event. Taking advantage of a late cancellation, Hogan and Mr. T were able to host *Saturday Night Live* the evening before "WrestleMania." The success of "WrestleMania" soon won it a monthly show on NBC, and Hogan bolstered the show's popularity. He was featured on the cover of *Sports Illustrated* and in *Time*. Hogan's image was everywhere: on T-shirts, on the cover of a record album, in wrestling videos and TV guest appearances. After a hugely successful match against Andre the Giant at the Pontiac Silverdome—which drew over 80,000 people plus another million or so watching on closed circuit TV and the very young PPV industry—NBC moved wrestling to prime time in February 1988.

But by the early 1990s, Hogan encountered his most serious challenge in wrestling, when a doctor affiliated with the WWF was arrested for dealing illegal steroids. The case expanded to include WWF owner Vince McMahon, with Hogan as a witness for the government. Hogan went on the *Arsenio Hall Show* and denied being a steroid user or abuser, confessing only to a limited use of steroids for medical purposes. Although at the trial he confessed to more use. The prosecutor mocked Hogan's catch phrase extolling children to "say your prayers and eat your vitamins" while "all the while [the WWF was] pumping him with steroids." After Hogan won the main event at "WrestleMania XIII," he disappeared from wrestling as the steroid scandal intensified. A short comeback proved to be a flop as Hogan's physique had shrunk, and with it, seemingly, his popularity. After losing the WWF title in June 1993, which he had won again at "WrestleMania XIV," Hogan severed his relationship with the WWF.

After some movie and television work, including a short-lived show called *Thunder in Paradise*, Hogan returned to the U.S. wrestling scene in the summer of 1994 just as the verdict of “not guilty” came down in the WWF steroid case. Hogan went to work for Ted Turner’s World Championship Wrestling (WCW) and had an immediate impact, as ratings and PPV revenue increased. But Hogan’s act had played too long. Even though he was still a “good guy,” Hogan was booed at arenas.

After failing to toughen up his image, Hogan finally “turned” on the fans in 1996 and adopted the persona of Hollywood Hogan, forming, along with other wrestlers, a group called the New World Order (NWO). The NWO soon became the hottest gimmick in wrestling and Hogan was the focus of the promotion: always in the main event, always in the key part of the television programs. Behind the scenes, Hogan was acting as the de facto “head booker” deciding which wrestlers got TV time, wins, and championship belts. Hogan also demonstrated his star power, drawing celebrities such as NBA players Dennis Rodman and Karl Malone into the ring. One of the most memorable of these celebrity fights was between Hogan and *Tonight Show* host Jay Leno in the “Hog Wild” PPV in August 1998. Hulk Hogan’s flamboyance and theatrics has come to epitomize the appeal of professional wrestling.

—Patrick Jones

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## Hogan’s Heroes

Depending upon whom one asks, *Hogan’s Heroes* was either a cutting edge situation comedy or a testament to how desensitized to human suffering American television viewers had become in the 1960s. The basic plot of the popular television show centered around American Col. Robert Hogan, played by Bob Crane, and a band of other prisoners of war, who had established a secret complex within and below the grounds of Stalag 13, a Nazi concentration camp. From there they engaged in sabotage and rescue operations against the Third Reich. Every bed was a passageway, every coffee pot a radio. For six seasons on CBS, Hogan and his group used a stash of supplies, that would have made the Third Army envious, to confound Hitler’s hapless forces in and around Dusseldorf.

*Hogan’s Heroes* was loosely based on the play *Stalag 17*, triggering a lawsuit by the producers of the play, but also contained elements of the 1963 hit movie *The Great Escape*. Hogan’s team was composed of demolition expert Andrew Carter (Larry Hovis), radio

operator Ivan Kinchlow (Ivan Dixon), all-around procurer Peter Newkirk (Richard Dawson), and chef Louis LeBeau (Robert Clary). Their primary nemesis was Wilhelm Klink (Werner Klemperer), a pompous colonel who sought promotion to general by constantly reminding his superiors that “No one has ever escaped from Stalag 13!” He was aided by Sgt. Major Hans Schultz (John Banner), who regularly stumbled across Hogan’s escapades but, unable to fathom the consequences of his perceptions, managed to ignore them by chanting the mantra “I see nothing!” Among Klink’s regular superiors were General Albert Burkhalter (Leon Askin) and Gestapo Major Wolfgang Hochstetter (Howard Cain). The show never actually featured Adolf Hitler as a character, but he was impersonated twice—once on radio and once in person—to great comic effect.

While *Hogan’s Heroes* was a popular show, it was also a lightning rod for controversy. In 1965, when the program first aired, organized reaction to America’s involvement in Vietnam was intensifying. It did not help matters much that corporate America was making huge amounts of money and the “silent majority” was settling back once a week to revel in the lighthearted high jinks, as a fun-loving bunch of POWs confounded their dumb-but-lovable Nazi tormentors. This was not new territory. *McHale’s Navy*, which debuted in 1962, featured Ernest Borgnine as the Commander of an American PT boat crewed by a load of drunks and petty thieves and catered to by an escaped Japanese POW named Fuji, who they hid from their dumbfounded commanding officer Admiral Binghamton (Joe Flynn). But the members of *McHale’s Navy* rarely fought the enemy face-to-face. By comparison, a whole concentration camp of prisoners, who could have left at any time and chose not to, policed by representatives of a system of imbecility that appeared to stretch all the way to the top of the chain of command, was more than many people, particularly those less than a generation removed from the war, could stand.

The show’s defenders countered that it was meant to be nothing more than slapstick entertainment. Indeed, the action of the show was extremely unrealistic—in one episode they smuggled a whole German army tank into camp, in another Hogan convinced Klink and Burkhalter that the war was over. They also pointed out that Clary had spent most of his early life in a concentration camp and thought ridicule a more than appropriate treatment of the Nazis. But those defenses mattered little to the show’s critics, and *Hogan’s Heroes* was regularly attacked throughout its run.

—Barry Morris

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## Holbrook, Hal (1925—)

On April 6, 1959, a thirty-four-year-old actor named Hal Holbrook literally became the seventy-two-year-old Mark Twain and made theatrical history as the creator of a new genre. From his hair to his shoes, from his voice to his movements, Holbrook was, from that night on, a living version of the icon of American literature. What was



Werner Klemperer (left) and Bob Crane in a scene from the television show *Hogan's Heroes*.

so extraordinary and historical about this innovative dramatic event was that no actor had ever done a one-person show for two hours not merely reciting, but acting out a character. Holbrook's feat was a masterpiece of creativity; his acting was electrifying, and he received standing ovations every night. Holbrook thus initiated the one-actor play based on an historical, political, or literary figure.

For more than forty years Holbrook has advanced the public's knowledge of Samuel Clemens's writings. Prior to that momentous evening, the young actor had invested years of research in a scholarly study of Twain to create *Mark Twain, Tonight!*, which he has played more than two thousand times in forty-eight states, Canada, Eastern and Western Europe, and Scandinavia. In recognition of his unique contribution to the humanities, Holbrook received an honorary degree from Ohio State University in 1979; since that time many other institutions have awarded him similar honors. He has also received an Outer Critics Circle Award, a Drama Desk Vernon Rice Award, a Tony, and a special OBIE Award for *Mark Twain, Tonight!*

Along with his stage work in *Twain* and other plays including *King Lear* and *Death of a Salesman*, Holbrook has been a well-respected television and film actor since the 1950s. He is the recipient of five Emmy awards: for *Mark Twain, Tonight!* (1966, CBS); for his

portrayal of Lincoln in *Sandberg's Lincoln* (1973), for his Kennedy-like senator in *The Senator* (1971), and two for his performance as Commander Bucher on the ill-fated *Pueblo* (1973); and for his part as the informational host of *Portrait of America: Alaska* (1989). He also accepted the challenge to be cast in the very first television drama dealing with homosexuals in the critically acclaimed *That Certain Summer* (1972). Holbrook portrayed Abraham Lincoln in the *North and South* TV miniseries in 1985 and 1986; Reese Watson in *Designing Women* (with third wife, Dixie Carter) from 1986 to 1990; and "Wild Bill" McKenzie in several *Perry Mason Mystery* episodes in the 1990s. Holbrook has acted in numerous motion pictures, most of which were not worthy of his exceptional talent with the notable exception of his portrayal of "Deep Throat" in the award-winning *All the President's Men*.

Holbrook was born in Cleveland but was raised by his grandfather in Hartford, Connecticut. He attended Culver Military Academy and Denison University where he majored in acting. After his graduation, he and his first wife, actress Ruby Holbrook, toured the southwestern United States, playing Shakespeare to small-town high schools. These road shows ceased after two children arrived, and Holbrook returned to New York to act in the CBS television day series

*The Brighter Day* from 1954 to 1959. At this time, Holbrook was encouraged and backed financially by his former drama teacher at Denison and others to take his one-man Twain to Broadway.

—Toby Irene Cohen

## Holden, William (1918-1982)

From his discovery in the late 1930s actor William Holden rose to be one of the most dependable and most likeable leading men of 1950s Hollywood, appearing to personify the mild-mannered charm of the Eisenhower era while, at his best, suggesting that the period's integrity and feeling went deeper than its relatively bland, conformist tendencies sometimes suggested. During more than forty years Holden had seventy roles where, for the most part, he met his fate with varying mixtures of wryness, cynicism, and good humor that was always believable and often attractive, but particularly successful in the mid-1950s.

Holden revealed a homely and good-natured appeal in a number of features including *Golden Boy* (1939) and *Our Town* (1940) before joining the wartime air force. On his return, following a number of forgettable Westerns, he got an important break in Billy Wilder's *Sunset Boulevard* (1950) as a late replacement for Montgomery Clift. Here, Holden showed a seedier version of where his good looks might lead him playing a failed Hollywood scriptwriter turned gigolo.



William Holden

Though the film was not a popular success, roles in *Born Yesterday* (1950) and his Oscar-winning performance in the prison camp comedy *Stalag 17* (1953) brought a much higher profile. The lovable rogue of *Stalag 17* is archetypal of Holden's best roles: relatively mild-mannered but opportunistic, brave if necessary, but preferring to avoid confrontation. A series of roles as cads, lovers, and occasional reluctant heroes followed—*The Moon Is Blue* (1953), *Sabrina* (1954), *The Country Girl* (1954), *The Bridges at Toko-Ri* (1954), *Love Is a Many Splendored Thing* (1955), *Picnic* (1955), *Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957)—most of which were highly successful. One of the top ten box-office stars from 1954 to 1956, Holden was able to arrange a deal for *Bridge on the River Kwai* bringing him 10 percent of the film's gross. However, as his looks began to fade and as audiences sought younger, more overt rebels, Holden was no longer a box office certainty (in 1968 he made *Variety's* list of overpaid stars). As an increasingly grizzled figure, marked by the alcoholism that would kill him in his 1960s, he was still capable of outstanding performances: most notably in *The Wild Bunch* (1969) as a sadistic and psychopathic cowboy, and as the fading anchorman in *Network* (1976), clinging wearily, grimly, to job and wife.

Holden was a reliable and consistent, rather than dazzling, performer whose films could be depended on to succeed in an uncertain period in Hollywood for many actors. Like John Wayne or Robert Mitchum, Holden appeared most successful where he did not need to "act," but merely characterize a certain form of masculinity which appeared particularly attractive to 1950s audiences. Not as attached to the uncompromising code of the Wild West as Wayne or as superhumanly laid back as Mitchum, his masculinity had a broad appeal. Holden's good nature is tempered by a skepticism and suspicion that gives an edginess to his heroism and sees his moral choices made with his self-preservation very much in mind. In a sense, he reflected the experiences of a generation of men who had been at war and knew the dangers of moral absolutes and strict codes of behavior that do not allow for circumstances (essentially the subject of *Bridge on the River Kwai*). Also, the stability and the prosperity of the 1950s carried fears of both failure and the banality of conformity. Holden offered a believable, but attractive, male lead with choices to do good or bad who swung convincingly between the two before making the right decision (allowing Bogart to get Hepburn in *Sabrina*, not taking Grace Kelly from Bing Crosby in *The Country Girl*).

Holden flourished in the space between the bad guy heroes of the 1930s and 1940s gangster movies and the increasingly youth-oriented anti-heroes of the 1960s. He was an understated representation of male hopes and fears in the 1950s, of the anxiety that individualism is impossible in an increasingly rationalized world and any attempt to be different might bring failure down on the precariously placed wage slave. Holden is a hero of this period exactly because in so many of his roles his actions are in spite of his skepticism of heroics, in spite of his quite palpable sense of self-preservation.

—Kyle Smith

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## Holiday, Billie (1915-1959)

Billie Holiday, certainly one of the foremost American song stylists and often called the greatest American jazz singer, was born Eleanora Harris on April 7, 1915 in Philadelphia. After her birth to Sadie Harris, the facts about Billie are often in dispute, due in large part to Billie's own tendency to spin tales about her life that have small kernels of truth but cannot be accepted wholesale as fact. The truth about her life is as interesting, if not more so, than her invention—recent biographers benefitted from extensive oral interviews done for a projected biography by Linda Kuehl (who died before completing it).

Listening to her recordings is a parallel version of her tumultuous and heartfelt life, one that expresses her beauty and soulfulness—however, as writer Hetty Jones warns, “Sometimes you are afraid to listen to this lady.” Her short life was consumed by trouble: the wrong men, alcohol, heroin, racism, and just plain hard times, yet her personality was so winning that it shone through her vocals and she was well loved by her friends. What is certain is that the singer gave as good as she got; alternately tough-minded and intensely vulnerable, she helped create the mystique of Lady Day and nurtured it throughout her career.

Her “autobiography,” *Lady Sings the Blues* (written by *New York Post* writer William Dufty), is the prime source for the Billie Holiday mythology; she bragged that she had never even read it, yet enough of her salty humor and dramatic timing made it into the book to capture an audience that was more than ready to accept it. What was



Billie Holiday

painful to Billie was often transformed in the narrative; the circumstances of her birth being a good example. Her mother, Sadie, told Billie her father was Clarence Holiday, a talented guitarist best known for his work with Fletcher Henderson's band, and Billie states in the book that “my mother and father were just a couple of kids when they got married.” They were never married nor lived together; Clarence Holiday acknowledged Eleanora, though their relationship was strained and awkward as he was married to another woman and disliked having his daughter around as evidence of his past.

Growing up in Fell's Point, a tough waterfront neighborhood in Baltimore, Eleanora experienced a brief, brutal childhood—her mother, forced to take work in New York as a maid, left her daughter in the care of abusive relatives. Only her great-grandmother (who she recalls with special fondness in *Lady*) was a source of solace to the little girl. Picked up for truancy, she was sent to the House of Good Shepherd for Colored Girls, a Catholic residential facility, where she was baptized and found some stability after a succession of “stepfathers” and being shunted around. Her recollections of Good Shepherd were mixed; she was glad to escape the harsh institution. Sadie wasn't able to handle her daughter, having enough problems of her own, and the breaking point came when the eleven-year-old girl was raped by a neighbor. She was returned to Good Shepherd, but stayed only a short while before returning home to Sadie.

The seminal event of young Eleanora's life was the discovery of jazz—she absorbed her first musical education listening to her lifelong idol, Louis Armstrong, on a Victrola in a neighborhood brothel. “I heard a record by, as we call him, Pops, and it was called ‘West End Blues’ and . . . he sang ‘Ooh be doo,’ and I would wonder why he didn't sing any words and he had the most beautiful feeling.” She always credited Louis Armstrong as her major influence as a singer, although she was certainly influenced by Bessie Smith and others; Billie loved Armstrong and performed with him on a number of occasions.

Now fifteen, Eleanora became a prostitute in madam Alice Dean's house, and soon was declared “out of control” by her guardian. Her exodus from Baltimore marked a turning point in her life when she made her way to New York to join her mother, who was employed as a maid. She was picked up in a Harlem vice raid along with Sadie, charged with prostitution and spent a short time in a workhouse. After her discharge she found could make a good living as a singer in clubs, and in juke joints she perfected her craft. At this time she adopted her father's surname and chose “Billie” after silent film actress Billie Dove. She loved the life, and she also took to marijuana, a commonplace in the music world—aficionados were called “vipers” and “sticks” were cheap and easy to find. Billie had a prodigious tolerance for all substances: alcohol, marijuana, and finally, heroin. It would be a mistake to focus on Billie Holiday as a singer ruined by addictions, yet there is no doubt her appetites shortened her life and harmed her voice. She was part of a culture that accepted drugs easily—one critic called them “an occupational hazard.”

The discovery of Billie Holiday has been claimed by more than one person, and she herself told a story about auditioning as a dancer at “Pod and Jerry's” and being hired as a singer which was more fancy than fact. What is true is that white jazz writer and producer John Hammond did hear her sing in early 1933 and was astonished by what he heard, but it wasn't until November of that year that he was finally able to schedule a recording session and later signed her for Columbia Records. The next year she met saxophonist Lester Young, her soul mate musically and personally: their friendship was one of Billie's deepest and most enduring relationships. It was Young who



named her “Lady Day” (the “Day” from Holiday) and christened Sadie, “Duchess” when he lived with them after he first came to New York. Billie called him “Prez” (short for “President” since he was “the greatest” in her opinion) and their careers would intertwine over the years with memorable recordings to prove it. Billie liked and supported other female singers: she and Ella Fitzgerald admired each other; she also befriended the young Lena Horne.

Billie may have sung the blues, but she was primarily a jazz singer and one of the best interpreters of pop music ever. She disliked the title of her autobiography for that reason (the publisher chose it). In the words of the musicians who almost universally admired her: “She had ears,” meaning she understood the music thoroughly, earning the respect of Count Basie, Artie Shaw, and many others. Duke Ellington said Billie was the “coolest.” Her signature song, “Strange Fruit” is indescribably wrenching; an indictment of lynching so potent it silenced audiences whenever she performed it—with “Strange Fruit” her artistry confronted the fashionable jazz world of Cafe Society with the brutal reality of racism that black musicians knew first hand. Lillian Smith told Billie the song inspired her to write her novel of the same name. Touring the South with Artie Shaw’s band, Billie felt the force of Jim Crow. In her autobiography she stated, “It got to the point where I hardly ever ate, slept, or went to the bathroom without having a major NAACP-type production.”

A song Billie Holiday made her own, “The Man I Love,” along with “T’ain’t Nobody’s Business If I Do,” and especially, “My Man” have been often held up as an example of how Lady Day felt about the men in her life. Billie was often exploited and abused by many people she trusted, but her choices reflected her deep ambivalence about love, and a measure of masochism. Musicians who worked with her loved her and deplored her boyfriends. One, Bobby Tucker, a favorite accompanist, called them “pimps,” because they “lived off her,” particularly the brutal John Levy and husband Louis McKay, who managed the singer by facilitating her drug habit and draining her financial resources. Hospitalized several times and jailed at Alderson Federal Reformatory in 1947, Holiday was penalized for her high-profile troubles—she lost her New York City Cabaret license, which paradoxically opened up venues like Carnegie Hall (where she performed several legendary concerts in 1948) but severely restricted her ability to make her living.

The 1972 film *Lady Sings the Blues*, a showcase for singer Diana Ross crafted for her by Berry Gordy as a new venue for Motown, distorted Billie Holiday’s life story and created a love story from Louis McKay’s viewpoint (he served as a technical advisor on the picture). Despite Ross’s strong performance, the film failed to create a convincing portrait and was critically panned. It did generate new interest in Billie Holiday and her recordings, which translated into such diverse appreciations of Holiday such as Alice Adams’s novel *Listening to Billie* and an Australian film, *Billy’s Holiday* (a fantasy wherein a male fan discovers he can sing like his favorite singer). Images of Holiday are ubiquitous on such items as t-shirts and posters: the “Lady with the Gardenia” (the flower she often wore in her hair), dressed to kill in elegant gowns, is an icon that has not only endured but has become ever more popular, much as Marilyn Monroe or Elvis has. In her discography, the Verve recordings (beginning in 1946) are often touted as her greatest, with her voice at its mature best and her spirit radiant in songs she made standards: “All of Me,” “Autumn in New York,” “Don’t Explain” and the song she co-authored, “God Bless the Child,” best reflects Billie’s essential personality—an artist, first and foremost. A last recording, the

controversial “Lady in Satin” shows the singer diminished but still innovating, working with a lush orchestral accompaniment.

Her death on July 17, 1959 followed a long, sad decline precipitated by the death of Sadie and accelerated by her addiction. Hospitalized in New York in May, 1959, she was arrested for possession of narcotics in her hospital bed, a last indignity. In a 1956 interview, Billie told Mike Wallace why she thought jazz greats die young: “we try to live a hundred days in one day, and we try to please so many people. Like myself, I want to bend this note, bend that note, sing this way, sing that way, and get all the feeling, eat all the good foods, and travel all over in one day, and you can’t do it.”

A legendary stylist, Frank Sinatra, stated: “Billie Holiday was, and still remains, the greatest single musical influence on me.” Her friend, writer Leonard Feather, said of Billie that “her voice was the voice of living intensity, of soul in the true sense of that greatly abused word. As a human being, she was sweet, sour, kind, mean, generous, profane, lovable, and impossible, and nobody who knew her expects to see anyone quite like her ever again.”

—Mary Hess

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## Holiday Inns

Kemmons Wilson transformed roadside accommodations by building or franchising look-alike motels known as Holiday Inns. In 1952, entrepreneur Wilson, a high school dropout and home builder, opened the first Holiday Inn in Memphis, Tennessee, after returning

from a road trip to Washington, D.C., with his wife and five children, disappointed with the typical motel or roadside cabin of the day—overpriced, cramped units charging \$2 extra for each child. Wilson's first motel, opened at the start of the postwar auto travel boom, was the prototype for the thousands of Holiday Inns that later formed a global giant much imitated by newer hotel-motel chains. Wilson retired in 1978, and 18 years later Holiday Inns Inc. was acquired for more than \$2.2 billion by the British firm Bass PLC., which, by century's end, operated or franchised more than 2,700 Holiday Inns and other hotels in 90 countries. Holiday Inns caught the public's fancy by offering uniformly family-friendly, unsurprising, and moderately priced accommodations, with each motel easily recognized by a large green and white sign.

—Michael Posner

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## Holliday, Judy (1921-1965)

Judy Holliday, in her relatively limited career, elevated the stock character of the dumb blonde from a movie stereotype to a complex combination of naiveté, common sense, intelligence, and vulnerability in a handful of memorable roles on stage and screen.

Born Judith Tuvim in New York City on June 21, 1921, Judy Holliday began her career in 1938 as a telephone operator for Orson Welles's Mercury theater company. This led to friendships with Betty Comden, Adolph Green, and others, who formed a cabaret act, called "The Revuers." From Greenwich Village night clubs, the act moved to posh New York clubs and, eventually, to a 16-week radio show on NBC and an extended run at Radio City Music Hall. "The Revuers" headed for Hollywood in 1944, but failed to gain important notice.

Holliday, however, performed supporting roles in three films at Fox, but her contract was not renewed. She headed back to New York, where she was cast in the 1945 play, *Kiss Them for Me*, playing the part of Alice, a dumb blonde. Judy was praised for rendering her character's sensitivity and vulnerability. Audiences loved her, but the play lasted only 14 weeks.

In 1946, Holliday replaced Jean Arthur in *Born Yesterday* when Arthur left the play in Philadelphia. She learned the part of Billie Dawn in three days, and the play was a sensation when it opened on Broadway at the Belasco Theater on February 4, 1946. This led to the part of Doris Attinger in the film *Adam's Rib* (1949) with Spencer Tracy and Katharine Hepburn at MGM. According to Hollywood legend, this role was really Holliday's screen test for Harry Cohn, the tyrannical boss at Columbia Pictures. Following this first success, Holliday starred as Billie Dawn in the film version of *Born Yesterday* (1950), which was released in December 1950. Holliday won an Academy Award as best actress for the role, beating out Bette Davis, Gloria Swanson, Celeste Holm, and Anne Bancroft.

In 1952 Holliday was accused of communist leanings by the McCarran Committee. The accusation kept her out of films briefly, but she performed in a series of roles in *The Marrying Kind* (1952), *It*

*Should Happen to You* (1954), *Phffft* (1954), and *Solid Gold Cadillac* (1956). In 1956 she was back on Broadway, cast as the lonely telephone operator in *Bells Are Ringing*, a Comden and Green, Julie Styne musical. The show had a three-year run, which led to her assignment by MGM to repeat the role in the 1960 film version opposite Dean Martin. It would be her last film. In 1963 she was diagnosed with breast cancer, and following a valiant two-year struggle, she died on June 7, 1965, two weeks before her 44th birthday.

—James R. Belpedio

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## Holly, Buddy (1936-1959)

As a songwriter, performer, and musician, Buddy Holly remains one of the most influential rock 'n' roll entertainers of all time. Artists such as the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, Bob Dylan, the Byrds, Eric



Buddy Holly

Clapton, Pete Townshend, Elton John, and Bruce Springsteen have all acknowledged Holly's influence on their music. His career was painfully short, lasting from September 1957—when "That'll Be the Day" became a chart-topping hit—to February 3, 1959—when Holly died in a tragic plane crash in Iowa. But, as Holly biographer Philip Norman has pointed out, in that short period of time, "he created a blueprint for enlightened rock stardom that every modern newcomer with any pretense at self-respect still aspires to follow."

Holly's musical legend is replete with many firsts. He was the first rock performer to insist on artistic control over his material. He was the first to write his own songs, and the first to arrange them and supervise his own studio sessions. He was the first to master the technical aspects of the recording business, achieving effects with echo, double-tracking, and overdubbing. He was the first rocker to eschew the "pretty boy" looks of most performers of the 1950s, adopting a more bookwormish look complete with black horn-rim glasses. In addition, he was the first rock performer capable of attracting a faithful male audience as much as a female one. Holly was only twenty-two years old when he died, but he left behind a legacy of songs that have steadily grown in stature and influence, making him one of the genuine legends of popular music.

Born on September 7, 1936, in Lubbock, Texas, Holly's musical influences included country and western music and rhythm and blues. At age five, Holly made his first appearance on stage, joining his brothers Larry and Travis in a talent contest that won them five dollars. During his childhood, Holly took lessons to play the guitar, violin, and piano, and taught himself boogie-woogie rhythms on the piano. At age twelve, he entertained friends with Hank Williams' songs, and in 1949 formed the Buddy and Bob bluegrass duo, with friend Bob Montgomery. During this period, Holly learned to play the banjo and the mandolin, and in 1949 he made his first recording—a song titled "My Two Timin' Woman"—on a home tape recorder. By 1952, Buddy and Bob had become a sensation in Lubbock, and they recorded two songs in Holly's home that year and another in 1953. Also in 1953, they performed on KDAV radio, added Larry Welborn on bass, and were given their own program, *The Buddy and Bob Show*. KDAV disc jockey "Hipockets" Duncan became the trio's manager, landing them shows in the West Texas area. The trio added fiddler Sonny Curtis and steel guitarist Don Guess to the group in 1954, and together they made recordings in the Lubbock and Wichita Falls studios. That year the group added drummer Jerry Allison and opened Texas concerts for Bill Haley and his Comets and Elvis Presley. Holly was intrigued by Presley's rock 'n' roll style, but continued to play country music.

Holly's group landed its first recording contract in December 1955 with Decca records. The band, now minus Montgomery, recorded four songs in a Nashville studio on January 26, 1956. From that session, Decca released "Blue Days, Black Nights," backed with "Love Me," under the name of Buddy Holly and the Three Tunes. However, by September 1956, Holly left Decca because of the label's insistence that he continue playing country music, and due to the loss of his band members because of differences with Decca's session men. In late 1956, Holly, Allison, and Welborn traveled to Clovis, New Mexico, where they recorded two songs at a local studio. After returning to Lubbock, Holly formed the Crickets with Allison and Wiki Sullivan, who played rhythm guitar. On February 25, 1957, they returned to Clovis and recorded the classic "That'll Be the Day," trading their country stylings for a definitive rock 'n' roll sound. Numerous record companies rejected the song until it was released by

Brunswick Records in May 1957. With Clovis studio owner Norman Petty now their manager and Joe B. Mauldin having joined the group as bassist, "That'll Be the Day" received heavy promotion and reached number one by September 1957.

On the heels of the release of "That'll Be the Day," Buddy Holly and the Crickets spent three months touring the United States, playing such venues as the Apollo Theater in New York and Howard Theater in Washington, D.C. Holly's band recorded an impressive body of work in 1957, including such classics as "Words of Love," "Maybe Baby," "Not Fade Away," "Everybody," "Oh Boy," and the legendary "Peggy Sue." Holly was very experimental in the studio, and used a variety of new production techniques, including overdubbing vocals and double-tracking guitar parts. "Peggy Sue" reached number three on the charts in the United States and "Oh Boy" number ten during 1957. The group closed out this watershed year by appearing on the *Ed Sullivan Show*, an appearance they repeated in January 1958.

That same month, the Crickets recorded "Rave On" in New York and toured Australia for six days, then recorded "Well . . . All Right" on February 1958. Then, in early March of that year, Holly's group toured England, where their songs were topping the charts. Upon their return to America, the Crickets joined a tour assembled by disc jockey Alan Freed that included Jerry Lee Lewis and Chuck Berry. Also in 1958, Holly married Maria Elena Santiago, recorded "Heartbeat," "Wishing," and "Love's Made a Fool of You," and held recording sessions that included extra musicians, including Waylon Jennings, Phil Everly, and King Curtis.

By the time Holly's group toured the Northeast and Canada in October 1958, tension was growing between Holly and manager Petty, and there was friction among band members because of their lead singer's expressed desire to become a solo artist. During the tour, Holly left his manager, with the Crickets leaving Holly to stay with Petty. On October 21, 1958, Holly, working with producer Dick Jacobs and studio musicians, recorded "True Love Ways," "It Doesn't Matter Anymore," "Raining in My Heart," and "Moondreams." In January 1959, Holly assembled a new band, also to be called the Crickets, to take on the "Winter Dance Party" tour of the Midwest. Included in the tour were Ritchie Valens, the Big Bopper, and Dion and the Belmonts. The tour began on January 23, 1959, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and the evening show on February 1 was canceled due to bad weather. The tour then played Clear Lake, Iowa, on February 2. Following this fateful show, Holly, Valens, and the Big Bopper chartered a small plane to take them to the next date in Moorhead, Minnesota. The idea was to avoid taking the tour bus, which had previously broken down and had a defective heater. Shortly after takeoff, the plane crashed in a cornfield about five miles north of Clear Lake, killing Holly, Valens, the Big Bopper, and their pilot. Don McLean later memorialized the date as "the day the music died" in his song "American Pie."

Holly's popularity skyrocketed after his death, with his influence still impacting the contemporary music scene. Even as late as the 1980s, unreleased Holly material was still being issued. During the 1970s, Paul McCartney purchased the Holly song catalogue, and he began sponsoring annual Buddy Holly Week celebrations. Holly fan clubs, magazines, books, and Web sites flourish, and movies and musicals have been based on his life. A statue of him stands in Lubbock, and two memorials to Holly have been placed in Clear Lake, Iowa. One memorial is a large, grey stone located at the Surf Ballroom, where Holly performed his last show. The other is a guitar

and three records fashioned out of stainless steel placed at the crash site.

—Dennis Russell

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## Hollywood

In America, Hollywood is the promised land—a sun-kissed Mediterranean playground with the weather of a modern-day Eden. For much of its history, Hollywood was the place where the old rules no longer applied. If one was beautiful enough, or talented enough, or simply talked a good game, one could cast off the Protestant work ethic like a ratty winter coat and join the gilded throngs of a new American aristocracy. Hollywood was enticement personified; anything and everything could be bought, nothing was out of reach. Money flowed like water from its jeweled grottoes, and sex was in all around, as palpable as the scent of eucalyptus wafting down through Benedict Canyon. Through the twists and turns of its history, the California town named Hollywood has remained America's capital of glamour *non pareil* (even after downtown Hollywood had become a

sleazy mixture of tourist attractions and dilapidated office buildings, the legendary stars imbedded on Hollywood Boulevard covered in grime, and frequently, obscured by the bodies of the homeless). In its Golden Age, Hollywood was a glamour factory, a metropolis of illusion. Enormous film studios lined its side streets, talent agencies occupied its office buildings, swank restaurants and nightclubs occupied its busy thoroughfares. It was the home of the stars, who built monuments to their image high above in the Hollywood hills, hard by the famous Hollywood sign, beckoning through the smog like a red dot on a map signifying, you are here.

But where exactly was "here?" How did this remote backwater change so suddenly from citrus groves and barley fields into the headquarters of the eleventh largest industry in the United States? In part it had to do with the early economics of the film industry, in part with the weather. In 1887, long before the film industry was a reality in Hollywood, let alone a going concern, a Kansas real estate tycoon named Horace Henderson Wilcox began mapping out the streets of a town built especially for stolid Midwesterners, sick of ice and snow. Being pious Midwesterners themselves, they banned saloons and offered land gratis to any church willing to locate there. The Wilcoxes' embryonic community was nestled at the foot of a ridge of gentle hills which sheltered the farms from the brutal desert winds, twelve miles from the Pacific Ocean. It was an idyllic setting, and fittingly, Wilcox's homesick wife named the nascent settlement Hollywood after the country place of a family friend.

Hollywood was not exactly an overnight success. In 1903, future *Los Angeles Times* publisher Harry Chandler and railroad tycoon General Moses Hazeltine Sherman formed a syndicate that managed to get the still vacant fields incorporated as an independent municipality—a prime example of the land speculation so typical of Los Angeles history up to the present day. They built a trolley line from downtown (the population at the time was a mere 500 people) and a



The Hollywood sign overlooking the city of Los Angeles, California.

thirty-three room Spanish-style hotel on as-yet-unpaved Hollywood Boulevard. To stimulate sales, Chandler and Co. liberally posted signs reading SOLD among the lots, perhaps the first in a long line of Hollywood subterfuges. In order to attract what they considered as solid citizens (Midwestern farmers) they continued in the pious tradition of the Wilcoxes: beside outlawing saloons, in 1910 the Hollywood Board of Trustees officially banned movie theaters, at which time there was not a one.

The film industry came to Los Angeles in 1907 as the result of a fluke. Winter storms prompted William Selig of the Chicago-based Selig Studios to send his leading man west in search of an alternate location. The filming of *The Count of Monte Cristo* (1908), the first film shot in California, was completed in Laguna Beach not long after, and Selig was so taken by the area that he returned the following year, setting up shop in a converted Chinese laundry east of downtown. Soon film companies were flocking to Los Angeles. There were both financial and legal reasons for the move. Outdoor shoots could occur year round, and the Los Angeles basin afforded a wealth of natural scenery. "It was all rather pristine and primeval," writes Otto Friedrich. "Cops and robbers chased each other through the streets and directors improvised their stories as they went along. The official histories explain this first flowering as a happy combination of sunshine, open spaces, and diverse settings: the Sahara, the Alps, and the South Seas could all be simulated within Los Angeles' city limits." A further incentive lay in Los Angeles' remote location. Independent film producers were then at war with the Edison syndicate, who, by enforcing patents on film and projection equipment, were set on milking the industry ad infinitum. In remote Los Angeles, collecting royalties would be no easy endeavor for the Edison bund.

At first, the majority of studios settled in Edendale, a hilly and somewhat congested area just west of downtown. It wasn't until 1910 that the first film studio, the Nestor Film Company, established itself in Hollywood proper. (By a happy coincidence, the city of Los Angeles had subsumed Hollywood, rendering the prohibition against movie theaters null and void.) By the 1920s, film production was wholly centered in Hollywood, with a scattering of studios established to the north, in Burbank, or southwest in Culver City. The stars had also staked their claim to the geographic high-ground, moving from the downtown—the adjacent Silver Lake was the neighborhood of choice for the earliest silent stars—to the Hollywood Hills and just west to the lush canyons of Beverly Hills.

By some accounts (most notably, Kenneth Anger's lurid, sensationalistic bio-dissection, *Hollywood Babylon*), the silent era was a never-ending party of dope, booze, and aggressive promiscuity. In this innocent time, drugs were an acceptable subject for pictures. In 1916, for instance, Douglas Fairbanks starred in *The Mystery of the Leaping Fish*, appearing as Coke Ennyday, a somewhat besotted detective who availed himself liberally of "joy powder." It was a free and easy time, and the stars, by wallowing in their licentiousness, appeared to be testing the limits of public opinion. And push they did, with tragic results. In 1920, popular starlet Olive Thomas committed suicide in Paris, occasioned by her failure to procure heroin; in 1921, comedian Fatty Arbuckle was arrested for the death of aspiring starlet Virginia Rappe during "rough sex." The following year director William Desmond Taylor was murdered in his home, and once again the studio publicists worked overtime at damage control. But the hemorrhaging had gone too far. In the wake of public outrage, the Hollywood production heads reluctantly appointed William H. Hays, a Republican functionary, to act as arbiter of the public morality. Into the 1940s, the notorious Hays Commission would pass judgment on

all Hollywood product. Hays declared that the movies needed purifying, both in content and cast. To aid in the latter, he released a notorious black-list, the kiss of death for many a screen idol. Wallace Reid, one of Paramount's biggest stars, made the list (he died in a sanitarium the following year), as did Juanita Hansen and Alma Rubens, both popular leading ladies, and both soon to be deceased.

At the time, the 1920s were considered a Golden Age in Hollywood, but in fact they were merely a holding pattern, killing time until the next big thing—sound—came along. In short order talkies separated the wheat from the chaff. Actors who had succeeded on their looks, but were not trained in elocution (or who had unfortunate speaking voices, or thick regional accents) became also-rans, as irrelevant as yesterday's newspaper. Clara Bow, born and raised in Brooklyn, found her career effectively ended when she blew out the microphones on her first sound scene. One of Hollywood's most successful leading men, John Gilbert, found his career ruined after sound technicians neutered his tenor voice, and Marie Prevost's career was ruined by her thick Bronx accent; each had succumbed to alcoholism by the mid-1930s.

With the advent of sound, the movies—and Hollywood itself—entered into maturity. No longer a curiosity, movies, and moviemakers, were the unwitting producers of dreams, miners of the American unconscious. Apart from a few fallow periods—the early 1960s, for instance—what the astute student of film lore observes is the complex inter-relationship between entertainment and the values of a people. And like the compartmentalized functions of the brain itself, the different studios each specialized in a particular sub-myth; Warner Brothers specialized in gangster films, (the reptilian rear-brain); Universal made its living off of horror films (the unconscious); MGM, rigorously wholesome light-hearted fare (shades of the super-ego); Columbia, wise-cracking screwball comedies (the ego) and Frank Capra pictures (another example of the socializing super-ego). Moviegoers could take their pick from a smorgasbord of the unconscious, and the relationship was reciprocal only insofar as a film that failed to tap into deep-seated archetypes was apt to sink from view in a matter of weeks.

As the instrument of our unconscious desires, film stars took on a preternatural significance. They were demi-gods and goddesses, archetypes, and by the same token, repositories of innately American virtues and vices. And Hollywood itself was their charmed playland, the center of a galaxy of restaurants, bars, and nightclubs like a neon-lit Mount Olympus come to life (in fact, a Hollywood housing development of the 1960s was named Mount Olympus). For a time, the places where film people staged their debauches became as well known as the stars that patronized them. Chasen's, Musso & Frank's, The Brown Derby, and The Montmartre—these names evoke an era where film deals were made over three martini lunches and stars relaxed after a tough day of shooting at one of several exclusive watering holes. Celebritydom was enjoyed in public, movie stars less cloistered than they are today. At lunch time, crowds would gather around Hollywood eateries in the hopes of catching a glimpse of a Cary Grant or a Marlene Dietrich. While the rest of the country struggled through the Depression, Hollywood wallowed in abundance, and far from taking umbrage with their antics, the public took their high-living as a reassuring sign that better times lay ahead. "Around the globe Hollywood became Tinseltown, a land of dreams and luxury," writes Ronald L. Davis. "For the American public, raised on an ethic that emphasized success, material wealth, and social mobility, Hollywood embodied a national ideal."

Similarly, the nation's movie palaces acted as an extension of this mythology. If the studios were in the business of selling dreams, then the theaters with their slavish attention to detail augmented that feeling. The gilded, air-conditioned temples were calculated to awe, and for many, the very act of going to the movies was a panacea, where for thirty cents one could temporarily shut out the overwhelming tide of misery around them. Although Hollywood was not alone in its luxurious theaters, those that lined Hollywood Boulevard became world famous, especially for the red-carpeted premieres they so frequently hosted. Graumann's Chinese Theater became something of a national landmark, for its premieres as well as the foot and hand prints embedded in fresh concrete around the box office. While over the course of time, the Chinese Theater's neighbors—the El Capitan, the Egyptian—have fared poorly (until very recently), Mann's has remained a virtual institution, along with Musso & Frank's, the last vestige of Hollywood's glamour years.

Even as Hollywood wallowed in its good fortune, its destruction was at hand. 1939 had been a good year for Hollywood. The movie industry was the nation's eleventh largest industry, grossing \$700 million that year, attracting more than fifty million Americans to the nation's theaters every week. Within a decade, this illusion of omnipotence would prove to be just that, illusory. After two decades of staving off Justice Department anti-trust lawsuits, the moguls had relented and divested themselves of their theater holdings and ended their unreasonable, but lucrative, booking practices (in effect, theater owners were forced to buy films in blocks, accepting many duds in order to book the one film they wanted). In addition, the star-system the moguls had pinned their fortunes on had backfired with disastrous results. Enormous salaries were one thing, but when the stars began packaging their own deals, in effect usurping the role of the studios, the moguls could only watch in horror as the power they had so carefully nurtured slipped through their fingers. Now it was the actors, agents, and managers who called the shots.

Television was a contributing factor to the demise of the studio system. The big studios ignored the threat, and only marginal companies like RKO realized a profit, hiring their facilities out to the upstart medium. Through the 1950s and early 1960s, the studios watched their profits evaporate as they grew further out of touch with the post-war audience. Even then, Hollywood generated a kind of anti-alchemy with Film Noir, one of film's most enduring and symbolically rich genres, so perfectly in step with the mood of paranoia and desperation sweeping over the land. But Film Noir's richness was unintentional; for the most part, the genre consisted of "B" movies and programmers, not the kinds of epic, sweeping dramas that studios took pride in.

Ironically, it was these same "B" movie actors and directors, more attuned to the changing times, who saved the majors, ushering in the New Hollywood, what was for many the last Golden Age of American movie-making. By the early 1960s, Hollywood profits had withered on the vine. Film production companies were being snapped up by oil and insurance companies (like Gulf & Western's acquisition of Paramount), which looked upon the film industry as an opportunity to diversify their investments. Desperately casting about for a white knight to rescue them from the financial doldrums, executives began to take chances. First there was Mike Nichols' *The Graduate* (1967), a film that not only redefined the parameters of what could be shown, but in casting Dustin Hoffman in the lead opened up the way for ethnic actors such as Robert De Niro and Al Pacino to be treated as legitimate leading men. There was no one true breach that destroyed the dam of Hollywood's old system, it was more like many small

ruptures in a dike. *The Graduate* was followed by *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967), *Easy Rider* (1969; producer and star Peter Fonda joked that before the film was finished, the executives shook their heads in incomprehension, and afterwards, nodded their heads in bewilderment), then *Midnight Cowboy* (1969), all films that would have been unthinkable ten years before. The executives, who were as scornful of this new generations' politics as they were of their artistic influences, could finally do nothing more than let the floodwaters inundate them.

It would not last long. The 1970s were a time of great artistic ferment in Hollywood, a changing of the guard in which the director, who had long been considered no more than a glorified technician by the studios, was now a hero. With their newfound power, directors explored territory that only a decade earlier would have been strictly forbidden. As director Robert Altman put it, "Suddenly there was a moment when it seemed as if the pictures you wanted to make, they wanted to make." This was the decade when Martin Scorsese, Francis Ford Coppola, William Friedkin, Hal Ashby, and Peter Bogdanovich burst into prominence, making edgy, uncompromising films. The dark side of the auteur equation, however, was that as the decade edged towards its conclusion, the film budgets grew more outrageous; directors, fueled by a combination of drugs and hubris, grew more stunning in their arrogance; and when the inevitable shift in the cultural winds hit, it was the studio executives, nursing a decade of bruised egos, who had the upper hand.

Hollywood operates by a complex logarithm that is by nature amoral. In the Glamour Years, Hollywood produced and the audience bought tickets—a simple equation—but with the advent of marketing, sneak previews, and audience polling, the situation had come full circle. America spoke with its dollars, and Hollywood had become very attentive. But what really spelled the death knell of the New Hollywood was the success of two films: *Star Wars* (1977) and *Jaws* (1975). What a nation weary from over a decade of war and civil unrest wanted was entertainment; not the sort of entertainment television could provide, but spectacle. America wanted to be wowed, and that is exactly these films did. Within a few years, a man named Don Simpson would turn spectacle into a science, producing a string of mindless, but entertaining hits, simple films that could be summed up in twenty-five words or less. His first hit, *Flashdance* (1983), could be summed up thus: blue collar dancer yearns to be ballerina. Naturally film critics decried Simpson's films—*Top Gun*, *Beverly Hill Cop*, *Days of Thunder*—but the high concept film was now king. And through the 1980s and 1990s, it was the event film, the summer blockbuster, that was Hollywood's bread and butter, an all-American spectacle of excess: sex, violence, and mind-boggling special effects. In effect, these films were simply glorified genre films.

Of course, Hollywood has always been a business, as one of its nicknames, the Glamour Factory, makes abundantly clear. What it sells is glamour, sex, violence, physical beauty, and extravagance, while convincing the public it is buying virtue and art. From the moment Chandler and company set out their faked "SOLD" signs on the vacant lots, the modus operandi of Hollywood—deception—was firmly entrenched. And while Hollywood Boulevard molders, with only a few relics of the glory years remaining amongst the cheap tourist gift shops, the homeless people, and Scientology buildings, its legend is still repackaged and sold to a naive public. Hollywood will always be a valuable commodity. While the locus of power in the entertainment industry has moved elsewhere, down-at-the-heels Hollywood remains its most visible symbol.

But while the shifting dynamics of the industry have made Hollywood-the-place obsolete, it still remains a powerful symbol.

More than can ever be measured, Hollywood created the dreams of America in the twentieth century, allowing generations access to a symbolic tapestry in the darkened hush of the movie theater. It is a paradox that while Hollywood can be defined and measured in square mileage, the map of its streets is but a dim shadow of the much more complex and ineffable map of the American psyche. Hollywood exists and yet it is entirely ephemeral, a locked room in the collective unconscious. In 1949, David O. Selznick was wandering the empty streets of Hollywood late one night when he turned to his companions, saying, "Hollywood's like Egypt. Full of crumbling pyramids. It'll never come back. It'll just keep on crumbling until finally the wind blows the last studio prop across the sand." He was right and he was wrong. The myth of the place has become an archetype, and even while multinational corporations own every major studio outright, there has never been any question that Hollywood remains the center of film production both in spirit and in substance.

—Michael Baers

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## Hollywood Squares

One of television's most popular game shows during its 15 year run from 1966 to 1981, *Hollywood Squares* combined high camp, humor, and a modicum of intellect to become an audience favorite. As described in *Entertainment Weekly's* "The Best Game Shows of All Time," "Nine celebs sat inside a three-story ticktacktoe board and parried questions with wacky ad-libs (which turned out to be scripted)." Hosted by the good-natured Peter Marshall, the squares were occupied by A- and B-list stars from film, television, and music. The center square, however, was the hub of the show. First occupied by Ernest Borgnine, the center square came to be the domain of the acerbically witty and very camp Paul Lynde, and was later taken over by the inimitable Joan Rivers. A hip new *Hollywood Squares* debuted in 1998 with Whoopi Goldberg in the coveted center square, proving that pop culture always has a place for amiable schlock.

—Victoria Price

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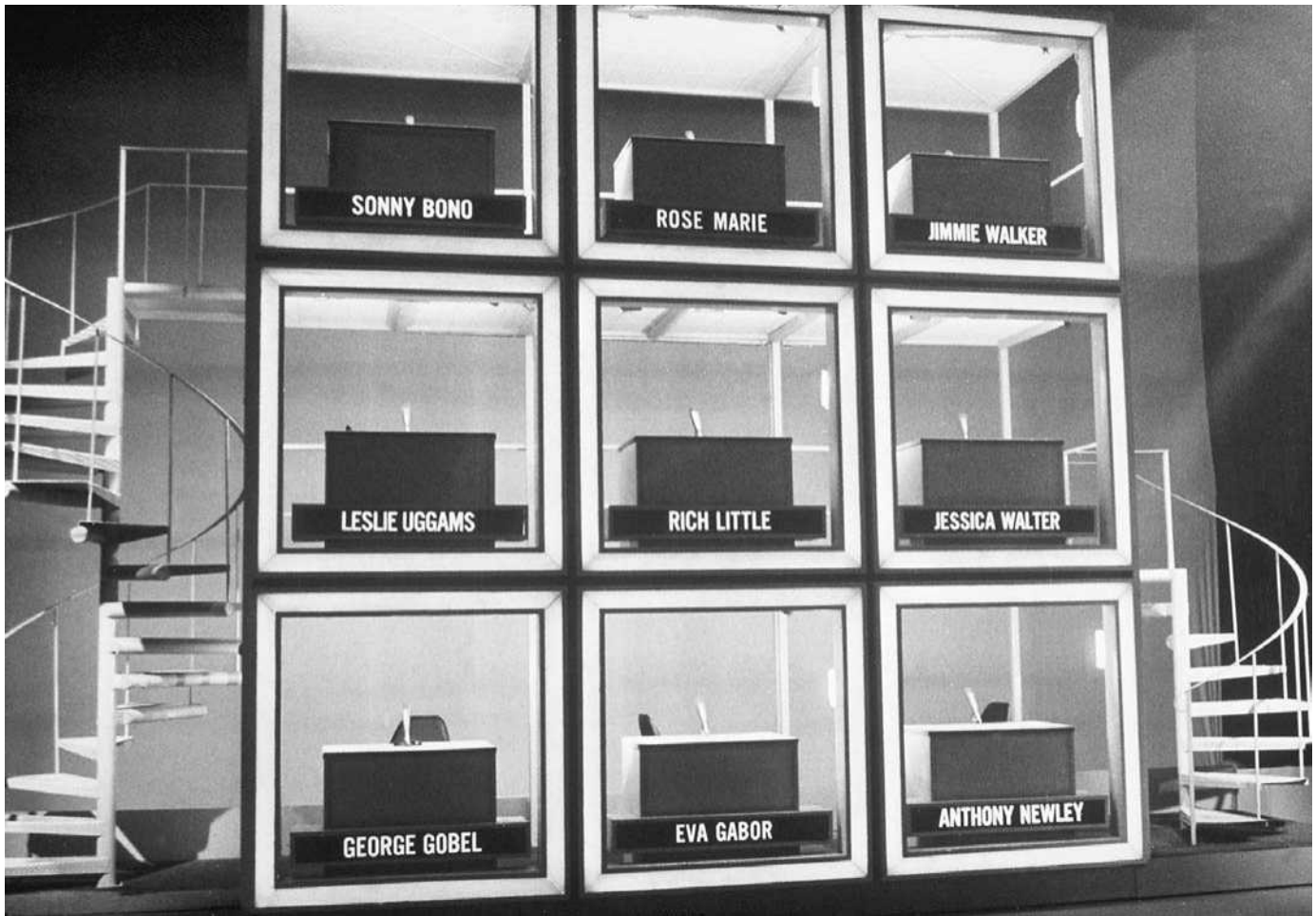
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## The Hollywood Ten

In the fall of 1947, a group of ten prominent artists working in film who were to enter American history as the Hollywood Ten, were subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) as part of investigations into "the extent of Communist infiltration in the Hollywood motion picture industry." Taking the First Amendment, the Hollywood Ten denied HUAC's constitutional legitimacy as well as its right to inquire into an individual's personal and political beliefs, and refused to answer any of the Committee's questions. In their prepared statements, they went so far as to compare the activities of the Committee to those of Nazi Germany and stated that HUAC heralded the onset of a new fascism within American life. The Ten's refusal to co-operate in admitting to their political affiliations resulted in their being tried at the Washington, D.C., Federal court in April, 1948. Found guilty of contempt, writer-producer Herbert Biberman, director Edward Dmytryk, producer-writer Adrian Scott, and screenwriters Alvah Bessie, Lester Cole, Ring Lardner, Jr., John Howard Lawson, Albert Maltz, Samuel Ornitz, and Dalton Trumbo were each sentenced to one year in jail and a thousand-dollar fine. They were blacklisted by the film industry, and for many years were able to work only by living abroad or under cover of a pseudonym. (Robert Rich, for example, who won an Oscar for *The Brave One* in 1956, was actually Trumbo).

The Hollywood Ten became a benchmark for resistance against the investigative powers of the congressional committees during the Cold War, but their treatment left a shameful blot on the community that ostracized them. It was an omen for a much wider process that expanded to all sectors of American society and eventually all but destroyed the liberal left in America. The cultural consequences of their indictment and the subsequent blacklisting of many of their distinguished peers were serious—Hollywood was deprived of many of its finest and most intelligent creative talents, and the climate of fear that came to prevail led to blandness, even sterility, of artistic expression and new ideas for fully a decade.

Matters grew worse when Edward Dmytryk recanted his position and agreed to co-operate with the HUAC. He was released early from jail, admitted past membership of the Communist Party, and took himself to England. Ironically, Dmytryk is admired for the socially conscious, humane stance of some of his best work, including the anti-fascist drama *Hitler's Children* (1943) and *Crossfire* (1947), a serious attempt to address anti-Semitism. He returned from exile in 1951, stood as a witness in the HUAC's second round of hearings into Hollywood and named names. He was not alone. Altogether over this dark period in Hollywood's history, some 300 "witnesses" confessed to their own past Communist affiliations, and many also



The set for the 1970s game show *Hollywood Squares*.

incriminated their fellows. Among the more celebrated who failed to take the First Amendment were writers Clifford Odets, Isabel Lennart and Budd Schulberg, actors Sterling Hayden and Larry Parks, and, famously, the great director Elia Kazan, whose appearance to receive a special Oscar at the 1999 Academy Awards ceremony opened old wounds and provoked furious controversy.

The fate of the Hollywood Ten exemplified that of anyone who refused to cooperate with the HUAC. The refusal of any individual to name names before the Committee was interpreted as evidence of Communist or fellow-traveling sympathies, and the fate of the Ten instigated an ignominious cycle of cowardice and betrayal in the Hollywood community. The FBI put many creative artists under surveillance, and at least two victims of the hearings committed suicide. The roll call of those either “named” by their peers or blacklisted on suspicion is long, shocking, and substantial. Among the many who suffered the harsh artistic, economic, and social consequences of blacklisting were writers Ben Barzman, Waldo Salt, Dashiell Hammett, Lillian Hellman, documentarist Joris Ivens, director Joseph Losey, writer-directors Carl Foreman, Jules Dassin, and Abraham Polonsky, actors Anne Revere and Gale Sondergaard, satirist Dorothy Parker, and Paula Miller (Mrs. Lee Strasberg). Foreman, Dassin, and Losey in particular continued to forge careers in Europe; the more fortunate actors found work on the stage, while

others were forced into retirement. Actor John Garfield died in 1952, aged 40, from a heart attack said to have been caused by the strain of the investigations.

Blacklisting began to fade in the late 1950s, along with the rest of the McCarthyite hysteria that had for so many years held Americans under threat. Many of the previously blacklisted writers and directors were able to return openly to Hollywood, where their achievements were a salutary lesson in the loss that films had suffered by their absence. Thanks to the insistence of Kirk Douglas and Otto Preminger respectively, Dalton Trumbo was the first screenwriter to re-emerge under his own name on the credits of *Spartacus* and *Exodus* (both 1960). Robert Rossen added *The Hustler* (1961) to his distinguished body of work pre-1951. Abraham Polonsky, whose career had been completely ruined by the hearings and his subsequent exile, came back to make only his second of three films, the highly regarded Western, *Tell Them Willie Boy is Here* (1970), and Ring Lardner, Jr. wrote the Academy Award-winning screenplay for *M\*A\*S\*H* (1970). Carl Foreman, who had just completed the screenplay for *High Noon* (1952) when he was blacklisted, never returned from Britain, but was posthumously acknowledged in 1985 for his previously uncredited Oscar-winning work on *The Bridge on the River Kwai*. Waldo Salt received the Oscar for *Midnight Cowboy* (1969), shared it for *Coming Home* (1978), and was nominated for *Serpico* (1973).



The unwavering courage of the Hollywood Ten and others continues to stand as a historic reproach to the movie moguls who caved in to McCarthyite demands to “clean up” their industry.

—Nathan Abrams

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## Holocaust

Over the span of four nights, between April 16 and 19, 1978, approximately 120 million Americans watched at least some of an NBC miniseries that graphically portrayed the genocide of six million Jews during the Nazi era. Commercial prime-time television may have seemed an unlikely venue for this kind of subject matter, but *Holocaust* appeared during a moment in American network history when more serious subject matter threatened to get a toehold in prime time. The phenomenal and unprecedented success the year before of the miniseries *Roots* paved the way for *Holocaust*. In fact, NBC gave the production its go-ahead during the week that *Roots* aired. That series' record-breaking Nielsen numbers apparently gave the network confidence that if American viewers were willing to sit through night after night of brutal, realistic depictions of slavery in America, then those same viewers might also brave the images of genocide.

Producer Herbert Bodkin, director Marvin Chomsky (who had directed an episode of *Roots*), and writer Gerald Green did not want to just produce a Jewish *Roots*, however. They managed to avoid some of the production issues that were problematical in *Roots*. While *Roots* was shot entirely on the Hollywood back lot, *Holocaust* was filmed in Europe. The Matthausen concentration camp in Germany stood in for Auschwitz, thus giving camp scenes a chilling sense of verisimilitude. Also eery were some responses to the project during its production. In Germany and Austria, many local technicians declined to work on the shoot. Swastikas occasionally appeared on sets. Officials in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia refused permission to film in their countries, arguing that the script contained “Zionist” elements.

*Holocaust* also differed from *Roots* in that it avoided filling its cast with highly recognizable stars. The producers didn't want viewers to be distracted by the star power of performers, but rather to accept the actors as the characters they played. *Holocaust's* cast included then little-known players as Meryl Streep, James Woods, and Michael Moriarty.

Like *Roots*, *Holocaust* used the family melodrama genre to tell its sweeping tale of human misery and survival. The series focused on two German families: the Weisses, who were thoroughly assimilated German-Jews; and the Dorfs. Most of the Weisses are sent to concentration camps. The artist son (James Woods) finds himself in

Tereisen, the Nazis' “model” camp for high profile Jews, especially those with artistic talent. The narrative focuses on the utter squalor and horror of the place and the attempt by artists to document their experience there. The Weisses' daughter (Blanche Baker) is raped and then put into a hospital for the mentally ill, where the Nazi policies toward “mental defectives” ensure that she is quickly killed. Mr. and Mrs. Weiss, along with their Catholic daughter-in-law (Meryl Streep), end up in Auschwitz. A particularly graphic scene portrays the supposed “showers” the women were to have; the audience views a portrayal of them being gassed. Only the youngest son (Timothy Bottoms) survives. He escapes a concentration camp and joins Jewish partisans fighting the Germans. The Dorf family includes Erik (Michael Moriarty), an unemployed lawyer, and his ambitious wife, who persuades him to take a job with the Nazi security forces. Dorf rises quickly through Nazi ranks, becoming an aide to top architect of the Final Solution, Heinrich Heydrich (David Warner).

The miniseries received many of the same criticisms heaped on *Roots*. It took one of history's greatest human horrors and turned it into a soap opera. It made the unimaginable too easily accessible. It gave audiences only abject Jewish passivity on the one hand and heroic, active Jewish resistance on the other hand. Other critics praised the production for not flinching from brutality. There was no turning away from scenes of mass murder, torture, and death camp ovens. The realism proved too much for some midwestern NBC affiliates, who found scenes of naked women driven to the gas chambers too graphic and asked NBC to delete the offending scenes in their markets. Critics also complimented the series for not portraying the Nazis as boot-clicking, saluting caricatures. Instead, the actors played their characters as ordinary people who too easily followed the instructions of a fascist regime. Notably, the actors did not attempt German accents.

While *Holocaust* was a success in North America, it became a phenomenon of historic proportions when broadcast in West Germany in January 1979. Nearly half of the population watched at least some of the series, the vast majority responding to it positively. Germans had been exposed to relatively little information about the Nazi period or the Holocaust since the end of the war. The broadcast of *Holocaust* may have broken that silence. The miniseries was preceded by the showing of documentaries and followed by television debates and phone-in programs. Almost overnight, Germans, especially younger ones, demanded discussion of Germany's Nazi past. In the political arena, the showing of *Holocaust* may have also been instrumental in influencing the Bundestag to vote to discontinue a policy of statute of limitations for Nazi war crimes.

In North America, *Holocaust* demonstrated that network television could tackle weighty issues of human tragedy. In Germany, the miniseries might have caused an entire nation to reflect seriously on its historical demons.

—Aniko Bodroghkozy

## Holyfield, Evander (1962—)

The only fighter besides Muhammad Ali to become a three-time heavyweight boxing champion, Evander Holyfield might unfortunately be remembered not for his achievements, but as the boxer whose ear Mike Tyson bit off in June 1997. In the 1990s, Holyfield

and Tyson portrayed the diametrically opposing images of professional boxers. Holyfield rejected the snarling pitbull image projected by Tyson and so many boxers and instead presented the calm, reasoned demeanor of a serious professional.

Holyfield, raised in Atlanta, Georgia was the youngest of eight children. A scrawny child who sat on the bench during most of his sophomore football season because he was so small (five feet four inches tall, 115 pounds), Holyfield grew to 6 feet 2 inches and trained hard to reach about 212 pounds. Nevertheless, Holyfield was still considered little in the world of heavyweight boxing, where opponents weighing 230 pounds regularly entered the ring. Undaunted by his many doubters, who thought his lighter weight meant he wasn't as powerful as his opponents, Holyfield steadily rose through the heavyweight ranks to become the undisputed heavyweight champion in 1990. Losing his title in 1992, he reclaimed it from Riddick Bowe in 1993. Having lost his title a second time in 1994 to Michael Moorer, Holyfield discovered that he had a heart problem and was forced to retire.

A devout Christian, Holyfield had always given much of the credit for his success in the ring to God and to his spiritual upbringing. Relying on his faith and continuing his rigorous training schedule, he made it back to the ring. Holyfield was poised to win the heavyweight title in 1997 from Mike Tyson, who had recently reentered the ring after his stint in prison for a rape conviction. When Tyson bit off a portion of Holyfield's ear, the fight was stopped. Holyfield won a rematch later that year and remained a top contender in the heavyweight ranks at the turn of the century.

—D. Byron Painter

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## *Home Improvement*

The ABC network sitcom *Home Improvement* first aired on September 17, 1991 and ran for eight seasons, through May 1999. During only its second season, the show was renewed for three additional seasons, an unusual decision in the television industry. Based on the stand-up comedy routine of its star, Tim Allen (born Timothy Allen Dick in 1953), *Home Improvement* initially reflected Allen's love of power tools, cars, and Sears department stores, as well as mirroring his own family situation. Allen portrayed Tim Taylor, the host of cable TV's “Tool Time.” His wife, Jill, was portrayed by Patricia Richardson. More than just comedy, though, *Home Improvement* epitomized the concerns of the largest generation in history, the baby boomers.

The Taylors were a representation of the average American family of the 1990s, and their struggles, although treated with light-hearted humor, reflected the struggles of the show's demographic. In the main, three fundamental concerns of the boomer generation were examined on a weekly basis—relationships, family, and the search for spirituality.

One trend that *Home Improvement* influenced was a return to more defined gender roles. While women in the 1960s and 1970s discarded their bras and retained their own last names within marriage, while men grew their hair long and explored the sensitive side of their natures, couples in the 1990s rediscovered the fundamental differences between the sexes. *Home Improvement* gave propulsion to such bestselling pop psychology books as John Gray's *Men Are From Mars, Women Are From Venus* (1992), with its, at times, stereotypical gender roles. On “Tool Time,” buxom tool-girl Heidi (Debbe Dunning) seemed more like window-dressing than a flesh-and-blood character. In the Taylor household, Tim grunted, worked on cars, was obsessed with “more power,” and didn't read unless a book had the word “illustrated” in the title. He was into sports and often didn't listen to his wife. Jill, on the other hand, didn't understand cars and called tools “thing-a-ma-jigs.” An example of Mars/Venus stereotyping was seen in the episode “Shooting Three to Make Tutu,” where Jill wanted Tim to take one of their sons to the ballet, but he had plans to take him to a basketball game instead. In this episode, and others like it, real men don't like ballet (or opera), and women don't like sports.

The series, however, wasn't content merely to stereotype male/female relationships, and in stretching itself, made the characters search for an identity beyond roles. Jill Taylor lost a job, found another, struggled with how to keep family and job together (“Abandoned Family”), and decided to go back to college. Tim Taylor dealt with the death of a mentor (“Arriverderci, Binford”) and the arrival of a new boss; he dealt with work rivalries and an inferiority complex with Bob Villa (“What About Bob”). In other episodes, *Home Improvement* broke the stereotype of the dumb male that it had helped to perpetuate. The formula that had always put Tim in the wrong was overthrown as Jill realized her own shortcomings (e.g., “Heavy Middle” and “Slip Sleddin' Away”). Their three boys (Zachary Ty Bryan, Taran Noah Smith, Jonathan Taylor Thomas) grew older and dealt with issues of their own: identity, dating, sex, drugs, and pulling away from Mom and Dad. Al Borland (Richard Karn), originally cast as a foil to Tim, became even more sensitive—the man every woman wants, the representative of the 1990s Iron John manhood movement (see “Reel Men” for Al's yearning for male bonding). Heidi was given more to do as she juggled work with a new baby.

As Tim Taylor was fond of saying on “Tool Time,” “It's not just about home improvement, it's about male improvement,” and *Home Improvement* could be said to be about marriage improvement. Episodes didn't shy away from tough topics that boomers were having to confront in their own marriages, such as sexual temptation on both sides (“Eye on Tim” and “Jill's Passion”), legal separation of friends and family members (“He Ain't Heavy, He's Just Irresponsible”), marriage counseling, lack of intimacy, and taking each other for granted (“Taking Jill for Granite”).

*Home Improvement* reflected the concerns of an aging baby boomer population. It resisted a sitcom staple that infuses life into dying ratings: an impending pregnancy. Instead, it went in the opposite direction and began pulling in extended family. Boomers became increasingly aware of aging parents, and so the series introduced Tim's mother and brothers, Jill's parents and sisters. In “Taps,” the audience vicariously experienced the death of a parent as Jill lost her father. In “No Place Like Home,” Tim dealt with his mother selling the home in which he grew up. In the final season, Jill faced an emergency hysterectomy (“Love's Labor Lost”), forcing her into menopause, a condition with which female audiences could readily identify.

During the 1990s, the baby boomers were frantically searching for who they were and where they fit into the cosmos. The idealistic 1960s had faded, along with their bell-bottom jeans, leaving many to wonder where their ideals had gone. Their search for spiritual values was found in Wilson (Earl Hindman), the Taylors' over-the-fence neighbor. He regularly gave out spiritual platitudes with as much profundity as a fortune cookie, but Wilson developed along with the show and audiences saw more of his family, heard the story of his dead wife ("My Dinner with Wilson"), and watched romance bloom in his life. Wilson's wisdom, like spirituality in the latter 1990s, drew on many wells: Buddha, Jesus Christ, Mark Twain, Shakespeare, Gandhi, Galileo. A running gag, and a technical challenge to the crew, was Wilson's partially obscured face, reflective of the boomers' belief that spirituality has many faces and none are clearly illuminated.

*Home Improvement* won many awards, including Emmys, People's Choice, and TV Guide Reader's Poll, as did its two central stars, Allen and Richardson. Tim Allen won the People's Choice Award for "Favorite Male Performer in a Television Series" for the eight years of *Home Improvement's* run. He won the Golden Globe Award for "Funniest Actor in a Television Series" in 1997 and was nominated again in 1998. Patricia Richardson was nominated four times for an Emmy as "Outstanding Lead Actress in a Comedy Series" and twice for the Golden Globe Award. The show held a mirror up to the baby boom generation, and the baby boom generation made sure that the Taylors knew they were America's Family.

—Cheryl A. Smith

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## Home Shopping Network/QVC

Home Shopping Network (HSN) and Quality, Value, Convenience (QVC) were responsible for a historic change in American consumer habits, and have become as much a feature of television as religious channels. These two cable television channels feature live broadcasts of themed sales presentations, 24 hours per day, during which viewers can call a toll-free telephone number, speak with the presenters live on the air, and order the products.

Home Shopping Network got its start in 1977 when a Clearwater, Florida, radio station agreed to accept an advertiser's merchandise in lieu of payment of an overdue bill. Saddled with 112 electric can openers, the station manager offered them for sale on the air. When they sold out instantly and callers clamored for other products, he established a regularly scheduled radio show called *Suncoast Bargaineers*. In 1981, the show moved to a local access cable channel in a Tampa Bay area and was given a new name: Home Shopping Channel. In 1985, it was renamed Home Shopping Network (HSN) and transmitted 24 hours per day through cable and broadcast

television to a national audience, becoming a publicly quoted company on the American Stock Exchange in 1986.

In 1990, HSN stock became available on the New York Stock Exchange, and in 1995 Barry Diller, former Chairman of the Board and CEO of Paramount Pictures and Fox, was welcomed as Chairman of the Board of HSN. James Held, Senior Vice-President of Bloomingdale's department store was named President and CEO. In 1997, HSN's parent company (HSN, Inc.) acquired a controlling interest in Ticketmaster, the world's largest special events ticketing company. In 1998, after purchasing the majority of Universal Studios Inc.'s television assets, HSN, Inc. changed its name to USA Networks, Inc., and purchased the remainder of Ticketmaster. That year also saw the premiere of a Home Shopping Channel in Spanish, the result of a partnership with Univision. With 4,000 employees and more than five million active customers, by 1998 HSN had become an electronic retailing giant rivaled only by one other conglomerate: QVC.

HSN faced its first major competition in the electronic retailing forum in 1986. Quality, Value, Convenience (QVC), Inc., was founded in West Chester, Pennsylvania, by Joseph Segel, founder of the Franklin Mint. With revenues of over \$112 million, QVC broke the American record for first full-fiscal-year sales by a new public company and, like HSN, QVC broadcast live 24 hours per day. By 1993, QVC boasted access to 80 percent of all U.S. cable-subscribing households. Reaching 64 million cable households and three million satellite dishes in the United States alone, QVC made more than two billion dollars in sales in 1997 as the result of 84 million phone calls and 56 million orders. QVC, through a 1997 joint venture with BSkyB in the U.K. and Ireland, reached an additional 6.6 million households, broadcasting live 17 hours per day. QVC became best known for its jewelry sales, which accounted for 35 percent of its programming time, and made it one of the world's largest purveyors of 14-carat gold and sterling silver jewelry. At times derogatorily referred to as QVCZ, the channel brought cubic zirconium to the forefront of the shopping public's consciousness with its sales of Diamonique, a low-cost alternative to diamonds.

Home shopping evolved from the world of impulse buying to become a relevant, meaningful form of shopping by the late 1990s. The customer base of HSN and QVC spans all socioeconomic groups, who share two common characteristics: cable subscription and above-average disposable income. The products offered on the channels vary from hour to hour because of the varying demographics of viewers at any given time. Because the channels offer unconditional, money-back guarantees on their products, consumers are able to shop with confidence. Many Americans now prefer to shop from home for the sake of convenience, but for bedridden or other homebound individuals, QVC and HSN offer a viable link to the outside world. Instead of relying solely on caregivers for their shopping needs, homebound people have access to a significant means to independence. The regular hosts of home shopping programs came to provide viewers with a sense of companionship because, unlike ordinary news or talk show hosts, the electronic retailers take calls directly from the viewing audience and, indeed, consider it their job to chat with the callers and not always push a hard sell. Many viewers avidly follow the hairstyles of the hosts, and what few personal details they can glean about them, speculating about their off-screen lives with the fervor of soap-opera fans.

Critics of home shopping held that it was tantamount to the downfall of Western civilization because it gave already television-dependent people yet another excuse to avoid the outside world. They found fault with the hyper-enthusiasm of the product-selling hosts,

claiming that viewers were not even permitted to formulate their own emotional responses to the products because the hosts, like deadpan singers in a Greek chorus, force-feed reactions to the audience. However, the elimination of any room for (mis)interpretation is precisely what has appealed to so many consumers. Since every feature of a given product is described in detail, and the sometimes skeptical questions of callers answered candidly, live on the air, viewers feel secure in their understanding of the benefits and drawbacks of the product. Home shopping television may have helped internet shopping in its infancy. By the time retailers began to offer their wares on the world-wide web in the mid-1990s, channels like QVC and HSN had acclimated Americans to the concept of remote shopping. Consumers were thus less leery of giving their credit card numbers to a disembodied voice (in the case of home shopping channels) or to a faceless computer screen.

—Tilney Marsh

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## *The Honeymooners*

*The Honeymooners* is one of television's best-remembered and most imitated comedies in the history of television. Although the series ran for only one year in prime time (during the 1955-1956 season on CBS), it has succeeded remarkably in syndication and on videocassette. Generations of viewers have identified with Jackie Gleason's portrayal of Ralph Kramden, the aggravated bus driver from Brooklyn, whose dreams of advancement were continually upended.

*The Honeymooners* was among the last of the urban, working-class comedies on 1950s television. As the nation experienced postwar prosperity, so did the families on television. The Nelsons on *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriett*, the Andersons on *Father Knows Best*, and the Cleavers on *Leave It to Beaver* all lived in the tree-lined, secure suburbs. By 1955, even the prototypical proletariat family, the Goldbergs, had moved out of the city. The Kramdens, however, were the exception. Ralph and his exasperated wife, Alice (Audrey Meadows) were stuck in the urban chaos—a cold-water apartment above a noisy, New York street, without any creature comforts of Eisenhower conformity. Their main possessions were a plain dining table and a depression icebox. They shared their lower-class frustrations with the upstairs neighbors, the Nortons. Slow-witted Ed (Art Carney) worked in the sewers, while his wife Trixie (Joyce Randolph) commiserated with Alice about their common hardships. Unlike the suburban couples on television, the Kramdens and the Nortons were childless, just trying to keep themselves above water.

Much of the comedy revolved around the couples' schemes to get rich quick. In the classic episode, "Better Living Through Television," Ed and Ralph appear in a television commercial to sell

Happy Housewife Helpers. The yearning to get out of near poverty reflected Gleason's own boyhood: he had grown up in the same Brooklyn environment as Ralph. Gleason wanted his show to be based in reality so he instructed his writers to "make it the way people live. If it isn't credible, nobody's going to laugh."

Gleason introduced Ralph and Alice (first played by Pert Kelton) on his DuMont variety series, *Calvacade of Stars*. Gleason's original writers, Joe Bigelow and Harry Crane, wanted to call the sketch "The Beast," but Gleason understood underneath Ralph's blustery exterior was a tremendous need for affection. In the opening monologue of this October 5, 1951 telecast, he saluted another Ralph, Ralph Branca of the Brooklyn Dodgers, who served the infamous homerun pitch to Bobby Thomson during the 1951 playoff game against the New York Giants. Like his namesake Branca, Kramden would suffer the blows of fate; but no matter what, his love for Alice endured. From the beginning, Ralph proclaimed to her, "Baby, you're the Greatest!" The six-minute live sketch, also featuring Art Carney as a policeman, proved so popular that Gleason and company created new struggles for the couple. Soon afterwards, the physically agile Carney joined the regular cast with actress Elaine Stritch as the first Trixie.

A year later, William Paley of CBS stole Gleason and his staff from the downtrodden DuMont network. Gleason was given a much larger budget to produce a weekly live extravaganza on Saturday nights. A younger actress, Audrey Meadows, was hired to replace Kelton, who suffered from heart difficulties and political accusations. Gleason had created many memorable characters—Joe, the Bartender, the Poor Soul, and Reginald Van Gleason, III—but the audiences wanted more of the Kramdens. During the first three years, *The Honeymooner* sketches grew from ten minutes to over 30.

In 1955 the Buick Motor Company offered Gleason six million dollars to produce *The Honeymooners* as a weekly situation comedy for two years. The corpulent comedian formed his own production company and used a new film technology, the Electronic process, to record the series live on film. The program was shot two times a week before an audience of 1,100 people. During the first season Gleason was disturbed by the amount of rehearsal time and felt that these recorded episodes lacked the spontaneity and originality of the live sketches. He discontinued the series after 39 programs and decided to return to the live, variety format. He sold the films and syndication rights to CBS for a million and half dollars.

*The Honeymooners* remained a prominent part of Gleason's succeeding variety series with the writers trying to do something unusual with the trusted material. During the 1956-1957 season of *The Jackie Gleason Show*, the Kramdens and the Nortons took a live musical trip to Europe. At the end of the season, Carney left the series, and Gleason did not revive the sketch until his 1960s extravaganza, *The American Scene Magazine*. When Carney was available, Gleason revived the sketch on videotape, often with new cast members. Sue Ane Langdon and Sheila MacRae played Alice, while Patricia Wilson and Jean Kean were recruited for Trixie. Despite the changes, the familiar catchphrases remained: "One of these days . . . Pow! Right in the kisser!"; and "Bang! Zoom," Ralph's stock phrases to Alice as well as Ed's greeting to Kramden, "Hiya there, Ralphie boy."

After his variety series ended in 1970, Gleason produced four more *Honeymooner* specials with Carney and the returning Meadows. But Ralph Kramden remained fixed in the popular imagination because the 39 episodes of *The Honeymooners* were a perennial success in syndication. For over 20 years a local station in Manhattan played them every night. There was great celebration among fans when The Museum of Broadcasting and Jackie Gleason unearthed the



The cast members of *The Honeymooners*, (l-r) Jackie Gleason, Art Carney, Audrey Meadows, and Joyce Randolph.

live sketches during the mid-1980s. Those “lost” episodes found another life on cable television and the home video market.

Whether as a recorded situation comedy or a live sketch, *The Honeymooners* is a comic reflection of urban, postwar America. America is a land of opportunity for dreamers like Ralph Kramden, even though success remains elusive. The search for the American Dream turned Arthur Miller’s salesman, Willy Loman, into a tragic hero; the same quest made Gleason’s bus driver a comic archetype. His bravado and anxieties can be felt in all subsequent, working-class underdogs on television—Fred Flintstone, Archie Bunker, Roseanne, and Homer Simpson.

—Ron Simon

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## Hooker, John Lee (1917—)

The undisputed “King of the Boogie,” John Lee Hooker has not only achieved commercial success—a rare feat among blues singers—but he has maintained it for over five decades. His one-chord,

droning grooves lend themselves, as Robert Palmer writes, to “building up a cumulative, trancelike effect.” Although he has attempted to redefine himself in recent years, much to the detriment of the legendary style and talent that made him famous, Hooker is still an original whose contributions to music in the twentieth century remain in a category of their own.

Born near Clarksdale, Mississippi, on August 22, 1917, Hooker’s primary influence was his stepfather, Will Moore, a Louisiana-born guitarist who played in a style very different from that of other Delta players. Occasional visits by legendary bluesmen like Blind Lemon Jefferson, Charley Patton, and Blind Blake (who all knew Moore) certainly influenced young John Lee’s style as well, especially his singing.

Leaving home at 14, Hooker settled in Memphis, where he worked as an usher in a Beale Street movie theater while moonlighting as an entertainer at neighborhood house parties. After a seven-year stint working for a cesspool draining company in Cincinnati, he relocated to Detroit in 1943. With the city’s factories operating at peak wartime production, jobs were not hard to find and Hooker continued to limit his musical forays to occasional sit-ins and weekend gigs at various Hastings Street clubs.

One night, a black record-store owner heard Hooker playing in a friend’s living room and took him to see Bernie Bessman, a local record distributor. Bessman helped to record Hooker’s first single, the seminal “Boogie Chillen,” a primitive effort featuring only guitar and vocals. Issued by Modern Records in 1948, “the thing caught afire,” as Hooker later remembered. “When it come out, every jukebox you went to, every place you went to, every drugstore you went, everywhere you went, department stores, they were playin’ it in there. And I was workin’ in Detroit in a factory there for a while. Then I quit my job. I said, ‘No, I ain’t workin’ no more!’” With the success of follow-up efforts like “Hobo Blues,” “Hoogie Boogie,” and

“Crawling King Snake Blues” over the next year, Hooker never came to regret his decision.

Although contractually bound to Modern Records during this period, Hooker recorded for many other labels using a variety of pseudonyms including “Texas Slim,” “Delta John,” “Johnny Lee,” “Johnny Williams,” and even “Little Pork Chops.” He finally reached an exclusive agreement with Vee-Jay Records in 1955, recording from then on under his own name. The format of his music, however, changed dramatically with the addition of a backing band, often including the superb duo of guitarist Eddie Taylor and harmonica player Jimmy Reed. While most of Hooker’s Vee-Jay material lacked the spark of his initial recordings, he did re-enter the charts in 1958 with “I Love You Honey,” in 1960 with “No Shoes,” and finally in 1962 with “Boom Boom.”

After cranking out “Big Legs, Tight Skirt,” his last hit for Vee-Jay, in 1964, Hooker underwent another round of label-hopping, recording for Verve, Chess, and BluesWay, among others. His 1960s recordings presented him in a variety of contexts—folk bluesman, old-time boogie master, or quasi-rock-and-roll artist—always in an attempt to appeal to the changing blues-rock audience. Hooker became a major figure in both the British blues invasion (with two major groups, the Yardbirds and the Animals, both tackling “Boom Boom”) and the American folk-blues revival, with acoustic recordings and frequent coffeehouse appearances. In 1970, he teamed up with rock artists Canned Heat for the hit album *Hooker ‘n’ Heat*; unfortunately, many of his subsequent recordings were blatant attempts to recapture the album’s popularity and redefine Hooker as a rock-and-roller.

Bandmate and slide guitarist extraordinaire Roy Rogers organized a 1989 recording session which eventually became *The Healer*, a major comeback album for Hooker. Once again, he returned to the spotlight, though in this case more due to the superstar guests who



John Lee Hooker

appeared on the album, including Bonnie Raitt, Keith Richards, Carlos Santana, Robert Cray, and Los Lobos. The disc won a Grammy Award as best traditional blues recording, and set the stage for another all-star session, *Mr. Lucky* (1991), which featured guitarists Albert Collins and Johnny Winter, among others. Hooker went into semi-retirement after the album's release, enjoying his newfound wealth and fame. He continued, however, to record and tour when inspired, even appearing in television commercials for Pepsi-Cola. He now stands as one of the few remaining links to the Delta blues tradition; a living legend and a true original.

—Marc R. Sykes

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## Hoosiers

Basketball in many parts of the country is like religion, and *Hoosiers*, a 1986 film written by Angelo Pizzo and directed by David Anspaugh, is a clear homage to that sentiment. Set against an idyllic rural Indiana backdrop, *Hoosiers* traces the training of the team at the tiny Hickory High School for the state basketball championship. The film looks at first glance like the classic David versus Goliath sports movie, with a predictably familiar ending but, in this case, predictability neither lessens the impact of the drama, nor detracts from audience response to the emotions and feelings that are revealed on the screen.

Some very prominent actors were drawn to this small-budget production. Gene Hackman portrays Norman Dale, a former college coach who was fired for striking a player in a moment of rage. The troubled Dale, now head coach of the Hickory Huskers, has come to Indiana as his last chance to work at the game he loves. The always excellent Hackman gives a convincing portrayal of a man who, throughout the action of the film, attempts to contain his competitive nature and learn to trust others. Barbara Hershey plays Myra Fleener, a teacher who tries to draw the town phenomenon, Jimmy Chipwood, away from basketball and into the classroom. A relationship develops between Coach Dale and the teacher Fleener, despite their differences on the future of Chipwood. Dennis Hopper tackles the role of Shooter, the town drunk who constantly recounts the glory days of his high school basketball career. The relationship between Dale and Shooter that develops illustrates Dale's attempts to give somebody a second chance—something that he himself had been denied years before. Hopper's performance earned him an Oscar nomination.

*Hoosiers* was based on the true story of little Milan High School, which shocked the Indiana basketball world by winning the state championship in 1954 on a last second shot. True to form, the Hickory Huskers also make the improbable charge through the series, defeating larger schools and better teams. Star player Jimmy Chipwood, played by Maris Valainis, makes the winning shot with time running to immortalize himself and his team in the town of Hickory and all of Indiana.

Though no surprises appear in this familiar underdog story, *Hoosiers* is still able to maintain the tension and excitement needed to entertain audiences. The film provides an accurate depiction of life in rural Indiana in the 1950s, with several high school students forced by necessity to work on the farm instead of playing basketball. The all-white Huskers battle a city team made up of largely black players and a black coach in the championship game, another accurate portrayal of social life in the Midwest in the 1950s. *Hoosiers* also clearly demonstrates the importance of high school athletics to small, rural communities. Almost the entire town would caravan to every away game and to each step of the state tournament. The community meeting held to determine the fate of Coach Dale midway through his season, and the Saturday morning discussions at the barber shop illustrate just how important the team is and how much civic pride athletics can create.

—Jay Parrent

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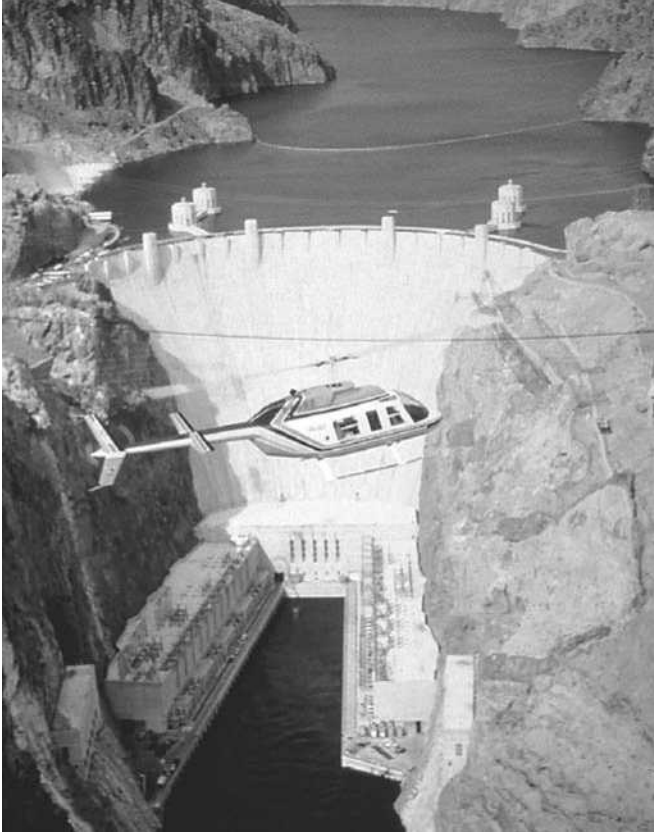
## Hoover Dam

The Colorado River bobs and jukes through the crisp sandstone of the western high plains. Earliest explorers saw it as a defining characteristic of Arizona and much of the semi-arid western United States. Today, the river is a monument to American riverine technology, as aqueducts and hydroelectric dams use the Colorado to make the American West a hydraulic society. The first of the incursions into the river is also the most famous: Hoover Dam.

Opened in 1935, Hoover Dam stands as a larger-than-life symbol of fluctuating meaning for generations of Americans. Even without such symbolic significance, the dam remains among the nation's most impressive engineering achievements.

A major part of the dam's significance derives from the structure itself. The dam, which has long-since repaid the \$165 million cost for construction, is a National Historic Landmark and has been rated by the American Society of Civil Engineers as one of America's Seven Modern Civil Engineering Wonders. The structure contains over 4 million cubic yards of concrete, which if placed in a monument 100 feet square would reach 2.5 miles high—higher than the Empire State Building.

As proposed in 1910, the mammoth Boulder Dam (as it was first referred to) served as the linchpin of a western land-use policy known as reclamation. After policymakers and developers finally conceded that a serious lack of rainfall stood in the way of their dreams of the "garden of the West," they sought a way to turn their adversity into opportunity. Reclamation grew out of the impulse to "reclaim" these dry, barren regions by applying human ingenuity to the few existing waterways, including the Colorado. In 1912, five western states agreed on the Colorado Compact, which parceled up the great river's flow among the signees—including at least two states that never made contact with the river. Most of the flow, including the electricity made at Hoover Dam, would be managed by the Six Companies contractors



**Hoover Dam**

to power development over 300 miles away in southern California. By the late 1990s, the majority of Hoover Dam's power is passed over wires to Los Angeles.

The symbolic significance of this immense structure became obvious immediately, which led developers to name it after President Herbert Hoover (an engineer who had been a great supporter of the project). Upon its completion in 1935, Hoover Dam became a symbol of America's technological prowess, firmly placing the United States with the great civilizations in world history. One observer described it as the "Great Pyramid of the American Desert, the Ninth Symphony of our day" and "a visual symphony written in steel and concrete. . . . magnificently original, strong, simple, and majestic as the greatest works of art of all time and all peoples, and as eloquently expressive of our own as anything ever achieved." Particularly during the Great Depression, Hoover Dam's restoration of national confidence led to its appearance throughout popular culture, including advertisements, Coca-Cola serving trays, and numerous collectible mementos.

Hoover Dam remains a symbol in contemporary America; however, the changing attitude of river-management technology has altered its image. In the 1990s, many observers saw Hoover Dam as the symbol of all the development that has prohibited the Colorado from reaching the ocean for over twenty years. As the great dams begin to clog with silt, many observers suggest that Hoover and the other dams may have only a limited life. Marc Reisner noted that "we set out to tame the rivers and ended up killing them." He suggested that Hoover and others might eventually be viewed as "uniquely productive, creative vandalism."

In terms of structural design, though, Hoover Dam will always serve as a symbol of the modern era. For many Americans, achievements such as this sleek yet powerful dam led the way to a century of innovation and development.

—Brian Black

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## Hoover, J. Edgar (1895-1972)

When J. Edgar Hoover died in 1972, the *New York Times* wrote of him, "For nearly a half century, J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI were indistinguishable. That was at once his strength and its weakness." Hoover was a strong personality, fiercely patriotic, and highly organized and controlling. Head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) from the presidency of Calvin Coolidge until the presidency of Richard Nixon, he transformed the face of the United States Justice Department and became the definition of law enforcement in America, for better or worse.

John Edgar Hoover was born into a solidly middle class neighborhood in Washington, D.C. His father was in the Coast Guard and later worked as a low-level employee of the federal government. Brought up to the exacting standards of his strict mother, Hoover determined he would surpass his unambitious father. He remained



**J. Edgar Hoover**



devoted to his mother, living with her in the house in which he was born until her death in 1937.

Hoover received both a bachelors and a masters of law at George Washington University, and went to work for the government. He worked at the Library of Congress until the advent of World War I. In 1917, seeking to avoid the draft, which would force him to leave his aging parents, he obtained a clerical job at the Department of Justice, from which he moved up quickly. An extremely moralistic man, Hoover was virulently anti-Communist and anti-radical, and he gained prestige in the Justice Department by overseeing its wartime campaign against American radicals. In 1924, he took over as head of the Bureau of Investigation of the Justice Department (renamed Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1935).

When Hoover took over as director, the Bureau was a slack organization, largely made up of political appointees and "hacks," who were not law enforcement professionals. Hoover immediately began to revamp the organization, first firing much of the staff and retraining those who remained. He eliminated the seniority system of promotions and instituted a merit system, with regular performance reviews. Over the course of his almost 50-year directorship, he succeeded in turning the FBI into one of the world's most efficient crime fighting organizations, with a state-of-the-art criminal lab, an ingenious fingerprint filing system designed by Hoover himself, and a prestigious training school for law enforcement agents.

Hoover is perhaps most famous for his success against the gangsters of the prohibition era, arresting renowned crime figures such as Al Capone and John Dillinger, and for his post-World War II activity against the Communist Party and against the Ku Klux Klan. He also grew infamous for abusing the power of his agency and exceeding its jurisdiction. If he turned the FBI into a crack crime-fighting force, he also turned it into an internal secret surveillance tool. Hoover's FBI employed tactics of infiltration, provocation, illegal wiretapping, and even burglary to amass volumes of damaging information about both public figures and private citizens. Even presidents and their families were not exempt from FBI scrutiny. This information was kept by the director in secret files that were allegedly used to control the activities of government officials, influence the outcome of elections, and quash public dissent. In the 1960s, with the support of President Lyndon Johnson, Hoover created counterintelligence programs (COINTELPROs) to infiltrate and disrupt the activities of many leftist organizations, the Black Panthers and Students for a Democratic Society among them.

Hoover and his G-men were hailed as heroes during the gangster-fighting days of prohibition. Although they garnered much popular support during the anti-Communist 1950s, with the rise of the New Left in the 1960s more people began to question the authority of the FBI. On March 8, 1971, a small group calling themselves "Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI" broke into the agency's offices in the town of Media, Pennsylvania. They found and publicized files proving the illegal activities involved in the FBI's COINTELPROs, changing the public image of Hoover's Bureau from dashing G-men to secret police.

J. Edgar Hoover died suddenly in 1972 of undiagnosed heart disease. He had been a religious man, an unbending moralist, obsessed with details and with eradicating any threats to the American way of life as he defined it. Though Hoover had used his agency to enforce Lyndon Johnson's civil rights legislation and to root out the Ku Klux Klan, he was personally a racial bigot and the FBI had a poor record of hiring minorities. Throughout his life he was followed by rumors of homosexuality. He was a dandified dresser who was never

romantically associated with women, but who did form intimate attachments with men, notably Clyde Tolson, his second in command at the FBI, with whom he had a long, close friendship which some compared to marriage. Hoover violently denied any allegations that he had sexual relations with men, and his strict moral code would certainly forbid either the relations themselves or the acknowledgment of them. It is the type of information one might expect to find in a confidential folder in a secret file at the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Hopalong Cassidy

A multimedia cowboy hero, Hopalong Cassidy first appeared in a series of magazine stories that were published in 1905 and 1906. Clarence E. Mulford, who was residing in Brooklyn at the time and had never been West, was the author. His Cassidy was a tough, tobacco-chewing redhead, who bossed the hands at the Bar-20 Ranch and got his nickname from the fact that a gunshot wound in his leg had left him with a permanent limp. The more familiar image of this popular American fictional hero, however, is the one personified in movies and on television by silver-haired actor William Boyd. Boyd's Hopalong Cassidy was a dapper, soft-spoken cowboy, who almost always wore black, and was taken into the hearts of millions of kids. In his later television incarnation, Hopalong products became one of the first merchandising sensations inspired by television.

Mulford, who worked for over 20 years in a civil service job, sold his earliest Hopalong Cassidy stories to a travel monthly called *Outing Magazine*. The first collection of those stories in book form was titled *Bar 20* and came out in 1907. All told, Mulford wrote over two dozen novels and story collections about his limping, hard-bitten cowhand between then and 1941. Much of the material appeared



William Boyd (right) as Hopalong Cassidy in a scene from the film *Hoppy Serves A Writ*.

initially in such pulp fiction magazines as *Argosy* and *Short Stories*. A dedicated researcher and collector of Western lore, Mulford did eventually travel extensively in the Western states but, despite the popularity of his books, he is remembered today chiefly as the man who coined the name that others used to create an almost entirely different hero.

As Francis M. Nevins pointed out, “the man ultimately responsible for Hoppy’s transformation into a screen hero was Harry Sherman.” An entrepreneur since silent movie days, and one of those who helped finance *The Birth of A Nation*, Sherman bought the screen rights to the Mulford books and then put together a movie production outfit to make the films, which were distributed by Paramount. The actor Sherman chose to play Cassidy was also a veteran of the silents. A protégé of Cecil B. DeMille, William Boyd became a star in the 1920s in such films as *The Volga Boatman* and *The Yankee Clipper*, but by the mid-1930s he’d slipped some and was appearing in lower budget action films. The first movie in Sherman’s cowboy series was *Hop-A-Long Cassidy*, released in 1935. In this film, the prematurely grey Boyd actually did limp, but in later outings he lost the limp, and the hyphens.

A formula was established from the start. Hoppy always had two sidekicks—one young and handsome (played originally by James Ellison), the other, crusty and humorous (first portrayed by Gabby

Hayes). Known as a hellraiser in real life, Boyd reformed as the series progressed and Hopalong, who soon acquired the black outfit that was to become his trademark, also underwent changes. As a movie hero, he never drank, smoked or swore, and his relations with women were almost always nothing more than avuncular. A hit from the first, the Hoppy series eventually stretched to 66 titles. As one film historian noted, the pictures, “long on human interest, short on violence, were especially popular with family audiences.”

Hopalong first moved into comic books at the end of 1942, as a back up feature in Fawcett’s *Master Comics*. The following year, Fawcett started a *Hopalong Cassidy* comic book, which they kept going until 1954. In the late 1940s, Boyd took over the production of the Hoppy films and also bought the rights to all of the earlier Sherman productions. This proved to be an especially wise move. In 1949, NBC started showing the movies nationally, every Friday night from eight to nine p.m. and, as the number of American households with television sets grew, so did Hoppy’s popularity. “The show became a hit very quickly,” wrote Richard O’Brien, “and almost as quickly a wide variety of manufacturers leaped aboard Hopalong’s bandwagon. There were Hopalong Cassidy costumes, tin windups, toy soldiers, binoculars, dart boards, knives, badges, shooting galleries, and of course a wide variety of guns and holsters.” A comic strip began in 1949, drawn by Dan Spiegle and distributed by King Features.

In 1951, Boyd, who had last played Hoppy in 1948, produced and starred in a *Hopalong Cassidy* television series. It ran on NBC until the end of 1952, with movie veteran Edgar Buchanan as the hero's crusty sidekick. A radio show had been put together in 1948, but it wasn't until the character became a craze through TV that it showed up on national radio—first on Mutual and then on CBS. Andy Clyde, the resident old coot sidekick from the later movies, repeated his role as California Carlson on the radio networks. The show was last heard late in 1952. During the heyday of Hoppy, Boyd became a national celebrity and his personal appearances drew enormous crowds of dedicated kids. Hoppy gradually faded away, although the comic book, taken over by DC, continued until 1959. By the time he retired, Boyd, who controlled all the merchandising on the character, was a multimillionaire. He died in 1972.

—Ron Goulart

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## Hope, Bob (1903—)

Entertainer Bob Hope is unquestionably an American show-business icon and the facts surrounding his multi-decade, multi-generational success sustain the myth. Hope's entertainment persona has been evident in every decade of the twentieth century, from his 70 movies to celebrating an unprecedented 56 year-contract with NBC in 1993. He entertained American troops in both war and peace time and was hailed as "America's most prized ambassador of goodwill throughout the world" when presented with the Congressional Gold Medal by President Kennedy.

The fifth of seven sons, he was born Leslie Townes Hope in Eltham, England, on May 29, 1903. His father, William Henry Hope, was a stonemason who decided on an impulse to migrate with his family to Cleveland, Ohio. His Welsh mother, Avis Townes Hope, who had been a concert singer, instilled in him a love for music and entertaining. Hope would later claim that he first warmed to an audience laughing at him when his voice cracked while singing at a backyard family reunion. In 1920, by virtue of his father's naturalization, "Bob"—the name by which the world would later know him—and his brothers also became U.S. citizens.

After high school, Hope took dancing lessons from African American entertainer King Rastus Brown and from vaudeville hooper Johnny Root. A natural, he soon began teaching classes. He also worked briefly as a newspaper reporter and tried amateur boxing under the name of Packy East. At 18, Hope persuaded his girlfriend, Mildred Rosequist, to become his dance partner. Appearing at nearby vaudeville houses they worked their way to the generous wages of \$8 an night. But the partnership would not last long: when Rosequist's mother finally saw their act she thought it was just too risqué for her

daughter. Hope then teamed up with a friend, Lloyd Durbin. After developing their act in local bookings they were hired by the Bandbox Theater in Cleveland as a "cheap act" for the Fatty Arbuckle Show. Arbuckle, who headlined the touring revue, loved Hope and Durbin's comedy/dancing act and helped the boys get better bookings. Following the accidental death of Durbin, Hope took on another partner, George Byrne, with whom he developed a blackface act.

After several career reversals, Hope and Byrne were almost ready to give it all up when they were hired to emcee Marshall Walker's Whiz Bang review in New Castle, Pennsylvania. Hope went out on stage alone and entertained the audience with his ad-libbed wisecracks. He was using for the first time a technique that would prove good enough to last through seven decades: not only parrying and jousting with anything an audience member or fellow comic could throw at him, but also being brave enough to wait on stage in front of the toughest audience until everyone had gotten his jokes.

In 1929, Hope went to New York and was given a movie screen test, but was told his "ski nose" had killed his possibilities. With material from legendary gagster Al Boasberg, Hope continued his career on stage, appearing in *The Antics* of 1931. His performance impressed the audiences and led to an even better theatrical gig—*The Ballyhoo* of 1932—in which Hope was encouraged to ad-lib to his heart's content. But his first major recognition, by critics and the public, came in 1933 for his wise-cracking role as Huckleberry Haines in the highly successful Broadway musical, *Roberta*. Not only Hope's professional life would change from then on: one of his co-performers in the musical, George Murphy, introduced him to a young singer, Dolores Reade. After a brief courtship, Dolores and Bob got married in February 1934. They went on to have four children and four grandchildren.

With his vaudeville show at New York's Capitol Theater came along his first radio appearance, on the "Capitol Family Hour," hosted by Major Edward J. Bows, which originated from the theater every morning. After guest spots and semi-regular work on a couple of shows, Bob was signed on by Pepsodent toothpaste for his own show on NBC. He went on to become a huge radio star and a Tuesday-night regular for the next 15 years.

On his half-hour program, Hope opened with a monologue which fired off barbs about current news events and usually set the tone for the rest of the show. Every time a news story broke, everybody would look forward to hearing what Hope was going to say about it on his next show. With his "and I wanna tell you" catch phrase, he inaugurated a comedy style in which no joke, whether resulting in irrepressible laughs or a just a smile, was any more important than the next one coming up.

In 1937 Hope traveled to Hollywood to film *The Big Broadcast of 1938*, in which he sang the Oscar-winning song "Thanks for the Memories" as a duet with Shirley Ross. The song has been his signature theme ever since. Between 1934 and 1936 he had appeared in eight comedy shorts, all filmed in New York, but his first screen hit would come only in 1939 with *The Cat and the Canary*. In the next year he struck it big with *Road to Singapore* (1940), the first of seven successful "Road" pictures he was to make over the years with Bing Crosby and Dorothy Lamour, highly praised for featuring in-jokes about Bob and Bing's private lives.

Relying heavily on rapid quips and topical wisecracks, Hope built his own style of screen comedy which would reach a peak in the western parody *The Paleface* (1948). His films of the 1950s were a mixed bag and were less and less profitable. Writer/directors Norman Panama and Melvin Frank suggested that Hope should start playing

straight dramatic roles. The advice resulted in Hope playing Eddie Foy Sr. in *The Seven Little Foys* (1955), a character which gave him the chance to combine drama and humor. Hope's last dramatic role was as New York City Mayor Jimmy Walker in *Beau James* (1957). In the same year, Hope started working as his own producer and brought forward successes like *Alias Jesse James* (1959) and *The Facts of Life* (1960), with Lucille Ball as his co-star.

In the 1960s, however, the public began to find Hope's films increasingly less entertaining. With *Boy, Did I Get a Wrong Number* (1966) and *The Private Navy of Sgt. O'Farrell* (1968), he dissatisfied even his most loyal fans. Besides, Hope's conservative political ideas were at odds with the general frame of mind concerning the Vietnam War. At that point, Hope was criticized severely for not being able to separate his stage persona from his political beliefs. When traveling to entertain the troops, he found for the first time a welcome that was less than enthusiastic and his overall career was never quite the same from then on.

Television came calling as early as the 1930s, but Hope was not at all convinced the "new" entertainment medium would succeed. He participated in an experimental show for CBS; in the first commercial television broadcast on the West Coast in 1947; and as a surprise guest on Ed Sullivan's "Taste of the Town" in 1949. But his formal debut on NBC television would only happen on Easter Sunday in 1950. Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., Beatrice Lillie, and Dinah Shore were Bob's guest stars in the special *Star Spangled Revue*, sponsored by Frigidaire. His annual trips overseas to entertain the U.S. troops—which had started full bore during World War II and lasted through Korea and Vietnam, to the Persian Gulf conflict of 1990/91—soon became a regular Christmas television event. For 60 consecutive years Hope aired his specials with NBC-TV stars. But his jokes were gradually becoming outdated and predictable, his style getting more and more insipid. In 1996 something that everybody was already expecting happened: NBC announced the end of their contract with Bob Hope. That year's *Bob Hope Salutes the Presidents* was his final Christmas special.

Hope's work with NBC guaranteed him a place in the Guinness Book of Records as the entertainer with the longest-term television contract. He is also in Guinness as the most honored entertainer in the world, for he has more than two thousand awards and citations for humanitarian and professional efforts, including 54 honorary doctorates. Although he never received an Oscar for his acting, Hope frequently emceed the ceremonies and he himself won special Academy Awards five times (1940, 1944, 1952, 1959, 1965), for humanitarian action and contribution to the industry. In July 1976, by order of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, Hope was made an Honorary Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE) for his services to British troops around the world during World War II and his lifetime professional achievements were acknowledged by Kennedy Center honors in 1985.

Hope has also been an avid golfer and his name became associated with the *Bob Hope Desert Classic*, an annual event that produced millions of dollars for charity. The extensive list of his golfing buddies includes presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Ronald Reagan, George Bush, and Bill Clinton.

Hope, who over the years assumed the stature of a national institution, authored several humorous books about his career and travels. He has been honored and befriended by presidents of the United States since Roosevelt. President Johnson honored Bob with the Medal of Freedom and President and Mrs. Carter hosted a White House reception in celebration of his 75th birthday. Harry Truman

played the piano for him and Bill Clinton bestowed on him a Medal of the Arts. In his nineties and nearing total blindness, Hope is likely find consolation in knowing his long years dedicated to the entertainment industry were extremely profitable: with his fortune estimated at hundreds of millions, mostly in real estate, securities, oil and gas wells, thoroughbred horses, a broadcasting company, and at one point the Cleveland Indians baseball team, he is one of the richest performers ever.

—Bianca Freire-Medeiros

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## Hopkins, Sam "Lightnin'" (1912-1982)

Blues guitarist Sam "Lightnin'" Hopkins enjoyed a six-decade career that took him from the streets of Houston to festival stages around the world. As a youngster, Hopkins worked with guitarist Blind Lemon Jefferson as a "guide boy" before striking out on his own in 1946. For the next several years, he had a string of national rhythm and blues hits for the Aladdin, Modern, and Mercury labels, including "Katie May," "Shotgun Blues," and "Lightnin's Boogie." As musical styles changed, however, Hopkins found himself out of vogue, and eventually landed back in Houston.

"Rediscovered" in the early 1960s and repackaged as a folk-blues artist, Hopkins found a role in the forefront of the blues revival, starting at university coffeehouses, on television programs, and on European tours. He continued to record for a variety of labels including Vee-Jay, Arhoolie, and Verve. In 1967, filmmaker Les Blank captured Hopkins' eccentric lifestyle in the documentary *The Blues Accordin' to Lightnin' Hopkins*. Hopkins died in Houston in 1982.

—Marc R. Sykes

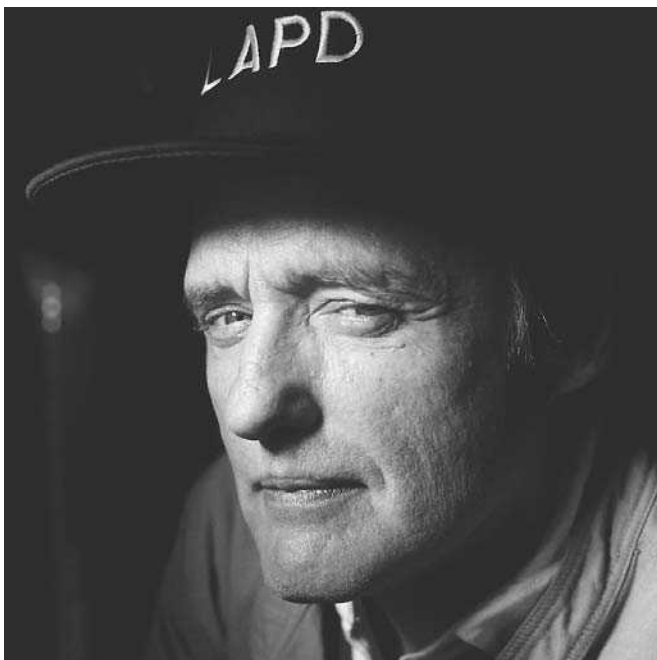
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## Hopper, Dennis (1936—)

From young Hollywood rebel, to counter-cultural icon, to dropped-out druggie, to acclaimed character actor, Dennis Hopper's art has often mimicked his life. In the process, however, he came to exert a profound cultural influence on Hollywood, opening the way for the new, independent, youth-oriented cinema that took hold in the 1970s.



Dennis Hopper

As a starstruck boy born and raised on a farm in Kansas, Hopper dreamed of becoming a Hollywood actor. When his family moved to San Diego, California, 14-year-old Dennis fell in with a drug-using party crowd. But he also found an outlet for his acting ambitions by working at the Old Globe Theatre and the La Jolla Playhouse, where he was cast in his first professional role. At 18, Hopper was signed to a seven-year contract with Warner Brothers. There, he appeared in a small role in *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955) and became a close friend of James Dean and Natalie Wood.

Hopper's breakthrough film was *Giant* (1956), starring Dean, Rock Hudson, and Elizabeth Taylor, and for most of the next 10 years he was known as a rebellious but gifted and successful young actor. It wasn't, however, until he tried his hand at directing that he became a Hollywood icon. In 1969, Hopper and his good friends Peter Fonda and Jack Nicholson made *Easy Rider*, a film that reflected the attitudes of nearly a decade of the counter-culture from which it sprang. *Easy Rider* captured the imagination of a generation, shone the spotlight on future megastar Nicholson and, significantly, caused convulsive changes in the thinking of the established movie industry. He used his heightened success and new influence to direct *The Last Movie* (1971) on location in Peru, but the result was a muddled drama and a commercial and critical disaster. Hopper then dropped out for almost 15 years, doing drugs in New Mexico and making foreign films.

He returned to Hollywood respectability with an astonishingly brilliant portrait of psychologically disturbed brutality in David Lynch's indie favorite, *Blue Velvet*, in 1986. That same year he made *Hoosiers*, another independent film, which earned him an Oscar nomination. His comeback was complete, and in 1988 he directed the decently crafted *Colors*. Actor, director, writer, photographer, and art collector, Dennis Hopper continued to work in a varied and variable mix of movies throughout the 1990s, by which time he had become Hollywood's favorite iconoclast and a pop culture institution.

—Victoria Price

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## Hopper, Edward (1882-1967)

Born in 1882 in Nyack, New York, Edward Hopper developed a style of realist painting that art critic Rolf Günter Renner suggests revealed the limits that humanity and nature impose on each other. This tension is put into sharp relief in one of Hopper's best known paintings, *Gas, 1940*, which shows a lone attendant checking the pumps at a Mobil gas station bordered by woods. Hopper is perhaps most widely recognized for his *Nighthawks* (1942), a painting of two men and a woman late at night in a diner, which entered the popular realm as a poster, "Boulevard of Broken Dreams," with the men transformed to James Dean and Humphrey Bogart, the counterman to Elvis Presley, and the woman to Marilyn Monroe. Hopper's figures in this and other paintings displayed an edginess and detachment from the moment, possibly in search of something grander. The poster commodified this alienation through the figures of tragic, troubled movie stars.

Hopper studied illustration at a commercial art school for two years before switching to the New York School of Art in 1901. There, he worked most closely with Robert Henri, a member of the Ashcan School. Hopper's studies of people seem to build on the urban gaze of Ashcan School painter John Sloan, whose etchings hovered between reportage and voyeurism. Hopper travelled to Europe three times between 1906 and 1910. Thereafter, he settled in New York City and summered at South Truro near Cape Cod with his wife Josephine (Jo) Verstille Nivison, whom he married in 1924.

Until the mid-1920s Hopper worked as a commercial artist. In 1925 he painted *House by the Railroad*. The painting captured Hopper's themes of loneliness, detachment, and alienation. Hopper said his goal was "to achieve the best possible realization of my most intimate impressions of my surroundings." According to Gail Levin, Hopper's biographer, the eerie mood of this painting led to it being used as a model for the house in Alfred Hitchcock's 1960 film *Psycho*.

The German filmmaker Wolfgang Hastert has suggested that Hopper's paintings are like storyboards for films. In a short film on the painter he drew comparisons to Hopper's work and films such as *Paris, Texas*, by Wim Wenders, and *Blue Velvet* by David Lynch. The brooding nature of Hopper's work lends itself to such comparisons and his use of light and shadow could be compared to the technical dimensions of film noir. One reason Hopper's work draws such analogies is that much of it deals self-consciously with the process of looking. In many of Hopper's paintings, the field of sight is clearly from the outside looking in or the inside looking out. For instance, in *Office in a Small City* (1953), Hopper lets us look from the outside at a man at work, and simultaneously, at the vision before that man from his office window.



**Edward Hopper**

Hopper's wife Jo was a constant presence in his life and paintings. The photographer Arnold Newman has suggested that his 1960 photograph of Hopper at South Truro, in which Jo dances in the distant background while Hopper grimaces at the camera, is indicative of their relationship, with Jo always in the background. But Jo was a constant figure in Hopper's paintings and Renner suggests paintings such as *Girlie Show* (1941), *New York Movie* (1939), *Summertime* (1943), and *Western Motel* (1957)—all of which feature a woman similar in appearance to Jo—reveal a sexual tension, perhaps unfulfilled desire, in Hopper's work. Renner further suggests that *New York Office* (1962), in which a woman is framed in light through a large office window, shows Hopper finally realizing sexual fantasies by dominating the female figure through the act of painting.

The initial attraction of Hopper's paintings for many might well be a surface appeal to an idealized American past. The paintings, however, retain their allure because they stretch the imagination beyond their initial appeal into often forgotten realms of American life.

—Ian Gordon

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## Hopscotch

Children in Europe and in North, Central, and South America, as well as in Russia, China, and India, play the same hopping game, with only minor variations, and variously called hopscotch, potsy, paradise, heaven and hell, airplane, and hop-round. The game is played on a pattern chalked on a sidewalk or traced in dirt. The pattern consists of several single and occasional side-by-side squares or circles, which are often sequentially numbered. Play begins when a player tosses an object (usually a rock) into the pattern, then hops into the pattern, careful to skip the square containing the rock and to land without touching the lines in all the empty squares. Scholars believe the game may be as much as a thousand years old, suggesting that the pattern derives from the figure of the labyrinth, a motif found as far back as the iron age, and through which youth were required to walk during an initiation ceremony.

—Dorothy Jane Mills

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## Horne, Lena (1917—)

The career of singer and entertainer Lena Horne has both evolved with and mirrored the times. From the Jim Crow years in the South, to the 1950s McCarthy blacklists, to the Mississippi marches for Civil Rights, Lena was there as a performer and a sympathizer, despite the fact that her career often suffered according to the extent of her involvement. From her beginnings—at the age of 16—as a chorus girl at Harlem's whites-only Cotton Club in the 1930s, Horne developed a reputation as a moderately talented singer with a tendency to coast on beauty and charm. But Horne was troubled by the fact that her celebrity image did not seem to match her personal beliefs. It seemed that every decision she faced about roles to take or songs to sing resonated with symbolic reference to race. Too refined (and "too white") to be taken seriously as a blues singer, she honed her image as a cabaret artist, only to be criticized for a perceived lack of warmth in her vocal delivery that was itself partly based on the "down and dirty" stereotype she could not fulfill. Her marriage to a white man, music arranger Lennie Hayton, also contributed to her reputation, as her African American fans were offended by her perceived betrayal of faith. Horne's autobiography, *Lena*, written in 1965, captures all these experiences in memorable detail, reading like a textbook on the combined effects of race and class in American cultural life during the twentieth century.

As a movie actress under contract to Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer in the 1940s and 1950s, Horne's light skin held her back from playing



Lena Horne

African America roles, for which she wasn't "black" enough, and from white roles, for which she was too "colored." When she tried using dark make-up on her fair skin, she felt it looked like the blackface used in a minstrel show. Max Factor was called in to create a special foundation color for Horne called "light Egyptian," later used for white actresses playing mulattos. One option Horne did not especially like was to play Latin parts, though she did so in the otherwise forgettable film *Panama Hattie* (1942). In fulfillment of her contract with MGM, she was frequently asked to perform "guest numbers" as a chanteuse, elegantly gowned and leaning against a pillar. These sequences would then be edited out of the films for showings to white audiences in the South. Horne found greater satisfaction in all-black films like the fanciful religious fable *Cabin in the Sky* (1943) and *Stormy Weather* (1946), for which she was leant to Twentieth Century Fox. Based on the life of dancer Bill "Bojangles" Robinson, the title song to *Stormy Weather* became Horne's theme song in the years to come.

Over the next thirty years, Horne stayed busy performing in posh clubs in New York, Hollywood, and Las Vegas; making television appearances on the popular shows of the day, including those of Ed Sullivan and Perry Como; and taking part in numerous political

benefits. One goal she seemed unable to fulfill was finding the right part in a Broadway show. Although she enjoyed singing the songs of Harold Arlen and Yip Harburg in the musical *Jamaica*, which opened in 1957, she hated her part; that of a silly island woman in love with American consumer goods. It took another two decades and several personal tragedies (Horne lost her father, her son, and her husband to fatal illnesses within a few short months in 1967-68) for Horne to find the right role.

In 1981, at age 64, when other performers might have been ready to retire, she opened in *Lena Horne: The Lady and Her Music*, which was to become the longest-running one-woman show in Broadway history. She held the audience's rapt attention from the opening phrase of her first song—Cole Porter's aptly titled "From This Moment On." The public was re-introduced to a woman they never really knew, who evinced a bold sense of humor and the ability to laugh at herself. After her Broadway success, Horne's recording career also blossomed, with releases like *We'll Be Together Again* (1994) and *Being Myself* (1998), which she produced at the age of 81. Horne's renditions of old standards like "My Buddy" and "Willow Weep for Me" mix poignancy with wit, echoing the experiences of a full and courageous life.

—Sue Russell

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## Horror Movies

No popular genre has proven more reflective of America's unpredictable cultural mood swings than the horror movie. At the same time, no popular genre has proven more conducive to the expression of idiosyncratic nightmare visions than the horror movie. If these claims seem contradictory, even vaguely paradoxical, that is hardly surprising. For the horror genre consists of a group of texts as diverse as they are numerous, as controversial as they are popular, as conservative (or progressive) in their overt messages as they are progressive (or conservative) in their subtler implications. But although the horror genre may be lacking in firm boundaries or essential features, its rich and storied history, which spans the entire twentieth century, exhibits a remarkable degree of coherence. There are at least three reasons why this is so. For one thing, what appear at first to be utterly dissimilar entries often turn out upon closer inspection to conform in crucial ways, whether formally, stylistically, or thematically. For another thing, as is typically the case with pop cultural phenomena, market forces have dictated that the most commercially successful entries would each spawn a host of unimaginative imitators. This in turn has led to a fairly reliable boom-and-bust periodization of the genre. But most importantly, what all horror movies have in common is the intention to transform, through metaphor, symbol, and code, real-life fears—whether historically specific or psychologically universal—into terrifying narratives, uncanny images, and, above all, cinematic representations of monstrosity. Not all horror movies succeed in realizing this intention (many of them fail), but it is the fact that they try that makes them horror movies.

The horror film genre has its roots in the English gothic novels of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. After the Selig Polyscope Company produced a brief adaptation of *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* in 1908, the stage was set for Robert Weine's masterpiece of German Expressionist cinema, *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (1919). *Nosferatu* (1922), F. W. Murnau's silent magnum opus starring an emaciated Max Schreck as the decidedly unglamorous, unromantic undead Count, soon followed. Universal Pictures, heavily influenced by the dark, shadowy German style, imported a number of that country's most gifted film technicians in an effort to stave off bankruptcy. It worked—in just a few years, Universal became king of the sound horror movie. Classic versions of *Phantom of the Opera* (1925), *Dracula* (1931), and *Frankenstein* (1931) made household names out of their larger-than-life monster-stars, Lon Chaney, Bela Lugosi, and Boris Karloff. These pictures were exceedingly popular not least because audiences of the time were desperate for entertaining diversions as the Great Depression loomed. Although sober admonitions were issued against such human foibles as avarice, impetuosity, and, especially, scientific hubris, the source of threat in these films was nearly always supernatural. And, to reassure viewers that things would turn out all right, the monster was always soundly defeated in the end.

Universal's reign ended towards the beginning of the Second World War, and the studio eventually stooped to the level of self-parody with such entries as *Frankenstein Meets the Wolf Man* (1946) and *Abbott and Costello Meet Frankenstein* (1948). During this period, RKO producer Val Lewton wisely encouraged his directors to avoid the straightforward depiction of violence, and attempt instead to make viewers conjure up images of horror by means of suggestion and innuendo. Jacques Tourneur's *Cat People* (1942) is without a doubt the most highly acclaimed Lewton production, but the influence of Lewton's cinematic approach and techniques extended all the way into the 1960s, as evidenced by Robert Wise's masterful *The Haunting* (1963).

America's Cold War anxieties, coupled with advancements in special effects technology, gave rise to a cycle of highly successful science-fiction horror movies in the middle of the century. Some of these films, most notably *The Thing from Another World* (1951) and *The Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1956), focus on man's brave (i.e. "patriotic") battle against a hostile alien threat. Others, such as *Them!* (1954), reflect American fears of atomic explosion and radioactive fallout. But it was a return to traditional horror film iconography that proved most responsible for the genre's huge popularity boom in the late 1950s. A small British studio, Hammer Films, took advantage of the industry's greater permissiveness with respect to the depiction of violence and sexual activities; starting with *The Curse of Frankenstein* in 1957, Hammer released a string of highly colorful, gruesomely detailed versions of the Universal classics. American International Pictures quickly followed suit, churning out its own series of campy horror-comedies, starting with *I Was A Teen-age Werewolf* (1957). AIP also acted as distributor for Mario Bava's atmospheric Italian masterpiece, *Black Sunday* (1960), as well as for Roger Corman's cycle of Edgar Allen Poe adaptations, most of which starred Vincent Price as a mentally unstable aristocrat. In these color gothics, lavish set designs and extravagant costumes served to reflect the decadence of Poe's characters. Price also starred in William Castle's best-known gimmick horror film, *The Tingler* (1959), which made use of "Percepto" technology—really just theater seats equipped with electric buzzers—to shock audience members during key scenes.

In 1960, two films—Alfred Hitchcock's *Psycho* and Michael Powell's *Peeping Tom*—effectively initiated a whole new era in the history of horror cinema by making their monsters not just human, but psychologically realistic. The killers in these movies—both male, both normal enough on the surface—are driven by instinctual drives and irresistible compulsions to commit murder against sexually transgressive women. Making disturbing connections between male-upon-female voyeurism and the objectification of women, between gender confusion and murder as substitute for sex, these two films suggest in the most vehement of terms that monstrosity is as likely to be located within (at least if you are a male) as without.

The majority of horror movies to come out in the 1960s and 1970s—though by no means all of them—followed the lead of *Psycho* and *Peeping Tom*, and audiences were treated to a not-always-so-impressive array of deranged psychotics, demented schizophrenics, homicidal maniacs, and general, all-purpose, knife/machete/chainsaw-wielding madmen. And the occasional madwoman. *What Ever Happened to Baby Jane?* (1962) was the first in a series of "menopausal murder stories" starring aging actresses whose characters are driven to perform grotesque acts of violence in the best Grand Guignol spirit. In *Halloween* (1978), John Carpenter's phenomenally successful slasher (or, more precisely, stalker) movie exemplar, the *Psycho/Peeping Tom* elements, though still operative, are finally overshadowed by an intense, life-or-death game of terror waged between the (now masked, now superhuman) psycho killer and the film's only surviving female. Partly to create space for sequels, partly to exploit the insecurity and paranoia of modern viewers, open-ended narratives soon became the order of the day. Following directly on the heels of *Halloween* came the outer-space slasher *Alien* (1980), the campier, bloodier, and just as popular *Friday the 13th* (1980), and a host of progressively less original and less successful slasher variants.

Although Hitchcock, "master of suspense" that he was, typically eschewed focus on bloody spectacle in favor of tension building sequences and the occasional shock effect, another director of horror movies working in the 1960s, Herschell Gordon Lewis, took precisely the opposite approach. His low-budget, independently-produced "splatter films"—given such transparent names as *Blood Feast* (1963) and *Color Me Blood Red* (1965)—promised to make up for their lack of narrative suspense with an abundance of gory close-ups. Although Lewis' films appealed only to a small number of hard-core horror fans, they achieved a kind of cult status, and, whether directly or indirectly, have exerted a powerful influence on the genre. Tobe Hooper's much-discussed *Texas Chainsaw Massacre* (1974), in which a male family of unemployed slaughter house workers set their sights on a group of vapid teenagers, can be seen as (among other things) a slasher/splatter hybrid; the film's tagline, for example, reads "Who will survive, and what will be left of them?" Canadian writer-director David Cronenberg, whose disturbing and highly-original works include *Scanners* (1980), *Videodrome* (1983), *The Fly* (1986), and *Dead Ringers* (1988), has been highly praised and harshly criticized for raising "body horror" to an art form. Few if any would say this about Sam Raimi, whose "splattick" cult faves *The Evil Dead* (1982) and *Evil Dead II* (1987) somehow manage to find the humor in gore. And in Italy, legendary horror film directors Mario Bava, Dario Argento, and Lucio Fulci made successful contributions of their own to the splatter subgenre with such entries as *Bay of Blood* (1971), *Deep Red* (1975), and *Zombie* (1979), respectively.

Because of their emphasis on male-against-female violence and the heinous nature of the crimes they depict, the slasher and splatter





Max Von Sydow in a scene from the horror film *The Exorcist*.

subgenres (to the extent that these are distinguishable) have repeatedly been accused of exploitation, misogyny, even sadism. Wes Craven's *Last House on the Left* (1972), Meir Zarche's *I Spit On Your Grave* (1978), and Abel Ferrara's *Driller Killer* (1979) were all banned in England under the controversial "video nasties" bill that passed through Parliament in 1984. Brian De Palma's *Dressed To Kill* (1980) raised the ire of feminists by featuring a male transvestite who murders (punishes?) women for their promiscuity and/or sex appeal. And John McNaughton's *Henry: Portrait of a Serial Killer* (1990), denied an R rating by the MPAA in spite of favorable reviews by such prominent critics as Roger Ebert, was finally released (unrated) four years after sitting on a distributor's shelf. That there are misogynist messages in many of these films is undeniable; recently, however, attention has been drawn to the fact that, in a number of slashers/splatters, female ingenuity and the employment of self-defense are actually championed. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the rape-revenge cycle of horror movies that appeared in the late 1970s-early 1980s.

Backing up a bit, for those who choose to downplay the revolutionary significance of *Psycho* and *Peeping Tom*, 1968 inevitably marks the birth of the modern horror movie. *Rosemary's Baby*,

Roman Polanski's paranoid urban gothic, stars Mia Farrow as an ingenuous young newlywed who moves into a Manhattan apartment building only to discover that her kind old neighbors are really devil-worshipping witches. Conspiring with Rosemary's husband and obstetrician (among others), they have effected a diabolical plan to make Rosemary the mother of Satan's child. Based on the best-selling novel by Ira Levin, *Rosemary's Baby* effectively taps into fears and anxieties surrounding pregnancy and childbirth. Because the film is shot almost entirely from Rosemary's point of view, it succeeds in conveying her growing sense of alienation and despair as she struggles to find someone she can trust in a huge, unfriendly city.

Also appearing in 1968 was George Romero's *Night of the Living Dead*, widely considered to be among the most distressing horror movies of all time. Made for only \$114,000 (in stark contrast to the big-budgeted *Rosemary's Baby*), and unrated at the time of its release, this no-frills black-and-white film centers on a small group of isolated individuals who try, with little success, to stave off the murderous advances of an ever increasing army of flesh-eating zombies. Although notable for its excessive gore and apocalyptic overtones, *Night of the Living Dead* is effective primarily because it conveys so well the claustrophobia and hysteria of the trapped party,

and because it vividly portrays the horror of seeing members of one's own family turned into monsters before one's very eyes. Not without socio-political implications, Romero's film also serves to register the dissatisfaction of America's "silent majority," and illustrates the breakdown of patriarchal order under highly-stressful conditions.

*Rosemary's Baby* and *Night of the Living Dead* were followed by a slew of movies which locate the source of horror within the nuclear family. If *Psycho* and *Peeping Tom* made the monstrous human, these films brought the monstrous home, making it not so much human as familiar. More than ever before, generic horror conventions were now being put to use, especially by auteur directors, in the service of social statement. One finds in this period movies such as *Deathdream* (1972), Bob Clark's tale of a young soldier, killed in combat at Vietnam, who is temporarily brought back to life—unfortunately as a vampiric zombie—by his mother's passionate prayers. Larry Cohen's *It's Alive!* (1974) re-presents the Frankenstein legend in distinctly modern terms, giving the role of ambivalent creator to the father of a grotesquely deformed baby-on-a-rampage. Not all of these films were low budget, independently-produced affairs. In his eagerly anticipated 1980 adaptation of Stephen King's *The Shining*, for example, Stanley Kubrick uses haunted house conventions primarily as a means of exploring the real-life horrors of alcoholism, child abuse, and domestic violence. Even the plethora of "revenge of nature" films that came out in the late 1970s after the massive success of Steven Spielberg's PG-rated *Jaws* (1975), were most of them family horror movies at heart. Participating in a tradition that goes at least as far back as Hitchcock's *The Birds* (1963), and, arguably, all the way back to James Whale's *Frankenstein* (1931), these pictures—*Squirm* (1976), *Piranha* (1978), and *Alligator* (1982), to name a few—externalize the manifest source of horror, all the while insinuating that what should be most feared is something lying within the individual, the family, or the community at large.

By far the most acclaimed and talked about family horror movie of the 1970s and 1980s was William Friedkin's *The Exorcist* (1973). Winner of two Academy Awards and nominated for eight others, this film was the subject of intense media scrutiny from the time of its initial release. Loosely based on a reported real life exorcism, the film chronicles the efforts of a disenchanted priest to save the life of a young girl who has been possessed by demonic forces. The display of Christian iconography in the presence of foul sexual language, nauseating special effects, and graphic exhibitions of self-mutilation outraged many religious groups. But stripped of its demonic-possession theme, *The Exorcist* provides a moving commentary on, among other things, the uselessness of modern medicine when confronted with unknown illnesses, the crises of guilt and responsibility faced by single mothers, and, in general, the difficulty parents have comprehending and responding to their often aggressive, hormonal children. Although inspired by *The Exorcist*, and highly successful in its own right, Richard Donner's own "satanic child" film, *The Omen* (1976) lacked its predecessor's underlying concern with domestic issues. Instead, it terrified viewers with threats of the apocalypse, and, what ultimately amounts to the same thing, the infiltration of evil agents into the political sphere.

Although the proportion of horror movies within the overall film population continued to increase well into the 1980s, by the end of the decade it was obvious that a staleness had set in. *Halloween* was up to its fourth sequel in 1989, *Friday the 13th* its seventh, and the overuse of narrative and technical conventions was (not surprisingly) accompanied by a decline in viewer interest. But with Jonathan Demme's Academy Award-winning *The Silence of the Lambs* (1991) selling the

mystique of the serial killer to mainstream audiences, the horror-thriller-suspense hybrid received a massive boost in popularity. In the mid-1990s, glossy, big-budgeted, star-powered films such as *Copycat* (1995), *Se7en* (1995), and *Kiss the Girls* (1997) focused on the gruesome handiwork of charismatic, creative serial killers and reflected public fascination with those who commit mass murder on principle (or so they would have us believe), not merely because of some underlying psychosexual disorder.

Other, more conventional horror movies of this period sought to supernaturalize the serial killer. Inspired by Wes Craven's modern classic *A Nightmare on Elm Street* (1984), in which a once-human child murderer takes revenge on those who lynched him by invading the dreams of their offspring, films such as *Child's Play* (1988), *The Exorcist III* (1990), *The Frighteners* (1996), and *Fallen* (1997) either give supernatural powers to a serial killer or else give serial killer characteristics to a supernatural being. Another Wes Craven movie, *Scream*, was a sleeper hit in 1996, and became the first in a slew of neo-stalkers. These highly self-reflexive works, which include *Scream 2* (1997), *Halloween H20* (1998), and *Urban Legend* (1998), contrive to satirize stalker film conventions while still providing genuine scares; they succeed in this task only insofar as they are able to avoid too heavy a reliance on the very conventions they are mocking. Despite the fact that almost all of the neo-stalkers to come out in the late 1990s have done quite well at the box office, many critics view the ever-increasing emphasis on parody, intertextuality, and pastiche as signs that the genre has exhausted itself, and that a dark age in horror cinema is imminent.

In spite of such gloomy predictions, judging from the horror movie revivals of the late 1950s, early 1970s, and mid-1990s, it seems safe to declare that no matter how grim things may look at times, the genre's eventual return from the deadness resulting from excess, imitation, and oversaturation is inevitable. At least as inevitable as the next wave of young people desperate to consume accessible texts in which their ambivalent attitudes towards society, family, and self receive imaginative—and so relatively safe—communal expression. Unless, of course, America's self-proclaimed moral guardians finally succeed in having laws enacted which would place strict limitations on the freedom of horror movie writers and directors to (re-)present our collective nightmares in the bloodiest of hues. Even then there would be no real cause for alarm; for the most committed of the lot would in that case surely go back to the Lewton-Tourneur-Wise school of "fear by suggestion," and rediscover ways of horrifying viewers that do not depend on the so-called "spectacle of death."

—Steven Schneider

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## Hot Dogs

Long a staple of sports arenas and backyard cookouts, the unpretentious hot dog is one of America's favorite sandwiches. More than 20 billion of them are consumed in the United States each year.

Allegedly married to the ubiquitous bun when Harry Stevens, who sold ice cream at New York Polo Grounds, instructed his crew to sell frankfurters on rolls, the hot dog did not become famous until it came to Coney Island, New York. Though the hot dog had been served at Feltman's 7,000 seat restaurant for years, Nathan Handwerker, once an employee at Feltman's, sparked interest in the hot dog when he sold his dogs for a nickel (half the price of Feltman's) at his hot dog stand just steps away from the subway stop on Coney Island. Interest in hot dogs was so great that Oscar Meyer began marketing hot dogs in supermarkets in the 1930s. Not only was Oscar Meyer the first to sell hot dogs through supermarkets, it was also the first to specifically target children as consumers of the food. From 1936 Oscar Meyer's



A hot dog with mustard.



A fashion advertisement for hot pants.

Weinermobile began driving across the country promoting its hot dogs to children.

In its simplest iteration a hot dog consists of a frankfurter in an oblong-shaped bun with any of various toppings including mustard, ketchup, pickle relish, cheese, sauerkraut, and beans. Legend has it the hot sausage sandwiches were given their descriptive moniker by sports cartoonist T. A. "Tad" Dorgan, who caricatured the wieners as dachshund dogs at the turn of the century. The term "hot dog" first appeared in print in the *Oxford English Dictionary* in 1900. Traditional hot dogs are made of beef, pork, veal, chicken, or turkey, with or without skins. Regular hot dogs are about six inches long, although they are also available in two-inch "cocktail" and foot-long varieties.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Hot Pants

Hot pants were a short-lived fashion of the early 1970s that evoked the unconventional attitudes of the youth that had burgeoned in the 1960s. An adaptation of the 1960s mini skirt, hot pants offered the wearer a measure of modesty that the mini could not provide. For those who wished their panties to be revealed, the stylish solution lay

in short, tight, sometimes cuffed, hot pants. Designed to be worn either as an item of clothing in its own right, or as the revealed undergarment of maxi-length outfits, hot pants looked smartest when worn with tights (fishnets, opaques) and platform boots. The open fronts and side slits of maxi outfits permitted legs and hot pants to be visible, effecting a mod look and attitude that signified the trendiness of the wearer in that period.

—Joan Nicks

## Hot Rods

Americans love speed. It suffuses our culture, coloring every aspect of it from food to mail service. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that the automobile holds a hallowed space in the American myth. Nowhere is this more evident than in the culture of the hot rod, a rich substrata in popular culture dedicated to the car. The popularity of the hot rod ties in with this American preoccupation with youth, speed, and individualism, and the artists who pioneered the hot rod have after years of ignominious labor become recognized as master artists outside of this very specific milieu. Over 50 years after its invention, the hot rod is still omnipresent on the road and off, dedicated to the pursuit of speed and style, or rather, speed in style.

Hot-rod culture first emerged in the early 1940s—the war years—particularly in Los Angeles, where, as Tom Wolfe writes of the period, “Family life was dislocated, as the phrase goes, but the money was pouring in, and the kids began to work up their own style of life—as they’ve been doing ever since.” In these early years, aesthetics and necessity joined to create a new form of car. Owing to war rationing, cars and car parts were scarce, and under-age car enthusiasts resorted to junkyard salvaging, creating hybridized cars with primitively hopped-up engines.

The aggressively declass  activities of these youngsters, who engaged in illegal drag race competitions and ostentatiously public congregations at drive-in restaurants, created an atmosphere of public alarm, not unlike that which accompanied the Hell’s Angels two decades later. Part of the public opprobrium had to do with appearances. Hot-rodders cultivated a distinctly sinister look, chopping (lowering the top of the car) and channeling (lowering the body itself down between the wheels) their cars, which gave them a sinister appearance. The ’32 Ford Roadster, one of the most popular objects of customizing of all time, in the hands of the hot-rodder was reduced to little more than a streamlined square, brightly painted and wedged to 30 inch tires and an enormous chrome engine. Nor did frequent contretemps between police and illicit road-racers improve the hot-rodders’ reputation. A whole hot rod culture had emerged around the rituals of customizing, cruising, and drag racing. In Los Angeles, drag racing took place on a deserted stretch of road in Culver City nicknamed “Thunder Alley,” and large-scale police raids were a not uncommon occurrence.

The public might have viewed hot-rodders with distaste, but a middling movie writer named Robert Petersen was fascinated by the religious fervor with which teenagers were pouring money into their cars. In the late 1940s Petersen started *Hot Rod Magazine*, which eventually ballooned into Petersen Publishing, a magazine empire devoted to automotive speed and beauty. By the early 1960s, there existed not only Petersen’s conspicuous empire, but models, T-shirts, toy cars, stickers, music groups, and movies; in short, any product



Two men working on their hot rod, 1953.

tangentially associated with hot-rodding was produced and rapidly consumed. But even after the point where hot-rodding had been “rationalized,” as Wolfe puts it, subjected to capitalism’s “efficient exploitation,” the hot rod’s anti-social qualities remained central to their allure.

This brazen nose-thumbing quality was best expressed by Ed “Big Daddy” Roth, a customizer who specialized in a baroque, grotesque creations, exemplified in automobiles with names like the Beatnik Bandit and Mysterion, and T-shirts with brand names like Weirdo and Monster (harkening back to the pieced-together Frankenstein quality of early hot rods) that featured grotesque hot-rodding creatures (Wolfe calls them “*Mad* magazine Bosch”) alongside slogans such as “Mother is wrong” or “Born to Lose. Writes Wolf:

Roth pointed out that the kids have a revealing vocabulary. They use the words “rotten,” “bad,” and “tough” in a very fey, ironic way. Often a particularly baroque and sleek custom car will be called a “big, bad Merc” (for Mercury) or something like that. In this case “bad” means “good,” but it also retains some of the original meaning of “bad.” The kids know that to adults, like their own parents, this car is going to look sinister and somehow like an assault on their style of life.

The first act in the narrative of the avant-garde artist begins with the rebellious artist struggling, ignored and unrecognized, with his work. Then comes recognition, then absorption into the mainstream, where the artists ideas are assimilated and become commonplace. So

it was that the superstars of customizing—Roth, Daryl Starbird, George Barris—started their careers as pariahs and ended with Detroit car makers wooing them as highly valued consultants. In fact, Detroit had been assiduously following their careers for some time. Barris, who claimed to have had more than twenty designs lifted from him by Detroit, recounted for Tom Wolfe that Detroit stylists knew all about cars he had customized as far back as 1945, way back in the early days of customizing. Stylistic innovations such as tailfins, bubbletops, frenched headlights, and concealed headlights all derived from the customizers. The early era of muscle cars—Rivieras, Sting Rays, Barracudas, and Chargers—all drew freely upon hot rod aesthetics.

By the late 1990s hot-rods were a recognized art form, with Roth and his peers exhibiting their work in museums and galleries. A entire magazine empire is engineered around hot rods, and ever since the Robert Petersen put on the first hot rod car show back in 1948, such shows have been a perennially popular attraction. Hot rod clubs continue to flourish, nourished by each new generation of teenage boys who become obsessed with customizing. And so the tradition continues in unbroken lineage from the original World War II era kids to today's customizers of Japanese imports, affectionately known as "rice-rockets." It is a tradition, and as such, it is more about craft than rebellion, but the outlaw implications of hot-rodding still hold true. A custom car is by its very nature a menace, and in this menace lies the allure.

—Michael Baers

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## Houdini, Harry (1874-1926)

Before there was a Doug Henning, a David Copperfield, or a Siegfried and Roy, Harry Houdini was the celebrity magician without peer. A worldwide celebrity thanks to his relentless touring, he was the first entertainer to take full advantage of the emergent mass media, engaging in death-defying public stunts that cannily made use of newspapers, radio, and film. Had Houdini simply been another skilled magician, he might have been forgotten along with the generation of



**Harry Houdini**

vaudevillians from which he sprang, but the magnitude of his exploits, combined with his tormented personality and unexpected demise, have left an allure that has hardly dimmed over the passing decades. Houdini was a figure out of Greek tragedy: the indestructible warrior with an Achilles Heel, and his legend, like all archetypal figures, has only increased with time.

Born Erich Weiss in Budapest, Hungary, Houdini was the son of a rabbinical scholar of somewhat dubious credentials who moved his family to America in 1878 after securing a position as rabbi for a small synagogue in Appleton, Wisconsin. Ultimately, Mayer Weiss was not to the liking of his small-town flock. Perhaps it was his advanced age, or his European conceits or his habit of conducting services in German, but for whatever reason the congregation cut him loose, and the Weiss family, now numbering seven, moved to Milwaukee, barely scraping by on Mayer's earnings as a freelance minister. Young Erich felt the family's poverty keenly, and was hurt by his father's humiliation; in his later years he would take pains to ennoble the hapless rabbi. When the family had finally settled in Manhattan, Erich found work as a tie-cutter at the age of eleven. His ailing father—who soon was laboring alongside Erich in the tie factory—and the rest of the family joined him in short order. It was

with a measure of relief that Erich and his family witnessed the passing of the ill and unhappy head of the household in 1892.

Houdini possessed a meager education, but he retained as part of his father's legacy a deep respect for learning, and it was a book that changed his life. While reading *The Conjurers Unveiled*, French magician Robert-Houdin's autobiography, 17-year-old Erich discovered not only a fascination with all things illusory, but a template on which to build his own fictionalized autobiography. Robert-Houdin appears to have replaced the unsuccessful Rabbi Weiss as the young man's father figure, and Erich excised vast chunks of his tome to fill in the holes of his own shabby biography, even borrowing the dead magician's moniker to replace his own name.

With his father dead, Erich was no longer constrained in his career choices by filial piety, and embarked on his career as a professional magician as one half of the Houdini Brothers. Harry (possibly a version of his nickname, Eiri) with his young wife, Bess Rahner, acting as assistant, plied the length and breadth of the country playing dime museums, burlesque shows, traveling carnivals, and medicine shows. One trick in particular, a bait and switch act, was a favorite with audiences, and the astute Houdini was soon specializing in escape tricks of a myriad variety, which had the added advantage of familiarity in their resemblance to the stunts of many spiritualist mediums. The escape tricks were especially well suited to Houdini, a small, compact man with a lifetime enthusiasm for sports, for they demanded strenuous exertion, muscular control, and prodigious endurance. For seven years he labored in obscurity and was in the midst of rethinking his career options when he was offered a position on a vaudeville circuit by theater impresario Martin Beck.

At the turn of the century, vaudeville was the height of mass-entertainment, and theater chains, in stiff competition for audiences, were building palatial theaters to house their acts. For an entertainer such as Houdini, accustomed to making \$25 a week, vaudeville was a quantum leap in remuneration and prestige. Under the management of Beck, Houdini was soon gaining nationwide notoriety and commanding a substantial salary. To promote his act, he had begun making a practice of escaping from jails and police stations, miraculously freeing himself from manacles and cells alike. Houdini was always anxious to keep one step ahead of the competition: as a refinement, he began to perform his escapes in the nude or dressed only in a loincloth, flabbergasting the police and inflaming the public's curiosity with each successive news story.

When he sailed for England in the summer of 1900, Houdini had established himself as the "Handcuff King," adept at unshackling himself under a variety of conditions. He was not long in creating a sensation in Great Britain and on the Continent. Europe embraced his act with such enthusiasm that he stayed a full five years. He continued his habit of escaping from jail cells and offering a prize to anyone who could produce a lock he could not pick. This practice almost led to public humiliation in Birmingham, when a local judo expert and teacher of physiognomy devised a system of shackles that left the magician nearly immobilized. For a torturous hour and a half he struggled with his bonds, finally freeing himself, but not without casting a pall of suspicion over the escape with the suspicious filing marks he produced in his efforts.

Returning to the United States in 1905, Houdini was alarmed by the legion of shameless imitators that had sprung up in his absence. He forsook handcuffs, leaving them to the copycats, and concentrated on new escapes, ideas for which flowed out of him in a constant stream. He had always known the importance of remaining in the

public eye, and he began to perform high-visibility stunts, escaping from straitjackets, bags, crates—whatever could be thrown off a bridge. He toured for the next ten years, constantly refining his act, innovating, and pushing his body to the limits of endurance. This period saw the introduction of the milk-can escape, the Chinese Water Torture (perhaps the best remembered of his escapes and the most frequently performed today), the Vanishing Elephant and, for outdoor performances, an aerial straitjacket act. In this last, with his ankles secured by heavy rope, he was hauled to the top of a skyscraper and, suspended above the crowd, was left to wriggle free. In terms of cinematic potential the aerial straitjacket escape improved on his previous publicity stunts a hundred-fold.

With the advent of film, Houdini realized that vaudeville's days were numbered. By 1918, he was hard at work on his first film. Until his death in 1926, he would for the most part forsake live performances for film acting, and moved to Los Angeles, where he starred in his first short, *The Grim Game*. Not content simply to star in movies, he started his own production company, which lost money at an alarming rate. But while Houdini the movie star carried on with his work in a desultory fashion, Houdini the whistle-blower was waging a fierce battle against the forces of hokum. Besides being a possessor of tremendous energy, he had a streak of the pedant in him. He had met the author Arthur Conan Doyle, the creator of Sherlock Holmes and a believer in spiritualism. Houdini, who had made his living artfully faking his way out of impossible situations, was skeptical of such beliefs. He had made a parlor game out of unmasking mediums and now directed his towering scorn at one Mina Crandon—better known as Margery—a society woman who, with the aid of her deceased brother, Walter, had impressed *Scientific American* as a legitimate medium. Houdini would have none of it, and in a series of seances where he deduced one trick after another, finally reduced Margery to fuming impotence and irrevocably splintered the *Scientific American* panel.

In December of 1925 Houdini launched his two-and-a-half-hour extravaganza, *Magic*, on Broadway. It was his first big tour in a number of years, and started with a first act consisting of nothing but magic tricks—he even went so far as to pull a rabbit out of a hat to prove he was a magician—followed by an expose of spiritualism, and then an escape act. For the status conscious Houdini, *Magic* was a step up. This was a theater, not a vaudeville house, and when the show opened, it placed Houdini in direct competition with the lions of Broadway. The show ran through the spring, with time out for Houdini to take his anti-spiritualist campaign to Washington where he testified for Congress. During this break, he had a chance to unmask another fraud, a fakir named Rahman Bey, who allowed himself to be submerged in a coffin for an hour, claiming he had put himself in a trance. Houdini would have none of it. He trained himself to ration oxygen, and in a glass-fronted coffin he remained underwater for an hour and a half. It was to be his last unmasking.

When the tour resumed in the fall, Houdini seemed rundown. If the testimony of his friends can be believed, he had also become convinced of his imminent death, and tearfully bade goodbye to several of his acquaintances. In Albany, he broke his ankle while being hoisted into the Chinese Water Torture apparatus and continued the tour on crutches. When he arrived in Detroit, he had a temperature of 102. Persevering through the night's performance despite his condition, he collapsed backstage immediately after, and was soon hospitalized with a ruptured appendix. After surgery, peritonitis set in and the master escapologist died six days later, on October 31, 1926. Houdini lore contends that the ruptured appendix resulted from a hit

in the stomach. Houdini took great pride in his physical condition and often asked men to punch him to prove the strength of his abdomen muscles. In Detroit a man asked him if his muscles were indeed that strong and Houdini said they were. The man punched him, but Houdini was not expecting it and therefore was not prepared. It is unclear if this incident did in reality take place, but it does add to the eeriness surrounding his death.

Harry Houdini was a transitional figure in the cultural pantheon, marking the end of the Victorian era and the beginning of the modern one. A complex man, he was a textbook case of repressed neurosis in which Freud would have delighted. For a man whose very livelihood depended on nerves of steel, he was notoriously emotional. Vain and egotistical, he left a trail of broken friendships and hurt feelings in his wake. An immigrant of humble origins, he was obsessed by status, once buying a dress commissioned by the recently deceased Queen Victoria in order that his mother might wear it while entertaining her old-world relatives. Yet, despite his mother-love, his status-consciousness, his Victorianisms, Houdini was quick to embrace the expanding technical universe. A lover of gadgetry, Houdini filled his house with a surfeit of modern appliances. A masterful manipulator of the mass media, he did not allow the thrust of progress to leave him stranded as it had so many of his confederates in vaudeville. In the archetypal pattern of a tragic hero, Harry Houdini had been struck down by his own blind ambition, but it is for his extraordinary feats of endurance that his legend lives on.

—Michael Baers

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## Houston, Whitney (1963—)

Singer Whitney Houston, an African American beauty with a clear soprano voice, became a megastar in the 1980s. She was born (in East Orange, New Jersey) the daughter of gospel singer Cissy Houston and a cousin to singing star Dionne Warwick, and began singing herself at age 11 with the New Hope Baptist Choir. In her teens she sang backup for Chaka Khan and Lou Rawls, but at 18 became a successful model and appeared in television comedies, while pursuing her singing career. This took off when she was signed exclusively by Clive Davis of Arista Records. Under his careful management, she launched her first album, *Whitney Houston*, in 1984. It sold 14 million copies, setting a debut album record. She became a household name and, by the late 1990s, she was the recipient of five Grammy Awards, 21 American Music Awards, and numerous Gold and Platinum discs. In 1982, Houston married singer Bobby Brown, and embarked on a screen career, starring opposite

Kevin Costner in *The Bodyguard*. She acted on screen again in *Waiting to Exhale* (1985), directed by actor Forest Whitaker with an all-female African American cast, and in *The Preacher's Wife* (1996) with Denzel Washington. All three movies yielded massive hit songs, most notably "I Will Always Love You." Houston's commanding, multi-octave range has allowed her to sing a wide range of material—gospel, R&B, pop, rock, and, most popularly, love ballads. By the late 1990s, despite commercial competition from performers such as Mariah Carey, Whitney Houston was still a favorite among female American vocalists, both at home and in Britain.

—Brian Granger

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## *How the West Was Won*

Featuring narration by Spencer Tracy, individual segments directed by Henry Hathaway, John Ford, and George Marshall, a gigantic all-star cast (including Henry Fonda, Karl Malden, Gregory Peck, George Peppard, Debbie Reynolds, Jimmy Stewart, Eli Wallach, John Wayne, Richard Widmark, and Walter Brennan), and an engaging story and thrilling action sequences, MGM's *How the West Was*



James Stewart in a scene from the film *How the West Was Won*.

*Won* (1962) is widely considered one of Hollywood's greatest epics. The film episodically tells the story of three generations of the Prescott family, who migrate Westward over a fifty year period during the 19th century. This was the first theatrical release featuring Cinerama, a filming technique which employs three cameras sharing a single shutter in order to replicate the scope of the human eye. The process is far less impressive on TV or video cassette. In theaters, however, the film, much of which was shot on location in various spots throughout the American West, is spectacular. Despite Cinerama's initial popularity, after *How the West Was Won* few films successfully utilized the process, which ultimately resulted in its demise. Nevertheless, *How the West Was Won* remains a classic example of big-budget Hollywood filmmaking at its best.

—Robert C. Sickels

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## The Howdy Doody Show

Howdy Doody was the name of a 27-inch, big-eared, freckle-faced, wooden puppet. Howdy appeared in a starring capacity on an immensely popular children's television show of the same name that ran on NBC from 1947 to 1960. It was broadcast live from 30 Rockefeller Plaza in New York City.

*The Howdy Doody Show* was the creation of Robert E. Smith (1917-1998), a former radio personality, who appeared along with his wooden counterpart at first on a weekly basis and later five days a week from Monday through Friday, starting at 5:30 in the afternoon. Howdy, clad in a red bandanna, dungarees, and a checkered shirt, would exchange banter with Smith, whose on-screen persona was that of Buffalo Bob Smith, and interact with the colorful denizens of Doodyville, among whom were the following: Phineas T. Bluster, the crusty mayor of Doodyville; Flub-a-Dub, a zoological pastiche comprised of eight different animals allegedly caught by Buffalo Bob himself in a South American jungle; Princess Summerfall Winterspring, a puppet at first but later a real person played by Judy Tyler; Clarabell the Clown (first played by Bob Keeshan, also known as Captain Kangaroo), a virtual mute who engaged in Harpo Marx-like antics and frequently brandished a seltzer bottle with which he would squirt Bob; and miscellaneous others. Hallmarks of the show were the Peanut Gallery, a kiddy audience between the ages of three and eight; the call and response between Bob and the Peanut Gallery, which had the former shouting "Say, kids, what time is it?" to which the galvanized Gallery would respond, "It's Howdy Doody time"; and the Howdy Doody theme song, the music of which was borrowed from "Tar-ra-ra-boom-de-ay."

*The Howdy Doody Show* holds a number of records. It was, for example, the first daily show on NBC to feature live music and the first to be broadcast in color. When it placed Buffalo Bob in New York and Howdy in Chicago for a special broadcast to celebrate



**Buffalo Bob Smith and Howdy Doody, 1952.**

NBC's having become a transcontinental network, it became the first show to employ the split-screen technique. And as Smith himself put it, "We were the first show on every day in quite a few markets. . . . There was no daytime television, just a test pattern until 5:30. We were the first show to reach 1,000 shows, then 2,000."

The importance of *The Howdy Doody Show* is not confined to record-breaking firsts, however. Howdy, Buffalo Bob, and the rest of the cast made an indelible impression on their baby-boomer fans. In 1970 Smith received a call from a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania who asked him to come to the campus to do a show. At first, he thought it was a hoax, but the student was serious. Smith agreed and a *Howdy Doody* revival was born. Columnist Bob Greene wrote in 1987 that the show "may have been the most important cultural landmark for my generation."

Howdy Doody resides at Robert Smith's former home in Flat Rock, North Carolina. A replica, known as Double Doody, now resides at the Smithsonian Institution.

—William F. O'Connor

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## Howe, Gordie (1928—)

In the world of professional hockey, Gordie Howe gained legendary status as a record-setter and as an all-around athlete. Known for his longevity, Howe played into his fifties in a demanding sport in which professionals typically retire in their early thirties. His prowess, on and off the ice, led to his honorary title of "Mr. Hockey." Outside the world of professional hockey, Howe's name and awards served to generate interest in a professional sport that has received little recognition compared to football, basketball, and baseball.

In 1946, at the age of 18, Howe began his professional career as a right wing forward with the Detroit Red Wings of the National Hockey League (NHL). After 25 years with the Red Wings and five decades as a professional, he retired in 1980 at the age of 52. It was his second retirement.

Gordie Howe was born on March 31, 1928, in Floral, Saskatchewan, Canada, the fourth of nine children. He played amateur hockey and had one year in the minors before joining the NHL. Howe's first three years with Detroit were less than stellar, but by 1949 he was the highest scorer in the NHL playoffs. By the early 1950s, he had become the first player to win three consecutive scoring titles. His other records included becoming the League's top scorer



Gordie Howe

six times, and being named six times as the League's Most Valuable Player. When he retired from the Red Wings, he had set NHL records for playing in 1,687 games, for scoring 1,809 points on 786 goals and 1,023 assists, and for serving 1,643 penalty minutes.

His numerous "most" records are detailed in his official biography at the National Hockey League Hall of Fame. They include most seasons played, most regular-season games, most career goals in regular season play, most winning goals, most career assists by a right winger, most career points by a right winger, and most selections to the NHL All-Star team. He also set several All-Star Game records.

Ambidextrous and known for his incredible strength, Howe's playing style has been described as a combination of effortless and deceptively fast skating and outstanding stick-handling. When he first started as a professional, his father said he worried that his son might kill someone if he happened to get into a fight because of his strength and his ability to use both hands. As a young man, Gordie had impressed his father with his strength when he had worked summers on construction crews and could easily heft 90 pound cement sacks with either hand.

Howe was also known for his astonishing staying power. After a two-year retirement (1970-1972), he returned to professional hockey at age 45. The physician who gave him his team physical described Howe's pulse rate as comparable to that of a man half his age. His dedication as a player is revealed in a story about the 1950 Stanley Cup semi-final series when he slammed his head into a sideboard. The blow knocked him unconscious and he had to be transported to the hospital for immediate brain surgery. As he was wheeled into the operating room, he apologized to the team manager for being unable to help the team more that night.

Despite seeming laconic, Gordie Howe was never considered introverted on the ice, practicing what he called "religious hockey"—a philosophy in which he considered it better to give than to receive. His NHL penalty record of 1,643 penalty minutes and his career record of 2,421 penalty minutes attest to this. According to *Fischler's Ice Hockey Encyclopedia*, former Red Wings teammate Carl Brewer once called Howe the "dirtiest player who ever lived. A great player, but also the dirtiest. He'd gouge your eye out if you gave him a chance, carve you up. He's both big and tough and used his size to intimidate guys."

In 1971, at age 43, Howe retired from the NHL and was elected to the NHL Hall of Fame in 1972. Two years later he made a remarkable comeback, joining the World Hockey Association (WHA) to play for the Houston Aeros with his sons Mark and Marty. The three Howes led the Aeros, winning the AVCO Cup and WHA titles in both 1974 and 1975. At age 47, Howe was awarded the Most Valuable Player in the 1975 playoffs. In 1977, he again left professional hockey, but in 1979, aged 51, he returned once more, this time to play with the Hartford Whalers. Howe finished his pro career in the 1979/80 season at the unprecedented age of 52.

In celebration of his fiftieth year in hockey and to set a record as the only professional hockey player to play in six consecutive decades, Howe briefly came out of retirement in October of 1997, at age 69, adding to his professional longevity record by playing an opening shift with the Detroit Vipers of the International Hockey League.

During the 1950s and 1960s when Gordie Howe was at his career peak, hockey great Dave Keon, former captain of the Toronto Mapleleafs (quoted in *Fischler's Ice Hockey Encyclopedia*), observed there were "two weak teams in the NHL and four strong

ones—and the strong ones were Toronto, Montreal, Chicago, and Gordie Howe.”

—Mary Lou Nemanic

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## Howlin' Wolf (1910-1976)

Standing six-foot-three and weighing almost 300 pounds, Chester Burnett, popularly known as “Howlin' Wolf,” was, in the words of Giles Oakley, “one of the most menacingly forceful singers of his time.” A farmer until his eighteenth birthday, Wolf's life was dramatically altered by a chance meeting with Delta legend Charley Patton. The marriage of his half-sister Mary to harmonica player Sonny Boy Williamson further shaped Wolf's musical style.



Howlin' Wolf

Howlin' Wolf's 1950s sides for Chess Records stand as some of the finest blues records ever produced. Hits like “I Ain't Superstitious,” “Little Red Rooster,” and “Spoonful” became even more popular when covered by British rock bands. In 1970, Chess attempted to capitalize on Wolf's newfound popularity with a white audience by teaming him with a British “supergroup” including Eric Clapton and members of the Rolling Stones. Howlin' Wolf died of heart failure in 1976; 15 years later, he was inducted into the Rock 'n' Roll Hall of Fame.

—Marc R. Sykes

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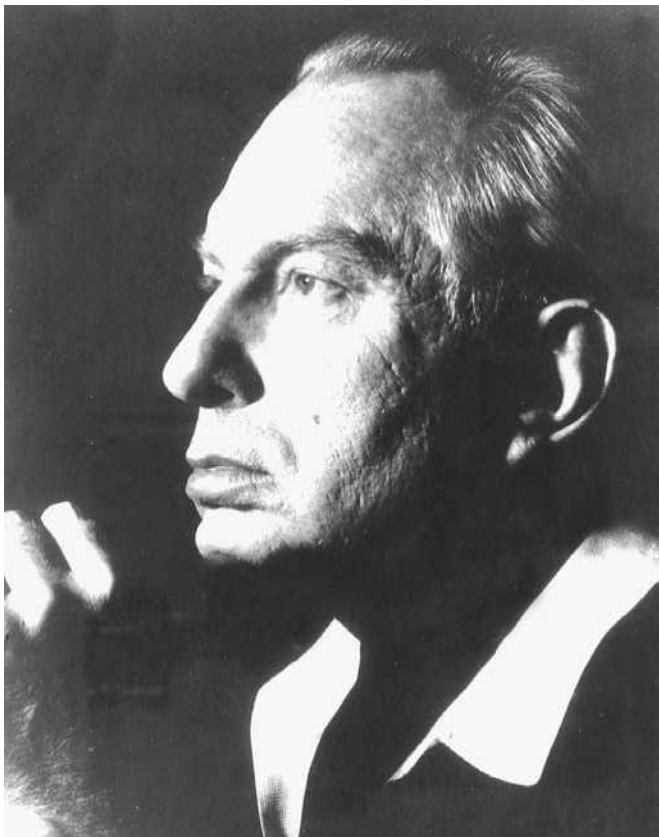
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## Hubbard, L. Ron (1911-1986)

Founder of the Church of Scientology in the second half of the twentieth century, La Fayette Ron Hubbard was known chiefly in literary circles as a talented and prolific author of pulp fiction from the time of his first sale in 1934 until the early 1950s. In those penny-a-word days, if survival was to be maintained, being prolific was just one of the job requirements, and Hubbard more than met it. His stories appeared in magazines devoted to high adventure and mystery, as well as science fiction. Perhaps his two most famous stories in that genre were *Fear* and *Typewriter in the Sky*. Because of his skills at weaving the fantastic into plausible narratives, Hubbard was among such authors as Robert Heinlein and Isaac Asimov whom editor John Campbell relied on to fill the pages of *Astounding Science Fiction*, the leading periodical in its field.

Yet, it was ultimately not a story but an essay in *Astounding* which marked the turning point for Hubbard and eventually thrust him into the international arena. Campbell was so taken with Hubbard's new ideas for developing human potential that he printed Hubbard's 1600-word article, “Dianetics,” in the May 1950 issue of *Astounding*. Hubbard's thesis traced all human misery and misunderstanding to the distorted and confused signals received by the fetus in the womb. Further, it was Hubbard's contention that a person could “clear” himself of these misapprehensions and inhibitions by submitting to an “auditing” process of questions-and-answers conducted by a practitioner of Dianetics. (According to Scientology literature, the term Dianetics is a combination of the Greek words *dia* “through” and *nous* “soul.”)

Although widely ridiculed by medical professionals (especially psychiatrists, who could claim with some justification that Hubbard's new science had appropriated certain psychological tenets for its own purposes), the “Dianetics” article created sufficient stir that Hubbard soon expanded it into a full-length book, *Dianetics: The Modern Science of Mental Health*. The book, in turn, sold well (it is still in print) and created interest in many individuals to invest in “becoming clear.” Author Hubbard was now in the Dianetics business, training auditors and charging fees for their services. By 1954, in a move considered by some to be an attempt to gain mainstream respectability (and circumvent prosecution for quackery), Dianetics had evolved into an official religion, dubbed with the new name Scientology. Healing has been a long-time tradition in many religions, and in the



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early 1950s, faith-healers (such as Oral Roberts) were as prevalent on television as professional wrestlers. Significantly, those who claim to heal under the auspices of a given religion are not customarily held to the same rigorous standards of accountability as are medical professionals.

For years, a possibly apocryphal story has circulated in science-fiction circles that at a gathering of his fellow writers, the young Hubbard had declared that the way to become rich would be to found a new religion. (Some state that Hubbard was indeed at the discussion in question but that it was another man who made the infamous pronouncement.) The fact remains that Hubbard prospered. By the end of the twentieth century, there were hundreds of Scientology churches around the world. Almost as long as it has been in existence, Scientology has been an object of controversy, accused of everything from cultic brainwashing to tax evasion. Yet despite these attacks, including government investigations, Scientology has always defended itself rigorously in court and in the public media, and weathered each storm largely unscathed. And, despite many books and periodical articles (including a 1991 cover story in *Time* magazine) which have attempted to debunk Scientology's precepts and reveal unscrupulous practices, the Church of Scientology seems in the 1990s to be thriving more than ever. As a religion born in the twentieth century, Scientology has proven itself a most media-savvy church, taking full advantage of modern methods, from television to cyberspace, to promote its methodology, attack what it views as the evil of psychiatry, and engage in positive public relations. The Scientologists' claims for Hubbard's teachings include techniques to improve education and combat drug addiction, although mainstream acceptance of

these ideas, particularly when it would mean forming an alliance with the controversial Church of Scientology, has not been forthcoming.

Hubbard eventually went into seclusion, remaining the subject of rumors and speculation until his death was announced in 1986. But Scientology goes on. This twentieth-century church may or may not be a cult, but it certainly believes in the power of "the cult of celebrity." To bolster its claims, an army of publicists continually point to prominent men and women in the arts who feel that Scientology has been of immeasurable benefit in their personal and professional lives. Among these accomplished citizens are film stars John Travolta and Kelly Preston (Travolta's wife), Tom Cruise and Nicole Kidman (Cruise's wife), jazz musician Chick Corea, and composer Mark Isham. The church is populated by many people who feel they have gotten their money's worth from following its precepts. As long as Scientology is recognized as a religion in the United States, its adherents are free to place their faith in it, as are those of any other religions, whether their roots can be traced back for many centuries or to the more recent outcropping of "New Age" spirituality.

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## Hudson, Rock (1925-1985)

Actor Rock Hudson's unmistakable masculinity made him a screen idol of the 1950s and 1960s. Hudson was a traditionally handsome figure and a romantic hero when such types were becoming rare. He was brought into film as the heir to Clark Gable and Gary Cooper. His broad shouldered, six-foot frame and dark brooding eyes gave him an enormous screen presence. He was twice voted the nation's top box office draw and was the recipient of numerous national and international awards. He also earned the respect of critics, in particular for his fine performances in *Magnificent Obsession* (1954) and *Giant* (1956).

Born Roy Scherer, Jr., on November 17, 1925, in Winnetka, Illinois, Hudson was a member of a blue-collar family. His father was an automobile mechanic and his mother a telephone operator. Hudson's years at New Trier High School were ordinary: he sang in the



**Rock Hudson**

school's glee club, and residents of the city remember him as a shy boy who delivered newspapers, ran errands, and worked as a golf caddy. The 1937 movie *The Hurricane* captivated and inspired Hudson to an acting career.

In 1943 Hudson was drafted into the Navy. After a military discharge in 1946, he briefly returned to Winnetka and worked as a piano mover. After doing poorly as a salesman in his father's appliance shop he took on a job as a truck driver with a food company. He moved to Los Angeles to pursue an acting career and applied to the University of Southern California's dramatics program, but was rejected due to poor grades. Pursuing his dream of becoming a film star, Hudson sent out numerous resumes and photographs to movie studios. He received only one response, from talent scout Henry Wilson, a representative for David O. Selznick.

Wilson renamed the ruggedly handsome young man "Rock Hudson"—Rock for the Rock of Gibraltar, and Hudson for the famous New York river. Hudson was introduced to the Hollywood studios, but did not make a lasting impression due to his shyness. His screen test for Twentieth Century-Fox studios was so bad that it was shown to beginning classes as a classic example of poor acting.

Hudson landed his first acting job in a one-line bit part in Raoul Walsh's *Fighter Squadron* (1948). According to Hollywood legend, Hudson needed 38 takes to get his line ("Pretty soon you're going to have to write smaller numbers") correct. But Hudson learned to act on the job, and within six years he had appeared in 28 pictures. The roles were primarily characters lacking depth.

Hudson soon came under the wing of Universal Studios tutor Sophie Rosenstein, who helped him in his bit parts and supporting

roles. During the 1950s he was cast in longer parts in a series of adventure and "B" pictures. After the release of *Magnificent Obsession*, Hudson's career took off. In 1954 *Modern Screen* magazine cited Hudson as the most popular actor of the year, and in 1955 *Look* magazine named him as the top male movie star. He was wed to Phyllis Gates in 1955; the marriage lasted three years, and Hudson did not remarry.

Hudson's acting career proceeded in a new direction as a sustaining figure in women's pictures. Under the professional direction of George Stevens, Hudson was able to give real depth to the characterization of Texas rancher Bick Benedict in *Giant* (1956). After Richard Brooks's notable *Something of Value*, and a moving performance in *A Farewell to Arms* (1957), the actor moved into comedy roles, usually paired with Doris Day. While the films varied in quality, they allowed Hudson the opportunity to explore his comedic talents. Utilizing innuendo, the films bridged the gap between humor and permissiveness. From 1959 to 1965 he portrayed humorous characters in *Pillow Talk* (1959); *Come September* (1961); *Lover Come Back* (1961); *Send Me No Flowers* (1964); *Man's Favorite Sport* (1964); and *Strange Bedfellows* (1964). Hudson afterward appeared in a number of unsuccessful and mediocre films.

By age 55 Hudson was faced with a dilemma: whether to pursue a fading film career or take roles in television. Initially Hudson was not interested in a small-screen career, but the series *McMillan and Wife* (1971), in which he starred as the police commissioner of San Francisco, proved to be a hit. He made few worthwhile films afterward, and he appeared in two television miniseries, *The Martian Chronicles* (1980) and *The Star Maker* (1981). He also was cast in the poorly conceived *Devlin Connection* (1982). His last recurring television role was in *Dynasty* (beginning in 1981).

Hudson made his final screen appearance in the 1984 television film *The Las Vegas Strip Wars*. The following year, while in Paris seeking medical treatment for an undisclosed illness, Hudson collapsed. The news broke that Hudson had been diagnosed with AIDS. Friends stated he had discovered that he had the disease in mid-1984, but chose to continue acting on *Dynasty* while secretly undergoing treatment. For years Hudson, his managers, and the studios had avoided the issue of his homosexuality. His illness, however, brought it into the open. Author Armistead Maupin stated he met with Hudson in 1976 and urged him to reveal his homosexuality. Acquaintances often described Hudson as gay, but he refused to publicly comment on or acknowledge the reports. Rock Hudson became the first major public figure to declare he had AIDS.

His last appearance at a benefit hosted by former leading lady Doris Day revealed the horrifying truth of AIDS in vivid and unflinching detail. Before his death Hudson stated, "I am not happy that I am sick. I am not happy that I have AIDS. But if that is helping others, I can at least know that my own misfortune has had some positive worth." Rock Hudson passed away at his home in Beverly Hills, California, on October 2, 1985.

—Michael A. Lutes

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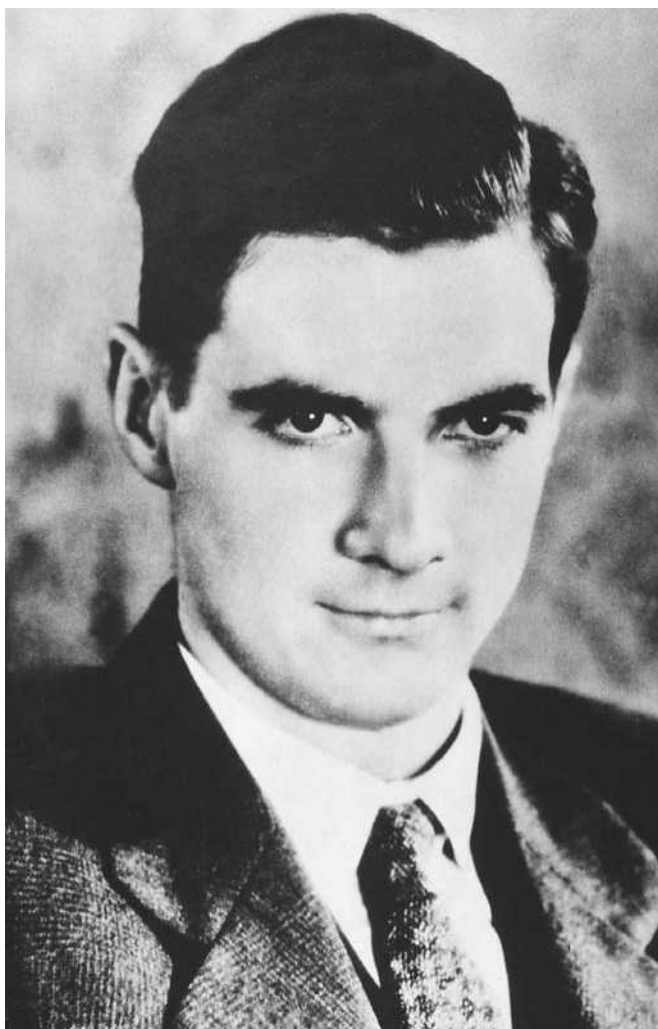
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## Hughes, Howard (1905-1976)

When he passed away on August 16, 1976, billionaire financier Howard Hughes was considered the world's most mysterious man. Rumors abounded about the strange way he looked, his eccentricities, and the odd way he lived. But before he became a man on the run, moving from continent to continent with his cadre of Mormon aides, Hughes was the embodiment of the Jazz Age wealthy playboy, the 1930s-era aviation hero, the 1940s and 1950s millionaire-as-superstar, and the 1960s Las Vegas casino mogul. Along the way, he also



Howard Hughes

riled censors and packed movie houses with several milestone films that pushed the boundaries of sex and violence.

Born in Houston on Christmas Eve, 1905, Howard Robard Hughes Jr. was the son of an oilman who had developed a drill bit that revolutionized oil drilling the world over. The Hughes rock bit, or rollerbit, was the foundation of the family fortune that Hughes Jr. inherited at age eighteen. That fortune financed Hughes's earliest Hollywood ventures, which began in 1926 and climaxed with the monumental World War I aviation epic *Hell's Angels* in 1930. Because its production spanned the silent and talkie eras, the early sound movie required reshoots and a new leading lady. Hughes chose the unknown starlet Jean Harlow. He also took over as director. By the time of its lavish premiere, "Hughes's Folly," as it was called, was the costliest movie of its time. With its dazzling aviation sequences and Harlow's presence, it also proved a crowd-pleaser, establishing Hughes as a major filmmaking force. But after producing several significant films of the early 1930s, including *The Front Page* and the violent *Scarface*, he turned his attention to the skies.

His love of aviation had begun at age fourteen with a five dollar flight in a Curtiss flying boat. An astute flight student, he made headlines in 1932 when he was discovered working under an alias for American Airlines as a baggage handler. With Hughes Aircraft Company, he developed and built the planes in which he made various speed records. Those efforts led to the development of the first retractable landing gear, flushed rivets, streamlined airplane designs, and advances in high-altitude flying. His July 1938 flight around the world, in three days, nineteen hours, enshrined him as a ticker-tape hero and the country's most famous aviator since Charles Lindbergh. Hughes's romances with Ginger Rogers, Katharine Hepburn, and others gave the matinee-idol-handsome Hughes a reputation as a ladies' man.

His interest in women, and the female figure, was evident when he returned to filmmaking with the audacious western *The Outlaw*. Producer-director Hughes was so determined to glorify his leading lady's bustline that he once stopped production in order to design a better brassiere for newcomer Jane Russell. He spent two years editing the movie and battling censors, and finally opened *The Outlaw* in 1943. Inexplicably, he pulled it from distribution after eight record-breaking weeks. Rereleased in later years, the film, which remains noteworthy for its early depiction of cleavage, denoted Hughes's obsessive nature and eccentricities.

The 1940s saw Hughes wielding his power and wealth to romance a "Who's Who" of Hollywood luminaries, including Bette Davis, Ava Gardner, Rita Hayworth, and Lana Turner. Expanding his empire, he became principal shareholder of TWA Airlines in 1947. That same year he also defiantly faced a Senate subcommittee hearing involving the HK-1, Hercules. Popularly known as the Spruce Goose, the government-funded, eight-story plane had not been completed in time to ferry soldiers over the ocean during World War II. When government sources doubted it would fly at all, Hughes personally proved them wrong. Though the flight of November 2, 1947, lasted less than one minute, it was a benchmark in aviation history.

Yet Hughes was already on a dark, downward spiral, as symbolized by his July 1946 crash while test piloting an XF-11 photo reconnaissance plane. Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder had not yet been diagnosed, but Hughes has since been identified as a classic OCD sufferer. This biologically based condition led to his dependence on drugs, which were first given to him following the 1946 crash.

Hughes ventured back into filmmaking in 1948, purchasing a controlling interest in RKO Pictures. The studio legacy included such

revered titles as *King Kong*, *Citizen Kane*, and the Fred Astaire-Ginger Rogers musicals. Under Hughes, filmmakers were dismayed to learn that they had to cast Hughes's assorted girlfriends, including Terry Moore. But during his tenure, Hughes personally salvaged a career that became legendary: following a notorious September 1948 marijuana arrest, Robert Mitchum thought his career was over, but Hughes stood by the actor and went on to cast him in a string of enjoyable crime thrillers. Hughes, who never did set foot on the studio lot, eventually became sole owner of RKO, which he sold in 1955. Shortly afterward, he became so reclusive that when he and actress Jean Peters secretly married in 1957, both used assumed names.

In the 1960s, as his companies pioneered space and satellite ventures, Hughes lived behind the blackened windows of the Desert Inn penthouse suite, amassing a then-unsurpassed Las Vegas desert kingdom of casinos and hotels. He left the city in the dead of night in November 1970 and thereafter was a man on the run. Pursued by various government agencies, attorneys, process-servers, and the media, he was so isolated that the publishing world fell for an elaborate hoax perpetrated by writer Clifford Irving, who claimed he was working with Hughes on his autobiography.

Following Hughes's death and the ensuing battle for his money, revelations detailed his germ phobia, food fetishes, and drug usage. That the once dashing, adventurous Hughes had died weighing just ninety-three pounds, with broken hypodermic needles imbedded in his arms, was proof that money does not buy happiness. Meanwhile, the hoaxes continued, most notably that of the "Mormon will." The fraudulent document left money to gas station attendant Melvin Dummar, whose saga was the impetus for the 1980 film *Melvin and Howard*.

—Pat H. Broeske

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## Hughes, Langston (1902-1967)

With his essay "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain" (1926), writer Langston Hughes helped to define the spirit that motivated the Harlem Renaissance, a black cultural movement of the 1920s. In the essay, he argues against blacks seeking integration at the expense of race pride and proclaims that instead "we younger artists who create now intend to express our individual dark-skinned selves without fear or shame," a bold statement for those racially unsettling times that were marked by lynchings and riots. Perhaps his determination to affirm, indeed revel in, black culture had something to do with his father's hatred of black people, a sentiment that affected the son profoundly. Hughes wrote in his autobiography *The Big Sea* (1940) that "my father hated Negroes. I think he hated himself, too, for being

a Negro." Unlike his father, early in life Hughes had been seduced by the *joie de vivre* of a people who simply could have been bitter because their lives were filled with injustice. In nearly everything he wrote, and he wrote more than fifty books in every conceivable genre, he sought to capture the complexities of, and pay homage to such people, especially those who were poor or of modest means. He believed that they "had as much in their lives to put into books as did those more fortunate." Thus, the black folk idiom, the rhythm and tones of its language and music, was the only choice for Hughes, and he became the poet laureate of the people for one simple reason—he spoke their language.

Hughes himself had very humble beginnings, and it may well have been his memory of those beginnings that fed his desire to be in touch with the masses. He was born James Langston Hughes on February 1, 1902, in Joplin, Missouri, to James Nathaniel and Carrie Mercer Langston Hughes, who separated soon after his birth. He lived on and off with his mother, but primarily lived with his grandmother for the first twelve years of his life. After his grandmother's death, he lived with friends of hers whom he referred to as Auntie and Uncle Reed, then went to live again with his mother, who had remarried and given birth to another son. In the loneliness of such a childhood, Hughes turned to books. Even living as modestly, often quite poorly, as they did, his mother took him to see plays and introduced him to literature. His grandmother had been a great storyteller, and although her staunch pride sometimes prevented their having enough to eat, the stories she told about heroic blacks seemed to instill a similar pride in Hughes that would later manifest itself in his deep affection for his people and in the stories he eventually would tell.

His early poems were in imitation of Paul Laurence Dunbar and Carl Sandburg until he began to find his own voice, drawing on his observations of the people and culture that so fascinated him. For example, the inspiration for "When Sue Wears Red," extolling the majestic beauty of African American women, was a "little brownskin girl" from the South whom he had met at a high school dance. At age seventeen, he wrote one of his best-loved and most enduring poems, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," published in *Crisis* in 1921, the first of his poems to appear in a national publication. It was later set to music by composer Howard Swanson, and Marian Anderson performed it at Carnegie Hall. His collection of blues and jazz poems, *The Weary Blues* (1926), was an unprecedented use of those particular cultural forms, winning him first prize in *Opportunity* magazine's literary contest and establishing him as an influential writer whose art was deeply rooted in racial pride. Hughes's biographer, Arnold Rampersad, commented that poems such as "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," "Mother to Son," and "Harlem" are "virtual anthems of black America."

Hughes's participation in the Harlem Renaissance, major though it was, constitutes only a small part of his literary career. His influence has been far-reaching, extending beyond the black American community. His appointment by President Lyndon Johnson as the American representative to the First World Festival of Negro Arts, held in Dakar, Senegal, in April of 1966, attests to his having achieved a widespread international reputation. Senegal's poet-president Léopold Sédar Senghor considered Hughes important to the concept of *négritude*, saying that "we considered Langston to be the greatest black American poet because it was Langston Hughes who best answered our definition," according to Rampersad in *The Life of Langston Hughes*. Senghor believed Hughes to be a "model . . . for the world." Also,



The hula hoop in action.

according to Rampersad, the *New York Times* reported that while Hughes was attending the festival “young writers from all over Africa followed him about the city and haunted his hotel the way American youngsters dog favorite baseball players.”

The impact of Hughes’s work did not diminish with his death in 1967. Many scholars have come to see him as black America’s most original poet; long before the Black Arts Movement of the 1960s, Hughes’s poetry reflected the idea that black music is essential to the artistic creation of an authentic “black” voice. Further, the kind of fusion of black music and literary forms that has come to be associated with his poetry is reflected in much of the black popular music of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. His poem “Afro-American Fragments” inspired the title of a music CD made in 1995 by Ensemble Sans Frontière, which pays tribute to Hughes and musicians Dizzy Gillespie, Charles Mingus, and Miles Davis. Perhaps the blues revival of the 1980s and Congress’s resolution declaring jazz a “rare and valuable national treasure” has helped to secure Hughes’s acceptance by mainstream literary audiences, for he is the only African American to be included in the “Voices and Visions” series that explores the lives and works of thirteen famous American poets.

The last line of *The Big Sea* reads, “Literature is a big sea full of many fish. I let down my nets and pulled. I’m still pulling.” One has only to look at his legacy of poetry, drama, musicals, libretti, fiction,

and nonfiction to know that even now the poet of the people is “still pulling.”

—Jacquelyn Y. McLendon

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## Hula Hoop

One of the simplest concepts in toy design, the hula hoop deserves the title of the most popular, mid-twentieth century fad. In 1958, children and fun-loving adults were reeling and wiggling, trying to spin the four-foot, plastic hoops around their waists. Marketed by the toy manufacturer Wham-O, the hula hoop was introduced to

the public in California and quickly became popular throughout America. The craze crossed both oceans; within a year hula hoops were a mania in Europe, the Middle East, and Japan. Approximately one-hundred million hoops were sold in the first year of the toy's production.

When two young chemists working for Phillips Petroleum discovered a durable, heat-resistant, and inexpensive plastic (Marlex), the material turned out to be perfect for the production of the kind of hoops that were used in exercise gyms. American children loved the fun of gyrating like a hula dancer to keep the colored, lightweight plastic rings aloft. The hula hoop craze introduced the public to the plastics industry that would produce everything from baby toys to automobile parts as the twentieth century progressed.

—Sharon Brown

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## Hull, Bobby (1939—)

To become a legend, a hockey player needs something special in addition to great playing abilities. In the case of Bobby Hull, the Chicago Black Hawks famous #9, his speed and the incredible force of his slapshots have contributed to give "The Golden Jet" a unique profile. One of the finest hockey players ever to take to the ice, he became a three-time NHL point-scoring champion, and two-time MVP while playing left wing for the Black Hawks. He is still considered the best left-winger in the history of hockey.

Born Robert Marvin Hull on January 3, 1939, in Pointe Anne, Ontario, he progressed quickly through the minor league hockey ranks. At age 10, he was already considered a potential NHL player. He played junior hockey in Hespeler and Woodstock, Ontario, and with the St. Catharines Tee Peees, where he was coached by Rudy Pilous, his future Black Hawks coach.

The blond player earned the nickname "The Golden Jet" because of his speed, power, and charisma. He joined the Chicago Black Hawks for the 1957-1958 season, and played left wing for them from 1957 to 1972. (His brother, Dennis, also played for the Hawks from 1964 to 1977). Although his first two seasons were not particularly brilliant (with only 31 goals, 13 in the first year, 18 in the second), he used them to perfect his speed and his unique slapshot. He was considered the NHL's fastest skater, clocked at 28.3 mph with the puck, 29.7 without it. His powerful, booming slapshot—clocked once at 118.3 mph, some 35 mph above the league average—was thought to be the league's hardest. That "high-velocity piece of lead," according to goalie Jacques Plante, could easily thrust a goalie backward into the net—along with the puck.

Gradually, Bobby Hull became a top player for his team. With 39 goals in his 3rd season, 31 in his 4th, he led Chicago to their first Stanley Cup in 23 years in 1960-61. The following year, he matched the NHL's 50-goal scoring record, before raising it for the first time ever to 54 in 1965-1966 and to 58 in 1968-1969, even while playing

part of the season with his mouth wired shut because of a broken jaw. In 16 NHL seasons, Hull scored 610 goals and added 560 assists (for a total of 1,170 points) in regular season play, plus 129 points (62 goals and 67 assists) during the Stanley Cup playoffs. He led the NHL in goals scored in seven different seasons.

Bobby Hull displayed all the skills of some of the game's best players: he perfected Boom-Boom Geoffrion's slapshot; he had the speed of Howie Morenz, the goal-scoring abilities of Maurice "Rocket" Richard, and the strength and control of Gordie Howe. Not surprisingly, he was voted hockey's Player-of-the-Decade in a 1970 Associated Press poll of writers and sportscasters. He won the Ross Trophy three times, the Lady Byng once, the Hart twice, and the Patrick Trophy in 1969 for the outstanding contribution he made to hockey in the United States. He was a regular choice in All-Star selections, named ten times to the First NHL All-Star Team and twice to the Second Team.

In 1972, a contract dispute with the Hawks management caused a major surprise when Hull jumped to the Winnipeg Jets of the upstart World Hockey Association. Hull's contract made him hockey's first millionaire, as the Jets were offering high salaries to attract stars to their team. For the Black Hawks, it was a major setback: his departure may have cost the organization close to \$1 billion over ten years due to drops in attendance. The NHL tried legal action to block the move,



and then arranged to punish Hull by leaving him off of the 1972 Team Canada. His decision, however, made history: by switching from a hallowed NHL team to an upstart WHA team, Hull immediately raised the interest of spectators in WHA hockey. He remained a top player with Winnipeg, scoring 77 goals during 78 games in 1974-75, and adding 303 goals and 638 points to his career numbers.

In 1980-1981, Hull tried to come back to NHL hockey with the New York Rangers, but did not make the team. A legendary figure, his time was past. In 1983, he was elected into the Hockey Hall of Fame. A great hockey player and a pleasant person, in his retirement Hull farmed and ran cattle breeding operations across Canada. His son, Brett Hull, achieved stardom of his own while playing for the Dallas Stars.

—Henri Paratte

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## Hunt, Helen (1963—)

Helen Hunt began a prolific acting career as a child, appearing in several television series and made-for-TV movies, beginning with her debut in *Pioneer Woman* (1973). Fame finally found her with *Mad About You* (1992—1999), an NBC sitcom about the evolving relationship of the Buchmans, a young married couple. As Jamie Buchman, a role that earned her several Emmys, Hunt explored the difficult marital and career challenges of the 1990s. Her success with both the public and the critics in *Mad About You* and in the movie *The Waterdance* (1992) earned Hunt leading roles in the special-effects blockbuster *Twister* (1996) and the moving comedy-drama *As Good As It Gets* (1997), for which she won an Academy Award.

—Christian L. Pyle

## Hunter, Evan

See McBain, Ed

## Hunter, Tab (1931—)

On the basis of his picture-perfect looks, Tab Hunter became a teenage idol and a leading man of the 1950s. Tall, blond, tan, and



Helen Hunt accepting the Emmy for Outstanding Lead Actress in a Comedy Series at the 50th Annual Primetime Emmy Awards.

athletically built, he was called “Golden Boy” by the press. It was then-powerful agent Henry Willson who Hollywoodized his name, saying, “We’ve got to tab him something.” Willson was also responsible for transforming Roy Scherer, Jr., into Rock Hudson. Like Hudson, Hunter was typical of the actors who enjoyed careers in the wane of the so-called star system: handsome and engaging, with boyish charm but limited acting range.

A native of New York, Hunter was born Arthur Kelm. He later took his mother’s maiden name to become Arthur Gelien. He joined the Coast Guard at age fifteen, but was discharged when it was learned he had lied about his age. At eighteen, while working for a Southern California riding academy, a friend suggested that he try show business.

After a bit part, Hunter caught moviegoers’ attention as a shipwrecked sailor opposite glamorous Linda Darnell in the 1952 title, *Island of Desire*. Then came the 1955 box-office hit, *Battle Cry*. His depiction of a young wartime Marine caught up in a love triangle proved his ticket to stardom. It also made him a darling of the fan magazines, which photographed him on dates with Natalie Wood and Debbie Reynolds, and invited their own readers to “Win a Date with Tab Hunter!” Along with being thrust into the spotlight, Hunter was shoved into the recording studio. “If you can carry a tune at all, we’d like you to record it,” enthused a Dot Records executive. After all, the

airwaves were then pivotal to the teen idol phenomenon. Hunter's resulting musical foray, "Young Love," was the country's top single for four weeks in 1957. Then under contract to the Warner Bros. studio, he went on to record for their label.

He also went on to display pronounced acting potential. A 1958 *Playhouse 90* TV production, "Portrait of a Murderer," found him effectively playing against type. That same year he held his own opposite Gwen Verdon in the movie version of the hit musical, *Damn Yankees*. In the candid 1959 movie, *That Kind of Woman*, he was convincing as an idealistic soldier in love with another man's mistress, played by Sophia Loren.

But his movies became less prestigious as his fans matured. Moreover, though he had successfully weathered innuendo wrought by negative press in 1955, when the scandal magazine *Confidential* detailed his early arrest, at a "pajama party" where "boys were dancing with boys and girls with girls," a 1960 dog-beating trial appeared to alienate fans and the media. Accused of having beaten his pet weimaraner, the avowed animal lover was acquitted. But offers dwindled afterward. Turning to TV, he was a bachelor-artist in the short-lived *The Tab Hunter Show*. By the mid-1960s, the luster of his manufactured stardom had worn off, proof that Hollywood can break careers as quickly as it makes them. As Hunter himself put it, "This town uses you and discards you and goes on to the next thing."

To survive the 1970s he made movies in Europe, toured the American heartland in dinner theater, and appeared on TV game shows. In 1977 he also briefly joined the cast of the quirky TV series, *Forever Fernwood*; lampooning himself, he played a character who had fallen into a vat of Rust-Oleum, undergone plastic surgery, and

awakened to discover that he looked like Tab Hunter. It was due to his lustrous 1950s image that Hunter was cast in *Polyester*, as the love interest of a disillusioned housewife played by the 300-pound female impersonator, Divine. Directed by offbeat filmmaker John Waters, and filmed in "Odorama," the movie became a cult favorite. As a result, Hunter reunited with "leading lady" Divine in *Lust in the Dust*, a 1985 western spoof which he coproduced. He has subsequently appeared in small roles in obscure films.

—Pat H. Broeske

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## Huntley, Chet (1911-1974)

As part of the most successful television broadcasting team in television history, Chet Huntley (with co-anchor David Brinkley) was responsible for NBC's winning the news ratings war against CBS and ABC in the 1960s. Beginning in 1956 and until 1970 when Huntley retired, the *Huntley/Brinkley Report* was a household staple for millions of Americans. By 1960, the *Huntley/Brinkley Report* was America's top-rated news show and remained there until 1969. The two men formed an unlikely but successful team. Huntley's resonant voice and straightforward style seemed a perfect match to Brinkley's more cryptic, somewhat cynical approach. Their balanced reporting style was perhaps best epitomized by their well known sign-off line: "Goodnight, Chet." "Goodnight, David, and goodnight for NBC News."

—Lloyd Chiasson, Jr.

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## Hurston, Zora Neale (1891-1960)

A prolific novelist, folklorist, anthropologist, and critic, Zora Neale Hurston was one of the inspiring personalities of the Harlem Renaissance. Her diverse interests intertwine in her most influential novel, *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937), where the narration of



Tab Hunter

a black woman's quest for self-identity is interspersed with folk-tales, which Hurston had collected during a research trip supervised by noted anthropologist Franz Boas. In 1943, her autobiography *Dust Tracks on a Road* (1942) won *The Saturday Review's* Anisfield Award for the best book on race relations. Although this award made her a well known public figure, she always refused the role of spokesperson for the African American community. She also held controversial views on race, which led her to write an article against school desegregation in 1955. In the years following her death, notably in the 1980s and 1990s, Hurston's work has achieved a prominent position in the American literary canon.

—Luca Prono

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## Hustler

As the twentieth century drew to a close, pornography was a \$10 billion-a-year business in America. About \$1 billion of that cash flow was generated by magazine sales. One of the most provocative and controversial of the so-called "men's magazines" was Larry Flynt's *Hustler*. The raunchy periodical, founded on its publisher's oft-stated desire to cater to the "erotic imaginations of real people," helped redefine the "mainstream" of porn and wielded an influence far beyond the cloistered realm of XXX literature.

In its essence, the *Hustler* story is inseparable from that of its founder, Larry Flynt. A child bootlegger from the mountains of Kentucky, Flynt escaped the torpor of Appalachia at age 15 by joining the United States Army. Upon leaving the service, and surviving a failed first marriage, he established a profitable chain of go-go bars. In 1972, he moved into publishing, starting up an eponymous newsletter for his Hustler club. The new periodical, later expanded into a glossy magazine, became notorious for its explicit depiction of the female genitalia. Whereas the other men's magazines of the time, like *Playboy* and *Penthouse*, bathed their nude models in a gauzy glow that obstructed the view of their "naughty bits," Flynt's *Hustler* examined every nook and cranny of the distaff form with an almost gynecological zeal. The approach shocked many in the beginning—no doubt a part of Flynt's plan all along—but had soon resulted in expanded parameters for what could and could not be shown in a newsstand periodical.

A host of imitators cropped up in the wake of *Hustler's* initial success. Often they bore titles that aped *Hustler's* pornoscenti cachet, titles like *Swank*, *Gent*, and *High Society*. But few of these publications could match Flynt's élan or his flair for generating publicity. In 1975, Flynt created a furor by running telephoto pictures of a naked



*Hustler* publisher Larry Flynt.

Jackie Onassis sunbathing in Greece. Amid howls from the world's opinion elites, Flynt gleefully cashed his checks. The scandalous photo spread helped attract 1.3 million readers to *Hustler*—and allowed a former strip club owner from Appalachia to rake in more than \$30 million a year.

Not surprisingly, Flynt's ability to reach a mass audience made him a ripe target for all manner of detractors. Foremost among these were American feminists, to whom Flynt gave plenty of ammunition. *Hustler's* visual features repeatedly portrayed sex as ugly and dirty, with women depicted in rape fantasies, smeared with excrement, or likened to pieces of meat. One infamous cover showed a woman being fed into a meat grinder. The backlash to such content was swift and visceral. In an op-ed piece for the *New York Times*, Gloria Steinem compared *Hustler* to a Ku Klux Klan publication and derided Flynt for printing images of women being "beaten, tortured and raped" and "subject to degradations from bestiality to sexual slavery."

African Americans and other minority groups also heaped scorn on *Hustler*, for its monthly parade of cartoons and features that were blatantly racist, bigoted, or putridly scatological. Even fellow pornographers had little tolerance for this type of material. "I think [Flynt's] dangerous and demented," opined *Penthouse* publisher Bob

Guccione. "I don't believe he's normal by any stretch of the imagination. He's very sick and disoriented." To all of these critics a defiant Flynt had the same answer: "We're an equal opportunity offender," he declared repeatedly, adopting the rhetoric of civil rights law to defend his cause. "Every month we try to figure out who we haven't offended yet."

*Hustler* has not lacked for high-profile defenders. One of Flynt's most ardent apologists has been the outspoken author and academic Camille Paglia, who lauded the maverick publisher as "a hero" who "forces people to confront their own buried snobbery about the South and working-class culture." Paglia went on to laud *Hustler* for "being totally frank, playing no more games, laying it out for everyone to see. It's the kind of explicitness you'll see in tribal cultures."

Nevertheless, such "explicitness" has cost *Hustler* dearly among mainstream advertisers, almost all of whom have shunned the magazine despite having no qualms about gracing the pages of *Playboy* and *Penthouse*. Even more damaging, Flynt has found himself hauled into court on numerous occasions to defend the magazine against indecency charges. The legal cost of defending *Hustler* over the years has been estimated at \$50 million. It was during one such trial, in 1978, that *Hustler's* publisher nearly paid the ultimate price for his commitment to pornography. Joseph Paul Franklin shot Flynt twice from close range with a high-powered rifle outside a courthouse where he was being prosecuted for obscenity. Flynt survived the attack, but lost the use of his legs permanently.

The after-effects of the assassination attempt nearly sank *Hustler*, as a devastated Flynt briefly found religion under the tutelage of President Jimmy Carter's evangelical sister, Ruth Carter Stapleton. The bizarre life change found its way onto the pages of the magazine, which suffered a drop in circulation. Flynt's subsequent addiction to painkilling drugs, with the attendant high spending, resulted in a severe money crunch.

In the 1980s, Flynt reconsidered his spiritual awakening and opted to return *Hustler* to its raunchy roots. He placed advertisements in the Hollywood trade press offering \$1 million to any top television or film actress who would pose nude in the pages of the magazine. Spurred by the advent of videocassette recorders, he started producing porno videotapes under the *Hustler* imprimatur. The first entry depicted an 18-year-old medically certified virgin being deflowered in front of the cameras. "She was holding out for the right man," Flynt crowed, "but the right price won out."

*Hustler's* ability to keep publishing such sordid material was nearly compromised during the Reagan era, when Moral Majority leader Jerry Falwell sued Flynt for libel over a scatological ad parody depicting the preacher in an outhouse having sex with his mother. After a lower court ruled in Falwell's favor, the United States Supreme Court in 1988 reversed the decision and upheld Flynt's right to satirize a public figure. Some First Amendment advocates began hailing Flynt as a poster child for free speech, though many other civil libertarians felt uncomfortable with the association.

Flynt's defenders were plainly cheered by the appearance in 1996 of a reverential biopic, *The People vs. Larry Flynt*, directed by Academy Award winner Milos Forman and starring *Cheers* hayseed Woody Harrelson as the eponymous pornographer. The film sugarcoated many of the more tawdry facts of Flynt's life, while avoiding the issues of *Hustler's* racism and misogyny entirely. Though dismissed as a tendentious mess by some critics, and savaged by feminists as a whitewash, the feature nonetheless proved a major hit and gave the bumptious publisher a brief ripple of renewed popularity.

Flynt used his newfound status as a media darling to his own advantage in 1998, injecting himself into the debate over the impeachment of President Bill Clinton. In the October issue of *Hustler*, he offered up to \$1 million to anyone willing to admit to having an affair with a member of Congress. His target, he claimed, was the "hypocrisy" of conservatives who were pursuing Clinton for lying about sex, while leading less-than-pure lives themselves. By December, Flynt had bagged his first victim, when Representative Robert Livingston, the Republicans' choice to be Speaker of the House, resigned after investigators hired by *Hustler* determined that he had been unfaithful to his wife. With Flynt promising more damaging revelations for the future, Americans of all political persuasions briefly recoiled at the thought that such a figure could effectively alter the course of history.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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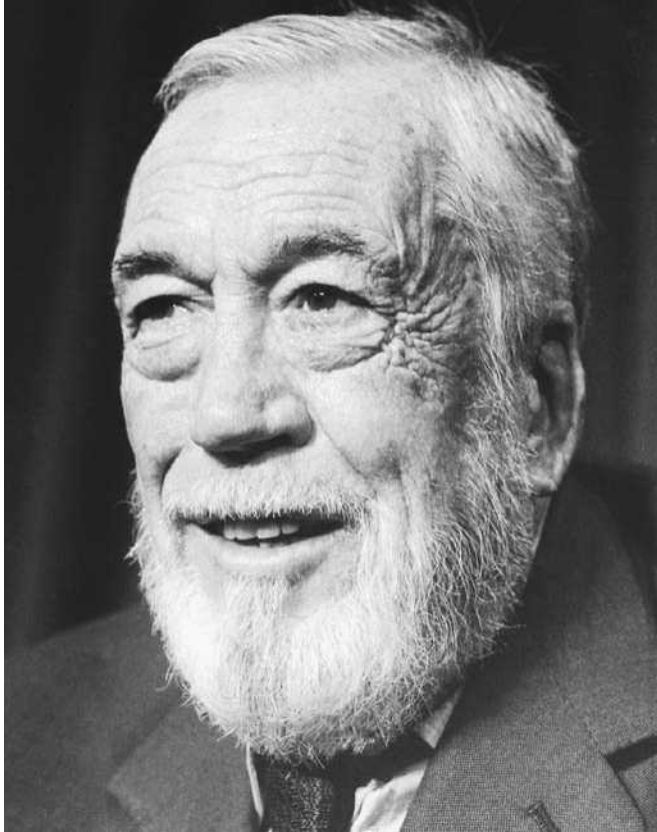
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## Huston, John (1906-1987)

The multi-faceted John Huston entered modern cinema history in 1941 when he wrote the screenplay for *The Maltese Falcon*, also making his directorial debut. The film established his reputation, began a significant working relationship with Humphrey Bogart, and pointed to his preference for mining literary sources for his material—in this case, Dashiell Hammett. In the course of a long and decidedly erratic career, Huston dealt memorably with human greed in *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (1947), winning Oscars for his screenplay and direction, and *Key Largo* (1948); plaudits greeted *The Asphalt Jungle* (1950), often considered his best film, and he entranced audiences by pairing Katharine Hepburn's missionary and Humphrey Bogart's booze-drenched river trader as companions in adversity in *The African Queen* (1952)—an idea beguilingly echoed by Deborah Kerr's nun marooned on a wartime Pacific island with Robert Mitchum's marine in *Heaven Knows, Mr. Allison* (1957). (*The African Queen* was voted one of the 100 best American films of the century by the AFI in 1998.) Huston acted frequently from the 1960s on, and, while many look fondly on his genial Noah in *The Bible*, which he directed in 1966, it is his tycoon in Polanski's *Chinatown* (1974), oozing cruelty and corruption, that is burnt in the collective memory.

As a director, Huston's films reflected his wide interests and, like the man, often present a rough exterior beneath which hovers tenderness, or even romantic idealism. Most of his heroes are either fiercely independent or social misfits, or both: the artist Toulouse-Lautrec, played by Jose Ferrer in *Moulin Rouge* (1953), Gregory Peck's Captain Ahab (*Moby Dick*, 1956), the eponymous *Freud* (a tortured and miscast Montgomery Clift, 1962), Stacy Keach's disintegrating prizefighter in *Fat City* (1971, one of Huston's quality films in a period of failures). His best work reflects a sense of irony and a sharp attention to character, focused in a decisive narrative style, as in *The Man Who Would Be King* (1975), adapted from Kipling and one of his last real successes. Some of the films are off-beat and tend to



**John Huston**

misfire, though the imagery of elephants and the accompanying doom-laden message of *Roots of Heaven* (1958) is interesting, and while comedy barely features in his *oeuvre*, he ventured successfully into parody with the spoof adventure-thriller *Beat the Devil* (1954, Bogart again).

Although a five-times married womanizer in life, with a handful of exceptions, women are largely peripheral to Huston's heavily masculine on-screen world. As David Thomson accurately observes, "There is no real female challenge to the smoke-room atmosphere of the films. But there is a list of female onlookers as wan and powerless as Jacqueline Bisset in *Under the Volcano*, Elizabeth Taylor in *Reflections in a Golden Eye* and Dominique Sanda in *The Mackintosh Man*." One might add a dozen others, but the casting of his daughter Anjelica in *Prizzi's Honor* (1987), one of his last and most entertaining films, helped her to an Oscar.

Huston's failures, ranging from the pretentiously arty such as *Under the Volcano* (1984) through the tedious, the slapdash and the irredeemably dreadful (e.g. *The List of Adrian Messenger*, 1963) are numerous, and seriously tarnish his reputation. In truth, it is almost impossible to define the particular gift, characteristic, or achievement that led to his enduring position as a Hollywood—indeed, an American—legend, and perhaps it is to the man himself that history must look for the answer. It was not only his huge frame and powerfully craggy face that made him larger than life, but his hell-raising extroversion and colorful exploits, coupled with courage and an adventurous nature (as well as a mean streak). He was born in Nevada, Missouri, on August 5, 1906, the son of the distinguished actor Walter Huston, and later himself fathered sons, Tony and Danny, who

became a screenwriter and a film director, respectively. He had a peripatetic childhood, traveling the vaudeville circuit with his father and the horse-racing circuit with his mother (they divorced when John was seven), left school at 14 to become a boxer and, at 19, embarked on a short-lived career as a stage actor in New York, also marrying the first of his wives.

For the next 12 years or so, Huston led an unsettled life that embraced a period as an officer with the Mexican cavalry, small parts in a few films, and reporting for the New York *Graphic*. A fruitless stint as a contract scriptwriter in Hollywood followed before he took off for a nomadic and often poverty-stricken existence in London and Paris, where he studied painting. Back in Hollywood by 1937, he settled in as a writer at Warner Bros., applying himself seriously to his work, which included collaborations on such films as *Jezebel* (1938), *Dr. Ehrlich's Magic Bullet* (1940), *High Sierra*, and *Sergeant York* (both 1941).

Professionally, the sheer length, breadth, and range of Huston's filmography astonishes: in a career that began in 1929 with an acting role in *The Shakedown*, and ended with his directing of *The Dead* in 1987, he accrued almost 90 credits in his various capacities as screenwriter, director, and/or actor. He joined the army in 1942 and made three of the most acclaimed documentaries ever to emerge from the conflict of World War II. The most searing of these, *Let There Be Light* (1945), dealing with the treatment and rehabilitation of shell-shocked soldiers, was banned by the War Department because of its sensitive subject, and was first shown publicly in 1980.

In 1947, along with William Wyler and others, Huston formed the Committee for the First Amendment to counteract the HUAC Hollywood witchhunt. The following year, with the expiration of his Warners contract, he formed Horizon Pictures with independent producer Sam Spiegel, and in 1952, unable any longer to tolerate the McCarthyite atmosphere, he bought a vast country estate in Ireland. He resided there for 20 years with his family, living the hunting-shooting-fishing life of a squire between films. In 1972, he moved to Mexico, married and divorced for the last time, and made nine more films, including his only musical, *Annie* (1982).

In 1987, increasingly ill with emphysema and keeping himself alive with an oxygen tank and sheer will, John Huston directed *The Dead*. Adapted from James Joyce by his son Tony and starring his daughter Anjelica, this delicate and elegiac piece marked the exit of one of American cinema's great warriors.

—Robyn Karney

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## Hutton, Ina Ray (1916-1984)

A pioneer in bringing women musicians onto the jazz scene, svelte Ina Ray Hutton, "The Blonde Bombshell of Rhythm," led an

all-girl swing band, the Melodears, from 1935-39 and again in a television series in 1956. Although her idea was ahead of its time, when the Melodears opened a set with their theme song, "Gotta Have Your Love," few would dispute critic George Simon's claim that "Without a doubt, the sexiest of all big bandleaders was Ina Ray Hutton."

At age fourteen, Chicago-born Ina Ray, the younger sister of June Hutton (who sang with Tommy Dorsey's Pied Pipers) was already in show business, singing and tap dancing with Gus Edwards's vaudeville revues at the Palace Theater in New York City. Four years later she was in the chorus line of the Ziegfeld Follies and George White's Scandals. Her background in dance prepared her for her special style of leading a band, more choreography than conducting.

Changing mind-sets in that era was difficult, and Simon, reviewing an appearance by Hutton's Melodears, wrote: "Only God can make a tree, and only men can play good jazz." Fans of the Melodears praised the band's soloists: Betty Sattley on tenor sax; Alyse Wells, who played several instruments; and Betty Roudebush on piano. Another musician in the band, Ruth Lowe, went on to write two great Frank Sinatra hits: "I'll Never Smile Again" and "Put Your Dreams Away."

After the Melodears folded in 1939, Hutton fronted a band of male musicians in the 1940s, one critic describing her technique as "waving her long baton in a languorous, seductive sort of way." If Hutton's beauty had attracted the crowds, the critic added, good dance

music by the band held them there. By 1943, as the band continued to find a wider audience, it took on an international flavor with the addition of the Kim Loo sisters. Stuart Foster was a popular soloist in the band. One of the leading musicians in the band, tenor saxophonist and arranger George Paxton, went on to form his own orchestra in 1944, but his greatest success came in heading one of New York's most successful music publishing businesses as well as being head of a recording company.

In the early 1950s Hutton returned to her original concept, leading a jazz orchestra of female musicians. Aired nationally on NBC beginning in July 1956, her half-hour variety show had no male regulars or guests. The musicians included Mickey Anderson, clarinet; Deedie Ball, piano; Harriet Blackburn and Lois Cronin, trombones; Janie Davis, Peggy Fairbanks, and Helen Hammond, trumpets; Evie Howeth and Margaret Rinker, drums; and Helen Smith, Judy Van Ever, Zoe Ann Willey, and Helen Wooley, reed section. The show ended in September 1956.

—Benjamin Griffith

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# I

## *I Dream of Jeannie*

NBC's *I Dream of Jeannie* popped onto the NBC airwaves from 1965-1970, debuting with a handsome young Air Force astronaut, forced to abort a mission, parachuting down onto a deserted island. While waiting for the rescue team, he finds a groovy purple bottle and uncorks it. In a puff of smoke, a curvaceous genie in a harem outfit appears, calls him Master and instantly falls in love with him. Coming hot on the heels of *Bewitched* (and instigating the age-old "Jeannie or Samantha" debate among guys), *Jeannie* featured another magical blonde who was denied use of her powers by the misguided man in her life. The difference was, Jeannie called her roommate (and the man she loved) "Master," although one could argue that Jeannie was really the one in charge of that relationship.

Barbara Eden, who played Jeannie (and occasionally, her naughty sister) told *Entertainment Weekly*, "'Master' didn't mean she was a slave. 'Master' was the master because he got the bottle." Nevertheless, Jeannie did stop calling him Master once they got married, which was toward the end of the series run. The long-suffering character's name was actually Anthony Nelson played by Larry Hagman.

The only other character who knew of Jeannie's existence at first was Tony's girl-crazy best friend and fellow astronaut, Roger Healey, played by Bill Daily. The supporting characters included Dr. Bellows,

the base psychiatrist and perpetually dour straight man (Hayden Rorke), his overbearing wife Amanda (Emmaline Henry), and an assortment of commanding officers. The first year it was General Stone (Philip Ober), to whose daughter Melissa Tony was engaged, but jealous Jeannie made short work of that. By the second season father and daughter were both gone, the series went to color, and General Peterson (Barton MacLane) came in as the authority figure for most of the series after that, replaced only in the last season by General Schaeffer (Vinton Hayworth). Originally captains, Nelson and Healey became majors during the course of the series.

When Captain Nelson was first rescued, he tried to tell everyone about his magic discovery, but no one believed him, least of all Dr. Bellows who diagnosed him as delusional. Adding to that was the fact that Jeannie would disappear if anyone but Tony and Roger were around, often leaving them holding the bag. And therein lay the rub week after week: well-meaning, mischievous Jeannie would "blink" Tony into trouble, leaving him to find a way to explain it to Dr. Bellows. Sometimes Roger added to the mix, putting Tony into situations that made Jeannie jealous; her favorite punishment was "blinking" someone into the tenuous position of hanging by a rope over a pit of alligators. The show's magical element gave the writers carte blanche with historical figures and situations; Tony was either "blinked" back in time, or they were "blinked" to him. Viewers also got to learn some unsubstantiated history of the Fertile Crescent—after all, Jeannie, like Spock and Data from the *Star Trek* universe, never, ever used contractions and was originally from Baghdad.

*I Dream of Jeannie* could only have existed where and when it did, on the cusp of the women's movement. Notwithstanding the whole master-slave issue, the arc of the show from beginning to end could also be interpreted as a metaphor for an old-fashioned view of the "power" that women have over men. She knows she'll land him, she uses her "magic" on him; he tries to deny the power and remain a bachelor, but finally succumbs. It's interesting to note that in subsequent attempts at featuring genies in sitcoms (all of them awful), the genies have been male. (In one especially misguided 1983 attempt called *Just Our Luck*, the genie was an African American male . . . with a white "master.")

The show also captured the mid-to-late 1960s fascination with the post-Kennedy space program. After all, the genie could just as well have been found by a tire salesman, but Nelson was an astronaut, frequently sent off on missions. The moon landing seemed as magical as Jeannie's powers back then. It was somehow fitting that the series ended soon after the actual moon landing and as the more jaded 1970s began.

Nineteen seventy-three brought an animated *Jeannie* to Saturday mornings. This Jeannie wasn't discovered by an astronaut, but by a high school student named Corey Anders. In 1985, the dream heroine returned to television in the unimaginatively titled TV movie *I Dream of Jeannie Fifteen Years Later*. Barbara Eden and Bill Daily came back with it, but Larry Hagman, by then again a household name as the ruthless J.R. Ewing on *Dallas*, would have seemed quite out of place and Wayne Rogers (Trapper from TV's *M\*A\*S\*H*) signed on as Tony Nelson. This movie had a special significance: viewers were finally treated to the sight of Jeannie's belly button. Although Eden had spent much of the original series in a low-cut harem outfit, the pants were high-waisted enough to cover her navel, by order of NBC



Barbara Eden in a scene from the television show *I Dream of Jeannie*.

(they didn't seem to have a problem with cleavage). Another network rule the series had to follow was that Jeannie's bottle could never be seen in Tony's bedroom.

Eden and Daily reunited again in the TV movie *I Still Dream of Jeannie* in 1991. The original series, created by bestselling schlock novelist Sidney Sheldon and presumably named after the old Stephen Foster tune, enjoyed rerun success on "Nick at Nite" in the 1990s. "It's timeless," said Barbara Eden in *Entertainment Weekly*. "A genie is always in a costume, and the guys in the show are in uniform, so it doesn't become dated."

—Karen Lurie

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## *I Love a Mystery*

The Golden Age of Radio produced many successful adventure series, but none is recalled with quite the same mixture of devotion and awe as Carlton E. Morse's *I Love a Mystery*. Radio historian John Dunning says that the program "weaves a spell over its fans that is all but inexplicable"; Gerald Nachman notes that it "was the most respected show of its type"; and Jim Harmon brands it simply as "the greatest radio program of all time." While nostalgia often filters the static of creaky plots and wheezing gags characteristic of much old-time radio, the few extant recordings of *ILAM* prove it to be worthy of its extravagant reputation and have made it the "most-sought of all radio shows," according to Dunning. *ILAM* is to the world of radio mystery what *Amos 'n' Andy* is to radio comedy and *One Man's Family* is to radio soap opera—the peak achievement of its particular form. The bizarre adventures of the trio forming the A-1 Detective Agency ("No job too tough, no mystery too baffling") may have been too outrageous to be especially influential in the world of popular entertainment, and the series was not successful in its few forays into books and movies (although Indiana Jones would have fit right in as a fourth partner), but the program still bears examination for the way in which it exhibits, and yet transcends, many of the qualities which defined the classic era of radio drama.

*ILAM*'s opening train whistle, followed by the haunting strains of Sibelius's "Valse Triste" and the eerie chiming of a clock, first sounded in 1939, heralding an initial string of 15-minute and half-hour serial adventures which would come to the end of its line in 1944. Reappearing in 1948 in a curiously muted form as *I Love Adventure*, the series finally got back on track in 1949, with a new cast reprising the scripts from the initial run, until the last chime sounded in 1952. Regardless of the format, Carlton Morse wrote the series at a feverish pitch, with a globe right next to him to help locate the next

exotic setting to which he would zip his peripatetic heroes and rapt listeners. Whether holed up in a gloomy mansion with "The Thing That Cries in the Night" or facing down the mad Holy Joe on "The Island of Skulls," *ILAM*'s intrepid trio would be certain to encounter enough baffling mysteries, beautiful women, and howling terrors to outrage parents and delight their offspring.

Jack Packard was the leader of the group, a tough-talking rationalist who could find a logical explanation for anything he couldn't punch, but never found a dame he could trust. Texas cowboy Doc Long was Jack's loyal assistant ("Honest to my Grandma!") and spent most of his time making certain that the many damsels in distress rejected by Jack were well taken care of. The trio was rounded out occasionally by spunky secretary Jerri Booker but most famously by British Reggie Yorke, who was voiced by a young Tony Randall in the show's later years and could be counted on to lend a more gentlemanly air to the proceedings. Plunging headlong into whatever harebrained escapade Morse could conjure up, the three comrades lived a life so outlandish as to make *The Shadow* or *The Green Hornet* seem positively sedate in comparison.

While the series was most notable for its creative exaggeration of adventure genre trappings, it was innovative in at least three other ways as well. Although Jack, Doc, and Reggie encountered only the most remarkable mysteries and terrible villains, the three men themselves were satisfyingly ordinary. Lacking any special abilities beyond their love of a good scrap and grim determination, they were often puzzled, incorrect, or just plain scared out of their wits, lending to the otherwise fantastical goings-on a realism that listeners could identify with and share. The prosaic nature of the program's heroes was another key ingredient in *ILAM*'s unique formula, which combined elements from the private eye and adventure genres to create a new form capable of encompassing both traditional "whodunits" and blood-and-thunder terrors. Listeners could never know, from one case to the next, which would get a greater workout, thinking caps or fists. Finally, Morse was innovative in his storytelling style. While most radio dramas switched settings several times an episode, Morse liked to open and close each installment in the same location and to approximate "real time" as closely as possible. Such adherence to Aristotelian unity not only bolstered the show's verisimilitude, but also heightened the suspense and allowed Morse to give each of his varied settings a powerful and individual atmosphere.

While the crazed characters and bizarre plots made the most immediate impact, it is the peculiar mood associated with each adventure that remains in the memory—the sound of a phantom baby crying before each murder in Grandma Martin's gloomy mansion, for example, or the howling winds of the Western ghost town with the unlikely name of Bury Your Dead, Arizona, or the "roar with lights and shades in it" which conjured the image of the giant waterfall hiding the magical "Stairway to the Sun." It is, finally, this almost dreamlike evocation of an other-worldly reality that enables *I Love a Mystery* to haunt listeners long after the final train whistle vanished in the distance.

—Kevin Lause

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## *I Love Lucy*

*I Love Lucy* is, without question, the most popular and influential television comedy of all time. Since its debut on CBS on October 15, 1951, the show has been translated into almost every language in the world and has run continuously in international syndication in over 100 U.S. markets and virtually every country in the world for almost half a century. When the show first began to rerun episodes in 1959, its ratings outperformed most of CBS's new programming that year. Such is the continuing popularity of the show that each episode is also available in Spanish, Japanese, Italian, Portuguese, and French. The program has also become a popular culture phenomenon inspiring worldwide fan clubs, web sites, retrospective screenings, and memorabilia for avid collectors. Post cards featuring classic scenes from the show, CDs of music from the show, dolls, lunch boxes, T-shirts, pajamas, aprons, and videotapes of the show continue to sell at a phenomenal rate.



A scene from the television show *I Love Lucy*.

In 1983, a Los Angeles television station honored Lucille Ball on her 72nd birthday by airing a 13 hour *I Love Lucy* marathon running from nine o'clock in the morning until ten o'clock at night. The station vaulted to number one in the ratings and stayed there for the entire day with each half hour winning its time period. The show has also been honored by the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences and by the Museum of Television and Radio.

The secret of the show's continuing popularity beyond the fact that it was incredibly funny and unceasingly creative is that it held up a mirror to every married couple in America and although the mirror was more of the fun house than the cosmetic type, it was still unstintingly honest in its depiction. "We just took ordinary situations and exaggerated them," Ball admitted.

Additionally, the unpretentious family oriented sitcom virtually revolutionized the production and distribution of television shows, setting the standard for all of the TV shows to follow. The show was one of the first comedies performed before a live audience. It also originated the concept of producing a program on film instead of broadcasting it live. Shot with three cameras, the show could be fully edited before it was shown. Using film permitted the rebroadcast of high quality prints of the show at a time when most of its competitors were rerunning their programming on poor quality kinescopes of live shows photographed off of the TV screen. The use of film hastened the move of the television industry from New York to Los Angeles which, during the 1950s, became the hub of filmed programming. It also popularized the concept of reruns, and proved that recycled programming could have renewed life on local stations once its network prime-time days had ended.

Despite the later success of *I Love Lucy*, the show was viewed by many as a long shot when it began. In the late 1940s Lucille Ball had been playing opposite actor Richard Denning on a popular radio show *My Favorite Husband*. CBS-TV became impressed with the show and wanted to bring it to television, but Ball would only agree if her real husband Desi Arnaz could play opposite her in the Denning role. According to a number of sources, this demand was a ploy on her part to save her marriage, which had been gradually deteriorating. Although Ball and Arnaz had been married since 1940, they had been separated by the demands of their work with him touring with his band while she was confined to Hollywood making films. According to Ball, if both stayed in one place and did a television show, the process of working together would help their relationship. Unfortunately, CBS executives and the program's potential advertisers didn't buy the idea, feeling that casting a thick-accented Latino as the husband of a typical American wife would not sit well with U.S. viewers.

To convince them otherwise, the two performers formed Desilu Productions, put together a 20-minute skit and took it on a cross-country barnstorming tour. When the TV show did not immediately materialize, however, Lucy went back to radio and Desi returned to his band. By the end of 1950, CBS relented somewhat, agreeing to let them do a pilot of the proposed show but declined to finance its production or the air time. Undeterred, Ball and Arnaz raised the money themselves and came up with a script about a successful bandleader and his movie star wife. Yet, the show could not find a sponsor willing to put the show on the air. The basic problem was that the pilot was too vaudeville-esque with an over-emphasis on rapid repartee and one liners.

At this point, composer Oscar Hammerstein, Jr., who had toured with Arnaz, stepped in and suggested that the show be re-written. He lobbied to keep the comedic sense of the show but to shed the movie star trappings and to make the characters appear more like an ordinary

couple. Arnaz remained a band leader but, would be a struggling one, like many Americans, he would occupy his time trying to get his big break. When the show began, his character was earning \$150 a week leading the house band at New York's Tropicana night club. Ball's character would be an ordinary housewife harboring visions of breaking into show business that she would act upon almost weekly with inevitably comic results.

Another stumbling point for the show was the title. Arnaz was an unknown quantity, while Ball had a popular following from her motion pictures and radio work, so CBS wanted to call the program *The Lucille Ball Show*. Ball objected because Arnaz's name was not in the title so an advertising agency executive working on the show suggested the "off the wall" title *I Love Lucy*. Since the *I* stood for Arnaz, Ball quickly agreed feeling that the almost equal billing would help her marriage. Not only was her husband's name in the title but with this format he was actually listed first.

The show's production location became yet another source of contention. CBS wanted to broadcast from New York City, the center of the fledgling television industry in 1950 but the Arnazes were reluctant to leave Los Angeles and their show business connections in case the show failed. CBS objected because broadcasting from Los Angeles would mean that the rest of the country would be able to view the show only through the use of kinescopes. Arnaz suggested that if the show were shot on 35 millimeter film as motion pictures were, CBS could distribute high quality prints to network affiliates throughout the country in a manner similar to the distribution systems employed by most movie studios. The production costs would be higher but the overall product would be much better.

The network agreed but was still faced with the never-before-attempted problem of actually filming a 30-minute TV show. To overcome this hurdle, CBS hired Oscar-winning cinematographer Karl Freund (*The Good Earth*, 1937) who collaborated with Ball and Arnaz on treating the show like a stage play and filming it before a live audience, a rare occurrence in 1950. It was also decided to film with three cameras, each shooting from a different angle, and then edit the best shots into the finished product. Director Marc Daniels, one of very few directors to have experience with three cameras, was hired to direct the show. Daniels also had a background in the theater working with live audiences.

To provide counterpoint for Ball and Arnaz's married couple, another couple who lived upstairs joined the cast of characters. After a number of actors and actresses were considered, the parts went to Vivian Vance and William Frawley. However, both were considered risky choices at the time. Vance was coming off a string of stage successes but was not nationally known (in fact, the Arnazes had never heard of her when her name was proposed); Frawley was rumored to be an alcoholic and unreliable. But, the producers took a chance on both.

The show's four lead characters of Lucy and Ricky Ricardo; Fred and Ethel Mertz (Frawley and Vance) related to each other amazingly well. The combination of the younger, more affluent Ricardos and the older, fixed-income Mertz's gave the show's writers a number of opportunities to take the show in different directions without beating the same themes to death week after week. One episode might find Lucy and Ethel involving themselves in a crazy scheme with Ricky and Fred attempting to teach them a lesson. The next might feature the two men planning a secret outing with the women attempting to crash the party. The Mertzes provided a mainstream older couple to offset the always volatile mixed marriage of the Ricardos.

The Ricardos portrayed a recognizable American family. Together, they explored the dynamics of their relationship in a manner that was new to television sitcoms. They were able to convey the fact that while they were adversaries in many of Lucy's "break into show business" shenanigans, they were also deeply in love with each other at the same time. Though bonded as a couple, each character maintained his own unique individuality.

Lucy, with her natural clown-like features reflected a combination of Yankee bravura with a touching vulnerability. Although, true to the times, she was cast as a housewife, she displayed a striking independence and was unafraid to speak her mind to her macho Latin husband. For his part, Ricky Ricardo represented a spectrum of familiar characters. Beginning with the macho hubris of a Latin lover, his expressive face and brown eyes ran the gamut from childlike vulnerability to fiery Latin anger that expressed itself through an hilarious accent that mangled the English language beyond repair.

Lucy, was a stage-struck schemer, possessed with a hyperactive imagination. The character relied on an arsenal of visual and vocal tricks in her effort to execute her wild schemes to crash the world of show business or to outsmart her husband when she got caught. The first was her tendency to drop her jaw in an open-mouthed stance to express her disbelief at what was occurring. If this didn't work, she would hold both arms straight out in front of her and then drop her forearms to indicate that something had gone wrong. Vocally, she would adopt a high pitched voice that erupted in a shriek when she was caught in an embarrassing moment. Then came the cry, monumental in nature, which would rise from her gut and then slowly wail its way up the register to the pitch of a police siren. This would be followed by a blubbing whimper that would constitute her final plea for sympathy and understanding. If her adversary happened to be Ricky, as was most often the case, she would then throw his mangled English language back at him as he attempted to read her the riot act.

The writers used the characters' differing ethnic backgrounds to great comedic effect. Ricky Ricardo's accent and nationality formed the nucleus of some of the show's more popular running gags. In addition to his mispronunciation of words, which was a very real occurrence for Arnaz as well as his character Ricky, the Cuban actor also erupted in a string of Latin epithets whenever he got mad. As Arnaz admitted in an interview, he had to walk a fine line in his use of the language to make sure that it came across as humor instead of rage. "It was the most difficult problem I faced while playing Ricky," he said. "It helped to overemphasize the Latin use of hands and arms when I was excited. Most of all, the rat-tat-tat parade of Spanish words helped me tread that thin line between funny-mad and mad-mad." He augmented this with an ability to pop out his eyes in an inimitable expression of incredulity in reaction to Lucy's antics.

The Mertzes, on the other hand, provided a calmer counterpart to the fiery Ricardos. Ethel and Fred were, first and foremost, older than their downstairs neighbors and somewhat more passive. The Vivian Vance character provided a "girlfriend" for Lucy and a partner in crime. Fred was a pal of Ricky's and someone who helped him in his schemes to thwart Lucy. He also provided one of the series' recurring gags with many jokes and episodes being built on his tightness with a buck. He simply did not like to spend money—a fact that would send the other three characters into a tizzy.

The show premier won unanimous critical approval. It achieved the 16th position in the ratings within eight weeks and climbed to number three by the end of the season with an average of 29 million viewers watching the show each week. The premise was established

in the pilot show when Lucy disguised herself as a clown to sneak into Ricky's nightclub act. Throughout the rest of the season, she continued to rebel against the confines of her life as a housewife and the unfair restrictions of a male-dominated society that seemingly conspired to thwart her dreams of breaking into show business. Each of her attempts to enter into the entertainment world ended in a spectacular mess and she is inevitably forced to backtrack into the shackles of home and hearth.

The show was so popular that department stores, doctors, and dentists canceled their Monday night hours because viewers would not leave their TV sets. During the presidential elections, candidate Adlai Stevenson's office was flooded with hate mail when he cut in on *I Love Lucy* for a five-minute campaign spiel. This mistake was not repeated a decade later when CBS was tempted to pre-empt morning reruns of the show to televise the Senate Vietnam War hearings but backed away due to fears that viewers would be outraged.

In succeeding seasons the show continued to build on the basic premise as their on-screen married life evolved. In the second and third seasons the show centered on the birth of Little Ricky, which was the most popular episode in television history for many years (interestingly, more people watched the birth of Little Ricky than watched the inauguration of Dwight D. Eisenhower as 34th President of the United States and the coronation of Queen Elizabeth of England, all in 1953). Predictably, the biggest adjustment for Lucy lay in the impact of motherhood on her dreams of crashing into show business. The fourth season found Ricky landing a screen test with a Hollywood studio and devoted a number of episodes to a cross country trip from New York to Hollywood where Lucy became involved in a number of adventures with celebrity guest stars including a now famous encounter with William Holden in a comedy of mistaken identities.

The fifth season found the family returning to New York but quickly taking off on a laugh-filled adventure tour of Europe. The final season revolved around the exploits of now five-year old Little Ricky and the couple's move to the suburbs. Ricky purchased the Tropicana and renamed it the Club Babalu and the family grew in affluence and began to tackle a variety of family issues.

One of the prime secrets of the show's success in addition to the chemistry among the four regulars was that the production team stayed relatively intact over the full run of the show. The writer/producer Jess Oppenheimer and the two regular writers Madelyn Pugh and Bob Carroll, Jr. came over with Ball from the *My Favorite Husband* radio show and only three directors were employed during the show's original production: Marc Daniels (1951-52), William Asher (1952-56), and James V. Kern (1955-56).

By 1957, however, Ball and Arnaz had grown tired of the weekly grind of series TV and ceased production of the program. But that was not the end of the characters. The characters were featured over the next three years, a series of 13 one-hour episodes airing as specials and as episodes of the *Westinghouse-Desilu Playhouse* which ran from 1958 to 1960. Their production company, Desilu, which was started primarily to produce *I Love Lucy*, grew from 12 employees in 1951 to 800 in 1957 and branched out into producing a number of well-regarded programs including *The Danny Thomas Show* for other networks and producers. In 1958, the company purchased the old RKO Studios and continued to be one of the most influential producers of the 1950s and 1960s.

The Arnazes divorced in 1960 and Ball went to New York to appear in a Broadway show *Wildcat*. She married comedian Gary

Morton and returned to network TV in 1962 with *The Lucy Show*, which also featured Vivian Vance and Gale Gordon. The show ran until 1968 when it was retitled *Here's Lucy* and featured Ball's real life children Lucie and Desi, Jr. Vance made only sporadic appearances between 1968 and 1971 but the show continued until 1974 as part of the CBS Monday night comedy block that dominated the ratings for the entire period that Ball's show ran.

—Steve Hanson and Sandra Garcia-Myers

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## I Spy

The popular NBC network program, *I Spy* ran for three years from 1965 to 1968. Arriving in the wake of the James Bond phenomenon in the mid-1960s, it was one of several American television series of the period whose fantastic plots revolved around matters of espionage. It was the alchemical starring partnership of Robert Culp and Bill Cosby, however, that elevated *I Spy* to the pantheon of well-loved and well-remembered escapist entertainment, although the duo was supported by scripts that were consistently witty. The stars played secret agents, who roamed the world masquerading as a professional tennis player (Culp) and his manager/trainer (Cosby). Cosby thus became the first black actor in American television to star in prime-time drama as a hero-character on an equal footing with his white fellow actors. Noteworthy, too, for its foreign locations, *I Spy* was filmed almost entirely outside the United States, frequently in Mexico, in the Mediterranean areas of Europe, and in Asia.

—David Lonergan

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## *I Was a Teenage Werewolf*

*I Was a Teenage Werewolf* is generally considered the first of a genre of horror films targeting teenage audiences. The birth of this genre can be attributed to television, drive-in theaters, and the rise of suburbia. Because adults in the 1950s were content to stay home and watch television, teenagers became the marketing targets of the motion picture industry. The film was the brainchild of 29-year-old producer, Herman Cohen. American International Pictures (AIP) released the film to much notoriety. In this very conservative and frightened era, parents and even the federal government felt the delinquency depicted in the film would promote the same type of behavior offscreen—there were government investigations which attempted to prove this. All this negative publicity brought teenagers to see the film in droves—it became AIP's biggest money maker of 1957 and spawned a series of films putting a different spin on the original title.

—Jill A. Gregg

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## Iacocca, Lee (1924—)

Lee Iacocca grew up as a blunt-spoken, patriotic son of immigrants, and rose to become president of the Ford Motor Company and later, chief executive officer of the Chrysler Corporation.

Born Lido Anthony Iacocca in Allentown, Pennsylvania, in 1924, Iacocca earned an engineering degree from Lehigh University and a masters degree from Princeton University before joining Ford Motor Company as a student engineer in 1946. After less than a year he talked his way into a sales job and, at the age of thirty-three, became the head of all national car marketing at the company's Detroit headquarters. He became vice president and general manager of the Ford Division in 1960.

In his new position, Iacocca recognized the growing power of the youth market and organized a team to design a car for it. Iacocca repackaged the engine and platform from the moderately successful Ford Falcon and placed it within a European-inspired, stylish shell. The result was the Mustang, a small car that sat four people and weighed less than most cars on the road. At \$2,300 each, Ford sold more than four hundred thousand Mustangs in 1964, its first model year. The car's styling captured the excitement of youth. The average age of car buyers was thirty-one. Soon Mustang clubs sprang up around the country, and Mustang paraphernalia such as key chains



Lee Iacocca

and hats were suddenly available everywhere. A picture of the Mustang ran simultaneously on the covers of both *Time* and *Newsweek*, and Lee Iacocca also appeared in it.

In 1970, Iacocca was named president of Ford, second in the company only to Chairman Henry Ford II. Iacocca soon brought out another successful car, the Cougar, as well as a large failure, the Pinto. When Iacocca's aggressive ambition and showboating drew the ire of Ford, a power struggle developed between the two men. As each attempted to outmaneuver the other, Ford installed other executives above his former number-two man. In 1978, Iacocca was fired. Ford Motor Company had earned profits of \$1.8 billion in each of the previous two years.

Iacocca soon accepted the position of CEO at the unprofitable and debt-ridden Chrysler Corporation across town. He was famous when working at Ford, but at Chrysler, Iacocca built himself into a celebrity. The car industry in America traditionally represented the best successes of American capitalism. But, by the 1970s, it had come to signify inefficiency and the abdication of America's economic leadership role to international, or "foreign," competition. When Iacocca took over Chrysler, it was the smallest of the "big three" American automakers and was rapidly losing money and market share.

Iacocca made a number of radical, public steps to turn the company around. He did what was then unthinkable and lobbied the American government to bail Chrysler out of its financial problems. After a protracted public debate in the media and on Capitol Hill, both houses of Congress approved \$1.5 billion dollars of loan guarantees for the company. Iacocca won discounts from his suppliers, wage concessions from his workers, and loan payment reschedulings from Chrysler's creditors. These actions were unprecedented. The auto industry had traditionally fought government interference and proudly recalled the day Henry Ford shocked the country by doubling his workers' wages. Its executives had boasted of how America's prosperity was tied to its successful auto industry.

As part of his aggressive salvage effort, Iacocca put a face on America's tenth largest corporation, appending his signature to Chrysler print ads, and personally appearing in its television ads. He played the role of the blunt, tough-talking, honest businessman by challenging the public, "If you can find a better car—buy it!" He not only personalized the fight to save Chrysler as *his* fight but represented it as America's fight to save itself. In Chrysler's television ads he appeared surrounded by red, white, and blue, entreating viewers, "Let's make America mean something again." Iacocca's public persona was the right image at the right time. Under Ronald Reagan, a wave of patriotism swept the country, and the American carmaker's challenge to be proud of America and its products was met with a warm response.

In 1980, Chrysler released its line of utilitarian K-cars, similar in build to Iacocca's beloved Mustang but its polar opposite in terms of character and style. The K-cars were boxy, plain, and functional. They were spare, restrained cars for a time of diminished economic expectations. Iacocca, ever the patriot, boasted that, though they were small and light, they were still "big enough to hold six Americans." His next move was to introduce the nation's first minivan. It was wildly successful, and other automakers soon released their own versions.

By 1984, the Chrysler Corporation had paid back its loans seven years early and was a remarkable success story by any measure. Iacocca was treated as a national hero and was considered a possible presidential candidate. In the mid-1980s, he published a best-selling autobiography and served as chairman of the commission that renovated the Statue of Liberty.

Iacocca retired from Chrysler in 1992. After his departure, he publicly criticized the new management's efforts to improve quality and, in 1996, joined an investment group seeking to acquire the automaker. The effort failed and, ironically, earned him such enmity from within Chrysler that it canceled plans to name its new headquarters after him.

As the father of the Mustang, Iacocca considered himself a "car man" who disdained the "bean counters" at Ford and understood what made automobiles magical and exhilarating to Americans. Though he depended on the government, his workers, his creditors, and his suppliers to help Chrysler out of trouble, his unabashed challenge to be proud of America and its products won him the image of a self-reliant patriot out to redeem the country. Throughout, Iacocca was a master creator of products, profits, and his own image.

—Steven Kotok

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## IBM (International Business Machines)

According to the *Washington Post*, "IBM didn't invent the computer . . . it invented the computer industry." Eventually expanding to become the largest company in the world, International Business Machines (IBM) came to represent, at different points in its history, the best and the worst of big business and American corporate culture.

Charles Ranleigh Flint, the "Father of Trusts," founded the Computing-Tabulating-Recording Company in 1911 upon the acquisition and merger of three manufacturers of such products as shopkeepers' scales, punch clocks, and large tabulating machines used by the census bureau. Flint hired Thomas J. Watson, Sr. to run his new company.

Watson was a star salesman and business executive at National Cash Register before joining what would become IBM. Upon his arrival, he implemented a system of territories, quotas, and commissions for his salesmen. The motto "T-H-I-N-K" was posted in all branch offices and salesmen were required to dress in sharp blue suits and white shirts. Those who met their quota joined the One Hundred Percent Club. The methods were successful, and by 1920, the company had tripled its revenues to \$15.9 million. Watson renamed the firm International Business Machines in 1924. The sales focus and buttoned-up image Watson honed during the company's early days came to define IBM through the remainder of the twentieth century.

But beyond his sales focus, Thomas Watson was evangelical in his company pride and instilled his brand of optimism in his employees. He offered perks such as company sports teams, bands, and family outings. In the 1930s, IBM became one of the first companies to offer life insurance, survivor benefits, and paid vacations to its staff, and during World War II, it used profits from manufacture of weapons for the government to start a fund for widows and orphans of IBM war casualties.

From its origins as a manufacturer of tabulating machines, hawked by impeccably-dressed salesmen, IBM came to dominate the computer mainframe market in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, earning the moniker, "Big Blue." Fueled by the personal computer boom of the early 1980s, the company became the largest and most profitable corporation the world had yet known. Ranked as America's most admired company year after year in surveys of U.S. businesses, IBM astonished the business community and consumers alike with its consistent growth and profitability, its lifetime employment policy, famed management methods, crack sales force, and technological leadership. It represented to many the ideal of what American corporate culture and big business could achieve.

By the early 1990s, however, IBM had come to represent just the opposite. In a very public fall from grace, it recorded the largest ever loss in corporate history, abandoned its lifetime employment guarantee, and shed tens of thousands of workers. The company, it seemed, had become the epitome of an overgrown, anonymous, monopolistic,



An IBM computer and printer c. 1980s.

bureaucratic monster—outmatched in marketing and technology by swifter, nimbler competitors; too big to change, it appeared destined to collapse under its own ungainly weight. By the end of the twentieth century, though, IBM staged a turnaround, and reemerged as a profitable corporate giant once more.

From the beginning, IBM grew rapidly. Through the 1920s and 1930s, the company profited by renting electric punched-card accounting machines to large companies. During the Great Depression, famously holding to its optimism and faith that the economy would improve, the company continued production at full capacity, even as sales declined. By 1936, IBM held 85 percent of the office machine market, with sales of \$26 million. New Deal programs, such as the Social Security Act of 1935, required businesses and government alike to keep more records, thus increasing the demand for IBM's punched-card tabulating systems. By 1940, IBM had revenues of \$46 million and a workforce of nearly 13,000 employees. Wrote *Fortune* that same year, "The International Business Machines Corp. has beheld no past so golden as the present. The face of Providence is shining upon it . . . it has skirted the slough of the Great Depression . . . its growth has been strong and steady."

It was the mainframe computer business that propelled IBM's explosive growth in the post-war era. After World War II, Watson Sr. greatly increased the firm's research and development budget, and his son, Thomas Watson, Jr., championed computer development. In 1948, IBM installed one of its first computers, a-buzz with thousands of neon lamps, relays, switches, tape readers, and punches on the ground floor of its New York headquarters for passersby to gawk at through a window. By 1960, there were 5,000 computers in the United States, most of them made by IBM, whose annual revenues had ballooned to \$1.6 billion.

During this period, IBM was legendary as a fair and generous employer. Watson, Sr. had not resorted to mass layoffs during the

Depression, and continued to pay salaries to absent employees serving in World War II. The firm generously paid moving expenses for transferred employees, guaranteeing a minimum resale price for their homes and retraining spouses for jobs in their new cities. Most famous of all was IBM's guarantee of lifetime employment for all workers.

Through its introduction of what became large-scale public goods, the company became an institution. IBM created FORTRAN in 1957, the world's first widely accepted computer language. In 1964, it implemented the largest civilian computerization task ever undertaken, the revolutionary SABRE reservation system used by American Airlines, and proceeded to implement similar systems for the other major airlines. In 1973, IBM created and implemented the ubiquitous Universal Product Code and bar code systems used in supermarkets.

But IBM's core business was mainframe computers, and in this area, it held a 70 percent market share through the 1960s. Its competitors, left to split up the remainder of the industry, were often referred to in the business press as the "seven dwarfs." IBM's investment in research and development was unmatched. In the 1960s, the company undertook the largest ever development project up to that point, a five-billion-dollar effort to create the next generation of mainframe computers, an effort larger than the Manhattan Project.

As technology advanced, computing power became less concentrated in large mainframes and, by the mid-1970s, personal computers were possible in the home, each as powerful as the early mainframes of decades before. IBM's next challenge was to sell these types of computers, not directly to other businesses via its sales network as in the past, but to consumers through the retail market. In the early 1980s, the company unveiled its line of personal computers, which propelled its growth ever higher, even as new competitors such as

Apple Computer and Microsoft began to stake out claims in the growing market with their own rapid growth.

Dubbed by *Barron's*, “America’s most beloved stock” and by *The Washington Post*, “long the bluest of the blue-chip performers,” the reliability and size of IBM stock and dividend growth was renowned. Said *Barron's*, “just about everyone and his dog owns IBM.” Watson, Jr. was labeled by *Fortune Magazine*, “the greatest capitalist in history.” IBM was highlighted in the 1982 business book *In Search of Excellence*. It grew to be the most valuable company in the world in 1984, worth \$72 billion and earning the largest profit ever to that point, \$6.6 billion.

But as IBM’s reputation was growing as a fair, wildly successful and innovative company, it was coming to represent something else, too. In 1969, the government began a 13-year, ultimately unsuccessful, anti-trust case against the accused monopolist. In 1975, IBM pulled the plug on its five-year Future Systems development project for the next generation of mainframe computers, effectively wasting over \$100 million and many millions of staff hours. The impression was spreading that IBM was just too big and involved in too many businesses; too bureaucratic to execute or innovate, as a monopoly it just didn’t have to try.

In 1984, the year of IBM’s record profits and valuation, a comparatively small upstart, Apple Computer, ran a historic television advertisement during the Super Bowl. In the ad, an endless regiment of identical gray drones stared at a large screen, listening to a speech by an authoritarian leader—only to be freed by a colorful interloper who shatters the screen. This portrayal of “Big Blue” as “Big Brother” was an explicit reference to George Orwell’s dystopic totalitarian vision in his novel *1984*.

The final blows came in the early 1990s, when the company suffered its first loss in history and its stock market value fell by more than half. In 1993, the company took a loss of \$8.5 billion. Said *Barron's* in late 1992, “The old saw that IBM is always a safe stock pick, handed down through the generations . . . finally bit the dust last week.” Also in 1992, *Fortune* wrote about IBM’s “bulging, lethargic bureaucracy,” and said, “employee morale is in the dumps,” labeling the company a “humbled American corporate behemoth” with an “inward-looking culture” that had “lost touch with consumers.” According to *The Wall Street Journal* in 1993, the company had “unraveled.” IBM ran nearly one hundred different voluntary buyout and early retirement programs to reduce staff while trying to maintain its no-layoff policy.

By the late 1990s, IBM had largely recovered. By hiring its first ever CEO from outside the company, acquiring other firms, and selling off some of its businesses, it was able to regain profitability, but not its unquestioned dominance in what had become a much larger industry.

For many Americans, IBM—strong, paternalistic, and rapidly growing—was emblematic of the triumph of American corporate culture for most of the twentieth century. Indeed, their methods and image were similarly regarded internationally. This made its dramatic failures in the early 1990s all the more astonishing, as observers watched the company rapidly become a symbol for all that was wrong, not right, with corporate America. Its reemergence in the late 1990s saved the company, but not the rarefied ideal that large, benevolent corporations could represent the best of an ingenious, industrious, and compassionate American business culture. An American myth that IBM helped to create, it now helped to dispel.

—Steven Kotok

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## Ice Cream Cone

The ice cream cone is a familiar feature of the American leisure landscape, carrying with it associations of fairgrounds, ice cream parlors, drugstore soda fountains, and all-American kids (and adults) enjoying a sunshine treat. Since its invention early in the twentieth century, the cone has spread to become a common confection all over the developed world. Ice cream itself was a popular confection in America as early as the 1800s, but was only placed in an edible



A triple scoop vanilla ice cream cone.

container 100 years later. The first patent for an ice cream cone maker was granted to New York City ice cream vendor Italo Marchiony in 1903, but aficionados continue to debate the true inventor of the cone. The popularity of the ice cream cone dates to the 1904 St. Louis Exposition, when Ernest Hamwi, a Syrian who sold waffles next to an ice cream concessionaire, thought to combine the two treats, creating the “World’s Fair Cornucopia”—a portable way to eat ice cream.

During the 1920s and 1930s, new cone designs came out almost every year, resembling real or fanciful objects such as skyscrapers and rocket ships, but by the 1940s, two main types dominated the cone market—the flat-bottomed “waffle” cone cast from batter, and the pointed “sugar” cone, made from a large waffle-patterned wafer. Along with the rise of specialist ice cream shops like Ben & Jerry’s in the 1980s came a new interest in homemade cones. Sometimes costing as much as the ice cream itself, the new waffle cones, hand-baked and hand-rolled, are offered in a variety of flavors, including chocolate, chocolate chip, oat bran, and honey.

—Wendy Woloson

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## Ice Shows

No sport grew as phenomenally during the last two decades of the twentieth century as figure skating. Having been a favorite sport among women, its popularity was bolstered by Olympic gold medal winners Peggy Fleming (1968), Janet Lynn (1972), Dorothy Hamill (1976), Scott Hamilton (1984), Brian Boitano (1988), and Kristi Yamaguchi (1992). While diehard fans followed the sport through various ice shows, competitions, and television performances, it was the bumbling fiasco of the attack on Nancy Kerrigan in 1994 by the cohorts of a jealous Tonya Harding that propelled figure skating into the news headlines. By the end of the twentieth century, it ranked second behind pro football in television ratings. It is particularly significant that the sport came so far after suffering the devastating loss of its entire roster of top skaters and coaches in an airplane crash on the way to the World Championships in Lyon, France, on February 5, 1961.

Though ice shows benefitted greatly from a new surge in popularity with increased exposure and million-dollar incomes for top skaters, ice shows had been an American tradition since the early twentieth century. The first show was held at the Hippodrome in New York City in 1915. It was followed by an ice ballet imported from Berlin, *Flirting in St. Moritz*, which ran for an unprecedented 300 days and inspired the movie *The Frozen Warning* in 1916. The Ice Follies began in 1936 and continued to entertain audiences for 30 years. Ice skating had its super stars even in its early days. Norwegian

skating sensation Sonja Henie enticed fans to ice shows by the thousands and eventually skated her way into Hollywood films.

The Ice Capades was the most venerable of ice shows. Beginning on February 14, 1940, in Hershey, Pennsylvania, it featured some of the greatest names in ice skating: Dick Button, Scott Hamilton, Jane Torvil, Christopher Dean, and Dorothy Hamill, who bought the show in 1991. Hamill believed that the focus of the show should be on telling a story rather than on the disjointed vaudevillian skits of the past. *Cinderella Frozen in Time*, for example, turned the classic fairy tale into a skating spectacular. Unfortunately, the Ice Capades foundered under her stewardship.

In 1986, after Scott Hamilton won the 1984 gold medal for men’s figure skating, he determined that skaters should have more opportunity for participating in the sport they loved. The result was Stars on Ice, sponsored chiefly by Discover Stars of America. Each year, roughly a dozen top skaters spend December through April touring the country, providing fans with performances that are elegant, breathtaking, or funny. A number of other ice shows, including Campbell’s Tour of World Champions and Disney’s World on Ice, have followed suit. Before the establishment of these modern ice shows, skaters often performed in ten to twelve shows a week, a grueling schedule that sapped both their energies and their talents. While the shows appear glamorous, they require hard work from skaters who spend much of the year traveling from city to city and rarely staying long enough to enjoy the local sights. They frequently spend holidays away from their families and friends, and members of the professional skating world often fall victim to broken relationships that cannot survive the strain.

For fans, though, ice shows are memorable events. No other sport offers the diversity of so much talent. Whether it be the spectacular jumps of Brian Boitano, the crazy antics of Scott Hamilton, the sheer beauty of Kristi Yamaguchi, the elegance of Ekaterina Gordeeva, the awesomeness of Isabelle Brasseur and Lloyd Eisler, the innovativeness of Jane Torvil and Christopher Dean, the athleticism of Surya Bonaly, or the unexpectedness of Gary Beacom, ice shows are sheer magic.

In addition to the traveling shows, television has become a smorgasbord of skating talent. Virtually every major skater has had at least one television show devoted to his or her talents. In 1988 Brian Boitano became the first male athlete to have his own television special with *Canvas on Ice*. In addition, his *Skating Romance* specials were featured annually on American television. In December 1998, the USA network aired *Skate against Hate*, one of a number of theme-related shows with Boitano as both producer and star. Peggy Fleming, a frequent star of skating specials after bringing home the gold in 1968, joined co-host Dick Button in serving as commentator for ice skating competitions. Scott Hamilton frequently joins them, along with appearing in specials of his own, such as *Disney’s Scott Hamilton Upside Down*. Both Nancy Kerrigan and Kristi Yamaguchi also became regular hosts for skating events. Canadian Elvis Stojko appeared in *Elvis on Ice*. Russian skater Ekaterina Gordeeva starred in the Christmas specials featuring Snowden the snowman. Boitano joined Russian skaters Oksana Baiul and Viktor Petrenko in an ice show version of *The Nutcracker Suite*.

With its phenomenal success, ice skating has become a gold mine for skaters and promoters alike. Kristi Yamaguchi reportedly earned three to four million dollars a year in the late 1990s. Other millionaire skaters include Brian Boitano, Scott Hamilton, Nancy Kerrigan, and Oksana Baiul. Michelle Kwan and Tara Lipinski, who won the Olympic silver and gold respectively in the 1998 Olympics,



were well on the way to joining that elite group by the end of the century. Paul Wylie, 1992 silver medalist, chose to continue skating over entering Harvard Law School, declaring that he would be foolish to give up the income of a high profile professional skater. Given their enormous popularity and ability to rake in huge revenues, ice shows will continue to entertain a besotted American public and inspire young skaters to reach for the gold.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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## Ice-T (1958—)

Releasing his first track, “The Coldest Rapper,” in 1983, Ice-T became Los Angeles’s first rap artist. He has since become one of America’s most outspoken rappers, boasting a violent past in which he claims to have been shot twice. Indeed, his name was inspired by



Ice-T

former pimp and best-selling author Iceberg Slim. Ice-T recalled in his book *The Ice-T Opinion*, “He would talk in rhyme—hustler-like stuff—and I would memorize lines. People in school would always ask me to recite them.” Ice-T’s experiences as a gang member provided the material for four albums in three years. Although the first rapper to have warning stickers placed on his album sleeves, Ice-T emerged as a voice for dispossessed black youth. He went on to become an institution on the West Coast, running his own record company, Rhythm Syndicate.

Ice-T was born Tracy Marrow in Newark, New Jersey. Following his parents’ death he moved to Los Angeles and attended Crenshaw High School in South Central L.A. His journey to the big time was anything but smooth. He made several records and appeared in three hip-hop films, *Rappin’* (1985), *Breakin’* (1984), and *Breakin’ II*, without any notable success. It wasn’t until a few years later that he signed a record deal with Sire Records, releasing his debut album *Rhyme Pays* in 1987. While most of the album’s tracks dealt with the familiar topics of sex and women (for example, “I Love Ladies” and “Sex”), two stood out in particular: “6 in the Morning” and “Squeeze the Trigger.” These tracks were to define the subject matter of Ice-T’s later hardcore rapping: living in the ghetto, street violence, criminal activity, and survival. He stated, “I try to walk the edge. I’m going to tell you what you need to hear, not what you want to hear.” Indeed, it was the latter track that inspired actor/director Dennis Hopper to ask Ice-T to contribute the title song to his movie *Colors* (1988), a brutal depiction of gang culture in L.A.

Following the success of the track “Colors,” Ice-T released his second album *Power* (1988). The record depicts an L.A. cityscape that would not be out of place on the set of a blaxploitation movie: pimps, hookers, hit men, cars, and drugs. This was backed up by wah-wah guitar riffs and samples borrowed from Curtis Mayfield giving the album the sound of 1970s funk. On “I’m Your Pusherman,” Ice-T lifted a track wholesale from Mayfield’s *Superfly*.

Ice-T’s third album, *Freedom of Speech* (1989), seemed to demarcate a shift to an even more militant stance. The track “Lethal Weapon” recalls Public Enemy’s “Miuzi Weighs a Ton,” adopting a violent persona with lines such as “I’m a nigger on the trigger/Madder than a pit bull.” Ice-T still had not discarded his earlier pimp/player image, which is evidenced in his fourth album *Original Gangster (O.G.)* (1991). The title of the album coined a new phrase that entered the rap lexicon, and the album as a whole was placed alongside some of rap’s best recordings.

Ice-T recorded two more albums, *Home Invasion* (1993) and *Born Dead* (1994), as a solo artist and appeared in several films, the most notable being his part as a cop in *New Jack City* (1991). In addition to his solo performances, Ice-T also formed a spinoff metal/hardcore band called *Body Count* that released an eponymous album in 1992. The inclusion of the notorious track “Cop Killer” ensured further headlines and earned Ice-T the number-two slot on the FBI National Threat list.

As Ice-T continued to appear in films and on television throughout the 1990s, the controversy he incited receded. His gangster persona was copied and perfected by many other West Coast “gangsta” rappers such as Snoop Doggy Dogg and Dr. Dre. Nonetheless, it could be argued that without Ice-T these rappers would not have become a part of popular culture in America, for he was the first West-Coast rapper to gain respect in rap’s birthplace, New York City.

—Nathan Abrams

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## In Living Color

Airing on Fox Television from 1990-1994, the series *In Living Color* was the first sketch comedy to feature a majority African American cast. Keenan Ivory Wayans was the creative force behind the show, which included his brother, Damon Wayans, and a smattering of other comic actors such as David Alan Grier, Tommy Davidson, Chris Rock, and Jim Carrey. *In Living Color* brought to the screen lasting characters like Homey the Clown, gay film critics Blaine and Antoine in "Men on Film" (with their ratings system of "two snaps up"), and the oblivious Fire Marshal Bill, in addition to a troupe of well-choreographed female dancers ("Fly Girls") that appeared after skits. Though the show was sometimes criticized for its stereotypes and objectionable material, it was nevertheless respected for being the first to address urban themes in such a context.

—Geri Speace

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## The Incredible Hulk

The Incredible Hulk is one of Marvel Comics' most popular superheroes. Created in 1962 by Stan Lee and Jack Kirby, the Hulk is a green-skinned brute with enormous physical strength, dull wits, and a hot temper. He is the alter-ego of Dr. Bruce Banner, a nuclear physicist accidentally exposed to gamma radiation. Banner transforms into the Hulk during times of stress.

Along with Spider-Man, the Hulk established Marvel's definitive formula of troubled superheroes alienated from the society that they fight to protect. Constantly misunderstood by the public and persecuted by the authorities, the Hulk became a natural favorite among young people during the 1960s and 1970s who identified themselves with anti-establishment trends.

The Hulk's popularity peaked in the late 1970s when his comic book was adapted into a successful prime-time CBS TV series. Despite frequent revisions in the Hulk's appearance and character during the 1980s and 1990s, he remains one of the most recognizable superheroes ever produced by the comic-book industry.

—Bradford Wright

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## Independence Day

Directed by Roland Emmerich, *Independence Day* was an epic film about an apocalyptic invasion of the Earth by extraterrestrials. The film opened in July of 1996 to enormous box-office profits. It benefitted from a canny advertising campaign featuring as its centerpiece a shot of the destruction of the White House and set a record by collecting \$100 million in six days. *Independence Day* went on to earn \$306 million, putting it among the top ten highest grossing films ever. Most critics were less kind to the film, pointing to its stereotypical ethnic characters, an implausible *deus ex machina* ending, and a rather nationalistic subtext disingenuously cloaked behind its multicultural pretensions. Others pointed to the extremely derivative nature of the film, including not-so-subtle science fiction borrowings from *The War of the Worlds*, *The Day the Earth Stood Still*, *Alien*, *Star Wars*, *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*, *V*, and *The X Files*. Nevertheless, audiences flocked to *Independence Day*, making it the cinematic success story of 1996.

Set in the month of July during a year in the early twenty-first century, the film opens ominously, with a shot of a gigantic shadow, accompanied by rumbles and tremors, passing over the site of mankind's first lunar landing. Scientific and military organizations alike quickly detect that an immense object one-fourth the size of the moon, apparently under intelligent control, is taking up a position in near-Earth orbit. The object, which turns out to be a mother ship, releases 15 smaller, but still miles across, disc-shaped craft that enter the Earth's atmosphere in clouds of fire to hover silently over major world cities. The film then introduces its major characters, all of whom will transcend personal failure to become heroes in the upcoming battle: the politically embattled U.S. President and veteran Gulf War pilot, Thomas Whitmore; Steven Hiller, an F-16 pilot and failed NASA applicant; Jasmine Dubrow, Hiller's exotic-dancer girlfriend; David Levinson, a New York cable-television scientist who has failed at his marriage and his career; Constance Spano, Levinson's ex-wife and aide to President Whitmore; and Russell Casse, an alcoholic cropduster and Vietnam War veteran pilot. As a panicked civilization becomes increasingly destabilized, Levinson discovers that the discs are using Earth's satellites to synchronize a countdown to a simultaneous worldwide attack. Accompanied by his father, Levinson convinces Constance to tell the president about the imminent attack. Though the news comes too late for any effective evacuation, the president, some of his staff, and the Levinsons are able to escape Washington just as the discs, acting in concert, fire their primary weapons to create firestorms that engulf and utterly destroy the world's major cities, including New York and Los Angeles.

The second part of the film focuses on mankind's counterattack against the alien invaders. The president, who has lost his wife in the invasion, personally commands the national, and eventually worldwide, effort. Hiller not only survives a massive but futile F-16 attack on one of the discs and its hordes of fighters, but also manages to

shoot down and capture alive one of the aliens. During the counteroffensive, Whitmore learns to his anger that a covert branch of the government, kept secret even from the president, has been studying an alien fighter, captured in the late 1950s, at the infamous Area 51 in the Nevada desert. Through close inspection of the captured ship, Levinson finds that he will be able to introduce a disabling computer virus into the alien computer network, provided someone can dock the smaller fighter with the mother ship. Hiller volunteers to fly the alien fighter. Meanwhile, the president and Russell Casse, among other volunteers, suit up to fly a coordinated F-16 attack against all of the discs the second the virus paralyzes the alien craft and lowers their shields. Whitmore delivers an inspirational speech to the amassed volunteers shortly before the attack. Even with the virus successfully introduced and the shields down, however, the discs prove too hardy for missiles until Casse's suicide plunge into a disc's primary weapon shows the other pilots how to bring the discs down. Hiller and Levinson, barely escaping the destruction of the mother ship, fly back to Earth to find that the smaller discs have all been destroyed as well. The victory, which takes place on July 4, ensures that Independence Day will no longer be only an American holiday.

German-born Roland Emmerich and American Dean Devlin, the creative duo behind *Independence Day*, first teamed up in the United States for 1992's *Universal Soldier*, which starred Jean Claude Van Damme. Emmerich and Devlin achieved name-recognition status and modest commercial success with 1994's *Stargate*, a film about aliens, time travel, the modern military, and ancient Egypt. For *Stargate*, Emmerich directed, co-wrote, and co-produced and Devlin co-wrote and co-produced, as would be the case with their next project. According to its creators, *Independence Day* was conceived to be an homage to war and adventure movies, specifically the 1970s epic-scale and multi-character disaster movies. The chairman of Twentieth Century-Fox, Peter Chernin, agreed to back Emmerich and Devlin's project. Solid, recognizable actors such as Will Smith (Steve Hiller), Bill Pullman (President Whitmore), Jeff Goldblum (David Levinson), Randy Quaid (Russell Casse), Mary McDonnell (the First Lady), Judd Hirsch (doting Jewish father Julius Levinson), Harvey Fierstein (David's boss Marty Gilbert), and Brent Spiner (in a brief but unforgettable cameo as the outlandish Dr. Brakkish Okun, scientific leader at the Area 51 research facility) were cast. Location shooting began in 1995. Manhattan provided an urban background for crowd reaction shots to the awe-inspiring arrival of the interstellar visitors. The Bonneville Salt Flats in Utah served as a panoramic backdrop for the scene where Hiller leads an enormous caravan of refugees to the Area 51 facility. The hangars of the old Hughes aircraft facility in Los Angeles housed the special effects facilities involving the film's extensive pyrotechnic and miniatures (aircraft, cities, alien ships) work. In postproduction, dozens of computer-generated images were combined with existing special effects shots to create an intricately layered, visually spectacular depiction of the alien invasion. (The special effects won the 1996 Academy Award in that category.) The film ultimately cost \$71 million, which was not an extravagant amount by 1990s cinematic budgetary standards. The resultant financial success of *Independence Day* placed enormous pressure on Emmerich and Devlin to produce a film of similar spectacle and profitability as a follow-up. However, their 1998 film *Godzilla*, while profitable, was considered to be one of 1998's big-budget flops. Also released in 1998, the laser disc edition of *Independence Day* is eight minutes longer than the already lengthy theatrical release, primarily because of additional dialogue between the principal characters and

one scene involving Dr. Okun's inspection of the interior of the alien fighter.

—Philip L. Simpson

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## The Indian

Numerous tribes of Indian people populated the Americas for thousands of years before the arrival of Europeans. As Jack Weatherford writes in his book, *Indian Givers*, these peoples created great architectural monuments, made intelligent use of natural resources, created new plant species through selective breeding, made great discoveries in mathematical and astronomical knowledge, and reshaped the physical landscape. But as impressive as the achievements of Indian peoples have been, the *image* of "the Indian"—in literature, in the visual arts, in advertising, in entertainment, and elsewhere—has cast a far longer shadow upon the consciousness of the Euro-American society than the living individuals themselves. This has been true since the earliest days of European contact.

One of the earliest outlets for disseminating the image of "the Indian" was the outpouring of "Indian captivity narratives," which began in the early eighteenth century. These popular writings recorded hair-raising tales—both true and fictional—of settlers captured by Indians. Bearing titles such as *The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion* (1707) by Massachusetts minister John Williams, they followed a rather predictable formula. In it, a white hero or heroine was abducted, underwent sufferings and even torture, was initiated into Indian society, but was finally and miraculously delivered once again to his or her own people, through the grace of God. The Indian which emerged out of these narratives was typically a *savage beast*: primitive, sadistic, cunning, filthy, villainous, and altogether terrifying. Especially in the Puritan era, he was often shown as a direct tool of Satan, and he shrank not even from such vile acts as human mutilation, dismemberment, and cannibalism.

The captivity narratives were more than just a well-loved form of American entertainment, although they were certainly that: virtually no first edition copies of captivity narratives exist today because people actually read them until the pages disintegrated. But besides diverting their audience, the captivity narratives also instructed. Their wide circulation made them a very influential source of information about Indians in both America and Europe, and one which allowed the Puritans to think through their place and mission in the "New World." In them, America became the new, biblical "Promised Land" to be given over to them, the children of God, after the occupying hordes of pagans, the children of Satan, had been driven out.

It is hardly the case, however, that all the images of the Indian in America have been negative. To stand alongside the "bad Indian" of the captivity narratives, Americans also invented a "good Indian" or "noble savage." The good Indian was handsome, strong, gentle, kind, brave, intelligent, and unfettered by the artificiality and various

corruptions of “civilized” life. One powerful version of the “good Indian” appeared in the early nineteenth century. This was the image of the Indian as *wise healer*. By this time, Euro-Americans had discovered that American Indians had a sophisticated knowledge of a great many medical procedures and preparations (including bone setting, febrifuges, and painkillers). Whereas the “bad Indian” had been ideologically useful to the dominant society, the Indian healer turned out to be commercially useful. White purveyors of patent medicine began capitalizing on widespread respect for Indian medical knowledge by associating their products with Indians, and traveling medicine shows such as the Kiowa Indian Medicine and Vaudeville Company often featured Indian performers. Unfortunately, however, the main ingredients in patent medicines commonly consisted of alcohol, cocaine, or opium, rather than any of the more useful therapeutic substances known to Indian physicians. The increasing sensationalization of medicine shows, along with the professionalization and increasing social power of white physicians, eventually caused “Indian medicine” to fall into disrepute.

Nevertheless, “the Indian” did not disappear from public consciousness with the eclipse of the “healer” image. In 1883, William F. (“Buffalo Bill”) Cody introduced a new kind of traveling entertainment, the wild West show, which also featured Indian performers. Here, however, these performers appeared as ferocious *warriors*. In staged battles, they assaulted wagon trains, fired off volleys of arrows, and displayed impressive equestrian skills. Many Indian people—including even the great Sioux chief Sitting Bull—acted in these shows. The same warrior image had been featured in the cheap paperbacks of the mid-nineteenth century known as “dime novels,” and it was eventually transferred with little alteration into Western movies, the first and most famous of which was *The Great Train Robbery*. Like the captivity narratives which were their literary forebears, the Western movies frequently thematized the savage horrors which awaited whites who fell into Indian hands. “Save the last bullet for yourself” was Hollywood’s oft-repeated advice to anyone fending off an Indian attack.

The Western shows, books, and movies defined the war-bonneted Plains tribesman as *the* prototypical or “real” Indian. This image has remained the standard against which Indian-ness was commonly measured even into the closing years of the twentieth century. Yet those years have also introduced some new roles for this standardized Indian to play. One of the more important is the role of the *gentle ecologist*. American boys’ and girls’ clubs such as the Scouts, Woodcraft Indians, and Campfire Girls played a significant role in the dissemination of this, another “good Indian” image, ever since the early years of the twentieth century. The clubs packed young people off to summer camps with Indian-sounding names where they were to enjoy outdoor sports and natural living after the supposed fashion of native peoples, who were imagined as innocent children of nature with a deep knowledge of its secrets. American youths progressed within the hierarchy of the clubs by acquiring knowledge of such things as woodsmanship, nature lore, and the production of rustically imagined Indian crafts such as “buckskin” clothing and birchbark models.

Commercial advertising has also made free use of the ecologist image, and its best-known representative was the late Iron Eyes Cody, an actor who starred in an educational campaign for the nonprofit organization, Keep America Beautiful, in the 1970s. The television

advertisement in which Cody rode a horse down a beach polluted with garbage, silently surveyed the desecration of the land, and finally allowed a single tear to slip down his weathered cheek, burned itself into the minds of an entire generation of Americans. The advertisement is interesting for at least two reasons. For one thing, it reveals a great deal about how Americans conceptualize “the Indian.” Its remarkable symbolic efficacy both depends upon and illustrates some of the most powerful modern racial stereotypes: that Indians are typically stoic and unemotional (what depth of suffering can move an *Indian* to tears!) and that they are bound to the natural world in a romanticized and inexpressible union. For another thing, although Iron Eyes Cody is still one of the most recognized “Indian” figures in America, he was *not* of Indian ancestry. Rather, he was the son of two Italian immigrants. In this, Cody is a typical Hollywood figure. Whereas many of the performers in the early wild West shows were, in fact, Indians, many of the best known actors who later played them in films and on television have not been.

If Americans in the 1970s used the imagery of the Indian to address developing ecological values and concerns, they had other uses for it as well. This was a period in which the hopefulness with which the post-World War II generation had once viewed science and technology had begun to fade, and in which Americans had become increasingly discontented with the visions for human fulfillment which these held out. People expressed a renewed interest in spirituality, but many of them found the faiths of their parents unsatisfying. They turned, accordingly, to non-Western traditions, including those of American Indians. Out of this burgeoning spiritual discontent was born the image of the *mystical ceremonialist*. Americans were widely introduced to this impressive personage by anthropologist Carlos Castaneda. In his long series of fictionalized books, starting with *Journey to Ixtlan* (once considered to be accurate ethnography), Castaneda relates the story of his supposed tutelage by “Don Juan,” a Yaqui *brujo*, or possessor of traditional Indian sacred knowledge. The articulation of Castaneda’s immensely popular works with the counterculture’s interest in the use of mind-altering drugs to expand ordinary consciousness is evident; he describes in detail the many revelatory experiences that he had while under the influence of peyote (a substance officially classified in the United States as a hallucinogenic drug, but which some tribal peoples use, under carefully controlled ceremonial conditions, as a sacrament).

The mystical ceremonialist did not disappear when other preoccupations of the counterculture fell by the wayside. Instead, he was reinvented in the 1980s and 1990s by adherents of that loose association of movements collected together under the rubric of “New Age” spirituality. The “New Age” includes religious believers who may call themselves Wiccans, goddess worshippers, Druids, eco-feminists, and many other names. Its followers have replaced their predecessors’ preoccupation with drugs with an equally intense interest in a variety of esoteric subjects such as reincarnation, crystals, alternative healing, astral projection, extra-sensory perception, and the like. Accompanying all these various fascinations is a frequent attraction to (more or less accurately reproduced) versions of traditional, American Indian ceremonial practices. The New Age faithful ravenously consume “how-to” manuals penned by Indian “shamans” (often self-proclaimed and fraudulent), who purport to reveal everything from the sacred beliefs and rituals of Indian medicine people to their secret sexual practices. Inquirers also crowd seminars, workshops, and “spiritual retreats” claiming to offer the experience of Indian rituals and they flock to reservations and sacred sites to

participate in Indian ceremonies. Some non-Indians have associated themselves so closely with this recent image of the mystical Indian as to assert that they were “Indian in a past life,” even though they currently exist in a non-Indian body.

The upsurge of interest in Indian sacred rituals created by the image of the mystical Indian has created a great deal of tension in Indian communities. As Cherokee scholar Andy Smith writes in her ironic essay, “For All Those Who Were Indian in a Former Life,” “nowadays anyone can be Indian if he or she wants to. All that is required is that one be Indian in a former life, or take part in a sweat lodge, or be mentored by a ‘medicine woman,’ or read a how-to book. . . . This furthers the goals of white supremacists to abrogate treaty rights and take away what little we [Indians] have left. When everyone becomes an ‘Indian,’ then it is easy to lose sight of the specificity of oppression faced by those who are Indian in *this* life.”

Of all the many images of Indians which have remained with Americans into the last years of the twentieth century, perhaps the most vulgarly stereotyped appears in the sports mascot. Professional and college teams include the Kansas City Chiefs, the Atlanta Braves, and the Florida State Seminoles. Innumerable high schools similarly name themselves the “Indians,” “Injuns,” and “Savages.” Indian mascots range from the Cleveland Indians’ clownishly grinning “Chief Wahoo” to the Washington Redskins’ dignified silhouette of a warrior. Fans for all these teams frequently sport feathers and “war paint” at games, give “war whoops,” beat “tom-toms” and perform the “tomahawk chop,” a slicing gesture intended to encourage the players to “scalp” the other team.

Non-Indian (and some Indian) commentators contend that sports mascots are intended to honor American Indians and their historic record of bravery in battle. However, many others, including representatives of the American Indian Movement and the American Indian Education Commission, have protested. They complain that the use of Indian names and imagery suggests a blind spot where this specific racial group is concerned. Brian Barnard, in “Would You Cheer for the Denver Darkies?,” wonders if anyone would fail to see the offensive implications of a team which “honored” African Americans by christening itself as the title of his piece suggests. And what if the same team sponsored half-time shows featuring mascots in blackface and Afro wigs, who danced around grunting their own version of supposed African chants?

Some Indian leaders have brought lawsuits against particular sports teams, alleging racial discrimination or human rights violations. So far, these suits have not succeeded, but protests against mascots have made some headway. For instance, in 1994, the University of Iowa announced that it would no longer play non-conference athletic events against teams which employed Indian names or symbols. Several universities have banned from their campuses the buffoonish Chief Illiniwek, a white University of Illinois student dressed as an Indian, who performs at half-time. And some newspapers (including the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* and the *Portland Oregonian*) have decided not to print the names of specific teams with Indian names or mascots. Instead, they simply refer to “the Washington team,” “the Atlanta team,” and so on. Teams themselves have sometimes opened discussions on the question of whether they should change their names or their mascots, but the suggestions are frequently met with angry resistance from fans. Avis Little Eagle reports in a 1994 *Indian Country Today* article, that

students at the University of Illinois recently responded to such a proposal with the slogan, “save the chief, kill the Indian people.”

American popular culture has played host to a diversity of images of “the Indian” over a period of several hundred years. Through all the changes, however, certain things have remained fairly constant. One is the tendency of the Indian to function as a magnifying mirror of Euro-American values and concerns. Non-Indians have persistently made and remade their ideas about Indians to serve the social goals of every historic period. Indians have functioned sometimes as a vehicle for social criticism, as in the ecology movement’s exploitation of associations between Indians and nature which reproved American irresponsibility toward the land. They have served, at other times, as a foil against which non-Indians have displayed all that is right with America and the European settlement thereof. This is nowhere more evident than in the wild west shows which boldly dramatized the juggernaut of conquest: the inevitable and laudable progress of “civilization” over all that was savage, primitive, untamed.

A second constant in popular imagery of Indians is the assumption that their cultures and peoples are “vanishing”—that they have died out, or will soon do so. James Fenimore Cooper’s much-loved, nineteenth-century novel, *The Last of the Mohicans*, and a great many romanticized, popular artworks of a related theme, depend for their poignant appeal upon this motif. See, for instance, Frederick Remington’s easily recognized bronze, “The End of the Trail,” which Remington described as depicting the hapless, homeless, and helpless Indian, discovering himself driven to the final, Western rim of the American continent by European expansion. A corollary of the vanishing Indian theme is the belief that there are no more “real” Indians: that those who may *claim* an Indian identity today have lost the culture which once distinguished them from other Americans, and their racial “authenticity” along with it.

Finally, throughout American popular culture runs a constant and pronounced fascination with the idea that non-Indians can “become” Indians. The fantasy is tirelessly replayed all the way from the earliest captivity narratives through modern movies (including such blockbusters as *Little Big Man* and the more recent *Dances with Wolves*), which frequently feature protagonists who somehow traverse the great racial divide between red and white. The New Age sensibility, which allows the overburdened, modern executive briefly to exchange his or her Fortune 500 responsibilities for a weekend spent “crying for a vision” (with the able assistance of a shaman-for-hire), is a final (and often extremely capital-intensive) culmination of this journey of the non-Indian imagination.

Clearly, the use of “the Indian” in popular culture betrays complex psychological dynamics which have manifested themselves on a national scale. No doubt the ability of “the Indian” to serve as a projection screen against which the dominant society has played out both its greatest aspirations and anxieties—whatever those implied at the moment—derives in large part from the essential *emptiness* of the image. As Robert Berkhofer suggested in his book, *The White Man’s Indian*, at no time has the Indian in popular culture ever been developed into an actual person. Instead, he is invariably bereft of complexity, motive, personality, or other individualizing features. The result is an infinite possibility, a metaphor which can be employed to give substance to the most starkly diverse ideas. Because “the Indian” is simply a container to be filled with the purposes of the speaker, he can be used interchangeably as, for instance, the symbol of savagery *and* as the symbol of primal innocence.

The persistent themes of the vanishing Indian and of the non-Indian who becomes an Indian are a bit harder to explain than America's ability to use "the Indian" as a vehicle for exploring and communicating an enormous range of its own concerns and interests. Jack Forbes addresses this problem in his essay, "The Manipulation of Race, Caste, and Identity: Classifying AfroAmericans, Native Americans and Red-Black People." He suggests that the aforementioned themes originate in Americans' persisting knowledge of themselves as aliens in a "New World" wrested from its first inhabitants only through unspeakable violence. From the beginning of the European occupation of America, he writes, Indians "had to vanish because they were a threat or an impediment to the colonial settlers. That is, the colonial settlers could not truly become 'native' until the real natives were gone. . . ." Moreover, Forbes continues, "[t]his is the most compelling reason why 'Indians' must still vanish. Their continued existence as a separate population is a constant reminder of the foreignness" of American immigrants. This theory addresses not only the enduring American fascination with the vanishing Indian, but also with the idea of "becoming" Indian. Changing one's racial identification is a way to complete the symbolic journey from conqueror to conquered and to achieve vindication for the national sins of the past.

Nevertheless, with Indian people as with humorist Mark Twain, "reports of their death have been greatly exaggerated." The last decades of the twentieth century have seen many important contributions to popular culture which speak in the voice of individuals who have most certainly *not* "vanished." These works honestly express and address the concerns and values common to Indian people themselves, rather than those of the larger society, and they have no need to explore the notion of "becoming Indian" because their authors have been Indian all along. Into this category, one might place, for instance, novels such as M. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn*, a familial and tribal recollection of Kiowa migration, Louise Erdrich's *Tracks*, the story of an Ojibwe family struggling to retain its tribal allotment, and Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony*, a poetic and profound excursion into the tormented world of a Vietnam veteran who returns to his childhood home in Laguna Pueblo. That these sophisticated works, with their carefully-elaborated themes and characters, have proven popular with audiences of both Indians and non-Indians suggests that America at the dawn of the twenty-first century may be ready to encounter Indian people in their individual and tribal particularity and real-life complexity. It has taken 500 years, but perhaps America is finally becoming willing to think about Indian people as more than a series of interchangeable representatives of the generic category of "the Indian."

—Eva Marie Garroutte

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## Indianapolis 500

For most of the twentieth century, the Borg-Warner trophy, awarded to the winner of the Indianapolis 500 Motor Speedway race, has been the most coveted prize in auto racing. Known as "the greatest spectacle in racing," the Memorial Day event—which since the late 1960s has actually been run on the Sunday before Memorial Day to permit the scheduling of a rain delay—has featured the best drivers and the fastest speeds in the sport.

The Indianapolis 500 consists of 200 laps around the Indianapolis Motor Speedway's two-and-a-half-mile oval. The first race, in 1911, lasted most of the day; the 1997 race was won by Arie Luyendyk in less than three-and-a-half hours. The first race averaged a then staggering 74.5 miles per hour but, by the end of the century, the course speed record was held by Rick Mears, who won the 1991 race with an average speed of over 176 miles per hour. One other difference is notable: Ray Haroun took home a hefty \$10,000 for winning the first Indianapolis 500, while 1998 winner Eddie Cheever pocketed over \$1.4 million.

Like most non-team sports, the history of auto racing is chronicled in the personalities who defined its various eras. Other than one notable exception, NASCAR's Richard Petty, racing's dominant personalities gravitated to Indianapolis. In the early years, when the Speedway was paved with over three million bricks (a 36-inch strip of which is still visible at the finish line), it was the home of barnstormers like Haroun, Ralph DePalma, and Howdy Wilcox. In those days, drivers would carry mechanics in the car with them, and repairs would be undertaken on the track.

The next great Indianapolis legend was Wilbur Shaw, who won the race three times in four years (1937 to 1940). In 1946,



**The 1996 Indianapolis 500.**

Shaw convinced Anton “Tony” Hulman to buy the Speedway from an ownership group that included the legendary Captain Eddie Rickenbacker; Shaw became its president. It was under the guidance of Shaw (who died in a plane crash in 1954) and Hulman that the Indianapolis 500 became the premier auto-racing event in the world. The 1950s and 1960s saw Indianapolis become the unofficial home of racing greats such as Maury Rose, Bill Vukovich, Johnnie Parsons, and Parnelli Jones, who drove the first turbine-powered race car to within six laps of a win before gearbox failure cost him the race.

The personality that most defines the Indianapolis 500, though, is A.J. Foyt, Jr. Foyt first raced in Indianapolis in 1958 and continued to be an integral part of the facility’s lore for the next 40 years. His records include most career starts (35), most consecutive starts (35), most competitive miles during a career (12,273), and most races led (13). Foyt’s record of four wins is matched only by his contemporary Al Unser. Another reason why Foyt has cast such a long shadow over Indy racing is that he stands as a nostalgic contrast to the reality that championship racing has now become the province of only the best-financed teams. The names of drivers like Rutherford, Andretti, and Clark have been overshadowed by the names of owners like Penske and Newman/Haas. Because so much money is now at stake in championship Indy-car racing, the complexion of the sport is changing, and the pre-eminence of the Indianapolis 500 is in danger. In 1994, Speedway president Tony George inaugurated the Indianapolis Racing League, a circuit meant to compete with the Championship Auto Racing Teams League established by Roger Penske. The friction between the rivals has caused many of the sport’s most

popular drivers to skip the Indianapolis 500 in order to boost CART’s leverage in the marketplace. The outcome of this controversy will go a long way toward determining for how long, or if, the Indianapolis 500 will remain “the greatest spectacle in racing.”

—Barry Morris

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## Industrial Design

The “American system” of mass production, successfully implemented during the mid-1800s, was characterized by the large-scale manufacture of standardized products with interchangeable parts. Much different than the individualized hand craftsmanship which preceded it, this method of production required artificially-powered machine tools and simplified operations, endowing products made from machine production with a certain aesthetic—an industrial design. At first used for the manufacture of revolvers, clocks, pocket watches, and agricultural machinery, the American system eventually produced most consumer goods.

Sewing machines and typewriters were the first products consciously designed with different contexts of use in mind—an early implementation of industrial design. In order to sell his sewing machines, Isaac Singer believed that they should be ornamented when in the home in order to fit into the more decorative aesthetic of the domestic sphere; likewise, they should be plain black when found in a factory setting. Early typewriters shared the same aesthetic variations as their sewing machine counterparts, and these were two of the earliest manufactured objects influenced by the machine ethic that produced them.

A few decades later, in 1908, Henry Ford improved upon assembly line production by making an automobile, the Model T, specifically for a mass market. Ford believed in the design philosophy called “functionalism,” a system also touted by architect Louis Sullivan (1856-1924). Functionalism, one of the first self-conscious modern design movements, stressed that an “honest” design did not hide what an object did, a belief summed up most eloquently by Sullivan’s famous phrase, “form follows function.” As historian Gregory Votolato wrote, “Sullivan and Ford approached design as a means of addressing social, technical and commercial problems specific to the time and place. In its early years of development, the automobile, like the skyscraper, called for a design which would tap a huge, potential demand and which would make the most efficient use of the available technology in its production and construction.” Frank Lloyd Wright (1869-1959) was a well-known proponent of the functionalist aesthetic, but designed only for an exclusive clientele. It was not until the rise of business in the 1910s and 1920s, which required the mass manufacture of office equipment and furniture, that functionalism was brought to the masses.

During the 1910s, the fine arts, especially from Europe, still remained influential in popular design, overshadowing the sheer power of machinery and industry that would prevail in the following decades. Art Nouveau, expressed most clearly in the work of Belgian designer Henry van de Velde, was based on organic forms and the insistence that production occur in small craft workshops—a reaction against the forces of machine-driven mass production. Although meant for the elite, his designs were easily and readily appropriated for the mass market. Dadaist Marcel Duchamp celebrated prosaic utilitarian objects as works of art, promoting the idea that ordinary objects should be works of art. Le Corbusier expounded Purist theories, believing that man was merely another functional object like a machine, and that objects should be made as extensions of the human body. Piet Mondrian and Gerrit Rietveld expressed the ideals of De Stijl, a movement founded in Holland in 1917. De Stijl condensed things down to their fundamental elements—basic shapes, right angles, and primary colors which could be applied as easily to furniture or paintings. Although these schools all enjoyed many followers and influenced to various degrees the design of consumer goods, the most influential on American industrial design was the Bauhaus movement, founded in Germany in 1919. Walter Gropius, Marcel Breuer, and Mies van der Rohe, among others, believed that art and technology could be unified and used to produce objects of good design and integrity.

It was not until the crash of 1929, however, that industrial design in America became professionalized and considered a valid pursuit in its own right. Many designers who were previously involved in the theater or in advertising were put into service during the Depression to find viable and useful product designs in a small yet very competitive market. These American designers were highly influenced by the Modernist aesthetic of the Bauhaus, which celebrated industrial materials, like metal and elevated machines, to works of art. In addition, they brought industrial design into the home, applying Modernist principles to appliances, furniture, and even architecture.

Walter Dorwin Teague (1883-1960) started out as a graphic designer, and began applying his skills to the three-dimensional realm during the mid-1920s. Throughout his career he designed cameras for Kodak, and became well known for improving on the designs of heavy machinery and office equipment. Raymond Loewy (1893-1986), a Frenchman who emigrated to America, became well known in the field after he redesigned the Gestetner duplicating machine, making it more functional and better looking. In 1935, Loewy improved upon the design of the Coldspot refrigerator for Sears, enclosing the cooling unit with white enameled steel, giving it chrome hardware, and adding features with the needs of the user in mind: it could accommodate different-sized containers, had a semi-automatic defroster, and came with instant-release ice cube trays.

Henry Dreyfuss (1904-1972) was originally a stage designer who opened up an interior design business in 1929. In 1937, he redesigned the telephone for Bell, giving it a low profile and combining the receiver and earpiece into one handset. It was a simple design—easy to use, easy to clean, and easy to manufacture. Dreyfuss was particularly interested in the interaction between humans and the objects around them. He spent much of his time studying the human body and was the first true proponent of ergonomics, best expressed in his books, *Designing for People* (1955) and *The Measure of Man* (1961).

Norman Bel Geddes (1893-1958), yet another stage designer, put his talents to work designing more substantial objects like airplanes. Although he did not invent streamlining, he did democratize it. Popular between 1927 and the beginning of World War II, streamlining was characterized by smooth metal surfaces, long, sweeping, horizontal curves, rounded edges, and the elimination of extraneous detail. It was based on scientific principles and produced shapes with the least resistance in water and air. Streamlining was a wildly popular design aesthetic that appeared in objects from railroads and camping trailers to toasters and juicers and symbolized speed, efficiency, and a forward-looking mentality that was much needed during the Depression years. Examples of streamlining included the Boeing 247 of 1933, the Douglas DC1 (an all metal structure with an aluminum skin), and Carl Breer's 1934 Chrysler "Airflow."

Industrial design styles did not change much during the decades immediately following World War II. Sullivan's "form follows function" credo had become the accepted canon in the design world. The exceptions to the functionalist design aesthetic appeared in the automobile industry. The Cadillacs and Buicks of the 1950s and early 1960s were known for their outlandish colors—pink, turquoise, yellow—and for their exuberant body styles, complete with jutting "tailfins" that resembled something from outer space.

As an outgrowth of the celebration of post-War material abundance and American primacy in the world, most American homes were filled with products of American design. By the mid-1960s, this began to change—the liberal culture was becoming more tolerant of design variations, and other countries began to contribute their taste cultures to the American public. Slim-line Bang and Olufsen stereos, from Denmark, and the more militaristic Japanese versions began appearing in the dens of American audiophiles. Italian Olivetti typewriters appeared alongside IBM (International Business Machines) Selectrics in the corporate office. Braun coffee makers from Germany showed up in progressive kitchens.

By the late 1970s and early 1980s, technology put toward the miniaturization of electronic equipment radically changed Americans' material universe. While Dreyfuss, Teague, Bel Geddes, and the other modernists could place functional objects in attractive packages, they could not get rid of their bulk. The impact of computers was revolutionary, both in terms of how people communicated and in the nature of design itself. Computers used on the production line allowed for more flexibility, shorter production runs, and therefore more differentiation in design—a return to the nature of production 100 years earlier. In addition, smaller parts like microchips allowed the products themselves to become smaller, more portable, and more personal, symbolizing the increasing interpersonal disconnectedness and self-interest pervading the culture at the end of the twentieth century. Watches with LED (Liquid Electronic Display) crystals threatened to make analogue time-telling obsolete; it did not, but did create a new meaning for analogue faces which hearkened back to a nostalgic past. Microcomponents also meant that electronic gadgets became very toy-like: the "mouse" used with the Macintosh computer was only one example. Indeed, the triumph of microprocessing made machines both personalized and intimate—people often wore them on their bodies. The Sony Walkman was a portable stereo that one strapped on one's belt or wore around the neck; similarly, people carried pocket calculators, beepers, cellular telephones, and even



laptop computers. The influence of microcomputers on design, what historian Peter Dorner called “the electronic technologist’s great gift to designers” was “the means to create working icons of personal freedom through greatly enhanced power and portability.”

At the same time microprocessing was allowing objects to become smaller, thinner, and more portable, postmodern design also changed the outward appearance of industrially-produced objects. Architect Robert Venturi (1925—) became one of the first American proponents of postmodern design with his 1972 book *Learning From Las Vegas*. Formally established in Italy in 1981 and called “Memphis,” the school of postmodernism embraced exuberant styles and colors. Memphis, referring to both Elvis and Egypt, reacted against the cultural supremacy assumed by modern design, which its proponents saw as a constant restatement of the power of technology and the triumph of large American corporations. In contrast, postmodern design attempted to be more egalitarian, incorporating stylistic elements from both high and low art—from marble to formica, from Greek columns to polka dots. Michael Graves (1934—) was another American architect and designer who embraced the postmodern aesthetic, and began designing toasters, picture frames, and other housewares for a middlebrow department store chain near the end of the 1990s, indicating a “trending downward” of taste, and selling what had formerly been high style to the masses. The appearance of postmodernism to some, however, marked the triumph of surface over substance. Influenced more by the information than the industrial age, postmodernism perhaps signaled the end of the reign of industrial design and the beginning of a new design ethic based on and in the hyperreality of cyberspace rather than the materiality of tangible objects.

—Wendy Woloson

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## The Ink Spots

With their wistful, plangent, sentimental love songs, the Ink Spots are redolent of the 1940s, when their music provided a romantic backdrop to lovers throughout the years of World War II and beyond. They had their first and greatest hit, the million-seller “If I Didn’t Care” in 1939, while among the best and most enduring of the many that followed were “My Prayer”; “I Don’t Want to Set the World on Fire”; “To Each His Own”; “Maybe”; “Java Jive”; “Prisoner of Love”; “It’s a Sin to Tell a Lie”; and “I’ll Never Smile Again.”

The group was formed in Indianapolis in 1932, initially calling themselves the Riff Brothers, then the Percolating Puppies. The original members were tenor and lead vocalist Jerry Daniels; Ivory Watson, baritone vocals and guitar; Charles Fuqua, tenor vocals, guitar and ukulele; and Orville “Hoppy” Jones, bass vocals and guitar. In 1934, the quartet settled on calling themselves the Ink Spots, and Bill Kenny eventually replaced Jerry Daniels. It was Jones who conjured up their trademark “talking chorus” in which the lead singer speaks, rather than sings, for added dramatic effect. Across the decades, the Ink Spots underwent numerous personnel changes. Perhaps the most significant came in 1945, when Bill Kenny was replaced by Jim Nabbie, who led the group until his death in 1992.

All the popular black vocal “doo-wop” groups of the early rock ‘n’ roll years owed a supreme debt to the Ink Spots. Their soft, smooth, group harmonizing, backing the steady, silky-throated vocalizing of their lead singers, inspired a generation of adolescents who started out singing on urban street corners in the early 1950s, some of whom went on to score some of rock ‘n’ roll’s earliest hits. Nobody, however, quite succeeded in emulating the unique sound of the Ink Spots, whose high delicate tenors seemed almost to have originated from classical music’s counter-tenor tradition. The Ink Spots were inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1989 and, extraordinarily, although they had long been superseded in the charts, and their original members were no more, the Ink Spots were still touring the country in the 1990s, a nostalgic throwback to a gentler past.

—Rob Edelman

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## Inner Sanctum Mysteries

During a period from 1941 to 1952, which spanned the golden era of classic radio, this macabre anthology series invited listeners

each week to pass through its famous opening creaking door into a world which provided a unique mixture of horror with the darkest of comedy. In its own era, *Inner Sanctum* was perhaps the quintessential radio program, using sound to produce effects which wove a spell unique to the medium. In a larger sense, the show's peculiar combination of chills and chuckles has influenced the American horror genre ever since and has found expression in everything from EC Comics in the 1950s to the self-referential works of Stephen King and Wes Craven in the 1990s. A listener today who has the nerve to step through the *Inner Sanctum* doorway (being careful not to bump into that corpse "just hanging around over there") will discover a world both historically distant and entertainingly familiar.

There were three principal ways in which *Inner Sanctum* used sound to horrify and amuse its listeners. First among these was, of course, the famous creaking door, an effect which radio historian John Dunning has said "may have been the greatest opening signature device ever achieved." The door was the brainchild of the program's creator Himan Brown, who once claimed that it was one of only two sounds in all of radio to be trademarked—the other being the NBC chimes. Regardless of its legal status, however, there is no doubt that the ominous squeak of the *Inner Sanctum* portal takes its place right along with Fibber McGee's overcrowded closet, the menacing chuckle of the Shadow, and the sputtering of Jack Benny's car as the most well-remembered sounds of old-time radio—causing Stephen King to recall years later that "nothing could have looked as horrible as that door *sounded*." Brown's second achievement in sound was *Inner Sanctum*'s innovative use of the organ. While other suspense programs used the instrument in its musical guise, Jim Harmon reports that Brown "warned his organist never to play a recognizable song . . . or even an original snatch of melody." The man at the somber Hammond organ was to play sharp "stings"—a high musical note struck to emphasize an important piece of dialogue and "doom chords" designed to produce a sense of unease and foreboding in listeners. Dunning goes so far as to claim that "the organ became one of the star players . . . brooding, ever-present, worrying, fretting . . . the epitome of radio melodrama." Finally, Brown was grimly innovative in his creation of realistic sound effects to lend the outlandish goings-on the necessary believability to render them truly terrifying. Only on *Inner Sanctum*, for example, would the soft thunk of a man's skull being crushed be so deliciously captured in the sound of a small metal hammer striking a melon, a Brown favorite.

Presiding over this dark world of sound was the show's famous host, Raymond. Played most notably by Raymond Edward Johnson (1941-1945), Raymond was the source of much of the program's black humor as he ushered listeners in and out of the creaking door with a series of ghoulish puns ("Quiet now—no 'coffin.' We have 'grave' matters to uncover") and doubtful morals ("Careful the next time you ask your wife to 'pass' the knife. She may do it—right through you. Good Niiiiight!") The tradition of the sardonic host to horror would find equally memorable expression years later in American popular culture in figures such as the Cryptkeeper in EC Comics and Rod Serling in television's *The Twilight Zone*, but the stories introduced by Raymond were unique in their ability to arouse and exploit audience fears of the supernatural before ultimately providing a "realistic" explanation. As otherworldly as the universe of the *Inner Sanctum* sometimes seemed for most of the tale, events were always finally shown to be the result of a very human combination of folly and foible—of greed, ambition, and just plain bad luck.

The show's self-imposed need to create situations which were as outlandish as possible and yet capable of such "rational" explanation in the final moments led to some of the most wildly improbable twists and turns imaginable, and it is this element which makes the series both memorable and campish simultaneously. It is also for this reason that the creative peak of the program is usually regarded as the early series of episodes performed by Boris Karloff and Peter Lorre and based upon classic works by Poe and Maupassant, skilled practitioners of the peculiar art of "realistic horror."

In its unique mixture of horror and humor, classics and camp, the supernatural with the everyday, *Inner Sanctum* helped shape the face of popular horror in all media—even in its own time promoting a whole set of *Inner Sanctum* novels and occasional movies. And yet the series can also be fondly recalled today as a program which exploited the basic elements of radio perhaps more than any other show, taking an entire generation of listeners deep into the "inner sanctums" of their own imaginations.

—Kevin Lause

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## International Business Machines

See IBM (International Business Machines)

## International Exhibition of Modern Art

See Armory Show, The

## The International Male Catalog

With its bold, off-beat fashions, and its subtly suggestive, all-male photography layouts, International Male has gained a certain popularity and renown among trendy twenty- and thirtysomethings looking for clothes that are unique and stylish. The company's focus on colorful and daring styles from around the world, including pants in bright prints, mesh shirts, and an vast selection of unique men's underwear, gives it a special appeal to gay men. Lesbians too, have been drawn to the mail-order company by clothes that often transcend gender with kaleidoscopic élan. Part of Hanover, Pennsylvania-based Brawn of California, International Male has its corporate offices in San Diego. One of the originators of the mail order boom, the company has been in business since the early 1970s and each year serves over eight million customers around the world.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## The Internet

The term didn't appear in a major American newspaper until 1988, but the Internet has become the most powerful individual electronic communications network in the world's history. From high-pressure advertising to a brief message from a political prisoner, Internet e-mail and World Wide Web sites make it possible for anyone with a computer, software, and an appropriate connection to speak to the world at the speed of light with the touch of a keypad. In the process, the Internet has added a host of new phrases and words, such as information superhighway, spam, hyperlink, chat rooms, flames, and dotcom, into the English language and revolutionized the culture. It has also led to serious concerns about the ready access it provides to pornography, violence, and hate literature, the loss of personal privacy it has occasioned, the spread of mis- and dis-information, and the future of books, newspapers, and magazines. Yet, efforts were underway at the end of the twentieth century to increase the transmission speed of Internet connections still further, and to create a second Internet, both of which would provide computerized copies of entire feature films and books in seconds and make possible the first practical mix of moving images, sound, and the printed word.

The telegraph, or the Victorian Internet, as historian Tom Standage has called it, was the antecedent of the Internet. The earliest scheme for using electricity to send messages appeared in a British magazine in 1753, and two French brothers transmitted the first electronic message in 1791, but it was American inventor Samuel F. B. Morse who gave the United States Congress an opportunity to buy outright his patent to the telegraph technology in 1844. The government failed to see the advantage of a single, standardized electronic communications network, however, and thousands of privately owned telegraph companies resulted before they were gradually purchased or put out of business by the telegraph monopoly, Western Union. In turn, the monopoly provided everything from the first professional National League baseball scores in 1876 to breaking the news of the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941 and the sending of love messages, all at a low, nearly universal cost. The American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) system, developed in the wake of Alexander Graham Bell's patent of the telephone in 1876, became the standardized telephone monopoly, controlling long and most short distance communication for radio and television networks and interpersonal information consumers.

One factor common to the telegraph and telephone was that neither could work without interconnection. A telephone without someone to call is useless. Even the first cumbersome, room-sized electronic computer, however, developed by Iowa State University physicist John V. Atanasoff between 1939 and 1942, could function alone. As a result, it took longer for people to recognize the advantages of computer networks. In 1964, a group of scientists at the

RAND Corporation conceived of a configuration of computers interconnected by pathways similar to telephone lines as a means for military personnel to communicate following a nuclear war. Such an occurrence would have disrupted standard military communication channels, preventing surviving military personnel from coordinating a response. Such a network would not have a central station and thus could continue operating even if major portions were destroyed.

In 1969, Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET) was created as a system of 20 individual computer stations, or nodes, located at various distances from one another. Each node used a common language, or control protocol, that allowed it to communicate electronically, and a transmission protocol that made all nodes equal rather than a central station hierarchy. By using special connections between the nodes, messages could be sent from one place to another on a number of pathways. Even if several nodes were destroyed in an attack, messages could still be transmitted as long as there was at least one remaining pathway. Both AT&T and Western Union had developed multiple contingency plans for their systems, but they required block-long manual switchboards in central locations vulnerable to attack. ARPANET, however, could re-route critical messages between nodes and around interruptions instantaneously, without any human intervention.

Three years later, 46 university and research organization networks were added to the system and ARPANET began to grow, as the Internet would, by chance rather than design. Perhaps one of its strongest appeals was that no one could predict accurately its future. UNIX was developed as a common operating system language in 1972. Branches with names such as Bitnet and Usenet were developed, attracting new users. Rapid communication characteristics allowed the first computerized electronic mail—e-mail—as researchers corresponded with each other. Group e-mails could be sent simultaneously at the touch of a key, eliminating the age-old need for duplicate messages to be created. Discussion areas, called news groups, allowed users to meet with others interested in specifically designated topics. The decentralized Jeffersonian democracy of the Internet held appeal for Americans in the 1970s and 1980s, the decades of individualism and corporate downsizing. The decline of Western Union and the court-ordered breakup of AT&T in 1982 only added to the attraction of a communications system without a central station or control. There were 500 host computers on the Internet, as some people were calling it, by 1984.

In spite of its wider advantages, the growth of the Internet was tightly controlled by the military during its first years. The Department of Defense did permit university nodes to share supercomputing resources, reducing the need for physical travel. That allowed researchers to perform complicated computerized research at a fraction of the otherwise expensive cost of main-frame computing machines. However, the news groups and university research-oriented networks such as CSNET (Computer Science Network) and NSFNET (National Science Foundation Network) soon began to overtax the system in the 1980s, dictating a new addressing system that allowed users to distinguish between government or educationally-endorsed content and content generated by individuals or groups without sanction or authority. The new addressing system allowed the Internet to evolve from a medium for simple back-and-forth messages such as the telegraph and telephone to one capable of providing a more complex mass audience content, similar to small-scale publishing or broadcasting. The glut of the new network traffic inspired the military to

develop a new network for itself and the use of the ARPANET declined until it ceased to exist in June 1990. But the military left a deep impression on the Internet before it left. Beyond the Internet's decentralized structure and the teaching of three generations of computer scientists in the difficult art of computer networking, the military helped spawn startup computer network companies such as 3Com and the manufacturer of Ethernet.

Meanwhile, major developments were taking place in computer hardware and software that would broaden the appeal of the Internet. Marcian Hoff, Jr. of Intel Corporation combined several integrated electronic circuits into a tiny piece of electronics called a microprocessor in 1972. The new chips performed arithmetic and logic functions and could be programmed just like traditional, more expensive wired circuits. The availability of the new Intel microprocessor attracted the attention of computer hobbyists and home experimenters such as Stephen Wozniak and Steven Jobs, who began marketing the Apple I in Wozniak's garage in 1976 and created the Apple Macintosh in 1980. Mainframe computer manufacturer IBM unveiled its own "micro" computer in 1981, employing an operating system provided by Harvard University dropout Bill Gates. Within a few years, Apple and IBM had created a market for a previously unknown product, the personal computer. Other manufacturers, including Dell, Hyundai, and Gateway, joined the fad, selling inexpensive "clones" of the IBM PC, and software writers developed thousands of programs to use on the new machines, from computerized spreadsheets and word processors to a wide variety of mind-boggling games. But until the Internet, one of the greatest strengths of personal computers, communication, remained largely untapped. In fact, software baron Gates actively opposed the Internet until 1995.

As the military backed away from the Internet in the 1980s, the content evolved from serious, often computer-related topics to material more representative of popular American culture. Not surprisingly, the first three alternative news groups, known as alt. groups, were alt.sex, alt.drugs, and alt.rock and roll. The High Performance Computing Act of 1991, sponsored by then U.S. Senator Albert Gore, opened the Internet to elementary and high schools and community colleges. The telephonic backbone of the Internet enabled it to spread from the United States to other countries that had existing systems coupled with political systems that allowed at least a limited form of free speech, and the Internet became truly global by the late 1980s. The growing Internet audience attracted new application developers, people whose aspirations went beyond data processing to providing uses such as education, reference, and entertainment. Businesses also began logging onto the Net, as it was being called, to conduct research and share information. The National Science Foundation accepted the task of managing the Net's backbone in 1987, but its task was just that—to manage, rather than control, the growth. The speed at which the quantity and variety of information became available was so dramatic that published directories could not keep up with it. Computerized organizational systems such as Archie, named not after the comic-book character but as a version of the word "archive," Wide Area Information Servers or WAIS, and Gopher, named after its creator University of Minnesota's mascot, became the first "search engines," providing databases of various Internet resources broken down by categories, subjects, and locations.

By the end of the 1980s, the Internet had most of the hardware technology it needed, but it lacked visual appeal or any demonstrable

superiority other than speed over print. Screens were limited to two colors, crude illustrations often created by alphabetic letters, and unattractive computer-style typeface. One solution was the introduction of the World Wide Web (WWW) in 1989, in which vast amounts of information, including graphics and print-style type faces, could be delivered. Another was the advent of hypertext markup languages (HTML) in 1991. The term "hypertext" was coined by Theodor A. Nelson in 1972 and meant information referencing. For centuries, print authors had used internal text references or footnotes to direct readers to related or supportive information, but the process of finding those materials could take days, months, or even years. Clicking with a mouse on a hyperlink, a highlighted or underlined passage in a Web text, could speed a reader to related information instantaneously. The process was manipulative in that the links were chosen by an author, and often confusing since there was no predictable, logical basis for the order of documents consulted. Nonetheless, readers had never before been able to check the veracity or gain a more detailed explanation of information presented to them so quickly and effortlessly. The process of hyper-linking between all of the files and directories of the Internet, as if it were one large computer, was simplified in 1992 when the National Center for Supercomputing at the University of Illinois wrote and released the first Web "browser" Mosaic, software that allowed Web users to switch between Web sites more easily. The Illinois program evolved into the Netscape Corporation in 1994.

The proliferation of personal computers and modems, electronic devices that allowed differing types of computers to communicate with each other over telephone lines, accelerated the growth of the Internet. The number of host computers on the Net rose from 80,000 in 1989 to 1.3 million in 1993, 2.2 million in 1994, 10 million in 1996, and perhaps 50 million by the end of the century. The first movie, *Wax: Or the Discovery of Television Among the Bees*, was "Netcast" in May 1992. Presidents had complained about a lack of access to the American electorate since George Washington, but Bill Clinton became the first to provide a daily perspective on his administration on a mass basis via a White House Web site in 1993. Congress followed suit a year later along with thousands of federal, state, and local agencies, and politicians. The first "Wanted" poster was posted on June 24, 1994, the same year the first computer radio station went on-line, and the first music concert (the Rolling Stones from Dallas' Cotton Bowl) was shown live. Libraries began offering Web versions of books, and newspapers and magazines, the last bastion of print culture, began putting their contents on line for free. The latter practice helped stimulate advertising on the Internet, first made possible in 1991. Internet ads were an anathema to traditionalists but the only practical means of supporting expensive commercial ventures such as news-gathering organizations. Even by the end of the twentieth century, subscription fees for services other than expensive, large-scale databases were few and far between on the Web. The *Wall Street Journal* was the only major newspaper or magazine to be profitable, charging an up-front subscription fee for its Web site. The growing commercial character of the Internet was acknowledged in 1995 when the National Science Foundation backbone became commercially supported. An Internet Activities Board (IAB) guides the evolution of the Internet, the Internet Address Network Authority (IANA) assigns network numbers, and a hired private company, Network Solutions, Inc., registers Web site names.

Like the personal computer and software industries, the Internet created new dynasties of American wealth. When tax preparation firm H & R Block purchased CompuServe in 1980, no one expected that the unknown computer time-sharing company would one day account for one-third of its parent company's profits. CompuServe was joined in the national on-line computer bulletin board industry, made possible by improvements in personal computer modems, by a specialized bulletin board service for Commodore users, an early PC competitor of the Apple, that had developed a graphical rather than letterset user interface in 1985. The firm evolved into an Apple and Windows bulletin board server known as America Online (AOL) by 1993. Both CompuServe and AOL began offering Web access and by 1996, AOL accounted for 55 percent of all household usage of the Web or proprietary consumer services. AOL bought CompuServe in 1998 and purchased Netscape the following year, generating tremendous proceeds each time. The profit turnaround was even quicker for the founder of Netscape, Jim Clark, who became an instant billionaire in 1995 when his company went public. Two Stanford University students, Jerry Yang and David Filo, made \$65 million dollars each in one day when their Internet search engine company, Yahoo! went public in April 1996. The stock of online auction house eBay, one of a growing number of Internet companies known as dotcoms, increased 2,000 percent in value in less than a year when it went public in 1998, and the stock of other new Internet companies frequently doubled or trebled in price overnight upon going public. Not to be outdone altogether, the public jumped on the Internet financial bandwagon at the turn of the century by buying and selling securities through economical on-line brokerage firms offering margin loans. Unfortunately, trades still had to be transacted by human brokers, raising concerns among the Securities and Exchange Commission that orders were not being acted upon as quickly as they could or that traders would inadvertently plunge themselves into debt. And new Internet companies such as Amazon.com promised, but have not always delivered, massive profits in the brave new world of e-commerce.

With the advantages of the Internet have come numerous societal concerns. The FBI and police added computer specialists to their ranks to deal with on-line paedophiles and stalkers and established special centers to handle Internet fraud cases. Historically, pornography has often been one of the first areas to be exploited by a new mass communication technology and the Internet has been no exception. The pervasiveness of sexually explicit images induced Congress and President Clinton to approve the Communications Decency Act of 1996, which prohibited indecency on the Internet to persons under 18. The Supreme Court declared most of the law unconstitutional the following year. Ironically, the House of Representatives was considering a replacement act in September 1998, at the same time that the explicit Kenneth Starr Report on President Clinton's sexual indiscretions was released to the general public on the Internet by Congress. The shooting deaths of 12 Colorado high school students in 1999 took on an additionally tragic aspect when it was discovered that one of the student murderers had an AOL Web site critical of athletes and African Americans and laden with information on anarchism and bomb construction.

From their first widespread instance in 1988, viruses became a scourge to computer users as they were spread exponentially via the Internet. Virus-protection software became a necessity that fueled a new industry as professionals sought to keep up with amateur virus

creators. Chat rooms and other forms of "cyber"-conversation renewed concerns about how people were spending their time. More than 50 million people sent e-mails in 1996, but the seductive genie of computer messaging has encouraged stream-of-consciousness bursts that often involved inadvertent shedding of inhibitions. Software billionaire Bill Gates saw a series of blunt e-mails between his executives become a smoking gun in an anti-trust case against Microsoft. All of these concerns were made more difficult to regulate or censor due to the decentralized nature of the Internet. Efforts by the Federal government and microprocessor manufacturer Intel to provide discrete identification of Internet users met with resistance from privacy advocates.

With the Internet still a relatively new medium of communication at the dawn of the twenty-first century, there were many grandiose predictions for its future. Part of the American economic expansion of the 1990s was based on the prospects of Internet-related companies such as Yahoo!, Netscape, AOL, Amazon.com, and eBay, but critics warned of an Internet bubble that could lead to a general economic downturn much like earlier technology booms such as electricity and defense spending. Cable and telephone companies positioned themselves to provide so-called broadband and DSL Internet service, persistent 24-hour lines that allow instant Internet access without the necessity of individual modem connections, at speeds fast enough to allow downloading of full-length movies, books, and other large files. WebTV and other new companies were banking on an Internet-television hybrid. An initiative started by 34 universities in 1996, Internet2 will be a high-bandwidth computer network allowing real-time video streaming and 24-hour user access. The Internet is a story of luck and hard work by many, but it recognizes and plugs into a basic human need: as an unknown e-mailer paraphrased French philosopher Rene Descartes, "I post, therefore I am."

—Richard Digby-Junger

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## Intolerance

*Intolerance* (1916) is one of the first great American epic films. Over three-and-one-half hours long, it has a complex narrative which consists of four separate melodramatic plots. Each is set in a different era, and all four are intercut to create a complicated historical critique of injustice and intolerance throughout the ages. Three of the stories concentrate upon the effects of historical events upon ordinary people.

D.W. Griffith, who has been called the father of the American Cinema, was America's first great movie showman, and the first director who saw moviemaking not merely as entertainment but as an important art form. Stung by charges of racism leveled at him by the critics for his first important feature, *Birth of a Nation* (1915), Griffith responded by making *Intolerance*, a film of a complexity and scale never seen before this time—a film so grand in its conception that the original rough cut was, according to film historian David Cook, eight hours long. Although it was a critical success and is considered a masterpiece of the silent cinema, the rather preachy *Intolerance* was not a success at the box office.

—Jeannette Sloniowski

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## Invisible Man

First published in 1952, Ralph Ellison's (1914-1994) *Invisible Man* revolutionized the literary and cultural world by examining the near-total lack of awareness of African Americans that pervaded mainstream society. One of the most widely read novels in American literature, *Invisible Man* has been translated into at least 15 languages and has undergone numerous printings and special editions. It has been called the *Moby Dick* of the twentieth century—epic in scope, mythic in subject, and classic in structure. Part of its appeal lies in its quintessentially American theme: the quest for identity. What distinguishes Ellison's treatment of this theme is his bold creation of a central character who is black and unnamed, everyman and no one.

Foregrounding black identity while universalizing the central character on his quest for self-realization, the text expands the

horizons of the American hero to include racial difference. By naming the invisible condition of his central character, Ellison broke barriers of silence and challenged traditional representations of African Americans, anticipating the movement for racial equality of the 1960s.

The book's central metaphor of the "invisible man," however, raises many questions, as Susan Parr and Pancho Savery point out. Particularly important is the question of how best to view the novel: should it "be valued primarily as a work with universal implications, as an example of the best that the American literary tradition offers, or as a representative of black American fiction?" To what extent do the social and political issues represented in the text contribute to its power? Given the nonfictional parameters of these social issues, should the novel be judged by aesthetic or sociological terms? That this novel has opened up these questions points to its importance in helping to shape a continually evolving American identity.

Built on a classical three-part structure consisting of a prologue, a 25-chapter narrative, and an epilogue, the book is narrated in first person by an unnamed narrator and follows a circular rather than linear trajectory. The prologue begins with the narrator's announcement of the book's major interrelated themes of identity and race, innocence and experience, and rebirth and transformation. "I am an invisible man," he says, and the reader enters into the world of the narrator after the series of events about to be told have already taken place. Elaborating on his condition of invisibility, the narrator goes on to say "That invisibility to which I refer occurs because of a peculiar disposition of the eyes of those with whom I come in contact. A matter of the construction of their inner eyes, those eyes with which they look through their physical eyes upon reality." Thus stated, Ellison's narrator brings to light unspoken tensions generated by divisions of race and class.

Much like a bildungsroman, the novel traces the development of the narrator as a young man who believes in the possibility that hard work will reward him with success, through a number of painfully illuminating episodes. Although he retains his innocence through disillusioning experiences, he does mature and undergoes rebirth. From his Southern hometown of Greenwood, he travels to Harlem, and passes through a series of initiations into adulthood. These adventures are often represented as surreal and dream-like, narrated in an energetic and intense voice, often punctuated with humor as he makes observations about white culture and learns more about black history.

Among his most pivotal early experiences is the death of his grandfather, who first opens the young boy's eyes to the fact that appearances do not always represent reality. Following this are his humiliating experiences at a "battle royal" and public speaking contest, which results in an award which sends him to college. Ultimately expelled, he finds his way to Harlem, where he works in a paint factory that blows up, joins "The Brotherhood" of the Communist Party, and eventually returns to the basement where the reader first met him in the prologue. Pondering his condition, he is matter-of-fact: "So, there you have all of it that's important," he says, "Or at least you almost have it. I'm an invisible man and it placed me in a hole—or showed me the hole I was in." Devoid of anger or self pity, the narrator remains philosophical, recognizing that "the world is just as concrete, ornery, vile and sublimely wonderful as before, only now I better understand my relation to it and it to me."

*Invisible Man* is thick with allusions to other texts, literary, philosophical, political, and psychological. Ellison draws from sources as diverse as classical European texts, major American works of

literature, African American literature and folklore, Native American mythology, children's games, sermons, blues and gospel music, as well as his own experience. Music plays a major role illuminating some of the book's major themes. Ellison himself identified five works as essential background reading to *Invisible Man*: Melville's *Moby Dick*, Malraux's *Man's Fate*, Stendhal's *Red and the Black*, Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*, and Dostoevsky's *Brothers Karamazov*. In short, as Mark Busby writes, "Ellison uses everything he knows, not to prove anything to anybody but to exploit as fully as possible the artistic materials he is conjuring—to render Harlem with enough accuracy that Harlemites who read the book would recognize the place. . . ."

Ellison was awarded the National Book Award for *Invisible Man* (his only novel) in 1952. His other work includes two collections of essays, *Shadow and Arts* (1964) and *Going to the Territory* (1986), which were republished posthumously in 1995 under one title, *The Collected Essays of Ralph Ellison*. A collection of short stories, *Flying Home and Other Stories*, was also published posthumously in 1996.

—Lolly Ockerstrom

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## Iran Contra

No other scandal in American history has had such far-reaching complexities with so few consequences as the Iran-Contra scandal that plagued presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush in the 1980s.

During the presidency of Ulysses S. Grant, corruption was the order of the day, and cabinet members and federal judges were forced to resign to avoid impeachment. Grant prudently decided not to seek a third term. Warren G. Harding, considered by most scholars to be the worst president of all time, was spared removal from office only by

his death. His wife then burned his papers to spare what was left of his reputation. Richard Nixon was not so fortunate. Once he was ordered to release tapes of conversations conducted in the Oval Office that revealed a coverup of the Watergate hotel break-in, Nixon reluctantly resigned. Bill Clinton was dogged by opponents from the point that he became the frontrunner in the 1992 presidential campaign. While he survived the Whitewater scandal, in 1998 he became only the second president to be impeached when he was accused of lying under oath about having an affair with a White House intern. Both Ronald Reagan and George Bush, however, survived their presidencies with few scars. Unlike the Watergate defendants, the Iran-Contra defendants escaped prison terms.

On the surface, Iran Contra was an arms-for-hostage exchange. Upon closer examination, it was much more. President Ronald Reagan and his advisors chose to sell arms to Iran, a designated enemy of the United States, in order to finance the activities of the anticommunist insurgents known as the Contras in Nicaragua. While noted scholar Theodore Draper wrote in his extensive study of the Iran Contra affair that "selling arms to Iran and funding the Contras was two separate operations carried out by the same Reagan errand boys," they were inherently connected because the Reagan administration could not have financed the Contras without the proceeds from the arms sale.

In November of 1986, a Beirut magazine broke the story that the United States had sold arms to Iran despite an embargo against such activities that had been in effect since 1979. The American public later learned that after arms were shipped to Iran through Israel, American hostages were released. While still reeling from the repercussions of this story, the Reagan administration was forced to admit that it had used from 10 to 30 million dollars of the money from the arms sale to finance the Contras' battle against the Sandinista-led government in Nicaragua, even though both groups had been charged by international groups with human rights violations. Later Reagan wrote in his memoirs that he believed that dealing with the moderates in Iran would open up channels of communication. Critics argued that the action took place simply because it was a pet project of the president's; and when Congress refused to appropriate the money, Reagan looked elsewhere for funds.

Other than Ronald Reagan and Vice President George Bush, the chief players in the Iran-Contra scandal were Bud McFarlane and John Poindexter, both national security advisors, and Oliver North, a mid-level member of the National Security Council staff. A subsequent congressional investigation determined that the three were the "ringleaders of a cabal of zealots who were headquartered in the National Security Council (NSC)." The common consensus was that the three believed higher-ups who told them that selling arms to Iran was a way of easing existing hostilities. While North and Poindexter took advantage of the Fifth Amendment's protection from self-incrimination during the investigations, McFarlane talked to members of Congress. He later attempted suicide when faced with the repercussions of the scandal. Oliver North, who was considered by many to be a fall guy for the entire affair, became a cult hero and escaped prison when a federal judge handed down his judgment: three suspended sentences, two year's probation, \$150,000 in fines, and 1200 hours of community service. In 1992 Admiral John Poindexter was found guilty on five separate charges, and Caspar Weinberger was indicted on charges of perjury and making false statements



Oliver North being sworn in during the Iran Contra Hearings.



during the inquiry. Nevertheless, in 1992 outgoing president George Bush quietly pardoned McFarlane and the others who had been found guilty on Iran-Contra charges. Both the Tower Commission appointed by Ronald Reagan and a subsequent investigation by Special Prosecutor Lawrence Walsh revealed serious misconduct throughout Iran-Contra activities.

In his autobiography, Oliver North admitted that Ronald Reagan knew everything that was going on from the beginning. Whether Richard Nixon had known what was going on from the beginning had been instrumental in his eventual resignation. Robert Timberg argued that there were inherent similarities with the Watergate scandal: abuses of authority existed in both; a bunker mentality was prevalent in both; presidential coverups followed the unveiling of the facts in both; Oval Office tapes proved involvement and coverups in both; televised hearings were held in both; and world-class irresponsibility permeated both. Nixon, he wrote, was smart but paranoid. Reagan was not nearly so smart; yet he was charming and made a slicker getaway. Whatever his reasons for engaging in the activities of the Iranian hostage deal and funding the Nicaraguan Contras, Ronald Reagan admittedly did both. Later investigations revealed that George Bush had been privy to the activities from the beginning. Both finished their terms while retaining the respect of the American people. It will be left to future scholars with the benefit of hindsight to understand why.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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## Iron Maiden

Perhaps the quintessential heavy metal band, Iron Maiden has sold more than forty-five million records worldwide, remaining the object of a faithful international fan base since the early 1980s. Numerous hit singles and platinum albums have also attested to the consistence of the listening habits of metal fans long after the much-maligned genre had ceased to make headlines in the music press. Ditching the more bluesy grooves of hard rock bands from the 1970s such as Deep Purple and UFO, Iron Maiden came up with a faster, riff-laden, yet melodious song structure which set the standards for what most listeners came to understand to be heavy metal. A marked preference for lyrics grounded on horror, mythology, wars, and history became another of the genre's key reference points, not to mention gargantuan onstage production values and globe-trotting concert tours.

Iron Maiden was formed in London in 1976 by bassist Steve Harris. At the height of the so-called "punk revolution" spearheaded by Sex Pistols and The Clash, Harris persisted with heavy metal through constant lineup changes and difficulties in finding performing venues. By the time both punk and disco were on the decline, however, Harris had managed to recruit more reliable group members, including singer Paul Di'Anno and lead guitarist Dave Murray. After playing the club circuit, the band began to generate some minor attention in the press, and produced an independent three song record in 1979. The single pressing of three thousand copies sold out so quickly that EMI offered them an album deal.

The early 1980s marked what the British press dubbed the "New Wave of British Heavy Metal": Iron Maiden, Def Leppard, Saxon, and other bands began to storm into the domestic charts and soon enjoyed international success. Heralded by the hit single "Running Free," from *Iron Maiden* (1980), their self-titled debut album, reached an impressive fourth place in the UK charts. This allowed the band to enlist the services of producer Martin Birch for their second album, *Killers* (1981). Birch had been at the helm of some classic Deep Purple albums in the 1970s and proved himself capable of bringing out the best in the band. Elaborate introductions and solos and an overall "cleanness" of sound became trademarks which countless musicians soon attempted to emulate. Harris always remained at the creative center, writing most of the songs, but the lineup now also featured a second lead guitarist, Murray's longtime friend Adrian Smith, who would write and co-write some of the band's greatest hits such as "Wasted Years" and "2 Minutes to Midnight." Early on, Maiden began to be identified with its fictitious mascot, "Eddie," a mummified zombie designed by artist Derek Riggs and featured on all their album covers. The band began playing larger venues in Europe and the United States, touring in support of Kiss and Judas Priest, and discovered the fanatical enthusiasm of their Japanese fans after a number of headline appearances in Japan. Surprisingly, at the end of the tour, Di'Anno departed, citing stress and exhaustion.

Former Samson singer Bruce Dickinson joined the band in 1981. The energetic and charismatic frontman became an immediate favorite with fans and indelibly embodied Iron Maiden's mainstream success in the 1980s. An accomplished songwriter with powerful, semi-operatic vocal skills and manic stage antics, Dickinson is also one of rock's most imitated singers. *The Number of the Beast* topped the UK charts in 1982, and the album's Satanic-themed cover and title song generated considerable outrage among conservative groups in numerous countries. Iron Maiden soon became a household name, alongside those of Black Sabbath, Ozzy Osbourne, and AC/DC whenever the supposedly harmful influence of heavy metal on young listeners became an issue of heated debates.

The album *Powerslave* (1984) probably saw the band at its peak in the studio, with exemplary instrumental passages that culminated in the thirteen-minute epic "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner," based on the Samuel Taylor Coleridge poem. *Powerslave* led to a mammoth-scale, year-long world tour—ambitiously labeled the "World Slavery Tour"—and sell-out crowds on four continents. A tradition of sorts was also inaugurated in 1984 when Maiden played a pioneering tour of Poland at a time when, among renewed international heights of nuclear fear, virtually no other Western artists ventured beyond the Iron Curtain. Over the years, the band would constantly



Members of the band *Iron Maiden* (l-r) Adrian Smith, Bruce Dickinson, Dave Murray, Nicko McBain, and Steve Harris.

make an effort to “brave” new territories previously ignored by other bands, such as Moscow, Istanbul, and even war-torn Sarajevo. Another high point of their 1984-85 tour was an appearance at the megalomaniac “Rock in Rio” festival in Brazil, in front of an estimated crowd of two hundred thousand people.

After five consecutive platinum albums in the United States, Iron Maiden saw local musical tastes shift toward the more commercial sounds and glamorized looks of groups like Bon Jovi and Cinderella. The band’s popularity dwindled in North America during the late 1980s and early 1990s, but its international following remained strong, as evidenced by two headline appearances at the annual “Monsters of Rock” festival in Donington, England, in 1989 and 1992 in front of one-hundred-thousand-plus crowds. In 1993, Dickinson announced his departure after eleven successful years, leaving for a more low-profile solo career. The search for his replacement began through an international contest sponsored by the band, resulting in thousands of tapes being sent in by would-be rock stars. Blaze Bayley, formerly with Wolfsbane, was ultimately announced as the new singer. With the retirement of Martin Birch, Harris himself was now at the helm producing the band’s records and videos.

Apart from Birch, another backstage personality who played a key role in the lasting success of Iron Maiden was manager Rod

Smallwood, the man who, from the beginning, ran the band’s financial and commercial arm, Sanctuary Music. In the late 1990s, Sanctuary was also managing a number of other bands—whose records were sometimes produced by Harris—and even entered London’s stock market in an ambitious (and successful) move. Maiden also proved to be multimedia-savvy with the creation of a state-of-the-art video game featuring Eddie and by re-releasing all of its albums in enhanced CDs containing the band’s music videos.

—Alex Medeiros

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## Ironman Triathlon

The Ironman Triathlon, arguably the world's toughest endurance competition, has come a long way from very humble origins. In 1977, a group of recreational athletes and naval officers in an Oahu bar got into a dispute over who was the better athlete—the runner, the swimmer, or the cyclist. Trying to resolve the argument, Naval Commander John Collins jokingly proposed a race combining the 2.4 mile “Waikiki Roughwater Swim,” the 122 mile “Cycle around Oahu,” and the Honolulu Marathon. A year later, 15 bold adventurers gathered on a Waikiki beach to attempt the first Ironman Triathlon, unaware they were to become a part of history. By the early 1990s, the annual Hawaii Ironman had become an internationally-televised professional competition, and the Holy Grail for hundreds of thousands of triathletes worldwide. It had also helped transform the world of exercise, inspiring the entire concept of cross-training and countless other multi-sport events.

Triathlons first gained recognition in 1979, when *Sports Illustrated* published an article on the second annual Hawaii Ironman. The next year, a highlight package was aired on ABC's *Wide World of Sports*. Although the Ironman was presented as an obscure competition for only the most obsessed athletes, the telecast still helped



Natascha Badmann wins the women's division of the 1998 Hawaiian Ironman Triathlon.

launch hundreds of other multi-sport challenges. In 1981, the Hawaii competition was moved from Waikiki to the Kailua-Kona on the Big Island, to take advantage of the spectacular backdrop of open shores and lava fields. But it was the telecast of the dramatic 1982 Hawaii Ironman that truly placed triathlons in the public conscience. Just two miles from the finish line, women's leader Julie Moss collapsed, in severe glycogen debt, but refused to accept any medical attention. She staggered over the final two miles, literally crawling to the finish line as Kathleen McCartney passed for the victory. Viewers around the world watched in awe, wondering not only whether she would finish the race, but whether she would survive. The next year, the field of competitors doubled and over 12 million people tuned in for the live telecast. The popularity of triathlons skyrocketed through the 1980s, resulting in the establishment of other major Ironman races, a World Cup Circuit of shorter races, and thousands of multi-sport events for more recreational athletes. The multi-sport craze swept the world, inspiring other “extreme” adventure races, like the multi-day Eco-Challenge and the Raid Gauloises, combining trail running, cycling, mountaineering, paddling, and sometimes even sky-diving.

By the late 1980s, triathlons had become both a professional competition, where full-time athletes competed for prize money and sponsorship, and the ultimate challenge for the amateur athletes. The Hawaii race, with its mumuku headwinds and searing temperatures, often reaching into triple digits along the lava flats, remained the main event; just to enter, competitors had to either qualify at a national competition or hope for one of the coveted lottery spots. As the competition grew, being a triathlete came to require more than a large lung capacity and a large threshold for pain; it required a large wallet. A week in Hawaii plus all the equipment—including titanium bicycles, wetsuits, shoes, accessories like heart-rate monitors, and enough food to replace the 5000 calories a triathlete might burn in a day of training—could cost thousands of dollars. The Ironman slowly became a sport for the rich, a status symbol for business executives and athletes in other disciplines.

The competitive men's field was dominated by six-time winners Dave Scott and Mark Allen throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. In the dramatic 1989 Hawaii Ironman, Allen narrowly edged Scott after racing side-by-side for nearly eight hours. Scott made a miraculous comeback in 1994, returning at the age of 40, after a two and half year retirement, to place second. The competition increased throughout the 1990s, and the winning time dropped substantially. Luc Van Lierdes' record 8:04 hour time set in 1996 is over three hours faster than Gordon Haller's 1978 winning time. The improvement over the years in the women's field was even more remarkable. In 1992, eight-time winner Paula Newby-Fraser finished in just under nine hours, an astonishing four hours faster than Lyn Lemair, the first female winner in 1979.

In 1998, the Hawaii Ironman celebrated its twentieth anniversary. In just two decades, it evolved into the world's most recognized endurance race, with 1,500 competitors, including 140 professional triathletes, competing for pride and \$250,000 in prize money. During its 20 years, the multi-sport race has completely transformed the world of exercise, spawning the entire concept of cross-training and capturing the imagination of both recreational and professional athletes around the world. The simple bar bet also received its ultimate compliment, when a shorter version of the competition became an official medal sport for the 2000 Olympics in Sydney, Australia.

—Simon Donner

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## Irving, John (1942—)

The novels of John Irving have been regular bestsellers ever since *The World According to Garp* won international acclaim in 1978. Irving's first novel, *Setting Free the Bears* (1968), established many of the fictional characteristics that would earn him critical and popular favor in works that include *The Hotel New Hampshire* (1981), *The Cider House Rules* (1985), *A Prayer for Owen Meany* (1988), and *A Son of the Circus* (1994). Believing that "exquisitely developed characters and heartbreaking stories were the obligations of any novel worth remembering," Irving is a comic novelist whose books are distinguished by engaging heroes and detailed plots. Thematically, many have returned to issues of parenthood, children, the relationships between men and women, and the entanglements of sex. Irving's novels have sold in their millions and both *The World According to Garp* and *The Hotel New Hampshire* have been made into films.

—Paul Grainge

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## *It Happened One Night*

A spoiled and willful young heiress, cocooned from reality by bodyguards and her father's trillions, jumps ship off the Florida coast when her father wishes to have her recent unconsummated marriage to a gold-digging roue annulled. Her worried father hires detectives to comb the land for his runaway daughter, offers a hefty reward for news of her, and has headlines blazon her disappearance while she sets off to reach New York by cross-country bus—her first foray into the real world of ordinary people. She runs into difficulties and a broke, straight-talking journalist who has just been fired. He recognizes her, spots a scoop, and escorts her through a series of adventures to the obligatory climax of temporary misunderstandings and true love.

Such are the bones of *Night Bus*, a short story by Samuel Hopkins Adams that, retitled *It Happened One Night*, became not only one of the most successful, enduring, and best-loved romantic comedies of all time but—as written for the screen by the accomplished Robert Riskin, directed by Frank Capra with a sure sense of its characters, its comedy, and its humanity, and played with irresistible charm and polish by Clark Gable and Claudette Colbert—was arguably the most influential contribution to screwball comedy.

Screwball was a genre born of the troubled times of the Depression to provide a perfect escape from the humdrum into a celluloid world teeming with glamor, wealth, romance, and laughter. Curmudgeonly or eccentric, but never dangerous, characters supplied a thread of reality. The films satirized the rich in an era of poverty, but did so with affection, often creating a happy alliance between the idle rich and the ordinary working person. Heroines were spirited, independent-minded women, a liberating departure from the sweet-natured and compliant wives or girlfriends, hard-bitten molls, or fallen women who were the staple characters of pre-1930s cinema, and the "feel-good" plot resolutions were always arrived at via comedy, often so screwy as to give the genre its name, but constructed, in the best of them, with infallible logic and sincere conviction.

*It Happened One Night* conformed gloriously to the rules, and did so with seamless panache. Gable's middle-class journalist, virile, opportunistic, and commanding, gets more than he bargains for from Colbert's heiress, whom he addresses as "Brat" throughout but who turns out to have unexpected wit and intelligence. In a series of inspired sequences that have become justly famous anthology pieces, the pair constantly turn the tables on each other. The best known of these are the "walls of Jericho" and hitchhiking scenes. In the first, he turns the tables on her apprehensive suspicions by lending her his pajamas and stringing a blanket between two beds in a room they're forced to share (Gable's removal of his shirt to reveal a bare chest famously sent the sales of undershirts plummeting); in the second, she triumphs, seductively hitching her skirts to get them a ride after his self-proclaimed expertise with his thumb has failed to stop a succession of vehicles.

The chemistry between Gable and Colbert is potent, a battle of the sexes in which acid insults give way to warm wisecracking and then to a beguiling sweetness and vulnerability in both of them. Aside from the major set-pieces, the film offers a cornucopia of treasureable lunacies—Alan Hale's singing crackpot who gives them a ride; Colbert's unsuitable suitor clad in top hat and tails piloting himself to their wedding in a gyroplane; Gable and Colbert fooling detectives by faking a blue-collar marital row, to mention but three. Amidst the comedy Capra, always a devoted chronicler of the common man, introduces an episode on the bus when a group of passengers play and sing popular songs. Colbert's childlike glee and amazement as she listens to "That Daring Young Man on the Flying Trapeze" serves to highlight with some poignancy her previously cosseted isolation—a moment of truth in the fantasy.

Arguably the first, and certainly the greatest, of the screwball comedies of the 1930s, the tale of *It Happened One Night's* success is a tale of alchemy: all the right ingredients combined and perfectly controlled to create a concoction of pure magic. It is also, like so many Hollywood success stories, a tale of happy accidents. In 1934 little Columbia, run on a relative shoestring by the foul-mouthed autocratic Harry Cohn, was considered a Poverty Row studio, and struggled to



Clark Gable and Claudette Colbert in a scene from the film *It Happened One Night*.

compete with giants such as MGM. One of its few assets was Frank Capra who, having fallen on hard times after his first early successes with silent comedy, accepted a contract with Columbia in the late 1920s which later proved to have been the turning point in the fortunes of both studio and director.

Capra read *Night Bus* in *Cosmopolitan* magazine and persuaded an unenthusiastic Cohn to buy it for \$5000. Capra wanted MGM's Robert Montgomery for the role of journalist Peter Warne, but Louis B. Mayer refused to loan him out. He proved amenable, however, to the idea of lending Clark Gable to Columbia, viewing a spell on Poverty Row as suitable punishment for his rising star who, in a rebellion against his tough-guy typecasting, had checked himself into a hospital on grounds of overwork. Several actresses having rejected the role of heiress Ellen Andrews, Columbia turned to Claudette Colbert. (Her debut film, *For the Love of Mike* [1927], directed by Capra, had been a failure.) By now desperate to fill the role, Columbia agreed to Colbert's punishing demands: double her contract salary at Paramount and a shooting schedule guaranteed not to exceed four weeks. The auguries were not of the best.

At the 1935 Academy Awards, *It Happened One Night* made a grand slam, winning the Oscars for best picture, director, screenplay adaptation, actor, and actress, an unprecedented feat not equaled until *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* forty-one years later. Its success elevated Capra's status, made Colbert a star, brought Gable superstardom and his desired freedom of choice, and transformed Columbia into a major studio.

The film set the tone for a certain style of romantic comedy officially defined as Capraesque over sixty years later and, like all true works of art, defied time to give pleasure to successive generations of viewers.

—Robyn Karney

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## *It's a Wonderful Life*

Although a box office failure in 1946, Frank Capra's *It's a Wonderful Life* today is a well-loved Christmas classic for many Americans. Combining sentimental nostalgia and tough realism to deliver a popular message of faith in God and faith in basic human decency, the film tells the story of everyman George Bailey (James Stewart), and his desire to escape what he considers the everyday boredom of his hometown, Bedford Falls. Despite his efforts, events conspire against him, forcing him to give up his dreams of travel he stays home to run the family Building and Loan. In the meantime, without realizing it, George becomes a pillar of his community, helping to protect the people of Bedford Falls from Mr. Potter (Lionel Barrymore), a mean, frustrated millionaire. Finally, on Christmas Eve 1946, Potter threatens George with financial ruin. George considers suicide but is rescued by an elderly angel, Clarence Oddbody (Henry Travers). Clarence shows George how much poorer the world would

be without him, teaching him that each life touches another, and that no one is a failure as long as one has a friend. The film ends on an exhilarating note as grateful friends bring George all the cash they can scrape together and help him defeat Potter.

*It's a Wonderful Life* began life as "The Greatest Gift," a short story by Philip Van Doren Stern. Stern had sent it as a Christmas card to his friends, and the story was later published in *Good Housekeeping*. Charles Koerner, head of production at RKO, purchased the rights to "The Greatest Gift" and hired three writers—Dalton Trumbo, Marc Connelly, and Clifford Odets—to make it into a screenplay. However, they were unable to produce a solid script. Odets's main contribution, it seemed, was to name one of George's children "Zuzu." Knowing that Capra (just out of the army and trying to establish his own production company, Liberty Films) was looking for good material for his first postwar film, Koerner offered it to him. Delighted with the story, Capra bought the film rights and developed a script with writers Frances Goodrich and Albert Hackett (Jo Swerling and Dorothy Parker also contributed, although they received no screen credit).

The film Capra crafted from this final script is an artful mixture of nostalgia, light sentimentality, and film noir. Capra makes clear links between George's personal life and national events (for example, the influenza epidemic of 1919, the Roaring Twenties, the Great



James Stewart (center) in a scene from the film *It's a Wonderful Life*.

Depression, and World War II) that would profoundly and nostalgically resonate with his audience. Although many of these milestones were moments of great trial for the country, he sentimentalized them by depicting his small-town characters as facing these difficulties with courage, pluck, and warmth. For example, during the Depression, we see George and his new bride, Mary (Donna Reed), successfully fend off Potter's attempted takeover of the Building and Loan. In a remarkable example of American virtue, the couple sacrificed their own honeymoon money, loaning it to their worried customers. Later that night, in a warm and endearing scene, Mary arranges a simple, homespun honeymoon complete with a roaring fire, a homemade dinner, and local townspeople crooning "I Love You Truly" outside. By contrast, Capra depicts the world without George as a dark, cold, and pitiless place. Borrowing shooting techniques from the popular film noir genre, he used deep shadows and uncomfortably odd close-ups and camera angles to produce the paranoia, distrust, and heartlessness that reigns in a George-less Pottersville.

Considering the film's immense popularity today, it may be hard to believe that it was not a hit with the audiences or critics of 1946, who were not quite ready to accept a dark Christmas story. Furthermore, it was simply too naive in the wake of the Second World War. The film's heartwarming conclusion could not expunge the dark cruelties of Pottersville. Although it was nominated for a Best Picture Academy Award (with Capra and Stewart also receiving nominations), it could not draw enough box office to cover its production costs. Liberty Films went under, and the rights to *It's a Wonderful Life* reverted to Capra's distributor, RKO. Capra went on to make other films, including *State of the Union* (1948) and *A Pocketful of Miracles* (1961), but his career never recovered.

Eventually, RKO sold *It's a Wonderful Life* to television, where it began to develop a following each Christmas season. By the late 1980s, the film was enormously popular among holiday audiences. With the advent of cable, it could be seen on various networks for practically twenty-four hours a day, generating thousands of dollars in advertising revenue. (Ironically, however, Capra received no royalties, having lost them to RKO with the collapse of Liberty. The situation was later rectified when grateful broadcasters paid him a large sum of money.)

Capra himself called *It's a Wonderful Life* his favorite of all his films. Most critics also have come to recognize the film as Capra's best and most typical work, although not always without reservations. The *New Yorker*, for example, grudgingly admitted that "in its own icky, bittersweet way, it's terribly effective."

—Scott W. Hoffman

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## *It's Garry Shandling's Show*

*It's Garry Shandling's Show* was the beginning of comedian and sometime 1980s *Tonight Show* guest host Garry Shandling's ongoing exploration of lives led in front of the camera, while parodying the world of television; his magnum opus, the fruits of these years, is *The Larry Sanders Show*.

Shandling, with former *Saturday Night Live* writer Alan Zweibel, created *It's Garry Shandling's Show*, which was on Showtime from 1986 to 1988, and Fox from 1988 to 1990. The gimmick of the show was inspired by a device that hadn't often been used since the 1958 end of *Burns and Allen's* run: breaking the fourth wall. Shandling played himself, a neurotic comedian, and regularly talked to the camera, making observations, updating the plot, or interjecting a joke. The difference was that everyone else in the cast knew they were on television, too; sometimes other characters criticized Shandling for paying too much attention to the camera or to his appearance, or complained about not being featured in an episode. And, of course, the live audience was in on it, too. If Shandling were leaving, he'd tell the audience they could use his living room while he was gone, and they would. He would also go into the audience to get reactions, or "take a call from a viewer."

The sitcom took place in Shandling's Sherman Oaks condominium. The supporting cast included Garry's platonic friend Nancy (Molly Cheek), his mother Ruth (Barbara Cason), his married friend Pete (Michael Tucci), Pete's wife Jackie (Bernadette Birkett), their intellectual son Grant (Scott Nemes), and nosy condo manager Leonard (Paul Wilson). In 1989-1990 season, both Garry and Nancy acquired steady love interests: Nancy's was Ian (soap opera actor Ian Buchanan) and Garry's was Phoebe (Jessica Harper), whom he married before the show ended.

The format and premise allowed guest stars to drop by and play themselves, among them Tom Petty, Zsa Zsa Gabor, and the late Gilda Radner in one of her last television appearances. There was also a 1988 election special with *Soul Train's* Don Cornelius providing political analysis. Garry's "wedding" was attended by Bert Convy, Connie Stevens, and Ned Beatty. Besides covering Shandling's trials and tribulations with girlfriends, his mom, and his friends, *It's Garry Shandling's Show* lovingly spoofed television conventions and sitcom "rules" with parodies of *Lassie* and *The Fugitive*. Even the show's theme song winked at tradition: "This is the theme to Garry's show, the opening theme to Garry's show, Garry called me up and asked if I would write his theme song. . . ."

The idea for the show originated in a sketch on NBC's *Michael Nesmith in Television Parts* that featured Shandling narrating a date with Miss Maryland to the camera. The sitcom was pitched to the three networks, all three of which turned it down. Showtime, for whom Shandling had done two successful comedy specials, *Garry Shandling: Alone in Vegas* (1984) and *The Garry Shandling Show 25th Anniversary Special* (1986), picked it up. Though other shows (such as *Moonlighting* and *Saved By the Bell*), came to break the fourth wall occasionally during the 1980s, *It's Garry Shandling's Show's* use of the device was fresh and innovative, providing the creators with an effective outlet to skewer their own industry.

—Karen Lurie

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## Ives, Burl (1909-1995)

Perhaps the most versatile entertainer America has produced in the twentieth century, Burl Ives did it all. He sang; acted on stage, screen, and television; wrote songs and prose; compiled books of traditional music—which he often arranged—and taught music in a series of popular guitar manuals. Once dubbed by Carl Sandburg as "the mightiest ballad singer of any century," throughout his life Ives remained quintessentially American. A man of strong populist leanings (as evidenced by his 1949 autobiography *The Wayfaring Stranger*), Ives always saw himself as a grassroots folksinger. It is Ives's musical legacy that remains his most significant contribution, preserving for



**Burl Ives**

future generations an enormous wealth of material, a musical portrait of the America he had known.

Born to a farm family of modest means in Jasper County, Illinois, Ives was raised on music. His whole family sang. His maternal grandmother taught him the ballads of her Scotch-Irish-English forefathers. By the time he was four, Ives was performing in public as a child entertainer and evangelical singer. Pressured to pursue a more conventional career than minstrel, in 1927 he entered Illinois State Teachers College with a mind toward becoming a football coach, but he left a year shy of attaining a degree, preferring to live the life of a vagabond to the static life of a teacher. Recalling his college career, Ives said, "I never did take to studies."

But Ives had several innate talents which kept him afloat during his early professional years, and they eventually would prove his most distinctive features as an entertainer. He was a friendly man, of abundant natural charm, with an innate gift for storytelling. He was also a singer who labored for years to perfect his voice. And at a time when folk music was looked down on as a musical form, Ives's faith in the ballads he had learned at his grandmother's knee—and while traversing the country—preserved him through the lean years prior to his meteoric rise to fame.

While wandering throughout forty-six of the forty-eight states, Ives supported himself by playing music in bars or doing odd jobs, sleeping rough, and hitchhiking from town to town. In 1931 he was living at the International House in Manhattan, a cheap hotel catering to foreign students, working in its cafeteria while he continued the formal musical training he had begun in Terre Haute, Indiana. An avid music student, Ives absorbed the classical canon, finding work singing in churches and in madrigal groups. But his ambitions were hampered by a sinus problem which affected his voice as well as his lingering doubts about singing classical music. At heart he was still a folk balladeer. He credits one Ella Toedt, a well-known voice instructor of the day, with curing his sinus problem—enduring a year of falsetto exercises before he was rid of the blockage—and with encouraging his folk music. Soon Ives was singing ballads at charity events and parties, sharing his vast repertoire of folk songs with appreciative audiences that often included some of the leading lights of New York's leftist intelligentsia.

He was encouraged by his show business friends to try a hand at acting. Ives won a small part in an out-of-town production, then charmed his way into a nonsinging part in the Rodgers and Hart musical *The Boys from Syracuse* (1938). The duo then cast him in a traveling production of *I Married an Angel*, which Ives followed with a four-month engagement at the Village Vanguard. By 1940 he had his own radio show, *The Wayfaring Stranger*, on which he sang and told stories from his years of traveling. Suddenly, folk songs were in vogue.

By 1945 Ives was starring in *Sing Out Sweet Land*, a musical revue based on the folk songs he had popularized on his radio broadcasts, and the next year he made his film debut, playing a singing cowboy in *Smoky*. He went on to appear in numerous Broadway productions, in films, and began a recording career that would eventually number more than one hundred releases. His visibility was further enhanced by his appearance as Big Daddy in the 1958 film *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, a role he already had popularized on Broadway. That year he won an Oscar for his performance opposite Gregory Peck in *The Big Country*.



Throughout the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, Ives continued to appear in theater, film, and television productions, such as the *Roots* TV miniseries (1977), and portrayed a mean-spirited racist in noted filmmaker Samuel Fuller's last film, *White Dog* (1982). He also kept abreast of the times, expanding his repertoire to include standards like "Little Green Apples," and going so far as to cover Bob Dylan's "The Times They Are A-Changing," although his fling with the counterculture was brief.

By the time of his death in 1995, Ives was best remembered as a singer of children's songs; a narrator of animated Christmas specials for television; the kindly, avuncular man with the hefty girth.

—Michael J. Baers

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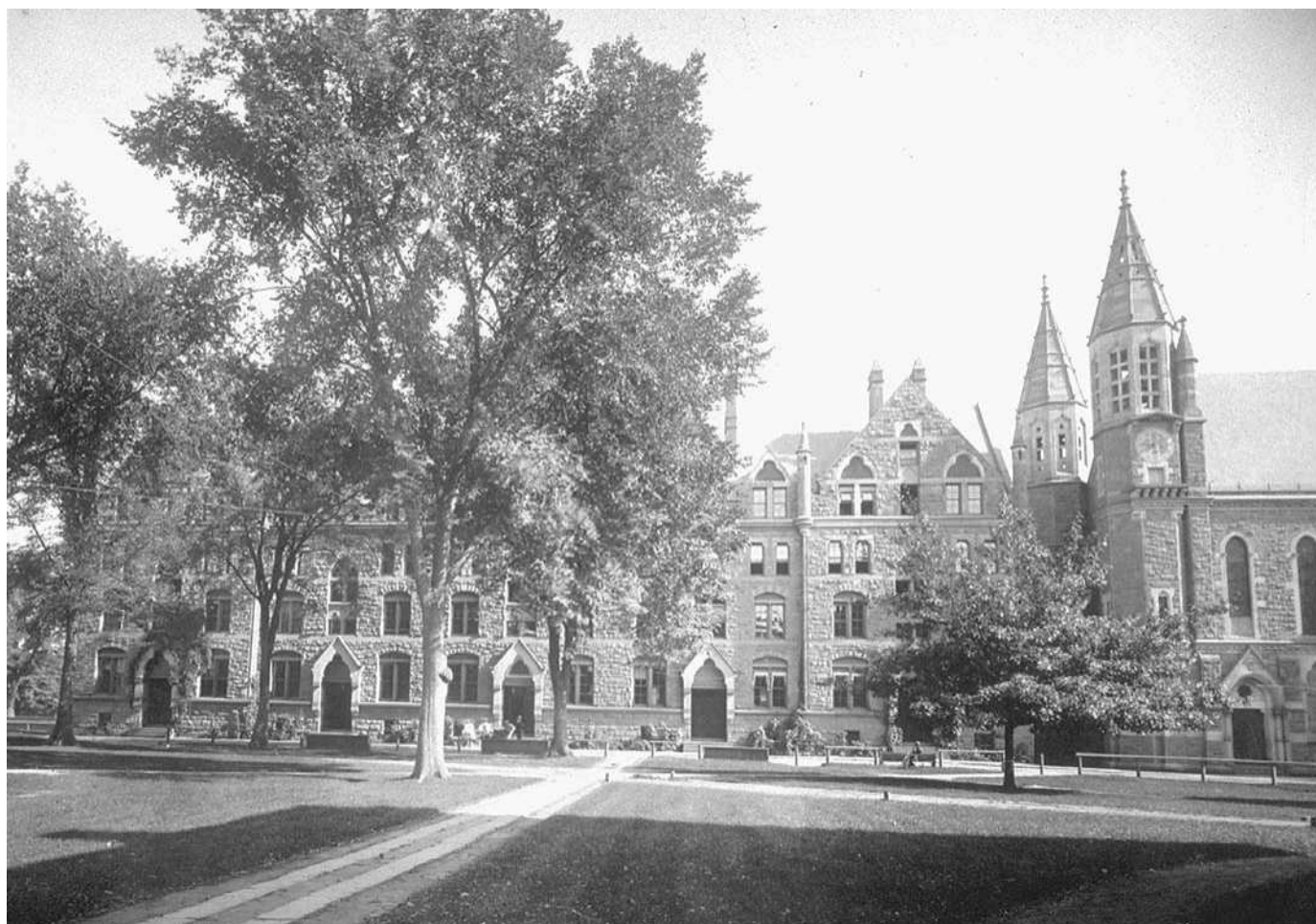
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## Ivy League

The term "Ivy League" is informally used to describe eight East Coast universities—Brown, Cornell, Columbia, Dartmouth, Harvard, Princeton, the University of Pennsylvania, and Yale—which are acknowledged as among the most prestigious postsecondary schools in the United States. The ivy image derives from the fact that these institutions are also among the oldest in the country, with stately buildings and beautiful historic campuses. Because of highly selective admissions criteria, an "Ivy League" degree represents the near-guarantee that a graduate will rise to the top of his—or, only since the 1970s, her—profession (the Ivy League colleges were originally all-male institutions). As educational writer Joseph Thelin wrote, the mystique of the Ivy League describes "the process by which the collegiate ideal has been . . . associated with trade marks, and brand-name imagery."

The term itself did not originally connote academic excellence: it was coined in the late 1930s by Cas Adams, a *New York Herald-Tribune* reporter, who bestowed the name on the schools because he noticed that buildings on all eight campuses were covered in vines. Before the 1880s, as Thelin wrote, "contacts between these institutions were few" until intercollegiate athletic teams began to develop.



A view of the Ivy League's Yale University.

Walter Camp, a Yale student in the 1870s, had all but invented college football and, by the turn of the century, the eight universities were dominating the sport.

With applications to most Ivy League universities topping 20,000 a year by the 1990s, and acceptance rates hovering between 10 and 15 percent, it is not hard to see how the Ivy League sets the benchmark of exclusivity against which other postsecondary institutions are measured. Many high school seniors and their parents invest so much in acceptances—from SAT preparation classes to costly counselors—that they overlook colleges that do not have such recognizable brand names. Loren Pope, author of the college-application handbook *Looking beyond the Ivy League*, is one of many authors who try to dispel myths of an Ivy League education as making or breaking one's future success. The first myth on Pope's agenda is

“An Ivy . . . College Will Absolutely Guarantee the Rich, Full, and Successful Life.” More often than not, however, efforts to dispel these myths serve only to perpetuate them.

—Daryna M. McKeand

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# J

## J. Walter Thompson

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Number one in industry billings from 1922 to 1972, the J. Walter Thompson agency redefined the advertising industry and transformed the business of media in America. Founded in New York City as Carlton and Smith in 1864, the agency was originally a broker of advertising space in religious journals. The agency hired its namesake, James Walter Thompson, in 1868. Thompson purchased the agency from William James Carlton in 1877, renamed it after himself, and rapidly positioned it as the exclusive seller of advertising space in many leading American magazines.

Most large magazines had existed on subscription and newsstand revenue alone. To create a market for ad space, Thompson persuaded reluctant publishers—who feared advertisements would tarnish their images—to accept advertising in their pages. Thereafter, America’s largest magazines relied on advertising as their largest source of revenue, increasing the import of the composition of a publication’s readership, and its appeal to advertisers.

Stanley Resor joined the company in 1908, and soon hired copywriter Helen Lansdowne. He purchased the agency in 1916 and the two were married the next year. Together they remade the agency and developed it from a mere broker of space into a full service shop that conceived and executed major national advertising campaigns.

Print advertising of the previous era emphasized brand identity, iconic images, and simple slogans. J. Walter Thompson pioneered a new strategy aimed at delivering a “hard-sell” print ad, known as the “reason-why” approach. These advertisements typically captured the reader’s attention with a bold, capitalized statement accompanied by an artistic or arresting image. The ad copy methodically outlined each selling point of the product and ended with a free or reduced-price product offer.

Women made most household purchasing decisions at this time and Helen Lansdowne Resor, in her words, “added the feminine point of view” to advertising to ensure that it was “effective for women.” Her wing of the offices was known as the Women’s Copy Group. Among the most famous advertisements produced under Helen Lansdowne Resor were campaigns for Lux soap, Maxwell House coffee, and Crisco shortening. Her infamous “A skin you love to touch” ad for Woodbury’s Facial Soap featured a man seductively caressing a woman’s arm and kissing her hand. The overt sexuality caused a number of *Ladies’ Home Journal* readers to cancel their subscriptions but launched one of the most successful selling techniques of all time.

In 1912, Stanley Resor commissioned the market research study, “Population and Its Distribution.” The study detailed both the composition of the American population and the distribution of retail and wholesale stores across the cities and rural areas. In 1915 Resor was the first to open a research department, inaugurating the massive efforts of corporate America to determine consumer desires.

As part of this effort, Resor hired John Hopkins University behavioral psychologist John B. Watson in 1920. Watson theorized that humans are capable of only three basic emotions—love, fear, and

rage—and sought to tap these feelings with advertising. Watson’s application of psychology to advertising anticipated the later use of psychological and subliminal selling techniques.

Watson’s hiring coincided with the trend toward “whisper” advertising that sowed insecurity in the reader. One such J. Walter Thompson ad, for Odorono deodorant in 1919, read in part, “It is a physiological fact that persons troubled by underarm odor seldom detect it themselves.” The use of testimonials from stars, such as Joan Crawford’s 1927 endorsement of Lux Soap, was another of the agency’s firsts.

The J. Walter Thompson agency first led the industry in billings for 1922, and held that position for the next 50 years, its revenues growing from \$10 million to nearly \$1 billion during this period. By 1938, national radio advertising surpassed that in magazines. As with magazine publishers, early radio operators initially resisted commercial advertising. But by 1933, J. Walter Thompson’s clients sponsored nine weekly shows including *Kraft Music Hall* and the *Fleischmann Yeast Hour*. Products were promoted in short “spots” that lasted from 15 seconds to a couple of minutes and were often live mini-dramas in their own right complete with original jingles. Television advertising adopted the same model in the 1940s and 1950s.

As a result of J. Walter Thompson’s innovations, most media depend upon advertising as their primary source of revenue. Advertising is so culturally ubiquitous and established that advertisements themselves are considered an art form worthy of serious critique. Numerous awards annually honor outstanding work.

Americans are bombarded with thousands of advertising messages each year and most can recite slogans and jingles from their most, or least, favorite advertisements. “Where’s the beef?”—a line from a Wendy’s restaurants television spot of the 1980s—was embraced so eagerly by the public that Walter Mondale used it as a rejoinder in a presidential debate. The Nixon Administration’s machinations and untruths once led Ralph Nader to label it a “J. Walter Thompson production” and, in fact, five of Nixon’s top aides were former employees. The creative pressure and client dependency that is the recognizable perpetual state of agencies was captured in television programs such as *Bewitched* in the 1960s and *thirtysomething* in the 1980s.

In the 1950s, J. Walter Thompson was one of the first agencies to aggressively expand internationally, eventually growing into a global corporation. It finally lost its number one billings ranking in the 1970s when smaller “hot shops” emerged as creative boutiques more in tune with the era’s cultural shifts and other large global agencies grew to comparable size and reach. In 1980 it became a subsidiary of JWT Group Inc., a Delaware-based holding company that was in turn purchased by the British marketing firm WPP Group in 1987.

The J. Walter Thompson agency’s influence on the multi-billion dollar advertising industry and the media it supports was profound. Informative, persuasive, seductive, and intrusive, advertising became omnipresent in the national media and the national consciousness. As the industry leader for decades, both creatively and financially, J. Walter Thompson defined the advertising agency to a public inundated with its product.

—Steven Kotok

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## Jack Armstrong

In perhaps the longest high school career on record, Jack Armstrong remained an All-American Boy for close to two decades. For the greater part of its radio life, *Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy* was a 15-minute-a-day children's serial. The show began in the summer of 1933 and didn't leave the air until the summer of 1951—although it was considerably modified by then. The sponsor for all those years was Wheaties, the Breakfast of Champions. The show originated in Chicago, long the center for soap operas and the adventure serials that filled the 5-6 pm children's hour on radio. The producer of the Jack Armstrong show was an advertising agency headed by Frank Hummert—who with his wife Anne would later produce such long-lasting programs as *Ma Perkins*, *Just Plain Bill*, *Our Gal Sunday*, and *Mr. Keen, Tracer of Lost Persons*. The writer who developed the idea and turned out the initial scripts was Robert Hardy Andrews, a prolific and supremely self-confident man, and the first actor to portray the clean-cut and adventure-prone Jack was Jim Ameche.

Jack, who attended high school in the Midwestern town of Hudson, excelled as both an athlete and a student. He was clearly inspired by the dime novel hero Frank Merriwell. While every show opened with a vocal quintet singing the school fight song—"Wave the flag for Hudson High, boys, show them how we stand"—Jack spent relatively little time behind a desk or even on the gym floor. Instead, accompanied by his teen friends Billy and Betty Fairfield, he traveled to the four corners of the world and got entangled in an endless series of intriguing adventures. During the early years of the program Jack, Betty, and Billy journeyed to the Northwest to work with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, found a lost tribe of Eskimos in the Arctic, outwitted cattle rustlers in Arizona, hunted for a lost city in the jungles of Brazil, and returned to Hudson to round up a gang of counterfeiters. A character named Captain Hughes served as a mentor and adult companion on many of the adventures. Don Ameche, Jim's brother, was the first actor to play that role.

In the spring of 1936 Talbot Mundy, who'd written such successful adventure novels as *King of the Khyber Rifles*, *Jimgrim*, and *Tros of Samothrace*, was having money problems. So he accepted the job of writing *Jack Armstrong*, and stayed with it until his death in 1940. He took Jack and his companions to such locations as Egypt, Easter Island, India, Africa, and Tibet. Most of those spots had been favored settings for Mundy's novels and stories in the 1920s and 1930s. According to Jim Harmon, it was Mundy who introduced a new mentor in the person of Uncle Jim to the show in the fall of 1936. The uncle of Billy and Betty Fairfield was an industrialist and an inventor. Actor James Goss had a distinctive radio voice that fit "the

commanding but warm father figure" he played. Uncle Jim traveled with the young trio on their adventures, many of which stretched across several months. Mundy was able to recycle not just settings but plots from his novels. In an early 1937 story, for instance, Jack and the gang end up in Africa hunting for the ivory treasure to be found in the Elephants' Graveyard. The plot, with considerable changes, was earlier used in Mundy's 1919 novel *The Ivory Trail*.

The program was a great promoter of premiums. Whenever a portable gadget was introduced into a continuity, listeners could be certain that it would eventually be offered for sale. But first its utility and desirability—emphasized in many instances by the fact that the current villains would do almost anything to get hold of the object in question—were usually romanced for several weeks. All kids usually had to do to get their copy of the gadget was to send a Wheaties box top and a dime. There were dozens of premiums from 1933 to 1948. Among them a Torpedo Flashlight, a Pedometer, an Explorer Telescope, a Secret Bombsight, a Dragon's Eye Ring, a Rocket Chute, an Egyptian Whistling Ring, and Tru-Flite model planes. The more popular items sold in the millions.

The only outside merchandising in the 1930s involved two Big Little Books issued by the Whitman Publishing Co. Both *Jack Armstrong and the Ivory Treasure* (1937), which once again used the Elephants' Graveyard story line, and *Jack Armstrong and the Mystery of the Iron Key* (1939) were based on Mundy scripts. These small, fat illustrated novels had pictures by the gifted Henry E. Vallely. His Jack was a handsome fellow in polo shirt, jodhpurs, and riding boots, who looked to be in his early twenties. The Jack Armstrong property didn't seriously branch out into other media again until after World War II. The year 1947 was when several things happened—not only a movie serial but also the start of a comic strip and a comic book. Columbia Pictures produced the 15-chapter serial with John Hart, later to play the Lone Ranger on television for two seasons, as a somewhat older Jack. In the spring of that year, the Register and Tribune Syndicate introduced a *Jack Armstrong* newspaper strip. Bob Schoenke was the artist and, as one comics historian has pointed out, his "Jack was nowhere near as dashing as Vallely's and looked more like the sort of youth who'd spend much of his time on the bench." The strip was dropped in 1949. The *Parents' Magazine* outfit started a comic book late in 1947. Like their *True Comics*, it was rather dull and polite, never capturing the fun and gee-whiz spirit of the radio show. It, too, folded in 1949, after just 13 issues.

Charles Flynn had inherited the role of Jack in 1939 and, except for a year out for military service, he stayed with it to the end. In 1947, with the popularity of daily serials waning, Wheaties transformed *Jack Armstrong* into a half-hour program heard two or three times a week. Then in 1950 the title was changed to *Armstrong of the SBI*. Jack had started working for the Scientific Bureau of Investigation some years early and also had acquired a new mentor, Vic Hardy, a reformed crook, who headed up the SBI. Uncle Jim had long since been phased out, Billy went next, and only Betty remained of the old gang in the final days; through all those adventurous years she and Jack had never been more than just good friends.

—Ron Goulart

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## The Jackson Five

When Motown recording artists, the Jackson Five, burst upon the music scene in 1969, this group of five brothers followed an extremely successful career trajectory that launched the youngest brother, Michael Jackson, into superstardom. But as a group, the Jackson Five was more than the sum of its parts, or even the sum total of Michael Jackson's charisma: all of the brothers were talented singers and songwriters in their own right. During the 1970s, they enjoyed a lengthy string of hit singles, becoming the most popular black soul vocal group of all time.

The Jackson Five were comprised of Jackie Jackson (born May 4, 1951), Tito Jackson (born Oct. 15, 1953), Marlon Jackson (born Mar. 12, 1957), Jermaine Jackson (born Dec. 11, 1954) and Michael Jackson (born Aug. 29, 1958)—all of whom sang. The five brothers were born into a very large family run by authoritative patriarch,

Joseph Jackson, an aspiring amateur musician who occasionally played around their hometown of Gary, Indiana. In addition to those five brothers, there were three sisters (Rebbie, La Toya and Janet) and one brother, Randy Jackson, who joined the group when they moved to Columbia Records and were re-dubbed the Jacksons.

The Jacksons were a musical family. Joseph and his wife Katherine often led the brothers in singing harmony-rich songs in the family's living room during their childhood. As the result of constant practice overseen by Joseph, the boys—soon dubbed the Jackson Five—evolved into a popular regional act that eventually came to the attention of Motown president and founder Berry Gordy. In 1969 Motown signed the group, and their first single, "I Want You Back," went to number one on the *Billboard* Pop charts in January of 1970.

This began a string of thirteen top-twenty pop singles, including "ABC," "I'll Be There," "Never Can Say Goodbye," "Mama's Pearl," and "Dancing Machine," among others. The Jackson Five were among the last groups to produce hits following Motown's tradition of using in-house songwriting and recording teams, a practice that had become increasingly infrequent once Motown artists Marvin Gaye and Stevie Wonder had begun to break out on their own. And soon, the assembly line Motown production techniques began to



The Jackson Five: (from left) Tito, Marlon, Michael, Jackie, and Jermaine.

displease the maturing Jackson brothers, who also demanded more artistic control. It was this issue that led to their departure from Motown, prompting both a \$20 million law suit by Motown for breach of contract, and the family's first major split, when Jermaine stayed with Motown, while his brothers signed with Epic Records in 1976. Randy Jackson filled Jermaine's shoes and the group was renamed The Jacksons.

During the 1970s, the Jackson Five virtually formed a franchise, with regular tours, an animated cartoon featuring the brothers, and a 1976 variety show hosted by the brothers. Eventually, both Michael and Jermaine struck out on their own as solo artists, with the others soon to follow. Michael Jackson, of course, became the most successful solo artist of the family. His fame reached its apex with 1983's *Thriller*, which sold over 45 million copies worldwide, charted at number one in every Western country, generated an unprecedented seven Top Ten singles, and won eight Grammys. Even though none of the other brothers have ever come close to rivaling Michael Jackson's commercial sales, the brothers have remained a near constant, though not overwhelming presence on the R&B charts. And while Michael Jackson's career began to decline after a series of scandals and a couple of poor selling albums (*HIStory* and *Blood on the Dance Floor*), sister Janet Jackson's career remained strong through the end of the 1990s. The Jackson family's omnipresence in popular culture from 1969 to the end of the millennium has guaranteed their status as a de facto musical dynasty.

—Kembrew McLeod

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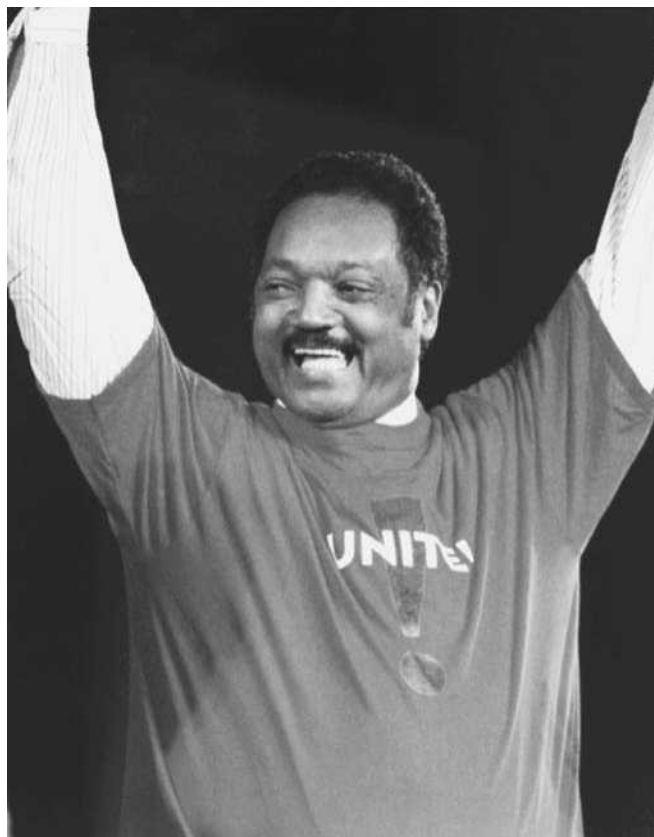
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## Jackson, Jesse (1941—)

Baptist minister and civil rights leader Jesse Jackson was the leading advocate for racial equality in the United States by the 1980s, and his initial bid for the presidency marked the first serious attempt by an African American for a nationwide office in United States history and provided a great stimulus to black registration and voting.

Jackson was born to a single mother in Greenville, South Carolina, in 1941. Raised by his mother and stepfather in modest surroundings, Jackson also lived near his affluent father, witnessing and resenting the material well-being of his half-brother. These tensions fueled a lifelong determination in him to transcend his initial surroundings. Ambitious, charismatic, and intelligent, Jackson achieved success as a student and as an athlete in segregated Greensboro, earning a scholarship to the University of Illinois in 1959. When his dream of playing quarterback failed to materialize, Jackson left Illinois and transferred to North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College where he met his future wife, Jacqueline Davis, in 1963. He later attended the Chicago Theological Seminary and was ordained a Baptist minister in 1968.

At first hesitant to engage in direct action, Jackson was increasingly drawn away from his studies by the mushrooming southern civil



Jesse Jackson

rights movement. After an initial stint with the Congress of Racial Equality, Jackson began to work with Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1965 as a young staffer at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. While not especially close to King personally, Jackson's effective organizing skills did lead King to appoint him to head efforts to expand SCLC operations in Chicago. Jackson's work in Chicago formed the basis for King's unsuccessful 1966 Chicago Campaign for Freedom. Following the Chicago campaign, Jackson was placed in charge of Operation Breadbasket, the economic arm of the SCLC. On April 3, 1968, Jackson stood beside King on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tennessee, when an assassin's bullet ended King's life. In a controversial episode following the murder, Jackson appeared on national television and before a rally the next morning still wearing his bloodstained olive turtleneck. Some perceived his actions as a disrespectful attempt to manipulate King's death for personal gain.

Following King's assassination, Jackson sought to counter growing white reaction to civil rights gains nationally by focusing on economic empowerment rather than traditional civil rights issues. After breaking with SCLC in 1971, Jackson founded Operation PUSH, People United to Save Humanity (later changed to Serve Humanity), to press the business and financial community for jobs and increased economic opportunity for African Americans and other people of color. As director of PUSH and self-appointed black ambassador to the white business community, Jackson gently threatened to boycott selected firms that did not move toward greater racial equality in their dealings. In 1981, the Coca-Cola Company became the first corporation to sign an agreement to increase business with African American

vendors and expand management opportunities for black people. Similar agreements were reached with Kentucky Fried Chicken, Anheuser-Busch, Seven-Up, and Burger King. Operation PUSH ultimately grew to include seventy chapters and more than eighty thousand members. Jackson also began his foray into international politics at this time. In 1979, despite substantial criticism and pressure from the American government, he met with Yasir Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization to discuss the prospects for a peaceful settlement to the PLO/Israeli conflict in the Middle East. Similarly, in 1983, again to considerable negative press at home, Jackson met with the head of Syria and came away with the release of captured navy pilot Lt. Robert Goodman.

By the early 1980s, Jackson had become the black leader most capable of mounting a presidential bid. In October 1983, Jackson announced his candidacy for president, emphasizing economic empowerment for minorities and increased voter registration among black citizens. Jackson sought to stir a grassroots opposition movement and confront both the Republican and Democratic establishments as a populist insurgent. His rousing oratory, combining elements of uplift (“I am somebody!”) and militancy (“It’s Nationtime!”), began to attract a large popular following. In the antiphonal style he had learned from Afro-Christianity, Jackson would chant, “There is a freedom train a comin’. But you got to register to ride, so get on board and get on with it.” In response, his audience would yell, “Run, Jesse run! Run, Jesse run!” Jackson’s bid was hurt, though, after a journalist reported an off-the-record derogatory reference to New York City as “HymieTown.” Despite denials and numerous apologies, the incident continued to dog Jackson throughout the campaign. Nevertheless, he ran a surprisingly strong third in the Democratic primaries, polling more than three million votes.

In 1988, Jackson recast himself from a race leader to a multi-racial, progressive populist. He sought to “Keep Hope Alive” with an alliance between people of color and white workers, appealing to inner-city churchgoers, the urban poor, Midwestern farmers, Rust Belt auto workers, and even some of the old George Wallace constituency. In the end, Jackson garnered 6.7 million votes in the primaries and produced a full third of the convention delegates, forcing significant concessions in the platform from the eventual nominee, Michael Dukakis. While he did not capture the Democratic nomination, Jackson’s successful showing in 1988 made him one of the country’s most prominent African American leaders as well as a significant force on the Democratic left.

Following the 1988 election, though, Jackson struggled to define a coherent new course of action. He hoped to build on his electoral successes by forming the Rainbow Coalition, a multiracial, progressive countermovement emphasizing economic and racial justice for all Americans and an end to the sexual exploitation of women. Some members hoped the Rainbow Coalition would serve as the foundation for a new third party, while others envisioned the coalition as a liberal-left pressure group working from within the Democratic Party. In 1989, though, Jackson undercut the potential of the new group when he demanded that he alone make appointments to state chapter chairs. By centralizing control at the national level and, thus, curtailing local independence and autonomy, Jackson severely crippled the Rainbow Coalition as a mass membership and activist organization. In addition to his attempts to build an effective progressive political coalition, Jackson served as “shadow senator” for Washington, D.C., in the early 1990s and hosted a national television talk show, “Both Sides,” on the Cable News Network.

The mid-1990s found Jackson more at ease with the Democratic Party and the Clinton presidency. Initially a gadfly, hoping to cajole the administration toward more progressive positions, Jackson settled into an established political role as advisor and minister to the president. In what may be the precursor to a third presidential bid in 2000, Jackson began to reorient himself in the late 1990s toward issues of economic justice, appearing with poor white workers and their families in Appalachia as well as with poor people of color in cities across the country. In 1997, Jackson founded the Wall Street Project, aimed at bringing capital into the inner city and more minorities into brokerages.

—Patrick D. Jones

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## Jackson, Mahalia (1912-1972)

With her magnificently powerful contralto voice, superb rhythmic control and passionate commitment to her music, the late Mahalia Jackson remains widely considered the best of all gospel singers. She added a dimension to American cultural life in reaching a wide white audience, entering territory previously crossed by black artists only in the fields of jazz and blues, and achieved the highest accolade for any performing artist: the universal reference to her by her first name only. The daughter of a preacher, she listened in secret to the records of Bessie Smith, and was influenced by them, but steadfastly eschewed the blues in her own performance, dedicating herself to gospel music. “I can’t sing one thing and then live another, be saved by day and the devil undercover, I’ve got to live the life I sing about in my song.” This line from the Tommy Dorsey composition “I’ve Got to Live the Life I Sing About” became Mahalia Jackson’s credo.

The singer’s allegiance to gospel music brought her the rewards of wealth and fame, and earned her the undisputed title of “the world’s greatest gospel singer,” paving the way for the acceptance and integration of gospel music into the wider American culture. In 1948, she and Theodore Frey established the National Baptist Music Convention as an auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention, and that year her recording of “Move On Up A Little Higher” was the first gospel song to sell a million copies, largely to a black record buying public. Jackson was one of the first gospel singers to use the Hammond organ and the piano as accompaniment, and one of the first to introduce gospel music into more familiar contexts. She sang for programs in support of the Civil Rights movement and, as a confidante of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., sang at the March on Washington as a prologue to his famous “I Have a Dream . . .” speech.

Jackson was born on October 26, 1911 in New Orleans. Her mother died when she was five years old, and she was raised within



**Mahalia Jackson**

the Baptist religion, absorbing the church music that would prove the major influence on her life and her music. At the age of 16, she moved to Chicago to stay with an aunt, and supported herself in a variety of humble domestic jobs while, at the same time, joining the Greater Salem Baptist Church and singing with the Johnson Singers, a quintet that toured local churches. She turned down an offer from Earl Hines, but met Tommy Dorsey, with whom she forged a mutually beneficial relationship. (Some of Dorsey's songs were dedicated to Jackson). By 1938, Jackson had married, opened a beauty and floral shop, and acquired real estate. Her early performances in Chicago were in diverse venues. Not accepted in the established black churches, she had to perform at storefronts and in basement halls, and it was Studs Terkel, author and radio host, who first presented her to his largely white radio audience.

Few of Jackson's early performances were recorded but she signed with Decca, for whom she recorded "God Shall Wipe Away All Tears" (1934) and "God's Gonna Separate the Wheat . . ." (1937). These early recordings were artistically but not commercially successful, and her refusal to record blues music led Decca to drop her. In 1948, she signed with Apollo records and recorded her million-plus bestseller, the Rev. W. Herbert Brewster's composition, "Move On Up a Little Higher," and cut a long-playing album, *No Matter How You Pray*. Her early recording repertoire is mixed and the artistic quality variable—the Apollo recordings suffer from technical problems and undistinguished accompaniment, but her voice is in fine form. By 1952, her relationship with Apollo had reached an impasse and she signed with Columbia records in 1954. The Columbia sessions, consisting of early compositions previously recorded on

Apollo as well as new material, generally excelled in both technical and artistic quality, and she made several albums for the label. By the 1950s, she had engaged Mildred Falls, a gem of a gospel pianist, who received neither the recognition nor the remuneration that she deserved, and organist Ralph Jones, as her accompanists. The duo was called the Falls-Jones Ensemble.

When in her finest form, Jackson's contralto swoops, dives, and easily vacillates from high declamatory shouts to low lyrical melodies, couched in the style of black preachers and executed within a single breath. She confounded musicologists by breaking all the rules while holding her audiences spellbound. Jackson and her pianist Mildred Falls also made liberal use of blues phrasing, together with the rhythmic vitality of the sanctified church. Notable and memorable recordings in her repertoire of congregational style chants, hymns, and African-American spirituals include "Amazing Grace," "Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen," "Didn't It Rain," and "Deep River," as well as Dorsey compositions such as "Precious Lord." She recorded a small number of secular songs such as "I Believe." Jackson frequently sang parts of a song without meter and preferred songs heavily infused with the scale, chords, and modified structure of blues. "Walk Over God's Heaven," "Move On Up a Little Higher," "Jesus Met the Woman at the Well," and "I'm Going to Live the Life I Sing About" fall into this category.

Jackson performed at the Newport Jazz Festival in 1958, and is featured singing "The Lord's Prayer" at the end of the film *Jazz on a Summer's Day*. She sang, too, with Duke Ellington's band, both at the Festival and in the studio, explaining away her participation by saying that she considered Ellington's band "a sacred institution." The same year she appeared in the film *St. Louis Blues*, the biopic of W.C. Handy that starred Nat "King" Cole, and then provided the emotional climax to Douglas Sirk's remake of *Imitation of Life* (1959), singing "Trouble of the World" at the tear-sodden funeral of Lana Turner's black maid (Juanita Moore). By then, Jackson had given many international concert tours and was world famous. During the 1950s and 1960s she appeared frequently on television and sang at John F. Kennedy's inauguration.

By the late 1960s she commanded mostly large, white audiences in Europe and America, but by then her voice and her health were in decline. Her favorite pastime was cooking and she continued to consume the rich soul food of her home, New Orleans, including red beans, rice, and ham hocks. She weighed as much as 250 pounds at one time. Her grueling touring schedule, her entrepreneurial ventures, two failed marriages, and other personal problems had exacted a heavy toll on her health. Mahalia Jackson suffered heart failure and died in Chicago at the age of 60. Her body lay in state as thousands of mourners filed past to pay their respects to this unique performer. At her funeral, her good friend Aretha Franklin sang "Precious Lord," just as the great gospel singer herself had done at the funeral of Martin Luther King.

—Willie Collins

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## Jackson, Michael (1958—)

The nucleus of his own mammoth pop sideshow, pop singer Michael Jackson absorbed the most affecting African American musical traditions with which he had grown up, infused them with his own musical eccentricity and the popular trends and technology of the moment, and created a popular explosion of nearly unprecedented proportions. Although perceived as the ultimate sexual, racial, and social “Other,” between 1982 and 1984 Jackson helped sell over 40 million copies of the record album called, most appropriately, *Thriller*. In the late 1980s, Jackson again established new records with his album *Bad* and its accompanying worldwide concert tour. During the early 1990s, Jackson’s inscrutable off-stage antics made him one of the best-known eccentrics in modern history.

By the time Jackson left on the notorious 1984 “Victory Tour” as lead singer of the Jacksons pop-soul singing group, he had already broken all the rules of popular success in the late-twentieth-century music industry. A teen idol without any apparent sexual interests of his own, he attracted a huge popular audience without compromising his black musical roots, and displayed eccentricities that constantly kept him in the headlines. An obviously unhappy man, Jackson revealed his social and personal discontent in his overwhelming, unavoidable, and disturbing strangeness. That strangeness reached disconcerting proportions in 1993, when a thirteen year old Beverly Hills boy made a criminal complaint against Jackson alleging sexual molestation—a claim Jackson repeatedly denied. After a thirteen month investigation—during which time Jackson settled a multi-million dollar lawsuit—the district attorneys in Los Angeles and Santa Barbara counties announced that they would not file charges unless and until a child witness agreed to testify against Jackson in open court. They also announced that the case would not close until the statute of limitations ran out in August of 1999.



Michael Jackson

Those allegations continued to disrupt Jackson’s career well into the late 1990s. He suffered financial setbacks during this time and, while his albums still sold well in Europe, they did not fare as well in the United States. As of 1999, Jackson had not recorded an album of all new material since the early 1990s. Instead, he concentrated on arranging his personal financial matters, frequently announcing plans to fund theme parks in such places as Poland, Brazil, Japan, and Las Vegas.

Before the “madness” of *Thriller* and the subsequent publicity stunts and notorious allegations regarding his personal life, Michael Jackson was a member of a family singing group from Gary, Indiana, called the Jackson Five. In addition to Michael himself, the group originally included four of his five brothers. A child performing sensation from the age of five, Jackson was one of the nation’s finest 1960s rhythm & blues vocalists long before his grade school graduation. An acolyte of James Brown and Jackie Wilson, the young Jackson was also a dancer of nearly unmatched ferocity and versatility. His singing skill far surpassed any other child recording artist; young Michael almost literally sang his heart out. The eleven-year-old boy sang of desire, joy, anguish, and loss with all the sophistication and embittered knowledge of a man in his 40s. His presence on the radio in the early 1970s stunned and impressed listeners. Very quickly, the group amassed a vast collection of gold records and was able to move to a California mansion.

Although clearly gifted, Michael did not come by his success “naturally”; he was trained by a fierce, brutal, and unforgiving group leader: his father. Joseph Jackson was a crane operator at a Gary steel mill who left a music career behind in the early 1950s to support his rapidly growing family. He put his guitar away in a closet as a “memory piece” and warned the children never to touch it. When nine-year-old Tito Jackson was caught playing the guitar in 1962, he was, by his own account, “torn up” by his father. This was the founding event of the Jackson Five; after the incident with Tito, Joseph began to organize the youngsters into a singing group. The group, at first, did not include three-and-a-half-year-old Michael; he made his entrance when his parents caught him imitating older brother Jermaine’s singing. They were alarmed and delighted, and Michael was immediately installed as the group’s tiny new front man.

Michael and his siblings have reported being beaten and terrorized by their father during their childhood. Joseph Jackson ran long daily rehearsal sessions armed with belts and switches, which he used with frequency and severity. Sister La Toya Jackson has said that the beatings the siblings endured were bloody and often involved the use of fists, while Michael reported in his autobiography that he fought back with his own small fists. “I would fight back and my father would kill me, just tear me up. Mother told me I’d fight back even when I was very little, but I don’t remember that. I do remember running under tables to get away from him, and making him angrier.” Joseph denied this charge to the Associated Press with telling succinctness: “Maybe I should’ve punched La Toya, like any other normal parent would do, but La Toya stayed quiet and never did get into any trouble or nothing.” La Toya Jackson also made charges of sexual abuse against her father, which he has repeatedly denied. At the age of thirty-four, Michael said he was still frightened of his father and that on meeting him, he often “would get sick; I would start to regurgitate.” Joseph responded to this, too. “If he regurgitated,” Joseph told Michelle McQueen on ABC-TV’s *Day One* program in 1993, “he regurgitated all the way to the bank.”

Joseph kept a grueling rehearsal schedule and groomed his sons to be polished professionals in a very short time. By the age of nine,

Michael was singing in nightclubs, working side by side with strippers and drag queens, and getting an education in the process. “This one girl with gorgeous eyelashes and long hair came out and did her routine,” he later wrote, “She put on a *great* performance. All of a sudden, at the end, she took off her wig, pulled a pair of big oranges out of her bra, and revealed that she was a hard-faced guy under all that make-up. That blew me away.”

In late 1968, Michael and his brothers were on their way to New York for a taping of their first television appearance on *David Frost*, when they received a call from Motown Records. The group handily passed their audition for Berry Gordy, owner and founder of Motown, then the largest black-owned business in America. Gordy told the boys that they would have three number one records in a row, and become The Next Big Thing. The success engendered by Michael’s singing and dancing prowess went beyond even Gordy’s confident estimates. The young brothers became the first black teen idols and Michael made his first “teen dream” solo album at age twelve. Rock critic Vince Aletti expressed amazement at the ability of so young a boy to convey such subtle emotions as “anguish and doubt” with startling authenticity.

During the winter of 1972–73, Michael’s voice broke, leaving both his career and that of the group in question. The music business has been generally unkind to former boy sopranos, and Berry Gordy seemed ready to move on to other projects. It looked as though Michael Jackson was destined to be a pubescent golden-oldie. The group began to think seriously of breaking their contract. According to his memoirs, it was fifteen-year-old Michael himself who presented Berry Gordy with the ultimatum: “Let us have creative control or we’re gone.” In 1974, the family held a press conference to announce that they would sign a new record contract with Epic Records, a division of the CBS Records conglomerate.

After two lukewarm CBS albums with the group, and one big success, Michael made good on CBS’s plan for him to record a solo album, though he later remarked that he felt they were merely securing their investment. He had his own, more grandiose plans for a solo career. His first tentative step in this direction involved his acceptance of Gordy’s offer to co-star in an all-African American version of *The Wizard of Oz*, renamed *The Wiz*. Oscar-winning producer Quincy Jones was the musical director of *The Wiz*. Jones got on well with Michael during the shoot, and when Jackson suggested that Jones produce his next solo album, he agreed. The collaboration worked both musically and artistically: the *Off The Wall* album turned out to be smooth as silk, with Jones applying sandpaper to Jackson’s audible and exciting rough edges. The tracks conformed to a soft, cascading beat underneath the rich, erotic yearning of Jackson’s voice. This new voice, full and mature with low moans and floating falsetto wails, was entirely unrecognizable. The child sensation was gone—in more ways than one.

It was during this period that Jackson began to display, for the first time, some of the odd personal characteristics for which he would later gain notoriety. During the filming of *The Wiz*, Jackson gave several promotional interviews. Timothy White of the rock magazine *Crawdaddy* was assigned to interview Jackson and found him quite amusing. He said Jackson appeared “to be in some sort of daze” as he ate food with his fingers at a glitzy French restaurant in Manhattan. During this transitional time, Jackson began to hone his skills as a songwriter. On the Jacksons’ album *Triumph*, he unveiled the idiosyncratic and disquieting songwriting style that would drive the success of the *Thriller* album. One song, called “This Place Hotel,” “came from a dream I had. I dream a lot,” he told a reporter. “Live

and sin,” the song begins, making the narrator’s guilt an overwhelming and permanent condition. Set in a haunted hotel run by “wicked women” who appear suddenly in groups of two or three, the singer is trapped by “faces staring, glaring, tearing through me.” Probably inspired by the unstable nature of public fame, Jackson’s legendary paranoia makes its first appearance: “Every smile’s a trial thought in beguile to hurt me.” At one point, the singer declares bluntly, “hope is dead.” The singing is pained, open-throated, and raw.

In 1982, Jackson was completing work on his second Quincy Jones collaboration. Determined that the new album must match or exceed *Off The Wall*’s popularity, Jones and Jackson sought more powerful music. When Jackson brought in a tape of a new song, “Beat It,” Jones began to realize that Jackson could become a powerful phenomenon—a crossover to the “white rock” market. Jackson’s hard rocking song about backing away from a fight fit perfectly in the rock style. Jones brought in metal guitarist Eddie Van Halen to do a solo, and the pounding beat coupled with the song’s accompanying visual representation of a rhythm & blues singer performing “white” rock began literally to change the face of the music industry.

As the album neared the end of production, Jones still needed one more solid hit and asked Jackson to write another song. For reasons that are unclear, Jackson wrote a fierce song denying paternity of a little boy whose “eyes were like mine.” “Billie Jean” is now considered a rock classic. There are times during the song when it seems that the arrangement just cannot keep up with the singer’s passion, and Jackson’s frenzy seems barricaded by the cool, solid majesty of the arrangement, singing as if lives really did depend on listeners believing his story. The magic of the song is, of course, that the singer is not really sure if he believes himself.

The new album quickly jumped to number five on its release. This time, reluctantly, Jackson did a great number of promotional interviews. He spoke to reporters from *Ebony*, *Newsweek*, *Interview*, and *Rolling Stone* and filled out written questionnaires for other publications like *Creem*. He did television shots for *Entertainment Tonight*, *Ebony/Jet Showcase*, and *America’s Top Ten*. The interview that everyone talked about, however, was the February 17, 1983 cover story for *Rolling Stone*.

“I’m the type of person who will tell it all, even though it’s a secret. And I *know* that things should be kept private,” Jackson explained to interviewer Gerri Hirshey, neatly encapsulating the “secret” of his success as well. Hirshey described him as extremely nervous and flighty; he suffered the interview as if he were getting stitches. He said he liked to watch cartoons and explained why: “It’s like everything’s all right. It’s like the world is happening now in a faraway city. Everything’s fine.” Hirshey says the interview remained tense until Jackson relaxed when talking about his animals; he even forced Hirshey to play with his boa constrictor. Then, unbidden by Hirshey, he asked, “Know what I also love? Mannequins . . . I guess I want to bring them to life,” he went on. “I like to imagine talking to them.” It may have been with those lines that *Thriller* mania really began. It wasn’t just that Michael Jackson sounded or even looked peculiar; he’d marked himself as irrefutably “Other,” a stranger in a strange land.

By early spring of 1983, “Billie Jean” skyrocketed to number one on the *Billboard* charts, and remained there for seven weeks. This song was followed almost immediately by “Beat It” which stayed on top four weeks. *Thriller* also reached number one and stayed there. At one point in early 1983, Michael Jackson had an unprecedented

number one record on four charts: pop singles and albums, and Black singles and albums. To promote “Billie Jean,” CBS had meanwhile financed an expensive “music video,” a little film set to the tune. The chief outlet for airing these videos was the cable channel founded in 1981 called Music Television or MTV. According to a September 22, 1986 *T.V. Guide* story, the cable channel refused to air the video because they said it was not “rock and roll” enough for their format. When CBS threatened to pull all its videos from the cable channel, “Billie Jean” became a rock ‘n’ roll song.

In 1983, Michael participated in the *Motown 25* televised reunion and stole the show with his innovative and breathtaking dancing. He unveiled his famous “moonwalk” for the first time, spun as if on ice skates, and perched precariously on his toes for the briefest moment. He pursued his dance in a sort of calamitous rage. Michael seemed to sense that this was his chance to escape the confines of mere stardom and become something quite different: not the “star” he’d been for years, but an iconic signifier on the order of Marilyn or Elvis. The show aired in May, with “Beat It” and *Thriller* already laying waste to the charts. After this, there was a buzz of excitement surrounding Jackson, as if each new gesture brought with it a revelation.

As time went on, the revelations his gestures brought were increasingly disturbing. The shadowy transformation revealed itself quickly; in 1984, Michael Jackson very reluctantly submitted to his father’s pressure to go on a concert tour with the Jacksons. This “Victory Tour” turned into an unmitigated disaster; high ticket prices created a backlash, the tour was mismanaged, the infighting unmerciful. In the end, Michael himself decided to give away all his proceeds to charity.

After the tour, Michael Jackson “went away” for a while in an attempt to cope with an onslaught of unprecedented pop pressure. He severed many ties with his family, and finally moved out of the family home to a new ranch in Santa Barbara County that he called “Neverland.” When he did appear in public, he often wore a surgical mask over his face, which served to hide the cosmetic changes he was making to his appearance. His skin became lighter (due, he said later, to a skin disease), his nose thinned after several surgeries, and he added a cleft to his chin. During this time, Jackson engaged in a variety of eerie publicity stunts. His manager announced Jackson’s wishes to sleep in a hyperbaric chamber and purchase the skeleton of Joseph Merrick, England’s “Elephant Man.” By the time he returned to the popular music scene in 1987, Jackson was widely regarded as a freak. Although his music still sold alarmingly well (and was alarmingly good), and though he was perhaps more famous than ever, by 1993 Jackson was a figure of extreme curiosity, arousing as much pity as fascination.

That the denouement was troubling should not have been altogether surprising; Jackson’s life since *Thriller* seemed to consist of a series of troubling crises. On August 17, 1993, a Los Angeles County child protective services caseworker took down a report alleging that Jackson had molested a young boy. (In November of that year, the underage son of one of Jackson’s former employees also made a claim of impropriety to L.A. County’s CPS.) After Jackson settled the civil case and the investigation closed, he resumed his career. First he married Elvis Presley’s daughter Lisa Marie, and when that union ended after 18 months, he married and produced two children with Debbie Rowe, a Los Angeles nurse. By the late 1990s, Jackson seemed to simply revel in his role as a human oddity.

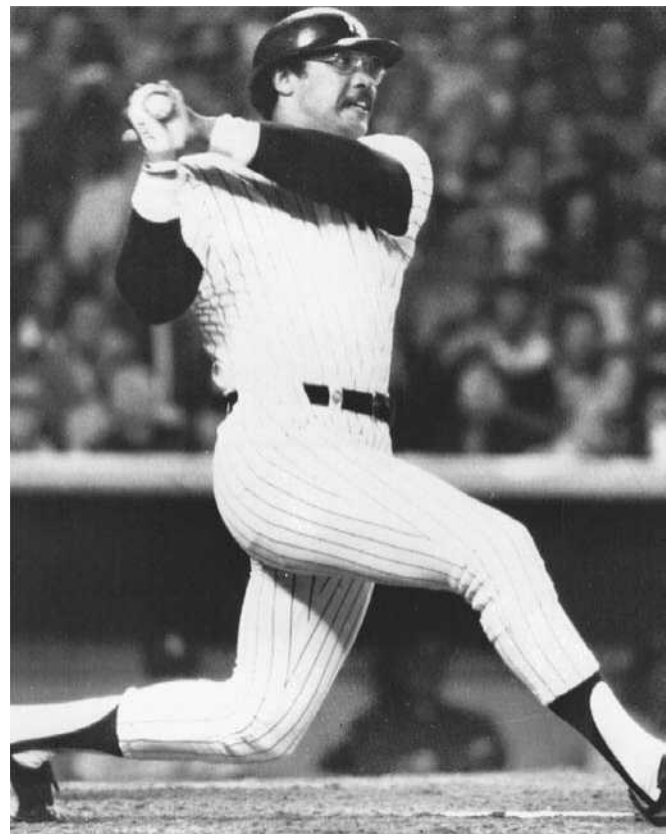
—Robin Markowitz

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## Jackson, Reggie (1946—)

Slugging outfielder Reggie Jackson was a larger-than-life figure who saved his best performances for baseball’s biggest stage. Nicknamed “Mr. October” for his ability to shine in baseball’s autumn post-season showcase, Jackson earned Hall of Fame status based



Reggie Jackson

largely on his prodigious World Series play. He was also the first baseball player to have a candy bar named after him, a powerful indicator of his impact on the popular imagination.

The native of Wyncote, Pennsylvania, was chosen second in the 1967 amateur draft by the Oakland Athletics. He quickly established himself as a powerful home-run hitter who struck balls out of the park at a near-record pace. He first grabbed national headlines when he swatted a home run over the roof at Tiger Stadium during the 1971 All-Star Game in Detroit, and the A's domination of the World Series from 1972 to 1974 kept him firmly planted in the public eye. Though a knee injury kept Jackson out of the Fall Classic in 1972, he returned the following season with a stellar campaign. The American League's Most Valuable Player with a .293 average and a league-leading 32 home runs, Jackson was named World Series MVP as well, establishing the post-season reputation he was to solidify in years to come. In June of 1974, *Time* magazine put Jackson on its cover. "Reginald Martinez Jackson is the best player on the best team in the sport," the periodical proclaimed.

Baseball's brave new world of free agency gave the rising superstar the chance to test his value on the open market. The New York Yankees responded with a lucrative five-year contract offer. Jackson leapt at the chance to play in the world's largest media market. The marriage of convenience between the swaggering Jackson and the club's dictatorial owner, Cleveland shipbuilder George M. Steinbrenner III, was to prove an eventful one.

Arriving in New York, Jackson almost immediately proclaimed himself "the straw who stirs the drink"—alienating the Yankees' team captain, Thurman Munson, along with almost everyone else in town. Sportswriters found Jackson made for great copy, but his manager, Billy Martin, couldn't stand him. Martin looked for every opportunity to humiliate his star slugger, benching him for no reason at one point and pulling him off the field mid-game at another. Their feud came perilously close to blows on more than one occasion. Nevertheless, the feudin' Yankees steamed over the American League on their way to the American League pennant.

The 1977 World Series proved to be the high point of Jackson's career. "Mr. October" became the first player ever to hit five home runs in one World Series. He clouted three in the sixth game alone, on three consecutive pitches, off three different Los Angeles Dodger pitchers. That feat, never accomplished before or since, helped earn Jackson Most Valuable Player honors as the Yankees took the championship four games to two.

That off-season, Jackson became the toast of New York. While still in Oakland, he had once boasted, "If I played in New York, they'd name a candy bar after me." Someone at Standard Brands Confectionery was obviously taking notes that day, because in 1978 Jackson got his candy bar. The *Reggie!* bar was a crumbly lump of chocolate, peanuts, and corn syrup sculpted to the approximate diameter of a major league baseball. It cost a quarter (quite a bargain in the age of inflation) and came packaged in an orange wrapper bearing the slugger's likeness.

Sportswriters had a field day with the unpalatable confection. One wag wrote that when you opened the wrapper on a *Reggie!* bar, it told you how good it was. Another derided it as the only candy bar that tasted like a hot dog. But the ultimate verdict came from Yankee fans, 44,667 of whom were given free samples on April 13, 1978, when the Yankees opened their home campaign against the Chicago White Sox.

In typical Jackson fashion, the slugger clouted a home run in his first at-bat, making it four "taters" in four swings at Yankee Stadium dating back to the sixth game of the 1977 Series. The raucous crowd

then showered the field with *Reggie!* bars as Jackson made his trip around the bases. Ugly orange wrappers quickly carpeted the green field. The only detractor from the prevailing air of absurdist resignation was White Sox manager Bob Lemon, who grouched, "People starving all over the world and 30 billion calories are laying on the field."

Lemon was whistling a different tune that August when, after being fired by the White Sox, he took over for Billy Martin as Yankee manager. The volatile Martin had finally worn out his welcome with a drunken screed against Jackson and Steinbrenner in which he famously declared, "One's a born liar, the other's convicted"—an apparent reference to the imperious shipbuilder's rap sheet for making illegal contributions to Richard Nixon's presidential campaign. Undeterred, Lemon, Jackson, and the Yankees stormed to a second straight World Series championship.

Jackson wore out his own welcome with Steinbrenner in 1982, when the owner refused to renew his contract. He played a few seasons with the California Angels before returning to Oakland for his final season in 1987. In retirement, Jackson served as a coach with several teams before accepting a nebulous front office position with the Yankees in 1996. He was fired by Steinbrenner in 1998 for running up thousands of dollars in unapproved expenses on his team credit card. The merry-go-round, it seems, has not stopped for "Mr. October."

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Jackson, Shirley (1916-1965)

About her short story "The Lottery," Shirley Jackson wrote, "It was not my first published story, nor my last, but I have been assured over and over that if it had been the only story I ever wrote or published, there would be people who would not forget my name." First printed in the *New Yorker* in June of 1948, the chilling story of ritual violence generated more mail to the magazine than any piece of fiction before or since, and hundreds of shocked readers canceled their subscriptions. Since then, "The Lottery" has been translated into hundreds of languages and made into a radio play, two television plays, a ballet, and even an opera. It is ubiquitous in short story anthologies and part of the required curriculum of many high school English programs.

The story concerns a ceremonial custom in a small, unnamed town. With masterful strokes, Jackson builds a sense of trepidation and horror, describing a perfectly normal village making preparations for their annual lottery. Children gather piles of stones as the villagers arrive, excited and nervous, in the town square. The ritual is performed with the utmost seriousness and formality, with a few murmurs about other towns giving up their lotteries. Finally, Mrs. Hutchinson's name is chosen and the villagers stone her to death.

Jackson avoided graphic violence or gross-out horror at all times. Her no-words-wasted style is especially evident in the last line

of "The Lottery": "It isn't fair, it isn't right," Mrs. Hutchinson screamed, and then they were upon her." The ugly flow of blood that must accompany her appalling end is left to the imagination of the reader.

The torrent of mail that descended on the *New Yorker* offices could broadly be divided into three categories. Some readers wrote to demand an explanation for the story; others wrote abusive letters, venting their spleen against Jackson for her "sick" surprise ending. The most bizarre and disturbing response came from those who inquired where these lotteries took place, and whether they could go and watch. Jackson generally refused to explain the meaning of the story, but suggested in private to at least one friend that anti-Semitism in North Bennington, Vermont was at its heart. (Her husband, literary critic Stanley Edgar Hyman, was Jewish.) On another occasion she told a journalist, "I suppose I hoped, by setting a particularly brutal rite in the present and in my own village, to shock the readers with a graphic demonstration of the pointless violence and general inhumanity of their own lives [but] I gather that in some cases the mind just rebels. The number of people who expected Mrs. Hutchinson to win a Bendix washer at the end would amaze you."

Shirley Jackson was born in San Francisco on December 14, 1916 (not 1919, as in some accounts), and grew up in California and in Rochester, New York. She graduated from Syracuse University in 1940 and married Stanley Edgar Hyman. They settled in North Bennington, Vermont, in 1945, where they owned an enormous library and hosted dinner parties for guests who included literary luminaries Bernard Malamud, Ralph Ellison, and Dylan Thomas. They also raised four children.

Dubbed "the queen of the macabre," Jackson wrote dozens of short stories, most of which, like "The Lottery," concerned gothic terrors lurking just beneath the surface of everyday life. In addition, she authored a series of darkly funny stories about her family's bustling home life, collected in *Life Among the Savages* (1953) and *Raising Demons* (1957). Unlike many horror writers, she had an elegant way with the English language. Famously, one critic wrote, "Miss Jackson seemingly cannot write a poor sentence."

Her novels *The Haunting of Hill House* (1959) and *We Have Always Lived in the Castle* (1962) are classics of the horror genre. Her understated yet intensely powerful brand of horror inspired even Stephen King, who dedicated his novel *Firestarter* "In memory of Shirley Jackson, who never had to raise her voice." King also wrote that Eleanor Vance, the heroine of *The Haunting of Hill House*, "is surely the finest character to come out of this new [identity-centered] American gothic tradition," and, coupling her with Henry James, asserted that this novel and *The Turn of the Screw* are "the only two great novels of the supernatural in the last hundred years." In 1963, *The Haunting of Hill House* was made into a horror film, *The Haunting*. Directed in Britain by Robert Wise, it failed to live up to the standard of the book but, in keeping with Jackson's literary style, no violence is shown directly, and an aura of fear pervades the film from start to finish.

A sometime witch, Jackson claimed she could bring kitchen implements to the top of a drawer by "calling" them. She was an excessive smoker, drinker, and eater, and a workaholic writer prone to debilitating anxiety. After intense periods of productivity, she would endure periods of serious depression, and also suffered on and off from asthma. She died of heart failure in North Bennington on August 8, 1965.

—Jessy Randall

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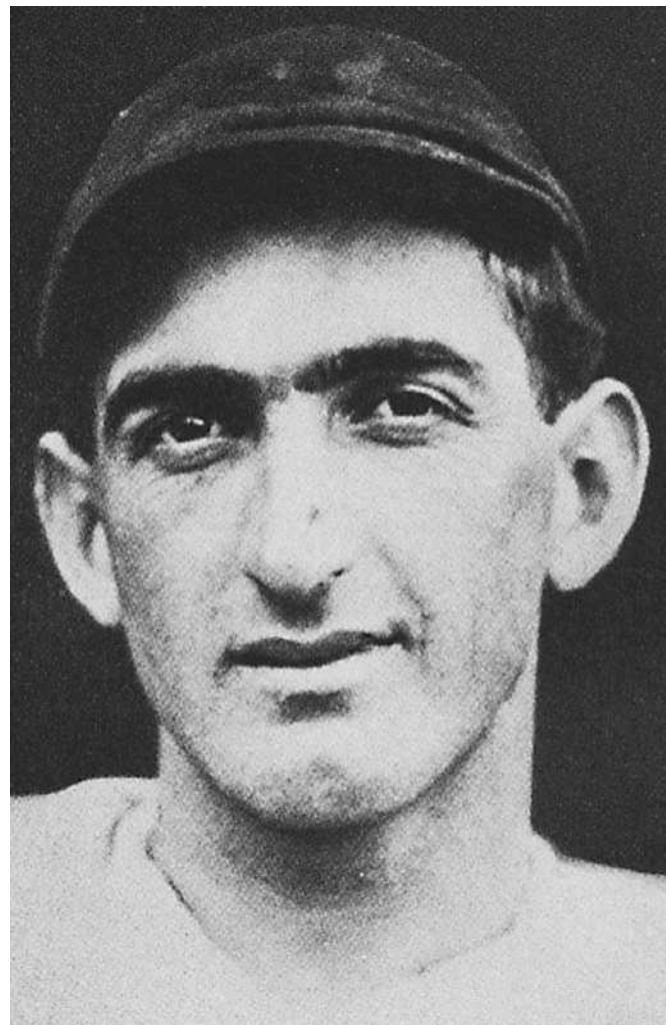
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## Jackson, "Shoeless" Joe (1887-1951)

"Shoeless" Joe Jackson endures in baseball lore as the game's tragic hero, the naive country boy who became embroiled with big-time gamblers in the infamous "Black Sox" scandal of 1919 and who was subsequently banned for life from the sport, cutting short an otherwise brilliant career.

The illiterate son of a Southern miller, Jackson grew up near Greenville, South Carolina. He acquired his famous nickname while playing baseball with the local mill teams as a teenager. Having



"Shoeless" Joe Jackson

bought a new pair of spikes, Jackson found himself with blistered feet. Desperate to play and unable to wear his old shoes due to the soreness, Jackson lumbered out to right field in stocking feet. The crowd picked up on Jackson's lack of footwear, and henceforth he became known as "Shoeless" Joe.

Jackson's stellar play in the mill leagues attracted scouts, and, in 1908, he signed with the Philadelphia Athletics. Frightened by big cities and wary of leaving his family behind, Jackson initially refused to report. In 1909, he made his debut with the Athletics, but endured intense taunting from teammates and fans for his alleged ignorance and naivete. A disheartened Jackson failed to live up to his promise with the Athletics, and manager Connie Mack shipped the young outfielder to the Cleveland Indians. In Cleveland, Jackson developed into a star. In 1911, his first full season, Jackson batted .408; the following year, he batted .395. His stellar defense in the outfield and fearless base running made Jackson a complete ballplayer and ticketed him for the baseball stratosphere.

Strapped for cash, the Indians sent Jackson to Chicago in 1915 in exchange for three undistinguished players and \$31,500. Jackson hit an uncharacteristically low .301 for the championship-winning 1917 White Sox, but rebounded with a more typical .351 for the 1919 team, which lost that season's World Series to the Cincinnati Reds.

In September of 1920, in the midst of one of Jackson's greatest seasons, in which he was batting .392 with 121 RBI, a shocking revelation rocked the country: eight White Sox players, including Jackson, had conspired with gamblers to fix the 1919 World Series. Jackson admitted his complicity in the scheme shortly after journalists had uncovered the sordid tale. Emerging from a Chicago courtroom, where he and his teammates were standing trial for defrauding the public, Jackson, according to baseball lore, stumbled upon a teary-eyed youngster whose only words to Jackson were "Say it ain't so, Joe." The grand jury ultimately acquitted all the players, but new baseball commissioner Judge Kenesaw "Mountain" Landis subsequently banned them all from the sport for life. Jackson returned to his native South Carolina, where he started a dry-cleaning business and occasionally played in sandlot and outlaw games.

A groundswell of support for Jackson's reinstatement to baseball developed after his death in 1951. Alternately pointing to his naivete and to his .375 batting average in the World Series as evidence that he had not deliberately tanked the series, supporters of Jackson pushed for his reinstatement and his admission to the Hall of Fame. Writers romanticized Jackson's tragic tale; the Chicago outfielder was the subject of W. P. Kinsella's wistful *Shoeless Joe*, later turned into the major motion picture *Field of Dreams* (1989). The 1988 movie *Eight Men Out* also attempted to rescue Jackson and the others from their misdeeds, suggesting that the gambling fix represented the players' only escape from Chicago owner Charles Comiskey's penury. Still, as of the late 1990s, there appeared little chance that baseball's governors would absolve Jackson from his sins.

—Scott Tribble

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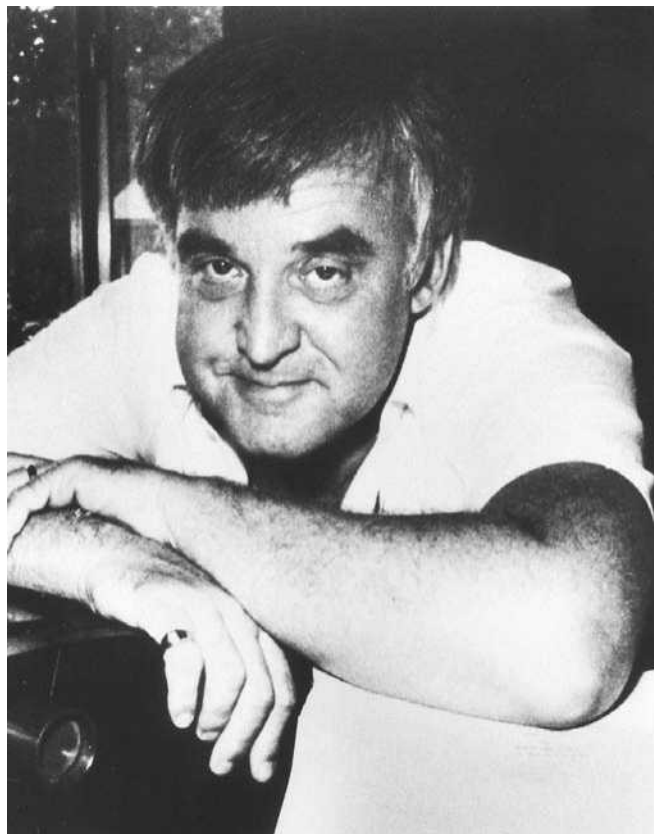
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## Jakes, John (1932—)

John Jakes was born in Chicago, Illinois, on March 31, 1932. His parents fostered a love of the library in him and his association with books has followed him throughout his life. Jakes has enjoyed a long and distinguished writing career but has worked hard for his success. He is the prolific author of over seventy books and over two hundred short stories in such diverse categories as mystery and suspense, science fiction, the western, and children's literature. He is, however, best known for his best-selling historical fiction and intergenerational family sagas. He was so prolific in the mid- to late twentieth century that one rumor stated that John Jakes was actually the pen name for a group of writers, historical researchers, and publishers. His works have sold millions of copies each and several have had the distinction of being on the *New York Times* Bestseller List. His historical novels have been so influential that he is often referred to as the "godfather of the historical novel" and "the people's author."

John Jakes's early plans to be an actor lasted until he sold his first short story and felt the exhilaration of publication. He graduated with a degree in creative writing from DePauw University and went on to earn a master's degree in American Literature from Ohio State



John Jakes

University. He also has been awarded several honorary degrees and has served as a writer-in-residence and research fellow at several universities. Such recognition shows his dedication to the historical accuracy of his works and his influence as a popular historian. Jakes worked at several advertising agencies as a copy writer after graduation while devoting his spare time to the pursuit of his writing career. Mary Ellen Jones quotes him as remarking that his inspiration came from “the swashbuckling adventure films of the 1930s and 1940s” that offered adventure and romance within a framework of loosely-based historical events. His most famous works include the eight-volume Kent Family Chronicles, the North and South trilogy, *California Gold*, *Homeland*, and its sequel, *American Dreams*. Six of his novels have been made into television miniseries, with the North and South saga being one of the highest rated miniseries of all times.

John Jakes has enjoyed a wide following as a writer of American historical fiction. Historical fiction and the historical romance novel have enjoyed widespread popularity in America since the career of popular author Sir Walter Scott in the early nineteenth century. John Jakes is best known for his works in this tradition of historical fiction that are set in America. Jakes traditionally places his fictional characters into a background of real historical events and personages based on extensive research. This attention to detail makes his works dominate in an important field of public history. Jakes adopts this work ethic because he is aware that he is often the reader’s only source of history. He also understands that the author must entertain the reader in order to educate them. Jones characterizes his works as promoting “an optimistic affirmation of America and its principles.” Jakes’s popularity should assure him a lasting reputation as “America’s History Teacher.”

—Marcella Bush Treviño

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## James Bond Films

The James Bond films, concerning the adventures of the debonair British secret agent, are one of the most successful series of films in cinema history, with 18 official films released between 1962 and 1997. Collectively they are known for a number of elements, including spectacular stunts, outrageous villains, and beautiful women. The films have survived multiple changes in the actors playing Bond and changing times as well, to captivate the public imagination the way few other series have.

The roots of the Bond character begin with British author Ian Fleming, who served in World War II as a member of British Intelligence. In the early 1950s he began a career as a writer with the publication of *Casino Royale*, a hardboiled adventure about British Intelligence agent James Bond. The book contained many elements the character would eventually be renowned for: an exotic location (the casinos of Monaco), an outrageous villain (Soviet agent Le Chiffre), and a beautiful woman (the doomed Vesper Lynd).

Fleming’s books were an instant sensation, with their mixture of high living, violence, and sex proving irresistible to readers. No less a public figure than President John F. Kennedy was a professed fan of Fleming’s spy fiction. Inevitably, film and television producers courted Fleming for the rights to his creation, but found little success. One such failed deal, with Irish film producer Kevin McClory in 1959, would come back to haunt Fleming.

In 1961, Fleming closed a deal with producers Harry Saltzman and Albert “Cubby” Broccoli to make the first Bond film, *Dr. No*. While its pace and style may seem slow and old fashioned to contemporary audiences, the film’s casual violence and even more casual sex shocked and excited the crowds of the 1960s. Scottish actor Sean Connery, who played Bond, became a star for his tough, ruthless portrayal of the secret agent. The image of the film’s love interest, actress Ursula Andress, rising from the ocean in a white bikini with a knife strapped to her side, has become an indelible commentary on female sex appeal.

Ian Fleming would die in the early 1960s, but his most famous creation was already destined to outlive him. A second film was soon in production, and when *From Russia with Love* was released in 1963, it found more success than the first. It was not until the release of *Goldfinger* in 1964, however, that the films reached their highest pinnacle yet. The film, concerning Bond’s efforts to stop a madman’s attempt to detonate a nuclear warhead in the Fort Knox gold depository, became one of highest grossing films of its time. It captured the public’s imagination with its fantastic imagery and set a standard future Bond films would have to work hard to match: the body of a nude woman covered in gold paint; production designer Ken Adam’s spectacular stainless steel Fort Knox; Bond’s Aston Martin DB-5, a classic automobile equipped with a number of deadly gadgets; the most famous Bond woman of all, Honor Blackman playing Pussy Galore; mad villain Auric Goldfinger and his lust for gold; and Goldfinger’s lethal henchman Odd Job and his razor-edged bowler hat. Sean Connery was never more appealing to audiences. His blend of ruthlessness and humor defined the part of Bond for a generation.

Connery starred in the next two Bond films: *Thunderball* (1965) and *You Only Live Twice* (1967). *Thunderball* was the source of litigation from McClory, who accused Ian Fleming of using material they had developed together in 1959. McClory won the lawsuit and was involved in the 1965 production, which concerned the terrorist hijacking of a pair of nuclear warheads by Bond’s arch enemies, the forces of SPECTRE. The Bond films reached fantastic heights in *You Only Live Twice*, with its gorgeous Japanese scenery and incredible technology of sleek space rockets and SPECTRE’s glimmering headquarters in the heart of a dormant volcano. It also marked the first on-screen appearance of one of Bond’s more sinister foils, Ernst Stavros Blofeld, played by Donald Pleasance. While the films’ successes continued unabated, Connery had tired of the role and wanted to seek other challenges as an actor.

*On Her Majesty’s Secret Service* (1969) was the first Bond film to feature an actor other than Connery in the role of the deadly agent. George Lazenby, an inexperienced actor, took over the role. While competent, he lacked Connery’s appeal and conflicts with producers prevented him from taking the role again. The film is considered by some purists to be one of the better Bond films; it hews closely to its source novel and features former *Avengers* star Diana Rigg as Bond’s doomed wife, Tracy. Box office results did not reach the heights they had under Connery, however, and he was coaxed back for a farewell performance in *Diamonds Are Forever*. The baton was finally passed for good when Roger Moore took over the part in *Live and Let Die*



Sean Connery (as James Bond) with Tania Mallet (as “The Golden Girl”) on the set of the film *Goldfinger*.

(1973). Moore’s portrayal differed considerably from Connery’s; Moore lacked Connery’s sense of menace, but compensated with his own sophistication and sense of humor, creating a lighter kind of Bond film which was perfect for the jaded 1970s.

Moore would return in *The Man With the Golden Gun* to face off against Christopher Lee’s villain, Scaramanga, but box office receipts were dropping. Broccoli bought out his partner Saltzman, and came back in 1977 with *The Spy Who Loved Me*, Moore’s third as Bond and the most lavish to date. It found tremendous success with audiences. The film was laden with expensive sets and elaborate stunts, including a sleek sports car that transformed into a submersible. It also included the steel-toothed villain Jaws, played by the imposing Richard Kiel. Moore returned again in the successful *Moonraker* (1979), which took advantage of the late 1970s craze for science fiction spawned by the blockbuster *Star Wars*. It had Bond in an outer space adventure centered around the Moonraker space shuttle.

*For Your Eyes Only* (1981) marked a return to more realistic espionage adventure that would continue in Moore’s next two efforts as Bond, *Octopussy* (1983) and *A View to a Kill* (1985). *A View to a*

*Kill* would be Moore’s last film as Bond. His decision to retire from the part led to respected stage and film actor Timothy Dalton assuming the license to kill. His first outing, *The Living Daylights* (1987), was a moderate success. His next effort, however, *License to Kill* (1989) was poorly received by critics and fans alike. While a superb actor who stayed true to Fleming’s characterization of Bond as a dark, driven man, Dalton’s grim performances simply came as too much of a change after the lighthearted Moore. The Bond saga would now endure a six year hiatus, owing to protracted legal and financial troubles involving the films’ producers and studio, Metro Goldwyn Mayer/United Artists. When Bond returned, however, it was with a bang.

*Goldeneye* (named for Ian Fleming’s Jamaica estate) was released in 1995 to excellent reviews and the highest ticket sales in the series’ history. Irish actor Pierce Brosnan assumed the role at last (after briefly having the part and then losing it to Dalton due to his commitment to the television series *Remington Steele*) to great acclaim. His mixture of Connery’s toughness, Moore’s humor, and his own good looks and skills as an actor made him perfect for the



role. His next effort, *Tomorrow Never Dies* (1997) was another huge box office and critical success.

Certain unofficial Bond productions have seen the light of day through the years. Eon Productions did not obtain the rights to *Casino Royale* in 1961—they had already been sold for a black-and-white CBS television production starring American actor Barry Nelson as Bond. These rights were then bought for a late 1960s spoof of the Bond phenomenon starring David Niven, Orson Welles, and Woody Allen. Kevin McClory's *Thunderball* rights led to *Never Say Never Again* (1983), which featured one last encore by Sean Connery as Bond.

More than just a series of massively successful films, Bond has worked his way into the fabric of our culture. His name and certain other phrases—license to kill, Agent 007—have become synonymous with action, adventure, and a glamorous lifestyle. The Bond series has spawned uncounted spoofs and imitators, from the 1960s spy craze that included the Matt Helm films, the Flint movies, and the television series *Mission: Impossible*, *The Man from UNCLE*, *The Avengers*, and *The Wild, Wild West*, to such 1990s productions as the spectacular *True Lies* and the affectionate spoof, *Austin Powers: International Man of Mystery*. Bond theme songs frequently become Top 40 hits. Moreover, the Bond films have in large part set the bar for the action film genre with their incredible stunts and high production values.

Bond also reflects the changing times. The Bond of Connery—sexist, violent, and cruel—so popular in the 1960s changed with the changing attitudes of the times, especially concerning women, into the more gentle and funny Bond of Moore in the late 1970s and 1980s. As the Cold War ended, Dalton's Bond found himself facing a maniacal drug dealer in *License to Kill* and the AIDS crisis prompted a monogamous (!) Bond in *The Living Daylights*. In the new world order of the 1990s, Brosnan's Bond has faced ex-Soviet agents in *Goldeneye* and a crazed media baron in *Tomorrow Never Dies*. Through the years, Bond has even quit smoking.

Bond has lasted this long because of his appeal to our fantasies. Bond enjoys the exotic locales, expensive clothes, and fantastic technology that few people experience in their lives. Men envy his appeal to women, and women find actors portraying Bond attractive in their own right. Through him, both genders can live a life of danger, excitement, and heroism. He changes with the times in order to remain relevant. Where his contemporaries have largely vanished, Bond remains visible without compromising the heart of the character.

—Jay Parrent

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## James, Elmore (1918-1963)

Undeniably the most influential electric slide guitarist of all time, Elmore James revolutionized the blues with his raw, sharp sound. Born in Canton, Mississippi, in 1918, James first learned to

play on a homemade instrument fashioned from a broom handle and a lard can. James became an itinerant musician in his teens, frequently meeting up with other players including the legendary Robert Johnson and Howlin' Wolf. After serving in the Navy during World War II, James moved to Memphis and became a frequent "guest star" on local radio stations.

James' first solo recording, "Dust My Broom," became the largest rhythm and blues hit of 1951. Not long after the session, James moved to Chicago, assembling his all-star band the Broomdusters and recording for the Chess label. In the next ten years, he shuttled back and forth between Chicago and Mississippi before suffering a fatal heart attack in 1963. In 1980, Elmore James was elected to the Blues Foundation's Hall of Fame, and in 1992 he was inducted into the Rock 'n' Roll Hall of Fame.

—Marc R. Sykes

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## James, Harry (1916-1983)

Reared in a circus atmosphere by parents who toured with the Big Top, Harry James studied trumpet with his father and won the Texas State Championship with a solo at age 14. One of the star trumpet players of the swing era, 20-year-old James made his recording debut with the Ben Pollack Band in September 1936. Three months later he was a featured sideman with the Benny Goodman Band, a springboard to forming his own swinging, Basie-style band in January 1939. Ironically, James' biggest hits with his own band were *not* the upbeat numbers like "Two O'clock Jump," but the dulcet-toned, non-jazz solos like "You Made Me Love You." James continued to play in the style of his favorite horn men, Louis Armstrong and Muggsy Spanier, and the band remained widely popular into the late 1950s.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Japanese American Internment Camps

Between February and November 1942, nearly 120,000 West Coast residents of Japanese descent were evacuated from their homes and sent to government War Relocation Authority camps in remote areas of the West, South, and Southwest. Many of these Japanese and Japanese Americans would spend the remainder of World War II in the camps, which were located in Gila River, Arizona; Granada, Colorado; Heart Mountain, Wyoming; Jerome, Arkansas; Manzanar,

California; Minidoka, Idaho; Poston, Arizona; Rohwer, Arkansas; Topaz, Utah; and Tule Lake, California. The largest camp, Tule Lake, housed nearly 19,000 internees, while Granada held about 7,000. The camps' residents lived in crudely built barracks, and ate, bathed, and washed clothes in communal facilities. Each camp was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by armed soldiers. The first camp, Poston, opened in May, 1942. Nearly two years later the government began closing the camps starting with Jerome, in June, 1944, and ending with Tule Lake, in March, 1946.

The internment of the issei (first generation) and the Nisei (second generation, American-born) was authorized by President Franklin D. Roosevelt through Executive Order 9066 (February 19, 1942), which sanctioned the evacuation of any and all persons from "military zones" established along the coastline. Although the federal government also viewed persons of German and Italian descent with suspicion, only residents of Japanese ancestry were forced to leave their homes.

Executive Order 9066 was a response to Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Following the attack, government officials including U.S. attorney general Francis Biddle, Los Angeles congressman Leland Ford, and California attorney general Earl Warren called for securing the issei and Nisei population. They believed that West Coast Japanese helped plan the attack on Pearl Harbor and hoped the internment would prevent further acts of disloyalty. Studies indicate, however, that anti-Japanese sentiment, which had been building on the West Coast since the late nineteenth century, played a role in the forced evacuation. These studies point to the fact that only West Coast issei and Nisei were removed—not those living in Hawaii or on the East Coast—and that the residents calling for their removal were California nativists, laborers, and farmers, who had long viewed Japanese immigrants as social and economic threats. The 1982 report issued by the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians concluded that the removal of the issei and Nisei was not a military necessity, but occurred because of racism, wartime hysteria, and poor political leadership.

Under the direction of Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt, the issei and Nisei were first evacuated to assembly centers at county fairgrounds and racetracks, and they were later moved to the permanent relocation camps. In some locations, such as Terminal Island in San Pedro, California, residents of Japanese descent were given as few as two days to dispose of, or store, their belongings before departing. In other areas, the evacuees had several weeks to prepare. Though the Federal Reserve Bank and the Farm Security Administration helped handle the property and belongings of the issei and Nisei, they lost hundreds of thousands of dollars through quick sales of their homes and land at below-market prices. While in camp the evacuees suffered additional losses through vandalism, arson, and neglect of the belongings that had been stored.

Life in the camps proved difficult. Internees had lost their jobs, social networks, and educational opportunities and were removed from "mainstream" life. Angered by the loss of their rights and freedom, and bitter towards the U.S. government, internees sometimes directed their hostility toward one another. In some camps riots broke out during clashes between pro-Japanese and pro-American factions. A loyalty test administered by the War Relocation Administration also helped to factionalize the evacuees. As a result of the turbulence, hundreds of young Nisei left the camps when the opportunity appeared. Colleges such as Oberlin in Ohio sponsored Nisei students, allowing them to relocate and resume their education. Christian churches arranged for Nisei to work in homes and offices

located in the South and Midwest. In addition, more than 1,000 men joined the U.S. military forces and served in the all-Nisei 442nd Regimental Combat Team.

Although many evacuees protested the removal, four individuals, Fred T. Korematsu, Mitsuye Endo, Minoru Yasui, and Gordon K. Hirabayashi, challenged the constitutionality of the relocation order through the courts. Initially all four petitions were denied. But in December of 1944 the U.S. Supreme Court decided that Endo's detention in the camps violated her civil rights. Following this decision, in January of 1945, the War Department rescinded the evacuation orders and arranged for the internees to leave the camps.

It was not until the 1970s that branches of the U.S. government acknowledged any wrongdoing. In 1976, President Gerald R. Ford proclaimed that the evacuation was wrong. The 1982 commission report and its condemnation of the relocation sent an even stronger message. In 1983 Fred Korematsu, Gordon Hirabayashi, and Minoru Yasui, refiled their petitions, which the court granted. The change in political tenor encouraged the Nisei and Sansei (third generation) to seek redress and reparations for the forced relocation. Their organizing efforts culminated in September of 1987, when the U.S. House of Representatives formally apologized to the former evacuees and provided \$1.2 billion as compensation.

—Midori Takagi

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## Jaws

Steven Spielberg's *Jaws* (1975) is a significant cultural landmark in the Hollywood cinema of the late twentieth-century. In addition to the unprecedented box-office gross, which made it the first film in history to top \$100 million on its initial release, it established its relatively unknown 27-year-old director as a powerful creative force. Spielberg went on to achieve major financial and critical success in the "new Hollywood" with a string of memorable films that confirmed him as Hollywood's pre-eminent storyteller. This supreme gift was unveiled in *Jaws*, a fundamentally very simple tale that seamlessly combined elements from the action adventure, thriller, and horror genres. Exciting, engrossing, and scary, *Jaws* is also, in the final analysis, fun, as were the then fashionable "disaster" movies such as *The Towering Inferno* (1974), which it far outstripped in providing well-characterized protagonists in a setting designed to strike a chord with Americans of all ages.

One of the earliest examples of the now familiar Hollywood staple, the "summer blockbuster," *Jaws* was released to an eager



Robert Shaw (left) and Richard Dreyfuss under siege in a scene from the film *Jaws*.

public in June of 1975. The film's plot centered on a series of fatal shark attacks at the beaches of a New England resort town, and the efforts of an ill-matched trio of men to kill the 25-foot great white shark responsible for the deaths. Promoted through a massive advertising campaign and given unprecedentedly widespread distribution by Universal studios, *Jaws* lived up to the expectation it generated. With its rousing adventure and horror elements and its crowd-pleasing finale, it became a worldwide phenomenon, and for at least one summer made millions of people very nervous about swimming in the ocean.

If the success of the film was nothing short of remarkable, the novel upon which it was based had proved a commercial phenomenon in its own right. In January 1973, author Peter Benchley submitted to the New York publishing house of Doubleday the final draft of a novel inspired by his memory of a monstrous great white shark caught off the coast of Montauk in 1964. In a documentary accompanying the laser-disc release of the film, Benchley recalls how several titles (such as "Stillness in the Water" for example) were considered and rejected for the novel before the simple, visceral *Jaws* was chosen. Very quickly, Bantam paid for paperback rights to the novel, and Hollywood producers David Brown and Richard Zanuck bought not only the film rights, but also the services of author Benchley for a first-draft screenplay. This early interest in the novel, combined with

book-club deals and an aggressive promotional strategy by Doubleday and Bantam, ensured the novel's climb to the top of the *New York Times* bestseller list, where it stayed for months.

Benchley's book is divided into three sections. The first opens with a nighttime shark attack upon a skinny-dipping young woman, whose mutilated body is discovered on the Amity town beach the next morning, leading the chief of police to urge the mayor to close the beaches for a few days. The request is refused, and the shark strikes again, killing a six-year-old boy and an elderly man in two separate attacks in full view of horrified onlookers. Now forced to close the beaches, the authorities hire Ben Gardner, a local fisherman, to catch the shark, but he disappears at sea, another victim. Part one ends with the arrival of Matt Hooper, an ichthyologist there at the invitation of the editor of Amity's newspaper.

Part Two focuses on the domestic tensions between chief of police Brody and his wife Ellen, whose discontent with her marriage leads her into a brief affair with the handsome and rich Hooper. Brody suspects the affair just as his battle to keep the beaches closed during the lucrative Fourth of July weekend reaches its highest pitch, and he learns that the mayor is fighting so hard to re-open the beaches because he is in debt to the New England Mafia. Brody reluctantly opens the beaches again, the shark almost kills a teenage boy, and the town hires another shark fisherman named Quint to tackle the

problem. Out of duty and a sense of guilt, Brody accompanies Quint and Hooper on Quint's boat, the *Orca*, to search for the man-eating fish.

The shark hunt occupies the final third of the novel. Blue-collar fisherman Quint takes an immediate dislike to the collegial Hooper, and the hostility between Hooper and Quint and Hooper and Brody acts as a human counterpoint to the ensuing struggle between man and fish. The shark proves to be larger and fiercer than anticipated, and Quint's repeated failure to harpoon their quarry compels Hooper to descend beneath the surface, in a shark cage, in an effort to kill it. The shark tears the cage apart and devours Hooper. On the last day of the hunt, Quint manages to harpoon the shark, but the weight of the fish sinks the boat and Quint is drowned. Brody is unexpectedly saved when the shark succumbs to the harpoon wounds and dies.

The Academy Award-nominated film that grew out of this narrative kept the main characters and the basic three-act structure but radically changed the characterizations and deleted the Hooper/Ellen subplot. Also gone were the mayor's links to the Mafia, while Brody was transformed from a local man to a New York outsider, facing his first summer as police chief of Amity where, ironically, he has come in order to escape urban violence. Hooper became a much more humorous and sympathetic character, to the extent that later drafts of the script spared him from the fatal jaws of the shark. While retaining Quint as a blue-collar antagonist for the preppie Hooper, thus providing an extra focus for tension aboard the somewhat ramshackle *Orca*, the fisherman's mania for shark hunting was explained as a result of his having survived a shark feeding frenzy following the sinking of a cruiser during World War II. Instead of drowning as in the novel, Quint is eaten during the shark's final wild assault upon the *Orca*.

All of these changes were beneficial to the screenplay, giving it a more straightforward line and lending it veracity. Spielberg and Benchley reportedly argued over many of the changes, including Spielberg's suggested new ending. Spielberg wanted a much more cathartic resolution and came up with the idea that one of Hooper's oxygen cylinders should explode in the shark's mouth. Benchley scoffed at the idea, insisting that no one would believe it. Spielberg's vision prevailed, and the author subsequently admitted that the filmmaker was right. Aside from Benchley, and Spielberg himself, screenwriters John Milius, Howard Sackler, (both uncredited) and Carl Gottlieb (credited) contributed to the script at different stages in its development and throughout the location shooting. By all accounts, the actors and/or crew improvised much of the dialogue and many of the most memorable moments, but unlike countless other films where too many cooks invariably spoil the broth, *Jaws* finally achieved a convincing coherency of plot and character.

Production difficulties were foreshadowed by the early script problems and initial casting choices that fell through before the three crucial leading roles went to Roy Scheider (Brody), Robert Shaw (Quint) and Richard Dreyfuss (Hooper), all three of whom turned in convincing and compelling performances. After an extensive scouting expedition, production designer Joe Alves selected Martha's Vineyard as the location for the fictional Amity and Robert Matthey built three full-size mechanical sharks at a cost of \$150,000 each. The producers hoped that the mechanical sharks, when inter-cut with second-unit footage of real great white sharks shot off the coast of Australia by famed underwater team Ron and Valerie Taylor, would prove convincing enough to scare audiences, which they triumphantly did. During the production, however, the mechanical sharks caused

much anguish (one sank during a test, and the complex hydraulic system exploded during another test run). The recalcitrance of the models prevented Spielberg from showing them on screen as completely as he had intended, and may actually have helped the film's suspense by keeping the killer shark's appearances brief and startling. Other troubles, such as changing weather conditions, shifting ocean currents, and labor disputes were serious impediments, and worried studio executives even considered abandoning the production. All of these combined difficulties extended the original 52-day shooting schedule into over 150 days, and the \$3.5 million initial budget quickly ballooned into \$12 million.

In the end, what saved *Jaws* from anticipated disaster was the brilliance of Spielberg's unifying vision, which somehow managed to impose order on the chaotic shoot, John Williams' Oscar-winning score with its now famous four-note motif for the shark scenes, and the director's close collaboration with film editor Verna Fields. In post-production, the two managed the near impossible by matching several scenes that had been shot months apart in completely different weather and ocean conditions. Fields won the editing Oscar, yet screenings of the rough cut had brought a lukewarm response from studio executives. Finally, in March of 1975, a sneak preview for the public was scheduled in Dallas. By all accounts, the audience loved the film, screaming loudest when the shark surprises Brody as he ladles chum off the stern of the *Orca*. Eager to get one more terrified shriek out of future audiences, Spielberg re-shot the scene where Hooper discovers the body of fisherman Ben Gardner in a swimming pool, and the film was ready for more sneak previews and exhibitor screenings. Stars Roy Scheider and Richard Dreyfuss were mobbed as heroes after one New York preview and favorable word of mouth spread rapidly. By the time *Jaws* was released to 490 theaters in June, the stage was set for it to become the most financially successful motion picture of all time until the summer of 1977, when George Lucas's *Star Wars* broke its record. Nearly every summer since 1975 has seen the major Hollywood studios competing to gross as many hundreds of millions of dollars as possible. Though many films have since surpassed *Jaws*' box-office success and three inferior sequels have somewhat diluted the impact of the original, the movie about a man-eating shark is often praised (or blamed) as the beginning of a Hollywood revival. By 1999, it was still holding its own in Hollywood history as the eleventh highest grossing film of the twentieth century.

—Philip Simpson

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## Jazz

Of all the great American musical forms—blues, rock 'n' roll, country, and jazz—jazz has proven to be the most subtle, the most flexible, the most capable of growth and change, the one which has developed from folk art and popular art to fine art. Due partly to the extraordinary talents and innovators who have dotted the history of jazz, the wide range of artistic possibilities available to jazz are inherent in the form itself: a music which is structured enough to permit intricate compositions for ensemble play, but loose enough to allow for individual improvisation, individual style and voicing, and considerable virtuosity.

Jazz developed around the turn of the twentieth century in the South and Southwest, particularly New Orleans. It built on a number of earlier African American musical forms, including blues and ragtime, and European-influenced popular music and dances. The first great New Orleans jazz innovators, such as Buddy Bolden (who never recorded), Louis Armstrong, Bunk Johnson, Jelly Roll Morton, Freddie Keppard, King Oliver, and Sidney Bechet, added a number of key African American musical techniques to conventional popular and dance music styles. The two most important were the blue note, a microtonal variation on conventional pitch, and the complex rhythmic variations developed from the polyrhythmic heritage of African drumming. These additions gave jazz the rhythmic flexibility that came to be called “swing”—an almost indefinable quality which has been summed up best in the Duke Ellington song, “It Don’t Mean a Thing If It Ain’t Got That Swing.”

Although there are reports of jazz being played in the first few years of the twentieth century, the early musicians were not recorded. The first recorded jazz album came in 1917 when a white group, the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, recorded for both Columbia and RCA Victor, with million-selling results. It took longer for record companies to take a chance on black jazz musicians. Mamie Smith’s

recording of “Crazy Blues,” in 1920, began a blues craze, and many of the early appearances on record by the great African American jazz masters, like Armstrong, were as accompanists to blues singers.

Meanwhile, as the recording industry grew throughout the 1920s, the post-World War I generation found itself restless, dissatisfied, and looking for expressions of his own identity. The era was called the Jazz Age, but the Jazz Age was basically a white, middle-class phenomenon, and the music which became popular was mostly by white groups like the Original Dixieland Jazz Band. Some of them were excellent musicians—in particular Iowa-born cornetist Bix Beiderbecke.

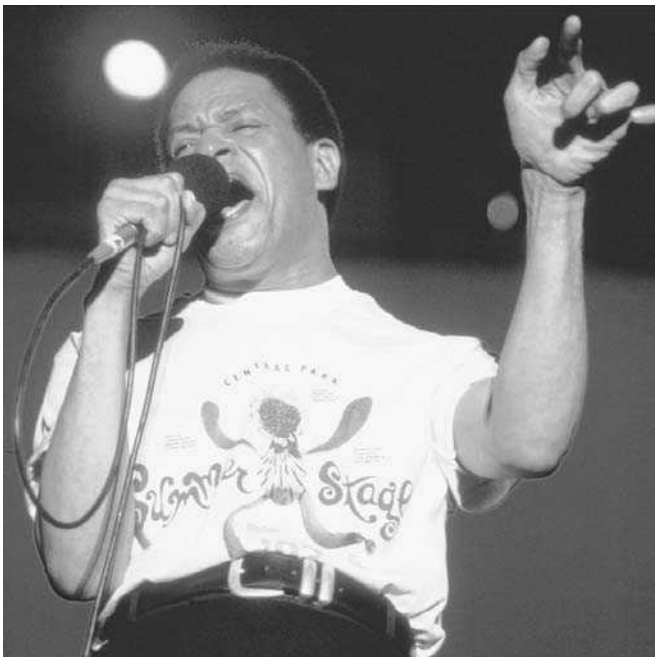
The African American musicians of New Orleans continued to be the artistic vanguard of jazz, although the scene had shifted. King Oliver was one of many who moved to Chicago. Arriving in 1918, he formed his first band in 1920, and was joined by Louis Armstrong in 1922. Oliver’s New Orleans-style ensemble jazz influenced many musicians, both black and white, but it was Armstrong who became jazz’s seminal influence. He left Oliver in 1924 to join Fletcher Henderson’s orchestra in New York, then returned to Chicago to record with his own groups, the Hot Five and the Hot Seven. Armstrong’s extraordinary technique and his artistic intensity and innovation dominated jazz, and as a result, the role of the soloist became predominant. Armstrong in the 1920s not only created one of the greatest artistic legacies of any American artist, he also established the importance of individual creativity in jazz.

During this same era, however, ensemble jazz was developing into orchestral jazz—the big bands, featuring section arrangements and tight organization. Armstrong, through his work with Henderson, was important here too, in integrating the concept of fiery, original jazz solo work into the large ensemble framework. Equally important in Henderson’s band was the work of Coleman Hawkins, a great soloist who, more than any other musician, introduced the tenor saxophone as an important jazz solo instrument.

Just as jazz experienced its first great wave of popularity in the 1920s, the era of the phonograph record, Prohibition, and the speakeasy, big-band jazz was also a product of its time. As newly-legal nightclubs closed and musical groups disbanded due to the hardships incurred by the Great Depression, jazz continued to find audiences in major supper clubs, such as the Cotton Club (located in New York’s Harlem, but open only to white audiences), and ventured into the increasingly important medium of radio. With fewer venues, the bigger, richer sound of big-band jazz become more popular. At the same time, the glut on the market of talented musicians drove salaries down, and made it cheaper for a successful bandleader to hire a large group.

The single most successful band of the big band, or Swing Era, was led by Benny Goodman. Goodman’s success was due to his brilliant musicianship and his organizational and promotional skills, but it was also due to the fact that he was white. Goodman used his preeminence to advance the mainstream acceptance of black jazz musicians. He not only hired Fletcher Henderson as an arranger, which was a behind-the-scenes job, he integrated his band, hiring great black musicians like Teddy Wilson (piano), Lionel Hampton, and Charlie Christian. There had been a few other integrated jazz groups before, but none as successful as Goodman’s group.

Artistically, the Duke Ellington and Count Basie bands represented the pinnacle of the big-band style. Ellington, who began as a bandleader in the mid-1920s, and continued to lead a band far beyond the Swing Era, until his death in 1974, may have been the first jazz musician to gain an international reputation as a serious artist—the



Jazz musician Al Jarreau.

first to draw attention to jazz as a serious art form, although this battle was not to be won for a long time. By the end of the 1970s, jazz was being taught in universities, and major grants and awards were going to jazz musicians and composers. But in 1965, Ellington was passed over for the Pulitzer Prize for music because of a stubborn insistence by older conservatives on the committee that jazz was not really art.

Count Basie, who came from the Kansas City tradition of blues-influenced jazz, was arguably the most important figure in developing the concept of “swing” in the big-band idiom. J. Bradford Robinson, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, says that his rhythm section “altered the ideal of jazz accompaniment, making it more supple and responsive to the wind instruments.” Basie’s approach to rhythm, and the musical innovations of his leading soloists, particularly tenor saxophonist Lester Young, provided an important basis for the revolutionary changes that were to come.

Throughout the 1930s, jazz was primarily popular music. Goodman, Ellington, and Basie played for dances, just like the “sweet” big bands led by Sammy Kaye, the Dorsey Brothers, and others. But in the 1940s, jazz enjoyed the fruits of the steady growth of the previous decade. After the end of Prohibition, a new generation of jazz clubs had begun to grow throughout the 1930s. They tended to be small, which meant they created a demand for small group jazz, generally a rhythm section and two lead instruments. The most important of these clubs were on 52nd Street, in New York, making New York more than ever before the center of jazz creativity.

New jazz musicians, primarily black, gravitated to New York, where they represented an urban, sophisticated generation. Impatient with what they perceived as the “Uncle Tom” image of many black showmen, like Armstrong and Cab Calloway, they presented themselves as cool, cerebral, and introspective. They were artists, more than entertainers.

These new musicians investigated the possibilities of improvisational music, trying more complex rhythms and harmonies and improvisations built on melodic and chordal substitutions which went way beyond conventional melodies. The two most important figures in the modern jazz, or bebop, movement were alto saxophonist Charlie Parker and trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie. Their experiments galvanized an entire generation of musicians, who began to hear music in a whole new way. Experimentation became the new wave of jazz. In 1941 Minton’s, a small club in Harlem, became the center for a series of after-hours jam sessions which soon attracted all the best players who were interested in the new music.

Modern jazz attracted a fiercely dedicated audience, though it was never as large as the audience for the big bands. It created a style: the hipster, who wore a beret, sunglasses, and a goatee, and listened to unintelligible music and spoke in an unintelligible slang. Jazz, and the jazz subculture, filled an important role in the post-World War II era, as mainstream America plunged headlong into the conformity of prosperity, and a small vanguard was left to search for more elusive artistic and social values.

The artistic legacy of the bebop and cool jazz years, the 1940s and 1950s, is extraordinary. Besides Parker and Gillespie, other important figures include Thelonious Monk, Max Roach, Gerry Mulligan, the Modern Jazz Quartet, Sonny Rollins, Dave Brubeck, and Miles Davis, who was to play an increasingly important role in the next decades of jazz.

In addition to the achievements of individual musicians, the modern jazz era also drew attention to the aesthetic importance of jazz. It began to be described, for the first time, as “America’s classical music.” Widespread acceptance of jazz as an art form was

slow in coming to America, however; European intellectuals embraced it much more quickly.

During the 1950s, the jazz audience became more communal. The 1940s prototype had been the night-owl, club-hopping hipster; in the 1950s, the jazz festival became a fixture. The first jazz festival was held in Nice, France, in 1948; the first in America was the Newport (Rhode Island) Jazz Festival in 1954. By the 1990s, there were estimated to be close to 1000 significant jazz festivals held annually around the world.

As the experimental sounds of modern jazz entered the mainstream, and became accepted by mass audiences (TV shows like *Peter Gunn* used jazz soundtracks), young jazz musicians were finding a new avant-garde. An historic 1959 engagement at New York’s Five Spot Cafe by alto saxophonist Ornette Coleman was a milestone in the emergence of free jazz. While bebop had explored unusual possibilities and inversions in conventional chord and harmonic structures, free jazz virtually dispensed with them.

Coleman, Don Cherry, and Cecil Taylor were among the young iconoclasts who pioneered free jazz. At first rejected by the 1950s jazzmen, they proved impossible to ignore, and soon major jazz figures like John Coltrane, Eric Dolphy, and even Miles Davis were exploring its possibilities.

Free jazz was the artistic vanguard of the anti-establishment 1960s. Like bebop before it, it made previous styles sound tired and a little formulaic. Unlike bebop, though, it never established itself beyond a small, avant-garde audience. Nevertheless, it remained an important alternative musical direction.

The indigenous music of the 1960s was rock, and by the end of the decade, some jazz musicians were becoming intrigued by the artistic possibilities of this phenomenally popular form—most importantly, Miles Davis. Davis had been listening to Jimi Hendrix and other rock innovators, and he realized there was musical promise in a fusion between the improvisational freedom of jazz and the simple beat of rock. At the same time, rock musicians like John McLaughlin and Jack Bruce were being drawn to the creative possibilities of jazz.

Purists refused to accept jazz-rock fusion as real jazz. Its rhythmic regularity deadened the swing of jazz. But many noted jazz musicians, particularly Davis alumni Herbie Hancock and Chick Corea, embraced the new form. A number of young musicians, like the members of the group Spiro Gyra, made their entire careers playing fusion. None of them were very good.

Fusion was essentially an artistic dead end. The next generation of jazz musicians was not much interested in pursuing its leads. Jazz in the late 1970s, 1980s and 1990s became in many ways a retro music. With no new dominant style, many young musicians looked to the past—all eras of the past. The most dominant young musician of the 1980s and 1990s, trumpeter Wynton Marsalis, showed on his early albums that he could play in all styles, from the free jazz of Ornette Coleman to the classic jazz of Louis Armstrong.

A salient symbol of this era is the jazz repertory company, a jazz orchestra made up of young musicians, devoted to playing the jazz classics. The National Jazz Ensemble, founded by bassist Chuck Israels, was the first of these, and the Lincoln Center Jazz Orchestra, led by Marsalis, was probably the best known. This was the era during which jazz studies courses entered the universities, when the Smithsonian Institution issued its Classic Jazz collection, when grants for jazz studies, composition, and performance burgeoned in both the government and private sectors. Equally important to this period was the CD explosion, which created a new listener interest in the jazz of all periods.

The 1980s and 1990s, even without developing a new sound, have their own importance in the history of jazz for precisely this recombinant quality. Jazz developed so fast—no other art form in human history has moved from folk to popular to fine art in such a short amount of time—that its revolutionary vanguard frequently eclipsed earlier styles. Players not in the vanguard were too often dismissed as “moldy figs,” in the slang of the beboppers. That changed in the 1980s and 1990s. The artistry—and the modernity and innovation—of artists like Armstrong, Hawkins, and Basie became fully recognized.

Jazz will probably never again be the popular music it was in the 1930s. But it remains something other than an art music to be put alongside classical music in the concert halls and the academy. It retains that mystique of something hip, something adventurous, a music for the vanguard of young audiences to graduate to, after rock begins to lose its immediate appeal.

—Tad Richards

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## The Jazz Singer

Produced in 1927, *The Jazz Singer* brought sound film to Hollywood. Directed by Alan Crosland and starring Al Jolson, the film was based on the 1922 short story “The Day of Atonement” by Samson Raphaelson. This story of Jewish assimilation to American

culture through popular music has been adapted as a Broadway play (starring George Jessel in 1925), two radio plays (both starring Al Jolson in 1936 and 1947), a televised production (starring Jerry Lewis in 1959), and two subsequent film versions (starring Danny Thomas in 1953 and Neil Diamond in 1980). *The Jazz Singer* not only illustrates the emergent sound technology of the 1920s, but also illustrates the mainstream acceptance of jazz music and comments on the acculturation process of immigrants to America.

*The Jazz Singer* recounts the story of Jackie Rabinowitz, the son of immigrant parents in New York, who is expected to succeed his father, as well as many ancestors, as the cantor in their synagogue. But young Jackie has ambitions of fame and fortune as a jazz singer, expressing himself in American popular music instead of Jewish religious music. Jackie's intentions of singing popular music leads to his father's denunciation and sends Jackie (now Jack Robin) to a career on the vaudeville circuit. As Jack's career progresses he falls in love with Mary Dale, a star dancer and gentile. Jack's two worlds collide when he accepts a part in a Broadway revue (starring Mary) and returns to New York upon his father's sixtieth birthday. Jack's father has still not accepted his son, but seeing him results in his father falling ill. In the film's climatic scene, Jack must decide between the show's opening on Broadway or filling in for his dying father at the synagogue singing “Kol Nidre” for *Yom Kippur*, the day of atonement. Jack fulfills his father's dying wish, and still manages to make it big on Broadway, bringing a sense of balance between his parents' old-world immigrant ways and his new Americanized life.

*The Jazz Singer* is often referred to as the first sound film, yet this is only partially true. The idea of synchronized sound and motion picture is as old as the movies themselves, but it was not until the early 1920s that a workable method of recording both image and sound came into use. Warner Brothers studio was the first to undertake sound film production, primarily as a last ditch effort to battle the larger studios who had, by the 1920s, solidified their hold on the movie industry. Warner's first efforts at sound film were variety programs with talking shorts, musical numbers, and staged productions using a sound-on-disc recording technology. Fox studios also entered the sound film market with its Movietone newsreels which presented news stories with a sound-on-film technology. Different studios could utilize different sound formats since each studio primarily exhibited at their own theaters. Warner's *The Jazz Singer*, however, was the first feature film to integrate the use of sound, both music and dialogue, into the story itself. The film is primarily a silent film with a musical soundtrack, but in several scenes, synchronized singing and dialogue are presented, most notably in the scene where Jack sings to his mother and after finishing one song says to her “You ain't heard nothin' yet.”

The film's significance goes beyond its historical role in film technology to illustrate the mainstream acceptance of jazz music as an American art form. Even though the music in the film is not, strictly speaking, jazz music, it does contain elements of jazz style, such as increased syncopation and a blues tonality. More importantly, the film expresses the belief that jazz music is an Americanizing force since it is a uniquely American form of music. The original author of the story, Samson Raphaelson, wrote in the introduction to the published stage play that “in seeking a symbol of the vital chaos of America's soul, I find no more adequate one than jazz.” Ironically, in order to perform jazz music onstage Jack Robin dons the costume of a minstrel performer, including blackface. Jack “becomes” black in order to become an American, and in the process reinforces nineteenth-century stereotypes of African Americans in popular culture.



Al Jolson in a scene from the film *The Jazz Singer*.

The film promotes both acculturation and the maintenance of ethnic identity as significant parts of economic prosperity and success, the American dream.

—Charles J. Shindo

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## Jeans

Jeans, or more commonly blue jeans, comprise the range of casual or work trousers made most often of indigo blue cotton denim with reinforced stitching at the seams and metal rivets placed at stress

points. Though introduced as durable work clothing, jeans have become an almost universal part of modern culture, and are worn by people all over the world as both work and fashionable attire. Blue jeans, originally associated with the hard-working spirit of miners during the California Goldrush, were most directly descended from the “waist overalls” developed by Levi Strauss and Jacob Davis in 1873. Featured in American movie Westerns as early as the 1930s and 1940s, jeans began to attain cult status through their association with pop icons. Military servicemen during World War II wore jeans regularly while engaging in leisure activities, but it was their children growing up during the 1950s who embraced blue jeans as a symbol of their generation. Banned from many public schools, hard-to-get in stores outside of the United States, and worn by rebellious characters of movies of the 1950s, jeans became a symbol of power for the restless youth of the 1960s. Eventually jeans became popular worldwide through the influence of U.S. servicemen stationed overseas, through the popular influence of the cinema, and distribution of mass marketing media. Levi's blue jeans were first sold in Europe in 1959; by the end of the twentieth century denim blue jeans could be found in



virtually every country on the globe. The manufacture of jeans had become a worldwide industry, supporting a wide variety of styles, colors, designers, fashions, and accessories, as the notion of jeans as a symbol of comfort, leisure, and youthful status replaced that of jeans as durable work wear.

Jean fabric, originally a tough, long-lasting, blended twill fabric, can be traced to twelfth century Genoa, Italy. The term “jeans” has been applied generally to describe the working man’s outer wear in Europe since the seventeenth century. The modern blue jean, however, is most often manufactured not from jean fabric but from denim. The name “denim,” from “serge de Nimes,” refers to a finer grade serge fabric, also a twill, which appears to have originated in Nimes, France. Denim was originally a woven blend of wool and silk, but U.S. textile mills began using cotton as a substitute for the more expensive imported wools and linens and as a means of gaining independence from foreign suppliers as early as the mid-nineteenth century. The popular favor this trend gained resulted in the continuing use of cotton in both denim and jean fabrics. Denim tends to wear better, becoming softer with each successive wash, as opposed to jean fabric. One popular myth of the nineteenth century claimed that any worker who once wore denim would never go back to wearing jeans; at any rate denim fabric eventually became the preferred material for the manufacture of work jeans.

The modern connotation of jeans is usually of a line of denim trousers developed by dry goods manufacturer Levi Strauss in San Francisco in the 1870s. Popular myth ascribes Levi Strauss with the invention of blue jeans, imagined somewhat romantically as a figure rising to the occasion of hardship and innovation during the California Goldrush by the creation of much-needed overalls for miners using surplus tent canvas and surplus indigo for dye. In actuality, company archives of Levi Strauss & Co. attribute the invention of modern jeans to Jacob Davis, a Latvian tailor who immigrated to Reno, Nevada. According to company records, Davis invented a process whereby copper rivets were added to stress points in the seams which greatly enhanced their durability. Davis’ overalls were an immediate success among the miners. Wanting to establish a patent for his process of rivetting overalls but not having the funds to do so, Davis reportedly approached Strauss, a successful dry goods merchant in San Francisco, and offered to share the proceeds with Strauss if he would put up the money for the patent. Strauss agreed, and a patent was issued in 1873. Trousers made using this process were known as “waist overalls” until 1960, when the common term “jeans” was inserted into Levi Strauss & Co. company advertising and literature.

Western stars of the 1940s and early 1950s such as John Wayne started the popular association of jeans with the hero myth of rugged individuals who braved harsh elements and savage attacks and helped build the American West. Later in the 1950s stars such as Marlon Brando and James Dean, portraying desperate men on the fringe of society gave jeans an association of rebelliousness. The clothing worn in these movies was espoused by impressionable youth as a symbol of the carefree lifestyle they wished to emulate. In truth, jeans had been commonly worn by U.S. military servicemen during World War II as leisure wear. After the war, veterans continued to wear jeans for recreation, and children born during this era naturally associated the wearing of blue jeans with leisure activities.

Jeans gained notoriety in American schools in part because of the popular association with rebelliousness, itself a derivation of

simple leisure. Leisure wear was considered to give students the wrong impression of the importance of school activities throughout the 1950s and 1960s. In actuality, the original complaint against the wearing of waist overalls in schoolrooms seems to have stemmed from the fact that the copper rivets damaged wooden desks and chairs. Nonetheless, jeans were banned from many schools until as late as the early 1980s. The outlaw notion has only added to the popularity of wearing jeans among youth looking for status and peer acceptance.

Whatever the case, jeans gained notoriety and became a highly integrated symbol of the anti-establishment movement during the 1960s. This association has persisted through the end of the 1990s, when other popular youth forms including “gansta rap” music, skate-boarding, and baggy clothing have influenced the wearing of jeans by the incorporation of styles symbolizing yet another disenfranchised generation. In the 1960s, styles changed dramatically to accommodate the needs of wearers to associate with the societal fringe. Ironically, a pair of blue jeans became part of the permanent collection of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. in 1964. Jeans were elevated to the level of art in this era, as blue jeans were decorated, modified, painted, and displayed as one of the most defining American icons. The first jeans developed exclusively for women were introduced on the market in this decade. Later, during the 1980s, jeans fashions returned to the cultural mainstream with the advent of designer jeans, denim trousers distributed by famous designer labels such as Calvin Klein, Jordache, and Guess. Almost as a closure to the vast cycle of development of jeans fashions, a trend toward “vintage jeans” grew out of the 1990s, when many aging members of the original “blue jeans generation” sought to inculcate the earlier, uncomplicated days of leisure during their childhood. Also by the end of the twentieth century, corporations enforced increasingly relaxed standards of work attire, and instituted “casual days” and the “dress-down Friday” in the American workplace. Many workers choose to wear jeans on these days as an acceptable choice for casual work wear.

—Ethan Hay

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## Jeep

The Jeep is a multipurpose light motor vehicle developed by the U.S. Army Quartermaster Corps for Allied military forces in World War II. Designed by Colonel Arthur William Sidney Herrington

(1891-1970) at the Marmon Motor Corporation in Indianapolis, one million jeeps were manufactured by the Willys-Overland Motors Company in Toledo and under license by American Bantam Car Company and the Ford Motor Company from 1941 to 1945.

The small, sturdy, versatile Jeep had the ruggedness of a truck and the maneuverability of an automobile. It carried four passengers or one-quarter ton of cargo over difficult terrain at speeds up to 65 mph. The origin of its name is unclear. It may derive from its military nomenclature, general purpose vehicle (g.p.), or come from Eugene the Jeep, a 1936 Popeye comic strip character drawn by E. C. Edgar. In any case, American newspapers were using the name Jeep by 1941. The fast, lightweight, all-terrain reconnaissance vehicle was used in World War II by all U.S. military forces as well as the British, French, Russian, Australian, and New Zealand armed forces. The war correspondent Ernie Pyle recalled the Army jeep was "as faithful as a dog, as strong as a mule and as agile as a goat." The United States military continued to use M38A1 jeeps for various purposes at the end of the twentieth century.

Army surplus jeeps were used in a variety of agricultural, construction, and commercial purposes by American veterans familiar with the jeep's practicality. By 1945 Willys-Overland designed the CJ-2A jeep, the first model intended for civilian use, an all-steel sedan or station wagon used as a two-wheel drive seven passenger or delivery vehicle. By 1949 a four-wheel drive, six-cylinder jeep was produced for the growing number of drivers who used it for fishing, hunting, skiing, and other recreational off-road activities.

In 1953 the Kaiser-Frazer Company acquired the Willys-Overland Company and produced the larger, wider CJ-5 Willys Jeep Station Wagon, a functional four-wheel drive utility vehicle. This civilian jeep, based on the Army M38A1 jeep used in the Korean war, became a milestone in postwar American automotive history, was manufactured for 30 years in 30 countries, and sold in 150 nations. By 1963 the new Jeep Wagoneer marked the end of the classic Willys Wagon which ceased production in 1965. The Wagoneer was the first sport utility vehicle (SUV), and by 1970 it tripled annual jeep production and was imitated by Ford, Chevrolet, and Chrysler.

In 1970 the American Motors Corporation took over the Kaiser-Jeep Corporation, thus gaining the Wagoneer's expanding baby boomer market. Throughout the 1970s more comfortable models derived from the jeep were seen on highways around the world as Plymouth, Toyota, and Isuzu introduced similar off-road vehicles (ORV). In the 1980s, when fuel conservation was no longer the concern it had been in the 1970s, larger, heavier, more expensive SUV models became popular with suburban motorists. Although not replacing the jeep, the most popular SUV models, with names evocative of the outdoors and the Western frontier (such as the Navigator, Explorer, Renegade, Blazer, Mountaineer, Trooper, Rodeo, Wrangler, Comanche, Cherokee, and Pathfinder), combined the rough and tough jeep reputation with the appealing features of the station or ranch wagon and the pick-up truck.

When Chrysler absorbed AMC in 1987, it was largely to gain the jeep's increasing share of the market. A right-hand drive Jeep Cherokee model was produced for the U.S. Post Office and in Britain, Australia, and Japan, and the Grand Cherokee replaced the Wagoneer in 1993. Chrysler, having merged in 1998 with the Daimler Benz Company, continued to produce a variety of Daimler Chrysler jeep models for civilian, military, and government drivers.

Since World War II, when soldiers drove the American jeep around the world, it has proven to be a ubiquitous war-horse, workhorse and the most popular vehicle ever manufactured. One indication of the jeep's popularity with the G.I.s was Glenn Miller's Army Air Force Band recording of "Jeep Jockey Jump" in 1943 and Fats Waller's song "Little Bo Peep Has Lost Her Jeep." The 1944 movie *Four Jills in a Jeep* recreated a USO troupe entertaining soldiers during the war. Television featured the jeep in two popular programs: *The Roy Rogers Show* (NBC, 1951-57) had a jeep named Nelliebelle, and *The Rat Patrol* (ABC, 1966-68) showed a U.S. Army jeep squad harassing Rommel's Afrika Korps during the war.

Perhaps the most unusual legacy of the jeep may be the Manila jeepney. These brightly colored, elaborately decorated jeep taxis carry one-third of the city's commuter and tourist traffic daily. Many other tourist and resort centers used jeeps for off-road recreation at the end of the twentieth century, as did millions of dedicated jeep motorists around the world.

—Peter C. Holloran

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## Jefferson Airplane/Starship

Formed in 1965, Jefferson Airplane was the most commercially successful band to come out of San Francisco in the mid- to late 1960s. Along with contemporaries like the Grateful Dead, they pioneered a blend of folk, blues, and psychedelia to play what became known as West Coast Rock. Their presence at some of the 1960s' defining cultural moments attests to their status as one of the key bands of this era.

While Jefferson Airplane's eclectic sound could be traced to folk music and the blues, it also signaled significant departures from such generic origins, with its distorted, extended guitar improvisations and lyrics which referred to altered states of consciousness and counter-cultural concerns. As *Time* pointed out in June 1967, what became known as the San Francisco sound "encompasses everything from blue-grass to Indian ragas, from Bach to jug-band music—often within the framework of a single song."

Bay Area artists like Jefferson Airplane only could have flourished in historically tolerant San Francisco and in close proximity to the University of California campus at Berkeley. Living communally in the hippie epicenter of Haight-Ashbury, the band drew much of its support and attitude from this politically active and culturally experimental milieu. Sharing in their audience's background, values, and choice of chemical stimulants, the symbiosis between the group and their fans was typical of an initially democratic musical scene. As Airplane guitarist Paul Kantner himself acknowledged, "it was like a



**The Jefferson Airplane: (from left) Spencer Dryden, Marty Balin, Jorma Kaukonen, Grace Slick, Paul Kantner, and Jack Casady.**

party. The audience often far overshadowed any of the bands, and the distance between the two was not that great. Grace [Slick] used to say that the stage was just the least crowded place to stand.”

Jefferson Airplane was the first of the San Francisco bands to sign for a major record label. Their debut album, *Jefferson Airplane Takes Off* (1966) was moderately successful. However, it was not until original vocalist Signe Anderson departed and was replaced by Grace Slick that the band achieved wider acclaim and commercial success. Slick left rival band The Great Society to join the Airplane, and significantly brought two of their songs with her—the anti-romantic love song “Somebody to Love” and the trippy “White Rabbit.” These tracks subsequently became the first of the group’s top ten hits and featured on the breakthrough album *Surrealistic Pillow* (1967), which stayed in the Billboard top ten for most of what became known as the “Summer of Love.”

The counterculture was built around rock music, which expressed its values and acted as a powerful recruiting vehicle for the movement. In January 1967, Jefferson Airplane had played at a counter-cultural gathering christened the “Human Be-In” alongside the poets Allen Ginsberg and Gary Snyder in San Francisco’s Golden Gate Park. Later in the same year they appeared at the nation’s first national rock festival in Monterey, which drew an audience in excess of 200,000. While this event also was billed as a counter-cultural

happening—“three days of music, love, and flowers”—it was also undeniably a shop-window for profit-making talent. As Jon Landau wrote, Monterey witnessed an “underground culture at [the] point of transformation into mass culture.”

Subsequent late 1960s recordings consolidated the band’s commercial appeal. In 1969, they appeared at Woodstock, an event which confirmed that rock music was now big business and that any counter-cultural politics it might espouse had taken a backseat to hippie chic. In December of that same year Jefferson Airplane performed at Altamont—an event mythologized as symbolic of the death of the decade’s youthful optimism. While the Rolling Stones played “Sympathy for the Devil,” a number of Hells Angels murdered a black spectator, Meredith Hunter, and later attacked Airplane member Marty Balin when he tried to help another black youth. For Jon Landau, “Altamont showed that something had been lost that could not be regained.”

In recognition of this shift in mood, the band released the angrier, more explicitly political album *Volunteers* (1969). Its lyrical and musical aggression channeled the frustration and outbursts of violence that characterized the tail end of the 1960s. In “We Can Be Together” the group called on listeners to unite and overthrow the “dangerous, dirty and dumb” policies of the Establishment, and screamed “Up against the wall, motherfuckers.” *Volunteers*

was a powerful statement about post-Chicago 1968, Vietnam-embroiled America.

By the early 1970s any lingering idealism in both the Bay Area music scene and the counter-cultural movement that it fed and served had evaporated. During this period, founder member Marty Balin left and the band released two more studio albums and a live set, the last release to bear the Jefferson Airplane name.

The 1970s and 1980s were marked by personnel changes and shifts in musical style. Under the creative control of Kantner and Slick the band evolved into Jefferson Starship. Balin's return in 1975 coincided with a revival in the band's commercial fortunes. However, both Slick and Balin (again) left in 1978, and 1979's album *Freedom from Point Zero* saw the band move towards a hard rock formula suited to the lucrative stadium market. Detoxed and dried-out, Grace Slick returned to the lineup in the early 1980s, and a now Kantner-less Starship emerged with a series of MTV-friendly hits such as the self-mythologizing "We Built This City" and the anodyne "Nothing's Gonna Stop Us Now." Things turned full circle in 1989, when Grace Slick left Starship and joined up with the rest of the original lineup to resurrect Jefferson Airplane.

It has become impossible to separate West Coast Rock from the counter-culture. This was ably demonstrated when "White Rabbit" was memorably featured in Oliver Stone's Vietnam movie *Platoon* (1986), in which it functioned as audio shorthand for a specific cultural moment. As rock critic Robert Palmer has pointed out, "behind the media-friendly facade of peace, love, and flowers, the sixties were a period of violence, conflict, and paranoia." The story of Jefferson Airplane demonstrates this tension.

—Simon Philo

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## *The Jeffersons*

In 1971, independent producer Norman Lear introduced the most controversial sitcom in television's brief history. That show was the groundbreaking CBS program, *All in the Family*. One particular

occasional character was Archie Bunker's irascible black neighbor, George Jefferson (originally played by Mel Stewart). Jefferson never backed down from a fight, sparring successfully with the bigoted Bunker and generally winning the argument. In 1973 the role was assumed by veteran actor Sherman Hemsley. This character was such a hit with viewers that Hemsley was soon cast in the spin-off series, *The Jeffersons*, which first aired on CBS Television in January of 1975 and was, like *All in the Family*, the brainchild of writer-director and independent producer Norman Lear.

*The Jeffersons* focused on the lives of George and his wife Louise Jefferson—a nouveau riche African American couple. The show's gospel-toned opening musical theme, "Movin' on Up!" played while George and Louise moved into "their dee-luxe apartment in the sky." George was a successful businessman, millionaire, and the owner of seven dry-cleaning stores. Louise (played by Isabel Sanford) was a former maid attempting to adjust to the life of a woman of means. Together they lived in a ritzy penthouse apartment on Manhattan's fashionable and moneyed East Side with their son, Lionel (played at various times by Damon Evans and Mike Evans). Their home was filled expensive furnishings, and they even had their own black housekeeper, a wise-cracking maid named Florence (played by Marla Gibbs).

A unique supporting cast included an eccentric Englishman neighbor named Harry Bentley (Paul Benedict), the ever-obsequious Ralph the Doorman (Ned Wetimer), and most significantly, Helen and Tom Willis, (Roxie Roker, Franklin Cover) an interracial couple with two adult children—one Black, one White—the first such scenario on prime time television. George's elderly mother, the quietly cantankerous "Mother Jefferson," played by Zara Cully, made occasional appearances until the actress's death in 1978.

George Jefferson was rude and headstrong and referred to white people as "honkies." An article in *Ebony* magazine described him as "bombastic, frenetic, boastful, ill-mannered, prejudiced, and scheming." Louise, referred to by George as "Wheezy" spent most of her time apologizing for him. Some of the funniest moments came with the repartee between George and Florence the maid, who contributed to the humor with her continuous putdowns of George. She referred to him as "Shorty" and never missed a chance to put him in his place, fully contemptuous of the expected etiquette between employee and employer.

George, though a millionaire businessman, was often positioned as a buffoon or the butt of everyone's joke. As the *Ebony* article noted, "He was often the victim of his own acts: a put-down that backfires, a contrivance that goes astray, an ego-filled balloon suddenly deflated." No one, not even his maid took him seriously. Some blacks questioned whether audiences were laughing *with* George and his contempt of convention, or *at* George as he made a fool of himself? As with *Amos 'n' Andy* some twenty years prior, America's black community remained divided in their assessment of the program—even as the conservatism of the Reagan years brought a slight change in the tone of the program.

*The Jeffersons* was an enormously popular and highly rated program that lasted ten years on prime time television. Along with two other Lear products (*Good Times* and *Sanford & Son*) it featured a mostly African-American cast, the first such programming since the cancellation of the infamous *Amos 'n' Andy Show* in 1953. With its sometimes biting humor and daring scenarios it helped set a new tone



Sherman Hemsley (left) and Isabel Sanford celebrate the 200<sup>th</sup> episode of *The Jeffersons* with series creator Norman Lear (center).

in prime time television, while proving that programming with black casts could be successful and profitable, earning it a significant place in the history of 1970s television.

—Pamala S. Deane

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## Jell-O

Once given its trademarked name, Jell-O quickly became "America's Most Famous Dessert" with more than one million boxes sold every day by the late 1990s. Even more than apple pie or hot dogs, Jell-O epitomizes not just American cuisine, but America itself and has been one of its most enduring icons. Powdered gelatin, invented in 1845 by Peter Cooper, was one of the first convenience foods in America, making the arduous task of preparing gelatin from scratch—boiling calf's hoofs for hours—merely a matter of adding water to powder and leaving in a cool place to set. Not until the end of the century, however, did the concept of granulated gelatin catch on. In 1897, Pearl B. Wait invented a fruit-flavored gelatin, named Jell-O by his wife. Because of low sales, he sold the patent to Orator Francis

Woodward in 1899 for \$450. Woodward began his first advertising campaign in 1902, making Jell-O, manufactured by the Genesee Pure Food Company of Leroy, New York, a worthy contender with Knox, Cox, Plymouth Rock, and other instant gelatins on the market at the time.

Although gelatin was an important ingredient in aspics and desserts, its rigorous preparation requirements meant that before the turn of the century it only graced the tables of the wealthy, who had the time, money, equipment, and paid labor to make such dishes. Preparations like powdered gelatins democratized desserts in America. Jell-O, the most popular, was inexpensive, initially selling for ten cents a box, and simple to make. Further, Jell-O instituted a premium system that allowed one to send away for free “melon” molds with the purchase of so many boxes of Jell-O products. Even in its early years, Jell-O came in a variety of flavors that allowed women to create many bright, fanciful dishes; strawberry, raspberry, orange, and lemon were the first flavors and continued to be the most popular. Jell-O also offered an Ice Cream Powder which, something like a frozen pudding, brought a variation of the frozen confection to the homes of the masses. In addition to these, the Genesee began producing D-Zerta, the first sugar-free gelatin, in 1923. Later that same year, the company changed its name to the Jell-O Company, and was then acquired by the Postum Company in 1925, forming the foundation for what would become General Foods. Rounding out its product line, the Jell-O Company introduced its pudding powder in 1929, eventually making 51 different flavors.

Advertising played a key role in Jell-O’s popularity over other gelatins and made it the quintessential “American” dessert. From the beginning, brightly colored promotional recipe booklets touted the Jell-O product line and also educated women about how to use this new foodstuff. The Jell-O Girl appeared in 1903 as the personification of Jell-O’s purity and ease of preparation. In later years the talents of well-known people were instituted to promote Jell-O. Rose O’Neil, creator of Kewpie dolls, refashioned the Jell-O Girl in 1908. In the 1920s, such familiar artists as Norman Rockwell and Maxfield Parrish illustrated its print material. Even L. Frank Baum, author of the Oz series, published a set of his books in conjunction with Jell-O.

In later years, as advertising media expanded, so did Jell-O’s use of popular talents, including famous celebrities. Jack Benny and Mary Livingston promoted it on radio, coming up with the catchy “J-E-L-L-O” tune. Kate Smith sang the praises of Jell-O in magazine advertisements during World War II. In the 1950s, such luminaries as Roy Rogers, Andy Griffith, and Ethel Barrymore became spokespeople. From the 1970s through the 1990s, beloved actor and comedian Bill Cosby was the chief spokesperson for Jell-O and Jell-O Pudding.

As a food, Jell-O has recorded transformations in eating patterns and ethnic and regional variations in American foodways. Jane and Michael Stern have said that “More than any other food, Jell-O symbolizes how America really eats . . . Jell-O is Americana in a mold.” At the beginning of the twentieth century, Jell-O proved to be an affordable and accessible version of a previously upper-class food, hence its great appeal. In later years it reflected events in American history and changes in food fads. During World War I, Jell-O still sold for ten cents a box and appealed to a woman’s need to live within her budget during the expensive war years. During World War II, Jell-O answered the needs brought on by food rationing, as it could make low-sugar desserts and main dish salads.

Because Jell-O by nature is a colorful and moldable substance, the things made from it have embodied America’s aesthetic sensibilities of the time, from daring dishes like Egg Slices en Gelée in the

roaring 1920s to modern one-crust instant pudding pies in the convenience-driven 1950s to postmodern creations like Pistachio Almond Delight—also known as Watergate Salad—in the 1980s. Jell-O not only manifested adult preoccupations but also appealed to the younger set. Ever since the days of the Jell-O Girl, Jell-O was associated with children, who have comprised a large group of Jell-O’s consumers. Bill Cosby’s 1970s “Kids Love Pudding” campaign was followed by the advent of multi-colored, multi-shaped Jell-O Jigglers for children of the 1980s, and increased the popularity of gelatin-based candies like Gummy Bears in the 1980s and Gummy Worms in the 1990s.

Jell-O’s versatility has been a large factor in its enduring nature as an icon in American culture during the twentieth century. It has frequently appeared as a palliative dessert on hospital meal trays, accompanied families to potluck dinners as a side dish, and shown up in the lunch boxes of school children. It has also been used in ways not officially approved of by the General Foods Corporation. Jell-O “shooters,” popular in the 1980s and 1990s, were college novelty cocktails that mixed Jell-O powder with vodka or grain alcohol and, once congealed, were eaten with spoons out of cups or by the cube from trays. Novelty wrestling, a popular bar entertainment during the 1980s, involved body-to-body combat of typically scantily-clad women; when not wrestling in mud, they wrestled in Jell-O, with lime being the most popular color/flavor.

—Wendy Woloson

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## Jennings, Peter (1938—)

The man who would eventually help to usher in the age of the super-anchor, veteran journalist Peter Jennings, got an early start to his broadcast career. At age nine he was the host of *Peter’s People*, a short-lived Saturday morning children’s radio show on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. For the precocious Jennings, journalism qualified as a family business. When the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation was established in the mid-1930s, his father Charles Jennings became its first voice, and was known as the “Edward R. Murrow of Canada.”

Jennings was born in Toronto. A high school drop-out, he never finished tenth grade. Initially discouraged by his father from choosing journalism as a career, Jennings worked as a bank teller for three years before joining a small private radio station in Brockville, Ontario. In 1961 Jennings made the transition to television, joining one of Canada’s first private television stations. There his duties included everything from reporting news to hosting a Canadian version of *American Bandstand*. When his television station became part of CTV, Canada’s first national private chain, Jennings was appointed co-anchor of the national newscast. His work in this role caught the attention of ABC (American Broadcasting Corporation) news executives in New York.

Hired by ABC’s *World News Tonight* in 1964, Jennings and his first wife, Canadian Valerie Godsoe, moved to New York City.



**Peter Jennings**

Within a year, the twenty-six year-old Jennings became America's youngest national network anchor ever, an appointment that failed because Jennings lacked journalistic experience and in-depth knowledge of the United States. After three years of miserable ratings Jennings resigned and was replaced by Frank Reynolds. The network made Jennings a traveling correspondent, and he quickly headed overseas. In 1969 he opened a permanent ABC bureau in Beirut, Lebanon, the first time an American-based television reporter had a full-time post in the Arab world. Jennings spent seven years in Lebanon as Beirut bureau chief, during which time he also met and married his second wife, Anouchka.

In 1975, Jennings returned to Washington, D.C., to anchor *A.M. America*, the predecessor to *Good Morning America*. Disliking both the job and the city, however, he arranged a transfer to London by 1977. In 1978, while still posted in London, Jennings was named co-anchor of the ABC evening news as part of an innovative three-anchor system that included Frank Reynolds in Washington and Max Robinson in Chicago. Referring to his time in London as his "dream job," because the triumvirate system gave him both the flexibility to travel and the status to cover major news stories, he stayed in the position for six years. While in London he met and married his third wife, Kati

Marton, in 1979. By 1982, the couple had two children, Elizabeth and Christopher.

In 1983 one of the anchoring triumvirate, Frank Reynolds, became ill with cancer, and Jennings reluctantly returned to the United States to fill in during his illness. In an interview he explained his problem with being sole anchor: "Anchor people are slaves to the daily broadcast. Very high-priced slaves I grant you. But slaves." Instead, Jennings prefers field reporting, and has been known to speak with a "little regret about not being in the trenches covering stories." When Reynolds died, however, Jennings was re-appointed to the sole anchor position he had held sixteen years earlier.

Jennings and his peers Dan Rather and Tom Brokaw have transformed the role of network news anchor into superstar journalist. In their book *Anchors*, authors Robert and Gerald Goldberg explain that while Walter Cronkite was "the original 800-pound gorilla," Jennings, Rather, and Brokaw have "acquired a different order of magnitude." These super-anchors command huge salaries, and have their trustworthiness figures measured just like the president. Acting as the "living logos" of the network news divisions, they provide news to more Americans than any other source.

Some analysts point to Jennings' coverage of the 1986 Challenger space shuttle explosion as a career milestone, from which point his "credibility, both internally at ABC and with the American public, has continued to grow." Once described as a "natural anchor" who had to work hard "to turn himself into a reporter," Jennings had grown into his role as star journalist. Acclaimed for his ability to ad-lib in live broadcasts, Jennings has said that he considers this skill to be a critical function of anchors. Despite the fact that the majority of Jennings's editorial work involves rewriting rather than writing, colleagues have described his writing style as "distinctive," and "cooler" than that of Rather or Brokaw. Analysts have noted a tendency for Jennings to reverse the traditional order of a news story, for example, putting the punch line before a joke. Described as "perhaps the most hands-on of any of the anchors," Jennings reportedly spends a great deal of time working with correspondents on the phone and editing their stories. While co-workers often laud his willingness to spend time working with people, sharing ideas, contacts, and opinions, some have complained about a tendency toward micro-managing and perfectionism. Most of all, however, observers note that Jennings applies those stringent standards to himself. Reportedly never satisfied with his performance, he has been frequently quoted as saying, "I always tend to look at the program in terms of how many nights I can be proud of. The top score is rarely more than two and a half a week. Never close to four."

The recipient of many awards, to date Jennings has won the *Washington Journalism Review's* award for the nation's best anchor five times. A nine-time Emmy recipient for news reporting, he also has received several Alfred I. duPont-Columbia University and Overseas Press Club Awards. In one year alone Jennings won Harvard University's Goldsmith Career Award for excellence in journalism and the Radio and Television News Directors Paul White Award, chosen by the three major networks' news directors. In a 1995 tribute, the *Boston Globe* echoed the earlier praise given to Jennings's father, saying that Jennings had inherited Edward R. Murrow's mantle.

—Courtney Bennett

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## Jennings, Waylon (1937—)

A professional musician since the 1950s, Waylon Jennings is known for his contribution to the country and western "Outlaw Movement" of the 1970s. Along with Willie Nelson, Billy Joe Shaver, Kris Kristofferson, Tompall Glaser, and wife Jessi Colter, Jennings bucked the Nashville system in a big way. His 1973 release *Honky Tonk Heroes*, with all but one song penned by Shaver, defined the movement and the era. Recorded with his road band and not the slick studio musicians that most Nashville labels preferred, Jennings



Waylon Jennings

created a sound that was edgy and most certainly of the traditional honky tonk variety.

Born Waylon Arnold Jennings in Littlefield, Texas, he learned to play guitar, formed his own band, and was a DJ on a local radio station by the time he was 12. Leaving school several years later, he ended up in Lubbock where he became friends with future rock 'n' roll legend Buddy Holly. A mentor of sorts, Holly produced Jennings's first recording, a single on Brunswick released in 1958 called "Jole Blon." Later that same year Jennings joined Holly's band, the Crickets, playing bass during the course of Holly's final tour. It was Jennings who gave up his seat to the Big Bopper, on the ill-fated airplane that crashed in Mason City, Iowa, on February 3, 1959. Along with Holly and the Big Bopper, a young L.A. rocker, Ritchie Valens, lost his life. Jennings was devastated and returned to Lubbock where he worked as a DJ.

In 1960 a move to Phoenix and the formation of a rockabilly band, the Waylor's, gave Jennings another shot at success. Signing with the independent Trend label, the Waylor's cut a number of singles. While the records failed to create a buzz, Jennings did get his first shot as a record producer at Audio Recorders. A move to Los Angeles followed as did a contract with Herb Alpert's A&M Records. Alpert looked at Jennings as a pop artist, but Waylon was already hip-deep in country music. His only single for A&M was "Sing the Girl a



Song, Bill.” By 1965 he made the move to Nashville where he worked with Chet Atkins and Bobby Bare for RCA. It was at this time that he and Johnny Cash formed a strong bond while living together.

Releasing Top 40 hits such as “That’s the Chance I’ll Have to Take,” Jennings quickly moved into the Top 10 with tunes like “Only Daddy That’ll Walk the Line” by 1968. But, he was working with session players and Jennings wanted to move his sound more towards the hardcore side of country music. During the 1970s he began recording songs by a songwriter named Kris Kristofferson and working with Willie Nelson. Releasing *Singer of Sad Songs* and *Ladies Love Outlaws* provided the foundation for the “Outlaw Movement” that was to come. Just as significant, in 1972 Jennings sought to have more control and successfully renegotiated his RCA contract demanding total control over the production of his next project. This project was *Honky Tonk Heroes*.

Gaining momentum, Jennings had his first No. 1 single in 1974, “This Time.” He followed that up with another No. 1, “I’m a Ramblin’ Man” and a No. 2, “Rainy Day Woman.” By 1975 he also was crossing over to the pop charts with “Are You Sure Hank Don’t It This Way.” Awarded the Country Music Association’s male vocalist of the year award moved him into mainstream popular culture in 1976. This was underscored by the release of *Wanted! Outlaws*, recorded with his wife, Nelson, and Glaser. It hit No. 1 on the pop charts and made Waylon Jennings a superstar.

The next decade would secure Jennings’s place in the collective consciousness of popular culture. Working with Willie Nelson, a series of duets resulted in hits like “Mammas Don’t Let Your Babies Grow Up to Be Cowboys” and the multi-platinum 1978 album *Waylon & Willie*. As a solo artist, Jennings scored big on both the country and pop charts with “Luckenback, Texas (Back to the Basics of Love)” and made his presence known as part of the success of the hit TV series *The Dukes of Hazzard*, for which he also wrote the theme song. Expanding beyond the music, he would appear in several television movies and have a cameo in the big-screen release *Maverick* in 1994. A guest spot on the Fox series *Married with Children* also brought Jennings popular attention.

By the mid-1980s, Jennings’s musical career was suffering from a lack of radio air-play. The pop-tinged “hot, young country” fad made it nearly impossible for Jennings and his peers, including country crooner George Jones, to be heard. Radio-driven, country and western music had always appealed to a grass roots fan base that depended upon radio for entertainment. This shift made it difficult for Jennings to remain at the top of his profession by industry standards. Still, joining up with old friends Nelson, Cash, and Kristofferson, Jennings forged ahead and formed the super group, the Highwaymen in 1985. Releasing three projects over the next decade, the Highwaymen had a No. 1 hit with their first single, “The Highwayman.”

Then, after 20 years with RCA, Jennings moved to MCA in 1986. He had several hits, most notably “Rose in Paradise,” but found he was stifled by age discrimination within the country music industry. In 1990 he went over to Epic and had a Top 40 single with “Wrong” and “The Eagle” in 1991. Back with RCA, he released *Waymore Blues (Part II)* in 1994. By 1996 Jennings had signed with Texas independent label Justice Records and released the critically acclaimed *Right for the Time*. That same year, RCA put together a twentieth anniversary edition of *Wanted! The Outlaws*.

In 1998, Jennings overcame major health problems, much as he had done earlier when he had been forced to deal with drug and alcohol abuse. Any thoughts of the Highwaymen coming together again were put to rest when Johnny Cash became ill. However,

Jennings joined a new band, the Old Dogs. Along with Mel Tillis, Jerry Reed, and Bobby Bare, Jennings created a strong country sound that defied the youth-oriented country music business. With songs penned by Shel Silverstein, the topic of the Old Dogs projects was “getting old.” With humor and irreverence, the country music foursome gleaned strength from their unity and shared history as they came to terms with the process of aging. Released on Atlantic Records, *Old Dogs, Vol. I* and *Vol. II*, gave notice that Jennings was once again a working artist. Nothing would keep him down, not old age, ill health, or an ungrateful music industry.

During the course of his career, Jennings has maintained a high level of individuality and always remained true to his own vision. Musically, he set in motion a precedent that upholds the traditional tenets of country and western music. Younger artists, artists who refuse to kowtow to the Nashville system, cite Jennings as a strong influence. He also has made his presence felt in music beyond the bounds of country, recording with Neil Diamond and Mark Knopfler and performing in 1996 on the Lollapalooza Tour with heavy metal stars Metallica. Gritty and honest, Jennings’s distinctive baritone and sense of self has made him a towering influence within country and western music.

—Jana Pendragon

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## Jeopardy!

The popular television game show *Jeopardy!* reversed the “question and answer” format typical of most trivia shows, to the delight of fans who have followed the show either on NBC or in syndication since its debut in March of 1964. The unique format of *Jeopardy!* was established in response to the quiz show scandals of 1958, giving contestants the answers up front and requiring them to provide the correct questions. Three contestants vied for cash by supplying correct questions to answers revealed on a board of thirty squares, containing five answers in each of six categories.

The show, originally hosted by Art Fleming, consisted of three rounds: Jeopardy, Double Jeopardy, and Final Jeopardy. When the show returned to television in 1984, after a five-year hiatus, its host was veteran game-show host Alex Trebek. With his erudite manner and textbook pronunciation of foreign words and phrases, Trebek became the object of both admiration and scorn, gaining a wide viewership of fans riveted by the show and critics eager to see his rare blunders. By the end of the 1980s *Jeopardy!* had become one of the most popular first-run syndicated series, packaged by King World Entertainment with the perennial primetime favorite *Wheel of Fortune*. *Jeopardy!* became a lucrative merchandising vehicle as well, spawning home versions of the game and computerized scoring devices that viewers could use to play along at home.

—Tilney Marsh

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## Jessel, George (1898-1981)

George Jessel lived his life in show business, and he toiled with boundless energy to adapt to the changing modes of the entertainment world. His professional career spanned three-quarters of a century, from 1907 to just before his death. Primarily, he was a live-audience entertainer, with his show business persona evolving from the cocky-but-lovable Jewish-American immigrant boy, to the middle-aged professional emcee and purveyor of nostalgia, to the pompous, self-proclaimed Toastmaster General pose of his last twenty years.

With an unfailingly brash personality, semitic good looks, a nasal voice, and quick-tongued wit, Jessel began performing in musical-comedy “kid acts” at the age of nine, shortly after the death of his father. Before long he was a featured performer with other youthful talents such as Eddie Cantor and Walter Winchell in vaudeville acts produced and written by Gus Edwards. By the time he reached his twenties, Jessel had developed into a successful vaudeville monologist, with a specialty routine of speaking on the telephone to his immigrant Jewish “Momma.” Each of his dozens of comical



George Jessel

telephone routines similarly began, “Hello, Operator! Fentingtrass 3522. Hello, Momma? Georgie!”

In spite of his prosperity in vaudeville, Jessel strived to conquer New York’s legitimate stage. He received his break in 1925 when he was awarded the role of Jack Robin/Jake Rabinowitz in Samson Raphaelson’s *The Jazz Singer*, a melodrama about a young man torn between the confining world of his Jewish roots and the exhilarating American culture of the Jazz Age. Jessel successfully performed the role in New York and around the country for two years and was negotiating with Warner Brothers to star in the film version. Yet the role was not to be his, due in part to his extraordinary demands for remuneration, and the fact that Al Jolson (who had been Raphaelson’s inspiration for writing *The Jazz Singer*) had become interested in playing the screen role. Jessel may have been a headliner in vaudeville and a success in the play, but Jolson was the king of their profession, a nationally known top draw who would garner a much larger audience. Jessel never forgave Jolson for usurping the role, and publicly griped about the circumstances of the loss for decades.

Jessel’s own career as a film star was quite short-lived, in part because his ethnicity limited his opportunities for lead roles. Also, the few feature films he made in the late 1920s demonstrated that his guileless acting style was more suited to the stage than to the close scrutiny of the motion picture camera. He fared better in radio, and on stage as a nightclub and variety show emcee/singer/joke teller.

By 1945, as American soldiers were returning home from World War II, Twentieth Century-Fox recognized a desire among moviegoers to look backwards with longing to the lifestyle of the early years of the century. Acknowledging in the middle-aged Jessel an expertise in selling nostalgia to audiences, Fox signed him to produce musicals which featured warm memories of show business and home life. Among the charming and heartwarming films he produced in the immediate post-war years are *The Dolly Sisters* (1945), *When My Baby Smiles at Me* (1948) and *Oh, You Beautiful Doll* (1949). Yet Jessel’s personal life was fraught with scandal. He was married four times, claimed numerous love affairs, and was involved in a \$200,000 paternity suit.

As Jessel aged, he became more effusive in his on-stage monologues. As a popular emcee, he made elaborate after-dinner speeches at testimonials to leading performers. This style of monologue evolved into Jessel’s becoming the self-proclaimed “Toastmaster General of the United States.” By the Vietnam War years, he had become an aging self-parody as he appeared on television talk shows in military regalia. Here, he endlessly pontificated on the state of the world and shamelessly name-dropped as he cited his association with politicians and royalty. As more years passed and many of his colleagues and friends died, he put his talent for speech-making to work as a eulogizer at many celebrity funerals.

Even when his own health was fading, Jessel refused to quit show business. Blind and arthritic, he continued to work. Although his audience had dwindled and he was considered—by those who remembered him at all—the ghost of vaudeville past, Jessel still performed, telling jokes in restaurants and obtaining an occasional club date.

—Audrey E. Kupferberg

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## *Jesus Christ Superstar*

Few musical forms have fallen into such low repute as the rock opera. Through the bombastic efforts of a handful of well-meaning composers, the whole enterprise has become almost synonymous with egotism in the minds of pop music consumers. Yet the form continues to have its adherents. A stage revival of The Who's trailblazing *Tommy* opened to packed houses on Broadway in 1995. And *Jesus Christ Superstar*, the mind-blowing 1970 rock opera about the last days of Christ, continues to work its magic on theatergoers the world over in countless touring company and summer stock productions.

Originally conceived as a stage musical, *Jesus Christ Superstar* was the brainchild of two enterprising English whiz kids, composer Andrew Lloyd Webber, who was twenty-three, and lyricist Tim Rice, who was twenty-six. The pair's 1968 collaboration, *Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat*, had set the Old Testament story of Jacob's feuding sons to a throbbing backbeat, to the consternation of many in the rabbinate. With *Superstar*, the composers took the even more audacious step of setting the sufferings of Jesus to music. Not surprisingly, they had difficulty finding financial support for such a venture. Eventually they were forced to give up their stage plans and settle instead for a double-sided record set. Dubbed a "concept album" in the hipster parlance of the times, the LP was released in late 1970 with a drab brown cover featuring almost no religious iconography. But such precautions did little to stave off the inevitable ecclesiastical backlash.

The question of blasphemy aside, few could dispute the quality of the recording itself. A tight backing band provided muscular support for vocalists Murray Head, Ian Gillian, and Yvonne Elliman. The LP's 24 songs chronicled the final days of Jesus, from his entry



A scene from the film *Jesus Christ Superstar*.

into Jerusalem through his trial and crucifixion by the Roman authorities. A number of songs were cast in the form of dialogues, with various New Testament figures hurling accusation and invective at one another. The balladeering chores were assigned to the Hawaiian-born Elliman, whose mellifluous renditions of "Everything's Alright" and "I Don't Know How to Love Him" became FM radio staples.

Not surprisingly, a mass market rock 'n' roll composition on so hallowed a subject could not pass public scrutiny without generating some religious controversy. But negative reaction to *Superstar* was muted and with good reason. While hardly the stuff of a theological dissertation, *Superstar* in the final analysis was no less scripturally sound than the average Catholic missal. Other than the arguably tasteless references to Christ as "J.C.," there was little here to offend Christian traditionalists. The issue of Jesus's resurrection was bypassed entirely, consistent with the entire "opera's" depiction of Jesus as an imperfect mortal struggling with a divine commission he could not fully understand. "If you knew the path we're riding," wailed "Jesus" Gillian in one typical number, "you'd understand it less than I." Perhaps most galling to strict spiritual constructions, however, was the central role afforded to Judas Iscariot, voiced with quivering urgency by Murray Head. Questioning both the political message and personal behavior of his master in such songs as "Heaven on Their Minds," this Judas is no treacherous asp but rather a conflicted, doubting Thomas.

*Jesus Christ Superstar* sold more than 2 million copies in 12 months and became 1971's number-one-selling album. In July of that year, 13,000 *Superstar* fans packed Pittsburgh's Civic Arena to see the opera performed in concert. That performance was just the runner-up to a full-blown Broadway production—the realization of Rice and Lloyd Webber's original dream—that opened at the Mark Hellinger Theater in New York on October 12, 1971. Newcomer Jeff Fenholt assumed the role of Jesus, while a youthful Ben Vereen essayed the part of Judas. Surprisingly, Andrew Lloyd Webber would later renounce this production, which lasted just 20 months on the Great White Way.

More to the composer's liking was the 1973 film version, directed by Norman Jewison. Today the film seems dated, with its army of scraggly hippies disembarking from a psychedelic bus. But it benefits from a number of strong performances. Black actor Carl Anderson makes a dynamic Judas, while Texas rock drummer Ted Neeley, an understudy in the Broadway production, brings a wild-eyed passion to the title role. Derided by some as "the screaming Jesus" for his piercing tremolo, Neeley got the part only after Ian Gillian turned it down because he could make more money touring with his band Deep Purple. Neeley has since turned playing Jesus Christ into a career, calling himself "a palette on which people project the Jesus they came to see."

Spurred on by a wave of 1970s nostalgia, *Superstar* has been revived in the 1990s. A 25-month, 116-city anniversary tour, starring Styx's Dennis DeYoung, was mounted in 1994. It is estimated that musical theater productions of the show have grossed in excess of \$150 million worldwide. Certainly it launched its co-composers into celebrity status. Since ending their professional relationship in 1978, Rice has gone on to co-write the songs for Disney's *Lion King*; Lloyd Webber created *Cats* and *Phantom of the Opera*, which would amass a fortune of some \$1.15 billion.

*Jesus Christ Superstar* continues to meet with some localized pockets of resistance from those who disagree with its portrayal of a flawed, all-too-human Jesus. But its greatest defenders remain its

legions of devoted fans who were acknowledged in a comment by one-time Judas Ben Vereen: "What the people up in arms failed to look at is that as long as people were rockin' to Jesus, everything was gonna be all right for humanity."

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Jet

On the heels of his success with *Ebony*, the African American version of *Life*, Chicago magazine publisher John H. Johnson was looking to start a new publication in 1951. Magazine trends that year pointed away from the large-format publications such as *Life*, *Look*, and *Ebony* to pocket-sized digests, fast information for busy readers. Johnson envisioned a black version of *Quick*, a short-lived mainstream news digest, providing a weekly synopsis of important news and events for African Americans. *Jet* magazine, introduced on November 1, 1951, quickly gained acceptance among blacks for providing understandable, accurate information, and they came to view it as the definitive word on current events, the so-called "Negro's bible." In the process of achieving that fame, *Jet* was also the first national publication to print the photograph of the corpse of a fourteen-year-old boy lynched for whistling at a white woman in Mississippi in 1955. That picture alerted African Americans, especially those in the press, to the building civil rights movement in the South a full year before the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott.

*Quick*, a vest pocket-sized magazine featuring capsulized news that Americans could read "on the bus or in the beauty parlor," was introduced by Gardner Cowles, Jr., the publisher of *Look*, in 1949. It represented a problem for advertisers because its small size, four by six inches, required special advertising copy, and Cowles discontinued the publication in 1953 due to a lack of advertising. John H. Johnson, the Chicago magazine publisher who had started his business with a \$500 loan from his mother in 1942, planned to use the profits of *Ebony* to support his new pocket-sized publication until advertisers could adjust. The word "jet" was tailor-made for his purposes, meaning dark velvet-black on one level, fast on another. "In the world today, everything is moving along at a faster clip," Johnson wrote in the first issue. "Each week will bring you complete news coverage on happenings among Negroes all over the U.S.—in entertainment, politics, sports, social events as well as features on personalities, places and events." The first issue of *Jet* sold out and garnered a circulation of 300,000 within six months, making it the largest black news magazine in the world.

*Jet* was still a new publication during the tempestuous 1950s but lynching was an old problem in the South, dating back to slavery. The U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* school desegregation case had made the South a dangerous place for blacks again, a fact that visiting Northern blacks did not always recognize. When fourteen-year-old Emmett Till, a Chicago boy visiting relatives

in Money, Mississippi, allegedly whistled at a white woman in August 1955, he was lynched and his corpse mutilated. His mother asked photographers to shoot pictures of his mangled body when it was returned to Chicago for burial. Johnson and his editors agonized over the gruesome photographs but published them in the September 15, 1955, *Jet*, providing the first national coverage of the murder. The issue sold out, traumatizing African Americans and preparing “the way for the Freedom Movement of the sixties,” as Johnson recalled. An interracial team of *Jet* and *Ebony* reporters and photographers covered the resulting trial in Mississippi, alerting other Northern journalists to the deteriorating situation in the South. The Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott, begun by Rosa Parks and led by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, was born a year later, on December 1, 1955.

*Jet* went on to cover the civil rights movement, along with other business, education, religion, health, medicine, journalism, politics, labor, and crime news of the day. In the 1990s its contents were set: “Census” was a weekly digest of births and deaths. “Ticker Tape” was a Walter Winchell style feature discussing news and news personalities written by Washington D.C. bureau chief Simon Booker. “This Week in Black History” provided a recap of traditional and more recent historical events. “People are Talking About” offered gossip about personalities. “Sports” provided an overview of black athletes and predominantly black teams and “Jet Beauty of the Week” showed a traditional bathing beauty. The magazine also listed the top 20 Black singles and albums along with television highlights and a weekly photo. *Jet* offers no editorial comment, although the stories and images of African Americans are positive and upbeat, reflecting Johnson’s conservative beliefs in free markets and working within the system. Its circulation at the end of the twentieth century was around 900,000.

—Richard Digby-Junger

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## Jet Skis

In 1974, Kawasaki introduced the Jetski, a revolutionary jet-propelled, single-person watercraft capable of speeds up to 40 mph. Based on the concept of a motorized waterski, the original Jetski required the rider to stand and use considerable strength and balance for control. It was not until 1986, when Yamaha introduced the Waverunner, a more manageable sit-down version, that “personal watercraft” gained widespread appeal. Within ten years, it blossomed into a \$300 million a year industry with annual sales over 200,000 in the United States alone, and led to the creation of two competitive

Jetski racing circuits. But in the late 1990s, increased complaints about safety, fuel emissions, and noise resulted in a public backlash. Several states enforced mandatory driver’s education and minimum age restrictions, and some areas, including Lake Tahoe, the San Juan Islands, and the majority of the National Parks, banned the craft outright. Industry experts agreed that the continued popularity of personal watercraft would depend on improved driver education and cleaner, quieter engines.

—Simon Donner

## Jewish Defense League

In 1968, Rabbi Meir Kahane started the Jewish Defense League (JDL) in the Orthodox Jewish neighborhoods of Brooklyn, New York. The JDL was initially a vigilante organization dedicated to the protection of Jews but, fueled by the fanaticism of its founder, it swiftly grew to become one of America’s most high profile terrorist organizations. Between 1968 and 1987, members of the JDL committed 50 terrorist acts directed at the Palestine Liberation Organization, Soviet officials, and one Nazi war criminal. The organization forged close links to the conservative extremist Kach party in Israel. Rabbi Kahane was murdered by an Egyptian fundamentalist on November 5, 1990, and on February 24, 1995, Baruch Goldstein, a former JDL member, opened fire on Palestinians at prayer, killing 35 people. This massacre resulted in the banning of the Kach party by the Israeli government.

—S. Naomi Finkelstein

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## JFK (The Movie)

Upon its release in 1991, director Oliver Stone’s controversial film *JFK* elicited cries from citizens who insisted that the U.S. government make public confidential Warren Commission files pertaining to the 1963 assassination of President John F. Kennedy. That the government made public some (but not all) of the files following the film’s popular success not only reflects the power of Stone’s film but also the overall power of film as a pop culture medium.

With *JFK*, Stone challenged the government by providing an alternative theory to the one reached by the Warren Commission. Stone not only consulted texts by popular historians (Jim Garrison and Jim Marrs) and historical records, but he also posited his own interpretation of events concerning JFK’s assassination. Furthermore, although many individuals and groups have challenged the Warren Commission Report since its release, for the most part the mass public had not responded to the report with a collective fervor until Stone presented his film. Following the film’s release, acting in response



A jet skier jumping a wake.

to—among other things—*JFK* viewer outcry, President George Bush “signed into law the President John F. Kennedy Assassination Records Collection Act of 1992. [T]he bill provided for the establishment of an independent commission charged with releasing all government records related to Kennedy’s assassination except those that clearly jeopardized personal privacy or national security.”

Stone’s film chronicles the events propelled into motion by New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison in 1969, when Garrison brought New Orleans businessman Clay Shaw to trial, accusing him of conspiring to assassinate JFK. In the film, Stone presents myriad characters—some actual, some hypothetical, and some composites. The technical achievements of *JFK* add a dimension of realism to the film, but this realism gives audience members (particularly historians) a potential problem in distinguishing fact from fabrication. For example, Stone blends actual Zapruder film footage with his fabricated footage, editing them together in a seamless fashion. Finally, in *JFK*, viewers learn about Stone’s theory in which the American government, the military, the Mafia, Cuban nationalists, the military-industrial complex, then Vice-President Lyndon Johnson, and, of course, Clay Shaw and Lee Harvey Oswald all conspired to assassinate JFK.

The overall response to *JFK* by both the general public and the media was both positive and negative. Positive responses mostly

came from those viewers whom Stone enlightened, such as younger citizens out of touch with the assassination. The negative responses to the film came (and still come) from those whom Stone attacks, mainly the press, the government, and historians. Interestingly, to promote further reading on the topic and to appease his harshest critics, Stone released a fully-documented screenplay to the film, replete with some ninety critical articles dealing with the film as well as the assassination itself and actual historical records.

Stone included the phrase “The Story That Won’t Go Away” in his title for *JFK*. If overall response to the film provides any indication, this story certainly has not gone away. If anything, Stone brought it back into the public consciousness with *JFK*—a film whose power relies not upon its accuracy in portraying certain events but on its ability to reopen one of the darkest chapters in American history.

—Jason T. McEntee

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## Jogging

If there was a physical activity that caught on during the last few decades of the twentieth century, it was jogging. Running and sprinting had been around since time immemorial and were associated with competitive running. Jogging, on the other hand, achieved currency when individuals took up the deliberately paced trotting as part of fitness regimes. At some point, when the briskness or doggedness of noncompetitive jogging reached a certain level, the more

impressive word “running” came to be more or less interchangeable with “jogging.”

James (Jim) Fixx was an important figure on the cusp of the jogging boom. In 1977, Fixx triggered a revolution in physical activity with his book *The Complete Book of Running*. He made getting out of bed early to put on sweat clothes and sneakers the stylish thing to do. Panting and sweating became fashionable. Although Fixx popularized the movement, years earlier Dr. Kenneth Cooper had advocated jogging as a healthful activity in his book *Aerobics* in 1968. Others, such as runner Bill Rodgers, had promoted physical activity as good for one’s health. But runners credited Fixx with universalizing the sport through his book, which sold almost a million copies in hardback over a few years. He got overweight people off couches and onto the roads of America. He advocated jogging or running as good for everything, from weight loss to better sex. He said joggers digested food better, felt better, and had more energy.

Would-be converts to running could identify with Fixx as an average guy, perhaps like them. In his book, he described how running changed his life. He was overweight and smoked two packs of cigarettes a day before hitting the road at age 32 in New York City,



Kevin Costner as District Attorney Jim Garrison in Oliver Stone's *JFK*.



**Members of the National Jogging Association.**

where he worked as a magazine editor in Manhattan. “One of the more pleasant duties was to entertain authors at lunches and dinners,” he wrote of his editor’s job in the foreword to his book. He noted that in high school he weighed 170 pounds but ballooned later to 214 pounds. His only activity was weekend tennis. Ironically, it was a pulled calf muscle from playing tennis that led to regular jogging. He started running slowly to strengthen the muscle and later became a running addict, competing eight times in the famed Boston Marathon.

Fitness experts urged people to get physical examinations before starting rigorous running programs. This included stress tests where the heart could be tested by cardiologists during a fast walk on a treadmill. The purpose of jogging was to improve the heart and lungs by improving the delivery of oxygen through the body. Speed was not the main goal, fitness experts said, but time spent performing an aerobic activity which strengthened muscles and overall cardiovascular system. Trainers suggested three or four runs a week, to give muscles that break down during exercise time to renew between runs. The experts said that during runs, an individual’s pulse rate should rise to about 70 or 80 percent of his or her maximum rate. The rule of

thumb for calculating one’s maximum rate was 220 minus one’s age. Thus, a 40-year-old runner’s rate should rise to a level somewhere between 125 and 145 beats a minute. To test the level of strain, runners were urged to take a talk test. If they could not talk easily while running, they were straining and should slow down.

Fixx stressed that running could lower cholesterol and blood pressure, thus improving the cardiovascular system and otherwise giving people better lives. Fixx himself, however, could not outrun his own genes. His father had suffered a heart attack at the age of 36 and died seven years later. While running on a country road in Vermont in 1984, Jim Fixx himself, fell and died of a heart attack, shocking American and the running world. As it turned out, Fixx had not paid enough attention to earlier signs of heart problems, including chest pains he experienced only weeks before he died. He was 52.

Fixx’s death stunned runners but did not stop them. U.S. presidents had already taken up the jogging craze and others continued it. A famous picture of Jimmy Carter showed him exhausted after a jog. George Bush became the first well-known Republican jogger—other Republican presidents, such as Dwight Eisenhower and Gerald



Ford, were better known for golf. But Bush combined both a form of jogging and golf. He was known as a speed golfer who would dash through an 18-hole course as fast as he could. Democratic president Bill Clinton was an often photographed jogger who had run daily through the streets of Arkansas when he was governor. When he went to Washington as president, he caused a brief furor by having a jogging track built around part of the South Lawn of the White House to shield his running form from the prying lenses of photographers.

Senators, congressmen, and celebrities such as Madonna, the singer-actress, were runners as were ordinary housewives, businessmen, and students, all of whom were determined to get in their regular runs. Some runners ran into physical problems, however, including knee, leg, and muscle injuries. In 1994, Senator Slade Gorton of Washington suffered a mild heart attack while running in Boston. He was hospitalized and later recovered.

The influence of Fixx, Bill Rodgers (who won eight Boston and New York marathons between 1975 and 1980), and other advocates of a good workout spread. They pioneered a movement that led to an industry of exercise schools, aerobics programs, television shows, sports stores for runners, special clothing, public health campaigns aimed at combating inactivity and lowering cholesterol, and, above all, the ubiquitous running shoe. They changed the landscape of America and created a scene where city streets and country roads featured walkers, joggers, runners, and others out getting some exercise.

—Michael L. Posner

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## John Birch Society

The death of Senator Joseph McCarthy in 1957 left a vacuum in the conspiracy-minded wing of the American conservative movement. In 1958, retired candy-manufacturer Robert Welch, who suspected that the Wisconsin Senator had been murdered by the Communist conspiracy, formed the John Birch Society to continue McCarthy's mission. The Society took its name from Captain John Birch, a young American soldier killed by Chinese Communists in 1945 and regarded by Welch as the first American martyr of the Cold War.

Like McCarthy, the Birch Society offered an ideology that combined anti-Communism with anti-liberalism and populism. For the Birch Society, Communism included not just the external threat of the Soviet Union, but also the more pernicious danger of internal subversion by the "creeping socialism" of the New Deal. Liberals and moderate conservatives are regarded by the Society as being either Communist agents or unwitting dupes. Especially dangerous are elitist liberal intellectuals, allegedly in control of the universities, the mass media, and the government. At various times, Welch estimated that between 60 to 80 percent of America was under Communist control.

In building up the Birch Society, Welch drew on his considerable managerial expertise as a successful businessman, but he also deliberately imitated what he perceived as the tactics of the communist enemy. Like Lenin, Welch created a tightly organized and well-disciplined movement with little room for debate. Not a political party but a political movement, the Birch Society sought to control the Republican Party at the grass-roots level. The Society also sought to influence public opinion by sponsoring a wide variety of magazines—*American Opinion*, *The New America*—and books—*Global Tyranny . . . Step by Step*.

As the Cold War heated up in the early 1960s, the Birch Society gained tens of thousands of members and was a powerful force in the Republican Party in states like California, Texas, and Indiana. The Society played an important role in securing the nomination of Barry Goldwater as the Republican candidate for president in 1964. In the early 1960s, the young George Bush actively invited Birch Society members to fill key Texas Republican party offices.

Yet, in its moment of greatest political influence, the Birch Society came under increasing scrutiny and criticism. The Anti-Defamation League denounced the extremism of the Society while cartoonist Walt Kelly mocked their paranoia in his comic strip *Pogo*. In 1961 Welch described former President Dwight Eisenhower as a "dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy." In response, mainstream conservatives like William F. Buckley, Jr. felt that they had to distance themselves from the Birch Society. In the pages of *National Review* Buckley denounced "the drivel of Robert Welch." In 1965 Goldwater called upon all Republicans to "resign from the Society."

After the mid-1960s, the Society underwent a steep decline in membership and also changed its orientation. Unwilling to support the war in Vietnam, which he saw as being sabotaged by Communists in the American government, Welch turned his attention to domestic issues like the civil rights movement (opposed with the slogan "Impeach Earl Warren"). African Americans who fought for civil rights were seen by the Society as pawns of an anti-American conspiracy and described as "indigenous animals" and "gorillas."

Balanced against this focus on racial politics was a radical extension of the Birch Society's conspiracy theories. In 1966 Welch declared that "the Communist movement is only a tool of the total conspiracy" controlled by the "Bavarian Illuminati," which he believed had masterminded the French and Russian Revolutions, the two World Wars, the creation of the United Nations (U.N.), and many other world events. The U. N., as the supposed center of a world conspiracy, became a particular bete-noir for the Society, which adopted the slogan "U.S. out of the U.N.!"

Initially, Welch's elaborate conspiracy theories about the Bavarian Illuminati and the U.N. alienated members and further marginalized the Society. Yet even in its low point of the 1970s, the Society had some prominent and influential supporters, including Congressman Larry McDonald of Indiana. Further, with the death of Robert Welch in 1985 and the accession of G. Vance Smith to leadership, the Society began to re-vitalize itself.

In the conspiracy-minded 1990s, the era of the *X-Files*, the Birch Society has gained new prominence and popularity. In the post-Cold War world, many other right-wingers, especially those belonging to militia groups, share the Society's fear of the U.N. Among right-wing militias, the Birch society is respected as an organization of scholars who have uncovered the secret agenda of the U.N.—although, unlike some of the militias, the Birch Society does not advocate overthrowing the government by violence. "There is a plethora of newsletters,

tabloids, magazines, and radio shows out there mimicking us,” complained G. Vance Smith in 1996. Smith did take comfort in the fact that more respectable media organs were now spreading the Birch Society gospel to the unconverted. For example, Pat Buchanan, co-host of Cable News Network’s (CNN) *Crossfire* and perennial Republican presidential candidate, has praised the Society’s *New American* magazine for “its advocacy, its insights, its information, [and] its unique point of view.” A special issue of the *New American* devoted to conspiracies sold more than half a million copies in 1996.

Outside of politics, the Birch Society has also exerted remarkable influence on popular culture. Its ideas have been frequently parodied, notably in the movie *Dr. Strangelove* (1964), where the character General Jack D. Ripper mouths Birch Society conspiracy theories. *Mad* magazine mocked the Society along the same lines in 1965. In the 1996 movie *Conspiracy Theory*, the main character has a copy of the *New American* in his apartment. Despite its small numbers and eccentric ideas, the Birch Society has been a unique and potent force in American life for more than 40 years. In an age of conspiracy theories, the Birch Society has been at the forefront of American paranoia.

—Jeet Heer

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## John, Elton (1947—)

Pop music’s most flamboyant superstar during the early 1970s, Elton John has become the music industry’s most consistently successful artist, fielding a Top 40 single every year since 1970. John’s penchant for outrageous costumes and zany eyeglasses made him one of rock ’n’ roll’s most recognizable icons during the 1970s. He is also a tremendously gifted songwriter, whose versatility and ability to churn out memorable melodies has guaranteed him longevity in a field where so many of his fellow performers quickly faded into obscurity.

Born Reginald Kenneth Dwight on March 25, 1947 in a London suburb, he showed prodigious talent as a pianist at a young age and, at eleven, won a scholarship to the prestigious Royal Academy of Music, where he attended classes for gifted children. Although classically trained, Reginald loved rock ’n’ roll, particularly performers such as Buddy Holly, Chuck Berry, and Ray Charles. He joined his first band in 1961, Bluesology, a blues-soul-rock combo, which had moderate success opening for American acts throughout the 1960s. But as other bands rose to stardom, the teenage musician grew frustrated and quit the band. Changing his name to Elton John, he auditioned for lead singer in a number of bands before hooking up with lyricist Bernie Taupin in the late 1960s. The duo became one of the top songwriting teams in England before John won his first record contract.



Elton John

After the release of their moderately successful first album in 1969, Taupin and John collaborated on a lushly orchestrated eponymous second effort, which quickly climbed the charts in America and England on the strength of the Top Ten single, “Your Song.” Following up with three albums in less than two years—*Tumbleweed Connection*, *Madman across the Water*, and *Honky Chateau*—Elton John soon became one of the most prolific and popular rock ’n’ roll musicians of the 1970s.

Although Taupin and John produced hit after hit throughout the decade, it was John’s flamboyant onstage persona that made him a star. Taking his cue from the early 1970s Glam Rock movement in Britain, John was a peerless live performer, wearing anything from ostrich feathers to \$5,000 eyeglasses that spelled out his name in lights to a Donald Duck costume. John’s sartorial splendor became his trademark, as his singles such as “Crocodile Rock,” “Daniel,” and “Bennie and the Jets” became global top-ten hits.

In 1976, Elton John revealed his bisexuality in an interview with *Rolling Stone*. His confession was said to have put off many of his fans and his popularity gradually began to wane. In truth, though his sexual orientation may have deterred some of the American public from buying his records, it was more the case that John’s prolific output of sixteen top-twenty singles in four years and fifteen LPs in seven years had left him exhausted. He took a hiatus from performing, cut back on his recording schedule, and even stopped working with Bernie Taupin.

In 1981, Elton John signed with Geffen Records and, throughout the decade he continued to produce gold albums, each of which contained at least one top-forty single. However, while his career

remained successful, John's personal life was in a state of turmoil. He had become addicted to cocaine and alcohol and he struggled with substance abuse throughout the 1980s. After announcing his bisexuality in 1976, John was afraid to reveal his homosexuality and, in 1984, he married Renate Blauel. Four years later, he was divorced and, after playing a record-breaking five nights at Madison Square Garden in 1988, Elton John auctioned off all of his costumes and memorabilia, effectively breaking with his past.

In 1991, Elton John announced his sobriety and his homosexuality, and also established the Elton John AIDS Foundation. As the first celebrity to befriend AIDS patient Ryan White, John has tirelessly given of his time and energy in contributing to the fight against AIDS. Since the early 1990s, John has continued to release successful albums and singles on a yearly basis, reestablishing himself as one of pop music's most consistent performers, even as he devoted more and more time to his philanthropic efforts.

In 1994, John collaborated with Tim Rice to create the music for Disney's *The Lion King*, which earned him an Academy Award for best original song. Three years later, Elton John once again came to global attention, with the deaths of two close friends in less than two months of each other. Shortly after attending the funeral for murdered fashion designer Gianni Versace with Princess Diana, John performed at the internationally televised memorial service for the princess herself, playing a revised version of his hit single, "Candle in the Wind." His recording of the single, with all proceeds going to charity, became the fastest-selling single of all time. Four months later, HRH Queen Elizabeth II named the fifty-year-old Elton John a Knight of the British Empire.

The subject of an unsparing 1997 documentary, *Tantrums and Tiaras*, made by his partner David Furnish, John has made peace with both himself and his persona, becoming a perfect role model for millennial pop culture. Flamboyant yet sober, the philanthropic celebrity continues a pop music phenomenon, even as he embraces his new spiritual ethos. The metamorphosis of John through the decades has seemed to mirror the popular mood, even as the talented singer continues to help define what the world likes to hear.

—Victoria Price

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## Johns, Jasper (1930—)

With only two years of formal art training from the University of South Carolina, Jasper Johns moved to New York City at the age of twenty-four. A southerner, Johns was born in Augusta, Georgia, and brought up in the Carolinas. He supported himself as a window decorator and a salesman in a Manhattan bookstore while painting during his spare time. Johns painted objects that were familiar to both

him and his audience. He once stated, "Using the design of the American flag took care of a great deal for me because I didn't have to design it. So I went on to similar things like targets—things the mind already knows. That gave me room to work on other levels." The innovative way that Johns approached common subjects attracted the attention of art dealer Leo Castelli. Castelli was visiting Johns's upstairs neighbor and friend, the artist Robert Rauschenberg, in 1957, when the art dealer asked for an introduction to Johns. Castelli, immediately taken with the paintings of flags and targets including *White Flag* (1955) and *Target with Plaster Casts* (1955), added Johns to his stable of gallery artists, beginning a relationship that has lasted more than thirty-five years. In 1958, Johns had his first solo exhibition at the Castelli gallery; it was an unqualified critical success for both artist and dealer, establishing both of their reputations. The show sold out and the Museum of Modern Art bought a total of five pieces, an unprecedented amount from an artist's first show.

Signaling the end of Abstract Expressionism, Jasper Johns's paintings, prints, and sculptures helped usher in the era of American Pop Art in the late 1950s; additionally, his artwork became instrumental to the tenets of minimalism and conceptual art. Beginning in the 1950s, Johns's appropriated images of flags, targets, maps, the alphabet, numbers, and text contrasted sharply with the abstracted, emotion filled paintings that exemplified Abstract Expressionism. His use of commonplace symbols focused the attention onto the surface of the canvas. His chosen media, encaustic, oil, or acrylic paints, were as important, if not more important than his subject matter. His artwork inspired several generations of artists and his adaptation of cultural icons and mass media signage have become almost as familiar as the images they mimic.

Johns's early work in the 1950s and 1960s reflected the influences of Marcel Duchamp and the found object; Johns collected items such as ceramic pieces, brooms, and rulers, and attached them to his canvases. Several actual sized, cast sculptures of everyday items such as beer cans, light bulbs, and flashlights along with Johns's painted repetition of flags, numbers, and letters became abstracted and ceased to exist as powerful objects; the representations become tools of the medium and exert their power only as an artwork. Johns's artwork challenges the line between art and reality. His concern was with questioning the basic nature of art, with the process as the significant core of the works. The process, to Johns, was of utmost importance and his images were often the result of chance or accident. Variations in letters and numbers were consequently a result of the types of stencils available. Decisions on placement did not necessarily stem from aesthetics, but from necessity; for example, the bronze cast elements of a light bulb, *Bronze* (1960-61), came back to Johns in pieces—the bulb, the socket, and the cord. Johns left them unassembled, feeling that the pieces issued a provocative statement in that form.

With the beginning of the 1970s, Johns's work became increasingly abstract. In the mid-1970s, he adopted a method of cross-hatched painting as seen in *The Dutch Wives* (1975). The wide brush strokes covered the entire canvas, again focusing in on the process and technical aspects of his medium; Johns has remarked that he was "Trying to make paintings about painting." However, this abstract period soon gave way to a more representational era in the 1980s. Johns began to pay homage to his artistic inspirations, Pablo Picasso, Paul Cezanne, and Edvard Munch, in a body of work that embodied some of his most revealing personal and psychological matter. John's contemplation on the cycle of life and death in *The Seasons* (1986) incorporates a shadowy figure of Johns's body; this imagery refers to Picasso's *The Shadow* (1953).

The paintings, sculpture, prints, and drawings by Johns all contain either biographical elements or iconographical components from the second half of the twentieth century. Johns changed the direction of American painting with his adaptation of common icons and his emphasis on the technique of painting. His later works, filled with psychological dramatics, continue to have the impact of earlier works that redefined the common symbols and icons of American culture. Often reproduced, Johns's *Flags* and *Targets* have become popular greeting card and poster images, introducing new generations to his work.

—Jennifer Jankauskas

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## Johnson, Blind Willie (c.1900-1947)

Blind Willie Johnson was an itinerant Texas street singer who made his last record in 1930 and died in poverty. Yet such was the force and individuality of his guitar playing and singing that all thirty of the gospel songs he recorded during his brief professional career are easily available today. His versions of "If I Had My Way I'd Tear This Building Down," "Keep Your Lamp Trimmed and Burning," and "Bye and Bye I'm Going to See the King" are now considered classics and have attracted admirers in many fields of popular music.

Johnson dropped back into obscurity after his fifth and final recording session for Columbia Records in the spring of 1930 and for many years his strong, highly personal renditions of gospel songs could be heard only on bootleg records. But eventually, through the efforts of jazz historians like Samuel Charters, more and more people became aware of his work. Eventually Columbia reissued Johnson's entire output in both cassette and CD formats.

An intensely religious man, Johnson nevertheless utilized many of the techniques of the rowdy, secular blues in his performances. On most of his recordings he'd shift from his normal tenor to a gruff, growling bass and his slide guitar playing, done with the blade of a pocket knife, was harsh, intense, and impressive. "He had few equals as a slide guitarist," said Francis Davis in *The History of the Blues*. Although Johnson's faith underlies all of his performances, there's a grimness to many of his songs. Many are of such stark intensity that one can imagine his causing his sidewalk listeners' hair to stand on end.

Johnson was not born blind, but lost his sight as a child after his angry stepmother threw lye in his face. He eventually took to the streets of his native Marlin, Texas, and sang on corners, begging with a tin cup. He played in other Texas towns and eventually in neighboring states. It is uncertain who discovered him and persuaded him to record for Columbia. The company had a fairly ambitious program of

**BLIND WILLIE JOHNSON**

This new and exclusive Columbia artist, Blind Willie Johnson, sings sacred selections in a way that you have never heard before. Be sure to hear his first record and listen close to that guitar accompaniment. Nothing like it anywhere else.

**Record No. 14276-D, 10-Inch, 75c**

**I Know His Blood Can Make Me Whole  
Jesus Make Up My Dying Bed**

Ask Your Dealer for Latest Race Record Catalog  
Columbia Phonograph Company, 1819 Broadway, New York City

**Columbia**  
NEW PROCESS RECORDS  
Made the New Way - Electrically  
Viva-tonal Recording - The Records without Scratch

An ad for a new Blind Willie Johnson record.

issuing what were then called race records, employing scouts to work throughout the South. Blind Willie Johnson cut his first six 78-rpm sides in a makeshift studio in Dallas in early December of 1927. According to Charters, the first record, issued on Columbia's 140000 Race series, sold extremely well—over 15,000 copies, better than the popular Bessie Smith was doing—and Johnson from the start "was one of the strongest selling artists in the Columbia series."

Only one picture of Johnson is known to exist. It comes from a small ad that was run in black newspapers to promote the first record. "I Know His Blood Can Make Me Whole" appeared on one side, "Jesus Make Up My Dying Bed" on the other. The company assured

potential buyers that Blind Willie Johnson “sings sacred selections in a way that you have never heard before.”

In December of 1928 Johnson cut four more sides, again in Dallas. This time a woman named Willie B. Harris, whom Charters says was Johnson’s first wife, recorded as a sort of backup singer. It was another year before Johnson, accompanied by a different woman singer, recorded again. These third and fourth sessions took place in New Orleans in a studio set up above Werlein’s Music Store, on the French Quarter side of Canal Street. The last session was in Atlanta, where Blind Willie Johnson, again working with Harris, recorded ten songs.

The Depression ended his recording career, as it did that of many other folk artists. Johnson, with a new wife, continued his wanderings, singing and begging on street corners in Texas and Louisiana. They eventually settled in Beaumont, Texas, and he died there of pneumonia in 1947. He’d slept in their shack after a fire had gutted it and the dampness caused his sickness. Many years later Charters tracked down his widow and when he asked her if she’d brought her sick husband to a hospital, she answered that she had but “they wouldn’t accept him.”

—Ron Goulart

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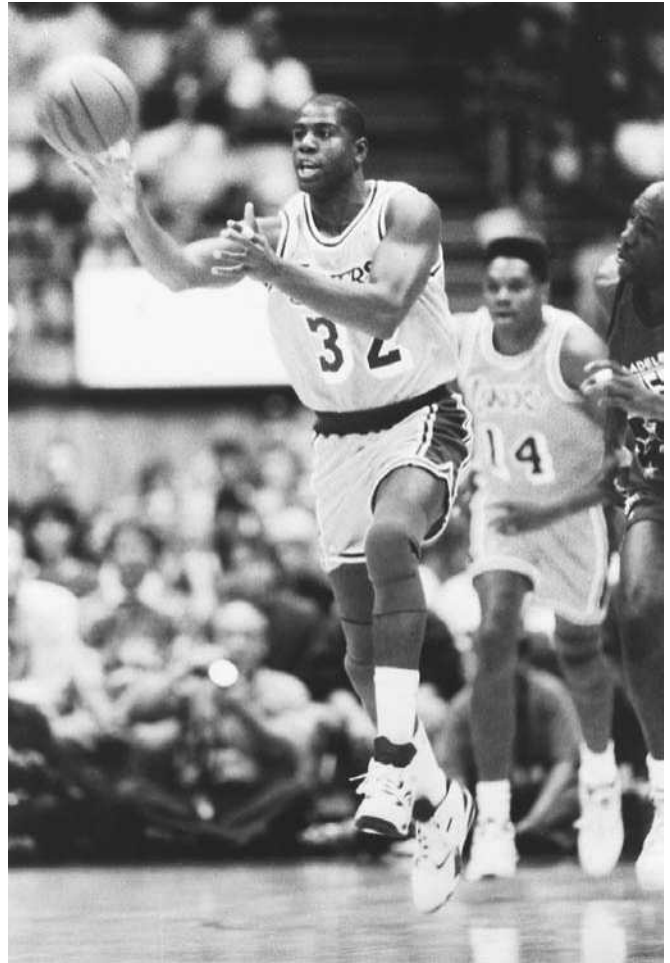
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## Johnson, Earvin “Magic” (1959—)

Earvin “Magic” Johnson was one of the marquee basketball players of his era. He began his National Basketball Association career in 1980. During the following decade, he and Larry Bird helped to elevate the popularity of professional basketball to previously unscaled heights. Johnson’s wall-to-wall smile and ingratiating manner made him a favorite of hoop and non-hoop fans alike. Nonetheless, he will be remembered for much more than his exploits on the hardwood. On November 7, 1991, he shocked America—and the sporting world in particular—by announcing his retirement from basketball because he was HIV-positive. This admission, in such a public forum, forever altered the face of the AIDS plague. AIDS no longer could be ghettoized and trivialized as a disease whose sufferers were promiscuous gays and intravenous drug abusers, or lived far away on another continent.

Earvin Johnson, Jr., the sixth of ten children, grew up in Lansing, Michigan, and was dubbed “Magic” by a sportswriter after amassing some sterling statistics—36 points, 18 rebounds, and 16 assists—in a high school game. Wherever he played, Johnson helped to pilot a winner. For four straight years, he made the Michigan all-state high school team. In his senior year he tallied 28.8 points and 16.8 rebounds per game and led Lansing’s Everett High School to a 27-1 record and the state championship. He attended Michigan State University, where as a freshman he guided the Spartans to a 25-5 record and their first Big Ten championship in 19 years. He capped



Earvin “Magic” Johnson

his college career in 1979, when he was a sophomore. That season, Michigan State won the NCAA title and Johnson, who averaged 17.1 points per game, was named the tournament’s most outstanding player.

The 6’ 9” point guard decided to turn pro after his second year at Michigan State and was selected by the Los Angeles Lakers as the first overall pick in the 1979 NBA draft. In his first year with the team, he maintained his status as a winner by helping the Lakers take the NBA title. He capped off his season by being the first rookie cited as MVP of the NBA finals. In the deciding game against the Philadelphia 76ers, he replaced an ailing Kareem Abdul-Jabbar at center and went on to score 42 points, adding 15 rebounds and seven assists in a 123-107 victory. However, Johnson lost Rookie of the Year honors to Larry Bird, who became one of his chief on-court adversaries during the 1980s.

In his 13 seasons with the Lakers, Johnson astounded fans and players alike with his no-look passes, clutch baskets, and “showtime” style of offense. He led the team to four additional NBA titles, with the Lakers’ 1987 victory against Bird and the Boston Celtics especially sweet. In the deciding minutes of Game 4, with the Celts holding a one-point lead, Johnson won the contest with an Abdul-Jabbar-like sky hook. The Lakers went on to beat their rivals in six games.

In 1987, 1989, and 1990, Johnson was the league’s MVP; he also earned two additional MVP citations for starring in the NBA finals.

Prior to his retirement he played in 11 All-Star Games, and in 1990 he was the contest's MVP. Between 1983 and 1991, he was first-team all-NBA. He led the NBA in assists on four occasions. During the 1990-91 season he broke the all-time NBA assists record and completed his career with 10,141.

Johnson came out of retirement to score 25 points and make nine assists in the 1992 NBA All-Star game, helping the West earn a 153-113 victory and winning a second All-Star MVP trophy. Near the end of the contest, he inspired the crowd by making successive three-point shots while being defended by Michael Jordan and Isaiah Thomas. Johnson joined Jordan, Bird and other NBA stars as a member of the U.S. Olympic Dream Team, which drubbed opponents by an average of 43.8 points per game, earned a Gold Medal at the 1992 Barcelona Olympics, and helped to escalate the sport's popularity across the globe. He then announced his pro comeback, but retired again prior to the beginning of the 1992-93 NBA season. In March, 1994, Johnson became head coach of the Lakers, but quit as the team completed the season with a 5-11 record. He also became a minority owner of the team and came out of retirement one last time during the 1995-96 season, in which he played in 32 Lakers games. Also in 1996, he was cited as one of the 50 Greatest Players in NBA History.

In his post-NBA career, "Magic" Johnson has been a frequent guest on TV talk shows. His own venture into late-night television, *The Magic Hour*, flopped soon after its 1998 premiere. More importantly, he is a celebrity who has eagerly donated his services to an array of charitable organizations. He has been active as a fundraiser for the Starlight Foundation, the American Heart Association, the Muscular Dystrophy Association, the American Cancer Society, the United Negro College Fund, and the Urban League. He has offered his name and his presence to a host of HIV/AIDS awareness programs. He established the Magic Johnson Foundation, which bestows grants to community-based, youth-oriented organizations.

He became chairman and chief executive officer of Magic Johnson Enterprises, whose projects include the Johnson Development Corporation, Magic Johnson All-Star Camps, and Magic Johnson Theaters. He believes that all business endeavors must benefit society and so his theater chain, developed in conjunction with Sony Entertainment, consists of state-of-the-art multiplex cinemas located in economically depressed urban neighborhoods. The first opened in Baldwin Hills, a run-down area of Los Angeles.

—Rob Edelman

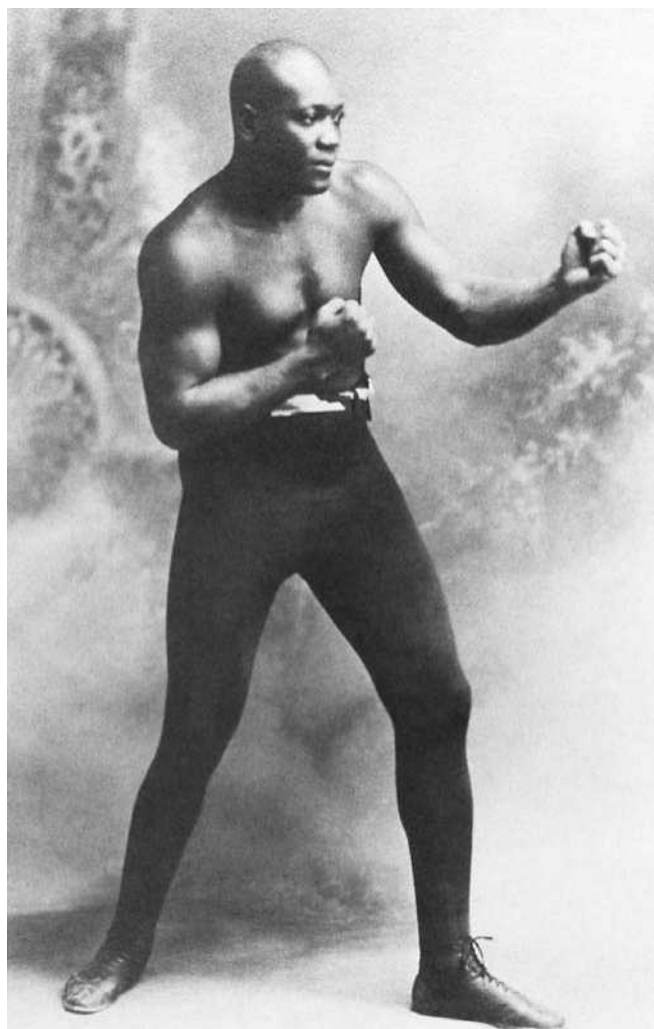
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## Johnson, Jack (1878-1946)

Jack Johnson, the first modern African American heavyweight boxing champion of the world, served as a lightning rod for the racial turmoil of the early twentieth century. Johnson won the heavyweight title in 1906 and then defeated a series of "Great White Hopes," culminating in his epic match with ex-champion Jim Jeffries which was billed from the start as a battle between the "The Hope of the White Race vs. The Deliverer of The Negroes." The implications of Johnson's ensuing easy victory frightened many white Americans, inspired many black Americans, and upset the understood racial hierarchy of Victorian America.

One of six children, Arthur John Johnson was born in Galveston, Texas in 1878. Johnson lived a tough childhood and dropped out of school after receiving five or six years of elementary education. By the mid-1890s, Johnson earned a living by working a variety of jobs around the port of Galveston and by participating in battle royals. Organized by all-white athletic and social clubs for the entertainment of their members, battle royals featured groups of young black man fighting in a ring until only one man was left standing. These "exhibitions" had no rules, and the last fighter in the ring received a



Jack Johnson

small purse of a few dollars for his efforts. A frequent winner of these matches, Johnson gradually began to be matched one-on-one against the best local fighters, both black and white, in traditional boxing matches. By the turn of the century, Johnson had beaten all challengers in eastern Texas, and he took to the road to find new competition.

Over the next few years, Johnson traveled all over the country, from Philadelphia to Chicago to San Francisco, learning the “manly art” and slowly building a national reputation. By 1903, Johnson had beaten all the best black heavyweights in the country and had claimed the mythic “Negro Heavyweight Championship.” A separate title for black boxers was necessary, because the white champion, Jim Jeffries, following a tradition established in the 1890s by America’s first boxing superstar, John “The Boston Strongboy” Sullivan, refused to cross the color line and box against African American fighters.

In 1905, though, with only a lackluster group of white fighters to challenge him, Jeffries tired of the boxing game and retired without having been beaten. In the ensuing scramble for the now-vacated championship, a mediocre Canadian boxer named Tommy Burns claimed the title. Over three years of mounting disinterest, Burns defended his championship for smaller and smaller purses against an increasingly weak selection of white boxers. Finally in 1908, in order to generate interest (and a larger payday), Burns agreed to fight Johnson, still a leading contender for the championship. Although Burns was the heavy favorite of both the gambling community and the crowd—which showered Johnson with racial epithets throughout the fight—he was no match for the stronger and quicker black fighter. Johnson dominated the fight for 13 rounds, punching the overmatched white boxer at will until police stopped the match and saved the bloody and battered Burns the indignity of being knocked out.

After more than five years of fruitless challenges, Johnson had finally gotten his day in the ring and had proven himself against the best white boxer in the world. While white America struggled to come to grips with the fact that an African American had been crowned the heavyweight champion, Johnson returned to Chicago to celebrate his victory. Much to the chagrin of mainstream America, however, Johnson refused to play by the prevailing racial rules of the day. Instead of being humble and respectful as African Americans were expected to act, Johnson flaunted his newfound wealth, buying fast cars and throwing lavish parties. More threatening to many Americans, though, Johnson broke the ultimate taboo and publicly romanced white women.

In response to the new champion’s behavior, Jack London, writing in the *New York Herald*, echoed the popular sentiment and appealed to the last great white champion: “But one thing now remains. Jim Jeffries must now emerge from his alfalfa farm and remove that golden smile from Jack Johnson’s face. Jeff it’s up to you. The White Man must be rescued.” After Johnson defeated several mediocre white challengers, Jeffries bowed to the public pressure and, though overweight and out-of-shape, agreed to come out of retirement to fight for the title. Scheduled for July 4, 1910 in Reno, Nevada, the build-up to the fight was frenzied and front page news across the country. The conventional wisdom reasoned that, although the black boxer was emotional, strong, and violent, the smart, quick, and scientific Anglo-Saxon would easily win the match. Once again, however, the expectations of white America were shattered. The old and tired ex-champion was simply no match for Johnson. Again, the black fighter controlled the action in the ring, toying with his opponent and delivering a savage beating for 15 rounds, until Jeffries’ corner men stopped the fight.

White America reacted with disbelief and anger after Johnson’s victory. The nearly all-white crowd filed out of the arena in silence, as social critics wondered how an African American could be so successful. More ominously, white Americans began to take out their frustrations on their helpless black neighbors. In cities around the country, “race riots” broke out in response to the fight, as gangs of whites descended violently on innocent blacks to forcefully remind them of their position in society despite Johnson’s victory.

Finally, the federal government undertook to do what no white boxers had been capable of, defeating Jack Johnson. In 1912 Johnson was arrested and convicted of violating the Mann Act. Known popularly as the White Slave Traffic Act, the Mann Act made it illegal to transport women across state lines “for the purpose of prostitution or debauchery, or for any other immoral purpose.” The law was intended to target organized rings of prostitution, and, although Johnson was technically guilty for travelling around the country with several of his white girlfriends, he was one of only a handful of people ever tried under the Mann Act for anything over than participation in prostitution.

Before his sentencing, however, Johnson fled the country and remained abroad for the next seven years during which time he lost his title to a 6-6, 250-pound giant from Iowa named Jess Willard. Having lost his title and squandered his winnings, Johnson returned to the United States in 1920 and was sentenced to one year in jail. Although he would fight a few times in the 1920s, his serious boxing days were over, and Johnson drifted into the relative obscurity of an ex-champion. On June 10, 1946, outside of Raleigh, North Carolina, Johnson was killed in a car accident. Although eulogized as a good fighter, no representatives from the boxing community attended his funeral, and Johnson had become a shell of the person who 40 years earlier had terrified white Americans and upset the racial sensibilities of white America.

—Gregory Bond

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## Johnson, James Weldon (1871-1938)

James Weldon Johnson enjoyed success as a novelist, poet, songwriter, educator, diplomat, lawyer, and as an official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). A celebrated writer and active leader, Johnson was a venerated figure of the Harlem Renaissance. He believed that artistic achievement was a key to racial uplift, and he urged fellow African American artists to assimilate black folk culture into their work. His novel *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man* (1912) explores the

dilemmas faced by a light-skinned black man who turns away from his cultural heritage and decides to “pass” for white. Johnson’s ideas and themes had a marked influence on the African American literary tradition, as shown in works by Jean Toomer and Ralph Ellison. Johnson was also a talented musician and songwriter who penned the lyrics to “Lift Every Voice and Sing” (1900), which has become the official song of the NAACP and is widely known as the “Black National Anthem.”

—Adam Golub

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## Johnson, Michael (1967—)

The unique convergence of spectacular achievement, special time and place, and creative image allows certain athletes to make indelible impressions on the popular mind. Michael Johnson exemplifies this phenomenon—his name evokes memories of an unprecedented accomplishment in track and field, the 1996 Olympic Summer Games at Atlanta, and golden running shoes. Few athletes have more consciously planned their moment of greatest triumph than did Johnson. Deprived of individual achievement in the 1992 Summer Olympics in Barcelona by illness and aware of the American public’s relative disinterest in track and field, he relentlessly determined that he would make the Atlanta Olympics uniquely his own. He resolved to win both the 200 and the 400 meter races in Atlanta, something that had never been attempted in the Olympics, and to do so while wearing golden shoes. The pre-Olympic pressure on Johnson was enormous, with the media nominating him in advance as the star of the Atlanta games. Spectacularly fulfilling his own and others’ expectations, he first won the 400 meters easily, literally running away from the rest of the field. Three days later, he won the 200 meters in the astonishing world-record time of 19.32 seconds. At the age of twenty-nine, Johnson was unquestionably the dominant figure in international track and field.

Even before Atlanta, he had established an impressive record as a sprinter. In the 1995 World Championship meet held in Goteborg, Sweden, he previewed his Atlanta performance by completing the 200-400 double and won a third gold medal by anchoring the winning United States 4 x 400 meter relay team. He had previously won three World Championship gold medals (individually the 200 meters in 1991 and the 400 meters in 1993 and as the anchor of the U.S. 4 x 400 meter relay team in 1993). Nevertheless in a sport that traditionally valorizes youth, Johnson had been something of a slow starter. A native of Dallas, he never won a Texas state high school running championship.

Born on September 13, 1967, Johnson is the son of a truck driver and an elementary school teacher. His father, Paul Johnson Sr., determined that his five children would obtain college degrees and

began teaching them early the virtues of planning and dedication. All five children did in fact earn degrees, and son Michael proved to be an especially receptive student of his father’s lessons. As an adult, Michael leads a rigidly compartmentalized life and has been described by friends and rivals as being virtually inhuman in his concentration and dedication on immediate tasks and challenges. Michael attended Skyline High School in Dallas where, an obviously gifted athlete, he surprised people by participating in track rather than football. Upon graduation, he was recruited by Baylor University’s track and field coach Clyde Hart, primarily to fill out Hart’s successful relay teams. Under Hart’s tutelage, Johnson’s potential as a sprinter began to manifest itself quickly, though injuries kept him from recording the collegiate record that he might have (he did win the NCAA 200 meter championship in 1989 and 1990 and the NCAA outdoor 200 meter title in 1990).

After graduation from Baylor, Johnson’s running achievements became more and more spectacular until they culminated in the Atlanta Olympics. In between though, there was Barcelona. Going into the 1992 Olympics, Johnson was viewed as the meet’s most certain individual winner, but he contacted food poisoning and failed to qualify for the finals in either of his events. He did, however, win his first Olympic gold medal as a member of the U.S. 4 x 400 relay team. After Barcelona his determination began to pay off even before Atlanta. Between 1992 and 1996, he was virtually unbeatable; and between 1989 and 1997 he won an amazing fifty-eight consecutive 400 meter finals. Beginning in 1993, awards began to pour in for Johnson, climaxing in 1996 when he received the Sullivan Award as U.S. amateur athlete of the year and the Associated Press Male Athlete of the Year Award.

Since Atlanta, Johnson’s career, because of recurring injuries, has been less than spectacular. The biggest damage to his golden image was truly unnecessary. Johnson agreed to an exhibition race on June 1, 1997 with Olympic 100 meter champion Donovan Bailey of Canada to determine the mythical title of “world’s fastest human.” From the beginning, the event took on a carnival atmosphere; and, with fifty meters left in the race, Johnson, who was trailing Bailey, pulled a muscle in his left thigh and dropped out. Afterward, Bailey ridiculed Johnson on Canadian television, calling him a “chicken” and a “coward.” Responding to criticism, Bailey subsequently apologized for his harsh comments. The entire episode proved a black eye for track and field rather than the boost anticipated by the two competitors and their sponsors. Still plagued by the thigh injury, Johnson went on to have a mediocre 1997 season. Yet the golden touch had not entirely deserted him; and, when he could not otherwise qualify, Johnson was granted a waiver to compete in the World Championships in Athens, where he won the 400 meter finals. This win represented his seventh World Championship title, second only to Carl Lewis’s eight.

In 1998, he won the 400 meter championship in the Goodwill Games at Uniondale, New York, and anchored the U.S. 4 x 400 meter relay team to victory in world record time. The Bailey race fiasco seems not to have seriously damaged Johnson’s image. He will always be the man who achieved the “impossible double” and who ran the “astonishing” 19.32 in the 200 meters in the Atlanta Olympics while wearing his golden shoes. If he hasn’t reawakened U.S. interest in track and field, he is a nationally and internationally admired athletic figure. At the age of thirty-one, he remains the golden boy of running.

—James R. Giles





**Michael Johnson**

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## **Johnson, Robert (1914?-1938)**

Arguably the most influential figure in the history of the blues, Robert Leroy Johnson was at once a virtuoso guitarist, a gifted poet,

and a skilled vocalist. Johnson, who emerged out of the Mississippi Delta in the early 1930s as one of the premier practitioners of the blues form, left a recorded legacy of just 41 songs. However, the tracks he laid down over two sessions in 1936 and 1937 became fundamental to the repertoires of other blues players and, after the "rediscovery" of the blues by white musicians in the 1960s, to blues-influenced rock artists everywhere. (Among the most covered and recorded Johnson compositions are "Crossroads Blues," "Sweet Home Chicago," and "Love in Vain.")

So prodigious were Johnson's skills on the six-string guitar, a legend (fostered by Johnson himself) grew up around him that he had sold his soul to the devil in exchange for this particular gift. Johnson's violent and untimely demise, allegedly at the hands of the jealous husband of one of his many lovers, combines with the romance of his shadowy, itinerant life to make him one of the most celebrated folk legends of the twentieth century. His enormous talent and the dark reputation he self-consciously promoted help explain his enduring place in the popular imagination. The fact that Johnson, unlike many other talented blues musicians of the early part of the century, was

recorded has further cemented his reputation as one of the all-time greats of the genre.

Born in Hazelhurst, Mississippi, to Mary and Noah Johnson, “Little Robert” was fascinated with making music from an early age. As sharecroppers in the fertile but dirt-poor Yazoo basin, the Johnsons had neither the inclination nor the means to give Robert a formal musical education, and certain of his contemporaries have suggested that young Robert, while wildly enthusiastic about music, was not much of a musician. Eddie James “Son” House, Jr., one of the most respected blues performers of the generation before Johnson’s, remembered the youngster as an eager apprentice, but one who did not at first show much promise. Johnson would show up at the juke joints and house parties, where House was a Saturday night fixture, and beg the older man to teach him to play. Rebuffed and mocked by the older musicians he worshipped, Johnson eventually took to the road in search of a willing mentor.

A reluctant maestro, Eddie “Son” House nevertheless made a large impression on the young Johnson. House’s sometime traveling partner Willie Brown, later immortalized in a Johnson song, also affected the youngster profoundly. (“You can run, you can run,” Johnson sings in the last verse of “Crossroads Blues,” hinting at the cost of his infernal bargain, “Tell my friend poor Willie Brown. / Lord, I’m standing at the crossroads / I believe I’m sinking down.”) Johnson’s style, however startlingly unprecedented it seems in retrospect, was in fact fashioned from elements taken from such players as 1920s Texas great Blind Lemon Jefferson, Mississippi Delta legend Charlie Patton, and, of course, House.

Johnson’s brand of the blues emphasizes an intricate interplay between guitar and voice. In many of his recordings, he highlights sung lines with rhythmic bursts of guitar playing, typically playing a bass line with his thumb while picking out chords and riffs with his fingers. A major innovator of slide-guitar technique—in which the player frets the instrument with a glass or metal object—Johnson routinely makes his guitar sound like a human voice, his voice like a guitar. On such numbers as “If I Had Possession Over Judgment Day,” he creates a drum-like beat with slide fingerings. He pushes his plangent alto across the verses, often dropping into a speaking voice at the end of lines (e.g. “Stones in My Passway”).

His early travels account in part for the mystery in which Johnson’s life would always be shrouded. He traveled under both his father’s and two stepfathers’ names (Dodds and Spencer), but on returning to his home county was coy about where he had been. He further bolstered his mysterious reputation by bragging that he’d made a Faustian pact to become the best guitar player alive—a publicity strategy that had been used to great effect by older blues men such as Skip James, whose “Devil Got My Woman” Johnson refashioned as “Hellhound on My Trail.” Johnson’s wanderlust remained unsatisfied throughout his brief life, as evidenced by his two-year ramble with Johnny Shines and Walter Horton from 1933 to 1935. Two widely reproduced photographs of Johnson exist: one seems to have been taken in a coin-operated photo booth, the other, a studio portrait, features a giddy-looking Johnson in a new suit and hat. The obscure provenance and suggestive composition of the two pictures have fed the imaginations of scholars and fans alike, and have helped keep the Johnson legend alive.

More crucial to the continuation of the legend than the photographs, though, are the sound recordings Johnson cut. These were made during a boom period for so-called “race records”—78 rpm recordings of African American blues and jazz singers, aimed at the non-white market. Race records were a big business in the 1920s and

1930s, and music scouts from the white-owned record companies were commonly sent into the American south in search of new talent. Blind Lemon Jefferson, whose artistic influence on Johnson is noted above, was one of the top-selling artists of his day, and thus a model of both aesthetic and business success for Johnson. (Jefferson became so popular that Paramount, his record company, began issuing his sides with lemon-colored labels.) In 1936, Don Law, an American Recording Company (ARC) engineer tasked to find the next Blind Lemon, recorded Johnson in San Antonio, Texas. Law famously reported that Johnson suffered so badly from stage fright that the young singer recorded his songs facing the back wall of the hotel room in which the session was held.

Johnson’s shyness has entered somewhat too easily into the historical record. The story of an enormously talented but bashful country boy overwhelmed and intimidated by the big city has, of course, a certain charm. But a convincing explanation for Johnson’s apparently timid behavior in Law’s improvised recording studio might be found in his reluctance in other contexts to show other musicians his riffs. He was, it seems, somewhat notorious among musicians in the south for his refusal to reveal his unconventional fingerings to potential competitors, and was known to conceal his hands from audiences as he played. This secrecy, of course, had the collateral advantage of enhancing his satanic reputation.

Whatever his motives for turning away from the team from ARC, Johnson managed to lay down a bona fide hit during the San Antonio session, the sly “Terraplane Blues.” The song, which playfully confuses a complaint about a lover’s infidelities with a car owner’s frustration over a rough-running jalopy (anticipating by decades smashes such as Chuck Berry’s “Mabeline” and Prince’s “Little Red Corvette”), sold around 5,000 copies and established Johnson’s reputation as a leading performer of the blues. Sings Johnson: “Now, you know the coils ain’t even buzzin’ / Little generator won’t get the spark / Motor’s in bad condition / You gotta have these batteries charged. / But I’m cryin’ please, please don’t do me wrong / Who been driving my Terraplane / Now for you since I been gone?”

Law recorded Johnson again in July of 1937, this time for Vocalion Records, in Dallas. In the second session, Johnson recorded what would become some of his best-loved, most enduring sides, “Dust My Broom” and “Love in Vain.” Together with the first session, the second provided the 29 cuts which, much to the delight of blues and folk aficionados, Columbia brought out in 1961, nearly a quarter century after Johnson’s death. Before the appearance of the Columbia LPs, Johnson’s records were known to only a very select few—notwithstanding the 1930s juke box popularity of “Terraplane Blues.” Johnson’s entire recorded oeuvre, the 29 songs from the 1961 release plus 12 alternate takes, was at last released in 1991, again by Columbia.

Robert Johnson has the dubious distinction of being the only blues musician to have had a Ralph Macchio movie made about his legend (*Crossroads*, 1986). The film, with guitar playing taking the place of martial arts for “The Karate Kid,” is significant in that it suggests the longevity and seemingly universal appeal of the Johnson legend. For better or worse, Johnson’s songs have been recorded by such British rock heavyweights as Led Zeppelin, the Rolling Stones, and Cream, groups whose work continues to have a considerable influence on rock musicians on both sides of the Atlantic. The mysterious circumstances of Johnson’s death—some say he was knifed, others claim that, like his hero Blind Lemon Jefferson, he drank poisoned coffee—have further enhanced the romance of his

story. A particularly provocative rumor that has circulated about Johnson is that just prior to his death he had been in Chicago, where he put together an electric-guitar based combo. Whether Johnson was in Chicago or not, his influence there shines through clearly in the work of, among others, Muddy Waters, viewed by many critics as the next link in the chain connecting traditional country blues to electrified blues-based urban forms such as rhythm and blues, soul, and rock and roll.

—Matthew Mulligan Goldstein

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## Johnson, Virginia

See Masters and Johnson

## Jolson, Al (1886-1950)

Al Jolson lived “The American Dream.” Born in Lithuania, Jolson rose through the ranks of vaudeville as a comedian and a blackface “Mammy” singer. By 1920, he had become the biggest star on Broadway, but he is probably best remembered for his film career. He starred in *The Jazz Singer* (1927), the first talking movie ever made, and his legend was assured in 1946 with the release of the successful biography of his life called *The Jolson Story*. Jolson was the first openly Jewish man to become an entertainment star in America. His marginal status as a Jew informed his blackface portrayal of Southern blacks. Almost single-handedly, Jolson helped to introduce African-American musical innovations like jazz, ragtime, and the blues to white audiences. The brightest star of the first half of the twentieth century, Jolson was eternally grateful for the opportunities America had given him. He tirelessly entertained American troops in World War II and in the Korean War, and he contributed time and money to the March of Dimes and other philanthropic causes. While some of his colleagues in show business complained about his inflated ego, he certainly deserved his moniker: “The World’s Greatest Entertainer.”

Perhaps it should come as no surprise that the man who made his mark singing “My Mammy” in blackface was himself a “mamma’s boy.” Jolson was born Asa Yoelson in Seredzius, Lithuania, sometime between 1883 and 1886. He was the youngest of four children—the baby of the family and his mother Naomi’s favorite. When Asa was four, his father, Rabbi Moshe Reuben Yoelson, left Lithuania to put down roots for the family in America. From age four to age eight, Asa was raised by his mother. She introduced him to the violin and told him that if he practiced hard he could become a star performer in America someday. When Asa was eight Rabbi Yoelson brought his family to Washington, D.C., where he had found work as a rabbi and a cantor at a Jewish congregation. Later that same year, Naomi died. Seeing his mother in her death throes traumatized young Asa, and he



Al Jolson

spent much of his life struggling with that trauma. After her death, he remained withdrawn for seven months until he met Al Reeves, who played the banjo, sang, and introduced him to show business. At age nine, Asa and his older brother Hirsch changed their names to Al and Harry, and by age 11 Al was singing in the streets for nickels and dimes that he used to buy tickets to shows at the National Theater.

After running away from home to New York City and doing a stint with a circus, Al joined his brother Harry on the vaudeville circuit. In 1904, the brothers teamed up with a disabled man named Joe Palmer to form a comedy troupe. A friend of Joe’s wrote them a comedy skit, but Al was uncomfortable with it until he took James Dooley’s advice to try performing it in blackface. Jolson remained in blackface for the rest of his stage and screen career. His blackface routine was a hit on the vaudeville circuit and he came to New York to perform it in 1906. His trademarks were a whistling trick that approximated a frenetic birdcall, a performance of vocal scales, and very dramatic facial expressions. He billed himself “The Blackface with the Grand Opera Voice.” After his New York debut, he had success as a blackface comedian and singer in California. In 1911 he returned to New York to star in *La Belle Paree*, a vaudeville revue. There Jolson quickly established himself as the biggest star on Broadway.

Jolson’s film career began inauspiciously with a short film for the Vitagraph Company in 1916. In 1923, he agreed to star in a film by D. W. Griffith, but backed out of his contract after filming had begun because Griffith had assigned an assistant to direct Jolson’s scenes. In 1926, he made another short film for Warner Brothers, and in 1927, he was signed to star in a screen version of Samuel Raphaelson’s play *The*

*Jazz Singer*. This was the role that Jolson had waited his whole life to play. Based on Jolson's own life, it was the story of a Jewish boy named Jackie Rabinowitz who runs away from his father, who is a cantor from the old world, because Jackie wants to be in show business. Jackie returns home to chant the Kol Nidre service as his father lies on his deathbed. The film was incredibly popular because it combined old silent film technology (words printed on the screen) with four dramatically innovative vitaphone "talking" sequences. Jolson quickly became the first movie star in the modern sense. He went on to make *The Singing Fool* (1928), *Say it with Songs* (1929), *Mammy* (1930), and *Big Boy* (1930) before returning to Broadway in 1931. His star dimmed a bit in the late 1930s and early 1940s until the highly acclaimed biographical film *The Jolson Story*, starring Larry Parks, was released in 1946. Parks mouthed the songs which Al Jolson himself sang for the film, and the sound track of the film sold several million copies.

Al Jolson was to jazz, blues, and ragtime what Elvis Presley was to rock 'n' roll. Jolson had first heard African-American music in New Orleans in 1905, and he performed it for the rest of his life. Like Elvis, Jolson gyrated his lower body as he danced. In *The Jazz Singer*, white viewers saw Jolson moving his hips and waist in ways that they had never seen before. Historian and performer Stephen Hanan has written in *Tikkun* that Jolson's "funky rhythm and below-the-waist gyrations (not seen again from any white male till the advent of Elvis) were harbingers of the sexual liberation of the new urban era. Jolson was a rock star before the dawn of rock music." Al Jolson paved the way for African-American performers like Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, Fats Waller, and Ethel Waters. It is remarkable that a Jewish mamma's boy from Lithuania could do so much to bridge the cultural gap between black and white America.

—Adam Max Cohen

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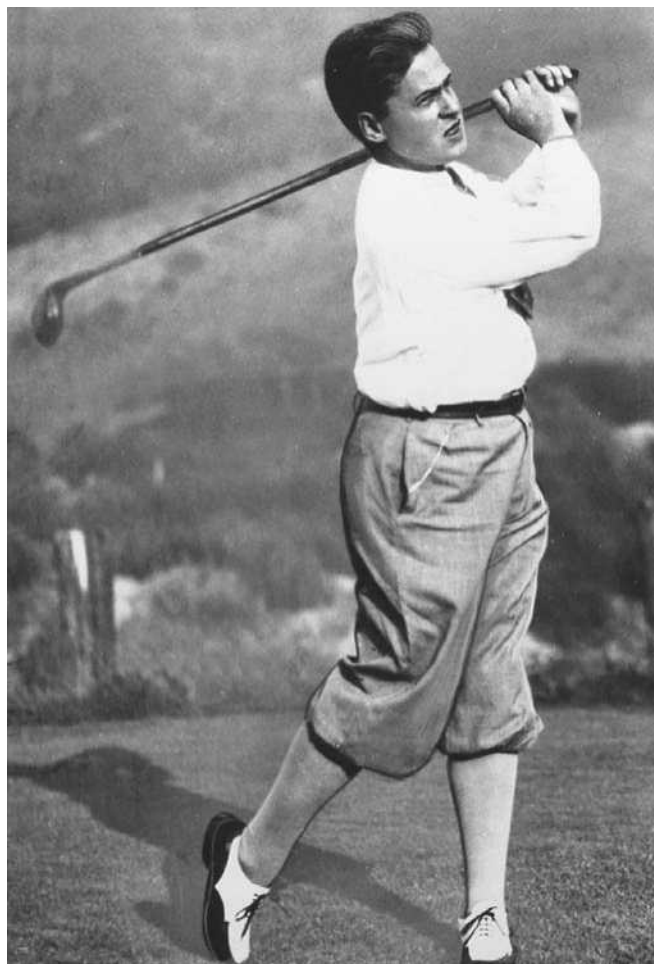
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## Jones, Bobby (1902-1971)

Golf has changed over the years. Balls fly farther. Clubs are made of space-age materials like graphite and titanium. Courses are longer, more demanding, and come in more shapes and sizes with more grass types than ever before. But no one, not ever, dominated the game during any era like Bobby Jones did during his. No one has ever won so much in so short a time. From 1923 when he won his first major, the United States Open, to his retirement in 1930, Jones won the U.S. Amateur five times, the U.S. Open four times, the British Open three times, and the British Amateur once. In 1930, at age twenty-eight, he accomplished what no one else has done when he won the Grand Slam—the U.S. Open, the British Open, the U.S. Amateur, and the British Amateur—in the same year. After winning



**Bobby Jones**

his first major, Jones won 62 percent of the major championships he entered. There is little question that golf has had its share of greats: Harry Vardon, Walter Hagen, Gene Sarazen, Byron Nelson, Sam Snead, Ben Hogan, Arnold Palmer, Jack Nicklaus, Tiger Woods. But no one has come close to matching Jones's record. No one has dominated his contemporaries as completely. And Jones did it all for fun, for free, as an amateur.

Robert Tyre Jones, Jr., stood out in other ways. Of the top echelon players in golfing history, he was one of the most highly educated, with degrees in mechanical engineering (Georgia Tech), literature (Harvard), and law (Emory). Born in Atlanta in 1902, Jones was the son of attorney Robert Jones and his wife Clara. From an early age it was apparent that the youngster possessed a special talent. He began playing golf at age five; at age nine he won the junior championship at East Lake, his father's club; at age 14 he won the Georgia State Amateur; at age 15 he won the Southern Amateur; at age 17 he was runner-up in both the Canadian Open and the U.S. Amateur. Jones's early success was so great that public expectations may have hindered him in tournaments, since he won no major titles until 1923. However, it appears that during this time, Jones, a perfectionist prone to bursts of anger, learned to control his emotions so well that throughout the remainder of his career he would be known for his sportsmanship and decorum on the course.

Jones's retirement, however, did not mean he was finished with golf. Although uninterested in endorsements, he produced a series of movie shorts entitled "How I Play Golf," and even helped design a new standard of golf club for Spalding Company. However, no one accomplishment demonstrated Jones's remarkable versatility as clearly as his great masterpiece—the Augusta National Golf Club. Jones, who helped raise funds to purchase land in Augusta, Georgia, known as Fruitland, co-designed the course with Dr. Alister MacKenzie. In 1934 the first annual Invitational tournament was held. By 1938 it was being called the Masters, and it eventually came to be considered as one of the four major tournaments in the world.

In 1948, Jones contracted syringomyelia, a rare and crippling spinal disease. His condition worsened over the years until he was eventually confined to a wheelchair. His greatest tribute came in 1958, when he received the Freedom of the City Award at St. Andrews, Scotland, in what many have called one of the most moving ceremonies in the history of game.

—Lloyd Chiasson Jr.

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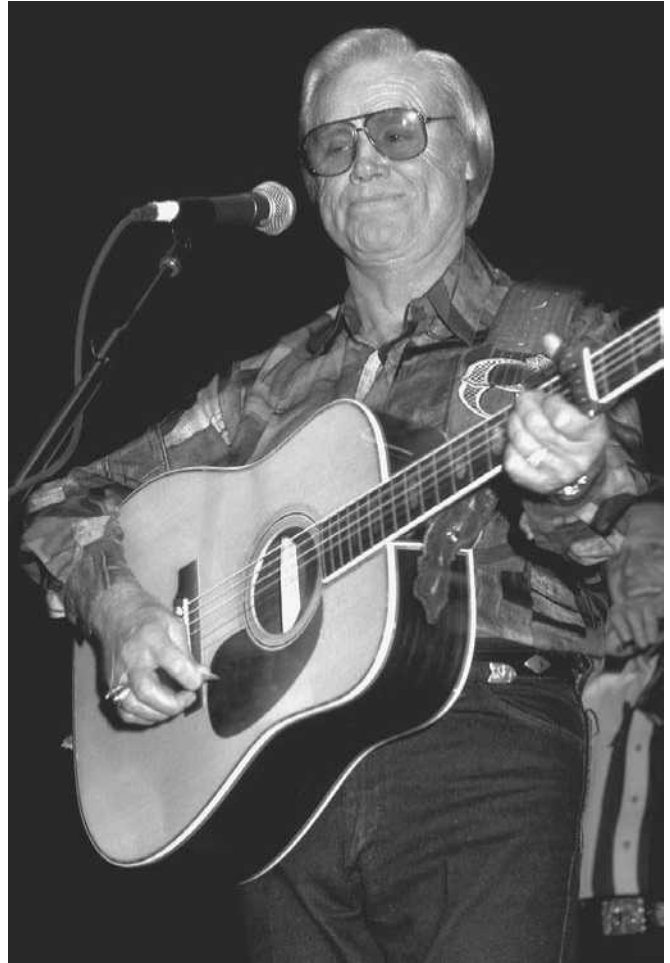
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## Jones, George (1931—)

Despite the trends that transformed country music over the second half of the twentieth century, George Jones continued to thrill audiences with his traditional "honky-tonk" voice, which remained a steady force in the industry from the 1950s onward. Initially, Jones was an improbable star, offering a twangy voice reminiscent of earlier hillbilly music at a time when rock and roll was making inroads into country music, but with his emergence as a star in the late 1950s, he went on to become a country music icon—indeed, contemporary star Garth Brooks once commented that "anybody who has ever wanted to sing country music wants to sound like George Jones." Between 1951 and 1971, Jones placed at least one song on the country top ten charts each year, and has won every major industry award in existence, including Single of the Year, Artist of the Year, and Video of the Year. He has lived a tumultuous personal life, complete with battles with drug abuse, divorce, and arrest.

Jones's early life made him an unlikely candidate for stardom. He was born in Saratoga, a small town near Beaumont in the "big thicket" area of East Texas, tucked away in the deep pine woods. He was the youngest of seven children born to a poor family. His father worked as a pipe fitter and truck driver to support the family during the Depression, but young George was surrounded by music as a child. His mother played the piano at church, and the entire family



George Jones

listened to country music on the radio, especially the "Grand Ole Opry" broadcast from Nashville, and Jones came of age listening to musical heroes Floyd Tillman, Ernest Tubbs, Roy Acuff, and Bill Monroe. In the years during and after World War II, an older Jones made his way to dance halls in towns such as Port Arthur and Orange, which were brimming with wartime industrial growth, and found the atmosphere intoxicating.

George began playing the guitar in high school, and from then on focused all of his energies on becoming a recording star. Attempting to sound like his heroes Roy Acuff and Hank Williams, he sought out venues such as local clubs and events such as school dances where he could hone his skills. He joined the marines during the Korean War, served for three years, then returned to Texas where, beset with doubts that he could ever break into show business, he found employment as a house painter. Nonetheless, he continued to sing and play guitar whenever he could, and over the next few years became a regular of the Texas honky-tonk circuit, performing in small towns throughout the area. Based on his local success, Jones then contacted producer Pappy Dailey at Starday Records, located in Beaumont, about making a record. The partnership proved a good one—Starday, as a local record company, was one of the few country music labels that was not moving into the rockabilly style then taking Nashville by storm.

The Starday label recorded and released Jones's first hit, "Why Baby Why" in 1955, but his first couple of years as a recording musician met with varied results. He was invited to join the Grand Ole Opry in 1956, a lifelong dream come true, and two years later left Starday for a deal with the more prestigious Mercury label. In 1959, his single "White Lightning" reached number one on the country charts, and by 1961 he was a country music celebrity, recording two number one hits, "Tender Years" and "She Thinks I Still Care." These prompted the Country Music Association to name him Male Vocalist of the Year in 1962 and 1963. Throughout the 1960s, Jones recorded hit after hit under a variety of labels, including United Artists, Musicor, and Epic. Singles that reached number one included "Window Up Above," "We Must Have Been Out of Our Minds," "Take Me," and "The Race is On." While dominating the country charts, he also toured ceaselessly, both nationally and internationally, seemingly without rest.

His celebrity status and the exhausting pace of his tours began to take a serious toll on George Jones. During the 1960s he began drinking heavily which, periodically, led to his cutting concerts short or canceling them altogether. He appeared drunk on stage regularly, and by the mid-1960s his career seemed to be on the verge of collapse. In 1967, however, it was rejuvenated when he began touring with singer Tammy Wynette, who had recently emerged as a new country music star. The combination was ideal, for both sang ballads in a traditional country style and both were known for their very distinctive voices. Fans were thrilled when Jones married Wynette in 1968—his third marriage—a relationship which proved to be more public than private. On stage, they sang both solos and duets, generally ending a concert with a song proclaiming their mutual devotion. The marriage proved lucrative, too, as the couple began recording together under the Epic label, churning out hit after hit in the early 1970s—including the 1974 number one, "We're Gonna Hold On." At the same time, Jones recorded solo hits such as "The Grand Tour" and "The Door," both of which reached number one in 1974.

Although the public image of his star-studded marriage to Wynette bolstered Jones's career, it was not long before he again began to experience hard times. He and Tammy lived in constant pursuit by reporters, and the resultant strain caused their relationship to grow turbulent and destructive. As the situation worsened, Jones again began to drink heavily. Their inevitable break-up added bizarrely to their public appeal and in 1976, the year they divorced, the couple recorded "Golden Ring" and "Near You," both of which became hits. In the years following the divorce, Jones's career once again seemed to be nearing the end. He missed several show dates, leading to numerous legal entanglements and an eventual declaration of bankruptcy, and the early 1980s found him more often in the news for his legal problems than his music. He was arrested on a number of occasions relating to his alcohol and drug abuse, and was sued by ex-wives and numerous creditors.

Yet Jones continued to perform and record, even during the darkest times. In 1980, he released what is perhaps his best known single, "He Stopped Loving Her Today," considered by some to be the best country music recording ever. A major hit, it won him Single of the Year from the Country Music Association in 1980 and 1981. Jones's personal problems never affected his popularity and he continued recording a string of hits throughout the 1980s. In 1986, he entered a new phase of his career by winning the Country Music

Association's Video of the Year award for his single "Who's Gonna Fill Their Shoes"; in 1991, he signed a new recording deal with MCA Records, and the following year he was selected as a member of the Country Music Hall of Fame. In the late 1990s, Jones enjoyed further success by incorporating rock and roll into his music with hits such as "I Don't Need Your Rockin' Chair" and the successful album *High-tech Redneck*.

While these new hits demonstrated the singer's versatility and his willingness to experiment with contemporary styles, he continued to thrive on the music that had first brought him success. His album *It Don't Get Any Better Than This* (1998) is very much in the traditional George Jones style, and he also recorded a reunion album with Tammy Wynette called *One* in 1995. In many respects, George Jones stands as a reflection of country music itself: open to innovation while rooted in tradition.

—Jeffrey W. Coker

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## Jones, Jennifer (1919—)

Actress Jennifer Jones's affair with the renowned producer David O. Selznick attracted a great deal of attention and launched her career. He signed her to a long-term contract, changed her name, and prepared her for stardom. Her first screen lead was in *Song of Bernadette* (1943), a film whose popularity earned her an Academy Award. She was nominated for Oscars as best supporting actress in *Since You Went Away* (1944), *Love Letters* (1945) and *Love Is a Many Splendored Thing* (1955). While Jones played a wide variety of characters, including the innocent and placid as well as the tempestuous and sensuous, she was not considered a formidable actress. But she undoubtedly captured a mood Americans longed for because, ultimately, she became one of the most popular melodramatic actresses of the 1940s.

—Liza Black

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## Jones, Leroi

See Baraka, Amiri

## Jones, Tom (1940-)

Many comparisons have been drawn between Welsh singer Tom Jones and rock legend Elvis Presley. Both appropriated singing styles associated with black R&B music, both became infamous for their sexually charged dancing styles, and both were loved for over-the-top Las Vegas club performances in the 1960s and 1970s. Indeed, Jones and Presley maintained a well-documented admiration for each other and often performed cover versions of each others' songs. However, Jones' diversity and longevity far exceeded Presley's. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, when many of his contemporaries had devolved into all-but-forgotten lounge lizards, Jones performed pop, rock, country, and dance tunes, often collaborating with a roster of acts half his age for the ears of equally young listeners.

Born Thomas Jones Woodward in Pontypridd, South Wales, on June 7, 1940, Jones grew up in the song-filled atmosphere of a coal-mining community, often putting on performances for his mother in the family living room. However, Jones' days of such youthful frolic were relatively short, and by age seventeen he was both a husband and father. Having no real training in a trade, Jones bounced between a number of odd jobs to support his growing family, including glove cutting and selling vacuums door-to-door. Nevertheless, Jones still



Tom Jones

found the time to sing at night in local dance halls, and after a number of years he had earned a sizable reputation fronting Tommy Scott and the Senators, a rock and soul outfit influenced by R&B singers Solomon Burke and Jackie Wilson, as well as Elvis Presley and Jerry Lee Lewis.

After being discovered by songwriter and manager Gordon Mills in 1963, Jones was able to sign with the Decca label. Jones' debut single was only mildly successful, but the follow-up, "It's Not Unusual," became a giant international hit, as well as Jones' signature tune. However, the unbridled sexual delivery of Jones' singing, as well as his pelvis-thrusting dance moves, were considered too racy for conservative broadcast companies like the BBC. Moral squeamishness could not restrain public demand, and after "It's Not Unusual" was leaked out by an off-shore pirate radio station, Jones became a highly visible sex symbol. Throughout the 1960s, many of Jones' singles were major hits, notably the Burt Bacharach-penned "What's New Pussycat," and he honed his stage performance touring with world-class acts like the Rolling Stones.

During the 1970s, Jones occasionally scored with singles like the uptempo dance cut "She's a Lady," but his presence on Top 40 charts gradually declined, perhaps due to changing currents in pop music. However, his popularity as a live performer grew. Fully the master of his wide-ranging voice, Jones injected such raw passion into his stage shows that often adoring fans were moved to tossing their underwear at Jones' feet. He became an essential booking for the top clubs in the Las Vegas circuit, and was even given his own television variety show on the ABC network, *This Is Tom Jones*.

For years, Jones kept a relatively low profile, but in the late 1980s his career took on an expected new breath of life. Beginning with a remake of the Prince song "Kiss" in collaboration with the British electronic innovators the Art of Noise in 1988, Jones worked with many younger acts from diverse musical backgrounds, meeting with a high level of approval from all age groups. In 1992, for example, Jones masterminded a unique six-part series called *The Right Time* in which he gave tribute to a number of musical genres through intimate performances with acts as wide-ranging as Joe Cocker, Stevie Wonder, the dance groups EMF and Erasure, and pop warblers Shakespears' Sister. Continuing in this vein, in 1994 Jones signed to the Interscope label, a company devoted almost exclusively to edgy young acts like Nine Inch Nails and Snoop Doggy Dog. As with country legend Johnny Cash, it seemed that Jones was able to extend his legacy into the generation of the 1990s, largely without the element of irony or kitsch appreciation that tinged the later careers of other 1960s holdovers.

—Shaun Frentner

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## Jonestown

Officially known as the People's Temple, this community of American religious zealots who lived and died in the small South



Dead bodies fill the Peoples Temple compound after mass suicide in Jonestown, Guyana.

American country of Guyana during the 1970s has become synonymous with fanatical cultism and mass suicide. The group had originated in northern California under the leadership of pastor Jim Jones. As Jones became increasingly megalomaniacal and unstable, he relocated his church and its followers to an isolated jungle compound, where he used brainwashing tactics to break their will and force them to comply with his demands. Government officials in the United States became concerned after hearing reports of church members being held against their will, and a delegation was sent to investigate. After a violent confrontation between cultists and the delegation, Jones ordered his followers to commit suicide by drinking a cyanide potion. Those who refused were shot. When United States officials entered the compound on November 18, 1978, they found 914 bodies, including that of Jones himself.

—Tony Brewer

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## Jong, Erica (1942—)

Erica Jong's first novel, *Fear of Flying* (1973), made her one of the central figures of the sexual revolution of the 1970s. Her frank and explicit depictions of women's sexual desire shocked the world and gained her the praise of everyone from *Playboy* editors to John Updike. But women have given her a more mixed reception. While her many works of fiction and poetry about women fulfilling their fantasies of sexual abandon played well among the newly liberated generation of women in the 1970s, feminists of the 1980s and 1990s have challenged her promotion of anonymous sex for its own sake and her claim to speak for baby-boomer women's sexual desires. Nonetheless, her fame rests on the fact that she brought the difficulties of women trying to balance love, sex, self-development, and creativity to the attention of a mass audience.

Jong grew up in an affluent Jewish family in New York and attended Barnard College. She was a Ph.D. candidate at Columbia, studying eighteenth-century British literature, when she began her



career as a writer. She published two volumes of poetry, and when her *Fear of Flying* caught the attention of Henry Miller, who compared the book to his *Tropic of Cancer*, and John Updike, who compared it to Philip Roth's *Portnoy's Complaint* and J. D. Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye*, her name became a household word. She was repeatedly asked by reporters to help explain women's perspectives on sexual liberation, and her frank, sassy commentary provided good copy for *Playboy* and *Redbook* alike.

*Fear of Flying*, which opens with the then-shocking intimation that the heroine is not wearing a bra, captured a cultural moment when women were shedding propriety and clothing in an attempt to gain fulfillment and freedom, giving birth to feminism and the sexual revolution. It tells the story of Isadora Wing, a writer who accompanies her stiff, cold, psychiatrist husband to a conference in Zurich. There she meets an Englishman who seems to epitomize unrepressed, guiltless sexual fulfillment, which she calls the "zipless fuck," a phrase that became a catchword for her generation and has been forever associated with Jong's popular image. Isadora soon learns, though, that the man who has rescued her from her prosaic life is impotent, causing her to return to her husband. The book ends with Isadora convincing herself that her search for empty and meaningless orgasms was no substitute for true self-development.

Jong continued Isadora's story in *How to Save Your Own Life* (1977) and *Parachutes and Kisses* (1984). In the first book, Isadora becomes a successful author, leaves her husband, begins life over with a young screenwriter, and has a baby. In the final installment of the trilogy, Isadora finds herself deserted by the father of her baby and has to learn how to be a single mother. What has stood out for readers and critics, in all three books, and her many other novels, short stories, and poetry, is Jong's message that sexual freedom is paramount to self-discovery for women.

While her subsequent books never repeated the success of *Fear of Flying*, she has continued throughout the 1980s and 1990s to be a prominent voice on women's issues. She has been pitted against other feminists like Camille Paglia, Katie Roiphe, and Andrea Dworkin on talk shows and in popular magazines, accused of upholding the virtues of heterosexual experimentation for women in a time when date rape and violence against women are prominent concerns. Other feminists simply consider her recipe for liberation an inadequate one. Amy Virshup has argued that despite Jong's advocacy of self-empowerment, "it is always Mr. Right who leads [her heroines] onward and upward." And Anne Z. Mickelson has charged that her depictions of sex mirror those found in "girlie magazines" and that "by adopting the male language of sexuality, Jong is also fooling herself that she is preempting man's power." In her memoir *Fear of Fifty* (1994), Jong went on the counter-offensive, attacking the "puritan feminists" who she feels have tried to silence her for her positive portrayals of heterosexual sex and motherhood.

While Jong has longed for a permanent place in America's high literature, she has remained a popular icon. She has called the success of *Fear of Flying* a "curse," adding that it "typecast me in a way that I've been trying to get free of ever since. I'm enormously grateful to it, and yet very eager to be seen as a woman of letters and not just Erica 'Zipless' Jong." But even as she has attempted to solidify her reputation, even writing *The Devil at Large: Erica Jong on Henry Miller* (1993), in which she describes her literary relationship with this prominent writer, she has also remained tied to her historical moment. In *Fear of Fifty* and *What Do Women Want?: Bread, Roses, Sex, Power* (1998), she has portrayed herself as a spokesperson for baby-boomer women who wanted sexual fulfillment and empowerment

in the 1970s and who want to reinvent their relationships with men on the basis of love and mutual respect in the 1990s.

—Anne Boyd

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## Joplin, Janis (1943-1970)

Regarded as the greatest white female blues singer, Janis Joplin is also remembered as a hedonistic, hard-drinking, bra-disdaining, bisexual challenger of social conventions. She often is associated with Jimi Hendrix and Jim Morrison, a trio of dynamic performers



Janis Joplin

who all died within a year of each other between September 1970 and July 1971, and whose “live hard, die fast” philosophy not only epitomized the 1960s but also tolled the end of that spectacular, turbulent epoch.

The young Joplin was an intelligent, creative girl with many interests and talents. Born January 19, 1943, in Port Arthur, Texas, she was raised by liberal parents who encouraged her interests in music, art, and literature. Her favorite author was F. Scott Fitzgerald, and she identified with the glamorous, ruinous lives of Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald and her favorite singers, Billie Holiday and Bessie Smith. She learned to sing the blues, as well as play guitar, piano, and autoharp. But Joplin’s main ambition was to become an artist: she drew and painted, and majored in art in college. Her interests drew her to the beatnik scene in San Francisco in 1964, where she met Robert Crumb and other artists. She sold paintings, sang with various blues bands, and developed an amphetamine addiction. In 1965 she returned to Texas to withdraw from the temptation of drugs, and she returned to college.

A year later she was invited back to San Francisco to sing with Big Brother and the Holding Company. She returned to find the beatnik scene succeeded by the hippie scene. She partied with the Grateful Dead, Country Joe and the Fish, and Jefferson Airplane. Joplin soon distinguished herself even among these luminaries with her booming, unbridled vocals and the raw, electric blues of Big Brother. They cut several singles, and their growing reputation took them to the Monterey International Pop Festival. Cashing in on Joplin’s new popularity, Mainstream Records repackaged their singles as *Big Brother and the Holding Company, Featuring Janis Joplin* (1967). Released without the band’s permission, it is an uneven album wavering between folk, psychedelic, and pop music. Their next album, *Cheap Thrills* (1968), revealed a band that had found its identity in raunchy electric blues. Joplin is at her best in the sultry, sizzling “Summertime” and “Piece of My Heart,” which reveals the tortured combination of toughness and vulnerability that became her trademark.

Big Brother was never esteemed by the critics, and Joplin was persuaded to form a new band for her next album, *I Got Dem Ol’ Kozmic Blues Again Mama!* (1969), but she never developed a rapport with the Kozmic Blues Band. With two sax players and a trumpeter, they had a brassy sound that smothered Joplin’s vocals. Nor was there anything particularly cosmic about their blues style, which was more mainstream than Big Brother’s. Joplin recognized the unsuitability of this group and formed the Full Tilt Boogie Band. The brassy sound of the Kozmic Blues Band was discarded, and the two keyboardists—rather than the two aggressive guitarists of Big Brother—allowed Joplin’s vocals free rein.

Joplin wrote few of her own songs, but turned others’ songs into her own through wrenching, probing performances. She chose her songs well, finding a medium through which she could express her soul in all its passion and insecurity. Prescriptive feminists are uncomfortable with the sexual desperation Joplin revealed in her recordings, but singing was her catharsis; she was not only rebelling against the double standards of the age but also exploring her soul more honestly than prescriptivism allows. Ellen Willis claims that Joplin was compelled to stay in show business because of the limited opportunities that would have awaited her as a woman. The truth is that Joplin sang because she loved and needed it, and she had plans to open a bar when her singing career ended. The *female=victim* equation shows little appreciation for the bold young woman who left her hometown for San Francisco in 1964, relying only on her talents

to make it on her own, and announced to the male-dominated rock world that “a woman can be tough.”

Joplin’s popularity was now at its zenith, and she felt pressured to live up to her hedonistic image, attempting to sustain the intensity of her stage performances in her daily life. She drank constantly and resorted to heroin. She lost contact with the sensitive woman she had been and started rumors that she was unpopular in school and had been estranged from her parents (although letters printed in *Love, Janis* reveal that she was always close to her family). This side of Joplin was exploited in the sensationalistic 1979 Bette Midler film *The Rose*, loosely based on Joplin’s life.

On October 4, 1970, after a recording session with Full Tilt, Joplin died from a heroin overdose. “Buried Alive in Blues” was left as an instrumental, but *Pearl* (1971) is otherwise complete. It is Joplin’s most polished album, containing the unforgettable “Me and Bobby McGee.” It is difficult to listen to Joplin’s music without a pang of regret for her tragically wasted talent, but she often said that she would rather live intensely than spend a long life in front of the TV. When friends warned her that she would lose her voice if she kept shrieking, she replied that she would rather give it her all and be a great singer while young, rather than be a mediocre singer with a long career. Joplin’s excess was part of her artistry.

The enduring fascination Joplin commands is testified by many posthumous releases, including *Janis Joplin in Concert* (1972), *Janis Joplin’s Greatest Hits* (1973), *Janis* (documentary and soundtrack, 1975), *A Farewell Song* (rarities, 1983), *Janis* (three-CD box set, 1988), *Janis Joplin: 18 Essential Songs* (selections from the box set, 1995), and *Janis Joplin with Big Brother and the Holding Company, Live at Winterland ’68* (1998). Joplin was elected to the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1995.

—Douglas Cooke

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## Joplin, Scott (1868-1917)

As a pioneering African American composer of ragtime music, Scott Joplin took part in a musical revolution in America at the turn of the twentieth century and left an enduring mark on the musical culture of the country. Best known during his lifetime for *Maple Leaf Rag* (1899), Joplin wrote some two dozen compositions in the catchy, syncopated style that served as accompaniment to cakewalk dancing, to new forms of urban sporting life, and to a more generalized revolt against nineteenth-century gentility and restraint. He helped establish the conventional structure of ragtime compositions and successfully blended familiar genres of European music with African American rhythms and melodies into a genuine musical hybrid. After 1900, ragtime music emerged as the first nationally recognized American music, and Tin Pan Alley publishers flooded the popular sheet music market with thousands of snappy, syncopated songs and piano pieces.



Scott Joplin

Hiram K. Moderwell, one of Joplin's contemporaries, called ragtime the "folk music of the American city," and John Stark, the publisher of *Maple Leaf Rag*, dubbed Joplin the "King of Ragtime Writers."

Although he was unquestionably born with a musical gift, Joplin's genius must be attributed at least partly to childhood influences from the region of his birth. Born near Linden, Texas, in 1868, the second son of sharecroppers Jiles and Florence Joplin, the future composer grew up amid former slaves and their rich musical traditions. As a youngster he heard black work songs, spirituals, and ring shouts, as well as the European waltzes, schottishes, and marches that black musicians like his father performed at white parties and dances. When the Joplins moved to Texarkana, which had sprung into existence in the early 1870s at the junction of the Texas & Pacific and Cairo & Fulton Railroads, Scott not only attended school but also learned to play the piano belonging to a wealthy family whose house his mother cleaned. As his talent developed, he began studying with a German music teacher (thought most probably to be Julius Weiss) from whom he learned the basic elements of serious European compositions and the rhythms, melodies, and harmonies on which they depended. Joplin began performing as an adolescent, impressing those who heard him with the originality of his music. As one contemporary later recalled, "He did not have to play anybody else's music. He made up his own, and it was beautiful; he just got his music out of the air."

It is not known exactly when Scott Joplin left Texarkana, but sometime in the 1880s he set out to make his living as an itinerant musician. It also is not known where he worked and lived before he gained fame in Sedalia, Missouri, in the 1890s. Oral histories place

him at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, where he tried out some of his arrangements with a newly formed band performing, no doubt, in the city's tenderloin district. He was convinced that his rhythmically daring music had a ready, eager audience. Ragtime's misplaced accents, its complex melodies that flowed from bass to treble and back, and the flurry of its notes invited toe-tapping, knee-slapping, head-bobbing movement from those who heard it; it was perfect for the flashy strutting of the popular cakewalk. Moreover, the 1890s economic depression, which affected the middle class as well as the underpaid or unemployed working class, sparked a nationwide questioning of the long-held American belief in self-denial and personal restraint. Joplin's music literally struck a chord with a generation ready to shake off the vestiges of nineteenth-century propriety by kicking up its heels to the exuberant strains of ragtime.

Following the World's Columbian Exposition, Joplin made his way to Sedalia, Missouri, an important railhead in the east-central part of the Show-Me State. More significantly, perhaps, for the black musician, Sedalia was the home of the George R. Smith College for Negroes. Joplin enrolled in music courses at the black institution and began performing in various settings in Sedalia along with other talented African American musicians, earning a reputation as a popular entertainer and composer of ragtime music. He performed with the Queen City Band, an all-black group that provided music for various public entertainments, and played in clubs, brothels, dance halls, and at private parties. He also mentored and collaborated with younger black musicians such as Arthur Marshall and Scott Hayden. Marshall remembered his teacher as "a quiet person with perfect manners who loved music and liked to talk about it." He was "a brother in kindness to all."

Undoubtedly the most important association Joplin formed in Sedalia was with a white publisher of sheet music, John Stark. By the time Stark published *Maple Leaf Rag* in 1899, Joplin had published four other compositions—two marches, a waltz, and *Original Rags*. Although skeptical of the marketability of Joplin's work—he viewed the composition as too difficult for local patrons—Stark admired *Maple Leaf Rag* and agreed to put out a limited printing. Very quickly, orders for Joplin's rag began to pour in, and Stark issued several new editions over the next few years. Stark moved his business to St. Louis in 1900 and continued to publish Joplin works—*Peacherine Rag* (1901), *Augustan Club Waltz* (1901), *A Breeze from Alabama* (1902), *Elite Syncopations* (1902), *The Entertainer* (1902), and *The Strenuous Life* (1902). Stark also promoted Joplin's career by declaring him the "King of Ragtime Writers," by aggressively marketing his latest works, and by regularly contributing advertising copy and articles about him to the nationally circulated *Christensen's Ragtime Review*. Stark's business sense no doubt contributed to Joplin's decision to write *The Cascades* (1904) as a tribute to the attraction of that name at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1904. As Joplin's fame spread, he, too, moved to St. Louis, where he lived from 1901 to 1907. There he continued composing, performing, and mixing socially and professionally with such black musicians as Tom Turpin, Sam Patterson, and Joe Jordan.

While writers after his death remembered Joplin principally as the composer of dance-hall music, Joplin himself harbored grander ambitions for his art. Even as he relied on sheet music sales, teaching, and performance to make a living, he devoted much of his creative energy to the writing of serious music with syncopated rhythm. His first such effort, a ragtime ballet called *The Ragtime Dance*, featured current African American dance steps choreographed to vocal and piano accompaniment. Although he had composed several profitable

rags for Stark in 1901 and 1902, the publisher only reluctantly agreed to publish *The Ragtime Dance* in 1902, but it never sold well. *The Guest of Honor*, a ragtime opera that unfortunately no longer exists, marked Joplin's second venture in the field of serious composition. In 1903, he formed the Scott Joplin Drama Company in St. Louis and recruited former students to perform in the ambitious work. The cast rehearsed and Joplin rented a theater, but only one dress rehearsal is known to have taken place because Joplin failed to find financial backing for the production. Despite these setbacks, the composer continued his endeavors toward the incorporation of African American and ragtime motifs into serious music and after 1907 worked feverishly on his second opera, *Treemonisha*.

Joplin spent the last decade of his life in New York, where he worked on *Treemonisha*, published more than 20 compositions, including such well-known pieces as *Gladiolus Rag* (1907), *Pine Apple Rag* (1908), and *Solace—A Mexican Serenade* (1909), gave private music lessons, and performed on the vaudeville stage. He was an early active member of the Colored Vaudevillian Benevolent Association, whose membership included many of the cultural leaders in black Harlem. His obsession with the seriousness of his work was reflected in *School of Ragtime—Six Exercises for Piano* (1908), which demanded "proper time" and "the supposition that each note will be played as it is written." "[T]he 'Joplin ragtime' is destroyed," he insisted, "by careless or imperfect rendering." He railed publicly against flashy performers who played his, and other, rags too fast and sloppily, and he decried the vulgar lyrics that accompanied many popular ragtime songs.

Most importantly, in 1911, Joplin finished his second opera and began searching diligently for financial backers and a suitable venue to stage a performance. The opera's main theme—the need for education in the African American community to combat the pernicious effects of ignorance and superstition—placed the work squarely in the middle of one of the most serious debates spawned by the "Race Question." Moreover, in a rare newspaper interview in 1911, Joplin defended *Treemonisha* as serious—not popular—art: "In most of the strains I have used syncopation (rhythm) peculiar to my race, but the music is not ragtime and the score is grand opera." The opera was performed only once during Joplin's lifetime, in 1915, and the production suffered from lack of props, costumes, and an orchestra. It was met by utter critical silence and quickly faded from collective memory.

The failure of Joplin's second opera coincided with the composer's personal decline. Although reasonably successful as a composer and performer, and widely recognized as the King of Ragtime, his adult life had not been happy. In 1900 he had married Belle Jones, who offered little support for his artistic endeavors and who either died or left him shortly after the death of their only child in 1906. A second marriage ended quickly and tragically with his wife's death. Lottie Stokes, Joplin's third wife, whom he married in New York, cared for her husband during his final battle against the debilitating symptoms of syphilis. Increasingly distracted, frequently unable to play the piano or compose, and grown unreliable as a private music teacher, Joplin spent the final two years of his life in the throes of the disease that eventually took his life on April 1, 1917.

More than 50 years after his death, Joplin became the focus of popular and scholarly attention when Vera Brodsky Lawrence recovered and republished his collected works, Joshua Rifkin recorded many of them, and the hit movie, *The Sting* (1973), featured his music. In the wake of this rediscovery, biographies of Joplin began to appear, and *Treemonisha* was revived by serious opera companies around the

country. In his own day, however, the musician faced numerous barriers to his success, only some of which he overcame. Race prejudice, of course, placed severe limits on the kinds of compositions that would garner financial support, while his lack of academic credentials hindered his acceptance as a serious composer among both blacks and whites. Despite these injustices, Scott Joplin was a vital contributor to the cultural shake-up that took place in the United States in the early 1900s, and his classic ragtime pieces helped propel the nation into the modern era.

—Susan Curtis

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## Jordan, Louis (1908-1975)

One of America's most prominent musicians of the 1940s, Louis Jordan was a singer, a baritone and alto sax player, a clarinetist, and a bandleader. From 1942 to 1951, he had 18 number one hits on the R&B chart and was one of the biggest African-American box office draws in the country, besides being an important figure and role model in black popular entertainment. His music reflected his African-American roots while appealing to both black and white audiences. His combo, Louis Jordan and the Tympany Five helped to define the shuffle boogie rhythm as well as "jump," a term first used in jazz and later in rhythm and blues, that referred to the instrumentation of trumpet, alto and tenor sax, piano, bass, and drums. The innovative Jordan was the first jazz musician to make a short film based on one of his popular hit songs ("Caldonia"), an early precursor of the contemporary music video. His influence on rock and roll can be heard in the music of Bill Haley, Chuck Berry, Fats Domino, and James Brown, among others.

From his earliest years, Jordan was guided and motivated by a strong conviction and desire to become an entertainer. "I wanted to give my whole life to making people enjoy my music. Make them laugh and smile. So I didn't stick to what you'd call jazz. I have always stuck to entertainment," he once said. Jordan embodied a melding of visual showmanship, detached humor, impeccable musicianship, and a gratifying original and rhythmic vocal style.

Born Louis Thomas Jordan on July 8, 1908 in Brinkley, Arkansas, Louis Jordan was the son of James Jordan, a musical talent, and of a mother who died when he was young. James Jordan, his father was a multi-instrumentalist, organizer of the local Brinkley Brass Band, and a motivational figure in his life. As a boy, Jordan sang in the local Baptist church, mastered the clarinet and saxophone family of instruments, and during the summer, along with his father, toured with the Rabbit Foot Minstrels and Ma Rainey's TOBA Troupe. These early experiences developed in Jordan a passion for perfecting his music through disciplined rehearsals and an appreciation for showmanship.



**Louis Jordan (center).**

Jordan worked as a sideman with Ruby Williams's band in Hot Springs, Arkansas before moving on to Philadelphia.

Once in Philadelphia, professional opportunities presented themselves to Jordan. He met Ralph Cooper, bandleader and coordinator of the amateur night at the Apollo Theater in Harlem, who hired him as member of the Apollo house band. Jordan joined Chick Webb's band, playing at the Savoy Ballroom from 1936-1938. He left the Webb band confident enough to organize his own group, "The Louie Jordan Elks Rendezvous Band," (the "Louie" spelling was intentional since people often mispronounced his name as Lewis), which began its engagements at The Elks Club in Harlem. The band's name was later changed to Louis Jordan and His Tympany Five, which remained constant despite personnel changes. The word tympany was included for a period because drummer Walter Martin actually played that instrument in the group.

Louis Jordan and His Tympany Five became one of the most successful small bands in jazz history. Jordan signed a Decca contract that lasted from 1938-1955, recording many compositions in its "Race Series." His recording of "A Chicken Ain't Nothing but a Bird" signaled a pivotal point in the direction and kind of material Jordan would record. This song's novelty lyrics, shuffle and boogie rhythm, and the soloing of lead instrumentalists all proved to be a successful formula. The subsequent recording of "I'm Gonna Move

to the Outskirts of Town," a 12-bar blues, launched Jordan as a major recording star. Then followed a string of major hits posting in the top ten on the R&B chart, including "What's the Use of Getting Sober" (1942), "Five Guys Named Moe" (1943), "Ration Blues" (1943), "G.I. Jive" (1944), "Is You Is Or Is You Ain't (Ma' Baby)" (1944), "Mop Mop" (1945), "Caldonia," (1945), "Don't Let the Sun Catch You Cryin'" (1946), "Choo Choo Ch'Boogie" (1946), "Ain't That Just Like a Woman" (1946); "Ain't Nobody Here But Us Chickens" (1946), "Let the Good Times Roll" (1946), "Open the Door Richard" (1947), "Beans and Corn Bread" (1949), and "Saturday Night Fish Fry (Part I)" (1949), among others. Jordan's recording of "Caldonia" and the short film of the same name marked the first time that a film was based on a tune. This arrangement was a huge success with both white and black audiences. When rock and roll came into its own in the 1950s, Jordan's career began to decline and his contract with Decca ended. He signed with Mercury records and rerecorded old hits, including "Caldonia." Jordan moved to Los Angeles in the early 1960s and recorded one album with Ray Charles's Tangerine label. He formed Pzazz, his own record label in 1968.

A number of Jordan's recordings can be classified as blues, which Jordan sang with perfect diction in a sophisticated, cosmopolitan, smooth, and crooner style that attracted black and white audiences. For a number of his touring engagements, promoters booked

his band to play two separate engagements in the same evening—one for a white and one for a black audience. He also led a big band from 1951-52.

Jordan was a competent jazz improviser, and his work on alto sax is memorable. His choice of songs as well as his own compositions were based on gospel, blues, jazz, and the vernacular of black speech and African-American folk culture. Jordan sang about the subjects of black folk, women (chicks and chickens), Saturday night fish fries, drinking, love, and partying—in sum the travails and pleasures of African-American experience in urban areas after their postwar migration. Jordan's music epitomized an era of good times, paving the way for rhythm and blues. He continued to tour until he collapsed and died of a heart attack on February 5, 1975 in Los Angeles. Since his death, there has been a gradual rebirth of interest in his work, with his music featured in various movie sound tracks such as *The Blues Brothers*. *Five Guys Named Moe*, a musical that featured Jordan's music, opened on Broadway in 1992 and captured a Tony Award nomination for best musical.

—Willie Collins

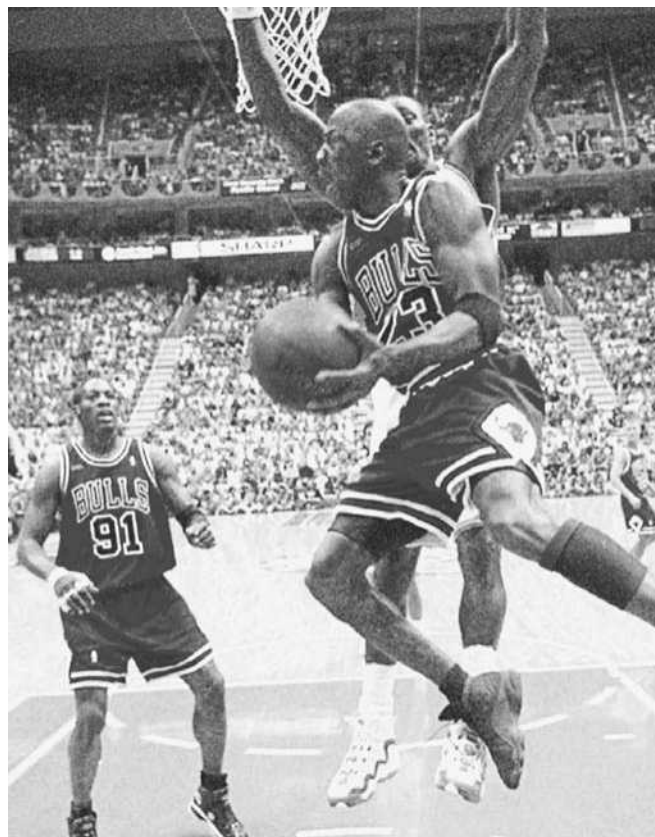
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## Jordan, Michael (1963—)

The most successful and skilled player in the history of professional basketball, Michael Jordan came into the public eye in the mid-1980s. He went on to win six NBA (National Basketball Association) scoring championships (1990/91, 1991/92, 1992/93, 1995/96, 1996/97, 1997/98) and five Most Valuable Player awards (1987/88, 1990/91, 1991/92, 1995/96, 1997/98). An international sports icon and a role model for youth and adults alike, Jordan helped redefine the male athlete as a figure of sublime grace, technical skill, and ferocious athleticism. His determination, diligence, and fiercely competitive attitude also enhanced the public perception of black masculinity during the 1980s and 1990s. Aside from his professional prowess, as a commercially valuable endorser and an entrepreneur, Michael Jordan became one of the highest paid sportsmen of his era and announced his final retirement from basketball in 1999 while at the top of his game.

Michael Jordan was born on February 17, 1963, in Brooklyn, New York. His father, James Jordan, was a General Electric employee, and his mother Delores worked as a supervisor at a local bank. Soon after Michael's birth, the family relocated to Wallace, North Carolina, and then to Wilmington, where the young Jordan was raised. In early childhood as well as adolescence, Michael showed exceptional skill in all areas of sports, including baseball and football. When he suffered a minor injury while playing football in high school, his parents encouraged him to pursue basketball. Jordan did not initially make the starting squad for his high school basketball team, but made the lineup in his junior year, having shot up to six-foot-three in height. (He would eventually reach his maximum height of six-foot-six-inches). Much of his early skill and training in basketball was derived from playing with his brother Larry in the backyard at home; in his formative years he also idolized and patterned himself



Michael Jordan

after the legendary Julius Erving (a.k.a. Dr. J.), one of the great players of the 1970s.

After high school, Jordan settled on attending the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where he would play on the basketball team under coach Dean Smith. Although Smith by reputation rarely played his freshmen, Jordan's unique abilities guaranteed him time on the court. The young athlete quickly became known for his incredible agility and dexterity on the court, as well as for his ability to think instinctively and create innovative shots. For his efforts, Jordan was voted ACC (Atlantic Coast Conference) Rookie of the Year. After bringing his team to the NCAA (National Collegiate Athletic Association) championships, he won nearly every major individual award in college basketball, including the Wooden Award, the Naismith Award, and the Rupp Trophy. He was also voted College Basketball Player of the Year by *The Sporting News*. In 1984, at 21 years of age, Jordan made the United States Olympic Games basketball team under coach Bobby Knight. Averaging a remarkable 17 points a game, Jordan led the team to a gold medal in eight straight wins. The Olympic win brought Jordan to high visibility in basketball circles and made him a household name in America.

After announcing his decision to leave school early and enter the NBA draft in 1984, Jordan was selected by the Chicago Bulls in the first round (third pick overall). Wearing jersey No. 23 in his rookie professional season, he averaged 28.2 points a game, third highest in the league. With his outstanding leaping ability and uncanny grace in the air, Jordan seemed to defy the laws of gravity. His spectacular individual efforts were fodder for latenight sports highlight programs and quickly fed his growing legend. For the combination of his high

scoring abilities and his stylish acrobatics, the handsome, soft-spoken player was voted Rookie of the Year and was rapidly becoming America's best-loved sports star. The (at that time struggling) Nike shoe company took advantage of Jordan's popularity and signed him to a lucrative endorsement deal that resulted in the Air Jordan shoe, which quickly became the most successful product in sports marketing history. The high sales of the product marked the beginning of a long and commercially rewarding relationship between Nike and Jordan.

Throughout his 1985/86 season, Jordan continued soaring to new heights. When he fractured his ankle early in the season, the dedicated star ignored doctors' orders and went back to regular play, despite the danger of doing more serious damage. By the end of the season, however, he had led his team to the playoffs against the Boston Celtics. On May 20, 1986, Jordan established a NBA Playoffs record by scoring 63 points in a single game against the Celtics. He continued his high scoring rate through the 1987/88 season and became the first player to win both the Defensive Player of the Year award and the NBA scoring title in the same year. He also took home the Most Valuable Player (MVP) award in the All-Star game. Although he again won the scoring title in the 1988/89 season, Jordan remained personally unsatisfied that he had not yet managed to lead the Bulls past Eastern Conference power (and hated rivals) Detroit and into the NBA finals.

In the 1990/91 season, his seventh in the NBA and under new coach Phil Jackson, Jordan received increased on-court support from his gifted teammate Scottie Pippen. As a result, the Bulls finally advanced past Detroit to an NBA finals showdown with the Los Angeles Lakers. In the much publicized on-court match-up between Jordan and the Lakers' legendary Magic Johnson, the Bulls finally prevailed, and Jordan received the title he had so long fought for. In the following 1991/92 season, he took home his third consecutive MVP award and his sixth straight NBA scoring title with a 30.1 point average per game. In the playoffs that year, the Bulls repeated as champions against the Portland Trailblazers by bouncing back from an 81-78 deficit in the final game. Jordan scored 12 of the Bulls' final 19 points to clinch a 97-93 victory.

The successes continued to rack up for Michael Jordan over the forthcoming seasons. In 1992, he once again joined the U.S. team for the Olympic Games. Supported by Magic Johnson, Larry Bird, and others, the American "Dream Team" won their games by an average of 44 points, securing the Gold Medal. In the 1992/1993 NBA season, Jordan took home his seventh straight scoring title and won the championship against Charles Barkley and the Phoenix Suns. Jordan averaged 41 points per game in the six-game final series.

By this time, Jordan's success had brought him international superstardom, yet his most important role was, perhaps, behind the scenes. In 1990, he had married Juanita Vanoy. Together, the couple would raise three children (Jeffrey, Marcus and Jasmine) in the Highland Park suburb of Illinois, and the sports star would eventually bring home \$45 million a year from endorsement deals that ranged from breakfast cereal to his own line of cologne products. He also purchased a restaurant in Chicago, Michael Jordan's Steak House, which instantly became a popular tourist stop. His profile had risen to such an extent that he even hosted an episode of NBC television's *Saturday Night Live* in 1991.

Although Jordan, well-known for his charity work, was widely recognized as an admirable role model, there were persistent rumors that he had become addicted to gambling, and some began to criticize him for overly aggressive behavior on the court. In 1993, his father

was shot to death in South Carolina by two local youths who were attempting to steal his automobile. On October 6th of the same year, in the midst of the tragedy surrounding his father, Jordan shocked the world by announcing his retirement from basketball. He was only 30 and at the peak of his game and popularity. Speculation persisted that Jordan's "retirement" was actually a league-ordered suspension of the NBA's brightest star amid substantiated stories that Jordan was wagering hundreds of thousands of dollars on golf games.

Again to the surprise of the public, Jordan took advantage of his retirement to pursue one of his long lost dreams: he signed with the Chicago White Sox to play minor league baseball, with the swaggering declaration that his ultimate goal was to make the major leagues. Although numerous onlookers took this new career move to be a publicity stunt or a way to stay competitively sharp during his "suspension," many of his fans were intrigued by his daring. Jordan rode the team bus, shared small locker rooms, and received a pittance in comparison to his salary during his tenure with the Bulls. Unfortunately, in contrast to his performance on the basketball court, Jordan's abilities on the baseball field were limited even on a minor-league standard. Yet, his courage to try and his humility on the baseball field made the larger-than-life sports star seem more human and more vulnerable, further endearing him to his already loyal fans. In the meantime, the Chicago Bulls were suffering without their star player and were quickly eliminated from the playoffs. The NBA as a whole also suffered; sorely missing Jordan's star appeal, the playoffs in 1993 between the New York Knicks and the Houston Rockets drew an uncharacteristically low television audience.

Providence intervened for Jordan fans. On March 18, 1995, due to a baseball strike, Jordan returned from his 18-month hiatus from the court to rejoin the Bulls. In his return game—against the Indiana Pacers—Jordan posted 19 points, 6 rebounds, 6 assists, and 3 steals in 43 minutes of play. Eventually, however, the Bulls were defeated in the playoffs by the Orlando Magic, who were bolstered by the presence of young and versatile players like Shaquille O'Neal and Penny Hardaway. In the 1995/96 season, Jordan and the Bulls were joined by the outrageous Dennis Rodman, ironically their longtime nemesis from the Detroit Pistons' Bad Boys days.. Along with Rodman and Pippen, Jordan once again led the Bulls to the NBA title, their fourth in six years. The star also picked up his eighth scoring championship with a 30.4 points per game average, as well as another MVP award; that year he also claimed *Sport Magazine's* award as the top athlete of the last half of the twentieth century. In 1996, Jordan made his film debut in the half-animation, half-live action star vehicle *Space Jam*, which was a box office hit.

In the 1997/98 season, Jordan was given a \$30 million contract for one year's play, and also earned his fifth MVP Award. He became the first player in history to be selected to the NBA All Defensive First Team nine times, beating Bobby Jones's previous record of eight. Jordan was named MVP of the 1998 All-Star Game, and won his sixth NBA championship after leading the Bulls past the Utah Jazz in the playoffs.

On January 13, 1999, aged 35 and at the top of his game, Michael Jordan again announced his retirement, this time on the heels of a protracted labor dispute which saw the league lock-out the players over a dispute in their collective bargaining agreement. It seemed the proper time for perhaps the greatest player ever to step down. In just 14 years, Jordan had risen not only to a certain place in the basketball Hall of Fame, but also to the highest level of status and achievement in global popular sports culture. Throughout his professional career, he

had been a shining symbol of the American Dream, expanding the very possibilities of human achievement in his field. In the June 1998 issue of *Hoop* magazine, one writer described Jordan professional career as the new “universal measuring device in appraising greatness.”

—Jason King

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## Joy of Cooking

An eight-hundred page cookbook that begins with a quote from Goethe's *Faust* seems an unlikely candidate for a spot on a list of the best-selling books of the century, but Irma S. Rombauer's *Joy of Cooking* (first edition 1931), sold 14 million copies before 1997—a record that speaks for itself in terms of the enormous influence it has wielded in the development of social culture. In 1977 a revised edition was issued by its new publisher, Simon & Schuster, and despite the vast changes in the eating habits of American households over the decades, the detailed tome again landed on the best-seller lists. By the end of the twentieth century, it was the top-selling all-purpose cookbook in publishing history, deemed the bible of American culinary customs, from cocktails to custards.

Part of *Joy of Cooking*'s success lies in the way it presents the art of food preparation in simple, forthright terminology. Rombauer was a widowed St. Louis socialite of patrician German birth when she began assembling her wealth of recipes into book form in 1930, partly at the request of her two grown children. Married to a lawyer in 1899, she had had little experience in the kitchen as a young wife, and like other affluent women of the era, she relied on domestic staff to help plan and cook meals for family dinners and social events. Her husband was an avid outdoor man, however, and had instructed her in some of the basics of the camp stove. Over the next few decades Rombauer matured into an accomplished chef and renowned hostess. One of her aims in writing the book was to persuade American women that cooking was not a daily, labor-intensive, time-consuming chore, but rather a delight, indeed, a “joy.” The book's title has something of an ironic tinge, because Rombauer's husband had suffered from depression for much of his adult life, and committed suicide in the family home in St. Louis a few months after the stock market crash of 1929. He left his wife and two children an estate of just 6000 dollars, and Rombauer used half of that sum to put her first edition into print.

The recipes that Irma Rombauer assembled for the first *Joy of Cooking: A Compilation of Reliable Recipes with a Casual Culinary Chat* (1931) provided new cooks with the basics. Illustrated by her artistic-minded daughter, Marion Rombauer Becker, the book sold 3,000 copies, literally out of Rombauer's St. Louis home. The stylized, art-deco cover depicted a gowned St. Martha of Bethany, the patron saint of cooks, slaying a dragon representing kitchen drudgery;

inside were to be found old European recipes, such as braised heart slices in a sour sauce, adapted for use with American ingredients and tools. There were several meat dishes that reflected traditional peasant economics, whereby when an animal was slaughtered almost no inch of it went to waste—neither brains nor tongue, intestine or feet. On a lighter note, Rombauer told readers about her cook, Marguerite, and Marguerite's culinary prowess. Her chatty style extended to explaining the mechanics of food preparation: she assumed, for example, that novices in the kitchen did not know how to separate egg whites when a recipe called for it, and so guided them through it; likewise, she instructed them in other fundamentals such as flour sifting and deboning chicken.

In 1936, Indianapolis publisher Bobbs-Merrill brought out a *Joy of Cooking* edition rewritten and enlarged by the author. This version displayed Rombauer's unique set-up for each recipe that became the book's most famously identifying feature. Ingredients were listed in bold type so that a recipe could be quickly scanned to determine whether the ingredients were on hand in the pantry or refrigerator; more importantly, just what to do with those ingredients was detailed in a step-by-step sequence. This edition was an immediate success, due in part to the fact that, with the Great Depression, many well-to-do households could no longer afford to keep servants, and numerous affluent American women had recently entered the kitchen full-time. They sorely needed Rombauer's instructions.

In 1939, Rombauer was far ahead of her time in recognizing the need for a cookbook designed to help working women prepare quick and easy meals. *Streamlined Cooking* was the result, and the relatively recent invention of the pressure cooker was a key element in many of the main-dish recipes. It was not as successful as her first volume, but when she merged the two into a 1943 edition of *Joy of Cooking*, she hit upon the perfect formula. Combining the easy recipes from *Streamlined* with the step-by-step instruction method of *Joy* produced an instant classic. Large numbers of women were working outside the home as a result of labor shortages created by World War II, and Rombauer's recipes took the countrywide wartime food rationing into consideration. When the third revision of the book appeared in 1951, household help had become a relic of a bygone era for all but the wealthiest of households. Census figures from between 1930 and 1960 tracked a decrease in the median age of men and women at the time of marriage, and the number of households, families, and married couples zoomed from 34.9 million in 1940 to 52.7 million in 1960. Though many women worked outside the home during this era, the image of the competent, attractive homemaker advanced by advertising and television programs was firmly entrenched by the postwar decade, and *Joy of Cooking* became the “how-to” guide to achieving domestic fulfillment for legions of American women.

By the 1960s *Joy* was a perennial best-seller, the standard bridal-shower gift, and a staple accessory of almost every middle-class household. “Its virtues were its compendiousness, its useful tables and explanations, its pragmatic, clear directions and a certain sprightly and encouraging tone,” declared Diane Johnson in a 1997 assessment for the *New York Review of Books*. Johnson explained that later food critics of the 1970s and 1980s railed against some the book's more archaic elements and reliance on processed foods, especially after American culinary tastes grew more daring and gourmet cooking became all the rage. This trend was exemplified by Julia Child's *Mastering the Art of French Cooking*, first published in 1961, which made the canned-soup recipes in the *Joy of Cooking* seem not only dated but somewhat pedestrian. By the 1962 edition, Marion Rombauer



Becker had taken over the project, though her mother's name remained on the cover, and this and successive editions were revised, with certain recipes discarded, to reflect America's increasing culinary sophistication. The quote from Goethe remained, however: "That which thy fathers have bequeathed to thee, earn it anew if thou wouldst possess it."

Irma Rombauer died in 1962, and her *New York Times* obituary noted that "the cookbook that brought her fame is considered one of the most lucid and accurate ever written. Mrs. Rombauer wrote charmingly and well about food." The paper also credited her with introducing elegant European recipes in accessible terminology "so they could be prepared with relative speed and ease by the average American housewife." A fifth edition of *Joy of Cooking* published in 1975 became the best-selling of all with an estimated 3.5 million copies sold in 20 years, and, despite editorial changes, still provided many delightful reminders of a bygone era. "Unless you choke your duck, pluck the down on its breast immediately afterward, and cook it within 24 hours, you cannot lay claim to having produced an authentic Rouen duck," begins the recipe for Duckling Rouennaise, a modified version of the genuine article. The recipe instructs readers to roast a five-pound bird on a spit or rotisserie, and then serve sliced in a chafing dish with a sauce prepared from its crushed liver, veal pate, onion, butter, and burgundy wine. Recipes for veal kidney, blood sausage, lamb head with a rosemary wine sauce, and pig's tails still abounded, and even a diagram for skinning a squirrel remained. *Stand Facing the Stove: The Story of the Women Who Gave America "The Joy of Cooking"* (1966) is a chronicle of the book and its successive revisions by food writer Anne Mendelson, who praised the 1975 edition for its flaws as well as its virtues. "It records," wrote Mendelson, "the sheer improbability of twentieth-century American cooking from the Great Depression to the Ford administration, a lawless melange of blueprints for progress, nostalgic hankerings, gourmet cults, timesaving expedients, media-inspired fads, and unexpected rebellions."

Rombauer's grandson, Ethan Becker, revised *Joy* for a 1997 edition, the first in over two decades. Expanded to an exhaustive 1100-plus pages, the latest release vaulted to the best-seller lists immediately. As always, it had changed with the times: leaner, low-fat recipes prevailed, and a range of new ethnic dishes such as Vietnamese pho were included. In 1998 publisher Scribner brought out a facsimile of the very first edition, complete with the dragon-slaying, St. Martha cover.

—Carol Brennan

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## *The Joy of Sex*

Published in 1972, during a period when the English-speaking world was experiencing a rapid relaxation of many of its Victorian-era taboos about the open discussion of sexuality, Dr. Alex Comfort's "lovemaking manual," *The Joy of Sex*, caused an immense stir for its frankly nonpuritanical and lighthearted approach to a subject previously shrouded in religious stricture and clinical seriousness. For readers eager to "swing" with the "sexual revolution," or just to perk up a drab marital bed, this volume, and its sequels and spinoffs over the next two decades, were the first mass-market books that offered graphic text and illustrations designed to help people guiltlessly expand their sexual horizons by experimenting with new techniques and positions. Although it was welcomed in many progressive circles, *The Joy of Sex* was roundly criticized for its gender and cultural bias that singularly described female organs with vulgar language; that relied on expressions like "exotic" and "oriental" to describe some unfamiliar techniques; and that dismissed same-sex relations as trivial and unfulfilling. Still, the book was considered a breakthrough for the way in which it brought sexuality to the arena of everyday conversation, paving the way for the more relaxed approach taken by later sexologists like Dr. Ruth Westheimer and Dr. Judy Kurlansky.

As published by Crown, *The Joy of Sex; A Gourmet Guide to Lovemaking* (also known in some editions as *The Joy of Sex: A Cordon Bleu Guide to Lovemaking*) was described in the jacket copy as "the first really happy and outstanding new lovemaking manual, a contemporary Western equal to the great Eastern classics of the *Kama Sutra* and the *Pillow Books of China*." Based on the "experience of happily married people and edited by Dr. Alex Comfort with the advice of doctors and professional counselors," the book offered more than one hundred line drawings and several pages of paintings in full color by Charles Raymond and Christopher Foss. Also included were sixteen pages of "oriental exotic art from Japan, India, and China." Although Comfort, a British gerontologist, social activist, and poet-novelist, was listed as the book's "editor," in reality he researched and wrote the entire manuscript, explaining later that he could not be identified as its author because of restrictions that then prohibited British physicians from writing "popular" books. Although the book claimed to be based "on the work of one couple," Comfort later confessed that he employed other "consultants" as source material. It was Comfort's original intention to illustrate *The Joy of Sex* with actual photographs of couples, but the photos never "caught the proper zest," as he later told Hugh Kenner. "There was always an expression that asked, 'Am I doing it right?' So two artists [Raymond and Foss] worked from the photographs to produce the illustrations you see. . . . But if the pictures help people turn on, that's part of what the book is for," he explained.

In his introduction, Comfort wrote that "one aim of this book is to cure the notion, born of non-discussion, that common sex needs are odd or weird." He added, "There are, after all, only two 'rules' in good sex, apart from the obvious one of not doing things which are silly, antisocial, or dangerous. One is 'don't do anything you don't really enjoy,' and the other is 'find out your partner's needs and don't balk them if you can help it.'" Comfort wanted couples to be willing to acknowledge a wide "range of human needs" that might include practices and fantasies—aggression and role-playing, for example—that "the last half-century's social mythology pretended weren't there."

Based on his premise that fine sex was analogous to a cook's finesse in blending ingredients and techniques to create a meal of both "culinary fantasies as well as staple diets" ("just as you can't cook without heat, you can't make love without feedback," he wrote), Comfort organized his menu-like table of contents into four sections: Starters, Main Courses, Sauces and Pickles, and Problems. Among the "sauces and pickles" were several dozen "dishes" that in a more puritanical age would have been called naughty or even perverse; the hodgepodge bill-of-fare included items both familiar and obscure: anal intercourse, bondage, "foursomes and moresomes," grope suits, harness, ice, motor cars, pompoir, railroads, rubber, vibrators, and viennese oyster. (Comfort later confessed to curious readers that the "grope suit," a purportedly Scandinavian gadget designed "to induce continuous female orgasm," was really a "joke" he invented.) Some of the items listed incurred the wrath of critics who objected to Comfort's cultural insensitivity in describing certain sexual techniques using Western-centric terms such as "chinese style," "indian style," "japanese style," and "south slav style." Other items, perhaps evocative of an earlier, Anglocentric bias when French postcards were considered the ultimate in naughtiness, were cast in terminology such as "feuille de rose," "pattes d'araigné" and "postillionage."

Besides the expected condemnations by conservative religious critics, *The Joy of Sex* came under fire from feminists who complained that Dr. Comfort used street-slang terms for women's body parts while describing male organs in clinical fashion, and from nonmainstream couples who found their lifestyles were demeaned or ignored in the book. In the 1972 edition, same-sex behaviors were relegated to the "problems" section, under the misleading heading of "bisexuality." Though Comfort generously admitted "all people are bisexual: that is to say they are able to respond sexually to some extent towards people of either sex," he made few friends in the gay and lesbian community when he declared that "Being homosexual isn't a matter of having this kind of response, but usually of having some kind of turn-off towards the opposite sex which makes our same-sex response more evident or predominant." Comfort concluded the section on "bisexuality" by declaring "Straight man-woman sex is the real thing for most people—others need something different but their scope is usually reduced, not widened, by such needs."

This heterosexist attitude inspired the publication, in 1977, of the gay-positive *The Joy of Gay Sex*, by Dr. Charles Silverstein and Edmund White, with illustrations by Michael Leonard, Ian Beck, and Julian Graddon. It was Dr. Silverstein who, in 1973, had successfully persuaded the American Psychiatric Association to remove homosexuality from its list of mental disorders. In his introduction, Silverstein wrote that *The Joy of Gay Sex* was "by gays, for gays, about the gay subculture that comes equipped with its own rituals, its own agonies and ecstasies, its own argot."

With the emergence of the AIDS crisis in the 1980s, both *The Joy of Sex* and *The Joy of Gay Sex* underwent revisions and new editions that promoted safer sex, a topic that had been thought relatively unimportant in the 1970s when, for example, Comfort could write that, between lovers, "Sex must be physically the safest of all human activities (leaving out social repercussions)" or when Silverstein could write "Gonorrhoea (clap) is the most serious disease facing gay men." Safer-sex instruction, together with illustrations of models using condoms, were included in some of the sequels and spinoffs to both series, including Comfort's *The New Joy of Sex* (1992) and *The New Joy of Gay Sex* (1991), in which Silverstein

collaborated with Felice Picano, with illustrations by Deni Ponty and Ron Fowler.

—Edward Moran

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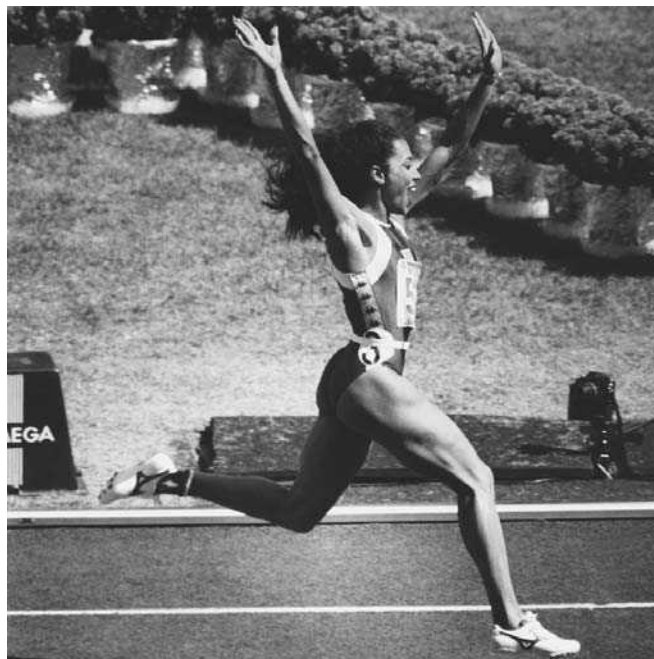
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## Joyner, Florence Griffith (1959-1998)

One of the most beloved athletes of the late twentieth century, Olympic track and field star Florence Griffith Joyner, or more commonly "FloJo," inspired legions of young aspiring female athletes with her speed, her confidence, and her winning looks. Almost as famous for her muscular physique and her flamboyant style, particularly her six-inch-long, intricately patterned and polished fingernails, Joyner made the track and field establishment sit up



Florence Griffith Joyner

and take notice, and officials and fans alike mourned her sudden death, at 38, of an apparent heart seizure.

Blazing down the track in brightly colored outfits, including her one-legged tights, Joyner was hailed as the world's fastest woman runner at the peak of her career in the mid-1980s. A phenomenal sprinter holding records in the 100- and 200-meter dashes, she also won three gold medals and two silvers at the 1988 Summer Olympics in Seoul, Korea. While a planned comeback in 1996 failed to materialize due to an Achilles tendon injury, Joyner continued to be a presence in track and field events even after her Olympic sweep.

Born December 21, 1959, Joyner was raised in the projects of the Watts district of Los Angeles, the seventh of ten children of electronics technician Robert Griffith and his wife, after whom Florence would be named. Starting to run for sport at age seven, Joyner continued her hobby even after doctors found the teenaged runner had a heart murmur and advised her to quit. Under the tutelage and encouragement of coach Bobby Kersee, Joyner earned a sports scholarship to the University of California, Los Angeles. During her time at UCLA, she ranked as NCAA champion with a 22.39 time on the 200-meter dash before graduating in 1983 with a degree in psychology. After college, Joyner continued to develop her phenomenal speed, and went on to win the silver medal in the 200 meters during the 1984 Olympics in her home town of Los Angeles.

Retiring briefly from running after her Olympic victory to pursue work as a bank secretary and beautician, Joyner was encouraged to return to the track by Kersee. Her records in the 100- (10.49) and 200-meter (21.34) dashes in Seoul remained unbroken after her death. In October 1987 she married coach and Olympic gold medalist Al Joyner, the older brother of heptathlon world-recordholder Jackie Joyner-Kersee. The couple made their new home in Mission Viejo, California, and in 1988 Al Joyner took over coaching duties for his wife from Kersee. The couple's daughter, Mary, was born in 1991.

Retiring from her career as a sprinter in 1989, Joyner turned her enormous energies to designing sportswear and working toward getting her cosmetology license. Her determination and desire for perfection drove her in these areas as they had her running career. She also designed uniforms for the NBA team the Indiana Pacers, and co-chaired the President's Council on Physical Fitness as a means of further inspiring young athletes.

Joyner's untimely death at age 38 was noted by President Clinton, who told reporters that "We were dazzled by her speed, humbled by her talent, and captivated by her style. Though she rose to the pinnacle of the world of sports, she never forgot where she came from." While some in the media speculated that Joyner's rumored use of performance-enhancing drugs such as steroids may have contributed to her death, such rumors had consistently been disproved throughout her career: during the Olympics she was tested for drug use 11 times without problem. It was widely known that the athlete had suffered from a number of medical problems throughout her career and had been hospitalized on several occasions. She also experienced increased episodes of fatigue during 1997. An autopsy revealed that Joyner died in her sleep of asphyxiation, the result of an epileptic seizure. Left behind to mourn this energetic and inspiring athlete were her husband, her seven-year-old daughter Mary, and legions of fans who considered themselves fortunate to have witnessed the amazing performance of the fastest woman in the world.

—Pamela L. Shelton

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## Joyner-Kersee, Jackie (1962—)

Born in East St. Louis, Illinois, and raised in a house she remembers as "little more than paper and sticks," Jackie Joyner-Kersee eventually became known throughout the world as one of the finest female athletes of all time. The winner of six Olympic medals, three of them gold, a record-holder in both the multi-event heptathlon (the female version of the decathlon) and the long jump, and a world-class basketball player, Joyner-Kersee stands as an example of how strength and determination can triumph over adversity. An African-American, she has battled racial discrimination and gender bias and triumphed in the male-dominated field of athletic competition, despite her personal battle with a debilitating medical condition.

Born on March 3, 1962, Joyner-Kersee was one of four children born to Al Joyner and his wife, Mary. Her brother, Al Joyner, is also an athlete who has achieved Olympic greatness, winning the gold in the triple jump in 1984; he would marry runner Florence "FloJo" Griffith in 1987. An active child, Joyner-Kersee joined the track team at East St. Louis's Lincoln High School, where she benefited from having some excellent coaches and excelled at the long jump. However, her performance on the basketball court was what got her noticed, and after graduating in 1980, Joyner-Kersee was able to attend the University of California, Los Angeles on a basketball scholarship.

At UCLA Joyner-Kersee first met Bob Kersee, a controversial coach who would have a great impact not only on her career but on her personal life as well. Her college years proved to be challenging as, under Kersee's direction, the young athlete perfected her skills and ultimately won the NCAA heptathlon two years in a row, as well as walking away with the 1982 USA championship. The injury that would dog Joyner-Kersee's career—a pulled hamstring—first made itself known as she prepared to compete in the 1983 World Championships in Helsinki, Finland, and she was forced to withdraw. She was also diagnosed with an asthmatic condition requiring constant medication. However, Joyner-Kersee's medical setbacks were nothing compared to learning of the tragic death of her 37-year-old mother, Mary, who had been the young woman's inspiration. While Joyner-Kersee's grief momentarily threatened to derail her academic and athletic career, she rallied, as she had from each of her medical setbacks, and went on to pursue her dreams. Graduating with a major in history in the top ten percent of her class from UCLA, she was also named the school's athlete of the year in 1985, and won the Broderick Cup for being chosen the country's most outstanding female collegiate athlete.

Her first year out of college would prove to be a momentous year for Joyner-Kersee. She and her coach were married in January of



**Jackie Joyner-Kersey**

1986, and Kersee continued to coach his wife to a heptathlon victory at that year's Goodwill Games in Moscow. Setting the world record of 7,148 points for the event during the Games, Joyner-Kersey competed in other events across the country, winning the Jesse Owens Award for outstanding performance in track and field that same year.

Joyner-Kersey made outstanding performances in a number of events during 1987, including the Mobil Indoor Grand Prix (winner, women's overall), the Pan American Games (winner, long jump), and the World Championships, held in Rome, where she equalled the world record of 24 feet 5 1/2 inches in the long jump. She suffered her first major asthma attack after returning from the Rome Games, and doctors prescribed the short, periodic use of prednisone, a steroid banned in athletic competition, in addition to her regular medication. Because Joyner-Kersey resisted becoming reliant upon drugs and stopped taking any medications as soon as she felt better, her condition worsened over the coming years, and during 1993's spring games she would be forced to compete wearing an allergen-filtering mask. Meanwhile, the 1987 Jesse Owens Award would once again go to Joyner-Kersey for her outstanding track and field performance that year.

Joyner-Kersey continued to break records over the following decade. In 1988's Olympic Games she took the gold in both the heptathlon and long jump, and equalled the U.S. record for 100-meter

hurdles. Sidelined by a painful injury to her right hamstring during the heptathlon's 200-meter run at Tokyo's 1991 World Championships, a resolute Joyner-Kersey worked her way back into top form, taking the gold for the heptathlon and the bronze for the long jump at the following year's Olympic Games at Barcelona.

Joyner-Kersey set the U.S. record for indoor 50 hurdles before losing the heptathlon event at the Olympics for the first time in her career in 1996. Despite the recurrent hamstring injury that forced her to withdraw from the event, she still managed to win the Olympic bronze in the long jump while in Atlanta. She also renewed her love affair with basketball, joining the Richmond, Virginia, Rage and playing in the newly formed American Basketball League for women.

Her performance at the 1998 Goodwill Games held in New York City would signal Joyner-Kersey's retirement from athletic competition. And what a performance it was. Ending the two-day, seven-event heptathlon with an outstanding performance in the 800-meters, she took the title with 7,291 points, breaking her own world's record set in 1986. Her Goodwill victory was Joyner-Kersey's 25th win out of the 36 multi-event competitions she had entered during her career. Retiring after an amazing career, Joyner-Kersey had plans to build a youth center in her native East St. Louis, and to begin raising a family with her husband.

—Pamela L. Shelton

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## Judas Priest

Rock band Judas Priest, originally British, gained national recognition in the United States in the 1980s. They were one of the first such groups to be associated exclusively with the term “Heavy Metal” and their onstage theatrics included motorcycle rides, pyrotechnics, and the wearing of leather outfits with chain and spike accessories. Their music evoked a dark fantasy world where rugged heroes wandered in ruined landscapes and defeated evil forces. A decade of hard rock was shaped by the image and message of Judas Priest, and their influence permeated to new forms of rock in the 1990s.

The band was officially formed in 1969 when the original British Invasion of groups such as the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, and the Yardbirds slowed down and made way for American rockers. The original members of Judas Priest hailed from Birmingham in the industrial midlands of England, where Black Sabbath and many other



Rob Halford of Judas Priest.

British hard rock groups got their start. Judas Priest's first American record release, 1977's “Sin after Sin,” gained them only a cult following in the United States, and it was not until their album *British Steel*, released in 1980, that the band received significant air play with the singles “Living After Midnight” and “Breaking the Law”—loud and simple party anthems that showcased vocalist Rob Halford's alternately growling and screaming voice. 1982's “Screamin’ for Vengeance” featured Judas Priest's typical mix of machismo and futuristic doom and was their largest success to date, while their throaty tribute to pride and revenge, “You Got Another Thing Comin,’” entered the pop charts and was the band's first successful video.

In 1985, Judas Priest was cited in a suit filed by Tipper Gore's Parental Music Resource Center as being influential in several highly publicized suicide pacts. The secret messages found in their songs “Let's Be Dead” and “Do It” were presented as evidence, and although no direct link was ever established, the case attests to Judas Priest's stature as a figurehead for the genre of Heavy Metal. The band survived this legal onslaught and several lineup shifts during the 1990s, continuing to release new work 30 years after their inception. Younger Heavy Metal groups expanded, diversified, and absorbed enough mainstream norms to sell records, but Judas Priest remained loud and angry, true to their roots.

Priest's formula for success—aggressive presentation, operatic screams, extended guitar solos, allusions to mythology and apocalypse—would be adopted and adapted by many other acts over the next decade. Their guitarists K.K. Downing and Glenn Tipton had long bleached hair; Halford had impressive biceps to match his clenched teeth, and rode his Harley-Davidson on stage as the last encore for each elaborate concert. They tapped into a mysterious suburban longing—young record-buying white males seemed particularly attuned to Judas Priest's territorial posing and violent fantasies. Judas Priest was one of the first Heavy Metal bands to expand successfully beyond the comfortable realm of mammoth concerts and album sales; they cracked the MTV market in an age where pop and new wave dominated the channel, and managed somehow to maintain a reputation as purists and outsiders even at the height of their commercial success. Grunge musicians of the next generation often mentioned Judas Priest as a primary influence, and “Breakin’ the Law” found new cult life when MTV's *Beavis and Butthead* air-guitared regularly to the song in the 1990s. Rarely has a musical act so consistently and unabashedly typified a late twentieth-century style of musical expression.

—Colby Vargas

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## Judge

A flourishing weekly American humor magazine for close to sixty years, *Judge* was renowned during the 1920s for bringing a new

generation of sophisticated humor writers and cartoonists to the attention of American readers, including S. J. Perelman, Theodor Seuss Geisel ("Dr. Seuss"), Ralph Barton, Johnny Gruelle, Ernie Bushmiller, and Harold Ross.

*Judge* was founded in New York City in 1881 and survived until 1939 in its initial run, offering a mix of jokes, short humor pieces, reviews, and gag cartoons. The humor magazines of the nineteenth century, unlike late twentieth-century publications such as *Mad* and *Cracked*, were aimed at grown-up readers and included topical and political observations as well as broad comedy and ethnic jokes. *Judge* was founded just five years after the appearance of one of its chief competitors, *Puck*, which, as one historian has pointed out, soon "shed its crude image—with jokes about minorities, slapstick humor, and puns—and became a sophisticated humor magazine with longer articles and more society and suburban subjects." Similar to *Puck* in form and content, *Judge* also owed something to Britain's well-established *Punch*. A key figure in the early development of *Judge* was cartoonist James Albert Wales, who left *Puck* to put together the group that launched the new magazine.

The next major humor weekly to come along was *Life*, which debuted in 1883. *Puck* folded in 1918, but *Judge* and *Life* remained rivals well into the 1930s. Though never quite as slick or sophisticated as *Life*, *Judge* managed to hold its own against its competitor, and by 1925 proclaimed "Larger circulation than any other humorous weekly in the world" on its covers. The man credited with boosting *Judge*'s circulation over 100,000 was Norman Anthony, who became editor in 1923. He promoted the single-caption cartoon—as opposed to the traditional he-she type of earlier years—and with coming up with theme issues devoted to a specific topic, such as the Advertising Number, Celebrities Number, Radio Number, and College Number. Among the new contributors Anthony recruited for these issues were S. J. Perelman, "Dr. Seuss," and cartoonist Jefferson Machamer. Initially a cartoonist as well as a writer, Perelman contributed somewhat surreal cartoons as well as humor pieces and magazine parodies; his cartoons were always accompanied by a block of copy in the style that would later show up in his *New Yorker* pieces and in the nonsense dialogue he contributed to the Marx Brothers movies. Harold Ross, who later founded the *The New Yorker*, worked for Anthony briefly, and other eventual *New Yorker* contributors, such as Chon Day, Charles Addams, Gardner Rea, and Whitney Darrow, Jr., all did work for *Judge*. Other contributors included Milt Gross, Don Herold, William Gropper, Bill Holman (creator of *Smokey Stover*), Vernon Grant, and Ernie Bushmiller (creator of *Nancy*). *Judge*'s theater critic in the 1920s and early 1930s was the formidable George Jean Nathan, and movie reviews were provided by Pare Lorentz, an acclaimed documentary filmmaker.

Anthony was lured away to *Life* in 1929 and was replaced as editor by John Shuttleworth. In 1931, Anthony created *Ballyhoo*, a much more raucous magazine that satirized advertising and many other icons of popular culture. *Life*, a monthly by that time and trying unsuccessfully to mimic *The New Yorker*, ended its run in 1936, selling its title to Henry Luce for his new picture weekly. By this time, *Judge* itself was a monthly, and for a time ran a cover line: "Including the humorous tradition and features of *Life*." The magazine held on until 1939 before folding; it was revived twice, but never regained its earlier popularity.

—Ron Goulart

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## Judson, Arthur (1881-1975)

Between 1930 and 1950, Arthur Judson exerted unprecedented influence in the field of classical music in the United States, acting as unofficial chief advisor to the country's major symphony orchestras. The engagement of both conductors and soloists for symphony concerts depended, to an extraordinary degree, on his recommendations. Officially, Judson held dual positions as president of Columbia Concerts Corporation, the country's leading artists' management agency—which came to be known as "the Judson Empire"—and simultaneously managed the New York Philharmonic and Philadelphia orchestras. However, it was not only his powerful status that won the trust of orchestra boards, but his knowledge of music and his impeccable judgment of quality. To these virtues were added shrewd business sense, and an instinct for what would draw audiences. As artists' manager, he was known to represent only the finest musicians and, accordingly, won their confidence and loyalty. No one person since has taken control of classical music to the same extent as Arthur Judson.

—Milton Goldin

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## Judy Bolton

Judy Bolton was the protagonist of a popular girls mystery series. Unlike contemporary series produced by syndicates and ghost-writers using pseudonyms, the Judy Bolton series was created and written entirely by Margaret Sutton. Grosset & Dunlap initially published four volumes in 1932, then printed one per year through 1967 for a total of 38 volumes. Many of the stories were based on real events, sites, and Sutton's or her acquaintances' experiences. The books appealed to readers because Judy Bolton was more realistic than other series sleuths. Four million copies of Judy Bolton books sold before the series was canceled.

Sutton wrote her first books before the Nancy Drew series was published, but Grosset & Dunlap was not interested in her idea. Sutton was told how syndicate books were written, and she declined to write formulaic plots. Because of Nancy Drew's popularity, girl detective stories became marketable, and an editor at Grosset & Dunlap contacted Sutton about publishing the Judy Bolton tales. In 1932 *The Vanishing Shadow*, *The Haunted Attic*, *The Invisible Chimes*, and *Seven Strange Clues* were issued. More interested in literary craft than commercial success, Sutton's writing did not resemble the contents of mass marketed books sold in other series. Judy Bolton differed from other detective heroines in girls series books because she realistically grew up and was not frozen at a specific age. She was

also concerned about social issues and sensitive to members of other socioeconomic classes and cultures. Judy chose her friends and cases because she was interested in those people and wanted to improve their living conditions. Although she was not as popular as Nancy Drew, she provided a stronger role model for readers.

In the first book, Judy, a doctor's daughter, was a red-haired, 15 year-old high school student living in northwestern Pennsylvania during the 1930s. Judy wanted to be a detective, explore the world, and solve problems, but her life remained ordinary, sometimes disappointing, and not spectacular like Nancy Drew's. In the series, Judy aged to 22 years old, graduated from high school and college, worked, married, and accepted adult responsibilities. This maturation did not limit her adventures or inquisitiveness and reinforced the reality of her stories unlike other series in which characters were static and artificial. Judy traveled and met new people, establishing relationships beyond her family. She confronted social issues and displayed tolerance and acceptance of others. Judy Bolton was also depicted as sometimes being outspoken, temperamental, and capable of making mistakes, causing her to appear more human to readers, who could identify with Judy more than with flawless detectives such as Nancy Drew. Judy relied on her intellect, not her appearance, and used her ability to surmount obstacles instead of counting on material goods or family connections like Nancy Drew. Judy persistently sought the truth with the help of her cat Blackberry, brother Horace, friend Honey, or romantic partner Peter Dobbs, a Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agent who considered Judy his equal. They liked to solve mysteries together.

The Judy Bolton series successfully endured for three decades. Grosset & Dunlap canceled the series after number 38, *The Secret of the Sand Castle*, was published in 1967. Sutton believed that Grosset & Dunlap capitulated to pressure from the Stratemeyer Syndicate because Judy Bolton ranked second to Nancy Drew in sales. The monopolistic syndicate disliked competitors and discouraged Grosset & Dunlap from advertising and distributing series books. Sutton also claimed that the syndicate had stolen plots and titles from her books for their series. She had planned a thirty-ninth book, *The Strange Likeness*, set in the Panama Canal Zone where Judy gave birth to twins Peter and Pam.

Scholars have scrutinized the Judy Bolton books for themes and symbolism, praising the sound plots, thrilling pace, realism, and social commentary. Some critics have labeled Judy as a feminist who was an independent thinker; a confident, capable person who resented restrictions based on gender. They have identified such recurrent series themes as the problems of urbanization and the search for identity. Scholars stressed that Judy's encounters with stereotypes about ethnic and religious groups and awareness of class consciousness addressed timeless issues that would impact readers of all generations. Judy challenged prejudices and attempted to understand circumstances so that she could change them. The books provided commentary about child labor, unsafe work conditions, unemployment, and elitism. For example, Judy cleverly hosted a costume party so that members of different social classes did not know the identity of each other and mingled. Although the books never mentioned the Depression during which they were created, many of the mysteries were connected to economic conditions, situations, and motivations.

The Judy Bolton books were nostalgic collectibles for adult women. Marcia Muller, pioneering author of hard-boiled detective novels featuring the savvy female protagonist Sharon McCone, revealed that Judy Bolton was her favorite teenage girl detective because Judy seemed real and could speak for herself. Muller also

stated that the Judy Bolton mysteries were interesting and not improbable like other series. In 1985, author Kate Emberg and a group of collectors formed the Judy Bolton Society which published the *Judy Bolton Society Newsletter*. This group became the Society of Phantom Friends, named for the thirtieth volume in the series, and its newsletter, *The Whispered Watchword*, discussed Judy Bolton and other series books. Every summer the Margaret Sutton Weekend enabled fans to visit book sites. The Phantom Friends developed a friendship with Sutton and presented her their Life Achievement Award. Emberg wrote and published a new Judy Bolton, *The Whispering Belltower*, with Sutton's permission, and *The Talking Snowman* was co-written by Sutton and Linda Joy Singleton. Phantom Friends Melanie Knight, Rosemarie DiCristo, and Linda Tracy compiled the *Guide to Judy Bolton Country*, a comprehensive reference manual about all aspects, major and trivial, of the Judy Bolton books. Judy Bolton fans have also created internet sites about the popular character and the local school in Sutton's hometown painted a mural of Judy Bolton for an art and history project. Because the Judy Bolton series was out of print, Applewood Books and Aeonian Press published facsimile reprints in the 1990s. Avid collectors, including Sutton, continue to search for original volumes in used bookstores.

—Elizabeth D. Schafer

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## Juke Boxes

Automatic record players activated by putting a coin in them were one of the earliest methods of making money from Thomas Edison's phonograph invention. The juke box really came of age in the 1930s and 1940s when the Great Depression almost eliminated the sale of records to individuals and made the coin-slot record player an important source of musical entertainment. These machines brought specific kinds of music to the public and played a part in the ascent of swing and rock 'n' roll as mass movements of popular culture.

The failure to develop a long-playing record in the first half of the twentieth century put a premium on technology which could automate the process of playing several records one after the other. The first automatic record changer was patented in 1921, and it was followed by many different devices that could pick and play discs; some could even play both sides of a record.

The first coin-slot machine with electronic amplification and a multi-record changer was produced in 1927 by the Automatic Music Instrument Company. AMI was joined by J. P. Seeburg, Rudolph Wurlitzer, and the Rockola Manufacturing Company in devising coin-slot machines with advanced record-changing mechanisms that could select from 20 or 24 discs.

At the end of the 1920s, only around 50,000 of these machines were in use, but the repeal of Prohibition in 1933 brought about a dramatic change in social life as Americans flooded back to bars and clubs. No popular drinking establishment was without one. The name



An old-fashioned juke box.

juke box originated from the lingo of the South, where dancing or “jooking” to records was a popular pastime. Small drinking establishments with only recorded sound as their musical entertainment were called “juke joints.” Here patrons would dance to blues or country music that they selected from the discs stored in the juke box. In the hedonistic atmosphere of these bars, loud dance music, comedy routines, and raunchy songs about sex were popular choices on the juke box. Dancing was a very important part of social life, and swing records on a juke box were the next best thing to attending (and paying for) a live concert. The juke box made the most of the technological development of amplification and loud speakers. It could project sound to every corner of a bar or soda fountain. The very loud volume of the playback made it possible to hear and dance to the music above the noise of a crowded bar. For listeners during the 1930s, juke boxes gave them the highest volume of sound reproduction outside the movie theater.

The Great Depression drastically cut back the sale of records, which many considered to be a luxury good. Radio became a major source of music in the home, but listeners still wanted to pick the music they wanted when they wanted to hear it. Instead of buying a record for a dollar they paid a nickel to hear it on a juke box. During the 1930s the number of juke boxes in use rose to a high of 500,000, and they could be found in taverns, pool halls, restaurants, hotels,

cafes, bus stations, and even beauty parlors. More than half of the nation’s juke boxes were in the South. The store of records in the nation’s juke boxes required changing every week, and by 1936 over half of all record production in the United States was destined for them. The demand for records for juke boxes provided valuable work for musicians during the Depression, especially for jazz and blues musicians, whose livelihoods were most threatened by the bad economic times. Many of the classic jazz and blues records of the 1930s were made for juke boxes.

The customers’ choices of recordings provided valuable information in the marketing of recordings, and juke boxes were fitted with indicators that displayed to the operator which of the discs were the most popular. Returns from juke boxes were an important indicator of the growing popularity of rhythm and blues records in the 1940s and then rock ’n’ roll in the 1950s. Independent record companies often had to resort to bribery to get juke box operators to use their records, and there were allegations made that this lucrative business was often in the hands of organized crime. In the postwar years juke boxes became larger and more ornate; the modernistic designs of Wurlitzer made the coin-slot machine stand out in a bar or restaurant. But the days of the juke box were numbered as a booming economy allowed consumers to buy their own records. Attempts to produce video juke boxes in the 1960s and 1970s were technically successful but could not return this machine to the dominant place in public entertainment it enjoyed in the 1930s and 1940s.

—Andre Millard

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## Julia

Debuting on NBC in September, 1968 *Julia* was the first network television series to star an African American in the leading role since *Amos ’n’ Andy* and *Beulah* left the air in 1953. The gentle situation comedy featured Diahann Carroll as Julia Baker, a widowed black nurse with a six year-old son, Corey, living a thoroughly integrated lifestyle in a Los Angeles apartment building. Surrounded by whites, the Bakers encountered only the most innocuous instances of prejudice. The series reached the airwaves during a particularly incendiary moment in American race relations—the aftermath of Martin Luther King’s assassination; a “long hot summer” of riots and burning in inner city ghettos, and rising Black Power militancy. Inevitably, the series, which ignored all these issues, stirred controversy. *Julia* was dismissed by some as a “white Negro” and the series was considered irrelevant, if not dangerous, especially because it featured no African American male characters of authority or narrative importance. On the other hand, the series was praised for opening



doors to subsequent African American sitcoms and for demonstrating that American audiences, black and white, could enjoy non-stereotyped black characters on prime-time. After a successful three year run, *Julia* left the air in 1971.

—Aniko Bodroghkozy

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## Juliá, Raúl (1940-1994)

Raúl Juliá was a beloved stage and screen actor who was admired for his work on and off the screen. Due to his fine training and technique, he was one of the few Hispanic actors successful in transcending cultural stereotypes to win a diverse and interesting series of roles in Hollywood and abroad. Juliá broke onto the stage in New York in Hispanic community plays and through Joseph Papp's innovative casting in the New York Shakespeare Festival's production of *Macbeth* in 1966. He continued to appear in Shakespeare



Raúl Juliá

Festival productions, and made his Broadway debut in 1968. In the early 1970s, Juliá broke into film, the medium that led to his greatest popularity.

Born Raúl Carlos Juliá y Acelay in San Juan, Puerto Rico, on March 9, 1940, into a relatively well-off family, Juliá began acting in school plays and, while studying law at the University of Puerto Rico, continued devoting much time to amateur productions. Juliá moved to New York to study acting in 1964 and shortly thereafter made his stage debut in a Spanish-language production of Calderón de la Barca's classic *La vida es sueño* (*Life Is a Dream*). Soon, Juliá was performing in the Hispanic neighborhoods of the city in small theaters and in the open air.

In 1966, famed producer Joseph Papp gave Juliá his first break, disregarding Juliá's ethnicity and casting him in *Macbeth*. Juliá subsequently performed in a number of Papp plays, including Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, and Hispanic community theater in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Juliá went on to be cast in Broadway roles, to receive rave reviews and four Tony nominations for work in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Where's Charley*, *Threepenny Opera*, and *Nine*. His debut on Broadway was as the servant Chan in Jack Gelber's 1968 production of *The Cuban Thing*. A milestone in his career was the success of Papp's *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and Juliá's Tony-nominated portrayal of Porteus in this musical adaptation; the play moved from Central Park's Delacorte Theater to Broadway's St. James Theater.

During the 1980s and early 1990s, Juliá created a distinguished career as a film actor, playing a wide variety of roles from romantic detectives to evil villains. One of his most highly acclaimed parts was that of a revolutionary in the Academy Award-nominated *Kiss of the Spiderwoman* in 1985. Juliá also played some very popular offbeat roles in such highly commercial films as *The Addams Family* (1991) and its sequel, *Addams Family Values* (1993). Among his other noteworthy films are *The Eyes of Laura Mars* (1978), *One from the Heart* (1982), *Compromising Positions* (1985), *Tequila Sunrise* (1988), *Moon over Parador* (1988), *Tango Bar* (1988), *Romero* (1989), *The Rookie* (1990), and *Havana* (1990).

When not acting on stage or screen, Juliá made frequent appearances on *Sesame Street*, and donated his services to the Hunger Project, an international organization whose goal it is to eradicate hunger by the year 2000. Juliá also worked with Hispanic community organizations, most notably the Hispanic Organization of Actors (HOLA). He died of a massive stroke on October 24, 1994.

—Nicolás Kanellos

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## *Jurassic Park*

*Jurassic Park* is the title of Michael Crichton's best-selling novel (1990) and its popular film adaptation by Steven Spielberg



A Tyrannosaurus Rex attacks in a scene from the film *Jurassic Park*.

(1993). In the story *Jurassic Park* is the name of the theme park placed on a tropical island where millionaire John Hammond plans to exhibit live dinosaurs created out of fossilized DNA. Following the technophobic discourse originally enunciated by Mary Shelley's novel *Frankenstein* (1818), Crichton and Spielberg narrate how, inevitably, the supposedly safe environment of the park collapses under the pressure of the dinosaurs' instincts. The attack of the dinosaurs turns an enjoyable inaugural tour of *Jurassic Park* into a nightmare for Hammonds' team, his family, and his guests, including prestigious scientists. *Jurassic Park* was followed by a less successful sequel, *The Lost World* (novel by Crichton, 1995; film by Spielberg, 1997). The plot focuses here on another island where the species of the park breed unchecked and on the efforts of another group led by Dr. Malcolm, a victimized guest in *Jurassic Park*, to stop the dinosaurs and the men who want to capture them for commercial purposes. *The Lost World* is, incidentally, a title that relates Crichton's and Spielberg's work to the fiction that originated the vogue for dinosaurs: Arthur Conan Doyle's novel *The Lost World* (1920) and its silent film adaptation by Willis O'Brien (1925).

Like *Frankenstein*, *Jurassic Park* examines the ethical dilemmas involved in using technoscience to create life out of dead matter. The targets of Crichton's criticism are the frivolous use that business may make of biotechnology and the lack of a proper control on

laboratories working with human and animal DNA. But Crichton is also concerned by the dependence of scientific research on business interests. This is shown in the relationship between the paleontologist Alan Grant, the main character in *Jurassic Park*, and Hammond. Hammond's funding of Grant's research places the principled scientist at the same level of dependence as his unprincipled colleagues. Ambitious young scientists and unscrupulous businessmen like John Hammond may form a lethal alliance leading to dangerous ventures like *Jurassic Park* and even to the extinction of human life on Earth. Dr. Malcolm, Crichton's spokesman in the novel, emphasizes the technophobic message when he protests that "there is no humility before nature. There is only a get-rich-quick, make-a-name-for-yourself-fast philosophy. Cheat, lie, falsify—it doesn't matter." In the novel version, the dinosaurs eventually kill both Hammond and Malcolm. Hammond's death is presented as an act of poetic justice. Malcolm's somehow unjust death proves the accuracy of his use of chaos theory, but also of Crichton's apocalyptic vision.

In Spielberg's *Jurassic Park*, Hammond and Malcolm survive, whereas the dinosaurs are destroyed. The grim moralizing of Crichton's cautionary tale and his introduction of chaos theory are thus significantly modified to make way for hope. Spielberg's happier ending even forced Crichton to ignore the death of Dr. Malcolm to make him reappear as the accidental hero of *The Lost World*. But beyond its

hope for the future—and for a future sequel—Spielberg’s film differs from Crichton’s novel in an important aspect. The technophobic message of Crichton’s novel has to compete for the spectators’ attention with Spielberg’s skilful use of special effects. The film’s appeal is based on the celebration of the technology behind the animatronics (electronic puppetry designed by Stan Winston) and infographics (computer simulations developed by ILM) employed to represent the dinosaurs. By endorsing Spielberg’s films, Crichton undermines his own message. The association of technology and business appears to have at least a positive outlet in the world of entertainment: film. But this is an ambiguous message. Spielberg’s and Crichton’s Midas’ touch suggests that, should they decide to open the real Jurassic Park, people would flock to meet the dinosaurs—hopefully not to be devoured by them—thanks to, rather than despite, the novels and films. People do go, indeed, to the Universal Studios theme parks, where the fake dinosaurs of *Jurassic Park* can be seen.

Feminist writers like Marina Warner have criticized a problematic aspect of *Jurassic Park* (film and novel): the sex of the dinosaurs. They are all created female, so as to ensure that no natural reproduction takes place on the island, and also because, since all embryos are initially female, “from a bioengineering standpoint, females are easier to breed,” as Dr. Wu notes. The scientists refer, though, to giants like the Tyrannosaurus Rex as male. The irony that was not lost on feminist commentators is that the scientists of Jurassic Park also believe that females are easier to control. As the plot develops, this is proved radically wrong. After wreaking havoc on the island, some female dinosaurs mutate into males capable of starting sexual reproduction. This is presented by Crichton in ambiguous terms, as a symbol of life’s unstoppable drive towards reproduction. The controversial theme of the female monster that threatens human life with uncontrolled reproduction is also the focus of films like *Aliens* (1986) and *Species* (1995). Godzilla, though, turns out to be a hermaphrodite in the eponymous 1998 film.

Dinosaurs are always popular with audiences of all ages, which helped *Jurassic Park* (novel and film) become an enormous hit. The popularity of these creatures is based on their unique status as monsters: they are threatening monsters of nightmare because of their enormous size, but also the fragile victims of a mysterious turn in the path of evolution. Dinosaurs send a clear Darwinian message to adult readers and spectators, inviting them to consider the thin threads on which human life depends. In *Jurassic Park* genetic engineering, rather than a freak of evolution, transforms the dinosaurs from relics of the prehistoric past into a threat for the future, akin to that of other monsters of science fiction, often extraterrestrial. Dinosaurs also make wonderful toys for children, as Spielberg and Universal Studios know well. But the true measure of *Jurassic Park*’s success can only be assessed by a glimpse into the future that lets us see whether the real Jurassic Park will ever open.

—Sara Martin

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## Juvenile Delinquency

This term refers to lawbreaking by minors, including status offenses such as truancy, homelessness, and being unsupervised by a suitable adult guardian. The term appeared first after the Civil War when criminologists and social reformers called attention to the poverty, disease, crime, and inadequate home life in urban, often immigrant, communities. Jane Addams, Robert Woods, Florence Kelley, and other settlement house leaders in the 1890s lobbied state legislators and private and public charities to eliminate juvenile delinquency by eradicating these social problems. They proposed new school attendance, public health and safety laws to protect children. Activists concerned with assisting troubled youth founded recreational organizations (such as the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts), team sports, Sunday schools, juvenile courts, pediatric medical clinics, and the field of child psychology during the early twentieth century.

Sociologists and criminologists, many from the University of Chicago, argued that delinquents were a byproduct of poverty, since statistics seemed to indicate that the incidence of crime increased with unemployment. Later studies attributed delinquency to a wide range of environmental conditions associated with poverty: overcrowded, slum-like dwellings, a low level sanitation, and inadequate recreation. By the 1920s the Harvard Law School Crime Survey supported this view, particularly according to research conducted by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck. They used an interdisciplinary approach for a multiple-factor theory of juvenile delinquency. The evidence they gathered pointed to the quality of a child’s family life as the most important factor criminal behavior. Recidivism rates were high among juvenile delinquents despite professional intervention. However, after 1950 most sociologists blamed delinquency on individual or family dysfunction rather than low social or economic class.

Adolescent gang wars, although not unheard of in the nineteenth century, became a national concern after World War I and more so after World War II. Many urban streets and parks were unsafe. Despite greater police patrols and an expansion of state reform schools for delinquents, juvenile delinquents continued to avoid school and loiter and make trouble in public spaces. Churches and social workers developed summer camps and other recreation programs to control the problem. They also initiated foster home services. American psychologist G. Stanley Hall, who coined the term adolescence in 1901, advocated the scientific study of juvenile delinquency. The British-American psychiatrist William Healy, the first child psychiatrist in the United States, pioneered diagnosis of emotionally disturbed children in Chicago (1900) and Boston (1917). He and his wife, Augusta Fox Bronner, trained a new generation of social workers, psychologists, and probation officers to treat young offenders.

During the Great Depression, Hollywood recognized juvenile delinquency as an important urban problem that rendered great material for movie plots. Some of the films that grew out of this recognition were *Angels With Dirty Faces* (1938), *Boys Town* (1938), *Crime School* (1938), and *They Made Me A Criminal* (1939). *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955) was centered around alienation felt by middleclass, suburban teenagers. *West Side Story* (1961), a film adaptation of the landmark Broadway musical by Leonard Bernstein, was a modern revision of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, featuring gangs in New York City in the 1950s in lieu of the two feuding families. *Blackboard Jungle* (1955), the first film to feature rock 'n' roll music, showed the harrowing experience public school teachers encountered in a New York City high school in the 1950s. The treatment of rebellious middleclass adolescents in modern psychiatric centers was depicted in *Born Innocent* (1974). In contrast, *Boyz N the Hood* (1991) portrayed senseless violence and drug abuse in South Central Los Angeles black teenage gangs.

Juvenile delinquency remained a serious social and legal problem into the late twentieth century. Many conservative activists and scholars proposed that it was exacerbated by the 1960s sexual revolution and excessive drug use. Some criminologists reported that

most criminal behavior was perpetrated by unemployed young male, and later included female, delinquents. By the close of the twentieth century youthful criminal offenders continued to frustrate the population, particularly law enforcement and educational professionals and the victims of juvenile criminal conduct.

—Peter C. Holloran

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ST. JAMES ENCYCLOPEDIA OF  
**POPULAR**CULTURE

# ST. JAMES ENCYCLOPEDIA OF POPULARCULTURE

**VOLUME 3:K-O**

**EDITORS:** Tom Pendergast Sara Pendergast

with an introduction by Jim Cullen

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## EDITOR'S NOTE

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Thirty some years ago Ray Browne and several of his colleagues provided a forum for the academic study of popular culture by forming first the *Journal of Popular Culture* and later the Popular Culture Association and the Center for the Study of Popular Culture at Bowling Green State University. Twenty some years ago Thomas Inge thought the field of popular culture studies well enough established to put together the first edition of his *Handbook of Popular Culture*. In the years since, scholars and educators from many disciplines have published enough books, gathered enough conferences, and gained enough institutional clout to make popular culture studies one of the richest fields of academic study at the close of the twentieth century. Thirty, twenty, in some places even ten years ago, to study popular culture was to be something of a pariah; today, the study of popular culture is accepted and even respected in departments of history, literature, communications, sociology, film studies, etc. throughout the United States and throughout the world, and not only in universities, but in increasing numbers of high schools. Thomas Inge wrote in the introduction to the second edition of his *Handbook*: “The serious and systematic study of popular culture may be the most significant and potentially useful of the trends in academic research and teaching in the last half of this century in the United States.”<sup>2</sup> It is to this thriving field of study that we hope to contribute with the *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture*.

The *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture* includes over 2,700 essays on all elements of popular culture in the United States in the twentieth century. But what is “popular culture?” Academics have offered a number of answers over the years. Historians Norman F. Cantor and Michael S. Werthman suggested that “popular culture may be seen as all those things man does and all those artifacts he creates for their own sake, all that diverts his mind and body from the sad business of life.”<sup>1</sup> Michael Bell argues that:

At its simplest popular culture is the culture of mass appeal. A creation is popular when it is created to respond to the experiences and values of the majority, when it is produced in such a way that the majority have easy access to it, and when it can be understood and interpreted by that majority without the aid of special knowledge or experience.<sup>3</sup>

While tremendously useful, both of these definitions tend to exclude more than they embrace. Was the hot dog created for its own sake, as a diversion? Probably not, but we’ve included an essay on it in this collection. Were the works of Sigmund Freud in any way shaped for the majority? No, but Freud’s ideas—borrowed, twisted, and reinterpreted—have shaped novels, films, and common speech in ways too diffuse to ignore. Thus we have included an essay on Freud’s impact on popular culture. Our desire to bring together the greatest number of cultural phenomena impacting American culture in this century has led us to prefer Ray Browne’s rather broader early definition of popular culture as “all the experiences in life shared by people in common, generally though not necessarily disseminated by the mass media.”<sup>4</sup>

### *Coverage*

In order to amass a list of those cultural phenomena that were widely disseminated and experienced by people in relatively unmediated form we asked a number of scholars, teachers, librarians, and archivists to serve as advisors. Each of our 20 advisors provided us with a list of over 200 topics from their field of specialty that they considered important enough to merit an essay; several of our advisors provided us with lists much longer than that. Their collective lists numbered nearly 4,000 potential essay topics, and we winnowed this list down to the number that is now gathered in this collection. We sought balance (but not equal coverage) between the major areas of popular culture: film; music; print culture; social life; sports; television and radio; and art and performance (which includes theatre, dance, stand-up comedy, and other live performance). For those interested, the breakdown of coverage is as follows: social life, 23 percent (a category which covers everything from foodways to fashion, holidays to hairstyles); music, 16 percent; print culture, 16 percent; film, 15 percent; television and radio, 14 percent; sports, 10 percent; and art and performance, 6 percent. A variety of considerations led us to skew the coverage of the book in favor of the second half of the century. The massive popularity of television and recorded music, the mass-marketing of popular fiction, and the national attention given to professional sports are historical factors contributing to the emphasis on post-World War II culture, but we have also considered the needs of high school and undergraduate users in distributing entries in this way.

### *The Entries*

The entries in this volume vary in length from brief (75 to 150-word) introductions to the topic to in-depth 3,000-word explorations. No matter the length, we have asked our contributors to do two things in each entry: to describe the topic and to analyze its

significance in and relevance to American popular culture. While we hope that users will find the basic factual information they need concerning the topic in an entry, it was even more important to us that each user gain some perspective on the cultural context in which the topic has importance. Thus the entry on MTV, for example, chronicles the channel's rise to world popularity, but also analyzes the relationship between MTV, youth culture, and consumerism. The entry on John Ford, while tracing the outlines of the film director's long career, assesses the impact Ford's films have had on the film Western and on Americans' very perceptions of the West. Given the brevity of the entries, we chose to emphasize analysis of a topic's contribution to popular culture over a full presentation of biographical/historical information. The entry on World War I, for example, offers an analysis of how the war was understood in popular film, print culture, and propaganda rather than a blow-by-blow description of the actual military conflict.

Entries are accompanied by a list of further readings. These readings are meant to provide the user with readily accessible sources that provide more information on the specific topic. As befits a multimedia age, these "further readings" come not just from books and magazines, but also from albums, liner notes, films, videos, and web sites. Users of the Internet know well the perils of trusting the information found on the World Wide Web; there are as yet few filters to help browsers sift the useful from the absurd. We cited web sites when they provided information that was unavailable in any other known form and when our reasonable efforts to determine the veracity of the information led us to believe that the information provided was valid and useful. We have occasionally provided links to "official" web sites of performers or organizations, for the same reason that we provide citations to autobiographies. All web links cited were accurate as of the date indicated in the citation.

### *Organization and Indexing*

Entries are arranged alphabetically by the name under which the topic is best known. For topics which might reasonably be sought out under differing names, we have provided in-text cross references. For example, a user seeking an entry on Huddie Ledbetter will be referred to the entry on Leadbelly, and a user seeking an entry on Larry Flynt will be referred to the entry on *Hustler* magazine. Far more powerful than the cross references, however, are the indexes provided in the fifth volume of the collection. The general index is by far the most powerful, for it leads the user searching for information on Humphrey Bogart, for example, to the entries on Lauren Bacall, *Casablanca*, *The Maltese Falcon*, *The African Queen*, and several other entries that contain substantive information about Bogie. Equally powerful is the subject index, a list of categories under which we listed all pertinent entries. Consulting the subject index listing for Sex Symbols, for example, will lead the user to entries on Marilyn Monroe, the Varga Girl, *Playboy* magazine, David Cassidy, Mae West, and a long entry on the Sex Symbol, among others. Finally, a time index, organized by decades, provides a list of the entries that concern each decade of the twentieth century. Those entries that concern nineteenth-century topics are indexed by the first decade of the twentieth century.

We encourage readers to use the indexes to discover the fascinating intertwinings that have made the development of popular culture in the twentieth century such a vital field of study. Using the indexes, it is possible to uncover the story of how the American humor that was first made popular on the vaudeville stage evolved into first the radio comedies that entertained so many Americans during the Depression and War years and later the sitcoms that have kept Americans glued to their television screens for the last 50 years. That story is here, in the entries on Vaudeville, the Sitcom, *Amos 'n' Andy*, and the many other programs and comedians that have defined this tradition. A teacher who wishes students to uncover the similarities between sitcoms of the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s might well ask the students to use this collection to begin their research into such comedies. Similarly, a teacher who asks students to explore the cross-pollination between musical genres will find that the indexes reveal the mixing of "race music," rhythm and blues, gospel, soul, and rock 'n' roll. It is hoped that this collection will be of particular use to those instructors of high school and undergraduate courses who challenge their students to discover the real cultural complexity of the music, films, magazines, and television shows that they take for granted. This collection should also be of use to those more advanced scholars who are beginning new research into an area of popular culture or who are looking for some context in which to place their existing research.

### *Acknowledgments*

The *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture* represents the work of hundreds of people, and we owe our thanks to all of them. We have had the privilege of working with 20 advisors whose experience, knowledge, and wisdom have truly helped shape the contents of this collection. Each of our advisors helped us to discover hidden corners of popular culture that we would not have considered on our own, and the breadth of coverage in this collection is a tribute to their collective knowledge. Several of our advisors deserve special thanks: Paul Buhle, George Carney, B. Lee Cooper, Jerome Klinkowitz, and Ron Simon all showed an extraordinary level of commitment and helpfulness.

It has been a pleasure to work with the nearly 450 contributors to this collection; we've appreciated their expertise, their professionalism, and their good humor. Several of our contributors deserve special mention for the quality of their contributions to this collection: Jacob Appel, Tim Berg, Pat Broeske, Richard Digby-Junger, Jeffrey Escoffier, Bryan Garman, Tina Gianoulis, Milton Goldin, Ian Gordon, Ron Goulart, Justin Gustainis, Preston Jones, Robyn Karney, Deborah Mix, Leonard Moore, Edward Moran, Victoria Price, Bob Schnakenberg, Steven Schneider, Charles Shindo, Robert Sickels, Wendy Woloson, and Brad Wright. Our team of copyeditors helped us bring a uniformity of presentation to the writings of this mass of contributors, and spotted and corrected innumerable small errors. Heidi Hagen, Robyn Karney, Edward Moran, and Tim Seul deserve special thanks for the quality and quantity of their work; we truly couldn't have done it without them. The contributors and copyeditors provided us with the material to build this collection, but it has been the editors' responsibility to ensure its accuracy and reliability. We welcome any corrections and comments; please write to: The Editors, *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture*, St. James Press, 27500 Drake Road, Farmington Hills, MI 48331-3535.

Gathering the photos for this collection was an enormous task, and we were helped immeasurably by the knowledgeable and efficient staff at several photo agencies. We'd like to thank Marcia Schiff at AP/Wide World Photos; Eric Young at Archive Photos; and Kevin Rettig at Corbis Images. Lisa Hartjens of ImageFinders, Inc. also helped us acquire a number of photos.

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Finally, we'd like to thank Lee Van Wormer for his sage management advice and our children, Conrad and Louisa, for their warm morning cuddles and for the delightful artwork that adorns our office walls.

—Tom Pendergast and Sara Pendergast,  
Editors

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2. Inge, M. Thomas, editor. *Handbook of American Popular Culture*. 2nd edition. Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1989, xxiii.
3. Bell, Michael. "The Study of Popular Culture," in *Concise Histories of American Popular Culture*, ed. Inge, M. Thomas. Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1982, 443.
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# INTRODUCTION

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## *The Art of Everyday Life*

Sometimes, when I'm wandering in an art museum looking at the relics of an ancient civilization, I find myself wondering how a future society would represent a defunct American culture. What objects would be chosen—or would survive—to be placed on display? Would I agree with a curator's choices? Were I to choose the items that some future American Museum of Art should exhibit to represent twentieth-century American culture, here are some I would name: an Elvis Presley record; a Currier & Ives print; a movie still from *Casablanca*. To put it a different way, my priority would *not* be to exhibit fragments of an urban cathedral, a painted landscape, or a formal costume. I wouldn't deny such objects could be important artifacts of American culture, or that they belong in a gallery. But in my avowedly biased opinion, the most vivid documents of American life—the documents that embody its possibilities and limits—are typically found in its popular culture.

Popular culture, of course, is not an American invention, and it has a vibrant life in many contemporary societies. But in few, if any, of those societies has it been as central to a notion of national character at home as well as abroad. For better or worse, it is through icons like McDonald's (the quintessential American cuisine), the Western (a uniquely American narrative genre), and Oprah Winfrey (a classic late-twentieth century embodiment of the American Dream) that this society is known—and is likely to be remembered.

It has sometimes been remarked that unlike nations whose identities are rooted in geography, religion, language, blood, or history, the United States was founded on a democratic ideal—a notion of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness elaborated in the Declaration of Independence. That ideal has been notoriously difficult to realize, and one need only take a cursory look at many aspects of American life—its justice system, electoral politics, residential patterns, labor force, et. al.—to see how far short it has fallen.

American popular culture is a special case. To be sure, it evinces plenty of the defects apparent in other areas of our national life, among them blatant racism and crass commercialism. If nothing else, such flaws can be taken as evidence of just how truly representative it is. There is nevertheless an openness and vitality about pop culture—its appeal across demographic lines; its interplay of individual voices and shared communal experience; the relatively low access barriers for people otherwise marginalized in U.S. society—that give it real legitimacy as the art of democracy. Like it or hate it, few dispute its centrality.

This sense of openness and inclusion—as well as the affection and scorn it generated—has been apparent from the very beginning. In the prologue of the 1787 play *The Contrast* (whose title referred to the disparity between sturdy republican ideals and effete monarchical dissipation), American playwright Royall Tyler invoked a cultural sensibility where “proud titles of ‘My Lord! Your Grace/To the humble ‘Mr.’ and plain ‘Sir’ give place.” Tyler, a Harvard graduate, Revolutionary War officer, and Chief Justice of the Vermont Supreme Court, was in some sense an unlikely prophet of popular culture. But the sensibility he voiced—notably in his beloved character Jonathon, a prototype for characters from Davy Crockett to John Wayne—proved durable for centuries to come.

For much of early American history, however, artists and critics continued to define aesthetic success on European terms, typically invoking elite ideals of order, balance, and civilization. It was largely taken for granted that the most talented practitioners of fine arts, such as painters Benjamin West and John Singleton Copley, would have to go abroad to train, produce, and exhibit their most important work. To the extent that newer cultural forms—like the novel, whose very name suggests its place in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century western civilization—were noted at all, it was usually in disparaging terms. This was especially true of novels written and read by women, such as Susanna Rowson's widely read *Charlotte Temple* (1791). Sermons against novels were common; Harvard devoted its principal commencement address in 1803 to the dangers of fiction.

The industrialization of the United States has long been considered a watershed development in many realms of American life, and popular culture is no exception. Indeed, its importance is suggested in the very definition of popular culture coined by cultural historian Lawrence Levine: “the folklore of industrial society.” Industrialization allowed the mass-reproduction and dissemination of formerly local traditions, stories, and art forms across the continent, greatly intensifying the spread—and development—of culture by, for, and of the people. At a time when North America remained geographically and politically fragmented, magazines, sheet music, dime novels, lithographs, and other print media stitched it together.

This culture had a characteristic pattern. Alexis de Tocqueville devoted 11 chapters of his classic 1835-40 masterpiece *Democracy in America* to the art, literature, and language of the United States, arguing that they reflected a democratic ethos that required new standards of evaluation. “The inhabitants of the United States have, at present, properly speaking, no literature,” he wrote. This judgment, he made clear, arose from a definition of literature that came from aristocratic societies like his own. In its stead, he explained, Americans sought books “which may be easily procured, quickly read, and which require no learned researches to be understood. They ask for beauties self-proffered and easily enjoyed; above all they must have what is unexpected and new.” As in so many other ways, this description of American literature, which paralleled what Tocqueville saw in other arts, proved not only vivid but prophetic.

The paradox of American democracy, of course, is that the freedom Euro-Americans endlessly celebrated co-existed with—some might say depended on—the enslavement of African Americans. It is therefore one of the great ironies of popular culture that the contributions of black culture (a term here meant to encompass African, American, and amalgamations between the two) proved so decisive. In another sense, however, it seems entirely appropriate that popular culture, which has always skewed its orientation toward the lower end of a demographic spectrum, would draw on the most marginalized groups in American society. It is, in any event, difficult to imagine that U.S. popular culture would have had anywhere near the vitality and influence it has without slave stories, song, and dance. To cite merely one example: every American musical idiom from country music to rap has drawn on, if not actually *rested* upon, African-American cultural foundations, whether in its use of the banjo (originally an African instrument) or its emphasis on the beat (drumming was an important form of slave communication). This heritage has often been overlooked, disparaged, and even satirized. The most notable example of such racism was the minstrel show, a wildly popular nineteenth century form of theater in which white actors blackened their faces with burnt cork and mocked slave life. Yet even the most savage parodies could not help but reveal an engagement with, and even a secret admiration for, the cultural world the African Americans made in conditions of severe adversity, whether on plantations, tenant farms, or in ghettos.

Meanwhile, the accelerating pace of technological innovation began having a dramatic impact on the form as well as the content of popular culture. The first major landmark was the development of photography in the mid-nineteenth century. At first a mechanically complex and thus inaccessible medium, it quickly captured American imaginations, particularly by capturing the drama and horror of the Civil War. The subsequent proliferation of family portraits, postcards, and pictures in metropolitan newspapers began a process of orienting popular culture around visual imagery that continues unabated to this day.

In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, sound recording, radio transmission, and motion pictures were all developed in rapid succession. But it would not be until well after 1900 that their potential as popular cultural media would be fully exploited and recognizable in a modern sense (radio, for example, was originally developed and valued for its nautical and military applications). Still, even if it was not entirely clear how, many people at the time believed these new media would have a tremendous impact on American life, and they were embraced with unusual ardor by those Americans, particularly immigrants, who were able to appreciate the pleasures and possibilities afforded by movies, records, and radio.

Many of the patterns established during the advent of these media repeated themselves as new ones evolved. The Internet, for example, was also first developed for its military applications, and for all the rapidity of its development in the 1990s, it remains unclear just how its use will be structured. Though the World Wide Web has shown tremendous promise as a commercial enterprise, it still lacks the kind of programming—like *Amos 'n' Andy* in radio, or *I Love Lucy* in television—that transformed both into truly mass media of art and entertainment. Television, for its part, has long been the medium of a rising middle class of immigrants and their children, in terms of the figures who have exploited its possibilities (from RCA executive David Sarnoff to stars like Jackie Gleason); the new genres it created (from the miniseries to the situation-comedy); and the audiences (from urban Jews to suburban Irish Catholics) who adopted them with enthusiasm.

For much of this century, the mass appeal of popular culture has been viewed as a problem. “What is the jass [*sic*] music, and therefore the jass band?” asked an irritated New Orleans writer in 1918. “As well as ask why the dime novel or the grease-dripping doughnut. All are manifestations of a low stream in man’s taste that has not come out in civilization’s wash.” However one may feel about this contemptuous dismissal of jazz, now viewed as one of the great achievements of American civilization, this writer was clearly correct to suggest the demographic, technological, and cultural links between the “lower” sorts of people in American life, the media they used, and forms of expression that were often presumed guilty until proven innocent.

Indeed, because education and research have traditionally been considered the province of the “higher” sorts of people in American life, popular culture was not considered a subject that should even be discussed, much less studied. Nevertheless, there have always been those willing to continue what might be termed the “Tocquevillian” tradition of treating popular culture with intellectual

seriousness and respect (if not always approval). In his 1924 book *The Seven Lively Arts* and in much of his journalism, critic Gilbert Seldes found in silent movies, cartoons, and pop music themes and motifs fully worthy of sustained exploration. Amid the worldwide crisis of the 1930s and 1940s, folklorist Constance Rourke limned the origins of an indigenous popular culture in books like *American Humor* (1931) and *The Roots of American Culture* (1942). And with the rise of the Cold War underlining the differences between democratic and totalitarian societies, sociologists David Riesman and Reuel Denny evaluated the social currents animating popular culture in Denny's *The Astonished Muse* (1957), for which Riesman, who showed a particular interest in popular music, wrote the introduction.

European scholars were also pivotal in shaping the field. Johan Huizinga's *Homo Ludens* (1938), Roland Barthes's *Mythologies* (1957), and Antonio Gramsci's prison letters (written in the 1920s and 1930s but not published until the 1970s) have proved among the most influential works in defining the boundaries, strategies, and meanings of popular culture. While none of these works focused on American popular culture specifically, their focus on the jetsam and flotsam of daily life since the medieval period proved enormously suggestive in an American context.

It has only been at the end of the twentieth century, however, that the study of popular culture has come into its own in its own right. To a great extent, this development is a legacy of the 1960s. The end of a formal system of racial segregation; the impact of affirmative action and government-funded financial aid; and the end of single-sex education at many long-established universities dramatically transformed the composition of student bodies and faculties. These developments in turn, began having an impact on the nature and parameters of academic study. While one should not exaggerate the impact of these developments—either in terms of their numbers or their effect on an academy that in some ways has simply replaced older forms of insularity and complacency with new ones—it nevertheless seems fair to say that a bona fide democratization of higher education occurred in the last third of the twentieth century, paving the way for the creation of a formal scholarly infrastructure for popular culture.

Once again, it was foreign scholars who were pivotal in the elaboration of this infrastructure. The work of Raymond Williams, Stuart Hall, and others at Britain's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in the 1950s and 1960s drew on Marxist and psychoanalytic ideas to explain, and in many cases justify, the importance of popular culture. Though not always specifically concerned with popular culture, a panoply of French theorists—particularly Jacques Derrida, Louis Althusser, and Michel Foucault—also proved highly influential. At its best, this scholarship illuminated unexamined assumptions and highly revealing (and in many cases, damning) patterns in the most seemingly ordinary documents. At its worst, it lapsed into an arcane jargon that belied the directness of popular culture and suggested an elitist disdain toward the audiences it presumably sought to understand.

Like their European counterparts, American scholars of popular culture have come from a variety of disciplines. Many were trained in literature, among them Henry Nash Smith, whose *Virgin Land* (1950) pioneered the study of the Western, and Leslie Fiedler, who applied critical talents first developed to study classic American literature to popular fiction like *Gone with the Wind*. But much important work in the field has also been done by historians, particularly social historians who began their careers by focusing on labor history but became increasingly interested in the ways American workers spent their free time. Following the tradition of the great British historian E. P. Thompson, scholars such as Herbert Gutman and Lawrence Levine have uncovered and described the art and leisure practices of African Americans in particular with flair and insight. Feminist scholars of a variety of stripes (and sexual orientations) have supplied a great deal of the intellectual energy in the study of popular culture, among them Ann Douglas, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, and Jane Tompkins. Indeed, the strongly interdisciplinary flavor of popular culture scholarship—along with the rise of institutions like the Popular Press and the Popular Culture Association, both based at Bowling Green University—suggests the way the field has been at the forefront of an ongoing process of redrawing disciplinary boundaries in the humanities.

By the 1980s, the stream of scholarship on popular culture had become a flood. In the 1990s, the field became less of a quixotic enterprise than a growing presence in the educational curriculum as a whole. Courses devoted to the subject, whether housed in communications programs or in traditional academic departments, have become increasingly common in colleges and universities—and, perhaps more importantly, have become integrated into the fabric of basic surveys of history, literature, and other fields. Political scientists, librarians, and curators have begun to consider it part of their domain.

For most of us, though, popular culture is not something we have to self-consciously seek out or think about. Indeed, its very omnipresence makes it easy to take for granted as transparent (and permanent). That's why trips to museums—or encyclopedias like this one—are so useful and important. In pausing to think about the art of everyday life, we can begin to see just how unusual, and valuable, it really is.

—Jim Cullen

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## LIST OF ENTRIES

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- A&R Men/Women  
Aaron, Hank  
AARP (American Association  
for Retired Persons)  
ABBA  
Abbey, Edward  
Abbott and Costello  
Abdul-Jabbar, Kareem  
Abortion  
Abstract Expressionism  
Academy Awards  
AC/DC  
Ace, Johnny  
Acker, Kathy  
Acupuncture  
Adams, Ansel  
Addams, Jane  
Addams Family, The  
Adderley, Cannonball  
Adidas  
Adler, Renata  
*Adventures of Ozzie and  
Harriet, The*  
Advertising  
Advice Columns  
*Advocate, The*  
Aerobics  
Aerosmith  
African American Press  
*African Queen, The*  
Agassi, Andre  
Agents  
AIDS  
Ailey, Alvin  
Air Travel  
*Airplane!*  
Alabama  
Alaska-Yukon Exposition  
(Seattle, 1909)  
Albert, Marv  
Album-Oriented Rock  
Alda, Alan  
Ali, Muhammad  
*Alice*  
*Alien*  
Alka Seltzer  
*All About Eve*  
*All in the Family*  
*All My Children*  
*All Quiet on the Western Front*  
Allen, Steve  
Allen, Woody  
Allison, Luther  
Allman Brothers Band, The  
*Ally McBeal*
- Alpert, Herb, and the  
Tijuana Brass  
Altamont  
Alternative Country Music  
Alternative Press  
Alternative Rock  
Altman, Robert  
*Amazing Stories*  
*American Bandstand*  
American Girls Series  
*American Gothic*  
*American Graffiti*  
American International Pictures  
*American Mercury*  
American Museum of Natural  
History  
*Amos 'n' Andy Show, The*  
Amsterdam, Morey  
Amtrak  
Amusement Parks  
Amway  
Anderson, Marian  
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Andretti, Mario  
Andrews Sisters, The  
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Angell, Roger  
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*Annie Get Your Gun*  
*Annie Hall*  
*Another World*  
Anthony, Piers  
Aparicio, Luis  
*Apocalypse Now*  
Apollo Missions  
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Apple Computer  
Arbuckle, Fatty  
Archie Comics  
Arden, Elizabeth  
*Argosy*  
*Arizona Highways*  
Arledge, Boone  
Armani, Giorgio  
Armed Forces Radio Service  
Armory Show
- Armstrong, Henry  
Armstrong, Louis  
Army-McCarthy Hearings  
Arnaz, Desi  
Arrow Collar Man  
Arthur, Bea  
Arthurian Legend  
*As the World Turns*  
Ashcan School  
Ashe, Arthur  
Asimov, Isaac  
Asner, Ed  
Astaire, Fred, and Ginger  
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*Astounding Science Fiction*  
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AT&T  
*A-Team, The*  
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Atkins, Chet  
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Balanchine, George  
Baldwin, James  
Ball, Lucille  
Ballard, Hank  
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Bambaataa, Afrika  
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 Berlin, Irving  
 Bernhard, Sandra  
 Bernstein, Leonard  
 Berra, Yogi  
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*Best Years of Our Lives, The*  
 Bestsellers  
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*Beulah*  
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*Beverly Hills 90210*  
*Bewitched*  
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*Big Sleep, The*  
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 Black Sox Scandal  
*Blackboard Jungle, The*  
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 Blanc, Mel  
 Bland, Bobby Blue  
 Blass, Bill  
 Blaxploitation Films  
*Blob, The*  
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*Blondie* (comic strip)  
 Blondie (rock band)  
*Bloom County*  
 Blount, Roy, Jr.  
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*Blueboy*  
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 Bobbsey Twins, The  
 Bobby Socks  
 Bochco, Steven  
 Body Decoration  
 Bodybuilding  
 Bogart, Humphrey  
 Bok, Edward  
 Bomb, The  
 Bombeck, Erma  
 Bon Jovi  
*Bonanza*  
*Bonnie and Clyde*  
 Booker T. and the MG's  
 Book-of-the-Month Club  
 Boone, Pat  
 Borge, Victor  
 Borscht Belt  
 Boston Celtics, The  
 Boston Garden  
 Boston Marathon  
 Boston Strangler  
 Boston Symphony Orchestra, The  
 Bouton, Jim  
 Bow, Clara  
 Bowie, David  
 Bowling  
 Boxing  
 Boy Scouts of America  
 Bra  
 Bradbury, Ray  
 Bradley, Bill  
 Bradshaw, Terry  
*Brady Bunch, The*  
 Brand, Max  
 Brando, Marlon  
 Brat Pack  
 Brautigan, Richard  
*Breakfast at Tiffany's*  
*Breakfast Club, The*  
 Breast Implants  
 Brenda Starr  
 Brice, Fanny  
*Brideshead Revisited*  
 Bridge  
*Bridge on the River Kwai, The*  
*Bridges of Madison County, The*  
 Brill Building  
*Bringing Up Baby*  
 Brinkley, David  
 British Invasion  
 Broadway  
 Brokaw, Tom  
 Bronson, Charles  
 Brooklyn Dodgers, The  
 Brooks, Garth  
 Brooks, Gwendolyn  
 Brooks, James L.  
 Brooks, Louise  
 Brooks, Mel  
 Brothers, Dr. Joyce  
 Brown, James  
 Brown, Jim  
 Brown, Les

- Brown, Paul  
 Browne, Jackson  
 Brownie Cameras  
 Brubeck, Dave  
 Bruce, Lenny  
 Bryant, Paul “Bear”  
 Brynner, Yul  
 Bubblegum Rock  
 Buck, Pearl S.  
 Buck Rogers  
 Buckley, William F., Jr.  
 Buckwheat Zydeco  
 Budweiser  
 Buffalo Springfield  
 Buffett, Jimmy  
 Bugs Bunny  
 Bumper Stickers  
 Bundy, Ted  
 Bungalow  
 Burger King  
 Burlesque  
 Burma-Shave  
 Burnett, Carol  
 Burns, George, and Gracie Allen  
 Burns, Ken  
 Burr, Raymond  
 Burroughs, Edgar Rice  
 Burroughs, William S.  
*Buster Brown*  
*Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*  
 Butkus, Dick  
 Butler, Octavia E.  
 Butterbeans and Susie  
 Buttons, Red  
 Byrds, The
- Cabbage Patch Kids  
 Cable TV  
 Cadillac  
 Caesar, Sid  
*Cagney and Lacey*  
 Cagney, James  
 Cahan, Abraham  
 Cakewalks  
 Caldwell, Erskine  
 Calloway, Cab  
*Calvin and Hobbes*  
 Camacho, Héctor “Macho”  
*Camelot*  
 Camp  
 Campbell, Glen  
 Campbell, Naomi  
 Camping  
 Cancer  
*Candid Camera*  
 Caniff, Milton  
 Canova, Judy  
 Canseco, Jose
- Cantor, Eddie  
 Capital Punishment  
 Capone, Al  
 Capote, Truman  
 Capra, Frank  
 Captain America  
*Captain Kangaroo*  
 Captain Marvel  
*Car 54, Where Are You?*  
 Car Coats  
 Caray, Harry  
 Carey, Mariah  
 Carlin, George  
 Carlton, Steve  
 Carmichael, Hoagy  
 Carnegie, Dale  
 Carnegie Hall  
 Carpenters, The  
 Carr, John Dickson  
 Cars, The  
 Carson, Johnny  
 Carter Family, The  
 Caruso, Enrico  
 Carver, Raymond  
*Casablanca*  
 Cash, Johnny  
 Caspar Milquetoast  
 Cassette Tape  
 Cassidy, David  
 Castaneda, Carlos  
 Castle, Vernon and Irene  
 Castro, The  
 Casual Friday  
 Catalog Houses  
*Catch-22*  
*Catcher in the Rye, The*  
 Cather, Willa  
*Cathy*  
*Cats*  
 Cavett, Dick  
 CB Radio  
*CBS Radio Mystery Theater, The*  
 Celebrity  
 Celebrity Caricature  
 Cemeteries  
 Central Park  
 Century 21 Exposition (Seattle, 1962)  
 Century of Progress (Chicago, 1933)  
 Challenger Disaster  
 Chamberlain, Wilt  
 Chandler, Raymond  
*Chandu the Magician*  
 Chanel, Coco  
 Chaplin, Charlie  
 Charles, Ray  
 Charlie Chan  
 Charlie McCarthy
- Charlie’s Angels*  
 Charm Bracelets  
 Chase, Chevy  
 Chautauqua Institution  
 Chavez, Cesar  
 Chavis, Boozoo  
 Chayefsky, Paddy  
 Checker, Chubby  
 Cheech and Chong  
 Cheerleading  
*Cheers*  
 Chemise  
 Chenier, Clifton  
 Cherry Ames  
 Chessman, Caryl  
 Chicago Bears, The  
 Chicago Bulls, The  
 Chicago Cubs, The  
 Chicago Jazz  
 Chicago Seven, The  
 Child, Julia  
 Child Stars  
*China Syndrome, The*  
*Chinatown*  
 Chipmunks, The  
 Choose-Your-Own-Ending Books  
 Christie, Agatha  
 Christmas  
 Christo  
 Chrysler Building  
 Chuck D  
 Chun King  
 Church Socials  
 Cigarettes  
 Circus  
 Cisneros, Sandra  
*Citizen Kane*  
*City Lights*  
 City of Angels, The  
 Civil Disobedience  
 Civil Rights Movement  
 Civil War Reenactors  
 Claiborne, Liz  
 Clairol Hair Coloring  
 Clancy, Tom  
 Clapton, Eric  
 Clark, Dick  
 Clarke, Arthur C.  
 Clemente, Roberto  
*Cleopatra*  
 Clift, Montgomery  
 Cline, Patsy  
 Clinton, George  
*Clockwork Orange, A*  
 Clooney, Rosemary  
*Close Encounters of the Third Kind*  
 Closet, The  
 CNN

- Cobb, Ty  
 Coca, Imogene  
 Coca-Cola  
 Cocaine/Crack  
 Cocktail Parties  
 Cody, Buffalo Bill, and his  
     Wild West Show  
 Coffee  
 Cohan, George M.  
 Colbert, Claudette  
 Cold War  
 Cole, Nat ‘‘King’’  
 College Fads  
 College Football  
 Collins, Albert  
 Coltrane, John  
*Columbo*  
 Columbo, Russ  
 Comic Books  
 Comics  
 Comics Code Authority  
 Coming Out  
 Commodores, The  
 Communes  
 Communism  
 Community Media  
 Community Theatre  
 Como, Perry  
 Compact Discs  
 Concept Album  
 Conceptual Art  
 Condé Nast  
 Condoms  
 Coney Island  
 Confession Magazines  
 Coniff, Ray  
 Connors, Jimmy  
 Consciousness Raising Groups  
 Conspiracy Theories  
*Consumer Reports*  
 Consumerism  
 Contemporary Christian Music  
 Convertible  
 Conway, Tim  
 Cooke, Sam  
 Cooper, Alice  
 Cooper, Gary  
 Cooperstown, New York  
 Coors  
 Copland, Aaron  
 Corbett, James J.  
 Corman, Roger  
 Corvette  
 Corwin, Norman  
 Cosby, Bill  
*Cosby Show, The*  
 Cosell, Howard  
*Cosmopolitan*  
 Costas, Bob  
 Costello, Elvis  
 Costner, Kevin  
 Cotten, Joseph  
 Cotton Club, The  
 Coué, Emile  
 Coughlin, Father Charles E.  
 Country Gentlemen  
 Country Music  
 Cousteau, Jacques  
 Covey, Stephen  
 Cowboy Look, The  
 Cox, Ida  
 Crawford, Cindy  
 Crawford, Joan  
 Cray, Robert  
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 Credit Cards  
 Creedence Clearwater Revival  
 Crichton, Michael  
*Crime Does Not Pay*  
 Crinolines  
*Crisis, The*  
 Croce, Jim  
 Cronkite, Walter  
 Crosby, Bing  
 Crosby, Stills, and Nash  
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 Cruise, Tom  
 Crumb, Robert  
 Crystal, Billy  
 Cukor, George  
 Cullen, Countee  
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 Cults  
 Cunningham, Merce  
 Curious George  
 Currier and Ives  
 Dahmer, Jeffrey  
*Dallas*  
 Dallas Cowboys, The  
 Daly, Tyne  
 Dana, Bill  
 Dance Halls  
 Dandridge, Dorothy  
 Daniels, Charlie  
*Daredevil, the Man*  
     *Without Fear*  
*Dark Shadows*  
 Darrow, Clarence  
 Davis, Bette  
 Davis, Miles  
*Davy Crockett*  
 Day, Doris  
*Day the Earth Stood Still, The*  
*Days of Our Lives*  
 Daytime Talk Shows  
 Daytona 500  
 DC Comics  
 De La Hoya, Oscar  
 De Niro, Robert  
 Dead Kennedys, The  
 Dean, James  
*Death of a Salesman*  
 Debs, Eugene V.  
 Debutantes  
*Deer Hunter, The*  
 DeGeneres, Ellen  
 Del Río, Dolores  
 DeMille, Cecil B.  
 Dempsey, Jack  
 Denishawn  
 Denver, John  
 Department Stores  
 Depression  
 Derleth, August  
 Detective Fiction  
 Detroit Tigers, The  
 Devers, Gail  
 Devo  
 Diamond, Neil  
 Diana, Princess of Wales  
 DiCaprio, Leonardo  
*Dick and Jane Readers*  
 Dick, Philip K.  
 Dick Tracy  
 Dickinson, Angie  
 Diddley, Bo  
 Didion, Joan  
 Didrikson, Babe  
 Dieting  
 Dietrich, Marlene  
*Diff'rent Strokes*  
*Dilbert*  
 Dillard, Annie  
 Diller, Phyllis  
 Dillinger, John  
 DiMaggio, Joe  
 Dime Novels  
 Dime Stores/Woolworths  
 Diners  
 Dionne Quintuplets  
*Dirty Dozen, The*  
 Disability  
 Disaster Movies  
 Disc Jockeys  
 Disco  
 Disney (Walt Disney Company)  
 Ditka, Mike  
 Divine  
 Divorce  
 Dixieland  
*Do the Right Thing*  
 Dobie Gillis  
 Doby, Larry  
 Doc Martens  
 Doc Savage  
*Doctor Who*  
*Doctor Zhivago*  
 Doctorow, E. L.  
 Docudrama

- Do-It-Yourself Improvement  
 Domino, Fats  
 Donahue, Phil  
 Donovan  
 Doobie Brothers, The  
*Doonesbury*  
 Doors, The  
 Doo-wop Music  
 Dorsey, Jimmy  
 Dorsey, Tommy  
*Double Indemnity*  
 Douglas, Lloyd C.  
 Douglas, Melvyn  
 Douglas, Mike  
 Downs, Hugh  
 Doyle, Arthur Conan  
 Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde  
*Dr. Kildare*  
 Dr. Seuss  
*Dr. Strangelove or: How I  
 Learned to Stop Worrying  
 and Love the Bomb*  
 Dracula  
 Draft, The  
 Drag  
 Drag Racing  
*Dragnet*  
 Dragon Lady  
 Dream Team  
 Dreiser, Theodore  
 Drifters, The  
 Drive-In Theater  
 Drug War  
 Du Bois, W. E. B.  
*Duck Soup*  
*Dukes of Hazzard, The*  
 Duncan, Isadora  
 Dungeons and Dragons  
 Dunkin' Donuts  
 Dunne, Irene  
 Duran, Roberto  
 Durbin, Deanna  
 Durocher, Leo  
 Duvall, Robert  
 Dyer, Wayne  
*Dykes to Watch Out For*  
 Dylan, Bob  
*Dynasty*
- Eames, Charles and Ray  
 Earth Day  
 Earth Shoes  
 Eastwood, Clint  
*Easy Rider*  
 Ebbets Field  
*Ebony*  
 EC Comics  
 Eckstine, Billy  
 Eco-Terrorism  
 Eddy, Duane
- Eddy, Mary Baker  
 Eddy, Nelson  
*Edge of Night, The*  
 Edison, Thomas Alva  
 Edsel, The  
 Edwards, James  
 Edwards, Ralph  
 Eight-Track Tape  
 Einstein, Albert  
 Eisner, Will  
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 El Vez  
 Electric Appliances  
 Electric Guitar  
 Electric Trains  
 Elizondo, Hector  
 Elkins, Aaron  
 Ellington, Duke  
 Ellis, Brett Easton  
 Ellis, Perry  
 Ellison, Harlan  
 Elway, John  
 E-mail  
 Emmy Awards  
 Empire State Building  
 Environmentalism  
 Equal Rights Amendment  
*ER*  
 Erdrich, Louise  
 Erector Sets  
 Ertegun, Ahmet  
 Erving, Julius "Dr. J"  
 Escher, M. C.  
 ESPN  
*Esquire*  
 est  
*E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial*  
 Etiquette Columns  
 Evangelism  
 Everly Brothers, The  
 Everson, Cory  
 Evert, Chris  
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*Exorcist, The*
- Fabares, Shelley  
 Fabian  
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 Facelifts  
 Factor, Max  
 Fadiman, Clifton  
*Fail-Safe*  
 Fairbanks, Douglas, Jr.  
 Fairbanks, Douglas, Sr.  
 Fallout Shelters  
*Family Circle*  
*Family Circus, The*  
*Family Matters*  
 Family Reunions  
*Family Ties*
- Fan Magazines  
*Fantasia*  
*Fantastic Four, The*  
*Fantasy Island*  
*Far Side, The*  
*Fargo*  
 Farm Aid  
 Farr, Jamie  
 Fast Food  
*Fatal Attraction*  
 Father Divine  
*Father Knows Best*  
 Father's Day  
 Faulkner, William  
 Fauset, Jessie Redmon  
 Fawcett, Farrah  
*Fawty Towers*  
 FBI (Federal Bureau of  
 Investigation)  
 Feliciano, José  
 Felix the Cat  
 Fellini, Federico  
 Feminism  
 Fenway Park  
 Ferrante and Teicher  
 Fetchit, Stepin  
*Fibber McGee and Molly*  
*Fiddler on the Roof*  
 Fidrych, Mark "Bird"  
*Field and Stream*  
*Field of Dreams*  
 Field, Sally  
 Fields, W. C.  
 Fierstein, Harvey  
 Fifties, The  
 Film Noir  
 Firearms  
 Firesign Theatre  
 Fischer, Bobby  
 Fisher, Eddie  
 Fisher-Price Toys  
 Fisk, Carlton  
*Fistful of Dollars, A*  
 Fitzgerald, Ella  
 Fitzgerald, F. Scott  
 Flack, Roberta  
 Flag Burning  
 Flag Clothing  
 Flagpole Sitting  
 Flappers  
*Flash Gordon*  
 Flashdance Style  
 Flatt, Lester  
 Flea Markets  
 Fleetwood Mac  
 Fleming, Ian  
 Fleming, Peggy  
*Flintstones, The*  
 Flipper  
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- Flying Nun, The*  
 Flynn, Errol  
 Foggy Mountain Boys, The  
 Folk Music  
 Folkways Records  
 Follett, Ken  
 Fonda, Henry  
 Fonda, Jane  
 Fonteyn, Margot  
 Ford, Glenn  
 Ford, Harrison  
 Ford, Henry  
 Ford, John  
 Ford Motor Company  
 Ford, Tennessee Ernie  
 Ford, Whitey  
 Foreman, George  
*Forrest Gump*  
 Forsyth, Frederick  
*Fortune*  
*42nd Street*  
 Fosse, Bob  
 Foster, Jodie  
 Fourth of July Celebrations  
 Foxx, Redd  
 Foyt, A. J.  
 Francis, Arlene  
 Francis, Connie  
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 Frankenstein  
 Franklin, Aretha  
 Franklin, Bonnie  
*Frasier*  
 Frawley, William  
 Frazier, Joe  
 Frazier, Walt "Clyde"  
 Freak Shows  
*Freaks*  
 Frederick's of Hollywood  
 Free Agency  
 Free Speech Movement  
 Freed, Alan "Moondog"  
 Freedom Rides  
*French Connection, The*  
 French Fries  
 Freud, Sigmund  
 Friday, Nancy  
*Friday the 13th*  
 Friedman, Kinky  
*Friends*  
 Frisbee  
 Frizzell, Lefty  
*From Here to Eternity*  
 Frost, Robert  
 Frosty the Snowman  
 Frozen Entrées  
 Fu Manchu  
*Fugitive, The*  
 Fuller, Buckminster  
 Fundamentalism  
 Funicello, Annette  
 Funk  
 Fusco, Coco  
  
 Gable, Clark  
 Gambling  
 Game Shows  
 Gammons, Peter  
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 Gangsta Rap  
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 Garbo, Greta  
 Gardner, Ava  
 Garfield, John  
 Garland, Judy  
 Garner, James  
 Garvey, Marcus  
 Garvey, Steve  
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 Gay and Lesbian Press  
 Gay Liberation Movement  
 Gay Men  
 Gaye, Marvin  
 Gehrig, Lou  
*General, The*  
*General Hospital*  
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*Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*  
 Gere, Richard  
 Gernsback, Hugo  
*Gertie the Dinosaur*  
*Get Smart*  
 Ghettos  
 GI Joe  
*Giant*  
 Gibson, Althea  
 Gibson, Bob  
 Gibson Girl  
 Gibson, Mel  
 Gibson, William  
 Gifford, Frank  
 Gillespie, Dizzy  
*Gilligan's Island*  
 Ginny Dolls  
 Ginsberg, Allen  
 Girl Groups  
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 Gish, Dorothy  
 Gish, Lillian  
*Glass Menagerie, The*  
 Gleason, Jackie  
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 Gnagy, Jon  
*Godfather, The*  
 Godfrey, Arthur  
 Godzilla  
 Gold, Mike  
 Goldberg, Rube  
 Goldberg, Whoopi  
 Golden Books  
 Golden Gate Bridge  
*Golden Girls, The*  
 Goldwyn, Samuel  
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*Gone with the Wind*  
*Good Housekeeping*  
*Good, the Bad, and the Ugly, The*  
*Good Times*  
*Goodbye, Columbus*  
 Gooden, Dwight  
*GoodFellas*  
 Goodman, Benny  
 Goodson, Mark  
 Gordy, Berry  
 Gospel Music  
 Gossip Columns  
 Goth  
 Gotti, John  
 Grable, Betty  
 Graceland  
*Graduate, The*  
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 Grafton, Sue  
 Graham, Bill  
 Graham, Billy  
 Graham, Martha  
 Grandmaster Flash  
 Grand Ole Opry  
 Grant, Amy  
 Grant, Cary  
*Grapes of Wrath, The*  
 Grateful Dead, The  
 Gray Panthers  
 Great Depression  
*Great Train Robbery, The*  
 Greb, Harry  
*Greed*  
 Greeley, Andrew  
 Green, Al  
 Green Bay Packers, The  
 Green Lantern  
 Greenberg, Hank  
 Greene, Graham  
 Greenpeace  
 Greenwich Village  
 Greeting Cards  
 Gregory, Dick  
 Gretzky, Wayne  
 Grey, Zane  
 Greyhound Buses  
 Grier, Pam  
 Griffin, Merv  
 Griffith, D. W.  
 Griffith, Nanci  
 Grimek, John  
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Grizzard, Lewis  
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Grunge  
Grusin, Dave  
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*Gunsmoke*  
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Guy, Buddy  
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- Hackett, Buddy  
Hackman, Gene  
Haggard, Merle  
Hagler, Marvelous Marvin  
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*Hair*  
Hairstyles  
Halas, George “Papa Bear”  
Haley, Alex  
Haley, Bill  
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*Hallmark Hall of Fame*  
*Halloween*  
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Hamburger  
Hamill, Dorothy  
Hammett, Dashiell  
Hancock, Herbie  
Handy, W. C.  
Hanks, Tom  
Hanna-Barbera  
Hansberry, Lorraine  
*Happy Days*  
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Hard-Boiled Detective Fiction  
Harding, Tonya  
Hardy Boys, The  
Hare Krishna  
Haring, Keith  
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Harlow, Jean  
Harmonica Bands  
Harper, Valerie  
*Harper’s*  
Hate Crimes  
Havlicek, John  
*Hawaii Five-0*  
Hawkins, Coleman  
Hawks, Howard  
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Hayworth, Rita
- Hearst, Patty  
Hearst, William Randolph  
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*Hee Haw*  
Hefner, Hugh  
Hellman, Lillian  
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Hemingway, Ernest  
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Henderson, Fletcher  
Hendrix, Jimi  
Henry Aldrich  
Henson, Jim  
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Hepburn, Audrey  
Hepburn, Katharine  
Herbert, Frank  
*Hercules: The Legendary Journeys*  
Herman, Woody  
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Hersey, John  
Hess, Joan  
Heston, Charlton  
Higginson, Major Henry Lee  
*High Noon*  
Highway System  
Hijuelos, Oscar  
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*Hill Street Blues*  
Hillerman, Tony  
Himes, Chester  
*Hindenberg*, The  
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Hirschfeld, Albert  
*Hispanic Magazine*  
Hiss, Alger  
Hitchcock, Alfred  
Hite, Shere  
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Hoffman, Abbie  
Hoffman, Dustin  
Hogan, Ben  
Hogan, Hulk  
*Hogan’s Heroes*  
Holbrook, Hal  
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Holiday, Billie  
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Holliday, Judy  
Holly, Buddy  
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*Hollywood Squares*  
Hollywood Ten, The  
*Holocaust*  
Holyfield, Evander  
*Home Improvement*  
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*Honeymooners, The*
- Hooker, John Lee  
*Hoosiers*  
Hoover Dam  
Hoover, J. Edgar  
Hopalong Cassidy  
Hope, Bob  
Hopkins, Sam “Lightnin”  
Hopper, Dennis  
Hopper, Edward  
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Horne, Lena  
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Houdini, Harry  
Houston, Whitney  
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*Howdy Doody Show, The*  
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Howlin’ Wolf  
Hubbard, L. Ron  
Hudson, Rock  
Hughes, Howard  
Hughes, Langston  
Hula Hoop  
Hull, Bobby  
Hunt, Helen  
Hunter, Tab  
Huntley, Chet  
Hurston, Zora Neale  
*Hustler*  
Huston, John  
Hutton, Ina Ray
- I Dream of Jeannie*  
*I Love a Mystery*  
*I Love Lucy*  
*I Spy*  
*I Was a Teenage Werewolf*  
Iacocca, Lee  
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Ice Cream Cone  
Ice Shows  
Ice-T  
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Incredible Hulk, The  
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*Inner Sanctum* Mysteries  
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*Invisible Man*  
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- Ironman Triathlon  
 Irving, John  
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*It's a Wonderful Life*  
*It's Garry Shandling's Show*  
 Ives, Burl  
 Ivy League  
  
 J. Walter Thompson  
 Jack Armstrong  
 Jackson Five, The  
 Jackson, Jesse  
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 Jackson, Michael  
 Jackson, Reggie  
 Jackson, Shirley  
 Jackson, "Sholess" Joe  
 Jakes, John  
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*Jaws*  
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*Jazz Singer, The*  
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 Jennings, Peter  
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*Jet*  
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*JFK (The Movie)*  
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 John Birch Society  
 John, Elton  
 Johns, Jasper  
 Johnson, Blind Willie  
 Johnson, Earvin "Magic"  
 Johnson, Jack  
 Johnson, James Weldon  
 Johnson, Michael  
 Johnson, Robert  
 Jolson, Al  
 Jones, Bobby  
 Jones, George  
 Jones, Jennifer  
 Jones, Tom  
 Jonestown  
 Jong, Erica  
 Joplin, Janis  
 Joplin, Scott  
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 Jordan, Michael  
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*Joy of Sex, The*  
 Joyner, Florence Griffith  
 Joyner-Kersee, Jackie  
 Judas Priest  
*Judge*  
 Judson, Arthur  
 Judy Bolton  
 Juke Boxes  
*Julia*  
 Juliá, Raúl  
*Jurassic Park*  
 Juvenile Delinquency  
  
 Kahn, Roger  
 Kaltenborn, Hans von  
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 Karan, Donna  
 Karloff, Boris  
 Kasem, Casey  
*Kate & Allie*  
*Katzenjammer Kids, The*  
 Kaufman, Andy  
 Kaye, Danny  
 Keaton, Buster  
 Keillor, Garrison  
 Keitel, Harvey  
 Kelley, David E.  
 Kelly Bag  
 Kelly, Gene  
 Kelly Girls  
 Kelly, Grace  
 Kennedy Assassination  
 Kent State Massacre  
 Kentucky Derby  
 Kentucky Fried Chicken  
 Kern, Jerome  
 Kerrigan, Nancy  
 Kershaw, Doug  
 Kelsey, Ken  
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 Keystone Kops, The  
 King, Albert  
 King, B. B.  
 King, Billie Jean  
 King, Carole  
 King, Freddie  
*King Kong*  
 King, Larry  
 King, Martin Luther, Jr.  
 King, Rodney  
 King, Stephen  
 Kingston, Maxine Hong  
 Kingston Trio, The  
 Kinison, Sam  
 Kinsey, Dr. Alfred C.  
 Kirby, Jack  
  
 KISS  
 Kitsch  
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 Klein, Calvin  
 Klein, Robert  
 Kmart  
 Knievel, Evel  
 Knight, Bobby  
*Knots Landing*  
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*Kojak*  
 Koontz, Dean R.  
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 Korman, Harvey  
 Kosinski, Jerzy  
 Kotzwinkle, William  
 Koufax, Sandy  
 Kovacs, Ernie  
*Kraft Television Theatre*  
 Krantz, Judith  
 Krassner, Paul  
*Krazy Kat*  
 Krupa, Gene  
 Ku Klux Klan  
 Kubrick, Stanley  
*Kudzu*  
 Kuhn, Bowie  
*Kukla, Fran, and Ollie*  
*Kung Fu*  
 Kwan, Michelle  
  
*L. A. Law*  
 L. L. Cool J.  
 "La Bamba"  
 Labor Unions  
 Lacoste Shirts  
 Ladd, Alan  
 Laetrile  
 Lahr, Bert  
 Lake, Ricki  
 Lake, Veronica  
 LaLanne, Jack  
 Lamarr, Hedy  
 LaMotta, Jake  
 Lamour, Dorothy  
 L'Amour, Louis  
 Lancaster, Burt  
 Landon, Michael  
 Landry, Tom  
 Lang, Fritz  
 lang, k.d.  
 Lansky, Meyer  
 Lardner, Ring  
*Larry Sanders Show, The*  
 LaRussa, Tony  
 Las Vegas  
 Lasorda, Tommy  
 Lassie  
*Late Great Planet Earth, The*

- Latin Jazz  
*Laugh-In*  
 Lauper, Cyndi  
*Laura*  
 Laurel and Hardy  
 Lauren, Ralph  
 Laver, Rod  
*Laverne and Shirley*  
 Lavin, Linda  
 Lawn Care/Gardening  
*Lawrence of Arabia*  
 Lawrence, Vicki  
 La-Z-Boy Loungers  
 le Carré, John  
 Le Guin, Ursula K.  
 Leachman, Cloris  
 Leadbelly  
*League of Their Own, A*  
 Lear, Norman  
 Leary, Timothy  
 Least Heat Moon, William  
 Leather Jacket  
*Leave It to Beaver*  
 Led Zeppelin  
 Lee, Bruce  
 Lee, Gypsy Rose  
 Lee, Peggy  
 Lee, Spike  
 Lee, Stan  
 Legos  
 Lehrer, Tom  
 Leisure Suit  
 Leisure Time  
 LeMond, Greg  
 L'Engle, Madeleine  
 Lennon, John  
 Leno, Jay  
 Leonard, Benny  
 Leonard, Elmore  
 Leonard, Sugar Ray  
 Leone, Sergio  
 Leopold and Loeb  
*Les Misérables*  
 Lesbianism  
*Let Us Now Praise  
     Famous Men*  
*Let's Pretend*  
 Letterman, David  
 Levin, Meyer  
 Levi's  
 Levittown  
 Lewinsky, Monica  
 Lewis, C. S.  
 Lewis, Carl  
 Lewis, Jerry  
 Lewis, Jerry Lee  
 Lewis, Sinclair  
 Liberace  
*Liberty*  
 Lichtenstein, Roy  
 Liebovitz, Annie  
*Life*  
*Life of Riley, The*  
*Like Water for Chocolate*  
 Li'l Abner  
 Limbaugh, Rush  
 Lincoln Center for the  
     Performing Arts  
 Lindbergh, Anne Morrow  
 Lindbergh, Charles  
 Linkletter, Art  
*Lion King, The*  
 Lionel Trains  
 Lippmann, Walter  
 Lipstick  
 Liston, Sonny  
 Little Black Dress  
 Little Blue Books  
 Little League  
 Little Magazines  
 Little Orphan Annie  
 Little Richard  
 Live Television  
 L.L. Bean, Inc.  
 Lloyd Webber, Andrew  
 Loafers  
 Locke, Alain  
*Lolita*  
 Lollapalooza  
 Lombard, Carole  
 Lombardi, Vince  
 Lombardo, Guy  
 London, Jack  
 Lone Ranger, The  
 Long, Huey  
 Long, Shelley  
 Long-Playing Record  
 Loos, Anita  
 López, Nancy  
 Lorre, Peter  
 Los Angeles Lakers, The  
 Los Lobos  
*Lost Weekend, The*  
 Lottery  
 Louis, Joe  
 Louisiana Purchase Exposition  
 Louisville Slugger  
*Love Boat, The*  
 Love, Courtney  
 Lovecraft, H. P.  
 Low Riders  
 Loy, Myrna  
 LSD  
 Lubitsch, Ernst  
 Lucas, George  
 Luce, Henry  
 Luciano, Lucky  
 Ludlum, Robert  
 Lugosi, Bela  
 Lunceford, Jimmie  
 Lupino, Ida  
 LuPone, Patti  
 Lynch, David  
 Lynching  
 Lynn, Loretta  
 Lynyrd Skynyrd  
  
*Ma Perkins*  
 Mabley, Moms  
 MacDonald, Jeanette  
 MacDonald, John D.  
 Macfadden, Bernarr  
 MacMurray, Fred  
 Macon, Uncle Dave  
 Macy's  
*MAD Magazine*  
 Madden, John  
 Made-for-Television Movies  
 Madonna  
 Mafia/Organized Crime  
*Magnificent Seven, The*  
*Magnum, P.I.*  
 Mah-Jongg  
 Mailer, Norman  
 Malcolm X  
 Mall of America  
 Malls  
*Maltese Falcon, The*  
 Mamas and the Papas, The  
 Mamet, David  
*Man from U.N.C.L.E., The*  
*Man Who Shot Liberty  
     Valance, The*  
*Manchurian Candidate, The*  
 Mancini, Henry  
 Manhattan Transfer  
 Manilow, Barry  
 Mansfield, Jayne  
 Manson, Charles  
 Mantle, Mickey  
 Manufactured Homes  
 Mapplethorpe, Robert  
 March on Washington  
 Marching Bands  
 Marciano, Rocky  
*Marcus Welby, M.D.*  
 Mardi Gras  
 Mariachi Music  
 Marichal, Juan  
 Marie, Rose  
 Marijuana  
 Maris, Roger  
 Marlboro Man  
 Marley, Bob  
*Married . . . with Children*  
 Marshall, Garry  
 Martha and the Vandellas  
 Martin, Dean  
 Martin, Freddy  
 Martin, Quinn

- Martin, Steve  
 Martini  
 Marvel Comics  
 Marx Brothers, The  
 Marx, Groucho  
*Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*  
 Mary Kay Cosmetics  
*Mary Poppins*  
*Mary Tyler Moore Show, The*  
 Mary Worth  
*M\*A\*S\*H*  
 Mason, Jackie  
 Mass Market Magazine  
     Revolution  
*Masses, The*  
 Masterpiece Theatre  
 Masters and Johnson  
 Masters Golf Tournament  
 Mathis, Johnny  
 Mattingly, Don  
*Maude*  
 Maupin, Armistead  
*Maus*  
 Max, Peter  
 Mayer, Louis B.  
 Mayfield, Curtis  
 Mayfield, Percy  
 Mays, Willie  
 McBain, Ed  
 McCaffrey, Anne  
*McCall's Magazine*  
 McCarthyism  
 McCartney, Paul  
 McCay, Winsor  
*McClure's*  
 McCoy, Horace  
 McCrea, Joel  
 McDaniel, Hattie  
 McDonald's  
 McEnroe, John  
 McEntire, Reba  
 McGwire, Mark  
*McHale's Navy*  
 McKay, Claude  
 McKuen, Rod  
 McLish, Rachel  
 McLuhan, Marshall  
 McMurtry, Larry  
 McPherson, Aimee Semple  
 McQueen, Butterfly  
 McQueen, Steve  
 Me Decade  
 Meadows, Audrey  
*Mean Streets*  
 Media Feeding Frenzies  
 Medicine Shows  
*Meet Me in St. Louis*  
 Mellencamp, John  
 Mencken, H. L.  
 Mendoza, Lydia
- Men's Movement  
 Merton, Thomas  
 Metalious, Grace  
*Metropolis*  
 Metropolitan Museum of Art  
 MGM (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer)  
*Miami Vice*  
 Michener, James  
*Mickey Mouse Club, The*  
 Microsoft  
*Middletown*  
 Midler, Bette  
*Midnight Cowboy*  
*Mildred Pierce*  
 Militias  
 Milk, Harvey  
 Millay, Edna St. Vincent  
 Miller, Arthur  
 Miller Beer  
 Miller, Glenn  
 Miller, Henry  
 Miller, Roger  
 Milli Vanilli  
 Million Man March  
 Milton Bradley  
 Minimalism  
 Minivans  
 Minnelli, Vincente  
 Minoso, Minnie  
 Minstrel Shows  
 Miranda, Carmen  
*Miranda Warning*  
 Miss America Pageant  
*Mission: Impossible*  
*Mister Ed*  
*Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*  
 Mitchell, Joni  
 Mitchell, Margaret  
 Mitchum, Robert  
 Mix, Tom  
 Mod  
*Mod Squad, The*  
 Model T  
 Modern Dance  
*Modern Maturity*  
*Modern Times*  
 Modernism  
 Momaday, N. Scott  
*Monday Night Football*  
 Monkees, The  
 Monopoly  
 Monroe, Bill  
 Monroe, Earl "The Pearl"  
 Monroe, Marilyn  
 Montalban, Ricardo  
 Montana, Joe  
 Montana, Patsy  
*Monty Python's Flying Circus*  
 Moonies/Reverend Sun  
     Myung Moon
- Moonlighting*  
 Moore, Demi  
 Moore, Michael  
 Moral Majority  
 Moreno, Rita  
*Mork & Mindy*  
 Morris, Mark  
 Morrissette, Alanis  
 Morrison, Toni  
 Morrison, Van  
 Morse, Carlton E.  
 Morton, Jelly Roll  
 Mosley, Walter  
 Moss, Kate  
 Mother's Day  
 Mötley Crüe  
 Motley, Willard  
 Motown  
 Mount Rushmore  
 Mountain Biking  
 Mouseketeers, The  
 Movie Palaces  
 Movie Stars  
 Mr. Dooley  
*Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*  
*Mr. Wizard*  
*Ms.*  
 MTV  
 Muckraking  
 Multiculturalism  
 Mummy, The  
 Muni, Paul  
*Munsey's Magazine*  
 Muppets, The  
*Murder, She Wrote*  
*Murphy Brown*  
 Murphy, Eddie  
 Murray, Anne  
 Murray, Arthur  
 Murray, Bill  
 Murray, Lenda  
 Murrow, Edward R.  
 Muscle Beach  
 Muscle Cars  
 Muscular Christianity  
 Musical, The  
*Mutiny on the Bounty*  
*Mutt & Jeff*  
 Muzak  
*My Darling Clementine*  
*My Fair Lady*  
*My Family/Mi familia*  
 My Lai Massacre  
*My So Called Life*  
*My Three Sons*  
 Nader, Ralph  
 Nagel, Patrick  
 Naismith, James  
 Namath, Joe

- Nancy Drew  
 NASA  
*Nation, The*  
 National Basketball Association (NBA)  
 National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA)  
*National Enquirer, The*  
 National Football League (NFL)  
*National Geographic*  
 National Hockey League (NHL)  
*National Lampoon*  
 National Organization for Women (N.O.W.)  
 National Parks  
*Natural, The*  
*Natural Born Killers*  
 Nava, Gregory  
 Navratilova, Martina  
 Naylor, Gloria  
 Neckties  
 Negro Leagues  
 Neighborhood Watch  
 Nelson, Ricky  
 Nelson, Willie  
 Nerd Look  
*Network*  
 Networks  
 New Age Music  
 New Age Spirituality  
 New Deal  
 New Kids on the Block, The  
 New Left  
 New Look  
 New Orleans Rhythm and Blues  
*New Republic*  
 New Wave Music  
 New York Knickerbockers, The  
 New York Mets, The  
*New York Times, The*  
 New York Yankees, The  
*New Yorker, The*  
 Newhart, Bob  
*Newlywed Game, The*  
 Newport Jazz and Folk Festivals  
*Newsweek*  
 Newton, Helmut  
 Niagara Falls  
 Nichols, Mike, and Elaine May  
 Nickelodeons  
 Nicklaus, Jack  
*Night of the Living Dead*  
*Nightline*  
 Nike  
 1980 U.S. Olympic Hockey Team  
 1968 Mexico City Summer Olympic Games  
 Nirvana
- Nixon, Agnes  
 Noloesca, La Chata  
 Norris, Frank  
*North by Northwest*  
*Northern Exposure*  
 Novak, Kim  
 Nureyev, Rudolf  
 Nylon  
*NYPD Blue*
- Oakland Raiders, The  
 Oates, Joyce Carol  
 Objectivism/Ayn Rand  
 O'Brien, Tim  
 Ochs, Phil  
 O'Connor, Flannery  
*Odd Couple, The*  
 O'Donnell, Rosie  
 O'Keefe, Georgia  
*Oklahoma!*  
 Old Navy  
 Oliphant, Pat  
 Olivier, Laurence  
 Olmos, Edward James  
 Olsen, Tillie  
 Olympics  
*Omnibus*  
*On the Road*  
*On the Waterfront*  
 Onassis, Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy  
*One Day at a Time*  
*One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*  
*One Man's Family*  
 O'Neal, Shaquille  
 O'Neill, Eugene  
 Op Art  
*Opportunity*  
 Orbison, Roy  
*Organization Man, The*  
 Original Dixieland Jass (Jazz) Band  
 O'Rourke, P. J.  
 Orr, Bobby  
 Osborne Brothers, The  
 Osbourne, Ozzy  
 Ouija Boards  
*Our Gang*  
*Outer Limits, The*  
 Outing  
*Outline of History, The*  
 Owens, Buck  
 Owens, Jesse  
 Oxford Bags
- Paar, Jack  
 Pachucos  
 Pacino, Al  
 Paglia, Camille
- Paige, Satchel  
 Paley, Grace  
 Paley, William S.  
 Palmer, Arnold  
 Palmer, Jim  
 Pants for Women  
 Pantyhose  
 Paperbacks  
 Parades  
 Paretzky, Sara  
 Parker Brothers  
 Parker, Charlie  
 Parker, Dorothy  
 Parks, Rosa  
 Parrish, Maxfield  
 Parton, Dolly  
*Partridge Family, The*  
 Patinkin, Mandy  
*Patton*  
 Paul, Les  
 Paulsen, Pat  
 Payton, Walter  
 Peale, Norman Vincent  
*Peanuts*  
 Pearl Jam  
 Pearl, Minnie  
 Peck, Gregory  
 Peep Shows  
*Pee-wee's Playhouse*  
 Pelé  
 Penn, Irving  
*Penthouse*  
*People*  
 Peppermint Lounge, The  
 Pepsi-Cola  
 Performance Art  
 Perot, Ross  
 Perry Mason  
 Pet Rocks  
 Peter, Paul, and Mary  
 Peters, Bernadette  
 Pets  
 Petting  
 Petty, Richard  
 Peyton Place  
 Pfeiffer, Michelle  
*Phantom of the Opera, The*  
*Philadelphia Story, The*  
*Philco Television Playhouse*  
 Phillips, Irna  
 Phone Sex  
 Phonograph  
*Photoplay*  
 Picasso, Pablo  
 Pickford, Mary  
 Pill, The  
 Pink Floyd  
 Pin-Up, The  
 Piper, "Rowdy" Roddy  
 Phippen, Scottie

- Pittsburgh Steelers, The  
 Pizza  
*Place in the Sun, A*  
*Planet of the Apes*  
 Plastic  
 Plastic Surgery  
 Plath, Sylvia  
*Platoon*  
*Playboy*  
*Playgirl*  
*Playhouse 90*  
*Pogo*  
 Pointer Sisters, The  
 Pointier, Sidney  
 Polio  
 Political Bosses  
 Political Correctness  
 Pollock, Jackson  
 Polyester  
 Pop Art  
 Pop, Iggy  
 Pop Music  
 Pope, The  
 Popeye  
 Popsicles  
*Popular Mechanics*  
 Popular Psychology  
 Pornography  
 Porter, Cole  
 Postcards  
*Postman Always Rings  
     Twice, The*  
 Postmodernism  
 Potter, Dennis  
 Powell, Dick  
 Powell, William  
 Prang, Louis  
 Preminger, Otto  
 Preppy  
 Presley, Elvis  
*Price Is Right, The*  
 Price, Reynolds  
 Price, Vincent  
 Pride, Charley  
 Prince  
 Prince, Hal  
 Prinze, Freddie  
*Prisoner, The*  
 Professional Football  
 Prohibition  
 Prom  
 Promise Keepers  
 Protest Groups  
 Prozac  
 Pryor, Richard  
 Psychedelia  
 Psychics  
*Psycho*  
 PTA/PTO (Parent Teacher  
     Association/Organization)
- Public Enemy  
 Public Libraries  
 Public Television (PBS)  
 Puente, Tito  
*Pulp Fiction*  
 Pulp Magazines  
 Punisher, The  
 Punk  
 Pynchon, Thomas
- Quayle, Dan  
 Queen, Ellery  
*Queen for a Day*  
 Queen Latifah  
 Queer Nation  
 Quiz Show Scandals
- Race Music  
 Race Riots  
 Radio  
 Radio Drama  
 Radner, Gilda  
 Raft, George  
 Raggedy Ann and Raggedy  
     Andy  
*Raging Bull*  
 Ragni, Gerome, and James  
     Rado  
*Raiders of the Lost Ark*  
 Rainey, Gertrude “Ma”  
 Rains, Claude  
 Raitt, Bonnie  
 Rambo  
 Ramones, The  
 Ranch House  
 Rand, Sally  
 Rap/Hip Hop  
 Rather, Dan  
*Reader’s Digest*  
 Reagan, Ronald  
*Real World, The*  
 Reality Television  
*Rear Window*  
*Rebel without a Cause*  
 Recycling  
 Red Scare  
*Redbook*  
 Redding, Otis  
 Redford, Robert  
 Reed, Donna  
 Reed, Ishmael  
 Reed, Lou  
 Reese, Pee Wee  
 Reeves, Steve  
 Reggae  
 Reiner, Carl  
 Religious Right  
 R.E.M.  
 Remington, Frederic  
 Reno, Don
- Renoir, Jean  
 Replacements, The  
 Retro Fashion  
 Reynolds, Burt  
 Rhythm and Blues  
 Rice, Grantland  
 Rice, Jerry  
 Rich, Charlie  
 Rigby, Cathy  
 Riggs, Bobby  
 Riley, Pat  
 Ringling Bros., Barnum &  
     Bailey Circus  
 Ripken, Cal, Jr.  
*Ripley’s Believe It Or Not*  
 Rivera, Chita  
 Rivera, Diego  
 Rivera, Gerald  
 Rivers, Joan  
 Rizzuto, Phil  
 Road Rage  
 Road Runner and Wile E.  
     Coyote  
 Robbins, Tom  
 Roberts, Jake “The Snake”  
 Roberts, Julia  
 Roberts, Nora  
 Robertson, Oscar  
 Robertson, Pat  
 Robeson, Kenneth  
 Robeson, Paul  
 Robinson, Edward G.  
 Robinson, Frank  
 Robinson, Jackie  
 Robinson, Smokey  
 Robinson, Sugar Ray  
 Rock and Roll  
 Rock, Chris  
 Rock Climbing  
 Rockefeller Family  
 Rockettes, The  
 Rockne, Knute  
 Rockwell, Norman  
*Rocky*  
*Rocky and Bullwinkle*  
*Rocky Horror Picture  
     Show, The*  
 Roddenberry, Gene  
 Rodeo  
 Rodgers and Hammerstein  
 Rodgers and Hart  
 Rodgers, Jimmie  
 Rodman, Dennis  
 Rodriguez, Chi Chi  
*Roe v. Wade*  
 Rogers, Kenny  
 Rogers, Roy  
 Rogers, Will  
 Rolle, Esther  
 Roller Coasters

- Roller Derby  
*Rolling Stone*  
 Rolling Stones, The  
 Romance Novels  
 Romero, Cesar  
*Roots*  
 Rose Bowl  
 Rose, Pete  
*Roseanne*  
*Rosemary's Baby*  
 Rosenberg, Julius and Ethel  
 Ross, Diana, and the Supremes  
 Roswell Incident  
 Roundtree, Richard  
 Rouse Company  
 Route 66  
 Royko, Mike  
 Rubik's Cube  
*Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer*  
 Run-DMC  
 Runyon, Damon  
 RuPaul  
 Rupp, Adolph  
 Russell, Bill  
 Russell, Jane  
 Russell, Nipsey  
 Russell, Rosalind  
 Ruth, Babe  
 RV  
 Ryan, Meg  
 Ryan, Nolan  
 Rydell, Bobby  
 Ryder, Winona
- Safe Sex  
 Sagan, Carl  
 Sahl, Mort  
 Saks Fifth Avenue  
 Sales, Soupy  
 Salsa Music  
 Salt-n-Pepa  
 Sam and Dave  
 Sandburg, Carl  
 Sanders, Barry  
*Sandman*  
 Sandow, Eugen  
*Sanford and Son*  
 Santana  
 Sarandon, Susan  
 Saratoga Springs  
 Sarnoff, David  
 Sarong  
 Sassoon, Vidal  
*Sassy*  
 Satellites  
*Saturday Evening Post, The*  
 Saturday Morning Cartoons  
*Saturday Night Fever*  
*Saturday Night Live*
- Savage, Randy "Macho Man"  
 Savoy Ballroom  
*Schindler's List*  
 Schlatter, George  
 Schlessinger, Dr. Laura  
 Schnabel, Julian  
*Schoolhouse Rock*  
 Schwarzenegger, Arnold  
 Science Fiction Publishing  
*Scientific American*  
 Scopes Monkey Trial  
 Scorsese, Martin  
 Scott, George C.  
 Scott, Randolph  
*Scream*  
 Screwball Comedies  
*Scribner's*  
 Scruggs, Earl  
 Sculley, Vin  
 Sea World  
 Seals, Son  
*Search for Tomorrow*  
*Searchers, The*  
 Sears Roebuck Catalogue  
 Sears Tower  
 Second City  
 Sedona, Arizona  
*Seduction of the Innocent*  
 Seeger, Pete  
*Seinfeld*  
 Selena  
 Seles, Monica  
 Sellers, Peter  
 Selznick, David O.  
 Sennett, Mack  
 Serial Killers  
 Serling, Rod  
*Sesame Street*  
*Seven Days in May*  
*Seven Year Itch, The*  
*Seventeen*  
*Sex and the Single Girl*  
 Sex Scandals  
 Sex Symbol  
 Sexual Harassment  
 Sexual Revolution  
 Shadow, The  
*Shaft*  
 Shakur, Tupac  
*Shane*  
 Shaw, Artie  
 Shawn, Ted  
*She Wore a Yellow Ribbon*  
 Sheldon, Sidney  
 Shepard, Sam  
 Sherman, Cindy  
 Shirelles, The  
 Shirer, William L.  
 Shock Radio  
 Shore, Dinah
- Shorter, Frank  
*Show Boat*  
 Shula, Don  
 Shulman, Max  
 SIDS (Sudden Infant Death Syndrome)  
 Siegel, Bugsy  
*Silence of the Lambs, The*  
 Silent Movies  
 Silver Surfer, The  
 Simon and Garfunkel  
 Simon, Neil  
 Simon, Paul  
 Simpson, O. J.  
 Simpson Trial  
*Simpsons, The*  
 Sinatra, Frank  
 Sinbad  
 Sinclair, Upton  
 Singer, Isaac Bashevis  
*Singin' in the Rain*  
 Singles Bars  
 Sirk, Douglas  
 Siskel and Ebert  
 Sister Souljah  
 Sitcom  
*Six Million Dollar Man, The*  
*60 Minutes*  
*\$64,000 Question, The*  
 Skaggs, Ricky  
 Skateboarding  
 Skating  
 Skelton, Red  
 Skyscrapers  
 Slaney, Mary Decker  
 Slang  
 Slasher Movies  
 Slinky  
 Sly and the Family Stone  
 Smith, Bessie  
 Smith, Dean  
 Smith, Kate  
 Smith, Patti  
 Smithsonian Institution  
 Smits, Jimmy  
 Smothers Brothers, The  
 Snoop Doggy Dogg  
*Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*  
 Soap Operas  
 Soccer  
 Social Dancing  
 Soda Fountains  
 Soldier Field  
*Some Like It Hot*  
 Sondheim, Stephen  
 Sonny and Cher  
 Sosa, Sammy  
 Soul Music  
*Soul Train*



- Sound of Music, The*  
 Sousa, John Philip  
*South Pacific*  
*South Park*  
 Southern, Terry  
 Spacek, Sissy  
 Spaghetti Westerns  
 Spalding, Albert G.  
*Spartacus*  
*Spawn*  
 Special Olympics  
 Spector, Phil  
 Spelling, Aaron  
 Spice Girls, The  
 Spider-Man  
 Spielberg, Steven  
 Spillane, Mickey  
 Spin  
 Spitz, Mark  
 Spock, Dr. Benjamin  
 Sport Utility Vehicles (SUVs)  
*Sporting News, The*  
 Sports Hero  
*Sports Illustrated*  
 Spring Break  
 Springer, Jerry  
 Springsteen, Bruce  
 Sprinkle, Annie  
 Sputnik  
 St. Denis, Ruth  
*St. Elsewhere*  
 Stadium Concerts  
*Stagecoach*  
 Stagg, Amos Alonzo  
 Stallone, Sylvester  
*Stand and Deliver*  
 Standardized Testing  
 Stand-up Comedy  
 Stanley Brothers, The  
 Stanwyck, Barbara  
 Star System  
*Star Trek*  
*Star Wars*  
 Starbucks  
 Starr, Bart  
 Starr, Kenneth  
*Starsky and Hutch*  
 State Fairs  
 Staubach, Roger  
*Steamboat Willie*  
 Steel Curtain  
 Steffens, Lincoln  
 Steinbeck, John  
 Steinberg, Saul  
 Steinbrenner, George  
 Steinem, Gloria  
 Stengel, Casey  
 Steppenwolf  
 Stereoscopes  
 Stern, Howard  
 Stetson Hat  
 Stevens, Ray  
 Stewart, Jimmy  
 Stickball  
 Stiller and Meara  
 Stine, R. L.  
 Stock-Car Racing  
 Stock Market Crashes  
 Stockton, "Pudgy"  
 Stokowski, Leopold  
 Stone, Irving  
 Stone, Oliver  
 Stonewall Rebellion  
 Stout, Rex  
 Strait, George  
 Stratemeyer, Edward  
 Stratton-Porter, Gene  
 Strawberry, Darryl  
 Streaking  
 Streep, Meryl  
 Street and Smith  
*Streetcar Named Desire, A*  
 Streisand, Barbra  
 Strip Joints/Striptease  
 Stuart, Marty  
 Stuckey's  
 Student Demonstrations  
 Students for a Democratic  
     Society (SDS)  
 Studio 54  
*Studio One*  
 Studio System  
 Sturges, Preston  
 Styron, William  
 Suburbia  
 Suicide  
 Sullivan, Ed  
 Sullivan, John L.  
 Summer Camp  
 Summer, Donna  
 Sun Records  
 Sundance Film Festival  
 Sunday, Billy  
 Sunday Driving  
*Sunset Boulevard*  
 Super Bowl  
 Superman  
 Supermodels  
 Surf Music  
 Susann, Jacqueline  
 Susskind, David  
 Swaggart, Jimmy  
 Swann, Lynn  
 Swatch Watches  
 Sweatshirt  
 Swimming Pools  
 Swing Dancing  
 Swinging  
*Sylvia*  
 Syndication  
 Tabloid Television  
 Tabloids  
*Tales from the Crypt*  
 Talk Radio  
 Talking Heads  
 Tang  
 Tanning  
 Tap Dancing  
 Tarantino, Quentin  
 Tarbell, Ida  
 Tarkanian, Jerry  
 Tarkington, Booth  
 Tarzan  
*Taxi*  
*Taxi Driver*  
 Taylor, Elizabeth  
 Taylor, James  
 Taylor, Robert  
 Teddy Bears  
 Teen Idols  
 Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles  
 Teenagers  
 Tejano Music  
 Telephone  
 Televangelism  
 Television  
 Television Anchors  
 Temple, Shirley  
 Temptations, The  
*Ten Commandments, The*  
 Tennis  
 Tennis Shoes/Sneakers  
 10,000 Maniacs  
 Tenuta, Judy  
 Terkel, Studs  
*Terminator, The*  
*Terry and the Pirates*  
 Thalberg, Irving G.  
 Thanksgiving  
 Tharp, Twyla  
*Them!*  
*Thing, The*  
*Third Man, The*  
*This Is Your Life*  
 Thomas, Danny  
 Thomas, Isiah  
 Thomas, Lowell  
 Thomas, Marlo  
 Thompson, Hunter S.  
 Thompson, John  
 Thomson, Bobby  
 Thorogood, George  
 Thorpe, Jim  
*Three Caballeros, The*  
 Three Investigators Series  
 Three Stooges, The  
*Three's Company*  
 Thurber, James  
 Tierney, Gene  
 Tiffany & Company

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*Titanic, The*  
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*Wheel of Fortune*  
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*Whistler's Mother*  
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 Willis, Bruce  
 Wills, Bob, and his Texas  
     Playboys  
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 Wimbledon  
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 Winfrey, Oprah  
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*Wizard of Oz, The*
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     (WPA) Murals  
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 World Series  
 World Trade Center  
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 Wrangler Jeans  
 Wray, Fay  
 Wright, Richard  
 Wrigley Field  
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     Jesus Do?)  
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 Wyeth, N. C.  
 Wynette, Tammy
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 Yanni  
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 Young, Loretta  
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*Your Hit Parade*  
*Your Show of Shows*  
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 Zorro  
 Zydeco  
 ZZ Top

# K

## Kahn, Roger (1927—)

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Roger Kahn's 1972 bestseller *The Boys of Summer* instantly set the standard for nonfiction baseball writing. The memoir eloquently captured the essence of the 1950s Brooklyn Dodgers, analyzing the courage of Jackie Robinson, Roy Campanella, and teammates both on the diamond and in their post-baseball lives. A former reporter for the New York *Herald-Tribune* and protégé of John Lardner (1912-1960), Kahn established himself as the premier baseball author of his generation with a series of critical and popular successes. Kahn's simple, clear prose evoked family and literature, and articulated the hold baseball continues to have upon the American consciousness. *Memories of Summer*, which included poignant profiles of Willie Mays and Mickey Mantle, was published in 1997, the same year Kahn led a failed quest to bring the Dodgers back to Brooklyn. Kahn's admirers ranged from Ronald Reagan to Robert Frost, who discussed the fortunes of the Boston Red Sox with Kahn during a 1960 interview.

—Andrew Milner

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Hans von Kaltenborn

## Kaltenborn, Hans von (1878-1965)

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With his peppery but precise delivery, the "Dean of Commentators," Hans von Kaltenborn, was a familiar feature of the American airwaves for over 30 years. Kaltenborn started his career as a newspaperman, but then moved to radio at the very moment the new medium was beginning to establish itself as a disseminator of news. In the 1920s, when broadcast news was rare and usually consisted of a narrative accounting of current events, Kaltenborn maintained the unorthodox view that newscasters should not only report facts and information, they should provide analysis and insight into the situation "behind the headlines." Often regarded as the first regular radio news commentator, Hans's vast knowledge of foreign affairs and international politics amply equipped him for covering crises in Europe and the Far East in the 1930s. His vivid reporting of the Spanish Civil War and the Czech Crisis of 1938, more than any other feat of broadcasting, firmly established the credibility of radio news in the public mind and helped to overcome the nation's isolationist sensibilities.

Throughout his life, Kaltenborn was rarely far from the news. He was born on July 9, 1878, to German immigrant parents in Milwaukee, and when old enough left his father's building material business to do odd jobs at a local newspaper. His press career began in earnest when, at age 19, he joined the Fourth Wisconsin Volunteers Infantry and covered the Spanish-American War for the Merrill (Wisconsin)

*Advocate*. He moved to the Brooklyn *Eagle* in 1902 and entered Harvard's journalism program three years later. Always restless, Kaltenborn spent his summers traveling in Europe and lecturing on conditions there when he returned home. It was in this latter capacity that Kaltenborn developed the oratorical skills that would serve him well when he switched mediums.

On April 4, 1922, while working as an *Eagle* editor, Kaltenborn delivered the first current events analysis in radio history while covering a coal strike for WVP. The same year, he broadcast a news summary live from the Statue of Liberty for WYCB. Throughout the 1920s, Kaltenborn's on-air activities were confined largely to the New York area, with a weekly half-hour program of commentary for WEA and "Kaltenborn's Digest" for WOR. In 1923 he became the first "network" newscaster when a Washington, D.C., station decided to link with WEA and carry his broadcasts. By 1929 he was a national personality and could be heard over 19 CBS stations.

In 1930, after 20 years with the press, he resigned from the *Eagle* and became a full-time broadcaster. His national radio exposure was given a major boost by his coverage of the 1932 Hoover-Roosevelt presidential campaign, and when his "Kaltenborn Edits the News" program moved to a Friday-evening spot in 1935.

Unlike many of his contemporaries, Kaltenborn understood the nature of his radio audience. While he spoke rapidly, he was always

lucid and rarely employed complex words or long sentences. He quickly overcame the blustering habits he had acquired as a platform speaker and adopted an informal and more conversational vocal style that appealed to listeners. Rather than use a script, he preferred to speak extemporaneously, often making gestures as if he could actually see his vast audience. His penchant for ad-libbing often brought him into conflict with sponsors and network executives, who expected to review his speech before airtime. In 1948, Harry Truman delighted the nation when he imitated Kaltenborn's "clipped style" for the newsreel cameras.

While in the mid-1930s newscasts were unsponsored and attracted diminutive audiences, signs of conflict in Europe increased public interest in radio news. Kaltenborn was quick to recognize this fact. In 1936, he brought the events of the Spanish Civil War into millions of American living-rooms with his live report of the Battle of Irun. With microphone in hand and concealed within a haystack, Hans gave listeners a complete blow-by-blow account as Franco's forces endeavored to drive the Loyalists from the field. His eyewitness report was "punctuated by machine gun fire," and he even managed to remain on the air after exploding shells severed a main cable. With this broadcast (the first live report of a combat action), Kaltenborn gained the admiration of the entire broadcast community and earned for his *Headlines and Bylines* program a position in CBS's coveted Sunday lineup. Kaltenborn's other broadcast achievements in the 1936-37 period included reports from the League of Nations and the London Economic Conference and interviews with Hitler and Mussolini.

While Kaltenborn achieved many notable on-air triumphs by 1938, his coverage of the Czech Crisis in September of that year made him a household name. When Hitler's demands for the cessation of the Sudetenland threatened to plunge all of Europe into war, Kaltenborn spent 18 days in CBS's Studio Nine keeping America informed of every phase of the crisis. Sleeping on a cot and subsisting on a diet of onion soup and coffee, Hans would rush to the microphone whenever a new flash or bulletin was received, deliver the news to an anxious public, and immediately comment on it. Every time he performed this ritual, all broadcasts on the 115-station network were instantly interrupted. In addition to reading dispatches and providing commentary, Kaltenborn also acted as the first modern news anchor, coordinating the on-air reports of other network correspondents stationed at points throughout Europe. Given his knowledge of German and French, Hans was able to provide simultaneous translations of the speeches of Hitler and French Premier Daladier. By September 28, Kaltenborn had made 85 separate broadcasts on the situation. This feat brought him over 50,000 letters and telegrams of praise, as well as *Radio Daily's* "Most Popular Commentator" award. His enormous renown earned him both a sponsor (Pure Oil) and a contract guaranteeing complete editorial freedom (quite unprecedented). The faith Kaltenborn's listeners developed in radio news as a result of his Czech Crisis broadcasts contributed to the widespread hysteria produced when CBS "covered" another conflict the following month—Orson Welles' *War of the Worlds*. Kaltenborn's reputation for being the first and most reliable man on the air led to a woman's comment on the public panic: "How ridiculous! Anybody should have known it was not a real war. If it had been, the broadcaster would have been Hans."

In the summer of 1939, when Germany signed a nonaggression agreement with the Soviet Union and threatened the integrity of Poland, Kaltenborn mobilized for another crisis. As Europe moved closer to the brink, he spent three weeks on the continent interviewing

key political and diplomatic figures. When he delivered the news of the outbreak of World War II in September, over half of all radios in America were tuned to him.

In 1940, Kaltenborn found himself immersed in controversy. While the United States was officially neutral in the European war, Hans was an outspoken interventionist. His broadcasts in favor of aiding Britain were bitterly criticized by the American First Committee. When this position brought him into conflict with CBS news director Paul White, Hans relocated to NBC.

In 1941, Kaltenborn's commentaries dwelt increasingly on the need for American vigilance and defense in the Pacific. He observed the gradual deterioration of U.S.-Japanese relations and warned of an aggressive move by the latter weeks before Pearl Harbor. With America's entry into the war, Kaltenborn remained an active broadcaster. Despite his age (63), he carried a microphone to every major battlefield (from Guadalcanal to Rome) and interviewed soldiers and statesmen alike. In 1945 he fulfilled a personal mission when he covered the opening of the new United Nations in San Francisco. His wartime accomplishments were recognized with the 1945 DuPont Radio Award and nine other honors in 1946.

Kaltenborn remained at NBC after the war and continued regular newscasting until 1953. Thereafter he made several television appearances, but never developed an affection for the visual medium. Kaltenborn's rich on-air life and his many broadcast achievements are chronicled in his autobiography, *Fifty Fabulous Years* (1950), and in a string of books containing his most well known radio commentaries—*Kaltenborn Edits the News* (1937), *I Broadcast the Crisis* (1938), and *Kaltenborn Edits the War News* (1942). When he died in June of 1965, much of the broadcast industry and many of his former associates attended his New York City funeral.

—Robert J. Brown

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## Kansas City Jazz

Jazz flourished in Kansas City during the 1920s and 1930s, becoming a key part of a significant happening in American sociopolitical history, as well as an important musical style. The rapidly spreading popularity of jazz in the 1920s led to the rise of the "territory bands," bands located throughout the Midwest and Southwest, which designated a specific city, often a small one, as home base and played dance dates throughout the surrounding territory. Jesse Stone, later the chief producer at Atlantic Records, and Walter Page were among the best known of the territory bandleaders. Other

musicians who got their start in the territories included Earl Bostic and Buster Smith.

Kansas City, Missouri, became the most important of the territorial centers with the ascension of the political machine run by Tom Pendergast. Pendergast's high tolerance for corruption led to a wide-open city during the Prohibition era, which became a center for anyone looking for booze, gambling, prostitutes, or entertainment. As a result, many of the important territory bands, such as Page's (originally from Oklahoma City) made their way to Kansas City, where clubs were open 24 hours a day and the music never stopped. It was estimated that in the mid-1920s, in the area centered by Vine Street and bounded by 12th Street to the north and 18th Street to the south, there were at least 50 clubs featuring music at any given time.

The first major Kansas City bandleader was Kansas City native Bennie Moten, whose band included during its run of ten years (1922-32) such musicians as Walter Page, Hot Lips Page, Eddie Durham, Eddie Barefield, Count Basie, Ben Webster, Buster Smith, and Jimmy Rushing.

Moten's band became a model for the Kansas City sound, which was based on ragtime and blues. Kansas City jazz typically featured a full, big-band sound, with simple arrangements that were based on riffs, or two- to four-bar musical phrases, rather than on fully developed melodies. This left a good deal of room for solo work, and some of the most important soloists in jazz developed within the Kansas City bands, including Coleman Hawkins (who left Kansas City early, in 1922), Ben Webster, Herschel Evans, and most importantly, Lester Young and Charlie Parker.

Other important Kansas City bands included Walter Page's Blue Devils and Andy Kirk's Clouds Of Joy. Page, a bassist, pioneered the "walking" bass style that became the rhythmic underpinning of swing and bebop. The Blue Devils included Young, Smith, Hot Lips Page, Count Basie and Jimmy Rushing. After his own group disbanded, Page played with Moten and Basie. Kirk's band, which included Don Byas, Howard McGhee, and Fats Navarro, and was noted for the arrangements of piano player Mary Lou Williams.

Williams was one of many significant piano stylists who flowered in Kansas City. The two great piano influences on the Kansas City players were ragtime (ragtime composer Scott Joplin was a Missourian) and blues. While blues was a prime ingredient in all Kansas City jazz, perhaps the foremost purveyors of Kansas City blues were pianist Pete Johnson and blues shouter Big Joe Turner. Turner was the bartender at the Sunset Club, where Johnson played piano, and he sang from behind the bar, with a powerful voice that needed no amplification. The owner of the Sunset Club and other clubs was Piney Brown, who would come to be the archetype of the Kansas City sound through Turner's "Piney Brown Blues" ("I dreamed last night/I was standin' on 12th Street and Vine/I shook hands with Piney Brown/And I could not keep from cryin'").

The most important piano player and the most important band leader to emerge from Kansas City was William "Count" Basie. Basie, unlike most of the other territory musicians, was not a native Midwesterner. Originally from New Jersey, he was stranded in Kansas City when a touring group he was with broke up. He then played for a while as an accompanist in silent movie theaters until he joined the Blue Devils in 1928 and Bennie Moten's Kansas City Orchestra in 1929. When Moten's group disbanded in 1932, its core musicians, including Walter Page and drummer Jo Jones, became the

core of the Count Basie Orchestra, which also featured Evans, Young, Harry Edison, Dicky Wells, Buck Clayton, and vocalists Rushing and Helen Humes.

Turner and Johnson were important in bringing the Kansas City sound to wider recognition when they were included in John Hammond's famous 1938 Spirituals to Swing Concert at Carnegie Hall. But it was primarily Basie who brought Kansas City jazz to nationwide popularity and ultimately international fame through radio broadcasts, touring, and recording.

Although the Kansas City club scene was affected by the Great Depression, it endured through the 1930s. The indictment of Boss Pendergast for income tax evasion in 1939 marked its conclusion. Before its popularity dwindled, however, it produced a mighty harbinger of the future, pianist Jay McShann, who came to Kansas City in 1936, formed a sextet in 1937, and put together his first big band in 1939. McShann's band was solidly blues- and riff-oriented, but it was also known as a breeding ground for new musical ideas. Charlie Parker joined McShann's band in 1940. His 12-bar solo on the band's 1941 recording of "Sepia Bounce" contributed to the bebop revolution of the 1940s.

—Tad Richards

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## Kantor, MacKinlay (1904-1977)

In a literary career spanning nearly 50 years, MacKinlay Kantor grew from a pulp fiction writer who simply sought to earn a living to a highly respected novelist who made significant contributions in several genres. While he is perhaps best known for his 1956 Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *Andersonville*, Kantor also wrote influential works in the areas of detective fiction, westerns, and social commentary.

An Iowa native, Kantor began his writing career in the early 1920s, working as a reporter and columnist for an increasingly large series of newspapers in his home state and writing pulp fiction for various inexpensive publications. After several years, Kantor moved to Chicago, where he sought a larger canvas for his writing. Although he struggled initially, his first book, *Diversey*, which dealt with gang warfare in Chicago, was published in 1928, after which Kantor published a long string of books, articles, and short stories. Kantor served as a war correspondent during World War II from 1943 to 1944 and as a combat pilot for the U.S. Air Force in 1945. The latter experience provided the basis for his writing success that brought him national exposure.

While Kantor had published a number of works prior to the outbreak of World War II, his 1945 novella *Glory for Me*, based on his experiences as an air force gunner, was adapted for the big screen in 1946. The result was the film, directed by William Wyler, *The Best Years of Our Lives*, which traces the experiences of three World War

II veterans and the difficulty they have adjusting after returning home. The film won several Academy Awards, including an unprecedented double award to veteran Harold Russell, who portrayed a sailor who lost both his hands in the war, for best supporting actor and for bringing hope to returning veterans. Kantor's story also served as the basis for the television movie *Returning Home*, made in 1975.

The publication of the historical novel *Andersonville* a decade later brought Kantor even greater recognition. Kantor had long been fascinated with the Civil War, and the book was the result of the author's renowned diligent and thorough research. The book, which recounts the suffering of Union prisoners in a Confederate prison camp in Georgia. Prominent Civil War scholars such as Bruce Catton and Henry Steele Commager praised Kantor's book as the greatest Civil War novel ever written. The book spawned several made-for-television films, including the 1970 *The Andersonville Trial*, which portrays the war crimes trials of the camp's commanders, including the head official, Wirz, who was the only Civil War soldier executed for war crimes. The book was later adapted into a television miniseries (*Andersonville*) in 1995. Kantor's final novel, *Valley Forge*, published in 1975, was another fictional work based on historical events. It portrays the difficult experiences of the Continental Army during the American Revolution.

Although best known for his historical fiction, Kantor drew fans for his works of suspense fiction, which largely have deal with criminal police and legal procedure in their plots. Throughout the 1930s, Kantor produced a large number of pulp fiction suspense stories, including a series dealing with the exploits of Nick and Dave Glennan, Irish-American brothers who are police officers. Kantor frequently rode along with police forces, partly for research for his stories, and partly because he developed friendships with a number of police officers.

Kantor credited his early experience in writing pulp fiction for his later success. He was quoted in *Gale Literary Databases*, "I used to write a great deal of stuff for the pulp detective-and-crime story magazines, in the years when I had to make my living that way, and I don't think that my rather complicated talents were harmed in the least. The severe routine of such endeavor stimulated my sense of plot and construction, which need stimulation very badly indeed."

Among the awards Kantor won during his career are the O. Henry Award for his short story "Silent Grow the Guns," as well as the Presidential Medal of Freedom for his career work. He also received honorary doctorates in literature from Grinnell College, Drake University, Lincoln College, and Rippon College. In addition to his work as a war correspondent in World War II, Kantor served as a war correspondent during the Korean War in 1950 and worked as a consultant for the U.S. Air Force from 1951 to 1977. Kantor died of a heart attack on October 11, 1977, in Sarasota, Florida. He and his wife of over 50 years, Florence, had two children.

—Jason George

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## Karan, Donna (1948—)

At the age of 26 and a week after her baby was born, Donna Karan was catapulted into recognition when she was named chief designer of Anne Klein upon Klein's death in 1974. Like Klein, Karan projected her personality and life-style into her clothes: active, versatile sportswear. She often layered body suits with easy, loose wraps. And by the 1980s, Karan had made blazers a basic for Anne Klein Company. In 1984, backers of Anne Klein set up Karan in her own business, which would later become one of the first publicly traded fashion houses. Donna Karan as a public company is something of a paradox because her designs are so idiosyncratic and personal. She designs for herself, certainly for a buxom physical type, and for a New York sensibility identified in her DKNY label. Yet her attire worn by celebrities, including Barbra Streisand, has made Karan a celebrity of the fashion world.

—Richard Martin

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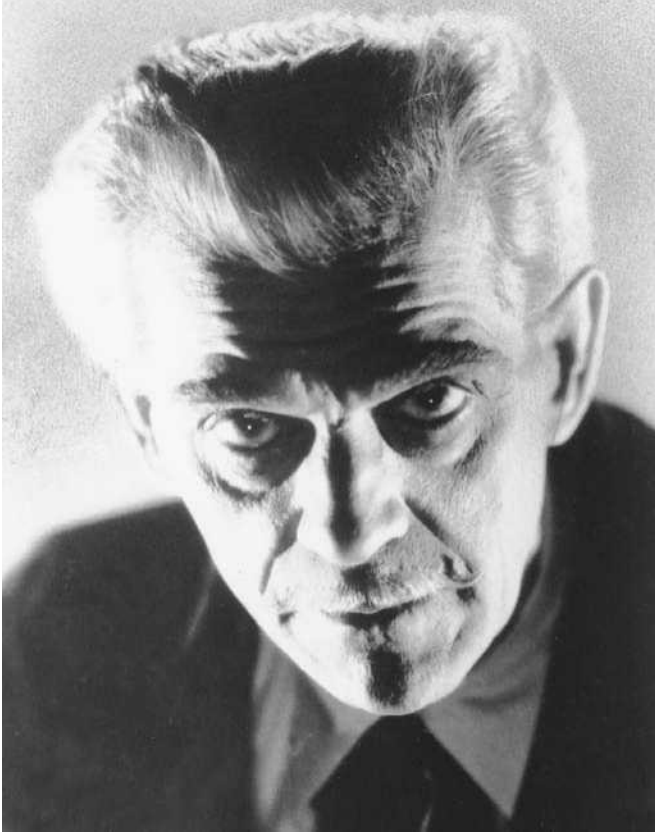
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## Karloff, Boris (1887-1967)

One of the most famous horror movie stars of all time, Boris Karloff has become virtually synonymous with Frankenstein. As depicted by Karloff in 1931, Frankenstein was a sympathetic figure, a gentle monster. This image of Frankenstein has remained in the popular psyche for almost 70 years. Although he acted in over 150 films, Boris Karloff will always be irrevocably associated with his monster, and thus will remain a popular culture icon for eternity.

Boris Karloff was born William Henry Pratt on November 23, 1887 in a London suburb. The youngest of nine children, William never knew his father, a British Civil Servant who died in India when William was a baby. After the death of his mother a few years later, William was raised by his siblings, one of whom enjoyed a brief career as an actor on the London stage. From boyhood, William was drawn to the theatre and attempted to emulate his older brother the actor by appearing in school theatricals. The rest of his family, however, wished him to follow in the footsteps of his father and so William prepared for a career in the Civil Service.

William graduated from Kings College, London, with the intention of applying to serve in the consulate in Hong Kong. But his passion for acting had not waned and he attended the theatre every chance he could get. Finally he decided to pursue his theatrical ambitions and, to escape family disapproval, at 22 he left England for Canada. William traveled across the country for more than a year, taking odd jobs, before arriving in Vancouver, where he tried to break



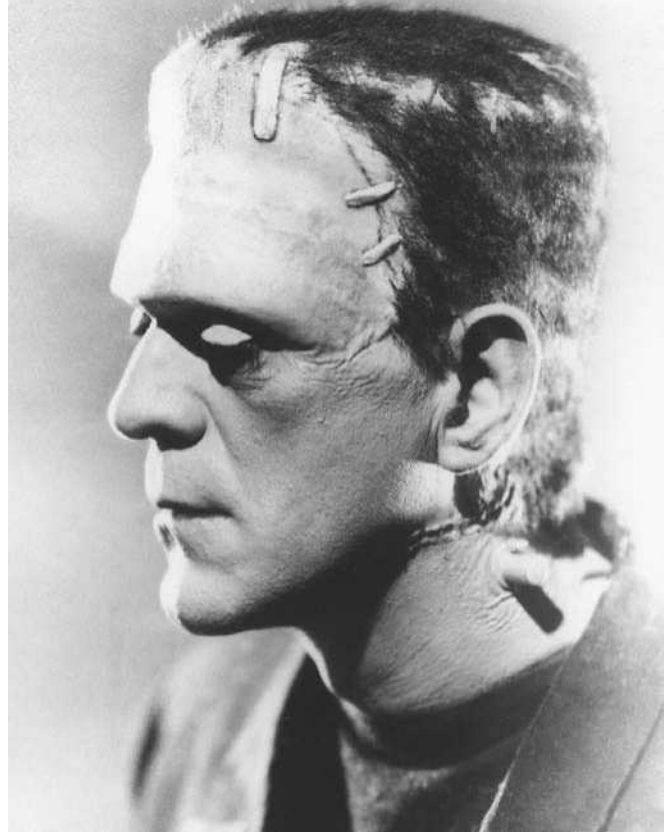
**Boris Karloff**

into the local repertory company. After months of rejections, William spotted an advertisement for an experienced character actor in a company in Kamloops, British Columbia. Deciding to change his name to fit the “role,” he remembered an obscure relative on his mother’s side of the family named Karloff. Feeling William also was not quite right, he settled on Boris, and he got the job.

For almost ten years, Boris Karloff honed his craft in repertory companies throughout Canada. In 1917, Karloff arrived in Los Angeles, where the fledgling movie industry was booming. After a slow start, the tall, striking actor began to win extra roles and small speaking parts in silent pictures. Because of his strong, dark features, Karloff was usually cast as a villain, appearing in more than 40 silent pictures. But when Hollywood switched to sound, the actor’s theatrical training proved an asset, and he found his niche.

In 1930, Universal Pictures gambled on a film based on Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*. Starring Bela Lugosi in the title role, the film was a huge success. Universal decided to capitalize on the public’s new-found taste for horror movies with *Frankenstein*, also starring Lugosi. But the actor did not like the role and wanted to drop out. When the studio informed him that he would only be released from his contract if he could find another actor for the part, Lugosi suggested Boris Karloff.

Directed by James Whale, *Frankenstein* became an immediate classic. Karloff, whose strong features, athletic build, and considerable height were perfect for the role, gave a subtle and sympathetic performance that won over critics and touched the hearts of audiences. Universal immediately cast the versatile actor in two more leading roles, *The Mask of Fu Manchu* (1932) and *The Mummy*



**Boris Karloff’s incarnation as Frankenstein’s Monster.**

(1932). The two films cemented his popularity and, in 1932, 45-year-old Boris Karloff became a star.

Throughout the 1930s, Karloff starred in a string of popular horror pictures for Universal, including *The Black Cat* (1934), *Bride of Frankenstein* (1935), *The Raven* (1935), and *Son of Frankenstein* (1939), playing mad scientists and tormented monsters. He was also regularly cast as Asian characters and starred in a series of “Mr. Wong” detective movies. By the early 1940s, however, with the world at war and the United States on the brink of joining in, public interest in horror movies had waned and Karloff’s livelihood was threatened. But the veteran actor tramped on. In 1941, he starred in the Broadway production of *Arsenic and Old Lace* and, throughout the decade, Karloff found work in a wide variety of films, from the occasional horror picture to comedies such as *The Secret Life of Walter Mitty* (1947).

Unlike many Hollywood stars, Karloff never fought his type-casting. He understood that he owed his fame to Frankenstein and thus was good-humored about spoofing his horror image in films such as *Abbot and Costello Meet the Killer, Boris Karloff* (1949). By the early 1960s, with horror movies once again in vogue, the aging actor found himself a cult hero and very much in demand. He appeared with fellow horror stars Basil Rathbone, Peter Lorre, and Vincent Price in two popular films for American International Pictures, *The Raven* (1963) and *The Terror* (1963). He brought his creepy voice to the role of the Grinch in the television version of Dr. Seuss’s children’s Christmas tale, *How the Grinch Stole Christmas!* (1966). And in 1968, the 81-year-old Karloff gave an extraordinary turn as an aging horror-movie star in Peter Bogdanovich’s first film, *Targets*.



Karloff loved his profession, and he never stopped acting in movies. Famous for playing monsters, Karloff's real-life gentle spirit and gracious demeanor shone through on screen, no matter how scary the role. He embraced his cult status, becoming in the process one of popular culture's most beloved figures, the man behind the gentle monster.

—Victoria Price

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## Kasem, Casey (1932—)

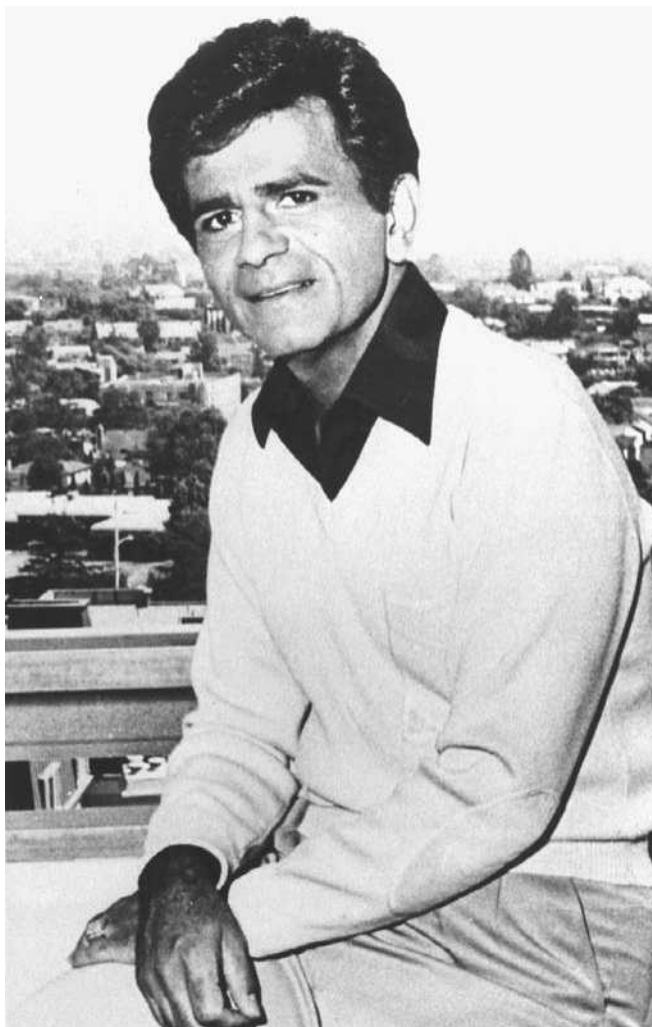
One of the most identifiable voices in radio and television, Casey Kasem is known throughout the world as the personality behind radio's most successful countdown program, *American Top 40*. Born Kemel Amin Kasem in Detroit in 1932, Kasem dreamed of becoming a baseball player until his broadcasting career began at WJLB Detroit in 1954. While he appeared in several motion pictures, numerous commercials, and television cartoon series (most notably as the voice of Shaggy on the popular *Scooby Doo* series) Casey Kasem did not become a household name until the debut of *American Top 40* on July 4, 1970. Considered to be the standard-bearer in modern countdown programs, Kasem revolutionized the format with his unique style and warm personality.

Kasem's trademark "teaser-bio" format, which he first employed at an Oakland, California radio station, became not only the hallmark of *American Top 40* but also influenced countless disk jockeys and similarly themed radio programs. Kasem's "teaser-bio" technique allowed him to essentially "tease" the audience by discussing a recording artist's previous chart singles, biographical information, or any other relevant information before playing the actual song.

In addition, Kasem allowed listeners to send in personal letters with musical requests. These "long distance dedications" were then read on the air beginning with two words known throughout the world by radio listeners: "Dear Casey." Arguably the most popular and recognized segment of the program, Kasem's "long distance dedications" became as ingrained in popular culture as the songs ranked on the program.

To credit Kasem's contribution to popular culture based purely upon innovative formatting in radio programming would certainly be a sufficient legacy for most on-air personalities, but Kasem's most notable and identifiable characteristic is unquestionably his unique vocal delivery. With his warm voice and reliance on active words and phrases (such as "pole-vaulting," "leapfrogging," and "tumbling") Casey Kasem brought a friendly, sportsmanlike atmosphere to the competitive arena of record sales and airplay statistics that have won millions of fans.

The success of Kasem's *American Top 40* on FM stations around the world resulted in several television series based around the



Casey Kasem

*American Top 40* format. With the fragmentation of radio formats beginning in the early 1990s, Kasem kept pace with changing musical tastes and trends. In addition to *American Top 40*, Kasem has hosted a variety of countdown programs such as *Casey's Hot 20* (for the adult contemporary market), all using the "teaser-bio" format.

Proof of Kasem's remarkable impact on radio and television is evident not only in his staying power at the edge of the twenty-first century but the numerous honors and awards he amassed. Casey Kasem's legendary status was cemented with a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame, the *Billboard* Lifetime Achievement Award, and induction into the Radio Hall of Fame.

—Michael K. Chapman

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## *Kate & Allie*

*Kate & Allie* was one of network television's most popular comedies dealing with feminist issues during the 1980s. Created by Sherry Coben and supervised by veteran producers Bill Persky and Bob Randall, the series revolved around two divorcees, Kate McArdle (Susan Saint James) and Allie Lowell (Jane Curtin), who shared a Greenwich Village apartment and were adjusting to a new single lifestyle with three children between them. *Kate & Allie*, which debuted on CBS on March 19, 1984, dealt with practical problems faced by women recently on their own: how to achieve financial independence, how to date again, and how to care for kids who were growing up too quickly in the city. The women, friends since high school, evolved over the years, holding down different jobs and eventually starting a catering business together. The series reflected questions of identity and personal growth experienced by many working women, who helped to make *Kate & Allie* a Top Twenty show for three consecutive seasons. The series experienced a decline when Allie got married and was cancelled after 122 episodes in 1989.

—Ron Simon

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## *The Katzenjammer Kids*

The mischievous brothers Hans and Fritz Katzenjammer were invented by German-born cartoonist Rudolph Dirks in 1897. Along with the Yellow Kid, Happy Hooligan, and Little Nemo, they became pioneering stars of the American newspaper funny paper sections that burgeoned in the early 1900s. The Kids, along with their Mama, the Captain, and the Inspector, are also among the very few comics characters ever to have two separate and independent pages devoted to their activities.

The Kids—Fritz was the blond one and Hans the dark-haired brother in the original cartoons—made their debut in William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* on Sunday, December 12, 1897. Dirks was twenty when he was asked by his editor to come up with a feature in the vein of the fiendish youths Max and Moritz, created some three decades earlier in Germany by Wilhelm Busch. Much more than imitations, the Brothers Katzenjammer developed distinct personalities of their own. They were brilliant strategists, impressive orators, clever conversationalists, and experts at creating explosions, setting traps, and persuading assorted animals, especially elephants and wildcats, to participate in their schemes. They were dedicated to attacking conformity, pomposity, adult authority, and the traditional values held by society. Combining the best qualities of con men, burglars, guerrilla warriors, and jesters, they elevated prankery to a fine art. The lads, along with the other central characters, spoke in a

sort of vaudeville Dutch dialect that was rich with such words as "dollink," "dumbkopf" and "dod-gasted."

Dirks broke with William Randolph Hearst in 1913 and, after protracted legal battles, took his characters to Joseph Pulitzer's rival *New York World* in 1914. The final court decision, however, basically affirmed that both Hearst and Dirks had the rights to the characters. In Hearst papers across the country *The Katzenjammer Kids* again appeared, while in those newspapers using *World* features the page was eventually called *The Captain and the Kids*. The new artist employed by Hearst to draw its strip was Harold H. Knerr, a talented cartoonist from Philadelphia who'd inked a *Katzenjammer* imitation titled *The Fineheimer Twins* for several years. Though he never explained why, Knerr switched the names of the boys, making Hans the fair-haired one and Fritz the darker one in his pages.

Both versions began setting the Katzenjammer Kids and the other characters in less urban, even exotic locales. The boys and their Mama, along with their star boarders, the Captain and the Inspector, began taking trips to all parts of the world. By the middle 1920s Dirks had his crew residing on a tropical island that was ruled over by black royalty. Although the Knerr and Dirks versions were supposed to be completely independent of one another, Knerr soon had his crew settling down on one of the Squee-Jee Islands. Knerr's island had similar rulers, but he added some new characters of his own in the persons of a spinster school teacher named Miss Twiddle and her two pupils, little blonde Lena and the curly-haired and hypocritical Rollo Rhubarb, who equaled the Kids in slyness and plotting. By adding Lena to the mix, Knerr was able to expand the range of Hans and Fritz's activities, and both of them suffered through spells of courting the girl.

By the late 1930s, both versions were being reprinted in competing comic books. For several years in that decade, the United Feature Syndicate, which had taken over the feature when the *World* folded, offered a daily *The Captain and the Kids* strip. Wacky in the Marx Brothers mode, this mock adventure strip was written and drawn by Bernard Dibble, a former Dirks assistant and ghost. Dirks continued to sign his page, but in the middle 1940s turned the drawing over to his son John. The senior Dirks died in 1968 and United stopped its version in 1979. Knerr died in 1949 and the Katzenjammers continued under such artists as Doc Winner, Joe Musial, and Hy Eisman, who was still drawing them in the 1990s.

—Ron Goulart

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## *Kaufman, Andy (1949-1984)*

Andy Kaufman burst onto the national scene as a guest on the very first *Saturday Night Live* in October of 1975. Standing in the middle of a bare stage accompanied by an old record player, Kaufman put on a recording of the *Mighty Mouse* theme song. He stood silent until the chorus, when he broadly lip-synched "Here I am to save the day," then went mute until the chorus arrived again. This type of



Andy Kaufman as Latka Gravas on *Taxi*.

perplexing yet hysterical performance became Andy Kaufman's trademark and is his legacy as an original comic force. Despite his untimely death at the age of 34 from lung cancer, Kaufman's impact on popular culture was dramatic. Kaufman was a comedian who never told a joke; instead he broke the mold by creating a new comic style that was as much performance art as traditional stand-up.

Although Kaufman started as a stand-up working clubs like the Improv, he never considered himself a comedian. Steve Allen, in his book *Funny People*, wrote that Kaufman was "right when he claims not to be a comedian. A comedian, quite simply, wants laughs. Andy demands more. He calls for an emotional involvement that runs a fuller gamut. He wants you to feel uncomfortable, uneasy, unhappy, ecstatic, deeply moved, derisive, bored. He wants you to believe his characters are who they claim to be and react accordingly." Throughout his career, Kaufman challenged his audience. On another *Saturday Night Live* appearance, Kaufman's "joke" was simply to read from *The Great Gatsby*. He could delight an audience with stunts such as taking his Carnegie Hall audience out for milk and cookies and infuriate another audience by bringing a sleeping bag on stage and napping as part of his performance.

Kaufman used a *Saturday Night Live* appearance for another stunt that blurred the line between reality and illusion. After Kaufman was cut from an episode in 1982, he publicly feuded with producer

Dick Ebersol. The feud climaxed when a telephone poll was held to determine whether or not Kaufman should be allowed back on the show. He lost, and never appeared again. A similar feud was displayed on *Saturday Night Live's* competitor *Fridays* just a year earlier. During a live show in February 1981, Kaufman got into an argument and physical altercation with members of the cast and crew. Again, this hoax perpetuated by Kaufman and the show's producers was perceived as real by many viewers.

The apex of this part of his career was Kaufman's involvement in professional wrestling. A lifelong wrestling fan, particularly of villain wrestler "Nature Boy" Buddy Rogers, Kaufman declared himself the "Inter-Gender Wrestling Champion" and began challenging women in his concert audience to wrestle. His match with *Playboy* model Susan Smith was featured in the magazine's February 1982 issue. After a match against a woman in Memphis, Kaufman became involved in a pro wrestling feud with local champion Jerry "The King" Lawler, which included Kaufman sending videos mocking the Memphis fans. Kaufman was "injured" by Lawler during a match, and the two appeared for an interview on the *David Letterman Show* in July 1982, supposedly to offer apologies. Things got heated and Lawler slapped Kaufman hard across the face, knocking him down. Kaufman responded with an obscenity laced tirade and announced he was suing NBC. All of this was treated as front-page

news, and as real. It was, like other things in Andy's hoax history and professional wrestling, merely an elaborate ruse.

Kaufman played the bad guy in the feud with Lawler and delighted in people jeering him. He invented a heel entertainer character called Tony Clifton, the world's most obnoxious performer, who would taunt his audience. Kaufman claimed he was not Clifton, which was somewhat true as his writing partner Bob Zmuda often played Clifton. Kaufman went to great lengths to create the illusion that Clifton was real.

Kaufman's performance as Latka Gravas on the critically acclaimed television series *Taxi* (1978-1983) was his biggest mainstream success. Latka was based on one of Andy's most popular characters: "the foreign man," a twitchy immigrant who spoke in a combination of broken English and gibberish. Kaufman's best-known bit was the foreign man telling old jokes, doing horrible impressions, then launching into a brilliant impersonation of Elvis Presley.

While successful on TV and in concert, Kaufman only made a few movies. *Heartbeats* (1981) was a critical and commercial dud. Better received were his two wrestling movies: *I'm from Hollywood* (1992), which chronicles the feud with Lawler; and his send-up of the art house hit *My Dinner with Andre*, called *My Breakfast with Blassie* (1993), where Kaufman conversed with retired pro wrestler Fred Blassie at a coffee shop. Most of Kaufman's best moments were captured in NBC's *A Comedy Tribute to Andy Kaufman* (1995).

Another tribute to Kaufman was the 1992 hit song "Man on the Moon" by REM. The song talks about Kaufman "goofing on Elvis." *Man on the Moon* was also the title for a 1999 film about Kaufman's life starring Jim Carrey. As with Elvis, there is a persistent rumor that Kaufman is still alive. With his penchant for hoaxes, it was a rumor that spread widely, and faking his own death indeed was something Kaufman had considered. Kaufman was brilliant at defying reality as an entertainer and highlighting irony as a comedian. He was, according to Ron Rosenbaum, "going where few comedians had dared go before . . . he made comedy dangerous again."

—Patrick Jones

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## Kaye, Danny (1913-1987)

Specializing in tongue-twisting patter songs, Danny Kaye was a consummate entertainer and comic. He is well remembered for a string of comedies for Samuel Goldwyn in the 1940s, as well as his persistent and honorable efforts for charities, especially UNICEF (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund).

Born David Daniel Kaminsky in Brooklyn, New York, in 1913, he had a very mixed career in entertainment prior to his motion picture debut. He was a genuine vaudevillian; a dancer, a singer, and a comedian, though without much success at first in any of these careers. He first appeared in pictures in some two-reel comedies, such

as *Getting an Eyeful*, *Cupid Takes a Holiday* and *Dime a Dance*, that were moderately amusing but failed financially—these shorts were later compiled into the inaccurately titled film *The Danny Kaye Story*.

He managed, however, to make his Broadway debut in 1940, and his fortunes turned as he met and married his talented lyricist Sylvia Fine, who provided him with most of his best material. His number, "Tchaikowsky," from the musical *Lady in the Dark*, in which he named 54 Russian composers in 39 seconds, proved to be a memorable show-stopper.

Samuel Goldwyn caught the comic at a nightclub and resolved to make a star out of him. He tried to get Kaye to get his nose fixed (Kaye refused) and did persuade him to lighten his hair to brighten his features. Goldwyn placed Kaye under contract and featured him in a mediocre wartime musical, *Up in Arms* (1944). "The Lobby Number," a song about waiting in line at the movies and then waiting through an endless parade of meaningless credits, was one of the only bright spots of the production that featured Kaye.

Much better was *Wonder Man* (1945), with Kaye in a dual role as twin brothers, one of whom is murdered for fingering a mob boss. The ghost of the murdered brother inhabits the body of his milquetoast twin, who is forced to impersonate the brash entertainer. The film's highlight comes when, in trying to evade some killers and alert the police, Kaye assumes the identity of an opera singer and improvises his part.

But Kaye soon came to feel that he was being treated as a specialty act rather than as an actor. Goldwyn placed him in lackluster remakes such as *The Kid from Brooklyn* (a 1946 remake of Harold Lloyd's *The Milky Way*) and *A Song Is Born* (1948), a misfired adaptation of James Thurber's *The Secret Life of Walter Mitty* with Kaye as the day-dreaming Mitty impersonating various occupations, and a well-intentioned but failed musical bio *Hans Christian Anderson* (1952). Kaye restricted himself to one film a year, devoting the rest of his time to performing on radio, on records ("Civilization" with the Andrews Sisters was a particular delight), and on the stage.

*On the Riviera* (1951) for Twentieth Century-Fox was yet another dual role film as well as a remake of both *Folies-Bergère* and *That Night in Rio*. For Warner Brothers, Kaye appeared in *The Inspector General* (1949), based on the Gogol story. He was determined to take over control and direction of his film career, forming with his wife Sylvia their own production company, Dena, named after their daughter. They hired the writing-directing-producing team of Norman Panama and Melvin Frank, who conjured up Kaye's two finest films and for the first time fashioned characters for him that audiences could really care about. The first was *Knock on Wood* (1954), with Kaye as a ventriloquist who finds himself caught up in international espionage and at the climax eludes his pursuers at a ballet.

Even better, however, was *The Court Jester* (1956), at \$4 million the most expensive screen comedy up to that time. Kaye plays a member of the underground protecting the rightful king of England, an infant who bears the birthmark of the purple pimpernel on his bottom. Kaye is forced to impersonate Giacomo, the King of Jesters and Jester of Kings, who it turns out is the usurper's (Basil Rathbone) secret assassin. Unforgettable are Sylvia Fine's version of "The Jester's Lament," the witch's warning ("The pellet with the poison's in the vessel with the pestle; the chalice from the palace is the brew that is true!"), and the send-up of swashbuckling scenes at the end.

In between, Kaye appeared in Paramount's *White Christmas* (1954) as Bing Crosby's buddy; together they seek to boost the

popularity of Dean Jagger's winter resort. Despite the film's mediocrity, it proved his biggest hit. Kaye received a special Oscar in 1954 "for his unique talents, his service to the Academy, the motion picture industry, and the American people."

Kaye tried another musical biography in Mel Shavelson's *The Five Pennies* (1959), where he played bandleader Red Nichols, but once Danny Kaye routines were written into the storyline, the film made it seem as if Nichols was impersonating Danny Kaye. The film's one true highlight was Kaye's dynamic duet with Louis Armstrong. Kaye returned to form in *On the Double* (1961), where he was once more in a dual role as an American GI asked to impersonate a British military martinet. At the climax, Kaye also impersonates Adolf Hitler and a Dietrich-like chanteuse named Fräulein Lily. But a try at slapstick comedy in Frank Tashlin's *The Man From the Diner's Club* (1963) failed to serve Kaye's talents well.

Television beckoned and Kaye dropped his film career to embark on his own television variety program, *The Danny Kaye Show*, which ran from 1963-1967. He returned to film once more to play the philosophical Raggpicker in *The Madwoman of Chaillet* (1969), but while his "trial" scene performance in which he "defends" the knaves of the world was outstanding, the rest of this adaptation of Jean Giradoux's play was decidedly lackluster. Despite his lack of formal training, Kaye had an interest in trying his hand at conducting and was given various gigs as a comic guest conductor at various city orchestras. He returned to Broadway to play Moses for the Richard Rodgers' musical *Two by Two* in 1970.

The last of Kaye's great work was done for television. He appeared in two television specials in 1976, as Geppetto in *Pinocchio* and as Captain Hook in *Peter Pan*, as a concentration camp survivor who protests street demonstrations by Neo-Nazis in *Skokie* (1981), and as a mysterious old man who possesses a watch holding Earth's last hour in Harlan Ellison's "Paladin of the Lost Hour" for the revived *Twilight Zone* series (1985).

Kaye leaves behind a legacy of entertaining performances on Decca Records, several show-stopping comedy routines and songs in various films (where he usually played shy but lovable schnooks who won the girl at the end), an increased awareness of the aims of UNICEF, and a pair of powerful dramatic performances on television.

—Dennis Fischer

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## Keaton, Buster (1895-1966)

With the possible exception of Charlie Chaplin, Buster Keaton stands as the greatest comedian of the silent movie era. Keaton



**Buster Keaton**

appeared in well over 100 shorts and features during his fifty-year film career. At the height of his popularity, he played aloof, stone-faced characters (he only smiled once in a film), who fiercely battled both nature and out-of-control machinery to achieve modest goals (usually for the affections of a woman). Much of his best work was lost for decades, only to be rediscovered by an appreciative new generation of filmgoers in the 1950s.

Keaton began learning his craft at an early age. Born Joseph Francis Keaton in Piqua, Kansas, in 1895, Buster spent his youth traveling the vaudeville circuit with his parents, who staged a mildly popular comedy act. By age five, Buster, who received his nickname from a family friend after he tumbled down a flight of stairs without hurting himself, had become the star attraction of "The Three Keatons." His primary role in the show was to absorb his father's abuse—he kicked, punched, and threw Buster around the stage with little regard for his well-being. Buster's ability to take this abuse without showing pain or emotion brought roars of approval from packed houses and lifted the act to prominence.

Keaton's big break came in 1917 when he met comedic film star Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle, who was familiar with his vaudeville work. Arbuckle asked him to make a brief appearance in his current short, *The Butcher Boy*. Keaton accepted and never returned to the stage. The film was a hit, and Keaton joined Arbuckle's Comique Studio as an actor, director, and gag writer. He eagerly studied Arbuckle's filmmaking methods and made them his own. He adapted the emotionless demeanor he had affected for his stage act to the screen, and tried to strike a balance between Arbuckle's slapstick style and his own, more subtle brand of humor. The resulting mix

worked, and the two made a number of successful films between 1917 and 1920. When Arbuckle left Comique in 1920, Keaton was put in charge of the studio's comedy unit.

Making the most of his new-found authority, Keaton made a string of acclaimed two-reel comedies that contain some of the finest moments ever captured on film. Many of his gags had a surrealistic quality. In *The High Sign* (1920), for example, he sits down on a bench and unfolds a newspaper which, when fully exposed, completely engulfs him. He wanders, lost, through a maze of want ads before escaping through a hole in the paper. His best work also took advantage of audiences' love and fear of the modern, mechanized world. Sometimes, as in *The Electric House* (1922), machines go too far. Keaton's elaborately wired house goes haywire, causing his washing machine to throw dishes and his escalator to move so quickly that it hurls people out of a window. At other times, man is clearly the master of machine. In *The Blacksmith* (1922), Keaton (without realizing it) manages to turn a white Rolls-Royce black, one handprint or blowtorch mark at a time. The infernal and filthy machine meets its final demise when Buster shatters its windows with a sledgehammer, then crashes an engine into it. Sometimes the laugh was at man's expense, sometimes at the machine's, but the two were always inextricably linked, both in audiences' world and Keaton's.

Keaton's sense of absurd surrealism and his use of machines as comedic vehicles carried over into his full-length comedies. In 1923, he directed his first feature film, *The Three Ages*, a satire of D.W. Griffith's *Intolerance*. Although it was an admirable debut, he did not really hit his stride until *Sherlock Jr.* (1924), in which he plays a projectionist who, while dreaming, becomes a character in the movie he is showing, a concept that Woody Allen would later use in *The Purple Rose of Cairo*. Keaton cranked out four more films in the next two years, including his hilarious *The Navigator* (1924), before producing his magnum opus, *The General* (1926). In this, his favorite film, he plays a young, Southern train engineer eager to enlist in the Confederate Army. The Army rejects him, claiming that he is more valuable as an engineer than a soldier. Adding insult to injury, the Yankees steal his beloved locomotive and spirit it across their lines, with Keaton furiously chasing in another engine. He eventually steals back his train, and the film climaxes with a spectacular crash as a bridge collapses under the pursuing bluecoats' train. Besides containing some priceless comedy, *The General* has an epic sweep that was matched by few films in the silent era.

Keaton's work during the 1920s should have been enough to ensure his place among the immortals of film. And yet, he was in very real danger of being forgotten. Even at the peak of his popularity, he was unfavorably compared to rival comic Charlie Chaplin (who he privately loathed). Critics labeled Chaplin an "intellectual" comedian, while Keaton was merely an average funnyman who knew how to take a fall.

His sound-era films did little to enhance his reputation. In 1928, Keaton gave up his independence and signed with MGM. He made the leap to talking films but found himself being typecast as an incompetent bumbler. Worse, he had to play second banana to the scene-stealing comic Jimmy Durante. The two combined on several dreary films in the 1930s that effectively ended Keaton's career. He continued to make mostly forgettable films into the 1960s, highlighted by memorable appearances in *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World* (1963) and *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* (1966), and also starred in two short-lived television shows. His silent movies sat in film cans, unwatched and disintegrating. The release of *The Buster Keaton Story* (1957), a mostly fictionalized account of his

life, renewed interest in his films, which were restored and finally acknowledged as classics. He received a special Academy Award in 1959 for his "unique talents." His body torn by a lifetime of smoking and periodic bouts of alcoholism, Buster Keaton died of cancer in 1966.

—David B. Welky

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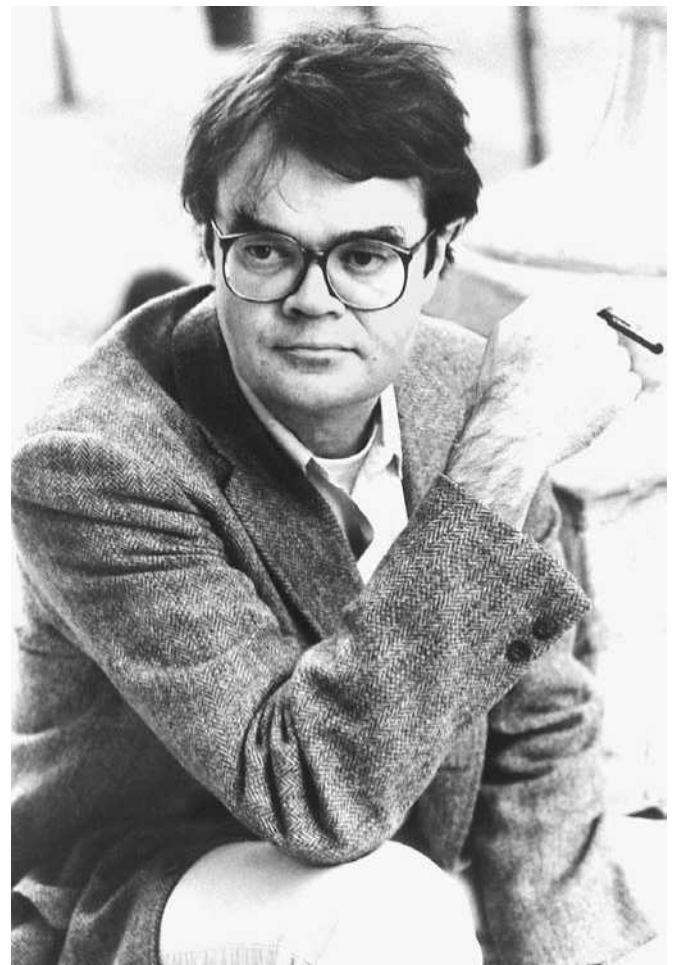
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## Keillor, Garrison (1942—)

The humorist Garrison Keillor is best known as the host of *A Prairie Home Companion* (1974-1987; 1993—) and the *American Radio Company* (1989-1993), both of which have been carried nationally on public radio to up to five million weekly listeners. He has also published stories for the *New Yorker* and novels about radio



Garrison Keillor

and small town life in the Midwest. Keillor is the consummate storyteller, whose creation of the small town of Lake Wobegon, Minnesota, where “all the women are strong, all the men are good-looking, and all the children are above average,” has won him a large following of listeners and readers drawn to the nostalgic, down-home sentiment of his monologues and stories.

Born Gary Edward Keillor in Anoka, Minnesota, he grew up in rural Brooklyn Park, where he was a devoted listener of popular radio shows like *Fibber McGee and Molly* and *Gangbusters*. Because his fundamentalist parents banned television until Keillor was in high school, he tended to see television as sinful and radio as a magical doorway to another world far away from his hometown. In 1991, Keillor published *WLT: A Radio Romance*, a novel that recreates the golden days of radio and suggests the nostalgia Keillor feels for the medium. As he told Reed Bunzel, “There’s no romance in television; it’s just the Wal-Mart of the mind. Radio is infinitely sexier.”

Keillor began in radio in 1963 at KUOM at the University of Minnesota, where he was an English major. Simultaneously, he was also honing his writing skills, wanting to follow in the footsteps of the legendary Mark Twain and his favorite writers at the *New Yorker*, E. B. White and James Thurber. He published his first story in the magazine in 1970. Ever since, he has had a dual career as a radio personality and a writer.

In the 1970s, Keillor created a popular morning show on St. Paul’s public radio station which would eventually be called *A Prairie Home Companion*. The show combined many styles of music, humorous spots for made-up commercial sponsors—like Powdermilk Biscuits (which “help shy persons get up and do what needs to be done”) and Jack’s Auto Repair—and tall tales that bordered on burlesques of small town life. Over the years, Keillor would develop his style of storytelling to more closely resemble local-color realism told from the visitor’s point of view. Opposed to the ironic distance maintained by contemporary stand-up comics, Keillor wanted the freedom to poke fun at the provincialism and Lutheran view of life that pervaded small towns in Minnesota, while also creating sympathy for his characters (many of them based on people he knew). The result—his nearly 30-minute-long monologues on the news from Lake Wobegon—has become the most admired aspect of his radio shows.

With the publication of his most popular novel, *Lake Wobegon Days* (1985), Keillor solidified the identity of the small Minnesotan town in the nation’s imagination and established his own persona as the hometown boy who could never go home again. Two years later, he published *Leaving Home: A Collection of Lake Wobegon Stories*, and left St. Paul, where he had been producing *A Prairie Home Companion*, to move to Denmark with his new wife and devote himself to his writing. Within a few months he returned to settle in New York, where he fulfilled his long-time dream of being on staff at the *New Yorker*. But in 1989, Keillor returned to radio with his *American Radio Company*, which like *A Prairie Home Companion*, was a throwback. It drew many well known musical acts and tried to shed the small town image of its predecessor, becoming more of a glitzy big city program. Keillor’s new persona was that of a Midwestern boy who was wide-eyed and lost amidst the wonders of New York, which had beckoned to him through his radio as a child. Within a few years, though, Keillor’s radio company was forced to leave New York because of the exorbitant expense of producing its shows there.

In 1993, Keillor made the difficult return to Minnesota, where he resumed broadcast of *A Prairie Home Companion*, which combines many of the elements of his original show with those of his New York show. It continues to be a mainstay of public radio programming

nationwide. Keillor and company take the show on the road and broadcast a portion of the season from New York, drawing large audiences wherever they go. The show still features its trademark news from Lake Wobegon and commercial sponsors, which include Bertha’s Kitty Boutique and Bebop-a-rebop Rhubarb Pie (“Nothing takes the taste of humiliation out of your mouth like a piece of rhubarb pie”), as well as recurring spots like Guy Noir, reminiscent of old detective shows.

Keillor’s career continues on its dual path. He published the novel *Lake Wobegon Boy* in 1997 to much acclaim and is writing a film script. Although National Public Radio had refused to distribute Keillor’s radio program in the 1980s because it believed the show would have only regional appeal (causing Minnesota Public Radio to form its own distribution network), Keillor has proven that Americans from New York to California cannot get enough of the sentimental nostalgia and good-natured humor that pervade Keillor’s stories about Lake Wobegon.

—Anne Boyd

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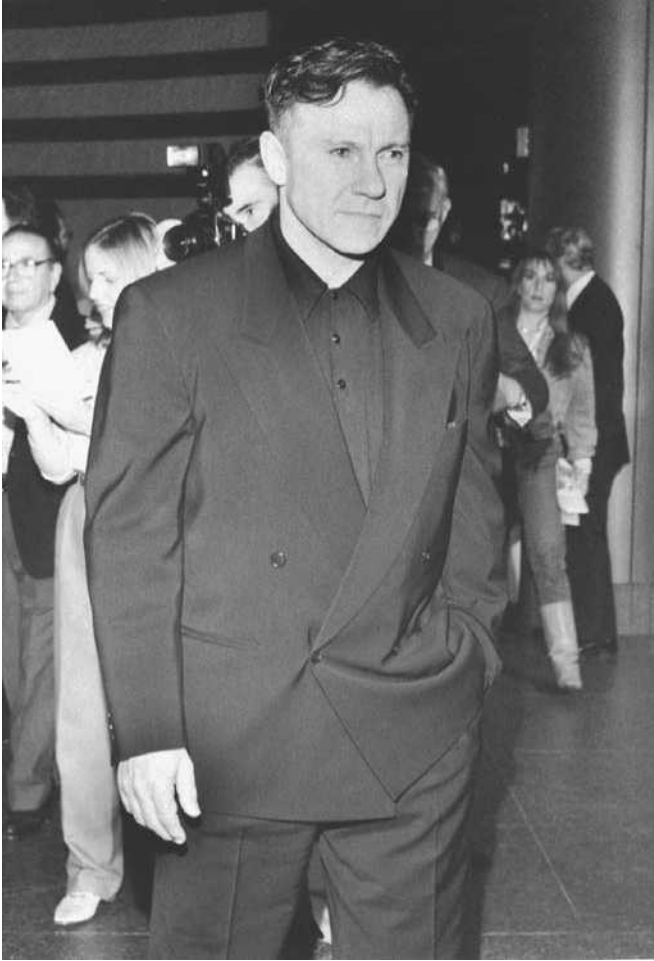
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## Keitel, Harvey (1939—)

The long, prolific career of New Yorker Harvey Keitel comprises close to 80 films. They can be roughly divided into three main periods: 1973-1980, the years marked by his collaborations with Martin Scorsese; 1980-1992, a decade that Keitel spent waiting for his breakthrough while he made a long list of films in the United States and Europe; and the period after 1992, when he became a popular actor thanks to Quentin Tarantino’s *Reservoir Dogs*. Two biographical books about Keitel included the word “darkness” in their subtitles. Indeed, many in the audience appreciated, above all, Keitel’s ability to act out through his roles deep emotional conflicts that seemingly have to do as much with his characters’ as with the actor’s allegedly dark personality. Whether this darkness is part of Keitel’s public or private persona, the fact is that it has been an essential factor to his status as star.

No doubt, Keitel should be seen as a cult star rather than as simply a star, because in his work he has been constantly associated with cult directors working within independent cinema. The first to give him a chance as an actor was Martin Scorsese, who counted on Keitel’s talent for roles in *Mean Streets* (1973), *Alice Doesn’t Live Here Anymore* (1974), and *Taxi Driver* (1976). The association with Scorsese was later renewed when Keitel played Judas in the controversial *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1988). This film marked the beginning of the end of a long period in which Keitel kept away from Hollywood, apparently embittered by his failure to land the role of Captain Willard in Francis Ford Coppola’s *Apocalypse Now!* (1979). It is important to note that during those years of semi-exile, Keitel played roles in European films of diverse nationalities, some of them



**Harvey Keitel**

better known—*Death in Full View* (Germany, 1980) or *La Nuit de Varennes* (Italy, 1982)—and others better forgotten. Keitel, however, maintained the links with European filmmaking even into the 1990s, when he became regarded as a well established star in Hollywood. He played, thus, the main role in the noted Greek film *Ulysses' Gaze* (1995), a film very far from the usual Hollywood fare.

At home, Keitel's association with independent cinema finally led to stardom thanks to his roles in Quentin Tarantino's cult hits *Reservoir Dogs* (1992) and *Pulp Fiction* (1994). Tarantino also benefitted greatly from this association, for Keitel was actively involved in the production of both films. The early 1990s brought Keitel other leading roles, first as the corrupt lieutenant of Abel Ferrara's violent, mystic *Bad Lieutenant* (1992) and then as the unlikely hero of Jane Campion's rereading of Victorian melodrama in *The Piano* (1993), possibly the first film in which Keitel was cast against type in a romantic leading role. Keitel's definitive entrance into mainstream Hollywood brought him roles in Ridley Scott's *Thelma and Louise* (1991) (Keitel had previously played one of the two duelists in Scott's 1977 TV film of Joseph Conrad's story "The Duelists") and the adaptation of Michael Crichton's novel *Rising Sun* (1993). The third name closely associated to Keitel's is that of writer Paul Auster. Keitel played Auggie Wren in *Smoke* and *Blue in the Face* (both 1995), films scripted by Auster, and starred in Auster's

debut film as director, *Lulu on the Bridge* (1998). Keitel's successful career developed, thus, in three fronts simultaneously: Hollywood mainstream cinema, American independent films, and European cinema.

Keitel is not easy to class in the Hollywood categories of leading or supporting actor. His many leading roles in independent films did not receive as much publicity as they deserved. As far as Hollywood is concerned, Keitel is one of the star supporting actors, but not a figure at the same level as his friend Robert de Niro, or Al Pacino. Keitel has taken, however, greater risks than may big stars would have assumed when playing, for instance, the tormented policeman of *Bad Lieutenant* or Champion's romantic hero in *The Piano*. Not only because of the physical nudity he indulged in in both, but mainly because of the force of the emotional nakedness he is capable of. It might well be that independent cinema affords versatile actors like Keitel more ground to test their acting instincts than Hollywood mainstream cinema, hence Keitel's fidelity to men such as Scorsese, Tarantino, or Auster. And theirs to him.

—Sara Martin

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## Kelley, David E. (1956—)

With the success of the quirky hit *Ally McBeal* in the mid- to late 1990s, David E. Kelley established himself as the decade's pre-eminent producer-writer of popular television series. Hired by Steven Bochco to write for *L. A. Law* in 1986, Kelley demonstrated his aptitude early on for revealing the conflict between interior concerns and external realities, a gift that he can apply to drama and comedy with equal facility. At his best, Kelley creates programming that eschews formulaic plots and neat, tidy endings in favor of three-dimensional characters facing credible ethical dilemmas; these dilemmas, as notably in *Ally McBeal*, are often underscored by unsettling, self-reflexive fantasy commentaries that openly air difficult issues. He refined his techniques with some slightly surreal plots on *Picket Fences* (1992) and *Chicago Hope* (1994) before launching *Ally McBeal* and *The Practice* in 1998. Kelley, rare for a producer, writes much of every episode of his own productions. His judgment, acumen, and direct involvement has made him something of a television "auteur," and in 1999, he accomplished the unprecedented feat of a Golden Globe double, winning the Hollywood Foreign Press



awards for both for the best comedy (*Ally McBeal*) and best drama series (*The Practice*). Kelley is married to actress Michelle Pfeiffer.

—Sandra Garcia-Myers

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## Kelly Bag

The Kelly bag became an American fashion institution in 1956. In September 1956, five months after she married Prince Rainier of Monaco, the former film star Grace Kelly returned to the United States for a two-month visit, clad in fashionable maternity wear and sporting a square, black bag that she had purchased for the journey. The princess was widely photographed carrying the large leather bag in front of her expanding waistline, and a fashion trend was born. Known from then on as the Kelly bag, it was in fact manufactured by Hermès, the chic and expensive Paris design house who had been making the pocketbooks—each of which was fashioned by hand—since 1935. The bags were scaled-down models of the Hermès saddlebags that were made to hold the bridles and riding tack of the European rich. For many American women, the bag symbolized the elegance and style for which Grace Kelly was known both on screen and off, but it has remained in favor with succeeding generations to become the most popular Hermès handbag ever.

—Jennifer Davis McDaid

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## Kelly, Gene (1912-1996)

A dancer and choreographer of enormous grace and indefatigable vitality, Gene Kelly created a new synthesis of music and dance in American movies. In 1942 he made his first film with Judy Garland. In the next decade he made an unprecedented series of lively movie musicals, including *On the Town* (1949), *Summer Stock* (1950), and *An American in Paris* (1951), culminating with *Singin' in the Rain* (1952) which Kelly starred in, choreographed, and co-directed with Stanley Donen. Kelly's unique achievement was to expand the range of dancing in the movies. For Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers dancing took place in a refined social world; for Kelly dancing was part of everyday life and the real world. In place of the ballrooms of Astaire and Rogers, Kelly danced on car roofs, tables, and sofas, in streets



Gene Kelly in a scene from the film *Singin' in the Rain*.

deluged with rain, thus extending dance to a mundane world that would seem to ordinarily exclude it.

—Jeffrey Escoffier

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## Kelly Girls

Since the 1960s Kelly Girls has been synonymous with female temporary office workers. Originally a groundbreaking temporary employment service, the name has expanded to a generic, describing all temporary workers, including those who are neither female nor employees of Kelly Services. Kelly Girls describes not only a company and a type of work, but a cultural and economic phenomenon, the shift from the permanent career employee to the flexible "temp." Even *Forbes Magazine* headlined its July 16, 1986, article about the practice of hiring nuclear scientists and technicians on a temporary basis, "Sophisticated Kelly Girls."

In 1946, William Russell Kelly opened Russell Kelly Office Services in Detroit to provide inventory, calculating, typing, and

copying services to local businesses. When his clients began to ask if Kelly's employees could come to their places of business to work, Kelly was happy to oblige. He began to offer workers who could fill in when needed in a variety of situations due to employee illness or vacations, busy seasons, or special projects. His hiring base was largely female, many of them housewives and students.

Kelly had tapped into a genuine employer need, and his business grew. In 1954, he opened his second office in Louisville, Kentucky. In 1956 Russell Kelly Office Services was changed to Kelly Girls, and by 1964 there were 169 offices in 44 states. The Kelly Girl became the perfect pre-feminist icon of the working woman—brisk, efficient, and unthreatening. After all, she was not a woman but a girl, and only temporary, just filling in.

In 1966, Kelly Girls became Kelly Services, and the company continued to expand the field of temporary employment. Living up to its motto "Tested, Bonded, Insured and Guaranteed," Kelly created specialized computer software for training workers with amazing rapidity to use a wide variety of word processing equipment. With many awards for business achievement and sales of over three billion dollars in 1996, Kelly Services is one of the leaders in the industry, along with employment giant Manpower, Inc., the Olsten Group, and newcomers like MacTemps.

The profit-driven economy of the 1990s dramatically increased the role of the temp worker. When Kelly Girls first began, there were three classifications of workers: clerk, typist, and secretary. By the 1990s Kelly Services had over 120 classifications. Besides the "pink collar" jobs, such as secretary and teacher, and the industrial jobs, temps are hired in management, technical, professional, and even executive positions.

While temporary work is touted as advantageous to a diverse group of workers because of flexibility and variety, in fact the majority of temp workers are minority young women who are hired for clerical or industrial jobs. While some are attracted to the flexible hours and training, almost two thirds would prefer permanent employment if it were available to them.

Corporations are drawn to the use of temps for a variety of reasons. It is a simple way to replace permanent workers who are off the job temporarily or to add extra hands during peak production periods. Sometimes a worker's skills, like computer programming or consulting, are only needed on a short-term basis. By going through a temp agency, an employer can avoid the interviewing and hiring process, and, often, also avoid paying benefits. Some employers, capitalizing on this advantage, have created a new category of worker, the "permatemp," hired on as a temporary worker, but kept on the job for months or even years without the benefits afforded to permanent employees.

In response to this, some employee advocates are attempting to organize temporary workers to fight against violations of their rights. One such group in Greenville, South Carolina, the Carolina Alliance for Fair Employment, has been working since 1984 to force employers to comply with state and federal employment laws.

The nebulous status of the temporary worker is chillingly dramatized in Jill and Karen Sprecher's 1998 movie *Clockwatchers*, about four female temp workers. Within a claustrophobic office atmosphere, the temporary workers are portrayed as invisible and powerless. The bosses do not even bother to learn their names or distinguish their faces, and their small acts of rebellion are mostly futile.

Temporary employment has undeniable advantages for both the employee, who may be able to learn a wide variety of skills on an individualized schedule, and the employer, who can inexpensively fill

in employees as needed. It can be problematic, however, working in an atmosphere where neither employee nor employer feels responsibility toward the other. The Kelly Girl, trim and brisk in her suit and carrying her steno pad may be out of date, but she initiated the era of the temporary worker. It remains to be seen whether the temporary worker will become the disposable worker.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Kelly, Grace (1928-1982)

Her icy beauty and regal poise made Grace Kelly one of the most popular movie stars of the 1950s. But when she married into one of



Grace Kelly

Europe's oldest royal families, becoming Her Serene Highness Princess Grace of Monaco, she became the star of a real-life fairytale romance that captured the global imagination.

Born into a wealthy Philadelphia family, Grace Kelly was raised in a household that valued achievement. Her father, Jack, had been a champion Olympic rower who became a successful businessman, so Grace and her siblings were encouraged to excel in both athletics and academics. Well-educated at parochial and private schools, Grace made her debut in Philadelphia society at sixteen, but after graduating from high school in 1947, the young blond beauty left Philadelphia for New York City, where she attended the American Academy of Dramatic Arts. After finding work as a model and in small roles on television, Kelly made her Broadway debut in 1949. With her strikingly perfect features and exquisite blond beauty, it was not long before she was brought out to Hollywood, where she made her first film appearance in 1951.

A year later, Grace Kelly starred as Gary Cooper's wife in *High Noon*, and overnight she became one of Hollywood's most sought-after leading ladies—the quintessential cool blonde. Signed by MGM in 1953, Kelly starred opposite Clark Gable in *Mogambo*, for which she garnered her first Oscar nomination. A year later, she would win the Academy Award for Best Actress for her performance in *The Country Girl*.

Kelly's next three films, all directed by Alfred Hitchcock, would become instant classics. As noted in Baseline's *Encyclopedia of Film*, Hitchcock "made brilliant use of her signature combination of cool, elegant charm and smoldering sensuality in *Dial M for Murder*, *Rear Window* and *To Catch a Thief*."

By the mid-1950s, Kelly was Hollywood's most popular movie star—an aristocratic beauty whose poise was no on-screen act. Her charm captivated one of the world's most eligible bachelors. While attending the Cannes Film Festival in 1955, Kelly had been introduced to Prince Rainier, the monarch of the tiny Mediterranean principality of Monaco. Afterward, Kelly returned to the States to film *High Society* with Bing Crosby and Frank Sinatra, but it would be her last film. In April 1957, Grace Kelly wed Prince Rainier in a ceremony which her biographer, Robert Lacey, wrote, was "the first modern event to generate media overkill." Guests included Ava Gardner and Aristotle Onassis.

Following her marriage, Kelly retired from acting. However, because she was under contract to MGM, the wedding was filmed as a movie and shown in the United States, which only increased her fame at home and around the world. Although her film career had lasted only six years, images of Princess Grace entertaining Hollywood celebrities at Monaco charity events and appearing around the world with other European royalty continued to command an audience in the United States, and she remained one of America's most popular public figures.

After the birth of three children—Princess Caroline, Prince Albert, and Princess Stephanie—rumors circulated that Grace was unhappy and lonely in her marriage. She had hoped to return to acting in 1964, when Hitchcock offered her the lead in *Marnie*, but negative public opinion in Monaco had forced Prince Rainier to decline on her behalf. Even as she grew older and gained weight, the fairy-tale appeal of Grace's marriage continued to intrigue and delight American audiences, who followed her life and that of her children. And when those children, particularly her daughters, turned out to lead wild and sometimes problematic lives, Americans ate up the European soap opera with glee. And so the United States joined Monaco in

mourning upon Princess Grace's death in a car accident on the windy roads above Monaco.

Because she stopped acting in her twenties, Grace Kelly remains locked in the public imagination at the height of her beauty. Although her status as a cultural icon is certainly enhanced by her marriage into royalty, her image as one of the most beautiful women ever to grace the silver screen can never be tarnished, even by rumors of her unhappiness or the knowledge that she did not remain the unsullied beauty she once was. Grace Kelly—beauty incarnate and an American Princess—still remains one of America's most intriguing stars.

—Victoria Price

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## Kelly, Walt

See Pogo

## Kennedy Assassination

The images are remarkably familiar. The convertible limousine winds its way through Dallas crowds; John F. Kennedy, America's youngest president, smiles and waves in the backseat; gunfire, three jerks, the limousine slows and then accelerates; Jackie Kennedy shrieks and covers her husband; an emotional Walter Cronkite tells the nation that its president has died, removes his glasses, and wipes his eyes.

On November 22, 1963, President John F. Kennedy was shot as he paraded through Dallas, Texas. That same afternoon, Dallas police arrested their suspect, Lee Harvey Oswald, an itinerant, self-described "Marxist-Leninist" who had lived in the Soviet Union. Within days, Oswald was also dead, shot by club-owner Jack Ruby on national television in the basement of a Dallas police station.

Kennedy's election to office marked, for some commentators, a new age in American political culture. "History with a capital H had come down to earth, either interfering with life or making it possible; and that within History, or threaded through it, people were living with a supercharged density: lives were bound up within one another, making claims on one another, drawing one another into the common project," Todd Gitlin explained, capturing the sense of immediacy that televised politics had brought to the American social sphere in the early 1960s. Americans knew Kennedy as "the television president," and their relationship with the man and his politics was infused with this sense of immediacy.

It should come as no surprise, then, that Kennedy's violent and sudden death moved the American public so dramatically. Kennedy's funeral rites were a profoundly public affair, broadcast on each of the nation's television networks, and witnessed in 93 percent of the



**John F. Kennedy's assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald.**

country's television-viewing households. "America wept," *New York Times* columnist James Reston wrote, "not alone for its dead young President, but for itself. The grief was general, for somehow the worst in the nation had prevailed over the best."

What is surprising, however, is the range of responses the Kennedy assassination has elicited in the decades following. The official body convened to investigate the assassination, the Warren Commission, issued a report confirming that Lee Harvey Oswald was indeed the murderer and asserting that Oswald had acted alone. Almost immediately, critics began to contend that the scenario reconstructed in the Warren Report seemed unlikely at best, dismissing in particular the infamous "single bullet theory," which proposes that one bullet was responsible for multiple injuries to Texas governor John Connally, who was riding in the front seat of the car, and to the president. For many, Kennedy's death revealed a dark, conspiratorial underside to American politics. It was a loss of American innocence and a prototype for the turbulent decade that lied ahead. From them have come hundreds of conspiracy theories that attempt to account for Kennedy's killing.

Initially, these theories came largely from Europe. Soon, however, conspiracy theorizing on the Kennedy assassination became a

cottage industry in America, with leftists charging that a pact involving American security forces, the Mafia, and even Kennedy's vice president, Lyndon Baines Johnson, killed the president, and rightists uncovering plots that involved the Soviet Union, the Civil Rights movement, and American Communists.

By no means the first, one of the most prominent of the Kennedy conspiracy theorists was New Orleans district attorney, Jim Garrison. Garrison charged New Orleans businessman Clay Shaw with conspiracy to kill the president and, in 1967, Garrison brought him to trial. Shaw was acquitted, but in 1991, filmmaker Oliver Stone gave Garrison's theory a second hearing before the American movie-going public. Stone's *JFK* is a fast-paced, paranoid film that mixes Abraham Zapruder's 8 millimeter amateur film of the Dallas shooting and other pieces of historical footage with staged material and describes the assassination plot as "a riddle wrapped in an enigma inside a riddle." It brought crankish conspiracy theorizing into the American spotlight, rekindled the debate over Kennedy's death (and generated a new debate of its own about the popular media's cultural authority and responsibility), and was a booming commercial success. Fifty million people saw *JFK* in movie theaters, and the film brought Stone two Academy Awards.

The spread of conspiracy theorizing about the Kennedy assassination may be due, in part, to what Richard Hofstadter has called "the paranoid style in American politics." Largely, however, it seems to stem from a more innocent source. Television beamed the drama of the Kennedy assassination and its aftermath directly into the homes of millions of Americans. It made the Kennedy funeral the most widely watched television event in American history. Every American who was alive at the time, it seems, knows where they were when Kennedy was shot. And that is because, in a sense, every American was there, in Dallas, with the President as he died.

—Thurston Domina

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## Kent State Massacre

For 13 seconds on May 4, 1970, Ohio National Guardsmen opened fire on students protesting the Vietnam War at Kent State University in Kent, Ohio, killing four and wounding nine others.



A protestor holds a sign at the Kent State demonstration after the Massacre.

What had merely been a small campus demonstration—one of thousands nationwide, quickly developed into a symbol of the Vietnam era in America. A Pulitzer Prize winning photograph taken at the shooting of an anguished young woman kneeling over the body of a dead student with her arms raised in despair became a significant illustration of the end of the Woodstock era. Any romantic notions of the 1960s ended with the Kent State massacre.

On April 30, 1970, President Richard M. Nixon appeared on national television to announce that U.S. troops were invading Cambodia to strike suspected guerrilla strongholds. The new policy contradicted his previous plan, which pledged that a “Vietnamization” of the war would gradually reduce America’s involvement in the conflict. Reaction to the escalation of the war effort was immediate and intense, especially on the nation’s college campuses, where over 1.5 million students protested the announcement. Nixon fueled the outrage by labeling the student protesters “bums” who were “blowing up the campuses.”

On May 1, a late night disturbance in downtown Kent fueled by a warm spring evening, students leaving local bars, and a motorcycle gang led Mayor Leroy Satrom to declare the city under a state of emergency. Although the city suffered only minor damages, the next day the mayor requested the presence of the Ohio National Guard to quell the unruliness. Even with the soldiers on campus, student

protesters held a rally the next day and the university ROTC building was burned down. The destruction of the ROTC building was a major event leading to the violence at Kent State, but the mystery over who set the fire has not been solved. Initially, it was assumed that the fire was started by radical students, but others speculated that it may have been set by government agents to provide a reason for government intervention.

Ohio Governor James Rhodes arrived in Kent on May 3 and condemned the student radicals, comparing them to Nazi brownshirts and communists. That evening, protesters gathered on campus but were forced to leave with the assistance of teargas. A sit-in held on Main Street was also dispersed by the troops.

A rally was scheduled for May 4 and drew approximately 2,000 students, many of whom were curious onlookers and shuffling between classes. National Guard officers ordered the protesters to leave and shot tear gas into the crowd when the command was not followed. Over 100 fully armed guardsmen then moved against the students. The troops advanced toward the students, over a hill, and then down to a practice football field. When they reached a fence at the far end of the field, some of the soldiers knelt and aimed their weapons at the demonstrators. While the troops massed together, students retreated into a parking lot between several buildings. Others lobbed rocks and tear gas canisters back at the guardsmen.

After ten minutes, the troops moved back up the hill. When they reached the crest, a group of 28 guardsmen wheeled around and fired in the direction of the parking lot. They fired 61 rounds of ammunition. Of the 13 people killed or injured, only two were actively participating in the demonstration. One student was killed while walking to class and another, ironically, was an ROTC student. Many of the injured students were more than 100 yards from the guardsmen.

Kent State was shut down after the shootings and remained closed for the rest of the school year. As news about Kent State spread, campus unrest escalated. Nearly 500 colleges were closed or disrupted. Ten days later, another campus shooting occurred at Jackson State University in Mississippi when police and state patrolmen fired into a dormitory at the all-black school, killing two students and wounding nine others. The lack of attention given to the massacre at Jackson State embittered many African Americans.

The Kent State Massacre bookends a generation that began with the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in 1963 and included the murders of his brother Robert F. Kennedy and civil rights activist Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968. Kent State was transformed from a sleepy midwestern college into the symbolic epicenter of student protest in the Vietnam era.

Kent State remains a symbol of antiwar protest and government repression. The incident has been immortalized in countless books and even a television movie, but nothing was more stinging than the Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young song "Ohio" with its haunting lyrics, "Tin soldiers and Nixon's coming—Four dead in Ohio!"

—Bob Batchelor

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## Kentucky Derby

The oldest continuously run sporting event in the United States, the Kentucky Derby is America's most famous horse race, rich in tradition and celebrated by racing fans throughout the world. In May, 1875, Colonel Meriwether Lewis Clark, taking his lead from the English Derby at Epsom Downs, established the race for three-year-old thoroughbreds over a one-and-a-half-mile course (later reduced to a mile and a quarter). Attracting an annual crowd of more than 100,000 spectators, the Kentucky Derby has been called the "greatest two minutes in sports." It is also the first leg of racing's most sought-after goal, the Triple Crown, awarded to those rare horses who win at the Kentucky Derby, the Preakness, and at Belmont.



The Kentucky Derby race in progress, Churchill Downs, Louisville, Kentucky.

Although the idea for building a race track and attracting the best horses to a rich, classic race originated with Colonel Clark, a visionary promoter in his mid-twenties, the business and promotional talents that elevated the Derby to a race of international importance came from a Louisville tailor named Matt Winn, who began managing the failing track in 1902. As a boy, standing on his father's flat-bed truck, Matt had seen Aristides win the first Derby at the Churchill Downs race track in Louisville, Kentucky, and attended every single Derby after that—75 in all—before his death in 1949. The event received a boost in prestige in 1915 when Harry Payne Whitney agreed to run his filly Regret. She led from the start, becoming the only female thoroughbred to win the Derby until the 1980s, when Genuine Risk and Winning Colors duplicated the feat. After the race, Whitney remarked that he did not care whether or not Regret ever raced again. "She has won the greatest race in America," he said, "and I am satisfied." From then on, Winn was determined to keep the Kentucky Derby at that high level.

Racing historian Joe Estes has divided the Kentucky Derby story into three periods: 1875 to 1898, 1899-1914, and 1915 onwards, with the first period highlighted by the appearance at Churchill Downs of the finest American thoroughbreds, both from Kentucky and the great stables of the northeast. Though the purses were not large, owners were motivated to improve the breed of racehorses by competing with

the best. One of the racing stars of this early period was Isaac Murphy, an African-American jockey who rode Buchanan to victory in 1884, Riley in 1890, and Kingman in 1891. His record of three Kentucky Derby wins was not equaled until 1930, when Earl Sande won on Gallant Fox, and it was not surpassed until 1948, when Eddie Arcaro won the fourth of his five Derbies on Citation. Murphy has been credited with the highest winning percentage of any jockey, 44 per cent. The significance of this phenomenal record is evident when compared with that of Eddie Arcaro, the greatest of modern era jockeys, whose lifetime winning average in a more competitive era was 22 per cent. Among the memorable horses of the first years were Hindoo, who had a string of 18 consecutive race victories that included the 1881 Derby; Ben Brush, who won the first mile-and-a-quarter Derby in 1896; and Plaudit, the winner in 1898.

From 1899 to 1914, the great stables in the northeast began shipping their horses to the American Derby at Washington Park in Chicago, and the Kentucky Derby became more of a local race. When a horse named Donerail won in 1913 and paid \$184.90—the longest odds of any Derby winner in history—the classic race received some beneficial publicity, but it was not until 1915 that the modern era began, signaling the return of America's greatest racehorses to the "run for the roses." Racing fans remember such brilliant thoroughbreds as Exterminator, Sir Barton, Zev, Black Gold, Bubbling Over, Gallant Fox, Twenty Grand, Cavalcade, Omaha, War Admiral, Whirlaway, Count Fleet, Assault, Citation, Swaps, Carry Back, Northern Dancer, Majestic Prince, Riva Ridge, Secretariat, and Seattle Slew.

The most famous of American racehorses, Man o' War, overwhelmingly voted the greatest horse of the first half of the twentieth century, did not run in the Kentucky Derby but did win the other two Triple Crown races. He only raced for two seasons (1919-29), but he won 20 of 21 races and established speed records at five tracks over various distances. He was such a compelling favorite that he raced at odds as short as 1-100. Retired to stud in late 1920, Man o' War sired 64 horses who ran in stakes races, one of his sons being War Admiral, winner of the 1937 Triple Crown. Gallant Fox, who won the Triple Crown in 1930, raced for two seasons, winning 11 of 17 starts. His winnings of \$308,275 in 1930 held the single season record for 17 years until purses escalated after World War II. He sired Omaha, the Triple Crown winner in 1935, and numerous other successful horses. Gallant Fox and Omaha remain the only father-son combination to win the Triple Crown.

Whirlaway, a nervous and erratic animal with an unusually long tail, won the Triple Crown in 1941, and his record-breaking run in the Derby, ridden by Arcaro, stood for the next 24 years. Noted for spectacular stretch runs, he would either win gloriously or lose badly, compiling a record of 32 wins in 60 races, but he was the first horse to earn more than half a million dollars; Citation, the 1948 Triple Crown winner, was the first horse to win a full million. Native Dancer, the first outstanding horse whose major victories were seen on national television, finished second to Dark Star in the 1953 Kentucky Derby, marking his only defeat in a career of 22 races. At his death his offspring had won more than \$4 million in purses. The first televised Derby was won in 1952 by Hill Gail.

In 1973 Secretariat became the first Triple Crown winner since Citation in 1948. An unusually large chestnut, 16 hands in height, he combined size with amazing speed. He was the first horse to run the Derby in less than two minutes, also setting a record for the final half-mile and quarter-mile. At Belmont he won by 31 lengths while establishing the track record of 2:24. In 1977, a "Cinderella" horse,

Seattle Slew, became the first horse who, unbeaten in his racing career, also won the Triple Crown. Slew had been bought as a colt by Mickey and Karen Taylor and Jim and Sally Hill for the bargain-basement price of \$17,500 in 1975. They sold him to a syndicate for the then-record sum of \$12,000,000 in 1978, the year that Affirmed became the third Triple Crown winner of the 1970s, an amazing decade for racing.

Jockeys have played a prominent role in the history of the Kentucky Derby. Eddie Arcaro and Bill Hartack each won the classic race five times, and Willie Shoemaker rode into the winner's circle four times. During a remarkable seven years from 1958 through 1964 Shoemaker was America's leading moneymaking jockey. Angel Cordero joined the legendary Isaac Murphy and Earle Sande as a three-time winner in 1985. In 1970 Diane Crump made history as the first female jockey to ride in the Kentucky Derby. Raleigh Colston became the only person to own, train, and ride a Derby runner; he rode Searcher in the first Derby and owned and trained Colston, the third-place finisher in the 1911 race.

125 years later (its 125th anniversary is to be celebrated on the first Saturday in May, 2000), the race is still being contested on the same hallowed turf that the first Derby winner trod. The Kentucky Derby has thus entered a third century, firmly entrenched as a celebrated occasion in "the sport of Kings."

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Kentucky Fried Chicken

When Corbin, Kentucky, restaurateur Harland Sanders began to establish a chicken franchise business in the mid-1950s, the pressure-cooking process he had developed twenty years earlier ensured his position at the forefront of the American fast food revolution. In 1964, Sanders sold the flourishing Kentucky Fried Chicken Corporation for \$2 million. However, by retaining the "Kentucky Colonel" as a roving ambassador, and instituting his image as the corporate icon, the company was able to continue promoting its product as "finger lickin' good" chicken in the best tradition of Southern-fried home cooking. The "down home" identity was somewhat compromised by PepsiCo's \$840 million buyout in 1986. The company was rebranded "KFC"—the word "fried" deemed inappropriate in an era of consumer health-consciousness—and integrated with other PepsiCo-owned fast food chains, Taco Bell and Pizza Hut. Nevertheless, the Southern patrician visage of the Colonel continues to decorate thousands of KFC's worldwide.

—Marty Bone

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## Kern, Jerome (1885-1945)

Jerome Kern was one of the most significant composers for Broadway and Hollywood. With his string of Princess Theater musicals, the immortal musical *Show Boat* (1927), and his songs for stage and screen, Kern in many ways defined the American popular song.

Through his series of Princess Musicals such as *Oh, Boy!* (1917), Kern helped to create an intimacy in the musical comedy which helped to end the dominance of European imports on Broadway. But it was with *Show Boat* (1927) and its cavalcade of songs such as "Ol' Man River" and "Can't Help Lovin' Dat Man" that Kern achieved his greatest fame. Other important Kern songs include "Smoke Gets in Your Eyes" from *Roberta* (1933) and "All the Things You Are" from *Very Warm for May* (1939). He wrote songs for the films *Swing Time* (1936) and *You Were Never Lovelier* (1942), among others. He won two Academy Awards for best song, in 1936 for "The Way You Look Tonight" and in 1940 for "The Last Time I Saw Paris." Kern, in his scores for stage and screen, established a standard for popular song which exists to the present day.

—William A. Everett

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## Kerrigan, Nancy (1969—)

The 1993 United States figure skating champion, Nancy Kerrigan, was recognized as an elegant and artistic practitioner of the sport, one of America's premier ice princesses. In 1994, the beautiful Kerrigan was catapulted into much wider and most unwelcome fame through an internationally scandalous incident that brought her arch-rival, Tonya Harding, into international disrepute, and irrevocably altered the image of the sport. Already the holder of the 1992 Olympic bronze medal, Kerrigan was the favorite for the gold at the upcoming Winter Olympics in Lillehammer, Norway, at the time of the 1994 U.S. Championships in Detroit, Michigan, which doubled as the Olympic Trials that year. On the eve of the championships, while practicing at Detroit's Cobo Arena, Kerrigan received an injurious thwack on her

right leg, which put her out of competition. The assailant, Shane Stant, proved to be part of a conspiracy of four men, one of whom was Harding's husband, Jeff Gillooly, and the attack was planned to put Kerrigan out of action, thus clearing the way for Harding to win the U.S. title, and a place at the Olympics. The gifted Kerrigan, granted an exemption from the U.S. trials, won the silver at Lillehammer, finishing only a fraction of a point behind Oksana Baiul, the Ukrainian gold medalist. Harding was allowed to skate at the Olympics, and the final free skate between Kerrigan and Harding drew record television ratings. Kerrigan subsequently endured bad press when she sniped at Baiul, was overheard to complain about her corporate sponsor, and married her agent. She took a break from her career to have her son, but returned to the rink as a professional skater, enjoying considerable popularity and financial rewards, while the sport itself, thanks to the 1994 scandal, attracts major viewing figures on television.

The anti-Kerrigan conspiracy backfired disastrously. The four men involved all served prison sentences, while Harding—put on three years' probation, divorced from Gillooly, and banned from the U.S. Figure Skating Association—has remained covered in ignominy.

—Mary Hess

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## Kershaw, Doug (1936—)

Doug Kershaw, from Tiel Ridge, on the Gulf Coast of Louisiana, was one of the first to popularize southwest Louisiana's Cajun sound, an infectious dance music characterized by fiddles and accordions as lead instruments. French is the language of most Cajun music—Hank Williams' "Jambalaya" is essentially an English lyric to the Cajun standard "Grand Texas," and Little Richard's "Keep a-Knockin'" is an Anglicized rock 'n' roll version of "Tu Peut Coupez." Kershaw, however, sang in English from the beginning, and that gave him a quick in-road to a larger musical world. With his brother Rusty, he went to Nashville in the mid-1950s. They made several records together as "Rusty and Doug," culminating in Kershaw's breakout hit, "Louisiana Man," which reached number four on the country charts in 1961. "Louisiana Man" never reached the top 100 on the pop charts, but an appearance on Johnny Cash's hit television show made Kershaw a pop phenomenon, and his flamboyant fiddle style and stage presence (he favored velvet Edwardian suits) put him in demand as a solo act. He has recorded duets with Hank Williams, Jr., and Fats Domino, and in 1960, "Louisiana Man" became the first song broadcast back to earth from the moon during the Apollo 12 Mission.

—Tad Richards



## Kesey, Ken (1935—)

Described as a psychedelic outlaw and the “Dr. Strange” of American letters, Ken Kesey’s fame as a counterculture luminary was assured with the impact of his novel, *One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest* (1962). Kesey was a champion wrestler who graduated from the University of Oregon and studied creative writing at Stanford, where he discovered the bohemian life he continued to pursue. Over the years, he turned that life into the stuff of fiction, traveling across the country in a psychedelic-colored bus (now in the Smithsonian Institution) with his band of Merry Pranksters, whose adventures were chronicled by Tom Wolfe in *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (1968) and by Kesey himself in *The Further Inquiry* (1990). Kesey fraternized with Timothy Leary, fled to Mexico to avoid prosecution for marijuana possession, and lived in a commune with his wife Faye (who bore him three children) and others, including Mountain Girl, who bore his fourth child, Sunshine. While embracing this unconventional lifestyle, Kesey wrote several major novels and other fiction, including two charming children’s books. *One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest* (1962), was his first novel. The story of an unlikely redeemer who triumphs over the authoritarian “Combine” run by Big Nurse Ratched, the work was partly based on Kesey’s own experiences as the paid subject of drug experiments at the Veteran’s Hospital in Menlo Park. It remains a comedic masterpiece and a cult classic, lent further weight by the 1975 multi-Oscar-winning film version, starring Jack Nicholson.

—Barbara Tapa Lupack

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## Kewpie Dolls

The creation of Rose O’Neill (1874-1944), Kewpie Dolls were one of many crazes that swept America, and the world, in the early years of the twentieth century. Baby like figures with a tuft of hair (or top knot) similar to very young infants, the figures were popular prizes at carnival and amusement parks and also sold through retailers. The figures are still popular among doll collectors and are still manufactured under license from the original molds by Lee Middleton Original Dolls.

The figures originally appeared in *Ladies Home Journal* around 1905 as heading and tail illustrations accompanying stories by O’Neill. At the prompting of her editor, O’Neill expanded the drawings into a series of illustrated verse for children and dubbed her creations kewpies after cupid. In 1910 she moved her characters to the *Woman’s Home Companion*. According to O’Neill, hundreds of letters began to arrive from admirers seeking a doll of some kind. At first O’Neill responded with paper dolls, but in 1912 she filed a design pattern for a doll.

At first the new dolls were manufactured for the Borgfeldt company of New York by a number of European doll makers, such as the renowned German firm Kestner, and were mostly china, or bisque, dolls. At this time the bulk of dolls sold in America were manufactured in Europe. America’s entry into World War I altered this arrangement and other manufacturers such as the Mutual Doll company began producing Kewpies. These later dolls were made from a variety of materials. The dolls were probably modelled in clay from O’Neill’s drawings by Joseph Kallus, often described as O’Neill’s assistant. After O’Neill’s death, Kallus controlled the licensing and manufacture of Kewpie dolls until his death in 1984 when Jesco acquired the rights.

In the 1910s Kewpies were a hot property and O’Neill received licensing proposals for a variety of products including cutlery, crockery, baby carriages, ice cream molds, and long johns. Many manufacturers simply bypassed O’Neill and appropriated the name and image for use in their products. William Hecht used Kewpies as the name of a line of children’s clothing without authorization. Japanese toy manufacturers turned out unauthorized Kewpies much in the manner of the cheap knock-off copies of brand name goods that are readily available in South East Asia.

Kewpie Dolls came in a variety of sizes and types. O’Neill authorized military Kewpies in American, German, French, and British uniform. Likewise, Kewpies came as cowboys, farmers, bellboys, and firemen. There were also black Kewpies known as Hottentots.

One licensing venture that appealed to O’Neill was a comic strip version of the Kewpies. In 1917 O’Neill produced a weekly page for the Sunday comic supplements featuring drawings and verse. It appeared for a year. In the mid-1930s, she revised the feature as a comic strip proper with word balloons and a continuous story line. But the strip was short lived as a result of O’Neill’s declining health.

Rose O’Neill’s Kewpie Dolls packaged cuteness as an item for purchase. It says something about the commercialization of American culture in the twentieth century that the readers of her early stories were not satiated by the illustrations and requested something more tangible. The ubiquitous nature of the dolls is attested to by the appearance of “kewpie” in standard dictionaries to describe a type of doll rather than a brand name product.

—Ian Gordon

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## Key West

Located on an eight-square-mile coral island off the southern tip of Florida, Key West is the southernmost city in the continental United States. Its location and environment give the place a mystique as the Last Resort, the place where mainland North America dribbles to an ambiguous end in the Caribbean. As an artifact of popular culture, Key West generates powerful and often contradictory cultural messages: it is at once a quintessential Navy town and a haven for



**The 1930 model of the Kewpie Doll.**

literary figures, beachcombers, and assorted eccentrics. During the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 and thereafter, it served the rhetoric of American presidents as a rugged outpost of democracy vis-à-vis Castro's Cuba with its Russian missiles "just 90 miles from our shores."

Contrary to popular belief, the name Key West has nothing to do with the island's western aspect in the Florida Keys, which seem to drift languorously from the mainland like a strand of seaweed. The name is really a corruption of Cayo Hueso (Island of Bones), the name given the island by Spanish explorers after they reputedly found the skeletal remains of native people slaughtered in a fierce battle. Perhaps the coral rock that forms the island suggested bony encrustations to superstitious sailors wary of shipwreck on the jagged reefs that have long made Key West a nautical graveyard and a refuge for smugglers, salvagers, and castaways.

For much of its history, Key West has been the site of a U.S. Navy base. Commander David Porter established the first Navy presence there in the 1820s, and imagined he had created the "Gibraltar of the Gulf." Key West prospered as the only southern city to remain under Union control throughout the Civil War. At the

time of the Spanish-American War, the entire Atlantic fleet was based in Key West's harbor. During World War II, the island was known rather dubiously as the "Singapore of the West." Resident poet Elizabeth Bishop predicted in 1942 that after the war a ruined Key West would be "nothing but a naval base and a bunch of bars and cheap apartments." The island regained some of its dignity in 1946 when President Harry Truman procured the Naval commandant's headquarters for his "Little White House." Although its presence was much diminished by the 1990s, the Navy still owned a quarter of the town at century's end.

All things nautical contribute to the island's famous ambiance. Winslow Homer discovered Key West in 1885, finding watercolor the perfect medium through which to capture the shimmering cerulean seas and lush green landscapes drowsing under a tropical sun. For poet Wallace Stevens, the essence of Key West was its aqueous ambiguity, its ephemeral substance surrounded by the "ever-hooded, tragic gestured sea." His well-known poem, "The Idea of Order at Key West," can be interpreted as a hymn either to order or disorder, or to a subjective reality simultaneously negotiating between both.

Even the act of withdrawing to the bustling, commercial North, and away from sultry Key West, can bring uncertainty, as Stevens laments in the poem "Farewell to Florida." Here, the poet watches from a ship as "Key West sank downward under massive clouds/And silvers and greens spread over the sea. The moon/Is at the mast-head and the post is dead. But yet: Her mind had bound me round."

More than any other writer, Ernest Hemingway is associated with Key West in the popular mind. After leaving Paris in 1928, Hemingway acted on the suggestion of fellow writer John Dos Passos and established residence in a rented house in Key West with his wife, Pauline. In 1931, the Hemingways bought an 80-year-old limestone villa where they lived together until they divorced in 1940, and which now serves as one of the island's principal tourist attractions. Hemingway wrote several short stories, many articles, and one novel, *To Have and Have Not*, about Key West, which he portrayed as seedy, decadent, and impoverished, "the St. Tropez of the poor." Hemingway's growing celebrity soon obscured the more prosaic details of his life. Leicester Hemingway writes that his brother's Key West period "begins in the public mind with a picture of a bronzed giant fighting huge fish, then heading inshore for the roughest, toughest bar to celebrate the catch, possibly pausing somewhere to beat out a letter to *Esquire*, using words growled from one corner of the mouth. It was not like that ever." But the Hemingway Days Festival, which began in 1981, celebrates the machismo image of the writer with parodies and pastiches of his works, contests in which white-bearded and barrel-chested men compete in Hemingway lookalike contests, costume parties, arm-wrestling competitions, and drinking bouts at Sloppy Joe's Bar.

A long line of other writers, including Jack London, Tennessee Williams, Robert Frost, John Hersey, Tom McGuane, Truman Capote, Alison Laurie, Elizabeth Bishop, and Annie Dillard, have found Key West congenial. Popular crime and mystery writers such as Laurence Shames and James W. Hall have used the city as the backdrop for their stories, exaggerating its eccentricities. In "Bones of Coral," Hall describes Key West as an "outpost for the unstable, maladjusted, the just plain insane. If they weren't insane when they came, they turned that way. They became islanders, devolved creatures."

More likely, they were merely inspired to become beachcombers, boozers, and faux marooned mariners awaiting the next tide. Singer Jimmy Buffett and his Coral Reefer Band, with their besotted, ersatz-pirate, parrot-pop anthems, celebrate this offbeat, unfettered Key West attitude, which can be decanted in Buffett's Margaritaville Cafe on the island and purchased in any of the dozens of souvenir shops and tee-shirt emporia. Conch Republic Days each year advance this maverick tradition, commemorating the island's ostensible secession from the United States in 1982, with the imaginary Conch Republic surviving as a symbol of Key West's singularity as the Last Resort.

—Paul Ashdown

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## The Keystone Kops

By the end of the 1990s, almost nine decades since their first appearance on the early silent screen in *Hoffmeyer's Legacy* (1912), Mack Sennett's Keystone Kops had long entered the language as a byword for bungling, absurd, and hilarious incompetency. Icons of the early comedy "flickers" that made Sennett the most significant, famous, and successful pioneer of film comedy, the Kops, named for Sennett's Keystone company, featured regularly in the American silent era slapstick movies pioneered at Keystone Studios from 1912. With the release of *The Bangville Police* (1913), the Keystone Kops were established as a much-loved American institution and an integral element of Sennett's production output and comedy style. Sporting handlebar mustaches and ill fitting uniforms, the conscientious but utterly inept policemen (and sometimes the Keystone Firemen) fell out of cars, under cars, over cliffs, and more often than not over themselves, all at artificially high speed, defining the art of slapstick in which Sennett specialized and which would be refined by the arrival of Charlie Chaplin at his studio in 1914.

Mack Sennett was blessed from the beginning with a stable of gifted comic practitioners, tuned into Keystone's rambunctious style with its emphasis on sight gags, pratfalls, and the throwing of custard pies (a routine that originated there), and enhanced by Sennett's under-cranked camera, speeded up frames, and skillful editing. Among these artists were Ford Sterling and Chester Conklin, the most famous members of the zany police force whose escapades, in which reality was suspended and subverted to create a world of comic chaos, characterized the approximately 500 slapstick comedies and farces made at Keystone.

Renowned for carrying out their own hair-raising, and frequently dangerous stunts, the original Kops line-up featured actors Charles Avery, Bobby Dunn, George Jesky, Edgar Kennedy, Hank Mann, Mack Riley, and Slim Summerville. Mann, who played police chief Teeheezel, was subsequently replaced by Ford Sterling, and with Sennett using the group as a proving ground for ambitious young actors seeking a career with the studio, the line-up changed frequently, at one time including Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle among its uniformed members. Despite their considerable success with contemporary audiences, however, the Kops were eased out of the regular Keystone roster within four years. Many other Sennett comedies continued to feature the group's chaotic brand of slapstick, and they were paid homage, making a return (of sorts) in *Abbott and Costello Meet the Keystone Kops* (1954).

The influence of the Keystone Kops on the development of comedy is of paramount importance in the history of the cinema. This could be most particularly perceived in the films of Laurel and Hardy and, later, in cruder form, The Three Stooges. And while, over the decades, verbal humor came either to replace or complement visual humor, the preposterously farcical elements that informed the antics of the Kops have survived in variously modified forms to the present



### The Keystone Kops

day. Sennett's imagination has influenced the material and performances of comic artists from Jerry Lewis through Mel Brooks to Robin Williams and Jim Carrey.

—David Holloway

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## King, Albert (1924-1992)

Albert King was one of the most distinctive, innovative, and influential blues guitarists of the postwar era. He was one of the only blues players to sell records and play for white audiences without losing his traditional black following. His years with Stax Records in the 1960s produced a series of albums that blended classic blues with modern R & B and soul.

King was an imposing figure—standing 6'4" and weighing over 250 pounds—and it could be heard in his music. His muscular guitar

tone and economical use of notes was sustained by a raw power nearly impossible to copy. A left-handed player, King played his Gibson Flying-V guitar upside down and backwards, so rather than fret notes quickly up and down the neck, King was forced to use his strength to bend notes, producing a strikingly vocal quality. His tone was an inspiration to white guitarists Stevie Ray Vaughan and Michael Bloomfield as well as fellow lefty Otis Rush. British guitarist Eric Clapton played an Albert King solo nearly note-for-note in his 1967 hit "Strange Brew" with Cream.

King was born in Indianola, Mississippi, not far from fellow blues guitarist B. B. King, who was about 18 months younger. Albert would often joke that they were brothers, but the two didn't meet until both were famous. Although they cited the same musicians—Blind Lemon Jefferson, Lonnie Johnson, and T-Bone Walker—as their biggest influences, the two Kings sounded nothing alike. While B. B. danced above the beat with a jazz player's phrasing and a treble tone, Albert dug deep into the groove with thick, meaty bends. While B. B. rose to prominence in the 1950s, Albert had to wait into the mid-1960s, when he was over 40 years old, to make his mark.

As a child, King built his own guitar from a cigar box and whisk broom wires. He finally bought his first real guitar, a Guild acoustic, from another young man for \$1.25 when he was 18. He spent the next 15 years picking cotton, working construction, driving a bulldozer, and developing his beefy musical style. In the early 1950s while living in Oceana, Arkansas, King formed the In the Groove Boys, his first band, with some friends.

King soon moved to Gary, Indiana, where he began playing drums for Jimmy Reed. In 1953, he cut his first singles, "Bad Luck Blues" and "Be on Your Merry Way," for the Parrot label in Chicago. King's next recordings were for the Bobbin label in St. Louis in 1959. Here he adopted a big band swing style, led by Johnnie Johnson, the pianist who played on many of Chuck Berry's greatest



**Albert King**

recordings. King remained with Bobbin and Cincinnati's King label, which leased some of the Bobbin sides, until 1963, when he made the move to Stax Records in Memphis.

King's union with the Stax house band of Booker T. and the MGs resulted in some of the best and most popular blues records ever produced. Drummer and producer Al Jackson, organist Booker T. Washington, bass player Donald "Duck" Dunn and guitarist Steve Cropper, plus the Memphis Horns of Wayne Jackson and Andrew Love, provided the perfect foundation for King's career. *Born under a Bad Sign*, released in 1967, was a revelation. Most of the songs strayed from typical 12-bar blues shuffles, but King was right at home.

"We were, basically, on top of the music scene as far as what we thought the R&B public wanted to hear," Cropper said in *Blues Guitar: The Men Who Made the Music*. "So it was a little more polished, a little slicker than some of the other blues coming out. He had his own unique style, and it still got in the blues rack. But the songs that we picked for him and some of the arrangements we did wound up in the pop and R&B racks, too."

Rock critic Robert Palmer said in the liner notes to *Albert Live*, a double album released in 1977 and available on the Tomato label, that King's impact at the time of the release of *Born under a Bad Sign* "was as inescapable among blues players as John Coltrane's influence was on jazz."

King became popular with young, white audiences in the late 1960s when rock promoter Bill Graham booked King to open a series of shows at the Fillmore Auditorium in San Francisco, sharing bills with Jimi Hendrix and Janis Joplin. King's second album on Stax,

*Live Wire/Blues Power*, was recorded at the Fillmore, and is regarded as one of the finest recordings of blues in concert.

King continued to push the boundaries of blues into the 1970s by playing with the St. Louis Symphony and becoming the first blues player to appear with full orchestration. His 1972 album, *I'll Play the Blues for You* built upon *Born under a Bad Sign* with a James Brown funk feel.

King's mid- to late 1970s releases took on a disco feel, which was an attempt to update his sound. These albums were overproduced and failed to capture the energy of his previous work. King continued to record for Fantasy Records of Berkeley, California, which had bought out Stax, and returned to form with his final album *I'm in a Phone Booth, Baby* in 1984. King continued to tour until his death from a heart attack on December 21, 1992, in Memphis.

—Jon Klinkowitz

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## King, B. B. (1925—)

To people the world over, B. B. King is the literal personification of blues. No blues or rock 'n' roll musician in the postwar era in America could escape his influence, either directly or indirectly. His fusion of acoustic country blues with jazz set the stage for a half century of development in African American music. Although he never attained the widespread commercial success enjoyed by others, King rose to his billing "King of the Blues" without compromising his style or musicianship.

King is credited with bringing vibrato to the electric guitar, and the stinging, fluttering sound of his guitar, named Lucille, was totally unique and instantly recognizable. His story is one of the most amazing in American music. His rise from picking cotton in Mississippi to touring the world has become part of the mythology of the American Dream.

Riley B. King was born September 16, 1925, on a farm near Itta Bena, Mississippi. His parents separated when he was four, and he lived with his mother until her death when he was nine. He then lived with his maternal grandmother, his father in nearby Lexington, and on his own, supervised by an extended family of aunts, uncles, and caring white plantation owners. His earliest musical memories were the hollers of fellow field workers and his first exposure to the guitar came in church, where he heard the Reverend Archie Fair play. He listened to the records of Blind Lemon Jefferson and Lonnie Johnson on an aunt's Victrola.

"Blind Lemon and Lonnie hit me the hardest, I believe, because their voices were so distinct, natural, and believable. I heard them talking to me," King said in his autobiography, *Blues All Around Me*. "As guitarists, they weren't fancy. Their guitars were hooked up to their feelings, just like their voices . . . No one melded my musical manner like Blind Lemon and Lonnie. They entered my soul and stayed." As a teenager, King fell under the spell of T-Bone Walker,



### B. B. King

the swinging Texan who pioneered the electric guitar along with Charlie Christian. Other key influences were Gypsy guitarist Django Reinhardt from Belgium and saxophonists Lester Young and Louis Jordan.

King bought his first guitar for \$15 when he was 12 and played it while singing tenor with the Elkhorn Jubilee Singers, a gospel group he organized with a cousin and two friends. By the mid-1940s, King moved to Memphis and sought out his cousin, Bukka White. Already a famous musician, White took King under his wing. King's signature vibrato developed as a result of his failure to master White's slide technique.

King played blues and gospel on street corners around Beale Street and landed a 10-minute show on radio station WDIA sponsored by Pepticon, a cure-all tonic. King was a hit and became a regular disc jockey known as the Beale Street Blues Boy, later shortened to B. B. His radio show led to bookings outside Memphis and the recording of his first singles in 1949 on the short-lived Bullet label.

King was soon discovered by Ike Turner, at that time working as a talent scout for Modern Records. King had a hit with "Three O'Clock Blues" which spent 15 weeks at the top of Billboard's R&B (rhythm and blues) chart in 1951, which allowed him to tour nationwide.

King stayed with Modern Records until 1962 when he left for ABC Records—signing a contract he has honored for over 35 years.

Through the 1950s and 1960s, King kept up an unbelievable touring schedule, playing as many as 340 dates a year. He recorded *Live at the Regal*, one of the finest examples of live blues, in 1965 at Chicago's Regal Theatre. Still, King remained a star only on the "Chitlin' Circuit" of black clubs. He fell through the cracks when rock 'n' roll came around, unable to cross over like Little Richard, Fats Domino, or Bo Diddley, and did not fit in with the soul movement of the 1960s like Ray Charles or the Motown Records roster. Furthermore, he was unable to capitalize on the blues revival of the 1960s, where country blues artists like Lightnin' Hopkins and Son House were embraced by white folk music fans. Academics saw King's electric guitar and swinging horn section as a corruption of the country blues tradition.

Things changed for King in 1968 when he hired manager Sidney Seidenberg. Seidenberg booked King into white rock venues like the Fillmore Auditorium in San Francisco and on the *Tonight Show* and *Ed Sullivan Show* on television. Seidenberg's work paid off in 1970 when King's biggest hit, "The Thrill Is Gone," reached number 15 on the Billboard pop chart. Continuing to push for mainstream bookings, Seidenberg opened up Las Vegas and booked tours of the Soviet Union and Africa.

King's fans had always been older, but he gained exposure with a much younger audience when Bono of the Irish rock group U2 wrote a duet with King, "When Love Comes to Town," in 1988. The song

made the U2 concert movie *Rattle and Hum* and won an MTV (Music Television) Video Music Award. King also spent three months opening for U2 on the band's North American tour.

The winner of countless awards and honors, including seven Grammy Awards, King continued to play over 200 dates a year into the late 1990s. His 1993 album *Blues Summit*, consisting of duets with 11 other top blues performers, maintained his reputation as an American institution. That reputation was confirmed when his life was celebrated by President Bill Clinton at the Kennedy Center Honors in 1995.

—Jon Klinkowitz

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## King, Billie Jean (1943—)

Intensely competitive and outspoken in her demand for equality for women athletes, Billie Jean King changed the face of women's sports, paving the way for today's professional women athletes. Holder of a record 20 Wimbledon titles and winner of all four Grand Slam tournaments, King is perhaps best remembered for her defeat of Bobby Riggs during the epic Battle of the Sexes in 1973. Passionately dedicated to tennis, to women's rights, and to being one of the best athletes, male or female, of her day, Billie Jean King's heroic actions redefined what was possible for women, making her a role model for generations to come.

Billie Jean Moffitt was born in Long Beach, California, on November 22, 1943. The daughter of a fireman and a homemaker, and the sister of future San Francisco Giants relief pitcher, Randy Moffitt, Billie Jean was an athletic girl who excelled at softball. At a very young age, she announced to her mother that she planned to do something special with her life, and when she discovered tennis a few years later, she dedicated herself to the sport. Because the Moffitts could not afford a membership at the local country club, Billie Jean learned her sport on the public courts. By the time she was 12, she was good enough to play in sanctioned tournaments, and her father started moonlighting, while her mother sold Avon and Tupperware, so that their daughter could compete. As a teenager, Billie Jean not only fought the elitism of tennis, but she was also aware that girls' sports were valued differently than boys', when the boys' team received funding and the girls had to fend for themselves.

In 1961, 17-year-old Billie Jean qualified to play doubles at Wimbledon and she and her partner, Karen Hantze, funded by a local businessman, flew to England to compete. They won, becoming Wimbledon's youngest women's doubles winners ever. But in the



Billie Jean King

early 1960s, winning Wimbledon was not enough to start a career in tennis. In fact, there were no real careers in tennis for women. Tennis was an amateur sport, and the only money to be made was a few hundred dollars under the table for showing up at a tournament. So Billie Jean returned home and enrolled at Los Angeles State College, where she fell in love with a fellow student named Larry King.

Billie Jean and Larry married in 1965, and Billie Jean put her husband through law school by playing tennis, which she continued to do with great success, winning all the big tournaments. In 1968, the major championships were finally opened up to professionals as well as amateurs. But the prize money for the women was dramatically unequal to that awarded to the men—women sometimes earned as little as one tenth of what men did. This infuriated King, who conceived of the idea of starting a women's tour.

In 1970, King and a group of women players refused to play an important tournament where the prize money was eight to one in favor of the men. Instead, with the aid of Gladys Heldman, the founder of *World Tennis* magazine, they put together a competing tournament in Houston, with \$5,000 in prize money. The powers-that-be in the tennis world threatened to suspend the defecting players, but the women held fast. When Heldman solicited \$2,500 more in prize money from Philip Morris, who was marketing a new cigarette for women, the tournament was named the Virginia Slims International, and the first professional women's tournament was held.

By 1971, with Billie Jean King as the spokeswoman, the Virginia Slims women's tour was founded. Although some of the players, most notably Chris Evert, refused to sign on, the tour was a success in its first year. And so was King, who continued to do well in

the major tournaments, beating Chris Evert in the United States Open final that same year, becoming the first woman athlete to win \$100,000 in prize money in a single year.

Within two years, all the women players would join the tour and tennis would never be the same. Billie Jean King, however, still had more causes for which to fight. Holding her ground against all dissenters, she pushed through the Women's Tennis Association, their own union. Women's sports, buoyed by Title IX, which prevented discrimination against women athletes, had begun to change. Then came the event that would transform King into a feminist heroine beyond the boundaries of tennis.

In 1973, 55-year-old former Wimbledon champion, Bobby Riggs, played the number two woman in the world, Margaret Court, in a tennis match that would prove, Riggs hoped, that men were better athletes than women. In what has been referred to as the Mother's Day Massacre, Riggs beat Court in straight sets. As Billie Jean King later wrote, "My first reaction was, 'Oh no, now I'm going to have to play him.'" Indeed, a match was soon arranged between Riggs and the number one woman on the tour.

On September 20, 1973, 30,000 fans filled the Houston Astrodome and 50 million viewers tuned in on television to watch Billie Jean King take on the self-proclaimed male chauvinist pig, Bobby Riggs, in the Battle of the Sexes. Fit, tanned, and ready to play, King won the \$100,000 winner-take-all match in three straight sets. More than a sports event, the King-Riggs match became a defining moment in American popular culture and feminist history, one of the few events that elicits an exact response to the question, "Where were you when. . .?"

At the end of her career, King was outed as a lesbian, becoming the first woman in professional sports to bear the brunt of a nation's homophobia. Although her admission of her sexuality was clouded by her stated discomfort with being a lesbian and her continued marriage to Larry King, Billie Jean laid the groundwork for women such as Martina Navratilova, Melissa Etheridge, and Ellen DeGeneres to come out of the closet. Now openly lesbian, King lends her outspoken advocacy to gay causes.

One of *Life* magazine's 100 Most Important Americans of the twentieth century, Billie Jean King is a heroine to countless women who saw, in her defeat of Riggs and her unqualified success as one of the first professional women athletes, hope for their own dreams. A dedicated activist and coach, King continues to lobby on behalf of the causes in which she fervently believes, from Team Tennis to Elton John's AIDS Foundation, remaining a powerful force for change and a monument to passionate persistence; indeed, she is an icon for the ages.

—Victoria Price

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## King, Carole (1942—)

Carole King has had two of the most successful careers in rock history: first as a member of early rock 'n' roll's best known songwriting team, and then as the best-selling singer/songwriter of the 1970s. Along the way, she proved there was a place in rock 'n' roll for someone who wrote and sang pleasant, unpretentious songs, without stage theatrics, sexual abandon, or any other gimmicks.

Born on February 9, 1942, Carol Klein started writing songs at an early age. By the time she reached her teens she was riding the



Carole King



subway from her Brooklyn home into Manhattan, where she shopped her tunes on Tin Pan Alley (where most of the day's pop hits were cranked out in assembly line fashion). Her first recording (using her stage name Carole King) was "Oh Neil," an answer to "Oh Carol" recorded by Neil Sedaka, and she hit the Top Forty in 1962 with "It Might as Well Rain until September." But by that time she was having more success as a songwriter for others. King met lyricist Gerry Goffin in 1960; they married soon thereafter and divorced in 1967. Along the way, they wrote many of the most enduring songs in early rock 'n' roll: "Will You Love Me Tomorrow?," "Take Good Care Of My Baby," and "The Loco-Motion" (written for their babysitter, who recorded under the name Little Eva). Together with their contemporaries Burt Bacharach and Hal David, and Jerry Leiber and Mike Stoller, Goffin and King made standard pop formulas seem fresh and alive. Though they wrote in a small office around the corner from the Brill Building, their melodies and lyrics were expansive: simple but original, memorable and timeless. (Their only brush with controversy came with a 1964 dealing with domestic violence, "He Hit Me and It Felt Like a Kiss.") In 1963 John Lennon and Paul McCartney stated their ambition to be the British Goffin and King.

Ironically, it was rock groups like the Beatles who wrote their own material that ultimately ended Tin Pan Alley's dominance over the pop charts, and the couple soon found themselves unable to make hits. After divorcing Goffin, King went back to recording her own songs, first as the frontwoman for the three-piece rock group The City. Their one 1968 release failed, and King decided to go it alone. Her first solo effort, 1970's *Writer*, failed to make a splash though in retrospect it was excellent: she covered a variety of pop and rock styles with lively, accessible melodies; unassuming, gentle vocals; and for good measure she threw in one song from her Tin Pan Alley days. With few variations, she stuck to this formula during the multiplatinum years that followed.

A year later, the general public—primed by successful soft-rock singer/songwriters Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young; and James Taylor—was ready for King. *Tapestry* was an immediate smash, a seemingly endless source of AM radio hits: "I Feel The Earth Move," "So Far Away," "It's Too Late," and her own versions of "Will You Still Love Me Tomorrow," "You've Got A Friend," and "(You Make Me Feel Like) A Natural Woman." The themes were easily understood, upbeat though touched with sadness, intelligent but not intellectual—a Joni Mitchell for the masses. The record sold 15 million copies, and for a span of several years was the best selling LP of all time.

The pattern continued with *Music* and *Rhymes and Reasons*, but the backlash came against her ambitious 1973 concept album *Fantasy*. Critics didn't want to hear her view on the world's ills, though in hindsight it's a remarkably affecting, coherent piece of work. After two more huge hit singles, "Nightbird" and "Jazzman" from 1974's *Wrap Around Joy*, King watched her album sales steadily decline. However, her gentle piano-based approach could still be heard in artists from Christine McVie to lesbian icon Cris Williamson. In 1980 King resorted to an entire album of songs from Goffin and King's heyday, *Pearls*. "One Fine Day" was a hit single, but it didn't reverse the trend: New Wave and heavy metal were sweeping singer/songwriters off the pop landscape, and in the early 1980s King fared no better than Taylor, Mitchell, Carly Simon or Janis Ian. After 1983's *Speeding Time*, she virtually retired.

In 1990, Goffin and King were elected to the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame, and in 1996 the Alison Anders film *Grace of My Heart* loosely portrayed King's life. By the late 1990s, King was justly hailed as a pioneer. Her sincerity and gift for deceptively simple melody were a profound influence on artists from Mariah Carey to Alanis Morissette, and King came out of a long hiatus in 1998 with the single "Anyone At All," the theme from Nora Ephron's film *You've Got Mail*.

—David B. Wilson

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## King, Freddie (1934-1976)

Of the three "Kings of the Blues" (Albert and B. B. are the others), Freddie King had arguably the most influence on early rock 'n' roll. The youngest of the three unrelated guitarists, Freddie had hits as early as 1961 that had an enormous impact on the California surf music of Duane Eddy and the Ventures. He was also a key early influence on British band leader John Mayall and young guitarists Eric Clapton and Peter Green.

King came from the Texas blues tradition of T-Bone Walker and Lightnin' Hopkins, but moved to Chicago at age 16, where he fell under the spell of Eddie Taylor and Jimmy Rogers. King joined Magic Sam and others in founding the west side sound, a more percussive and up-tempo alternative to the blues played on the south side by older musicians such as Muddy Waters and Howlin' Wolf. King's initial success came on the Federal/King label in Cincinnati, where his instrumental recordings, including "Hideaway" and "The Stumble," served as a dictionary of licks for aspiring guitarists.

—Jon Klinkowitz

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## King Kong

One of the classic monster movies of all time, the 1933 production of *King Kong* is best remembered for the dramatic scenes of a giant ape climbing the recently erected Empire State Building and batting away airplanes with Ann Darrow in his grasp, though she is universally remembered not with that character's name, but as the real-life actress who portrayed her, blonde scream queen Fay Wray. That image of Kong and Wray atop a New York skyscraper, along



King Kong perched atop the Empire State building in a scene from the film *King Kong*.

with Dorothy on the Yellow Brick Road and Scarlett returning to the ruins of Tara, ranks among the iconic film scenes of the pre-World War II era. A popular sensation in its day, *King Kong* failed to win a single Academy Award nomination, yet has outlived most of its contemporaries to achieve the stature of a twentieth-century myth.

A modern variation on *Beauty and the Beast*, the screenplay was credited to popular pulp writer Edgar Wallace, though *King Kong* was the brainchild of documentary film pioneer Meriam C. Cooper and his partner in adventurous filmmaking, Ernest Schoedsack. The film's effects, groundbreaking in their day, were the handiwork of stop-motion animator Willis H. O'Brien, whose efforts on the silent film version of Doyle's *The Lost World* had laid the groundwork for *King Kong*. Promising Fay Wray "the tallest, darkest leading man in Hollywood," Cooper and Schoedsack cast her as Ann Darrow, the petite object of Kong's affection. Rounding out the cast were Robert Armstrong as headstrong filmmaker, Carl Denham (modeled after Cooper), and Bruce Cabot as the rugged seaman who falls for Darrow even before Kong does. Kong himself was in actuality a small model. O'Brien's genius was that movie-goers not only believed Kong was a giant, but also that he had a soul.

Like other "jungle" movies of the period, *King Kong* delineates a clash between the "civilized" and the "primitive." Denham's "bring 'em back alive" expedition to remote Skull Island uncovers a living prehistoric world populated by local natives and—on the other side of their great wall—dinosaurs, pterodactyls, and Kong himself. The islanders kidnap Ann to offer her as a bride for the giant gorilla, prompting a struggle in which many men die in the attempt to rescue her from her fate. Eventually Kong is subdued and taken to Manhattan, where Denham exploits the great beast as "The Eighth Wonder of the World." But the love-smitten Kong escapes, rampages across Manhattan, recaptures Ann, and ends up atop the Empire State Building, only to plummet to his death in a dramatic air assault. Denham's rueful obituary: "It wasn't the airplanes—it was beauty that killed the beast."

All of this thrill-packed hokum was made convincing by O'Brien's effects, aided by skillful art direction—Skull Island was a mythical landscape straight out of Gustave Doré—the optical printing of Linwood Dunn, the sound effects of Murray Spivak and, above all, the almost wall-to-wall musical score by Max Steiner. It has been suggested that Depression-era audiences took a particularly vicarious

delight in seeing Kong lay waste to the buildings and subway trains of the cold-hearted Manhattan. *King Kong* has remained a staple of late-night television and in film festivals, chiefly because O'Brien endowed his great brute with an uncanny personality that evoked sympathy from audiences.

*King Kong* spawned a modestly budgeted, inferior sequel, *Son of Kong* (1933). O'Brien also worked on one more giant ape movie, *Mighty Joe Young* (1949), aided by his young protege, Ray Harryhausen, who went on to make many successful screen fantasies of his own, such as *The Seventh Voyage of Sinbad* (1958) and *Jason and the Argonauts* (1963), all of which carry echoes of *King Kong*. In truth, there is something of the big hairy ape in every giant-monster movie that has followed in his pawprints, from Japan's *Godzilla* (1955) to Spielberg's *Jurassic Park* (1992) and, of course, in the successful 1976 remake *King Kong*. But no other creature feature seems to have quite caught the public imagination as the original *King Kong*.

The image of Kong and his beloved atop the skyscraper has been continually copied in horror movies, parodied in cartoons, comic books, and countless television commercials. For a period in the 1980s, a pop shrine to the gorilla's memory was created when a giant inflated model of King Kong was hung near the top of the Empire State Building. Still, the original black-and-white film has lost none of its power to enthrall. Modern digital technology may have outstripped O'Brien's hands-on puppetry, but it has not replaced the charm and humanity that every great fairy tale requires and which *King Kong* displays in abundance.

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## King, Larry (1933—)

One of the late twentieth century's foremost television talk show hosts, Larry King's distinctive style, at once relaxed and commanding, and his focus on issues of topical interest, elevated the talk show genre to something of national importance. Starting out as a disc jockey on local radio, King worked hard to rise in the broadcasting media, overcoming self-created reversals of fortune to become a pioneer of the modern phone-in show on both radio and television. CNN's most popular program, *Larry King Live* (1985—), has made its host one of the most sought-out interviewers in the world, a man who has proved that entertainment value need not be sacrificed in order to examine important matters.

Born Lawrence Harvey Zieger in Brooklyn, New York in 1933, the son of Russian immigrants who a year previously had been devastated by the death of their firstborn son, the young Larry was nine when his bar-owner father died of a heart attack, leaving his mother to support the boy and his younger brother on welfare. Deeply



Larry King

affected by his father's death, King stopped paying attention to his studies and crippled his chances of entering college. After graduating from high school, he immediately sought work to help support his mother and brother.

Despite his lack of academic dedication, King aspired to a career in radio. In his early twenties, while working for UPS as a delivery man, he frequented broadcasting studios around New York, but grew increasingly despondent about the prospects of getting his dream job. However, a chance meeting with a CBS staff announcer resulted in the suggestion that if he was serious about getting on the air, he should leave the world's media capital for a smaller but growing media market where more opportunities might present themselves.

This advice led King to Florida, where a lack of immediate success found him sweeping floors at the smallest station in town. He used the opportunity to learn everything he could about the radio business and, at age 23, he got his break as a morning disc jockey on a small AM Miami station. It was the station's manager who suggested he drop the "ethnic" name Zieger in favor of the more American King. By 1961, Larry King was a popular personality in the south Florida radio market. His success in the medium led him to try his hand in the emerging world of television, and in 1960 he began hosting a program on a Miami station. During this time and through the early 1970s, he maintained shows on both radio and television,

and added newspaper columns in *The Miami Herald* and *The Miami News*, which helped fuel his popularity in Florida.

King's hard-earned success shuddered to an unfortunate halt in the 1970s. During the 1960s, he overspent wildly, gambled on horses, and failed to pay his taxes. He also became involved with Lou Wolfson, a shady Florida financier who had been connected with the scandal that led to the resignation of Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas in 1969. A scheme to bankroll New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison's investigation of the President Kennedy assassination was Wolfson's brainchild, one in which King became deeply enmeshed. King was the middleman in the arrangement, but skimmed some of the cash intended for Garrison as a means to help get himself out of debt. When Wolfson learned of this, he charged King with grand larceny and, although the charge was eventually dismissed, the damage was done. King left Florida radio in 1971, taking his talents and his focus to the West Coast, where he rebuilt his career by writing magazine articles and working in radio. By the mid-1970s, time had healed his reputation and image and he was welcomed back into the market where he had started: south Florida.

After building his show up in Miami, King was able to take his self-titled radio program, *The Larry King Show*, to a national audience in 1978, making it the first nationwide call-in show. King's popularity in the overnight program led to further opportunity in 1985 when the four-year-old Cable News Network (CNN) was looking to expand its programming in order to temper its image as merely a video wire service. CNN put *Larry King Live* on television as the first international live phone-in television program, where he proceeded to interview public figures across a wide spectrum that included athletes, actors, writers, politicians, and foreign dignitaries. The mix of guests and King's unique style found an immediate public response. King projected innate curiosity and intense interest onto his guests in such a manner as to provoke more honest answers than many of them were accustomed to giving before a national audience. Furthermore, by allowing the general public to ask questions, which like King's own, tended to be softballs not intended to inflame, King gave the show a friendly feel that has contributed to his reputation as "The King of Talk."

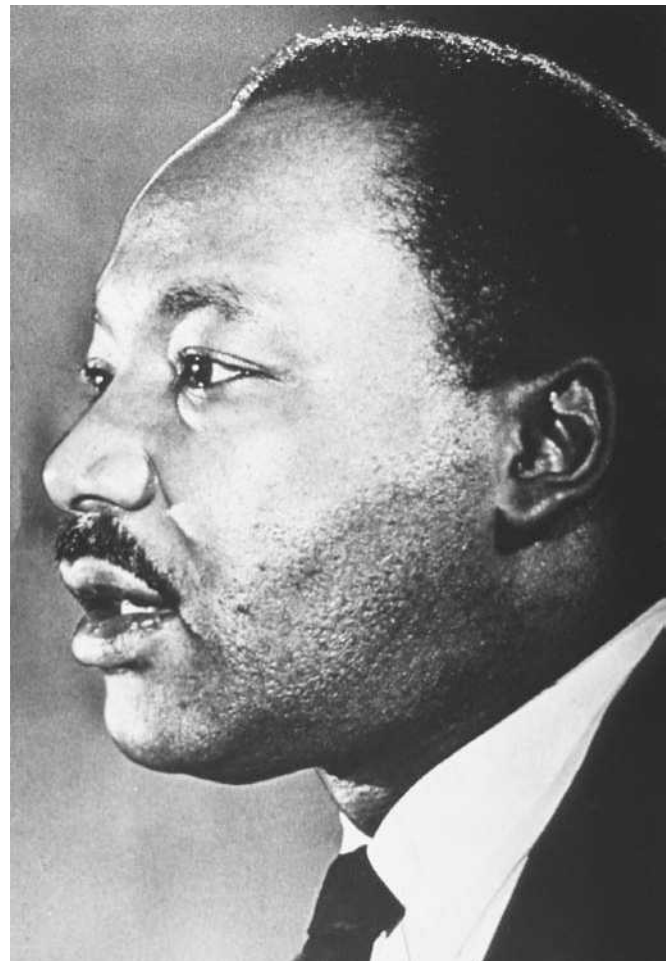
King's influence was highlighted on February 20, 1992 when billionaire Ross Perot used *Larry King Live* to announce his intention to run for the presidency. Following the attention surrounding the Perot announcement and the unique means through which it was made, other politicians chose to use King's program as a significant forum to discuss the issues of the 1992 election. The election, which is recorded in history as the first time candidates used talk shows as a major means to reach voters while circumventing traditional channels, saw King, by now dubbed "The King Maker," as the number one choice of host for the purpose. The major presidential candidates appeared on King's show 17 times in the last two weeks of the campaign alone, each of them devoting a full hour to the show during this intense time. The status of *Larry King Live* rose several more notches on November 9, 1993, when vice-president Al Gore agreed to appear on the air with Perot to have King moderate a debate on the controversial North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which was under consideration by Congress. On the road to the 1996 elections, King's influence was not forgotten: a number of potential candidates used his show to test the waters for their White House chances.

The many awards with which Larry King has been honored include the Broadcaster of the Year Award from the International Radio and Television Society and the ACE Award for Program Interviewer. He has also won the Jack Anderson Investigative Reporting Award and the George Foster Peabody Award for Excellence in Broadcasting. He is the author of a number of books, including *Larry King by Larry King* (1982), *Tell It to the King* (1988), "Mr. King, You're Having a Heart Attack" (1989), *Tell Me More* (1991), *On the Line: The New Road to the White House* (1993), *How to Talk to Anyone, Anytime, Anywhere: The Secrets of Good Conversation* (1994), the children's book *Daddy Day, Daughter Day* (1997, with daughter Chaia), and *Powerful Prayers* (1998). King also writes a weekly column for *USA Today*.

—Alyssa L. Falwell

## King, Martin Luther, Jr. (1929-1968)

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was, quite simply, the most popular and effective leader of the African American struggle for civil rights. His philosophy of non-violent direct-action galvanized thousands of



Martin Luther King, Jr.

Americans, both black and white, to press for the full measure of human and political rights for African-Americans. Although he was not personally responsible for mobilizing protest, he was certainly one of the greatest organizers of people the world has ever seen. Today, a national holiday is named in his honor and numerous highways, streets, schools, playgrounds, and public buildings display his name.

For a man who would capture the attention of both his country and the world, King's life seemed like a fairy tale. Born into Atlanta's black upper class in the midst of the depression, King felt very few effects of the economic crisis. As the son of a popular Baptist pastor, King was afforded the opportunity to have a childhood free from overt racial discrimination. Upon graduating from the all-black elite Morehouse College at the age of 19, he then undertook training in theology at Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, where he received a bachelor's degree. While at Crozer, King absorbed the ideas of Christian socialism that would play a tremendous role in his life's work. King built upon these ideas of social justice as he pursued his doctorate in theology at Boston University.

Upon receiving his doctorate at the age of 26, Martin Luther King, Jr. was appointed pastor of the conservative Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, where he gained notoriety by spearheading the successful Montgomery Bus Boycott under the auspices of the Montgomery Improvement Association. The leaders of the MIA chose King as leader for several reasons, but primarily since he was new to the area and the white power structure had not yet made his acquaintance. After the success of the bus boycott, King then decided to institutionalize his popularity by forming the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). And until his death SCLC would be King's vehicle for mobilizing African Americans to protest discriminatory treatment. Largely made up of ministers, SCLC's motto would be "To Redeem the Soul of America."

After forming the SCLC King, with the help of the other civil rights organizations such as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the NAACP, initiated several campaigns throughout the South in their quest for voting rights and integration. Throughout the civil rights drive King remained firmly committed to his philosophy of nonviolence. At times, both his critics and supporters failed to understand how blacks could remain nonviolent in a country that spoke the language of violence. But King was persistent in his Gandhian philosophy that nonviolent resistance was the most potent weapon available to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom.

King's popularity reached new heights at the 1963 March on Washington with his "I Have a Dream" speech. Although it was a phrase that he had used many times before, this time it struck a rich chord with both blacks and whites alike. On the heels of this dramatic speech, King then received the Nobel Peace Prize for his unwavering commitment to nonviolent social change. For King, who was the first African American to receive the award, it illustrated that the world was behind the black struggle for civil rights. Although white Southerners were defiant in their opposition to the twin goals of voting rights and integration, millions of people across the globe were in support.

With his popularity skyrocketing, King was continually in both the print and broadcast media. He immediately became an icon. He capitalized on his press coverage by cleverly articulating the goals and aims of the Civil Rights Movement to viewers and readers far away. He also published three popular books, *Strive Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story*, *Why We Can't Wait*, and *Where Do We*

*Go from Here? Chaos or Community*, to further express his ideas on the Civil Rights Movement. Throughout the 1960s King gave an untold number of speeches and sermons as he often toured the country to speak on behalf of the cause he so ardently espoused. In nearly every city he spoke before a packed house. To some activists, a local campaign did not seem legitimate unless King gave it his blessing.

In 1965, King and other civil rights leaders saw the fruits of their labor when President Lyndon Baines Johnson signed into law the Voting Rights Act. In the words of one historian, "it was the crowning achievement of the Civil Rights movement."

Although he was successful in the South, King's popularity began to wane when he spoke out against the Vietnam War. In May of 1966, against the wishes of even some of his close confidants, King began to denounce the conflict. Many thought that he should just stick to the issue of civil rights and leave foreign policy to others. However, feeling that it was an unjust war, King decided to speak out. After voicing his opinion on the war, nearly every major U.S. newspaper came out against him. As his popularity began to decrease, King launched the Poor People's Campaign that would transcend the wide chasm of race, culture, and religion. Tragically, he was fatally wounded by an assassin's bullet on April 4, 1968 while aiding Memphis sanitation workers in their fight for better working conditions.

Few activists can ever hope to be as popular or successful as Martin Luther King, Jr. Today, mere mention of his name evokes greatness, commitment, and dedication. His name is respected throughout the world, even by his enemies. However, his life's work on behalf of the oppressed will long be the standard by which others are measured.

—Leonard N. Moore

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## King, Rodney (1965—)

An international symbol of racial violence and ongoing social injustice, the brutal police beating of Rodney King on March 3, 1991, and the subsequent acquittal of all officers involved, were the trigger events that led to the Los Angeles uprisings in April 1992.

Born in Sacramento, California, in 1965, the second of five children, the life of Rodney Glen King prior to the beating was, in many ways, typical of many African-American men. When his family moved to South Pasadena, King's father, who worked in maintenance and construction, turned more and more frequently to alcohol. Left back a grade in high school, and relegated to special education classes, King, who was only functionally literate, dropped out of school altogether in 1984. He fathered two children with two different women early on, but was unable to provide for his family with the



A scene from the videotape of Los Angeles police officers beating Rodney King.

occasional construction jobs that he was able to secure. In marrying Crystal Waters, who had two children of her own, King took on additional responsibilities that soon overwhelmed him.

Convicted of attempted robbery in 1989, King served one year at the California Correctional Center in Susanville before being paroled and allowed to return home. More unable than ever to find construction work, King was eventually hired as a part-time laborer at Dodger Stadium.

When he wasn't working, the 6'3" man referred to as a "gentle giant" by his loved ones, could be found hanging out with old friends and drinking 40-ounce bottles of Olde English 800. On the night of March 2, he and his friends were doing just that. In fact, there was an open bottle of beer in the car when King saw the flashing lights of the California Highway Patrol. Knowing that he was violating his parole, King initially tried to get away, leading the officers on a high-speed chase. When King finally pulled off the freeway, he was in a community called Lake View Terrace. By then several Los Angeles Police Department squad cars had arrived, and there was a helicopter hovering above.

George Holliday, who was awakened by the commotion, reached for his new Sony Handycam recorder and began taping the activity below his apartment window. His nine-minute amateur videotape, which revealed some 81 seconds of King being brutally beaten by at least four police officers, was broadcast on KTLA 5, a local Los Angeles news station, the next day. In the video, viewers watched as King was stunned with Taser darts, and then pummeled repeatedly with steel batons—blows that resulted in a fractured eye socket, facial-nerve damage, 11 skull fractures, and a severe concussion, which has led to permanent brain damage. King also suffers from leg numbness and a permanent limp.

In a 1992 trial held in the predominately white community of Simi Valley, officers Stacey Koon, Theodore Briseno, Laurence

Powell, and Timothy Wind were found not guilty on charges of using excessive force. Almost immediately following their April 29th acquittal, Los Angeles erupted in a groundswell of violence. Dozens of residents were left dead, and hundreds of businesses were burned to the ground, leaving an estimated \$550 million in damage. Two days after the verdicts, King made his now famous plea for an end to the rebellion. Facing news cameras outside his attorney's Wilshire Boulevard office, a visibly shaken and tearful King spoke: "People, I just want to say . . . can we all get along? Can we get along? Can we stop making it horrible for the old people and the kids? . . . We'll get our justice. . . . Please, we can get along here."

Not all of the protest was unorganized. Unified Against Genocide, for example, was a San Francisco-based group headed by activist Angela Davis, whose members called for a retrial under California's hate crime law. Most, however, looked to the upcoming Federal trial for justice. That trial, which took place in 1993, found two of the officers—Stacey Koon and Laurence Powell—guilty of violating King's civil rights. Both men were ordered to serve 30-month prison terms.

Although King's first attorney, Steven Lerman, had initially stated that he would seek \$56 million (one million for each blow) in a civil rights suit against the Los Angeles Police Department, the amount went down to around \$9 million by the time King and his new lawyer arrived in court. On April 20, 1994, a third jury awarded King \$3.8 million in damages.

Since the infamous 1991 beating, King has spent most of his days sequestered in his Altadena home, and at the local park, watching baseball games and organizing recreation programs for local youths. He has also invested in his own music label—a rap recording outfit called Straight Alta-Pazz.

And yet, King continues to be haunted by his past. Despite having completed at least one 90-day alcohol abuse program as a

condition of his earlier parole, he has been arrested several times since 1991, on charges of both drunken driving and spousal abuse.

—Kristal Brent Zook

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## King, Stephen (1948—)

Stephen King's connections with horror fiction are so compelling that for many he virtually embodies the genre; he has become, in



Stephen King

words consciously echoed by more than one commentator, the unchallenged "King of Horror." His reputation is well-deserved, resting as it does on a strongly colloquial narrative style that has proven particularly appropriate to his brand of horror, and on a prolific output that includes at least 60 novels and books of nonfiction in some 25 years, along with well over 100 published short stories, more than double that number of nonfiction articles ranging from scholarship to fan writing, in excess of two dozen theatrical and television adaptations of his works, and seemingly endless variations on audiocassettes, videocassettes, and even Broadway musicals retelling his stories. His popularity has made him a legitimate "brand name writer," as witnessed by references to him and his creations in films, television specials, sitcom episodes, syndicated newspaper cartoons, and elsewhere. As a writer, he has continuously redefined the commercial possibilities of horror fiction, beginning with his first appearance on the bestseller lists with *'Salem's Lot* in 1976. In August 1980, *Firestarter*, *The Dead Zone*, and *The Shining* appeared on the lists simultaneously, marking the first time that an American author was represented by three books. During one week in January 1986, King had five titles simultaneously on the national lists: the hardcover editions of *Skeleton Crew* and *The Bachman Books* and the mass-market and trade paperback editions of *The Talisman*, *The Bachman Books*, and *Thinner*. Since then, instance of two, three, and four titles appearing simultaneously are frequent enough not to occasion much more than passing notice: the exceptional has become the norm—for Stephen King, at least.

At the same time, King has used his facility with the conventions of horror fiction to achieve more than base titillation and terror. From the beginning, his books have been constructed not only on strong narratives and intriguing characters but also on insights into contemporary American society in the closing quarter of the twentieth century. More than any other single author in the field, King speaks for the experiences, expectations, achievements, and disappointments of the "Baby Boomer" generation, often coupling his cosmic horrors and monsters with references to the minutiae of daily life: Gypsy curses share the pages with Ding Dongs, and apocalyptic plagues with Payday bars (reformulated in a chocolate variety to bring the candy bar into line with King's description of one in *The Stand*). His novels have examined flaws in American education (*Carrie* and *Rage*), ramifications of America's love-hate relationship with the automobile (*Christine*), the failure of the American family (*The Shining*, *Roadwork*, *Christine*, *IT*, *Rose Madder*), America's obsessive consumption of energy regardless of the cost (*The Tommyknockers*), and America's potentially suicidal flirtation with devastating technology (*The Stand*). King has also reflected a distinctly political/social agenda, with what are essentially feminist tracts in *Gerald's Game* and *Dolores Claiborne* and more balanced but still socially conscious themes in *Rose Madder*, *Insomnia*, and *Bag of Bones*. In most of his novels and stories, however, he constructs an artful balance between story and commentary, rarely allowing theme to overmaster narrative. In this, if in nothing else, King has demonstrated himself a master of his art.

King's centrality as a master of contemporary popular fiction is no accident; rather, it is the result not only of a native genius for storytelling but also of an extraordinary dedication to his craft. Born on September 21, 1948, King had spent about three-quarters of his life committed to storytelling by the end of the twentieth century. Beginning with derivative stories and juvenilia including self-published chapbooks such as *The Star Invader*, King had placed his first

marketable story by the age of 17; then written major portions of at least three novels, composed nearly 18 months of weekly columns for his college newspaper, and published seven short stories before graduating from the University of Maine at Orono in 1970.

A decade later, King had made his permanent home in Bangor, Maine; completed the first draft for what many consider one of his masterworks, *It*; had seen the publication of ten books, with film versions of several; and enjoyed the first of many triple-title entries in the bestseller lists. A further decade later saw King publish the original version of *The Stand*, using his unique position to restore hundreds of pages cut for its first publication and thus to re-emphasize King's mastery of his chosen genre.

And as the year 2000 approached, King confirmed his stamp on American publication with the appearance of the six-part novel, *The Green Mile* (each short paperback episode rising immediately to bestseller status); two novels published simultaneously by two "authors"—Stephen King's *Desperation* and Richard Bachman's *The Regulators*—using the same casts of characters as imagined by two distinctly different personalities and both verging on an awareness of the numinous in human life; a novel, *Needful Things*, that systematically destroys King's trademark city, Castle Rock, while at the same time asserting the reality of The White—the image of cosmic order and rightness that lies at the core of many of his novels; and the most recent episodes of a decades-long, multi-volume tale-in-progress, "The Dark Tower" series, which promises to fulfill not only King's significant promise as novelist but also his position as heir to the grand traditions of Renaissance epic, the American Western, apocalyptic fantasy, post-apocalyptic science fiction, and mythic romance.

Yet even at his most breathtakingly apocalyptic—or at his most mundanely political and social—King remains true to his roots. An outline of King's titles at the end of the 1990s suggests his wide-ranging interests and his ability to tell stories about almost every traditional monster or conventional terror associated with horror fiction, while transforming that monster into an emblem for contemporary events, problems, or concerns. *Carrie* (1974) blends narrative with pseudo-documentary to detail a naive girl's confrontation not only with menstruation but with ill-defined and partially understood psychic powers. *'Salem's Lot* (1975) revitalized the vampire tradition by emphasizing the underlying isolation and disintegration of community implicit in the figure of the Undead feeding unsuspected on the energy of the living. *The Shining* (1977), one of King's finest, most literary, and most cohesive novels, interweaves sophisticated literary layerings with a traditional ghost story, while at the same time dissecting one American family and demonstrating how fragile family bonds can become in times of social upheaval.

Also in 1977, King published the first of six pseudonymous novels, under the name "Richard Bachman." The first, *Rage* (1977), partially completed prior to King's enrolling at the University of Maine, Orono, embodies a scathing indictment of American education as King portrays a protagonist, a high school student, who murders a teacher and holds his class hostage—events perhaps startling in fiction at the time but, as King seems to foreshadow in the novel, occurring only too frequently in real life by the close of the twentieth century. Subsequent "Bachman" books included *The Long Walk* (1979), *Roadwork* (1981), *The Running Man* (1982), *Thinner* (1984), and—after a decade-long hiatus during which "Richard Bachman" surfaced primarily in in-jokes among readers and critics—*The Regulators* (1996). All except *Thinner* and *The Regulators* were early works, more recognizably mainstream than anything King

had published until *Gerald's Game* and *Dolores Claiborne*, with appropriately socially-oriented themes—the inequity and insanity of military draft in *The Long Walk*, the 1974 oil crisis in *Roadwork*, the depersonalizing effects of the media in *The Running Man*. These novels frequently suggest horrors but remain primarily psychological and evocative rather than physical and explicit, demonstrating once again that King is capable of more subdued and realistic treatments than many of his critics might allow.

In 1978, *The Stand* appeared. Although the novel was structurally deformed by editorial deletions amounting to some 400 manuscript pages (restored in the 1990 unexpurgated, revised version), this epic fable of technology-gone-mad, of wholesale death, and of the struggle to restore order from chaos remains one of King's strongest novels. The complex web of character and subplot—particularly in the restored version—gives the story unusual resonance and demonstrates King's deft hand at characterization, often with a single character, is sufficient to generate a realistic presentation. *The Stand* is also central to King's vision of the struggle between Light and Darkness, with its villainous Randall Flagg reappearing as the Magician Flagg in *The Eyes of the Dragon* (1985, 1987); as the Man in Black in *The Dark Tower: The Gunslinger* (1982); and as LeLand Gaunt in *Needful Things* (1991); with subtle echoes in *Insomnia* (1994), *Rose Madder* (1995), and *The Drawing of the Three* (1987), *The Waste Lands* (1991), and *Wizard and Glass* (1997)), in which readers discover that the world of *The Stand* may belong to an alternate reality threatened by forces surrounding the Dark Tower.

1978 also saw the publication of King's first collection of horror tales, *Night Shift*, which included not only early versions of materials treated in *'Salem's Lot* and *The Stand*, but also the inspiration for a number of subsequent films: *Graveyard Shift*, *The Boogeyman*, *Trucks*, *Sometimes They Come Back*, *The Ledge*, *The Lawnmower Man*, *Quitters, Inc.*, *Children of the Corn* (and its multiple sequels) and *The Woman in the Room*. The stories established King as a master of short fiction as well as novel, and in stories such as "Night Surf" and "I am the Doorway" give play to his occasionally surrealistic, almost poetic imagination.

*The Dead Zone* (1979), *Firestarter* (1980), and *Cujo* (1981) further demonstrate King's ability to meld horror with realism, science fiction with science, fantasy with imagination. Readable, engaging, and ultimately frightening beyond their suggestions of monsters, each attacks a manifestation of contemporary culture: insanity disguised as rationality, uncontrolled science in league with power-hungry politics, families disintegrating under the internal pressure of selfishness and the external pressures of economics and, again, politics. They also provide useful background to King's critical assessment of horror in fiction and film, *Danse Macabre* (1981), which describes the evolution of dark fantasy from 1953 through 1978. *Danse Macabre* is both entertaining and enlightening, not only defining a genre but often reflecting the autobiographical and literary impulses behind King's own fictions.

In 1982, King published *Creepshow*, a comic-book anthology of five tales, and *Different Seasons*, a collection of four novellas including "Rita Hayworth and Shawshank Redemption," the inspiration for the subsequent Academy-Award winning film (screenplay by Frank Darabont, author of the film version of *The Woman in the Room*); the starkly realistic and semi-autobiographical "The Body," translated brilliantly by Rob Reiner into the first King film-adaptation aimed toward a mainstream audience, *Stand By Me*; "A Winter's Tale," a traditional ghost story; and "Apt Pupil," a frightening



analysis of reciprocal corruption recently released as a film. The concern for adolescent trauma at the heart of “The Body” and “Apt Pupil” continues in 1983’s *Christine*, an oddly disjointed novel in which narrative stance shifts from first-person, to third, and back to first, but which nonetheless extends King’s concern for anatomizing contemporary society while at the same time providing the backdrop for a chilling ghost story.

*Cycle of the Werewolf* (1983), originally conceived as text for an illustrated calendar, is King’s first extended treatment of the werewolf, but the major novel published that year was *Pet Sematary*, a disquisition on death that remains one of King’s darkest and most powerful stories, as it directly confronts the reality of death and its effect on the human personality. The major characters must confront death and attempt a reconciliation to it. To the degree that they fail, the novel becomes a tragedy verging on desperation, culminating in what is arguably King’s most chilling conclusion.

In 1984, King published a number of experimental works. The first collection of Dark Tower stories, *The Dark Tower: The Gunslinger*, introduced an on-going quest-cycle, incorporating elements of horror but transcending them to incorporate traditional Westerns, action-adventure, romance, and alternate-universe science fiction, all blending seamlessly into what may justly claim to be a legitimate twentieth-century epic. Subsequent volumes—*The Drawing of the Three*, *The Waste Lands*, and *Wizard and Glass*—emphasize King’s ambitious format, his streamlined style, his interconnecting thematic structures, and his highly imaginative combinations of characters, settings, and plots. Similarly, *The Eyes of the Dragon*, published by King’s Philtrum Press, is unique as King’s major foray into overt fantasy. A story of a dying king, a wronged prince, and an evil magician, set in a mythical kingdom complete with dragons, *The Eyes of the Dragon* touches briefly on one of the alternate worlds of *The Dark Tower* but nevertheless stands alone as an important alternative to horror in King’s works. The same year also saw the appearance of King’s only collaborative novel to date, *The Talisman*, written with Peter Straub, one of the few writers who could then challenge King’s preeminence in contemporary horror. An epic-quest that parallels the outlines of the Dark Tower stories, while alluding to writers as disparate as Mark Twain and C. S. Lewis, *The Talisman* balances between the reality of twentieth-century America and the idyllic potentials of the Territories, and blends horror with an innocent’s journey across the face of a modern America populated by monsters both real and illusory, human and inhuman. Readers expecting a combination of King’s colloquialism and Straub’s meticulous formalism might be disappointed in a novel that is stylistically and structurally unlike anything either might write individually, yet which generates its own movement and power through the synergy of their imaginations. The fourth novel to appear in 1984 was King’s final pseudonymous work, *Thinner*, a gritty assessment of the American obsession with dieting and weight. Combining a Gypsy curse with the hypocrisy of suburban life, *Thinner* was so obviously a King story that it led several researchers to unravel the secret of the “Richard Bachman” pseudonym.

In 1985, King published his second major collection of short fiction, *Skeleton Crew*, which contains some of his best short works, including “The Mist,” “Raft,” “Gramma,” and “The Reach,” the latter among his finest and most restrained short pieces. The collection was followed in 1986 by *It*, King’s ‘magnum opus’ and the culmination of his year’s-long concentration on children, childhood, and monsters. Criticized for its scope and length (over 1,100 pages in

the American hardcover edition), it attempts a complex, multi-leveled, encyclopedic look at American culture and society between 1958 and 1985, in which seven children—and their grown-up counterparts—confront the monster in the sewers, the darkness beneath the surface of their lives. King stretches his storytelling powers to create an intricacy of text rivaled only by *The Stand* and the Dark Tower saga.

The next sequence of novels represents a shift in direction for King. *Misery* (1987), *The Tommyknockers* (1987), *The Dark Half* (1989), and “Secret Window, Secret Garden” from *Four Past Midnight* (1990), show King turning his imaginative microscope on himself—the writer as public personality and as private individual. Ranging from the ‘realism’ of *Misery*, in which the only monster is a grotesquely insane human, to the ‘horror’ of *The Dark Half*, in which the monster is a pseudonym-made-flesh (the novel is appropriately dedicated to Richard Bachman), these stories suggest the fine line between imagination and reality. Although they are unlike much of what might be considered ‘classic’ Stephen King, they have been well accepted by readers; the film version of *Misery* received the Academy Award for Best Actress and helped suggest King’s increasing mainstream appeal.

*Needful Things* (1991) departs radically from King’s earlier novels. Set in the Castle Rock, Maine, his primary fictional landscape, this novel is his version of Mark Twain’s “The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg,” complementing themes initiated in *The Dead Zone*, *Cujo*, “The Body,” *The Dark Half*, *Christine*, *The Talisman*, and *The Tommyknockers*. When a new store opens, townspeople may find what they believe is their heart’s desire and purchase it at a bargain price, contingent on the promise of a small trick. The consequent interlocking circles of purchases and promises magnifies the worst in the human nature, leading a powerful tale of sin and redemption through trial and suffering and forgiveness. Concluding with the destruction of Castle Rock itself, *Needful Things* closes out one segment of King’s career with a complex and ultimately optimistic fable of good versus evil of the White confounding, however momentarily, the Dark.

*Gerald’s Game* (1992) and *Dolores Claiborne* (1993), *Insomnia*, *Rose Madder*, and *Bag of Bones* (1998) suggest King’s new focus. In each, theme threatens to overshadow storytelling; each indict excesses of patriarchalism, chauvinism, sexism, and/or racism, leaving little doubt that in sexual terms, males are monsters—or, as *Rose Madder* states explicitly, men are beasts. *Gerald’s Game*, a thin book for King, both in page count and in content, received strong reviews from establishment journals but less favorable responses from readers awaiting further evidence of King’s ability to combine commentary with story. In *Gerald’s Game*, commentary clearly takes precedence, since the story could effectively be told in a quarter the length. *Dolores Claiborne* continues the social commentary, linking themes and episodes directly to *Gerald’s Game*, but significantly returns in part to King’s earlier focus on story. A literary *tour de force*, the novel is a single, uninterrupted monologue of over 300 pages that exploits the multiple possibilities in the title character’s name (*Dolores* = “sorrow” + “clay-borne”). With *Insomnia*, King moves toward a balance between his desire to examine social problems—specifically spouse- and child-abuse—and his compulsion to tell his stories. In a daring move, King makes his protagonist a septuagenarian, and simultaneously commits himself to describing the tedium of an insomniac, yet ultimately the story creates its own momentum and moves itself and King’s readers, one step further toward the Dark Tower itself. By the time *Rose Madder* appeared, King was again

writing novels that created their social impact through the medium of the story. His protagonist is an abused woman—echoing the previous four novels—but her restoration to power and dignity becomes an integral part of a greater narrative, one that develops fully King's penchant for mythic themes. Much the same might be said for *Bag of Bones*, in which racism and child-abuse become elements in a story that becomes larger than the sum of its parts—ghost story side by side with social indictment, each concern echoed in the other, amplifying the other, and completing the other.

Perhaps the most conspicuous of all contemporary horror writers, certainly the most recognizable of them, Stephen King has been the subject of scores of books—scholarly, academic, biographical, bibliographical, documentary, and fannish; of hundreds of articles ranging from intense analysis to popular appreciation; of conferences and symposia; of scornful mainstream reviews and fan responses verging on idolatry; and of more media attention than perhaps any other living writer. He has altered the face of modern horror, and—working along with a handful of other writers of equal stature—has come closer than ever before to making this once-denigrated genre an accepted branch of literature. As he passes his fiftieth year and approaches the end of the millennium, King has more firmly than ever established himself as the “King of Horror” and as the master of an intricate and complex trade.

—Michael R. Collings

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## Kingston, Maxine Hong (1940—)

Novelist Maxine Hong Kingston was born in the United States to Chinese immigrant parents. Her writing centers on the experience of Chinese-American culture and is part of a multiculturalist critique that challenges images which represent the culture of the United States as homogenous. Her first book, *The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood among Ghosts* (1976), is an autobiography that details her own journey to integrate the Chinese and American elements in her life, interweaving them with a feminist perspective. In her books, the traditions of narrative are undermined, just as she undermines any one view of culture or history.

—Petra Kuppers

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## The Kingston Trio

Formed in 1957 in San Francisco, the folk group called the Kingston Trio took the country by storm with its three-part harmonies and energetic, humorous approach to folk music. Courting a pop



The Kingston Trio, from left: Bob Shane, Dave Guard, and Nick Reynolds.

audience and sporting striped shirts, neatly pressed chinos, and an upbeat, *Sing-Out!* attitude, the group originally consisted of guitarists Bob Shane and Nick Reynolds and banjoist Dave Guard (he was replaced by songwriter/rock artist John Stewart in 1961). Backed by Guard's five-string banjo, an acoustic guitar, and congas, the Trio's first big hit was "The Ballad of Tom Dooley," a harmonized saga of a condemned man awaiting execution, based on an old song of the Civil War era. The recording sold three million copies and won the Kingston Trio its first Grammy. Among its numerous albums, several of which now count among the best selling records of the 1950s and 1960s, five of its first six would make it to the Number One spot.

The Kingston Trio began as a casual association between Shane, Reynolds, and Guard. After working up their repertoire at local bars, the trio got its first major gig: a one-week stint at the Purple Onion, a favorite nightspot of San Francisco's college crowd during the late 1950s (Guard was a student at Stanford University when the group formed). Quickly signed to Capitol Records, the group released its first record in early 1958 and went on to release 29 other recordings, including a 1962 tribute to the presidency of John F. Kennedy titled *New Frontier*. The Kingston Trio's appearance at the groundbreaking 1959 Newport Folk Festival was documented in its album, *Live at Newport*. Until the British Invasion in the 1960s, the Trio was a mainstay of the U.S. pop charts. In addition to being the first musical group to have sales of LP records outnumber singles, 14 of the Kingston Trio's albums made it to the Top Ten spot, with five of those reaching Number One and seven charting for 12 months or more.

Punctuated by the twang of the banjo, the music of the Kingston Trio had a danceable feel that captured the hearts of pop fans and turned the band into one of the first crossover groups to bridge the folk and pop genres. Because it made three-part harmony and acoustic guitar look so simple, the Trio sparked a wave of interest in folk music across the country and have been credited with helping usher in the American Folk Revival of the 1960s. As strong as its fan-base was, the Kingston Trio also had its detractors. The group's overt commercialism stood in direct contrast to the back-to-the-earth values associated with folk music and embodied by groups like the Weavers, and the group was reviled in many folk-music circles. "I don't think we ever took ourselves seriously enough to think that we belonged to folk music," Stewart told an interviewer in 1966. Rather than stick to the traditional musical interpretations extolled by purists, the Trio intentionally sought new input for its music, adapting such diverse ethnic music traditions as Appalachian Mountain melodies and Calypso into its own clean-cut, upbeat style.

*Children of the Morning* (1966) was the last album recorded by the Kingston Trio. The times indeed were a-changing, and the rock-folk synthesis the Trio catalyzed in the 1950s was, by the late 1960s, the province of groups like Simon and Garfunkel, the Mamas and the Papas, and the Association. Although the band officially broke up in 1967, Shane continued to tour with musicians Jim Connor and Pat Horine as the New Kingston Trio into the 1990s. By the end of that decade, Shane, Nick Reynolds, and George Grove were being listed as members of the group. Stewart went on to record with Stevie Hicks and Lindsey Buckingham of the rock group Fleetwood Mac. Guard, who had left due to personality clashes with Shane and Reynolds, formed the Whiskeyhill Singers in the early 1960s.

—Pamela L. Shelton

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## Kinison, Sam (1953-1992)

Sam Kinison is remembered as the innovator of "rage comedy," a style defined by the punctuation of a comedy routine with seemingly out-of-control fits of screaming and howling. Kinison began his "performance" career as a Pentecostal minister, but soon drifted into comedy clubs where he caught the attention of Rodney Dangerfield. Dangerfield provided Kinison with showcase bookings in his own nightclub and a role in his movie *Back to School* (1986). The comedian also appeared on *Saturday Night Live*, an HBO special, and the short-lived TV sitcom *Charlie Hoover*. Ironically, Kinison had recently completed successful treatment for his well-documented substance abuse when he was accidentally killed by a teenage drunk driver who professed to having been one of his fans.

—Barry Morris

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## Kinsey, Dr. Alfred C. (1894-1956)

Although he was in many ways the very model of the "egg-head" scientist, complete with crew-cut and bow tie, few academic researchers have had such a widespread impact on American culture as Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey, the founder of the Institute for Sex Research (later renamed for Kinsey) at Indiana University. Kinsey and his colleagues revolutionized the study and understanding of human sexuality through the publication of the two famous *Kinsey Reports*, more accurately entitled *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1952). Instant bestsellers and cultural touchstones that few people actually read, the reports explicitly divorced moral judgment from the study of sexuality and opened sexual inquiry to professional disciplines beyond the medical sciences. While the aim of Kinsey's work was explicitly to collect quantifiable data, its cultural repercussions can be felt in the ways sexual topics are taught, discussed, and debated in American society throughout the latter half of the twentieth century.

Raised in a strict home and trained in zoology and entomology at Harvard, Kinsey began his scientific career by becoming the world's expert on gall wasps, which he collected by the thousands; among other things, Kinsey discovered that they exhibited odd reproductive



**Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey**

habits. After being hired by Indiana University in 1920 and asked to coordinate an undergraduate course on marriage, Kinsey discovered how little reliable scientific research was available on human sexuality. He and his colleagues (most notably Wardell Pomeroy, Clyde Martin, and Paul Gebhard) then initiated an elaborate project to collect data, which eventually involved almost 18,000 personal interviews and the accumulation of a vast archive of erotic as well as scientific materials. Though linked to a state university, the institute relied upon independent funding and donations in order to counter regular misperceptions that Indiana taxpayers might be supporting a pornography collection: early on, to demonstrate his techniques, Kinsey even collected the sexual histories of his sponsors at the Rockefeller Foundation and National Research Council. Adopting a radically empirical stance, Kinsey's institute categorized and cross-indexed sexual information in minute detail, while carefully avoiding the moralizing perspectives that had hampered previous discussions of sexual behavior and expression. In the institute's neutral vision, pornography might be as valuable for research as anthropology. For the first time in American culture, the practice of masturbation was simply taken for granted, though its multiple variations were carefully catalogued. By all accounts, Kinsey and his team were masterful in their ability to put their interviewees at ease while they revealed their most intimate activities and fantasies. The public response to those interviews was, on the other hand, a mixture of shock and fascination that also turned the research scientist into a national celebrity.

Undoubtedly the first report's most controversial revelation, especially in the historical context of ex-servicemen returning to civilian life, was that homosexual activity was common to many

American men: 37 percent of Kinsey's sample had experienced at least one homosexual encounter leading to orgasm. Adopting a scale from 0 to 6, ranging from exclusive heterosexuality to exclusive homosexuality, Kinsey challenged stereotypes linking homosexuality and effeminate behavior and defined homosexuality as behavioral rather than constitutional. According to Kinsey's statistical summary, about four percent of American men were exclusively homosexual. Although Kinsey's statistics have been the subject of extensive criticism and confusion (he is commonly misquoted as claiming that 10 percent of American men are homosexual), reexaminations of his figures have also frequently affirmed the validity of his findings. Overall, Kinsey's research argued that homosexuals as a group, and homosexuality as an activity, were much more typical and, therefore, less statistically "deviant" than previously assumed.

The report on female sexuality was equally controversial, though the press and public downplayed its discovery that, while only three percent of Kinsey's sample were exclusively homosexual, the women in the study tended to be better educated than their male counterparts. Instead, attention focused on Kinsey's detailed analysis of the female orgasm and his revealing that almost half of the women interviewed had experienced premarital intercourse, while around 26 percent had enjoyed extramarital sexual relations. Clearly, Kinsey's data challenged beliefs about the prevailing female behavior, which turned out to largely be ideals rather than reality.

Half a century after the publication of his reports, Kinsey remained a controversial figure, though the most heated debates about his work have generally moved back into the academy where they began. Periodically Kinsey's objectivity and statistical findings are challenged, and often they are reconfirmed. James H. Jones's biography revealed many surprising details of Kinsey's own complex sexual life—married and the father of four children, Kinsey was also homosexually active. For cultural historians, the recurrence of such debates itself provides evidence of Kinsey's ongoing role in American life. Many have credited Kinsey with making once taboo topics—masturbation, homosexuality, female orgasm—frequent discussion topics in the media and in the home.

—Corey K. Creekmur

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## Kirby, Jack (1917-1994)

One of the most prolific and influential comic-book creators, Jack Kirby is deservedly known as “the king of comics.” Kirby, born Jacob Kurtzberg, grew up on New York’s tough Lower East Side. The brawls and colorful characters of his youth influenced his work, from the explosive fight scenes to the numerous kid-gangs he created (Newsboy Legion, Boy Commandos, among others). In 1940, Kirby teamed with Joe Simon, and they created scores of comic books, including the first romance comic. In March 1941, their most famous creation, Captain America, debuted in *Captain America Adventures*. Over the next 20 years, Kirby virtually created the visual language of super-hero comics. His panels were crammed with dynamic action and visual excitement. Perhaps Kirby’s best work was in the 1960s when he and writer-editor Stan Lee transformed faltering Atlas Comics into pop culture powerhouse Marvel Comics, with characters such as the Fantastic Four and the X-Men.

—Randy Duncan

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## KISS

After more than 20 years in the business and sales of nearly 80 million albums, KISS can legitimately be placed in the pantheon of the world’s great rock and roll bands. Their best known songs, such as “Rock ‘n’ Roll All Nite,” “Shout it Out Loud,” and “Detroit Rock City” stand as some of the greatest rock anthems of all time. The band might also be credited with inventing the radio-friendly power ballad (“Beth”), even though it took nearly 10 years before other hard rock bands made such an addition to an album mandatory. Their chart successes notwithstanding, KISS’s greatest contribution to rock and roll may be their pioneer efforts on the stage. Their outrageous make-up and a commitment to over-the-top theatrics radically expanded rock fans’ expectations for showmanship.

KISS was formed in New York City in 1972 by bass player Gene Simmons and vocalist/guitarist Paul Stanley after their band Wicked Lester was dumped by Epic Records. Stanley and Simmons recruited guitarist Ace Frehley and drummer Peter Criss, both of whom who had advertised their availability in music magazines. With the lineup in place, the group devised an ingenious strategy to market their act to fans and record labels. Drawing on precedents set by glam rock acts like the New York Dolls and shock rocker Alice Cooper, the members of KISS reinvented themselves as four larger-than-life stage characters, by means of elaborate costumes and Japanese Kabuki make-up. Gene Simmons played a blood-spitting, fire-breathing demon; Paul Stanley masqueraded as a bare-chested, hyper-macho Casanova; lead guitarist Ace Frehley became an outer space guitar wizard; and Peter Criss played the role of a prowling cat-man. To intensify the effect, the quartet did not permit themselves to be seen or photographed in public without their make-up.



Ace Freely (left) and Paul Stanley of KISS.

In addition to their clever use of theatrical disguise, KISS also developed an elaborately choreographed performance that, along with their aggressive self-promotional releases, attracted the attention of television producer Bill Aucoin, who helped the band to a contract with Casablanca Records. Their first three albums, released in quick succession in 1974 and 1975, sold modestly, and the band was lambasted by critics everywhere. Nevertheless, KISS quickly built an impressive audience through constant touring. Certainly, much of their in-concert appeal rested on their groundbreaking use of pyrotechnics, set design, and stage lighting. They also greatly expanded their audience because they were more willing than most bands to schedule dates in smaller market cities and geographically isolated places.

Recognizing that their musical energy was somewhat lost in the studio setting, KISS released a concert album. Peaking at number nine on the charts, *Alive* (1975) catapulted the band into the upper echelons of the rock world and relieved them of nagging debt and royalty problems. The next studio album, *Destroyer* (1976), marked an important shift in sound and image as KISS abandoned its simplistic, almost silly, straight-ahead guitar rock for a more polished and radio friendly sound. By broadening their sound, the band built a more diverse fan base. The KISS Army, as the band’s fan club is known, once peopled almost exclusively by teenage males, began to include not only teenage females, but a lucrative pre-teen audience as well. Perhaps most important in their transition was the release of the pop single “Beth,” a ballad penned by Criss as a tribute to his wife. “Beth” reached the top ten, and became the band’s best-selling single. Their biggest year was 1977, which saw several of their

albums on the charts simultaneously, leading them to end the year as *Billboard*'s number two album artist, second only to Fleetwood Mac.

Capitalizing on their multi-platinum successes, the group further expanded their multimedia approach to rock. Taking a leaf out of the Beatlemania book, KISS made everything from black light posters to lunch boxes to costumed action figures available to their adoring fans. In 1977, Marvel comics published a KISS comic book, purportedly printed with ink mixed with blood drawn from the band. The next year the band was featured in a movie called *KISS Meets the Phantom of the Park*. First released in late October, the timing was appropriate, since dressing up like a KISS character had become a favorite Halloween costume for kids across America. It was rumored that the band even bought 200 acres near Cincinnati in order to build a theme park that never materialized. KISS's widespread popularity and Gene Simmons' demonic stage character prompted concern by parents groups and the nascent Religious Right—several youths, trying to copy Simmons' fire-breathing stage act, were badly burnt—and objectors suggested that KISS was really an acronym for Knights in Satan's Service, a charge flatly rejected by the band. The KISS logo also raised concern in Germany because its last two letters resembled the swastika worn by Nazi-era military officers.

As the more conservative 1980s approached, KISS and their exaggerated excesses began to seem dated. Beginning with their four "solo" albums released in 1978, the band hit a slump that would last through the early 1980s. Among the ill-fated releases of this era were the *Dynasty* album (1979), which featured the peculiar disco-ish single, "I Was Made for Loving You," a song that alienated many long-term fans. They departed even further from their basic formula of teen-friendly pop-rock when they recorded *The Elder* (1981), a concept album that was partially co-written by Lou Reed. Neither album sold well by the standards set a few years earlier.

During the 1980s, KISS underwent several lineup changes. Peter Criss and Ace Frehley left the band and were replaced by Eric Carr and Vinnie Vincent respectively. Subsequently, Vincent was replaced by Mark St. John who, in turn, was replaced by Bruce Kulick. After nearly a decade, Eric Singer replaced Carr, who was terminally ill with cancer. In 1983, KISS abandoned their make-up and entered headlong into the emerging pop metal arena, competing with the likes of Def Leppard and Bon Jovi instead of Grand Funk and Led Zeppelin. As metal mania reached its fever pitch in the 1980s and early 1990s, KISS enjoyed a significant resurgence, again reaching platinum status with albums such as *Lick it Up* (1983) and *Animalize* (1984). Though their albums were selling well, they never regained their former momentum, and members of the band ventured into other non-musical projects. (Both Stanley and Simmons, for example, tried their hand at acting).

As the 1990s rolled around, KISS had very little left to prove. The legion of fans they established in the 1970s spawned many dozens of aspiring musicians. Dozens of outright tribute bands were on the road in the 1980s and 1990s, albeit without the elaborate stage sets, and KISS was paid the high honor of a tribute album recorded in 1994. Entitled *KISS My Ass*, the album stood as a sarcastic rebuke to all the critics who had scorned the band over the years, and featured KISS covers from artists as diverse as Garth Brooks and Lenny Kravitz. Perhaps far greater tribute was the number of bands clearly influenced by KISS. Though no band actually copied their stage routine or dress, a number of very popular 1980s metal bands, including Faster Pussycat, Mötley Crüe, Ratt, DIO and Twisted Sister, showed overt signs of the KISS influence on their visual and sonic characteristics. That influence can also be felt, if not heard, in

the so-called grunge rock of bands like Nirvana and Soundgarden, who approached the business of song-writing and rock stardom with a clearly tongue-in-cheek attitude and the playful absurdity of KISS close to their hearts.

Interest in KISS was revitalized substantially in the mid-1990s when the original line-up reunited for a few numbers for MTV's *Unplugged* program. Reaction from fans was so favorable that a reunion tour was scheduled, replete with make-up, blood spitting, and pyrotechnics. The tour drew huge crowds and brought the band's peculiar brand of entertainment live to a new generation of fans.

—Steve Graves

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## Kitsch

The word "kitsch" is perhaps one of the oldest, crudest, and most unclear terms used to describe the popular art of modern societies, though it is also a term which is almost universally understood. First appearing in the writings of cultural and social critics of the late nineteenth century to describe the effects of early industrialism on the common culture of Western nations, the term has evolved and taken on a variety of sometimes quite contradictory meanings throughout the century or so of its use. The precise etymology of kitsch is uncertain: some attribute kitsch to the Russian "keetchetsya," meaning "to be haughty and puffed up," though a more widely accepted view attributes its origins to the Munich art markets of the 1860s, where "kitsch" was used to describe inexpensive paintings or "sketches" (the English word mispronounced by Germans, or elided with the German verb *verkitschen*, to "make cheap"). Kitsch artworks appealed to the naive tastes of the emerging, newly monied Munich bourgeoisie who, in typical *nouveau riche* fashion, desired objects they thought to be typical of "high taste," without knowing exactly what high taste was. Like "pornography," "art" or other slippery terms, kitsch is easier to demonstrate by example than it is to clarify by definition: kitsch tends to apply most easily to ornamental statuary, chachkas of different kinds, manufactured sentimental nicknacks, souvenirs, and decorative objects reflecting a childlike simplicity—things that are simply meant to make us feel good about ourselves and the world. What makes kitsch kitsch, however, is not simply the fact of its being decorative, but that kitsch artificially inflates the comfort of decoration into a uniquely fake aesthetic statement.

Thus, there are two sides of kitsch which have to be explained: kitsch is a unique aesthetic style, but it is also the effect of specific social and historical changes. As an effect of historical changes, kitsch is caused by industrialization, urbanization, and the rise of a new middle class. As an aesthetic quality, kitsch combines an



**An example of kitsch: baby dolls displayed in a store window.**

emulation of high art forms and styles with a dependence on comfort and very direct expressions of aesthetic pleasure. In what follows these two aspects of kitsch, its historical causes and its aesthetic dimensions will be considered in turn.

By the mid-nineteenth century, improvements in mechanized manufacture, distribution, and commercial retail, together with a trend toward urbanization made it possible for mass-produced cultural goods to reach vast numbers of people. In Europe and North America, clerical and lower-level management positions opened up by these economic changes created a new, largely urban middle class. Peasants and traditional workers who had previously been content with regional, rural, and traditional forms of culture found themselves buying mass-produced trinkets, decorations, and ornaments for the home. With disposable income and leisure time to kill, this new class of urban professionals sought distractions and amusements, but most importantly it sought to carve out a status for itself as “cultured” and “sophisticated” by exhibiting its taste for “fine things.” These petty professionals swarmed over the new luxury items that were being churned out in mass volume, gravitating especially to the knock-off imitation luxury products, “fine art” items crudely and glibly manufactured to resemble the posh and high art objects of the old

aristocracy: gilded furniture, glass-beaded jewelry, highly ornate candelabras, imitation oil paintings, miniature ceramic copies of ancient statues and other household ornaments meant to produce maximum effect without too much bother or cost. As societies industrialized and more and more people gained access to mass-produced cultural goods, kitsch emerged as the lowest common cultural denominator of modern society, cutting across old class distinctions through the techniques of the new “mass consumption.” For this reason the rise of kitsch has been widely blamed for the erosion of elite “high culture” and the uprooting of regional “folk cultures,” and the wider “dumbing down” of modern societies.

The influx of kitsch objects gradually brought with it an overall change in attitudes toward the definition of beauty itself. Unlike the traditional elite classes who exercised refinement and cultivation in their appreciation for the subtleties of true artistic expression, the new classes lacked any taste for subtlety, preferring art that was loud, direct, and excessive. Where true art required strenuous interpretation, a cultivated sensibility, and presented the viewer with personal and ethical challenges, the kitsch of mass-produced art sought to make itself available to the maximum number of people. It took the shortest, easiest, and most direct route, always preferring more intense aesthetic expression through added features and exaggerated effects. On the question of beauty, the purveyor of kitsch reasons according to the principle, more is better: Why have a chandelier hung only with cut glass baubles when you can afford one with cherubs and electric candles? Why be content with a plaster reproduction of the Venus in the foyer when it can be lit from behind, producing a more “dramatic” effect. Why settle for a simple oil seascape when you can have one with crashing waves, sea gulls, and a partially obscured full moon shining right through the towering curl of a cresting wave? The mass-produced art of the new classes simply declares the effect it intends: “beauty!” “exotica!” “sentiment!” The familiar earmarks of kitsch: exploding fields of flowers, the faces of cute children, etc., deliver aesthetic response with greater intensity and in a more direct manner because of its use of overstatement. However, even while kitsch maximizes aesthetic effect, it remains faithful to its vision of high art: kitsch believes itself to be sincere, graceful, even profound—like high art itself. Thus, this quality of maximized effect in the form of high culture defines an important aspect of kitsch.

But that is not all: more than simply graceless and overstated, what makes kitsch kitsch is its dependence on expressions of comfort, “happiness,” and an artificial sense of well-being. Kitsch expresses a pleasurable experience of everyday comfort, coziness, and easy solace, an artificially simplified and synthetically comfortable image of the world, allowing an easy and gratuitous sense of bliss. Kitsch achieves this in many ways: in Norman Rockwell’s paintings of small town America, for example, kitsch expresses a contrived sense of wonderment at the innocence and folly of everyday people and things, especially children, animals, and old people whose everydayness is raised up to the level of an important human virtue. In Rockwell’s paintings there is little ambiguity about the people he represents: they are cute, and this fact hits the viewer with immediate and unmistakable force. Kitsch aims for the easiest responses it can get, preferring rather to deliver us back to the comfort of familiar feelings than to challenge us with new ones. For this reason, kitsch appeals to sentimentality, as demonstrated in the work of Margaret Keane, the notorious painter of teary eyed clowns and children with enormous almond-shaped eyes. The sappy figures in Keane’s work squeeze out a response before we know what has hit us, and this response is a simple, obvious, and direct joy in what is simply and obviously joyful:

cute little children. However, for both Rockwell and Keane, there is a pretentious aspect to their work: though their subject matter is comfortable and accessible it is not simply decorative. These are sincere, human expressions of a fundamental human quality, calling for the same respect and admiration we reserve for the humanity alone. In this way, cute kitsch makes the same appeal to the higher values of human beauty as does high art. And, more importantly for kitsch, the fawning sentimental reactions these images demand from its viewers are made to seem somehow virtuous, profound, and universally human. The viewer is flattered into feeling that the cuteness of one of Rockwell's everyday folks expresses the same essential value of human life that Michaelangelo gave to the David. All of this expresses the value of familiarity and comfort itself, raised up to the level of a true artistic statement, amplified through exaggerated effects so as to be easy and accessible to all. In short, kitsch tries to stimulate us in a direct and accessible fashion, passing off comfort and sentimentality as expressions of profound human significance, or deep personal meaning. Kitsch prefers to show us what we already know so as to save us the discomfort of experiencing something for the first time.

Kitsch, however, is a very volatile, flexible, and vague term, infinitely adaptable to the specific historical conditions of its use, conditions where popular culture is thought to be getting out of hand. Comparing a few of the most important uses of the term, we see how some uses of kitsch emphasize its aesthetic and others the historical and social dimensions.

The Austrian writer Hermann Broch has discussed kitsch's development in the nineteenth century, and its connection with romanticism: both kitsch and romanticism promised a uniquely modern flight from reality into a world that was sheltered from the tension and uncertainty of modern life. His essay, *Notes on the Problem of Kitsch*, points out how kitsch expresses that escape as a dreamy experience of happiness, tranquillity, and sugary harmony, and a flight into comfort. Broch's article goes to the heart of that comfort as the product of these historical changes: kitsch comfort has its origins in the rising middle class that invented kitsch. This taste for domestic comfort, Broch writes, became the badge of bourgeois identity, or the marker of their status as a legitimate class, rivaling the elite aspirations of aristocratic art. In this way, the middle-class valuation of comfort was inflated to the pretentious status of high art, as it was learned to masquerade as art.

By the twentieth century, kitsch was given a new set of meanings by the critics of "mass culture," particularly American Left intellectuals who used kitsch to criticize the culture of the new "consumer society" or mass society. With Dwight MacDonal, Irving Howe, and others, kitsch was no longer blamed for the erosion of elite or regional culture, but for the manipulation of the consciousness of the masses, controlling their thoughts and cultural outlooks through a kitsch bombardment of comic books, radio, TV shows, and movies expressing manufactured emotional, aesthetic, and social outlooks. Reducing adults to children, the new kitsch made masses easier to manipulate by reducing their cultural needs to the easy gratification offered by Disney cartoons, pulp literature, and romance novels. Macdonald wrote: "The Lords of kitsch, in short, exploit the cultural needs of the masses in order to make a profit and/or to maintain their class rule." To these commentators of the 1950s, writing at the heyday of the mass culture theory, it seemed as if the same propaganda tactics that had worked so well for fascists and communists were operative in the kitsch of American capitalism and mass culture,

draining the minds of consumers and ultimately cultivating a subordination to authority. So barbarous was the effect of kitsch that one commentator was inclined to compare the manic and violent behavior of Donald Duck to the sadism of the S.S. soldier. Kitsch also proved useful for advocates of avant-garde culture, most notably Clement Greenberg, whose classic essay *Avant-Garde and Kitsch* stands as one of the best known pieces on the topic. Greenberg, bent on marking a distinction between the avant-garde and the popular culture of the masses, trashed kitsch for its parasitic quality, drawing its life-blood from the creative sweat of "real artists," and keeping the masses in a state of cultural imbecility and confusion. For Greenberg, kitsch represented "the epitome of all that is spurious in the life of our times."

Taken together, all these arguments hinge on the assumption of an objective standard of taste of one sort or another: one cannot call something kitsch without assuming that there is, somewhere, a universal standard of beauty against which an object can be judged and condemned as kitsch. By the end of the twentieth century, with an increasing emphasis on cultural diversity, and a "post modern" acknowledgment of the relative standards of beauty in different societies, this objective standard of taste was not so easy to argue. In a climate of multiculturalism and cultural relativism, "kitsch," as a term describing an inherently inferior variety of art and culture seemed to have no ground left to stand on. In fact, the tables had turned: in much cultural criticism of the late twentieth century, kitsch had fallen out of use. Particularly in the late 1990s, when the charm of camp (an ironic appreciation of kitsch, quite distinct from kitsch itself) defined so much of contemporary taste in popular culture, classical uses of the term kitsch seemed more and more difficult to justify. The "cultural studies" approach to popular culture had largely abandoned the term, at least in the morally charged, pejorative usage given it by nineteenth century and mass culture theorists.

Nonetheless, kitsch has refused to go away, and has appeared in some highly innovative commentaries. The closed, artificial world of kitsch, and the dreamy sense of pleasantness and well being it promises still puzzled cultural analysts, even when it was not tied to a strong judgment on the value of aesthetic content or on the control of the masses. Two commentaries on kitsch stand out: Milan Kundera's *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* discusses the kitsch of communist society, which trumpets an artificial joy in the spontaneous exuberance of socialist life and the strained comfort of the company of one's comrades. A darker side of kitsch is revealed by Saul Friedlander in his *Reflections of Nazism: an Essay on Kitsch and Death*. Friedlander discloses the ways in which Nazi kitsch, in a manner quite different from standard forms of capitalist "entertainment" kitsch, excites a morbid fascination with death, particularly in the melodramatic image of the tragic death of the soldier. In fact, freed from its elitist underpinnings, kitsch has proven more effective a term for describing the strange euphoria of the synthetic that characterized much of consumer culture at the end of the twentieth century.

—Sam Binkley

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## Kiwanis

In the words of its mission statement, the Kiwanis Club is an international organization dedicated to "service" and the "advancement of individual, community, and national welfare. . . ." It promotes a strong spiritual life for its members, a high standard of living, and the idea of citizens' civic obligations to others. The organization was founded on January 21, 1915, in Detroit, Michigan, by Allen Simpson Browne, a Moose Lodge organizer, and Joseph Prancela, a tailor. The name drew from a Native American phrase which can be interpreted differently to mean "we have a good time," "we trade," or "we advertise." By the late 1990s the organization had 300,000 members in more than 8,000 clubs in 82 countries. Made up predominantly of business people and professional men and women, the organization gives approximately \$70 million a year to charitable organizations and individuals as well as seven million hours of direct community service. Perhaps best known for widely posted signs that feature a circled K, the Kiwanis Club symbolizes a commitment to the biblical Golden Rule—doing unto others as you would have them do unto you.

Drawing its membership largely from American business persons (the organization began as something of a networking club for local merchants and salesmen to make contacts with prospective clients), it came to symbolize certain features of modern middle-class life. Cultural critics of the 1920s poked fun at its conformist, self-congratulatory, and boosterist elements. Spurred on by H. L. Mencken's antagonism to the "booboisie," Sinclair Lewis drew up a scathing portrait of small-town businessmen in his novel *Babbitt*. Lewis mocked his central character's membership in local civic organizations that seemed more concerned with providing stability and making connections than with actually doing good works. In response, *Kiwanis* magazine called for continued "boosting" against the negativism of critics like Lewis. Nonetheless, Lewis's portrait of simplistic spirituality wedded to pragmatic materialism remained a popular image of the Kiwanis.

The Kiwanis Club grew out of a variety of voluntary organizations that Alexis de Tocqueville discussed in *Democracy in America*, his classic analysis of nineteenth-century American culture. In fact, many early members of the Kiwanis Club were originally Moose and

Elk lodge members. The Kiwanis Club became part of a modern set of mainstream service organizations, including the Rotary and Lions clubs. Fostering the belief that citizens can solve social problems through local and voluntary activity, the Kiwanis provide opportunity for and examples of middle-class philanthropy and service for societal good. As Jeffrey Charles argued in his book *Service Clubs in American Society*, the Kiwanis have tried to bring together traditional values of community and compassion with the modern system of corporate profit and competitive individualism.

The emphasis on voluntarism, some may argue, symbolizes the more conservative element of the Kiwanis. This voluntary spirit became identified with Herbert Hoover's distrust of the federal government during the early years of the Great Depression. The Kiwanis then became closely associated with anticommunist campaigns during the 1950s and conformist culture that social critics mocked in books like William Whyte's *Organization Man* and C. Wright Mills's *White Collar*. Not surprisingly, it was during the 1950s that the Kiwanis spread internationally in larger numbers, building upon America's rise as a world super power.

Like other civic organizations, the Kiwanis have experienced a decline in American membership during the mid to late 1990s. Reporting on these general losses of voluntary group membership, Robert Putnam, a political scientist at Harvard University, argued that this trend reflects a wider loss of civic engagement in America and the passing of Tocqueville's ideal of America as a voluntarist republic. Nonetheless, the Kiwanis Club has had a great impact on the civic and social identity of many middle-class Americans, and, for better or worse, has played a significant role in American culture.

—Kevin Mattson

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## Klein, Calvin (1942—)

More than any other designer, Bronx-born Calvin Klein has rendered fashion as popular culture. Long an elite and "trickle-down" phenomenon from most privileged clothes to least, fashion is wholly democratic for Klein beginning with his success in Calvin Klein jeans in the 1970s, continued through massive advertising, and sustained in such forms as designer underwear. He is now the designer fashion students aspire to emulate; the designer whose name appears on innumerable T-shirts and underwear waistbands. He was the first designer to invade and conquer popular culture. Since Brooke Shields seductively uttered "nothing comes between me and my

Calvins” in a memorable advertising campaign in 1980, Klein’s edgy ads have been the forefront of contemporary visual culture defining sexual limits, the spirit of the young, and cultural provocation. In design sensibility, austere, reductive, and modern, Klein’s ubiquitous name is synonymous with fashion as media and mass culture.

—Richard Martin

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## Klein, Robert (1942—)

One of the leading lights of stand-up comedy in the 1970s was New York-born monologist Robert Klein. Although often compared to scatological trailblazer Lenny Bruce, Klein perfected a gentler, more observational form of humor in the same vein as his contemporaries David Brenner and Woody Allen. After making his initial splash as a stage actor, Klein became the darling of the comedy club circuit after the 1973 release of his album *Child of the Fifties*. A series of one-man shows followed, which he eventually parlayed into a successful second career as a character actor. In the 1990s, Klein focused almost exclusively on ensemble performance, appearing on stage to positive reviews opposite Jane Alexander in Wendy Wasserstein’s *The Sisters Rosenzweig* (1992), and on film for his old friend Mike Nichols in *Primary Colors* (1998).

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Kmart

Once the nation’s largest retailer, Kmart was an early leader in the discount merchandising game. An offshoot of the venerable S. S. Kresge variety store chain, Kmart came to epitomize the familiar, everyday shopping experience of the late twentieth century: a massive parking lot on the edge of town and the large boxlike, single story structure with a bewildering selection of reasonably priced goods. The spontaneous in-store advertising gimmick of a moveable cart with its revolving beacon has made “blue light special” part of American society’s shared language. Often the object of ridicule and disparaging comments (the *New York Times* characterized the store as “a caricature of strip mall culture”), it nevertheless played host to the consumer purchasing power of some 70 million customers. Along with Wal-Mart and Target, Kmart changed the way Americans buy what they need.

The very first Kmart opened in a suburb outside of Detroit (Garden City, Michigan) in 1962, which happened to be a watershed year for retailing in this country, as it also witnessed openings for the first Target and the first Wal-Mart. While many observers were captivated by the charismatic personality of the late Sam Walton and focused on the phenomenal growth of his Wal-Mart empire, it should be remembered that Kmart was the first of the discount chains to

aspire to a national presence and the first to successfully challenge the department store giants for retail supremacy. It was also the first retail firm to accurately cater to the new suburban lifestyle by offering the type and variety of consumer items that were increasingly in demand. By 1970 the company had built over 400 stores and was the undisputed discount store sales leader with more than a billion dollars in sales annually. During the next two decades Kmart grew enormously, and by 1989 the firm had surpassed Sears to become the nation's leading retailer. It turned out to be but a brief stint at the top, however, for the following year Wal-Mart caught up and took over the lead position, which it retained throughout the 1990s. Many analysts felt that it was simply a matter of age and beauty, as most Kmart stores were both older and smaller than the more recently built Wal-Mart stores. Different locality strategies may have played a role also, with Kmart avoiding the smaller towns where its fierce competitor seemed to thrive best. Looking for an edge, the Kmart corporation took an ill-advised leap into diversification, acquiring several specialty outlets, such as Builders Square and Walden Books, which did not perform as expected. During the late 1990s, under the watchful eye of former Target executive Floyd Hall, Kmart embarked on an aggressive program of store renewal.

Acting to rectify public perception of poorly stocked, dark, and dirty stores, Kmart executives launched a modernization program to remodel and replace aging facilities with brighter, wider aisles and more sophisticated displays and replicated the computerized warehousing and inventory techniques pioneered by arch rival Wal-Mart. Adopting a strategy of "lifestyle merchandising," the company sought to capitalize on celebrity sponsorship of select collections of specialty clothing and housewares, contracting with Kathy Ireland, Jaclyn Smith, and Martha Stewart to push a more upscale product line. In something of a radical departure in terms of both market and store design, the company opened a four-level outlet in the heart of Manhattan. With innovative on-line internet shopping matched with realtime returns to any of its 2,000 store locations across the country, the company poised itself to capture a larger market share of the discount retail world. While the store was long regarded as simply a cheap and convenient place to buy necessities (a larger version of its ancestral five-and-dime), Kmart management strove to change that image during the late 1990s. As the firm's own mission statement audaciously professed, "Kmart is a symbol to Americans—the place which helps them attain the quality of life guaranteed in the American dream." Barring any radical shifts in popular culture, it is likely the familiar loudspeaker announcement "Attention Kmart Shoppers!" may yet ring in the ears of American shoppers for years to come.

—Robert Kuhlken

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## Kniewel, Evel (1938—)

A familiar sight on television in the late 1960s and 1970s, colorful motorcycle stuntman Evel Kniewel thrilled and delighted record crowds across the country and the world. With reckless abandon, Kniewel attempted monumental motorcycle stunts that almost always ended with broken bones and serious injuries.

Robert Craig Kniewel was born in Butte, Montana, on October 17, 1938. At age eight, Kniewel witnessed the stunt show of Joey Chitwood's Auto Daredevils and a dream was born. It was also at this early age that Kniewel began a sordid series of entanglements with the law that would continue for many years. An incredible athlete, Kniewel won the Northern Rocky Mountain Ski Association Class A state ski jumping championship in 1957 and played professional ice hockey in North Carolina before starting, managing, and playing for his own semiprofessional ice hockey team, the Butte Bombers.

In the early 1960s, Kniewel worked for a while as a hunting guide with his own Sur-Kill Guide Service. After he discovered that elk were being senselessly slaughtered in Yellowstone National Park, he hitchhiked to Washington, D.C. to save them, and his efforts helped stopped this needless killing. After a motorcycle accident, insurance sales became the next career for Kniewel; in just one week, he sold a record 271 policies. This didn't last long, however, and soon Kniewel was back on the wrong side of the law—this time as safecracker and con man. Kniewel finally left this life of crime and opened a Honda dealership in Washington.

Kniewel's road to national stardom began in 1965, with the creation of Evel Kniewel's Motorcycle Daredevils. Members of the team began slowly leaving until it was finally just Evel. He continued going it alone, supervising every aspect of the stunt show, until he made the big time in 1968, on New Year's Day, leaping over the fountains in front of Caesar's Palace in Las Vegas, a distance of 141 feet. Though the jump was successful, the landing was not, and Kniewel spent 30 days in a coma. He followed this with other record-breaking jumps—at the Los Angeles Coliseum and the ill-fated attempt at jumping the Snake River Canyon in 1974 in Idaho on his "Skycycle." In 1975, Kniewel took his show overseas to Wembley Stadium in London, where he broke his pelvis in an attempt to leap 13 double decker buses in front of a crowd of 90,000. Not to be outdone, his next leap took place at King's Island in Ohio in 1975, where he jumped 14 greyhound buses on ABC's *Wide World of Sports*. His last jump was a total disaster, and he was seriously injured as he tried to leap a tank of live sharks in the Chicago Amphitheater in 1976.

Kniewel's stunt career propelled him to celebrity status enjoyed usually by only movie stars and mainstream athletes. The Evel Kniewel Stuntcycle became a popular toy, and other products with his likeness and name sold in the millions. He appeared on an episode of the *Bionic Woman* (1976) as himself and starred in *Viva Kniewel* (1977), again as himself. George Hamilton starred in a motion picture about Kniewel, entitled *Evel Kniewel* (1971). Kniewel provided excitement and escape for the country at a troubling time in the early 1970s, on the heels of Watergate and the Vietnam War. His red, white, and blue jumpsuit was an obvious play for patriotism, as he captivated the minds of old and young alike. He managed to thrill and excite, providing a form of entertainment to take the nation's mind of its woes, thus endearing himself to Americans as a courageous folk hero.

—Jay Parrent



**Evel Knievel**

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Perhaps no coach in all of sports has been reprimanded and disciplined as much as Indiana University head basketball coach Bobby Knight. Much to his displeasure, Knight's sideline and press conference antics have at times overshadowed his team's remarkable championship play. With his incredible personality and passion, Knight is one of a rare breed in the world of sports who transcends his game and becomes an icon in other worlds. Just the name Bobby

Knight conjures images of thrown chairs and tirades at officials, even for the most casual of college basketball fans. These tantrums and erratic behavior sometimes shield the love Knight has for not only the game of basketball but his players as well.

As a child in Orrville, Ohio, young Bobby Knight played a number of sports growing up. His favorite, unquestionably, was baseball, and his idol was Mickey Mantle. He graduated from high school in 1956, earning letters in baseball, basketball, and football. After graduation, Knight entered Ohio State University to play basketball. There, Knight teamed with Jerry Lucas and John Havlicek to win one national championship in 1960 and make trips to the final game three times. While not a star on the court, Knight was a competent player. He took advantage of his position to learn everything Ohio State coach Fred Taylor had to offer. Knight graduated in 1962 and took an assistant coaching position in Cuyahoga Falls High School in Ohio while deciding his future.

Knight's close friend Bates Locke offered him an assistant coaching position at West Point in 1963. When Locke resigned, Knight took over the reigns and developed the West Point basketball



**Bobby Knight**

team into a formidable one, winning 102 games and earning four trips to the National Invitational Tournament finals. It was at the U.S. Military Academy, where Knight's harsh discipline and coaching style evolved. He believed that discipline and hard work would bring out talent.

After six years at West Point, in 1971 Knight was offered the Big Ten coaching job he always wanted, at Indiana University. He achieved success during his early years there, leading the Hoosiers to the Final Four in 1973. After a Coach of the Year award in 1975, he led the Hoosiers to an undefeated season, a National Championship and a Coach of the Year award for himself in 1976. Knight won another national Championship in 1981, then again in 1987 with yet another Coach of the Year award. He led a talented team to earning the 1979 Pan American Games Gold Medal and coached the Olympic Gold Medal winners in the 1984 summer games in Los Angeles. With over 700 career coaching victories, Knight was inducted into the Basketball Hall of Fame in 1991.

Bobby Knight remains one of the most respected and revered basketball coaches in the nation. His fiery attitude and refusal to lose have at times jeopardized his career and his team's success. He stresses not only discipline in the game, but in life as well. Graduation rates for his basketball players consistently rank as the best in the nation. Bobby Knight developed Indiana basketball into a national

powerhouse and, in the process, made himself into one of the most recognizable figures in American sports.

—Jay Parrent

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## *Knots Landing*

The second longest running prime time drama—after *Gunsmoke*—in television history, *Knots Landing's* (1979-1993) 14-season tenure is even more prestigious because it survived both the competition of glitzier prime time soaps (such as *Dynasty*) and the advent of cable television. Prophetically, series co-creator David Jacobs told his cast at the outset, “We’re not going to get any attention. We won’t win any awards. But we’re going to go on forever.”

Ironically, this spin-off of the phenomenally popular *Dallas* was created prior to its predecessor. Creators David Jacobs and Michael Filerman envisioned a television series modeled after Ingmar Bergman’s 1973 Swedish mini-series (later edited into an Oscar-nominated film) *Scenes From a Marriage*. The concept involved a study of neighboring married couples—in various states of contentment—living in a cul-de-sac in Southern California. Though CBS liked the pilot, they wanted something more glamorous and on a larger scale, resulting in Jacobs and Filerman pitching *Dallas*.

Once *Dallas* became a hit, the producers wove in the story of Gary Ewing (Ted Shackelford), the alcoholic and weak-willed younger brother of both J. R. (Larry Hagman) and Bobby (Patrick Duffy). A ne'er-do-well, the teenage Gary had married Valene Clemmons and fathered their child, Lucy. Though circumstances had separated them for sixteen years, on a special of *Dallas* on December 13, 1979, Gary Ewing and Valene Clements Ewing (Joan Van Ark)—who had found each other again—remarried and moved to a California town named Knots Landing. The original idea was that if the couple could get on their feet in a place far away from Gary’s powerful relatives, they could then send for Lucy and be reunited as a family. But as luck—and the vicissitudes of television drama would have it—this reunion never took place.

Though *Knots Landing* received only mediocre ratings its first short season (only thirteen episodes), the producers made three major changes in the second season which caused ratings to escalate. First, they shifted the format of the show from self-contained episodes to serialization, introducing plotlines which could span the entire season. Second, they create plotlines which would allow for visits from *Dallas* characters to boost ratings. And third, and perhaps most important, they cast television and film actress Donna Mills—known primarily for, as she puts it, “victim roles”—as sultry vixen Abbie Cunningham, Sid Fairgate’s sister who is obsessed with both money and power. Thus, upon meeting Gary Ewing and learning of his wealthy family, Abbie sets her sights on him, and her destructive efforts become the most central conflict in the series run as “true lovers” Gary and Val break-up and then struggle to reunite through a succession of lovers and spouses.



Ted Shackelford and Donna Mills of *Knots Landing*.

As seasons passed, *Knots Landing* continued to hold its own in its Thursday night time slot against stiff competition from the popular *Hill Street Blues* and then *L. A. Law*. Despite the increasing influx of more melodramatic plotlines (such as Valene's twin infants being stolen and then sold by a nefarious baby doctor), the producers of *Knots Landing* contended that the secret of their longevity was the emphasis on middle-class characters and relationships which, to some extent, mirrored the experiences of their audience. Scenes often depicted characters involved in everyday situations such as preparing meals and taking out the trash. These sentiments were confirmed by *USA Today*, which contended, "KNOTS always shone as the least guilty of TV's guilty pleasures," giving "nighttime soap fans middle-class characters and backyard barbecues as an alternative to the flowing champagnes and life-styles of the rich and famous of other shows." In addition, the show was often praised by critics for taking on such serious subjects as alcoholism, prescription drug abuse, teen drug abuse, mental illness, child abuse, divorce, and bereavement; issues with which its campier rivals refused to deal.

While former Broadway star Michelle Lee proved the show's anchor, appearing in every episode in the run as Valene's neighbor and best friend Karen Fairgate McKenzie, throughout the course of its run *Knots Landing* also featured a series of appearances by veteran Hollywood stars such as Ava Gardner, Howard Duff, Ruth Roman,

and Julie Harris, who actually became a cast member for several seasons as Valene's mother, receiving an Emmy nomination for her work. But the show could also prove a star-making vehicle, as evidenced by the rise of Alec Baldwin, who later starred in major Hollywood films such as *The Hunt for Red October* and *The Edge*. Originally introduced as mild-mannered Joshua Rush, Valene's half brother, Baldwin performs a virtuoso transformation over the ensuing season as this humble preacher's son becomes first a televangelist then a raving megalomaniac who marries and then batters his wife, Cathy Geary (played by singer Lisa Hartman).

As the plotlines grew more outlandish (Michelle Lee's Karen suddenly becomes a talk show host and is stalked by a crazed fan), ratings slipped dramatically in the thirteenth season. In addition, annual contract renewals of the increasingly large cast rendered the show too costly to produce despite the producer's reducing the number of appearances by regular cast members, and even writing out the show's long-running characters. As a result, the producers willingly canceled the show in 1993, David Jacobs commenting, "I think we all felt rather than continue to amputate limbs, which is really what we were doing, that it was just time to stop."

In 1997, the majority of the cast members reunited for a four hour miniseries, *Knots Landing: Back to the Cul-de-sac*, which suffered from contrivance and silliness, resulting in its low ratings. In its wake, creator David Jacobs went on to create other short-lived series, scoring another hit with *Lois and Clark*. Both Michelle Lee and Donna Mills have formed their own production companies. In addition, fans of the show have developed a number of *Knots Landing* internet sites where they can continue the show by writing their own episodes.

—Rick Moody

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## Kodak

Kodak is the American corporate photo giant whose film and imaging products are recognized worldwide. Headquartered in Rochester, New York, the Eastman Kodak Company (Kodak, for short) was incorporated in 1901 as the successor to the small dry-plate business founded in Rochester in 1880 by George Eastman (1854-1932). From its modest beginnings in a rented loft space, the original Eastman Dry Plate Company (which became the Eastman Dry Plate and Film Company and then simply the Eastman Company) expanded rapidly, largely because of Eastman's inventive and marketing genius. By 1900, distribution outlets were established in France, Germany, Italy, and other European countries. By the end of the twentieth century, Kodak, one of industry's most readily identifiable trademarks, had operations in Canada, Mexico, Brazil, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Australia, and Kodak products were marketed by subsidiary companies to people in more than 150 countries.

An amateur photographer with little formal education, Eastman recognized the technological possibilities of the newly discovered dry plate method of photography, which, by substituting a dry coat of

gelatin emulsion containing silver salts for the wet collodion then in use, allowed plates to be prepared well in advance and developed long after exposure. For three years Eastman worked as a bank clerk and experimented at night in his mother's kitchen. By 1880, having developed both a successful formula for creating gelatin emulsions and a patent for a machine to mass produce the pre-coated dry plates for sale to other photographers, he began commercial distribution. Devoted unconditionally to the quality of his product, he once recalled and replaced a batch of defective plates already in the hands of dealers. "Making good on those plates took our last dollar," he said; "but what we had was more important—reputation."

As manager of all phases of the new company's operations, Eastman—assisted by a full-time research scientist—continued pursuing ways to simplify the photographic process. One result was American film (1884), a three-layered strippable negative that eliminated the burdensome glass plate and became the forerunner of all modern film. By 1888, the Kodak camera, the first camera uncomplicated, affordable, and portable enough to be used by large numbers of amateur photographers, was introduced with the slogan "You Push the Button, We Do the Rest"; after use, the camera was mailed back to Rochester for film processing and reloading. The new camera also marked the initial appearance of "Kodak," a name coined by Eastman himself. Noting the "strength" and "incisiveness" of his favorite letter "K" (the first letter of his mother's maiden name, Kilbourn), Eastman had played with it in various combinations. The resulting word "Kodak," trademarked in 1888 and today one of the company's most valued assets, was, according to Eastman, "short" and "[in]capable of mispronunciation," and it would not be "associated with anything . . . except the Kodak [camera]."

Other photographic innovations followed, including the first commercial transparent roll film, which made possible Thomas Edison's developments in motion pictures; the pocket (1895) and folding pocket (1898) Kodak cameras, which are considered the ancestors of all modern roll-film cameras; and the inexpensive but revolutionary Brownie camera (1900), which sold for \$1.00 plus 15 cents for film. Each time a new possibility for the photographic medium arose, Eastman seized the opportunity: for instance, he entered into an agreement to supply plates and paper for Wilhelm Roentgen's newly discovered x-ray process and produced the first film especially coated for motion pictures. (Today, over 90% of all motion pictures are shot on Kodak film.)

Yet Eastman was more than a brilliant inventor; he was also a remarkably shrewd and progressive businessman who followed four very modern principles: mass production, low product pricing, foreign and domestic distribution, and extensive advertising. So strong was Eastman's belief in the last principle that he promoted his company's products in the leading papers and periodicals of the day, often writing the ads himself. He inaugurated the use of the "Kodak Girl" to pitch his cameras; instructed his advertising department to embark on ambitious campaigns, like the installation of 6,000 road signs ("Picture this! Kodak as you go") on American highways in the early 1920s; linked the marketing of the Brownie to Palmer Cox's familiar cartoon characters; and tied in products to particular audiences and events—e.g., Boy Scout Brownie Cameras (1932), New York World's Fair Baby Brownies (1939), and Kodak Coquette Cameras, with matching lipstick holders and compacts (1930).

Believing that employees deserved more than just a good wage, Eastman implemented benefit, accident, and pension funds, as well as company reward programs, like the "Wage Dividend" program, in which workers benefitted above their wages in proportion to the

yearly dividend on the company stock. Eastman's social philosophy also extended to his personal life: a noted philanthropist who often posed as "Mr. Smith," he contributed generously to educational and cultural institutions and to other charities, especially those that supported improved children's welfare. On one day alone in 1924, he gave \$30 million to MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), from which he recruited some of his best scientists and engineers; the University of Rochester; the Hampton Institute; and the Tuskegee Institute. In 1932, moments after bequeathing the bulk of his estate to the University of Rochester, an ailing Eastman took his own life. His suicide note was simple and direct: "My work is done. Why wait?"

With the introduction of products such as Kodachrome color film (1935), cartridge-loaded Instamatic still and movie cameras (1960s), the disc camera series (first marketed in 1982), digital and single-use cameras, and with various advances in optics (established as a Kodak department as early as 1912) and imaging technologies, the company that George Eastman founded remains on the cutting edge of professional and amateur photography.

—Barbara Tewa Lupack

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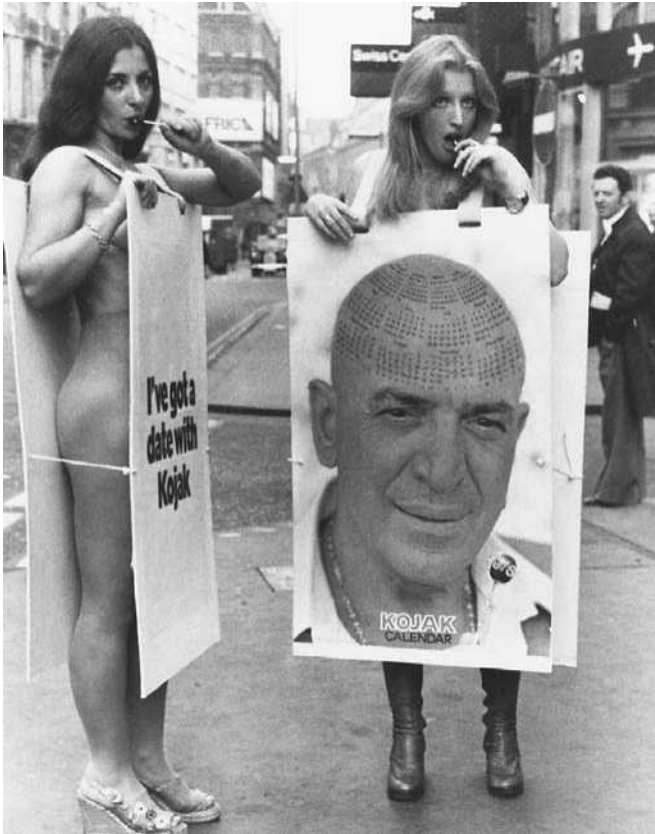
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## *Kojak*

The popular TV series *Kojak* took its name from the character of Lieutenant Theo Kojak, the iconoclastic commander of a detective squad at the Manhattan South precinct in New York City and one of the more memorable characters to appear on 1970s television. With his habitual consumption of lollypops and his trademark line, "Who loves ya, baby?," Lt. Kojak earned a loyal TV following that ultimately led to cult status as one of the small screen's most endearing law enforcers.

At first Telly Savalas, the actor who brought Lt. Kojak to life, might have seemed an unlikely candidate for a television hero. The fortyish Greek-American actor, with his shaven head, substantial nose, and unconventional looks, had generally played villains throughout his career. Among his many portraits of evil, he had depicted Pontius Pilate (*The Greatest Story Ever Told*), James Bond's nemesis Ernest Stavro Blofeld (*On Her Majesty's Secret Service*), and redneck psychopath Archer Maggot (*The Dirty Dozen*). But Savalas turned out to be an inspired choice for the role of the tough-but-tender detective. *Kojak's* first appearance was in the made-for-TV movie *The Marcus-Nelson Murders*, broadcast in the spring of 1973. Widely regarded as one of the best television films ever made, the two-hour special won two Emmy Awards (for writing and directing) and generated network interest in a series, which premiered in the fall of 1973 and ran five seasons, airing a total of 112 hour-long episodes.



An advertising campaign for the television show *Kojak*.

Although the opening title sequence included footage of Kojak firing a pistol, the character rarely engaged in violent action during the weekly episodes. Kojak usually solved crimes by interpreting evidence, persuading reluctant witnesses, playing department politics when necessary, and directing his squad of detectives while conducting an investigation. As an urban crime drama, *Kojak* did not lack for incidents of violence—but these were typically played out either by criminals or by Kojak's detectives while engaged in apprehending the criminals. As such, the principal enforcer on Kojak's squad was Detective Bobby Crocker (played by Kevin Dobson). Other regular cast members included Kojak's boss, Captain McNeil (Dan Frazier), Detective Saperstein (Mark Russell), and Detective Stavros (played by Savalas' brother George, but billed in the cast as "Demosthenes").

Although the show was cancelled in 1978, the character of Kojak was revived several times during the next decade. He was the protagonist in two made-for-TV movies: *The Belarus File* (1985) and *The Price of Justice* (1987). Then, in 1989, Savalas agreed to portray Kojak in a series of two-hour shows to be part of a "wheel" program, *The ABC Saturday Mystery*. As such, the adventures of Kojak alternated with three other detective shows, including the popular *Columbo*, starring Peter Falk. The new show, which lasted only one season, promoted Kojak to Inspector and surrounded him with a new supporting cast—including Andre Braugher, who would later go on to acclaim and an Emmy Award for his work on another cop show, *Homicide: Life on the Streets*. Telly Savalas died in 1994.

—Justin Gustainis

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## Koontz, Dean R. (1945—)

Few writers have labored as long and as hard as Dean R. Koontz has to achieve his reputation as a writer of high quality commercial suspense fiction. Not only has he produced quality works in a variety of genres, but Koontz has also become a leading advocate for quality writing and creativity, producing two guides for would-be writers of fiction. Clearly one of the more significant trend-setters of the twentieth century when it comes to maintaining integrity in the highly commercialized fiction market, Koontz's reputation is well deserved.

Born an only child in Everett, Pennsylvania, in 1945, Dean Ray Koontz married his high school sweetheart, Gerda Cerra, in 1966. That same year he published his first story, "Kittens," in *Atlantic Monthly*, an auspicious beginning for a young writer. Taking a job as a teacher-counselor in the Appalachian Poverty Program, Koontz published his first stories as a professional writer, "Soft Come the Dragons" and "Behold the Sun," both of which appeared in *The Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction*. A year later, Koontz worked as a high school English teacher in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, writing after the school day was done. By 1969 he had sold 20 short stories and three short novels, all works of science fiction. That year, he left his job as a teacher to write full-time. In quick succession, more science fiction stories and novels came into print, with his novella *Beastchild* receiving a 1971 Hugo nomination.

In 1972, Koontz's prolific output and perception by the public as a writer of science fiction forced him to adopt the first of several successful pseudonyms. His goal, as he made clear in various interviews, was to break out of the claustrophobic shell imposed by commercial category fiction. Under the watchful eye of Random House editor Lee Wright, Koontz adopted the *nom de plume* of K. R. Dwyer and wrote his first thriller, *Chase*. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, alongside fiction that continued to appear under his own name, Koontz wrote thrillers, mysteries, romance novels, horror tales, and even science fiction as Brian Coffey, Anthony North, Richard Paige, Aaron Wolfe, John Hill, David Axton, Leigh Nichols, and Owen West. Only in the early 1990s did Koontz give up his various guises, republishing several of his pseudonymous works under his own name.

Koontz's success can largely be summed up by the attention he consciously has paid to his craft. Unlike many of his commercial peers, Koontz recognized right away that to use a formula for writing commercial fiction meant caring deeply about that formula. For evidence of this heartfelt belief, one only needs to look at his nonfiction work. In 1972, owing to his early success, Koontz was tapped by the publishers of *Writer's Digest* to author *Writing Popular Fiction*, a how-to guide for beginning writers of popular fiction. Nine years later, he revisited the topic in *How to Write Best-Selling Fiction*, also published by *Writer's Digest*. In the first guide, the still novice writer emphasized the profitability of category fiction, offering basic advice about the various genres in which he had written. In the latter guide, his earlier suggestions were turned on their head as the seasoned writer admonished would-be writers to avoid all forms of category fiction, providing instead pointers for the creation of high quality cross-genre suspense fiction. According to Koontz, between



the words “Popular” and “Best-selling” lie all the differences between two approaches to writing, a reflection of his decision in 1973 (a year after publishing *Writing Popular Fiction*) to leave the narrow field of science fiction.

Signs of Koontz’s early success as a writer came first with contracts he had landed at major publishers like Random House, Atheneum, and Bobbs-Merrill. His novels *Demon Seed* (Bantam, 1973) and *Shattered* (Random House, 1973) proved especially auspicious, receiving film treatments by Metro Goldwyn Mayer and Warner Brothers respectively, in 1978. Film versions of *Watchers* and other thrillers from the 1980s, however, eventually convinced Koontz to give up on selling movie rights to his work unless he could retain authorial control of the screenplay. His dissatisfaction with film treatments of his work and strong sense of ownership towards it explain in large part why there have been far fewer Koontz novels filmed than those of his counterpart, Stephen King. This proprietary sensibility has even been extended to the published editions of his early work. As a result, Koontz has retrieved the copyright for all of his early and out-of-print science fiction, with the avowed intent of either republishing certain works in rewritten form (as in the case of his 1973 novel *Invasion*, written as Aaron Wolfe, which appeared completely reworked in 1994 as *Winter Moon*) or keeping them out-of-print as long as copyright law permits.

Koontz’s critical reception has always been, and continues to be, positive. Reviewers recognize that his fiction is no more and no less than high-standard commercial fiction and, as a consequence, have scored him well in that regard. Few of his novels have achieved the level of artfulness of contemporaries like Stephen King and Clive Barker, or lesser-known fiction writers like Ramsey Campbell and T. E. D. Klein. Koontz does not like to experiment, barring such rarities as *The Voice of the Night* and *The Vision*. Certain patterns clearly emerge in most of his mature, later fiction: there is always a love interest; major and important minor characters generally come from dysfunctional families and broken homes (based in part on Koontz’s own); an oddball sense of humor infiltrates the occasional banter between characters; and his politics, when revealed at all, incline towards a libertarian, anti-gun control stance with a strong dose of pro-civil rights liberalism thrown in. Finally, despite his abdication of the genre, science fiction—based premises run throughout the later major fiction: *Watchers*, *Shadowfires*, and *Midnight* focus on the threat of genetic engineering; *Night Chills* offers a disturbing portrait of mind control; the story of *Lightning* is driven by time travel; and *Dragon Tears*, *The Vision*, *The Bad Place*, and *Cold Fire* depend upon the psychokinetic abilities of their protagonists and antagonists.

Because he cares about his craft in a way that few commercial writers do, Koontz has risen to the top of bestseller lists; he has demonstrated how much he cares by keeping his lesser works out of print and his major works from the corrupting influence of television and film producers. Popular fiction is meant to give readers pleasure, and Koontz does not fail in his mission. In *The Dean Koontz Companion*, horror-fiction writer Charles de Lint summed up Koontz’s contributions to fiction like this: “Dedication to his craft, an optimistic belief in the inherent goodness of humankind, a loving partner, and business acumen . . . these have all combined in Koontz to give us an author capable of bringing a reader to tears and laughter, sometimes on the same page, in a manner that no other author has been able to duplicate.”

—Bennett Lovett-Graff

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## David Koresh and the Branch Davidians

The 1993 stand-off between federal agents and people inside the Branch Davidian compound at Waco, Texas, resulted in the deaths of approximately 80 Branch Davidians, including leader David Koresh. The tragedy upset Americans in varying degrees. Widespread dismay over the deaths of at least 20 children contrasted with those who used the tragedy at Waco to stoke their anti-government fervor. Blame abounded, as federal decision-making came under question, and Koresh was condemned for putting children in harm’s way.

The compound, named Mount Carmel, was referred to by news accounts as “Ranch Apocalypse.” Prior to the stand-off, an investigation of the Davidians produced evidence of a large illegal weapons stockpile. Reports surfaced that Koresh was molesting children on the compound, to which a 14-year-old girl later testified at a Congressional hearing. Of greater concern was the possibility that Koresh, a self-proclaimed apocalyptic visionary, planned to lead his followers into mass suicide.

Koresh’s apocalyptic visions, reported *U.S. News and World Report*, were broadcast on the radio in exchange for the release of 37 members: “My father, my god who sits on the throne in heaven, has given me a book of seven seals . . . If America could learn these seals they would respect me. I’m the anointed one . . . It’s the fulfillment of prophecy.” Following the broadcast, Koresh turned recalcitrant, unwilling to exchange his “messianic” status in the compound for prison life. Koresh expressed fears of being raped by other inmates, conscious of the fate that child molesters faced in prison.

On February 28, 1993, an initial raid produced a gun battle that killed five Branch Davidians and four ATF (Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms) agents. It was the worst loss of life for federal law-enforcement agents in the twentieth century. The stand-off that ensued lasted 51 days. FBI plans for a tear-gas assault circulated in March and were presented to the new United States Attorney General Janet Reno. The plan was to “ease” the residents out of the compound by injecting tear gas, or CS gas, into the compound. Reno withheld approval until assurances were made that the gas would not harm the children, knowing that the gas masks on the compound would not fit their faces. According to Dick Reavis, a civilian expert from the Army research center in Maryland told Reno that “although there had been no laboratory tests performed on children relative to the effects of the gas, anecdotal evidence was convincing that there would be no permanent injury.” Reno approved the plan on April 17.

As if the situation in the barren prairie was not surreal enough, the FBI employed a bizarre tactic, using loudspeakers to blast Tibetan monk chants and the rantings of Koresh into the compound. An



Fire engulfs the Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas on April 19, 1993.

estimated 720 lawmen converged on Waco, including 250 FBI agents and 150 ATF agents. Many suffered the strain of the lengthy standoff. Waco had a 90 percent occupancy rate, making living quarters scarce; agents were scheduled to shifts that lasted weeks at a time. Koresh's tendency to switch gears during negotiations further exacerbated the strain on agents.

The FBI tank and tear gas assault took place on the morning of April 19. News reports placed the death toll between 75 and 95 people, including over 20 children; all were Branch Davidians. Most died from smoke inhalation, but two dozen were killed by gunshot, either by suicide or by another member in the compound.

At 6:02 a.m., CEVs—combat engineering vehicles—punched holes in the compound walls to pump CS gas into the building. The wall openings allowed much of the gas to escape, and made the FBI's assumption—that the gas would prompt an evacuation—invalid. Around 11:40 a.m., the building began to burn, fanned by 30 mile-per-hour prairie winds. Survivors from the compound said the tanks crushed a pressurized tank filled with liquid propane, starting the fire. The FBI maintained they saw flames erupt in several places, indicating the fire was set deliberately by members of the compound.

Survivor Marjorie Thomas, who suffered third-degree burns over 50 percent of her body, described the assault from the inside in Reavis' *The Ashes of Waco*: "The whole entire building felt warm all

at once, and then after the warmth, then a thick, black smoke, and the place became dark. I could hear—I couldn't see anything. I could hear people moving and screaming, and I still was sitting down while this was happening."

The incident at Waco became a self-fulfilling prophecy for the Branch Davidians. The more Koresh sized up the stand-off for its apocalyptic message, the more the FBI viewed Koresh as engaging in stalling tactics. When the FBI responded with pressure to get Koresh to comply, it only confirmed for Koresh that the end was near, and the cycle repeated itself. Congress, which questioned the wisdom of the plan, would conclude that the FBI had not acted illegally.

Anti-government factions regarded the ATF as "jack-booted thugs." A loose network of paramilitary groups sprouted throughout the country, and called themselves "citizen militias." Largely composed of white men, the militias conducted training exercises in isolated areas, acting out their own apocalyptic visions of an impending civil war. One militia member told *Time* in 1994: "The Waco thing really woke me up. They went in there and killed women and children." The militia's anti-government paranoia encouraged wild beliefs, such as foreign soldiers hiding under Detroit in salt mines, and highway signs containing secret markings to guide foreign troops. Not everything spawned by the incident could be shrugged off: the government's assault in Texas contributed to the federal hatred of

Timothy McVeigh, who bombed the Alfred Murrah building in Oklahoma City in 1995.

—Daryl Umberger

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## Korman, Harvey (1927—)

Comic performer Harvey Korman is best known for his work as Carol Burnett's sidekick on *The Carol Burnett Show* from 1967-1977. Korman's talent for physical humor and knack for oddball accents made him a master sketch comic. On the show, his skills were so versatile that he could entertain audiences as a robust Yiddish mama in one skit and become a comical Rhett Butler after the commercial break. During that series, Korman garnered four Emmy Awards, and came to prominence as one of television's outstanding supporting players.

During the 1983-1984 season, Korman delighted small-screen audiences playing dual roles in *Mama's Family*, a situation comedy about a dysfunctional-but-funny small town Southern family. Korman introduced each episode as debonair Alistair Quince, and occasionally appeared as Ed Higgins, the husband of loudmouth Eunice (Burnett). He has appeared in more than 30 films, including several *Pink Panther* features and Mel Brooks farces. Korman has the ability to perform in skits without stealing scenes from stars—a gift that keeps him working in support of the top comic actors in the field.

—Audrey E. Kupferberg

## Kosinski, Jerzy (1933-1991)

Polish-born popular American author of two sociological studies and nine novels, survivor of the Holocaust, husband of the heiress

to the U.S. Steel fortune, avid sportsman, college lecturer, sex club connoisseur—Jerzy Kosinski lived a life as fantastic as his fiction. After winning critical acclaim for *The Painted Bird* (1965) and *Steps* (1968), Kosinski turned increasingly to popular American culture—and to himself—as the subject of his novels. The wickedly satirical *Being There* (1971) became a hit film, also scripted by Kosinski; but later novels like *Cockpit*, *Blind Date*, and *Pinball*, some of which made best-seller lists, sounded false and repetitive notes with the critics. Controversy surrounding the authorship of his books plagued Kosinski in his last years, and it became the topic of his final "auto-fictional" novel *The Hermit of 69th Street* (1988). Nevertheless, Kosinski (who committed suicide in 1991) continues to be read and regarded as a major force in contemporary American fiction.

—Barbara Tewa Lupack

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## Kotzwinkle, William (1938—)

William Kotzwinkle published over two dozen books of fiction in the last three decades of the twentieth century, making his mark in virtually every genre, including mystery, science fiction, social satire, erotica, historical fiction, film novelization, and talking-animal fantasies for children and adults alike.

Born in Scranton, Pennsylvania in 1938, Kotzwinkle told an interviewer in the early 1990s that his original ambition had been to be an actor, but that he kept coming up with lines in his improvisation class which were much better than his acting, so he became a writer instead. Along the way, he also worked as a sign painter, a shipping clerk in a theatrical supply house, and a department store Santa Claus. As a writer, he was a late bloomer—33 years old when his first book, a collection of short stories entitled *Elephant Bangs Train*, was published by Pantheon in 1971. But from then on, the author made up for lost time with a steady output, averaging a book a year from the island home off the coast of Maine he shared with his wife, the novelist Elizabeth Gundy.

By the 1990s, Kotzwinkle had managed to attract loyal followings in multiple genres. With his long-term collaborator and fellow Penn State graduate, illustrator Joe Servello, Kotzwinkle published *Herr Nightingale and the Satin Woman* at Knopf in 1978, earning him a permanent place in the detective-fiction world. Grief-support networks in France in the 1990s were continuing to recommend his *Swimmer in the Secret Sea*, a novel about the loss of an unborn child,

two decades after its publication. *Doctor Rat*, a grim tale of laboratory vivisection as told by its subjects, earned him a World Fantasy Award in 1977, the year after its initial publication overseas.

His science-fiction credentials, combined with a willingness to try anything, led Kotzwinkle to novelize several hit films, including *E. T.: The Extra-Terrestrial*—one of whose spin-offs, *E. T. The Extra Terrestrial Storybook* (1982), won him the 1984 Buckeye Children's Book Award—and *Superman III* (1993). In turn, several of Kotzwinkle's books have been optioned for movie production, including *Jack in the Box* (1980), released as a film in 1991, and *The Bear Went Over the Mountain*, whose cinema rights were acquired by the Jim Henson organization shortly after its publication to rave reviews in 1996.

Kotzwinkle's most enduring gift is his satire, and its sharpest tool a merciless juxtaposition of the sublime and the ridiculous: Chaucerian undercutting in paragraphs that build up a character's world-view with a straight face—even a painterly lyricism at the beginning of a paragraph—only to deflate it with a sharp jab in the last sentence. *The Fan Man* (1974) displays a keen ear for dialect (its protagonist, a spaced-out, more-than-slightly-deranged New Yorker named Horse Badorties, speaks appallingly flawless Lower-East-Side hippie English). *The Midnight Examiner* (1989) hilariously spoofs daily life on a supermarket-tabloid weekly, while *The Bear Went Over the Mountain* (reminiscent of both the children's classic *The Bear that Wasn't* and the film *Being There*) is a devastating send-up of the book-publishing world at the end of the century.

Kotzwinkle has been described as one of the first American postmodern novelists, both because of his eclecticism (a fact reflected in his wide range of publishers) and also because his plots, as such, are arguably nonpermanent art, in keeping with the postmodern aesthetic, and thus less memorable in their sequence of details than are the individual scenes themselves. These, by contrast, have a way of etching themselves indelibly into readers' memory: the euphoria of Horse Badorties tunneling through the wall to his "number four pad," the embarrassment of the loose-boweled suitor at the door of his hot date in *Nightbook*, the dying hallucinations of the old mahout in "The Elephants' Graveyard," the primly sublimated sexual desire flickering at tea between the country vicar and his hostess in *Hermes 3000*, the uneasiness of the heartless pharaoh on the gangplank in "Death on the Nile."

The ease with which Kotzwinkle's books read and the jack-of-all-trades appearance of his booklist belies a concentrated research style. In order to understand Arthur, the rightful author of the book appropriated by Hal Jam, the title character of *The Bear Went Over the Mountain*, Kotzwinkle spent several months sleeping in a tent and meditating five hours a day; and for the sake of authenticity in *Trouble in Bugland*, a children's mystery tale whose detective is a praying mantis, the author claimed to have spent an entire summer on his knees watching crickets. It is an attention to craftsmanship which has assured him a place in American literary history, and if he falls short of ranking as one of the great writers of the twentieth century, it seems likely that, for their sheer pleasure, his books will be read, and re-read, for many years to come.

—Nick Humez

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## Koufax, Sandy (1935—)

Sandy Koufax's dominance of the National League from 1962 to 1966 has led many baseball experts to name him the greatest pitcher of all time. Certainly the overpowering left-hander enjoyed the most impressive run at the top of his game of any hurler in the game's history. He added considerably to his mystique by retiring young and all but disappearing from public view.

Over the course of a twelve-year career, Koufax won 111 games, lost only 34, and collected 2,396 strikeouts. He threw four no-hitters, the last an unforgettable perfect game against the Chicago Cubs on September 9, 1965. Teamed in the starting rotation with the hard-throwing right-hander Don Drysdale, Koufax provided one half of a two-headed pitching colossus that led the Los Angeles Dodgers to three pennants and two world championships.

Born Sanford Braun in Brooklyn, New York, Sandy eventually assumed his stepfather's last name. He played both baseball and basketball in high school, where his strong left arm attracted the interest of scouts for the hometown Brooklyn Dodgers. In 1954, he signed with the club (which moved to Los Angeles in 1958). Koufax struggled in his early years with the team, but showed enough promise to maintain a spot on the roster every spring. Finally, in 1962, he put it all together. Only a circulation problem in his index finger—the first in a long line of arm ailments that would plague him over the course of his career—kept him from a 20-win season.

In 1963, Koufax established himself as baseball's best pitcher. He won 25 games against only five losses as the Dodgers roared into the World Series against the New York Yankees. There Koufax was dominant, winning two games as Los Angeles swept the four-game series. After the season, Koufax was voted the first of three Cy Young Awards.

Koufax battled arthritis to win 19 games in 1964. The next season he decided to give up throwing between starts to save wear and tear on his arm. The result was an overwhelming 26-8 performance in which he established a major league record of 382 strikeouts in 336 innings. He won two more games in the World Series as the Dodgers edged the Minnesota Twins. Again the Cy Young was his by acclamation.

Fresh off a world championship, Koufax and Drysdale used their considerable leverage against the notoriously stingy Dodger ownership. They held out in tandem from signing new contracts until the



Sandy Koufax (left) and Johnny Roseboro.

club agreed to meet their financial terms. The innovative negotiating ploy sent shockwaves around baseball and foreshadowed the power struggle that would eventually result in the establishment of free agency in the 1970s.

Koufax backed up his contract threats with a third Cy Young season in 1966. He posted a 27-9 record with a 1.79 ERA and 317 strikeouts. Again he led the Dodgers into the World Series, where they fell to the Baltimore Orioles. Despite this disappointing finish, Koufax seemed to be at the top of his game.

At the close of the season, Koufax stunned the sports universe by announcing his retirement from baseball. Still only 31, he explained that he did not want to risk permanent damage to his oft-injured left arm. Five years after hanging up his spikes, he became the youngest player ever to be enshrined in baseball's Hall of Fame.

Like a baseball version of J. D. Salinger, Koufax shunned the public eye after his retirement. He worked briefly as a commentator on baseball telecasts, but his shy, diffident manner was ill-suited for TV. When he did make one of his rare public appearances, his every utterance was heeded with a gravity normally reserved for retired

generals and ex-presidents. To millions of baseball fans worldwide, he remains one of the game's most enigmatic legends.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Kovacs, Ernie (1919-1962)

Ernie Kovacs was one of network television's most daring and innovative comedians. From 1950 to 1962, he used the small screen as his personal canvas, challenging all of the medium's early conventions and assumptions. A master of live television and a pioneer in the

use of videotape, Kovacs realized the potentials of television as an unique art form and paved the way for future experimentation by David Letterman, MTV (Music Television), and artist Nam June Paik.

Kovacs was one of the first stars in television without a preceding career in vaudeville and theater. His sensibility was idiosyncratically attuned to experimenting with video technology and special effects. Although his various series rarely lasted a year, all his programs were marked with a surreal playfulness and inventive use of music. Kovacs was, in the words of critic William Henry III, "probably the best mind that has yet been drawn to television."

Born in Trenton, New Jersey in 1919, Kovacs worked as a newspaper columnist and radio announcer before his transition to television in 1950. He hosted several programs simultaneously on a local NBC affiliate in Philadelphia, including a fashion and cooking show. Station executives at WPTZ noticed his flair for improvisation and asked him to create the first morning show on television. *For 3 to Get Ready* (named after channel 3 in Philadelphia) Kovacs created a zany atmosphere to wake up his audience. He ad-libbed with the camera crew and spoke directly with his viewers, even forming a special club, the Early Eyeball Fraternal and Marching Society. He set the pattern for his later comedy by using cheap, offbeat props, including a pair of novelty glasses that inspired the creation of his enduring character, the fey poet Percy Dovetonsils.

NBC executives took notice of his success in the morning and formulated the *Today Show*; in May 1951 they also gave Kovacs his first network series, *It's Time for Ernie*. The 15 minute afternoon show featured Kovacs alone in the Philadelphia studio, supported by the music of the Tony de Simone Trio. In July Kovacs made his



Ernie Kovacs

prime-time debut, serving as a summer replacement for *Kukla, Fran, and Ollie*. The new series, appropriately called *Ernie in Kovacsland* had a regular cast, featuring singer Edie Adams, who would later become Kovacs' second wife. In January 1952 Kovacs returned to daytime and hosted *Kovacs on the Corner*, a series modeled on a radio sketch of Fred Allen, "Allen's Alley," in which the comedian regularly met a series of oddball characters. Kovacs' denizens included Pete the cop, Luigi the barber, and a midget, Little Johnny Merkin. This time he asked his fans to come to the studio and wave back to the viewers at home, for a segment entitled "Yoo-Hoo Time."

In April 1952 WCBS lured Kovacs and gang to New York for a weekday afternoon show, *Kovacs Unlimited*. Most of the freewheeling gags and skits were completely unrehearsed. The response to the zany comedian led to a brief, prime-time series, opposite Mr. Television, Milton Berle. Unlike most live variety series, Kovacs decided to create his own interior, free associative world without a studio audience. He concocted more and more with visual experiments, often skewering other television shows and commercials in the process. His self-reflexive parodies on the television medium itself provided the inspiration for *Saturday Night Live* and *SCTV*, predating these revolutionary series by 20 years.

During the mid-1950s, television executives had trouble scheduling Kovacs and his electronic adventures. In 1954 the DuMont network programmed Kovacs into the late-night slot. In 1955 Kovacs returned to daytime on NBC and, later that year, to prime time as a summer replacement for *Caesar's Hour*. The latter was his most professional series, with a stable of writers and lavish production numbers, garnering the program three Emmy Award nominations. In 1956 Kovacs became a part-time host of the *Tonight Show*.

For all his series the comedian unleashed a Kovacsian universe of video magic, populated with off-the-wall characters. Most of his creations were insane parodies of familiar television types, including Matzoh Hepplewhite, the inept magician; Uncle or Auntie Gruesome, who recounted macabre fairy tales; Mr. Question Man, who made mockery of the simplest queries; and Wolfgang Sauerbraten, the Bavarian disc jockey. The most bizarre and popular of Kovacs' repertory company was the Nairobi Trio, three instrumentalists dressed in overcoats, bowler hats, and gorilla masks. The Trio acted like mechanical toys, miming to the odd tune of "Solfeggio."

Kovacs was at his most outlandish when he produced, wrote, and starred in special presentations. In 1956 he developed a silent character, Eugene, along the lines of Charlie Chaplin's little tramp. A year later, the Eugene show explored his mute world with only music and sound effects. For this first special done entirely in pantomime, Kovacs created an illusory, illogical world, with sets and objects confounding gravity.

In the late 1950s Kovacs resettled in Los Angeles. He brought his mustachioed good looks to several comic films, most notably the service hijinks of *Operation Mad Ball* (1957); *Bell, Book, and Candle* with James Stewart and Kim Novak (1958), and the spy spoof, *Our Man in Havana* (1960). While in Hollywood, Kovacs hooked up with a sponsor, Dutch Masters Cigars, which had total faith in him. Dutch Masters hired Kovacs, an inveterate cigar smoker, to dream up commercials and host the quiz show, *Take a Good Look*.

During 1961-1962, Kovacs created eight specials for Dutch Masters and ABC that culminated a decade of video exploration. He wanted to take "sound to sight" and pioneered the music video, conjuring up moody, dream-like imagery to accompany Tchaikovsky's *1812 Overture* and Bela Bartok's *Concerto for Orchestra*.

Kovacs wanted to communicate comedy in the most economical fashion and used quick blackouts to express his dark humor. He also employed all electronic effects at his disposal—superimposition, matting, reverse polarity, asynchronous sound—to sustain a world that was off-kilter and slightly perverse. The final special aired posthumously, ten days after Kovacs was killed in an automobile accident.

Ernie Kovacs's motto was "Nothing in Moderation," and this visionary lived life and created programs at a fever pitch. A true television auteur, Kovacs laid the groundwork for future video experimentation, from the mainstream (e.g., *Laugh-In*, *Monty Python*, *Pee-wee's Playhouse*) to the avant-garde (e.g. Laurie Anderson, William Wegman). He proved that one man with a singular sensibility could flourish in commercial television; his legacy was spectacular, but all too brief.

—Ron Simon

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## Kraft Television Theatre

From the opening night on May 1, 1947, until its close on October 1, 1958, the *Kraft Television Theatre* produced 650 small screen dramas of remarkably high quality and consistency. Ranging from Shakespeare to original contemporary plays, and presented live on camera by some of America's best actors and directors, *Kraft Television Theatre* helped to bring the television industry out of its infancy. In May 1946, the number of television sets produced in the United States totaled a mere 225. A year later, when *Kraft Television Theatre* premiered, there were 8,690. Set production soon began to soar, as Kraft's prestigious series of live theatrical events signaled the advent of television's Golden Age.

Television drama became an important showcase for young writers such as Rod Serling, Paddy Chayefsky, Reginald Rose, and Tad Mosel. The motion picture studios owned the rights to most of the important new plays and were reluctant to permit the works to be aired by their upstart rival, thus television was forced to seek out and buy original drama. During the 1956-57 season Kraft offered a \$50,000 prize for the best original play produced during the year, to be judged by Helen Hayes, Walter Kerr, and Maxwell Anderson. The prize went to William Noble for his television play *Snapfinger Creek*.

Actors who appeared on the *Kraft Theatre*, many in the early stages of their careers, included Jack Lemmon, Art Carney, Joanne Woodward, Paul Newman, Martin Milner, Cloris Leachman, Lee Remick, James Dean, Grace Kelly, Anthony Perkins, Rod Steiger, and E.G. Marshall. Among the memorable productions were a drama about the sinking of the *Titanic* (1956), with a cast of 107; *Alice in Wonderland* (1954), starring Robin Morgan as Alice and Art Carney as the Mad Hatter; *Romeo and Juliet* (1954), starring sixteen-year-old Susan Strasberg; and Eugene O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones* (1955),

with Ossie Davis in the title role. In 1956 James Whitmore starred in *Profiles in Courage*, and the show was introduced by then Senator John F. Kennedy, author of the book from which the script was adapted.

In order to attract a more youthful audience, in the mid-1950s a number of plays centered on popular music were presented in the series. Popular singers who acted and sang in these shows included Gisele Mackenzie, Ferlin Husky, and Julius LaRosa. Rock and roll reared its head in 1957 with Tommy Sands playing an Elvis Presley-type role in *The Singing Idol*. A song featured in this telecast, "Teenage Crush," sold one million records. That same year, Sal Mineo introduced his biggest hit, "Start Movin'," in a *Kraft Theatre* production, *Drummer Man*.

An important footnote to the *Kraft Theatre* series was the proof it presented of television's ability to sell products. In early 1947, Kraft decided to give the new medium an acid test, promoting a new product, McLaren's Imperial Cheese—selling poorly at a then-expensive one dollar per pound—exclusively on its new dramatic series. By the third week, every package of the new cheese in New York City had been sold.

When the series ended its long run of live television drama, *TV Guide* summarized the astounding statistics: During its eleven and a half years, *Kraft Theatre* had presented 650 plays chosen from 18,845 scripts, starred or featured 3,955 actors and actresses in 6,750 roles, rehearsed 26,000 hours on 5,236 sets. Costs rose from \$3,000 for the debut production in 1947 to \$165,000 in 1958. Ed Rice, who was script editor during the show's entire run, said that the entire studio space used in 1947 was half the size needed to produce commercials alone in 1958. These statistics, however, do not begin to measure the importance the series had in elevating popular culture in America during the Golden Age of Television.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Krantz, Judith (1928—)

American author Judith Krantz achieved astounding commercial success with her debut novel in 1978, *Scruples*. Like many of her subsequent bestsellers, *Scruples* was made into a television miniseries, and set the standard for what came to be called the "money/sex/power" novel. Krantz—and her successors in the genre, Jackie Collins and Barbara Taylor Bradford—in essence recreated the Cinderella story, chronicling a sympathetic heroine's quest toward personal fulfillment and abundant material wealth. Her books have sold millions of copies worldwide, but her spectacular success has

also signified great shifts in the publishing world: she was one of the first writers of popular fiction to be marketed as a celebrity.

Krantz, born in the late 1920s, grew up in affluent surroundings on New York's Central Park West. Her father was an advertising executive who taught her how to write advertisement copy, and her mother enjoyed a career as an attorney during an era when professional working mothers were a rarity. Krantz graduated from Wellesley College and after a year in France worked in the Manhattan magazine publishing world in the early 1950s. In 1953 she married a television cartoonist who later turned film producer, Steve Krantz, and they resided in New York until the early 1970s. From both there and in their new Los Angeles home, Krantz, the mother of two, wrote freelance articles for women's magazines such as *Cosmopolitan* and *Good Housekeeping*. When she began to notice that popular fiction did not seem to offer a lot of titles aimed at women readers that were actually written by a female pen—only the late Jacqueline Susann stood out among the roster—she decided to try her hand at a novel.

*Scruples* was published in early 1978 and hit the top of the *New York Times* bestseller list a few months later; it remained there for one year. Its tale—ugly-duckling Boston Brahmin girl Billy Ikehorn spends a college year in Paris, comes back gorgeous, opens a ritzy designer boutique on Rodeo Drive, and becomes a rich and famous film producer with her handsome, adoring European husband—struck a chord with the reading public, especially women. Krantz's Ikehorn was blessed with beauty and some inherited money, but had gone to the “school of hard knocks” and ultimately achieved her power and abundant, minutely detailed luxuries through simple hard work. For millions of working women across all income strata, it was a modern-day Horatio Alger tale. In two years *Scruples* sold 4.6 million copies and Krantz became a household name.

Her second novel, *Princess Daisy*, set a record for reprint bidding even before the hardcover edition appeared on shelves—Bantam's purchase of the paperback rights at \$3.2 million was, at the time, the most ever paid for a work of fiction. Establishment critics derided *Princess Daisy* (1980), and many in the publishing industry saw it and Krantz as harbingers of a new style of doing business, marked by a great deal of pre-print hype, and national tours by the author—now a figure of celebrity—an integral part of the budget. *Mistral's Daughter*, like her previous two novels, featured the requisite Krantz narrative structure: the strikingly beautiful—in an idiosyncratic way—heroine who either inherits her money—after having to prove herself worthy of it—or comes into it through perseverance and hard work; she also shops a great deal and either lives in or travels to some of the world's poshest places (naturally France and Manhattan figure frequently in the plot). Racy bedroom scenes, long and detailed lists of designer labels and divine food and drink, and actual celebrities from the worlds of fashion and entertainment (always dear friends or colleagues of the heroine's) appear liberally throughout the pages. In her 1986 book *I'll Take Manhattan*, Krantz's heroine lives in Trump Tower and is a friend of the owner, the quintessential 1980s tycoon Donald Trump. Like her other novels, Maxi Amberville's mastery of the city—the ultimate symbol of capitalist success—is a key element in the narrative structure; she is the embodiment of the savvy, sophisticated New Yorker. Mainstream establishment critics usually brutally lambasted this and the author's other novels; one described Krantz's talent for characterization as on “the level of advertising copy.”

Krantz's later books never really achieved the fantastic success of her first few. *Till We Meet Again*, *Dazzle*, *Scruples Two*, *Lovers*, *Spring Collection*, and *The Jewels of Tessa Kent* failed to conquer the bestseller lists. Still, they remained a perennial summertime read or airport purchase. “Charming French designers, designing French charmers, conventionally unconventional sculptors, voracious virgins, testy tycoons, flaky fakes, talented directors and kinky knights in tarnished armor bounce about” through Krantz's novels, noted Barbara Raskin of the *New York Times*. Yet Krantz's plots and characterizations also possess a particularly American slant to them: her heroines always exhibit great personal ambition, and succeed in business at the uppermost echelons of the once male-dominated executive ranks.

Scholar Rita Felski compared the Krantz oeuvre to the classic Bildungsroman of nineteenth-century European literature featuring a young and innocent protagonist, who on his quest toward self-discovery achieves urban sophistication, maturity, fame, and material success through his willfulness, focused ambition, and high personal moral standards. Krantz made her protagonists quintessentially feminine, but with admirably “masculine” traits. Felski, in her essay “Judith Krantz, Author of ‘The Cultural Logics of Late Capitalism’” for *Women: A Cultural Review*, noted that most of the bestselling popular fiction of the 1980s came to model itself on Krantz's formulas, and “the Krantzian heroine, furthermore, was soon dispersed across a variety of media texts and genres, as similar images of striving corporate femininity began to appear in prime-time television drama, advertising, and women's magazines.”

—Carol Brennan

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## Krassner, Paul (1932—)

Paul Krassner was the Alexander Pope, the Dorothy Parker, and the F. Scott Fitzgerald of the 1960s. In his satirical magazine *The Realist*, which began publication in 1958, he revealed himself as a



creature very much of his time but somehow separate from it. He was the voice of sardonic, pomposity-deflating laughter, his barbs aimed at the culture and counter-culture alike. Here's Krassner describing LSD: "Last week I took my third acid trip. This time I saw God. Otherwise, it was nothing."

Krassner was a fellow traveler in drug exploration with Timothy Leary, in political agitation with Abbie Hoffman, in comic innovation with Lenny Bruce. *The Realist* was the dark, warped conscience of the 1960s. With a staff of basically two people, Krassner and a great editor, Bob Abel, it attracted writers like Bruce, Woody Allen, Terry Southern (author of *Dr. Strangelove*), and Avery Corman (*Kramer vs. Kramer*). But its most important writing was done by Krassner himself, in such satirical pieces as "The Parts Left Out of the Manchester Book," in which Krassner purported to have discovered a missing chapter, censored from William Manchester's exhaustive study of the John F. Kennedy assassination, *Death of a President* (1967). In the most striking and scandalous part of Krassner's version, Lyndon Johnson is discovered by a secret service agent performing an unnatural sex act on JFK's neck wound, in an attempt to confuse investigators by changing the angle of the neck wound. Incredibly, this satire achieved a sort of underground echo of the Orson Welles/Howard Koch "War of the Worlds" radio broadcast. Nobody quite stormed the White House demanding that Johnson be impeached for sex crimes, but a surprising number of people believed that this story really had been censored from Manchester's book.

Krassner created one of the most amorphous political movements of the 1960s, perhaps of all time: the Youth International Party. It was amorphous in that it didn't exist; it was a political movement in that it became a huge media creation, and by the end of the 1960s, nearly everyone had heard of it. In 1968, when the Democratic national convention in Chicago turned into a free-flowing riot, the police, the media, and many others blamed the uprising on "the Yippies," Krassner's Youth International Party. Krassner, however, was passed over when the group of "Yippie instigators" who became the Chicago Seven were arrested, although if anyone deserved the publicity that Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, and the rest gained from that media circus, it was Krassner. The cops probably overlooked him because they couldn't figure him out; the FBI, in one report, referred to him as "a raving, unconfined nut." Krassner later titled his memoirs *Confessions of a Raving, Unconfined Nut* (1993).

*The Realist* ceased publication in 1974. Krassner started it up again in 1985, but it no longer had the centrality to the countercultural nervous system that it once had. In addition to his role as a countercultural gadfly, Krassner had his fingers in a number of unlikely pies. One of his most curious jobs was a short-lived stint as editor of *Hustler* in 1978, during that period when *Hustler* publisher Larry Flynt sought to portray himself as a First Amendment defender and counterculture hero. In an unusual foray into the mainstream, Krassner was a writer for the Ron Reagan, Jr., TV series in the 1980s. Through the 1980s and 1990s, Krassner's primary vehicle for his satiric thrusts was standup comedy, which led to his releasing several comedy albums, including *We Have Ways of Making You Laugh* (1996) and *Brain Damage Control* (1997).

—Tad Richards

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## *Krazy Kat*

The newspaper comic strip *Krazy Kat* by George Herriman (1880-1944) concerns a love triangle between Krazy Kat, Ignatz Mouse, and Officer Pupp: Krazy loves Ignatz, Ignatz hates Krazy, Pupp loves Krazy. Ignatz feels compelled to express his hatred of Krazy by tossing a brick at the unoffending cat's head. Krazy longs for the bricks as tokens of the mouse's love. Not realizing that Krazy desires to be pelted by masonry, Pupp pursues Ignatz in order to arrest the mouse before the brick is thrown. One of the strip's major themes is obsession: Ignatz is obsessed with throwing the brick, Krazy with receiving it, and Pupp with stopping it. From this simple premise, Herriman's imagination produced a unique series that many consider the greatest comic strip ever produced.

The action takes place in Coconino County, Arizona, a desert landscape of buttes and mesas. Other residents of Coconino County include Joe Stork ("purveyor of progeny to prince and proletariat"), Kolin Kelly (brick merchant), Walter Cephus Austridge, Mrs. Kwakk Wakk, Gooseberry Sprigg (the Duck Duke), Marijuana Pelona (widow with an ever-growing brood), Don Kiyoti (Mexican bandit), Mock Duck (Chinese launderer), Bum Bill Bee ("pilgrim on the road to nowhere"), Krazy's cousins Krazy Katfish and Krazy Katbird, and Ignatz's wife and three sons.

The strip began as a doodle at the bottom of an episode of *The Dingbat Family*, another Herriman strip, on July 26, 1910. Krazy and Ignatz continued to frolic along the bottom border of their parent strip until 1913, when they were granted a regular daily strip of their own. *Krazy Kat* premiered on Sunday, April 23, 1916, but not in the color supplement; instead, the *Krazy Kat* Sunday page appeared in the drama and art section. The placement of *Krazy* in a different section from the other "Sunday funnies" indicates the strip's appeal to a smaller audience. *Krazy Kat* was beloved by writers, artists, and intellectuals, but did not catch on with the average newspaper reader. Under normal market conditions, the strip might have been cancelled early in its run. *Krazy Kat*, however, had a devoted fan in its publisher, William Randolph Hearst, who kept the strip running.

In 1924, respected critic Gilbert Seldes devoted a chapter of his book *The Seven Lively Arts* to praise for *Krazy Kat*, calling it "the most amusing and fantastic and satisfactory work of art produced in America today." The 1946 collection of the strip boasted an introduction by famous poet e. e. cummings. Few comic strips received such attention from the artistic elite. One element of the strip that attracted this praise was its play with language. Krazy Kat speaks a bizarre and unique dialect, a mixture of a variety of real-life dialects, and creates bizarre puns from what Ignatz says. As Krazy says in a 1918 episode, "language is, that we may mis-unda-stend each udda." Another unique aspect of the strip was its constantly changing landscape. Even as the characters remain stationary, the background often shifts behind them, creating a surreal effect. Other elements in the strip are as indeterminate as the scenery—Krazy's gender, for one. Sometimes Krazy is a "she," sometimes a "he." When questioned about the inconsistency, Herriman explained that Krazy was "a sprite," a

magical being with no gender. A final aspect that often garnered praise was the self-reflexivity of many episodes. Because they live in a world of ink on paper, characters are allowed to redraw their environment.

*Krazy Kat* died with its creator in 1944. Despite the fact that it has long since passed from the funny pages, *Krazy Kat* has never been forgotten. Scholars often place Herriman in the company of the great modernists. For example, M. Thomas Inge has declared that “to the world of comic art George Herriman was its Picasso in visual style and innovation, its Joyce in stretching the limitations of language, and its Beckett in staging the absurdities of life.”

—Christian L. Pyle

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## Krupa, Gene (1909-1973)

Gene Krupa was the most famous drummer of the big band era. His work, first with Benny Goodman and later with his own band,



Gene Krupa

defined jazz drumming for generations of percussionists. His flamboyant style and boundless energy made him the center of attention whenever he played. Krupa was the first legitimate superstar of the drum set, and his work on the classic Goodman tune “Sing, Sing, Sing” was the first extended drum solo in recorded music history. His solos combined controlled frenzy and musical genius.

Krupa’s battles with addiction essentially ended his career in the 1940s. Unable to control his cravings, his skills and popularity rapidly diminished. Although he enjoyed a brief revival in the 1950s when his life story was made into a film with young star Sal Mineo, Krupa never regained his previous international fame.

—Geoff Peterson

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## Ku Klux Klan

The Ku Klux Klan is America’s oldest and most notorious white supremacist organization. Originally formed to combat Reconstruction in the South following the Civil War, it soon became identified with virulent and violent racism, nativism, anti-Semitism, and terrorism. It has been embedded in the American cultural psyche and political consciousness virtually since its inception, evoking fear for its victims and repugnance among the educated and the liberal elements of society, while profoundly influencing the attitudes of those induced to follow its tenets, which are strongly wrapped in a skewed vision of patriotism. The Klan’s public behavior and its treatment and exposure in the media have served to keep its presence in the public eye.

The name derived from the Greek *kuklos*, meaning “circle” and a corruption of “clan,” or family, a fanciful idea created by six idle young Confederate war veterans who relieved the tedium of life in Pulaski, Tennessee, by dressing up in ghostly white sheets by night and playing pranks on their neighbors. Although its numbers gradually increased, the Klan was little more than a gang of ruffians until 1867, when Congress passed the Congressional Reconstruction Act. The new law mandated military occupation of the South, invalidated most of the region’s existing state governments, and decreed that the rights of the newly freed black slaves would be guaranteed by force, if necessary.

Confronted with this challenge to the traditional Southern power structure, the Ku Klux Klan turned to terror, dedicating itself to the continuation of white supremacy in the South, a return to black subjugation, and resistance to any attempts to change the traditional Southern way of life. Its weapons were arson, beatings, torture, mutilation, and murder. No one knows how many people were lynched, shot, burned alive, or beaten to death during the Klan’s initial reign of terror, but these outrages finally spurred Congress to pass anti-Klan legislation in 1871 and 1872. The Federal troops sent

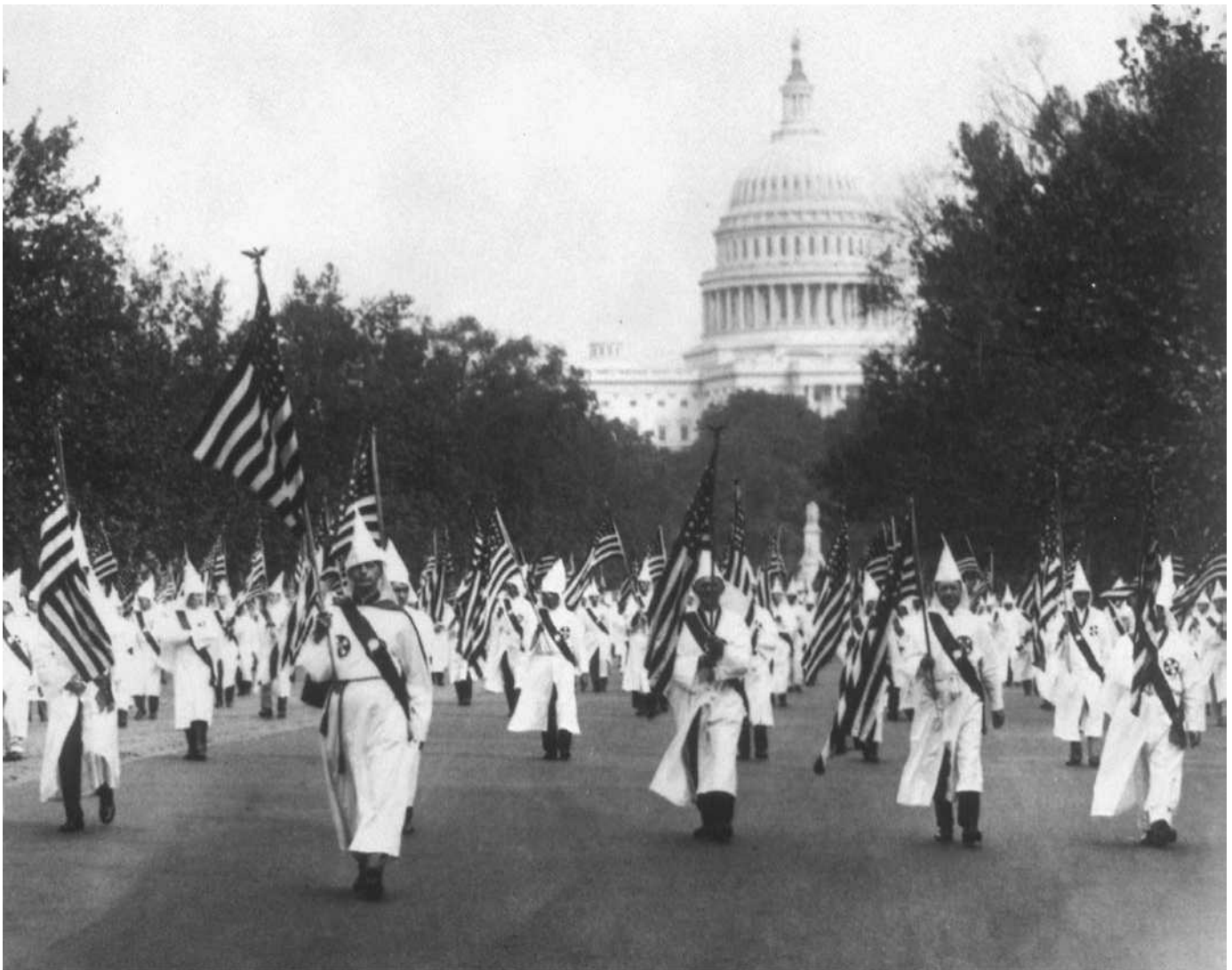
to enforce the law failed to wipe out the Klan, but succeeded in driving it into a period of dormancy. The Klan legend, however, was only beginning.

The first major appearance of the Ku Klux Klan to penetrate the nation’s consciousness occurred shortly after the turn of the century. In 1905, a racist former minister from North Carolina named Thomas Dixon published *The Clansman*, a novel depicting the supposed evils of Reconstruction and the alleged heroism of the Klan in resisting it. A year later Dixon produced a sequel, *The Leopard’s Spots*, which developed the same themes. Both novels sold well, especially in the South, but their real importance comes from the influence they exercised on director D.W. Griffith, who used much of the material in his 1915 epic film, *The Birth of a Nation*. Given the viewpoint of Dixon’s novels, it is unsurprising that Griffith’s classic of the cinema is exceedingly racist. The scenes set during Reconstruction depict blacks as moronic dupes of northern carpetbaggers, and lust-crazed despoilers of white women. The film’s main characters, the Stoneman family, are saved from a savage black mob only by the timely intervention of the Ku Klux Klan.

The film was both hugely popular and immensely inflammatory. It was seen by many whites, protested by many blacks, and frequently caused race riots at theaters where it played; it was also very popular with the Klan, which used it as a propaganda device for recruitment. Klan chapters advertised for new members in newspaper ads, and would insist that their ads run next to those for local screenings of *The Birth of a Nation*. Robed Klansmen attended showings of the film in several cities and towns, handing out literature to the exiting audiences.

Another positive depiction of the Klan could be seen in the 1918 film *The Prussian Cur*. Directed by Raoul Walsh (who had worked with Griffith on *The Birth of a Nation*), this production was one of the last of the “hate films” that flourished in America during World War I, designed to support the war effort by inflaming hostility toward the German enemy. Walsh’s film concerns a German agent in America who, while on a mission of sabotage, is caught and jailed. A group of disloyal German-Americans try to free him, but are thwarted by the arrival of robed Klansmen who return the spy to prison and force his would-be rescuers to kiss the American flag.

The original Klan, which had faded away in the 1870s, had been revived in 1915 by William Joseph Simmons, who commemorated the organization’s rebirth with a cross-burning ceremony atop Stone Mountain in Georgia. The following year Simmons hired a public relations firm to spearhead recruitment for his new Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The Southern Publicity Association, formed in 1917 by Bessie Tyler and Edward Clarke to help sell war bonds, was phenomenally successful in attracting members. The new Klan, which opposed the aspirations of blacks, Jews, immigrants, Catholics, labor unions, and Suffragettes, had much to offer those concerned about the social changes taking place in the United States, and Tyler and Clarke used all the methods of modern public relations to gain favorable publicity for their client. They arranged for journalists to interview Simmons, who charmed them; they secured Klan cooperation in the filming of newsreels designed to show the Klan in a favorable light to the nation’s moviegoers; and they set up impressive public initiation ceremonies for new Klansmen. These also served as rallies designed to attract even more members while garnering publicity for the organization. Tyler and Clarke even hired a Chicago advertising agency to design newspaper ads and billboards, both of which were soon seen all over the country.



A Ku Klux Klan march in Washington, D.C.

The Klan continued to grow during the 1920s, but in the course of the decade it became the subject of controversy in an unlikely place: the pages of *Black Mask*, a popular pulp magazine which was the first publication to introduce “hard boiled” detective stories into American culture. Beginning in 1923, the magazine began an ongoing feature called “Klan Forum,” in which readers were invited to debate the merits of the Klan. At the same time, *Black Mask* began running a series of detective stories with plot lines critical of the Klan. Many of these were written by Carroll John Daly, whose hero, the aptly named Race Williams, opposed the Klan and fought to frustrate its racist activities.

The Klan appeared in popular culture only sporadically during the next several decades. *The Burning Cross* (1948), a film starring Hank Daniels and Virginia Patton, concerned a returned World War II veteran who confronts the Klan in his hometown. In *Storm Warning* (1951), Ronald Reagan played a crusading District Attorney out to convict a group of Klansmen who have committed murder. *The Cardinal* (1963) contained a segment in which Klansmen of the 1930s try to intimidate a Catholic priest, played by Tom Tryon. A 1975

episode of the made-for-TV film series, *The FBI Story*, was “Attack on Terror: The FBI versus the Ku Klux Klan.”

The 1980s, however, saw a revival of media interest in the Klan. The 1981 documentary film *Resurgence: The Movement for Equality vs. the Ku Klux Klan* concerns a two-year strike against a chicken processing plant in Laurel, Mississippi. The strikers, mostly black women, eventually triumph over a hostile management, extended unemployment, and threats of violence by the local Klan who oppose the women because of both their labor activity and their race. Two years later saw the premiere of *Twilight Zone: The Movie* (1983). A homage to Rod Serling’s classic television series, the film contains three stories of the fantastic and the supernatural. In the first, Vic Morrow plays a vicious bigot who is magically transformed into a victim of oppression in several scenarios, one of which has him as the victim a Ku Klux Klan lynching. Perhaps the most prominent of the decade’s Klan depictions was Alan Parker’s powerful *Mississippi Burning* (1988). Partially based on actual events, the film follows an FBI investigation into the murders of three civil rights workers by the Klan in 1964. Gene Hackman, Willem Dafoe, and Frances McDormand

brought star power and intensity to an unrelentingly grim story of murder, hatred, and betrayal.

The next year, television took its turn at transforming the Klan's history into drama. *Cross of Fire*, a two-part made-for-TV movie directed by Paul Wendkos, was broadcast in November 1989. Set in the 1920s, the film focuses on the rise and fall of Klan leader D.C. Stephenson, an actual Klan Grand Dragon in the decade after World War I. The film is concerned less with the activities of the Klan during this period than it is with Stephenson's personal villainy and eventual comeuppance.

However, the media of the 1980s was not solely the province of the Klan's enemies. Klansmen themselves launched vigorous efforts to spread their message and attract new recruits. Beginning in 1984, a former California Klan leader named Tom Metzger began to use public-access cable television to his cause's advantage, and his cause was white racism. Public access channels are, by law, open to anyone who submits a videocassette in the proper format, and Metzger's cassettes contained episodes of his talk show, "Race and Reason." The number of cities in which the show appeared during its six-year run is not precisely known—Metzger claimed 55, his foes said about 20. But it was clear that the Klan had entered the 1990s alive and active, at least insofar as broadcasting was concerned.

Meanwhile, David Duke was busy in Louisiana. Duke, a former Klan leader, tried to put his racist past behind him by claiming that he was not anti-black but rather pro-white. Dubbed "the blow-dried Klansman," he proved adept at modern campaign techniques and learned how to exploit the press for his political purposes. He was elected to the Louisiana State legislature in 1989, but failed in later bids for Governor, U.S. Senator, and the Republican presidential nomination.

The 1990s offered even more exposure, both positive and negative, of the Klan and its message. Daytime talk shows, especially those hosted by Geraldo Rivera, Jerry Springer, and Sally Jesse Raphael, often invited Klan members as guests—usually to face the scorn of both the host and much of the studio audience. The 1990 documentary *Blood in the Face* presented white supremacists, including Klan members, using their own words. Through interviews, video from Metzger's "Race and Reason" program, and video footage of a white supremacist gathering (including a Klan wedding performed in front of a burning cross), the film provides an unflinching portrait of a side of America that many never see.

Other depictions of the Klan were produced for network television and cable. *Murder in Mississippi* (1990) deals with the same crimes as did *Mississippi Burning*, but from the black citizens' point of view. Another made-for-TV film, *Sophie and the Moonhanger* (1995), involves a woman's discovery of her husband's Klan affiliations and his plans for violence against her black friends. In 1998, HBO premiered Spike Lee's film, *4 Little Girls*, focusing on the 1963 Klan bombing of a Birmingham, Alabama, church that left four children dead.

But the most sinister aspect of the Klan in the 1990s involved the World Wide Web. Klan organizations around the country (there are over 80 of them) have learned that they can reach greater numbers of people with a web page than they ever could with leaflets or newspapers—and, unlike an appearance on a talk show such as *Oprah*, there are no jeering crowds; the Klan controls the message, and that message has not substantially changed in over 130 years.

—Justin Gustainis

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## Kubrick, Stanley (1928-1999)

American filmmaker Stanley Kubrick's ambitious and evocative works include widely acknowledged masterpieces like *Dr. Strangelove* (1963), *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968), and *A Clockwork Orange* (1971). Kubrick began making films in 1951, borrowing money from family and friends to produce a short documentary called *Day of the Fight*. Nine years later, he was brought in by Kirk Douglas to replace director Anthony Mann on the set of the Hollywood blockbuster *Spartacus*. But this experience frustrated Kubrick, and it would be the last time that he worked on a film without total creative control. In 1960 he moved from New York to London and began tackling topics of exceptional breadth and cultural concern. Over the next ten years he effectively stamped subjects like the Cold War, the ambiguities of violence, and the limits of human consciousness with his uniquely powerful screen images. Although critics unanimously praise his technical mastery, many remain baffled and outraged by his disturbing narratives.

—John Tomasic

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## Kudzu

Created in 1981 by political cartoonist Doug Marlette (1949—), who was inspired by the fast-growing plant with the same name, the comic strip *Kudzu* reveals the universal aspects of life as depicted in a

small town. Marlette used his experiences growing up in the South to develop his characters and situations. "I located it in North Carolina because I was born there," Marlette said, "but it could be anywhere." His main character, Kudzu Dubose, is an awkward teenager in limbo between childhood and adulthood. Kudzu chronically suffers and good naturedly copes with heartbreak, agony, and failure. He is surrounded by characters who depict common human traits such as narcissism, self-indulgence, and greed.

Marlette selected the name Kudzu for his comic strip and protagonist because his character resembled the kudzu vine. Imported to the United States from Japan in 1876, kudzu flourished in the Deep South's warm climate. "Kudzu is a fast-growing oriental creeper. It was introduced years ago in the South to control soil erosion and is now a menace that covers millions of acres," Marlette explained. "My Kudzu is something of a menace, too, or at least his blunderings are." Marlette noted that both the kudzu vine and his character were pests and defined by their ability to grow despite deterrents. "Like Scarlett O'Hara or Dilsey in Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury*," Marlette stated, "the kudzu plant—and, I hope, the comic strip—endures and prevails."

The cartoon town of Bypass, North Carolina, population 3,401, is a stereotypical small, southern town full of eccentrics. The protagonist, Kudzu Dubose, is a naive adolescent whose innocence causes him problems. Poetic and vulnerable, Kudzu is artistic. The theme of dreams versus reality prevails in his life. Kudzu lives with his overbearing mother, whom he obeys, but he longs to leave home, escaping the boredom of Bypass to discover the world and acquire personal power in his life. Kudzu wants to be a "great writer" and thinks he needs to move to New York City to achieve his dreams. He keeps a journal and has a short story rejected by *The New Yorker* magazine. Kudzu is constantly discouraged, misunderstood, and feels despair, but he determinedly seeks happiness. He also desires romantic love and wears a chest wig in an effort to be more masculine.

Kudzu is oppressed by his mother, who is unwilling to allow her son freedom. Mrs. Dubose is a manipulative woman whose bossy behavior resulted in her husband abandoning her and Kudzu. She is an emotional burden to Kudzu, faking illnesses to control her son by making him feel guilty for not taking adequate care of her. She insists that he wear a beeper so that she can always contact him. She does not appreciate her son's talents, dismissing him when he wins writing contests. Kudzu's closest companion at home is his bird Doris, who does impressions when she is alone, and craves chocolate. Kudzu's Uncle Dub owns a filling station and cafe where he works part time. Dub is crude, anti-intellectual, and insensitive, exactly Kudzu's opposite. A "good ol' boy" who prefers his hunting dogs to humans, Dub is simple while Kudzu is complex.

Kudzu's best friend, Maurice Stonewall Jackson, is an African American who is Kudzu's touchstone with reality. Maurice is cool and self-assured, and his goal is to leave the suburban middle-class lifestyle for an urban ghetto. His mother works as a maid for the Tadsworths, the richest family in town. She dreams of Maurice attending Harvard and knows exactly how many biscuits she has cooked to earn his tuition. Maurice and Kudzu explore black and white identities and relationships in the New South. Kudzu's love interest, Veranda Tadsworth, is the daughter of Bubba Tadsworth, who owns the local mill, has a huge estate, and is the most powerful man in the county. Marlette describes Veranda as being the "Southern Belle from Hell." Materialistic, confident, and self-absorbed,

Veranda callously rejects Kudzu's romantic overtures. His unrequited love for her inspires his creativity. Veranda, who takes shop class thinking it means shopping, ridicules Kudzu's moonlight serenades and love poems.

Preacher Will B. Dunn is a major character in Bypass. Claiming "Human relations is my life," Dunn provides humorous insights about his congregation at Bypass Baptist Church and admits "Let's face it—the sheep are startin' to get on the shepherd's nerves!" His sermons deal with such topics as the Solid Gold Dancers. Dunn sometimes burps while presiding at wedding ceremonies and falls asleep during his own sermons. He sells videos of his sermons and delivers interesting wedding and funeral services with personal comments. Dunn is always looking for heavenly signs that he should continue his ministry. He counsels Kudzu about the meaning of life and writes an advice column, "Tell It to the Preacher," for the *Bypass Bugle*, penning pithy and unhelpful replies. He also hosts the televised *The Reverend Will B. Dunn Show*, providing a toll free number for love offerings. He gossips about his congregants and attends aerobic dance classes. Dunn's goal is to specialize in ministering to the wealthy, and Bubba Tadsworth secures his services. Dunn has a kinder, more reverential side, bringing Christmas gifts to five-year-old Tad Tadsworth when his father makes him work the night shift as a security guard at the mill. American clergy embraced the character of Will B. Dunn as being cathartic for them because he shows that ministers are not perfect. Marlette received the Wilbur Award from the Religious Public Relations Council, and his character's adventures are printed in church bulletins and religious periodicals.

During the 1990s, new characters were introduced such as Nasal T. Lardbottom, Kudzu's classmate and the "whitest white boy"; Mr. Goodvibes, a secular humanist and the school's guidance counselor; and Ida Mae Wombat, an aspiring dental hygienist who desires Kudzu. During the 1990 campaign, Marlette drew Senator Jesse Helms as a character in *Kudzu*. Cartoon Helms waged the Cold War Separation Anxiety campaign against an international artistic conspiracy in response to Helms' real crusade against the National Endowment for the Arts. The strip featured Helms on the reelection campaign trail, nostalgically recalling that when he was younger "art was sad-faced clowns, big-eyed children and black velvet Elvises" and culture was "what the veterinarian scraped off the cow's tongue to check for hoof-and-mouth disease." These *Kudzu* strips were controversial. Many North Carolina newspapers moved *Kudzu* to the opinion pages, and the *Raleigh News and Observer* canceled it. Readers demanded that the strip be resumed, and after election day, the newspaper printed all of the strips. *Kudzu* comic strips have also been published in numerous book collections.

—Elizabeth D. Schafer

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## Kuhn, Bowie (1926—)

A former lawyer, Bowie Kuhn served as baseball commissioner from 1969 to 1984. His achievements included raising baseball's attendance level, procuring lucrative television contracts, and sponsoring night baseball in the World Series. Despite baseball's increasing affluence during this time, Kuhn often claimed that rising player salaries would bankrupt the sport. Kuhn was reluctant to become involved in the several player strikes that plagued his reign, though he did force owners to scrap plans for a 1976 pre-season lockout. While widely perceived as an "owner's commissioner," he suspended owners Ted Turner and George Steinbrenner for various infractions and feuded with Oakland owner Charles Finley. When Finley attempted to unload superstars Joe Rudi, Vida Blue, and others for \$3.5 million in cash, Kuhn nixed the sale, declaring that it was not in baseball's best interests. The owners did not renew Kuhn's contract and he was succeeded by Peter Ueberroth.

—Matt Kerr

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## Kukla, Fran, and Ollie

Outside of Howdy Doody and the Muppets, Kukla and Ollie were probably the most popular and successful puppets ever to appear on television. Unlike Jim Henson's characters, however, they haven't endured or survived beyond the death of their creator. Burr Tillstrom (1917-1985) first brought his quietly funny and eccentric hand puppets to TV in the autumn of 1947. Accompanied by a personable lady named Fran Allison, the mild-mannered, yet egocentric dragon named Oliver and the enthusiastically nice bald little fellow named Kukla (Russian for *doll*) made their debut on a show originally titled *Junior Jamboree* on a Chicago station. The title became *Kukla, Fran, and Ollie* early in 1949. As the coaxial cable spread across the country, so did the half-hour show. By 1951 the popular program was seen nationally at 7 PM weeknights. Initially intended for kids, the Kuklapolitans eventually attracted a large and enthusiastic audience of teenagers and adults as well.

For most of its run from 1949 onward, the show was done live and unscripted from the Merchandise Mart studios of NBC's Chicago station WNBQ. The set was simple, consisting of a sort of portable Punch & Judy theater. Allison stood in front of it, her head on a level with the tiny proscenium, and chatted with Ollie, the falsetto-voiced Kukla, and the other regulars in the puppet cast. These included Fletcher Rabbit, Cecil Bill, Beulah Witch (named after Beulah Zachary, the show's producer) and Madame Ooglepuss. Music was provided by pianist Jack Fascianato. Tillstrom did all the voices and manipulated all the puppets. *Kukla, Fran, and Ollie* was casual and informal, the humor quiet and personal. It fit in with the aims and attitudes of some of the other early shows of what's been called the Chicago School—such as *Garroway At Large* and *Stud's Place*—in the days when television was very much a unique medium and quite a bit more relaxed than it later became. Now and then, Tillstrom and company would attempt something more ambitious, staging miniature musicals and the like, but for the most part the show concentrated on the conversations between Fran Allison and the various facets of Burr Tillstrom. Watching the show regularly had the effect of leading viewers to believe that the puppets were real. Even Allison was said to have operated under that illusion while she was on stage with them.

Tillstrom became interested in puppetry while still in his early teens. Kukla was one of his earliest puppets; Oliver J. Dragon and the others came later. After performing everywhere from nightclubs to department stores, he moved early into television. When the *Junior Jamboree* got underway, he added Allison to the mix. She had been active in Chicago radio for several years, singing in a trio, doing comedy with the offbeat Ransom Sherman, and playing the popular Aunt Fanny on the *Breakfast Club* show every weekday morning.

*Kukla, Fran, and Ollie* remained successful for roughly a decade. It was reported in 1950 that Tillstrom had signed a million-dollar, five-year contract. Despite the broadcast success, the show never managed to inspire much in the way of merchandising. In later years new episodes were done for syndication and Tillstrom produced an occasional special. Kukla, Ollie and the rest died with him in 1985; Fran Allison died in 1989.

—Ron Goulart

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## Kung Fu

Described as an "Eastern Western," *Kung Fu* was one of the seminal television programs of the 1970s. Starring David Carradine as the character Kwai Chang Caine, a Shaolin priest who wandered about the American West during the mid-1800s, the show dealt directly with issues of racism, chronicling the experiences of Chinese immigrants in the West and often aligning them with other marginalized communities, such as African Americans and the working class.

During the early 1970s, the economic dominance of Hollywood was failing, allowing room for experimentation and the development

of new genres. Inspired by the success of the independently produced *Sweet Sweetback's Baadsasssss Song* (1971), directed by Melvin Van Peebles, the mainstream industry co-opted the film's revolutionary aesthetic and politics to create Blaxploitation films—urban action movies featuring African-American casts. Also influencing the industry were films by the world's third largest producer, Hong Kong. Imported martial arts films such as *Five Fingers of Death* (1972) and *Fist of Fury* (1972) shared the top spots with *Superfly* (1972) and *Coffy* (1973). Emerging on the heels of the Civil Rights movement and the struggle for gender equality, these two genres found their biggest audiences with people of color in urban areas, for they featured non-White heroes fighting against oppression. In Blaxploitation films, the stars struggled against White domination and racism; in the Hong Kong martial arts films, the protagonists challenged colonialism and the Japanese. The popularity of these films was not lost on the television industry, for on February 22, 1972, a ninety-minute pilot for a new series was aired on the ABC network—*Kung Fu*, created by Ed Spielman and Howard Friedlander. The success of the pilot, which earned a 33 percent share of the primetime audience, resulted in a one-hour drama series that was to last three seasons.

*Kung Fu* was an odd show for television for, as producer/writer John Furia, Jr. states, it “lacked frantic, frenetic motion. Our characters moved and spoke slowly, and tersely. They used fewer words

rather than more.” The show also brought to mainstream America precepts of Confucianism, Taoism, and Zen. Stylistically it also differed from other programs, for it made frequent use of flashbacks and used slow motion during its action sequences.

*Kung Fu* was frequently criticized because of its contradictory nature. Though the character of Caine was depicted as a non-violent man, every episode featured his use of martial arts in a physical altercation. Another problem was the casting. Martial arts star Bruce Lee, master of *jeet kune do*, was considered for the role, but it was given to White actor Carradine. Asian Americans protested the decision, but the show got around the issue by making Caine a person of mixed heritage. He was the son of a White American man and a Chinese woman.

Despite these issues, *Kung Fu* was a favorite among television viewers. It was commercialized through products such as lunch boxes and caused an increase in interest of martial arts and Asian cultures.

—Frances Gateward

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A typical moment from the *Kukla, Fran, and Ollie* show.



## Kwan, Michelle (1980—)

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Michelle Kwan is often called the best all-around figure skater of her generation, with a particular emphasis on artistry. Extremely popular, she most resembles ice queens Peggy Fleming and Kristi Yamaguchi, successfully combining grace and athletic ability as well as achieving artistic and financial success. Her consistent excellence and precocity made her a star; in 1994, a thirteen year-old Kwan stepped easily into the vacuum left by Nancy Kerrigan's turning professional. Initially, Kwan was presented as an "exotic" but found her stride as an interpreter of classical pieces. Kwan remained optimistic about her Olympic prospects for a gold medal after narrowly losing to Tara Lipinski in 1998 at Nagano. A frequent performer in ice shows and pro-am competitions, Kwan is remarkable for her professionalism and unaffected manner.

—Mary Hess

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# L

## L. A. Law

A ground-breaking prime-time television series, *L. A. Law* emerged in 1986 from the stable that had brought a new veracity to ensemble series drama with *Hill Street Blues*. Setting his new show in a high-powered law office, trend-setting producer Steven Bochco (and co-writer Terry Louise Fisher), while expanding on the concept of multiple storylines, rooted these firmly in character-driven scripts of intelligence, authenticity, and wit. Gone were the idealized television attorneys of yesteryear such as Perry Mason. This team, played by a large A-grade cast, presented a realistic cross-section of the likable, the insecure, the authoritative, and the downright smarmy. Many of the situations straddled several episodes, and involved a seamless blend of office politics, love affairs, or sexual misadventure, played out parallel with the firm's legal concerns, ethical dilemmas, and courtroom appearances. The fundamentally serious approach was leavened with doses of witty dialogue and occasionally outrageous absurdities.

Because the law firm dealt in multiple areas of the law, the cases were able to legitimately range from divorce to murder, and to engage a variety of complex contemporary issues from date rape and child abuse to capital punishment, outing of homosexuals, and voluntary euthanasia. *L. A. Law* ran between 1986 and 1994. It collected 20 Emmy Award nominations in its first season, and won four Best Drama Emmys, as well as Golden Globes, Television Critics Association Awards, and a Peabody Award. Most significantly, its approach and narrative style paved the way for the even more compelling relationships and finely honed characterizations of *E.R.* in the 1990s.

—Sandra Garcia-Myers

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## L. L. Cool J. (1968—)

Calling himself the “mic” dominator, best of all time,” L. L. (Ladies Love) Cool J. strutted onto the hip-hop scene with his debut album *Radio* in 1985. He was the first artist released under Def Jam’s landmark six-figure distribution deal with Columbia Records and rose to prominence when his track “I Can’t Live Without My Radio” featured in the movie *Krush Groove* (1985). L. L. Cool J. (born James Todd Smith) is credited with creating rap’s first ballad, “I Need Love,” a slow, sexy love song to that one special girl. Since then he has released further albums that continued his lyrical braggadocio and

rap egotism: *Bigger and Deffer* (1987), *Walking With a Panther* (1989), *Mama Said Knock You Out* (1990), *14 Shots to the Dome* (1993), *Mr. Smith* (1995), and *Phenomenon* (1997).

—Nathan Abrams

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## “La Bamba”

Ritchie Valens helped merge traditional Mexican music with American rock ‘n’ roll when he recorded “La Bamba” in 1958. Since his version, “La Bamba” has been recorded over 150 times in the United States. The lasting influence of Valens’s music after his tragic death in 1959 made *La Bamba* a fitting title to the 1987 movie that chronicled the brief life and rise to fame of the Chicano singer. The sound tract of the film, recorded by Los Lobos, regenerated interest in the song in the mainstream media. The song has a long history, recorded by Trini Lopez in 1966, by the Plugz in 1979, and also by the Rice University Marching Band and the Mormon Tabernacle Choir.

The rhythmic history of “La Bamba” places it as a “*son jarocho*,” meaning a musical form of the *jarocho*, the mixed race people of the eastern coastal region of Mexico. La Bamba was also the name of a dance from the Mexican colonial period, a very old musical tradition that merged African, Caribbean, and indigenous cultures from the southern part of the state of Veracruz. The *sones jarochos* are performed on stringed instruments like a small harp, a small eight-string guitar, and a small four-string guitar. La Bamba was performed in the famous Coliseo Theatre in Mexico City in 1790. Despite its long history and varying versions, “La Bamba” is inextricably linked to the emergence of Chicano Rock in America.

—Rafaela Castro

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## Labor Unions

Throughout much of the twentieth century, the American labor movement has been a dynamic force for social change. The struggle for workplace representation and social equality has reshaped much of the American political landscape. Yet, the cultural impact and significance of labor unions goes far beyond the political action of shop floor organization. Unions, both through their actions and union imagery, have deeply influenced American popular culture. At different times and in different ways, workers have used their unions to define their own sense of individual and collective identity. Unions have been at the forefront in defining American working-class masculinity. They have struggled with the issues of gender relations both within their organizations and with their imagery and rhetoric. Labor organizations have served as both standard bearers of racial separation and forces for racial integration. While the labor movement has helped to create a forum for social action and some union members have been at the forefront of other social movements, unions have also been a force of conservatism, moderation, and a continuing identity of whiteness. Thus, the cultural impact of unions on twentieth century American popular culture is multi-faceted and conflicted. Through their own actions and the representations of unions in American film, music, television, and literature, labor organizations have served as a focal point for the construction of a sense of community. While this community provided some with a collective identity and a sense of belonging, it also defined whom the community accepted and who remained outside of it.

Racial and ethnic divisions played a significant role in labor organizing during the nineteenth century. In many ways, ethnic communities and similarities fostered organization within that ethnicity; for instance, Irish-American workers were likely to join Irish

labor unions. Yet, such actions opened the door for company managers to play one ethnicity, or race, off another. Capital broke the post war strikes of 1919 with such actions. Because of their insulated ethnic and racial communities, workers were not able to transcend the divisions that separated them. Following 1919, both capital and labor leaders tried to learn from their mistakes. Seeing the strength of ethnic-based organizations, businesses tried to diversify their workforce and combine different ethnicities and races. Such work place interaction, however, only assisted the development of trans-ethnic and trans-racial organizing. With the collapse of the economy in 1929, ethnic banks, stores, and other pillars of ethnic cohesion collapsed. As the last vestiges of the ethnic community went bankrupt, workers turned to each other and to their unions to reestablish a sense of community.

Such trans-ethnic and trans-racial organizations proved to be the backbone of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The new labor congress based itself on the concept of clear class-consciousness. Workers would have standing in the industrial union regardless of skill, trade, ethnicity, race, or gender. Although later developments would prove racism and sexism a persistent problem for the labor movement, the CIO's commitment to trans-racial organization remains significant. Many CIO members truly believed in the late 1930s that they had overcome racial and ethnic divisions. However, the career of A. Philip Randolph and the struggle of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters show that the internal conflict over racial identity remained an important part of the American labor movement.

By the first couple of decades of the twentieth century, Pullman sleeping cars had become the epitome of luxury in railroad travel. An essential part of the Pullman experience was the service of the Pullman porter. Always an African-American male, the porter's job was to see to every need of the passenger. When these porters tried to organize into the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP)



Samuel Gompers (second from left), leader of the American Federation of Labor, with other union officials in 1918.

beginning in the mid-1920s, they encountered resistance not only from the Pullman Company but also from the predominately white CIO as well. The Pullman workers appointed as their leader A. Philip Randolph, a veteran civil rights advocate. As president of the BSCP, Randolph took on much of the leadership of the CIO, pointing out to them the hypocrisy of denying admission to a black union. White unionists' backlash against Randolph and the BSCP suggests the persistence of racism within the labor movement. For many white workers, their union jobs helped to define them not only as workers but as whites as well. A white organization that held black workers aside reinforced racial identities and hierarchies.

The porters' selection of Randolph to lead their organizing drive demonstrates the important connections that existed between labor and other social movements. Before he joined the BSCP, Randolph worked for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Even after becoming the union president, Randolph remained closely tied to the campaign for civil rights. Randolph and other black trade unionists were an important part of the 1941 March on Washington Movement. By threatening a mass demonstration in Washington, Randolph forced President Franklin Roosevelt to open wartime production jobs to black workers. A. Philip Randolph remained a major figure in the Civil Rights movement and was a prominent figure on the march on Washington in 1963 led by Martin Luther King, Jr. Trade union activity not only helped to define a conservative white identity; rather racial minorities also used labor organizations to foster racial pride as well. Thus, when African-American garbage men struck in Memphis during 1968, they walked their picket lines with the simple slogan "I am a man."

Likewise Chicano farm laborers looked to labor organizations to claim their sense of self worth and racial identity. In the mid-1960s, the United Farm Workers (UFW), led by Cesar Chavez, organized in the fields of California where large producers hired mostly migratory farm laborers to harvest their crops. The farm workers organized mostly to protect themselves from poor wages, dangerous work, and hazardous chemicals, yet UFW demonstrations were full of references to Chicano culture and racial pride. Much like the Irish or Polish labor unions of the late nineteenth century, Mexican-American ethnic cohesiveness fostered labor organization and vice versa. Yet, the response within the AFL-CIO and other trade unions was mixed. Like the campaign of the BSCP, the rise of the UFW threatened the racial identity of many white trade unionists. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, for example, launched a campaign to both unionize delivery drivers in the California fields and to break the strength of the UFW. In this way, racial divisions and the use of unions to promote racial identity remained a contested aspect of the American labor movement.

In addition to race, the labor movement has a conflicted past on gender relations and gendered identity. For most male workers, union membership defined the nature of working-class masculinity. The campaign for a "family wage" demonstrates how deep this masculinity lies in labor organizations. For most of the twentieth century, a principle demand of labor organizations has been the family wage. This denotes that the company should pay workers enough to support a family, but it also suggests that a man should make enough money to prevent his wife from working. The family wage ideal suggests that work is a masculine space where women should not be present. Likewise, the imagery of labor and labor organizations revolved around the masculine nature of work. Artists often depicted industrial labor as a muscular man engaged in physical labor. When the AFL and the CIO joined in 1955, their official logo became two very

muscular arms shaking hands. The images of "Rosie the Riveter" and other women working in wartime plants during World War II reinforced the masculine ideal of labor. Propaganda posters show these women as muscular, tough, and man enough to do the job. Such masculine imagery conflicted heavily with the reality of female labor. Despite female participation in union activity, however, labor identity remained centered upon an ideal of masculinity.

With the rise of industrial unionism and the decline of ethnically based communities in the 1930s, labor unions came to represent more than just a source of racial and gender identity. In many ways, union membership and union activities became the focal point of communities and provided members with a sense of belonging and camaraderie. Organizations such as union bowling teams and softball leagues, along with activities like dances at union halls and union picnics, brought union members together outside of the shop floor. Through such actions, the members of the union became a sort of extended family and promoted what historian Liz Cohen calls a "culture of solidarity." Such an extension of union activity enhanced labor's impact on American popular culture. Unions began to take part in civic activities that were outside the scope of their particular point of production. From such civic activities emerged the concept of the "union town." Some cities became known not only for the strength of their unions but the influence that unions and union members held in that town. Likewise, the culture of solidarity enhanced the impact of the union on family structures. As children attended union picnics or participated in parades, they became deeply aware of being a part of a union family. The prospect of growing up and joining the union became, for working-class males, a rite of passage into American masculinity. The songs of Bruce Springsteen perhaps portray this transition best. Springsteen suggests that the moment of entrance into working-class manhood was the day a young man received his first union card. Once a part of the union, he could then enjoy the communal identity that unions provided.

Bruce Springsteen is not the only example of union imagery in American popular culture. On the contrary, the images of labor, workers, and unions have been consistent in American culture. Much like unions themselves, popular culture has been conflicted over the presentation of union themes and union imagery. Many of the representations have focused on unions as organizations devoted to fighting social inequalities and striving for workplace equality. Yet there exists within American popular culture a common depiction of unions and union members as backward looking conservatives or exploitative, corrupt manipulators. Both images occur with frequency in American popular culture, often present within the same film or other cultural representation.

The first real presence of labor imagery in twentieth century popular culture was probably the proletarian novel. Extremely popular for the first few decades of the century, proletarian novels emerged from the traditions of muckraking journalism. Often these novelists used their work to expose the exploitative nature and conditions of the American working class. Because of this purpose, unions commonly held a revered position within the novels as organizations formed by the workers to tackle the problems of large-scale industrial capitalism. Upton Sinclair presents an excellent example of the proletarian novelist. Arriving in Chicago at the turn of the century, Sinclair announced that he intended to write the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of the labor movement. Sinclair's book *The Jungle* (1906) details the working environment and living conditions in the packinghouses of Chicago. Many attribute his descriptions of meat packing to the creation of governmental regulations and food safety laws. Sinclair

continued his descriptions of working-class life and union organization in later works like *Oil!* (1927) and *King Coal* (1917).

In a similar fashion, John Steinbeck details the movement of migratory workers from Oklahoma to the fields of California in *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939). Though his description of the Joad family, Steinbeck presents a family struggling to stay together despite the hardships of the Depression and the exploitation of the California farmers. Steinbeck also creates the character of Tom Joad, who quickly becomes a symbol of the idealistic union organizer. Like Sinclair, Steinbeck offers—in works like *The Grapes of Wrath* and *Cannery Row* (1945)—descriptions of working-class life and the struggle for workers to gain, through unionization, a measure of respect. In his *USA* trilogy (1930, 1932, 1936), John Dos Passos takes a slightly different approach. Several characters within his works are members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). However, Dos Passos does not offer detailed descriptions of workers' lives. Rather he uses union members as a foil to the rest of his characters. Dos Passos, Steinbeck, and Sinclair have important similarities. Each of them was an advocate and supporter of the labor movement and their representations of unions in their work portray their politics.

The proletarian novelist aimed his work mostly toward a middle class audience. Yet in the first several decades of the century, a nationalized consumer economy emerged that was capable of creating mass cultural images through film and music. For the first time, the working class became the audience for much of American mass culture. Thus, as the working class began to receive the images of unions and union activities, labor and labor-related themes came to dominate American culture. In the genre of film, Hollywood started to create movies about working people and their organizations. These included the film version of Steinbeck's novel *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940), starring Henry Fonda as Tom Joad. However, Hollywood did not always follow the direction of the proletarian novelists. Instead, Hollywood presents conflicted imagery of unions and union organizations. Unions and union members come to represent both social possibility and conservative regression. In addition to the characterization of Tom Joad, there is the story of corrupt unionism in *On the Waterfront* (1954). In the film, Marlon Brando portrays worker Terry Malloy's fight against a corrupt union boss who rules the organization through violence and fear. Yet the imagery within *On the Waterfront* is conflicted as well. On one hand, the film presents unions and union leadership as a corrupt and dictatorial organization, yet underlying Brando's fight is the notion that a worker's union is something worth fighting for.

For the most part, Hollywood films during the early Cold War were rooted in anti-communism and anti-radicalism. The Hollywood black list prevented many filmmakers from making sympathetic labor films. The exception is the production of *Salt of the Earth* (1954). Made by a blacklisted crew and starring many amateur actors, *Salt of the Earth* tells the story of Chicano miners in their struggle to maintain their solidarity and bring some measure of safety to their labor. Such a depiction of a successful strike and class-based solidarity was uncommon for its time.

Hollywood soon returned to stories celebrating workers and their desire for union organization. *Norma Rae* (1979), starring Sally Field, is one such movie. In the film, Field plays a textile worker who struggles, against seemingly insurmountable odds, to establish a union in her plant. Likewise, *Matewan* (1979) offers a story of a union organizer and the miners who organize trans-racially to battle the mining company. Even Sylvester Stallone took a spin as a tough but

idealistic Teamster organizer in *F.I.S.T.* (1978). Yet for every sympathetic representation, there are also films like *Hoffa* (1992) which offer a darker picture of union activity. As Jimmy Hoffa, Jack Nicholson presents a labor leader who rules the Teamsters through violence, corruption, and absolute power. In *Hoffa*, workers only protest when the leadership tells them to do so. Hoffa, however, does remain a semi-sympathetic character because he suggests that everything he does is in the interest of the membership. Ultimately, though, Nicholson's Hoffa is closer to the representation of the working class in television. From Jackie Gleason in *The Honeymooners* (1955-1956) to Archie Bunker in *All in the Family* (1971-1979), television has represented working-class males as self-centered conservatives who are lovable yet ignorantly out of touch with the rest of society.

Beyond movies and literature, the labor movement's greatest cultural legacy is probably the labor troubadour. Many labor organizations have used folk songs and folk music as a way of promoting their cause. From this has emerged the tradition of socially conscious folk and rock music. The first well-known labor troubadour of the twentieth century was Joe Hill (1879?-1915). As an organizer for the IWW, Hill wrote songs relating the desire for union representation. Convicted for murder on questionable charges, Hill was executed in Utah in 1915. Since then, his name and his songs have become an important part of union mythology. Taking up where Hill left off, Woody Guthrie (1912-1967) became the voice of the labor movement in the 1930s. Through songs such as "This land is your land," Guthrie expressed not only the struggles of Southern migrant labor but suggests to his listeners the importance of joining a union and claiming the rights of an American citizen. Similarly, Pete Seeger's (1919—) roots lie in the traditions of the labor union folk singer. Like Guthrie, Seeger sings of the pride of working and the desire for equality and union representation. Yet, Seeger and his style of folk music achieved an influential popularity within American culture, eventually leading to socially conscious folk singers like Bob Dylan (1941—).

Labor's influence on music does not end with folk music. Rather, several rock and roll artists explore in their music the impact of working-class origins. Perhaps the best example of this is the music of Bruce Springsteen (1949—). Through stories about the acquisition of a union card or the closing down of the local textile mill, labor unions and working-class culture represent a major part of Springsteen's music. In songs such as "My Hometown" (on *Born in the USA* [1984]) or "Youngstown" (on *The Ghost of Tom Joad* [1995]), Springsteen confronts the meaning of union membership and working-class culture in a de-industrializing society. Springsteen even evoked the memory of past labor imagery by entitling one of his albums *The Ghost of Tom Joad* after the Steinbeck character. Because of such imagery in music, films, and other cultural mediums, unions and the American working class remain an important aspect of American popular culture. The industrial worker is never far from the American cultural mind and, in the twentieth century, industrial labor is closely tied to union membership and the forms of communal organizations and identities unions create.

—S. Paul O'Hara

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## Lacoste Shirts

The Lacoste sports shirt, made of cotton pique and bearing a logo of an alligator, was named for its creator, tennis pro Rene “The Crocodile” Lacoste. The shirt was worn as a fashion statement in the early 1980s by those sporting the “Preppy” look, which sought to duplicate the style favored by those attending the Ivy-league schools of the East Coast. In the early 1990s, Lacoste shirts enjoyed a brief resurgence of popularity among those who wished to satirize the fashion.

—S. Naomi Finkelstein

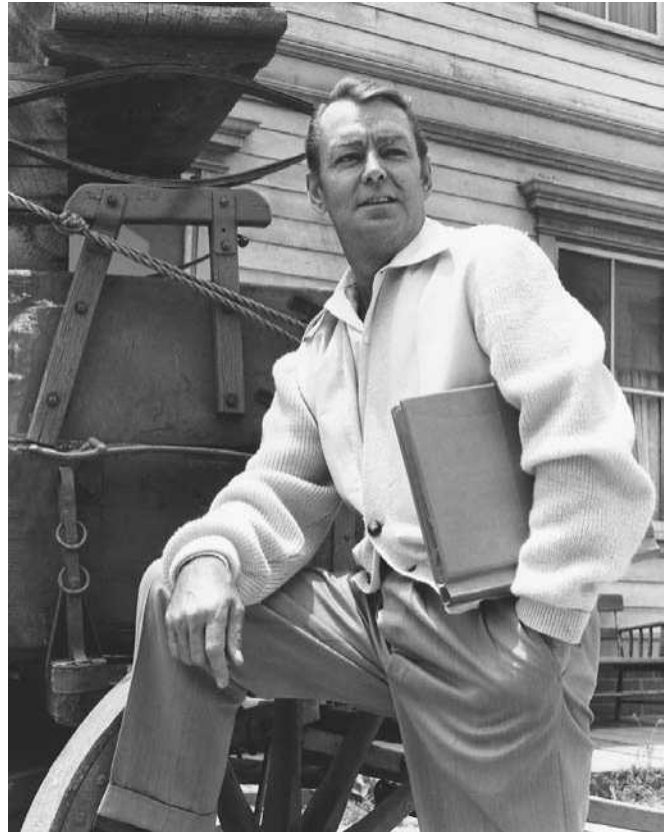
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## Ladd, Alan (1913-1964)

A compact tough guy actor, Alan Ladd arrived at stardom by way of a pair of film noir movies in the early 1940s. After nearly a decade of small parts, he was given the role of Raven in Paramount Pictures' 1942 *This Gun For Hire*, a somewhat toned down adaptation of the Graham Greene thriller. Although he didn't get star billing—that went to Robert Preston and Veronica Lake—Ladd stole the picture playing a sort of existentialist hired assassin. He managed to make the cold, doomed character unsettling and yet appealing. The scenes between him and Lake suggested to the studio that they would make a bankable romantic team, and before his first major film was released Alan Ladd and Veronica Lake were working together again in *The Glass Key*, a dark, violent version of Dashiell Hammett's novel. Brian Donlevy was the ostensible star, but Ladd was again the one who got most of the attention, as well as thousands of fan letters. Both films, which hit theaters fairly close together, got good reviews and did well at the box office. *This Gun For Hire* grossed \$12,000,000.



Alan Ladd

From 1942 to 1964 Alan Ladd appeared in nearly fifty more movies. Many were run of the mill action pictures, but included on the list were *The Blue Dahlia*, *The Great Gatsby*, and *Shane*.

Born in Arkansas, Ladd grew up in Southern California where he attended North Hollywood High. He was interested in acting early on and also excelled at track and swimming. His mother committed suicide before his career took off, a fact he kept hidden throughout his lifetime. In 1939, agent Sue Carol, a moderately successful movie actress in the late 1920s and early 1930s and ten years Ladd's senior, became his agent. She began to get him movie work at various studios. Ladd played small parts in *Rulers of the Sea* at Paramount, the first *Green Hornet* serial at Universal, and somewhat larger parts in a string of Poverty Row productions. He also can be heard, though only dimly seen, in the early scenes of *Citizen Kane*, where a group of news people is viewing the “News on the March” short about the life of Kane; and in Disney's *The Reluctant Dragon* he is in a live-action sequence explaining the *Baby Weems* storyboard to the touring Robert Benchley. He got a featured role in RKO's *Joan of Paris*, which starred Michele Morgan and Paul Henreid. In 1942, having divorced his first wife, Ladd married his agent.

Ladd also had a career at the microphone. A self-trained radio actor, he started getting parts on local Los Angeles broadcasts in 1936, and within two years was playing small roles on national programs like *Lux Radio Theater*. After he became famous, he frequently starred on the Lux show and it was Ladd, not Bogart, who appeared as Rick on their 1944 dramatization of *Casablanca*. In 1948 Ladd produced, syndicated and starred in a successful radio mystery series called *Box 13*.

During the 1940s, with some time out for service in the armed forces, Ladd was on the screen in fifteen more films. In two of them—*The Blue Dahlia* and *Saigon*—he again played opposite Veronica Lake. His height has been variously reported, but he was apparently about five foot five. That made Lake, at approximately five feet, an ideal romantic movie partner for him. Among the other actresses he worked with in the 1940s were Loretta Young, Gail Russell, Dorothy Lamour, and Donna Reed. William Bendix, who became a close friend offscreen, was in several of Ladd's movies, playing his loyal sidekick in *China*, *The Blue Dahlia*, and *Calcutta*. During the 1950s Ladd starred in twenty-three more movies, the majority of them not especially memorable. He did, however, star in George Stevens' *Shane* in 1953, a Western that has earned the status of a classic and which some critics feel contains Ladd's best performance.

Somewhere along the way, however, Ladd had picked up a drinking habit and his excesses started to show on his face from the middle 1950s onward. In his last picture, *The Carpetbaggers* made in 1963, he played a supporting role. He died in January of 1964 of an overdose of sedatives taken while drinking.

—Ron Goulart

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## Laetrile

Laetrile, alternatively referred to as amygdalin or vitamin B17, has been in use as a healing agent for thousands of years. Claimed by many to be an almost miraculous cure for cancer, Laetrile has been the subject of court battles and controversy for decades. While proponents point to ancient Egyptian and Chinese documents that refer to its therapeutic properties, the medical and pharmaceutical establishment denies that it has any healing properties and is, on the contrary, a toxic compound that can be dangerous to health.

In the 1920s, an immigrant German doctor in San Francisco, Ernst Krebs, created a curative liquid called amygdalin from the extract of apricot kernels. Authorities stopped him from selling his medicine, stating that the cyanide content made it too toxic. Thirty years later Krebs' son, Dr. Ernst Krebs, Jr., formulated a less toxic form of the compound which he named Laetrile. He continued to work on the substance, and by 1970 he had created a derivative compound which he called vitamin B17.

The theory that Laetrile can cure cancer revolves around this new vitamin. Laetrile supporters claim that B17 is a legitimate vitamin, rediscovered by Krebs. Past societies, and many present ones that have a low incidence of cancer, have regularly consumed foods containing B17 as part of their diet. These foods are the kernels found inside the pit of many fruits, including apricots, and many grains and vegetables such as millet, buckwheat, and cassava, which are uncommon in modern urban diets. Cancer, supporters of Laetrile claim, is a vitamin-deficiency disease, caused by a lack of B17. Supplementing B17 in the diet can prevent cancer and shrink existing tumors.

Supporters cite a variety of studies, including several at New York's respected Sloane-Kettering Institute, which prove the efficacy of Laetrile in shrinking tumors and prolonging life in animals with cancer.

Opponents of the use of Laetrile, among them the American Cancer Society, challenge the accuracy of the advocates' experiments, calling their research anecdotal and flawed. They have performed their own studies, which show that Laetrile has virtually no success in treating cancer. Though they admit the danger of toxicity is small, they also point to several cases of sickness and even death in small children who have accidentally ingested Laetrile. Opponents insist that B17 is not a necessary vitamin but merely Krebs' concoction, at best useless, at worst harmful. While Laetrile's supporters point to a "propaganda attack" by multinational pharmaceutical companies to quash their natural and holistic cure, the medical establishment calls Laetrile "quackery."

Laetrile has been the focus of extensive litigation for decades. Since its inception, the U.S. government has fought to keep it out of the country, forcing patients in search of Laetrile therapy to seek it at clinics in Mexico and other countries. In 1977, a U.S. District Court ruled that the Food and Drug Administration had illegally seized shipments of Laetrile. That decision was overturned in 1979, but from 1977 to 1987 terminally ill patients could legally obtain Laetrile if they had an affidavit from a doctor allowing it. In 1987, that too was overturned, and, as of the late 1990s, it is illegal to import Laetrile, or to transport it across state lines.

As one of the major causes of death in industrialized countries, cancer is greatly feared in modern society. Many environmentalists and health food advocates blame modern industry with its petrochemical pollutants for causing the upsurge in cancer deaths. Though billions of dollars are spent on research, medical science is still far from prevention or cure of many types of cancer. Because it is used in conjunction with other vitamin therapy and a natural, whole foods diet, Laetrile has great appeal to advocates of holistic health, who have lost faith in the "legitimate" medical establishment. They cite the low cure rates from FDA-approved chemotherapy and radiation cancer treatments, and demand the right to seek their own solutions.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Lahr, Bert (1895-1967)

Vaudeville comedian Bert Lahr devoted most of his six decade career to portraying hapless, reckless, and uproariously funny characters who came to life through the contortions of his "India rubber face" and his exaggerated pantomime. The undisputed "King of



**Bert Lahr**

Burlesque” transformed quizzical mimicry to an art form; he preferred the vaudeville stage to both the cinema and serious theater. It is therefore one of the great ironies of American entertainment that Lahr is best remembered for two roles outside his preferred medium. As The Cowardly Lion in the musical film *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), he has captivated generations with his humble search to become the courageous “King of the Forest.” In Samuel Beckett’s enigmatic drama *Waiting for Godot* (1956), Lahr, as the tatterdemalion Estragon—in the words of theater critic Brooks Atkinson—seemed “to stand for all the stumbling, bewildered people of the earth who go on living without knowing why.” While these two roles helped make Lahr a household name, his greatest contributions were on the comic stage as a contemporary of Ed Wynn, Bobby Clark, Louis Mann, and the irascible W.C. Fields.

Lahr’s origins were modest. He was born Irving Lahrheim on August 13, 1895, in the Yorkville section of Manhattan. At the age of fourteen, he began to appear in bit roles in vaudeville. He debuted on Broadway in Delmar’s *Revels* in 1927 and went on to star in dramatic productions of *Flying High*, *Hot-Cha*, *Life Begins at 8:40*, and *Hold Everything*. A hard worker with a fastidious eye for detail, Lahr capitalized on his bulbous nose and clown mouth to carve out a distinctive niche in a crowded comic market. His on-stage trademark was an overstated humility. “Laughter is never too far away from tears,” he explained in an interview. “You will cry at a peddler much easier than you would cry at a woman dressed in ermine who had just lost her whole family.”

Lahr gained widespread acclaim in *Du Barry Was a Lady* (1940) for his depiction of a washroom attendant who is drugged and while

unconscious dreams he is King Louis XV of France. The *New York Times* hailed Lahr as “the most versatile comedian in the business” and argued that he was “not only likeable and funny, which are the primary essentials of a comic, but [also] skillful and accomplished, with extraordinary range.” Brooks Atkinson compared him favorably to blockbuster stars Eddie Wynn, Victor Moore, and Jimmy Durante. Lahr drew similar praise for reinventing the role of M. Boniface in Georges Feydeau’s *Hotel Paradiso* (1957) and as the title character in Ben Jonson’s *Volpone* (1964). Critic Walter Kerr, writing in *Life* magazine in 1964, noted “something religious” in Lahr’s humor and attributed his sympathetic humor to a face that had taken on “the contours of a Byzantine cathedral.” This “sacred” element became increasingly apparent in Lahr’s later roles in *The Fantastiks* (1966), *Thomson’s Ghost* (1968), and *The Night They Raided Minsky’s* (1968).

Yet *The Wizard of Oz* and *Waiting for Godot* proved to be Lahr’s lasting legacy to American entertainment. In *Oz*, he played a double role: in the opening and closing segments of the film, he portrays a Kansas farmhand who urges Dorothy Gale (Judy Garland) to have courage. During the main sequence of the movie, he plays The Cowardly Lion who accompanies Dorothy, the brainless Scarecrow (Ray Bolger), and the heartless Tin Man (Jack Hailey) on their eventful pilgrimage to the Emerald City of Oz. As the Lion, he dreams of becoming “King of the Forest” and earning the respect of rabbits and chipmunks. Eventually, the Wizard presents him with a testimonial—but not before Lahr delivers one of the most celebrated comic soliloquies in cinematic history:

Courage! What makes a King out of a slave? Courage!  
What makes the flag on the mast to wave? Courage!  
What makes the elephant charge his tusk in the misty  
mist, or the dusky dusk? What makes the muskrat guard  
his musk? Courage! What makes the Sphinx the Sev-  
enth Wonder? Courage! What makes the dawn come up  
like thunder? Courage! What makes the Hottentot so  
hot? What puts the ape in apricot? What have they got  
that I ain’t got? Courage.

Beckett’s *Godot* offered Lahr another opportunity to test his range. The play itself was a mystery wrapped in an enigma, an absurdist blend of Joyce and Proust which Brooks Atkinson panned as “uneventful, maundering [and] loquacious.” The one bright light, according to Atkinson, was Lahr’s most glorious performance. Atkinson wrote that “Lahr is an actor in the pantomime tradition who has a thousand ways to move and a hundred ways to grimace in order to make the story interesting and theatrical, and touching, too.” Lahr himself believed it was his greatest performance.

For the man who often said “there are very few good parts around,” Lahr chose two of the greatest. When he died on December 4, 1967, he left behind a reputation for painstaking labor and unflinching determination. His efforts helped transform popular comedy from a mode of light entertainment into a widely respected art form. He reminded us all that “Comedy is serious business.”

—Jacob M. Appel

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## Lake, Ricki (1968—)

Billed as an “Oprah Winfrey for Generation X,” Ricki Lake has a career and well-publicized personal life that have run parallel to those of rival Winfrey. However, whereas Winfrey has acted in movie adaptations of Toni Morrison and Alice Walker novels, Lake has appeared most memorably in John Waters’s “gross-outs,” and while Winfrey’s talk show is perceived as up-market, Lake’s is arguably more lightweight, possibly even trashy. Nonetheless, much like Winfrey, Ricki Lake’s story remains the very stuff of American popular mythology—a narrative that could easily be the subject of one of her talk shows. Her well-documented battle against obesity, her struggle to escape an abusive relationship, and her fluctuating professional fortunes all lend her credibility as a television “agony aunt,” as her personal history brings her closer to both her audience and her guests.

Trained at stage school, Lake’s big break came at the age of 19, when she was cast as the lead in cult director John Waters’ 1988



Ricki Lake

movie *Hairspray*, a campy take on pre-Beatles American youth culture in which Lake played a bouffanted, overweight teenager who improbably wins both a televised dance competition and the heart of the local heartthrob. Subsequently, Lake appeared in other Waters movies and demonstrated her range in an adaptation of Hubert Selby Jr.’s grim expose of urban living *Last Exit to Brooklyn* (1990). She also found small-screen fame as nurse Holly Pelagrino in the Vietnam war drama *China Beach* (1988-91).

Her eponymous talk show debuted in 1993 and rapidly became a ratings success, pushing *The Oprah Winfrey Show* hard for the coveted top spot. In a seemingly ever-expanding generic field, the show aimed to capture a more youthful audience by tackling topics deemed attractive to this demographic. Boston-based journalist Traci Grant christened it “the *Melrose Place* of talk shows.” Under the banner of “Talk for Today’s Generation,” individual show titles in the 1997 season clearly reflected this unashamedly youthful bias—“Ricki’s Dating Bootcamp,” “Hidden Secret Pregnancies,” “Controlling Parents,” “Teen Alcoholism,” “School Bullies,” and “Growing Up Gay.” As Lake herself has observed, “This show is geared towards a totally different audience, which could not relate to talk shows before we came along. So in that sense I guess we are a voice for younger people.”

In the 1998 season Lake revamped the show to include music, more celebrity appearances, and games. Although the show continued with discussion at its core, it also introduced features such as “Fun Fridays,” in which the host took a look at news and gossip from the world of TV, movies, and music. Such alterations indicated that the formula needs constant refreshing to appeal to a notoriously volatile niche market.

With show titles that typically read, as Andy Pietrasik has noted, like “the diary of a nation immersed in self-help lessons,” some commentators have argued that talk shows provide a healthful arena for the airing of previously taboo topics. Ricki Lake has noted that “people do sometimes talk about intimate things which I wouldn’t necessarily talk about for the first time on TV, but it’s better to get this stuff out than slip it under the rug.” Gail Sternberg, executive producer of *Ricki Lake*, has claimed that “talk shows are the community of the Nineties,” providing a cathartic outlet for millions of ordinary Americans who cannot afford either expensive therapy or access to professional advice. To their supporters, talk shows are the televised equivalent of the town meeting, enabling ordinary members of the great American public to exercise their constitutional right to free speech and to establish their own agenda (within the parameters demarcated by the show’s makers and backers, of course).

However, while all of the above might be true of earlier talk show incarnations—like *Donahue* (nationally syndicated from 1977) or even *The Oprah Winfrey Show* (nation-wide from 1986), which tackled issues such as atheism, racism, and political corruption—talk shows of the 1990s have sparked controversy for their perceived abandonment of any semblance of constructive debate. As Jane Shattuc has pointed out, in this respect *Ricki Lake* is typical of talk shows that shifted from a public dimension to “interpersonal conflicts that emphasized the visceral nature of confrontation, emotion and sexual titillation.” Here then, Lake’s own showbiz background might be taken as symbolic of this movement away from any “serious” journalistic intentions the genre might have previously harbored. Former Secretary of Education William Bennett famously singled out the *Ricki Lake* show as “cheap, demeaning and immoral,” likening it to “the moral equivalent of watching a train wreck.”

The American Psychotherapy Association called for its members to boycott guesting as “experts” on talk shows, ostensibly because they indulged in potentially harmful pop psychology and meaningless psycho-babble. Talk of the “healing process” and calls to “forgive and get on with your life,” it argued, simply encouraged a victim culture in which people take no responsibility for their own actions. Detractors claim that talk shows offer studio and TV audiences the dubious and vicarious pleasure of watching others being ritually humiliated, conducting trial-by-television in which hosts like Lake draw more out of their guest/victims in order to whip audiences into a frenzy. For many critics, *Ricki Lake* is responsible for dragging the whole genre down-market, spearheading a new wave of talk shows, such as *The Jerry Springer Show*, which, in their relentless drive for ratings success, have unearthed increasingly outrageous guest/victims and sensationalistic topics.

Combating charges of titillation, Lake is reported to have said, “There’s a line we don’t cross. We won’t put someone on a stage to laugh at them, belittle them, make fun of them, and basically destroy their life.” Yet while this sensitivity is sometimes difficult to discern, the show’s ironic, camp aesthetic is more visible. Perhaps, then, we are not supposed to take it too seriously. After all, Lake’s show is less reverential, more self-consciously driven by the primary desire to entertain rather than to educate, and so ultimately closer to the movies of John Waters than many—including perhaps Lake herself—have been prepared to admit.

—Simon Philo

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## Lake, Veronica (1919-1973)

Remembered for her peekaboo hairstyle in Paramount’s 1941 *I Wanted Wings* and a reputation for being difficult to work with, actress Veronica Lake managed in her relatively short period of stardom to appear in several movies that went on to become classics: more than half a century later, her performances in *Sullivan’s Travels*, *This Gun for Hire*, and *The Blue Dahlia* still hold up.

Born in Brooklyn as Constance Ockleman, she was an attractive child, and she began to win beauty contests during her teenage years, while her family was living in Florida. When they resettled in Southern California, her mother urged her to try acting. By 1939, using her stepfather’s last name, she was playing small parts as Constance Keane in such films as *All Women Have Secrets* and *Sorority House*. She also appeared opposite veteran tipsy comedian Leon Errol in a 1939 RKO comedy short titled *The Wrong Room*. A bedroom farce set in a resort hotel, it casts her as a newlywed who



Veronica Lake

keeps fainting in Errol’s vicinity, causing him to have to hide her unconscious body from his wife and other interested parties. In her largest part thus far, the young actress spent most of her screen time pretending to be out cold.

According to Lake, it was as Constance Keane that she introduced “the hair style of the century.” The hair fell over one eye while she was playing a small part in *Forty Little Mothers*, a 1940 Eddie Cantor comedy. Director Busby Berkeley advised, “Let it fall. It distinguishes her from the others.” The hair didn’t attract attention, however, until producer Arthur Hornblow, Jr., who rechristened her Veronica Lake, cast her as the femme fatale in *I Wanted Wings*, a movie about three air corps cadets. In her first major movie role, the hair was long and blonde, and it kept falling over her right eye. The media referred to her as the girl with the peekaboo hair style, and the tag stuck with her throughout the World War II years, even after she cut her hair. Although she didn’t have many scenes in her maiden voyage under her new name, she made a very strong impression. Paramount executives were the first to realize her potential impact, and many of the ads for the film were dominated by a large head-and-shoulders glamour shot of her and her peekaboo hair style. “Blonde Bomber,” read a typical headline, “She flew them into the Ground!”

Despite the gimmickry attached to her debut and the negative responses of some movie critics, Lake was a competent actress, although, from the start, Lake had a knack for antagonizing many of the people she worked with. Mitchell Leisen, who directed her in *Wings*, developed a strong dislike for her, commenting that “she was impossible. Every suggestion you made, she fought; you fought with her all day long.”

Her next film was *Sullivan's Travels*, written and directed by the formidable Preston Sturges, released at the end of 1941. Her character has no name in this satire-melodrama about Hollywood and the place of comedy in a troubled world, and she is simply called the Girl in the script. Sturges, who'd already turned out three box-office hits for Paramount, was determined to have Lake in the role. The studio was opposed, suggesting everyone from Ida Lupino to Lucille Ball to Claire Trevor, but Sturges got his way, saying of Lake, "She's nothing much in real life—a quiet, timid little thing. But the screen transforms her, electrifies her—I think she's the biggest bet in the business." Lake was several months pregnant during the filming, which added to her usual difficulties. Sturges later complained that she was difficult to handle and often caused production delays. Joel McCrea, who costarred as Sullivan, vowed he'd never work with her again. Although the film was not initially as successful as Sturges's earlier ones, it has since come to be considered one of his masterpieces.

Lake next helped launch Alan Ladd's career as a star, appearing opposite him in the film noir *This Gun for Hire* early in 1942. The film starred Ladd as a hired killer mixed up with Nazi spies and Lake as a nightclub singer who accidentally gets tangled up with him and befriends him. A diminutive actor, Ladd didn't seem short when playing opposite Lake, who was just over five feet tall, and there was a strong screen rapport between them that audiences sensed. "We were a good match for each other," Lake recalled. A hit as a team, they were immediately put into another hard-boiled thriller, *The Glass Key*. That same year Lake also starred in *I Married a Witch*, a fantasy-comedy directed by expatriate Frenchman Rene Clair. After Joel McCrea turned down the role of the politician who weds a reincarnated seventeenth century witch, Fredric March played it. On the screen they seem compatible, but in her autobiography the actress admitted, "He gave me a terrible time! I hated Fredric March."

In 1943 she played a combat nurse in the serious war film *So Proudly We Hail*. She was back opposite Ladd in 1946 in *The Blue Dahlia*, scripted by Raymond Chandler, and she made her final film with him, *Saigon*, in 1948. Between 1943 and 1948, Lake was cast mostly in a series of weak comedies and dramas, playing opposite such actors as Franchot Tone and Eddie Bracken: her reputation for being difficult to work with and her assorted domestic troubles didn't help her career. With her second husband, director Andre De Toth, Lake made a Western, *Ramrod*, in 1947. McCrea, who'd apparently overcome his aversion by then, costarred. After being let go by Paramount, Lake appeared opposite Richard Widmark in Twentieth Century-Fox's 1949 *Slattery's Hurricane*.

Lake's life went into a decline after that. It was filled with a few low-budget films, tours in summer stock, a hostess job on a local television station, bouts of heavy drinking, a stint as a barmaid in New York, and unsuccessful attempts at a comeback. She died of hepatitis in 1973.

—Ron Goulart

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## LaLanne, Jack (1914—)

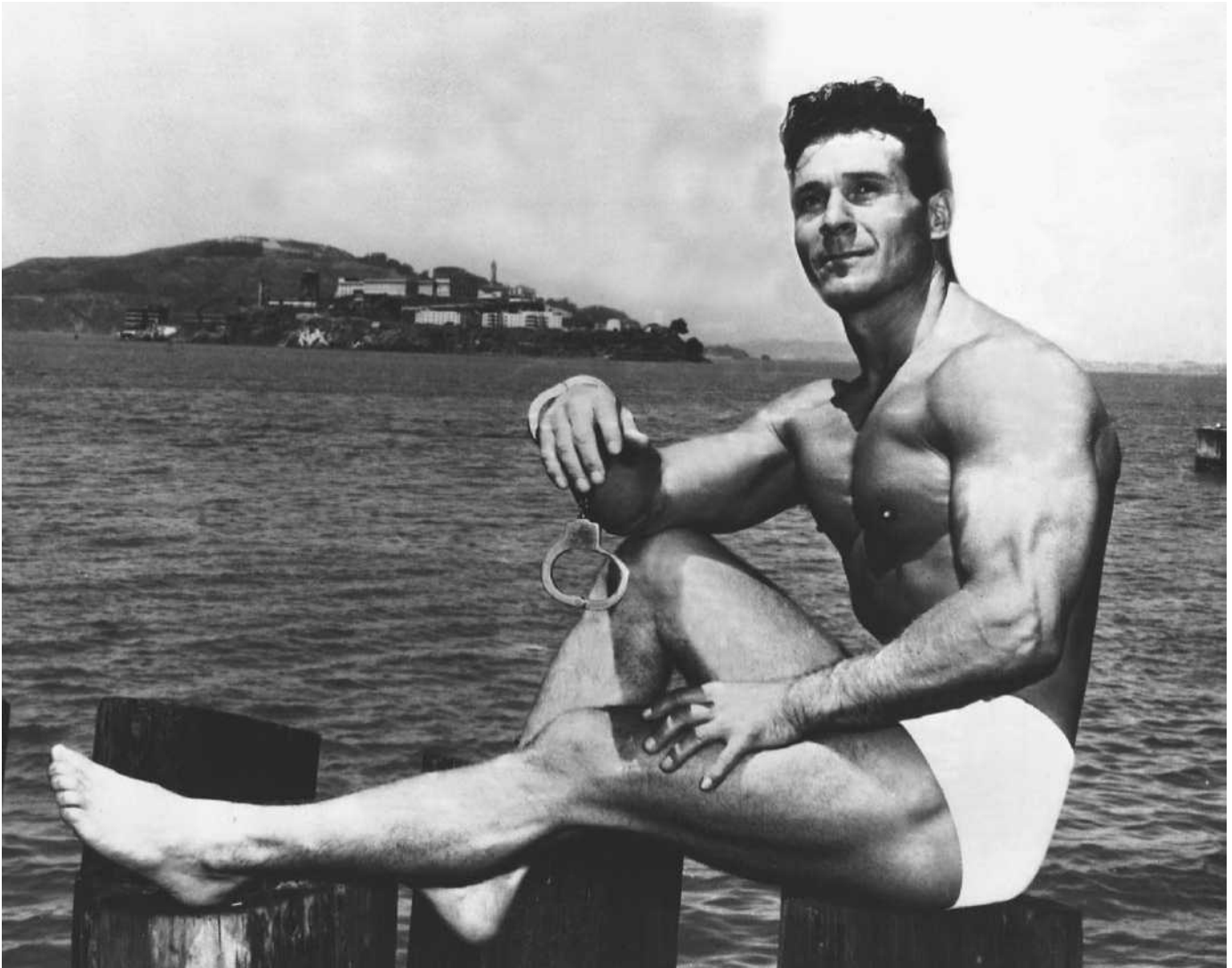
"Stop! Look! Listen! It's time for *The Jack LaLanne Show*."

So began Jack LaLanne's daily exercise program, syndicated on television stations nationwide from 1959 to 1985. The muscular man in the jumpsuit led simple exercises, often of his own invention, and urged his audience along with the enthusiasm of an evangelist: "If your back porch is draggin' and your shoulders are saggin' and you have no pep in your step, it's time for a change!" In this age of fitness gurus, personal trainers, and exercise videos devoted specifically to achieving "buns of steel," it seems impossible to imagine a time without health clubs, when weight training and aerobic exercise were viewed by doctors as extreme and potentially dangerous activities. However, in 1936, when Jack LaLanne opened the first fitness club in the United States, many considered him a kook and a fanatic. Though he is arguably a fanatic on the subject of health, LaLanne's exercise show foreshadowed a national obsession with fitness, and LaLanne himself set many of the current trends by inventing the first weight machines and producing the first exercise video. LaLanne's simple and accessible approach to exercise continued to gain wide popularity into the late 1990s, and LaLanne, still active in his 80s, continued to practice what he preached.

Jack LaLanne grew up in California, first in the desert town of Bakersfield, then moving to Berkeley while he was still a child. His father's early death was caused in part by poor nutrition, and young Jack was addicted to sweets. Plagued by headaches, bulimia, and a nasty temper, LaLanne was labeled a troublemaker and had dropped out of school by age 14. That year he attended a lecture at the Oakland Women's City Club that changed his life. The subject of the lecture was health, nutrition, and the evils of meat and sugar, and LaLanne was, in his own evangelical words, "born again." He changed his diet and began to work out daily. He went back to school, made the high school football team, and went on to college where he studied to become a chiropractor.

Instead, in 1936, LaLanne opened the Jack LaLanne Physical Culture Studio in Oakland, the first fitness club of its kind. He offered clients nutritional advice and supervised exercise programs, including weight training, which was almost unheard of at the time. Doctors advised their patients to stay away from the new health club, warning that LaLanne was an exercise "nut" whose programs would make them muscle-bound and give them hemorrhoids or heart attacks. LaLanne persisted, however, and with the assertive marketing that would become the hallmark of his career, he went out and approached prospective clients, promising that he would help them make the desired changes in their bodies or refund their money.

In 1951, a local health food manufacturer sought someone to host their television fitness show, and Jack LaLanne seemed the natural choice. Often aired in the early morning hours, LaLanne's exercise program was simple and unaffected. Using no more complicated equipment than a chair, LaLanne, with his broad shoulders and narrow hips encased in a one-piece jumpsuit, led a series of calisthenics, encouraging his audience to jump and pump along with him. Though his set was minimalist, and his message simple, LaLanne was not above using tricks to attract his audience. One of these tricks was Happy, the white German shepherd who appeared on the show. Knowing that the most avid early morning television viewers were



**Jack LaLanne**

children, LaLanne introduced the dog to attract children to the show. Then, he told the children to go find their mothers, fathers, and grandparents and bring them to exercise with him. It was as clever a ploy to boost ratings as any concocted by network executives.

Another maneuver LaLanne used to attract both viewers to his television show and converts to his cause of fitness, was the amazing physical feat. Beginning in 1955, when he swam the length of the Golden Gate Bridge underwater while pulling 140 pound weights, LaLanne has performed increasingly astonishing acts of strength and nerve. In 1956, at age 41, he swam from Alcatraz to Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco wearing handcuffs. At 45, he did one thousand push-ups and one thousand chin-ups in an hour and 22 minutes. In 1975, when he was 60 years old, he repeated his swim from Alcatraz to Fisherman's Wharf, this time handcuffed, shackled, and towing one thousand pounds. In 1985, he swam handcuffed and shackled for a mile and a half across Long Beach Harbor, celebrating his 70th year by towing 70 boats holding 70 people. When asked to explain these Houdini-like performances, he replied, "Now, I'm not comparing myself to Jesus, but why do you think Jesus was such a

success? Because he performed miracles. This drew attention to his philosophy, which is why he had this terrific impact on civilization. I just want to help as many people as I can."

*The Jack LaLanne Show* ran Monday through Friday mornings for 34 years in syndication, and even after the end of his program LaLanne maintained his status as fitness expert by writing books, producing videos, and speaking on his favorite subjects. He continued to appear on television in various commercial spots highlighting his longevity, and there was talk of a new incarnation of his television show at the end of the century. Determined to maintain his "superman" image as long as possible, LaLanne quips, "I can't die. It would ruin my image."

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Lamarr, Hedy (1913—)

Austrian actress of the 1930s and 1940s, Hedy Lamarr was frequently called the most beautiful woman in motion pictures. While her acting ability was never more than adequate, for a brief period in Hollywood she was a superstar. She first created a sensation when she appeared nude in the Czechoslovakian film, *Extase (Ecstasy)* in 1933. It was as a leading lady with Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, however, that she became world famous.

The daughter of a director of the Bank of Vienna, Hedwig Kiesler had a privileged childhood. Even as a teenager, she was extraordinarily beautiful, and at least one man committed suicide when she would not marry him. After becoming enamored of acting,

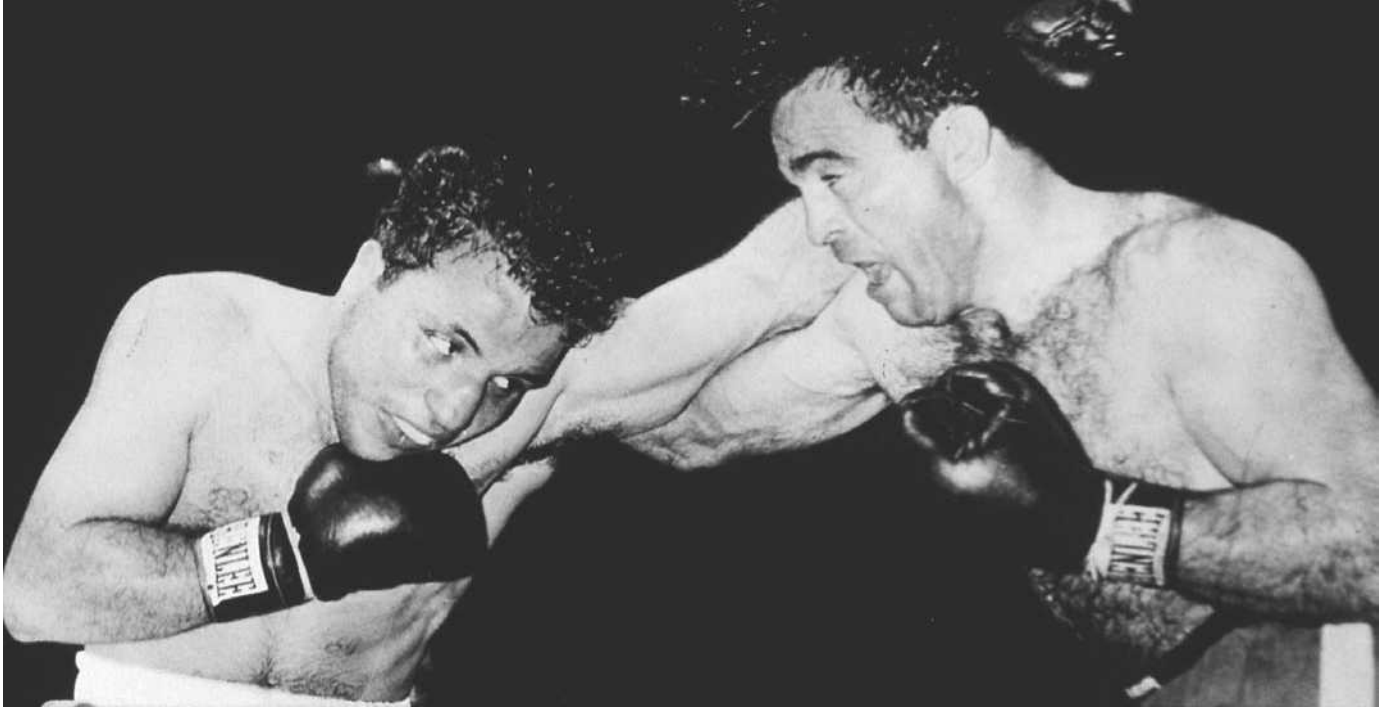
Kiesler was mildly successful as a stage and film actress. When she appeared as the unfaithful wife in *Ecstasy*, she and the film caused a sensation. Religious and governmental leaders denounced the picture, but the critics and the public made it a hit. When she married munitions millionaire Fritz Mandl in 1933, he was so insanely jealous that he tried to buy up every copy of *Ecstasy* so that it could be destroyed. Despite the fact that Mandl was a Jew, he was still accepted into the closed world of the Nazi Party of the 1930s. Kiesler was disgusted by this, and by the fact that he kept her a virtual prisoner in their castle. Eventually she was able to escape to Paris, where she obtained a divorce from Mandl in 1937.

Kiesler then moved to London, where she met agent Bob Ritchie, who introduced her to Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer mogul Louis B. Mayer. Mayer brought her to Hollywood and renamed her Hedy Lamarr after a silent screen star he had admired—Barbara La Marr. Lamarr's first picture in America, *Algiers* (1938) quickly elevated her to international stardom.

Hedy Lamarr followed up her debut with appearances in several more successful films, including *Ziegfeld Girl* (1941) and *White Cargo* (1942). The latter sparked a turban fashion craze when Lamarr wore one in the film. She was also a popular World War II pinup, and participated in war bond and United Service Organization(USO) tours. During the war she was also granted a patent as co-inventor of a



Heddy Lamarr and Victor Mature in a scene from the film *Samson and Delilah*.



**Jake LaMotta (left) swaps punches with Marcel Cerdan.**

complex communication system designed to direct torpedoes at moving ship targets.

After the war ended, Lamarr's popularity quickly began to slip, although she did star with Victor Mature in the 1949 hit, *Samson and Delilah*. After her first marriage ended, she married five more times. Among her husbands were actor John Loder (1943-1947) and screenwriter Gene Markey (1939).

Lamarr appeared in her last feature film, *The Female Animal*, in 1957. She quickly faded from view, except for an occasional television appearance. In 1966 she was charged with shoplifting from May's Department Store, but was acquitted. A supposed autobiography, *Ecstasy and Me*, also appeared in the 1960s, although Lamarr later sued her ghostwriters, claiming the story was fiction. She again disappeared from the public eye, although she had some success as a songwriter and artist in Greenwich Village.

Although she was not a movie star for long, Hedy Lamarr was an important star at an important time in history. She will forever be remembered as one of the most beautiful women ever to grace a motion picture screen.

—Jill A. Gregg

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## LaMotta, Jake (1922—)

In the boxing community, Jake LaMotta (born Giacobe LaMotta) is best known for his six-fight series with the man widely recognized as

the greatest fighter in the history of boxing, Sugar Ray Robinson. LaMotta handed Robinson his first professional loss on February 26, 1943, and although Robinson won their other five fights, several were closely contested. Outside the boxing community, LaMotta is best known for the Academy Award-winning film about his life, *Raging Bull* (1980). The film focused on LaMotta's stormy personal life, especially his abusive relationship with his second wife, Vicky.

LaMotta fought against mob control of his career throughout the 1940s and early 1950s. A middleweight contender by the early 1940s, LaMotta refused to "fix," that is, to purposely lose a fight so that organized crime elements in boxing could make money betting on the fight's outcome. As a result of his refusal to cooperate with the mob which controlled boxing, LaMotta was denied an opportunity to fight for the middleweight title for the better part of his career. By 1947, frustrated with his failure to secure a title shot, LaMotta finally agreed to lose intentionally to contender Billy Fox in exchange for an opportunity to become middleweight champion of the world. LaMotta made good on the opportunity with a 10th round technical knockout of world champion Marcel Cerdan.

—Max Kellerman

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## Lamour, Dorothy (1914-1996)

Born Mary Kaumeyer in New Orleans, the curvaceous brunette Dorothy Lamour was treasured for her trademark sarong (which she first wore in her debut film, *The Jungle Princess* (1936) and her

combination of sultriness and breezy good humor. She enjoyed a long career under contract (with the usual loanouts) to Paramount, draped in that sarong in numerous South Sea romances, including John Ford's *The Hurricane* (1937) and *Aloma of the South Seas* (1941), but is forever remembered as the bone of contention between Bing Crosby and Bob Hope in six "Road" films, beginning with *Road to Singapore* in 1940 and ending with *Road to Bali* in 1952. (She was replaced by Joan Collins in *Road to Hong Kong* [1962], but briefly appeared as herself). Before beginning her movie career, Lamour worked as an elevator operator and was Miss New Orleans (1931) before becoming a band vocalist (for her first husband, bandleader Herbie Kaye) and radio performer. Much loved by audiences and her peers, she made over 50 movies, including Rouben Mamoulian's *High, Wide and Handsome* (1937), in which she played a saloon singer; a role as Tyrone Power's girlfriend in *Johnny Apollo* (1940); she danced the Can-Can in *Slightly French* (1949); and donned star-spangled tights for *The Greatest Show on Earth* (1952). Thereafter she made a handful of cameo screen appearances, but took to the stage in 1951 and made her Broadway debut in 1958 in *Oh! Captain*. In 1961, Lamour toured with her own nightclub act and later with the musicals *DuBarry Was a Lady* (1963) and *Hello, Dolly!* (1967). During the 1950s, she made several guest appearances on television shows such as *The Colgate Comedy Hour* and *Damon Runyon Theatre*. She published her autobiography in 1980.

—Bianca Freire-Medeiros

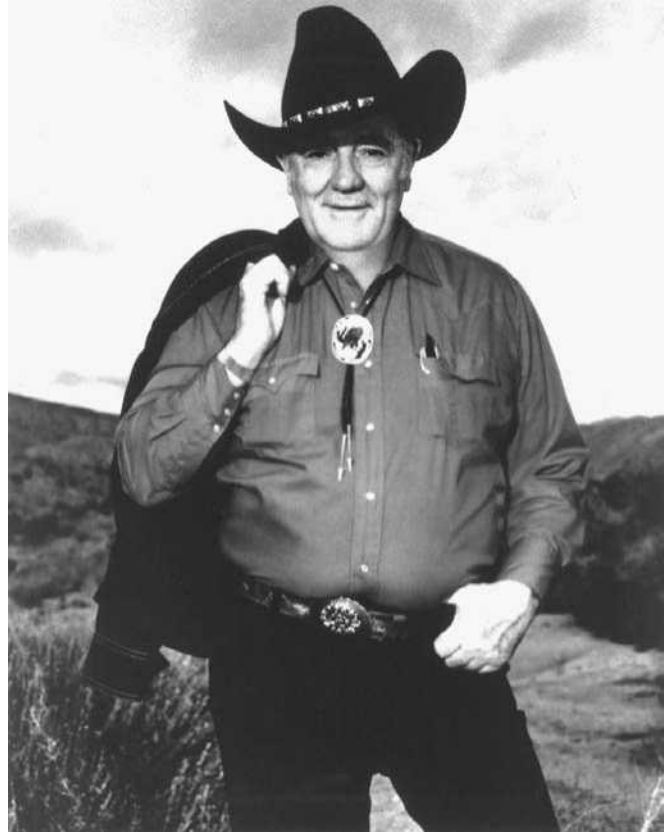
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## L'Amour, Louis (1908-1988)

One of the best-selling authors of all time, Western and adventure writer Louis L'Amour penned more than 100 books that have sold 200 million copies worldwide since they began appearing in the early 1950s. Decidedly outside of the genteel traditions of the Eastern publishing establishment, L'Amour's works are noted for their spare prose, rugged situations, unambiguous morality, and colorful casts of straight-shooting characters who tamed the American frontier West with grit and determination. Himself a North Dakota native and an adventurous soul, L'Amour dominated Western popular fiction for four decades, from the post-World War II years through the Reagan era of the 1980s. Some of his novels have gone into more than 20 printings, and 30 of them have been adapted for the movies, including *Hondo* (1953), the book that first made him famous. He is especially noted for his series of novels in the Sackett family saga, begun with *The Daybreakers* in 1960, and including *Sackett* (1961), *The Sackett Brand* (1965), *Mustang Man* (1966), *Ride the Dark Trail* (1972), *Sackett's Land* (1974), and *Jubal Sackett* (1985). In 1977, the appearance of a novella and group of stories that had been previously unpublished caused an evaluator in the *Kirkus Review* to comment:



Louis L'Amour

"That's a big, gritty voice at work, lifting melodrama to the heavens of storytelling. . . . As ever, L'Amour's characters distinguish themselves from run-of-the-mill westerners by the hard thud of their boots on soil and the worn leather ease of their dialogue. Awesome immediacy, biting as creosote slapped on a fencepost."

Louis Dearborn LaMoore—he changed the spelling of his name in hopes of enhancing the marketability of his fiction—was born in Jamestown, North Dakota, on March 22, 1908, the youngest of seven children of Louis Charles and Emily Dearborn LaMoore. His father was a veterinarian and farm-machinery salesman who also served for a time as the Jamestown police chief; his mother was an amateur writer who had ambitions to be a schoolteacher. His great-grandfather had been a pioneer on the nineteenth-century American frontier. L'Amour credited his success to his facility for absorbing family lore and other experiences from real life, and to his avid reading of such classic writers as Dickens, Shakespeare, and Zane Grey, among others. Wanderlust overtook him, and for several years after leaving school at 15, he worked as a lumberjack, a longshoreman, and a circus hand before going to sea. After freewheeling adventures in China and Africa, he returned to the United States and enjoyed a brief career as a semiprofessional boxer before studying creative writing at the University of Oklahoma, though he dropped out before taking a degree. In 1939, Lusk Publishing in Oklahoma City issued *Smoke from This Altar*, L'Amour's first and only book of poetry.

Although his writing career was interrupted during World War II, first lieutenant L'Amour began to gain some notoriety as a storyteller-in-arms, regaling his buddies in the U.S. Army Tank Corps

with stories of his exploits. After his discharge in 1945, he moved to Los Angeles and began submitting some of his stories to Western and adventure magazines using the pen name of Tex Burns, convinced that they would not be published under his real name (the spelling of which he had already long since changed to L'Amour). Editors quickly accepted many of his stories and before long he had been published in mainstream periodicals such as the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Collier's*. The first novel that appeared under his own name, *Westward the Tide*, was published in England in 1950. In 1951, Doubleday published his *Hopalong Cassidy and the Riders of High Rock*, written as Tex Burns and continuing the series originated by Clarence E. Mulford. Over the next three years, he published two more books, *Yellow Butte* and *Utah Blaine*.

L'Amour soon achieved his greatest fame with the 1953 publication of his novel, *Hondo*, set in Arizona in the 1870s and narrating the tale of an Indian scout and his relationship with a young wife deserted by her husband and her son. It sold millions of copies and was made into a 3-D film with Geraldine Page playing the wife, and with a cast of "Western" male actors led by John Wayne. Among the 30 of L'Amour's books that were turned into films over the years were *Heller with a Gun*, which became the 1960 film *Heller in Pink Tights*, starring Sophia Loren and Anthony Quinn; *Shalako*, starring Sean Connery in 1963, and *Catlow* (1963), with Yul Brynner. L'Amour reversed this procedure to produce one of his most successful books, *How the West Was Won* (1962), a novel that he adapted from James R. Webb's screenplay for the film (also 1962).

The success of *Hondo* led to a long-standing contract with Bantam Books, which remained L'Amour's publisher for the rest of his career. *The Daybreakers* appeared in 1960, marking the first in his series of 18 novels tracing the saga of the Sackett family from their roots in sixteenth-century England to the Jamestown colony in the New World and, eventually, to the Western frontier. The series also unfolds the saga of two other pioneer families encountered by the Sacketts, the Irish-born Chantry and the French Canadian Talons, thus painting a sweeping portrait of the settling of America over the centuries. L'Amour had hoped to write at least 50 books in the series, using Honoré de Balzac's *La Comédie Humaine* as his model. *The Sackett Companion: A Personal Guide to the Sackett Novels*, published in 1988, the year of its author's death, offers an extensive glossary of characters and locales, genealogies, maps, and a key to references and literary allusions in all of the Sackett novels.

Although disdained by many highbrow readers, L'Amour's work is representative of an important slice of traditional American popular culture whose wide-under-the-starry-sky frontier is a larger-than-life stage on which good and evil struggle for predominance. Robert L. Gale, who published a monograph on the author in 1985, summarizes L'Amour's appeal for generations of readers, describing him as "an anachronism [who] succeeds just the way Mother's Day, apple pie, baseball, Chevys, and Ronald Reagan do in these otherwise dyspeptic times: he extols the old-fashioned American virtues of patriotism, loyalty, unflinching courage, love of family, and a vision of the Old West both as the arena of the famous American second chance and also as mankind's last, best hope."

Louis L'Amour was the first writer to be honored with both the National Gold Medal of the U.S. Congress (1983) and the Presidential Medal of Freedom, bestowed by former *Death Valley Days* host Ronald Reagan in 1984. He died on June 10, 1988 in Los Angeles.

—Edward Moran

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## Lancaster, Burt (1913-1994)

Burt Lancaster was the first, and the biggest, of the new crop of post-World War II stars and the last great survivor of Hollywood's golden era. In a career that began late and lasted some 40 years, the former circus acrobat matured from handsome and famously smiling athletic hunk to dignified elder statesman, bowing neither to time nor changing fashion. In his early films there was an almost disturbing disjunction between the tough, grim, often doomed characters he



Burt Lancaster



played and his own extraordinary beauty, but over the years his screen image—uniquely for a major box-office star of the time—constantly shifted. Lancaster's formidable determination enabled him to outlast the studio system to whose demise, as the first major producer-star of the modern era, he contributed. He was also a complex and contradictory character who gave many indifferent performances in poor films, amidst his fine work.

Born on November 2, 1913, in New York's East Harlem district, he was the fourth child of a postal clerk. Undersized until his teens, Burton Stephen Lancaster quickly learned to use his fists and developed a love of sports. A more serious and solitary side of his nature responded avidly to books and music, but he dropped out of New York University, where he won an athletics scholarship, to work up an acrobatic act with his friend Nick Cravat.

The pair went on the road as low-paid circus performers during the Depression years, and in 1935 Lancaster married a circus aerialist, a relationship that lasted barely a year. Needful of a break, he joined the Federal Theater Project in New York before returning to circus life with Cravat. In 1939 injury forced him off the high wire and a succession of stopgap jobs followed, the first as a salesman at Marshall Fields.

In 1942 Lancaster worked as a singing waiter before shipping out overseas with the Fifth Army's Entertainment unit. During this time he met Norma Anderson, a war widow who became his second wife in December 1946, and the mother of his four children; they divorced in 1969. By then he was launched on an acting career which had begun with a role as a soldier in a Broadway play called *The Sound of Hunting*. This brought him an agent, Harold Hecht, and a Hollywood contract with producer Hal Wallis.

While waiting to start work for Wallis, Lancaster, a self-proclaimed Hemingway aficionado, talked his way into the part of Swede in *The Killers* (1946). He was already 32 years old, unknown and inexperienced but, co-starred with another newcomer, Ava Gardner, and directed by a master of film noir, Robert Siodmak, he enjoyed instant success and rapidly became bankable, particularly in noir material. Among the best were Jules Dassin's powerful prison drama *Brute Force* (1947), in which the actor showed himself a leader of men and demonstrated his unique ability to convey suppressed rage simmering beneath a silent and stoical surface.

Having been forced into some poor films by Wallis, and in danger of being typecast in noir, Lancaster was seeking new directions. Thus, in 1950, he and Hecht, now business partners, sold a property to Warner Brothers, resulting in *The Flame and the Arrow*, a high-spirited swashbuckler in which Lancaster, with Nick Cravat as his pint-sized sidekick, unveiled his athletic skills with breathtaking zest and vigor. He did so again in *The Crimson Pirate* (1952), the year he tackled the role of Shirley Booth's alcoholic husband in *Come Back, Little Sheba*. From then on, across 77 films in 44 years, Lancaster alternated between safety and experimentation, failures both honorable and dishonorable, and high-level successes that have stood the test of time.

He gained new distinction and his first Oscar nomination for *From Here to Eternity* (1953) in which he notoriously cavorted on the beach with Deborah Kerr, and made an only partially successful foray into directing with *The Kentuckian* (1955). He took to the high wire again in *Trapeze* (1956) and, in 1957, expanded his Westerns filmography with *Gunfight at the OK Corral*. In *Sweet Smell of Success* (1957), he scored a notable acting success as the pathologically venomous newspaper columnist J.J. Hunsecker. It was his first

performance for Hecht-Hill-Lancaster, his own production partnership which allowed him to dive into the deep waters of his often troubled ambition and come up with winners in which he did not always appear, such as the now classic *Marty* (1955).

The 1960s began with *Elmer Gantry*, which won Lancaster the Best Actor Oscar for his devilish, barnstorming performance. In 1962 he was the *Birdman of Alcatraz* (another Academy nomination), and 1963 brought *The Leopard* for Luchino Visconti, which took him to Italy and elevated acclaim throughout Europe. These were the highlights of his middle age. He worked for Visconti again in *Conversation Piece* (1975), and for Bertolucci in *1900* (1976), but other than the now cult experiment *The Swimmer* (1968) and a handful of first-class performances in more predictable films, quality gave way to quantity.

Then, in 1981, aged 68, white-haired, mustachioed and dignified, he put the seal on his extraordinary career with Louis Malle's *Atlantic City*, playing a former petty crook, living on dreams and memories and wistfully pursuing a hopeless involvement with a young waitress. He earned several awards and a fourth Oscar nomination for a finely judged performance that is widely considered his most fully realized achievement.

Lancaster continued to work throughout the 1980s, concluding his career with a saintly cameo in *Field of Dreams* (1989). Although something of a loner in private life, he spoke publicly for liberal democratic values and worked for many causes, including AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) awareness, until his last years. Having recovered from a quadruple bypass operation in 1983, he suffered a stroke in December 1990. Permanently paralyzed on his right side, he remained confined to his apartment, a caged lion raging against his enforced inactivity, and cared for by his young third wife until his death on October 21, 1994.

Burt Lancaster transcended the limitations of his talent by the sheer weight and magnetism of his screen presence. As David Thomson wrote, "Brave, vigorous, handsome, and an actor of great range, Lancaster [has] never yielded in his immaculate splendor, proud to be a movie actor. And he has crept up on us, surviving, persisting, often in poor health. He [is] one of the great stars. Perhaps the last."

—Robyn Karney

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## Landon, Michael (1936-1991)

A talented and popular television actor, writer, director, and producer, Michael Landon exploited his versatility over nearly 40 years, mostly in series and made-for-TV dramas that reflected old-fashioned, small-town sentiment and traditional family values. He

aimed his productions at those segments of viewers who were “hungry for shows in which people say something meaningful,” he explained. “I want people to laugh and cry, not just stare at the TV.”

Michael Landon was born Eugene Orowitz on October 31, 1936 in Queens, New York. He grew up in Collingswood, New Jersey, where he excelled in high school sports, and he attended the University of Southern California on an athletic scholarship. After an injury, he turned his attention toward acting. He played a number of TV roles and starred in the campy 1957 film *I Was a Teenage Werewolf* and a handful of B-grade films aimed at the teenage market.

In 1959 he began his 14-year run as Little Joe on the popular TV Western *Bonanza*. From 1974 through 1982 Landon produced the sentimental, family program *Little House on the Prairie*. In addition to performing in the lead role, he assumed the writing and directing of many of the episodes. In 1984 he created *Highway to Heaven*, an episodic series of stories about the value of love and kindness in overcoming life’s adversity, and again acted in, wrote, directed, and produced the series. The Academy of Television Arts and Science presented him with his only Emmy, the Academy Founders Award, in 1982. In 1991 he was diagnosed with pancreatic cancer. He died on July 1, leaving a wife and nine children from his three marriages. He was 54.

—James R. Belpedio

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## Landry, Tom (1924—)

Tom Landry has become an icon of American football largely due to his tremendous success as the coach of the Dallas Cowboys. Landry’s calm demeanor and his trademark hat also serve to distinguish his legend from that of other football coaches.

Landry compiled an overall record of 270-178-6 as the head coach of the Dallas Cowboys from 1960 to 1988, the third most wins of any coach in the history of the National Football League. Landry was the Cowboys’ first and only coach during that time period and helped build the Cowboys into “America’s Team.” During his 29 years as coach of the Cowboys, Landry led the team to two Super Bowl titles and five National Football Conference championships. Under his leadership the Cowboys were famous for last-minute comebacks and miracle wins. He was elected to the Professional

Football Hall of Fame in 1990. In spite of Landry’s tremendous success, he was unceremoniously dismissed when Jerry Jones bought the Dallas Cowboys in 1989. An unspoken feud between the two men may have resulted in Landry not being inducted into the Dallas Cowboy Ring of Honor at Texas Stadium until 1993.

Landry was born September 11, 1924, in Mission, Texas. He played quarterback for the Mission High School Eagles and led the team to the regional championship in 1941. In 1942, he enrolled at the University of Texas on a football scholarship. However, World War II interrupted his education and collegiate football career. Landry was inducted into the Army Air Corps and began flight training in 1943. He served as a fighter pilot during the war; and in 1945, he was discharged from the Army Air Corps after flying 30 bombing missions over Europe.

In 1946, he reenrolled at the University of Texas. Landry started at fullback for the 1947 Texas team that won the Sugar Bowl and was named second-team All-Southwest Conference. He ended his senior season at Texas in 1949 by rushing for 117 yards in a Texas Orange Bowl victory. He went on to sign a professional football contract with the New York Yankees of the All-American Football Conference, where he played as a backup fullback, defensive back, and punter. In 1950, he joined the New York Giants of the National Football League. He was named a Giants assistant defensive coach in 1954, and as a player coach won All-Pro honors as a defensive back. His last active season as a player was 1955.

In 1959, Landry was named as head coach of the NFL expansion franchise in Dallas. The Cowboys were 0-11-1 in their inaugural season. Despite having a losing record, Landry signed a 10-year contract with the Cowboys in 1964. The contract extension paid off for the organization, as Landry went on to turn the team into perennial winners. When Jerry Jones bought the Cowboys, he shocked the city of Dallas, the state of Texas, and Cowboy fans everywhere by firing Landry on February 25, 1989. However, Landry’s legacy in professional football and to the city of Dallas was immediately recognized. He was honored when the city of Dallas celebrated Tom Landry Day on April 22, 1989 and when he was elected to the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 1990.

—Kerry Owens

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## Lang, Fritz (1890-1976)

Widely influential filmmaker Fritz Lang fled Nazi Germany in 1932, eventually settling in Hollywood where he made over 20 films.



**Tom Landry and the Dallas Cowboys.**

His crime dramas, including thrillers like *The Big Heat* (1953), spawned generations of imitators, giving rise to the category of movies known as film noir. Lang crafted his distinct visual style in Berlin during the 1920s, translating onto film the exaggerated emotions and vivid imagery of German Expressionist painting. He set crucial scenes in cramped stairways and corridors and employed varying camera angles and starkly contrasting light and shadow for effect. In the silent film *Metropolis* (1926) he created an archetype for the city of the future, complete with a slave class of machine-like workers and a cyborg temptress. *M* (1931), which features Peter Lorre as a child murderer hounded by society, effectively foreshadowed the threatening environment fostered in Germany in the years leading up to the Second World War.

—John Tomasic

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## **lang, k.d. (1961—)**

When discussing k.d. lang, it is first of all her voice that is mentioned. Even lang herself talks about her voice and its demands as if it doesn't quite live inside her. The voice itself, rich and powerful with an effortless broad range, dictates what kind of music she will sing. And the voice has gained her entry into some arenas that seem unlikely for a lanky, country-bred, lesbian performance artist.

Born Kathryn Dawn Lang on November 2, 1961, in Edmonton, Alberta, lang grew up in the tiny town of Consort, four hours away in the Canadian countryside. Growing up in a farming and ranching town with a population of 650 gave lang her country roots, and a certain self-acceptance that comes from living where “everybody

knows you.” Her parents were both musical and, determined to nurture her children’s cultural development, lang’s mother drove them for hours over country roads to piano lessons.

Two events, which took place in her early teens, changed lang’s life forever. When she was twelve, her father deserted the family, and when she was 13 she began her first lesbian affair, with the wife of one of her teachers. By the time she was 15, she was identifying as a lesbian and soon she moved to Edmonton in search of broader horizons. There she joined a group of young artists who called themselves GOYA (Group of Young Artists), and she began to do performance art influenced by the punk movement. When she started singing country music, that too became a sort of performance art. Wearing a skirt made from curtains in her mother’s house and a pair of men’s cowboy boots, sawed off above the ankle, with her hair in spikes and a rakish grin, k.d. lang pranced onto the stage and began to sing in a voice that filled up the theater.

American country music is a little like a small town, somewhat narrow-minded and limited in scope, yet at the same time accepting of the fact that each family contains its share of eccentricity. Lang’s soulful voice and exuberantly emotional renditions made a place for her within the country family, but her unconventional persona ensured it would never be a comfortable place. Though she earned her first Grammy award for her country music, she was never able to get radio play for her songs and so was denied popular acceptance.

Following the dictates of her voice and her own reluctance to be bound by genre, lang soon branched out. She followed her country albums, *A Truly Western Experience* (1984), *Angel With a Lariat* (1987), and *Absolute Torch and Twang* (1989), with a departure, *Ingenue*, an album of mostly original songs with a torchy, old-fashioned feel. One of the singles, “Constant Craving,” became lang’s first major radio hit. “Constant Craving” also articulated a recurrent theme in lang’s work—persistent unfulfilled need as the human condition. She reiterates this theme in other songs, notably on the album *Drag* (1997). On *Drag*, every song involves smoking cigarettes, symbols, lang says, of “rebellion or sexiness,” and of “love . . . an elusive thing all of us crave . . . even though it kills us.”

This desperate, unfulfillable longing that throbs so effectively in lang’s voice is perhaps one of the most powerful connections she makes with her young, late twentieth-century audience, who are familiar with the roots of addiction. Often still leading emotionally unsatisfying lives in spite of fairy-tale technology, and with the threat of AIDS adding a terrifying aspect to explorations of intimacy, modern listeners can resonate with lang, no matter which genre she uses as her vehicle.

Along with transcending genres, lang has made a specialty of transcending gender. Wearing suits and ties with close-cropped hair as often as skirts and make up, lang brought acceptance of androgyny to a broad audience. In 1993, she posed for the cover of *Vanity Fair*, sitting in barber’s chair wearing a pinstriped suit and a face full of shaving lather, as super-femme model Cindy Crawford prepares to shave her. Though the titillating cover drew criticism from many quarters, it was the third biggest-selling issue in *Vanity Fair*’s history. An out lesbian early in her public career, lang’s most loyal and consistent fans have been lesbians, though she has sometimes been dismayed by expectations that she represent a certain lesbian image. She has been politically active in gay issues such as the fight against AIDS, and has paved the way for other lesbian entertainers, such as Melissa Etheridge and Ellen DeGeneres, to be publicly honest about their sexuality.



k.d. lang

A vegetarian since 1981, lang has also campaigned for animal rights. One of the most controversial moments in her career came when she appeared in an advertisement sponsored by People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, saying “Meat stinks.” Country audiences who had managed to overlook her butch appearance and irreverent attitude would not tolerate a blow to their livelihood. Even in her hometown in Alberta’s beef country, the proud plaque saying “Home of k.d. lang” was angrily removed.

Challenging traditions has been the cornerstone of lang’s career, whether they be the expectations of a disenfranchised lesbian community or the demands of the celebrity system. She has refused to pick a look or a music genre and stick with it, and because of this has carved out a broad niche for her sophisticated voice and the rawboned country performance artist that goes with it.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Lansky, Meyer (1902?-1983)

Meyer Lansky loomed large in the American imagination both in his lifetime and afterward. Upon his death he was hailed as "the Mob's treasurer," "the Mafia's banker," and "the most influential Godfather in the history of American organized crime." Obituaries across the country reported how, under Lansky's supervision, organized crime penetrated legitimate businesses and moved "from back alleys to executive boardrooms," according to the *New York Daily News*. Lansky was the inspiration for the Hyman Roth character (played by famed acting teacher Lee Strasberg) in Francis Ford Coppola's *The Godfather Part II* (1974) and was portrayed in other mafia films, including *Bugsy* (1991) and *Mobsters* (1991). His life was detailed in the Michael Lasker character in the television miniseries *The Gangster Chronicles* (1981). In *Lansky*, a 1999 HBO cable feature written by acclaimed playwright David Mamet, Richard Dreyfuss played the famed Jewish gangster. But the stories that nurtured the Lansky legend—those that boasted about his leadership of Murder, Inc., a group of killers for hire, and his position as "Chairman of the Board" of the mob's National Syndicate—could not be corroborated by his biographer Robert Lacey. In fact, much of Lansky's life has not been verified; sources differ about his birth name, his birth year, his nationality, how he met his two "best" friends Salvatore "Lucky" Luciano and Benjamin "Bugsy" Siegel, whether or not he ordered Siegel's assassination, and whether he died with a fortune of nearly \$300 million or very little money.

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## Lardner, Ring (1885-1933)

Ring Lardner's cynical humor made him one of the most popular writers of the 1920s. Throughout his career, first as a sports writer and columnist and then as the author of short stories, light verse and plays, Lardner's works received both popular and critical acclaim. He was recognized as one of the foremost humorists and satirists of the early twentieth century and was noted especially for his memorable use of slang vernacular to characterize and often ridicule his subjects.

Lardner was born in an affluent Michigan family and educated at home during his early childhood. As a youth, he played baseball and enjoyed music. He attended Niles High School where he played football, sang in a quartet, and wrote the class poem. He then worked

in minor capacities in Chicago offices and for the Michigan Railroad before a year of college at the Armour Institute in Chicago to study engineering. He dropped out of college and began his career in 1905 writing for various Chicago newspapers.

Within five years, by 1910, his perceptive and entertaining style made him nationally known as a sports journalist and columnist. His sense of humor allowed him to report on even dull games in an engaging manner by including personal anecdotes about the players and winning the favor of fans and the athletes themselves. At the height of his career as a sports writer, his columns were syndicated to approximately 120 newspapers. His enthusiastic and informal style of reporting became a standard for sports journalists and commentators that still exists at the end of the twentieth century.

In 1914, *The Saturday Evening Post* published the first of the baseball stories for which Lardner was to become famous as a fiction writer. These first-person epistolary stories were an instant success. The critics and the public loved Lardner's use of slang vernacular and keen wit. The stories take the form of letters written to a friend back home by a belligerent, young pitcher for the Chicago White Sox. They tell of his raucous adventures while traveling and playing with the team. What started out as a humorous serial enjoyed by thousands of newspaper readers became, in 1916, the collection, *You Know Me Al: A Busher's Letters*. The narrator, Jack Keefe, came to be known as an irrepressibly asinine character whose life, because of his dimwitted pugnacity, bordered on grotesque and tragic. These stories and Lardner's subsequent publications became a standard for later sports fiction in their use of the vernacular and their humorous characterizations of the athlete.

Lardner's tales progressed from stories about baseball to satirical observations of American life overall. He pointed out the stupidity, vapidity, and cruelty of common people including salesmen, stenographers, stockbrokers, songwriters, athletes, barbers, and actresses—the gamut of middle-class America. When he published *How to Write Short Stories* in 1924, and his subsequent collections mocking the commonplace, he received praise from such noteworthy critics as Edmund Wilson, H. L. Mencken, and Virginia Woolf. The nation came to regard him as the new Mark Twain.

In 1933, Lardner died of a heart attack. He had published several plays, light verse, 14 full-length collections of his essays and stories, and over 4,500 newspaper articles. His career kept him in the literary spotlight through the Roaring 1920s when Americans were generally looking for excitement and were ready to find fault with humdrum life. His timing as a satirist of the commonplace put him in the forefront of American fiction during the first half of the twentieth century. By the latter half of the century, Lardner dropped out of the canon of American literature. A few of his stories ("Haircut," "Some Like Them Cold," and "Golden Honeymoon") occasionally appeared in anthologies, but as Jonathan Yardley suggested in *Ring: A Biography of Ring Lardner* (1976), "Lardner's literary reputation remains uncertain and his influence is often misunderstood. It is time to give him his due."

—Sharon Brown

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## *The Larry Sanders Show*

*The Larry Sanders Show* was a dark, hilarious, caustic satire of the behind-the-scenes world of late night television. Conceived by comedian Garry Shandling, it ran on HBO for six seasons, from 1992 to 1998. With a brilliant premise—the show chronicled the goings-on of a fictional late night talk show—*The Larry Sanders Show* starred Shandling as Sanders, the self-obsessed host, and the onstage/backstage structure of the thirty-minute weekly comedy provided for very provocative, innovative television. The show-within-a-show construct revealed the talk show world as the characters really wanted it seen, while simultaneously showing the backstabbing, ugly showbiz world in which they actually lived. None of the characters on the show ever seemed to learn anything from their mistakes, and there were no happy or moralistic endings anywhere in sight.

The show was groundbreaking on a number of fronts (though it certainly owed a debt to Norman Lear's syndicated 1977-78 talk show satire *Fernwood 2-Night*). Unlike the major network half-hour sitcoms,



Garry Shandling from *The Larry Sanders Show*.

*Larry Sanders* had no laugh track. The network powers-that-be had said that the lack of a laugh track was disconcerting to viewers, but HBO apparently had no problem with this, and it served to pull the audience in more, making them a part of the backstage world by letting them in on the joke instead of pointing the joke out to them. Because the show broadcast on HBO, it could utilize mature subject matter and language, without which the satire would not have been nearly as biting. HBO also allowed it less ratings pressure than the networks would have been able to, giving it time to build a loyal following while earning numerous Cable Ace awards and Emmy nominations. There were no sponsors to enrage, which can make for very edgy television.

As the show's chief plotline, Larry's self-loathing and egomania was alternately fed and assuaged by show staffers, girlfriends, and guests. Throughout the series, a number of characters came and went, but there wasn't a sympathetic one in the bunch. Larry's ex-wives and girlfriends paraded through, each one less likeable than the one before. Emmy award winner Rip Torn played Artie, the foul-mouthed, ego-soothing, Machiavellian producer who was perfectly suited to deal with Larry's raging insecurities and paranoid delusions. Jeffrey Tambor played his incredibly mean, stupid, obsequious sidekick Hank ("Hey now") Kingsley. Janeane Garofolo spent a few seasons as Paula, the smart-ass talent booker. Wallace Langham played Phil, the insensitive pig head writer. Scott Thompson played Hank's terribly efficient gay assistant Brian. All of them were preoccupied with losing the place in the showbiz food chain that they had scratched out for themselves, and they spent lots of energy trying to reinforce their positions by eliminating any obstacles, real or perceived. Larry and Artie occupied much of their time worrying about the ratings and the network bosses. It sometimes got very ugly. The characters seemed to be human shells, with no morals or consciences.

The show's guests were celebrities played by themselves, though they seemingly played exaggerated, distorted versions of themselves. Dozens of major stars, including Roseanne, Warren Beatty, Jim Carrey, Ellen DeGeneres, Dana Carvey, Sharon Stone, Robin Williams, Barry Levinson, and Carol Burnett, appeared on the program. David Duchovny had a very funny recurring role as a guest. Larry believes that David has a crush on him, and Larry's homophobic discomfort makes it nearly impossible to maintain his composure around an A-list star that he can't afford to lose as a guest.

In 1997, after the fifth season, Shandling announced that the 1998 season would be the last. In the first episode of the 1998 season, Larry performed the only brave act of the entire show. After getting pressure from the network bosses to make uncomfortable changes to the show in order to attract more and younger viewers, Larry tells the bosses off, and announces that he is quitting. The rest of the final season dealt with Larry's unraveling at the realization that the show is ending, and thus, he is losing his entire identity.

In a brilliant bit of real life irony, Shandling announced in early 1998 that he was suing his former manager, Brad Grey, a partner in Brillstein-Grey, the production company for *The Larry Sanders Show*. Shandling claimed that Grey made millions of dollars using his association with Shandling as leverage for attracting other clients, and that he should be entitled to money as a result. Shandling also claimed that Grey steered writers away from *The Larry Sanders Show* and toward other shows he produced. Grey countersued. The case continued, even as *The Larry Sanders Show* ended, taking its place in popular culture history.

—Joyce Linehan

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## LaRussa, Tony (1944—)

Regarded by his peers as one of baseball's best managers, Tony LaRussa has enjoyed an enviable record of success, earning three Manager of the Year awards, six division titles, three league championships, and one World Series title. A former infielder, LaRussa played professionally for sixteen seasons but never once spent an entire year in the majors. He began his professional managing career in 1978 and accepted his first major league commission the next year with the Chicago White Sox. A highly controlling manager, LaRussa developed a reputation as one of the game's most innovative strategists. His promiscuous use of relief pitchers ushered in a new era of specialization in baseball and was widely blamed for lengthening games to almost interminable levels. After leaving Chicago, LaRussa won a world championship with the Oakland Athletics in 1989. He guided the St. Louis Cardinals to a division title in 1996.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Las Vegas

The evolution of Las Vegas, Nevada, is one of the most intriguing of any city in the United States. Desert oasis and water and electricity supplier for most of the Southwest, and a legendary gambler's paradise that is one of the world's most tantalizing and popular vacation spots, the city is most famously cast in the spuriously glamorous image of the Mafia. As such, it has come to color the vocabulary of popular culture through countless novels, movies, and television dramas. Surrounded by the Mojave Desert and flanked by mountain ranges, Las Vegas came of age in the shadow of the post-World War II American Dream, a shining example of excess as success, whose neon-lit casino strip glows on the horizon—a beacon attracting thousands of folk eager to try their luck. An adult Disneyland in southwestern Nevada, this dusty tinsel town effuses Old West history while raking in the house winnings, and is reviled as often as it is romanticized for the glorious vice hidden in its stark desert landscape. Yet, while the popularity of its glitz and show biz glamour waxes and wanes, the bright lights and obvious façade of Vegas are lodged as a permanent and familiar backdrop in the American consciousness.

In 1829, Antonio Armijo, traveling to Los Angeles, attempted to shorten the route by going through the desert instead of around it. While traversing the Old Spanish Trail, he discovered water and named the site Las Vegas—"The Meadows." Here, Spanish traders eased the rigors of desert travel, but it was not until 1844 that the area



Outside the Stardust casino, Las Vegas.

was actually charted by John C. Fremont, an explorer after whom much of downtown Las Vegas came to be named. Ten years later, Brigham Young sent Mormon missionaries from Salt Lake City to colonize the Las Vegas Valley. They built an adobe fort and began converting the local Paiute Indians, but desert life soon proved too harsh for them and they abandoned their outpost in 1857.

Nevada became a state in 1864, but it was not until 1904, as America expanded its borders from "sea to shining sea," that Las Vegas saw significant activity. That was the year when the San Pedro-Los Angeles-Salt Lake Railroad began laying track through the valley. The company bought up prime land and water rights from the remaining homesteaders and operated a dusty watering stop that soon attracted the development of hotels, saloons, a few thousand residents, and the inevitable red-light district. Any further expansion, such as it was, remained slow until 1928 when the Boulder Dam Project Act, an attempt to tame and harness the raging Colorado River, was signed into law. President Herbert Hoover appropriated \$165 million dollars for the project: the largest anti-gravity dam in the world, to be built 40 miles outside of Las Vegas on the Nevada-Arizona state line.

When construction of the dam began in 1931, however, Governor Fred Balzar also approved a "wide open" gambling bill proposed by rancher and Assemblyman Phil Tobia. Though gambling had long

been around in Las Vegas, it had been outlawed several times, and Tobia maintained that regulation of the pastime would increase tourism and boost the state's economy. Thus, gambling was made permanently legal in all of Nevada except for one place—Boulder City. It was the height of the Great Depression and Hoover, anxious to ensure a return on his investment, feared that such distractions as gambling and prostitution would undermine the progress of the thousands of workers flooding the valley to work on the dam. The Federal government, therefore, founded the casino and brothel-free Boulder City, specifically to cater for this influx of residents.

By the time the Hoover Dam was completed in 1935 the economy in southern Nevada was booming. Many of the workers put down roots in the area, and the dam now provided a seemingly endless supply of water and electricity for Nevada and its surrounding four states. The onset of World War II brought further prosperity to the region when pilots and gunners came to train at the Las Vegas Aerial Gunnery School, which would later become Nellis Air Force Base and the Nevada Test Site.

In 1941, Las Vegas boasted only a handful of luxury hotels and small but successful casinos. That year, however, Thomas Hull opened El Rancho, just off Highway 91 on the road to Los Angeles. With a Western motif, a hundred rooms, a large swimming pool, and massive parking lots, El Rancho was the model for the modern casino and it opened to almost immediate success. Later that year, the Last Frontier Hotel opened just up the road and the famous Las Vegas Strip was born.

In 1946, Benjamin “Bugsy” Siegel, a New York City mob boss protecting interests on the West Coast, recognized the vast potential for organized crime in Las Vegas. Taking advantage of cheap land, legalized gambling, and—initially, at least—friendly police relations, Bugsy Siegel began spending vast amounts of money on building the lavish Fabulous Flamingo casino, which ushered in the neon era that came to characterize Vegas night life. Though there were always celebrities in attendance and every night was like New Years’ Eve, not even the Flamingo’s glittering façade could hide the fact that it was paying out more in winnings than it kept in profits. The situation led to mob dissension, and Siegel was killed six months later in a gangland hit. Ironically, business at the casino boomed thereafter, especially as tourists flocked to see the Fabulous Flamingo, the house that Bugsy built.

Many other gangsters followed Siegel’s lead, and several grand casinos sprang up on the strip, well known among them the Horseshoe, Sands, Sahara, Riviera, and Tropicana. Each was bigger and brighter than the last, sporting gigantic pools, thousands of rooms, and garish neon signs. Nobody in America would (or could) lift a finger to halt the millions of dollars in laundered money that poured into the desert town in the 1950s, while ever-increasing numbers of celebrities, big spenders, and high rollers enjoyed rubbing elbows in this Mecca of gambling and organized crime.

Eventually, the Federal government began weeding out the more visible troublemakers and kingpins, and by the 1960s there was a balance of East Coast payola skimmers and wealthy influential ranchers wielding power in Las Vegas. In 1967, Howard Hughes, aviation pioneer and Hollywood mogul, had just sold Trans-World Airlines for nearly \$600 million dollars and was informed by the IRS that he had to spend half the money soon or risk paying taxes on all of it. Though neither a gambler nor connected to the mob, the eccentric Hughes was holed up in a Vegas casino at the time, enjoying the creature comforts. When asked to leave by the gangster who owned the place and who wanted to rent the suite out to real gamblers,

Hughes found the solution to his financial dilemma: he bought the casino, then went on a spree, snapping up several other hotels, the airport, and much prime real estate.

Overnight, Las Vegas became largely the property of a reputable businessman and began to take on a more positive, corporate image, attracting serious jet-setting gamblers and corporate financial investors. In 1971, Hilton became the first hotel chain to establish a branch in Las Vegas, and later Ramada, Holiday Inns, Hyatt, and, notably, MGM—with its monumental MGM Grand—followed suit. The 1970s brought a lull in tourism due to the legalization of gambling in Atlantic City, New Jersey. That city’s own burgeoning, mob-supported casino strip, plus the effects of recession in the early 1980s, discouraged middle class Americans from journeying to the extravagance of a glitzy weekend at the gaming tables in the desert. But the city recovered, establishing itself as an international vacation spot for honeymooners (after a quick marriage in one of hundreds of theme chapels), a winter getaway, or a family destination providing scenic Southwest landscapes along with star-studded entertainment and safe, low-stakes gaming.

By the 1990s there were over 35,000 hotel rooms in Las Vegas, and over 300,000 permanent residents. Rooms cost between 50 and 90 percent less than in any other major city and restaurants were cheap and plentiful, thus encouraging visitors to spend more time in the casinos where the house makes its most money—profits that are ultimately plowed back into the ever-growing community. The Nevada Gaming Commission and the FBI keep close tabs on this new breed of casino, and, supposedly, little mob involvement remains in Las Vegas. Ironically, acquiring “comps”—perks such as free drinks or limousine rides for heavy gambling—has become a status symbol among the nouveau-riche at which they are aimed, rather than a show of respect from the house, yet the city takes in billions of dollars annually, supported by the many needs of its visitors, residents, and the surrounding states.

—Tony Brewer

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## Lasorda, Tommy (1927—)

In an era when the life expectancy for managerial careers in baseball was short, Los Angeles Dodgers’ skipper Tommy Lasorda outlasted them all. From his debut in September 1976 until his retirement two decades later, the popular Lasorda was his team’s





Los Angeles Dodgers manager Tommy Lasorda (right).

motivational leader as well as its greatest fan. Displaying a youthful exuberance on the field, in the dugout, at press conferences, and in his television commercials, Lasorda's eternal optimism was contagious. His knack for bringing out the best in his players contributed both to his team's success and Lasorda's well-earned reputation as a "player's manager."

The left-handed pitcher Tommy Lasorda began his major league baseball career with the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1954. As a twenty-six year-old rookie with poor control on a pitching staff that boasted the likes of Don Newcombe, Carl Erskine, and Johnny Podres—and soon Sandy Koufax and Don Drysdale—Lasorda quickly found himself exiled to the hapless Kansas City Athletics, where his major league career ended in 1956 with a record of zero wins versus four losses. After returning to the Dodgers' minor league system, where he toiled for a few more seasons, Lasorda hung up his spikes in 1960 and became a scout and then a minor league manager for the newly relocated Los Angeles Dodgers. It wasn't until 1973 that Lasorda finally made it back to the major leagues, this time as a coach under long-time Dodgers manager Walter Alston. If Dodgers owner Walter O'Malley was never forgiven for moving his team out of Brooklyn, he was nevertheless credited for his loyalty to his field managers. Alston,

who had made his managerial debut the same year Lasorda threw his first pitch for the Brooklyn team, finally retired in September 1976 after having honored 20 consecutive one-year contracts, giving Tommy Lasorda the opportunity for which he had been preparing for almost two decades.

With four games left in the 1976 season, Lasorda took over as manager of the Los Angeles Dodgers, a job he, like his predecessor, would keep for 20 years. Enjoying instant success, Lasorda guided his team to back-to-back pennants in 1977 and 1978, capped by a come-from-behind World Series victory in 1981, along the way making himself popular with both the fans and with his team. Inspiring his team as much by bumping bellies with umpires in disputes over blown calls as by back-slapping, hand-clapping, and butt-patting his way through game-winning rallies, the animated Dodgers manager enjoyed a rapport with players shared by few of his peers. At the same time, despite the O'Malley family's tradition of one-year contracts for its managers, no major league skipper was more secure than Tommy Lasorda. And Lasorda affirmed his reciprocal devotion to the Dodgers by proclaiming that if cut he would "bleed Dodger blue."

Lasorda's lessons in self-confidence parlayed into a side-career as a pitchman for Ultra Slim-Fast, a product which he used to shed

some excess poundage in the late 1980s. (Lasorda apparently saw little contradiction when he simultaneously marketed his own brand of spaghetti sauce.) Through his commercials and, in the early 1980s, appearances on such kids' shows as the "Baseball Genie," Lasorda became familiar as a television personality to a broader public. However, his colorful verbal exchanges with umpires on the field would hardly have passed the networks' censors and were decidedly inappropriate for Lasorda's younger admirers.

On the diamond, Lasorda reached the pinnacle of his managerial career during the storybook 1988 season, when the weak-hitting Dodgers unexpectedly triumphed over the powerful Oakland Athletics in the World Series. Although the Dodgers experienced some success in the years that followed, the team failed to win another pennant during the balance of Lasorda's tenure, which ended in the middle of the 1996 season when he experienced health problems. Retiring with a record of 1599 wins (versus 1439 losses) and six pennants, Lasorda moved to the Dodgers' front office and in 1998 became the team's interim general manager; shortly thereafter he was persuaded to give up the position and was named a senior Vice President in the organization. In 1997 Lasorda achieved the distinction of being inducted into baseball's Hall of Fame as a manager, following his predecessor Walter Alston (inducted in 1983).

Always careful to defend his players publicly—though rarely hesitant to blast a malcontent in private—Tommy Lasorda earned a degree of loyalty enjoyed by few managers. In an era characterized by escalating salaries and labor disputes, Lasorda's spirited approach to baseball was a breath of fresh air for a sport that was increasingly being recognized as a business.

—Kevin O'Connor

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## Lassie

One of the most popular "dog stars" of midcentury America, Lassie, an intelligent, brave collie, demonstrated loyalty, compassion, and love toward humans and fellow animals in films for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer from 1943 to 1951, in a television series from 1954 to 1974, in an animated Saturday-morning program from 1973 to 1975, and in a 1978 feature film update. Lassie's heroics included finding and rescuing lost people, caring for the sick and injured, and warning individuals about impending natural and human catastrophes. Through the Lassie stories, viewers gained an appreciation of the strong bond that can be forged between humans and canines and provided a role model for human interpersonal relationships.

The character of Lassie originated in a short story called "Lassie Come Home" by Eric Knight that appeared in a 1938 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*. Knight had used his own devoted dog Toots as the model for Lassie, and the collie's story touched the emotions of



June Lockhart and Lassie

the magazine's readership. Knight expanded the plot, published the story as a novella in 1939, and realized sales of more than one million copies. That attracted the attention of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM), which offered Knight \$8,000 for the theatrical rights to the work.

The dog that would eventually become Lassie was an eight-month old collie named Pal who, in 1940, was driving its owner to distraction. The dog chased cars, chewed furniture, barked incessantly, and rejected the idea of being housebroken. In desperation, the owner took Pal to the recently opened kennel and dog-training school operated by Rudd Weatherwax. Weatherwax accepted the challenge of training the rambunctious puppy, and within a week Pal had mastered basic obedience training. However, when notified that he could claim the dog, the owner hesitated. After enjoying a collie-free household, the owner was reluctant to disturb his family's peace and quiet with the return of the puppy. He struck a deal with Weatherwax by which the trainer would keep the collie in lieu of the training fee. Having trained dogs for Hollywood films, Weatherwax was impressed with Pal's intelligence and recognized that the dog could be groomed for a movie career. Within six months of receiving additional training, Pal's abilities far surpassed those of any other beginner with whom Weatherwax had worked.

Pal demonstrated those abilities during an audition for the lead in the MGM film *Lassie Come Home*, but he was initially not chosen for the featured role, which went to a pedigreed female collie. A non-pedigreed male, Pal was selected to be a double dog or stunt dog for the female lead. However, once filming began, Pal's performance in a pivotal scene—Lassie's struggle to swim the swollen Tweed River between Scotland and England—convinced the director, Fred M. Wilcox, to give the lead-dog role to Pal.

*Lassie Come Home* relates the story of an impoverished Yorkshire family. To sustain his family, Sam Carraclough (Donald Crisp) sells his son's beautiful collie, Lassie, to the Duke of Rudling (Nigel Bruce), who brings the animal to his Scotland home and to his daughter Priscilla (Elizabeth Taylor). Still devoted to young Joe Carraclough (Roddy McDowall), Lassie escapes and begins the long journey home to Yorkshire, enduring dangers and hardships as well as the kindness of strangers. Dog and master are reunited finally, and Joe is able to keep his dog.

The scene of high drama in the film is Lassie's struggle to swim the Tweed River. Director Wilcox selected the flooded San Joaquin River in northern California as the site for this scene. At a signal from Weatherwax, Pal jumped into the swirling water and swam toward the designated spot on shore. When the collie climbed out of the water, Weatherwax signaled him. Pal put his tail between his legs, his head down, and crawled up the bank looking exhausted. The director was astounded. According to David Rothel in *Great Show Business Animals*, Wilcox later told Weatherwax: "Pal jumped into that river, but it was Lassie who climbed out."

The overwhelming success of *Lassie Come Home* led to other Lassie film adventures: *Son of Lassie* (1945), *Courage of Lassie* (1946), *Hills of Home* (1948), *The Sun Comes Up* (1949), *Challenge to Lassie* (1949), and *The Painted Hills* (1951). Although Pal had earned millions for MGM, the studio dropped its option on Lassie after the last film and returned to Weatherwax all rights to Pal. This allowed Weatherwax to consider a Lassie television series. In 1953, Pal's son, named Lassie, shot a pilot for the series, set in the American rural community of Calverton. The Campbell Soup Company agreed to sponsor the half-hour weekly program, and *Lassie* debuted on CBS on Sunday, September 12, 1954. The human cast included Tommy Rettig as Jeff Miller, Jan Clayton as his widowed mother Ellen, George Cleveland as Jeff's grandfather George "Gramps" Miller, and Donald Keller as Jeff's friend Sylvester "Porky" Brockway. *Lassie* became an instant hit with viewers as well as with critics. In 1954, *Lassie* won an Emmy Award for Best Children's Program. The following year, the show captured another Emmy Award and the prestigious Peabody Award.

Cast and location changes occurred during the nearly two decades of the *Lassie* television series. In September 1957, the Millers sold the farm to a childless couple, Paul and Ruth Martin, played by Jon Shepodd and Cloris Leachman. Jeff Miller gave Lassie to seven-year-old orphan Timmy (Jon Provost) who joined the Martin household. In September 1958, Timmy's parents were being played by June Lockhart and Hugh Reilly. By 1964, the Martins left the farm to take advantage of free land in Australia. Timmy went with them, but Lassie remained behind because of animal quarantine regulations, so Lassie acquired a new master, U.S. Forest Ranger Corey Stuart, played by Robert Bray. In 1968, after Ranger Stuart was injured in a forest fire, Lassie was given to two young rangers, Scott Turner (Jed Allan) and Bob Erickson (Jack De Mave). However, Lassie roamed independently through many of the episodes.

*Lassie* remained in production for three more seasons, from 1971 through 1974, but the program was syndicated to television stations across the country. In the first season, Lassie wandered the countryside without human companionship. The last two seasons found a new home for Lassie with the Holdens on a ranch in California. Throughout the various series, the role of Lassie was always played by Pal's descendant. From 1973 to 1975, Lassie returned to television in an animated, Saturday-morning adventure, *Lassie's Rescue Rangers*.

In 1978, the story of *Lassie Come Home* was updated and Americanized in the film *The Magic of Lassie*, featuring James Stewart, Mickey Rooney, Alice Faye, Mike Mazurki, Stephanie Zimbalist, Pernell Roberts, and a sixth-generation descendant of the original Pal as Lassie.

Lassie was honored with nine PATSY Awards from 1958 to 1971. Given by the American Humane Association, the PATSY (Performing Animal Top Stars of the Year) is the animal equivalent of the Academy Award. In 1973, Lassie was the first inductee to the American Humane Association's Hall of Fame. In December 1975, *Esquire* magazine included Lassie among its collection of "Great American Things," putting the collie in the good company of, among others, Fred Astaire, Walter Cronkite, Marilyn Monroe, Jackie Robinson, and John Wayne. Lassie remains a familiar icon in the pantheon of animal actors in American popular culture, especially to the Boomer generation who grew up with the television series in the 1950s.

—Pauline Bartel

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## *The Late Great Planet Earth*

Originally published in 1970, Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth* offered readers a guide to finding the future in the text of the Bible. With 15 million copies in print, this bestseller obviously struck a nerve in the modern world. Specifically, Lindsey offers order

to the chaotic close of the twentieth century by arguing that many of the predictions of the Old and New Testament have come true. Such a connection offered hope to many Judeo-Christians that the Bible, and the morality that it imposes, had resonance in contemporary life. It also made many readers turn to the Bible in order to prophecy future events. In this fashion, Lindsey spurred contemporary readers to study the Bible with care and helped to re-energize Christianity. Many critics, however, suggest that few of his predictions for the 1980s came true and that he preyed on readers' hopes and fears. Regardless, the prophetic rhetoric of *The Late Great Planet Earth* made it the most popular book of the 1970s.

—Brian Black

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## Latin Jazz

The blending of Latin music and jazz has occurred in countless forms, under many guises, over much of the twentieth century. Cuba, New York City, and Puerto Rico all played key roles in the initial fusion, but the unfolding of this complex musical genre has had worldwide implications.

In early 1920s Cuba, descendants of African slaves brought a song form known as *son* to Havana from the sugar-plantation-filled province of Oriente. Settling in segregated barrios, their passionate music thrived, despite its rejection by the white Cuban elite, who preferred the *danzon*, music derived from eighteenth-century French court *contradanse*, performed by string-and-flute bands called *charangas*. *Son* had its bands as well, called *conjuntos*, which instead featured trumpets and timbales (stand-mounted drums and cowbells). Both types of music were powered by the conga and bongos, which had found their origins in religious drum rituals, but by the mid-1920s were also being used as backing for dancers at a growing number of American-owned tourist nightclubs.

In 1930, after Moises Simon's composition, "The Peanut Vendor," sparked rhumba mania in the United States, Cuban and Puerto Rican musicians arrived in New York in growing numbers, frustrated with limited work opportunities back home and attracted by the artistic renaissance taking place in Harlem. Immediately their presence was felt in jazz circles, with Cuban flautist Alberto Socarras appearing in *Blackbirds of 1929* and other Broadway shows, and Duke Ellington incorporating Latin compositions into his set. However, rhumba was still considered a novelty, and the majority of Latin music remained segregated in the Harlem barrio. White audiences received a watered-down trickle from bands such as the orchestra led by popular Mexican bandleader, Xavier Cugat, who, with his niece, actress Margo, was said to have "introduced the rhumba to New York City." Even African-American musicians initially blanched at participating in what appeared to be a more primitive (the conga and bongos were hand-beaten) and less respectable form of music.

In 1940, multi-instrumentalist Mario Bauza and singer Frank Grillo (a.k.a. "Machito") formed the Afro-Cuban Orchestra, a mixed group of Cubans, Puerto Ricans and Americans, in New York City.

The band tackled head-on the rhythmic, cultural and financial challenges facing the combining of Latin music and jazz as the decade progressed. Simultaneously, the mambo, another African rhythm refined with jazz inflections by Havana big bands such as the *conjunto* of Arsenio Rodriguez and *charanga* of La Maravilla de Siglo Orchestra, began to gain popularity on American shores in the excitement-stirred wake of World War II.

Trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie took fast action. Gillespie had been molding his own revolutionary form of jazz, called "bebop," through the 1940s. In 1946, he invited recent Cuban émigré percussionist Chano Pozo into his newly formed big band. The flamboyant Pozo electrified and entranced audiences throughout America and Europe, and together the pair made landmark recordings such as "Manteca" before Pozo's tragic drug-related murder in late 1948. Their work, along with the continued pioneering by the Afro-Cubans, came to be known as Cubop.

By the 1950s the mambo had become an international sensation through the efforts of populist bands such as Perez Prado's and the Lecuona Cuban Boys. Desi Arnaz performed groundbreaking singer Miguelito Valdes' "Babalu" on the *I Love Lucy* television series. The Afro-Cubans themselves received widespread critical recognition after jazz legend Charlie Parker recorded with them and, under Machito's guidance, the Palladium, a new club devoted to the Latin sound, opened on Manhattan's 53rd Street, down the block from Birdland. Soon the club was packed nightly with multi-racial crowds and celebrities dancing up a storm and be-boppers such as Gillespie sitting in. In addition to the Afro-Cubans, two other orchestras made famous at the Palladium were battling bands led by suave Puerto Rican tenor vocalist Tito Rodriguez and Nuyorican (New York-born Puerto Rican) timbalist Tito Puente respectively. Musicians from these groups formed a core of performers who would carry on into the 1990s.

As the 1950s progressed, the term Cubop was supplanted by Latin jazz, as Latin rhythms from other countries (the Puerto Rican bomba, the Colombian *cumbia*, the Dominican *meringue*) had made their way into repertoires. However, Cuba was the source of the last stateside big band rhythm craze, the cha-cha. A simpler, shuffling form of mambo, the cha-cha swept the nation the late 1950s. *Charanga* bandleader, José Fajardo, is credited with bringing the rhythm to the United States, later performing in 1959 for John F. Kennedy during his presidential campaign. Shortly afterward, Cuba's Communist revolution dramatically curtailed its participation in musical development, although expatriates continued to influence matters.

Meanwhile, hard times were leading many top jazz musicians to form smaller, more economical combos. It became common for many of these combos to include Latin percussion. Successors to Chano Pozo's legacy such as Mongo Santamaria, "Patato" Valdes, Willie Bobo, and Ray Barreto, found themselves being lured from the Palladium scene to a succession of jazz combos, many led by white musicians, such as George Shearing, Cal Tjader, and Herbie Mann. Cries of exploitation aside, the wider exposure benefited the percussionists, many of whom went on to start their own groups.

Rock music assumed commercial dominance in the early 1960s, spelling an end to the heyday of the Latin big band era. A transitional period for Latin jazz musicians followed with the "boogaloo" (Latin-spiced R&B—of which Barreto's "El Watusi" was a popular highlight) and "Latin soul" trends. Growing inner-city decay left many musicians scrambling for gigs by the end of the decade, but in the 1970s Tito Puente and other veterans found themselves at the fore of

the flourishing “salsa” movement. After maintaining steady popularity in New York, Miami, and Los Angeles through the 1980s (which featured Willie Bobo appearances on *The Cosby Show*), Latin jazz again rose in the national consciousness in the 1990s, through streams as diverse as “bachelor pad” and “exotica” nostalgia, European-imported “acid jazz,” and the efforts of celebrity devotees such as David Byrne and Andy Garcia.

—C. Kenyon Silvey

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## Laugh-In

“Sock it to me!” “Here come de Judge!” “You bet your sweet bippy!” “Look that up in your Funk and Wagnalls!” For a few years, these and other *Laugh-In* catch phrases circulated promiscuously in the everyday speech of North Americans. In the late 1960s, NBC’s



Dan Rowan (left) and Dick Martin on *Laugh In*.

Monday night comedy series was more than just another television program, it was a cultural event. Holding top spot in the Nielsen ratings for two seasons, from 1968/1969 to 1969/1970, the show revolutionized the comedy-variety genre and, more than any other prime-time program of the period, signaled the massive social, moral, and generational changes the nation was undergoing. *Laugh-In* was the quintessential television show of the swinging 1960s.

Considering the show’s emphasis on youth, left-liberal politics, the sexual liberation, and “New Wave” video techniques, the guiding lights behind *Laugh-In* formed an unlikely team. Dan Rowan (1922–1987) and Dick Martin (1922—) were aging forty-ish veterans of the nightclub and lounge circuit, having polished their act as a tuxedoed comedy duo since 1953. In 1966 they filled in for Dean Martin in his summer variety show. NBC then gave the pair a summer special the following year which proved to be the genesis of *Laugh-In*. Rowan and Martin brought in the veteran television producer George Schlatter, whose credits in the industry dated back to the 1950s and Dinah Shore’s variety series. If the show’s hosts and its executive producer seemed to have little connection to the burgeoning youth culture of the 1960s, the show’s producer and head writer, Paul Keyes, was even further removed. Keyes’ comedy credits dated back to penning jokes for Jack Paar. He was also a close friend of Richard Nixon and a major campaign advisor to the 1968 presidential candidate. Yet despite their Establishment backgrounds, these men produced a show designed to appeal to the sensibilities, tastes, politics, and lifestyles of 1960s youth—as well as those elders who increasingly wanted to be “with it.”

*Laugh-In* (which is also known by its full name, *Rowan and Martin’s Laugh-In*) largely dispensed with the conventions of the comedy-variety genre. Rather than showcasing guest stars with extended musical segments, the show featured short cameo appearances of celebrity guests delivering one liners. Rather than present sketches that developed over five to ten minutes, *Laugh-In* reveled in ten second black-outs, non-sequitur jokes, and endless, rapid-fire one liners delivered either by performers, or in printed form on the screen, or on a dancing, bikini-clad body. Much of *Laugh-In*’s content harkened back to vaudeville, from its jokes to its penchant for broad slapstick. For instance, every time series regular, Cockney-accented Judy Carne, happened to utter the famous phrase “sock it to me!” she would invariably get soaked with water, bonked on the head, or dropped through a trap door. What made the show revolutionary was not its approach to comedy, but rather its visual style. With flashes, zooms, breathtakingly quick cuts, and psychedelic colors, *Laugh-In* displayed a kinetic, frantic pace that was unprecedented in television. Not since Ernie Kovacs’ self-reflexive use of the television medium for his visual brand of comedy in the 1950s had a television show so overtly drawn attention to the televisual form. *Laugh-In* used hundreds of separate shots per show requiring the services of four to five full time video editors to assemble all the myriad, tiny segments together. Some shots would be on screen for less than half a second, as when the bikini-clad dancer would stop momentarily as the camera zoomed in on a joke written somewhere on her bare anatomy. Frequently, viewers would not have enough time to speed read through the one-liner (such as, “forest fires prevent bears”) before the camera zoomed back into a full shot of the merry dancer.

Reflecting the “sexual revolution” of the period in which the easier availability of birth control and the social experimentation of the young were freeing up sexual expression, *Laugh-In* engaged in heavy doses of scatological and risqué humor. Dick Martin played the

unrepentant bachelor wholly preoccupied with bedding down young women. Ruth Buzzi's beleaguered hair-netted old lady found herself constantly sexually accosted by Arte Johnson's dirty old man on a park bench. Muttering salacious invitations as he slid closer to her on the bench, Buzzi's old lady would eventually retaliate using her purse as an effective weapon.

*Laugh-In* also engaged in highly topical political humor, influenced by other politically-tinged television comedies such as *That Was The Week That Was* (1964-1965) and *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour* (1967-1969). With one-liners like "George Wallace, your sheets are ready" and "William Buckley, call your ventriloquist" the series emphatically took a left-liberal stance. This did not, however, prevent personalities associated with the political right—such as John Wayne—from agreeing to appear in cameos. Most famously, presidential candidate Richard Nixon appeared in 1968 and delivered the line: "Sock it to me?" But by 1969, with Nixon ensconced in the White House, Paul Keyes, who was closely associated with the Nixon Administration as advisor and speech writer, began lashing out at what he (and the White House) perceived to be the show's penchant for anti-Nixon and anti-Pentagon attacks. Keyes left the series in a huff. While *Laugh-In* engaged in many of the same kinds of political critiques that were getting the Smothers Brothers censored and eventually thrown off the air over at CBS, Rowan and Martin's show never suffered the same heavy handed censorship; the NBC Standards and Practices department tended to worry more about jokes having to do with sex and religion. Also, the black-out, rapid-fire manner of delivery tended to blunt the political implications of much of the humor. By the time the viewer got the message behind the joke, two or three other non-political jokes or black-outs had already whizzed by.

*Laugh-In* launched the careers of a number of its regular cast members, most notably Goldie Hawn who played a giggly dumb blonde and Lily Tomlin who created a number of famous characters from cheeky little girl Edith Ann to Ernestine the sarcastic and all powerful telephone operator ("one ringy-dingy, two ringy-dingy. . ."). Other cast members became famous for particular shticks. Arte Johnson played a German soldier, forever peering through bushes and pronouncing something to be "verrrrry interesting. . . but shtupid!" Earnest-faced Henry Gibson would appear with flower in hand and recite a pathetic poem.

Episodes ended with all the cast members and cameo guests behind a joke wall painted in swirly, psychedelic colors. They would pop their heads through small doors and deliver yet more one-liners. This joking would continue through the credits, with yet more black-out sketches, until finally things would end with the disembodied sound of one set of hands clapping.

By 1973, with most of its original cast gone, *Laugh-In* ran out of steam. The show's visual style, so cutting edge in the 1960s, quickly became dated. *Laugh-In* remains very much a show of its era (though it was revisited briefly in an unsuccessful 1979 sequel to the series). While it did not go on to serve as a direct inspiration for subsequent brands of television comedy, the show's frenetic editing pace, so revolutionary in 1968, is now, with the influence of music videos and commercials, quite unremarkable.

—Aniko Bodroghkozy

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## Lauper, Cyndi (1953—)

The mid-1980s heralded the coming of age of the music video as a mainstay of the rock music industry. Cyndi Lauper erupted into the music scene in 1984, bringing a color, vitality, and sassiness that seemed made for the new video medium. She made her dynamic songs into vibrant videos, full of kitschy, campy energy. Lauper's own appearance was a sort of camp, with asymmetrical hair dyed in bright fuchsias and magentas and flamboyant thrift-shop-chic outfits. That, along with her nasally New York voice, caused some critics to call her "Betty Boop" or "kewpie doll" and to dismiss her as a novelty act. However, behind the day-glo hair and the bohemian clothing, Lauper is a serious artist with a social conscience and a pragmatic approach to changing the world.

Lauper's first big hit, "Girls Just Want to Have Fun," is a riotous anthem to personal freedom for women that appealed to everyone from middle-aged feminists to girls just entering adolescence. It was not only for her irrepressible pro-woman lyrics that she was named *Ms. Magazine's* Woman of the Year in 1985. It was also for the issues she tackled in her songs and her actions to change the role of women in rock. Los Angeles-based Women in Film honored Lauper in the mid-1980s as well, for hiring women in all aspects of her music videos, staging, costumes, design, and editing, as well as casting. "I tried to give women a different face," Lauper said, "a stronger, more independent one, and that's what 'Girls Just Want to Have Fun' was all about."



Cyndi Lauper

Lauper grew up with a strong, supportive female role model. Born in Queens, New York, to working-class parents who divorced when she was five, Lauper, her brother, and sister were raised by their mother, Catrine Dominique. Though life was hard raising three children while working as a waitress, Lauper's mother actively encouraged creativity and independent thinking in her children. Struggling through parochial school, Lauper was a lonely child who always felt like a misfit. She escaped into music, feeling a "drive to sing" first along with her mother's records, then, around age 12, her own folkly compositions, accompanying herself on the guitar. Around the same time, she began the wild color experiments on her hair, making the most of her misfit status by becoming an eccentric. She attended four separate high schools, dropping or flunking out of each, until she earned her high school equivalency. After an unhappy year at a Vermont college, she came back to New York to try for a singing career.

In 1977, she released an album with the band Blue Angel. The album was well received by critics but sold poorly and the band broke up, sending Lauper back to singing in bars and picking up odd jobs. She had just declared bankruptcy in 1983 when she got her own recording contract with Portrait Records.

Her first album, *She's So Unusual*, released in 1983, sold almost five million copies. It was the first debut album in history to have four top-five hit songs. Lauper's quirky personal style and her high-pitched, yet tough singing voice immediately clicked in the bubbly world of 1980s pop. She rocketed to instant popularity, receiving a Grammy, an MTV Music Award, and an American Music Award. *Rolling Stone* named her Best New Artist in 1984.

Though some pundits speculated Lauper would be a "one-hit wonder," more discerning critics heard the quality and flexibility of style and voice in her multi-octave range. She released other albums with less dramatic success: *True Colors* in 1987 sold a million copies, *A Night to Remember* in 1989, half a million. Lauper, however, does not measure her success by sales alone, and she continued to produce albums, taking more and more control of her own career. Because as many as four years can go by between albums, she was constantly said to be making a "comeback" during the 1990s. Well respected in the rock music world, Lauper has been credited grudgingly by the most sneering of critics in her range of sound, be it squeaky, earthy, soulful, or sweet. By the end of the 1990s, she continued to write "social issue" songs about such topics as incest, domestic violence, abortion, and racism, managing to be passionate without becoming preachy. In "She Bop," she even pulled off a feisty and funny reclamation of female masturbation.

Lauper has also branched out into movies, proving to be an accomplished actor who has been often pointed out by critics as the bright spot in an otherwise negligible film. She has also made guest appearances on television, most notably on the popular 1990s sitcom *Mad about You*, for which she received an Emmy nomination.

Lauper remains down to earth and gutsy, continuing to identify with her working-class roots and with other women. Even in the early days of her career, she resisted media attempts to pit her against another rising star, singer Madonna, explaining "I don't want to compete with a sister." Married since 1991 to actor David Thornton, Lauper had her first child, son Declyn, at age 44. She lives with her family in rural Connecticut and continues to make music while trying to avoid the pitfalls of the superstar lifestyle. "I'm an entertainer,"

she reflected, "trying to express the fact that you can liberate yourself and say, hell, yes, I can do it. Life is not a prison sentence."

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Laura

*Laura* (1944) is a classic film noir that critic Pauline Kael calls "Everybody's favorite murder mystery." Featuring a superb ensemble cast—Gene Tierney as the mysteriously disappeared Laura; Dana Andrews as investigating detective Mark McPherson who falls in love with Laura's portrait; Clifton Webb as the cynical radio personality Waldo Lydecker, who regards the beautiful Laura as both his creation and his property; Vincent Price as Laura's shallow, Southern playboy suitor Shelby Carpenter, and Judith Anderson as Laura's rich spinster aunt and Shelby's would-be lover—*Laura* is stylishly and superbly directed by Otto Preminger. Nominated for five Academy Awards, *Laura* won for Best Cinematography. The haunting score by David Raskins would become one of the most famous movie themes ever written. Moderately successful when it was released in 1944, *Laura* has become a cult favorite and a staple of the classic movie cable channels.

—Victoria Price

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## Laurel and Hardy

The first and, arguably, the best of filmdom's famous two-man comedy teams, Stan Laurel and Oliver Hardy were also, along with Charlie Chaplin, the only great silent-era clowns to survive and thrive well into the talkie era. The two thrilled audiences with their carefully crafted style of comedy. Their short films, ranging from the pie-throwing apotheosis, *The Battle of the Century* to the Oscar-winning *The Music Box*, in which the boys strain to lug a piano up a steep hill, established their endearing characterizations as loyal friends—often hen-pecked husbands—who keep going from one "swell predicament" to "another fine mess."



Stan Laurel (left) and Oliver Hardy (right)

Stan Laurel (real name: Stan Jefferson) was born in 1890 in Ulverston, England; Oliver Norvell Hardy in 1892 in Harlem, Georgia. The fates and their respective theatrical abilities brought them to Hal Roach's comedy factory in Hollywood during the Roaring Twenties. There, ace comedy director Leo McCarey had the inspiration to pair them as a team. Unlike such latter-day comedy partners as Abbott and Costello or Martin and Lewis, who would hone their comedy personae onstage before live audiences before making it big in the movies, Laurel and Hardy grew into a team from film to film. During their series of short films in the 1920s, the derby-wearing duo quickly established their now famous identities as the skinny one and the fat one: "Two minds," as Laurel described them, "without a single thought."

In the 1930s, Laurel and Hardy graduated to feature-length films which continued to spread their worldwide popularity. Although the films eventually suffered a decline in quality when comic genius Laurel was no longer allowed by studios to carefully plan and develop their vehicles, the stars themselves never wore out their welcome. Long after their deaths, the characters created by Laurel and Hardy

are continually being recreated by actors and animators. The original Laurel and Hardy films still have the power to get an audience laughing at the pitfalls and pratfalls of twentieth-century urban living.

Stan Laurel began his show business career when he was only sixteen. By 1910, he was touring America with Fred Karno's London Comedians, not only performing but understudying another young up-and-comer named Charles Chaplin. When Chaplin "went Hollywood," the troupe disbanded. Stan continued to kick around vaudeville until the early 1920s, although he started making films under the Stan Laurel name in 1917 with *Nuts in May*. In all, he made some 60 movies before being partnered with Hardy. In a business in which a young stand-up can rise from obscurity to sitcom stardom in a couple of years, (and return to anonymity just as quickly), Stan Laurel took two decades searching for his most apt comedy persona.

Oliver Hardy grew up with a love of music, and as a young man found employment singing accompaniment to slides in a theater. By 1910, the eighteen-year-old was running a movie theater, and thinking to himself that he could probably act as well as the professionals he was watching onscreen. A few years later, he had a chance to prove



his abilities by working for the Lubin and Vim companies in Jacksonville, Florida. Although he made a hundred short films, Hardy's weight typecast him as "the heavy," giving support to the comedians but never taking the lead himself.

Hollywood pioneer Hal Roach ran a studio where the specialty was comedy, the budgets were small, and the talent was big. Stan Laurel signed on with Roach in 1923; three years later, the studio hired Hardy. One year after that, in 1927, the men made their first movie together, *Putting Pants on Phillip*. Phillip was uncharacteristic of what was to come, but the team hit their stride with their next film, *The Battle of the Century*. "Reciprocal destruction" became the phrase used to describe how, in a Laurel/Hardy film, a deceptively simple tit-for-tat escalates into a donnybrook. In *Battle*, one little banana peel pratfall leads eventually to the biggest pie-fight in movie history, encompassing an entire city block of citizens. But Laurel and Hardy didn't need spectacle to be just as hilarious in their subsequent shorts. The situation could be as simple as Stan trying to help Ollie put a radio antenna up on a roof, or the two trying to make their dry-docked boat seaworthy, or—as in their Oscar-winning talkie, *The Music Box*, Laurel and Hardy simply attempting to deliver a piano—to a house way up there on top of the hill, with the only access via a narrow set of steps.

For all the brilliance of their slapstick, the comedy of Laurel and Hardy was personality-driven, not situational. The characters they developed were of two well-meaning but naive child-men—Stan, not too bright, and Ollie, who only *thinks* he's smarter than his pal—trying to cope with the vicissitudes of employment, matrimony, warfare, society, and technology, with the one constant being their friendship. Audiences laughed at the antics of Laurel and Hardy, but more than that, they fell in love with the boys. (No less loveable was a veritable stock company of brilliant supporting players, including James Finlayson and Mae Busch.) So endearing and enduring were the Laurel and Hardy characters that their appeal was only strengthened, not dissipated, by the coming of sound film. (The early Laurel and Hardy talkies benefitted enormously from the delightful underscoring of T. Marvin Hatley, composer of the "Cuckoo" theme which became the boys' signature tune.) Roach put his star team in feature-length movies, and still they prospered. Perhaps their best such film was *Way Out West*, 1937.

Of the two actors, behind the scenes, Laurel was the prime creator, working with the hand-picked Roach production team on the story, gags, production, and even the editing of their films. Stan actually thought of himself more as a gag-writer than a performer. (Not unlike Gene Kelly, another multiple talent, who once claimed that choreographing and filming his numbers was much more interesting than actually dancing.) Laurel and Roach did not always see eye to eye, but by and large the studio chief respected his star's talent and allowed it free reign. It is thanks to the work they did at Roach that Laurel and Hardy, the skinny guy and the fatso in their two derbies, became comedy icons recognized and adored wherever in the world movies were shown. And it is a tribute to Laurel and Hardy's appeal that they remained universally loved, even when the films themselves stopped being loveable.

Like other clowns from the golden age of screen comedy, Laurel and Hardy ran into trouble when they found themselves working for a production company that had no understanding of their working methods nor an appreciation of how crucial those methods were to the art of their comedy. By the 1940s, Laurel and Hardy had left Roach and ended up at Twentieth Century-Fox. Seeking to cash in on the new, brash brand of comedy popularized by Abbott and Costello, Fox

basically disallowed Laurel's input into the creative process. Gone were the carefully worked out scenarios and the opportunities to improvise on the central gag situations. For fans of the team, the 1940s films represented a mishandling of talent. For the most part, Laurel and Hardy called it quits with the movies after *The Bullfighters* in 1945, and spent the next decade delighting audiences overseas with personal appearances onstage. (In 1952, there was one disastrous comeback film, an international co-production called *Atoll K*, which is even harder to watch than the 1940s Fox films.) Over the years, Hardy would occasionally put in a solo appearance as a character actor in a movie, but these were few and far between. Eventually, his health started to fail, and he died in 1957.

In their heyday, for all their international success, Laurel and Hardy were not treated very kindly by most critics. The much-married Laurel spent his last years living quietly in his Santa Monica apartment, corresponding with his many fans, and occasionally receiving visits from them. Thanks chiefly to the lobbying efforts of one such fan, comedian Dick Van Dyke, a campaign began which led to a special honorary Oscar for Laurel in 1961. Laurel was appreciative, but wistful that the honor had not come in time to be shared with Hardy. Probably more gratifying to Laurel was the formation of an international Laurel and Hardy fan club, dubbed The Sons of the Desert, (after the fraternal order in their 1934 film of the same name). Into the 1990s, local chapters of this organization gather around the globe to watch the films of the screen's first great comedy duo. When Laurel died in 1965, he was eulogized as a great artist. It probably would have been nice if Laurel and Hardy had heard such praise in their heyday, but in the final analysis, it couldn't possibly have meant as much to them as the sound of one good belly-laugh.

—Preston Neal Jones

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## Lauren, Ralph (1939—)

Bronx-born Ralph Lauren is the great dreamer of American fashion. He launched his fashion empire with wide ties (Polo Neckwear) in 1967. By 1968 Lauren covered the menswear business, adding womenswear in 1971. Lauren builds on consistent themes: Anglophilia of stately homes and rustic luxury, including tweeds, tartans, and Fair Isle sweaters; the heroic American West, celebrating the cowboy but revering Native American crafts; the Ivy League and clubby American elite of the 1920s; Hollywood and movie stars particularly of the 1930s; and style icons, including the Duke of Windsor. The New York flagship store is a Madison Avenue mansion which feels more like an historic home than a retail establishment.



Ralph Lauren fashion show, 1982.

Burnishing these powerful images, visualized in advertising photographed by Bruce Weber, Lauren has communicated a self-confident American style, compounded of aristocracy and adventure. Winning fame for Robert Redford's wardrobe in *The Great Gatsby* (1974), Lauren has given America a Gatsby imagination in apparel.

—Richard Martin

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## Laver, Rod (1938—)

In 1969, "Rocket" Rod Laver did what no other male tennis player had done before or has done since—he won the Grand Slam for the second time. Only one other men's player, American Don Budge, had ever won the Grand Slam—the Australian, the French Open, Wimbledon, and the United States Opens—even once. Laver is

considered by many to have been the best tennis player ever, and his statistics make a good case for the Australian-born hall of famer. He was ranked number one in the world in 1961, 1962, 1968, and 1969. He won 11 grand slam titles—four Wimbledons, three Australian titles, two French Opens, and two United States championships. In addition, in Davis Cup competition he compiled a singles record of 16-4.

—Lloyd Chiasson Jr.

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## Laverne and Shirley

Premiering on ABC in January of 1976, *Laverne and Shirley* captured 47 percent of the television viewing audience, becoming an instant hit. In its first season, the sitcom—set in 1950s Milwaukee—ranked second only to *Happy Days*, the show from which *Laverne and Shirley* was spun-off. The program's success can be attributed to the appeal of its title characters, Laverne DeFazio and Shirley Feeney—played by Penny Marshall and Cindy Williams—who were single women employed as bottlecappers at the "Shotz Brewery." They lacked college degrees or promising careers, and lived in a modest basement apartment, which made them blue-collar when working class comedies like *All in the Family* reigned and women were entering the work force in record numbers. In addition, their slapstick comedy recalled *I Love Lucy*, a favorite of the 1950s. Unlike Lucy and Ethel, however, Laverne and Shirley did not have husbands. They were, as their theme song asserted, doing it their way.

—Belinda S. Ray

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## Lavin, Linda (1937—)

Linda Lavin, who had a successful stage career before moving to television, starred in the popular sitcom, *Alice* (1976-1985), one of the first television shows centered on a working class woman. On the

series, which was based on the 1975 film, *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*, Lavin portrayed Alice Hyatt, a widow who worked as a waitress to support herself and her son while she dreamed of becoming a country singer.

As sometimes happens to actors who portray popular television characters, Lavin became a symbol. For Lavin it was to working-class women, and she used her celebrity to work with agencies focusing on improving conditions and benefits for working women. In 1977, she received the Grass Roots Award from the National Commission on Working Women for her realistic depiction of a blue-collar working woman.

—Denise Lowe

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## Lawn Care/Gardening

Where the American settler had wilderness at his or her doorstep, the contemporary American has created the lawn, a buffer of pseudo-nature between the public and private domain. Tending this landscape ornament has grown into an American pastime and supports a multi-million-dollar industry. Its surrounding green turf defines the American home from those in most other nations. These lawns joined together create what some critics refer to as the "American Savannah," covering 25 million acres, an area slightly larger than Pennsylvania.

Despite its kitsch embellishments (such as pink flamingos and lawn orbs), the American lawn grows out of a serious tradition in landscape architecture. Andrew Jackson Downing and others who imported garden design and planning from Europe in the mid-1800s determined the green "setting" around homes to be majestic, utilitarian, and unique. The planting of grass defined the leisure household of the upper classes, who had more than enough land on which to situate a home. The grass thus became the background for landowners to incorporate more ornate garden designs.

From this point, the lawn and garden trend becomes entwined with growing suburbanization. As developers and designers in the early twentieth century tried to perfect a form of housing that was simple, cheap, yet dignified, the lawn became part of the basic landscape form of the American home. The design suggests changes in terms of attitudes toward the private and public self: often, the suburban design includes a front, communal green-space intended to enhance visual presentation of the home and a rear green-space for private playing and other activities. These tendencies became increasingly ubiquitous as the suburban home spreads itself throughout the United States.

Home building exploded from 1950 to the present, and even the most basic homes came to incorporate lawns, which have quickly become an indispensable part of American culture. For instance, when William Levitt perfected the minimalized version of the pre-fabricated home (of which thousands can be constructed in only a week) following World War II, a lawn remained integral to the design. While residents appreciate the green space's visual appeal,

particularly in the suburban development, tending one's lawn or garden becomes the remnant of a fleeting human connection with nature. The geographer Yi-Fu Tuan suggests that the garden and lawn might be seen as the equivalent of a "pet." Other scholars view it as the American connection with the "pioneer spirit" of westward expansion through a continued proximity with nature—albeit a quite manufactured version of nature.

Whatever the motivation, lawn and garden care became a multi-million-dollar industry after the 1960s. With the growth of the middle class in the twentieth century, males often found themselves with leisure time that could be channeled to activities and hobbies such as tending the garden and lawn. These practices became aesthetically and socially connected to the growing popularity of golf and defined much of middle class male persona, such as that seen in television's Ward Cleaver or Tim "The Tool Man" Taylor. More recently, efforts have been made to simplify lawn care through the use of chemicals and "lawn management" companies. This shift to the "industrial lawn" has led some Americans to view this green space more as a burden than blessing.

In recent years, the image of the lawn has changed, as many Americans refuse to blindly adopt landscape forms not of their own choosing. This is particularly true in arid and semi-arid portions of the United States, in which lawns require a significant amount of limited water resources. Naturalist Michael Pollan speaks for many environmentalists when he refers to the lawn as "nature under culture's boot." Such sentiment, though, has not altered the American interest in maintaining a natural zone between home and society. Critics of the lawn have often turned to xeriscaping and other alterations that involve regionally native biota and no turf grass. Most have not adopted concrete, which shows that Americans place a unique importance on maintaining some kind of natural environment around their homes.

—Brian Black

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## Lawrence of Arabia

*Lawrence of Arabia* (1962) remains one of the most epic, literate, and beautiful films ever made. It brought instant stardom for actors Peter O'Toole and Omar Sharif; O'Toole in particular drew praise for his skillful depiction of Lawrence, a complex, unheroic hero, beset by inner demons and motivated by a heady mixture of noble purpose, self-aggrandizement, compassion, brutality, and a large dollop of abnormal psychology.

The film is based on the exploits of British scholar and military officer Thomas Edward Lawrence. Born in North Wales in 1888 and educated at Oxford, Lawrence took a walking tour of Syria and Palestine to gather material for a thesis. His living among the Arabs and learning their language, dialects, and customs would prove



Peter O'Toole in a scene from the film *Lawrence of Arabia*.

invaluable to the British Intelligence Service with the outbreak of World War I.

The Turks, who were allied with Germany, ruled most of the Middle East with such brutality that the Arabs revolted, and the British sided with the Arabs. Lawrence knew that Britain and France had plans to divide Arabia between them when the war was over, but he felt if he could help the Arabs unite and defeat the Turks, the British would be unable to overlook the Arabs' moral claim to freedom. Lawrence joined forces with Auda abu Tayi, leader of the Howeitat tribe, and together they captured Aqaba without firing a shot, raided Turkish positions, and blew up sections of the Hejaz Railway, vital to the Turks. The Arabs pronounced his name "El Aurens," as if he were already a prince, and he finally succeeded in leading the Arab army, under Prince Feisal, into Damascus.

American journalist Lowell Thomas and his cameraman caught many images of Lawrence in the desert, then toured the world with his illustrated lecture series, making Lawrence an international legend. After the war, Lawrence remained an adviser on Arab affairs until, in 1922, he enlisted in the Royal Air Force as a private under an assumed name. In 1926 he published *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, a complex and highly regarded blend of history, autobiography, philosophy, and mythmaking. He was killed in 1935 when the motorcycle he was riding struck a tree.

After the success of *The Bridge on the River Kwai*, producer Sam Spiegel approached director David Lean with the idea of making a film about Lawrence. After months of researching Lawrence's life, Lean agreed the story could make a fascinating film, provided a good script could be written. The first screenwriter proved unsatisfactory, and when Spiegel happened to attend the new hit play *A Man for All Seasons*, a historical play about Sir Thomas More and Henry VIII written by Robert Bolt, he hired Bolt for the job. Albert Finney and Marlon Brando were considered for the lead role, but the relatively unknown Peter O'Toole landed the part, and the film was shot in 1961 and 1962 in Jordan, Almeria, Morocco, and England. T. E. Lawrence's brother Arnold Walter Lawrence, who became T. E.'s literary executor upon his death and had permitted Spiegel to make the movie based on *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, attended a rough-cut in September 1962. When the film ended, A. W. stood up and shouted at Spiegel, "I should never have trusted you!" He then stormed out of the theater.

In O'Toole's first scene in the film, Lawrence does a trick putting a match out between his fingers. When another soldier tries the same trick, he winces, "Ow! It damn well hurts!" "Certainly it hurts," Lawrence replies. "Well, what's the trick then?" the soldier asks. "The trick," Lawrence answers, "is not minding that it hurts." When Lawrence says he thinks the burning desert is going to be fun, an officer suggests that he has "a funny sense of fun," and there are

suggestions that Lawrence enjoys the extreme tests of endurance that the desert provides. Later, to keep peace among the Arab tribes before entering Aqaba, Lawrence is forced to shoot one of them, then later confesses, “I enjoyed it.” And before Damascus, Lawrence exhibits maniacal glee as he joins in the slaughter of a column of Turks, shouting, “No prisoners!” and shooting point-blank one Turk with his hands up in surrender. It is easy to see why Lawrence’s brother was so incensed but, as later revealed, A. W. may have been angered by the fact that the film was uncomfortably close to the truth.

In a 1986 interview, A. W. finally revealed the terrible family secret buried for so long—T. E. hated the thought of sex and, after immersing himself in medieval literature about characters who quelled sexual longings by enduring beatings, T. E. opted to do the same. A former Tank Corps private admitted to ritually flogging Lawrence, at his request, from 1925 to 1934. A number of historians have hinted at Lawrence’s possible homosexuality, and a number of film historians have called the film’s homosexual overtones blatant.

Although all of this makes *Lawrence of Arabia* a far cry from *Rambo*, it makes for a more thought-provoking epic—heroic exploits may not always stem from the most heroic of motives—filled with great dialogue, great performances, gorgeous cinematography, and a sense of history. The title character’s humanness and faults makes the film easier to identify with. *Lawrence of Arabia* won seven Academy Awards, including best film, actor, director, cinematography (Freddie Young), and musical score (Maurice Jarre).

—Bob Sullivan

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## Lawrence, Vicki (1949—)

Versatile television personality Vicki Lawrence won her show business break at age 18 thanks to her resemblance to comedienne Carol Burnett. Burnett was looking for a young comedy actress to play her kid sister in sketches for *The Carol Burnett Show*, a variety program that ran from 1967 until 1979. Born in Inglewood, California, in 1949, Lawrence, who had been singing in a group called the Young Americans, got the part and soon was playing an array of skit characters on the show. One of her ongoing roles—the hilarious, purse-lipped, irascible Southern matriarch Thelma Harper, the character for which she is best known—later evolved into the series *Mama’s Family*, which aired between 1983 and 1985.

In 1973, Lawrence topped the charts with her only hit single, “The Night the Lights Went Out in Georgia.” Three years later, she won an Emmy Award for Best Supporting Actress in a Variety Show for her work on the Burnett series. In the mid-1990s, she added to her coterie of fans as hostess of the daytime talk show *Fox After Breakfast*, later renamed *The Vicki Lawrence Show*.

—Audrey E. Kupferberg

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## La-Z-Boy Loungers

The La-Z-Boy Lounger, a reclining chair also known as the “easy chair,” is a heavily padded item of furniture, generally upholstered in naugahyde or other, similarly tough and durable fabric, and boasts a built-in ottoman. By pulling a side lever, one can simultaneously recline the chair back and kick out the attached footrest, arriving at a position somewhere between sitting and lying down.

Ed Shoemaker and Ed Knabusch of Monroe, Michigan made the first loungers in 1927. Combining the science of ergonomics with automobile and airplane seat design, they developed what would eventually become the La-Z-Boy. In 1941, Edward Barcalo licensed the design of Dr. Anton Lorenz for a “scientifically articulated” chair, which he dubbed the “Barcalounger,” and which became La-Z-Boy’s largest competitor.

These chairs, which sacrifice high style for immediate comfort and versatility, have remained enduring American symbols of low-brow masculine tastes. Although many companies have produced loungers throughout the century, La-Z-Boy remains the most popular brand and has become the generic name for them all.

—Wendy Woloson

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## le Carré, John (1931—)

In a review of James Fenimore Cooper’s *The Spy* (1823), the critic wrote: “No sympathy can be excited with meanness, and there must be a degree of meanness ever associated with the idea of Spy.” Eighty years later the *Morning Post* entitled its review of Joseph Conrad’s *The Secret Agent* “The Real Anarchist” and claimed that “it is a study of real value for the student of contemporary politics.” This tells us something about the evolving conception of the spy in society, and the novels of John le Carré further explore and develop this image.

John le Carré was born David John Moore Cornwell, in Poole, Dorset, October 19, 1931. His mother abandoned the family when he was six, and le Carré later learned that his father, Ronnie Cornwell, was a crafty con man who had served a prison term. Betrayal and deception were to become the key themes of his writings. After studying German at Berne University, he completed his National Service with the Intelligence Corps in Austria from 1949 to 1951. It is likely that he was recruited into the British Secret Service in Berne, although le Carré has never actually given the exact date of his enrollment nor has he elaborated upon the exact nature of his work.

In 1952 he returned to England, where he completed his German studies, graduating cum laude in 1956 at Lincoln College, Oxford. After a brief two-year spell of teaching at Eton, he entered the Foreign Office. In 1961 he was posted to the British embassy in Bonn as second secretary and that same year he published his first novel, *Call for the Dead*, introducing the anti-heroic figure George Smiley of the British security service, the Circus. The critical reception of his debut focuses mainly on the manipulation of the conventional “whodunit” into the spy thriller. This notion of subverting the rules of the genre has become the predominant critical view of le Carré’s novels. What has been instrumental in the process of canonization of le Carré is the realization that his novels could be read as political parables—“thrillers that demand a second reading as a treatise on our times.”

In 1963, still working as second secretary at the British Embassy in Bonn, at the height of the Cold War, le Carré published *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*, a grimly realist tale of betrayal and deception, the key theme being that espionage in itself inevitably leads to moral corruption. Its huge success enabled him to resign from the Foreign Office. Graham Greene called it the best spy novel he had ever read. The reactions from the professionals, however, were hostile. “You bastard, you utter bastard,” one of his former colleagues yelled at the author at a diplomatic dinner. Richard Helms, sworn in as Director of Intelligence at the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) in 1966, resented the climate of despair in le Carré’s novel. Thomas Powers writes in his *The Man Who Kept the Secrets* that “it was not just the violence Helms minded, but the betrayal, the mood of defeat, the meanness, the numb loneliness of a man for whom loyalty has become a joke. Le Carré was undermining the very bedrock of intelligence, the faith of men in the meaning of their work.”

In the George Smiley trilogy *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (1974), *The Honourable Schoolboy* (1977), and *Smiley’s People* (1981), also published as *The Quest for Karla* trilogy, le Carré not only debates the morality of espionage, but explores the theme of love’s betrayal: “But who are the foes? Once upon a time it was clear, but now nothing is certain. The enemy in those days was someone we could point at . . . today all I know is that I have learned to interpret the whole of life in terms of conspiracy,” Smiley sighs in *The Honourable Schoolboy*. It does therefore not come as a surprise that le Carré’s only novel with an unambiguously evil villain, the illegal arms dealer Richard ‘Dicky’ Roper in *The Night Manager* (1993), is also le Carré’s only novel with a “happy ending.” In the Cold War novels that deal with the Circus and the KGB, the real and the absolute enemy are frequently not the same person or entity. Often the most intense enemy is to be found in the protagonist’s own camp (*The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*, *The Quest for Karla*) and sometimes the protagonist turns out to be his own worst enemy (*A Perfect Spy*, 1986).

As a public figure, the author has had to face the consequences of the strained fact-fiction continuum that characterizes his novels. “My great sin,” he said once, “ever since I wrote *The Little Drummer Girl*” (1983), “was suggesting that the state of Israel—that Palestine—was in fact a twice-promised land.” A *New York Times* book review of his novel *The Tailor of Panama* (1996), suggesting that the main character “was an anti-Semitic Judas” caricature, prompted him to publish his speech to the Anglo-Israel Association in *The Guardian*, in which he vehemently denied this charge. This in turn prompted a reply from Salman Rushdie who has lived from early 1989 under the Iranian fatwa (death threat; the official government fatwa was lifted in 1998 but extremist groups have reinstated their own fatwa on Rushdie) for his *Satanic Verses*. He reminded le Carré not only that he suffered from far more rigorous religious intolerance

but also that le Carré never spoke out against the fatwa, to which le Carré replied that “there is no law in life or nature that says great religions may be insulted with impunity.” The first and foremost quality of a good intelligence officer, said Allen Dulles—former head of the CIA—is to discern between fact and fiction. Le Carré shows us that it might be far more important to discern between friend and foe.

—Rob van Kranenburg

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## Le Guin, Ursula K. (1929—)

In the introduction to Joe De Bolt’s collection of essays about Ursula K. Le Guin, Barry N. Malzberg claims that “Le Guin is probably the first writer to emerge solely within the confines of the genres of speculative fiction to win significant literary recognition . . . She is . . . the most important contemporary writer of science fiction, and this field cannot be understood if she is not.” In 1997, the largest survey in the field of speculative fiction listed Le Guin as one of the top five novelists in the history of both science fiction and fantasy, beating out Isaac Asimov in science fiction and C. S. Lewis in fantasy. Her short fiction has appeared in numerous publications, including *Amazing Science Fiction*, *New Yorker*, *Playgirl*, and *Playboy*. Her appeal within the genres of speculative fiction has earned her multiple Hugo, Locus, Nebula, and James Tiptree, Jr. awards. Her appeal outside that arena has yielded her such honors such as the National Book Award and the Newberry Award. Few authors have been as well received and influential in the span of their own lives as Ursula K. Le Guin.

If there were a central metaphor to describe Le Guin’s life and work, it might be the interplay of individual and society. Her own interaction with society began in a family of literate intellectuals. Her mother, Theodora Kracaw Kroeber, published *The Inland Whale: Nine Stories Retold from California Indian Legends* in 1959. As Elizabeth Cummins Cogell has claimed, this work suggests the “awareness of the female character,” which has become such a force in Le Guin’s own tales. Neither did Le Guin escape the influence of her father, Alfred Kroeber, who wrote prolifically in the field of anthropology. This discipline pokes its way to the surface of many of

Le Guin's finest and best-known works, such as *The Left Hand of Darkness* and "Solitude." Anthropology is, however, more than an overt theme in her stories; it is also the source of some of her greatest strengths: her ability to craft a world, universe, and history with utter believability.

One of her father's favorite books, Dunsany's *A Dreamer's Tales*, impressed upon her that the archetypal images evoked by myth and fable could be and indeed still were being called forth in literature. She began writing early, and recalls submitting her first science fiction story to *Astounding Stories Magazine* around the age of ten. The story was rejected, but Le Guin claims that she was more "proud of having a genuine rejection slip" than she was dejected. Much later, she read J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*, which impressed her so deeply that she claims, "If I'd read it as a kid I might have written bad imitations of it for years. As it was, I already was finding my own voice, and so could just have the joy of reading Tolkien as the creator of the greatest of the fantasy worlds."

Le Guin has constructed an original path that winds through the traditions of science fiction and fantasy as well as mainstream fiction. Orson Scott Card has noted particularly her concept of the ansible, a conceit now commonly used in science fiction which allows two parties to communicate simultaneously despite their distance. Tom Becker has praised her attention to "real world physics," saying that she exceeds even De Camp, "the only other [early science fiction] writer I know of who wasn't violating the law of relativity." Elisabeth Vonarburg further recognizes Le Guin's influence on "non-American, non English-speaking writers," as well as female writers born in the last half-century. "I still hear," says Vonarburg, "from a number of young or less young female readers what I myself have been saying for years: 'I came back to reading SF because of Le Guin.'"

Her first novel, *Rocannon's World*, was published by Ace Books in 1966. Since then, she has explored topics as wide in variety as the influence of gender upon society (perhaps best achieved in *The Left Hand of Darkness*), what it means to be human, and the individual as outcast. Yet it is no great task for an author to speak out on a wide variety of tasks; where Le Guin has made her greatest mark is in her ability to craft a sound narrative with characters who embody the concepts she hopes to explore. Le Guin is above all a deeply talented storyteller, one whom Tom Becker has used to demonstrate the point that feminism is not only a source of ideas, but also a source of excellent literature.

It is difficult to narrow Le Guin's body of work to just a handful of important titles, but there are a few that have made particular impression on the field. The first of these, *The Left Hand of Darkness*, has crept into the canon's outskirts through women's studies and graduate programs, and was the first of her works to receive overwhelming acknowledgement from the writing community. *The Dispossessed*, published shortly thereafter, has likewise gained praise from nearly every quarter. Her *Earthsea* series, marketed as a children's book, reached new audiences for Le Guin. Unlike the other two works, this series is a high fantasy series, and it is largely on the strength of *Earthsea* that she has gained notoriety as a fantasy writer.

Le Guin is an active and vocal member of several feminist organizations, and has also been active in conservationist groups. As a writer, she has helped shape the ideas of such diverse speculative elements as magic, the power of language, interstellar communication, dragons, and the relationship of people across gender and racial boundaries. Her poetry has also elicited praise from critics, and she brings the poet's sense of language to her fiction. And with the publication of her 1998 *Steering the Craft*, a book about Le Guin's

ideas on writing, it is likely that her influence on popular culture will continue long into the future.

—Joe Sutliff Sanders

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## Leachman, Cloris (1926—)

An exceptionally good and versatile actress, angular and wistful-looking, Cloris Leachman made a striking film debut in *Kiss Me Deadly* (1955). In between raising five children, she frequently appeared in secondary roles thereafter, but her identity remained vague until 1971. It was her poignant, exquisitely judged Oscar-winning performance as the lonely and neglected wife in *The Last Picture Show* (1971) that brought her due recognition and led her to two treasurable performances for Mel Brooks—the terrifying Frau Blucher in *Young Frankenstein* (1974) and the deliciously violent nurse in *High Anxiety* (1977). Leachman joined the acting profession by way of the 1946 Miss America Pageant, in which she was runner-up. Having studied drama at Northwestern University, she worked regularly on Broadway and in live television drama. Her TV career grew substantially from the mid-1970s, bringing her a clutch of Emmy Awards and her own show, *Phyllis* (1975-77), a spin-off series based on the supporting character she had played in *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* from 1970-1975.

—Robyn Karney

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## Leadbelly (1885-1949)

In the pantheon of blues legends, few figures loom as large as Leadbelly, the peripatetic, gun-toting guitar player with the constitution of iron. The gifted composer of such standards as "Goodnight Irene," "Midnight Special," and "Where Did You Sleep Last Night," Leadbelly led a troubled life. Thrice consigned to imprisonment in the deep south, twice he had his sentence commuted on the strength of his musicianship alone. But his penchant for trouble was inextricably linked to his genius, and like Robert Johnson and Blind Lemon Jefferson, his hard times became interwoven with his musical abilities. The years of Leadbelly's fame would be short and far from remunerative, and he would not live to see his songs become standards and his talent revered.



**Huddie (Leadbelly) Ledbetter**

Born Huddie Ledbetter in the backwoods of Northern Louisiana near Shreveport, Ledbetter's family was relatively affluent, with a fair-sized farm on the outskirts of Mooringsport. He was musically precocious from an early age—his father first took him to play on the streets of Shreveport when Huddie was a mere eight years old—and soon he graduated from windjammer (a rudimentary accordion) to guitar. Ledbetter grew up to be a man of extremes. A veritable John Henry of the cotton fields, he could drink most men under the table, and was purported to be the best musician in the area. His appetite for women was of a piece with his other attributes, and after leaving home bound for New Orleans, he was waylaid by the first available woman he set eyes on, settling with one Lethe Massey in Dallas.

In what became a pattern of behavior, Ledbetter would work hard for a time, content to remain domestic, but then some deep-seated impulse would send him on the road. He would vanish, then show up months later penniless and bruised. But for all his carousing, Huddie's ambition to make a living solely from music remained intact. After a stint on the railroad, Ledbetter vowed to realize his ambition. He became enchanted by the 12 string guitar, bought one with his scant savings, and took to the streets of Dallas where he busked for drinks and spare change. After teaming up with legendary slide guitarist Blind Lemon Jefferson, his life slid into a nonstop bacchanal of music, drink, and women until he was convicted of his first serious crime, the rape of a whorehouse madam, and was sentenced to a year on a chain gang. Within three days he had escaped, rejoining his family in Mooringsport. His wife located him there, and they moved to De Kalb, Texas, where Lethe died of gonorrhea. Guilt ridden over her death (he suspected it was he who had transmitted the

disease), Huddie careened into a profound depression. Some months later, he shot and killed a drunk while playing a local dance, drawing a 35-year sentence.

Much of Ledbetter's legend revolves around the two gubernatorial pardons he received on the strength of his musical talent. In March of 1918, Ledbetter was remanded to Huntsville penitentiary where he acquired a prodigious reputation for work and music. His surname was soon corrupted into Leadbelly, a moniker he took pride in, denoting as it did his iron constitution. Befriended by a prison officer, Captain Franklin, Huddie strove to be a model prisoner, but Franklin's efforts at winning a release resulted in his transfer to the infamous Sugar Land Penitentiary, where he composed "Midnight Special." It was at Sugarland that Texas Governor Patrick Neff came to see the legendary singing convict. Ten months after performing for Neff, Ledbetter was free, perhaps the first convict to sing his way to freedom. Leadbelly won his freedom a second time, having been convicted of assault in his native Louisiana, due to the auspices of John Lomax who, with his son Alan, was touring the south as an archivist for the Library of Congress. The Lomaxes recorded a plea to Louisiana Governor O.K. Allan, and in July of 1934, Ledbetter was again pardoned.

Leadbelly's time in the limelight was brief and bitter. Following his release, John Lomax employed him as a driver in Lomax and son's peregrinations. Huddie located musicians in the towns and prisons they visited, and on a northern leg of the journey, Lomax began arranging recitals for his at times obstreperous driver. Much to Huddie's consternation, he was made to perform in prison stripes. Leadbelly performed at Bryn Mawr and Columbia, his extensive repertoire and prison record adding to his appeal for the collegiate audience. He was the toast of the town, a talented curiosity, but Leadbelly missed his wife, who he had married shortly after his release, and rankled under Lomax's cautious administration, frequently slipping off on drinking sprees. They finally parted company after Leadbelly pulled a knife on his benefactor.

For the rest of his life, Leadbelly would remember his brush with fame and strive to recapture the elusive pot of gold. He returned to Shreveport, where his celebrity could not prevent him from serving more jail time. He returned to New York and the years slipped by. In 1939, he stabbed a man at a party and spent a year on Riker's Island. In 1943, he worked as a shoeshine boy; in 1944, a janitor. Occasionally he played on the radio or in Greenwich Village and Harlem. In 1949, he was flown to Paris for a string of engagements. The first concert was far from successful: a scant 30 people showed up in a hall that held 4,000. With that, Leadbelly's dream of fame and the good life died an abrupt death. By November, the mysterious back pains that had plagued him for years had been diagnosed as amyotrophic lateral sclerosis—Lou Gehrig's Disease. He died in Bellevue on December 6, 1949 with his guitar by his side. Six months later, "Goodnight Irene" had sold two million copies. Meanwhile, Leadbelly's widow was applying for work as a laundress.

Like many of the first generation of blues musicians, Leadbelly was a man stuck between the antebellum south and the modern age. Part of his problem, certainly, was the record industry, in which black artists were often cheated, but it was Leadbelly's erratic nature that prevented him from capitalizing on his success. By the time he had a chance at fame, he was too set in his ways to turn professional. But for all that, he was a man of intense pride who resented having to play a convict or barefoot country boy to promote himself. When his first collection of songs appeared, it pained him that the cover photo



showed him barefoot and sitting on a barrel. Seeing how many artists had had hits with his songs would not have pleased him, when he himself had profited so little.

—Michael Baers

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## A League of Their Own

The 1992 film comedy, *A League of Their Own*, revitalized interest in and helped memorialize a neglected chapter of sports history: The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League (AAGPBL). With America's men joining up to fight in World War II, Chicago Cubs owner Philip K. Wrigley, the chewing-gum mogul, thought that women playing baseball might help keep interest in the sport alive until the war was over and the men returned home. As depicted in the film, in 1943, the league's first year, there were four teams: the Rockford Peaches, the Racine Belles, the Kenosha Comets, and the South Bend Blue Sox. When it became evident that the major leagues would not be seriously affected by the war, Wrigley sold the league to Chicago advertising executive Arthur Meyerhoff. But after the men returned home, instead of fading into oblivion the AAGPBL prospered due to the women's extraordinary ballplaying abilities. By 1948, the league had grown to 10 teams, which attracted 910,000 paid fans. The league lasted 12 seasons, until 1954, killed off in part by television, especially televised professional baseball. During its existence, the AAGPBL never would have attracted as many fans as it did without the high level of pure athleticism demonstrated by the players.

The film itself is a craftily constructed comedy that gets big laughs, manages an emotional tale of sibling rivalry, imparts a surprisingly accurate painless history lesson, and, for some young girls, has been an inspiration, showing them that there's no such thing as a man's sport or, for that matter, a man's occupation. Much of the film's strength stems from the fact that the actresses playing the athletes seem, themselves, to be athletic, which is absolutely vital to telling the story of a professional women's baseball league able to sustain itself by attracting fans through sheer excellence on the field. The film, which cost up to \$50 million to make, went approximately \$15 million over budget and, according to no less an authority than *Sports Illustrated*, if the extra money was spent "for the technical advice, it was money well spent. Thanks to the efforts of Southern Cal coaching legend Rod Dedeaux, the USC coaching staff and AAGPBL alumna Pepper Davis, nobody in *A League of Their Own* throws like a girl. In fact, everybody throws better than John Goodman did in *The Babe*." Geena Davis and Lori Petty play the central two characters, rival sisters who move from farm life to the major leagues and, again

according to *Sports Illustrated*, it's hard to believe that Davis never played baseball before because, in a pickup game, you'd choose her over Tom Berenger in *Major League*, while Petty "displays a nice flair for the mound." Screenwriters Lowell Ganz and Babaloo Mandel (who also wrote *Splash* and *City Slickers*) made the sisters a pitcher (Petty) and a catcher (Davis)—perfectly logical positions for two sisters who practiced alone on a farm—and used those positions to maximum effect during the film's climactic game, with the sisters on opposing teams during the league's first World Series. Even comedy relief Madonna and Rosie O'Donnell seem athletic; John Lovitz is hilarious as scout Eddie Capadino; the director's brother, Garry Marshall, plays the Wrigley character (here made a candy bar mogul); and David Strathairn plays the promotional genius who believes that the league has a future beyond the war.

But the film is almost stolen by Tom Hanks in a career-altering role as the alcoholic chauvinistic manager Jimmy Dugan. *Big* showed that Hanks could act, but his next four films—*The 'burbs*, *Turner & Hooch*, *Joe Versus the Volcano*, and *Bonfire of the Vanities*—had his career on the ropes. So Hanks approached director Penny Marshall about playing the role of the team manager and, when she agreed, he once again got serious about acting. The script described the character as a 52-year-old broken-down alcoholic, but as Hanks told Marshall, instead of being made to look older, he was more interested in playing a 36-year-old broken-down alcoholic. He began by asking himself why his character wasn't still playing ball or joining up to fight in the war. Hanks solved the problem by giving the character a pronounced limp, an injury sustained during a drinking mishap. Another problem, suggested by Marshall, was how to make this character less attractive; if the manager were cute, everybody would be wondering why the girls on the team didn't go for this cute guy. Hanks suggested the solution, "How about if I get fat?"—and according to Hanks, he's been fat ever since. Hanks is both funny and touching as the manager who begins with the belief, "Girls are what you sleep with after the game, not what you coach during the game," then gradually develops a deep respect for these girls of summer. Hanks followed up this performance with *Philadelphia*, *Sleepless in Seattle*, and *Forrest Gump*. But the film's greatest achievement remains its reviving, from semi-obscurity, the achievements of the women of the AAGPBL, who definitively demonstrated that America's pastime is not a pastime just for men.

—Bob Sullivan

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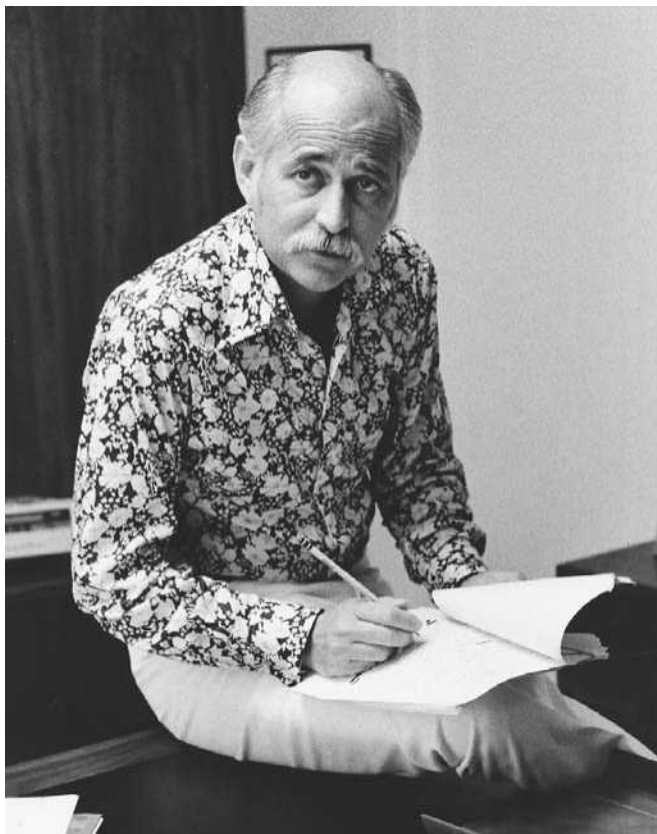
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## Lear, Norman (1922—)

Perhaps the most significant of several producers who reshaped American television in the 1970s, Norman Lear brought his particular genius to the situation comedy genre. Infusing sitcom content with social commentary and earthy language while also updating its visual form with the immediacy of live videotaping, Lear created a string of shows—*All in the Family*, *Sanford and Son*, *Maude*, *The Jeffersons*, *One Day at a Time*, *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*—that captured national audiences as effortlessly as they did the zeitgeist.

Lear's career began almost by accident. A salesman by day and gagwriter by night, Lear sold a routine to Danny Thomas that resulted in an offer to write for *The Ford Star Revue* in 1951. He moved on to work as a writer for Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis on *The Colgate Comedy Hour*, followed by similar jobs with other variety shows. By the end of the 1950s, however, Lear was tired of the weekly grind of television and turned to film writing and producing. In 1959, he and director Bud Yorkin formed Tandem, a production company responsible for a series of light sex comedies—*Come Blow Your Horn*, *Divorce American Style*, *The Night They Raided Minsky's*—throughout the 1960s.

While moderately successful, the Tandem films never ended Lear's interest in television. In 1968, he obtained the rights to *Till Death Us Do Part*, a controversial British situation comedy about a Tory bigot and his argumentative family, that was a smash hit in Great Britain. The show, Lear said, was appropriate for an American public that was "in the mood to have its social problems and shortcomings



Norman Lear

analyzed." His first pilot episodes for the American adaptation were rejected by ABC, which found the protagonist too offensive. CBS, however, picked up the third pilot, and began broadcasting *All in the Family* in January 1971. By fall, conservative blowhard Archie Bunker and his family were the most popular characters on American television.

Lear created a comic formula in *All in the Family* that he rapidly replicated in other sitcoms: A loud, insensitive protagonist gets caught up in a social issue and/or family problem that finally reveals both his/her blindness to reality as well as the genuine good heart beating beneath all the bluster. *Sanford and Son* (NBC, 1972), adapted from the groundbreaking British sitcom *Steptoe and Son*, made the protagonist a crotchety black junkyard dealer in Watts. *Maude* (CBS, 1972), a spin-off of *All in the Family*, featured a liberal feminist as the central character. Another spin-off, *The Jeffersons* (CBS, 1975), employed Archie Bunker's entrepreneurial ex-neighbor George Jefferson, a bigoted black man, in the focal role. In *Good Times* (CBS, 1974), a spin-off of *Maude* set in the Chicago housing projects, Lear jumped the generation gap, making a callow black youth the source and butt of the series' jokes. *One Day at a Time* (CBS, 1975), which presented the comic travails of a working single mother, varied from the formula a bit, spreading the buffoonery between two teenage daughters and a randy building superintendent. The producer's unabashed liberalism worked its way through the weekly morality plays all of those series offered, but the lesson of each show was tempered by the revelation of humanity in the most reactionary of characters—or a foolishly closed mind in the most liberal.

Lear augmented the didactic directness of his plots and characters with live, three-camera videotaping that added speed (through quick cuts) and intensity (through extreme close-ups), as well as decibels from the studio audience, to performances and dialogue. The package proved remarkably successful: In every season from 1972-73 to 1982-83, at least two Lear shows finished the year in the Nielsen Top 20, while numerous other situation comedies adopted the topicality, verbal crudeness, and production style of the Lear series.

The further Lear attempted to move from the *All in the Family* formula, however, the less his efforts worked, at least on the network level. A 1975 adaptation of Lanford Wilson's play *Hot l Baltimore* for ABC lasted only half a season, while several other gimmicky sitcoms—*The Dumplings*, *All's Fair*, *A Year at the Top*, *In the Beginning*, *Apple Pie*—came and went with long notice but little remembrance. The social relevance that Lear rode through the Vietnam-Watergate era was becoming quickly dated, as America moved through the "ma-laise" of the Carter years and into the happy new morning of the Reagan era.

Lear, however, did have two major successes off of network television. The syndicated *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman* (1976) savagely parodied soap operas and their commodified worlds, while using the genre's continuing storyline to present the gripping and tragicomic disintegration of the show's title character. A spin-off of that series, *Fernwood 2-Nite/America 2-Nite* (1978), performed a similar generic deconstruction of the late-night talk show.

As the popularity of his 1970s creations waned, Lear stepped away from television in the early 1980s to work on behalf of People for the American Way, a liberal political organization he helped found as a response to conservative groups including the Moral Majority. He has occasionally revisited the medium with series—*Sunday Dinner* (CBS, 1991), *The Powers That Be* (NBC, 1992)—that attempt to address contemporary social and political issues with the visual and verbal urgency of his earlier shows. One series even

returned to Archie Bunker's old house—*704 Hauser* (CBS, 1994)—now occupied by a black couple trying to deal with their son's interracial relationship. None of those shows, however, lasted beyond 13 episodes.

Regardless of his early excesses and his later failures, however, Norman Lear occupies a well-earned place in the pantheon of American television. Emerging at the moment when new FCC rules concerning network financing and syndication gave producers unprecedented power in the American television industry, Lear brought an individual style and mission to the producer's role that few have been able to emulate, much less match. Time has not favored the blunt topicality of most of his work, but the best of that work stands equal to the best of any age. And Lear's influence on the medium as a whole and the sitcom in particular extends far beyond the specific historic moments he chose as the immediate targets of his wit.

—Jeffrey S. Miller

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## Leary, Timothy (1920-1996)

Who was Timothy Leary? Prophet? Charlatan? Mystic? Mephisto? Years after his death his legacy is still contested, with advocates and detractors both passionately debating his worth. The Pied Piper of LSD, the man who coined the phrase “turn on, tune in, drop out,” eulogized in song, his image disseminated on posters, Leary was perhaps the most famous academic of the 1960s, ranking with Marshall McLuhan as prophet of the post-industrial age. He began the decade as a Harvard professor and ended it in prison. During his life he was a clinical psychologist doing groundbreaking work in behavioral change, but he became a rebel, a guru, a fugitive, and a prisoner. Leary's life never lacked for adventure, nor his work for controversy, but to this day it remains unclear whether drugs were his salvation or his ruin.

Born to an alcoholic Army dentist and a prim New England aristocrat, in his autobiography, *Flashbacks*, Leary claimed he was conceived the day after prohibition took affect, implying a predestined—or ironic—connection to drug prohibition. His upbringing displayed a classic Irish schizophrenia. His father came from an upper-crust Boston-Irish family—rebellious, irreverent, and idiosyncratic—while his mother was a member of a devoutly religious family of conservative gentleman farmers. As a youth, Leary was more inclined towards his paternal side; he was kicked out of several colleges before being drafted in 1943. He spent the war stateside working as a clinical psychologist at an Army hospital in Virginia where he met his first wife, Marianne. With a family to support, Leary

forswore rebellion, attaining a doctorate at the University of California, Berkeley. With two small children, a house, and a post at the Kaiser Research Facility in Oakland, Leary appeared to have settled into the sedate life of an academic. He might have continued along this path had his wife not committed suicide the morning of his thirty-fifth birthday. Her death threw Leary's entire world into tumult—in four months his hair turned completely gray—but it also liberated him. Resigning his position, Leary fled with his children to Europe with the vague notion of working up the data he had amassed from his years at Kaiser.

While at Kaiser Leary had made a crucial discovery. With a waiting list of patients at the clinic, Leary and his colleague, Frank Barron, devised a simple way to test the efficacy of therapy: those who received therapy and those on the waiting list were tracked and then compared. “To say they were horrified by what they found is a little strong—amazed, worried amused, disturbed—you could use any of those,” writes Jay Stevens in *Storming Heaven*. “Because what they found was that there was no difference. Roughly a third of each group had stayed the same, a third had improved, and a third had deteriorated.” Behavioral change became Leary's obsession; in Florence, where he had settled, it was his intention to work on his findings, but he was unmotivated and at loose ends. Frank Barron, now teaching at Harvard, visited Leary, bringing with him tales of the wondrous drug, *Psilocybe mexicana*, he had recently taken in Mexico. Leary was skeptical. He was more enthusiastic, however, when Barron mentioned that his boss, David McLelland, director of the Harvard Personality Clinic, was vacationing in Florence. Leary paid him a visit, carrying along a backpack full of manuscripts, and walked away with a lectureship.

Leary's career was back on track, but Harvard would eventually prove his downfall as an academic. When he arrived in the fall of 1959, he was nearing 40 and was at the bottom rung of the academic ladder, but he proved to be a popular lecturer, charming his students and faculty members alike. He had forgotten all about Barron's glowing praise of magic mushrooms, but while vacationing with Barron in Mexico that winter, Leary tried *Psilocybe mexicana*; he returned to Harvard a changed man. With the blessing of McLelland, Leary inaugurated what became the infamous Harvard *Psilocybin* Project, using a synthesized version of the mushroom manufactured by Sandoz Laboratory of Switzerland.

Far from being quixotic, Leary knew exactly what he was after with the Harvard project. He was still searching for that elusive vitalizing transaction—that key to lasting behavioral change—and he had a suspicion that hallucinogens held the key to sloughing off conditioning. The rumors of strange goings-on at Leary's Cambridge house were soon alarming the Harvard authorities, but Leary staved them off for the time being. He had come up with an inspired study to test *psilocybin's* efficacy in effecting behavioral change: he would give the drug to inmates at Concord State Prison, and monitor the change in values and recidivism rate of the test group. The change was miraculous, but it underscored a point of contention between Leary and his superiors. “The prisoners were changing true enough,” writes Stevens, “but they were changing in a way that made science uncomfortable: they were getting religion. And if *psilocybin* could do that to hard-core cons, imagine what it was doing to the members of the *psilocybin* project.” After the *Harvard Crimson* (the school newspaper) published a series of articles in which Leary was taken to task for his sloppy science, the long-brewing conflict came to a head. Before he was asked to leave, Leary resigned.



**Timothy Leary**

Psychedelics had accessed a utopian strain in Leary's character, and he became obsessed with forming a psychedelic community to continue his research and train psychedelic guides and disciples. Leary and his co-conspirators returned to Mexico where they hoped to establish a research facility; they were expelled within two weeks. They then set up shop in the Dominican Republic with similar results. Antigua also evicted them, but upon returning to Cambridge, heiress Peggy Hitchcock volunteered her family's estate in upstate New York. Millbrook was a five mile square estate with an enormous mansion and several buildings dotting the property. It was the ideal locale for their project, situated close enough to New York to attract New York's intelligentsia, whose paid attendance offset expenses. Millbrook evolved into part retreat, part research project, and part conference center. It proved to be the quiet before the storm, for Leary had not yet been dismissed as a menace to society. Participants remember it as an idyllic place. The interior and exterior of the big house, as the main mansion was called, were covered with psychedelic murals, and visitors were frequently treated to the sight of jazz trumpeter Maynard Ferguson pattering in the garden or society matrons high on one of a variety of controlled substances.

Tumult had become Leary's operating paradigm. He already had the rebel's instinct for jumping into the fray, and his experience at Harvard had reaffirmed his conviction that to buck the authorities was

his destiny. Thus, after being busted for marijuana possession while en route to Mexico with his new wife, Rosemary, and his two children, he returned to Millbrook full of plans to further expand the consciousness revolution. He met with Marshall McLuhan, who told him to keep a positive profile and use the tools of Madison Avenue to make his case, singing "Lysergic Acid hits the spot, 40 billion neurons, that's a lot." Not long afterwards, Leary coined his famous phrase, "Turn on, tune in, drop out," which was taken up as a standard in the burgeoning hippie movement. Psychedelic usage was spreading like wild fire, and like the officials at Harvard, it was not so much the danger to life and limb that state authorities objected to as the moral changes LSD usage seemed to inspire.

Leary's metamorphosis from drug researcher to counterculture guru was not a pleasant one. By year's end, LSD was illegal, with no visible effect on the drug's availability. LSD's illegality only heightened its allure, and incidence of adverse reactions grew to epidemic proportion. The new breed of psychedelic aficionados knew no more about Leary and his theories than that one singular phrase; he was put in the uncomfortable position of being blamed for the hippies while having little authority among them. He continued to lobby for sensible drug policies, but the situation was far beyond his control. For the remainder of the decade, Leary would be more or less sidelined in the debate, although as an icon, he was omnipresent. He

became a familiar figure in books, posters, and on the radio. The Moody Blues eulogized him in a song whose opening lines went: “Timothy Leary is dead / no nana no / he’s on the outside looking inside”—they had little way of knowing how prescient their lyrics were. Leary continued appearing at various events from the first human Be-In to Altamont, even running for governor of California in 1968, but with the myriad drug cases hanging over his head, he was a man preoccupied. He knew his time was running short.

With the close of the decade, Leary’s role as a guru ended, and a new role, as fugitive, began. In January of 1970, he was imprisoned, looking at 20 years to life, and with Nixon in the White House, he had little doubt he would do the time. Nine months later, he was a fugitive, escaping from jail with the aid of the Weathermen Underground, fleeing the country to uneasy sanctuary in Algeria where members of the Black Panther Party had set up a United States Government-in-Exile. Tim and Rosemary were eventually placed under house arrest by the Panthers before escaping to a temporary asylum in Switzerland. In 1972, Leary was finally apprehended in Afghanistan and remanded to United States custody, where he served time in several federal and state prisons before being released in the winter of 1975. Leary remarried and spent the rest of his life developing interactive software; he was also interested in the Internet and space travel. He continued to lecture, appearing for a time in debates with his ex-nemesis, Watergate conspirator G. Gordon Liddy, and aside from a midnight raid of his Laurel Canyon home, his last years of his life were free of controversy. He died of cancer in May of 1996. Fittingly, his final resting place is in orbit; his ashes were shot into space from an island off the coast of Morocco.

Leary holds a paradoxical position in the history of American culture. His confederates blamed him for the abrupt cessation of LSD research funding, and it is possible that his reckless behavior was the reason for the abrupt cessation of the research engine. But for Leary, it was a matter of losing the battle and winning the war. In becoming an advocate for hallucinogens on a grand scale, he thought he was goading America’s psychological evolution, as opposed to staying in the sterile environment of the laboratory. If ultimately he misjudged the efficacy of his tactics, that, too, is part and parcel of the man himself. Leary was the first to confess his naivete. By addressing himself directly to the baby boomers, he lost the support of the scientific establishment, and a great deal of his credibility, but for a brief time he was the spiritual leader to a generation. In a way, Leary played out the ancient role of the prophet, and he paid the price. History alone will decide whether he was a savant or addled by the very drugs he advocated.

—Michael Baers

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## Least Heat Moon, William (1939—)

In 1978 William Trogdon (who writes as William Least Heat Moon) was an obscure English teacher whose job and marriage were falling to pieces around him. Seeking to cope with his feelings of isolation and alienation, Least Heat Moon set out on a three-month, thirteen-thousand mile journey on the back roads—the blue highways—of America. Following his Osage background, he travelled clockwise around the country (“That’s the Indian way.”), interviewing locals and occasionally photographing them. His record of his journey, published as *Blue Highways: A Journey Into America* (1982), was a surprise publishing sensation, winning several awards and remaining on the *New York Times* bestseller list for 34 weeks. Unlike other famous American “road” books—such as Jack Kerouac’s *On the Road* (1957), John Steinbeck’s *Travels with Charley* (1962), Tom Wolfe’s *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (1968), and Robert Pirsig’s *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* (1974)—*Blue Highways* combined real insights into the human experience with a tone that was modest and intensely personal. After this memorable book came *PrairieEarth* (1991), an in-depth study of Chase County, Kansas, its people and history. He has also contributed, as journalist and photographer, to numerous publications.

—Samuel I. Bellman

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## Leather Jacket

Few pieces of clothing carry the rich connotations of the leather jacket, especially when it is the personality-laden black motorcycle style. Since the prehistoric era, people have worn leather, but in the twentieth century, the black leather jacket became the symbol of the outlaw when it was used as protective outerwear for motorcycle enthusiasts. Marlon Brando exemplified the style in the film *The Wild One*, and the coat became a necessity for Hell’s Angels and other bikers who emblazoned their club’s name on the back. Rock stars and punks later latched on to this “bad boy” image of black leather, but leather jackets eventually found mainstream favor when manufacturers began creating leather in a variety of styles and colors, such as the brown bomber jacket and haute couture skirts and blazers. The mystique of the original biker style, however, endures.

—Geri Speace

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## *Leave It to Beaver*

*Leave It to Beaver* was one of a number of family situation comedies that proliferated on the small screen in the 1950s and 1960s. Along with *Father Knows Best*, *The Donna Reed Show*, and *Ozzie and Harriet*, *Leave It to Beaver* portrayed the trials and tribulations of everyday life in an American suburb. The difference between *Leave It to Beaver* and the other shows was that it told its stories (all 234 of them) from the point of view of the youngest family member, Theodore “Beaver” Cleaver. Through the eyes of a child, life in the postwar economic boom was simple and sweet. Problems arose, but they were always resolved by a kind and loving family working together.

*Leave It to Beaver* debuted in the spring of 1957 as a pilot called *It’s a Small World*. When the series premiered in the fall of that year, it starred Jerry Mathers as Beaver, an adorable seven-year-old boy whose actions, no matter how well-intended, always seemed to land him in some kind of hot water. Tony Dow played Wally, Beaver’s twelve-year-old brother. Wally was the quintessential all-American boy, a popular athlete with a healthy interest in girls. Barbara Billingsley played mother June, the patient, understanding housewife who seemed to do all of her housework in high heels and pearls. Hugh Beaumont played Ward Cleaver, the wise and patient father who commuted to work in his business suit, but was always home in time for dinner. They were a perfect American family—devoted parents, well-behaved, polite children, and a beautiful home in Mayfield, U.S.A., complete with white picket fence. No one ever really fought.



The cast of *Leave It to Beaver* (clockwise from top): Tony Dow, Hugh Beaumont, Jerry Mathers, and Barbara Billingsley.

Ward and June were completely supportive of each other and of the boys. The boys learned all of their lessons gently.

One of the most memorable characters that the series spawned was Eddie Haskell, played by Ken Osmond. Eddie was an obsequious weasel. He was a friend of Wally’s who feigned respect and admiration when dealing with parents and adults, while behaving like a rat to young Beaver and his friends. He wasn’t really smart enough to pull it off though, and most of the adults on the show saw through his ruse. His questionable character was explained by the occasional appearance of his family, which proved that the apple never really fell very far from the tree. Though he was slimy, Eddie never really posed a threat to Wally’s good character. Wally and everyone else knew what he was and what motivated him.

*Leave It to Beaver* is perhaps better remembered by the audiences who saw it as reruns in the 1980s and 1990s than by 1950s/1960s television viewers. Though it did run for five seasons (first on CBS and later on ABC), it was never rated in Nielsen’s top 20 for the years it was originally broadcast. Those years belonged to cowboys and pioneers in shows like *Gunsmoke*, *Wagon Train*, *Bonanza*, and *The Rifleman*. In the same way that the television audiences of 1957–63 seemed to be indulging in the nostalgia of the old American west, audiences of the Reagan years seemed to be indulging in the nostalgia of 1950s America. In syndicated reruns, *Leave It to Beaver* became something of a cult phenomenon. The suburban American life of a nuclear family in the 1950s and early 1960s seen through the eyes of an innocent seemed to strike a chord with Americans in the 1980s.

A testament to its resurgence in popularity, a reunion show was filmed in 1983. Again, it is difficult to deny the irony, as the TV movie *Still the Beaver* showed viewers an unemployed, nearly divorced 33-year-old Beaver facing the reality of raising two slightly troublesome sons on his own. Wally, though a successful attorney married to his high school sweetheart, had no children and had problems of his own dealing with an unscrupulous contractor named Eddie Haskell. June Cleaver was still around, and still trying to help, but she didn’t have the commanding wisdom of the deceased Ward Cleaver, who could make everything right with a few words of advice in the 1950s. An idyllic childhood did not insure that the Cleaver boys would grow up and live unquestionably happy lives. The happy, sun-filled days in Mayfield did not foreshadow June Cleaver’s future as a widow, and father didn’t know best anymore.

Due to the success of the television movie, in 1985 Disney produced a new series with the same name. In the series, Beaver is divorced and living at home with June and his two sons. In 1986, the series was bought by WTBS and renamed *The New Leave It to Beaver*. It ran until 1989. In 1997, a major Hollywood bomb of a film based on the original series was released. Beaver apparently was not as appealing in 1997 as in the early 1980s.

—Joyce Linehan

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Mathers, Jerry, with Herb Fagen. —*And Jerry Mathers as “The Beaver.”* New York, Berkley Boulevard, 1998.

## Led Zeppelin

One of the all-time greatest rock bands, Led Zeppelin formed in 1968 with Jimmy Page (formerly of the Yardbirds) on guitar, Robert Plant as vocalist, John Bonham on drums, and John Paul Jones on bass/keyboards. They found success with their self-titled first album in 1969, which contained heavy blues-driven rock songs that carried a frightening manic edge never before heard in popular music. Their second album, *Led Zeppelin II*, (1969), brought further success buoyed by top ten single, “Whole Lotta Love.” The old-time blues and acoustic tunes on *Led Zeppelin III* (1970) were less popular than earlier efforts, but Zeppelin returned the following year with their most acclaimed work ever. *Led Zeppelin IV* (a.k.a. *Zoso*, 1971) contained the fiery “Black Dog” and the nostalgic, dreamy epic, “Stairway to Heaven,” which remains among the most loved and respected songs in all popular music, routinely voted #1 on all-time best lists, possessing a status and reputation unlikely ever to be equaled.

Impressively, Zeppelin was able to maintain their high level of success. The well-balanced *Houses of the Holy* (1973) showed a funk and reggae influence and is considered by many to be the band’s all-around best album. The double album, *Physical Graffiti* (1975), was Zeppelin’s most diverse album, containing some of their most beautiful acoustic pieces (such as “bron-Yr-Aur”), as well some of their most driving and powerful epics (such as “Kashmir”). In subsequent years, Zeppelin released the heavy *Presence* (1976), the live *The Song Remains the Same*, (1976), and the melodic *In Through the Out Door* (1979). Tragedy struck in 1980 when Bonham died of asphyxiation after a bout of drinking. The band was forced to break up, although Page and Plant both went on to further success; Page doing soundtracks and playing in his group The Firm; Plant was very popular during the 1980s with solo albums and with his group The Honeydrippers. Page and Plant occasionally played as a duo, appearing on MTV’s *Unplugged*.

Led Zeppelin’s music is quite diverse. As the icons of 1970s hard rock, they are best known for the scorching guitar work, screeching vocals, pounding drums, and the driving beats of their heaviest songs; but their repertoire includes lilting love songs, covers of traditional folk and blues songs, and standard rock ‘n’ roll. Some Zeppelin songs explore Tolkienesque fantasy elements, others show a freewheeling spirit of hippy adventure and fun, while still others show a sad, mystic longing for joys gone and times past.



Led Zeppelin (from left): John Paul Jones, Robert Plant, Jimmy Page, and John Bonham.

Zeppelin albums have been innovative not just with content but with design. The sleeve of *Physical Graffiti* displayed various objects and personages who could be made to appear and disappear in various “windows,” while the sleeve of *Led Zeppelin III* was a moveable psychedelic pinwheel; and *Led Zeppelin IV* appeared with no band or title information anywhere on the jacket. *In Through The Out Door* came wrapped in brown paper and was released with six different covers; the album’s inner sleeve changed colors when dampened. Mysterious symbols on album covers, mysterious song titles, and a general avoidance of interviews all led to a sense that the band and its music were filled with deep, hidden meanings. Hostile critics feared that these meanings were Satanic, leading to the false but widespread rumor that “Stairway to Heaven” contained pro-Satan messages when played backwards on a turntable.

Zeppelin tours were hugely popular in the mid 1970s, with powerful drum solos by Bonham, grotesque guitar solos by Page (some of which featured Page scraping his guitar strings with a violin bow), and the sweaty sex-appeal of bare-chested Plant. At their peak of popularity (1973-76), Zeppelin regularly played to stadium and arena crowds of 50,000 plus. The excellent *Song Remains The Same* movie (released in 1976 alongside the album) features heavy jamming, extended solos from Page and Bonham, and a quartet of remarkable quasi-videos, each of which features one of the band members on a personal adventure, with Zeppelin songs comprising the backgrounds.

Led Zeppelin’s impact on popular music has been tremendous. Along with Black Sabbath, Zeppelin is considered one of the forefathers of blues-based hard rock in general and of Heavy Metal in particular, their legacy apparent in groups such as Kiss, Queen, Rush, Iron Maiden, and Metallica. Led Zeppelin are also among the forefathers of 1990s Seattle Grunge music, with echoes to be found in groups such as Nirvana, Pearl Jam, Mudhoney, and Soundgarden. Through the 1980s and 1990s, Zeppelin has remained among the most popular rock bands, continuing to sell albums and to receive regular radio airplay. In the 1990s, Atlantic Records released remastered versions of all Zeppelin’s albums, as well as two boxed sets, a 10-CD set of complete recordings, and various documentary and concert videos. Continuing publications of books, websites, and fan magazines in both the United States and United Kingdom are an ongoing testament to the status of Led Zeppelin as one of the top all-time legendary bands in rock.

—Dave Goldweber

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## Ledbetter, Huddie

See Leadbelly

## Lee, Bruce (1940-1973)

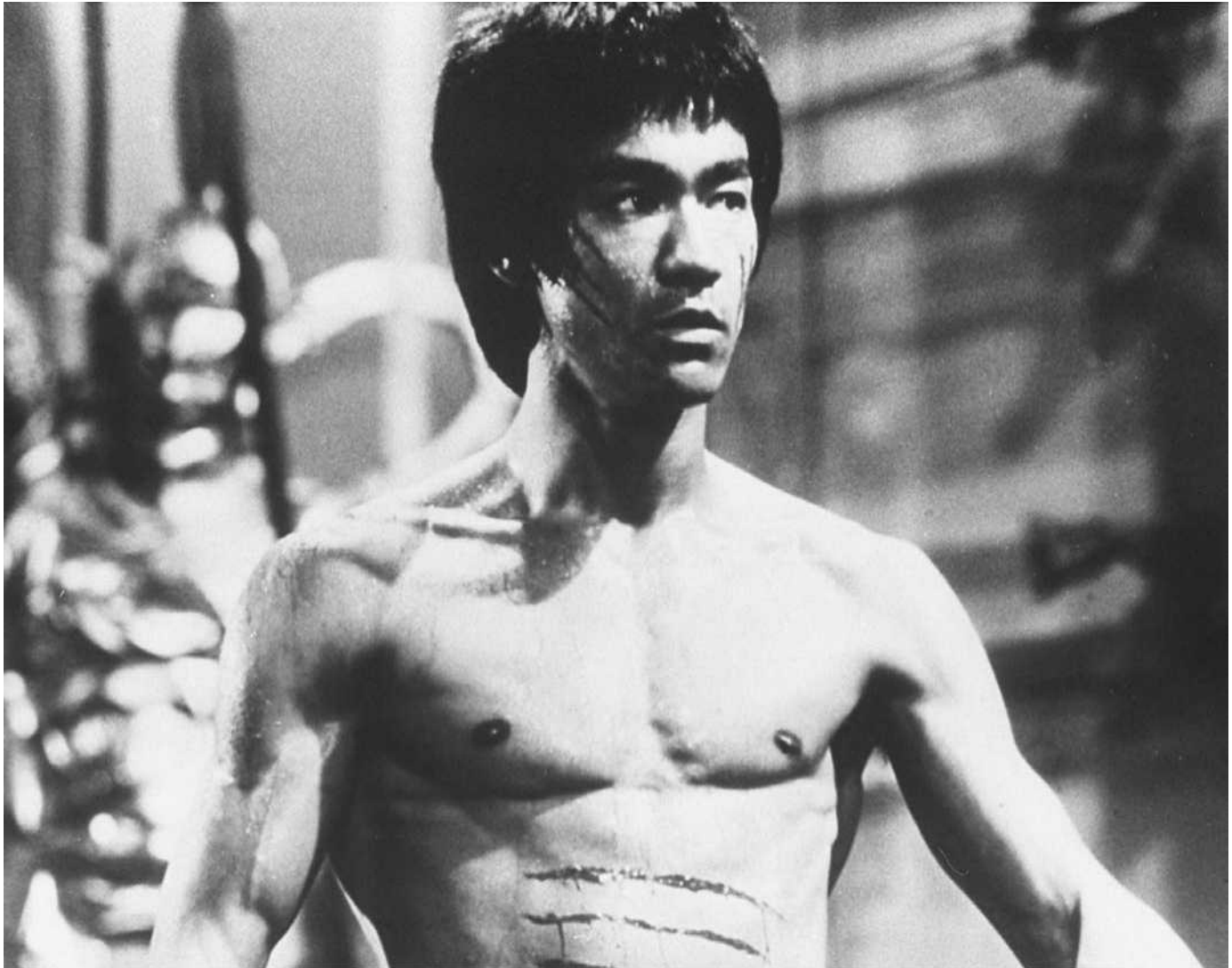
Bruce Lee was born Lee Yuen Kam in San Francisco’s Jackson Street Hospital on the evening of November 27, 1940 between the hours of 6:00 and 8:00, significantly in both the hour and year of the Dragon. The fourth son of Grace Li, a Chinese woman whose ancestry was one-quarter British, and Li Hoi Chuen, a star of the classical Chinese opera, Lee’s name meant “Protector of San Francisco.” The circumstances of his birth in the Chinatown district of San Francisco under the sign of royalty are appropriate to a man who spent his career poised between two continents and acting as a conduit for cultural exchange, both by introducing American audiences to Chinese martial culture and by working to bring western technology to a nascent Chinese film industry. Lee enjoyed a stellar film career cut short by his sudden and untimely death. Much like other American youth icons such as James Dean, Buddy Holly, and Jim Morrison, however, Lee’s death at the pinnacle of his popularity and in the prime of his talent led to the buildup of a death cult that has added to the imposing image of the martial arts master as a powerful mystique, guaranteeing the indelible impression of that image onto the American cultural consciousness.

Besides his film exploits, Lee became one of the premier martial arts instructors in the United States. He introduced his students, which included celebrities like James Garner, Roman Polanski, and Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, to both Kung Fu (almost entirely unknown in America at the time) and his own martial art of Jeet Kune Do—a combination of styles including those of Kung Fu, Thai kick-boxing, and American boxing. Early on in his career as an instructor, he broke new ground by teaching Kung Fu to non-Asians—a manifestation of his strong desire to spread knowledge of Chinese culture to the United States. His efforts proved fruitful: the success of the martial arts schools he founded has resulted in the continued widespread popularity of martial arts instruction in America.

Lee began his on-screen career at an early age: he was given his first film role at the age of three months as a female infant in *Golden Gate Girl*, filmed in San Francisco shortly before his family left the United States to return to their home in Hong Kong. While growing up, he appeared in over 20 more films. It was during this period that he became known to Chinese film audiences as Lee Siu Lung, “The Little Dragon.” At 13, motivated by the desire to defend himself against the assaults of Hong Kong street gangs, he began his education in Kung Fu under the direction of Yip Man of the Wing Chun school of Kung Fu. His strength and grace were immediately apparent, and by the time he was 18, Bruce was a champion tournament fighter.

In 1959, Lee’s parents, fearing for his safety, sent him to the United States after he had gotten into a string of street fights. He returned to his birthplace in San Francisco and began working odd jobs and studying to get his high school diploma. He used what little spare time he had to teach martial arts in city parks and from his own backyard. In 1961 he started college as a philosophy major at the





### Bruce Lee

University of Washington, where he taught Kung Fu to other students and wrote an undergraduate thesis on his own fighting style of Jeet Kune Do.

Lee became occupied with efforts to expand the scope of his martial arts instruction, but he did not decisively act upon that desire until he had fallen in love with his future wife, Linda Emery. They had met at the University of Washington, where Linda was also a student, and as their relationship progressed, it soon became apparent to Lee that he needed to consider more seriously the future of his career if they were to be financially secure. He thus set out to open his own martial arts school—the Jun Fan Kung-Fu Institute. Although his investment of time and money seemed precarious at the start, his reputation spread quickly, and in less than a year he had opened a second Jun Fan Kung-Fu school and attracted the attention of television producer William Dozier.

In 1965, Dozier signed Lee on to a one-year option for the series *The Green Hornet*, choosing him to assume the role of the Green Hornet's sidekick Kato. When the series premiered in 1966, he received wide publicity for the uncommonly graceful and skillful way

he performed the stunts required of him for his role. To his chagrin, however, articles often made careless errors (referring to him most often as a “Karate master”) and either ignored or made light of the spiritual significance of the martial arts he practiced. By the time *The Green Hornet* was canceled in 1967, Lee had become somewhat discouraged with such misrepresentations, a feeling only amplified by his relative failure to find work thereafter.

A serious injury in 1970 resulted in months of rehabilitation and afforded Lee the time to document his philosophy of martial arts. The next year, disillusioned by rejection and racism in the American film and television industry, he returned to Hong Kong film with *The Big Boss* (1971; also known as *Fists of Fury*), which broke all box office records in that country. Over the next three years, Lee starred in his best-known films, *The Way of the Dragon* (1972; released in the United States under the title of *The Return of the Dragon*) and *Enter the Dragon* (1973), continuing the trend of success started by *The Big Boss*.

On July 20, 1973, Lee complained of a headache while visiting the apartment of Betty Ting Pei, a Hong Kong actress with whom he

was developing a film project. After taking a dose of pain killer from Pei's prescription—Equagesic—he laid down on her bed and lost consciousness. When he could not be revived, Lee was rushed to the hospital, where he was pronounced dead. Two funerals were held for Bruce Lee—one in Hong Kong for his throngs of Chinese fans, and a smaller ceremony in Seattle, Washington, for his friends and family. Soon, reports circulated in the media that he had died of an overdose of illegal drugs. There was speculation that he had been murdered by gangsters or by an underground society of Kung Fu devotees angered by his practice of teaching the art to non-Chinese. The official coroner's report, though, stated that he died of a massive allergic reaction to Equagesic.

The rumors, however, never died. Over time, the various speculations about his death have fallen under the title of "The Curse of the Dragon," adding a tinge of the supernatural to his already legendary status. Such a mystique, though, has had ample soil in which to grow. The popularity of his films set the stage and the standard for a Hong Kong film industry that in the 1990s ranked among the most successful and innovative in the world, and he has been the inspiration of generations of American youth seeking formal training in the martial arts. His fame has given momentum to an active cultural dialogue by means of which both Chinese and American pop culture have influenced one another and thereby been transformed.

—Manuel V. Cabrera Jr.

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## Lee, Gypsy Rose (1914-1970)

Even to those who have never seen and would never consider seeing a strip show, the name Gypsy Rose Lee conjures up a glittering image. In the parlance of her trade, Lee was part "parade stripper" and part "society stripper." She invented the intellectual striptease performance and took stripping out of the dingy burlesque halls and into the high-toned venues of Broadway. Though she was notorious for her inability to sing or dance, Lee was a natural performer who knew how to control an audience with timing, humor, and sex appeal. In the 1940s, *Variety's* J.P. McEvoy described Lee's act as a "burlesque of burlesque—literally more tease than strip."

Lee was born Rose Louise Hovick in Seattle, Washington, on January 9, 1914. Her father was a cub reporter for the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, and her mother was an amateur performer with big ambitions. Shortly after the birth of Lee's sister, June, in 1916, Lee's mother took the girls and left their father. By the time Lee was five, both girls were enrolled in dancing school and soon afterwards began their careers singing and dancing on the grueling vaudeville circuit. Though later Lee would spin yarns about studying ballet, sociology, and anthropology at the Imperial School in Moscow, she actually had little formal schooling. Her mother falsified papers and lied about the girls' ages to stay one step ahead of the truant officer and keep the children on the stage. June Hovick eventually left her controlling mother to go on to a successful Broadway career, leaving her sister to perfect her striptease on the bump-and-grind stages of burlesque. Gypsy, who got her nickname from a fondness for fortune-telling, got her big break in 1937 when she did her strip in the Ziegfeld Follies.

A master of creating image and effect, Lee managed to exemplify the stripper in the public imagination without exposing her naked body for more than a second or two at a time. "Bare flesh bores men," she said, and went about finding a way to keep audiences interested while keeping her own dignity intact. Considering zippers inelegant, she outfitted her clothes with snaps, used rubber cement to attach her lace stockings to her legs, secured her g-string with unbreakable dental floss, and covered it all with an evening gown, gloves, fur coat, and jewels. By the time Lee had pranced and joked her way down to her underwear, the audience was hers. Leaving nothing to chance, Lee sometimes paid a woman in the audience to scream or a waiter to drop a tray as she dramatically removed her brassiere a split second before the lights went out and the laughter and applause thundered.

When H.L. Mencken dubbed Lee an "ecdysiast" from the Greek word for one who sheds, it inspired Lee to take an intellectual approach to her craft, and she began to sprinkle her act with quotes from the likes of Spinoza and Aldous Huxley, creating the paradoxical "intellectual strip." Audiences loved her. When she performed at the 1939 New York World's Fair, she drew crowds as large as 17,500, more than President Franklin Roosevelt and politician Wendell Wilkie combined.

In 1937, Twentieth Century Fox's Darryl F. Zanuck signed Lee to a \$2000 a week contract to make movies with her clothes on. Outcries from such conservative groups such as the Catholic Legion of Decency forced her to use her non-stripping name, Louise Hovick, for her movie roles, but she was not skilled as an actor and later believed that going to Hollywood had been a "big mistake." Though Lee projected an elegant, sophisticated image in her act, she was really a hard-boiled trouser from small-town vaudeville stages. Her lowbrow vaudevillian sensibility did not fit in with many of the actors who wanted to be viewed as upper class.

Lee continued to manage her image into a profitable career. In the 1940s, she became a best-selling author with *The G-String Murders*, and in 1957 wrote her own memoirs, which were made into the popular musical *Gypsy*. Her quick wit and salty humor placed her in demand as a panelist on television shows and she had her own syndicated talk show in the 1960s. She was diagnosed with lung cancer in 1969 and died the next year.

Gypsy Rose Lee was full of contradictions—she was at once the intellectual stripper, the poor glamour girl, and the rich, successful entertainer who cooked on a hot plate in her hotel room to save



Gypsy Rose Lee

money. Though always a figure of romance, she had three failed marriages. But with faultless showmanship and pure brass, she created a persona that eclipsed the real Louise Hovick and outlived her. And she added an icon to American culture that will not be soon forgotten.

—Tina Gianoulis

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See *To Kill a Mockingbird*

## Lee, Manfred B.

See Queen, Ellery

## Lee, Peggy (1920—)

The adage that “less is more” sums up Peggy Lee’s style as a singer and performer of the American popular song. With her assured stage presence and vocal perfectionism, Lee has captured a devoted audience over a career that spans more than 50 years. Songs like “Fever” and “Is That All There Is?” are instantly identifiable with Lee, even by those who are unfamiliar with the rest of her repertoire.

Born Norma Delores Egstrom in Jamestown, North Dakota, Lee’s childhood and adolescence were marked by family hardships, including the death of her mother when Lee was four, an alcoholic father, and a stepmother who was cruel and physically abusive. But throughout this desolate period, as Lee reported to writer Gene Lees, “I’d sing in the fields and I’d talk to the trees.” This aura of self-sufficiency has remained Lee’s hallmark throughout her career.

Lee received her first break as a singer on a radio station in Fargo, North Dakota. She later moved with a friend to try her luck in California but, after a period of illness, low-paying jobs, and a near abduction into white slavery, she returned to the Midwest. In 1941, Benny Goodman heard Lee sing at the Ambassador West Hotel in Chicago. As luck would have it, singer Helen Forrest was about to leave Goodman’s band, so he hired Lee as her replacement. Singing with Goodman’s band, Lee began a successful career as a recording artist. Among her hits with Goodman during the 1940s were “How Deep Is the Ocean?,” “My Old Flame,” and “Why Don’t You Do Right?”

In 1942, Lee married Goodman’s guitarist Dave Barbour, with whom she co-wrote three songs—“It’s a Good Day,” “Don’t Know Enough About You,” and “Mañana.” Although they were later divorced and Lee married two more times, Barbour remained the love



Peggy Lee

of her life and an important musical influence. Other collaborations with Barbour as arranger and conductor included “Fever” and the albums *Black Coffee* and *Beauty and the Beat*, which were among Lee’s most celebrated work.

During the 1950s, Lee was active in films, both performing songs and taking on acting roles. She appeared in *The Jazz Singer* (1953), with Danny Thomas, and *Pete Kelly’s Blues* (1955), for which she was nominated for an Academy Award as Best Supporting Actress. In Walt Disney’s animated *Lady and the Tramp*, Lee provided the voice for several feline characters and wrote the song “He’s a Tramp.”

Lee performed extensively in concert halls, clubs, and on television in the years that followed, appearing with such major entertainers as Nat King Cole, Bing Crosby, and Frank Sinatra. Lee also claimed as friends numerous musicians of a later era, including Paul McCartney. Her live appearances slowed down in the 1980s after complications from diabetes, lung ailments, and double bypass surgery. Lee’s long-awaited, autobiographical Broadway musical, *Peg*, proved a disappointment, opening and closing in one night in 1983. Soon thereafter, Lee’s fall on a Las Vegas stage resulted in a broken pelvis, confining her to a wheelchair in performances to come.

Nevertheless, Lee continued to perform, albeit on a somewhat limited scale. A younger audience was becoming aware of her gifts for gesture, nuance, and subtle sexual appeal. Writer Stephen Holden described Lee’s “pastel shadings,” her “air of perpetual dreaminess,” and her “heart-tugging fragility and mystical resilience.” *Village Voice* columnist Michael Musto referred to “those ‘fever all

through the night' tones that could turn a gay man straight.' In her autobiography, *Miss Peggy Lee* (1989), Lee wrote, "You can bet on it! I plan to do another turn or two . . . and if the body is a little bit reluctant, I *know* the spirit is willing."

—Sue Russell

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## Lee, Spike (1957—)

A controversial artist and a wizard at self-promotion, Spike Lee became America's best known African-American filmmaker in the

1980s. By the end of the 1990s, Lee became widely recognized in critical circles as one of the top five most important filmmakers in America. With a string of provocative films dealing as never before with the complexity of contemporary African-American urban life, Lee helped energize the spirit of independent filmmaking in the United States. Over time, Spike Lee managed to become one of the most highly visible celebrities in America through his entrepreneurial ventures, his controversial statements in the media, and his daring artistic achievements in film.

The filmmaker was born Shelton Jackson Lee on March 20, 1957 in Atlanta. His parents relocated to Brooklyn, New York, in 1959. During his early childhood in the 1960s, Lee spent many of his summers visiting relatives in the South, where he encountered vicious displays of racial segregation. As he grew older, Lee borrowed from these experiences to create films that would come to explore the detrimental effects of bigotry on the cultural fabric of American life.

After studying communications at Morehouse College in the mid-1970s, Lee undertook graduate studies at New York University's film school. Upon graduation in 1982, Lee received the Student Academy Award for his third-year thesis project, *Joe's Bed-Stuy Barbershop: We Cut Heads*. Despite the critical acclaim generated for his student film, Lee found himself unable to raise significant money for a feature project. The budding filmmaker remained determined,



Spike Lee at the 44th International Cannes Film Festival.

however. Lee claims that the experience “cemented in my mind what I always thought all along: that I would have to go out and do it alone, not rely on anyone else.”

The director’s independent spirit served him well in the years following his graduation from school. By 1986, Lee had amassed the financial and emotional support of his friends in order to write, produce, direct, edit, and co-star in his first feature, *She’s Gotta Have It*. Inspired by the unprecedented success of Prince’s *Purple Rain* (1984), *She’s Gotta Have It* marked a drastic change in the climate of filmmaking in the United States. Financed using creative ingenuity, *She’s Gotta Have It* contrasted typical films of the era through its use of aggressive filmmaking techniques and its decision to portray the subtleties of African-American life. The film was a huge success for an independent feature, drawing lines around the block in its cinematic presentation in New York.

*She’s Gotta Have It* earned Lee a major prize at the prestigious Cannes Film Festival. Yet the film received equal amounts of glowing praise and stinging criticism, as would most of Lee’s work to follow. A number of white critics found the film to be unrealistic in comparison to previous films dealing with African-American subject matter. A handful of African-American female critics also took issue with Spike Lee’s portrayal of the female lead character. Nonetheless, the film proved the commercial clout of African-American audiences who wanted to see realistic portrayals instead of rote stereotypes. It also put a number of African-Americans who had been previously excluded from film jobs to work behind-the-scenes as cinematographers, designers, and costumers. Eventually, the success of *She’s Gotta Have It* helped launch a black new wave of filmmaking. Often referred to as “New Jack Cinema,” this movement brought to visibility a series of young black male artists who wrote screenplays and directed films about their personal experiences around African-American identity.

Lee followed *She’s Gotta Have It* with *School Daze* (1988), a contentious musical comedy dealing with the politics of skin color on a historically black college campus. His next film *Do the Right Thing* (1989) marked the beginning of Lee’s association with Universal Pictures and proved to be a watershed moment in the director’s career. An inflammatory tale of racism in Brooklyn’s Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood, *Do the Right Thing* grossed over thirty million dollars and was heralded by many critics. Some, however, felt that the film’s dubious message would provoke rather than amend racial violence. *Do the Right Thing* received the L.A. Film Critics Award for picture, director, and screenplay. Yet the acclaimed film was virtually ignored at the Academy Awards, earning Lee only a single nomination for Best Screenplay. Despite this mixed reception, it was clear that the director had gained new levels of visibility in American society. In fact, Lee became known in the media for his open criticism of black celebrities whom he felt had neglected their racial communities. Soon after the release of *Do the Right Thing*, the director began to earn a reputation for his flamboyant, off-the-cuff remarks in the media around issues of race.

In the years to follow, the sharp-tongued director continued to make movies about African-American life that intended to enlighten audiences. *Mo’ Better Blues* (1990) was a tale of a black jazz musician (played by Denzel Washington) and his relationship with two women. The film fared moderately at the box office but drew sharp criticism for its portrayals of Jews. A cautionary tale of interracial desire,

*Jungle Fever* (1991) made a box office impact. Yet the film was overshadowed by other films from the movement of “New Jack Cinema” that Spike Lee had helped to generate, including John Singleton’s acclaimed *Boyz ‘n’ the Hood* (1991).

Lee finally won the rights in the early 1990s to undertake his most ambitious project: a film biography of the great Muslim civil rights leader Malcolm X, starring Denzel Washington. The project marked the first time an epic film of such scope had employed a black director and a black leading star. Yet even before its release, *Malcolm X* received negative critical attention from African-American critics who felt Lee was only interested in commercializing the civil rights legend for his own personal gain. When Lee eventually ran into financial trouble and could not finish the film, he received charitable donations from a number of prominent black celebrities, including Oprah Winfrey and Prince. Upon release in 1992, the lavish and accomplished film earned its money back. But despite much publicity, the film failed to amass major awards or other critical attention.

After *Malcolm X*, Lee returned to films smaller in scope and size but still rich in content and theme. Cowritten by his siblings, *Crooklyn* (1994) was Lee’s semi-autobiographical tale of his childhood in 1970s Brooklyn. After fathering his first child with wife Tonya Lewis, Lee then filmed *Clockers* (1994) and *Girl 6* (1995). *Get on the Bus* (1995), a low-budget feature about the historic Million Man March, marked Lee’s return to independent forms of film production.

As the commercial viability of his films waned, Lee’s skills at self-promotion and his entrepreneurial ambitions kept him in the public limelight. By the late 1980s, Lee had launched a self-merchandising store in Brooklyn, and he had begun to direct music videos for artists like Tracy Chapman and Public Enemy. He directed and co-starred in a popular series of Nike commercials with Michael Jordan and he established a music division from his production company, 40 Acres and Mule. In the late 1990s, Lee authored a book about his love for basketball and he formed a merger with DDB Needham, a major advertising firm. In 1998, Spike Lee released *He Got Game* for Disney’s Touchstone Pictures. The film centered around the director’s central pre-occupations, in and out of the spotlight: fatherhood, basketball, and celebrities. Re-teaming Denzel Washington with Spike Lee, *He Got Game* became the director’s first film to open at number one on the box office charts and it also received extensive critical praise.

Although Lee has been criticized for his controversial films and statements in the media, he has helped changed the segregated nature of filmmaking by bringing African-American talent to the fore. While highly contentious, Lee’s films have helped expand conversation in American society around the issue of racial prejudice, often allowing audiences new ways of seeing the plight of black people in the contemporary moment. Lee’s films have been widely praised for providing positive images of black people that have managed to counteract the history of previous stereotypes in Hollywood. A visionary artist and a highly visible figure in American popular culture, Lee has left an indelible legacy.

—Jason King

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## Lee, Stan (1922—)

As a writer, editor, and promoter Stan Lee revitalized comic books, created pop culture icons, and, in the process, became “comicon’s” first celebrity. Yet, before he made his mark on the industry and the culture, Lee spent 20 years toiling in obscurity.

Young Stanley Lieber, who had won the *New York Herald Tribune* essay contest for three consecutive years, had visions of being a great writer. After graduating from high school, the 17-year-old Lieber took what he thought would be a temporary job with Timely Comics (a company owned by his cousin-in-law, Martin Goodman). At first, the job consisted mostly of proofreading, sharpening pencils, and making coffee, but by the middle of the following year young Lieber did his first writing for comic books—a two page text piece in *Captain America* number 3. He signed the work “Stan



Stan Lee and Sandra Hess

Lee.” It was the first use of the pen name that he would eventually make his legal name. A few months later, Lee wrote his first comic book script for a short, back-up story in *Captain America* number 5.

Although Lee was realizing his dream of becoming a professional writer, he soon expected to outgrow the crude medium of comic books. Circumstances conspired against him. Timely Comics editors Joe Simon and Jack Kirby left the company to work at DC Comics, leaving the talented young Lee to take their place. Although the name of the company changed repeatedly (Goodman used at least 50 corporate names for his publishing venture), Lee remained editor and chief writer for the next 30 years. For the first 20 years, he churned out mediocre comics in whatever genres were popular at the moment—he kept thinking that he would eventually quit comics and move on to “legitimate” writing.

Rather than outgrowing the comics, Lee forced comic books to grow up to suit him. By 1960, he was tired of following trends and crawling out hack work. In general, the comic book industry was in a slump, and Goodman’s company, going by Atlas Comics at the time, appeared on the verge of folding. When instructed by Goodman to follow another trend and mimic DC’s successful superhero team book, *Justice League of America*, Lee told his wife Joan that he was really going to quit this time. In an interview in *Comic Book Marketplace*, Stan Lee paraphrased his wife’s response: “If you want to quit anyway why don’t you do the book he wants, but do it the way you’d like to do it, and the worst that could happen is he’ll fire you . . . and you want to quit anyway.” He followed her advice, and the result, which appeared in 1961, was *The Fantastic Four*.

The basic premise of the superhero team was borrowed, but the execution was brilliant. In collaboration with Jack Kirby, Lee made *The Fantastic Four* grander, wackier, and at the same time, more human than anything the competition was producing. Most of the grandeur came from the imagination and pencil of Jack Kirby, but the humanity and the sense of fun came from the dialogue and captions written by Stan Lee. Lee and Kirby followed this initial success with the creation of The Hulk and Thor in 1962 and the X-Men in 1963. Working with artist Steve Ditko in 1962, Lee produced his most famous creation, Spider-Man. Publisher Martin Goodman thought that no one would want to read about a high school science nerd who gained the powers of something as creepy as a spider. He only allowed Lee to run the story in *Amazing Fantasy* number 15 because the title was being canceled. That was indeed the final issue of *Amazing Fantasy*, but the sales figures on that issue were so strong that Spider-Man appeared in his own title the following year.

Before 1961, comic book superheroes had one-dimensional, virtually interchangeable personalities and lived formulaic lives. When Lee’s heroes are not defending the earth from weird menaces, however, they lead lives much like other New Yorkers (Lee’s stories were set in the real world, not fictional cities such as Metropolis). They have trouble hailing cabs, get razzed by teenage toughs, chat with the mailman, and even lose money on the stock market—and young Peter Parker has to juggle typical teen problems with fighting super villains as Spider-Man when he realizes that “with great power comes great responsibility.”

When *The Fantastic Four* number 1 was published Atlas Comics had actually gone out of business, and there was no company name on the cover. Goodman soon began using Marvel Comics as the name of his company, and due to the attention the books were receiving the

name became permanent. Stan Lee was quick to trumpet the coming of the “Marvel Age of Comics,” and it was more than just hype. Marvel’s innovative characterization and storytelling began to attract older, more sophisticated readers. For a change, Lee was setting the trends, and the Marvel approach was soon copied by competitors. Lee became a charismatic pitchman for Marvel, making radio and television appearances, being profiled in mainstream magazines, and going on the college lecture circuit. In 1972 he left the comic book end of the business to oversee production of cartoons and films based on Marvel characters.

Stan Lee is a controversial figure in the comic book world. While he is often touted as a creative genius and the innovator that saved the flagging comic book industry, he is just as often dismissed as a self-serving huckster. His critics portray him as the front man who took most of the credit and did little of the actual work. It is true that the artists who worked with Lee, particularly Jack Kirby and Steve Ditko, often did the lion’s share of the storytelling. Because he was scripting and editing most of the titles in the early days of Marvel, Lee developed what became known as the Marvel Method of producing comic books. He had a story conference with the artist of a title and outlined the plot for the particular issue of a multi-issue story. The artist would draw a story based on that plot, and Lee would then write the dialogue and captions. Although Lee’s exact contribution to any particular comic book will probably never be known, it is clear that Marvel Comics would not have been as successful—and comic books in general would not have been as much fun—without Lee’s creativity, boundless enthusiasm, and love of the medium he meant to outgrow.

—Randy Duncan

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## Legos

Legos were certainly not the only building toys on the market during the better part of the twentieth century, but they were the ones that quintessentially represented the culture of the time. Wooden building blocks had been around for thousands of years and symbolized a simple, pre-industrial era. Toys like Erector and Meccano sets, with their nuts and bolts and metal girders, captured the aspirations of the skyscraper era experienced in the 1910s and 1920s. Legos, however, as interlocking plastic bricks 1 1/4 by 5/8 inches with eight knobs on top and three tubes underneath, combined the concept of a simple toy with newer materials.

The concept for the Lego brick began in 1932 when Danish carpenter Ole Kirk Christiansen used scrap material from his furniture-making business to make wooden bricks for children’s toys. In



Children play with the Lego Mindstorm robot, 1998.

1947 the Lego Company introduced plastic and was making all of their bricks out of plastic by 1960. These basic bricks, made of red, yellow, white, blue, and black indestructible plastic and infinitely combinable into all manner of shapes and structures, had not changed in design since their early models.

The word Lego, from the Danish “leg godt,” or “play well,” epitomized the philosophy of the Lego company, which was to provide a “system” of play: simple, educational toys that allowed children to be creative and use their imaginations. The company manufactured various lines of their signature bricks specifically intended for different age ranges: Primo were larger and meant for infants; Duplo for preschoolers; Technic kits, for builders aged 9 to 11; and Freestyle for older children. The bricks themselves combined order with flexibility—one was limited to the rectangular form of the brick, but could use it in combination with other bricks to build almost anything from one’s imagination; Norman Mailer, for example, used Legos in the 1960s to build his own version of the “city of the future” using 15,000 Lego bricks. In addition, Lego manufactured kits that allowed one to make anything from castles, airplanes, and ships to houses, cars, and bridges.

By the 1980s and 1990s Lego kits became more specialized and less interchangeable, reflecting children’s desire to possess things on demand rather than having to use their intellectual skills to get them.



These kits came with more pre-built components that lessened the challenge of original construction. In addition, the parts became more particularized, including things beyond the basic bricks, such as rubber tires, plastic trees, and even human figures, which the company introduced in 1997. The Lego “Mindstorms” kits, introduced in 1999 and starting at \$200, integrated computer chips in the bricks, allowing for interactive possibilities.

It was estimated that by 1993, 70 percent of American families with children owned at least one Lego product. By 1996 Lego was the world’s fifth largest toy maker, amassing a profit of \$79 million in that year. During this era Lego also shifted its focus from creating educational toys for children to becoming the most familiar brand name among adults with children. To this end, Lego expanded its product line to include backpacks and children’s clothing. In addition, the company expanded its LegoLand theme park. Known as the “Disneyland of Europe,” the first LegoLand was built in Billund, Denmark (home to the Lego factory) in 1968. LegoLand California opened near Carlsbad in 1999, and the company promised many more—including a theme park in Japan—by 2005.

These developments epitomized equally the shifts in the nature of children’s play and in the formation of corporate identity during the late twentieth century. At one time Lego bricks—as simple and affordable objects of a sturdy material that allowed educational yet creative play—encouraged children to build their own universes. Eventually, however, the bricks were no longer basic structural elements but were instead pre-built component parts used to create a pre-determined object with the help of instructions and expensive computer technology. This reflected both the tendency of parents to steer their children toward more sophisticated play as well as Lego’s desire to abandon its original mission of manufacturing sound toys with integrity and become, rather, the embodiment of an identifiable brand name that manufactured mass-media experiences for children (as evidenced by LegoLand) that were worlds away from simply building houses with colored bricks.

—Wendy Woloson

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## Lehrer, Tom (1928—)

Tom Lehrer, the mathematician/balladeer, grew up in New York city. He received piano lessons, learning classical music. At his request, his parents found a teacher who taught him how to play popular tunes. In 1943, when he was 14, child-prodigy Lehrer became an undergraduate at Harvard, majoring in mathematics. He earned his



**Tom Lehrer**

Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts within three years. During his undergraduate days, he also found time to write song parodies, particularly a fight song for his alma mater. “Fight Fiercely, Harvard” became popular at the university, and would show up on his first record. And this marks the beginning of one of the twentieth century’s most controversial satirists.

With his undergraduate degrees tucked under his belt, Lehrer stayed on at Harvard working toward a graduate degree in math. In 1950, he teamed up with four other musically-inclined members of the university community to form a singing group. One of the group’s members taught a freshman physics course, and the quintet put on a performance for the benefit of the students in that course. One item on the repertoire was a Lehrer composition: a song which listed the elements (not necessarily in order) to the tune of Gilbert and Sullivan’s “Modern Major General.” “The Elements” would later find appreciative audiences beyond Harvard. Lehrer also wrote a parody poking fun at a sculpture on campus which had been designed by Walter Gropius. The poem was published in the student paper—the *Harvard Crimson*—and republished in *Time*.

In 1953, Lehrer decided to put out a record of the various songs with which he had been entertaining people around Cambridge. He at first expected *Songs by Tom Lehrer* to sell around 400 copies; it ended up selling 350,000. He then decided to leave Harvard in 1953 to work for the technical firm Baird-Atomic. His work for Baird-Atomic was followed by a stint in the Army, a tour of duty which was to inspire his hilariously nasty song “It Makes a Fellow Proud to be a Soldier.” Lehrer then toured the United States and the English-speaking world

to entertain his audiences with new songs, interspersed with acerbic commentary. A record based on one of his concerts—*An Evening Wasted with Tom Lehrer*—came out in 1959 and sold almost as well as his first record.

Next, Lehrer decided to return to graduate school—he was a graduate student at Harvard for a total of ten years and at Columbia for one year. By 1965, he had completed all the work required for his degree, except for the dissertation, but he decided to stop seeking a doctorate. He began teaching mathematics at MIT's Political Science Department in 1962. He then became a professor at the University of California, Santa Cruz, where he has taught since 1971. His work as a math teacher, however, did not stop Lehrer from performing his music; the British magazine *The Spectator* reported in 1998 that Lehrer had made "109 concert appearances" over the course of his career.

In 1965, Lehrer had some topical political songs performed on the NBC program *That Was the Week That Was* (a program taken from England). He put out a record, *That Was the Year That Was*, based on the NBC songs. He wrote some of the songs for the children's television series *The Electric Company* in the early 1970s. In the early 1980s, there was a touring show called *Tomfoolery*, in which a four-member cast sang an ensemble of Lehrer's old songs. Although Lehrer helped with the production, he did not sing in it.

A couple of his songs seem to foreshadow future events. In a 1965 song about George Murphy, a now-forgotten actor-turned-Senator, Lehrer mused that many Hollywood actors had become politicians, "from Helen Gahagan to . . . Ronald Reagan?" In his song "Pollution," Lehrer anticipated President Clinton in his advice for coping with America's smog: "wear a gas mask and a veil / Then you can breathe, long as you don't inhale."

Lehrer's humor was somewhat daring—at least for its time. In 1982, he wrote: "I was often accused of bad taste in the '50s and '60s, but the songs which prompted that accusation seem positively genial today." At the very least, his humor was unconventional as evidenced by a word he used to describe President Lyndon Johnson's increasing military involvement in Vietnam—"escallatio." Additionally, the song "I Hold Your Hand in Mine" is about a man who holds onto some of the remains of the woman he killed—"still I keep your hand / As a precious souvenir . . ." "The Masochism Tango" combines a catchy dance tune with lyrics about S&M, while "Smut" celebrates the joys of porn: "I could tell you things about Peter Pan / And the Wizard of Oz—There's a dirty old man!" And, of course, there is the favorite tune of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, "Poisoning Pigeons in the Park."

The Lehrer song which caused the most controversy was "The Vatican Rag." Here, he sings irreverently about the Catholic sacraments. Many Catholics were offended by this song, although Lehrer later said that he was making fun of "the Catholic ritual," not "the religion." When he performed "The Vatican Rag" at the hungry i night club, Lehrer indicated that the song was simply a logical extension of the liturgical reforms of the Vatican II conference—reforms under which the Mass could be performed in the vernacular. He further disrupted church officials and members when he said that the Vatican II reforms were intended to make the Church "more commercial," implying that Catholicism was being turned into a "product" that the Church was selling. Thus, the song could be seen as a satire about the perils of departing from religious orthodoxy

(although both Lehrer and his Catholic critics would probably disagree with such an interpretation).

Since about 1965, Lehrer has not written new songs for public performance. He explained that "satire was made obsolete when Henry Kissinger got the Nobel Peace Prize."

—Eric Longley

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## Leisure Suit

Like bell bottoms, platform shoes, and mood rings, the leisure suit came to symbolize the swinging mid-1970s and its pervasive disco culture. The matching polyester jacket and pants often came in tacky colors such as powder blue or burnt orange and could sport either wide collars and lapels or none at all, instead coming adorned with a belt to be worn tunic-style. Originally designed after World War II as resort wear for the wealthy, the early leisure suits were priced handsomely and constructed out of wool gabardine. Though they enjoyed a brief heyday in the 1970s, leisure suits were soon acknowledged as tacky. Beginning in 1989, however, a 1970s nostalgia revival led to an annual leisure suit convention in Des Moines, Iowa. In the 1990s, a series of computer games featuring a sleazy character named Leisure Suit Larry epitomized the garment as the unofficial uniform of the déclassé.

—Geri Speace

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## Leisure Time

Despite the persistent complaints Americans make about not having enough free time, the twentieth century ushered in an unprecedented age of leisure. Economic developments, like the decreased work week, increased wages, and increased productivity brought more free time to workers, and the changing attitudes toward leisure are a reflection of the greater role that free time plays in American life. The shift in attitudes are subtle and sweeping, their significance barely noticed by most. The free time that allows for “the newfound delight of young fathers in their babies,” wrote Margaret Mead in 1957, represented “another intrinsically rewarding pattern which no large civilization has ever permitted.” The observation is at once a measure of the unprecedented role of leisure in everyday life, and how much Americans take their free time for granted.

Twentieth-century America’s preoccupation with leisure time represents an enormous change from the attitudes held by Americans settlers, who cleared their land and farmed it for subsistence. Primarily agrarian, early nineteenth-century Americans found that most of their time was consumed by agricultural work. Those who loafed beyond what was socially acceptable found themselves ostracized within their small, agrarian communities. Places of entertainment, such as theaters, were regarded as dens of vice that were populated by drunk actors and prostitutes. But in pre-industrial America, leisure and work often commingled. As Roy Rosenzweig observed in *Rethinking Popular Culture*, “the rum barrell (sic) was always near the work—ready for distribution, by this means they kept the men hard at work all day.” The prevailing mindset was exemplified by Benjamin Franklin in *Poor Richard’s Almanac*: “Leisure, is Time for doing something useful . . . *Trouble springs from Idleness, and grievous Toil from needless Ease.*”

The advent of industrialization brought changes to the workplace, Mechanization, the specialization of labor, and the regulation of the workplace made the workplace strictly a place for labor. Drinking, for example, was banished to the saloon. These sharp delineations led to the recognition that free time had value and that how one spent one’s free time had significance. Middle-class reformers, who took issue with the rowdy, hard-drinking, working-class culture, began to view industrialism as a potential wedge that could come between workers and a more meaningful culture. “When the operation of the machine tends to relieve the operative of all thought, the man or woman who tends it risks becoming a machine, well oiled and cared for, but incapable of independent life,” worried industrialist Edward Atkinson. Americans slowly began to realize that overwork could be as destructive as idleness, and that a useful pursuit of leisure could be beneficial.

The pursuit of leisure had been defined as an upper-class privilege by Thorstein Veblen in his *Theory of the Leisure Class*, published in 1899. Veblen introduced the phrase “conspicuous consumption” to describe leisure as “a non-productive consumption of time.” Leisure was associated with pursuits that did not contribute to making a living, and the notion of “culture” tied such pursuits to

higher aims—the arts, religion and higher education. As the middle class grew in the early twentieth century, its definitions of culture and leisure reflected their emphasis on hierarchical order. The polarization between rich and poor gave the growing middle class impetus to create a social role for culture that distinguished the status-seeking middle class from the working and immigrant classes below it.

After World War II, the idea of “earned” pleasure—free time as a reward for hard work—began to break down. According to Margaret Mead, Americans sought to restore an equilibrium that had been disrupted by the hardships of war and the wartime separation of men and women. Soldiers had too little leave time, and war workers had too much disposable income. The desire to get some joy out of life superseded all else, and the home became the place where Americans sought that joy. Americans began to reconceive the relationship between work and family life. “As once it was wrong to play so hard that it might affect one’s work,” writes Mead, “now it is wrong to work so hard that it may affect family life.”

The emergence of a distinct youth culture during the 1950s helped define some leisure activities. Around the time of World War I, few considered adolescence a separate stage of life. The term “teenager” did not come into common use until the 1940s. Prior to the 1950s, teenagers had been expected to work full time, like adults. Most adolescents worked by age 15, moving from childhood straight into adulthood. But with the increasing opportunities for secondary education in the 1920s, and a lack of available work during the Depression, American children found that their adulthood was postponed. The postwar prosperity of the 1950s brought fatter allowances to teenagers and this new demographic group became a target market. Entire industries retooled their operations to meet the needs of these indiscriminate consumers, flush with disposable income. This development transformed twentieth-century popular culture, as new icons like Elvis Presley became cultural phenomena, and encouraged the purchase of rock ‘n’ roll concert tickets, trendy clothes, and long-playing records.

In addition to the prosperity of the times, technological changes—like the television and the movies—changed the leisure experience into a consumptive one for adults as well as teenagers. Leisure expenditures in 1950 had increased tenfold from those in 1909, when Americans were likely to make their own music or toys. Correspondingly, the average work-week dropped from 12 hours a day in 1900 to 7.5 in 1960, as increased productivity helped to shrink working time. By the end of the century, it would be possible to speak of a “leisure industry.”

Whereas work was once the primary identifier for individuals, leisure has become more and more central to identity. In the introduction to an issue entitled “Americans at Play,” *Life* magazine wrote in 1971:

The weekend is a state of mind, betrayed by a vacant stare that lasts till Tuesday and an anticipatory twitching that begins on Thursday. We talk fishing at the factory, surfing at the store, skiing in the office, and when we make new acquaintances, we identify ourselves less by what we do for a living than by what we do to loaf . . . Wherever we are, inside our head, we’re *out there*.

Nothing could slow Americans’ appetite for leisure time activities: “Leisure spending rose on a steady curve through Vietnam, an

oil embargo, runaway inflation, an energy crisis, unemployment and a recession.” According to Mark Jury in *Playtime! Americans at Leisure*, leisure spending increased from \$58 billion in 1965 to \$160 billion in 1977. Though obviously fueled by factors like lower working hours, higher wages, and earlier retirement, the leisure spending also represented a willful reorganization of personal priorities. Jury indicated that leisure products, like boats, that were once only available to the wealthy could now be purchased, through extended financing, by the middle class. Leisure had become one of the great American levelers.

People not only reorganized their priorities for spending money for leisure activities, but also reorganized their work to accommodate their desire for leisure time. Though the more prosperous middle-class workers had less time to devote to leisure activities than their working-class counterparts, and the income gap widened in favor of college degree holders, the rise of the service economy provided an alternative for many. The service economy enabled a number of Americans, many of them college-educated, to work when they needed to as bartenders, waitresses, or hairdressers, and make an above-average income from tips. Free time was no longer available only to the rich. The service economy offered modest incomes and flexible working hours that provided workers the time and the money to pursue leisure activities. Jury describes one so-called “leisure freak”:

(Pete) decided to give up acting and enroll in a school to become a hairdresser . . . a good hairdresser in Los Angeles could make twelve thousand dollars a year (including tips) [1977 dollars] by working *three days a week*. The other four days were then free to pursue a current passion—skydiving, bodybuilding, motorcycle racing, anything. His entire crowd lived for their leisure activities.

As more and more Americans participated in leisure time, the very definition of leisure came into question. Instead of encompassing all time away from work, leisure has been defined as “doing something” enjoyable. Leisure has evolved into the time in which one is free, apart from others. The phrase “quality time,” so often used in respect to the family, implies that the time spent together isn’t as important as the amount of effort put into that time. Its use also indicates the diminished focus of leisure time within the family. In the 1990s fewer Americans were married than in the previous generation, and fewer still were parents, as many put off parenthood for a longer period.

Despite these trends, Americans in the 1990s remained largely home-centered. A March 1999 Gallup Poll reported that watching television was the favorite way to spend an evening for 31 percent of the respondents. Television watching has been the top response on this poll since 1960, though the poll has reported demographic differences in the responses. For example, watching television is much more popular with those 65 and older than with the 18-29 segment. Educational differences also prompt different responses: college or postgraduate degree holders are more involved in reading or dining out, while less educated people prefer television. “As our leisure time has increased since 1965,” Geoffrey Godbey told the *Christian Science Monitor*, “the gain has been plowed into more TV because it can be sequenced, an hour here, an hour and a half there. TV fits so well now, and it is immediately accessible.”

But in the face of increased free time, Americans in the 1990s complain that they have less of it. Their complaints constitute a healthy debate among those involved in leisure studies (a field of sociological inquiry that in itself indicates the prominence of leisure in American life). One plausible explanation for this discrepancy emerges in the concept of “time-deepening,” which “assumes that, under pressure of expanded interest and compulsion, people are capable of higher rates of ‘doing.’” John P. Robinson and Geoffrey Godbey described this conception in their book *Time for Life*, and based their study upon “time diaries,” in which study groups recorded how they spent their free time. Time-deepening is the *sense* of being rushed, either a sense that is self-imposed, or perceived. Management at work is geared scientifically toward making the workplace run at its optimal efficiency. Our sports are “measured, timed, specialized, and synchronized,” say Robinson and Godbey. It’s not enough to go to the live event: we need portable radios to listen to the broadcast of the live event. Fans tailgate before football games, with grills scattered throughout the stadium parking lot, making it hard to tell anymore if the leisure is the game, or the impromptu party before the game.

Like the phrase “quality time,” Americans have come to act as if the time spent is not as important as how much has been extracted from that time. We read *and* watch television. We admonish each other to “get to the point” in conversation, as if taking too long is wrong in itself. Technology has made us more accessible to each other than ever before, but it sometimes seems that we spend more time trying to get in touch with each other, leaving endless messages on machines, than we actually spend in direct communication.

The modern explosion of leisure implies that one should feel a certain amount of guilt for enjoying work too much. Researchers like Csikszentmihalyi and LeFevre suggest that an imbalance in favor of leisure is no more desirable than a reverse imbalance favoring work:

If people realized that their jobs were more exciting and fulfilling than they had thought, they could disregard the cultural mandate against enjoying work and find in it a satisfaction that at present seems to be denied by the fact that people think of it as obligatory.

The Information Age will likely change much about how leisure is defined. If more workers telecommute from home, will work appear less regimented and therefore feel less like work? Americans’ views of recreation may also have to adjust to a new conception of work. The likelihood will be that these shifts will occur seamlessly, as many think about their free time only in the terms of what they will do with it.

—Daryl Umberger

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## LeMond, Greg (1961—)

Three time winner of the Tour de France (1986, 1989, 1990) and World Road Race champion (1989), Greg LeMond is undeniably America’s most successful cyclist. As an ambitious young professional in the early 1980s, his uneasy relationship with team leader Bernard Hinault reached its boiling point during the 1986 Tour, when a clearly stronger LeMond ignored team orders to support his leader and went on to record his first victory and become the first American to win the race at the expense of what could have been a record-breaking sixth win for France’s Hinault. LeMond’s absolute commitment to winning the Tour and apparent indifference towards the one day “Classics” meant that he struggled to gain the recognition he surely deserved. Following a near fatal hunting accident in 1987, LeMond won his second Tour in dramatic fashion, finishing just eight seconds ahead of his nearest rival, the closest win in the race’s history. This performance remains one of the most memorable ever witnessed—his improbable come-back performance won over a host of previously skeptical admirers. A muscle disorder forced LeMond to retire from competitive racing in 1994.

—Simon Philo

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## L'Engle, Madeleine (1918—)

Madeleine L'Engle wrote over two dozen books of poetry, plays, memoirs, and fiction and is credited with bringing science fiction into mainstream young-adult fiction. Often compared to C.S. Lewis, she used science and Christianity to create stories of spiritual quests, battles between good and evil, and an omnipresent God of Love.

Her Newbery Award winning novel *A Wrinkle in Time* (1962) is a blend of science fiction, fantasy, and coming-of-age tale. The awkward and intense Meg Murry must travel in time and space to fight “the black thing” on a planet of utter conformity, ruled by an emotionless brain. L'Engle asked all the cosmic questions about morality, religion, love, and identity, and the book found international popularity with children and critics.

—Jessy Randall

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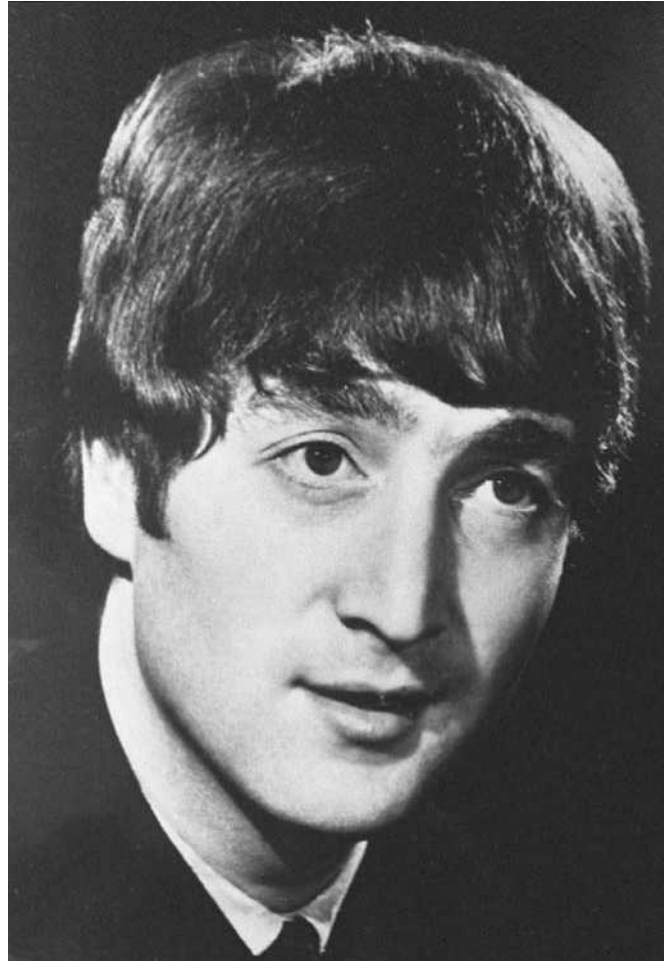
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## Lennon, John (1940-1980)

Most famed as one of the members of the Beatles as well as the co-composer of the Beatles song catalogue which includes many of the most popular rock songs ever written, John Lennon is also notable for his solo career, his enduring status as a celebrity victimized by one of his own fans, shot dead outside his New York home, and as a celebrity who used his fame to draw attention to various causes.

Born in Liverpool, raised in a middle-class home that lacked a father and frequently a mother as well (she died in a car accident), Lennon was largely raised by his aunt Mimi, who warned him that while playing the guitar was fine, it was unlikely to earn him a living. Lennon attended art school where he formed a skiffle group, the Quarrymen, which would later form the basis for the Beatles.

Lennon was the initial leader of the Beatles and their most controversial member. At the 1963 Royal Command Performance, he told the audience, “On the next number, would those in the cheap seats clap their hands? The rest of you rattle your jewelry.” Upon being awarded the MBE, Lennon observed, “I can’t believe it. I



John Lennon

thought you had to drive tanks and win wars.” He prompted even more controversy when on November 25, 1969, he returned his MBE “with love” to the Queen to protest Britain’s involvement in Biafra and Vietnam and [his song] “Cold Turkey” slipped down the charts.

In 1966, Lennon told Maureen Cleave in the *London Evening Standard*, “The Beatles are bigger than Jesus Christ,” creating a religious backlash in the United States. A similar British backlash was created when Lennon appeared nude on the cover of his *Two Virgins* album. An exhibition of Lennon’s erotic lithographs had to have eight prints removed under threat of possible prosecution under the Obscene Publications Act. (Lennon’s lithos were later declared “unlikely to deprave or corrupt” by legal experts and handed back.)

In addition to music and art, Lennon also dabbled in literature. Lennon wrote his first book, *In His Own Write*, which subsequently won Foyle’s Literary Prize. This was followed by *A Spaniard in the Works* (a pun on the English expression “A spanner, meaning monkey wrench, in the works”). In addition to his film work with the Beatles (*Help!*, *A Hard Day’s Night*, *Let It Be*), Lennon had a minor role in Richard Lester’s absurdist black comedy *How I Won the War*. He was also the subject of the documentary film *Imagine*.

Lennon married Cynthia Powell on August 23, 1962, a union which produced a son, Julian Lennon, who later went on to have his own musical career. The couple divorced on November 8, 1968, a

month after Lennon and his Japanese artist lover Yoko Ono were busted by the drug squad (they were also arrested again for possessing cannabis in September 1969).

Lennon and Ono became an inseparable couple and were wed on the Rock of Gibraltar on March 20, 1969. For their honeymoon, they conducted a “Bed-In for Peace” at the Amsterdam Hilton, and Lennon officially changed his name from John Winston Lennon to John Ono Lennon. Lennon proceeded to use his celebrity status to bring attention to all kinds of causes, from freeing Angela Davis to giving Ireland back to the Irish.

He also formed his first post-Beatles group, the Plastic Ono Band, which initially consisted of himself, Ono, Eric Clapton, Klaus Voorman, and Alan White, who threw together an under-rehearsed show for a live concert in Toronto which was recorded as an album and film. Lennon’s next Plastic Ono Band effort, Plastic Ono Band with Voorman on bass, Ringo Starr on drums, and occasional piano by Billy Preston and Phil Spector, is one of rock’s all-time classic albums. Sparse and powerful, the album was an outgrowth of Lennon’s involvement in primal scream therapy techniques as he tries to exorcise his personal pain and rejection tempered by feelings of love and hope.

Ironically, following the break-up of the Beatles, even Ringo Starr initially had greater chart success than Lennon. If *Plastic Ono Band* evoked Lennon’s agony, his *Imagine* album celebrated his ecstasy, and proved to be another rock classic. This was the most melodic of Lennon’s solo albums, a quality he would downplay subsequently as his peace rhetoric gave way to rabble-rousing political statements as on his abrasive *Some Time in New York City* album. Lennon decided to emigrate to the United States, but Lennon’s political activities brought him under investigation by the FBI and he was ordered to leave the U.S. by the Immigration Authorities. Lennon was able to successfully fight the deportation, and in January 1974, he asked the Queen for a Royal Pardon in connection with his drug conviction in order to be free to travel to and from the United States.

Lennon and Ono suffered a temporary split that found Lennon keeping time with May Pang and getting drunk. Lennon announced that the separation hadn’t worked out and the couple got back together and would remain so for the rest of Lennon’s life. Their marriage resulted in a son, Sean, who has also embarked on a musical career of his own. Lennon created the albums *Mind Games*, *Walls and Bridges*, *Rock ‘n’ Roll*, and the best-of compilation *Shaved Fish* before retiring from music for five years to spend time raising his son and becoming one of the world’s most famous house-husbands. He announced in Japan, “We really have nothing to say. We’ve basically decided, without a great decision, to be with our baby as much as we can until we feel we can take time off to indulge ourselves in creating things outside our family.”

Then Lennon heard in the B-52s’ work sounds much like that of Yoko Ono’s and decided that it was time to re-enter the musical mainstream. He created a collaborative album with Yoko Ono, *Double Fantasy: A Heart Play*, with the couple trading off songs, and the result was a welcome return to form, lacking perhaps the urgency of John’s best works, but reflecting his personal growth and current perspectives. Another half-album’s worth of material was recorded and later released on the posthumous *Milk and Honey*, which despite some worthwhile Lennon tracks (“Nobody Told Me” and “Borrowed Time”), does not hold up as well.

However, Lennon’s commitment as an artist has left a lasting impression, from his commitment to political causes to his celebrated love for Yoko Ono in the face of public hostility and disdain. His solo music has been frequently repackaged, his demo tapes and home recordings formed the basis of a long-running radio show, “The Lost Lennon Tapes,” a couple of these recordings formed the basis for the two Beatles reunion singles, “Real Love” and “Free As a Bird,” and many of these pieces were collected together for release in late 1998 as the *Lennon Anthology* album. They offer a complete portrait of Lennon, from his happiness to his sadness, his anger and his humor.

Lennon realized years ago that what most people around him were most interested in was Lennon himself, and few artists have put so much of themselves into their art so that he and his love for Yoko became his greatest subjects.

—Dennis Fischer

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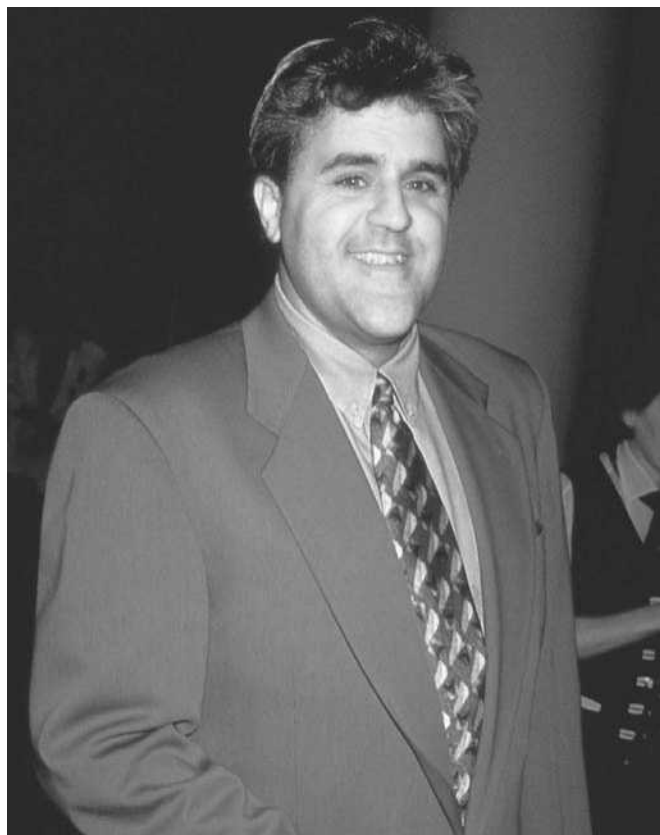
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## Leno, Jay (1950—)

On television, Jay Leno exudes the image of an easygoing, affable comedian. This he is, but he is also one of the hardest working men in show business. His perseverance, long hours (he claims he sleeps only four hours a night), and sheer determination have brought him to the top of the late-night talk show industry as host of *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, where he is seen by millions of viewers every weeknight.

Born on April 28, 1950, in New Rochelle, New York, Leno grew up in the Boston suburb of Andover, Massachusetts. He graduated from high school in 1968 and from Emerson College in 1973. On March 2, 1977, he made his first television appearance as a guest on *The Tonight Show*, then hosted by Johnny Carson. But like many television comedians, Leno got his start traveling around the country doing standup comedy, performing no less than 250 times a year in every imaginable corner of the United States.

Persistence paid off for Leno. By the mid-1980s, he was guest-hosting many talk shows, and in September 1987, he guest-hosted *The Tonight Show* for the first time. Following Carson’s retirement, Leno became the permanent host of *The Tonight Show* on May 25, 1992. His tenure as host did not begin well. On advice of his manager, Helen Kushnick, an avowed enemy of Carson, Leno failed to mention Carson’s name in his first show as the new host; this omission was



Jay Leno

glaring. Kushnick also forbade Leno's guests to appear on other talk shows. Even though Kushnick had engineered Leno's rise from comedy clubs to *The Tonight Show*, within a few months Leno and NBC had fired the increasingly domineering Kushnick.

Since that time, the popularity of *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* has increased dramatically. After 90 weeks of trailing *The Late Show With David Letterman* in the ratings, Leno finally won a weekly ratings war with the CBS talk show host in July 1995. By 1996 Leno was regularly winning the late night ratings wars, and by the end of the decade he was widely regarded as the king of late night talk show hosts. *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* has won two Emmys.

Much publicity was made about Leno's feud with late night talk show host David Letterman. The subject was even the basis for a book and an HBO movie—*The Late Shift*. In the late 1970s, Letterman had served as a guest-host for *The Tonight Show*. In 1980, NBC gave him his own show, *Late Night with David Letterman*, which aired directly after Carson's *The Tonight Show*. When Johnny Carson retired in 1992, Letterman (and many others) expected he would replace Carson as host. Instead, the job went to Leno, thanks in large part to Leno's manager's intensive lobbying. In 1993, Letterman declined to renew his contract with NBC and moved to CBS, where he was given a show opposite Leno. The ordeal bred ill will between the two, and they reportedly have not spoken to each other since. Nonetheless, Leno still insists that he is on good terms with Letterman.

Leno's appeal as a pop icon is multifaceted. As the successor of the legendary Johnny Carson on *The Tonight Show*, he automatically gained prestige and legitimacy. Leno is perceived as a hard worker

and a perfectionist, thus endearing him to other hardworking Americans. Further endearing him to a large segment of Americans, are Leno's ordinary looks and ordinary tastes. He is not a Hollywood socialite. He is dedicated to his wife, Mavis, to whom he has been married since 1980. Renowned for his prominent chin and big, wavy hair, Leno is not a Hollywood pretty boy. Thus, when people watch him on television every night, they see a person not unlike themselves. Finally, one cannot deny the value of the time slot that Leno's *The Tonight Show* occupies. Virtually anyone who has a show on one of the three major networks (ABC, CBS, NBC) in the late night time slot (11:30 ET/10:30 CT) would have great visibility among the American television viewing public.

—Matt Kerr

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## Leonard, Benny (1896-1947)

Considered by many as the greatest fighter of American sport's ostensible "golden age," the 1920s, Benny Leonard (born Benjamin Leinert) was one of the few white champions of his era to take on all comers, regardless of race. Nicknamed "The Ghetto Wizard," (Ghetto for his Lower East side upbringing, Wizard for his cerebral, mind over matter approach to fighting), Leonard is generally considered the greatest Jewish boxer of all time. In 1917, at the age of 21, Leonard was lightweight champion, and he held the title for nearly eight years, at which point he retired at his mother's request. Leonard had invested the small fortune he made in the ring, and was apparently financially secure for life when he stepped down as the unvanquished 135 pound champion in 1925. Hit harder by the stock market crash of 1929 than by any opponent, Leonard made an ill fated comeback in 1931, eventually losing to Irish Jimmy McClarnin, who at the time was making a name for himself knocking out Jewish fighters. Nevertheless, Leonard is considered by many, the greatest fighter of the first half of the twentieth century.

—Max Kellerman

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A boxing match between Benny Leonard (left) and Pal Silvers (right), 1931.

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## Leonard, Elmore (1925—)

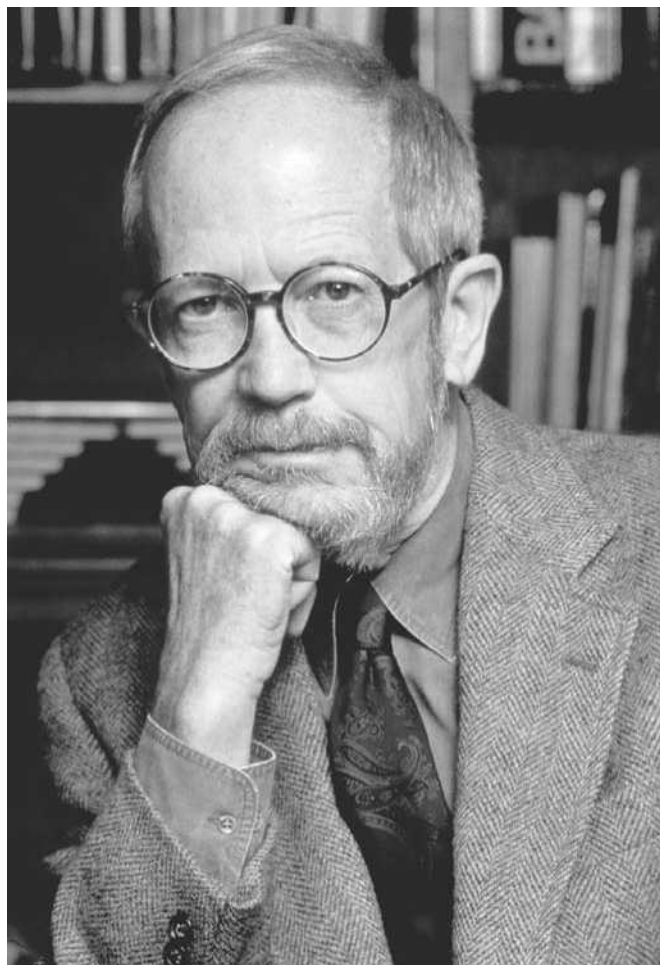
American author Elmore “Dutch” Leonard is often mentioned in the same class as Ross Macdonald and Dashiell Hammett as a

writer whose work exceeds the expectations of suspense novels. However, though Leonard is praised as a master of the crime novel—with his fast-moving action, hard-boiled characters, and detailed but not flowery descriptions—his writing style does not fall neatly into the crime or detective genre. Many critics, in fact, decline to peg him as a genre writer due to his skillful craftsmanship. Leonard’s realistic, contemporary dialogue reads practically effortlessly, and his story lines often interject social commentary without distraction. Often dubbed the “Dickens of Detroit,” Leonard began his literary career

writing Westerns in the 1950s and has been writing fiction full time since 1967. He chugged along relatively unnoticed until his works *LaBrava* (1983) and *Glitz* (1985) established him as an accomplished novelist. Though at that time he made national news, he did not become a major name until his tale of a starstruck loan shark, *Get Shorty*, was released as a film in 1995.

Leonard was born on October 11, 1925, in New Orleans, Louisiana, and relocated with his family several times before finally settling in the Detroit area. After high school, he served in the U.S. Navy during World War II, then attended college at the University of Detroit, where he graduated with a Bachelor of Philosophy degree in 1950. Though he aspired to become a writer, Leonard was concerned about making a living, so he took a job at a Detroit advertising agency and rose early in the morning to work on Western stories, which he chose because he thought they would be the most lucrative. In 1951, he sold his first piece, "Apache Agent," to the magazine *Argosy*, and in 1953 sold his first novel, *The Bounty Hunters*, following it up with four more over the next eight years.

In 1961, Leonard had a major breakthrough with *Hombre*, a book about a white man raised by the Apache Indian tribe. It was later named one of the 25 best Western novels of all time by the Western Writers of America in 1977. He quit the ad agency and wanted to begin writing full time, but had a family of five children to support, so



Elmore Leonard

he took freelance jobs writing for educational and industrial films, as well as advertising. When Twentieth Century-Fox bought the rights to *Hombre* in 1967 for \$10,000, Leonard finally had the means to pursue fiction as a career. Because Westerns were losing their audience, Leonard switched to crime novels and published his first in this genre, *The Big Bounce*, in 1969.

Throughout the 1970s, Leonard wrote more suspense fiction and also worked regularly adapting novels—including a few of his own—for the screen. Though these jobs paid well, Leonard longed to return to books, and in 1983 published *LaBrava*, for which he earned an Edgar Allen Poe Award from the Mystery Writers of America in 1984. After that, his 1985 work, *Glitz*, became a best-seller and Book-of-the-Month selection, thrusting him into the mainstream. Leonard's novels became known for their direct focus on plot and characters' actions, rejecting the psychoanalytical aspect prevalent in so many crime tales. His dialogue was fresh and realistic, the characters quirky and intriguing rather than two-dimensional and formulaic, and the stories satisfyingly gripping.

Though Leonard's books continued to be popular throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s, the few that were made into films did not meet with much critical or popular success. By the mid-1990s, however, Hollywood had rediscovered Leonard, and director Barry Sonnenfeld was hired to direct the screen adaptation of *Get Shorty*, which was released in 1995. This adaptation had a vein of humor running through it that surprised Leonard at first, since his works are not comical, but the new take delighted critics and moviegoers alike. The story involved a loan shark who goes to California to collect on a debt and becomes entranced with Hollywood.

After *Get Shorty*, hip director Quentin Tarantino in 1997 reworked the novel *Rum Punch* into *Jackie Brown*, starring 1970s Blaxploitation queen Pam Grier as a flight attendant who is involved with a petty gun runner. Following that, Leonard made \$2.5 million for the rights to *Out of Sight*, and by 1998, Quentin Tarantino had purchased the rights to three more Leonard novels. In the fall of 1998, ABC created a television series based on the 1991 book *Maximum Bob*, about a tough Florida judge and his bizarre wife. Meanwhile, *Touch* was adapted for film as well, and Leonard released his first non-contemporary novel in years, *Cuba Libre*, a story of horse smugglers set roughly a hundred years ago. Filmmakers Joel and Ethan Coen, who made *Raising Arizona* and *Fargo*, immediately showed interest. During this period, Leonard planned a sequel to *Get Shorty*.

Leonard's knack for creating seedy villains and shopworn heroes does not come from first-hand experience. Living a relatively tame life in an upscale suburb outside of Detroit, Michigan, the author does not prowl the underworld for material, except for an occasional trip to the police station to listen to speech rhythms of cops and crooks; and he has an assistant perform a good deal of his research. Nevertheless, his offbeat hoodlums ring true, and readers have come to enjoy his plot twists and portrayals of people on the other side of the tracks without relying on stereotypes and clichés.

—Geri Speace

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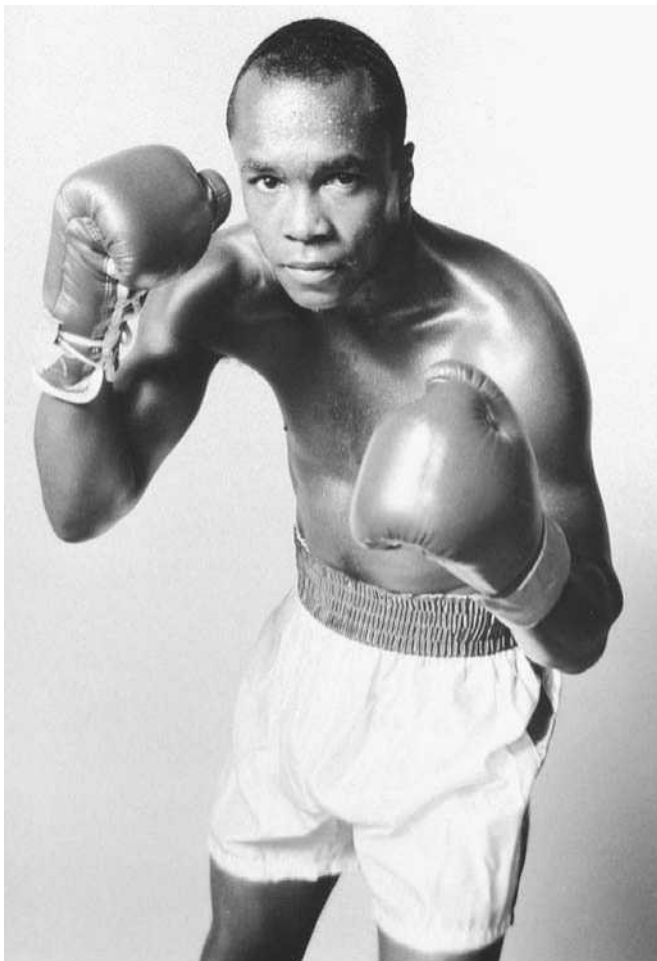
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## Leonard, Sugar Ray (1956—)

Sugar Ray Leonard was the first boxer, and certainly the first non-heavyweight, to cash in on the new era of exploding sports salaries ushered in by Muhammad Ali. A Baby Boomer coming of age in the early 1980s, Leonard seemed to personify his generation: apolitical and corporate, with style superseding but not necessarily precluding substance. An Olympic gold medal winner in the Junior welterweight class, Ray Charles Leonard took the name "Sugar Ray" as an amateur. Any fighter adopting this nickname has an almost impossible act to follow, because the man most boxing experts agree was the greatest pound-for-pound fighter in the history of the sport was Sugar Ray Robinson. Yet by the end of Leonard's career, the name Sugar Ray would conjure an image of Leonard just as soon as one of Robinson, and in the consciousness of many Baby Boomers and most Generation Xers, the new Sugar Ray even usurped the original.

Leonard first burst into the American consciousness during the 1976 Olympic Summer Games when famed announcer Howard



Sugar Ray Leonard

Cosell publicized the fact that Leonard fought with a picture of his girlfriend taped to his socks. Following his Olympic victory Leonard embarked on his professional boxing career, winning the welterweight title in 1979 and remaining undefeated until 1980, when he lost a 15 round decision to Panamanian legend Roberto Duran. Leonard won back his title in a rematch with Duran later in the same year when Duran, frustrated, disgusted, and behind on points, quit in the middle of the eighth round, turning his back on Leonard and uttering the infamous phrase "no mas," which means "no more" in Spanish. This extraordinary ending sent shock waves through the sporting world. Leonard had forced the unbeatable Duran—the one athlete who seemed incapable of losing, let alone giving up—to quit.

Outside the ring, Leonard became well known for raising public awareness regarding eye-related injury. During his epic welterweight unification bout with Thomas "The Hitman" Hearns in 1981, Leonard suffered a detached retina. The following year he retired from boxing, even though a mega-fight awaited him and the seemingly invincible Marvelous Marvin Hagler. During this retirement, Leonard parlayed his boxing celebrity and infectious smile into a career as a television boxing announcer for the premium cable channel HBO. The specter of the fight-that-could-have-been against Hagler loomed in Leonard's mind, however, and despite the risk to his vision and having fought only once in a five year span, Leonard came out of retirement to fight Hagler. After 12 rounds of boxing, Leonard pulled off one of the unlikeliest upsets in modern sports history. He was awarded Hagler's middleweight title with a split decision victory. The fight was also significant because it was the first major bout in which thumbless gloves were used (a stipulation Leonard insisted on during negotiations for the fight in order to protect his surgically repaired eye).

With his boyish good looks and personable, articulate interview style, Leonard was a media hit from the beginning. Initially, he was best known to the American non-boxing public for the 1980 television advertisement for the soft drink Sprite in which he starred with his seven-year-old son. By the end of his career, Leonard became better known for his accomplishments inside the ring, including epic battles with lightweight legend Roberto Duran, welterweight greats Wilfred Benitez and Thomas Hearns, and middleweight extraordinaire Marvin Hagler (all of whom Leonard beat at least once, and only one of whom—Duran—ever beat him). Always willing to take on the most dangerous opposition for the largest purse available, Leonard proved he was more than the front-runner many initially believed him to be. He was the greatest fighter of his time, and one of the greatest of all time as well.

—Max Kellerman

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## Leone, Sergio (1929-1989)

When his first western, *A Fistful of Dollars*, was released in 1964, Sergio Leone was forced to hide his Italian identity under the



Sergio Leone

name of Bob Robertson by the widespread belief that only Americans could make successful westerns. The success of Leone's westerns as well as of his last movie, *Once Upon a Time in America* (1984), which exploited the formula of the gangster movie, another typical American genre, was to prove this assumption wrong. Leone's choice of pseudonym was in fact deeply ironic: Bob Robertson is the English transposition of the Italian name ("Roberto Roberti") used by Leone's father, himself a film director. The choice points to Leone's lifelong commitment in reconciling his fascination for American culture and mythology with his Italian background, which he was seemingly trying to conceal. The same reconciliation is spelled out by the name given (at first disparagingly) to the genre of films with which Leone has come to be identified, spaghetti westerns.

Leone's reputation as a director was established by the popular success of the so-called "Dollars trilogy" which also helped Clint Eastwood to achieve star-status: *A Fistful of Dollars* (1964); *For a Few Dollars More* (1965); and *The Good, The Bad and The Ugly* (1966) ranked amongst the top grossing Italian movies at the international box office between 1956-71. These three movies were made outside the Hollywood production system and were not simple carbon copies of the traditional westerns. Perceptive critics have listed as sources for the trilogy as diverse works as (to mention but a few) Sicilian morality and puppet plays, Carlo Goldoni's *The Servant of Two Masters* (first performed in 1746), Akira Kurosawa's samurai film *Yojimbo* (1961), Charlie Chaplin's *Monsieur Verdoux* (1947), as well as George Stevens's *Shane* (1953), Robert Aldrich's *Vera Cruz* (1954), and the unusual westerns by Nicholas Ray and Samuel Fuller. The traditional optimism of the genre is tempered in the "Dollars"

trilogy by the violence pervading the environment in which the characters live without being able to trust each other and to which they conform without trying to change it. Money is of course the primary motivation for action. Yet, in Leone's early westerns, money is not to be invested or used to buy goods, as it was in traditional westerns; it is simply something to possess or worship.

Although by the end of the trilogy Leone felt he had exhausted the possibilities of the western and wanted to shoot a gangster movie, he was persuaded by Paramount to make another western, *Once Upon a Time in the West* (1968). In Leone's words, the film was to be "a fresco on the birth of a great nation." Its all-star cast, including Claudia Cardinale, Henry Fonda, Charles Bronson, and Jason Robards, and its exploitation of the traditional western theme of the impact of technological progress (represented here by the railroads and by the building of the town of Sweet Waters) on the Western frontier made it, in theory, a more appealing movie to American audiences than the "Dollars" trilogy. Yet, the movie flopped badly in the U.S. where it was savagely cut by the distributors. Before finally being able to make the gangster movie he had been planning for so long, *Once Upon a Time in America* (1984), Leone shot *Duck, You Sucker* (1972, aka *For a Fistful of Dynamite*). Entitled at first *Once Upon a Time, the Revolution*, the movie is a pessimistic post-western on the Mexican Revolution, which was strongly criticized by left-wing intellectuals for its supposedly conservative politics. The most-often quoted sentence from the movie is "Revolution is confusion" and Leone himself described it as being about the friendship between a naive Mexican and an Irish-Catholic intellectual: It is "the story of Pygmalion reversed. The simple one teaches the intellectual a lesson . . . finally the intellectual throws away his book of Bakunin's writings. You suspect damn well that this gesture is a symbolic reference to everything my generation has been told in the way of promises."

*Once Upon a Time in America* (1984) represents a change of genre (the western is substituted by the urban gangster movie) and of narrative technique (to the linear chronological narration with a flashback inserted at a topical moment characterizing the earlier films, Leone substitutes a story line that moves continuously between the 1920s, 1930s, and 1960s) but addresses the same themes and exploits similar situations of Leone's westerns. The plot is structured around the usual two-character confrontation, the problem of friendship and betrayal, the impact of money on human relationships, the entrapment of the villain at his own hands. The typical close-ups of the characters' eyes which are a distinctive feature of Leone's westerns (and usually precede a gunfight) are developed in Leone's last film in a veritable obsession with images of looking and of meeting glances.

As Robert C. Cumbow has pointed out, *Once Upon a Time in America*, like Leone's westerns, is a "buddy movie" with a clear homosexual subtext. The two male protagonists (whose first intercourse with the same woman is characterized by premature ejaculation and temporary impotence) have relationships with women that are "never more than a mirror of their relationship with each other." As in the westerns, the female figures of *Once Upon a Time in America* follow the Mary/Eve Catholic dichotomy: they are either sexual objects, prostitutes, or almost spiritual figures.

In spite of their fairy-tale titles and their superficial simplicity, Sergio Leone's movies are powerful and intense exploration of the mythic America he had created in his own mind and, most often than not, the myth has to come to terms with, in Cumbow's words, "a dark and complex vision of morality and the psyche." This apparent discrepancy is vividly echoed by Leone himself when he recounts the

intrusion, experienced during World War II, of “real-life Americans” into his childhood and adolescent dreams of America: “They were no longer the Americans of the West. They were . . . victorious soldiers . . . who were materialist, possessive, keen on pleasures and earthly goods. [In them] I could see . . . nothing—or almost nothing—of the great prairies, or of the demi-gods of my childhood.”

—Luca Prono

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## Leopold and Loeb

Nathan Leopold and Richard Loeb, the sons of two of Chicago’s wealthiest and most prominent German Jewish families, precipitated one of the twentieth century’s most sensational mass media events when they kidnapped and murdered a fourteen-year-old neighbor boy, Robert Franks, in May of 1924. At first, there was little suspicion that the pair—close friends since childhood—had any involvement in the disappearance of the Franks boy. The nineteen-year-old Leopold,



Nathan Leopold (left) and Richard Loeb

son of a millionaire box manufacturer, was a law student at the University of Chicago and had earned earlier distinction for his path-breaking studies in ornithology. One year younger than Leopold, Loeb, whose father was a respected executive at Sears, Roebuck and Company, was also an accomplished student, having become the youngest person ever to graduate from the University of Michigan at the age of seventeen. On May 31, 1924, however, the pair shocked the nation when they abandoned their alibis, turned against one another, and confessed to the Franks murder. For the next three months, the combination of intense public interest in the case and the willingness of the national media to indulge, even encourage, that interest in an effort to increase circulation figures made Leopold and Loeb not only household names, but also two of the nation’s most notorious criminals.

Seldom in the history of American journalism had the nation’s press played such an instrumental role in the shaping of a news event as it did the story of Leopold and Loeb. Aside from the day-to-day reporting of developments in the case, journalists uncovered pieces of evidence and tracked down material witnesses to the crime that later proved critical to the prosecution’s case. When the families of the two young men hired famed attorney Clarence Darrow and a team of expensive psychiatrists to defend their sons in court, the press encouraged the public to question whether justice could be bought. Finally, as the courtroom drama unfolded, the press covered the proceedings in relentless detail, giving extensive coverage to the testimony of the psychiatrists and Darrow’s eloquent summation, in which he questioned the merits of capital punishment and called upon the court to spare the lives of his youthful clients.

The story of Leopold and Loeb earned widespread notoriety not only because of the media’s efforts to prioritize it as a news event, but also because the image of the defendants was one onto which Americans could easily project their own fears and anxieties about modern society. During the initial rush to suggest explanations for the pair’s actions, the media, in concert with prosecuting attorney Robert Crowe, depicted Leopold and Loeb as wealthy, over-educated, self-confident daredevils whose plot to commit “the perfect crime” represented a serious threat to the legal and moral foundations of society. Citing factors such as the pair’s non-Christian upbringing, their growing interest in atheism, and their exposure to the allegedly subversive world of the university as possible causes for their strange behavior, the newspapers explained the killers’ motives in a manner that reinforced nativist sentiments and common religious prejudices. Crowe and the media incited additional public outrage by labeling Leopold and Loeb “perverts,” a then widely used euphemism that in this instance gave the public reason to fear that the two boys were not just murderers, but also pedophiles, pornographers, and homosexuals. As the courtroom proceedings unfolded, however, defense attorney Darrow and his expert psychiatrists offered a different and potentially far more unsettling theory to explain why Leopold and Loeb had behaved the way they did. Drawing upon theories of psychoanalysis and child development that had yet to become widely accepted, they recast the defendants as ordinary American youths whose immature crime was the product of inattentive parenting and unresolved childhood insecurities. Such was the effectiveness of the defense strategy that many parents, earlier frightened only that their son or daughter might become another Robert Franks, grew increasingly concerned that their child might become the next Leopold or Loeb, even as they persisted in their demands that the pair receive death sentences for their crime. In the end, Judge John R. Caverly, acknowledging the young ages of the defendants, spared their lives and sentenced them instead to life plus ninety-nine years in prison.

The lives of Leopold and Loeb continued to captivate the public's attention and remained an important part of American popular culture throughout the twentieth century. The national media kept close track of the pair's activities in prison, including Loeb's own murder at the hands of another inmate in 1936 and Leopold's efforts to win parole in the mid-1950s. Fictional accounts of the case, such as Alfred Hitchcock's 1948 film *Rope*, also served to sustain the public's curiosity in the pair by explaining their crime in a manner that addressed the needs and concerns of contemporary Americans. The most influential of these fictional accounts was novelist Meyer Levin's *Compulsion*. Published in 1956 and remade into a Broadway play and then a motion picture in 1959, Levin's novel resonated with readers for its probing examination of the psychological and sexual motives behind Leopold and Loeb's friendship and criminal activities. Director Tom Kalin's 1992 movie, *Swoon*, similarly recast the story of Leopold and Loeb to suit changing times by examining the pair's likely homosexual bonds.

Late in life Leopold struggled to regain control over his public image. As part of his successful efforts to win parole, he completed his autobiography, *Life Plus 99 Years*, in 1958. Shortly after his release from prison in 1959, Leopold filed suit against Meyer Levin for misrepresentation and invasion of privacy. The suit was not resolved until 1970, when the Illinois Supreme Court decided that Levin's account of Leopold's life was not misleading and that the latter's status as a public figure denied him the right to privacy. Following parole, Leopold moved to Puerto Rico where he married, conducted research, and died in 1971.

—Scott A. Newman

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## *Les Miserables*

Billed as "the world's most popular musical," *Les Miserables* has been translated into numerous languages and has been performed in theaters all over the world. With music by Claude-Michel Schoenberg, book by Schoenberg and Alain Boublil, and lyrics by Herbert Kretzmer, adapted by Boublil and Jean-Marc Natel, the musical began life in 1980 in a Paris sports arena. In 1985, Cameron Mackintosh took over as producer in collaboration with London's Royal Shakespeare Company, thus beginning *Les Miserables*' legacy as one of the most significant musical theater works of the late twentieth century.

Based on Victor Hugo's somber and sprawling novel, the musical *Les Miserables* brings to the stage the tale of Jean Valjean, a man who is determined to survive and to do good in the face of vengeful persecution. Freed from prison after serving hard labor for

stealing a loaf of bread, Valjean initially reverts to his old ways, stealing from a Bishop who has tried to help him. But when the Bishop protects him from the law, Valjean decides to reform his ways, eventually becoming a successful factory owner. Valjean befriends one of his factory workers—a young woman named Fantine, who has been forced into prostitution to support her young daughter. After Fantine dies of tuberculosis, Valjean rescues her daughter Cosette from the money-hungry Thenardiers, with whom she has been living, and raises her as his own. Pursued by the sinister police inspector Javert, Valjean and Cosette eventually end up in Paris on the eve of the 1832 Student Uprising where Cosette meets Marius, a young student, and the young couple falls in love. To complicate matters even further, Eponine, the Thenardiers' daughter, is also in love with Marius. Eponine dies in the assault on the students' barricade, along with many of the young idealists. Marius is seriously injured and Valjean carries him to safety where he leaves him for Cosette and disappears. In an effort to stop the wedding of Cosette and Marius, the Thenardiers attempt to blackmail Marius by allegedly exposing the truth about Cosette's father, whom they say is a murderer. As a result of this malevolence, Marius learns that it was Valjean who saved him. Cosette and Marius seek out the dying Valjean and they find him moments before he is welcomed into the afterlife by Fantine, Eponine, and the chorus of students.

Many aspects of Hugo's novel provide the story with its universal appeal. Valjean represents the inherent good in every person, while Javert symbolizes the opposite. A single act of mercy on the part of a Bishop caused Valjean to radically alter his ways. The sacrificial deaths of Fantine, Eponine, and the students are among the most emotional moments in the show, without which Valjean's noble death at the end of the show would not have its dramatic impact. Taken as a whole, *Les Miserables* demonstrates the best and worst of humanity. In addition to the general theme of redemption, the show is filled with various subplots, each of which offers a moral lesson to the audience.

Schoenberg's music for *Les Miserables* is rich and romantic. Recurring melodies are used to enhance developments in the dramatic plot. For example, Valjean and Javert share much of the same music, thus demonstrating that they represent two sides of the same human condition. Among the most impressive songs in *Les Miserables* are Fantine's "I Dreamed a Dream," the inspiring choral number "Do You Hear the People Sing?" Eponine's "On My Own," Valjean's prayer for Marius "Bring Him Home," and Marius's grief-filled "Empty Chairs at Empty Tables."

John Napier's incredible sets add to the dramatic quality of the show. The barricade, the two parts of which are joined on stage to highly dramatic music, is an integral component of the show. The standard set with the rotating center unit allows for the innovative staging for which the musical is known.

*Les Miserables* opened in 1985 at the Royal Shakespeare Company's Barbican Theatre in London. It quickly transferred to the Palace Theatre in London's West End. The original London production starred Colm Wilkinson, Alun Armstrong, and Patti LuPone. The New York production opened in 1987, and featured Wilkinson, Terrence Mann, Frances Ruffelle, and Judy Kuhn. *Les Miserables* has since been produced worldwide and has been translated into many different languages.

Numerous recordings of the show exist. Among them are the original cast recordings from both London and New York and the complete symphonic recording (1988), featuring Gary Morris as Valjean performing with an international cast. The historic tenth



The cast of *Les Misérables* as seen at the Imperial Theatre in New York, 1992.

anniversary concert from London's Royal Albert Hall has been released on both CD and video.

—William A. Everett

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## Lesbianism

Romantic, sexual, and emotional attachment between women was named lesbianism after the island of Lesbos, home of Sappho, a Greek poet of the seventh century. Sappho wrote eloquently of her complex passion for her women lovers, and her ancient verses demonstrate the long tradition behind the lesbians of today. Lesbians come from every nation, ethnic group, and economic class. Though many may feel little sense of community with other lesbians, they are

united by, if nothing else, their attraction to women and the stigmatization of that attraction by many modern societies.

Because of that stigmatization, many lesbians conceal their sexual identities, making an accurate count of their number difficult, but estimates range from six to ten percent of women. In the early 1990s, one study placed the number of lesbians in the United States at six to thirteen million. Women recognize themselves as lesbians in a wide variety of ways. Some may feel from early childhood that they are "different," and some of these may act on their attraction to other girls while still quite young. Others may be aware of such attractions at an early age, but not act on them until much later. Girls who exhibit tomboyish traits may be labeled as lesbians and ridiculed by parents or peers for their difference. Some women may not "come out" until middle age, after long-term relationships with men. Still others may feel a clear attraction for women but never act on it, because of social pressure or isolation.

Lesbians have often been conflicted about what to call themselves, and which term one chooses can be meaningful. Some call themselves gay women, though many consider this a conservative term, and argue that "gay" was invented to describe homosexual men. Many more radical lesbians refer to themselves as dykes, reclaiming an anti-lesbian epithet. Black lesbians were sometimes contemptuously called bulldaggers, and that term has been reclaimed

as well by black lesbians like writer Diane Bogus, who argued that the name originated with the Amazon queen Bodicea. Among themselves, lesbians worked out code references to announce their identity. In one of these codes, one was a "friend of Dorothy" if she was known to have sex with other women.

Women have traditionally been somewhat invisible in patriarchal society, and one or two women living without men has tended to arouse condescension or pity rather than the suspicion of homosexuality. Therefore, lesbians who were financially independent of men have historically been able to live together with relative ease. These relationships, sometimes called "Boston marriages," were socially tolerated. Choices for working class and poor women were more limited, but some lesbians found a solution by passing as men, so that they could marry other women openly.

In the early-twentieth-century United States, where homosexuality was considered a vice by straight society and was beginning to be considered a mental illness as well, urban lesbians continued to find each other as best they could in back street bars and private social clubs. Lesbian and gay visibility got an enormous boost during World War II, as gays poured out of rural and small-town America to join the military or work in the defense industry. Many did not return home, but settled in urban centers like New York, San Francisco, and Chicago, where they established underground communities which revolved around gay clubs, bars, and, for women, sports teams.

In the bars and on the softball teams, lesbians began to develop their own subculture. A large part of this culture involved butch and femme, lesbian roles that appeared to be based on traditional definitions of masculine and feminine behavior, but were deeply lesbian in their evolution. A butch, for example, probably dressed in traditionally male clothes, down to the underwear, and might wear her hair combed in a duck-tail, while a femme might wear the same make-up and high heels as a heterosexual woman. But the butch woman's attire, while giving her a certain status within the lesbian community, made her extremely visible and vulnerable walking down the street, where she might be attacked and beaten or raped. Therefore, it was often the femmes who served a protective function in the straight world, where they would be perceived as "normal." In the 1940s and 1950s, lesbians pressured each other to assume either the butch or femme role. Those who did not identify either way were called "kiki" or "sooners" ("just as soon be one as the other") with some derision.

The women's liberation and gay liberation movements of the 1970s brought revolutionary change to lesbianism. Lesbians were in the forefront of women's liberation, and, inspired by the exciting new ideas of feminism, some women who thought of themselves as straight began to question their need to form relationships with men. Women who had never before considered the possibility now began to wonder if they might be lesbians. These new "political lesbians" came out by the thousands and began to demand acceptance from both gay men and straight feminists. They also began to build a visible "women's culture," separate from the bars (though always including the softball teams). Lesbian journals, bookstores, and coffeeshouses became places to discuss the endless ramifications of lesbian politics. Lesbian musicians recorded on lesbian music labels and played at women's music festivals across the country.

Many lesbians were swept up in a kind of euphoric idealism by this new openness, but because of the diversity of the lesbian population, conflict inevitably arose. The new young feminist lesbians alienated many of the older lesbians by criticizing their butch-femme roles. Among the feminists themselves, unacknowledged

differences of race, class, and ethnicity led to bitter divisions. Lesbians who wanted to create a woman-only space and focus on lesbian issues alone fought with those who wanted to continue to work with gay men or heterosexual feminists. Lesbians who preferred the safety of the closet disliked the blatant visibility of the political lesbians, since it drew attention to their existence. It was this visibility, however, that was perhaps the biggest contribution of the 1970s lesbians. Young feminist lesbians, while eschewing the butch-femme drag of earlier generations, wore the uniform of the androgynous political dyke, blue jeans, flannel shirt, work boots, and short hair cut. Utilitarian and counterculture, this manner of dress also allowed lesbians to recognize each other with ease. "Any lesbian whose hair is more than a half inch long," wrote lesbian musician Alix Dobkin in the second issue of *Dyke* magazine, "is trying to pass for straight."

The work done by the butch and femme bar dykes and the lesbian feminists bore fruit in the 1980s and 1990s. While lesbians of the 1970s had worked hard to be taken seriously within the feminist and other progressive movements, the lesbians of the hedonistic 1980s were more focused on making lesbianism fun. Even the serious political groups were aggressively irreverent. "We Recruit" was the tongue-in-cheek motto of the Lesbian Avengers, a radical group that arose in New York in the mid-1980's and quickly spread across the nation.

Another development that shook the lesbian community in the 1980s was the rise of sado/masochism (s/m). Not uncommon in the gay male community, s/m was almost totally unacknowledged among lesbians until the mid-1980s. Then, s/m lesbians, calling themselves sexual radicals, began to speak out publicly, calling many lesbian feminists puritanical and repressive. They claimed the right to define their own sexuality, even if it included pornography, casual sex, and butch/femme roles. The s/m, or leather dykes, began to reclaim the butch/femme roles that the feminists had disparaged, proclaiming them an integral part of lesbian sexuality.

The look of young lesbians of the 1980s was heavily influenced by the outrageous hair and clothes of the punks, and lesbian style, with its piercings, spiky hair, and tattoos, was in turn widely imitated by young heterosexual women. This, coupled with the new visibility of lesbian celebrities like musicians k.d. lang and Melissa Etheridge, began to bring lesbianism to the attention of the national media. Captivated by the tough, hip image of "grrl power," establishment organs like *Time* magazine and television's *Prime Time* began to explore the new phenomenon of "lesbian chic." From being invisible, lesbians had become trendsetters. Many lesbians were disgusted with their "discovery" by the press and found the courtship of the media to be opportunistic and artificial. A popular sticker that began to appear at gay events read, "Lesbianism: A Movement, not a Market."

In the late 1980s and 1990s, a new movement of "queer power" began to break down the barriers among different sexual minorities. Bisexuals and transgendered people demanded acceptance within the lesbian and gay communities as well as in the straight world. For lesbians this meant that several new groups began to consider themselves members of the lesbian community. Bisexuals and transgendered people, both men and women, claim that they are a part of the definition of lesbianism too. Though many lesbians, especially those who came of age before the 1980s, resist these broadening categories, there is no doubt that the "queer" movement has added depth and complexity to questions of sexual identity.

Though some lesbians are childless, by choice or necessity, many are mothers. Lesbians who have children from previous marriages with men often worry about losing custody if their sexuality



becomes known, and activist groups have organized around the country to fight for the rights of lesbian mothers. Lesbians who want to conceive children without intercourse with a man use alternative insemination. In the 1970s, many lesbians made informal arrangements with sympathetic gay men to obtain sperm with which they inseminated themselves, resulting in a “baby boom” of so-called “turkey baster babies.” The AIDS epidemic which devastated the gay male community in the 1980s drastically curtailed these informal and inexpensive arrangements, forcing lesbians to the far more costly sperm banks to obtain “safe” sperm. Other lesbians have turned to adoption, another expensive option. These women often adopt disadvantaged or foreign children, since many states make it difficult for non-traditional families to adopt. The large number of unwanted girls in China has led to a “boomlet” of lesbians adopting Chinese babies in the 1990s, and large cities often boast support groups for lesbian mothers and their Chinese daughters.

Though usually hidden, lesbian influence has been felt throughout American history. Whether it is writers like Willa Cather, performers like Bessie Smith, activists like Angela Davis, or athletes like Martina Navratilova, lesbians have been an integral part of the fabric of American society. Behind the scenes, lesbians have often been at the forefront of movements for societal change and improvement, from the fight for women’s suffrage to AIDS activism. Because lesbians are not motivated by male preferences to the degree that heterosexual women are, lesbians have often taken the lead in confronting the damaging unfairness of conventional standards of beauty. The concepts of fat oppression and “looksism” were hotly discussed within the lesbian community long before they reached the talk-show circuit. This work, while begun in the iconoclastic 1970s, still continues. A popular T-shirt marketed by a young lesbian in the late 1990s declaims, “Fuck Your Fascist Beauty Standards.”

Lesbians have also spearheaded reforms in the fields of psychiatry and mental health. Since any deviation from their prescribed societal role often landed women in mental hospitals, many lesbians were forcibly committed and subjected to various brutal “cures.” Beginning in the 1960s and continuing to the present many lesbians have fought against abuses of lesbians and gays by the mental health system. Many lesbians have become therapists themselves in an effort to create an alternative mental health system that is more responsive to the needs of the disenfranchised.

Lesbian culture too has permeated American life. Lillith Fair, the popular concert tour, has its roots in the women’s music festivals that sprang up across the country as lesbianism gathered its strength in the 1970s. And the “grrl power” of the 1980s continues to empower young women through the dangerous process of coming of age in a male-dominated society. 1990s films like *Bound*, *Chasing Amy*, and *The True Life Adventures of Two Girls in Love*, have placed lesbians in the center of mainstream entertainment. Lesbians have also found their way onto television, if only as peripheral characters, and, in the late 1990’s comic Ellen DeGeneres made a historical connection by coming out as a lesbian both in real life and on her sit-com, *Ellen*. The fact that her series was cancelled only a few episodes after a coming-out episode that broke ratings records points to the slowness of true public acceptance.

In the 1970s, lesbians began to redefine lesbianism. It was not merely sexual attraction between women, they argued, it was living a woman-centered life, where women and girls could take themselves seriously apart from their relation to men. It is perhaps this shift in the

world view of women and girls that is lesbianism’s greatest contribution to American culture.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*

A photographic essay published as a Houghton Mifflin book in 1941, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* was a collaborative project by writer James Agee (1909-1955) and photographer Walker Evans (1903-1976), who were sent by *Fortune* magazine to document the lives of southern tenant farmers. While the book originated as one of many similar projects within the 1930s documentary tradition, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* has come to be seen as an enduring work of philosophy, cultural history, and autobiography, as well as being an acknowledged American literary classic.

In April of 1936, *Fortune* magazine, one of the most liberal magazines during the 1930s, asked Agee to contribute an article to its “Life and Circumstances” series about poor and lower-middle-class Americans. Agee was asked to write on the lives of white southern tenant-farm families and to include a photographic essay with his report. Agee requested Walker Evans, a staff photographer for the Farm Security Administration, to accompany him to Alabama, and the government and *Fortune* magazine’s parent company, Time, Inc. reached an agreement whereby Evans’s work would become government property. Agee and Evans traveled the rural South and lived with three families in July and August of 1936. Agee eventually produced an article deemed unacceptable by *Fortune*, not only because of its length—it was ten times longer than assigned—but because its substance and tone did not comply with *Fortune*’s optimistic and sometimes paternalistic stance. After a year of attempted editing, *Fortune* released the article to Agee, who received a contract from Harper and Brothers to expand the work into a book-length manuscript. When Agee submitted the work in 1939, Harper and Brothers refused to publish the work without substantial revisions that the author was unwilling to make. Eventually, Agee received a contract with Houghton Mifflin, who published the book in September of 1941, an inopportune time for a book on a domestic issue since the nation’s attention was focused on the accelerating war in Europe and Asia.

The book itself did not fit into any accepted category of literature, nor did it compare with documentary photo essays which had been popular in the 1930s, such as Margaret Bourke-White and Erskine Caldwell’s *You Have Seen Their Faces* (1937) and Dorothea

Lange and Paul Taylor's *An American Exodus* (1939). *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* is, at heart, an attack on the documentary tradition of the Great Depression. William Stott's *Documentary Expression and Thirties America* and Michael Staub's *Voices of Persuasion: Politics of Representation in 1930s America* both describe the manner in which Agee and Evans's work defied the prevailing trends. As Staub pointed out: "Agee's text repeatedly and obsessively undermined its author's authority to write the very text we read, rejecting therefore one of the era's most valued documentary conventions." That convention, according to Stott, was that "experience per se became a good." Agee agonized over his ability to truthfully represent the lives of the three families he and Evans lived with, and he feared their feelings about and reactions to the intrusion he had imposed on their lives. "It is not going to be easy to look into their eyes," he wrote, as he contemplated the exacting and detailed description of the Gudger family home he had just written. Agee realized that his intentions, however noble, were far outside the realm of the Gudgers' everyday, or even occasional, experience. This gap between subject and writer faced Agee like a dark abyss as he desperately tried to build a bridge across it. It is this bridge, or at least the attempt to build it, that makes *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* different than other documentary works, and that led to the cold reception it received upon its publication. Since the 1960s, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* has grown in estimation among an academic audience that has become more sensitive to the ideas and implications of representation.

—Charles J. Shindo

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## Let's Pretend

From the 1930s to the mid-1950s, *Let's Pretend* was one of the most enduring and highly lauded radio programs for children ever broadcast. For over two decades of Saturday mornings (apart from a few years in a bi-weekly, early evening slot during the 1938-39 season), the show presented familiar fairy tales such as "Cinderella," "Rumpelstiltskin," "Sleeping Beauty," "The Little Lame Prince," and "Jack and the Beanstalk," along with the occasional original story, in fully-dramatized half-hour segments featuring a large cast of new and seasoned radio performers, accompanied by specially composed musical scores. In the pre- and early-TV era, these imaginative-ly produced shows nurtured the imaginations of countless American youngsters with a simple but potent fusion of spoken word, music, and sound effects, which in tandem evoked many a magical image in the collective mind of generations as yet unsullied by the literal visualizations of television.

*Let's Pretend* was originally (and rather generically) titled *The Adventures of Helen and Mary* when it was first heard on CBS in September of 1929, the creation of Yolanda Langworthy. In 1934 the title changed to *The Land of Let's Pretend* (and later, simply *Let's Pretend*) and the show became the province of Nila Mack, a vaudeville and Broadway actress who had also performed with the Alla Nazimova troupe, and who developed the show's concept to its full potential. Mack wrote the program, adapting her scripts from sources ranging from Hans Christian Andersen and the Brothers Grimm to the Arabian Nights, while also creating original tales (including an annual Christmas show).

She also directed the weekly productions, which often included promising child stars, many of whom went on to further success in broadcasting, theater, and movies. Additionally, the casts regularly included adult performers, some of whom had grown up on the show to become "steadies," remaining with *Pretend* until its last broadcasts in the mid-1950s. Performed before a live studio audience of mostly children in CBS's Radio Playhouse 3 in New York City, the show was hosted first by Harry Swan, and later by "Uncle" Bill Adams, who remained with the show until it went off the air.

The weekly format included a musical opening, after which Uncle Bill and cast members decided on some magical mode of transportation to the Land of Let's Pretend. This ritual journey, abetted immeasurably by the assistance of the studio's versatile sound effects man, set the stage for a different tale of fantasy each week.

Though *Let's Pretend* was consistently popular and won many prestigious media awards in its day, its commercial exploitation seems quite mild by today's standards, being limited mostly to a few storybooks and some children's record albums on Columbia. Thus, few collectible artifacts survive to mark the existence of one of radio's most popular shows for young people.

The esteem with which CBS held Mack's award-winning show was exemplified by the fact that, for the first several years of its broadcast, the network chose to carry the show without a commercial sponsor, until, in 1943, Cream of Wheat became the first and only product to garner that honor. The hot cereal also inspired what may have been among the first, and certainly one of the most memorable examples (at least to a generation of radio-bred children), of the singing commercial. Regular listeners to the show probably still remember the infectious jingle's first few lines:

Cream of Wheat is so good to eat, Yes, we have it every day.

We sing this song, it will make us strong, And it makes us shout hooray!

Nila Mack died in January of 1953, and Johanna Johnston wrote the final episodes of *Let's Pretend*. The last broadcast of one of the most imaginative and well-loved shows of a kinder, gentler era in children's media entertainment was heard on October 23, 1954.

—Ross Care

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## Letterman, David (1947—)

From 1980 onwards, television talk show host David Letterman has entertained viewers with his wry observational humor, zany antics, and refusal to kowtow to celebrities on his late night program. First aired on NBC, *The David Letterman Show* evolved into *Late Night with David Letterman* from 1982 to 1993, then moved to CBS and became *The Late Show with David Letterman*. Throughout the changes, Letterman maintained his reputation as one of the most innovative personalities on television, bringing to the well-rehearsed business a playful spontaneity. His uncanny ability for ad-libbing, as well as his propensity for undertaking creative stunts, has kept the show perennially fresh. What makes the show truly a leader, though, is its postmodern approach to the medium, characterized chiefly by Letterman's talent for zoning in on commonly accepted but nevertheless ridiculous aspects of society and culture (such as the concept of canned ham), and for targeting cultural icons. Though many are disturbed by his notorious penchant for condescension and put-downs during celebrity interviews, Letterman is recognized as a dynamic host due to his insistence that guests work for their spot on his stage.

David Letterman was born in Indianapolis, Indiana, on April 12, 1947. His father, Joseph, was a florist, and his mother, Dorothy, served as a church secretary. Letterman, who has one older and one younger sister, has described his upbringing as typical lower middle-class. He played Little League baseball, ran track in high school, held a paper route, and bagged groceries at a local supermarket in his teens. A rambunctious youth who made mediocre grades, Letterman was



David Letterman

nevertheless ambitious. From an early age he aspired to become a broadcaster, despite his parents' wishes that he pursue a more practical profession. He adored television—perhaps because his parents kept a tight control over their children's viewing—enjoyed *The Arthur Godfrey Show* and idolized talk show host Johnny Carson.

After high school, Letterman attended Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana, which is known for its outstanding communications program. While still in college, he found a summer job as a replacement announcer at a local television station and eventually became an announcer and weekend weatherman at the ABC-TV affiliate in Indianapolis. There, he began trying out some of his humor on the air, and realized that he wanted to become a comedy writer. After graduating from Ball State in 1969, the station where he had worked summers hired him full-time to announce the weather and host an occasional children's program or late-night movie. Here, he continued cultivating his quirky sense of humor, describing hail the size of canned hams and reporting on weather conditions in fictional locales. He went on to host a radio talk show at the Indianapolis station WNTS, but quickly tired of nitwit callers and took a full-time job as host of *Clover Power*, a show about children's agriculture projects, which he later admitted centered on poking fun at the young guests. He also began sending unsolicited scripts to the *Mary Tyler Moore* show on a regular basis, hoping that someone would discover his talents. Finally, his wife, Michelle Cook (they divorced in 1977), insisted they move to Los Angeles so that he could devote himself fully to pursuing his chosen career.

In 1975 Letterman arrived in Los Angeles and began performing in stand-up comedy clubs in order to get his name noticed. He cites *Tonight Show* host Jay Leno, then also a club circuit regular, as being one of his greatest influences at the time. Letterman became popular in the clubs and eventually landed a job as a comedy writer. In 1978, *The Tonight Show* invited Letterman to appear, a major step in any entertainer's career. At the end of his routine, Johnny Carson invited him to sit and chat with other guests—an honor seldom bestowed on a first-time performer. After just three more appearances, Letterman began filling in for Carson, acting as guest host on over 20 occasions during 1979. Observers mused that Letterman could be in the running to take over as permanent host when Carson retired, a possibility that had been one of Letterman's lifelong dreams.

Meanwhile, NBC signed Letterman to a contract in 1980 and gave him a daytime talk show, *The David Letterman Show*, which proved the prototype for his later format. The show, intended to cover subjects like household tips and cooking demonstrations, was not a ratings hit and was soon canceled. In their remaining time on the air, Letterman and Merrill Markoe, who was his female companion for ten years and provided much of his material, began developing the irreverent humor that would become his trademark. At one point, a herd of sheep was let loose in the studio; sometimes the host took a camera and strolled around the city looking for funny sights, on one occasion visiting a number of establishments that all displayed signs boasting that they had the world's best coffee. During this time, Letterman introduced *Stupid Pet Tricks*, featuring average people and their performing animals. Critics loved the novel format, and the doomed series quickly built a small but loyal audience, eventually leading the network to offer him the late-night time slot of 12:30 a.m. to 1:30 a.m. Eastern Standard Time.

*Late Night with David Letterman* first aired on February 1, 1982, broadcasting from the NBC studios in New York City. In addition to the variety-show antics from the daytime show, Letterman added elements of a more traditional talk show format, including an opening

monologue, chit-chat with his bandleader, Paul Schaffer, and interviews with celebrity guests. However, the show maintained a rough-around-the-edges atmosphere, setting it apart from the slick, showbiz image of other programs. None of the spots escaped the host's offbeat approach, which teemed with a sense of wonderment at much of what the rest of society takes for granted, from the ubiquitous canned ham to a duo of recent immigrants selling New York souvenirs out of their Manhattan shop. Indeed, it became a Letterman trademark to draw regular people onto the program, putting them in the spotlight for a few seconds or even presenting them as recurring "characters." One such was Meg Parsont, a good-natured woman whose office at Simon & Schuster was across from his own. One night Letterman phoned the surprised publishing employee from the program, and enjoyed talking to her so much that he made her a recurring feature. But perhaps one of the show's funniest, most well-known, and most enduring segments is the Top Ten list, a popular routine that takes a topic, "the top ten nicknames cabbies give passengers" for example, and provides silly punch lines.

Letterman, who appears never to have lost a youthful enthusiasm and sense of excitement, often creates onscreen situations more or less just to see what will happen. Some of his signature events included donning a suit made of Velcro and flying off a trampoline toward a Velcro wall, wearing a suit covered in Alka-Seltzer tablets and diving into a tank of water, and covering himself with tortilla chips and immersing himself in yogurt dip. Other sight gags included inserting various objects like a can of pork and beans into a powerful hydraulic press. He has often brought the show's behind-the-scenes crew in front of the camera: he had stage manager Biff Henderson drive "The Golf Cart of Death" through pyramids of everyday objects, including a tower of plastic champagne glasses, and his obvious glee shone through during the numerous slow-motion replays he ordered throughout the night's broadcast. Audiences caught his infectious sense of fun and sent the show to the top of its ratings slot within a few years of its debut.

However, not everyone was enamored of Letterman's mischievous ways. To his detractors, some of his more lunatic antics are puerile and unfunny, and he appeared ill at ease hosting the 1995 Oscar ceremony where, in the opinion of many, his particular humor was out of synch with the occasion. More seriously, he quickly developed a reputation as a difficult host. Prone to openly insulting his top-name guests, he has insisted he is not mean-spirited and his wisecracks often slip out spontaneously and without malice aforethought, but many stars have taken great offense and have refused to appear on the program. Others, however, appreciate that he can equally be self-deprecating, and take his barbs in stride.

Rather than sidestepping tough questions and gushing over a person's accomplishments, Letterman has often put people on the spot. He once opened an interview with boxing promoter Don King by asking about his outrageous hairstyle, and he questioned the world's smartest woman, Marilyn Vos Savant, about why she was not doing something "important" with her life. He also scored a ratings coup when he got actor Hugh Grant to appear on the show after he was arrested for his much-publicized tryst with a prostitute. In addition, he has managed to get celebrities to reveal a down-to-earth side unusual on competing programs that tend to emphasize glamour. Letterman goaded Teri Garr, for example, into taking a shower during the program, and filmed Mariel Hemingway cleaning fish. Though many guests were good sports, others were known to leave the program in tears. Some, such as Cher, would agree to appear, but then go on the

offensive, which made matters worse and could inspire months of subsequent on-air ribbing from the slighted host.

Despite his stormy relationship with certain celebrities, Letterman's iconoclastic style was a hit with viewers appreciative of his ironic take on the television genre and the commercialism of contemporary society. His talent for taking ordinary cultural elements and pointing out their inherently funny nature was a refreshing change from prefabricated formula jokes, and brought him a heap of Emmy nominations and awards. Much to his dismay, Letterman's goal of taking over *The Tonight Show* was quashed when it was announced in 1992 that the position would go to comedian Jay Leno. Soon, rival network CBS enticed Letterman with a generous salary. After some insider dealings, NBC finally offered Letterman the coveted position, but with a number of stipulations and with a less attractive pay package than CBS had offered. Letterman ended up leaving NBC in 1993 and starting up *The Late Show with David Letterman* as a head-to-head competitor against Jay Leno and *The Tonight Show* in the 11:30 p.m. Eastern Standard Time slot. In spite of legal haggling with NBC over "intellectual property," the program carried over its same goofy personality and most of the old stalwart gags, such as the Top Ten list and the pet tricks, and was still going strong at the end of the 1990s.

—Geri Speace

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## Levin, Meyer (1905-1981)

Jewish-American novelist, journalist, and filmmaker Meyer Levin contributed several books to the proletarian social fiction movement of the 1930s and early 1940s. His two best known literary works are the Chicago-based novels *The Old Bunch* (1937), about the Jewish Ghetto and *Citizens* (1940), which dealt with the killing of ten steel-mill strikers on Memorial Day in 1937. The latter earned him the praise of Ernest Hemingway who proclaimed it "a fine and exciting American novel." In his proletarian fiction, Levin eliminated the notion of the central character and adopted multiple viewpoints, holding that such a device was in itself an affirmation of democracy and allowed him to carry out a more complete social analysis. After the Second World War he directed the first full-scale feature film to be produced in Palestine—*My Father's House* (1947)—before going to Europe, where he filmed the underground Jewish exodus to Israel. In 1957, he published *Compulsion* (1957), one of the first examples of a

“nonfiction novel” based on the Leopold-Loeb murder case, which inspired the homonymous movie starring Orson Welles.

—Luca Prono

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## Levi's

Levi's is the registered trademark of a kind of blue denim jeans made by Levi Strauss & Company of San Francisco. Other garments and accessories made by Levi Strauss, such as tailored slacks, jackets, hats, shirts, skirts, and belts, are sometimes also referred to as “Levi's,” but the trademark is properly applied only to the line of jeans with the designated style number “501” and distinguished by



A pair of old Levi's jeans.

the following unique features: a fly of metal buttons rather than a zipper, copper rivets on the pocket seams, a leather label sewn on the waistband, a stitched pattern of a double “v” on the back pockets, a red tag with the word “Levi's” sewn into the seam of the right back pocket, and the use of heavyweight cotton denim that will “shrink-to-fit” an inch or so at the waist and legs with the first laundering. After nearly 100 years of steady, though unremarkable, sales—almost entirely wholesale, to cowboys and agricultural workers in the West—the popularity of Levi's flourished after World War II when they became the fashionable attire of middle-class teenagers, spurred by a new marketing thrust in which the company abandoned wholesaling in favor of manufacturing garments under its own name.

Levi Strauss & Company takes its name from Levi Strauss (1829-1902), a Bavarian who emigrated to San Francisco in 1850, at the height of the California Gold Rush. He brought a store of dry goods with him in hopes of setting up a business supplying miners and prospectors in the gold fields. Discovering that what these consumers needed above all was a durable pair of trousers, Strauss hired a tailor to design a serviceable pair of pants. The original garment was made of tent canvas, which was changed after a few years to the now world-famous blue denim. The trousers sold so well that Strauss concentrated on their manufacture to the exclusion of all other merchandise. In 1853, he formed a partnership with his brothers Jonas and Louis, and they ran the company until Levi Strauss's death in 1902, at which time the executive control of the firm passed to four nephews. In 1918, the Haas family—part of the Strauss family by marriage—took over. After World War II, at the same time they decided to promote Levi's to retail consumers, the Haases also made a public offering of Levi Strauss stock. During the company's explosive growth in the 1950s and 1960s, the stock's performance matched pace. Other types of pants—work, casual, and dress—were added to the inventory, as were jackets, shirts, and various items of women's clothing. By 1985, when the Haases and other members of the Strauss family staged a leveraged buyout and returned the company to private hands, Levi Strauss & Company had become the largest manufacturer of pants in the world. In February of 1999, the company announced that it was closing down its manufacturing operations in the United States and moving them overseas.

The success of Levi's signals, among other things, the first flexing of the huge economic muscle of the postwar Baby Boom. How Levi's became *the* brand of blue jeans to wear—the *sine qua non* of membership in the inner circle in every American high school and junior high—provides a case study in demographics and aggressive marketing. The Levi's story also reflects the shifting, after 1945, of America's cultural center of gravity to the West coast. The unchallenged supremacy of Levi's—in which the brand name has become virtually the generic name for the product—also reflects the penchant of bourgeois youth to adopt the attire and the mannerisms of lower social classes.

—Gerald Carpenter

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## Levittown

In 1946, developer William J. Levitt and his brother Alfred capitalized on the twin circumstances of enormous demand and unequalled opportunity of the post-World War II era by purchasing 1500 acres of potato fields in Nassau County, Long Island and then building 6,000 small, boxy houses there in little more than a year. By the time Levitt started building, America returned to a state of relative normalcy for the first time in over fifteen years. Although the end of the war produced a massive housing shortage, white working class Americans began to experience practically unprecedented levels of prosperity fueled, in large part, by comprehensive government programs designed to allay the social strife that many feared would accompany the war’s end. By 1948, Levitt named the new development for himself and offered what were originally rental units for sale. Potential buyers stood on long lines in hopes of an opportunity to land

a Levitt house of their very own. Within the next three years, over 15,000 homes were built and sold.

The white male soldiers who returned from Europe and the Pacific came back not to merely a warm welcome, but to a wide-ranging social program designed to lift them up from the dire economic circumstances so many experienced for so long during the 1930s. The G.I. Bill of Rights offered qualified vets job training, a paid year-long sabbatical, educational funds, and perhaps most importantly, the opportunity to buy their own inexpensive home even if they lacked savings. Many minorities were barred from enjoying these benefits due to housing discrimination, job and educational discrimination, and because 60 percent of African-American veterans were given dishonorable discharges from military service and were thus ineligible for benefits. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) also fueled the dual process of empowerment for the white working class, and the exclusion of minorities from suburban life by offering developers low-cost loans to build and encouragement to write restrictive racial covenants into the deeds of the new homes.

Using the same methods of mass production as were used to produce so many of the new “labor-saving” technological devices of the post-war period, Levitt’s small, two-bedroom, one-bath homes



An aerial view of Levittown.

turned out spare, plain, and box-like. The large kitchen “picture” window of the original homes, soon hailed as the central focus of suburban life, faced out to the front lawn, while the bedrooms and other more private areas were arranged toward the back. Eventually, Levitt built new plans that moved the living room to the back of the home. This layout encouraged women to greet one another during the day, while maintaining privacy for the nuclear family when the male breadwinner returned home at night. In this way, homeowners could keep some of the feeling of community that they remembered from their childhoods in the city. Children could play while their mothers watched. When dinner was finished (or when the oven bell clicked to signal that the “TV Dinners” were heated through and bubbling), mother could shout for her children to come in. The spaces for more intimate socializing, arguing, and the harsher 1950s-style discipline of children were designed for a new style of privacy previously unknown to working class urban dwellers.

Significantly, the homes had no basements, but were instead set down on concrete slab foundations, a technique Levitt borrowed from ancient Rome. While many had disdain for the technique (one older suburbanite declared simply: “Without a basement, it’s not a house!”), the method allowed for extremely rapid methods of construction: after the slabs were laid, crews with specific duties were dispatched to complete their work in assembly-line fashion, using pre-fabricated building materials. During one period, Levitt was starting and finishing approximately 150 houses a day.

In essence, a Levittown home was the first “easy-open, ready-to-use” home. Each home came complete with a washing machine and a television set at a time when these devices were still seen as wonders of technology available only to the upper middle classes. Now women who’d grown up in the poverty of New York City were free to explore new activities called “hobbies” which might include furniture refinishing, cake decorating, or playing “mahjong” with neighbors. Boys now played with real baseballs and bats on real playing fields instead of playing “stickball” on unsafe city streets. The first residents felt as though they’d entered paradise, and in many ways, they had. No longer would these former city dwellers be forced to live in the cramped, unhealthful conditions that characterize urban life in 20th century America. The Levittown experiment was certainly the most consequential, long-lasting, and just plain successful result of the G.I. Bill. And it wasn’t the last. Soon other inexpensive and federally subsidized new suburbs appeared in such places as Lakewood, California. Levitt himself followed up with new Levittowns in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

In the ensuing years, the new suburbanites truly knew the best of both worlds. Children drank clean, fluoridated water in Levittown, Long Island, and awoke in the mornings to the bright hues of sunflowers outside their bedroom windows. There was always someone to play with, and parents didn’t fear bad associations in the new suburb as they did in the city. Milk and bread were delivered fresh each morning to the side door of the home, so housewives weren’t stranded without vehicles. Men had shiny new tail-finned cars with which to drive into the city to work at prosperous factory, trade union, or white collar jobs. Real wages grew enormously during this time and everyone in the home soon had plenty of disposable income to spend on big ticket items such as “high-fidelity” equipment on which to play long-playing record albums, pricey bicycles for each child, and elaborate wardrobes for everyone in the family. In the new suburbs, status became very important: “keeping up with the Joneses” was a new catch phrase. If neighbor Jones had a new power mower, neighbor Smith now wanted one too.

The original community was not as ethnically homogenous as the more gentrified pre-war suburbs; the new residents were freed from the restrictions of “an all-inclusive nature” that prohibited Jews and other white ethnics from purchasing suburban homes in the pre-war period. Levitt himself was Jewish and clearly saw no reason to bar Jewish and Catholic vets from a chance at this new American Dream. With encouragement from the FHA, he did find plenty of reasons to maintain the restrictions barring African-Americans and people of Puerto-Rican origin from buying a home in Levittown. The deed to each of the original Long Island homes included a covenant barring such families from ever buying the home. If an owner later decided to sell his home to a “Negro family,” that owner could be sued by his neighbors. This was all perfectly legal until 1948 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled such covenants unconstitutional. Levitt fought the Court’s ruling for years afterward, culminating in a titanic battle in the late 1950s. Levitt held a press conference in New Jersey, insisting that his new Levittown there would be restricted to whites only. He claimed, perversely, that he did this for the benefit of minorities who had been harassed in Levittown, Pennsylvania. Levitt finally had to back down and make provisions for minorities to buy into New Jersey’s Levittown, but no new laws specifically criminalized racial covenants until the Fair Housing Act of 1968. Many houses retained such covenants for decades, and a few deeds still had them in the late 1990s.

As the new housing developments were in the process of rapid construction, the building of highways, expressways, and freeways boomed. Most of the existing interstate highway infrastructure was built after World War II and prior to 1971. This boom in construction, with its attendant “urban renewal” facilitated the movement of urbanites out of the working class and poor neighborhoods in which they’d grown up. Many apartment buildings were simply bulldozed to make way for the new transport corridors. Those left behind, the minorities who were not permitted entrance in the new suburbs were left with urban environments that were decimated by the construction of roads leading out of the cities and into the countryside. In an effort to house these displaced persons, the federal government financed crowded public housing facilities that soon fell into states of disrepair. These districts were then “red-lined” by banks as poor risks for home and business loans. Cities now became tolerable places to work and inhospitable or downright uninhabitable places in which to live.

At the same time, life in the suburbs flourished. Veterans not only took advantage of the new educational opportunities for themselves, but made sure that quality new schools were built in the new suburbs for their children, who would come to be known as “baby boomers” because so many of them were conceived between 1946 and 1964. The baby boom reached its peak in 1957, just before Levitt built Levittown, New Jersey.

The homes in the newer phases of Levittown, Long Island, and in the new Levittowns were considerably more spacious and carefully designed than the original boxy “capes.” Family and social life moved almost completely toward the back of the home and the “picture window” moved along with it. Neighbors now spent less time “coffee-Klatching” in the kitchen and more time on organized, more privatized socializing in the backyard and in the new “family rooms” of the homes. The original Levittown homes were also changed and expanded by their owners, and came to resemble the newer models. The seemingly limitless creativity of the original and new “Levittowners” gave the lie to the myth of suburban homogeneity so prevalent during the 1950s. Most of the original, simple

“Cape” style homes, built during the initial phase have been remodeled beyond all recognition; Levitt himself designed the houses with such extensive remodeling in mind. The attics were large and fit for habitation once “finished” and many homeowners quickly added “dormers” which seemed to jut out from the roofs of the houses. Carports became garages and backyards were screened in. In the days before “homeowner’s associations,” houses were painted all manner of shades and hues. A man’s “little box,” as the homes were dubbed by a critical popular culture, was truly his castle. It is now difficult to find an “untouched” original Levittown “Cape,” although the Smithsonian Institution is said to be looking for one for their museum in Washington, D.C.

—Robin Markowitz

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## Lewinsky, Monica (1973—)

Monica Lewinsky has earned a permanent, unlooked for, and unwelcome place in the political history of the United States. Her naïve infatuation, at the age of 22, with American President William Jefferson Clinton, placed her at the center of a sordid White House sex scandal that dominated political news in 1998, plunged the American people into shock, confusion and disillusion, and culminated in the historic impeachment trial—only the second in American history—of the 42<sup>nd</sup> President.

The privileged daughter of affluent Beverly Hills parents (her doctor father and writer mother divorced when Monica was 13), she graduated with a psychology degree from Lewis and Clark College in May of 1995 and became an unpaid White House intern a month later. She met President Bill Clinton in November of 1995 and became an employee in the White House Office of Legislative Affairs in December 1995. When, at that time, the business of government was temporarily suspended, leaving the White House dependent on interns for routine errands, Monica Lewinsky had an encounter with the President which resulted in a covert sexual relationship. She was transferred out of the White House to work at the Pentagon, but she and Clinton remained in at least telephonic contact until shortly after the 1997 presidential election.

In late 1997, Lewinsky confided details of the affair to Pentagon co-worker Linda Tripp who had befriended her, but who secretly tape-recorded their incriminating conversations and passed them to the officers investigating the Paula Jones case. In early 1998, attorneys for Jones, the plaintiff in a sexual harassment suit against President Clinton, informed Lewinsky that she was on their witness



Monica Lewinsky

list. Lewinsky provided them with a sworn affidavit denying a sexual relationship with the President, but when the story of the affair, the Tripp tapes, and independent counsel Kenneth Starr’s expanded investigation into the matter became public on January 20, 1998, a political and media tumult exploded across America and the world.

Ms. Lewinsky’s legal jeopardy, based on her affidavit for the Jones attorneys, faded in July when her attorneys negotiated an immunity agreement with the independent counsel’s office. She was also ordered to turn over to Starr’s investigators a blue dress, notoriously bearing the stains of a sexual encounter with the President. On August 17, 1998, President Clinton, following four hours of videotaped testimony before a Federal grand jury, confessed to the world in a televised address that, contrary to his own earlier public denial, he had indeed had an “inappropriate relationship” with Ms. Lewinsky. A comprehensive report written by Kenneth Starr’s office and submitted to Congress and the American public gave intimate details of that relationship, each new revelation of which plunged the presidency into further disarray and disrepute, and visited successive humiliations on Ms. Lewinsky, who was secreted, ironically, in her Watergate apartment in between forays to face her own interrogation into the affair.

Charging the President with perjury before the grand jury and a pattern of obstruction of justice, on December 19, 1998 the U.S. House of Representatives passed articles of impeachment against him. The subsequent Senate trial was finally voted down on February 12, 1999, to the intense relief of Americans weary of the political circus. A chastened Clinton returned to the White House, his office tarnished but intact, while the British publishers of *Diana: Her True*



*Story* by Andrew Morton, negotiated a \$1.5 million contract with Ms. Lewinsky for Morton to write *her* story. On March 3, 1999, she gave an exclusive and searching in-depth interview to Barbara Walters for ABC Network television; on March 4, Britain's Channel 4 aired their exclusive interview, conducted rather less searchingly by Jon Snow, and hedged with legally imposed restrictions. She emerged, not as a depraved scarlet woman, but a pleasant 24-year-old, definitely sadder, possibly wiser; but it was evident that, for Monica Lewinsky, the consequences of her notorious love affair with the American president would resonate for some time to come.

—Philip L. Simpson

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## Lewis, C. S. (1898-1963)

C. S. Lewis's *Chronicles of Narnia*, published during the 1950s, are the most widely read Christian fairy tales of the twentieth century.



C. S. Lewis

Children devour them, not realizing, in most cases, that they are reading religious morality tales in the guise of pagan fantasy.

Clives Staples Lewis (called "Jack") was born November 29, 1898 in Belfast, Northern Ireland. His mother died when he was nine, devastating him and his brother Warren. As a child, Lewis was bookish and precocious, and enjoyed writing of an imaginary world of talking beasts called "Animal-Land." In adolescence, he became an atheist; his education at Oxford and experience in the trenches in World War I did little to change his philosophy.

Between 1925 and 1954, Lewis was Fellow of English Language and Literature at Magdalen College, Oxford. When he was in his early thirties, as a result of his father's death and his intellectual friendships at Oxford, Lewis's religious beliefs changed drastically and he became a Christian apologist. From then on, he devoted much of his time to writing literary works that might convince others of the merits of Christian thought.

*The Chronicles of Narnia*, a series of seven children's books, fall into this category. Lewis peopled his imaginary country with fantastic creatures (fauns, witches, centaurs) usually associated with paganism—but had the great lion Aslan, a Christ figure, rule them. The author described the Christian meanings of the series thus: the first book, *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe*, was about "the Crucifixion and Resurrection"; *Prince Caspian* dealt with the "restoration of the true religion after a corruption"; *The Voyage of the Dawn Treader*, "the spiritual life"; *The Silver Chair*, "the continuing war against the powers of darkness"; *The Horse and His Boy*, "the calling and conversion of the heathen"; *The Magician's Nephew*, "the Creation and how evil entered Narnia"; and *The Last Battle*, "the coming of Antichrist (the ape), the end of the world and the last judgment."

*The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe* is the best-known of the *Chronicles*. In the 1980s and 1990s, it was made into a feature-length cartoon and a live-action version for television. In the story, four children—Lucy, Edmund, Susan, and Peter—enter an old wardrobe and emerge in Narnia, a land caught in perpetual winter under the evil rule of the White Witch. Through the sinister influence of some magical Turkish Delight candy, Edmund betrays his brother and sisters; to save the boy, the great lion Aslan must sacrifice his life. Aslan is gloriously reborn through a "deeper magic," and seats the "sons of Adam and daughters of Eve" on four thrones at Cair Paravel. After many years of benevolent rule, the kings and queens of Narnia return through the wardrobe to find themselves children again.

Lewis insisted that the *Chronicles* were not Christian allegories, but "supposals." He explained the difference by saying that Aslan "is an invention giving an imaginary answer to the question 'what might Christ become like, if there really were a world like Narnia and He chose to be incarnate and die and rise again in THAT world as He actually has done in ours?' This is not an allegory at all. . . . Allegory and such supposals differ because they mix the real and the unreal in different ways."

The Narnia books were written, however, to familiarize people, especially children, with the Christian faith. Lewis said he was trying to get across "mere" Christianity, or "that which has been believed everywhere, always, by all": ecstatic love for the world. He said he wrote the stories to "set before our imagination something that has always baffled the intellect." They are not at all didactic—Lewis despised religious education as a child. He wanted to recreate the beauty and love he found in Christian stories, not teach about it. Lewis thus made Christianity palatable to agnostics and atheists. *The Chronicles of Narnia* appealed to Christians and non-Christians, and in most

cases children do not know they are getting bible stories through a pagan lens.

In addition to the *Chronicles*, Lewis was an author of science fiction novels including the *Space Trilogy* (which includes *Out of the Silent Planet*, in which the hero, Edwin Ransom, is roughly based on his friend and fellow Inklings member J.R.R. Tolkien; *Perelandra*, a retelling of *Paradise Lost* set on Venus; and *That Hideous Strength*). He considered *Till We Have Faces*, a retelling of the Eros and Psyche myth, to be his best novel.

Lewis was an articulate proponent of Christianity, arguably the most important Christian writer of the twentieth century. His most important theological works are *The Problem of Pain*, a defense of pain and the existence of Hell as evidence of an ordered universe; *The Screwtape Letters*, a correspondence between Screwtape and his nephew Wormwood concerning possession of the soul of an unsuspecting human; and *Mere Christianity*, a published version of the radio addresses he made during World War II as “the apostle to skeptics” in Britain and the United States. His spiritual autobiography, *Surprised by Joy*, is still widely read.

In 1956, Lewis married Joy Davidman, who had converted to Christianity from Judaism partly under the influence of Lewis’s books. Soon afterward, Joy became ill from bone cancer, and she died in 1960. Lewis died three years later, on November 22, 1963, the same day that John F. Kennedy was shot.

—Jessy Randall

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## Lewis, Carl (1961—)

The son of two Willingboro, New Jersey, teachers, Carl Lewis went from being an awkward teenager to winning ten Olympic Gold medals before he retired in 1997, setting numerous world records along the way. Qualifying in the long jump for the first of his American record five Olympic teams in 1980, Lewis missed the Moscow Games because of the United States boycott ordered by President Jimmy Carter as a response to Soviet aggression in Afghanistan. He then won four gold medals at the 1984 Los Angeles Games in the 100 meters, 200 meters, 4 X 100 meter relay, and long jump, matching Jesse Owens’s feat at Berlin in 1936. In the process, Lewis not only tied Owens’s record for track and field gold medals at a single Olympic Games but also revived popular appreciation for Owens’s achievements.

Lewis went on to win gold at the 1988 Seoul Games, the 1992 Barcelona Games, and the 1996 Atlanta Games. In winning the long jump in Atlanta, he became only the second track and field athlete (after Al Oerter) to win gold in an event in four Olympiads. (He remains the only track and field athlete to have qualified for five Olympic teams.) Lewis aggressively controlled his own career and



Carl Lewis in the 1992 Summer Olympics in Barcelona, Spain.

marketing; with his agent, Joe Douglas, he used both his individual success and that of his tremendously popular Santa Monica Track Club to professionalize track and field, allowing runners to support themselves through athletics. He also agitated for increased testing to end the use of performance-enhancing drugs in track. (While some observers considered it simple jealousy when Lewis claimed that Canadian sprinter Ben Johnson’s victories over him were due to steroid use, Lewis’s sentiments were vindicated after Johnson tested positive for steroid use at the 1988 Olympics in Seoul.) While Lewis held no individual world records at his retirement in 1997, he had recorded numerous performances that were among the ten best all time in the 100 meters, 200 meters, 4 X 100 meters, and long jump. Despite never setting the world record in the long jump, with his consistency over seventeen years of competition at the highest level, he is most certainly the greatest long jumper in world track and field history.

Despite Lewis’s success, however, he has failed to win the acclaim and endorsements in the United States that have greeted him elsewhere. While the fact that track and field has long been more popular in Europe and Asia partially accounts for this failure, other factors must be taken into account as well. Media portrayals of Lewis as aloof have most likely contributed to the American public’s lukewarm feelings. Of perhaps more significance, though, have been

persistant rumors about Lewis's sexuality (which he has refused to address in public). British decathlon champion Daley Thompson's decision, at the 1984 Los Angeles Games, to wear a T-shirt which asked "Is the World's Second Greatest Athlete Gay?" to a press conference after his victory—a pointed and unsubtle reference to Lewis—brought this controversy into the public. Since then Lewis has received less public attention than other athletes far less successful, in far less visible sports. Despite these questions about Lewis's public acceptance, however, he has not only been a successful competitor but he has also served as an articulate ambassador and advocate for his sport.

—C. John Smolenski

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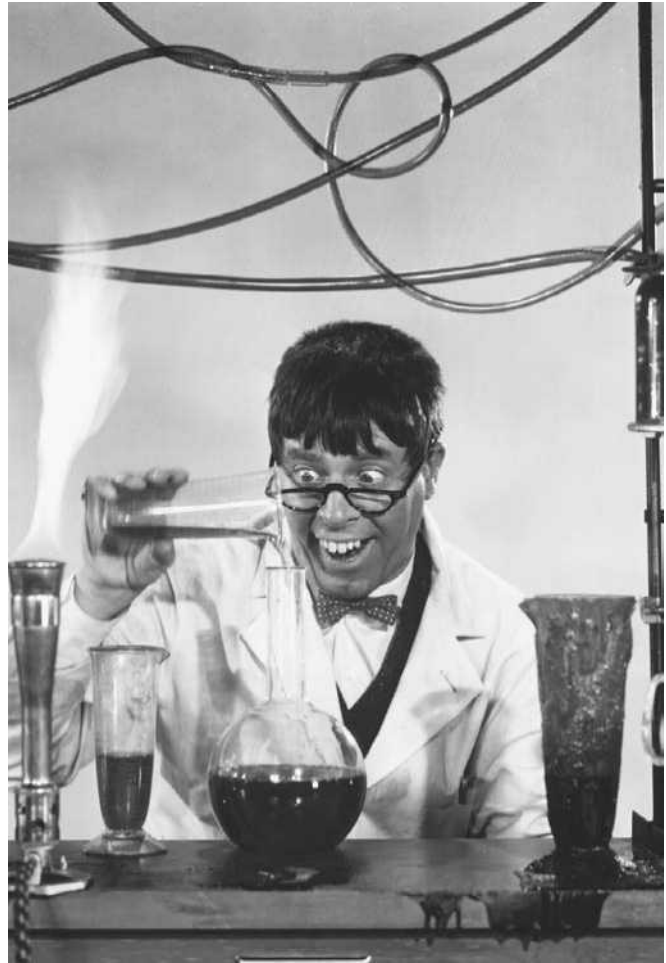
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## Lewis, Jerry (1926—)

For more than half a century comedian Jerry Lewis has been entertaining audiences around the world with his unique style of exaggerated mugging and heavy-handed sentimentality. A national presence since the mid-1940s, when he teamed up with crooner Dean Martin to create one of show business' legendary comedy acts, Lewis has been hailed by some as a comic master equal to Charlie Chaplin and Buster Keaton and reviled by others as self-indulgent and grating. Author Tim Brooks best captures the intensity of the contrasting opinions of Lewis when he writes, "He is perhaps the most controversial performer in show business; depending on whom you read, he is either the greatest comic genius of the Western world, or the most idiotic no-talent to ever foul the screen." After a decade as entertainment's hottest comedy team, Martin and Lewis broke up in 1956. Each went onto successful solo careers, with Lewis writing and directing a series of popular films. As his film work diminished, he remained in the public eye as the host of his annual Labor Day Muscular Dystrophy Telethon. Lewis overcame a series of personal problems in the 1980s to enjoy a resurgence of popularity on both film and stage. However, despite his international acclaim, he remains an acquired taste for many Americans.

Born Joseph Levitch, on March 16, 1926, in Newark, New Jersey, Lewis was destined to a life in entertainment from birth. His parents, vaudevillian Danny Lewis and pianist Rae Lewis, were veteran performers who encouraged their son to follow in their footsteps. Jerry Lewis made his professional debut at the age of five in New York's Borscht Belt singing "Brother Can You Spare a Dime." As a teen, the young comic was noted for his manic stand-up routine in which he impersonated popular singers. His career was stalled until 1946 when Lewis decided to form an act with an Italian singer named Dean Martin. Their partnership began on July 25, 1946 at the 500 Club in Atlantic City, when Lewis suggested his friend replace another entertainer who had quit the bill. The pair originally worked separately, but later began to join forces on stage, where they traded insults, improvised jokes, and embodied a sense of lunacy. Martin's handsome, romantic persona made him the perfect straight man for the goofy Lewis. Many of their routines revolved Lewis' attempts to



Jerry Lewis as "The Nutty Professor."

break-up Martin's musical numbers with his childish antics. The team was soon discovered performing at the Copacabana by film producer Hal Wallis, who signed them to a long-term contract with Paramount Pictures. They made their screen debut in *My Friend Irma* (1949), in which they essentially performed their nightclub routine. Audiences quickly embraced the pair, who went on to star in more than a dozen highly successful comedies. Along with their movie work, Martin and Lewis appeared frequently in nightclubs, on radio shows, and on television. In the mid-1950s, relations between the performers soured and they made national headlines with their decision to break-up the act. Martin and Lewis made their last regular appearance together at the Copacabana on July 25, 1956, ten years to the day after they became a team.

Many believed the split of Martin and Lewis would doom both of their careers. However, the pair proved doubters wrong as Martin achieved solo success in film, television, and recordings. Lewis emerged from the break-up as a comedy auteur. During the 1960s, he produced, starred, and directed a number of successful comedies. His most noteworthy films of this period are *The Bellboy* (1960), *Cinderfella* (1960), *The Patsy* (1964), and *The Nutty Professor* (1963). In this last film, a take-off of *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, Lewis plays a nerdy chemist who transforms himself into a cool lounge lizard named Buddy Love. Some critics saw this performance as a send-up of Dean

Martin. French critics viewed Lewis' 1960s films as proof that he was a true comic master. In fact, they deemed *The Nutty Professor* the best picture of the year. While many Americans found Lewis' work overly broad and sentimental, Europeans viewed him as the successor to Chaplin and Keaton. In 1984, he was inducted into the French Legion of Honor and praised by the French Minister of Culture for his humanitarian work and comic genius.

Despite praise from Europe, Lewis' popularity in America declined in the 1970s. His self-indulgent films that offered little more than Lewis mugging through tired plots alienated U.S. audiences. Lewis' career reached its nadir with his unreleased film *The Day the Clown Cried* (1972), in which he portrayed a clown named Helmut Doork, who attempts to entertain Jewish children while imprisoned in a Nazi concentration camp. To offset his career setbacks, he devoted most of his attention to raising funds to fight Muscular Dystrophy. He raised millions of dollars each Labor Day and was nominated for the 1977 Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts. It was on his 1976 telethon that Lewis was stunned by the surprise appearance of Dean Martin. Frank Sinatra reunited the pair, who had remained distant for decades, in one of TV's most memorable moments. The following years saw Lewis face several health crises and overcome a long-time Percodan addiction.

Lewis saw his career take an upswing in the 1980s with his acclaimed dramatic performance as a talk show host kidnapped by Robert De Niro in Martin Scorsese's *The King of Comedy*. He appeared infrequently thereafter in films, but made strong showings on the TV crime drama *Wiseguy* and on Broadway in the 1995 revival of *Damn Yankees*. For his role as the Devil he became the highest paid performer in Broadway history. As the millennium approaches, Jerry Lewis remains a prominent figure on the American landscape as several of his 1960s comedies, like *The Nutty Professor*, are being remade for a new generation. Still, Lewis remains a controversial figure. When asked to discuss the ambivalent feelings he generates Lewis replied: "People hate me because I am a multifaceted, talented, wealthy, internationally famous genius." Such statements reveal why Lewis has not been completely embraced by the American public. However, his unique comic style and voluminous amounts of charity work have won him a spot in the hearts of millions of others around the globe.

—Charles Coletta

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## Lewis, Jerry Lee (1935—)

Self-taught pianist and singer Jerry Lee Lewis is an original artist who, along with Elvis Presley, personifies the popular cultural ethos



Jerry Lee Lewis

of the 1950s when rock 'n' roll emerged and rose to popularity, but forged his own unique and uninhibited style within the genre. A pianist and vocal stylist since the age of nine, Lewis began playing professionally at the age of 15 and rapidly developed into a consummate showman, enjoying a commercially successful career punctuated with a long spell of disfavor arising from the conduct of his personal life. His songs have made both the pop and country singles charts, and his rise to stardom from his humble beginnings is a tribute to his creativity, tenacity, and originality.

Born on September 29, 1935 in the Northern Louisiana town of Ferriday, Lewis grew up in grinding poverty, the son of subsistence farmer Elmo Lewis, whose meager living depended on the price of cotton. The family switched from the Baptist denomination to the Assembly of God Church, where the young Jerry Lee sang. He and his cousin, later the notorious evangelist Jimmy Lee Swaggart, would sneak into Haney Big House in the so-called "colored" section of town and listen to the blues men play. Lewis, a poor student, attended school only sporadically, and occasionally stole from the local merchants. The piano became an early focus in his life and he spent hours practicing on a neighbor's piano and those in the church until 1945 when his father borrowed against his belongings and bought an upright Starck piano for his ten-year-old son.

The youthful Lewis felt an affinity for the percussive sound of boogie-woogie blues, and his favorite songs in 1940s were the popular boogie hits "House of Blue Lights" and "Down the Road a Piece." He also sang Jimmie Rodgers and Al Jolson songs that he picked up from listening to his parent's records and, in 1948, first

heard Hank Williams on *The Louisiana Hayride*, a radio program patterned after the Grand Ole Opry and broadcast from Shreveport, Louisiana. Lewis idolized Williams and learned his songs from the local radio broadcasts. Thus, Rodgers, Jolson, and Williams, along with boogie-woogie, were the influences that shaped his own style. In 1949, a hillbilly band played at the opening of a Ford dealership in Ferriday. The Lewis' were present, and Elmo Lewis urged the owners of the dealership to permit his 14-year-old son to sit in on piano. They consented, Lewis performed Stick McGhee's "Drinkin' Wine, Spo-Dee-O-Dee," and the people loved him. Thereafter he quit school entirely to play for the local community on his upright piano that Elmo would load onto a pickup truck.

His religious upbringing in the Assembly of God Church caused conflict for Lewis, whose lifestyle was at odds with the church teachings, and he periodically hesitated at the crossroads of whether to serve God or Mammon. At the age of 15 he thought he might pursue the ministry and was sent off to attend Southwestern Bible Institute in Texas, but soon developed a taste for the Dallas night life and tired of the Institute's routine and discipline. He was eventually expelled from the Institute for playing the gospel song "Yes, God is Real" in a boogie-woogie style. His spiritual struggles tended to resolve themselves in favor of the secular when he needed money, and in 1954 he was hired by Johnny Littlejohn, a local Mississippi disc jockey and bandleader. From time to time, his conflict between God and the so-called devil's music would surface, and Littlejohn would have to plead with him to continue in the band.

Lewis continued to play professionally in Louisiana and Mississippi in "bucket of blood" clubs with the Johnny Littlejohn band. In the course of auditioning for *The Louisiana Hayride* program on KWKH in Shreveport, he recorded two songs, "I Don't Hurt Anymore," and "I Need You Now." The Memphis-based Sun Records, which had become the premier label of white rock 'n' roll by 1954 with Elvis Presley on their label, was a good prospect for an aspiring performer, and Lewis's family gathered 33-dozen eggs and sold them to the local supermarket to finance a trip to Memphis with his father to audition for Sun. A few country and rock 'n' roll sides were cut for Sun. On Lewis's second trip to Memphis, he recorded "Crazy Arms," a country hit by Ray Price that convinced Sun owner Sam Phillips that his music was commercially viable. While the record failed to make any charts, the response to "Crazy Arms" was ecstatic.

From 1954 to 1957, Lewis worked as a session pianist for Sun singers Warren Smith and Billy Lee Riley and continued to tour professionally. In 1957 Sun released "Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin' On," which was followed by a long tour with Johnny Cash in Canada, during which Lewis honed his stage act with antics such as kicking back the piano stool and playing the piano with his foot, and closed each performance with "Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin' On." He also earned the nickname "Killer" for his knockout performances. "Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin' On" and "Great Balls of Fire" peaked at number three and number two respectively on the pop singles chart, and both reached number one on the country singles chart by the end of July, while "Breathless" reached number seven on the pop chart. Lewis's performance of "Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin' On" triggered a backlash among people who perceived the song and its singer as a pernicious influence on young teenagers.

The power and sway of rock 'n' roll was too strong for the small backlash against Lewis's music, and his popularity surged. He

enjoyed a number of important bookings that exposed him to a national audience, including appearances on *The Big D Jamboree* (a country-and-western show from Dallas), the *Steve Allen Show* in New York, Alan Freed's television show *The Big Beat*, and Dick Clark's *American Bandstand*. Lewis also performed at the Apollo Theatre in Harlem for a predominantly black audience and was well received. A 12-day engagement booked by Alan Freed at the Paramount Theatre in New York, where Lewis shared the headline spot with Fats Domino, broke attendance records.

A number of women came to play a significant role in Lewis's life. At the age of 16, while toying with the idea of becoming a minister, he married and divorced Dorothy Barton; in 1953, at the age of 17, he met and married Jane Mitcham and was a father by age 19. Before the breakup and divorce of that marriage, he fell in love with his second cousin, 13-year-old Myra Gale. Lewis and Gale were married and soon after, accompanied by Myra, Lewis embarked on a 37-day, 30-show tour engagement in England. A media frenzy and public animosity over his child-bride's age ensued, and forced the cancellation of the tour after three performances. He returned to the United States amidst a storm of controversy, and despite issuing an apologetic response to *Billboard* readers upset by his marriage, the media was unrelenting and moral outrage continued. Jerry Lee Lewis's career went into decline for ten years.

In addition to concert engagements, Lewis had appeared in a handful of movies, including *Jamboree* (1957), a low-budget Warner Bros. excuse for featuring rock 'n' roll artists in which he sang "Great Balls of Fire," and *High School Confidential* (1958). He was also in *Be My Guest*, a low-budget pop stage musical in London, and played Iago in a Los Angeles production of *Catch My Soul*, a rock opera version of Shakespeare's *Othello*. While theater critics were negative about the show itself, Lewis's performance as Iago was deemed sensational.

The musician finally made a comeback, as a country star, in 1968. His contract with Sun records had ended in 1963, after he had cut more than 160 titles, and he signed with Smash Records, a subsidiary of Mercury Records. In 1968, Lewis recorded "Another Place, Another Time" for Smash, and for the first time in ten years, found himself with a Top Ten country hit, which crossed over to the pop charts. By 1969, Jerry Lee Lewis was one of the hottest country singers in the South and made a successful appearance at The Grand Ole Opry in 1973. A string of hit records, including "Another Place, Another Time," "What's Made Milwaukee Famous (Has Made a Loser Out of Me)," "There Must Be More To Love Than This," and "Chantilly Lace," helped to raise his concert fee to \$10,000 per performance. In 1973, he recorded the last sides for Mercury and then signed with Elektra.

Lewis's music can be divided into two stylistic periods: rock 'n' roll period from 1957 to 1968 and country from 1968 onwards (although he was also continuing to play revival and "oldies" bills, performing numbers from the rock 'n' roll repertoire). Lewis's early musical influences included African-American blues and gospel, as well as the popular music heard on records and the radio. His early piano style is basically a simple rhythmic boogie left hand, with excessive use of glissando (rapid running of the thumb across the keys) and a distinctive percussive pounding in the right hand; his characteristic vocal style makes use of yodeling, upward bends with occasional falsetto breaks. The combined result is frenetic, entertaining, sometimes moving, and intensely musical.

Controversy and tragedy have dogged Jerry Lee Lewis. Both his sons died, triggering his return to the pills and alcohol that he had been addicted to since his teens. He accidentally shot his bass player in the chest, and in 1976 was arrested for waving a gun outside Elvis Presley's mansion, Graceland. The circumstances surrounding the deaths of his fourth and fifth wives have been viewed with suspicion. His fourth wife died in a swimming pool, and his fifth was found dead at his home following a methadone overdose. By 1979, the IRS took possession of his property in lieu of \$274,000 in back taxes. He has been hospitalized several times, reportedly close to death, and was alleged to have suffered a mild heart attack in 1996.

Jerry Lee Lewis was one of the first inductees to the Rock 'n' Roll Hall of Fame in 1986 and, despite the shadows hanging over his life, the "Killer" was still performing—resolutely upbeat in body and spirit—as the twentieth century drew to its close. In 1989 *Great Balls of Fire!*, a biographical movie, was released, starring Dennis Quaid as Lewis and charting the rocky road with Myra (Winona Ryder) in dramatic detail.

—Willie Collins

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## Lewis, Sinclair (1885-1951)

Born in 1885 in Sauk Centre, Minnesota, Sinclair Lewis would become one of America's most forceful social critics during the 1920s. After attending Yale, he had held an assortment of editorial and journalistic positions by his mid-twenties, including the dubious honor of selling short-story plots to Jack London. Lewis wrote seven fairly pedestrian novels, notable for their bourgeois sentiments, before he struck literary gold in 1920 with *Main Street* and the novels of social criticism that followed in its wake: *Babbitt*, *Arrowsmith*, *Dodsworth*, and *Elmer Gantry*. Finally Lewis felt free to express his radical self, his feelings of dissatisfaction with American complacency, mediocrity, and moral narrowness. In 1930, his honesty earned him the first Nobel Prize for literature awarded to an American. Sadly, of the ten novels that followed until his death in 1951, only two—*It Can't Happen Here*—caught further significant attention. Lewis had lost his moorings as a writer once the world of the 1920s, about which he had written so searingly, receded behind the Great Depression and World War II.

—Bennett Lovett-Graff

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## Liberace (1919-1987)

As "The Rhinestone Rubinstein" or the "Las Vegas Liszt," pianist-entertainer Liberace created his own sequined niche in the American popular imagination. He fashioned himself to appeal to the middlebrow masses as a latter-day reincarnation of the 19th-century Romantic grand pianist, and dazzled millions of (mostly female) fans with his flamboyant performances of showy and accessible music. As America's first television matinee idol, Liberace capitalized on the then new technology during the 1950s. His popular appeal brought him appearances in Hollywood films and television series, mention in songs (the Chordettes' 1954 hit "Mr. Sandman," among others), and he was parodied (as "Loverboynik") in a 1956 episode of Al Capp's comic strip *Li'l Abner*. Liberace's stardom sprang from a highly marketable and carefully packaged conflation of high and low cultural ingredients, and his model of musical spectacle influenced subsequent stars from Elvis Presley to Michael Jackson. Though he was ridiculed for his fey mannerisms, attacked for his closeted homosexuality, and lambasted for his glib and sentimentalized musicianship, Liberace's famous comeback still silences his critics: "I cried all the way to the bank."

Wladziu (called Walter) Valentino Liberace was born on May 16, 1919, near Milwaukee, Wisconsin. His father, a former member of John Phillip Sousa's concert band, played French horn in the Milwaukee Symphony Orchestra. His mother, of Polish descent, chose his middle name after her favorite film idol, Rudolf Valentino. Legend has it that in 1923 the young Walter, a child prodigy, met Jan Paderewski, the acclaimed Polish pianist and statesman, who praised his playing. Liberace began performing professionally as a classical pianist during his high school years, but Depression-era hardships prompted him to earn money playing in nightclubs, movie houses, and at social events. Engaged to perform with the Chicago Symphony in 1939, he was persuaded to use the stage name "Walter Busterskeys" for his other "low-class" performing ventures. After one recital, audience members called for a rendition of the popular song "Three Little Fishes," which the pianist paraphrased in the style of various classical composers as an encore crowd-pleaser. This "crossover" intersection of classical and popular material became a significant characteristic of his future career.

Escaping military service in World War II on account of a back problem, Liberace went to New York in 1940, where he served as an intermission pianist at fashionable venues such as the Waldorf-Astoria's Persian Room, and later moved to Los Angeles with the hopes of furthering his career. During this period, he experimented with various attention-getting techniques such as encouraging audience participation in his act (the "Chopsticks" duet routine, for



### Liberace

example), and playing “duets with the masters” by accompanying recordings of the great classical pianists. He also introduced his trademark on-stage candelabra (apparently an idea he took from the 1945 hit Hollywood biopic of Chopin, *A Song to Remember*). When his violinist brother George returned from war service in 1945, the two formed a supper-club act and toured the country under contract with the Statler and Radisson hotel chains. Around this time Liberace was inspired by a motivational self-help book by Claude Bristol, *The Magic of Believing*, and eventually contributed an introduction to the 1955 edition, writing, “To attain success, one must positively think success.”

That success came to Liberace in the 1950s through his innovative television program, *The Liberace Show*, which first aired in 1951 and rapidly became a hit in the Los Angeles area. Through syndication in 1953 the program reached nationwide, rivaling even the *I Love Lucy* series in popularity. At its peak, the show commanded a weekly audience of 35 million, and was carried by 219 television stations in the United States. This recognition generated recording opportunities for Liberace, and in 1953 alone he sold two million records—albums and singles. His 1953 engagement at Carnegie Hall sold out and was followed by a 1954 success at Madison Square Garden. A Hollywood Bowl appearance prompted another important innovation in his presentational style: as the distant audience would be unable to

distinguish him, in his black evening clothes, from the similarly clad orchestra, he wore a white tuxedo. From then on his stage outfits only increased in ostentatious flair.

Liberace made attempts to translate his television appeal into Hollywood stardom, but his few films were flops. He starred in the syrupy *Sincerely Yours* (1955) as a concert pianist afflicted by deafness who turns to anonymous acts of goodwill to regain his belief in life. The movie was essentially a vehicle for 31 of Liberace’s renditions at the piano. He also had a minor pianist role in *South Sea Sinner* (1950), and a cameo as a camp casket salesman in *The Loved One* (1965). Guest spots on television series included *Batman* (1966), *Kojak* (1978), and *The Muppet Show* (1978).

Las Vegas was the city most suited to the style and content of Liberace’s musical act. During the 1950s and 1960s, Vegas audiences relished the kitsch appeal of his spectacular shows with their outrageous costumes and the star’s coy banter, and he was that city’s highest-paid entertainer in 1955. In 1956 Elvis Presley joined Liberace for a historic show at the Riviera Hotel, during which the two stars traded outfits and instruments. In 1979 the pianist opened the Liberace Museum, which occupies one corner of a Las Vegas shopping mall, and houses his costumes, custom-designed automobiles (including a 1962 Rolls Royce covered with mirrored tiles), antique pianos, and the world’s largest rhinestone. During the high-rolling 1980s, Liberace’s

aristocratic illusions and extravagant style appealed to younger audiences once again, and his shows at New York's Radio City Music Hall in 1984, 1985, and 1986 broke all box-office records in that landmark theater's history.

Although he toured abroad extensively, everywhere lionized as a celebrity, Liberace was particularly proud of his three Royal Command Performances in England, but the British tours were problematic for the furor of speculative gossip they unleashed about his private life. In 1957, he successfully sued *Confidential* magazine for libel when it insinuated that he was homosexual. Two years later, he also won a suit against Britain's *Mirror* newspaper group over an article by columnist "Cassandra" (William Connor), who had written that Liberace was "the summit of Masculine, Feminine, and Neuter . . . the biggest sentimental vomit of all times. Slobbering over his mother, winking at his brother, counting the cash at every second. . . ." While men may have scoffed at his exaggerated effeminate mannerisms, women fans defended Liberace, citing in his favor his oft-displayed love and concern for his own mother. Fan disapproval, however, greeted the announcement that he planned to marry actress-dancer Joanne Rio in 1954; in one week, 6,000 letters were received, 80 per cent of which opposed the marriage. In 1982, Scott Thorson filed a \$113 million "palimony" suit against the entertainer, claiming that he had been not only Liberace's bodyguard and chauffeur, but also his long-term lover. Liberace settled out of court for close to \$1 million.

Among the enduring images of Liberace's campy appeal are his 1976 Bicentennial red-white-and-blue hot-pants outfit, his extravagantly expensive (and long) fur and bejeweled capes, his on-stage arrival in chauffeur-driven luxury cars decorated with mirrors and rhinestones, and his Peter-Pan-style gimmick of flying across stage at the close of a performance. When asked how he could play with so many large rings on his fingers, Liberace answered, "Very well, thank you." Liberace's showmanship has provided ample material for academic treatments of spectacle, sexuality, and other topics of cultural study. Marjorie Garber regards Liberace's outrageous displays as an example of "unmarked transvestism." Margaret Drewal sees his capes as invoking Bela Lugosi as Count Dracula, and Kevin Kopelson examines the homophobia surrounding his reception in light of the "queer" connotations of his pianism and performance mannerisms. The unique showman-pianist died from AIDS on February 4, 1987, a sad ending that failed to end contentious speculation about his sexuality.

—Ivan Raykoff

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## Liberty

At least three American magazines since the late nineteenth century have called themselves *Liberty*. The most commonly known is the mass-circulation pulp magazine that reached a circulation of 2.4 million during the 1930s, when it was controlled by the eccentric publisher Bernarr Macfadden. *Liberty* was, however, also the name appropriately chosen by philosophical anarchist Benjamin Ricketson Tucker (1864-1939) for the organ he published from 1881 to 1908. In more recent years, a small libertarian periodical that advocated tax reform and government non-interference in personal freedoms was also called *Liberty*.

The first issue of Benjamin Ricketson Tucker's *Liberty* made its appearance in Boston in August of 1881; the magazine moved to New York in 1892 where it was based until a fire put it out of business 16 years later. Its statement of purpose as expressed in the first issue was a militant one: "Monopoly and privilege must be destroyed, opportunity afforded, and competition encouraged. This is *Liberty's* work and 'Down with Authority' her war-cry." Tucker himself wrote many of the screeds advocating freedom of the individual from domination by the state, and promoting radical causes of the day such as birth control, free love, and women's suffrage. He believed that the state should eventually be dissolved through nonviolent means, which was to him the only way of ending the inequities of the capitalist system; he thus railed loudly against the banking and monetary system for its enslavement of labor. He also urged Americans to refuse to exercise their right to vote, believing that by participating in elections, they were implicating themselves in politics designed to maintain the power structure. In the pages of *Liberty*, Tucker also espoused the self-reliant philosophy of Emerson and Thoreau and defended Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* against critics who deemed it obscene. When the magazine's offices were destroyed by fire in 1908, Tucker moved to Nice in the south of France, and later to Monte Carlo in Monaco.

The second and most prominent magazine bearing the name of *Liberty* was ranked as one of America's three major weeklies at the beginning of the 1930s, along with *Collier's*, *Literary Digest* and *The Saturday Evening Post*. *Liberty* claimed a circulation of 2.4 million when it was purchased by Bernarr Macfadden in 1931 from its previous owners, Robert McCormick of the *Chicago Tribune* and Joseph Patterson of the *New York Daily News*. Macfadden, who made a fortune in publishing somewhat seamy pulp magazines of the true-confession and detective variety, was also publisher of the notorious *New York Graphic*, a sensation paper that was a prototype of the later "supermarket tabloid." Macfadden first placed *Liberty* at the service



of Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1932 presidential campaign and then, under editor Fulton Oursler, turned it into a cheap, sensation magazine with a focus on adventure stories, sex, and scandal, printed on low-quality newsprint. Each article was accompanied by a "reading time" note to inform supposedly busy readers how many minutes and seconds they could expect to spend on the piece. Macfadden's escapist magazines were popular during the Depression, reaching a combined circulation of seven million by 1935, but *Liberty* began to decline soon afterwards, a victim of its fuzzy editorial focus, its "little bit of everything" approach, and its failure to define its readership. Even Macfadden's practice of donning a leopard-skin loincloth to lead his employees in morning calisthenics could not save *Liberty*, which folded in 1942. After leaving the publication, Oursler underwent a well-publicized religious conversion and became a senior editor of the *Reader's Digest*, to which he contributed inspirational pieces. He remains best known today as the author of *The Greatest Story Ever Told*, about the life of Jesus Christ.

—Edward Moran

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## Lichtenstein, Roy (1923-1997)

Artist Roy Lichtenstein was one of the foremost members of the Pop Art movement which challenged traditional definitions of art in the 1960s. Lichtenstein's trademark style, developed by 1962, was painting in the form of a comic-strip frame. In famous works like *Hopeless* (1963) and *Whaam!* (1963), he borrowed the bright colors, flat forms, simple scenes, and printing processes of the newspaper comic and expanded them to the large canvas, right down to the "Ben Day" dots and dialogue balloons. In the mid-1960s, Lichtenstein used the style to depict images from historical art styles like Abstract Expressionism and De Stijl. While De Stijl's work seemed to critique the vapid world of everyday life and the secularization of high culture, Lichtenstein's remained ambiguous—he never explained whether he



Roy Lichtenstein

was mocking the banality of modern culture or finding beauty in the ordinary.

—Dale Allen Gyure

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## Liebovitz, Annie (1949—)

From her first assignments for *Rolling Stone* in the early 1970s to her defining images of celebrity found in *Vanity Fair* since 1983, Annie Liebovitz has changed the way Americans see the twentieth century. Capturing both the glamorous and the banal sides of celebrity, she has also transformed the way other photographers have captured the twentieth century on film. For three decades, Liebovitz has crafted an image of the twentieth century as the American century, indelibly marked by a fascination with celebrity.

Liebovitz purchased her first camera while studying painting at the San Francisco Art Institute in the late 1960s. Early on, family photographs—her own and others—were strong influences on her work. The power of the camera to encapsulate and communicate family histories drew her to documentary photography and to the work of, among others, the great American photographers Margaret Bourke-White and Robert Frank.

While a student, Liebovitz spent a semester in a work-study program on a kibbutz in Israel. During her stay, a friend gave her a subscription to *Rolling Stone* magazine and, upon her return to San Francisco, she met with art director Robert Kingsbury to show him her photographs. Kingsbury was enthralled with her images of ladders in the kibbutz's fields and equally impressed with pictures of an anti-war demonstration she had shot in San Francisco the day before. In 1970 he published some of Liebovitz's kibbutz images in *Rolling Stone*'s photo gallery. Later in the year he published the anti-war pictures and began to give Liebovitz regular assignments. In 1973, Liebovitz was named *Rolling Stone*'s chief photographer.

Liebovitz learned her greatest lesson about photographing celebrities during her first out-of-town shoot for *Rolling Stone* with John Lennon. She was a young, green magazine photographer with a deadline. He was a legend, a musician whose melodies had given him everlasting fame, but he was also normal, just an everyday guy asking her what she'd like him to do. From that moment on, as Liebovitz remembers in the introduction to her 1990 book, *Portraits*, she got involved with a photo, allowing her own point of view and experiences to shape the picture's gut.

As Lennon shaped Liebovitz's approach to celebrity photography, Liebovitz shaped our enduring memory of Lennon. On December 8, 1980, she returned to New York to again shoot Lennon for *Rolling Stone*. She posed him nude, curled up in the fetal position next to his wife Yoko Ono. We sense his love for Ono and his attachment to her. Only hours after this shoot, John Lennon was assassinated

outside his apartment building. Suddenly, Liebovitz's picture, published in the January 1981 issue of *Rolling Stone* became imbued with deeper meaning and resonance.

A year later Liebovitz photographed Ono at Strawberry Field, Central Park, New York City. Dwarfed by trees in a field named after one of the Beatles' most famous songs, a black clad Ono appears small and alone. It is as if Ono and Liebovitz had to create another image together in order to bring closure to the events of December 1980. The photograph is haunting. Moreover, it is haunted by our memory of the picture of Ono and Lennon, perhaps one of the most enduring images of the 1980s.

When the Rolling Stones invited Liebovitz to photograph their concert tour in 1975, Liebovitz created the original "behind-the-scenes" show-all. Her images revealed the working world of rock and roll: Mick Jagger on stage, so thin as to be nearly transparent (Liebovitz told an interviewer in 1990 that Jagger lost about 10 pounds during each performance and she had wanted to capture not only the energy on-stage, but also the way spent energy looked); Jagger in make-up; Jagger in a terry cloth robe with his hair wrapped in a turban; Jagger, Keith Richards, and the rest of the band, traveling, playing, resting, and working. Rock and roll, we learned, is not all high living. Massive performances require strenuous efforts to produce. Seeing the inner workings of a Stones concert enabled readers to see less glamorous parts of the legendary group's success.

When Condé Nast Publications reintroduced its glamorous *Vanity Fair* in 1983, Annie Liebovitz became the magazine's first contributing photographer. In a milestone year, Liebovitz also published her first book and had her first exhibition. She became one of an elite club—a magazine photographer accepted by the art world, herself a celebrity due to her photographs of celebrities.

In her tenure at *Vanity Fair*, Liebovitz has continued to define celebrity and portraiture. Her images are among the most memorable in the magazine's history, including Whoopi Goldberg in a bathtub full of milk (1984), Diane Keaton dancing around Liebovitz's studio (1987), and Demi Moore's elegant pregnant, nude cover (1988). Liebovitz has immortalized Hollywood's stars, often showing their more private side. In her pictures of Arnold Schwarzenegger (June, 1997), Leonardo di Caprio (January 1998), and Brad Pitt (February 1995 and November 1998), for instance, Liebovitz shows vulnerable men and handsome hunks. She has also immortalized other celebrities, including President Bill Clinton (March, 1993, and November, 1997). Liebovitz's time at *Vanity Fair* has been punctuated by her annual December Hall of Fame, which highlight Americans (celebrities and not) who made the year special. And, since 1995, she has created Hollywood covers and portfolios each March that are perhaps more eagerly awaited than the Academy Awards they honor.

Liebovitz's celebrity portraiture has appeared in advertising, first in a campaign for American Express—with unforgettable, seemingly candid shots of Ella Fitzgerald and Sammy Davis, Jr., among others—and for the Gap, featuring black and white portraits of celebrities wearing their favorite staples from a retailer that defines American popular fashion.

Liebovitz is a magazine photographer, shooting commissioned photographs on a deadline. She has, unlike some of her contemporaries, worked within the conventions of magazine photography, rarely testing limits, except perhaps those of the imagination. And yet, her commercial photography always bears her personal mark, her distinct vision of celebrity and of our world. She is a fan of her subjects, but in the 1990s, she is also one of them—a celebrity photographer of celebrities. However, Liebovitz, again unlike her contemporaries,

rarely photographs herself. She feels so personally defined by the way she sees the world through the camera, that she cannot imagine herself on the other side of it. This modesty, settled comfortably amidst the power of her art and the fame of her images, makes Liebovitz an uncommon celebrity at the end of the twentieth century.

—Ilene S. Goldman

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*Vanity Fair*, from 1983.

## Life

Two of the most prominent magazines ever published in the United States have borne the name of *Life*, each vastly different in style and content but both unique mirrors of the tastes and images of their respective eras. The first, published from 1883 to 1936, offered polished humor and satire, and was renowned for the “Gibson Girl” (and “Gibson Man”) illustrations of Charles Dana Gibson that embodied the standards of the turn-of-the-century young sophisticate. As this magazine foundered in the 1930s, publishing mogul Henry Luce purchased, for \$96,000, its “name and good will” for his own *Life*, a slick, photo-oriented magazine published weekly from 1936 to 1972 and less frequently thereafter. During the peak of its influence from the 1940s through the 1960s, this second *Life*, a visual companion of sorts to *Time*, Luce’s weekly newsmagazine, exalted the art of photojournalism to unprecedented levels by offering a graphic snapshot of American manners and morals to millions of readers—and helped shape public opinion on issues ranging from the role of America in world affairs to the role of the “Negro” at home, and from the perils of fascism and communism to the realities of an affluent postwar society. For the first 36 years of its existence, Henry Luce’s *Life* was arguably America’s most influential mass magazine, one whose generalized approach gave it an advantage in successfully negotiating many of the contradictions that more specialized publications could not. It advanced the cult of the celebrity without resorting to tabloid sensationalism or gossip; it extolled the can-do attitudes of the homespun war hero without glorifying militarism; it presented an image of a more homogeneous America without neglecting the plight of the poor and racial minorities; it sent a Republican message of order and authority without treading on the Democratic predilection for the common man. *Life* did not aspire to be either as highbrow as the *Saturday Review* or as specialized as the *Literary Digest*, but it did bring to its multifaceted readers a commendable grab-bag of visually outstanding articles on, say, medieval architecture, or on Hemingway or grand opera, albeit often side-by-side with pieces depicting amusing farm animals or eccentric folk artisans.

The earlier of the two *Life* magazines was founded in New York City by John Ames Mitchell, a recent Harvard graduate, who appointed as its first editor Edward Martin Sandford, a classmate who had founded the *Harvard Lampoon* in 1876. Combining satire, verse, and criticism with advertisements for luxurious products, this original *Life* became, as Christopher Gray wrote in the *New York Times* (November 5, 1996): “sophisticated and satirical, something like the

old *Spy* magazine without the nastiness.” Publisher Mitchell later commissioned the architectural firm of Carré and Hastings to erect an elaborate Beaux-Arts headquarters for its editorial offices, helping authenticate New York City’s new role as the nation’s nerve center of publishing and image-making in the Gilded Age. For a while, illustrator Charles Dana Gibson occupied the building’s atelier, from which issued the “Gibson Girl”—and “Man”—illustrations that defined the look of his generation.

By the mid-1930s, Henry Luce, who had founded *Time* magazine in 1922 and *Fortune* in 1931, had established a work-group within his publishing empire to develop plans for an American “Picture Magazine” based on the model of European periodicals like the Parisian *Vu* or the *Illustrated London News*. Working from offices in New York’s Chrysler Building, the group included John Stuart Martin, a *Time* editor, Natasha von Hoershelman, a researcher, and a recent Yale graduate named Dwight Macdonald, later to achieve renown as an essayist and critic. But much of the concept for the new magazine came from an employee of a rival publisher, Clare Boothe Brokaw, an editorial staffer at *Vanity Fair* magazine who would become Luce’s second wife in 1935. When the two met for the first time, Brokaw proposed an idea she had been unsuccessfully trying to sell to her own publishers at Condé Nast, one that would report “not all the news nor, necessarily, the most important news, but the most interesting and exciting news,” in photographs, and interpreting it editorially through accompanying articles by capable writers and journalists. Luce had been especially fascinated with what he termed the “picture-magic” capabilities of photography, especially in the new German miniature cameras such as the Leica that were enabling photojournalists to expand the limitations of candid photography that would later be in such *Life* features as “*Life Goes to a Party*.” Luce had already been convinced of the power of the visual image in journalism through his experience as producer of the popular *March of Time* newsreels that reached millions of American moviegoers. His hiring of Kurt Korff, a German, as picture consultant, underscored his commitment to produce a magazine “designed to capture and occupy the position of No. 1 look-through magazine of America . . . the damndest best non-pornographic look-through magazine in the United States.”

An early working title for this proposed ten-cents-a-copy “look-through magazine” in its first prospectus was *Dime: The Show-Book of the World*, a designation greeted with derision by colleagues who feared the name would be confused with that of *Time*. Before the first issue of *Life* hit the newsstands on November 23, 1936, other of the dozen or more names considered but rejected for the fledgling periodical included *Album*, *Eye*, *Flash*, *Go*, *Nuze-Vuze*, *Scan*, *See*, *Snap*, and *Wide Awake!* In the meantime, Dwight Macdonald had been soliciting dossiers from the world’s leading photographers, including Henri Cartier-Bresson, who had to turn down a request for more work due to other commitments.

The original *Life* photographers were Margaret Bourke-White, Alfred Eisenstaedt, Tom McAvoy, and Peter Stackpole. Robert Capa, another early cameraman whose work was often published by *Life*, remained an independent contractor for most of his career. Arguably the most famous and instantly recognizable photograph *Life* ever ran was Eisenstaedt’s shot of an exuberant sailor and nurse lost in a kiss in Times Square during V-J celebrations in the summer of 1945. Loudon Wainwright, who edited *Life* when it became a monthly in the 1980s, suggested that it was this interest in the lives of ordinary people that made *Life* such a powerful medium. As he wrote in his memoir *The Great American Magazine: An Inside History of Life*: “Whatever its

preoccupations with royalty and politics and the high and low jinks of the famous . . . *Life's* greatest resource for its best picture stories would always be the lives of ordinary people, their work, their pleasure, their follies, their anguish. Such stories touched virtually every reader."

The first volume of *Life*, published on November 23, 1936, featured on its front cover Margaret Bourke-White's dramatically lit photograph of Fort Peck Dam, a proud artifact of the Works Progress Administration's (WPA) contribution to public works in Depression-era America. Inside, a famous editorial photograph of a doctor in a surgical mask holding the newborn George Story upside down, with the double-entendre caption "Life Begins." The florid caption capsulized what the magazine was to be about, and set the florid style that other captions would imitate over the next 37 years. "The camera records the most vital moment in any life: Its beginning. A few hours ago, the child lay restless in its mother's womb. A second ago, its foetal life was rudely ended when the surgeon snapped its umbilical cord . . . Suddenly the baby's new and independent life begins. He jerks up his arms, bends his knees and, with his first short breath, gives out a red-faced cry." For *Life's* 25th anniversary in 1961, Story was pictured holding his own son; he was also featured in *Life's* 50th birthday issue in 1986 and in its 60th ten years later.

From the first issue, the magazine's cover bore the familiar red rectangle in the upper left corner with the word "Life" in white sans-serif capitals, a logo that would, with one exception, appear on every one of the more than 2000 issues for the next six decades. The logo was dropped entirely for the cover of April 26, 1937, which bore a leghorn rooster, and it was printed twice in black instead for issues memorializing the slain president Kennedy in 1963, and once in green for an Earth Day cover in 1990. Until 1963, the cover of *Life* also featured a distinctive red border along its bottom. For the next 36 years, until December 29, 1972, *Life* appeared weekly. From 1973 through 1978, it appeared only as a twice-yearly special issue. In 1978, it began monthly publication, with occasional special single issues making it a "fourteenthly" (as in 1989) or even "fifteenthly" (as in 1988 and 1990). In 1991, during the Persian Gulf War, it resumed weekly publication for the duration of the conflict, for a total of twenty issues that year. From its earliest days, *Life* relied on a tried-and-true formula of outstanding photographs presented in a wide variety of departments, ranging from in-depth reportage on breaking news to features that relied on clever juxtapositions of text and image, or on homely photo spreads of children and animals, singly or in tandem.

Despite its generally conservative stance on many social and cultural issues, *Life*, from its earliest days, published material that occasionally made it a target for censors. One of its first issues, that of April 11, 1938, was banned in many localities for its quite nonprurient portrayal of scenes from the educational film *The Birth of a Baby*. Charges were quickly dropped, with many public figures, including First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, backing *Life's* stance. Another controversy erupted in 1955 when *Life* published photographer Lennart Nilsson's images of the human embryo, which some anti-abortionists later used to justify their argument that life begins at conception. "Maybe . . . it starts with a kiss," remarked Nilsson. Also in the early 1950s, *Life* published a reproduction of Tom Kelley's 1949 calendar shot of a nude Marilyn Monroe.

*Life* quickly sold out its first press run of 250,000 newsstand copies and within a year reached a circulation of 1.5 million, which cost the magazine much revenue because its initial advertising rates were pegged to a smaller circulation. Within four years, it was

claiming an audience of nearly 20 million readers each week with a total annual revenue of \$11 million from circulation in 1940 dollars. Over its 36-year span as a weekly, *Life* would, in the words of Loudon Wainwright, become "the most successful weekly the world has ever known," reaching a circulation of 8.5 million at its peak. *Life* came into its own with its extensive coverage of World War II, both on the battlefield and on the home front. *Life* photographers sought and found hazardous assignments on the front lines, preferring this direct journalism to the practice of some other publications in accepting staged handout photographs by the War Department. *Life's* weekly portrayal of the horrors of war and of the grit and determination of Americans and their allies helped create a sense of national unity and purpose far beyond that of earlier eras before spot-news photography had been developed. Although Mathew Brady pioneered the use of the camera on the battlefield some eighty years earlier, he did not portray the home front as carefully and as craftily as did *Life*, as in its "Day in the Life of . . ." feature, in which photographers and reporters covered simultaneous events in different parts of the country, helping readers take comfort in seeing a national pattern emerge through the mosaic of local color. This was particularly effective in home-front reporting during World War II, as in its feature "American Sunday." Describing it, Wainwright wrote: "In this somewhat grandiose and typical cornball effort, sixteen photographers from coast to coast took pictures on a single day that would emphasize our sturdy unanimity. . . . What it all added up to was a forgivably dull exercise in patriotism by photography, a sort of Norman Rockwellism in pictures that was supposed to make the readers feel powerfully joined together in a common cause—which, in fact, they already did." In a sense *Life* was using its photographers to replicate what Rockwell was creating by pen and ink for the rival *Saturday Evening Post*: a homespun, motherhood and apple-pie version of America whose very guilelessness in the face of militarism and fascism became one of the strongest weapons in its arsenal.

Luce himself, the son of Presbyterian missionaries in China, brought a secular evangelicalism to his role as publisher. On February 17, 1941, when isolationism was in fashion among many American political leaders, Luce reserved five photo-free pages in *Life* for his famous essay, "The American Century," in which he pontificated on the role he believed the United States was destined to play in the world arena. He had earlier warned his *Time-Life* colleagues that "The country is in danger. Danger. Danger" and urged them to "cultivate the Martial Spirit" and to be "hawk-eyed in our observation of Preparedness." In "The American Century," Luce articulated several points that would indeed describe the American presence in the postwar world, with the nurturing of free enterprise and human progress among its most important national goals. Presaging the Marshall Plan and other examples of American humanitarian and economic aid, Luce declared "We must undertake now to be the Good Samaritan of the entire world. It is the manifest duty of this country to undertake to feed all the people of the world who as a result of this worldwide collapse of civilization are hungry and destitute." Luce's formative years in Asia gave him a lifelong sympathy for China, and he became an ardent supporter of Chiang kai-Shek, a policy that Americans came to support in part because so many of them learned about Asian affairs through *Life's* lens.

Luce's idealistic sermon struck a sympathetic chord with the masses of the American people—many of whom were subscribers to *Life*—who emerged from World War II with a heightened sense of purpose about their national identity. With echoes of "The American Century" in their heads, *Life's* editors and photographers gave a tacit

blessing to the new consumer society being created by newly affluent readers as they moved to the suburbs in the 1950s and 1960s, since Luce, a Calvinist at heart, had essentially anointed their affluence as a sign of election and an opportunity for national benevolence. Even in the arena of domestic life, *Life* emerged as a powerful if unconscious player in bridging some of the nation's divisions over class and race. While Luce and the power elite he represented would naturally recommend a more gradualist approach to social change, the graphic immediacy of the photographs in the pages of *Life* helped call attention to the ills of American society. In the decades following World War II, side-by-side with its frivolous stories on show business and fads, the magazine gave prominent though dispassionate coverage to the plight of blacks in the South, whites in Appalachia, native Americans on reservations. *Life* was not at all a muckraking magazine, but by permitting its camera's eye to rove across the nation's psychic landscape, it played a role in dissolving stubborn sectionalisms and replacing them with a greater sense of national civic purpose. Photographs in the 1940s and 1950s of black children in dingy and overcrowded segregated classrooms helped fuel the nation's determination to end Jim Crow. As early as 1938, *Life* published an in-depth fourteen-page feature titled "Negroes: The U.S. Also Has a Minority Problem" that went beyond what other mass-circulation periodicals had done. Despite a tone that sounds patronizing by later standards, the feature was praised by black leaders, including Duke Ellington, who declared his belief that it was "one of the fairest and most comprehensive articles ever to appear in a national publication." In the 1960s, when Hedley Donovan was editor, *Life* supplemented the role of the television networks in publishing graphic pictures of American casualties in Vietnam, though one of its most moving issues, that of June 27, 1969, published thumbnail portraits of most of the 242 Americans killed in Vietnam in the week beginning May 28. The spread personalized the conflict for millions of Americans who recognized their kinfolk and neighbors in those pages.

Always striving for an exclusive scoop, *Life* quickly purchased rights to the classic Abraham Zapruder movie of the Kennedy assassination, and published all but the goriest shots in its next available issue. In 1971, however, it was the victim of a hoax when it acquired what it believed was the "autobiography" of billionaire recluse Howard Hughes purportedly written by Clifford Irving. But already it was becoming clear that the mass audience that was once *Life*'s mainstay (and that of *Look* and the *Saturday Evening Post*) was vanishing, casualties of television and other sources of information and entertainment. Besieged by overwhelming production costs and the withdrawal of some large advertisers, *Life* ceased weekly publication with its December 29, 1972 issue. It re-emerged as a semi-annual from 1973 through 1977 before rebirth as a monthly in 1979, with occasional special editions each year.

—Edward Moran

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## *The Life of Riley*

The 1950s family television program *The Life of Riley* offered one of situation comedy's original "dopey dads" as a protagonist, and was successful in laying the foundation for later working-class sitcoms such as *The Honeymooners* and *Roseanne*. Unlike his counterparts on such shows as *Father Knows Best* and *Leave It to Beaver*, the blue-collar family man Chester A. Riley was constantly befuddled by life's minor inconveniences, and his frequently uttered exclamation, "What a revoltin' development this is!" after creating confusion for his long-suffering family, became a catchphrase. William Bendix had originated the Riley role on radio in 1944, but it was Jackie Gleason who first brought the popular character to the small screen for the DuMont Network in 1949. This initial series lasted only one season, but NBC revived Riley in 1953, starring William Bendix in a return to his signature role. The show ended a successful six-season run in 1958.

—Charles Coletta

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## *Like Water for Chocolate*

Both in style and content, *Like Water for Chocolate* (1993) represented a highwater mark in the late twentieth-century renaissance of the Mexican cinema, and became the highest-grossing Mexican film of all time. Described by one critic as "a feel good" drama, it captivated American audiences and grossed \$8.5 million at the U.S. box office—unprecedented numbers for a foreign-language film. The screenplay, adapted from her own novel by Laura Esquivel, focuses on a woman who, as the youngest daughter of a family, is condemned by long tradition to a life of spinsterhood and domestic servitude, caring for her mother. Utilising the artistic freedoms of Magic Realism, director Alfonso Arau's film reveals the ferocity of love too long withheld and the power of a woman with the will to defy fate and convention.

The kitchen in the home of Mama Elena (Regina Torne) is the literal and allegorical center of *Like Water for Chocolate*. There, Tita (Lumi Cavazos) is born, and there she grows up to master the culinary arts. Frustrated in her passionate desire for the handsome rancher Pedro (Marco Leonardi) whom she is forbidden to marry—he marries one of her sisters and moves into the house in order to be near her—Tita buries her problems in her cooking and becomes a veritable sorcerer, creating imaginative and delicious dishes that induce bizarre physical and emotional reactions in those who partake of them. A series of cataclysmic events arise from this, and in a romantic climax

Tita and Pedro, many years on, finally consummate their passion. Pedro dies of ecstasy and Tita, deciding to follow him, eats matches and perishes in the flames of a self-induced conflagration. At once dramatic, sad, joyous, and moving, the film encloses a message about the power of women to rise above the constraints of home and hearth, and to liberate themselves from the oppressive shackles of hidebound tradition.

—Sandra Garcia-Myers

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## *Li'l Abner*

The *Li'l Abner* comic strip was a child of the Great Depression of the 1930s, a period when kidding country bumpkins, poverty, and rural lifestyles were perfectly acceptable subjects for a comic strip. Its creator, Al Capp, was a raucous and audacious humorist, capable of mixing barnyard humor with, increasingly perceptive social satire. He and his assorted assistants were also very good at drawing pretty young women. Launched by the United Feature Syndicate in 1934, the newspaper strip was an immediate success and by the 1940s Capp and Abner Yokum were nationally famous and being written up in *Life*, *Time*, and various other popular publications. By that time the strip was appearing in about 900 newspapers. The strip lasted until 1977 and gave America an unofficial national holiday and quite a few catch phrases and memorable characters.

Abner Yokum, who dwelled in the benighted rural community of Dogpatch, remained steadfastly naïve and obtuse, a sort of bucolic Candide, throughout the long run of the feature. He lived in a cabin with his Mammy, who was the boss of the family and possessed assorted mystical powers, and Pappy and their pig Salomey. Clueless when it came to romance, it took him a long time even to realize that he was being pursued by the lovely, blonde, and sparsely clad Daisy Mae. In order to give the maiden ladies of Dogpatch a chance with the other obtuse, or just downright reluctant, bachelors, Capp introduced Sadie Hawkins Day in the late 1930s. During this annual ritual, the eligible bachelors got a running start and then the unmarried women took off in pursuit. Any woman who caught a man was allowed to keep him and drag him immediately to the local preacher, Marryin' Sam. This festivity caught on with the public and high schools and colleges all across the country staged similar events.

Among the many odd and eccentric characters that Capp concocted were Moonbeam McSwine, Earthquake McGoon, Evil Eye Fleagle, Hairless Joe and Lonesome Polecat (brewers of Kickapoo Joy Juice), Lena the Hyena (who lived in the country of Lower Slobbovia, somewhat of an icebound Dogpatch, "where the favorite dish of the natives is raw polar bear and vice versa"), General Bullmoose (the epitome of ruthless and swinish business tycoons), Senator Jack S. Phogbound, the Schmoos and the Kigmies. These last two creatures he used to kid, respectively, consumer greed and

prejudice. The strip made fun of a wide range of contemporary fads and foibles, including Frank Sinatra, zoot suits, beauty contests and superheroes. Capp spoofed Chester Gould's *Dick Tracy*, too, by making Abner a dedicated fan of an even more brutal and invulnerable sleuth named Fearless Fosdick. Both Fosdick and his creator Lester Gooch were *Li'l Abner's* "ideels."

Although Abner steadfastly refused to become any brighter, he did give in and marry Daisy Mae in 1952. The nuptials, commemorated with a *Life* cover featuring Abner, Daisy Mae, and Marryin' Sam, garnered Capp a good deal of publicity. But he eventually came to regret the move, blaming the strip's decline from the 1950s to the 1970s on the fact that a married *Li'l Abner* didn't seem as interesting as a single one. Equally important, though, to the strip's loss of popularity was Capp's perceived shift from liberal to conservative. "My politics didn't change," he insisted. "I had always been for those who were despised, disgraced and denounced by other people." He also asserted that conservatives hated him right to the end. Be that as it may, readers, especially younger ones, weren't especially amused by the attacks on campus demonstrations and the antiwar movement. Caricaturing activist folk singer Joan Baez as Joanie Phonie didn't inspire sufficient laughter. An ailing Capp finally decided to shut down the whole operation in November of 1977. The circulation of *Li'l Abner* had by then dropped to about 300 papers.

In its prime the strip had branched out into several areas. First came *Li'l Abner* Big Little Books, then the strip was regularly reprinted in *Tip Top Comics* and *Comics On Parade*. There was a short-lived radio show, starring John Hodiak, a movie that featured Buster Keaton as Lonesome Polecat in 1940 (and another movie in 1959), and a lackluster series of five animated cartoons out of Columbia Pictures in the middle 1940s. In November, 1956, a *Li'l Abner* musical opened at the St. James Theatre on Broadway with Peter Palmer as Abner, Edie Adams as Daisy Mae, Stubby Kaye as Marryin' Sam, and Tina Louise as Appassionata Von Climax. It ran for just under 700 performances and later became a successful movie musical. Capp died in 1979.

—Ron Goulart

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## Limbaugh, Rush (1951—)

The undeniable king of conservative talk radio during the 1990s, Rush Limbaugh spread his vituperative conservative agenda across



**Rush Limbaugh**

the airwaves, making him one of the most controversial and talked-about public figures of the decade. A new era of talk radio—when programs devoted to commentary (as opposed to the traditional mixture of music and news) dominated radio programming—was ushered in through satellite technology, which allowed an AM radio program to be broadcast live across the United States (or even the world), enabling listeners nationwide to call in to a show and participate on the air. Some of these programs were devoted to sports (The Fabulous Sports Babe), while others practiced a mixture of crude sexual titillation and outrageous social commentary (Howard Stern, Don Imus). But the most popular genre of talk radio involved political commentary, and the czar of this milieu was undeniably Rush Limbaugh.

Rush Hudson Limbaugh III was born in Cape Girardeau, Missouri, where he developed an interest in radio at a young age, working as a deejay at a local station while still in high school. Admitted to Southeast Missouri State College, he dropped out after his freshman year. He then held a number of jobs at small radio stations around the country, followed by five years as a public relations assistant for the Kansas City Royals baseball team. Limbaugh returned to radio in 1983, when a Kansas City station hired him as a talk show host and

commentator. It was in this job that he first began to manifest what would become his characteristic style, though apparently neither his audience nor his employers found Limbaugh's approach appealing, since he was fired after ten months.

Limbaugh's career began to turn around the following year, however. In 1984, he was hired by KFBK, a San Diego station that was in dire financial trouble and whose owners were willing to gamble on something new. They gave Limbaugh a three-hour morning show, along with free rein to be as outrageous as he wished. This time, the "Limbaugh style"—a blend of conservative politics and acid humor directed at liberals—was more successful. Limbaugh's show soon became the most popular radio program in the city.

In 1988, Limbaugh's reputation (and ratings) came to the attention of Edward McLaughlin, who had just founded the Excellence in Broadcasting Network—a radio syndicate with fifty member stations. Limbaugh was relocated to New York City and turned loose on a national audience for the first time. He was a hit almost instantly. His audience (largely white, male, conservative, and young) apparently delighted in Limbaugh's characterization of liberals as, variously, "feminazis," "environmental wackos," and "hustlers for the homeless." Since Limbaugh takes calls while on the air, many of his

fans have taken to expressing their agreement with him by uttering a single word: “dittoes,” thus joining the army of self-proclaimed “dittoheads.”

Limbaugh’s popularity—he was, within four years of going national, the most popular radio talk show host in the United States—did not only stem from his verbal jabs at the left. He often combined the words with the ironic use of audio effects. A regular segment entitled “AIDS update” featured as background music Dionne Warwick’s “I’ll Never Love this Way Again,” and a report on liberal efforts to protect endangered species was accompanied by the Andy Williams song “Born Free,” interrupted by automatic weapons fire and the sound of animals screaming. Many critics believe that Limbaugh reached his nadir when he began subjecting the rare hostile phone call to a “caller abortion,” wherein the unfortunate individual on the line (and the radio audience) was subjected to the sound of a vacuum pump before the call was disconnected.

Rush Limbaugh’s influence went beyond his ability to bring in vast audiences and big bucks. He is widely believed to have played a role in the 1994 off-year elections, when the Republicans recaptured the House of Representatives. Limbaugh’s on-air advocacy was supplemented by numerous personal appearances at Republican fund-raising events. He has also been known to affect legislation. President Bill Clinton’s lobby reform bill initial had bipartisan support when he sent it to the House in 1995, but Speaker Newt Gingrich decided at the last moment to oppose it after he faxed his views to Limbaugh, who strongly criticized the plan on the air. The result: Members of Congress received a deluge of phone calls opposing lobbying reform, and the bill’s support evaporated.

For a period of time during the mid-1990s, Limbaugh was a multi-media phenomenon. In addition to his three-hour radio show, he had a one-hour television program in syndication around the country. Further, his book, *The Way Things Ought To Be*, was a bestseller in both hardcover and paperback. Loyal dittoheads could subscribe to a monthly newsletter, *The Limbaugh Letter*, which also told them how to purchase videotapes of their hero’s personal appearances.

But Rush Limbaugh’s star began to fade by the end of the decade. His second book, *See, I Told You So*, sold considerably fewer copies than his first. In 1996, Limbaugh decided to cancel his television show after a four-year run, because of declining ratings. At about the same time, a few radio stations stopped carrying Limbaugh’s program, just as comedian Al Franken’s tongue-in-cheek book, *Rush Limbaugh Is a Big Fat Idiot* began to climb the bestseller lists. It may be that the same shift in public opinion that led to the Democratic victories in the 1998 elections was also reflected in Rush Limbaugh’s declining ratings, sales, and fortunes.

—Justin Gustainis

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## Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts

At the inception of its initial fundraising campaign, President Dwight D. Eisenhower hailed the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts as the “great cultural adventure” that would transform twelve deteriorated acres on the west side of New York City’s Manhattan into a magnificent complex of auditoriums. Instead, following its groundbreaking in 1959 Lincoln Center served as an unofficial referendum on how the new rich, as well as the masses, perceived the performing arts at the height of America’s Imperial Age.

In the mid-1960s the media announced that a “cultural explosion” was at hand. *Fortune*’s futurist, Alvin Toffler, argued that “millions of Americans have been attracted to the arts, changing the composition of the audience profoundly.” Judging by consumer activity, he was right. At the end of the 1950s Americans spent \$425 million annually on phonograph records pressed by 1500 companies that sold in 8000 record stores to 26 million customers. Just three decades earlier only three companies had shared a \$7.5 million dollar market.

The other side of the coin was that in the mid-1950s, at the peak of our Imperial Age, auditoriums in New York City were demolished in favor of parking lots (Carnegie Hall was to be replaced by a skyscraper), and no opera company, symphony orchestra, or repertory theater company anywhere in the country had a 52-week season. Ballet companies came in and out of existence with bewildering rapidity and based their finances on the whims of wealthy patrons, one of whom, Rebekah Harkness, danced along with the troupe. Loud protests to the overall depressing situation of the performing arts came mainly from performers. The public seemed indifferent.

The bright, shining example of what *might* be was the New York City Center of Music, Drama, and Art. In 1943, after the Shriners failed to pay city taxes for a Mecca Temple in mid-town Manhattan, Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia encouraged the building’s use for artistic purposes. In an amazingly short time, it housed a symphony orchestra led first by Leopold Stokowski and then by Leonard Bernstein, a ballet company directed by Lincoln Kirstein and choreographer George Balanchine, a drama company directed by José Ferrer, and an opera company whose performers would include Beverly Sills.

The *New York Times* advised that “with 43 percent of patrons recording annual incomes under \$5000 and another 43 percent with incomes under \$10,000, the Center is an undertaking for the ‘Common Man.’” Better yet, 40 percent had college degrees and more than a third were either working toward a graduate degree or already had one. Many could not afford tickets for Carnegie Hall or the Metropolitan Opera. But regardless of age or circumstance, attendees all projected enthusiasm and willingness to support experiments in the arts.

The Center replaced an idea La Guardia had had in the 1930s for a “Municipal Arts Center” near Manhattan’s Rockefeller Center. The enormous structure contemplated was to house the Museum of Modern Art, the Metropolitan Opera, and the New York Philharmonic. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and his sons grasped the value of such an assemblage of world-famous arts organizations near their majestic real estate development; Nelson Rockefeller, recently graduated from Dartmouth, volunteered as a fund raiser. But the Great Depression was a bad time to test public opinion, and the plan was dropped.

Accounts of how Lincoln Center came to be and its significance in America’s cultural history usually begin with John D. Rockefeller



III's chance discussion at a September 1954 Council for Foreign Relations meeting in the Poconos. Two other board members brought him news that Carnegie Hall would soon be demolished and further told him that the Metropolitan Opera House should be demolished. Rockefeller formed an "Exploratory Committee" and traveled to Europe for a reconnaissance of concert halls and opera houses.

Fully persuaded that America must have equal or superior auditoriums to those in Europe, Rockefeller announced that he would head a permanent group seeking to construct a New York City arts center. He was not known to have an interest in the performing arts, so his willingness to lead what would be the largest single private-sector fundraising campaign to date in American history (initially with a \$55 million goal, finally with \$184 million needed for completion), on their behalf, was surprising. It was suspected that reasons other than popular yearning for the performing arts had influenced him.

And in fact they had. Rockefeller, who had presidential ambitions, wanted to ingratiate himself with the intelligentsia—voters like those who attended City Center performances. Furthermore, William Zeckendorf, a real estate developer, wanted to build a competing version of Rockefeller Center in Manhattan's Lincoln Square area. And not least, Robert Moses, New York's most astute political insider and then a Rockefeller ally, had access to federal and city funds for what promised to be the largest "coordinated Title I [urban redevelopment] project in the country," also earmarked for the Lincoln Square area. Ostensibly to replace the slums, Moses offered the public (and Rockefeller) a package that would include the Metropolitan Opera, the New York Philharmonic, Fordham University's Law School, the Juilliard School of Music, and public housing.

Unfortunately, the campaign for Lincoln Center proved a great many pundits wrong. Rockefeller family members despairingly put \$60 million into the facility because no other way could be found to end the fundraising effort. The repeated refusals by both New York's old and new commercial aristocracies to contribute to the campaign demonstrated that they would attend performances but not if they had to do more than buy tickets. Unless benefactions were tax-deductible and/or immense sums in public funds were invested in facilities, the very rich preferred hearing performances in existing structures or in Europe.

The most staggering findings of all related to the reactions of the masses to a "cultural explosion." John D. Rockefeller III, a dignified and reserved man, had middle-brow artistic tastes, at best. The vast expenditures of time and money that he directed did not produce anything near in imagination or in appeal to what had been created at the City Center for a fraction of the cost. The masses did not flock to Lincoln Center.

What Lincoln Center demonstrated for the American commonweal was that a giant bell curve operated in the performing arts, just as it did in every other field of human activity. A minority of the population—not a mass audience—demanded quality in the performing arts. Another minority was totally disinterested in them. And the overwhelming majority between the two might be interested if celebrities performed or playing a musical instrument was a hobby. Otherwise, the "cultural explosion" did not exist.

—Milton Goldin

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## Lindbergh, Anne Morrow (1906—)

Although Anne Morrow Lindbergh catapulted into the headlines with her 1929 marriage to celebrated aviator Charles Lindbergh, she has achieved widespread recognition for her own writings in the fields of aviation and conservation. Lindbergh recounted her journey with her husband to China in *North to the Orient* and told of their 30,000-foot-above-the-ground survey of Atlantic air routes in *Listen! The Wind*. These works attracted critical attention for their sensitive literary style; they also made Anne Lindbergh's travels the subject of public interest. It was with the publication of *Gift from the Sea* (1955), however, that Lindbergh earned her place as one of the leading advocates of the nascent environmental movement. The work, often described as a "love letter" to nature, became a national best seller. The public awareness generated by *Gift from the Sea* primed the public for the writings of Rachel Carson and helped make conservation palatable to mainstream America.

—Jacob M. Appel

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## Lindbergh, Charles (1902-1974)

Charles Lindbergh's 1927 nonstop solo flight across the Atlantic, the first of its kind, instantly transformed the twenty-five-year-old aviator into an international celebrity. The "Lone Eagle," a shy and uncomfortable youth, found himself at the center of history's first "media blitz" as journalists from across the globe tried to profit from the public's insatiable demand for Lindbergh news and gossip. Although Lindbergh's popularity peaked in the fad frenzy of the 1920s, he continued to be the subject of tabloid headlines throughout his life. He gained public sympathy after the kidnapping and murder of his son in 1932, then fell victim to widespread condemnation for



**Charles Lindbergh**

his German sympathies in the wake of World War II and finally rehabilitated himself as an early voice in the environmental conservation movement. Lindbergh's diverse accomplishments ranged from the invention of a prototypic artificial heart to the publication of a Pulitzer Prize-winning memoir. Yet while "Lucky Lindy" contributed immensely to the field of aeronautics, his lasting significance is as one of the first—if not the first—popular celebrities whose private life in all its details became a matter of public interest and record.

The future aviation pioneer was born into a wealthy Minnesota family on February 4, 1902. His father, Charles Augustus Lindbergh, Sr., represented Little Falls and the surrounding area in the United States Congress and the young Lindbergh divided his childhood between the family farm and the drawing rooms of Washington's inner circle. He showed exceptional promise as a teenager and enrolled in an engineering program at the University of Wisconsin at the age of eighteen. Two years later, having learned to fly, he ended his formal education without taking a degree to pursue the rugged, hand-to-mouth existence of an airmail pilot and barnstormer. He attended army flight school (1924-25), then became a regular on the Robinson Aircraft Corporation's Chicago-St. Louis postal flight route. Here he attracted the attention of a group of Missouri businessmen who agreed to sponsor Lindbergh in his bid for the Orteig Prize—a \$25,000 bounty offered by New York hotel magnate Raymond Orteig to the first aviator to fly nonstop from New York to Paris.

The preparations for Lindbergh's flight drew limited media coverage as other aviators had previously attempted the solo transatlantic voyage without success. Those in the media who took notice of

this new venture dubbed Lindbergh "the flying fool." Meanwhile, his backers purchased a specially designed aircraft from the Ryan Aircraft Company of San Diego, California. Lindbergh dubbed it *The Spirit of St. Louis*. The plane itself would later become a celebrated artifact of American lore—the subject of countless books and an immensely popular display at the Smithsonian Institute's National Air and Space Museum. Lindbergh captained the monoplane on a test run from San Diego to New York with an overnight stop in St. Louis; the 20-hour, 21-minute trip set a transcontinental record. Then, on May 20, 1927, at precisely 7:52 a.m., Lindbergh departed from New York's Roosevelt Field on the 3600 mile journey that would make him famous. Thirty-three and a half hours later he landed at Le Bourget Field on the outskirts of Paris. More than 100,000 Parisians came out to welcome him. Similar receptions followed in London and Ottawa as millions of fans struggled to catch a glimpse of the overnight hero. He also became the darling of the upper classes as King George of England presented him with the Air Force Cross and King Albert of Belgium honored him as a Knight of the Order of Leopold. After grand parades in New York City and Washington, President Calvin Coolidge personally pinned the Distinguished Flying Cross to Lindbergh's lapel. Myron Herrick, the United States Ambassador to France, expressed the sentiments of millions when he wrote to the president, "Had we searched all America we could not have found a better type than young Lindbergh to represent the spirit and high purpose of our people."

Promoters offered Lindbergh lucrative theatrical and movie contracts worth almost \$2 million. He rejected them outright, to popular acclaim. The young pilot instead offered his services to the Daniel Guggenheim Fund for the Promotion of Aeronautics and toured all forty-eight states as part of a campaign to promote aviation. His travels also took him to Latin America where he fell in love with Anne Morrow, the daughter of American Ambassador Dwight Morrow. The couple wed in 1929. Lindbergh devoted the next five years of his life to various scientific causes. He promoted the research of rocket pioneer Robert Goddard, then a professor at Clark University, and convinced the Guggenheim family to bankroll the physicist's work; Goddard's discoveries later proved to be highly instrumental in the development of space travel and satellite technology. Lindbergh also invented a prototype of the "artificial heart" with French surgeon Alexis Carrel. Although the device could not yet be implanted in humans, it demonstrated that human tissue could be kept alive outside the body. Despite these accomplishments, Lindbergh quickly tired of incessant media attention and sought to avoid the limelight. He and his wife "retired" to a 390-acre compound in Hopewell, New Jersey.

Personal tragedy returned Lindbergh to the public eye in 1932 when his twenty-month-old son, Charles Augustus, Jr., was kidnapped from the family's New Jersey estate. Ten weeks later, after Lindbergh paid a \$50,000 ransom, the boy's body was found in the nearby woods. Suspicion quickly fell upon Richard Bruno Hauptmann, a German-born carpenter with a record of petty criminal offenses. The subsequent trial developed into a media circus. Critic H.L. Mencken echoed popular sentiment when he termed the event "the biggest story since the Resurrection." More than 60,000 curiosity seekers and 750 reporters converged on Flemington, New Jersey, in the hope of seeing the kidnapper. Vendors sold models of the ladder used to climb into the child's bedroom and specious "locks of the child's hair." In the courtroom, Attorney General David Wilenz capitalized on pre-vailing anti-German sentiments and depicted the accused as "the filthiest and vilest snake that ever crawled through the grass." The

prosecution also pioneered the use of scientific experts, calling on specialists in handwriting and even a wood technologist to demonstrate that Hauptmann had written the ransom notes and constructed the ladder discovered near the crime scene. The jury convicted Hauptmann of kidnapping and felony murder. He was executed in 1936. In response to the case, Congress passed the "Lindbergh Law" making kidnapping a federal offense. The Lindberghs, now the recipients both of widespread public sympathy and renewed media attention, retreated to Europe to escape from the scrutiny of the press.

While in Europe, Lindbergh toured the aircraft industries of France and Germany. Hitler's Nazi regime feted the aviator and impressed him with the technological superiority of its Luftwaffe. Lindbergh was reported to claim that "the German air fleet could whip the Russian, French, and British air fleets combined." In 1938, Luftwaffe Commander Hermann Goering presented Lindbergh with the Service Cross of the German Eagle. Three weeks later, Hitler's S.S. perpetrated the *Kristallnacht* massacre of Germany's Jews. Lindbergh's refusal to return the medal and his subsequent anti-Semitic remarks tarnished his previously untouchable reputation. He attracted additional notoriety when, after his return to the United States in 1939, he advocated American neutrality in World War II. He became a prominent spokesman for the America First Committee, an isolationist lobby, and publicly attacked President Franklin Roosevelt's foreign policy. Although Lindbergh halted his antiwar activities following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 and attempted to serve his country, his efforts to enlist in the Army Air Corps were rebuffed. He did fly fifty combat missions as a civilian advisor to the United Aircraft Corporation. However, this service did little to repair his tarnished reputation. The aviator retired to Connecticut and Hawaii where he served as a part-time advisor to several private airlines and the Department of Defense. President Dwight Eisenhower appointed him a brigadier general in the Air Force Reserves in 1954.

The final decades of Lindbergh's life were devoted to travel and environmental causes. He lobbied for the protection of the blue whale and opposed supersonic air travel on the grounds that it might harm the earth's atmosphere. He also devoted himself to the study of the indigenous cultures of Southeast Asia and Africa. His memoir, *The Spirit of St. Louis*, won the Pulitzer Prize in 1954. Charles Lindbergh died of cancer on August 26, 1974 at his family retreat on the Hawaiian island of Maui.

The Lindbergh craze of the 1920s continued to influence American culture long after its subject had faded from the public view. Prior to the 1920s, the press generally honored the privacy rights of public figures. Yet Lindbergh's combination of personal reserve and public celebrity made him the victim of one of the darkest episodes in the history of the American free press. For years after his flight, reporters pestered his family and stalked his home to provide the public with such coveted details as Lindbergh's tastes in food and cinema. The media frenzy surrounding the "Lindbergh Baby" kidnapping paved the way for the sensational trials of such figures as Sam Sheppard, Candace Mossler, Melvin Powers. While the publicity-shy Lindbergh turned down efforts to exploit his fame financially, other popular figures capitalize on the celebrity craze that Lindbergh started. For Charles Lindbergh unwittingly did as much as any other figure to open the private lives of public figures to mass scrutiny. After 1927, "The Lone Eagle" discovered to his chagrin that America would no longer leave its heroes alone.

—Jacob M. Appel

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## Linkletter, Art (1912—)

For more than sixty years, Art Linkletter has performed before radio microphones and television cameras, first becoming widely known for two long-running shows: *House Party*, on CBS TV and radio for 25 years, and *People Are Funny*, on NBC TV and radio for 19 years. During his career he has received four Emmy nominations



Art Linkletter

and two Emmy Awards. His book, *Kids Say the Darndest Things*, remained number one on the non-fiction best-seller list for two consecutive years and is one of the top fourteen best sellers in American publishing history.

Born in Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, Canada, Linkletter graduated from San Diego State College in 1934 and became program director of local radio station KGB. In 1935 he directed radio activities for the California International Exposition, followed by similar positions with the Texas Centennial Exposition (1936), and the San Francisco World's Fair (1937-39). From 1940-55, he was president of Linkletter Productions, writing, producing, and starring in West Coast radio shows such as *House Party* and *What's Doin', Ladies?*

*Art Linkletter's House Party*, which became television's longest-running daytime variety show, began on radio in 1944, originating from the West Coast. In 1952 his blend of audience participation and easy-going conversation made a smooth transition to television, where it remained a popular fixture until 1969. Audiences looked forward to a special daily feature of the show when Art interviewed four young school children, who sat on a raised platform. He had a talent for eliciting comical reactions and humorous remarks from the kids, providing material for his series of books, *Kids Say the Darndest Things*.

In 1954 Art began hosting television's *People Are Funny*, one of the earliest audience participation quiz shows. Contestants were chosen from the studio audience and involved in stunts to prove that "people are funny." The stunts were designed to test such things as memory, level of greed, or decision-making, with contestants being doused with water or hit with pies as penalties. Others would be asked to complete a task during the following week, tasks such as trying to cash a check written on a forty-pound watermelon, and report back to the results. A computer-dating segment was added to the show during the 1956-57 season: a couple matched by a Univac computer became acquainted while answering questions in a quiz-show format.

In 1965 Art became the host of *Hollywood Talent Scouts*, a variety show featuring young unknowns who had been discovered by celebrities. Tom Smothers introduced a young comedian named Pat Paulsen (who later worked on the Smothers Brothers show); Bob Crane presented a singer named Marilyn McCoo (later to become lead singer with the Fifth Dimension); and Carl Reiner brought along a writer from *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, Garry Marshall, to try his luck as a stand-up comic. Marshall later became producer of two of television's brightest sitcoms, *Happy Days* and *Laverne & Shirley*.

Linkletter has not confined his talents to show business; he has become well known in the world of business, serving as CEO of Linkletter Enterprises and on the boards of directors of MGM, Western Air Lines, and Kaiser Hospitals, to name a few. In addition, his book, *Old Age Is Not for Sissies*, became a national bestseller, and he frequently appears on the public speaking circuit to discuss the foibles of old age as well as the darn things kids say.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## The Lion King

*The Lion King*, the Walt Disney Company's 1994 animated feature about a young lion cub in Africa, ranks among the most popular and most profitable films of all time. When it came out in the summer of 1994, *The Lion King* set off a craze among Americans young and old alike, eventually becoming the third-fastest film to earn over \$100 million dollars at the box office, and bringing in millions more through creative marketing tie-ins. Combined with a massive marketing campaign, the film's dramatic plot, stunning animation, and lively score attracted audiences of all ages. Several of the film's themes—family responsibility, interconnectedness, inner direction—seemed to resonate with 1990s audiences, making the film one of the most revealing cultural documents of the decade.

Although Disney presented *The Lion King* as the first of its thirty-plus animated features to be an original work, the script owes artistic debts to numerous classic literary works, including *Hamlet*, *The Adventures of Huck Finn*, and Disney's own animated film *Bambi*. As in *Bambi*, *The Lion King* traces the travails and triumphs of a young prince—named Simba—from "holy" birth to mature adulthood. As a young child, Simba (voiced by Jonathan Taylor Thomas, and Matthew Broderick as an adult) learns of the delicate balance of predators and prey within his kingdom, the "pridelands." In a Shakespearian turn, the young prince's evil, stereotypically gay uncle Scar (Jeremy Irons) dupes him into believing that his practice-roar has caused the death of his father, Mufasa (James Earl Jones). Guilt-ridden, Simba foregoes his royal inheritance in favor of self-exile among a merry bunch of jungle-dwelling, bohemian misfits, whose motto, "hakuna matata"—meaning "no worries"—became a hit song. Eventually, however, after intense soul-searching, Simba realizes that he, like Huck Finn before him, cannot run from his social obligations. Upon returning to the pridelands, Simba finds that Scar and his hyena henchmen have upset the delicate "circle of life" that holds the kingdom together. A climactic struggle with Scar leads to his restoration to the throne as well as ecological and social renewal. The film concludes as it begins, with the birth of a new heir.

Comparing *The Lion King* to Disney's 1942 classic *Bambi*—also the most profitable film of its decade—illuminates exactly where Disney's father-son story stands in American cultural history. Whereas in *Bambi*, Walt Disney selected an innocent deer to be king of the predatorless animal realm, in the 1990s, perhaps reflecting American acceptance of its own power in the post-Cold War world, Walt Disney's heirs make a predatory lion into the ruler of an animal kingdom full of predation. *The Lion King's* vision of the family also differs from *Bambi's* in significant ways. *Bambi's* parents represented the ideal of mid-century parents: he the classic military father, awesome and aloof yet reliable and protective; she the consummate feminine nurturer, demure and self-sacrificing. In *The Lion King*, however, Simba's father Mufasa epitomizes the sensitive 1990s "dad"—the loving, involved father who wakes up early on the weekends to spend quality time with his son. Simba's mother, as many feminist critics have pointed out, barely plays a role in the

family. Few audiences missed *The Lion King*'s messages about family and responsibility—the most vexing issues of the decade, according to one critic.

As in *Bambi*, the world in *The Lion King* divides into two camps—one clearly pure and good, the other wicked. But as opposed to *Bambi*'s gun-toting hunters, in *The Lion King* it is evil gangs of unmannered hyenas from just outside the realm who threaten the security of the “pridelands.” In the context of the Los Angeles uprisings of 1992, the O. J. Simpson case of 1994, and a decade-long debate over welfare reform, many critics saw a racial subtext to the villainous outsiders, noting that the racialized voices of the hyenas hewed to hackneyed stereotypes of African American and Hispanic threats to nice kids from the suburbs who stray too far from home.

*The Lion King* also ignited a lively debate among newspaper columnists, educational pundits, and parents around the nation about the role of violent death in children's films. While some argued that *The Lion King* included no more violence than the six o'clock news, other critics, most notably Terrence Rafferty in a much-quoted *New Yorker* article, argued that Disney's latest film would traumatize those children who could not easily distinguish between fiction and reality. *The Lion King* also received numerous complaints about its representation of nature. As *Bambi* did before it, critics like Ted Kerasote of *Audubon* magazine argued, the film eliminated any acceptable human role in nature, except perhaps as “passive ecotourists watching an Eden in which we play no part.” Given its popularity despite these criticisms, *The Lion King* is well on its way to becoming the classic family story for post-Cold War America.

—Thomas Robertson

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## Lionel Trains

For generations of Americans, Christmas just wouldn't be the same without the sight of a Lionel train click-clacking along the tracks beneath the tree. Above all other toy train manufacturers, Lionel stands for genuine quality and craftsmanship. Founded in 1903 by Joshua Lionel Cowen, this New York-based company had assumed dominance of the toy train market by 1926. Focused almost exclusively on O-gauge electric trains, the firm's carefully painted reproductions of diesel locomotives and earlier metal die-cast models of steam engines have become coveted collector's items. For the cars behind this motive power, a wide variety of rolling stock, embracing both passenger and freight cars, were made by the company. Moreover, the trademark Lionel layout was typically an animated affair, with a generous supply of operating accessories. The company's direction and fortunes were revitalized during the 1990s, when rock musician Neil Young assumed part ownership.

—Robert Kuhlken

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## Lippmann, Walter (1889-1974)

Renowned twentieth-century American journalist and political analyst, Walter Lippmann, championed a responsible press in a time when, beneath the posture of detachment, elite journalists were deeply involved in the mechanics of the government. Lippmann was one of the chief architects of a professional journalism characterized by independence and objectivity. At the same time, however, he also



Walter Lippmann

renounced the ideals of citizen-based democracy as unfeasible. His column appeared in hundreds of newspapers as a syndicated feature from 1931 into the 1970s. He won two Pulitzer Prizes, the Medal of Freedom, and three Overseas Press Club awards. In addition to authoring several books, he was the founding editor of *New Republic* and director of the editorial page at the *New York World*.

Lippmann was born in New York City to Jacob and Daisy Baum Lippmann. His father was a successful clothing manufacturer who provided his son with exposure to the high culture of New York and summer travels to European and American resorts. By the time he enrolled at Harvard, in 1906, Lippmann had already toured Europe extensively. His privileged upbringing was reflected throughout his career: in his friendships, in his political philosophies and, perhaps most conspicuously, in his skeptical view of the public.

Set against the soaring rhetoric of democracy flourishing in America at the time, Lippmann's *Public Opinion*, written in 1922, outlines the limitations of the media in performing the function of public enlightenment. In this widely influential tome, Lippmann argues that the vast majority of citizens are unable to comprehend, let alone synthesize, complex national and international political issues, thus an informed and engaged public is an illusion. Journalists, he claims, are of little help because they cannot produce a complete image of the political scene, offering instead an inadequately selective series of glimpses. Describing this limited view of complex subjects, Lippmann coined the expression "stereotype," borrowing the term for a printer's mold. John Dewey called *Public Opinion* "perhaps the most effective indictment of democracy as currently conceived ever penned."

To relieve the public of the burden of participation in government, Lippmann advocated the establishment of a class of experts, which would shape the public mind and character. The press would serve to transmit the judgements of these well-informed opinion leaders, thereby considerably reducing the role of the public. In addition news would expose the experts to publicity in order to keep them honest and focused on public rather than private interests.

Throughout his career Lippmann enjoyed prestige, access to heads of state and royalty, and the confidence of "insiders," whom he decided early on were the truly important people in society. Many believed he helped author Woodrow Wilson's famous Fourteen Points which shaped the Versailles Peace treaty, and he was advisor to numerous political figures, including President John F. Kennedy and his successor Lyndon Johnson.

Yet he maintained what he felt was a professional distance as a journalist. He criticized the United States-supported invasion of Cuba despite his ties to the Kennedy administration and he disagreed in his columns with President Johnson's decision to send troops to Vietnam. Offended by Johnson's later attempts to sway his coverage, Lippmann resigned from writing his column, which was syndicated in over 275 papers.

Although Lippmann's views on the press still reverberate in the writing of mass media scholars and critics, he is often quoted out of context in a way that emphasizes his concerns with professionalism while down-playing his largely elitist opinions. His ideas endure because debates regarding the role of the mass media in democracy remain unsettled. While his views regarding the limitations of the press have profoundly influenced the way journalism is practiced today, Lippmann's powerful work as a columnist, reporter, and

philosopher suggest that he neither accepted these restrictions for himself nor imposed them on his readers.

—Adrienne Russell

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## Lipstick

Lipstick has become one of the most widely used cosmetics since Cleopatra first stained her lips with carmine in 69 B.C. "Even women who don't wear makeup wear lipstick," write Meg Cohen Ragas and Karen Kozlowski in *Read My Lips: A Cultural History of Lipstick*. Often referred to as hope in a tube, lipstick has captivated women (and men) since the earliest rosy stains forever linked lipstick and women's lips with femininity and sexuality.

First mass-produced in 1915 when American Maurice Levy designed a metal case for the waxy tube, lipstick was one of the few luxuries purchased by Depression-era women. Lipstick hit its stride commercially in the 1950s, and despite the creation of numerous formulations, lipstick trends have proven cyclical throughout the twentieth century. Honored in 1997 as one of only 12 objects included in an exhibition entitled "Icons: Magnets of Meaning," lipstick has transcended its decorative roots and become culturally indispensable as a quick and affordable way to transform one's image.

—Alison Macor

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## Liston, Sonny (1932?-1970)

Charles "Sonny" Liston is best remembered as the man who lost the heavyweight title to Muhammad Ali (then Cassius Clay), in 1964. A fearsome slugger, Liston captured and terrified the American consciousness in the early 1960s. His criminal past and his stint in prison were well publicized, as were his ties to organized crime. However, the single most well-known item about Liston was his baleful stare, which often petrified opponents even before the bell for the first round sounded.

In the early 1960s, the heavyweight champion of the world was clean-cut Floyd Patterson. Patterson's manager and trainer Cus



Sonny Liston (right) in a 1959 bout with Willi Blomanoff.

D'Amato had spent the better part of his life fighting the influence of organized crime in boxing and was intent on protecting the heavyweight title from the mob. Realizing that his charge would have little chance against the fearsome Liston, D'Amato refused to allow Patterson to defend his title against the man many in boxing were already referring to as the uncrowned champ. Liston, meanwhile, was busy flattening the heavyweight division, waiting for what he hoped would be his inevitable title shot. Eventually Patterson, a proud champion, relented and took Liston on against the advice of D'Amato. On September 25, 1962, in a fight that was widely seen as good versus evil, Liston knocked Patterson out in one round to win the heavyweight title. Liston then repeated his performance with another one round demolition of Patterson the following year. At that point there were many among the hard-to-impress boxing media who considered Sonny Liston the best heavyweight ever to lace on a pair of gloves.

Enter Cassius Clay, soon to be known to the world as Muhammad Ali. Clay was the light heavyweight gold medalist in the 1960 Olympic games in Rome. The outspoken young fighter was fast becoming the sport's number one star, despite the fact that most boxing experts did not envision a world title in his future, especially not with the unbeatable Liston sitting on the heavyweight throne. Nevertheless as the outstanding contender to the title in 1964, Clay earned a try against Liston. Sonny Liston, the overwhelming favorite

at 7-1 odds, was totally bewildered by the young challenger's hand and foot speed, and after six rounds of fighting, Liston refused to answer the bell for the seventh, insisting that he had damaged his shoulder during the bout and was unable to continue fighting as a result. The following year, Clay again defeated Liston, this time with a one-round knockout courtesy of a "phantom punch" which many attributed to Clay's faster-than-the-human-eye handspeed but many others saw as a fraudulent punch in a fixed fight. The controversy surrounding this fight has never been resolved, and the "phantom punch" remains a favorite topic of argument for boxing fans to this day.

Liston's last fight was in 1970 against Chuck Wepner, the fighter who nearly lasted the distance against Muhammad Ali and in doing so inspired a young actor in attendance named Sylvester Stallone to write the screenplay for the movie *Rocky*. Liston won the Wepner fight with a tenth round technical knockout. Later that year, Liston was found dead in his home, reportedly from a heroin overdose. Those who knew him personally insist that Sonny did not use heroin and that his death was actually a mob execution. Charles "Sonny" Liston, a man who did not know where he was born or how old he was, died as he lived—under a shroud of mystery and controversy.

—Max Kellerman

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## Little Black Dress

The little black dress, a simple yet timeless fashion innovation first popular in the 1920s, has been called the foundation of any woman's wardrobe, and the one style item that makes every woman both look and feel great. Author Edna O'Brien has called it "both chic and armor," though the black dress was originally considered something of an anti-fashion statement when it first appeared after World War I with its "less is more" concept inspired by the simple lines of the chemise and the functional uniforms of French shopgirls and waitresses.

The little black dress has been promoted by many designers throughout the twentieth century, but most couture authorities credit its origin to famed French designer Gabrielle Bonheur "Coco" Chanel (1883-1971). Chanel opened her first dress shops between 1912 and 1914 in Paris and Deauville, where she was the first to create women's clothing to be worn without corsets, and fashions that emphasized comfort, ease, and practicality, with no loss of elegance. She introduced a number of influential and enduring fashion trends, such as the chemise dress, tweed skirts and sweaters, and feminized male items such as trousers and pea jackets. Chanel was advocating the little black dress as a new uniform for afternoon and evening as early as 1915. As Caroline Rennolds Milbank noted: "Deceptively simple, these dresses were wizardries of cut and proportion. Chanel used traditional elegant material—lace, tulle, embroideries, or soft, weightless silks—in a newly tailored way. The little black dress made women wearing anything else seem overdressed, and during the first years of her career—the war years—overdressing was severely frowned upon." Countless other designers, including Edward Molyneux, Jean Patou, and Balenciaga, carried Chanel's original concept into the future.

Writers on fashion have lauded both the essentiality and the versatility of the little black dress. Originally designed for the afternoon cocktail hour, it was soon lauded for the relaxed mood it first brought to feminine evening wear. Its basic simplicity made it easily accessorized, and it has been called an entire wardrobe in itself when worked with scarves, purses, and real or faux pearls and other jewelry. Smart working women are still advised to keep a small black evening bag at the office for transforming the workaday black dress into instant elegance after hours.

The versatility of the little black dress is key to its popular success. Appropriate for formal and informal wear in both winter or summer, the dress has been praised by fashion writers for the way it focuses on the face, looks great with a tan, can stand out or blend in, and both intrigue and seduce. On a purely functional level, it hides stains, and, best of all, slims the figure—enthusiasts swear it can appear to take off ten pounds. The little black dress really owes a great deal of its durability to its color. Black soon shook its long association with mourning to become the most basic of fashion colors, by turns elegant, classic, sexy, or funky. Impeccable fashion precedents for basic black include Audrey Hepburn in *Breakfast at Tiffany's*, Anita Ekberg in Fellini's *La Dolce Vita*, where she wore a clerical variation of the little black sheath dress fashioned after an Italian priest's garb, and also nuns, beatniks, and Morticia Addams.

The durable fashion staple was further, if bizarrely, immortalized in Richard O'Brien's *Shock Treatment*, a 1981 film sequel to the cult smash, *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*. In it, *Rocky Horror's* now married and somewhat taken-for-granted heroine, Janet Majors, performs an aggressive rock number, "Little Black Dress," while in the process of a fashion makeover geared to instantly transforming her into the chic and attention-grabbing woman of the hour, courtesy of a "minimal, criminal, cynical Little Black Dress." Throughout the twentieth century, the little black dress has never gone out of fashion, echoing Coco Chanel's observation that fashion fades, but style remains the same.

—Ross Care

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## Little Blue Books

Little Blue Books—compact, cheap, often carrying alluring titles or topics—became immensely successful in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s. Because they cost only a nickel apiece, the books represented the true reading taste of Americans, according to their publisher, Emanuel Haldeman-Julius (1889-1951), who referred to the thousands of titles he published in a small town in southeastern Kansas as "a university in print" and a "democracy of literature." Many of his best-selling books promised frank discussions of sex for an American public that was still deemed bashful about the question. But the chapbooks also gave thrifty readers a broad range of literature at practically no cost: ancient and modern works, essays, fiction, philosophy, humor, biography, self-improvement manuals, and a variety of other works.

Haldeman-Julius, son of a Russian Jewish immigrant bookbinder in Philadelphia, worked at Socialist newspapers in New York and elsewhere before marrying Anna Marcet Haldeman in 1916. Daughter of a prominent banking family in Girard, Kansas (population 2,500), and a niece of the prominent social worker Jane Addams, she supplied him with half of his last name and funds for his purchase of a financially struggling Socialist newspaper called the *Appeal to Reason*, which he eventually was forced to close although he continued with other journalistic efforts.

Haldeman-Julius said he first thought of printing cheap books for the masses after reading a copy of Oscar Wilde's *Ballad of Reading Gaol* when he was 15. In 1919, he introduced his concept with 25-cent paperbacks, beginning with *Reading Gaol* and *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*. Various called Pocket Classics, People's Classics, and Pocket Series, they sported covers of different colors. Two years later the publisher spurred sales by cutting the price to a nickel apiece, adopting blue covers (although some later came with covers in yellow and other colors), and naming the series Little Blue Books. Cheaply bound and printed on inexpensive newsprint,



the books measured three-and-one-half by five inches and usually contained 64 pages, though they could run from 32 to 128 pages. Haldeman-Julius advertised them widely in newspapers and magazines at 20 for a dollar postpaid and they became enormously popular. By 1927 he reported he had sold 21 million and it has been estimated that he sold more than 300 million in his lifetime. The publisher boasted he could provide the information and entertainment found in hardcover books at one-hundredth the price.

Although books with sexy titles or topics became Haldeman-Julius's most popular category, strict laws prohibited distribution of material relating to sexual subjects through the mails, and the texts, some by authors like Margaret Sanger, an early public advocate of birth control, were not as saucy as some readers perhaps hoped. "Sex hygiene" manuals employed euphemistic titles to avoid embarrassment to customers, Haldeman-Julius said. *What Every Young Woman Should Know*, *What Every Young Man Should Know*, and *How to Be Happy Though Married* were several top sellers.

Though he could be coy about titling the sex manuals he published, Haldeman-Julius did not hesitate to spice up titles of slow-moving books. Sales of Theophile Gautier's novel *Fleece of Gold* jumped from 6,000 copies in 1925 to 50,000 the next year when Haldeman-Julius retitled it *The Quest for a Blonde Mistress*. Sales of a book about Henry II rocketed from 5,000 to 300,000 after Haldeman-Julius renamed it *The Story of a Lustful King*.

The entire series catered to Americans' quest for self-improvement and self-education. Although Haldeman-Julius boasted that his reprints included "all the famous authors from Aesop to Zarilla," he also hired freelancers to write original books, including his perennially popular line of self-help chapbooks that promised to make readers smarter, stronger, more attractive, and better in practically every way. His most productive writer, a former priest in London, pumped out 10,000 words a week and 7.5 million words in all. The publisher also picked liberally from older works with expired copyrights. He estimated in 1928 that one-quarter of his books fell in the latter category. Authors of the 2,000 titles on his list included Edgar Allan Poe, Clarence Darrow, Will Durant, Upton Sinclair, Bertrand Russell, and William Shakespeare, among many others. Books extolling socialism were common.

Besides editing the Little Blue Books, Haldeman-Julius wrote many himself, including fiction and essays. One of his favorite themes was atheism (*The Church Is a Burden, Not a Benefit*, *In Social Life: Is Theism a Logical Philosophy?*; *The Meaning of Atheism*; *Studies in Rationalism*), although he also offered his customers versions of the Bible and other religious material. He claimed he wanted only to provide readers a range of subjects and philosophies and to let them draw their own conclusions. He wrote a number of books with his wife, who also wrote some by herself, including *What the Editor's Wife Is Thinking About*, which jumped from annual sales of 1,000 to 16,000 when it was retitled *Marcet Haldeman-Julius' Intimate Notes on Her Husband* in 1927.

Cheap and portable, the books remained popular even during the Great Depression, but their popularity began to decline after World War II as greater prosperity made the books less appealing. Haldeman-Julius carried on the business until he died in his swimming pool on his ranch outside Girard in 1951, shortly after being sentenced to six months in prison and a \$12,500 fine for income tax evasion. (The death was ruled an accidental drowning). His son, Henry J. Haldeman, continued to publish the books until the mid-1970s, tempting readers with titles like *Your Sex Life After 80*, *Pin-Ups of Now Magazine*, and

*Rupture and Hernia*, but they never regained the popularity of their early years.

—Daniel Lindley

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## Little League

From its inception in 1939 to the present, Little League has evolved into the primary outlet for youngsters to participate in baseball—America's National Pastime. Today, well over three million boys and girls from across the globe between the ages of five and eighteen partake in Little League programs. Those who coach in the League, which is incorporated as a not-for-profit organization, do not simply teach children how to swing a bat, toss a curve ball, or steal a base. The essence of Little League is clearly stated in its official Pledge: "I trust in God. I love my country and will respect its laws. I will play fair and strive to win. But win or lose, I will always do my best."

Little League was founded in Williamsport, Pennsylvania, by Carl Stotz and George and Bert Bebble. The initial league consisted of three teams; a year later, a second league was added, with ten more coming on board during World War II. In 1947, the first non-Pennsylvania league—located in Hammonton, New Jersey—became an official Little League, and the initial Little League World Series, the organization's showcase event, was held. The victor was Williamsport's Maynard Little League. By the following year, 94 youth baseball programs had become official Little Leagues, and in 1950 there were 307 leagues spanning the United States. Little League went international in 1951, with the establishment of a program in British Columbia, Canada. Six years later, the team from Monterrey, Mexico, became the first foreign squad to win a World Series title. When it repeated the following year, Monterrey became the first back-to-back Little League champions.

In 1952, the organization had its initial full time president in Peter J. McGovern, and there were over 1,500 Little Leagues in and outside the United States. In 1953, CBS first televised the Little League World Series with Howard Cosell behind the microphone. By 1955, there was at least one Little League in all 48 of the United States, and by 1959 the organization had grown to over 5,000 leagues. That year, which was the twentieth anniversary of Little League, President Dwight Eisenhower announced that the week following the second Monday in June of every year will be designated National Little League Baseball Week.

Throughout the 1960s, Little League continued to develop. Senior League Baseball was established for 13-to-15-year-olds, as was Big League Baseball for those 16-to-18. A summer camp was inaugurated in Williamsport, and the League was granted a Federal Charter of Incorporation by the United States Congress. The World



Eric Campesi, U.S. East champion, from the Tom's River Little League in New Jersey, sits during practice before the Little League World Series in Williamsport, Pennsylvania, 1998.

Series was broadcast on ABC's *Wide World of Sports*. Teams from Spain and Venezuela made it to the series—and one from West Tokyo, Japan, became the initial Asian squad to win a championship.

The 1970s saw the introduction of the aluminum bat, the evolution of which came in conjunction with the League. Girls began taking part in League softball programs, and Junior League was inaugurated for 13-year-olds. By the end of the decade, there were 6,500 Little Leagues, 2,850 Senior Leagues, and 1,300 Big Leagues. In the 1980s, the Peter J. McGovern Little League Museum commenced operation in South Williamsport; Vice President George Bush threw out the first pitch in the League championship contest, and the original 1947 World Series winners, the Maynard Little Leaguers—now all grown, and well into middle age—were honored on the fortieth anniversary of their triumph. In the 1990s, Little League continued evolving as a Challenger Division was established for physically and mentally impaired youngsters.

Many major leaguers began their baseball careers in Little League. Boog Powell and Ken Hubbs played in the 1954 Little League World Series. Rick Wise and Hector Torres did so in 1958. In 1971, Lloyd McClendon belted five dingers in five World Series at bats. Tom Seaver was the inaugural inductee in the Hall-of-Excellence, located in the Peter J. McGovern Little League Museum. Other alumni include Carl Yastrzemski—the first Little Leaguer to make

the Baseball Hall of Fame—Jim Palmer, Mike Schmidt, Nolan Ryan, Cal Ripken, and Dale Murphy.

Yet not all-star Little Leaguers were fated to make the major leagues. In 1956, Fred Shapiro, playing for Delaware Township, New Jersey, tossed the initial perfect game in the Little League World Series. The hero of the 1964 competition was Danny Yacarino of the Staten Island, New York, Mid Island Little League, who hurled a no-hitter and belted a home run in the championship contest against Monterrey. One notable Little League graduate is National Football League quarterback Brian Sipe, who participated in the 1961 series, with his team, hailing from El Cajon, California, winning the championship. Among the Little League Museum Hall-of-Excellence honorees are National Basketball Association (NBA) Hall-of-Famer Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, a member of New York City's Inwood Little League; NBA star and United States Senator Bill Bradley of the Crystal City, Missouri, Little League; George Will, the nationally syndicated columnist and political commentator who played Little League ball in Champaign, Illinois; actor Tom Selleck, a graduate of the Sherman Oaks, California, Little League; and former Vice President Dan Quayle of the Huntington, Indiana Little League.

The official goal of Little League is to “promote, develop, supervise, and voluntarily assist in all lawful ways, the interest of those who will participate in Little League Baseball.” Its true

purpose, however, is not simply to train youngsters in baseball fundamentals and then send them out on the field to win at all costs. Beyond athletic competition and the enjoyment inherent in learning and playing baseball, the primary objective of Little League is to build within all participants character and loyalty, a solid work ethic, and a sense of identity as a citizen of their home country. Indeed, the emphasis in Little League is on developing exemplary world citizens, instead of outstanding ballplayers.

—Rob Edelman

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## Little Magazines

The origin of American little magazines can be traced back to the radical pamphlets of the American Revolution, but it was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that little magazines came into their own. By the early part of the twentieth century, little magazines were recognized as an important outlet for literary works. The "little" in little magazines refers not to the physical size of the periodical but to the circulation, which numbers from approximately 200 to 2,000 or more subscribers, a mere fraction of commercial counterparts. Typically, little magazines have provided a place for writing that could find no other home, and have often been used as an entry vehicle for new writers to get published. The magazines exist primarily for writers, though all readers are welcome. Their editors have often founded them for personal reasons, and there is a significant relationship between self-publishing and little magazines; *Deanotations*, for example, is a magazine of poems by the editor and drawings by his wife. The magazines usually have small staffs of one or two persons, or they may reflect the efforts of a writers' cooperative; for example, *First Draft* is based on works of a writers' group. A

number of little magazines are associated with a college or university, especially an English Department, such as *Cream City Review* from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Sometimes a little magazine will serve as a springboard to a small book press, for example, *CAYLX: A Journal of Art and Literature for Women* engendered CAYLX Books.

The exact number of little magazines is difficult to track because of the many that do not make it past their first year of publication; still others have erratic publication schedules. Promotional budgets are nearly nonexistent, and most have trouble attracting advertising revenue. Most lack a profit motive, and few break even financially. The effort is largely based on passion. In contrast, most commercial magazines are part of a larger profit-based corporation. These mainstream magazines aggressively seek advertisers, have large budgets for promotion, employ large staffs, and circulate to thousands, if not tens of thousands, of subscribers. The writing and topics are usually homogenized and stylistically uniform. While on occasion they may be thought provoking, they are rarely thought disturbing, a trend more common to little magazines. Commercial magazines appeal to a mass market, rather than a select group of kindred spirits, and purposefully pursue the acceptably correct and publishable verse. Many little magazines derive from a need to say things that commercial magazines reject. Little magazines need editorial freedom and are willing to remain little, non-profit, and independent of corporate control in order to have this.

The 1930s through the 1950s were a vibrant time for little magazines. The content was largely focused in the areas of the arts and literature with writing that was edgy, peculiar, and asocial. Many of these little magazines served the interests of the bohemian and Beat generations. The works were unfettered and represented eclectic interests and literary experimentation, for example, ethnopoetics and experimental language. During this time there was an outgrowth from the literary genres into areas of fantasy literature and science fiction, a subset of little magazines that came to be called fanzines—a term that was later shortened to zines as the phenomenon grew. The line between little magazines and zines is not easily distinguished. Each has an independent spirit and an idiosyncratic nature, and both are adversaries for free expression; however, zines are not predisposed to any type of category. Little magazines are traditionally literary.

In the early 1960s, there were reputed to be approximately 600 little magazines, and by the mid-1970s, approximately 1,500. This growth was a result of technology, beginning with the so-called mimeo revolution based on the duplicating capability of the mimeograph machine. This capability accelerated through inexpensive and easy access to photocopy services and machines. Continued growth came as the result of an increase in grant monies through public and private agencies, which was facilitated by organizations such as the Coordinating Council of Literary Magazines. As little magazines grew in number so did their interests. Another subset of little magazines evolved as a result of political unrest during the 1960s and went underground, creating the term "underground press." Though the term is still occasionally used, radical magazines are more commonly called "progressive" and focus on alternative music and lifestyles, critiques of politics, sociology, the environment, culture, and current events.

There is a significant core of little magazines that are concentrated in the areas of art and literature encompassing poetry, prose, fiction, short stories, plays, photography, collages, satire, art, criticism, and reviews. The magazines may be primarily literary, but their

interests are peripatetic, such as *Hammers*, a geographic-based magazine stressing Chicago area poets; *Primavera*, a gender-based magazine expressing the perspectives and experiences of women; *The Connecticut Poetry Review*, a genre-based magazine that publishes only poetry; *The Crescent Review*, a genre-based magazine that publishes only short stories; *Italian Americana*, a magazine that reflects aspects of the Italian experience in America; *City Primeval*, which addresses the nature and activity of men and women contending in, and with, the evolving urban environment; *City Lights Journal*, a magazine edited by Beat writer and poet Lawrence Ferlinghetti; *Bathtub Gin*, a magazine that looks for work “that has the kick of bathtub gin”; and *The Dirty Goat*, a magazine that will consider anything.

To maintain independence and survive, many little magazines have found it necessary to concentrate on the business end. Many writers got into the magazine business accidentally, for no other purpose than to edit and distribute good writing, not to develop marketing plans and balance books. To assist these individuals and writers cooperatives, nonprofit agencies have been formed, such as the Committee of Small Magazine Editors and Publishers, Independent Press Association, and a number of distribution companies that specialize in distributing little magazines to bookstores and libraries. The purpose is not to make a mark on Wall Street, but to remain solvent so that ideas and values outside of the commercial mainstream magazines may have a voice. When a little magazine becomes big, something unique is lost.

—Byron Anderson

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## Little Orphan Annie

Little Orphan Annie, America’s most popular hapless waif for over three score and ten years, first showed up in U.S. newspaper comic sections in 1924. The brainchild of cartoonist Harold Gray, Annie was inspired in part by the sort of feisty orphans America’s Sweetheart Mary Pickford had been playing on silent movie screens for over a decade as well as by the pluck-and-luck lads Horatio Alger, Jr. had introduced in his novels in the previous century. The conservative and eccentric Gray sent his redheaded, blank-eyed, little orphan on a relentless odyssey through America, commencing in the Roaring Twenties, continuing through the Great Depression of the 1930s, into the grim years of World War II, through the Cold War, and into the restless 1960s. Along the way he created scores of memorable

characters, all drawn in his bleak, shadowy, and highly individual cartoon style. Chief among them were the avuncular Daddy Warbucks, the almost supernatural Punjab, and Sandy, one of the most faithful and long-lived dogs in comics history. Sandy’s frequent “Arf” became a national catchword and was even quoted in a song about Annie.

A former assistant to Sydney Smith on the popular *The Gumps*, Gray had learned a good deal about melodrama and suspense. Gray began his own strip in the traditional style for that sort of tale, showing the plucky Annie leaving a bleak orphanage when she was adopted by a wealthy business tycoon named Oliver “Daddy” Warbucks. As Dickens helped establish nearly a hundred years earlier, an orphan’s lot is often not a happy or stable one, and Annie didn’t remain happily secure in the Warbucks household for very long. Soon she was on the road, unjustly separated from her benefactor and accompanied by the loyal Sandy. The pair roamed the country, encountering both kindly souls who took them in and consummate scoundrels who set them on the run again. During the Depression of the 1930s, Gray was one of the few comic strip artists who dealt directly with life among those who were hard hit by the economic woes of the period. Despite his long-term dislike for President Roosevelt, Gray was not the sort of conservative who blamed the poor and homeless for their plight. Annie spent considerable time in the lower depths, never losing her belief that hard work and honesty would win the day. Unlike most of the unemployed and homeless she encountered, the admirable orphan was frequently rescued and returned to upper class comfort by Daddy Warbucks. One of Gray’s greatest challenges was to come up with new and plausible ways for the moppet to become parted once more from her surrogate parent.

During World War II, Daddy Warbucks turned his factory over to the government and became a lieutenant colonel in, for some reason, the British Army. On the home front Annie organized the Junior Commandos, who kept an eye out for spies and saboteurs but also, more practically, collected waste paper and scrap metal. “This is war, kids,” Annie told her young colleagues, “our war, just as much, or more maybe, than anybody else’s—we’re givin’ all we can to help those who are givin’ ever’thing for us!”

*Little Orphan Annie* branched out into other media soon after its inception. The Cupples & Leon Company began issuing hardcover reprint books of the strip in 1926. In the 1930s came Big Little Books and various comic book appearances. A kids’ daily radio serial took to the air in the spring of 1931, broadcast initially out of NBC’s Blue Network studios in Chicago. Ovaltine sponsored the show for nearly a decade and sold many thousand shakeup mugs for just a dime and the aluminum seal from inside a tin of their product. There were several styles of mugs, but all had a decal of Annie, usually accompanied by Sandy, on the side. Annie hit the movies in 1932, when RKO made *Little Orphan Annie* with Mitzi Green in the title role and slow burn comedian Edgar Kennedy as Daddy Warbucks. In all these venues Annie frequently uttered her favorite, and famous, exclamation—“Leapin’ lizards!” 1977 saw the unsinkable orphan on Broadway in the hit musical *Annie*, which was later turned into a movie.

Gray died in 1968, thus never getting to see his little monster, as he often called her, sing and dance on the stage. His longtime assistant, Bob Leffingwell, carried on the strip for a short time and was then replaced by a series of others. Longest on the job were artist Tex Blaisdell and writer Elliot Caplin. In 1974 reprints of old Gray continuities began running. Finally at the end of 1979, and due to the popularity of the musical, Leonard Starr was brought in to write and draw a new version. Now titled simply *Annie*, it continued to run at

the end of the twentieth century, although not as many newspapers carry the strip as when Harold Gray was in his prime.

—Ron Goulart

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## *Little Rascals, The*

*See Our Gang*

## Little Richard (1932?—)

Singer and pianist Richard Wayne Penniman, better known as Little Richard, is one of the most audacious, seminal, and hysterical performers of 1950s rock 'n' roll. With his flamboyant costumes, a six-inch high pompadour, and feral stage antics, Richard's performances unleashed the ecstasy of his gospel roots coupled with sexual innuendo, giving rock 'n' roll its first zany artist. His intensity strongly impacted his audience. Black and gay, Richard was uncompromising in his image, with its roots in drag-queen revues, travelling medicine shows, church, and clubs. A symbol of rebellion, Richard became one of the first black artists to have enormous crossover appeal in both the American and British pop audiences and to foster the transformation of black R&B to rock 'n' roll. His songs have become staples in the rock 'n' roll repertoire. Richard's recording output for Specialty, in slightly more than a two year span, produced his most noteworthy recordings as well as the greatest number of hits, including three number one songs that peaked on the R&B chart and four songs in the Top Ten pop chart.

Richard was born December 5, 1932 (some sources give 1935 as his birth date) in Macon, Georgia, to Charles, a bricklayer, and educator Leva Mae Penniman. His upbringing was religious, conservative, and strict. His effeminacy and the physical defect of his right leg being shorter than his left set him apart from the rest of his peers. His mother put Richard in a charismatic Baptist church in Macon in the hopes of changing his homosexual behavior though he was raised Seventh Day Adventist. At the age of 13, Richard was banished from his home because of his homosexuality and became estranged from his parents. Richard constantly struggled with piety and profaneness in his professional career.

His early musical influences were primarily gospel. Richard wanted to become a gospel singer like Brother Joe May, one of his early influences, but singing for the Lord was shortlived. He then appeared at the local Tick Tock club. By the ninth grade, he had dropped out of school and joined a travelling medicine show, where he sometimes wore a dress and danced with the chorus girls. In 1951, at the age of 15, Richard recorded several blues sides for RCA in the style of bluesman Billy Wright, his mentor. He then moved to Houston and recorded with the Tempo Toppers (a vocal group) and the Duces of Rhythm (an instrumental back-up group) and with the Johnny Otis band. At the suggestion of Lloyd Price, Richard sent a demo to Specialty Records. Specialty teamed Richard with producer

Robert "Bumps" Blackwell, who was conscious of current audience's musical taste.

Blackwell was successful in producing a sound that had not been heard on records previously. Richard became one of the first rock 'n' roll artists to take songs consisting of senseless sounds, disjointed phrases, and images and make them into commercially viable songs. Richard also used the technique of scatting (singing wordless syllables to improvised melodies) in his songs. On "Tutti Frutti," Richard whooped and scatted, demonstrating his gospel roots. The song climbed to number two on the *Billboard* R&B chart and number 17 on the pop chart. Several seminal hits followed, including "Long Tall Sally," "Slippin' and Slidin' (Peepin and Hidin')," "Rip It Up," "Lucille," and "Good Golly Miss Molly." Richard appeared in three films—*Don't Knock the Rock*, *The Girl Can't Help It*, and *Mr. Rock & Roll*.

In late 1957, at the very pinnacle of his career and in the midst of a tour of Australia, Richard shocked the musical world by announcing that he was abandoning music to pursue theological studies and would never sing rock 'n' roll again. He enrolled in Oakwood College, a Seventh Day Adventist school in Huntsville, Alabama, and from 1958 to 1962, recorded only gospel music. In 1962, Richard toured the United Kingdom with Sam Cooke; initially singing gospel that did not go over well with the audience, he switched to rock 'n' roll and was a smashing success.

In 1963, Richard worked with the Beatles and the Rolling Stones. He recorded rock 'n' roll between 1964 and 1976 with mixed results on several labels including VeeJay, Modern, and OKeh. In the mid-1970s, Richard returned to the church again, becoming an evangelist and Bible salesman. He once again relinquished his strict religious adherence and in 1986 was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. He resumed performing secular music in a more subdued fashion and had a successful part in the film *Down and Out in Beverly Hills*, which included the MCA single "Great Gosh A'Mighty." Richard is a rock 'n' roll personality who has garnered acceptance from the mainstream and appears on chat shows, and videos and as a presenter of music awards. Richard is honored with a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame, and his hometown of Macon has named a boulevard in his honor. While having uncompromisingly exposed himself and vacillated between God, rock 'n' roll, and sex, Richard leaves an outstanding legacy of music and performances that assures him a prominent place in rock 'n' roll history.

—Willie Collins

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## Live Television

Unique to television, live broadcasting—the ability to record and broadcast the sounds and images from events as they occur—endures as one of the industry's most debated, inflated, and promoted terms. Although the majority of television programming has been filmed (or taped) since the early fifties, live broadcasting—from the Superbowl to the Academy Awards, from presidential debates to



**Little Richard**

international coverage of wars and “low-speed” car chases—plays a central role in the identity of the television industry, representing its technological potential, if not the essence of the medium.

The prominent role that live broadcasting plays is not surprising when one considers that television as a technology emerged from the interests and investments of corporations responsible for radio, which was itself developed as a form of wireless point-to-point, or live, communication. From the beginning, television producers and critics pointed to live broadcasting as a way of differentiating television from other media. Jack Gould, television critic for the *New York Times* during the fifties, went so far as to describe the difference between watching a film and viewing a live program on TV as “the difference between looking at somebody and being with somebody.” Live programming in the 1950s included the great variety spectaculars like *The Colgate Comedy Hour*, sporting events, and anthology dramas such as *Studio One* and *The Alcoa Hour*.

Still in its infancy from a technological perspective, live television during this period—the Golden Age of Television—consisted of events staged before several large and static cameras. Unlike today’s

coverage, live broadcasting in the 1950s required a stable physical location and an event that was either scheduled or long enough in duration to justify the movement of studio cameras. This limited the types of event that could be covered live, but the attraction to these broadcasts and their impact on the country was tremendous. In 1949, three-year-old Kathy Ficus captured the hearts and minds of the country as rescuers in California attempted to free her from the well she had fallen into. In 1951, the Kefauver hearings on politics and organized crime mesmerized a nation that watched the American political process in action on TV. The routine coverage of breaking stories and international events we now associate with live broadcasting would not arrive on the airways until technology advanced to allow for more portable cameras. As networks recognized the value of broadcasting live events, live television coverage increased during the 1960s, and the list of most-watched programs and events from that decade is dominated by live broadcasts. Coverage of the Nixon-Kennedy debates (viewed by 91.8 percent of all homes with televisions), Kennedy’s assassination and funeral coverage (viewed by 96.1 percent of all television homes), and the Apollo XI moon landing

(viewed by 93.9 percent of all television homes) demonstrates not only the popularity of the medium, but how live television events came to function as defining cultural moments for an entire generation.

Although the presentation of live special events increased during the 1960s, regularly scheduled live programs began to disappear from the prime-time schedule. By the early 1950s, television had moved from a real time (9:00 EST and 6:00 PST) to a TV time schedule that made the presentation of live programs more difficult. Further complicating the situation was the fact that kinescopes of live shows (a copy of the program filmed off the television screen) looked flat, which made them unattractive to viewers in other time zones and limited the programs' usefulness in syndication as reruns. The high cost of producing live television programming also contributed to its gradual disappearance.

The networks nonetheless recognized viewer attraction to this type of broadcast and searched for new models that could incorporate qualities of live broadcasting. During the 1960s and on through the 1970s, networks employed techniques such as "live on tape" in an effort to capture the feeling of live television. Media critics have noted that the ideology of liveness functions to create a feeling of a viewing community that overcomes the physical distance separating viewers. Presenting programs as if they were live suggests a shared experience with television functioning as a site of national unification. The fact that very few programs actually unite viewers in even the minimal sense of all watching the same thing at the same time is not nearly as important to the networks as the impression of a shared viewing experience. Morning news programs such as *Good Morning America*, network nightly news, and various talk shows work diligently to create the impression that one is viewing up-to-the-minute news and events along with millions of other viewers around the country. The truth is, of course, that these programs are taped, and though they may indeed be broadcast live for parts of the nation, they are broadcast to most viewers several hours after taping. The sensation of experiencing these programs as a live broadcast is created through the use of stylistic conventions associated with live broadcasting: the placement of graphics—such as the temperature or time of day—by local affiliates on the television screen, and the speakers' use of language, in phrasing such as "we take you NOW. . . ."

The television industry has become increasingly sophisticated in its ability to blur the visible boundaries between live and taped programming while at the same time exhibiting an increased ability to meet the demand for coverage of live events. Occurrences taking place anywhere, at any time, are now instantaneously beamed into living rooms and public spaces around the world. Whether it is a bombing in the Gulf War, police pursuit of a celebrity murder suspect moving slowly along the Los Angeles freeway, a bank robbery, or school violence, television brings it to us live. Duration and location are no longer barriers to live coverage, as helicopters and mobile units scour the world in an effort to break the stories that will capture our attention. What was once reserved for the occasional and unusual occurrence, live breaking stories have now become so commonplace that they appear as mere interruptions. The exception is, of course, the live televising of sporting events. Sports, along with important political speeches and some ceremonies, seem to demand a live presentation; and the coverage and presentation of these types of events has grown dramatically during the last twenty years.

With the simplicity of early broadcasting behind us, terms like "live" have become complicated and difficult to define. In fact, the definition of live—"broadcast directly at the time of production instead of from recorded or filmed material"—does not apply to

many of the programs which one might generally think of as "live." Contemporary broadcasting practices regularly present news programs as live even though they are primarily produced from taped material and broadcast (for most of the country) hours after they are taped. Live sporting events include filmed segments which are planned to illustrate predetermined points within the broadcast and include pregame and half-time shows constructed from taped materials. Even special events like the Olympics mix filmed biographies, taped events, and live coverage.

While the boundaries between live and taped programming remain blurred, and broadcasts often include portions of both, the attraction to witnessing an event live, with millions or even billions of other viewers, as it occurs has by no means diminished at the turn of the century. From the monumental to the mundane, live coverage of breaking events has become such an attraction that recently in Los Angeles two breaking stories—occurring simultaneously—were both presented live on local television at the same time via split screen.

—James Friedman

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## L.L. Bean, Inc.

The history of L.L. Bean, Inc., founded in 1912, really begins with the quintessential rags-to-riches story of the company's founder, Leon Leonwood Bean. Born in 1872 to Benjamin and Sarah Bean, L.L. was the fourth of six children. Orphaned at the age of 12, he was taken in variously by friends and family, although he mainly fended for himself, eventually becoming an avid outdoorsman who loved hunting, fishing, and other outdoor activities. In an effort to create a hunting boot that would allow his feet to remain dry while walking through the woods, Bean stitched a leather shaft to rubber bottoms, creating what he called at the time "Bean Boots." Convinced that other woodsmen would appreciate his footwear, Bean began selling his boots through the mail with a money-back guarantee. As the story goes, however, of the 100 pairs he sold, Bean made good on his guarantee for 90 of them when their stitching gave way.

Undaunted, Bean made improvements to his design and continued selling the boots along with other outdoor equipment and sporting goods, establishing his mail-order business in Freeport, Maine, where it remained headquartered in the late 1990s. In 1917 Bean opened a retail store, located next door to the mail-order offices, to accommodate those customers who invariably stopped by his workshop to make purchases. Over the years, a reputation for quality products and

good customer service helped the business prosper; it was announced in 1951 that the retail store would stay open around the clock, 365 days-a-year; the product line was expanded in 1954 and women's items began to be sold.

After L.L. Bean's death in 1967 at the age of 94, his grandson Leon Gorman took over leadership of the company. Leon was at the helm in the late 1970s and early 1980s when the "preppie" fad helped to fuel demand for L.L. Bean products. Preppies were characterized by their style, which incorporated well-tailored and conservative-yet-casual clothing, including their "uniform" of polo shirt, khaki pants, and leather and rubber footwear—all staples in the L.L. Bean catalog.

Although the preppie craze faded, L.L. Bean did not. The trend toward healthier lifestyles that began in the 1980s and lasted into the 1990s boosted sales of the company's outdoor and sporting equipment. By the late 1990s sales had topped \$1 billion; and with 3.5 million visitors each year, the retail store was one of Maine's most popular tourist attractions. Staying true to the values of its founder as it moved ahead into the new millennium, L.L. Bean, Inc. seemed assured of remaining a fixture in its industry, certain to celebrate its 100th anniversary.

—Mia Consalvo

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## Lloyd Webber, Andrew (1948—)

Sir Andrew Lloyd Webber has written some of the most commercially successful musicals of the last quarter of the twentieth century. Among his most popular shows are *Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat* (1967), *Jesus Christ Superstar* (1971), *Evita* (1974), *Cats* (1981), *The Phantom of the Opera* (1986), and *Sunset Boulevard* (1993). Lloyd Webber's gift for melody has spawned such classic musical theater songs as "Memory" and "Music of the Night."

Lloyd Webber was born in London on March 22, 1948. His father was a faculty member at the Royal College of Music and his mother was a piano teacher. Andrew showed musical aptitude at a very young age, and, while still a youth, composed short musical entertainments for his family.

His first musical was *Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat* (1967). With lyricist Tim Rice, Lloyd Webber created an eclectic score to accompany the Old Testament story of Joseph and his brothers. Musical numbers ranged in style from Elvis-style rock to calypso and soft rock ballads. Joseph's two big songs, "Any Dream Will Do" and "Close Every Door," became hit singles.

*Jesus Christ Superstar* (1971), another collaboration with Rice, began life as a double album. Concert tours of the "rock opera" followed, and ultimately, a stage version emerged. *Superstar*, the story of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ as seen through the eyes of Pontius Pilate, garnered seven Tony Awards, including Best Musical



Andrew Lloyd Webber

and Best Score. Mary Magdalene's song "I Don't Know How to Love Him" became a pop standard. The 1973 film version starred Ted Neeley and Carl Anderson.

*Evita* (1974), based on the life of Eva Peron, also began as a concept album. Patti LuPone and Mandy Patinkin starred in the Broadway version. The show received numerous Tony Awards, including Best Actress (LuPone). For the 1996 film which starred Madonna and Antonio Banderas, Lloyd Webber wrote a new song, "You Must Love Me." The song earned an Academy Award for the composer.

*Cats* (1981), based on T. S. Eliot's *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats*, is Lloyd Webber's longest running show in both London's West End and on Broadway. It continues, at the end of the century, to play in both cities. Like *Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat*, *Cats* contains songs written in a variety of musical styles. "Memory," the show's climactic number, is a sentimental ballad which has been championed by singers Elaine Paige and Barbra Streisand, among others.

*Song and Dance* (1982) consisted of two parts: *Tell Me on a Sunday*, a one-woman show, and *Variations*, a set of variations on Paganini's famous caprice for cello and rock band. *Variations* was written for Andrew's cello-playing brother Julian.

*Starlight Express* (1984), a train epic with music, followed. The cast of the high-tech fantasy dash around the ramp-enhanced theater on roller skates. Rock, blues, and country elements are apparent in the amplified score. A ninety-minute version of *Starlight Express* opened in 1993 at the Las Vegas Hilton, the first major legitimate stage production to play in the famed gambling city.



*The Phantom of the Opera* (1986) is perhaps Lloyd Webber's best-known work. Based on Gaston Leroux's novel, the musical included the songs "Music of the Night," "All I Ask of You," "The Phantom of the Opera," and "Think of Me." Michael Crawford and Sarah Brightman, then Lloyd Webber's wife, starred in the original production. *Phantom* is indicative of a trend in the late 1980s toward a "sung-through" musical—one in which spoken dialogue is limited and often replaced by operatic recitative (speech-singing). The lavish sets, impressive special effects, and hauntingly beautiful musical score have made the show one of the most popular musicals worldwide.

*Aspects of Love* (1989) launched the career of its male lead, Michael Ball. The sung-through musical was an adaptation of David Garnett's tale of intergenerational love and included the ballad "Love Changes Everything." The show played for over three years in London, but its 1990 Broadway run lasted only 377 performances.

*Sunset Boulevard* (1993), based on the film of the same name, included some spectacularly romantic music. Two songs, "With One Look" and "As if We Never Said Goodbye," both of which are sung by the lead character Norma Desmond, have entered the repertoires of singers as diverse as Kiri TeKenawa and Barbra Streisand. As with *The Phantom of the Opera*, *Sunset Boulevard* includes elaborate and impressive sets. John Napier's grandiose staircase is as much a character in the musical as are any of the humans. The London production starred Patti LuPone, while the Los Angeles and New York productions featured Glenn Close. Betty Buckley succeeded both LuPone and Close in their respective runs.

*Whistle Down the Wind* (1998), inspired by the film of the same name, is set in Louisiana in 1959. A collaboration with Jim Steinman, the score includes typically romantic love songs and explosive rock music.

In addition to his musical theater works, Lloyd Webber has also written concert works. *Variations* also exists in a version for cello and orchestra. *Requiem* (1985), written for Lloyd Webber's father, included the memorable duet "Pie Jesu."

With his impressive array of commercially and artistically successful shows, Lloyd Webber is one of the most important composers for the musical theater in the last decades of the twentieth century. Both his innate gift for melody and his ability to create music, which live up to the dazzling special effects characteristic of so many of his shows, have contributed immensely to his worldwide success.

—William A. Everett

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## Loafers

America has had a love affair with the moccasin-style shoe known as the loafer for some decades. In the 1950s and 1960s, loafers—particularly Bass "Weejuns"—were the rage, especially among students, who slipped coins into the slits on their tops, creating so-called "penny loafers." While slip-ons had been around for years before, their "preppy" style was extolled in a 1960 editorial in *The Daily Tarheel*, the newspaper of the University of North Carolina, which asked: "What are Bass Weejuns?" The answer: "The thing on the feet of those who are with it." Many firms, including the high-style Gucci company, manufactured slip-on shoes, but it was G.H. Bass & Co., based in Maine, that launched the classic penny loafer style in 1936, duplicating a Norwegian design. According to Bass archivist Carol Paolino, the company named their shoes Weejuns from a contraction of Norwegian and "injun," the crude slang for Indian. Soon, the shoes, and all successive makes of similar design, became known as "loafers," a label that signifies their easy-to-wear comfort and casual style.

—Michael L. Posner

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## Locke, Alain (1886-1954)

In 1925, Alain Locke, a relatively obscure 39-year-old professor of philosophy at Howard University, transformed the American literary landscape when his special issue of the *Survey Graphic* familiarized the nation with the literati of the Harlem Renaissance. Later expanded into the anthology *The New Negro*, Locke's sampling of the best African American literature of the 1920s helped launch the reputations of poets Countee Cullen and Langston Hughes. After the publication of *The New Negro*, Locke joined James Weldon Johnson as one of the two elders of African American literature. He encouraged black writers to address themes relating to their own culture and

history in their works, and to strive for artistic perfection. His efforts significantly influenced the leading black authors of the day, including Nella Larsen, Zora Neal Hurston, and Wallace Thurman. Later in life, Locke became one of the chief interpreters of the movement he helped to launch, and his 1936 publications, *Negro Art—Past and Present* and *The Negro and His Music*, were seminal works in the field of cultural pluralism.

—Jacob M. Appel

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## Lolita

Penned by Russian émigré turned American novelist Vladimir Vladimirovich Nabokov (1899-1977), *Lolita* ranks high among twentieth-century fictional works that have achieved literary acclaim as a result of controversy and censorship. Indeed, the initial rejection of this book by international and American readers produced so much focus on *Lolita* that rather than being abandoned as obscene pornography, its ideas and theme have survived and continue to influence American popular culture through the millennium.

Briefly, the novel details the tragic yet amusing tale of Humbert Humbert, a dubious European émigré who harbors an obsession for young girls. Upon receiving an inheritance from an uncle, he moves to a small New England town to accept an academic position. Seeking lodging, Humbert rents a room from Charlotte Haze after he encounters her twelve-year-old daughter, Dolores. In time, consumed by his secret passion to be near Dolores, or Lolita as he affectionately calls her, Humbert marries Charlotte. Shortly thereafter, Charlotte dies in a car accident after reading Humbert's diary entries revealing his obsession for Lolita. Relieved at this turn of events, Humbert takes Lolita on an extended journey across America during which time she seduces him and they become lovers. Eventually, Lolita becomes weary of Humbert's possessiveness and leaves him for another, whom Humbert later seeks out and murders.

As noted in his essay, "On a Book Entitled *Lolita*," Nabokov was aware that his treatment of incest in *Lolita* was one of three themes considered taboo by American publishers. In order to maintain his tenured status as a professor at Cornell University, he initially elected to publish the novel anonymously. After being rejected by

American publishers Simon & Schuster, The Viking Press, New Directions, and others because of its alleged pornographic content, *Lolita* was finally published under Nabokov's own name in late 1955 by the Olympia Press in Paris. The initial printing of 5,000 copies sold immediately and brought Nabokov recognition in Europe. A December 1955 article written by Graham Greene in England's *Sunday Times* soon focused international attention on the novel. Greene's praise of the novel as "one of the three best works of 1955" aroused members of the British press to obtain copies and to proclaim alarm about the safety of young girls. Subsequently, a heated debate among British literati concerning the novel's immorality in May 1956 captured the interest of G. P. Putnam & Sons of New York, who later published the first American edition in August 1958.

Once *Lolita* became available in American bookstores, its commercial success soared due to book reviews read by a more literate public as well as censorship practiced by a moral, conservative public. Within book reviews the repetitive use of words such as obscene, immoral, pornography, scandal, and incest, among others, likely nurtured the public's focus on the perceived lurid or immoral theme of the novel. Moreover, in September 1958, the Public Library of Cincinnati, Ohio, banned *Lolita* from its bookshelves, and other libraries and school systems nationwide followed suit. In a much-publicized event, the citizens of Lolita, Texas, (named after resident Lolita Reese in 1910), debated whether to change the town's name to avoid the scandal associated with the book. Collectively, these and other incidents focused attention on *Lolita* such that it maintained the number one position on the *New York Times* Bestseller List for the last eleven weeks of 1958 and well into 1959. Additionally, in 1962, the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer film version of the novel (screenplay by Nabokov) produced a renewed interest in *Lolita* and subsequently increased its profits from book and movie ticket sales. A few decades later, in 1996, an updated film version was made that attracted more publicity than the 1962 version due to its purported sexual content.

The fact that *Lolita* has had uninterrupted publication since 1958 provides ample evidence of its longevity and popularity. Its theme, language, and commercial value continue to impact American and international culture. For example, in psychoanalysis such phrases as the "Lolita Syndrome" and "Lolita Complex" have been used to describe a middle-aged male's secret lust for prepubescent females or the unhealthy desire for young females. In Sweden, an opera based on the novel was produced and Lund University's electronic library was named Lolita. During the 1996 Summer Olympic Games in Atlanta, Georgia, an article in the *Washington Post* referred to a young female gymnast as "Lolita of the balance beam." Moreover, an Olympia Press first edition copy of *Lolita*, priced high at \$12.50 in 1956, is valued in excess of \$4,000 in 1998.

—Marlena E. Bremseth

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## Lollapalooza

The alternative rock traveling circus Lollapalooza began in 1991 as the brainchild of Perry Farrell, then frontman of Jane's Addiction. The summer festival brought together seven alternative rock acts and their respective loyal followings for afternoon and evening concerts at large outdoor venues across the United States. Likened to 1969's Woodstock festival, Lollapalooza expanded each year, with acts playing several stages simultaneously and with circus tents set up on the grounds to house such "sideshow" attractions as tattooing and body-piercing vendors, voter registration tables, free Internet surfing, presentations by proponents of marijuana legalization, exotic foods, and the requisite (and profitable) Lollapalooza merchandising booths. In subsequent years, the show included as many as 19 bands that played on as many as three stages.

The tour was canceled in 1998, reportedly so Lollapalooza planners could regroup and ensure that the next edition of the tour was better integrated. Critics generally agreed that each new tour seemed less coherent and that the quality of the acts as a packaged whole suffered, with disparate fringe bands taking the place of 1991's relatively mainstream selection of alternative rock groups. The commercial success of Lollapalooza encouraged the creation of other

outdoor rock festivals, including the less esoteric H.O.R.D.E. (Horizons of Rock Developing Everywhere) festival (est. 1992) and the gynocentric Lilith Fair (est. 1997), named for Adam's apocryphal first wife, which featured all-female acts.

—Tilney Marsh

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## Lombard, Carole (1908-1942)

The quintessential comedienne of the 'screwball' comedy, Lombard starred in many film classics of the 1930s and early 1940s, such as *Nothing Sacred* and her Oscar-nominated performance in *My Man Godfrey*. Known offscreen as much for her coarse language as her beauty, during her short life she married two motion picture superstars, William Powell and Clark Gable.

Born Jane Alice Peters in Indiana, she was discovered by director Allan Dwan at the age of twelve. She became one of Mack



The Lollapalooza concert in Pownal, Vermont, on July 9, 1996.

Sennett's bathing beauties and later made the transition to sound motion pictures. She was popular with the Hollywood community, particularly the film crews. Her costar in the *Twentieth Century*, the legendary John Barrymore, called her the greatest actress he ever worked with. She was active selling war bonds during World War II. She died in a plane crash near Las Vegas on the way home from a bond-selling tour.

—Jill A. Gregg

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## Lombardi, Vince (1913-1970)

No individual meant more to the rise of the National Football League during the 1960s (with the possible exception of league commissioner Pete Rozell) than the legendary coach of professional football's most legendary team, Vince Lombardi of the Green Bay Packers. The 1960s ushered in a new era in professional football: Armed with its first national television contract and rising attendance, the National Football League went from regional curiosity to the most popular sport in America within a decade.

Lombardi's success coaching the Packers from 1959 to 1967 is unparalleled in pro football history. In seven seasons, Lombardi never had a losing season, and he led the Packers to five NFL championships, including the first two Super Bowls. These achievements, coinciding with the NFL's rising popularity, turned Lombardi and the Packers into national celebrities. Lombardi, who sometimes used harsh methods to instill discipline, became a beloved but controversial figure, caught in the crossfire of the cultural battles of the late 1960s. To some, his coaching represented the best of American leadership; to others, the worst.

Vincent Lombardi was born June 11, 1913 to the children of Italian immigrants in Brooklyn, New York. His father Harry, who owned a wholesale meat business, was a stern disciplinarian who presided over a proud, close-knit household. The Lombardis' love of family, the Catholic Church, and their Italian ancestry led young Vince to prepare for the priesthood in 1929. But after three years at Cathedral School of the Immaculate Conception, for reasons he never revealed, Lombardi left to attend St. Francis Academy in Brooklyn on a football scholarship. Lombardi played on both offense and defense, winning both a reputation as a punishing player and another football scholarship, to Fordham University.

At Fordham, Lombardi was often injured and didn't play much until his senior year. In the meantime, he met Marie Planitz, the New Jersey-born daughter of a Wall Street stockbroker. Planitz was the only girlfriend Lombardi ever had, and they married in 1940. Lombardi



Vince Lombardi

played both offensive and defensive guard his senior year; he was an anchor of the famed "Seven Blocks of Granite," a defense that gave up only 33 points in eight games.

Despite his reputation as a punishing and emotional player, Lombardi's dreams of a playing career floundered. After two seasons playing semipro football, Lombardi began planning for law school. Instead he accepted an offer to teach and coach sports at St. Cecilia High School in Englewood, New Jersey, a decision that would change his life. Coaching eight years of football at St. Cecilia, Lombardi found his calling. His system, a rigid, organized style that stressed fundamentals, found success on the field. After St. Cecilia, Lombardi became a college coach, first as an assistant at Fordham for the 1947-8 season, then at the United States Military Academy from 1948 to 1954.

Lombardi's career thrived, but he was passed over for many university head-coaching positions, a fact Lombardi attributed to anti-Italian discrimination. In 1954, he accepted a position as assistant coach with the NFL's New York Giants. In four years as New York's masterful offensive coordinator, Lombardi pioneered coaching techniques, especially the use of film to teach players. In 1958, three years after CBS had signed the first contract to show NFL games nationally, Vince Lombardi was named head coach of the Green Bay Packers.

Lombardi inherited a team with eleven consecutive losing seasons, one plagued by a lack of leadership, poor organization, and undisciplined players. But the new head coached awakened the Packers instantly when, at his first team meeting, he announced that anyone unwilling to work hard enough to win should leave the team. Talented players who were once either too timid (like Bart Starr) or temperamental (like Paul Hornung) thrived under Lombardi's unchallenged authority, and in Lombardi's first season the Packers finished 7-5.

But that was only the beginning. From 1960 to 1966, Lombardi's Packers went 103-20-3 and won five world titles. They were a highly disciplined team that won with toughness, not flash. In their signature

play, the sweep, offensive linemen pulled away from the line of scrimmage and formed a wall of blockers, smashing open holes for the following ball carrier. The Packers' tough play quickly gained fans across the nation, and their success catalyzed the NFL's advances in the popular consciousness.

During this time, Lombardi became the face of professional football around the world. His book, *Run to Daylight*, was a bestseller. He became extremely popular on the lecture circuit, espousing not only his theories on football but also society and politics. Lombardi was lavished with praise by some, including many in business, for his intelligence, character, leadership, and commitment to God and family. During the late 1960s, when so many institutions and leaders were under fire, Lombardi was perceived as evidence that old notions of authority remained tenable and desirable. But critics condemned Lombardi as blunt, rude and dictatorial, an antiquated symbol of an outmoded leadership style. This dual public image followed Lombardi for the rest of his life.

Lombardi, however, was not so easily pigeonholed. Scarred by his experiences with prejudice, he was a strong supporter of the Civil Rights movement and insisted all of his players be treated equally while traveling in the South. Lombardi also supported gun control. But the coach found the 1960s counterculture and antiwar activists antithetical to the values of order and loyalty he held dear, and spoke

out vehemently against them. Like many Americans, Lombardi was trying to make sense of the changing world around him. His complicated evaluation of that world undoubtedly contributed to his popularity across the ideological spectrum, a popularity that allowed both Hubert Humphrey and Richard Nixon to consider Lombardi as a running mate for vice-president.

In 1968, Lombardi retired as coach of the Packers, but restlessness led him back to football, and he became coach and general manager of the Washington Redskins in 1969. Lombardi soon fell ill, however. Ravaged by cancer, he died with wife Marie by his side on September 3, 1970 at the age of 57. After his death, the NFL renamed its championship trophy after Lombardi, honoring the man whose gridiron success and public persona defined the modern era of professional football.

—Alexander Shashko

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Guy Lombardo

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## Lombardo, Guy (1902-1977)

For 48 years band-leader Guy Lombardo and his Royal Canadians, featuring the lead saxophone and singing of his brother Carmen and the lead trumpet of brother Lebert, continued the tradition of New Year's Eve broadcasts on radio or television from New York City. They presented programs of easy-listening, low-key dance music that climaxed with "Auld Lang Syne" at the ringing in of the New Year. Jazz music buffs labeled Lombardo "the king of corn," but loyal fans of his music, billed as "the sweetest music this side of heaven," bought more than 250,000,000 of his recordings.

Pop music critic George T. Simon explains the band's phenomenal success: "It hits superb tempos, and though it doesn't produce a rhythmically inspiring beat, it produces a succession of steady, unobtrusive beats that make it a pleasure to take your girl out on the floor and move around to the best of your ability. If you can dance at all, you can dance to Lombardo's music." He added that "Lombardo, with his years and years of experience, knows how to select tunes that create a mood, an intimate, cozy mood." In fact, Guy Lombardo claimed to have introduced more than three hundred songs to the public.

From its beginning in 1923 in their home town of London, Ontario, the band was a close-knit group, with brothers Guy, Carmen, and Lebert sharing ownership. Two other siblings, Rose Marie and Victor, joined the band later. Though the original three brothers had an equal share in the orchestra's profits, Guy was, as Decca Records producer Milt Gabler remarked, the "complete boss. No matter what anybody else says or thinks, if Guy feels strongly about something, that's it." He apparently used his authority tactfully, for Larry Barnett, a top talent agency executive, said: "Guy Lombardo is the nicest man that's ever been in the music business."

One of the band's engagements in Cleveland caught the eye of the then-new Music Corporation of America (MCA), and the career of the Royal Canadians was well launched, leading to their first national broadcast in 1927, from Chicago. By 1929 the orchestra was the winter attraction at Manhattan's Roosevelt Grill, where they were booked perennially for 30 years. When the Grill closed, the band moved to the Waldorf-Astoria, which became the annual site of its famous year-ending broadcasts.

Already selling more recordings than any other band, through the years the orchestra continued to add other superlatives: It played more Presidential Inaugural Balls than any other big name dance band. It also introduced more hit songs: "Boo Hoo," "Coquette," "Sweethearts on Parade," "Seems Like Old Times" (all four written by Carmen), "Give Me a Little Kiss," "You're Driving Me Crazy," "Heartaches," "Little White Lies," "Little Girl," "Annie Doesn't Live Here Anymore," and "Everywhere You Go," to name only a few. It also set many all-time attendance marks at various venues, including the Savoy Ballroom in Harlem.

In the 1960s Guy turned to other activities. He was a well-known speedboat racer, winning the Gold Cup, the sport's highest honor. He also became immensely wealthy, drawing large royalties from music publishing ventures, opening successful restaurants on Long Island and in Tampa Bay, Florida, and producing popular shows at the Jones Beach Marine Theater on Long Island. His nationwide tours with the

Royal Canadians, playing to packed houses, continued into the late 1970s.

When asked to explain his phenomenal success, Lombardo answered simply: "Bands happened, musicians happened. And we happened." Others would point to the band's professional, business-like approach to its work and its persistence in staying with a winning formula. "We really have never changed," Guy once said. "We've improved, yes, but we never have changed." He added, "Anything that's popular, I like."

—Benjamin Griffith

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## London, Jack (1876-916)

In his writing as in his highly publicized personal life, Jack London provided an overture for the complexities of American



Jack London

society in the early years of the twentieth century. Despite a professional career of less than 20 years, London wrote over 50 novels, 200 short stories, and an additional 400 pieces of non-fictional prose. His various adventures as a South Seas sailor, Socialist politician, Alaskan argonaut, Asian war correspondent, California farmer, and general hobo at large, exemplified the wanderlust which characterized both America's roots and its future. Although London's persona invites a comparison with Theodore Roosevelt's philosophy of the strenuous life or Frederick Jackson Turner's vision of frontier regeneration, he reveled in ambiguities beyond the scope of his contemporaries.

London was born in San Francisco, the illegitimate child of Flora Wellman. Before his first birthday, his mother had married John London, a widower with two daughters. The resulting family was plagued by hardship; the specter of poverty would prove to be the strongest feature of London's childhood. The family frequently moved throughout the Bay area, and Jack entered the working world at age nine. Such a life fostered self-reliance and independence, virtues that later became prominent themes in London's writing. Denied a formal education, the boy compensated through voracious reading. He became a fixture at the public libraries, absorbing the advice of Horatio Alger and the adventures of great explorers.

By age 15, London had entered the world of the outlaw, staking out an existence by thieving oysters from the commercial beds around San Francisco Bay. His nautical career assumed legitimacy in 1893 when he joined the crew of a sealing vessel working in the north Pacific. Following a seven-month sea voyage, he returned to Oakland, but quickly embarked on a cross-country odyssey, initially as a member of Joseph Coxney's "Army" of unemployed men who were traveling to Washington in a quest for government assistance in the wake of the Panic of 1893. By the time this group reached Missouri, London was ready to travel alone and panhandled his way to Niagara, New York. These wanderings climaxed with his arrest for vagrancy in June 1894. After serving a 30-day sentence, he returned to California.

Such youthful experiences became the inspiration for literature. Several of London's short stories dealt with the world of the oyster pirates, and his tenure on the high seas later provided the foundation for *The Sea Wolf* (1904). The autobiographical work *The Road* (1907) recounts his trek across America. Literary scholars generally perceive these adventures as critical in London's emergence as a writer. Close contact with an assortment of sailors and vagabonds instructed the youth in the art of storytelling. Furthermore, these escapades—particularly the humiliation of incarceration—ignited London's sense of social justice and ultimately shaped his political beliefs.

By 1895, London was attending Oakland High School and augmenting his class work with impassioned readings of Karl Marx, Charles Darwin, and Herbert Spencer. He had previously dabbled in writing, and an account of his sealing experiences, "Story of a Typhoon off the Coast of Japan," was published in the *San Francisco Morning Call* in November of 1893. During his year in high school, London spent more time on this craft, contributing an assortment of writings to the student literary magazine. Despite the haphazard nature of his formal education, he successfully completed the entrance examination for the University of California at Berkeley, but his college experience proved short lived; at the close of the first semester, he had to leave the university for financial reasons.

London responded to this setback by giving priority to his writing. Aflame with the ideals of Socialism (he became an active member of the Socialist Labor Party in 1896), he embarked on a frenzy of composition, experimenting in everything from political tracts to poetry, and bombarding San Francisco publishers with the

results. Despite his enthusiasm, his efforts were rewarded with little beyond rejection forms, and the aspiring writer eventually became a laundry worker at a private academy for boys. The semi-autobiographical novel *Martin Eden* (1909) discusses his difficulties during this time but, although this was a particularly discouraging point in his development, his fortunes soon changed.

In the summer of 1897, London became one of the thousands of hopeful migrants to the gold fields of the Klondike. As a prospector, however, he enjoyed a distinct absence of luck. For much of his mining career, he was constrained by brutal weather or debilitating illness, but these setbacks did not prevent him from realizing the epic and allegorical potential of the world around him. By the summer of 1898, he had returned to San Francisco, financially none the richer for his experience, but reeling with ideas. By April 1900, his first novel *The Son of the Wolf* had appeared to a welcoming public. For the next decade, London transformed his Yukon adventures into an assortment of successful short stories and novels that have proved to be his most enduring work, particularly the novels *The Call of the Wild* (1903) and *White Fang* (1906).

Despite the enormous popularity of such tales, London's sagas of the Yukon are only one component of a multifaceted career. Shortly after establishing himself as a major American novelist, he embarked on a journalistic mission for the American Press Association. Although originally retained to report on the Boer War in South Africa, the assignment was canceled, and London opted to examine the urban slums of England. During the fall of 1902, he donned a suitable disguise and lived in the squalor of London's East End. The eventual product was his non-fiction study *The People of the Abyss* (1903), a pioneering work in undercover journalism. Such writing provided an outlet for his narrative skills and a vehicle to espouse his political views, and the author later ranked this work as his greatest accomplishment. Journalistic pursuits continued in 1904 when he traveled to Japan to report on the Russo-Japanese War for the Hearst papers. Although he lived in proximity to the fighting for nearly six months, the Japanese government closely monitored his activities and dispatches. Frustrated by this interference, London returned to California.

In the period between these adventures, London completed one of his most successful novels, *The Sea Wolf*, in many ways the quintessential Jack London story: a sheltered, inexperienced individual is thrown into a hostile alien world and, through his struggle for survival, emerges a hero. However, at the same time, this contact with the unfamiliar forces the protagonist to confront the possibility of an inherent evil within the human soul. In this case, the hero is Humphrey Van Weyden, a sheltered San Francisco literary critic who, following an accident at sea, is rescued by a sealing vessel bound for Japan. The ship is commanded by the tyrannical Wolf Larsen, who takes delight in forcing Van Weyden to adapt to the rough life of a seaman. Although Van Weyden is repelled by the savage barbarity of the captain, he is also intrigued by Larsen's primitive but pronounced intellect. As the story progresses, Van Weyden must balance the redemptive qualities of a physical life with the moral debaucheries represented by Larsen.

*The Sea Wolf* is very much a reflection of the literary and cultural atmosphere of the time. The novel's emphasis on random happenings and the weakness of the individual invites a comparison with naturalist writers such as Frank Norris and Theodore Dreiser. One should

also consider that Theodore Roosevelt was in the White House, and the President's views on the virtues inherent in physical struggle and the regenerative possibilities of anti-modernism were well known to the American public. Furthermore, London was shrewd enough to include a romantic subplot (Larsen rescues another ill-fated traveler who happens to be female) in order to engage a wider audience. The resulting novel rivaled *The Call of the Wild* in popularity, has been translated into numerous languages, and been filmed several times, most successfully in 1941 with John Garfield and Edward G. Robinson.

As London's literary career progressed, he continued his involvement in an assortment of unusual pursuits. During 1905, he stood unsuccessfully as the Socialist candidate in the campaign for mayor of Oakland. Later in the year, he purchased a large tract of land in California's Sonoma Valley to enjoy the life of a country squire. Eventually this project became the primary focus of London's energies, but his attention was diverted by one of his most publicized adventures: an attempt to sail around the world in a ship of his own design. Given the nature of his writing, it is understandable that the public was intrigued by this escapade. The original plan was to depart from San Francisco in the fall of 1906 and spend the next seven years circling the globe. Unfortunately, the voyage was doomed from the start. London's dream ship, *The Snark*, ended up costing five times the initial estimate, and its slow construction delayed the voyage for six months. The resulting vessel proved to be less than seaworthy and major repairs were required when the party reached Hawaii in May 1907. By the time the ship crawled into the South Seas, London and his crew were demoralized and suffering from an assortment of health problems, some of which would trouble London for the remainder of his life. Forced to confront failure, the voyage was abruptly terminated at the end of 1908. Despite these setbacks, the sailor continued to write. As had been the case with his Yukon experience, he mined the tropic setting of his ill-fated voyage for an assortment of short stories. Many of these are collected in the volumes *South Sea Tales* (1911) and *The House of Pride and Other Tales of Hawaii* (1912).

The Sonoma Ranch occupied increasing attention during London's final years. While he was of a distinctly urban origin, he confronted the mysteries of agronomy with the same zeal he had displayed towards education and politics. Accounts of his actual success are contradictory, but he was clearly a pioneer of a scientific approach to farming. Once again, his life was reflected in his writing. In one of his last major novels, *The Valley of the Moon* (1913), London provides an epic account of two members of Oakland's working poor who flee the horrors of the city to find prosperity and happiness in the California countryside.

By contrast, the thematic sequel to this work, *Little Lady of the Big House* (1916), provides a darker vision of agrarian life and can be seen as a reflection of the chaos and unhappiness that confronted London toward the end of his life. The later book concerns a California rancher who is professionally successful but plagued by personal anguish. The last three years of London's life involved an assortment of medical and economic difficulties. Despite his reputation for ruggedness, he had always been careless about his physical health, and before he reached the age of 40, his body was failing from a combination of abuse and neglect. At the same time, reckless spending and questionable investments drained his finances and forced him to accelerate his work schedule to meet the demands of his creditors. During 1916, he traveled to Hawaii with an eye towards

recuperation, but it was too little too late. On November 22, London succumbed to uremic poisoning.

Although Jack London's death was the cause for national mourning, his presence in the American literary canon quickly faded. Much of his work went out of print, and he continues to be mistakenly perceived as a writer of adolescent adventure fiction. He seldom enjoyed the critical acclaim given to contemporaries such as Norris or Dreiser, but in terms of popular success, his work far outshone that of his peers. He tackled an astounding array of topics in his writing and delighted the imaginations of millions of readers worldwide. While his overall influence is difficult to access, it can by no means be dismissed.

—J. Allen Barksdale

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## The Lone Ranger

The Lone Ranger was the creation of George W. Trendle, a theater manager and a former lawyer, who, in partnership with John H. King, purchased radio station WXYZ, Detroit, in 1930. When CBS balked at some of Trendle's attempts to include innovative programming in the schedule, he decided to sever his affiliation with CBS and transform XYZ into an independent station with its own acting company and its own productions. One of Trendle's ideas, developed with studio manager Harold True and producer James Jewell, was a new show about a western hero, a larger-than-life Robin Hood of the West, whose personal code of ethics and morals would set him apart from ordinary heroes. In collaboration with Fran Striker, a writer who had earlier produced a Western program with a similar theme on a radio station in Buffalo, New York, Trendle's group transformed the idea into the most familiar and enduring fictional legend in American popular folklore.

In the legend thus created, the Lone Ranger was originally one of six Texas Rangers who were ambushed at Bryant's Gap by the evil Butch Cavendish Gang. Five rangers were killed, but the severely wounded John Reid was discovered by Tonto, an Indian who had been a boyhood friend. Reid's brother, Dan, had been the Captain of the Ranger squad. Before the ambush, Dan had said that his wife and son were coming west, and that they would need help running their silver mine if anything should happen to him. While nursing the





Clayton Moore (right) and Jay Silverheels as the Lone Ranger and Tonto.

wounded ranger, Tonto prepared six graves, leaving one empty so the Cavendish Gang would believe that they had killed all of the Rangers. After four days, the wounded lawman gained consciousness and discovered that he was the only surviving ranger, the lone ranger. He decided to wear a mask to disguise his identity. As the program evolved over the next few months, the Lone Ranger acquired a great, white stallion, which would become his dependable mount, Silver, and together with the ever faithful Tonto, he journeyed about the western United States quashing criminal activities and bringing evildoers, always referred to as owlhoots, outlaws, and low down coyotes, to justice. Eventually he used silver bullets from his brother's silver mine not only as ammunition, but also as a signature and calling card. On occasion, the Lone Ranger's nephew, Dan Reid, rode with the pair.

The program was aimed at juvenile listeners. The Lone Ranger used perfect grammar and pronunciation, and never smoked or drank or associated with women, except to save them from evil. He never shot to kill; bad guys were always "winged" in the arms or shoulder. The exception was Butch Cavendish, whom he eventually killed in self-defense. The program featured classical music as background themes, because the station did not have to pay royalties on music that was in the public domain. Rossini's "William Tell Overture," the musical theme of the program, became, in fact, a part of popular Americana. The plots were formulaic. The bad guys were always brought to justice. Each show ended with one of the townspeople asking, "Who was that masked man?" An authority figure would announce, "He's the Lone Ranger!" and in the distance the audience

heard the Lone Ranger's deep voice intoning, "Hi yo Silver, awaaaaay!" as he rode off to his next adventure.

The program first aired on January 30, 1933, without a sponsor. After trying out several actors in the role, in May 1933, Trendle settled on Earl Graser, a law student, as The Lone Ranger. John Todd, a former Shakespearean actor, played Tonto throughout the program's twenty-two year run. In 1941, Graser was killed in a car accident and was replaced by the deep-voiced Brace Beemer, who had been the announcer/narrator of the show and who had appeared as the Ranger in public appearances because Graser was too short. Beemer played the part until the show went off the air in 1955. In 1946, the voice of Fred Foy was added as the announcer/narrator. The sponsor of the program for the final 15 years on radio was General Mills, thus the breakfast cereals Wheaties and Cheerios were indelibly linked with *The Lone Ranger* by schoolboys everywhere.

By 1934, the fame of the Lone Ranger traveled beyond the lower Michigan area to Chicago. WXYZ contracted with Chicago's WGN to receive the show via telephone. Shortly thereafter, New York's WOR joined them. These three stations then formed the Mutual Radio Network and added stations throughout the country. The half-hour show was broadcast on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday at 6:30 PM. Before tape or wire recording became available, each show had to be broadcast three times, once each for the Eastern, Central, and Pacific time zones. Before his death in 1965, Beemer estimated that over 6,000 Lone Ranger programs were broadcast. Throughout most of its run, the programs were written by Fran Striker and directed by Al Hodge, Charles Livingston, and Fred Flowerday. In 1949, the Lone Ranger came to television. The introduction and closing, by Fred Foy, and the theme music were recorded in Detroit and superimposed on half-hour filmed programs, which were produced in California. Clayton Moore, a former B-movie actor, and Jay Silverheels, a Mohawk Indian who had played small parts in several films, were the lead actors. The television program lasted from September 15, 1949 through September 12, 1957. The opening episode recounted the Bryant's Gap story of the ambush of the Rangers and the adoption of the name and the mask. Reruns of the show continued well into the 1970s on many independent stations.

In 1937 and 1939, Republic Pictures released fifteen part Lone Ranger serials, but they varied somewhat from the radio formats. In 1956, Warner Brothers released *The Lone Ranger*, starring Clayton Moore and Jay Silverheels. They also appeared in *The Lone Ranger and the Lost City of Gold*, a 1958 United Artists feature. In 1980, the ITC/Wrath Corporation released *The Legend of the Lone Ranger*, a big budget film starring Clint Eastwood and Michael Horse in the lead roles, with Jason Robards as President U.S. Grant. It was a pretentious and overblown film, which quickly dropped from circulation. Eastwood, whose entire spoken dialogue had to be dubbed by another actor, won two Golden Raspberry Awards, one for Worst Actor and the other for Worst New Star. The film won an additional award for Worst Musical Score. A controversy arose when the Wrath Corporation, which by then owned the rights to the Lone Ranger, sought an injunction against Clayton Moore, ordering him to cease presenting himself as the Lone Ranger because he was too old and too fat, even though he weighed fifteen pounds less than he did when he was in the TV series. Shortly before Jack Wrath's death in 1985, the court order was suspended. Clayton Moore, wearing wrap-around sunglasses instead of a mask, continued to tour during the

injunction period and, after the suspension in 1985, he donned the mask again for personal appearances.

Another Trendle creation, which began on WXYZ on January 31, 1936, was the Green Hornet. Britt Reid, son of the Lone Ranger's nephew Dan Reid, was a big city newspaper publisher by day. By night he was a masked, caped crusader who fought urban corruption in his super-fast car, "The Black Beauty," which was driven by his Japanese valet Kato. (According to some sources, after December 7, 1941 Kato became a Filipino.) *The Green Hornet* went off the air in 1952. The same production team also created *The Challenge of the Yukon* (1939-1955), WXYZ's other long running adventure series. It consisted of little more than Lone Ranger plots set in the snow of the Yukon, just as the Green Hornet contained the same familiar plots in a modern urban setting. The same troupe of actors played various roles on all three programs.

—James R. Belpedio

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## Long, Huey (1893-1935)

One of the most skillful orators and most successful politicians of the 1920s and 1930s, Hugh Pierce Long was a demagogue, but one with strong populist appeal. Long was elected governor of Louisiana and then U.S. senator, and, had his life not been cut short by an assassin's bullet, he might have posed a formidable threat to Franklin D. Roosevelt's tenure in the White House. He is immortalized, in a thinly disguised version, in one of America's great political novels: Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men*.

Born into a middle-class Louisiana family, Long studied law for a year before gaining admission to the Louisiana bar in 1915. A few years later, he was elected to the state's Public Service Commission, which regulated the oil companies that were such an important part of



**Huey Long**

Louisiana's economy. Long became known as a critic of the oil companies' exploitation of the state and its people, and he tried to ride this reputation into the Governor's mansion in 1924. He lost that election but won the next, in 1928. He was elected to the U.S. Senate two years later.

It was in the Senate that Long began to develop a national reputation, much of which grew from his proposed "Share Our Wealth" program. This plan was intended as a solution to the hardships brought on America by the Great Depression that had begun in 1929; it involved, as its name suggests, a government-directed redistribution of assets—taking from the rich and giving to the poor and middle class. Long proposed confiscation of individual wealth over 50 million dollars, which would provide a guaranteed minimum income of five thousand dollars per year to the poor.

Although Long's plan was almost certainly unconstitutional, it found favor with large segments of the public, to whom the Depression had brought hardship, poverty, and hopelessness. At Long's urging, "Share Our Wealth" societies sprang up all over the country. These groups might well have formed the basis for a Huey Long presidential candidacy. Certainly Long himself entertained that notion, and had expressed the intent to run against President Franklin Roosevelt in the 1936 election. But he never got the chance. On September 10, 1935, Huey Long was shot dead in the Louisiana Capitol building. His assassin was the son of a former political opponent.

In many ways, Long was typical of the Southern demagogues who flourished in the region between, approximately, 1870 and 1970. He was a populist, in that he claimed to stand for the "little guy"

against the power of the established economic and political interests; he pretended to humble origins, although his background was middle class; he identified himself with his cause so thoroughly that it soon became impossible to separate the two in the public mind; he was a powerful and emotional public speaker, with a style that emphasized the “plain folks” appeal; and his rhetoric tended to focus on an enemy—whether the oil companies, the wealthy, or the Roosevelt administration. One difference—making Long virtually unique among Southern demagogues—was that he never engaged in race baiting. Rather, whenever Long mentioned blacks in his speeches, he claimed that they were victims of the “big interests” as much as poor whites.

Despite the undeniable corruption, political chicanery, and abuse of power that characterized Long’s career, he is still revered by many in Louisiana where he is remembered as the champion of “the little man.” And, if Long’s life itself was not enough to guarantee the persistence of his legend, then ample assistance was provided by Robert Penn Warren’s 1946 novel, *All the King’s Men*, which was later made into a popular film. The Pulitzer Prize-winning book chronicles the rise of Willie Stark through the jungles of Southern politics, and no one familiar with Huey Long’s career is likely to miss the similarities. The character of Willie Stark is written as a great political leader who nonetheless possesses the fatal flaw of hubris. The same could be said of the man who was his inspiration.

—Justin Gustainis

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## Long, Shelley (1949—)

In 1982, Shelley Long premiered as the overeducated barmaid Diane Chambers on the sitcom *Cheers*. Diane’s on-again/off-again romance with bar owner Sam Malone (Ted Danson) made the show a hit, but Long left the series at the height of its success, in 1987, to pursue a film career which quickly fizzled. Her films include *The Money Pit* (1986), *Outrageous Fortune* (1987), and *The Brady Bunch Movie* (1995).

—Christian L. Pyle

## Long-Playing Record

The long-playing, or LP, format for sound recordings was one of the most important innovations in entertainment technology after World War II. In addition to extending the duration of recordings, the

microgroove long-playing vinyl record brought new levels of fidelity to recorded sound. Its wide acceptance by listeners worldwide ensured that this was to be the primary format for sound recordings from its commercial introduction in the 1940s until the emergence of digital recording in the 1980s.

The search for a longer playing format for sound recordings began immediately after the invention of the phonograph in 1877. The technology was aimed at the business user, and the two- to three-minute playback of the cylinder was too short for the phonograph’s intended use as a dictating machine. One of the major advantages of the disc over the cylinder format was that it was easier to extend the play of the disc by increasing its size. By the first decades of the twentieth century the playing time of discs had been extended to seven or eight minutes, but this was still too short to reproduce the classical music and speeches of leading politicians to which owners of talking machines wanted to listen.

The development of a long-playing disc was undertaken by several companies for different reasons. Western Electric’s system of synchronized sound for movies was introduced in the early 1920s. It employed oversized 16-inch discs with a playing time of about 20 minutes. This system was improved in the 1930s and 1940s: more and more sound signals were inscribed in the smaller grooves to bring greater fidelity in the playback. During World War II, chemical manufacturers created new plastic materials which were applied to a variety of uses. “Unbreakable” long-playing vinyl records of popular music, the V discs, were sent to American troops overseas during the war, establishing an important precedent for the long player. Vinyl records were more durable and could take longer grooves than the hard shellac discs used for commercial recordings.

The recorded sound industry viewed the postwar economy with some apprehension for it had spent much of the 1930s facing precipitous drops in demand for its products. It hoped to win over the postwar market with technological improvements such as automatic record changers and exaggerated claims of the fidelity of its recording systems. The Columbia Company developed a long-playing record in its research laboratories under the direction of Dr. Peter Goldmark. Columbia was a long-established company, manufacturing talking machines and records in both cylinder and disc formats since the turn of the century. It knew that a long-playing record would open up the market for recordings of classical music and attract the attention of audiophiles, encouraging other users to desert the 78 revolutions per minute shellac disc for the new format. Goldmark and his team of engineers brought together many innovations of recorded sound in their long-playing technology, some of them stretching back to the early part of the twentieth century. To achieve a playing time of 30 minutes, the groove in the record had to be nearly half a mile long. Instead of the normal 80-100 grooves cut per inch, the 12-inch-diameter long player was cut with 224-260 grooves per inch, and hence the term microgroove was used to describe these records. A permanent jeweled stylus with a synthetic sapphire or diamond was used instead of the usual steel needle: an innovation first introduced by Thomas Edison in 1913. Manufacturing the new long-playing records demanded unprecedented standards of cleanliness and precision, and Goldmark embarked on a crusade to clean up the Columbia record pressing plants.

When executives of the Columbia company announced the long-playing record to the press in 1948, they portrayed it as a revolutionary new technology that would take “the musical world by storm.”



Two teenagers playing records.

This was more a marketing ploy than an accurate depiction of the development of the technology—most of the innovations in the new product had been made years before, even the playing speed of 33-1/3 rpm dated from the 1930s when it was used in long-playing transcriptions of radio programs. Nevertheless, the Columbia company touted its long-playing record as a major event in the history of sound recording and eagerly expected the rest of the recording industry to adopt it. Columbia miscalculated the reaction of RCA, long its rival in the record business and a company that prided itself on being the leader in new technology. RCA had developed a long-playing disc in the 1930s, but it had failed to catch on. When RCA heard of the Columbia research project it hurriedly introduced its own micro-groove, 45 rpm, seven-inch disc, and the “Battle of the Speeds” was on. This delayed the introduction of microgrooved discs because the customer had to choose from four speeds of revolving disc: 78, 33-1/3, 45, and 16 rpm.

It was not until the mid-1950s that the 12-inch disc established itself as the format for long-playing records, and the introduction of the Westrex stereophonic sound system in 1957 made it the format for high fidelity recordings. As had been expected, lovers of classical music and audiophiles embraced the new long-playing disc. The record companies were kept busy transferring their recordings of orchestral music from piles of 78 rpm shellac discs to one long player.

A new source of music for the long player was found in the Broadway play; the sound track for *My Fair Lady* was the best-selling long-playing recording of the 1950s, and it was followed by soundtracks from other plays and films. Artists like Frank Sinatra moved into the long-playing format in the 1950s, producing thematic albums such as *Come Fly with Me*, which contained songs about travel. Yet pop music—music for teenagers—stayed on the 45 rpm single format. The single was cheap (less than a dollar), easily carried around, and the three-minute playing time was perfect for AM radio, which wanted lots of time between songs for commercials.

In the 1960s, most recording artists released material on long-playing discs, which were now called LPs. (The term “album” came from bound albums of 78 rpm discs which were the stopgap long players of the 1930s and 1940s.) In popular music, the LP was simply a compilation of 10 to 13 three-minute songs which had been released on singles. The Beatles’ *Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band* of 1967 is acclaimed as the first concept album in which the whole of the recording was more artistically significant than the parts of the songs. It was followed by numerous concept albums as rock artists now saw the LP rather than the single as the format for their music. Packaging two LPs in one cover gave even greater length to the concept album and encouraged rock groups to embark on more ambitious projects, such as the Who’s rock opera *Tommy*. The LP permitted the length of

a song to extend beyond the three-minute limit set by the 45 rpm single and AM radio. In the 1970s some adventurous groups, such as the Allman Brothers, released albums of live music with one track covering a whole 20-minute side of an LP.

The introduction of digital recording on the compact disc in 1982 was supposed to make the vinyl LP obsolete by the end of the decade, but that did not happen. Although the CD had the important advantage of not deteriorating with every play, and it clearly sounded better, millions of consumers chose to stay with the scratches and nicks of their beloved LPs. Although the playing time of the CD was more than 70 minutes, most performers of popular music still made recordings which stayed within the 40-minute duration of the LP. The long-playing record quickly disappeared from the shelves of the major music retailers but continued to be sold from specialist shops which dealt solely in the obsolete recordings. Manufacturers of turntables and styli kept in production throughout the 1990s, supported by record collectors who were loath to move into the digital format, rap and hip-hop performers who sampled and scratched records to make their music, and disc jockeys who still used discs in their shows. Although technologically obsolete, the long-playing vinyl disc will survive at least until the beginning of the twenty-first century.

—Andre Millard

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## Loos, Anita (1893-1981)

Although known primarily as a screenwriter who authored more than 150 screenplays over three decades—beginning in 1912 and ending with her retreat from Hollywood in 1953—Anita Loos is perhaps best known as the writer of the acclaimed 1925 novel *Gentleman Prefer Blondes*, which she adapted for both Broadway and motion pictures. Conceiving the idea as a little piece centering on the adventures of “gold-digger” Lorelei Lee, a caricature of writer H.L. Mencken’s fixation with “a stupid little blonde,” the sketch evolved from a serial for *Harpers Bazaar* to a novel that was ultimately translated into 14 different languages. It was produced for the screen in 1928, remade in 1953, and eventually became a “break-through”

vehicle for Marilyn Monroe. As a screenwriter, Loos is generally credited with being one of the creators of what has become recognized as the “Golden Age” of Hollywood, writing scenarios for D.W. Griffith and helping to launch the career of Douglas Fairbanks. Her strength as a writer lay in clever lines and dialogue rather than on story and character development.

—Steve Hanson

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## López, Nancy (1957—)

In 1978, twenty-one-year-old Nancy López became the first Hispanic to win a Ladies Professional Golf Association tournament. One of the youngest women golfers ever to win at the professional level, López went on to become one of the greatest women’s golf champions of all time. Born to Mexican-American parents in Torrance, California, in 1957, Nancy López was raised in Roswell, New Mexico. She learned golf from her father and by age eleven she was already beating him. While Nancy was growing up, her parents struggled to give her the best opportunities possible to perfect her golf game; however, many doors were shut to the López family because they could not afford to join the country clubs where the best golf was taught and played. Nevertheless, Nancy persevered and at the age of twelve she won the first of three state women’s tournaments, including the New Mexico Women’s Open. As a teenager, she was the only female member of her high school golf team, and in 1972 and 1974, López won the U.S. Golf Association Junior Girls tournament. As an eighteen-year-old high school senior, she placed second in the U.S. Women’s Open.

After high school, López attended Tulsa University on a golf scholarship, where she was able to win the intercollegiate title. This helped her to make the decision to drop out of college to become a professional golfer. In 1978, during López’s first full season as a pro, she won nine tournaments, including the Ladies Professional Golf Association Championship, which she would later win two more times; she was the first Hispanic golfer in history to do so. López was named Rookie of the Year, Player of the Year, and Female Athlete of the Year; she also won the Vare Trophy. On her first year on the professional tour, she set a new record for earnings by a rookie: \$189,813. Since entering the pro circuit, López consistently ranked among the top women golfers in the world. In 1979, she won eight of the nineteen tournaments she entered, which *Sports Illustrated* classified as “one of the most dominating sports performances in a half a century.”

After marrying baseball star Ray Knight, López took a break from her career when she gave birth to daughter Ashley Marie in 1983. Two months later, López began touring again, and by 1987 she had won thirty-five tournaments and qualified to become the eleventh member of the Ladies Professional Golf Association Hall of Fame. In all, López has nearly fifty tournament victories on tour. López's most outstanding year was 1985, when she won five tournaments and finished in the top ten at twenty-five others. That year she also won the LPGA Championship again and earned more money—over \$400,000—than any other player on the circuit. By 1987, she had earned over \$2 million. During the 1990s, age and injuries began to take their toll on López, but now she plays without much pressure and truly enjoys the game that she has done so much to popularize.

—Nicolás Kanellos

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## Lopez, Robert

See El Vez

## Lorre, Peter (1904-1964)

Often typecast as a menacing figure, Peter Lorre achieved Hollywood fame during the 1930s, first as a featured player and later as a character actor who trademarked his screen performances with a delicately strung balance between good and evil. To villainous parts he added a touch of dark humor, while he shaded comic roles with sinister overtones. Though he deprecated his art as “face-making,” Lorre took his work seriously and lamented Hollywood's use of his tricks but not his talent. His globular eyes and diffident whine have inspired comic impersonations and been widely caricatured in commercials (Kellogg's “Booberry”), cartoons (*Ren and Stimpy*), and literature (*Catcher in the Rye*).

Born in Rozsahegy, Hungary, Ladislav Loewenstein moved to Moedling, Austria, in 1912, where he debuted in a primary school production of *Snow White*. Contrary to reports that he ran away from home to become an actor, after high school graduation he attended business school and landed a job as a bank teller in Vienna, where he juggled a bourgeois vocation by day and a Bohemian life by night, performing on the side in improvisational settings. At Jacob Moreno's Theater of Spontaneity, he learned to act out “the lived out and un-lived out dimensions of his private world.” Before releasing the talented unknown into the world, the psychodramatist gave him a more suitable professional name, Peter Lorre, which recalled his resemblance to “Struwelpeter,” an unkempt character in German

children's literature. From Vienna, he moved on to the Lobe and Thalia Theaters in Breslau, Germany, in 1924. Contracts with Zurich's Schauspielhaus and Vienna's Kammerspiele, where he played comedies, farces, and dramas, brought him to Berlin and to the attention of poet-dramatist Bertolt Brecht, who cast him as a cretinous high school student in Marieluise Fleischer's lustspiel *Engineers in Ingolstadt* in 1928. After that, he was, in his own words, “the hottest thing on the Berlin stage.” German director Fritz Lang caught sight of Lorre at a dress rehearsal of Frank Wedekind's *Springs Awakening*, in which he played a sexually frustrated teenager, and knew he had found the star of his first sound film. *M* (1931), which introduced him as a shadow falling across a reward poster and an off-screen voice, catapulted the actor into international fame as a notorious child murderer, forever confusing him in the public eye as a psychotic type.

After fleeing Nazi Germany two days before the Reichstag Fire on February 27, 1933, the Jewish actor joined fellow emigres in Paris, where *M* still played and people recognized him as le maudit (the murderer). Later that year, he accepted Alfred Hitchcock's invitation to come to England and appear as a fiendish terrorist in *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1934). A film contract with Columbia Pictures brought him and his wife, actress Celia Lovksy, to the United States in July of 1934. America, he felt, owed him nothing more than a chance to shed his screen past as a villain. “Ever since I came to this country I've been trying to live down my past,” explained Lorre. “That picture *M* has haunted me everywhere I've gone.” Despite his attempts to be and think American—he even tried to lose his accent—Hollywood closed its door on the actor, repeatedly casting him as the outsider who hinted at things better left unknown. He attached no importance to his role as a demented doctor in *Mad Love* (1935), his first American film, which he labeled “psychological terror” in lieu of “horror,” a genre he disliked. “I'm associated with horror movies, but I've only done one, *The Beast with Five Fingers* . . . I don't want to go down in history as a monster,” Lorre noted. “I've never played a frog that swallowed a city or something like that.”

Looking to become a “general character actor,” Lorre accepted Twentieth Century Fox's invitation to play a variety of parts. However, a series of Japanese detective films based on J. P. Marquand's *Mr. Moto* threatened an even narrower use of his talents. At Warner Bros., where he co-starred on and off screen with pal Humphrey Bogart, Lorre hit his personal and professional stride, appearing in vehicles that popularized his sinister image, such as *Casablanca* (1943), and explored his more melancholy, philosophic side, such as *Three Strangers* (1946). His acting style reflected a change of attitude, away from psychological probing toward what Thomas Mann called “perfected naturalness,” at the same time causal and comfortable, off-center and ironic. He told friends he would play anything—a Martian, a cannibal, even Bugs Bunny—to avoid a suspension. In 1946, Warner Bros. called his bluff, casting him in *The Beast with Five Fingers*, for what turned out to be the requiem for the waning horror genre. Seeking to chart his own course—to act, direct, and produce—Lorre left the studio and formed his own self-management company. Three years of relative inactivity, which he blamed on “graylisting” by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, a legacy of his friendship with Brecht, ended in bankruptcy in 1949.

Feeling that Hollywood had turned its back on him, the actor left for Europe, where he sought the elusive pivotal role denied him in Hollywood. In Germany, he directed, co-authored, and starred in *Der*

*Verlorene (The Lost One)* in 1951, which weighed the enormity of Hitler's state-sponsored mass crimes against the fate of a single human being, a murderer who becomes the victim of murderous times. Lorre denied that he had returned to remake *M*, and chalked up to coincidence any similarities between the stories of compulsive killers told in overlapping realist and expressionist styles. When German audiences, who wanted to put the past behind them, rejected the darkly fatalistic movie, he reluctantly returned to the United States. After appearing in a summer stock production of *A Night at Mme. Tussaud's*, Lorre found himself cast against type as a comically droll rogue in John Huston's *Beat the Devil* (1954). The reunion of the "unholy three"—Huston, Bogart, and Lorre—turned the clock back to happier days, when a sense of camaraderie fed the spirit of fun. Such departures, however, failed to arrest the downward spiral of his career. When Hollywood refused to risk a less commercial use of his talents, Lorre wearily accepted roles that spoofed his sinister movie personality. Ironically, by the end of his life, his appearances in horror-comedies opposite Vincent Price and Boris Karloff (*Tales of Terrors* [1962], *The Raven* [1963], *Comedy of Terrors* [1964]) came to outnumber his performances in the genre they parodied. At age 59, the overweight actor suffered a fatal cerebral hemorrhage on March 23, 1964.

The emblematic personalities of Humphrey Bogart and Bertolt Brecht locked Lorre into a choice, which he never made, between celebrity and intellectual respectability. Frustrated by his failure to carve a niche for himself in Hollywood, the erudite actor planned numerous projects tailored to his aptitude and capabilities, most notably film stories with his friend and mentor Bertolt Brecht, in whose development of "epic" acting theories he had played a part during the Weimar years. However, his failure to bridge the gap between person and persona drove the private Peter Lorre deeper into hiding and more sharply defined the seemingly disembodied legacy of his screen image.

—Stephen D. Youngkin

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## Los Angeles

See City of Angels, The

## The Los Angeles Lakers

The Los Angeles Lakers are synonymous with "Showtime," a blend of athletic brilliance and crowd-pleasing charisma which helped

transform basketball from just another game to the most popular sport on the planet. Led by Earvin "Magic" Johnson, the greatest team player of all time, the 1980s Lakers formed both a basketball dynasty and a legendary rivalry with Larry Bird's Boston Celtics. This era, which Roland Lazenby refers to as "basketball's Age of Camelot" paved the way for the emergence of basketball's era of superstars, led by the inimitable Michael Jordan.

In their 50-plus year history, the Lakers have qualified for the playoffs more than any other franchise, a remarkable 92 percent of the time. In their first year, however, there was no inkling of their future success. The Los Angeles Lakers had their humble beginnings in the early years of professional basketball as the 1946 Detroit Gems in the National Basketball League (NBL). The Gems were a horrible team and their record, 4-40, remains the worst in modern professional basketball. It was precisely their losing record, however, that a group of Minneapolis investors wanted. They bought the team for \$15,000, moved it to Minneapolis, Land of Lakes, changed the team's name, and with their losing record, received the top pick in the 1947 draft.

The Lakers' new general manager was a savvy 24-year-old sportswriter with a lot of savvy named Sid Hartman. In an era when basketball scouts were non-existent, Hartman knew everyone and everything that was happening around the country in the basketball world, and he set out to create an unbeatable team. Signing excellent players from other leagues, including Jim "Kangaroo Kid" Pollard and the six-foot-ten George Mikan, Hartman and his investors laid the foundations for basketball's first dynasty. In their first season, the Lakers were 43-17 and won the league championship.

In 1948, the Lakers and their three top competitors joined a new league, the Basketball Association of America (BAA). Two years later, the NBL and the BAA merged to form the National Basketball Association (NBA), where the Lakers success, led by Mikan, Pollard, and Vern Mikelson, continued through the early 1950s. But by 1956, the team was facing its first losing season and Hartman hatched the idea of finishing dead last in order to get top draft pick Bill Russell. The owners balked, Russell went to the Boston Celtics, and the team was eventually sold. And still the Lakers lost. By 1958, they had finished dead last, and were rewarded by top draft pick Elgin Baylor, the man who virtually invented hang time—the ability to jump and remain in the air while gliding to the hoop. Even with Baylor's one-man heroics, however, the Lakers lingered close to basketball's basement.

In 1959, team owners began discussing relocation to the warmer West Coast. A year later, the Lakers moved to Los Angeles, where they played in the Sports Arena and, with the second pick in the draft, they acquired a skinny forward from West Virginia named Jerry West. After picking up splinters on the bench for most of his first season, West was finally given playing time and, combined with Elgin Baylor, who trailed only Wilt Chamberlain in scoring, the Lakers' fortunes began to improve. At the end of the season, they squeaked into the 1961 playoffs. When they managed to push the St. Louis Hawks to a fifth game in St. Louis, owner Bob Short called local sportscaster Chick Hearn to arrange a live broadcast for new-found Los Angeles fans; Hearn soon after became the voice of the Lakers.

Although the Hawks ultimately pulled out a two-point victory, Los Angeles had discovered the Lakers, and celebrities such as Doris Day, Danny Thomas, and Pat Boone began regularly attending

games. Boosted by the most glamorous fans in the NBA, the Lakers of the 1960s became one of the most successful franchises, drawing record crowds and making the playoffs every year. Led by Baylor and West, the team won the Western Division Championship six out of nine years and made it to the finals where, every year, they ran into their nemesis, Bill Russell's Celtics, and every year, they lost.

Despite their status in the finals, however, the Lakers were winners. Jack Kent Cooke, a Canadian millionaire living in California who owned part of the Washington Redskins, realized this and saw an opportunity to turn the Lakers into a big-time, money-making franchise. He bought the team for \$5 million in 1965 and set about transforming it. His first step was to build the Los Angeles Forum. His second was to acquire perennial league scoring leader, Wilt Chamberlain.

In 1968, Baylor, West, and Chamberlain led the team to the playoffs. But despite the obvious combined talent of the three players, the team still never seemed to win the big one. In the division championships, they were stopped by Kareem Abdul-Jabbar and the Milwaukee Bucks. When they made it past the Bucks, they ran smack into the New York Knicks, who had taken over the mantle of Eastern champions after Bill Russell retired from the Celtics. The Knicks, led by Willis Reed, Bill Bradley, and Walt Frazier, handed the Lakers some of their most frustrating losses in Madison Square Garden.

By the early 1970s, the Lakers' stars were in their thirties, with not much time left to play. But Cooke was determined to win and so he put together a strong lineup that included Happy Hairston and Gail Goodrich, and hired a new coach, Bill Sharman. Mid-season in 1972, the team won 33 straight and they looked invincible. At the end of the season, the Lakers once again faced Abdul-Jabbar's Bucks in the division finals and won in five. Then they faced the Knicks and, with Wilt Chamberlain playing brilliant ball, the Los Angeles Lakers won their first World Championship.

The next season, the team made it to the finals to defend their title, but the aging players did not have the magic and they lost. Chamberlain retired, and for a while the team floundered as they looked for a new center. They found the best—league MVP (Most Valuable Player) Kareem Abdul-Jabbar. In his first few seasons as a Laker, despite daily heroics, Abdul-Jabbar had no real supporting players, and the team went on a downward slide, missing the playoffs two years in a row in the mid-1970s. Then came "Showtime."

As Roland Lazenby has written in *The Lakers*, "Showtime was a hoops fairy tale, pro basketball's Age of Camelot, when Magic Johnson and Larry Bird were the boy wonders who pulled the proverbial sword from the stone. Until they came along, the game had struggled to find an identity among America professional sports. . . . But Bird and Johnson changed all that."

In 1979, Jerry Buss bought the Lakers from Cooke and a new era was underway. Having finished last, the Lakers had the first pick in the draft and with it they chose a college sophomore from Michigan who had led his team to the NCAA (National Collegiate Athletic Association) Championship. Earvin "Magic" Johnson, a six-foot-nine point guard with a magical smile and the magical ability to turn any team to gold, immediately brought joy and hope to the franchise. Buoyed by Johnson, Norm Nixon, Jamaal Wilkes, and the high-flying Michael Cooper, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar finally had a team.

In 1980, the Lakers made it to the championships against Dr. J (Julius Erving) and the Philadelphia 76ers and, led by Kareem, they

were finally in a position to win, until Kareem twisted his ankle in Game Five and was unable to play Game Six. But up stepped Magic. The dazzling point guard took over the game and, in the process, he not only proved himself a star, but the team brought home a World Championship.

The Lakers of the 1980s were a dynasty that shaped themselves around Magic and Kareem. With players such as Byron Scott, A.C. Green, and the incredible James Worthy, famous fans led by Jack Nicholson courtside in his shades, Jerry West as General Manager, and their dapper new coach, Pat Riley, the Lakers made it to the playoffs every year. But it was not until 1984 that they met Larry Bird's Celtics in the finals. The Celtics won that year and one of professional sports' greatest rivalries was formed, as the Lakers won in 1985 and 1987. In 1988, the Lakers became the first team to repeat as champions since the Celtics in the 1960s, beating the Bad Boy Detroit Pistons. It seemed like Showtime would go on forever.

But by 1989, after 20 years in the NBA, Kareem was ready to retire. The Lakers lost to the Pistons that year, the same year they lost Kareem. Some see the big man's retirement as the end of Showtime, others cite Pat Riley's departure the following year, but most Lakers' fans feel that Showtime came to an end when Magic Johnson announced that he was HIV-positive. Although Magic would leave the game but then come back to win MVP in the 1992 All-Star Game, his number would be eventually be retired and the Lakers dynasty finally come to an end. And despite the signing of superstar Shaquille O'Neal in the mid-1990s and the presence of a young but undeniably talented team who continue to make it to the playoffs, the magic of Showtime left with Magic.

The undeniable glamour of the Los Angeles Lakers, however, remains. A perpetual contender, an organization with history, a hometown crowd riddled with movie stars, the Lakers are one of professional sports' most successful and most charismatic teams. The aura of Showtime will always linger as the magical coming together of a group of extraordinarily gifted individuals who turned a middle-of-the-road professional sport into an electrifying pop culture fixture.

—Victoria Price

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## Los Lobos

The Mexican-American band, Los Lobos, (originally named Los Lobos Del Este Los Angeles) was formed in 1974 by high school friends David Hidalgo, Conrad Lozano, Louis Perez, and Caesar Rosas. In 1984 saxophonist Steve Berlin left his band, the Blasters, to





Cesar Rosas (standing) and Dave Hidalgo of Los Lobos.

join the original four as the only non-Chicano member. In 1987, with the release of their first single hit “La Bamba,” a cover of the Ritchie Valens classic of the same name, the band was catapulted into the mainstream popular music scene. As a primarily Mexican-American group which has achieved widespread recognition, the band serves as a cultural icon to its multicultural listeners. And like the few other East Los Angeles musicians such as Lalo Guerrero and Valens, who have surmounted economic and social adversity to achieve fame, they serve as role models to other Chicanos who may fear that their attempts to escape from poverty will be thwarted by prejudice. The group’s success and diverse following speaks for the accessibility of their music, and the band’s self-professed mission to further the cause of intercultural and intergenerational harmony promotes a feeling of a “hip” family reunion at their popular concerts.

Los Lobos is known for its innovative blending of genres such as jazz, blues, Tex-Mex, country, and even punk. The band’s roots, however, lie in rock and roll and in the Mexican music of their heritage. But after David Hidalgo acquired an accordion from a friend who was stationed in Germany, the group began to explore Tex-Mex and electrified their acoustic sound. Although this change cost them their first full-time restaurant gig, it was this interest in finding common ground among seemingly disparate forms of expression that has since become the band’s signature.

The band got their start playing at local weddings and other parties. By the mid-1980s, however, the members of Los Lobos started to compose their own songs and entered the Hollywood music scene, then filled with clubs offering small venues for beginning

bands to find their footing. After gaining recognition as the opening act for the Blasters, they appeared in clubs such as the Whisky, the Roxy, and the Cafe de Grande. Their second album, *And a Time to Dance* (1983), released under the Slash Records label earned the group their first Grammy. By their third release, *How Will the Wolf Survive?* (1984), the band had answered its own question by adding extensive touring to its repertoire. This heavy roadwork resulted not only in financial security but also in a more distinctive sound, realized in *By the Light of the Moon* (1987), an incorporation of jazz, blues, and country music. With the release of *La Pistola y el Corazon* (1988), the band revisited its roots by implementing traditional Mexican chord progressions and lyrics. The group’s next three endeavors, *The Neighborhood* (1990), *Kiko and the Lavender Moon* (1992), and *Colossal Head* (1996) were also highly praised by critics, and demonstrated that, although the group has been together for over twenty years its music has continued to grow increasingly imaginative, straying further and further from the well-worn rock beat.

Los Lobos entered the popular consciousness even more memorably by performing in numerous movie soundtracks. Their involvement with *La Bamba* (1987), starring Lou Diamond Phillips, earned the band, among other honors, two Grammy nominations and an MTV music video award. In 1992, the band participated in the making of the soundtrack for the film *The Mambo Kings*, resulting in Academy and Grammy award nominations for Best Song from a Film for the song “Beautiful Maria of My Soul.” Their work on the film *Desperado* (1995), produced by Robert Rodriguez, garnered the group its third Grammy Award. They also contributed to the score for *Feeling Minnesota* (1996), starring Keanu Reeves and Cameron Diaz.

The group’s commercial success has allowed them to pursue their personal interests in family and ethnic harmony through benefit work. In 1990 they participated in an album that compiled classic music from Disney movies. They made appearances on the children’s television program, *Sesame Street*, and in 1994 recorded a track called “Elmo and the Lavender Moon” for the album *Sesame Street’s 25th Anniversary*. The album *Papa’s Dream*, recorded with Lalo Guerrero in 1995, based on Guerrero’s dream of visiting Mexico for his eightieth birthday, is similarly dedicated to children. The band also performs charity concerts regularly for organizations such as Integrity House, a center for people with disabilities. Their efforts were rewarded in 1996 when a children’s learning center in Whittier, California, was dedicated to Los Lobos. The band also attempts to tackle social problems through their song lyrics, many of which treat the destructive effects of substance abuse and domestic violence.

Despite their success, Los Lobos has not escaped the effects of discrimination on the basis of their Chicano heritage. The Academy Award committee initially rejected the band’s song “Cancion Del Mariachi” on the grounds that it was “unintelligible,” a decision which revealed the American music scene’s lingering discomfort with ethnically-influenced music. In spite of the band’s encounters with obstacles such as these, they remain a source of inspiration for California’s Mexican-American population in the delicate balancing act of promoting both Chicano pride and intercultural crossover. After more than a quarter century of making music, Los Lobos’ achievements add a note of unintentional irony to title of their first independent release, *Just Another Band from East L.A.*

—Carly Andrews

## *The Lost Weekend*

Released in 1945 by Paramount Studios, *The Lost Weekend*, written by Charles Brackett and Billy Wilder, is considered Hollywood's first film about the ravages of substance abuse. A grim, harrowing, and emotional drama, the film focuses on a struggling writer and his alcoholism. Lobbyists for the liquor industry tried to have the film destroyed before release, fearing the negative depiction of their product, to no avail. Upon release, the film was widely popular, with audiences and critics. It received four Oscars: best actor for Ray Milland, and best director, best screenplay, and best picture for Billy Wilder.

—Frances Gateward

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## Lottery

Observe the cash register line at any state lottery agent the days before an unusually large jackpot, and you will get some idea of the popularity of this form of government fundraising. Some call it a state-sponsored vice, and others believe it is a regressive and voluntary tax on the poor. Still millions of people across the United States and around the world line up to play Lotto, Quik-pick, Power Ball, Keno, Quinto, and Pick 3, 4, or 5 and purchase a chance to change their lives.

Though the current wave of lotteries began in the 1960s, the lottery is not a new method for governments to raise money. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it was common for government and other institutions to sell chances to win prize money in order to fund specific civic projects. In the early 1800s, Boston's Faneuil Hall was refurbished with funds raised by a lottery.

When state governments began to hire private companies to administrate their lotteries, the door opened to fraud. It was not long before the lottery seemed to be irretrievably corrupt, and by the late 1800s it was illegal in every state in the union.

Outlawing lotteries did not make them disappear, however, but sent them underground, where organized crime took over. Numbers games—high-odds betting on an unpredictable series of numbers, such as sports scores—became a regular form of entertainment, especially among the urban poor. It was an effort on the part of the state to reclaim some of the income going to the mob that prompted the states of New York and New Hampshire to start their own lotteries in the 1960s. Excited by the idea of millions of dollars in new income, voluntarily supplied by citizens to the state's budget, 11 states started their own lotteries by 1975. By the late 1990s, there were 38 state lotteries in the United States and 68 international lotteries. In the United States alone, the total lottery earnings for 1996 was 35 billion dollars.

The justification for holding state lotteries is that lottery profits are intended to be spent on education and other underfunded public entities such as parks. However, schools have not seen the windfalls that lottery proponents promised. Indeed, most states with lotteries have reduced school budgets to account for the extra income that the lottery is intended to provide, and some school districts report that education bonds became harder to pass because of the public perception that the schools are getting rich from the lottery. Only 34 cents of each dollar spent on a lottery ticket actually goes into the state budget.

One reason for this is lottery advertising. Since the federal ban on advertising state lotteries was lifted in 1975, many states have huge lottery advertising budgets and run aggressive campaigns to sell their lotteries to the public. Since these ads are run by government agencies, they are not bound by truth in advertising regulations that bind commercial businesses. A few states, such as Virginia, require that the actual astronomical odds be stated clearly in each ad. Many, however, are free to state odds for the smallest prize, such as a free ticket, while advertising the multimillion dollar jackpot. Though lottery officials like to promote the lottery as entertainment, not gambling, many of their ads are directed to the poor. The Illinois lottery put an ad on a billboard above a poor Chicago neighborhood with the slogan, "This could be your way out." What they did not say is that the odds of winning the lottery can be as much as 20 million to one, ridiculously higher than the casino slot machine odds of 20 to one.

Adding to the problems of the state lottery is the fact that, once again, most lotteries are being contracted to private companies to run. There are several companies that run the U.S. lotteries, including Gtech, Scientific Games, Automated Wagering International (AWL), and Video Lottery Technologies. Of these, Gtech is by far the most powerful, with contracts for 26 U.S. lotteries and 41 international lotteries. Like the private lottery companies of the nineteenth century, Gtech has a reputation for ruthless and corrupt business practices and is constantly the subject of rumors that it uses illegal means to obtain its lottery contracts and break its competition. In 1996, Gtech executive J. David Smith was convicted of fraud, bribery, conspiracy, and money laundering in a New Jersey lottery kickback scheme.

There is, perhaps, nothing more American than the desire to get rich, and the many state lotteries .gambling to offer a chance at this most material pursuit that is inherent in the American dream. However, many view the lottery as no more than state-sponsored gambling. The profits invite corruption, and the misleading advertisements invite a disproportionate number of poor people to trade their money for a long shot at becoming one of the privileged few. Even lottery winners have their complaints. Lottery winners often lack experience in dealing with large sums of money, and they encounter envy and hostility from friends and coworkers and are preyed on by swindlers. Many lottery winners, interviewed years later, report of having lost friends, having become estranged from family, and having spent the money too quickly.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Lottery

See also Gambling

## Louis, Joe (1914-1981)

Boxer Joe Louis was the first African-American "household name" familiar to most white Americans. During his reign as heavyweight boxing champion from 1938 to 1949, Louis did what no other black athlete had done before: He earned the respect and devotion of a mass audience of middle-class whites across the nation. His 1938 victory over Max Schmeling came to symbolize the conflict between the democratic United States and Nazi Germany, while providing African-Americans with a national celebrity. According to biographer Richard Bak, "In his day he was the most famous black man in America." Louis's heroics in the ring came to represent the potential ability of African-Americans to overcome racism and discrimination. Before Jackie Robinson integrated baseball in 1947, Joe Louis truly was "The Great Black Hope."



Joe Louis

Joe Louis was born Joseph Louis Barrow in Lexington, Alabama, on May 13, 1914. He accompanied his family to Detroit soon thereafter and began his boxing career in the seamy, impoverished Black Bottom section of the city. In his first amateur bout, he was knocked down seven times. Yet with the help of manager John Roxborough, the aspiring athlete soon honed a powerful right cross and a matching left hook—acquiring the distinctive compact style that would be his trademark throughout his career. By 1934, Louis had worked his way from the Brewster gym to a victory in the 175-pound championship match at the U.S. Amateur Athletic Union. He turned professional on July 4, 1934.

In the three years that followed, Louis defeated a veritable who's who of boxing's greatest stars. He won his first twenty-seven fights, twenty-three by knockout. Among his victims were legends Max Baer, Paolino Uzcudun, and Natie Brown. Yet he drew national attention only after trouncing former heavyweight champion Primo Carnera at New York's Madison Square Garden. The Louis-Carnera bout, coinciding with Italian dictator Benito Mussolini's preparations for his attack on Ethiopia, acquired symbolic significance: In an era when nations prided themselves on the performances of their athletes, Louis's victory over the Italian Carnera came to represent, in the American consciousness, the Ethiopian underdogs in their struggle against the technologically superior armies of fascist Italy. The fight also instantly transformed Louis into black America's most famous symbol. Following the victory, thousands of celebrants poured into the streets of Harlem.

Despite a knockout loss to Germany's Max Schmeling in 1936, Louis earned a shot at heavyweight champion James J. Braddock through subsequent victories over Jack Sharkey and Bob Pastor. Braddock and Louis met on July 22, 1937, at Chicago's Comiskey Park. Tensions ran high as the prospect of an African-American heavyweight champion angered many whites. The only previous black boxer to hold the title, Jack Johnson, had been forced to flee the country under threat of imprisonment after having a relationship with a white woman. Yet when Louis delivered a come-from-behind knockout blow in the eighth round to assume the heavyweight title, white America responded with subdued admiration. Black America went wild. From that moment forward, many African Americans came to believe that the future of their struggle for equality depended upon the continued success of the "Brown Bomber." Hundreds of thousands of African-Americans followed his every match on radio; the black press hounded him for his opinions on the issues of the day. He even became the subject of a popular Duke Ellington song. Rather than rest on his laurels, the world's most famous black man returned to the ring to defend the honor of his country.

The second Louis-Schmeling match, at Yankee Stadium on June 22, 1938, was arguably the most celebrated event in the sport's history. It was also one of the shortest. Louis dominated the fight from the first punch, and only two minutes and eight seconds had elapsed before Louis knocked Schmeling to the mats with a pair of broken vertebra. Throughout much of the North and Midwest, the new heavyweight champion became the first black celebrity to appeal to people of all races. Louis added to his popularity when he put his career on hold to join the war effort against Germany, enlisting in the army as a private and mustering out as a sergeant. During his military service, he also appeared in war propaganda films for the U.S. government and fought exhibition bouts to raise funds for military causes.

Louis's return to boxing after World War II was heralded by the media, who derided his opponents as members of "Bum of the Month Club." By 1949, when he retired long enough for Ezzard Charles to acquire the heavyweight title, Louis had earned a reputation as boxing's all-time greatest star. By century's end, his division record of twenty-five successful title defenses was still standing. Louis returned to the ring briefly in 1950 and 1951. He lost a fifteen-round decision to Charles in his debut and was later knocked out in eight rounds by future heavyweight champion Rocky Marciano. A man who knew when to quit, Louis then retired permanently. He left one of boxing's most impressive career records: 71 fights, 68 wins, 54 knockouts. In addition to Baer, Braddock, and Schmeling, his list of unsuccessful opponents included "Jersey Joe" Walcott, Billy Conn, and Jimmy Bivins.

Like many early celebrities, Louis experienced difficulty adjusting to life out of the limelight. Although he had won over \$4 million in purses over the years, poor financial management left the retired boxer deep in debt. In addition, he faced unpaid federal income taxes. "I just don't know where the money went," he lamented. "I wish I did. I got 50 percent of each purse and all kinds of expenses came out of my cut." By the mid-1950s, Louis had descended into a sedentary life of emotional trauma and narcotics abuse. He earned his living as a greeter at Caesar's Palace in Las Vegas, Nevada. In the words of his biographer, Richard Bak, "Joe was battling his own demons during the 1960s, so the civil rights movement passed him by." He died in Las Vegas on April 12, 1981.

Yet if Joe Louis didn't actively take part in the civil rights movement of the 1960s, he—more than almost any other individual—made it possible. The 1930s were dark days for African-Americans. Most paths to achievement, including most professional sports, were off-limits to blacks. Boxing, which Bak terms "a pretty nefarious sport," offered one of society's few arenas for interracial competition. Joe Louis capitalized on the opportunity that boxing afforded and showed black Americans that, given a fair chance, they could equal or better even the most accomplished whites. He also demonstrated to many white Americans that such success didn't have to be hostile or unpalatable. When Brooklyn Dodgers general manager Branch Rickey decided to integrate baseball during the 1940s, he told his scouts to find him "someone just like Joe Louis." Even the popularity of Martin Luther King among Northern white liberals during the mid-1950s was, in part, a consequence of Louis's success in convincing many whites that black Americans could handle publicity and leadership responsibly. Tributes to the world's greatest boxer now abound: a sports stadium in Detroit, a postage stamp, a two-ton monument by sculptor Robert Graham. As reporter Jimmy Cannon once said of him: "Louis was a credit to his race . . . the human race."

—Jacob M. Appel

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## Louisiana Purchase Exposition

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition, also called the World's Fair, was held in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1904 to celebrate the centennial of the Louisiana Purchase. From the April 30 opening day ceremonies to the final day on December 1, twenty million people attended the daily programs of events and viewed American icons, such as Geronimo, at the world's largest fair at that time. The fair emphasized American prowess in technology, industry, and military leadership. Electricity used to illuminate the Hall of Festivals, Colonnade of States, Palaces of Electricity and Education, and Machinery Hall cost \$2 million. Of the exhibits, the Great Floral Clock with a 74-foot minute hand was the centerpiece and other exhibits included Abraham Lincoln's private railway coach and a 265-foot-high Ferris wheel.

The grandness of the fair has had a lasting effect on America and the fair site has been used to stage other important events. The 1904 Olympics were held on the fair site. Years later, the movie, *Meet Me in St. Louis*, starring Judy Garland, romantically depicted the fair. The 1904 World's Fair Society, established in 1986, published the monthly *World's Fair Bulletin* and proposed staging a 2004 World's Fair in St. Louis. The Missouri Historical Society displayed a World's Fair exhibit near the fairgrounds where people excavated collectibles from landfill rubble.

—Elizabeth D. Schafer

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## Louisville Slugger

Louisville Slugger is the name for America's most popular baseball bat. In 1884, Bud Hillerich, a manufacturer of wooden posts,



**The Transportation Building at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.**

columns, bowling balls and pins in Louisville, Kentucky, produced a custom-made bat for major league star Pete Browning. While swinging the new bat, Browning soared out of a slump and initiated demand for Hillerich's bats. By 1894 the bats had acquired the name Louisville Slugger, which since then has appeared in an oval on each bat. The Louisville Slugger began the now ubiquitous practice of athlete endorsements of sporting goods when, in 1905, Honus Wagner (known to baseball fans as "The Flying Dutchman") gave permission for his autograph to be included on the bats. Over the century,

other famous ball players whose signatures have appeared on Louisville Slugger bats include Ty Cobb, Babe Ruth, Mickey Mantle, Roger Maris, Hank Aaron, and Johnny Bench. These endorsements, as well as the records that have been broken by players while using the bats, firmly established the Louisville Slugger's reputation. Most notably, Babe Ruth hit 60 home runs in 1927 using Louisville Sluggers made to his specifications.

—Sharon Brown

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## *The Love Boat*

Like its sister series, *Fantasy Island*, ABC's *The Love Boat* was one of television's most reliable barometers of celebrity. Guests on the show, it was said, were either on their way up or on their way down. That they wanted to come on at all was evidence of the program's formidable popularity with viewers. Perfectly ensconced in a Saturday night time slot, when shut-ins and the socially challenged are most apt to be watching TV, this airy seaborne soufflé rode the public's fascination with recognizable performers to ratings success over the course of nine improbable seasons from 1977 to 1986.

Based on a forgettable 1974 novel by former cruise ship director Jeraldine Saunders, the lighthearted anthology interwove three romantic plots over the course of one hour each week. The series eschewed the book's soapy conventions in favor of romantic comedy like the similarly structured *Love, American Style*. Set on board the fictional cruise liner *Pacific Princess*, *The Love Boat* featured a cast of regulars playing the roles of the ship's crew, with a new batch of has-beens and up-and-comers introduced as ship's passengers in each episode. Plot complications often involved mistaken identities, bitter-sweet reunions, and the ever-popular premarital reservations. The sex was suggested rather than shown, although the very concept of a "love boat" reflected the permissive sexual attitudes coming to the fore in American life.

Producer Aaron Spelling was enlisted to shepherd the program to air after two pilot episodes went down in flames, reportedly because of poor casting. With his keen sense of the likes and dislikes of the American viewing public, Spelling assembled a floating repertory company of genial B-list performers. Gavin MacLeod, late of TV's *Mary Tyler Moore Show*, played the ship's captain, Merrill



The cast of *The Love Boat*.

Stubing. The antic Bernie Koppell, so effective as the evil genius Siegfried on *Get Smart*, provided comic tonics as ship's physician Adam "Doc" Bricker. Newcomer Lauren Tewes played perky cruise director Julie McCoy, while Fred Grandy and Ted Lange rounded out the cast as the ship's purser and bartender, respectively.

The *Pacific Princess* sailed to many exotic locations over the course of its nine-year run. Acapulco, Stockholm, Helsinki, and Sydney were only a few of the ports that welcomed the ocean-liner of love. Even more exotic were some of the guest stars who booked passage—many of them for multiple engagements. Suzanne Somers, John Ritter, and Loni Anderson were a few of the contemporary stars who dropped in for an episode or two, although game show regulars like Bert Convy, Fannie Flagg, and the Landers Sisters were more typical of the caliber of star featured regularly. The show also became a safe haven for old-time Hollywood legends, many of them lured by the promise of a free cruise (the show was often filmed on location). Some of the show business fossils who turned up on the Love Boat decks included Lana Turner, Alice Faye, and Don Ameche.

Perhaps the most bizarre passenger to grace the Princess' poop deck was pop art impresario Andy Warhol, who played himself on the program's 200th episode in 1985. The man who coined the term "fifteen minutes of fame" may have been bemused by the show's celebration of the cult of celebrity, but he showed no emotion as he virtually sleepwalked through his appearance. In a turn of events that surely would have tickled Warhol's fancy, bumbling ship's purser Fred Grandy actually won a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1986, shortly after the show concluded its nine-year voyage.

*The Love Boat* steamed on unchanged well into the 1980s, although original cast member Lauren Tewes was forced to leave the show in 1984 after a well-publicized bout with cocaine addiction. A few format tweaks (including the introduction of the singing, dancing "Love Boat Mermaids") heralded the show's inevitable ratings slide, however, and the Princess was finally put into drydock in 1986. It returned for a series of highly rated televised reunion movies, all featuring the original cast. A new series, *Love Boat: The Next Wave* debuted in 1998 to lukewarm public response.

Richard Kinon, who directed many episodes of *The Love Boat*, once described the show's formula as "romance and pap." Few television historians would disagree with that assessment, although in its own way the show did say something about the mood of the country that watched it so avidly. At its height, *Love Boat* was a kind of floating Studio 54 for the mom-and-pop set—a weekly shipboard party filled with famous faces and soft-serve sexcapades. And for a weary post-Watergate populace desperate for any entertainment that did not require hard thinking, this was just what the cruise director ordered.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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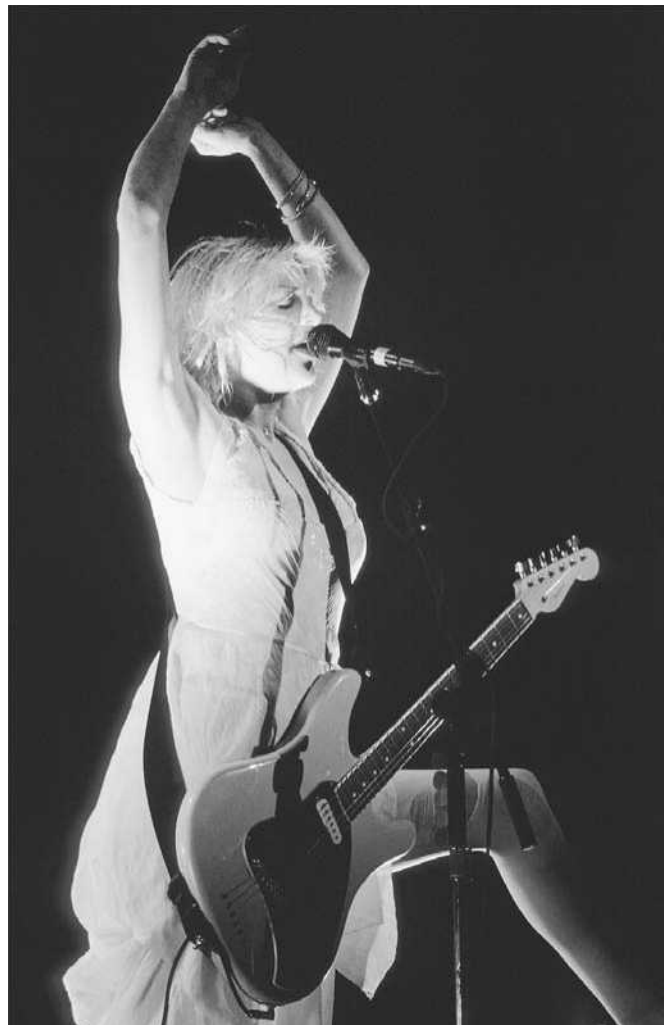
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## Love, Courtney (1964—)

One of the most interesting and controversial figures of the 1990s, male or female, Courtney Love has defiantly challenged assumptions about what is considered acceptable behavior for a woman, always blazing her own trail in the process. Wearing torn baby doll dresses, unkempt knotted hair, and a guitar strapped around her shoulders, Love caught the attention of middle America, even becoming the subject of parody on *Saturday Night Live*—the ultimate litmus test of mainstream recognition. As the lead singer/guitarist for the rock band Hole, as an actress, and as the wife of Nirvana frontman Kurt Cobain, Love has garnered both critical acclaim and vicious personal attacks on her character in becoming among the most-discussed women of the late 1990s.

Love's life has been filled with all the drama of a big budget Hollywood movie. Beginning as an actress who had small parts in a handful of films during the 1980s, she went on to form Hole, a noise-rock band that released one acclaimed record in underground music circles. Love gained a much higher profile when she married Kurt Cobain, the leader of the archetypal grunge band Nirvana, in 1992. During their brief, stormy marriage, she was portrayed in the press



Courtney Love of Hole.

alternately as a drug-addicted mother or as a talentless leech, riding the coat tails of her husband's fame. After Kurt Cobain's suicide, which took place days before the release of Hole's second album (aptly titled *Live Through This*), she did her grieving in public, exposing her rage and tears for all the world to see. Constantly the subject of sensational tabloid and mainstream news stories, by 1997 Love had done an about face, resurfacing as a Golden Globe-nominated movie star in 1997. In the five years from Cobain's death to her own emergence as a respected Hollywood actress, Courtney Love lived through more than most people do in a lifetime.

Born into a hippie family with minor connections to the Grateful Dead, Love's first mass media exposure occurred when she was five years old, appearing in a group photo on the back of the Grateful Dead's 1969 *Aoxomoxoa* album. Love had a slightly troubled childhood, getting caught shoplifting at age 12 and being sent to a reform school. After dropping in and out of school and eventually moving all over the world, occasionally earning money as a stripper, Love finally moved back to Los Angeles, where she found her way into two Alex Cox films, *Sid & Nancy* (1986) and *Straight to Hell* (1987).

While in Los Angeles, she formed Hole with guitarist Eric Erlandson and, after a couple 7" single releases, they quickly gained recognition with the band's 1991 release, *Pretty on the Inside*, produced by Kim Gordon of Sonic Youth. Hole quickly became darlings of the British mainstream music press and American independent music magazines. After her courtship and subsequent marriage to Kurt Cobain on February 24, 1992, she reluctantly became associated with another famous female scapegoat, Yoko Ono. Like Ono, who also had a successful career before she met and married rock star icon John Lennon, Love endured sexist and unfounded media speculation that her relationship to Cobain was a scam to further her own career. The fact that Hole signed to the same major label Nirvana belonged to didn't help negate those assumptions.

After a *Vanity Fair* article implied that Love had taken heroin while pregnant with her daughter, Francis Bean Cobain, she and her husband battled child services for the custody of their child, which they won. Interestingly, a similar situation happened to Yoko Ono and John Lennon, who very briefly lost custody of Sean Ono Lennon after Yoko tested positive for drug use after giving birth to her son. (The case against them was dropped after it turned out that the drugs were painkillers given by doctors during childbirth.) In 1993, Love began recording Hole's follow-up album, even as she was dealing with a troubled marriage. The weekend before Hole was to release their second album, prophetically titled *Live Through This*, Kurt Cobain was found dead, the victim of a self-inflicted gunshot wound. In a rare instance of public mourning by a celebrity, Love read parts of Cobain's suicide note during a tape-recorded message to Cobain's fans, interjecting comments about her guilt, her anger, and her sadness over her husband's death. A defiantly abrasive, angry, and aggressive album, *Live Through This* was universally praised, winning year-end critics polls at *Spin*, *Rolling Stone*, and the *Village Voice*. The sales of the album slowly built steam, and despite the setback of another tragedy, the heroin overdose death of Hole bassist Kristen Pfaff two months after Cobain's death, Love pushed on and began touring to promote her album. *Live Through This* eventually went multi-platinum.

That tour and subsequent tours provided fodder for tabloid and mainstream press, as she drunkenly shouted obscenities from the stage, dove into the audience, and got into scuffles with airline flight attendants, pushy reporters, and other female punk rock singers. During a live televised MTV Awards aftershow party, a visibly

drunken Love hurled a shoe at Madonna's head, disrupting an interview with the superstar.

But during 1997, Love began to clean up her media image, replacing the tangled hair and torn baby doll dresses with a thinner body, designer dresses, and stylishly cut hair. She had been hard at work on her acting career, appearing in minor roles before landing a starring role in *The People Vs. Larry Flint*. Her powerful performance earned her a Golden Globe nomination and led to further serious movie offers. In 1998, Hole released another aptly titled album, *Celebrity Skin*, to largely favorable critical response.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## Lovecraft, H. P. (1890-1937)

H. P. Lovecraft, by some estimates, is the greatest writer of horror fiction since Edgar Allan Poe. His influence on modern horror art has been enormous, despite his pulp fiction origins. The homage that modern horror writers (and filmmakers) continue to pay him emanated largely from the distinctly modern sensibility he brought to his fiction.

Howard Philips Lovecraft was born on August 20, 1890, in Providence, Rhode Island, the only child of Winfield Scott and Susan Philips Lovecraft. In 1893, Lovecraft's father was declared insane and committed to Butler's Hospital in Providence, where he died five years later. Lovecraft and his mother moved in with his maternal grandparents, where Lovecraft attended various Providence public schools. After his grandfather's death in 1904, the family's financial status underwent an immediate decline, and Lovecraft had a nervous breakdown in 1908, just prior to his high school graduation. Over the next five years, he would stay home, living the life of a reclusive autodidact and schooling himself in a multiplicity of subjects, including Roman history, chemistry, astronomy, and eighteenth-century life and letters.

Lovecraft's first foray into writing began at age sixteen with regular contributions of articles on astronomy to various local and statewide publications. In 1914, he joined the United Amateur Press Association, becoming an active member and contributor, self-publishing thirteen issues of his journal, *The Conservative*, from 1915 to 1923.

Lovecraft's first tales circulated among his amateur journalist friends, printed in such ephemeral publications as *The United Amateur*, *The Vagrant*, *The Scot*, *The Wolverine*, and *The Tryout*. He abandoned the world of amateur journalism in 1923 when the first and most important of the large-circulation pulps, *Weird Tales*, took notice of his talents. Unlike most other writers discovered while young, Lovecraft broke in at the age of thirty-three, becoming, as a consequence, the "old man" of fantasy fiction, a distinction he took to heart by encouraging in paternal fashion such younger talents as Robert Bloch, Fritz Leiber, and Frank Belknap Long. After his discovery by *Weird Tales*, story after story from his pen showed up in its pages, including such trademark tales as "Dagon," "The Tomb,"



“The Rats in the Walls,” “The Call of Cthulhu,” “Pickman’s Model,” “The Colour Out of Space,” “The Dunwich Horror,” and “The Whisperer in the Darkness.” In 1927 his first novellas *The Case of Charles Dexter Ward* and *The Dream-Quest of Unknown Kadath* were written.

Lovecraft’s life changed in other significant ways during the 1920s, besides his “discovery” as a fiction writer. In 1919 his mother was institutionalized, as his father had been, at Butler Hospital, where she died two years later. Not coincidentally, Lovecraft broke free geographically, traveling beyond the confines of Providence to Boston for his first conference of amateur journalists. His taste for travel and love of New England whetted by this excursion, he began to travel more regularly to Boston, New York, Portsmouth, Marblehead, and Newport. Summer trips took him to even further climes, including Quebec, Charleston, New Orleans, and Saint Augustine.

One of the more important events of the 1920s that would set the tone for how Lovecraft would wish to live was his short marriage to Sonia Greene, a fellow amateur journalist, with whom he lived in New York City for nearly two years. Her relocation to Cleveland for work and his inability to find any form of gainful employment in New York resulted in the marriage’s dissolution and Lovecraft’s return to Providence and bachelorhood.

In the 1930s, two important changes in Lovecraft’s life occurred. His fictional output began to slow, while his politics changed from that of the classic conservative to the New Deal Democrat. The few efforts Lovecraft made to write original material under his own name in the 1930s produced excellent results. His novellas *At the Mountains of Madness* and *The Shadow over Innsmouth* were written back-to-back in 1931, while “The Shadow Out of Time” appeared in *Astounding Stories* in 1936. Unfortunately, his creative powers appeared to ebb as more of his efforts were spent rewriting or cowriting stories with lesser pulp-fiction writers like Hazel Heald, E. Hoffman Price, Duane Rimel, R. H. Barlow, William Lumley, and Kenneth Sterling.

On March 15, 1937, Lovecraft died at Jane Brown Memorial Hospital in Providence of intestinal cancer. His passing was noted by the many fans and loyal friends whom he had made in his lifetime. Beyond this small coterie, Lovecraft remained largely unknown. His reputation as a writer was revived years later by Donald Wandrei and August Derleth, both proteges of the “master” and founders of Arkham House, a press in Sauk City, Wisconsin, that published the work of fantasy and science-fiction writers who had benefited from Lovecraft’s influence.

Lovecraft’s rise to fame since has been a troubling one for academics and fans alike. For academics, that main source of trouble is the popularity of a writer whose talents were best captured by Jacques Barzun’s statement, “How the frequently portentous but unintelligible H. P. Lovecraft has acquired a reputation as a notable performer is explained only by the willingness of some to take the intention for the deed and by a touching faith that words put together with confidence must have a meaning.” For fans and supportive scholars, the most difficult obstacle to any appreciation of Lovecraft has been his unbridled racism and classism, both of which are deeply implied in his tales of racial degeneration and miscegenation. On the other hand, many continue to credit Lovecraft with applying a modern sensibility to the world of horror by highlighting in a way that few of his predecessors had—barring Poe—the materialist foundations of modern terror.

—Bennett Lovett-Graff

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## Low Riders

A low rider vehicle, which can be a car, truck, motorcycle, or even a bicycle, is one that has been altered to ride very low to the road: it sits almost on the ground and has a sleek streamlined appearance. The phrase is also applied to the owners or drivers of such vehicles, who might participate in all the activities associated with low riding, such as cruising, caravanning to car shows, or just hanging out and showing off their customizing skills. The practice of customizing cars was started at least as early as the 1930s in Los Angeles and Sacramento, although the expression “low rider” did not come into usage until the 1960s, after a custom-car subculture had arisen in the Southwest, particularly in California. Low rider cars are commonly identified with Latinos and Chicanos, sometimes negatively in connection to gang activity, but there are also Anglo Americans who indulge in the practice. Traditionally, low riders have often been working-class young men from 18 to 30 who feel pride in their culture and want to maintain an outward manifestation of it in their vehicles. In doing so, many of them may be following a family tradition of two and three generations.

The customizing culture of 1950s California dictated a lowered look, originally achieved by the inelegant method of placing heavy bricks and cement bags in the trunk of the car. Other customizers began manipulating the chassis of the car by lowering the car’s block or cutting the spring coils. Later it was discovered that hydraulic lifts, operated manually by the driver, could be used to lower and raise both the front and rear ends of a car, and that the batteries could be stored in the trunk. The most popular cars adapted for low riding are long ones, such as Fords, Buicks, and Chevrolets. Once the car is lowered it is considered to be “lifted” or “juiced up.” Some low riders can be rocked from side-to-side by means of these lifts, creating the “car dancing” effect.

Each low rider is given its own personal style by means of different techniques that are creatively employed by their owners. Interiors are often upholstered in crushed velvet, usually red or black, with wall-to-wall carpeting. The vehicle may also be outfitted with a bar, a chandelier, a stereo, and a television. The car’s two-toned body is often painted with a lacquer that contains iridescent flakes. Chrome is important for appearance, and the undercarriage, wheels, bumper, and other parts might be chrome- and/or gold-plated. The car is often adorned with cultural decorative motifs and designs, such as a fire lace design, pinstriping, or a mural. Popular mural themes include Aztec or Mayan scenes or Mexican religious icons, such as the Virgin of Guadalupe.

Cruising is an important aspect of the low-riding scene, although an expensively customized car will only be driven to car shows. The objective of cruising is to socialize, to see and be seen; it is sometimes



A custom painted low rider Cadillac.

compared *el paseo*, a “strolling” custom known throughout Latin American and Mexican cities.

Since the 1970s, *Low Rider Magazine* has been influential in disseminating information on low rider car clubs and happenings throughout the Southwest, and has even been published in a Japanese edition for car-show organizers in Tokyo and Osaka. A low rider 1969 Ford LTD, called “Dave’s Dream,” has been displayed at the Smithsonian National Museum of American History in Washington, D.C., the first such vehicle to be exhibited there. The car belongs to three young men from Chimayo, New Mexico, who started customizing it in 1975.

—Rafaela Castro

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## Loy, Myrna (1905-1993)

Myrna Loy is best remembered for her definitive screen depiction of the “Perfect Wife,” opposite most of the major leading men in the 1930s and 1940s. Initially a bit player of exotic femme fatales, Loy found a more prominent niche as the witty, elegant spouse of William Powell (1892-1984) in *The Thin Man* films (six between 1934 and 1947). Shaping her subsequent parts and the public perception of her, this role was rather restricted (her sophistication primarily an adjunct to her husband’s good taste), but it was one she played with understated aplomb and her success reflects its attractiveness more broadly, an indication of women’s limited choices in this period.

—Kyle Smith

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## LSD

LSD is an acronym for lysergic acid diethylamide, also commonly known as acid. It is a powerful psychedelic drug that induces a temporary psychotic state that may include hallucinations and “deep insight” into the nature of things, say its adherents who made it into one of the counterculture’s drugs of choice, especially during the 1960s. Developed by the CIA a decade earlier as a counter-espionage

mind-controlling agent, LSD was initially intended for psychological torture during the Cold War. Psychiatrists later studied the drug as a means of observing their patients' uninhibited anxieties, and it was also used, with some success, to treat schizophrenia and autism in children, and chronic alcoholism and heroin addiction. In the 1950s, hundreds of subjects, including Hollywood and media celebrities and prominent artists, participated in experimental trips under the direction of Dr. Oscar Janiger, a Los Angeles-area psychiatrist, and other local therapists.

Not until LSD was widely ingested recreationally, though, at the urging of Dr. Timothy Leary and others, did it attain near-sacramental status among the avatars of mind-expansion after about 1965. "Dropping" acid evolved into a tribal act of civil disobedience, and some of the best minds of the twentieth century dabbled with LSD while seeking spiritual enlightenment. Many who advocate the unrestricted use of LSD charge that Sandoz cut off access to the drug for research purposes under pressure from prohibitionists who feared its impact on cultural transformation when it became a drug of choice in the youth community in the late 1960s. Some advocates believe reports of "bad trips" (psychotic episodes, going blind from staring at the sun, suicides by leaping from tall buildings) are exaggerated urban myths; they claim moderate doses of the drug do not produce such extreme effects, and that the draconian prohibition of the drug prevented researchers from devising safer regimens for ingesting it. In the 1980s and 1990s, "disco doses" of contraband LSD were often distributed via "blotter paper," sheets of cartoon-like decals that were chewed and ingested.

Dr. Albert Hoffman first synthesized LSD in 1938 at Sandoz Laboratories in Switzerland while researching ergot, the hallucinogenic rye fungus that is the natural source of lysergic acid. There he stumbled onto a powerful serotonin inhibitor he called LSD-25 (the twenty-fifth in a series of ergot derivatives) which produced intensely vivid hallucinations and altered states of perception. In 1943, he unwittingly absorbed the drug through his fingers, inducing a mild hallucinogenic state that he tried to duplicate several days later by deliberately dosing himself with 250 micrograms. Hoffman published his findings, but Sandoz soon lost interest in his experiments.

In 1942, however, the OSS (Office of Strategic Services, predecessor of the Central Intelligence Agency) assembled a group of military scientists to examine the possibilities of a "truth drug" for deployment on political prisoners, and they tried a host of increasingly powerful pharmaceuticals to this end throughout the 1940s, often with dubious results. After World War II, the CIA consulted academics and psychiatrists as well as police crime labs to help expand its chemical-knowledge base. By the 1950s, the CIA had developed an "anything goes" attitude toward this objective, which eventually led to exploration of the shelved projects at Sandoz.

The CIA first used LSD on human subjects in 1951 and intensified its research, spurred by the growing fear of communist espionage. Researchers found that the effects of LSD could vary wildly according to personal and social expectations (the set) and the physical surroundings (the setting) during the "trip," so agents were directed to "dose" themselves and each other to become familiar with the drug's potential. In 1953 the CIA launched Operation MK-ULTRA, which authorized "surprise tests" on civilians, and by 1955 had opened a safe house in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco that lured unwitting subjects for a taste of the new drug in "real life" situations. Acid's unpredictable nature eventually led to more specialized hallucinogens, and the CIA discontinued the safe-house project in 1964, but by then LSD was already turning heads in

the academic community. From the mid-1950s, Dr. Oscar Janiger carried out his experiments without accepting any funding from the CIA or the military. Instead, he charged subjects \$20 per visit and used drugs supplied by Sandoz. Among the 900-odd visitors to his LSD "salon" were his cousin, the Beat poet Allen Ginsberg, writer Anaïs Nin, Zen philosopher Alan Watts, novelist Christopher Isherwood, actors James Coburn, Dennis Hopper, and Jack Nicholson, and a group of Unitarian ministers who were disappointed that they had not experience hoped-for spiritual transcendence. Besides Dr. Janiger, other southern California psychiatrists who dispensed experimental doses to their clients included Dr. Arthur Chandler, who gave the drug to actor Cary Grant as a treatment for alcoholism; and Dr. Sidney Cohen, who "turned on" Henry Luce (of *Time* magazine) and Clare Boothe Luce, his wife. Luce perhaps achieved a better record of transcendence than did the Unitarian ministers when he reported an encounter with God on a golf course; his wife thought that LSD should be given only to the elite, saying, "We wouldn't want everyone doing too much of a good thing." In a 1998 interview, Dr. Janiger offered the drug-induced Eleusinian Mysteries in ancient Greece as a possible model for the creative use of LSD in contemporary culture: "The discussions I had with [Aldous] Huxley and [Alan] Watts and the others in those early years centered on the way our culture might institutionalize LSD . . . and it would be very much like the Greek model."

Psychotropic treatment had caught the eye of Aldous Huxley whose book *The Doors of Perception* exposed the educated public to the possibilities of an intellectual, "psychedelic" experience. By 1957 experiments with LSD and the creative mind were being conducted by a clinical psychologist at Harvard named Timothy Leary who experienced a shamanic state and beatific visions while on acid. He and his colleagues claimed mass "tripping" could foster a new age of philosophical peace and freedom, and Leary spoke widely about the drug's positive applications, though other researchers dubbed these theories "instant enlightenment."

When the CIA abandoned serious LSD research, the scientific community lost its government supply of the drug, and Leary and others continued their research underground, supplying themselves with acid from a growing black market. There were many self-styled experts on LSD in the mid 1960s, many of whom had first been dosed in military-sponsored tests at Stanford, Harvard, and other universities, and most subscribed to the ideal of a unifying group trip. These communal experiments were tried on the east and west coasts of the United States, and it was Ken Kesey who mobilized this new wave of positive if absurdist religiosity based largely on the acid trip.

In 1959, Kesey, a recent Woodrow Wilson fellow at Stanford University, had been a \$75-a-day guinea pig in LSD experiments at the Veterans' Administration Hospital in Menlo Park, where he remained employed as a mental-ward attendant after his part in the experiments were completed. His experiences there formed the basis for his celebrated 1962 novel *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*. Two years after its publication, Kesey and a group of friends who dubbed themselves the Merry Pranksters set off on a cross-country trip (destination: the New York World's Fair) in a garishly painted old schoolbus, creating "happenings" along the way and extolling the virtues of psychedelia and hallucinogens as a bridge to harmony and understanding. The trip was itself memorialized in Tom Wolfe's 1968 book, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*. Kesey tried to unite the mystique of drug lifestyle with politically-conscious activism, and subsequent "acid tests" encouraged participants to confront the cosmic umbilical cord of the ego while high on LSD. Simultaneously,

writers and musicians were “turning on” and psychedelizing their work—most notably Allen Ginsberg, Hunter S. Thompson, Bob Dylan, The Beatles, and The Grateful Dead—further enhancing LSD’s role as a folk remedy of sorts for the hippie nation, and a recreational enabler for both deep introspection and outrageous social protest. It has long been supposed by many Beatles fans that the band’s 1967 song “Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds” (an acronym for LSD) was inspired by an acid trip, though Paul McCartney told Joan Goodman in a 1984 *Playboy* interview that the song was merely about “a drawing that John’s son [Julian] brought home from school” and about one of his classmates named Lucy. Also in that year, Jack Nicholson, one of Dr. Janiger’s subjects, included his experiences in his script for a 1967 low-budget film *The Trip*, that starred another subject, Dennis Hopper, and Peter Fonda.

The Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco—site of the government’s earlier safe-house projects—became the hub of a psychedelic revolution. Here, black market acid was first sold on a mass scale, with acid manufacturers convinced they were performing an important public service. But just as the community began to throb with acid tests, free rock concerts, street theater, and full-blown psychedelia, LSD was made illegal in 1966 and Sandoz ceased its medical research distribution due to the bad press acid was receiving. Many blamed Leary’s early outspokenness for the crackdown, but changes in attitude toward LSD research had already demonized the drug. Doctors now began speaking out publicly against the use of LSD, but this only served to inform more potential users (mostly young, well-educated, white middle-class users) about the drug. By the 1967 Summer of Love, it seemed as if all of America was “turning on” or trekking west to San Francisco where the action was, though the progenitors of acid culture were already burning out. The Haight, once an idyllic nexus, became a psychedelic tourist trap, and soon a pharmacopoeia of designer drugs (of which LSD was one of the weakest) emerged on the scene to bolster the waning euphoria.

In the wake of many highly-publicized, violent confrontations with authority, acid culture subsided by the early 1970s into a cabal of psychedelic drug devotees, convinced that they were being denied access to transcendence by fearful guardians of straight society. Much of LSD’s early cultural history has been told in Jay Stevens’s 1987 Grove Press book, *Storming Heaven: LSD & the American Dream*. By the 1990s, however, a nonprofit advocacy group called the Multidisciplinary Association for Psychedelic Studies (MAPS) was lobbying the Food and Drug Administration to approve medical studies of LSD as well as marijuana and other drugs like the popular Ecstasy. The group, which includes a number of prominent research scientists, was founded by Rick Doblin in the hopes of continuing Dr. Janiger’s important but aborted research. As Dr. Janiger told an interviewer in 1998, “LSD didn’t pan out as an acceptable therapeutic drug for one reason: Researchers didn’t realize the explosive nature of the drug . . . You can’t manipulate it as skillfully as you would like. It’s like atomic energy—it’s relatively easy to make a bomb, but much harder to safely drive an engine and make light. And with LSD, we didn’t have the chance to experiment and fully establish how to make it do positive, useful things.”

At the end of the twentieth century, “hits” of LSD were most frequently available on colorful blotter-paper decals, permitting easy ingestion of “disco doses” far below those responsible for the well-publicized “bad trips” of earlier times. Artists like Mark McCloud have compiled a huge archive of these blotter-paper designs, which he considers an example of late-twentieth-century folk art. LSD is no longer tantamount to social defiance, but has become a metaphor for

the search for enlightenment via ritualistic drug use in an urban, industrialized society, and also for the multifarious waves of cultural experimentation it inspired in the America of the 1960s. As a gateway to global transcendence at the millennium, LSD still inspires many testimonials on the World Wide Web’s *alt.culture* sites, and researchers have begun to take a new and more favorable look at the once-demonized drug.

—Tony Brewer

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## Lubitsch, Ernst (1892-1947)

Film director, actor, and producer Ernst Lubitsch rose to fame in the 1910s in Germany, and emigrated to Hollywood in 1929. In the United States his sophisticated comedies were highly successful, and he was made director of production at Paramount in 1935. The “Lubitsch Touch” was a tongue-in-cheek social commentary style full of sexual innuendo, which exposed and ridiculed social conventions. It was evident in films such as *Lady Windermere’s Fan* (1925) and the Greta Garbo vehicle *Ninotchka* (1939).

—Petra Koppers

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## Lucas, George (1944—)

American filmmaker George Lucas’s innovative and technologically advanced works include such popular movies as *American Graffiti* (1973), the *Star Wars* trilogy (1977, 1980, 1983), and the *Indiana Jones* series (1981, 1984, 1989). Lucas began his film career in the late 1960s while attending the University of Southern California. One of his class projects later became the cult classic *THX-1138* (1971). Several years later he began work on *Star Wars*. Many industry experts believed that Fox Studios had made a huge error in

financing this space opera; they predicted that the \$10-million budget would bring the financially stricken studio to its knees. But *Star Wars* became one of the most successful movie franchises in film history and helped make Lucas one of the most powerful people in Hollywood.

Lucas's use of technology, especially the innovation of wedding cameras to computers, created a cinematic revolution. His technological innovations created a level of cinematic wizardry that made the unbelievable ultra-believable. Following Lucas's lead, the American film industry learned to make special effects more potent while the wizardry behind them became less visible. Lucas also introduced another powerful innovation in American filmmaking: merchandising. Lucas traded half his directing fees for the original *Star Wars* movie for merchandising rights, and the subsequent boom in *Star Wars*'s goods—toys, video games, collectibles—flooded America and made Lucas a very wealthy man. In his many business ventures—Lucasfilm, LucasArts, Industrial Light & Magic—Lucas extended his creative and technical genius to a number of multi-media productions, ranging from television commercials to some of the most popular computer-based video games produced. In 1999—amidst a media frenzy that made him the subject of countless magazine and newspaper stories—Lucas returned to his first love when he directed and carefully orchestrated the release of *Star Wars Episode I: The Phantom Menace*.

—Craig T. Cobane

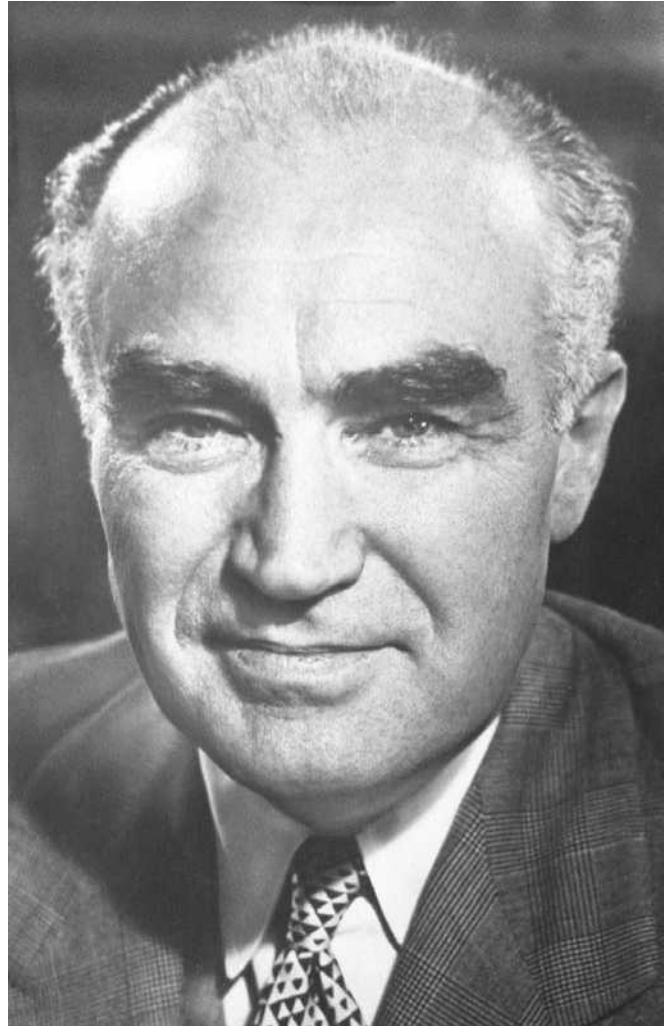
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## Luce, Henry (1898-1967)

Editors themselves rarely attract more attention than their news headlines, but Henry Luce's success in the field of magazine publishing made him a legend in his own lifetime, and an enduring influence beyond it. The corporation he founded, Time Inc., has been described as the third most important institution in the United States, after the President and Congress, and his magazines have been estimated to reach one quarter of the entire population of the United States. Luce's constant articulation of and fight for "America" and its values, visually and verbally, personally and corporately, throughout his life (and particularly in the politically and culturally charged years of the Cold War) ensured that his impact went far beyond mere journalism, and established him within the canon of influential American public figures.

All this lay far in the future for the child born Henry Robinson Luce on April 3, 1898, to Presbyterian missionary parents, in Tengchow, China. Not until he was 14, in 1912, did the young Luce see England, and not until the following year did he reach the soil of the nation that was to become his home and his life, America. Although he would never lose sight of his spiritual home back in China, Luce was quick to



Henry Luce

take on the values of the society in which he found himself, and to become part of its elite. He arrived in America in 1913 to take up a scholarship he had won to the prestigious Hodgkiss School. From there, aged 18, he proceeded to Yale, graduating Phi Beta Kappa and being tapped for Skull and Bones. Luce had now entered mainstream, if privileged, America, and the aristocratic-elitist philosophy of Yale was one to which he would subscribe all his life. He cemented his relationship with the world of establishment privilege by his first marriage, on December 22, 1923, to the wealthy and well-connected Lila Ross Hotz, and furthered his influence and connections with his second marriage, on November 23, 1935, to the rising social and literary star, Clare Boothe Brokaw (famous, as Clare Boothe, for her play, *The Women*).

Luce's publishing career began shortly after graduation from Yale when he and Brian Hadden, whom he had first met at Hodgkiss, discussed plans to start a magazine together. Although Luce himself saw the world of journalism merely as a stepping stone into the world which really held his fascination, that of politics, he agreed to the venture. Hadden proposed an idea for a magazine that, based upon selected newspaper stories in a given week, would condense the news into an easily digestible magazine format. The pair considered the

idea further, moved to premises in New York, and began to gather around them an embryonic staff, several of whom (like Roy E. Larsen) would remain part of Time Inc. for many years to come. After a year spent developing the original idea, the first issue of *Time* magazine hit the news-stands on March 3, 1923, its aim being to “summarize the week’s news in the shortest possible space.” The first issue did not sell particularly well, but over the next few years a dedicated staff worked hard to ensure the long-term success of the publication, and by 1926 the magazine had built a solid foundation from which to grow. By 1935, *Time* made \$2,249,823 profit—a corporate record.

The second Time Inc. publication, *Fortune* magazine, was started in February 1930. It grew out of the business sections of *Time* magazine, which Luce thought could be expanded into a publication in its own right to create a new kind of business journalism, radically different from existing trade journals—a “literature of business.” *Fortune* grew steadily, and although it would never reach the circulation levels of other Time Inc. publications, by 1935, it too was making a profit (\$500,000). A year later, in November 1936, Luce launched the third of his trio of great American magazines—*Life*. Breaking new frontiers in photojournalism to tremendous, and ultimately world famous and historically valuable, effect, the magazine aimed to “see life; to see the world; to witness great events . . . to see and take pleasure in seeing, to see and be amazed; to see and be instructed.” Like the other Luce publications, *Life* magazine soon became a success. Henry Luce was to see the addition of several other elements to his empire, not least of which was the development of *The March of Time* radio and cinema newsreel programs. Finally, in 1954, Luce added *Sports Illustrated*. A sports magazine had been his personal project for some time, yet it was born against the advice of many. Luce, however, read the market just right, launching the magazine at the peak of the postwar leisure industry. Advance promotion also ensured that 90 percent of the magazines vanished from the news-stands on the first day of issue, and reader response was excellent.

As editor-in-chief of all Time Inc. publications, Henry Luce was technically responsible for all final editorial decisions, although he left the day-to-day decision making to trusted colleagues on each publication, appointing managing editors such as Edward Thompson at *Life*, Hedley Donovan at *Fortune*, and E. Roy Alexander at *Time*. He himself worked from an office on the *Life* editorial floor at the Time-Life building in New York City, from where he observed proceedings, occasionally talked directly with individual editors, and sat in on discussions about subjects for editorials. He had little to worry about in terms of magazine content since, even without his direct daily editorship of each and every publication, his managing editors knew well the kind of magazine he wanted and subscribed to roughly the same ideology. As Edward Thompson explains in his autobiography, “One could not ignore Luce’s strong political opinions, but if I hadn’t believed roughly in the kind of world Luce wanted, I couldn’t have worked at Time Inc. very long.” Even when he was away from New York, Luce would keep in touch by phone or cable, but even so, as Thompson observed “we knew enough about what he didn’t believe in to avoid direct contradiction of his views. We operated on the assumption that the country thought that a *Life* editorial was in Luce’s own words.”

There are several accounts of Luce’s personality as editor which indicate some of the traits that underpinned his success. Swanberg’s impression is of an almost tyrannical figure, unpredictable and frightening, able to control the many aspects of his corporation through fear. His impression countered by Thompson, who asserts

that although Luce was hard to please, he was also generous in his praise when he liked an idea or issue. Both give a very strong impression of a man with boundless energy and enthusiasm, a man prepared to take calculated risks, and occasionally make elaborate gestures, but also a man more than ready to put the same energy and enthusiasm into the more mundane tasks of publishing, and into attention to even the smallest detail. It is this boundless energy in all areas, smattered with bursts of immense creative energy and tempered with a cool head for business, that marks Luce’s success. One might also add that he chose very well in appointing those who assisted him in his work. Although some personnel departed due to differences of personality or opinion, one is also struck by the number of high-ranking staff who worked for Time Inc. for long periods of time. Men such as Larsen, Billings, Thompson, Donovan, and others provided a core of trusted personnel at the center of the organization, and allowed Luce the freedom to pursue his many other interests outside of his magazine empire—interests which were also crucial in the formation of his reputation and legacy.

Henry Luce’s influence spread further than the world of publishing with the establishment in 1936, of the philanthropic Henry Luce Foundation. Grants were awarded largely for cultural and educational needs, although the money available was somewhat limited until the large bequest left by Luce to the foundation on his death. In 1955, the Henry Luce Professorship of Jurisprudence was established at Yale, and the Luce Scholars Program has since promoted and enabled overseas educational exchange. Luce’s interests also extended into the world of politics, particularly into the affairs of his spiritual home, China. He was an active member of the China Lobby in the United States and campaigned consistently in support of Chiang Kai Shek and against recognition of Mao. Not only were these opinions expressed fiercely in his magazines, but they were also brought to bear upon the center of the political world through Luce’s friendships and correspondence with political figures, particularly Dwight D. Eisenhower. The cause of Republicanism always remained close to Luce’s heart, and he was never ashamed to admit his political leanings. He was once famously quoted as saying, when asked if his news reporting was in any way biased, “I am a Protestant, a Republican and a free enterpriser, which means I am biased in favor of God, Eisenhower and the stockholders of Time Inc.” Luce’s religious beliefs remained strong throughout his life, providing the moral impetus for much of his life’s work, particularly his concern, through his magazines, and other activities, to educate as well as to entertain.

In 1964, three years before he died, Henry Luce passed on his position as editor-in-chief to his trusted friend and colleague, Hedley Donovan. It was a timely decision, ensuring that the success of the corporation he had nurtured throughout his life would continue after his death, as indeed it does today. A memorial service for Henry Luce was held on March 3, 1967 (the occasion of the forty-fourth anniversary of the first ever issue of *Time*) in New York’s Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, where he had worshipped for 43 years. The church was thronged with over 800 people, including governors and senators, publishers, writers, educators, industrial leaders, and scientists. The service was relayed to the reception hall and the eighth-floor auditorium of the Time-Life building, where more than 1200 employees had gathered to pay their respects to their founder and editor-in-chief, and to pledge their services to the continued success of the publishing enterprise he had founded more than 40 years previously.

—Emma Lambert

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## Luciano, Lucky (1897-1962)

Sicilian-born Charles "Lucky" Luciano is renowned for initiating a new era in organized crime in the United States by establishing a

national syndicate that aligned the Italian mafia with Jewish and Irish crime organizations in the 1930s. After his family immigrated to the United States, Luciano began his criminal career by bullying schoolchildren into paying him not to beat them up. He reportedly met his lifelong affiliate Meyer Lansky when Lansky refused to pay him. He began dealing narcotics as a teenager, and as a member of the notorious Five Points gang, Luciano is reputed to have participated in numerous beatings and murders. In addition to gambling and drug peddling, Luciano gained power and wealth during the Prohibition era as a successful bootlegger and used a combination of violence and extortion to gain control over prostitution in Manhattan.

In October 1929, Luciano was kidnapped and severely beaten and stabbed by four assailants who left him unconscious on a Staten Island beach. Luciano was found by a police officer and taken to a hospital where he was interviewed by detectives. At the time Luciano claimed he had no idea who could have attacked him, but in later years blamed the incident on "the cops." Two years later, with sufficient loyalty and power behind him, Luciano ushered in a new epoch in organized crime by ordering the murders of two rival gang leaders, "Joe the Boss" Masseria and Salvatore Maranzano, whose families were then engaged in a fierce turf war. With these two old-line leaders out of the way, Luciano consolidated his power among the Italian mobsters and formed a national syndicate with such crime figures as



Lucky Luciano, handcuffed and holding a cigar, leaving court.

Meyer Lansky, Louis "Lepke" Buchalter, Joe Adonis, Dutch Schultz, Albert Anastasia, and a few select others. From 1932 to 1936 Luciano lived the high life, headquartered in a luxurious suite at the Waldorf-Astoria he occupied under the alias Charles Ross and where he entertained numerous women. However, after the mob assassination of the renegade Dutch Schultz, which had been ordered by the syndicate directors, Luciano became the target of an investigation by New York district attorney Thomas E. Dewey. Luciano was convicted on charges of extortion and direction of harlotry and was sentenced to thirty to fifty years in prison.

While serving his sentence, Luciano applied for parole and was twice rejected before winning his freedom in an unprecedented wartime bargain with the U.S. government. A former luxury liner, the *S.S. Normandie*, exploded in the Hudson River as it was being refitted as a troopship in 1942. When dockworkers refused to cooperate in the investigation into the bombing, naval authorities asked Luciano to use his influence to prevent further incidents along the waterfront. In addition, through Luciano's intercession, the U.S. military gained the cooperation of the Sicilian mafia in the Allied invasion of Sicily in 1943. In 1945, Luciano was freed from prison and deported to Italy. He immediately resumed his criminal activities in Rome and in February 1947 traveled to Havana, Cuba, to meet with other leaders of the syndicate. When the U.S. press reported his presence in Havana, Luciano was ordered out of Cuba and returned to Italy. He lived thereafter in Naples, where he contemplated such projects as a book of memoirs and a motion picture depicting his career. He died of a heart attack in 1962.

—Laurie DiMauro

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## Ludlum, Robert (1927—)

One of the most commercially successful authors of the twentieth century, Robert Ludlum is arguably the most widely read writer of the espionage thriller genre. He is the author of nineteen best-selling novels, and his books have sold more than 200 million copies worldwide.

Born May 25, 1927 in New York City, Ludlum lost his father when he was only seven. By the time he was sixteen, he had decided that he wanted to be an actor. In 1943, he was cast in the Broadway show *Junior Miss*, but two years later he enlisted in the Marines. After his stint in the military, Ludlum went to Wesleyan University. By 1951, Ludlum had completed his bachelor's degree and married his

girlfriend Mary. For much of the 1950s, Ludlum worked as an actor, moving between summer stock theaters and Broadway, and by the mid-1950s he began to get regular work on television. He appeared in well over 200 of the plays presented on such shows as *The Kraft Television Theater* and *Studio One*.

By 1956, Ludlum had moved back to Broadway and become a producer. Among his successes, Ludlum brought *The Owl and the Pussycat* to the Great White Way in 1956, as well as a revival of *The Front Page*. He later founded The Playhouse-on-the-Mall in Paramus, New Jersey, which did well throughout the 1960s. While he worked on Broadway, Ludlum continued to find steady employment on television, doing voice-overs for television commercials. It was during this time that Ludlum found his true calling as an author.

Robert Ludlum started writing books in the late 1960s, and his first novel, *The Scarlatti Inheritance*, was released in 1971. Ludlum garnered critical praise for his complex characters and use of tension. He quickly followed his initial success with the publication of *The Osterman Weekend* in 1972 and *The Matlock Paper* and *Trevayne* in 1973. Readers throughout the world snatched up his books, and in the space of only three years, Ludlum was catapulted to the status of best-selling author. Since the early-1970s, Ludlum has continued to churn out bestsellers. Five of his books have been made into motion pictures, with others in development.

Ludlum's novels generally have extremely complicated plots; his works often reach several hundred pages in length, and the number of characters, plot twists, betrayals, and surprises can seem infinite. Most of Ludlum's books revolve around some form of global domination conspiracy. In some novels, such as *The Holcroft Covenant*, he uses the revival of the Nazi movement. In others, it is a shadow society of powerful industrialists and politicians. In either case, the protagonist is a lone individual who accidentally discovers the conspiracy and must expose it before global domination is achieved. Although the hero often succeeds, some of Ludlum's novels end with the conspiracy moving forward despite the protagonist's efforts.

Ludlum's books build on traditional conspiracy theories surrounding the Freemasons and the Illuminati. He has helped to popularize a belief in wide-ranging underground conspiracies that know no bounds. These beliefs have spread to other media outlets, such as *The X-Files*, due in no small part to the success of Ludlum's novels. Although he is not the only author to write about underground governments, his continuing success is unparalleled.

—Geoff Peterson

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## Lugosi, Bela (1882-1956)

With his aristocratic accent, distinctive profile, slicked dark hair, spidery fingers, mesmerizing eyes, and swirling black cape, Hungarian-born actor Bela Lugosi helped to create cinema's definitive Dracula, the vampire as sexual and charming as he is villainous. Born Béla Ferenc Dezső Blaskó in Lugos (the town from which he derived his stage name) near Transylvania, Lugosi came to the United States in late 1920 and, over the next few years, appeared in small film and





**Bela Lugosi**

theater parts. His break came with the title role in the play *Dracula*, which ran for 33 weeks on Broadway in 1927 and successfully toured the West Coast in 1928-29; this led to the 1931 Universal film, whose romantic settings and sexual undercurrents revolutionized the horror film genre and established Lugosi's place in Hollywood history.

Lugosi, however, quickly became the victim of his own success. Despite the stardom that *Dracula* brought him, he resisted attempts by both Universal Studios and the media to make him the heir to horror film icon Lon Chaney, Sr. Refusing to be typecast, Lugosi aspired instead to the romantic leading roles he had performed on the Hungarian stage. Unfortunately, his poor judgment resulted in a series of bad career choices, long periods of unemployment, and perpetual financial problems. Perhaps his single worst mistake was rejecting a major role in *Frankenstein* (1932), Universal's next big film after *Dracula*. Originally slated to play the monster, Lugosi disliked both the heavy makeup and the character's lack of dialogue, and so the part went to Boris Karloff, who soon surpassed Lugosi in salary as well as fame, becoming his lifelong rival. Even years later, when Universal again tried to exploit the public's hunger for horror films by teaming Karloff and Lugosi in such films as *The Black Cat* (1934), *The Raven* (1935), and *The Body Snatchers* (1945), Lugosi received second billing and played a decidedly supporting role to Karloff.

Lugosi himself helped to diminish his star power by taking small, odd roles like the Apache in *Gift of Gab* (1934) and lead roles in serial and in B and C movies like *Ape Man* (1943) and *Voodoo Man* (1944). Ironically, some of his most interesting and memorable roles were the types of parts he initially sought to avoid: the mad scientist, Dr. Mirakle, in *Murders in the Rue Morgue* (1932); the zombie

master, Murder Legendre, in *White Zombie* (1932); the vampire, both fake (Count Mora the actor in *Mark of the Vampire* [1935]), and real, (Armand Tesla in *Return of the Vampire* [1944]); and the sinister servant, Ygor, the broken-necked companion of Frankenstein's monster, in *Son of Frankenstein* (1939), another Karloff-Lugosi collaboration (and, apart from *Dracula*, Lugosi's most memorable screen character). Yet even within the genre he had helped to create, Lugosi's status eroded rapidly. He was not considered for the lead or offered even a minor role in the 1936 sequels to his classic *Dracula* and *White Zombie*. And in the 1940s, when Universal began producing new horror films such as *The Wolf Man*, Lugosi had to settle for bit parts, like that of a gypsy, while the title roles went to Lon Chaney, Jr. and other actors. Eventually, in films like the Bowery Boys adventure *Spooks Run Wild* (1941) and *Abbott and Costello Meet Frankenstein* (1948), he took to parodying himself. As a means of financial survival, Lugosi pursued other avenues—stage, vaudeville, radio, and television—usually with limited success. The vagaries of his career contributed to the dissolution of four of his five marriages and to his drug addiction, for which he voluntarily sought help and which he reportedly beat before his death from a heart attack in 1956.

In his last years, Lugosi came to the attention of the notoriously inept director Ed Wood, Jr., who cast him in *Glen or Glenda* (1953) and in the infamous *Plan 9 from Outer Space* (1959), which was built around the few minutes of footage shot before Lugosi's death for a different Wood film. The recognition of Lugosi's talent by Wood and other fans, however, helped to introduce the legendary actor to a new audience of filmgoers and to generate interest in his early work as well. Unfortunately, Lugosi never witnessed the revived popularity of his films. He died impoverished and largely forgotten and was buried, wrapped in his *Dracula* cape, in Culver City, near Hollywood. As bizarre as his screen persona, Lugosi was an actor of limited range but a man of many appetites—for women, reading, Hungarian food, good cigars, stamp collecting, and politics. Nevertheless, in a career that spanned over fifty years, he became part of cinema folklore and is now recognized as one of Hollywood's greatest horror stars.

—Barbara Tapa Lupack

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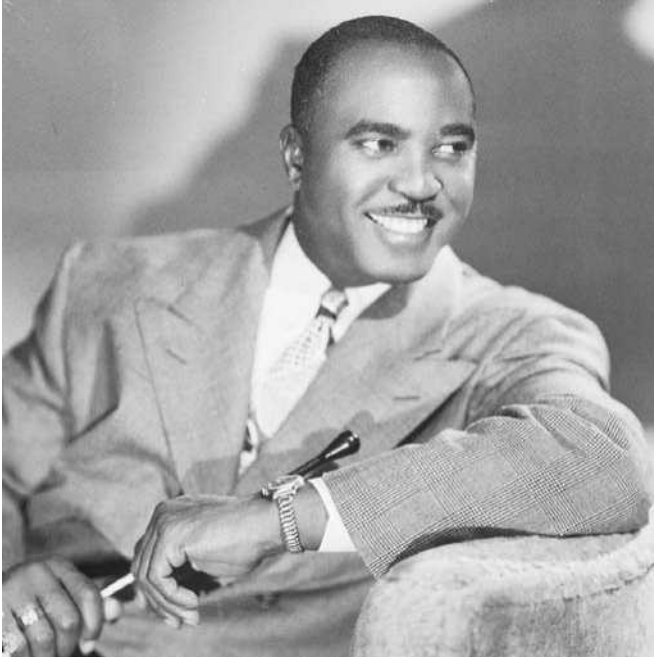
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## Lunceford, Jimmie (1902-1947)

In 1940, the swing orchestra led by Jimmie Lunceford won first place in a much-publicized Battle of the Bands with 27 other groups, including those led by Count Basie, Benny Goodman, and Glenn Miller. Known for innovative arrangements, imaginative instrumentation, and full-bodied swinging sound, the Lunceford orchestra exerted a powerful influence over big-band music during the swing era of the late 1930s and early 1940s as well as on post-World War II dance bands.



**Jimmie Lunceford**

Born James Melvin Lunceford in Fulton, Mississippi, Lunceford moved to Memphis, where he studied music with Paul Whiteman's father, Wilberforce. During the 1920s he played in jazz bands led by Elmer Snowden and Wilbur Sweatman. Although he became proficient in all the reed instruments, he seldom played in bands, preferring to conduct. Lunceford organized and taught a student orchestra in a Memphis high school before beginning his professional career as a bandleader in 1929.

Jimmie Lunceford's first success came in Buffalo, in the early 1930s. In 1933 he took his band to New York City, appearing at the famous Cotton Club. The band made a recording for Victor, but the music selected—"White Heat" and "Jazznocracy"—was written in a racing tempo, unsuited for the band's relaxed, subtle style. From the beginning, Lunceford had molded a highly disciplined orchestra that practiced carefully rehearsed showmanship in their playing. He preferred precise ensemble playing in a medium two-beat swing tempo rather than the exciting solos and upbeat tempos of the Basie and Goodman bands, and he gradually won a wide audience for his unique style.

When Sy Oliver joined the orchestra in 1933, bringing his distinctive "growl" trumpet style as well as his prodigious talents as an arranger, Lunceford had found the ideal partner in developing the oddly swinging style that became the band's trademark. Oliver recalls how the two met: "One day in Cincinnati, I heard the Lunceford band rehearsing. I was so impressed, because Jimmie was so careful about every single detail, then I asked him if I could try writing for the band." Oliver, who also arranged some of Tommy Dorsey's best-known numbers, excelled in devising unusual instrumentation. He conceived the arrangement of "Liza," in which Lunceford played the flute, his only recorded appearance playing an instrument with his band.

The greatest boost to the band's fame came in September 1934, when they began a series of great sides for Decca Records. Based on the brilliant scores created by Oliver, their most popular hits included

"For Dancers Only," "Organ Grinder's Swing," "My Blue Heaven," "Four or Five Times," "Cheatin' on Me," and "Margie," among others. For some reason, Lunceford did not like one of Oliver's most popular arrangements, "Yes, Indeed!" which became a hit in a Tommy Dorsey recording. Although the band featured ensemble playing, it also had individual stars, including Trummie Young, a trombonist and vocalist, and Jimmie Crawford, a drummer with a simple, swinging style that made a perfect engine for the band's rhythms.

By 1942, the band's popularity began to decline as a number of the band's longtime members left for various reasons, including the wartime draft. Lunceford continued his rigorous schedule, and on July 16, 1947, he died of a heart attack while on tour in Seaside, Oregon. For several years, pianist Edwin Wilcox and saxophonist Joe Thomas led the band before it finally left the music scene.

Jazz critic George Simon wrote: "But what great music it left! For many it remains, pressed in the grooves of all the fine Decca and Columbia records it made. And for those of us lucky enough to have caught the band in person it has also left memories of some of the most exciting nights we ever spent listening to any of the big bands!"

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Lupino, Ida (1918-1995)

An actress, director, and screenwriter of considerable reputation, Ida Lupino was born into a distinguished British theater family. After a less than satisfactory start in Hollywood as a blonde ingenue type, Lupino broke through with a strong performance in the drama *The Light that Failed* (1940). Signed by Warner Brothers, Lupino became famous for her roles as a hard-boiled, tough-luck dame, earning the moniker "the poor man's Bette Davis." She worked with the best directors (Raoul Walsh, Fritz Lang) and top co-stars (Humphrey Bogart, Edward G. Robinson, Olivia de Havilland). A striking brunette with a memorable voice, which she likened to "a fat man who's been drinking a lot," Lupino handled glamorous roles and drab character parts with equal ease. Her path-breaking career as a director and screenwriter of films and television received favorable critical reassessment. Lupino's droll persona and her versatility made her a popular performer with a long career.

—Mary Hess

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## LuPone, Patti (1949—)

One of the finest singing actresses of the late twentieth century, Patti LuPone has carved a place in cultural iconography as one of the finest late twentieth century exponents of a great American art form, the Broadway musical. Her voice, at once full and strong, lyrical and smooth, also has a distinctive, instantly recognizable steely quality that thrills audiences. Her remarkable vocal technique, combined with her parallel strength as a dramatic actress, has immeasurably enhanced her interpretation of the heavyweight roles that her talents have brought her way. Juilliard-trained, LuPone rose to Broadway stardom as *Evita* (1979), winning Tony and Drama Desk awards for her riveting portrayal of Eva Peron. Other highlights of her career include creating the role of Fantine in *Les Miserables* for the Royal Shakespeare Company in London—the city to which she returned to create Norma Desmond in Andrew Lloyd Webber's musical version of *Sunset Boulevard*. And it was in London, too, in 1997, that she played the dramatic role of Maria Callas in Terence McNally's play *Master Class*. Her star quality at home was confirmed with the Lincoln Center revival of *Anything Goes* (1987), and the revival of *Pal Joey* (1995), while her versatility has brought her work in film and on television, notably as Libby Thatcher in ABC's *Life Goes On* (1989-93).

—William A. Everett

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## Lynch, David (1946—)

Few directors have ever parlayed their unique style and vision into as much respect and success as David Lynch has earned since the late 1970s. Best known for his highly complex and ambiguous cinema, Lynch's most famous film is the now classic *Blue Velvet* (1986). This coming-of-age story of the naive but endlessly curious Jeffrey Beaumont (Lynch mainstay Kyle MacLachlan) chronicles the protagonist's nightmarish descent into the underworld of the fictional town of Lumberton, which is run by villain Frank Booth (the menacing Dennis Hopper in a role which resuscitated his career). Although Lynch's previous film (*The Elephant Man* (1980)) had been nominated for a number of Academy Awards, including Best Picture, it was the quirky, independent *Blue Velvet* that paved the way for the iconoclastic director's influence on generations of filmmakers to come—including the American directors Quentin Tarantino, Jim

Jarmusch, and the Coen Brothers, and international auteurs like Jean-Phillipe Jeunet and Marc Caro. Lynch's style became his signature, to the point where reviewers, unable to comprehend the assortment of bizarre characters and dialogue of either *Wild at Heart* (1990) or *Lost Highway* (1996), simply claimed that Lynch was being Lynch.

David Lynch was born on January 20, 1946 in Missoula, Montana (pop. 30,000). The eldest of three children, Lynch spent most of his youth daydreaming in the natural environs of Missoula. Unsatisfied with conventional school (he once referred to it in an interview as "a crime against young people . . . [which] destroyed the seeds of liberty"), Lynch attended high school at the Corcoran School of Art in Washington D.C. with his best friend, Jack Fiske, where he pursued his original artistic impulse—painting. Both Fiske and Lynch rented a studio in Alexandria to paint, and after graduation, both enrolled at the Boston Museum School. However, the two friends eventually dropped out over dissatisfaction with the unimpressive quality of the courses and students. Lynch worked at an assortment of odd jobs (including one at a picture framing shop where he was fired for not being able to get up in the morning) to pay for his eventual enrollment at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia in 1965. It is there that he met his first wife Peggy and formulated an aesthetic which would come to influence his work—"film painting": "I imagined a world in which painting would be in perpetual motion . . . [and] I began to make animated films which looked like moving paintings." During his second year of study at Philadelphia, Lynch produced his first film, called *Six Figures* (1967); it was shown at a school exhibition where it received a prize in 1966. In April 1968, Peggy gave birth to their first child, Jennifer. Shortly after *Six Figures* Lynch completed *The Alphabet* (1968), which generated enough attention to land Lynch an American Film Institute grant for his next film, *The Grandmother* (1970). According to French critic Michel Chion, the director of the American Film Institute "remarked that it was common to class films into categories—fiction, animations and so on—but that *The Grandmother* was in a category all by itself." The director then suggested that Lynch apply for a grant to the Institute of Advanced Film Studies, the AFI's film school in Beverly Hills, California; in 1970, Lynch moved his family to California and threw himself strictly into cinema.

His first feature film was the notorious and amazing *Eraserhead* (1977). A surreal study in chiaroscuro and psychology, *Eraserhead* still defies definition and synopsis: Henry, who is "on vacation" in an industrial wasteland, discovers that he has fathered a monstrous offspring. After an affair with his neighbor, Henry is subjected to the snickers of the monster/baby and subsequently assaults it in an unreal and fantastic finale. The film opened to both violent disapproval and ecstatic praise—the latter from distributor Ben Barenholtz, who is credited with creating the midnight cult film circuit. Gaining a faithful fan base and prizes at various festivals, *Eraserhead* eventually attracted attention from Hollywood, and Lynch was offered the chance to direct *The Elephant Man* by none other than Mel Brooks, who once remarked that Lynch was like Jimmy Stewart from Mars. As a mainstream film, *The Elephant Man* attracted the scorn of Lynch's highbrow critics, but was nonetheless a success, earning Oscar nominations and instant Hollywood credibility. He was offered various projects (including George Lucas's *Return of the Jedi*) but settled on the cinematic adaptation of Frank Herbert's classic sci-fi novel, *Dune* (1984). A failure at the box office—and with both critics

and die-hard Herbert fans—*Dune* nevertheless showcased some of Lynch's trademark cinema. After the bombastic budget of *Dune*, he scaled down with *Blue Velvet* and then scaled down even further, venturing into television with the revolutionary cultural phenomenon *Twin Peaks*. Television had never seen anything like *Twin Peaks*, with its unconventional characters, innovative score, and mystical FBI protagonist, Dale Cooper (Kyle MacLachlan, again). Soon the United States was buzzing with anticipation over the next episode; in its first season it garnered 14 Emmy nominations. During this period Lynch was everywhere: he made the hugely successful film *Wild at Heart*, which won the Golden Palm at the Cannes Film Festival; he started a television sitcom called *On the Air*; he released the music for *Twin Peaks*, which he co-wrote with Angelo Badalamenti (another longtime collaborator); and he scripted a comic strip for the *L.A. Weekly* called *The Angriest Dog in the World*.

The television public eventually tired of *Twin Peaks* and it was canceled after its third season. Lynch's cinematic prequel to the series, *Twin Peaks: Fire Walk With Me* (1992), a return to the darker side of the idyllic Northwestern town everyone had come to forget during the series' progression to more lighthearted episodes, angered most critics and fans. After the film, Lynch stopped working in film and turned his attention to his painting and furniture construction. He returned to the screen in 1996 with *Lost Highway*, another daring cinematic exercise for a director whose legend most likely will only grow in proportion to the appreciation of his utterly unique talents, style, and versatility.

—Scott Thill

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## Lynching

Rooted in the broader tradition of vigilantism, the word lynching is primarily associated with the killing of African Americans by white mobs from the Civil War to the late twentieth century. At the height of lynchings in the United States, between 1882 and 1956, more than 4,700 men, women, and children were killed, about 80 percent of them black. In particular, lynching became an integral part of social control in the South, where whites sought to maintain their traditional authority and deny African Americans basic political, social, and economic freedoms. Although the practice declined in the face of gains made during and after the Civil Rights era, occasional lynchings continued up to the turn of the twenty-first century.

Lynching originated in Bedford County, Virginia, around the time of the Revolutionary War when Colonel Charles Lynch and other white males organized informally to apprehend and punish



The aftermath of a typical lynching.

Tories and other lawless elements. The term “lynch law” spread throughout the American frontier as lawbreakers were punished with summary whippings, tarring and feathering, and occasionally extralegal hangings or shootings in areas where organized legal systems were scarce. Victims were mostly white and ranged from petty criminals to Catholics and immigrants. After the 1830s, lynchings began to assume a more racial tone in the North in the form of race riots and other mob actions staged in opposition to the movement to end slavery.

In the South, lynching did not gain its special association with race until after the Emancipation Proclamation. The economic self-interest of white masters made it illogical for them to kill or seriously harm their slaves, especially in light of the rigid system of slave control then in existence. Exceptions were made in the cases of slave rebellions when white mobs actively sought out and killed suspected African-American participants. Beginning in the Reconstruction Era, freed blacks became more common targets of lynch mobs as justification for the protection of white supremacy, for misdeeds from murder to talking back to whites or other violations of strict social mores. The mythical desire of African-American men to rape white women accounted for less than one-quarter of all lynchings, and that estimate does not take into account the Southern definition of rape which included all sexual relations between the races. Still, white mobs lynched black men accused of rape in such far northern states as Maine, Minnesota, and Washington.

Lynching became an almost wholly southern phenomenon by the turn of the twentieth century. Most lynchings involved secret hangings and shootings administered by small groups of white men in mainly rural areas. Public lynchings in the South came to involve torture and mutilation and frequently included death by being burned alive instead of strangulation. The public ritual included prior notice of the event, selection of a symbolically significant location, and the presence of a large crowd that included women, children, and even

photographers. A black school teacher-turned-journalist, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, began publicizing southern lynchings in her newspaper, the *Memphis Free Speech and Headlight*, in 1892 and until she left the South out of fear for her personal safety. At least a half-dozen black southern women, including a pregnant Georgia woman named Mary Turner and a 13-year-old nanny named Mildrey Brown, were lynched in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the South. The *Chicago Tribune* began a tally of lynchings in 1882 that it continued until 1968. It was joined by *Crisis*, the official publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), in 1912, in a list that came to be called "The Shame of America."

The NAACP began investigating individual lynching cases during World War I. One of the more prominent instances involved Leo Frank, a Jewish factory supervisor who was lynched in 1915 near Marietta, Georgia, for allegedly murdering a 13-year-old white Atlanta girl, Mary Phagan. The identities of the real killer and lynch mob participants remained under speculation and the incident was reexamined in President John F. Kennedy's 1956 Pulitzer-prize winning book, *Profiles in Courage* and in a short-lived Broadway musical, *Parade*, in the late 1990s. Other whites and immigrants were lynched by southern mobs, including 11 Italian immigrants in New Orleans in 1891 and 26 Mexicans and Mexican Americans in Texas and New Mexico in 1915. The NAACP's first report, *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889-1918*, released in the race riot year of 1919, influenced the United States House of Representatives to approve by a vote of 230 to 119 the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill in 1922. The legislation, introduced by Representative L. C. Dyer of Missouri, asserted the federal government's right to protect individual rights and anticipated the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The United States Senate, dominated by southerners such as John Sharp Williams and Pat Harrison of Mississippi, prevented the Dyer Bill from coming to a vote.

Walter Francis White, the NAACP's executive director, published additional lynching research in his 1929 *Rope and Faggot: A Legal Assault on Lynching*. Various Congressional efforts were made during the 1930s and 1940s, including the 1934 Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Act. Southern legislators, led by Mississippi's Theodore G. Bilbo, filibustered the bill to death. Meanwhile, nine black youths known as the Scotsboro Nine were legally lynched in Alabama in 1931 after they were convicted of the rape of two white women by an all-white jury. There were more than 3,000 hastily-tried "legal" lynchings in the United States between 1880 and 1960 that are not included in the total number of "illegal" lynchings.

The number of lynchings in the South declined after 1935 but never ceased altogether. Southerners were able to prevent serious legislation until the 1960s but the federal courts, led by the United States Supreme Court in the 1951 *Williams v. United States*, reaffirmed that federal law, including the Civil War-era Fourteenth Amendment, forbid local and state law enforcement officials from depriving citizens of individual rights. Vocal opposition to lynching from inside and outside of the South contributed to its decline. Actor Paul Robeson met with President Harry Truman as part of a crusade to end lynching in 1946. Nevertheless, sporadic lynchings continued. A 14-year-old Chicago youth, Emmett Till, was murdered in 1955 in Mississippi for allegedly whistling at a white woman while a black veteran, Mack Charles Parker, was shot to death in the same state in 1959 while awaiting trial for the alleged rape of a white woman.

A Ku Klux Klansman, Henry Francis Hays, was convicted and executed for the random lynching of a 19-year-old African-American man, Michael Donald, in Mobile, Alabama, in 1981. The victim's mother, Beulah Mae Donald, won a \$7 million civil suit against the Klan in 1987 for the wrongful death of her son, the first such case in the Klan's long history. In 1998, a 49-year-old unemployed African-American man, James Byrd, Jr., was chained and dragged to his death behind a pickup truck in Jasper, Texas, in what authorities termed a "backwoods lynching." And a "Redneck Shop" opened in Laurens, South Carolina, in 1996, specializing in Ku Klux Klan memorabilia including lynching photographs and t-shirts reading "Original Boys in the Hood." Clearly racism, the root cause of lynching, remains in America.

—Richard Digby-Junger

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## Lynn, Loretta (1935—)

With such feisty hits as "You Ain't Woman Enough" and "Fist City," country singer/songwriter Loretta Lynn voiced the concerns of blue-collar women during the 1960s and 1970s. When Lynn came to Nashville in 1960, "girl singers" were still considered risky ventures by record executives and promoters. The first female superstar of the modern country industry, Lynn established herself as a true celebrity, capable of selling Crisco vegetable shortening as well as records and concert tickets. Her success as an entertainer also proved that she could remain true to her rural background and retain her traditional



**Loretta Lynn**

vocal style, even as Nashville and the industry were becoming increasingly sophisticated.

One of eight children, Lynn was born Loretta Webb, on April 14, 1935 in the poverty-stricken coal mining town of Butcher Hollow, Kentucky. She married Oliver V. Lynn, who was known by the nicknames “Doolittle” and “Mooney” (because he made moonshine), three months before her fourteenth birthday. The newlyweds moved to Custer, Washington, and over the next four years had four children. Lynn’s husband gave her a guitar purchased from Sears and Roebuck for her eighteenth birthday. Within a few years, she learned to play the instrument and began composing songs. Convinced of his wife’s talent, Mooney took Lynn to local beer joints and got her a job as a singer with a country band. After winning a talent contest at an area fair, she appeared on a Tacoma television show hosted by rising country star Buck Owens. A former lumberman with an interest in music saw the program and gave Lynn the money to make a record in Los Angeles. Steel guitar virtuoso Speedy West rounded up quality California session players for her debut, and “I’m a Honky-Tonk Girl” was released on the tiny Zero label early in 1960. While Lynn’s live performances usually featured current songs popularized by country stars, her first single was an original composition.

Lynn and her husband spent three months promoting the record themselves, mailing it to 3,500 radio stations and visiting numerous

stations in person to ask the disc jockeys to play it. By the summer of 1960, the song had reached number 14 on the country charts. Lynn traveled to Nashville, the epicenter of the country industry and home of the Grand Ole Opry, where she made her first guest appearance in mid-October. With the help of the Wilburn Brothers, Doyle and Teddy, she obtained a contract with Decca Records (which became MCA in the early 1970s) despite producer Owen Bradley’s objection that her voice closely resembled that of Kitty Wells. The Lynns moved to Nashville, and newcomer Loretta became Patsy Cline’s protégée, even as other female artists conspired to keep her off the Opry. Though her style demonstrated characteristics of both Wells and Cline, Lynn eventually developed a sound of her own. She resisted efforts to polish her image as a performer, preferring cowboy boots to high-heeled shoes, and singing with an accent that betrayed her rural Kentucky upbringing.

Two years after her breakthrough hit, Lynn had her first Decca top ten single with “Success.” Four years later, “Don’t Come Home A-Drinkin’ (With Lovin’ on Your Mind),” co-written with her sister Peggy Sue Wells, became the first of sixteen number one records Lynn recorded between 1966 and 1975. During the 1960s, Lynn occasionally performed duets with honky-tonk legend Ernest Tubb, and the following decade she and Conway Twitty had several hits together. She became the first female recipient of the Country Music

Association's (CMA) Entertainer of the Year award in 1972, and eight years later the CMA named her Artist of the Decade. Her best-selling autobiography, *Coal Miner's Daughter*, appeared in 1976, followed four years later by a film version starring Sissy Spacek and Tommy Lee Jones that brought the story of her career into the popular realm. Lynn branched out from music, opening a chain of western-wear stores and a dude ranch near her home in Tennessee. At the height of her career during the 1970s, she kept a punishing schedule that took its toll on her health. Although her recording career tapered off during the late 1980s, she continued to tour throughout the 1990s, taking some time off after the death of her husband in 1996.

Lynn's success surpassed that of any other female country artist during the 1960s and 1970s, and her immense popularity destroyed industry stereotypes about women performers. Her combination of traditional country styles with lyrics that reflected the modern working-class woman's perspective appealed to a large audience, particularly wives and mothers who faced the same problems she addressed in her songs. Lynn has spoken out against racism and illiteracy, and in the mid-1990s she warned women about the dangers of breast implants. She was not afraid of controversy, and stood behind songs such as "Rated X," which dealt with the stigma of being a divorced woman, and "The Pill," a paean to birth control. In *Coal Miner's Daughter*, Lynn notes that she is "not a big fan of Women's Liberation, but maybe it will help women stand up for the respect they're due." While she may not have considered herself a feminist, many of her songs exhibited a progressive attitude that was seldom found in country music. This assertion of pride in her gender and her working-class culture made Loretta Lynn the heir to Kitty Wells' title as "the Queen of Country Music," and one of the genre's female legends.

—Anna Hunt Graves

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## Lynyrd Skynyrd

After several years as an incendiary but unsigned Florida bar band, Lynyrd Skynyrd emerged in 1973 to supersede the Allman

Brothers as the most popular exponents of Southern rock. Though Lynyrd Skynyrd's use of the Confederate battle flag ensured that the Stars and Bars became a symbol of the rebellious attitude central to contemporary rock 'n' roll, the group's defiant celebration of a particular Southern white cultural identity was inextricably related to the racial politics of the South in the post-Civil Rights period. In 1977, the group disbanded after a plane crash killed two of its members. However, the Lynyrd Skynyrd mythology grew precipitously over the next decade, culminating in an emotional and rapturously received reunion of the remaining bandmates in 1987.

Lynyrd Skynyrd's nucleus of vocalist Ronnie Van Zant, drummer Bob Burns, and guitarists Gary Rossington and Allen Collins came together at a Jacksonville, Florida, high school. Though the influence of Jacksonville's black bluesmen was acknowledged in Skynyrd's 1974 song "The Ballad of Curtis Loew," the band's distillation of country, rock 'n' roll and blues derived largely from England's Muddy Waters acolytes, The Rolling Stones. In 1969, Van Zant, Rossington, Collins, and Burns left high school—though not before a strait-laced gym coach called Leonard Skinner inadvertently inspired the band's lasting moniker—and began to play the club scene in Florida and Georgia. The following year the group was offered a contract with Capricorn Records, the label which had established Southern rock as a genre. However, Van Zant refused the deal, not wanting his band to be overshadowed by Capricorn's premier act, the Allman Brothers. Lynyrd Skynyrd remained unsigned until 1973, when Al Kooper acquired them for his fledgling MCA offshoot, Sounds of the South.

The Kooper-produced debut, *Pronounced Leh-nerd Skin-nerd*, was released that year, and its final track, the guitar epic "Free Bird," received extensive radio airplay. On such songs as "Poison Whiskey," "Mississippi Kid," and "Gimme Three Steps," the album introduced the staple character of Skynyrd lyrics, the hard drinking, gun toting, and womanizing "good ole boy." A prestigious support slot on The Who's 1973 U.S. tour was followed by the hit single "Sweet Home Alabama," from the gold-selling follow-up album, *Second Helping* (1974). The song was written in response to Neil Young's "Southern Man" (1970) and "Alabama" (1972), in which the Canadian singer-songwriter scathingly criticized the South for the patriarchal racism which had endured beyond the end of slavery. Opening with the image of the rock 'n' roll rebel returning "home" to his "kin" in "the Southland," "Sweet Home Alabama" was an attempt to reconcile, to use Paul Wells's terms, rock's "codes of the road" with "the conservative notions of family and community championed within a southern ethos." However, by including an overt endorsement of segregationist governor George Wallace, the song invoked and defended a Southern white cultural identity constructed upon racism and social inequality.

Burns was replaced on drums by Artimus Pyle for the third album, *Nuthin' Fancy* (1975). "Saturday Night Special" and "Whiskey Rock and Roller" were further paeans to the good ole boy's penchant for guns and liquor, but the more problematic politics of Southern nationalism were evident on "I'm a Country Boy." Like the earlier "Simple Man" (1973) and "Swamp Music" (1974), "I'm a Country Boy" advocated an agrarian way of life, but extended rural romanticism to the extent of depicting cotton-picking "on the Dixie line" as a labor of love, conveniently ignoring the actual historical toil of black Southerners. Guitarist Ed King left the group during the



Members of *Lynyrd Skynyrd*

1975 tour, and it was apparent from 1976's predictably titled *Gimme Back My Bullets* that the musical virtuosity of the first two albums had palled. Replacement guitarist Steve Gaines joined the band in early 1976, and with the further addition of a regular female backing group, the Honkettes, the band sounded revitalized on their 1976 tour (captured on the double live set, *One More from the Road*). The sixth album, *Street Survivors*, was released in October 1977. Only days later, the group's private plane plunged into a Mississippi swamp, killing Van Zant, Gaines, and the latter's sister Cassie (a member of the Honkettes), as well as seriously injuring Rossington, Collins, bassist Leon Wilkinson, and keyboardist Billy Powell.

Lynyrd Skynyrd's legacy overshadowed the reunion of Rossington, Collins, Wilkinson, and Powell in the Rossington Collins Band (1980-83), as well as the plethora of post-Skynyrd Southern rock outfits such as .38 Special, Confederate Railroad, Molly Hatchet, and Blackfoot. Led by the initially reluctant Rossington, and with Van Zant's brother Johnny on vocals, Lynyrd Skynyrd rose again in 1987 for a tribute tour which paid moving homage to Ronnie Van Zant and the group's 1970s heyday. The group's neo-Confederate posturings remained unreconstructed, typified by the tacky sleeve art for the 1996 live album *Southern Knights*, and "The Last Rebel" (1993), an ode to the heroic warriors of the Lost Cause. Somewhat appropriately, the deification of Ronnie Van Zant, notably in Doc Holliday's "Song

for the Outlaw" (1989), fed into the larger mythology of "Johnny Reb" taking his stand for Dixie.

Two Lynyrd Skynyrd songs were tellingly employed in the Oscar-winning fable *Forrest Gump* (1994). As Forrest's childhood sweetheart, Jenny, descends into drug addiction, the film utilizes the intense fretwork of "Free Bird" to soundtrack the giddy experience of the heroin rush. In stark contrast, when Jenny abandons her Californian sex, drugs, and rock 'n' roll lifestyle and returns home to Forrest and the virtuous, rural South, the reunited pair are seen dancing ecstatically around their living room—to the strains of "Sweet Home Alabama."

—Martyn Bone

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# M

## Ma Perkins

A pioneering soap opera, *Ma Perkins* was heard on daytime radio for close to 30 years. For most of that time it was sponsored by Procter & Gamble's Oxydol soap flakes. The 15 minute show began in 1933 and did not leave the air until 1960. For several years it was broadcast on both NBC and CBS. The busy team of Frank and Anne Hummert produced the show and one of the initial scriptwriters was Robert Hardy Andrews, who also wrote *Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy* in its earliest radio days.

Ma, dubbed "America's mother of the air," was a feisty widow who ran a lumberyard in the town of Rushville Center. The small town was both folksy and turbulent and Ma was equal parts maternal figure, therapist, and busybody. Virginia Payne, actually in her early twenties when the show commenced, played the sixty-something Ma for the entire run of the show. The commercials relied on the irritation factor, usually repeating the product name at least two dozen times per episode. It has been estimated that in the lifetime of *Ma Perkins* the program "helped sell over 3 billion boxes of Oxydol."

—Ron Goulart

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## Mabley, Moms (1897-1975)

When Jackie Mabley was growing up one child of many in a poor Southern family, her mother told her she would have to leave North Carolina in order to make something of herself. Mabley took her mother's advice to heart, overcoming great odds to become not only a widely recognized and successful stand-up comic, but also the unforgettable "Moms," an African-American archetype with too much common sense and sensuality to take herself too seriously. Dressed in her flamboyant signature outfit of Hawaiian shirt over a housedress with bright socks, floppy slippers, and a hat she crocheted herself, Moms Mabley called her audience her "children." She entertained them with raunchy jokes and devilish playfulness, punctuating her act with bulging eyes and a toothless leer. In an entertainment industry where African-American women continue to receive little recognition, Moms Mabley's 60-year career stands as a role model.

Born Loretta Mary Aiken in Brevard, North Carolina, the details of Mabley's youth are vague, but it seems clear she was born into a large, poor family. Early in her life she sought a way out; her father was killed when she was a child and Mabley herself had been raped twice before she left home at the age of thirteen to join the traveling performers of a minstrel show. She spent her teenage years singing, dancing, and doing sketch comedy along the "chitlin' circuit," the black-owned clubs and performance halls that offered work to black entertainers. Though a product of segregation, the black clubs were for the most part safe and comfortable places for both black audiences

and performers. While traveling with the show, Loretta became involved with fellow performer Jack Mabley. Though they never married, she began to use the name Jackie Mabley, saying, "He took a lot off me, the least I could do was take his name."

With the arrival of the 1920s and the beginning of the Harlem Renaissance, Mabley found her way to New York where she performed her act in such famous venues as the Cotton Club and the Savoy Ballroom, sharing the bill with the likes of Duke Ellington and Cab Calloway. Later she would incorporate her friendships with these famous performers into her act, hinting broadly at her affairs.

By the 1930s, the Depression slowed the entertainment business, and Mabley made ends meet by working at church socials and movie houses. In 1931 she collaborated with renowned Harlem Renaissance writer Zora Neale Hurston, writing and performing a Broadway play called, *Fast and Furious: A Colored Revue in Thirty-Seven Scenes*. By 1939 Mabley began to appear regularly at the Apollo Theater in Harlem, where over the next 35 years she would perform more than any other entertainer. Here she continued to develop her comic act—the salty old lady with the mobile face and gravelly voice. It was at the Apollo that she acquired the nickname "Moms" from her fellow performers who appreciated her nurturing sympathy. During her years of performing at the Apollo, Mabley often saw famous white comics in the audience and accused them of stealing her material.

Though Mabley's act may seem stereotypical to some, it was really quite a clever show business ploy. While attractive young women, particularly black women, could show little in the way of intelligence or sexuality without condemnation, "Moms" was safe—a laughable figure of fun. From behind the shabby clothes and mobile toothless grin, Mabley could offer sharp-witted insights and social commentary that would have been unacceptable from a more serious source. Beloved by African-American audiences, Mabley's whole persona was an "in" joke among blacks, and she did not hesitate to focus her scathing humor on whites and their ill treatment of other races. She also demonstrated glimmers of an early feminism with her jokes about old men and their illusions of authority. One of her trademark jokes was, "Ain't nothing an old man can do for me, but bring me a message from a young man."

It was this sly satirical edge along with the emergence of the Civil Rights movement that brought Mabley her second surge of fame in the rebellious 1960's. On *The Ed Sullivan Show* and the controversial *Smothers Brothers Show*, Moms Mabley brought her bawdy humor to white audiences for the first time. Over the course of her lengthy career, she also appeared in several movies, from small parts in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and Eugene O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones*, to a starring role in *Amazing Grace*. The prolific Mabley also made over 25 popular comedy albums and was invited to the White House by President John F. Kennedy. Perhaps one of Mabley's most touching performances is her hoarsely emotional recording of the song "Abraham, Martin, and John" about the deaths of the great Civil Rights leaders.

Though she had four children and five grandchildren, Mabley never married and she lived most of her life as a lesbian. Although she was not "out" in the modern sense, certainly Moms Mabley did



### Moms Mabley

break taboos and challenge assumptions throughout her career with her character of an old woman, who was sexual, savvy, and irrepressible. The girl who survived childhood rape to carve out a successful career in the inhospitable world of show business grew up to be Moms, who described her television appearances by saying, “I looked at the world as my children.”

Modern black comediennes pay tribute to Mabley as a foremother. In 1986 playwright Alice Childress wrote *Moms: A Praise for a Black Comedienne*, which was produced on Broadway in 1987. Respected comic and actress Whoopi Goldberg “does” Mabley as one of her comic characters, and the documentary *I Be Done Been Was Is* names Moms Mabley as an inspiration for the black female comics who followed her.

—Tina Gianoulis

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### MacDonald, Jeanette (1903-1965)

Jeanette MacDonald was one of the screen’s best-loved singing actresses. The image of the star, greeting the famous earthquake with a song in *San Francisco* (1936), is forever enshrined in the popular consciousness—an image further immortalized by the verse to Judy Garland’s recording of the title song, which recalls how Jeanette “stood among the ruins and sang.” She became, and remains, however, equally well-known for her screen partnership with Nelson Eddy. The couple, universally known as “America’s Singing Sweethearts” at the height of their popularity during the 1930s, epitomized the lush romantic world of the film operetta in eight films, beginning with *Naughty Marietta* (1935).

Born on June 18, 1903 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, MacDonald showed promise as a dancer and singer from a very young age. She began her professional career as a chorus girl on Broadway before assuming lead roles in musicals such as *Tangerine* (1922) and *The Magic Ring* (1924). Her film debut could not have been more auspicious. Paramount’s most stylish European director, Ernst Lubitsch, took a chance on casting the blue-eyed, blond-haired soprano opposite debonair Frenchman Maurice Chevalier in *The Love Parade* (1929). This first of four sophisticated, frothy films she made with Chevalier was a major box-office hit that garnered several Oscar

nominations and made the leading lady an overnight star. She signed an exclusive contract with RCA Victor Records and cut her first commercial record (songs from *The Love Parade*) on December 1, 1929. She made a couple of minor forgotten films elsewhere, but continued at Paramount, where she co-starred with Dennis King in *The Vagabond King* (1930), the first of many film adaptations of Broadway operettas in which she would appear, with British star Jack Buchanan in *Monte Carlo* (1930), and rejoined Chevalier for *One Hour with You* (1932), *Love Me Tonight* (1932), and Lubitsch's entrancing version of Franz Lehar's *The Merry Widow* (1934).

MacDonald made successful European concert tours in 1931 and 1933 that enhanced her already tremendous popularity abroad. It was during the 1933 tour that she met Louis B. Mayer, who offered her an exclusive contract with MGM. She accepted the offer, left Paramount and the world of European high-style, "Ruritanian" operetta sophistication for that of wholesome, out-doorsy American romance, saccharine and innocent. She began her tenure at MGM and her partnership with Nelson Eddy with *Naughty Marietta* (1935), in which MacDonald plays a French princess who journeys to America and falls in love with an Indian scout. The operatically trained baritone and the fetching soprano warbled "Ah, Sweet Mystery of Life" and captivated the public, who flocked in even greater numbers to *Rose Marie* (1936). It was quintessential operetta nonsense, with the music offering such disparate delights as "Some of These Days," "Dinah," and scenes from Puccini's *Tosca*. The film was a monumental success, MacDonald's star status was assured and, together, the "Singing Sweethearts" continued with the whimsical *Maytime* (1937), *The Girl of the Golden West* (1938), and *Sweethearts* (1938; their first



Jeanette MacDonald

in glorious technicolor and the biggest hit of all), *The New Moon* (1940), *Bitter Sweet* (1940), and *I Married an Angel* (1942)—the last, least, and silliest, which spelled the end of the partnership. Together, the couple represented the archetypal screen lovers, who surmount all obstacles to end up together, with MacDonald invariably cast as a well-born woman of one kind or another, caught up in alien circumstances and rescued through the love of the otherwise wooden Eddy, whose beautiful voice and noble profile was the perfect match for her.

In between the run of successful operetta, MacDonald co-starred with Clark Gable and Spencer Tracy in *San Francisco*, with Allan Jones in *The Firefly* (1937), and with Gene Raymond, her husband from 1937, in *Smilin' Through* (1941).

Wartime audiences were less susceptible to the innocent charms of the MacDonald-Eddy operettas, and MGM terminated MacDonald's contract in 1942. Between 1939 and 1946 she made numerous cross-country concert tours. She constantly broke attendance records, and soon became the biggest box-office draw in the concert world. During World War II, she devoted much of her time to entertaining the troops, and attempted to expand her range to live opera. She made her debut on May 8, 1943, at His Majesty's Theatre in Montreal, Canada, singing Juliet in Gounod's *Romeo and Juliet*, and reprised the role at the Chicago Civic Opera House on November 4, 1944. However, her voice proved too small to carry adequately in an opera house, and further attempts were abandoned.

Her film career was essentially over after the war. She made a cameo appearance in *Follow the Boys* (1944) for Universal, concluded her illustrious run in 1948 as the mother of *Three Daring Daughters*, a movie with music rather than a musical, and a Lassie film, *The Sun Comes Up*. Thereafter, Jeanette MacDonald remained active in radio and on television until her death, making numerous appearances on programs such as "Railroad Hour," "The Voice of Firestone," "The Toast of the Town," "Playhouse 90," and "Person to Person." During the 1950s she played in various summer stock theatrical productions, and made her nightclub debut in Las Vegas in 1953.

Jeanette MacDonald died on January 14, 1965 of heart disease. Her husband, Gene Raymond, was with her throughout her prolonged illness. At her memorial service her recordings of "Ave Maria" and "Ah, Sweet Mystery of Life" were broadcast outside the chapel for the benefit of those who came to pay their respects. She had been a staunch Republican supporter, and her honorary pallbearers included Richard Nixon, former presidents Eisenhower and Truman, Chief Justice Earl Warren, and Ronald Reagan.

By the end of the twentieth century, Jeanette MacDonald had become an enduring legend, the memory of her soprano voice and beguiling screen persona kept alive by television. The old-fashioned innocence and pure corn of her films with Nelson Eddy have become objects of affectionate ridicule, best summed up by *New York Times* critic Judith Crist who, in writing of *Naughty Marietta*, said, "When these two profiles come together to sing 'Ah, Sweet Mystery of Life', it's beyond camp, it's in a realm of its own."

—William A. Everett

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## MacDonald, John D. (1916-1986)

Known as the creator of the bestselling Travis McGee series of detective novels, John D. MacDonald gained most of his fame and fortune from writing paperback originals. He moved into paperbacks in 1950, after turning out stories for the pulps since leaving the service in 1946. The pulps were fading away in the postwar years, while 25 cent books were burgeoning, and the prolific MacDonald was able to take advantage of this growing new market. Between his first hard-boiled thriller, *The Brass Cupcake*, in 1950 and his first McGee novel, *The Deep Blue Goodbye*, in 1964, he'd written over 40 novels. He went on to publish many more, including a total of 21 featuring McGee. Many of them were bestsellers. MacDonald was a good writer, respected by readers, reviewers, and fellow writers alike, and he always managed to inject considerable social criticism into his books. McGee, who owned a boat and lived in Florida, was himself a sort of floating private eye.

—Ron Goulart

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## Macfadden, Bernarr (1868-1954)

Publisher, aspiring politician, and professional eccentric: all of these labels might describe Bernarr Macfadden, one of the characters who populated the American cultural scene of the twentieth century. However, although Macfadden made his fortune publishing the phenomenally successful *True Story*, he requested that his tombstone

would read simply, if not modestly, "the father of physical culture." He was in fact very proud of his publishing successes; however, he always hoped that he would be remembered primarily for his advocacy of modern principles for good health (pro-vegetarianism, pro-exercise, anti-smoking). Ironically, in light of the fact that some of his physical health principles do now appear to have been prophetic, Macfadden was always viewed as a quack. His preference for spectacularly ill-conceived cures (ranging from dunking ailing infants in ice cold water, fasting for days, and refusing all conventional medical care), in tandem with his penchant for publicity stunts of dubious taste (such as publishing photographs of himself and his family half-nude), made him a laughing stock in the first half of the century. His anti-prudery, pro-sexual liberalization stance merely added to his contemporary disrepute. Thus, ultimately, Bernarr Macfadden has not been remembered for his work as the self-proclaimed guru of "physical culture," but remains famous for the role he played as an enormously successful publisher, and infamous as one of the most peculiar popular icons ever to grace the American scene.

During the 1920s, Macfadden made a huge name for himself as the publisher, first of *True Story*, then of the whole stable of "True" magazines (*True Romance*, *True Experience*, *True Detective*), and finally, of the doomed daily New York newspaper, *The Graphic*. Riding on the waves of these successes, he attempted to further his career in the fields of physical culture and of politics. Unfortunately, in these, his favored public arenas, Macfadden's failures proved as grand as his successes. By the 1940s, the publisher had not only failed in every one of his various bids for public office, but had also lost his publishing empire, his wife and family, and even the support of the many working-class Americans who had once admired him—although they wouldn't vote for him. The finale to Macfadden's story was not a happy one, but the man himself remained undaunted. In 1949, on his 81st birthday, he made a parachute jump in front of his new, 42-year-old wife. In that same year, as in the years that preceded it and those that followed, millions of Americans continued to buy *True Story*. And, after a fashion that would have very much pleased Macfadden, today we see the realization of his most cherished and personal dream in the cult of the quest for perfect bodies and perfect health that has overtaken late twentieth-century America. The name Bernarr Macfadden may conjure up a comical image, but some of his ideas have endured.

Born in 1868 in the Ozarks, Macfadden was a child of poverty. He spent his early years working at odd jobs and moving from the home of one relative to another. His father died when he was very young, and his mother, who was too ill to care for her child most of the time, died when the boy was 11. A skinny, sickly child, he almost succumbed to tuberculosis in his youth, but after his recovery, he determined that he would never again be weak or ill and thereafter devoted his life to the pursuit of good health. The young Macfadden started working out at gymnasiums, a hobby which eventually led to jobs as director of athletics at a small college in Missouri, manager of a gym in St. Louis, and eventually to the establishment of his own gym in New York City. In 1898, he began publication of the magazine, *Physical Culture*. In that magazine, Macfadden frequently railed against traditional medicine, a move that would pit him in a permanent battle with the American Medical Association. However, the magazine was modestly successful and enabled him to pursue other dreams.

In the early years of the twentieth century, the publisher established a series of cheap vegetarian restaurants in New York City,



### Bernarr Macfadden

offering the poor nourishment at a price they could afford, and in 1905, he established an alternative community, a physical culture “city” at Spotswood, New Jersey. The community was a failure. Where Macfadden had envisaged 30,000 healthy Americans, there were merely 200 devotees who lived at subsistence level while working night and day trying to build their “city.” Meanwhile, Macfadden, who rarely lived at the site (leaving his wife and his secretary/mistress to run the venture), continued with his physical culture crusades. He mounted a “physical culture” exhibition at Madison Square Garden, resulting in his first run-in with Anthony Comstock’s Society for the Suppression of Vice. Although Macfadden was released after it became clear that his “obscene” models were actually wearing flesh-colored tights, he was never again free of the anti-vice society’s keen attention. Soon after, Macfadden was arrested when he published a serialized story in *Physical Culture* about the dangers of venereal disease (a tragic but entertaining tale of a young man’s downfall). This time Macfadden was found guilty on obscenity charges and sentenced to two years of hard labor. In 1911, after years of appeals, he was pardoned, though not exonerated, by President Taft. All his life he would declare that his publishing, and other work, was dedicated to the eradication of dangerous prudery. In his time,

that stance was increasingly viewed as little more than a cover for the propagation and support of pornography and debauchery. Whatever the case, Macfadden came to be most famous for his exposure of the sexual realities and secrets of American society.

In 1919, he achieved his first really great success with the publication of *True Story*. The magazine, which presented first-hand confessions of sex and other sins, was enormously popular with its young working-class audience, and Macfadden began to make his first millions as his magazine achieved its first million readers. Characteristically, he used the money from *True Story* to pursue a series of other strange ventures. In 1924, he launched his first newspaper, *The Graphic*, which he imagined as a crusading tell-all newspaper “for the people, by the people, and of the people.” Walter Winchell got his start as a gossip columnist at the *Graphic*. At first the newspaper, humorously dubbed “the pornographic” was a great success, but financial mismanagement led to its demise in the 1930s. However, during the 1920s, it seemed as if Macfadden had the Midas touch. Believing his own publicity, he began to imagine himself a great American leader, and attempted to enter politics, hoping eventually to run for president. He failed in bids to become the mayor of New York, governor of Florida, and “secretary for health” (a position he

hoped Roosevelt might establish with him in mind). As part of his political image, he trained 30 of Mussolini's soldiers in the principles of physical culture, almost at the same time that he began publication of a magazine edited by Eleanor Roosevelt entitled *Babies, Babies, Babies*. The Roosevelts, however, dumped Macfadden as they became increasingly aware of his embarrassingly peculiar and eclectic interests.

Ultimately, all of Macfadden's efforts to enter politics were spectacularly unsuccessful, not to mention personally damaging. Having invested so much money and time in promoting his public ambitions, he lost control of his personal affairs, and allowed minority stockholders to gain increasing control of *True Story*. When, in 1941, they accused him of using the magazine's money to fund his campaigns, and of fudging circulation figures, he was forced to relinquish his control of the company. At home, things were even worse. Macfadden had been a strong patriarch, forcing his family (including the many children named in his image, such as Byrnic, Braunda, and Byron) to live by strict physical culture principles. Eventually, his wife Mary revolted. Although Macfadden claimed that he wished to divorce Mary because she had become too fat for his healthy taste, she cited his refusal to allow her a normal life and his determination that she should continue to bear children even when her pregnancies were considered life-threatening, as reasons for their divorce. In 1954, Mary Macfadden wrote what should be considered one of the first celebrity exposes, in which she claimed Macfadden was a bad father, a fraud, a semi-fascist, and a generally all-round bad guy. Devastated by his former wife's betrayal, he died the following year of an attack of jaundice precipitated, ironically, by a three-day fast.

Bernarr Macfadden died a penniless failure. Yet, in spite of his several reversals of fortune, he managed to place himself permanently on the historical map of American culture. Many of the cultural values he tried to sell have found a market. *True Story* endures today, while the growth of talk shows suggests an ongoing American penchant for the public confessional. The sexual liberalization of American society, if only in the conservative terms that Macfadden imagined it, is a *fait accompli*. Many of his key health principles now enjoy widespread support, and there has even been a revival of scholarly interest in Macfadden's work as a publisher, physical health proponent, and spokesperson for the voiceless. Scholars do debate the value of Macfadden's contributions, and where one sees the championing of causes and the merits of certain aspects of his particular philosophy of "physical culture," another sees vicious demagoguery or the exploitation of the ignorant and innocent. Pornographer or sexual liberal, champion of the poor or purveyor of the worst in popular taste—unsurprisingly, there is little room for agreement over the contradictions inherent in the story of Bernarr Macfadden, and the fact that the debate continues would give Macfadden heart. For, as he once said when questioned about the negative publicity he received, "They're laughing Henry Ford into a greater success the same way." In his heyday, Macfadden saw no need for critical approval. All the affirmation he needed was to watch the circulation figures of *True Story* magazine grow. The popular vote of his readers was Macfadden's confirmation of his own success.

—Jackie Hatton

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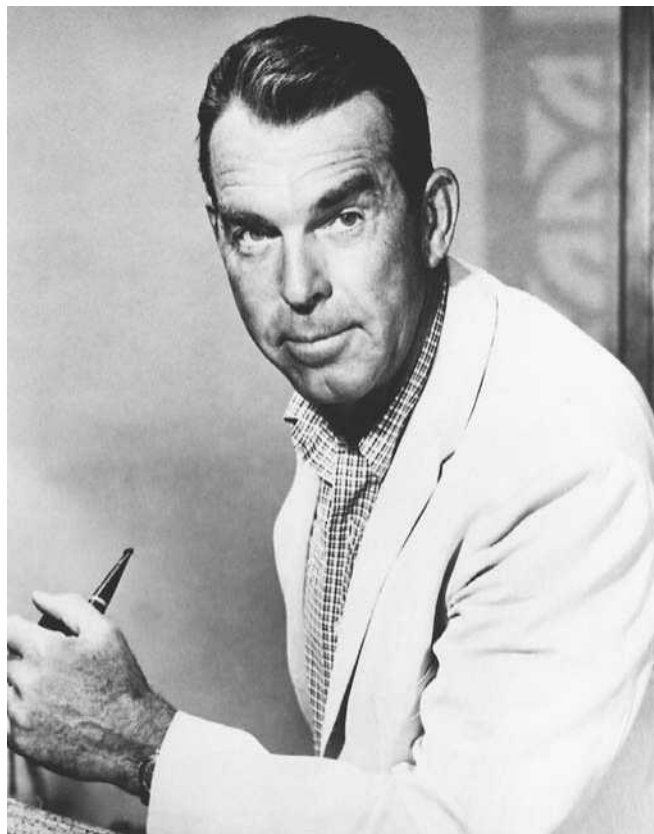
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## MacMurray, Fred (1908-1991)

Though never a first string actor, Fred MacMurray had a long and successful career, stretching from the 1930s to the 1970s, encompassing both film and television roles. MacMurray made his name playing a particular type of male lead—amiable, upbeat, and anxious to please—that was easily adapted, in later life, to playing father figures on television and in children's films. On a number of occasions, however, MacMurray was furnished with roles that allowed a questioning and undermining of his more familiar persona.



Fred MacMurray

Likeable and pleasant looking, MacMurray appeared regularly in the 1930s and 1940s romantic comedies (working nine different occasions for Mitchell Leisen, one of the most expert directors of light farce), playing the affable leading man opposite Hollywood's top actresses. It is perhaps a mark of his percolation into the American consciousness as an exemplification of the ordinary, wholesome American male that made him the perfect physical model for a new comic book hero of the period: Captain Marvel. However, despite this and his constant film work throughout the war, he never rose to star status, appearing in comedies, adventures and routine melodramas whose caliber increasingly suggested the decline of his drawing power. Yet it was also in this period of decline that MacMurray sporadically played some of his best roles, markedly against his previous wholesome type. Billy Wilder had already shown the possibilities of this in *Double Indemnity* (1944), a film in which MacMurray plays a salesman giving in to love and greed. The morally inadequate naval lieutenant of *The Caine Mutiny* (1954), the corrupt policeman of *Pushover* (1954) and the serial adulterer of *The Apartment* (1960) also provided MacMurray with interesting roles, which gave him the opportunity to stretch as an actor. Nevertheless, MacMurray's career fell into decline until rescued by a series of films for Disney—the best remembered being *The Absent-Minded Professor* (1961)—and the TV series *My Three Sons*—one of television's longest-lasting sitcoms, running from 1960 until 1972—both of which depended on MacMurray's unthreatening bemusement and fatherly trustworthiness.

Through the majority of his films, MacMurray created the persona of a gentle, likeable, wholesome, All-American guy who is anxious to please and to make something of his life and who, despite suffering some setbacks, always succeeds. This is a role he carried off perfectly well in light comedy (whether a 1930s Leisen farce or a 1960s Disney kid's film), and it is in this role he became a familiar face (if not a familiar name) in Hollywood film and then on television. However, in more dramatic roles he was less convincing, particularly if called upon to be a tough guy or to show moral fiber. A good example of this can be found in the thriller *Above Suspicion* (1943), in which the persona he had mastered appears too fragile in a harsher, less sympathetic world. However, it is exactly this fragility that director Billy Wilder was able to bring out of MacMurray, guiding the veteran actor to his best performances. As an insurance salesman in *Double Indemnity* and as an advertising executive in *The Apartment*, MacMurray's characters simultaneously believe in and use the good guy persona to sell themselves. However, what seemed upstanding and trustworthy at first becomes shifty and rather seedy, and that which was marked by sincerity and integrity reveals itself as mere veneer without moral backbone. Ultimately, it is because MacMurray so successfully made his name playing the charming young salesman or the admirable father figure that, in a tougher environment, he made such an apt fraudster, murderer, and adulterer.

MacMurray made about two films a year for forty years and the majority of these were light fare celebrating romance, the status quo, and the will to succeed in the American male. From callow youth to absent-minded professor, from kindly romantic lead to archetypal dad, MacMurray typified a comfortable and undemanding view of American manhood. Yet, on occasion, and exactly because of his familiarity, he gave disturbing performances that questioned the moral depth of his own brand of pre-packaged wholesome, All-American sincerity.

—Kyle Smith

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## Macon, Uncle Dave (1870-1952)

Uncle Dave Macon, singer, songwriter, and banjo player, was one of the earliest pioneers of country music. Born in 1870 in Smart Station, Tennessee, David Harrison Macon grew up in Nashville in the boarding house run by his parents that was frequented by traveling vaudeville musicians. From them, Macon learned how to play the five-string banjo and numerous old folk songs. However, he grew up to earn his living in the hauling business and performed solely as an amateur at local events until he was discovered at the age of 48 by a talent scout for Loew's theaters. His success brought an invitation to join the new *Grand Ole Opry* radio show in Nashville in 1926, and he quickly became one of its most popular stars, both as a solo performer and with his band, the Fruit Jar Drinkers. "Uncle" Dave was a key link between traditional Southern music and modern country music, introducing nineteenth-century folk styles to modern audiences with songs such as "Way Down the Old Plank Road" and "Roll Down the Line." He played until his death in 1952, and he is honored by the annual Uncle Dave Macon Days three-day festival in Murfreesboro, Tennessee, which features the National Old-Time Banjo championships.

—Timothy Berg

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## Macy's

If New York City is the capitol of American consumerism, then the Macy's department store is its White House. The self-proclaimed largest store in the world, Macy's has been located on Herald Square at 34th St. in Manhattan since 1902. Though Macy's now has retail outlets in shopping centers throughout the nation, the New York City store is a national landmark, its windows spectacularly decorated for the holidays. The Herald Square store, much more than the retailer's other stores, represents the permanence that has made Macy's an American tradition.

Macy's role in American culture has evolved remarkably since Zaccheus Macy and his family operated their first store on Nantucket Island. Throughout the late 1700s, Macy's store filled the general needs of the American whalemens. While the clothing selection has most likely changed a bit, the retail structure that made Macy's work was already in place.

Macy's obtained an unusual position of prominence among American retailers in 1926 when it began hosting New York City's Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade. The huge balloons which parade



Macy's in Herald Square decorated for the Christmas holidays.

around Manhattan and by the Herald Square store have provided an annual reminder of the store's influence. Late in the century, each phase of the parade came under the scrutiny of a media intent on glorifying the holiday tradition, from the filling of the mammoth balloons to the holders who keep the five-story-high Big Bird under control. The television comedy *Seinfeld* even shaped an episode around the characters' interest in serving as holders in the Macy's Parade.

While some of Macy's efforts look to establish the store as an American tradition, expansion into new areas fueled the store's future. After years of hanging back, Macy's and other well-known American retailers embraced a new marketplace: the World Wide Web. With 1.33 million visitors in 1998, Macys.com continues the retailer's long history of serving the American consumer.

—Brian Black

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## *MAD Magazine*

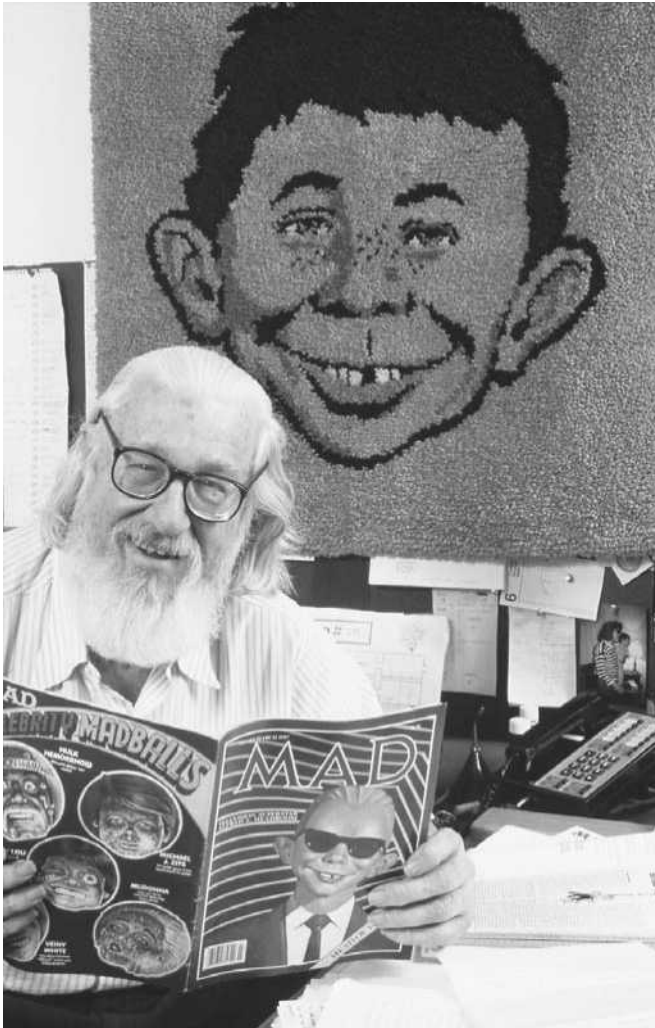
The phenomenon of *MAD* began as a comic book that poked fun at other comic books, but soon became a full-fledged magazine that poked fun at anything and everything. Although a product of the conservative, repressive 1950s, *MAD* was unique among contemporaneous periodicals—or any other media, for that matter—in its zeal to skewer sacred cows. Its satire, lampoons, put-ons and take-offs presented via phantasmagorically comical artwork, made *MAD* a particular success among younger readers. Between the *MAD* fans who came of age with a jaundiced view of the worlds of advertising, politics, and culture, and the *MAD* fans who grew up and actually joined those worlds, the magazine can be said to have become an enormous influence on contemporary American society. Moreover, *MAD*'s influence on entertainment can be seen on everything from the television show *Laugh-In* to music videos on MTV. Unlike many magazines, *MAD* continued to thrive at the end of the twentieth century.

William M. Gaines, born in 1922, was the son of Max Gaines, publisher of comic books under the banner of "EC" or "Educational Comics." When Max died in a boating accident in 1947, William inherited the family business. Under the younger Gaines' supervision, Educational Comics was re-christened Entertaining Comics, and would eventually become known primarily for a line of gritty comics featuring crime, war, science-fiction, and—especially—horror. In the midst of the McCarthy era, Gaines' new grisly books seemed shocking in comparison to other comics. Although there was dark humor in *Tales from the Crypt* and *The Vault of Horror*, EC's war comics—*Two-Fisted Tales* and *Frontline Combat*—distinguished themselves by a seriousness of purpose and a conscious desire to present a deglamorized view of warfare. As traditional comics became darker in tone during the late twentieth century—with Batman evolving into The Dark Knight, and the plots and visuals of many comics resembling R-rated movies, such EC titles as *Tales From the Crypt* and *The Vault of Horror* no longer seemed controversial.

Harvey Kurtzman (1924—), the writer and editor of *Two-Fisted Tales* and *Frontline*, had been educated at New York's High School of Music and Art. When Kurtzman petitioned Gaines for an increase in income, Gaines, who had noted Kurtzman's sly wit creeping into stories written for teen and western titles, offered Kurtzman the opportunity to create a bi-monthly humor book—a *comic* comic book. Although no one is certain how it came to be titled, the first issue of *Tales Calculated to Drive You MAD* was published in autumn of 1952. Kurtzman lampooned the comics he himself liked least, the crime and horror titles. What immediately made *MAD* unique, aside from its irreverent, irrepressible spirit, was the way in which the text and art sparked a comic alchemy which neither could have achieved alone. When Kurtzman's stories were put together with the drawings of Will Elder and John Severin, Jack Davis and Wally Wood, the result resembled a cross between Hieronymous Bosch and the Borscht Belt: The comic frames were littered with visual and verbal non-sequiturs, and the distinct influence of Jewish humor was found on every page, exposing many impressionable middle American children for the first time to Yiddish words like "furshlugginer."

The first issue of *MAD* was far from a success. But by the fourth issue—with its "Superduperman" parody of Superman—*MAD* started to gain popularity. Although Superman's owner, DC Comics, threatened to bring a lawsuit, nothing came of it. Thereafter, *MAD* lampooned and parodied many of the comics with whom it shared newsstand rack space. America's typical teen, "Archie," became





**Publisher William Gaines reads a copy of his *MAD Magazine*.**

juvenile delinquent “Starchie.” Donald Duck became Darnold Duck, finally wreaking his revenge against arch rival, “Mickey Rhodent.” Wonder Woman became “Woman Wonder,” whose boyfriend, Steve Adore, gets a prurient thrill whenever she changes into her super-heroine uniform inside her glass plane. Batman became “Bat Boy,” and Robin became “Rubin,” who discovered to his peril that his companion was “no furshlugginer ordinary bat boy,” he was “a vampire bat boy.” And virtually everybody else in comicdom became Melvin—“Melvin of the Apes,” “Little Orphan Melvin,” “Smilin’ Melvin,” etc. Ever vigilant for new targets, Kurtzman and company cast a wider net and started giving the *MAD* treatment to television shows, with such parodies as “Dragged Net” and “Howdy Doit”; movies, with “Stalag 18,” “Hah! Noon,” “Ping Pong,” and “From Eternity Back to Here.” Classic literature did not escape Kurtzman’s wit: Kurtzman presented the poetry of Poe and others verbatim, but illustrated with incongruous lunacy by *MAD*’s artists. Kurtzman and company even had the audacity to tackle the Army-McCarthy hearings in “What’s My Shine,” which treated the controversial Senate proceedings as if they were a TV game show.

Soon *MAD* was more popular with children and teens than some of the comics it had spoofed. Its unprecedented and unexpected

success led to a host of imitators, none lasting more than a few issues. *MAD*’s popularity would eventually prove a life-saver for Gaines, who, along with other comics publishers, began to come under fire in 1953 from journalists, social critics, and senators for his line of crime and horror comics. The upshot of all this unwelcome attention on the industry was the formation of the Comics Code Authority, which Gaines refused to join, but which enacted a ban against certain words in comics, words such as “horror,” “terror,” and “crime,” words which provided Gaines’ EC with 80 percent of its profits. Pressured by distributors, Gaines eventually abandoned his horror titles. Since *MAD* was just about his only successful title left and since *MAD* did not conform to the Comics Code, Gaines came to an inevitable decision: upgrade *MAD* from comic book to magazine.

In 1955 *MAD* became a magazine, and Al Feldstein became its editor, following disputes between Kurtzman and Gaines. (Kurtzman went on to a long and eventually profitable association with Hugh Hefner.) As a magazine, *MAD* proved more popular than ever. Gracing its covers—usually painted by Kelly Freas—was the magazine’s gap-toothed mascot, Alfred E. Neumann, aka the “What, Me Worry?” kid. The magazine continued to print comics and movie parodies, but added guest contributions from such media notables as Ernie Kovacs, Bob and Ray, Jean Shepherd, and Danny Kaye. Nevertheless, the heart of the magazine was the material contributed by its staff writers, referred to on the masthead as “the usual gang of idiots.” Anything on the American scene, from commerce to culture, was fair game. A parody of the latest hit movie might be juxtaposed with a *MAD* visit to the new phenomenon called Super Markets. The magazine was filled with ads—none of them real, except the ones for *MAD* T-shirts and subscriptions. *MAD*’s policy of never accepting advertising bolstered its position as gadfly and debunker. When Salem Cigarettes, for example, had a slew of magazine and TV ads featuring young lovers in pastel, pastoral settings, *MAD* made its own pastel pastorate, in which a young couple was floating their “Sailem” cigarette packs on the burbling brook; the headline: “Sail ‘em—don’t inhale ‘em!” Peppering each issue of *MAD* would be such nonsense words and catch phrases as “potrzebie,” “I had one grunch but the eggplant over there,” and “It’s crackers to slip a rozzer the dropsy in snide.” When one reader’s letter begged *MAD* to explain this last sentence, *MAD*’s editor helpfully replied: “‘It’s crackers to slip a rozzer the dropsy in snide’ is good advice.”

*MAD*’s general tone of lunacy and irreverence proved infectious. To defend itself against a *MAD*-corrupted generation which had learned to be cynical about marketing ploys, Madison Avenue gradually came to produce more and more ads and commercials which were funny on purpose. It might not be a stretch to consider that those same ad-wary youngsters also grew up to take with a grain of salt the pronouncements of politicians—particularly those politicians who were trying to put those youngsters into uniform and pack them off to Vietnam.

If *The New Yorker* had the dark humor of Charles Addams, *MAD* had its “maddest artist,” Don Martin, whose bizarre fantasies with lantern-jawed, flexible-footed figures have become a staple of the magazine, as has Sergio Aragones’ “Spy vs. Spy.” Considering the primacy of cartooning to *MAD*, it is curious and perhaps unfortunate that no attempt has ever been made to replicate the magazine as an animated film. *MAD*’s venture into the movies, *Up the Academy*, was an embarrassing would-be imitation of *Animal House*. On the other hand, an earlier project for the stage, *The MAD Show*, was a success in New York and on tour, and has been cited as a precursor to the *Laugh-In* television series. Certainly some of the “mad” spirit has been

invested into the *Saturday Night Live* show, and *MAD TV*. *MAD* has permeated American popular culture in many unexpected ways, even appearing on one of Fred Astaire's celebrated TV specials, in which Astaire danced a duet with Barrie Chase while wearing an Alfred E. Neumann mask. Even without Kurtzman and Gaines, *MAD* continued to be popular at the end of the twentieth century, delighting new generations of youngsters who eventually grow up—unlike *MAD*, the perpetual adolescent of periodicals.

—Preston Neal Jones

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## Madden, John (1936—)

John Madden is easily identifiable to several generations of football fans. To those who grew up watching football in the 1960s and 1970s, John Madden is best remembered as the fiery, extremely successful coach of the Oakland Raiders. To those who first began watching football in the 1980s, John Madden is the colorful commentator who can explain the most complicated football in layman's terms. To children of the 1990s, John Madden is the name behind a popular football video game. But John Madden has been more than a coach-turned-broadcaster-turned promoter; he has literally *taught* the game for the last thirty years.

Born on April 10, 1936, in Austin, Minnesota, Madden and his family moved to the San Francisco suburb of Daly City, California, when John was five. In high school, he excelled in baseball and football. He played the latter as a two-way tackle at California Polytechnic College, San Luis Obispo (1957-58), earning all-conference honors. Drafted by the Philadelphia Eagles in the 21st round of the 1958 NFL draft, Madden's playing career ended shortly afterwards with a knee injury. Rather than immediately returning to California, Madden remained in Philadelphia where he learned the basics of football from the Eagles' Hall of Fame quarterback, Norm Van Brocklin.

Madden eventually returned to California, where he earned a Bachelor's degree in 1959 and a Master's degree in 1961 from Cal Poly. From 1960 to 1963, he coached at Hancock Junior College (CA), first as an assistant and then later as head coach. From 1964 to 1966, he served as defensive coordinator under famed coach Don Coryell for the Aztecs of San Diego State College, then the number one small college team in the nation.

In 1967, Madden accepted a job as the linebacker coach for the Oakland Raiders of the American Football League (AFL). Two years

later, at the age of 33, he became the Raiders' head coach, the youngest in AFL history. He took his team to the AFL championship game in his first season, but lost to the Kansas City Chiefs. In 1970, the AFL merged into the National Football League (NFL), with Oakland playing in the Western Division in the new American Football Conference (AFC). During the next nine seasons, Madden's Raiders won the AFC West seven times. In January 1977 (1976 season), Madden led his team to a 32-14 victory over the Minnesota Vikings in Super Bowl XI, becoming the youngest coach to win a Super Bowl. For his efforts, he was named Coach of the Year by the Washington (D.C.) Touchdown Club. Following the 1978 season, Madden retired from coaching.

John Madden's ten-year professional coaching career was one of the more notable in football history. He compiled an impressive record of 112-39-7 (.731). At the time no other NFL coach had won 100 games as quickly. His offensive line was replete with Hall of Famers: Jim Otto, Gene Upshaw, and Art Shell are all enshrined at Canton. On the sidelines, Madden was easily identifiable. Vocal and emotional, the 6-foot-4 inch, 270-pound redheaded Madden could often be seen ranting, raving, and flailing his arms, often at the referees; he was indeed the direct opposite of the conservative, composed Cowboys coach Tom Landry. Moreover, Madden coached at a time when the AFL/AFC was trying to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the older, more storied NFL/NFC. Madden's success contributed to a newfound respect for the junior conference.

In 1980, Madden took his enthusiasm for football into the broadcasting booth with CBS Sports. He quickly became one of football's more popular commentator-analysts, and certainly its most animated. In 1981, Pat Summerall joined the broadcast team; he and Madden have worked together for a record eighteen seasons. Madden also instituted his now famous on-screen chalkboard, on which he explained previous plays to the viewers. In 1994, he switched networks, inking a four-year, \$32 million contract with Fox, a lucrative deal which, at the time, surpassed any NFL player's contract. Since 1982, Madden has won eleven Outstanding Sports Personality/Analyst Emmy Awards. He has also received the Touchdown Club of America's Golden Mike Award, as well as twice being named the Sports Personality of the Year by the American Sportscasters Association (1985, 1992).

Yet Madden is not another coach-turned-broadcaster. His unique popularity lies in his ability to translate his infinite football wisdom into language intelligible to the average home viewer. While many commentators and pre-game shows analyze the details of the game, Madden unabashedly praises the grimy and gritty hustle of players; he names an annual All-Madden team to honor the roughest, meanest, fiercest, and most competitive players. He also hands out a "game turkey" to the most deserving player at the annual Thanksgiving Day game. Madden's "just one of the boys" image has contributed in part to his status as a football icon.

Madden is also known for his well-publicized fear of flying. During his coaching career, he flew because practice schedules and time constraints demanded it. His broadcasting career, though, afforded him more time to travel from game to game. Initially he traveled via train before Greyhound provided him with a custom-built bus known as the Madden Cruiser. From the Madden Cruiser, the burly broadcaster often holds pre-game tailgating parties, yet another reason he is a fan favorite.

In addition to broadcasting, Madden endorses several products, including Ace Hardware, Outback Steak House, and Dr. Pepper. He also lends his name to EA Sportsline *John Madden Football* games,



John Madden during his tenure as head coach of the Oakland Raiders.

the best-selling sports video/computer game of all-time. He is also the author of several books.

As a coach, commentator, and even video game endorser, John Madden has brought football to generations of fans in an entertaining, yet highly intelligent manner. He is a proven teacher of athletes and spectators alike. In essence, John Madden has been the football coach for the common person.

—Matt Kerr

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## Made-for-Television Movies

Beginning as merely an inexpensive way to fill time in a network's schedule in the 1960s, the made-for-television movie has

grown into a staple of network and cable television programming. More made-for-television movies are broadcast on network television each year than movies are released in theaters, and cable channels such as USA Network, Lifetime, and HBO all rely heavily on their own original movies to attract audiences. Although there are inadequacies inherent in the television movie formula—budgets are lower than for theatrical releases, commercial interruptions are distracting, and the television medium is more likely to restrict content than is the motion picture—made-for-television movies have risen in quality and critical acclaim over the years, so that now a made-for-television movie can be quite prestigious, justifiably attracting large audiences among television viewers who are looking for material that they might not find elsewhere.

The first made-for-television movie was planned to be *The Killers*, a 1964 picture directed by Don Siegel and a remake of the 1946 film noir of the same name. Upon completion, the movie was found too violent to be shown on television and was released theatrically instead. *See How They Run*, a thriller about three children being pursued by hitmen, became the first made-for-television film when it aired on NBC in October 1964. Both *The Killers* and *See How They Run* were produced by Universal Studios, the company that pioneered the made-for-television concept and produced the vast majority of them in the first few years of television movies. From the

1964-65 television season through the 1968-69 season there were 38 television movies broadcast; 29 of them were made by Universal. The studio saw four advantages to producing made-for-television movies: many of its television movies also doubled as pilots for future series (*Ironside*; *Columbo*; *Dragnet*; *Marcus Welby, M.D.*; *The Name of the Game*; *The Bold Ones*; *Night Gallery*; and *The Outsider* were all introduced by Universal in this way in the 1960s; so were *Hawaii Five-O* and *Medical Center*, but not by Universal); made-for-television movies could also be released theatrically in other countries, which Universal frequently did with great financial success; an above-average movie designated for television could easily be diverted to American theaters instead (in the 1960s Universal released 17 motion pictures that began as made-for-television movies); and some of Universal's television movies were remakes of its older films, which meant the studio could reuse props, costumes, and sets (the second made-for-television movie, for example, *The Hanged Man*, was a remake of *Ride the Pink Horse*).

By 1969 the television movie had become so popular that ABC scheduled *The Movie of the Week*, a series of films all of which were made for television. At that time, suspense and comedy films dominated, not the social problem movies that later became standard. Male leads were commonplace, usually middle-aged performers who had had successful television careers in the 1950s and 1960s; performers such as John Forsythe, Robert Stack, and Lloyd Bridges became frequent television movie stars. *The Movie of the Week* itself ran for only 90 minutes, with commercials, meaning that the average ABC made-for-television movie was less than an hour and fifteen minutes long. Two-hour movies were still common, however, and *Vanished*, produced by Universal from Fletcher Knebel's political thriller, ran for two consecutive nights in March 1971 for a total of four hours, the first multi-part made-for-television movie. Other noteworthy television movies of this period included *Brian's Song*, about Chicago Bears running back Brian Piccolo and his death from cancer; *My Sweet Charlie*, a film about a close friendship between a black attorney and a pregnant white woman, a role that won Patty Duke the first Emmy ever given to a made-for-television movie; *That Certain Summer*, a sensitive depiction of homosexuality; and *The Night Stalker*, which starred Darren McGavin as reporter Carl Kolchak, who discovers a vampire is loose in Las Vegas. *The Night Stalker* became the highest rated made-for-television movie to date when it aired in 1972, and it is still one of the highest rated television movies ever made, as well as being the acknowledged inspiration for *The X-Files*.

NBC developed a slight variation of the made-for-television movie in 1971 when it introduced *The NBC Mystery Movie*. This was a rotating series of television movies with recurring characters, meaning that each series would be seen once every three or four weeks. When *The NBC Mystery Movie* began, it consisted of *Columbo*, *McMillan and Wife*, and *McCloud*. All three programs were produced by Universal, and all three had appeared previously as made-for-television movies. NBC added a second *Mystery Movie* the next year with three new rotating series, *Madigan*, *Cool Million*, and *Banacek*; and over the next five years many other programs appeared as part of the *Mystery Movie* series of television movies, none of them as successful as the original three. The rotating television movie format remained popular and was still in use in the 1990s.

In the late 1970s the content of made-for-television movies changed somewhat, with women stars becoming more common and some movies dealing with serious social issues. Elizabeth Montgomery emerged as the "Queen of TV movies" with her frequent

appearances in the 1970s and 1980s; she starred in 22 television movies before her death in 1995. (Montgomery's primary competition for television movie queen is Jane Seymour, who had had roles in 39 made-for-television movies or mini-series by 1998; other contenders include Melissa Gilbert with 35; Meredith Baxter with 34; Cheryl Ladd with 27; and Jaclyn Smith with 25.) Perhaps the most acclaimed "social problem" made-for-television movie was *Sybil*, the story of a multiple-personality victim that won an Emmy for Sally Field. Other television movies addressed spousal abuse (*Battered, Intimate Strangers*), rape (*A Case of Rape*), and the physically challenged (*Special Olympics*). One of the most influential of the social dramas was *Walking through Fire*, a 1979 made-for-television movie about a woman with Hodgkin's disease. The success of this movie inspired many similar television films in the 1980s, which some critics sardonically referred to as "disease of the week" movies. In addition to the social problem films of this period, there were many quality literary adaptations in the late 1970s, among them *Captains Courageous*, *The Last of the Mohicans*, and *Too Far to Go*, based on a series of John Updike stories. Many of the literary adaptations were produced by Hallmark Cards as part of its *Hallmark Hall of Fame* series.

Not all television movies of the late 1970s were serious dramas. A generally escapist air permeated network television during this period, and many television movies of the late 1970s reflected that escapism. Action movies were fairly common, supernatural thrillers appeared occasionally, and the success of *Charlie's Angels*, a television movie before it was a series, led to several "jiggle" movies. Typical movies of the time included *Sex and the Married Woman*, *The Initiation of Sarah*, *The Seeding of Sarah Burns*, *Exo-Man*, *The Spell*, *Institute for Revenge*, *Gold of the Amazon Women*, and the highest-rated made-for-television movie of the 1978-1979 season, *Dallas Cowboy Cheerleaders*, one of the first television movies to generate a sequel. Even some of the social problem dramas relied heavily on sensationalism; *Little Ladies of the Night*, a movie about teen prostitutes that remains one of the highest-rated television movies of all time, spent more time showing its cast in various stages of undress than it did addressing the problem of prostitution.

Another trend emerging in the 1970s was the television series revival. *Gilligan's Island*, *The Mod Squad*, and *Dobie Gillis* all were revived as television movies in the 1970s, a practice now quite common. A surprise success in 1979 was the television movie *Elvis*; airing against *Gone with the Wind* and *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest*, the dramatization of the life of Elvis Presley drew bigger audiences than either of the other movies. During the 1978-79 television season, more television movies aired on the three major television networks than were released in theaters. A decade later the ratio of television movies to theatrical movies was almost three to one.

The increasing trend toward serious drama resulted in two particularly controversial made-for-television movies in the early 1980s. *The Day After* depicted a nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union, and the war's aftermath. The film was the subject of much debate before it even aired: some teachers and ministers encouraged families to watch it together and discuss it, nuclear freeze supporters applauded ABC's decision to air the film, and conservative critics feared that it might lead to a relaxed stance toward the Soviets. The movie did become the highest-rated television movie to that date and remains one of the highest rated movies, television or theatrical, ever broadcast. *Something about Amelia* focused on a teenage girl who suffers from an incestuous relationship with her father. The film was rather frank and certainly not innocuous family fare; the casting of *Cheers* star Ted Danson as the father

shocked some viewers. Television movies had certainly matured since their introduction in 1964; indeed, some critics argued that one was more likely to find rewarding drama on television than at the movie theater.

As HBO and other cable channels recognized the need for original programming, they also began making television movies. The first cable television movie, *The Terry Fox Story*, was made for HBO in 1983. Today that cable channel makes dozens of television movies each year, as does its rival, Showtime. HBO in particular has undertaken some ambitious projects, including a biography of Stalin starring Robert Duvall and an adaptation of Randy Shilts's history of AIDS research, *And the Band Played On*. Among basic cable channels, the USA Network is the largest producer of made-for-television movies. USA has been making original movies since 1989, and its 1990 film *The China Lake Murders* is the highest rated made-for-cable movie ever to be broadcast on a nonpremium channel.

—Randall Clark

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## Madonna (1958—)

In late 1983, an unfamiliar, high, piercing female voice emerged on American pop radio with increasing and puzzling frequency. Shortly thereafter, a sexually obsessed, self-involved, and irregularly clad young woman writhed on music video screens in homes and in dance clubs in urban areas across the United States imploring “Everybody” to dance her dance of liberation. The intriguing figure with the jarring voice turned out to be a white neo-disco singer who frequented the bohemian enclaves of lower Manhattan during the early 1980s, seemingly just trying to make it in show business. When asked her real ambition, the young woman told a stunned Dick Clark: “To rule the world.” Madonna Louise Ciccone meant it. Over the course of the next decade, the self-proclaimed “Boy Toy” fought to dominate every corner of the entertainment world with seductive films, consistently successful music, and disturbingly magnetic public gestures, while at the same time expressing a more generous desire to convert everyone to her cause of personal freedom.

Madonna's rise to “world domination” did not come in a vacuum. The Bay City, Michigan native first appeared as a mere aftershock to a series of large and small pop explosions that rocked the music world during the 1980s. After Michael Jackson's thunderous transformation from former child prodigy to Elvis-sized icon, the next tremor came from thirtyish female singer Cyndi Lauper who couched her broad-based feminism in a cloak of gentle weirdness and cute, cuddly charm. Lauper was soon swept aside by the triumph of the young black musician, writer, producer, and singer from Minneapolis once called Prince, who pushed an ethos of sex as salvation in his film *Purple Rain*. While Prince had been performing and fomenting nervous unrest over his themes of overt sexuality at his Warner Bros. record label for several years, it wasn't until he found his place in the post-Jackson hysteria that he crossed over to the mainstream. Not long after Prince's biggest pop moment, the nearly middle-aged blue-collar rocker Bruce Springsteen found himself sucked into the post-Thriller whirlwind. Unlike artist's like Prince, Jackson, and Elvis



Madonna

Presley, whose fame seemed to cause them personal strife, Madonna seemed especially capable of handling her own rise to celebrity.

Madonna Ciccone had a bittersweet childhood in a suburban town in Michigan, losing her mother to breast cancer when Madonna was five years old. As a young adult, Madonna left her studies at the University of Michigan to pursue her career with vigor in New York. Seemingly impervious to most criticism, Madonna trusted her own instincts as she embarked on her own path.

Madonna's initial acceptance by the critical mainstream of rock was, to say the least, chilly. Madonna originally appeared too glossy, too egocentric for the left-leaning, humanist rock critical establishment. It was easy for such critics to like Prince—himself a sexually obsessed, ego-centric male ex-disco singer. He was described as “daring,” and “challenging.” He too had a decidedly less than charming voice, was capable of producing glossy records, yet his violence and machismo saved him from the scorn experienced by Madonna. Even his desire to leave R&B behind in favor of a rock style so whitened that MTV played his videos before they would touch those of the “too black” Michael Jackson earned him immediate praise as another great barrier-smasher in the rock pantheon. Prince was the critics' darling years before he hit it really big.

That Madonna accomplished similar maneuvers from the opposite direction initially earned her derision. When the general music

buying and listening public connected immediately with her, the dissenters wrote her off as a concoction of pure music-biz hype. By early 1985, however, this became an increasingly laborious task. After Madonna's first single, "Everybody," crossed over from the dance charts to *Billboard's* "Hot 100" and her first and second albums, *Madonna* and *Like a Virgin*, had become the latest post-Thriller sensations, she demanded some serious attention.

Madonna is the one performer of all those caught in the mid-1980s pop mania who used it successfully to make her point. Madonna relished the massive attention, knew how to use it to further her personal and artistic interests, and literally had no other ambition than to dominate popular entertainment for as long as possible. If it meant hiring Michael Jackson's manager, she did that; if it meant creating disconcerting publicity stunts that deliberately subverted religious, sexual, and racial mores, she also did that. "Unlike the others, I'd do anything/I'm not the same; I have no shame" she sang in "Burning Up," a single from *Madonna*, her first album. She courted mass attention and her pursuit of it became an essential part of her presentation. Madonna quickly found her voice and it was and remained for a long time a dead-on connection with her audience. Her work needed no further justification. Her personal striving, at first glance so redolent of an 1980s Reagan-era ethic, contrasted intriguingly with her clear ambition to share this sense of limitless possibility with her largely adolescent female audience.

Even as Madonna achieved sensation status, she continued to have critics. *Rolling Stone* magazine accused Madonna of having "one guiding emotion: ambition." While it is difficult to recall any male rocker taken to task for committing that particular infraction, *Rolling Stone* leveled a worse claim: that she had "used her boy-friends" in her climb to the top. "The men who have gotten close to her—tough guys a lot of them—have gotten their hearts broken as often as not." Unlike many other women, Madonna seemed aware of and able to use her sexuality to further her own ideas.

As her popularity increased, many tried to find comparisons and influences. Some tried to equate Madonna to Marilyn Monroe, especially given the 1984 "Material Girl" video, with her take on "Diamonds Are a Girl's Best Friend." But Madonna soon made it clear that she was really nothing at all like Monroe. Madonna projected an image of the self-possessed woman who will get out of life exactly what she wants regardless of what any man might want her to be. She conveyed a strength of will rarely matched by any other pop singer, woman or man.

Madonna had the ability to stir violent emotions. As the years progressed, she used this ability in increasingly daring ways. In one particularly audacious episode, Madonna used a 1989 video for the song "Like A Prayer" (also featured in a simultaneously released Pepsi-Cola commercial) to create a firestorm of barely suppressed racial and sexual anxiety. In the video, Madonna depicted a black man crucified for trying to save a white woman from a gang of white rapists. Catholics were outraged, and Pepsi pulled the more innocuous ad. With 1986's "Papa Don't Preach," Madonna offers an unorthodox pro-choice message rejecting abortion as her personal choice. In another 1986 video, Madonna played with a more serious taboo and depicted a pre-pubescent boy lusting after the sexually potent female pop star. In the early 1990s, Madonna depicted lesbianism in the video for "Like A Prayer," and suffered an interrogation of sorts on ABC's "Nightline" program. She later remarked in a taped interview with MTV that it felt like being called into "the principal's office." She acquitted herself by defending her first amendment rights to artistic expression on the program. By the early 1990s, everyone had

an opinion about Madonna. People were either attracted to her or violently repulsed by her. Some even felt themselves pulled in both directions at once.

But in her 1991 rockumentary *Truth or Dare*, Madonna seemed to lose her focus and simply tried to create controversy for its own sake. And though her book called, simply, *Sex*, featured a series of sexually explicit and sexually violent photographs, its publication elicited indifference instead of outrage. It wasn't that "she went too far," as some thought; it was more that she seemed to be going in circles, trapped in her own idea of her cultural significance.

She did recover from the episode, and continued to have consistent success during the mid-to-late 1990s, a time when many artists were having trouble selling records. By century's end, it was clear for the first time that perhaps Madonna's music was what mattered most of all. It did not take her long to recoup and redouble her efforts in this area. When she made films, she seriously considered the music. Her part in *Evita* remains a musical triumph before it is anything else. Despite her more controlled public presence after the birth of her first daughter in 1996, Madonna's defiance, her shamelessly violent sexuality, her basic honesty of spirit, as well as her ambition, continued to permeate her music. And her first two albums had created an indomitable radio presence that, by the late 1990s, never entirely subsided.

During her rise to fame, Madonna had resisted the censure of some traditionalist "feminists" who insisted her embrace of pure sexuality was counterproductive and had become one of the first artists to stir the cauldron of "political correctness." Her initial self-titled album presented an entirely new persona for a female pop singer. Unlike Cyndi Lauper, Madonna would never write a line like the one Lauper changed for her version of "Girls Just Wanna Have Fun" which claimed "we're not the fortunate ones." Cyndi had imposed a feminist subtext on a song written by a man. But Madonna already considered herself quite fortunate; she reveled in her womanhood even as she drew the very concept into question. She negotiated the idea of sexism carefully: not directly confronting it using traditional means yet never denying its reality. Madonna continued to wear her boy-toy belt buckle beneath her bare navel in the face of resentment on the part of sexists, ultra-conservatives, and protectors of feminism alike.

But in the 1990s, Madonna became the new darling of young feminists who found her work to be a sophisticated critique of post-seventies patriarchy. Young academics padded their curriculum vitas with their "Madonna studies" and this too became a point of controversy among conservative cultural critics. While this is unusual in pop music, it is not unheard of in pop culture; Mae West put across a very similar persona in much tougher times. Cyndi Lauper appealed to a mass audience because she was simply able to cut her feminism with an endearing weirdness and cuddliness. Madonna has never been cuddly; she is not weird either, merely offensive.

Madonna carries this defiant offensiveness right into her singing. Although critics have always questioned Madonna's talent, her longevity has proved the cynics wrong. Madonna's singing is not formally soulful, not tasteful, finally, not actually pleasant. Her voice cuts right through a listener so that the listener is forced to either become involved with her singing or be repelled enough to turn her off—the voice's very offensiveness is absolutely essential to its power. In this she has perhaps more in common with punk originator Johnny Rotten than with master vocalists like Michael Jackson or Sam Cooke or Tammi Terrell or any of a number of others. The sharp, childlike, high and husky tones communicate all the sexuality,

violence, self-possession, and extreme confidence of the image she projects. In her music, the image, the ideas, the voice are all a totality, inseparable.

Madonna sums up her achievement on “Dress You Up,” a very early single and video where she clarifies the breadth, contradiction, and ultimate scope of her ambition. In the complete version of the video, we see what at first appears to be typical rockumentary pre-concert footage of young fans, dressed “up” as Madonna, excitedly heading for a concert. Unlike other similar “live concert” videos by other artists that appeared at this time, there is nothing self-congratulatory about this one; Madonna was out to dress her fans up in whole new way of looking at themselves and their world. Madonna’s projection here, as elsewhere, is essentially about freedom—personal freedom, freedom of expression, perhaps most importantly a freedom from fear. Critic Dave Marsh pointed out early on in his *Rock and Roll Confidential* newsletter that while Cyndi Lauper sings of girls who want to have fun, Madonna is a girl actually having fun without regard for the consequences. The consequences are, of course, of great importance, but Madonna has not solved the riddles of all that which divides and unites men and women. What she did is to bravely attempt to crash through some very limiting barriers to understanding what such freedoms might be about.

—Robin Markowitz

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## Mafia/Organized Crime

From the 1920s onward, the Mafia, and organized crime in general, have retained a hold on the popular imagination. Bank robbers, bootleggers, and Mafia dons have received considerable press, not all unfavorable. Cast as anti-heroes, fictional and real-life mobsters like Al Capone, Vito Corleone, and John Gotti have often been portrayed in a sympathetic light. Drawn with a romantic touch, literary and cinematic Mafiosi, in particular, have been depicted as honorable men, in their own fashion. Their luxurious life-styles have enabled them to serve as anti-Horatio Alger exemplars of the American Dream. The Mafia’s appeal is often ambivalent, as exemplified by the fate that generally befalls even the greatest of the Dons. Nevertheless, it suggests the subversive potential that popular culture possesses: its ability to provoke, incite, or agitate, while challenging established verities.

Organized criminal groups have had a long history in American society. Among the most popular were outlaw bands that ran with the Reno brothers in Indiana or with Jesse James and Cole Younger, who operated out of Missouri, following the Civil War. Dime novels

written in the latter stages of the nineteenth century, songs written by the likes of Woody Guthrie several decades later, and films starring Tyrone Power and Henry Fonda, attested to the staying power of the outlaw image of Jesse and Frank James. The Mafia, author Stephen Fox contends, first emerged in New Orleans following the Civil War, headed by Joseph Machecca, whose parents were Sicilian immigrants. During the 1880s, control of Mafia operations in the city was taken over by Charles and Tony Matranga, who engaged in a power struggle with the Provenzano family.

Around the turn of the century, Irish, Jewish, and “native American” criminal societies still remained largely rooted in their own communities. In Chicago, syndicates controlled criminal activity, led by Mont Tennes’s gambling ring and James “Big Jim” Colosimo’s saloons and prostitution dens. In New York, police lieutenant Charles Becker wielded his vice squad to ensure protection payments. While no national organization had yet emerged, talk soon abounded of conspiratorial fixes of one kind or another. Such scuttlebutt thrived in the wake of the 1919 World Series, in which several members of the heavily favored Chicago White Sox cast their lot with gamblers to ensure Chicago’s defeat at the hands of the Cincinnati Reds. The “Big Fixer” was reputed to be New York gambler Arnold Rothstein, later immortalized in F. Scott Fitzgerald’s *The Great Gatsby*.

“He’s a gambler,” Gatsby hesitated, then added coolly: “He’s the man who fixed the World Series back in 1919.”

“Fixed the World Series?” I repeated. The idea staggered me. It never occurred to me that one man could start to play with the faith of fifty million people—with the singlemindedness of a burglar blowing a safe. “How did he happen to do that?” I asked after a minute.

“He just saw the opportunity.”

“Why isn’t he in jail?”

“They can’t get him, old sport. He’s a smart man.”

A different kind of fix cropped up as the Volstead Act, which officially ushered in Prohibition, became effective on the morning of January 7, 1920. For the first time, illegal commodities began to be distributed on a nationwide basis, while the numbers of syndicates mushroomed. Smuggling, moon-shining, and bootlegging all thrived. Important too was Benito Mussolini’s takeover of power in Italy, his efforts to reign in the Mafia, and the migration of Mafiosi—such as Joe Bonanno and Joe Profaci—to the United States. Major east coast syndicates—the “Big Seven”—were headed by underworld chieftains like Charles “Lucky” Luciano, Frank Costello, Benjamin “Bugsy” Siegel, and Meyer Lansky. Most, along with Al Capone and important syndicate figures from the Midwest, appeared in Atlantic City in 1929 to attend what some analysts refer to as organized crime’s first national convention; others point to a 1928 meeting in Cleveland featuring mobsters from the East, South, and Midwest. Ties to political machines continued, with Italians, Poles, and other groups joining the Irish in establishing such connections. In Chicago, Capone performed that function for Italians and Sicilians. By the mid-1920s, Capone supplanted Johnny Torrio as the head of a vast syndicate. New York’s top underworld figure was Giuseppe “The Boss” Masseria, who ran vice operations in Brooklyn and Manhattan. In 1930, Masseria and Salvatore Maranzano battled for control of the Italian underworld. Maranzano agreed to end a crime war, provided that Masseria’s lieutenants, Lucky Luciano and Vito



The body of Mafia boss Albert Anastasia lies on the floor of the barbershop at the Park Sheraton Hotel in New York after his murder, 1957.

Genovese, murdered their chieftain. Luciano then orchestrated the killing of Maranzano, who was demanding allegiance from family bosses nationwide. Subsequently, Luciano spearheaded policy, narcotic, and prostitution syndicates. With Prohibition's repeal, crime bosses also took control of several liquor dealerships.

Throughout this era, organized crime had a hand in a host of entertainment venues. Gangsters controlled top nightclubs such as Chicago's Grand Terrace, Harlem's Cotton Club, and Kansas City jazz joints along Twelfth and Eighteen Streets; connected managers also shepherded musical greats like Duke Ellington and Louis "Satchmo" Armstrong. Mobsters were likewise involved in the fight game, including boxing's most prestigious division before Joe Louis captured the heavyweight crown in 1937. Long afterwards, fixes, real and imagined, were hinted at throughout professional boxing, involving such luminaries as Jake LaMotta, Sugar Ray Robinson, Rocky Marciano, and Sonny Liston. The same held true for horse racing, with federal agents discovering in 1934 that over 300 horses had received narcotic injections to induce faster performances. Wielding his racing sheets and the *Nationwide News Service* that reported on

developments at the tracks, Moe Annenberg became a powerful organized crime figure, before serving time for tax evasion. The *New York Daily Mirror's* gossip columnist Walter Winchell constantly received tidbits from mobsters like Capone and Frank Costello. Damon Runyon, William Randolph Hearst's top feature writer, penned tales like *Guys and Dolls*—eventually a Broadway and Hollywood smash—that portrayed mobsters as amiable in their own fashion. Entertainers prone to gambling, such as Joe E. Lewis, George Raft, and Milton Berle, became associated with connected figures.

In the early 1930s, as the Great Depression afflicted the American landscape, a series of well-received gangster films were released by Hollywood, some based on real-life events and underworld elements. Gangsters appeared in the guise of truck-drivers, slum kids, Italian immigrants, and stockyard laborers, in such films as *Quick Millions* and *The Secret Six*. The tales of Tommy Powers, played by Jimmy Cagney in *Public Enemy*, Tony Camonte, starring Paul Muni in *Scarface*, and Rico, performed by Edward G. Robinson in *Little Caesar*, read like the rise and fall of organized crime figures. Tommy emerged from the Irish ghetto, determined to live by his wits and to



have it all: expensive clothes, sleek cars, and penthouses. Tony, a Capone-like character, took over from his Torrio-styled boss, before his own human frailties doomed him. Rico ascended to the very top of the organized crime ladder, but was felled by hubris, “a figure out of a Greek epic tragedy,” as Mordaunt Hall, a *New York Times* film critic, referred to him. The gangster film’s early heyday was 1930-1932, but its impact lingered, as exemplified by its cynical, rapid-fire, topical quality, as well as its sharp dialogue and naturalistic approach. Gangsterism remained a popular genre, with over 900 such films purportedly made before 1970. Robinson and Cagney alone appeared in 29 and 16 gangster films, respectively.

While FBI director J. Edgar Hoover continued to deny the existence of organized crime, some of its top figures faced criminal indictments. In late 1931, Capone was sentenced to eleven years in prison for tax evasion, a prosecution assisted by prominent Chicago businessmen; in public folklore, Elliot Ness and his “Untouchables,” later immortalized in the television series of the same name, brought Capone down. Five years later, Luciano began serving a 30-50 year sentence, a conviction obtained by New York City district attorney Thomas E. Dewey. During that same period, legends regarding the crime-fighting prowess of the Bureau of Investigation—renamed the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1935—mushroomed, with Hoover receiving considerable positive press as the nation’s “Number One G-Man.” That reputation hardly resulted from the FBI’s efforts in reigning in organized crime, but rather drew from tales of its agents’s encounters with bank robbers like Charles “Baby Face” Nelson, Pretty Boy Floyd, and John Dillinger.

Organized crime’s reach widened, with a focus on gambling, labor racketeering, loan-shark operations, narcotics, and prostitution. Increasingly, profits garnered from such illegal activities were invested in legitimate or semi-legitimate businesses, including hotels, restaurants, and entertainment enterprises. In Louisiana, Florida, and Nevada, mobsters from back east set up plush gambling casinos. Costello and Dany Phil Kastel constructed the Beverly Club, just outside of New Orleans. In Miami Beach, Costello, Lansky, Siegel, and Joe Adonis financed the Colonial Inn, another gambling showcase. Throughout the Miami Beach area, Costello also took control of horse tracks, dog tracks, and bookie joints. He purchased real estate, bars, hotels, restaurants, a radio station, and other commercial enterprises. Capone’s influence spread through the Midwest and on to Dallas, Texas, where the newly elected sheriff, Steve Guthrie, was promised an annual income of \$150,000 to allow “clean” operations to thrive. These included “horse booking, slot machines, dice, numbers, everything.” While Guthrie refused to go along, a Chicago hoodlum, Jacob Rubenstein—who referred to himself as Jack Ruby—remained in town. Las Vegas acquired still greater allure for mobsters, including Siegel, Lansky, and Capone. Among the hotels organized crime helped to establish were the Flamingo, the Desert Inn, the Thunderbird, the Sands, the Riviera, the Stardust, the Dunes, and the Tropicana.

During World War II and its aftermath, the federal government’s response to organized crime proved highly contradictory. In 1945, Dewey, now serving as governor of New York, commuted Luciano’s sentence, allegedly because the mob boss had helped to prevent sabotage on the docks. Then in 1950, Estes Kefauver, chairman of the Special Senate Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in the United States, began holding public hearings throughout the land. Reliance on the Fifth Amendment—“I decline to answer on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me”—hardly served the organized figures well. Televised hearings, watched by an estimated

30 million viewers, captured mobsters like Costello, now head of the family previously spearheaded by Genovese and Luciano, and his unsteady hands. The Kefauver committee reported dealings between Costello and top New York City politicians, including former district attorney and mayor William O’Dwyer. Costello was convicted of contempt of Congress and tax evasion. Writing in *The Nation* in early 1957, Sidney Lens discussed the overall makeup of organized crime: “It is a loose federation, highly centralized in some respects (such as dealing out ‘justice’ to its traitors), but decentralized in execution of business ventures. . . . It is certainly not a membership organization. It is more of a loosely-knit force with tens of thousands of ‘fellow-travelers.’”

Talk of a more elaborate crime structure soon developed. A police raid in Apalachin, New York, in November 1957, resulted in the holding of Genovese, Joe Bonanno, Carlo Gambino, and several other syndicate big-shots. Promises of deportations and tax examinations proved illusory, but a conspiracy trial began in May 1959 involving many of the participants at the Apalachin gathering. The issue of ethnicity was not far from the surface as indicated by a *Newsweek* analysis: “Actually, the old Mafia, with its blood feuds and black hands, has changed. It no longer is the Murder, Inc., division that enforced mob discipline . . . The nation’s crime syndicates are not directed by a sort of underworld holding company. The group doesn’t call itself the Mafia, but others do, because most of the top executives are Sicilians and other southern Italians.” The Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations headed by John McClellan explored organized crime’s ties to labor organizations, particularly the Teamsters; John F. Kennedy was a member of the subcommittee, while his younger brother Robert served as chief counsel. Discussion of the Mafia appeared more frequently in popular publications, while academic explorations of the subject heightened. *The Enemy Within*, written by Robert F. Kennedy, was published in 1960, relating his involvement with McClellan’s subcommittee while focusing on Dave Beck and Jimmy Hoffa of the Teamsters. In 1963, Joseph Valachi, testifying before McClellan’s subcommittee, traced the evolution of organized crime—which he referred to as the Cosa Nostra—while focusing on developments in New York City. Valachi also discussed the Apalachin meeting, reputedly held by the Mafia’s Grand Council or the Commission of the Cosa Nostra, thus seemingly verifying organized crime’s existence. Following the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in Dallas on November 22, 1963, talk of organized crime involvement proliferated, including participation by Louisiana don Carlos Marcello.

Following Valachi’s testimony, media interest in the Mafia immediately heightened once more, and a firestorm arose regarding publication of *The Valachi Papers*. Charges that ethnic groups—particularly Italians and Jews—were being slandered arose, and 22 publishers turned down Maas’s book before Putnam agreed to print it in 1969. It proved to be a bestseller, as did another book published that year: Mario Puzo’s *The Godfather*. In contrast to Mickey Spillane’s hard-boiled approach, Puzo devised a businessman protagonist who ran any number of illegal enterprises. Simply put, Puzo’s heroic anti-hero controlled a Mafia organization, and he did so relying on longstanding relationships and family—blood—ties. Puzo’s approach involved returning to earlier characterizations of organized crime as ethnically-driven. Shaped by a distinctive Italianness, *The Godfather* also employed, as Dwight C. Smith, Jr. noted, the word “Mafia” scores of times, “mafioso” eleven times, and “cosa nostra” twice. *The Godfather* traced Vito Corleone’s rise to organized crime preeminence, and the syndicate’s subsequent takeover by his son Michael,

the reluctant new Don, who proved to be as ruthless as his father. Reviewers perceived the book to be about “America’s most powerful and least understood subculture, the Mafia.” Fred Cook insisted that “if anyone wants to know about the power of the Mafia . . . Mario Puzo’s brawling, irresistible tale brings the reality home more vividly and realistically than the drier stuff of fact ever can. . . . *The Godfather* is deeply imbedded in reality.” But most important, Smith argued, was why *The Godfather* resonated so fully. “Its success was a matter of timing. The public was ripe for a book that would demonstrate the ‘reality’ of the twenty-year campaign of the law-enforcement community to depict organized crime as an evil, alien, conspiratorial entity comprised of Italians bearing the ‘Mafia’ label.”

While the first two cinematic-versions of *The Godfather* proved to be huge commercial and artistic successes, the return of the gangster genre had not awaited Puzo’s best-selling novel. Arthur Penn’s *Bonnie and Clyde* was released in 1967, and portrayed Depression-era bank-robbers Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow, played by a radiant Faye Dunaway and the dashing Warren Beaty, in a heroic light. However, the box-office smashes that *Godfathers I and II* proved to be, in addition to Francis Ford Coppola’s receipt of best Oscars for film direction in 1972 and 1974, resulted in a new spate of gangster films like *The Untouchables* and *GoodFellas*.

Also appearing, in books and on film, were the memoirs of organized crime figures, including those of Joe Bonanno, Jimmy the Weasel Fratianno, Willie Sutton, and others. Before 1980, only Valachi and Fratianno had reneged on the Mafia code of silence or *omerta*; Gay Talese’s 1971 book, *Honor Thy Father*, had benefited from a series of interviews undertaken with Joe Bonanno’s son Bill, a crime figure in his own right. Now, an increasing number of figures did so, including Sammy “the Bull” Gravano, one-time lieutenant of the Gambino crime family, and other high ranking members of various families.

From the 1970s onward, organized crime spread its tentacles still further, delving into child prostitution, banking, and environmental schemes. Reports indicated, however, that the Mafia’s influence had lessened, thanks to defections by key players-turned government witnesses, deadly internecine squabbles, and concerted prosecutorial action by local and federal officials. Newer bands of organized criminals emerged, including outlaw motorcycle groups, black gangs, and new immigrant groups. The bikers specialized in synthetic drugs popular during the period, including speed, PCP, and LSD. At the same time, black hoodlums shifted from gambling to drugs, including heroin and cocaine. Southeast Asian, Caribbean, South American, and Eastern European groups, among others, also became involved in the sale of narcotics and arms. All appeared in cinematic guise as foils for top stars like Mel Gibson, Danny Glover, Harrison Ford, and Michael Douglas.

—Robert C. Cottrell

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## *The Magnificent Seven*

“They were seven—and they fought like seven hundred!” screamed the posters for this 1960 western film, which spawned a number of sequels and helped launch the careers of Steve McQueen, James Coburn, and Charles Bronson. Remade from Akira Kurosawa’s Japanese classic *The Seven Samurai*, the picture’s macho élan lifts it above the formulaic and into the high canon of film.

Directed by Hollywood craftsman John Sturges, *The Magnificent Seven* starred Yul Brynner, still basking in the glory of his star turns in *The King and I* (1956) and *The Brothers Karamazov* (1958). Brynner plays Chris Adams, the laconic leader of a band of seven gunmen recruited by a Mexican farming village to defend it from an army of 100 bandits. McQueen, naturally, is the hotshot marksman of the bunch. Eli Wallach is inexplicably cast—and surprisingly effective—as the head bandito, providing the precedent for a similar turn as a Mexican rogue six years later in *The Good, The Bad, and the Ugly*.

Sturges’ film has none of the technical wizardry of the Kurosawa original. *The Seven Samurai*’s innovative use of slow motion, a rapidly moving camera, and long-lens photography had helped capture the ferocious conflict in a series of spectacular battle sequences. Sturges opts for more conventional shoot-’em-up scenes that derive their impact from the audience’s empathetic association with the main characters. With his black hat and limited vocabulary, Brynner is the epitome of western cool, almost iconic in his glacial stoicism. By contrast, McQueen is still working on the brash rebel persona he



*The Magnificent Seven* (l-r) Steve McQueen, James Coburn, Horst Buchholz, Yul Brynner, Eli Wallach, Robert Vaughn, and Charles Bronson.

would later perfect in films like *Bullitt* (1968), *The Cincinnati Kid* (1965), and Sturges' own *The Great Escape* (1963). The latter film is notable in its use of many of the same actors, large ensemble cast, and the exploration of male bonding to the exclusion of all other themes (*Magnificent Seven*, to its credit, at least has a few female characters).

That guys love *The Magnificent Seven* cannot be denied, especially male filmmakers. The film's visual style and antiheroic iconography clearly influenced Sergio Leone and the other pioneers of "spaghetti western" cinema. Clint Eastwood's steely-eyed "Man with No Name" would have fit in perfectly with this band of trigger-happy fatalists. In its time, though, the film was only a moderate hit, though Elmer Bernstein's bombastic score was nominated for an Oscar. The fact that it did not set the world on fire was perhaps a sign that the days of the big Hollywood western were over.

*The Magnificent Seven* spawned three sequels, each one less interesting than the last. Yul Brynner returned as Chris for 1966's *Return of the Seven*. He passed on the hero's reins—figuratively and literally—to the less-compelling George Kennedy in 1969's *Guns of the Magnificent Seven*. Completing the cycle's descent into made-for-TV-style mediocrity was 1972's execrable *The Magnificent Seven Ride!* starring Lee Van Cleef, Mariette Hartley, and a young Gary Busey. No one was surprised when the property was spun into a short-lived television series in 1998. In an odd sidelight, a character named Chris (his last name changes from version to version) appears in all four iterations of the concept.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## *Magnum, P.I.*

The 1980s CBS television series *Magnum, P.I.* was created to take advantage of the Hawaiian facilities built by CBS to produce *Hawaii 5-0*. On the surface, *Magnum* was a standard private eye drama, starring preternaturally handsome Tom Selleck as Thomas Magnum. The series' early success started a boomlet of crime dramas with good-looking male leads. However, it was the underlying subtext that set *Magnum* apart—the Vietnam veteran as hero. While *Magnum* was not the first series to feature Vietnam vets, it was the first to have Vietnam as a subtext, and the show set off a mid-1980s trend of heroes with Vietnam backgrounds, including *The A-Team*, *Riptide*, *Stingray*, and *Miami Vice*. Previously portrayed mostly as victims of post-traumatic stress, the success of these series changed the way Vietnam was viewed, at least in popular culture.

In the pilot, which aired December 11, 1980, former Navy lieutenant Thomas Magnum was hired by mysterious millionaire pulp writer Robin Masters to test the security of his Hawaiian estate, Robin's Nest. Magnum successfully evaded the Dobermans, Zeus and Apollo, and the estate's major domo, Higgins, and thus became the estate's new security chief, living in its guesthouse. Magnum's presence rankled Jonathan Quayle Higgins (John Hillerman), the very British former military commando, to no end. Higgins, forever writing his memoirs of years in military service in Africa and Asia, regarded Magnum as a nuisance. Eventually, however, they bonded through their experiences in war.

The Masters estate became the base of Magnum's struggling private investigation operation. Magnum was often aided in his investigations, usually unwillingly, by two of his fellow vets—Marines Theodore "T.C." Calvin (Roger E. Mosley) and Orville "Rick" Wright (Larry Manetti). Magnum continually "borrowed" T.C.'s chopper, Rick's underworld contacts, and Robin Masters's red Ferrari to solve crimes and protect people on the estate. Higgins eventually became another unwilling helper in Magnum's investigations.

*Magnum* became much more than a standard-issue action drama due to co-creator Donald Bellisario, himself a former Marine (who would later create *Quantum Leap* and *JAG*). Bellisario turned the series into a meditation on Vietnam and friendship. Glen Larson had created Magnum as an ex-CIA agent, a playboy freeloading on the estate, much in the mold of his other successful action series, *Knight Rider*. Bellisario was brought in when Selleck objected. Bellisario changed Magnum into the Vietnam veteran of Naval intelligence and added Rick and T.C.

In the first six years of *Magnum*, Vietnam was practically another character. The pilot tied smuggled gold to a member of Magnum's commando team in Vietnam, and introduced Rick and T.C. as members of that team, all marked by their *croix de guerre* rings (the symbol of the French Resistance). In the second season Magnum's long lost wife Michele (who wears her croix on a pendant) returned from Vietnam, then went back as a spy. In various episodes, Magnum had Vietnam flashbacks, which usually tied the past into the present day plot. These cinematic flashbacks, the other Vietnam references, the sometimes psychic flashes of Magnum, marked *Magnum* as different, as did Selleck's voiceovers of Magnum's thoughts, one of the few times this has been done in series television. Within those monologues, Magnum often referred to his "little voice," a variation on his conscience, that warned him of danger. The little voice was always counseling him and making the leaps of intuition he needed to escape or solve the crime.

Once Bellisario left during the sixth season and Selleck and other producers took over, *Magnum* became a more traditional detective show. The series was to end in 1987, and the finale depicted Magnum dying and going to heaven, complete with cameos by all the recurring characters. However, the series came back for one more year and the death became near-death. The two-hour series finale airing May 1, 1988 was highly rated and wrapped up the series: Magnum gained custody of Lily (his daughter with Michele), abruptly quit the private eye business, and rejoined the Navy. Rick married, and it was implied that Higgins might be in reality the unseen Robin Masters. Since the series' end, there have been rumors it may be revived in movie form.

—Michele Lellouche

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## Mah-Jongg

Mah-Jongg, an ancient gambling game which originated among the Chinese ruling class over 2000 years ago, gained widespread popularity in the United States from the 1930s, particularly as a leisure pastime among American Jewish women. Recognized the world over by its ritualized play and the satisfying clack of tile against tile, Mah-Jongg is a complicated four-handed game, whose rules are similar to the card game rummy. It is played with 152 tiles, colorfully painted with three suits (bamboo, characters, and dots), four winds, eight flowers, and three dragons. The popularity of the game spread through all classes in China and soon throughout Asia and the world, with different versions evolving in Japan, the Philippines, Europe, and the United States. Since 1937, The National Mah-Jongg League has governed the rules of the American game, although enthusiasm for Mah-Jongg faded at the end of the 1960s, due in part to the increasing popularity of contract bridge. However, during the 1980s and 1990s, the game began to enjoy something of a renaissance as nostalgic baby-boomers sought to revive the once-favored social pastime of their mothers.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Mailer, Norman (1923—)

With the publication of his brilliant first novel *The Naked and the Dead* (1948), Norman Mailer established himself as the next important writer of his age; and indeed, over the next five decades, he has fulfilled that promise many times over. Mailer's literary output has been extraordinary—over 30 volumes of fiction and nonfiction; his prolificness, in fact, is matched only by the prodigiousness of his public persona. But his work has consistently aroused controversy and elicited as much scorn as acclaim. Even today—after garnering numerous literary awards, including the National Book Award and two Pulitzer Prizes, and after being repeatedly mentioned as a contender for the Nobel Prize—Mailer is as relentlessly criticized by detractors for his views on sex, violence, and politics as he is applauded by admirers for his bold experimentation. Yet the essential Mailer remains elusive, a kind of curiosity to many of his critics and readers, who seem unable to agree on the literary merits of his books, the quality of his ideas, or his ultimate place in American letters.

The critical disagreement results in part from the protean nature of Mailer's work. Since 1941, the year he won first prize in *Story* magazine's annual college contest, Mailer has written widely, if not always well. In addition to poetry (*Deaths for the Ladies, and Other Disasters*, 1962), drama (*The Deer Park—A Play*, 1967), and screenplays (such as *Maidstone*, 1971, scripted for one of the experimental films he produced), Mailer has explored numerous prose forms,

including autobiography, biography (*Marilyn*, 1973 and *Pablo and Fernande: Portrait of Picasso as a Young Man: An Interpretive Biography*, 1995), novella (the graphic, erotic *The Time of Her Time*, included in *Advertisements for Myself*, 1959), short stories (*Short Fiction*, 1967), sports reportage (*The Fight*, 1975, about the Ali-Foreman championship match in Zaire), political reportage (*St. George and the Godfather*, 1972, and his other accounts of the national conventions and of contemporary events like the march on the Pentagon), literary criticism (*Genius and Lust*, 1976, his extended commentary on the works of Henry Miller), interviews, essays, newspaper columns, letters, book reviews, and memoirs. Although Mailer considers himself above all a novelist, his versatility has defied easy categorization, and his forays outside of high culture have occasionally confounded even his strongest supporters.

Moreover, Mailer has helped to undermine his own reputation as a serious writer by his tireless self-promotion and his penchant for celebrity. "Every time I get into the newspapers," he once remarked, "I injure myself professionally." To be sure, much of Mailer's life reads like the stuff of fiction: his six marriages, including his stabbing of second wife Adele, for which he was briefly jailed and committed to Bellevue Hospital; his legal and financial problems; his pugnaciousness and affinity for drugs and alcohol; his co-founding of the *Village Voice*; his ubiquitousness as a television talk show guest; his politics, including his costly campaign for mayor of New York City; his odd personal alliances with people like convicted murderer Jack Henry Abbott (whose prison letters Mailer helped to get published and whose release he facilitated, only to have Abbott kill again); and his public feuds (with, among others, writers Gore Vidal, whom he punched out at a party, and former friend William Styron). Mailer, in turn, has transformed that outrageous life into the stuff of his own popular essays and fiction. But such melding of life and art has led many critics to analyze and dissect the figure behind the books rather than to judge the quality of the books themselves. His "crude celebrity," as Vidal dubbed it, has made Mailer's name familiar to readers and non-readers alike and assured his status as a literary personality; but Mailer is still struggling to achieve universal admiration as a true literary "champ."

Born in Long Branch, New Jersey, in 1923 and raised in Brooklyn, Mailer graduated with honors from Harvard in 1943 with a degree in aeronautical engineering. Drafted by the Army in early 1944, Mailer served as a rifleman with a combat unit in the South Pacific. After his discharge two years later, he returned to Brooklyn, where he began his celebrated first novel, a realistic and naturalistic account of the dialectic contest between authoritarian General Cummings and his liberal aide Lieutenant Hearn (a contest that recurs in much of Mailer's later fiction) and of the fates of the other members in their platoon on the fictional island of Anopopei.

In the two novels that followed, Mailer shifted his artistic focus from the omniscient narrator who probed the consciousness of the multiple characters in *The Naked and the Dead*, to more existential first-person narratives that redefine the role of the hero in an unheroic world. Despite its bold depiction of Cold War American politics and idealism, however, *Barbary Shore* (1951) was a critical and popular failure; and, while *The Deer Park* (1955) received more favorable reviews, it too was panned for its sexual explicitness and cynicism. Several collections of Mailer's prose pieces, many of them attacking technological society, appeared over the next decade: *Advertisements for Myself* (1959), which included such important essays as "The White Negro," his Beat-influenced treatise on the hipster-hero; *The Presidential Papers* (1963); and *Cannibals and Christians* (1966).

Mailer returned to fiction with *An American Dream* (1965), the compelling story of Stephen Rojack's regeneration through sex and violence, and *Why Are We in Vietnam?* (1967), in which a bear hunt serves as a metaphor for America's involvement in Vietnam. He continued his reflections on the American character in nonfictional works like *The Armies of the Night* (1968), a disarmingly passionate and award-winning account of the 1967 march on the Pentagon; *Miami and the Siege of Chicago* (1968), about that year's tumultuous political conventions; *Of a Fire on the Moon* (1970), an analysis of the first lunar landing; and *The Prisoner of Sex* (1971), a critical examination of the women's movement that incurred the wrath of feminists and launched a series of vitriolic attacks on Mailer as well as on his work—one reviewer dismissed *Prisoner* as "dribble: long and continuous."

Much of Mailer's writing during the 1970s focused on famous and infamous Americans, including Marilyn Monroe (in *Marilyn*, 1973, and again in *Of Women and Their Elegance*, 1980), Muhammad Ali (in *The Fight*, 1975), and murderer Gary Gilmore, the first person to be executed in the United States in over a decade (in *The Executioner's Song*, 1979). *Ancient Evenings*, the massive and surprisingly successful novel of epistemological adventure in ancient Egypt that Mailer began in 1971, was finally published in 1983 and was followed by other spirited works, such as the bestselling murder mystery *Tough Guys Don't Dance* (1984), one of several of Mailer's books to be adapted to film. *Harlot's Ghost* (1991)—another lengthy novel, about CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) operations over two generations—*Oswald's Tale: An American Mystery* (1995)—in which Mailer returns to his "nonfiction fiction" narrative techniques to explore the mind of Kennedy's assassin Lee Harvey Oswald—and *The Gospel According to the Son* (1997)—an unconventional "autobiographical" retelling of portions of the Biblical story—mark his most work of the late twentieth century.

Ambitious, egotistical, often controversial, always entertaining—Mailer continues to do what he has done so well for more than half a century: to challenge and to provoke with his ideas and techniques. Arguably "the greatest writer to come out of his generation" (as Sinclair Lewis declared), Mailer is unquestionably one of that generation's most astute social observers and literate spokespersons.

—Barbara Tapa Lupack

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## Malcolm X (1925-1965)

Born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1925, Malcolm X was the son of a freelance Baptist preacher who followed the



Malcolm X, speaking at a rally in Harlem, New York City.

teachings of black nationalist leader Marcus Garvey. Following threats on his father from the local Ku Klux Klan, Malcolm and his family moved to Lansing, Michigan. There, in the face of similar threats, Malcolm's father defiantly continued to urge African Americans to take control of their lives, a stand that cost him his life when the Klan-like Black Legion murdered him in 1931. Although found with his head crushed and nearly severed from his body, authorities deemed the death a suicide. As a result, the Littles were denied much-needed insurance benefits. The family deteriorated rapidly as welfare workers sought to turn the children against each other and their mother. Ultimately, Malcolm was removed from his mother's care at age six and placed in a foster home. Shortly thereafter, his mother suffered a mental breakdown from which she never recovered.

In 1941, Malcolm moved to Boston to live with his half-sister, but soon quit school and drifted into the urban underworld of narcotics, prostitution, gambling, and burglary. Known as "Detroit Red," Malcolm was arrested for robbery in 1946 and sentenced to prison. There, he first learned the importance of education, reading and copying the entire dictionary and then moving on to devour works of history, politics, and literature. Later, at the urging of his siblings, Malcolm converted to the Nation of Islam, or Black Muslims, an

ascetic sect that brought discipline into the lives of its members, especially those in prison. Upon joining the Nation of Islam, Malcolm abandoned his "slave name" in favor of Malcolm X, the "X" standing for his lost African name.

After serving six years in prison, Malcolm was released in 1952 and immediately traveled to Detroit to meet Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad. Assigned to Temple No. 7 in Harlem, Malcolm quickly emerged as the sect's most dynamic minister. His charisma helped boost membership in the Nation of Islam to an estimated 40,000 by 1960. The Nation of Islam preached strict moral purity and the superiority of the black race. Like Garvey's followers in the 1920s, Black Muslims denounced whites as "blue-eyed devils," opposed integration, and called for black pride, independent black institutions, and, ultimately, a separate black nation. Only after African Americans were united, Malcolm insisted, could they contemplate integration with whites.

In contrast to Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, advocacy of non-violence, integration, and inter-racial harmony, Malcolm X utilized fiery rhetoric to launch an uncompromising and fearless assault on America's racial hypocrisy at home and abroad. When confronted by a violent white oppressor, he argued, the oppressed must use "any

means necessary” to achieve their liberation. “‘Afro-Americans should not be victims any longer. . . ,” he declared. “‘Bloodshed is a two-way street. . . , dying is a two-way street. . . , killing is a two-way street.’” By 1963, Malcolm, not Martin, appeared most often on TV screens, in newspaper interviews, and in public forums. Often surrounded by menacing body guards, speaking with determined confidence, and jabbing his finger in the air to underscore his points, Malcolm made an unforgettable impression, eliciting admiration among many black Americans and fear among whites. Civil rights leaders committed to non-violence and integration publicly repudiated his separatist message and his advocacy of armed self-defense.

Malcolm X became restive, though, as the Nation of Islam failed to join the rising tide of civil rights activity. Convinced that Elijah Muhammad was not sincere, a view validated by evidence of corruption within the organization and compounded by Muhammad’s mounting jealousy of Malcolm’s blossoming personal influence, Malcolm X’s relationship with the Nation of Islam began to falter. Malcolm’s public assertion in 1963 that President John F. Kennedy’s assassination amounted to “‘chickens coming home to roost” gave Muhammad reason to suspend him. During this suspension, Malcolm traveled to Mecca and throughout North Africa where he discovered Orthodox Islam. Upon his return to the United States in 1964, Malcolm shifted his ethical stance. Still convinced that racism “‘corroded the spirit of America” and that only black people could free themselves, Malcolm rejected racism of all kinds, spoke of a common bond linking humanity, and conceded that some whites did want to end racism. He also formally broke with the Nation of Islam and changed his name to El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz, a move which reflected his Mecca pilgrimage. In June of 1964, Malcolm X founded the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), moved increasingly in the direction of socialism, and expressed growing interest in China. Still in transition, on February 21, 1965, Malcolm X was assassinated by three Black Muslim loyalists as he spoke in a Harlem ballroom.

As Malcolm X had predicted in his autobiography, he would become more important in death than life. Malcolm’s message profoundly influenced the development of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Black Power, the Black Panther Party, and George L. Jackson. The anger that Malcolm sought to channel into political action exploded in the 1965 Watts riot and the string of rebellions culminating in Newark and Detroit in 1967. By the 1990s, Malcolm X had become a folk hero to African Americans living in decaying American cities. Rap artists chanted his words; murals, hats, T-shirts, and posters displayed his piercing gaze; and filmmaker Spike Lee memorialized his life in a 1992 feature film. In death, Malcolm has come to symbolize racial pride, dignity, self-defense, and human transcendence.

—Patrick D. Jones

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## Mall of America

Since opening its doors in 1992, Bloomington, Minnesota’s mammoth Mall of America—with 4.2 million square feet of floor space, the largest shopping mall in the United States—has emerged as



The Mall of America in Bloomington, Minnesota.

one of the country's most popular tourist destinations. In 1996 alone, it attracted some 43 million visitors, more people than visited Disney World, the Grand Canyon, and Graceland combined. The mall features four anchor stores—Nordstrom, Macy's, Sears, and Bloomingdale's—and over 520 different specialty shops and merchandise kiosks. But its popularity owes as much to entertainment and cultural amenities as it does to shopping. At the center of the giant four-story structure is Knotts Berry Farm's Camp Snoopy, a theme park with fifty rides and amusements, including a roller coaster, a water ride, and a Ferris wheel. In addition, the mall is home to an 18-hole miniature golf course and Underwater World, a 1.2 million gallon walk-through aquarium. Its top floor is devoted entirely to glitzy nightclubs, restaurants, and a 14-screen movie theater. It also houses a branch campus of National College, a "learning lab" for high school students, a wedding chapel, a post office, and a police substation. "The Mall of America is a city inside a piece at the edge of a city," observed Minneapolis architect Richard Varda. "It is a new definition of what a downtown is."

The Mall began as the brain child of Canada's Triple Five Corp., the company that built the famous West Edmonton Mall (which in the late 1990s was still the largest such building in North America). The company's initial 1985 proposal for a 1.3 billion dollar "megamall" at the site of the old Twins stadium in the booming Minneapolis suburb of Bloomington, envisioned a leisure and shopping complex even larger and more spectacular than the one that was eventually built. After failing to secure a long term loan, however, Triple Five Corp. was forced, in 1987, to relinquish control of the development to Marvin Simon and Associates and the Simon DeBartolo Group—both of which promptly scaled back the proportions of the project to its current dimensions. In May of 1988, the Bloomington Port Authority—over the objections of many of the city's citizens—agreed to contribute \$100 million towards improvements in infrastructure for the development. Construction began in June of 1989 and the mall opened for business in August of 1992. The final price tag for the entire project was more than \$680 million.

Designed by architect Jon Jerde and the Jerde Partnership, the Mall of America is laid out as a multi-story "rectangular doughnut" with thoroughfares lined by 4.2 miles of storefronts connecting the department stores on the perimeter and Camp Snoopy at its center. Without a doubt the mall's most impressive architectural feature is the vast skylight which spans the entire seven acres of Camp Snoopy. Jerde has also given each of the sides of the rectangle a distinct architectural theme and matching decor. The corridors on the North side of the Mall—called "the North Garden"—are painted garden green and scattered with gazebos, wooden trellises, and pavilion-like structures, as well as airy terraces overlooking the amusement park. With their barrel vaulted ceilings and industrial green color scheme, the corridors in the "West Market" area recall European arcades of the late nineteenth century. The thoroughfares in the "South Avenue" area have an elegant Rodeo Drive feel created by their upscale boutiques, arches, and peach and cream color scheme. The "East Broadway" area is meant to suggest "modernity" through its polished steel railings, neon, and slick black and gray floors. And the fourth floor's collection of bars and nightclubs, known as "The Upper East Side," self-consciously simulates a big city entertainment district. The total effect of the place is more than a little disorienting, precisely as the designers had planned. "We want people to get lost in the Mall," confessed Tim Magill of the Jerde Partnership. "We want to tweak your perceptions so you'll be exposed to areas you would regularly pass by."

In its first five years of existence, the mall has silenced critics who doubted it could consistently draw the crowds necessary to turn a profit. In 1997, the mall's stores did \$725 million in sales, employed over 12,000 people, and 92 percent of its retail space was occupied. Economists estimate that the mall and the legions of out-of-state tourists it attracts pump \$1.5 billion a year into the local economy.

Thanks to its enormous popularity and mind-boggling size, the mall in the late 1990s has become something of a cultural icon. Camp Snoopy made its film debut in *The Mighty Ducks* (1992) and appeared again in *Mighty Ducks II* (1997). In 1996, Arnold Schwarzenegger filmed his Christmas movie *Jingle All the Way* there. And throughout the 1990s celebrities from Bruce Willis to Newt Gingrich have made regular appearances within the mall's confines.

Despite all its successes, the Mall of America has had its share of both problems and critics. Though it presents its enclosed environs as a safe alternative to city streets, it has been unable to prevent rapes and robberies from occurring on its premises. In addition, because it is a favorite meeting place and hang-out for teenagers from around the Twin Cities metro region, youth crime has been an especially nagging problem. In 1996, the mall's managers responded by implementing a policy requiring children 15 or younger to be accompanied by an adult after 6 p.m. on Fridays and Saturdays, a move which brought about a steep decline in youth crimes and consequently increased adult traffic on weekend nights.

More significantly, the Mall of America in 1996 was thrust into the center of a debate about the public's right to political expression in commercially owned and operated spaces. On May 19 of that year, a group of ten animal rights activists entered the mall and distributed fliers in front of Macy's urging people to boycott the store because it sold furs. Mall security told the protesters to leave and four were issued tickets for trespassing. On July 24, 1997, Hennepin County Judge Jack Nordby sided with the protesters in ruling that Minnesota citizens have reasonable rights to free speech and assembly at publicly-supported shopping malls. Nordby's decision was reversed on appeal but the protesters and the Minnesota ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union) have vowed to appeal the case all the way to the United States Supreme Court.

It is hardly surprising that the mall finds itself in the middle of a controversy over whether or not shopping malls are the functional equivalent of city streets, public parks, and town squares. After all, its amazing assortment of activities collected under one roof make it the closest thing to a fully enclosed city America has yet seen. Whatever the courts ultimately decide about its status as "public" space, the Mall of America has been and will continue to be a gathering place not simply for Minnesotans but for the whole world.

—Steve Macek

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## Malls

The mall is a ubiquitous part of the modern landscape. Acting as the modern town center, the mall provides space for shopping and commerce, as well as social interaction and cultural events. But the careful design of the mall articulates a vision of society that goes beyond the mall's function as a shopping location. As social commentator Molly Ivans proclaimed upon her first visit to the Mall of America, "Great Caesar's armpit! Sweet suffering catfish! Holy Gamoly! I have been to the pyramids of America. I have seen the cathedral of commerce. Our Parthenon, our Coliseum, our Chartres." Malls have been conferred with a kind of religiosity because of the abundance and frequency of shoppers seeking their treasures. The influence of the mall is evidenced by its placement on *Consumer Reports'* list of the top 50 wonders in the past 50 years that have revolutionized the lives of consumers; other notable innovations include birth control pills, antibiotics, smoke detectors, air-conditioners, gas mowers, the computer, and the transistor.

Though malls have become one of the most recognizable features of America towns, the mall is not an American invention. The mall dates back to The Kapali Carsi, or Covered Bazaar, in Istanbul,



The concourse of the Circle Centre Mall in Indianapolis, Indiana.

Turkey, in the 8th century. Encompassing 65 streets and passages with more than 4,000 shops and cafes, it is reputed to have the largest number of shops under one roof anywhere in the world. Throughout the years, commerce has frequently developed in centralized locations. In the 1700s public plazas in Venice, Italy, featured shops and restaurants ringed around a central square. Built around a courtyard, the Palais Royale in Paris, France, was a five-story building filled with shops in 1784. Baltimore, Maryland, had Roland Park in 1900, which consisted of six stores and a parking area for horses and carriages. The National Register of Historic Places lists Market Square in Lake Forest, Illinois, built in 1916, as the first suburban shopping center.

But, according to various histories, the predecessor of the modern shopping center came in 1922 with the Country Club Plaza of Kansas City, Missouri. There a planned group of stores was built which were accessible only by car. The idea soon became popular. Grandview Plaza Shopping Center in Columbus, Ohio, included 30 stores and parking for 400 cars in 1928. The next step toward the modern shopping center came when the first enclosed mall was constructed in 1956. Built in a suburb of Minneapolis, the Southdale Mall had a clear objective: to keep the Minnesota weather out. Shoppers could shop in climate-controlled comfort year-round, but the Southdale Mall was spartan in comparison to newer malls. It had no food vendors, no skylights, no life-like statues, no fountains, and no neon signs.

The growth and economic, social, political, and psychological significance of the mall can only be understood in the context of a confluence of forces that followed World War II. Before 1950 people lived in urban areas where people's needs were supported within the borders of the city and were usually neighborhood based. Fueled by government guarantees for veterans and the vision of men like William Levitt, ownership of single family housing grew more after World War II than it had in the previous 150 years. The construction of homes occurred just outside city limits and a massive movement of people left the cities for these developing suburbs. By 1980 the population shift was completed: almost 50 percent of the population lived in suburban and rural areas.

The suburbs permanently altered the consumer landscape. A general dispersal of commercial, cultural, manufacturing, employment, service, financial, and entertainment and recreational activities accompanied the development of Levittown-type suburban communities across the United States. Without the structure of city neighborhood retail space, new retail sources were created. Malls were visionaries' answer to central business districts left in the cities.

Malls and shopping centers come in many shapes, sizes, and varieties. At one end of the scale are community convenience centers, retail spaces of 30,000 to 100,000 square feet housing small businesses like dry cleaners, pizza places, and frame shops. These neighborhood convenience centers survive without large tenants, called anchors, to draw from larger areas. At the end of the twentieth century, neighborhood shopping centers accounted for 63 percent of all shopping centers, 25 percent of all selling space, and 29 percent of shopping center sales.

At the next level are community centers of 100,000 to 400,000 square feet of retail space. A large grocery store, drug store, discount store, or department store typically acts as the anchor for these community centers. These community centers made up 32 percent of all shopping centers, 46 percent of all selling space, and 41 percent of shopping center sales.

Large regional shopping centers, behemoths with typically more than 400,000 square feet of retail space, have multiple anchors and attract consumers from multi-county areas. Regional shopping centers account for five percent of all shopping centers, 29 percent of selling space, and 30 percent of shopping center sales. At the far end of the scale, there are “megamalls.” Megamalls have four- to five-million square feet of retail space and draw consumers worldwide. Two examples of megamalls include West Edmonton Mall in Canada (5.2 million sq. ft.) and The Mall of America (4.2 million sq. ft.) in Minnesota. West Edmonton has 825 specialty stores, 11 department stores, two auto dealerships, 132 restaurants, 32 movie screens, a five-acre water park with 22 slides, the world’s largest indoor amusement park (with roller coaster), an 18-hole miniature golf course modeled after Pebble Beach, an ice skating rink, a lake, a bingo parlor, a medieval torture chamber, a hotel with 1,220 rooms, a chapel, an 80-foot replica of the Santa Maria, a miniature Bourbon Street, four submarines, 16 doctors, sharks, dolphins, flamingos, jaguars, alligators, availability of golf cart and rickshaw transportation, and plenty of parking. The Mall of America has 500 specialty stores, 49 restaurants, eight night clubs, 14 movie screens, a seven-acre amusement park with 28 rides, 100,000 guests each day, a 1.2 million gallon aquarium, and 14,000 parking spaces. Built in 1992, it attracted 190 million visitors from 1993 to 1998, generated 24,450 tons of waste in its first three years, and is five times larger than Red Square.

The proliferation of shopping malls over the past 30 years has had an indelible impact on the structure of retailing. In 1950 there were no retail sales in self-contained malls. In 1960 there were 4,500 malls, which accounted for 14 percent of retail sales. By 1975 16,400 malls accounted for 33 percent of retail sales. In 1987, there were 30,000 malls in the United States. In 1998 there were more than 42,000 malls with 5.1 billion square feet of retail space accounting for 933 billion retail dollars, about 40 percent of all retail sales, eight percent of the labor force, and 13 percent of the GNP. Between 1995 and 1998 an average of 900 new malls were built each year. At the end of the century, there was approximately 20 square feet of mall space for each American.

As the new town centers of the suburbs, malls have centralized commerce more than old town centers by providing all sorts of goods under one roof. At their best, malls represent a vision of utopia, promising to free Americans from crime, dirt, heat and cold, and uncertainty. The controlled environment of the mall is carefully designed. The barren exteriors of malls are designed so that people are encouraged to be inside and not outside the walled city. The enclosed mall is a stage upon which a fantasized and created world is played out. Retailers and mall marketers create the lighting, props, staging, and train actors (mall employees) to ensure customers will return. Retailers and common areas of the mall are designed to appeal to all five senses of consumers because the décor, noise, lighting, intensity, layout, and presence of others all may affect consumer behavior. Despite the newness of many aspects of the mall, the large center area, with seating and entertainment, recaptures the town square environment that was lost as people moved from urban centers, and the food courts resemble the old Italian Squares where people came to shop but stayed for food.

Conceptually, Disneyland is the prototype in principle, philosophy, and operation of the modern mall. Opened one year before the Southdale Mall, Disneyland offered Mainstreet, USA, where shops lined the street. Once inside, a visitor could walk inside through the entire Main Street, making Main Street Disneyland perhaps the real

first enclosed shopping mall. And like Disneyland, some malls—including The Mall of America in Minnesota, Tyson’s Corner in Virginia, and Woodfield Mall in Illinois—are the biggest tourist attractions in their states. The Mall of America is one of the top three attractions in the entire United States. The mall’s 40 million customers in 1998 totalled more visitors than the Statue of Liberty, the Grand Canyon, and The Washington Monument combined.

The geography of the mall, like the geography of Disneyland, is a pretty fair representation of the American consumer consciousness. Both are areas designed to evoke happiness and a friendly, familiar environment. The point of Main Street Disneyland was to allow a long view of utopia ending at the Castle. The long view at the mall ends at its own utopia: an anchor department store. In Disneyland the end of Main Street radiates into the various lands of opportunity. So too does the mall, which spokes off into the other anchor and specialty areas. Like Disneyland, malls represent ideal environments where nothing bad ever happens, where everything is new and shiny, where everyone is happily consuming.

The abundance of mall offerings is mesmerizing. Malls offer child care, doctor and dental services, professional services, fine dining, entertainment, and education (one mall recently started an MBA program) and of course the “stuff” that makes us look better, feel better, live better, that makes life fun, interesting, easier, rewarding, and more satisfying. The mall offers the American dream under one roof. The walls of the mall, like the walls of a castle, preserve a way of life that is not only desired by all Americans but is the envy of the world. The mall is a version of an imperial city where anyone is admitted. The mall makes everything in society available to everyone.

But to the extent that consumers suffer from envy, jealousy, anxiety, and insecurity based on what they see in the mall and cannot have, their insecurity is reinforced. Malls are the manifestation, and maybe the continued cause, of a world that is defined by commercialization, as seen in schools, art museums, and not-for-profit institutions. William Kowinski posited in his book, *The Malling of America: An Inside Look at the Great Consumer Paradise*, that malls may be the important economic, cultural, social, and psychological identifier of our time:

Someday it may be possible—if it isn’t already—to be born, go from preschool through college, get a job, date, marry, have children, fool around, get a divorce, advance through a career or two, receive your medical care, even get arrested, tried, and jailed; live a relatively full life of culture and entertainment and eventually die and be given funeral rites without ever leaving a particular mall complex—because every one of these possibilities exists now in some shopping center somewhere.

The mall is open to anyone, but a 1998 study indicated that the average mall shopper was a 36-year-old female with about \$40,000 annual family income. This average shopper visited malls 9.9 times in a 30-day period and spent \$75 per visit. The study went on to report that 75 percent of Americans shop at a mall at least once a month and listed the mall as the third most frequent destination after home and work. A mere 16 percent of Americans do not shop in a mall.

Malls have fit well into many changes in America. In a time of dual income families and single parent households, time-impoorished consumers can save time and effort by going to the mall. But those with extra time can enjoy the social atmosphere of the mall.

Malls provide a social hall for senior citizens, a teenage hangout, and an exercise venue for walkers.

Despite the public embrace of malls, some signs of consumer disillusionment appeared at the end of the twentieth century. Changes in consumer behavior indicate that consumers are becoming disenchanting with the mall experience. Mall visits per month have decreased one third over a ten-year period. And as consumers are visiting the mall less they are also spending one third less time per visit in the mall. In a 1996 national survey of mall consumers, the Purdue University Retail Institute found that consumers could easily identify their dissatisfaction with their mall experiences. The following is a list of the five most frequently mentioned negative impressions of malls:

- 1) Malls were crowded. Ironically, efforts to increase traffic with special events may actually reinforce the notion of malls as crowded places.
- 2) Mall parking had poor lighting, required a lengthy walk, and/or required payment.
- 3) Loitering teenagers irritated the consumer.
- 4) Poor interior layout and climate lead to a negative shopping experience. Some malls were reportedly confusing, unkempt, and poorly lit; others played loud music and had "bad" smells.
- 5) Poor treatment in stores.

Other negative aspects of shopping at malls included: a lack of visible security, an inability to find help in the store, little selection/variety (store and merchandise sameness), paying more than expected, and an inability to find desired merchandise.

Mall managers and developers must pay attention to the nature of the retail experience in the mall, in the stores, and even in the parking lot. The customer satisfaction with the entire mall experience is related to purchase intent, loyalty, amount of purchase, and positive word of mouth. If customer satisfaction is ignored malls will face significant decline as other competitive venues—such as home shopping, Internet, catalog, and freestanding stores—serve customers better.

At their best, malls are simply the partnership of commercialism and community in harmony. The dedication plaque to Disneyland presented on July 17, 1955 is as much a call to the mall as it is to Disneyland: "To all who come to this happy place: Welcome. Disneyland ("The Mall") is your land. Here age relives fond memories of the past . . . and here youth may savor the challenge and promise of the future." And like the 15 million people who visited Disneyland, the 14 million who visited the Magic Kingdom, and the 12 million people who visited Epcot Center in 1998, the 40 million people who visited the Mall of America did so because they found it pleasurable.

—Richard Feinberg and Cindy Evans

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## *The Maltese Falcon*

In his 1929 novel, *The Maltese Falcon*, Dashiell Hammett introduced the novel reading public to the hard-boiled private detective as central character. Samuel Spade, of Spade and Archer Investigations, is a cynical, violent and socially unattractive man who thinks nothing of having an affair with his partner's wife or taking part in the evil perfidy of shabby San Francisco neighborhoods. Because of his criminal associations, the police do not trust him. The District Attorney's Office periodically calls him in for questioning. Spade, mindful that his environment has tarnished him, uses his reputation to his advantage. While the authorities often suspect him of complicity, his clients, ranging from the tawdry to the downright evil, take him into their confidence. To Sam Spade, life is not a rational, orderly affair, but a series of random, often baneful happenings. Aware of, and adjusting to, the decadence around him, Spade maintains a strong moral awareness and a strict adherence to his own code of professional ethics. He judges people by his standards, not their or society's standards. Spade is a descendent of the hard-boiled heroes of detective stories in pulp magazines of the 1920s. These private detectives were a new breed. They didn't shun violence, they embraced it, used it to their advantage. Their mannerisms were unrefined, their language was pungent. They moved with ease among the lawless. Their reactions to events were instinctive, not reasoned. They sacrificed love and sentiment for principle. Like the lone Western heroes before them, they adhered to their professional codes and lived by their guns



Humphrey Bogart and Mary Astor in *The Maltese Falcon*.

and fists. The book is written in a sparse, objective narrative, devoid of excess verbiage. Not merely a landmark detective novel that profoundly influenced later detective novels, *The Maltese Falcon* stands on its own merits as a quality literary work.

When a Miss Wonderly retains the Spade/Archer agency to trail the mysterious Thursby, Miles Archer—believing that she might possibly be another sexual conquest—takes the case. When Archer is killed and then, shortly thereafter, Thursby is found shot to death, Spade is propelled into a complex web of mystery occupied by a cast of characters who plumb the depths of moral corruption and betrayal. Shortly after Archer's death, Spade is visited by Joel Cairo, an effeminate, gardenia-scented thief, who retains him to find a jewel-encrusted statuette, the Maltese Falcon. Spade discovers a connection between Cairo and Miss Wonderly, whose real name is Bridget O'Shaughnessy. This leads, in turn, to the mysterious fat man, Casper Gutman, a mincing international swindler and crime baron, and his psychopathic gunsel/bodyguard, Wilmer. Gutman reveals that he, too, is after the Falcon, estimating its worth at an enormous fortune. In searching Cairo's hotel room for information about the bird, Spade notices that the ship arrival schedules have been clipped from the newspaper. After purchasing a paper, he discovers that the *La Paloma* will arrive that day from Hong Kong. Knowing that Bridget has been in the Orient, Spade goes to the dock and discovers that Gutman, Cairo, Bridget, and Wilmer have been on the ship and have talked to Captain Jacoby, who has since disappeared. Back at his office, Spade and his loyal secretary Effie are interrupted by the arrival of Captain Jacoby, who gives Spade a bundle and then drops dead on the floor. The bundle contains the Falcon. After attempting to contact Bridget and being sent on a wild goose chase by Gutman's daughter, Spade finally goes to his apartment to find Bridget waiting outside and Cairo, Gutman, and Wilmer waiting for him inside. They all want the Falcon. Spade announces that he has the bird. He wants \$10,000 and someone to turn over to the police for the murders. Gutman, who knows that Wilmer killed Captain Jacoby and assumes that Thursby killed Archer, agrees to turn Wilmer over to the cops in exchange for the statue. After Gutman counts out ten \$1,000 bills, Spade calls Effie and tells her to deliver the bird. Gutman then admits that he had tried to bribe Thursby, but Thursby was too loyal to Bridget and would not throw in with them. This revelation points out Archer's killer to Spade.

The Falcon turns out to be a lead imitation, a fake, symbolizing the cast of characters in the story. After notifying the police, Spade turns to Bridget and forces her to confess that she killed Archer. She picked the agency at random, believing that Thursby would kill any detective who followed him. When Thursby failed to kill Archer, Bridget killed him with Thursby's gun in hopes that the police would arrest him and she would be free to get the Falcon for herself. But Thursby was killed by Wilmer a short time later, which told Bridget that the fat man was in town. She then used her sexual wiles to get Spade to help her. In the end, Spade is forced to turn her over to the authorities, knowing that she would have something on him if he didn't, and that he would never be able to turn his back on her. Besides, killing a detective is bad for the detective business. His moral code will not allow his feelings for Bridget to get in the way of punishing his partner's murderer. His code might allow him to profit from the Falcon, to deceive criminals and to pretend to throw in with them, even to accept Gutman's bribe. It would even allow him to have an affair with his partner's wife and to have a passionate affair with Bridget while she is a client. But there is a line he cannot and will not cross. He is committed to removing polluting elements from society and to punishing the murderer of a partner he did not respect. His code

will not allow him to violate the principles he has established for himself in his profession. He is as fallible as any man, but he will not sacrifice his own code of professional ethics.

Filmed three times by Warner Brothers, the movie versions transformed Sam Spade from a debonair ladies' man in the 1930s to a lonely, possessed detective in the early 1940s. In 1931, Roy del Ruth directed Ricardo Cortez playing Sam Spade as a charming, captivating ladies' man. This pre-code film depicts Spade in a suggestive bedroom scene with Bebe Daniels as Bridget O'Shaughnessy. It also includes a silent mouthing of "S.O.B." by Joel Cairo, and partial nude scenes of Bridget. Because of these and other explicit scenes, the Breen Office rejected a 1934 re-release of the film. In most respects, the film adheres closely to the story line of the novel. It was later retitled *Dangerous Lady* to distinguish it from the 1941 version. It was remade in 1937 as *Satan Met a Lady* with Warren William as a wisecracking Ted Shayne and Bette Davis as Valerie, a mysterious client, who hires Shayne to hunt down a mysterious fat woman, who is hunting for a ram's horn filled with jewels (Alison Skipworth). Shayne sets a trap, pitting the various crooks against each other and solves his partner's murder. The film was an attempt to bring humor to the story and to depict the Sam Spade character as a sophisticated, all knowing, nightclubbing ladies' man, somewhat in the mold of Nick Charles of *The Thin Man* series produced at MGM. Neither version made much of an impact on the critics, or the moviegoing public.

The definitive movie version was produced in 1941 by Hal Wallace, and was written and directed by John Huston. It is a landmark film that has become a classic of modern popular culture. The 1941 version created the hard-boiled screen detective, the prototype for countless detective movies that followed. It also introduced the cinematic genre later termed "film noir," a style that dominated over 300 Hollywood films between 1944 and 1958. This version is a faithful rendition of the book's storyline, and stars Humphrey Bogart as the dour, obsessed Sam Spade, and Mary Astor as the sinister Bridget O'Shaughnessy. Peter Lorre plays the elusive, effeminate Joel Cairo; Sidney Greenstreet, in his first film, is the amoral fat man, Gutman; and Elisha Cook plays the psychopathic killer, Wilmer Cook. This film version is as streamlined and as devoid of description as the novel. The characters describe themselves by their actions and their words. In a terse, almost documentary style, the secrets are revealed to the audience at the same time that Spade learns of them.

Cinematically the film was a departure from the standard Hollywood fare of the 1930s. The odd camera angles, the intrusion of light and shadow into scenes at unexpected angles, the dishonorable motivation and expectations of the main characters, including the protagonist Sam Spade, were somewhat jarring to critics and audiences. In addition, Astor's portrayal of Bridget was much darker and more menacing than audiences were accustomed to in female antagonists. But by 1944, after millions of people had lost friends and family members in World War II, this style of film making seemed to have some relevance to the movie-going public. French critics, who had missed seeing American films from 1940-1945, originated the film noir tag. After the war ended, as the world plunged into the Cold War and as the specter of the atom bomb cast its pall over civilization, the noir style became popular. The confusing, pessimistic plots, the emphasis on alienation and goals gone awry, and the intrusion of the normal clamor of city life into the movies, exposing a dark underside of American life, were accepted as a realistic portrayal of the complexity of modern post war civilization.

Roger Corman, under the pseudonym Harry Neil, made a low-budget parody of *The Maltese Falcon* entitled *Target Harry* in 1968,

and David Giles wrote and directed a similar rip-off, *The Black Bird*, in 1975. Both films were unsuccessful. A radio series, *The Adventures of Sam Spade*, began on CBS on July 12, 1946, as a summer replacement, but became instantly popular. It moved into the fall lineup in September on Sunday nights, sponsored by Wildroot Creme Oil. It was directed by William Speir and starred Howard Duff as Sam Spade and Lurene Tuttle as Effie Perrine. In 1949 CBS dropped the show when Dashiell Hammett's name cropped up in the House Un-American Activities Committee investigations, although he was never charged with disloyalty. NBC picked up the show in the fall of 1949 with Steve Dunne as Spade and Tuttle as Effie. The show went off the air in 1951.

—James R. Belpedio

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## The Mamas and the Papas

One of the most commercially successful folk-rock groups of the mid-1960s, the Mamas and the Papas were known for their rich vocal harmonies as well as their unconventional appearance. The group's four founding members only sang together for a few years, but their recordings, which included nine Top Forty hits, made a lasting impact on pop music. Their first single, "California Dreamin'," established them as part of a new Los Angeles-based hippie music scene, even though they initially came together as a folk act in New York's Greenwich Village. Few pop groups featured a combination of male and female voices, and this rare sound became a factor in the Mamas and the Papas' popularity among adults. During the early 1960s, pop music was designed primarily for teenagers. With the advent of performers like the Mamas and the Papas, who used their folk background to create complex arrangements for catchy, intelligent songs, older listeners began buying pop albums. By the time the group disbanded due to personal differences in 1968, other artists such as the Beach Boys and the Beatles were also producing more intricate music. In a relatively short time, the Mamas and the Papas managed to earn the appreciation of a substantial audience that endured for decades after they ceased singing together.

The son of a Marine Corps officer, John Edmund Andrew Phillips was born in 1935, on Parris Island, South Carolina. He played the guitar in high school, and he began performing at folk clubs in his early twenties. In addition to his interest in folk music, Phillips was

intrigued by vocal groups with smooth harmonies such as the Hi-Los. He formed his own folk quartet, which evolved into the Journeymen, a trio that included Scott McKenzie and Dick Weissman. They were successful during the early 1960s as part of the urban folk revival that had begun at the end of the previous decade. While performing in San Francisco, Phillips met and fell in love with Holly Michelle Gilliam (1944—), a seventeen-year-old California native. They were married on New Year's Eve in 1962, and by 1964, John, Michelle, and Marshall Brickman were singing together as the New Journeymen. As the group toured, John recruited a tenor from Nova Scotia named Denny Doherty (1941—), who had previously sung with the Halifax Three. In 1965, Brickman left the group, and the three remaining members traveled to St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands to rehearse new songs John had written. There they were joined by a friend of Doherty's named Cass Elliot (1941-1974), born Ellen Naomi Cohen in Baltimore, Maryland. Doherty and Elliot had sung together as part of the Big Three, which became the Mugwumps, a group that included John Sebastian and Zal Yanovsky, future founders of the Lovin' Spoonful. Later, John Phillips would mention these and other names in the song "Creeque Alley," which explained how the Mamas and the Papas came together.

Phillips realized that folk music's popularity was waning, and his new compositions were designed for a pop act using electric instruments. After working on this material in the Virgin Islands, John and Michelle Phillips, Doherty, and Elliot went to Los Angeles, where they auditioned for producer Lou Adler of Dunhill Records. He offered them a contract, and they decided to call themselves the Mamas and the Papas. Their first single was to be "Go Where You Wanna Go," until Adler changed his mind and released "California Dreamin'," which became a Top Ten record early in 1966. It was followed a few months later by the single "Monday, Monday" and the group's first album, *If You Can Believe Your Eyes and Ears*, both of which went to number one on the *Billboard* charts. The group developed a hippie image, often wearing long, flowing robes on stage. Despite their sudden tremendous success as performers, the Mamas and the Papas were not faring well offstage. Shortly after the band was signed, John discovered that Michelle and Doherty were having an affair. In June of 1966, Michelle was fired from the group for a few months, until she and John reconciled their differences. During 1967, John and Adler helped organize the Monterey Pop Festival, and John wrote a song for his former bandmate Scott McKenzie entitled "San Francisco (Be Sure to Wear Flowers in Your Hair)" that became a pop anthem for young people seeking out the California counterculture. That year the Mamas and the Papas continued recording and performing sporadically, but by the end of the following year they made the decision to split up.

Mama Cass, as Elliot was commonly known, was the only member of the group to become a successful solo artist, and she performed up until her death in 1974 from heart failure caused by her excessive weight and drug abuse. A false report that she died choking on a ham sandwich became a widely believed myth that persisted for decades after her death. John and Michelle Phillips were divorced in 1970, two years after the birth of their daughter Chynna, who became part of the pop act Wilson Phillips in the early 1990s. Michelle took up acting, appearing in various films and on television during the 1970s and 1980s. John continued songwriting and producing while suffering from an increasingly severe drug addiction that lasted until 1980, when he was arrested on federal charges. After serving a very



The Mamas and the Papas, from left: John Phillips, Michelle Phillips, Dennis Doherty, and Cass Elliot.

brief sentence, he stopped using narcotics and became an anti-drug spokesperson. He made numerous public appearances, accompanied by his daughter Mackenzie, a star on television's *One Day at a Time* and also a recovering drug addict. In the early 1980s, John and Mackenzie revived the Mamas and the Papas, along with Doherty, who had failed in his efforts to pursue a solo career, and Elaine "Spanky" McFarlane, from the 1960s group Spanky and Our Gang. The original Mamas and Papas were inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1998, as their recordings continued to demonstrate a collective vocal talent rarely found in pop music.

—Anna Hunt Graves

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## Mamet, David (1947—)

One of the most important American playwrights of the twentieth century, David Mamet is the voice of the common man—or even criminal—in the theater. He has been acclaimed for his gritty depictions of con men, thieves, and other morally bereft characters whose language is rife with the kind of stuttering, pausing, and obscenities that occur in real-life conversation. Despite the spartan phrasing and lack of eloquence in the dialogue, the staccato rhythm ends up flowing naturally, making Mamet's dialogue unique, though he is sometimes roughly compared to fellow author Harold Pinter. Mamet was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for drama in 1984 for *Glengarry Glen Ross*, the tale of shady salesmen in a cutthroat real estate sales office.

He has also cultivated a career in feature films as a screenwriter, director, and sometimes producer.

—Geri Speace

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### *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.*

Conceived as a spoof on the James Bond films, *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* was rooted in the cultural climate of the 1960s and was American television's most noteworthy nod to the international success of author Ian Fleming's spy hero. Created by *Dr. Kildare* producer Norman Felton, with initial support and assistance from Fleming, *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* introduced audiences to Napoleon Solo (played by Robert Vaughn) and his Russian partner Ilya Kuryakin (David McCallum), secret agents for the United Network Command for Law and Enforcement. Their weekly battles against the evil minions of THRUSH attracted little critical or popular attention when the show made its debut in the fall of 1964. However, when NBC moved the show from Tuesday to Monday nights in early 1965, it rapidly gained a cult-like popularity, particularly among young viewers for whom lines of U.N.C.L.E. toys and books were manufactured. (In 1966 the network even commissioned a spinoff, *The Girl from U.N.C.L.E.*, to take further advantage of the fad; the series ended after 29 episodes). However, *U.N.C.L.E.*'s outlandish plots and arch humor became too ridiculous to retain sufficiently wide appeal, and despite efforts to refocus the show on straight adventure, *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* was retired to syndication in 1968. Various episodes were made up into feature films that enjoyed a modest success outside of the United States.

—Jeffrey S. Miller

### *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*

Although John Ford made three more films after its release in 1962, *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* is generally thought of as his final masterpiece and one of the best-made Westerns of all time. Critics initially derided the film as unoriginal and a seeming rehash of themes Ford had dealt with more successfully in earlier oeuvres, but *Liberty Valance* has ultimately come to be recognized as Ford's most self-reflective work, a film in which he examined the loss of the frontier traits that forged America's early identity. In the decades after the release of *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*, the film has gained a reputation as a seminal revisionist Western—ironically for the very reasons *Liberty Valance* was initially dismissed: its derivative nature



John Wayne in a scene from the film *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*.

and seeming reworking of Ford's earlier movies. In referring to his own past works and re-addressing his major thematic interests over a half-century film career, Ford created a film that serves as his final commentary on the conflict between the frontier and civilization that permeated his Westerns.

The story concerns Senator Ransom Stoddard (Jimmy Stewart), his wife Hallie (Vera Miles), and their relationship with Tom Doniphon (John Wayne). At the outset of the film, the Stoddards, visibly middle-aged, arrive in the town of Shinbone to attend the funeral of Doniphon, ostensibly an old friend. Stoddard has become a Senator on the basis of his reputation as the man who shot Liberty Valance (Lee Marvin). But shortly after the film begins, Senator Stoddard recounts the actual events of Valance's death to a local newspaper editor. The greater part of the film is a flashback in which Doniphon is revealed as the real killer of Liberty Valance. Wayne is particularly effective in this role given his screen persona as a Western hero, which confers on Tom Doniphon a melancholic resonance he might not have otherwise had. In the end, Doniphon dies ignominiously, a long forgotten remnant of Shinbone's frontier past. At the conclusion of the flashback, the editor rips up his story. When Ransom asks if he is going to print it, the editor tellingly replies, "No sir! This is the West, sir. When the legend becomes fact, print the legend." Whereas in earlier works Ford glorified the legendary aspects of America's Western past, in *Liberty Valance* the glorification is bitingly ironic. As John Baxter observes, *Liberty Valance* shows "in detail that civilization, though inevitable, destroys everything honest and good in frontier life." As Ronald Davis notes, Brendan Gill's *New Yorker* review, in which he writes, "John Ford's *The Man Who Shot Liberty*

*Valance* is a parody of Mr. Ford's best work," typifies the commonly held view at the time.

In Ford's earlier Westerns—*My Darling Clementine* (1946), *Wagon Master* (1950), and *She Wore A Yellow Ribbon* (1949), to name just a few—the conflict between the frontier and encroaching civilization is amicably resolved. As Mike Yawn and Bob Beatty observe, "Ford's West was a place where the best—and the noble—traits of the frontier and of civilization could not only coexist, but actually synthesize into a purely American set of values." Although others made notable contributions to the genre, Ford's Westerns of the 1940s and early 1950s invented the patterns most commonly associated with classical Hollywood Westerns. Accordingly, as Richard Maltby notes, the Western is sometimes dismissed as being simply "where Hollywood discusses American history, in which the wilderness becomes a garden." But in *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*, the optimistic reconciliation of the frontier and civilization that characterized Ford's earlier Westerns is no more; instead, Ford questions the Western mythology that he himself had done so much to create.

In *Liberty Valance*, Ford wanted to create a mood and tone that paralleled his wavering optimism. As a result, as Ronald Davis notes, "he insisted on shooting it in black and white, wanting a dark, anachronistic look, since the picture incorporated his diminishing faith in American values. No longer did he feel like celebrating the course of civilization, which he accepted, but did not necessarily see as progress." In addition, Ford's trademark panoramic shots are notably absent. Instead, the majority of the film was shot inside the Paramount studio. The film begins in the town of Shinbone, which can be seen as a cinematic descendant of *My Darling Clementine's* Tombstone. But whereas Tombstone was a frontier town on the edge of civilization, Shinbone has long been urbanized, as evidenced by the notable presence of a train, a telephone, and telephone poles and wires in the film's early scenes. The city's streets are cramped and claustrophobic, more reminiscent of film noir than of Westerns. In Shinbone, a city in which frontier values can no longer coexist with civilization, the results of the closing of the frontier and the rise of American urbanization can be seen.

After years of making films that asserted that the West could be civilized without losing its frontier qualities, Ford here abandoned his optimism to his realization that progress had ultimately robbed the West of its identity. As a genre, the Western film no longer flourishes as it did during Ford's time. The few serious Westerns that have been made by Hollywood since the release of *Liberty Valance* have most often been ones in which the legends and myths associated with the American West are exposed as hollow.

—Robert C. Sickels

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## *The Manchurian Candidate*

A highly successful, popular novel written in the late 1950s and brought to the screen in the early 1960s shortly before the death of John F. Kennedy, *The Manchurian Candidate* outlines the assassination of the United States president. Its limited release in the wake of Kennedy's death and its somewhat prophetic storyline has helped the work gain cult status. Yet this status is not just a mark of good timing. As a novel and film it was one of the earliest direct attacks on the nature of McCarthyism, as well as one of the first successful indigenous spy novels in America. Its characterization of the lone insane gunman would take on iconic meaning, but its cynical representation of the American political machine and its increasing connection with the media was also something to which the public could relate.

*The Manchurian Candidate*, written by Richard Condon (1915-1996) and published in 1959, is an unusual work for its time, being what might be generically termed spy fiction. The spy genre, as Clive Bloom terms it in *Spy Thrillers*, is "the genre tied to international political and social tensions," responding "to a need to represent covert activity by state organizations," via works dealing with the questions of espionage at home and abroad. Hardly anything approaching spy fiction appeared in America until the 1940s and in any numbers until the 1960s, perhaps, as some suggest, because of the nature of American democracy or a foreign policy tending towards isolationism. In the 1960s and 1970s, following in the wake of Ian Fleming's James Bond, the writings of American intelligence "insiders" like Victor Marchetti and William F. Buckley, along with America's ever increasing involvement in world affairs, the spy thriller came into its own as an American phenomenon. *The Manchurian Candidate* is a relatively early, and surprisingly successful, attempt to deal with the issues of the spy novel.

The book's popularity (it was one of the 50 best-sellers of the decade) may lie with its drawing together many of the decade's traumas—it starts in the Korean War, has a Senator who, in tactics and aims, is the double of Joe McCarthy, and showcases a strong mother figure as a Russian agent, harking back to Ethel Rosenberg and reflecting male postwar fears concerning the power of women. Underlying the whole story is the fear that the Communists have mastered a technological superiority that could threaten apocalypse for the American nation (in this case not the bomb, but a sophisticated form of brainwashing). The book cleverly taps into a fear of Communism, the effects of rationalism and domestic prosperity on American individualism, and many other issues concerning the nature of sexuality and of male/female roles. Lastly, all these issues feed into the question of nationhood. For America, now of central importance in world affairs, carrying the self-proclaimed mantle of defenders of democracy, every foreign conflict becomes a site of potential American destruction.

*The Manchurian Candidate*, however, also looks into the future. It is suggestive of the more disorientating war narratives of Vietnam; suggestive of Nixon—the criminal politician who went all the way; of an enemy growing more amorphous than the melodramatic picture of the enemy that dominated in the 1950s; and, of course, it develops the idea of a presidential assassination. It is a prophetic novel if you like, but it is also one that shows many of the elements of post-assassination America in place, as they had to be for the assassination to be explicable at all. The world does not change the day Kennedy dies . . . those changes are already in process.





Frank Sinatra (left) and Laurence Harvey in a scene from the film *The Manchurian Candidate*.

Though the novel faded once it fell off the best-seller's list, Condon's cynical political satire has survived through its cult film version. Directed by John Frankenheimer (1930—), the film is a tense, dark, and relatively faithful rendition of the novel, maintaining a documentary-like style with a number of striking and imaginative scenes. Laurence Harvey's stuffy assassin, Frank Sinatra's twitching hero, and Angela Lansbury's superb, Oscar-nominated mother figure, manage to put across many of the major themes of the novel, even some of the nuances of the incestuous relationship between mother and son (Lansbury was only three years Harvey's senior). The film received mixed reviews and mixed reactions—it was picketed in Orange County for being left wing and picketed in Paris for being right wing—but its original and gripping delineation of the lone gunman and his preparations for the murder of the president, so close to the actual death of Kennedy, propelled it into a kind of obscurity. Over the next 15 years it was difficult to see the film, increasing its aura and, as the amount of contradictory information mounted on the death of Kennedy, the work seemed prophetic not only in foreseeing a president murdered, but in foreseeing a political atmosphere that could make any conspiracy seem imaginable.

*The Manchurian Candidate* is generally considered Condon's best novel and Frankenheimer's best film. The story offers a twisted overview of the whole period—a reflection on the cynicism of the domestic politics of the time, on the anxiety at the fragility of individual will, and on the nature of paranoia. It also works, most interestingly, as an early American spy novel. Added to this is the force of Frankenheimer's film and its successful characterization of the novel's main strands. Its proximity to the death of John F. Kennedy gives its representation of the single mad unseen gunman—who was soon to have such an iconic presence in the post-assassination society—an extra potency.

—Kyle Smith

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## Mancini, Henry (1924-1994)

Although he was a highly gifted composer/arranger capable of scoring films of any genre, Henry Mancini is probably best known to the general public for the jazzy, light-hearted, cocktail-confection themes from *Peter Gunn* and *The Pink Panther*, and as the melodist behind such wistful songs as "Moon River" and "The Days of Wine and Roses." A product of the big-band era who ended up in Hollywood in the early 1950s, Mancini served his cinematic apprenticeship as a staff composer (mostly for "B" movies) at Universal. His big break came in 1958 when writer-director Blake Edwards offered him the opportunity to score the private-eye series, *Peter Gunn*. Mancini's main-title theme pioneered the use of jazz music in TV background music and became a hit single from one of the best-selling LP's of all time. Soon Mancini scores were gracing some of Hollywood's most stylish big-screen productions, and his music was almost as much a star of these films as Audrey Hepburn, Cary Grant, and John Wayne. Record albums and concert tours helped to make the shy musician from Pennsylvania one of the few film-composers



Henry Mancini

whose name had public recognition. Although Mancini died suddenly in 1994 while working on his first Broadway musical, his legacy is a lasting one. The adult, sophisticated comedies and romances graced by Mancini scores are no longer made in modern Hollywood, but his songs have become standards, an indelible contribution to the soundtrack of our lives.

Mancini was born in Cleveland, Ohio, on April 16, 1924, but grew up in West Aliquippa, Pennsylvania. His Italian immigrant father was a steelworker who loved music and insisted that his only child learn the flute and the piccolo. Young Hank played in the school band and also studied piano, but his most important instruction was self-administered: listening to recordings of the popular big bands, young Mancini taught himself how to arrange music. More formal schooling came later from Pittsburgh theater arranger-conductor Max Adkins. Although Adkins created an opportunity for his student to audition an arrangement for the great Benny Goodman in 1942, the famed clarinetist did not think the young man was ready yet for the big time. (Ironically, years later, Mancini would arrange the music for the film *The Benny Goodman Story*.) Mancini spent a fruitful year studying at the Julliard School of Music in New York, but a draft notice interrupted his education. A brief encounter with Glenn Miller saved the young man from the perilous duty of a tail-gunner and transferred him into an Air Force band. Following the war, Mancini became pianist and arranger for the newly-formed band of Miller veteran Tex Beneke, a move that proved decisive for Mancini's personal and professional life. Hank fell in love with Ginny O'Connor, a member of Mel Torme's singing group, The Meltones, and they were soon married. O'Connor eventually joined another group, the Mello-Larks, and when the singers made a short film at Universal, Mancini got the assignment to arrange their music.

Joseph Gershenson, head of the studio's music department, offered the young musician a couple of weeks' work on an Abbott and Costello picture, and this assignment stretched into a six-year apprenticeship in the art and craft of film scoring. With his Beneke background, Mancini was a natural to assist Gershenson on 1953's *The Glenn Miller Story*, and their joint work was nominated for an Academy Award—the first of eighteen for Mancini. (He would eventually win four Oscars.) Mancini's on-the-job training involved composition for virtually every genre at the Universal film factory, from westerns to Ma and Pa Kettle comedies, from gangster movies and mysteries to such science-fiction/horror thrillers (often in collaboration with Herman Stein) as *The Creature From the Black Lagoon* and *This Island Earth*. Because the budgets often didn't allow for complete original scores, Mancini would frequently be assigned to cobble together music from the scores of older pictures. This afforded Mancini another opportunity for self-instruction, studying the work of such veteran film composers as Frank Skinner, Hans J. Salter, and Miklos Rozsa.

But Mancini was about to make his own distinctive mark on film scoring. The first sign of the new direction which Mancini would be taking film music came in 1958 with his score for Orson Welles' *Touch of Evil*. A neglected film in its day, but regarded as a cult classic—particularly in the version which restores Welles' original editing—*Touch* featured a most unusual score. For his gritty *film noir* set in American and Mexican border towns, Welles decided against the customary practice of providing a dramatic underscore. Instead, nearly all of the music heard in *Touch* was source music: the music which would realistically be heard coming from radios and jukeboxes. Nevertheless, with his jazz and pop expertise, Mancini managed to make this music suitably menacing. In its way, it was as essential to

the film's mood and as memorable as the famous zither source music in Carol Reed's *The Third Man* (which had starred Welles). Unfortunately for Mancini, the influx of television was causing the movie studios to cut back on their payrolls, and, shortly after *Touch of Evil*, the composer was let go. Ironically, it was television that proved to be Mancini's salvation. Writer-director Blake Edwards, who had known Mancini at Universal, was about to start a new private eye series for NBC, *Peter Gunn*. Bumping into Mancini by chance one day, on the spur of the moment Edwards offered Mancini the job of scoring his upcoming program.

*Peter Gunn* was the breakthrough moment for Mancini, and the beginning of the Americanization of film music. Edwards wanted a fresh sound for his series, which often found the detective visiting a jazz club called Mother's. Taking his cue from the milieu, Mancini injected jazz inflections into the dramatic underscore. Distinguished film composers prior to Mancini had pioneered the use of jazz in movie scoring. Chief among these composers were Alex North in *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951) and Elmer Bernstein in *The Man With the Golden Arm* (1955). But jazz had rarely been given the emphasis Mancini gave it in *Gunn*; and it had never been used on television, which reached a wider audience than the movies. The now-famous main-title theme, with its hard-driving piano base, gained such immediate popularity that RCA commissioned an entire album of Mancini's *Peter Gunn* music. The LP became a runaway bestseller, earning a Grammy Award as album of the year and generating a follow-up disc, *More Music From Peter Gunn*. Mancini's gift for innovative, pop-oriented orchestration demonstrated itself again with the score (and LP) for Edwards' next TV series, *Mr. Lucky*, whose main theme featured a jazz organ against strings.

It was Edwards who brought Mancini back into the movie scoring fold with the Bing Crosby comedy *High Time* in 1960. From then on, movies were Mancini's chief occupation, with occasional forays back into television. He was also persuaded to inaugurate a series of "pops" concert tours that proved immensely successful and, coupled with the continued success of his soundtrack recordings, kept Mancini in the public eye more than any film composer until the advent of John Williams. Many of Mancini's most important movies were written and directed by Blake Edwards, chief among them *Breakfast at Tiffany's*, *The Days of Wine and Roses*, and *The Pink Panther*. The title theme for *Panther*, and the "Baby Elephant Walk" from Howard Hawks' *Hatari!*, became popular instrumental hits which are still heard to this day. The title songs from *Wine and Roses* and *Charade*, with lyrics by Johnny Mercer, also made the hit parade and remain standards. But Mancini's most enduring achievement was written for Audrey Hepburn in *Breakfast at Tiffany's*. Having heard her sing the Gershwin's "How Long Has This Been Going On?" in *Funny Face*, Mancini knew that Miss Hepburn could handle a range of an octave plus a note. Noodling at the keyboard with that range of notes, Mancini in the space of half an hour came up with the melody which, again with Mercer's masterful lyric, has become immortal under the name, "Moon River." (After the first preview of *Tiffany's*, the studio executives wanted to cut the song, but Edwards fought for its inclusion; ironically, the same near-disaster once befell "Over the Rainbow" after a preview of *The Wizard of Oz*.)

Film composers can become as typecast as film actors, and Mancini sometimes had difficulty convincing producers to give him something more weighty than his usual assignments. But with such films as *The Molly Maguires* and *The Glass Menagerie*, Mancini proved that his range was not limited to frothy romances and comedies. Mancini wrote some delightful songs, with lyrics by Leslie

Bricusse, for Julie Andrews and Robert Preston to sing in Blake Edwards' *Victor/Victoria*, (1982), perhaps the last original screen musical in the classic tradition. While preparing a Broadway stage version of *Victor* in 1994, Henry Mancini discovered that he had inoperable cancer; before the year was out, the composer was gone. In the timeline of American popular music, Mancini made it in just under the wire. His career blossomed just as rock and roll was taking the stage, but there were still a few years left in which the classic song-writing craft of men like Mercer and Mancini could produce elegant, touching songs, which would become popular and, eventually, stand the test of time. With the passing of Mancini, we may never again see a songwriter rise to join the ranks of men like Berlin and Kern. The song is ended, but "Moon River" just keeps rolling along.

—Preston Neal Jones

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## Manhattan Transfer

The Manhattan Transfer is a versatile vocal group that sings many different styles of music but, is essentially a jazz group. Through its showmanship and willingness to sing music as diverse as R&B (rhythm and blues), doo-wop, Brazilian Bosai Nova, and rock 'n' roll, it has managed to have an impact beyond jazz in its 25 year history. The Manhattan Transfer has clearly declined to be stereotyped as a jazz group. Tim Hauser of the Transfer notes that the group modeled itself on the saxophone section of the Count Basie Band, using its sound as a model for its four-part harmony.

The group has kept its basic personnel throughout most of its history. It consists of Tim Hauser, Cheryl Bentyne, Alan Paul, and Janis Siegel. Each contributes a unique sound to the overall ensemble and each is a fine soloist in his or her own right. Working as a marketing executive and a New York cab driver in 1972, Tim Hauser never lost sight of his hope to create a vocal group. One of his passengers was Laurel Masse, who was familiar with *Jukin'*, an album Hauser had made with an earlier Manhattan Transfer incarnation. Soon after Hauser met Janis Siegel at a party. Hauser convinced Siegel to leave her current singing group and join him and Masse in the Manhattan Transfer. He was also able to convince Alan Paul, from the original cast of *Grease*, to join the group.

The group spent three years working around Manhattan, gaining a cult following. They made their debut in 1975 on Atlantic Records with *The Manhattan Transfer*. They originally had greater success in Europe and had a string of top ten hits from their next two albums, *Coming Out* and *Pastiche*. The group even had its own short-lived television show on CBS.

Masse left the group in 1978 and was replaced by Cheryl Bentyne. Their first album with Bentyne was a major domestic hit.



**Manhattan Transfer:** (from left) Alan Paul, Janis Siegel, Cheryl Bentyne, and Tim Hauser.

Entitled *Extensions*, it featured the song “Twilight Zone/Twilight Tone.” It also features “Birdland,” a vocalese version of Weather Report’s great tune. It earned the group and Janis Siegel their first Grammys. Siegel won for best arrangement and the group for Best Jazz-Fusion Performance, Vocal or Instrumental. In 1981 the Transfer won Grammys for pop and jazz performances. It was the first time that had happened in Grammy history. They won the pop award for “The Boy from New York City” and the jazz Grammy for Count Basie’s “Corner Pocket.” Over the next few years, they continued their success.

In 1985 they recorded *Vocalese*, and this album became recognized as their peak effort. Jon Hendricks, the man generally recognized as the founder of the art form which sets jazz lyrics to jazz solos, joined them. The album was nominated for 12 Grammys and won two; best jazz vocal performance and best arrangement for voices. They followed this success with albums featuring Brazilian music, Christmas music, a children’s album, doo-wop music, and others.

Overall, the Manhattan Transfer has issued 20 albums over their 25 years. Along the way the group has won eight Grammy Awards.

Janis Siegel and Cheryl Bentyn have each won individual arranger Grammys. Their success has included worldwide sales in the millions as well as numerous sold-out world concert tours. Other awards include being named the “Best Vocal Group” for an entire decade (1980-1990) in the annual *Down Beat* and *Playboy* jazz polls.

—Frank A. Salamone, Ph.D.

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## **Manilow, Barry (1946—)**

Best known for his romantic and borderline saccharine songs, Barry Manilow was a whipping boy for the critics through much of

the 1970s even as he sold millions of albums and gained a huge audience base. Though he didn't always write the songs, even when recording work by other artists Manilow still cultivated a lush and melodic musical style that was popular during the pre-rock era. His style evolved during the early-1980s from tame, string-laden, AM-radio pop to a more classic, jazzy sound that was heavily influenced by swing and 1930s and 1940s Broadway show tunes (many of which he later covered).

Unabashedly embracing a sentimental style that appealed primarily to white middle-class women of the working and homemaking sort, it is unsurprising that this Brooklyn born and raised songwriter was frequently denounced by the male-dominated rock and rock critic worlds. Because forms of entertainment associated with women—such as soap operas, romance novels, and the like—have historically been devalued, those who cater to that audience have been routinely dismissed by mainstream critics.

Unlike his ragtag rock 'n' roll world counterparts, however, Barry Manilow's resume has "professionalism" written all over it. After taking up a variety of instruments at an early age, Manilow attended both the New York College of Music and the Juilliard School, and in 1967 he went on to work as the musical director of a



Barry Manilow

CBS network television show. From there Manilow remained busy writing a successful Off-Broadway adaptation of *The Drunkard*, doing musical arrangement work for Ed Sullivan Productions, and writing a number of well-known commercial jingles for Dr. Pepper, Band-Aids, and other advertisements. Throughout the 1970s his voice could be heard singing the McDonald's jingle—"You deserve a break today." He even released a medley of his commercials on one of his 1970s albums.

He got his foot in the door of the pop music world while working as part of a duo with the then-unknown Bette Midler. Working out of New York City gay bathhouses as her pianist, Manilow soon became her musical director and arranger, co-producing and arranging her Grammy-winning debut album and its follow-up. His own debut album, on the other hand, went nowhere, but his second album featured the number one *Billboard* Pop single, "Mandy," laying the groundwork for his rise to fame throughout the rest of the 1970s. Many more hit songs—"I Write the Songs," "Looks Like We Made It," "Could It Be Magic," and "Copacabana (At the Copa)"—soon followed, as did a Grammy and a Tony for a Broadway performance.

In the early 1980s, Manilow began to position himself as a modern interpreter of showtunes and pop standards, working with singers Mel Torme and Sarah Vaughan and veteran jazz instrumentalists Gerry Mulligan and Shelly Manne on 1984's *2:00 AM Paradise Cafe*. He followed this same path on 1987's *Swing Street* and 1991's *Showstoppers*, on which he sang with Michael Crawford and Barbara Cook. One of Manilow's self-described career highlights was scoring music to a collection of unpublished lyrics by Johnny Mercer, the famed lyricist who penned a multitude of pop standards from the 1930s to the 1950s. From pop standards to show tunes, Manilow has captured a devoted audience who continue to maintain his importance to American music and popular culture.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## Mansfield, Jayne (1933-1967)

Although many people have never seen her movies, Jayne Mansfield remains, long after her death, one of the most recognizable icons of 1950s celebrity culture. More so than for her acting ability, Mansfield is remembered as a glamorous, big-busted sex kitten in competition with Hollywood rivals such as Marilyn Monroe and Mamie Van Doren. Because of her hour-glass figure, newspapers in the 1950s routinely published her body measurements, which led evangelist Billy Graham to once exclaim, "This country knows more about Jayne Mansfield's statistics than the Second Commandment."

The peculiar aspect of Mansfield's life is that although she symbolized sex appeal, perhaps more than any other American actress in the 1950s, she was never a major box office attraction. Still, she kept in the limelight because she was skilled at the art of publicity. Mansfield knew the importance of name and face recognition in the development of stardom. She strived to keep the public interested in



Jayne Mansfield

her life, and she generated daily publicity to keep her name and pictures in the news. Mansfield's movie career was so brief that she would not have obtained cult status had it not been for the countless number of photos and news stories she generated during her lifetime.

Mansfield was born on April 19, 1933, in Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. Her parents, Herbert and Vera Palmer, named her Vera Jayne. The family moved to Phillipsburg, New Jersey, where her father practiced law and her mother was a school teacher who retired to raise a family. When Jayne was three, her father died of a heart attack at age thirty. Upon the father's death, her mother returned to teaching to support the family. When Jayne's mother remarried in 1939, the family moved to Dallas. Throughout her childhood, Jayne was fascinated with movie stars, with Shirley Temple being one of her favorites. She avidly collected Hollywood fan magazines and dreamed of being a film star. As she matured, her idol became Marilyn Monroe.

At age seventeen, on May 6, 1950, Jayne married twenty-one-year-old Paul Mansfield in Fort Worth, Texas. In June of that year, Jayne graduated from Highland Park High School, and in November she gave birth to a daughter, Jayne Marie. Paul Mansfield served in the Army during the Korean War, and at various times during the early 1950s, both Jayne and her husband acted in little theater

productions in Dallas. By 1954, the couple moved to Hollywood so Jayne could have a chance at being the movie star she always dreamed of becoming. She initially did a bevy of screen tests, but no studio would sign her. In the meantime, Jayne sold candy in a Los Angeles theater and worked as a part-time model for the agency where Marilyn Monroe got her start.

Jayne Mansfield's first successful acting assignment occurred on October 21, 1954, when she appeared on television in the *Lux Theater* production of "An Angel Went A.W.O.L." This appearance led her to her first film role in *The Female Jungle*. After her first taste of stardom, Mansfield began cranking up her publicity machine, adopting the color pink as her trademark. She decorated her house in pink, drove pink cars, and wore pink clothes for the publicity she received from the color. In January 1955, Mansfield appeared at a Silver Springs, Florida, press junket promoting the film *Underwater*, which starred Jane Russell and Mansfield. Because Mansfield purposely wore a swimsuit that was too small, her top fell off before an astonished press corps, upstaging Russell's appearance at the junket. This burst of publicity led Warner Brothers to place Mansfield under contract. During this time, Mansfield's marriage fell apart, with the couple separating and then divorcing in 1956. In 1955, Warner Brothers paraded Mansfield through a series of small roles in films such as *Illegal*, *Pete Kelly's Blues*, and *Hell on Frisco Bay*. And although it was rumored that Mansfield would appear with James Dean in *Rebel Without a Cause*, that breakthrough vanished when Warner Brothers abruptly dropped her contract.

Mansfield rebounded that same year by landing a larger role in the independent film, *The Burglar*. Her agent also insisted that she test for the lead in the Broadway play *Will Success Spoil Rock Hunter?* which she landed when the play's director liked her exaggerated portrayal of a dumb blond movie star. Mansfield proved to be a Broadway sensation, and won awards in 1956 for her work. Because America became infatuated with the sex kitten persona she developed in the play, Mansfield appeared in about 2,500 newspaper photographs between September 1956 and May 1957, and had about 122,000 lines of newspaper copy written about her during this time. Because of the successful media blitz, Jayne Mansfield was a household name even though few people had seen her perform. While performing in the play, Mansfield also appeared on such New York-based television shows as *What's My Line?*, *Person to Person*, and *Sunday Spectacular*.

By 1957, Twentieth Century-Fox had signed Mansfield in hopes of her becoming a new Marilyn Monroe, who, at the time, was refusing to make movies unless the studio gave her more money and treated her with respect. Mansfield appeared in two comedy roles for Twentieth Century-Fox as a dumb blond—*The Girl Can't Help It* and the film version of *Will Success Spoil Rock Hunter?* The studio then cast Mansfield in a dramatic role for the movie version of the John Steinbeck novel *The Wayward Bus*. In the spring of 1957, she received a number of "most-promising" awards for her acting on Broadway and on the screen, and in that year, she continued to be a focal point for the press and appeared on a number of television variety shows.

Mansfield married former Mr. Universe Mickey Hargitay in Palos Verdes, California, on January 13, 1958. The marriage displeased Twentieth Century-Fox because the studio preferred their sex kittens to be unmarried. However, the marriage proved to be a boost

for the careers of both Mansfield and Hargitay, with the couple appearing in Las Vegas together on stage. Mansfield and Hargitay became a famous publicity and performing team, with many people watching their performance just to see this pair together. They appeared in nightclub acts from 1958 to 1961, featuring the busty Mansfield and the muscular Hargitay in skimpy costumes.

Although she was a master publicist, Mansfield received her first negative publicity between April and September 1958 when she and Mickey Hargitay said they were too poor to pay child support payments being requested by Hargitay's first wife. The press had a field day reporting that the couple had just purchased a \$76,000 mansion and spent \$75,000 to remodel it and were far from being broke. As of 1959, Twentieth Century-Fox no longer considered Mansfield star material and instead loaned her out for low-budget English and Italian movies. Despite being rejected by American movie studios, Mansfield was still a welcomed guest on television, appearing in dramatic parts and on game shows and talk shows.

From 1962 to 1964, Mansfield continued to receive bad press because of ongoing marital problems and a messy divorce with Hargitay, as well as public fights with her third husband, Matt Cimber. And by 1965, her career had hit its lowest level, with two movies announced for Mansfield that were never made and her performing in two plays that were critically panned. In 1966, she starred in two low-budget American films, *The Fat Spy* and *The Las Vegas Hillbillies*, and that same year she performed in her last major nightclub appearance at the Latin Quarter. She also spent much of the year touring in small-town productions of the play *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*.

In 1967, Mansfield's last year, her career descended into lesser nightclub appearances and TV talk shows. She also spent two months touring South Vietnam and entertaining the troops. Her personal life that year was reported to be a living hell, with her fourth marriage to attorney Sam Brody involving physical abuse and a stream of lawsuits. At 2:25 a.m. on June 29, 1967, Mansfield's turbulent life came to an end when she, Brody, and driver Ronnie Harrison were killed instantly in a freak car accident thirty miles outside of New Orleans. Mansfield was decapitated when the car slammed into the rear of a semi-truck in a white cloud of fog produced by City of New Orleans mosquito spraying equipment.

Despite the fact that Jayne Mansfield was never a major box-office draw, she remains a pop-culture icon because of the massive amounts of publicity she generated, her image as a well-endowed Hollywood sex kitten, and the public's fascination with her gruesome and untimely death. She married four times, had five children, and although her work was rarely lauded by the critics, Mansfield did fulfill her childhood dream of achieving fame.

—Dennis Russell

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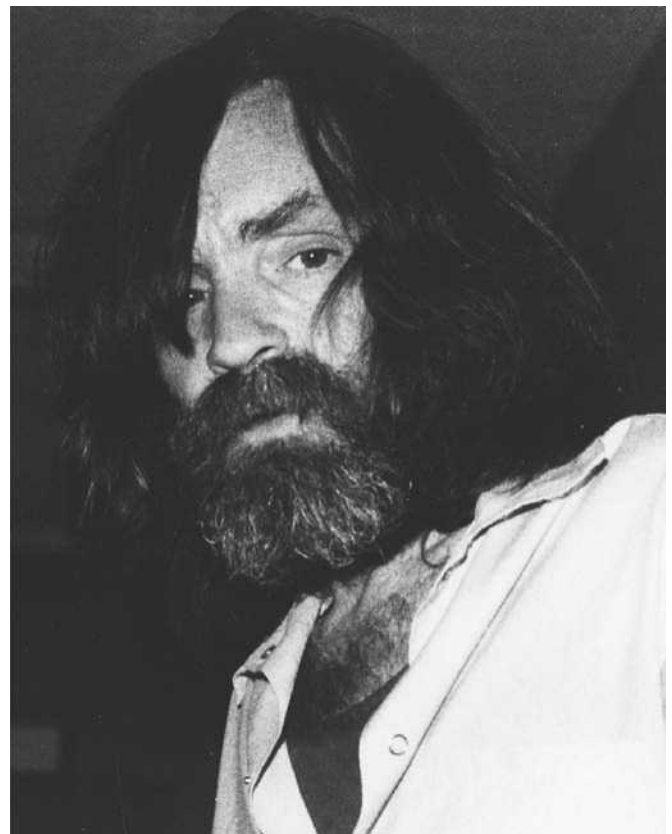
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## Manson, Charles (1934—)

A hardened recidivist criminal, Charles Manson sought vengeance on a society he felt perpetuated his vicious cycle of incarceration. With a charismatic litany of love/hate, life/death mind games and heavy drug use, he attracted followers—"the Family"—who beheld him in messianic awe, yet were terrified of his brutality. Manson wanted attention, prison psychiatrists would explain, and eventually he would make famous (and infamous) the hippie thrill kill cult that murdered in his name to bring down "the Establishment" at the close of the tumultuous 1960s.

Born Charles Milles Manson on November 12, 1934, in Cincinnati, Ohio, Manson was often left in the care of a religiously strict aunt while his mother committed petty crimes. He was placed in a boys' school, and upon escaping, stole to survive, committing his first armed robbery at age 13. Described by case workers as "aggressively antisocial," Manson was considered a lost cause until he married Rosalie Joan Willis in 1955. Standing trial in Los Angeles for grand theft auto, Manson was nearly released on probation due to his marriage and newborn son. When he was jailed anyway, Rosalie divorced him and took Charles Manson, Jr., away. Manson never saw them again. After a brief probation, during which he was arrested for prostitution, Manson was returned to prison to serve the remainder of a ten-year sentence.

Though largely illiterate, Manson began studying the Bible, Scientology, and the science fiction of Robert Heinlein which—combined with his own song writing aspirations—formed the basis



Charles Manson

for Manson's concepts of group love and communal living. He was also blown away by Beatlemania which hit the United States in 1964, and he became obsessed with stardom, claiming he could be bigger than the Beatles given the opportunity.

After a transfer to Los Angeles in 1967, Charles Manson was released from the only home he'd ever known. He roamed California, traveling to San Francisco, panhandling, playing his music in Berkeley coffee houses, and attracting a cadre of runaways among those flocking to the mecca of the "Summer of Love." Manson also experimented with LSD, and encouraged others to do so, spouting his misinformed spiritualism and ingratiating himself into the flower power scene.

"The Family," as they called themselves, were mostly small-time criminals from broken or dysfunctional nuclear homes, and Manson played the role of father, teacher, lover, God, and Devil. He was everything they needed, and, through emotional manipulation and isolation from a society he claimed had thrown them away, he became everything they wanted as well. Together they cruised California's highways, picking up wayward teenagers, teaching them how to forage, prostitute, and live communally. As the hippie aesthetic became fashionable in Hollywood, the Family was welcomed into the homes of L.A.'s hippest, well intentioned celebrities: filmmaker Kenneth Anger, producer Terry Melcher, and significantly Beach Boy Dennis Wilson, who recorded some of Manson's jangly sociopathic folk tunes and from whom the Family took cash, credit cards, and clothing.

In 1968, the Family moved to the Spahn movie ranch in Simi Valley, a short drive from downtown Hollywood. Numbering as many as fifty, they worked as ranch hands in exchange for lodging in the dilapidated Western movie sets, scavenged for food in area dumpsters, and kept a steady stream of runaways flowing toward Manson's already crowded mattress. Meanwhile, he fueled their disenfranchisement with a barrage of synchronicities involving the Bible (specifically the Book of Revelations), Beatles lyrics (specifically the *White Album*), and the sordid events of his own life. He prophesied that a race war would erupt destroying all major cities and decimating the white population, and that he would rise up from the desert to rule over the remains of the human race. But Manson couldn't wait for his theory of "Helter Skelter" (named after the Beatles song of the same name) to come of its own accord; he and the Family began executing those individuals perceived as threats to this master plan.

The rejection of Manson's music by industry executives who had once befriended him only sparked more murders, the most famous (and grisly) occurring August 9 and 10, 1969, historically known as the Tate-LaBianca murders. Though Manson was not present for these, he incited Family members to slay coffee magnate Abigail Folger, pregnant actress Sharon Tate, and three others in the Hollywood home of director Roman Polanski. By leaving pseudo-political clues—"Piggy" and "Rise" smeared on the wall in the victims' blood and an American flag draped over a couch—the Family hoped to place blame away from their mission of salvation-through-murder. The next night, Family members killed prominent businessman Leno LaBianca and his wife Rosemary in a similar fashion in their home.

Months later, Manson's pathology was uncovered due largely to the tenacious investigative work of district attorney Vincent Bugliosi, who reconstructed the events of those August nights and extracted the bizarre motive. After Manson and the murderers were arrested, advocates of the Family held vigils and shaved their heads in a show of

solidarity, creating a media circus outside the courthouse, and Manson egged on the investigation by claiming he had already been judged and couldn't be punished more than he already had been.

Manson and eight Family members were convicted of first-degree murder in 1971. Though Manson was sentenced to death, the death penalty was abolished in California in 1972, and his sentence was reduced to life in prison. He made his first unsuccessful appearance before a parole board in 1978. This opportunity for release comes every seven years, and has always been met with stern opposition by the public as well as the families of the victims. Manson rarely seems disappointed with the prospect of returning to his cell though, claiming it's safer there than out in society and that his influence is far greater behind bars.

The lurid visual appeal of murder scenes, the intricacies of forensic testimony, the demonization of hippies, cults, and communes, and Manson's sinister theories on society's ills have forever changed the public view of "common" criminals and their influence on youth culture. Though the connection between dysfunctional families and crime had always been evident, Manson demonstrated to his followers—and, with media exposure, to the world—that one could become famous through misplaced aggression. Even underground institutions are divided on whether he is a sick symbol of our times or a martyred prophet; nevertheless, Charles Manson has become one of the most despicable media darlings in popular culture.

—Tony Brewer

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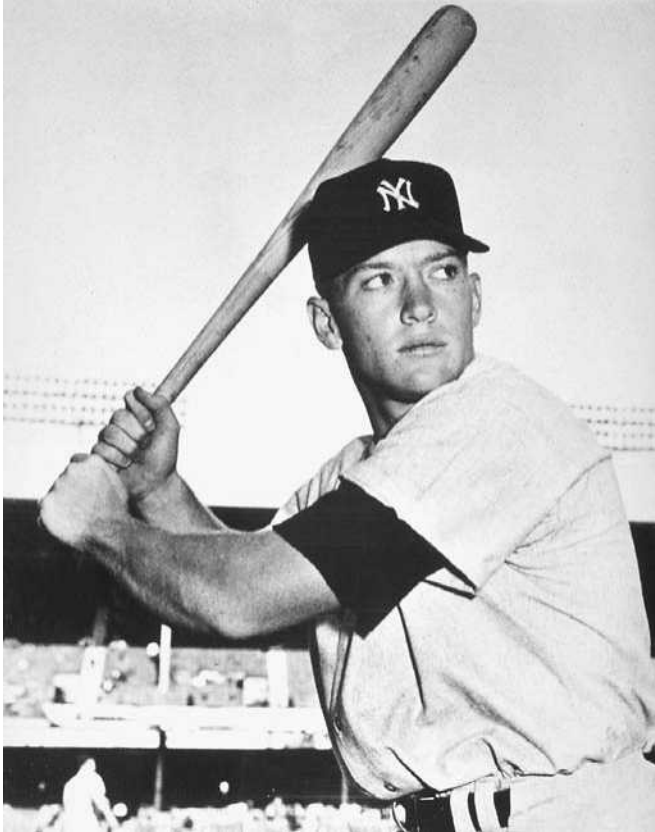
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## Mantle, Mickey (1931-1995)

In 1951, nineteen-year-old Mickey Mantle joined the fabled New York Yankees. In the ensuing decade—a time when baseball was still America's Pastime, representing all that was good in sports and in the nation—Mantle would evolve into a legend. This innocent boy from Oklahoma became one of the most beloved players in the history of the game. Known as a genuine and humble young man, the kid whose mother had sewn all of his baseball uniforms for him came to evoke the soul of baseball.

It was Mantle's father, Mutt, who directed his son's life toward baseball from birth when he named him after his favorite player, Mickey Cochrane. A natural right-handed hitter, Mickey was taught by his father to become a switch-hitter, making the young man a double threat at the plate. A powerful batter from either side, Mantle switch-hit with great success. When his career with the Yankees ended, he had hit 536 home runs, batted in 1,509 runs on 2,415 hits and had 10 out of 18 seasons when he hit .300 or better. He also, however, struck out a record 1,710 times. Three times he was named the Most Valuable Player in the American League—in 1956, 1957, and 1962—and he was unanimously inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1974. His greatest single-season achievement came in 1956 when he won the triple crown—with 52 home runs, 130 runs batted in, and a .353 batting average.





Mickey Mantle

But Mantle is probably best remembered for just one season—1961—when he and teammate Roger Maris (1934-1985) matched each other homer for homer as they attempted to break Babe Ruth’s record of 60 home runs in one season. That Ruth was also a Yankee added a certain poignancy and excitement to the competition. When the popular Mantle did not win—Maris hit a record 61 homers that year—the public never threw their support behind Maris; thereafter, the record became a burden to Maris while Mantle’s popularity only grew.

Television helped make Mantle a figure of popular culture. He joined the Yankees when baseball was at the peak of its popularity: television had begun broadcasting games, thus increasing the audience for the sport. Mantle played centerfield for the New York Yankees at a time when Willie Mays played centerfield for the New York Giants and Duke Snider played centerfield for the Brooklyn Dodgers. All three were great players playing in the same city, which also happened to be the media capital of the world. Everyone could follow their exploits. People who didn’t have television sets in the early to mid-1950s would stand outside appliance store windows in October to watch the World Series—and Mickey Mantle was a hero in many of those games.

But being a hero came with a burden. Mantle not only hit with the best, he also drank with the best. Most of his off-field exploits with alcohol and women never made the sports pages and so his good-boy image went virtually untarnished. As he once said after one of his sons, then 8, fixed a bicycle he had assembled incorrectly: “Even eight-year-olds made excuses for me.” He and his wife eventually separated and the entire family battled alcoholism.

It was not until 1994 that Mantle confronted his alcoholism and checked himself into the Betty Ford clinic. At first it appeared Mantle had hit another home run. But it was too late. He had damaged his liver beyond repair and eventually he became ill with cancer. A liver transplant buoyed everyone’s hopes—family and fans alike—that he had won the latest battle. But the cancer had spread. The soul of baseball died on August 13, 1995, remembered for his innocence, his exploits, his honesty. He was 63.

—R. Thomas Berner

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## Manufactured Homes

Manufactured homes have become an increasingly attractive and affordable alternative to the traditional site-built house. Factory-built and delivered to the home site in one or more sections by tractor-trailer, these structures now come in all shapes and sizes, with exteriors of varying styles, textures, and materials, and with interior space and layout approximating that found in more conventional houses—and they cost less. Once considered suitable only for the two extremes of the market spectrum, young first-time buyers or retirees, today manufactured homes allow homeownership to be within the reach of a much larger segment of society. Whether in a specifically designated manufactured housing subdivision or on an individual lot in town or country, the modern factory-built home is largely fulfilling America’s urgent need for affordable housing.

A descendant of the mobile home, manufactured homes no longer are considered temporary in any sense of that word: they are not simply a stepping stone to a larger house, and, perhaps most significantly, they are intended, just like the stick-built dwelling, to remain permanently in place on their established lot. Numerous technical problems and design flaws have been overcome. Impediments to financing and mortgage arrangements have been removed. Institutional barriers such as local zoning ordinances that once blocked their way have been modified and compromised to enable their proliferation. One of the main obstacles to greater social acceptance of manufactured housing is its association in the minds of many with the earlier forms of the type: people still think of them as trailers.

While some wish to differentiate between the mobile home and the strictly modular prefabricated housing units manufactured in a factory, this distinction has been clouded by the industry’s own semantics. From its humble beginnings, the “travel trailer,” the term for the predominant type of mass-produced transportable shelter in

this country, has made a progression through “house trailer,” “mobile home,” and finally to “manufactured home.” Taking a cue from the popularity of British “motor caravans,” American companies began production of travel trailers designed primarily for camping or road trips. During the 1930s, Arthur Sherman’s Covered Wagon models rolled off the production line like Henry Ford’s automobiles. Yet people soon began using them as year-round accommodations. This was the beginning of the application of an industrial mass-production mode to housing. Sherman advertised his product in popular magazines such as *National Geographic* and *Field and Stream*, and the public responded to the availability of this new way of building shelter. In 1936, noted financial analyst Roger Babson, who had earlier foreseen the stock market crash, predicted that soon more than half of all Americans would be living in trailers.

Several visionaries, including Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, and R. Buckminster Fuller, had espoused the concept of mass-produced industrialized housing during the early decades of the twentieth century; but the initial departure away from a towable trailer in manufactured housing may be attributed to the modular unit known as the Durham House, designed in 1938 by two architecture professors at the University of Illinois. This structure had no underlying chassis, was presented in a double or single scheme, and was designed for more or less permanent placement on a cinder block foundation. While the double unit may indeed be viewed as the precursor of today’s popular “double-wides,” prospective home-buyers then did not seem as interested in manufactured housing that was decidedly something other than a trailer, and the Durham House never caught on. The so-called Lustron House was another failed attempt. General Houses Corporation of Chicago tried to market prefabricated designs during the 1930s, and a few government agencies, such as the Tennessee Valley Authority, experimented at this time with transportable, sectional housing. Yet during the late 1930s, the notion that mobile homes could serve as permanent housing captured consumer consciousness. And it was then that the industry first changed the name for their product from “travel trailer” to “house trailer.”

World War II created a ready market for the house trailer, as thousands of units were ordered by the government to shelter workers involved in construction and war-time production projects across the country. When hostilities ended and the flight to the suburbs began, the trailer house provided a competitive alternative to standardized models of the new subdivision home such as those being developed in places like Levittown. Trailer parks, once associated with seasonal camps and “Tin Can Tourists,” began to offer instead a sense of permanent community. Moreover, basic designs for house trailers changed with their name, and they especially relinquished those elements symbolically associated with movement, substituting the suggestion of a real home fixed in place: exteriors became less streamlined, and interiors appeared less yacht-like; foldout porches and bay windows contributed to the new implication of permanence; skirting and suggested landscaping schemes covered up the hitch and chassis. In 1954, the eight-foot-width barrier was broken when Marshfield Homes introduced a ten-foot-wide model. During this same time, manufacturers and trade magazines initiated the newest label for their product in recognition of its now unmistakable role: it was to be called the “mobile home.” Transportation regulations were modified to allow shipment over public rights of way, and manufacturers made their models wider, with 12- and 14-foot widths becoming standard. Soon buyers were favoring the “double-wide” home,

designed to be transported in halves down the highway and joined together at the site.

In the post-World War II period, deliberate attempts at mass producing industrialized modular housing units apart from the mobile home industry have been sporadic and unsuccessful, despite a number of notable ventures. During the 1940s, a collaborative effort by several architects exiled from Hitler’s Germany set a course toward production of the “Packaged House,” an enterprise that engaged much fanfare but little else. One tangible result was that during the late 1940s, the General Panel Company turned out a limited quantity of Packaged House kits from their California plant. Contemporary attempts at marketing manufactured homes by firms such as Uni-Seco Structures, Arcon, and Aluminum Bungalow were equally less than successful. Prefabrication was seen as the application of systems design to the problem of shelter, but all the dreams of efficiency and technique could not meet the wishes of the market. Even Buckminster Fuller had labeled his famous Dymaxion House a “theory only.” Improvements in design and technological breakthroughs over the years have not seemed to improve the chances for commercial success. The Marlette Company, for instance, produced a sophisticated industrial design in 1963 that went nowhere. That same year, Kaiser Aluminum introduced several innovative floor plans in modular homes. And in 1970 a distinctive Frank Lloyd Wright-inspired “prairie style” manufactured home was developed but never commercially produced.

In 1975, however, an official industry name change prompted recognition of reality: mobile homes were now called manufactured housing, and since that time any additional efforts at prefabricated factory-built housing have been subsumed within the mobile home/manufactured housing industry. In terms of overall output, the percentage of all new housing represented by mobile/manufactured home shipments rose steadily following the end of World War II and peaked during the end of the 1960s and into the early 1970s, when for several years they comprised about a third of all housing starts. This ratio has declined recently and remains relatively stable at approximately 20 percent in the late 1990s, according to figures compiled by the Manufactured Housing Institute. At a national level, government recognition of the legitimacy of the manufactured home as a fully acceptable housing unit only came in 1969, when HUD loans were authorized for their purchase and financing no matter where they were to be located. The local legal landscape is still contested terrain, however. In a 1982 decision upholding restrictions against their placement anywhere other than in a designated park, the Texas Supreme Court ruled that “mobile homes are different and thus may be classified separately from other residential structures for purposes of regulation.” But in a Michigan case, that state’s highest court overturned such restrictions as not being a proper exercise of the police power, and affirmed that “mobile homes today can compare favorably with site-built housing in size, safety, and attractiveness.”

To be sure, from all outward appearances many manufactured homes are virtually indistinguishable from those constructed on site. As Allan Wallis says in *Wheel Estate*: “They have pitched shingled roofs, overhanging eaves with gutters, and permanent foundations . . . often sited parallel to the street like conventional homes, rather than in the perpendicular arrangement characteristic of the mobile home park.” While aesthetics are no longer an issue, there remains social prejudice built on the long-term association of trailers with lower socioeconomic classes and impermanence, but few of today’s mobile homeowners select their house out of a desire for mobility, and nine

out of ten placements remain in their original location. Furthermore, evidence has shown that fears of neighborhoods looking more trashy are unfounded, and the industry is expanding its target market.

—Robert Kuhlken

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## Mapplethorpe, Robert (1946-1989)

Robert Mapplethorpe's photography has become overshadowed by the controversy that surrounds much of it. Looking beyond the stir that his images generated reveals a body of work that includes elegant and rich black and white photographs of nudes, portraits, still lifes, and flowers. Mapplethorpe's imagery is clear and crisp, with a neutral background—he focuses completely on his subjects, composing everything as a still life. His nudes are reminiscent of classical sculpture, and his flowers are eroticized. The subject matter of some of his photographs is shocking, yet his fresh approach to image-making has the power to astonish.

The man who would shake up the art world grew up in a devoutly Catholic family in Floral Park, New York. Mapplethorpe always felt drawn to art and the power of expression that art could hold. At age 17, he left home to attend the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, a prominent art school. Originally, Mapplethorpe wanted to paint or sculpt; at that time, photography did not hold much credibility as a serious art form. Mapplethorpe, however, found photography by accident and continued to use it because it provided a viable outlet by which to express his ideas and make a statement. Many of his first artworks were constructions and collages, including pornographic images. As Mapplethorpe began taking his own photographs he started focusing on the human body as subject, first as a study in form—focusing on contours and tones—and also as portraiture. Some of Mapplethorpe's earliest portraits are of his friend, and later lover, rock singer Patti Smith. Mapplethorpe photographed Smith over a period of several years in the 1970s and 1980s. Other celebrities who later sat before his camera include Laurie Anderson, David Byrne, Truman Capote, Glenn

Close, Richard Gere, Peter Gabriel, Gregory Hines, Roy Lichtenstein, Norman Mailer, Isabella Rossellini, and Arnold Schwarzenegger. Mapplethorpe also photographed some of his sponsors, serious collectors, and prestigious art world personalities, including Andy Warhol and Sam Wagstaff, who later became both his patron and his lover.

Mapplethorpe had a fascination with human form. In the early 1980s, he extensively photographed the body builder Lisa Lyon, culminating in the publication of the book *Lady* in 1983. With this project, his interest was not only in the beauty of the body and the structure of musculature, but with gender roles; he wished to document that women could develop—physically—their bodies like men. Exemplifying his other studies of the human form are his images of nude black men. These images are reminiscent of classical sculpture. Mapplethorpe—with his series of photographs *Ajito* (1981), a nude black man seated on a pedestal—reinterpreted the nineteenth century artist Wilhelm von Glöden's photograph of a male nude in classical pose. Throughout his career Mapplethorpe also used himself as subject; creating self portraits with a variety of poses, props, and degrees of make-up, he explored different emotions, personas, and gender distinctions.

Later work includes his studies of still lifes and flowers. He arranged the objects precisely. His approach to this genre was no different than his approach to people. Objectifying all subjects, Mapplethorpe tried to transcend his subjects. He brought lighting, composition, and other additional elements to a level he considered almost perfection. Critic Emmanuel Cooper states in *Creative Camera*, "For Mapplethorpe, photographing flowers was not very different from body parts. He honed in on the sensual aspects of the flowers, often using them as metaphors for physical contact and the ephemeral nature of beauty."

It is some of his earliest work which brought Mapplethorpe the most notoriety. *Portfolio X*, dating from the mid-1970s, consists of homoerotic and sado-masochistic imagery often depicting graphic sex acts. This work exposed the gay subculture of the 1970s to the mainstream while allowing Mapplethorpe to investigate these areas on his own, and to embrace his own homosexuality; he always claimed that he did not "photograph things I've not been involved in myself." Also featured within this grouping of photographs are two images of children, one of which, *Rosie* (1976), proved particularly controversial. In this image, Rosie's dress, pulled up by her knee, exposes her genitals.

Included in Mapplethorpe's retrospective *The Perfect Moment* (1989) were these images. Organized by the Institute of Contemporary Art in Philadelphia, this exhibition became the catalyst for a public outcry regarding pornography and obscenity. One of the venues for the show, the Contemporary Art Center in Cincinnati, and its director Dennis Barry, had pornography charges brought against them leading to prosecution. Although acquittal was the outcome for both, the museum continued to deal with many repercussions. Similarly, a subsequent venue, the Corcoran Museum of Art in Washington, D.C., experienced withdrawn funding and a shake-up in personnel. Additionally, the sado-masochistic images and the photograph of Rosie became exploited by Jesse Helms, the Republican senator from North Carolina. The publicity generated from the pornography charges emboldened Senator Helms to introduce legislation prohibiting beneficiaries of National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) funding from

creating work that “may be considered obscene, including but not limited to depictions of sadomasochism, homoeroticism, the sexual exploitation of children or individuals engaged in sex acts. . . .”

The debate surrounding Mapplethorpe’s artworks took place a year after his death at age 42 from an AIDS-related illness. Mapplethorpe’s legacy is far reaching. Previous to his death, he formed the Robert Mapplethorpe Foundation, an organization for funding AIDS-related medical research and the visual arts. Almost singlehandedly, Mapplethorpe focused the spotlight on photography as a viable art form. After his first major show in 1976, the prices for his images steadily rose, while also bringing other artists’ photographic works into the limelight. The largest impact created by Mapplethorpe and his art, however, resulted from the controversy that surrounded his images. The aftermath altered funding for artists and redefined the criteria used to judge whether a work can hold the classification of art.

—Jennifer Jankauskas

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## March on Washington

The first March on Washington was proposed in 1941 by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. During the Depression, African Americans did not benefit equally from New Deal programs. As the war effort accelerated and industry expanded, racial discrimination continued, as white employers denied black workers access to jobs in war industries. When President Franklin D. Roosevelt failed to act to remedy this situation, Randolph called for 50,000 African Americans to descend on the Capitol in Washington, D.C., to protest. Roosevelt turned to moderate civil rights leaders, like NAACP Executive Director Walter White, for aid in quelling the storm, but Randolph refused to back down. With the help of African-American newspapers like the *Baltimore Afro-American*, the *Chicago Defender*, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, and the *New York Amsterdam News*, which publicized the event, the estimated size of the proposed March on Washington continued to grow. Facing the prospects of an embarrassing march, FDR relented in June of 1941 and issued Executive Order 8802 which forbid racial discrimination by defense contractors and established a temporary Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC).

When discrimination persisted in the United States and the promise of the “Double V” (“victory at home and victory abroad”) campaign failed to materialize after the war, the March on Washington group continued to meet annually to discuss African-American

demands for economic equality. As the Civil Rights movement emerged and developed in the wake of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, the Montgomery bus boycott, the Little Rock school desegregation crisis, and the student sit-in wave, the political climate changed and black leaders began to discuss and plan a new March on Washington aimed at pressuring the federal government to act on pending civil rights legislation lagging in the Congress. Chaired by Randolph and organized by Bayard Rustin, the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom sought to bring over 100,000 people to the nation’s capitol. Significantly, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) put aside their historic differences to support the event. Even so, tensions did simmer beneath the seemingly unified surface of the event when moderate leaders and clergymen forced John Lewis of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to temper criticism of President John F. Kennedy in his remarks.

In the end, however, the March on Washington was a tremendous practical and symbolic success. Over 250,000 black and white Americans stood before the Lincoln Memorial, listened to speeches, songs, prayers, and poetry and registered their demand for racial justice in the United States. A wide variety of Civil Rights leaders, clergymen, politicians, labor leaders, entertainers, and thousands of local civil rights supporters participated in an event that climaxed with Martin Luther King, Jr.’s, “I Have a Dream” speech. In that speech, King appealed to the highest ideals of American democracy, stating, “I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed - we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal. . . I have a dream my four children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I still have a dream!”

The successful 1963 March on Washington represented the culmination of the first phase of the modern Civil Rights movement and expressed the ideals and aspirations of non-violent direct action. Following the march, Congress finally passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and, later, the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Since then, numerous groups of varying political stripes, including poor people, women, environmentalists, gays and lesbians, black men, Christian men, and cancer patients, have attempted, none so successfully, to use the March on Washington as a model for delivering demands to the federal government. While none have achieved the success of the 1963 event, the March on Washington continues to symbolize for many the hopeful possibilities of mass-based protest and non-violent direct action in the United States.

—Patrick D. Jones

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One of the many marches on Washington.

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## Marching Bands

From regimental bands parading with and accompanying soldiers into battle during the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, to the half-time spectacles of today's televised football games seen by millions, pulse-pounding march music rendered by colorful marching bands has been a part of America's heritage since the country's earliest days. Indeed, bands, parades, and Sousa's famous march, "The Stars and Stripes Forever," have come to symbolize freedom, democracy, and the good old United States of America itself.

The word "band" derives from the Latin *bandum* meaning "banner," and also "company" and "crowd." In popular usage "band" has come to mean any group of instruments, from jug to rock, but its specific meaning derives from the medieval musical ensemble of louder instruments, primarily brass, reeds, and percussion, geared

for performance out-of-doors; this is in contrast to the "orchestra" of softer instruments, strings and woodwinds, performing in interior settings.

The *New Grove Dictionary of American Music* comments: "As with other areas of musical culture, European customs and traditions of band music were brought to America in the 17th century by the colonists. The snare drum was an important and necessary part of colonial life. It served not only to set the cadence for marching men but also to bear orders, warnings, and signals for both military and civilian activities. Whenever possible a fife, bagpipe, or other instrument was used to add melodic interest. These instruments, referred to as the 'field music,' were used primarily for functional purposes." Other precursors of the modern marching band were military/regimental bands, and the wind ensembles which performed mid-eighteenth-century court and household music throughout Europe.

Over several centuries, the band expanded from a small ensemble of reed instruments to its larger modern counterpart. An interest in Turkish (or janissary) music at the end of the eighteenth century added exotic percussion to the band's instrumentation, of which only the bass drum and cymbals (and sometimes a kettledrum) survive today. As existing instruments were refined, and new ones invented

(such as Adolph Sax's saxophones in the mid-1800s), the band eventually grew to the grandiose ensembles of the late nineteenth century. The first all-brass band is thought to be the Boston Brass Band, first led by Edward Kendall in 1835. Key figures in the development of the modern band were Patrick S. Gilmore and John Philip Sousa, the latter dubbed America's "March King" and composer of the country's—and the world's—most famous marches. Sousa assumed leadership of the United States Marine Band in 1890, and formed his own world-famous "Sousa's Band" in 1892.

With the rise of jazz in the 1920s, public interest in traditional bands came to an end. But band music, along with such field music/militaristic traditions as color guards and precision/formation marching, not to mention majorettes and virtuoso baton twirling, soon found a home on America's campuses. Football half-time shows evolved into elaborate spectacles in which colleges vied to create the most unusual, exotic, and fantastic presentations; in a salute to pornography the Stanford University formation band spelled out "SMUT" in huge block letters at the 1972 Rose Bowl! With a few modern touches (such as lightweight, fiberglass sousaphones, and sometimes throngs of "extras" and perhaps even a celebrity "guest star" added for half-time), the marching band has again secured a traditional and apparently permanent place within the schools and universities of America.

Marching bands, parades, stirring marches, and their attendant symbolism have played a recurrent role in signifying America's traditions, patriotism, and exuberant emotions in many venues of serious and popular culture. Composer Charles Ives evoked a noisy holiday in his native New England when he scored different and overlapping tempi and rhythms to be played simultaneously, to create the effect of marching bands passing each other on the village green, in his innovative 1914 composition *Three Places in New England*. Other modern composers such as Ralph Vaughan Williams and Samuel Barber have composed works specifically for concert band, and Frederick Fennell and the Eastman Symphonic Wind Ensemble popularized concert band music with their Mercury "Living Presence" high fidelity recording in the 1950s. In 1952 Clifton Web starred as Sousa in *Stars and Stripes Forever*, a film with one of the most unlikely Hollywood subplots ever: the story of invention of the sousaphone, a huge, tuba-like band instrument named after the maestro.

George Gershwin's late 1920s musical, *Strike Up The Band*, was revamped as a Mickey Rooney/Judy Garland musical in 1940, but other than the spirited title song, little else from the satiric Broadway original made it into the screen version. On 1950s Broadway Meredith Willson's hit, *The Music Man*, told the story of a personable con man fraudulently peddling musical instruments in the mid-west by convincing small towns that what they really needed to keep their young boys wholesome is a marching band. The hyperbolic imagery of the hit song, "Seventy-Six Trombones," the hustler's musical pitchline, was literalized in the finale of the 1962 film version. Parades as a symbol of all that is thrilling and meaningful in life, and even of the fatalistic progression of life itself, is a motif of several other Broadway songs: *Funny Girl's* "Don't Rain On My Parade," *Sweet Charity's* "I'm A Brass Band," and *Hello, Dolly's* "Before The Parade Passes By." In the 1969 film of *Hello, Dolly!* it took a marching band to accomplish what many film critics had previously deemed impossible: in one of the last and most spectacular production numbers ever staged for a Hollywood studio musical, a mightily expanded marching band, converging down a backlot version of New York's 14th Street, even managed to upstage Barbra Streisand!

—Ross Care

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## Marciano, Rocky (1923-1969)

Rocky Marciano (born Rocco Francis Marchegiano) is the only champion in the history of boxing to remain officially unbeaten and untied throughout his entire professional career. Heavyweight champion from September 1952 to April 1956, "The Brockton Blockbuster" burst into the American consciousness with a brutal knockout of an aging, twice-retired Joe Louis. Rocky then cemented his status as a popular culture icon with championship performances against a triumvirate of dangerous veteran fighters: Jersey Joe Wallcott, Ezzard Charles, and Archie Moore. Once retired, Marciano never attempted a comeback, but in 1969, he did engage in a "computer fight" against a then exiled-from-the-ring Muhammad Ali. A computer was fed data on both Marciano and Ali and calculated who would win. Marciano and Ali then staged the fight according to the computer's projections, and the film was shown in closed circuit theaters throughout the world. Tragically killed in the crash of a private plane,



Rocky Marciano

Rocky Marciano never got to see his 13th round “knockout” of Muhammad Ali.

—Max Kellerman

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## Marcus Welby, M.D.

A popular and groundbreaking medical melodrama, *Marcus Welby, M.D.* aired on ABC for seven seasons, from September 1969 until May 1976, with Robert Young in the title role. A star of the silver screen and well-known for his role as Jim Anderson on *Father Knows Best*, the sixty-two-year-old Young returned to television after a seven-year retirement to play Welby.

The plots of the hour-long weekly series revolved around the medical cases of Dr. Marcus Welby, a kind-hearted family doctor who ran his office out of his home in Santa Monica, California, and was associated with the Family Practice Center at Lang Memorial Hospital. Welby had an old-school work ethic and treated his patients with respect. After suffering a mild coronary, Welby hired a younger associate, Dr. Steven Kiley (James Brolin), to help him with his workload. Unlike the conservative Welby, Dr. Kiley was a handsome ladies’ man who rode his motorcycle to make house calls. Although a generation gap existed between Kiley and Welby, the two doctors shared the same heart of gold. Receptionist and nurse, Consuela Lopez (Elena Verdugo), ran their office.

Much of the appeal of the program surfaced in the way that Welby treated his patients. In 1965 President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Medicare Bill, raising many questions about the degree and quality of health care offered in the United States. Americans worried that they were going to be lost in the bureaucracy of the medical system and that their health would suffer for it. Marcus Welby allayed these fears of depersonalization.

Although Dr. Welby was supposed to be general practitioner, he treated much more than the common cold. The program spearheaded medical issues that raised social, moral, and ethical questions. Welby and Kiley treated ailments such as sickle cell anemia, autism, drug addiction, organ transplants, leukemia, LSD side effects, and mental retardation. *Marcus Welby, M.D.* even dealt with issues such as abortion and interracial marriage, both controversial topics in the early 1970s.

Little was revealed about Dr. Welby’s private life, even though much of the show was filmed in his home/office. There was no Mrs. Welby. In both the pilot film, which aired in March 1969, and during the first season, Marcus Welby had a lady friend, Myrna Sherwood (Anne Baxter); this character was dropped. It was not until the last season that Welby’s married daughter, Sandy (Ann Schemeen), and grandson, Phil (Gavin Brendan), appeared on the series.

Romance was saved for the dapper Dr. Kiley. Kiley found a love interest in Janet Blake, the public relations director of Hope Memorial

Hospital. They were wed on the episode that aired on October 21, 1975.

*Marcus Welby, M.D.* was a popular and highly rated series. Many attribute its success to the fact that for the first two years it ran against less appealing programming: a CBS news documentary and often against similar type of programming on NBC. Nonetheless, *Marcus Welby, M.D.* was ranked the top television show during the 1970/71 season and continued to win a plethora of awards, including a Golden Globe for best television drama and an Emmy. The character of Marcus Welby was resurrected for the last time in the 1984 television movie, *The Return of Marcus Welby, M.D.* Dr. Kiley did not appear in that feature.

—Lara Bickell

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## Mardi Gras

Mardi Gras, as we know it today, is the descendent of old fertility rites celebrating the coming of spring and the rebirth of vegetation. Gradually these pagan ceremonies were incorporated into orthodox Christianity, and the pre-Lenten celebration, which begins with the Feast of Epiphany and ends on Ash Wednesday, came generally to be known as Carnival. Derived from the old Italian *carnelevare*, which means taking meat away, Carnival became a kind of festival, or final fling, before a period of fasting. In France, and later in Mobile, Alabama and New Orleans, the celebration was known as Mardi Gras or Fat Tuesday. In England, it was called Shrove Tuesday or Pancake Tuesday, because the meat-fats were used to make pancakes.

Although Mardi Gras in America is generally associated with New Orleans, where half a million people or more gather to celebrate, Carnival actually began in Mobile in 1704, when Nicholas Langois established the *Societe de Saint Louis* at Fort Louis de la Mobile at 27-Mile Bluff. Later, when the city of Mobile moved to its present site, Michael Krafft, a 23-year-old Pennsylvanian working as a cotton broker, and several of his friends began a celebration on New Year’s Eve, 1830, after dining at a local restaurant. They left the restaurant, gathered up rakes, hoes, and cowbells, and initiated a parade through the city. Stopping at the home of the mayor, John Stocking, Jr., they were invited in for refreshments. The society Cowbellion de Rakin was born—and with it the mystic orders of Mardi Gras. From this beginning, New Orleans developed pageants of decorated floats and became famous for its parades.



Thousands of parade goers paying homage to Rex, King of the Mardi Gras.

Mardi Gras had a polarizing focus in New Orleans and Mobile due to its segregation and class participation. From the beginning, anyone could stand along the parade route, shout “throw me something mister,” and gather doubloons (those prized aluminum disks with the insignia of the krewe etched upon one side and the theme on the other) or “moon pies,” the marshmallow cookies frequently tossed from floats in Mobile. However, a distinction exists between those who ride the floats and those who lead the balls, between the King, Queen, maids, and dukes who dispense the trinkets and those who stand on the streets waiting to catch the “throws”—the beads, plastic cups, doubloons, and toys.

It may be said that the conservatism associated with Mardi Gras has been detrimental to progress. The expense of time, money, and energy involved in partying and revelry might be spent in more constructive ways, in spite of the fact that Carnival promotes the tourist industry and thus the local economy.

In fact, Mardi Gras has created the ultimate anti-establishment irony, in which a King of Mirth becomes elevated to the establishment whereby the eligible daughters of upper society leaders are presented at a coming-out ceremony. In spite of such pseudo—royal shenanigans, Mardi Gras actualizes a shared experience of joy. It brings people together to experience a time of mystery and magic—and that is perhaps why it has become one of the greatest parties on earth. As

they say in New Orleans: “Laissez les bon temps rouler.” Let the good times roll.

—Sue Walker

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## Mariachi Music

Since its beginnings, mariachi music has been the music of the countryside and its inhabitants—a much-loved local and regional musical genre. But by the late twentieth century this changed, as mariachi music became a significant force in U.S. popular culture. It influenced the Tejano music that arose in the United States and helped to solidify the latter as a serious contender in the American music



scene. Mariachi music infiltrated into American ceremonies and rituals such as weddings, masses, birthdays, and other festive events that celebrate a rite of passage. Numerous American women of Hispanic descent have joined mariachi groups, in effect keeping alive this Mexican tradition in the United States. As a result, Americans have become aware of Mexican cultural identities and rural traditions that mesh with those indigenous to the United States. Mariachi music conveys stories with which people readily identify. It highlights great moments in peoples' lives through songs dealing with the rites of courtship, rural life and its people, animals, plants, and other interesting themes.

Popular folk belief has it that mariachi music originated in Mexico in the nineteenth century. Specifically, people have argued that it was born in the Mexican state of Jalisco during the ill-fated reign of the Emperor Maximilian, a Frenchman, in the 1860s. There has always been some dispute regarding the origin of the word mariachi. According to legend mariachi is a variation of the French word "mariage," which means "wedding." This was how many people believe the tradition of mariachis playing at weddings began. This line of thinking insists that mariachi was a term coined by the French themselves after watching the musicians perform at weddings. A more accurate scholarly argument maintains that the word mariachi and the music associated with it has roots in Mexico itself as opposed

to having European connections. Nevertheless, European instruments were adopted by the natives, and despite the ambiguity of the origins of mariachi music, one thing is clear—it was a brand of music that was created by and for the people of the rural areas of Mexico.

The mariachi group as it has been known in the mid- to late-twentieth century, then, began in Jalisco in the nineteenth century. But the genre came into its own and penetrated into American popular culture during the 1950s, when mariachi groups became a kind of musical orchestra with their own recordings and films. These groups acquired new musical tastes and styles while, at the same time, retaining their traditional base of support—though they gained new ones in the process, especially in the United States. Tejano music became very popular in the United States in the late twentieth century, and the music of the mariachi had much to do with that success. Popular Tejano singers, like Selena, utilized the beautiful harmony of mariachi music. Mariachis also influenced the Catholic Church in the United States, specifically the Sunday Mass. Many Spanish masses in the United States have incorporated mariachis into their Sunday rituals, lending a new musical taste to the way Mass is conducted in the American Catholic Church.

A parallel development has been the number of American women involved in mariachi music. American women of Hispanic descent have increasingly become a part of mariachi groups since the



The Colombian Mariachi group Juvenil Mexico play Mexican folk music in Guadalajara, Mexico, 1998.

mid-twentieth century. Women are considered to be on the same musical footing with men with regard to their playing, singing, and dancing, and in their overall dedication to express Mexican and American folk traditions through the medium of music. Mariachis have performed at many American festive occasions, including weddings, masses, concerts with symphony orchestras, fiestas (parties), and even funerals. The musical interests of the mariachis have expanded to include both classical and popular music.

Because of the growth of mariachi music Americans have grown both aware and appreciative of it and its themes. The stories told by the mariachis in their music have encouraged Americans of both Hispanic and non-Hispanic descent to look at the simpler things in life and enjoy them while they last. Indeed, the music of the mariachi has had a positive impact not only on the musical arena of the United States, but also the religious and social arena as well. The music and lyrics are simple but contain clear-cut depictions of rural life and all the symbols, pleasures, trials, and tribulations that come with that lifestyle. Perhaps it is those themes that best reflect what both Mexicans and Americans long to have—an understanding of the land, nature, and most importantly, love. All these themes will continue to be represented as long as the mariachi remains dedicated to representing Mexico's fascinating cultural heritage and sharing it with, and in the process enriching, America's popular culture.

—David Trevino

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## Marichal, Juan (1937—)

Known for his unorthodox pitching motion and his immaculate control, Juan Marichal won more baseball games in the 1960s (191) than any other pitcher. The “Dominican Dandy” spent 14 of his 16 seasons with the San Francisco Giants, accumulating six 20 win seasons and throwing a no-hitter in 1963. Despite his efforts, he never won a Cy Young award. Marichal's success did, however, clear the path into major league baseball for other Latin American players and he remains influential in Dominican Republic baseball in the late 1990s. Marichal was also the all-time leader in wins by a Latin American pitcher (243) until Dennis Martinez eclipsed his record in 1998. He was inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1983.

—Nathan R. Meyer

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## Marie, Rose (1923—)

Singer and actress Rose Marie has entered the canon of popular entertainers as something of a cultural phenomenon. She flourished in two distinct, widely separated bursts of national popularity, but what set her apart was the sheer longevity of a professional career that began in earliest childhood. Born Rose Marie Mazetta in New York City on August 15, 1923, she began performing on radio when she was three years old, billed as “Baby Rose Marie,” singer of current popular songs. She sang and danced in a number of film shorts, including *Baby Rose Marie, the Child Wonder*, in 1929, and continued on her popular radio show into the early 1930s. Later, she appeared occasionally in Broadway revues, which included *Top Banana* with Phil Silvers in 1951. She did some guest shots on television in the 1940s and 1950s, and was featured in the television program *My Sister Eileen* in 1960. From 1961 to 1966 she starred on the *Dick Van Dyke Show* as Sally Rogers; this beloved character was a wisecracking, husband-hunting comedy writer, loosely based on the real-life, caustically witty comedy writer Selma Diamond. The role garnered three Emmy Award nominations for Rose Marie, who went on to play Myrna Gibbons on the *Doris Day Show* from 1969-1971, and appeared regularly on the *Hollywood Squares* game show for several years in the 1970s.

—James R. Belpedio

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## Marijuana

Historically used as a renewable resource and a treatment for both minor and terminal illnesses, *cannabis* (variously called marihuana, marijuana, or hemp) was the harbinger of a contradictory attitude in the United States toward controlled substances. This pervasive weed can be smoked or eaten as a mild intoxicant, and has become the third most popular recreational drug after alcohol and tobacco. Marijuana was once an integral part of early American agrarian society, but advances in synthetic manufacturing eliminated its industrial applications and threatened its highly-debated medicinal use as well. Modern physicians are intrigued by marijuana's efficacy, but a wave of drug hysteria that started in the 1930s effectively negated the drug's positive reputation. Despite their checkered history, hemp and marijuana remain important aspects of American popular culture.

Cannabis generally grows in two forms: hemp and marijuana, the former producing more oil and fiber, the latter producing more of the intoxicating resin whose active ingredient (among 460 other compounds) is tetrahydrocannabinol, or THC. One of the oldest



A young man rolling a marijuana cigarette.

psychoactive plants on earth, cannabis is native to central Asia and was first cultivated some 10,000 years ago. Many cultures have used hemp to make paper and rope, and some revered marijuana as a sacrament. As early as 2737 B.C.E. in China, written accounts have extolled the use of marijuana as a treatment for malaria, rheumatism, fever, dysentery, depression, or as an appetite stimulant, or to induce sleep. The classical and Hellenistic eras also noted marijuana as a common remedy, and by the 1700s it had become a popular folk cure-all throughout eastern Europe.

Hemp cultivation in the United States dates back to the colonial crops in Virginia in 1611, when hemp was an important resource for sails, rope, paper, and clothing. King James I ordered colonists to cultivate the plant as an industrial commodity, and some historians contend that George Washington and Thomas Jefferson advocated a hemp-based economy as well. Western doctors first discovered marijuana in 1839, when W. B. O'Shaughnessey published the results of his experiments with humans and cannabis, lauding marijuana as an effective analgesic.

Soon doctors began studying the drug in earnest and found numerous practical applications, especially in its capacity to subdue restlessness and anxiety in terminal illness. But marijuana use declined in 1850 after the invention of the syringe, which allowed water-soluble drugs such as morphine to be injected intravenously. Also,

marijuana preparations were too variable, and other synthetic drugs such as aspirin, chloral hydrate, and barbiturates were far more stable and reliable.

In the 1920s and 1930s, marijuana was increasingly viewed as a catalyst for anti-social behavior, especially among minorities. The Federal Bureau of Narcotics launched a campaign to rid America of "Marihuana, the Devil's Weed," and spread exaggerated and unsubstantiated reports of violent crime, addiction, and psychosis induced by smoking marijuana. The Marihuana Tax Act of 1937 undermined scientific examination of cannabis by heavily taxing and regulating all transactions (medicinal, industrial, and recreational) and linking all forms of the plant with recreational drug use.

Some independent experts tried to dispel the myths but were shouted down by government agencies and the research institutions they supported. While its purpose was to discourage recreational marijuana smoking, the tax merely made it difficult or prohibitively expensive to procure the drug legally. Thus, manufacturers eventually switched from hemp to synthetic materials due to financial concerns and the stigma attached to cannabis.

By the 1960s anecdotes of the utility of hemp and marijuana began appearing in popular publications such as *Playboy* and *National Geographic*. These reports originated from a counterculture that equated drug use with social defiance and considered cannabis prohibition a violation of one's civil rights. Such attitudes only spurred harsher legislation, though, and in 1970 marijuana possession and cultivation were made illegal by the Controlled Substances Act, which categorized all psychoactive drugs into five schedules. Cannabis was placed on Schedule I (the most restrictive) which prohibited medicinal marijuana use even under a doctor's supervision due to high potential for addiction and abuse.

But in 1972 the National Organization for the Reform of Marihuana Laws (NORML) petitioned government agencies to reconsider the industrial applications of hemp and to reclassify marijuana as Schedule II, allowing its use in a medical setting. Finally in 1980 synthetic THC was placed on Schedule II while marijuana itself remained on Schedule I. But marijuana advocates criticized the fact that certain other drugs with documented histories of overdose, death, and addiction were given more lenient categorization. In 1986 hundreds of witnesses and medical experts testified before the Drug Enforcement Agency and produced thousands of pages of documentation supporting marijuana's merits, but the DEA issued its final rejection of reclassification in 1992.

State governments responded to public outcry, however. New Mexico was the first state to legislate in favor of the medicinal use of marijuana in 1978, and by 1992 thirty-four states were lobbying for a form of legalization. Only 17 states were permitted by the federal government to supply patients—mostly those suffering from glaucoma or undergoing chemotherapy to treat cancer—with marijuana. But many states discontinued their programs due to the mountain of paperwork involved and the glacial pace at which the bureaucracy moved.

A deluge of AIDS cases in the early 1990s created high demand for medicinal marijuana to combat nausea and appetite loss, and patients were often forced to procure marijuana by illicit means, since the application process for a legal supply could take 6-8 months. Moreover, government supplies of the drug were often abandoned by patients who felt "illegal" marijuana was more potent and effective.

Regardless, the U.S. government discontinued all medicinal marijuana distribution programs in 1992. While some imported hemp products are available, mass production using hemp remains a legal sticking point for most manufacturers in the United States.

A large number of specialized, sanctioned, and regulated drugs are available legally to the general public. Thus, it is difficult to rationalize the illegality of marijuana, let alone deny the far-reaching applications of hemp as a renewable resource. Nevertheless, while public opinion waffles on its view of cannabis as a controlled substance, the historically documented medical applications of marijuana are as real as the suffering it relieves.

—Tony Brewer

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## Marin, Richard “Cheech”

See Cheech and Chong

## Maris, Roger (1934-1985)

Roger Maris holds a significant place in sporting history as the baseball player who broke Babe Ruth's single-season home run record, and held that record from 1961 until 1998. He was voted the American League's Most Valuable Player in 1960 and 1961, while playing for the New York Yankees. Maris's pursuit of Babe Ruth's record was the focus of national media attention in 1961—and the attention clearly made him unhappy. An intensely private person, the glare of the media spotlight caused him to lose his hair and gave him insomnia, but he broke Ruth's record by hitting his 61st homer in the last game of the season.

Many people were not happy with Maris's achievement, and commissioner Ford Frick claimed the record was questionable because Maris hit 61 homers in 162 games, while Ruth had hit 60 in 154 games. This controversy became known as the “asterisk” after Maris's name in the official record listings, although no real asterisk existed. Maris's record was topped by Mark McGwire, who hit 70 home runs in 1998.

—Geoff Peterson

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## Marlboro Man

Marlboro is America's best-selling cigarette, and a major reason for its popularity can be traced to a cowboy. He is not classically handsome, nor does he wear fancy clothes or a gunbelt cinched around his lean hips. Rather, he is a working man, his face weathered from the sun and wind, his clothing sturdy and functional. He works on a real ranch, and he works hard. And when he wants a smoke, he reaches for a Marlboro.

However, when Marlboro was first marketed in the 1920s, Philip Morris had women smokers in mind, and the advertising slogan was “Mild as May.” Consequently, Marlboro was a “ladies smoke” until the 1950s brought the first research linking smoking with lung cancer. This had many smokers searching for a “safer” cigarette. Filters provided that illusion, but many considered filters to be effeminate. Thus, if Philip Morris wanted to sell Marlboro to men, the product's image had to be made more macho. And soon, courtesy of Chicago's Leo Burnett ad agency, the Marlboro man was born.

—Justin Gustainis

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## Marley, Bob (1945-1981)

One of the most important and charismatic champions of human freedoms in the 1970s, Bob Marley emerged from humble beginnings and an early life of austere poverty in his native Jamaica to bring reggae music to international popularity. A rebellious visionary who was unabashedly invested in Rastafari religion, Marley and his group the Wailers became known the world over for songs of universal love and Biblical prophecy, including “No Woman, No Cry,” “Jammin’,” and others. Although Marley died of cancer in 1981, the singer/songwriter left behind a legacy of socially conscious work that continues to remain popular with audiences worldwide.

The man who would come to be a superstar was born Nesta Robert Marley on February 6, 1945 in St. Ann, Jamaica. After Marley's father died in 1955, young Robert spent his childhood being shuffled between the homes of his grandfather, his aunt, and his mother, Cedella, in Kingston. By the late 1950s, Marley spent much of his time socializing with friends in a government yard (public housing) in Trench Town, a shantytown in Western Kingston. Marley's early abandonment and his rough, impoverished childhood would later become instrumental to his success in songwriting and musical composition. Heavily influenced by the imported sounds of American artists like The Moonglows, The Tams, The Impressions, Elvis, Sam Cooke, and Solomon Burke, Marley developed his adolescent tenor by harmonizing with his friends in the evenings after school.



An example of the Marlboro Man advertising campaign.

By 1959, Marley had been taking singing lessons, practicing his musicianship on the guitar and performing in local talent shows. Along with Peter McIntosh (who later came to be known as Peter Tosh), Junior Braithwaite, and two local girls, Marley formed a group called the Teenagers. At 16 years of age, the singer recorded his first single “Judge Not,” which demonstrated his budding, if raspy voice. The song also demonstrated his developing writing skills, and his affinity for an emerging sound called ska, which was a mix of calypso, rhythm and blues, and shuffle. In 1962, Marley’s mother remarried and relocated to America. Left homeless at 18 years of age, Marley began to frequent squatters’ camps and learn more about Rastafari religion, a form vested in contemplative spirituality, philosophy, and asceticism.

In 1964, Marley’s musical group renamed itself the Wailing Wailers. “Simmer Down,” a politically charged song about Jamaican youth, was released on the Downbeat label and went to number one on Jamaican radio stations. Throughout his career, Marley found himself able to latch on to the social turbulence of the era and channel it into politically charged music. In the 1960s, Marley became a key

promoter of what was known as “Rude Boy” music, a form of Jamaican music that spread an anti-racist, anti-colonial, revolutionary message. Eventually, Marley would become the world’s most recognized promoter of the Rastafarian religion and its lifestyles.

Over the course of the 1960s, Marley released a series of hit singles in Jamaica; yet his work had little effect outside of his home turf. On February 10, 1966, Marley married Rita Anderson, an 18-year-old member of the up and coming Jamaican singing group, The Soulettes. Throughout the rest of his career, Rita would perform as his back up singer. Marley eventually fathered as many as nine children in his lifetime, although many of his children had different mothers.

By the late 1960s, a new form of music was beginning to become popular in Jamaica. Reggae was directly influenced by Rasta culture, and featured a decidedly slower shuffle than ska. Working with musical producer and reggae mastermind Leslie Kong, Bob Marley and the Wailing Wailers developed a sound that was less polished than their previous recordings, more rough, cutting, and intense. In early summer of 1971, Marley released “Trench Town Rock,” a socially energized song that topped the Jamaican charts for five



**Bob Marley**

months, recasting Marley as a national folk hero. Soon after, the singer/songwriter began to barter for control of his career, establishing his own recording studio—Tuff Gong Records—at 56 Hope Road in Jamaica. His musical output became more prolific and more openly political, aligned with the People’s National Party of Jamaica.

By the early 1970s, Bob Marley was gaining a more significant degree of international recognition. Jamaican music and musicians had gained greater visibility as a result of the work of American artists like Paul Simon and Johnny Nash. After touring and recording with Johnny Nash in the early 1970s, Marley gained some popularity in England, where he met Chris Blackwell of Island Records. Blackwell financially backed Marley, allowing him to record an album in Jamaica called *Catch a Fire*. The album was released to great acclaim in the winter of 1973 and marked a milestone in the development of reggae music. Before the release of *Catch a Fire*, reggae had been more concerned with singles rather than the finished product of a full album. Using cutting rock guitars and synthesizers to create an innovative sound, *Catch a Fire* had great appeal to a lucrative rock audience. In its scathing lyrics that sought to indict slavery and colonialism, the album officially launched the era of reggae music.

Marley’s follow-up album *Burnin’* featured a more folk Jamaican sound, and garnered the hit single “I Shot the Sheriff.” The singer and his group toured Europe and the United States as an

opening act for artists like Bruce Springsteen, Sly and the Family Stone, and The Jackson Five. By 1974, the old Wailers had disbanded and Peter Tosh and Bunny Livingston were no longer active members. Already a highly charismatic figure in his native Jamaica and in Britain, Marley became more of a front man. His lead vocals were backed by the I-Threes, consisting of Marcia Griffith, Judy Mowatt, and his wife Rita. Marley also adopted the management of Marvin Gaye’s road manager, Don Taylor. The singer had not yet attained worldwide popularity, yet many of his songs were being actively remade by famous artists like Taj Mahal and Barbra Streisand. Eric Clapton’s version of “I Shot the Sheriff” topped the charts, surpassing the earlier success of Marley’s own rendition of the song. Clapton’s prestige, however, bestowed upon Marley a newfound rock authenticity, and the Jamaican reggae singer would eventually rise to visibility in many circles as a rock star on par with Mick Jagger.

In 1975, Marley released the now classic *Natty Dread* album, which was inspired by the political warfare that threatened Jamaica in early 1974. The album established Marley as a preeminent moral authority and a political visionary alongside peers like John Lennon. Marley made public his explicit fondness for the African continent, and he demonstrated an affiliation with African resistance struggles in South Africa and Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia). Sporting long, matted dreadlocks, Marley became synonymous with the mythical visionary

Rasta rebel character of his album's title. The singer/songwriter was undoubtedly recast as not only the prime proponent of reggae but as an international star. Marley's North American tour was highlighted by a performance at the L.A. Roxy Theater in 1975 which was attended by celebrities like the Grateful Dead, Joni Mitchell, The Band, and others. Through his attempts at publicity, Jamaican culture and Rasta religion came to mass visibility all over the world.

More successful albums followed, including *Bob Marley and the Wailers Live* (1976) and *Rastaman Vibration* (1976), his fifth album for Island Records. Although the latter album was something of a disappointment for reggae purists, it brought him to new levels of mainstream success. On December 5, 1976, an assassination attempt on Marley took place two weeks before a well-publicized "Smile Jamaica" concert in Kingston's National Heroes Park. Although Marley received gunshot wounds to his breastbone and biceps, and despite the fact that Rita Marley had been grazed in the head, the concert went on as planned. In 1977, Marley released the *Exodus* album, featuring the disco-influenced "Jammin'" and the gentle, rocking single "Waiting in Vain." The force of these singles finally brought Marley a significant amount of airplay on black American radio stations, which had previously been unable, or unwilling, to format his style of music.

On June 15, 1978, Marley was presented with the Third World Peace Medal by all the African delegations to the United Nations for his work on human rights. Soon after, the singer made a pilgrimage to Africa. The trip to his homeland instilled him with new hopes for black unity worldwide and brought back a militant edginess and explicit Pan-African bent to his music. This new bent was directly reflected in the lyrics and music for his ninth album for Island Records, *Survival*. His tenth album, *Uprising*, was released in May 1980 and featured the hit singles "Could You Be Loved" and the intensely personal "Redemption Song." By this time, however, Jamaica was rife in political conflict, and because of Marley's political alliances, his return to the island was deemed unsafe. Stranded in exile, Marley would never again return to the land of his birth.

After a collapse in 1981, Marley was diagnosed with a cancerous brain tumor that had spread to his lungs and stomach. He played his last concert with the Wailers at the Stanley Theater in Pittsburgh during the *Uprising* tour. While Marley officially claimed exhaustion as his reason for canceling the tour, news soon became public of his condition. In time, the singer went to reside in Germany where he received nontraditional treatment that sustained his strength for a time. After having received the Jamaican Order of Merit under new Prime Minister Edward Seaga, Bob Marley died in Miami on May 11, 1981, surrounded by his family. Marley died without a will, instigating a long struggle over the control of his studios and Tuff Gong Empire.

A powerful spokesman for human rights and a truly gifted singer/songwriter, Marley remains a vital force in popular music and consciousness long after his tragic death. One of his most memorable songs, "No Woman, No Cry" was remade by the international rap group the Fugees in 1996 and generated mass success. Many of his children became involved as performers in the music industry, and his son Ziggy achieved a tremendous amount of success throughout the late 1980s and into the 1990s. Marley brought reggae music and the Caribbean to international visibility as never before, and his courageous and profoundly universal message of the power and dignity of

the human spirit made an unforgettable impact on the possibilities for social and political efficacy in the realm of popular music.

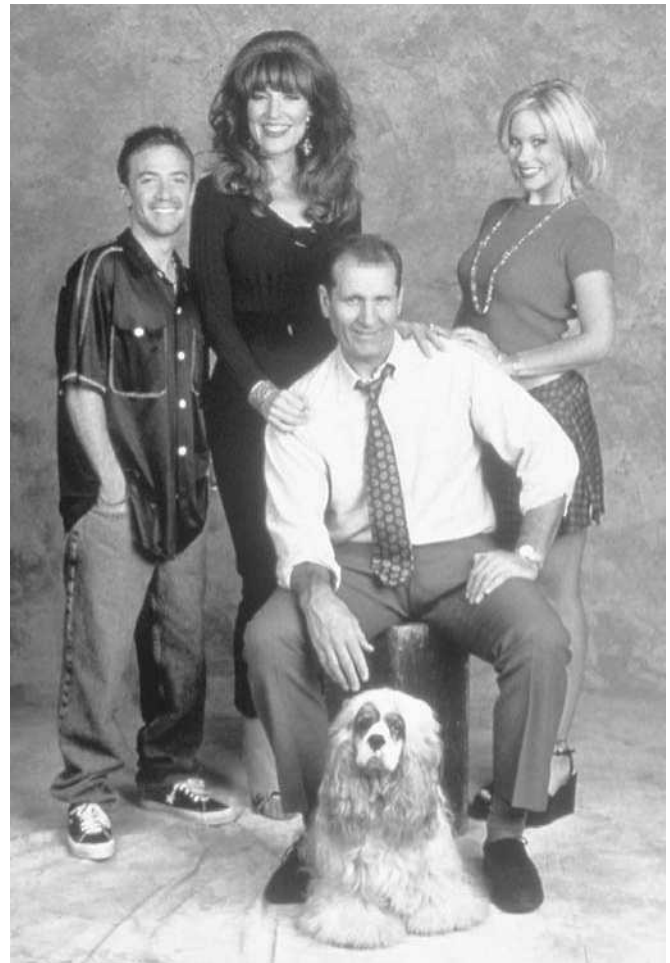
—Jason King

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## *Married . . . with Children*

Out of the sugary-sweet ashes of the "happy family" fare of late 1980s television comedies, epitomized by *The Cosby Show*, *Family*



The stars of *Married . . . With Children* (from left): David Faustino, Katey Sagal, Ed O'Neill, and Christina Applegate.

*Ties*, and *Growing Pains* and their sweater-wearing characters, the unabashedly raunchy Fox sitcom *Married . . . with Children* rose up like a dysfunctional phoenix and outlasted almost every competitor on television.

*Married . . . with Children* was created by ex-*Jefferson*'s writers Ron Leavitt and Michael Moyer, who were given the green light by Fox to do something other than the standard TV fare. "We tried to take traditional sitcom clichés and subvert them," Michael Moyer said in *Newsweek* in 1996. He and his partner came up with the sexually-charged version of the old radio comedy *The Bickersons*. The cutting-edge show put Fox on the map (and set its tone, for a while), running from 1987 to 1997.

*Married . . . with Children* was set in suburban Chicago. The Bundys (who were named after one of Leavitt and Moyer's favorite pro wrestlers, King Kong Bundy) were the anti-Cosbys. Al (Ed O'Neill) was a lowly and chauvinistic shoe salesman with bad breath, armpit stains, and smelly feet. His wife Peg (Katey Sagal) was a lazy housewife with huge red hair and loud sleazy clothing, who never cleaned or cooked and spent the day eating bonbons and watching Oprah. Fifteen-year-old Kelly (Christina Applegate) was beyond stupid and beyond slutty. Eleven-year-old Bud (David Faustino) was a pervert-in-training. Buck was the scruffy, sometimes-voiced family dog. Topics for barbs and insults included Al's lack of bedroom prowess and earning power, Peg's lack of sexual satisfaction, Kelly's lack of brain power and sexual restraint, and Bud's lack of prowess with the ladies. Every now and then, they let it slip that they cared about each other, but not often. On one episode, a parody of *It's a Wonderful Life*, the late Sam Kinison was Al's guardian angel. Al sees how happy his family would have been had he never been born, and he can't allow it. "I want to live!" he cries.

The Bundys' first neighbors were the perfect counterpoints to Al and Peg, Steve (David Garrison) and Marcy (Amanda Bearse) Rhoades, insufferable newlywed yuppie accountants in love. Al and Peg took glee in bursting their collective bubble. During the 1988-89 season, Steve lost his job because of Al, indirectly; after months of unemployment he left Marcy to go to Yosemite to become a park ranger (in real life Garrison left to be in a play). Marcy later married Jefferson D'Arcy (Ted McGinley), thus making her name Marcy D'Arcy. She met him during a drinking binge at a banker's convention. Jefferson never worked; he lived off Marcy and hung out with Al.

The 1988-89 season was downright magical for *Married . . . with Children*. Ratings improved during the 1988 writers' strike when people started sampling other networks. Ratings were also boosted after a Michigan housewife named Terry Rakolta, outraged by a January 1989 episode wherein the female characters purchase bras, started a letter-writing campaign encouraging viewers and advertisers to boycott the show. The ironic result was that more people tuned in to see what the fuss was about; the audience grew and the ratings were strong, thus bringing in more sponsors. *Married . . . with Children* became Fox's first program to get double digit ratings (a 10). However, Fox did refuse to air the 1988 season premiere "A Period Piece," wherein Peg, Marcy, and Kelly all have their periods on a Bundy-Rhoades camping trip; after many changes, the show ran in a later timeslot as "The Camping Show." Another episode, in which Al and Peg are videotaped having sex in a sleazy motel room, was never aired.

In the fall of 1991, Sagal became pregnant, so Peg and Marcy became pregnant on the show. When Sagal later miscarried, both pregnancies were revealed to be a dream of Al's, in an homage to

*Dallas*. The next year brought Seven, the six-year-old son of one of Peg's cousins, who moved into the Bundy household. The writers couldn't integrate the character and he was gone, unexplained, a few months later. Al and his pals, Griff, Ike, Sticky, and Bob, hung out at a nudie bar; Al also formed NO MA' AM (The National Organization of Men Against Amazonian Masterhood), to preserve their right to drink excessively, act like slobs, and look at porn. As time went on, Kelly managed to graduate from high school, became a model, and lived at home. After getting a job as a waitress in a sleazy diner, she later tried TV commercials, first for Pest Boys Exterminating Co. as the Verminator, then as spokesperson for Ice Hole Beer. Bud actually went to college, but, of course, had no money, and also lived at home. He also worked part time at the Illinois motor vehicle department as a driving tester. He finally lost his virginity to Amber, Marcy's aggressive niece.

The blue-collar sitcom, which tried to reflect a more "normal" American homelife, warts and all, harkened back to *All in the Family* and broke ground for shows like *Roseanne*. The lowbrow *Married . . . with Children* was Fox's longest running sitcom and TV's longest-running network series, not counting news and sports, when it was canceled in 1997. Its theme song was Frank Sinatra's 1955 recording of "Love and Marriage" by Sammy Cahn and Jimmy Van Heusen, with a twist—it was punctuated by the sound of a jail cell slamming shut.

—Karen Lurie

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## Marshall, Garry (1934—)

New Yorker Garry Marshall (born Marscharelli) wrote a memoir called *Wake Me When It's Funny*. The title reveals the creative drive behind a man who, whether as scriptwriter, producer, or director, became a linchpin in the growth of popular TV sitcoms from the mid-1960s. Nonetheless, he is most closely identified with directing *Pretty Woman* (1990), the hit film that unleashed Julia Roberts on an ecstatic public. Shamelessly commercial, and controversial for sugaring a fundamentally demeaning premise with a fairytale plot, the film presented a synthesis of Marshall's considerable skills at manipulating situation and character and combining sudsy emotion with comedy. A former news reporter, jazz drummer, and stand-up comic, he wrote for several TV shows (*Joey Bishop*, *Dick Van Dyke Show*, *Here's Lucy*) before masterminding (initially with Jerry Belson) over a dozen prime-time series successes, among them *The Odd Couple*,



*Happy Days*, and *Mork and Mindy*. An occasional actor (he had a recurring role in *Murphy Brown*), he began making glossy feature films in 1982.

—Robyn Karney

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## Martha and the Vandellas

Arguably the most soulful of the Motown girl groups, Martha and the Vandellas established themselves as part of "The Sound of Young America" (Motown's company slogan) with the Top Ten single "(Love Is Like a) Heat Wave" in the fall of 1963. Although some of their hits were thought to have political undertones, the songs they made popular during the mid-1960s were, like most Motown singles, African-American dance records with a strong backbeat designed to appeal to a white audience. Martha and the Vandellas emerged as hitmakers almost a year before the Supremes began to dominate the charts, but by 1965 the latter group had overtaken the



Martha Reeves

former in popularity. As Motown president Berry Gordy, Jr., and the talented songwriting and production team of Holland-Dozier-Holland (brothers Brian and Eddie Holland and Lamont Dozier) focused their attention on the Supremes, they neglected Martha and the Vandellas, as well as other female Motown artists such as the Marvelettes. The success of any 1960s girl group was dependent upon a fragile union of songwriters, musicians, producers, and label executives, giving the female artists themselves very little control over their careers. Like a number of other girl groups, Martha and the Vandellas were unable to sustain their success as recording artists because of their lack of autonomy, in combination with changes in popular music tastes that took place during the mid-1960s.

In 1961, Martha Reeves (1941—) began working for Motown Records in Detroit, Michigan, as William "Mickey" Stevenson's secretary in the A&R (artists and repertoire) department. She was already a professional singer, having released a single on Check-Mate, a subsidiary of Chess Records, as part of a group called the Del-Phis, which consisted of Reeves, Rosalind Ashford, Annette Sterling, and lead vocalist Gloria Williams. Reeves was hoping to become a Motown artist, and her break came when she was invited to fill in for an absent background singer. This experience gave Reeves the opportunity to bring in Ashford, Sterling, and Williams, and together they provided backing vocals for several of Marvin Gaye's sessions. Having proved themselves to owner Berry Gordy, Jr., they were allowed to record a song designated for Mary Wells, who missed a scheduled session. Since the Del-Phis were under contract to Check-Mate, the group decided to call themselves the Vels, and the single was released on the Melody label, one of Motown's subsidiaries. When the record failed to become a hit, Gloria Williams quit the group and Reeves was chosen to succeed her as the lead singer.

Combining the names of Detroit's Van Dyke Avenue and Della Reese, one of her favorite singers, Reeves renamed her trio Martha and the Vandellas, and the group was signed by Motown's Gordy Records toward the end of 1962. Their first release bombed, while the second made it to #29 on the pop charts. But their third single was the smash hit "Heat Wave"—a Holland-Dozier-Holland creation featuring Motown's incomparable session players, including Benny Benjamin on drums and James Jamerson on bass guitar—released in the summer of 1963. Despite the group's success, Sterling dropped out the following year to get married. She was replaced by Betty Kelly, who had belonged to a Motown group known as the Velvelettes. A year after their first hit single, which was followed by several less successful releases, Martha and the Vandellas recorded their signature song, after it had been turned down by Kim Weston. "Dancing in the Street," written by Marvin Gaye and Mickey Stevenson, became an adolescent anthem that was later covered by a number of artists, including the Mamas and the Papas, David Bowie and Mick Jagger together, and Van Halen.

According to Reeves in Gerri Hershey's *Nowhere to Run: The Story of Soul Music*, some white listeners interpreted "Dancing in the Street" as "a call [for blacks] to riot." She explains that the song was intended to be nothing more than an up-tempo dance record. The intensity of this record was matched by the group's 1965 hit, "Nowhere to Run," a Holland-Dozier-Holland effort that to some listeners seemed to symbolize the plight of American soldiers fighting in the Vietnam War. At this point in their career, Martha and the Vandellas were being superseded by the Supremes. Their last Top

Forty single, “Jimmy Mack,” had been recorded approximately two years before it was released in 1967; the song was most likely withheld because of its similarity to the Supremes’ material. Imitating other Motown acts, the group changed their name to Martha Reeves and the Vandellas that same year. At the beginning of 1968, Reeves’s sister Lois replaced Kelly, and two years later Sandra Tilley took Ashford’s place. They continued to perform and record until they disbanded in 1972, when Reeves chose to leave Motown and pursue a solo career on other labels.

During the 1970s, Reeves released several unsuccessful solo albums. Eventually she decided to resurrect the group for oldies revival performances. During the early 1990s, she appeared with the original members of the group and separately with her sisters Lois and Delphine. In 1995, Martha and the Vandellas became members of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. Often described as outspoken, Reeves may have failed to achieve the level of stardom reached by other Motown artists, such as Diana Ross, because of her reluctance to conform to the label’s strict rules of behavior. As she told Gerri Hershey, “Once I used ‘damn’ in a song and was heavily chastised.” Label owner Berry Gordy, Jr., also played a large role in determining who was worthy of stardom, giving the best songs to acts he favored. While Martha and the Vandellas were able to record a handful of unforgettable pop songs, like many other girl groups they were unable to sustain their careers without the continued support of those who initially helped to create their hit records.

—Anna Hunt Graves

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## Martin, Dean (1917-1995)

Dean Martin remains an example of the consummate popular American entertainer in the post World War II era. A tremendous influence upon other entertainers of quality, such as Elvis Presley, Martin was equally adept at singing, acting, and live performance. An early pioneer in the entertainment field, Dean Martin saw the development of radio, film, recording, and television as viable options for his varied talents. His eagerness to try these new avenues allowed him to grow beyond nightclubs and other live venues. This resulted in a many-faceted career that functioned on a number of levels for almost 50 years. Additionally, as an entertainer and a member of the hip 1960s Las Vegas Rat Pack—along with Frank Sinatra, Sammy Davis, Jr., Joey Bishop, and Peter Lawford—Martin created a boozy, brash-but-lovable on-stage character, known as Dino, that became a part of the vernacular of popular American culture.

Dino Paul Crocetti was born in Steubenville, Ohio in 1917. Beginning his career as a big band singer in Ohio, he legally changed his name to Dean Martin in 1940. Already a local sensation, whose romantic, dark Italian good looks and charismatic humor caused female hearts to swoon, Martin signed his first contract with MCA in 1943. This exclusive deal brought him to New York City, where he performed at the Riobamba Room, the same venue as another young singer, Frank Sinatra. Martin’s move to the Big Apple allowed him to broaden his horizons considerably. He made his first foray into radio in 1944 with the 15-minute program, *Songs By Dean Martin*. It was during this period that he met his future partner, funnyman Jerry Lewis, via an introduction from friend and singer Sonny King. The team of Martin and Lewis, known the world over for their witty patter and effortless attractive straight man vs. the goofy comic style, first performed together at Atlantic City’s 500 Club in July of 1946. A fluke of chance, this joining came upon the heels of Martin’s first recording contract with Diamond Records. While Dean sang, Jerry interrupted and audiences went wild. Legally teamed together in 1947, Martin and Lewis conquered nightclubs, radio, television, recordings, and made 16 movies together, including *My Friend Irma* and *Artists and Models*, before a bitter break up in 1956.

As a solo artist, Martin’s film career began with dismal reviews for *Ten Thousand Bedrooms* in 1957. But, the following year he redeemed himself with a stunning performance in the 20th Century-Fox production of *The Young Lions*, proving himself as a skilled, serious actor. His work with John Wayne in *Rio Bravo* (1959) heralded Martin’s lifelong love affair with Westerns. He also appeared in *Four For Texas*, *The Sons of Katie Elder*, and *Five Card Stud*. Additionally, Dean Martin proved he was capable of high drama, as well as comedy, and everything in between. His films included the Matt Helm series of spy capers, beginning in 1966 with *The Silencers*, Rat Pack films like *Ocean’s Eleven* (1960), and *Airport* (1970), based upon Arthur Hailey’s novel of the same name. Martin made his final screen appearance in 1984 in *Cannonball Run II*, his fifty-first film.

From early in his career, Martin’s influence as a popular singer of note was apparent. Signing with Capitol Records in 1948, he became known for his exquisite vocal treatment of love songs. Yet, like his film career, Martin’s music was remarkably varied. He recorded popular standards, jazz, blues, and country and western numbers, as well as Italian and Christmas tunes. His many hits at Capitol included “I’ll Always Love You,” “Oh Marie,” “That’s Amore,” and “Memories Are Made of This.” While at Capitol he first recorded one of the songs with which he is most often associated, “You’re Nobody ‘Til Somebody Loves You,” and a cowboy tune with teen idol Ricky Nelson for the 1959 film *Rio Bravo*—“My Rifle, My Pony and Me.” Martin’s ability to transcend genre and style only added to his larger-than-life image. During the course of his recording career, he sang and recorded with Merle Haggard, Nat King Cole, Peggy Lee, Margaret Whiting, Bing Crosby, and members of his beloved Rat Pack.

In 1962, Martin moved his recording career to Sinatra’s label, Reprise, and started his own production company, Claude Productions, to insure that he retained exclusive control over his work. It was at Reprise that Martin recorded albums such as *Dino: Italian Love Songs*, *Dean ‘Tex’ Martin: Country Style*, and *Dino* in 1972. He also recorded his signature song, “Everybody Loves Somebody.” Using



From left: Dean Martin; Sammy Davis, Jr.; and Frank Sinatra.

the vocal gymnastics that came so effortlessly to him, Dean Martin's recording session on April 16, 1964 resulted in a number one hit which came in the midst of Beatlemania. This allowed Martin to demand a \$100,000 per week fee from Nevada casino magnet Bill Harrah for his appearances at Harrah's-Tahoe. This period was a high point in Dean Martin's career, as he was very much an entertainer who had won the hearts of his diverse and ever-expanding audience. His association with the high-living Rat Pack solidified his on-stage persona, while his private life became fodder for fan magazines and newspapers.

Adding to his high profile, NBC television premiered *The Dean Martin Show* on September 16, 1965. It was one of the highest rated shows of the 1965-66 television season. In order to keep Martin, NBC offered him a three-year contract at \$283,000 per episode and shares in NBC's parent company, RCA. Because he only worked eight hours a week, Martin still holds the record for being the highest-paid television performer. Again, his breezy, devil-may-care style won over America and his critics. For nine seasons, Martin played up his cocktail-fueled stage persona all the while remaining a vocal stylist of integrity and substance. It was during the final season that the show's name was changed to *The Dean Martin Comedy Hour* and featured what would eventually be known as "Dean Martin's Celebrity Roasts," a take off of the Friar's Club roasts.

Following the last season of his television show, Martin continued to perform and record. A highlight of this period was a 1976 reunion with Jerry Lewis during one of the many MS telethons Lewis hosted. Orchestrated by Sinatra, it was a poignant moment for America as it had been 22 years since the old partners shared a stage. It would be for the last time. The death of one of Martin's eight children, Dino, Jr., in 1987 severely affected the entertainer. From that point on he seemed to be slipping away. Eventually his time was

spent watching Westerns on television, playing golf, and dining out. He rarely worked or saw even his closest friends, though he remained close with his second wife, Jeanne Biegger Martin, from whom he was divorced. A sad, frail figure at the end, this image belies the life he lived to the hilt and the image he retains as the handsome, smiling Italian lover, cocktail in one hand, cigarette in the other, and a "broad" on each arm.

His final performance was at Bally's Las Vegas in June of 1990. Dean Martin passed away on Christmas Day, 1995, leaving a legacy that epitomizes the ideal of a twentieth-century entertainer and the image of a glamorous, fun-loving, popular icon, who continued to be emulated throughout the world at the end of the twentieth century.

—Jana Pendragon

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## Martin, Freddy (1906-1983)

In 1941, Freddy Martin's danceband recorded *Tonight We Love*, adapted from the well-known opening theme of Tchaikovsky's *Piano Concerto in B-flat minor*. The disc sold one million copies by 1946, and inspired 16 different pop song renditions of the same tune. Martin followed this success with adaptations of other classical works, and also made cameo appearances with his band in a few 1940s Hollywood films, including *Stage Door Canteen* (1943). Ohio-born Martin

served as music director for Elvis Presley's first Las Vegas appearance, and his tenor saxophone playing elicited the admiration of noted jazz players such as Johnny Hodges, who dubbed him "Mr. Silvertone." Martin's band, famous for its "sweet" sound, played New York's top hotel ballrooms during the 1930s and 1940s, and later made its home at the Cocomanut Grove at the Ambassador Hotel in Beverly Hills.

—Ivan Raykoff

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## Martin, Quinn (1922-1987)

During the 1960s and 1970s, it seemed as though all the top television crime dramas carried the weighty introduction, "A Quinn Martin Production." From *The Untouchables* and *The FBI* in the 1960s, to *Cannon*, *The Streets of San Francisco*, and *Barnaby Jones* in the 1970s, Quinn Martin dominated the crime-action genre on the small screen. At one period, the flourishing producer, who got his start as a writer for Desilu Productions, was responsible for more hours of network television programming than any other independent producer or company. In effect, he defined the formula for one-hour TV dramas—down to the number of acts, the number of action "beats" per act, and the perfection of the cliffhanger act close, which brought the audience back from each commercial break—leaving a lasting television legacy which continues to pervade popular culture.

—Victoria Price

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## Martin, Steve (1945—)

Steve Martin's crazy, off-the-wall brand of humor had major effects on stand-up, television, film, and print. From the 1970s, when his white-suited appearances on the ensemble comedy show *Saturday Night Live* were widely enjoyed and copied, to the 1990s, when his witty short pieces were printed on the back page of the *New Yorker*, Martin has brought his wacko bursts of intelligent comedy to millions. Clean-cut yet uninhibited, Martin rolled with the decades, growing from a novelty act to a respected comedic actor and author.

Martin was born August 14, 1945, in Waco, Texas. His family moved to California when he was five, and he grew up near Disneyland. He dropped out of college at 21 and began writing comedy for the Smothers Brothers in the late 1960s and then for Sonny and Cher in the early 1970s. He appeared on the *Tonight Show* more than forty times and released four comedy albums.

It was his gigs hosting *Saturday Night Live*, however, that made Steve Martin a household name. He appeared on the late-night sketch comedy show as King Tut, Theodoric of York: Medieval Barber, Gilda Radner's dance partner in "Dancing in the Dark," and, with

Dan Aykroyd, as one of the Festruck brothers, whose catch phrase "We are two wild and crazy guys" never failed to get a laugh. Martin's arrow-through-the-head crazy antics were typical of the early *SNL* era, and he hosted the show more than a dozen times. His sarcastic "well, excuuuuuuuse me" and "naaaah" became schoolyard mantras.

In 1980, Martin had his first starring role in a film: Navin R. Johnson in *The Jerk*, for which he also wrote the screenplay. During the next two decades he made several comedies, including *Dead Men Don't Wear Plaid*, *The Man with Two Brains*, *The Lonely Guy*, *All of Me*, *Three Amigos!*, *Roxanne*, *Dirty Rotten Scoundrels*, *Parenthood*, and *L.A. Story*. He had a cameo in *The Muppet Movie* and took the Spencer Tracy role in a remake of *Father of the Bride*. He also tried his hand at serious acting in *Pennies from Heaven*, *Grand Canyon*, and, in 1997, David Mamet's *The Spanish Prisoner*.

Martin also succeeded in the area of the written word. His book of comic short stories, *Cruel Shoes*, topped the bestseller list in 1979. His play "Picasso at the Lapin Agile" (set in a bar in 1904 Paris, with characters including Picasso, Einstein, and Elvis) was performed off-Broadway in 1995 and had a regional run. In the late 1990s, Martin began writing pieces for the *New Yorker*; these were released as a book, *Pure Drivel*, in 1998.

That same year, actor Tom Hanks told an interviewer that Martin had been a pivotal influence on comedy in general: "If you went to Cub Scout meetings in the seventies, they'd do Steve Martin bits," he said. "Everybody was 'Yeah, I'm a wild and crazy guy.' Instantaneously, it just seemed to permeate society. . . ."

—Jessy Randall

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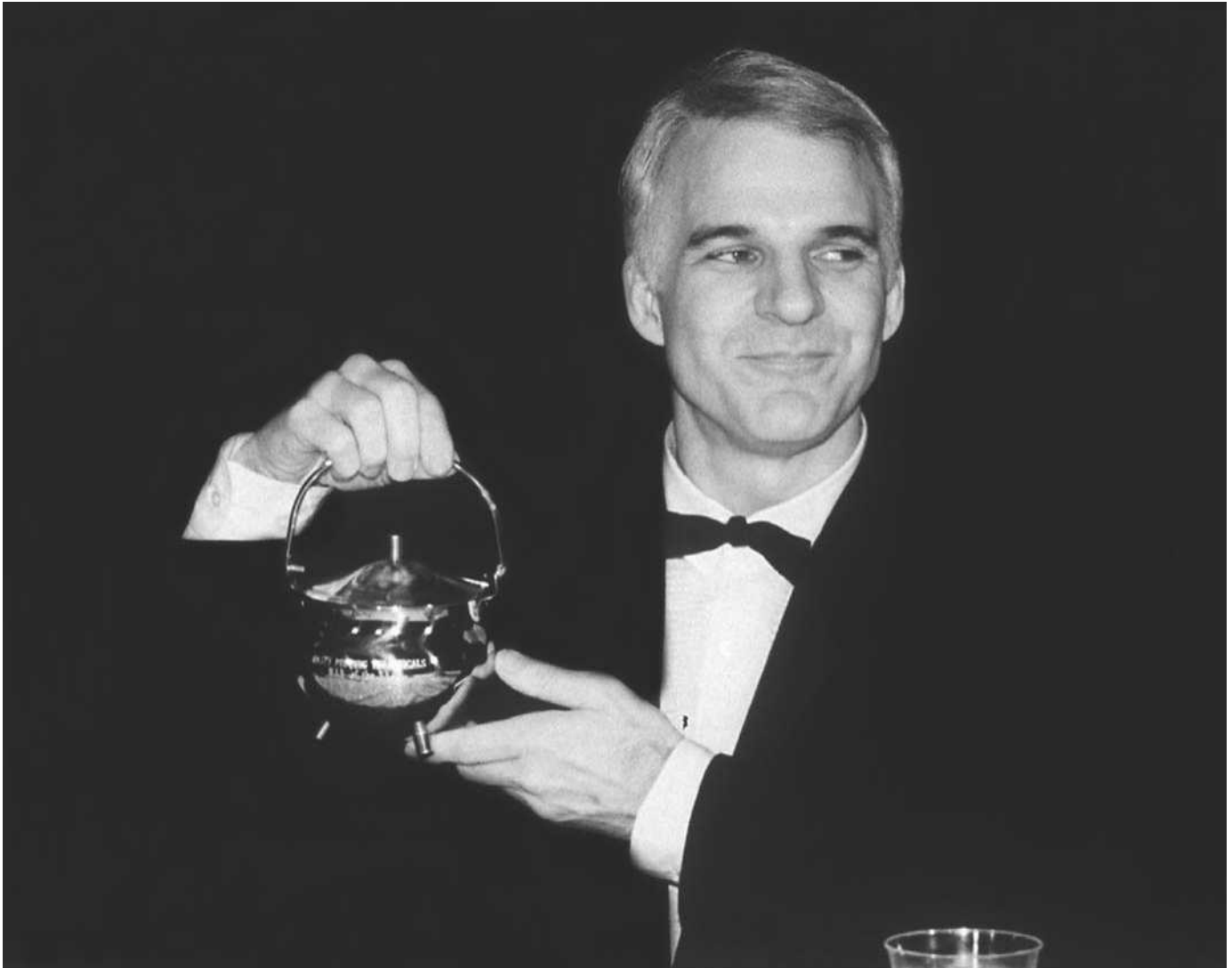
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## Martini

The drink that Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev once called "America's lethal weapon" is easily the most written about cocktail in history. The "lethal" aspect of the martini is what most Americans know to be the large proportion of gin, or vodka, to a minute flavoring of vermouth. The less one uses of the aromatic dry wine, which takes its name from the German word for "wormwood," the better; this becomes a mark of the martini's degree of "dryness." The martini is to be served ice-cold, which only makes successive ones go down with relative ease. The martini owes its staying power to two contradictory elements: first, to its ability to reinvent itself; and second, to the martini drinker's fervent exactitude concerning the drink's preparation. This demonstrated meticulousness has produced a whole culture (or cult) around the drink: the martini is accompanied by its own particular codes, accessories, and literature. The drink has been praised in the works of such twentieth-century authors as Ogden Nash, Ernest Hemingway, Jack London, and H. L. Mencken.

The martini is believed to have been invented during the decade following the Civil War. By the 1880s, the drink was included within several bartender's manuals, where it was first referred to as the "Martinez." According to Max Rudin, the "Martini" spelling first



**Steve Martin**

appeared in 1888, in *Harry Johnson's New and Improved Illustrated Bartender's Manual or How to Mix Drinks of the Present Style*. Early recipes for the drink are nowhere near the cocktail with which a twentieth-century American would be familiar—namely because the nineteenth-century version was too sweet to qualify. Sweetened gin, sweet vermouth, and orange-flavored bitters were employed in strange recipes that varied from the cold, dry drink that most twentieth-century Americans came to know.

As with so many other popular cocktails, there are a number of competing claims for the martini's origin; none have been conclusively proven. One theory states that the drink was invented in San Francisco by a passing traveler, who was bound for Martinez, California. Citizens of Martinez claim the traveler was leaving for San Francisco and that he invented the cocktail in Martinez. Other claimants include the Knickerbocker Hotel in New York, which employed an immigrant bartender in the early 1900s named Martini di Arma di Taggia, who was famous for his dry gin and vermouth cocktails.

Once the trade in alcohol became illicit during Prohibition, hard liquor commanded large profits. Gin was easier to counterfeit than

other liquors, such as whiskey. A new status had been conferred upon liquor: drinking a martini became a defiant statement against the intolerance of temperance zealots. As speakeasies encouraged the mingling of men and women in a way that saloons previously didn't, the martini connoted a new sexuality reflected in these lines from Dorothy Parker:

I like to have a Martini,  
Two at the very most—After  
three I'm under the table,  
After four I'm under my host.

The drink is configured by several codes. The martini's associations are that it is American, modern, sophisticated, upper class, urban, and optimistic, and is by implication not European, old-fashioned, working class, rural, or pessimistic. "It found its essential form at just about the same time as the skyscraper, the airplane, jazz, and the two-piece business suit," wrote Rudin. "Like them, the martini evoked something essential about twentieth-century America."



A bartender displays a gin martini and a vodka martini.

Drinking a martini is often a statement of what one is not as much as how one wishes to be perceived. In the 1951 story “Good-bye, My Brother,” John Cheever’s Pommeroy family makes its annual pilgrimage to the beach house, where they relax by drinking martinis between swims, dinners, and dances. The tone for the story is set when one of the characters, Lawrence (Tifty), displays his ignorance of the family drinking code:

“Isn’t the beach fabulous, Tifty?” Mother asked.

“Isn’t it fabulous to be back? Will you have a Martini?”

“I don’t care,” Lawrence said. “Whiskey, gin—I don’t care what I drink. Give me a little rum.”

“We don’t have any *rum*,” Mother said. It was the first note of asperity.

Lawrence represents a gloomy, antisocial nature that the rest of his family (and by extension martini drinkers) abhors. “(Mother) had taught us never to be indecisive, never to reply as Lawrence had . . .

she is deeply concerned with the propriety of her house, and anything irregular by her standards, like drinking straight rum or bringing a beer can to the dinner table, excites in her a conflict. . . .”

Cheever’s story also marks the move that social drinking made into the home, following the end of Prohibition. A market for accoutrements such as shakers, pitchers, triangle-stemmed glassware, glass stirrers, and even vermouth-infused stones met the needs of the home bar. The drink that once was so modern and avant-garde had become conservative and suburban by the 1960s. The martini’s dark days continued into the 1970s when the Carter Administration used it as a political football by eliminating the tax deduction for the three-martini lunch. Even the conservative swing of the 1980s failed the drink: its reputation for high potency conflicted with anti-drunk driving sentiments.

As Americans returned to less healthful indulgences like red meat and cigars during the economic boom of the 1990s, the martini became an obvious companion. The martini’s resurrection is also testimony to its adaptability, however much the purists might object. Traditional dry martinis gave way to drinks made with flavored

vodkas and gins, in cocktails that often forgot the vermouth altogether. The martini remains for many an icon of a lost world that Rudin characterized as the “product and symbol of a time in America when ‘modern’ meant something good—smart, sexy, and pulse-racing, technologically-advanced, intelligently made, an example of Americans leading the world.”

—Daryl Umberger

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## Marvel Comics

Marvel Comics is the largest publisher of comic books in the United States. It owns many of the most popular characters in comic books, including Spider-Man, the X-Men, the Incredible Hulk, Captain America, and the Fantastic Four. As a player in the history of the comic book industry, Marvel’s significance is equaled only by its longtime rival and chief competitor, DC Comics. Despite being one of the oldest comic book companies, Marvel did not emerge as a truly distinctive and influential creative force in the field until the 1960s. Since then, however, the Marvel style has virtually defined the character of mainstream American comic books.

The company that became known as Marvel Comics began its operation in 1939, when a young pulp magazine publisher named Martin Goodman decided to enter the fledgling comic book business. Taking note of DC’s recent success with Superman, Goodman purchased several superhero stories from one of several comic-art studios supplying material to publishers. Soon thereafter, Goodman set up his own comic book production staff under the editorial direction of his teenage nephew Stanley Lieberman, who also wrote comic book stories under the name of Stan Lee. The company was initially called Timely Comics, but also referred to itself by the title of its first publication, *Marvel Comics*.

The first issue of *Marvel Comics*, dated November 1939, introduced several original superhero characters, at least two of whom found a lasting audience. The Human Torch, created by Carl Burgos, was actually not a human but an android with the rather terrifying ability to burst into flames and set objects and people ablaze. The Sub-Mariner, created by Bill Everett, was the son of an interracial marriage between an American sea captain and a princess from the undersea kingdom of Atlantis. Possessing superhuman strength and the ability to breathe on land as well as in water, the Sub-Mariner also harbored a fierce antipathy towards the dwellers of the surface world, thereby qualifying him as perhaps the first comic book anti-hero.

Neither the Human Torch nor the Sub-Mariner were about to rival the likes of Superman, Batman, or Captain Marvel, but they helped to give Marvel a significant share of the rapidly expanding comic book market. That share increased in 1941 when Marvel debuted Captain America. The creation of Joe Simon and Jack Kirby, Captain America became the definitive comic book super-patriot of World War II and Marvel’s most popular “star.” The cover of *Captain America Comics* number one brashly portrayed the red-white-and-blue costumed hero socking Adolf Hitler in the mouth. That striking image, appearing more than six months before United States entry into the war, epitomized the staunch anti-Nazi and implicit interventionist tone of this series in particular, and of Marvel’s output in general. Although a number of comic book companies published anti-Nazi stories before, during, and after the war, Marvel was among the first to do so. As early as 1939, a Marvel cover showed the Sub-Mariner in battle with the crew of a swastika-flagged submarine, and the Human Torch could be seen burning through the German air force in 1940, over two years before United States air forces would follow suit.

After Pearl Harbor most comic book publishers enlisted wholeheartedly in the war effort, but few became as completely caught up in it as Marvel did. Marvel responded to the global struggle with a ceaseless barrage of simplified and overstated patriotic stories, in which self-righteously noble American heroes crusaded against viciously caricatured German and Japanese cronies. While these comic books did little to inform readers about the real issues and conduct of the war, and some—especially in their depiction of the Japanese—were outright racist, they were hardly unique in wartime American popular culture in these respects. Like most of its competitors, Marvel simply worked to bolster the morale of the young people and servicemen who read comic books, while cashing in on wartime patriotism in the process.

The war figured so prominently into Marvel’s superhero comic books, that sales of these titles plummeted with the return to peace. By the end of the 1940s Marvel had ceased publication of all its superhero comic books. The company thrived, however, by diversifying its output and exploring new genres like crime, romance, humor, and horror. Marvel’s editorial and publishing strategy during the postwar decade maximized the advantages of Goodman’s sizable distribution network. Essentially, the company would take note of the most popular current trends in comic books and flood the market with imitations thereof. Typical examples of this approach were *Lawbreakers Always Lose*, Marvel’s answer to Lev Gleason Publication’s successful *Crime Does Not Pay* and *Strange Tales*, a pale take-off on EC’s *Tales From the Crypt*. What Marvel’s stories lacked in quality, the company made up for with quantity. Whereas EC Comics, the originator and quintessential publisher of horror comic books, actually produced less than 200 such comics between 1950 and 1955, Marvel published over 400 during the same period.

Marvel’s conspicuous horror titles garnered the publisher some unfavorable publicity in 1954, when the United States Senate Subcommittee on the Judiciary held its hearings to investigate the alleged link between comic books and juvenile delinquency. Marvel’s business manager testified at the hearings, and although he stood up to the subcommittee’s questioning better than EC’s publisher William Gaines did, Marvel could not escape the public backlash that greeted the comic book industry in the wake of the investigation. In its defense Marvel dutifully adopted the industry’s new Comics Code governing comic book content. But declining sales and the bankruptcy of his chief distributor compelled Martin Goodman to drastically

curtail Marvel's line. By the end of the 1950s, the company that had published more comic books than any other over the previous two decades had become a marginal player in the field with only a handful of titles on the market.

Marvel's rapid decline brought the company to the brink of collapse, but the desperate situation inspired a new risk-taking strategy—one that gave Marvel's comic books an edgy quality that they had not possessed in decades. In collaboration with his primary artists Jack Kirby and Steve Ditko, writer-editor Stan Lee decided to try out a comic book title featuring superheroes that departed from the conventions of the genre. They would be superheroes who, for all their fantastic powers, talked and acted like believable human characters. In contrast to the impossibly noble and rather bland superheroes then on the market, Marvel's new breed of superhero would display such human weaknesses as jealousy, intemperance, and—most importantly—alienation. Launched by Marvel in 1961, *The Fantastic Four* marked Lee's initial experiment with this style of characterization. When it proved successful, Lee followed with *The Incredible Hulk* and *The Amazing Spider-Man*, the former in collaboration with Kirby and the latter with Ditko. With Spider-Man, in particular, Lee hit upon the archetypal angst-ridden adolescent superhero so endearing to young readers. When the sales figures and fan mail came in, Lee knew that he had found a formula for success.

If the lowly comic book can be said to have experienced a "renaissance," then that is what occurred at Marvel Comics during the mid-1960s. In the space of a few years, Marvel introduced a succession of superhero characters who have since become mainstays in comic books. Joining the Fantastic Four, the Incredible Hulk, and Spider-Man were the Mighty Thor, Dr. Strange, the X-Men, Iron Man, the Avengers, Daredevil, and the Silver Surfer. All bore in some way the qualities of the misunderstood outsider, which became the Marvel trademark. Marvel's rediscovery of the outsider hero marked the comic book industry's belated recognition of this mythic figure as a compelling force acting on the American imagination. Furthermore, the introduction of ambiguity into the vocabulary of the comic book superhero spoke to the lingering anxieties underlying Cold War culture—anxieties felt most keenly by the nation's youth. The very notion of a troubled and insecure superhero who could not always accomplish what he set out to achieve indicated the limited scope of his superpowers and suggested also the limitations of the nation as a superpower.

Although these comic books have not held up to the critical eye, they significantly impacted the subsequent history of comic books. Their popularity was undeniable. Marvel became a sensation in the 1960s. By reaching out to a slightly older audience and defying the mainstream conventions epitomized by DC, Marvel garnered a sizable college-aged readership and won approval. In 1965 *Esquire* magazine reported that Marvel had become a phenomenon on campuses nationwide, while characters like Spider-Man, the Hulk, and Dr. Strange, in particular, had achieved noted status among self-described radicals and the counterculture. Marvel's popularity and Stan Lee's unabashed and outrageous hucksterism made Lee himself a minor celebrity and an in-demand speaker at college campuses. Marvel's enthusiastic fan base credited Lee and his collaborators with fashioning a new mythology—a complex fictional universe with interlocking characters and themes that involved readers in much the same way as the mythologies of *Star Trek*, J. R. R. Tolkien, and *Dungeons and Dragons* later would. Intentionally or not, Marvel tapped into the escapist, alienated, and anti-mainstream ethos that had always comprised the essence of the comic book's appeal.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Marvel enjoyed a steadily increasing share of the comic book market. In the early 1970s it surpassed DC, ending that publisher's long era of dominance. Forced to acknowledge the popularity of its rival's approach, DC began to adapt the Marvel style to its own superhero comics—sometimes effectively, often clumsily, and rarely with comparable commercial success. In the booming 1980s Marvel secured its commanding market position even further on the strength of such new hits as the revitalized X-Men and the Punisher, as well as the continuing popularity of its established superheroes. Market surveys indicated that Marvel was the top-seller in both the traditional and the increasingly important comic book store markets. To help ensure its dominance, Marvel returned to its old strategy of flooding the market with titles in the hopes of crowding out the competition. Despite spirited challenges from DC and an array of smaller "independent" publishers vying for market share, Marvel has stayed on top and its characters have remained the most popular among comic-book fans.

The company's very success, however, made it a target of some criticism from fans and industry insiders. Many charged that Marvel's comic books, once on the cutting edge of the field, had drifted squarely into the predictable mainstream. Longtime fans grew annoyed by Marvel's bewildering multi-issue "cross-overs" and its tendency to spread popular characters like Spider-Man and the X-Men over too many titles. Some creators complained that a dispassionate and sometimes ruthless corporate atmosphere now pervaded the once intimate company that many had idolized and romanticized as young fans. Marvel had been a corporate property since 1968 and changed owners several times. In 1991, under the ownership of billionaire Wall Street investor Ronald Perleman, Marvel Entertainment debuted on the New York Stock Exchange. Shares performed well for several years despite warnings from market watchers that they were overvalued. Then they declined sharply until 1996, when Marvel was compelled to file for chapter eleven bankruptcy protection.

That humiliating debacle had more to do with Perleman's unwise investments in other holdings than it did with the popularity of Marvel's comic books, and the publication of the company's comic books have continued unabated. But Marvel's recent troubles also reflect the general crisis the comic book industry finds itself in at the end of the twentieth century, as it struggles to keep its audience in an increasingly crowded postmodern entertainment industry that caters to youth desires. Mindful of this predicament, Marvel's advertising campaign in the late 1990s emphasized the characters who had made it the industry's leading publisher. As long as Marvel can lay claim to the well-worn, but still appealing, superheroes who do good despite being feared and misunderstood by the public, it should retain its relevant place in the shaping of youth popular culture.

—Bradford W. Wright

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## The Marx Brothers

The Marx Brothers comedy team was comprised of three brothers stage-named Groucho, Harpo, and Chico (though two other brothers, Gummo and Zeppo, were included in the act for brief periods) whose madcap antics and semi-slapstick routines earned them a reputation as some of the zaniest performers of their time, with frequent appearances in vaudeville, musical comedy, radio, and film. Two of the brothers, Groucho and Harpo, performed on television in later years: Harpo as a novelty entertainer and, most notably, Groucho as the host of his own game show, *You Bet Your Life*. Though never an enormous hit in their time, the Marx Brothers lived to see their reputation with critics and audiences grow to legendary proportions, and they are especially remembered for their appearances in much-revived films like *Duck Soup* (1933), *A Night at the Opera* (1935), and *A Day at the Races* (1936).

The five Marx Brothers were born in New York City to Samuel, a tailor, and Minna Palmer Schoenberg Marx (the “Minnie” of the musical *Minnie’s Boys*), an ambitious stage-mother type—her brother was Al Shean of the vaudeville comedy team Gallagher & Shean—who thought show business would provide opportunities for her sons. Reference sources disagree about the brothers’ dates of birth, but Groucho’s son, Arthur Marx, declares the following order in his 1988

memoir *My Life with Groucho: A Son’s Eye View*: “Leonard (Chico) 1887; Arthur (Harpo) 1888; Julius (Groucho) 1890; Milton (Gummo) 1897; Herbert (Zeppo) 1901.” Chico died in 1961, Harpo in 1964, Groucho and Gummo in 1977, and Zeppo in 1979.

In musical revues and stage shows throughout the 1910s and 1920s, the Marx Brothers began developing the comic personae they would later immortalize on film. Groucho, often seen as the leader of the group, perfected the persona of a wisecracking finagler with his painted-on mustache, arched eyebrows, and ever-present cigar. Chico (he pronounced it “Chick-O”) donned a silly pointed hat and affected an Italian immigrant’s accent. Harpo Marx chased pretty girls, honked a toy horn, and erected a legend around the fact that he never spoke. Zeppo, the least known of the quintet, mostly stood around with nothing to do. Gummo performed with his brothers early in the group’s career, but he left the act around 1918.

The trademark Marxian style, honed on stage and perfected on film, was marked by a fast pace, absurdist situations, and witty dialogue. Some of the greatest humorists of the period, including George S. Kaufman and S. J. Perelman, would eventually write one-liners for the team. In 1925, the Marx Brothers graduated from music hall obscurity when their Broadway stage production *The Cocoanuts* proved a huge hit. Four years later Paramount Studios signed them to a movie deal. They made the film adaptation of *The Cocoanuts* (1930)



The Marx Brothers, from left: Groucho Marx, Zeppo Marx, Chico Marx, and Harpo Marx.

at the Kaufman Astoria studio during the day while their second Broadway production, *Animal Crackers*, was running at night. The big-screen *Cocoanuts* is stagy and crudely mounted, although it does contain a number of memorable comic scenes, including the classic “viaduct” (or “Why a duck?”) routine that relies on fast-paced punning for its humor.

A hit with Marx Brothers fans and with the general public, *The Cocoanuts* established the prototype for all subsequent Marx Brothers films. In it, buxom Margaret Dumont played a wealthy dowager who must constantly fend off Groucho’s advances. There is a sappy musical subplot, and the stolid Zeppo is given little to do. These stock elements were to be incorporated into every film the brothers made for the studio. Next up was *Animal Crackers* (1930), another stage adaptation; its threadbare plot simply let the siblings loose in a rich matron’s estate, with predictably antic consequences. Groucho got to warble “Hooray for Captain Spaulding,” a Harry Ruby composition that would become one of his trademark songs and the theme for his later television quiz show. The film also provided the pop cultural lexicon with some of its best-known one-liners, including the chestnut “This morning I shot an elephant in my pajamas. How he got into my pajamas I’ll never know.”

The success of their first two features prompted the Marx Brothers to leave New York for Hollywood. Here they made the three films that purists consider their finest. *Monkey Business* (1931), written by humorist S. J. Perelman, placed the foursome as stowaways on an ocean liner. The first Marx Brothers film to be written directly for the screen, *Monkey Business*’ frenetic pace and relative lack of schmaltzy subplot made it one of the team’s funniest examples of its formula. Notable scenes included one in which all four Marx Brothers impersonate French crooner Maurice Chevalier in a doomed attempt to buffalo their way past the authorities.

The 1932 follow-up, *Horse Feathers*, was every bit as good. A stroke of screenwriting genius put the brothers on a college campus this time, with Groucho perfectly (mis)cast as university president. More surreal than *Monkey Business* or any of the group’s previous films, *Horse Feathers* milked much comic mileage out of an anarchic football game staged by the brothers. Songs included Groucho’s defining gem “Whatever It Is, I’m Against It” and the Woody Allen-inspired “Everyone Says I Love You.” *Duck Soup* (1933), another absurdist *tour de force*, was set in the mythical country of Fredonia where Groucho got himself elected dictator (probably with the support of the same folks who made him a college president) and promptly declared war on a neighboring nation. Chico and Harpo, as a pair of unscrupulous spies, had some of their finest moments on screen. The climactic musical numbers alone were worth the price of admission, and its famous “mirror scene” would be re-enacted some twenty years later when Harpo appeared on a celebrated episode of TV’s *I Love Lucy*.

In the years after its release, *Duck Soup* gained an unwarranted reputation as an antiwar comedy, as if the brothers could see the bellicose aspirations of Hitler and Mussolini as far back as 1933. The Marxes always denied this, and in fact an anti-authoritarian strain can be detected in all of their comedies of this period. Regardless of its politics, *Duck Soup* flopped at the box office, leading Paramount to jettison the siblings, who chose to carry on without Zeppo.

The three survivors, Groucho, Harpo, and Chico, landed at MGM, a studio known for its lavish, family-oriented spectacles. It did not seem like a good fit, and in time would prove not to be, but the first picture the team made there was an undisputed classic. *A Night at the Opera* (1935) had all the trademark Marxian elements: rapid-fire

comic patter, expert pantomime, and three or four set pieces that were to become landmark scenes in the annals of film comedy. Only the grating presence of a treacly romantic subplot, complete with one too many horrible songs, served as a sign of bad things to come. Nevertheless, the trio was in fine form, having been able to hone their material by road tryouts before the film was shot. With more structure and better production values than previous Marx Brothers films, it won back the mass audience and put the team back on solid commercial footing.

The perils of formula began to catch up with the Marxes in their next release, *A Day at the Races* (1937). While the film contained a number of funny scenes, it was undermined by an utterly haphazard script and a numbing plethora of excruciating musical numbers. Most disturbingly, MGM—as it would later do with the *Our Gang* kids—tried to recast the brothers as lovable lugs trying to do the right thing for their romantic co-leads. “She loves him. Everything’s gonna be *all right now!*” the previously cynical Chico is made to say as insufferable lovers Alan Jones and Maureen O’Sullivan played kissy face in front of him. Harpo was even more shamefully abused, forced to front a racist production number with a crowd of dancing “pickaninnies” that is routinely cut from television airings of the film.

It was all downhill from there. With the death of MGM titan Irving Thalberg in 1937, the Marx Brothers were assigned to second-tier producers who allowed the quality of their vehicles to slip precipitously. *At the Circus* (1939), *Go West* (1940), and *The Big Store* (1941) all had their share of fine comic moments, but were dragged down by a kind of cookie-cutter approach normally reserved for lesser comedians. Eventually the team grew tired of the mediocrity and broke up, though they did reunite for the tiresome *A Night in Casablanca* (1946).

After going their separate ways, the “big three” Marx Brothers pursued their individual interests with varying degrees of success. Groucho enjoyed a long career on radio and television as host of the popular quiz show *You Bet Your Life* and cultivated a public persona in later years of a “dirty old man” who craved younger female companionship. Harpo appeared in the aforementioned *I Love Lucy* episode and wrote an autobiography cheekily titled *Harpo Speaks* and Chico gambled.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Marx, Groucho (1890-1977)

The third-born of the performing Marx Brothers, Julius “Groucho” Marx made the most profound contributions to American comedy. His wisecracking stage persona has achieved iconic status akin to Charlie Chaplin’s hapless tramp and Buster Keaton’s stone face. When teamed with his brothers, Groucho often served as a stand-in for the audience member, a reluctant go-between for the

more antic Chico and Harpo. Venal, lecherous, motivated by the desire for money and a life of ease, Groucho's film façade was the male id personified. When the brothers' movie career had run its course, Groucho evolved into a gentler, more grandfatherly figure as host of the radio and TV quiz program *You Bet Your Life*. Toward the end of his life he made the talk show rounds, often appearing in an absurd beret to trade quips with Dick Cavett.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Marxism

See Communism

## Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman

The parody of a soap opera *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman* debuted in January of 1976, to become the “Bicentennial Soap”—much like *Rocky* became the Bicentennial movie. But while *Rocky* hearkened back to a simpler type of hero, *Mary Hartman* was at once



Louise Lasser in a scene from *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*.

simple—the long-suffering successor to radio's “Mary Noble”—yet complex, for her struggles involved dealing with outlandish crises such as a neighborhood mass murder, the “exposure” of her grandfather as the notorious “Fernwood Flasher,” and the basketball coach's drowning in a bowl of her chicken soup.

Also, like *Rocky*, this was the underdog which initially no major network would touch, until producer Norman Lear sold the show to independent stations and produced an unexpected hit which became a cultural phenomenon. The *Wall Street Journal* deigned it “the funniest show in the history of television.”

*Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman* originated in the mind of sitcom producer Norman Lear, who was riding the wave of success with both *All in the Family*, and its spin-off, *Maude*, when he bought the rights to an old radio serial, *The Bickersons*, intending to update and adapt it into a TV sitcom. In the process of development, Lear determined that he wanted to create an unusual hybrid: a straight soap with continuing characters and situations—but one which would simultaneously satirize the medium.

Lear hired a series of veteran comedy writers to develop this concept. The setting would be fictional small town Fernwood, Ohio. The central family would be the Hartmans: blue-collar auto-worker husband Tom, his wife Mary, and their teenage daughter, Heather. Other characters would include Mary's parents and younger sister, the Shumways, as well as neighbors the Haggars, consisting of would-be country singer Loretta, and her husband Charlie.

While this setup was quite workable, Lear wanted to open the show with a series of plot developments which would establish its offbeat nature—but also quite possibly alienate the audience through its breaking of taboos. In the opening episodes, the Hartmans would deal with the mass murder of a neighborhood family—including their goats and chickens, the exposure of Mary's grandfather as an exhibitionist, and a frank bedroom discussion between Tom and Mary regarding his long-term impotence.

While Lear, along with head writers Ann Marcus, Daniel Gregory Browne, and others struggled to make these crises amusing and avoid censorship, the offensive subject matter still worried prospective networks, who contended that either the show needed a live studio audience or a laugh track to point up the humor. Yet Lear resisted, finally selling the show personally, based on his reputation to approximately ninety independent stations across the country. During this interim the producers went on with the process of casting the project.

According to writer Ann Marcus, the central character of Mary had been written for actress Louise Lasser—ex-wife of Woody Allen and co-star in his films such as *Bananas*, and *Everything You've Always Wanted to Know about Sex*. While Lasser was hesitant about the bizarre nature of the project, the producers soon convinced her of her fit, and Lasser is credited with bringing Mary to life through her deliberate and measured delivery, and her creation of Mary's “look”—the wig of braided hair and bangs, and the puffy-sleeved housewife mini-dresses. Lasser seemed to have intuitively captured the unfinished, adolescent/woman nature of Mary, who had not fully integrated as an adult, and actually dressed younger than her thirteen-year-old daughter.

*Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman* premiered on January 6, 1976. The first episode established the anachronistic style which hearkened to soap operas of the 1950s—complete with corny organ music and the voice of Dody Goodman (who played Mary's mother) calling out “Mary Hartman . . . Mary Hartman!” The opening scenes took place in Mary's kitchen, where much of the action of the series focused, as

she watched soap operas and lamented the “waxy, yellow buildup” on her own floors (resulting in her climbing underneath the sink and closing the cabinet in depression). Then, upon hearing the report of the death of “the Lombardis, their three kids, two goats, and eight chickens,” from neighbor Loretta Haggars (Mary Kay Place), Mary responds—in her now-classic deadpan fashion, “What kind of mad-man would kill two goats and eight chickens?”

Such black humor, in such questionable taste drew an immediate response—both positive and negative. The show was the subject of endless articles in tabloids and highbrow magazines as critics debated its merits. While *Newsweek* praised it, *Time* magazine found it “silly, stupid, silly, stupid.” Factions of the public found it boring, while others were shocked and revolted, mounting letter-writing campaigns and picketing stations to stop the show which was broadcast in the afternoon, when their innocent children could be corrupted. Still others found it wildly original and fan clubs rose as Mary Hartman t-shirts, bumper stickers, and other merchandise began circulating.

For many, the show was just plain hysterically funny. The quintessential episode concerned the funeral held for Leroy Fedders, the coach of the Fernwood High basketball team. Ill with a cold, Coach Fedders had been downing shots of bourbon as well as cold medicine when Mary Hartman arrived with a bowl of her chicken soup. As Mary and the coach’s wife talk obliviously in the kitchen, Coach Fedders deliriously slumps forward in the bowl of chicken soup, and quietly drowns.

Mary, sick with guilt, offers the Fedders family her kitchen for the funeral. Few mourners gather for, as widow Blanche Fedders concludes, “That’s how much people care about you when you never win a game.” In delivering the eulogy, Mary pleads, “I do not want any of my friends and neighbors or relatives ever to eat anything I offer them again,” then—moments later—invites the mourners to refreshments she’s prepared. Then Loretta Haggars—wheelchair-bound due to an accident involving her car and a carload full of nuns en route to Nashville—comes forward to sing the coach’s favorite song, “That Old Black Magic,” in her typically upbeat, inappropriately jazzy country style.

Reportedly, Lear himself improvised the Coach’s death and took delight in figuring out equally bizarre ways for characters to be eliminated, such as the bizarre—and somewhat controversial—death of eight-year-old evangelist Jimmy Joe Jeeter, who was electrocuted when a TV set fell into his bathtub. Likewise, partway through the show’s run, Martin Mull (later Roseanne’s boss on her sitcom) was introduced Garth Gimble, a wife-beater who was killed by his wife when she knocks him into a closet and he was impaled by the Christmas tree stored within. Then there was the near-death of Charlie Haggars, who, when in defending his wife from the lecherous advances of Jimmy Joe’s slimey promoter/father Merle (Dabney Coleman), is accidentally shot in the groin. He subsequently receives a transplant testicle from a German Shepherd.

Despite its immense success, the daily grind was taking its toll on star Louise Lasser. While most soap opera leads appeared in two to three episodes per week, Lasser insisted on being in every one, especially difficult because the parodic nature of the show required extensive rehearsal to achieve the right comedic timing, and Lasser was burning out as the 26 weeks of the first season wore on. Lasser’s stress was also exacerbated by an incident in her private life involving an arrest for possession of a small amount of cocaine, and non-payment of traffic tickets.

Lasser suggested this incident, culminating in her nervous breakdown, to be written into the show as the season finale. The

writers agreed, contriving a scenario in which Mary is chosen as “America’s Typical Consumer Housewife,” and a film crew is sent to document a week in her life. Subsequently, Mary is flown to New York to appear before a panel of experts on the “David Susskind Show.” These pressures, in addition to Tom’s job loss and descent into alcoholism, her sister Cathy’s illicit affair with a Catholic priest, Mary’s own being held hostage at a Chinese laundry, and her doomed affair with police Sgt. Dennis Foley—who has a heart attack the first time they make love—causes Mary to crack on national TV under scrutiny by experts who are analyzing her life. She eventually ends up in a mental hospital, and subsequently, upon release, runs off with Sgt. Foley. Though the show attempted to go on for the next season as “Forever Fernwood” without Lasser, its popularity declined, leading to cancellation.

In summary, despite their love or hate for the show, the “something” that seemed to keep disparate factions of the audience watching to the end was *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*’s exploration of a character who was a victim of the conflict between television values and reality. Like much of the population, Mary hopes that if she listens to commercials and buys the products, she will have the beautiful life they advertise. Of her character, Lasser herself explained: “Mary’s as sad as any person I’ve ever heard of in my life, unless they’re in a wheelchair somewhere. This is a person who gets up and dresses in pink and blue, thinking it’s all going to be fine—and it just falls down on her every single day. She has a daughter that hates her. She has a husband that won’t make love to her. And she’s just *trying* to figure out what’s wrong with *her*. That’s not sad? She’s a total victim. But what’s sweet and sad about her is that she’s a survivor. She survives in a world that may not be worth surviving for.”

—Rick Moody

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## Mary Kay Cosmetics

Mary Kay Cosmetics Inc., a direct selling company, was founded by Mary Kay Ash on September 13, 1963 in Dallas, Texas. Mary Kay Cosmetics is the second largest direct seller of beauty products, behind Avon. They carry a line of more than 200 products, including facial skin care, cosmetics, fragrances, nutritional supplements, sun protection products, and hair, nail, body care, and men’s skin care items. In 1997, their estimated wholesale sales were above \$1 billion, which translated to well over \$2 billion at the retail level and a 5% increase over the previous year.

Mary Kay Cosmetics sells a range of beauty products through approximately half-a-million independent salespeople worldwide, known as “beauty consultants.” These beauty consultants sell their products directly to consumers, often using Mary Kay Cosmetics parties to peddle their goods. Mary Kay Ash and her family own most of the company, though founder Ash stepped aside as chairman of the company in 1996. The company employs and is said to empower

many women: over 100 women have attained the position of Independent National Sales Director, with salaries well into six figures, and an additional 8,500 women hold the position of Independent Sales Director. While most of the work force is female, the company's chief executive and chief financial officers—John P. Rochon and David Holl, respectively—are both male.

According to company documents, the vision of Mary Kay Cosmetics is to “provide women with an unparalleled opportunity for financial independence, career and personal fulfillment” and “to achieve total customer satisfaction by delivering the products and services that enhance a woman's self-image and confidence.” Mary Kay Ash's original goal was to empower women with personal and financial success opportunities. Her simple philosophy was to have her sales force members prioritize their lives by a simple motto: God first, family second, and career third. Starting a Mary Kay business could cost as little as \$100 for the product demonstration kit and educational materials.

Mary Kay Cosmetic's products are sold through a direct sales force in the United States and 26 other countries as of 1998, including many former Soviet bloc countries. In order to accommodate international expansions, manufacturing facilities were opened in China in 1995 to serve the Asia Pacific rim and in Switzerland in 1997 for the European region, including Russia. Mary Kay's growth in China was affected by a ban on door-to-door selling in April, 1998; the company opened negotiations with the Chinese government, which allowed them to sell only to wholesalers and retailers.

The company is well known for offering cars to its most successful Independent Beauty Consultants and Sales Directors. First awarded in 1969, this car has typically been a pink Cadillac. The Mary Kay fleet in the United States, which includes some 10,000 cars, is valued at more than \$150 million and is the largest commercial fleet of GM cars in the world. In recent years the pink Grand Prix, the red Grand Am, and the new white GMC Jimmy have been included in the fleet.

—Abhijit Roy

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## Mary Poppins

Vain, brusque, and tart of tongue, Mary Poppins first blew into the Banks home at 17 Cherry Tree Lane, London, in the self-titled book of 1934, to teach Jane, Michael, and the twins some manners. Incidentally, she also took them on a series of fantastic adventures throughout London, across the globe, and within their own home—all of which she firmly denied (“stuff and nonsense”) had ever taken

place. The spit-spot governess with the parrot-head umbrella was the brainchild of Australian-born P. L. (Pamela Lyndon) Travers (1906-1996), who more than once declared, “I don't write for children at all. I turn my back on them.” Nevertheless, the books about Mary Poppins have been translated into 25 languages and sold tens of millions of copies; their tremendous popularity is probably attributable in equal parts to the mythic elements of Mary's character, the boundless universe she creates, and popular nostalgia for an illusory coddled British childhood, a notion which strongly influenced the later Disney film.

In the eight Poppins books (four story collections, two single-story books, an alphabet book, and a cookbook) the character of Mary represents unlimited possibility and the magic to be found within the confines of everyday life. She is a figure akin to those about whom Travers wrote articles and a book for adults. As one volume contains many stories, and as Mary's carpet bag contains many objects (including clothing, furniture, and a bottle of medicine that tastes different according to who swallows it), so does Mary show that an ordinary place or object contains much more than first meets the eye. She seems to know everyone in London and to be related to a good number of them, but her own origins and history are as murky as a goddess's; even Travers claimed not to know where she comes from or goes to between visits. When she arrives at the Banks' house, Mary joins a neighborhood of upper-middle-class houses in which a child might be more intimate with the servants and eccentric neighbors than with his or her distracted parents. Offering efficient care, insight, and adventure, she is the magic gatekeeper all children wish they knew: With her uncle Mr. Wigg, Jane and Michael laugh until they become weightless and bump against the ceiling, and her favorite shopkeeper breaks off her own fingers and feeds them to the children like candy.

Adventures are episodic, character is static, and conflict is confined to and resolved within individual incidents. Though each magical adventure, like each swallow of medicine, is tailored to the child who enjoys it, Mary makes this world one of fluid relationships. She shows that all sentient beings are of equal worth and capacity: each denizen of Cherry Tree Lane has a relationship to the others and is often blood kin to Mary herself. Naturally, under the full moon the lord of the London Zoo is revealed to be not *homo sapiens* but a different animal entirely (people, many of them from Jane and Michael's neighborhood, are displayed in cages). In the Poppins everyday-fantastic continuum, animals and humans are truly members of the same kingdom, manifesting the same emotions and intellect. Similarly, adults often act like children and vice-versa. Travers claimed to have “no idea where childhood ends and maturity begins.” And even inanimate objects, once examined with the right frame of mind, can turn into active playmates (as in Jane's unsettling adventure within the Royal Doulton Plate) or relatives (as when the plasticine man Jane fashions in the park turns out to be Mary's cousin Sam). Proud of her relatives and fussy about her appearance, the acerbic Mary has been compared to a warrior goddess, but her heart is not unreachable; she creates adventures for unfortunates such as the impoverished Match-Man and a Pleiades star who has no money for Christmas gifts. Thus, the children miss Mary herself as well as her magic world when, at the end of each visit, she disappears with the wind again. Patricia Demers, in her book *P. L. Travers*, summed up the character's appeal: “Mary Poppins seems to come from another world and time, and yet to be also a futuristic model of understanding.”

Travers was not averse to adapting her work to extraliterary needs. The pickaninny dialect in the first book seemed racist to late-century libraries, so she rewrote some scenes. She also served as a

consultant on the 1963 Disney film *Mary Poppins*, which starred Julie Andrews and Dick Van Dyke. Combining live action with animation and catchy song-and-dance numbers, the movie dramatizes a few incidents from the first books, invents some of its own, and presents a much gentler Mary. For example, Mary's sympathy for the poor Match-Man is blown into cinematic sweethearthood. Critics have attacked the hugely popular film for cheapening the magic of the books, and even Travers expressed some disappointment in it. Still, it was her suggestion to set the film in the Edwardian period rather than the 1930s; she explained that she wanted the images to be "timeless," or well removed from the contemporary scene. Perhaps she saw those years just preceding her own childhood as the true location of governessy coziness, magic, and myth. Or perhaps she wanted to prove that Mary is, as she proclaims at the end of her very last book, "at home . . . wherever I am!"

—Susann Cokal

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## The Mary Tyler Moore Show

*The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, which aired on CBS from 1970 to 1977, was one of the most influential situation comedies in the history of American television, highly regarded by audiences and critics alike. The show, set in Minneapolis, centers around Mary Richards (played by Mary Tyler Moore), a single career woman in her thirties who works as the associate producer of the six o'clock news at WJM-TV Channel 12, the lowest-rated station in the city. This premise, while seemingly simple, broke new ground for situation comedy by featuring an unmarried, professional woman as the central character and by shifting the setting of the sitcom from the home and the traditional family to the workplace, where a new kind of family was formed, a family consisting of characters in whom audiences felt invested and toward whom they felt a deep affection. In its seven year run, the show raised the standards for comedy writing, acting, directing, and producing, garnering a record 29 Emmys and thus guaranteeing it a place in the annals of American television programming.

The events surrounding the creation and development of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* are part of television lore. By the late 1960s, Moore was already an established actress, having won two Emmys for her portrayal of Laura Petrie, wife of Rob Petrie, on *The Dick Van Dyke Show* (which ran on CBS from 1961-1966). In April of 1969, Moore re-teamed with Van Dyke for a television musical-variety show entitled *Dick Van Dyke and the Other Woman*. The program received high ratings as well as glowing reviews from critics. Impressed with the success of the show, CBS offered Moore a half-hour series, with a commitment to 13 episodes. Moore would accept only under the provision that she and then-husband Grant Tinker would

have complete control of the series. CBS agreed, and Moore and Tinker formed their own independent television production company, MTM Enterprises. Tinker then hired a team of young writers, James L. Brooks and Allan Burns, to create the show. As they originally conceived it, the series would revolve around Mary Richards, a 30-year-old divorcee who had moved to Minneapolis for a job as an assistant to a gossip columnist.

CBS executives balked at the idea, convinced that audiences would think that the "new" Mary had divorced her old television husband, Dick Van Dyke. Ordered to come up with a new premise, Brooks and Burns revised the characters and the plot, and their revision became the famous first episode of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, in which Mary Richards moves from a small town in Minnesota—where she and her boyfriend of two years had split up—to the urban environment of Minneapolis in order to start a new life. Within days of moving to the big city, Mary secures a job as associate producer at WJM, a local news station, completely severs ties with her ex-boyfriend, Bill (who comes to Minneapolis to ask Mary to move back home and live with him—not as his wife, but as his mistress), and befriends her upstairs neighbor, Rhoda Morgenstern.

When *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* premiered on September 19, 1970, it was not met with overwhelming critical success, and in its first year it did not rank among the top 20 shows of the season. But over the course of its seven year run, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* endeared itself to critics and audiences alike (excepting the first season, it placed in the top 20 in every season but the last). The show met with such success in large part due to a talented and diverse cast, all of whom excelled at making their respective characters come to life. Leading the cast was Moore herself, whose portrayal of the lovable, seemingly perfect, somewhat insecure but, over the years, increasingly assertive Mary Richards anchored the show. Though Mary Richards could "turn the world on with her smile," she was not so flawless that audiences could not identify with her. To be sure, Moore's greatest talent was making Mary Richards human: when intimidated by others, Mary would stutter or swallow her words; when exasperated or frustrated at a situation, Mary's arms would fly wildly around her; when upset at work, Mary would sniffle, "Oh, Mr. Grant!" And while, in many ways, Mary Richards was the "girl next door," she was not so innocent or naive that she seemed an anomaly in the early 1970s. To be sure, she dated many men, had several serious relationships, and though it was never stated explicitly, had an active sex life.

Mary Richards was the center of the show, but her world would have been a much less interesting place without the supporting characters: Edward Asner in the role of Mary's tough but loveable boss, Lou Grant; Gavin McLeod as Murray Slaughter, the hard-working, wise-cracking WJM news writer; Ted Knight as Ted Baxter, WJM's egotistical, buffoonish anchorman; Valerie Harper as Jewish New Yorker Rhoda Morgenstern, Mary's sarcastic neighbor, best friend, and foil; and Cloris Leachman as Phyllis Lindstrom, Mary's landlady/friend and resident snob. Both Valerie Harper and Cloris Leachman exited the show (at the end of the fourth and fifth season, respectively) for their own spinoffs—*Rhoda*, which ran from 1974-1978, and *Phyllis*, which aired from 1975-1977. Around the same time as their departures, two new characters were introduced: Georgia Engel as the good-hearted but dim-witted Georgette Franklin, whom Ted dates and, in the sixth season, marries; and Betty White as the manipulative, man-hungry "Happy Homemaker," Sue Ann Nivens.

These characters, just as much as Mary Richards, contributed to the success of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. They, like Mary, were



Mary Tyler Moore and Ted Knight of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*.

likable because they were human; indeed, each character had flaws, but flaws with which the audience could sympathize, if not identify. Over the course of seven years, viewers learned that Lou Grant's toughness masked his inability to be emotionally vulnerable; Murray's self-deprecating comments pointed to his disappointment that he was "just a news writer"; Ted's egotistical boasting belied a real lack of confidence in his abilities; Rhoda's caustic wit served as protection against the deep insecurity she felt about her appearance; Phyllis' political and cultural elitism reassured her that her life was in order, even though she and her husband, Lars, did not have the most exciting relationship; and Sue Ann's aggressive "man-chasing" stemmed from her fear that no man would ever want her. Even soft-spoken Georgette is much more complex than meets the eye: as viewers learned in one episode, her good-heartedness provokes others—Ted in particular—to take advantage of her. With the help of Mary and Rhoda, Georgette learns to assert and believe in herself. Every character on the show was both complicated and humane, and even when the characters were at their worst behavior—as Ted, Phyllis, and Sue Ann often were—the viewers were reminded that there was something redeemable about them, something forgivable in each of them.

Though the series was originally conceived as a show about a single working woman, only a few of the 168 episodes dealt directly

with Mary's unmarried status. In fact, the show was more concerned with the relationships between Mary and her co-workers and neighbors than with those between Mary and her many dates. Yet whether an episode focused on Mary's love life, home life, or work life, it often addressed—though subtly—relevant social issues of the 1970s: premarital sex, birth control, anti-Semitism, women's liberation, homosexuality, and divorce. It succeeded at incorporating such issues without resorting to preachiness or without employing the polemical style of *All in the Family* (which aired on CBS on the same night as *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* for four seasons). Rather, the humor surrounding these issues softened the controversial nature of them.

There is no better example of the show's ability to combine the serious and the humorous than in its most famous episode: "Chuckles Bites the Dust," from the sixth season. Chuckles the Clown, the host of a children's show produced by WJM, is killed by an elephant in a parade; as Murray explains, Chuckles was dressed as a peanut, and the hungry elephant tried to shell him. The unusual circumstances of his death inspire laughter rather than tears among Mary's co-workers: at the mere mention of Chuckles, everyone—Mr. Grant, Murray, Ted, Sue Ann—giggles uncontrollably. Mary is outraged at what she perceives to be their lack of decorum and respect for the dead. Murray explains that their laughter is merely their way of coping with the tragedy, but Mary remains indignant. The climax of the plot occurs at

Chuckles' funeral: while all of her friends are solemn and composed, Mary, who throughout the episode had righteously denounced the "inappropriate" responses of her co-workers, finds herself unable to control her laughter. "Chuckles Bites the Dust" is still regarded not only as one of the best episodes of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, but also as one of the best half-hours of comedy ever produced for television.

At the end of the sixth season, those involved in creating in the show, particularly the writers and producers, decided that the seventh season would be *The Mary Tyler Moore Show's* last—not because the quality of the show was suffering, but because they wanted to end the series while the characters, plot lines, and writing were still fresh. Aired on March 19, 1977, "The Last Show" (in which everyone at the news station is fired—except Ted) has since become the exemplar of how to bring a much-loved sitcom to a graceful end. While almost every cast member moved on to other television shows (Ed Asner on *Lou Grant*, Gavin McLeod on *The Love Boat*, Ted Knight on *Too Close For Comfort*, Betty White on *The Betty White Show* and *The Golden Girls*, and Moore herself, who has tried her hand at several programs, including *Mary* and *Annie McGuire*), none of them matched the success of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*.

Though *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* now belongs to the realm of "classic TV," its influence and impact cannot be underestimated. It changed the face of the situation comedy in innumerable ways. While sitcoms before *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* had featured women in lead roles (*I Love Lucy* in the 1950s, *That Girl* in the 1960s) *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* differed from its predecessors by presenting a female character who was independent, career-oriented, and most importantly, happily unmarried. Indeed, Mary remained single throughout the seven year run of the show, and the writers felt no compunction to "marry her off" in the last episode. And while it has been argued that *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, despite its "career woman" lead, in fact reinforced many stereotypical gender roles—for example, even after seven years, Mary called her boss "Mr. Grant" instead of "Lou," and she often performed "motherly" or "wifely" duties for him such as buying gifts for his wife or doing his laundry—such actions might be better understood as reflecting the insecurity and uncertainty that characterized women's foray into public life in the 1970s. To be sure, Mary Richards was not alone in her experience of being the only woman at WJM; in the "real world," thousands of women, inspired by the women's movement, were entering fields previously not open to them. The difficulties that Mary experienced—difficulties in not knowing how to say "no," in asserting herself in order to be heard, in drawing a line between her professional life and her private life—were no doubt the very same conflicts that real women had to deal with as they entered a male-dominated work force.

And just as *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* reflected the changing role of women in society, so, too, did it reflect changing notions of the family. Whereas popular comedies of the 1950s (*Father Knows Best*, *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*) and the 1960s (*The Beverly Hillbillies*, *My Three Sons*) centered on the home and the relationships between husband and wife, parents and children, and traditional family structures, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* challenged the definition of family itself, presenting instead a new version of the family, one consisting of friends, co-workers, and neighbors. As Mary tearfully declares in the final episode, "I just wanted you to know that sometimes I get concerned about being a career woman. I get to thinking my job is too important to me and I tell myself that the people I work with are just the people I work with, and not my family. And last night, I thought, what is a family anyway? They're just

people who make you feel less alone and really loved. And that's what you've done for me. Thank you for being my family." By redefining the family and resituating the sitcom, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* paved the way for the dozens of other "workplace comedies" that have followed it, such as *Taxi*, *WKRP in Cincinnati*, *Cheers*, and *Murphy Brown*, programs which feature "families" not unlike the family on *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*—people not related by blood or tradition, but drawn together by work, circumstance, and ultimately, affection and love for one another.

—Ann M. Ciasullo

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## Mary Worth

Mary Worth, the queen of the soap opera comic strips, had a humble beginning in 1934 when she was known as Apple Mary. Martha Orr created the *Apple Mary* feature for the Publishers Syndicate, obviously inspired by the character of Apple Annie in Frank Capra's hit comedy of the previous year, *Lady for a Day*. By the late 1930s, with a new artist and a new writer, Mary was dispensing advice to the lovelorn and the strip had changed its title to *Mary Worth's Family*. In the early 1940s yet another artist took over and a few years later the title was shortened to just plain *Mary Worth*.

In its earliest incarnation, the strip dealt with the efforts of a kindly, motherly, street corner apple peddler to survive the stresses of the Depression, look after her crippled young nephew Denny, and act as a Good Samaritan to her friends and neighbors. The strip was successful in its original form, picking up a satisfactory list of papers. When Orr retired in 1939, however, the new scriptwriter decided it was time for a streamlining. Allen Saunders was a veteran newspaperman, already writing *Big Chief Wahoo* (later changed to *Steve Roper*). He took Mary off the streets and moved the continuities closer to those that could be heard on such soap-sponsored daytime radio serials as *Ma Perkins*, *Life Can Be Beautiful*, and *Young Dr. Malone*. Orr's longtime assistant and sometimes ghost, Dale Conner Ulrey, drew *Mary Worth's Family* in a slicker illustrative style that fit the new, more sophisticated storylines. Mary moved somewhat into the background, acting now as a sort of homespun therapist and occasional catalyst. Saunders wanted her to become "a linking character who



provides continuity by tirelessly meeting interesting people.” Now and then she also behaved like the classic busybody. The refurbished comic strip prospered. It is probably not a coincidence that Mary Worth was invented in Chicago, the town where many of the early radio soap operas originated.

Dale Ulrey quit in 1942, unhappy with what she considered the tawdry content of the strip and eager to try a feature of her own. Saunders continued to mastermind the stories, bringing in as artist the gifted Ken Ernst. A prolific comic book artist, using a style inspired by that of his mentors Milton Caniff and Noel Sickles, Ernst had also been ghosting the *Don Winslow of the Navy* newspaper strip. His style was well suited to the ever more worldly stories Saunders was fashioning. Mary Worth was now frequently moving in upper class circles. “For soap opera suffering,” Saunders later explained about the further changes he brought about in the 1940s, “we decided to substitute romantic novelettes about glossy girls in more glamorous professions.” He put Mary Worth in contact with actors and actresses, models, and powerful business tycoons, all of them tangled up with complex, and entertaining, romantic problems. Ernst did a good job of illustrating the glossy world that the former Apple Mary began frequenting.

The look and content of *Mary Worth* influenced a whole string of soap opera funnies, including *Rex Morgan, M.D.*, *Judge Parker*, and *The Heart of Juliet Jones*. While almost all of the other story strips have ceased to be, the soapers continue to thrive and *Mary Worth* can still be seen in papers across the country. In the late 1990s it was being written by John Saunders, Allen’s son, and drawn by Joe Giella.

—Ron Goulart

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## M\*A\*S\*H

By the time the final episode of *M\*A\*S\*H* aired on February 28, 1983, viewed by 50,150,000 viewers (a world record), it had little in common with the original novel beyond the names of a few characters. While the TV series was regarded as one of the finest examples of sensitive, socially relevant television, the original novel was a black comedy teeming with racist, sexist humor, and cruel pranks. *M\*A\*S\*H* was written by Dr. H. Richard Hornberger under the pseudonym Richard Hooker, and published in October 1968. Hornberger was a surgeon who had worked in a *M\*A\*S\*H* unit in Korea, and wrote a realistic novel, whose characters were very different from the ones we know today. Colonel Blake was a humorless Regular Army commander. Hawkeye was a crude opportunist who persuaded other surgeons to take advantage of their indispensability, and their “mischief” became more cruel and extravagant whenever they expected casualties. On one occasion, Hawkeye and Trapper kidnapped the Protestant priest from a neighboring camp, tied him to a cross, and offered him to Father Mulcahy as a human sacrifice.

Ring Lardner, Jr. liked the antiestablishment tone of the novel and adapted it into a screenplay. Twentieth Century Fox gave it to a relatively inexperienced director, Robert Altman, who applied a

gritty, quasi-documentary style. It was a loose adaptation of the novel, but the characters were generally the same. Released in 1970, the movie shocked viewers with its graphic operating scenes and morbid humor, and was originally rated X. But the film appealed to the antiwar and antiestablishment sentiments which had been growing throughout the sixties. Richard Hooker cashed in on the popularity of the film with a series of slapdash sequels to his novel, beginning with *M\*A\*S\*H Goes to Maine* in 1973.

The film was popular enough, and television was becoming sophisticated enough, that Twentieth Century Fox created a TV series of *M\*A\*S\*H* with producer/director Gene Reynolds, who had previously explored the comedy/drama genre on *Room 222*. Larry Gelbart wrote the pilot episode, and associate producer/casting director Burt Metcalfe procured the actors. The producers planned to show the film to the actors in order to inculcate them into the roles, but the actors refused to watch it, believing it would be a mistake to try to imitate the original actors. Gelbart approved of their decision to strive for originality, and expanded upon it. He decided to embellish each character by observing the actors themselves and encouraging them to invest some of their own personalities into their parts. Throughout the series the cast would examine the script critically to ensure that their lines were true to character. This method contributed to the longevity of the show by allowing the characters to grow and evolve.

The Hawkeye of the novel and film was recalcitrant, sneaky, and manipulative; a prankster, comedian, and ladies’ man. In the TV series he retained many of these qualities, but also became a humanitarian, with the soul of a poet. Besides getting all the best punchlines, he also got the best speeches, criticizing the hypocrisy of pompous officers, consoling wounded soldiers at their bedside, or waxing eloquent on any topic that came along. One remarkable episode, appropriately titled “Hawkeye” (fourth season) was comprised solely of a monologue. After suffering a concussion, Hawkeye was taken in by a Korean family who spoke no English. In order to keep himself awake, Hawkeye talked aloud to himself and to the uncomprehending family, discoursing on the evils of war, the wonders of the anatomy, and other topics. Writers often used Hawkeye as a pretext for inserting purple passages, with variable effectiveness.

Obviously, a character with so many admirable virtues could lead to superficiality, monotony, and sanctimony. Alan Alda sought to keep the character interesting by exploring his faults. In “Fallen Idol” (sixth season), Radar was wounded during a trip to Seoul which Hawkeye had encouraged him to take. Hungover and guilt-ridden, Hawkeye was unable to operate on Radar. When the recovering Radar expressed his disappointment, Hawkeye blew up at Radar, sick of the mantle of heroism he was expected to maintain. This episode furthered the growth of Radar’s character as well. The award-winning “Inga,” written by Alda, showed Hawkeye reluctant to learn from a female surgeon who upstaged him in O.R. (This episode had an autobiographical element, for as a child Alda was cured of polio by a technique discovered by a woman doctor, who had also met with opposition when proposing her theories.) In later episodes writers went out of their way to dig up the dark side of Hawkeye. In “C\*A\*V\*E” (seventh season) we discovered that Hawkeye was claustrophobic, and in “Bless You, Hawkeye” (ninth season) an allergic reaction to wet clothing awakened Hawkeye’s latent but bitter hatred for his best friend and cousin, who had nearly drowned him in a childhood prank. Finally, in the last episode, “Goodbye, Farewell,



Scenes from the television show *M\*A\*S\*H*.

and Amen” (eleventh season) Hawkeye had a mental breakdown after suppressing a gruesome memory.

Margaret Houlihan developed in the opposite direction. Whereas Hawkeye began as an almost ideal person, and writers had to labor to furnish him with faults to create character conflict, Margaret started out with few likable qualities. She was an uptight, authoritarian, Regular Army warhorse, an amorous ally of Frank, and a fink, always threatening to go over Henry Blake’s poor befuddled head. Of course, there was a passionate side to Margaret as well. She wasn’t called “Hotlips” for nothing, and seemed to have had affairs with various high-ranking officers. However, Margaret soon evolved into one of the most interesting characters in television. The introduction of a fiancé, Colonel Donald Penobscot, contributed to Margaret’s growth as she experienced love, marriage, and divorce. Margaret’s role as head nurse also provided some touching moments. A breakthrough came in “Nurses” (fifth season), when she first revealed her loneliness to her nurses, and in “Temporary Duty” (sixth season) when an old friend from nursing school visited and reminded Margaret of what a warm, fun-loving person she had been. These episodes unpeeled Margaret’s camouflage toughness, exposing her more human side. A convergence of Hawkeye’s and Margaret’s development occurred in

the two-part “Comrade in Arms” (sixth season), when the romantic undercurrent between the two rose to the surface while they were stranded in a hut amid shelling. “Father’s Day” (ninth season) introduced Margaret’s father, General “Howitzer” Houlihan, yielding insight into her childhood and motivations. Loretta Swit’s performance of Margaret Houlihan as she broke down, opened up, and flowered as a human being throughout the eleven seasons of *M\*A\*S\*H* was one of the greatest achievements of the series.

The humanization of Margaret Houlihan reflected the show’s tendency to move toward character-oriented stories, and this in turn eroded the irreverent tone of the early years. The show continued to expose the atrocities of war, the inanities of bureaucracy, and the corruption of authority, but it became difficult to sustain convincing characters to represent such evils, and Margaret was the first to buckle. Frank’s character was fundamentally limited, and could not evolve in a way that would be both realistic and dramatically effective. The introduction of Margaret’s engagement in the fourth season was intended to develop Margaret’s character and also put Frank in new, interesting situations (as when he went berserk and arrested an ox). However, this precipitated Frank’s decline, and at the end of the fifth season, Linville quit, feeling that Frank’s dramatic

possibilities had been exhausted. Frank was replaced by Charles Emerson Winchester III, a Boston blueblood and Harvard graduate. Intelligent, shrewd, a formidable surgeon, Charles was a much-needed rival for Hawkeye and B. J. It had been too easy for them to pick on Frank, an incompetent doctor and petty bigot with no redeeming qualities. Charles brought new dramatic possibilities just when the show might have gone stale. He helped keep the show interesting and funny for another two or three seasons. Writers now had the opportunity to concoct rhetorical, allusive speeches for someone besides Hawkeye. Charles' snobbery and egotism were overplayed in the first few seasons, but this gave him somewhere to fall from. The humiliations Charles suffered were usually comic, but they could be quite touching too, when the character was handled with subtlety and not treated as a mere stereotype of the snob. Later seasons often hooked up Charles and Klinger in a trite rich man/poor man routine.

But although the villains became less villainous, there was a compromise on the other side, as well. When Hawkeye's barely-distinguishable sidekick, the irreverent, philandering Trapper, left the show, he was replaced by B. J. Hunnicut, a straitlaced, devoted family man. The bumbling, beloved Henry Blake, who would always "try to wait till noon" before having a drink, was replaced by no-nonsense Sherman Potter, a veteran of World War I and II. Potter provided a medium between the irreverent doctors and their authoritarian opponents, Frank and Margaret. Potter partially sympathized with Margaret, and his presence contributed to Margaret's growth. In each case, the new character—B. J., Potter, and Charles—was intended to contrast with the old character, to keep the show interesting. But in the long run, it tended to turn the cast into one big happy family, once the conflicts between these more moderate characters became exhausted. James H. Wittebols, in *Watching M\*A\*S\*H, Watching America*, argues that these changes reflected the changing mores of the seventies and eighties as America moved from sixties irreverence and hedonism to Reagan-era family values.

The departure of Radar, one of the most popular characters, was a grievous but necessary loss to the show. The teddybear-toting company clerk, with his rural simplicity and naivete, was so appealing that the writers did not bother to develop his character significantly until later in the series. The "Fallen Idol" episode discussed above was a major breakthrough, but Radar remained essentially a child. His departure in the two-part "Goodbye Radar" (eighth season) featured fine performances and a sensitive script, with just the right balance of drama and subtlety. The story gained poignancy through allusions to Henry Blake's departure five seasons before, and was the most dramatic episode since Henry's death. Many viewers must have held their breath, fearing Radar would be killed on the way home, but the dreaded denouement revealed only Radar's teddybear, left behind in Korea. Radar the person had grown up, and Radar the character had grown stale.

Radar's departure led to Klinger's promotion as company clerk. Klinger had been a strictly comic character, providing laughs with his increasingly outrageous women's clothing. After seven seasons of wearing dresses, piling fruit upon his hat, and dressing up as the statue of liberty or a big blue bird with fuzzy pink feet, Klinger finally became a "serious" character and put away his dresses. The advancement of Klinger and Father Mulcahy as central characters with their own episodes was a sign that the show was running out of steam.

Sometimes the writers devised new storytelling techniques to alleviate the tedium. Actually, this had been a characteristic of the series from the beginning. Larry Gelbart had decided that each season

should feature a few innovations. One of the first innovations involved telling the story through a character's letter to his family, with amusing reminiscences to demonstrate the letter-writer's point. The first of these was Hawkeye's "Dear Dad" episode (first season), followed by Radar's "Dear Ma," Potter's "Dear Mildred," etc. Eventually even guest characters like Sidney Freedman ("Dear Sigmund") were given their turn, and Hawkeye racked up three additional "Dear Dads." A more original experiment was "The Interview" (fourth season), which featured Cleve Roberts interviewing the characters on their reactions to the war. Roberts had been a correspondent in the Korean War, and played himself in this episode, which was filmed in black and white. This technique was also repeated in the hour-long "Our Finest Hour" (seventh season). "Point of View" (seventh season) was filmed entirely from the point of view of a wounded soldier, from the battlefield to postop, to mess tent, spongebath, and so on. "Life Time" (eighth season), was filmed in "real time," as a clock in the corner of the TV screen counted down the twenty minutes that the soldier had left until the crucial surgery was performed. Perhaps the most dramatic experiment was the surrealist "Dreams" (seventh season), written by Alda, which peered into the crew's troubled nightmares to expose their deepest fears.

Although the innovations kept coming, the stories and dialogue grew worse in later years. Episodes were built around trivial plots that would have been barely acceptable as subplots in earlier seasons. Certain tropes—the arrival of wounded just when the gang was having fun and forgetting their troubles, the silent fadeout in O.R., the dramatic showdown with an unfeeling general—had become cliché. Pathos often sank to bathos or just plain schmaltz. A particularly embarrassing formula in later years was to fade out an episode with a singalong, as when Colonel Potter began singing "Oh My Darling Clementine" in O.R., gradually joined by everyone else. Other songs recruited for this cheap emotional effect were "Keep the Homefires Burning" and "Dona Nobis Pacem." As with so many shows, the creators wanted to go with dignity, while they were still on top, but they waited too long. Although the final episode had some fine moments, the show had become unpardonably self-absorbed and was painful to watch. Even the title, "Goodbye, Farewell, and Amen" was suggestive of emotional overindulgence.

But the decline in quality was not entirely due to increasing "seriousness," as is sometimes claimed. The infamous "Abyssinia, Henry" (third season), which reported the death of Henry Blake, was one of the most shockingly dramatic episodes of any comedy, and remains a milestone of television history. Grief-stricken viewers sent letters to the show expressing their outrage and indignation; people felt cheated that they had been made to care about a character who was so gratuitously "killed off" at the last minute. McClean Stevenson, who had quit the show due to poor working conditions, believed at the time that the character was killed to prevent him from coming back to the show; however, the creators were actually making a radical statement about war which raised viewers' consciousness. It is doubtful whether the writers of the later seasons could have made such a bold move when they were so immersed in the beauty, the fullness, the roundness of their beloved characters. The original plan to mingle actor and character was at first a fruitful technique which allowed the characters to grow, but it peaked about midway and then degenerated into the common Hollywood malady of narcissism. An episode from the final season, "Hey, Look Me Over," concerning a nurse named Kellye who felt she was being overlooked by Hawkeye, may have reflected an actress (also named Kellye!) who felt she was being overlooked by the producers. The episode was an unintentional

parody of what the show had become: a feelgood group for the actors. The success of *M\*A\*S\*H*—its believable, lifelike characters—had become its failure, and the show lingered on too long, like a dying relative on life support.

*M\*A\*S\*H* was followed by a truly wretched sequel, *After M\*A\*S\*H*, which insulted viewers with the grotesquely improbable reunion of Potter, Mulcahy, and Klinger in a stateside hospital. Another sequel of sorts was *Trapper John, M.D.* (1979-1986), featuring a balding Trapper righting wrongs in the eighties in an hour-long drama in the style of *Lou Grant* (another Gelbart show). This Trapper, played by Pernell Roberts, had little in common with the old one other than his ratings-winning name. Meanwhile, Wayne Rogers, who had played Trapper on *M\*A\*S\*H*, again played a funny doctor on the sitcom *House Calls* (1979-1982), a blatant *M\*A\*S\*H* ripoff. But he was actually closer to the old Trapper than the Trapper John, M.D. character, and the show was funnier than later *M\*A\*S\*H* episodes.

At its best, *M\*A\*S\*H* managed to be both relevant in its day and enduring in its syndicated afterlife. The army setting, away from civilian fashions, prevented the show from becoming an eyesore to future viewers. Its fifties setting prevented the writers from using topical jokes that would become dated—although there were many references to forties and fifties film and radio that went over younger viewers' heads. There were a few ideological anachronisms, however: in "George" (third season), Hawkeye, Trapper, and Henry (all the good guys) showed sympathy toward a homosexual soldier whom Frank, predictably, wanted to persecute. It seems unlikely that there would have been such liberal understanding toward homosexuality among three out of four doctors back in the Freudian 1950s. This episode might have been less glibly didactic, and more dramatically challenging, if Henry, Trapper, or Hawkeye had been homophobic rather than just the ever-nasty Frank. After all, Hawkeye had used the pejorative "fairy" in the first season, when the film version still exerted an influence on the series. But things had already changed by the third season.

Although *M\*A\*S\*H* in retrospect seems more modern than its great seventies rival, *All in the Family*, and has aged better, both shows drunk deep from the well of didacticism, offering liberal platitudes with heavy-handed poetic justice. Plotlines always steered primly towards the moral in 22 minutes flat. And this became the longlasting legacy of these two pioneering shows—drama and didacticism. Every comedy since then would tackle racism, and you always knew who the racist would be; every comedy would have its gay tolerance episode, with an utterly uninteresting gay cousin or neighbor hastily invented for the occasion; every show would kill off, or at least endanger, some character to keep things interesting (who among us can forget Richie Cunningham's accident?). Even 1990s kingpin *Roseanne* adhered to this hackneyed seventies format, despite its claims of originality and artistry. Americans found no reprieve from the comedy/drama until the postmodern playfulness of *Seinfeld* and the early *Simpsons*. Their refusal to be didactic was one of the major innovations in situation comedy since *M\*A\*S\*H*.

—Douglas Cooke

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## Mason, Jackie (1931—)

One of America's most popular and controversial stand-up comedians, Jackie Mason has had audiences convulsing with laughter in radio, television, films, and in one-man shows on Broadway and in London's West End. Mason has had two careers, the first being greatly restricted in 1964, following an alleged obscene act on network television.

After working for several years in Catskill Mountain resorts and small nightclubs, Mason caught the eye of Ed Sullivan, who signed him to a \$45,000, six-show contract for his network variety hour. In one of these appearances on October 18, 1964, the show was running late, and Sullivan, off-stage, raised two fingers to try to speed up Mason's act. On-stage, Jackie held up a finger and made jokes about Sullivan's gesture. Although Mason denied it, Sullivan thought it was *the* finger and canceled the comedian's contract. Although Mason claimed he was blackballed in the entertainment industry, he did appear on Sullivan's show in 1967, followed by a few appearances on variety shows hosted by the Smothers Brothers, Dean Martin, and Merv Griffin. After that, his television career ended until he appeared on *Dolly*, in 1988, and on *Later with Bob Costas*, in 1989. In 1989 he also starred in *Chicken Soup*, one of the highest-rated new sitcoms ever to be canceled in mid-season.

Growing up in a family of rabbis on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, Jackie was a cantor until the age of 25, when he was ordained as a rabbi, following in the footsteps of four generations of his grandfathers. Three years later, he quit the synagogue to become a



Jackie Mason (right) with Ed Sullivan

comedian because, he said, "Someone in the family had to make a living." From the beginning of his comic career, Mason's Yiddish accent and tortured New York sentence structure were controversial. Some in his audiences thought him "too Jewish" and others found his material anti-Semitic. The controversy has continued, and in 1994 the NAACP condemned "a set of racist and stereotypical statements about African Americans" made by Mason on the network program, *Pat Buchanan and Company*. Still, his comedy is most often applauded for its ironic insights about life's contradictions, as well as for Mason's on-target barbs aimed at current follies in politics and life in general.

In 1987 Mason entered a new phase of his show-business career when he took his one-man show, *The World According to Me*, to Broadway. The playbill for the show stated that "Mr. Mason's material will be selected from the following subjects: U.S. Politics, World Affairs, Hollywood Producers & Celebrities, Dating, Communism, Sex Education, Psychiatry, Hookers, Health Hazards, The Army, The Weather, and, of course the ever popular Gentiles and Jews." The freewheeling formula has worked well, and the comic has continued to sell out theaters on Broadway and in London with such shows as *Much Ado About Everything*, *Love Thy Neighbor*, and *Jackie Mason Brand New and Politically Incorrect*. A London reviewer described his latest show as "One man in a black suit on a black stage with black scenery. When the man is Jackie Mason, sparks fly and the stars of the show quickly become Mason's personality, his ideas, and his ability to connect with an audience." As testimony to his wide-ranging appeal, he sold out his one-man show in a thousand-seat theater in Frankfurt, Germany.

Mason has won numerous awards, including a Tony for his first Broadway show, *The World According to Me*, and an Emmy for the HBO special, *Jackie Mason on Broadway*. His Warner Brothers comedy album was nominated for a Grammy and became a smash hit, as did his autobiography, *Jackie, Oy!* In 1991, he received the highest honor bestowed by the Israeli government for his support during the Gulf War. He also received an honorary degree from the Oxford University Union, an honor shared with Ghandi and U.S. presidents Jimmy Carter and John F. Kennedy.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Mass Market Magazine Revolution

Before the nineteenth century, few Americans read newspapers or magazines or engaged in public entertainment. By 1900, scheduled sporting, entertainment, and mass cultural events had become commonplace in the United States, and there was a small, but growing, number of magazines with circulation in excess of one-half million copies. Americans were becoming increasingly dependent upon these magazines to define important aspects of their lives.

There were many reasons for the transformation of American society from isolated regional communities into a single national mass culture, but the emergence of national mass market magazines beginning in the 1890s was a significant factor. With titles such as *Munsey's*, *McClure's*, *Ladies Home Journal*, and *Cosmopolitan*, these new magazines provided information on society, fashion, literature, entertainment, celebrities, sports, and current events. The consumption of mass market products not only kept readers up-to-date, but helped to make them more socially conversant and economically prosperous. In turn, the mass market magazine revolution made possible the development of twentieth-century mass culture, from sound recordings to the Internet, to the rise of the Information Age.

For most of civilization, people depended upon each other for information and entertainment. Talking, gossiping, singing, story telling, dancing, and the playing of homemade musical instruments were basic forms of amusement, combined with informal competitive activities, such as athletic contests for males and domestic competitions for females. Quieter pleasures such as walking, riding, boating, or skating were augmented by rougher pastimes like organized sports, gambling, drinking, and gaming. Even centuries after the invention of moveable printing type in 1453, the overwhelming majority of people still entertained themselves in local societies, within a few miles of their birthplaces. The only respites from such homemade amusements were occasional visits by traveling professionals, musicians, jugglers, acrobats, exotic animal trainers, and wagon shows, the ancestor of the circus. The only other public entertainment came via civic and religious ceremonies, church activities, public lecturers, elections, court days, holidays, and similar events.

Printed "mass" communications such as books, newspapers, and magazines played a relatively minor role in most people's lives even in the early years of the United States. With the exception of the bible, John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and a few other texts, most books were discourses on religion and politics meant for only a few. There were 92 newspapers and seven magazines in 1790, all supported by small readerships in highly localized settings. The early Federalist party attempted a national newspaper, the *Gazette of the United States*, but Thomas Jefferson's Anti-federalists championed the Postal Act of 1792, which based postage rates on the distance a newspaper or magazine had to be delivered through the mail. The result discouraged the development of national publications well into the nineteenth century, except at subscription prices that only the upper class could afford. The Federalists were more successful in efforts to standardize American English. Federalist Noah Webster's dictionary, first published in 1784 and which eventually sold more than 60 million copies, helped insure that all educated Americans read and wrote the same language even if they did not communicate with each other.

The character of entertainment changed in the early nineteenth century as people began to experience some of the characteristics of mass culture. For the first time, thousands who did not know each other came together to witness such events such as the first major horse race in the United States, which attracted 100,000 spectators to a Long Island, New York, race track in 1823 or a well-publicized ten-mile human foot race at the same track in 1835, which attracted 30,000 people. Boston's "Peace Jubilee" concert of 1869 featured an orchestra of 500, a chorus of 10,000, and an audience of 50,000 and helped define "classical" music. These events were not formally organized or regulated in the way that professional baseball would be after 1876. Instead, they were more like spectacles, emphasizing the extraordinary or unique. Showman Phineas T. Barnum's American

Museum, which opened in New York in 1842, was the same kind of attraction showcasing more than 600,000 exhibits and acts, from giants and white elephants to George Washington's nurse. The only unifying theme of Barnum's exhibits was their oddity, but they attracted thousands of paying customers each year and provided nearly everyone else in the country with something to talk about. Barnum also staged mid-century traveling exhibitions, such as midget Tom Thumb and singer Jenny Lind, who played to sold-out audiences in cities and towns across America, along with celebrity actors and actresses such as Edmund Kean, the Kembles, and the Booths.

Even during the age of Barnum, most books, newspapers, and magazines did not represent mass culture. Influential books and pamphlets such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had massive readerships but were few in number. Cheap books were available; pirated novels by Dickens and other European authors; popular "dime novels," and romance stories by "belles lettres" authors like Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Lydia H. Sigourney, and Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth. These popular volumes sold thousands of copies, but their publishers lacked organizational and mass marketing techniques and often operated more for a love of books than profit. Penny newspapers appeared in New York, Philadelphia, and other cities, boasting unheard of circulation, but they still spoke mainly to their particular urban area. A select few newspapers circulated more widely. Copies of the weekly edition of Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune* were used as chinking in log cabins built in Illinois, Missouri, and places further west, but the paper was an extension of Greeley's personal political and moral peccadilloes. So-called "Family House" magazines, *Harper's Monthly*, *Century*, *Scribner's*, and *Atlantic Monthly* were produced by the major book publishing houses. These had many readers and reached their peak in influence between 1865 and 1893. However, their cost, twenty-five to thirty-five cents per issue, was much too expensive for anyone outside the upper class, and their "gospel of culture" mission to replace the waning influence of religion with high culture as society's civilizing force failed to capture the middle class' imagination. A few women's magazines, *Delineator*, and *Woman's Home Companion*, built-up mass circulation after the Civil War, but they were specialized in their viewpoint, featured editorial content strongly influenced by advertisers, and were overlooked by many advertisers and the rest of the magazine industry because women had not yet been recognized as a viable national mass market.

The urbanized and suburbanized later-nineteenth-century America was the breeding ground for the magazine revolution and the first mass culture. Even though the percentage of urban residents did not surpass the percentage of people living in rural areas until 1910, American cities mushroomed during the second half of the nineteenth century. Most major cities doubled in size between 1865 and 1900, and 100 U. S. communities doubled in the 1880s alone. As they grew, the walking cities of the early nineteenth century disappeared. New York City, once an easy stroll from one end to the other, encompassed almost 300 square miles by 1900. The nation's second largest city, Chicago, covered 185 square miles. No resident could have a personal, sensuous grasp of the physical precincts, the processes, or the peoples of such large cities. As the inner portions of cities filled with working-class inhabitants, a new American social class, the professional-managerial class, began to collect in homogeneous neighborhoods beyond the center city. Professionals, physicians, managers, prosperous merchants, and other businessmen were attracted to the modern comforts of the suburbs; large lots, good streets, good schools, and public utilities, and they could afford the more expensive housing and transportation costs.

The new suburban homes reflected the growing status of the professional-managerial class but imposed previously unknown demands upon their occupants. Ownership was a new development for a population that had previously been urban renters. Beyond rudimentary concerns such as plumbing and heat, owners struggled to define what was appropriate and necessary for the proper exterior images of their homes. Individuality was prized, but exhibitionism was not, and a degree of uniformity came to be considered a virtue, especially within individual neighborhoods, where residents saw each other's houses each day. Front yards, unknown in center cities, presented new and daunting decorating challenges. Interior housing spaces represented yet place to make a statement to visitors while preserving the individuality, utility, and privacy of their owners. Parlors, also known as best or sitting rooms to Victorians, were especially important. Theologian Henry Ward Beecher's dictum that a house was "the measure of [a man's] social and domestic nature" was put to the test in the design and decoration of a parlor. Furnishings needed to display a family's tastes in design and art while simultaneously revealing their history through judicious display of portraits, photographs, and other personal mementos.

These new surroundings and the development of a unique social sphere for the professional-managerial class contributed to new, reconfigured standards of social decorum as well. For example, traditional Victorian society depended upon the strict ritual of calling cards; printed slips of paper that were used to express condolence, congratulation, friendship, courtship, and many other aspects of social interaction. By the 1880s, the emerging professional-managerial class began to view such scripted behaviors as confining and unnecessary. Informality became more socially acceptable. Social clubs helped ease the process of interaction, but home ownership in the suburbs was often enough to signal respect and suitability to neighbors. In turn, the character of families changed. High school and college education became more common and family members were encouraged to express their own interests and tastes in socializing, reducing the once strong influence of the nuclear family upon its individual members. Even children were allowed to develop their own spheres of friends, activities, and tastes.

All of these factors contributed to a previously unknown need for ready answers to the challenges of everyday life. The mass market magazine revolution did not come about to serve a previously unknown type of magazine reader, for the professional-managerial class already existed in American society. Instead, the demise of the closely monitored circles of local acquaintances that had traditionally provided information to the professional-managerial class left an informational void that was filled by the mass market magazines, the so-called educators of the late nineteenth-century's "whirlpool of real life" as it was described by *Cosmopolitan's* John Brisben Walker. *Munsey's Magazine* was the first and most popular of the mass magazines. Created in New York City in 1889 by Frank Munsey—a Maine farm boy who departed Philadelphia's Centennial World's Fair in 1876 determined to possess his own version of a high speed rotary printing press that he had seen there—his magazine lost money for years before it dropped its cover price from twenty-five to ten cents or one dollar per annual subscription in 1893. *Munsey's* circulation zoomed from 40,000 before the price change to 500,000 in 1895 and 700,000 in 1897. Combined with three of his other titles, Frank Munsey sold more than two million magazines in March, 1906, an unthinkable feat only a few years before.

*Munsey's* was joined in the magazine price war by Samuel S. McClure. An Irish immigrant who once taught the social gospel,

*McClure's* was founded in 1893 and grew to a circulation of 60,000 at a cover price of fifteen cents by 1894. The circulation climbed to 250,000 by 1896 following a price cut to a dime. McClure boasted the most expensive advertising rates in America, charging as much as \$400 for a single page display ad in 1905. Another issue that year had 200 pages of advertising and a circulation of 450,000. It was said that *McClure's* carried more advertising than any other magazine in the world. *Munsey's* and *McClure's* were challenged by John Brisben Walker's *Cosmopolitan*. Walker was a speculator and businessman who applied aggressive business techniques to the then genteel business of magazines. In 1891, to promote his newly purchased magazine, Walker hired a railroad coach filled with subscription canvassers and had it transported across different parts of the country. He also offered college scholarships to successful *Cosmopolitan* salespeople. Walker broke the fifteen cents per copy magazine price barrier in 1893, dropping his price to the unwieldy twelve and one-half cents in 1893, only to be eclipsed by *Munsey's*. *Cosmopolitan* rivaled *McClure's* in circulation but never approached *Munsey's*, even after it was purchased by William Randolph Hearst in 1905. Founded in 1883, the *Ladies Home Journal* reached a circulation of over one-half million by the turn of the twentieth century and was the first to cut its price to ten cents. Edited for 30 years by Edward Bok, a Dutch literary writer who became the highest paid editor of the day, the *Journal* called itself the "Bible of the American home," a claim journalist Mark Sullivan said had "a measure of allegorical truth."

The mass market magazines were characterized by their eclectic contents, living up to the literal definition of the word magazine as a storehouse of odd and notable information. They all had a great number of illustrations. *Munsey's* specialized in halftone photo engravings, the first real published pictures that many readers had ever seen. Paging through an issue provided the eye with a blur of visual images unknown in earlier magazines. *Munsey's* had topical separations called departments, from "Artists and their Works," which for a time featured reproductions of classical nude paintings, and "In the Public Eye," a *People*-style column on celebrities, to brief fiction, called "Storiettes" and sections on music, poetry, literature, and theater. *Cosmopolitan* had similar cultural departments as well as features on science and England. *Ladies Home Journal* had so many departments that some appeared together on the same page. *McClure's* did not have departments, organizing its stories by theme or topic depending on the issue. Advertisements filled each mass market magazine issue with news of brand name goods and services that often became like part of the family. For the first time, the ads went beyond simple product announcements to make emotional pitches toward health, social status, and even sexuality. As a result, the mass market magazines provided domestic, decorating, and cultural information for women, fashion and sporting news for teenagers, economic and current events information for men, and consumption information that promised to help every family member buy the "right" products and succeed within their individual and collective spheres of life.

The mass market magazine revolution did not offer something for everyone. The working class and poor were conspicuously absent from the magazines' portrayal of "real life," except as objects of moral reform waiting to be civilized and uplifted by their social betters. They would have to wait for movies and other publications such as confession magazines to experience mass culture. The state of race relations, especially the debased social status of African Americans living under Jim Crow racism, was ignored by the mass market magazines. Editors did not want to cloud the sunny optimism of early

twentieth-century whites—who had a "common sense" assumption of racial supremacy—because it would be disruptive to the magazine's commercial messages. Women represented a majority of mass market magazine readers, but they were trivialized, dismissed, and stigmatized in the magazines, especially the New Woman movement of the late nineteenth century. Celebrities were excused, as were selected achieving women, but the remainder of women were permitted only traditional social roles, practical domesticity or stereotypical narratives of romance and marriage, in articles and advertisements.

In spite of such omissions, *McClure's*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *Ladies Home Journal* did engage in what was initially called "civic consciousness" but later labeled simply as muckraking. Beginning in 1893, the same year cover prices were dropped to ten cents, *McClure's* and *Cosmopolitan* printed accounts of conditions among working women and the urban poor and the efforts to revamp the nation's educational system. From that beginning, *McClure's* came to epitomize muckraking in the nation's consciousness, especially in seminal series such as Lincoln Steffen's "Shame of the Cities," Ida M. Tarbell's "The History of the Standard Oil Company," and Ray Stannard Baker's anti-union "The Right to Work," all published after 1900. S. S. McClure was not a radical reformer and preferred a middle of the road approach to most of his muckraking, refraining from direct assaults against big businesses and encouraging his writers to support their accusations with documented facts. In contrast, *Cosmopolitan* took a more sensationalistic approach to its muckraking, especially after the magazine was purchased by William Randolph Hearst in 1905. Socialists Jack London, Upton Sinclair, and Charles Edward Russell wrote extensively for *Cosmopolitan*. David Graham Phillips' "The Treason of the Senate," which was published in *Cosmopolitan*, provoked an angry President Theodore Roosevelt to apply the term "muck raker" to the mass market magazines. *Ladies Home Journal* was ahead of the other, better known muckraking titles. It stopped accepting patent medicine advertisements in 1892, holding that many were harmful to their female and child readers and the magazine attacked the entire patent medicine industry in 1904 and 1905, leading to passage of the first federal Food and Drug Act in 1906. It also published a seminal article on venereal disease in 1908, encouraging public discussion on a previously forbidden subject. Meanwhile, *Munsey's* never muckraked, except for two articles in 1900, yet maintained its high circulation and profitability.

Muckraking diminished in popularity after 1906, and most of the mass market magazines either changed their editorial focus, usually toward fiction, or perished, as *McClure's* and *Munsey's* did, before 1930. However, mass culture continued to grow in scope and influence through other magazines and publications, and in motion pictures, radio, paperback novels, television, national newspapers, and cable and satellite television. The professional-managerial class gave way to a larger, more homogenous audience for mass culture in the twentieth century at the same time that many traditional forms of self entertainment, from folk music to story telling, became almost extinct. The advent of the Information Age in the late part of the century, with its emphasis on knowledge as a salable commodity, became only the most recent manifestation of the unquenchable demand for information ignited by the mass market magazines. Since its invention, mass culture and society have been inseparable, as historian Richard Ohmann observed. "Asking whether we want the mass culture we have is almost the same as asking whether we like the social relations of advanced capitalist society."

—Richard Digby-Junger

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## Mass Murderers

See Serial Killers

## The Masses

*The Masses* was a radical magazine published in New York between 1911 and 1917. Its contributors primarily were Greenwich Village intellectuals and artists who sought to develop a culturally based radicalism that emphasized free expression and modernistic styles of art and literature. Edited by Max Eastman during its heyday, it met its demise in 1917, deprived of access to the mails under the Espionage Act for its antiwar position. The *New Masses* (1926-1947), under the editorship of Mike Gold, developed a more political tone and became tied more closely to the Communist Party. Continuing as *Masses & Mainstream* until 1956, the magazine published writings by several well-known literary figures, such as Theodore Dreiser, Erskine Caldwell, and Langston Hughes.

—Jeffrey W. Coker

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## Masterpiece Theatre

*Masterpiece Theatre* has become synonymous with high quality television since it began showcasing literary adaptations and biography on PBS (Public Broadcasting Station) on January 10, 1971. *Masterpiece Theatre* has imported British television serials from the outset, more often than not based on British novels that unfold against an English backdrop. For twenty-two years, the show was hosted by Englishman Alistair Cooke on a set recalling a posh London club. Cooke's refined Oxbridge accent and the series's upscale British fare have been lovingly parodied by *Sesame Street* ("Monsterpiece Theatre" with Alistair Cookie Monster) and *Saturday Night Live* (Dan Aykroyd as snobbish host, Leonard Penth-Garnell).

*Masterpiece Theatre* was the brainchild of Boston's public television station, WGBH. It was inspired by the success of *The Forsythe Saga*, a twenty-six episode British television adaptation of John Galsworthy's Edwardian novels shown on PBS in 1969. It was then made possible by financial support from the Mobil Corporation. The first season established the literary emphasis of the show, with serials based on Thomas Hardy's *Jude the Obscure*, Honoré de Balzac's *Père Goriot*, and Fyodor Dostoyevsky's *The Possessed*. The first season likewise presaged the show's Anglophile aspect via such serials as *The First Churchills*, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, and *Elizabeth R*. All of the serials aired during the first season were produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC).

In its original conception, *Masterpiece Theatre* was not meant to be a U.S. clearinghouse for British television. Christopher Sarson, the first executive producer, planned for a transition after three years. "The huge disappointment to me is that it didn't turn to American serial dramas," he stated in O'Flaherty's twenty-fifth anniversary volume. Lack of finances, however, engendered a reliance on British imports and consequently exposed U.S. audiences to programming unlike typical network products. Only in 1998—over two decades behind schedule—did PBS announce plans to produce original U.S. content beginning in 1999, complementing its recycled British products under the banner of *Mobil Masterpiece Theatre's American Collection*.

*Masterpiece Theatre* has consistently attracted older, college-educated viewers and is vaunted by critics as prestigious, quality television. Sales for books adapted on *Masterpiece Theatre* inevitably swell, and the show has scored notable successes. Sixty-eight episodes of *Upstairs, Downstairs* were broadcast between 1974 and 1977, regularly attracting 12 percent of audiences. The chronicles of the Bellamy family and their servants throughout the Edwardian era ensured the long-term existence of *Masterpiece Theatre*. *I, Claudius*, a 13-episode saga depicting the lives of four Roman emperors, subsequently riveted large audiences during 1977 and was recognized as a television classic. In 1984 and 1985, the 14 episodes of *The Jewel in the Crown* transported a mass viewership back to colonial India with a hefty budget adapting Paul Scott's tetralogy, *The Raj Quartet*.

While continuing to supply a stream of handsome, heritage literary adaptations, *Masterpiece Theatre* has evolved since 1985 under the guidance of Rebecca Eaton as executive producer. Nearly



one-half of the programming is set in contemporary settings, be it the international world of drug cartels in *Traffik* (1990) or the political landscape of fictional British Prime Minister, Francis Urquhart, in *House of Cards* (1991), *To Play the King* (1994), and *The Final Cut* (1996). Even so, *Masterpiece Theatre* remains a bulwark of quality television that attracts both discerning viewers and critical acclaim.

—Neal Baker

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## Masters and Johnson

The research team of obstetrician and gynecologist William Masters (1915—) and his then-wife, psychologist and sex therapist Virginia Johnson (1925—) pioneered the study of human sexual response. Their research helped to debunk myths concerning male and female sexual performance, to redefine society's definition of "normal" sexual behavior, to change both male and female expectations for sexual performance and sexual satisfaction, to encourage development of the sex therapy profession, and to coin much of the descriptive language used in modern discussions of sex behavior and sexual response. They also pioneered the use of direct observation as a research technique for the study of sexual behavior.

Masters and Johnson's discoveries led to numerous changes in sexual attitudes and sexual behavior. For example, Masters and Johnson's research focused attention on vaginal lubrications as a source of pleasure in intercourse and oral-genital activity, identified the source of that lubrication, and identified its role in reproduction. As couples became more concerned with foreplay activities which produce vaginal lubrications, sex play became more acceptable in marital and sexual relationships. The team's determination that female orgasms resulting from non-intercourse sexual stimulation are more intense than those resulting from intercourse and that female multiple orgasm is common and often associated with non-intercourse sexual stimulation encouraged many females to explore the pleasures of masturbation, oral-genital stimulation, sexual touch, and the use of mechanical and battery powered sexual devices. The team's findings also increased emphasis on touch and tactile exploration of the entire surface of the body as a sexual activity, helped women understand and appreciate their physical sexual capabilities, and helped both men and women understand the sexual response cycle and the control they each and both have over that cycle.

Many of Masters and Johnson's findings contradicted the prevailing myths concerning pregnancy, breast feeding, premature ejaculation, homosexual behavior, and numerous other social and cultural impositions on sexual behavior which are associated with sexual dysfunction. Masters and Johnson's research findings helped trigger the sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s and significantly altered

the sexual relationship between men and women. The changes in sexual attitude quickly found their way into literature, film, and television, with increased variety and experimentation in sexual behavior, frank discussion of and depiction of sexual dysfunction, and the quest for female sexual satisfaction each becoming significant plot themes. Fictional characters increasingly became interested in, involved in, and preoccupied with, sexual behavior and the quest for sexual satisfaction.

Masters and Johnson's research findings also revolutionized sex therapy techniques. The team's emphasis on touch and tactile exploration led to the use of assigned "homework," or sexual behavior exercises in sex therapy, first concentrating on touching experiences called sensate focus, followed by genital exploration, called the sexological exam. The team's claim that female sexual dysfunction is more the result of social and cultural taboos than physical problems encouraged the breakdown in those taboos. The team's discoveries concerning multiple orgasms and orgasms from non-intercourse stimulation encouraged development of the sexual aids and "sex toy" industry. The team's four-phase response cycle provided focus points for evaluating sexual response, for timing the application of therapeutic efforts, and for couples to evaluate their own sexual responses. Finally, the team's discoveries led to the development of a variety of specific sex therapy techniques to reduce sexual dysfunction, including squeeze techniques to prevent premature ejaculation and digital insertion exercises to reduce vaginismus, or involuntary muscle contractions that make coital penetration difficult and painful.

In their most acclaimed study, Masters and Johnson studied 382 college women and 312 college men in more than 10,000 completed sexual response cycles to produce *Human Sexual Response*, published in 1966. They recorded responses in a variety of stimulus situations, including masturbation, coitus with a partner, artificial coitus, and breast stimulation. The research team also included 61 women aged 41 to 78 in the study, making this the first study of sexual response in menopausal and postmenopausal women.

Other studies conducted by the team include: a study of sexual response in male and female prostitutes, completed before the 1966 study; a study of the rationale, methods, and success of various treatments for sexual problems, published as *Human Sexual Inadequacy* in 1970; and a 15 year study of homosexual behavior, both comparing sexual responses between homosexual and heterosexual research subjects and evaluating treatment strategies for improving homosexual sexual performance or reducing homosexual orientation, published as *Homosexuality in Perspective* in 1979.

Instead of relying on questionnaires, surveys, and interviews used by most sex behavior researchers to gather research data, Masters and Johnson pioneered the use of direct observation in a laboratory setting to produce the research presented in *Human Sexual Response*. They used direct personal observation to record changes in the primary and secondary sex organs, photographic equipment and physiological response instruments to record muscular and vascular changes throughout the body during sexual arousal and sexual release, and an ingenious phallus-shaped artificial coition machine to photographically record changes in the vagina and lower portions of the uterus during artificial coitus. The team used many of the same research methods in their 1979 study of homosexual behavior and response.

Masters and Johnson's research methods and findings have come under close scrutiny by social scientists. Critics of their 1966 *Human Sexual Response* study contend research subjects' reaction to



**Dr. William H. Masters (right) and Virginia E. Johnson.**

the laboratory setting, the researcher's observation of the sexual acts, and the often artificial nature of the sexual activity encouraged the research subjects to exhibit extra-ordinary sexual responses. Critics also claim a demographic bias in the research, noting that most subjects were white, middle class, and of above average intelligence. Masters and Johnson's 1970 study of treatment strategies for sexual dysfunction is criticized for a variety of problems in methodology, inadequate measurable definitions for many of the variables in the study, a low response rate in follow-up studies, and the inability of subsequent research teams to replicate the Masters and Johnson findings. The team's 1979 study of homosexuality is criticized for methodological and definition problems, the choice of research subjects, the laboratory research setting, and differences in interpretation of the findings. Critics claim some of the 1979 subjects were actually bisexual or heterosexuals engaged in homosexual behavior due to temporary sexual dysfunction. The team's 1960s study of prostitutes was discontinued when the team concluded that prostitute's physiosexual responses were not typical of those of the general public.

Masters and Johnson made several breakthrough discoveries, including: identifying the source and describing the process for vaginal lubrication; identifying and describing myotonia, or increased muscle tension and spasms in various parts of the body—from feet to face—occurring during the sexual response cycle; evidence that once the male enters the emission phase of arousal, the orgasmic ejaculation process cannot be interrupted but, in females, orgasm can be constrained, interrupted, delayed, and postponed by various psychosensory stimuli; determination, through experiment, that there is no difference in sexual response or sensitivity between circumcised and uncircumcised males; evidence that female orgasms resulting from non-intercourse sexual stimulation are more locally intense and less diffuse than those resulting from intercourse; evidence that female multiple orgasm is common, especially with non-intercourse stimulation; evidence that female orgasm can result from breast stimulation alone; evidence that females experience increased sexual desire in latter phases of pregnancy and that coital activity during pregnancy is not harmful; evidence that breast feeding speeds the return of sexual desire in new mothers; a determination that

postmenopausal women experience the same sexual response cycle as younger women, but experience a decreased intensity and increased time of response; and identification and description of the four-phase model of sexual response that became the model pattern for many sex therapies. The four phases in the sexual response pattern are: excitement (increased muscle tension and tissue engorgement throughout the body); plateau (sustained excitement leading to the orgasmic platform); orgasm (release); and resolution, followed by a refractory period (recovery) in the male cycle. The researchers formed the Reproduction Biology Center and later the Masters and Johnson Institute in St. Louis, Missouri.

—Gordon Neal Diem

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## Masters Golf Tournament

Created by famed golfer Bobby Jones and his friend Clifford Roberts in 1934, The Masters Golf Tournament has become one of the PGA Tour's four major tournaments. The tournament is held at the Augusta National Golf Club, which Jones and Roberts built in Augusta, Georgia, with the intention of providing a course that would be pleasurable and challenging to both the average as well as the champion golfer. Since 1949, the winner of the event has received a green jacket, which has since become one of the most well-known and respected "trophies" in golf. Three-time Masters winner Gary Player described the significance of the jacket to Thomas Bonk for the Masters official web site. "That green jacket stands for a lot more than just winning the Masters." Player noted, "It stands for a gentleman like Bobby Jones and his legacy to the game. It stands for a man like Clifford Roberts, who gave his heart and soul to Augusta National and the tournament itself. It stands for a great golf tournament, it stands for the greatest golf course in the world, and it stands for great men and great achievements. The Masters jacket epitomizes perfection in golf."

Jack Nicklaus had won the most green jackets through 1998, with six, the last coming in 1986 when Nicklaus was 46 years old. Before 1997, Spaniard Severiano Ballesteros was the youngest champion, winning in 1980 at age 23. However, 21 year-old Tiger Woods shattered Ballesteros' record in 1997. In addition to being the youngest ever to win, he set 19 tournament records while tying six others. Woods set a course record while winning by 12 strokes, the largest margin of victory ever.

—D. Byron Painter

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## Mathis, Johnny (1935—)

Blessed with a superior vocal instrument, Johnny Mathis is a consummate vocalist who caresses romantic ballads with his tenor voice, imbuing them with a magical and vital quality. An accomplished and trained musician with credentials in opera and jazz, Mathis exemplifies the best in musical artistry. His four decade career



Johnny Mathis

as a professional recording artist has earned him many distinctions, including the third most successful recording artist of all time behind Frank Sinatra and Elvis Presley. Mathis has few competitors as one of the most legendary artists in popular music. His 1958 *Johnny's Greatest Hits* album held the number one spot on the *Billboard's* pop album chart for 36 weeks, and Mathis has charted over 60 entries on *Billboard's* pop album chart. The term "Greatest Hits," a marketing tool, was created for Mathis and is now employed throughout the industry.

Mathis was born September 30, 1935, in Gilmer, Texas, and was raised in San Francisco. His father, Clem Mathis, had worked briefly as a vaudeville performer playing piano and singing back in Texas. When Mathis was eight, his father bought an upright piano and taught his son many songs and routines. Mathis also sang in the church choir, at school functions, and community events, and won a local amateur contest at age 14. Mathis studied with Connie Cox, an Oakland-based music teacher, who trained him in opera.

Music was not Mathis's only talent; he was an exceptionally good student, holding the office of student body president at Roosevelt Junior High School and treasurer at George Washington High School. In addition, he was an outstanding high school and college athlete, excelling in track and field and basketball. Mathis gave up the chance to try out for the 1956 USA Olympic Team in the high jump, instead choosing a musical career.

While a student at San Francisco State College, Mathis heard famous jazz musicians at the renowned Blackhawk nightclub in San Francisco. He began singing in local nightspots with a sextet led by Virgil Gonsalves, a local baritone saxophone player and fellow student. At a performance with Gonsalves's sextet at the Blackhawk, Mathis attracted the attention of the club's co-owner, Helen Noga, who was so impressed that she was determined to make him a success. George Avakian, a well known jazz producer, discovered Mathis in 1955 and convinced Columbia records to sign him. Mathis went to New York and performed at the Village Vanguard and the Blue Angel.

Mathis' first album for Columbia included jazz arranger Gil Evans and pianist John Lewis of the Modern Jazz Quartet. This album, with jazz standards such as "Angel Eyes" and "Easy to Love," did not click. After Columbia teamed Mathis with Mitch Miller, who adroitly pointed him to singing romantic ballads, his career as a pop singer was secured. Mathis recorded "Wonderful! Wonderful," released in 1957, it became his first big hit, and was followed by "It's Not for Me to Say" and the romantic "Chances Are." In 1959, Mathis recorded "Misty" his signature song and he quickly became a major concert attraction, with repeated performances on television shows. His film roles included singing the title song for *Lizzie* in 1957 and *A Certain Smile* in 1958.

Mathis' music had been marketed primarily to a white audience, although his "Misty" peaked at number ten on *Billboard's* R & B singles' chart. In 1978, his duet with Deniece Williams, "Too Much, Too Little, Too Late," charted at number one on the R & B and pop charts, cementing his popularity with Black audiences. Since the first duet recording with Williams, Mathis has recorded numerous duets with singers, including Dionne Warwick, Gladys Knight, Patti Austin, and Take 6. Mathis has been open to a number of diverse album projects, including *Olé*, a Latin-American outing with songs sung in Portuguese and Spanish, as well as *Johnny Mathis Sings the Music of Bacharach and Kaempfert* and albums of music by Michel Legrand and Duke Ellington.

In 1964, Mathis launched Jon Mat, his own company, to produce his records and Rojohn Productions to handle his concert, theater,

club, and television appearances. A stylist of primarily romantic ballads, his contributions to popular music are significant. Mathis' resonant vibrant tenor continues to command the attention and admiration of both fans and critics. Since his recording career began in 1956, Mathis has recorded more than 100 albums and remains an international superstar who has performed throughout the world. When the jazz producer George Avakian first heard Mathis, he sent a telegram to Columbia Records stating, "Have found phenomenal 19-year-old boy who could go all the way." Mathis has gone all the way, carving out a unique niche in popular music with a distinct style, voice, and an enduring legacy.

—Willie Collins

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## Mattingly, Don (1961—)

New York Yankee first baseman Don Mattingly was arguably the best player in baseball from 1984 to 1987. Christened "Donnie Baseball" by Minnesota Twins slugger Kirby Puckett, Mattingly won the admiration of his peers with a dogged work ethic and an unwavering respect for the integrity of the game. The winner of the 1985 Most Valuable Player Award, Mattingly was named New York Yankee captain in 1991, becoming the tenth man so entrusted in the team's illustrious history. Chronic back problems put a premature end to his career after the 1995 season. The Yankees retired Mattingly's number and erected a plaque in his honor on August 31, 1997.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Maude

Norman Lear's sitcom, *Maude* (1972-1978), featured one of the most outspoken woman characters in television history. The character Maude Findley (played by Beatrice Arthur, who also went on to star in the hit series *The Golden Girls*) first appeared on *All in the Family* as Edith Bunker's cousin. She was upper-middle-class, educated, liberated, witty, and domineering, the perfect counterpoint for *All in the Family's* strong-willed and opinionated Archie Bunker. Frances Lear, Norman's late ex-wife and Maude's inspiration, told *People* in 1975, that "a great deal of Maude comes from my consciousness being raised by the [women's] movement—and from Norman's being raised by me." Maude's gutsy approach to life gave her the strength to deal with some of life's most difficult experiences, and Lear's skill enabled her to do so while maintaining a comedic air to the show.



Bea Arthur and Bill Macy in a scene from *Maude*.

*Maude* lived in Tuckahoe, New York, with her fourth husband, Walter Findley (Bill Macy) of Findley's Friendly Appliances, her 27-year-old divorced daughter Carol Traynor (Adrienne Barbeau), and Carol's 9-year-old son Phillip (Brian Morrison, Kraig Metzinger). The Findley's next door neighbor and Walter's best friend was Dr. Arthur Harmon (Conrad Bain), a widower, who soon started dating Maude's best friend, recent divorcee Vivian Cavender (fellow future *Golden Girl* Rue McClanahan); they married in the 1974 season.

Maude may have been a model for independent women, but she still had a female servant in the house; in fact, she ran through three of them. Her first maid was Florida Evans (Esther Rolle), who was a straight-shooting black woman who soon got a spin-off of her own in 1974, *Good Times* (which lasted until 1979). On both *Maude* and *Good Times*, John Amos played Florida's husband, though he was called Henry on *Maude* and James on *Good Times*. Maude's next maid was Mrs. Nell Naugatuck (Hermione Baddeley), a hard-drinking English woman. Even though she won a Golden Globe award for her role as a supporting actress in 1976, her character was soon married off and sent back to the British Isles. Victoria Butterfield (Marlene Warfield) joined the show in 1977.

*Maude* was controversial from the very beginning; during its second month on the air, it seized headlines as the first sitcom to deal with the subject of abortion. On November 14, 1972, 47-year-old Maude announced she was pregnant. During the next episode, on the suggestion of Carol and with the support of Walter, she decided to have an abortion, which was legal in New York at the time, but not yet nationally; it was three months before the Supreme Court handed down the *Roe v. Wade* decision.

After those two episodes, *Maude* shot up from thirteenth to fifth place in the Nielsen ratings, and CBS received hundreds of calls and 7,000 letters protesting the episodes; the tumult started up again nine months later when "Maude's Dilemma" was rerun. Twenty-five CBS affiliates refused to air the shows, the network received 17,000 letters, and, as a result of pressure on advertisers by anti-abortion groups, only one 30-second commercial was sold.

Nevertheless, *Maude* continued to explore controversial issues. Maude had a face lift and went through menopause. Walter dealt with a serious bout of alcoholism, saw his store go bankrupt, and had a nervous breakdown. The show remained popular despite these sometimes depressing themes until the last season, when the audience started declining. There had been major changes planned for the 1978-79 season; the Harmons and Carol were to leave town, a new supporting cast was to be added, Walter was to retire, and Maude would begin a career in politics. Nevertheless, Bea Arthur announced early in 1978 that she'd be leaving the series. Replacing her was not an option; the producers admitted that no one could play the role as Arthur could, and decided to end the show. The political career that Maude was supposed to have was the basis for a brief, odd, and failed Bill Macy vehicle called *Hanging In*.

—Karen Lurie

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## Maupin, Armistead (1944—)

Armistead Maupin's *Tales of the City* came into being in 1976 as a newspaper serial in the daily *San Francisco Chronicle*. Just as readers a century earlier eagerly awaited the next installment of a Dickens novel, a growing cadre of readers followed the developments among Maupin's diverse family of friends in the gay mecca of 1970s San Francisco. *Tales of the City* first appeared in book form in 1978. Five additional books followed in the series, taking readers from the joyously hedonistic pre-AIDS era to the first stirrings of fear in the face of the epidemic. The two first books were adapted for television in 1997 and 1998. They featured Olympia Dukakis as Mrs. Madrigal, the landlady with a mysterious allure and a ready stash of marijuana to share with her tenant charges. Maupin's first non-series novel, *Maybe the Moon*, was published in 1994.

—Sue Russell

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## Maus

Swedish-American author and artist Art Spiegelman won acclaim in the 1980s with his two-part graphic novel *Maus*, an account of his parents' experiences as Jews in concentration camps during the Holocaust. The work brought respect to the comic art world, fully transforming the genre from "funnies" or superhero stories into a new medium for literature. Formerly known as a driving force in the quirky world of self-published and underground comics, Spiegelman was also responsible for many of the offbeat ideas and artwork for Topps Chewing Gum's Wacky Packages and Garbage Pail Kids—trading cards and stickers that featured irreverent pokes at popular culture. Spiegelman was awarded a Pulitzer Prize special citation for *Maus* and went on to put the whole collection on CD-ROM in 1994 for the information age. He is also known for the avant-garde graphic magazine *Raw*, which he and his wife began publishing in 1980. In 1991, Spiegelman began serving as a contributing editor for the *New Yorker*, producing sometimes controversial covers, and in 1996 he published a children's book titled *Open Me, I'm a Dog*.

Spiegelman was born on February 15, 1948, in Stockholm, Sweden, to Vladek and Anja (Zylberberg) Spiegelman. Spiegelman's parents and older brother were imprisoned in concentration camps at Auschwitz during World War II; the couple survived, but their first son did not. Afterward, they moved to Sweden, where Spiegelman was born. The family immigrated to New York City when Spiegelman was three, and he was later naturalized as a U.S. citizen. Though Spiegelman's father wanted him to become a dentist, the young artist was passionate about drawing. Spiegelman excelled at the High School of Art and Design in New York, and his art was published in alternative and local publications. While still a high school student, Spiegelman turned down an offer to draw comics for United Features Syndicate, deciding that he did not want to tone down his oddball style for a family readership.

Instead, Spiegelman continued writing for underground comics, which were often self-published, printed in small anthologies, or picked up by minor companies. Unlike traditional comics, which usually feature superhero action-adventure or silly humor, underground comics often deal with social issues or taboos, feature black humor or no humor at all, and have been known to contain adult and offensive material. After his freshman year in college, Spiegelman went to work for Topps Chewing Gum Company in 1966, where he stayed for over 20 years. At Topps, Spiegelman created the Wacky Packages and Garbage Pail Kids series of trading cards and stickers. Wacky Packages were spoofs of typical supermarket items, such as "Fright Guard" deodorant, "Bustedfingers" candy bars, and even mocking itself, "Wormy Packages." Later, in a spoof of the popular Cabbage Patch Kids craze, Spiegelman came out with "Garbage Pail Kids" cards, featuring unkempt children with names like Acne Annie and Wrinkled Rita.

In 1968 Spiegelman suffered a nervous breakdown, and shortly thereafter, his mother committed suicide. The artist then moved to San Francisco, where underground comics were flourishing thanks to artists like R. Crumb. Spiegelman's cartoons were published in a number of periodicals such as *Real Pulp*, and in the early 1970s, he produced a number of his own titles. In 1972 Spiegelman developed the idea for his later masterpiece, *Maus*, when he produced a short cartoon for *Funny Animals* using the idea of Jews in the Holocaust as mice. He taught for a short time at the San Francisco Academy of Art in 1974-75. Also around this time, he banded together with Bill

Griffith, creator of Zippy the Pinhead, to form the comic anthology *Arcade* in order to showcase new material.

Later in the 1970s Spiegelman returned to New York, where he met Francoise Mouly, an editor and graphic designer. The two married on July 12, 1977, and joined creative forces, publishing *Raw*, an underground comics anthology magazine, beginning in 1980. The publication featured a smorgasbord of works from underground and up-and-coming comic artists. Meanwhile, Spiegelman began interviewing his father about his experiences at Auschwitz. The first book of the oral history was published in 1986 as *Maus: A Survivor's Tale, My Father Bleeds History*. Jews are drawn as mice, the Nazis are cats, Poles are pigs, Americans are dogs, and Auschwitz is Mauschwitz.

Initially, people were stunned that someone would dare make a cartoon out of such a serious issue as the Holocaust, perhaps not realizing that *Maus* was a graphic novel, not a funny comic book. In fact, Spiegelman had a difficult time finding a publisher. Pantheon eventually came around, and the book became a sensation. Spiegelman followed this volume in 1991 with *Maus: A Survivor's Tale II, and Here My Troubles Began*. The volumes were overwhelmingly praised, especially for their ability to make the reader deal with the events through the use of animals instead of humans (not unlike George Orwell's *Animal Farm*). Spiegelman also noted that Hitler even used the word "extermination," typically used only in the context of ridding vermin and pests, to refer to his plan of genocide. In 1992 Spiegelman was awarded with a special citation Pulitzer Prize for his *Maus* graphic novels. He later began contributing cover designs to the *New Yorker*, stirring controversy with what some considered offensive themes.

Though Spiegelman was undoubtedly one of the most integral forces in underground comics throughout the 1970s, and started to make his mark in the 1980s with *Raw*, he was perhaps the most effective artist in changing the image of comic books, thanks to *Maus*. After its publication, the graphic novel finally took its place as a legitimate form of literature and brought the horrors of the Holocaust to another generation of readers in a provocative medium.

—Geri Speace

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## Max, Peter (1937—)

American artist Peter Max's work visually captured the flavor of the 1960s and hippie culture with its cartoon-like, brightly colored, psychedelic images inspired by Art Nouveau, pop art, Op art, and other styles. His style had a pronounced effect on subsequent graphic art. Max's popularity exploded in the late 1960s with a wide line of products—from clothing to shower curtains—showcasing his mod designs that included stars, flowers, rainbows, birds, butterflies, and human figures. Max's poster designs were hotly pursued by admirers,

leading to a million-dollar industry by the turn of the decade and turning the artist into a cultural hero. His career buzzed along well into the 1990s, as he designed an MTV logo, a poster for Bill Clinton's presidential inauguration, and murals for the 1992 World's Fair, in addition to creating posters for the Super Bowl and World Cup in 1994.

—Geri Speace

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## May, Elaine

See Nichols, Mike, and Elaine May

## Mayer, Louis B. (1885-1957)

Arguably the most influential motion picture executive of this century, Louis B. Mayer presided over the studio that claimed to have "more stars than there are in heaven," Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM). In 1938 Mayer was the highest paid person in America, including Franklin Roosevelt and Henry Ford. All this was rather impressive for a former junk man.

He was born Lazar Meir in Russia. In 1888, his family moved to America, where his father started a scrap metal business, J. Mayer and Son. Mayer joined his father in the business right after high



Louis B. Mayer

school, but he always had larger ambitions. In 1904 he married Margaret Shenberg and they had two daughters, Edith and Irene.

After deciding, "Movies are the one thing you can sell and still own," Mayer got into the nickelodeon business. Distributing the huge hit motion picture, *Birth of a Nation*, in 1914 made him a very wealthy man. By 1918 he had become Massachusetts's biggest movie theater owner. Mayer decided that the next step in his career was to make his own films.

In 1917 he formed the Mayer Company. When he began producing films he had only one star under contract, the popular Anita Stewart. He featured her in his first production, *Virtuous Wives* (1918). When Mayer hired Irving Thalberg to become his production chief in 1923, a very successful partnership was born. A 1924 merger with Sam Goldwyn and Marcus Loew formed Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM), with Mayer as head of operations for the West Coast. The first project Mayer and Thalberg tackled after moving to the new company was Sam Goldwyn's unwieldy project, *Ben Hur* (1925). After they did some recasting and budget cutting, the picture was released to acclaim and became MGM's first big hit.

Mayer thought of himself as a father figure to his stars, and he could be generous and protective. He could also be ruthless and tyrannical. Mayer's vision of motion pictures was as wholesome family entertainment and he refused to believe the audience wanted realism. For a long time he was correct. During the Depression, people wanted escapist fare, such as musicals and comedies, to forget the real world. Series motion pictures, such as *The Thin Man* and *Andy Hardy*, were also popular.

When Thalberg died in 1937, Mayer became the absolute ruler of MGM's West Coast operations. Unfortunately, he had a powerful enemy in company executive Nicholas Schenck. Schenck had long wanted to get rid of Mayer, but as long as the company was doing well he could not. After World War II, however, the public had grown hardened and jaded by war and wanted more realism in their movies. Mayer would not accept this and his longtime feud with the MGM East Coast office grew as the studios' bottom line began to shrink. In the late 1940s Dore Schary was brought to MGM and began producing more realistic films, but hardly the big hits for which MGM was famous.

As Mayer began to spend more time away from MGM, the studio's luster continued to fade. The long era of the studio system was ending. Mayer was fired in 1951. He attempted to return to MGM several times, always unsuccessfully. He died of leukemia in 1957. Louis B. Mayer is remembered as a temperamental tyrant who was loved by some who worked for him, hated by others. He will forever be the man who steered the greatest motion picture studio of the time through its golden years.

—Jill A. Gregg

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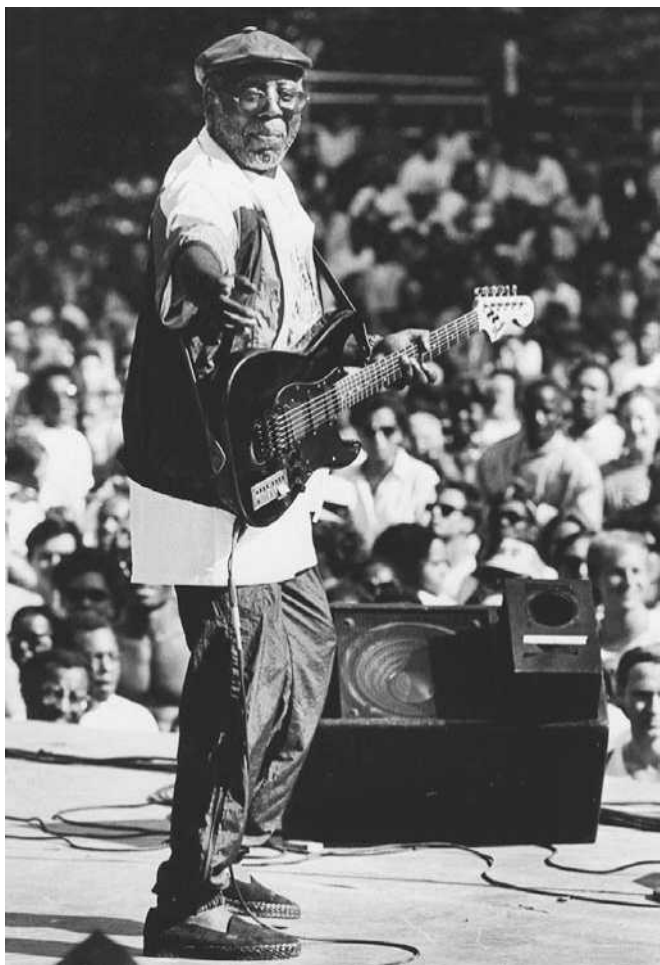
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## Mayfield, Curtis (1942—)

A talented and prolific songwriter, guitarist, producer, and singer, Curtis Mayfield was one of the most significant pioneers of Soul and R&B music during the 1960s and 1970s. He was perhaps the very first black musician to overtly address the indignities of being an African-American during America's system of racial apartheid, and many of his songs became closely associated with the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. As a producer, arranger, and writer, Mayfield was at the center of the so-called "Chicago Sound," a loose-knit amalgamation of Chicago area solo artists and groups that successfully rivaled Motown's hit-making machine during the first half of the 1960s. As the leader of the Impressions, Mayfield provided another example of how black music can cross over to the Pop mainstream without compromising itself, and as a solo artist he released a series of classic Funk albums. Mayfield survived paralysis from the neck down in 1990 and continued to make music into the late 1990s, releasing *New World Order* in 1997.

Beginning as a gospel singer in the 1950s, Mayfield met Jerry Butler while singing in the Northern Jubilee Singers, and the two (along with Sam Gooden and Arthur Brooks) formed the Impressions in 1957. They had a huge hit in 1958 with "Your Precious Love," but Butler soon left to pursue a solo career, though he and Mayfield still



Curtis Mayfield

remained lifelong friends. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, Mayfield wrote, produced, and played guitar on a number of hit songs by Chicago area musicians such as Butler, Major Lance, the Five Stairsteps, Cubie, the Fascinations, Billy Butler, and Gene Chandler—flexing an unusual amount of control for a Soul musician of that time. At the end of the 1950s, the Butler-less Impressions drifted apart, but in 1961 a reformed Impressions hit big with "Gypsy Woman." This began a string of Mayfield-written Impression hits, including "I'm So Proud," "Amen," "People Get Ready," "Keep on Pushing," "We're a Winner" and "We're Rolling On." Not only was he a pioneer as a session musician, producer, arranger, and writer within Soul music, Mayfield also started his own successful label, Curtom.

Many of his songs with the Impressions, such as "We're a Winner," "I'm So Proud" and "People Get Ready," were veiled and not-so-veiled proclamations of Black Pride, and during his 1970s solo career, his songs became even more critical and socially aware. His 1970 self-titled solo debut's first cut contained the long, powerful, and outspoken "(Don't Worry) If There's a Hell Below We're All Gonna Go," which critiqued white America and took to task some of the members of his own race. Other songs from that album—"We People Who Are Darker Than Blue," "Move on Up," and "Miss Black America"—never let the listener forget the subject of race in America, nor did his many other solo albums such as *Roots*, *Back to the World*, *Superfly*, *Sweet Exorcist*, *Got to Find a Way*, and the sarcastically titled *There's No Place Like America Today*. His best-selling soundtrack to *Superfly* (1972), which contained the hits "Freddie's Dead" and "Superfly," set the standard for the many blaxploitation albums that followed *Superfly's* release.

Like many great Soul, Funk, and R&B stars of the 1970s, Mayfield's star dimmed in the 1980s, though he still maintained a respectable career with a handful of minor hits and still-exciting live performances. It was during one of the performances on August 14, 1990 that a lighting rig fell on Mayfield, almost killing him and paralyzing him from the neck down (including his vocal chords). After many years of professional physical and voice training, he returned in 1997 with his first solo album since the accident, *New World Order*.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## Mayfield, Percy (1920-1984)

Percy Mayfield has been widely described as "the poet laureate of the blues." Armed with a dry baritone, songwriter and singer Mayfield sang blues ballads that pondered worlds of trouble, melancholy, pain, and suicide. He was one of the most creative songwriters and performers of California blues.



"I'm a poet, and my gift is love" explained Mayfield to an interviewer in *Living Blues*. Some of his themes dealt with subjects not generally associated with the blues. His biggest hit, "Please Send Me Someone to Love," was a prayer for understanding and peace of mind among all men. Mayfield's songs have been recorded by performers as diverse as Sade, Dale Evans, and Robert Nighthawk. As staff writer for Ray Charles, he wrote four top-ten hits.

Mayfield was born in Minden, Louisiana, 30 miles from Shreveport, on August 12, 1920. His mother was a singer who instilled in her son a love for music. Mayfield also wrote poems and set them to music as a child. At 15, he left Minden, riding the rails before settling in Houston, Texas, for a brief stay. He came to Los Angeles in 1941, where he lived with his older sister. Several orchestras featured Mayfield as a guest singer and subsequently he landed a two-year engagement with the George Como band. While he honed his songwriting, Mayfield supplemented his income by working as a taxi driver and a dry cleaning presser. Mayfield was a woman's man—handsome and stylish, he could attract women with just a look or a smile.

In 1949, Mayfield approached the Supreme record company with the idea of the company using some of his songs for their artist Jimmy Witherspoon. The surprising outcome was a chance for Mayfield to record himself. He recorded "Two Years of Torture," which gained some attention on the local charts. In 1950 he recorded, for Specialty Records, "Please Send Me Someone to Love," a hit that secured his fame as a songwriter. "Please Send Me Someone to Love" was followed by several hits, including "Strange Things Happening," "Lost Love," "What a Fool I Was," "Prayin' for Your Return," "Cry Baby," and "Big Question." After leaving Specialty, his subsequent singles on other labels were not as successful.

Mayfield considered himself above all a balladeer and not a blues singer. His early influences were Al Hibbler and Billy Eckstein. Mayfield's pensiveness and religious leanings set him apart from a number of blues singers. "I promised God I wouldn't write and sing a lie," he once said; Mayfield consistently acknowledged God for his songwriting talents. He epitomized, however, sadness in his songs and perhaps the lyrics of his own "My Blues" best explain his aesthetic: "Someone may ask the question, why are you so sad? / I would answer quite correctly, the blues is all I've had."

In September of 1952, Mayfield was involved in a catastrophic automobile accident, which acutely disfigured his face, changed his voice, and gravely affected his self-esteem. After this setback, he became staff writer for Ray Charles, penning at least four top-ten hits. These included the familiar "Hit the Road Jack," "But on the Other Hand Baby," "Hide nor Hair," and "At the Club." Mayfield also recorded what is considered his best work on an album entitled *My Jug and I*. A spirited "River's Invitation," arranged by Ray Charles, placed at 25 on the rhythm and blues chart in 1963; it was Mayfield's first top 40 entry in 11 years and was also his last. "River's Invitation" is clearly one of the most profound songs of Mayfield's oeuvre. It invokes the river in a metaphysical dialogue, which personifies a peaceful home and death. The river, in turn, invites Mayfield to give up his search for his lost love and join the waters: "You look so lonely / you look full of misery / and if you can't find your baby / come and make your home with me."

Mayfield recorded infrequently in subsequent years, completing an album for Brunswick and three for RCA Victor. In later years,

companies were not interested in recording him and he would have to pay for his own recording sessions. Mayfield's baritone, however, continued to embrace most songs and convincingly made them his own. As his wife Tina recalled, "his music was more or less about sadness." His death from a heart attack came on the eve of his sixty-fourth birthday, August 11, 1984. Mayfield's death signaled the loss of one of the most creative and distinctive poets of rhythm and blues.

—Willie Collins

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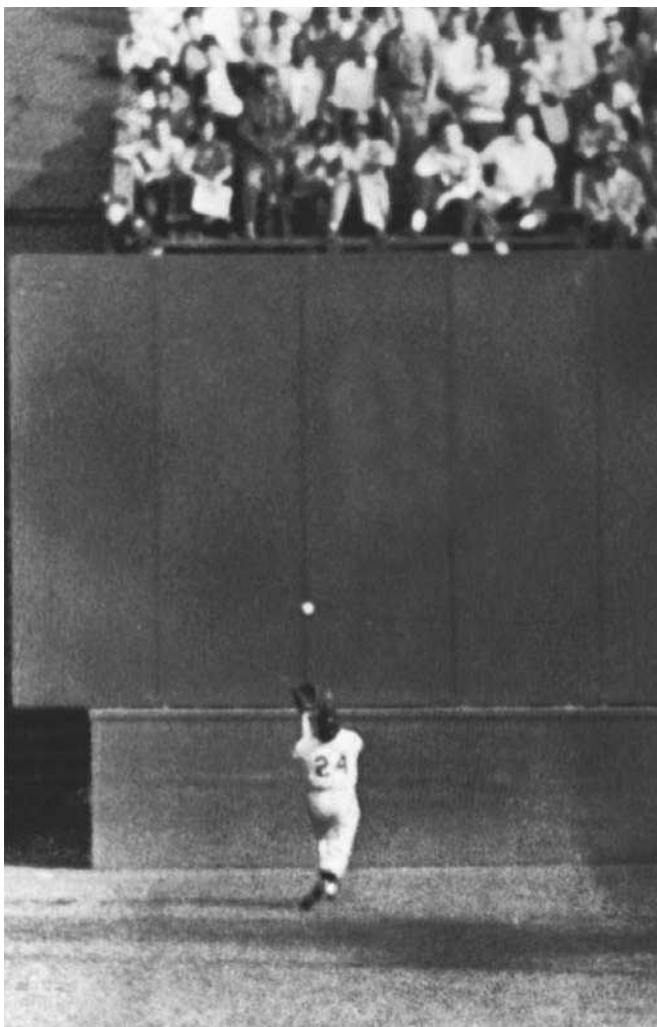
## Mays, Willie (1931—)

One of the best baseball players ever, in the 1950s and 1960s Willie Mays dazzled baseball fans with his amazing hitting, base-stealing, and fielding. The first true all-around player, Mays considered the baseball diamond his "stage," and when he retired in 1973 he had earned himself a place in the hearts of the American people.

Born in Westfield, Alabama, in 1931, Mays broke into the professional ranks at age 16 with the Birmingham Black Barons of the National Negro League. On a \$250 a month salary he played two years with the Barons before being signed by the New York Giants of Major League Baseball. After just one year in the minors Mays made his much anticipated debut with the Giants in 1951. In spite of a disappointing one for 25 start, Mays lived up to expectations by capturing Rookie-of-the-Year honors that season.

Nicknamed "Say Hey" because he often forgot the names of his teammates, the centerfielder quickly became a crowd favorite because of his spectacular play and his engaging personality. Since he was playing in the media capitol of the world, his on-the-field exploits became legend overnight. After serving two years in the Army, Mays's popularity reached new heights in 1954 upon his arrival back to baseball. That year baseball fans witnessed "the catch," an over the shoulder basket catch by Mays in the World Series against the Cleveland Indians. A photo of Mays catching the ball made headlines in virtually every major newspaper and sports publication in the country. En route to leading the Giants to the World Series Championship that year, Mays captured the Major League batting title and subsequently was named Most Valuable Player for the 1954 season. For his efforts the Giants rewarded him with a \$30,000 contract, the highest in baseball. With his popularity increasing Mays was featured on the cover of *Time* and the *Saturday Evening Post*, and he also made appearances on the popular *Ed Sullivan Show* and the *Colgate Comedy Hour*. This media coverage brought Mays into the homes of millions of Americans.

Mays remained in the media spotlight throughout his career as he continued to excel. In 1955 he batted .319 with a major league leading



**Willie Mays's history making, over-the-shoulder catch in the 1954 World Series.**

51 homers and 127 Runs Batted In (RBIs). Also, beginning in 1956 he would lead the league in stolen bases for four consecutive years. In 1958 the Giants shocked the baseball world by moving to San Francisco. In spite of the change of venue Mays continued to delight fans with his extraordinary talent. Beginning in the early 1960s he went on a home-run hitting barrage by averaging 45 home runs per season between 1961 and 1965. When he retired in 1973 his career numbers were astounding: .302 avg.; 660 Home Runs; and 1,903 RBIs. These unbelievable numbers enabled the 19-time all-star to become only the ninth player in history to be elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame on his first try. In an era when many great players possessed only one strength, Mays's multi-dimensional ability earned him a place in the hearts of the American people and legendary status in the annals of America's favorite pastime.

—Leonard N. Moore

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## McBain, Ed (1926—)

Over the past 40 years, Evan Hunter, writing under the pseudonym Ed McBain, has established himself as an amazingly prolific author in a number of different genres. He is best known for his gritty “87th Precinct” detective series, which has grown to include nearly 50 volumes since the first installment, *Cop Hater*, was published in 1956. Hunter has also published a number of other works under his real name, as well as the pseudonyms Curt Cannon, Hunt Collins, Ezra Hannon, and Richard Marsten.

Hunter first became interested in writing during World War II, while serving in the Navy. After the war, he attend Hunter College in New York City, studying to become a teacher and graduating Phi Beta Kappa in 1950. After graduation, he taught at a vocational school in New York City for one year. Hunter quickly left teaching, and then held a series of diverse jobs, including selling lobsters and answering telephones for the American Automobile Association. A turning point for the author came in the early 1950s, when he secured a job as an editor at the Scott Meredith Literary Agency in New York, during which time he began to write and sell short stories, including science fiction and westerns.

Hunter's experience teaching in the New York schools provided the basis for his first book. *The Blackboard Jungle*, the story of teachers in New York's vocational schools who attempt to deal with unruly, unmotivated students achieved great popularity upon its release in October 1954. The following year, Metro Goldwyn Mayer Studios adapted *The Blackboard Jungle* for the screen, and the film, starring Glenn Ford and Sidney Poitier, received four Academy Award nominations. Ten other feature films, as well as two television movies, have been made based on Hunter's books. Hunter has also written several screenplays, including one for Alfred Hitchcock's 1963 movie *The Birds*, based on a Daphne du Maurier short story.

While the publication of *The Blackboard Jungle* in October 1954 and the subsequent release of the movie based on the book gained Hunter a certain amount of fame, it also proved a mixed blessing for the author. As he told the literary critic Roy Newquist in an interview in the 1960s, recorded in Newquist's book *Conversations*, he was not attempting to provide an expose of the New York schools in the book, but simply writing about his time as a teacher, which he considered to be the most meaningful experience in his life up to that time. Reviewers and interviewers expected Hunter to be an expert on the problems of juvenile delinquency and urban schools, but he refused to play that role. Hunter also noted that the critical reception of his subsequent novels, including *Strangers When We Meet*, *Mothers and Daughters*, and *Paper Dragon*, was not as positive as he hoped it would be.

While the publication and success of *The Blackboard Jungle* did not lead to Hunter's achieving the critical success he felt he deserved, it did create the opportunity for him to launch the highly successful “87th Precinct” series. When Pocket Books did a reprint of *The Blackboard Jungle*, Hunter decided to send the publisher a mystery he had written under a pseudonym (not McBain). One of the editors at Pocket Books recognized Hunter's style and told him that the publisher needed someone to take over the niche occupied by Erle Stanley Gardner, whose mysteries were recycled every several years under new jackets to enthusiastic popular reaction, but who was getting too old to continue to produce as prolifically as he had in the past. Pocket Books offered Hunter a contract to produce three books

under the McBain pseudonym, with an opportunity to renew if the series was success, and the “87th Precinct” was launched.

McBain noted in an interview with *Contemporary Authors* that the “nice thing about the ‘87th Precinct’ is that I can deal with any subject matter so long as it’s criminally related. With the Ed McBain novels, I only want to say that cops have a tough, underpaid job, and they deal with murder every day of the week, and that’s the way it is, folks.” The series is set in the fictional city of Isola, clearly patterned after New York City, and deals with the experiences of a consistent set of about a dozen characters, including detectives Steve Carella, Meyer Meyer, and Bert Kling, all of whom deal with various personal issues while generally tackling several cases in each novel.

In addition to the “87th Precinct” novels, McBain has produced 13 entries in the popular Matthew Hope series of crime novels, which deal with a Florida attorney who becomes involved in solving mysteries, since the first volume appeared in 1978. Despite his great success as McBain, the author has continued to produce work as Evan Hunter. His 1994 Hunter novel *Criminal Conversation*, about a district attorney whose wife ends up having an affair with a mob boss he is attempting to indict, was a bestseller and was purchased by actor Tom Cruise’s production company for a potential movie. In 1986, McBain was given the Grand Master Award by the Mystery Writers of America.

—Jason George

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## McCaffrey, Anne (1926—)

It is often overlooked that in 1968 novelist Anne McCaffrey became the first woman to win the Hugo award (Best Novella, *Weyr Search*) and the Nebula award (Best Novella, *Dragonrider*), the two highest honors of the science fiction/fantasy field. She is now famous for her international best-selling series of novels, *The Dragonriders of Pern*. Begun with *Dragonflight* (1968), the series spans some dozen books and includes the Harper Hall trilogy beloved by young adults—*Dragonson* (1976), *Dragonsinger* (1977), and *Dragondrums* (1979). The world of Pern is a lost Earth colony inhabited by humans who saddle telepathic dragons in order to combat Threads, lethal spores that can only be eradicated by dragon fire. In her study of McCaffrey, Robin Roberts identifies such recurrent themes as the heroine as outsider, the importance of living harmoniously with nature, and the value of art. Other works include the Killashandra series, the Pegasus series, and the Rowan books.

—Neal Baker

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## McCall’s Magazine

*McCall’s Magazine* dates back to 1873, when James McCall, a Scottish tailor who had recently emigrated to the United States, created a publication called *The Queen: Illustrating McCall’s Bazaar Glove-Fitting Patterns* as a vehicle for disseminating his stock of dressmaking patterns. Following McCall’s death in 1884, the magazine was continued by his widow. George Bladworth and his wife later took over the management of the magazine and renamed it first *The Queen of Fashion*, then, in 1897, *McCall’s Magazine*. During the first 40 years of its existence, the publication evolved from being exclusively a pattern-book to a more general but fairly obscure magazine; a century later, *McCall’s* still published separate pattern and sew-it-yourself magazines, both print and online. The magazine’s purchase, in 1913, by White, Weld & Co., which became the McCall Corporation under the direction of president Edward Alfred Simmons, signaled a dramatic change for the publication. In 1921, a year after national women’s suffrage had been achieved, Harry Payne Burton became editor of the new *McCall’s Magazine*, vowing to make it a substantial national monthly by raising its editorial standards and publishing high-quality fiction and nonfiction for a new generation of enlightened women.

In 1928, when 23-year-old Otis Wiese became its editor, *McCall’s Magazine* came into its own as a major player in the arena of the home- and family-oriented magazines that were then competing for the attention of the more affluent and educated “modern” woman. Wiese reorganized the magazine into three distinct sections—“Fiction and News,” “Home Making,” and “Style and Beauty”—and developed “youth conference” articles to attract a younger readership. During Wiese’s tenure as editor, *McCall’s* maintained its strong text-oriented identity with the publication of full-length novels in its pages, as well as contributions from celebrity authors like Eleanor Roosevelt, the Duchess of Windsor, Alfred Kinsey, and Norman Vincent Peale. During and after World War II, architectural and interiors editor Mary Davis Gillies invited architects and designers to present their concepts for gracious and efficient living in the postwar home through such features as “the kitchen of tomorrow” or “the bathroom of tomorrow.” In 1949, *McCall’s* advocated the “Yardville Plan” through a four-part article that encouraged homeowners in cities to create semipublic commons by combining their backyard plots; the idea was reportedly adopted by civic-minded groups in more than 350 American cities.

In the face of stiff competition from other women’s service magazines in the 1950s, Wiese tried to position *McCall’s* as a magazine for the entire family under the theme of “togetherness,” but the concept was relatively ineffective in helping the magazine maintain its market share, and it was jettisoned entirely by Herbert Mayes, who assumed the editorship in 1958. Mayes effected a bold redesign of the magazine’s layout and identity to solidify its position as “The First Magazine for Women” with colorful, vivid layouts and more high-quality fiction by such writers as John Steinbeck, Phyllis

McGinley, Anne Morrow Lindbergh, Herman Wouk, and others. Circulation and advertising revenues quickly improved, and *McCall's* solidified its position as one of the trade-designated "Seven Sisters" of women's-service magazines. In 1966, *McCall's* hired 23 year-old Lynda Bird Johnson, the President's oldest daughter, as a contributor in an effort to appeal to young, college-age readers.

Several years later, the corporation that owned *McCall's* was absorbed by Norton Simon, and the publication later became part of the women's-magazine group at the New York Times Company. Robert Stein, who served as editor during the late 1960s, put heavy emphasis on research organizations to supplement the editorial staff with in-depth information. In 1994, the Times women's group, which also included *Family Circle*, *Child*, and other publications, was sold to Gruner & Jahr USA Publishing, a part of the German media giant Bertelsmann AG. Soon afterwards, Kate White, who had been *McCall's* editor-in-chief since 1991, left to become editor of *Redbook* and was replaced by Sally Koslow. By the mid-1990s, *McCall's* was reporting a monthly circulation of around 4.6 million. Among the online services being offered by the publication at the end of the 1990s was "Parents.com," a joint website resource that drew on the editorial expertise of *McCall's* and three other national publications: *Child*, *Family Circle*, and *Parents*.

—Edward Moran

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## McCarthyism

Despite the fact that Americans pride themselves on constitutional protections for free speech, there have been many attempts to limit speech in the United States. Beginning in 1789 with the First Sedition Act, Congress has passed laws banning diverse kinds of speech: criticism of the government, speaking out against war, associating with the Communist party, obscenity, slander, libel, "fighting words," and seditious speech that attempts to overthrow the government. None of these limits have been so controversial or so damaging as the attempt by Senator Joseph McCarthy in the 1950s to purge the United States of anyone remotely connected with the Communist party. His unsubstantiated charges led to wrecked lives and careers in all walks of life. The inherent irony of McCarthyism—the name given to the attempts to seek out and criminalize those suspected of sympathizing with communism—was that by the time of his "Red Scare," American Communism was all but dead. The lesson to be learned from his hysteria and the ensuing witch hunt is

that even when speech is protected to the extent that it is in the United States, it is still vulnerable to attacks from those who wish to limit the right of others to disagree with them.

During the early days of industrialization in the United States, the country played host to a large, active Socialist party. American workers began to join labor unions and engage in strikes. The surge of immigrants who brought with them a tradition of radicalism influenced native workers who felt exploited by low wages and long working hours to protest against the factory owners. By the 1930s, the American Communist party was in full swing. Socialist leader Eugene Debs called it "the red decade," and author Daniel Aaron dubbed it "a time of smelly orthodoxies." The 1930s began with worldwide depression and ended with storm clouds of war around the world. In the throes of economic famine, the country was vulnerable to differing visions and ideologies created by upheaval and despair. American intellectuals—introspective, disillusioned, and articulate—became the voice of a people whose world had ceased to be the expected bulwark against want, instability, and insecurity. American Communists believed that Soviet communism could provide a model for economic stability and social justice. The heyday of the American Communist party began with a party that was 70 percent foreign-born and ended with a party that was 44 percent professional and white collar natives.

A large number of Americans joined the Communist party for social as well as ideological reasons. Clubs, such as the John Reed Clubs, provided a home for fledgling writers and artists and those who needed to belong to something in which they could believe. Speeches by Communist party officials frequently centered around the defeat of fascism and had mass appeal to the disillusioned portion of the American population. Richard Crossman writes in *The God That Failed* that such individuals "had lost faith in democracy and were willing to sacrifice bourgeois liberties in order to defeat fascism. Their conversion, in fact, was rooted in despair—a despair of Western values."

However, as the 1930s progressed, many Americans began to reexamine their attraction to communism. A number of events influenced the decline in communism's popularity, including the Joseph Stalin's purges within the Soviet Union and the Non-Aggression Pact he signed with Adolph Hitler in 1939. Alfred Kazin spoke for American Communists as a whole when he cried: "It was wrong to make common cause with Hitler, wrong to expose the world to war." Following World War II, the fear of communism became an entrenched element in American society as the Soviet-American alliance slowly deteriorated. In 1947 President Harry Truman signed an executive order that barred communists, fascists, and other totalitarians from the national payroll. Also included in the ban were individuals who were guilty of "sympathetic association" with undesirables or their organizations. The stage was set for Joseph McCarthy.

Joseph McCarthy (1908-1957) was born near Appleton, Wisconsin. He received a law degree in 1935 but was not a success as a lawyer. McCarthy handled only four cases in his nine months of practice, bragging that he supported himself by playing poker. While practicing law, McCarthy was accused of destroying judicial records. He won his first election by claiming that his 66-year-old opponent was "73" or "89" and was too old to govern. He joined the Marines during World War II but left early to launch an unsuccessful bid for the Senate. He would later falsely claim that he had been wounded in action.



**Senator Joseph McCarthy**

After winning an election to the Senate, McCarthy paid little attention to the early days of the so-called Red Scare. But as the Cold War escalated, Americans felt more vulnerable to the threat of communism. China fell to the communists, the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb, and Alger Hiss and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were accused of spying for the enemy. After being identified as the worst United States senator in a 1949 poll, McCarthy mentioned to supporters that he needed a cause to improve his image. He found it with the threat of communism and erroneously stated that 284 communists were employed by the State Department. Despite the fact that none of these individuals remained at the State Department, McCarthy declared on the floor of Congress that he had “proof” of widespread communist activity in the government of the United States.

Throughout the Red Scare, McCarthy never documented a single communist in a government job. However, he amassed enormous power with his false claims. He insisted that the past twenty years of Democratic government had been “a conspiracy so immense, an infamy so black as to dwarf any in the history of man.” In 1950, Congress passed the McCarran Internal Security Act, virtually outlawing communism in the United States. This was followed in 1954 with the Communist Control Act, forbidding communists from

running for political office. Constitutional scholars acknowledge that both laws were clearly in violation of the First Amendment’s protection of freedom of association. Limiting access to the ballot is always a distinctive threat to democracy. Nonetheless, in *Barenblatt v. United States* in 1959, the Supreme Court insisted that its repeated refusal to view the Communist Party as an ordinary political party left it without First Amendment protections. Mandated loyalty oaths for government employees, including teachers, also violated protected freedom of association. Following the example of Congress, many states passed their own loyalty oaths. In New York state, as many as 58 teachers and 200 college professors lost their jobs. Approximately 20 percent of those eventually called to testify before state and congressional investigating committees were college teachers and graduate students.

By 1954, a blacklist was in place in both the fields of education and entertainment. Few who lost their jobs in either field were ever reinstated. The political witch hunt promoted by Joseph McCarthy in the 1950s caused great harm and suffering. Beloved entertainers, such as Charlie Chaplin, were forced out of the United States because of the hysteria. Producers, actors, and writers, were blacklisted. Without jobs, many were unable to support their families. Most of the people

who McCarthy injured were just people who dared to question the capitalist status quo. Many scholars believe that McCarthy, motivated by a desire for personal recognition, was trying to overthrow the New Deal programs of Franklin D. Roosevelt and establish the Republicans as the majority party. In such an environment, policy makers of both parties were afraid to suggest alternatives to both foreign and domestic policy for fear of being charged with subversion.

McCarthy's tactics proved successful, and in 1952 Dwight D. Eisenhower was elected president, bringing with him a Republican-controlled Congress. Out of 221 Republicans in the House of Representatives, 185 asked to serve on the House Un-American Activities Committee. Indeed, Richard Nixon had used his Senate seat to fight communism and ended up with the vice presidency in 1952 and 1956. Once the Republican party was in control, McCarthy could no longer rail against communist conspiracies in the government. So he turned his attention to the army, and that proved to be his downfall. Outraged Americans joined with the military and johnny-come-lately politicians to denounce McCarthyism. Joseph McCarthy was censured in 1954 and died three years later, a bitter outcast. Despite this, he has become a cult hero to the New Right and would have felt vindicated by the renewed articulation of the communist threat under Ronald Reagan in the 1980s.

The United States Constitution and the First Amendment can only protect the rights of American citizens when they are willing to stand up for the right to engage in free speech, to openly criticize the government and its policy makers, and to demand the inherent democratic right to disagree with others. McCarthyism was only able to gain a foothold in the United States because people were afraid to challenge the loud voices who claimed that democracy was most vulnerable to outside forces. Democracy in the United States has always been most vulnerable to forces within in who do not accept the right of dissent. This is the lesson to be learned from Joseph McCarthy and his cohorts.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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## McCartney, Paul (1942—)

Born to a musical family in Liverpool, England, McCartney taught himself to play guitar and in 1956 joined John Lennon's Quarrymen, later renamed the Beatles. In 1961 McCartney took up the bass to distinguish himself from the two guitarists. As the Beatles grew musically, McCartney produced an astonishing series of beautiful compositions, including "Yesterday," "Eleanor Rigby," "Penny Lane," and "Let It Be." Besides being one of the most innovative and melodic bass players in rock, and one of its greatest singers, McCartney was also an accomplished guitarist and pianist. McCartney's solo career was the most successful of all the ex-Beatles. He managed to maintain a freshness and creativity that was sometimes missing in Lennon and Harrison. Often maligned as the "soft" and "commercial" half of the Lennon-McCartney duo, and jealously cited as the richest man in showbusiness, McCartney will be remembered in history as one of the greatest talents of twentieth-century popular music.

—Douglas Cooke



Paul McCartney



Winsor McCay (right) in office of Journal American, 1922.

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## McCay, Winsor (1867-1934)

When discussing the greatest names in the fields of comic strip art and animation, none demands more respect and admiration than that of Winsor McCay, who is generally regarded as the first artistic genius of the comic strip medium. Only a decade after the inception of the comic strip in 1895, McCay produced the form's first masterpiece—*Little Nemo in Slumberland*—which ran from 1905 to 1914. The comic's premise involved a young boy's nightly adventures in the fantastic realm of Slumberland. Each episode concluded with the

child being shocked back into reality as he woke up or fell out of bed. Within this simple framework McCay provided his reader with amazingly beautiful artwork that has never been equaled on the comics page. *Slumberland* was comprised of breathtaking panoramas, elegant colors, and touches of Art Nouveau decoration. The strip's success allowed the artist to branch out into animation. In 1914, he crafted arguably the most famous and influential cartoon short—*Gertie, the Trained Dinosaur*. Recent years have seen McCay come to be recognized as one of the giants of American twentieth-century art.

Zenas Winsor McCay was born shortly after the Civil War in Spring Lake, Michigan, and displayed a talent for art from early childhood. He began a newspaper career in 1897 in Cincinnati and by 1903 had created his first comic strip, *Tales of the Jungle Imps*. Other strips, such as *Little Sammy Sneeze* and *Dream of the Rarebit Fiend*, soon followed. A recurring theme in McCay's work centered on the world of dreams. He was fascinated by the juxtaposition of "real life" and the worlds created by the unconscious mind. A hallmark of his work was that he presented the real and dream worlds in a similar

style. A sense of ambiguity was created as the readers were unsure which drawings depicted the characters' "true" reality. McCay's most celebrated exploration of the dream-state came on October 15, 1905, with the publication of *Little Nemo in Slumberland*. The weekly color page presented the sleeping boy, who was modeled on McCay's son Robert, and his colorful companions: Flip, a green dwarf; Impy the cannibal; and Slivers the dog, as they wandered through the increasingly bizarre dreamland.

Slumberland was bound only by McCay's vivid imagination. Author Jerry Robinson described the realm by writing: "There were sky bombs, wild train and dirigible rides, exotic parades, bizarre circuses, and festivities of all kinds in Byzantine settings and rococo landscapes. Just the dreams a small boy would like to have." The most celebrated feature in Slumberland was Nemo's own bed, which could walk and fly. Many of the episodes revolved around the boy's meetings with Morpheus, the kingdom's ruler, and his beautiful daughter. The character of Nemo, whose name means "No one" in Latin, was rather nondescript and displayed little personality. Often, he was a passive figure who allowed the events in Slumberland to overwhelm him. McCay did, however, allow the character to be more active in one 1908 episode set in "Shantytown." Nemo became a Christ figure as he healed the sick, transformed the earth into paradise, and rose the dead. The strip was an immediate success and one of the medium's first titles to spawn a line of merchandise. It was even the basis of a Broadway musical, with a score written by Victor Herbert. *Little Nemo's* adventures continued until 1914, when it ended its run. McCay eventually returned to his most famous creation and produced more Nemo stories from 1924 to 1927. These later strips, however, are not as highly regarded as the initial Nemo series.

The popularity of *Little Nemo in Slumberland* allowed McCay the opportunity to begin a career in animation. In 1911, a cartoon short based on the Nemo strips was released. Like his newspaper work, McCay's animation was known for its ambitious nature. His *The Sinking of the Lusitania* was a 20 minute film, combining animation and live action, that told of the British liner's sinking by a German submarine. McCay's most lasting contribution to animation is *Gertie, the Trained Dinosaur*, released in 1914. The innovative film depicted a trained dinosaur that performed tricks on the commands of McCay, who stood beside the movie screen dressed as a lion tamer. He spoke to Gertie and appeared to toss objects to her. The film was a sensation and McCay was soon presenting it throughout the vaudeville circuit. His act also consisted of "chalk talks" where he drafted quick drawings of the audience and presented illustrated sermons on paper like "The Seven Ages of Man." By the early 1920s, McCay left animation complaining of its over-commercialization. His later years were spent as an editorial cartoonist for the conservative Hearst newspapers.

Winsor McCay is credited with raising the comic strip to a great American art form. His continual experimentation with perspective, detailed pencil-work, and proportion dazzles readers to this day. The dream world of Slumberland allowed him to constantly push the bounds of his imagination. *Little Nemo in Slumberland* is a visual feast that transports even contemporary readers to a land where anything is possible. In 1995, the United States Postal Service honored McCay by placing Little Nemo on one of its stamps commemorating the comics' centennial. Maurice Horn best stated McCay's legacy when he said the artist deserves the title "primus inter pares," the first among his peers in the history of cartoons.

—Charles Coletta

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## McClure's

Founded in New York in 1893 by a man of volcanic energy and creativity—a quirky, brilliant Irish immigrant named Samuel S. McClure—*McClure's* stood the staid American magazine industry on its head. Selling copies for a dime apiece when most magazines cost 25 or 35 cents, McClure boosted his magazine's circulation and ultimately the sales of many other magazines in America, which were forced to reduce their prices to compete. Hiring a staff of aggressive, intelligent, hardworking editors and reporters, he also gave America its popular definition of muckraking journalism in the following decade, publishing articles during the Progressive Era that exposed civic, corporate, and union corruption and helped bring about new laws and tougher enforcement of existing laws.

Samuel S. McClure (1857-1949) came to the United States with his widowed mother as a child and was raised in Indiana. He founded his remarkable magazine after working as a magazine editor, freelance journalist, and newspaper syndicator in Boston and New York. Increased demand for advertising, the result of the development of national brands, meant greater opportunities in the 1890s for revenue while advances in printing techniques made it cheaper to produce magazines. McClure meanwhile realized he could get more mileage out of the syndicated fiction and nonfiction articles he sold to newspapers by using them in a magazine. He hoped to capitalize on these advantages by selling a better product at a lower cost.

The inaugural issue of *McClure's* appeared at an inauspicious time, during the Panic of 1893, and the enterprise struggled financially even though it garnered critical praise ("It throbs with actuality from beginning to end," the editor of *The Review of Reviews* noted). Zesty and contemporary, early issues included interviews with Thomas Alva Edison and Alexander Graham Bell, articles on exciting technological advances of the day, and historical and contemporary pieces. But sales proved disappointing. Of the 20,000 copies of the first issue printed in May, 12,000 were returned unsold.

Initially offered at 15 cents a copy (reduced the following year to ten cents), *McClure's* soon had to compete with established magazines that were matching its price. It was not until McClure garnered the services of Ida Tarbell, a gifted researcher and writer who previously had written for his newspaper syndicate, that the magazine's fortunes began to turn. Tarbell's well-illustrated seven-part series on Napoleon, which started in November 1894, boosted circulation to 65,000 and eventually to 100,000. After *McClure's* began publishing her series on Abraham Lincoln in 1895, sales increased to 300,000 and advertising in tandem. Tarbell, who later became an editor of the magazine, also contributed other important historical and muckraking articles. Though the financial picture was improving, McClure still could offer Stephen Crane only \$75 for "The Red Badge of Courage," an offer that Crane refused.



Economic hard times in the United States, capped by William Jennings Bryan's failed populist bid for the presidency in 1896, brought more coverage of social issues. In 1897, McClure began hiring a number of writers who would go on to fame, including William Allen White of *The Emporia (Kansas) Gazette*, Ray Stannard Baker, a Chicago newspaperman, and Lincoln Steffens, a former police reporter for the *Commercial Advertiser* in New York. The January 1903 issue fired an opening salvo in the era of muckraking, presenting three major articles in "the literature of exposure:" Steffens's "The Shame of Minneapolis," the first in his "Shame of the Cities" series, describing rampant urban political corruption across the United States; Tarbell's "Standard Oil," detailing corporate monopoly and malfeasance; and Baker's "The Right to Work," an indictment of corrupt labor unions based on his interviews with nonstriking coalminers in Pennsylvania who had been harassed by members of the United Mine Workers. Muckraking soon became a central theme, not only for *McClure's* but for many other magazines. Though they varied in power and in point, most of the muckraking articles shared a common concern: that laws were not being obeyed and that Americans suffered from their own contempt for the law, either through their participation in illegal activities or their apathy about doing anything about lawlessness.

Though historians often have cited muckraking as wildly popular, *McClure's* circulation barely budged during its muckraking heyday between 1903 and 1906. The articles, however, were influential. Baker's piece on railroad abuses helped bring about passage of the Hepburn Act in 1906, giving the Interstate Commerce Commission power to set rates and otherwise regulate railroads. In the same year President Theodore Roosevelt first used the term muckraker as a pejorative, describing such magazine journalists as "potent forces of evil" who concentrated on "vile and debasing" matters (and probably misinterpreting John Bunyan's Man with the Muck-Rake in *Pilgrim's Progress* in the process). Though some muckraking articles were shallow, stilted, and even bigoted, such as one on "the Negro Problem," *McClure's* also published a number of finely reasoned exposes and analytical pieces. Through the years, the magazine also published work by distinguished writers of fiction and poetry, including Theodore Dreiser, Jack London, O. Henry, A. E. Housman, and William Butler Yeats.

Flush with success, McClure soon dreamed of opening new magazines and printing plants. Worried by their boss' excessive enthusiasm and divided by office politics, much of the "the most brilliant staff ever gathered by a New York periodical," including Baker, Tarbell, and John S. Phillips, a longtime McClure partner and editor, defected in 1906 (some to start the *American Magazine*).

Subsequent events proved them right. The following year, although circulation reached an all-time high, McClure was grappling with new financial difficulties caused by his construction of a giant printing plant on Long Island and issuance of stock to former editors. Burdensome loans he had assumed weighed even heavier during the Panic of 1907. When circulation and advertising began to drop later that year, he was forced to go into partnership with a businessman named Harold Roberts. The magazine continued to run muckraking articles on corrupt civic politics, prostitution rings, and the like, and in 1910 McClure published his last great muckraking series, a seven-part, 60,000-word opus called "The Masters of Capital in America," by John Moody, which attempted to explain the concentration of capital in the country by giving sober and impartial accounts of the lives and careers of industrialists such as J. P. Morgan, John D.

Rockefeller, and Jacob H. Schiff. Although circulation and advertising had rebounded after 1907, McClure continued to stagger under his heavy debt and Roberts forced him out in 1911.

*McClure's* went downhill thereafter. From 1912 to 1922, it became "a kind of second-rate women's magazine lacking personality, character, conscience, soul, or guts," in the words of a McClure biographer. In 1920 it was sold to Herbert Kaufman, a "checkbook editor" who spent too much money luring writers from other magazines and pushed his own into receivership in only nine months. It reverted to McClure who, short of money and staff, could not revive it and was forced to sell out to Hearst's International Publications in 1925. Hearst made it into *McClure's, The Magazine of Romance*. When this version also failed, the magazine was sold again. It lingered as *The New McClure's: A Man's Magazine* until the advent of the Great Depression brought this last incarnation of a once-proud magazine to a merciful death in 1930.

—Daniel Lindley

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## McCoy, Horace (1897-1955)

Sometime newspaper sports editor, pulp magazine story writer, "hard-boiled" novelist, screenwriter, and actor, Horace McCoy is best known for his first novel *They Shoot Horses, Don't They?* (1935), set during a marathon dance contest in the 1930s, and made into a film of the same name in 1969 (directed by Sydney Pollack). He wrote a total of six uncompromising novels (one published posthumously) on themes such as civic corruption, Hollywood, the depression, and the plight of the individual caught in the capitalist machine. His many credits as a screenwriter include *The Trail of the Lonesome Pine* (1936) and *Gentleman Jim* (1942).

—Chris Routledge

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## McCrea, Joel (1905-1990)

Although he liked doing Westerns best, Joel McCrea also appeared in some of the best comedy films of the early 1940s, such as *The Palm Beach Story* (1942), *Sullivan's Travels* (1941), and *The More the Merrier* (1943). A versatile actor, he also excelled in dramas

and thrillers, including *These Three* (1936), *Dead End* (1937), and Hitchcock's *Foreign Correspondent* (1940). Not a flashy actor, he was a tall, attractive, somewhat self-effacing man who conveyed a sort of rough hewn honesty and patience that served him well in both serious and comedy roles.

Born in Pasadena, California, at the age of nine McCrea moved with his family to Hollywood when it was still "all open country"—he and the movie business grew up together. He started doing extra work in silent films in the early 1920s, initially because he was an excellent horseman. By the early 1930s, he was starring in talkies like *Bird of Paradise* (1930), *The Lost Squadron* (1932), and *The Most Dangerous Game* (1932). McCrea switched almost exclusively to Westerns in the mid-1940s, appearing in *Ramrod* (1947), *Four Faces West* (1948), and *Colorado Territory* (1949), along with nearly two dozen others. Joel McCrea's final major Western was Sam Peckinpah's *Ride the High Country*, which has been considered a classic since its release in 1962.

—Ron Goulart

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## McDaniel, Hattie (1895-1952)

Though Hattie McDaniel was a performer for most of her life, on stage, in film, and on radio and television, her career was largely defined by the racism of the culture she lived in and the limitations it placed on her achievements. White audiences who are familiar with McDaniel only from her oscar-winning role in *Gone with the Wind*, are probably unaware of the criticisms directed at her by other Blacks who were angry at those who perpetuated racist stereotypes. McDaniel, like many Black performers of the time, anxious to succeed in an industry controlled by whites, made a career out of taking the roles that were offered to her. In a Hollywood that, throughout the twentieth century, offered few genuinely complex roles for people of color, the roles available to large Black women in the 1930s and 1940s covered the narrow range from maid to mammy. Although Hattie McDaniel was a talented singer, dancer, and actress, she appeared in over 300 movies usually as a cook, a maid, or a mammy.

Though most of her roles involved playing southerners, McDaniel herself did not come from the South. She was born in Wichita, Kansas, and raised in the relatively liberal city of Denver, Colorado, where she attended an integrated school. The youngest of 13 children, McDaniel loved to perform from an early age. In 1910, her father started his own minstrel show, with two of her brothers as performers. McDaniel joined them soon after, and her career on stage began. She travelled with the show, singing, dancing, and writing songs for almost ten years. After the death of her father in 1922, she found a job on the new Denver radio station KOA, singing jazz songs with a band. She continued to work the vaudeville circuit until the 1930s, when jobs dried up with the arrival of the Great Depression.

McDaniel got another big break while working as a restroom attendant at the Club Madrid near Milwaukee, Wisconsin. When the management needed a singer to fill in, customers recommended the talented woman they had heard singing to herself in the washroom,



**Hattie McDaniel**

and McDaniel gained a new job. Finally, at the urging of her brothers, who had gone to find work in California, she moved to Los Angeles and began to look for work in the movies. She landed many small roles in movies, often not appearing in the credits. The pay was low, and McDaniel had to work as a maid while she was portraying maids in the movies. She continued to work hard at acting, learning a Southern accent she often used in her stereotypical Southern-maid roles, and she began to get more significant parts in larger movies. She received good reviews in a remake of *Showboat*, appearing with Marlene Dietrich, Mae West, Katharine Hepburn, and Barbara Stanwyck.

It is her powerful performance as Scarlett's Mammy in the 1939 film *Gone with the Wind* (*GWTW*) that won McDaniel prominent status among white audiences. Though she made history by becoming the first Black woman ever to win an Oscar, (the second would be won by Whoopi Goldberg for her role in *Ghost* almost 50 years later), McDaniel's work on *GWTW* would forever be controversial. Though her performance was rightly rewarded as excellent, little was publicly made of the fact that the Black cast members had not been permitted to attend the feted premiere of the movie in segregationist Atlanta or that McDaniel was called Mammy by the cast even when not in character. Shortly after *GWTW*, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) mounted a campaign to fight the racist stereotypes of Blacks in movies. "Mammyism" and "Uncle Tomism" were decried as harmful to Blacks as a whole, and actors such as Ethel Waters and Stepin Fetchit were attacked. As the most famous Mammy of the moment, Hattie McDaniel received the most hostile criticism of all.

Though McDaniel did go on to other “Mammy”-like roles in film and to *Beulah*, where she played a maid, first on radio, then on television, she defended herself against her critics. Together with other Black actors, she formed the Fair Play Committee to try to change Hollywood from within. McDaniel had been successful in having the word “nigger” removed from the screenplay of *GWTW*, and she refused to speak in dialect for *Beulah*. Many thought these victories too small, however, and the criticism from Blacks went very much to McDaniel’s heart. This, combined with the pressure of problems in her fourth marriage, contributed to the actress’s depression and health problems.

Hattie McDaniel died of breast cancer at the Motion Picture Country Home and Hospital in California in 1952. Having recognized that in an oppressive society, there are few good choices for the oppressed, McDaniel had not refused to play the roles available for the black women of her time. If she had, it is likely a wide audience would have never heard of her. Although she was probably not a happy woman for most of her career, she was a strong one, having fought for the advancement of Black Americans in the way she could, by getting a job and doing it well.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## McDonald's

From its humble beginnings in 1948 as a drive-in restaurant in southern California, McDonald's grew by the end of the twentieth century into the world's largest food service organization, having served up more than 100 billion hamburgers in half a century of operation. In 1998, the chain claimed 24,500 restaurants in 114 countries—with a new one opening every five hours—where 38 million customers a day are served, 20 million of them in the United States. In five decades, the Golden Arches, Big Macs, and Ronald McDonald have become among the most internationally recognized and controversial icons of American popular culture. Over the company's objections, the prefix “Mc-” has been used informally in English to describe any person or situation whose essential qualities are seen in terms of homogenization, predictability, or banality.

It all started in the late 1940s, on the crest of the postwar automobile boom, when brothers Richard and Maurice McDonald were searching for a way to improve their little octagonal barbecue drive-in business in San Bernardino, California. The concept they created was a revolutionary one that would become the keystone of the nascent fast food industry: an emphasis on efficiency, low prices, big volume, and speedy self-service and a jettisoning of anything that would slow down the transaction, such as carhops, plates, forks, knives, glassware, dishwashers, tipping, and less popular menu items. When the brothers reopened their restaurant with their “McDonald's

New Self-Service System” on December 20, 1948, confusion at first reigned, but soon the 15-cent prepackaged McDonald's hamburger that came with ketchup, pickle, and onion became extremely successful. Within a few months, customers were lining up to buy the nine available menu items: hamburger, cheeseburger, french fries, potato chips, pie, coffee, milk, soft drinks, and milkshakes.

In 1952, McDonald's sold more than one million hamburgers and half a million orders of french fries, which were becoming famous for their “perfect fry” due to the proper aging of potatoes. The brothers planned to franchise their self-service system and designed, with architect Stanley Meston, the prototype restaurant with its two giant golden arches. The first McDonald's franchise opened in May, 1953, in Phoenix, Arizona. In 1954, there were nine franchise restaurants in operation and twelve others already sold. That same year, intrigued by the 20,000 milkshakes sold every month by the McDonald's business, Ray Kroc (1902-1984), the exclusive distributor of the “Multimixer” milkshake machine, went to San Bernardino to see the McDonald's operation at first hand. Immediately, he foresaw the gigantic potentialities of the concept and became the exclusive franchising agent for the McDonald brothers in the United States. In 1955, he formed the new franchising company under the name of McDonald's System, Inc. and opened his first McDonald's restaurant in Des Plaines, Illinois. In 1961, Kroc bought out the McDonald brothers for \$2.7 million.

Kroc did not invent McDonald's, but he transformed and developed it into a leading institution that has revolutionized the food service industry and altered traditional eating habits throughout the world. The astounding popular success of McDonald's and its unprecedented growth, first in the United States and later in foreign countries, became a commercial legend. Cleanliness, friendly service, and predictability—its capability to deliver consistent products anywhere in the world—have remained a hallmark of McDonald's. Throughout, Kroc's brilliant strategy called for a heavy investment in advertising and public relations. The theme “Look for the Golden Arches” started in 1960. By 1963, McDonald's restaurants were selling one million hamburgers a day, and the company decided to launch a television advertising campaign. In 1966, three years after his first public appearance in Washington, D.C., Ronald McDonald, portrayed by Willard Scott, made his first national television debut. The happy clown became the McDonald's mascot who would attract millions of children and their families to McDonald's restaurants. Children had long been a target group for the chain's marketing: Since the opening in 1971 of the first McDonald's Playland in Chula Vista, California, McDonald's has invested millions in playgrounds and ads directed primarily at children, for whom it introduced the “Happy Meal” in 1979.

In 1966, the year after its advertising started to claim that “McDonald's Is Your Kind of Place,” McDonald's became a public company, listed on the New York Stock Exchange. After almost 20 years of price stability, the hamburger rose from 15 to 18 cents and the international expansion started. The first McDonald's restaurant located outside of the United States opened in Canada on June 1, 1967, in Richmond, British Columbia. The one-thousandth restaurant in the chain opened in 1968 and the most popular burger, the “Two all-beef patties, special sauce, lettuce, cheese, pickle, onions, on a sesame-seed bun,” internationally known as the “Big Mac,” was added to the menu. In 1972, the Quarter Pounder was introduced, and the McDonald's corporation achieved the one-billion-dollar sales mark. By 1970, McDonald's was represented by 1,600 restaurants in the 50 U.S. states and in four other countries. The 1970s saw an



The first McDonald's restaurant in San Bernardino, California, 1955.

expansion of the restaurant's locales from brightly lit roadside stands surrounded by parking lots to smaller, "townhouse" establishments in urban settings.

During the 1970s, such slogans as "You Deserve a Break Today," "We Do It All For You," and "Nobody Can Do It Like McDonald's" permeated the everyday life of millions of customers. Meanwhile, McDonald's entered the breakfast trade with the highly successful introduction of the Egg McMuffin in 1973. By 1980, 35 billion hamburgers had been sold, and in 1985, McDonald's became one of the thirty companies that make up the Dow Jones Industrial Average. By 1990, when the 80-billion burger milestone had been reached, its 11,800 restaurants in 54 countries accounted for \$18.7 billion in sales.

With its aggressive expansion into the global market, McDonald's has come to epitomize North American culture, but especially the United States and its brand of capitalism. In 1971, the corporation entered the Asian, Australian, and European markets. While the Dutch McDonald's restaurant failed, "Makadonaldo" on the Ginza in Tokyo, Japan, became an immediate success. In 1998, Japan held its own as the largest McDonald's market outside of the United States, with more than 2,400 restaurants. In 1979, McDonald's started doing business in South America. With the collapse of Soviet-style communism in the late 1980s, the emergence of McDonald's in socialist or

post-socialist societies attracted extensive media coverage and increased the brand's notoriety. The opening of the first McDonald's restaurant in Moscow on January 13, 1990, attracted 30,000 customers and was billed by the media as an important symbolic event, as if the Russians had conceded in the famous "kitchen debate" between Richard Nixon and Nikita Khrushchev in the 1950s. The opening of the first McDonald's restaurant in Africa in 1992 was not much noticed, but on April 23 of that year, 40,000 Chinese lined up in front of its first outlet in Beijing, China. The popularity and prosperity of McDonald's in the Czech Republic, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Slovenia have been the focus of numerous documentaries and articles.

Not surprisingly, such an extraordinary success has also generated protests and criticisms from very different groups, ranging from the far left to the far right and including environmentalists, nutritionists, religious fundamentalists, cultural critics, and heritage preservationists, among others. McDonald's has taken a stance of being responsive to many of these concerns. Responding to civil-rights activists in the 1970s who faulted the chain's hiring practices, the corporation developed training programs for minorities and women. In 1990, McDonald's USA launched the McRecycle program, and in 1991, initiated a Waste Reduction Action Plan to recycle its packaging products. The restaurants started to offer more dietetic

meals by using vegetable oil in the cooking of french fries and adding salads, low-fat muffins, reduced-fat ice cream, and the Grilled Chicken Deluxe to their menus. In India, McDonald's restaurants serve vegetable McNuggets and a mutton-based Maharaja Mac. In Israel, kosher hamburgers are available, and in Muslim countries, menus are certified as halal. McDonald's has also started to design buildings and signs respecting the local architecture. In Miami's Little Havana, a McDonald's restaurant evokes a hacienda, while on Long Island, New York, a restored 1860s house accommodates the fast-food outlet.

McDonald's has borne the brunt of American and European intellectuals who fault it for being an agent of cultural imperialism and globalization responsible for homogenizing indigenous cultures and destroying local traditions. In the United States, the rising popularity of franchised fast-food restaurant chains in the 1950s coincided with the steady decline of traditional Mom and Pop eateries and the subsequent homogenization of the roadside landscape. In the early 1970s, most of the old stainless-steel "railcar" diners, which offered regional cooking and atmosphere, could not compete with the fast-food chains and were demolished or abandoned, though diners did experience a resurgence of sorts by the 1990s. In 1990, in Hartsville, Tennessee, McDonald's opened its own Golden Arch Cafe as an outlet resembling a traditional 1950s-style diner; the cafe offers sit-down service from a menu that includes lasagna, Salisbury steaks with two vegetables, and grilled chicken platters, with only the french fries a vestige of the fast-food concept.

Close attention to consumption practices reveals more complex interaction patterns. While McDonald's has affected some influential changes in consumer habits, local cultures and identities have constrained McDonald's to adapt to place and reveal local idiosyncrasies. Some obvious examples of this have included changes in menu items, like the Teriyaki McBurger in Japan, McLacks in Norway, or Kiwi Burgers in New Zealand; the provision of beer with meals and large smoking sections in Belgium, France and Germany; or nomenclature changes to adapt to the metric system. These changes, however, often mask the fact that the process of production and distribution of the food has changed considerably from traditional methods.

For most customers outside the United States, McDonald's offers an altered cultural and social experience that starts when the threshold is crossed. In Asia, James L. Watson noticed that "East Asian consumers have quietly, and in some cases stubbornly, transformed their neighborhood McDonald's restaurant into local institutions. . . . In Beijing, Seoul and Taipei, for instance, McDonald's restaurants are treated as leisure centers, where people can retreat from the stresses of urban life. In Hong Kong, middle school students often sit in McDonald's for hours—studying, gossiping, and picking over snacks. . . . One surprise was the discovery that many McDonald's restaurants in East Asia have become sanctuaries for women who wish to escape male-dominated settings." In Europe, the facades of the restaurants are designed to conform to the local architecture, and the interior design varies depending on the city, with references made to the local culture such as Modernisme in Barcelona, Art Nouveau in Brussels, or Art Déco in Paris. Design quality compensates for the lack of space and higher densities of European McDonald's restaurants. Contrary to the situation in North America, fast food in Europe does not mean fast consumption. Numerous McDonald's restaurants in Paris have become afternoon meeting places for elderly women who enjoy chatting while drinking a coffee and eating an apple pie. French teenagers have adopted McDonald's restaurants as headquarters where they can spend hours socializing with their friends. Eating in Europe is a social and often familial event that takes time, and

people like to share it in a pleasant atmosphere. Consequently, comfortable, individual chairs and real plants had to replace the original fixed chairs and plastic foliage. Some McDonald's restaurants in Europe supply free daily newspapers at breakfast-time and dress their tables with cotton tablecloths and small vases of dried flowers. Thus, while McDonald's captured the spirit of postwar America and built its national fame on the rationalization of the fast-food concept, the international success of McDonald's restaurants rely on their ability to sell the American myth through a pseudo-American experience exotic enough to fit local imaginations and expectations about America but flexible enough to be adapted to local customs.

Despite the global economic turbulence of the late 1990s, the international division of the McDonald's Corporation achieved continuous growth and success while simultaneously, in the United States, it faced dramatic difficulties under competition from other restaurant concepts. In 1998, the company decided to adapt the lessons learned abroad to the United States, and made a radical cultural, operational, and strategic turn in the management of its domestic market. The company's domestic operations were decentralized and streamlined into five divisions based on geographic regions. Like their international counterparts, independent franchises in the United States have become collaborators in marketing and advertising, with a say in the menu. The company is experimenting actively with new products such as the Cajun Chicken Sandwich or the McFlurry to respond better to local competitive situations. After four decades of success based on perfect uniformity and predictability, McDonald's enters the twenty-first century with decentralization, flexibility, and pluralism as its new mantra.

—Catherine C. Galley & Briavel Holcomb

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## McEnroe, John (1959—)

Famously dubbed “Superbrat” by the British tabloid press, John McEnroe is doomed to have his remarkable athletic accomplishments overshadowed by the media perception of him as a whining, petulant crybaby. But the achievements of one of the most talented male players to ever step on a tennis court cannot be separated from the renewed buzz about the sport generated by his infuriating on-court antics. Simply put, if John McEnroe had not come along, tennis in the 1970s would have had to invent him.

The son of a U.S. Air Force officer, McEnroe grew up in Long Island's Gold Coast. But McEnroe was no ordinary suburban tennis brat. He impressed his instructors with his ability to make difficult shots at a young age. Schooled at an elite tennis academy (he was eventually thrown out for bad behavior), McEnroe later attended Stanford University, and made his initial splash at Wimbledon in 1977, becoming the youngest man ever to reach the semifinals. He turned pro the following year.

Men's tennis at that time was in a period of transition, as the popular favorite Jimmy Connors saw his run at the top coming to an end. Bjorn Borg was the king of Wimbledon, having won four titles in



John McEnroe

a row from 1976 through 1979. But the icy Swede failed to capture the imagination of the public with his mechanical, groundstroking game. When McEnroe defeated fellow American Vitas Gerulaitis in the U.S. Open Final in 1979—becoming the youngest winner since Pancho Gonzalez—a page in tennis history seemed to have been turned. The following year, McEnroe surged into the finals at Wimbledon, where he met Borg in an epic match many consider the greatest of all time. The upstart American fought off five match points in a grueling fourth-set tiebreaker but was defeated in the fifth. The next year, McEnroe finally broke through, ending the Swede's five-year reign at the All-England Club.

In the six-year span from 1979 through 1984, McEnroe captured the Wimbledon and U.S. Open titles a total of seven times. He became the first man since Bill Tilden in the 1920s to win three straight U.S. Open crowns, from 1979 through 1981. Ranked number one in the world in 1981, 1983, and 1984, McEnroe also was a mainstay of the United States Davis Cup team, leading the squad to victory in international competition on five separate occasions. As a doubles player, he usually paired up with fellow American Peter Fleming.

A left-hander, McEnroe possessed unparalleled shotmaking ability. He used the skills to his advantage by playing a ferocious, attacking, serve-and-volley style. On fast surfaces, such as the grass at Wimbledon or the hard courts of the U.S. Open, he could often overwhelm plodding baseline opponents like Ivan Lendl. The McEnroe approach put him at a disadvantage on clay, however, or when faced with an opponent who could match him in tenacity, like Connors or Borg.

McEnroe's volatile temperament did him in on more than one occasion as well. Berating chair umpires, arguing line calls, and bickering with spectators were all part of the McEnroe repertoire. Often, he claimed, he used his anger as a way to fire himself up to win points or get back into a match emotionally. But there is no denying that his histrionics cost him at times as well, as when a meltdown at the 1984 French Open Finals allowed Lendl to storm back from a two-set deficit to win the championship.

“Johnny Mac” was not the first tennis player to act in an irregular fashion, of course. Before him, there had been Evonne Goolagong's bizarre “walkabouts” and Ilie Nastase's eternally up-thrust middle finger. But something about McEnroe's unique mix of bad sportsmanship and spoiled rich boy arrogance made him the special darling of the tennis press. Newspapers, especially in Britain, invariably caricatured him as a sobbing child braying for attention. The cartoonists and reporters were the ones left crying, however, when McEnroe retired from the professional circuit in 1992, leaving no dynamic successor to take up his crowd-rousing mantle.

In his dotage, McEnroe has occupied himself with tennis broadcasting and a panoply of artistic and civic pursuits. He paints—in the abstract expressionist style—and fronts a rock band. He was married for a time to actress Tatum O'Neal and fathered three children. McEnroe has used his forum on national tennis telecasts to criticize American players for not taking part in Davis Cup competition. Such outspoken commentary shows that time has not mellowed “Superbrat.”

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## McEntire, Reba (1955—)

Reba McEntire has sold more than 50 million albums, scored more than two dozen number one hits, and joined the company of those recognized worldwide by merely her first name. Although she has won scores of honors including Grammy awards and People's Choice awards, the major contribution of the feisty redhead may be that she has shattered stereotypes within and without the country music industry. She has shown Nashville that "girl singers" may be limited in their achievements, but women singers can play with the big boys, and she has shown the music industry at large that a country singer can be as glamorous and as successful as any pop diva.

Because she has diversified into movies and assorted business interests, McEntire is frequently compared to Dolly Parton, but a more telling comparison may be to Loretta Lynn, who earned her fame singing songs of women's lives. McEntire, whose songs reflect the lives of women of her own generation, has sung of women surviving on their own, of women refusing to be used, and of women suffering from AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome). But the defining song of her career may be "Is There Life Out There?" The video shows Reba as a young woman struggling to balance home and children with a low-paying job and college classes. The happy ending on graduation day suggests that there is a life for women

beyond the domestic sphere, a reality McEntire and thousands of her listeners have discovered for themselves.

McEntire is not alone in selecting material clearly crafted for a female audience, but no other woman has yet achieved her level of success. Her first charting record came in 1978, and her accomplishments increased over the next two decades as her album sales and concert revenues placed her in competition not merely with the men of country music but also with major artists in other music formats. Barbra Streisand is the only other woman who has reached this pinnacle. Like many successful women, McEntire has been the target of criticism for her ambition, but she remains undeterred by these attacks.

McEntire credits her determination and pragmatism to her stable middle-class rearing in Chokie, Oklahoma. The daughter of a teacher and a rodeo champion/cattle rancher, she grew up tending cattle, barrel racing, and singing with her siblings. Discovered while she was singing "The Star Spangled Banner" at the 1974 National Rodeo Finals, she signed with Mercury in 1977, but her early efforts were mediocre thanks to the pop veneer that muted her distinctive sound and minimized her emotional range. The 1980s brought a change of direction with a more mature McEntire assuming control of her career. She signed on as opening act for established artists such as the Statler Brothers and Conway Twitty, a decision that gave her expert



Reba McEntire

tutelage in the profession and exposure to core country audiences, a move both wise and timely. By the time she signed with MCA in 1984, two of her songs for Mercury had reached number one, including “Can’t Even Get The Blues,” an upbeat tune that reversed the woman as victim stereotype. McEntire was beginning to understand what she had to offer.

In Jimmy Bowen, president of MCA’s Nashville division, she had someone secure enough to encourage artist involvement and smart enough to allow McEntire to return to her distinctive voice and style. The first result of their collaboration was *My Kind of Country* (1984), which included “Somebody Should Leave,” a Harlan Howard tune that showcased the emotional power of McEntire’s voice. The song became her first number one on her new label.

Not only did *My Kind of Country* fit seamlessly into the wave of New Traditionalism that was capturing country audiences in the 1980s, but it also hit as The Nashville Network (TNN) and Country Music Television (CMT) became established venues for country artists. McEntire’s sassy persona and down home accent had immense appeal for TNN and CMT audiences, and she proved as well to have a deft touch with videos. Country music’s audience was also changing. Baby boomers dissatisfied with pop lyrics were searching for a new musical format and discovering the appeal of country. Audiences were more diverse and, in significant ways, more sophisticated. A real cowgirl, McEntire had the credentials to satisfy traditional country audiences, but she was also part of a college-educated, television-addicted generation for whom regional barriers were blurring. She was poised to take advantage of the changes.

In 1986, her career exploded. With “Whoever’s in New England,” she had a crossover hit in both audio and video. The album (by the same title) went gold, and McEntire was inducted into the Grand Ole Opry. Both the Country Music Association (CMA) and the Academy of Country Music named her female vocalist of the year, and CMA added the coveted Entertainer of the Year trophy. The redhead from Oklahoma had arrived, and her world was about to grow larger. Determined to control all aspects of her career, she created Starstruck Entertainment in 1988, a corporation that expanded as Reba saw need. Starstruck now encompasses everything from music production, publishing, booking, management, and publicity to film production, construction, and a charter jet service started after McEntire lost seven of her band members in a 1991 plane crash.

The album that followed the crash, *For My Broken Heart*—in part an act of public grief—went double platinum. Her platinum plus record sales continue, her concert revenues and film credits increase, as does her empire building, and she continues to add music and humanitarian awards to her lengthy list of honors. Her stage show, which requires five buses and 13 trucks to transport, rivals even Garth Brooks in its dazzle. More than 30 years after Tammy Wynette’s “Stand by Your Man” defined a woman’s place in a relationship and on a country stage, Reba McEntire has proved that a woman can challenge heavy hitting male music stars and win. In the process she has changed the face of country music.

—Wylene Rholetter

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## McGwire, Mark (1963—)

Mark McGwire may eventually be known as the man who saved baseball. His 1998 fight for the single season home run record with Chicago Cubs outfielder Sammy Sosa recaptured the hearts of a generation of fans lost during the 1994 labor dispute. The record 70 home runs put McGwire’s name in the record books ahead of greats like Roger Maris and Babe Ruth. But it was McGwire the person, more than McGwire the power hitter, that returned baseball to the public consciousness. In the words of the *New York Times* editorial on the final day of the 1998 season, “the sight of this gentle, earnest giant handling the pressure of the home run chase with grace and humility has made an entire nation feel better about itself.”

It’s no surprise that Mark McGwire became a professional athlete. Born in 1963, he spent much of his youth with his four brothers at either the basketball court, baseball field, or the golf course. Their father John, a dentist, was a dedicated little league coach, the kind that bought all the kids ice cream after the game. After briefly considering a future in golf during high school, McGwire decided to dedicate himself solely to baseball, attending the University of Southern California. He began his collegiate career as a pitcher, relying on an 85-mile-per-hour fastball to accumulate a 4-4 record and 3.04 ERA in his freshman year. But the powerful 6’5” McGwire marvelled coaches with his swing, and he was promptly switched to first base. Over the next two seasons, McGwire hit 51 home runs, shattering the previous school record. At the end of his junior year, McGwire married his college sweetheart Kathy, reentered the draft, and was chosen 10th overall by the Oakland Athletics.

After a stint with the U.S. Olympic team and a couple years in the minor leagues, McGwire made his much anticipated debut as Oakland’s everyday first basemen in 1987. Using his remarkably quick and compact swing, McGwire hit 49 homers, breaking the rookie record. But even as an impressionable rookie, family always came first; McGwire skipped the final game of the season to witness the birth of his son, missing a chance to reach the coveted 50th home run plateau. He later told reporters, “That was my 50th home run.”

Led by McGwire, fellow “bash brother” Jose Canseco, pitchers Dave Stewart and Dennis Eckersley, and manager Tony LaRussa, the powerful Athletics appeared in the next three World Series, sweeping the San Francisco Giants in the infamous 1989 series marred by a northern California earthquake. McGwire became one of baseball’s most feared hitters, and a good defensive first baseman with a tremendous appreciation for the game. In the early 1990s, the home runs kept coming, but his batting average dropped, and he struggled through a divorce and a variety of injuries. In 1993 and 1994, he appeared in only 74 games, due to a nagging left heel problem.

Frustrated by claims that he had become a soft, one-dimensional player, McGwire returned with new-found confidence and an improved swing, hitting an incredible 91 home runs over 1995 and 1996, despite missing 90 games to another nagging heel injury. But by 1997, the once-powerful Oakland A’s had sunk to the bottom of the Western Division, and McGwire, in the midst of another phenomenal season, was the only tradeable commodity. So on July 31, he was dealt to the St. Louis Cardinals, reuniting him with former manager



and good friend LaRussa. McGwire became a fan favorite, finishing the season with 58 home runs, just three shy of Maris's single season record set in 1961. And for perhaps the first time, the fans got a true glimpse of the man behind the 500 foot home runs. After signing a new contract with the Cardinals, McGwire established a charitable foundation for sexually and physically abused children, to which he would annually donate \$1 million. At the press conference, the 6'5", 250-pound McGwire broke into tears.

In 1998, the entire baseball world expected McGwire to once again challenge the single season home run record. But no one expected Cubs outfielder Sammy Sosa, to join McGwire in the quest. Together, their crowd pleasing home runs became larger than the game itself, to the dismay of some purists, but to the delight of fans jaded by the ugly 1994 labor dispute. People across the country were fascinated by the camaraderie of the two down-to-earth players, who from different teams and vastly different backgrounds were chasing a piece of history and dealing with enormous media pressure. But the incredible season was not free of scandal; it was revealed that powerful McGwire regularly used androstenedione, a muscle-building substance banned in many other sports.

Fittingly, it was against Sosa's Cubs on September 7 that McGwire hit a pitch over the wall in left field to break Maris's 37-year-old record. Hollywood could not have written a better script. After touching home plate, McGwire hugged his 10-year-old son Matt, the Cardinal's batboy, and received congratulations from fans, teammates, Maris's children, and Sosa himself. But the race was not over; Sosa kept pace with McGwire until the final weekend of the season. McGwire finally pulled ahead for good, hitting four home runs over the final two games, and setting the new single season standard of 70. Even more astounding, he shattered the home run record despite a National League record 161 walks.

It is ironic that the modest, charitable McGwire, a fine overall player and a member of some terrific Oakland teams, will always be remembered for one extraordinary individual accomplishment. But it is thanks to McGwire that fans will always remember the year, in the words of a *New Yorker* editorial, that "baseball, caught up in a Capra movie, wore a smile on its face and sweetness overran the field."

—Simon Donner

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## McHale's Navy

Running for four seasons from 1962 to 1966 on ABC, *McHale's Navy* remains one of the longest running military comedies on television. Set for the first three seasons on an island base in the South Pacific, and for the last in Italy, it was a classic wartime farce that

pitted a fun-loving crew of misfits against an incompetent commander who wants to see them put behind bars. The plots were standard fare, often involving the crew of the PT73 trying to get away with something and being saved, just when trouble looms, by an opportunity to sink an enemy sub and emerge as heroes. The three central characters were Commander McHale and Ensign Parker, who were continually engaged in fending off Captain Binghamton, or "Old Leadbottom." They were played by Ernest Borgnine, Tim Conway (at his bumbling best) and Joe Flynn, respectively.

The show spawned two movies during its run—*McHale's Navy* (1964) and *McHale's Navy Joins the Air Force* (1965)—the first with the original cast and the second with Conway and Flynn. The characters were resurrected for a 1997 feature film of the same title, with Tom Arnold playing McHale.

—Frank Clark

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## McKay, Claude (1890-1948)

While scholar Alain Locke and novelist James Weldon Johnson attempted to make the Harlem Renaissance palatable to white audiences, Claude McKay rose to prominence as the most militant voice in the African-American literary movement. The Jamaican-born poet and author blended Marxist ideals with his belief in racial solidarity to produce *Home to Harlem* (1928) and *Banjo* (1929), vivid accounts of black urban life in America and Europe. Both volumes championed ordinary people and testified to the health of the African diaspora community. McKay lived in the Soviet Union and North Africa during most of the 1920s and drew criticism from mainstream black intellectuals and white liberals for his avowed Communism. He returned to America in 1934, abandoned left-wing politics for the Catholic church, and penned his popular autobiography, *A Long Way for Home* (1937). While never as famous as contemporaries Countee Cullen and Langston Hughes, McKay was the foremost left-wing black intellectual of his age. His writings foreshadowed and influenced those of Richard Wright and James Baldwin.

—Jacob M. Appel

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## McKuen, Rod (1933—)

At his apex, Rod McKuen was the unofficial poet-laureate of America. Penning best-selling songs, composing classical music and film scores, and, in his own right, enjoying a certain stature as a recording artist mixing his poetry and lyrics in a series of well received albums, delivered in a reedy voice fractured by years of singing in nightclubs, McKuen was adored by his legions of fans. “In the sad, minimal world of Rod and his eager know-nothing millions,” as one critic describes the poet’s rapport with his audience, life exists in an ineffable mist of kittens and sheep dogs and chance encounters in parks and on public transportation. The poet of foggy afternoons and post-coital introspection, McKuen was, in the words of critic, David Harsent, a poet with “a formula likely to appeal to the groupies and the grannies alike” with a “neoplastic pleonasm rooted in his universal proposition of the world.”

Born in the Oakland, California, charity hospital, McKuen grew up not knowing his father, a fact that left a deep wound but would later prove a goad to his endless productivity. McKuen was truly a child of the Depression. After his mother married, her husband took a job with a Works Progress Administration road-gang, which kept the family moving from state to state for much of McKuen’s childhood. As a result, McKuen’s schooling was spotty. He also suffered under the steady stream of physical abuse inflicted upon him by his step-father. In his later years, McKuen would become a spokesman for children’s rights. After several failed attempts at escaping from his family, at 11 McKuen finally succeeded, fleeing to Elko, Nevada, where he found work as a ranch-hand, spent three years in a Nevada reformatory, and later joined the rodeo circuit as a trick rider. He also began keeping a journal in this period, describing the events of the day, the weather, scraps of dialogue, in an earnest tone that reveals shades of his later development.

Returning to Oakland after a freak injury ended his rodeo career, he was reunited with his mother and half-brother for a time, then volunteered for the draft in 1953, first serving in Tokyo as a “public information specialist,” (McKuen’s words) or, according to one depiction, as a “Psychological Warfare Scriptwriter.” Evening would find McKuen polishing his voice at various Tokyo nightclubs, an activity which resulted in his reassignment to Korea. Also during this time, his first book of poetry was published, a volume entitled *And Autumn Came*. Mustered from duty in 1955, he returned to the Bay Area, where he secured a job singing at a San Francisco nightclub. With his chiseled features and lank, blond hair, he was a natural for movies and it was around this time that Cobina Wright, Sr. of Universal Pictures discovered him and invited him to be her guest in Los Angeles. McKuen spent the next two years as a Contract Player at Universal, taking supporting roles and starring in a few westerns until a dispute over a script left him summarily suspended. With a poet’s impetuosity he then moved to New York, focusing exclusively on his musical career with occasional unsuccessful forays into the world of theater until, in 1962, his throat gave out and he returned to the Bay Area.

In San Francisco, McKuen recovered his voice and began a gestation period in which he traveled, wrote poetry, and collaborated with French composers, co-writing the hit “If You Go Away” with Jacques Brel. Having already developed a cult following, in 1966 he self-published his second book of poetry, *Stanyan Street and Other Sorrows*, selling it through a classified advertisement. Despite this

primitive arrangement, the book sold briskly. It was picked up by Random House. The follow-up, *Listen to the Warm*, perhaps McKuen’s most famous work, was a runaway success. With the publication of *Lonesome Cities*, McKuen could boast of finishing the year with three books on the *Publisher’s Weekly* year-end top ten list, making him the first author in 70 years to do so.

McKuen is the poet critics love to hate, and through the years his books have drawn uniformly unkind reviews. In fact, criticism of his poetry is uniformly vituperative, as if his popular success was a direct affront to the academy at large. McKuen reacts to his critics distaste evasively—“the people who find it easy to criticize my work more often than not haven’t even read it”—or with hurt—“I would be dishonest to say it didn’t bother me.” How could “so devitalized a singer, so bad a poet, so without wit or tune,” as Margot Hentoff wrote, prove such an abiding success? “Why the commercial success with poetry of such poor quality?” was the way critic Andrew Hirt posed the conundrum in the Spring 1970 issue of the *Journal of Popular Culture*. McKuen’s figurative answer—“It just happens I’ve said something at a time when people need to be talked to”—was occasion for Hirt to suggest, “Maybe great masses have latched on to his poetry because it satisfies a desire in them to feel intellectual.”

The brief liner notes from one of McKuen’s albums sums up his appeal to the masses: “Rod McKuen speaks to those who’ve lost them for those who seek them.” His ineffable yearning-to-be-loved poetry stemmed from the trauma of his attenuated childhood, and particularly the absence of his natural father. In 1976, he wrote *Finding My Father*, a book about his unsuccessful quest to find this phantom, the presumptive father who, ironically, died ten years previous to the book’s publication, an ice-man in Santa Monica, only a few short miles from McKuen’s house.

While the period when critics actively loathed him is long over, McKuen remains a seminal figure, not in the arena of poetry where the gates have long since been barred against any serious consideration of his work, but in the annals of publishing where McKuen’s massive popular success may never be equaled again.

—Michael Baers

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## McLish, Rachel (1958—)

Rachel McLish earned immortality by becoming the first woman to win the Ms. Olympia bodybuilding contest in 1980. (The Mr. Olympia contests for men, begun in 1965, had quickly become the sport’s most prestigious title). Even though it was only her third bodybuilding competition, the graceful McLish was the clear choice



Rachel McLish

of the judges. After her victory and the attendant publicity, she became a role model for aspiring young women who wanted to reshape their bodies by training with weights.

McLish, who was of Hispanic descent and was raised in South Texas and trained in ballet, became well known outside of the subculture of bodybuilding with the release of the feature film *Pumping Iron II: The Unprecedented Women* (1985). A pseudo-documentary, *Pumping Iron* concentrated on the differences between the lithe McLish and the heavily muscled Beverly Francis, a power-lifting champion. McLish went on to work in other films and in television, and was seen in *Getting Physical* (1984), *Aces: Iron Eagle III* (1992), and *Raven Hawk* (1996).

—Jan Todd

## McLuhan, Marshall (1911-1980)

As an audience of millions watched the first United States television appearance of the Beatles, a scant few months after the assassination of John F. Kennedy, one person thought to connect these two events. If the new rhythms, the lyrics, and the haircuts of the

Liverpool four brought the first genuine distraction for some from the senselessness of Dallas, for media analyst Marshall McLuhan it brought confirmation of his view that the medium is the message. McLuhan was about to publish his *Understanding Media*, a book that would stake a place for itself amid the turbulent events of the 1960s, explaining them in terms of the effects of electronic technology on the physical senses and sensibilities of mankind.

Born in Edmonton, Canada, McLuhan spent most of his youth in Winnipeg. He attended the University of Manitoba, receiving his B.A., and then an M.A. with a thesis on nineteenth century English novelist George Meredith, before going to Cambridge University, where he earned a Ph.D. in 1942 for his dissertation on the work of sixteenth century dramatist and satirist Thomas Nashe. When McLuhan achieved international renown in the 1960s and 1970s, many people assumed that somewhere between completing the Nashe thesis and publishing *Understanding Media* he had quietly dropped the study of English literature. But in McLuhan's earliest days in Cambridge, and in the earliest days of his teaching career in the United States, literary studies and media analysis were already complementary for him, and remained so.

There are at least two suitable metaphors for McLuhan's life. The first, the title of Edgar Allan Poe's story "A Descent into the Maelstrom," McLuhan himself used for over 30 years in evoking the effects of technology on our bodies, our clothes, our homes, our cities, our jokes, our toys, our words, our weapons, and more. The second metaphor is related to the solution that Poe's sailor finds for surviving the deadly waters of the Maelstrom, but it is McLuhan's own phrase: "escape into understanding."

The phrase is an injunction, the injunction at the center of all McLuhan's teaching and teasing, an invitation to join him on a voyage of discovery. Applied to McLuhan himself, to his life and his legacy, the phrase also summons us to escape from the misunderstandings that surrounded and still surround McLuhan's teachings. Though it was television that he likened to bacteria and poison (prescribing the antidote of reading), journalists could confidently report that he condemned print. If we look carefully at what McLuhan taught, we find him saying that as new media develop they do not so much replace older ones as complicate them. In an age of on-line encyclopedias and dictionaries, and the latest Tom Wolfe available only on CD (compact disc), we may take this for granted; in 1964 it was obvious to few but McLuhan, and just as few reported his percepts with much accuracy.

Even casual inspection of McLuhan's writings makes it apparent that the rich variety of his sources includes fields as diverse as anthropology, economic theory, psychology, philosophy from antiquity to the twentieth century, literary criticism, and English and European literatures spanning four centuries. McLuhan said in *Understanding Media* that language was the first technology by which humans let go of their environment in order to grasp it in a new way. The same book devoted one early chapter to the spoken word (conjuring French symbolist poet Charles Baudelaire but discussing philosopher Henri Bergson) and the next to the written word (subtitle: "An Eye for an Ear"). McLuhan's posthumously published *Laws of Media* transformed the ancient rhetorical device of chiasmus into the dynamic vectors of tetrad structures for describing semiotics, slang, cliché and symbolist poetry, and advanced the notion that all man's artifacts are structurally linguistic and metaphoric. Clearly, probing the nature of language and fully understanding its role in human affairs was a central concern for McLuhan.



**Marshall McLuhan**

Another McLuhan theme, inherited from William Blake, that of cleansing the channels of perception, comes together not only with the entire, timeless, poetic enterprise of offering a critique of language but through the work of James Joyce, I. A. Richards (as well as Richards's sometime collaborator, the mysterious C. K. Ogden), and even the father of modern semiotics, Charles S. Peirce.

Marshall McLuhan knew nothing about galvanic skin response technology, terminal node controllers, or the Apple Newton. He did not know what a biomouse is. But he pointed the way to understanding all of them, not in themselves, but in their relation to each other, to older technologies, and above all in relation to ourselves—our bodies, our physical senses, our psychic balance. He was disturbed about western society moving toward the twenty-first century with nineteenth century perceptions. His writings continue to challenge us to escape into understanding.

—W. Terrence Gordon

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## **McMurtry, Larry (1936—)**

A prolific writer of rare lyrical gifts, Larry McMurtry has enjoyed a reputation as the most eloquent voice of the contemporary American West. Born and raised in rural Texas, McMurtry published his first several novels to critical kudos, but these initial literary efforts won him few home-grown fans. Some Texans were offended by the author's irreverent and unsentimental treatment of his home state, as he exposed the limits of Texas mythology, and portrayed small towns such as Thalia (the fictional equivalent of Archer City, where McMurtry graduated from high school) as desiccated and stifling. Scholar Lera Patrick Tyler Lich describes McMurtry's dusty Thalia as "a place to go insane, a place to be lonely," noting that "a vast expanse around the town and a wind that blows into it seem to choke out life." In later works, McMurtry did equal justice to Texas's sprawling, rowdy cities as crass, commercial meccas of philistinism. Though he continually dismissed his own work as without merit, McMurtry has offered a gallery of indelible images from a region of America caught between a sylvan past and a spiritless urban and suburban future.

McMurtry was a popular high school student, active in sports and on the staffs of student publications, but an ambivalence for his West Texas environs was taking hold in the well-read young writer. After graduating from Rice University with a Master of Arts in English and winning a prestigious Wallace Stegner Fellowship at Stanford University, McMurtry published *Horseman, Pass By* when he was just 26 years old. This wise novel about the decline of the Western way of life is essentially a coming-of-age story, as the young Lonnie Bannon surveys two opposing—and unappetizing—models of male possibility: his rancher grandfather Homer, whose diseased cattle represents a dying era, and Lonnie's Uncle Hud, a callous, cynical lady-killer whose only allegiance is to his own appetites. "Hud had made terms with the twentieth century," McMurtry notes in *In A Narrow Grave*, his volume of essays, "whereas Homer was unwaveringly faithful to the nineteenth." McMurtry deals Western pride a death blow as he documents the cowboy clichés passing into anachronism, as the "horsemen" either race their fancy Cadillacs or else fold up and die. McMurtry's auspicious debut invited comparisons to Thomas Wolfe and James Jones, and became the basis for a widely respected film, *Hud* (1963), with Paul Newman in the title role.

Throughout the 1960s, McMurtry taught English and creative writing and continued to publish compelling novels. The offbeat love story *Leaving Cheyenne* appeared in 1963 (it was filmed in 1973 as *Lovin' Molly*) and in 1966 McMurtry published perhaps his best-known work, *The Last Picture Show*, a bleak evocation of the isolation and emptiness of small-town life. In it he paints a forbidding landscape—"miles of lonesome country" and "a few sandscraped ranch houses." This is a world so lacking in opportunity and ambition that middle-aged town denizens can find little to do but worship high school athletes and prom queens as if they were movie stars, and prey upon them as sex objects. As the new urban frontier lures the talented and the energetic away, and as Thalia's storefronts are boarded up one by one under vast, empty skies, the author depicts "a place's loss of its only coherent tradition," according to scholar Raymond L. Neinstein. With the publication of *The Last Picture Show*, the *New York Times* praised McMurtry as "an alchemist who converts the basest materials to gold." Director Peter Bogdanovich's gritty, black-and-white film adaptation emerged as one of the most admired films of 1971, a contemporary classic contributing, in the words of Pauline Kael, to "a legendary period in movies."

The perceptive and frank *In A Narrow Grave: Essays on Texas* appeared in 1968, followed by the 800-page mega-novel of displacement and ennui, *Moving On* (1970), and *Terms of Endearment* (1975), a moving story of a complex mother-daughter relationship. When the film version of *Terms of Endearment* reached screens it equaled or surpassed the success of previous movie adaptations of McMurtry's work, winning the Academy Award for Best Picture of 1983. In *Somebody's Darling* (1978) and *The Desert Rose* (1983), McMurtry explores other milieus but his favorite themes—tradition versus modernity, country versus city—are much in evidence; the former novel depicts the often mindless vagaries of the Hollywood movie industry, while the latter tells of a sweetly vapid Las Vegas stripper named Harmony and her beautiful but calculating daughter. McMurtry regards Harmony as sort of a distaff cowboy, part of "a dying breed" of buxom, lacquered showgirls. As in his male-dominated works, *The Desert Rose* demonstrates an older generation's innocence and helplessness in an increasingly complicated and ravaging world. Horsemen are not the only ones passing by, into obscurity.

Other McMurtry novels of note include *Cadillac Jack* (1982); the prize-winning nineteenth century epic, *Lonesome Dove* (1985), which spawned a popular television mini-series; *Texasville* (1987), an ambitious and satirical sequel to *The Last Picture Show*; and the elegiac sequel to *Terms of Endearment*, *The Evening Star* (1992).

—Drew Limsky

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## McPherson, Aimee Semple (1890-1944)

A charismatic and gifted Pentecostal preacher, Aimee Semple McPherson gained fame as a barnstorming evangelist in the era of Billy Sunday (depicted so tellingly by Sinclair Lewis in *Elmer Gantry*). In every respect, she was a pioneer and an original—her flamboyant style and colorful personal life guaranteed that she was good press, and her radio broadcasts from the Angelus Temple in Los Angeles drew her flock from coast to coast to hear "Sister Aimee." Her Church of the Foursquare Gospel was a hybrid of show business and Bible-based simplicity. As a minister, her message was "to bring sinners to Jesus." Renowned for her stirring sermons and for healing by a laying on of hands, her following was such that her personal appearances resembled those of movie stars. Charlie Chaplin, an admirer, remarked that "... You give your drama-starved people who absent themselves through fear, a theater which they can reconcile with their narrow beliefs. . . . Whether you like it or not, you're an actress."

The first woman to hold a broadcast license, McPherson was shrewd and farsighted in seeing the potential in a media ministry, and as a healer and media personality she laid the groundwork for preachers such as Oral Roberts, Katherine Kuhlman, and Jim and Tammy Baker. Always well and expensively dressed, she created a persona that withstood controversy and sustained her ministry; the Church of the Foursquare Gospel and the L.I.F.E. Bible College she founded remain active in 83 countries and claim two million members.



Aimee Semple McPherson

Born Aimee Kennedy in 1890 in Salford, Ontario; at the age of six weeks she was “consecrated to God and the Salvation Army” by her mother Minnie, a fervent convert to “the Army” which was making considerable inroads in conservative Canadian towns with “Jubilee services”—music and prayer. With this beginning, Aimee, the child her mother believed marked by destiny to be a religious leader, found the inspiration for her services. A first marriage to Robert Semple led her to accompany the missionary to China, and his death became the impetus for her to pursue her own calling as an evangelist. She married Harold McPherson and unsuccessfully tried to be a conventional wife and mother. By the time her second marriage disintegrated, Aimee had found her calling and was touring the country in her “Full Gospel Car”—first with McPherson and their son Rolf and then with her irrepressible mother Minnie.

Wherever “Sister” went she was an immediate success. The novelty of a woman preacher brought out the crowds, but McPherson’s power as a speaker and her reputation as a formidable “soul-saver” and healer built her reputation. Her early campaigns were conducted in tents, but finally in 1919 McPherson found her home base in the rapidly expanding city of Los Angeles, where the movie business boomed. She frequently recalled that she arrived there with “ten dollars and a tambourine” and her ministry quickly grew from a simple storefront to large auditoriums. “Sister” did not promote herself as a healer, but the crowds came in hope of miracles. She herself said, “Jesus is the healer. I am only the office girl who opens the door and says, ‘Come In.’”

McPherson loved music, and she is credited with bringing popular music into the church—jazz in particular. She later composed operas, a natural outgrowth of her performances in the pulpit which were elaborate spectacles featuring “Sister” in costume, props (which included animals) and a supporting cast of followers. In just four years she opened the 5,300 seat Angelus Temple, built by the contributions of her faithful, “entirely debt-free” as she proudly asserted.

McPherson continued to travel the world, always grabbing headlines. A 1927 New York appearance requested by the notorious Texas Guinan, (“Queen of the Nightclubs”) was reported as “Evangelist Preaches at Speakeasy.” Her appearance became increasingly glamorous as her fame swelled the congregation. Now blonde-haired as any movie queen, “Sister” preached the Gospel while controversy swirled about her personal life. The most notorious incident, which significantly affected her reputation, was the sensational 1926 “kidnapping” from a California beach. McPherson always insisted she had been snatched, drugged, and held captive in Mexico, and later escaped. Upon her triumphant “return from the dead” (after being believed drowned), “Sister” greeted a cheering crowd of 50,000 people and led a procession to the Angelus Temple. Subsequent attempts to prove she was actually holed up in a “love nest” with Kenneth Ormiston, her radio operator and a married man, were not enough to destroy her popularity. The press, previously friendly, were now her inquisitors. Squabbles (primarily financial) with her mother, her daughter Roberta, and other Temple officials made news and landed her in court on a regular basis, yet McPherson continued to insist that she wanted nothing more than to preach “that old-time religion.” A poor judge of character, she married a third husband, David Hutton, despite her own doctrine that a divorced person should not remarry during the life of the former partner. This marriage ended disastrously, and her health, always fragile, began to give way. Her death at the age of 53 in 1944 gave rise to speculation that she had

committed suicide, and the evidence remains inconclusive, like so much in Aimee Semple McPherson’s life.

What is evident is that her celebrity allowed her a considerable platform to both preach and to administer her extensive social welfare programs during the Great Depression. She remained popular until the end: 60,000 mourners passed by her funeral bier to say a last goodbye to “Sister.” Her legacy is the Church of the Foursquare Gospel, now headed by her son Rolf, and by her example helped women gain a place as ministers in a patriarchal religion. While there has been relatively little scholarly attention given to McPherson, journalists and filmmakers have retold her story with relish. Faye Dunaway played her in a well-received 1976 television film, *The Disappearance of Aimee*.

—Mary Hess

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## McQueen, Butterfly (1911-1995)

As Scarlett O’Hara’s slave Prissy in *Gone with the Wind*, Thelma “Butterfly” McQueen probably did more than any other entertainer to further the typecasting of African American actors and actresses in menial roles; as a life-long advocate for racial equality in Hollywood, she certainly did as much as anyone to put an end to such discrimination. One of the most widely recognized black actresses of her era, McQueen’s 1947 decision to abandon cinema for a lifetime of menial labor helped pressure the film industry into abandoning its long-standing practice of relegating African Americans to menial roles. Yet throughout her six decade career, McQueen was plagued by her most celebrated on-screen line: Prissy’s admission to Miss Scarlett that “I dunno nothin’ ’bout birthing babies.”

Born on January 11, 1911 in Tampa, Florida, to a stevedore and a domestic, Thelma McQueen intended to study nursing in New York City until a high school teacher suggested that she try her hand at acting. After studying under Janet Collins, McQueen danced with the Venezuela Jones Negro Youth Group and debuted on stage in George Abbott’s *Brown Sugar*. Around this time she acquired the nickname “Butterfly”—a tribute to her constantly moving hands—for her performance in the *Butterfly Ballet* (1935). She then moved on to the large screen where she appeared as Lulu, the cosmetics counter assistant, in *The Women* (1939). Yet it was as Prissy, the whiny, comic, tearful and almost pathetic house slave in David Selznick’s *Gone with the Wind*, that the 28-year-old actress gained instant acclaim. The part was a minor one. McQueen, originally turned down for the role as too old and too dignified, transformed it into one of the leading character performances of all time. She stole scenes from



**Butterfly McQueen**

stars Vivien Leigh and Clark Gable with her careful blend of the sassy and the obsequious. Prissy's admission to Scarlett O'Hara (Leigh) that she can not assist at the child-bed of Melanie Wilkes (Olivia de Havilland) attracted an outpouring of sympathy from white audiences. McQueen, however, instantly regretted her contribution to black stereotyping. "It was not a pleasant part to play," she observed. "I didn't want to be that little slave. But I did my best, my very best." Late in life, she came to terms with the part. "Now I'm happy I did *Gone with the Wind*," she told *The Washington Post* in an interview. "I wasn't when I was twenty-eight, but it's a part of black history. You have no idea how hard it is for black actors, but things change, things blossom with time."

McQueen contributed to that progress when, after bit parts as maids in *Mildred Pierce* (1945) and *Flame of the Barbary Coast* (1945), she abandoned Hollywood to work as a real-life maid, a taxi dispatcher, and a Macy's salesgirl. Although she returned briefly to acting as one of television's first black stars, creating the role of the maid Oriole on *The Beulah Show* (1950-1953), the proud actress eventually refused to be typecast in demeaning parts and publicly declared her frustration with racial attitudes in the film industry. Her outspoken opposition to discrimination helped open doors for successors such as Paul Robeson and Sidney Poitier. McQueen devoted the remainder of her life to a variety of causes including the Freedom From Religion Foundation and the Humane Society. She earned a bachelor's degree in political science from The City College of New York at the age of 64. When McQueen finally returned to cinema, playing Clarice in *Amazing Grace* (1974) and Ma Kennywick in *Mosquito Coast* (1986), African American actors ranked among the

largest box office draws in the nation. The "Beautiful Butterfly" was killed in a house fire on December 22, 1995.

McQueen's plight as an actress paralleled that of many African Americans in the era before the Civil Rights movement. Forced to choose between minor, often subservient parts or complete exclusion from film, McQueen came to believe that no roles were better than regressive ones. "I hated it," she stated. "The part of Prissy was so backward. I was always whining and complaining." Ironically, it was McQueen's complaint against the film industry that helped relegate such parts to the footnotes of history.

—Jacob M. Appel

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## McQueen, Steve (1930-1980)

The highest-paid movie actor of the 1960s and early 1970s, Steve McQueen was thought to be the most popular star of his generation. The essence of early 1960s cool, McQueen established his reputation as America's heroic anti-hero in films such as *The Magnificent Seven* and *The Great Escape*. The charismatic and macho McQueen went on to become one of the decade's most sought-after leading men, helping to forever define the qualities looked for in cinematic action heroes. Following his untimely death at age 50, McQueen has remained an enduring pop culture icon—that rare performer whose work transcends the era in which he lived and becomes timeless.

The early life of Terence Steve McQueen reads like a movie script—a single mother raises her only child during the Depression after being abandoned by her husband, and young Steve grows up a troubled boy with little interest in schooling. When his mother remarried, his stepfather beat him and the teenager rebelled by getting into trouble with the law. At age fifteen, he was sent to a reform school called Boys Republic in Chino, California. A year and a half later, he left the school and hit the road, working as a sailor, lumberjack, and later in the oil fields of Texas. At 17, McQueen joined the Marines for three years. Although he did 41 days in the brig for going AWOL (absent without leave), he received an honorable discharge and decided to move to New York City. There he underwent a revelation that transformed his life.

Twenty-year-old Steve McQueen loved New York City. He would later say, "For the first time in my life, I was really exposed to music, culture, a little kindness, a little sensitivity. It was a way of life where people talked out their problems instead of punching you." When he was introduced to famed drama coach Sanford Meisner by one of his girlfriends—an aspiring actress—McQueen became intrigued with acting and decided to audition for a play. With his



Steve McQueen (left) and James Garner (right) in a scene from the film *The Great Escape*.

ruggedly handsome, blond, good looks, McQueen was cast in a bit part and fell in love with the theatre. He enrolled in Meisner's Neighborhood Playhouse and began earnestly to work at learning the craft of acting. With his tuition paid by the GI Bill, McQueen went on to study with Uta Hagen, Herbert Berghof, and finally Lee Strasberg, where he was one of five students out of 2,000 applicants selected to join the prestigious Actors' Studio. A student of the classics, McQueen honed his craft in summer stock and in touring companies before finally making it to Broadway.

Offstage, however, Steve McQueen remained a rebel—riding motorcycles, having serial affairs with countless women, and generally living the bohemian life in Greenwich Village, before meeting and falling in love with dancer Neile Adams. Steve was smitten with the beautiful and talented Adams, and the couple moved in together almost immediately. Not long thereafter, the 26-year-old actor was cast in his first movie. Originally hired as an extra in *Somebody Up There Likes Me*, the story of Rocky Graziano starring Paul Newman, McQueen was noticed by director Robert Wise, who gave McQueen a small speaking role.

But it was not McQueen's movie debut that prompted the young actor to move to Hollywood a few months after the wrap of the film. McQueen loved New York and seemed content to find acting work there. But when Neile Adams was cast in Robert Wise's next film,

which was to be filmed in California, McQueen reluctantly agreed to head West. After a difficult period of adjustment, McQueen and Adams decided to get married and, while his wife was making pictures, Steve began to find steady work in television. Then, in 1958, he landed his first supporting role in a film, *Never Love a Stranger*, playing a lawyer. His next film, the cult classic, *The Blob*, starred McQueen as a handsome high school loner. Both films were only moderately successful but, six weeks after their release, Steve McQueen became a household name as the star of television's *Wanted: Dead or Alive*, playing bounty hunter Josh Randall.

Capitalizing on his newfound fame, McQueen began to receive above-title billing in his films. But it was not until he was cast in the 1960 Western, *The Magnificent Seven*, that McQueen found his niche playing Vin, a quiet but deadly gunslinger. Inspired by Kurosawa's *The Seven Samurai*, and featuring an all-star cast that included Yul Brynner, Eli Wallach, James Coburn, Charles Bronson, and Robert Vaughn, *The Magnificent Seven* became a huge hit and McQueen, playing the second lead, began to mold his public image.

Although the handsome McQueen would continue to be cast in romantic leads, film audiences particularly loved him as the defiant anti-hero in films such as *Hell Is for Heroes* and *The Great Escape* (1963), which catapulted him to international stardom. As Judith Crist wrote in her review for the *New York Herald Tribune*, "Steve



McQueen plays a familiar American war-movie type—brash, self-interested, super-brave emoter. For sheer bravura, whether he's pounding a baseball in his catcher's mitt in solitary or stumping cross-country on a motorcycle with scores of Germans in pursuit, Steve McQueen takes the honors. McQueen's likable machismo captured the public imagination and landed him on the cover of *Life* magazine.

For the remainder of the 1960s and well into the 1970s, Steve McQueen would be one of Hollywood's most popular leading men. As noted in Katz's *Film Encyclopedia*, "He was one of that rare breed of film stars who didn't have to act or do anything else to mesmerize a screen audience. He could dominate the screen and fill the box-office coffers on the force of his personality alone." Starring opposite some of Hollywood's most beautiful actresses—from Natalie Wood in *Love with the Proper Stranger* to Candace Bergen in *The Sand Pebbles* and Ali McGraw (whom he would later marry) in *The Getaway*—McQueen's rugged good looks made him a top leading man. But still it was in his role as action hero that McQueen continued to carve out a unique niche for himself, in films such as *The Cincinnati Kid* and *Bullitt*.

Throughout his career, McQueen continued to surprise fans and critics alike with the depths of his acting ability. Nominated for an Academy Award for *The Sand Pebbles*, McQueen later more than held his own co-starring with Dustin Hoffman in *Papillon* in 1973. But after starring in *The Towering Inferno* in 1974, McQueen decided that he only wanted to act opposite his new wife, Ali McGraw. When no offers surfaced for the couple, McQueen hoped to begin directing. His efforts, however, were thwarted and a disgruntled McQueen began to let himself go, gaining more than 30 pounds and refusing to cut his hair or beard. One of Hollywood's most popular movie stars for more than a decade, McQueen did not make another movie until 1978, and when he finally reappeared on screen; it was in an unlikely role. Longing to return to his theatrical roots, McQueen brought Henrik Ibsen's classic play, *An Enemy of the People*, to the screen. But having been out of the public eye for almost five years, McQueen's popularity had begun to wane and even a return to an action role in *The Hunter* (1980) did nothing to restore McQueen's stardom.

Diagnosed with cancer later that same year, McQueen, who had long been afraid of doctors, refused to consent to ordinary medical treatment and instead sought out questionable alternative therapies in Tijuana, Mexico. Hounded by the press, McQueen eventually succumbed to his illness in November 1980. Despite his early death, Steve McQueen has remained one of Hollywood's most enduring stars. His influence on film and popular culture helped to jumpstart the action movie craze of the 1980s and 1990s.

—Victoria Price

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## Me Decade

The 1970s have been referred to as many things, but are often remembered as a decade of selfish and self-indulgent behaviour. In

*Habits of the Heart*, one of the most influential books about the decade, Robert Bellah noted that "there has been a shift from a socially integrated paradigm for structuring well-being, to a more personal or individuated paradigm for structuring well-being." Following the stereotypical homogeneity of the 1950s and the tumult of the 1960s, many American institutions had broken down and Americans were left with very little holding them together. In lieu of such common fabric, many scholars argue that Americans in the 1970s formed the "me generation."

The political crises of Vietnam and Watergate, coupled with record high inflation, forced many Americans to retreat from social concerns in order to think more singularly about personal growth and success during the 1970s. Self-help books proliferated, and offered advice far different from the "work hard and succeed" mantra that had guided previous generations. Bestsellers like Wayne Dyer's *Your Erroneous Zones* (1976) and Thomas Anthony Harris's *I'm O.K., You're O.K.* (1969) urged readers to know and accept themselves and to celebrate who they were, and Werner Erhard's est seminars used strict training within a group format to build self-awareness and offer individual fulfillment. George and Nena O'Neill's *Open Marriage: A New Life Style for Couples* (1972) advised couples to take their newfound self-knowledge and share it with others within the context of a marriage that allowed multiple sexual partners. Those who sought self-knowledge without the touchy-feely psychologizing took part in some of the many health and fitness fads that blossomed during the 1970s, including the jogging craze and the growth of interest in healthy cooking and vegetarianism.

Though individuals seemed bent on pursuing personal growth, social and economic changes in the 1970s brought a new homogeneity to American culture. Business growth generated massive mergers and the formation of conglomerates that would lay the framework for an economic shift toward service industries. Many such enterprises expanded globally, creating multinational companies that soon exceeded the power of the nations in which they operated. McDonald's, for instance, erected 4,000 new outlets during the 1970s. What McDonald's did for hamburgers, Holiday Inn did for travel, Kmart for retailing, and 7-11 stores for neighborhood groceries. Every American city of any size had a "miracle mile" or "strip" nearly identical to that of every other. And, as more white Americans left the troubled inner cities for the safer suburbs, the homogeneity of community life increased as well.

Rick Moody's 1994 novel *The Ice Storm* (filmed in 1997 by director Ang Lee) dissected the sense of anomie that lay at the heart of those living in the me decade. Moody depicted a set of bored middle-aged adults whose search for happiness in drink, work, or with their neighbor's spouse leaves them blind to the collapse of their family life. Moody captured the stereotype of the decade; like all stereotypes, it contained more than a grain of truth.

—Brian Black

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## Meadows, Audrey (1924?-1996)

Actress Audrey Meadows was born Audrey Cotter in 1924 (though her birthdate is listed in other sources between 1921 and 1926) to Episcopal missionary parents in Wu Chang, China. She intended to become a journalist, but her sister, Jayne, persuaded her to pursue a career in show business. Meadows had an on-again, off-again career on television, radio, and the Broadway stage when she happened upon her most famous, and memorable, role as Alice Kramden on *The Jackie Gleason Show* in 1952. At first considered too young and pretty for the role of the long-suffering wife of Ralph Kramden, loud-mouthed bus driver and perennial hatcher of get-rich-schemes, Meadows submitted photos to Gleason of herself dressed in dowdy dresses with her hair askew. He hired her for the role, which had originally been created by Pert Kelton on the “Honeymooners” sketches on Gleason’s *Cavalcade of Stars*. When Gleason brought the show to CBS in 1952, he replaced Kelton with Meadows. She performed in “The Honeymooners” sketches on his hour long show from 1952 to 1955 and then in the classic 39 episodes of *The Honeymooners* from October 1955 to September 1956. She played Alice as strong but practical and understanding in her constant crusade to better the Kramdens’ life while opposing her blustering husband’s relentless pursuit of crack-brained schemes to get rich. She was nominated for four Emmys as Best Actress in a Supporting Role from 1953 through 1956, winning the coveted award in 1954. Meadows did some guest shots on television dramas and panel shows, and she had a featured role in the Cary Grant/Doris Day film *That Touch of Mink* (1962). After marrying Continental Airlines chairman Robert Six, she retired from show business. In 1977 she returned to television for a *Honeymooners* reunion and followed with guest shots on *The Love Boat* and other shows, as well as a recurring role on *Too Close For Comfort* in 1982-1983. Audrey Meadows died of lung cancer on February 3, 1996.

—James R. Belpedio

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## *Mean Streets*

Made in 27 days on a very modest budget, *Mean Streets* is arguably Martin Scorsese’s first significant film. A hit at the 1973 New York Film Festival, important popular critics like Pauline Kael and Vincent Canby were taken with its freshness and rough, documentary quality, comparing it to French New Wave films like Godard’s *Breathless* (1959), Truffaut’s *400 Blows* (1959), or American John Cassavetes’ intimate, improvisational *Faces* (1968) and *Husbands* (1970). Critic Joseph Kanton even saw the film as part of an indigenous American New Wave which, along with

films like George Lucas’ *American Grafitti* (1973), Ralph Bakshi’s *Heavy Traffic* (1973), and Lamont Johnson’s *The Last American Hero* (1973), brought a new “energy and originality” to the American cinema.

Scorsese, however, claims that the film’s visual quality, both documentary-like and expressionistic at the same time, derives as much from budgetary limitations as it does from aesthetic choices. Whatever the source of the film’s style, it was greeted as a breath of stylistic fresh air, and as a breakthrough film for a promising young director who eventually became one of the most significant American filmmakers of his generation.

Like much of Scorsese’s early work, *Mean Streets* is about “the neighborhood.” Scorsese argues that, “*Mean Streets* was an attempt to put myself and my old friends on the screen, to show how we lived, what life was like in Little Italy. It was really an anthropological or a sociological tract.” As in many Scorsese films, Catholicism and the Italian-American experience are at the heart of his thinking, and the film can be seen as a continuation of his earlier *Who’s That Knocking at My Door* (1969), with some real life experiences and family legends added in.

*Mean Streets* is also the first of Scorsese’s three gangster films, the others being *GoodFellas* (1990) and *Casino* (1995), and he has argued that he meant it as a homage to the Warner’s gangster cycle of the 1930s and 1940s. Like many filmmakers of his generation, Scorsese is in love with the cinema, and his films, including *Mean Streets*, are filled with references and homages to his own favorite films like John Ford’s *The Searchers* (1956). *Mean Streets* is also the first pairing of actors Robert De Niro and Harvey Keitel, a pairing which would culminate in Scorsese’s brilliant and controversial *Taxi Driver* in 1976.

The plot of *Mean Streets* is a loosely woven series of episodes in the life of Charlie Cappa, Jr. (Keitel), a small time gangster who works for his uncle Giovanni, a powerful and respected Mafia don. Charlie is a street kid who is caught between his childhood friends and his demanding uncle, and he is obsessed with religion, guilt, and the need to do penance—but not the simple penance prescribed by the church. As Charlie says, “You don’t make up for your sins in the church. You do it in the streets.” A born peacemaker, Charlie is a good, but rather ineffectual man—a saint, Scorsese argues—who lives on the margins in a world of violent gangsters and small-time thugs.

His struggle to survive is set against a sound track composed of rock and roll songs popular in his time. This use of popular music is a significant Scorsese stylistic flourish. Unlike other films where the use of rock and roll has become a cliché, Scorsese carefully chooses the songs for their thematic and atmospheric relevance to both plot and character development.

*Mean Streets* is set in a small, self-contained society, a closed world where the rules of behavior are strictly enforced. Charlie’s main problem is his relationship with Johnny Boy (De Niro), a free spirit who violates social convention with humorous abandon. Johnny Boy is an obsessive, over-the-top gambler who owes everyone in the neighborhood money—money which he never pays back. This leads him into conflict with both Giovanni and Michael (Richard Romanus), a small time loan shark who ultimately takes his revenge on both Charlie and Johnny Boy. In some sense Johnny Boy is Charlie’s ultimate penance and in the end Charlie cannot redeem him—or himself. But the lively Johnny Boy also has the joy of life so lacking in the conventional and obsessed Charlie. It is exactly this complexity of

character development and storyline that makes *Mean Streets* a classic Scorsese film.

—Jeannette Sloniowski

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## Media Feeding Frenzies

Sharks tend to be solitary creatures, but blood in the water can draw them from a long distance away. Sometimes, when a number of sharks are consuming the same prey, they can be gripped by a kind of hysteria in which they frantically attack their food, each other, and anything else that may happen by. Such a display of mindless bloodlust is known as a “feeding frenzy.” And according to William Safire, this expression was first applied to reporters in 1977, in a speech given by Gerald L. Warren, editor of the *San Diego Union*. Warren compared the overly aggressive tactics of some journalists to “sharks in a feeding frenzy.” Today, the term usually refers to the covering of a story by a large number of reporters, who do their work aggressively, intrusively, persistently, and, in some cases, recklessly.

A media feeding frenzy usually stems from two elements: a celebrity and a scandal. “Celebrity” can be used to describe anyone well-known to the public, such as an actor, politician, or star athlete. “Scandal” usually involves allegations of immoral behavior—often, but not always, of a sexual nature. The two biggest scandals to attract the American media’s attention in the 1990s were President Bill Clinton’s relationship with White House intern Monica Lewinsky, and athlete-turned-sportscaster O. J. Simpson’s trial for the murder of his wife, Nicole, and her friend, Ron Goldman.

Some feeding frenzies have taken place even when celebrity involvement was lacking. In 1992, teenager Amy Fisher, dubbed the “Long Island Lolita,” was accused of attempting to murder the wife of Joey Buttafuoco, her considerably older boyfriend. The salacious elements of the story (including the revelation that the 17-year-old Fisher had been working as a call girl) were enough to create a frenzy—first in the New York City media market, and, eventually, nationwide—despite the fact that none of those involved were public figures. Four years later, Atlanta security guard Richard Jewell was accused of involvement in the Olympic Park bombing that killed one person and injured several others at the 1996 summer games. The

media frenzy, which all but convicted Jewell in the court of public opinion, began with a leaked FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation) report saying that Jewell was the “focus” of the investigation. Jewell was ultimately cleared of any involvement in the bombing, and he successfully sued several media outlets for defaming his character.

But media feeding frenzies most commonly involve scandals of the famous. In America, they have focused on the misbehavior of presidents (Clinton and Lewinsky; Richard Nixon and Watergate), presidential candidates (Clinton and Jennifer Flowers; Gary Hart and Donna Rice; Joseph Biden and speech plagiarism), vice presidential candidates (Dan Quayle’s military service; Thomas Eagleton’s mental health), members of Congress (Ted Kennedy and Chappaquiddick; Wilbur Mills and stripper Fanne Foxe; Bob Packwood and a host of women), Cabinet nominees (John Tower and allegations of drunkenness and womanizing), Supreme Court nominees (Robert Bork and allegations of racism and sexism; Clarence Thomas and sexual harassment charges by Anita Hill), sports figures (Pete Rose and gambling; Mike Tyson and rape; Billie Jean King and a lesbian affair), television evangelists (Jimmy Swaggart and prostitutes; Jim and Tammy Fae Bakker and corruption), and movie stars (Hugh Grant and a prostitute; Eddie Murphy and a cross-dressing male prostitute).

Although the terminology may be of relatively recent origin, media feeding frenzies are not new phenomena. One of the worst frenzies of the twentieth century took place in 1935. It stemmed from the trial of Bruno Hauptmann for the kidnapping and murder of the 18-month-old son of Charles Lindbergh. In this case the celebrity (Lindbergh, who, in 1927, had been the first to cross the Atlantic Ocean in an airplane) was a victim, not the alleged perpetrator, but that did not stop the Hauptmann trial from turning into a three-ring circus that would have made P. T. Barnum proud. Reporters declared Hauptmann guilty before the trial had even begun; drunken journalists caroused in the streets of Flemington, the small New Jersey town where the trial was held; and reporters in the packed courtroom were able to pass notes to both the prosecutors and defense lawyers as the trial took place. So egregious was the conduct of the press on this occasion that it prompted the American Bar Association to pass its Canon 35, which led to the banning of cameras and radio microphones from all courtrooms. It was a restriction that lasted for 15 years, and even then it was only amended, not abolished. Judges were given discretion about allowing television cameras into their courtrooms, as well as complete control over the ways the cameras were used when their presence was permitted.

According to Professor Larry Sabato of the University of Virginia, several developments in modern society underlie the rash of feeding frenzies noted in recent years. A major factor is the changing nature of the news business, especially its greatly increased scope, speed, and competitiveness.

There is much more news coverage in the 1990s than was available just 20 years before. This is especially true of television, the source for most of the news that Americans receive. Although the half-hour of network news at dinnertime remains a staple, even the networks have added to their coverage of feature stories by offering a plethora of prime-time “magazine shows” such as *60 Minutes*, *20/20*, *48 Hours*, and *Dateline NBC*. Additionally, cable television offers a wide variety of news programming, much of it available 24 hours a day. Cable News Network (CNN) was the first to provide this service and was successful enough to spin off a second channel, Headline News. This has led to such ventures as CNBC, MS-NBC, and Fox News Channel, with more still to come. In addition, sports networks like ESPN offer news coverage of athletes, both on and off the field;

entertainment channels, such as E!, present news focusing on films, television, and popular music; and specialized “ethnic” cable networks provide news programs geared toward blacks, Latinos, or other ethnic or racial groups. There is, in short, an immense amount of news being offered to the American (and international) viewer every day. That void has to be filled somehow, which places heavy demands upon those who find, report, and package the news.

As a result of the sheer amount of news programming that is available, and the rapidity with which it can be collected and presented to the public, competition between news organizations has reached a new level of intensity. This is one of the prime reasons behind media feeding frenzies. When a “newsworthy” story breaks, a large number of journalists will descend on the scene of the story, driven to find material to fill the many hours of news broadcasting, and eager to outdo the competition in discovering new angles to pursue. If the story has elements that make it especially “newsworthy” (i.e., celebrities and scandal), then the feeding frenzy will begin in earnest.

Another important reason for the increase in the number and intensity of feeding frenzies derives from the way that both journalists and the public have come to view news. For instance, among reporters there has been seen a marked decrease in civility. This manifests itself in such practices as reporters swarming around a public figure, cameras running and microphones extended, as well as the practice called “ambush interviewing,” wherein a reporter, usually with a minicam operator in tow, will attempt to surprise an interview subject who has already shown a disinclination to talk to the media.

But the largest difference in terms of civility in the late twentieth century is that, for journalists, nothing is considered “off limits” anymore. For instance, President John F. Kennedy is known today to have been a chronic womanizer, and his weakness was no secret to most White House correspondents during the Kennedy administration. But there were no exposes in the media about Kennedy’s many affairs, because journalistic conventions of the day held that private sexual conduct was not newsworthy unless it affected public behavior. Those who followed the frantic media coverage of President Bill Clinton’s sexual involvement with a White House intern (and possibly other women, as well) can easily discern how much media ethics have changed since the early 1960s.

The way that journalists approach the gathering of news has also been affected by an increased cynicism within the profession. It is doubtful that experienced reporters were ever given to wide-eyed naivete, but events over the last several decades have done much to prompt the Fourth Estate to expect the worst of the public figures they cover. President Lyndon Johnson’s rhetoric justifying American involvement in Vietnam eventually led journalists to coin the term “credibility gap”—which meant that many people thought that Johnson had engaged in deliberate deception in his relations both with reporters and the American people. A few years later, the Watergate scandal revealed the lengths to which a president could go to deceive the press, manipulate public opinion, and attack his political enemies. In the following decade, reporters covering the Iran-Contra scandal learned how an uninvolved president, “plausible deniability,” and the judicious use of paper shredders could combine to violate the law and undermine the nation’s foreign policy.

At times, journalistic cynicism seems to be matched by public prurience. As is shown by the ready market for such “tabloid television” programs as *Hard Copy* and *A Current Affair* (as well as their print counterparts, which are available at any supermarket checkout lane), there is a substantial appetite for sleaze in this

country. Many Americans are loath to admit their taste for such programs, perhaps out of embarrassment, but the numbers speak for themselves. At the height of the media feeding frenzy over the O.J. Simpson criminal trial, a network anchor was asked for his reaction to polls that showed a large percentage of Americans claiming to be disgusted with the media’s obsessive coverage of every aspect of the case. “They may say that,” the anchorman replied, “but look at the ratings. Our evening news numbers are up since trial coverage started, and every ‘Special O. J. Report’ we do in prime time pulls in bigger audiences than our regular programming usually gets. . . . People may say they don’t like this stuff,” he concluded, “but they still watch it—they watch it a lot.”

Apart from whatever media feeding frenzies may say about American culture, they pose other concerns, as well. One involves journalistic objectivity. Journalists involved in the excitement of a scandal story soon begin to take sides, whether they recognize it or not. If a President is accused of sexual misconduct, reporters know that the audience interest is usually in what he did and with whom, not in an evenhanded sifting of the evidence, with full weight given to the denials by the accused. Thus, sides are taken, and objectivity falls by the wayside.

If objectivity is endangered by feeding frenzies, accuracy may not be far behind. A reporter who finds a new angle to a story, or an undiscovered bit of evidence, knows that the competition is not far away. The glory, acclaim, and fame come from being first with the story. This leaves precious little time to double check information, or to ponder the credibility of those providing it. Of course, one can always issue a retraction for a mistake, but retractions never seem to be accorded the same audience attention as allegations, and there is often no way a retraction can wipe out the harm that may have been done.

Furthermore, any news program (or publication) is subject to zero-sum logic. That means, for every minute (or column inch, in print) devoted to Story A, there is correspondingly less time available for Stories B, C, and D. The subject of a media feeding frenzy will almost always be given considerable air time—such a story generally guarantees good ratings, competing stations will almost certainly feature it, and news editors have to be able to justify the resources allocated to the covering of the story. The result is that the “frenzy” story will take up a significant portion of the newscast, and other stories, regardless of their import, will likely receive short shrift—and short segments. And this practice will probably be repeated, night after night, for as long as the story remains current.

The principal fact to keep in mind about the news business is that it is a business. Although the Constitution says that the news media have a public service obligation, in practice public service today is considered far less important than the bottom line. Feeding frenzies take place because the result of all this frenetic news coverage, to use an old phrase, “sells papers.” And the future does not appear to offer hope for much improvement. Competition between news outlets is likely to increase in intensity, and the technology of information transmission will only become faster. As a result, the media feeding frenzies of the future may make the coverage of the O. J. Simpson trial look like a model of good taste and self-restraint.

—Justin Gustainis

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## Medicine Shows

From about 1870 until World War I, the medicine show was a major form of American popular entertainment, rivaling the traveling circus in popularity. The antecedents of the medicine show date back to the performances of European mountebanks—quack doctors who worked from small temporary stages. The harangues of these quacks were accompanied by performances from popular entertainers. Musicians, circus acts, jugglers, conjurers, and comedy-players became allies of these pitchmen.

By the early 1700s acrobats and street performers were all over the colonies. Quacks and peddlers, working alone or with a few assistants, soon allied themselves with these performers. Selling from the back of a wagon (the high pitch) or from a tripod set up on a street (the low pitch), the medicine men gathered a crowd, entertained it, and peddled fake panaceas that caused little or no harm. Their remedies and potions were generally harmless concoctions, usually herb compounds mixed with liniment, oil, alcohol, and sugar.

The increase both in the size and popularity of the medicine shows mirrored the phenomenal growth of the American patent medicine industry. As the United States industrialized after the Civil War, manufacturers promoted their products with saturation advertising in newspapers, as well as outdoor advertising on barns and other structures throughout the countryside. They moved from the individual pitch of the mountebank to a large scale Barnumesque extravaganza. Medicine shows appropriated the growing repertoire of American Popular Entertainments, adding trick shooters, banjo artists, and minstrelsy. The shows became advertising vehicles for manufacturers who craved a national market. The largest companies sent out their own shows to sell their line of products.

The medicine shows were most popular in small cities and towns where they were often the only live professional entertainment available to inhabitants from year to year. Charging little or no admission, the shows essentially offered free entertainment in order to sell medicinal cures and merchandise. As with minstrelsy and the circus, a parade down main street heralded the arrival of the show. Bills often changed nightly to encourage repeat business and performers had to be skilled in presenting a melange of songs, dances, and skits, as well as the traditional afterpiece, an extended sketch which involved violent clowning, unfeeling stereotypes (often a blackface character), and a sheeted ghost. Entertainment composed two-thirds of a two hour show, with the remainder devoted to pitches for soaps, tonics, and gadgets such as liver pads which contained a spot of red pepper and glue which when melted provided a sense of warmth and good health.

Ersatz doctors delivered the medical pitches, exalting the miraculous powers of the products. The prestige of German Universities provided the inspiration for German "Doctors," while the mystery of the Far East provided rural audiences with Oriental healers and remedies. The culture of the American Indian inspired the most famous of all shows. As Native Americans were pushed further West,

confined to reservations, and, ultimately, eliminated from the life of the burgeoning nation, popular culture seized on them as a symbol of natural health and fitness. The Kickapoo Indian Medicine Company sent out the biggest and most elaborate of the touring shows. Founded in 1881 (and having no connection with the Kickapoo Nation), the company promoted a full range of cures, including cough syrups, Indian Oils, and Worm Expellers, and, most famously, Kickapoo Indian Sagwa (an invented word) advertised as a cure to dyspepsia, rheumatism, and other ailments. A mixture of Iroquois, Sioux, Crees, and Pawnees, whose services were often leased from Indian agents on reservations, pitched and promoted these products from a traveling Indian village and presented standard Indian show fare, such as War Dances, Marriage Ceremonies, and Lectures, as well as, in some instances, Irish and blackface comedy.

By 1920 increasing modernization, the mobility brought about by the automobile, the rise of motion pictures, and, not least, the effects of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 had all combined to alter the nature of small town life and eliminate the lure and excitement of the medicine show. The 1938 Food, Drug, and Cosmetics Act mandated harsher penalties for fake medicines. The form sputtered on into the 1950s and the last show abandoned the road in 1964. The descendants of the quacks and pitchmen live on in the purveyors of "healing" crystals, relaxation tapes, and purveyors of glandular extracts and dietary supplements that regularly appear at both street and country fairs.

—Louis Scheeder

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## Meet Me in St. Louis

Released in 1944 by Metro Goldwyn Mayer (MGM) studios, *Meet Me in St. Louis* became one of Hollywood's most popular musicals. Mixing family melodrama with light comedy and whimsical romance, it features one of the entertainment world's most compelling voices, Judy Garland, and was directed by the man who would become Garland's husband, Vincente Minnelli, who was considered one of Hollywood's finest musical directors. An early example of Technicolor, *Meet Me in St. Louis* glows with extravagant warmth both visually and thematically, evoking nostalgia in its World War II audience for its depiction of American turn-of-the-twentieth-century domestic tranquility and prewar innocence.

The story centers on a year in the life of the Smith family as they anticipate the opening of the 1904 Exposition in St. Louis. The patriarch, Alonzo Smith, played by Leon Ames, is a hard working lawyer often oblivious to the comings and goings of his own family, even as he sounds the voice of familial authority. His wife, Anna Smith, portrayed by Mary Astor, is a traditional maternal figure, in charge of the home but willing to concede to her husband's wishes. The romantic angst of her two oldest daughters, Rose (Lucille



Judy Garland in a scene from the film *Meet Me in St. Louis*.

Bremer) and Esther (Judy Garland), concerns her as much as does the quality of catsup the family housekeeper, Katie (Marjorie Main), busily brews in the opening scene. The home constitutes her domain while the public sphere belongs to Alonzo. Rounding out the Smith family are Princeton-bound son Lon (Henry Daniels) and youngest children, Agnes (Joan Carroll) and Tootie, played by child star Margaret O'Brien who won a special Academy Award for her performance, and Grandpa Prophater (Harry Davenport).

The matrimonial state of the eldest sibling, Rose, offers the first hint of anxiety as she rather desperately attempts to prompt a proposal from her beau who is away in New York. Esther develops a crush on new neighbor, John Truett (Tom Drake), but because she is only a teenager the situation is not dire, giving rise only to one of the film's lasting songs, "The Boy Next Door." The little girls play mock-morbid games with dolls they have deemed terminally ill or already dead and collude with a gang of fellow Halloween hooligans to "kill" Mr. Brokauff, a neighbor with ethnic, middle-European physical features. Tootie's mission to throw flour in his face forms a dark xenophobic edge to the film's depiction of a prosperous, mid-western

town wanting for nothing. Each family member takes a turn humming or singing the tune "Meet Me in St. Louis" as evidence of the family's contentment with their grounded sense of place and time. The narrative's organization around the passing seasons reflects the apparent naturalness of their lives. A sepia tintype drawing of each one—beginning with summer and ending with spring—introduces every episode and dissolves into live-action color.

With wedding engagements waiting in the wings, little girl plans for dolls, and Grandpa's eccentric collection of old hats and stories arranged just-so in his upstairs room, one evening into their tranquility Alonzo drops a bomb—he plans to move the family with his job to New York. Everyone, including Katie, is devastated by the news. But rallied together by Anna, the family groups around the piano as she and Alonzo sing, "Just You and I," and they all reluctantly accept the decision. On Christmas Eve, however, Alonzo witnesses Tootie in the back yard bludgeoning her snow people because she can not take them with her to New York. With the light of a match for his cigar as he sits alone in a darkened room surrounded by packing boxes and bare walls, Alonzo changes his mind and vows to stay in St. Louis

“until we rot.” The family remains and the film ends with their attendance at the fair, “right here in our hometown.”

*Meet Me in St. Louis* was Judy Garland’s first film shot entirely in color, and it secured her stardom. Providing her with her first smash hit of the time, “The Trolley Song,” the film’s score arranged that all but two songs either include her or be sung by her as solos. The film offered Garland her first song written especially for her, one that would become one of her most famous: “Have Yourself a Merry Little Christmas.”

The success of *Meet Me in St. Louis* also gave Garland unprecedented clout at MGM and permanently established Minnelli’s career in only his third outing as director. Called “a love letter” from Minnelli to Judy by critic Gerald Kaufman, the picture broke box office records all over the country as not only Judy’s greatest hit to date but MGM’s top money maker, second only to *Gone with the Wind*. Its success encouraged other studios to attempt imitations, including Twentieth Century Fox’s *Centennial Summer*, a musical set against the background of the Philadelphia Great Exposition of 1876. Its afterlife included yearly appearances on television at Christmas time and a special video release on its fiftieth anniversary in 1994. It remains one of Judy Garland’s best performances and a testament to a bucolic, white Anglo-Saxon Protestant and family-centered view of the United States even as cities expanded, the number of automobiles

and roads multiplied, and the ethnic makeup of the population continued to evolve.

—Elizabeth Haas

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## Mellencamp, John (1951—)

Viewed through the majority of his career as a “poor man’s Springsteen,” John Mellencamp has been haunted by his record company imposed moniker Johnny Cougar, and all the shallow pop boy-toy imagery associated with it. Since the release of his first album in 1976, this Indiana-born rock artist has made the transformation from Johnny Cougar, the tight jeans wearing pretty boy, to John Mellencamp, a serious artist who still doesn’t always get respect. Acknowledging this fact, Mellencamp once said during a VH1



John Mellencamp

documentary on his life, “It’s never been cool to like John Cougar Mellencamp.” Nonetheless, since the release of 1985’s *Scarecrow*, Mellencamp has carved out a niche for himself as one of America’s great, unpretentious songwriters that can accurately reflect the social moods of the time, though he would be the last to recognize that title. If music critics have been harsh, then Mellencamp is even harder on himself—once going so far as countering an interviewer’s claim that he was a great songwriter by saying, “But don’t forget, I’m the f—ker who wrote ‘Hurts So Good,’” one of his early 1980s hits.

John Mellencamp started his musical life at the age of fourteen playing around his Indiana hometown of Seymour, as well as other Midwestern towns (in such wretchedly named bands as Snakepit, Banana Barn, and Crepe Soul). After getting his girlfriend pregnant as a teenager, Mellencamp married Priscilla Esterline and worked a number of blue collar jobs to support his new family before making the big move to New York City at the age of 24. This led to a recording contract with MCA, which—to his dismay—dubbed him Johnny Cougar for his first album, *Chestnut Street Incident*. After his debut album and his follow-up, 1977’s *Kid Inside*, sold poorly, Mellencamp was dropped from the label and went on to record three insignificant albums for the Riva, though he did score a hit in 1979 with the single “I Need a Lover.” Picked up by Mercury records, he recorded the uneven commercial flop *Nothin’ Matters & What If It Did* before releasing his breakthrough album, 1982’s *American Fool*. Containing two of his biggest hits, “Hurts So Good” and “Jack and Diane,” it still only hinted at the more artistically credible material he would produce by the end of the 1980s.

Mellencamp finally hit his artistic stride, while never losing his commercial clout, with 1985’s *Scarecrow*, which dealt with the plight of the American farmer, the decay of American social institutions and government neglect of its poorest citizens. The political messages that were implicit in his music were made more explicit when he shunned the more trendy Live Aid concert, which he was invited to play, and helped organize the long-running Farm Aid concerts with Neil Young and Willie Nelson, concerts that helped raise money for noncorporate, family farmers. *The Lonesome Jubilee* (1987) and *Big Daddy* (1989) expanded his sound and explored darker lyrical territories that reflected the gloominess Mellencamp felt when his marriage failed and he lost faith in his songwriting ability. This loss of faith resulted in Mellencamp not being heard from for nearly two years after the release of *Big Daddy* as he spent time at home painting and feeling bad about himself. An explicit indication of the self-doubt that has plagued Mellencamp throughout his career is the title of his 1997 greatest hits collection, *The Best That I Could Do 1978-1988*.

The 1990s found Mellencamp dropping the “Cougar” moniker for good and trying on a variety of musical styles that never strayed far from his straight ahead roots rock-influenced sound. His albums sold respectably, some better than others, and Mellencamp still enjoyed the occasional hit single. In 1998, Mellencamp severed his long-standing ties with Mercury, releasing a well-received self-titled album on Columbia in 1998.

—Kembrew McLeod

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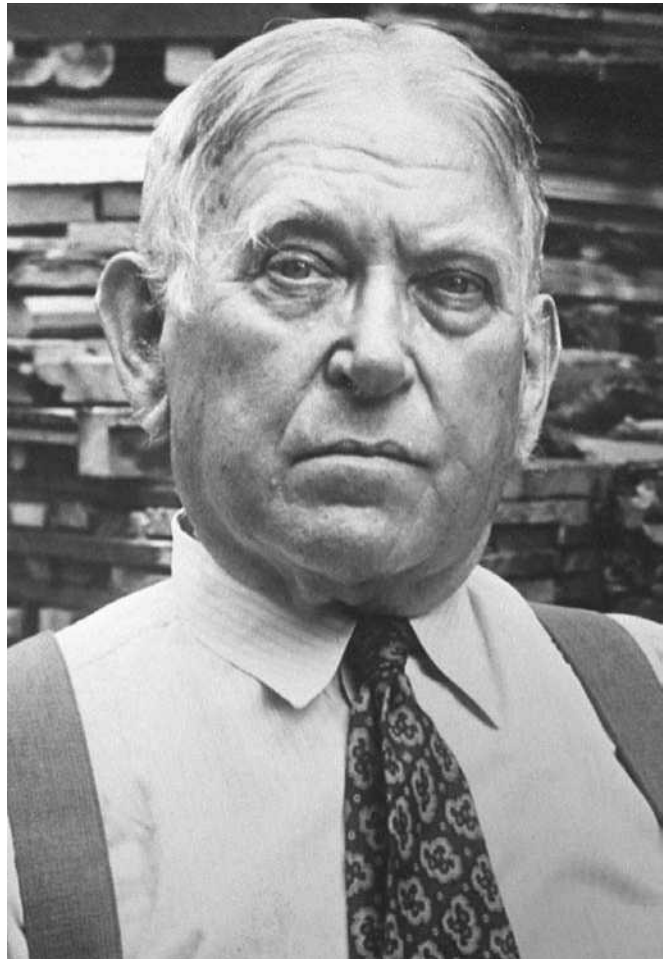
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## Mencken, H. L. (1880-1956)

From the 1920s through the 1950s, H. L. Mencken was one of the best-known and most feared writers in the United States. Professionally, Mencken was a newspaperman (for the *Baltimore Evening Sun*), a literary and social critic who debunked pompous politicians and simple-minded Americans as belonging to the “booboisie,” a magazine editor (of *The American Mercury*), and a philologist (as author of the unscholarly but esteemed *The American Language*). Temperamentally, he was a curmudgeon, iconoclast, satirist, cynic, and writer provocateur. Known for his acid wit, he spared no one and pilloried everyone. He was both ruthless and rigid, Edmund Wilson once said, and also courageous and fearless. Mencken did not suffer fools gladly, if at all, although he was probably glad for their presence because they provided fodder for his newspaper and magazine columns. He has been compared with Thomas Paine, Jonathan Swift, and Mark Twain.

The comparison with Twain would no doubt make Mencken proud. As a child, he read voraciously; Twain was his favorite author and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* his favorite book. The idiosyncratic intellectual who become known as the “Sage of Baltimore” never went to college, but gave no evidence of being unlettered. Mencken started his newspaper career at the age of 18 in 1899



H. L. Mencken



at the *Morning Herald* in his native Baltimore. He got the job through persistence by offering to work for free, and was hired when he quickly showed his talent as a reporter. His first published story was about the theft of a horse, buggy, and several sets of harnesses. Within a year, he was pontificating on subjects far and wide in his own weekly column on the editorial page, in which he also published some of his own poetry. He brought to the page an original and fresh point of view and also began to contribute to national magazines such as *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, which helped expand his audience from local to national.

In 1906, Mencken joined the Baltimore *Evening Sun*, and he would remain affiliated with the *Sun* papers for most of his lifetime. Later, he became a literary reviewer for *The Smart Set*, a second-tier but important magazine. In 1920 he rejoined the *Sun* and resumed his weekly commentary. In 1924 he became co-editor of a new magazine, *The American Mercury*, over which he had total editorial control in a year. As the editor of the *Mercury*, Mencken went to Boston to sell an issue of the magazine so he could be arrested for selling material that was considered indecent by the standards of the day. The judge threw out the case, and Mencken's star rose because he had thumbed his nose at the bluenoses. By then, he was widely known and widely discussed. He was an intellectual who rose to the top at a time when the written word was supreme, not yet in competition with radio and television. The written word was the medium for conveying ideas, and Mencken's blunt and fresh prose set him off from many other writers of the day.

During the culture wars of the 1920s, Mencken was clearly on the side of the modernists; he coined such phrases as "the Bible Belt" and "the Monkey trial" to refer derisively to the 1925 trial of John Scopes, the Tennessee school teacher who had been arrested for teaching evolution. The trial pitted William Jennings Bryan against Clarence Darrow, and when Bryan died as the trial ended, Mencken wrote: "There was something peculiarly fitting in the fact that his last days were spent in a one-horse Tennessee village, beating off the flies and gnats, and that death found him there."

When he was putting down certain elements in American society, Mencken would refer to them as "homo boobensis Americanus" or "homo boobiens," more of his neologisms for the "booboisie." He was hard on religion of any stripe and once referred to an unnamed evangelist as a "Presbyterian auctioneer of God." He said that Puritans had "the haunting fear that someone, somewhere, may be happy." Politicians were also among his targets. Of the long-winded 1932 convention that nominated Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who went on to become a four-term president, Mencken wrote of speaker after boring speaker: "More than once weary delegates objected that the Niagara of bilge was killing them and along toward four in the morning Josephus Daniels went to the platform and protested against it formally." As was often the case with Mencken, the phrase "Niagara of bilge" was original. He did not write that patriotism is the last vestige of a scoundrel—that phrase is rightly credited to Samuel Johnson—but he did say: "Whenever you hear a man speak of his love for his country it is a sign that he expects to be paid for it." Displaying his contempt for the masses, Mencken once said: "Democracy is the theory that the common people know what they want, and deserve to get it good and hard."

Mencken spent the early part of his life in effect disavowing his German roots, but was later accused of being soft on Hitler, anti-Semitic, and racist. His diary, published nearly 40 years after his death, resulted in an anti-Mencken backlash, which is somewhat

surprising given that his equally pointed letters had been published 20 years earlier, but not so when it is understood that the diary appeared as a politically incorrect document in a generation that valued political correctness. It is sometimes difficult reconciling the private Mencken with the public Mencken. During his lifetime and after his death, several prominent Jews and blacks came to his defense, and shortly before a cerebral thrombosis in 1948 ended his public career, he wrote a piece for the *Evening Sun* condemning the Baltimore Park Board for a law that forbade blacks and whites from playing tennis together on municipal courts. Even if the board had the right to make the law, Mencken argued that such a law reflected neither common sense nor common decency.

Mencken was a prodigious writer. In addition to his essays, he wrote (counting subsequent editions) more than fifteen books. The most enduring of them was *The American Language*, whose first edition appeared in 1919. By the time the fourth edition was published in 1936, it was believed to be a significant if unscholarly contribution to the field of philology. Unlike much of what Mencken wrote, *The American Language* was a book in praise of something, although he jabbed at anyone who was pretentious, including real-estate agents who wanted to be known as "Realtors" and who insisted that the word was protected by trademark and should therefore be capitalized. Mencken wrote the book to lay out the differences between the "English" spoken in Great Britain and the "American" spoken in the United States, and so it was for three editions. But when the fourth appeared, Mencken noted that American had begun to subsume English, a sign not only of the growing U.S. influence after World War I but also an indication that the British had become more accepting of American English. The book is heavily footnoted, for Mencken was profuse in acknowledging the many tips that came his way from readers of earlier editions.

A handsome man, Mencken parted his hair down the middle. Photographs almost always show him with a cigar in his mouth, no doubt a habit he acquired because his father was a cigar manufacturer. A contemporary, Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, described the journalist in 1927: ". . . I saw a rather short, stocky figure of a man whose blue eyes shone ahead of him like a sort of searchlight. He leaned a little forward, stooping his shoulders, as if to hasten his pace, and he was strongly careened to the right: a boat under full sail." His good looks and intellect made him attractive to women and he certainly had numerous sexual liaisons, but he did not marry until 1930, after his mother died. That childless marriage, to a woman nearly two decades his junior, was cut short by his wife's death in 1935. He never remarried.

—R. Thomas Berner

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## Mendoza, Lydia (1916—)

Lydia Mendoza, known as the “Meadowlark of the Border,” was the first great Mexican American recording star, the first to sing in the vernacular, rather than the cultivated operatic style, and to appeal to a broad section of working-class Mexican Americans. Beginning in the early 1930s, her career as a recording star and performer lasted well into the 1960s, and her fame extended throughout the Southwest, Mexico, Central America, and northern South America. Her experiences as a performer span the gap of performing in the open marketplace in San Antonio and in tent theaters in rural South Texas during the Depression to having massive parades organized in her honor in northern Mexico. Her discography contains well over three hundred entries for a diverse list of labels.

—Nicolás Kanellos

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## Men’s Movement

Prior to the men’s movement of the 1970s, few American men thought consciously (or at least publicly) about what it meant to be a man. Masculinity seemed to be a solid (if not precisely defined) social construct. Masculine norms were defined by a loose constellation of characteristics rooted in Judeo-Christian traditions and scriptural stories, and transmitted to all children through such codes as the Boy Scout Law; stories emphasizing the importance of strength, endurance (physical and psychological), and competitiveness; and acceptance of and support for the gender status quo. Deviating from these norms, or failing to live up to them, was regarded as—depending on the era—tantamount to being a heathen, a Communist, a sissy, or any number of other terms reflecting individual failure.

This fairly uniform view of gender was severely fractured by the cultural changes of the 1960s and 1970s, specifically the growth of the counterculture, the rise of the women’s liberation and gay liberation movements, and the ongoing “sexual revolution,” all of which openly challenged and rejected previously accepted standards for gender-appropriate conduct, expectations, and values. Writing in the journal *Liberation* in the autumn of 1970, in one of the first public statements made concerning what would become known as the men’s movement, Jack Sawyer in “On Male Liberation” challenged men to “free themselves from the sex role stereotypes that limit their ability to be human.” The stereotypes included the ways men related to women, questions of power and dominance in both private and public life, and freedom for full emotional expression. Sawyer and colleague Joseph Pleck would later expand this discussion in their 1974 work *Men and Masculinity*. The year 1970 also saw the foundation of the

Men’s Center in Berkeley, California, which became the base for the discussions that would coalesce into the first men’s liberation groups. By October 1971, men’s discussion groups had come into being in Boston, New York, Madison, Wisconsin, Chicago, and Seattle, as well as in California. In 1971, educator Warren Farrell helped form the National Task Force on the Masculine Mystique within the National Organization for Women, an idea which quickly spread to over fifty local NOW chapters and provided a framework for the further development of the men’s movement. Farrell’s more lasting contribution to the growth of men’s awareness of their culturally limited options was his influential 1975 book *The Liberated Man: Beyond Masculinity*, which quickly assumed for men the place occupied in women’s liberation by Betty Freidan’s *The Feminine Mystique*. Its publication sparked the beginning of a separate men’s literature concerned with offering theories of and solutions to male oppression. Two viewpoints characterized this body of writing: acceptance of feminist criticism of masculine status and behaviors, and calls for the restoration of “traditional” masculine social roles. Among the more important works produced at this time were Herb Goldberg’s antifeminist *The Hazards of Being Male: Surviving the Myth of Masculine Privilege* (1976), and the anthologies *The Forty-Nine Percent Majority: The Male Sex Role* (1976) and *For Men against Sexism: A Book of Readings* (1977).

Many of these early debates took place within the structure of consciousness-raising groups, enabling like-minded men to begin the redefinition of their identities, a process which became more formally institutionalized after the first annual Men and Masculinity Conference in 1975, held in Knoxville, Tennessee, and sponsored by the National Organization of Men Against Sexism. While useful as forums for increasing awareness, these conferences did little to spark local political organizing on men’s issues. Instead, they allowed men to formulate philosophical responses to culturally entrenched sexism and male class privilege, responses that would identify them as the men’s liberation, pro-feminist segment of the diverse men’s movement. Basic to the men’s liberation philosophy was the renunciation of racist, sexist, and homophobic attitudes and behaviors. It was this branch that heavily influenced the content of the academic field of men’s studies and much of the formal literature prior to the rise of the popular mythopoetic approach in the 1980s.

Although discussions of men’s issues continued in small group meetings at community centers and private homes throughout the 1970s, it was not until the early 1980s that the men’s movement expanded significantly as an institutionalized cultural phenomenon in the United States. This decade witnessed a major cultural preoccupation with appropriate role models for male life, the appearance of men’s periodicals such as *M*, *Gentle Men for Gender Justice*, and the *Men’s Studies Review*, and the emergence of several major organizations centered upon various men’s issues. While earlier bodies such as the Male Liberation Foundation had existed since 1968, these new groups, such as the National Organization for Men (formed by Sidney Siller in New York in 1983), developed in the midst of the emergence of a “New Age” view of men which emphasized the development of such qualities as sensitivity and vulnerability. Readily identifiable and traditionally masculine behaviors were questioned in favor of more “sensitive” masculine traits (which critics called “wimpiness”). This last issue created a dilemma for men: how did they give up their negative masculine traits without losing what they knew as their masculinity? It was a dilemma that the next wave of the men’s movement sought to resolve, by defining and reclaiming a valid masculinity that was not reliant on male aggression and dominance.

A recognition of the diverse male psyche and the validity of male spiritual needs and values, drawn from the lore of many cultures (but especially Native American cultures), characterized a second major branch of the men's movement, the mythopoetic. Due to its popularity and the frequent media appearances of some of its prominent writers and philosophers (especially Robert Bly and Sam Keen), it became identified in the public mind during the early 1990s as the standard image of how the men's movement thought and functioned. Its signature events were weekend or weekly retreats featuring the use of social forms such as the sweat lodge, the medicine wheel, public councils and giveaway ceremonies, and the use of drumming. The mythopoetic men's movement emphasized the reclamation and revitalization of structured ceremony as a vehicle for the definition of essential qualities of manhood, and the conscious generation of a contemporary male-centered mythology suited to modern society. The best known writings to emerge from this stage of the men's movements were Bly's widely read 1990 book *Iron John*, which stimulated a whole genre of mythic writings and interpretations during the following decade, and Keen's *Fire in the Belly: On Being a Man* (1991).

Another kind of men's organization, modeled on the twelve-step programs of Alcoholics Anonymous, approached masculinity by examining individual relationships with the father, using such concepts as "woundedness" and "toxic masculinity." The idea of man as victim was also promoted by the fourth major division of the movement, the men's rights and father's rights groups, which centered their sometimes militant attention on issues of child support and custody, the rights of unmarried fathers, and abortion issues. Organizations such as the Cambridge-based Men's Rights, Inc. centered their lobbying activities on equitable treatment of male rights in divorce and opposition to an all-male draft. The rhetoric of this small but vocal segment of the movement was characterized by reversing the logic of many arguments used by feminists, particularly on such topics as sexual harassment.

The major differences between the men's movement and the other social movement's emphasizing consciousness raising and role explorations lie in its scope, participants, and leadership. In contrast to the women's movement, whose message was readily understandable and many of whose issues were valid for women from every social class and background, the men's movement appealed primarily to middle-aged white men. Moreover, group leaders emerged either from the academic or religious communities or from a segment of the community of hurt men. Movement leadership was thus perceived as offering limited intellectual and emotional perspectives, which hampered their ability to appeal to the majority of American men. Popular reaction to the men's movement has ranged from confusion over the concerns which stimulated its existence and the archetypal figures being offered in the new male-centered mythology, to snickering at the spectacle of middle-class men participating in weekend sessions of chanting and male bonding.

Though the men's movement(s) never achieved the kind of organizational momentum or public profile that allowed the women's and gay liberation movements to achieve many of their aims, they did set the stage for other social actions that focussed on recognizing the needs and issues facing American men. The Million Man March, held in Washington on October 16, 1995, centered on reaffirming the spiritual needs, authority, and duties of African American men. A similar emphasis on parental responsibility and obligations to family and spouse was a central principle of the controversial Christian

men's political, religious, and cultural organization, the Promise Keepers, which was founded in 1990 as a spiritual reaction against the perceived decline of the secular men's movement and fueled by unease with the faintly pagan flavor of mythopoetics. These events reflected a maturation in the American men's movement, for they indicated that concern for the character and content of the cultural education of men had become a central concern of many social groups by the 1990s.

—Robert Ridinger

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## Merton, Thomas (1915-1968)

One of the most highly acclaimed writers of the twentieth century, Thomas Merton is best known in literary circles for his autobiographical novel of religious conversion, *The Seven Storey Mountain*, published in 1948. In the same decade, Merton became a Trappist monk, entering the monastery of Our Lady of Gethsemani, in Kentucky. Continuing to write and produce books of poetry, spiritual meditations, and journals (many of which have been published posthumously) Merton found himself at lifelong odds with both the Order's plans for him and his own belief that writing was keeping him from achieving his full spiritual potential.

Merton was never able to completely resolve the conflict between his vocation as writer and as contemplative. He was also never able to reconcile his moral outrage at the state of America and the world, particularly during the Vietnam War era, with his desire to live a simple, quiet life. His protests and friendships with counterculture

luminaries like Bob Dylan and Joan Baez earned him the admiration and respect of many young people in the 1960s, who saw in Merton the possibility to find spiritual nourishment while rejecting the perceived immorality of the establishment.

—Dan Coffey

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## Metalious, Grace (1924-1964)

Grace Metalious is best known as the author of the infamous *Peyton Place*, a book that caused a social upheaval even before it was published in 1956. She was born Marie Grace DeRepentigny in Manchester, New Hampshire, in 1924. Metalious's father deserted his wife and three daughters when Grace was 11 years old. At that time divorce was unusual in a French Canadian family, and Grace and her sisters felt stigmatized. Metalious, however, discovered the pleasure of writing early. Many of her stories featured a romantic heroine who gets her hero in the end. Grace also enjoyed acting in school plays. These activities seemed to offer her an escape from a generally unhappy family.

In high school Grace met George Metalious, who was neither Catholic nor of French-Canadian background and, thus, highly unacceptable to her family. Nevertheless, they married in 1943. A few years later, with one child already, the Metalious's moved to Durham, New Hampshire, where George attended the University of New Hampshire. It was here that Metalious began writing seriously, neglecting both her house and, eventually, three children, despite the condemnation of her neighbors.

After graduation George was offered a position as a principal at a school in Gilmanton, New Hampshire. By now the family had three children, all dependent upon his meager salary. It was while she was living in Gilmanton that Julian Messner, a New York publisher, agreed to publish *Peyton Place*. The book was a best seller by the fall of 1956, and Metalious became a wealthy woman overnight. Eventually, 20 million copies were sold in hardcover, along with another 12 million Dell paperbacks. Metalious became famous as the housewife who wrote a bestseller; she was referred to as "Pandora in Blue Jeans," the simple small-town woman who opened the box of sins.

*Peyton Place* is the story of a small New England town that, beneath its calm exterior, is filled with scandal and dark secrets. The novel contains sex, suicide, abortion, murder and a subsequent trial, and rape. The citizens of Gilmanton were outraged, certain that Grace Metalious was describing real people in the book and sure that she had brought shame and unwarranted notoriety to their town. After *Peyton Place* was published, the whole image of the small town in America

was forever changed. From then on the very phrase "Peyton Place" was used to describe a town that is rife with deep secrets and rampant sex beneath the veneer of picturesque calm.

*Peyton Place* was banned in many communities; in fact, the local public library refused to purchase a copy of the book and did not have one until 1976, when newswoman Barbara Walters donated one to them. In Gilmanton there were threats of libel suits against Grace Metalious. Ministers and political leaders all over the country condemned the novel, claiming that it would corrupt the morals of young people who read it. The novel was banned altogether in Canada and several other countries.

Despite its notoriety and the large amounts of money it earned her, the book led to the ruination of Grace Metalious. She purchased a house that she had long admired in Gilmanton, then had it extensively remodeled. Meanwhile, her husband's contract with the Gilmanton school was not renewed. Officially, he was not fired, but the rumor was that the dismissal was because of his wife's book. At any rate, it made good publicity for the book. George eventually got a new job in Massachusetts, but Grace refused to leave her house. Eventually the two divorced and Grace, who had begun drinking heavily, married a local disc jockey.

Grace went on to write three other novels: *Return to Peyton Place* (1959), *The Tight White Collar* (1960), and *No Adam in Eden* (1963). None of them achieved the same kind of success as *Peyton Place*, though there are critics who feel that *No Adam in Eden*, a gritty book about the lives of mill workers in Manchester, is her best. By 1960 Grace and George had reconciled and remarried, only to separate again in 1963. She died in 1964 of cirrhosis of the liver and is buried in Gilmanton.

After she died, George wrote his own book called *The Girl from "Peyton Place."* The book offers a husband's view of how Metalious was exploited after the publication of the book, but also of how she was responsible for bringing unhappiness to herself and to others. A whole series of other "Peyton Place" books were produced after Grace Metalious's death, with titles like *The Evils of Peyton Place* and *Temptations of Peyton Place*. None of these were a commercial success.

*Peyton Place* was made into a movie starring Lana Turner and Hope Lange in 1957. The town of Gilmanton opposed having the movie filmed there, and eventually it was filmed in Camden, Maine, a location totally unlike any rural mill town. A television series, starring Mia Farrow and Dorothy Malone, was produced that lasted from 1964-1969. Both the film and the television show were cleaned up and did not contain the language or sexual specificity of the novel.

Although *Peyton Place* is still well known for its depiction of a certain kind of small town society with many hidden secrets, few people read the book any longer. Scandalous in its time, it no longer has the same force of shock that it did when it was published.

—Robin Lent

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## Metropolis

Although made at the UFA Studios in Germany, Fritz Lang's visionary silent film *Metropolis* (1926) was inspired by a visit the director had made to New York, on whose skyline its massive and impressive sets were based. The innovative pioneering special effects were created by Eugen Schufftan (who, like Lang, later fled the Nazis, settling in Hollywood as cinematographer Eugene Shuftan). The Schufftan Process combined life-size models with live action. Despite criticism about the weakness of its plot, and the naivety of its resolution, *Metropolis* remains one of the most expressive testimonies of its age. A potent allegory against totalitarianism, the film reveals not only political conflicts, hopes, and fears, but also enthusiasm for technology and the American way. With its combination of powerful architectural metaphors, its gallery of contemporary visions, technological experimentation, and political philosophy, *Metropolis* marked an influential and important turning point in the development of film art. The film was admired around the world, although its huge production costs brought UFA to the edge of bankruptcy. In 1984, Giorgio Moroder edited the film's original 153 minutes down to 83, and added tinted sequences and a rock score.

—Anna Notaro

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## Metropolitan Museum of Art

Among the largest, richest, most famous and most comprehensive art museums in the world, the New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art boasts collections spanning virtually all periods and cultures. The millions who pass through its handsome and expertly arranged galleries each year—paying a voluntary sum for admission—to view both the permanent collection and the special exhibitions are testament to the museum's democratic founding ideal that art exists not just for the cultured few but the benefit of the many. Chartered in 1870, opened in 1872, and moved in 1880 to its present handsome building in New York City's Central Park, the Metropolitan had burgeoned, by the 1990s, into a complex of over 17 acres; its medieval branch, The Cloisters, opened in Fort Tryon Park in 1938. Besides paintings and sculptures, outstanding treasures include collections of arms and armor, costumes, musical instruments, Tiffany glass, baseball cards, and an entire Egyptian temple.

—Craig Bunch

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## MGM (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer)

“More Stars Than There Are in the Heavens” is the most recognizable tagline of any motion picture studio in Hollywood's Golden Age, and perhaps the most descriptive. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, with its trademark Leo the Lion, was arguably the king of the Hollywood studios, boasting an impressive roster of stars who were exhibited in glossy productions that proved enormously popular.

The studio was formed in 1924 as the corporate brainchild of Marcus Loew. The new company name was derived from a combination of the names of the three subsumed companies, Goldwyn Pictures Corporation (formerly owned by Samuel Goldwyn), Louis B. Mayer Pictures and Metro Pictures Corp. which had been in business since 1915. In a move that foreshadowed the mergers of the 1980s and 1990s, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Corp. was formed as a subsidiary of Loew's, Inc., one of the largest theater chains in North America. Under Loew's corporate umbrella and the financial leadership of Loew's executive Joseph Schenk, MGM soon became the most financially successful Hollywood studio, with production, distribution, and exhibition arms throughout the world. It's reputation was that of the “Tiffany” studio, hallmarked by films such as *Grand Hotel*, classy, often very highbrow productions that combined lavish production values and star power with audience-pleasing stories.

Unlike Paramount, a director-driven studio, MGM was more a producer-driven studio. MGM was initially headed by two very different men: studio head Louis B. Mayer and production chief Irving Thalberg. Mayer, a Russian immigrant with a flair for histrionics and storytelling, started in the film business as an exhibitor/theater owner and by the early 1910s became a successful film producer. Mayer's lowbrow tastes and despotic demeanor contrasted sharply with the more intellectual Thalberg, who preferred high-toned films, often adaptations of literary classics. Thalberg began his producing career at Universal pictures when he was barely into his twenties, then, in 1923, moved to Metro Pictures, where he became head of production and the creative force behind many of that studio's early successes. Thalberg maintained a strong personal involvement in almost all of the studio's projects, as Darryl F. Zanuck would later do at Twentieth Century-Fox. Thalberg is credited with masterminding MGM's hallmark look, glossy photography, expensive Cedric Gibbons supervised sets, and glamorous Adrian gowns.

During its first decade, MGM established its image with the production of a number of high-budget films. To cast its glamorous productions in the 1920s, MGM kept a slate of contract players. The impressive list of popular stars included Greta Garbo, Lillian Gish, John Gilbert, John Barrymore, Ramón Novaro, Joan Crawford, and Buster Keaton. MGM's formula met with financial and critical success. One of the most profitable films of the 1920s and 1930s was the Fred Niblo-directed adaptation of *Ben-Hur* in 1925. King Vidor's powerful antiwar drama *The Big Parade* also met with financial success that same year. Equally impressive, though far from profitable, was Erich von Stroheim's drastically edited masterpiece, *Greed*,

released in 1924. By 1929, MGM's popular "all talking—all singing—all dancing" musical *The Broadway Melody* brought the studio an Oscar for Best Picture.

The 1930s were the studio's most successful years. Throughout this decade, MGM's nurtured the careers of stars who have remained icons to the present day, including Clark Gable, Joan Crawford, Myrna Loy, Jean Harlow, William Powell, Mickey Rooney, Judy Garland, Spencer Tracy, and Greta Garbo. But the star power of the studio is perhaps even more significant when one considers their second-level stars such as Robert Montgomery, Eleanor Powell, and Robert Taylor. In addition to these A-list stars, the studio also maintained an impressive list of B-level stars, who could easily carry the studio's more pedestrian features, among them the serviceable Robert Young, George Murphy, and Walter Pidgeon.

Some of MGM's most popular titles of the 1930s included comedies such as *The Thin Man* (1934) and *A Night at the Opera* (1935), musicals like *Dancing Lady* (1933), *Naughty Marietta* (1935), *Rosalie* (1937), and the Oscar-winning *The Great Ziegfeld* (1936). Dramas included the highly regarded, yet atypical, MGM picture *Fury* (1936), directed by Fritz Lang. The usual MGM dramatic fare were titles like *Anna Christie* (1930), *The Sin of Madelon Claudet* (1931) and *Romeo and Juliet* (1936).

Thalberg's power at MGM remained relatively unchecked until the early 1930s. Despite his enormous capacity for work, the producer was hampered by physical frailty from early childhood. A massive heart attack in December 1932, coupled with struggles with Mayer and Schenk precipitated his taking a lengthy leave from the studio. During this period, Mayer's son-in-law, David O. Selznick, joined the studio as an executive producer, prompting the often repeated Hollywood joke "the son-in-law also rises." In many ways Selznick was on the same plane as Thalberg, specializing in high-class dramas such as *A Tale of Two Cities* (1935) and *David Copperfield* (1935). Selznick also successfully oversaw sophisticated comedies such as *Dinner at Eight* (1933). But following some frustration at MGM, Selznick left the studio in 1935 to become an independent producer through his company Selznick International Pictures.

Upon returning to MGM in mid-1933, Thalberg, though nominally still in charge, had much less power at the studio and increasingly came into conflict with Mayer. Nevertheless, Thalberg continued to be an important producing force at MGM, fostering such prestige projects as *The Good Earth* (1937) and *Goodbye Mr. Chips* (1939), both of which had been on the MGM production schedule for many years. Thalberg's health eventually failed and he died in September 1936, at the age of 37. Studio personnel, as well as most of the Hollywood community, were stunned by Thalberg's death.

All MGM production stopped for several days. But when filming resumed, the studio shifted away from production of Thalberg's (and Selznick's) classy, literary-oriented films toward Mayer's vision of family entertainment, epitomized by titles such as *Love Finds Andy Hardy* (1938). Many producers who had had close ties to Thalberg were no longer as prominent and several films either under Thalberg's direct or indirect supervision were temporarily shelved. And for *Maytime*, the Nelson Eddy-Jeanette MacDonald picture, MGM scrapped all footage shot prior to Thalberg's death and resumed production with a new producer, director, and supporting cast.

As the studio tried to establish its new image under Mayer's supervision, it also tried to accommodate new technology and a war. When three-strip Technicolor began to take hold in Hollywood, MGM was the last studio to jump on the bandwagon, preferring to

release some of their prestige pictures in glistening sepia prints. MGM's first Technicolor feature was *Sweethearts* (1938). The studio soon used color to their advantage, though, and many prestige productions of the 1940s were filmed in color, among them the highly successful picture *National Velvet* (1944), starring Elizabeth Taylor and Mickey Rooney. But despite the change in production philosophies and introduction of color, the high watermarks of the studio's output in the early 1940s retained the glossy MGM look with releases such as *Mrs. Miniver* (1942), *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944), and *Woman of the Year* (1942).

During the war years, several of MGM's top stars went into the armed services, among them James Stewart, Robert Montgomery, and Clark Gable. Though some the studio's greatest talent left to serve the country, MGM quickly found replacements. New actors such as Van Johnson and Gene Kelly became stars, and Hedy Lamarr, Esther Williams, Judy Garland, Greer Garson, and Lana Turner were the new queens of the studio, supplanting Joan Crawford and Myrna Loy.

Though Mayer had imposed his vision on the various production units at the studio since Thalberg's death, things changed dramatically in 1948 upon the hiring of Oscar-winning screenwriter and producer Dore Schary. Known for a preference for socially conscious films, Schary soon changed the course of the studio. While musicals featuring stars such as Gene Kelly and Judy Garland were still mainstays of production, Schary promoted a number of more gritty films, including *Battleground* (1949) and *The Next Voice You Hear* (1951). Such starkly realistic films incurred the ire of studio head Mayer, but he ultimately lost the power struggle with Schary and was forced into retirement in 1951.

Despite the enormous success of some MGM films in the 1950s, most notably *An American in Paris* (1951), *Singin' in the Rain* (1952), *Gigi* (1958), and the 1959 *Ben-Hur*, the encroachment of television, runaway productions, and rising costs led to a reconsideration of many of the long-time contract players. Clark Gable, Robert Taylor, and Esther Williams, among others, were let go and the studio became increasingly cost conscious.

The cost consciousness took a toll on the studio's image. The look of MGM production in the 1960s and 1970s blurred into a sameness with many of the other Hollywood studios. In 1972, the company was purchased by financier Kirk Kerkorian who sold off the fabled backlot and auctioned off most of the studio property. He combined the company with United Artists creating a new entity, MGM/UA. The hits, however, were few and far between. With the exception of UA's long-running James Bond series, the combined company's products did poorly at the box office and Kerkorian decided to cut his losses. In 1985, media mogul Ted Turner purchased MGM from Kirk Kerkorian, promising in many newspaper articles to bring the studios back into the glory days. The plan was either short-lived or nonexistent, as Turner soon sold the studio back to Kerkorian, while retaining the library for television and cable.

This ultimately led to the virtual collapse of the studio. The Culver city lot was sold to Lorimar pictures (and ultimately to Sony, parent company of Columbia pictures) and the facilities consisted primarily of offices at various parts of West Los Angeles and Culver City. MGM was sold to Italian producer Giancarlo Piretti who mortgaged it to pay off his purchase expenses. In the 1990s the studio was taken over by the French bank Credit Lyonnaise who hired experienced executive Frank Canton to restore it to enough prominence to be able to put it on the market once again. In 1996, Canton and a group of the studio's executives put together a financial package

backed by Kirk Kerkorian's Tricinda Corp. and purchased the company from the bank. In 1998, MGM purchased the Polygram library and once again had the distinction of owning the largest film library in Hollywood. Though the studio boasted a few modest financial and critical successes in the 1990s, it remained uncertain whether MGM/UA would recapture its former glory days.

—Steve Hanson

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## Miami Vice

No television series represented the style or dominant cultural aesthetic of the 1980s as fully or indelibly as *Miami Vice*. A popular one-hour police drama that aired on NBC from 1984 to 1989, *Miami Vice* was in one sense a conventional buddy-cop show—not unlike *Dragnet*, *Adam 12*, and *Starsky and Hutch*—featuring an interracial pair of narcotics detectives who wage a weekly battle against an urban criminal underworld. But the look and feel of the series—a mixture of flashy production values, music video-style montages, and extensive use of Miami's beach-front locales and art-deco architecture—elevated *Miami Vice* from standard cops-and-robbers fare to bona fide television phenomenon in the middle part of the decade. The show's unique attention to sound, form, and color spawned a host of imitators, sparked fads in the fashion, music, and tourism industries, and helped transform the traditional face of broadcast television by appealing to a young, urban viewership that was, according to one of the show's writers, becoming "more interested in images, emotions, and energy than plot and character and words."

In exploiting the quick-cut visual style of rock music videos, *Miami Vice* both reflected and consolidated the burgeoning influence of MTV (Music Television) on television and popular culture in the 1980s. Tellingly, the show originated in a two-word memo written by NBC Entertainment President Brandon Tartikoff: "MTV Cops." Created by Anthony Yerkovich, a former writer and producer for NBC's more realistic law enforcement show *Hill Street Blues*, *Miami Vice* was filmed on location in Miami at a cost of \$1.3 million per episode—one of television's priciest at the time. The show's production staff selected exterior locations, buildings, and cars with a keen sense of detail, and scenes were composed in a painterly style more akin to cinema than television. Tropical pastels—pink, lime green, and turquoise—dominated the show's color scheme, and executive producer Michael Mann decreed early on that there would be "no earth tones." Music was also an integral part of the *Miami Vice*

aesthetic: each episode featured contemporary pop songs that served as critical commentaries on the plots (NBC paid up to \$10,000 per episode for the rights to the original songs) as well as instrumental scores by Czech-born composer Jan Hammer, whose synthesizer-driven music supplied the show with its moody atmosphere; Hammer's theme song hit number one on the pop charts. Two successful *Miami Vice* soundtrack albums were also released.

The show's slick depiction of Miami as a Mecca for the international drug trade, an American Casablanca teeming with cocaine cowboys and drug runners, initially met with strong local resistance from city officials who balked at the show's glamorization of Miami's chronic crime problems. Their fears were soon allayed, however, when it became apparent that *Miami Vice's* emphasis on the city's splashy architecture, gleaming beaches, and cultural exoticism was actually a civic virtue, enhancing the city's public image and focusing international attention on the South Beach area. The series' opening title sequence—a montage of palm trees, pink flamingoes, and bikini-clad women—played like a promotional ad for Miami's tourist industry, and by the late 1980s, *Miami Vice* had contributed to the revitalization of once-decrepit Miami Beach and helped the city reclaim its image as a trendy resort playground for the wealthy and fashionable.

At the heart of *Miami Vice's* popularity were its two charismatic stars, Don Johnson and Philip Michael Thomas, who played hip undercover detectives Sonny Crockett and Ricardo Tubbs. The series rocketed both actors to international sex-symbol status, landing them on the cover of *Time* and *Rolling Stone* in the same year (1985). Their trendy, expensive clothes were a key element of the show's appeal. Crockett sported a casual-chic look consisting of pastel-colored Italian sport jackets paired with T-shirts, baggy linen pants, and slip-on shoes with no socks, while Tubbs wore dark double-breasted suits, silk shirts with slender neckties, and a diamond earring. The *Miami Vice* "look" soon infiltrated clothing lines in department stores across America. One company even marketed a special electric razor with a "stubble device" designed to leave a Crockett-like five o'clock shadow. To round out the effect, each detective drove a flashy car: Crockett cruised the streets in a black Ferrari, while Tubbs drove a vintage Cadillac convertible. Little effort was made to explain how the detectives could afford such amenities on a meager cop's salary—one of many signs that the show generally favored style over dramatic exposition.

In addition to a supporting cast that included Edward James Olmos as the brooding Lieutenant Castillo (the role earned the actor an Emmy award in 1985), *Miami Vice* featured a high-profile parade of unusual guest stars—rock musicians, politicians, professional athletes, and corporate magnates—whose appearances were a testament to the show's initial "hotness"; it finished number nine in the 1985-1986 Nielsen ratings. In its third season, the show's popularity dipped when executive producer Mann ordered a dramatic shift to "darker" tones. Blues and blacks replaced the earlier pastels, the plots became murkier, and NBC scheduled the series unsuccessfully against CBS's long-running soap *Dallas*. By its final season, *Miami Vice* had slipped to 53rd place in the Niensens and was no longer the "hot" property it had once been. Production values declined, and the show's original visual flair grew muted. As one *TV Guide* critic noted of the series' rapid rise and fast fall, "That's the thing about cutting edges: they're the first thing to get dull."

Despite its fadishness, however, *Miami Vice* did contain a marked moralistic component. Many episodes hinged on the problem



Don Johnson (left) and Philip Michael Thomas in a scene from *Miami Vice*.

of “cops who’d gone bad” and the fact that Crockett and Tubbs, undercover vice detectives masquerading as drug dealers, blended in most smoothly with the criminals they were supposed to apprehend. Episodes rarely ended with an unambiguous “triumph” by the detectives; often what victories they did achieve were pyrrhic or outside the conventional channels of the “system.” *Miami Vice* also paid explicit attention to contemporary political controversies—Wall Street support of the Latin American drug trade, United States involvement in Nicaragua, and others—that highlighted the difficulties of legislating local justice in a world of multinational political and economic interests. The fact that this serious “political” commentary was often at odds with the show’s more obvious worship of Reagan-era wealth and materialism (the clothes, the cars, the money) made *Miami Vice* both an interrogation and endorsement of the dominant conservative political and cultural ideology of the 1980s.

The show’s formal characteristics, especially its emphasis on visual surfaces, also made it a popular “text” among postmodern academic theorists and cultural critics who found in its pastel sheen both an ironic critique of the 1980s worship of glamour and money

and a wholehearted participation in that fetishization. This so-called “complicitous critique” of 1980s culture prompted Andrew Ross to dub *Miami Vice* “TV’s first postmodern cop show,” while other critics, such as Todd Gitlin, derided the show’s “studied blankness of tone” and saw in its stylized emphasis on “surface” the same techniques of enticement used to lure consumers in car commercials. Despite, or perhaps because of, its relatively short-lived popularity and brief vogue in academia, *Miami Vice* remains an illuminating artifact for scholars interested not only in the history of television but in the visual, aural, and political texture of the 1980s.

—Andrew Sargent

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## Michener, James (1907-1997)

With the passing of James Michener in 1997, America lost one of the most prolific American novelists and outstanding philanthropists of the twentieth century. In his popular, although often lengthy books—spanning 50 years of almost continuous output—Michener explored places as diverse as the South Pacific, South Africa, Spain, Afghanistan, Poland, Japan, Israel, the Caribbean, Hungary, the American West, Chesapeake Bay, Alaska, and Outer Space . . . to name but a few. Through reading Michener, millions of people worldwide were introduced to these places via a dramatic narrative tied to the geographical and historical events of the chosen place. His experiences gained from a lifetime of wandering the globe, absorbing the lives and cultures of ordinary people, became the central focus in his books. In his autobiography, *The World Is My Home* (1992), he explains that writing to him was a mental discipline, and that his strengths lay in capturing a reader's interest and holding it with a good narrative. He wanted people to see the diversity of human life and understand and accept individual differences. He argued for the universal ideals of religious and racial tolerance, the value of hard work and discipline, and self-reliance. He was often referred to as "America's Storyteller" and his books are rich in characters who reflect the history of their countries.

Every one of Michener's books was a commercial success, beginning with his first published book *Tales of the South Pacific* (1947), a Pulitzer prize winner. This was a collection of stories dealing with the exploits of men at war in the South Pacific and based upon Michener's own wartime experiences when he was posted to the South Pacific. In it he depicted the tedium, anxiety, and frustrations of individuals caught up in a conflict which was waiting to happen. Adapted for the stage by Rodgers and Hammerstein, it was titled *South Pacific* (1949) and starred Mary Martin and Ezio Pinza. It was a hit on Broadway, becoming one of the longest running musicals (1,925 performances) and later becoming a blockbuster Hollywood film, launching the career of Gwen Verdon.

James Albert Michener was born on February 3, 1907 in New York City. An orphan, he was rescued by Mabel and Edwin Michener of Doylestown, Pennsylvania—the place that became his home during his formative years. His childhood was spent in poverty, which, as he explains in his autobiography *The World Is My Home* (1992), led to his liberal ideals. At the age of 13, he and a friend, with only a few cents between them, hitchhiked to New York City, thus beginning Michener's love of travel. He enjoyed meeting new people and finding out about cultures vastly different from his Quaker

upbringing. His second major work of fiction, *The Fires of Spring* (1949), deals with a character much like the young Michener—a poor Pennsylvania schoolboy who hitchhikes across America, encountering many different characters and experiences which later become the basis for a writing career.

After graduating with Honors from Swarthmore College in Philadelphia in 1929, Michener became an English teacher. In 1933 he received the Joshua Lippincott fellowship to travel and study abroad, visiting Spain for the first time. In *Iberia* (1967), he wrote about his intense interest in the people and places of Spain. He returned to teaching in 1936 and became an Associate Professor at Colorado State College of Education, completing his Master of Arts in 1937; Michener was awarded over 30 honorary doctorates during the course of his career.

Although James Michener's two early marriages ended in divorce (Patti Koon, Vange Nord), his third marriage in 1955 to Mari Yoriko Sabawa was not only successful but also influential in his continuing commitment to the arts in America. After her death in 1992, Michener pledged \$5,000,000 each to art museums in Doylestown, Pennsylvania and Texas, which had become his home after his monumental epic *Texas* (1985). With her guidance and his literary success, Michener devoted time and financial support to the arts. Many of Michener's works were adapted for films and television. One of the most memorable of these was *Centennial* (1976), an epic tale of the history of Colorado which became the longest ever mini-series on television with 26 hour-long episodes.

Michener was outspoken in his beliefs and often took action on the causes in which he believed. In 1950 he visited Japan, just after the Korean War began. This led to his later books *The Voice of Asia* (1951), *The Bridges at Toko-Ri* (1953), and *Sayonara* (1954). During the Hungarian revolt in 1956, Michener was in Austria where he assisted dozens of Hungarians to safety, writing of his experiences in *The Bridge at Andau* (1957). In 1971, he wrote a sympathetic account of the tragic student protests at Kent State University in *Kent State: What Happened and Why*. In the 1960s he was a John F. Kennedy supporter and he ran unsuccessfully for Congress in 1962 as a Democrat. In 1972, however, he visited China and Russia as a correspondent travelling with President Nixon, a Republican. His efforts for world peace led to his receiving the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1977 from Gerald Ford. In that year he also launched his television series, *The World of James Michener*.

In 1996, *Fortune* magazine ranked Michener among the nation's top philanthropists, estimating that he had donated \$24 million dollars in that year alone to charities, art institutes, and institutions of learning.

—Joan Gajadhar

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## *The Mickey Mouse Club*

Mickey Mouse began as Mortimer Mouse in 1927, drawn by the imaginative hands of Walt Disney. By the 1930s, the Mouse was well established as part of American culture, and clubs had sprung up across America. On Saturdays, children and parents hurried to



The Mousketeers go to school on the Disney lot.

department stores where they sang and watched cartoons. To the delight of the children and the chagrin of parents, Disney merchandise was readily available. The clubs, boasting several million members, eventually disbanded because they had grown too large and too awkward to handle. In the 1950s television was still in its infancy, and it became an obvious medium for allowing America's children to watch the show in the privacy of their own homes. Debuting in 1955, the *Mickey Mouse Club* quickly became a staple in the lives of pre-teens who watched the show every afternoon after school and before dinner. When it was abruptly withdrawn from the air in 1959, its fans, who were rapidly growing up, transferred their loyalties to the teen dance show *American Bandstand*. While the *Mickey Mouse Club* was briefly revived in 1977 and 1989, it is the original show that lives on in the hearts of baby boomers and in late night reruns on the Disney channel.

The debut of the *Mickey Mouse Club* introduced 24 young people to television audiences. Walt Disney conducted a nationwide search for personable, unknown youth who would come together for an hour each weekday to entertain America's children. The young stars ranged in age from nine to 14. Ironically, Annette Funicello, the last of those cast, would prove to be the most popular and to have the

greatest staying power. The cast was told that getting along was more important than talent. Those who could not get along, or whose parents were too aggressive, were quietly replaced. A core group of the most talented and charismatic emerged: Funicello, Sharon Baird, Darlene Gillespie, Karen Pendleton, Sherry Alberoni, Lonnie Burr, Bobby Burgess, Tommy Cole, and Cubby O'Brien. Other Mousketeers who would go on to fame were Don Grady of *My Three Sons*, Paul Petersen of *The Donna Reed Show*, and Johnny Crawford of *The Rifleman*. In her autobiography, Annette Funicello writes that profanity was forbidden on the lot and that respect for adults was promoted by their calling them "Uncle" and "Aunt." Uncle Walt was obvious, of course, but the cast carried the command further by labeling the crew by names such as "Aunt Hairdresser" and "Uncle Make-up." The adults on the show were Jimmie Dodd, a deeply religious actor, songwriter, and dancer, and Roy Williams, a long-time Disney animator.

The *Mickey Mouse Club* offered the consistency so important to young viewers, along with enough diversity to keep them from becoming bored. The established elements were simple: attractive young stars performing before a live audience, clowns, magicians, cartoons, guest stars, educational elements, and music written for the

show. Each day of the week was devoted to a specific theme: Mondays were Fun with Music Day; Tuesdays were Guest Star Day; Wednesdays were Anything Can Happen Day; Thursdays were Circus Day; and Fridays were Talent Round-Up Day.

While cartoons were frequent occurrences, education was promoted by the regular appearance of Jiminey Cricket—from Disney's *Pinnocchio*—who walked children through the encyclopedia. News-reels brought events around the world to the attention of young viewers. Notable guest stars were actors James Cagney, Fess Parker, and Buddy Ebsen, and singers Judy Conova and the Lennon Sisters. Additionally, the show included various series featuring the regulars or other young stars. The most popular of these series were *The Hardy Boys*, starring Tom Considine and Tommy Kirk as Frank and Joe Hardy; *The Adventures of Spin and Marty*, with Tim Considine as Spin and David Stollery as Marty; and *Annette*, which ultimately led to a recording contract for Annette Funicello.

When the show ended unexpectedly in 1959, it was still rated the top children's show of the day. In 1980, 31 members of the cast came together to celebrate the 25th anniversary of *The Mickey Mouse Club*. Assisted by Paul Williams, who had always wanted to be a Mousketeer, and Tim Considine, who should have been a Mousketeer, the stars danced and sang with as much enthusiasm and a lot more poise than they had at the show's debut. Most still retained some connection to show business. Annette, who had been the only Mousketeer retained by the Disney Studios when the show ended, went on to make a series of *Beach Party* movies with Frankie Avalon, wrote an autobiography that became a made-for-television movie, and became a spokesperson for muscular dystrophy. Bobby Burgess spent 20 years with *The Lawrence Welk Show* and continues to dance. Cubby O'Brien is a noted drummer, Sharon and Sherry do cartoons and commercial voice-overs, and Lonnie is a playwright. Tommy is an award-winning make-up artist, and Paul Petersen has become a major voice in the battle to protect the financial rights of child stars.

There has been much speculation about the impact of the *Mickey Mouse Club* on baby boomers. Its success was not complicated—it simply provided children of the 1950s with positive role models while entertaining them and promoting self-esteem. Why did America's young people tune in every day to watch the show? Because they believed the Mousketeers when they ended each show with the promise to return again and again "because we like you." It was a constancy in the lives of a generation that would spend the rest of their lives looking to television for answers to society's questions.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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## Microsoft

Over the course of two decades Microsoft, a computer software corporation founded in 1975, has become synonymous in the minds of many with the computer age and its high-speed advances in technology and communication. Often called the General Motors of the computer industry, the mystique of Microsoft in the public

imagination has many sources, not the least of which is that favorite American myth of unlimited opportunity: the rags to riches story. From its beginnings in the minds of two computer-obsessed students to its status in the 1990s as a 14 billion-dollar-a-year industry giant on a sprawling campus in a Seattle suburb, Microsoft seems to fulfill that archetypal American promise.

This is perhaps most appropriately reflected in a satirical computer game called "Microshaft's Winblows '98," where players compete to rise from Penniless Nerd to Supreme Ruler of the Galaxy. The nerd in question is William Henry Gates, III, usually referred to as Bill, the CEO of Microsoft. Though never exactly penniless, Gates' lanky, bespectacled appearance fit the stereotype of the "computer nerd," and many have cheered his success for just this reason. Many others have expressed disgust for the other side of the stereotype, the Supreme Ruler, charging Gates as self-congratulatory, self-aggrandizing, and simply too rich.

Bill Gates and Paul Allen were upper-middle-class Seattleites, both attending the exclusive private Lakeside School in the late 1960s, when they were introduced in eighth grade to the use of computers and programming languages. Their mutual fascination with the new technology drew them together, and by 1972 they had developed their first software and formed their first company. Traf-o-Data offered city and state traffic departments computerized equipment for counting and analyzing traffic information. Slow-moving government bureaucracies were not quick to adopt the new technology, and Gates and Allen continued to search for more popular applications for their product. In their work on Traf-o-Data, they had incorporated a new invention—the microprocessor chip. Sensing a revolution in technology, they continued designing software for use with the new microprocessors.

It was their work on a programming language for an early personal computer, the MITS Altair, which resulted in the formation of Allen and Gates' next company, Micro-Soft (later Microsoft). Gates was attending Harvard, but dropped out in his sophomore year to focus on his work with Allen in Albuquerque, New Mexico. There, over the course of the next few years, they developed computer programming languages BASIC, FORTRAN-80, and COBOL 80. In 1978, they worked on developing software for the new Apple II personal computer, and by 1979, Microsoft had acquired 15 employees and moved back to Gates and Allen's hometown, Seattle.

Microsoft's giant leap into public awareness and business history came in 1980 when IBM approached the little software company, seeking operating software for its upcoming line of personal computers. In a brilliant entrepreneurial double-play, Gates and Allen bought an existing operating system that they could quickly modify for IBM's use, and began planning to make that operating system the most widely used system in the industry. Seattle Computer had a disk operating system called QDOS that Microsoft bought for \$50,000, carefully concealing IBM's interest in the product. Then, recognizing the inevitable rise of "clones" or copies of the IBM-PC, Allen and Gates began to lobby for other software companies to write applications for their operating system, then called MS-DOS. Manufacturers of the IBM clones began to bundle the Microsoft system with their computers and soon MS-DOS was the industry standard operating system. Microsoft's place at the head of the industry had been established.

Soon after, Paul Allen was diagnosed with Hodgkin's Disease, a form of lymphatic cancer. Though his illness was controlled with



**Microsoft CEO Bill Gates**

treatment, he no longer felt driven to keep a business at the cutting edge of the technological revolution. Though he and Gates remained friends, Allen retired in 1983 with his six billion-dollar profit to live a more relaxed life on his vast lakeside estate near Seattle, playing music in a band, purchasing sports teams, and managing his investments.

Bill Gates continued to run the rapidly expanding Microsoft. In the mid-1980s the company developed the revolutionary Graphical User Interface (GUI) for Apple Computer's Macintosh. The GUI made the computer much more accessible, since commands were delivered by pointing to pictures, or icons, with a lightweight movable attachment called a "mouse," thus eliminating the need to learn complex DOS codes to tell the computer what to do. In 1988, Microsoft introduced its own GUI, called Windows, so that the DOS-based IBM machines could make use of the "user-friendly" features attracting customers to the Apple Macintosh.

That year, in the first of many lawsuits that would be brought against Microsoft, the company was taken to court by Apple for copyright violations in the creation of its Windows operating system. Four years later, the suit was dismissed without a trial. Many consider that Microsoft's actions regarding Apple are consistent with a tradition of ruthless, even unscrupulous, business practices. Some in the industry accuse the company of following a policy of "build, buy, or crush" with its competition; that is, what it cannot build, it will buy

and resell at enormous profit, and what it cannot buy, it will destroy. While some competitors simply accuse Microsoft of lack of innovation, others have more dramatically compared its tactics to those of the Mafia.

In the late 1990s the United States Justice Department brought an anti-trust lawsuit against Microsoft. The suit accused the software giant of violating anti-trust laws by bundling too much of its software into its Windows operating system, thereby giving its own software, particularly its Internet browser, an unfair advantage over the Internet browsers of competing companies. While Microsoft has continued to insist that it has done nothing wrong, debate continues to rage over whether the groundbreaking corporation represents an influence for good or evil.

Microsoft continues to expand, updating its Windows systems and other software and entering vigorously into the new world of computer communications—the Internet and the World Wide Web. In 1996, Microsoft and the National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) joined to create MSNBC, a 24-hour news channel on cable television. In addition, MSNBC Interactive is a corresponding site on the World Wide Web that allows visitors to customize topics such as news, weather, or sports reports to their personal needs.

Bill Gates continues to be driven as a businessman and as a computer advocate. He has written two books focusing on the role of

the computer in daily life, *The Road Ahead* and *Business at the Speed of Thought*, which concentrates on the business uses of the Internet. His youthful goal of “a computer on every desk and in every home, all running Microsoft software” has seemed to come closer each day. Though certainly a computer in the home is most often a middle class acquisition, computer courses in public schools and libraries have put more computers than ever within reach of poor and working class people. In 1995, 85 percent of the world’s personal computers were run on Microsoft software.

Perhaps it is Microsoft’s embodiment of the rags to riches dream that causes the controversy that swirls around it. From two high school computer whiz kids holed up in a room together with computer magazines and ambitious ideas, Microsoft grew into the world’s most valuable company. In 1986, it moved to a mammoth complex in Redmond, Washington, just across the lake from Seattle. Fifteen thousand employees work on two campuses, ranging over 295 acres in 41 buildings, earning the corporation over 14 billion dollars a year.

CEO Bill Gates, worth over 13 billion dollars, has the world’s largest personal fortune, and the highest international profile of any corporate businessman. Many of the early employees of the firm have also earned huge profits from stock options, causing Seattle residents to coin the term “Microsoft millionaires,” and to blame rapidly rising local housing costs on the out-of-proportion incomes of software executives. The other side of the rags to riches story is the hostility and jealousy of those still left in rags. Both individuals and media snarl at the excessive wealth of both Microsoft and Gates, while being simultaneously fascinated by it. There is no doubt, however, that Microsoft has played a monumentally significant role in the popularization of the personal computer. And, if Microsoft is the General Motors of the computer world, computers themselves seem—for better or worse—destined to change American society irrevocably, much as the automobile itself once did.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Middletown

Robert and Helen Lynd set out to study the spirituality in a representative American town in the late 1920s, but instead wound up studying the inhabitants’ entire culture. Their work, one of lasting impact and the first “functionalist” study in American sociology, combined sociology and anthropology and considered society on a holistic level. *Middletown: A Study in Modern American Culture*, first published in 1929 and named after the pseudonym of the place studied—Muncie, Indiana—was a work of both critical and popular acclaim, changing traditional disciplinary attitudes about sociological studies and exposing the public to the shifts in the social fabric brought about by burgeoning consumerism.

Ironically, neither Robert Lynd (1892-1971) nor his wife Helen Merrell Lynd (1896-1981) were formally trained sociologists. Robert Lynd, a graduate of the Union Theological Seminary, began his work as a Christian minister, but soon became disenchanted by his own admitted agnosticism. Helen Lynd was a graduate of Wellesley and later completed a master’s degree from Columbia in philosophy. Their collaborative work grew out of John D. Rockefeller, Jr.’s Committee on Social and Religious Surveys (CSRS) organization, which conducted field surveys on people’s religious practices. In 1923 the CSRS became the Institute for Social and Religious Research, which commissioned new studies; the group’s ultimate goal was to unite all Protestant churches in the country in order to create a national network geared toward social service.

Eventually, the directors decided to conduct a more in-depth study of one town, and considered many small cities in the Midwest. They settled on Muncie, Indiana, because of its manageable population (38,000 in 1924) and its relative homogenization: at the time, the city was made up of 92 percent native-born whites and housed few blacks, immigrants, Catholics, and Jews. While the Institute commissioned a study that focused on the religious practices of Middletown, the Lynds were more inclusive in considering what constituted a community’s “spirituality.” They believed that “cultural change” could better be measured without a racial component, and also that social progress resided in the efforts of people living in the “Heartland”—midwestern, native-born Protestants. The Lynds gathered their information from many sources, including participant-observation studies, documentary materials, statistics, interviews, and questionnaires; they also studied many details of ordinary life, such as what time people got out of bed, how the car was used, who went to the movies, how the laundry got done, who went to church, what was taught in school, and so on.

The study began in 1923 and lasted 15 months. Lynd himself stated that his goal was “to define and measure the changes in the life (i.e., habits or behavior) of a small city over the critical period since 1890 as those changes affect the problem of the small city church,” and to conduct “a straight fact-finding study.” In reality, the Lynds’ goals went beyond this to not only study Middletown culture, but also to critique it, especially in light of the changes brought about by consumer culture. Rockefeller’s Institute did not approve of the focus of the study, and therefore refused to publish it. Harcourt, Brace, and World published the work, *Middletown*, in 1929, and it went on to become one of the most popular and influential books of the twentieth century. It sold over 32,000 copies during the eight years of the Depression alone, and was both a study of and an addition to the growing self-consciousness of consumer society. As historian Richard Wightman Fox has said, “That book had such an enormous and

immediate impact on its thousands of readers because it caught the subtle tensions and confusions of the early years of consumer society in America.”

Significantly, the *Middletown* study, tinged with the irony of the Lynds’ own critical voices, exposed small town America’s increasing preoccupation with money and consumption. The townspeople embodied contradictions in that “they showed signs both of possessing the capacity to organize their own lives and of succumbing to the emergent national agencies of ‘pecuniary’ culture,” according to Richard Wightman Fox. By himself, Robert Lynd returned to Muncie in 1935 for a follow-up study, later published as *Middletown In Transition*, an even more personally critical work that exposed Lynd’s growing biases against advertising and small-town thinking. In this second work, Lynd contended that people were, in fact, not rational at all, and powerless and passive in the face of advertising.

While Robert Lynd’s career foundered after this second major work, he had already left an indelible impression on American culture—he studied a population, unearthed the inner workings of people’s daily lives, and exposed this to a vast readership. He also, and more significantly, established Muncie, specifically (the most studied town in America), and midwestern towns generally, as places characterized by the provincial, conservative, and largely ignorant groups of people who stereotypically inhabited them.

—Wendy Woloson

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## Midler, Bette (1945—)

One of the brightest and most versatile performers of the last decades of the twentieth century, Bette Midler has conquered every entertainment medium: movies, television, recordings, and the concert stage. Candid, intelligent, and supremely talented, Midler, who burst upon the scene with her ability to shock and provoke, eventually assumed her place as one of America’s most beloved entertainers.

Named after actress Bette Davis by a star-stuck mother, Midler was born in Honolulu, Hawaii. A white, Jewish outsider in a mostly Asian environment, Midler caught the performing bug in high school, which helped to overcome some of her social anxieties. After filming a bit part in George Roy Hill’s *Hawaii* in 1965, Midler left her far-flung home for New York City—where she quickly landed a role in the chorus—and later a supporting role, in the Broadway sensation, *Fiddler on the Roof*. She remained in the show for three years, all the



**Bette Midler**

while honing an inventive stage act composed of torch songs, upbeat novelty numbers, and risqué chatter; her raunchy stage persona, “The Divine Miss M,” emerged from engagements at a number of popular New York nightspots. Of all her performances during this fecund early period, she is perhaps best remembered for her legendary two year run at the Continental Baths, a gay bathhouse. Word-of-mouth about this newcomer—part Judy Garland, part Mae West—was strong enough to attract a noticeable straight following to this unlikely venue of towel-clad patrons.

The early 1970s brought continued interest in her career as Midler drew critical accolades for her first album, *The Divine Miss M*, and for concerts at New York’s Carnegie Hall and Palace Theater. To many, her mix of soulful ballads and campy humor was irresistible; she was not above flashing her breasts and delivering outrageous sexual banter—an example: “Did you hear Dick Nixon bought a copy of *Deep Throat*? He’s seen it 10 or 12 times. He wanted to get it down Pat.” Her wonderfully irreverent wit never obscured her genuine musical craft, as she branded her signature on songs such as “Do You Wanna Dance?” and “Friends.” Guided by the management of her sometime lover Aaron Russo, Midler turned down a number of high-profile movie projects during this time (including *King Kong*, *Nashville*, and *Rocky*), but her *Clams on the Half-Shell Review* proved a triumph on Broadway in 1975, and her 1977 television special, *Ol’ Red Hair is Back*, earned her an Emmy Award.

*The Rose* (1979), a thinly disguised biography of Janis Joplin, was Midler’s film debut, catapulting her to a new level of stardom. In it she was able to display both her musical talents and considerable

dramatic ability; for what *New Yorker* film critic Pauline Kael called a “passionate, skilled performance,” Midler earned an expanded following and an Oscar nomination. She capitalized on that accomplishment with the release of *Divine Madness* (1980), a filmed version of her stage show of the same name, and soundtrack albums for both movies followed. The title track to *The Rose* became Midler’s trademark song, a favorite to her fans.

Despite her achievement in *The Rose*, which was a box-office as well as a critical success, the fledgling film actress was “snubbed by the movie industry,” according to Midler biographer George Mair. The reasons remain mysterious, for the similarly heralded movie debut a decade earlier of another unconventional upstart, Barbra Streisand, had garnered the actress her choice of roles and lucrative contracts. Not so for Midler, who admitted, “I was nominated for an Oscar, but the fact is that I never got another offer.” The failure of the caper comedy *Jinxed* (1982)—a dubious project, but the only one Midler could get off the ground during this troubled time—sent the performer into an emotional and professional tailspin. Her late 1982 return to the concert stage in “De Tour”—to cheering crowds—acted to heal some of those wounds.

Decidedly under-appreciated, but ever-resourceful, Midler was able to revive her movie career with a string of profitable Disney comedies in the mid-1980s, of which *Down and Out in Beverly Hills* (1986), directed by Paul Mazursky, was the subtlest and most interesting. *Ruthless People* (1986) and *Outrageous Fortune* (1987) were rather broad, but showed Midler at her comic best. To movie critics, it seemed she could do no wrong: in her review of *Big Business* (1988), Pauline Kael found Midler’s skills comparable to Chaplin’s.

The comforts of marriage (to Martin Von Hasleberg) and motherhood came along with commercial success, and Midler’s newfound stability in Hollywood enabled her to form her own production company. She wielded considerable control over the making of such films as *Beaches* (1988) and *For the Boys* (1990), although she never found a vehicle approaching the artistic merit of *The Rose*. Her comeback in films spurred a renewed appreciation for Midler’s singing, and pop ballads such as “The Wind Beneath My Wings” (from *Beaches*) and “From a Distance” enhanced her reputation as a unique song stylist. The mid-1990s found Midler’s career to be thriving, with her much-admired television remake of the musical, *Gypsy* (1993), the surprise box-office bonanza of *The First Wives’ Club* (1996), and sold-out concert dates, most notably at New York’s Radio City Music Hall. Though her career evolved in a rather more conventional fashion than many would have guessed, Midler’s ability to delight audiences has never waned.

—Drew Linsky

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## Midnight Cowboy

*The New York Times* film critic Vincent Canby may not have thought *Midnight Cowboy* “a film for the ages” when it first appeared in 1969, but the movie represents a particular cultural instance of how Hollywood catered to a new youth market and attempted to bring into the mainstream the underground culture of the late 1960s. A bleak tale made poignant by the tender friendship between a naive Texas stud and the petty con who first hustles him, *Midnight Cowboy* follows the pair as they struggle to survive the unforgiving streets of New York, dreaming of a better life in Florida.

Directed by British filmmaker John Schlesinger, *Midnight Cowboy* is based on the novel by James Leo Herlihy and was adapted for the screen by Waldo Salt. While Herlihy’s story focuses predominantly on Joe, the rather dim country boy turned big city hustler, Waldo Salt’s screenplay draws out the character of Ratso Rizzo, the limping con artist who befriends Joe. Another notable difference between the novel and the screenplay involves the sexual politics of a number of scenes. In particular, a sexual encounter between Joe and a pickup in the film is played out violently, while in the novel the



Dustin Hoffman (left) and John Voight in a scene from the film *Midnight Cowboy*.

exchanges between Joe and the man are situated within the larger context of the growing S/M culture of the 1950s and 1960s. While many critics of the time read the relationship between Joe and Ratso as nonsexual, others (particularly openly gay reviewers) argued that they were missing the film's subtext. As Michael Moon wrote in 1993, "Despite its apparent concession to the desire of many of its viewers to believe that Joe Buck . . . and Ratso Rizzo . . . are 'really' and ultimately 'innocent,' *Midnight Cowboy* suggests something much more complicated, and much more perverse, about its protagonists and the masses of men they represent."

*Midnight Cowboy* was technically Dustin Hoffman's first film role, but multiple script revisions prevented the film from being released until 1969, two years after Hoffman's appearance in Mike Nichols' *The Graduate*. This film catapulted the young actor to stardom for his performance as Benjamin Braddock, a disenchanted yet sympathetic college graduate desperately seeking a life different from that of his parents. Hoffman's turn as Ratso in *Midnight Cowboy* was vastly different from his previous work on screen, and the two performances hinted at the versatility of the talented actor.

*Midnight Cowboy* was Jon Voight's first starring role, but the actor was not Schlesinger's original choice to play Joe. Michael Sarrazin, a Canadian actor who had starred in films such as *The Flim-Flam Man* and *The Sweet Ride*, was Schlesinger's first pick for the role. When a contractual obligation required Sarrazin to film *They Shoot Horses Don't They?* during the time when shooting for *Midnight Cowboy* was scheduled, Voight stepped into the role that audiences would remember for years to come.

*Midnight Cowboy* was shot during a hot summer in 1968 for about \$3 million, an average budget for a Hollywood feature made during the 1960s. The film marked the American directorial debut of Schlesinger, a member of the British New Cinema who got his start in filmmaking as a documentarist for the British Broadcasting Company (BBC). Schlesinger's previous films were influenced by Italian Neo-Realism, Britain's Free Cinema documentary movement, and the French New Wave, influences found in many of the films of his contemporaries such as Tony Richardson and Lindsay Anderson. Schlesinger achieved commercial success with *Darling* in 1965, which introduced Julie Christie to audiences and showcased the director's eye for detail, ear for dialogue, and fascination with interpersonal relationships.

Dustin Hoffman has said that Los Angeles audiences walked out of test screenings of *Midnight Cowboy*, yet the film set records upon its release in May of 1969. Given an X rating (currently NC-17) by the newly formed ratings system for its graphic depiction of violence and sexuality, *Midnight Cowboy* played for over a year at both the Baronet theater in Manhattan and the Mann Bruin in Los Angeles, eventually grossing more than \$20 million. Two years earlier audiences had been stunned and seduced by the almost lyrical depiction of violence in Arthur Penn's *Bonnie and Clyde*. Stanley Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey* and Sam Peckinpah's *The Wild Bunch* also made an impression on audiences hungry for a new kind of cinema. As a group these films heralded the beginning of New Hollywood, and *Midnight Cowboy* continued the trend of American films influenced by social and cultural changes as well as European film movements such as the French New Wave.

*Midnight Cowboy* received mixed critical reviews upon its release. Although Vincent Canby doubted the film's timelessness, he

described it as "brutal but not brutalizing," and wrote that some of the scenes were "so rough and vivid it's almost unbearable." Characteristically market-conscious, *Variety* commented on Joe Buck's fashions: "Whether fringed leather coats of the kind he wears on screen will hereafter come into, or go out of fashion around town is one of the provocative questions that the film poses." The reviewer was prescient, however, when predicting that *Midnight Cowboy* would be "both hailed and denounced" by audiences and critics alike. Many reviewers praised the surprisingly tender relationship between Joe and Ratso while criticizing Schlesinger's heavy reliance on self-conscious stylization popular in films of the time. Despite an uneven critical reception, *Midnight Cowboy* was recognized by the international film community with seven Academy Award nominations and numerous British Academy Awards as well as the New York Film Critics Award for Best Actor and a Golden Globe for Most Promising Newcomer, both awarded to Voight. Of all the awards and accolades the film received, the most notable was its Academy Award for Best Picture. Although its rating was commuted from an X to an R after its Oscar win, *Midnight Cowboy* is the only X-rated film in Hollywood's history to have received the prestigious award.

In 1994, 25 years after its controversial explosion onto movie screens and into the collective cultural consciousness, *Midnight Cowboy* was re-released into theaters. The re-issue of the film was tied to the re-emergence of the film's distributor, United Artists, after a six-year hiatus. Commenting on his film 25 years later, Schlesinger predicted that the same film pitched to a studio executive in the 1990s would not get made. Noting that the tenderness between the male characters would still resonate for contemporary audiences, Schlesinger sadly acknowledged that in a climate of political correctness, the depiction of this relationship would have to change. "Lack of knowledge is awfully freeing," a wistful Schlesinger told the *New Yorker*.

The film that Roger Ebert once likened to a Diane Arbus exhibit may seem tame compared to contemporary cinema, but when *Midnight Cowboy* appeared in 1969, it represented changes not simply in American culture but, as Moon has written, in how the culture conceived of the "real" America. Released during the cinematic heyday of the New Hollywood, *Midnight Cowboy* illustrates the narrative and stylistic elements of that period while foreshadowing what one writer called "the antiheroic bleakness of the Seventies films to come."

—Alison Macor

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## *Mildred Pierce*

The complex film *Mildred Pierce* (1945) commented on the appropriate roles for women in the post-war era. As one of the top-grossing films of the 1940s, *Mildred Pierce* provided a dark composite view of post-war suburban America and suggested that society preferred women to stay in the home. Nevertheless the film offered strong female characters and reversed the gender roles of the typical film noir, ensnaring the lead female character in a series of inescapable calamities that have been provoked by the men in her life.

Based on James M. Cain's 1941 novel of the same name, *Mildred Pierce* has been compared to the Greek legend of Medea, the story of a woman who seeks to win the favor of her children but who destroys them in the process. Mildred Pierce tries to create a life for herself and her two daughters apart from her unfaithful husband. After leaving her eleven-year marriage, she succeeds in becoming a successful business owner. But in so doing, she neglects her daughters and becomes involved with Monte Beragon, a financially-irresponsible, lecherous man who woos her older daughter, Veda. The more voraciously Pierce pursues her career, the more distant she becomes toward her daughters, eventually losing one to pneumonia and the other to Monte Beragon. And though Pierce appears to have control of the men in her life—marrying Beragon for his name only and verbally dominating her accountant—she is duped by her accountant and new husband Beragon when they sell her business out from under her.

The film differs from the book in that it adds a murder mystery to the plot, which in turn highlights the villainous, opportunistic aspects of Veda and Beragon's characters. Veda's murder of Beragon becomes the focal point of the film and provides a framework for the flashback technique. During the flashback sequences, *Mildred Pierce* is one of the few noir films to be narrated by a female. In addition, when Pierce confesses to the murder of Beragon to save her daughter, she takes the place of the typical male film noir protagonist who will defend the *femme-fatale* even to the death. Directed by Michael Curtiz, the 1945 film was a tour-de-force for Joan Crawford in the title role, winning her an Oscar for Best Actress. Ann Blythe, playing Veda, and Bruce Bennett, as Bert Pierce, were nominated for Oscars for their supporting roles.

In the end, both the book and the film suggested that women can not and should not compete with men in business. Pierce loses both her daughters, her business, and her new husband, but she is given a chance at redemption: she can return to her original husband, the original domestic purpose for her life. Given the anxiety in 1945 over the number of married women in the workplace, the film reenforced the idea that women could not be successful mothers and work outside the home.

—James R. Belpedio

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## Militias

Militia activism has been a part of the American political and social landscape since the beginning of the Republic. Beginning with the Anti-Federalists during the founding period, there has always been a group of Americans who believe that patriotism obliges them to guard our liberty against what they see as a corrupt federal government. Although the names of these citizen groups have changed over the years—Anti-Federalists, Minutemen, Militias—their belief in a government of limited powers has remained the same. There have been two periods in the twentieth century when militias have been brought under the scrutiny of popular opinion and academic analysis: the 1960s, when groups like the Order and the Posse Comitatus were formed against the background of the civil rights movement and Cold War narratives; and the 1990s, with events like the Ruby Ridge standoff in Idaho in 1992 and the bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City in 1995.

Militia members claim their legitimacy from the Second Amendment to the Constitution and from an institutionalized historical tradition under which militias have operated at various times in American history. In the colonial period, the militia played an integral role in taming the land during the conflict with Native Americans. Because large standing armies were a symbol of oppression that caused many Americans to flee the old world, militias became the main line of defense for many. A fear of governmental corruption convinced many Americans to allow only a limited role for a professional army, which was seen as necessary only to guarantee secured seacoasts and to tame the frontier. The role of citizen-militias in defending America, however, was short-lived. Those who favored building an American empire began to use the Militia Act of 1792 as ammunition in their fight to establish a professional army solely under the control of the federal government. They criticized the militia as ineffective in the War of 1812 and pressured politicians to dissolve the militia or to place it under federal control.

The United States emerged from the Spanish-American War as a world power, and it soon became clear that a standing army was needed to maintain the empire. Because the National Guard performed so well during the Spanish-American War, its place in the American defense machine was secure. Citizen-militias were factored out of the American defense equation with the Militia Act of 1903, which segregated the militia into two classes. The Organized Militia became the National Guard formations, and the Reserve Militia



Northern Michigan Regional Militia commander Norman Olson poses in his gun shop in Alanson, Michigan.

became the non-enrolled citizen-militias. It was the National Defense Act of 1916, however, that sealed the fate of militias as a remnant of a bygone era. The Act placed the National Guard more firmly under federal control as the primary reserve force and created an enlisted reserve to supply the professional Army, which was enlarged. As the push towards professionalization grew, those involved in militias came to be looked upon as weekend warriors and gun-toting extremists eager to play war games. Removed from their place in the context of Anti-Federalist patriotism, militia groups in the twentieth century have been characterized in similar ways. While most people view them as a threat to the government, militia members view themselves as the original protectors of American liberty who have been relegated to the position of delinquents and aliens on their own soil.

The first significant moment in the twentieth century that spurred paramilitary groups into action was the civil rights movement in the 1960s. The strength of the left during this time disturbed the far right, which saw itself losing ground to forces seen as detrimental to the "American Way." Cold War narratives provided further impetus for groups like the Minutemen and militias to mobilize under the themes of resisting outside invasion and government corruption. Militia groups were convinced that America was being attacked by a Communist conspiracy both internally and externally; even as most Americans ceased to fear an imminent invasion from an external

power, paramilitary groups shifted to the "enemy within." As social critic Harry Johnson noted in *The Minutemen*, "The emphasis shifted to the threat of an internal take-over of the country by the 'Communist-Socialist' conspiracy." Groups like the Posse Comitatus, founded in Portland, Oregon in 1969, demanded that public officials be arrested by citizens and lynched for their failure to defend their image of the American way of life.

In the 1990s, the Ruby Ridge standoff and the Oklahoma City bombing focused public attention on militia activity when government officials and the media made them out to be fringe groups with a penchant for violence that threatened to disrupt domestic tranquility. In the wake of these events, members of such groups as the Militia of Montana (M.O.M.) and the Michigan Militia were called to testify before the Senate about their activities. Although there was never a direct link established between specific militia groups and Ruby Ridge or Oklahoma City, it is widely reported that these are the types of events militia organizations would sponsor. It has not been uncommon for militia members to be arrested for plotting to attack the federal government without actually having carried out any such activities. Indeed, America's enemy in the late twentieth-century is the extreme right, often defined as militia activism. It is also interesting to note that Ronald Reagan's anti-government rhetoric in the 1980s helped ignite militia activism in the late twentieth century.

Many people who felt disenfranchised from the political process found consolation in calls to patriotism and a restoration of the America that once was. Economic dislocation also caused many to look for extreme solutions to societal ills.

Analysts often link militia activism to groups such as the Freemen and the Posse Comitatus. The Posse Comitatus—Latin for “the power of the county”—believes that government at the county level is the only legitimate form of government. Although some militia members on the extremes of militia activism believe that the sheriff of a county is the ultimate authority figure in that jurisdiction, most are taxpaying citizens who believe in the need for a federal government and recognize its authority. Furthermore, unlike most militia groups in the late twentieth century, the Posse has an openly racist agenda. Members of the Posse agree that although they share common themes with militia groups, they differ greatly in ideological content.

Certainly, some fears of militias are warranted. Not all militia members, however, are extremists. Indeed, involvement in militias and commitment to their programs varies greatly. The tamer side of militia activism is represented by members who are still confident that the content and form of the American government are intact and are just in need of readjustment. In their eyes, it is their duty to hold government officials accountable to the people they serve and to motivate an apathetic populace to become involved in institutional politics, e.g., voting, lobbying politicians for desired change, and serving one’s community through involvement in civic organizations.

Because of the loose-knit organization of militias for strategic and philosophical purposes, it is difficult to estimate the number of people involved in them. A report compiled by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) in early 1995 stated that “militias are operating in at least 40 states, with membership reaching some 15,000.” By April 25, 1995, the Center for Democratic Renewal (CDR) in Atlanta, Georgia, reported that “there are about 100,000 militia activists in the U.S. proving their ability to draw mainstream Americans into their movement. Militias are active in at least 30 states. No portion of the country is exempt.” By April 22, 1996, the Southern Poverty Law Center “ha[d] identified 440 self-proclaimed antigovernment militias active in every state in the country.” Membership in militias remains strong despite the fact that many analysts characterize militia activism as a passing fad. Because inexhaustible resentment fuels militia activism, they will remain a part of the American landscape for some time to come.

—Tim Seul

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## Milk, Harvey (1930-1978)

The first openly gay man to be elected into a position as a city supervisor, Milk (affectionately remembered as “the mayor of Castro Street”) was assassinated just 11 months after taking up office. Arguably, he has become posthumously more famous than he was when alive, a martyr to the progress of gay rights; his political struggles during the 1970s were emblematic of the first major backlash against the gay rights movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s, and established the terms by which political clashes over issues of sexuality have subsequently been fought.

Born in Long Island, New York, on May 22, 1930, Harvey Bernard Milk was raised in a middle-class Jewish family in Woodmere. In 1951 he graduated from Albany State College, where he had majored in math. Soon after leaving college he joined the Navy, where he rose to the status of chief petty officer before being dishonorably discharged when his homosexuality was uncovered. After living a fairly closeted life in New York in the 1950s and 1960s, he moved to San Francisco in 1972. At the time, San Francisco’s reputation as the gay capital of the United States was forming; post-Stonewall, previously invisible lesbians and gay men in rural locations and small towns began to migrate towards major cities. By the mid-1970s, it was estimated that 20 percent of the population of San Francisco was homosexual.

In San Francisco, Milk impulsively opened a camera store on Castro Street. Following an alleged extortion attempt against him, Milk decided to run for council office in 1973. In doing so, he challenged the city’s more conservative gay establishment—including Jim Foster’s Society for Individual Rights (SIR)—who believed that San Francisco would not be able to cope with a gay councillor. Milk, however, garnered populist support—including that of several of the toughest unions—by presenting himself as a “man of the people,” fighting for democratic American values: life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Milk portrayed himself as someone who just happened to be gay; when talking of sexuality, he argued for acceptance of homosexuals as human beings.

Milk’s popularity grew; on his third attempt at office in 1977, he was elected. At this time, anti-gay sentiment was starting to build in the United States. Political sympathies were moving to the right, and television evangelism was beginning to grow in popularity. Opponents of gay rights championed the threatened nuclear family, and claimed that homosexuals were “unnatural” and “perverted,” recruiters of heterosexuals to their cause, and molesters of children. Individuals like Anita Bryant—pop singer, born-again Christian,



Harvey Milk (with both arms raised) during a gay rights parade.

orange juice publicist, and head of the anti-gay organization Save Our Children, Inc.—campaigned and sometimes won; for example, several states repealed their gay rights legislation. The Briggs Initiative, or Proposition 6, suggested that openly gay individuals should be prevented from teaching in California’s public schools; at the last moment, however, it was defeated by a three-to-two victory.

At the same elections which saw Milk taking up office, Dan White, a former police officer, was also elected as a city supervisor for the first time. White’s allegiances made him almost the political opposite of Milk: he represented a more conservative, Irish, working-class constituency. The San Francisco media were fascinated by the two men, and they often appeared on talk shows together. Initially Milk and White courted each other’s support, but after disagreements over juvenile offenders and a gay rights bill, their relationship became one of enmity. In the autumn of 1978, White resigned from his post; ten days later, he appealed to Mayor George Moscone to reinstate him. Under pressure from White’s political opponents, Moscone refused. On November 27, 1978, White entered City Hall with a .38 Smith and Wesson and killed both Moscone and Milk.

In court, in front of a jury composed mostly of white, working-class Catholics, the defense was made that White had been suffering from depression, and that he had been eating a great deal of junk food, which, by causing alterations in blood sugar levels, can cause

antisocial behavior; this tactic would later be known as “the Twinkie defense.” The case for the prosecution was weak; it made no attempt to outline White’s motivations. White was found guilty, on May 21, 1979, of two counts of voluntary manslaughter; after the announcement, a crowd besieged City Hall and police stormed the Castro. One hundred homosexuals and 61 police officers were hospitalized; the evening’s events were subsequently termed the “White Night Riots.” White was paroled in 1985; unable to obtain employment, he committed suicide before the end of the year.

Harvey Milk serves as a model example of how integrationist politicians can intelligently and sensitively handle issues of sexuality to their advantage. But to define him solely as a gay rights activist is a disservice to his memory; he was a champion of minorities, of the working person’s interests, in a patchwork city of segregated communities. His version of “American values,” and its contrast with those espoused by the Right, established the field for similar battles in subsequent decades.

—Glyn Davis

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## Millay, Edna St. Vincent (1892-1950)

The quintessential romantic American poetess of the 1910s and 1920s, Edna St. Vincent Millay became a popular heroine to an entire generation of girls who grew up dreaming of becoming modern women writers. Millay's family was an unconventional one. After Millay's parents separated, Millay's mother, a nurse, reared her children alone, making sure to encourage their creativity. A published poet at 20, Millay became a popular literary figure while still in college at Vassar. There she developed a reputation as free spirit, whose romantic and sexual liaisons with women were recorded in her lyric verse. After graduating and moving to avant-garde Greenwich Village, Millay came to epitomize the modern bohemian lifestyle. A woman who "burned the candle at both ends," Millay took many lovers of both sexes, even as she continued to write popular and award-winning poetry and plays. After marrying feminist Eugen Boissevain in 1923, Millay's poetry and personal life gradually became more conservative. But she continued to write and to tour the country reading her poetry. Wearing only scarlet, Millay continued to attract overflow audiences of women who looked to the poetess as a heroine whose life exemplified the myriad hopeful possibilities for women in the twentieth century.

—Victoria Price

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## Miller, Arthur (1915—)

Arthur Miller is probably America's most famous living and most enduring playwright. From the production of his first play in the 1930s through the 1990s, Miller has continually sought to explore and demystify the foundations upon which American power was built. During the 1950s, in particular, Miller risked his artistic career in order to expose the lies and hysteria that underpinned the McCarthy era. As a symbol of artistic integrity and resistance, his plays contain universal themes that have transcended their American origins; few other American playwrights can claim to be so heavily and consistently produced throughout the world. Miller has written more than 50 plays, stories, and novels, and he still continues to fascinate because of his marriage in the 1950s to Marilyn Monroe.

Born October 17, 1915, in New York, Miller was raised in a middle-class Jewish household in Harlem supported by his father's coat manufacturing business. The impact of the Depression, however, forced the family to move to Brooklyn. After high school, Miller enrolled at the University of Michigan, then a hotbed of leftist



Arthur Miller

activity. He began to write his first plays while still at college. Miller's origins and experiences heavily influenced these early plays as Jewish themes coexisted with a socialism that was the product of the Depression. After college, Miller briefly worked for the Federal Theatre Project, and following its closure by Congress, he wrote radio plays for CBS and NBC. Miller tried to enlist during World War II, but a school football injury kept him out of the armed forces. It was not until the end of the war that Miller began to make a name for himself.

In 1947 Miller's *All My Sons* was produced in New York, which was followed by *Death of a Salesman*, Miller's major achievement, in 1949. Both these plays introduced Miller to the New York theatre-going community as a controversial young playwright, unafraid to expose the negative effects of capitalism and wartime corruption on typical American families and the "common man." Several awards, including the 1949 Pulitzer Prize for drama and the New York Drama Critics' Circle Award for best play of the year for *Death of a Salesman*, and positive critical reception signaled Miller's arrival on the American dramatic scene. Despite his new fame and unlike many of his colleagues, Miller chose to remain within the theatre industry rather than adopting Hollywood as his new home.

It was during the period of McCarthyism, at the height of the domestic Cold War in America, that Miller wrote his best plays and became an international figure. The deleterious effects of U.S. foreign policy and McCarthyism on artistic freedoms concerned Miller. His most famous play, *The Crucible* (1953), took witch-hunting as an analogy for the contemporary situation. It has since become an enduring metaphor not only for McCarthyism, but also for any system

of domestic repression, and hence is still produced all over the world today. This was followed up by *A View from the Bridge* (1955), which attacked the current vogue for informing and naming names before the various senate and congressional investigating committees that was required as a test of political loyalty. These anti-McCarthy plays, together with his support for many leftist causes, led many to label Miller as subversive. On the pretext of a misuse of his passport, the House Committee on Un-American Activities subpoenaed Miller in 1956 to account for his various actions. Miller refused to name names during his hearing and was thus cited for contempt of Congress. It was this “unfriendly” stance that set Miller apart from many of his colleagues in the film and theatre industries and contributed to his international reputation as a man of integrity. While many other liberal intellectuals were diving for cover or actively cooperating with the McCarthy witch-hunts, Miller stood out as symbol of uncompromising resistance at a time when most forms of cultural creativity were steadily being destroyed.

His fame increased further as a result of his private rather than public life. In 1956 Miller announced his engagement to 1950s icon Marilyn Monroe. Miller—the nerdy, Jewish intellectual from Brooklyn—had inexplicably attracted the most desired woman in America. Miller wrote *The Misfits* for his new wife, and she starred in the film of the same name in 1960. They divorced the following year. Their marriage was, in part, the subject of Miller’s first play in nine years, *After the Fall* (1964), and he reflected upon their relationship in his autobiography, *Timebends* (1987).

In 1962, Miller’s life entered a new phase. He married his third wife, professional photographer Inge Morath. Following his experience of Nazi trials in 1959, Miller openly turned to very personal issues in his work. *After the Fall*, *Incident at Vichy* (1964), *The Creation of the World and Other Business* (1972), *Playing for Time* (1980), and *Broken Glass* (1994) all dealt with the universal issues of the Holocaust and “man’s inhumanity towards man.” These plays continued his lifelong fascination with the problem of evil and the responsibility of the individual. He also wrote other plays concerned with family, identity, and memory. In addition, Miller wrote many articles and short stories, and he continued to be politically active, becoming the president of PEN in 1965 and an anti-Vietnam campaigner.

—Nathan Abrams

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## Miller Beer

In 1855, when Frederick E. Miller purchased the abandoned Plank Road Brewery in Wisconsin for \$3,510, he could not have imagined what his business would become. In the 1990s, the Miller Brewing Company had become the second largest brewery in the United States, and its top brands, Miller High Life and Miller Lite,

were household names. Miller’s success can be attributed to the phenomenally successful marketing campaign started when Philip Morris purchased the company in 1969. Using former athletes and other celebrities to promote their products, Miller’s marketers coined snappy catch phrases that entered the daily language of America. Slogans such as “Welcome to Miller Time” successfully transformed Miller High Life from an upscale to popular product, while “Less Filling! Tastes Great!” and “Everything you always wanted in a beer . . . and less” convinced men that Miller Lite was not just for weight-conscious women. These successes sent the company’s profile and its profits soaring, and the beer was established as a popular staple ingredient of American life by the end of the twentieth century.

—Alexander Shashko

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## Miller, Glenn (1904-1944)

Bandleader, trombonist, composer, and arranger, Glenn Miller was one of America’s most prominent pop-music icons of the big-band era of the 1930s and 1940s. In his brief eight-year professional career as a bandleader, Miller accomplished more than most other bandleaders did in a lifetime. Recordings sold by Glenn Miller and his Orchestra sold in the millions, superseding records previously established by Benny Goodman. Miller’s lyric instrumentals, with their distinct grouping of clarinet and saxophones, ushered in a unique sound in popular dance-band music. His compositions and recordings included his theme song “Moonlight Serenade,” as well as “In the Mood,” “Tuxedo Junction,” and “Pennsylvania 6-5000,” songs that symbolized the swing era for millions of people around the world.

Born Glenn Alton Miller on March 1, 1904 in Clarinda, Iowa, Miller moved with his family to Fort Morgan, Colorado, where he spent his formative years. His early musical exposure included listening to his mother play a pump organ at home, and his playing trombone with the local Bob Senter Orchestra. Miller studied briefly at the University of Colorado before embarking on a professional career in music. He later studied orchestral arranging with Joseph Schillinger. Miller did extensive work as a sideman with various groups, including stints with Ben Pollack in 1926-27, Paul Ash in 1928, Red Nichols in 1929-30, and the Dorsey Brothers in 1934. Miller was much in demand and well-compensated for his work as a studio musician in New York City in the 1930s. Along with bandleader Tommy Dorsey, Miller was also a frequent sideman with jazz clarinetist Benny Goodman. By 1935, Miller was the *de facto* leader, co-organizer, and sideman for Ray Noble’s American band. Miller also admired the Jimmie Lunceford and Count Basie bands.

In 1937, Miller decided to form his own orchestra, but it disbanded when its recordings did not sell well, as did a 1938 successor that suffered the same fate. In 1939, Miller’s third band obtained work at the prestigious Glen Island Casino in the suburbs of New Rochelle, New York. The band’s next date was at the Meadowbrook in New Jersey. Both venues featured the orchestra in radio broadcasts, and by mid-summer the band had achieved a national following. In the same year, the band began a series of radio

broadcasts for Chesterfield cigarettes, reaching phenomenal peaks of popularity with a series of hit records, and winning the *Down Beat* poll for top “sweet” band in 1940-41. The band made two films—*Sun Valley Serenade* in 1941 and *Orchestra Wives* in 1942.

Glenn Miller and his band’s recordings were not strong on jazz improvisation. A few soloists were featured on each release, although more of them appeared at live dance dates. An important addition to the band was the Modernaires, an excellent vocal quartet that provided the band with such hits as “Chattanooga Choo Choo,” which sold a million records in the first six months of its release. Ray Eberle was featured on ballads such as “At Last” and “Serenade in Blue.” Gunther Schuller, in his seminal study *The Swing Era*, observed that “The essence of Miller’s formula was a kind of smoothed-out jazz: reliable, consistent, sufficiently predictable not to disturb but colorful enough to retain a mild element of surprise, and, above all, not too emotional or deeply expressive, i.e. an attractive patina rather than the real thing.” Although Miller rarely played or arranged in later years in order to concentrate on achieving the widest public appeal for his orchestra, he employed the best of arrangers, including Bill Finegan, who arranged “Little Brown Jug,” and Jerry Gray, who arranged “Pennsylvania 6-5000.”

The band’s first recordings in 1939 were very eclectic. The second recording date on Brunswick featured songs with a swing

beat. Several hits followed the Glen Casino booking, including “Moonlight Serenade” (a Miller composition), “Sunrise Serenade,” and “Little Brown Jug.” “In the Mood,” released in 1939, was Miller’s most monumental hit. “Chattanooga Choo Choo,” released in 1941, was the first record formally certified as a million seller.

The Miller sound permeated the popular music of the time, and until this day it remains the most nostalgically evocative of the Swing Era. While not a style or genre, the Miller sound was so distinctive, thanks to its unique and skillful use of the band’s reed section, that listeners could instantly identify the sound as his. This distinctive sound featured Wilbur Schwartz’s fervent and throbbing clarinet over four saxes. Another Miller trademark was the repetition of a riff until it would softly fade away and then suddenly return at full volume with the cycle repeated. Each contrasting texture (reeds or brass) was tied to a dynamic level.

In September of 1942, as a gesture of American patriotism, Miller entered the Army Air Force, leaving behind an extremely lucrative career as a bandleader. His earnings had been estimated at \$100,000 per month from recordings alone. “I, like every American, have an obligation to fulfill. . . . It is not enough for me to sit back and buy bonds. . . .” was Miller’s explanation in a public statement that astonished the music world. Once in uniform, he proceeded to form the war’s most famous service band, an all-star Army Air Force Band



The Glen Miller Orchestra, 1942.

consisting of forty-two pieces, including a nineteen-man jazz component comparable to his civilian band plus one French horn and a twenty-piece string ensemble. The band was based in New Haven, Connecticut, and in the spring of 1943 initiated a series of weekly coast-to-coast Air Force recruitment radio broadcasts. In the spring of 1944, orders came for the band to go to England. The band that was chosen to go overseas was augmented with three arrangers, a copyist, and five singers. The band played in England, broadcasting over the BBC.

On December 15, 1944 on a small plane from London, Miller headed to Paris, liberated that summer, to make arrangements for the band's arrival there. The plane disappeared in flight. After Miller vanished, his death was mourned internationally and he was honored as a war hero. His band continued playing in Paris under the direction of Jerry Gray and Ray McKinley for a six-week engagement that was extended to six months because of its popularity.

After the band returned to the United States, Tex Beneke kept the band and its legacy alive with a new group called The Glenn Miller Band with Tex Beneke. In 1953, the *Glenn Miller Story*, a film vaguely based on his life, was released by Hollywood. Beginning in 1956 and for a decade thereafter, a band sanctioned by the Miller

estate toured the United States and internationally under his name and under the direction of Ray McKinley. Miller's short but rich career left a permanent legacy of lyric instrumentals and a distinct sound that evokes the lively musical style of the late Depression and World War II years. During the 1970s, the lines "Boy, the way Glenn Miller played/Songs that made the hit parade. . ." were heard by millions each week from coast to coast, sung by Archie and Edith Bunker as a theme song to open their *All in the Family* sitcom. That Glenn Miller had been selected to represent the danceable, singable, hummable music of the good old days so idolized by the Bunkers came as no surprise to those of a certain age who believe that American popular music lost its way in the raucous, post-World War II years.

—Willie Collins

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## Miller, Henry (1891-1980)

Henry Miller is an American-born bohemian writer whose works, with D. H. Lawrence's, are the first respected books of the twentieth century containing explicit sex. His first and most famous book is *Tropic of Cancer* (1934), an autobiographical novel portraying Miller's promiscuous Paris lifestyle. His subsequent works, including *Tropic of Capricorn* (1939), *The World of Sex* (1940), and the trilogy *Sexus*, *Plexus*, and *Nexus* (1949-1960), are similarly explicit and autobiographical, while also rich with brilliant commentary on the nature and meaning of being a freethinking artist-writer in the modern world. Though personal and nonpolitical, Miller's work is often obscene and as such has often been censored in the United States and the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, Miller has always been widely read, and is the key precursor to the 1950s Beat Poets and to the sexually-frank hippie writers of the 1960s. Miller is also known for his paintings, his 1941 travel narrative on Greece, and his relationship with diarist and critic Anaïs Nin.

—Dave Goldweber

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## Miller, Roger (1936-1992)

Songwriter and singer Roger Miller is best known for his humorous novelty songs that topped the country music charts in the mid-1960s. Miller was born in Fort Worth, Texas, in 1936, but after the death of his father, his mother underwent a serious illness and Roger went to live with his aunt and uncle in Erick, Oklahoma, a small farming community. Leaving school at the end of the eighth grade, Miller worked as a ranch hand and as a rodeo rider. During these years, he taught himself to play guitar, banjo, fiddle, piano, and drums. Leaving Oklahoma to join the Army, Miller was stationed in Korea, where he worked as a jeep driver. Displaying his musical skills on the side, he was soon transferred to the Army's Special Services division, where he became part of a hillbilly band entertaining the troops. His success there encouraged him to pursue a musical career after leaving the Army in 1957.

Miller went to Nashville in 1957, working as a bellhop while he wrote songs on the side. His success in getting established Nashville singers to record his songs was limited, until Ray Price recorded Miller's song "Invitation to the Blues." The song became a hit, and



Roger Miller

Miller went to work as a songwriter in country singer Faron Young's music company. He wrote a number of hit songs there, including "That's the Way I Feel" for Faron Young, "Half a Mind" for Ernest Tubb, and "Billy Bayou" for Jim Reeves. His success in songwriting renewed Miller's interest in becoming a recording artist himself. He had a hit on the RCA label in 1961 with "You Don't Want My Love" and "When Two Worlds Collide."

Miller took his newfound success as a performer to Hollywood, where he briefly studied acting and became a regular guest on such popular shows as *The Jimmy Dean Show* and *The Merv Griffin Show*. In Hollywood, Miller developed a new style that became his hallmark sound. Instead of the straightforward country-pop sound popular in Nashville at the time, Miller developed a rather goofy and humorous persona showcasing novelty songs. In such songs as "Dang Me," a top-ten hit in 1964, Miller sang about a standard country-music theme—a man out honky-tonkin' and drinking his paycheck away while his wife and month-old baby sat at home alone—but did so in a humorous style. The bouncy country beat and Miller's country-scat singing put a brighter tone on this story of a man feeling guilty about his actions, but not enough to do anything about it. "Dang me, dang me," he sang, "they oughta take a rope and hang me." That same year, Miller scored a hit with "Chug-A-Lug," a song about discovering alcohol on a Future Farmers of America/Four-H field trip. Miller's slurred speech and funny noises added to the novelty effect of the song. In 1965, Miller scored his biggest hit in "King of the Road," a light-hearted song about a hobo singer that spent five weeks in the top ten of the country music charts. Miller's most successful year was 1965. Along with "King of the Road," he scored top-ten

hits with “Engine, Engine No. 9,” “One Dyin’ and A-Buryin’,” and “Kansas City Star.” In 1966 he had a top-ten hit with “England Swings.” Miller also enjoyed a brief run on NBC television as the star of his own weekly show in 1966.

After these successes, Miller’s career declined. Some of his songs continued to be hits for other artists, including Andy Williams with “In the Summer Time” and Eddy Arnold with “The Last Word in Lonesome is Me.” He also had a few hits with songs by other writers, including Bobby Russell’s “Little Green Apples” in 1968 and Kris Kristofferson’s “Me and Bobby McGee” in 1969. He recorded less often during the 1970s, giving his attention to business concerns such as his “King of the Road” hotel chain. He did, however, write songs for Walt Disney’s animated film, *Robin Hood*, and he had hits with “Open Up Your Heart” and “Tomorrow Night in Baltimore.” Miller’s last major work was music he wrote for *Big River*, a 1985 Tony award-winning Broadway musical based on the works of Mark Twain. Miller died in 1992 after a brief battle with throat cancer.

—Timothy Berg

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## Milli Vanilli

The popular music group Milli Vanilli rose to worldwide fame on the strength of their hit singles and compelling stage presence, but will be remembered most for their inauthenticity. Established in 1988, the pop duo consisted of the attractive and charismatic Rob Pilatus (1965-1998) and Fabrice Morvan (1966—) who—unbeknownst to the audience—danced and lip-synched to the songs of the unattractive American studio band, Numarx.

The Milli Vanilli hit, “Girl You Know It’s True,” reached number two on the U.S. pop charts in 1989, and the group’s next releases (“Baby Don’t Forget My Number,” “Blame It on the Rain,” and “Girl I’m Gonna Miss You”) all reached number one. However, not until after Milli Vanilli won the 1989 Grammy award for Best New Artist did the public find out that Pilatus and Morvan did not actually sing on their records or on-stage. The two sported a trendy, marketable look, wearing body-contoured bike shorts and T-shirts and shoulder-length dreadlocks, but they possessed apparently no musical talent. The record producer Frankie Farian had offered them \$4,000 each plus royalties to dance and lip-synch to “Girl You Know It’s True” on European television, and after the song became a worldwide hit, the duo continued the scam on television and on-stage.

Pilatus and Morvan alleged that Farian promised them studio time but never delivered, and after “their” song became a hit, the two were so enamored of the celebrity lifestyle that they preferred not to

give up the illusion, and continued to lip-synch. When the world learned the duo was mere window-dressing, the Grammy committee rescinded their Best New Artist award. Twenty-seven lawsuits alleged fraud against Arista Records, BMG (Arista’s parent company), and several concert promoters. More than 80,000 rebates of up to three dollars were given to any individual with proof of purchase of a Milli Vanilli record or concert ticket.

In 1991, Farian released an album by the “real” Milli Vanilli (i.e., Numarx), but the public ignored it. In 1993 Pilatus and Morvan, under the name Rob & Fab, recorded a self-titled album that failed commercially and critically. A cable television documentary on the lives of Pilatus and Morvan revealed a post-scandal downhill trajectory into debt, depression, drugs, and suicide attempts on the part of Pilatus (with a premature death from heart failure at the age of 32), and a relatively low-profile life of ignominy on the part of Morvan. The tragicomedy of Milli Vanilli reinforced the cynicism in popular culture that had begun as a backlash to the rigging of *The \$64,000 Question* and other quiz shows in the late 1950s.

—Tilney Marsh

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## Million Man March

On October 16, 1995, approximately 1.2 million African American men converged on the nation’s capitol to participate in the historic Million Man March, spearheaded by Minister Louis Farrakhan, the controversial head of the Nation of Islam. The march was a call for black men to “look inward at ourselves, what we are, what we have become . . . and what we can do to be better people and help build black communities.” Men from all over the country traveled by bus, plane, train, and automobile to take part in the 15-hour event, in what would be the largest gathering of African Americans in the nation’s history. Those who could not attend were asked to stay away from work in honor of the march and watch it on television, where all of the major networks carried live extensive coverage. In all, more than 2.2 million people watched the monumental event on television, and they witnessed black men from diverse backgrounds make a pledge to reclaim their communities. In the aftermath of the march there was no question that Farrakhan was, according to author Michael H. Cottman, “now one of the most influential leaders in black America.”

—Leonard N. Moore

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## Milstead, Harris Glenn

*See* Divine

## Milton Bradley

Milton Bradley Inc. is well known as the producer of such popular American games as Chutes and Ladders, Parcheesi, The Game of Life, and Yahtzee. The company was founded in 1860 by a lithographer named Milton Bradley who, during the Civil War, purchased a game called The Checkered Game of Life from an inventor. By 1868, Bradley had established himself as the leading manufacturer of games in the United States. In the 1950s the company was the first to market home versions of popular television game shows. The first of these was Concentration, followed by Password and Jeopardy. On the 100th anniversary of the company, the original game was reissued as The Game of Life. In 1984, Hasbro, the second leading toy producer after Mattel, purchased Milton Bradley.

—Robin Lent

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## Minimalism

“Less is more,” said the architect Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, echoing the words of Robert Browning in *Andrea del Sarto* (1855) and the gist of Hesiod (c. 700 B.C.), who advised “how much more is the half than the whole.” In its broadest sense minimalism refers to any form of human expression whose elements have been reduced, simplified, or even eliminated altogether. More specifically, the term has come to denote movements in painting, sculpture, architecture, and music—largely American—which flowered in the 1960s and were still influential at the close of the twentieth century. While many of its best examples have provided viewers or listeners with genuinely moving aesthetic experiences, minimalism is also notable for the degree to which it has tested both artistic limits and the patience of audiences. In twentieth-century popular culture minimal forms from the highway billboard to the 60-second sound bite have exemplified Mies’s dictum.

The quintessential minimalist painting of the 1960s was a monochrome square and its sculptural counterpart a simple geometric solid. Kasimir Malevich’s *Suprematist Composition: White on White* (1918) and Aleksandr Rodchenko’s *Black on Black* of the same year prepared the way for Robert Rauschenberg’s all-white paintings of the early 1950s and Ad Reinhardt’s all-black paintings of the 1960s. Barnett Newman, Ellsworth Kelly, Robert Ryman, Frank Stella, Brice Marden, and Agnes Martin are other names associated with minimalist painting of the 1960s. Influential early-twentieth-century precursors of 1960s minimalist sculpture include Marcel Duchamp’s found objects or “readymades” and Constantin Brancusi’s elegant and highly simplified forms such as “Bird in Space.” Donald Judd, Carl Andre, Robert Morris, and Tony Smith are among the leading figures of 1960s sculptural minimalism. Much minimalist art shares an anonymous impersonality and formal simplicity, but motives

behind the pieces have undoubtedly ranged from the purely aesthetic to dadaist playfulness, from expressionism to reactionism and philosophical pointmaking.

Minimal music (also called system or repetitive music) downplays or eliminates certain elements such as melody or harmony while emphasizing others, especially repetition and gradual change, sometimes to the point of alienating new audiences, but sometimes with beautiful and hypnotic effects. Best known of the minimal composer/performers who came of age in the 1960s are La Monte Young, Terry Riley, Steve Reich, and Philip Glass, all classically trained but variously influenced by eclectic sources including the music of non-Western cultures, jazz, and ambient sounds. Glass, who has composed the music for operas such as *Einstein on the Beach* (1976) and films such as *Koyaanisqatsi* (1983), has enjoyed the most commercial success of this group. Brian Eno, David Byrne, Kraftwerk, and a variety of new age musicians have been influenced by minimal music.

Among the most interesting examples of minimalism are those which have severely tested its limits. John Cage’s “4’33”,” a 1952 composition in which the musician performs nothing for four minutes and 33 seconds, is capable of uniquely attuning the listener to ambient audience sounds. Cage was greatly entertained and impressed with the dramatic interplay of dust particles in Nam June Paik’s otherwise imageless 60 minute film *Zen for Film* (1964). Andy Warhol produced a number of intentionally boring films including *Sleep* (1964), in which a man is seen sleeping for six hours. At another extreme are certain truly massive, though formally minimal, works of architecture and sculpture. In 1998 Richard Serra oversaw the temporary installation of his nine steel sculptures weighing a total of 750 tons at a Los Angeles museum.

While the lines of influence are not always clear, minimalism in its broadest sense has been at work or play in an intriguing range of twentieth-century contexts: the unadorned, rectilinear glass and steel architecture of Mies van der Rohe and Philip Johnson; the sound bite, the short attention span, and the 15 minutes of fame predicted for all by Andy Warhol; billboards, television commercials, and advertisements in general; the message of Simon and Garfunkel’s “The Sounds of Silence” and the cover of the Beatles’ “White Album”; the smiley face, the peace sign, and the corporate logo; the Hula Hoop and the Pet Rock; the miniskirt and the Volkswagen Bug; E. F. Schumacher’s *Small Is Beautiful*; and the comic strip and the cartoon. *Seinfeld*, the enormously popular television series of the 1990s and sometimes said erroneously to be “a show about nothing,” often had much to say about the minutiae of daily life. *Art*, Yasmina Reza’s drama featuring an all-white painting, won the 1998 Tony Award for best play. Whatever its motives, minimalism has played a role in late-twentieth-century America that is far from minimal.

—Craig Bunch

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## Minivans

Associated in the minds of some demographers with baby boomers and soccer moms, minivans are a type of automotive vehicle that largely replaced the family station wagon in the 1980s and 1990s as a “kid hauler.” The most popular versions of the boxy vehicles, which were manufactured by Chrysler Corporation and introduced by its media-savvy chairman Lee Iacocca, were even credited with saving Chrysler from automotive extinction. Doron P. Levin suggested the connection between Chrysler’s development of the minivan and its economic health and noted, “Rarely had a company so close to bankruptcy sprung back to health with the vigor of Chrysler.” Brock Yates went even further when he described minivans as “the true salvation of the Chrysler product line” and argued that the Dodge Caravan and Plymouth Voyager, which were introduced in 1983, “created an entire new market category for Chrysler and the automobile industry as a whole.” The enthusiastic Yates then hailed the minivan as one of “a handful of legitimate milestone vehicles” that “turned and expanded the market in new directions due to their revolutionary qualities.”

Indeed their impact was revolutionary, as the 1980s saw minivans quickly replacing station wagons in shopping malls around the country, as well as car pool lines and Little League games. As one of the first vehicles that was deliberately designed with the growing number of female drivers in mind, the minivan was also a clear response to the Women’s Liberation movement, and many of its characteristic features were clearly targeted to women: low step-up height, carlike feel and handling, and built-in child seats. Moreover, several manufacturers deliberately placed female engineers in charge of their design teams to make sure that no appealing family-oriented innovations were missed.

The immediate popularity of the minivan, which first appeared in automotive showrooms in January 1984, probably stemmed from both the way it was designed (although associated with Iacocca, minivans are actually the brainchild of Hal Sperlich, a Detroit design engineer who also played a key role in developing the popular Ford Mustang in the late 1960s) and from the fact that Chrysler continued to undertake careful research to see what potential drivers desired in a vehicle. In fact, Yates commented enthusiastically on the innovative redesign of the minivan in 1996. Instead of designing the vehicle from the outside in (Detroit’s usual practice), the Chrysler design team “defied convention by first establishing rigid interior dimensions and then wrapping them in a boxlike structure. They decided on an interior height of four feet with a width of five feet—including a full four feet between the rear wheels in order to accommodate what had become an industry storage benchmark: a 4x8-foot sheet of plywood.” Yates also observed that Chrysler employed a polling firm who learned that potential customers wanted a vehicle with room for

as many as seven passengers that handled like a car, and also had flexible seating and easily removable seats.

While Chrysler introduced a product in the 1980s that clearly met the practical needs of drivers, minivans may have also met an emotional need of baby boomers who remembered the vans of their youth, including the Volkswagen Microbus, which was introduced in 1949 and became the primary means of transportation for 1960s flower children and California surfers, and the Corvair Greenbriar, introduced 11 years later. Although Volkswagen continued to manufacture vans, their poor handling prevented them from achieving the popularity of Chrysler’s products.

Although Chrysler held a near monopoly in minivan sales for five years and introduced a total redesign in 1996 that received *Motor Trend* magazine’s coveted “Car of the Year” award, the first minivan to be so honored, Chrysler was quickly joined by competition from Ford, General Motors, Toyota, and Mazda, who introduced their own versions of the popular vehicle. However, by the late 1990s, as their children were leaving the nest, baby boomers no longer needed a vehicle that would seat seven people. As a result, at the end of the millennium minivans were being replaced as the vehicle of choice by equally boxy sport utility vehicles. Nonetheless, the vehicle that harkened back to the colorfully painted Volkswagen bus of the 1960s remained a familiar sight on the highways and suburban streets of America by the close of the twentieth century.

—Carol A. Senf

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## Minnelli, Vincente (1903-1986)

Hollywood’s preeminent director of movie musicals during the 1940s and 1950s, Vincente Minnelli was a master stylist. Characterized by a bold use of color and movement, an elegant sense of visual design, and imaginative development of surreal, fantasy sequences, Minnelli’s directorial style is epitomized in his masterworks *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944), *An American in Paris* (1951), *The Band Wagon* (1953), and *Gigi* (1958), the film for which he won the Best Director Academy Award. While critics suggested Minnelli’s work was more “decorative” than “substantive,” they praised his non-musical films *The Bad and the Beautiful* (1952) and *Lust for Life* (1956) and agreed that the tasteful modernism he brought to his celluloid canvases lent sophistication to the art of film entertainment. Minnelli figures prominently in celebrity gossip, due to his marriage to screen star Judy Garland in 1945 and the fame of their daughter, entertainer Liza Minnelli.

—Lisa Jo Sagolla

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## Minoso, Minnie (1922—)

A former player in the Negro Leagues, the Cuban-born Minnie Minoso made his major league debut with the Cleveland Indians in 1949. In 1951, he earned *The Sporting News* Rookie of the Year honors, having led the American League in steals and triples. That same year, he also became the Chicago White Sox's first black player. A three-time stolen base champion, Minoso hit for power and average. He spent most of his career with the Indians and White Sox as an outfielder, but he also saw stints in St. Louis and Washington. A nine-time all-star and three-time gold-glover, Minoso retired in 1964 with a .298 career batting average. He briefly returned to the White Sox in 1976 to become the oldest player (at fifty-three) to collect a hit. In 1980, he became only the second major leaguer to bat in five different decades. A fan favorite, Minoso was a goodwill ambassador for the White Sox.

—Matt Kerr

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## Minstrel Shows

Originating around 1830 and peaking in popularity twenty years later, the minstrel show offered blackface comedy for the common man. The minstrel show, prominent primarily in Northeastern urban centers, had a profound impact on nineteenth-century Americans, including Mark Twain who remarked in his *Autobiography* that “if I could have the nigger show back again . . . I should have but little further use for opera.” Although it declined by 1900, the minstrel show continued to shape American popular entertainment and remained a topic of intense historical and political debate. It is both reviled for its racism, including its exploitation of black culture, and celebrated as the “people’s culture” and the first indigenous form of American popular culture.

Thomas D. Rice, an itinerant blackface performer, is responsible for one of the founding moments in the history of the minstrel show. In approximately 1830 Rice saw an elderly black man performing a strange dance while singing “Weel about and turn around and do jus so;/Ebery time I weel about, I jump Jim Crow.” He copied the dance, borrowed the man’s clothes, blacked up and soon launched a successful tour in New York City with an act that included his new “Jim Crow” dance. Over the next decade ensembles, rather than solo performers, began to dominate this industry. In 1843 one of the first minstrel show troupes, the Virginia Minstrels (which included Dan



A promotional poster for the “Al G. Field Greater Minstrels.”

Emmett), formed in New York City, the birthplace and then hub of the minstrel show productions.

The blackface minstrel stands alongside the Yankee (independent, patriotic, and honest) and the backwoodsman (such as the uneducated and robust Davy Crockett) as early expressions of American identity, in defiance of European aristocracy. In literature or on stage, these stock characters undermined pretentious and immoral elites with their comedy. Significantly, the minstrel show was the first form of American commercial entertainment to draw on black culture, although scholars admit that it is difficult to sort out this complex history of racial exchange.

White male performers put on blackface to offer comic commentary on a variety of topics (including women’s rights and slavery); undermine many experts and authority figures; and make fun of immigrants, Indians, and African Americans. The burlesque of Shakespeare’s major plays—with exuberant physical comedy and transvestite heroines—was a regular feature of minstrelsy. Although the minstrel show underwent many transformations in the nineteenth century, the basic structure included three distinct parts. In the first section of the show a pompous interlocutor was situated in the center of a semi-circle of performers made-up in blackface (burnt cork or greasepaint), with two unruly endmen, named Brudder Tambo and Brudder Bones (their names referred to the instruments they played).

These comedians were usually the stars of the show. Dressed in grotesque costumes and gesturing wildly on stage, they exchanged malapropisms, riddles, and one-liners, often deflating the interlocutor with their comic barbs. The second part of the show featured variety acts, while the final segment was a one-act skit, often depicting plantation life.

The representation of African Americans, one part of this diverse entertainment form, became popular when political tensions surrounding slavery were rising. The minstrel show emerged approximately at the time of the first publication of William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist newspaper, the *Liberator* (1831), and Nat Turner's slave rebellion (1831). Songs and dialogues in the minstrel show sometimes featured grotesque portrayals of the Northern black dandy (Zip Coon) and the happy, errant slave (Jim Crow). In addition, Stephen Foster, who sold many of his songs to the minstrel show performer E. P. Christy, created images of peaceful Southern plantation life, with emotional and sympathetic slaves, in tunes like "Old Folks at Home." Through sentimental images of contented slaves in the South and rebellious, incompetent free blacks, the minstrel denigrated blacks but its depiction of slavery was often ambivalent, particularly prior to 1850. The minstrel show included black tricksters who outwitted masters and at times criticized the cruelty of slavery, particularly the break-up of slave families. One of the minstrel show's "plantation melodies" even supported abolition:

Some massas love dar darkies well,  
And gib em what dey want,  
Except it is dar freedom  
And *dat* I know dey won't.

The minstrel show's approach to race relations was thus contradictory. Although it tended to support the Union cause during the Civil War, it envisioned no place for free blacks in the North.

The blackface mask of the minstrel show was also a medium of misogyny. Overwhelmingly male-dominated, particularly in the antebellum period, the minstrel show made independent women the butt of jokes and also attacked women's supposed moral superiority. The minstrel show, for example, often included songs that ridiculed women's rights:

When woman's rights is stirred a bit  
De first reform she bitches on  
Is how she can wid least delay  
Just draw a pair ob britches on.

The minstrel show featured a stock low comedy character, the grotesque black woman or the "funny ole gal." In contrast to male performers' creation of the "plantation yellow girl" (an attractive, well-dressed mulatto), female impersonators made the "funny ole gal" decidedly unattractive with mismatched clothes and a shrill voice.

The minstrel show underwent substantial changes after the Civil War. The troupes became much larger, the productions became plush and more elaborate, and the topics shifted away from race. J. H. Haverly, an experienced manager, increased his profits dramatically when he enlarged his minstrel show companies and advertised their glamour. M. B. Leavitt offered an all-female cast for his minstrel show in 1870; these novel female minstrels flirted with the audience and showed off their bodies in skimpy costumes. Although minstrel show performers usually remained in blackface, players offered caricatures of immigrants, including Chinese newcomers, and also attacked business elites in America. These white minstrels turned

away from racial discussions in part because of competition from black performers who, beginning in the 1860s, became increasingly successful as professional minstrels by advertising their authentic portrayals of black life. Black performers like Bessie Smith and Ida Cox got some of their early show business training in the minstrel show.

Why was the minstrel show so popular among working-class Northern men (the primary audience for this entertainment in the antebellum period)? Some historians have argued that the minstrel show was a key to the formation of white working class identity: it helped these workers unite together as whites above blacks, gave them tools to challenge their subordinate status, and also offered some routes of escape through fantasy. Through the image of the libidinous, carefree black, the minstrel show provided an outlet for spectators' longings for a preindustrial, rural past—a way to counter the discipline and dislocation of urban, industrial life. In his influential study of the antebellum minstrel show, *Love and Theft*, Eric Lott argues that the working-class fan of the minstrel show enjoyed the denigration of African Americans, identified with them as a subjugated class, and was attracted to the childish fun they represented on stage. In these ways, the minstrel show, according to Lott, represented an ambivalent mixture of contempt and desire for African Americans. W. T. Lhamon, in contrast, argues that the minstrel show was, even more specifically, a working-class youth revolt in which young men rejected the bourgeois expectations of thrift and responsibility for adults. Considerable debate remains, however, about the extent to which the racist forms of minstrelsy served any politically progressive goals of the working class in America.

The racial borrowings and masks of the minstrel show lived on in American culture long after the professional minstrel show declined around 1900. Vaudeville and musical comedies became the primary sites of blackface entertainment, while the minstrel show also shaped the development of radio and Hollywood films. Two white men, Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll, established a successful radio show, *Amos 'n' Andy*, in which they created African American characters using racial dialect. Michael Rogin has demonstrated the salience of blackface masks to twentieth century Hollywood movies, particularly the importance of blackface to the Americanization of immigrants. Jewish film stars in blackface, such as Al Jolson in *The Jazz Singer* (1927), literally displaced African Americans on stage and screen and constructed new American identities. Similar to the minstrel show's nascent nationalism, the blackface of Hollywood movies helped construct an American "melting pot" for white immigrants. The minstrel show, a beguiling mixture of populism and racism, established the racial mixture and discrimination of blackface as enduring aspects of twentieth century American culture.

—M. Alison Kibler

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## Miranda, Carmen (1909-1955)

“The Brazilian Bombshell” exploded onto the American scene in the 1940s with her lyrically unintelligible songs, her excess, and her exoticism. Miranda, heralded by the Roosevelt administration as the “Ambassadress of Good Neighborhood,” became the highest-paid actress in the world as well as the first Latin American to carve her name, handprints, and footprints on the Walk of Fame. Her films include *Down Argentine Way* (1940); *The Gang’s All Here* (1943), the first of the “banana series” movies, in which she performs “The Lady with the Tutti-Frutti Hat” amidst tropical scenery replete with gigantic—and erotic—bananas; and *Copacabana* (1947), a low-budget comedy with Groucho Marx. Although she experienced a decline in her last years, after her death Miranda was turned into an icon of “kitsch culture” and continues to be one of the most powerful symbols of “latinidad.”

—Bianca Freire-Medeiros

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## Miranda Warning

The *Miranda* warning has become one of the most visible protections of Americans civil rights. Because the warning protects suspected criminals at the point of arrest, the warning has provoked debate about the benefits of protecting individual rights at the cost of impeding police investigative powers. The warning only protects a person from self-incrimination, and it does not deter the police from making an arrest, only interrogating a suspect. Movies, television police dramas, and “real” cop shows, have done much to inform the public of the protection offered by the *Miranda* warning. Tom Hanks even delivered a (mercifully abbreviated) rap version of the warning in the 1987 movie *Dragnet*.

The case of *Miranda v. Arizona* began with the 1963 kidnapping of a young Phoenix, Arizona, woman. The kidnapper took her into the desert outside of Phoenix, raped her, and brought her back to the city.

The police apprehended Ernest Miranda and questioned him about the crime. The police didn’t use third-degree tactics, and they advised Miranda of some of his rights as a criminal suspect, but they didn’t tell Miranda about all of his rights. Miranda confessed to the crime, and was convicted. He took his case to the United States Supreme Court. The Supreme Court heard Miranda’s case, as well as the cases of four other convicted criminals who had similar complaints about not being warned of their rights.

In its 1966 decision, the Supreme Court said that suspects being questioned by the police were in a vulnerable position, and that if the suspect didn’t know his rights, he was at risk of having those rights violated. Therefore, the Court required that the police inform suspects in custody that they possessed the following rights (these rights had been established in earlier Supreme Court decisions): (a) the right to remain silent, with the caution that whatever the suspect said could be used against him in court; (b) the right to have a lawyer present during the interrogation; and (c) the right to have a lawyer appointed for him if he couldn’t afford one. After the Supreme Court decision in his case, Miranda got a new trial and was convicted again.

“*Miranda v. Arizona* was long remembered as the high point reached by the United States Supreme Court under Chief Justice Earl Warren,” according to Liva Baker in her book *Miranda: Crime Law and Politics*. But others argued that the *Miranda* decision was the low point of an activist Court which leaned too far in the direction of protecting criminal defendants’ rights. In 1968, presidential candidate Richard Nixon, discussing *Miranda* and another Supreme Court case about confessions, said that “[t]he *Miranda* and *Escobedo* decisions of the High Court have had the effect of seriously hamstringing the peace forces in our society and strengthening the criminal forces.”

The debate about the *Miranda* warning continued at the end of the twentieth century. Supporters of *Miranda* note that the warning protects the rights of criminal suspects and prevents psychological intimidation by the police. Supporters also contend that the warning has not deterred the police in their fight against crime, and that attempts to abolish the warning will divert attention away from long-term solutions to the crime problem, such as more resources and better training for the police, better judicial administration, and so on. Opponents of the *Miranda* warning say that the use of the warning has caused more criminals to clam up, reducing the number of confessions and hence reducing the number of crimes solved by the police. Each side in the debate brandishes statistics and rhetoric to back up its position.

In considering the effects of the *Miranda* decision on law enforcement, it should be borne in mind that the rule has its exceptions. The Court permits the police and prosecutors, under certain circumstances, to use confessions which were obtained without warning the suspect of his rights. The warning can be dispensed with in emergency circumstances—if, for example, the police ask the suspect to reveal the location of a dangerous weapon which might endanger the public. In certain cases, even when a suspect’s statement is inadmissible because he did not get the *Miranda* warnings, police can pursue leads based on the statement, and the resulting evidence can be shown in court (e.g., under some circumstances, if the defendant gives the name of a witness, and the witness turns out to be useful to the prosecution, the prosecution can use that witness’s testimony in court). Finally, suppose that the defendant takes the stand in his own behalf, and tells the jury a story which is different from his statement to the police. In some cases, the statement can be shown to the jury in order to attack the defendant’s credibility, even if the defendant made the statement without getting a *Miranda* warning.

In other words, the police have an incentive to get a confession out of a suspect without warning him of his rights, because there are indirect ways in which such a confession can be used against the accused. How often the police try to circumvent the *Miranda* rule is a controversial issue.

The Court's decision in *Miranda* contained another loophole: Congress or the state legislatures could abolish the *Miranda* warning, provided that the warning was replaced by some equally effective method of protecting the rights of criminal suspects. As part of its 1968 Omnibus Crime Control Act, Congress seemed to take up this implied invitation from the Supreme Court. The law Congress passed (which only applies to trials in federal court) declares that if the defendant has made a confession, the confession can be used as evidence "if it is voluntarily given," even if the defendant didn't get a *Miranda* warning. Contrariwise, if the police *did* give the defendant a *Miranda* warning, but the confession was involuntary, then the court must exclude the confession. This law has not been fully tested, with federal officials and courts preferring to use the *Miranda* rules. In February 1999 the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals in Richmond, Virginia, decided that law enforcement officers in five states (Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina) no longer were obliged to inform arrestees that they had the right to remain silent. One of the panelists in the *United States v. Dickerson*, Judge Karen Williams, declared that "no longer will criminals who have voluntarily confessed their crimes be released on mere technicalities." But Larry Pozner, president of the National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers worried that the ruling could "take us back to the old days of ambush and trickery by the police," as reported on the Police Officer's Network. The future of the *Miranda* warning remained in question because constitutional scholars expect the *United States v. Dickerson* case to reach the Supreme Court.

—Eric Longley

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## Miss America Pageant

Since its inception in 1921, the Miss America pageant has prompted a fierce debate over gender and the qualities of ideal femininity. What began as a "bathing beauty" contest on the Atlantic City Boardwalk soon became a prime target for social reformers who attacked the pageant for its exploitation of young women. In the 1930s and 1940s, the pageant added a talent contest and began awarding academic scholarships hoping to improve its image by uniting attractiveness with intelligence and strength of character. However, it still drew criticism for its emphasis on physical appearance. In spite of the controversies, though, few critics demanded that the pageant be discontinued, and it has consistently drawn hundreds of thousands of participants and television viewers each year. With all



Phyllis George, Miss America for 1971.



its faults, the Miss America pageant remains a deeply ingrained tradition in American culture, an annual ritual providing an escape into a fantasyland of rhinestone tiaras and glittering dreams.

Although the pageant advertised itself in the 1990s as “the greatest scholarship program for girls in the world,” the founders of the pageant held far less lofty ideals. Hoping to keep tourists in town past the Labor Day weekend, Atlantic City businessmen in 1921 decided to hold a beauty contest featuring young women from several East Coast cities. The pageant, drawing thousands of spectators, was a success. Many civic leaders, though, were opposed to it. In the early years of the pageant, contestants were judged solely on their appearance in a bathing suit; a “perfect head” received five points and perfect legs ten. Even more upsetting was the discovery that some contestants were married, which disturbed reformers bent on keeping Miss America a symbol of chastity. Although the pageant declared in 1924 that it would only accept unmarried women between 18 and 24 as contestants, businessmen grew tired of complaints against the pageant and in 1928 discontinued their financial support. City officials eager to revive the pageant hired Lenora Slaughter in 1935 to “clean up” the pageant’s image. Slaughter immediately enacted rules prohibiting contestants from talking to men during the week of the contest; she also introduced a required talent competition. At last, it seemed, the pageant had become respectable among the general public.

At the same time, the image of Miss America was gradually changing. In the 1940s and 1950s, Miss America was transformed from a “bathing beauty” into an icon of wholesome young womanhood. During World War II, Miss America sold war bonds and began advertising such domestic products as shampoo, dress patterns, and vitamins for the pageant’s corporate sponsors. Moreover, whereas Miss Americas in the 1920s and 1930s typically set their sights on Hollywood careers, winners after 1945 received scholarship money to attend college. Many Miss Americas of the late 1940s and early 1950s used their prominent public position to extol the virtues of “clean living.” Barbara Jo Walker, the 1947 winner, spoke out against smoking and drinking and told reporters that she was not interested in Hollywood contracts, but only “the marriage contract.” By 1954, the year the pageant made its television debut, Miss America had become a symbol of the perfect American young woman. As the pageant’s theme song, inaugurated in 1955, declared, “There she is, Miss America; there she is, your ideal. The dreams of a million girls who are more than pretty may come true in Atlantic City, for she may turn out to be the queen of femininity!”

In the late 1960s, the concept of Miss America as a national ideal—in particular, her endorsement of commercial products and support of the military—did not sit well with many feminists, and in 1968 protesters descended on Atlantic City, carrying signs reading, “Not my ideal,” “We shall not be used,” and, “Miss America sells it.” This was only the first of many controversies over Miss America’s image that erupted during the next three decades. In 1984, pageant officials discovered that Vanessa Williams, the first black Miss America, had appeared nude in *Penthouse* magazine, sparking a national wave of debate. Williams, pressured by officials, eventually gave up her crown, but the incident lingered in the public mind as an example of the pageant’s hypocrisy: the pageant proclaimed itself a guardian of sexual purity, yet it continued to run a swimsuit competition. The heated debate over the swimsuit contest finally culminated in a 1995 “phone-in vote,” in which television viewers were urged to call in and vote on whether the contest should be retained. In the end,

tradition carried the day, and the swimsuit contest won by a margin of four to one.

Yet for all its traditional trappings, the Miss America Pageant has been a firm advocate of women’s higher education and professional achievement: among its alumnae are judges, attorneys, physicians, teachers, and several well-known actresses. The pageant has also stressed the importance of community service. Since 1989, contestants have been required to prepare a “platform” detailing a program of social work that they would enact if chosen Miss America. For many Americans, the paradox of swimsuits and social reform may be too much. But for those who set their sights on the crown, the pageant is serious business. And for the spectators who simply keep an eye on the television, the Miss America Pageant offers a chance to compare one’s vision of the “perfect woman” against the most known icon of them all, Miss America.

—Samantha Barbas

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## Miss America Pageant

*See also* Beauty Queens

## *Mission: Impossible*

The television show *Mission: Impossible* is one of the most widely recognized in broadcast history. The theme music, the burning fuse used to open the credits, the convoluted plots, and the self-destructing tape machine have all become widely recognized icons of popular culture, satirized and mimicked on a routine basis. Although the show never reached the top of the television ratings, it had a profound impact on both the television industry and its viewers. Catch phrases from the show, including “Good morning, Mr. Phelps” and “Your mission, should you choose to accept it,” have become an accepted part of American popular vocabulary. Despite the fact that the original *Mission: Impossible* has been off the air for more than 25 years, it remains one of the most ground-breaking and innovative series in television history.

*Mission: Impossible* debuted in 1966. Although it fared poorly in the ratings, critics were impressed with the complicated stories, excellent acting, and constant air of suspense. The basic plot of virtually all of the episodes, however, was the same: the Impossible Missions Force (IMF) had to fool the enemy into destroying itself.



The cast of the television show *Mission: Impossible*.

Using a variety of disguises and deceptions, the IMF would turn the enemy on itself. They would often frame one member of the opposition, or attempt to convince the enemy that the information they held was false when it was not. The idea was to create the “perfect con” so that the enemy would never even realize they had been deceived.

The group of IMF agents were intentionally anonymous. The viewer knew very little about the personal backgrounds of any of the agents, and this allowed the writers and producers to introduce new characters with little disruption in the flow of the show. Over the course of the show, several agents came and went, including the replacement of the IMF team leader after the first season.

At the beginning of most of the episodes, the group leader (played by Steven Hill in the opening season and Peter Graves until the show’s cancellation) would receive his instructions through a self-destructing tape. The leader would then plan an elaborate deception with his team of agents. The excitement of watching the show was not to see what would happen; the plan was outlined by the team at the beginning of the episode. Rather, the excitement of watching *Mission: Impossible* was to see how the elaborate plan was carried out and what pitfalls might occur during the course of the mission.

One of the most memorable parts of *Mission: Impossible* was the wonderful theme song composed by Lalo Schiffrin. When Schiffrin was asked to compose the theme, he knew nothing about the show

except its title. Despite this lack of knowledge, he created a theme that fit the show using a hard-swinging jazz band in 5/4 time. The music Schiffrin wrote remains one of the most recognized television themes of all time.

The popularity of *Mission: Impossible* has waned very little since its cancellation in 1973. The show won four Emmy awards, including best dramatic series, two Golden Globes, and two Grammy awards for Lalo Schiffrin. Over the life of the series, it would be nominated for dozens of awards and gain international respect as one of the best shows on television. It has remained in near-constant syndication since 1974, and dozens of new shows utilizing the *Mission: Impossible* formula have come and gone. In 1996, *Mission: Impossible* was finally brought to the silver screen by Tom Cruise and director Brian De Palma. The film version of *Mission: Impossible* earned more than \$400 million worldwide and generated millions more in video rentals and sales. The success of the movie only serves to re-affirm the strong affinity the public has for the members of the IMF force.

—Geoff Peterson and Julie Peterson

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## *Mister Ed*

Mister Ed was television’s mischievous talking horse, who from 1961 to 1966 led his frustrated owner, architect Wilbur Post, through various misadventures in the weekly CBS television fantasy/situation comedy, *Mister Ed*. The role of Wilbur Post was played by Alan Young, and the voice of Mister Ed was supplied by former Western film star Allan “Rocky” Lane. The series was a smash hit with viewers, both children and adults, who tuned in to watch the antics of a palomino who not only talked but who had more horse sense than most people. Mister Ed was network television’s first non-cartoon talking animal, inspired by his film precursor, Francis the Talking Mule.

The concept of a talking horse named Mister Ed was the brainchild of writer Walter Brooks, whose short stories about the eloquent equine appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Liberty* magazine. These stories were brought to the attention of director Arthur Lubin, who had directed for Universal Pictures all but the last of seven films featuring Francis the Talking Mule. In 1957, Lubin secured an option on the Mister Ed concept with the idea of bringing the talking horse to television. The following year, Lubin obtained \$75,000 in financial backing from McCadden Productions, the production company owned by comedian George Burns, to produce a pilot. The episode was shot starring Scott McKay and Sandra White as the leads, and featuring a horse other than the one that eventually appeared in the series as Mister Ed. However, the pilot failed to attract either a network or a sponsor.

Eventually, the pilot was brought to the attention of Al Simon, president of Filmways TV Productions. Simon recognized many weaknesses in the production but believed that the pilot had the potential for a hilarious television situation comedy. The Mister Ed concept was resurrected, and the leading roles were recast with Alan Young, Connie Hines, and another horse as Mister Ed. A 15-minute presentation film was prepared, containing the funniest bits from the



Mr. Ed (left) is married by Alan Young (center) during a dream sequence on *Mister Ed*.

original pilot and an introduction of the new cast. Filmways pitched the show to the Studebaker Corporation, which was interested in aligning itself with an unusual television program. The automobile company agreed to sponsor the show in syndication, and production of *Mister Ed* was scheduled to begin in October 1960.

The second horse that had been featured as Mister Ed in the presentation film had been sold by the time the Studebaker deal came through. With only a month remaining before the start of production, trainer Lester Hilton was dispatched to find another horse to star in the series. Hilton found his star, a Golden Palomino named Bamboo Harvester, on a San Fernando Valley farm. Filmways paid \$1,500 to acquire the horse, which stood 15 hands high and weighed 1,100 pounds. Hilton brought Bamboo Harvester to his ranch to train him. Using hand signals and voice commands, Hilton trained the highly intelligent horse for stunts such as unlatching the stable door, opening a file cabinet, or dialing the telephone. Bamboo Harvester responded to commands of 20 to 25 words and took only 15 minutes to learn a scene. However, as Mister Ed, Bamboo Harvester's most amazing behavior was his ability to talk.

Since Hilton had worked with Francis the Talking Mule, the trainer used the same technique for making Mister Ed appear to speak. Hilton fashioned the horse's bridle with a nylon fishing line that fed into the horse's mouth. When the trainer tugged on the line, Bamboo Harvester tried to dislodge it by moving his lips, so Mister Ed appeared to talk. The deep, baritone voice of Mister Ed belonged to one of the most popular film cowboys of the late 1940s and early 1950s, Allan "Rocky" Lane. Lane and his horse, Black Jack, had made 38 westerns for Republic Pictures, and twice Lane was ranked among the top ten Western moneymakers. Lane took over Wild Bill Elliott's role in the Red Ryder series, playing the comic strip cowboy in seven films, then landed his own series of "Rocky" Lane films. When the "B" Western declined in the 1950s, Lane fell on hard times, finding only minor parts until he won the role of Mister Ed's voice. Embarrassed to be playing the voice of a horse, Lane preferred not to be listed in the show's credits, so Mister Ed was billed as "Himself," which contributed to the illusion that the horse really talked.

The first of 26 *Mister Ed* episodes premiered on 115 stations across the country in January 1961. The show was a hit during its first

year, and its ratings attracted the attention of CBS, which acquired the series for the fall 1961 Sunday lineup, where it debuted that October 1. Bamboo Harvester's talents and outstanding performances during *Mister Ed* were honored by PATSY Awards every year from 1962 to 1965. Given by the American Humane Association, the PATSY (Performing Animal Top Stars of the Year) is the animal equivalent of the Academy Award.

CBS canceled *Mister Ed* in midseason 1966, and the show went into immediate syndication. Bamboo Harvester retired to Lester Hilton's ranch where the horse lived out his days until his death in 1968. The mischievous Mister Ed has left his hoofprints on American popular culture. Not only did he show that animals are smart, his endearing antics influenced the culture to recognize the talents and the star power of movie and television animal actors.

—Pauline Bartel

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Fred Rogers in a scene from *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*.

## *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*

“Won’t you be my neighbor?” Fred McFeely Rogers has asked television viewers the same question for three decades. *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood* has helped create an entire genre of educational television, one that nurtures children’s self-worth. Few series have come close to maintaining the continuity and moral tenor of Fred Rogers’ long running PBS series, however. Lacking the commercial development of nearly all the network’s other children series, Rogers has maintained a commitment to education that has wavered little over the past 30 years.

Born in Pennsylvania in 1928, Fred McFeely Rogers began work in television with variety programs such as *The Voice of Firestone* and *The Lucky Strike Hit Parade*. In November, 1953, Rogers moved back to his roots and western Pennsylvania where he began working with WQED, the nation’s first community-supported public television station. Rogers began experimenting with children’s programming while at WQED, including the award-winning *Children’s Corner*, which contained the puppets and other details of *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*. During this period, Rogers began studying child development and became an ordained Presbyterian minister. Each of these sensibilities infuse his on-air persona.

After the 1966 release of Fred Rogers’ similar program called *Mister Rogers Neighborhood*, his renamed *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood* was released nationally in 1968. That same year, Rogers was appointed Chairman of the Forum on Mass Media and Child Development of the White House Conference on Children and Youth. Rogers

had become a leading spokesmen in American education and particularly how the television medium would be utilized. He steered the programming toward a non-commercial format that could be easily coordinated with classroom use. By 1971 he had created Family Communications, Inc., a company dedicated to children and providing educational support to the families and people who care for them.

Rogers has resisted the flamboyant staging of some children’s programs for a conservative, unchanging appearance. Each show begins and ends in the living room of Mister Rogers’ “television house.” At the opening of each show, Mister Rogers invites the television viewer to be his neighbor and enters his house, hangs up his coat in the closet, slips into his cardigan sweater, and changes into his sneakers. From his living room, Rogers introduces the viewer to a new idea or object that will be the focus of the show for the day or week. After his brief introduction, Mister Rogers takes time to visit other people in his neighborhood or places where everyday things are made like a balloon or crayon factory, for example.

Aside from Mister Rogers’ seemingly intimate conversation with the viewer, his “television neighbor,” the most engaging action of the program includes the “Neighborhood of Make-Believe,” a puppet kingdom ruled by King Friday XIII and Queen Sara Saturday and inhabited by several other puppets and humans. To help children make a distinction between real and pretend, none of the characters in the Neighborhood of Make-Believe ever appear in Mister Rogers’ “real” world. Despite advances in visual technology, the conveyor between the “real” world of Mister Rogers’ living room and the imaginary world of make-believe remains a mechanical trolley. Often the themes in the “Neighborhood of Make-Believe” revolve around

the management of feelings, but are consistent with the theme introduced by Mister Rogers at the beginning of the show. During each visit to the Neighborhood of Make-Believe puppets and humans use cooperative and constructive problem-solving. While the puppets try to understand and resolve their emotional troubles, the humans mediate and help console them, often in song. Some of the songs include “What Do You Do With the Mad That You Feel (When You Feel So Mad You Could Bite?)” and “There Are Many Ways (To Say I Love You).” Through his resistance to more modern technologies, supporters say, Rogers has created a timeless program that appeals to any viewer from any era.

While many comedians have parodied *Mister Rogers’ Neighborhood* (most memorably Eddie Murphy on *Saturday Night Live*), educators have backed-up Rogers’ claim that consistency is crucial for young viewers. Though many educational programs in the 1980s and 1990s have used more compromised standards, Rogers has largely refused alteration. The show remains based on the premise that if children feel comfortable and welcome they will be more open to learning new things. Despite remaining out of the marketing loop, *Mister Rogers’ Neighborhood* reaches almost eight million households and child-care settings each week. There are nearly 700 episodes in the series, and Rogers continues to write and produce several weeks of new programs each season, adding freshness and immediacy to what has become the longest-running children’s program on public television. Fred Rogers has received more than 30 honorary degrees from universities, and in 1998, his commitment to children and public broadcasting was honored with a Lifetime Achievement Award at the Emmies.

—Brian Black

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## Mitchell, Joni (1943—)

Generally acclaimed as the most talented female singer-songwriter of her age, Joni Mitchell’s influence on later generations has been considerable. Her work has inspired such diverse musicians as Prince, Thomas Dolby, Madonna, Suzanne Vega, and Shawn Colvin. While it is obvious that these artists and many others have tried to follow in her steps, it is equally obvious that none have matched the virtuosity of her work. Both as a recording and a performing artist, Mitchell has maintained the highest of standards throughout her career. Her talents as a songwriter are equalled only by Bob Dylan, with whom she has performed on several occasions.

Born Roberta Joan Anderson on November 7, 1943 in Fort McLeod, Alberta (Canada), Mitchell studied art in Calgary. In those years she also worked as a model and began to play in coffee bars. In 1964 she moved to Toronto, where she married folk singer Chuck



Joni Mitchell

Mitchell in 1965. One year later, the couple divorced and Joni moved on to New York to become a much respected singer and songwriter. In 1967, the year in which she recorded her first album, Mitchell’s international fame rose when Judy Collins recorded two of her early compositions on her album *Wildflowers*—“Michael from Mountains” and “Both Sides Now.” The latter song became a worldwide hit in Collins’ version.

In 1968, Mitchell released an album of her own, simply entitled *Joni Mitchell* (it is often referred to as *Song to a Seagull*). Produced by David Crosby, Mitchell’s debut set the tone for the two albums that would soon follow: *Clouds* (1969) and *Ladies of the Canyon* (1970). On these early records Mitchell sings her own songs, mainly accompanying herself on the guitar and supported by only a few musicians. The suppleness of Mitchell’s voice adds to the complexity of the feelings analyzed within her texts. Most of them are love songs, dramatic and terse, sung in a way only their author can: cool, yet emotional; lucid, yet compassionate. *Clouds* not only contains Mitchell’s own version of “Both Sides Now,” but also the much-applauded “Chelsea Morning,” which is rumored to have inspired the name of President Clinton’s only daughter. *Ladies of the Canyon* presents two other Mitchell classics: “Big Yellow Taxi”—an ecological pamphlet which became a hit in the United Kingdom and which was later covered by Dylan on his album *Dylan* in 1973—and “Woodstock,” which was also recorded by Ian Matthews and by Crosby, Stills, and Nash on *Déjà Vu* (1970). Written before the festival (which Mitchell was supposed to attend, but somehow did not make) the song is a prophetic analysis of the hippie version of the American dream.

Mitchell's next album, *Blue* (1971), featuring James Taylor, is her first real masterpiece. Both musically and lyrically, Mitchell's songs became more personal and more complex, yet without losing their simplicity and immediate attraction. The songs on the album are the result of Mitchell's having come to terms with several of her past love affairs. In 1972, she released *For the Roses*, on which the singer abandons her familiar terrain of folk music for an approach that is more melodious and pop-like. The change of sound, however slight, which this new approach involves, is continued on *Court and Spark* (1974), Mitchell's first fully electric album. On this record, featuring Robbie Robertson of The Band, Mitchell is backed by Tom Scott's L.A. Express, a group of studio musicians schooled in jazz-rock; Mitchell later recorded the live album *Miles of Aisles* (1975)—the album that contains new versions of many of the best songs on the early records—with L.A. Express.

Mitchell's second 1975 album, *The Hissing of Summer Lawns*, is a new masterpiece, even though *Rolling Stone* labeled it "Worst Album of the Year." The result of the singer's growing interest in jazz and world music (one track features the Burundi Drummers), the album shows Mitchell at her least introspective. Taken as a whole, the songs on *The Hissing of Summer Lawns* form an extensive comment on life in the 1970s, where economic relationships have taken the place of personal relationships: possession, both of money and of other human beings, is a constant theme of the album. The record's follow-up, *Hejira* (1976), reflected Mitchell's need for musical exploration and adventure. Prominently present on the album is jazz musician Jaco Pastorius, whose fretless bass also dominates the double album *Don Juan's Reckless Daughter* (1978), a record which betrays Mitchell's interest for Latin American rhythms. The album impressed jazz legend Charles Mingus, who sent Mitchell an invitation to work with him on a new project. Due to Mingus' untimely death the project was aborted, but it resulted, albeit indirectly, in *Mingus* (1979), Mitchell's tribute to the musical giant.

Mitchell entered the 1980s with *Wild Things Run Fast* (1982), a collection of the purest of pop tunes, which again make clear that every single Joni Mitchell record comes as something of a surprise. The album contains "Chinese Café," one of Mitchell's nicest songs, and a partial reworking of The Righteous Brothers' "Unchained Melody." Even though she failed to keep up with the steady pace of her earlier work, the quality of Mitchell's work remained impressive. *Dog Eat Dog* (1985) was produced by Thomas Dolby, whose technological sophistication also left a clear mark on the sound of the album's follow-up, *Chalk Mark in a Rainstorm* (1988). By the late 1980s Mitchell made it clear that she intended to take up an old passion of hers, painting. Major exhibitions in London and Edinburgh, however, did not keep her from recording *Night Ride Home* (1990), the acoustic simplicity of which involves yet another change of direction. Mitchell received a Grammy Award for best pop album for her 1994 *Turbulent Indigo*. In 1998, Mitchell embarked on a brief United States tour with Bob Dylan and Van Morrison: the concerts were unique in that they brought together three of the true giants in the history of popular music.

—Jurgen Pieters

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## Mitchell, Margaret (1900-1949)

Atlanta-born author Margaret Mitchell was an unknown in 1936 when her novel *Gone with the Wind* hit bookshelves across the country. The phenomenal success of *Gone with the Wind* altered her life dramatically. Mitchell's publishers, Macmillan, were convinced that they had a hit on their hands, so convinced that they invested more than \$10,000 promoting the novel. But even they were unprepared for sales that numbered more than half a million in a scant three months and more than two million by the time the book ended its 21-month run on the bestseller list. These figures are rendered even more astounding when one recalls what the \$3 cost of *Gone with the Wind* represented to many Depression-plagued consumers.

Certainly Mitchell's chronicle of the American Civil War and its aftermath offers compelling material. Additionally, contemporary audiences may have seen themselves reflected in Mitchell's tale of devastation and struggle, and Scarlett's vow to never go hungry again resonated with audiences who knew the reality of her hunger. Neither explanation, however, serves to account for the sustained popularity of a book that continues to sell close to 300,000 copies a year more than six decades after its publication.

Critics and ordinary readers alike praised the authenticity of Mitchell's work. Even the harshest critic noted, sometimes reluctantly, the author's powerful storytelling and historical accuracy. The reaction of readers, from university professors to laborers, was more visceral; the dramatic background and the vivid characterization engaged readers' emotions as well as their attention. Neither critics nor readers, however, realized the immediacy the Civil War experience held for Margaret Mitchell: she had played on land where relics



Margaret Mitchell

from Sherman's siege could be picked up by curious children, and she had traced with her own fingers the bullet scars, souvenirs of Antietam, on her Grandfather Mitchell's head. Mitchell's South was a storied land where an oral tradition was still strong. Like Faulkner, she knew that the past is never truly past.

But Mitchell had no desire to create a sentimental tribute to the glories of the Old South. The daughter of a suffragist mother and a history-buff father, she was too much of a rebel and too aware of the realities of Southern experience to belong to the moonlight and magnolias school. She had proved herself willing to challenge aristocratic Southern sensibilities long before she began writing *Gone with the Wind*. She scandalized polite Atlanta during her debut year with her public declaration that she would seek work rather than be auctioned off in marriage. No less shocking to her genteel world was the job she did secure writing for the *Atlanta Journal Sunday Magazine*, especially since by the time Peggy Mitchell's byline was appearing, she was the wife of Berrien "Red" Upshaw.

Mitchell's *Atlanta Journal* pieces were standard fare for the magazine's largely female readers; fairs, faith, and fashion were frequent topics. But in these articles Mitchell honed her gift for capturing memorable characters and evocative details, skills she would use to powerful effect in *Gone with the Wind*. Her Sunday features also reveal an avid interest in strong-willed women, particularly those who struggled to achieve financial independence. Mitchell wrote for the *Atlanta Journal* for four years, the period of her brief marriage to Upshaw and her years of independence following their divorce. Beset by ill health and frustrated with the limits of journalism, she left the *Atlanta Journal* in 1926, shortly after her marriage to John Marsh.

Soon thereafter she began the manuscript that would become *Gone with the Wind*. Obsessed with privacy, Mitchell hid her writing even from close friends. Because of her secrecy and because her family, honoring her wishes, destroyed most of her papers after her death, little is known about the composition of the novel. We do know that the final chapter was the first written, and the heroine's name was originally Pansy Hamilton. The change to Scarlett O'Hara came only a few months before publication.

While Mitchell was waffling on her character's name, Hollywood was already pursuing film rights to the novel. Major studios competed for rights, but David O. Selznick—an independent producer—won with an offer of \$50,000, an impressive sum at the time. It soon became clear that Selznick's romanticized vision of the South was quite different from Margaret Mitchell's rawer, more diverse, and less pretentious reality. Her aristocrats, the Wilkes clan, are the blandest characters in the 1,037 page novel. The strongest, most colorful characters do not fit popular, sentimental images. Mitchell insists that Scarlett is her father's daughter, and Gerald O'Hara is an Irish immigrant with only the thinnest veneer of gentility. The rogue Rhett Butler, far from playing the Cavalier, left genteel Charleston, disgusted with its hypocrisies.

Selznick simplified Scarlett's complexity and ignored the issue of mother-daughter relationships that figures prominently in the novel. His concern was with the romance of the characters and the region, and for those who saw his 1939 film, Vivien Leigh and Clark Gable became Scarlett O'Hara and Rhett Butler. The white-columned, plantation South of the film became the backdrop for *Gone with the Wind*, however false it may have been to Mitchell's novel. Few people even realize that the words that roll across the screen paying tribute to the "land of Cavaliers" and the last bow of the "Age of Chivalry" are a Hollywood addition which made Mitchell cringe.

Margaret Mitchell died in Atlanta on August 16, 1949, the victim of a speeding car. She was aware in the years before her death that the critical reputation of her epic work was declining, a decline that only intensified as the South itself changed radically. *Gone with the Wind* became an embarrassment to a region and a nation confronting its racist heritage. But even as critics first attacked and later ignored Mitchell's novel, *Gone with the Wind* survived. More than half a century after Margaret Mitchell wrote the novel which has become synonymous with her name, it continues to sell. In addition, Margaret Mitchell and *Gone with the Wind* sites proliferate on the world wide web, and scholars once again examine the literary value of Mitchell's opus.

Flannery O'Connor, another Georgia writer, once said, "There is something in us, as storytellers and listeners to stories . . . that demands that what falls at least be offered the chance to be restored." Mitchell wrote of a character and a place that believed in that chance. Perhaps therein lies the success of Margaret Mitchell and *Gone with the Wind*.

—Wylene Rholetter

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## Mitchum, Robert (1917-1997)

With his athletic build, heavy-lidded eyes, insolent smirk, and insouciant charm, Robert Mitchum became one of the post-World War II era's most popular and enduring actors despite, or perhaps because of, his reputation as a Hollywood bad boy. Arrested for possession of marijuana in 1948, Mitchum served jail time while the press tolled a death knell for his career; instead, Mitchum emerged a hot commodity. As Richard Schickel has noted, Mitchum "helped define cool for postwar America." A leading man to Ava Gardner, Jane Russell, Deborah Kerr, and Marilyn Monroe, Mitchum was also capable of creating unforgettable characters such as the murderous preacher in *The Night of the Hunter* (1955) and the vengeful and sadistic ex-con in *Cape Fear* (1962). A durable icon, Mitchum worked well into the 1990s, a complex actor who gave his audiences many simple pleasures.

The troubled childhood of Robert Mitchum would forever inform his adult life and career. Born in Bridgeport, Connecticut, Robert was the second child of a railroad worker who died when Robert was 18 months old. A few weeks after her husband's death, Robert's mother, Ann, gave birth to her third child. Unsure how she would be able to support her family, Ann and her three children



**Robert Mitchum**

moved back in with her mother and, by working full time, the family just scraped by. Robert's reaction to his difficult childhood without much parental supervision was to lash out, and he soon developed a reputation as a bright but defiant boy. Although a prankster and a fighter, Robert also wrote poetry. When the nine-year-old's work was published in the local paper, Robert was interviewed and photographed. He would later say, "This small spotlight on our material impoverishment inspired in me an introspection ever at odds with my desire for expression."

Despite his obvious intelligence, Robert was soon regarded as a troublemaker. When his mother married a British newspaperman, the family moved to New York. There ten-year-old Robert went to school in Hell's Kitchen, where he fought almost daily. But he was also a loner, who spent long hours reading Shakespeare, Wordsworth, and Joseph Conrad. At 14, he ran away from home and began what would become an almost legendary five years of itinerant travel. Lying about his age, Robert first worked as a sailor. When the captain found out the boy was underage, he was fired. He returned home briefly only to leave for California a few days later. Hopping trains, Mitchum traveled the country, taking odd jobs where he could find them. After making it to the West Coast, he continued to ride the rails, seeking adventure where he could find it. Shortly before his sixteenth birthday, he found more than he bargained for in Savannah, Georgia, where he was arrested for vagrancy. Forced to serve on a chain gang, Mitchum managed to escape after only a week. But his ankles were covered with infected wounds from the manacles, and it took the 16-year-old, who almost succumbed to starvation, months to reach home.

When he finally made it to a hospital, doctors wanted to amputate one of Robert's legs. But he was determined to save it, and hobbled around on crutches for months. While recuperating at home, his brother John introduced Robert to a pretty 14-year-old girl named Dorothy. The two fell in love, and even after Robert left home again, he promised Dorothy he would return for her.

For the next two years, Robert again traveled the country, going from job to job, even briefly earning a living as a boxer. He finally ended up in California, where his sister Julie was working in the theater. She encouraged her brother to audition for her company, and soon he was acting, writing, and directing. But although he did all three well, it was his writing which first caught the attention of Hollywood. With the promise of steady work writing for movies, Robert proposed to Dorothy. She agreed and the young couple permanently settled in Southern California, where Dorothy gave birth to their first child. But when Robert proved unable to support his family with his writing, he took a job as a sheet-metal worker at Lockheed, continuing to act on the side.

In 1943, a Hollywood producer of Westerns heard that Mitchum could break horses and called the actor in for an audition. In fact, Robert had only helped out with horses on his grandfather's farm. Nonetheless, he bluffed his way into the job and ended up on the set of a Hopalong Cassidy movie. But first he had to break a bucking bronco that had killed the last actor who had tried to ride it. After three tries, Mitchum tamed the horse and played his first movie role—a minor villain killed by Hopalong Cassidy. In 1943, he would go on to act in eight Hopalong Cassidy pictures, as well as nine other movies, in a variety of character roles. A year later, he was signed by RKO.

In 1944, Mitchum was tapped for a lead role in a Gary Cooper picture, *The Story of G.I. Joe*. His superb performance led to an Academy Award nomination and Robert Mitchum became Hollywood's newest leading man. Starring opposite Katherine Hepburn and Greer Garson, Mitchum quickly rose up the ranks. In 1948, however, he walked into a Hollywood sting operation and was arrested for marijuana possession. Mitchum himself told the press, "I'm ruined. I'm all washed up in pictures now, I guess." But Dorothy, RKO, and the actor's fans all stood by him, and after serving jail time, the popular actor returned to work.

After Howard Hughes bought RKO in the late 1940s, Mitchum became, along with his good friend actress Jane Russell, one of the reclusive producer's two favorite actors. Throughout the 1950s, Mitchum, who referred to himself as "the teacher's pet," consistently found work in RKO's top pictures and his reputation as an actor continued to grow. He always seemed to attract rumor and innuendo, however, and the press would dog him throughout his life, alleging infidelities, brawls, and drug charges. But Mitchum's bad boy persona only added to his audience appeal.

In 1962, he starred opposite Gregory Peck in *Cape Fear*, a film that would become his most famous. But though the actor continued to work steadily throughout the 1960s, the roles he was offered varied in quality. During the 1970s, Mitchum underwent a kind of renaissance, turning in superb performances in *Farewell, My Lovely* (1975), *The Last Tycoon* (1976), and *The Big Sleep* (1978). And by the late 1980s, he had become a living legend, making cameo appearances in *Scrooged* (1988), the remake of *Cape Fear* (1991), and *Tombstone* (1993).

As his biographer, Mike Tomkies, has written, "Robert Mitchum is probably the most complex character in the entire international film



world. He has always seemed to be engaged in perpetual battle with himself. It has produced a fascinating iconoclast.’’ The embodiment of Hollywood cool, Mitchum was a man of many faces—a sensitive poet, a discerning intellectual blessed with a photographic memory, a practical joker, a rebel unwilling to subdue his spirit, and a talented actor devoted to his profession.

—Victoria Price

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## Mix, Tom (1880-1940)

Hero of the silent Western, Tom Mix and his ‘‘wonder horse,’’ Tony, revolutionized both the style and content of the genre. Where earlier Westerns had depicted an austere (and fairly accurate) West and had emphasized character and unembroidered sentiment, Mix introduced a fast-paced and light-hearted version of the West, with a cowboy hero who offered youth, showmanship, and adventurousness. Mix films emphasized the hero’s riding and stunting abilities and featured the spectacular natural backdrops of many of America’s National Parks.

Though he invented a nearly mythic past for himself—one that supposedly included service with Teddy Roosevelt’s Rough Riders and military action in the Boxer Rebellion—Mix was actually born and raised in Pennsylvania and moved west to Oklahoma during the early 1900s. He joined the Miller Brothers’ 101 Real Wild West Ranch in 1905, and eventually toured with various Wild West shows, before returning to the Miller Ranch in 1910. Mix began working in film in 1911, when he worked as an advisor and stunt double in a Selig studio documentary about the Wild West. Quickly moving into larger roles, Mix began making numerous films. He graduated to feature films in 1914, his first being *In the Days of the Thundering Herd*. In 1917, he moved to the Fox studio (for whom he made over 70 films), and by the mid-1920s, Mix was making \$17,000 per week, starring in the profitable films that enabled Fox to make their other prestigious but unprofitable films. In the late 1920s and 1930s, he appeared in films for the FBO (later RKO) and Universal studios. Though he



Tom Mix

occasionally appeared in non-Western features, his signature films were all Westerns, including *Chip of the Flying U* (1914), *Sky High* (1922), *Riders of the Purple Sage* (1925), and *The Rainbow Trail* (1931). When the talkies came to Hollywood, an aging Mix left town and joined a traveling circus. Though he did return to Hollywood to make a few films in the 1930s, his heyday had passed. His final film, *The Miracle Rider*, was a fifteen-chapter serial that appeared in 1935. Most of Mix’s silent features are unavailable today, due to a fire at the Fox studios that destroyed almost all of the prints. In 1940, Mix died in a car accident in Arizona.

Mix’s West was theatrical, adventurous, and glamorous, as was Mix himself. Wearing his signature ten-gallon hats (black or white), silk shirts, and round-top boots, Mix and his films appealed to a young audience. An expert horseman and crack shot, Mix performed almost all his (often-perilous) stunts himself. His fancy ropework and riding stunts always saved the day, with the help of his trusty horse, Tony. Mix described his screen persona this way: ‘‘I ride into a place owning my own horse, saddle, and bridle. It isn’t my quarrel, but I get into trouble doing the right thing for somebody else. When it’s all ironed out, I never get any money reward. I may be made foreman of the ranch and I get the girl, but there is never a fervid love scene.’’

Mix’s cowboy image lived on well past his death in several ways. NBC radio and later television aired *The Tom Mix Show* from 1933 into the 1950s. Portrayed by various actors, the Mix character ended his shows with such messages as ‘‘Be a straight shooter,’’ or ‘‘Crime never pays,’’ and ‘‘Fight on the side of the law and you’ll never regret it.’’ Mix also appeared in various comic book series, including

the *Tom Mix Ralston Comics* and the *Tom Mix Western* series, in the 1940s and 1950s. Finally, Mix's good-time cowboy, with his unrealistic and glamorous image, spawned the singing and dancing cowboys and the Western spectacles of 1930s film, and his own lavish lifestyle helped to pave the way for the high-living flamboyance of many 1930s and 1940s movie stars' off-screen lives.

—Deborah M. Mix

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## Mizer, Bob

See Athletic Model Guild

## Mobil Masterpiece Theatre

See *Masterpiece Theatre*

## Mod

Of the many youth subcultures that have sprung from pop music, few style cults have endured as long as mod, which involves an almost religious fealty to style as a way to transcend class distinctions. Now, after three decades, it is a perennial style with a well-defined set of mannerisms, chief among them an almost fetish-like attachment to mass-produced objects like Italian scooters and army-surplus parkas, and a devotion to certain types of music—the early Who, rhythm and blues, and ska. Over time, the original impetus for mod, a subversive sort of working class dandyism, has fallen away, and shorn of these implications—American mods are more apt to be suburban and middle class than urban and working class—it has become a quaint type of revivalism.

West Indian immigrants began to settle in London during the 1950s, an unsettling development for the traditionally xenophobic British, especially for the working class, to whose neighborhoods they intruded and whose presence promised an unwelcome economic dislocation. Their presence did not go without response. The Teds, an Edwardian version of the American greaser, were hostile to the black immigrants, figuring prominently in London's 1958 race riots, but the mods idolized black singers, black styles, and above all, the indefinable cool of the rude boys, dapper West Indian delinquents. It was "an affinity which was transposed into style" as Dick Hebdige writes, with the black man "serving symbolically as a dark passage down into an imagined underworld . . . situated beneath the familiar surface of life where another order was disclosed: a beautifully intricate system in which the values, norms and conventions of the 'straight' world were inverted."

In working class London neighborhoods in the early 1960s, these various elements were percolating. A style of dress was evolving that eschewed the churlish vulgarity of the 1950s greaser teddy

boy. Its proponents numbered among the hoards of teenage office workers the British educational system set loose on employers. The mods chose to fit into work environments, unlike the petulant hoodlum-worshipping teds, but they suffered no illusions about the strictures of class. "There is hardly a kid in all of London," writes Tom Wolfe, "who harbors any sincere hope of advancing himself in any very striking way by success at work. Englishmen at an early age begin to sense that the fix is in, and all that work does is keep you afloat at the place you were born into." In response to this manifest truth, the mods developed a covert form of rebellion. They made themselves into sartorial masterpieces, every detail in place and, often, hand-tailored. They lived for weekends and bank holidays, for seeing and being seen in the right gear, at the right places, and preferably, under the influence of the right drugs—amphetamines chiefly (which tended to exacerbate their maniacal neatness); in short, living a whole style of life that had very little to do with jobs and futures and everything to do with a temporary form of emancipation from an oppressive society.

It was another instance of teenagers creating a ritualized world to evade the grown-up one. There was a hierarchy (faces, as the trendsetters were called, and tickets, the term for the followers), a set of rituals, and a value system. Ironically, all this energy was expended in the service of a most ephemeral of styles. Mod was a stylized version of planned obsolescence with fashions changing from month to month or even week to week, which tended to consume a large chunk of the average mod's paltry salary, and often led to petty larceny and male prostitution as a means of subsidizing visits to the tailor. In a way, mod was very much like the cargo cults and other religious rituals that aped colonialism, mimicking the dominant ideology in a stylized buffoonish manner where authority, be it a colonial official or office manager, could not help but see the asinine picture being painted of them.

Such movements can only exist in a vacuum for so long, and in the spring of 1964, a series of bank holiday riots between mods and teds catapulted the unfamiliar mod into national prominence. Then came the first self-consciously mod band, the Who, who had grown up with the style, were of its milieu, and were thus able to voice the mods' inchoate beliefs in song. With the heightened profile came the magazines, the clothing stores, and the whole armature of marketing that turned the mods from idiosyncratic rebels into the originators of yet another fashion craze, and by the time mod became visible, as it were, it had already begun to break into factions; excessive proto-hippie dandyism and the skinhead, a "kind of caricature of the model worker" as Phil Cohen described them, who turned away from the implied upward mobility of early-mod style, fashioning instead a "lumpen" proletariat fashion politics out of ordinary work clothes.

Mod lay dormant for nearly ten years before being resurrected in the late 1970s, partly due to the 1978 release of *Quadrophenia*, a film chronicling the mod-rocker bank holiday riots of 1964, and partly as a consequence of punk rock, which as a side-effect led to revivals of mod, and two-tone, a rude-boy-inflected ska music. The movements in England might still retain vestiges of the class antagonisms at the root of the original subculture, but in America, divorced from the particulars of class, time, and place, mod was stripped of its rich array of signifiers, a style revival movement among many others. What attracted Americans to this style—its exoticism, impenetrability, and the rigor of its conventions—they could inhabit, but never own. But without the milieu of working-class social dynamics, the latter-day mods had about them the still, airless quality of a museum exhibit.



A few “mod” models.

The original mods, the mods from Shepherd’s Bush and Brixton, developed in response to specifics of time and place—the rigidity of the British class system, the economy, and educational opportunities. Mod was a secret dissent, but in America it was stripped of its class signifiers. American mods were more likely to be college students than blue-collar workers. It was a style cult divorced from its origination by the vast difference in cultures—no amount of Union Jack flags, Doc Marten boots, and Lambretta scooters could ameliorate the difference. Mod was a market choice, one alternative among many, meant to convey that very American trait—individualism—and not class. This is perhaps the biggest irony of mod’s international success; that it came to exist as a consequence of the consumerism it initially lampooned.

—Michael Baers

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### *The Mod Squad*

“One black, one white, one blonde.” That was one way to describe the three members of *The Mod Squad*, executive producer



The cast of *The Mod Squad*: (from left) Clarence Williams III, Peggy Lipton, and Michael Cole.

Aaron Spelling's enormously successful late-1960s "hippie-oriented" cop drama. With a broadcast run on ABC from September 1968 to 1973, the series was part of an attempt by all of the networks to lure baby boomers back to prime-time during a period when it appeared that this lucrative demographic had abandoned the medium for cinema, rock music, and social protest. The show's premise provided an ingenious means to bridge the generation gap: take three rebellious, disaffected young social outcasts and persuade them to work as unarmed undercover detectives for the Los Angeles Police Department. The intent was that younger viewers would identify with the lead characters, while the older generation would find comfort in the law-and-order nature of the series.

While this premise seemed terribly calculated and perhaps even cynical, the show managed to work. *The Mod Squad* team, Pete Cochran (Michael Cole), a longhaired youth disowned by his Beverly Hills family, Julie Barnes (Peggy Lipton), a willowy blonde "hippie chick," and Linc Hayes (Clarence Williams III), an afroed and angry ghetto black busted during the Watts Riots, all displayed continual discomfort about their roles as cops. Their missions usually involved infiltration of some area of the youth counter-culture, from underground newspapers to campus anti-war organizations, in order to ferret out the inevitably grown-up villains who preyed on the idealistic young. This approach proved to be the show's winning formula: the bad guys were almost always short-haired establishment-types. During the first year of its run, Spelling was quoted gushing, "We're telling it like it is. Somebody has to help adults understand young

people. They've got so many hangups and nobody seems to care. Love is the answer. Those hippies are right. Those kids are so totally involved with life, they've involved me."

*The Mod Squad* quickly developed a reputation for handling socially relevant issues of the day while so much of prime-time fare continued to focus on the inanities of suburban witches, nuns who could fly, bumbling secret agents who talked into their shoes, and the rural adventures of the gentle folk in Hooterville and Mayberry. *The Mod Squad* proved to be the harbinger of an inevitable change in prime-time programming philosophies as the tumultuous 1960s raged on into the early 1970s. While the series did not deal with politically and socially troubling issues every week, it was noteworthy for tackling such issues at all. In a 1970 episode, for instance, the show explored the My Lai massacre in thinly fictionalized form. American public opinion was still quite raw over whether American troops in Vietnam had engaged in war crimes around that action. This episode of *The Mod Squad* provided a remarkably sensitive and complex examination of soldier psychology and racism. Another 1970 episode dealt with draft resistance, portraying a draft resister as sympathetic and principled in his pacifism.

The success of *The Mod Squad*, along with its formula of presenting the rebellious and idealistic young as heroes, led prime-time to begin a wholesale shift in its approach to programming in the early 1970s. The 1970-71 network season was ballyhooed as the "Season of Social Relevance." All around the dial, new dramas appeared using *The Mod Squad's* formula. *Storefront Lawyers* featured idealistic, rebellious young lawyers wanting to use the law to change the Establishment. *The Interns* featured idealistic, rebellious doctors-in-training who fought authority to change the system. Even *Ironside*, an established series, found itself grappling with socially relevant issues like the draft. None of the new *Mod Squad* clones, however, ended up a ratings winner. The networks would not get their social relevance approach right until they shifted away from dramas to comedies like *All in the Family* and *M\*A\*S\*H*, both of which gave viewers a means to take in countercultural values and social protest with spoonfuls of laughter.

By 1973, with the 1960s over, *The Mod Squad* quickly became dated, obviously a product of its time. Its basic formula proved powerful, however, for a new generation of television viewers. When the upstart Fox network wanted to lure young viewers—Generation Xers this time—to its offerings, one of the network's early hits proved to be *21 Jump Street*, a youth-oriented cop show thoroughly modeled on *The Mod Squad*.

—Aniko Bodroghkozy

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## Model T

The Model T was the first car aimed at, and affordable to, a mass market. It was also the first car to be a true American sensation at a



**The 1908 Model T**

time when America was transforming from the rural, more craft-based and agrarian economy of the nineteenth century to the urban mass market of the twentieth century. By the post-World War II era, most Americans owned a car and much of where and how they lived, shopped, and worked had been altered by the ability to travel long distances at a faster rate. Mass production, mass marketing, and mass use of automobiles contributed to this shift. From its debut in 1908, the Model T was America's most popular car.

Henry Ford, along with his team at the Ford Motor Company in Detroit, designed the Model T for durability and ease of maintenance. Ford aimed to produce an inexpensive, utilitarian car and eschewed a lot of the “trimmings” featured by those cars aimed at the luxury consumer. Even its name was simply functional, having no significance other than to indicate that the car was the twentieth iteration in Ford's succession of alphabetically designated development and retail models. The car was so standardized that, most years, it was available only in black.

Sales of the Model T were spectacular. In the early 1920s, Ford was selling over a million Model Ts each year and over half of the cars sold in the country were Fords. When the price of the Model T was cut, as it was nearly every year from 1911 to 1925, newspapers coast-to-coast reported the news. The car sold so well that the company bought no advertising between 1917 and 1923. Ford's aggressive

price cuts created an entirely new market for cars—the mass market. While cars were formerly a luxury of the rich, the workmanlike Model T, by virtue of its low price, was a new product for a new auto consumer, the middle-class everywhere.

Consumer demands of this magnitude required a new type of production. Ford worked with his team to make a number of cumulative refinements to the production process, culminating, in 1913, with the assembly line. Model T production required division of labor and massive planning coordination to link the efforts of tens of thousands of workers laboring on the assembly lines.

The Model T was a part of the greatest opening of the country since the railroads, allowing rural citizens to travel further, more often, and in the manner once only available to the moneyed leisure class. The explosion in the number of cars on the road led to increased investments in highways and farmers transferred their production from hay to consumer crops. The phenomenon of the newly affordable Model T replacing horses was part of a larger change in America, in which formerly homemade or locally available commodities as simple as soap or flour were suddenly mass-produced and branded.

The Model T had a cultural impact like no car before it, and few after. It was soon popularly referred to by its own nicknames. One was “Tin Lizzie,” because of a widespread, somewhat willful misconception that it was so cheap as to be made out of tin; another was

“flivver,” possibly a reference to its easily wrinkled and bent fenders. The car was also celebrated in songs like “Ford March & Two-Step,” performed at William Howard Taft’s Inaugural Ball of 1909 and the “Flivver Ten Million,” performed by the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the New York Philharmonic Orchestra. Between 1915 and 1920, an entire genre of cheap books were published, made up solely of jokes about Model Ts and the combination of private pride and public chagrin their owners felt at possessing such durable, utilitarian, somewhat homely vehicles.

The over ten million low-priced Model Ts sold by Ford created the mass-market for automobiles. Though production ceased in 1927, the cultish devotion of Americans to cars was just beginning, and the model T started it all. Model T Fords have become valuable collectors’ items and the massive market, industry, and culture they spawned are inextricably woven into the fabric of American life by the end of the twentieth century.

—Steven Kotok

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## Modern Dance

Modern Dance was born at the beginning of the twentieth century out of the need to recreate dance, to tear it away from the formal, stifling rigor of ballet, as well as from the image of other forms of dance as light-weight, sordid entertainment. One of the first dance artists associated with the movement was Isadora Duncan, whose insistence on dance as self-expression and high art paved the way for the more sustained schools of Mary Wigman, Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, and the Denishawn dance troupe. In Germany and the United States, these founders worked on movement systems which focused on the grounding of the body, natural dance, harmony, creative expression, and feeling. Their techniques continue to shape contemporary theatrical dance.

—Petra Kuppers

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## Modern Maturity

From modest beginnings, *Modern Maturity*, the magazine of the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP), grew into the largest average circulation magazine in the nation—without being available on newsstands. The *Time*-sized publication, a glossy bi-monthly, has been sent through the mail to some 23 million households that included over 33 million AARP members who received it as part of their annual dues.

The rise of *Modern Maturity* coincided with the growth of AARP, which could trace its roots to a meeting in a Washington, D.C. hotel of its three founding directors, Dr. Ethel Percy Andrus, who came up with the idea for the organization, and two of her associates, Grace Hatfield and Ernest Giddings. According to minutes of that meeting, it was decided to incorporate a nonprofit, nonpartisan membership organization in Washington, D.C., on July 1, 1958. At the time, Andrus was a 72-year-old California educator and activist who earlier had also founded the National Retired Teachers Association.

The start-up money for the organization came from a young Poughkeepsie, New York, insurance broker, Leonard Davis, whom Andrus had persuaded to come to her house in Ojai, California, while he was on a trip to Disneyland with his family. Davis and Andrus sat at her kitchen table discussing her plans for AARP while she showed him a mock-up of the proposed magazine, *Modern Maturity*. “There was contagious excitement in flipping through those pages,” noted an AARP article on the group’s history. “Around her kitchen table final copy was written for the magazine.” Andrus asked Davis for help in raising the seed money, and the go-getting Davis put up \$50,000 to start the ball rolling. He also persuaded Continental Casualty of Chicago to offer insurance for the AARP group. At the time, most insurers would not sell insurance to people over the age of 65, but Davis saw the opportunity to open doors to a vast new market.

The first issue of *Modern Maturity* was sent in late 1958 to members of Andrus’s other organization, the National Retired Teachers Association—members were asked to join AARP for \$2 a year. That sum would include benefits associated with membership as well as an annual subscription to *Modern Maturity*. The broad goals of the magazine were “to create a showcase for the achievements of our people; to build many bridges between the needs and the powers that can answer those needs; to open the door to all the various human adventures we can picture for you; and to serve as a forum for the discussion of subjects of interest to retired persons.” The first mass mailing was a marketing hit and membership in AARP grew rapidly, along with readership in *Modern Maturity*. By the time Andrus died in 1967, the circulation was well over one million readers. By the late 1990s, AARP had become a powerhouse lobbying organization in Washington, its group health insurance program had become the biggest in the nation, and its pharmacy services the second largest mail-order drug firm.

From the \$2 initial dues for membership, years later the fee rose to \$8 a year, which included a \$2.40 price for *Modern Maturity*, and 85¢ for the AARP *Bulletin* newsletter. Although the group’s name contained the phrase “Retired Persons,” membership was open to anyone 50 or over, and many who joined were not retired. From its meager beginnings, AARP—by the end of the twentieth century—had become a huge nonprofit industry with an annual budget of over

\$200 million, and boasted businesses generating a cash flow of over \$10 billion that netted some \$100 million. Advertising in AARP's publications alone produced more than \$30 million. In a 1988 story on AARP, *Money* magazine correspondents reported: "We discovered a loosely knit and paradoxical group, neither as politically threatening as it is often perceived nor as benign as it portrays itself to members . . . It is an undeniably effective lobby—and yet its membership is so fragmented and random that it lacks a specific shared interest or philosophy." Its lobbying influence on behalf of Medicare and other issues affecting the elderly, combined with a grass-roots force of millions of people behind it, made AARP one of the most potent lobbying forces in Washington.

The reader demographics of *Modern Maturity* in 1997 showed a population that was moderately well-off with a median household income of \$34,408, nearly two-thirds of its audience having attended or graduated from college, and most owning their own home. Women outnumbered men nearly two-to-one and the median age was 65.2 years.

A glance at the magazine shows why it achieved widespread acceptance, ranking with other best-selling magazines of the day. It put on a bright face in the late 1990s, a makeover from an earlier staid image. Its popular style appealed to a wide audience, not just the elderly. It covered topical subjects in well-edited articles. For example, the final issue of 1997 featured popular singer Tony Bennett on a glitzy, full-color cover. "Red Hot and Cool—Tony Bennett: Singing from the Heart," shouted the headline. In a box below the image of Bennett (dressed to kill in a tan suit and open white shirt) was a teaser focusing on a hot health topic: "Managed Care, Can We Learn to Love It?" Inside, articles featured an interview with national television newsman Sam Donaldson, a travel piece about offbeat beaches, a pictorial on notable figures who had turned 50 called "The Big Five Oh," tips for consumers, food and drink recipes, and a plethora of advertisements ranging from cold and flu medicines to automobiles and promotions for AARP services such as insurance, credit cards, and pharmacy service.

In short, *Modern Maturity* has matured into a widely read magazine and a pioneering influence on the American scene in the last part of the twentieth century because of the foresight of an activist woman, Ethel Andrus, who refused to be considered elderly, and who had the vision to capture an audience of Americans that was growing older.

—Michael Posner

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## *Modern Times*

The final cinematic appearance of Charlie Chaplin's Little Tramp character is also the legendary filmmaker's first talkie, though he uses sound sparingly and with predictable artistry. Made at the



Charlie Chaplin in a scene from the film *Modern Times*.

height of the Depression, in 1936, the film explores the dehumanization and dislocation that accompanied the advent of the industrial age. It provided modern film with some of its most iconic images and a song, "Smile," that became an instant pop standard.

The film's theme is spelled out in the foreword that runs after the opening credits: "'Modern Times.' A story of industry, of individual enterprise—humanity crusading in the pursuit of happiness." The film then opens with an overhead shot of a flock of sheep rushing through a chute. The sheep quickly dissolve into a similar shot of industrial laborers surging out of a subway station on their way to the factory.

A long sequence set on the factory floor then ensues. The Little Tramp, Chaplin's impish everyman, is shown without his traditional baggy pants, derby hat, and cane. Instead he wears the gray coveralls of a common assembly line worker. The modern industrial laborer's predicament is symbolized by a scene in which the Tramp is sucked inside a huge machine while oiling it, passing through its myriad gears like just another part in the mechanism. Though he escapes that jam, the Tramp is soon driven mad by the dull routine of factory life. He goes berserk and is hauled off to an asylum. Thus ends the second reel.

The rest of the film continues on in episodic fashion. The Tramp is jailed after he inadvertently becomes part of a pro-union march. Released, he meets up with the Gamine (a ravishing Paulette Godard), an orphan girl who has run away from home to avoid being placed in an orphanage. The two tramps fall in love, and Chaplin's character vows to get them a home "even if I have to work for it." He fails at a

series of jobs before the police, inevitably, come looking for the runaway girl. Forced to flee, the pair return to the open road, where they join hands and pledge to “get along” somehow.

*Modern Times* was promoted by the studio as Chaplin’s first sound film, but that is something of a misnomer. Chaplin uses sound only to serve the film’s theme of technology and dehumanization: spoken voices are heard emanating from mechanical devices, the factory boss is heard urging the Tramp to get back to work, and so on. Chaplin’s actual voice is heard only briefly, singing a nonsense song. Special sound effects and an original musical score enhance the pantomime.

A number of the images from *Modern Times*—the Tramp caught up in the machinery, waving the red flag at the head of a labor demonstration, and the final poignant shot of the Tramp and the Gamine walking uncertainly off into the sunset—have become indelibly imprinted on the pop cultural consciousness. As the final undeniable master work of one of the twentieth century’s greatest directors, it continues to generate criticism and commentary within the world film community. Fittingly, in 1989, *Modern Times* was entered into the National Film Registry, a program created by the Library of Congress to preserve films deemed “culturally, historically, or esthetically important.”

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Modernism

Modernism is a highly complex cultural phenomenon which has generated a variety of differing opinions and an immense critical literature. The notion of the “modern” has undergone various semantic shifts and definitions, mainly due to the sensibility of each age, yet the word has always retained a particular pertinence in characterizing a feeling of novelty, of change and historical evolution. For American expatriate writer Gertrude Stein Modernism was a sort of “inevitable art,” the only “composition” appropriate to the new disposition of time and space in which people lived in the early part of the twentieth century. However it is defined, it is clear that Modernism was an extraordinary combination of often contradictory aspects: the futuristic and the nihilistic, the revolutionary and the conservative, the naturalistic and the symbolistic, the romantic and the classical. It was a celebration of a technological age, the so-called “Age of the Machine” and a condemnation of it, a faithful acceptance of any new, exciting cultural expression and the excuse for fearful and anxious reactions in face of it. The term has often included many artistic movements which originated mostly in Europe (Impressionism, Expressionism, Futurism, Cubism, Symbolism, Imagism etc.), but soon became truly international, often sharing a tendency towards abstraction and a refusal of realism. The Modernist tendency expressed itself

as anti-representationalism in painting, free verse in poetry, stream-of-consciousness narrative in the novel, just to make a few examples. Most critics agree that the peak of the Modernist period was the first quarter of the twentieth century, but some place it as early as the 1890s, as did Frank Kermode in a famous study aptly entitled *The Sense of an Ending*.

One cannot date exactly the beginning of “modern” culture in America, but surely it was decried in quite exalted terms as early as 1871, in Walt Whitman’s prophetic *Democratic Vistas*: “America demands a poetry that is bold, modern, and all-surrounding and kosmical, as she is herself. It must in no respect ignore science and the modern. It must bend its vision toward the future, more than the past.” “Science and the modern” were firmly linked in Whitman’s forward-looking vision in a union that expressed the post-Civil War optimism of American civilization. Surprisingly, Whitman’s quest for an art that would favorably compare with science and the modern had virtually no followers until the first decades of the twentieth century, when a group of artists began to create a visual and literary culture that reflected and responded to the extraordinary transformations of American society under the impact of the machine. But this new art was to be rather different from what Whitman had optimistically envisioned. What Whitman had in mind was a larger aesthetic vision of democratic civilization which would have incorporated the world of science and technology. For the modernists, on the other hand, the new world of the machine was far more complex and their response was far more ambivalent.

Clearly, the changes that occurred during the years following Whitman’s declaration of 1871 were extraordinary, even beyond any expectation: the material world was virtually rebuilt from scratch and the human subject came to be placed in an environment that was continuously changing. Candles and oil lamps had been replaced by lightbulbs powered by that invisible power, electricity; the wireless radio became ever more common in the dining-room. Specialized industrial processes had been in effect since the 1880s, but with electricity mechanization was much accelerated. In 1910, one in ten urban homes had electricity; by 1930 most did, and the consumer, especially the lady of the house, was surrounded with new machines: irons, sewing machines, vacuum cleaners, toasters, washing machines, refrigerators, in brief the household was transformed into a wholly new, exciting, mechanized environment.

Understandably, the impact of the modern times was most visible in the city. Cities like New York started growing upward, from their pre-elevator six stories to the thirty stories of the skyscraper by the end of the nineteenth century. Daniel Burnham’s triangular Flatiron Building (1903), the tallest building of its time, became a symbol of such times. Photographers like Alfred Stieglitz, Alvin Langdon Coburn, and Edward Steichen started to immortalize these tall buildings as aesthetic objects. However, the skyscrapers would soon acquire a different role: they would perform an advertising function for the commercial interests that had built them in the first place; they would become icons of the modern age and, above all, of modern industrial civilization. In New York the very names of streets like Broadway, Wall Street, or Madison Avenue reflected those structures of mass communication and persuasion, finance, capitalism, and popular culture that were defining the new modern way of life. New York was to become the modernist metropolis *par excellence*, but it should be stressed that Modernism transformed and embraced not just one city, but many.



To go back to Whitman again, one could wonder why, in a time of such revolutionary changes, his aspiration was not answered earlier by the world of art and culture. The reason might be that all the major transformations Whitman and the American people in general were witnessing (the tall buildings, the manufacturing products, etc.) were not regarded as pertaining to the world of art, at least the capital “A” Art of high culture, as defined by the academy and by its well established aesthetic criteria. In a way, Art was perceived as a defence against the ever-changing world of bridges, skyscrapers, steam engines, and railroads. Even when the machine was artistically represented, its mere functionalism had to be hidden behind some classical decorative embellishment. It was only gradually, in the machinery and architectural forms of the industrial landscape, that the new modernist vocabulary found its inspiration, and as a result science and the modern began to find their way into the culture at large.

The vocabulary of “the modern” was one of mechanical forms and elaborate mechanisms viewed under a metaphorical light. Such a vocabulary was embraced in the visual arts by European expatriates like Picabia and Duchamp and by American artists as well; not surprisingly the city and the machine became the subject matter of modernist art. The American response was characterized by the attempt to connect the new age of the machine with a native cultural tradition; it was as if in order to look at the future one had first to look backwards, especially at the century that had just come to a close. This is perhaps one of the most interesting paradoxes of modernity: that the projection into the future and the emergence of a popular modernism also coincided with a deepening traditionalism. This tendency is detectable in literature and in the visual arts as well, in artists as diverse as William Faulkner, William Carlos Williams, and F. Scott Fitzgerald, or in the adherents to the Precisionist movement, a handful of young painters and photographers that would represent one of the most interesting American contributions to international modernism.

Compared to the European, the American artists were more critical and, in many respects, more worried about the consequences of mechanical civilization: the dangers of robotization deriving from matching the man to the machine and the machine to the man found perhaps their best expression in Chaplin’s *Modern Times* (1936). However, already in his 1919 book *Our America*, Waldo Frank had voiced the concern of many Americans who feared that the dehumanizing forces of technology would lead to psychic fragmentation and spiritual deprivation. Such opinions dominated literary magazines like *The Seven Arts*, *Secession*, and *Broom*, to name just a few. However, American artists were also engaged in building native forms of cultural expression that could not disregard the contemporary reality of machine technology. For many Walt Whitman provided a singular model for the celebration of indigenous culture, in particular the metaphysical analogy that he drew between mechanical energy and divine spirit. William Carlos Williams echoed portions of the poet’s “Crossing Brooklyn Ferry” in his own exhortations to American artists to develop indigenous subjects and forms of expression. These new forms should be based on Whitman’s glorification of the dynamism, vitality, and energy of the native environment and his celebration of the machine as an American cultural symbol.

Not surprisingly, it was another poet, Hart Crane, who derived an affirmative mythology from the realities of the technological world. Crane wanted to resuscitate contemporary, but decayed, culture by aligning it with the great mythologies of the past. He

considered the entrenchment of machinery in contemporary life as a challenging responsibility for the poet. The machine could not be ignored but must be absorbed into poetry, where its destructive forces would be countered through the creation of an alternative myth. Guided by an evangelical temperament Crane infused technological culture with transcendent ecstasy. By fusing popular legends about American history—Columbus, Pocahontas, Rip Van Winkle—with contemporary reality—railroads, subways, office buildings—he aimed to construct “a mystical synthesis of ‘America’” that would achieve “a mythic transfiguration of current values.” For Crane, the bridge, especially Brooklyn Bridge, was an emblem of unification, a passage between the ideal and the transitory sensations of history.

One could well agree with Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane when they argue that for many writers the city became the very “analogue of form,” not only that Modernism was a particularly urban art but also that the artist was “caught up in the spirit of the modern city, which is itself the spirit of a modern technological society. . . . The city has become culture.” In New York the experimental spirit was particularly evident in Greenwich Village and was often conflated with a sense of liberation in morals. Henry James described the Village of those years in *Washington Square* (1881). Soon radicalism characterized not only arts and morals, but also politics, especially in the period 1910-1917, after the appearance of magazines like the *Masses*, the *Freeman*, *The Nation*, and *The New Republic*, to name a few. Radical politics was debated in the salon of Mabel Dodge by people like John Reed and Bill Haywood. From an artistic perspective the salon of Alfred Stieglitz is certainly worth mentioning. The Berlin-educated Stieglitz staged the first American exhibition of Matisse, Toulouse Lautrec, Picasso, and Picabia, among others. He organized the famous Armory Show of 1913, the exhibition that would mark a turning point in the world of art, not to mention the role that Stieglitz played in the history of photography.

To dispel any doubt about the conceptual link between “modernism” and “modernization,” it should be stressed that even in the era of high aesthetic modernism (roughly 1890 to 1930), the impact of the machine was reflected also in a whole range of cultural productions that appealed to a large number of people. As Douglas Tallack has rightly pointed out: “material changes were no mere backdrop to artistic experimentation. They produced a mass culture based on the market, the phenomenon with which all twentieth-century writers and artists had to contend.” Far from being just a “lure” for a mass audience that mindlessly consumed every product it was offered, popular culture texts of the time should be viewed for their often contradictory meanings and uses and for the social and cultural dynamics they reflected. Saloons, parks, dance halls, music, and celebrations are examples of new forms of leisure that became commodified during this period. Though a detailed analysis of such phenomena is beyond the scope of this essay, it is worth mentioning impact of the communications revolution on the creation of an ever-growing market for news and entertainment.

The fact that the communications revolution had an effect on the production as well as on the distribution and reception of culture was already evident in the late nineteenth century when American fiction, like the domestic household, made contact with the new mass-produced brand-named merchandise. As advertisements became touchstones of modernity and its fragmentations, fiction and advertising acted on one another in complex and unexpected ways. Frank

Munsey, editor and publisher of one of the first new magazines oriented to the middle class in the 1890s, argued that: “fiction . . . is responsible for enormous circulations, and without fiction the general advertiser would find the magazine proposition . . . decidedly uninteresting from a business standpoint.” The big change in magazine economics usually dates back to 1893, the year that three monthlies, *Munsey’s*, *McClure’s*, and *Cosmopolitan* dropped their prices to ten cents, shifted their enterprise from sales to advertising, and increased their circulation to hundreds of thousands. These magazines were different from the old elite magazines such as *Harper’s*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, and *The Century* (which cost thirty-five cents a copy/four dollars a year) in that they achieved a large circulation, thus reaching readers who had never subscribed to magazines. *Munsey’s*, the first of the middle-class magazines to drop its price to a dime, is exemplary in its mission of bringing fiction and ad writing ever closer, so readers would learn to appreciate the directness and succinctness of advertising writing. Again, to quote Frank Munsey’s words: “The modern advertisement is a thing of art, a poem, a sledge hammer, an argument—a whole volume compressed into a sentence. Some of the cleverest writing . . . can be found in the advertising pages of a first rate magazine.”

*Munsey’s* published mainly general fiction, articles, and comments specifically directed to a middle class reading public largely, but not exclusively, formed by women. Others would soon follow Munsey’s example. The *Saturday Evening Post*, which began publishing in its modern form in 1897, offered a contrast between conventional moral values and modern publishing conventions. De Witt Wallace’s *Reader’s Digest*, founded in 1922, aimed to emulate Henry Ford by applying mass production techniques to the world of print. The “tabloid” made its first appearance in 1919 in the form of the *New York Illustrated Daily News*. In the 1930s, Henry Luce became the first media tycoon thanks to the massive circulation of his magazine *Life*, which made an extensive use of the camera.

Much of the recent interest in modernism has had less directly to do with high literary manifestations, and more with the lived forms of popular culture: cinema, radio, fashion, mass advertising, automobiles, daily papers, and detective and science fiction. These forms came to symbolize not just Manhattan or Chicago, but city life in general. As Raymond Williams puts it, “out of an experience of the cities came an experience of the future.” Besides, there is the question of whether modernism has actually ended, whether there is a case for a sort of aesthetic continuity from the abundance of versions of modernism to the equal abundance of versions of postmodernism. What is certain is that although modernism was not to everybody’s taste, it was the movement which best described and shaped our modern consciousness.

—Anna Notaro

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## Momaday, N. Scott (1934—)

N. Scott Momaday, winner of the 1969 Pulitzer Prize for fiction with his first novel, *House Made of Dawn*, achieved international attention as an author of Native American literature. Through his poetry, fiction, criticism, and essays, especially *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (1969), the story of the Kiowa people whose dominance on the American plains ended with the Euro-American expansion, Momaday introduced Native American culture into the canon of American literature. Among his other well known works are “The Bear,” for which he won the Academy of American Poets prize in 1962, and his second novel, *The Ancient Child* (1989), a fictionalized autobiography about an Indian artist in search of his racial identity. As Momaday’s popularity increased during the last three decades of the twentieth century, so did interest in Native American cultural heritage, economic needs, and legal claims.

—Sharon Brown

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## *Monday Night Football*

*Monday Night Football* appeared on the American pop-cultural landscape at a time when professional football was becoming the nation's preeminent televised sport. As conceived by National Football League commissioner Pete Rozelle, *Monday Night Football* was to be a weekly prime-time showcase for the fast-growing game. ABC Sports, itself an aggressive innovator in the production and marketing of televised athletics under the stewardship of Roone Arledge, was the NFL's partner in this bold endeavor. Together, the NFL and ABC created a ratings behemoth.

*Monday Night Football* debuted September 21, 1970, with a game matching Joe Namath's New York Jets against the Cleveland Browns. Keith Jackson provided the play-by-play that first season, with color commentary from the unlikely duo of Don Meredith and Howard Cosell. Meredith, a folksy former quarterback, was soon nicknamed "Dandy Don" by the acerbic Cosell, a one-time lawyer whose pomposity was matched only by his verbosity. The oil-and-water team became a mainstay of the Monday night telecasts. When ex-Giants great Frank Gifford replaced Jackson in 1971, the crew that would dominate the program's glory years was in place.

The Monday night broadcast was an instant ratings success, in no small part thanks to the uniqueness of the concept. By covering

only one game a week, ABC could devote sufficient resources to *Monday Night Football* to make it into a prime-time extravaganza. The production used nine cameras, instead of the four or five used for other NFL telecasts. Other technical innovations included the deployment of hand-held cameras to capture sideline action and the regular use of Goodyear's blimp to provide aerial views of the stadiums. "We approached every game as if it was the Super Bowl," commented NFL senior vice president Dennis Lewin, a one-time *Monday Night Football* staffer.

However innovative the concept and execution, *Monday Night Football* could not have succeeded without the interpersonal dynamics of its broadcast crew. Eschewing the two-man approach used on most sports telecasts, *Monday Night Football* became the first national sports program to place three men in the enclosed space of the play-by-play booth. The mostly male audience found much to hate in the bewigged, professorial Cosell, but that was just the point. He was the man Everyman loved to hate, and his constant needling of the good-natured Meredith and the mush-mouthed Gifford provided some great theater-of-the-absurd exchanges. Even blowouts and mismatches drew huge audiences, as viewers tuned in to hear what "Humble Howard" would say this week.

The show took a hit when Cosell retired from the *Monday Night Football* booth after the 1983 season. It lost much of its unique claim



Don Meredith, Howard Cosell, and Frank Gifford on *Monday Night Football*.

on the viewers' attention and reaped a harvest of bad press when the outspoken former analyst refused to go quietly. After taking every opportunity to gloat publicly over the show's precipitous ratings decline following his departure, in 1985 Cosell produced a scathing memoir, *I Never Played the Game*, in which he lambasted his former boothmates. Grammatically challenged ex-jocks O. J. Simpson and Joe Namath gamely tried to fill Cosell's analyst's chair, with predictably stupefying results.

For the 1986 season, ABC shunted Gifford to the color commentator's chair and brought in veteran play-by-play man Al Michaels to call the action. The facile Michaels quickly established himself as a strong presence in the booth, though Gifford seemed a bit uncomfortable with his new role. The following season, former NFL lineman Dan Dierdorf was added as the inevitable third wheel. The garrulous Dierdorf did not seem to mesh well with Gifford; nevertheless, ratings picked up, and ABC did not make a change in the booth (but for the brief addition of Lynn Swann in 1988) for the next eleven years.

During that time, ABC saw its franchise grow into even more of a ratings powerhouse. Young viewers were coming back to *Monday Night Football* in droves, in part due to the use of a rollicking Hank Williams, Jr. theme song. "Are you ready for some footbaaaaaallll?" the scruffy country-and-western scion wailed in the opening number, which went on to invite "all [his] rowdy friends" over for a "Monday Night Party."

*Monday Night Football* was thrown for a loop in 1997 when color man Gifford was caught on film by a supermarket tabloid in the arms of a buxom flight attendant who bore no resemblance to his wife, perky TV chat show hostess Kathie Lee Gifford. Although "Giff" later claimed he was set up by the paparazzi, it was an enormous public relations hit for a man whose appeal largely rested on his squeaky clean football hero image. Gifford's indiscretion was only one of many reasons he was ushered out of the broadcast booth in time for the 1998 season. The on-air chemistry between him and Dierdorf was dreadful, and Michaels too often had to play traffic cop between two blabbermouths instead of calling the action. Worst of all, viewers began tuning out this pigskin McLaughlin Group in ever increasing numbers. Ratings for the 1997 season were down seven percent from the year before.

In need of a fresh face, ABC turned to Boomer Esiason, a genial former quarterback with little broadcasting experience. To make room in the booth, the suits moved Gifford into a nebulous co-hosting role on a new twenty-minute pre-game show, *Monday Night Blast*. Start time of the games was moved up to 8:20 P.M. Eastern, to the consternation of many viewers out West. An obvious attempt to inject some energy into the wheezing *Monday Night* franchise, *Monday Night Blast* was a raucous sports bar party hosted by loud-mouthed ESPN anchor Chris Berman. The push was on to recapture the attention of younger viewers—at the risk of alienating older ones with its high-decibel puffery, but at the end of the century, as football ratings continued to decline across the board, it was unclear whether the benchmark Monday night telecast would ever regain the appeal it had in its heyday.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## The Monkees

On September 8, 1965, *Daily Variety* ran an advertisement calling for "Folk & Rock Musicians-Singers" and "4 Insane Boys, Age 17-21" for "Acting Roles in a New TV Series." The 437 young hopefuls who auditioned for producers Bob Rafelson (*Five Easy Pieces*) and Bert Schneider included Paul Williams, Harry Nilsson, and Steven Stills, but not Charles Manson, even though that urban legend persists. The goal was to find four lads who embodied the joie de vivre exhibited by the Beatles in their early celluloid romps, *A Hard Day's Night* (1964) and *Help!* (1965). That Liverpool quartet was already reinventing itself, but there were those who wished that the mop-tops would stay giddy and innocent forever.

That is what the creators of The Monkees (even the name was similar to The Beatles) were banking on. The television show/rock band was made up of Micky Dolenz, Davy Jones, Peter Tork, and Mike Nesmith, who were prepped, drilled, and rehearsed, in both music and improvisational techniques, until they could pass as a group. Dolenz (drums) was child actor Micky Braddock, of *Circus Boy* fame. The British-born Jones (assorted hand-held percussion instruments), an ex-jockey, played the Artful Dodger on Broadway in *Oliver!* He was also the reason another British musician named David Jones decided to take the stage name Bowie. Tork (rhythm guitarist) was a folk singer. Rounding out the manufactured band was Nesmith (lead guitar), who also had some musical chops. Nesmith, who was rarely seen without his wool hat in those days, was also heir to the Liquid Paper fortune; his mother Bette invented the venerable office aid.

In what has been called the precursor to music videos, *The Monkees* brought us the wacky adventures of these four free-wheeling musicians who lived together in a beach house in southern California. The fluffy surrealistic plots, complete with non-sequiturs, sound effects, one-liners, and slow and fast motion camera tricks, usually consisted of the boys running afoul of villains and rescuing maidens. It was probably the first show that could accurately be described as "trippy," though it was all good clean fun. A typical plot: the boys throw a party without a chaperone who will please the father of Davy's new girlfriend, so Micky dresses up as a female chaperone. All would wrap up in time for a song at the end, in a format that would soon be borrowed by another fabricated television show band, *The Partridge Family*.

With Don Kirshner as music supervisor, the producers brought in the decade's best pop tunesmiths, such as Boyce and Hart, and Neil Diamond, to pen the Monkees' songs, which included "Last Train to Clarksville" (which Dolenz claims is an antiwar song), "I'm a Believer," and "Girl." Six of their singles made it to the Top 10, and *The Monkees* won an Emmy as "the outstanding comedy series" in their first season. The albums, which sold in the millions, were cross-promoted with the television show every Monday night on NBC at 7:30 p.m. from 1966 to 1968. It was a match made in consumer heaven.

But Pygmalion was bound to rebel against its creator. The Monkees were not allowed to play instruments on the early records; they were just supposed to provide the vocals. This served to annoy



The Monkees, from left: Mike Nesmith, Peter Tork, Davy Jones, and Micky Dolenz.

the boys, and proved embarrassing when it was time to tour, which they did, to throngs of screaming fans. One leg of their tour featured a little-known guitarist named Jimi Hendrix as their opening act; Dolenz recalls, “He’d be in the middle of ‘Purple Haze’ and kids would be going ‘We want Da-vy!’” At a 1967 press conference, Nesmith, certainly the most financially secure Monkee, bitterly complained that they were being passed off as something they were not. After a final showdown with the producers, the Monkees were allowed more creative freedom. Monkee-penned songs appeared on their third album, the first without Kirschner at the helm.

The television show, suffering up against the popular *Gunsmoke*, was canceled in 1968. The Monkees made their silver screen debut that year in the unwatchable *Head*, written by Jack Nicholson and Rafelson, and featuring cameos by Nicholson, Dennis Hopper, Frank Zappa, and boxer Sonny Liston. After the band broke up, Nesmith stayed in the music business, writing the hit “Different Drum” for Linda Ronstadt’s early group Stone Poneys. He went on to be an innovative video producer, winning the first ever video Grammy for *Elephant Parts*, and the executive producer of the cult film *Repo Man*. Jones and Dolenz teamed up with Boyce and Hart in 1975, but it did not last long. Jones has made a cottage industry out of playing “Himself” or “Teen Idol” on several sitcoms, *The Real Brady Bunch*’s theater run (Marcia Brady was president of his fan club; he

appeared on an original episode of that show), and the two Brady Bunch movies. Dolenz has done some directing, and his daughter Ami is an actress.

The Monkees enjoyed a revitalization in 1986 with a highly publicized summer concert tour (mostly without Nesmith, who was still distancing himself from the group), reissues of their albums, and MTV (Music Television) running reruns of the television show. The star-maker machinery thought it was the right time for some new Monkees, and in 1987, another heavily promoted nationwide talent hunt was staged. That hunt produced Larry Saltis, Dino Kovas, Jared Chandler, and Marty Ross, the *New Monkees*. This time the boys lived in a big gothic mansion, with Manfred, a stuffy butler, and Helen, a sarcastic pair of disembodied lips, who provided constant commentary on the many television screens scattered throughout the manse. It did not work, the cross-promoted album did not sell, and the search for the New Monkees ended up having taken longer than the resulting show actually ran.

It turned out that people were still interested in the old Monkees. The four originals toured again in 1996-1997. The first and arguably the best of pop’s fabricated bands, the Monkees were a 1960s synergy of music, television, and marketing.

—Karen Lurie

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## Monopoly

Invented, ironically, during the Great Depression of the 1930s, the game of Monopoly symbolizes and exploits the capitalist ethic and was an immediate success. It became the quintessential American board game and, by the late 1990s, was still the world's biggest selling copyrighted game, licensed in 43 countries and published in 26 different languages. Inspired by *The Landlord's Game* invented by Lizzie J. Magie, Charles B. Darrow (1889-1967) developed Monopoly using the street names from Atlantic City, New Jersey. In 1935, he sold the game for a royalty to the game manufacturers Parker Brothers. Based on the working principles of capitalism and real-estate, the objective of the game is to become the wealthiest player, "bankrupting" all others (one of whom plays the bank), through buying and selling properties, building houses, charging rents, and handling mortgages, utilities and interests. There are numerous editions of and variations on the Monopoly game, which has evolved into a worldwide phenomenon, leading in 1973 to the creation of the National and World Monopoly Championships.

—Catherine C. Galley and Briavel Holcomb

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## Monroe, Bill (1911-1996)

Seldom can a particular genre of music be credited to the vision and influence of a lone individual as is the case with Bill Monroe and Bluegrass. In a career spanning over half a century, "The Father of Bluegrass" created, popularized, and trained numerous practitioners



**Bill Monroe**

in this distinctly American style of music. While sobriquets such as "Creator of the Blues" lavished on W. C. Handy or "King of Rock and Roll" bestowed upon Elvis Presley are gleefully denounced by musicologists, few, if any, scholars challenge Monroe's supremacy in the development of the "high and lonesome sound," a blending of Anglo-Scottish-Irish fiddle tunes, Southern gospel singing, and the stylings of African-American bluesmen. Born in the isolated community of Rosine, Kentucky, Monroe combined these elements of his local culture into a new form of music, which would attract fans world wide.

For many people in rural areas, music served a dual function of preserving a heritage and providing entertainment. Monroe was clearly a product and eventually a practitioner of this aesthetic. As the youngest child in a noticeably musical family, Monroe was reared in a world of melodies and ballads. His mother sang and played the accordion and the fiddle. His siblings developed similar skills on an assortment of stringed instruments. From his own explanation, Monroe identified his greatest influence as his mother's brother, Pendleton Vanderver. Monroe was orphaned during his adolescence, and Vanderver functioned both as guardian and teacher, instructing his nephew in the intricacies of old-time fiddle music. Years later, "Uncle Pen" would be commemorated in one of Monroe's most endearing songs. An additional influence during Monroe's formative years was Arnold Schultz, an African-American railroad worker who exposed the youth to country blues guitar.

Although Monroe initially played guitar behind Uncle Pen's fiddling at local dances during the mid-1920s, his emergence as a

professional musician coincided with his switch to the mandolin and the formation of a band with brothers Charlie (on guitar) and Birch (on fiddle) in 1927. By 1930 the trio was performing on the radio in Indiana, and by 1936 The Monroe Brothers (sans Birch) had secured a recording contract with Bluebird Records. Possessing a repertoire of sacred and secular material, the duo recorded 60 songs between 1936–1938. Although this partnership enjoyed a notable popularity with titles such as “What Would You Give in Exchange for Your Soul?,” stylistically there was little to set the Monroe’s apart from their peers. “Brother acts,” a format characterized by limited instrumentation and an emphasis on vocal harmonies, were commonplace among country music practitioners during the 1930s. By late 1938, the Monroe brothers had gone their separate ways.

In 1939 Bill Monroe assembled a new band he named The Bluegrass Boys. During the same year, he joined the staff of the Nashville-based radio show “The Grand Ole Opry,” which resulted in a greater degree of commercial exposure. During this period, Monroe’s music was clearly undergoing a transformation—moving from the old time string band and the brother duos into something new, but not fully defined. The definition arrived in 1945 when Earl Scruggs, a 20-year-old banjo player from North Carolina, joined the Monroe organization. Scruggs’ pioneering approach to his instrument provided the Bluegrass Boys with a relentless tempo and driving complexity that immediately distinguished the outfit from any of its contemporaries.

The band which emerged in 1945—Scruggs, Lester Flatt (guitar and vocals), Cedric Rainwater (bass), Chubby Wise (fiddle) and Bill Monroe (vocals and mandolin)—would be revered by aficionados into the late 1990s as the ultimate bluegrass outfit. During the next three years, this version of the Bluegrass Boys created the sound that would remain the model for generations of imitators. By the late 1940s, other artists were beginning to record cover versions of Monroe’s compositions, and bluegrass was a recognizable genre within country music. The music of Monroe and his associates was multifaceted and far more complex than a casual listen suggests. The most immediately audible characteristic was the emphasis on breathtaking musicianship. On recordings such as “Bluegrass Breakdown” and “Bluegrass Special,” the mandolin, banjo, and fiddle all functioned as lead instruments, soloing in a modernistic fashion that emphasized not only speed and dexterity, but also emotion and composure.

Titles such as “Little Cabin Home on the Hill” and “Kentucky Waltz” were nostalgic remembrances of a past simplicity of time and place. The production of such pastorals coincided with the wartime migration of many Appalachian families into the urban centers of America. For displaced mountaineers, the music of the Bluegrass Boys and subsequent artists provided a comforting link with a life they had left behind.

In 1948 Flatt and Scruggs left Monroe to form their own band, The Foggy Mountain Boys. Ironically, their popularity greatly outshone their mentor. During the next 20 years, Flatt and Scruggs fronted their own radio program, frequently guest starred on the television show *The Beverly Hillbillies*, provided music for the Hollywood film *Bonnie and Clyde*, and even dabbled in creating Bluegrass versions of rock ‘n’ roll songs. Their recordings of “The Ballad of Jed Clampett” and “Foggy Mountain Breakdown” became perhaps the most widely known standards in the Bluegrass songbook throughout the rest of the twentieth century.

Although Monroe retained a contract with Decca Records and a permanent spot on the Grand Ole Opry, during the 1950s and much of the 1960s his position as a performer was largely overshadowed by that of Flatt and Scruggs. Despite this lack of recognition, Monroe persevered. A prolific composer, he authored dozens of songs and instrumental pieces. Perhaps more importantly, Monroe kept his vision of bluegrass alive via an endless schedule of live performances. While financial constraints conspired against maintaining a permanent touring band, Bill Monroe and His Bluegrass Boys were an enduring institution. Meticulously attired in matching suits, the Monroe group navigated the highways and backroads of America graciously performing for fans.

Such determination eventually paid off. As the audiences for folk music expanded during the 1960s, Bluegrass enjoyed an increased popularity. Monroe’s role in the music’s creation was reexamined, and his persona as “The Father of Bluegrass” assumed a deeper meaning with each passing year. Despite advancing age and periodic health problems, Monroe remained a dedicated showman well into his 80s. Although often remembered as a fiercely competitive musician, his career is best summarized by his role as a teacher. Regardless if he were training the latest Bluegrass boy or jamming with amateurs after a performance, Monroe played an active role in transmitting his music to countless fans thereby insuring its permanence in American culture. Bill Monroe died in Nashville shortly before his 85th birthday.

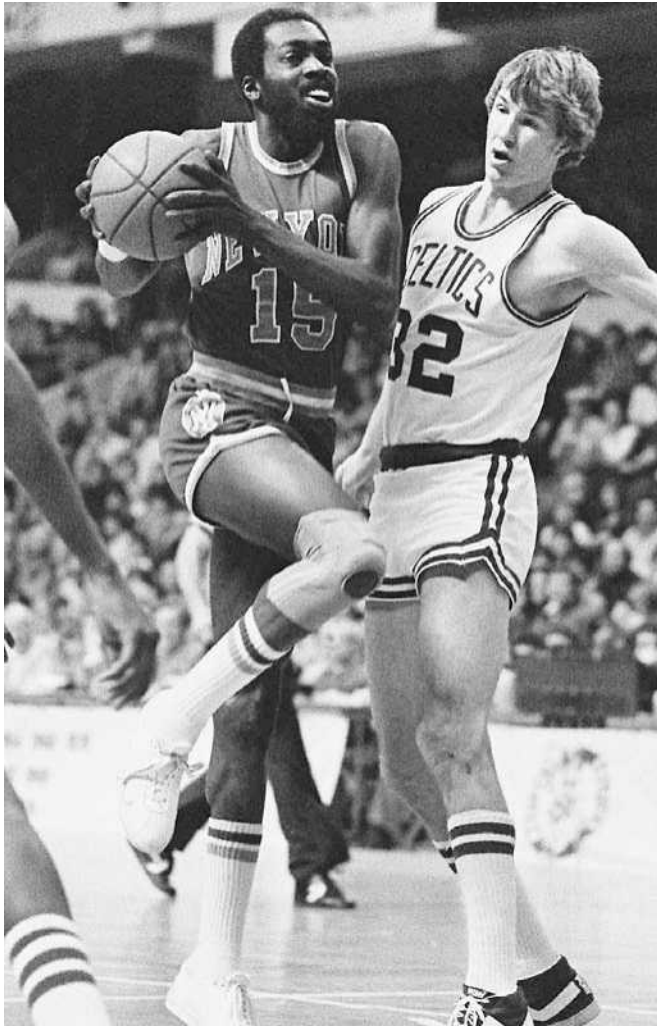
—J. Allen Barksdale

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## Monroe, Earl “The Pearl” (1944—)

From the playgrounds of South Philadelphia in the early 1960s, through a 13-year career in the National Basketball Association (NBA), Earl “The Pearl” Monroe earned renown for his artistry on the court. Widely considered one of the greatest guards in basketball history, Monroe is best known for his hesitation fakes, 360-degree spins, and other entertaining individual moves. Yet Monroe’s successes were as dependent on his discipline and intense dedication to winning as they were on the crowd-pleasing displays of flashy brilliance that earned him the nicknames “The Pearl,” “Black Jesus,” and “Magic.” As part of the generation of African American ballplayers who transformed major college and professional basketball in the 1960s and 1970s, Monroe was crucial in popularizing the one-on-one style of offence which is now common at all levels of play.



Earl “The Pearl” Monroe (left) drives against Boston Celtics Jeff Judkins.

Monroe did not begin seriously playing basketball until he was 14. Although his interest in the game was prompted by a junior high school coach, Monroe’s initial basketball education occurred primarily on the playgrounds. As he put it: “All my style came from the Philadelphia schoolyards.” At that time, African American basketball in Philadelphia centered on the Baker League, a summer program that featured playground legends, experienced pros, college stars, and promising teenagers. Largely self-taught, Monroe learned the game by closely observing the Baker league players, imitating their moves, and inventing his own.

At Philadelphia’s John Bartram High School, Monroe mostly played center, averaging 21.7 points his senior year. After a year working in a factory and attending Temple Prep School, Monroe enrolled at Winston-Salem (North Carolina) College. At the all-Black Winston-Salem, Monroe came under the tutelage of Basketball Hall of Fame coach Clarence “Big House” Gaines. Despite clashes over Monroe’s freewheeling playground style, the coach became a kind of surrogate father to the young ballplayer, aiding his maturation both off and on the court. Of particular importance were Gaines’ cautionary tales about flamboyant, talented African American ballplayers (especially Cleo Hill, a guard whose game resembled Monroe’s)

whose professional opportunities were limited by the racism of owners, coaches, and fans. Monroe flourished at Winston-Salem. His scoring average climbed from seven points per game as a freshman to 41.5 points per game in his senior year, breaking the NCAA (National Collegiate Athletic Association) Division II record for most points in a season (1,329) and helping Winston-Salem become the first all-Black school to win the NCAA Division II championship.

On breaks from college, Monroe continued to frequent the playgrounds of Philadelphia, where his skills and style generated an almost religious devotion from his fans. In his book *Giant Steps*, future all time NBA scoring champion Kareem Abdul-Jabbar recalls two busloads of Philadelphians coming to New York to cheer on the Monroe-led 1965 Baker league champions in the legendary Rucker tournament: “. . . [T]hey set up a continuous wait that seemed to be coming from everywhere. ‘Where’s Jesus?’ ‘Black Jesus!’” On the first play of the game he caught their attention and delighted his fans with a stop-and-go hesitation dribble that developed into a leaping 360-degree spin, culminating in a pinpoint pass for an assist. Jabbar, at that time a nationally known prep star and seasoned veteran of New York’s playgrounds, had never seen anyone play like Monroe.

In many ways, Monroe was unique. Unlike most other elite African American basketball players (of his and subsequent generations), Monroe did not rely on physical intimidation or tremendous leaping ability. He played with finesse, and he played mostly below the rim. His ability to score was dependent on his quickness and his rhythmic deceptions. His herky-jerky moves and off-balance shots appeared awkward, but were very effective. His tendency towards individual improvisation prompted more than one writer to compare Monroe to a great jazz soloist. The obvious joy Monroe displayed while individually dominating his opponents and forging his distinctive style made him a fan favorite. Many young players have emulated Monroe to the point where the qualities that once made him unique—360-degree spins, double-pump fakes, one-on-one play, stop-and-go dribbles—are now common. The style that Monroe brought from the playground has, as *Village Voice* writer Clayton Riley put it, become “institutionalized.”

In 1967 Monroe was selected as the Baltimore Bullets’ number one draft choice (second overall in the NBA draft). In his first season, he averaged 24.9 points per game and was named rookie of the year. The Bullets made the playoffs each of Monroe’s four seasons in Baltimore, while Monroe averaged 23.7 points per game. In 1972, after a disagreement with Bullets management, he was traded to the New York Knicks.

The move to New York raised Monroe’s profile. The Knicks had won the NBA championship in 1970, becoming media darlings in the process. Overall, basketball was growing in popularity. In part this new popularity can be credited to the ways in which African American players were changing the game. The civil rights movement had helped open up opportunities in the NBA for exciting players like Monroe. To some fans, and many in the media, basketball’s appeal was tied up with romantic notions of African American life. Ironically, the very qualities that would have hindered Monroe a decade earlier now enhanced his appeal to many whites.

Initially, many doubted that Monroe’s individualistic style would mesh well with the team-oriented Knicks. To a great degree, these doubts reflected more general misgivings about the style of play that African Americans were bringing to the game. After his first year,



Monroe learned to integrate his individual brilliance into the Knicks' framework, and helped lead the team to the NBA championship in 1973.

Summing up Monroe's contribution to basketball, in *Elevating the Game: Black Men and Basketball*, Nelson George wrote: ". . . he ushered in a jazzy, exciting, demonstrative approach, that old-school NBA observers hated." It is this approach, pioneered by Monroe and his contemporaries, which has largely been responsible for basketball's global popularity in the 1980s and 1990s.

—Thomas J. Mertz

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## Monroe, Marilyn (1926-1962)

In 1962, at age 36, and after completing only 29 films, Marilyn Monroe died, leaving a legacy as one of the most recognizable movie



Marilyn Monroe

stars and powerful cultural images in American history. White-blond hair, seductively lowered eyelids, skin-tight glittery gowns clinging to her hourglass shape, and a cultivated habit of purling her shoulders just as her face broke into a demure smile constituted the inimitable Monroe presence, one exuding idealized femininity and sexual thrill. The epitome of desirability, Monroe was the sex symbol who also suggested vulnerability and a childlike desire to please. After working with her in 1949's *Love Happy*, Groucho Marx declared, "It's amazing. She's Mae West, Theda Bara and Bo Peep all rolled into one." Novelist Norman Mailer, who never met her but penned a book-length tribute titled *Marilyn*, described her as "fed on sexual candy." This mixture of carnal allure and naivete emanating from a full-figured woman with the whispery voice of a girl created the distinctive contradiction integral to Monroe's success and the force of her image. Monroe claimed she never cared about money, saying, "I just want to be wonderful."

Marilyn Monroe's death increased her popularity by nearly incalculable measure, and in her untimely end lies another key to her iconic status. Her screen personality suggested a "bad girl" in the bedroom but also a weak child-woman requiring protection from male predators. When she died from a self-administered barbiturate overdose, it seemed an unlikely and unjust finish for a star of her magnitude. Her shocking death only reinforced this vulnerable aspect of Monroe's appeal. The gossip surrounding her death and the famous men then involved with her—including President John F. Kennedy and his brother, Robert F. Kennedy—only whetted the public appetite to know more of her, to see more of her, to feel as if it understood who she really was. She shared this afterlife with other celebrities who died tragically. Actor James Dean was killed in an automobile crash in the desert in the 1960s after famously proclaiming he aimed to "die young and leave a beautiful corpse." Like Monroe's, his image continued to haunt poster shops and post card stands decades later. The mythos of a dazzling life burning at both ends until finally extinguishing itself has proven endlessly fascinating to an American culture obsessed by youth. Also like James Dean, Monroe was a natural before a photographer's lens. While movie acting frightened her and she developed the unconscionable work habits of arriving hours late to a set and requiring countless takes to deliver even minimal lines, in front of a still photographer she was magic. Her face appeared transparent to mood and yet managed to withhold something, too, making each picture of her unique.

She was born Norma Jeane Mortenson in 1926 in Los Angeles, California, to a single mother struggling with mental illness and a travelling salesman who would not claim her. Traded in and out of orphanages and foster homes, her early childhood was defined by emotional neglect and sexual abuse at the age of eight. She would later lie about her childhood, claiming she was an orphan to hide the fact of her mother's institutionalization. As her own insecurities and episodes of severe depression mounted in nearly direct proportion to her fame, the image of her mother's instability haunted her. She never met her father and pretended that he was movie star Clark Gable. Her inauspicious roots may not have signaled her future celebrity, but her early experiences being shuffled off to the movies did. As many other film stars from the studio system era in Hollywood would report, movie-going cultivated in Monroe a driving desire to join the privileged, shining faces, and outsized personalities of the silver screen. As she later put it, "I told myself a million times that I was an actress because that seemed to me something golden and beautiful."

In 1942, at age 16, Norma Jeane (now going by Norma Jean Baker) agreed to marry Jim Dougherty, a few years her senior. Marriage spared her further sexual abuse at the hands of older men and alleviated the obligation of family friends to care for her. Dougherty joined the merchant marines, departed for the war, and Marilyn found employment at the Radio Plane munitions plant. There a photographer discovered her during a shoot to promote women working for the war effort. Her then-brunette good looks so struck him that he helped her win a modeling contract. Shortly after establishing her modeling career, Norma Jean peroxided her hair, divorced Dougherty, and set her sites on a movie stardom at age 20. In 1946, the head of new talent at 20th Century-Fox rewarded her with her first contract and renamed her Marilyn. She chose Monroe after her grandmother's last name. Norma Jean's transformation from hard-working plant employee to model and then starlet Marilyn Monroe, dependent on the connections and business acumen of men to further her career, would prove representative of further struggles. Just as her celebrity connoted a contradiction between naïve and assertive sexuality, Monroe also represented a woman who, freed from domesticity by WWII, did not know how best to exploit her own raw talents and fierce ambition. Monroe was shrewd and helpless both, involving herself repeatedly with men like talent agent Johnny Hyde to score movie auditions then turning down studio-offered scripts in search of better parts. As her career evolved, she became a committed student of "The Method," a theory of acting she learned at the feet of Lee Strasburg, head of the famous Actor's Studio in New York where other acting luminaries like Marlon Brando and Montgomery Clift also honed their craft. Her longing to step out of the mold the studios forced upon her and her use of the Method to do so positioned her stardom in a time of limbo. The studio system was eroding yet its imprint on Monroe's image remained lasting. Monroe both fought for attention any way she could get it and resented the static and demeaning stereotype of her movie roles, saying, "A sex symbol becomes just a thing and I hate that—but if I'm going to be a symbol of something, I'd rather have it be sex."

After appearing in small parts in films including *Love Happy* (1949) and *All about Eve* (1950), Monroe broke through to celebrity status with starring roles in three 1953 features—*Niagara*, *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*, and *How to Marry a Millionaire*. By the end of the year, American film distributors voted Monroe the top star of 1953. She also won *Photoplay* magazine's Gold Star Award for the fastest-rising new star, and fan letters poured in at the rate of five thousand a week. While her fame ultimately transcended the 1950s, its birth was firmly rooted in conventions of that post-war period. Monroe compares to 1950s stars Lana Turner, Kim Novak, and Janet Leigh. Their round and shapely figures exemplified the 1950s sex symbol and contrasted significantly with the more streamlined and diminutive style of the 1940s star represented by Barbara Stanwyck and Claudette Colbert or the slim, statuesque figures of Gene Tierney and Lauren Bacall. Breasts shaped like missiles—also a dominating aspect of the image of Monroe's *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* co-star, Jane Russell—announced themselves in the 1950s style of dress: tight sweaters, cinched waists, poofed skirts, soft-shouldered jackets. Dubbed the "New Look" by *Life* magazine, late 1940s and 1950s women's fashions reacted against war-time clothing by accentuating women's secondary sex characteristics, thereby reinstating pre-war images of femininity. Halter-tops like the one Monroe made famous in 1955's

*The Seven Year Itch* helped signify the more revealing era. In a famous scene, she stands atop a subway grate while the train whooshes beneath her, blowing up her full skirt around her waist while she tries in vain to hold it down. Bending over, she flashes her cleavage as the halter-top both harnesses her chest and allows its exposure. Though the final version of the Billy Wilder-directed classic includes only a brief shot of this sequence, film footage of the shoot resurfaced after the movie's release and has been memorialized in countless billboards and shop windows throughout the world.

Marilyn Monroe's voluptuousness placed her in a league with female stars of the late 1930s like Mae West and Jean Harlow. Her exuberant style of femininity and sex appeal descend directly from the screen image of Clara Bow, who also displayed a combination of sexual aggressiveness and wide-eyed, harmless energy in her embodiment of the 1920s "flapper." In 1958, Monroe posed for a series of photos relating her to previous screen sirens, including Bow, 1910's Hollywood vamp, Theda Bara, and 1940s exotic, Marlene Dietrich. Unlike these screen images of daring sexuality, Monroe's image also depended on affability. She represented maternal availability and plentitude to a country recovering from the horrors of war, while her comic personality represented harmlessness, a mother who would not exact punishment or even hold men to any standard other than the limits of their own desire. Her role as Sugar Cane in 1959's *Some Like It Hot* is one of her most definitive. In it she plays a sexy woman so bubble-headed she doesn't notice that co-stars Jack Lemmon and Tony Curtis are men pretending to be women to escape from the mob. Monroe's ability to portray "dumb" while also projecting awareness of her affect on audiences was part of her acting style. She laughed at herself in these "dumb blonde" parts but as former roommate Shelley Winters said of her, "If she'd been dumber, she'd have been happier."

Her two marriages subsequent to Dougherty reflected her battles to define herself on her own terms. In 1954, her fame incipient, she wed American baseball legend, Joe DiMaggio, uniting two American figures of growing mythic stature. Lasting only nine months, the marriage collapsed in the face of Monroe's continued hunger for acting success and DiMaggio's possessiveness and inability to accept her Hollywood image as sex symbol to millions of other men. In 1956 she married esteemed playwright Arthur Miller in the wake of the 1955 birth of her own company, Marilyn Monroe Productions, founded to provide her the serious, dramatic parts Hollywood studios refused her. Marrying the intellectual Miller appeared to stem from her deep-seated need to be taken seriously, to be valued for more than her comic portrayals as an empty-headed vessel for male sexual fantasies. As she implored one reporter toward the end of her life, "Please don't make me a joke." The marriage to Miller failed under the weight of her enormous psychological and emotional needs, and her increased reliance on prescription drugs and alcohol to ease the pain of miscarriages, insomnia, and crippling stage-fright. Miller wrote *The Misfits*, the 1961 John Huston-directed film that led to box office disappointment but offered Monroe the last serious role of her career.

In 1948, her film contract dropped for renewal, she returned to modeling to support herself. During this time she agreed to pose nude for a photographer who had long pestered her to do so. She claimed to have made \$50 from the shoot. As would recur frequently in her professional tenure, the photographer made thousands of dollars from

the initial sale of the pictures and the company that produced the calendar made millions. Threatened with scandal after their later release in the early 1950s, Monroe confessed to posing for them. "Sure I posed. I needed the money." The public embraced her honesty, rewarding her calculated risk. The nude calendar photos, taken in 1948, appeared in the December 1953 debut issue of *Playboy* magazine. Exploitation of this type was a constant in her career. Laurence Olivier, her co-star in 1957's Marilyn Monroe Productions-backed *The Prince and The Showgirl*, said of her death: "Popular opinion and all that goes to promote it is a horribly unsteady conveyance for life, and she was exploited beyond anyone's means."

By the late 1990s, over 300 books had been published about her, and Marilyn Monroe's likeness had retained astounding staying power to sell consumer goods. Marilyn Monroe dolls, plates, ashtrays, magnets, T-shirts, ties, life-sized cut-outs, paintings, posters, martini glasses, coffee cups, postcards, lingerie, and songs proliferated in the consumer realm, including an appearance on an official U.S. government-issued stamp in the mid-1990s. In a famous 1980s modified rendition of Edward Hopper's 1941 painting, *Nighthawks*, three indistinct figures at a café counter at night are replaced, in defiance of history, by Hollywood icons Humphrey Bogart, James Dean, and Marilyn Monroe. Post-modern artist Andy Warhol also immortalized Monroe in his famous silk screen of her image duplicated to evoke a negative strip of film. Her serialized face captures the essence of Monroe as the star-turned-commodity.

—Elizabeth Haas

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## Montalbán, Ricardo (1920—)

With his half-century career as a film and television actor, Ricardo Montalbán is one of the most well-known and popular actors of Hispanic heritage. Although he had a distinguished career as an actor in feature films, he is best known for his starring role in the



**Ricardo Montalbán**

*Fantasy Island* television series and for his years of commercials promoting Chrysler automobiles.

Montalbán was born on November 25, 1920, in Mexico City, to Spanish immigrant parents. It was after moving to Los Angeles to attend Fairfax High School that Montalbán discovered the theater and began acting in high school plays. In 1940, he moved to New York to pursue a career in acting and made his debut on Broadway in *Her Cardboard Lover*. Afterwards, he returned to Mexico and began a career in film there, making more than two dozen movies. His 1942 film *La casa de la zorra* brought him to the attention of Hollywood, which was turning out an increasing number of films with Latin American themes in support of the Good Neighbor Policy during World War II. In Hollywood, Montalbán was cast in a series of stereotypical "Latin Lover" roles at Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer studios, where he signed a ten-year contract in 1946. His appearance in *Neptune's Daughter* (1949) was a breakthrough in that it was the first major film to portray a Hispanic character who romantically pursued and married an Anglo woman. Montalbán's Spanish accent and Hispanic looks, however, frequently caused him to be cast in stereotypical roles, either of the "Latin Lover" lead or that of sidekick or friend to the romantic lead (*Battleground*, 1949), or even as a "Hispanic-looking" character. This situation continued through the 1960s, when he was cast as a Native American (*Across the Wide Missouri*, 1951), as a Japanese warlord (*Sayonara*, 1957), as a French duke (*Love Is a Ball*, 1963) and an Italian lover (*Sweet Charity*, 1968). In 1969, Montalbán helped found *Nosotros*, the first organization to promote equal opportunities for Hispanic actors and actresses in

Hollywood, in part by its sponsorship of the Golden Eagle Awards to recognize outstanding performances by Hispanic actors.

Among the most important films of Montalbán's career have been: *Cheyenne Autumn* (1964), *Madame X* (1966), *Escape from the Planet of the Apes* (1971), *Conquest of the Planet of the Apes* (1972), *Return to Fantasy Island* (1977), *Star Trek II: The Wrath of Khan* (1982), and *The Naked Gun: From the Files of Police Squad* (1988).

Montalbán began acting for television productions in the late 1950s, often appearing on *The Loretta Young Show*. From then on, he made numerous guest appearances on various series through the 1970s, many of them westerns or police dramas. From 1978 to 1984, he starred in his most famous role, that of Mr. Rourke on *Fantasy Island*. In the 1980s he began serving as a spokesperson for the Chrysler Cordoba, a model named for a city in Spain.

—Nicolás Kanellos

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## Montana, Joe (1956—)

A third-round pick in the 1979 draft, Joe Montana became one of the best quarterbacks in National Football League history. He retired in 1995 after playing 16 seasons, during which he compiled four Super Bowl victories, the highest quarterback rating (92.3) of any non-active passer in history, 273 touchdowns, 3,409 completions, 40,551 passing yards—an astonishing career record. Described by 49ers broadcaster Wayne Walker as “cooler than the other side of the pillow,” Joe Montana was best known for his ability to perform under pressure.

Born in western Pennsylvania—the same region that produced other NFL quarterbacks such as George Blanda, Johnny Unitas, Joe Namath, Jim Kelly, and Dan Marino—Montana played baseball, basketball, and football in high school; however, despite being offered a basketball scholarship to North Carolina State, he chose Notre Dame and football. Montana left high school a Parade All-American and began his collegiate career as one of nine quarterbacks for Notre Dame. He got his first look at playing time in the third outing of his sophomore year against Northwestern when the starting quarterback left the game injured with Notre Dame trailing 7-0. Joe came off the bench to lead the team to a 31-7 victory. Two games later, against North Carolina, he drove the offense 73 yards to tie the game 14-14 in the fourth quarter, then threw the game-winning touchdown pass with a minute remaining. A week later, against Air Force, he entered the game as a relief quarterback for the last time and overcame a 30-10 deficit in the fourth quarter, leading Notre Dame to a 31-30 victory and securing his spot as the starting quarterback. By only his second year in college Joe had earned his nickname, “Captain Comeback.” In 1978, after finishing the season 8-3, Notre Dame faced Houston in the Cotton Bowl. Behind 20-12, Notre Dame



Joe Montana

was in trouble and Montana was on the bench with a severe flu. By the fourth quarter, when Joe entered the game, Notre Dame was losing 34-12. After Notre Dame scored on a blocked punt and a two-point conversion to make the score 34-20, Joe ran for a touchdown and completed another two-point conversion. With less than two minutes remaining in the game and his team still behind by 6, Joe fumbled the ball. But Houston couldn't score to put the game out of reach, and Montana gained one last chance. With no time left, he threw to Kris Haines in the end-zone, tying the game. Notre Dame won the game after scoring the extra point.

Despite his 25-4 record at Notre Dame, Montana was not highly regarded by the pro scouts. Selected in the third round of the 1979 draft, he had taken over the San Francisco 49ers' offense by the end of his second year. In 1979 the 49ers finished with a record of 2-14. In 1981 Joe led them to a 13-3 record, and they went on to defeat the New York Giants in the first round of the playoffs and the Dallas Cowboys in the NFC title game, when Dwight Clark made “The Catch”—a leaping, fingertip six-yard grab at the back of the end-zone that sent the 49ers to their first Super Bowl where they beat the Cincinnati Bengals. Another glorious year for Montana and the 49ers came in 1984 when the team finished 15-1, and Joe passed for over 3,600 yards, completing 28 touchdown passes. The same year, however, Miami Dolphins quarterback Dan Marino set two single-season records, throwing for 48 touchdowns and 5,084 yards. Montana and Marino were to meet in Super Bowl XIX. Although that game began with the 49ers and the Dolphins trading points, the 49ers scored three consecutive touchdowns in the second quarter, going on

to win 38-16. In 1988, a difficult year for the 49ers, they faced the Bengals in Super Bowl XXIII in a rematch of Super Bowl XVI. With less than four minutes left in the game, Montana drove the 49er offense 92 yards to win the 49ers' third Super Bowl championship of the 1980s. In 1989 the 49ers did it again, defeating the Denver Broncos 55-10 in Super Bowl XXIV, and Joe was named Super Bowl MVP for the third time.

After a somewhat bitter split from the 49ers, Joe Montana finished his career with the Kansas City Chiefs. His debut was a success—he led the Chiefs to a 27-3 victory—but injuries kept him out for much of the year. In 1994, against the Denver Broncos, Montana proved himself “super Joe” once again. With less than two minutes remaining, the Broncos led 28-24. Joe drove the Chiefs 75 yards and with only eight seconds to go, hit Willie Davis to give the Chiefs a 31-28 victory. Montana's performances in the post-seasons alone have virtually guaranteed his enshrinement in the Pro Football Hall of Fame. He even has a town named after him: Joe (formerly Ismay), Montana (pop. 22).

—Austin Booth

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## Montana, Patsy (1914-1996)

In 1935, Patsy Montana became a pioneer for women in country music when her recording of “I Want to Be a Cowboy's Sweetheart” sold one million copies, proving to the recording industry that female country singers could achieve commercial success. Featuring her exuberant yodel, the song reveals her desire to experience a cowboy's life firsthand, “to learn to rope and to ride” as his sweetheart and sidekick. When the record was released, Montana, born Ruby Blevins, was singing with a group known as the Prairie Ramblers on *The National Barn Dance*, a country radio show on Chicago's WLS. With “I Want to Be a Cowboy's Sweetheart,” Montana established herself as a solo artist with a new non-traditional image; the independent cowgirl. Although her subsequent records were never as popular as her signature song, Montana's career as a performer and recording artist lasted for six decades.

—Anna Hunt Graves

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## Monty Python's Flying Circus

That a British comedy series dealing with, among other things, the Upper-Class Twit of the Year Contest, the Ministry of Silly Walks, and a public Argument Clinic would become a cultural phenomenon in the United States during the 1970s was, as comedian Eric Idle said, the last thing in the world one would expect. Nonetheless, *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, the show Idle helped create, became a significant part of American culture in the years immediately following the Watergate scandal, creating a large cult following among young, college-educated viewers and influencing American comedy and television for decades to come.

The roots of *Monty Python's Flying Circus* can be found in the satirical comedy boom occurring in both America and Britain during the late 1950s and early 1960s. While satire in the States was the province of nightclub comics and a few improvisatory workshops, in Britain it was centered at the Oxbridge hub of higher education. The Cambridge Footlights Club and similar groups at Oxford entertained both their university communities and theatergoers around the nation with revues of topical sketches, impersonations, and song parodies. Oxbridge satire made its way to British television in 1962, with the BBC's (British Broadcasting Corporation) *That Was the Week That Was* (TW3). Featuring a number of revue veterans, including interlocutor David Frost, TW3 offered a weekly collection of topical skits, songs, and interviews presented in a bare-bones open studio that allowed viewers to see the mechanics of the show's production as it was going on. Though phenomenally popular, the show's barbed humor quickly ran afoul of both the Tory government and the BBC, which canceled the series at the end of 1963 in order to avoid political problems with upcoming elections. After a failed effort to revisit the TW3 format, Frost called on his Oxbridge connections to staff his 1966 BBC show, *The Frost Report*. John Cleese and Graham Chapman had written and performed for Footlights Club shows and tours, including one that played in New York in 1964. Eric Idle had followed Cleese and Chapman to Cambridge, where he became familiar to Frost. Terry Jones and Michael Palin, meanwhile, were working in various Oxford revues offering a more zany, absurdist humor than the topical sketches of the Footlights Club. Their work together on *The Frost Report* began a series of working relationships that culminated in 1969, when they rejoined as a group for a BBC series that would come to have a global effect on television comedy.

The first episode of *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, broadcast on October 5, 1969, featured sketches including a television show devoted to famous deaths, a parody of a BBC interview show, and a documentary on the weapon that won World War II: the funniest joke ever told. The sketches were interspersed with cut-out animation created by Minneapolis-born artist Terry Gilliam, with whom John Cleese had worked during his time in New York. The remaining 12 shows in the first *Python* series continued to develop the group's comedic style, one that was far less satiric, in terms of addressing topical issues and figures, than it was absurd, but one that was also relentlessly and at times viciously anti-authoritarian. Sketches that hilariously overturned familiar norms—a transvestite lumberjack, a pet shop owner who sells dead parrots—were joined with increasing frequency by comic attacks on the British government, the military, the Church of England, the landed aristocracy, and the legal, medical,

and business communities. No institution was more ridiculed, however, than the television industry itself, both in numerous parodies of individual programs and genres and in the group's self-reflexive dismantlings of production conventions: the intrusion of opening and often phony closing credits at inappropriate places, the sudden appearance of "BBC officials" to comment on or complain about the show, the shortening of sketches by characters who decide that they are not funny.

Despite regional scheduling difficulties, the first series of *Monty Python's Flying Circus* attracted a substantial late-night audience, strong critical praise, and a firm BBC commitment for more shows. A second series of 13 episodes ran in fall 1970, and a third series was broadcast in winter 1971-1972. Meanwhile, word of the show was beginning to spread beyond its homeland. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation picked up the first series in 1970, making it available to American viewers near the border. The troupe turned a number of sketches from the first series into an eponymous record album in 1970, followed by three more albums in 1971 through 1973. Copies of the albums, as well as collections of *Python* material in book form, began to make their way into the United States during the early 1970s. Sketches from the first two series of the show were collected in a film, *And Now, For Something Completely Different*, that was released, to less than overwhelming results, in 1972. The group itself, touring Canada to take advantage of its popularity there, even went to Los Angeles to make an appearance on *The Tonight Show with Johnny Carson* in 1973. Immediately afterward, however, John Cleese left the troupe. The remaining members went on to produce one more six-episode series for the BBC in fall 1974, which seemed to be the final voyage for *Monty Python's Flying Circus*.

The end of the show in Britain, however, was merely its beginning in the United States. The BBC, having found an American audience for its documentaries and its dramatic serialization of literary works on PBS (Public Broadcasting System) in the early 1970s, was working to develop the market further. While the often absurd, often savage humor of *Monty Python's Flying Circus* lacked the comfort and the cultural cachet of *Civilization* and the various BBC serials presented under the *Masterpiece Theatre* rubric, PBS affiliate KERA-TV in Dallas began to run the show in summer 1974. Its immediate success there led PBS affiliates across the country, as well as a few commercial stations, to pick up the show. By spring 1975, *Monty Python's Flying Circus* was on the air in more than 130 markets, attracting both sizable and fanatically devoted audiences from New York to Iowa to Sacramento. The show's success was augmented by the 1975 American release of the film *Monty Python and the Holy Grail*, a comic retelling of the Arthurian legends involving dismemberment, orgies, the military use of excrement, and a vicious killer rabbit, as well as a typical *Python* ending that ridiculed the conventions of filmmaking as thoroughly as the film did the conventions of the epic.

The American popularity of *Monty Python's Flying Circus* in the mid-1970s can be attributed to several factors. Just as the Oxbridge satire movement in Britain and the nightclub satire comedy scene in America were concomitant developments, the shift from pointed topical satire to a more absurd and archetypal form of humor occurred simultaneously. During the period in which *Python* ascended in Britain, American comics such as George Carlin and Richard Pryor and comedy groups including the Firesign Theatre and the

Committee found both critical and commercial success by infusing the barbs of their predecessors with both the political anger and the broad countercultural "us vs. them" sentiments of the late 1960s. The political and countercultural elements of their work also spoke to the audience they were priming for *Python*—in the decade between 1965 and 1975, the population on American college campuses, the center of political and cultural revolt, rose by 70 percent. A group rich in educational and cultural capital, it was an audience that could get what critics called the "overgraduate humor" of *Python* sketches involving contests to summarize Proust, debates about Sartrean philosophy, and parodies of Pasolini films. It was also, more importantly, an audience that had grown up under the authority of television and that was innately familiar with the conventions comically demystified by *Python*.

The absurdity of *Python* sketches was matched at times, however, by their reception in America. A 1975 ABC broadcast of three episodes of the final six episode *Python* series, which had not been released for syndication, led to a historic legal battle culminating in a United States Court of Appeals ruling that ABC had infringed on the troupe's copyright by cutting material in order to include commercials. In a landmark settlement, the troupe regained all distribution rights from the BBC and took back the episodes purchased by ABC. It would control its own destiny—at least as far as American television was concerned. Movies, though, were a different matter. The 1979 *Python* film *Life of Brian*, a mock Biblical epic in which a poor sap called Brian Cohen is named the Christ, was condemned by numerous religious groups, picketed in many communities, and not distributed to others. The controversy failed to keep *Python* fans away—the film made \$10 million in its initial American release.

The American popularity of *Monty Python's Flying Circus* led to mobbed live performances in New York in 1976 and Los Angeles in 1980 (the latter recorded on film) at which audiences recited sketches line for line along with the comedians. Meanwhile, projects by individual members of the group found a ready market in the United States. John Cleese's *Fawlty Towers* became almost as popular as *Python* when it was imported to PBS stations in the late 1970s; Michael Palin's *Ripping Yarns* also achieved critical and popular success during its syndicated PBS run; and Eric Idle's *Meet the Rutles*, a documentary spoof on a faux-Beatles pop band, was aired on NBC. At the same time, Terry Gilliam began a prolific career as a film director with *Jabberwocky* and *Time Bandits*, both of which featured *Python* members in the cast.

The most important legacy of *Monty Python's Flying Circus* in American culture, however, was the development of late-night sketch comedy series that sought to capture the vitality, if not all of the savagery and absurdity, of the British original. Both *Saturday Night Live*, whose creator, Lorne Michaels, idolized *Python* and used it as a model for his own show, and the Canadian *SCTV*, which itself became an imported cult favorite in the late 1970s, owed their existence to the success of *Monty Python's* comic attacks on authority and television culture.

Since 1980, the original *Monty Python's Flying Circus* has remained a part of the American television landscape, with runs of the series on the MTV (Music Television) and Comedy Central cable networks, as well as continued playings on local PBS stations. The group reformed for a film, *The Meaning of Life*, in 1983, while numerous individual projects—Gilliam's films *Brazil* and *The Fisher*

*King*, Palin's BBC travel documentaries, Cleese's film *A Fish Called Wanda*, and his guest appearances on American situation comedies—have continued to receive critical and popular acclaim. Graham Chapman's death in 1989 seemed to end any hope for any further group projects; in 1998, however, the remaining members of the troupe announced that they planned to reunite the following year for film and live projects. Whether their new work attains the stature and influence of the original *Monty Python's Flying Circus* remains to be seen. The fact that United States audiences were still interested in what the comic purveyors of upper class twits, silly walks, and argument clinics might have to say 30 years later, however, suggests the lasting hold *Python* has had on American culture.

—Jeffrey S. Miller

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## Moonies/Reverend Sun Myung Moon (1920—)

An unlikely messiah to emerge from the youth movement of the mid-twentieth century was the Korean immigrant known as the Reverend Sun Myung Moon. Not an obviously charismatic personality, he addressed his American followers in rambling two-hour sermons, filtered through an interpreter. Although shadowed by a history of matrimonial troubles and conflicts with the law on two continents, Moon preached family values and obedience to authority. His teachings attracted millions of youth (exact figures were never verified) in over 140 countries. He made the United States his base of operations in the 1970s, and collected followers largely from among the advantaged sons and daughters of mainline Christian and Jewish families. By the end of the twentieth century, the Unification Church, which Moon founded, controlled a fortune in U.S. property, and Moonies, as his followers were known, could still be seen on American streets, selling their flowers and recruiting new members.

Much of Moon's background is shrouded in secrecy and controversy. He appears to have been born in a province that would later become part of North Korea. Though his parents were Presbyterian, he became identified with a charismatic sectarian group which taught that Korea was a promised land destined for apocalyptic events. At age 16 young Moon experienced his first vision, in which his own

divine calling was revealed. Alert to his special status, he changed his first name from "Yong" to "Sun," so that his full name meant "Sun Shining Moon." As he rose to prominence, so did his problems with the North Korean government, resulting in part from his strong stand against Communism. But accusations of bigamy and draft evasion were also made. Later, in the United States, charges of tax evasion and immigration violations would continue to plague this teacher and prophet.

The doctrines of the Unification Church were outlined in *The Divine Principle*, the movement's basic scripture, credited to Moon but widely believed to have been written by one of his lieutenants. Unification theology was a blend of concepts from Christianity, Buddhism, and Taoism, echoing the eclectic Asian background of Moon himself. The stated goal of his church was the unification of humanity and its salvation in both body and soul.

In his publications and sermons Moon elevated marriage to a cosmic sacrament. Adam and Eve fell from divine favor, he taught, because of lustful self-indulgence, thus bringing forth their children in sin. Christ, he said, came as a second Adam, but although he enlightened the race spiritually, his crucifixion cut short his full mission of physical as well as spiritual redemption because he did not live to marry and beget perfect children. Thus, a Third Adam was essential to mankind, a savior who would probably be born in Korea, most likely in 1920. This new messiah would succeed precisely where Adam and Jesus had failed: he would marry a perfect woman. Together with God, the couple would form a divine trinity; through themselves and their progeny humanity would at last be fully redeemed. Though Moon, and the woman (apparently his fourth wife) always at his side, made no special claims for themselves, their followers were free to reach their own rather obvious conclusions about the fulfillment of Moon's prophecy. The most publicized feature of Moonie life was the mass marriage ceremonies the Reverend Moon conducted, first in Korea and later in the United States. In 1988 he rented Madison Square Garden in New York, where he officiated in the mass wedding of 6,500 couples. Many of the new spouses had just met at the altar, chosen for one another by church leaders. Races and nationalities were specifically blended in these mega-ceremonies.

It was not the religious teachings so much as the Moonie lifestyle that caused widespread social and parental concern. Though a disciplined life for otherwise disoriented young people had much to commend it, parents worried that Moonies were being exploited. Within the church, conduct was carefully controlled. Smoking and drinking were taboo and austere standards of sexual conduct were enforced. Members were encouraged to live communally in the church's urban centers, or on church-owned ranches. Fund-raising teams traveled about in vans, selling flowers on street corners or otherwise soliciting contributions, but even as the church itself became wealthy from these efforts, personal wealth was discouraged. There was high turnover in the church, with an estimated one-third of the newer members leaving each year. With a constant supply of postulants therefore required, additional Moonie groups were assigned to recruiting.

Recruiting techniques were refined and effective. Often to be found on college campuses, candidates for membership would be "love bombed"—showered with honor and affection. Invited to special seminars and retreats, during which they were never left alone,

they were subjected to long sessions filled with sermons on how to create a better world. Accusations of food and sleep deprivation were made by critics of the group, who compared Moonie indoctrination to Asian prison camp brainwashing. A dire political agenda was often alleged, though never proved. Young people who joined the church usually distanced themselves from their families, and it was not surprising that a number of concerned parents hired “deprogrammers” to lure their sons and daughters away from the Unification Church.

By the end of the twentieth century, many observers felt that the Unification Church had lost its momentum, even as the cult movement itself seemed to be in decline. Yet Moonie efforts toward gaining full acceptance into American life had produced some results. Leading politicians, even ex-presidents, had accepted large sums of money to address Unification sponsored gatherings; and Sir Laurence Olivier had performed in *Inchon* (1981), a movie financed by the church and a critical and box-office catastrophe which had General MacArthur affected by divine guidance in the Korean War. More significantly, Moonies had identified themselves as public advocates of marital fidelity and family values in the midst of a societal crisis, and the movement-sponsored newspaper, *The Washington Times*, had gained substantial circulation.

—Allene Phy-Olsen

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## Moonlighting

*Moonlighting's* creator/executive producer Glenn Gordon Caron once described the program as “the show that knows it’s on television.” The 1985-1989 ABC hit was stylish, sophisticated, and clearly aimed at pop culturally-hip grownups. It was also plagued with tension, both on and off the set.

Ex-model Maddie Hayes (played by ex-model Cybill Shepherd) learns that her accountant has embezzled from her, and surveying what’s left, finds she owns the unsuccessful Blue Moon detective agency in Los Angeles. She’s about to dump it when the guy who’s been running it, David Addison (a then-unknown Bruce Willis) cons her into holding onto it to save his job, and proceeds to get her involved in the cases as they get involved with each other. Flighty and sincere Agnes Dipesto (Allyce Beasley) and nerdy Herbert Viola (Curtis Armstrong) work at the agency too, and often act as counterpoints for Hayes and Addison. Maddie, the ice princess, and David, the king of the smirking smart-asses, forge a partnership that is really just a platform for their burgeoning sexual chemistry. Sure, they solve mysteries, but will they hit the sheets this week?

At the end of the 1985-86 season, David and Maddie kissed in the parking garage, but it wasn’t till the end of the next season that they had sex. That episode, called “The Big Bang,” drew an estimated 60 million viewers, beating that week’s Academy Awards broadcast. Because Shepherd was pregnant at the time, the love scenes had to be filmed standing up with the bed propped against a wall and the camera turned sideways.

People who believe that the best part of a relationship is the part before the relationship actually starts had their point proven with *Moonlighting*, partly because the storyline was mishandled. Besides consummating her relationship with David, a suddenly promiscuous Maddie had sex with Sam Crawford (Mark Harmon) and married a nerdy guy named Walter (Dennis Dugan) whom she met on a train; the marriage was soon annulled. She was also pregnant with David’s baby, which she then miscarried. Fans were not pleased with any of this.

Then there was the widely publicized behind-the-scenes tension. In 1987, Shepherd announced that she was pregnant with twins. This created problems with the show’s shooting schedule—when she was available for filming, Willis was off making movies; when he returned, she was gone for medical reasons. Willis, who set the tone for the show, was annoyed that, during Shepherd’s pregnancy, he was working a lot more than she was. Furthermore, after making 1988’s successful *Die Hard*, he wanted to make more films. For her part, Shepherd was dissatisfied with the formulaic bitchiness of her character (though she didn’t seem to mind being filmed through gauze). Only 14 episodes were made that season (only 20 episodes were made in 1985-86; the normal number is 22), few of which had she and Willis together; one episode focused entirely on Agnes and Herbert’s romance.

Then there were the cost overruns and delays. Some shows couldn’t be promoted because they were delivered a day or two before air time, or reruns were substituted at the last minute. This caused *Moonlighting* to lose about 20 percent of its audience, though its ratings were still holding. One reason for the delays was the length of the scripts. The writing was so filled with retorts, references, puns, and rhymes that the scripts were 50 percent longer than those of other hour-long series. With all of this tension, soon there was a running three-way battle between Willis, Shepherd, and Caron, who was forced off the show in the final season in 1989, taking three writers with him. By the time *Moonlighting* was over, the ratings had sunk very low. “Can you really blame the audience?” David and Maddie were asked by a silhouetted producer in the true-to-form final episode. “A case of poison ivy is more fun than watching you two lately.”

The problems were sometimes used to their advantage, and the *Moonlighting* team produced some inventive, if gimmicky shows. One episode ran short, so the stars “broke the fourth wall” and talked to the camera to fill in the gap. They sometimes made in-jokes about the episode to each other; they once referenced winning one out of the 16 Emmys for which they were nominated for one year. One episode was a re-enactment of Shakespeare’s *Taming of the Shrew* with David as Petruchio and Maddie as Kate. Another episode was shot entirely in black-and-white. In fact, *Moonlighting* owed its existence to classic black-and-white films such as the 1940 film *His Girl Friday*, starring Cary Grant and Rosalind Russell, with their fast-talking banter, as well as Hitchcock’s guy-woos-icy-blond-with-mystery-as-backdrop genre. As such, *Moonlighting* broke new ground in American television, firmly establishing its place in TV and pop culture history.

—Karen Lurie



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## Moore, Demi (1962—)

Irrespective of her professional accomplishments, film actress Demi Moore rocketed herself into international controversy in 1991 when she appeared—nude, radiant, and heavy with child—on the cover of *Vanity Fair*. She thus became an iconic symbol of female liberation to those who admired the exposure and a figure of shameless immodesty to those who were offended by the gesture. Either



Demi Moore

way, her fame was assured, and she went on to produce as well as star in a series of largely successful films, some of which served to fan the flames of disapproval while making her a very rich woman.

Born Demi Guynes in Roswell, New Mexico, she went to Los Angeles at age 15 and found work in modeling and television. An ongoing role on the popular daytime soap *General Hospital*, in which she appeared from 1981 to 1983, led her into feature films; however, her first four attempts on the big screen gave her little to do and made no impression. She won her first lead in *No Small Affair* (1984), as an aspiring singer, performing in tacky clubs, who becomes the love object of teenager Jon Cryer. She came across as an attractive, girl-next-door brunette, with a pleasingly husky voice and the ability to invest in a role with matter-of-fact conviction. The film led to a role in the following year's ensemble piece about college graduates, *St. Elmo's Fire* (1985). She gave a standout performance as the glamorous, wealthy, and suicidally unhappy member of the group, and Moore became identified as a member of the youthful acting fraternity dubbed the Brat Pack. Also during the 1980s, she made an occasional foray into live theater and won a Theater World award in 1987 for her performance in *The Early Girl* off-Broadway.

Moore graduated to full adult status in 1990, co-starring with Patrick Swayze and Whoopi Goldberg in the hit romance *Ghost*, and by 1991, married to star Bruce Willis, she became not only a mother but also a producer, co-starring with her husband in her own production, *Mortal Thoughts*. The 1990s saw her perform respectably in the military courtroom drama *A Few Good Men* (1992) with Jack Nicholson and Tom Cruise and, brilliantly, as Woody Allen's Jewish sister in *Deconstructing Harry* (1997). She also gave the voice to Esmeralda in Disney's animated feature, *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* in 1996, but the decade marked the emergence of a different direction for Demi Moore.

It became clear that the actress was developing a sharp nose for profitably controversial material. She enhanced her bank balance and raised her profile—though not necessarily the esteem in which she was held—by starring in such highly successful but faintly dubious films as Adrian Lyne's *Indecent Proposal* (1993) and Barry Levinson's *Disclosure* (1994). In the former, she was the young wife who, when she and her husband (Woody Harrelson) lose their money in Las Vegas, sells her sexual favors for one night to a millionaire (Robert Redford) in exchange for \$1 million; in Levinson's film, based on Michael Crichton's bestseller, she was a driven, manipulative and scheming executive who sexually harasses her subordinate (Michael Douglas). *Striptease* (1996) lured millions of voyeuristic cinemagoers worldwide with the promise of seeing Demi as they'd never seen her before. Their expectations were disappointed, but the movie made its star a very rich woman indeed. Attempts to redeem her growing image as a sex symbol by playing the title role in *GI Jane* (1997) misfired; Ridley Scott's film was a failure and Demi took a lot of the critical flak.

Some commentators believe that Demi Moore's success has rested on her making full use of the opportunities to exploit her body for the titillation of audiences. Whether or not this has been the case, by the late 1990s she had proven her credentials as an intelligent and talented actress, and survived controversy and a notoriously stormy marriage (ended in 1998) with every indication that, nearing 40 and possessing the courage to break taboos, she could anticipate a successful continuance of her career.

—Sara Martin

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## Moore, Michael (1954—)

Michael Moore burst onto the American cultural scene in the 1980s, a chubby, extroverted rabble-rouser who hitched his political message to the medium of satirical comedy in a crusade to rouse the national conscience against corporate injustice. A genuine subversive, he made his impact with his debut film, *Roger & Me* (1989), a satirical documentary feature that chronicled his attempts to interview the CEO of General Motors, Roger Smith. Moore wrote, directed and starred in the film, which became the highest-grossing American documentary of all time.

Critical opinion was high but divided. The *Washington Post* described *Roger & Me* as a "hilariously cranky bit of propaganda" and critics such as Roger Ebert gave it rave reviews, but others, including the doyenne of the *New Yorker*, Pauline Kael, attacked Moore for re-arranging the narrative events of the movie. He responded in an interview in *Film Comment* that "the movie is essentially what has happened to this town [Flint] during the 1980s. I wasn't filming in 1982 . . . so everything that happened happened. As far as I'm concerned, a period of seven or eight years . . . is pretty immediate and pretty devastating. . . . I think it's a document about a town that died in the 1980s." The critical controversy notwithstanding, the film was voted Best Documentary by the National Board of Review, the New York Film Critics, the Los Angeles Film Critics, and the National Society of Film Critics, as well as Best Film at the Toronto, Vancouver, and Chicago Film Festivals. It was included on several critics' "best of the decade" lists, but conspicuously failed even to be nominated for an Academy Award. *Roger & Me* was creatively financed by Moore and his friends through bingo games and other fund raising efforts, but also through an out of court settlement Moore made with *Mother Jones* magazine over his dismissal from the publication after a short tenure as editor in 1986-87.

Moore came to *Mother Jones* after a successful career as an alternative journalist in his hometown of Flint, Michigan (though he is actually from the suburb of Davison). Moore's comedy and politics emerged from his roots in a working-class community that enjoyed a boom from manufacturing automobiles at a dozen General Motors factories until the company abandoned the town, as chronicled in *Roger & Me*. Moore had been a staunch opponent of GM and local Flint politics since founding the *Flint Voice* at the age of 22. He partially funded the newspaper through the weekly showing of

alternative movies, and promoted it through work on the local public radio station where he hosted a show called "Radio Free Flint." He also wrote essays for National Public Radio. A rabble rouser from early on, Moore was elected to his local school board at age 18 and successfully fought to have its meetings open to the public.

Moore followed up *Roger & Me* with a sequel, *Pets or Meat: A Return to Flint* (1992) a short film shown on PBS. The second film repeated the narrated style of the first and seemed more of a continuation than a sequel. In it, Moore caught up on the lives of people from the first film, including "the Rabbit Lady," who sold rabbits as pets or meat. The film was also an update on Moore himself, containing snippets from his appearances on television talk shows such as *Donahue*. He made an unlikely movie "star"—he is heavysset with a goofy grin, a fondness for baseball caps, and a preference for untucked shirts—yet there is no doubt that the "star" of all of Moore's films is Michael Moore.

His next project was a narrative film, *Canadian Bacon* (1994), starring John Candy, Rhea Perlman, Kevin Pollack, Alan Alda, and Rip Torn. Alda plays a liberal U.S. president who decides to invade Canada in order to boost his popularity in the polls. A cross between *Dr. Strangelove* (there's a similar Doomsday device) and *Wag the Dog* (the invasion of a foreign country for shabby domestic reasons), the film never received wide release, nor were the reviews particularly enthusiastic.

Moore's next move was to take the basic *Roger & Me* idea—good guy Mike harasses evil corporate America—to television. His political comedy show, *TV Nation*, was a summer replacement on NBC in 1994. The show featured weekly, off-the-wall polls like 16% of Perot voters believe that "if dolphins are really that smart they could get out of those nets," and showcased memorable events such as a day of picnicking with "Doctor Death" Jack Kevorkian. The first episode featured the "CEO Challenge" in which he asked executives to perform menial tasks, such as getting the head of IBM to format a disk. While not all the stories had a political bent, *TV Nation* was an eclectic mix of news magazine, sketch comedy, and David Letterman-style comedy of the banal. Only on *TV Nation* would you see a guy in a Detroit Tigers baseball cap attempting to end the conflict in Bosnia by getting leaders from the warring factions to share a pizza together.

NBC passed on *TV Nation*, but Fox picked it up for eight episodes in the summer of 1995. It was more of the same, including a segment featuring Moore performing maneuvers with the Michigan Militia. He also introduced Crackers, the corporate crime-fighting chicken, alongside featured guests such as Merrill Markoe (David Letterman's former chief writer), actress and stand-up comedian Janeane Garofalo, former MTV VJ Karen Duffy, and filmmaker Rusty Cundieff, who wrote and directed a comedy movie, *Fear of a Black Hat*. Moore chronicled his experiences with the show in a book, *Adventures in TV Nation* (1998), written with wife Kathleen Glynn.

The book was not his first. He had published *Downsize This: Random Threats from an Unarmed American*, an unlikely best seller, in 1994. The book began with two photos: one of the bombed out Federal building in Oklahoma City, the other of a pile of rubble which used to be an auto factory in Flint. The point of that piece, and the book, is to expose, through satire, irony, and poke-in-the-eye comedy, corporate America's war on working-class families. With chapters such as "Would Pat Buchanan take a check from Satan?" "Why

doesn't GM sell crack?" and "Why are Union Leaders so f#!@ing stupid?" the book is part stand-up comedy in printed form, part political manifesto, and part *Spy* magazine-like pranks. The author embarked on an unconventional book promotion tour, refusing to sign books at certain chain stores and seeking out independent booksellers. After a few stops, he was joined by a film crew, which led to the making of his movie *The Big One* (1997). The film features stunts familiar to Moore's fans, including the presentation of Downsizer of the Year awards to company bigwigs. It opened in selected cities as benefits for local charities, unions, and leftist political groups. Moore would answer questions, promote local causes, tell some jokes, and then inspire the audience to political action. Despite excellent reviews, *The Big One* failed to achieve commercial success; an angry film about corporate America seemed out of synch when the Dow was at an all-time record high.

As the twentieth century ended, Moore was still pitching his political message to a larger audience, attempting a weekly talk show and developing *Better Days* (1998), a sitcom about a town where everybody is unemployed. In conjunction with Britain's Channel 4, he negotiated another incarnation of *TV Nation*, which launched in early 1999 under the title *The Awful Truth*. It kicked off with a scathing attack on health insurance companies in the United States and a somewhat crude and gauche sideswipe at Kenneth Starr morality in the form of a sketch delivered like a scene from Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*. Moore looked set to remain a viable force in popular culture in the twenty-first century. Virtually the country's lone left-wing satirist, he pops up regularly on talk shows such as *Politically Incorrect*. Popular culture has never seen a figure quite like Michael Moore: a comedian who one minute offers a critical analysis of legislation, and in the next a suggestion that Queen's "We Will Rock You" become the new national anthem.

—Patrick Jones

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## Moore, Sam

See Sam and Dave

## Moral Majority

Starting in the mid-1970s, a resurgence of political activity began to develop among conservative Christians in the United States. Alarmed by what they perceived to be the moral decline of American society, they sought to introduce a new social agenda into American politics aimed at fighting the forces of secularization. They subsequently established a number of organizations to promote this agenda,

the most prominent of which was the Moral Majority. Founded in 1979 by Jerry Falwell, an influential Baptist minister and televangelist, the Moral Majority joined with other political conservatives to promote the restoration of traditional moral values in American society. Falwell and his followers played a significant role in the election of Ronald Reagan to the presidency in 1980, and in following years sought to focus national attention on the controversial topics of abortion, gay rights, pornography, the exclusion of prayer from public schools, and the Equal Rights Amendment. The Moral Majority also advocated conservative positions on a variety of more secular issues, such as a balanced budget and defense spending. In 1989 Falwell disbanded the group, claiming that it had fulfilled its original mission of introducing support for social reform into American politics. Since then, it has continued to serve as a model for political activism among religious conservatives in the United States.

The Moral Majority was established with the support of various religious and political groups wanting to counter the liberal trends that had emerged within American society during the 1960s and 1970s. By mobilizing conservative Christians, they hoped to produce a rightward shift in the balance of power in American politics. To strengthen the influence of the Moral Majority, Falwell also attempted to expand its constituency beyond its original core within the fundamentalist Protestant community. The group thus came to include a diversity of other religious groups, including Mormons, conservative Roman Catholics, and Orthodox Jews. In addition, Falwell did not establish official connections between the Moral Majority and any specific political party, on the grounds that the organization's agenda focused primarily on moral issues rather than politics. In its status as an independent organization, not tied to any party or religious denomination, the Moral Majority represented an extension of existing fundamentalist strategies in the United States, which since the 1920s had concentrated on creating new institutions rather than reforming existing ones.

The Moral Majority proved to be very successful in building its coalition of like-minded conservatives. By the 1980 election, it included upwards of 2 million members, and perhaps twice that many during its peak years in the mid-1980s. In spreading its message to potential members, the Moral Majority used two distinct strategies, again following the approaches adopted by fundamentalist Christians. First, it made extensive use of the mass media, and particularly broadcasting. Falwell himself had gained considerable experience in the media as the host of the *Old-Time Gospel Hour*, a syndicated religious program dating back to the 1950s. The rapid growth of televangelism during the 1970s and 1980s provided a natural outlet for the Moral Majority's message, and helped it to find a sizable audience. The Moral Majority also benefitted from the attention of the mainstream news media, who saw in Falwell an articulate and readily accessible spokesman for the religious right. Through the extensive news coverage that Falwell received, particularly during the national political campaigns of the early 1980s, the Moral Majority became the leading symbol of the religious right's new political influence.

The other strategy adopted by the Moral Majority in spreading its message focused on the development of an extensive grassroots network. The key elements of this network were the many local chapters of Moral Majority established across the country. These organizations sought to implement the agenda of the Moral Majority at the local level through their involvement in political races and

community issues, and they represented the primary vehicle through which the movement's followers became involved in its activities. Although their impact was not as conspicuous as that of the movement's national leaders, the local chapters had a lasting influence on religious conservatives by demonstrating the effectiveness of local political action. Local strategies thus became widely adopted by former members as they continued the work of the Moral Majority after it was disbanded in 1989.

Although Falwell asserted that the decision to disband the Moral Majority derived from its success in achieving its goals, a number of factors had contributed to a decline in the group's influence by the end of the 1980s. The Moral Majority faced extensive criticism from political liberals and moderates, who accused the group of trying to impose its own moral and religious views on America's pluralistic society. At the same time, some conservative Christians faulted the Moral Majority for its involvement in secular political issues, arguing that it should focus on its core religious message. Scandals involving televangelists Jim Baker and Jimmy Swaggart during the late 1980s also did much to discredit conservative Christian institutions; and the failure of televangelist Pat Robertson in the 1988 Republican presidential primary cast doubt on the continuing political strength of religious conservatives, at least at the national level.

Despite its relatively brief history as a formal organization, the Moral Majority had a major impact on America's political landscape and, more broadly, its popular culture. It played a key role in reintroducing religion to the realm of public debate, not just by addressing explicitly religious issues, such as school prayer, but by asserting the validity of religious belief as the foundation for public policy decisions, as in the controversy over abortion. Its stand on certain issues, however, produced a strong counterreaction among those Americans who supported feminism, reproductive choice, gay rights, and other liberal social trends, and pushed them to pursue a more active defense of their views. The Moral Majority thus helped to expand the debate between liberals and conservatives in American politics to include a broad range of social issues.

—Roger W. Stump

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## Moreno, Rita (1931—)

Puerto Rican singer, dancer, and actress Rita Moreno lives in the collective memory of moviegoers as Anita, dancing up a storm and singing "I like to be in America, all right with me in America" in the

1961 screen version of *West Side Story*. She won the Best Supporting Actress Oscar for her performance, the first Hispanic actress to do so but, more significantly, the film brought this uniquely dynamic, fiery, and talented performer wide recognition in America and abroad, and led to a greater awareness of the talent that existed in the Hispanic community.

Born Rosita Dolores Alverio in Humacao, Puerto Rico, in 1931, Moreno was raised in a New York City tenement by her divorced mother, a seamstress, and despite not having much money the child was able to take dance lessons with Paco Cansino, uncle of Rita Hayworth, who soon had her performing in the children's theater at Macy's department store, and at weddings and bar mitzvahs. Initially using the name Rosita Moreno, she first worked on Broadway at age 13 in a musical called *Skydrift* and continued on from there, performing on stage and in nightclubs in Boston, Las Vegas, and New York. At 14, she went to Hollywood and had a tiny role in a movie called *A Medal for Benny* (1945). Louis B. Mayer put her under contract, but her film career lay dormant until 1950 when she made appearances in *So Young, So Bad, The Toast of New Orleans* and *Pagan Love Song*. Most of the film roles offered to the talented performer were stereotypical and sometimes demeaning and between film work she returned to the stage where she hoped for better opportunities to use her many substantial gifts. Indeed, she played several distinguished roles on stage, including a dramatic role in Arthur Miller's *A View from the Bridge*, and was the first Hispanic actress to win a Tony Award—for best supporting actress—presented for her performance in the Broadway production of the musical *The Ritz*, which ran for more than 400 performances in 1975.

With its score by Leonard Bernstein and lyrics by Stephen Sondheim, *West Side Story* (1957) broke new ground in the development of the Broadway musical—not least in being the first mainstream production to have a Hispanic theme and to showcase the talents of Hispanic actors and dancers, some of whom, notably, Chita Rivera, went on to make important contributions to stage and film. Rita Moreno had originally been offered, and had turned down, the role of Maria in the stage production, but she got her chance to shine in a role more suited to her strong personality when the film was made. Several of the films in which Moreno played prominent roles are indicative of Hollywood's stereotyped perception of Hispanics including *The Ring* (1952), a low-budget programmer about a young Mexican prizefighter attempting to win respect for his people; or *Popi* (1969), an ethnic comedy-drama set in New York's Puerto Rican ghetto. Throughout her career Moreno fought against typecasting to get roles commensurate with her talent—she was touching as the Siamese slave girl Tuptim in *The King and I* (1956), and among many other less distinguished films, she had featured roles in *Summer and Smoke* (1961), *Carnal Knowledge* (1971), the film version of her stage success *The Ritz* (1976), and Alan Alda's *The Four Seasons* (1981).

Moreno has also left her mark on television, acting in a variety of series and shows. She won her first Emmy Award for her guest appearances on *The Muppet Show* in 1977, and her second for an episode of *The Rockford Files* in 1978. Her vocalizations for the *Electric Company* television program's album for children won her a Grammy Award in 1972. Her hard work and enormous talent set a record for Rita Moreno as the first-ever female artist to hold the Tony, Emmy, Grammy and Academy Awards.

—Nicolás Kanellos



Rita Moreno, foreground, in *West Side Story*.

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## *Mork & Mindy*

In 1978 the ABC comedy *Mork & Mindy* hit the air. The show—about a naive, human-looking alien from the planet Ork—and its star Robin Williams quickly became hits. Expressions from the show, like “Nanu Nanu” and “Shazbat,” and Mork’s striped suspenders became overnight cultural icons. The frantic pace and inspired lunacy of this first season made it a wonderful addition to television history, especially to the tradition of William’s hero Jonathan Winters and the show’s sitcom ancestor *My Favorite Martian*. In subsequent seasons *Mork & Mindy* would change and drop in the ratings, but it will forever be a milestone in television and comedy.

*Mork & Mindy* began as a spin-off from *Happy Days*. Mork is sent to earth from the planet Ork in an egg-shaped ship to observe and

report on earth’s customs. He meets Mindy McConnell (Pam Dawber) and returns to her house to live in her attic. Mindy plays the “straight-man” to Mork and tries to hide or avoid the complications of his sometimes strangely inhuman methods, such as sitting on his head or drinking through his finger.

The biggest trouble that faces Mindy is that Mork does not know the fundamentals of human interaction. Most importantly, he does not know what not to do or say in “society.” In sometimes subtle or not-so-subtle ways, Williams points out many cultural hang-ups that he sees around him. In traditional sitcom approach, each show has a message—obvious to Mork—and he has to report weekly findings to his superior Orson on his home planet. This conveniently allows the show to present weekly homilies on topics such as love and greed. Although the approach became a bit tiresome, it did occasionally allow for a humorous anecdote or quip.

In the episodes commentary comes in the form of broad satire, touching on the melodramatic. Mork takes all earth events and words literally, allowing for some funny interchanges. *Mork & Mindy* sometimes drifted—especially in later seasons—into commentary over comedy, a move that ultimately hurt its appeal. Williams, however, is a master of improvisation, and his ability to bounce off topics, draw from an endless supply of pop culture asides, and adopt voices and personalities at will kept audiences watching despite



The stars of *Mork & Mindy*, Pam Dawber and Robin Williams.

sometimes weak storylines. This frantic pace and “never-know-what-to-expect-next” feeling marked the first season, but sadly disappeared in subsequent seasons.

The show ran for a total of four seasons and slowly slipped in the ratings each year. Though *Mork & Mindy* was an initial success, the network made major cast changes and the record store disappeared, along with a bunch of minor characters. Second, in an effort to bolster ABC's traditionally weak Sunday lineup the show was removed from its dominant Thursday slot. *Mork & Mindy*'s worst nemesis, it seemed, was a network set on ruining the show.

The sitcom continued to drop dramatically in the ratings, losing almost half its audience over the course of a single season. *Mork & Mindy* plunged from third in the national Neilsens to twenty-sixth. They attempted to undo some of the changes and return it to its original time slot, but it was too late. During the final season, in typical sitcom fashion, the pair got married and had a baby. Depending on your perspective, the last season offers either a high or low point when Jonathan Winters took on the role of the baby, Mearth (Orkans are born older and get younger over time). This was either the supreme paring of comics or a mark of the depths to which the show

would go to survive. In any event, it was canceled at the end of the season.

The character of Mork first appeared in a February 1978 episode of *Happy Days*, where Mork tried to kidnap Richie Cunningham. The popular response to the character led to the *Mork & Mindy* series, which was produced by Garry Marshall, producer of *Happy Days*. In 1982 Mork, Mindy, Mr. McConnell, and Orson would all pop up again in one season of animated cartoons also titled *Mork & Mindy* (with the original cast providing voices).

*Mork & Mindy* represents many of the high and low points of 1970s television comedy. It was one of many spin-offs from successful shows that managed to outdo its parent. It was also one of the many shows that marked ABC's golden period of television comedy at this time, with a lineup of successes like *Three's Company*, *Laverne & Shirley*, and *Happy Days*. In addition, it brought national attention to a major star, Robin Williams. Finally, the show also became a major player in the popular culture of the era, introducing catch phrases, a look, and an attitude that continue into the late 1990s. In the end, however, the energy and talent of Williams and other cast members were not able to maintain the show, either from bad decision making on the part of the network or perhaps from a lack of steam.

—Frank Clark

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## Morris, Mark (1956—)

The most important new choreographer to emerge since the mid-1970s, Mark Morris has created a bold synthesis of ballet, folk and modern dance. Morris has built on his early training and experience as performer of folk dancing by incorporating both modern dance and ballet movements within a framework of folk-like ensemble dancing. In 1988 Morris and his company took up residence at Brussel's Royal Opera House. In three tumultuous and controversial years, while local critics and audiences rejected Morris's aesthetically and often sexually provocative work, he produced several of his most important dance pieces, including the evening-length *L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, ed Il Moderato*, based on Handel's oratorio, and the *Hard Nut*, his parody of Tchaikovsky's *Nutcracker*, set in the suburban home of a dysfunctional family. Dance critic and Morris biographer, Joan Acocella, like many other critics, sees Morris as a true "classical" choreographer—and the leading successor to George Balanchine—because his dance pieces issue directly from the music.

—Jeffrey Escoffier

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Mark Morris Dance Group. *The Hard Nut* (videotape). Elektra Nonesuch Video Dance Collection, 1992.

## Morissette, Alanis (1974—)

Singer Alanis Morissette was the first pop artist to tap into, articulate, and successfully commercialize the anger of young white women. It had taken surprisingly long for pop music to find its spokeswoman: Thirty years after Bob Dylan snarled out "Positively Fourth Street," nearly twenty years after punk's standard bearer Sid Vicious murdered his girlfriend Nancy Spungen, rage in mainstream music was still just for guys. The breakthrough came in the final decade of the twentieth century when Morissette—who transformed herself from a Canadian Debbie Gibson to an angst-ridden Everywoman—generated the top-selling album by a female solo artist ever. And she did it through sheer ordinariness.

Morissette was born in Ottawa, Canada, on 1 June 1974, 12 minutes after her twin brother, Wade. Her father was French-Canadian, her mother a Hungarian refugee. From an early age, Alanis wanted to perform in front of people, and by the age of ten she had landed a role on the Canadian children's show, *You Can't Do That on Television* (later shown in the United States on Nickelodeon). She pursued a singing career, releasing her first album, *Fate Stay with Me*, in 1987 and appearing on *Star Search* in 1989. Two years later she landed a hit in Canada with her album called *Alanis*. Using her first name only, her enthusiastic dancing, big hair, mismatched clothing and synthetic, bubble-gum dance music placed her solidly in the mall-pop category with Debbie Gibson and Tiffany. Morissette lived up to her role as Canadian teen idol, obligingly belting out "O Canada" at hockey games and at the 1988 World Figure Skating Championships. Her next album, *Now Is the Time* (1992) was less successful, however, and she soon realized that changes in musical fashion had



Alanis Morissette

left her behind. In order to survive as an artist, Morissette would have to reinvent herself.

Meanwhile, in the early 1990s, American punk rock had given birth to the Riot Grrl movement, a loosely defined school of women playing underground rock and roll in the name of women's empowerment. Following in the "uppity women" tradition extending from Bessie Smith through Patti Smith to Sonic Youth's Kim Gordon, Riot Grrl bands like Bikini Kill and Seven Year Bitch went further, venting outrage and confusion as they tackled feminist themes from date rape to incest to war. Though the movement stimulated a great deal of excitement and discussion among many in the fragmented punk mini-scenes, none of those bands ever found significant commercial acceptance: their music was simply too confrontational and political for the era. Female anger was purveyed somewhat more successfully by more mainstream, "critics' darling" acts like P. J. Harvey, Tori Amos, and Liz Phair; Phair's 1993 debut album, *Exile in Guyville*, with its acrimony toward past lovers and its graphic discussion of oral sex, closely parallels Morissette's breakthrough. Finally, the stage was set by Hole's 1994 smash success *Live Through This*, helped along by the massive publicity surrounding the suicide of Nirvana leader Kurt Cobain, Hole frontwoman Courtney Love's husband. Hole blended Nirvana's grunge rock with a watered-down Riot Grrl sensibility, and found wide acceptance. (Love very publicly expressed her dislike of Morissette, who supplanted her as rock's premier Angry Woman.)

Morissette moved to L.A. in the early 1990s, hooked up with co-writer/producer Glen Ballard, and set about recycling the Riot Grrls' energy while dropping their feminist politics. Released in 1995 on Madonna's Maverick label, *Jagged Little Pill* was an immediate success behind the hit single "You Oughta Know," a diatribe against a former lover and his new girlfriend (an anti-woman attack no self-respecting Riot Grrl would have tolerated). The lyrics pushed the envelope just far enough (MTV edited the line, "Are you thinking of me when you fuck her?" but allowed, "Would she go down on you in a theater?") and suddenly Morissette was a star, not only in Canada, but in the United States and around the world. Other singles followed, less cathartic but equally evocative of a 16-year-old girl dressed in black writing in her journal: "Ironic" (which hinges on a popular though incorrect use of the title word), "Head over Feet," "One Hand In My Pocket."

Unlike many of the women who preceded her, Morissette didn't limit her audience by being too ambitious, too clever, or too creative. She didn't express any interest in changing the world, only in complaining about it; and she wasn't re-defining male-female relations, she just wanted her ex to hurt like she did. Record buyers looked at Morissette and saw themselves: her voice never soared so high you couldn't sing along, she wasn't pretty enough to be threatening, she was never hard to understand. To the extent that art is about expressing the thoughts and feelings of a mass audience, *Jagged Little Pill* is as effective a piece of art as rock has produced. In 1996 Morissette won four Grammy Awards: Best Album, Best Rock Album, Best Rock Song and Best Female Rock Vocal Performance.

The album sold 16 million copies in the United States, and 28 million worldwide. While Morissette toured and then took time off, a group of similar acts emerged and followed in her wake, among them Fiona Apple and Natalie Imbruglia. The second album of Morissette's second singing career, *Supposed Former Infatuation Junkie*, was

released in late 1998, debuting at the top of the charts but falling below expectations. Unable to create further shock with her lyrics, she caused a mild stir by appearing nearly nude in the disc's first video, "Thank You." Whether history views Alanis Morissette as a canny self-exploiter (the new Madonna) or as an accidental superstar (the new Tiny Tim), her tremendous commercial success speaks for itself.

—David B. Wilson

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## Morrison, Toni (1931—)

Born Chloe Anthony Wofford in 1931, Toni Morrison is one of the most important authors of contemporary American literature. In the late 1970s through the 1980s and 1990s, she, along with acclaimed authors such as Alice Walker and Ntozake Shange, helped revise the white, male-dominated literary canon. Their works placed on all of the major best-seller lists and were increasingly taught on college campuses across the nation. Known primarily for her novels—*The Bluest Eye* (1970), *Sula* (1974), *Song of Solomon* (1977), *Tar Baby* (1981), *Beloved* (1987), *Jazz* (1992), and *Paradise* (1998)—Morrison is also a prolific author in the area of nonfiction, writing literary criticism, such as the well-received *Playing in the Dark Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (1992); she is also the editor of the anthology, *Race-ing Justice: Essays on Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas, and the Others on the Constructing of Social Reality* (1992). Though all of these works vary in terms of subject, place, and time and, in the case of the fiction, characters and story, they are all complex and compelling works that concern sexism, racism, and class in the United States.

In 1988 Morrison won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction for her fifth novel, *Beloved*, a historical novel on the enslavement of Africans and African Americans, which was adapted to a feature film in 1998. In 1993 she was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, the second American to do so and the first African American. Other honors include the National Book Critics Circle Award (1977), the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters Award (1977), and the Robert F. Kennedy Award (1988).

—Frances Gateward

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## Morrison, Van (1945—)

Van Morrison is one of the most gifted singers, performers, composers, and songwriters in the history of popular music. Born August 31, 1945 in Belfast (Northern Ireland), Van Morrison (real name: George Ivan Morrison) left school at age 15 to join the rock 'n' roll band The Monarchs on a tour through the United Kingdom and Europe. From 1963 to 1966 he led Them—a successful British rhythm and blues band—whose best known song, “Gloria,” was written by Morrison. In 1967 Morrison embarked on a solo career that up until now has resulted in some 30 high-quality albums. *Astral Weeks* (1968), his second, is often cited as one of the best records ever, together with The Beatles’ *Sergeant Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band*, Bob Dylan’s *Blonde on Blonde*, and *Pet Sounds* by The Beach Boys. While the album’s sound retains a unique position within Morrison’s oeuvre, it nevertheless contains all the ingredients of his later work. Even though Morrison has never had any really great hits—apart perhaps from the early “Brown Eyed Girl”—he is known by many as the author of “Have I told you lately that I love you,” rated one of the “most performed songs” of the year in 1994.

—Jurgen Pieters

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## Morse, Carlton E. (1901-1993)

Carlton E. Morse was a unique figure in the world of old-time radio—a writer, director, and producer who managed to navigate the often opposing worlds of popular success and critical accolade while creating works of enduring dramatic depth on the one hand and blood-and-thunder adventure on the other. Like Steven Spielberg in more recent times, Morse was one of those very few creators of popular entertainment whose name above the title was as instantly recognizable as any leading actor or famous character. His principal creations, *One Man's Family* (“radio’s preeminent serial,” according to historian Gerald Nachman) and *I Love a Mystery* (“the most respected

show of its type”) spanned the entire heyday of radio drama; crossed over into the media of film, television, and comics; and helped establish genre conventions in all these forms which would continue to delight contemporary audiences throughout the rest of the century. No one familiar with Morse can see Spielberg’s cozy suburban families without recalling the Barbour in *One Man's Family*, or watch Indiana Jones without thinking of the globetrotting adventures of Jack, Doc, and Reggie in *I Love a Mystery*.

Morse was a legend in the world of old-time radio not only due to the longstanding popularity of his creations but also because of the herculean work habits that enabled him to churn out daily episodes of *I Love a Mystery*, weekly installments of *One Man's Family*, and to produce and direct both of his creations while also writing short stories, novels, and philosophical essays in his spare time. Morse’s diligence has invariably been attributed to his early upbringing on a farm in Oregon to which his family moved five years after his birth in Jennings, Louisiana, on June 1, 1901. His early life milking cows helped establish his lifelong habit of rising at 4 A.M. to begin work, and even after marrying and finding employment as a newspaper columnist in San Francisco, he continued to meet his writing deadlines for the rest of his life by getting up every day at the same time and, by his own accounts, “sitting in front of the typewriter, lost to the world, for as much as two and a half hours.” When his newspaper was absorbed by the Hearst syndicate in 1929, Morse began hanging around the NBC studios and, in true Horatio Alger fashion, seized his moment by offering to rewrite another scribe’s unusable scripts. Morse’s quick work earned him a job penning everything from westerns to sports dramas to the mysteries that became his early trademark and that were usually based upon his experiences covering the newspaper crime beat.

Morse’s early radio experience brought him into contact with a group of performers who would ultimately form an acting company which provided the core cast of both *One Man's Family* and *I Love a Mystery* and the inspiration for many of the characters as well—“writing fictional characters,” he later recalled, “but also writing something of each of the actors into the part.” The calm authority of Michael Raffetto, for example, could serve equally well as the voice of eldest son Paul providing solutions to knotty ethical dilemmas in *One Man's Family* or dishing out the two-fisted realism of Jack Packard against the ghouls and vampires of *I Love a Mystery*. Morse was shrewd enough to exploit the close relationship of all his central actors and characters to lend a unique reality to a medium beset by short rehearsal and writing times, and even allowed his *One Man's Family* clan to age right along with the actors who portrayed them over the nearly 30-year run.

The genre trappings of each of Morse’s two principal creations often obscure the range of his unique contributions to the world of popular entertainment. *One Man's Family* may be accurately termed a “soap opera” and *I Love a Mystery* branded an “adventure serial,” but each offers a depth and complexity belied by such labels. *One Man's Family* debuted on May 13, 1932, and from its inception, described Gerald Nachman, “it was an experimental concept, the first radio show to depict the day-to-day lives of a fairly normal family.” As the extended Barbour family made its way through the trials of the Great Depression and World War II, Morse rarely resorted to the sensational plot devices associated with “the soaps” and instead told small, sometimes uneventful, stories that nonetheless touched on

profound issues of love and marriage, birth and death. While *One Man's Family* represented Morse's contribution to the tradition of American domestic drama, his *I Love a Mystery* embodied the opposite form—a riproaring, take-no-prisoners adventure yarn celebrating the American faith in (male) individual freedom and regeneration through violence. Rarely has a single writer-creator produced classic works of enduring popularity in both these quintessentially American forms.

*One Man's Family* and *I Love a Mystery* were Morse's most important contributions to the world of popular culture, and while he also wrote and directed several other programs during his long career, most were merely lesser imitations of his two masterworks—e.g., *His Honor, the Barber*, exploiting Barry Fitzgerald's homespun wisdom to dispense the same sort of advice son Paul was dishing out daily in *One Man's Family*; and *Adventures by Morse*, placing Captain Friday and his loyal sidekick Skip Turner in *I Love a Mystery* perils. Writing and directing so many programs at the same time often prevented Morse from knowing himself exactly how his stories would resolve themselves, a situation which Morse turned to his advantage to highlight the day-to-day doings of his domestic clans and to keep things unpredictable on his adventure offerings. Such characteristics were unique to radio's golden age, however, and when that era came to an end in the early 1950s, so did the period of Morse's significance as a preeminent figure on the cultural stage. Images could add nothing to *One Man's Family's* world of gentle talk, and no special effect ever invented was capable of conveying the outlandish horror and spectacle of *I Love a Mystery*. While recordings of his two leading creations remained highly prized commodities, Morse lived virtually in isolation for the remainder of his life in a rambling rustic mansion near Redwood City in Northern California. He died in 1993, surrounded by the hundreds of bound volumes of radio scripts which had once excited the American public to dream daily of both living room hugs and vampire shrieks.

—Kevin Lause

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## Morton, Jelly Roll (1890-1941)

Born Ferdinand Joseph, Jelly Roll Morton is best known for his songs “Jelly Roll Blues” (1905), “King Porter Stomp” (1906), and

“Kansas City Stomp” (1919). A composer and pianist, he first found success touring with his band, the Red Hot Peppers, and then later as a recording artist. Raised in the ragtime and dixieland musical tradition of New Orleans, Morton went beyond the formal structure of these forms and developed many of the central characteristics of later jazz music. In 1938, folklorist Alan Lomax recorded an interview with and songs by Morton as part of the Library of Congress' Folklore Archives in which Morton elaborates on the development of jazz music from its birth in New Orleans.

—Charles J. Shindo

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## Mosley, Walter (1952—)

Since the publication of *Devil in a Blue Dress* in 1990, African American novelist Walter Mosley's books have been known as “The Easy Rawlins Mysteries.” Mosley changed the face of American detective fiction and became one of America's best mystery writers by introducing Easy (Ezekiel) Rawlins, a black detective operating in a white conservative world. Thus, as Roger Berger has noted, by using black characters and black settings or locations, Mosley rewrites “the traditional white detective story—such as those of Raymond Chandler—through the oppositional use of black subject matter.” By using black characters and exploring black concerns such as race and sexuality, Walter Mosley joins Rudolph Fisher and Chester Himes, as the three most prominent black writers of detective fiction. In 1995, Mosley became a more familiar name in American popular culture when Columbia TriStar filmed *Devil in a Blue Dress*, starring Denzel Washington.

*Devil in a Blue Dress* is the story of Ezekiel Rawlins, a black war veteran who has lost his job in a defense plant in 1948 Los Angeles. While drinking in a bar, his friend Joppy introduces him to Mr. DeWitt Albright, who wants Easy to find somebody for him. Though Easy hates the thought of going to Albright for further detail, he knows that he has to find money to pay his mortgage, and presents himself at Albright's house. There, he learns that his assignment is to find Daphne Monet, a woman who enjoys “the company of Negroes” and likes “jazz and pigs' feet and dark meat.” This would be enough indication that Daphne Monet is probably black, if it were not for her photograph that shows “the head and shoulders of a pretty young white woman.” Significantly, the sequence at Albright's home introduces the reader to how Easy deals with racism and how he behaves with white people. When confronted by Albright's guard, he starts to stutter and squint and even feigns forgetting the name of the person he is looking for. Easy then informs the reader that it is a way of conduct he developed in Texas when he was growing up, which consisted of emptying his head of everything every time he was caught off guard by “a white man of authority.” Though this

mechanism—"The less you know, the less trouble you find"—has become Easy's motto, it has also brought him a hatred of self, and of people in general, both white and black, whom he holds responsible for his feelings: whites for accepting his seemingly dumb behavior as a fact of life, blacks for reminding him that he has to play dumb in front of whites.

Ironically, Easy fails to live up to his motto; the more he learns about his assignment and the people connected with it, the more deeply involved in the story he becomes. When several people start showing up dead, the police suspect that Easy knows who did it, and he is given a deadline to find the killer. More surprises appear when Easy finally finds Daphne Monet and learns that she is Creole and that DeWitt Albright is looking for her so that he can blackmail Mr. Todd Carter, who was supposed to marry Monet, thus ruining Carter's political career. It is worth noting Easy's manipulative talents, especially in persuading the police to believe his story about the murders and their perpetrators.

Thus, while maintaining certain traditional aspects of detective fiction, Walter Mosley explores the issues of race and interracial relations that have remained outside the province of his white counterparts. Mouse, for example, Easy's longtime friend from Texas, explains everything in terms of race; when Easy is on the shoreline north of Santa Monica waiting for DeWitt, a young lady from Des Moines begins talking to him until the boys she is with see this and warn him about talking to their women. Easy himself relates how the American army reflects the segregation of the South, having confined him to a typewriter for three years despite his having been trained as "a foot soldier, a fighter." For Easy, "the worst kind of racism" is the one that occurs when a white person like Todd Carter fails to see a black person in "human terms." Carter invites Easy to tell him anything *as if* they were best friends, implying his awareness of their "difference." But most of all, Easy believes that "justice for Negroes" can never be achieved without money, "the closest to God," to "grease" the system.

By the late 1990s a highly respected best-selling novelist on both sides of the Atlantic, Walter Mosley had explored his themes, in various plot guises, in five more Easy Rawlins mysteries: *A Red Death* (1991), *White Butterfly* (1992), *Black Betty* (1994), *A Little Yellow Dog* (1996), and *Gone Fishin'* (1997). In *A Red Death*, for example, Easy is in the house business when a racist IRS agent suddenly nails him for tax evasion. As a way out, an FBI agent asks him to infiltrate the First African Baptist Church, which is suspected of communist activities, in exchange for a better deal to pay off his IRS debt. In 1998, Walter Mosley introduced Socrates Fortlow, a new leading man for his new mystery novel, *Always Outnumbered, Always Outgunned*. Socrates, like his ancient Greek philosopher namesake, tries to find answers to "philosophical questions of morality" in a world warped by crime, racism, and poverty. In 1995, Walter Mosley displayed his versatility by publishing a non-detective novel called *RL's Dream*.

—Pierre-Damien Mvuyekure

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## Moss, Kate (1974—)

Breastless, hipless, and perennially skinny, Brit Kate Moss brought in the "waif" look and changed the shape of modeling in the 1990s. In contrast to more buxom models such as Cindy Crawford, she was a scrawny fourteen-year-old when an agent discovered her in a New York airport; her ability to retain that figure well into her twenties would catapult her to fame and a reported \$1.2 million contract with American designer Calvin Klein. Though Moss modeled extensively in England, it wasn't until 1992, when Klein selected her to represent his youth-oriented CK line, that her career took off; a series of semi-nude photographs appeared everywhere from magazine pages to bus shelters (where passersby occasionally scrawled "Feed Me" across her belly). Despite her controversial slenderness, Moss became one of the top six faces in the world, and for many people her glamorous lifestyle of all-night parties with actor boy-friends defined what it meant to be a supermodel.

—Susann Cokal

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## Mother's Day

A day of celebration and commemoration, Mother's Day has occupied a place on America's calendar since the early twentieth century. The woman responsible for its inception was Anna Jarvis (1864-1948), who wanted to memorialize her own mother and as a result saw the value in honoring all American mothers.

Having grown up in West Virginia, Jarvis moved to Philadelphia in 1891, where she began an extended correspondence with her mother back in her home town. Mrs. Jarvis moved to Philadelphia in 1903, where she died two years later. Her daughter Anna not only wanted to keep the memory of her mother alive, but also wanted to immortalize what she saw as the qualities of all mothers—piety, domesticity, maternal purity, loyalty, and love.

Perhaps inspired by other well-established days of remembrance such as Children's Day and Memorial Day, Jarvis set out to make Mother's Day a "holy day" to be celebrated in local churches on the second Sunday in May. The first public memorial service for her own mother took place in 1907, and one year later official Mother's Day services were held in churches all across the United States. Mother's Day became a celebrated day of observance for a number of reasons. First, because it honored the traditional role of women in the family home, it reassured those who were uneasy about the "new womanhood" that emerged as a result of World War I, and thus became increasingly popular. Second, and more important, it was deemed a



Alicia Mann looks over the card she plans on giving to her mother on Mother's Day, 1964.

viable commercial holiday for various business concerns, who therefore widely publicized it as an important event.

Never married and never a mother herself, Anna Jarvis thought Mother's Day should be celebrated as simply and solemnly as possible. The symbol of her sentiments was a white carnation, to be worn as an emblem in honor of one's mother. To her consternation, however, the floral industry seized upon her idea and used the carnation as a basis for their own promotions. Thanks to Victorian sentimentality, flowers had long been associated with femininity and domesticity; the American floral trade merely capitalized on this fashion. As early as 1910, the FTD (Florists' Telegraph Delivery Service) had begun to encourage sons and daughters to send flowers to faraway mothers, and in 1917 the industry began its national promotion of Mother's Day. By 1918, their famous "Say It with Flowers" campaign had been launched. During the 1920s, confectioners, jewelers, and stationers, among others, boosted sales by successfully promoting their own goods as appropriate gifts for Mother's Day, indicating just how popular the holiday had become.

To Anna Jarvis, however, this increase in popularity was accompanied by—or caused by—what she saw as rampant commercialism. Her personal "holy day," whose identity and observance she had wanted to manage herself, had become a commerce-driven "holiday." In the hands of the professional florists, her simple white carnation badge had also become more complicated: white carnations, the florists advocated, should symbolize the memory of mothers no longer living, while red ones should be used for those still alive. Later,

these simple floral badges blossomed into full-blown bouquets of more expensive and showy flowers. Furthermore, due to the FTD's aggressive advertising campaign, face-to-face visits and personal correspondence between mothers and children—which Jarvis saw as paramount—were being replaced with impersonal, commercially delivered messages.

In 1920 it was clear that business interests had won the fight over Mother's Day. While previously they had always acknowledged Jarvis as the holiday's founder, and described her as a woman of pluck and sound moral values, by the late 1910s her increasing outspokenness about what she saw as the erosion of Mother's Day rituals forced trade associations to distance themselves from her. By 1920, their relationship was severed and Jarvis' version of the origins and proper ceremony of Mother's Day were completely disavowed.

While Anna Jarvis's efforts to pay tribute to the memory of mothers may have continued to happen on a local level in churches uninfluenced by commercial interests, the floral industry and other trade groups helped turn it into a national holiday that everyone celebrated in very similar ways, part of what historian Leigh Eric Schmidt has called the "commercial management of the calendar." The success of Mother's Day also spawned other similarly contrived holidays, most notably Father's Day (the third Sunday in June), which had been advocated in churches since 1910 by Sonora Smart Dodd, but did not become a national observance until 1972. The holiday, with all its commercial connotations, spread abroad to the United Kingdom and countries such as South Africa and Australia, but each has its own date for the celebration. Other less popular offshoots that appeared were Sweetest Day, Bosses' Day, Grandparents' Day, and Professional Secretaries' Day, among others. By the end of the twentieth century, Mother's Day, however, was so deeply embedded in the American psyche and social fabric as to have become almost a \$9 billion industry.

—Wendy Woloson

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## Mötley Crüe

Mötley Crüe, the Los Angeles-based heavy metal quartet whose quadruple-platinum album, *Dr. Feelgood*, hit Billboard's No. 1 spot



Vince Neil of Mötley Crüe.

in 1991 and paved the road to Billboard's Top 40 and MTV's top video charts for other big-haired, glam-rock bands of the mid-1980s. As well known for their offstage behavior as for their onstage pyrotechnics, Mötley Crüe sold over 20 million albums in their heyday, which lasted for more than a decade.

The foursome came together in early 1981. Drummer Tommy Lee (Thomas Lee Bass) and bassist Nikki Sixx (Frank Carlton Serafino Ferrano) were in a band called Christmas when they answered a classified ad placed by guitarist Mick Mars (Bob Deal), who was looking for some "lude" and crude band mates. In April, the three recruited front man Vince Neil (Vince Neil Wharton), who was then singing for a local band called Rock Candy. Seven months later, Mötley Crüe (as Mars christened the band) recorded their first LP, *Too Fast for Love*, for \$7,000. The Crüe's pentagram-and-hellfire-saturated sophomore effort, *Shout at the Devil*, was released in 1983; one track, "Bastard," made it onto Tipper Gore's Parents' Music Resource Center's "Dirty Dozen" list of obscene songs, thereby sealing Mötley Crüe's reputation as The Band That Our Mothers Warned Us About.

In 1985, *Theater of Pain* was released to great fanfare. Shortly thereafter, Neil spent a surprisingly lenient 20-day sentence in a Los Angeles prison for vehicular manslaughter, after his drunk driving led to the death of Hanoi Rock's drummer, Nicholas "Razzle" Dingley. Meanwhile, Nikki Sixx battled a heroin addiction, but the Crüe's popularity never waned. That same year, their cover of Brownsville Station's "Smokin' in the Boys' Room" climbed up Billboard's Top 40, and their single "Home Sweet Home" became MTV's most

requested music video of all time that November. Lee married *Dynasty* star Heather Locklear in 1986, and introduced his 360-degree revolving drum kit the following year on the "Girls, Girls, Girls" world tour. Only months after the Crüe's greatest hits album, *Decade of Decadence*, was released in 1991, Neil was fired from the band for allegedly prioritizing his car racing hobby over his music career. John Corabi, former vocalist of the *Scream*, replaced Neil, but the band's renown never again reached that of its earlier days.

The media attention the Crüe received after 1992 centered almost exclusively on Tommy Lee's personal life: an intimate home video of Lee and his second wife, *Baywatch* star Pamela Anderson, was mass-produced and sold over the Internet; and the couple's three-year marriage ended in 1998 with Lee serving a four month sentence in a Los Angeles prison for spousal abuse.

Mötley Crüe was a larger-than-life band both on and off-stage, and they were the first rock 'n' rollers to erase the line between heavy metal music and commercial success. Large-market radio stations stopped shying away from the rock that may have alienated some listeners when they saw that these listeners, in fact, were anything but alienated. But, by the early 1990s, Mötley Crüe's heavy-handed, over-stylized music gave way to Seattle grunge bands such as Nirvana and Pearl Jam, while MTV's all-metal video program, *Headbanger's Ball*, had faded into oblivion, and the grunge/alternative-rock *120 Minutes* had all but been put on a permanent loop.

—Daryna M. McKeand

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## Motley, Willard (1912-1965)

The publication of Willard Motley's first novel *Knock on Any Door* in 1947 established the African American writer and former Works Progress Administration worker among the leading American naturalist novelists, together with Richard Wright, James T. Farrell, and Nelson Algren. The book, which chronicles the progressive corruption of Italian American teenager Nick Romano by Chicago slum life, was in its third printing five days after its publication and remained on the *New York Times* best-seller list for nearly one year. The novel was condensed and published in such popular magazines as *Look*, *Omnibook*, and *New York Post and Home Week-End Magazine*. A movie version was directed in 1948 by Nicholas Ray, starring Humphrey Bogart and introducing John Derek as Nick Romano. Motley wrote a sequel to *Knock on Any Door*, along with three other novels, but he was never able to repeat the commercial success of his first book.

—Luca Prono

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## Motown

Motown is a record company, a musical style, and a corporate conglomerate with several subsidiary labels. The company was founded in Detroit in 1959 by Berry Gordy, Jr. A black entrepreneur and songwriter, Gordy built a successful black-owned, independent company that became a formidable phenomenon in the music business. Motown racked up an enviable number of releases that posted on both pop and rhythm and blues (R&B) charts. At the company's height, an overwhelming 75 percent of Motown's releases charted, where the industry average was about 10 percent. By Gordy's estimation, 70 percent of the buyers of a million-seller Motown record were non-black. Between 1960 and 1969, Motown issued a total of 535 singles, 357 of which became hits. Motown issued 56 number one pop and R&B songs in a decade. The most important Motown asset was not the solid gold records or the millions earned in revenue, but its talented and diverse artists, songwriters, producers, and musicians.

Motown derived its name from the a popular slang contraction of motortown. Detroit, called the motortown for its automobile production, also spawned a number of fine musicians, among them rock and roll stars Hank Ballard and the Midnighters, distinguished jazz artists such as Milt Jackson and Yusef Lateef, bluesman John Lee Hooker, soul singers Little Willie John and Jackie Wilson, gospel diva Aretha Franklin, and many others who became Motown artists. But prior to Motown, Detroit had no major recording company.

One of eight children, Berry Gordy, Jr., was born in Detroit on November 28, 1929. His father, Berry "Pops" Gordy, Sr., and mother, Bertha Gordy, owned several businesses. A high school dropout, Gordy, Jr. became an average boxer who fought in the bantamweight class. He abandoned boxing and, after serving in the army, decided to pursue a musical career. In 1953, an infatuation with jazz prompted Gordy and singer Marv Johnson to open the 3-D Record Mart, a retail store dedicated to jazz. The store folded in 1955, and Gordy went to work for Lincoln-Mercury. But while installing upholstery in cars, he began humming tunes and writing lyrics.

Gordy developed an instinct for recognizing what made a hit song, and he became a master tunesmith. When he heard that Jackie Wilson's manager was looking for new material, he proceeded to write four hits for Wilson. His first song, "Reet Petite," hit the charts in 1957, and several other hits followed. Gordy married Raynoma Liles in 1958. Their union was short lived, though Liles continued to work for the company after the divorce. Her musical and technical skills were critical in helping Gordy to refine his songwriting craft, and she also convinced him to produce his own records, thus taking control over all aspects of production. Gordy's work for the auto manufacturers, learning assembly-line production values, would profit him later in the recording studio.

In 1958, Gordy formed a song publishing company called Jobete Music. He also formed Berry Gordy, Jr. Enterprises and purchased the buildings that would house Hitsville, U.S.A., and the Motown Record Corporation. In 1959, Gordy created Motown using an \$800 loan from "Ber-Berry," a family fund earmarked for real estate purchases. In addition to the Motown and Tamla labels, he developed other prominent subsidiary labels, including Gordy in 1962, Soul in 1964, Mowest in 1972, and Hitsville in 1976. Motown established several labels to get around the fact that radio stations limited the amount of airplay given the same label.

Gordy developed several self-serving policies which assured that Motown would have the upper hand in the manager-artist relationship. Artists were only allowed to review Motown's books twice a year. No industry regulatory groups were allowed to review the books, which is why none of Motown's hits of the 1960s was ever certified gold. If an artist signed as a performer and a writer, any costs incurred in preparing his or her records could be charged against the artist's songwriting royalties. In addition, Motown also served as the artists' booking agent. Overall, Gordy exercised total control over his talent. In addition to his songwriting abilities, Gordy was a natural leader who knew how to inspire artists. He initially fostered healthy competition among his artists, and, after a meeting and the singing of the company song, "Hitsville, U.S.A."—"Oh, we have a very swinging company working hard from day to day"—they would be charged up and ready to set the world on fire.

While the Motown musical sound was evolving, artists were also groomed to exhibit a distinctive Motown "style." Gordy, with the help of writer and producer Mickey Stevenson, set up an artist development program and recruited teachers to educate artists on showmanship and performance. Maurice King, who had worked with Billie Holiday, became the chief rehearsal musical director. Gil Askey, who had worked with Billy Eckstine, was the orchestral conductor for Diana Ross and the Supremes and assisted with stage concepts. Cholly Atkins of the famous dancing duo Coles and Atkins became the chief choreographer. Maxine Powell, who had managed a finishing and modeling school, was in charge of dress and grooming. Mandatory classes were held for the artists.

Motown attracted a large, diverse pool of artists, from the pop balladeer Lionel Richie to the funky Rick James. Singer-songwriter William "Smokey" Robinson, leader of the Miracles and a vice president of Motown, was a principal player on the team. Robinson had not refined his songwriting skills before meeting Gordy. Gordy taught Robinson how to write successful songs, and Robinson urged Gordy to go national distributing the company's releases. In 1959, the company issued singles by the Miracles, Marv Johnson, and Barrett Strong. The Miracles' "Bad Girl," originally released on Chess records, was re-recorded at Motown and became the Motown label's first single. "Shop Around," a Miracles recording on Tamla, became the company's first hit, topping the R&B chart and posting at number two on the pop chart. The Miracles were big record sellers and, between 1960 and 1972, they had 21 Top Ten R&B hits including the memorable "Shop Around" in 1961, "Tracks of My Tears" in 1965, and "The Tears of a Clown" in 1970. Robinson continued to produce commercial hits for numerous Motown artists including Mary Wells, the Temptations, and Marvin Gaye.

In January, 1959, singer Marv Johnson recorded "Come to Me" and "Whisper" on the Tamla label, signalling the genesis of the Motown empire. In 1960, singer Barrett Strong recorded "Money" (co-written by Gordy); although it was Tamla's sixth release, the record was leased to Anna records (a label Gordy's sister Anna started



Motown recording artists **The Four Tops**.

in 1958) and rose to number two on the R&B charts. Mary Wells became Motown's first superstar. A teenage vocalist, Wells signed with Motown in 1960 and her self-penned single "Bye Bye Baby" climbed to number eight on the *Billboard* R&B chart. Gordy then placed Wells's creative development into the hands of Smokey Robinson. Author and critic Lee Hildebrand maintains that Gordy's greatest gift was his ability to match performers with songwriter-producers. The Wells/Robinson synergy was the first such momentous pairing, with Robinson writing and producing the majority of Wells's hits between 1960 and 1964.

In 1960, the Primes, a vocal quintet, later named the Elgins (not to be confused with the Motown group of the same name) and then rechristened the Temptations, signed with Motown. This legendary group became the most successful vocal group in rhythm and blues history as evidenced by their prolific hit-making abilities and by the popularity of the NBC-TV special *The Temptations* that aired in 1998. The Temptations scored 43 Top Ten R&B singles between 1965 and 1989. Also in 1960, the Marvelettes, a female vocal quintet from the Detroit suburb of Inkster, Michigan, recorded "Please Mr. Postman" and became the first group to score a number one hit for the young

record company. Gordy invented the phrase “The Sound of Young America” as a marketing hook for Motown music. In 1961, the Primes’ “sister” group, the Primettes, comprising Diana Ross, Mary Wilson, Florence Ballard, and Barbara Martin, signed with Motown. Martin left the group and upon Ballard’s suggestion, the group’s name was changed to the Supremes. After several unsuccessful releases, the Supremes paired with the songwriting team of Eddie Holland, Lamont Dozier, and Brian Holland and scored a number one R&B hit with “Where Did Our Love Go,” following with eleven number one hits. Ballard was fired from the group after six years, and Ross left the trio in 1969 to pursue a successful solo career, giving Motown its largest hit single with “Endless Love,” a 1981 duet with Lionel Richie. Ross left the company in 1981 but returned eight years later. The Supremes went through several personnel changes and disbanded in the late 1970s.

The Motown Revue was one of Motown’s successful marketing strategies. Several of Motown’s artists would tour under the company’s name for thirty to forty days with a band. The revue was a cost-saving measure and at the same time excellent promotion for the company. In 1962, the first Motown Revue trekked through the South in cars and buses. The 1963 revue featured Stevie Wonder at the Regal Theater in Chicago. Motown recorded Wonder singing “Fingertips (Part. 2),” which became the first live recording to reach number one on the R&B and pop charts. Born Steveland Morris, Wonder has remained with the company since his signing to the Tamla label in 1961. Blind since birth, Wonder is a multi-talented artist, a fine vocalist, multi-instrumentalist, songwriter, and producer who has had 18 number one R&B hits and has won 16 Grammy awards. Wonder and Marvin Gaye were artists who eventually gained complete artistic control, shunning Motown’s assembly line production style in favor of music that mirrored their personal philosophy.

Marvin Gaye married Anna Gordy and also signed with Motown, first recording “Let Your Conscience Be Your Guide” in 1961. He provided backup vocals and served as a drummer for other company artists. His fourth single for Tamla, “Stubborn Kind of Fellow,” was a commercial success. Many memorable songs followed, including “I Heard It Through the Grapevine” (which peaked at number one on both the R&B and pop charts). While his duos with Mary Wells and Kim Weston were moderately received, it was his pairing with Tammi Terrell that really jelled. “Your Precious Love” and “Ain’t No Mountain High Enough,” among other songs, scored in the R&B Top Ten. The 1971 album *What’s Going On*, a profound and visionary cycle of songs, lushly orchestrated, and exploring socio-political and environmental themes, struck to the heart of human existence. It remains Gaye’s masterpiece. Gaye altered the face of Motown with this artist-produced album, unprecedented at the company at that time. Gaye had many other hits including, “Let’s Get It On” and “Got to Give It Up (Part 1),” before leaving Motown in 1982.

The Four Tops signed with Motown in 1963, although the group first started in 1954. They enjoyed a string of hits produced by Holland-Dozier-Holland, including “I Can’t Help Myself,” and “Reach Out, I’ll Be There,” both of which topped the R&B and pop charts. The Jackson Five signed with Motown in 1969 after Gordy learned of them through Gladys Knight and Bobby Taylor; their initial single, “I Want You Back,” rose to the top of the R&B and pop charts, assuring the Jacksons international stardom. Over the next five years, a total of ten of their singles cut for Motown posted in the Top Ten R&B and two of these, “Never Can Say Goodbye” in 1971 and “Dancing Machine” in 1974, reached number one on the R&B chart.

Motown made solo recordings of Michael, Jackie, and Jermaine. The group left Motown and signed with Epic in 1976.

Gladys Knight and the Pips signed with Motown in 1966 and enjoyed twelve Top Ten R&B hits on Motown’s ancillary Soul label. Other artists that recorded for Motown were the Commodores, whose Motown single “Machine Gun” charted and was followed by a string of hits. Singer-songwriter Lionel Richie bolted from the group in 1982 and became a successful solo act. Singer-songwriter Rick James signed with Motown in 1978, scoring a number of hits on the Gordy label including “Mary Jane” and “Super Freak (Part I).” Other Motown artists include Jr. Walker and the All Stars, Martha and the Vandellas, Brenda Holloway, Edwin Starr and the Contours, and many others.

The Motown sound was never one style but a number of styles that were created by the producer/writer teams. Motown had a coterie of exceptional writers and producers, beginning with Gordy himself and including Smokey Robinson, Norman Whitfield, Ashford and Simpson, and Stevie Wonder, among others. The Motown sound evolved over a period of years, beginning with the strong sonic identity imparted by the songwriting team of Holland, Dozier, and Holland. “Their three-minute soul symphonies managed to take the gospel-rooted sounds of black America to unprecedented levels of universal acceptance and yet retain enough ghetto grit to still appeal to the music’s core audience,” notes author and critic Lee Hildebrand. The Motown sound was also influenced by the Atlantic songwriting team of Jerry Leiber and Mike Stoller, who created orchestral string arrangements for the Drifters.

In 1964 Gordy established offices in New York and in Los Angeles staffed by executives whose chief responsibility was to scout for TV and film possibilities. In addition, Motown’s artists frequently appeared on various talk and variety shows. *T.C.B.—Taking Care of Business*, which aired in 1968, was Motown Productions’ first television endeavor and featured the Supremes, primarily spotlighting Diana Ross, and the Temptations. Motown’s attempt to establish itself as a force in the film and television industry saw more failures than triumphs. Several television specials followed, featuring prominent Motown artists, including the Jackson Five, the Supremes, and the Temptations. *Motown 25—Yesterday, Today, and Forever*, the NBC anniversary special that aired in 1983, not only garnered top ratings but was the most watched variety special in the history of the medium. The Motown-produced film *Lady Sings the Blues* (1972), starring Diana Ross in a fictionalized account of jazz singer Billie Holiday’s life, won several awards but received mixed reviews. Several other films followed with mixed reviews, including *Bingo Long and the Traveling All-Stars and Motor Kings* in 1976, *Scott Joplin* in 1977, *Almost Summer* and *Thank God It’s Friday* in 1978. The biggest failure was the 1978 all-black remake of *The Wizard of Oz*, called *The Wiz*. Some Motown artists also scored films, including Smokey Robinson’s soundtrack for *Big Time* and Marvin Gaye’s score of *Trouble Man*.

In 1973, Motown’s Detroit offices closed and the company relocated to Hollywood. All divisions of Motown were restructured under the auspices of Motown Industries. Berry Gordy, Jr., became chairman of the board, with Ewart Abner II taking over as president. *Black Enterprise* in 1973 listed Motown as the biggest black-owned company in America, grossing \$40 million. Motown’s reputation as “one big, happy family” was part myth and part fact. Gordy was not only a CEO but a father figure to many of the young artists, and his roster of talented artists were touted as the Motown family. By the mid-1960s, a third of the Motown payroll went to actual members of



the Gordy family. Yet this family slowly became dysfunctional and its artists were treated as orphans. With the exception of Diana Ross and Smokey Robinson, the artists, whose talents and performances made Motown and Gordy rich and famous, were the least appreciated and most mistreated element of Motown Records. Artists' royalty statements were substandard, and when they fought for their own interests, they were considered insubordinate. As Motown's talent became its enemy, the company was flooded with lawsuits and bitter feelings. Rumors that Motown was controlled by underworld figures began to surface, as more whites came to work for the company. These were never substantiated but led to widespread gossip. There also were a number of Motown artist tragedies: Florence Ballard's termination from the Supremes and eventual death of cardiac arrest; Temptation Paul Williams's suicide; Motown's studio drummer Benny Benjamin's stroke; and the casting aside of bassist James Jamerson, Sr. In 1988, Gordy sold Motown to MCA for a reported \$61 million.

The company's legend rests on its impressive list of classic hit songs and on the enormous influence that Motown artists, producers, songwriters, and musicians have had on contemporary music. This legend is preserved at the Motown Historical Museum, founded in 1985 in Detroit. The museum's CEO, Berry's sister Esther Gordy, who once headed up the company's International Talent Management division, is dedicated to the preservation of the Motown spirit. The museum provides a retrospective view of the evolution of both the Motown company and the Motown sound, including Studio A where so many artists recorded hit songs. Motown's legacy is a monument to the principles of capitalism. Gordy stuck to his credo and succeeded in making a better product than his competition, even though it was often at the expense of his artists, songwriters, and producers.

—Willie Collins

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## Mount Rushmore

America, "the land of the free and the brave," has many national monuments. Possibly none, though, so unabashedly celebrates American expansionism as the piece of sculpture 23 miles southwest of Rapid City, South Dakota. Completed in stages during the 1920s and 1930s, the Mount Rushmore National Memorial, which is visited by

40 million tourists annually, celebrates the spirit of America through huge carvings of the faces of four presidents: George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt. While the memorial was intended simply as a tribute to these great leaders, changes in the cultural climate have begun to alter its interpretation. Particularly through the influence of Native American groups, some Americans have begun to question just what kind of symbol this is for their nation. Such is the price for any landscape that attempts to serve as sacred for a number of different constituents.

As a sculpture, Gutzon Borglum's Mount Rushmore is one of the world's largest. It is certainly one of the world's most impressive works of man: it erupts out of the Black Hills and surrounding mountains roll off endlessly into the horizon; the granite faces tower 5,500 feet above sea level, seeming to peer out over the nation which they helped to foster. Prior to the project, Borglum had begun ill-fated work on the Stone Mountain Confederate Memorial in Georgia. Without finishing that project, Borglum moved on to South Dakota where his work attracted national attention. President Calvin Coolidge was so impressed with the project that he arranged federal funding to support it. At the project's dedication in 1927, Coolidge stated that he believed the project was "decidedly American in its conception, magnitude, and meaning. It is altogether worthy of our country."

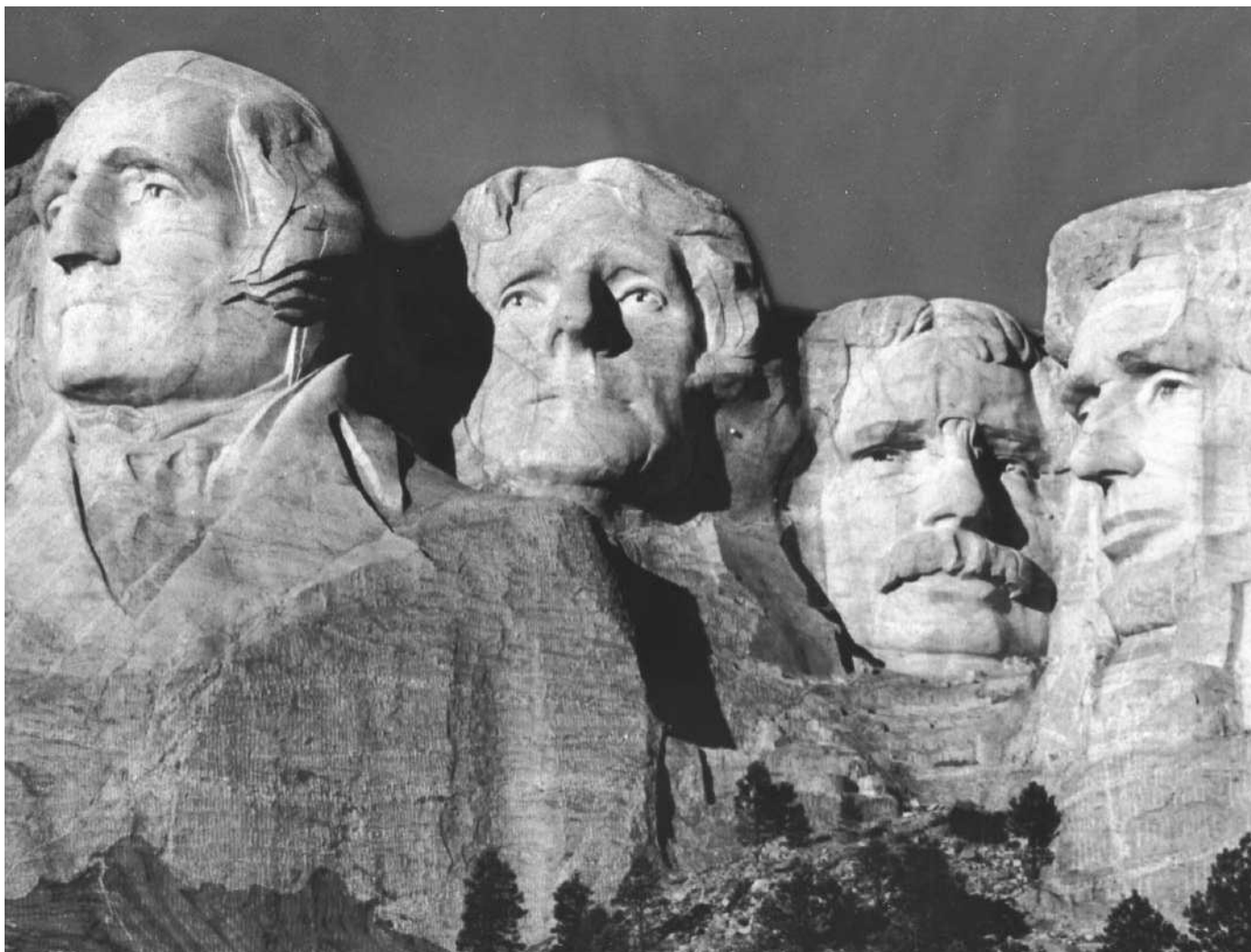
The project proceeded briskly, though this is a relative term when reducing the face of a mountain to sculpture. After three years of blasting, chiseling, and drilling, George Washington's head emerged. Franklin D. Roosevelt was present at the dedication of the Thomas Jefferson figure in 1936. Abraham Lincoln's head was dedicated in 1937 and Theodore Roosevelt's in 1939. Gutzon Borglum died during the final years of his shrine's construction. The project was never truly completed; in fact, the artist intended another giant carving—a memorial to the Sioux Indians—to be located in the Pine Ridge country of Nebraska. Instead, his heirs have taken up the project on a nearby mountain in South Dakota. The creation of the Crazy Horse sculpture continues to unfold, but already attracts thousands of visitors.

Mount Rushmore has proved a lasting image for the nation since 1939. The exact meaning, however, appears to be different for each viewer. Sacred landscapes are defined by ongoing contestation, or debate, over meaning. The situation is particularly acute in the Black Hills where Sioux and American settlers have been in armed or legal battle for 150 years. To some visitors, as with Coolidge, the towering sculpture in the Black Hills signifies the power and fortitude of the American nation as it followed "Manifest Destiny" westward and then became a global power unlike any other civilization. As Sioux and other Native Americans watch millions of tourists arrive at Mount Rushmore each year, they cannot help but view the creation and celebration as sacrilege. As one Sioux bitterly observed, "This is what conquering means. They could have just carved this mountain into a huge cavalry boot standing on a dead Indian."

—Brian Black

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## Mountain Biking

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In the late 1960s near San Francisco, Gary Fisher and Charles Kelly began riding their bicycles on trails that no ordinary Schwinn could handle. With Joe Breeze, these two riders set up a group called “Clunkers” and began making their own bikes, specifically designed for off-road, rough-terrain riding. Organizing more and more races throughout the 1970s, the “Clunkers” watched the popularity of mountain biking sweep the nation, including a well-known group called “Fat Tires” in San Diego. Fisher would perfect his bike manufacturing to an art, and by the late 1990s, his hand-crafted bikes sold for thousands of dollars. Other bike shops and manufacturers followed suit, and mountain bikes had become the most common variation of the bicycle by the end of the twentieth century. The popularity of mountain bikes can be attributed to the abundant

opportunities for off-road riding in most areas and the ease and comfort of riding mountain bikes when compared to skinny-tired road bikes. Whether in cities or rural areas, riders have found compelling reasons to adopt a mountain bike.

Biking, which was perfected by inventions in the 1860s and 1870s, has always sought to appeal to Americans through the indulgence of luxury. Rarely purchased as a necessity, bicycles have mostly been acquired as luxury items. The first great wave of bicycle popularity in 1870s saw the high-wheel bicycle enjoyed by young men traveling about town. When companies such as Mead, Sears, Montgomery Ward, and Schwinn developed bicycles for Americans after World War I, bicycling became most associated with a younger generation. The younger generation almost exclusively rode on pavement or sidewalks in neighborhoods or suburban developments. During the late 1970s, riders perfected new modes of riding and varied designs in order to accommodate the new uses.

Some of these new riders sought to explode the limitations of traditional riding and design. Mountain or dirt biking would take place off of trails and roads, free of pavement. To a generation of young Americans breaking the bounds of many traditional activities, mountain biking offered a more intense experience, potentially full of

danger and excitement. The design variations inserted fat, knobby tires, suspension, and new, straight handle-bars with a complicated gearing that allowed riders much more flexibility (usually offering 20 speeds). The bike needed to be able to adjust for use in the deep woods or on roadsides, reflecting the younger generations desire for versatility.

The entire aura of mountain biking contrasts diametrically with the very reserved, “swoop-barred ten speeds” of the 1970s. The change seems to have broadened the appeal of bicycling. During the 1980s and 1990s, mountain biking has involved more Americans at a variety of ages than any other period in biking. The far-end has also become more extreme than during any other period, as riders seek out experiences that push the limits of safety. Mountain biking, for instance, is a major component of ESPN’s popular *Extreme Games*, an annual series of events that allow participants to tempt fate and pursue games such as a mountain bike races that offer the possibility of serious injury—a necessary “edge” to make activities interesting to many 1990s young Americans.

—Brian Black

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## The Mouseketeers

The “Mouseketeers” were an assortment of variously gifted, mostly non-professional California kids selected by Walt Disney as the core around which the *Mickey Mouse Club*, Disney’s second network television venture (after *Disneyland*), was produced. The pervasively popular show quickly became one of the major crazes of the mid-1950s, and the “Merry Mouseketeers,” sporting black beanies topped with round mouse ears, became enduring icons of a newly affluent, post-war America. The original show, begun in 1955, was syndicated from 1962 to 1965, again in 1972, and in an abridged format on the Disney Channel in 1983. Two up-dated (and very politically correct) versions appeared in 1977 and 1989, but it was the Cold War *Mickey Mouse Club* and its Mouseketeers that achieved true cultural immortality during its relatively brief but massively assimilated run in the 1950s. The show’s popularity was unprecedented in its time, and its nostalgic appeal and cultural impact continued to exert a fascination that was still evident 40 years later.

Disney’s *Mickey Mouse Club* premiered on ABC on October 3, 1955, and ran until September 25, 1959 (though the original seasons of newly produced, non-rerun shows concluded on March 28, 1958). The show was actually a recycling of the popular live Mouse Clubs that had flourished in movie theaters between 1929 and 1933. The TV manifestation proved equally successful with 1950s youngsters, although adults and critics were heard to voice some essentially unheeded reservations. *MMC* was aired Monday through Friday between 5:00 and 6:00 p.m. and was divided into four ritualistic segments. After a daily animated lead-in from the Mouse himself, the first quarter presented newsreels on global subjects of interest to children, a series of safety/health films or a similarly instructive feature moderated by Jiminy Cricket (Disney’s personable insect character from the 1939 film *Pinocchio*).

Segment two showcased the Mouseketeers in a different setting each day. Monday was “Fun with Music,” and Tuesday brought on various “Guest Stars,” mostly culled from the fringes of the entertainment world, who ranged from Cliff Edwards and Judy Canova to Donna Atwood of the *Ice Capades*. Wednesday aspired to provide some element of surprise with “Anything Can Happen Day,” and Thursday was “Circus Day,” while Friday’s “Talent Roundup”—the *Mouse Club* version of amateur hour—saw the Mouseketeers rounding up and bringing in new talent who, after their 15 minutes of TV fame, appeared either breathlessly elated or visibly embarrassed at being made “Honorary Mouseketeers” and forced to don the show’s signature mouse ears.

The 5:30-6:00 slot contained the show’s most viable segments, the well-produced serials and first television airings of the Disney animated shorts. The serial segment was made up of miscellaneous multi-episode features. Some were documentaries (such as “What I Want To Be” and “Animal Autobiographies”), but what most viewers remembered from this part of the show were the dramatic serials. These included “Spin and Marty” (which inspired several sequels), “Clint and Mac,” and “Annette,” the latter a 20-episode adolescent melodrama about a sweetly naive farm girl (the immediately popular Annette Funicello), who struggles to gain acceptance among more sophisticated urban teens. “Spin and Marty,” a saga about a boys’ ranch, the Triple-R, featured Tim Considine and David Stollery in the title roles, together with Harry Carey, Jr., veteran of many a John Ford Westerns, as a cowboy camp counselor. Disney teen star Tommy Kirk also got his start in the serials, co-starring with Considine in two re-makes of the *Hardy Boys* detective stories. The show’s climactic segment, “Meeseka, Mooseka, Mouseketeer, Mousekartoon Time now is here,” was probably the most eagerly awaited by fans of Disney’s animated characters. This daily spot, drawn from Disney’s large library of cartoons from 1928 to the early 1950s, provided the first historic and rather surprising glimpses of the original rubber-hose Mickey Mouse and the early Donald Duck that contemporary youngsters, accustomed to the venerable characters’ more modern manifestations, never experienced.

The Mouseketeers themselves (all identified by first name only) were divided into two groups: the “Red Team” of the top ten most showcased performers and the larger although second-string “Blue Team.” Of the select “Reds” Annette Funicello achieved the most *Club*-era adulation and post-Mouse success. Funicello enjoyed a brief recording and screen career (starring in the popular American International Pictures *Beach Party* films) before retiring into domestic life. In 1987 she returned, with AIP co-star Frankie Avalon, in the film *Back to the Beach*, a sharp satire that made frequent references to their mutual pop culture histories. Of the boys, Bobby (Bobby Burgess) became a dancing fixture on the *Lawrence Welk Show*. The adult regulars on *MMC* were Jimmie Dodd, who moderated and wrote many of the songs, and Roy Williams, a Disney artist who spoke on the show only through his caricatures and quick-sketch drawings.

While the basic content of the quarter-hour episodes varied from day to day, the ritual aspects of the *Mickey Mouse Club* were still only slightly less formal and repetitious than a Lutheran church service. The first two segments kicked off with musical sequences (“Today is Tuesday, you know what that means. . . .”) which went on at length and were repeated week after week. Between these “stock footage” lead-ins and the frequent commercial breaks (which intruded even upon the short cartoons), each day’s new material, and thus, the show’s production budget, was kept to a minimum. And while it did have its instructional aspects *Mickey Mouse Club* was not educational

in the sense of later shows such as *Sesame Street*. *MMC* rather concerned itself with providing clean-cut, positive, and somewhat idealized role models (albeit mostly for white, middle-class children), while energetically promoting morality, socialization, and the sugar-coated indoctrination of children into a burgeoning consumer society. It followed that the show, along with the prime-time *Disneyland*, was also among the first to fully exploit the merchandising potential of television and while parents and critics occasionally carped about its hard-sell tactics, this had little impact on the program's popularity.

By its second season *MMC* had captured an audience of over 12 million children and seven million adults, a record for television up to that time. Along with Davy Crockett coonskin caps, mouse ears became one of Disney's best-selling merchandising ploys of the era, and the show inspired a plethora of other spin-offs, and even its own magazine offering stories and photos on the Mouseketeers and other Disney subjects while further plugging merchandising items from the show. References to *MMC* and its ostensibly more innocent era have continued to pop up in disparate cultural venues, ranging from the novels of John Updike to the film of *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* (1975), and by 1998, at least three books devoted to the show had been published, providing various answers to the burning question: "Whatever happened to the Mouseketeers?"

—Ross Care

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## Movie Palaces

Epitomizing the greatness of Hollywood and the glorious excess of the Roaring Twenties, movie palaces were opulent movie theaters with plush carpeting, gilded ceilings, glass staircases, Wurlitzer organs, stylized decor, uniformed ushers, and as many as 6,000 seats. Movie palaces of yesteryear remain a nostalgic reminder of Hollywood's and America's greatest days.

It was not always thus. When Hollywood was young, and films silent, moviegoing was considered entertainment for the lower classes. Exhibition of early cinema reflected the stark class division of movie audiences. The earliest venues for projected movies were converted store fronts. In 1904 Harry Davis and John Harris, store owners and two of the hundreds of local entrepreneurs who shaped movie history, charged five cents for admission to the movies they showed in their converted store in McKeesport, Pennsylvania. Combining the price of the ticket with the Greek word for theater, they called their theater the Nickelodeon.

It took another ten years for exhibitors to upgrade their theaters to attract the upper and middle classes. In 1914 exhibitors Moe and Mitchell Mark surmised that an upscale exhibition venue would attract an upscale audience. Further, they gambled that this new

audience would pay more for the spectacle. On April 11, 1914, the Mark brothers opened the Strand Theater on Broadway in New York City. While not a full-fledged movie palace, the Strand set new standards in movie theater design and ticket prices. With its crystal chandeliers, plush carpet, gold-leafed ceiling, the art hanging in its lobby, and its uniformed ushers, the Strand commanded 25 cents for admission to its gracious chambers. Built on the eve of World War I, the Strand led the way in increasingly ornate and larger picture houses.

World War I set the backdrop for the "arrival" of movies and for Hollywood's consolidation as the most powerful center of film production in the world. With the rest of the world at war, America experienced the beginnings of unsurpassed industrial and economic growth. The world's other filmmaking countries re-allocated their resources to pay for munitions and other wartime needs. Hollywood pumped its films onto screens around the world. For its increasingly opulent films, Hollywood needed suitable venues at home, theaters that would showcase its stars, complement its excess, and provide its patrons with a complete experience of affluence and leisure.

Many people contributed to the boom in movie theater construction, but one man can be credited with setting the standard of what today we know as the most extravagant castles of the seventh art. Samuel Lionel Rothapfel, "Roxy," began his movie exhibition career with a small family theater in Forest City, Pennsylvania. Turning an old theater into Rothapfel's Family Theatre, Roxy discovered his calling. Soon he was called upon by theater owners across the Northeast to renovate their spaces. But Roxy was not just "redoing" these spaces, he reinvented the experience of "going to a movie." Roxy moved the orchestra out of a pit and onto the stage, and put his ushers in impeccable uniforms. Insisting that the music accompanying a film had to relate to the film's story, he scored the music for his theaters himself. Between 1913 and 1920, Roxy turned four of New York City's theaters into movie palaces. Today, their names—the Strand, the Realto, the Capitol, and the Rivoli—still resonate with the glory of Roxy's vision.

Roxy's movie palaces, like all the others, offered a complete program of entertainment, including Vaudeville acts, live music, animal tricks, and finally a newsreel and film. Very American in their eclectic decor and larger-than-life entertainment, the movie palaces did not always present the movie as the main attraction. Often the setting or the Vaudeville acts were the draw. Roxy's imprint of excess and his formula for complete entertainment were copied, though never rivaled, across the nation. Two of the smaller gems, the Castro Theater (1922, San Francisco) and the Music Box Theatre (1929, Chicago), still operate today, restored to their original state complete with Wurlitzer and organist.

Roxy fulfilled his dream of building his own theater in 1925. By all accounts, there are no adequate words to describe the Roxy, or its mélange of architectural styles. The Roxy defined the movie palace: its rococo-style rotunda, trimmed in gold filigree and supported by 12 marble columns, opened into a theater seating 6,214 people. The five-story structure included six box offices, a hospital, a musical library with more than 50,000 scores, washroom facilities to accommodate 10,000, dressing rooms for stars, a radio broadcast facility, and Roxy's private health club and box. It cost an astounding \$300,000 to renovate. When it opened on March 3, 1927, in New York City, the Roxy instantly became the biggest star of all movie palaces.

In 1930, John D. Rockefeller and the Radio Corporation of America looked to Roxy to direct their new theater. Resigning his position at his own theater, Roxy went uptown to build the enduring Radio City Music Hall. He toured Europe, looking for inspiration in



The Rivoli Theatre in New York.

its most famous theaters and opera houses. The greatest inspiration came on his transatlantic cruise home, when he saw the fiery sun set on the horizon. The stage and coves in Radio City Music Hall look like a sun setting over red velvet. Designed by Donald Deskey, this art deco masterpiece features a 60-by-150-foot Grand Foyer decorated with mirrors, marble, gold leaf, bronze trim, and a mural. It cost seven million dollars to build and seated 6,200. Radio City Music Hall opened on December 27, 1932. Roxy invited Hollywood stars and political celebrities, and he scheduled 19 Vaudeville acts. Even as he built his dream castle, however, Roxy had lost faith in the movies, believing that Vaudeville and radio would replace them. This miscalculation cost Roxy his directorship and broke his spirit. He died January 13, 1936, perhaps of a broken heart. Ironically, since its 1979 renovation, Radio City Music Hall has functioned as Roxy himself had imagined—almost exclusively showcasing live entertainment, including the world-famous Rockettes.

While Roxy reinvented the movie experience and built the most extravagant of movie palaces, on the West Coast another man was building ornate palaces all around the seat of movie royalty, Hollywood. Sid Grauman (1879-1950) owned and operated Hollywood's most glamorous picture palaces—among them the Million Dollar (1922); the Egyptian, designed after the great tomb of King Tut; and the Metropolitan (1923). Grauman drew attention to his theaters by

placing huge searchlights on the sidewalk. The apex of his career, and arguably the most famous of all movie palaces, was the Chinese Theatre, opened on May 18, 1927, in ceremonies emceed by D. W. Griffith. Built in the style of a Chinese pagoda, Grauman's masterpiece was capped by a 60-foot ceiling sculpture of silver dragons. For all its grandeur, however, the Chinese is best known for its sidewalk where for more than 70 years Hollywood's brightest stars have signed their names and left their footprints in the cement. One legend has it that the U.S.'s ultimate walk of fame was accidentally conceived when Norma Talmadge stepped in wet concrete during a tour of the construction site. Grauman asked her to sign her name next to her footprint, and the tradition began.

As the movie palace grew into the standard version of a theater, two architectural trends emerged. One, the atmospheric theater, was pioneered by Austrian-born John Eberson. In an atmospheric theater, a Brenograph projected moving images onto a concrete ceiling, creating, for instance, the illusion of a starry night with lights embedded in the cement and moving clouds projected across the ceiling. Eberson used this technology to bring nature inside. Also known for exoticism, Eberson built the Avalon in Chicago, a Persian temple complete with hand-made tile and luxuriously draped tents. Scotsman Thomas W. Lamb led another architectural trend, the "hard-top," a variation of an opera house or Vaudeville theater.

Working frequently for Marcus Loew, Lamb at first designed ornate but traditional palaces which featured symmetric, classical styles. As the twenties grew increasingly flamboyant, so did Lamb's palaces, inspired by Hindu, Persian, Chinese, and Spanish art.

The 1930s and the Great Depression brought a slow death to the movie palace. The failure of Roxy's Radio City Music Hall may not have been completely due to his mistaken vision. Americans had less money to go to the movies, especially to the more expensive venues. Most of the major studios declared bankruptcy and stopped building theaters. Only Warner Brothers, Columbia, and United Artists, the three smallest studios, survived the Depression with theaters. The post-World War II period saw the renaissance of the surviving movie palaces and reconstruction of Hollywood studios. The heyday of Hollywood and her movie palace-temples was, however, over. By the end of the 1940s, all the studios had agreed to divest their theater holdings as part of a settlement in the Supreme Court case *U.S. v. Paramount, et al.* Television and the suburbs helped cut the movie audience in half, from an average of 85 million a week in the 1940s to half that in the 1950s.

Most of the movie palaces that survived were converted for other use, from community centers to bowling alleys, and in the residential building boom of the nineties, many are being torn down to make way for condominiums and multiplexes. In some communities, however, civic groups have formed to save the palaces, and there is a small movement to restore these quintessential American treasures.

—Ilene S. Goldman

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## Movie Stars

America is a country with no aristocracy, no landed gentry, and ostensibly no barriers to rising in society. Of course, the paradox of American culture is that the above is true while at the same time being utterly false. If social differences are more fluid than in, say, Great Britain, they are still undeniably real. Yet even the most egalitarian of societies needs its heroes, as it needs the pageant of history to provide context, and in the twentieth century movies, and the movie stars who inhabit them, fulfilled that vital function, substituting for the heroes and villains once found in books. Onscreen and in anecdotal form (Hollywood history is told most often via the anecdote) movie stars comprise a class that is as close to Olympian as any collection of individuals has ever been.

“Once there were no film stars,” writes film historian Ronald L. Davis. “In the early days of silent pictures studio heads didn’t advertise the names of actors, were resistant to the idea of creating stars, realizing that fame would bring pressure for higher salaries. For the first year or two of her film career, Mary Pickford was known simply as ‘The Girl with the Golden Curls.’” It was the Edison Bund (Thomas Edison’s early film production studio) that suppressed Mary Pickford’s and Lillian Gish’s identities, even after the public clamored for their names, and due to their intransigence, they soon lost control of the industry itself. With the advent of the second generation of filmmakers in the 1910s, this situation changed rapidly. The men who created Hollywood, and with it, the institution of the film star, were, for the most part, immigrants; and more often than not, entrepreneurs. Many of them came to film from some part of the fashion industry, where the ability to anticipate public tastes was indispensable. Adolph Zukor, the first film producer to judge the market potential of play-length films, was also among the first to use an international star—in this case the legendary actress Sandra Bernhardt—as a selling point, building the publicity campaign around his 1916 film, *Queen Elizabeth*, upon Bernhardt’s much-vaunted reputation.

By the 1918 release of D. W. Griffith’s epic, *Birth of a Nation* (prominently featuring Lillian Gish) the movie star had become the linchpin of film marketing. The new film moguls saw the advantage in mimicking Broadway theater, where the presence of certain name actors could insure the success of a play, but they also perceived that film was a medium of broad, simple gestures. It wasn’t enough to merely present an actor and hope for the best. Actors had to be easily recognizable and their characters consistent from one film to the next, lest the audience (at the time film audiences were decidedly plebeian) become confused. Studio executives tailored an actor’s image around a few easily recognizable features, and having once established their identity, repeatedly cast them in similar roles. Hence, Theda Bara always played an exotic seductress, Rudolph Valentino, the Arab prince, and John Gilbert, a Latin lover. It was a frustrating situation for any serious actor, but lucrative for the studios.

To go with their screen personas, the studios furnished their actors with new names and, often, new biographies as well. The original film “vamp,” Theodesia Goodman, a tailor’s daughter, was transformed by Fox Studios in the early 1920s from a nice Jewish girl from Ohio into the illegitimate daughter of a French artist and an Arabian princess named Theda Bara. It was widely reported that her name was an anagram for “Arab Death.”

Many stars, John Gilbert for one, resented their being typecast. But most film stars of the time were not trained actors, and were content not to look a gift horse too closely in the mouth. Many relished their newfound notoriety. Tom Mix, the star of cowboy serials, lived up to his cowboy image onscreen and off, furnishing his mansion with a wealth of garish Western memorabilia and driving around town in an Lambretta automobile while wearing his trademark white sombrero. Rudolph Valentino, however, used his considerable wealth to hide from a prying public, buying the property around Falcon Lair, his Benedict Canyon estate, in order to ward off importuning fans. And from all accounts, Valentino saw acting as a means to an end, taking little pleasure from his acting, simply accepted the checks and steeling himself for another stint of hard work.

If many silent stars were ambivalent about their careers, they were more devoted to the lifestyle acting afforded them. They lived by the credo propounded by Gloria Swanson, who, shortly after buying razor-blade millionaire King C. Gillette’s Beverly Hills

mansion, announced, “I have decided that while I am a star, I will be every inch and every moment a star.” The new elite built veritable monuments to their celebrity, palaces befitting their status as pseudo-royalty. Very few exercised the modesty of Clark Gable, whose modest ranch house sat amidst a working ranch, but followed instead the lead of Mary Pickford and Douglas Fairbanks, whose converted hunting lodge, Pickfair, with its bowling alley, screening room, acres of landscaping, swimming pool, and ponds for canoeing became the measuring yard of accomplishment for the nouveaux riche. John Barrymore turned the modest mission-Spanish dwelling he bought for \$50,000 into a seven-acre ode to bad taste, with sixteen separate buildings, a Japanese garden, aviary, and a tower built above his bedroom to which he could retire via trap door when the demands of public life grew too heavy for him to take.

The movie star’s extravagance was grist for the mill of the slew of magazines and newspaper columns devoted to this new breed of royalty. In the 1920s, no fewer than twenty-six fan magazines, publications like *Motion Pictures*, *Picture Play*, *The New Movie*, *Screenland*, and *Photoplay*, appeared to fulfill this vital function. The nation hungered for news about their stars, but not just news. All the minutiae of their daily lives—what they wore, their hobbies, who they entertained for dinner, their secret hopes and aspirations—were all assiduously reported, and a star who was hostile to the press played a dangerous game with their career. Often the stars took pains to appear ordinary or underscore the sacrifices of show business. Confided Norma Shearer to *Modern Screen*: “I love to go to my friends’ houses for an evening. I love to have them come to my house. . . . I don’t care for huge parties. I seldom go to them and never, never give them.” “Fame imposed on Milton Sills the curse of nerves. . . . He forced himself through picture after picture. Finally came a nervous breakdown,” went another story.

If a star did not in fact have their own personal publicist, studio publicity departments made sure to keep their stars cooperative, eagerly arranging interviews and publicity appearances, orchestrating the star’s off-screen life as carefully as their filmed performances, including at times who they were seen with in public, and who they married. A star’s good name was money in the bank, and after suffering through the many scandals that rocked Hollywood in the 1920s, many a studio publicist went to profound lengths to shield a valuable star from the potentially disastrous effects of their private missteps.

The reigning—and rival—queens of Hollywood gossip were Louella Parsons, whose column was syndicated in the powerful Hearst newspaper empire, and Hedda Hopper, another columnist. At the peak of their careers in the late 1930s and early 1940s, the two had a combined readership of 75 million readers, and each wielded their power ruthlessly, nursing grudges for years on end, sometimes going to great lengths to scuttle a career. This was the case in Hopper’s vendetta against Charlie Chaplin. Upon his engagement to 18-year-old Oona O’Neill in 1943, Hopper was instrumental in bringing a paternity suit against Chaplin on behalf of another youngster allegedly made pregnant by the comic. Blood tests revealed the child was not his, but by then the damage was done. When Parsons learned that the role model for *Citizen Kane* (1941) was her boss, she launched a concerted effort to stop the film’s release and drive Orson Welles from Hollywood, which is what eventually happened. While the pair could indeed do great damage to a nascent career, when it came to established stars, their influence was limited. Greta Garbo, Katherine Hepburn, and Laurence Olivier all felt the lash of the gossips’ poison pen with little consequence to their popularity.

Star status was a tricky thing to maintain. Some stars, including Chaplin and Pickford, had the business savvy and the talent to endure, but the exception proved the rule. When a familiar profile fell out a favor, the public could be as cold as they had been adoring. “So what?” ran the summation of a piece by columnist Faith Service. “A newer star appears and to you, Fickle Public, our heroine becomes—the Forgotten Face.” Most actors were so thrilled with the amounts of money they made that they spent lavishly, only to find themselves inexplicably out of favor with the public or the studios or both. The tragedy of stardom (luridly documented in Kenneth Anger’s *Hollywood Babylon* series) was that success so blinded young, marginally talented performers that despite the object lessons of their fellows, they rarely thought that their star, having ascended, would plummet. This became part of the allure of star-watching, the *schadenfreude* of seeing the mighty fall. And a fall from grace was a deceptively simple thing. It might be due to the caprices of a restless public, or a too-public display of arrogance, but once you were out, as so many found, the road back into public favor was more often a cul-de-sac. “Looking back on Hollywood,” wrote Joan Fontaine, “I realized that one outstanding quality it possesses is . . . fear. Fear stalks the sound stages, the publicity departments, the executive offices. Since careers often begin by chance, by the hunch of a producer or casting director, a casual meeting with an agent or publicist, they can evaporate just as quixotically.”

Until 1944, actors, regardless of salary, were basically the chattel of whatever studio held their contract, existing at the whims of the studio heads who dictated what parts they would play, and how they would appear to the viewing public. But in that fateful year, Olivia de Havilland, who as a result of a contract dispute had not appeared in a movie for three years, won her lawsuit against Warner Brothers. This suit, combined with the anti-trust ruling that had forced the major studios to divest themselves of their theaters, opened the industry to independent producers. The locus of power began to shift away from the studios and into the hands of the stars themselves, who with their agents and managers were not only accountable for their image, but in packaging and producing films. “Stars discovered that working for the majors meant they couldn’t hold on to most of their earnings,” publicist Arthur Mayer said in an interview. “Each star thereupon sought to establish his own company . . . if you own a company, you can arrange your taxes quite differently. . . . So the stars went out for themselves.” Many stars started production companies; Rosalind Russell and her husband, director Frederick Brisson, formed Independent Artists, producing *The Velvet Touch* in 1947. Burt Lancaster and his agent, Harold Hecht, produced their first film, *The Crimson Pirate*, in 1952, and went on to produce a string of well-received films such as *Marty* and *The Bachelor Party*.

The perception of the movie star didn’t change overnight, but in increments. By the 1950s, the cult of the movie star became the cult of the actor. A pretty face could still excite, but more and more it was an actor’s skills that brought him or her fame. And because they were no longer studio employees, the stars were no longer beholden to publicity departments to smile and nod and give interviews to reporters. Montgomery Clift, Marlon Brando, Paul Newman, and James Dean disdained the careful choreography of studio publicists, guarding their privacy and independence. Marilyn Monroe and Elizabeth Taylor were still sex symbols, but they no longer were forced to hide their personal strife. No longer were the stars demi-gods or goddesses residing in unearthly splendor. Now they were perceived as frail, human, sharing the attributes of lesser mortals. A marijuana possession conviction failed to tarnish Robert Mitchum’s allure, nor

did the marital strife of Marilyn Monroe detract from her star appeal. Maybe it was the general prosperity of the times. Movies were no longer a novelty—as in the 1920s—or an escape—as in the 1930s and 1940s. Movies were simply entertainment, and the stars simply entertainers.

By the late 1960s, Hollywood was at a low ebb. The public might be temporarily aroused by a Steve McQueen or Robert Redford, but with James Dean and Montgomery Clift dead, there was little to attract the baby-boom generation. Stars like Rock Hudson and Doris Day seemed out of step, not with it, no longer pertinent. The new generation of stars, often second generation Hollywoodites, were not merely actors but rebels. And not in a symbolic sense as James Dean had been, but revolutionaries. In varying degrees, Peter Fonda, Dennis Hopper, Warren Beatty, and Jane Fonda were all part of brewing anti-war, counterculture rebellion, and they took aim at society both on and offscreen; Warren Beatty in particular caused a stir with his portrayal of Clyde Barrow in *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967), not so much for his character's violence as for his impotence.

If many 1960s-era movie stars didn't exactly take vows of poverty, they did evince less concern with material things than their predecessors. The British actress Julie Christie was notorious for both her radical politics and her lack of concern with money: Warren Beatty once had to retrieve a substantial royalty check from a Beverly Hills sidewalk after it had fallen unnoticed from Christie's purse. Jane Fonda drew the scorn of middle America for visiting North Vietnam. The French film director Jean Luc Goddard later made a documentary on her trip consisting of a single image: that of Fonda sitting atop a North Vietnamese tank.

And Hollywood was no longer lily white, as it had been, at least in appearance, for so many years. The new Hollywood stars no longer took pains to hide their ethnic origins. Nor were they classically handsome, although for the most part women actors were held to a different standard. Dustin Hoffman, Al Pacino, Robert DeNiro, and Harvey Keitel bore little resemblance to the stars of yesteryear, and for the first time, black men, like Sydney Poitier and Bill Cosby, would achieve mainstream success as more than character actors. Their grittiness was part and parcel of their appeal, and for a time, the rules of the game changed sufficiently to allow casting against type for both men and women.

Hollywood is at heart a conservative industry. It is also, in its eighth decade of existence, an industry built on nepotism. Like Jane and Peter Fonda, Warren Beatty, and Shirley MacLaine, the film stars of the 1990s are often the product of one or two generation of selective breeding and what Joan Didion calls "the last extant stable society." In this last extant stable society the role of the movie star is a well-known commodity, and its pitfalls well-known pitfalls. If today such things as same-sex relationships, black leading men and women, feminists, and miscegenation are accepted, the game itself has changed very little. The same could be said of the public's relationship to movie stars, one of adoration and enduring fascination. In retrospect, the late 1960s and early 1970s appears as a short aberration in an otherwise uninterrupted, continuous stream of manufactured gods and goddesses, sex symbol selling an idealized version of the masculine and feminine. In today's age of diminished expectations, movie stars still hold out the promise that a pot of gold does exist at the end of the rainbow, and this pot is on display to the public who live out a dream of wealth and physical charms vicariously.

Screenwriter Budd Schulberg once observed that "Hollywood, after all, was only a picture of America run through the projector at

triple speed. . . . Hollywood [has] always been excessive, speeded-up, larger-than-life reflection of the American Way." It is the lot of film stars to play out these excessive, larger-than-life visions of America, and in so doing, embody America. Like the demi-gods of old, they are half-breed creatures, equal parts mortal and immortal, for in their films, something of their time and their essence is captured. And like the Greek pantheon (it is no accident that an exclusive Hollywood development is known as "Mount Olympus"), movie stars are indeed something like gods to Americans. On screen and off they can be tragic, comic, or virtuous, and modern Americans need these figures to provide context in their own lives. We need to learn of Elizabeth Taylor's ongoing travails in the *National Enquirer*, or read about how very down-to-earth Brad Pitt is in *Premiere*. We want to learn about Jack Nicholson attacking a passing car with a golf club. Extenuating circumstances rise up and block a clear picture of the trajectory—downward or upward—of everyday life. But in the life of a movie star, everything is as vivid as technicolor.

—Michael Baers

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## Mr. Dooley

"Mr. Dooley" was a product of the 1890s, a time when a memorable fictional character was likely to come not only from the pages of a novel or a play but also from a column in the newspaper. Chicago-born newspaper writer Finley Peter Dunne (1867-1936) created "Mr. Martin J. Dooley" as his satirical mouthpiece. Dooley was a saloon-keeper whose pronouncements on current events, both local and international, couched in a vivid, albeit questionable "Irish" dialect, were as humorous as they were pointed. Not until the country discovered a genuine "cracker-barrel philosopher" in cowboy Will Rogers was there a more popular commentator on war and peace, politics, and the passing parade.

By devising "Mr. Dooley" to express his thoughts and opinions, Dunne also managed to give voice to the disenfranchised blue-collar population of Irish immigrants who were beginning to form an important part of Chicago life at the turn of the twentieth century. Although his own father, a carpenter, was an immigrant from Ireland, Finley Peter Dunne himself did not live a working-class existence. As Paul Green has pointed out in his introduction to one of Dunne's books, "(Dunne was) more interested in writing about his people than





**Finley Peter Dunne, creator of Mr Dooley.**

living with them.” He was born in Chicago in 1867, and grew up comfortably middle class. In 1884, the *Chicago Telegram* hired Dunne as an office boy and reporter. With this job, the young man began a 15-year stretch of journalism which would see him employed at half a dozen windy city newspapers. It was not until 1892 that Dunne started experimenting with Irish dialect because, as he later explained, “It occurred to me that while it might be dangerous to call an alderman a thief in English no one could sue if a comic Irishman denounced the statesman as a thief.” Nevertheless, it was not until a year later, after failing to create much of a stir with two other Irish characters, that Dunne hit upon the brainstorm of Martin J. Dooley, middle-aged bartender and commentator on matters both local and national. A self-described saloon-keeper and Doctor of Philosophy, Mr. Dooley proved instantly popular with Dunne’s readers, and the writer supplied them with his best Dooley columns over the next seven years.

The down-to-earth Mr. Dooley looked with a clear eye at social conditions in his Bridgeport neighborhood, and he saw what was going on all around him in Chicago as a microcosm of larger world events. Dunne’s columns would range from poking fun at politics—as when Dooley ran for mayor with the campaign slogan “Rayform

the Rayformers”—to letting Dooley bear witness to vignettes illustrating the harsh life of the marginalized immigrants who frequented his establishment. The columns proved so successful that over the years they were frequently collected in book form. Although Dunne’s unauthentic dialect usage was criticized in Ireland, where his books were never popular, the important thing about his columns was the satirical message. Dunne eventually wrote over 300 columns, but those generally considered the best were the ones he wrote while he was still close to his ethnic roots in Chicago. The first Dooley book, published in 1898, was *Mr. Dooley: In Peace and in War*. Its success was immediate and so pronounced that it enabled Dunne to relocate to Manhattan, where he was able to reach a wider readership and attain greater national attention, but Mr. Dooley seemed to lose something of the spirit which had first sparked his success.

Nevertheless, Dunne enjoyed continued popularity, not only with Mr. Dooley but with other articles, columns, and books, until his death in New York in 1936. Dunne continued to affect popular culture posthumously, albeit indirectly, by having sired successful screenwriter Philip Dunne, whose distinguished credits include the Oscar winning *How Green Was My Valley* (1941). “The past,” Dunne once wrote, “always looks better than it was because it isn’t here.” Although very

much a product of his era, Dunne's writings stand the test of time, in part because, for better or worse, the topics that are worth poking fun at rarely change or disappear. To cite just one example, Dunne once defined a fanatic as "A man that does what he thinks the Lord would do if He knew the facts of the case."

—Preston Neal Jones

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## Mr. Smith Goes to Washington

Nominated for 11 Academy Awards in a year that included *Gone with the Wind*, *The Wizard of Oz*, and *Stagecoach*, *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939) is one of Frank Capra's most critically acclaimed films, and is considered by many to be his most memorable and enduring work. *Mr. Smith* tells the story of a naive young man who is appointed United States Senator. The governor, who is himself controlled by a corrupt media magnet, selects Smith to fill a vacant Senate seat in the belief that this wide-eyed, ultra-patriotic boy scout leader will be so overwhelmed by the Capitol's sights and monuments that he will neither notice nor understand the complex reality of backroom deals which define our government. However, Smith's lack of knowledge and experience are more than offset by his keen sense of moral integrity. In traditional Capra fashion, the hero is a common man who, although intellectually overmatched, prevails by virtue of his unshakable understanding of right and wrong. Capra presents in Smith a man who is unable to be bought, cajoled, or threatened, and suggests that these are the qualities that represent the greatest threat to political corruption. In what may now be seen as his most patriotic moment, Capra offers a powerful illustration of American mythology through his presentation of Jefferson Smith, a seemingly powerless man with the ability to take on the entire United States Congress.

While *Mr. Smith* is essentially a simple moral tale, its formal presentation and the social moment in which it was produced make it far more complex. Capra, an Italian immigrant who cherished his adopted country, was an intelligent man who favored simplistic tales. A champion of American populist values, Capra often worked with more left-wing intellectual writers. In this case, he chose Sydney Buchman, who was later named as a "communist sympathizer" during the HUAC (House Un-American Activities Committee) hearings, to write the screenplay for *Mr. Smith*. The combination of Capra's ultra-patriotism and Buchman's liberal political and social beliefs generated a complicated set of messages, or meanings, within *Mr. Smith*. The film was further complicated by Capra's use of

montage, previously developed by Russian filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein, whom Capra admired. During two key moments in the film—the opening explanation of the vacant Senate seat, and Jefferson Smith's filibuster—Capra uses montage to create intellectual and emotional tension.

With a potential world war on the horizon, Capra created in *Mr. Smith* a not-so-subtle response to the activities in Europe by focusing on the mythic qualities of American democracy. While later critics of Capra's work have referred to the film as simplistic fluff, or "Capracorn," the film had unquestionable impact when it was released. *Mr. Smith* was treated to one of the grandest openings of its time, as the film premiered in the Daughters of the American Revolution Hall on October 16, 1939. The screening was hosted by the Press Club in Washington, D.C., and was attended by Supreme Court Justices, cabinet officers, senators, congressmen, generals, and the city's social aristocracy. By the time the film had ended, the controversy surrounding it had begun, as individuals from the press and the government railed against what they saw as a dangerous anti-American motion picture. During a politically unstable time, the idea of America's most popular film director showcasing corruption, drunkenness, and downright incompetence in our government and press was considered misguided, if not subversive. Had the film been a comedy or more clearly a farce, the intelligentsia may have been more forgiving, but for this project Capra strove to faithfully recreate the look and feel of the Senate. In fact, he had an exact replica of the Senate Chamber built—down to the inkwells—for this picture, and included over 186 speaking parts in an effort to portray the kinetic atmosphere both on the Senate floor and in the surrounding galleries.

Following the film's premiere, politicians and newswriters around the country, and indeed around the world, argued against the film's release and threatened retribution against Columbia Studios and the rest of Hollywood. According to Capra's autobiography, *The Name above the Title*, the publisher of *Harrison's Reports* sought to promote legislation "that would permit theater owners to refuse to play films that were 'not in the best interests of the country'—meaning, of course, *Mr. Smith*." And according to Joseph McBride in *The Catastrophe of Success*, the *Washington Star* reported that *Mr. Smith* depicts "the democratic system and our vaunted free press in exactly the colors Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin are fond of painting them." Senators publicly spoke about the ridiculous representation of the United States Congress, and Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy reportedly sent Columbia a telegram asking them to suppress the European release of the film. Kennedy felt that *Mr. Smith* ridiculed democracy; that it would be a crushing blow to our allies in Europe; that it would damage American prestige abroad; and that it would be construed as propaganda for the German cause.

Rather than caving in to industry threats and pleas from respected politicians, Capra and Harry S. Cohn, the president of Columbia Pictures, held their ground. Far from anti-American propaganda, *Mr. Smith* is an ode to American patriotism. While Germany, with an Axis partner in Capra's native Italy, moved through Europe, Capra strove to represent on film all the democratic qualities and possibilities for which it was worth fighting. Capra's Jefferson Smith does not go to Washington looking for a fight, but in the end he risks his career, his reputation, and his physical well-being to help those who are being bullied and taken advantage of by the fascistic political boss Jim Taylor. Like so many of Capra's heroes, Jefferson Smith momentarily turns his back and considers running home to his isolated rural community. But when confronted with the words and ideals of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, the hope of a child, and the



James Stewart and Jean Arthur in a scene from the film *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*.

support of his savvy assistant (Jean Arthur), Smith finds the inner strength necessary for fighting a “war” to protect his constituents.

The moral, or the message, of *Mr. Smith* may have been missed by some in the press and the government, but it did not elude the viewing public. Like all Capra films of this period, *Mr. Smith* was critically and commercially successful. Capra’s greatest vindication, however, would not come until several years later when, on November 4, 1942, the *Hollywood Reporter* noted that *Mr. Smith* had been selected in theaters as the final English-language film to be screened prior to the Nazi ban on American films in occupied France. Indeed, one theater chose to play *Mr. Smith* continuously during the final 30 days before the ban. During World War II, Capra demonstrated his own patriotism by enlisting in the service and producing the classic documentary series *Why We Fight*. In 1939, Capra used film to express his patriotism, to extol the virtues of his adopted country, and to suggest American commitment to the principles of freedom and democracy.

—James Friedman

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## *Mr. Wizard*

For nearly 50 years, Mr. Wizard taught science on television the way most science teachers wished they could. Mr. Wizard was the creation of Don Herbert (1917—), a radio writer and performer who wanted to make science interesting to children. Herbert’s first live television program, *Watch Mr. Wizard*, aired in 1951, and featured Herbert using household items to teach the wonders of science. Over

the next 14 years, Herbert performed over 4,500 science demonstrations and became an American institution. According to Stuart Fischer, the author of *Kids' TV: The First Twenty-Five Years*, "this show proved to be one of television's most successful educational programs." It won numerous honors, including two Emmy Award nominations.

Though *Watch Mr. Wizard* left the air in 1965, Mr. Wizard lived on. Herbert returned to the airwaves in 1973 with a series of 30-second science lessons called *Mr. Wizard Close-Ups*. In 1979, Herbert and his wife, Norma, helped create touring science assemblies that visited schools across the United States. And beginning in 1983—amidst the boom in nostalgia for 1950s and 1960s culture—*Mr. Wizard's World*—an update of the original program—began to appear on the Nickelodeon cable network. The Nickelodeon programs were used widely in American schools to help hook yet another generation of children on science. In addition to his television work, Herbert has written several *Mr. Wizard* books, including *Mr. Wizard's Science Secrets* (Popular Mechanics Press, 1952) and *Mr. Wizard's Supermarket Science* (Random House, 1980).

—Frank Salamone

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## Ms.

The premiere edition of *Ms.* magazine appeared on newsstands in July 1972, containing feminist political analysis, articles about women's issues, and critiques of male-dominated society. The first national "glossy" publication to emerge from the 1970s wave of feminism was greeted with guarded enthusiasm by members of the multi-faceted movement it attempted to represent, and with outright hostility by the establishment media of the day. "I'll give it six months," sneered the late Harry Reasoner, co-anchor of the *ABC Nightly News*, "before they run out of things to say." Reasoner went on to complain, "There isn't an article in *Ms.* that wouldn't look perfectly normal in one of the standard women's magazines, and has probably already been there, only better written."

Criticisms of the pundits aside, however, American women must have been hungry for what a popular feminist journal had to offer. The preview edition, which had been released on December 20, 1971, sold out its 300,000 copies in eight days and generated 26,000 subscription orders and 20,000 letters to the editor. Unlike traditional women's magazines, which tended to focus on homemaking, fashion, and "pleasing your man," the first issue of *Ms.* featured articles such as "Lesbian Love and Sexuality" by Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon and "Women and Madness" by Phyllis Chesler. Gloria Steinem analyzed women's role in the electorate with "Women Voters Can't Be Trusted," and Margaret Sloan-Hunter deconstructed beauty parlors in "The Saturday Morning Nap-Conversion." One of the most

influential articles in the premiere edition was Jane O'Reilly's "The Housewife's Moment of Truth," describing the sudden moment of awareness when a woman realizes she is being dismissed or oppressed by attitudes and actions she once accepted as a matter of course. O'Reilly calls this sudden realization a "click! of awareness." This "click!" became a catch phrase in readers' letters as they wrote in to share their own experiences and sudden insights.

Undergoing several changes in ownership and format and a constant struggle to reconcile its feminist politics with the reality of the publishing world, *Ms.* has found enough "things to say" to keep the journal afloat for close to three decades. Though still the subject of criticism from both inside and outside the movement, *Ms.* remains the major national magazine of feminism.

Named for the title that feminists suggested should replace Mrs. and Miss, *Ms.* was founded by a group of journalists who were active in the women's liberation movement. *New York* magazine's Gloria Steinem and *McCall's* Patricia Carbine conceived the idea of popularizing women's liberation by publishing a glossy feminist journal that would sell on newsstands alongside the recipe, fashion, and dating women's magazines. They assembled a distinguished and enthusiastic staff. Some, like Rita Waterman and Margaret Hicks from *McCall's* and Bea Feitler from *Vanity Fair* and *Rolling Stone*, were experienced in the world of magazine publishing. Others, like Susan Levine, Margaret Sloan-Hunter, and Letty Cottin Pogrebin were writers, lecturers, and activists who brought their movement experience and zealous energy to the journal.

In an effort to work in a way that was consistent with feminist politics, the staff attempted to organize itself without traditional corporate hierarchies, and even salaries were allocated by taking into account the individual needs of a staff person as well as experience and value to the magazine. These efforts to equalize power and money reflected a common trend in progressive organizations to of the 1960s and 1970s, though they were often only successful in masking power differences.

In seeking financing for *Ms.*, Steinem and Carbine were insistent that control of the magazine remain in the hands of the women who created it. They did manage to get support from Warner Communications, which was willing to invest a million dollars in the fledgling journal without demanding a controlling interest, but financing would continue to be an issue for a magazine whose premise questioned the very basis of American patriarchal society and corporate structure.

From 1972 until 1989, *Ms.* continued to publish as an advertiser-supported monthly journal. From the beginning both editorial staff and readers had questioned the contradictions implicit in challenging the status quo while courting as advertisers those whose interest is served by maintaining the status quo. Advertisers insisted on content that complemented and did not criticize their products. Revlon Cosmetics pulled advertisements from an issue of *Ms.* that featured Russian women on the cover—bare of makeup. In 1986, African-American writer Alice Walker quit her editorial job with *Ms.*, citing her disappointment in the dearth of people of color in the magazine, especially on the cover, a lack that was, at least partially, mandated by advertisers. Lack of coverage of lesbians, radical feminism, and labor and environmental issues could also be traced back to advertisers' demands. In one of the journal's bleaker moments, over 100 readers sent an advertisement for a Lady Bic razor from the pages of *Ms.* itself to the magazine's "No Comment" page, where egregious examples of sexism in the media are highlighted.

As the magazine bowed to pressure from advertisers, it lost credibility with many of its readers, and began to lose as much as

\$150,000 a month as circulation dropped from 550,000 to under a 100,000. Staggering under its problems, *Ms.* stopped publishing for about six months. During that time the staff, still under the influential guidance of Gloria Steinem, reorganized and re-invented the journal. In the summer of 1990, *Ms.* began publishing again as a bi-monthly with longtime feminist writer-activist Robin Morgan as editor. The new *Ms.* had a higher newsstand price (\$4.50), a higher subscription rate (\$40 per year), and no advertising. The glossy pages were gone, and the “popular magazine” look was replaced by a more “intellectual journal” format. The new magazine offered expanded international coverage and more in-depth analysis. No longer forced to bow to advertising pressure, the first issue of the new *Ms.* contained both criticism of advertisers’ attempts to control media content and pointed apologies for advertisements the journal regretting running in the past.

The advertisement-free format was a success, winning back many of the serious feminist readers that had abandoned the journal during the years of compromising with advertisers, and *Ms.* has continued its moves towards independence. Though woman-owned for its first 15 years, the journal has since been owned by several different publishers, and it has always chafed at being forced to remain under mostly male ownership. In the late 1990s, Steinem again led the journal toward a new definition by seeking female investors with the aim of placing control of *Ms.* totally in the hands of women once again.

Born almost at the beginning of the women’s liberation movement, *Ms.* has always been a very public representation of that movement. As such, it has always drawn both kudos and reproach from both supporters and critics of feminism. Non-feminist detractors have often stereotyped the journal with the same epithets used on feminists themselves, calling it shrill, petty, and humorless. Feminists have also always been quick to take *Ms.* to task when the magazine has fallen short of their expectations. Conservative feminists have questioned the journal’s liberal bias, while radicals have consistently complained that *Ms.* does not go far enough. One of the most unique features in *Ms.* has always been the letters section. The journal receives around 200 letters a month, some laudatory, some critical, and many simply telling the reader’s story, whether describing activist work or recounting a click! of recognition of some new facet of women’s experience. It is this very personal interaction among its readers that sets *Ms.* apart from other journals, just as the principle “the personal is political” gave the feminist movement its unique perspective.

There is no name more commonly associated with *Ms.* magazine than Gloria Steinem’s. An early proponent of women’s liberation, Steinem was born in 1934 in Ohio. She learned early about the difficulties that faced a woman alone when her parents divorced when she was ten. Steinem was raised by her mother, a journalist who struggled with depression and societal attitudes about single mothers. Steinem began to earn her flamboyant reputation as a feminist writer and personality in 1964, when she wrote “I was a Playboy Bunny,” about her experiences working in a Playboy Club. She followed in 1964 with more serious political analysis in “After Black Power, Women’s Liberation.” After helping to found *Ms.* she edited the journal until 1987, then rejoined the staff as consulting editor in 1990. In April 1999, the first issue of the woman-financed *Ms.* was published, with a letter from Steinem reviewing the magazine’s history. She ends ebulliently, “I can’t wait to see what happens now.”

—Tina Gianoulis

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## MTV

MTV (Music Television) is truly one of the most important pop culture phenomena of the late twentieth century. As a medium, it united the two most important popular culture developments of the post-World War II era: rock ‘n’ roll and television. Within two decades of its birth in 1981, it defined an international youth culture centered around the rebellious spirit of rock music and the ceaseless consumption of goods. To the many millions of youthful viewers scattered across the globe, MTV is the preeminent medium of global youth culture, offering an intoxicating mix of music, postmodern imagery, consumer goods, and original programming. To its owner, the cable television giant Viacom, MTV is a highly profitable cable channel that offers advertisers unparalleled access to a youthful audience. But to its many critics, MTV is a corrupter of youth, a purveyor of mindless consumerism, and a degrader of all that is authentic about music; one critic suggested in the *National Review* that MTV renders America’s youth “deaf to all higher culture, and blind to all hope or beauty.”

Though its reach in the 1990s was global, MTV had humble beginnings. The channel was born at midnight on August 1, 1981, a NASA rocket launch countdown preparing viewers for the sudden appearance of a blank screen, a succession of moon shots, and the image of Neil Armstrong planting an MTV flag in the lunar dust. A male baritone voice dramatically proclaimed, “Ladies and Gentlemen, rock and roll,” and the Buggles’ “Video Killed the Radio Star” became the first in a string of music videos to appear in the homes of 800,000 Warner Amex Satellite Entertainment Company (WASEC) subscribers. The idea of the video itself was not new: African American performers Count Basie, Louie Armstrong, and Bessie Smith appeared in video clips with their songs in the late 1940s; Dick Clark’s *American Bandstand* dance show offered “live” (lip-synched) musical performances to a national television audience beginning in 1957; the Beatles released their song “Strawberry Fields” on video in 1967; and other 1970s television shows—*Soul Train*, *In Concert*, *Midnight Special*, and *Rock Concert*—offered live or recorded musical performances. But MTV gambled that the viewing audience in 1981 was ready for a 24-hours-a-day music channel. It was a gamble that soon paid off.

The brain behind MTV was Robert Pittman, a former radio disc jockey who had become an executive at WASEC. Pittman hoped that MTV—along with the premium channels Nickelodeon and the Movie Channel—would give his company an edge in gaining subscribers in the highly competitive cable market. The company’s \$20 million dollar investment soon proved worthwhile. MTV’s audience grew from just over 2 million at the end of four months to 22 million by 1984, and advertising revenues kept pace. Though the channel had



An MTV hot air balloon.

pulled in just \$7 million in advertising revenues within 18 months, by 1984 it was earning \$1 million a week. In many ways, MTV had an ideal cable product: its content cost the channel nothing, for recording companies provided the videos free of charge in order to promote their bands, and advertisers, eager to reach MTV's demographic of consumers between the ages of 12 and 34, offered everything from food to clothes to other youth-oriented products. Through the early 1980s, MTV viewers were fed a steady diet of videos and ads, videos, and ads; in *Rocking Around the Clock*, E. Ann Kaplan described the format as "ersatz commercials punctuated by 'real' ones."

The first videos to air on MTV appeared rudimentary and awkward beside current efforts. The total video rotation during the channel's initial months was a scant 125 videos. The common denominator for the videos was their slipshod production, nonexistent special effects, minimal costs, crude narratives, and home-movie type of appearance. A favorite in the first months was Chris DeBurgh's modern revisiting of a Greek myth called "Don't Pay the Ferryman," a moody narrative about a boat trip across the river Styx with the Grim Reaper as companion. But quality improved fairly rapidly, thanks in no small part to the performer who would come to be called the "King of Pop." Michael Jackson's 1982 release *Thriller* featured three

videos—"Thriller," "Billie Jean," and "Beat It"—that revolutionized the art form and galvanized public attention. The video for "Thriller," for example, which began with a long introduction by horror-film guru Vincent Price, was filmed in a graveyard, and cost an estimated \$1.1 million. Hyped for weeks before its release, then debuting in select theaters before it came to MTV, this was the first of many videos to generate a "buzz."

MTV's innovative format and seamless blend of content and advertising drew much attention from academics eager to document the emergence of a postmodern frame of mind. David Tetzlaff observed in the *Journal of Communication Inquiry* that "MTV denies the existence of all but the moment, and that moment exists only on the screen"; in *Monopoly Television*, Jack Banks wrote that MTV "repudiates linear conceptions of history, rejecting conventional distinctions between past, present, and future, instead placing itself in a timeless present." The result was an experience that decentered viewers, encouraging them to identify more with the products and images on screen than with more historically significant communities of meaning such as families, political parties, or social class. Even after MTV changed to a more traditional format in the mid-1980s, even after so many advertisements and television programs began to

mimic MTV's visual style, the perception remained and the critics agreed: MTV led the postmodernist cultural vanguard.

MTV's rapid emergence as both a profitable cable channel and a cultural force soon drew critics. Some black artists accused MTV of racism for what they felt was a real underrepresentation of non-white musicians, though MTV defended itself with the claim that it merely mirrored trends in album-oriented rock; in any case Michael Jackson's mid-1980s dominance as king of the video tempered such claims. President Ronald Reagan's Surgeon General, C. Everett Koop, charged that the heady brew of video clips—which he characterized as racy montages of violence, scantily clad women, and surrealistic images—could be dangerous to normal or healthy emotional relationships between the sexes. And media mogul Ted Turner accused MTV of producing a nation of "Hitler Youth" (though his hyperbole may have been influenced by the failure of his competing music channel, Cable Music Channel, in 1984). These would not be the first times that MTV would be accused of undermining the morals of America's youth. But it was difficult to tell if such concerns were a legitimate response to real increases in the amount of sex and violence on the screen, or an ongoing anxiety felt by members of older generations about the music that makes their children dance. MTV might be truly dangerous, or old folks might just be scared of rock 'n' roll.

MTV experienced growing pains during the mid-1980s. On the one hand all was going well, for MTV and other video channels had proved such a lucrative way to market music that fully 75 percent of singles released were now backed by a video. Moreover, MTV was acquired in 1987 by the emerging cable giant Viacom, a company that was able to get MTV into more American homes than ever before. Yet for all these successes, MTV's Neilson ratings were declining from their *Thriller*-induced highs of 1.5 down to a .7 rating, the channel's coverage of the Live Aid music festival was harshly criticized, and the British art rockers like Duran Duran, the Eurythmics, and Boy George who helped MTV establish an identity were going out of style. Ad revenues declined 10 percent during the first half of 1987, prompting *Time* magazine to wonder if MTV was "an idea whose time has already gone?" The concern was premature, however, for the one thing MTV has never done is fail to meet the ever-changing demands and interests of its youthful audience.

In its second phase, MTV devised the radical strategy of downplaying music videos and inventing their own programs. In this way, MTV hoped to become a more traditional television channel, thus breaking with its most postmodern elements. New shows introduced included *Club MTV* (dance), *The Week in Rock* (news related to the world of rock and roll), and *Remote Control* (a parody of the traditional game show with contestants strapped into La-Z-Boy recliners, fed pork rinds and cheese puffs, and asked moronic questions). Most innovative was the program *Yo! MTV Raps*, a compilation of rap videos by black artists. Although MTV executives were hesitant about this show's potential popularity, viewer response was tremendous and the show quickly became one of the most popular summer programs. By the mid-1990s, rap and hip-hop would become MTV mainstays. MTV realized another breakthrough in the early 1990s with its *Unplugged* shows, which showcased top rock bands playing acoustic instruments before a small audience. With this show MTV achieved 1990s media nirvana: synergy. The *Unplugged* shows generated singles for radio play, videos that could be plugged elsewhere in the channel's lineup, and albums that could be sold in record stores. By allowing the spirit of rock and roll to seep into news and comedy, and by showcasing the innovative music that was

coming out of the predominantly black rap and hip-hop community, MTV gave viewers a reason to stick around.

MTV continued its experiments with content into the 1990s, offering such shows as *The Real World* and *Beavis and Butthead*. In *The Real World*, a group of college age strangers were thrown together in a beautiful house and a camera filmed every moment of their attempts to learn to live together. Editors culled the mass of footage down to hourly episodes which combined the authenticity of real emotion with the narrative hooks of daytime soap operas. The show was an instant hit, and the experiment was repeated again and again. More controversial was *Beavis and Butthead*, a cartoon about two completely amoral teenage slackers. These antisocial characters set fire to houses, used frogs for batting practice, obsessed about women and farts, and were, all in all, mind-numbingly stupid. The show, which was an instant success, became a lightning rod for public fears about the amorality of youth and, not coincidentally, launched its creator, Mike Judge, to fame. (Judge would soon leave MTV to produce the cartoon series *King of the Hill* for Fox TV.) MTV's mid-1990s dating show, *Singled Out*, also proved a launching pad for ex-Playboy Playmate and show co-host Jenny McCarthy. McCarthy's combination of California surf babe beauty and bad girl antics—gross jokes and goofy faces—soon landed her an NBC sitcom.

While MTV's programming echoed with the channel's trademark irreverent and youthful attitude, its popularity and its cross-over into movies and mainstream television meant that MTV's attitude was now embraced more readily by the larger culture (which had itself been influenced by MTV). By 1990 MTV was available in more than 50 million American homes as part of many providers' basic cable packages. Its growing influence and the channel's desire to awaken a political consciousness in its youthful audience led MTV to campaign against the Gulf War in 1991 and to promote voter registration through such devices as "Rock the Vote" commercials starring rock stars and sponsoring registration drives at college campuses and rock concerts. MTV's most visible entry into the political arena was its 1992 interview with Democratic Presidential candidate Bill Clinton. For nearly 90 minutes Clinton fielded questions from a hand-picked audience of earnest young people. Clinton discussed his first rock-and-roll experience—"going nuts over Elvis Presley"—and promised to come back to MTV as president (a promise he later kept).

At the same time that MTV was becoming a pillar of American pop culture it was also spreading across the globe. MTV debuted in Europe in 1987, offering as its first European video the Dire Straits tune "Money for Nothing," with its hypnotic chant, "I want my MTV." MTV Europe began with more than 1.6 million subscribers in 14 different countries, and soon became especially popular in Eastern European countries hungry for the baubles of Western capitalist culture that MTV proved so adept at displaying. MTV Brazil was launched in 1990 and MTV Latino followed in 1993; both channels quickly became popular with Spanish-speaking audiences accustomed to far fewer choices in their cable programming. On MTV Latino in 1995, viewers from Mexico to the tip of Chile watched the birth of a new language—"Spanglish"—as veejays used expressions like "Chequenos" (pronounced CHE-kay-nos), which meant "check us out." Jorge Asis, a former Minister of Culture, commented about the cultural impact of MTV: "The world changed in a very short time. . . . Suddenly, one world fell, and it was absolutely seduced by

the world that imposed itself, that won. . . . In a world without utopias, the market becomes a new utopia.’’ Not surprisingly, MTV executives took a more optimistic view of their global distribution. MTV’s Sara Levinson claimed that ‘‘Music is the global language. We want to be the global rock ‘n’ roll village where we can talk to the youth worldwide.’’

By the mid-1990s MTV had largely succeeded at reaching that goal, and it promoted its vision of youth culture to 270 million households in more than 125 countries scattered across five continents. The MTV vision was thoroughly rooted in consumerism, for the common language of viewers across the world was music and goods: Michael Jackson and McDonald’s, Nirvana and Nike, Beck and Coke. To some critics, MTV’s global reach seemed like an Orwellian Big Brother nightmare, with rock-and-roll attitude providing the cover for multinational corporations to push their products to a world of consumers. But the actual picture was more complex, with some 90 percent of MTV’s programming produced locally to coincide with differing regional tastes. MTV viewers the world over loved rock and roll, but it was clear that they loved different rock and roll at different times: in 1996, the hottest tracks on MTV Latino were by Madonna, Queen, and the Rolling Stones; on MTV Brazil the favorite was Silverchair; while on MTV Europe Michael Jackson and Tina Turner dominated play lists. For their part, MTV’s corporate officers enjoyed the music of money rolling in, as the channel brought in two dollars for every dollar it spent in 1996. Part authentic expression of youth culture, part corporate marketing machine, the phenomena that is MTV captured all the contradictions and all the energy that fueled pop culture in the 1990s.

—Arthur Robinson

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## Muckraking

In 1906, his irritation with the popular press growing, President Theodore Roosevelt coined a new term for the journalists who had helped make, but were beginning to plague, his administration. As he laid the cornerstone for the new House of Representatives office building, he excoriated these ‘‘muckrakers’’ who refused to respect and enjoy America’s turn-of-the-century prosperity, but rather ‘‘continued to rake . . . the filth on the floor.’’ The term stuck, the word entered the language, and the period in American history loosely dated from 1903 to 1912, became known as ‘‘the muckraking era.’’

Muckraking, the investigative journalistic style pioneered by *McClure’s* magazine and imitated by scores of American periodicals, had its roots in late-nineteenth-century scandal mongering and yellow journalism. However, it differed from its precursors in two important regards: twentieth-century muckrakers aimed their rhetorical cannons strictly at the institutions of power in contemporary society, unlike the yellow journalists of the previous century who took sensationalist material from wherever they could find it. Furthermore, muckraking differed from yellow journalism in scope. While journalists regularly exposed local scandals in daily newspapers long before 1903, few such exposes treated national themes for a national audience until the early 1900s. In the single decade of the muckraking era, however, nearly 2000 muckraking articles ran in American periodicals, and magazines that specialized in muckraking sold an average of three million copies per month.

Historian David Chalmers argues that the muckraking era was born in the January 1903 issue of *McClure’s*. In that single issue of the monthly magazine, Ida Tarbell weighed in on the economic might of the Standard Oil Trust, Ray Stannard Baker exposed corruption in the ranks of organized labor, and Lincoln Steffens unveiled ‘‘The Shame of Minneapolis’’—the second chapter in *The Shame of the Cities*, his series on municipal graft. In his editorial introduction to the issue, publisher S. S. McClure tied those three articles together and issued a manifesto for the muckraking era: ‘‘Capitalists, workingmen, politicians, citizens—all breaking the law, or letting it be broken. Who is left to uphold it? . . . There is no one left: none but all of us.’’

In ‘‘The Muckrake Man,’’ an essay that appeared in the September 1908 issue of *The Independent*, Upton Sinclair, author of one of muckraking’s few novelistic endeavors, *The Jungle*, expounded on McClure’s theme and attempted to further define muckraking. Sinclair claimed that he knew, ‘‘more or less intimately, nearly every man who is at present raking muck in America’’ and he set out ‘‘to speak from the standpoint of the group.’’ Writing, then, for the movement as a whole, Sinclair explained that muckraking’s social role was like that of ‘‘the particular nerve cell in the burned child which cries out to the child, ‘Do not put your finger in the fire again!’ He [Sinclair’s Muckrake Man] represents the effort of the race to profit by experience, and to do otherwise than repeat indefinitely the blunders which have proved fatal in the past.’’

It is difficult, of course, to assess the extent to which muckraking succeeded in its stated social mission. The instances in which it directly contributed to the break-up of a monopolistic trust or the reform of a corrupt municipal government are depressingly few, although Richard Hofstadter suggests that Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s New Deal sprang indirectly from the muckrakers’ political critiques. Several contemporary commentators maintain that muckraking did little besides expand capital’s influence in American



society by bringing advertisements for mass-produced goods to a new market of rising middle-class readers.

Still, muckraking exerted a seminal influence on American popular culture. Indeed, although the muckraking era is said to have come to an end in 1912 in the wake of the expansion of American news wire services and the rise of professional journalism, its techniques, if not always its moral spirit, continued to reign in the investigative press. Its anecdotal and personal style is echoed in current magazine journalism and, by the end of the twentieth century, the fruits of the muckraker's nose for scandal continued to animate the front pages of American newspapers.

—Thurston Domina

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## Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is a catchall term that refers generally to a set of related cultural movements and trends which emphasize the diversity of U.S. culture and society. Its various projects seek to recognize, encourage, and affirm the participation of ethnic minorities in all aspects of American life. They tend to celebrate the contributions made by diverse groups and to consider those contributions as vital to the economic, social, and cultural fabric of the United States. In higher education, multiculturalism began to assume definitive shape during the 1980s, as universities revised their programs, textbooks, and curricula to reflect a more inclusive view of American culture. This change in focus toward women, minorities, and non-Western texts and perspectives would generate heated debate among academics and spark the so-called "culture wars" of the 1980s and 1990s. On one side of the debate, critics argued that multiculturalism promoted factionalism and undermined the foundations of Western culture; proponents claimed that it advocated tolerance and equality. In any case, multiculturalism's impact would extend well beyond academe. It would shape fashion trends, advertising campaigns, television programming, even corporate slogans, and continue to influence late-twentieth century popular tastes in everything from music to food, home decor to literature.

Multiculturalism can be said to resonate from the cultural eruptions of the 1960s, when civil rights, Native American, "new ethnicity," and women's liberation movements in the United States shattered images of a coherent national identity. The force and urgency of these protests challenged the authority and credibility of "the establishment," and shook the public's confidence in the social and political structures that validated it. Students marched in protest against America's involvement or intervention not only in Vietnam,

but also in neighboring Latin America and the Caribbean. In addition to questioning social conformity, economic inequality, and political legitimacy, voices rose in defiance against long-held cultural assumptions and myths. As thousands of demonstrators across the nation expressed their defiance of U.S. policies and systems, Americans struggled to redefine their roles, values, and allegiances. Many strove to foster some sense of communal belonging, forging a place for themselves within a more pliant cultural framework. Others questioned the desirability of aspiring to a unified national identity in an increasingly transnational world. The ensuing crisis of identity—on both the national and personal level—paved the way toward a number of institutional and social changes. In the aftermath of Vietnam and Watergate, America's collective self-image would change inexorably, slowly transforming itself to reflect shifting demographic and social realities.

During the 1970s and 1980s, Americans began catching glimpses of this emerging self-image on their television screens—as sitcoms and TV dramas integrated their casts. Popular programs such as *Good Times*, *Chico and the Man*, *The Jeffersons*, *Sanford and Son*, and *CHiPS* featured blacks, Latinos, and other minorities as starring cast members. During the 1974-75 season, two of these shows, *Sanford and Son* and *Chico and the Man*, earned second and third place ratings, respectively. Alex Haley's bestselling book, *Roots*, achieved tremendous success when it aired as a made-for-TV movie in 1977. The six-part mini-series, which chronicled several generations of the author's family from their African origins through slavery, fueled a popular trend to discover and adopt formerly repressed "ethnic" identities. Seeking one's "roots" became fashionable, as did changing one's wardrobe, name, or hairstyle to reflect one's ancestry. In some cases, these external transformations reflected a genuine attempt to build ethnic pride; in others it was simply a new fad, a hollow display of ethnic style without political substance. The melting pot ideology that had endorsed an assimilation ethic, gradually gave way to new metaphors (such as the "salad" or "stirfry"), which promoted the retention of discrete cultural traits. This celebration of "difference" (identified with "postmodernist" theory and art) found its niche in the popular imaginary, adding dashes of color to a post-1960s American canvas.

For the first time in America's young history, being visibly "different" (belonging to a racial or ethnic subculture group) held commercial appeal. Hollywood responded to this appeal with several films (and sequels) with black leads. Movies such as *Superfly* (1972), *Shaft* (1971), and *The Mack* (1973) exploited images of black (mostly male) defiance of white authority and power. The 1970s saw the emergence of these mass images of blacks as pimps, drug dealers, or shady police officers. Elements of black street culture exploited and popularized in these early films would reappear a decade later. A variation of these "Blaxploitation" film images would drive the white music industry's marketing campaign for "gangsta" rap in the late 1980s and 1990s. Throughout much of that decade, hip-hop music outsold rock among white teens, and the clothing that accompanied it—baggy pants and oversized Polo shirts—infiltrated middle America. Other historically oppressed groups would also gain audiences. The commercial appeal of "difference" led to the release of a slew of movies such as *Dances with Wolves* (1990), *Thunderheart* (1992), and *The Last of the Mohicans* (1992) remake in the 90s. These films reformulated the standard "cowboy and Indian" genre, presumably legitimizing Native American cultures and histories. Native American perspectives, virtually invisible in history books and films up until the later twentieth century, gained status and recognition,

*Hollywood* style. Mainstream audiences across America lined up to see Native Americans depicted, not as savages bent on murdering innocent white women and children, but as a people staunchly defending their way of life. Too often, however, even in these films, the protagonist was either a white person or a Native American portrayed by a white actor.

These twists in Hollywood image-making gradually reconstituted the public's collective memory of historical events and personages. In most cases, these films recycled conventional plots, simply adapting the point-of-view or integrating the cast. Even so, they did help refashion the sensibilities of a generation of Americans. In part, they helped to prepare general audiences for a multiculturalist re-examination of U.S. history—including a re-interpretation of such grand historical narratives as Manifest Destiny, the Great Frontier Myth, and egalitarian democracy. During much of this period, documentary filmmakers were taking critical looks at Hollywood's version of multicultural awareness: *Images of Indians* (1979) and *The Media Show: North American Indians* (1991) examined Hollywood film stereotypes of Native Americans; *From Here, from This Side* (1988) envisioned cultural domination from the Mexican point of view; *Slaying the Dragon* (1987) explored the imaging of the "docile Asian female" type; and *Color Adjustment* (1991) chronicled the history of black representation on TV. But these critiques did not for the most part impinge on the popular mindset—as the heightened visibility of minorities fueled both complacency ("they are making progress") and discomfort ("they are taking over").

The re-imaging of America did foster new images of blacks, Latinos, Asians, and other ethnic group members as middle-class consumers. Recognizing the potential buying power represented by the largest minority groups in the country—African American, Latino, and Asian—advertisers began targeting these long-ignored segments of the U.S. population. Major retailers such as Sears introduced "ethnic" clothing lines—with "ethnic" broadly defined as the use of bright colors and patterns. Cosmetic companies began catering to darker skin tones, using Latina and African-American models to promote their products. New interest in regional cultures influenced architecture and interior design, so that Hopi Indian art, Mexican pottery, and Southwest crafts might be seen vying for prominence in any suburban home. In the emerging global economy, multiculturalism translated into multinationalism—as American corporations targeted foreign markets. Businesses responded to an increasingly polyglot, multicultural environment by offering employee training programs aimed at teaching foreign languages and customs or heightening awareness of diversity issues. Similarly, European companies climbed on the multicultural bandwagon, some using indigenous people as models or spokespersons. The Italian multinational, Benetton, ran one of the most successful ad campaigns in history by capitalizing on the diversity theme. The slogan, "United Colors of Benetton," featured along with the faces of Latino, African, and Asian "types," established the company's multiculturalist image and helped market their high-end clothes worldwide.

While the "crossover" success of television shows, movies, music, and ads featuring minorities suggested that popular audiences were increasingly receptive to social change, critics continued to point out the contrast that existed between mass-mediated images of successful minorities and their social realities. The heightened visibility of blacks and other minorities on TV and in films signaled progress to some, but to others it fell short of the mark. They argued that education must reflect its constituency and serve as the catalyst for a profound change in national consciousness. This called for a

revamping of an educational system that traditionally excluded or undervalued the contributions of blacks and other minorities within a pluralist U.S. society. Classroom teachers, after all, were not dealing with images—but with an increasingly heterogeneous student population. By 1990, minority youngsters accounted for about 32 percent of total enrollment in U.S. public schools. According to census projections, this figure would continue to rise. Multiculturalists argued that course materials and content scarcely registered this demographic reality.

Subsequent curriculum changes sought to provide a broader knowledge base, extending beyond what has been referred to as a "Eurocentric" approach to education. Such an approach tended to assume the centrality of European thought, history, and culture, relegating all others to a peripheral or even subordinate role. Standard core courses in schools and universities traditionally stressed the achievements and merits of "Western" civilization, often reducing the rest of the world to irrelevance. Multiculturalists insisted that exposure to a variety of ethnic perspectives and traditions was both intellectually enriching and socially responsible.

As its influence spread throughout U.S. colleges and universities, multiculturalism generated considerable controversy. In history and English departments, particularly, multiculturalism led to the reevaluation of standard texts that had formed the basis of Western culture. In some cases, this reevaluation revealed gaps, contradictions, and inconsistencies that raised questions about significant events or offered competing versions of history. As more and more voices claimed their right to be heard, "official" accounts were increasingly challenged or revised. Newly minted textbooks and anthologies referenced Native American folktales, testimonials, and cosmologies; diaries and journals by Spanish explorers in the "New World"; slave narratives and spirituals; women's histories and political essays. While examining these varied texts and contexts, students might explore the relative worth of ideas and artifacts, sometimes dismantling their own cultural assumptions in the process. They might consider the links between social grouping and status or power, question existing hierarchies, or explore their conceptual and economic frameworks. Critics would claim that multicultural readings gave rise to identity politics, a politics based on notions of identity defined by race, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, or religion. They accused multiculturalists of "politicizing" education, of turning the classroom into a political soapbox for professors with their own agendas or gripes. Advocates of the new pedagogy countered with claims of their own: they argued that education had *always* been political, as its institutional goals and methods traditionally served a dominant ideology. They questioned why selectively excluding women and minorities from the canon was not deemed "political" but intentionally including them was. Both cases, advocates reasoned, reflected underlying power struggles and tensions.

These issues stirred vigorous debate among academics, often dividing departments into pro- and anti-multiculturalism camps. During the 1980s and 1990s, advocates of multiculturalism waged war on the literary canon, introducing new works into their courses and discarding others deemed outdated or irrelevant. As some administrators and faculty moved to institute a multicultural curriculum, others voiced opposition, often criticizing not only the revised content but also the methods by which it was implemented. By the late 1980s, many university English departments had begun redefining themselves and their function in relation to the broader cultural landscape. In the process, challenging questions presented themselves. What disciplinary boundaries, if any, should delineate the critical study of

literary texts? Should English departments broaden their focus to include major works written by non-English speaking authors in their core curriculum? Should they integrate poetry and fiction by women, U.S. minorities, and minoritarian cultures into existing courses or develop special program areas such as women's or ethnic studies? Most literature by non-Europeans traditionally fell under the rubric of "World Literature," a category which conflated Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, Asia, and others into one indistinct cultural mass. Multiculturalists maintained that these diverse cultures not only produced art and literature worthy of recognition, but also offered valuable insights and perspectives on philosophical, religious, ethical, and social questions. Some argued that rather than being peripheral, the study of non-Western civilizations and traditions was integral to understanding the complex interconnectedness of human experience. English studies programs progressively changed their parameters, becoming increasingly interdisciplinary in content and methodology. This trend toward interdisciplinary study would spread across programs, breaking down the traditional boundaries between history and literature, psychology and sociology, or philosophy and science.

Literature written by people of color, however, had successfully infiltrated the mainstream by the 1980s, with novels by Toni Morrison, Leslie Marmon Silko, and Alice Walker among the bestsellers. Silko's *Ceremony*, published in 1977, became the first published novel written by a Native American woman (Silko is Laguno-Pueblo Indian). Walker's Pulitzer prize winning novel, *The Color Purple*, was made into a critically acclaimed film directed by Stephen Spielberg. Morrison, the first black woman to receive the Nobel prize for literature, had already established an international reputation by the time her novel, *Beloved*, won a Pulitzer prize and was made into a major motion picture in the late 1990s. In 1993, Amy Tan's bestseller, *The Joy Luck Club* was also made into a popular film, along with Oscar Hijuelos's *The Mambo Kings Play Songs of Love*. These and many other successful "crossover" books suggested that multiculturalism—whatever its putative flaws or disputed benefits—had already moved into the popular arena.

Its influence was also felt in personal, professional, and social relationships. Couples grappled with issues of equality, friends and teachers with questions of tolerance and respect, managers with the challenges of communicating with their multicultural clientele. As more women and minorities asserted their rights in the workplace and in the classrooms, individuals faced new legal, professional, and social questions: What constitutes sexual harassment? Discrimination? Which words or behaviors are considered racist? Sexist? A breach of racial etiquette? What hiring practices need to be instituted to ensure equity, and when are those practices discriminating against formerly privileged white males? The ensuing race, gender, and ethnic politics led to a backlash among those who objected to multiculturalism's methods or goals. The epithet "political correctness" was coined to describe what some considered to be a dictatorial, restrictive new code of conduct. In some cases, it merely served as a means to dismiss actual abuses or offences. Multiculturalists, portrayed as the "PC Patrol," became a favorite target of conservative talk show hosts, comedy shows, and radio disc jockeys. Just as nineteenth-century caricatures of the suffragettes had ridiculed and trivialized women's efforts to gain the right to vote, so did these contemporary images of "Feminazis" and PC enforcers often distort multiculturalism's principal aims and effects.

In a world grown progressively more interconnected by technological, economic, and political currents, multiculturalism represents

neither a panacea for social injustice nor the bane of so-called "Western" culture. As a concept, it suggests a conciliatory gesture, a desire to recognize and redress past wrongs. Theoretically, it steps in the direction of the margins, away from an ethnocentric reference points and towards a kind of panoptic view. As a social phenomenon, multiculturalism registers some of the most significant events in the second half of the twentieth century: political realignments, reconfigured local and international economies, rapid technological and demographic shifts. Undoubtedly, multiculturalism aroused pity and fear in its audience—though there was no moment of catharsis. Instead, late-twentieth-century Americans celebrated or condemned, embraced or resisted, watched or experienced it—all the while reflecting its very nature.

—Myra Mendible

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## The Mummy

A near-perfect synthesis of Dracula and Frankenstein, the mummy is a supernatural (as opposed to a medico-scientific) representative of the "living dead" class of horror film monsters. Acclaimed cinematographer Karl Freund (*Metropolis*, *Murders in the Rue Morgue*) made his directorial debut with Universal's *The Mummy* (1932), otherwise known as *Cagliostro* and *Imhotep*. Originally conceived as a vehicle for Boris Karloff, screenwriter John Balderston (*Dracula*) rewrote the film after the 1931 discovery of King Tut's tomb. Accidentally brought back to life when some archaeologists read from a sacred Egyptian scroll, the mummy (Karloff) goes on a mission to claim the soul of a young Englishwoman who turns out to be his beloved but forbidden princess reincarnated. Attempting to thwart him is Doctor Muller (Edward Van Sloan, reprising his role as Van Helsing in *Dracula*). At least ten *Mummy* spin-offs, even more zombie movies, and an Anne Rice novel have since followed.

—Steven Schneider

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## Muni, Paul (1895-1967)

Muni was considered the foremost serious character actor of 1930s cinema. He came to prominence with a number of contemporary issue movies, including *Scarface* (1932) and *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* (1932), and maintained his success through biographical pictures such as *Pasteur* (1935), *Zola* (1937) and *Juarez* (1939). He approached each of his roles with unprecedented research into makeup, character, dialect, and background. However, though his professionalism is to be admired, even by the 1940s his style was considered by many to be overstated, trite, and dated. A major source of his unprecedented success was, perhaps, a depression-era audience in dire need of uplifting through simple stories about larger-than-life heroes.

—Kyle Smith

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Paul Muni (right) in a scene from the film *The Good Earth*.

## Munsey's Magazine

In 1893, a former telegraph operator named Frank A. Munsey made his namesake the first nationally distributed and mass-read magazine. Munsey, who had grown up poor in rural Maine, recognized that most of the growing American middle class could not afford magazines, so he dropped the cover price of his failing literary monthly from twenty-five to ten cents per copy. Advertisers made up the difference by paying more for and increasing the number of their ads. Munsey also proved that sex sold magazines, publishing a regular page called "Artists & Their Work" which featured a half-tone photograph of a draped or undraped female in an artistic setting. *Munsey's Magazine* jumped in readership overnight, becoming the world circulation leader by 1907, and came to be recognized as the prototype of the modern popular magazine. As he made his magazine universally available, Frank Munsey also paved the way for what is now called the Information Age.

The first two American magazines, published by Andrew Bradford and Benjamin Franklin, appeared in 1741, but the periodical industry grew slowly over the next century. Thousands of titles appeared, but all but a very few were financial failures with low circulations, little or no advertising, and poor revenue. None could claim a wide national readership. Several "quality" literary journals, *Harper's*, *Atlantic Monthly*, and *Century*, began to appear and prosper around 1850, but they cost between twenty-five and thirty-five cents an issue, much too expensive for the newly emerging educated middle class, especially by yearly subscription. A few women's magazines, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Delineator*, and *Woman's Home Companion*, built mass circulations after the Civil War, but they were very specialized in their viewpoint, featured editorial content strongly influenced by advertisers, and were overlooked by most advertisers and the magazine industry because women had not yet been recognized as a viable national mass market.

Frank Munsey was born on August 21, 1854, and grew up on a series of struggling farms near Augusta, Maine. He began making his own way in the world at the age of seven, but it was a visit to the 1876 World's Fair that inspired him to build the first magazine and newspaper publishing empire. At Philadelphia's Centennial Exposition Munsey saw one of a new breed of R. Hoe & Company's stereotype plate rotary presses spewing out thousands of newspapers per hour and resolved that he would be the proprietor of such an impressive machine one day. To make his dream come true, Munsey wrote freelance articles for local newspapers and saved money earned as a telegraph operator. He also convinced several Augusta businessmen of his prospects, and was able to raise enough capital to move to New York City on September 23, 1882. There he founded *Golden Argosy: Freight with Treasures for Boys and Girls*. The first issue featured several articles including "Do and Dare, or a Brave Boy's Fight for a Fortune," a short story written by self-success advocate Horatio Alger, Jr. that could have been Munsey's own story.

The market for juvenile magazines was crowded in late nineteenth-century America and Munsey was often broke and always in debt for the first five years of *Argosy*. He began changing the direction of the magazine away from children and more toward teenaged boys and men by 1885 but his periodical still failed to capture the public's imagination. Frustrated, Munsey used his own writings and the contributions of the small *Argosy* editorial staff to fill the inaugural issue of the adult literary magazine, *Munsey's Weekly*, on February 2, 1889. The magazine seemed inexpensive at ten cents per copy, but a

yearly subscription was still too expensive for most potential middle-class readers and it lost thousands of dollars over the next two years even though it built a circulation of 40,000.

In October 1891, Munsey took a gamble. He changed his namesake to a monthly, gave it the same size and look as *Harper's* and the other profitable literary monthlies, and raised its price to twenty-five cents per copy. To differentiate himself from his competitors, he concentrated on light, easy-to-read articles and novelettes, "a complete novel in each number," instead of serious literature and criticism. He also featured the cutting-edge publishing technology of halftone photographs instead of the fine-line wood engravings featured in most other magazines. Still, *Munsey's* lost money. The depression of 1893 made it even more difficult for Munsey to borrow money to keep his floundering magazine business afloat, so he took yet another gamble, dropping *Munsey's* cover price to ten cents per copy and the cost of a subscription to one dollar a year.

*Munsey's* was not the first magazine to sell at ten cents, nor even the first to make a dramatic price cut. The moderately successful *Drake's Magazine* had sold for a dime in the 1880s and *Ladies Home Journal* built its circulation by selling for a nickel before it raised its price to ten cents in the early 1890s. S. S. McClure dropped the price of his soon-to-become famous magazine to fifteen cents an issue in June 1893, and in response, John Brisben Walker cut the price of his new general-interest monthly, *Cosmopolitan*, from twenty-five to twelve and one-half cents in July. *Munsey's* didn't fall to ten cents until September. But in cutting his price, *Munsey* made his periodical the first that was truly affordable to the nation's middle class. To help build circulation at such a cheap price, Munsey bypassed the expensive wholesale magazine distribution monopoly then in existence and advertised to readers directly, using mailed circulars and newspaper advertising.

The result revolutionized the magazine industry. *Munsey's* monthly circulation climbed from 40,000 before its price change to 100,000 in late 1893, 500,000 in 1895, and 700,000 by 1897. His four magazines, *Munsey's*, *Argosy*, *Scrap Book*, and *All-Story*, peaked in March 1906, with a combined circulation of 2.1 million. An average turn-of-the-century *Munsey's* featured 160 pages of text and as many as 100 pages of ads, unprecedented figures for the day. Advertising revenues alone averaged \$25,000 to \$35,000 per issue and more. Munsey toned back the nudity in his "Artists & Their Work" section beginning in 1895 but not before a reputation and market had been created. He featured a monthly section on famous personalities long before celebrities became a magazine mainstay. He solicited fiction and non-fiction writings from well known authors and public men such as Theodore Dreiser, William Dean Howells, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, and Theodore Roosevelt, but most of his contributors were modestly paid unknowns. Munsey produced his magazine cheaply on his own printing equipment. Even his signature half-tone photographs were gotten cheaply, reproductions of art works, theatrical pictures, or portraits. Munsey claimed that he cleared \$500,000 a year from his magazines by 1900, \$1.2 million in 1907.

One aspect of turn-of-the-century magazines that Munsey never embraced was muckraking. The January 1900 *Munsey's* featured two articles critical of industrial trusts and monopolies, the basic fodder of muckraking, but that was all. While *McClure's*, *Cosmopolitan*, and other muckrake periodicals built their fame and circulations with exposé-style journalism, Munsey stayed with lighter, less critical fare. "*Munsey's Magazine* has never been committed to the muckraking theory, and never will be," Munsey explained in 1910. "Muck-raking is one thing, and progress is quite another." Munsey

was a strong political supporter of progressive Theodore Roosevelt, becoming the primary financier of Roosevelt's ill-fated third-party bid in 1912, but he never considered his magazines a platform for the crusading reforms that marked Progressivism.

Munsey admired millionaires, especially J. Pierpont Morgan, the prime financier of American industrial monopolies at the turn of the twentieth century. Like Morgan, Munsey resolved to knit the disparate United States together into one mass marketplace for his product, information, using the newest technology. Beyond halftones and high speed presses, Munsey's used two other recent innovations to make his magazines a success. The telephone allowed quick contact with faraway distributors, eliminating the need for middle-man news agencies. Improved railroad shipping services, especially to the untapped markets of the West, made timely distribution of a national magazine like *Munsey's* possible for the first time in American history.

The profits from his magazines gave Munsey capital to branch out into the newspaper industry, and he owned some of the best known papers in the country, such as the *New York Daily News*, *New York Sun*, *New York Herald*, *Washington Times*, *Philadelphia Evening Times*, *Boston Journal*, and many others, at one time or another. As with magazines, Munsey tinkered with his newspapers, reducing and raising prices, using red ink for headlines and other typographical innovations, and adding more photographs, human interest, and other magazine-style features. Some of his changes pleased readers but they infuriated his newspaper employees, who considered him ignorant of the newspaper business. However, Munsey's most irritating business practice was the constant purchase, merging, or elimination of what he considered to be superfluous or competitive publications, in a bizarre manner at times. He likened his newspaper and magazine acquisitions to a grocery store chain he owned. The *New York World* insulted him as of "one of the ablest retail grocers that ever edited a New York newspaper." Others, many of them his own employees, considered him the "Grand High Executioner of Journalism."

*Munsey's Magazine* and its publisher's empire declined after 1907, more so after Roosevelt's defeat in 1912. *Munsey's* set a then record of 265 pages in one 1918 issue. The magazine became an all-fiction pulp in 1921 but never achieved the circulation it had known in its earlier years. When he wasn't merging or killing off publications, Munsey would make impossible demands such as ordering politically unpleasant information withheld, firing entire editorial departments, eliminating pages or sections, or punishing uncooperative employees. He paid \$4 million for the *New York Herald* in 1920 in part so he could fire the paper's editorial cartoonist for an unflattering drawing of Munsey in 1916. He never married, had no family, lived most of his life alone in hotels, and claimed he did not care for money except for what he could accomplish with it.

Munsey died of appendicitis on December 12, 1925. Other great publishers founded schools of journalism or at least insisted that their publications carry on after their death. Munsey ordered that all of his properties, magazines and newspapers included, be sold for cash although much of the profits were used to found New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art. Ironically, its new publisher combined *Munsey's Magazine* with *Argosy All-Story* in October 1929, eventually dropping the Munsey name altogether. Meanwhile, Munsey, the founder of mass media and the precursor of the Information Age, was eulogized by journalist William Allen White as such: "Frank Munsey contributed to the journalism of his day the talent of a meat packer, the morals of a money changer, and the manners of an undertaker. He and

his kind have about succeeded in transforming a once-noble profession into an eight percent security. May he rest in trust!"

—Richard Digby-Junger

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## The Muppets

From their modest beginnings as the stars of TV commercials and children's programming, Jim Henson's Muppets rose to a worldwide fame rivaling Walt Disney's mouse or Warner Brothers' bunny. Henson (1936-1990) coined the term Muppets by combining the words "marionette" and "puppet," which pretty much describes these sock puppets with arms that were usually operated by a single puppeteer. Henson felt that the intimate medium of television demanded of puppets a greater flexibility and expressiveness than the usual painted wooden faces such as Charlie McCarthy or Howdy Doodly could provide, but it wasn't only his puppets' faces that were flexible: the Muppets' loose and loopy sense of humor offered TV viewers a refreshing brand of comedy which almost immediately set Henson's work apart from that of his contemporaries.

In the 1950s, fresh out of high school, young Henson secured a job as a puppeteer at the local NBC TV station in Washington, D.C. All through his college years, Henson's first Muppet prototypes appeared in a five-minute show called *Sam and His Friends* which aired immediately before *The Tonight Show*. In 1958, the program won a local Emmy award, but, curiously, Henson had until then never taken puppetry very seriously. As he later explained to a journalist, "It didn't seem to be the sort of thing a grown man works at for a living." A trip to Europe exposed Henson to a wide tradition of puppetry he hadn't encountered in his own country. The experience inspired him to pursue puppetry in earnest and at the same time it convinced him that he wanted to bring something fresh and innovative to the craft which he'd found lacking in even its most expert European practitioners.

After his graduation from the University of Maryland, Henson earned much of his living by producing TV commercials. One character, Rowlf the Dog, created for a TV dog food ad, ended up as a featured player on *The Jimmy Dean Show* in the 1960s. The talkative, philosophical hound charmed viewers and put a national spotlight on Henson. His Muppets began doing specialty appearances on *The Tonight Show* and *The Ed Sullivan Show*. In one memorable bit, Kermit the Frog—who had not yet made a name for himself—sat idly humming "Glow Worm" and devouring each unfortunate worm which inched his way. The pay-off came when one of the tiny worms

turned out to be the tip of the snout of a great hairy beast, which then in turn gulped down the frog (and belched). Not limiting himself to puppetry, Henson tested his creativity in other venues, such as *Timepiece*, a 1965 short film (nominated for an Oscar), which he wrote, directed, and starred in.

The turning point for Henson's Muppets came in 1969 with the debut of Public Television's innovative children's show *Sesame Street*. The program's runaway success made stars out of the befuddled Big Bird, the ravenous Cookie Monster, ash-can dwelling Oscar the Grouch, and roommates Bert and Ernie (named after the cop and cabbie in Frank Capra's *It's a Wonderful Life*), but especially the gentle puppeteer's alter ego, Kermit the Frog. For the first time in broadcast history, an educational program started drawing ratings comparable to those of the commercial networks, and the Muppets were given their due share of the credit and glory for this feat. Millions of three-to-five-year-olds were falling in love with Henson's creations and begging their parents for Muppet merchandise. Henson, providing the singing voice for Ernie and Kermit, even had hit single records with the songs "Rubber Ducky," which was just for fun, and "It's Not Easy Being Green," a subtle plea for racial tolerance. Eventually, such was the Muppets' stature in show biz that Kermit filled in one night for Johnny Carson as the guest host on *The Tonight Show*. To this day, Muppets are starring on the still-running *Sesame Street*.

In the 1970s, a series of Muppet TV specials inevitably led to the weekly half-hour *The Muppet Show*. Premiering in 1976, *The Muppet Show* featured the puppets in a variety show format, interacting each week with a different human star. But none of these celebrities outshone the Muppets themselves, nor did their stellar performances eclipse the public's interest in the ongoing, one-sided courtship between shy Kermit and the boisterous, short-tempered coquette, Miss Piggy. The phenomenal success of *The Muppet Show*—it has been called the most popular TV show ever—led in turn to *The Muppet Movie* (1979) and other big screen follow-ups including *The Muppets Take Manhattan* (1984), *The Muppet Christmas Carol* (1992), *Muppet Treasure Island* (1996), and *Muppets from Space* (1999).

The continued success of his Muppets in all these ventures enabled Henson to branch out into other areas of show business artistry. Henson Associates, a multi-media organization which far outstripped its humble origins with a frog, has provided creatures for various filmmakers, such as cinematic realizations of the famous characters from *Alice in Wonderland* for the 1985 movie *DreamChild*. One of Henson's own special projects, *The Dark Crystal* (1983), was an elfin fantasy in the Tolkien manner, populated entirely by beasts and fairies of Henson's devising. The Henson influence can be witnessed in the *Star Wars* films in the presence of Yoda, a puppet given voice by long-time Henson associate Frank Oz. TV series continued to issue forth from Henson Associates, including the children's program *Fraggle Rock* and the sophisticated fairy tale presentations of *The Storyteller*. Henson was responsible for the creature effects in *The Witches*, a film based on a story by Roald Dahl, which, sadly, turned out to be the last project on which the puppeteer-turned-media-mogul would be involved. In 1990, the tall, bearded, gentle genius suddenly died after a brief illness. Henson's organization continues to produce innovative work in the field of fantasy and "creature creation," and, of course, his Muppets have proven that they have a life of their own.

—Preston Neal Jones

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## *Murder, She Wrote*

The longest-running detective drama series in television history, *Murder, She Wrote* premiered in September 1984 and ended in May 1996 after 261 episodes, becoming a feature of popular American cultural life in the process, and the highest-rated drama series for nine of its 12 seasons. As James Parish observed in *The Unofficial Murder, She Wrote Casebook*, the series broke a number of television rules, not least in having a middle-aged female lead where previous crime or



Angela Lansbury in *Murder, She Wrote*.

suspense dramas with female stars had involved glamorous young women—Angie Dickinson in *Police Woman*, for example. The show did, however, tap into a vast reading audience who enjoyed traditional detective fiction by writers such as Agatha Christie. Despite the literary success of amateur detection stories in which crimes are solved by deduction rather than convenient coincidence or violent physical confrontation, few attempts had been made to adapt such material to television.

*Murder, She Wrote* was created by Peter S. Fischer and his longtime collaborators Richard Levinson and William Link. The latter two, who had been responsible for a number of television programs, including *Mannix*, *Columbo*, and *The Adventures of Ellery Queen*, served only as consultants after the pilot episode. The character of Jessica Fletcher, a widowed ex-high school teacher and successful mystery novelist who hails from Maine but lives in Manhattan where she teaches criminology at Manhattan University, was conceived as a contemporary, energetic, self-sufficient woman rather than a dowdy spinster. The writers furnished her with the curiosity and the will necessary to ask uncomfortable questions, as well as the tenacity to get the answers. Although the scripts were designed to draw on many of the conventions of cozy, “golden age” detective fiction—the closed circle of suspects often gathered together at the end for the final revelation, and the use of flashbacks to review key moments of action and major clues—its creators tried to avoid some of the mistakes made in shows like *The Adventures of Ellery Queen*, whose bumbling hero, 1940s setting, and complex plots were too outmoded to appeal to latter-day audiences.

*Murder, She Wrote* allowed the viewer to play detective along with Jessica Fletcher. In addition, her literary career was not an afterthought, but added substance to her character, and provided a springboard for many of the plots. Miss Fletcher was presented as a prolific novelist whose output was studded with intriguingly parodic titles, from her first, “The Corpse Danced at Midnight” to “Dirge for a Dead Dachshund” to “The Stain on the Stairs.” All of these familiar elements, present throughout the series, both created and fulfilled audience expectations, with each facet contributing to the show’s success and longevity. Formula here, as in most television, was an integral ingredient, so *Murder, She Wrote* simply immersed itself in the form it had adopted, ignored its improbabilities, and rode to success with its star, Angela Lansbury.

The role of Jessica Fletcher was originally offered to Jean Stapleton, who turned it down. Angela Lansbury was approached on the strength of having played Agatha Christie’s Miss Marple in the films *Death on the Nile* (1978) and *The Mirror Crack’d* (1980); it was also known that she was interested in the challenge of a television series. Lansbury, who said in an interview that “mystery is the most popular form of fiction there is and most television shows deal with it in one way or another,” liked the script, and the character, and, in accepting, brought a distinguished provenance to the small screen.

The granddaughter of George Lansbury, a distinguished British Labor Party leader, Angela Lansbury was born in London on 16 October 1925. She was evacuated to the United States in the early 1940s, continued her drama training, and went to Hollywood in 1943. A screen test led to a contract with MGM and her debut role as the devious maid in *Gaslight* (1944), which brought her the first of three Oscar nominations as Best Supporting Actress. (The others were for *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, 1944, and *The Manchurian Candidate*, 1962.) She often played older women and was a noteworthy purveyor of malicious characters. A long stage career blossomed into theater stardom when she played the title role in *Mame* on Broadway in 1966.

The musical won her a Tony Award, followed by three more for *Dear World* (1969), the revival of *Gypsy* (1975), and *Sweeney Todd* (1979). Ironically, as with the Oscars, the Emmys eluded her grasp, despite her 12 nominations for *Murder, She Wrote*.

Lansbury labored tirelessly to mold Jessica into an unconventional character, despite confessing early on that she felt she was playing “an older Nancy Drew.” She lamented the character’s lack of emotional involvement in the action, and the necessity of leaving most of the dramatic scenes to the guests, but the drive and sincerity of her performance paid off. By the third season, however, Lansbury gained weight and became depressed about her appearance. In the process of overcoming the problem, she wrote a book on health and fitness and made an exercise video. Her commitment to the show escalated when Peter Fischer left before the ninth season and she became executive producer. Surrounded by family—her husband as an advisor, her son as a segment director, and her brother as producer and sometime scriptwriter—and ably supported on screen over the years by faces familiar to the show such as Tom Bosley, Ron Masak, William Windom, Jerry Orbach, and Len Cariou, the series flourished.

Originally set in the fictional small town of Cabot Cove, Maine (filmed in Mendocino and other locations in northern California and Oregon), in its eighth season the series shifted its primary locale to Manhattan. The plotlines had often taken the amateur sleuth traveling the world on various pretexts from visiting friends to attending conferences. The varied locations acknowledged the need to keep the series fresh, as did such devices as a crossover episode with *Magnum P.I.*, and the presentation of a dramatized version of one of Jessica’s “novels.” During the sixth and seventh seasons, in a ploy that gave the star a needed rest, she merely narrated stories featuring other recurring characters, thus appearing herself in only 13 of 22 and 17 of 22 episodes respectively. In one memorable episode, she played Jessica’s British cousin Emma, a music hall performer. Another prominent feature of the series was its casting of veteran actors and actresses in guest roles, many of them playing offbeat characters who served as red herrings to mask the murderer, but, as years went by, a deliberate effort was made to cast younger performers in order to draw a more youthful audience.

From the outset, *Murder, She Wrote* found favor with the majority of critics, who praised its cleverness and sophistication, its lack of violence, and Angela Lansbury’s polished portrayal. The public quickly became devotees of the show, but it garnered its share of negative criticism. Detractors attacked the solve-it-yourself plotting as patronizing and objected to the heavy quota of elderly characters. The star did not escape. Referred to in one instance as “granny Mary Poppins,” in another, a reviewer complained, with justification, that Jessica, in a ladylike way, was “the most intrusive butt-in-sky on prime-time television.” Yet the show’s high ratings and longevity attested to its strengths, as did the modest merchandising products that evolved from it—a computer jigsaw puzzle, a cookbook, and numerous novelizations.

The final seasons, however, brought problems. The series’ perennial appeal to older viewers, coupled with increasingly expensive production costs, weakened the network’s confidence and support and in 1996 the show was moved without warning from Sunday nights to Thursdays. Aired opposite youth-oriented programs, including *Friends* (which was spoofed in one of the last episodes), *Murder, She Wrote* sank in the ratings. The final show, “Death by Demographics,” served as a subtle but pointed reference to its situation. Though the last four installments reverted to the Sunday slot, it was too late and the final curtain rang down on 12 years of

Jessica Fletcher et al. A TV movie appeared in 1997, and the original episodes went into syndication. In an article in *TV Guide*, Angela Lansbury thanked her fans and expressed the hope that Jessica Fletcher would be remembered as courageous, independent, and “a champion of the wrongfully accused.”

—Stephen L. Thompson

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## *Murphy Brown*

Created, produced, and written by Diane English, *Murphy Brown* debuted in 1988 during a period when women were nearly eliminated from television by all-male “buddy” shows. One of the only series to focus on a female character that year, it would become one of the most popular of the 1980s and 1990s and enter the platform of a presidential campaign.

The main character, Murphy Brown (Candice Bergen), was one of the most well developed characters to ever appear on a sitcom. At the beginning of the series, Murphy, a highly competitive journalist, had just spent time in the Betty Ford Clinic, where she overcame the drinking and smoking addictions honed during her years as an ambitious journalist. Included in the ensemble cast were her “family” of co-workers on the fictitious television newsmagazine, *FYI*, and Eldin Bernecky (Robert Pastorelli), house-painter-turned-permanent-fixture at home.

Murphy’s co-anchor was Jim Dial (Charles Kimbrough), a newsman in the image of Edward Murrow, who for 25 years had been a respected peer of such luminaries as Walter Cronkite and Dan Rather. Corky Sherwood (Faith Ford) was the naive former Miss America who was brought onto *FYI* to add youth and energy to the “aging” program by covering human interest stories of dubious value. Rounding out the *FYI* team was Frank Fontana (Joe Regalbuto), Murphy’s best friend and the show’s insecure investigative reporter. For the first eight years, Miles Silverberg (Grant Shaud) was the neurotic boy-wonder who was foisted on the experienced triumvirate as the show’s producer. He was replaced by Kay (Lily Tomlin), the no-nonsense veteran who could be as abrasive as Murphy.

*Murphy Brown* dealt frankly and intelligently with topical issues such as homelessness, political correctness and over-sensitivity, celebrity, ecology and the environment, first amendment protection, single motherhood and “family values.” Not only did the series readily address issues of substance, but it often reflected a strong viewpoint on the issue, as when Brown went to jail rather than reveal the source of a story.



It was the series' willingness to take a stand on issues and to deal with controversial topics that propelled Murphy Brown into the center of controversy over contemporary morality. During the 1991-92 season, the unmarried Murphy became pregnant, although the baby was given a quasi-legitimacy as the child of Murphy's ex-husband. In part because of the popularity of the character and the show, Murphy became the topic of heated debate within the media and the target of conservative politicians and religious groups. In speeches during the 1992 presidential campaign, vice president Dan Quayle criticized Murphy Brown for being an unwed mother and a symbol of declining family values. The argument quickly spread to a variety of national magazines from *U.S. News and World Report* to *Christian Century*, and, in an episode from the 1992 season, Murphy replied to Quayle's comments in a segment of *FYI* that featured real-life nontraditional families.

During the final season, Murphy learned that she had breast cancer and, in addition to the typical comedy stories, many episodes chronicled her battle and the way in which she dealt with this new crisis in her life. At the end of several episodes, Candice Bergen made public service announcements concerning breast cancer awareness. At last, in the final episode, Murphy learned that she was cancer-free. After questioning her priorities and lifestyle, Murphy decided that there was nothing she would rather do than continue her work on *FYI*. Perhaps the most satisfying scene of all was when she returned home to find Eldin, who had left several years earlier to "paint" in Spain, in her townhouse planning his "masterpiece" to be painted on her den ceiling.

While Murphy was, in many ways, a feminist role model, her character was not without the typical conflicting signals and symbols found in female characters who are successes in non-traditional terms. Although she was extremely successful in her work, the traits that aided in her success were those generally ascribed to males in our society—independence, bluntness, excessive self-confidence, courage, and ambition. In addition, her private life, the traditional realm of the female, was a disaster. The implicit message seemed to be that to be successful a woman must be masculinized, thereby losing her "female-ness" and resulting in an empty personal life.

Murphy Brown offered a nontraditional role model of female success even though it also presented conflicting messages of the cost of that success to women. Yet, through it all Murphy was depicted as a survivor of a dysfunctional childhood and a professional journey replete with "hard knocks." For the viewing audience, perhaps her resiliency and persistence were the most positive and beneficial aspects of her character.

—Denise Lowe

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## Murphy, Eddie (1961—)

As a stand-up comedian and a cast member of *Saturday Night Live* (1981-1984) Eddie Murphy rose quickly from obscurity to stardom. In the movies *48 HRS.* (1982), *Trading Places* (1983), and



Eddie Murphy as Stevie Wonder on *Saturday Night Live*.

*Beverly Hills Cop* (1984), he played street-smart characters forced into unusual situations. The popularity of his action-comedies decreased steadily after these early successes, but Murphy reinvented himself by leaving behind adult themes and found success in family films such as *The Nutty Professor* (1996), *Doctor Dolittle* (1998), and *Mulan* (1998).

—Christian L. Pyle

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## Murray, Anne (1946—)

Juxtaposing fresh-faced country girl innocence with a hard-nosed sense of business practicality, Anne Murray is a Canadian national treasure who, from the early 1970s, became a singing star throughout North America. By the late 1990s, her velvety contralto voice and personable delivery had taken her from her simple beginnings as a ukulele-strumming folk singer to her high-profile status as one of the most highly paid Canadian entertainers. Though ultra-cool music critics sometimes sneered at her efforts to broaden her genre (one called her disco album "Madonna of Sunnybrook Farm"), even they found it difficult to fault Murray within the folk-pop-country niche that she made her own.

Murray was born in the Nova Scotia mining town of Springhill to a Scottish Presbyterian surgeon and a coal miner's daughter, just in time to grow up to the smooth pop sounds of the pre-rock and roll 1950s. As a toddler, she was already singing along with her parents'



**Anne Murray**

albums, and she gave her first public singing performance at age 15, yet she had never considered singing as a career choice. “Singing was something you did in the bathtub and around bonfires,” she said. “I felt there was no security in it.” Always a tomboy, who enjoyed playing ice hockey with her five brothers, Murray got a physical education degree from the University of New Brunswick and went on to teach the discipline on Prince Edward Island. As a sideline, she regularly performed on a CBC-TV show called *Singalong Jubilee*, playing a baritone ukulele as she sang folk songs from the Maritime provinces and rapidly gained popularity across Canada.

In 1970 a recording she made of a song called “Snowbird” became an immediate hit, both in Canada and across the border in the United States, and from that point Anne Murray launched into a singing career that lasted over 30 years and yielded 30 hit singles and nearly 40 albums in three decades, as well as television specials in Canada and America, and many awards for her music. In 1990, the Anne Murray Center, a museum devoted to her life and career, opened in her home town of Springhill.

During the 1970s Murray moved to Toronto and married Bill Langstroth, who had been her associate producer and host on *Singalong Jubilee*. After a brief, difficult period from 1976 to 1978, when she tried but failed to fit into the glitzy American rock scene, she opted to prioritize her family over stardom, and placed strict limitations on her touring concert schedule to ensure that she spent sufficient time at home with her children. Whatever income she might have sacrificed as a result, was well compensated for by the adroit management of the enterprise that is Anne Murray. The careful investments made by trusted financial advisors, combined with Murray’s own hardheaded

business sense, turned the singer’s sales and royalties into something of an empire. Her company, Balmur Ltd., is a successful talent agency that handles not only her own career, but also a handful of other Canadian singers including her brother Bruce.

When Murray was a child, listening to the girl singers of the 1950s, she aspired to be “just like Doris Day.” In a way, she achieved her wish. Her public persona, like Day’s, has always been friendly and likable, fresh and wholesome—sometimes to her dismay. “It’s a real pain in the ass, having to read all that crap about me being goody-two-shoes next door,” she has complained. Also like Day, she has been pursued through her career by rumors that she is gay. The rumors have been hotly denied, but she has always attracted a large lesbian following, drawn perhaps to her tomboyish appearance, casual manner, and cello-deep voice. Within the gay community stories have circulated of Murray-sightings in lesbian bars and of possible affairs with well known lesbians such as fellow Canadian singer kd lang.

Though an internationally known star, who has made recordings in phonetically learned French and Spanish, and commercials on Japanese TV, Anne Murray has maintained a simple and thrifty lifestyle. While perhaps staying in elite hotels with posh service on tour, at home in Toronto she remained a housewife and mother. Though she separated from her husband in the late 1990s after 25 years of marriage, she continued to live with her children and give priority to her personal life over her public career, but with no loss of popularity as a performing artist.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## **Murray, Arthur (1895-1991)**

The logo of Arthur Murray International Dance Schools is the stylized silhouette of a man and woman dancing. Drawn with broad and sweeping lines, it suggests movement, elegance, and romance, the very qualities that have been associated with the name of Arthur Murray for over eight decades. Combining his love of dance with a canny business sense and a shrewd perception of human nature, Murray first began giving dancing lessons to earn some extra money. By the time he retired, there were hundreds of studio franchises bearing his name—a name that had become synonymous with ballroom dancing itself.

Born Moses Teichman, the son of Austrian immigrants, Murray grew up on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. He was a shy, hardworking youth who attended high school by day, studied draftsmanship by night, and worked as an errand boy in between. To overcome his shyness, he asked a girl friend to teach him to dance, and



Arthur and Kathryn Murray

by the time he was 17, he was giving lessons himself. In the next few years he studied with the famous performers and dance instructors Irene and Vernon Castle and, through them, he got a job in the resort town of Marblehead, Massachusetts, teaching dance to upper-class vacationers. It was 1914 and World War I was imminent; a Germanic (not to mention Jewish) name like Moses Teichman might have made the customers nervous, and at Irene Castle's suggestion, the young man changed his name to Arthur Murray. Following his introduction to elite society in Marblehead, he went to college in Georgia, where he continued to supplement his income by giving dance lessons.

Before 1900 there was little ballroom dance in the United States beyond the fox trot and the polka, but the advent of jazz and ragtime in the early decades of the twentieth century brought a wave of new dances that swept the nation. The Kangaroo Dip, the Chicken Scratch, and the Turkey Trot were just a few of the new dances Americans were anxious to learn. With an acute sense of business timing and strategy, Murray rode the new wave of dance popularity, teaching lessons, organizing dances, and even tapping into the new mail order market to sell lessons by mail. His success prompted *Forbes* magazine to feature an article about him, headlined "This College Student Earns \$15,000 a Year."

Murray owed the success of his mail order campaign to his innovative approach to dance instruction—his famous "footsteps." Rather than merely describing the movements of a particular dance, Murray invented the concept of diagrams, with silhouetted footprints illustrating the movements. His advertisement, under the banner "How I Became Popular Overnight," has remained a Madison

Avenue classic. The combination of accessible learning techniques and their appeal to the socially insecure, made lessons "the Arthur Murray way" wildly popular.

Another trademark of Arthur Murray's approach had originated perhaps that first summer in Marblehead. Perceiving that social dancing was associated with both romance and refinement, Murray promoted those associations in his lessons. When he opened his first franchise studios in 1938, he continued the tradition of providing elegant instructors who would adhere to his philosophy of teaching dance "not as isolated feet or step movements, but as an integral part of social life and an expression and celebration of it."

From those first studios, Murray went on to build an ever-expanding dance empire. There was a dip in business during the Depression, but, by 1946, there were 72 Arthur Murray Studios nationwide, and in the 1950s he graduated from sponsoring early television shows to having his own. *Arthur Murray's Dance Party* ran from 1950 to 1961, and ushered in a new boom in ballroom dancing to accompany the country's new prosperity. At its height, the show brought 2000 new students a week to Arthur Murray Studios around the country. Many celebrities, from Elizabeth Arden and Katherine Hepburn to Enrico Caruso and the Duke of Windsor, learned to dance in an Arthur Murray studio.

Also in the 1950s, Philip Masters and George Theiss, former students of Murray's, joined the organization. Though their names would never be as famous as their mentor's, they would eventually take the helm of the organization that became known as Arthur Murray International (AMI). The Studio remained on the cutting edge of new trends, sending instructors to study in Cuba and bring back the latest in Latin dance. It was Arthur Murray instructors who introduced the Lambada to the United States in the 1970s, having discovered it in Paris where it was fast becoming the rage.

When Murray retired in 1969, there were more than 350 franchise studios internationally, pulling in a gross annual income of over \$25 million, but the "no-touch" individualistic style of dancing that became popular in the 1960s decreased the demand for ballroom dancing. AMI persevered, however, capitalizing heavily on the skilled disco-style dancing of the late 1970s as popularized by John Travolta in *Saturday Night Fever* (1977). Happily, all fashion is cyclical, and the "retro" culture of the 1980s and 1990s once again came to admire the elegance, romance and agility associated with social ballroom dance. By the end of the century in which it was born, AMI was still there, holding out the promise of grace, style and popularity in its pricey packages of instruction.

The AMI statement of purpose calls dancing "the art that brings people together." With hundreds of franchise studios in the United States, Europe, the Middle East, Canada, Puerto Rico, South America, Australia, and Israel, the organization spreads that art, teaching waltz, fox-trot, tango, samba, rumba, and cha-cha to students of widely varying skill, and diverse reasons for learning. Whether they are among the thousands who join to find a social life at the Arthur Murray dancing parties, or the few who continue the efforts to make ballroom dancing a competitive Olympic event, all are a realization of a shy young New Yorker's dream. In learning to overcome his own shyness, Arthur Murray found a magic solution to the universal problem of social insecurity—and, in true American fashion, he turned it into a multi-million dollar business.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Murray, Bill (1950—)

Despite actor Bill Murray's high exposure and national success on television's *Saturday Night Live* and as the semi-delusional greenskeeper in the golf classic *Caddyshack* (1980) the enduring gift he had bequeathed to popular culture by the 1990s rested in the image of his smug and arrogant weatherman who, inexplicably one February 2, wakes up in the town of Punxsutawney and finds himself having to relive the day over and over again, until he recognizes the folly of his ways. The transformation of weatherman Phil into a loving, caring

human being takes place in *Groundhog Day* (1993), an inventive "feel-good" fantasy with a message that springs from the tradition of Frank Capra and captivated cinema-going audiences. In the film, Murray demonstrated that he could be equally effective as a Mr. Nasty or a Mr. Nice, and earned serious plaudits.

When the network executives of NBC's *Saturday Night Live* (SNL) first saw Bill Murray, they wrote him off as an Irish Catholic street fighter. He was no Chevy Chase, and this perception of his quality almost cost him a job with the network and the stardom it brought him. Over the years, however, Murray churned through a succession of images, from slick Vegas nightclub singer, through con-artist scientist turned ghostbuster, to the suave weatherman of *Groundhog Day*.

The fifth of nine children of a Chicago lumber salesman, Bill Murray dropped out of a Jesuit college and into arrest on charges of marijuana possession. While on probation, he did a series of manual jobs before following his older brother Brian Doyle Murray into Chicago's famous improvisational comedy theater company, Second City. This led to his joining a cast that included John Belushi, Dan Aykroyd, and Gilda Radner for the *National Lampoon Radio Hour* in



Bill Murray with the gopher in a scene from the film *Caddyshack*.

1975 and the subsequent New York cabaret revue, the *National Lampoon Show*. The timing of Murray's move to New York was fortuitous, coinciding with the period when producer Lorne Michaels was developing a new television show, *Saturday Night Live*. Murray auditioned for the original cast of SNL, portraying the sleazy nightclub singer that he would later bring to the show, which he joined in 1977, having lost out to John Belushi the first time around.

When Chevy Chase left SNL after its first season, Michaels sought out Murray despite the network's reservations. At first, the newcomer remained in the shadows of SNL's stars Belushi and Aykroyd, but when the duo left, Murray was designated the new male star, and during the show's fifth season the majority of the male roles fell to him. He was a particular hit as Nick, the sleazy Las Vegas lounge singer and as the clueless movie critic who never saw the movies he reviewed but panned them anyway.

Murray's success on SNL led him into movies, beginning with *Meatballs* (1979), a puerile adolescent comedy made in Canada, directed by Ivan Reitman, and written by a team of writers and actors including comedian Harold Ramis. He left SNL after the fifth season, and played a variety of roles, large and small, in movies of variable quality, including *Caddyshack* with Chevy Chase and the dramatic lead in a failed 1984 remake of *The Razor's Edge* (which he co-wrote). That same year he was reunited with Harold Ramis, Dan Aykroyd, and director Ivan Reitman for the hugely successful box-office hit, *Ghostbusters* (1984). His performance as Dr. Peter Venkman, brash, confident, cool, and seemingly unaffected by the cataclysmic events surrounding him, seemed tailor-made for Bill Murray. His persona, and the sardonic wink and roll of the eyes that became a trademark mannerism, appealed as much to movie audiences as it had to fans of SNL, and he graduated to solo star status with *Scrooged* (1988), a contemporary take on Charles Dickens' *A Christmas Carol*. Playing Scrooge in the guise of a New York television company executive who is forced to confront the hollowness of his life. A more vulnerable, three-dimensional aspect of Murray's acting abilities was mined and revealed, and evolved further in *Groundhog Day*.

These roles evidenced a new thoughtfulness in Bill Murray's approach to his career, and he sought to continue challenging his abilities by playing characters of substance. Although established as a popular and successful leading man in the 1990s, he still took supporting roles in movies such as *Mad Dog and Glory* (1993), *Ed Wood* (1994), and *Rushmore* (1998). His performances in all of these movies brought critical acclaim. While he has not altogether abandoned the use of his comedic talents, which brought him his initial success, he has moved on, demonstrating sufficient versatility to carry his career into the twenty-first century.

—John J. Doherty

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## Murray, Lenda (1962—)

Bodybuilder Lenda Murray became the first black Ms. Olympia in 1990 and then tied predecessor Cory Everson's record by winning the title five more times. An outstanding athlete in high school, Murray was an all-city sprinter and a cheerleader at her Detroit high school. She continued her cheerleading at Western Michigan University, where she earned a degree in political science and became the first African American to be chosen as the university's homecoming queen. Murray has been a televangelist for exercise on various cable television shows, and she has done color commentary on bodybuilding events for ESPN. She has also been featured in national magazines such as *Vanity Fair*, *Ebony*, *Mademoiselle*, and *Sports Illustrated*.

—Jan Todd

## Murrow, Edward R. (1908-1965)

Edward R. Murrow is the preeminent journalist in American broadcasting, having defined the standards of excellence and social responsibility for the news media. He was the guiding force for the development of news and public affairs on radio during the 1930s and 1940s as well as television during the 1950s. He almost single-handedly created a tradition that distinguished the broadcast journalist from the newspaper reporter while embodying the ideals of courage and integrity for the entire profession.

Murrow is one of the few giants of the industry to live up to his legend. He had both the style and substance to incarnate the quintessential roving correspondent. With his rich, resonant voice and penetrating eye, he documented some of the most profound events of the twentieth century. He also looked the part of the slightly world-weary reporter who was impelled by conscience to set the record



Edward R. Murrow

straight. A Hemingwayesque figure with brooding good looks and invariably draped in a worn raincoat, Murrow was described as “the only foreign correspondent who could play a foreign correspondent in the movies and give all the glamour Hollywood wants.”

Murrow’s rise to fame is even more astounding because he never aspired to a reportorial career. Unlike his contemporaries in radio, who almost exclusively came from a newspaper background, Murrow was trained as an educational administrator. Born Egbert Roscoe Murrow in Greensboro, North Carolina on April 25, 1908, he graduated from Washington State University with majors in political science, speech, and international relations. He served as president of the National Student Federation, organizing international travel for students and debates between American and European universities. He also was assistant director of the Institute of International Education, where he supervised offices in London, Berlin, and Vienna. He was hired by CBS in 1935 for his executive ability, not his journalistic skills.

His first responsibility was as director of talks and special events, where he secured personalities to appear on the CBS radio network. In 1937 he was sent to London to schedule European speakers and oversee short-wave cultural programming. In March of 1938 he was on his way to Poland to arrange for a *School of the Air* broadcast when Adolf Hitler’s German forces invaded Austria. Murrow chartered a passenger airliner and, out of necessity, reported the occupation from Vienna. He followed up with reports from London, describing Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain’s negotiations with the Germans and the eventual annexation of Czechoslovakia a year later.

In the late 1930s there was no network tradition of reporting international crises. With another major war almost inevitable, Murrow was instructed to staff correspondents in all the major European capitals. His team, known as “Murrow’s boys,” was radio’s first professional corps of journalists and reported daily on CBS’s *World News Roundup*. The members, whose ranks included William Shirer, Eric Sevareid, Charles Collingwood, and Howard K. Smith, were imbued with their leader’s unflinching dedication and would have an impact on broadcast news for years to come.

More than anyone else, Murrow was able to bring the war into the homes of America. During the bombing of London in the fall of 1939 and early 1940, his impressionistic prose captured the anxiety and resolve of British people. Often speaking from the rooftops, Murrow commenced each broadcast with a somber gravity, “This . . . is London.” His graphic description, called “metallic poetry” by one critic, gave an eyewitness account of the horror and devastation of the blitz. Poet Archibald MacLeish stated that Murrow “burned the city of London in our houses and we felt that flame . . . [he] laid the dead of London at our doors.” Because of Murrow’s intimate broadcasts, America no longer seemed thousands of miles away from the conflict.

In his long career, Murrow was never an impartial anchorman. He emerged from the tradition of the radio commentator, who did not shy away from expressing an opinion. During World War II Murrow wove his editorial views subtly into the broadcasts, not trying to be objective about the war against Hitler. As he often said, there is no reason to balance the values of Jesus Christ with those of Judas Iscariot. After World War II, Murrow had hope that the media would engage other less defined issues, such as injustice and ignorance.

During the mid-1940s, Murrow was a national celebrity, but had trouble finding a forum for his pursuit of truth. He was dissatisfied as a CBS vice president in charge of news and public affairs. He deliberately avoided television, proclaiming “I wish goddamned television had never been invented.” In 1948 he found piece of mind by producing a series of record albums with Fred W. Friendly, a

former radio producer at a Rhode Island station. The *I Can Hear It Now* albums interwove historical events and speeches with Murrow narration and, surprisingly, became a commercial success. The Murrow/Friendly partnership clicked, and the team developed a radio series, *Hear It Now*, which featured the sounds of current events, illuminated, of course, by the wisdom of Murrow.

In 1951 the team agreed to modify the *Now* concept again, this time emphasizing the visual dynamic of television. They called the effort *See It Now*. Murrow did not want the medium’s first documentary series to be a passive recap of daily events, but an active engagement with the issues of the day. To implement this vision, Murrow and Friendly formed the first autonomous news unit in television. With Murrow as host and editor-in-chief and Friendly as managing editor, *See It Now* hired its own camera crews and reporters. As he did with radio, Murrow changed the fundamental structure of newsgathering in television.

“This is an old team trying to learn a new trade,” proclaimed Murrow on the premiere of *See It Now*, which aired on November 18, 1951. Murrow, as in all the programs that followed, was seated in Studio 41 amid the television technology—the monitors, the microphones, and supporting technicians. To underscore this breakthrough in instantaneous coverage, Murrow relayed the first live coast-to-coast transmission, summoning up a split screen of the Brooklyn Bridge in New York City and the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco.

*See It Now* achieved many firsts during its early run. Reaching an audience of three million homes, Murrow presented the first broadcast from a submerged submarine. The program also simulated coverage of a mock bomb attack on New York City, with Murrow reporting from an F-94 jet. During the 1952 Christmas season *See It Now* featured a one-hour report on the realities of the ground war in Korea. The special surveyed the frustrations and anxieties of everyday soldiers and was described by *The New Yorker* as “one of the most impressive presentations in television’s short life, [picturing] for us a tragic living legend of our time . . . with great piety and understanding.”

Impelled by the accolades, Murrow and Friendly wanted to report on the anti-communist hysteria that was beginning to envelop the country. The team searched for what Friendly called “the little picture,” a story that could symbolize this wrenching issue. In October 1953 Murrow and reporter Joe Wershba produced “The Case of Milo Radulovich,” a study of an Air Force lieutenant who was branded a security risk because his family subscribed to subversive newspapers. In “Argument in Indianapolis,” broadcast one month later, *See It Now* investigated an American Legion chapter that refused to book its meeting hall to the American Civil Liberties Union, a potent metaphor for how the demagogic tactics of Senator Joseph McCarthy penetrated middle America.

On March 9, 1954 *See It Now* decided to expose the architect of this paranoia, McCarthy himself. Murrow used documentary material, “told mainly in his own words and pictures,” to refute the half-truths and misstatements of the junior senator of Wisconsin. In his tailpiece Murrow explicitly challenged his viewers to confront their fears: “this is no time for men who oppose Senator McCarthy’s methods to keep silent.” The McCarthy program produced tensions in the relationship between Murrow and the network. CBS did not assist in promoting the broadcast and questioned whether Murrow had overstepped the boundaries of editorial objectivity.

*See It Now* continued to provoke controversy. Murrow interviewed J. Robert Oppenheimer, the physicist who was removed as

advisor to the Atomic Energy Commission because he was suspected of being a Soviet agent. The series also documented issues of desegregation, the cold war, and governmental scandal. Beginning in October 1953, Murrow counterbalanced his grave image by hosting a celebrity talk show, *Person to Person*. Each week Murrow electronically visited the homes of personalities from the arts, sports, politics, and business. Critics worried about the show's lack of depth, particularly the interviews with such movie stars as Marilyn Monroe and Marlon Brando. In the late 1950s Murrow hosted a discussion series of greater depth, *Small World*, where he moderated an unrehearsed conversation among intellectuals and world leaders situated in studios and homes around the globe.

Murrow received numerous awards for his work on *See It Now* and *Person to Person*, but his relationship with CBS deteriorated. Murrow complained about the increasing commercialism of television. He lambasted the industry at a 1958 convention for radio and television news directors by stating the medium insulated the viewer from "the realities of the world in which we live." His crusades and jeremiads were accepted in times of war and national hysteria, but in the late 1950s they seemed out of place in a prosperous nation. After the cancellation of *See It Now*, CBS split up the esteemed team of Ed Murrow and Fred Friendly. Friendly became executive producer of *CBS Reports*, for which Murrow occasionally hosted such investigative reports as *Harvest of Shame*.

In 1961, President John Kennedy persuaded Murrow to leave CBS to become director of the United States Information Agency. Murrow remained in that post until 1964, when he resigned because he was suffering from lung cancer. Always a heavy smoker, Murrow had investigated the connection between cigarettes and cancer for *See It Now*. Murrow died on April 27, 1965 and was saluted by *The New York Times* "as broadcasting's true voice."

Edward R. Murrow remains the dominant individual in broadcast news. During his 25-year career, he made more than 5,000 reports, many of which are now considered journalistic classics, probing into the twentieth century's most troubling issues with poetry and insight. Murrow and partner Friendly invented the magazine news format, which became the major documentary form on network television. Shaping the form and content of television news, they also tested the limits of editorial advocacy. Murrow became the exemplar of free speech and democratic ideals in a commercial media. As the *Columbia Journalism Review* noted, Murrow's "spirit is still invoked . . . whenever the glories, the deprivations, and the promise of television news come up for argument."

—Ron Simon

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## Muscle Beach

Hard by the Santa Monica Pier, on an otherwise empty section of beach, there is a plaque which reads, "The Original Location of Muscle Beach. The Birthplace of the Physical Fitness Boom of the Twentieth Century." Although somewhat hyperbolic, the statement is not far wrong. What began as a sort of playground for acrobatic adults in the years before World War II became, after the war was over and people were looking for a little overdue "R & R," a magnet for men and women who were captivated by the sun, the sand, the skin, and the sense of endless summer that resides in the mythology of Southern California. The original Muscle Beach drew, and helped to shape, the careers of many cultural icons, including Steve Reeves, Jack LaLanne, Mae West, Pudgy Stockton, Vic Tanny, Joe Weider, and, of course, Arnold Schwarzenegger.

There were, to be sure, other—and earlier—locations where, for a time, physical fitness boomed, albeit under the more precise label of physical culture. Battle Creek, Michigan's Sanitarium, under the energetic, eccentric direction of Dr. John Harvey Kellogg; Bernarr Macfadden's Physical Culture Hotel in Florida; and Robert (Bob) Hoffman's York Barbell Club in York (often called "Muscle town"), Pennsylvania, were among the spots where people came in hopes of improving their strength, their health, their appearance or, more usually, all three. Two things elevated Muscle Beach over these earlier Meccas of strength and health: first, the "Beach" did not depend on the personal force of one man, and second, the location was unbeatable.

American photography, art, advertising, television, and film have traded on the image of a magical Southern California lifestyle since the beginning of the twentieth century. "California dreamin'" is, in a way, the logical extension of the American Dream; and names such as Hollywood, Beverly Hills, and Sunset Boulevard evoke

glamour, youth, and good vibrations throughout America. All that was needed to ignite an explosion of interest in the beach lifestyle was a group of insouciant young folks who, by their own example, showed Southern Californians and the world how to have fun in the sun.

Although some historians note that a gymnastics “horse” was set up on the Santa Monica beach in 1924, or that Kate Giroux, a playground instructor at the beach, installed parallel bars, rings, and a gymnastics platform in 1934, the real Muscle Beach began when Abbye “Pudgy” Evile (Pudgy Stockton) and her boyfriend, Les Stockton, began to meet in the summer of 1939 with a small group of tumblers and hand balancers at a platform built there by the W.P.A. Soon they were joined in the long summer afternoons by others who either liked acrobatics or who thought they would. By 1940, the Beach was bustling, and in the months before the war, Pudgy and Les were joined by accomplished tumbler-balancers such as Glenn Sundby, Bruce Conner, and Wayne Long. The weekend crowds who came to see the free, circus-like performances grew, and grew again, often reaching several thousand spectators.

In the beginning, there were no barbells or dumbbells on the beach, but soon they began to appear, brought by weight trainers who were drawn by the jolly camaraderie of the acrobats, most of whom used weights to strengthen their bodies for the rigor of their stunts. The open use of heavy weights by men and women who were such marvelous athletes had another significant effect on the American culture. The nimbleness of these weight-trained athletes went a long way toward convincing anyone who saw them lift and tumble that the use of barbells and dumbbells, contrary to the opinion of almost every coach and sports scientist in the country, would not make a person “musclebound.” In 1940, it was believed that the lifting of heavy weights would make a person slow and inflexible, even though there was no scientific evidence to support the belief. But no one who watched Pudgy and Les Stockton lift weights and then perform their stunts could still believe in the myth of the musclebound lifter. Such weight training, now universally accepted by coaches and athletes in all sports, demonstrates the precocity of the Muscle Beach Gang.

A story published in an American magazine during those years described the crowded scene as a “wide stretch of sand between hot dog stands and ocean, [with] dozens of big muscular people throwing little muscular people high into the air, shapely girls doing flip-flops on a long platform, agile teen-age boys twisting through space.” One of the most crowd-pleasing stunts the Muscle Beach regulars performed was the building of human pyramids. Stunts of this sort, as well as what is known as *adagio* (in which people are thrown and caught), require careful cooperation. They fostered, and built on, the sense of fellowship engendered by the non-competitive atmosphere which prevailed in the early days. Harold Zinkin, who years later would help to invent the Universal weight machine, said the acrobats “shared everything we knew. It was a happy atmosphere, like a jam session with everyone playing his part.”

The burgeoning of the Beach was cut short, of course, by the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the entry of the United States into World War II, although Pudgy and a few others still gathered by the pier from time to time while Les and many of the others were doing their part in the war effort. But when hostilities ended, activity alongside the pier reached a higher level than ever before. In addition, the tumbling platforms were elevated by the city so that visitors to the increasingly famous Muscle Beach weekends had a better view. By that time the bodybuilders had arrived, and their extravagant physiques also drew crowds, like fully fanned peacocks at a zoo. The city

soon built a “weight pit” where the competitive lifters and bodybuilders could pump iron and work on their tan all at the same time, cooled by the prevailing Pacific “westerlies.”

Even though the period from 1946 through the late 1950s lacked the sweetness and purity of the pre-war Muscle Beach, it featured ever-larger crowds and an ever-greater percentage of bodybuilders in the cultural mix. Some of these people made major contributions to the world of weights. One such was Jack LaLanne who, although he lived in San Francisco, would drive down to Santa Monica almost every weekend to lift and do stunts with his friends. In 1951, he began a pioneering fitness program on television that ran for 34 years and made his name a household word. Steve Reeves was also a regular at the weight pit, and those who were there say that no one ever drew crowds like the handsome, Greek God-like Mr. America of 1947. After a bit of earlier film, stage, and television work, Reeves was chosen for the lead role in *Hercules* (1959), and this film launched a 16-year career during which, for a time, Reeves was the number one male movie star in the world.

Other regulars at Muscle Beach were Vic Tanny and his younger brother Armand, an outstanding lifter. In the 1950s, Vic founded a nationwide chain of modern “health clubs” that bore his name. They were the first of their kind, and although the chain grew large and unwieldy and eventually failed, Tanny’s influence was felt by millions of Americans who had their first taste of progressive resistance exercise in his glittering, chrome-filled clubs. Lesser known early on than Tanny but with more “legs,” Joe Gold developed his muscles as well as his famous tan at Muscle Beach before opening what would eventually become the second West Coast bodybuilding Mecca—Gold’s Gym—training headquarters of the leading bodybuilders in the world during the 1960s and 1970s. Eventually, Gold sold his legendary gym, and promised not to start another in which his name was used. However, once he opened his new place, called World Gym, it attracted so many of the top bodybuilders that he was able successfully to franchise the name around the United States.

By the late 1950s Muscle Beach had begun to draw what many of the old-timers considered unsavory characters, and a series of incidents, some of which were criminal in nature, caused the city to close Muscle Beach and haul away the weights. Some close observers believe that the city, although somewhat worried by the sorts of people who had been joining the throng, was primarily motivated by a desire for more parking for shoppers and tourists. Whatever the reason, Muscle Beach ceased to exist in its original fabled form. Unwilling to be without a place to train by the beach, however, a dedicated group of bodybuilders convinced the city of Venice to put in a small weight pit two miles south of the old location. In time, Venice Beach began to draw a regular crowd, which reached its apex during the heyday of the bodybuilding career of Arnold Schwarzenegger. Venice Beach was often the location chosen by magazine publisher Joe Weider for photo shoots of Arnie for *Muscle & Fitness*, the leading magazine in the field. These photographs helped both Weider and Schwarzenegger, and they perpetuated the legend of Southern California as the *terminus ad quem* for bodybuilders everywhere.

In 1974, Schwarzenegger was training for his sixth victory in the International Federation of Bodybuilders’ Mr. Olympia contest, the premier title in the sport. His training—along with that of several of his rivals, and the competition itself—became the subject of a remarkable documentary film, *Pumping Iron* (1976). Conceived and scripted by Charles Gaines and filmed by George Butler, the film was



a huge critical success and, in the process, made a celebrity of Arnie, leading to his casting in the title role of the successful *Conan the Barbarian* (1981). *Pumping Iron* and Arnold introduced bodybuilding to a wider public, and in so doing gained acceptance for weight training as a way to develop a leaner, healthier body.

As bodybuilding rode Arnie's broad back to ever greater popularity, Venice Beach, which officially adopted the name, "Venice Muscle Beach" in 1986, finally decided to expand the weight training area, and a much larger facility was built with a stage which can accommodate bodybuilding competitions. In the late 1990s, in a major change of heart, Santa Monica also built a new facility on the site of the old Muscle Beach platforms, complete with an open-air weight pit and a place for children to exercise. Muscle Beach has seen many changes in the years since the 1930s, and the changes have not all been good ones. Drugs now play a major and sinister role in competitive bodybuilding and they have allowed bodybuilders to develop a combination of muscle mass and definition that the health-conscious bodybuilders of earlier decades could not have imagined. The men and women who were first drawn to Muscle Beach trained hard in the fresh air, ate carefully, and were healthy as horses. Good health was at the heart of their lifestyle. Many of the top competitors in the 1990s have made a Faustian bargain and sacrificed health for appearance. Some of the bodies that a visitor to Muscle Beach might see at the beginning of the twenty-first century, unlike those in the middle of the twentieth, might only look healthy.

—Jan and Terry Todd

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## Muscle Cars

Muscle cars were a special breed of automobile that were born in the 1950s, grew throughout the 1960s, and for the most part died in the early 1970s. They remain a cultural symbol of style, mild rebellion, and a personal statement of independence. The concept was based upon the simple engineering idea of placing the largest possible engine into the lightest possible chassis. Using this measurement, the muscle cars initially emerged from the factories of a small handful of car manufacturers. Chevrolet was among the first of these, bringing out a modern-design 265-cubic-inch V-8 configuration engine in their lighter, sportier 1955 Bel Air range, while Chrysler offered their awesome hemi-head engine in the guise of their 300 series vehicles. Moving into the 1960s, the formula began to take root. The Chevy 409 was out, followed by the first Pontiac GTO, which featured a 389-cubic-inch displaced motor in a light Tempest body. Other American manufacturers followed suit: Ford with the Fairlane and Galaxie 500, and Chrysler with the Dodge Polara and Plymouth Belvedere.

As with most cultural phenomena, muscle cars began as unique specialist models hidden within the mainstream. In appearance, they were little different from their sedate mass-produced assembly-line cousins, but, as their popularity spread, they became a visible entity and replaced the much older personal automotive expression, the hot rod.

By the end of the 1960s the muscle car was commonplace across manufacturers' ranges. Virtually all models of car had a "hot" version that was affordable, powerful, and, above all, fast. Engine sizes climbed into the over 400-cubic inch displacement class with GM muscle cars having their largest performance engines in the 450-cubic inch range. Ford's performance engines were the 427, 428, and 429-cubic inch engines, and Chrysler developed 426 and 440 cubic inch engines as their standard bearers. Many of these engines came equipped with large four-barrel carburetors, or combinations of three two-barrel, or two four-barrel carburetors. Horsepower ratings climbed to over 400, while gas mileage often fell into the low 'teens or less. Hood-scoops, stripes, and spoilers helped to define the breed, as did the model names—Charger, Cobra, Cyclone, Grand Prix, 442, Road Runner, Machine, and any Chevy "SS" conveyed the intended image of the new, aggressive vehicles.

Muscle cars didn't corner well by later standards, but they did go fast. The standard of performance was judged by how fast a car could cover a quarter mile from a standing start. The 14-second bracket seemed to define the breed, but a few exceptional models could go even faster. Drag racing, and the much more dangerous street racing, were very much part of the muscle car phenomenon. The obvious racing tie to muscle cars was usually drag racing, but both Chrysler and Ford also were heavily involved in stock car racing.

A subset of the muscle car was the "Pony" car, a genre started with the 1964 Mustang. The Mustang's early successful combination of style and performance led to the creation of the Chevrolet Camaro, Pontiac Firebird, Dodge Challenger, Plymouth Barracuda, and American Motors' Javelin that came to populate the Sports Car Club of America's popular Trans-Am racing series. Pony cars were even lighter than their muscle car cousins, but were frequently available with the same larger engines.

Muscle cars were aimed at young people. The design styles, colors, advertising, and price were all aimed at the first-time new car buyer. Chrysler marketed their performance cars under advertising campaigns that identified their cars as the Dodge Rebellion, and the Plymouth Rapid Transit System; Pontiac connected its popular GTO with TV's *Laugh-In* with a model called the Judge; and Ford openly tied its performance cars to its racing programs and its association with Carroll Shelby. The successful mass marketing and consequent popularity of the cars were reflected by their appearances in high-profile television series and movies. The eponymous hero of *Mannix* drove Barracudas and, later, a Z-28. *The Mod Squad* started out with a hot rod Woody, but moved to Challengers and Chargers. Even Jim Rockford of *The Rockford Files* had a Firebird, while muscle cars were prominently featured in films such as *Two Lane Blacktop* and *Vanishing Point* (both 1971), that focused on anti-social or rebellious heroism expressed through driving cars. Popular music of the 1960s, too, was laced with muscle car-oriented tunes such as "Little GTO" and "409."

While not exactly representing the counter-culture, muscle cars were certainly a visible accessory of the 1960s youth movement. Muscle cars represented the kind of car parents did not drive and would likely be offended by. How far did it all go? Dodge sold a



The 1963 Ford Mustang II.

virtual Grand National Stock Car in 1969 called the Daytona for the street, Chevrolet had the 454-cubic inch Chevelle SS in 1971, Ford had the 428-cubic inch Mach 1 Mustang in 1970. Even relatively sedate American Motors promoted its Javelin and its racing heritage. In 1972 it built and sold the Gremlin X, a sub-compact with a V-8.

Ultimately, high insurance costs and the gas crisis of the early 1970s doomed the muscle cars. Consumer taste shifted towards personal luxury cars, and economics dictated a shift towards fuel-efficient imports. By the 1990s, there were but a few survivors of the muscle car. Pontiac was still making the Firebird Trans-Am, as was Chevrolet the Camaro Z-28 and Ford its Mustang. Each of these models offers a better level of performance than its 1960s ancestors, while many standard cars of the 1990s were taking their styling clues from the old muscle cars. Spoilers, custom wheels, fat, raised, white-letter tires, and bulged or scooped hoods are all examples of the performance images that were first seen 30 years earlier.

By the end of the twentieth century, muscle cars had begun to experience a renaissance of sorts, with restorers and collectors seeking out selected models and reliving the heady days of the 1960s with cheap gas and lots of power. Muscle cars represent an era when an automobile could make a bold, personal statement in sharp contrast to most automobiles built since. They might seem primitive, but their purpose was pure.

—Sean Evans

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## Muscular Christianity

Simply defined, muscular Christianity is masculine, or “manly” Christianity. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Christian men in the United States have responded to the so-called “feminization” of American religion. From the seventeenth century through the end of the Victorian era, women comprised approximately two-thirds of America’s Christian churches, and beginning in the 1850s men began to challenge women’s dominance by making religion a manly endeavor. Organizations such as the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA), Men and Religion Forward Movement, Boy Scouts, Christian Service Brigade, and, most recently, Promise Keepers sprang from this movement. These groups emphasize a uniquely masculine expression of Christian faith, American nationalism, citizenship, chivalrous behavior, and in some cases even skills in outdoor activities. Today, people often use the term “muscular Christianity” to refer to any type of male-dominated, outdoor,

virile, or sports-oriented activity with a specifically Christian or evangelistic purpose.

In addition to its general connotation, muscular Christianity is also a specific movement, originating in England and finding voice in the United States beginning with the revival of 1857-1858. The term "muscular Christianity" originated as a literary device in a review of English novelist Charles Kingsley's *Two Years Ago* (1857) written by T. C. Sanders for the *Saturday Review* (February 21, 1857). Sanders recognized Kingsley as the most important and visible representative of this new movement which valued "a man who fears God and can walk a thousand miles in a thousand hours—who breathes God's free air on God's rich earth, and at the same time can hit a woodcock, doctor a horse, and twist a poker around his finger." Fellow advocate of Christian masculinity, Thomas Hughes, author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857) and *Tom Brown at Oxford* (1860), wrote, "muscular Christians hold [to] the old chivalrous and Christian belief, that a man's body is given him to be trained and brought into subjection, and then used for the protection of the weak, the advancement of all righteous causes, and the subduing of the earth which God has given to the children of men." The ideal of muscular Christianity celebrated physical exertion, comradeship, and determination and emphasized manliness, morality, health, and patriotism. In these writings, the male human body was a metaphor for social, national, and religious bodies. A man must discipline his body physically and morally to become healthy and influential; in the same way, a country must assert control over socially disruptive forces in order to become a great and holy nation. Therefore, the goals of muscular Christians were not primarily individual but communal—their task was to subdue culture and render it more Christian. Inspired by this movement, Victorian urban revivalists sought to evangelize the nation, spreading the gospel and the accompanying civilizing values of middle class culture.

During the "Great Revival" of 1857-58, the United States began to express its own version of masculinized religion; by the 1860s, the term "muscular Christianity" had become commonplace in denominational publications as well as major periodicals like the *New York Times*. The 1857-58 revival, perhaps the closest thing in American history to a truly national awakening, differed from previous revivals in three key ways: the leadership was lay instead of clerical, its setting was urban instead of rural, and its participants were primarily male instead of female. The middle-class, white men who participated in this "businessmen's revival" formed prayer meetings in the nation's major metropolises and devoted their energies to soul-saving and social reform. The most lasting institution to emerge from this revival was the YMCA. Although the organization was founded in England in 1844 and transplanted to Montreal and Boston in 1851, it did not gain cultural importance until 1857 when urban revivalists like D. L. Moody in Chicago joined and championed the movement. Made up primarily of white, middle-class men, the YMCA sought to promote a masculinized Christianity consistent with middle-class businessmen's culture. It also sought to "civilize" the immigrant masses flooding into America's cities. The idea of muscular Christianity arose in the United States alongside post-millennial ideals of evangelical cultural dominance, manifest destiny, and worldwide mission. Evangelicals argued that the United States held the sympathy of all the nations of the world, and "God could not do without America." If the United States was to hasten the return of Jesus Christ, it must reform its cities, Christianize the masses, and serve as a beacon of Christian culture for the rest of the world. Spiritual and

national aims converged as muscular Christians came to see the United States as the world's savior.

Muscular Christianity, however, was more than Christianized manifest destiny. In addition to revealing the longing for Christian culture and middle-class dominance, it also reflected gender tensions inherent in Victorian America. Antebellum Americans, somewhat fearful of the moral dangers of the open market but also seeking its maximum potential, placed men in the public sphere of economic activity and women in the private sphere of religion and moral nurture. Women would keep their husbands and children moral, men would become entrepreneurs and provide for their families, and together they would form godly homes—the backbone of a Christian nation. The ideal of muscular Christianity challenged this gendered version of Protestantism by making the evangelical faith manly. During the 1857-1858 revival, leaders aimed all the advertising at men and organized prayer meetings in urban business districts—public spaces accessible almost exclusively to men. Businessmen looked with suspicion upon women who challenged social boundaries and came downtown to participate in prayer meetings. Thus, muscular Christianity can be said to be an attempt by religiously marginalized men to recapture evangelical Christianity as a male endeavor.

In 1911, leaders of the inter-denominational and lay-led Men and Religion Forward Movement sought to bury feminized religion for good and replace it with a Protestant faith that was manly as well as friendly to a growing consumer-driven economy. Accompanying American Protestants' affirmation of vertically integrated, corporate capitalism was a new gender ideology. Evangelical men argued that religion should no longer be dominated by women somewhat leery of burgeoning capitalist growth; rather, it should become a manly endeavor fully consistent with consumer capitalism and a culture of leisure. Feminized religion's restraint of commerce had become stifling, and middle-class Protestants eventually replaced Victorian sentimentalism with a more muscular Christianity which would buttress their growing economic prosperity.

Although women in the late twentieth century continue to maintain a majority in North America's churches (approximately 60 percent), American religion is no longer perceived as effeminate or woman-dominated. The sea changes in the American economy, the re-orientation of gender coding at end of the Victorian era, and the ideal of muscular Christianity help to explain this shift from feminine to masculine Christianity. Both now exist alongside one another as we witness the proliferation of gender-focused religious groups, among them the Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood, Christians for Biblical Equality, Promise Keepers, the "Re-Imagining" Conference, and scores more denominational groups. The ideal of muscular Christianity is a key element in the centuries-long debates regarding gender's role in defining Christian practice and the relationship between religion and commerce—debates Americans will continue for centuries to come.

—Kurt W. Peterson

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## The Musical

The American musical theater of the twentieth century is a widely diverse genre that encompasses a variety of styles. From traditional operettas and musical comedies by composers such as Sigmund Romberg and George Gershwin in the early part of the century, through mid-century dramatic works by Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II and their contemporaries, to shows that expand the boundaries of the genre by creators such as Stephen Sondheim and Andrew Lloyd Webber, the musical has been immensely popular with audiences worldwide for over one hundred

years. A work in which music and drama are combined in various ways, the Broadway musical adds dance, costumes, sets, orchestration, and musical style to the basic duality of music and drama to create a singular contribution to both American and global popular culture.

Works for the musical stage appeared in the United States prior to the twentieth century, thus establishing important precedents for the Broadway musical. Important genres included European-style opera, ballad opera, minstrel shows, and vaudeville. The first Broadway musical is generally acknowledged to be *The Black Crook* (1866). This show was significant for two reasons: it established New York City as a center for musical theater; and it played for 475 performances, instituting a defining goal of the successful Broadway musical—a long commercial run.

During the first third of the twentieth century, three distinct types of musical theater co-existed on Broadway stages: revue, musical comedy, and operetta. The revue was a performer-based genre and included comic skits and songs, often on a central topic. *Ziegfeld's Follies*, Shubert's *Passing Shows*, *George White's Scandals*, and *Irving Berlin's Music Box Revues* were among the most popular series of revues. Significant composers for the revue included Irving Berlin and George Gershwin. Fannie Brice, Marilyn Miller, Will Rogers, and Al Jolson were just a few of the stars whose fame was established in the genre.

The musical comedy was similar to a revue but included a dramatic plot. It featured everyday characters in everyday, albeit comic, situations. The emphasis was on individual musical numbers and star performers. George M. Cohan, Jerome Kern, Gershwin, Vincent Youmans, Cole Porter, and the collaborative team of Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart were important contributors to the genre. Among Gershwin's most important shows were *Lady, Be Good!* (1924); *Oh, Kay!* (1926); and *Girl Crazy* (1930). These works, along



A scene from the musical *A Chorus Line*.

with Youmans's *No, No, Nanette* (1925); Porter's *Anything Goes* (1934); and Rodgers and Hart's *A Connecticut Yankee* (1927); *Babes in Arms* (1937); and *Pal Joey* (1940) virtually defined the musical comedy. Ethel Merman, Fred and Adele Astaire, and Gertrude Lawrence were but three of the many stars associated with the genre.

The third style of musical theater, operetta, consisted of works which were set in a time and place other than the present. The genre was dominated by the entire musical score, rather than by individual musical numbers and star performers. Sigmund Romberg and Rudolf Friml were the principal composers of operetta during the 1920s. Romberg's *The Student Prince* (1924); *The Desert Song* (1926); and *The New Moon* (1928); and Friml's *Rose-Marie* (1924) and *The Three Musketeers* (1928) were among the era's most popular Broadway shows. With the Stock Market Crash of 1929, the operetta generally lost favor—audiences in the 1930s preferred the brash musical comedy to the sentimental operetta. They preferred laughter to tears.

The era of the modern musical began with *Show Boat* (1927, music by Jerome Kern, book and lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein II). In this seminal work, character development and dramatic plot took precedence over music and performers. Music, superb as it was, was intended to serve the plot. Songs such as "Ol' Man River," "Can't Help Lovin' Dat Man," and "You Are Love" were integral to the storyline of *Show Boat*. They were not mere decoration or entertainment. The creators of *Show Boat* addressed serious issues such as racial intolerance, alcoholism, and desertion in their plot. No longer was the musical theater the domain of only effervescent musical comedy and revue and romantic operetta.

The "mature" musical, in which music and lyrics were integrated into the plot, continued in the work of Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II. Their historic collaboration began with *Oklahoma!* (1943) and ended with *The Sound of Music* (1959). Their nine shows included *Carousel* (1945), *South Pacific* (1949), and *The King and I* (1951). Rodgers and Hammerstein used song as a means of defining a character. Numbers such as "Oh, What a Beautiful Morning" from *Oklahoma!*, "Soliloquy" from *Carousel*, "Wonderful Guy" from *South Pacific*, and "Something Wonderful" from *The King and I* humanized and personalized the characters who sang them in ways which were virtually unprecedented in the Broadway musical. Songs now revealed the emotions and situations of the character rather than those of the songwriter. Rodgers and Hammerstein were often criticized for being "preachy" in their shows. They addressed serious social concerns in their shows, including racial prejudice, the role of children in society, and the victory of good over evil in war. In addition to an emphasis on dramatic content, the team established a form for the musical—a long first act which culminated in a dramatic climax followed by a much shorter second act in which the dramatic conflict was resolved as quickly as possible.

Contemporaries of Rodgers and Hammerstein who adopted their basic approach to the musical included Alan Jay Lerner and Frederick Loewe (*Brigadoon* [1947], *My Fair Lady* [1956], and *Camelot* [1960]), and Frank Loesser (*Guys and Dolls* [1950], *The Most Happy Fella* [1956], and *How to Succeed in Business without Really Trying* [1961]). Other popular shows from mid-century which followed the general plan established by Rodgers and Hammerstein included *Finian's Rainbow* (1947, music by Burton Lane, lyrics by E. Y. Harburg); *Kiss Me, Kate* (1948, music and lyrics by Cole Porter); *Damn Yankees* (1955, music and lyrics by Richard Adler and Jerry Ross); *West Side Story* (1957, music by Leonard Bernstein, lyrics by Stephen Sondheim); *The Music Man* (1957, music and lyrics by

Meredith Willson); *Gypsy* (1959, music by Jule Styne and lyrics by Stephen Sondheim); *Hello, Dolly!* (1964, music and lyrics by Jerry Herman); *Fiddler on the Roof* (1964, music by Jerry Bock, lyrics by Sheldon Harnick); and *Man of La Mancha* (1965, music by Mitch Leigh, lyrics by Joe Darion). The creators of these shows took the Rodgers and Hammerstein model and expanded it in a variety of ways. Shakespeare provided the inspiration for *Kiss Me, Kate* (a show which incorporated *The Taming of the Shrew*) and *West Side Story* (a transformation of *Romeo and Juliet*), while his Spanish contemporary Cervantes actually appeared as a character in *Man of La Mancha*. Myth and legend materialized on stage in *Brigadoon*, *Camelot*, and *Finian's Rainbow*.

The mid-century produced a number of significant musical theater stars. Among the most famous female performers were Julie Andrews, Carol Channing, Mary Martin, Ethel Merman, Chita Rivera, and Gwen Verdon. Male stars included Alfred Drake, Zero Mostel, Robert Preston, and John Raitt. Occasionally, male stars on Broadway were true opera singers, as in the cases of Ezio Pinza and Robert Weede.

During the final third of the century, creators for the Broadway stage made attempts to expand the boundaries of the musical theater in various ways. The concept musical, developed by Stephen Sondheim in works such as *Company* (1970) and *Follies* (1971), was a type of show in which narrative plot in the traditional sense did not exist. Composer Marvin Hamlisch, lyricist Edward Kleban, and director-choreographer Michael Bennett chose this approach for *A Chorus Line* (1975), a show in which each auditionee for a chorus line tells his or her life story. John Kander and Fred Ebb also used the general principle of the concept musical in *Cabaret* (1966) and *Chicago* (1975). In these shows, the team used song to comment on plot developments rather than to present the narrative in a purely linear fashion. *Cabaret* featured the song "Willkommen" (sung by Joel Grey), and *Chicago's* opening number was "All That Jazz" (performed by Gwen Verdon).

Musicals that eschewed the traditional lyrical style of Broadway song and replaced it with rock numbers included *Hair* (1968, music by Galt MacDermot); *Godspell* (1971, music and lyrics by Stephen Schwartz); *Jesus Christ Superstar* (1971, music by Andrew Lloyd Webber, lyrics by Tim Rice); *The Who's Tommy* (1993); and *Rent* (1996, music, lyrics, and book by Jonathan Larson). These shows demonstrate the ability of a Broadway show to incorporate current popular music styles; however, this style of show has yet to enter the mainstream American musical theater. Even at the end of the twentieth century, shows with traditional-sounding scores, generally with soft-rock influences, are those that achieve the greatest popularity with audiences and critics.

Catalog musicals—those that feature the music of a particular composer or performer—are another type of Broadway musical that does not include typical Broadway music. Some shows based on this formula are *Ain't Misbehavin'* (1978, based on Fats Waller); *Sophisticated Ladies* (1981, based on Duke Ellington); *Five Guys Named Moe* (1992, based on Louis Jordan); and *Jelly's Last Jam* (1992, based on Jelly Roll Morton).

During the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, composers continued to write traditional-style shows in the wake of these other developments. Musicals such as *Annie* (1977, music by Charles Strouse, lyrics by Martin Charnin); *Barnum* (1980, music by Cy Coleman, lyrics by Michael Stewart); *Big River* (1985, music and lyrics by Roger Miller); *City of Angels* (1989, music by Cy Coleman, lyrics by David

Zippel); *Once on this Island* (1990, music by Stephen Flaherty, lyrics by Lynn Ahrens); *The Secret Garden* (1991, music by Lucy Simon, book and lyrics by Marsha Norman); and *Ragtime* (1998, music by Flaherty, lyrics by Ahrens) took the traditional style of musical and proved that it could be adapted for stories as diverse as the comic book world of *Annie*, the 1940s spy world of *City of Angels*, and a Caribbean island in *Once on this Island*. Literature was musicalized in the cases of *Big River* (Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*), *The Secret Garden* (novel by Frances Hodgson Burnett), and *Ragtime* (novel by E. L. Doctorow) to great success.

Film became an important source for musical theater works in the last quarter of the century. Musicals based on motion pictures included *42nd Street* (1980, music by Harry Warren, lyrics by Al Dubin); *The Goodbye Girl* (1993, music by Marvin Hamlisch); *Sunset Boulevard* (1994, music by Andrew Lloyd Webber, lyrics by Don Black and Christopher Hampton); and *Passion* (1994, music and lyrics by Stephen Sondheim). Perhaps the most significant shows in this genre, however, are the Disney productions of *Beauty and the Beast* (1994, music by Alan Menken, lyrics by Howard Ashman and Tim Rice) and *The Lion King* (1997, songs by Elton John and Tim Rice).

Earlier genres made their reappearance on Broadway in the final decades of the century either through original works or bona fide revivals. The revue reasserted itself in *Cats* (1982, music by Andrew Lloyd Webber, lyrics based on T. S. Eliot) and *The Will Rogers Follies* (1991, music by Cy Coleman, lyrics by Betty Comden and Adolph Green). Significant revivals during the 1990s included *Guys and Dolls* (1992), *Show Boat* (1994), *Carousel* (1994), *Damn Yankees* (1994), *How to Succeed in Business without Really Trying* (1995), *The King and I* (1996), *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* (1996), and *Chicago* (1996). Revivals have come to be so important on Broadway that the Tony Awards now include the category Best Revival.

Other changes in the overall concept of the Broadway musical took place during the final decades of the century as well. Chief among these was the move toward a totally sung musical. Drama was no longer to be exclusively in the domain of spoken language. Plot could be advanced largely through music, as in opera. Although shows such as *The Most Happy Fella* were groundbreaking in this approach, it became much more mainstream in works such as Lloyd Webber's *Evita* and Sondheim's *Sweeney Todd*, *The Demon Barber of Fleet Street* (1979).

When the sung-through (or nearly so) musical was infused with spectacular sets, stage effects, and costumes, the so-called "mega-musical" emerged. These shows are meant to dazzle the audience with visual effects which at least match, if not surpass, the aural ones. Theatricality is paramount. Shows such as *Cats*, *Les Miserables* (1987, music by Claude-Michel Schoenberg, lyrics by Alain Boublil and Herbert Kretzmer); *The Phantom of the Opera* (1988, music by Andrew Lloyd Webber, lyrics by Charles Hart and Richard Stilgoe); *Miss Saigon* (1991, music by Schoenberg, lyrics by Richard Maltby, Jr. and Boublil); and *Sunset Boulevard* are prime examples of this approach. Sets are as important as the characters. The tire in *Cats* (as well as the entire theater), the barricade in *Les Miserables*, the ghostly candelabra and huge chandelier in *The Phantom of the Opera*, the helicopter in *Miss Saigon*, and the staircase in *Sunset Boulevard* are as central to each of the shows as are the human characters. These mega-musicals have their roots in London's West End (the British equivalent of Broadway, which has a fascinating heritage of its own), where

directors such as Cameron Mackintosh apply their lavish treatment to the genre.

In the course of the twentieth century, the Broadway musical has developed from an entertainment, whether comic (musical comedy and revue) or romantic (operetta), into a substantial artistic genre. Shows from as early as 1927 (*Show Boat*) included moral and social messages, a trend which continued through the middle part of the century with Rodgers and Hammerstein and into the latter years of the century. Many shows from the 1980s and 1990s included a "song of social injustice" in which there is a call for popular response to a particular issue. "Do You Hear the People Sing?" from *Les Miserables*, "Anthem" from *Chess* (1988, music by Benny Andersson and Bjorn Ulvaeus, lyrics by Tim Rice); "Bui Doi" from *Miss Saigon*; and "The Day after That" from *Kiss of the Spider Woman* (1993, music by John Kander, lyrics by Fred Ebb) are significant examples of such songs.

The final part of the twentieth century has also produced a number of significant musical theater stars. Actresses include Judy Kuhn, Angela Lansbury, Rebecca Luker, Patti LuPone, Donna Murphy, and Bernadette Peters. Actors include Michael Crawford, Nathan Lane, Brian Stokes Mitchell, and Mandy Patinkin.

The Broadway musical has contributed to both the popular music and film industries. Many songs from Broadway shows have gone on to achieve popularity outside of the theater. Broadway was tied closely to Tin Pan Alley (the American popular music style) until World War II. Gershwin standards such as "Embraceable You" and "But Not for Me" were introduced in Broadway shows, as were many Porter and Rodgers and Hart songs. This trend has continued through the century, with Sondheim's "Send in the Clowns" (from *A Little Night Music*); Schoenberg-Boublil's "I Dreamed a Dream" and "Empty Chairs at Empty Tables" (from *Les Miserables*, the latter of which has become an anthem for AIDS research); and Lloyd Webber's "Music of the Night" (from *The Phantom of the Opera*) being relevant examples from the last decades of the century. Singers ranging from opera stars Kiri TeKanawa and Bryn Terfel to popular singers Barbra Streisand (who got her start on Broadway), Judy Collins, and Frank Sinatra have included Broadway songs in their repertoires. Conversely, pop singers such as Paula Abdul appeared on Broadway musical stages during the 1990s.

The Broadway musical is not limited to Broadway, however. Film versions of Broadway musicals have appeared since the late 1920s. *The Desert Song* (1929, Warner Brothers) was the first of a long line of film adaptations which continued through the mid-century with a string of Rodgers and Hammerstein films, among others, to the end of the century with *Evita* (1996, Cinergi Pictures). Touring productions, resident companies, and amateur and school productions of Broadway musicals have also done much to promote the genre outside of New York City. The musical is certainly one of the popular forms of theatrical entertainment with the American—and world—public.

The American musical theater is a widely diverse form of popular entertainment. Its many guises range from pure entertainment to tales with strong moral messages. The Broadway musical has had a dramatic impact on American popular culture not only because of the shows themselves but also because of the individual hit songs that were introduced in the shows. Furthermore, a number of the century's most popular musical personalities established their professional careers on Broadway's musical stages.

—William A. Everett

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## *Mutiny on the Bounty*

In 1932, Charles Nordhoff and James Norman Hall became bestselling authors with the publication of *Mutiny on the Bounty*, based upon the true story of mutiny on board an English naval vessel in the late eighteenth century. They followed their success with sequels, *Men Against the Sea* (1934) and *Pitcairn's Island* (1938). The books tell of exciting nautical adventures, idyllic life on Pacific islands, romantic affairs between sailors and native girls, and power struggles in which good ultimately triumphs over evil. These were the topics, exotic fantasies of long ago and far away, that offered Americans an emotional escape from the throes of economic depression during the 1930s.

In 1933, *In the Wake of the Bounty*, the story of the mutiny, was filmed in a documentary starring Errol Flynn. Some of the film was

shot on location on Pitcairn's Island where, in 1788, the Bounty mutineers found a haven from Captain Bligh and the court martial and death that would have met them had they returned to England. This documentary film was followed, in 1935, with the hit Metro Goldwyn Mayer (MGM) film, *Mutiny on the Bounty*, starring the popular actor Clark Gable. It received Academy Award nominations for its score, film editing, screenplay, director, and three of its actors, and won the award for best picture of 1935.

The film tells of the H.M.S. Bounty which, in 1787, left England to obtain breadfruit plants from Tahiti and transport them to the West Indies, where they could be established as a plantation food source for slaves. Clark Gable played Fletcher Christian, the hero who leads a mutiny against the tyrannical Captain Bligh, portrayed by Charles Laughton. In the beginning of the film, Captain Bligh immediately reveals his sadistic nature. Before the ship sets sail, he has a dead man flogged to show his crew that he will carry out punishment to the letter. The journey includes many similar incidents in which Bligh's harsh discipline establishes his tyranny and kindles the inclination for rebellion by the crew.

When the ship arrives at Tahiti, the crew enjoys a six-month reprieve from Bligh's punishments while the men collect breadfruit plants. During this time they enjoy the island paradise and the company of the native girls. When the project is finished, the crew leaves reluctantly, and five of them try to desert ship to return to the island, but they are caught and flogged. Captain Bligh orders all hands on deck to observe the flogging, even though one crewmember, the elderly ship's doctor, is too ill to move. Bligh demands that he come to the deck, and the effort kills the old doctor. As Christian watches the doctor die and the flogging begin, he rallies the crew to mutiny. Christian orders the men to spare Bligh's life. Bligh and some crewmembers who are still loyal to him travel in a lifeboat for 49 days until they reach the Dutch East Indies. Meanwhile, the mutineers return to their paradise where they marry their Tahitian lovers.

A year later, Bligh, on board a new ship, the Pandora, returns to arrest the mutineers and bring them to justice in the English court. But Christian and some others escape on the Bounty to Pitcairn's Island, where they are safe from Bligh forever. Bligh's new ship is wrecked on the reefs surrounding the island, and though he returns to England, testimony against him by one loyal member of the crew who was wrongly charged with mutiny brings condemnation upon Bligh by his peers. This Hollywood ending in which Bligh's inhumanity is noted and Christian's gentleness and bravery earn him an island paradise made the movie a great success at a time when Americans clung to hope for escape from their own dilemmas during the financial crises of the Great Depression.

In 1962, Nordhoff's and Hall's novels were republished and the movie was remade, this time starring Marlon Brando as Fletcher Christian. Another generation of Americans learned the story of the Bounty. Though the film was praised for its score and South Seas cinematography, it did not succeed as well as the classic Gable film. It fell short of the unanimous popularity enjoyed by its predecessor, perhaps because of an uneven performance by Brando, or possibly as a result of the country's preference for contemporary American issues over British naval history. The romances between the sailors and the Tahitian women were exotic and appealing during the 1930s, but American viewers of the 1960s were not entranced. Though the film was not a box office or critical hit, it was nominated for a share of Academy Awards (seven, though it did not win any), and it did rekindle an interest in Captain Bligh and the H.M.S. Bounty.



Charles Laughton (right foreground) and Clark Gable (left foreground) in a scene from the film *Mutiny on the Bounty*.

The replica from the 1962 movie, a full-rigged sailing ship, was donated in 1993 by its owner, Ted Turner, to Tall Ship Bounty, a non-profit educational foundation. Called the H. M. S. Bounty, its crew trains teen cadets and teaches maritime history to elementary school students. It sails between Canada and the Caribbean, docking for public tours and participating in tall-ships festivals. This activity has kept the history of the Bounty alive through the end of the century. In addition to the interest generated by Tall Ship Bounty, the motion pictures, and the popular novels, there have been more than 2,000 articles, books, and documentary films about the Bounty's mutiny, making it perhaps the best known of maritime adventures.

—Sharon Brown

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## Mutt & Jeff

Mutt was the tall one, Jeff the short one. They were a funny paper team for well over 70 years. Cartoonist Harry "Bud" Fisher invented Mutt first, in 1907, introducing him solo in a comic strip that ran daily on the sports page of the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Fisher originally used his strip to recount Augustus Mutt's misadventures in betting on the ponies. He also tossed in racing tips. In 1908, while spending some time in a lunatic asylum, Mutt encountered Jeff and the two teamed up. Though often credited with being the first daily newspaper strip, *Mutt & Jeff* had a few predecessors. It was, however, the first truly successful one.

Popular from the beginning, *Mutt & Jeff* eventually moved from the *San Francisco Chronicle* to William Randolph Hearst's *San Francisco Examiner*. Eventually the shrewd Fisher acquired ownership of his feature and, with the aid of the Bell Syndicate, became the first millionaire cartoonist in America. A large list of papers all across the country helped, as did extensive merchandising. There were *Mutt*



& *Jeff* reprint books from 1910 on, as well as toys, animated cartoons, and even Broadway shows.

Fisher involved his pair in various contemporary activities, including the fracas with Pancho Villa, the First World War, and Prohibition. His basic aim, however, was to get across a joke a day. Mutt was married, henpecked, and the father of an ageless son named Cicero. He and Jeff tried any number of professions, never able to hold down any job for long. For decades the two of them operated pretty much like a movie or stage comedy team, daily delivering many a tried and true joke borrowed from vaudeville. It is safe to say that there was not a single variation of the classic “Waiter, there’s a fly in my soup” gag that did not appear in *Mutt & Jeff* more than once. Fisher and his staff were very much given to slapstick elements and brickbats; clubs and other weapons were frequent props. Mutt, although not the brightest of men, was the more practical partner. Jeff was the zany one, often not too well grounded in reality. When one of their innumerable get-rich-quick schemes went awry, Mutt was not above doing violence to his little top-hatted sidekick. Jeff, however, often got the last laugh and, almost always, the pretty girls who frequented the strip. Their basic relationship was akin to that of such screen comedians as Laurel & Hardy and Abbott & Costello.

The life of a millionaire, in Fisher’s case filled with such upper-class distractions as a racing stable and chorus girls, did not leave him much time for his comic strip. Fairly early in his career, he hired others to produce *Mutt & Jeff*. Ken Kling was the first ghost writer and he went on to do comic strips of his own, including a racing tip one called *Joe & Asbestos*. Next came Eddie Mack and then, in the early 1930s, the long-suffering Al Smith. A much better cartoonist than his boss or any of his predecessors, Smith wrote and drew the strip, daily and Sunday, for over 20 years without any credit and not too much in the way of a salary; he eventually created the Sunday companion strip, *Cicero’s Cat*. After Fisher’s death in 1954, Smith was allowed to sign his name to the strip. He stayed with it, gradually mellowing the tone and putting more emphasis on Mutt’s home life, until 1980. For its final two years *Mutt & Jeff* was drawn by George Breisacher.

—Ron Goulart

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## Muzak

The seeds of the all-enveloping background sound of music in public places that evolved into Muzak were sown in the early decades of the twentieth century. By the 1950s, the concept had developed into a commercial reality that invaded the American way of life, its presence only increasing as the century wore on. The trademarked name “Muzak” has become generic, referring not only to that company’s own proprietary mix of piped-in background music, but to any such music in public spaces and the workplace. It is sometimes called “wallpaper” or “elevator” music—a mild pejorative that distinguishes its contrived and synthetic quality from “real” music, listened to actively and intentionally—and signifies its role as ambient sound to be experienced subliminally.

The aesthetic concept of music as an environmental component rather than an artistic abstraction of sound important for its content was consciously advanced in the first decades of the 1900s by French composer Erik Satie in what he called *musique d’ameublement* (furniture music). Workplace music, however, goes much farther back to folk genres such as the songs sung by British textile handworkers and their seagoing counterparts, the chanty men. In the early factories of the Industrial Revolution, workers sang on the job for their own amusement and that of their co-workers, falling silent in the mid-1800s only when the noise of increasingly powerful industrial machinery drowned their voices. (Even then, some factories encouraged glee clubs and hired bands in an attempt to make the workplace less austere.)

Early in the twentieth century, however, the new science of industrial efficiency management was electrified by the discovery made at an indoor bicycle race held in 1911 at the old Madison Square Garden in New York. A brass band was part of the entertainment, and statisticians clocking the race discovered that cyclists’ average speeds shot up by about ten percent during the band’s sets. Five years later, a commercial laundry experimented with playing ragtime records; productivity increased dramatically when ironing was done in time to the music. In 1922, the Minneapolis post office tried playing records in its night sorting room and found that sorting errors fell.

By 1930, many American factories provided some sort of music, either live or phonograph, and the numbers of workplaces where music was supplied increased steadily. During World War II, one researcher reported recorded music in 76 out of 100 factories visited and more than half of management as stating that music increased production. Despite some uncertainty about fitting the rhythm of the music to the actual tasks (one wartime factory in Britain had to withdraw “Deep in the Heart of Texas” because workers stopped what they were doing to clap in time to it), factory music came to be favored both for its cheering effect on morale and for the relief it offered employees obliged to perform monotonous tasks.

Muzak was the invention of General George Owen Squier, who had invented both a high-speed telegraph and telephone-line multiplexing during his rise to the command of the United States Army Signal Corps. He took his inspiration from *Looking Backward*, Edward Bellamy’s utopian novel that featured a “musical telephone” which would bring music programming—rousing in the morning, soothing in the evening—to every house in a then futuristically posited dawning of the twenty-first century. Squier entered an agreement with the North American Company, an Ohio utilities conglomerate, to produce a service called Wired Radio that would offer subscribers a choice of three program channels over telephone lines to homes or retail shops. Shortly before his death in 1934, Squier’s efforts to come up with a catchier name for his company, resulted in the term Muzak, a blend of the word “music” with the final syllable from George Eastman’s universally pronounceable synthetic trade name, Kodak.

In 1936 Muzak moved to Manhattan from its studios in Cleveland. In-house engineers recorded such popular artists as the Dorsey Brothers Orchestra and two members of Benny Goodman’s original sextet, Fats Waller and Teddy Wilson, using the cutting-edge technology of 33 1/3 r.p.m. vinylite disks, forerunner of the long-playing records that would render 78 r.p.m. shellac platters obsolete in the decade following World War II.

Postwar consumer culture spawned suburban sprawl, including the supermarket and, later, the ubiquitous shopping malls, and recorded music contributed to the subnormal eye-blink rate of day-dreamy

grocery shoppers (although it did not stop them, as sociologist Vance Packard noted, from a sharp increase in blinking and, presumably, anxiety as they approached the cash registers). Music in the office environment came more slowly, but by the late 1950s the Muzak corporation could boast that its programming was being heard by 50 million Americans daily. Sequencing was the key to Muzak's success: in response to psychological research showing that workdays started with high energy which fell off sharply after an hour or so until the approach to lunch, Muzak provided programming which offered catchier, cheerier rhythms at mid-morning and whose arrangements were laced with woodwinds and occasional brass (in contrast to the subtler and more subdued strings preferred, for example, by restaurants for their early evening trade).

Although worker response tended to be highly favorable to judiciously programmed environmental music, not everyone cared for it. When the Washington, D.C. transit system contracted Muzak to supply its vehicles in 1948, disgruntled riders brought a lawsuit. The hearing eventually went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court (as *Public Utilities Commission v. Pollak*), which ruled in 1951 that the Constitution did not guarantee a passenger on a federally regulated vehicle "a right to privacy substantially equal to the privacy to which he is entitled in his own home." Thus, the court implicitly affirmed the right to play wallpaper music willy-nilly as a form of First Amendment expression.

Since the late 1950s the recording industry has profitably offered mood-music recordings from artists such as Mantovani, with his sweeping strings, soothingly romantic or mystical, through arrangements of show tunes, to Brian Eno's *Ambient 1: Music for Airports*. Meanwhile, Muzak and its two main competitors, Audio Environments, Inc. and 3M Sound Products, thrived through the end of the twentieth century on a formula of what a former Muzak music designer, Christopher Case, defined as "music artfully performed in a manner to uplift, not to intrude."

—Nick Humez

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## My Darling Clementine

The film *My Darling Clementine* (1946), based on Stuart Lake's novel *Wyatt Earp, Frontier Marshall*, was a re-make of the 1939 film *Frontier Marshall*. Its director, John Ford, had built a reputation on

directing Westerns, and *My Darling Clementine* is considered by many to be his best and most poetic Western. Ford used the story of the O.K. Corral to create the image of a triumphant postwar America. The film centers on Wyatt Earp (Henry Fonda) and Doc Holliday (Victor Mature) and their shoot-out with the Clantons at the O.K. Corral. Tombstone, the town over which Earp presides as sheriff, rids itself of evil and thus transforms itself from a wilderness into a garden. Holliday struggles to overcome his sullied past, while Clementine Carter (Cathy Downs) brings a future of innocence to Tombstone. The film ends with a triumphant ushering in of the new church with a social dance at which Earp accompanies Clementine.

—Liza Black

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## My Fair Lady

*My Fair Lady*, written by Alan Jay Lerner and Frederick Loewe was one of the most popular musical play of the 1950s. Its initial New York run, which began on March 15, 1956, lasted six and a half years for a total of 2,717 performances. The story of phonetician Henry Higgins, who transforms the Cockney flower girl Eliza Doolittle into a society lady through teaching her correct speech, was based on the George Bernard Shaw play *Pygmalion* and included such musical numbers as "I Could Have Danced All Night," "On the Street Where You Live," "The Rain in Spain," and "Get Me to the Church on Time."

British actors Rex Harrison and Julie Andrews created the roles of Higgins and Doolittle, Andrews in her American debut. The musical won Tony Awards for best musical, actor (Harrison), and director (Moss Hart). The 1964 film version starred Rex Harrison and Audrey Hepburn, whose vocals were dubbed by Marni Nixon. The film won Academy Awards for best picture, actor (Harrison), score, and costume design.

—William A. Everett

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## My Family, Mi Familia

Filmmaker Gregory Nava crafts a multi-generational epic in *My Family, Mi Familia*, a film that follows nearly 60 years in the life of a

Latino family whose roots in the United States date back to the 1920s. Released in 1995, Nava's film addresses themes central to the immigrant experience. The financial success of *My Family, Mi Familia* demonstrated that audiences—specifically Latino audiences—were hungry for positive cinematic representation. Nava's insistence that an entirely Latino cast play his characters (as opposed to bankable Anglo stars) was a victory not only for independent filmmakers working within the Hollywood system but, more importantly, for greater verisimilitude and diversity in filmmaking.

Although he was born and raised in San Diego, Nava's own family tree has its roots in Tijuana. Nava has said that he was raised in a border world that experienced a "tremendous clash between the cultures." It is this culture clash that dominates many of Nava's films, such as the acclaimed *El Norte* (1983), a story of a brother and sister who flee Guatemala during a military coup and move northward, first to Mexico and then to California. Their struggle to adapt to a new culture provides the film with its moving drama and conflict. Nava gained much of his filmmaking experience while a student at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) film school, where he made his promising first feature, *Confessions of Aman* (1973). Nearly all of his films have been collaborations with his wife and partner Anna Thomas, who acted as co-screenwriter and producer on *My Family, Mi Familia*.

Narrated by writer Paco (Edward James Olmos), one of José and María Sanchez's five children, *My Family, Mi Familia* begins when a teenaged José (Jacob Vargas) leaves his remote Mexican village in the 1920s to seek out his last surviving relative, an old man known as El Californio (Leon Singer), one of the state's original settlers. José finds work in Beverly Hills as a gardener for a wealthy family. There he meets and falls in love with their housekeeper María (played as a young woman by Jennifer Lopez). By the 1930s, the couple has made a life for themselves in California that includes two children and a third baby on the way. When the pregnant María (Jenny Gago) is mistaken for an illegal immigrant during a routine sweep, she is deported to Mexico and separated from José and their two children for nearly two years. Once they are reunited as a family, the Sanchez's story jumps to the late 1950s when their third child Chuco (Esai Morales), who has grown into a troubled and rebellious young adult, gets involved in a fight, kills a man, and is shot by the police in front of his younger brother Jimmy (played by Jonathan Hernandez and as an adult by Jimmy Smits). The family's story continues into the 1980s, and it traces the lives of the individual family members as they struggle with more sorrow and celebrate life's successes.

Masterfully photographed by cinematographer Edward Lachman, *My Family, Mi Familia* interweaves elements of magical realism (or dream realism, as Nava prefers to call the surreal stylization of films such as *Like Water for Chocolate*) within the epic story co-scripted by Nava and Thomas. Partly autobiographical and partly based on Nava's research of families living in East Los Angeles, the film also features mythical references including the pre-Columbian motif Ometeotl, or the creator couple, who are reflected in the characters of José and María. Bridges figure largely in the film as well, serving as literal and metaphorical images uniting different cultures, spaces, and characters.

*My Family, Mi Familia* received mixed critical reviews upon its release in 1995. The multi-generational story often was praised for its ambition but not always for its execution. The *San Francisco Chronicle* called it a "haunting, poignant, and joyful memoir," while *Sight & Sound* said, "Although three decades are covered . . . there is little sense of the complexities of the American immigrant experience."

Similarly, the *New York Times* review called the film "wildly uneven" but "grandly ambitious" and "warmhearted." Some critics argued that the film's themes are raised but never adequately addressed, and others suggested that the film reinforces Latino stereotypes of the patriarchal family and, through its narrative and stylistic choices, deprives the female characters of agency and action. Nearly all who wrote about *My Family, Mi Familia*, however, praised the film for its positive Latino portrayals. Nava's film received many accolades from community groups and national Latino organizations and won the prize for outstanding feature film at the National Council of La Raza Bravo Awards in 1995.

The film's bilingual title reflects both the filmmakers' desire to appeal to a broad audience and distributor New Line Cinema's fears that Anglo audiences would be disinterested in a film titled only in Spanish. In a rather bold marketing move, New Line launched an entirely Latino promotion that targeted specific cities and regions throughout the country. Traditionally, the Latino market is younger than average moviegoing audiences, and they are avid consumers of mass-market entertainment such as movies. Perhaps this statistic influenced the film's financial success: in its first week, *My Family, Mi Familia* had the number one per screen average across the country, earning more money during its opening weekend than any other film playing at that time. With a modest budget of \$5.5 million, the film had grossed nearly \$8 million by the end of 1995.

During an interview to promote the release of *My Family, Mi Familia*, Nava was quoted as saying, "We have to look to our roots to find our strength." The strengths of *My Family, Mi Familia* lie in its fictional exploration of one family's multicultural roots and each member's struggles to preserve their Latino heritage while making a better life for themselves within the often rigid culture of the United States. Nava believes the immigrant experience is one of great drama and conflict, and the story (and backstory) of *My Family, Mi Familia* reflects this experience.

—Alison Macor

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## My Lai Massacre

On March 16, 1968, in the wake of the Tet Offensive, American soldiers committed perhaps the most brutal, and certainly the most infamous, atrocity of the Vietnam War. The tragedy occurred in My Lai 4—one of several hamlets in Song My village in Quang Ngai province, a historic stronghold of the National Liberation Front. During an uneventful search-and-destroy mission, members of Charlie Company, First Battalion, 20th Infantry Division, commanded by Lieutenant William Calley Jr., massacred from 300 to 500 unarmed,

unresisting Vietnamese women, children, and elderly men. They raped, sodomized, and mutilated many of their victims. Once the full story of My Lai reached the American public, it reshaped how they viewed the war, and, in no small way, how they understood their own hallowed history. My Lai seared America's collective memory with seemingly indisputable proof that American behavior often failed to live up to its self-righteous rhetoric.

Remarkably, initial press reports presented the "battle" of My Lai in a positive light. Misled by army publicity reports, one news agency even spoke of an "impressive victory" by American soldiers. The army's misinformation represented only part of a systematic cover-up. The entire chain of command related to the massacre, from Capt. Ernest Medina of Charlie Company through the division commander, Maj. Gen. Samuel Koster, imposed neither corrective nor punitive measures despite their awareness of the events at My Lai. Not until a year later, when in the spring of 1969 ex-GI Ronald Ridenhour requested the House Armed Services Committee to explore rumors of mass killings, did the army initiate an investigation. Even then, however, the army conspired to downplay the massacre.

If not for Seymour Hersh, a freelance investigative reporter, the army's indictment of a single soldier would have been the last Americans ever heard about My Lai. Pursuing the army's low-key announcement of Lt. William Calley's indictment, Hersh uncovered the full story of the massacre, which the *New York Times* published on November 13, 1969. For weeks thereafter, My Lai dominated news reports across the nation. CBS and other networks aired confessions by soldiers who had participated. *Life* magazine, calling My Lai "a story of indisputable horror," published ten pages of gut-wrenching photographs of the massacre in process.

Although it had taken over a year and a half, the massacre of My Lai, in all its graphic detail, had become a household topic of conversation. Never before had ordinary Americans directly confronted the brutality of their own soldiers. For some, My Lai confirmed their worst fears about America's war in Vietnam. For others, My Lai contradicted not just their vision of the war in Vietnam, but also a longstanding American tradition of depicting the enemy, whether Indians, Nazis, Japanese, or Vietnamese, as the perpetrators of heinous atrocities—not typical American "boys."

Either way, Hersh's story set off a maelstrom of controversy. Americans responded with both denial and outrage. Despite the evidence, many Americans refused to accept that American soldiers, and by extension, America itself, could commit such barbarous crimes. A December 1969 poll, for instance, found that 49 percent of Minnesotans felt the story was false. Congressman John R. Rarick from Louisiana dubbed My Lai a "massacre hoax." Even President Nixon referred to My Lai as an "isolated incident." Others, however, charged that My Lai typified a brutal war of muddled tactics and flawed strategy. Many veterans of the war, welcoming the opportunity that My Lai presented, came forward with other similar stories, suggesting that civilian killings typified the fighting. Spurred by this controversy, the Army appointed Lt. Gen. William R. Peers to head a full-scale investigation of My Lai. The Peers Commission indicted 25 Americans: 13, including Calley, for war crimes; 12 for the cover-up. Sentenced to life imprisonment for murder, only Calley was convicted. Legal appeals on his behalf lasted for years afterwards.

Much of the cultural response to My Lai cut across ideological lines, focusing more on how the war had corrupted typical American

"boys" than on the massacre's real victims. A *Time* poll showed that events like My Lai concerned only 35 percent of Americans. Calley's plight, however, became a *cause celebre*, especially among those who saw him as a scapegoat for the Army and U.S. government. Veterans groups called for leniency. State legislatures passed resolutions of support. "Free Calley" bumper stickers appeared. A pro-Calley song, "The Battle Hymn of Lt. Calley," sold 200,000 copies in three days. Sensing the political winds, President Nixon intervened on Calley's behalf. The public sympathy for Calley, who was released on parole in 1974, epitomized Americans' obsession with what the war had done to them—as well as their general disregard for what the U.S. had inflicted upon Vietnam. The theme of the exploited or psychologically scarred Vietnam veteran became a narrative fixture in later cinematic treatments of the war, common to both anti-war films like *Deerhunter* (1978) and *Coming Home* (1978) as well as to conservative films like *Rambo*.

My Lai and American war tragedies in Vietnam also found their way into popular culture, but at first only through analogy. Two movies—*Little Big Man* (1970) and *Soldier Blue* (1970)—recreated U.S. army massacres of native Americans during the nineteenth century. While such movies clearly emerged in response to the war in Vietnam, they seemed to open all of American history to reinterpretation. Eventually, more direct treatment of American atrocities became a common, if often secondary, feature of Vietnam films. Not until Brian De Palma's *Casualties of War* (1989) did a My Lai-type atrocity become the driving story of a film. The film, which refueled the debate on the legacy of the war, recounts the story of an American platoon that kidnaps, gang-rapes, and murders a Vietnamese woman during a search-and-destroy mission. The film is perhaps best understood as rebuke to conservative revisionism of the Reagan era, calling into question Reagan's claim that the war should be considered a "noble crusade." After My Lai, Americans had to work harder to convince themselves that they were indeed the same shining "City upon a Hill" that John Winthrop spoke of in 1630 as he led anxious Puritans towards life in the new world.

—Tom Robertson

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## *My So-Called Life*

Network television programming has often been criticized for being collectively shallow, insipid, and fashioned to appeal to the mentality of an ill-educated pre-adolescent. One refreshing exception



Claire Danes and Jared Leto in a scene from *My So-Called Life*.

was *My So-Called Life*, an original and intelligent dramatic portrayal of the world of contemporary teenagers that aired briefly in the mid-1990s. The show is set in Three Rivers, a fictional Pittsburgh suburb. Its heroine, Angela Chase (Claire Danes), is a 15-year-old sophomore at Liberty High School. Angela attempts to deal with her “so-called life”—her adolescent anxieties, quest for identity, relationships with peers, and her views of parents and authority figures. Patty and Graham Chase, Angela’s mom and dad, are not the one-dimensional adults that are staples in teen-oriented Hollywood movies and television shows. Instead, they are a realistically depicted fortysomething couple who face their own problems and crises. It is just this sort of realism that made the show popular with a small group of fans during the cynical 1990s.

*My So-Called Life*, produced by Marshall Herskovitz and Edward Zwick, premiered on ABC on August 25, 1994. It earned positive reviews and quickly developed a cult following. Unfortunately, its ratings were unimpressive and *My So-Called Life* had come to television at a time when new shows were axed if they did not immediately earn big ratings. In December, ABC announced that the show would be cancelled. Had the network allowed it to gestate and build an audience, however, its ratings would likely have improved. After all, numerous classic television shows of an earlier time—including *M.A.S.H.*, *All in the Family*, *Hill Street Blues*, and *Cheers*—started out with low ratings. But *My So-Called Life* would not be so lucky; reruns of its 19 episodes began airing on MTV (Music Television) the following April.

—Rob Edelman

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## *My Three Sons*

One of the longest-running and most popular sitcoms in television history, *My Three Sons* offered a cultural anodyne to the turbulent events that characterized America during the 1960s, presenting “wholesome” family entertainment. The series revolved around an all-male household facing the trials and tribulations of life in suburbia in the 1960s. The series, which ran from 1960 to 1972, was one of television’s first single-parent sitcoms. It starred Fred MacMurray as Steve Douglas, a widowed aeronautical engineer, raising his three boys in a motherless household. When the series began the boys were Mike (18), Robbie (14), and Richard or “Chip” (seven). Also in the home was the kids’ gruff but lovable grandfather, Michael Francis “Bub” O’Casey, who moved in to cook and clean for the family. He was played by veteran character actor William Frawley, best known for his portrayal of Fred Mertz on *I Love Lucy*. In the course of its long run, the series’ structure changed several times as members of the Douglas clan were added or subtracted. However, its tone always remained comfortingly “square.”

According to authors Harry Castleman and Walter Podrazik, actor Fred MacMurray came to symbolize the classic idealized television father. They wrote, “[MacMurray] exudes, revels in, and virtually defines bland TV fatherhood in the role of Steve Douglas. He stands as an edifice, a monument to an age of simplicity, both on TV and in our pristine national image of ourselves.” Ironically, this man who played television’s most attentive father had no interest in a TV career. He had been a popular and successful movie actor, whose career had begun in the 1930s and included roles in several classic movies, notably the lead in *Double Indemnity* (1944), and the cause of Jack Lemmon’s troubles in *The Apartment* (1960). MacMurray also gained pop culture immortality as the facial model for *Captain Marvel*, the 1940s comic book super-hero who exclaimed the magic word “Shazam.” Upon being approached to headline a series called *The Fred MacMurray Show*, the star refused, saying he did not wish to devote his time to the medium. To persuade him to reconsider, the producers altered the show’s name to *My Three Sons* to reflect the increased emphasis on the children and, when he accepted, they accommodated his contractual requirements by implementing the unique “MacMurray System” shooting schedule. MacMurray agreed to work only for 65 days in any one season of the show, so all episodes were written far in advance and filmed out of sequence. MacMurray would then, for example, tape all the year’s scenes set in the family kitchen in one afternoon. The cast would then shoot their scenes around the “missing” MacMurray months later.

Despite its chaotic shooting schedule, the series always portrayed a stable and loving family whose problems were usually minor. All the lead characters had backgrounds in “family entertainment” emphasizing the show’s approach and increasing its audience appeal. MacMurray and his eldest TV son, Tim Considine (Mike), had starred in several Disney productions; Don Grady (Robbie) had been a Mouseketeer in the 1950s *Mickey Mouse Club*, and even little Stanley Livingston (Chip) had appeared in several episodes of *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*. The boys were “good kids” who never caused serious difficulties for their dad, and the storylines centered on their growing pains and their father’s occasional romances. The

series' tone was always kept light, with barely a mention of the family's late wife and mother. Furthermore, references to such 1960s strife as political assassinations, Vietnam, and increased drug use among the nation's youth were completely avoided. When the imperfect reality of the outside world was allowed to intrude on the Douglas family, it was generally as a benign acknowledgment of changing trends, demonstrated by such innocuous events as Chip's decision to wear a Beatles' haircut.

During its run, the series underwent several important cast and format changes. The ailing William Frawley left the show in 1964 and was replaced by the even grouchier Uncle Charley, played by William Demarest; and, in 1965, Tim Considine asked to leave his role as the eldest son. When he departed the show, the plot had MacMurray adopting a local orphan named Ernie—played by Barry Livingston, the real-life brother of Stanley—to keep the series title accurate. Eventually the entire family moved to California where father Steve and sons Robbie and Chip all got married. In 1968, Robbie's wife Katie gave birth to triplets, named Steve, Charley, and Robbie II. Once again, there were three Douglas boys. Even the all-male family format that served as the series' original basis was abandoned as Steve's new wife moved in with her own daughter, Dodie. The strangest twist of the show occurred in 1972 when MacMurray took on a second role as Lord Fergus McBain Douglas, a Scottish cousin in search of a wife. With such an extended cast, episodes could only feature selected members of the growing Douglas family each week. The show was canceled in 1972, but returned in 1977 for a reunion special. Fred MacMurray died in 1991.

Few television programs have better represented the perfect family ideal. In *My Three Sons*, the kids were decent, the father dependable, and even the grandfather had a soft heart beneath his crusty exterior. Fred MacMurray and company presented good, clean entertainment suitable for the entire family throughout an increasingly troubled era. Along with programs like *Bachelor Father* and *The Andy Griffith Show*, it paved the way for later domestic comedies featuring single-parent households and demonstrated that sitcom audiences would accept a program without a traditional nuclear family as its center. The Douglas's may not have physically fit the "Ozzie and Harriet" mold, but they held the same values, ideals, and gentle good humor.

—Charles Coletta

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## Nader, Ralph (1934—)

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Activist Ralph Nader became twentieth-century America's prime crusader in matters of serious public concern. Since the mid-1960s his name has been synonymous with consumer protection and, although the consumer rights movement did not originate with him, he publicly expanded, publicized, and legitimized it. Nader elected a broad focus for his cause with the basic goal of protecting the individual citizen from corporate might, concentrating not merely on one issue of public concern, but seeking out the effects of profit-motivated industry on the public in many different arenas, from water pollution and airline safety to insurance, free trade, and law.

Born the son of Lebanese immigrants and raised in Winstead, Connecticut, Nader graduated from Princeton University in 1955 and got his law degree from Harvard in 1958. While in law school, his studies of auto injury cases sparked his interest in unsafe automobile



Ralph Nader

designs. He practiced law in Connecticut until 1963, when he moved to Washington, D.C., and got a job as a consultant with the U.S. Department of Labor. In 1965, he published his landmark work, *Unsafe at Any Speed*, a critique of the American automobile industry. Using the General Motors Corvair as his prime example, Nader cited low safety standards, and the failure of car manufacturers to devote a sufficient amount of their profits to safety research, as the cause of many accidents.

His research, and the publication of its results, led directly to the passage of the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act in 1966, which gave the government the power to set safety standards for all vehicles sold in the United States. Nader then turned his attention to other consumer issues. Working with a team of committed lawyers who were soon known as “Nader’s Raiders,” he published dozens of studies calling for government regulation of a wide-ranging list of disturbing consumer issues. These included baby food, insecticide, mercury poisoning, banking, and many more. In 1969, Nader founded the Center for Responsive Law for the continuing investigation of many aspects of modern life, including the health hazards of mining and nursing home abuse. Nader’s Raiders put their investigative noses into every corner of the industrial and corporate world, highlighting injustices, illegalities, and dangers, and incurring the enmity of many captains of industry and commerce.

In the mid-1970s, Nader sponsored the “Critical Mass” conferences about the dangers of nuclear power, which produced the ongoing Critical Mass Energy Project. In 1988, he helped to secure the passage of a California initiative to reduce the cost of automobile insurance, and in the 1990s he began taking on the computer industry, fighting the monopolistic practices of many of the big corporations. The work of Nader and his colleagues is responsible for the creation of many concerned consumer groups, including Congress Watch, Public Citizen, Commercial Alert, the Center for Auto Safety, the National Insurance Consumer Organization, and the Health Research Organization.

Though he said, “The most important office in America for anyone to achieve is full-time citizen,” in 1996 Ralph Nader ran for the presidency of the United States. He didn’t expect to win, but to call attention to the lack of real debate between the major party candidates, whom he called, “a Corporate Party with two heads wearing different makeup.” Running on a platform that expounded on the need to fight corporate crime and oppose multinational corporations “whose only allegiance is to profit,” Nader was not permitted to participate in the nationally televised candidate debates. Despite Democratic fears that Nader’s candidacy would draw votes away from Bill Clinton, the Democratic incumbent won handily. A number of traditional Democrat supporters did vote for Nader, however, if only to express their dissatisfaction with the party’s lack of response to the concerns of working people.

Nader’s landmark work for the rights of consumers has made his name a household word throughout the United States and abroad. Even those who disagree with his politics acknowledge him as a sharp watchdog on industry. His methodology—employing fact-finding investigations, published reports, and lawsuits followed by lobbying—has become a model for action in the public interest movement. A deeply committed activist, he has eschewed a celebrity lifestyle in favor of legendary thriftiness, living in a tiny apartment in the town

where he grew up and refusing to own a car. Describing his work, Ralph Nader has said he wishes to promote “citizen action against the growth of the corporate state and its political and economic disenfranchisement of the public.”

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Nagel, Patrick (1945-1984)

Painter, illustrator, and graphic artist Patrick Nagel came to prominence around 1980 with works influenced by fashion photography, Art Deco poster art of the 1920s and 1930s, and Japanese woodblock prints. Born in Dayton, Ohio, Nagel grew up in the Los Angeles area, where he spent most of his life. He studied art at the Chouinard Art Institute, and in 1969 received his bachelor of fine arts degree from California State University at Fullerton. After first working as a freelance artist he joined ABC-TV in 1971, where he produced television graphics for promotion and news broadcasts. After a year, he returned to freelance assignments, accepting commissions from major corporations and magazines, including IBM, ITT, United Artists, MGM, Universal Studios, *Architectural Digest*, *Rolling Stone*, *Oui*, and *Harpers*. From 1976 he illustrated the *Playboy* column “The Playboy Advisor.”

Although he produced over sixty different graphic editions during his lifetime, he was best known for the “Nagel women,” idealized portraits of fashionable young women who exuded both a sense of style and an alluring mystery. Perhaps inspired by Nagel's wife, the model Jennifer Dumas, these silk-screened limited edition prints quickly won him an international reputation. Often used in advertisements, they marked a decided turn away from the visual trends of the late 1960s and 1970s. Nagel's crisp lines and flat, cool colors were quite unlike that period's busy, neo-Baroque “psychedelic” poster art. Nagel attempted to depict the new, confident woman of the 1980s, one secure with her sexuality, yet simultaneously slightly distanced and aloof. Almost always shown with ghostly white skin, red lipstick, and short black hair, this “Nagel woman” proved a narrow but extremely popular vision. His first solo show of painted works sold out in fifteen minutes. In 1982 the rock band Duran Duran invited Nagel to design the cover for its number-one selling album, *Rio*.

Many celebrities, including Joan Collins, posed for Nagel's paintings, attracted perhaps by his rare sense of an almost austere glamour. After his untimely death in 1984, *Playboy* published in its January 1985 issue an homage to Nagel the artist and Nagel the man. His work can be found in the permanent collections of the Library of

Congress, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Musée des Arts Decoratifs and the Musée de L’Affiche, in Paris.

—Vance Bell

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## Naismith, James (1861-1939)

Dr. James Naismith would no doubt be astounded to see the degree to which the game he invented in the late nineteenth century has changed and evolved. As it was, Naismith—during his remarkable life—saw the game transformed from one in which people tried to throw a ball into a peach basket to one in which athletic players competed at an extremely high level. As Glenn Dickey has noted in his book *The History of Professional Basketball Since 1896*, basketball is “the only true American game,” as there existed nothing even remotely resembling basketball until Naismith invented the game in 1891 in Springfield, Massachusetts. Naismith's invention grew out a need to help fulfill a curriculum requirement at the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) Training School where he taught; students there were required to exercise for one hour per day. While students played football in the fall and baseball in the spring, they had no winter sport and had to resort to one hour per day of calisthenics, which was extremely unpopular. Little did Naismith know that he would not only fill that hour with a more enjoyable activity, but he would also create one of the twentieth century's most popular sports.

Naismith's life prior to landing in Springfield was a rather bumpy one. He was born in Ontario, Canada, and dropped out of high school in his mid-teens, feeling that further education was not necessary for his future. He began working as a lumberjack to support his brother and sister. After five years of work, Naismith decided that he needed to return to school to advance himself and, in 1881, he reentered high school, beginning with his second year. After graduation from high school, he decided to enter a university, despite family opposition. His uncle, who had taken over care of the Naismith children following the death of both of their parents from typhoid fever in 1870, wanted James to stay and help run the family farm.

Despite his uncle's opposition, Naismith attended McGill University in Montreal, where he became involved in athletics, particularly rugby. Naismith also excelled in academics, graduating with a degree in philosophy and Hebrew in 1887; he was named one of the top ten students in his class. Following his graduation, Naismith decided to pursue a theological education at Presbyterian College, a school which was affiliated with McGill. Upon finishing his theological work, Naismith decided, in 1890, to move to Springfield to take part in the recently founded International Young Men's Christian Association Training School, created to train laymen in the promotion of Christian ideas.

As Bernice Larson Webb notes in her book *The Basketball Man: James Naismith*, the guiding ideas of the YMCA Training School



were “A sound mind in a sound body,” and that sports could be used to build character. According to Webb, Naismith wholeheartedly agreed with this philosophy and ardently wanted to be one of the men who spread it. Naismith took a position as a physical education instructor in Springfield, where he taught until the summer of 1895, after which he moved to Denver, Colorado, to serve as physical education director for the Denver YMCA.

Naismith first began to formulate the principles of basketball in an attempt to help satisfy the needs of a group of students in a class in the Training School’s Secretarial Department—many of the older men in the class became bored with the exercises they were forced to do to fulfill the school’s physical education requirement. Because the activity had to take place indoors, Naismith realized that he needed to create a game in which running, due to lack of space, and tackling, because of wooden floors, were kept to a minimum. To solve this dilemma, he came up with the idea that players should try to throw a ball into a peach basket, with passing the ball between players used to replace tackling. While the rules of basketball evolved to a great extent, Naismith had come up with the game’s basic principles.

Following his YMCA career in Denver and Springfield, Naismith became the first in a long line of famous coaches at the University of Kansas, which has had one of the most successful basketball programs in the country. When Naismith arrived in 1898 as the University’s physical education and religious director, the school did not yet have a basketball program. He coached the Jayhawks from 1898 to 1907, where he had the dubious honor of being the only coach in Kansas history to compile a losing record; his teams won 55 games and lost 60.

Because he had an interest in helping to promote other sports programs at Kansas and never became obsessed with basketball, Naismith handed the coaching reins over to F.C. “Phog” Allen in 1907. Additionally, according to his biographer Bernice Webb, Naismith was “noticeably uninterested” in coaching basketball and was more concerned with building players’ character and physical fortitude than he was with winning games. Naismith was apparently also unhappy with many of the changes which were occurring in the game he invented. He is quoted in the “Century of Basketball” section of the University of Kansas basketball webpage as saying “Oh, my gracious. They are murdering my game . . .” in response to the physical play he witnessed in a 1910 game between Kansas and Missouri.

In addition to the inventing the game of basketball, Naismith also invented the football helmet. When playing football in Springfield, he frequently complained of receiving ear bruises. To help alleviate the problem, he cut a football lengthwise and began wearing it on his head. The innovation not only prevented injuries, but more significantly it fostered the further development of the game of football.

Naismith and his wife Maude, whom he married in June 1894, had three daughters. Naismith retired from the University of Kansas faculty in 1937. He died in 1939 at the age of 78. The National Basketball Hall of Fame in Springfield is named for Naismith, and he was inducted into the Hall in 1959.

—Jason George

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## Namath, Joe (1943—)

“I guarantee it!” Joe Willie Namath’s outlandish promise, made poolside in the days preceding the 1969 Super Bowl, angered his own head coach, infuriated his opponents, and helped bring the spirit of the 1960s counterculture into sports. When the New York Jets backed up their 25-year-old quarterback’s “guarantee” with a 16-7 upset over the highly favored Baltimore Colts, the new American Football League gained credibility and sealed the success of the upcoming NFL-AFL merger.

While “Broadway Joe” never challenged “establishment” social structures in the manner of the draft-resisting, poetry-spouting boxer Muhammad Ali, his hedonistic “make love, not war” lifestyle infused the strait-laced atmosphere of professional football with an entirely alien cultural attitude. An openly promiscuous user of adults-only substances (he preferred Johnnie Walker Red Label) who partied all night, Namath simply admitted to behavior usually indulged in secrecy by more clean-cut (and more married) jocks. While Namath apparently never smoked pot and his tastes in music (Glen Campbell, The Fifth Dimension) were decidedly not hip, his abhorrence for hypocrisy was a lightning bolt that shattered the value system of professional sports.

Born Joseph William Namath in the steel mill town of Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania on May 31, 1943, the young athlete excelled in many different sports from a very early age. He played high school basketball and was offered a professional baseball contract upon graduation. He decided to play football instead, and he applied to Penn State. However, he failed to attain the minimum score on his college entrance exams and had to settle for the University of Alabama who was interested in the young quarterback and less academically demanding.

Initially, Namath disliked Alabama, disliked most of the people, disliked the prevailing attitudes to skin color, and generally felt alien and isolated. He was not only a swarthy-complexioned son of Hungarian immigrants, but maintained close friendships with African Americans. The Alabama classmates who referred to him as a “nigger-lover” had noted this, while some of his teammates were also resentful because legendary head coach Paul “Bear” Bryant seemed to take Namath under his wing.

By 1964, when Namath finished his final and successful senior year at Alabama, the old New York Titans of the new American Football League had a new owner and a new name, the New York Jets. Entertainment mogul Sonny Werblin had purchased the team, promptly decided that sports should be considered a glitzy form of entertainment, and thus needed a star. Joe Namath left a rather checkered career behind him at Alabama. He was, at one point, suspended from the football squad for directing traffic in downtown Tuscaloosa while intoxicated. Known as something of a rogue, Namath was also a superb and fearless quarterback who liked to take chances both on and off the field. Werblin had found his star. He gave Namath a record-breaking \$427,000 contract, including a lavish signing bonus and jobs for the player’s brothers, making him truly the



Joe Namath (middle) in Super Bowl III.

first bonus baby in sports. Werblin's lavish terms were offered despite Namath's questionable athletic future; the quarterback underwent knee surgery immediately after his senior season.

Namath's first few years with the Jets were more notable for his off-the-field activities than for his quarterbacking. His hair was alarmingly long, he had numerous girlfriends, and spent many nights drinking and hobnobbing with sportswriters and celebrities in New York City. On one occasion he got into a fist fight with a writer at a club and was fined by the team; on another, he and his African-American teammate Winston Hill tried unsuccessfully to room together during a mid-1960s exhibition game in Birmingham, Alabama. Namath appeared utterly unconcerned with whatever accepted standards of propriety he considered hypocritical, no matter where or to what they applied.

In 1966, the old National Football League negotiated a deal with the new American Football League; each year the champions of each league would face-off in a game called the "Super Bowl," and they agreed to cooperate in matters of drafting and signing players. They planned on an eventual merger, but many were skeptical as to whether the new AFL teams were seriously competitive. The legendary Green Bay Packers, an NFL team, captured the first two Super Bowls. In 1968, Joe Namath and his New York Jets won the American Football League title and earned the right to play in the third Super Bowl.

After the Jets' shocking January 12, 1969, victory over the NFL's Colts, and the enormous publicity accorded Namath's outlandish and entertaining pre-game behavior and comments, the merger was secure. The NFL absorbed the AFL, along with many of the new attitudes toward the sport exemplified by Joe Namath. Then, in the summer of 1969, just as the two leagues were about to merge, Joe Namath stunned the sports world by announcing his retirement from football at the tender age of 26. He had by then bought his own club, the "Bachelors Three," and Football Commissioner Pete Rozelle had offered Namath an ultimatum: sell your nightclub, which Rozelle claimed was frequented by "undesirables," or face indefinite suspension. At a much-publicized press conference held at his club, Namath tearfully said that he had to follow his conscience and leave the game behind. Before the beginning of the new season, though, he reconsidered, sold the club, and went to training camp. He later said a compromise plan worked out between Rozelle and his own attorneys "was against all my instincts."

Namath continued to play for the Jets through the 1976 season, when chronic injuries and age convinced the team to place him on waivers. The Los Angeles Rams picked him up for one more season, and he retired in 1977 at the age of 34.

—Robin Markowitz

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## Nancy Drew

When Edward Stratemeyer conceived of the Nancy Drew Mystery Stories in 1929, he envisioned a girls' version of his popular Hardy Boys series. He hoped it would prove successful, but he could not have foreseen that it would fast become the bestselling juvenile series in the country (originally targeted for 10-to-15-year-olds and later for 8-to-11-year-olds), and would eventually gain renown as the longest-running series of children's fiction in American history. Nancy Drew even conquered foreign shores: first appearing in Norway in the late 1930s, by the 1980s she had been translated into over a dozen different languages. In Nancy Drew, Edward Stratemeyer did not merely create a series of books, he created an enduring cross-cultural icon.

Ghostwriter Mildred Wirt had already worked for the Stratemeyer Syndicate, contributing to a well-established series. When she was assigned the first volumes of Nancy Drew, Wirt was glad for the opportunity to create a new character from scratch. With only a short outline to limit her, she had the freedom to sculpt Nancy as self-reliant and courageous, traits she felt were lacking in girls' fiction of the day. Her manuscripts featured a forthright teenager who was the intellectual superior of the adults around her, and was possessed of a fierce determination. As Wirt later told the story, Stratemeyer liked her work but thought she had made Nancy too flippant. The publishers did not share his reservations, and the first three volumes were published in 1930 under the pseudonym "Carolyn Keene."

Stratemeyer died soon after Nancy Drew's debut, stricken by pneumonia, and the operations of his business fell to his daughters. Harriet Stratemeyer Adams and Edna Stratemeyer assumed control of newborn Nancy Drew. Between their plots and Mildred Wirt's prose, the characteristics that made Nancy Drew popular took shape. From the first, Nancy Drew was remarkable for her physical and mechanical acumen. She could row a boat to safety in a violent storm, change flat tires, and solve other automotive problems. In these respects she resembled the Hardy Boys, but Nancy was not merely a male character in the guise of a girl, she was popular because she performed manly tasks without losing her femininity. Sixteen-year-old Nancy wears lovely clothes, comports herself like a lady, and demonstrates skill in the domestic arts by running the Drew home and supervising housekeeper Hannah Gruen (Mrs. Drew died when Nancy was a child). By combining traditionally male and female behavioral traits, Nancy presented a model of womanhood radically different from what readers saw in other children's books.

The beguiling combination of masculine and feminine effects even the series' literary style. The crimes committed in Nancy's hometown of River Heights are less hard-edged than those found in

their predecessors, the Hardy Boys books; they center on the loss of wealth or relatives, suffered by genteel characters. Nancy spends much of her time—when she is not crawling through damp basement tunnels—in Victorian drawing rooms, moated castles, and lush gardens. She captures counterfeiters, but she also specializes in reuniting long-lost sweethearts. She finds clues in love songs, heirlooms, and artwork. In sum, Nancy's narratives offer action and thrills similar to those in boys' books, but couched in a decidedly feminine atmosphere.

Another profitable paradox in the Nancy Drew series is the depiction of Nancy herself. Although merely a teenager (she eventually ages to 18), she is the co-custodian of the Drew domain with her father, famous attorney Carson Drew. This relationship is the stuff of fantasy for girl readers. Carson treats Nancy like his equal, seeking her advice on cases and entrusting her with total freedom. With no mother in the way, and a servant as the series' sole older woman, Nancy may define womanhood as she pleases. She is the lady of the house and the mother of her own identity. When she needs them, however, she also enjoys the protections of a child's life. She may run the household, but she does not pay the property taxes; her reliable Dad handles all economic concerns, even buying her new cars when villains steal or sabotage hers. Nancy also finds a mother-surrogate in housekeeper Hannah, who loves her yet is never high-handed. Thus Nancy (and, by extension, her audience) enjoys the best of both worlds, free to be both an adult and a child.

As was the case with all other popular products of the Stratemeyer Syndicate, Nancy's popularity did not extend to librarians, many of whom refused to stock her volumes on their shelves because of the

series' numerous literary shortcomings. But if any flaw spoiled the experience of reading Nancy Drew for girls, it was not the books' flatly formulaic structure; it was the utter perfection of their heroine. Balanced between her friends Bess and George, girls who are caricatures of creampuff and tomboy, Nancy is repeatedly drawn as the golden mean between extremes. Every volume has Nancy performing some outlandish combination of feats that no human girl could manage. As Bobbie Ann Mason observed in *The Girl Sleuth*, "Nancy is so accomplished that she can lie bound and gagged in a dank basement or snowed-in cabin for as much as twenty-four hours without freezing to death or wetting her pants." While millions of girls loved the vicarious thrills of attaining zeniths with Nancy, a significant minority found her inhuman perfection off-putting, and preferred to read more realistic series of girls' mysteries—most of which had begun as imitators of Nancy Drew. Her prodigious accomplishments, unflinching luck, and ever-cheerful attitude left Nancy vulnerable to the wicked wit of satirists. Since the 1970s, Nancy and her friends have frequently been skewered in the press, in fiction, and on stage.

The basic qualities of the Nancy Drew series remained fairly constant despite changes in the books' production process. After writing all but three of the original novels, Mildred Wirt left the series permanently in 1953. The Stratemeyer Syndicate produced subsequent Nancy Drew books with other ghostwriters, and Harriet Adams wrote several volumes herself. Also in the 1950s, Adams began revising and rewriting the older titles in all her major series, to make them more attractive to younger readers and to remove their overt racism. The combined effects of the revisions and the loss of the original ghostwriter altered the flavor of the Nancy Drew series. In one notable change, Nancy lost some of her independence. After the 1950s Nancy became more submissive to authority figures and traveled more often in a group with her boyfriend Ned and other friends, thus minimizing the courage and the risk-taking that highlighted her solo escapades.

The biggest changes, however, came after publishers Simon & Schuster purchased the Syndicate in 1984, following Harriet Adams' death. After slightly updating Nancy's image in the core series, the publishers launched a string of spin-off series aimed at different age groups. In 1986 the Nancy Drew Files revised Nancy for 12-to-14-year-old audiences. A sexy teenager with a passion for trendy clothes and handsome boys, this Nancy was a departure from her earlier image. The mysteries were more sophisticated as well, now including murders for the first time. A series designed for much younger girls, the Nancy Drew Notebooks debuted in 1994, featuring a grade school Nancy. Older teens could read the Nancy Drew on Campus series, in which Nancy attends college and confronts such controversial issues as date rape, drug use, and pre-marital sex (though Nancy herself does not participate in any unwholesome behavior). Further splintering of Nancy's image came with the Nancy Drew and Hardy Boys Supermysteries, a series in which Nancy teams with Frank and Joe Hardy to solve cases. All of these ancillary series were produced while the core series continued to grow.

Simon & Schuster's aggressive handling of Nancy Drew gave her more visibility than she had previously enjoyed. Despite her immediate popularity, Nancy Drew was not greatly exploited in earlier decades, owing partly to Harriet Adams' protectiveness. Often referring to Nancy as "my fictional daughter," Adams discouraged

interpretations of the character which she found inappropriate. This may explain why very little merchandise was produced for Nancy Drew. The late 1950s did see a popular board game, and in 1967 the Madame Alexander doll company produced a Nancy Drew doll. But Adams disapproved of it, and it was withdrawn from circulation.

Nancy Drew did not fare much better as a screen-character. In the late 1930s Warner Bros. produced four films featuring teen actress Bonita Granville. The comic movies made Nancy appear younger and sillier than she did in the books, and were not big successes. Nancy Drew did not reappear onscreen until 1977, when the Hardy Boys/Nancy Drew Mysteries debuted on ABC-television, starring Pamela Sue Martin as Nancy. The Hardy Boys half of the series was bolstered by the teen-idol status of its actors, but the Nancy Drew episodes were less successful and garnered low ratings. The producers canceled the Nancy Drew series, instead using Nancy as a recurring character in the Hardy Boys episodes. Disliking the arrangement, Martin left and was briefly replaced by Janet Louise Johnson, but Nancy's character was soon eliminated altogether. It took nearly 20 years for the character to be televised again; in 1995, Canadian production company Nelvana introduced two syndicated series about Nancy Drew and the Hardy Boys. After conducting a cast search on the Internet as well as through more conventional channels, the producers hired Tracy Ryan to play Nancy. Both series failed to find an audience, and disappeared after only one season.

Success eluded Nancy Drew as a filmed character, but her fame as a fictional heroine made her more than a household word. Beginning in the early 1970s, something of a Nancy Drew renaissance occurred in the media. The feminist movement adopted Nancy as one of its matron saints, producing a string of articles about the plucky girl detective in such magazines as *Ms.* and *Vogue*. Encomiums appeared in nostalgia magazines and scholarly journals. National newspapers reported the grassroots formation of a Nancy Drew fan club in 1974. Prominent public women admitted that Nancy Drew had influenced their career paths.

Reporters frequently interviewed Harriet Adams, who demonstrated her close connection to Nancy Drew by claiming to be the series' sole author. The result of her publicity statements is that virtually everything written about Nancy Drew before the 1990s—even, unfortunately, entries in reference books—contains misleading information. Mildred Wirt did not receive widespread public recognition until her alma mater, the University of Iowa, hosted a Nancy Drew conference in 1993 and invited Wirt—by then, Mildred Wirt Benson—to appear. The conference received national press coverage and its proceedings were published in *Rediscovering Nancy Drew*, thus making accurate information about Nancy Drew's authorship easily available.

By the late 1990s Nancy Drew was living a triple life. Still in print for children, she also became an increasingly popular subject of analysis in college Humanities departments, as well as remaining a leading figure with adult collectors of nostalgia and rare books. Several webpages devoted to Nancy appeared on the Internet, and in 1998 she became the heroine of a CD-ROM game. Some of Simon & Schuster's spin-off Nancy Drew series were canceled during the same period, and the vicissitudes of children's publishing make it difficult to predict what kind of a future Nancy can expect in a world where independent heroines have become the norm. Nancy Drew may eventually be out-performed by competitors who owe their existence

to her. Her place in the history of popular culture, however, has been assured by her influence on the industry of children's fiction and on the lives of millions of readers.

—Ilana Nash

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## NASA

Whether it be through film or print, Americans have always been fascinated with space travel. Stories range from the more mainstream exploration of space to "far-out" depictions of alien abductions and other encounters with creatures from another world. Much of our fascination with space has come out of the work of NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration), which was established in 1958 as an agency of the United States Government. With ten facilities—including the Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center in Houston, Texas and the main launch facilities at Cape Canaveral, Florida—NASA's purpose is to coordinate and conduct aeronautical and space research.

With the Soviet launching of Sputnik 1, the first artificial satellite, in October 1957, Americans became concerned about the apparent "technological gap" between the two world powers. In an attempt to bridge this gap, America launched its own satellite and established NASA. NASA quickly brought the "space race" to national attention as it sought to fulfill President John F. Kennedy's challenge to reach the moon before 1970.

Americans watched these events with a childlike fascination. A new frontier was about to be conquered. Cowboys, soldiers, and sports figures were replaced by America's new heroes, the seven astronauts chosen for the first manned space program, Project Mercury. NASA's work ignited tremendous excitement in the nation.



The space shuttle *Columbia*.

Children played with spaceships, wore space helmets, and fired ray guns. Indeed, families even made trips to Cape Canaveral making it clear that our fascination with space was not just a fleeting one.

The world of popular culture would eventually catch up, and profit from, this fascination. Television programs such as *Men Into Space* and *The Twilight Zone* became popular as Americans anticipated the first manned flight, not knowing exactly what to expect. Science fiction movies and comic books, already popular since the days of Buck Rogers and Flash Gordon serials, became even more popular. They pictured astronauts traveling into space, landing on hostile worlds, battling aliens, and encountering dangers that threatened mankind. Even Disneyland had its own World of Tomorrow. NASA sparked America's imagination by opening a frontier that had only been a dream.

Excitement was also mixed with fear. Some people who knew the families of astronauts wondered how they could let their sons go into space and bring back a deadly disease. Others objected because they believed that God never intended people to leave earth. But NASA launched two successful sub-orbital flights and then placed John Glenn into orbit. In the early years, though, NASA always seemed to be one step behind the Soviet space program. Americans wondered if NASA would win the ultimate prize of the space race. . . the first moon landing.

NASA enjoyed overall success until the deaths of the Apollo 1 astronauts in early 1967. The three prime candidates for the first moon landing were killed when their spacecraft caught fire on the launching pad. This proved a setback to the program, but NASA would reach its goal on July 20, 1969 when the Apollo Project resulted in the first

successful moon landing. The image of Neil Armstrong walking on the lunar surface is permanently impressed upon the memories of Americans who watched it on television. The astronauts were immediate celebrities and NASA's popularity soared. The Apollo spacecraft toured American cities and it became clear that the successful Apollo program was the ultimate sign of American prestige and technological superiority. NASA's popularity, however, began to wane as Americans grew weary of moon landings. Reruns of *The Howdy Doody Show* achieved higher ratings than NASA's later lunar voyages and people complained to television stations that their soap operas had been interrupted by these space missions.

In 1973, NASA launched Skylab, the first United States manned space laboratory. The Apollo-Soyuz project was a later joint American-Soviet mission, but it took the first manned space shuttle, launched in 1981, to rekindle NASA's popularity. The rise in popularity, however, would be short-lived as a series of failures changed the way Americans looked at NASA.

Christa McAuliffe, the school teacher who trained with NASA astronauts for the Challenger shuttle mission, made Americans everywhere believe that space travel was possible for the average person. The vision of Challenger exploding on the television screen on January 28, 1986 is indelibly burned into the memories of millions of Americans. Many Americans became critical of NASA and the space shuttle program, questioning the safety of space travel and research. After a two year hiatus, shuttle launches resumed when Discovery blasted off in September of 1988.

While the agency made successful shuttle launches, it also sent unmanned probes to other planets and placed the Hubble space telescope into orbit, supplying detailed pictures of other worlds. NASA also captured the imagination of the public when it successfully launched the Mars Pathfinder in July of 1997—the Mars rover sent photographs back to Earth and the public once again discussed the possibility of life on the Red Planet.

After the Challenger tragedy, space shuttle flights became so routine they were only briefly mentioned in the news. Former Astronaut and Senator John Glenn changed that when he came out of retirement to join the crew of the Discovery in 1998, becoming the oldest person to ever travel into space.

Over the years, NASA has provided inspiration for many science fiction writers and movie makers. The television series *Star Trek* and the movie *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968) were released during the "space race" era. NASA has been featured in many popular movies, including *Apollo 13* (1995), that popularized astronaut Jim Lovell's announcement "Houston, we have a problem." *The Right Stuff* (1983) and the HBO (Home Box Office) mini-series *From the Earth to the Moon* (1998) have also documented NASA's work. NASA has even been the source of speculation for conspiracy theorists. Some authors believe NASA covered up Unidentified Flying Object (UFO) sightings by early astronauts. They also accuse NASA of hiding the truth about an alleged monument on Mars supposedly caught on film in 1976. Some groups believe that no moon landing ever took place and that the lunar landing was staged on a movie set.

The history of NASA is a mixture of tragedy and triumph. Over the years, the American public has had mixed feeling regarding the success and usefulness of NASA. With the on-going speculation regarding life on other planets, Americans will continue to be intrigued with NASA's efforts to explore outer space.

—James H. Lloyd

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## *The Nation*

America's oldest continuously published weekly magazine, *The Nation* has maintained a consistent liberal/radical outlook since its founding, in 1865, by a group of abolitionists just at the end of the Civil War. Among the causes advocated by the magazine over the years have been labor unionism in the late 1800s, the formation of the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) in the early 1900s, the Sacco and Vanzetti case in the 1920s, anti-McCarthyism in the 1950s, the civil-rights and anti-war movements of the 1960s, and countering Reaganomics in the 1980s. Its contributing writers over the years have included many of the nation's most prominent figures in politics, the arts, education, and literature, such as W. E. B. Du Bois, H. L. Mencken, Willa Cather, Eleanor Roosevelt, James Baldwin, Jean-Paul Sartre, Cesar Chavez, Ralph Nader, E. L. Doctorow, and Toni Morrison. By the end of the twentieth century, columnists such as Alexander Cockburn, Katha Pollitt, Christopher Hitchens, and Calvin Trillin were offering readers commentary on public policy and cultural issues. Since 1966, the periodical has sponsored *The Nation Institute*, an independently funded public charity "committed to the creation of a just society and an informed public, as well as to the preservation of rights protected under the First Amendment." Some historians have credited *The Nation* with keeping alive the tradition of muckraking and advocacy journalism in the United States.

According to *The Nation's* original prospectus, in 1865 the publication was defined as strictly independent and not "the organ of any party, sect or body." Hoping that their organ could help heal the rifts of the bloody Civil War that had just ended, the founders of the weekly periodical—among its early backers were Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, William James and his brother Henry James, Henry Adams, and William Dean Howells—further declared that its purpose would be to "make an earnest effort to bring to the discussion of political and social questions a really critical spirit, and to wage war upon the vices of violence, exaggeration and misrepresentation by which so much of the political writing of the day is marred. . . ." Its first editor, the Anglo-Irish journalist E. L. Godkin, raised \$100,000 to launch the magazine, which published its first issue on July 6, 1865, just weeks after Lee's surrender at Appomattox.

Radical abolitionists dominated *The Nation's* earliest issues. Its major financial backer, George Luther Stearns, was a Boston lead-pipe manufacturer who had supplied John Brown with the munitions for the raid at Harper's Ferry in 1859. The first literary editor was Wendell Phillips Garrison, the son of abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. Still, although *The Nation* supported most of the Reconstruction program and civil rights legislation, its middle-of-the-road

stance disappointed supporters who advocated more radical reforms. In the interests of stabilizing the publication, Godkin distanced himself from what he called “too close identification with a factional or partisan cause.” On labor-versus-capital issues, *The Nation* adopted a generally “liberal capitalist” stance, criticizing the excesses of business and supporting unions while steering clear of more ideological socialist solutions. When investors threatened to withdraw support, landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted helped reorganize the periodical to guarantee its editorial independence.

In 1881, when *The Nation* became an insert in Henry Villard’s *New York Evening Post*, Godkin turned over the editorship to Wendell Phillips Garrison. Circulation shrank, and the publication became little more than a book review section for the newspaper. After Garrison retired, several editors followed in quick succession: Hammond Lamont, who died within three years; Sanskrit scholar Paul Elmer More, who added more literary criticism to the publication; and Harold deWolf Fuller. Finally, in 1918, with World War I straining public discourse and threatening civil liberties, Oscar Garrison Villard, Henry’s son, took over as editor and turned it into the more radical publication that it has since remained. Under his guidance, circulation increased fivefold in just two years: from 7,200 in 1918 to 38,000 in 1920. Oscar Garrison Villard had earlier helped found the NAACP, and was active in controversial causes, advocating clemency for conscientious objectors, opposing American colonial expansion as in the annexation of Hawaii and Panama, and backing self-determination for the Philippines and Ireland. The United States government seized the magazine’s September 14, 1918 issue on the grounds that it was seditious. *The Nation* gave extensive coverage to the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and was the first American publication to publish the new Soviet Constitution. During the 1920s, it helped galvanize public opinion in favor of a retrial for anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti.

With the resurgence of liberal ideology in the wake of the Great Depression, circulation of *The Nation* increased to 36,000 by the time Villard retired in 1932. He was succeeded by Freda Kirchwey, who remained editor until 1955. Villard continued writing for the publication until 1940, when he broke with Kirchwey in the Stalinist-versus-Trotskyist controversy that had seriously divided American leftists. By the late 1930s, after Kirchwey assumed ownership of the publication, *The Nation* was breaking new ground in American journalism by publishing more articles on the Spanish Civil War and on women’s issues, birth control, and sexual freedom. During World War II, she staunchly opposed Nazism and Fascism in Europe. In the postwar period, the publication stood firmly against the witch-hunts of Senator Joseph McCarthy and advocated the peaceful use of atomic energy and the establishment of the state of Israel. Kirchwey angered many leftists, however, by refraining from endorsing the Progressive candidacy of Henry A. Wallace for president in 1948. Faced with financial difficulties, Kirchwey transferred ownership of the magazine in 1943 to The Nation Associates, a network of subscribers who were asked to enroll members. The publication seriously considered a merger with its amicable rival, *The New Republic*.

Carey McWilliams succeeded Kirchwey as editor in 1955 and, with George Kirstein as publisher, continued to question Cold War policies, the growth of the military-industrial complex, CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) involvement in Guatemala, and the events that led to the Vietnam War. *The Nation* also broke new ground in consumer advocacy in the 1950s and 1960s, publishing the first serious article that linked cigarette smoking to cancer, as well as early articles by Ralph Nader on car safety. At the same time, *The Nation*

took a strong stance on behalf of desegregation and other aspects of the growing civil rights movement, and published with greater frequency the views of revisionist American historians such as Walter La Feber, Gabriel Kolko, Barton Bernstein, H. Stuart Hughes, Howard Zinn, and others. Kirstein helped stabilize the always precarious financial position of the publication before turning the reins over to James J. Storrow, Jr. in the mid-1960s, whose expertise in print technology further bolstered the periodical’s fiscal viability.

McWilliams was briefly succeeded as editor in 1975 by Blair Clark, who had worked for CBS and *The New York Post* and who had earlier been campaign manager for Senator Eugene McCarthy’s presidential campaign in 1968. Within two years, *The Nation* was purchased by a consortium organized by Hamilton Fish III, which selected Victor Navasky as editor. Under the new structure, the editor and publisher became general partners and the investors became limited partners with no editorial voice. Fish was succeeded as publisher by Arthur Carter. After 1994, Katrina Vanden Heuvel served as editor, with Navasky becoming publisher and editorial director. In reflecting on the history of the publication at its 125th anniversary in 1990, Navasky wrote: “A maverick magazine, it has attracted maverick proprietors, which may be one of its survival secrets.” He added, “We will continue to fight for causes, lost and found . . . someone once described *The Nation* as a magazine for the permanent minority. . . . A magazine shouldn’t come to power. It can nourish, it can prod, it can hector, it can educate, it can cajole, wheedle, expose, embarrass, inform, illuminate and inspire. And if it does all these things . . . the laws of capitalism notwithstanding, it will survive.”

—Edward Moran

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## National Basketball Association (NBA)

One of two indigenous American sports (volleyball is the other), basketball dates to 1891, the year Young Men’s Christian Association instructor James Naismith first hung two peach baskets to the track railing around his gym and encouraged his charges to pitch balls into them. The first professional leagues began operating around the turn of the twentieth century, with the first true national league, the American Basketball League (ABL), established in 1925. A casualty of the Depression, the ABL’s demise left the midwestern-based National Basketball League (NBL) as the only major professional basketball league. That monopoly lasted until 1946, when the Basketball Association of America (BAA) was formed by an alliance of

arena owners in the major eastern cities. The New York Knickerbockers and the Toronto Huskies played in that league's inaugural game on November 1, 1946.

Despite staging its games in the nation's best venues, like New York's Madison Square Garden and the Boston Garden, the BAA had trouble attracting top-flight players. By a fortuitous coincidence, that just so happened to be the NBL's strong suit, paving the way for a league merger that resulted in the creation of the National Basketball Association (NBA) in 1949. The new league fielded 17 clubs in its inaugural season, although the absorption of NBL franchises left the NBA a curious agglomeration of large (New York, Boston) and small (Sheboygan, Syracuse) markets. As a consequence, seven of the league's less competitive teams had folded by the start of the 1950-1951 season.

The contraction actually helped the NBA by dispersing the talent more generously among the surviving franchises. But professional basketball still suffered in comparison to the college game, then all the rage in hoops hotbeds like New York City. Only a point-shaving scandal that rocked the college game in January of 1951 allowed the NBA a chance to grab the attention of basketball fans nationwide. The incorporation of African American players, beginning in 1950 with Earl Lloyd of the Washington Capitols, further enhanced the level of play and improved the league's image in progressive circles.

Still, professional basketball had trouble captivating the national imagination. Its marquee player in those early years, seven-foot Minneapolis Laker center George Mikan, seemed an unapproachable hero whose freakish size inspired a host of less talented imitators. The league became dominated by big men and slowed down by constant fouling designed to impede their scoring. Public disenchantment was crystallized by a nationally televised contest between the Knicks and the Boston Celtics in 1954, from which the network cut away in the final minutes because the action was so enervating. The NBA quickly adopted rule changes to speed up play and encourage athleticism.

The principal beneficiaries of the new rules were the Boston Celtics. They built a team around two players—center Bill Russell and guard Bob Cousy—who excelled at the fast-break style of play that the new regulations encouraged. With the athletic, intimidating Russell blocking shots out to the agile, propulsive Cousy, the Celtics won five straight NBA championships between 1959 and 1963 and set a standard of excellence in the sport akin to that erected by the New York Yankees in baseball. Upon Cousy's retirement, they added five more titles in the ensuing six years to bring their total to 11 championships in a 13-year span. By the end of Boston's remarkable run, the NBA had overcome its early doldrums and established a foothold on the national sports scene.

The 1970s began with great promise for the NBA. The rivalry between Bill Russell and the league's other dominant center, Wilt Chamberlain of the Los Angeles Lakers, gave professional basketball the first of the compelling *mano a mano* matchups it would successfully market over the ensuing decades. The New York Knicks teams that won the NBA championship in 1970 and again in 1973 attracted many new fans with their cerebral, team-oriented style of play. Passing and shooting became the order of the day, as the league's highly skilled black players came increasingly to dominate the action.

But there were warning signs on the game's horizon as well. A rival league, the American Basketball Association (ABA), seduced away some of the pro game's best young players, including Rick Barry, George "the Iceman" Gervin, and Julius Erving, known popularly as "Dr. J." Though financially unstable, the ABA offered a

freewheeling brand of basketball—symbolized by its use of a red-white-and-blue ball—that held some appeal for fans in the 1970s. Unwilling to change its own game to emulate the upstart league, the NBA instead entered into prolonged negotiations for a merger that was finally consummated in 1976. Four ABA teams were allowed to join the NBA, and a special draft was arranged to disperse ABA players throughout the consolidated league. Once again, the NBA had established itself as America's sole professional basketball association.

While the merger relieved some of the NBA's financial difficulties, it did not address the league's most pressing underlying problems. A series of violent incidents, capped by Kermit Washington's life-threatening assault on Rudy Tomjanovich, severely tarnished the image of professional basketball. Increasingly, there was talk that substance abuse was rampant around the league. While the NBA implemented programs to remedy this problem, the image of the NBA as a "drug league" persisted into the 1980s.

The NBA hit its nadir in the early part of that decade. A paucity of compelling players or intriguing rivalries, coupled with the negative press coverage engendered by the drug and violence scandals, prompted many league sponsors to back away from television advertising. As a consequence, the deciding game of the 1980 finals was not even aired live but relegated to late-night tape delay. By 1981, a majority of NBA teams were losing money, and the league itself seemed at a loss for a solution to the crisis.

Salvation came in the form of two young players, Larry Bird and Earvin "Magic" Johnson, who would go on to dominate the game during the 1980s. Rivals in college, they continued their competition in the pros, as the focal points of the NBA's two most prestigious franchises, the Boston Celtics and the Los Angeles Lakers, respectively. When they met in the finals for the first time in 1984, it marked an important step in the NBA's return to prominence. The series went seven games and attracted the largest viewing audience in NBA history. To the delight of the league, championship rematches were staged in 1985 and 1987, with the high-flying Lakers winning two out of three from the bruising Bostonians.

A second factor in the NBA's revival was the appointment of a new commissioner, David Stern, in 1984. A league attorney who had helped negotiate the NBA/ABA merger, Stern brought a strong marketing orientation to his new post. Building on the Magic/Bird rivalry, he negotiated a new television contract with NBC prior to the 1990-91 season, with instructions to the network to promote the league's emerging stars. The result was a decade of expansion in the NBA's popularity fueled by the rise of its brightest star, Michael Jordan of the Chicago Bulls. Once just another prolific scorer, Jordan became an international symbol of competitive fire after capturing three straight championships between 1991 and 1993.

Jordan's ascension to international icon status helped turn NBA basketball into one of the most profitable entertainment properties in the world. Merchandising of team and player logos exceeded the one billion dollar mark, while the worth of the average franchise increased by threefold from the dark days of the early 1980s. New teams were added in Florida and Canada, allowing the NBA to enter new markets and disperse lucrative franchise fees to the other clubs. While Jordan's departure from the league to pursue a baseball career briefly derailed the NBA juggernaut in 1993, his return two years later only seemed to raise his mystique to another level. The Bulls set an all-time single-season record for wins in 1995-96, en route to the first of three consecutive world championships. Not since the Celtics of the 1960s had one team so dominated the world of professional basketball—to



the delight of the game's fans and the consternation of the other 28 teams.

In 1998, Jordan retired for a second, and presumably final, time. His departure from the scene raised the obvious questions about the NBA's ability to sustain its growth absent its most compelling international star. Even more troublesome was the public relations disaster engendered by a lengthy labor dispute that cut short the 1998-1999 season. Most of the public ire was directed at the NBA players, who made a series of bafflingly intemperate public statements and inexplicably failed to point out that the league was locking them out of the arenas. A new collective bargaining agreement ponderously favorable to the league was signed in January of 1999, further solidifying Commissioner Stern's status with league owners and paving the way for sustained profits ad infinitum. It remained unclear, however, whether the league would be able to maintain its popular cachet without the emergence of a new star to shepherd the game into the next millennium.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA)

One of the world's most influential governing bodies for intercollegiate sports was founded in America when President Theodore Roosevelt set out to find a way to regulate football, with its dangerous, sometimes fatal, formation called the Flying Wedge. Now, as the twentieth century comes to a close, more than 860 American educational institutions hold membership in the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), an organization which sets the rules for the recruiting and eligibility of student athletes, governs the organization of athletic conferences, sets the playing rules for 20 intercollegiate sports, and conducts 80 national championships in three competitive divisions.

In 1905 the primary offensive weapon in football was the kick return, with the ball carrier protected behind a fast-moving, wedge-shaped formation of his teammates. Blocking and gang-tackling resulted in many injuries and even some deaths, causing many

colleges and universities to discontinue the sport. President Theodore Roosevelt invited college athletics leaders to two White House conferences in 1905 to discuss possible reforms, resulting in a meeting of 13 institutions in early December 1905, to make changes in the rules of football. To enforce the new rules, the Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the United States was founded later that month, with 62 members. Five years later, the name of the association was shortened to the National Collegiate Athletic Association.

For several early years the NCAA was primarily a discussion group and rule-making body, but in 1921 it organized its first national championship, in track and field. Gradually, more championships were held, more legislative bodies formed, and more institutions admitted. To be an active member of the NCAA, a college or university must be accredited academically, must maintain at least four intercollegiate sports for men and four for women (except for single-gender institutions), agree to comply with the association's rules concerning financial aid, recruiting, playing seasons, and post-season competition, as well as respecting the penalties imposed by infractions of those rules.

When World War II ended, there was a renewed interest in sports competition, and college athletics became a lucrative business on campuses throughout the country. Reports of rule violations involving the recruiting of student athletes led the NCAA to adopt a "sanity code," with guidelines to regulate practices in financial aid as well as recruitment. The association was also concerned with the proliferation of post-season football games and with the effects of unrestricted television on college athletics, particularly football. With membership increasing and the problems becoming more complex, the NCAA recognized the need for a full-time professional staff, and in 1951 Walter Byers was named executive director.

Abuses of recruiting rules continued, however, and in 1952 the NCAA recognized the need for a mechanism to implement the regulations. The enforcement program voted in by the membership called for cooperation among the athletic conferences, institutions, and the NCAA to delve into reports of violations and determine appropriate penalties. A staff was employed by the association to investigate allegations and determine whether an official inquiry was necessary. Institutions found guilty of inappropriate payoffs to student athletes were heard before the Committee on Infractions, and the resulting penalties ranged from a reduction in the number of athletic scholarships to an institution's being banned from post-season competition. That same year a national headquarters was established in Kansas City, Missouri, and the membership voted at its annual convention to control the televising of football games, also passing legislation to govern post-season bowl games.

In 1973, in the first Special Convention of the NCAA ever held, member institutions were divided into three legislative and competitive divisions. Division I—made up of the sports programs in the major colleges and universities—and Division II were allowed to offer scholarship grants to athletes, and Division III, made up of smaller institutions, would operate without such grants. Further classification occurred five years later when Division I members voted to create subdivisions I-A and I-AA in the sport of football.

Women became a part of the NCAA sports activities in 1980 when ten championships for female athletics were established for 1981-82 in Divisions II and III. The historic 75th NCAA Convention in 1981 adopted an all-encompassing governance plan to include women's sports programs, service, and representation. The delegates also expanded the women's national championship program by adding 19 events. Women athletes now participate in basketball, cross

country, fencing, field hockey, golf, gymnastics, indoor and outdoor track, lacrosse, rifle, rowing, skiing, soccer, softball, swimming and diving, tennis, and volleyball.

The Presidents Commission was created in 1984, and in 1985 that body called a landmark special Convention to address continuing problems in the areas of compliance and enforcement, and members took decisive action to strengthen the association's efforts. Another special Convention was called in June 1987, to launch an 18 month National Forum on critical problems in college athletics. In the late 1990s the national staff of more than 200 NCAA employees, based in Overland Park, Kansas, was led by President Cedric W. Dempsey.

The phenomenal success of sports in America—both at the box office and in television ratings—has created problems for the NCAA in its attempts to uphold the integrity of college athletics. The most popular series of sports events on television is March Madness, the NCAA basketball tournament for Division I. This tournament began in 1939 with a crowd of 5,500 at Evanston, Illinois, but crowds have grown to a top of 64,959 at the 1987 final four competition at the New Orleans Superdome, and television ratings have rivaled those of the National Football League's Super Bowl. March Madness has also attracted illegal sports wagering, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation has estimated that \$2.5 billion was illegally bet on the 1995 Division I basketball championship.

The breadth of the problem has been shown by a University of Cincinnati study involving Division I basketball and football players. There were 648 respondents to the survey, indicating that 25.5 percent had gambled on other college sporting events, with 3.7 percent having bet on a game in which they played, and that 0.5 percent had received payment for not playing well in a game. Because wagering on sports has the potential of undermining the integrity of athletic events, the NCAA opposes all forms of legal and illegal betting on sports and has taken steps to declare athletes ineligible for competition if found guilty of participating in any gambling activity. Some institutions have discontinued their participation in basketball because of this problem.

The NCAA has also provided a service to athletics by keeping statistics on the competitions in baseball, basketball, and football in all divisions. An important museum for fans interested in sports history is the NCAA Hall of Champions, which includes photographic and video salutes to all its sports and championships. Since its creation in 1990, thousands of sports enthusiasts have toured the facility. A new Hall of Champions is scheduled to open in conjunction with the 2000 Final Four basketball games in Indianapolis in March of that year. The new Hall will feature interactive, technologically enhanced video displays and hands-on exhibits to bring alive the college sports experience.

One of the latest problems which the NCAA has addressed is devising a method of declaring the national championship in Division I-A football. In Division I-AA, Division II, and Division III, the championship is won in a post-season playoff, but scheduling, as well as post-season bowl bids, have made it difficult to use the same method in the major division. In 1999 Tennessee was named the number one team after defeating Florida State in the Fiesta Bowl; a complicated formula had determined that they were the two strongest teams, based on difficulty of schedule, season's records, polls, and other factors. The NCAA will continue to set the selection rules and alternate among the major bowl sites in assigning the important game between the two top contenders.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## *The National Enquirer*

As re-invented by Generoso Pope in 1952, and then again in 1968, the *National Enquirer* became the archetype and model of the "supermarket tabloids" of the 1980s and 1990s. The *Enquirer*, with regular sales in excess of four million copies, has the largest circulation of any weekly serial publication in the United States. In the late 1990s it was owned by MacFadden Holdings, Inc., which also publishes the tabloids the *Weekly World News* and the *Star* (while the other three principal tabloids—the *Globe*, the *Sun*, and the *National Examiner*—are all owned by Globe Communications). Although, in fact, the *Star's* coverage led the tabloid pack in some of the sex-and-politics scandals of the 1990s, it was the *National Enquirer's* photo spread of the Gary Hart/Donna Rice embroglio (June 2, 1987) which



Donna Rice and Gary Hart on the cover of a 1987 issue of the *National Enquirer*.

shaped all future coverage. To talk about the *National Enquirer* is to talk about American popular culture at the end of the twentieth century.

To call a newspaper a “tabloid” is, in the first place, only to say that it is, as Donald Paneth puts it, “half the size of a standard newspaper, therefore easier to carry and read on subway and bus in the big-city rush hour. It is plentifully illustrated. News is presented tersely, compactly.” But, for most people in the 1990s, the word “tabloid” implies a qualitative, as well as quantitative, judgement, as Paneth goes on to explain: “The tabloid’s style usually runs to sensationalism, a ‘stoop to conquer’ technique—crime and sex, exploitation of piety, sentiment and patriotism, money contests, comic strips, heart-stopping headlines.” So far, Paneth is right on the money. But then, writing in 1982, he makes the foolish mistake of fixing too rigidly the parameters of a popular cultural phenomenon: he defines an “age of the tabloids”—basically, the 1920s—and then says that it is over (an erroneous prediction echoed in 1984 by Edwin and Michael Emery in their book, *The Press and America*). How they must have cringed at the title of a *Newsweek* feature by Jonathan Alter, published December 26, 1994: “America Goes Tabloid.” Had he quit while he was ahead, had he not tried to trim his story, arbitrarily, into a discrete historical “period,” Paneth might have answered Alter, with a sneer: “America went ‘Tabloid’ in 1919, with the founding of the New York *Daily News*!”

Launched smack in the middle of the first great “age of the tabloids,” the original *Enquirer* bore no resemblance to the super-market weekly of today (or to the mutilation-and-weird-romance rag of the 1950s and 1960s). It was not, at first, even a tabloid, but a full-sized paper, although it was published from the first as a weekly, on Sunday afternoon. William Griffin, a former advertising executive of the Hearst papers, started the *Enquirer* in 1926 on money he borrowed from William Randolph Hearst. The loan had certain conditions: Hearst was to try out new ideas in the *Enquirer*. This worked out fine for Hearst, since according to an unsigned piece in *Newsweek* (September 8, 1969), “the good ideas carried over into Hearst’s own papers; the *Enquirer* was stuck with the bad ones.” Still, Griffin continued to publish the *Enquirer* for 26 years of eroding circulation. He opposed America’s entry into World War II, and used his paper to attack President Roosevelt’s foreign policy. The attacks became so violent that Griffin was indicted for undermining troop morale. The charges were later dropped but his assaults on Franklin Delano Roosevelt lost him yet more readers. By the time the Hearst Corporation sold the *Enquirer* to Generoso Pope for \$75,000 in 1952, its circulation had dwindled to 17,000. Except for consistently and flamboyantly backing the wrong horses, the paper had made no impression on American journalism.

All that was about to change. Generoso Pope was 27 when he bought the moribund *Enquirer*, but he had grown up in the newspaper business (his father had founded the New York-published Italian language daily, *Il Progresso*). He also knew a thing or two about mass psychology, having served for a year in the Central Intelligence Agency as an officer in their psychological warfare unit. Nevertheless, Pope did not immediately plunge his new paper into the murky depths of sensationalism. He tried out several formats. Then, “I noticed how auto accidents drew crowds,” he told *Time Magazine*, in 1972, “and I decided that if it was blood that interested people, I’d give it to them.” It was not long after this decision that headlines such as “MOM USES SON’S FACE FOR AN ASHTRAY,” “MADMAN CUT UP HIS DATE AND PUT HER BODY IN HIS FREEZER,” and “STABS GIRL 55 TIMES” began to grab the attention of people passing by newsstands, and the circulation began to edge

upward for the first time in decades—helped a lot, Pope claimed, by a 1958 newspaper strike which removed many of his competitors from the stands for a crucial period of time. Murder was the mainstay of this version of the *Enquirer*, murder mixed with sex and mutilation, although the sex was never explicit. Some of the stories approach the surrealist nuttiness of the “black humor” novelists of the 1960s: “Eva Fedorchuk battered her husband’s face to a bloody pulp with a pop bottle. Then she told the police he’d cut himself while shaving.”

Another staple of this *Enquirer* was the “consumer” story, which was almost always slanted towards a latent sadism in the reader, an horrific tale, posing as a warning, of an over-the-counter product causing mayhem—as in “HAIR DYE HAS MADE ME BALD FOR LIFE.” Celebrity gossip was featured as well, but seldom the sexual gossip of the late 1990s, and it was always a relatively small part of each issue. Typically, there would be a snickering report of the spectacular public drunkenness of a famous rich person, or a movie star who stripped themselves naked, or crashed their car into a swimming pool, or beat up their date. These reports, according to *Enquirer* insiders who have since come clean, were generally made up out of whole cloth. If a celebrity had ever misbehaved in public—all it took was one incident, no matter how remote from the present—that celebrity was considered fair game for the *Enquirer* gossips and they would report some similar, though entirely fictional, embarrassment, as if the one true incident had established a pattern of behavior and, for the rest of the hapless famous person’s life, any remotely similar faux pas could be legitimately and plausibly attributed to them. But most people who bought the *Enquirer* in the years 1955 to 1965—and there is still considerable controversy as to who those people were—seemed to have been attracted by the lurid accounts of violent death and perverse mutilation. During this period, in any case, Pope’s formatting innovations built up the *Enquirer*’s circulation from 17,000 to over a million—a formidable achievement, especially since the tabloids, unlike other newspapers, make the bulk of their income from sales of copies, rather than advertising. To the many media pundits and professional scolds who found the *Enquirer* too disgusting to contemplate, Pope shrugged and replied, “Every publication starts out by being sensational.”

After 1965, however, *National Enquirer* sales leveled off around 1.2 million and would not budge further. Pope was hardly the sort of publisher who would let a bad trend develop very far before attending to it. Making a study, he concluded that his death-and-dismemberment format had reached some kind of saturation point. “There are only so many libertines and neurotics,” he said. More to the point, he noted a precipitous decline in the number of newsstands—the essential platform from which the *Enquirer*’s grisly headlines trolled for “libertines and neurotics.” At the same time, he followed with intense interest the success of *Woman’s Day* magazine in moving into the then-uncharted territory of the United States’ 50,000 supermarkets. Pope made up his mind to follow where *Woman’s Day* had led. As Elizabeth Bird noted, he had his eye on a readership which was “more direct and consistent through national supermarket and drug-store chains than through conventional newsstands and other publishing outlets.”

At the same time, it seemed obvious to Pope that headlines on the order of “PASSION PILLS FAN RAPE WAVE” and “DIGS UP WIFE’S ROTTING CORPSE AND RIPS IT APART” would not work quite the same magic on grocery shoppers as they had on newsstand passersby. So, he decided to make over the *National Enquirer* once again, as radically as he had in the early 1950s, only

this time the tabloid would emerge as wholesome and golly-gee clean as the *Reader's Digest* of the 1930s (reportedly his model). Gore was gone, as were the kinky "personals," and in their place, Bird says, "features on household repair, pop psychology, unusual human-interest stories, and frequently flattering celebrity stories." The paper also began to cater to the burgeoning interest in the occult and mystical, with predictions by noted psychics and regular contributions from astrologers. Pope hired a public relations firm to repackaging the public image of his tabloid, and to establish the transition in his writers' minds, he moved the *Enquirer's* offices from the urban pressure-cooker of New York City to the sleepy tropicality of southern Florida. At first, according to Pope, the circulation dropped by a quarter million, but it soon picked up, and by 1983 it was one of the ten most profitable supermarket items.

When the *National Enquirer* began to publish in color, in 1980, Pope founded the *Weekly World News*, so he would not have to sell his one-color press, and the *News* revived some of the outrageousness of the old *Enquirer*—although lunatic headlines such as "MAN CUTS OFF OWN HEAD WITH CHAINSAW—AND LIVES" no longer referred to actual bloody incidents, but now sprang from the vivid imagination of staff members. The *News*, too, has found a niche, and has become a cult in college dormitories, with circulation in excess of a million. The *News* has also enabled the *Enquirer* to devote more space to celebrity stories—very much a contested area in the 1970s duel between Pope and Rupert Murdoch, who founded the *Star* in 1974. The duel was resolved after Pope died, in 1988, when McFadden Holdings, Inc., bought both the *National Enquirer* and the *Weekly World News* (\$412 million), and the *Star* (\$400 million). This was also the year in which the tabloids began to have a material influence on the political process. The story of Gary Hart's dalliance with Donna Rice aboard the S.S. *Monkey Business* was broken by a mainstream daily, the *Miami Herald*, but it was the *Enquirer's* full-color cover photo of Rice—sporting a "Monkey Business" t-shirt—sitting on Hart's lap which inaugurated the new era of "gotcha!" political reportage.

It is, perhaps, more than sheer coincidence that tabloid revelations of political sexcapades have mainly benefitted conservative politicians. The *Enquirer* and its competitors are deeply conservative in their reinforcement of every kind of social and psychological norm. They are like Cecil B. DeMille movies, allowing readers/viewers to ogle every sort of lascivious behavior while maintaining an attitude of shocked disapproval. It is entirely appropriate that D. Keith Mano, writing in the February 18, 1977 *National Review*, should propose that, "Given its circulation, the *National Enquirer* is probably the second most important conservative publication in America" (the most important being the *National Review* itself).

—Gerald Carpenter

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## National Football League (NFL)

Professional football in America dates back to 1892, the year that Yale's All-America guard—William "Pudge" Heffelfinger—accepted \$500 to appear in a game for the Allegheny Athletic Association. Despite betting and recruitment scandals, the game enjoyed robust growth during the early decades of the pay-for-play era. But there was no organized league until George Halas and a group of forward-thinking gridiron scions convened in Canton, Ohio, in 1920 to form the American Professional Football Association (APFA). Within two years, this fledgling alliance officially changed its name to the National Football League (NFL).

As public relations director for the new league, Halas was charged with the unenviable task of convincing the public of professional football's legitimacy. Few believed the NFL would succeed given the competition of the "purer" and more tradition-driven college game. Halas' solution to the problem of legitimacy came down to two words: Red Grange. The "Galloping Ghost" was a college legend whose signature on a professional contract would give instant credibility to the pay-for-play enterprise. A shrewd businessman, Grange made sure to ask for a portion of the gate receipts in case the league took off. He made his NFL debut on Thanksgiving Day of 1925, inaugurating an association of football and drumsticks that continues to this day.

The Grange-led Chicago Bears became the marquee attraction in the early years of the NFL. Some 73,000 spectators crowded into the Polo Grounds that first season to watch the Galloping Ghost lead his compatriots into battle against the New York Giants. Doubts that the NFL could make it outside football's traditional hotbeds in the east and midwest were soon quashed when the barnstorming Bears played to a house of 75,000 fans at the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum. And though many expected the NFL to fold when Grange briefly left to join a rival league in 1926, it remained viable and even developed some new stars to replace him. By the time the Galloping Ghost retired in 1934, the league had expanded to 10 clubs and was unchallenged as the national forum for professional football.

The 1930s saw the emergence of the Green Bay Packers as the NFL's dominant team. Led by coach Earl "Curly" Lambeau, the Wisconsin-based franchise won three straight league titles to open the decade. A series of rules changes adopted in league meetings helped systematize the pro game and differentiate it from the college variety. Further enhancing the NFL's popularity was a 1934 exhibition game between the Chicago Bears and a team of college all-stars. The event drew 79,432 fans to Chicago's Soldier Field and resulted in a scoreless tie. Later that year, the NFL took another huge step in its development into a national institution when the CBS radio network broadcast the Thanksgiving Day game between the Bears and the Detroit Lions to a national audience.

The innovation of a national championship game, begun in 1933, resulted the following season in one of the NFL's first legendary games. In the so-called "sneaker game," the New York Giants donned basketball sneakers at halftime to gain an edge over the Bears in a game played on icy turf at the Polo Grounds. The switch from spikes to sneaks spurred a second-half rally that propelled New York to a 30-13 victory.

Perhaps sensing that large market clubs like the Bears and the Giants were gaining an unfair competitive advantage through their ability to recruit college players, the NFL instituted a draft system the following season. Under the rules, teams with poor records would select first from the available pool of undergraduate talent. University of Chicago halfback Jay Berwanger became the first man chosen in the first-ever NFL draft on February 8, 1936—though he eventually declined to join the league entirely.

Pro football attendance surpassed the one million mark in 1939, the same year that a contest between the Brooklyn Dodgers and the Philadelphia Eagles was telecast in New York City by NBC. The NFL thus entered the 1940s primed for a decade of growth. Manpower shortages brought on by American involvement in World War II, however, forced a number of teams to merge and others to suspend operations entirely. The Washington Redskins emerged as one of the league's elite teams of the war years, though the Chicago Bears remained the class of the pro circuit. Their 73-0 drubbing of the Redskins in the 1940 championship game is remembered as one of the signature routs in sports history.

In 1950, the NFL took in three teams from a now-defunct rival league, the All-America Football Conference (AAFC), establishing a pattern of "ignore and absorb" that it would follow with subsequent challengers to its hegemony. The Cleveland Browns, perennial champions of the AAFC, went on to become one of the dominant NFL teams of the 1950s. The decade also saw the debut of a new all-star "Pro Bowl" played at the end of the season. In 1951, the DuMont Network broadcast the first nationally televised NFL game, between the Browns and the Los Angeles Rams. In a further sign of the league's growth—and the expectation that there was more money to be made—the National Football League Players Association formed in 1955 to represent the players' interests.

By 1958, the NFL's popularity was at an all-time high. The championship game that season, pitting the New York Giants against the Baltimore Colts, attracted a record number of television viewers, reaching more American households than any other sporting event to date; nor did the contest disappoint, as the Colts won a thrilling 23-17 victory in sudden-death overtime in what many consider the greatest game ever played. The pro football landscape looked so promising as the 1960s dawned that yet another rival league, the American Football League (AFL), was formed for the new decade.

To keep the league on course and meet the challenge of the AFL, the NFL selected a new commissioner, Pete Rozelle, in 1960. He was to be the architect of the league's greatest growth and expansion of popularity. His signal achievement of the 1960s was the negotiation of a merger between the NFL and AFL in 1966. The two leagues maintained separate schedules for the first three years of the arrangement, though they agreed to meet in an annual championship game (not called the Super Bowl until 1969) beginning in 1967. Green Bay won the first two such contests, reinforcing the prejudice that the AFL upstarts did not belong on the same field as the "real" NFL pros. But Super Bowl III saw New York Jets quarterback Joe Namath—a college standout whose decision to join the AFL had been a major coup for the fledgling league—boldly predict an upset win over the heavily favored Baltimore Colts. The Jets' remarkable 16-7 victory helped legitimize the merger, solidify the primacy of the Super Bowl as sports' pre-eminent championship, and spur the NFL on to even greater national prominence.

In the 1970s professional football became a national powerhouse. Rozelle negotiated new national television contracts favorable to the league, including a deal with ABC to televise a Monday night "game of the week" during the regular season. *Monday Night Football* became an instant ratings hit and a venerable weekly showcase for the NFL's best teams. The AFL merger swelled the league to 26 teams, but business was so good it expanded even further in 1976 with new franchises in Tampa Bay and Seattle. The Pittsburgh Steelers became the decade's dominant team, winning four Super Bowls in six years. The World Football League (WFL) briefly flourished, then folded. Nothing, it seemed, could compete with the allure of the NFL.

In the 1980s, it became increasingly clear that the only threat to the NFL's golden goose came from the NFL itself. Player's strikes in 1982 and 1987 forced the league to cancel games and briefly experiment with replacement players, to the consternation of fans who now paid high prices for tickets. The United States Football League (USFL), a spring/summer alternative to the NFL, lasted only three seasons but managed to drain away some high-profile players. It filed an anti-trust lawsuit against the NFL and won, but was awarded only one dollar in damages. More damaging to the league's prestige was the ongoing feud between Commissioner Rozelle and Oakland Raiders owner Al Davis, who sued successfully for the right to move his team to Los Angeles, where an NFL team already existed; he later moved it back to Oakland.

Despite these distractions, the NFL continued to flourish throughout the 1980s and 1990s. The San Francisco 49ers, and later the Dallas Cowboys, inherited the mantle of Super Bowl dominance from the Steelers. The league expanded globally, first with the World League and later with the more discretely focused NFL Europe. "Super Bowl Sunday" became an unofficial national holiday, with advertising fees for 30-second commercials during its telecast ranging into the millions of dollars. Even the 1989 retirement of Pete Rozelle, the league's highly effective leader for almost 30 years, could not slow the NFL juggernaut. New commissioner Paul Tagliabue quickly established his authority and continued along Rozelle's expansionist path.

In 1993, pro football entered the age of free agency, as players won the right to negotiate for their services on the open market. But this change, which had proved so problematic for Major League Baseball, caused little disruption for the NFL because of wise fiscal guidelines agreed to by the league and its players. In a way, this lack of rancor is emblematic of the NFL's success. From its beginnings, the NFL has benefitted greatly from the astute management of a

handful of visionaries, from George Halas to Pete Rozelle. This sound stewardship has enabled a league once derided by purists and largely ignored by the masses to expand exponentially, decade by decade, until it stood as the pre-eminent sports league in America.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## National Geographic

For more than a century, the words “National Geographic” have conjured up images of natural wonders, bold exploration, and fascinating foreign cultures. Generations of Americans have looked to the National Geographic Society for information about the wider world, and millions of readers have paged through the familiar yellow-clad *National Geographic Magazine* to make contact with a world far beyond their immediate experience. Likewise, the editorial choices of the magazine have shaped the American vision of the outside world, whether via the exhibits in the Explorers’ Hall at the Society’s museum in Washington, D.C., or through its colorful magazine or its countless books and television documentaries.

The National Geographic Society was founded in January, 1888, when thirty-three members of the elite Cosmos Club in Washington, D.C. gathered there with the goal of founding a “society for the increase and diffusion of geographical knowledge.” The end of the nineteenth century was a dynamic period of industrial revolution, immigration, discovery, and change. Curiosity about the world was much in evidence, and the founders of the National Geographic Society sought to feed that hunger for knowledge.

Though the men themselves were from the upper classes—lawyers, bankers, educators, and military officers—the society they formed was more democratic in philosophy than similar Royal Societies in Europe. Rather than posing restrictive requirements for members, the founders wished to attract a broad base of supporters. The first president of the Society, Gardiner Greene Hubbard, was a lawyer and financier who felt that his leadership would demonstrate to the public that membership in the Society was not limited to scientists or explorers.

Within the year, the Society published the first issue of *National Geographic Magazine*. Supporting the effort to gain a broad base of subscriber-members, the magazine was a departure from the dry, academic journals of other scientific societies in that it used dramatic

color photographs to illustrate its stories. *National Geographic* became a pioneer in color photography techniques, and eventually became the first U.S. magazine to use an all-color format. For the first time in a scientific journal, photographs of bare-breasted native women were printed in an 1896 issue of *National Geographic*. For decades to follow, youngsters would seek the pages of *National Geographic* for titillation and sex education as well as maps and exploration. Never a purely geographical publication, the magazine offered a sweeping view of the world’s wonders, whether geological, plant, animal, or human.

The Society also campaigned to attract public interest by funding several high-profile expeditions, which were then extensively reported in the magazine. In 1909, the Society funded Commodore Robert Peary’s exploration of the North Pole and Hiram Bingham’s expedition to Machu Pichu. In later years, the National Geographic Society would fund thousands of expeditions, including the work of such famous naturalists as Jacques Cousteau, Dian Fossey, and Jane Goodall, as well as anthropologists like Louis Leakey. Lavishly illustrated articles in *National Geographic Magazine* and, in more recent years, television shows and documentary films, have documented each study and exploration.

Though the years, *National Geographic* has been accused by social critics of portraying a romanticized view of the world, free of controversy and conflict. The journal has been slow to respond to such criticism, but in the socially aware era of the 1970s, it finally began to offer reportage on some of the less savory aspects of the world and its people by covering such issues as war, poverty, and pollution.

Founded by an elite group of philanthropists, the National Geographic Society has remained very much a family affair. G. G. Hubbard’s successor as president was his son-in-law, Alexander Graham Bell, whose own son-in-law, Gilbert Grosvenor, likewise succeeded him. The next three presidents through the 1990s, have also been Grosvenors, sons following fathers, including Gil Grosvenor, who was serving at the turn of the century. Continuing the tradition of a popular rather than a scientific control over the society, the Board of Directors largely consists of corporate executives, educators, lawyers, and environmentalists. From its roots as a broad-based society to encourage geographical study, the Society has expanded to become the largest non-profit scientific and educational society in the world. With a subscriber-membership of more than nine million, it is one of the three largest membership organizations in the United States, the other two being the American Association of Retired Persons and the Roman Catholic Church.

The Society has also expanded its publications far beyond a little monthly journal with beautiful pictures. It is one of the world’s largest producers of atlases and maps, turning out maps that were used by the military in both world wars as well as Viet Nam. The Society is the second largest producer, after the British Broadcasting Corporation, of documentary films for television, and has its own cable channel, as well as the National Geographic Kids Network, a closed-circuit network for use in schools. Along with *National Geographic*, which is also published in Spanish and Japanese editions, the Society publishes *World Magazine* for children and *Traveler Magazine*. It also produces a large variety of educational and teaching aids, and offers CD-ROM computer programs on many nature-related topics. In the 1990s it began to publish geographical books and children’s books, plus the first fiction release in its history.

In the late 1980s, the leadership of the National Geographic Society was horrified to learn that adult Americans had little practical

knowledge of geography. Inspired by statistics showing that seventeen percent of U.S. citizens could not locate the United States on a world map and a full twenty-five percent could not find the Pacific Ocean, Society executives created the National Geographic Society Education Foundation, with the aim of improving geography education. Called the Society's "100th anniversary present to the American people," by Society president Grosvenor, the Foundation sponsored local geography organizations, offered inservice training for teachers, and promoted geography in the schools through a National Geography Bee and Geography Awareness Week.

Notwithstanding such philanthropic gestures, the Society is an extremely wealthy organization. Its many projects generate a gross income of around five hundred million dollars a year, which produces approximately thirty-five million dollars in profit. Because of the organization's non-profit status, none of this income is taxable, and the same is true for the roughly one hundred and sixty million dollars worth of real estate owned by the Society in the nation's capital. The Society's competitors in the cartographical and educational publishing fields have frequently protested, challenging its legitimacy as a non-profit organization. However, the Society is a venerable Washington institution, well-connected in the very government circles that make the decisions about its status, and so far, its tax-free designation is secure.

Alexander Graham Bell, the second president of the National Geographic Society once wrote, "The world and all that is in it is our theme." True to Bell's vision, the Society and its many publications and productions have made every aspect of the earth and its inhabitants a legitimate subject of study, wonder, and appreciation. From military cartography to computer atlas programs that play the language and music of different regions, National Geographic has mapped the planet. From the tops of the highest mountains to the sea floor, scientists funded by National Geographic have explored it. Even the cosmos has come under scrutiny as the Society has funded and reported on expeditions into the universe that surrounds us. The National Geographic Society and its publications are beloved American institutions because they have allowed many explorers who may never get far from their hometowns to savor the whole world.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## National Hockey League (NHL)

When the National Hockey League (NHL) formed in 1917, the game was dominated by Canadians and they were the greatest players in the world. NHL'ers hailed from the Canadian Prairies, Quebec and Ontario, and most of the franchises were housed in Canada and the

northern United States. This trend of Canadian predominance continued until the 1950s, when the Soviets emerged as a postwar powerhouse. Their speed and brilliant passing revolutionized the game on a world level. And with the Soviets leading the way, the rest of Europe, especially Czechoslovakia and Sweden, had to keep pace, developing faster, more skillful players. In America, the growth of the U.S. college program in the 1970s, a gold medal in 1980, and NHL expansion into several American cities converted the U.S. into an elite hockey power. Moreover, with the fall of communism, and the accompanying blurring of amateur and professional status, the NHL had come to represent a confluence of superstars from all over the world by the 1990s. When the Olympics were held in Nagano (1998), there wasn't one super "dream team" but five dream teams laced with NHL talent.

But the NHL's beginnings were more humble. From 1917-41, the NHL went through a series of growing pains. The rival Pacific Coast Hockey Association, run by Frank and Lester Patrick, was actually much more progressive and innovative. The PCHA was the first league to allow goalies to flop to the ice to make saves, to allow forwards to pass the puck ahead in the offensive zone, to tabulate assists on goals, to place bluelines on the ice, and to put numbers on players' jerseys. The PCHA folded in 1926, but the league's innovations and the Patricks crossed over to the NHL. In the 1920s and 1930s, the Patricks led the New York Rangers to three cups with the help of Bill and Bun Cook and Frank Boucher. And there were other stars of the period, including tough, hard-nosed Boston Bruin defenseman, Eddie Shore, flashy Montreal Maroons forward Howie Morenz, better known as the "Babe Ruth of hockey" or the "Stratford Streak," and Fred "Cyclone Taylor," winner of five PCHA scoring titles. But despite the excitement and grit of the game, franchises in this period struggled to survive. By 1938-39 three of ten NHL franchises were claimed by the Depression. And following the 1941-42 season, and the death of the New York Americans, the NHL became a six-team league for the next twenty-five years.

From 1942-67 the National Hockey League took on a deeply Canadian texture, as the league was dominated by the Montreal Canadiens and the Toronto Maple Leafs. Each franchise won ten Stanley Cups in that span. And the "two solitudes" of Canada were divided around these two rivals, as French-Canadian Catholics rooted for the Habs and the Presbyterian Scots and other Anglophones cheered on the Leafs. The two teams represented Canada's culture clash: the Leafs played a reserved, defensive style of hockey: a tight-checking, clutch and grab game of grit. The Habs played a wide open brand of "fire-wagon hockey" that was fast-skating, crisp and explosive. The battles between these two proud rivals were always bitter and intense. The Leafs were lead by such stalwart defensive players as Syl Apps, Teeder Kennedy, George "Chief" Armstrong, slick-skating Davey Keon and the "China wall," Johnny Bower. The Canadiens had the fiery Maurice "Rocket" Richard, the innovator Jacques Plante (the first goalie to roam from his crease, play the puck behind the net, and don a mask), gentleman Jean Beliveau (hockey's classy Joe DiMaggio), and perennial Norris Trophy winner Doug Harvey.

The conflict between English and French Canada was most fully realized in 1955. That year, Maurice "Rocket" Richard, who had never won a scoring title, was leading the league with a few games remaining. But following a scrap with the Bruins' Hal Laycoe in which Richard slugged a linesman, NHL President Clarence Campbell suspended the superstar for the remainder of the season and post-season. Canadiens' fans regarded Campbell's actions as unjust, and

yet another form of oppression from Anglo-Canada. And in late March, when the President attended a Canadiens game, he was slapped by a fan, and then a tear gas bomb exploded in the Forum. The Habs forfeited the contest, and the "Richard riot" ensued on St. Catherine's Street. Rocket Richard went on radio asking for the riot to be quelled, and it was, but the great right winger eventually lost the scoring title, and the Habs, without him, lost the Cup to Gordie Howe, Red Kelly, Terry Sawchuck, and the Detroit Red Wings.

Following the 1966-67 season, the NHL expanded from six teams to twelve and by the late nineties had twenty-seven. Boston Bruin Bobby Orr was a dominant figure in this transition period. A fast-skating, rushing defenseman, Orr revolutionized the position, making the defenseman the quarterback of the offense. His play brought the Bruins two cups and helped further expand the game in the U.S. Wayne Gretzky also helped hockey expand its markets. His trade from Edmonton to Los Angeles in 1988 was a major turning point, bringing the league's greatest player to the West Coast.

But the NHL's huge expansion in thirty years was largely brought about by a host of corporate synergies: the rapid growth in marketing and advertising, the five-team merger with the World Hockey Association in 1979, the signing of major television contracts with ESPN and ABC, and the rise in hockey's popularity in the United States. In 1980 there were only 100,000 U.S. youngsters playing organized hockey compared to 400,000 Canadians. By the mid-nineties that gap had lessened as 400,000 Americans to 500,000 Canadians played the game. Part of hockey's growing appeal lies in its combination of football violence and balletic speed and nuanced skill. Hockey players across Canada and the U.S. are admired for their toughness. Often, a player will get slashed in one period, stitched up and return in a later period, because as the sports broadcasters joke, "he's a hockey player." Perhaps an oft-seen bumper sticker best defines the sport's absurdly rugged appeal: "Give Blood. Play Hockey."

The NHL also is noteworthy for being the most crosscultural of the major sports leagues. In 1967, 97 percent of hockey players were Canadians. By the mid-nineties, 60 percent were Canadian, 20 percent were American and another 20 percent hailed from the other dominant hockey cultures, including Finland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Sweden, and Russia. This growth in exported European talent came about through the Summit series between Canada and Russia in 1972. Since the late 1950s, Canadians complained that their amateurs weren't their best players and they should be able to send NHL talent to the Olympics. The IOC refused, and Canadians begrudgingly complained that the Soviets were really professionals disguised as amateurs. The Summit series, showcasing NHL-Canadian superstars, was supposed to give Canadians the chance to reclaim their hockey supremacy, but what happened instead changed hockey for the next twenty years.

The Summit series was watched by over 12 million Canadians, as school children were marched to the gyms and libraries to watch the afternoon games from Moscow. The Canadians led by the timely heroics of Phil Esposito and a series of clutch goals by Paul Henderson won the final game, 6-5, and the series 4-3-1. Although victorious, the NHL and Canadians were impressed by the Soviet game, a brand of tactical fire-wagon hockey, with forwards playing a series of set, positional systems and firing the puck with tic-tac-toe passing, and slashing through the offensive zone with blazing speed and cracker-jack shooting. Following the series, power skating lessons popped up all across the U.S. and Canada, and the NHL's dump and chase, brutal style of play became one of greater finesse and speed.

The WHA's Winnipeg Jets, were actually the first North American team to evolve out of the Soviet model. Bobby Hull and the Swedes Ulf Nilsson and Anders Hedberg, with their speed and passing, helped the Jets win three Avco cups. Later in the NHL, the Edmonton Oilers perfected the Soviet model, bringing speed, style, and a deadly offensive game to the ice with the likes of Wayne Gretzky, Mark Messier, Jari Kurri, and Paul Coffey. The Oilers won five cups in the 1980s.

NHL contracts went up 400 percent in the 1970s because of the rival WHA. And as the players and the game got richer through the growth of expansion and major television contracts, hockey seemed headed into a golden period in which it might even supplant baseball, basketball, or football for market share. But all of this corporate synergy wasn't enough to allow the fan base to grow as fast as it should have. In the late 1990s the game still needed to change as fans were bored with 3-1 games and desired the wide-open scoring of the Oilers era. Unfortunately, the Soviet speed game had disappeared as teams employed a series of defensive systems, including neutral zone traps that bottle up the ice surface and halt cross-ice passes. The players, too, were bigger. In 1967 the average hockey player was 5' 11" and weighed 175 lbs. In 1994, the average hockey player was 6' 2" and weighed 204 lbs. This difference in size created less room on the ice for plays to develop and offensive stars to make moves. And with all the clutching and grabbing allowed by referees, a superstar such as Mario Lemieux, prematurely retired. Furthermore, the rapid growth of expansion has improved revenues but hurt the talent pool, spreading the skilled players across several teams, instead of congregating them within four or five. In the 1940s, Hall-of-Famer Max Bentley was a third-line center with the Maple Leafs. In the 1990s it was hard to find much second line depth on any team, let alone first line depth on most.

And too, hockey which started in Halifax, and the NHL which formed in Windsor, Ontario, was originally Canada's game, but by the turn of the twentieth century Canadians felt alienated by the NHL's treatment of their national pastime. NHL president Gary Bettman, the first American to serve in that capacity, wasn't trusted north of the 49th parallel because he allowed Canadian franchises, such as the Quebec Nordiques and the Winnipeg Jets, to move south (becoming respectively the Colorado Avalanche and Phoenix Coyotes). In the richer U.S., owners received breaks on taxes, cities agreed to pay stadium leases, and the American dollar was a lot stronger than the Canadian dollar. If Canadian markets are to survive and remain competitive, the NHL, Bettman, and the Canadian government will have to create some kind of compensation for the differences between the two dollars and find a revenue sharing plan to benefit all of the league's franchises, or else the country that first gave the game its passion will not be there to benefit from its rewards.

—Grant Tracey

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## *National Lampoon*

Although Britain has enjoyed a long tradition of looking to its colleges for humor, the crossover from collegiate to professional humorist in America has for the most part been much less conspicuous. A notable exception, however, was a group of students at Harvard in the late 1960s who went on in 1970 to found the *National Lampoon*, which enjoyed two decades of circulation before effectively ceasing publication in April of 1992.

It is quite possible that the *National Lampoon* might never have come into existence but for the astonishing success of some undergraduate collaborations by Henry Beard and Douglas Kenney while they were on the staff of the venerable *Harvard Lampoon*, the

college's century-old humor magazine: parodies of *Time* and *Life*, which went into national distribution and sold well, followed by a J. R. R. Tolkien spoof, *Bored of the Rings*, which ran to numerous printings after its publication by Signet in 1969.

After graduation Beard and Kenney found a backer for their proposal for a national humor magazine in Matty Simmons, fresh from 17 years as executive vice president of the pioneering credit card company Diner's Club and eager to find new areas of investment. In 1967 Simmons had created a company called 21st Century Communications which later became National Lampoon, Inc., with Simmons as its chairman of the board and Leonard Mogel, from Simmons' *Weight Watchers Magazine*, as its publisher. Beard was installed in the magazine's midtown Manhattan office as executive editor, Kenney as editor-in-chief, and Robert Hoffman as managing editor. The art department was run by Peter Bramley, a cartoonist fresh from Massachusetts College of Art, who had moved to Manhattan from Boston in the late 1960s, and Bill Skurski, Bramley's partner in Cloud Studio, which was located in a storefront on Manhattan's Lower East Side. Collaborating with them was photographer Mike Sullivan, an emigrant to Manhattan from Montana's cattle country, who set up and shot the pictures for Cloud Studio's photo-novellas.



Chevy Chase (right) and Anthony-Michael Hall in a scene from the film *National Lampoon's Vacation*.

The first issue rolled off the press in April of 1970. It was irreverent and funny, appealing to the burgeoning baby-boom market of college-educated youth now old enough to be entry-level professionals. It was also a magnet for emerging talent: Beard and Kenney were soon joined by their friends and fellow *Harvard Lampoon* alumni Christopher Cerf and George Trow, as well as a host of New York humorists including Chris Miller, a former advertising copywriter who had also written material for Al Goldstein's unabashedly sexually oriented magazine, *Screw*, and Mike O'Donoghue, whose previous credits included contributions to the *East Village Other* and the *Evergreen Review*.

The freewheeling informality of the early days made for some cliffhanger administration, in no small part due to the erratic lifestyles (and recreational drug habits) of key players. Kenney once simply disappeared for over a month; Beard, running the whole show in his absence, was under such stress that during an interview with one of his art directors he bit his pipestem clean through. Burnout and management shakeups were frequent: Hoffman left as managing editor after a year, his job being given to former associate editor Mary Martello. Bramley and Skurski were replaced in 1971 by an in-house art editor, Michael Gross, who in turn lasted only a year. Kenney and Beard were reshuffled into new positions in 1972.

But though staff volatility was a way of life at the company in its early days, it was all of a piece with the exuberant creativity of the enterprise. O'Donoghue and Tony Hendra, Martello's successor in the managing editor's slot, collaborated on National Lampoon's first comedy album, *Radio Dinner*, issued in 1972 and a commercial success—it included the classic "Deteriorata" parody, as well as withering spoofs of Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, former Beatles Paul McCartney, George Harrison, and John Lennon, mostly composed by Christopher Guest. Hendra followed in 1973 with a National Lampoon off-Broadway stage review, *Lemmings*, also with music by Guest, and a cast featuring John Belushi and Chevy Chase; it too turned a respectable profit.

That same year O'Donoghue and P. J. O'Rourke, now the magazine's executive editor, put together *The National Lampoon Encyclopedia of Humor*; the first issue of the magazine devoted entirely to new material and without any advertisements, it included pieces by Beard, Kenney, and O'Donoghue himself, plus cartoons and writing by Ann Beatts, Vaughn Bode, Frank Frazetta, Edward Gorey, B. Kliban, Brian McConnachie, Charles Rodrigues, Ed Subitzky, and a dozen other contributors.

Not everything the National Lampoon team touched turned to gold, however. Flushed with the success of *Radio Dinner* and *Lemmings* (the first of several profitable *National Lampoon* stage shows), Simmons bankrolled a weekly syndicated radio show called *The National Lampoon Comedy Hour*, which first aired in December of 1973. It was cut from an hour to a half-hour after seven episodes and withdrawn altogether the following June, having lost money almost from the start, but it provided the material for an album of excerpts, called *National Lampoon/Gold Turkey (Radio Hour/Greatest Hits)*, released in 1975. By this time O'Donoghue had left *National Lampoon* to begin seven years as the chief writer for a new NBC television comedy show called *Saturday Night Live*, which premiered in 1975 with much of the flavor (and several key cast members, notably Chevy Chase and John Belushi) from the earlier National Lampoon reviews.

When negotiating their original contract with Simmons, Kenney, Beard, and Hoffman had agreed to a five year buyout option which

they exercised at the end of 1974, receiving a total of \$7 million among them. Beard departed immediately (Hoffman had already left to return to graduate school when he ceased to be managing editor in 1971), resurfacing after several years as a prolific writer of less unconventional humor, sometimes in partnership with Christopher Cerf—the two were co-authors of several books including *The Official Politically Correct Dictionary and Handbook*. Kenney remained until 1977 and was one of the three scriptwriters (the other two were Chris Miller and Harold Ramis) for *National Lampoon's Animal House*, starring John Belushi—the highest-grossing (probably in both senses) comedy film of the twentieth century.

With the release of *Animal House* in 1978, Simmons began to concentrate more on film production and less on publishing. Other *National Lampoon* films followed, including *National Lampoon's Vacation* (1983), which starred Chevy Chase as the paterfamilias of the feckless Griswold household, and its sequels *National Lampoon's European Vacation* (1985), *National Lampoon's Christmas Vacation* (1989), and *National Lampoon's Vegas Vacation* (1997).

Meanwhile, the magazine began a long, slow decline—punctuated by occasional book releases—to its last scheduled issue in May of 1992, though it continued thereafter to appear in an annual edition, produced by a subcontractor of the new owners of National Lampoon, Inc.—J2 Communications—whose president was former Disney executive James P. Jimirro, and which bought what was left of the company in 1990, primarily for its film rights. Indeed, the yearly publication of *National Lampoon* was not for profit in its own right but rather dictated by the founders' original contract, which stipulated that unless the magazine were published at least once a year in a run of at least 50,000 copies, all rights to the National Lampoon name would revert to the *Harvard Lampoon*. Although J2's modest staffing (three full-time and three part-time workers as of the end of 1997) precluded any in-house production, the firm continued throughout the 1990s to license independent producers making *National Lampoon* films, and to distribute them to theaters and through cable television channels such as Showtime and the Movie Channel.

Tony Hendra, in his book *Going Too Far*, chronicles the rise and fall of so-called "boomer humor" as beginning with "sick" comic Mort Sahl in the early 1960s and ending with *Saturday Night Live*. *National Lampoon* rode the crest of the wave, and during its 1970s heyday was the training school and laboratory for many humorists, whether stars such as Beard, Kenney, Belushi, and O'Donoghue or the host of lesser lights whose work graced the magazine's pages. That the *National Lampoon* name retained considerable cachet at the end of the twentieth century, enough to be a major selling point for movies to a generation of viewers unborn at the time *Animal House* was released, is a testimony to the durability of its contributors' iconoclastic brand of humor in the American popular consciousness.

—Nick Humez

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## National Organization for Women (N.O.W.)

Established in 1966, the National Organization for Women (N.O.W.), was born out of frustration at the lack of progress on women's issues in the wake of John F. Kennedy's 1961 establishment of the President's Commission on the Status of Women in the United States. Similar commissions had been set up in all 50 states, but their failure to achieve their goals provoked a core group of activists at a national convention in 1966. Gathering in Betty Friedan's hotel room and writing their guidelines on a paper napkin, the activists laid the groundwork for N.O.W., which was formally launched that October at a convention that attracted 300 men and women. Friedan was elected the group's president. By the end of the twentieth century, N.O.W. had grown into the largest and most organized of the women's groups. It boasts more than 600 local chapters in all 50 states and more than 250,000 active members.

In the early days of the organization, Friedan continued to be the motivating force and is considered to be the "mother" of the modern women's movement. She was a logical choice for the first president since she had almost single-handedly aroused the nation's consciousness with her landmark book, *The Feminine Mystique*, in 1963. Pointing out that existing institutions had perpetuated "the problem that has no name," Friedan demanded that women be treated as equals and be allowed to develop their talents while pursuing their own individual goals. She was also instrumental in the formation of the National Women's Political Caucus NWPC, a bipartisan support group that promoted the election of women to public office. Friedan insisted that, as the movement grew and attracted media and public attention, she was ousted in favor of more photogenic leaders such as Gloria Steinem.

On October 29, 1966, the National Organization for Women issued its Statement of Purpose, detailing its agenda and establishing itself as the voice of the women's movement. The chief points of that statement were:

A recognition that the time had come for women to take full partnership in American society; a call to action to claim inherent rights; the insistence that women not be forced to choose between marriage and motherhood or careers; a continuation of the revolution started at Seneca Falls in 1848; and a commitment to use the powers

of education, the law, and political office to attain these goals.

Throughout its history, N.O.W. has continued to promote a group of core issues: abortion and reproductive rights, economic equality, women in political office, and an end to discrimination against women. In response to the changing environment, other issues have been added: affirmative action, an end to sexual harassment and domestic violence, fighting the political right, advancing global and young feminism, and advancement of women in the military. The issue of lesbian rights has long been controversial for N.O.W. A bitter break occurred in the early 1970s; but by the 1980s, promoting lesbian rights was a permanent part of N.O.W.'s agenda. Controversy still continues over the issue since many moderates believe that this championship has hurt the women's movement. The early days of that movement was centered around the needs of white, middle-class women. In an effort to broaden its base of support and be more responsive to the position of minorities, N.O.W. has also reached out to minority women and pledged support for racial and ethnic diversity. To achieve its political goal, N.O.W. has successfully engaged in such activities as mass mailouts and the picketing of offending businesses and politicians. It has been most effective in its class-action suits, public demonstrations, promoting legislation favorable to women, and simply calling attention to the concerns of women around the world.

Less than three decades after the birth of the modern women's movement, many women believed that the battle had been won, and support for N.O.W. began to wane. This trend was abruptly halted in 1989 when the United States Supreme Court handed down a decision in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* that curtailed access to abortion. Membership in N.O.W. rose dramatically. Susan Faludi noted that a 1989 poll revealed that women as a group believed that neither the Democrats nor the Republicans were responsive to their needs. The three groups most responsive, they insisted, were N.O.W., the leaders of the women's movement, and feminists. Women were instrumental in the election of Democrat Bill Clinton to the White House in 1992.

Despite a claim by *Time* magazine in 1998 that the success of the popular television show *Ally McBeal* signaled the end of feminism, the continued presence of the National Organism for Women indicates that women remain aware of the ongoing need for an advocacy group of their own.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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## National Parks

America's national park system includes hundreds of areas covering millions of acres in nearly every state and U.S. possession. The national parks include natural wonders, historical and cultural



**Mesa Verde National Park**

landmarks, and recreational areas as varied as Massachusetts' Cape Cod National Seashore, Hawaii's Volcanoes National Park, New York's Statue of Liberty, and Pennsylvania's Gettysburg National Battlefield. The National Park Service has designed the parks so that they interlock to tell the natural and cultural history of the United States of America and of man's presence there. The National Park Service functions as the parks' primary custodian, guiding their natural and historic preservation as well as the continued growth of tourism and public education. The idea of establishing natural and historical areas as national parks developed in the United States during the nineteenth century evolved to fulfill a perceived cultural need for a strong national identity that could be found in America's monumental scenery. The popular media was essential in the drive to sustain this idea in a country largely dedicated to material progress at any expense. Magazines, newspapers, and paintings promoted the parks as places where any citizen could grow mentally, physically, and spiritually through communion with nature. The parks came to exemplify America's democratic ideal through their ownership by all citizens and they remain national symbols of pride. The rise of the environmental movement in the mid to late twentieth century has also made the national parks symbols of American environmental consciousness.

Alfred Runte's *National Parks: The American Experience* states that "gentlemen adventurers, artists, and explorers" had created the

national park idea by the second half of nineteenth century. Soon after the American Revolutionary War of the late eighteenth century, intellectuals in the newly created United States were hurt by comments implying that they had no sense of patriotism or appreciation for the past. A new country of limited cultural achievements forced these men to turn to nature to find unique national symbols that they could proudly proclaim to the world. Runte believes that this cultural desire to break with Europe, rather than a deep commitment to ecological preservation, was the catalyst for the development of America's national park system. The founders of the idea of the national park were also spurred by the example of the privately owned land around Niagara Falls on which promoters, souvenir stands, and ugly fences joined with admission charges to create a national embarrassment. The world's first national park system began with the 1864 designation of the Yosemite area in California and the 1872 designation of the Yellowstone area in Wyoming to the Department of the Interior. Yellowstone was the world's first area to be officially designated as a national park.

Private citizen Stephen T. Mather had an idea for a specialized park service to properly manage the new parks around the year 1915, and enlisted the head of the influential National Geographic Society to help him promote the cause. This was the beginning of an invaluable friendship between the society and the park system that aided in park promotion. Renowned environmentalist John Muir and

renowned Central Park designer Frederick Law Olmsted also lent their prominent voices to the national park idea. The popular press, however, was the most instrumental voice in the public promotion of the national parks, as it had the power to attract the public support and attendance so essential to the park system's survival. Popular magazines such as Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*, *National Geographic*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's*, and *Harper's Weekly* played on the public's patriotic sentiment to help raise support. Stephen Mather's efforts met with success in 1916 when then President Woodrow Wilson created the National Park Service as a bureau within the Department of the Interior with the stated goals of conserving park resources while providing for the public's enjoyment. The Park Service would quickly discover the difficulties inherent in managing the fine balance between preservation of America's finite natural resources and catering to the needs of tourists whose revenues helped support the new agency.

Until the early nineteenth century, the national parks existed mainly among the spectacular scenery of the American West, as the United States government created the early parks from lands in the public domain, few of which existed in the East. The West's grand and monumental scenery also served as a primary catalyst for the national park movement, as popular culture glorified the area in magazines, paintings, and dime novels. A move for eastward expansion did not begin until the 1920s due to the major obstacle of obtaining land. Congress would not use taxpayer money to purchase the necessary private lands, forcing the Park Service to rely on private donors to gain eastern parklands. Donors such as the wealthy Rockefeller family provided for the creation of eastern parks like the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, and the Appalachian Trail. The Park Service acquired over fifty additional sites in 1933, including those areas previously controlled by the War Department and the Forest Service as well as the Washington, D.C., National Capital Parks. The 1960s saw the addition of wild and scenic free-flowing rivers, national lakeshores, national trails, and urban national recreation areas; the 1980 Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act more than doubled the system's size. The Park Service also branched out into other areas of public education when it greatly increased its participation in historical interpretation in the late twentieth century, making it one of the country's leading educators in the areas of American history and environmental values as they related to the development of the nation's parks.

A third of the areas that comprise the national park system are primarily scenic in nature. Americans prize these areas for their clean air and natural beauty as well as their abundance of bears and other exotic wildlife. Famous examples of scenic national parks include Arizona's Grand Canyon and Petrified Forest, South Dakota's Badlands, and Wyoming's Grand Tetons. The magnificent natural features of these areas are what first spurred the idea of creating national parks to promote American culture and preserve its natural beauty. The Park Service has attempted to recreate all of the parks under their care to their primitive appearance before the European settlers' arrival. These areas' popular image is that of a place where the urbanite can go to escape noisy, crowded, industrial city life in nature's tranquillity. The parks dedicated to preserving natural and monumental scenery increased in popularity and importance with the mid to late twentieth-century rise of environmental awareness in the United States. The 1963 Leopold Report, which evaluated the National Park Service's environmental policies, led directly to the restructuring of natural resource management to be more in line with ecological preservation. The Park Service continued to face pressures

for resort-like development with the late twentieth-century's increasing popularity of outdoor recreation activities.

The Park System also preserves areas of national historic interest. These parks represent a link to the country's past and exemplify the continuity between past and present. They promote the values of American history and are highly patriotic, often drawing comparisons to shrines. Famous examples include Philadelphia's Independence National Historic Park, as well as many famous battlefields of the American Revolutionary and Civil Wars. The government's interest in the preservation of historic areas began in the late nineteenth century with the decision to protect prehistoric Native American areas from plundering scavenger hunters. Among the first areas to be so preserved were the Casa Grande Ruin in Arizona and Mesa Verde National Park in New Mexico and Colorado. The 1906 Antiquities Act marked a great step forward in the National Park Service's move into historic preservation. This act gave presidents the power to set aside areas of historic interest by designating them National Monuments. President Theodore Roosevelt effectively utilized this act and remained closely associated with the park movement well into the twentieth century. The National Park Service moved into historic preservation in the 1920s as the park system expanded eastward. The Park Service received control over nearly fifty sites that included many popular Revolutionary War and Civil War battlefields. The National Park Service increased their role in historical interpretation when it entered the increasingly popular "living history" movement of the late twentieth century.

One of the national park system's main ideological goals has been the promotion of national enthusiasm for America's cultural heritage. The national parks symbolize the virtues that the United States promotes and with which it wishes to be associated. Park service guidebooks and publications inform readers of how the various parks embody these cultural values. The early parks represented America and effectively served as cultural exemplars to which Americans could point with great pride. The existence of national parks epitomized the American ideals of altruism, statesmanship, and philanthropy at their best. The parks also functioned in the nineteenth century as popular moral and religious affirmations of America's manifest destiny to the ownership of this great land, an ownership seemingly sanctioned by nature and nature's God. Promoters also thought that the national parks would help promote robust health and good citizenship through the rigors of outdoor life. Freeman Tilden, quoted in former Park Service head Conrad Wirth's introduction to *America's Wonderlands*, vividly captures these beliefs when he avowed that "a consummate expression of this ultimate wealth of the human spirit . . . is to be found in the National Park system. . . . Many a man has come to find merely serenity or scenic pictures—and has unexpectedly found a renewal and affirmation of himself." Quiet contemplation among nature's grandeur would both soothe the weary city resident as well as boost his love of the country.

The National Park Service's initial founding mission was to hold America's natural wonders in public trust for all Americans, past, present, and future. This mission expanded in the mid to late twentieth century as the Park Service adopted a more ecological focus with the rise of the environmental movement. The national parks and environmental preservation have become synonymous in the United States. Intense debates over the ecological future of the parks mirror the environmental debates rife in American society. An ongoing debate over utilitarian versus preservationist aims began with the very inception of the national park movement. The famous nineteenth-century environmentalist, John Muir, valued the country's natural

beauty as an asset and national treasure but realized that the general public ranked scenery instead by its size and grandeur. The visiting public also wished to see these great wonders in relative comfort. Concessions to tourists were necessary to increase needed popular support of the parks. Total preservation was therefore an impractical idea. The National Park Service instead marketed its scenery through a "See America First" campaign. In 1956, "Mission 66" demonstrated the Park Service's realization of the public's role in its creation and continued success with the largest budget allotment for improvement in its history. This money provided for the construction and renovation of roads, trails, hotels, campgrounds, and visitor centers to add to the public's comfort and enjoyment. The late twentieth-century growth of environmental awareness, however, also encouraged public support of parks that represented sound ecological units such as the Florida Everglades, even if the scenery was not as spectacular. Twentieth-century interest groups formed for park preservation and protection, as urban and suburbanites took up the environmental cause and used the popular press to gain support as had their nineteenth-century predecessors.

The national park movement's proponents heavily marketed the national parks in the popular media in order to attract a variety of visitors. Railroads were the most influential early promoters and played a large role in early development, building rustic hotels to house the guests their trains carried to the parks. The 1916 creation of the National Park Service was inextricably linked with changes designed to increase badly needed tourist revenues. Popular magazine articles promoted the idea of the national parks as economically valuable tourist destinations. The decision to allow automobiles to enter the parks for the first time provided the biggest boost to tourist numbers. While "sagebrushing" became a popular 1920s term for those visitors who chose to do without creature comforts as they camped amidst nature's spectacular scenery, automobiles were most instrumental in raising public support. The majority of the American people desired inexpensive and comfortable vacations, an observation not lost on park promoters. The parks were now more physically and monetarily accessible. Publicity stunts such as tunneling roadways through huge redwood trees and staging bear feeding shows also attracted an increasing number of visitors. The National Park Service also branched out into other avenues of public interest with the addition of museums, publications, and other educational activities designed to aid the visiting public.

Popular images of the national parks remain that of breathtaking beauty amidst a quiet, almost spiritual atmosphere. Popular images of Park Service employees continue to picture them as rugged "men's men" who roam the great outdoors and come to the dramatic rescue of stranded visitors. Most Americans cherish fond memories of vacations spent hiking in the sweet air, glimpsing a moose or a bear from the car window, or marveling at the timely eruption of Yellowstone's famous Old Faithful geyser. The next generation of park visitors can add a trip to a museum or a talk with a costumed living history interpreter to the list of things to do at a national park. All of the National Park Service's activities combine with the national parks' reputation as monumental tributes to the American spirit to make them powerful cultural and educational forces. The parks have also enjoyed a steadily increasing popularity among the American public since their nineteenth-century inception. The National Park Service has consistently ranked among the most popular federal agencies in public opinion surveys even late in the twentieth century when Americans became ever more distrustful of their government. The parks and their employees will carry an enduring reputation for

excellence into the new millennium. America's national parks are truly a unique and monumental cultural legacy.

—Marcella Bush Trevino

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## *The Natural*

Bernard Malamud's acclaimed first novel, *The Natural* (1952), retells the Grail story of Arthurian legend as a modern baseball tale and metaphor for contemporary life. Malamud's middle-aged protagonist Roy Hobbs, both a Percival-like Grail knight and a Fisher King figure (as his name suggests), recovers from his near-fatal groin injury, joins the last place New York Knights, and brings new life to the team, its manager Pops Fisher (another Fisher King), and even the baseball field itself. Although he has the Grail (pennant) within his reach, Roy accepts a bribe and loses the final game. Predictably, the Hollywood version of *The Natural* (1984), directed by Barry Levinson and starring Robert Redford, turns Malamud's darkly comic tale into entertaining but standard cinematic fare. Roy refuses the bribe and—although gravely wounded—bangs a home run out of the park, knocking out the stadium lights, which burst like fireworks. Afterwards, Roy, his beloved Iris (Glenn Close), and their adolescent son return to live—presumably happily ever after—on Roy's family farm.

—Barbara Tewa Lupack

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## *Natural Born Killers*

The \$34 million film *Natural Born Killers*, directed by Oliver Stone, was released in August of 1994 amidst expectations that its storyline, about a serial-killing young couple named Mickey and Mallory Knox, would create another media furor similar to or even greater than the one that centered around Stone's 1991 conspiracy epic, *JFK*. Critics and opinion-page writers proved, rather unexpectedly, to be less antagonistic toward *Natural Born Killers* than *JFK*.

Nevertheless, the former managed to spark a lively critical debate over the merits of its boldly experimental visual design, as well as a series of high-profile condemnations from public figures such as Senator Bob Dole and popular writer John Grisham regarding its high level of on-screen violence. Several "copycat" murders in at least two different countries were also blamed on the film's supposed detrimental influence on unstable viewers. The controversy was nothing new or intimidating to director Stone, who had demonstrated in the past his willingness to tackle politically and culturally volatile material in films such as *Salvador*, *Platoon*, *Wall Street*, *Talk Radio*, *Born on the Fourth of July*, *The Doors*, *JFK*, and *Heaven and Earth*. Undaunted, Stone would go on from *Natural Born Killers* to direct *Nixon*—another political thriller which landed Stone back in many pundits' ill graces. Though not as overtly political as most of Stone's work, *Natural Born Killers* does illustrate once more that Stone, unlike many of his big-name Hollywood contemporaries, is more interested in antagonizing his mainstream audiences than comforting them.

The plot of *Natural Born Killers* is divided into two main parts. Part one of the film opens in a southwestern diner, where Mickey and Mallory Knox, in the midst of a cross-country murder spree, massacre all of the employees and patrons except one, who is left behind "to tell the tale of Mickey and Mallory" to investigators. A lengthy



Woody Harrelson in a scene from the film *Natural Born Killers*.

flashback then follows, wherein details of Mallory's incestuous abuse by her father and Mallory's first meeting with delivery-boy Mickey are revealed in a segment entitled "I Love Mallory," patterned after a situation comedy. It is further revealed that Mickey was arrested and imprisoned for grand theft auto but then escaped from prison via what seems like the divine intervention of a desert cyclone. He next returned to Mallory's home to rescue her by killing her parents. The couple took to the road, killing randomly as they went and attracting the frenzied attention of the media and the law. Having established this backstory, the film introduces tabloid television reporter Wayne Gale and serial-killer expert Jack Scagnetti, both of whose destinies are intertwined with Mickey and Mallory's. As these two men chase them down, Mickey and Mallory are sidetracked into the desert, where they encounter a Native American medicine man who sees their true demonic natures and at least temporarily compels Mickey to confront his traumatic past. Terrified, Mickey kills the medicine man—an act that seemingly brings forth the desert rattlesnakes to strike and poison Mickey and Mallory. Desperately fleeing the desert to search for antivenom in a small-town drugstore, the couple are finally apprehended and beaten into submission by a police force led by celebrity-cop Scagnetti.

Part two of the film resumes a year later, after Mickey and Mallory have been tried, convicted, and then imprisoned in separate wings of the same facility. To forestall execution, Mickey has been finding ways to kill prisoners and guards, necessitating further trials. Frustrated by Mickey's strategy, the prison warden, a petty tyrant named McClusky, conspires with Scagnetti to transport Mickey and Mallory away from the prison where they can then be "shot while trying to escape." Before their plan can take effect, however, Mickey agrees to a post-Super Bowl live television interview with Wayne Gale. Mickey's dynamic interview drives his fellow inmates into a spontaneous riot, which in turn allows Mickey to kill his captors and take Gale hostage. Mickey then uses the chaos of the prison riot to rescue (again) Mallory from her cell, where Scagnetti, revealing his true intentions, has been attempting to seduce her. Mickey and Mallory kill Scagnetti and use Gale, now a willing accomplice in Mickey's acts of murder, as a human shield to leave the prison grounds; the prisoners kill and dismember McClusky. Safely away from the prison and re-united, Mickey and Mallory kill Wayne Gale and then resume their lives as outlaws.

The film evolved out of an original script written by a then-obscure Quentin Tarantino, now famous as writer/director of *Reservoir Dogs* and *Pulp Fiction*. The script had been reviewed but rejected by many Hollywood studios by the time in 1991 when producers Don Murphy and Jane Hamsher read the script, talked to Tarantino, and agreed to develop it as a project. Murphy and Hamsher then met with Stone. Stone, though unsatisfied with the sketchy development of the Mickey/Mallory relationship, liked parts of the script well enough to commit to the project. Along with screenwriter Dave Veloz, Stone began to rework Tarantino's script to provide more background for the serial-killing lovers. Another screenwriter, Richard Rutowski, added a more metaphysical component (the recurrent "demon" imagery and dialogue) to the story. Even with the additional writers and revisions, however, most of the finished film's highlights were present in Tarantino's script, such as the opening slaughter of the patrons of a roadside diner, the killer-couple-on-the-road central plot, and the law enforcement and tabloid journalism obsessive pursuit of

Mickey and Mallory. Some of Tarantino's other scenes, such as one where Mickey—acting as his own lawyer at his trial—kills a witness against him, were filmed but never included in the film's theatrical release version; some of these excised scenes are included at the end of the director's cut video.

Woody Harrelson, best known up until that point for his role as the dense but kind-hearted bartender Woody on television's long-running series *Cheers*, was cast as Mickey, while Juliette Lewis, a young stand-out in the 1992 remake of *Cape Fear*, was cast as Mallory. In other key roles, Robert Downey, Jr. was chosen for Wayne Gale, Tom Sizemore for Jack Scagnetti, and Tommy Lee Jones for Warden McClusky. All of the main actors (especially Tommy Lee Jones) played their roles as over-the-top as possible in order to match the extreme, often cartoonish nature of the film itself. According to co-producer Jane Hamsher's behind-the-scenes account, the shooting of the film in its desert and prison locales over 53 days was a nerve-jangling process. Director Stone drove his actors to ever more excessive performances and made many artistic and technical decisions spontaneously on-set. If the film's prison scenes seem more authentic than many, that is because the scenes were shot in Stateville Prison in Illinois, using real-life prisoners as extras under stringent security precautions. The Hollywood actors and production crew mingled with hundreds of hard-time prisoners to film a make-believe riot that, at times, seemed to be a little too realistic for the comfort of the guards and non-prisoners.

When principal photography was finished, editing the film took almost a full year. The end result is flashy, disorienting, and almost unheard of in mainstream Hollywood cinema. Stone, director of photography Robert Richardson, and editors Hank Corwin and Brian Berdan create in *Natural Born Killers* a hyperkinetic and avant garde visual style. No one camera angle is maintained for more than a few seconds, and most are much shorter. The film is a feature-length exaggeration of the destabilizing cinematic techniques Stone employed in certain scenes in *Platoon*, *Born on the Fourth of July*, and *JFK*. Different film formats (color, black-and-white, video, Super 8) and camera lenses, unusual lighting (particularly the use of neon green), deliberately obvious rear projection, variable film rate, jarring and nearly subliminal inserts of main characters transformed into demons and monsters—all contributed to the film's dizzying rush of nearly 3,000 separate images. Ironically enough, in light of the controversy surrounding the film's violence, several violent scenes were dropped during the editing process so that *Natural Born Killers* would receive an R and not an NC-17 rating from the Motion Picture Association. The film became a modest hit upon its release, in spite or probably because of the controversy, knocking that summer's long-running box-office champion *Forrest Gump* from the number one position the opening weekend. *Natural Born Killers* remains an interesting if flawed experimental film in Stone's canon of work.

—Philip Simpson

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## Nava, Gregory (1949—)

In the mid-1980s, Gregory Nava emerged as the leading Hispanic film writer and director. His third feature film, *El Norte* (1984), was highly acclaimed and resulted in Nava becoming the first Hispanic to be nominated for an Academy Award in screen writing. Like all of Nava's subsequent films, the subject was specifically Hispanic: the story of young peasants, a brother and sister, who immigrate from rural Guatemala to the United States. Nava's next film, *My Family* (1995), was also acclaimed and had the highest per screen average revenue (\$5,375) for all movies released on the weekend of May 5 through 7. The importance of this figure is that it brought Hollywood a step further toward recognizing the value of producing Hispanic-content films with real Hispanic actors. In 1997, Nava followed up with another box-office smash hit, *Selena*, the screen biography of the Tejano music star who had recently died.

—Nicolás Kanellos

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## Navratilova, Martina (1956—)

With her unrivaled athleticism, aggressive style, and emotional intensity, Martina Navratilova transformed women's tennis into a power sport. Born and raised in Prague, Navratilova became the Czech national champion at fifteen. In 1975, as an eighteen-year-old, Navratilova made international headlines when she defected to the United States. She quickly became one of the top players in the world. But it wasn't until she radically changed her appearance and style of play—becoming the most physically fit and athletically aggressive woman on the tour—that she began to dominate the sport. A multiple winner of the four major tournaments, Navratilova reigned at Wimbledon, winning nine singles and six doubles championships. By the end of her career, she had won more single titles than any other tennis player, male or female. At the peak of her success, through a naïve belief in "American honesty," she shocked the world by coming out as a lesbian. She is considered by many to be the greatest woman tennis player of all time.

—Victoria Price

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## Naylor, Gloria (1950—)

Gloria Naylor, one of the most influential African American women writers of the late twentieth century, came to prominence in 1982 when she published *The Women of Brewster Place*, a novel that won her the American Book Award and was later adapted to television. Critic Henry Louis Gates has noted that the book boldly returns to and rejuvenates "naturalism as a mode of narration and plot development." A story of seven women, the novel depicts Brewster Place as a dead-end environment where the seven women are forced to come and stay. Yet through bonding, love, and humor the seven women of Brewster Place refuse to end their lives and stay resilient. Gifted with an innovative mind, Gloria Naylor is also known in American literary circles because of her relentless search for her own female voice; she pursues the search by rewriting canonical writers such as Shakespeare, Dante, and Geoffrey Chaucer in novels like *Linden Hills*, *Mama Day*, and *Bailey's Cafe*. *The Men of Brewster Place* (1998), is a response to her first novel from a black male perspective.

—Pierre-Damien Mvuyekure

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## Neckties

As an essential accessory of male business and formal wear, a sign of social connections and status, the necktie has been in general use since the 1830s. Its earliest origins, however, are to be found in the more practical neck-warming and face-protecting scarves worn by Croatian troops, dubbed cravats by the French in the 1630s. Adapted into voluminous swatches of lace or linen, these gained popularity with the expansion of Parisian fashion influence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and by the mid-nineteenth century, cravats had become largely ornamental.

During conservative and conventional times such as the first two decades of the twentieth century, the 1950s, and the 1980s, neckties have often been among the few sources of color and pattern in men's wardrobes. They have allowed their wearers to express individual tastes and even whimsy, but they have also reflected contemporary cultural and regional influences. In the American South and West during the late nineteenth century, the earlier neck-cloth evolved into the vestigial string or ribbon tie, while the bandanna soon diverged to serve practical ends for cowboys and other manual workers, and became the Boy Scout uniform's neckerchief in the early twentieth century. Finally, the leather-thonged bola emerged in 1949 to become the emblematic male neckwear of choice in at least the traditionally minded areas of the Southwest.

After the Civil War, throughout most of the rest of the United States, a "four-in-hand" style of knotting ever-narrowing neck



A customer shows off a bold patterned paisley necktie at a Buckhead men's store in Atlanta.

scarves became the enduring standard until the 1930s when it found competition from the Windsor knot. A fuller variation with a triangular knot, intended for wide-collar shirts, it was introduced by the Duke of Windsor and won some loyal adherents, beginning in the 1930s. Neckties—a term accepted by the fashion industry circa 1912—came to vary in width, design, and fabric according to the vogue. Made exclusively of natural materials, primarily silk and wool, and relatively understated before the 1930s, ties then began to appear in cotton as well as the newer synthetics of rayon, acetate, polyester, and even plastic. The 1930s also witnessed wider ties that complemented the larger lapels of double-breasted jackets.

Countess Mara, one of the first exclusive designers of limited quantity neckties for men who wished to distinguish themselves from the crowd, found the market viable enough to set up her first shop in 1938. Another sign that wearing the correct necktie might bode well for one's chances of upward mobility, was the preference of some twentieth-century American men for British club or regimental neckwear. The original intention of this tie was to identify the wearer as an alumnus of an exclusive educational or social establishment or a military veteran. After the rationing of the World War II years ended, a "bold look" characterized by "loud" neckties took hold from

approximately 1945-1952. Neckwear was often colorful and whimsical, adorned with animals, geometric patterns, or sporting motifs. They were sometimes also idiosyncratic, with artists such as Salvador Dali hand-painting designs on individual ties (although silk-screening mass-produced a similar look.) Novelty ties such as those whose designs glowed in the dark also burst forth in the 1940s, and found cultural echoes in the fish tie motifs of the late 1980s.

The more conservative Cold War decade of the 1950s saw a regression to skinny ties with relatively little space for elaborate decorations. Lasting until the mid-1960s, ties designed to meet this trend became so minuscule that it was hardly a surprise when they literally disappeared from the majority of male necks at that decade's conclusion. They were replaced, even on formal occasions, by turtlenecks and accompanying medallions. But the counter-culture's sensibilities during that era also stigmatized neckties as representations of the social conformity espoused by prep school students, establishment politicians and businessmen.

The subsequent Peacock Revolution in men's fashions, however, ushered neckwear back into style. The British Carnaby Street influence even popularized fleeting returns to the lace neckwear of previous centuries. By the mid-1970s, ties were again wide enough (at

a regulation five inches compared to an average width of two inches at one point during the previous decade) that they could sport many of the design elements that had appeared during the 1940s.

The return to a conservative, business-like temperament during the 1980s witnessed the advent of the entrepreneur's "power tie." This was first solid yellow, then red, and later of intricate designs from exclusive European fashion houses such as Gucci, Versace, Ferragamo, Hermes, or Sulka. Finally, the post-modern eclecticism that emerged in the 1990s saw the resurgence of several competing "retro" looks as young men in particular returned to the late Art Deco styles of the 1930s or to the skinny ties of the later 1950s. Tastes in clothing seemed to be dictated considerably less by the sense of the current era than by a nostalgic desire to return to a favorite decade of the past.

Throughout 150 years leading to the end of the twentieth century, long neckties occasionally appeared on women, especially as accessories of sporty female apparel during the 1890s, and in the "Annie Hall" look of the 1970s, popularized by Diane Keaton in the Woody Allen film of that name. Usually, however, women were more inclined to wear variations of a bow-tie rather than a necktie. The bow-tie has been an alternative for men as well, especially during the 1920s and 1930s. Although larger versions made their mark in the 1970s, John Malloy, touting fashion advice in *Dress For Success*, advised against them lest one not be taken seriously or be thought not quite honest.

—Frederick J. Augustyn, Jr.

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## Negro Leagues

When Jackie Robinson and Branch Rickey brought about the integration of Major League baseball in 1947, they sounded the death knell of the Negro Leagues. Like many players in the old Negro Leagues, Kansas City Monarchs first baseman Buck O'Neil was too old to play in the majors in 1947, and thus the demise of black baseball shortened his playing career. But no one was happier with baseball integration than Buck O'Neil, who later recalled: "as to the demise of the Negro Leagues—it never should have been, a Negro League. Shouldn't have been." Given the history of race relations in the United States in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Buck

O'Neil is sadly wrong—racial segregation in baseball probably could not have been avoided.

On September 18, 1869, the Pythian Baseball Club of Philadelphia became the first recorded all-black team to play an exhibition game against an all-white team, the City Items. Although they defeated the City Items, the National Association of Base Ball Players rejected the Pythian Club's bid for membership, declaring itself against the admission of any clubs composed of, or even including, African Americans. But despite official and unofficial opposition to integrated play, more than 50 African Americans played alongside whites in organized baseball during the 1870s and 1880s.

The year 1887 signaled the beginning of the end for blacks in organized white baseball. First, the St. Louis Browns refused to play an exhibition game against an all-black club. Then when Cap Anson, then the most powerful player in the game, discovered that the New York Giants were about to hire an African American ballplayer, he made it clear that neither he nor any of his white teammates would ever play a team with black players. The late nineteenth century saw the passage of the "Jim Crow" segregation laws in the South, and at the end of the century in the landmark *Plessey vs. Ferguson* case, the Supreme Court accepted the notion of separate but equal public facilities. In the face of a growing player's revolt against integrated play, the Major League owners made a "gentleman's agreement" to sign no more blacks. The Minor Leagues soon followed suit, and soon thereafter African Americans disappeared from organized white baseball.

African American baseball fans could still follow a number of independent professional teams such as the Chicago Unions, the Louisville Fall Cities, the Cuban X-Giants, the Indianapolis ABCs, and the New York Lincoln Giants. The best team at the turn of the twentieth century black baseball was the Chicago American Giants, who compiled a remarkable 123-6 record in one barnstorming season, led by their massively built pitcher-manager Andrew "Rube" Foster.

After World War I, black nationalist Marcus Garvey urged African Americans to adopt self-help as their watchword, to build up their own cultural institutions and their own business enterprises. "Rube" Foster heard Garvey's call, and in 1919 he began putting together the Negro National League in an effort to provide the North's new black citizens, products of the black migration from the South, with professional baseball of their own. Foster's league had eight teams, including the Kansas City Monarchs, the Detroit Stars, the Dayton Marcos, the Indianapolis ABCs, the Chicago and St. Louis Giants, the Chicago American Giants, and the barnstorming Cuban Giants. By 1923 the league was a huge success, drawing a season's total of some 400,000 fans.

White businessmen, drawn by the potential profits of black baseball, formed a rival organization, the Eastern Colored League. This white-owned Negro League had six teams, including the Brooklyn Royal Giants, the Baltimore Black Sox, the Philadelphia Hilldales, the New York Lincoln Giants, the Atlantic City Bacharach Giants, and the barnstorming Cuban Stars. With the establishment of bifurcated black baseball, a Black World Series was played in 1924 between the Kansas City Monarchs and the Philadelphia Hilldales. While Major League baseball turned toward the home run and Babe Ruth inspired "fence-ball" in the 1920s, the Negro Leagues kept alive the type of "scientific baseball" inspired by Ty Cobb, with an emphasis on base hits, stolen bases, defensive strategies, and guile.

The Great Depression hit black baseball even harder than the white Major Leagues. The white-owned Eastern League collapsed in



A Negro League baseball game between the New York Black Yankees and the Chicago American Giants.

1929, and the Negro National League went bankrupt in 1931. Black baseball relied on barnstorming to survive after 1931. The strongest of the barnstorming teams was the Homestead Grays, an all-star team owned by Cumberland “Cum” Posey. His rival Gus Greenlee, who ran the numbers racket in Pittsburgh’s black neighborhoods, bought a semipro team, the Crawford Colored Giants, in 1930, and began raiding Posey’s roster with offers of better pay.

Crawford’s roster included James “Cool Papa” Bell, a smooth fielding center fielder who may have been the fastest man in baseball history and later made the Hall of Fame. But Crawford’s greatest star, and black baseball’s biggest home run hitter, was catcher Josh Gibson. Gibson hit 70 home runs in the Negro National League’s final season of 1931, and his lifetime total may have approached 1,000. Legend tells us that on one afternoon in Pittsburgh, Gibson hit one ball so hard that it never came down. The next day in Philadelphia a ball dropped from the sky into an outfielder’s glove and the umpire pointed to Gibson and yelled, “You’re out—yesterday, in Pittsburgh!” Legends aside, Major League scouts who saw Gibson play referred to him as “the black Babe Ruth,” while fans of the Negro League thought that Ruth should have been called “the white Josh Gibson.”

Gibson was a product of the Black Migration to the North. His father was a sharecropper’s son from rural Georgia, who moved to Pittsburgh to work in the steel mills. Gibson had initially trained to be an electrician, but he went into baseball when he realized that he could earn more money. Unlike Ruth and the other power hitters of the “rabbit-ball” era, Gibson had a short, compact swing at the plate, relying on his massive arms and torso for his power, making it difficult to slip a breaking pitch by him. In 1943 the Pittsburgh Pirates sought permission from the commissioner’s office to sign Gibson to a Major League contract, but Commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis refused. Gibson, perhaps baseball’s greatest home run hitter, died a broken man.

Gus Greenlee built a \$60,000 stadium for the Crawfords, and in 1933 he took steps to revive the defunct Negro National League. The league now contained six teams, all of them under the control of his fellow racketeers—among the only members of the black community with enough capital in the midst of the Great Depression to finance a league.

The most popular star in black baseball was a tall, gangly pitcher named Leroy “Satchell” Paige. Anytime a team got into financial trouble, they would hire Paige to pitch for them, and the crowds would

pour in. Paige was born in the rural south, just outside Mobile, Alabama. He began in the Southern Negro League, playing for the New Orleans Pelicans, the Birmingham Black Barons, the Nashville Elite Giants, and the Cleveland Cubs, always searching for the best money, a pattern he would follow in the Negro National League.

Because black baseball was played in so many places and under so many auspices, no one knows precisely how many games Paige won. But Paige once struck out Rogers Hornsby five times in a barnstorming game, and after he beat the Dizzy Dean All-Stars in 1934, Dean pronounced him the greatest pitcher he had ever seen. Paige became best known for his humorous aphorisms, such as his prescription for "How to Stay Young": "avoid fried meats, which angry up the blood; if your stomach disputes you, lie down and pacify it with cool thoughts; keep the juices flowing by jangling around gently as you move; don't look back—something might be gaining on you." Despite his sleepy appearance, Paige had a shrewd sense of how to sell himself. His showmanship kept the Negro Leagues alive during the hard times of the 1930s.

By the late 1930s there was growing pressure to integrate baseball. At the 1936 Olympics in Berlin, Jessie Owens triumphed in track and field, winning four gold medals and representing American defiance of Nazi racial theories. In 1937, Joe Louis knocked out Jim Braddock to win the heavyweight championship, leading a small number of black sportswriters to begin actively campaigning for baseball's integration. The Congress for Industrial Organization (CIO) and the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) also began to advocate integration in their official publications.

But America's participation in World War II did the most to advance the cause of baseball's integration. In 1941 A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, warned that he would lead 50,000 blacks in a march on Washington if defense industries were not immediately opened to blacks as well as whites. President Franklin Roosevelt issued executive order 8802, making racial discrimination in federal hiring illegal. Black workers migrated in ever-greater numbers to northern cities seeking employment in the defense industries, causing a boom in attendance at Negro League games. But at the same time the hypocrisy of the United States fighting Nazi racism abroad, while "America's Pastime" practiced an overt racism at home, became more and more self-evident.

For 25 years Judge Landis had worked ceaselessly to enforce the old "gentleman's agreement" against the hiring of blacks by major league teams, but he died in 1944. Landis' replacement, Albert Benjamin "Happy" Chandler, was quoted as saying: "If a black boy can make it on Okinawa and Guadalcanal, hell, he can make it in baseball." Branch Rickey, the president and general manager of the Brooklyn Dodgers, had long believed that both fair play and big profits argued in favor of integration: "The greatest untapped reservoir of raw material in the history of the game is the black race. The Negroes will make us winners for years to come, and for that I will happily bear being called a bleeding heart and a do-gooder and all that humanitarian rot." Rickey only needed the right man to break the color line.

Jack Roosevelt Robinson was that man. The grandson of a slave, he had been born in Cairo, Georgia in 1919. His family moved to California, where at Pasadena Junior College and the University of California, Los Angeles Robinson excelled at every sport. In 1944 when Robinson left the Army he joined the Kansas City Monarchs, playing shortstop for \$400 per month. Robinson hit .387 for the Monarchs his first season, and he had a tryout with the Boston Red Sox. Although Boston manager Joe Cronin was impressed with

Robinson, the Red Sox passed on the opportunity to be the first team to integrate (instead they would be the last team). Instead it was Branch Rickey's Dodgers, on October 23, 1945, who announced that Jackie Robinson had been signed to play for their AAA team in Montreal.

Just as 1887 had signaled the beginning of the end for blacks in organized white baseball, 1945 signaled the beginning of the end for the Negro Leagues. But few mourned its final official passing in 1955. After Robinson's debut with the Dodgers in 1947, at the beginning of the civil rights movement, African Americans took their rightful place in the national game, redeeming America's pastime.

—Todd Anthony Rosa

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## Neighborhood Watch

Neighborhood Watch programs began as a citizen-based response to a rise in crime during the late 1960s. By 1972, it won approval from the National Sheriffs Association as an important crime prevention method. Presently, there are about 20,000 organized groups who work in conjunction with local police stations to help report suspicious behavior in neighborhoods. Perhaps best known for suburban street signs which depict a sinister-looking thief and the word "WARNING" in big letters, Neighborhood Watch represents a long-held faith in local neighborhoods as the cradle of community and safety among middle-class Americans.

—Kevin Mattson

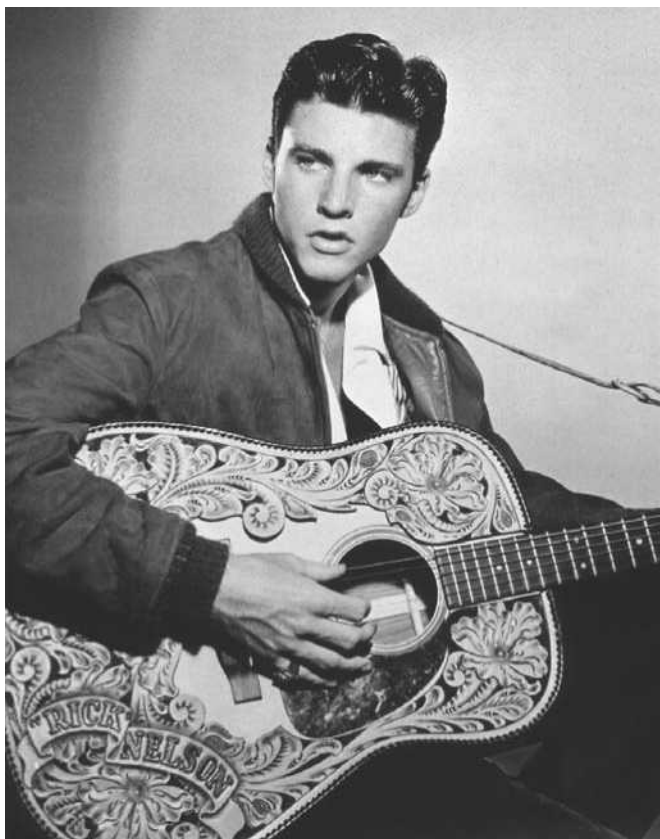
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## Nelson, Ricky (1940-1985)

Decades before MTV (Music Television), the synergy between television and the music industry was manifested by the career of Ricky Nelson. The first rock 'n' roll star created by television, Nelson was the youngest and most precocious member of the Nelsons, on the



**Ricky Nelson**

long-running *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*. For 14 years, “Ricky” virtually grew up in front of America. To viewers coast-to-coast, he was a surrogate son, brother, and friend. When he began to sing, he became a fantasy boyfriend and one of the leading teenage idols of the 1950s and early 1960s. But if being a member of “America’s favorite family” had made possible his music career, it also became a burden—as did the teen idol designation. As a result, Nelson’s artistry and status as a musical innovator has long been overlooked.

In fact, he was startlingly versatile, equally at home with rock ‘n’ roll, rockabilly, rhythm and blues, ballads, and country western music. A devotee of the break-through sounds that emanated from Sam Phillips’ Sun Records, he aggressively sought to collaborate with the era’s most creative talents. Early on, he worked with rockabilly greats Johnny and Dorsey Burnette and with legendary guitarist James Burton. Later, Nelson assembled the Stone Canyon Band; their country-rock helped pave the way for what came to be known as the “California sound.” Not coincidentally, Stone Canyon member Randy Meisner went on to found the group that perfected that sound—the Eagles.

Born Eric Hilliard Nelson, Ricky grew up in a musical family. Father Ozzie was a former band leader. Wife Harriet Hilliard Nelson had been the band’s singer. During the 1940s, their married life became impetus for the radio show *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*. Ricky was just nine when he and his older brother, David, joined the cast, playing themselves. They moved onto the big screen with the 1952 movie *Here Come the Nelsons*. It inspired the television series, which debuted on ABC on October 3, 1952.

As depicted by the Nelsons, Eisenhower-era family life was one of quiet complacency. Ozzie had no discernible job, Harriet was usually in the kitchen, and the boys’ most frequent line of dialogue was “Hi, Pop. Hi, Mom.” As a youngster, Ricky was known for his bristly crew-cut, wise-cracks, and panache with punch lines. As a teenager, he became known for his good looks, including heavy-lidded blue eyes, and pouty mouth.

Ozzie helped arrange the session that resulted in Ricky’s first record, a rendition of Fats Domino’s “I’m Walkin’.” Nelson performed the song in an April 1957 *Ozzie and Harriet* episode entitled “Ricky the Drummer.” Released two weeks later on Verve Records, it went Top Ten and became a million-seller. Ozzie liked to point out that *Ozzie and Harriet* helped to make rock ‘n’ roll respectable. The elder Nelson also recognized the potential of a television-music tie-in. At the time, the series was being watched by an estimated ten million teenagers a week; Ricky’s performances became powerful marketing tools—as did Ricky, who became a favorite of teenage fan magazines.

Under contract by Imperial Records, he also became a consistent hit-maker. Over a five-year period he had more than 35 songs on the charts, 15 of them Top Ten—among his most recognizable tunes: “Poor Little Fool,” “Lonesome Town,” “It’s Late,” “Teenage Idol,” “Hello Mary Lou,” and “Travelin’ Man.” The last, Nelson’s biggest hit, sold six million copies. As presented on *Ozzie and Harriet*, it also pre-dated the music videos of the MTV-era. Conceived by Ozzie, it was performed in a segment in which the singing Ricky was superimposed over travelogue footage. As Nelson grew older, he understandably attempted to discard his teen idol image, dropping the “y” from his name to become Rick Nelson and appearing in non-musical movies, such as the Howard Hawks-directed *Rio Bravo*. He also became less interested in the family series.

When the series ended in 1966, Rick attempted new musical directions. Exploring the Nashville sound, he cut a pair of critically-lauded albums. In 1969, his interest in literary-oriented artists like Bob Dylan and Tim Hardin, and Los Angeles’ country-folk movement, led to his formation of the Stone Canyon Band, with whom he delivered an evocative version of Dylan’s “She Belongs to Me.”

But he could not shake his past. At a 1971 Madison Square Garden revival concert, his changed look—including long hair—caught the audience off-guard. When he moved from vintage tunes to newer ones, the crowd erupted in boos. A visibly shaken Nelson later wrote and recorded “Garden Party,” in which he declared that he would rather drive a truck than perpetually sing his old songs. Nelson’s final Top Ten hit ironically revived interest in his teen idol past.

The consummate performer eventually returned to singing golden oldies. And by 1983 he was again being booked as “Ricky Nelson.” His final performance took place at P.J.’s Alley, a small, dark bar in Guntersville, Alabama, on December 30, 1985. Nelson was killed in a plane crash on December 31, while travelling to a New Year’s Eve show. The death of America’s favorite television son made front page headlines.

Today, a third generation of Nelsons continues in show business. During his marriage to Kris Harmon, daughter of football great Tom Harmon, Nelson fathered four children. Daughter Tracy Nelson is an actress. Twin sons Matthew and Gunnar, billed as Nelson, enjoyed a number one hit in 1990. Meanwhile, Ricky Nelson continues to enjoy rediscovery, as a musician and as a man. At the time of his death it was discovered that Nelson’s system contained traces of cocaine and other drugs. Fans were startled. What had happened to the perfect son from

the perfect family? Friends and relations have since come forward to admit that there were numerous discrepancies between the television and the real-life Nelsons. In truth, they were just as dysfunctional as most families. Far from being perfect, Ricky was just as human as the rest of us.

—Pat H. Broeske

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## Nelson, Willie (1933—)

A legendary name in U.S. country music, and promoter of the more eclectic "Texas sound" that draws liberally on rock, blues, and folk motifs, Nelson in the early 1970s helped lead the revolt against Nashville's domination of orthodox country music. In a career that began in the 1950s, Nelson has recorded more than 100 albums and many hit singles in a wide variety of genres and styles, making him a significant crossover artist. He has also starred in several motion pictures and is known as the founder of Farm Aid, an annual outdoor music festival to benefit struggling farm owners.

Nelson has been surrounded by music his entire life. He was born in 1933 in Abbott, Texas, a small farming community near Waco, to poor parents who had recently migrated from Arkansas in search of work. The Nelsons were migrant farmers, and Willie spent much of his youth picking cotton alongside sharecroppers during the Great Depression. Both of his parents grew weary of their meager existence and left Willie and his sister Bobbi to be raised by their grandparents, who surrounded the children with music. When Willie was six, his grandfather bought him his first guitar, and by the time he was in high school he was playing in a band alongside his sister. His early musical hero was Bob Wills, whose "western swing" was sweeping the Southwest in the 1940s; elements of the upbeat dance music of Wills and his Texas Playboys have often found their way into Nelson's music, then and now. After a short and unsuccessful attempt at college, and after a brief stint in the military during the Korean War, Nelson traveled throughout the American West looking for work in the music business.

While Nelson had always planned to become a performer, his entry into the industry came through his songwriting talents. He had begun writing songs, both lyrics and melodies, as a child, and in the early 1950s sold his first song, "Family Bible," which became a hit when recorded by Pappy Daily. The success of the song brought him to Nashville, where fellow Texan Ray Price hired Nelson to write for

Pamper Music. Soon thereafter he began to churn out a series of hits for several singers. In 1961, his song "Crazy," recorded by Patsy Cline, reached number one on the country charts and helped to vault Cline into the national spotlight. Other successes followed, including Ralph Emery's recording of "Hello Fool" and Faron Young's renditions of "Hello Walls" and "Three Days." Songwriting achievements opened the door for a recording contract with Liberty Records; his first album produced one hit, "Touch Me," but his own recordings failed to have the success that covers of his songs by other singers were enjoying. Beginning in the mid-1960s, Nelson started appearing on the Grand Ole Opry regularly, and continued to write and record. He signed a contract with Victor and recorded hits "The Party's Over," and "Little Things," and wrote "Night Life," a successful song recorded by Ray Price.

By the late 1960s, Nelson was an established figure in Nashville, but his career seemed to be stagnating. On a fateful day in 1971, his Nashville house burned down, and Willie saw the disaster as an omen to head back to Texas. He had, over the past few years, begun to associate with new writers and performers, including Kris Kristofferson, Billy Joe Shaver, and Waylon Jennings, who were outside the country music establishment. Back in Texas, Nelson began to cultivate a new style of country that borrowed from these outsiders and played upon the image of "outlaws" in the industry—a style with a harsh, edgy style more reminiscent of the "honky-tonk" style of Bakersfield, California, singers such as Merle Haggard. In 1972, Nelson organized an outdoor music festival in Dripping Springs, Texas, just outside of Austin, where he promoted new artists—Kristofferson, Jennings, and Tom T. Hall—along with established Nashville figures such as Tex Ritter and Roy Acuff. The festival, which became an annual event, drew on Austin's substantial counterculture and became legendary for its combination of country, rock, and folk music, also combined with drugs and alcohol. Nelson and others used the festivals to promote their "outlaw" image, with long hair, shaggy beards, and a rough edge that appealed to rock enthusiasts as much as country music fans. While most country artists who had crossover success did so in either pop or gospel, Nelson's 1975 album *Red Headed Stranger* performed well on the rock charts. The following year, Nelson and others of the outlaw group recorded *Wanted: The Outlaws!*, which stressed its departure from the Nashville sound even more. Several songs from this album became hits, including Jennings's "Suspicious Minds" and Nelson's "Good-Hearted Woman." The album went platinum, an unprecedented feat for a country album.

At the same time, Nelson continued to release a wave of hits. His albums *Shotgun Willie* (1973) and *Phases and Stages* (1974), recorded on the Atlantic label, met with great success, and his ballad "Blue Eyes Crying in the Rain" (1975) was a hit on the pop and country charts. In the late 1970s, he recorded an album of pop songs, *Stardust*, that spent several years on the country charts, blurring the lines between musical genres even more. His recording success allowed Nelson to launch yet another career, that of a motion picture star. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, he starred in several films, including *The Electric Horseman*, *Red Headed Stranger*, *Honeysuckle Rose*, and *Barbarosa*. He also began recording with other stars in a wide variety of musical genres, including Bob Dylan, Ray Charles, Neil Young, and Julio Iglesias. Yet at the same time Nelson never forgot his roots, and recorded with county music legends such as Faron Young and Webb Pierce, and has recorded several albums that herald back to Bob Wills's western swing. As one of The Highwaymen (the others were Jennings, Kristofferson, and Johnny Cash),



### Willie Nelson

Nelson released two more albums that reinforced the outlaw image that had brought so much success in the 1970s.

In the mid-1980s, Nelson revived the spirit of his outdoor festivals to help generate financial support for struggling American farmers. These Farm Aid gatherings, which attract scores of musicians and thousands of fans, continue to be a regular part of Nelson's work, along with his busy recording and touring schedule. Nelson continues to entertain fans of all stripes, having overcome highly publicized legal problems, including a huge debt to the Internal Revenue Service and a drug possession arrest. His album *Spirit* (1996), recorded by Island Records, features veteran performers such as Texas Playboys fiddler Johnny Gimble on a recording that offers tunes drawn from pop, rock, swing, and gospel. After more than four decades, Willie Nelson's eclecticism continues to make him a country-music sensation.

—Jeffrey W. Coker

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## Nerd Look

The nerd, a distillation of awkward male characteristics of the 1950s, was a social victim and outcast, if probably brainy. In 1985, *Life* magazine listed nerd traits as including adhesive-tape repaired glasses, high-waisted and high-water “geezer” pants, goofy smile, nerdpak (plastic pocket protector with pencils, pens, slide rule or calculator, etc.). Well equipped, but vulnerable, the nerd manifested physical awkwardness and adolescence. The hapless figure is portrayed by Jerry Lewis in *The Patsy* (1964). By the 1980s, the nerd has turned into an unlikely hero. *Revenge of the Nerds* (1984) and sequels



and the Broadway play *The Nerd* (1987), as well as Woody Allen films, and perhaps even the triumph and acceptance of the computer and its young entrepreneurs, valorized the nerd. He was the hero in Italian menswear magazines and assumed television *persona* in Urkel on the long-running *Family Matters*. The nerd's triumph is an endearing brain-over-brawn tortoise-over-hare victory.

—Richard Martin

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## Network

The black comedy film *Network* (1977) explored a brief period of populist indignation presided by President Jimmy Carter during which distrust of big government and multinational corporations pervaded America's post-Watergate consciousness. A crazed television talk show commentator's weekly battle cry that he's "mad as hell and not going to take it anymore" captured a crisis of public confidence in American business and political leaders that was fueled by economic recession, Arab oil cartel price-fixing, and poor health and safety standards in industry.

Written by television industry veteran Paddy Chayefsky and directed by socially conscious filmmaker Sidney Lumet, the film also indicted the television news business as a profit-driven enterprise that compromised the public interest by sacrificing prestige-driven, hard news reporting for ratings-driven, lurid tabloid sensationalism. Far ahead of their time, the creators of *Network* anticipated the negative impact television's role as an entertainment medium had on the quality of news reporting and public discourse in an age of "reality" television and "personality-driven" political salesmanship.

The parallel themes of how corporate profiteering can subvert the public service potential of a powerful mass communication technology and how a gullible public can be seduced by pseudo-populist personalities were also explored in earlier Hollywood offerings like *Meet John Doe* (1933) and *A Face in the Crowd* (1957). Both films are cautionary tales about the mass media's co-optation by power-hungry corporate magnates and about the American public's willingness to vest faith in barefoot political messiahs (a Will Rogers-inspired radio personality in the former, a guitar-strumming folk musician in the latter). However, both films' endings also suggested that the mass media's political integrity remained intact and that the American public was capable of distinguishing a celebrity from a hero.

Anticipating the rise of a 200-channel cable universe as the public's window to the world, *Network* jettisoned from its outset any residual faith in television news's integrity and the people's ability to distinguish between reality and televisual fiction. Veteran television news anchorman Howard Beale (Peter Finch) appears on-camera drunk during his final six o'clock newscast after being told he had been fired for poor ratings. Denouncing the state of the world as "bullshit" while bordering on a nervous breakdown, the aging journalist's overnight ratings soared. The following week, the new chairman of the network (Robert Duvall) transfers control over its news programming from an Edward R. Murrow-inspired network news executive (William Holden) to a baby-boomer entertainment executive raised on television (Faye Dunaway).

The latter performs a makeover of the newscast, transforming it into a three-ring circus featuring Sybil the Soothsayer, the gossip Mata Hari "and her skeletons in the closet," and a "Vox Populi" segment starring the "mad prophet of the airwaves" himself, Howard Beale. As "The Howard Beale Show" takes off in overnight ratings, the network follows it up with "The Mao-Tse Tung Hour," during which it broadcasts home movies of a communist "revolutionary" group's (modeled on the Symbionese Liberation Army) weekly bank robberies and kidnappings. A particularly hilarious send-up of television network dealmaking occurs when the Afro-coiffed leader of the group warns network lawyers during negotiations not to "fuck with my distribution costs."

Ironically, "The Howard Beale Show's" weekly mantra (announcer cue: "How do you feel?" Audience: "I'm mad as hell!") became a real-life bumper sticker slogan in 1978 for supporters of Jimmy Carter's successor, California Governor Ronald Reagan. In many ways, Reagan's election to the presidency proved a watershed in television's evolution as an entertainment medium. His deregulation of the television industry hastened the rise of ratings-driven news and talk show programming. A former television actor, Reagan also successfully sold himself as a "little guy" railing against the system while drawing support from wealthy, politically powerful Southern California business leaders.

—Chris Jordan

## Networks

Communications media networks were born with the 1926 radio sign-on of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), signaling the dawn of a new era of both communications and culture in America. The network concept is purely abstract—even in its practical form nothing but a series of wires or satellite connections. Yet the history and influence of the broadcast networks is one of the great stories of the twentieth century, for though they did not create it, the networks did cement the process of homogenizing American culture. By 1930, for the first time America was whistling to the same tunes, laughing at the same comedians, hearing the same politicians' speeches—instantaneously. The taste and judgement of a relative few urban, Northeastern network executives set national standards of everything from dialect and language to fashion and behavior. Only when the influence of the old-line networks had faded, by the end of the century, was it truly possible to grasp the power they held over the nation for so long.

Though the number of networks has grown exponentially over the decades, with the technology of their distribution methods improving by light-years, the concept has remained the same. A network is simply a set of affiliate stations that receive programming from one central source, then beam that programming by some method, either broadcast wave or cable wire, into the eyes and ears of a waiting public.

The first major radio network, the National Broadcasting Company, debuted in November 1926 with a glittering, distinctly high-brow, multi-city broadcast. Parent company RCA announced that the new network would "provide the best program available for broadcasting in the United States." In those early days, network broadcasting wore the cloak of dignity—announcers in nightclothes and no commercials; only "indirect" advertising was allowed on the air—shrouding its very definite for-profit intentions. A rousing success,

NBC was soon running two separate chains, the “Red network” and the “Blue network.” Each carried its own programs to its own set of affiliate stations, though the networks sometimes combined efforts to carry an important speech or news event. Meanwhile, the “indirect” advertising rule quickly gave way to the now-familiar “commercial announcement.”

By late 1927, NBC faced some competition. William Paley was the restless but ambitious 27-year-old heir to his family’s cigar fortune. Having already seen radio’s potential as a medium for advertising cigars, Paley jumped at the chance to enter the exciting new business of broadcasting. He bought out the struggling Columbia Broadcasting System (previously known as the United Independent Broadcasters chain, then the Columbia Phonograph Broadcasting System when that company invested heavily), signed up affiliates—and soon, NBC had itself some real, albeit impoverished competition in CBS.

The first genuine fad of the network age hit in 1929, when a pair of Chicago radio performers came to the NBC airwaves in a 15-minute nightly comedy serial called *Amos and Andy*. The series had been a smash in Chicago and in syndication, but it took national exposure on the NBC network to propel the series’ popularity into the stratosphere. Volumes have been written about *Amos and Andy*: stores and theatres piped in the broadcast to keep customers from fleeing homeward at the appointed hour; you could walk down any street on a warm night and hear the broadcast wafting out open windows at every house and store; most Americans could do their own imitations of such *Amos and Andy* catchphrases as “I’se regusted” and “Ooh Wah! Ooh Wah!”; both local and national leaders debated whether the program was harmless comedy or racial bigotry. That such scenes were playing themselves out simultaneously in every city, village, and hamlet across the land was the first real testament to the power of this new cultural force, the broadcast network.

By 1930, the old notion of radio as a purely local force was gone forever. Network programming soon stretched from morning ’til midnight, the networks assuming ironclad contractual control over much of their affiliates’ airtime. This practice guaranteed maximum “clearance” for advertisers’ commercials; it coincidentally ensured that Americans would share a collective common experience each time they sat before their radios.

When vaudevillians like Jack Benny and Eddie Cantor debuted on the networks in the early 1930s, they found themselves playing to a bigger audience in a single half-hour than they would have faced in a lifetime of stage work. Likewise, listeners in Idaho or Alabama who would never have been able to see Benny or Cantor perform soon took for granted a free show—in their own homes yet—each week. When President Franklin Roosevelt took to the network air upon his inauguration in 1933, his efforts at calming a Depression-panicked populace succeeded in large measure because his words were heard instantaneously by millions of Americans.

The Mutual Broadcasting System came next, formed in 1934 as a loosely organized co-op of major independent stations like WGN in Chicago and WOR in New York. Though it eventually found itself with the most affiliates of any of the networks, Mutual never really competed with NBC or CBS in terms of ratings or budget. Attempts at launching new national chains—like comedian Ed Wynn’s Amalgamated network in 1934—were notorious failures, though several smaller regional networks did operate successfully: Intercity on the east coast, Don Lee on the west.

The “big boys” continued to thrive, settling into the routines and traditions that exist to this day. The broadcast schedule consisted

of news in the morning; soaps and talk shows in the daytime; more news in the evening; then big-time, big-budget entertainment at night. The September to May broadcast “season” became a tradition. Tired shows fell by the wayside; new favorites quickly took their places. A “next wave” of popular entertainers and programs—*Fibber McGee and Molly*, Bob Hope, Red Skelton, Edgar Bergen—took hold in the late 1930s. But it was an incident that occurred on the night of October 30, 1938 that provided the clearest demonstration yet of the broadcast networks’ power over the populace.

It was only a dramatization, but later estimates report more than one million people believed it—and panicked—when Orson Welles and his *Mercury Theatre on the Air* presented a modern-day version of H.G. Wells’ *War of the Worlds*, told partly through a series of staged but authentic-sounding news bulletins. People ran for their lives; police and radio station switchboards were flooded with frantic calls; at CBS headquarters, armed guards surrounded Welles’ studio even as the broadcast proceeded. “War of the Worlds” was a sensation; the panic was front-page news. Ironically, it was CBS’ own recent coverage of the European war crisis that had conditioned the radio audience to respond when somebody said, “We interrupt this program.” By the time the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor in December 1941, radio’s real-time news capability was commonplace.

It would be impossible to overstate the effect the radio networks had on America’s wartime psyche. Entertainment programs never doubted the righteousness of America’s cause or the skill of its leaders; indeed, wartime events served as a creative jump-start for many series. Meanwhile, the broadcast journalism of the period successfully walked a fine line between patriotism and jingoism. True, Americans heard scant criticism of war aims or military leadership; but in terms of simple reporting of facts, the networks’ news departments were in top form, managed by dedicated professionals who vowed to treat their audience equally seriously. The notion that the entire nation could gather round its radios and hear a status report on the latest battle or campaign—this was an incredible innovation, a revolution of both journalism and its public consumption.

By this time there was a “new” national network, after a government anti-trust decision forced NBC to sell one of its two chains. The network had been accused of using its decidedly second-string Blue network to stifle competition in cities that were just getting their second or third radio station. The Blue was sold to LifeSavers candy magnate Edward Noble, becoming the Blue Network of the American Broadcasting Company, then simply the American Broadcasting Company, or ABC, by September 1945.

Those early post-war years were some of the grandest in network history; prime-time entertainment programs were at their slickest, big-budget best. CBS chief William Paley returned from wartime service determined to take his chain to number one; the results would resound for decades. Whereas previously advertising agencies had complete control over the programs broadcast on the network air, CBS began producing many of its own shows, then selling the advertising time. The result was a set of series (*Our Miss Brooks*, *My Friend Irma*, *My Favorite Husband*) that invented the modern-day sitcom. Meanwhile, having apparently despaired of developing his own big-name talent, Paley also managed to steal away many NBC favorites in the legendary 1948-49 talent raids known as “Paley’s Comet.” Jack Benny, Amos and Andy, Bing Crosby, Burns and Allen, Groucho Marx, Edgar Bergen, and others all defected during this period, for various reasons. CBS ruled the ratings chart for the first time in its history. And while NBC managed to hang on to Bob

Hope, *Fibber McGee and Molly*, *One Man's Family*, and others, the damage was done. CBS, purposely or not, had also managed to put itself into the best competitive position in that new medium—television.

The networks' TV experimentation had started in earnest nearly a decade-and-a-half earlier; NBC had even begun a pattern of "regular broadcasts" with an extravaganza from the 1939 New York World's Fair. There was not much of an available audience and the war put a halt to most of the experimenting. By 1947, however, the networks were back at full steam. Although initially CBS stubbornly held out for color TV, featuring a system that would have rendered every current black-and-white set useless, the network finally relented when consumers proved unwilling to abandon their existing sets. Meanwhile, the fledgling DuMont network—founded and managed by the electronics manufacturer of the same name—seemed to be in a good position to overtake ABC as the "third network" in the new medium. Without its own radio chain to provide talent and financial support, however, that goal proved unattainable.

None of the big radio stars were willing to take the plunge at this early date, but advertisers were testing the television waters. Even as the papers were full of stories about Jack Benny's switch of radio networks, a definite trend developed: in cities where viewers could choose, TV became the favorite. NBC television found its first bonafide hit in Milton Berle's *Texaco Star Theater* in 1948. Viewing outpaced radio listening in city after city by 1949.

Radio ratings didn't collapse all at once; instead, the sun set agonizingly slowly over the networks' glory days. A Korean War freeze on some manufacturing put the brakes on the spread of television during the early 1950s, to interesting effect: even as television ruled the nation's cities, the outlying areas were still totally dependent on radio. Jack Benny, Bob Hope, Burns and Allen, Red Skelton, and others made the jump to television early in the new decade; Jackie Gleason and Lucille Ball joined Milton Berle as the first genuine sensations the new medium had produced on its own. To be sure, network radio was enjoying a creative resurgence during this period; daring new series like *Dragnet* and *Gunsmoke* were a breath of fresh air to viewers.

The radio advertising market had collapsed. The city audience had deserted the medium in droves; most remaining listeners joined the exodus when mass manufacturing resumed in 1953. By 1955, of the legendary comedians who had ruled the airwaves for 25 years, only Edgar Bergen remained on the radio. Nighttime drama was all but dead; NBC, in particular, began experimenting with the long-form news/talk format; network "news on the hour" was an innovation during this period. November 25, 1960 is often referred to as "the last day of network radio": on that Friday after Thanksgiving, CBS broadcast the final installments of everything from *Ma Perkins* to *Amos and Andy*. The last two network dramas came to an end in 1962. (The long-running detective opus *Yours Truly, Johnny Dollar* was the last radio network drama). Network television was now the unchallenged king of America's living rooms, a position it would hold for another two decades.

The era was a remarkably stable one for the industry. The DuMont network folded in 1956, but NBC, CBS, and ABC thrived. Their access into the nation's homes—and consciousness—during this period was unparalleled. The networks and their product influenced fashion—everything from coon-skin caps to Capri pants and bouffant hairdos; language—expressions as familiar as "And away we go" and "Here comes the judge" began as TV catchphrases; and politics—television news led the way in questioning America's

involvement in Vietnam, and while few Americans had access to the *Washington Post*, the networks' coverage of Watergate made it into every home in the nation. As NBC and CBS spent the decades fighting it out for first place in the ratings, the networks became adept at turning public fancy into inescapable fad: Westerns gave way to the rural comedies of the early 1960s; series such as *The Beverly Hillbillies* in turn surrendered to the popularity of *All in the Family* and other socially relevant comedies of the early 1970s. ABC (which for decades had been nicknamed "Almost a Broadcasting Company") was catapulted to its first-ever reign at the top on the strength of series like *Charlie's Angels* and *Three's Company* in the mid-1970s. As late as 1979, the networks could manage to draw nearly 100 percent of the available viewing audience on any single night.

In 1975 the Home Box Office pay channel took to the air via satellite, its signal beamed into homes via the local cable systems whose previous service had been providing clearer signals of faraway broadcast stations. The idea of receiving unedited, recent theatrical films via cable—even for a small fee—proved popular and profitable; other entrepreneurs quickly took the hint. Atlanta businessman Ted Turner was soon uplinking the signal of his UHF independent station; with characteristic modesty, Turner called his baby the "Superstation"—and it soon found a coast-to-coast audience. Turner's Cable News Network debuted in 1980. Although the broadcast networks sneered, their contempt soon turned to outright fear.

By the mid-1980s, dozens of cable networks had carved profitable niches for themselves. The television audience that had contented itself for decades with three or four channels suddenly had ten times that many from which to choose: everything from evangelist Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network to the all-sports ESPN to the all-music MTV—perhaps the first cable network to spark its own generational and cultural revolution.

To be sure, the audience for each of these cable networks was tiny, the barest fraction of the audience for even the lowest-rated traditional network program. But the combined weight of cable viewership sent the old-line networks' ratings into an irreversible downward spiral by the mid-1980s. Their consignment to irrelevance was neither immediate nor quick; like the radio networks before them, the television chains found themselves dying slow, lingering deaths, with few options for salvation. A 1990s cable series, *South Park*, was considered a smash—featured on the cover of *Newsweek*, the talk of its generation, and a merchandising bonanza. Yet it drew barely two million viewers per week. True, they were the young, affluent viewers advertisers craved; yet there simply were not enough of them to make the program a success on a traditional broadcast network. It was the great paradox: the old networks' audience was still vast; yet by continuing to program for a mass, homogenous audience in the age of niches and demographic targeting, the networks had effectively ceded their long-standing role as a guiding cultural force. The addition of several new broadcast networks—Fox in the 1980s, UPN, WB, and Pax in the 1990s—served to further disperse the former mass audience.

The networks' decline had no lesser consequences than their rise. The audience became so fragmented, the number of viewing choices so great, that the concept of the great national audience simply vanished: no more universally understood catchphrases, no more monster-hit series, at least not in the old sense. The youngest generation didn't even remember the day of three or four channels; by the end of the twentieth century, even the network concept itself was permanently endangered.

Cable, too, was threatened by rapidly advancing technology. Suddenly, it was possible for consumers to bypass the network setup

entirely, and have their own individual choice of program services beamed directly into their homes by satellite. The technology had existed for years, in bulkier and more expensive form, but the direct-satellite industry exploded in the late 1990s. Suddenly there were 500 or more channel choices, a development that served to further fragment the viewing audience. Many cable networks even launched second (or third or fourth) satellite-carried program services, carving their audience niches into even smaller pieces. Meanwhile, the booming satellite industry was the greatest threat yet to the traditional broadcast networks. Most satellite systems bypassed the local network affiliates entirely, in the process rendering the broadcast network apparatus, completely irrelevant.

Indeed, at the end of the century, the once-miraculous notion of radio or TV signals wafting through the air into American homes seemed superfluous, even foreign, to the youngest generation of television viewers. Truly, the era of the networks' cultural dominance was over. However, the era's legacy will live on as long as radio or television, in whatever form, continues to be a factor in American cultural life.

—Chris Chandler

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## New Age Music

The genre of calm, tranquil music known as New Age emerged from several conflicting trends in popular music in the 1960s and 1970s. It originated on one level from the electronic music (sometimes referred to as "space music") of the late 1960s. Itself a nascent musical form, electronic music was embraced by groups like Tangerine Dream, and incorporated into the music of progressive rock groups such as Pink Floyd and Yes. On another level, and slightly after the popularization of electronic music, New Age music grew out of the dissatisfaction of some musicians with the pervasive influence of technology in contemporary music. These musicians made an attempt to return to simpler ways of making music, and began writing and recording peaceful, unobtrusive pieces, mainly for acoustic guitar and piano. These two trends, paradoxically, combined to form what

would be known as New Age music; in addition, the style was informed by other established genres like jazz and classical music, and by various forms of ethnic music, particularly Celtic. As a result of New Age's disparate roots, listeners, fans, and critics have always had difficulty in defining it, and record company executives have had similar difficulties in labeling and merchandising New Age recordings. Nevertheless, New Age music became very popular in the final two decades of the twentieth century, with many successful record labels devoted solely to releasing New Age music.

Much of the draw of New Age music lies in its functionality; it may be the only form of music to have a purpose beyond that of the enjoyment of the music itself. With the advent of all manner of self-awareness and higher-consciousness trends and fads floating about in the 1970s, and the increasing popularity of non-traditional ideas regarding health and well-being, this music, because of its characteristic placidity and lack of dissonance, became the soundtrack for the emerging "New Age" lifestyle. By the 1980s, New Age shops were quite common, and customers could buy healing crystals as well as books on diverse topics relating to concepts like "inner harmony" and "cosmic consciousness." Cassette tapes of relaxing music were also offered in these stores as aural companions for whatever New Age program the browser had embarked upon. This function, then, was what provided New Age music with its single unifying aspect: the ability to provide an appropriate relaxing soundscape for meditation or other restful, pensive pursuits.

The initial thrust of New Age was electronic, and the interest in it was mostly due to pioneering FM radio shows like *Inner Visions* and *Music from the Hearts of Space*, which began in 1967 and 1973, respectively. These programs showcased the synthesized music known then as "space music" and only later dubbed "New Age." In the mid-1970s, the confusion began when guitarist Will Ackerman started the infamous Windham Hill record label as a means of distributing his own music. Ackerman, and the other artists who were signed to his label, felt their music had little in common with the highly produced, highly synthesized music being recorded in the late 1970s, and sought to bring about a revival of acoustic music. It is ironic that Windham Hill, a record label with an aesthetic so opposed to that of the "space" and electronic music movement, ended up sharing the same shelf and record bin space with that very genre. Music released on Windham Hill albums was homogeneous in structure, if not instrumentation, and the strikingly austere cover art was always identifiable as a "Windham Hill cover." This meant that, when Windham Hill was widely recognized as a New Age label, all the artists who recorded with the label were considered, by extension, New Age artists, regardless of their classical, jazz, folk, or bluegrass backgrounds. New Age recordings became very commercially lucrative, even if consumers and marketers were unsure of what actually constituted "New Age music."

The profit margins and confusion increased with the introduction of ethnic music into the equation, a process that began to take place in the late 1980s. Celtic music (itself a very broad and vague category) was the most successful ethnic music to be affiliated with the New Age genre, an assimilation made possible by the success of Irish pop musicians Enya and Clannad, the group she occasionally performed with, who specialized in a breezy, ethereal type of music. The particular instruments used in traditional Celtic folk music appealed to the Windham Hill acoustic aesthetic and the mythology associated with the Celtic culture and history fit well with the mystical and spiritual characteristics of New Age music. Windham

Hill and other New Age record labels like Narada and Hearts of Space started releasing albums with "Celtic" in the title with the (well-founded) assumption that sales would increase even more. Other ethnic music that found a home under the New Age firmament included Native American and Indian music, highlighted respectively by Douglas Spotted Eagle and U. Srinivas.

By the mid-1990s, the category of "New Age music" had exploded in countless different directions, making a once-confusing genre now impossible to define. British singer/songwriter Peter Gabriel's Realworld record label specialized in bringing together musicians from disparate cultures; more often than not, the results were similar to what had become known as traditional New Age music, but without the underlying ethos that initially defined it. Another parallel genre, spearheaded by Brian Eno, was ambient music, which also had its roots in early 1970s electronic experimentation. The difference between ambient and New Age was more subtle and, perhaps, academic. Ambient did not necessarily share New Age's lofty ideals, and had no extra-musical function. By the late 1990s, however, New Age music had changed from a musical genre whose practitioners saw themselves as part of a larger spiritual movement, to a marketing and merchandising tool for record company executives and music store owners who were not sure where to place recordings by artists who defied easy categorization.

Critics were generally dismissive of New Age music, calling it "aural wallpaper" and claiming that it was devoid of content. Nevertheless, fans of the genre, mainly people who had bought into the corresponding New Age lifestyle, were undeterred in their appreciation of the music. While record stores, bookstores, and spas were airing the music frequently, many other people responded less than enthusiastically to it. By the 1990s, the music became the butt of many widely circulated jokes, to the extent that the genre began to gain significance not only as an artistic expression of the entire New Age phenomenon, but also as a cultural barometer indicative of the opinions shared by people who were not part of this group.

Due to the ambiguous marketing of New Age music, and the haphazard labeling of musicians as "New Age," many performers resisted the tag. The popular keyboardist Suzanne Ciani told *Billboard* magazine in a 1995 article that she prefers to be recognized "as a contemporary classical composer and performer," instead of a New Age artist, because "there was so much debris attached to the term, and I didn't want to spend half my day explaining what I wasn't." Many Celtic and other ethnic musicians are also unhappy with the tendency for their music to be viewed as "New Age," which they feel devalues the tradition and importance of their work. Others, however, such as ex-Jefferson Starship guitarist Craig Chaquico, are perfectly content to be acknowledged as New Age artists. The trend towards disavowal of the New Age genre extends to record company executives as well. Will Ackerman, the founder of Windham Hill, was never comfortable with the label's "New Age" image and preferred terms like "Contemporary Impressionism" or "New Acoustic Music." Neither of these, apparently, were as catchy as "New Age" and the term, with all its cultural implications, stuck.

Towards the end of the 1990s, New Age music became a victim of its own cannibalization of other forms of music, to the extent that the term no longer had any relevance in contemporary culture. All the styles that had been co-opted by New Age music, and its marketers, had grown and progressed beyond that genre. The role that New Age music played in massage therapy offices, clinics, and in meditation was still being filled by the same type of music, but it was now called

any number of other names ranging from the aforementioned Celtic and Ambient to electroacoustic music. The term "New Age music" came to signify the aimlessness and blandness with which much of the music was identified.

—Dan Coffey

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## New Age Spirituality

New Age spirituality blended ancient occult practices with a religious eclecticism made possible by the global village and the information age. California historian of religions Robert Ellwood described the movement as a "build-your-own-religion kit," where attractive ideas old and new come together in creative patterns designed by each individual. New Age unveiled a kaleidoscope of devotional exercises from East and West, alternative medicines from traditional societies and urban healing cults, psychotherapeutic techniques from the self-realization movement, science fiction fantasies, witchcraft, and earth worship.

While numerous practices of New Age spirituality claimed origins in antiquity, the end-of-century movement sprang from the youth revolutions of the 1960s. The alternative culture's experiments, particularly the use of mind altering drugs to attain higher states of awareness, gave character to the lifestyle and arts of even the broader culture. As the twentieth century was coming to an end, the customary *fin de siècle* mood was intensified by the awareness that the end of a millennium was also approaching. Even within the lives of the maturing flower children of the 1960s, enormous changes had taken place. Computers had become essential tools of work and personal management in what was often referred to as the third industrial revolution. Old fears of nuclear holocaust had been replaced by threats of global warming, the destruction of the ozone layer, and the claustrophobic crowding from overpopulation. Popular entertainment fed the apprehensions with its tales of microbes and meteorites attacking Earth. New Age spirituality addressed these fears.

The liberation movements of the last half of the twentieth century also had their impact on New Age spirituality. Feminism was attentive to a revival of goddess worship, Wicca cults, and gender

blending ceremonies. The shaman or witch doctor of traditional societies was sought out for his ancient wisdom. Aboriginal Australian and Native American religions were studied for what they could reveal about dream states and natural harmonies. While the white Anglo-Saxon ethos was denigrated, any practice or art form labeled “Celtic” was heralded. With the ease of travel and swiftness of communication that the twentieth century brought, the wise and mysterious East seemed suddenly accessible. New Agers were skeptical of Western religions but open to the ancient faiths of India, China, and Japan. Zen meditation, Taoist doctrines of Yin and Yang, Buddhist quietism and nonviolence, and Hindu beliefs in karma and reincarnation were freely adapted.

The high priest of New Age was the guru, the meditation master, and the healer. Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, Indian born teacher of Transcendental meditation, attracted attention in the West in the 1960s, when the Beatles became his followers. Science fiction writer L. Ron Hubbard was the guru of Scientology, though in his later years he became an elusive figure, traveling the seven seas in his private vessel and communicating only through his writings. New Age gurus included Philadelphia activist Ira Einhorn, widely known as the Unicorn, who operated a communication network financed by AT&T. He sought to save the world from destruction through love and the evolution of superior consciousness, even as he came to speak more and more about negative influences coming from the CIA, KGB, and UFOs. After the mummified body of his paramour was discovered in his closet, he fled to Europe to escape trial. A more benign guru, respected worldwide for his political courage and humanitarianism, was the Dalai Lama.

A flourishing market in books by New Age teachers emerged in the last decades of the century. In many bookstores the shelves devoted to New Age outnumbered those given over to established religion. Some of the most successful writers were Shakti Gawain, M. Scott Peck, Louise Hay, Clarissa Pinkola Estes, and, possibly the most celebrated of all, Deepak Chopra. Even the books of orthodox Christians such as C. S. Lewis and J. R. R. Tolkien were appropriated by the New Age, their fantasies taken much more literally than the two authors intended.

Ecological concern was a central focus of New Agers. The Earth deserved to be cherished; her rain forests and oceans were to be protected; animals were entitled to respect. Earth, perceived as a female force, remained the best mother, teacher, and healer; ecofeminist theology reached even established theological seminaries. Personified, even deified as Gaia, the Earth was attended with animistic ceremonies, affirming the spirits in all creatures. Healing from Earth’s natural herbs, crystals, and aromas was preferred to the ministrations of high tech medicine.

Monotheistic religions were linked in many minds with the despoiling of Earth, while devotion to a multiplicity of gods, it was believed, would reawaken forces that restore equilibrium. Even a venerable institution such as the Unitarian church, with its origins in New England Puritanism, found itself debating the admission of practicing pagans into its fellowship in the last decade of the century.

The New Age was an arts and crafts as well as a spiritual movement. Weaving, pottery, jewelry making, and quilting experienced revivals, along with traditional methods of preparing organically grown foods. Carpentry, a craft often associated with divinity in ancient times, was especially honored by the New Age. The artistic expression of even Western mysticism was welcome. Jewish Hasidic and Sufi dervish dances and chants intrigued New Agers. Gregorian chants by monks and electronic adaptations of the music of Abbess

Hildegard Von Bingen were commercially recorded and outsold the compact discs of Native American and Tibetan musicians.

Inevitably, the excesses of New Age spirituality sparked satire. The Reformed Druids of North America (RDNA) organized as a joke and soon had serious inquirers. The Hasidic Druids formed in 1976, also tongue in cheek. But New Age spirituality was a serious matter, delivering to its adherents the perpetual comforts and assurances of religion. It provided an outlet for those disenchanting with Christianity and Judaism but unready to accept the secular worldview. Moreover, its music, crafts, and the frequent joyfulness of the movement enriched the surrounding mainstream culture.

—Allene Phy-Olsen

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## New Deal

Initiated in 1933, just days after the inauguration of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR), the New Deal encompassed a vast array of legislation designed to relieve the homelessness, unemployment, and failed economy of the Great Depression, to bring about recovery on America’s farms and industry, and to reform the economic and social problems which precipitated the depression. More than just an attempt to get the economy back on track, the New Deal also sought to reinvigorate American ideals, traditions, and expression through a series of cultural programs designed to elevate folk art and bring the elite arts to the masses. In doing so, the New Deal left a legacy of public art, literature, music, theater, and photography, while also influencing the popular media of radio and film.

Seeking to further aid in recovery in 1935, FDR established the Works Progress Administration (WPA, later called the Works Projects Administration). This vast and organizationally complex body sponsored the construction of roads, bridges, parks, sidewalks, airports, sewage systems, water systems, levies, and public buildings, such as post offices, schools, and hospitals. Like earlier relief efforts it was created to employ the unemployed, but in a departure from earlier relief employment programs, the WPA developed several projects designed to employ artists, writers, musicians, and actors. When asked why the government would concern itself with unemployed actors and artists, WPA administrator Harry Hopkins retorted: “Hell, they’ve got to eat just like other people.” The WPA arts projects grew out of a set of conditions unique to America of the 1930s. First and foremost, FDR believed that support of the arts by the government would not only employ starving artists but would help uplift the American spirit by creating beautiful art, plays, and music. Secondly, many artists (befitting their liberal, or even communistic tendencies) felt it was a public right to have access to good art, a “cultural right” as they put it. Thirdly, many in Roosevelt’s administration hoped their work would bring about “cultural democracy,” the logical sequel to

political and economic democracy. And finally, the depression had made Americans aware of their own uniqueness, even in the arts. Several of these projects were small and their accomplishments remain obscure, such as the WPA Dance Theater, with its accompanying Young Choreographers Laboratory, and the Composers Forum-Laboratory of the Federal Music Project. And while these various projects differed in direction and purpose, they all shared an overriding concern to discover America and define what is American.

To direct the Federal Art Project, Hopkins selected a museum curator, Holger Cahill. Cahill set out the project's objectives in an operating manual in which he argued that "through employment of creative artists, it is hoped to secure for the public outstanding examples of contemporary American art; through art teaching and recreational art activities to create a broader national art consciousness and work out constructive ways of using leisure time; through services in applied art to aid various campaigns of social value; and through research projects to clarify the native background in the arts." Cahill concluded that "the aim of the project will be toward an integration of the arts with the daily life of the community, and an integration of the fine arts and practical arts." To this end, approximately 9,000 artists and art teachers were employed by the art project, creating 2,566 murals and 17,744 sculptures for public schools, hospitals, libraries, and post offices. These murals, suggesting the works of great Mexican muralists such as Diego Rivera, followed the theme of hard working American men and women. They showed Americans at work and play utilizing native American art styles, some art deco, some copying regional artists such as Grant Wood and Thomas Hart Benton.

The result was 108,099 paintings and over 100 community art centers, many of which became permanent community fixtures. Another project, the Index of American Design, sought to catalogue and reproduce items illustrating a uniquely American style, such as weathervanes, decoys, ships' figureheads, cigar store Indians, and other regional and ethnic arts. By the mid-1960s it was estimated that the works created under this project were worth more than the project itself cost. Several artists who developed their talent in the arts project became famous later in their careers, such as Jackson Pollack and Willem de Kooning. For the most part, however, the products of the arts projects were not masterpieces, but rather locally unique arts and crafts projects, art classes for kids, and art appreciation lectures.

The director of the Federal Theater Project was Hallie Flanagan, from the Vassar College Experimental Theatre. She envisioned the creation of a vast new audience for the theater by sponsoring community theater groups. One way of creating this new audience was to write plays that were specifically of interest to its audience. The *Living Newspaper* became one attempt to mold theater to the documentary drama of everyday concerns by having actors recreate local events in a theater setting. The theater project also sponsored programs of everything from Shakespeare to modern farce, Gilbert and Sullivan, children's plays, and folk plays. The Federal Theater Project was perhaps the most controversial of the arts projects since many of the people involved were known to have radical and even communist sympathies. Secondly, the theater industry was centered in New York City and left many states outside of the project altogether—in total, 31 states saw the effects of the theater project. Roosevelt's adversaries in Congress used the radical tendency of the Theater Project as a way to attack the New Deal, and eventually they were able to shut down the project altogether in 1939, with arguments reminiscent of more recent battles over funding for the National Endowment for the Arts in the 1990s.

More utilitarian in its creations, the Federal Writers' Project employed over 10,000 people in various projects. Favoring non-fiction over poetry, novels, and short stories, the writers' project produced guides and pamphlets describing America. Under the direction of Henry Alsberg, a former editorial writer, the project produced the American Guide Series which generated guides for each state modeled after the European Baedeker guidebooks. The guides were composed of three parts: essays on a variety of subjects such as history, people, arts, economy, politics, and religions of each state; information on the state's cities; and motor tours of the state with descriptive information. The rationale for these guides was the desire to stimulate travel and tourism, encourage resources conservation by arousing local pride, and to broaden scholarly interests by making available more historical facts. In addition to the state guides there were regional and specific guides such as *The Berkshire Hills* and *U.S. Highway One: from Maine to Florida*. The Writers' Project also created the Life in America series with such volumes as *The Armenians in Massachusetts*, *The Hopi*, and *Who's Who in the Zoo*. Another project was a volume entitled *American Stuff*, which featured American short stories such as "Uncle Tom's Children" by Richard Wright. The Federal Writers' Project also concerned itself with the collection of folklore. Under the direction of America's two premier folklorists, John A. Lomax and Benjamin A. Botkin, the project recorded the stories of over 2,000 ex-slaves and collected stories of local customs and folklore.

While not a part of the WPA or any of the art projects, folk music collecting was also a concern of the government. Based out of the Library of Congress, the Archive of Folk Song (later renamed the Archive of Folk Culture), collected the songs of slaves, Appalachian mountain folk, cowboys, lumberjacks, sailors, and Dust Bowl migrant workers. Under the direction of John Lomax and his son Alan, the Archive of Folk Song "discovered" the music of Huddie Ledbetter, better known as Leadbelly, and Woody Guthrie, and recorded conversations with them and their songs. Two young folklorists, Charles Todd and Robert Sonkin, traveled to California to record the songs of the migrants in the Farm Security Administration camps.

Perhaps the most influential of the cultural projects of the New Deal was one which grew out of the Farm Security Administration (FSA). Headed by Roy Stryker, the photographic division of the FSA sought to document the living and working conditions of Americans during the Depression. Stryker was able to assemble the best photographers of the day into the photographic unit, including Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange, Ben Shahn, Russell Lee, Arthur Rothstein, and Margaret Bourke-White. Many of the photographers produced works of their own such as Margaret Bourke-White's *You Have Seen Their Faces* (with Erskine Caldwell), Dorothea Lange's *An American Exodus* (with Paul Taylor), and Walker Evans' *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (with James Agee). These photographers and their photographs publicized the plight of mainly rural people, from the Dust Bowl migrants to Southern tenant farmers and Cajuns in Acadiana.

The photo collection of the FSA also illustrates the main impulse behind the federally sponsored cultural activities of the New Deal: documentation. In all aspects of these various projects, New Deal reformers sought to document the lives of Americans in order to understand, and eventually change, their behavior. Utilizing the methods of social science, these reformers tried to both preserve and destroy regional, ethnic, occupational, and religious differences in the name of modernization and reform. Predominant in the works produced by these projects is the theme of rural life or work in the out of doors. Much of this is due to the idea that it was on the frontier of the

nineteenth century where Americans were most clearly American; or more precisely, the frontier created the American character. Writers as far back as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Walt Whitman felt that a uniquely American literature would have to come from areas where nature imposed itself on the everyday life of Americans. John and Alan Lomax felt they found an American art form in the songs of cowboys, lumberjacks, miners, and farmers, and photographers went to the rural areas of California, the South and the northern plains in search of the real America.

Yet for all of the cultural production that came out of the New Deal, most people's cultural activities were confined to listening to big bands play swing music on the radio or watching the newly developed sound films from Hollywood. Americans had discovered mass popular culture and in turn the mass culture industries of radio and motion pictures also discovered that they could benefit from mimicking the same themes of "searching for America" as the New Deal programs. Radio programs such as *America's Town Meeting of the Air*, and films such as *The Grapes of Wrath*, clearly exhibit the influences of government-sponsored art programs.

—Charles J. Shindo

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## The New Kids on the Block

At the peak of their success, the New Kids on the Block became the most celebrated teenage pop musical act since Menudo and The Jackson Five. Modeled after these precursors, New Kids on the Block consisted of five young men from Boston who sported a squeaky clean image, and whose eclectic musical styles and slick dance routines borrowed heavily from black performance traditions. By 1989, the group was the most successful act of its kind in the United States, but their popularity seriously waned only two years later and the members disbanded in 1995 to pursue solo careers. New Kids on the Block still maintain a sizable fan base, and their long-lasting effect on popular music became evident in 1997 and 1998 when copycat groups like Hanson, The Backstreet Boys, N'Sync and 98½ Degrees ruled the pop charts.

The five young men who composed the group were all raised in Boston. Four of the five members, Donnie Wahlberg, Danny Knight,

and brothers Jonathan and Jordan Knight, grew up in the same neighborhood and attended elementary school together. The four friends became aware of each other's performing talents from talent shows and school chorus. By high school, Danny and Donny had even formed their own rap group, performing at local parties and events.

By 1985, the four young men had met producer Maurice Starr. A slightly off-the-wall but extremely gifted song composer, Starr, an African American, had already achieved success in the early 1980s by creating and producing the enormously popular black teen act, New Edition. New Edition had hit the charts with bubblegum pop tunes like "Candy Girl" and "Mr. Telephone Man." After this group's popularity waned by the mid-1980s, Starr walked away from his creation. The members of New Edition each went on to successful solo careers and the group eventually performed a reunion tour in 1995.

Vying for an even wider racial audience than the one he had generated for New Edition, Starr planned to promote New Kids on the Block as an all-white teen group modeled after earlier acts like The Osmonds. He signed the four friends from Boston and, for added effect, brought on board twelve-year old Joey McIntyre for his youthful tenor sound. The boys dressed in regular, non-descript styles, including tattered, ripped jeans, teased hairdos, and stylish hats. Sensing the potential to capitalize on an untapped adolescent and pre-adolescent female fan base, Columbia Records signed the group in January of 1986.

The group's first album, titled *New Kids on the Block*, spun off three singles that failed to ignite the charts. Apparently, the record company had promoted the group exclusively to black audiences. For its second album, Columbia focused on Maurice Starr's plan to promote the group to a larger, "Top 40" audience, more inclusive of whites. Even before the second album was released, the group tried to generate a supportive fan base by touring shopping malls and performing at local concert venues and telethons. In 1988, the group toured the country as the opening act for teenage star Tiffany, and in 1989 the group's second album, *Hangin' Tough*, was released. It went on to become a multi-platinum best-seller.

By 1990, the group was on a grueling touring schedule, traveling to seventy cities in five months. Songs like "The Right Stuff," "Please Don't Go Girl," and "I'll Be Loving You Forever" were firmly planted at the top of the charts. The group's success even spun off a cartoon series on ABC television. Although New Kids on the Block had secured a decidedly loyal teenybopper audience, the group was derided by many critics, especially because of its practice of lip-synching in live performance, and because of its attempts to promote itself as "street" in the style of black urban musical acts. Although its Christmas album *Merry Merry Christmas* helped sustain their already luminous success in 1990, its third release, *Step by Step* (1990), failed to generate the record sales of previous albums. A 1991 remix album, *No More Games*, similarly failed to gain radio airplay. Apparently, the female teen audience for New Kids on the Block had begun to mature, and other harder forms of music like gangsta rap were taking center stage, supplanting the formulaic quality of groups like The New Kids and Vanilla Ice.

In 1994, in order to bolster its waning street credibility, the quintet changed its name to the acronym NKOTB. After releasing a final album, *Face the Music*, to poor reviews, the group finally split up. Although its long-term impact on the popular music scene is not generally considered to have been significant, the blueprint of the group's success has become familiar: an entrepreneurial producer forms and manages a group of young white teenagers performing black musical and dance styles. This formula became a surefire





**The New Kids on the Block: Jon Knight (bottom), (from left) Danny Wood, Joe McIntyre, Donnie Wahlberg, and Jordan Knight.**

routine by the late 1990s, with hugely popular groups like The Backstreet Boys and N'Sync.

—Jason King

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## New Left

A diverse international movement which sought to reformulate traditional left-wing politics in the 1960s, New Left activism culminated in the widespread upheavals of 1968, “the year of the barricades,” when political dissent erupted around the developed world against the backdrop of a major escalation of American activity in Vietnam, the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Robert

Kennedy, and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. The May 1968 demonstrations in France, which briefly united students and workers in a series of direct confrontations with French government authority, have acquired a near legendary status in popular historical assessments of the New Left. But it was the United States, largely because of the War in Vietnam and the struggle for black civil rights, which formed the epicenter of New Left politics throughout the decade.

Never a cohesive movement as such, the American New Left was a loose coalition of dissenting activist groups which was largely student-based, and was born out of the civil rights struggles of the early 1960s which had been led by SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee). The need for a new left-leaning politics seemed particularly acute in the United States, where a combination of the postwar economic boom, the threat of nuclear annihilation, and Stalin’s appropriation of Soviet politics, had convinced many that older models of Marxist class struggle were anachronistic. By the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 it had also become clear that moves to reform the Democratic Party into a mass left-liberal alliance had collapsed into wranglings over internal party procedures. The

year 1962 marked the emergence of a recognizably new left-wing agenda as a small cadre of student activists, SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), convened at Port Huron, Michigan. If SNCC and southern civil rights provided the major catalyst for the 1960s movement, it was SDS and its initially northern, white middle-class student constituency which became the driving force behind the first generation of the New Left.

Directly influenced by the writings of 1950s intellectuals such as Paul Goodman and C. Wright Mills, SDS announced itself in the formative "Port Huron Statement" of 1962, a document which developed the political and intellectual precepts of Mills' "Letter to the New Left" (1960) into a broad and influential statement about the "values" and "goals" which would come to shape the early years of the movement. The statement's author, Tom Hayden, may have preserved some of the language of radical Marxism (not least in his emphasis upon the "alienation" of life lived in the advanced capitalist West), but the document as a whole distanced itself decisively from any analysis grounded exclusively in economics or the politics of class, a kind of analysis which Mills had denounced as "the labor metaphysic." Announcing proudly that SDS would have "no sure formulas, no closed theories," the "Port Huron Statement" stressed what would become a characteristic openness of the New Left to a diverse platform of oppositional politics extending well beyond class struggle.

Hayden's thinking about alienation, and New Left thinking in general, owed more to the influence of Sartre and Camus than it did to orthodox Marxism. The antidote offered was a politics based on "participatory democracy," an activism which sought personal fulfillment through civic participation. As an activist strategy, "participatory democracy" was most notably espoused in the ERAP (Economic Research and Action Project) of 1963-65, which sent students into the black ghettos and working class neighborhoods of nine northern cities, including Chicago, Newark, and Cleveland, and in the Northern Student Movement, which conducted literacy programs and assisted in the Harlem rent strikes of 1964-65. SDS was also instrumental in organizing a number of mass demonstrations, notably the first major protest against the Vietnam War, the April 1965 March on Washington, an event which in certain respects was to prove a watershed for New Left politics. American intervention in Vietnam had escalated dramatically in 1964, and when the United States introduced ground troops in late 1965 the ranks of SDS swelled with new members. SDS membership rose from around 1,000 in 1964 to around 4,300 in 1965, and to around 100,000 by 1969. There were also the countless thousands of non-members who participated in direct action and demonstrations across the country. In the days immediately following President Nixon's announcement of the invasion of Cambodia in 1970, more than 400 campuses were disrupted, most notoriously at Kent State University, where the National Guard killed four students, and at Jackson State in Mississippi, where two more students died.

As the stakes rose the climate became more militant, and the recruitment of so many to the campaign against the war increased the variety of dissenting positions accommodated within the New Left. Sooner or later it was inevitable that political discord would erupt within the ranks of SDS itself. When the organization was infiltrated by the Maoist PL (Progressive Labor party) in 1967, SDS was forced into a sharper definition of its own political agenda than the "Port Huron Statement" had ever intended should be the case—SDS had always been strong on what the statement called "values," but relatively short on what it termed "goals," or on practical steps which

might be taken to realize those goals. Holding together so diverse a movement with so unsystematic a political program proved impossible. By the end of the decade, with a Republican once more in the White House and the War still on, SDS had split into a number of competing factions, each with a different agenda, whilst others had drifted back toward the Democratic Party. New Left activism played an important part in bringing the conflict in Vietnam to a halt. But when the war ended in 1973, the one common cause which had bound so pluralist a "movement" together had vanished. Having drifted so far from Marxist orthodoxy, most of the movement lacked the economic analysis which might have turned the Oil Crisis of 1973 to its advantage, and the New Left soon subsided with the withdrawal of troops from Vietnam.

The existential flavor of early New Left thinking lent the movement a commitment to individual liberation which calls into question its "newness" as such. The specific relation between individual and society stressed in "participatory democracy" can be traced in a number of American political and intellectual traditions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and as 1960s activist Stanley Aronowitz has put it, the "Port Huron Statement" was "remarkable for its continuity with traditional American ideas of popular self-government, egalitarian ethics, and social justice." Traditional or not, a further consequence of these commitments was the rise of a countercultural wing of the "movement" (including the hippies, and from 1967/1968 the Yippies), which would increasingly represent the face of the New Left in the second half of the decade.

—David Holloway

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## New Look

"The New Look is simply the feminine body which French designers beginning with Poiret have misrepresented," commented acclaimed designer Christian Dior. The international public sensation which greeted the New Look took place in the context of post-World War II European austerity. Dior launched his fashion house in 1947 with a spring collection that re-introduced exaggerated and extravagant femininity into a culture of utility. *Life* magazine is generally credited with christening the New Look and reported "shapely skirts, flowing to mid-calf with a myriad of hand pressed pleats [which]

brought sculpture back into fashion, moulding drapery around the figure and highlighting the body's natural curves." Although it had established itself by the 1950s, the style was originally controversial. The fashion world applauded the bold new design, but there was also dissent from women who felt this femininity was impractical for the work place. Furthermore, such full skirts required lengths of fabric publicly denied during the war and were viewed as wasteful in the immediate postwar period of rationing and reconstruction.

—Nickianne Moody

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## New Orleans Rhythm and Blues

New Orleans is identified most vividly in the public mind with jazz, but its rhythm and blues tradition is no less distinctive, and has resulted in a unique and important body of work.

As rhythm and blues began to develop in the 1940s as a distinct American musical form, New Orleans musicians were listening to the records of musicians like Louis Jordan, but putting them into their own contexts. The style flowered in the rock 'n' roll era of the 1950s and into the soul era of the 1960s. The city's music scene then went through a period of commercial stagnation, overlooked for most of the 1970s, but skillful local promotion and the continuing vitality of New Orleans musicians restored it to prominence, if not to the top of the charts, by the end of the twentieth century.

By the 1940s, New Orleans had long since been passed by as a jazz center, but music was still a powerful force, especially in the black community. The jazz-flavored street bands were still a tradition, and they created the New Orleans phenomenon of the "second line," a disorganized but rhythmically dynamic group of dancers that would follow the bands.

The New Orleans style is piano-based, blues-oriented music. The music's emphasis on the piano can be linked to the influence of jazz pioneers in the 1920s like Jelly Roll Morton, who had been one of the first piano "professors"—originally a term used to describe conservatory-trained piano players, but used in jazz to describe any piano virtuoso. The style is marked by its "lazy" feel that comes from rhythms played slightly behind the beat to give the music a "sway." No matter what the subject of the song, the music conveys an easy, pleasant mood. Lyrics can be sung in a bluesy tradition or a raucous gospel shout, but the singing is softened by a contrastingly smooth backdrop of horn lines. The New Orleans style, like jazz, also incorporates Latin and Caribbean rhythmic influences which did not affect other blues traditions (all true jazz has a Latin tinge, according to Morton). Three figures dominated, and set the tone for, New Orleans rhythm and blues in the 1940s: Professor Longhair (Henry Roeland Byrd), Fats Domino, and Dave Bartholomew.

Longhair, born in 1918, became the godfather of rhythm and blues in New Orleans. His piano style was built on a mixture of boogie-woogie, New Orleans "second line," and Caribbean rhythms,

chiefly rumba and calypso. His loose, rolling beat has never been successfully imitated, but it is almost universally agreed to be the most profound influence on the New Orleans sound. Longhair was signed by Atlantic Records in 1950, but his style was too idiosyncratic to produce major national hits, although his songs like "Mardi Gras in New Orleans" and "Tipitina" have gone on to become classics. Longhair continued to perform in and around New Orleans, but was forced to give up music by the 1960s.

Bartholomew, born in 1920, was a trumpet player, bandleader, and producer who turned the New Orleans brass band sound into funky rhythm and blues. Bartholomew's band, which included master instrumentalists like Lee Allen, Herbert Hardesty, Alvin "Red" Tyler, Earl Palmer, and Frank Fields, provided the musical basis for the most popular R&B and rock 'n' roll of the 1940s and 1950s.

Domino, born in 1928, was the first big R&B star to come out of New Orleans. Influenced by the popular R&B sounds of Louis Jordan and by the country lilt of western swing, Domino was signed by the Los Angeles independent record label Imperial in 1949. His first record, "The Fat Man" (a reworking of blues great Champion Jack Dupree's "Junker's Blues") was a rhythm and blues hit, and by the mid-1950s, Domino was a rock 'n' roll superstar with hits like "Ain't That a Shame" and "Blueberry Hill." Domino brought national attention to New Orleans as a source for the emerging rock 'n' roll sound.

While Imperial also signed Roy Brown ("Good Rockin' Tonight") and Smiley Lewis ("I Hear You Knockin'"), another Los Angeles label, Specialty, came to New Orleans looking for talent. Specialty found Little Richard, who would electrify rock 'n' roll like no other performer, and others including Lloyd Price ("Lawdy Miss Clawdy," "Stagger Lee"). A vocal group, Shirley and Lee, brought sinuous New Orleans rhythms to doo-wop. Their "Let the Good Times Roll" became an anthem not only of the city, but of rock 'n' roll. So did "Rockin' Pneumonia and Boogie Woogie Flu," by Huey "Piano" Smith and the Clowns.

If Bartholomew was the master producer of the rock 'n' roll era, Allan Toussaint became the shaper of the soul sound of the 1960s. Toussaint, born in 1938, began his career playing piano on a Shirley and Lee road tour, then became part of Dave Bartholomew's studio group. His producing talent became evident when he was called in to supervise a hopelessly disorganized recording session, and came out of it with Lee Allen's national hit instrumental, "Walkin' With Mr. Lee." Toussaint's studio perfectionism, combined with his New Orleans honky tonk training, were behind the early 1960s hits that moved the sound from rough-and-ready 1950s R&B to funky but sophisticated 1960s soul: Ernie K-Doe's "Mother In Law," Jessie Hill's "Oo Poo Pa Doo," and Chris Kenner's "I Like It Like That." His masterpieces, though, came with one of the two greatest New Orleans soul singers: "It's Raining" and "I Done Got Over" by Irma Thomas. Thomas's voice was every bit the equal of her more famous contemporaries, Aretha Franklin and Gladys Knight, though she never achieved their fame; what might have been her breakout hit, "Time Is On My Side," was covered by the Rolling Stones, just as white American singers of the 1950s had stolen hits from the great early black rock 'n' rollers.

The last great New Orleans soul hit of the 1960s was "Tell It Like It Is," a breakout national hit in 1966 for Aaron Neville, the other great soul voice. By that time, however, the British Invasion was eroding the popularity of the New Orleans sound. Many soul greats, including Irma Thomas, lost careers to the British Invasion. The

domination of American music by British acts spelled the demise of many independent soul labels. By 1969, the recording scene in New Orleans was essentially over. Aaron Neville was working as a stevedore on the docks, Irma Thomas was a sales clerk at Montgomery Ward in Oakland, California, and most local musicians had left town.

Throughout the 1970s, New Orleans was almost a musical ghost town. But the seeds of revival were beginning. In 1970, the first New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival attracted an audience of only a few hundred. But its producers plucked Professor Longhair out of obscurity, and began the revival of his reputation. He continued to play and record to increasing critical acclaim and cult stardom until his death in 1980.

In 1976, George “Big Chief Jolley” Landry, a New Orleans folk legend for his leadership of the Wild Tchoupitoulas, a “Mardi Gras Indian” unit, recruited his nephews, Aaron, Charles, Art, and Cyril Neville, for a recording of the Caribbean-flavored rhythm and blues which was the hallmark of the black Mardi Gras sound. The brothers, all New Orleans musical veterans, were to become the internationally famous torchbearers for the revival of New Orleans R&B, as was Mac “Dr. John” Rebennack. With the growing popularity of Jazzfest (by the 1990s attendance for the six-day festival was measured in the hundreds of thousands) and the regained popularity of music tourism in New Orleans, the city had established world dominance as a center for archival rhythm and blues.

—Tad Richards

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## *New Republic*

Heir to a long tradition in American magazines, the *New Republic* was born as a journal of “the collective opinion of the editors, mainly on the political, economic, and social problems” in 1914, even though those opinions were considered largely liberal and occasionally radical. The first editor, Herbert Croly, was a progressive reformer who used the *New Republic* to arouse in his readers “little insurrections.” The successes of the 1930s New Deal and the rise of communism induced his successors to adopt a more pragmatic political philosophy, but the magazine remained left of center. The conservatism of the 1950s, along with an acute financial problem, pulled the magazine from its pure philosophizing to criticism of the arts, books, and mass. However, its ultimate circulation success was grounded in aggressive national political journalism. From covering Watergate through the well tempered reports of John Osborne, the *New Republic* drifted to the center in the last two decades of the century under the editorship of Martin Peretz, much to the dismay of its traditional liberal readers. During most of the magazine’s history,

its “T.R.B.” column has been one of the most popular forecasters of the shifting political winds in the nation’s capitol.

Magazines have always been made for cultural minorities, especially the well educated and politically involved. The *North American Review* was the most influential intellectual journal for much of the nineteenth century, but it was pressed by newer productions such as *Harper’s*, *Scribner’s*, *Atlantic Monthly*, and *The Nation* after the Civil War. The latter was founded by Irish journalist E. L. Godkin in 1865 and quickly became the country’s leading liberal weekly for its support of labor, African-American rights, and other liberal causes. The heady years of the early twentieth century produced a number of challengers to the *Nation*, including the socialist *Masses*, but the *New Republic* was the most endearing and successful.

Herbert Croly launched the weekly *New Republic* on November 7, 1914, as a “journal of opinion to meet the challenge of the new time.” A political philosopher who had edited *Architectural Digest*, Croly received encouragement and financial support from Willard D. and Dorothy Straight, who in turn had discovered Croly, as did many other liberals, through his 1909 *The Promise of American Life*, a book which argued that traditional economic individualism was no longer possible in the industrialized early twentieth-century United States. Joining Croly on the *New Republic’s* first editorial board were Walter Weyl, a prominent economist, and the brilliant Walter Lippmann, a scholar and author who would become the first nationally syndicated political columnist a decade later. The board featured other learned and articulate voices, but Croly predominated in their decisions through his position as editor and his sense of fair play. The Straights’ support for the *New Republic* was so strong that H. L. Mencken once referred to the editors as “kept idealists.”

The *New Republic* was decidedly intellectual and elitist. Croly explained his purpose was “less to inform and entertain readers than to start little insurrections in the realm of their convictions,” and he marketed the magazine for a group of readers roughly equivalent to W. E. B. Du Bois’s “Talented Tenth.” Under Croly, the magazine opposed monopolies, entry into World War I, and fascism and favored child labor laws and other workers’ reforms, civil liberties, and liberal third party movements. Circulation climbed from 875 for the first issue to 43,000 during the height of World War I, but settled in the range of 25,000 up to World War II. Willard D. Straight died in 1918, but his wife kept supporting the magazine’s cost overruns for the rest of her life. Croly died in 1930 and was replaced by Bruce Bliven, who remained as an influence on the publication until his death in 1952. In 1926, a new column, “T.R.B.,” first appeared, written by Frank Kent of the *Baltimore Sun*. The column’s political gossip and commentary came to be coveted by readers in part because it was written anonymously and it was used by politicians to test the popularity of new ideas. The title and pseudonym were adopted by subsequent writers and remained one of the best read features of the magazine.

The magazine survived the Great Depression, even though its circulation dropped to an all-time low of 10,000 in 1929. It faced an unprecedented financial challenge in 1953 when support from a trust fund set up by Willard and Dorothy Straight finally ended. The magazine attracted some advertising but could only boast of a paid circulation of 30,000 or less, which was not enough to support itself. It had first published original poetry in 1915, but turned to cartoons and serious criticism of literature and music as both it and the *Nation* struggled to survive in the 1950s political atmosphere. The *New Republic’s* circulation corner was not turned until it began featuring political journalism, however, “from shaping events to commenting

upon them'' as magazine historian Theodore Peterson explained. The circulation climbed to over 100,000 in the 1960s.

The *New Republic* continued to champion political idealism in the 1950s and promoted the election of John F. Kennedy in 1960. It actively supported the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s and began criticizing Lyndon Johnson's Vietnam policies as early as 1965, especially for their detrimental effect on American liberalism. The magazine's John Osborne provided a humane portrait of Richard Nixon, counting himself as one of Nixon's "silent majority" at one point, in the 1970s. Ironically, Osborne's investigative reporting of Watergate helped bring about Nixon's resignation as president in 1975. The magazine abandoned Jimmy Carter and the Democratic party in 1980, supporting Congressman John Anderson's third party presidential candidacy, as it had backed earlier third party bids by Theodore Roosevelt, Robert La Follette, and Henry Wallace.

The *New Republic* found a renewed sense of leadership in Martin Peretz, a former Harvard University intellectual who with his wife bought the magazine in 1974. Peretz engineered what he termed a "politically balanced," pragmatic liberalism for the magazine, disillusioning many of its traditional readers. "The editors of *Nation* still thrill to the word revolution," Peretz commented in 1992, "and we don't. I don't mean to sound churlish, but I think that's the big difference." Peretz regained some credibility with liberals when he fired a new editor for being an "obsessive right winger" in 1997, but was criticized for his unfettered support of Vice President Al Gore, a former Harvard student, as the 2000 presidential campaign neared. The *New Republic* and the *Nation* were deadlocked in paid circulation at the turn of the century, both around 100,000, while their conservative rival, *The National Review*, had a circulation exceeding 150,000.

—Richard Digby-Junger

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## New Wave Music

If one were to produce a soundtrack album of the 1980s, most of the tracks would probably be labeled "new wave." Much of what passed for new wave fit well with the overall cultural and political milieu of the 1980s. New wave was the type of music most popular among fans of MTV during its early years and musicians specializing in new wave are best remembered for their angular haircuts, brightly colored costumes, and heavy reliance on synthesizers. Moreover, new wave is the music of 1980s brat pack genre films, like *The Breakfast Club* (1985), *Valley Girl* (1983), and *Sixteen Candles* (1984).

Defining which artist or which song fits into a genre is always a difficult proposition, but new wave presents a particular challenge because of the multiple definitions and the music industry's response to new wave. Bands with a variety of sounds and visual styles have been lumped together under the general umbrella offered by new wave. Consider, for example, that both the rockabilly band The Stray Cats and the futuristic technogeek band Devo are both considered new wave. Part of the problem stems from the fact that punk rock, which was the "first wave," was very easily hybridized with other forms of music (reggae, rockabilly, disco, eurodisco) to produce many "second" or "new wave" varieties and styles. Complicating matters was the tendency of record companies during the post-disco recession to label virtually every newly signed act on their roster without long hair "new wave," regardless of their sound. Finally, the faddishness of new wave prompted many acts and their fans to rebel against the catch-all genre distinction. Dozens of genre names were invented to better segregate new wave acts, most of them also quickly becoming blurred. Alternative, post-punk, progressive, synth pop, power pop, alternarock, and eurobeat count among the names substituted for "new wave" and its various sub-genres.

The term new wave was first applied to acts that emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Though their music may have had little in common, artists from Britain, the United States, and continental Europe were all tagged as new wave. On the continent, German groups, particularly Kraftwerk, were slowly forging a new style of music that was heavily reliant upon synthesizers. The danceable forms of European synthesizer music, along with the Philadelphia-sounds of Gamble and Huff, laid the twin foundations for disco in the 1980s. In England, rock music musicians and fans, fed up with the excesses of bands like hard rock Led Zeppelin and art rock bands like Pink Floyd, turned to simpler forms of rock 'n' roll. These bands have occasionally been referred to as "pub rock" bands. Counting among the most popular of this group of new wavers were Elvis Costello, Nick Lowe, and Dave Edmunds. Costello was signed by Columbia Records and became the first of the new wavers to make a significant chart impact in 1978.

In the United States, there was a similar backlash against the excesses of mainstream rock 'n' roll. In Manhattan, inspired by Lou Reed and the Velvet Underground, suburbanite Jonathan Richman founded the Modern Lovers. From the suburbs of Cleveland and Akron, Ohio, similar music began to emerge from other youths who had grown tired of the overblown nature of arena-rock. Pere Ubu and later Devo established a second new wave hearth in the industrial Midwest.

Sonically, the music of each of these new wave movements shared little, except that it could be played by those without great skill or extensive musical training. It was rock 'n' roll played by enthusiastic amateurs and produced by tiny record companies, often owned by

friends or by the band. As such, new wave music shared much of the “indie” ethos that propelled punk rock forward, but it was never committed to any particular political movement. New wave was not dangerous or anarchic; it was danceable, romantic, and fun.

When punk rock became popular in London in the mid-1970s it gave a new impetus to new wave music. Punk was too dangerous for most fans in Britain, and far too much for most Americans. But the visual style and spirit of punk was infectious and the democratization of punk rock generated thousands of new bands. Many of the bands established in the immediate aftermath of punk that did not share punk’s belligerence were labeled new wave. New wave bands found some favor among record companies, who recognized the potential market for bare bones rock music but feared the public relations disaster that might accompany “the next Sex Pistols.”

In England, the leading edge of post-punk, new wave was led by bands that borrowed the indie ethos, the musical simplicity, and some of the visual elements of punk rock with the sonic characteristics of other established genres of music. Perhaps the first of these hybrids to emerge was the reggae/punk of bands like The Clash and The Police. Other hybrids were forged that wedded punk to Beat revivalism, 1950s-style R&B, and rockabilly. The Pretenders, which featured Akron, Ohio-born singer Chrissie Hynde, was one of the more notable no-frills rock acts to be classified as new wave.

In the United States, where punk had less impact, there was not the explosion of do-it-yourself garage rock and indie record labels as there was in Great Britain in the late 1970s. In America, disco and arena rock continued to dominate the charts throughout much of the later 1970s. So when the market for disco collapsed in late 1978, there was little “in the pipeline” for record companies to fill the void. Many of the punk and new wave acts that were established on the East Coast and in the Midwest had disbanded during the disco era. The few surviving punk/new wave acts came to the fore and sparked American interest in this “new” genre. Out of the New York’s CBGB’s club scene came Blondie. Fronted by sexy lead singer Deborah Harry, Blondie was far more flexible politically than their punk brethren. Their flexibility permitted them to crossover into the pop and disco markets in 1979, the breakout year for new wave. That year, The Cars and The Talking Heads, both with ties to the New York punk scene, also entered the charts. Los Angeles’s beat revival act, The Knack, also made a big splash on the charts in 1979 with their hit single, “My Sharona.”

Gary Numan’s 1980 album *The Pleasure Principle* marked the arrival of British new wave on the North American pop charts. Numan’s synthesized dance music set down a template that would come to characterize one broad subgenre within new wave. The heavy reliance on synthesizers and the stark minimalism of Numan suggested influences ranging from Kraftwerk to Brian Eno to Mike Oldfield. Numan’s breakout album not only produced an eminently danceable cut, “In Cars,” but popularized synthesizer-produced dance music, which became known in some circles as “synthpop.” Some of the more notable synthpop acts following Numan onto the American charts include Ultravox, Orchestral Manoevers in the Dark, Depeche Mode, Human League, Howard Jones, A-ha, New Order, Soft Cell, and The Pet Shop Boys.

Numan’s rejection of arena rock musical traditions extended to his stage persona as well and many new wavers followed suit. These followers adopted Numan’s robotic, technological, futuristic persona, which echoed David Bowie’s Ziggy Stardust character. Gone was the ultra-macho hard rock poseur, and in its place was a character without definable gender characteristics, metallic and emotionally detached

from his audience. The futuristic motif was carried to extremes by bands like Devo and Flock of Seagulls, and contributed substantially to notions of fashion during the early 1980s. The stage persona of synthpop, with its cool detachment, also set it quite apart from punk music, whose purveyors were interested in destroying the boundary between audience and performer. U.S. audiences were only too happy to preserve the critical distance between themselves and their pop music gods.

New wave’s impact was increased significantly by the arrival of MTV into the mainstream during the early 1980s. Because many of the indie label new wave acts from Britain recognized the value of music videos early, they were better prepared to take advantage of the new medium than many American acts. The striking visual appeal of British new wave won over legions of MTV viewers to the genre. Music critics were quick to condemn many of these MTV bands on the grounds of their shallow musicality. Culture Club, featuring the outrageously androgynous Boy George, perhaps better than any act, utilized music videos to augment suspect musical talent. Other groups, particularly Duran Duran, who preferred the label “New Romantic” to new wave, were regularly accused of maintaining their popularity through videos. Despite the criticisms, fans loved new wave’s quirky fashion sense and the danceability of most of the hit songs produced during this time. The heavy emphasis on visual style, combined with their lack of musical depth, doomed the long-term careers of most of the MTV new wave bands. Though there were a number of one-hit-wonders during the first half of the 1980s, it stands nonetheless as one of the most democratic periods in the history of popular music. The clever use of MTV allowed many new wave bands, even those on the tiniest of labels and with the smallest of budgets, to upstage major label acts with massive marketing campaigns.

New wave as a cultural movement has been criticized and praised for its lack of an overt political stance. Compared to the musical politics of the late 1960s and of punk, new wave does seem to lack a political conscious. With few exceptions (U2, R.E.M., and The Clash stand out) new wave offered little rebuttal to the policies of Reaganism and Thatcherism. Many new wave acts were clean shaven, wore their hair short, and even wore ties and jackets. In addition, the more outlandish new wave acts, such as Culture Club, failed to be viewed as a serious threat to the status quo. Instead they were largely understood as campy but harmless self-parodic personas constructed to appeal to the MTV audience. For many, new wave was a hopelessly white, middle class, and safe. On the other hand, new wave acts did push the envelope of acceptability on several fronts. Certainly, the sexual ambiguity and overt homosexuality of many of the acts stand unheard of in previous popular music. New wave’s indie label orientation also made many acts exempt from charges of co-optation by the corporate entertainment industry. Some new wave acts, particularly R.E.M., carried this “indie label ethos” to extremes, rejecting far more lucrative careers on major labels for many years.

While the MTV brand of new wave was a fleeting moment in popular music, the legacy of new wave itself is impressive. The synthesizer-heavy dance sounds of the English and European new wave influenced the development of many of the popular dance genres of the 1990s, including the Chicago-based “house” music, Detroit’s “techno,” and Europe’s various incarnations of “Eurodisco.” Latter day new wave acts, particularly R.E.M. and Hüsker Dü, have had a lasting impact on the musical climate in the United States. The indie rock ethos demonstrated by these acts proved a crucial component of the alternative or college rock era that bloomed during the later 1980s, which in turn gave way to the so-called “grunge” rock sound

that emerged in Seattle in the early 1990s and the splintering of the music market in the later 1990s.

—Steve Graves

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## New York

See Big Apple, The

## The New York Knickerbockers

New York's professional basketball team, known popularly as the Knicks, has been a vital part of the city's sports landscape since 1946. Winners of two NBA titles, the Knicks are one of basketball's best-known and most prestigious franchises.

An original member of the Basketball Association of America—forerunner of the NBA—the club played its first game in Canada against the Toronto Huskies on November 1, 1946. The first home game took place ten days later at Manhattan's Madison Square Garden. In those early years the Knicks fielded a team of mostly white Jewish and Catholic players, drawn from the city's public university system. That began to change in 1950 with the signing of Nat "Sweetwater" Clifton, one of the first black players in the NBA. The team enjoyed only mixed success through its first two decades, consistently making the playoffs but failing to capture even one world championship.

Knick fortunes took a turn for the better in 1968, when Red Holzman took over as head coach. The no-nonsense Holzman preached a philosophy of aggressive defense, fluid passing, and team-first self-abnegation. This approach would have produced results even with mediocre players, but Holzman was blessed with some of the great performers of his era. Center Willis Reed, guard Walt "Clyde" Frazier, and forwards Dave DeBusschere and Bill Bradley were all destined for the Hall of Fame. Together they led the team to a world

championship in 1970. The crowning moment came in the seventh game of the finals, when an injured Reed limped onto the court to the delight of the Madison Square Garden faithful.

Few teams have captured the imagination of the city in which they played quite like the Knicks of this period. The cerebral Bradley, a one-time Princeton stand-out who went by the somewhat unbecoming appellation "Dollar Bill," helped bring an intellectual patina to the pro game that appealed to the city's *New York Times*-reading cognoscenti. He would later cement his reputation as the world's smartest jock by being elected U.S. Senator from the state of New Jersey, where he served for eighteen years. By contrast, the high-living Frazier was the walking apotheosis of the sports star as man-about-town. With his luxurious afro, feathered hat, and long leather coat, "Clyde" was the embodiment of uptown cool. Like Joe Namath before him, he brought a style and sex appeal to his team that attracted the attention of many nonsports fans.

For the next several seasons, the Knicks remained one of the NBA's elite teams. The addition of sharpshooting guard Earl "the Pearl" Monroe in 1971 gave the squad an explosive backcourt complement to Frazier. Finalists in 1972, the New Yorkers won the NBA crown for the second time in 1973. Then the inevitable slide into dormancy began. The popular Frazier was traded to the Cleveland Cavaliers in 1977, and the team's other great players retired. Seeing the writing on the wall, Red Holzman himself gave up the coaching reins, signaling the end of an era in New York basketball.

A new era finally dawned in 1985, when now-general manager Dave DeBusschere drafted Patrick Ewing of Georgetown University to be the team's new franchise player. A towering, physically gifted center, Ewing battled injuries in his first few seasons but finally blossomed under head coach Rick Pitino, who stressed an up-tempo, pressing attack. The Knicks regularly made the playoffs, but the championship continued to elude them. When Pitino left to coach the University of Kentucky in 1990, the organization began to drift again. Only the hiring of former Los Angeles Laker coach Pat Riley in 1991 returned the club to marquee status.

The fiery, dictatorial Riley, recognized as much for his impeccably moussed coiffure as his coaching prowess, harnessed the mercurial talents of such temperamental players as Patrick Ewing, Anthony Mason, a former Turkish league cast-off, and John Starks, a super-market grocery bagger. Playing a suffocating brand of defense, the team made the Eastern Conference finals in 1993, and the NBA Finals the following year. There they fell by turns to the Chicago Bulls and I'm Walkthe Houston Rockets, establishing a precedent for falling short in the big games that was to infuriate the team's fans throughout the decade.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## The New York Mets

New York's National League baseball franchise, the New York Mets, rose from the ashes of two teams which departed for California

in the 1950s. Attired in blue and orange—colors borrowed from the Dodgers and Giants, respectively—the club began play in 1962 at the Polo Grounds in Manhattan. A new home in Queens, Shea Stadium, opened two years later. In contrast to the corporate-run Yankees, the Mets positioned themselves as scrappy, lovable underdogs, and their Keystone Kops style of play was excused as endearing ineptitude. When the team won its first world championship, improbably, in 1969, the “Miracle Mets” took blue-collar New York by storm. The stars of that era, particularly pitchers Tom Seaver and Tug McGraw, became folk heroes. The club fell on hard times in the late 1970s, but returned to baseball’s pinnacle in 1986 on the backs of a new generation of stars led by Dwight Gooden and Darryl Strawberry.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## The New York Times

Few family institutions have endured for more than a century and maintained themselves at as high a level of quality as has the *New York Times*. While other newspapers were wallowing in the muck of the day’s news in order to gain an audience, the *Times* was establishing high standards for journalism and creating for itself an audience of movers and shakers in governments all over the globe. If people wanted to know what their leaders were thinking, they turned to the *New York Times*.

When Adolph Ochs purchased the *New-York Daily Times* (as it was originally named when founded in 1851) on August 13, 1896, he promised to produce a newspaper without fear or favor, a newspaper of record, one that published, as the motto on page one has said since February 10, 1897, “All the News That’s Fit to Print.” So while the *Times* leads all newspapers with more than sixty-five Pulitzer prizes, it entered the 21st century still owned by the descendants of Adolph Ochs, which is one of the reasons it has maintained itself so well. The *Times* won its first Pulitzer prize in 1918 for public service. The Pulitzer records say that the *Times* won the award “for its public service in publishing in full so many official reports, documents and speeches by European statesmen relating to the progress and conduct of the war.” Fifty-four years later the *Times* would win another Pulitzer prize for publishing, in effect, official reports and documents relating to a war, but that Pulitzer would be for the publication of the “Pentagon Papers” and the *Times* had to go to the Supreme Court to maintain its right to publish.

The early *New York Times* avoided the yellow journalism of its day and invested heavily not just in reporting on the federal government, but also on international news. It was so thorough, such a paper of record, that one Department of Army official reportedly said that the *Times* was “too big to read, too important not to.” And a former U.S. Navy radioman recalls delivering the daily secret intelligence report and having one officer always say: “Ah, the front page of the *New York Times*.” The *Times*, for example, carried a story in 1961 that the United States was planning to invade Cuba. Much to the dismay of reporters and editors, the publisher at the time ordered that

the story be toned down so as not to give away government secrets. The story was toned down, the invasion was a failure, and President John Kennedy later said he wished the *Times* had published the entire story so he might have canceled the invasion and avoided embarrassment. Although it was not the last time that the *Times* took its cue from Washington, it did signal a shift in how the newspaper responded to government pressure.

The paper’s big break was the publication of the “Pentagon Papers,” but there were indications of the increasing depth of the *Times*’ reporting before that. One such signal came in 1966 when a *Times* reporter, Harrison Salisbury, who had won a Pulitzer prize in 1955 for his reporting on the Soviet Union, managed to report on the Vietnam War from behind the North Vietnamese lines. Salisbury reported, among other things, that U.S. bombs were hitting civilian targets, which until then had not been made clear by the U.S. government. Until then, most Americans had been led to believe that military targets were bearing the brunt of U.S. bombs.

The “Pentagon Papers” were another matter, and when the *Times* began publishing a series on the papers in 1971, few realized what a tremendous step it was for the paper as well as for the practice of journalism. A government-sponsored secret account of the Vietnam War, the papers showed that many of the war’s public supporters had private doubts about the involvement of U.S. troops. And while the papers showed the administration of President Lyndon Johnson in a bad light, the incumbent president, Richard Nixon, paranoid as he was about leaks in his own administration, ordered the Justice Department to seek an injunction keeping the *Times* from publishing more of the “Pentagon Papers.” Thus, for the first time in the history of the Republic did agents of the federal government attempt prior restraint, which constitutionally they are not allowed to do. The *Times*, joined by the *Washington Post*, needed to go to the Supreme Court to preserve the right to publish without censorship.

While winning the right to publish the “Pentagon Papers” was a historic legal victory, the *Times* has won other legal decisions that have strengthened the practice of journalism. Prominent among those was a case that became known as *Times vs. Sullivan*, also played out in the Supreme Court. This case was triggered when the *Times* published an advertisement that contained fourteen factual errors about public officials and police in Montgomery, Alabama. The *Times* lost the case in Alabama state court and appealed to the Supreme Court, which ruled that because the people mentioned in the advertisement were public officials, they would have to prove that the advertisement was published with a reckless disregard for the truth or with knowledge that it contained false statements. By establishing such a high standard for defamation of public officials, the court strengthened the atmosphere for robust debate on public matters necessary to democratic self-government. Thus the *Times*, because it forced the issue to the Supreme Court, helped establish a federal defamation standard, which created consistent ground rules for publications, particularly those that are distributed in thousands of different jurisdictions.

Not all of the gravitas of the *Times* comes in the news sections. The *Times* established, for example, a book review section that eventually became a Sunday magazine. During World War II, a list of best sellers was added. In the 1980s, one author, feeling slighted because his novel was not listed when he felt it should have been, sued the *Times* for \$3 million, but lost in state court and could not get the decision reversed in the U.S. Supreme Court.

Around the same time as the arrival of the list of best-selling books, the *Times* began publishing a crossword puzzle, one that would become so challenging that people would brag that they did it



The New York Times

All the News That's Fit to Print

THE WEATHER

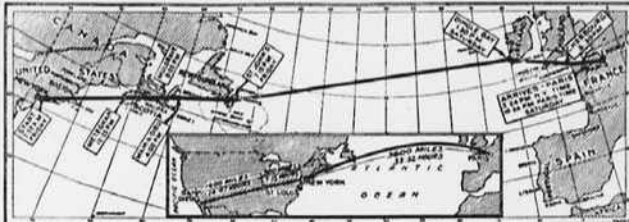
VOL. LXXVI... No. 26,220

NEW YORK, SUNDAY, MAY 22, 1927.

FIVE CENTS

LINDBERGH DOES IT! TO PARIS IN 33 1/2 HOURS; FLIES 1,000 MILES THROUGH SNOW AND SLEET; CHEERING FRENCH CARRY HIM OFF FIELD

COULD HAVE GONE 500 MILES FARTHER Gasoline for at Least That Much More Flew at Times From 10 Feet to 10,000 Feet Above Water. ATE ONLY ONE AND A HALF OF HIS FIVE SANDWICHES Fell Asleep at Times but Quickly Awoke—Glimpses of His Adventure in Brief Interview at the Embassy.



MAP OF LINDBERGH'S TRANSATLANTIC ROUTE, SHOWING THE SPEED OF HIS TRIP.

CROWD ROARS THUNDEROUS WELCOME Breaks Through Lines of Soldiers and Police and Surging to Plane Lifts Weary Flier from His Cockpit AVIATORS RESCUE HIM FROM FRENZIED MOB OF 25,000 Paris Boulevards Ring With Celebration After Day and Night Watch—American Flag Is Called For and Wildly Acclaimed.

LINDBERGH'S OWN STORY TOMORROW

Captain Charles A. Lindbergh was interviewed after his arrival in Paris late last night in the most intimate interview... he is to narrate the full story of his remarkable exploit for readers of Monday's New York Times.

BY CAROLLE MACDONALD

PARIS, Sunday, May 22.—Captain Lindbergh was discovered at the American Embassy at 2:30 o'clock this morning. Arrived in a pair of Ambassador Herrick's pajamas, he sat on the edge of a bed and talked of his flight. At the last moment Ambassador Herrick had revealed the plans of the reception committee and, by unanimous consent, took the flier to the embassy in the Place d'Iena.

A staff of American doctors who had arrived at Le Bourget field early to minister to an "exhausted" aviator found instead a bright-eyed, smiling youth who refused to be examined.

"Oh, don't bother; I am all right," he said. "I don't like to have a bath and a glass of milk. I would feel better," Lindbergh replied when the Ambassador asked him what he would like to have.

A bath was drawn immediately and in less than five minutes the youth had dissolved in one of the embassy guest rooms, taking his bath and was not again drinking a bottle of milk and eating a roll.

"No Worrying," He Tells Envoy.

"There is no use worrying about me, Mr. Ambassador," Lindbergh insisted when Mr. Herrick and members of the embassy staff wanted him to be examined by doctors and then go to bed immediately.

It was apparent that the young man was too full of his experiences to want sleep and he sat on the bed and chatted with the Ambassador, his son and daughter-in-law.

By this time a staff of newspaper men who had been madly chasing the aviator, following one false scent after another, had finally tracked him to the embassy. In a body they descended upon the Ambassador, who received them in the salon and informed them that he had just left Lindbergh with strict instructions to go to sleep.

As Mr. Herrick was talking with the reporters his son-in-law came downstairs and said to Lindbergh had rung and announced that he did not care to go to sleep yet and that he would be glad to see the newspaper men for a few minutes. A "where went up from the newspaper men by Mr. Herrick and pushed upstairs.

Expected Trouble Over Newfoundland.

In the blue and gold room, with a soft light glow, sat the conqueror of the Atlantic. He immediately stood up and held out his hands to greet his callers. The New York Times correspondent being first to greet him.

"Sit down, please," urged every one with one voice, but Lindbergh only smiled again his famous boyish smile and said "It's almost as easy to stand up as it is to sit down."

Questions were fired at him from all sides about his trip across the ocean, but Lindbergh seemed to dismiss them all with brief, nonchalant answers.

"I expected trouble over Newfoundland because I had been warned that the situation there was unfavorable. But I got over that hazard with no trouble whatsoever."

Slept and Snow for 1,000 Miles.

"However, it wasn't easy going. I had sleet and snow for over 1,000 miles. Sometimes it was too high to fly over and sometimes too low to fly under, so I just had to go through it as best I could.

"I flew as low as 10 feet in some places and as high as 10,000 in others. I passed no ships in the daytime, but at night I saw the lights of several ships, the night being bright and clear."

Everyone then wanted to know if the flier had been sleepy on the voyage.

"I didn't really get what you might call downright sleepy," he said, "but I think I went of nodded several times. In fact, I could have flown half that distance again. I had enough fuel

LEVINE ABANDONS BELLANCA FLIGHT

Venture Given Up as Designer Splits With Him—Plane Narrowly Escapes Burning.

BYRD'S CRAFT IS NAMED

Lindbergh Cheered at Ceremony—Commander, New List in Field, Waits on Weather.

Through no fault of his own, Clarence D. Chamberlin, who with Bert Acosta established a world non-stop flying record a few weeks ago, will not fly the second breaking world plane in an attempt to establish a record New York-Paris non-stop flight.

M. J. Bellanca, designer of the plane, and Charles B. Levine of the Columbia Aircraft Company, owner of the ship, came to the parting of the ways last night and the designer finally severed his connection with the promoter. Then Levine issued a statement that the proposed flight, which has been talked of for weeks, was off.

The statement said: "Due to the crowding now of Mr. Bellanca's registration, the plane will be placed in the hangar. Mr. Bellanca's registration expires on to obtain plane for the New York-Paris flight for the summer."

At the very moment that the statement was issued the plane was near the runway at Roosevelt Field with gas tanks filled and all equipment ahead ready for the start for Paris.

Plane Threatened by Fire.

A few minutes later, as it was being wheeled off, preparatory to being towed for the night, it narrowly escaped being destroyed by fire. When the word came to the fact that the flight was definitely off mechanics were ordered to empty one gasoline tank to lighten the machine.

The gasoline spilled on the ground and while the ship was being towed a careless operator threw the stub of a lighted cigarette away.

In an instant there was a terrific flare and a dense host of smoke as the gasoline blazed up.

"The Bellanca's gone," was the cry that rose from thousands of spectators who had gathered at the Paris.

Word was flashed to the army air station at Mitch Field that there had been an accident and ambulances and fire-fighting apparatus were sent across the road. An ambulance from the Nassau County Hospital at Mineola was also sent to Roosevelt Field, as well as fire apparatus from Mineola.

The plane, however, was beyond the danger line and was not injured. It had been announced that the Columbia would take off at 8 o'clock and Chamberlin was in his flying clothes ready to climb into the cockpit with the unnamed pilot who was to have accompanied him on the trip.

With the stimulation of the Bellanca's engine, only by Levine's presence, the plane was towed to the runway, as it was to have accompanied him on the trip.

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CAPTAIN CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, Who Flew Alone across the Atlantic, New York to Paris, in Thirty-three and One-half Hours.

New York Stages Big Celebration After Hours of Anxious Waiting

Harbor Craft, Factories, Fire Sirens and Radio Carry Message of the Flier's Victory Throughout the City—Theaters Halt White Audiences Cheer.

New York hubbed all day yesterday with excitement and expectancy. First word for word of Captain Lindbergh, half-day-long, giving confidence as the afternoon progressed and finally announcing the victory of the young aviator with stress on congratulations where the crowds were thickest, in which the recent phrase, "I told you so," was often repeated. It was evident during the day that New York had confidence in the lad from the West.

On the streets and sidewalks Lindbergh was the one topic of conversation the whole day long. In the subway, on the street, in the parks and cars, motor-omnibus houses, churches, wherever a few had gathered, or even where one man could find another to talk to, one said "Lindbergh—Lindbergh—Lindbergh."

And with expressions on their faces "He'll make it, all right," "Somebody!" "Well, if he's in bed, he's safe anyway."

"It's away about his time!" "What's the difference in time between here and there anyway?"

Confused on Differences in Time.

To the latter question those who were asked replied with the same answer, "What's the difference in time between New York and Paris and London?"

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LINDBERGH TRIUMPH THRILLS COOLIDGE

President Cables Praise to "Heroic Flier" and Concern for Nungesser and Coli.

CAPITAL THROBS WITH JOY

Kellogg, New, MacNider, Patrick and Many More Join in Paying Tribute to Daring Youth.

Special to the New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 22.—The triumph of Captain Charles A. Lindbergh in flying from New York to Paris without a stop created a tremendous sensation in the national capital and freed immediate response in a host of official messages and statements congratulating the daring aviator upon his achievement.

President Coolidge expressed his admiration in a message transmitted through Ambassador Herrick in Paris for delivery to the young flier in person.

With a single possible exception this city has never been more thrilled since the armistice, when Woodrow Wilson mingled with one thousand in celebrating the end of the war.

The exception was when Walter Johnson arose from apparent defeat and won the daring world series baseball game in 1924.

"The American people," the President said, "rejoice with me at the brilliant feat of a young man in flying a lone aviator across the Atlantic across the neck of American aviation, and in bringing the greetings of the American people to France you likewise carry the assurance of our admiration of those intrepid Frenchmen, Nungesser and Coli, whose bold spirit first ventured an experiment, and likewise a message of our continued anxiety concerning their fate."

Secretary Kellogg, in a message similarly transmitted, said: "I heartily congratulate you on the success of your great adventure in accomplishing a non-stop flight from New York to Paris. It is a great step in the advancement of aviation. Every one in the United States is proud of your accomplishment."

News Lindbergh as a Hero.

In a statement issued here Mr. Kellogg referred to his personal friendship for Lindbergh, who has been known for years through the young man's late father, a Negro aviator in Coahoma from the Negro's home State of Minnesota.

"News has just reached me," Mr. Kellogg said, "of the success of Lindbergh in completing his flight from New York to Paris. It is an achievement of which every American can justly be proud. I have known Lindbergh since he was a boy and rejoice at this consummation of his ambition, which could only have been gained by intense knowledge, superb courage and physique and complete mastery of his own nature."

Lindbergh's success, however, is tempered by our continued concern of the fate of Nungesser and Coli, whose fate will only be known when they are rescued or when they are rescued.

The Times Gets 16,000 Phone Calls.

The telephone inquiries came from all sorts of people and all directions. A few were on the Times' office and spontaneously explained that they were on golf links or elsewhere at a distance, and were not able to call in.

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BY EDWIN L. JAMES

PARIS, May 22.—Lindbergh did it. Twenty minutes after 10 o'clock tonight suddenly and softly there slipped out of the darkness a gray-white airplane as 25,000 pairs of eyes strained toward it. At 10:24 the Spirit of St. Louis landed and lines of soldiers, ranks of policemen and stout steel fences went down before a mad rush as irresistible as the tides of the ocean.

"Well, I made it," smiled Lindbergh, as the little white monoplane came to a halt in the middle of the field and the first vanguard reached the plane. Lindbergh made a move to jump out. Twenty hands reached for him and lifted him out as if he were a baby. Several thousands in a minute were around the plane. Thousands more broke the barriers of iron rails round the field, cheering wildly.

Lifted From His Cockpit.

As he was lifted to the ground Lindbergh was pale, and, with his hair unkempt, he looked completely worn out. He had strength enough, however, to smile, and waved his hand to the crowd. Soldiers with fixed bayonets were unable to keep back the crowd.

United States Ambassador Herrick was among the first to welcome and congratulate the hero.

A New York Times man was one of the first to reach the machine after its graceful descent to the field. Three feet from arrival at the plane had a picture that will live in their minds for the rest of their lives. His cap off, his famous long curls flying in disarray around his eyes, "Looky Lindy" sat peering out over the rim of the little cockpit of his machine.

Dramatic Scene at the Field.

It was high drama. Picture the scene. Twenty to twenty-five thousand people were massed on the east side of Le Bourget air field. Some of them had been there six and seven hours.

Off to the left the giant searchlight of Mount Valerien flashed its guiding light 300 miles into the air. Closer on the left Le Bourget Lighthouse twinkled, and off to the right another giant revolving phare sent its beams high into the heavens.

Big arc lights on all sides with enormous electric glares were flooding the landing field. From time to time rockets rose and burst in varied lights over the field.

Seven thirty, the hour announced for the arrival, had come and gone. Then 8 o'clock came, and no Lindbergh; at 8 o'clock the sun had set but then came reports that Lindbergh had been seen over Cork. Then he had been seen over Valentia in Ireland and then over Plymouth.

Suddenly a message spread like lightning, the aviator had been seen over Chateaufort. However, remembering the message telling of Captain Nungesser's flight, the crowd was skeptical.

"One chance in a thousand!" "Oh, he cannot do it without navigating instruments." "It's a pity, because he was a hero." Ferventism had spread over the great throng by 11 o'clock.

The stars came out and a chill wind blew.

Watchers Are Twice Disappointed.

Suddenly the field lights flooded their glare onto the landing ground and there came the rear of an airplane's motor. The crowd was still, then began a cheer, but two minutes later the glowing glare went dark for the searchlight had identified the plane and it was not Captain Lindbergh's.

Stamping their feet in the cold, the crowd waited patiently. It seemed quite apparent that nearly every one was willing to wait all night, hoping against hope.

Suddenly—it was 10:16 exactly—the another motor roared over the heads of the crowd. In the sky one caught a glimpse of a white gull plane, and for an instant heard the sound of a motor. Then it dimmed, and the idea spread that it was yet another disappointment.

Again landing lights glared and almost by the time had flooded the field the gray-white plane had lighted on the far side nearly half a mile from the crowd. It seemed to die almost as it hit the ground, so gently did it land.

And then occurred a scene which almost passed decorum. Two companies of soldiers with fixed bayonets and 10 Le Bourget field police, reinforced by French gendarmes, had been called in rapid order. But as the lights showed the p

with a pen instead of a pencil. However, the newspaper has resisted publishing editorial cartoons or comics. It uses the honorifics “Mr.” and “Mrs.,” whereas many newspapers use a person’s surname on second reference, and the *Times* was slow to adopt “Ms.” because the publisher didn’t want it.

Despite the *Times*’ high standards, it has been subject to the same economic problems that other businesses endured, and in the 1970s, under the leadership of one of Adolph Ochs’ grandsons, the paper made major changes so it could survive. In fact, it advertised itself as “*The New New York Times*.” The paper went from two sections to four, with some of those sections changing daily and thus providing readers with different magazines within the newspaper. Of course, the different sections were aimed at attracting specific advertisers and thus had themes such as food and the home and the arts and weekend entertainment. One of the successful sections was named “Science Times,” which attracted profitable computer advertising, leading the *Times* to create a weekly computer section called “Circuits.” Special slick Sunday magazines devoted to fashion or travel also appeared regularly and helped boost the paper’s bottom line. During these changes, the reporting became better and the topics diversified as the *Times* went from a paper of record focusing only on policy to one that focused on policy and people. Some have said when the *Times* covers a topic, it’s sociology, not journalism—an indication of the depth and breadth of many of its stories.

Although not perfect, the *Times* has tried to be a dignified newspaper, befitting Adolph Ochs’ motto. When in the 1950s it ran a photograph of Joe DiMaggio and Marilyn Monroe kissing open mouthed the picture editor was moved out of his job, although he remained on the payroll. When the then vice president of the United States, Nelson Rockefeller, a former governor of New York, was photographed raising his middle finger to a group of protesters, the *Times* did not publish the photo and merely said: “After protesters showed they were able to drown out his speech, Mr. Rockefeller then gestured three times with his finger.” Another time, a reporter turned in a story quoting someone as saying “chicken shit” and the desk changed it to “barnyard epithet.”

But the paper could be playful. When Latin was dropped as a public school course, it ran an editorial with this headline: “Quatenus Mortua Lingua Latina?” The accompanying 105-word editorial was written in Latin with no accompanying translation. In fact, one might say that the *Times* lives in the past and never changes. When in 1976 it adopted a six-column format, bringing it in line with the format of most newspapers, the *Times*’ story concluded with this paragraph: “The *Times* used a six-column format when the newspaper first appeared on Sept. 18, 1851.” In other words, the more the *Times* changed, the more the *Times* stayed the same.

But to simplify things that much would be a misreading of this newspaper. While it has been slow to change, it has also been a journalistic leader and often able to do things other newspapers could not. In that regard, the *Times* is an institution unlike any other in the United States.

—R. Thomas Berner

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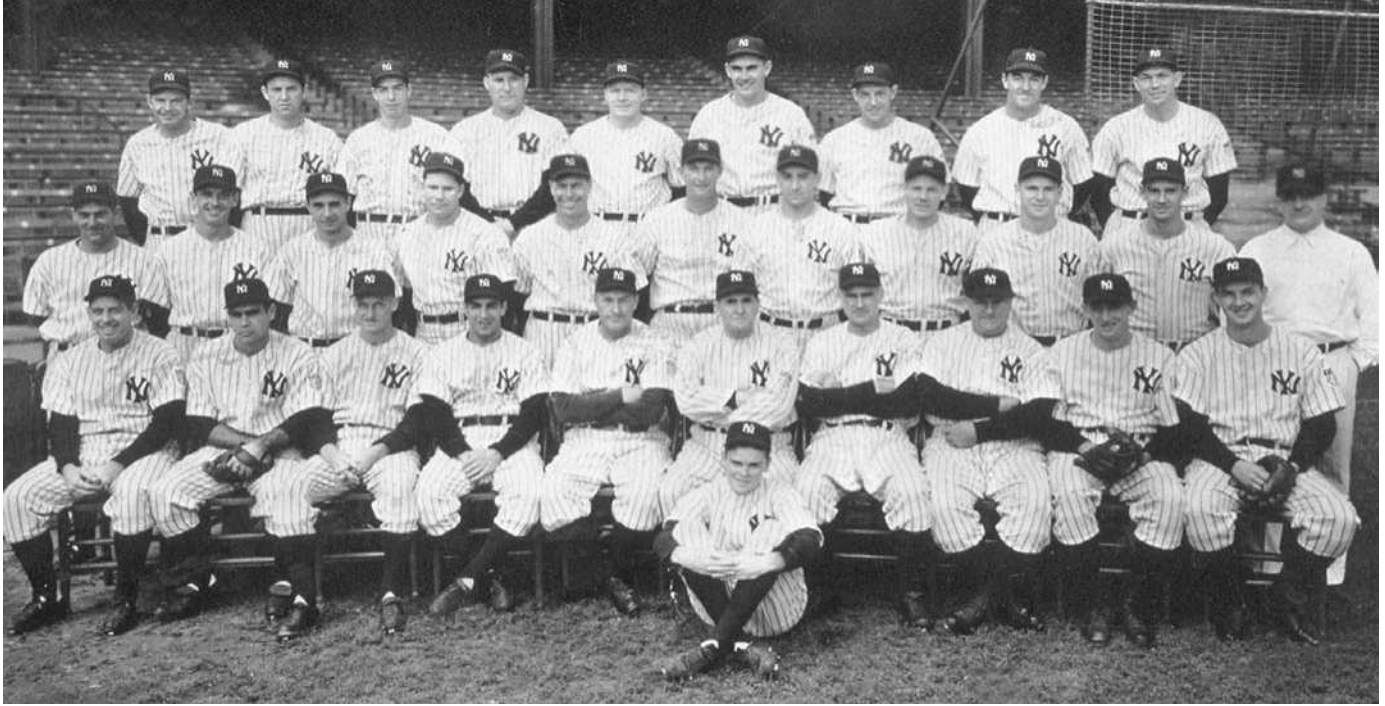
## The New York Yankees

Like Cadillac or BMW, the New York Yankees’ brand name is respected the world over, a badge of excellence in the realm of professional baseball. That a hit Broadway play called *Damn Yankees* could play off the antipathy generated in rival cities by the franchise’s unmatched success is a testament to the powerful associations the team conjures up in the popular mind. Known for its reverence for tradition, the Yankee organization need do little to market itself to prospective ticket buyers. The mere presence of the club’s stately eponymous stadium in the South Bronx, with its wall of plaques commemorating some of the game’s greatest players, is enough to keep tourists, baseball aficionados, and loyal fans flocking to see the “Bronx Bombers” play.

The team began life as the New York Highlanders in 1903. They were renamed the Yankees in 1913, and began playing in Manhattan’s Polo Grounds that same year. Millionaire brewer Jacob Ruppert bought the team with a partner in 1915 for \$460,000. His most significant contribution to baseball history was the purchase of Babe Ruth’s contract from the Boston Red Sox in 1920, a sale that altered the fortunes of both franchises. The Red Sox became a symbol for futility, beloved by New Englanders but bereft of any luck, common sense, or winning tradition. The Yankees, by contrast, evolved into, well, the Yankees.

With Ruth leading the way, the Yankees won their first World Series in 1923. The team would add two more world championships and six American League pennants in the decade, successes that paved the way for the construction of Yankee Stadium in 1923. The magnificent new ballpark was home to a “Murderer’s Row” lineup through the late 1920s and into the 1930s. Feared sluggers Lou Gehrig, Earle Combs, and Tony Lazzeri ably complemented the protean Ruth, who swatted 60 home runs in 1927 to lead the team to a 110-win season. Ruth also became America’s first national sports icon, a figure so revered he commanded no less than half a dozen nicknames: The Sultan of Swat, The Caliph of Clout, The Wazir of Wallop, and so on. Once, asked what he thought about being paid more than President Herbert Hoover, Ruth cracked: “I had a better year than he did.” Tethered to the Babe’s balloon, the Yankees rose in prominence to become America’s pre-eminent sports franchise.

When the aging of its first generation of stars threatened to end the Yankees’ run at the top, the club merely brought in new faces. Joe DiMaggio spearheaded a squad that won six World Series between 1936 and 1943. His 56-game hitting streak in 1941 captured the nation’s attention at a time when America stood on the brink of world war. Almost the polar opposite of Ruth in his approach to life and disdain for the limelight, DiMaggio nevertheless became almost as luminous a figure. Certainly his marriage to national sex kitten Marilyn Monroe in 1954 had something to do with that apotheosis as well. Ernest Hemingway immortalized DiMaggio’s “grace under



The New York Yankees, c. 1942.

pressure” by repeatedly referencing the Yankee Clipper in his 1952 novel *The Old Man and the Sea*.

After DiMaggio retired in 1951, the Yankees filled the void with another altogether different matinee idol. Mickey Mantle, a brawny farm boy from Oklahoma, became the team’s new centerfielder. The blonde-haired, blue-eyed “Mick” seemed carved out of someone’s Platonic ideal of what a ballplayer should look like. He could run and hit with power from both sides of the plate. And while he was prone to injury over the course of his 17-year career, he would secure a place in the Hall of Fame and a legacy as one of the game’s greatest players.

Mantle and his Yankees bestrode the 1950s baseball landscape like a colossus. From 1950 to 1958, the team won six world championships. The 1961 squad led by Mantle and Roger Maris, who broke Ruth’s record of 60 home runs in a season, was widely cited as the equal of the 1927 edition. It was during this dynastic period that a vehement hatred of the Yankee organization took hold in a number of cities, as teams like the Brooklyn Dodgers and Cleveland Indians found their championship hopes repeatedly dashed by the free-sending cosmopolites from Gotham.

Those rivals would yet see the tables turned, beginning in 1964 when broadcasting behemoth CBS bought the Yankees for a reported \$14 million. It was the beginning of a steep decline for the franchise. The team’s best players, most notably Mantle, were past the prime of their careers, and the club was slow to recruit African-American and Latin players to replace them, as many other organizations were doing. The Yankee front office, it seemed to many, was living in a world of the past. The club sank to tenth place in 1966, posting the worst record of any Yankee squad in 53 years. Attendance plummeted. Most galling of all, the Yankees’ crosstown rivals, the New York Mets, graduated from bumbling novelties to world champions in 1969.

Slowly, the Yankees began to rebuild. Their new catcher, Thurman Munson, won the Rookie of the Year Award for 1970.

Shrewd trades brought them the likes of Graig Nettles and Chris Chambliss, infielders who would play a prominent role in the club’s resurgence. And CBS, seemingly disinterested in the team’s fortunes and the desires of its fans, finally sold out from under its losses in 1973. The Yankees’ new principal owner was George M. Steinbrenner III, a shipbuilding magnate from Cleveland. Steinbrenner vowed to take a hands-off approach, leaving the day-to-day operation of the club to his chief lieutenant, Gabe Paul.

Under new leadership, the Yankees returned to the front ranks of the American League. They competed for a division title in 1974, despite playing their home games in the Mets’ own Shea Stadium. A two-year renovation of crumbling Yankee Stadium was completed in time for the 1976 opener. That season was to be flush with renewal for the Bronx Bombers, as they surged to their first American League pennant in 12 years. First baseman Chambliss’ dramatic ninth-inning home run in the fifth game of the playoff series against the Kansas City Royals sealed the victory. The exultation felt by legions of long-suffering Yankee fans was to be short-lived, however, as the club was trounced in the World Series by the Cincinnati Reds, four games to none.

Over the next five years, the Yankees re-established themselves as baseball’s elite team, capturing three pennants and two world championships. Their back-to-back World Series wins in 1977 and 1978 were capped by a thrilling come-from-behind divisional pennant race with the Boston Red Sox in the latter year. Controversy and conflict also marked these years of winning. Outspoken slugger Reggie Jackson was added as a free agent in 1977, to the consternation of the team’s cantankerous manager, Billy Martin. Together with the increasingly meddlesome Steinbrenner, the three men formed a veritable death grip of sorts, as their public spats were splashed all over the pages of the New York City tabloids. Reliever Sparky Lyle later labeled the team’s poisonous clubhouse “The Bronx Zoo.”

Nevertheless, the Yankees kept on winning, and the fans loved the roller derby atmosphere.

The Yankees' run of disco-era dominance ended with a 1981 World Series loss to the Los Angeles Dodgers, an embarrassing coda to a strike-shortened season that prompted Steinbrenner to issue an ostentatious public apology to the citizens of New York. The 1980s saw the imperious owner struggle to cover up the team's deficiencies in player development with his checkbook. Steinbrenner signed high-priced players with seemingly little regard for their adaptability to the pressures of playing in New York. Managers were put under intense pressure to succeed, subject to dismissal at any time according to the owner's whims. Three men were hired and fired during the 1982 season alone. Billy Martin returned for three more engagements as the club's skipper, in 1983, 1985, and 1988. Only the presence of Don Mattingly, the club's dignified captain, prevented Yankee fans from being thoroughly alienated by the whole charade.

Yankee fortunes only improved with Steinbrenner's 1990 exile from baseball following allegations he had hired a professional gambler to spy on one of his players. "The Boss" remained locked away from running team affairs for three years, during which general manager Gene "Stick" Michael effectively ran the club. Freed from Steinbrenner's tyranny, Michael returned the organization to its roots, emphasizing player development at the minor league level. Future stars Bernie Williams, Derek Jeter, and Mariano Rivera, who would have been traded away in years past, were nurtured until they were ready to take their places in the starting line-up. A few key trades and the judicious use of free agent signings helped the Yankees recapture first place in the strike-shortened 1994 campaign.

By that time, Steinbrenner was back on the job, but in no position to tamper with the interim regime's formula. Some said "The Boss" had mellowed. Certainly he came back from exile with a renewed willingness to let his "baseball people" run the team. Other than pointlessly firing manager Buck Showalter in 1995 after a loss in the playoffs, he did little to slow the development of a new baseball juggernaut. The team capped a stellar 1996 season with a come-from-behind upset victory over the Atlanta Braves in the World Series. Two years later, the Yankees posted the best record in American League history, going 114-48. They then completed an impressive playoff run by sweeping the San Diego Padres in the World Series. Baseball pundits promptly began arguing over whether this was the greatest team of all time. But when the Yankees' record 24th World Championship banner was raised onto the facade at Yankee Stadium on April 9, 1999, there was no doubt which was the most successful franchise in baseball's first full century.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## *The New Yorker*

The first issue of the *New Yorker* magazine arrived on newsstands in February of 1925. The brainchild of an unlikely genius named Harold Ross, the periodical weathered a rocky start but soon established itself as a bastion of literacy, wit, and sophistication. A mixture of fact, fiction, poetry, and cartoons, the *New Yorker* set high standards in all four fields, despite the fact that founder/editor Ross himself had never completed high school. The first writers to set the tone for the magazine were E. B. White and James Thurber. Their sly, elegant wordplay enabled Ross to achieve his vision of a magazine that—unlike the popular *Saturday Evening Post*—would “not be (edited) for the old lady in Dubuque.” But in fact, the magazine, with its deliberately cosmopolitan focus, found unexpectedly wide favor across the country. Over the next decades, stories and cartoons from the *New Yorker* became the basis for successful plays, films, and television series, from Clarence Day's *Life with Father* and Sally Benson's *Meet Me in St. Louis* to Thurber's *The Secret Life of Walter Mitty* and (Charles) *Addams' Family*. Among the leading literary lights who contributed humor and serious fiction to the *New Yorker* were Robert Benchley, Dorothy Parker, S. J. Perelman, Ring Lardner, Eudora Welty, John Cheever, John O'Hara, Truman Capote, and Woody Allen. Upon the death of Ross in the 1950s, William Shawn took over the editorship with equal success—until his abrupt dismissal in 1987, the result of the magazine's change in ownership. In later years, the periodical has undergone some rough periods, but maintains the status of its “snob appeal.” It may have smacked of hubris when the *New Yorker* courted new subscribers by touting itself as “The best magazine that ever was,” but the people at the periodical knew that, in the eyes of many long-time readers, the hubris was completely justified.

Harold Ross was born in Aspen, Colorado, in 1892. The family later moved to Salt Lake City, where Ross dropped out of high school in his sophomore year. After itinerant work on over a score of newspapers, Ross enlisted in the army upon America's entry into World War I. Once overseas, young Ross went A.W.O.L. to Paris, where he soon got himself hired onto the staff of the army's new journal for soldiers, *Stars & Stripes*. Before long, he was running the paper and turning it into a great success. After the armistice, the civilian Ross ended up in Manhattan, where old army buddy Alexander Woollcott invited him to join the legendary Algonquin Round Table, a daily gathering of writers and wits at the hotel of that name, whose avowed purpose was to drink, play cards, and best each other at bons mots (not necessarily in that order). The wit of the Algonquin crowd—which included, among others, Benchley, Parker, Lardner, George S. Kaufman, and Edna Ferber—provided Ross with much of the inspiration to start a new magazine. And it was a late-comer into the Round Table, bakery heir Raul Fleischmann, who would provide Ross with the wherewithal that enabled him to realize his dream. Journalist Gigi Mahon has described the odd couple thusly:

“Fleischmann was calm and diplomatic, Ross was crude and obstreperous. . . . If one tried to guess which was the baker and which the editor, one would likely have got it wrong.”

Their differences notwithstanding, the two men formed F-R Publishing Corp., for Fleischmann-Ross. The majority of the money was Fleischmann’s and the concept for the magazine was all Ross’—public relations man John Peter Toohey christened it the *New Yorker* and artist Rea Irvin created the monocled dandy regarding a butterfly which graced the cover of the first issue, and the cover of almost every subsequent anniversary issue; eventually the dandy was given a name, Eustace Tilley. Prior to publication, Ross had set down his vision for the *New Yorker* in a position paper, describing the contents and standards of excellence with which he planned to imbue his magazine. Eventually, as Mahon puts it, “The New Yorker could boast the rarest of achievements: It became exactly what it set out to be.”

But that first step out of the gate was a stumble. The magazine’s tone was arch and its humor was not funny. Fortunately, Fleischmann kept putting money into the enterprise long enough for the *New Yorker* to find its unique voice and its adoring readership. With the valuable editorial assistance of Katherine Angell (later Mrs. E. B. White), Ross’ magazine began to resemble the one he had always had in mind. Readers started to look forward to such features as the light-hearted “Talk of the Town” and the insightful “Profiles” of prominent people. The first sell-out issue was the result of a piece by Ellin MacKay (later Mrs. Irving Berlin), “Why We Go to Cabarets: A Post Debutante Explains.” Although the popular article contrasted the gay nightlife at cabarets with the stuffy doings at debutante balls, the *New Yorker* itself cultivated a definite “snob appeal,” courting advertisements from only the poshest and ritziest of Manhattan emporiums. Because his magazine was just starting out, Ross could not afford to publish articles and stories by famous writers. Consequently, he welcomed new talent, and the magazine and its writers grew famous together. E. B. White, who later would pen the children’s classic, *Charlotte’s Web*, contributed much to the early success of the *New Yorker* by editing the “Talk of the Town” column and writing its “Notes and Comments” preface. Another prime White contribution to the magazine was his encouragement and support of his friend, James Thurber, who soon became known not only for his humorous stories and reminiscences but also for his uniquely artless style of cartooning (a famous Thurber cartoon showed a seal leaning against the headboard of a couple’s bed—do not ask why—and the wife saying to the husband, “All right, have it your way. You heard a seal bark!”). Other regular *New Yorker* contributors included Ross’ friend Alexander Woollcott (the “Shouts and Murmurs” column), Woolcott Gibbs (whose brilliant parody of rival *Time* magazine included the famous line, “Backward ran sentences until reeled the mind”), Alva Johnston, author of many of the well-received “Profiles,” and Clifton Fadiman and Lewis Mumford, who wrote about books and art respectively.

For all the excellence of its prose, the *New Yorker* took a special pride of place among periodicals for its presentation of excellent cartoons—although not an artist, White supplied the caption for a classic: A mother at the dinner table says to her child, “It’s broccoli, dear.” The kid replies, “I say it’s spinach and I say the hell with it.” Peter Arno was one noted cartoonist whose gags usually poked fun at the upscale businessmen and matrons of Manhattan—a distinguished-looking gentleman, kneeling at his bedside in prayer: “Harrison J.

Endicott speaking.” The characters created by Charles Addams, on the other hand, inhabited a world all his own, a macabre, fantastic pastiche of horror-movie haunted house and twisted suburbia. Decades later, his prime creations would find fame on television—and, still later, in films—as *The Addams Family*.

The *New Yorker* was eventually one of the most successful magazines in the country—and, despite its carefully crafted cosmopolitan image, 80 percent of its readership lived well outside the greater Manhattan area. With the coming of World War II, the periodical inevitably grew more sober in its content, and the *New Yorker*, like a lot of less prominent publications, suffered from wartime paper shortages. On the other hand, Harold (*Stars & Stripes*) Ross produced a stripped-down “pony” edition of the *New Yorker* for the armed forces which ended up outselling the original—and, more importantly, gaining new readers who would make the postwar *New Yorker* more successful than ever. Ever since its inception, Fleischmann had been gaining more financial control over the *New Yorker*, but there was no question that in matters editorial Ross was still the god of the magazine. There was something of the stumblebum about the profane Ross, who once asked of a writer, “Was Moby Dick the whale or the captain?” But there was no denying his knack for hiring exceptional talent and then worrying, fretting, questioning, and in general pushing it to the limits of its capability. In his affectionate memoir, *The Years with Ross*, Thurber relates that journalist/financier John Duncan Miller had this impression upon meeting the legendary figure: “During the first half hour, I felt that Ross was the last man in the world who could edit the *New Yorker*. I left there realizing that nobody else in the world could.”

Inevitably, however, somebody else had to. Harold Ross died in December of 1951, and the following month it was announced that his successor would be William Shawn. A member of the editorial staff since 1933, it had been Shawn who convinced Ross to devote an entire 1946 issue of the magazine to John Hersey’s devastating chronicle, *Hiroshima*. Whereas Ross had been blustery, Shawn was quiet, well-spoken, and shy—but his rule was every bit as absolute as his predecessor’s. The years with Shawn at the helm would alter the *New Yorker* in subtle ways—fewer humorous covers, a tendency toward more serious and political literature—and yet bring the magazine continued success. By the mid-1950s, although ranking seventy-second of all magazines in circulation, the *New Yorker* was running third in terms of advertising pages. As Mahon points out in *The Last Days of the “New Yorker,”* “(The magazine) was . . . virtually alone in catering to people with intelligence and wealth. It was . . . the only literary publication that consistently made money.” The *New Yorker* continually proved that seriousness of purpose was not inconsistent with commerce. It was the *New Yorker* that published such ground-breaking works as Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring*, marking the beginning of the environmental movement, James Baldwin’s impassioned examination of race relations, *The Fire Next Time*, and Truman Capote’s “fact-novel” about murder, *In Cold Blood*. A serious writer about the often disparaged topic of movies was the *New Yorker*’s controversial critic, Pauline Kael, who came to dominate her field. Outstanding as a sports writer was the *New Yorker*’s Roger Angell.

The institution of the *New Yorker*, commensurate with its high-tone image, has always had about it an air of insularity; since the magazine’s first days with Ross, the masthead has never listed the editor’s name. Within that special enclave, there has been fostered a

family feeling, frequently reinforced by marriages between personnel. And, as with most families, there have been squabbles. A line of demarcation was drawn between the editorial and business branches so clearly that they might almost have been working for two different magazines; it was understood that the latter was not to interfere in the doings of the former. Business had a decisive impact on editorial in the late 1980s, however, when the *New Yorker* was purchased by media emperor S. I. Newhouse and his Conde Nast corporation. Within a year, William Shawn was forced into retirement, an action which had a singularly demoralizing effect on the *New Yorker* family. For a brief time, Tina Brown of *Vanity Fair* magazine was brought in to edit the *New Yorker*, but she departed Manhattan for Hollywood in the late 1990s. The magazine may never see another long-running editorial dynasty such as Ross' or Shawn's, but it still is a going concern, its reputation a bit battered, perhaps, but still largely intact, and still an influential component of contemporary culture—television's *Seinfeld* series had an episode in which "Elaine" gets herself hired onto the *New Yorker* staff, purely because she does not get the joke in one of the cartoons, and wishes to confront the editor. Many readers will continue to regard it as "the best magazine that ever was," whether or not it remains the best magazine that is.

—Preston Neal Jones

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## Newhart, Bob (1929—)

Bob Newhart is one of a rare few television performers to have starred in two tremendously successful shows. From his earliest days as one of the most successful standup comedians to one of the most successful runs on sitcoms in the 1970s and 1980s, Bob Newhart managed to keep audiences laughing. Best identified with *The Bob Newhart Show* and the later *Newhart* show, Newhart has mastered the image of a "normal" person. In both shows Newhart played a man who calmly weathered the storms that constantly raged in the lives of his friends and family. Newhart's comedic talent stems from his use of a sense of quiet desperation and a stutter to portray a regular man caught in a world of crazy people. Though many comedy shows have relied on the straight man, Newhart has created his own unique version of the "straight man"; Bob Newhart's straight man isn't

boastful or self-righteous, he is a steady everyday man with whom many can identify.

Newhart's real start came doing standup comedy, talking to himself on the telephone. After his Army service, Newhart worked as an accountant and an advertising copywriter. He and his friend at the ad agency, Ed Gallagher, used to amuse themselves by making long, antic phone calls to each other, which they recorded as audition tapes for comedy jobs. When the friend dropped out Bob developed his now famous one-man, two-way telephone conversations. In 1959 he was introduced to the head of talent at Warner Bros. Records. *The Button-Down Mind of Bob Newhart* was born and became the first comedy album to go to number one on the charts. He became extremely popular and set records for comedy album sales that would last until the 1990s.

Based on this success, Newhart was approached by NBC to host a show that would bring together comedians and others to perform their routines. Newhart's own first series was on NBC in 1961, a variety program called *The Bob Newhart Show*. It won both an Emmy and the Peabody Award but was canceled in the first season. He appeared in a number of movies playing small but memorable roles, including *On a Clear Day You Can See Forever* (1970, as Dr. Mason Hume), *Catch 22* (1970, as Major Major), *Cold Turkey* (1971, playing a cigarette company pointman), and *First Family* (1980, as the President). He was also the voice of Bernard the Mouse in two films, *The Rescuers* (1977) and *The Rescuers Down Under* (1990), and later Leonard the Polar Bear in *Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer: The Movie* (1998).

Newhart is perhaps most associated with *The Bob Newhart Show*, which debuted in 1972 on CBS, marking the beginning of a seven-year run. Newhart played Dr. Robert (Bob) Hartley, a calm Chicago psychiatrist surrounded by friends and family who had assorted problems and neuroses, but who were essentially "normal." The show co-starred Suzanne Pleshette as Bob's wife, Emily, and one of the finest casts of feature players on television, including Bill Daily as the addle-minded neighbor Howard Borden, Peter Bonerz as Bob's friend and office colleague Jerry Robinson, Marcia Wallace as the smart mouth secretary Carol Bonderant, and Jack Riley as the eternally neurotic Mr. Elliot Carlin.

*The Bob Newhart Show* was the first hit to come out of MTM Enterprises and it ushered in a new phase of television comedy. In 1972 when the show premiered there were reality shows like *M\*A\*S\*H* or family shows like *All in the Family*, or new breeds like the *Mary Tyler Moore* show that tried to capture a modern perspective on the home and workplace. *The Bob Newhart Show*, however, relied more on the interaction of the characters whether at work or at home. The show even began to make fun of itself as when Mr. Carlin jokes with Bob about cliches. By 1978, with the show facing declining ratings, Newhart left the hit show to go back to live performances until a new show came his way.

In 1982, Newhart returned to CBS with *Newhart*, playing a New York, how-to book author turned Vermont innkeeper and eventual host of a local talk show, *Vermont Today*. Newhart was again surrounded by an ensemble of quirky characters, but these characters were more exaggerated than those on *The Bob Newhart Show*. Newhart's character, Dick Loudon, had essentially the same temperament as the Bob Hartley character, but Loudon was surrounded by a heightened level of insanity. After the end of the first season, *Newhart*



Bob Newhart (right), Julia Duffy, and Tom Poston in a scene from *Newhart*.

had assembled most of the show's main characters: Dick's wife Joanna, handyman George, the maid Stephanie, who is the rich and snooty cousin of the show's first maid, and Michael, the producer of the local talk show whose money-consciousness and odd quirks meshed perfectly with Stephanie's. For more comic relief the show added three brothers: Larry, Darryl, and the other brother Darryl, who will do anything for a buck.

*Newhart* ended against the wishes of the network because Newhart felt it was better to put the show to rest while it was at its peak. Television fans remember the classic final episode of *Newhart*, in which he "awoke" in his old bedroom (from *The Bob Newhart Show*) with his "wife," Suzanne Pleshette, next to him, proclaiming he had had the strangest dream. Critics and fans alike have called this the single best and most surprising episode in television comedy history.

In the 1990s Newhart tried the formula that worked so well on these past shows with two other shows: *Bob* (1992-94), in which he played a Comic Book creator who is saddled with a new young brash partner, and *George and Leo* (1997-98), in which he played a flustered bookstore owner on Martha's Vineyard who can not shake television veteran Judd Hirsh's character, the obnoxious father of

Bob's son's wife from Las Vegas. Neither won the hearts of viewers like his previous shows.

The human flaws Newhart displays in his characters—his quiet, almost meek, manner, his stammering, and the appearance of others pushing him around—may be the very reasons that he is as significant as he is. He represents many people's feeling of frustration with a seemingly crazy world.

—Frank E. Clark

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## The Newlywed Game

Short-sighted TV viewers might believe the airing of couples' dirty laundry on television started with the talk show craze of the 1990s, with Jerry Springer as the ultimate ringmaster. But it actually began back in the 1960s, in the realm of game shows, courtesy of Springer's spiritual forefather, veteran producer Chuck Barris.

*The Newlywed Game* ran on and off, daytime and nighttime, between 1966 and 1990. It featured four couples who had been married less than a year, competing against each other. After the wives were "safely secured offstage," the husbands were asked questions such as, "Would your wife say she sleeps with her toes pointing toward the ceiling, the floor, or the wall?" "What animal would you compare your mother-in-law to?" "If your wife were a car, what would need to be repaired most, her fenders or transmission?" The husbands guessed how the wives would answer, then the wives came back and answered the same questions, and couples got points for matches. Then the husbands got sent out and the process repeated. The couple with the most points won some sort of domestic "newlywed" prize, like a dishwasher.

Presiding over the festivities was Bob Eubanks, an unctuous, pompadoured host who humiliated himself in Michael Moore's film *Roger and Me* by telling a racist joke. Eubanks got to ask the prying questions, and provided deadpan reactions to the wackiness. Sometimes he took it on the road, staging the game in shopping malls all over the country. Eubanks hosted the day and nighttime incarnations of the show until 1989, when he was replaced by Latino comic Paul Rodriguez for a season; the show was soon canceled.

The real idea behind *The Newlywed Game* and its slightly older cousin, *The Dating Game* (also from Barris, and hosted by the oily Jim Lange), was to see how much sex talk could be gotten away with without getting in trouble with the network's Standards and Practices division. America's puritan/voyeuristic dichotomy was never more apparent than in the loaded questions, the coy yet revealing answers, and most of all, the titters in the audience, members of which seemed almost shocked at the mere idea that these married people had sex. In fact, those who thought *The Dating Game* ("Bachelor Number One: If I were an ice cream cone, would you lick my cream or bite my cone?") was sleazy were often surprised to learn, that, although the contestants were married, *The Newlywed Game* was somehow even sleazier.

This was a time, after all, when jokes about the rabbit-like sex lives of newlyweds still made sense. Couples weren't living together as much yet, and convention still dictated that no one was really having premarital sex. Of course, the word "sex" was not used on the show. It was "whoopee" that the audience was imagining the couples feverishly making, not love. Against the backdrop of the burgeoning sexual revolution, it's almost laughable, and somehow, more trashy with the euphemism, which became ingrained in the American consciousness.

Legend has it that Howard Hughes was planning to buy ABC, but after catching *The Newlywed Game* one afternoon, he was so disgusted that he immediately called off the deal. The show is also the stuff of urban myth: in response to a question from Eubanks about the

"most unusual place you've ever made whoopee," amid other responses such as "on the kitchen table" or "in the bathroom of a 747," a female contestant supposedly responded, "That would be in the butt, Bob." It never happened; even if it had, the network censors would never have allowed it on their air. Barris claims it happened in his book *The Game Show King*; however, he admits he didn't witness it himself. Bob Eubanks, who should know, has repeatedly offered a \$10,000 reward to anyone who provides him with a video of the incident. He also told the *Village Voice* that he could probably have sold about a million "In the Butt, Bob" T-shirts.

The later, 1980s versions of the show, such as *The New Newlywed Game*, were a little more explicit and mean-spirited ("If your sex life were made into a movie, which part of the video store would it be found in—horror, fantasy or XXX-rated weirdo?" "Which of your wife's friends would most likely be harpooned if she were floating in the ocean?"). Reviewing the series in 1987, *TV Guide* called it "the worst piece of sleaze on television today."

Barris, who later spawned *The Gong Show*, once noted that if a newlywed couple loved and respected each other, they probably would never have thought about appearing on *The Newlywed Game*; if they had, they probably wouldn't have been chosen, because they wouldn't have made good contestants. If that opinion doesn't seal the connection between *The Newlywed Game* and the talk show expose-a-ramas, consider the contestant who accused her husband, on the air, of having an affair, saying "I knew about it, but I wanted to wait until we got on national TV to tell everybody."

—Karen Lurie

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## Newport Jazz and Folk Festivals

Jazz critic Leonard Feather once said that when the Newport Jazz Festival debuted in 1954 in Newport, Rhode Island, it initiated the "festival era" in American music. Though there had been other jazz festivals in Europe, the Newport Jazz Festival, and the Newport Folk Festival which began a few years later, did indeed popularize a new style of concert-giving, creating a music-filled community for several days of performances. In the process, the festivals made live music accessible to a large number of people and gave a huge promotional boost to two of the most truly American forms of music, jazz and folk.

In July 1954, musician and impresario George Wein organized and presented the first Newport Jazz Festival in the beautiful Rhode



Island seaside town of Newport. The festival became famous for showcasing jazz greats such as Count Basie, Ella Fitzgerald, Thelonius Monk, Dave Brubeck, and Miles Davis. It also gave a stage to new, even radical, voices in jazz: in 1969 the rock group Led Zeppelin played there and in 1998 Liquid Soul brought acid jazz to the venerable New England stage.

Because the festival's cutting edge music attracted many counter culture and radical fans, it became a natural site for the eruption of political demonstrations. Riots in 1960, 1969, and 1971 resulted in cancellation and, in 1972, the Newport Jazz Festival moved to New York City where it acquired an urban energy and vitality that had never been present in the sleepy town of Newport. Venues varied, with one of the most inventive being the Staten Island Ferry, aboard which Ray Charles gave a concert.

One of the major innovations introduced by George Wein—an energetic organizer with many festivals and concerts to his credit—was to expand the role of corporate sponsorship. Wein was the first to offer sponsors naming rights to concerts and thus, in 1981, the Newport Jazz Festival became the Kool Jazz Festival when Kool Cigarettes took over sponsorship. In 1986, JVC Electronics became the sponsor, and the festival name changed again to the JVC Jazz Festival. The festival also began to broaden its approach to music and to include performers more representative of rhythm and blues or soul than pure jazz. This approach brought popular stars such as Aretha Franklin and Patti Labelle to the festival's stage.

Tapping into a new and exciting movement in American folk music, the Newport Folk Festival debuted in 1959 with such soon-to-be famous stars as Joan Baez, who arrived in a converted hearse for her performance. The festival was a perennial draw for the left-over bohemians of the 1950s as well as for the hippies of the 1960s, many of them musical purists who booed Bob Dylan at the 1965 festival for playing an electric guitar. In 1967, Arlo Guthrie introduced his famous song, "Alice's Restaurant," at the Newport Folk Festival. By 1969, however, the increasing popularity of rock music and the volatile political times brought about the end of the festival, and there was no major folk music venue in Newport for over 15 years. Then, in 1985, George Wein, continuing to do what he did best, brought the folk festival back to Newport. His reunion of old time festival mainstays such as Baez, Guthrie, Judy Collins, and Doc Watson, brought in crowds of over five thousand fans each day. Continuing his tradition of sponsor partnership, he initiated the annual Ben and Jerry's Newport Folk Festival, adroitly tying together the festival and the New England counterculture image of the Vermont ice creamery.

The 1990s initiated its own take on festival culture with the touring music festival, which saw the likes of Lollapalooza and Lilith Fair take to the road, and in 1998 the Newport Folk Festival Tour was launched. The tour showcased long-time "folkies" like Joan Baez, along with newer voices in American folk-rock-country such as Lyle Lovett, Alison Krauss, and Suzanne Vega, thus ensuring itself a wide and ongoing following.

Meanwhile, in 1991, an older and perhaps wiser Newport Jazz Festival returned home to Rhode Island, but never again would it be limited to New England. Still a mainstay of the New York summer, the festival has spawned a series of JVC Newport Jazz Festivals across the United States and in many places abroad, as well as Newport Jazz Cruises between festivals. Though challenged from its inception by alternative festivals, Newport has survived to become the granddaddy of them all.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Newsweek

One of America's "big three" weekly newsmagazines, *Newsweek* was founded in 1933, the same year that saw the launch of its rival *United States News* (later merged with *World Report*), and just ten years after the newsweekly genre had been established with the appearance of Henry Luce's *Time* in 1923. The magazine was originally named *News-Week* by founder Thomas J. C. Martyn, *Time*'s first foreign news editor. *News-Week*'s first issue, on February 17, 1933, featured seven photographs of current events on its cover. Four years later, in 1937, the publication merged with Raymond Moley's *Today* magazine and, with Vincent Astor as its president, changed its name to *Newsweek*. Moley had been a member of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Brain Trust," and the editorial slant of the fledgling publication became generally more liberal than that of *Time*, though the two publications resembled each other in format and general appearance. *Newsweek* tried to distinguish itself from its older rival by introducing signed columns and avoiding the breezy language that had come to characterize the Luce publication. The publication was sold to the *Washington Post* company in 1961, whose liberal-leaning publisher Katharine Graham added journalists and features designed to further distinguish *Newsweek* from its two rivals.

By the 1950s, *Newsweek* had already been taking a leading role among American magazines in devoting more serious coverage to the issue of racial diversity in the United States, with in-depth coverage of the "Negro issue" and the struggle for desegregation in the South. By the mid-1960s, when the national consensus was strained by urban unrest and concern over the war in Vietnam, editor Osborn Elliott helped make the publication a vehicle for advocacy journalism. Without compromising its reportage of weekly news events, one of the magazine's issues in November, 1967 included a 20-page section entitled "What Must Be Done." In it, Elliott was quoted as saying, "The reason for this marked change of approach is that the editors have come to believe that at this particular time, on this particular subject, they could not fulfill their journalistic responsibility as citizens by simply reporting what X thinks of Y, and why Z disagrees." Public-policy experts and even rival newsmagazines applauded Elliott's approach, and it encouraged a new breed of advocacy journalists who questioned traditional notions of journalistic "objectivity."

Two incidents in the early 1980s were profoundly embarrassing to *Newsweek*. In 1981, an account the magazine published of "Jimmy," an eight-year-old heroin addict in Washington, D.C. won a Pulitzer Prize for its reporter, Janet Cooke, who was forced to return the award when she admitted she had embellished details in the story. And the May 2, 1983 issue of *Newsweek* devoted 13 pages to what were purported to be "Hitler's Secret Diaries"; the magazine was later forced to admit that the story was a hoax.

In the mid-1980s, when Richard M. Smith was editor, *Newsweek*, always seeking to distinguish itself from *Time*, underwent a major redesign under the direction of Roger Black. Its first foreign-language edition, in Japanese, was published in 1986, to be followed by a Korean edition in 1991 and a Spanish/Latin American edition in 1996. Also in 1996, *Newsweek* entered into a licensing agreement with the Most Group, a Russian publisher, by which it would provide material from current issues of the magazine for a Russian language newsweekly called *Itogi* (“summing up”), with a circulation of 50,000. Maynard Parker, then editor of *Newsweek*, was quoted as saying “it is the first news magazine in Russia and I’m sure it will be challenging because we are in a country where democracy is a new form and where the free press does not have that long a history.” *Newsweek* further distinguished itself in this period by publishing special issues that offered comprehensive coverage of important news items, historical events, and contemporary ideas. Regular columnists such as Meg Greenfield, Jane Bryant Quinn, George Stephanopoulos, and George Will continued *Newsweek*’s tradition of printing expert opinion side-by-side with its news stories. Its long-running “Periscope” column presented background perspective on the week’s news, and its “My Turn” column—the only one of its kind among the newsweeklies—became a vehicle for readers to present their own views on important issues. The magazine was praised by observers for the depth of its reportage and for its journalistic restraint during the investigation of President Bill Clinton by Special Prosecutor Kenneth Starr in 1998.

In the 1990s, *Newsweek* was in the vanguard of publications that began disseminating themselves via new digital technologies. It was the first newsweekly to introduce a quarterly CD-ROM version, a move that *Wired* magazine declared “Big Media’s most valuable accomplishment to date.” In 1994, the magazine was available online and, in 1998, *newsweek.com* became available on the World Wide Web with extensive archival material and daily updates. At century’s end, *Newsweek* also had four regional editions (Atlantic, Asia, Latin America, and Australia), four foreign-language editions (Japanese, Korean, Russian, and Spanish), and 22 bureaus around the world. Its circulation in 1999 was reported as 4.4 million worldwide and 3.27 million in the United States.

—Edward Moran

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## Newton, Helmut (1920—)

In May 1975, Helmut Newton’s *Vogue* fashion spread, “The Story of Ohhh. . .,” shocked America with its explicit eroticism. For taking risks with the conventions of fashion photography, Newton was labeled by *Time* magazine “a rake, a roué, and a libertine” and by *Newsweek* as “the King of Kink.” Other critics were not so kind and eventually Newton was censored by both British and Italian *Vogue*. In the ensuing two decades, Newton has risen from censored to cherished, earning a reputation as both an art photographer and a fashion photographer. In the late 1990s, Newton is best known for his probing

images of celebrities and his compelling travel photographs. His photographs speak of his love of women, of romance and sexuality, of artifice, and of consumer culture. Yet while most critics and students of photography consider Newton one of the world’s greatest contemporary photographers, some continue to debate the violent sexuality, objectification, and fetishization of women in his photographs.

—Ilene S. Goldman

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## Niagara Falls

Heart-shaped bathtubs and romantic overlooks define the contemporary vision of the greatest waterfall of North America. Linked with romantic honeymooning, Niagara Falls has become a tourist mecca that happens to contain an awesome natural wonder. The wonder of the falls has attracted visitors to this site for hundreds of years; however, the onlookers’ interest has been enhanced by a host of attractions. With their natural grandeur, the falls have impressed business developers looking for sources of power and exhibitionists looking for a wondrous thrill.

Many Americans refer to Niagara Falls as the first scenic wonder of North America. In fact, it attracted native people to the area for many years. Settlers converted the site into a primitive tourist destination, complete with dangerous catwalks leading out into the falls’ mists. As the early republic strained to find ways of defining itself and impressing Europeans, many Americans of the early 1800s turned to natural wonders or oddities. Chief among such icons, Niagara Falls rapidly became one of the nation’s first attractions.

As the European-Americans gazed at the crashing falls, some saw unrealized profit, and water-powered milling quickly took shape above the falls. The awesome force of the water offered entrepreneurs a bit of a free-for-all, as each pursued power generation. This avenue of progress continued to be developed in haphazard fashion throughout the nineteenth century. The tourist industry also turned more intrusive during the mid 1800s, leading to the haphazard construction of hotels and motels as well as roads and bridges to access them. Such developments so close to the nation’s preeminent natural wonder spurred a new type of reaction among Americans, and it became one of the first focuses of American preservationists. While outraged tourists bypassed the industrialized Niagara for more pristine or peaceful resorts, socially conservative, highly cultured reformers came to Niagara’s aid beginning in the 1870s. Led by Frederick Law Olmsted, the leader of American landscape architecture and planning, the preservationists sought to secure lands adjacent to the falls on both the American and Canadian sides. By 1887 the Niagara Preservation Movement had secured these lands, and New York established a state



Niagra Falls, the U.S. side.

reservation at the site in 1885. Soon, the preservationists realized that they also needed to prohibit development upriver from the Falls; the state initially resisted. The “Free Niagara” movement continued through the early 1900s.

In tandem with its appeal as a majestic natural wonder, Niagara has consistently appealed to American culture’s fascination with the bizarre. The feature films *Niagara* and *Superman* were partly filmed near the falls, and H. G. Wells was so impressed with the electrical dynamos in place after 1900 that he made the falls an important part of some of his science fiction. This became a fairly familiar characteristic of sci-fi stories, including *Flash Gordon*, which used the falls as the unique place on Earth from which to achieve interplanetary travel. Finally, a number of individuals have “shot,” or ridden over, the falls since 1901, some successful, some not. The devices have ranged from barrels and balls to, more recently, a jet ski.

—Brian Black

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## Nichols, Mike (1931—) and Elaine May (1932—)

Along with Lenny Bruce and other “satirists” who emerged during the late 1950s and early 1960s, the team of Mike Nichols and Elaine May made a major impact on the development of modern American comedy. Nichols and May began working together in 1955 as members of The Compass Players, a Chicago-based improvisational theater troupe. From the beginning, the uncommon rapport these young, quick-witted performers enjoyed together enabled them to improvise innovative parodies of popular culture, mock interviews, and satiric dialogues with ease. In late 1957, they began honing much of their material into a solo nightclub act. Over the next several years, the pair appeared on dozens of television programs and specials, performed weekly segments for NBC Radio’s *Monitor*, enjoyed a successful run on Broadway, produced several popular comedy albums, and even improvised material for commercial advertisements. For many Americans who saw or heard them perform, Nichols

and May brought a startlingly new, fresh, and “sophisticated” approach to comedy. Eschewing traditional male/female patter, they created timely and occasionally daring satires of psychoanalysis, show business, contemporary sexual mores, the PTA (Parent-Teacher Association), and many other subjects dealing with suburban, middle-class life. Nichols and May later pursued successful individual careers in the theater and in motion pictures.

—Stephen Kercher

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## Nickelodeons

Although nickelodeons did not show the first moving pictures, which had been appearing as part of the entertainment offered at vaudeville shows since the 1890s, they represented the first efforts to create a new venue in which moving pictures would be shown as the featured attraction. Also known as storefront theaters, nickelodeons experienced their heyday from about 1903 to 1915.

Named for “nickel,” the price of admission, and “odeon,” the Greek word for theater, nickelodeons offered the first affordable mass entertainment for lower-income urban people, and hence became wildly popular during the first decades of the twentieth century. As businesses, they were more affordable to run than the ubiquitous penny arcades, which featured hand-cranked “peep show” moving pictures (of usually quite wholesome subjects) but which could also only accommodate one viewer at a time at each machine. The rise of the nickelodeon marked a transition away from penny arcades and Vaudeville shows, and was the first institution to consider the moving picture as a credible and viable form of entertainment in its own right.

Harry Davis, a Pittsburgh businessman, is said to have first coined the term “nickelodeon” in 1904 when he converted a store into a theater, made its interior luxurious, and added a piano as musical accompaniment for the silent footage. His venture was so successful that more than 100 other similar theaters sprang up in Pittsburgh alone that same year. By 1908, there were between 8,000 and 10,000 nickelodeons nationwide. Other early entrepreneurs included men who would become future movie moguls, such as Marcus Loew, Adolph Zukor, the Warner brothers, and William Fox. Locating their businesses in working-class urban districts, these men catered to workers’ needs for leisure activities while acknowledging their lack of free time and spending money. Most vaudeville shows, which took place in special theaters uptown, cost at least 25 cents and were therefore economically and culturally prohibitive to the typical laborer. Going to the nickelodeon, in contrast, was cheap and required no advanced tickets, reserved seating, formal clothing, or special decorum.

The first nickel theaters were located in central business districts, but the majority sat on secondary streets near immigrant and working-class residential areas, where storefronts could be easily converted into suitable spaces. The fronts were recessed up to six feet in order to create outside vestibules that housed a box office and gave

patrons a place to wait. These exteriors, often embellished with brightly paint colors, tin or stucco facades, movie posters, lurid signs, and thousands of electric lights, helped draw people in. In addition, owners often used live barkers to shout the latest attractions to passersby. The interiors were spartan in contrast, furnished with rows of simple wooden folding chairs (seating capacity at first ranged from 50-299 and later reached 600), a canvas screen, and papered-over windows and doorways. The projection booth, located in the rear of the theater, was merely a small box, six feet square, with enough room to house the projector and the projectionist who cranked the film by hand. For about \$200 in equipment, an owner could be in business; since these storefront theaters were not considered “real” theaters, licenses cost much less than those for “legitimate” theaters.

The typical nickelodeon show ran about 30 minutes and was usually comprised of three ten-minute reels and an illustrated song or lecture in between. The shows sometimes ran 24 hours a day, and the programs were usually changed daily to encourage a constant turnover. People flocked to nickelodeons because of the freedom allowed within the sites themselves in addition to the films they showed. To satisfy the need for novelty, movie producers turned out thousands of these one-reel films, which took their plots from current events, Shakespearean plays, operas, novels, and even the Bible. Edwin S. Porter’s *The Great Train Robbery* of 1903, which featured the attack of a telegraph operator, the escape of bandits with the engine, their pursuit and capture, and Western dance hall scenes, was the first “blockbuster” story film, and inspired many imitations. Other popular features borrowed from the realities of working-class life included such titles as *The Eviction*, *The Ex-Convict*, *A Desperate Encounter*, and *She Won’t Pay Her Rent*. Audiences, however, were perhaps most impressed by their exposure to images they had never seen before. Film footage of sights such as Niagara Falls and train travel appealed to their appetite for wonder and their desire to see what they could not normally see, or afford to see, at vaudeville acts.

Besides exposing people to the latest technological wonders of motion pictures, nickelodeons were key social venues. They provided immigrants with their first non-work exposure to American culture. More respectable than dance halls, cheap cafes, and amusement parks, they were also considered safe and acceptable places for working women to go in the early evenings and on weekends, providing one of their few refuges away from life at home. Also known as the “academy of the workingman,” the “workingman’s college,” and the “true theater of the people,” the nickelodeon was additionally a viable place of entertainment for the working-class man, either alone or with his family.

Because of their popularity with lower-income people, nickelodeons drew the critical attention of Progressive Era reformers, who saw them as seedy, dangerous places that were as deleterious as cheap vaudeville, prize fights, honky tonks, and similar forms of entertainment. Working-class people, reformers believed, were not educated enough to watch these films critically; they lacked the intellect to read into and resist the temptations presented (it is estimated that by 1910, one out of five of the films showed characters thinking about or actually engaging in criminal activity).

The perceived threats of nickelodeons to children drew the most attention of reformers, especially because turn-of-the-century children comprised between one-fourth and one-half of all nickelodeon audiences. Jane Addams even criticized them as “houses of dreams” that encouraged dangerous flights of fancy for youngsters. But these places continued to be key social centers for working-class children, who often got rowdy after the lights went down, who sang along with

the illustrated music, who shouted at the images projected on the screen, and who sometimes exchanged sexual favors in the darkened back rows. The efforts of reformers and anti-vice crusaders around 1908 and 1909 led to the first censorship drives, which historian David Nasaw defined as “‘class’ legislation aimed at the working people and immigrants who owned, operated, and patronized the nickel theaters.” In 1909 the National Board of Censorship was formed as a response to pressures to monitor the content of nickelodeon films.

Reform efforts led to the gradual demise of the nickelodeon. By the early 1910s the film industry itself was engaged in self-censorship, meaning that novel and interesting films free of “harmful” images were that much more difficult to create. In addition, operators now had to spend more money to maintain the interior space of their businesses. Since entrances were blocked off, theaters presented real and dangerous fire hazards to the crowds within. In addition, the air—foul and fetid from never being circulated or replenished—was thought to cause various diseases. Fire safety ordinances and new building codes made it more costly to operate storefront theaters.

Besides these external factors, changes were being made in the films themselves. As time went by, the movies got longer and demonstrated a greater variety of subject content, including dramatic, historical, and narrative stories, comedies, mysteries, scenic pictures, and those featuring “personalities.” By the mid 1910s, businessmen catering to the upper classes saw the financial potential of motion pictures, and built their own much more lavish movie “palaces” that brought in a finer trade of people and served as the precursors to standard movie theaters.

The nickelodeon, for its relatively short lifetime, was the first viable form of mass entertainment for the poor in America. It was an institution that gave workers a place to go in their leisure hours, and exposed them to various aspects of American culture. Most importantly, the nickelodeon instilled in young Americans a love of movies and motion picture entertainment that sparked and sustained an important twentieth century industry and cultural institution.

—Wendy Woloson

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## Nicklaus, Jack (1940—)

In the world of professional golf, no man has been more successful than Jack Nicklaus, the “Golden Bear.” Winner of 20 major championships, Nicklaus has been a major part of the development of the Professional Golfers’ Association (PGA) Tour for the last



Jack Nicklaus

30 years. His name is cemented in twentieth century golf history not only as the best professional golfer to ever play the game, but also as one of golf’s leading ambassadors.

Born Jack William on January 21, 1940 in Columbus, Ohio, the young Nicklaus first played golf at age ten and won his first tournament, the Scioto Club Juvenile Championship, later that same year. He progressed quickly in his pursuit of the game under the tutelage of professional Jack Grout, at the Scioto Country Club in Columbus. Nicklaus soon rose among the amateur ranks in Ohio, winning the Ohio State Junior Championship in 1953, 1954, and 1955, then the Ohio State Open Championship in 1956. Nicklaus took part in his first United States Amateur Championship in 1955 at Richmond, Virginia, in which he lost in the first round.

Nicklaus attended Ohio State University, where he played for the Buckeye golf team and enrolled in a pre-pharmacy program. He met his future wife Barbara Jean Bash while a student, and the couple married July 23, 1960. He had much success while at Ohio State, winning a number of collegiate tournaments. His first Major victory came at the Broadmoor Golf Club in Colorado in 1959, where he won his first United States Amateur Championship. Two years later he won his second, at the Pebble Beach Golf Course in California in 1961. This final victory convinced Nicklaus he was ready to forego his amateur status, which he did in November of 1961.

Success came rapidly to Nicklaus during his rookie year in professional golf. He won the United States Open—at Oakmont Country Club in Pennsylvania—in a famed playoff against Arnold Palmer. Nicklaus went on to win four more PGA tournament events in his first year, earning him the “Rookie of the Year” title for 1962. He captured his first victory in the Masters Tournament, in Augusta, Georgia in 1963, the same year he won his first PGA Championship. His first British Open title was won in 1966, in Muirfield, Scotland, making him the winner of the four majors at the extraordinary age of just 26. Overall, Nicklaus won 30 tournaments in the 1960s. He

evolved into the dominant golfer of his times, and became known for his aggressive play and prodigious length on the golf course. His success continued into the 1970s, when he won 36 tournaments. The golf world was shocked when at age 46 he won the Master's for a record sixth time in 1986. His dominance of professional golf slowly declined in the 1980s, when he won only five tournaments. Nicklaus began play on the Senior PGA Tour in 1990, and found success as quickly as he did in 1962, with a total of ten tournament victories since 1990.

Jack Nicklaus was the most dominant golfer of his times, and set several PGA Tour records including most Majors (20), most United States Open wins (four), and most Masters wins (six). He won 71 PGA Tour events and 19 international or unofficial tournaments in his career, and was named Player of the Year five times. He has parlayed his success into profitable business ventures such as golf course design and club manufacturing. Nicklaus operates a popular golf instructional school and has produced many instructional videos and books about the game of golf. His influence on the game as ambassador of the sport and as teacher continue to bring Jack Nicklaus to the forefront of professional golf over 40 years after he first picked up a club.

—Jay Parrent

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## *Night of the Living Dead*

In October of 1968, a low-budget horror film entitled *Night of the Living Dead*, directed and co-written by independent filmmaker George Romero, opened in Pittsburgh, far from Hollywood and the mainstream cinema. Shot in the Pennsylvania countryside using mostly amateur actors and boasting ludicrously low production values, Romero's short black-and-white film nevertheless managed to leave its first viewers disturbed, even traumatized, through its unflinching depiction of bloody violence and cannibalism. The film set a new standard for intense screen horror—a standard the Hollywood industry took notice of and appropriated for its own increasingly graphic product in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The story line of *Night of the Living Dead*, originally entitled at various development stages *Night of Anubis* or *The Flesh Eaters*, is deceptively simple and even derivative. George Romero has always admitted that his primary inspiration for the screenplay was Richard Matheson's novel *I Am Legend*, about the last surviving human on earth battling vampires created by a plague. Another obvious influence, in regard to the gore and cannibalism, is EC horror comics. In

many ways, *Night of the Living Dead* at first seems little more than a rehash of 1950s science fiction clichés. A space probe has apparently brought back to earth an unknown form of radiation that has reanimated the corpses of the recently dead (other possible explanations for the plague were discarded from the final cut of the film).

What gives the film its taboo-shattering resonance is what Romero does with his scenario. The shambling, mindless zombies are motivated by one primal drive—to consume the flesh of the living. The plot, then, centers around the futile efforts of a small group of people, thrown together by circumstance, to fend off a zombie onslaught upon an isolated Pennsylvania farmhouse. The protagonists of the film are ill equipped to handle the crisis, and Romero makes it clear early on that they are doomed. Barbara, after witnessing the murder of her brother Johnny by one of the zombies in the film's opening sequence, is nearly catatonic and is finally devoured by a group of zombies, among which is her dead brother. Tom and Judy, two sympathetic young lovers, are unexpectedly killed in a truck explosion during an abortive escape attempt. The zombies feast upon their charred remains in the film's most horrific scene. Harry and Helen, an older married couple, are unable to stop their bickering and quarreling even as their daughter Karen lies dying of a zombie bite. Ben, the narrative's ostensible hero, is engaged in a power struggle with Harry for control of the group's ever-worsening fortunes. The group's defenses, both physical and psychological, crumble one by one, and the final zombie attack on the farmhouse forces Ben, the single remaining survivor, to lock himself in the cellar (ironically, the one part of the household that cowardly Harry had claimed for his own) and hold-out until daylight. The film ends on a truly nihilistic note as Ben, spared the grisly fate of the others, is fatally shot by a member of a sheriff's posse who believes him to be a zombie.

Romero's artistic breakthrough as an independent filmmaker also demonstrated that movies need not originate from within the California film industry to achieve public and critical recognition. *Night of the Living Dead* was financed by Romero and nine associates, each of whom put up \$600 to form a company called Image Ten. The film was shot on weekends and at night over seven months and ultimately cost approximately \$115,000. Romero showed the finished film to two distributors, Columbia and AIP, who rejected it. The Walter Reade company, initially hesitant, finally decided to buy the film and place it in drive-ins around the country. Initially, it seemed as if the film might be condemned to a short run of drive-in obscurity before final extinction. Public word of mouth about the film's graphic violence and relentlessly paced horror, combined with high-profile, savage critical denunciations in the pages of *Reader's Digest*, the *New York Times*, and *Variety*, however, brought the film to the attention of many who might not have otherwise heard of it.

When *Night of the Living Dead* went overseas in 1968, French and British critics in the pages of *Cahiers du Cinema* and *Sight and Sound*, respectively, were quick to praise the film as one of the year's best. American critic Rex Reed was also an early proponent of the film. In 1969, the Museum of Modern Art chose Romero's film as a notable first feature. Walter Reade was encouraged enough by this kind of recognition to bring back *Night of the Living Dead* into New York theaters, most famously the Waverly, for midnight showings. During the early 1970s, the film achieved "cult" status, and pirated copies quickly found their way to cities and television stations across the world. Because of copyright problems with Walter Reade, Romero's



A scene from the film *Night of the Living Dead*.

Image Ten company received little of the many millions of dollars the film was now grossing. Since the early 1970s, however, Romero has achieved some measure of financial compensation, as well as public and critical recognition, with the release of two sequels, *Dawn of the Dead* in 1979 and *Day of the Dead* in 1985, and a 1991 remake of *Night of the Living Dead*, directed by Romero special effects collaborator Tom Savini.

Though Romero did not invent the American “gore” film genre—that distinction belongs primarily to Herschell Gordon Lewis, director of, among others, *Blood Feast*—he demonstrated unequivocally that excellence in filmmaking can legitimate even the most disreputable genres and their trappings. Critics have praised Romero for daring to cast a black actor as Ben, the hero. They have argued that Ben’s shooting by the white mob of hunters is an indirect allusion to America’s shameful history of racist lynching. The critics have also identified the mass of featureless zombies as the Silent Majority of middle-class Americans. The film, released in one of the most violent years of one of America’s most violent decades, captures perfectly the mood of the time—its nihilism, its anxiety over mob action, its radicalism and reactionary conservatism, its domestic wartime paranoia, its body-count newscasts, and its unspoken fear of radiation and nuclear war.

—Philip Simpson

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## *Nightline*

The television news program *Nightline* developed out of the widespread need to see in-depth news coverage of the Iranian Hostage Crisis on a nightly basis. In a strange twist, the event that caused so much frustration and anger on the part of Americans created a television show that routinely gave guests, sitting in different parts of the globe, the opportunity to talk to one another. Often, these were discussions among people who otherwise would never have met. In addition to exploiting new satellite technologies, the show expanded



**Ted Koppel, the host of ABC's *Nightline*.**

network news coverage into the late night time slot. This allowed the show to dispense with conventional news techniques, like edited interviews and prepared questions. In retrospect, the appearance of *Nightline* was improbable. The show that emerged from the 1979 hostage crisis began with future-anchor Ted Koppel thinking: "This story's gonna die." Needless to say, neither the story nor *Nightline* died.

Roone Arledge, the man in charge of the lowest-rated network newscast, wanted to expand news coverage past the dinner hour, something the more prestigious news divisions were having trouble effecting. Arledge suggested the unthinkable: he wanted to follow the local eleven o'clock newscasts with a news program, competing directly against Johnny Carson's *Tonight Show*. Carson's talk show held an unbreakable monopoly on the late-night slot, and people tuned in to his opening monologues with unflinching regularity. Undaunted, Arledge produced sporadic, one-time news specials for late-night viewers, on subjects like the death of Elvis Presley and the signing of the Panama Canal Treaty.

Arledge initially covered the hostage crisis like the other topics—a news item that people might be interested in seeing more of than what the evening news had presented. Originally hosted by anchor Frank Reynolds, the November 8, 1979 show, called "America Held Hostage," heard from correspondents stationed from every possible angle of the story: Tehran, the White House, Capitol Hill,

and the State Department. Like Koppel, many Americans did not perceive the hostage crisis to have the marks of a long-lasting conflict. By contrast, the images coming in from Iran became increasingly hostile, showing blindfolded American embassy workers, and anti-American demonstrations in Tehran.

Americans soon became united in searching for ways to respond to the Iranians, and Arledge, sensing this, wanted to air a follow-up special. When the show's second installment was finally granted, the words "Day 11" were attached to the title of "America Held Hostage." The marking of time in the title was at once a symbol of the national vigil that lasted until the crisis was resolved. Arledge got his late-night time slot, but "Journalism was only part of it," write Koppel and Kyle Gibson: "This was the seizing of 11:30." With a resolution to the crisis nowhere in sight, Reynolds returned to his evening news duties, and the search was on for a replacement. After top news anchors declined the opportunity, Ted Koppel, a diplomatic correspondent who covered the American civil rights movement, Latin America, and the Vietnam War, became the show's final integral piece.

*Nightline* represents the geopolitical version of Edward R. Murrow's broadcast of the split-screen view of the Brooklyn and Golden Gate Bridges. The ability to bring together people from halfway around the world, who might not otherwise speak to each



other, was used to the show's advantage. In a ploy that Koppel would later describe as "a little bit shameless," *Nightline* ambushed the Iranian charge d'affaires, Ali Agah, by neglecting to inform him that he would be appearing with Dorothea Morefield, the wife of one of the American captives. The Iranian diplomat soon found himself backtracking in response to Morefield's questions asking why Iran was impeding communications between the hostages and their families. For many viewers it was a satisfying episode, but the length of the crisis made their satisfaction brief.

Koppel's no-nonsense attitude created the effect that he is an advocate for the viewer who challenges evasive politicians to answer the questions posed to them. Some viewers watched *Nightline* to see Koppel make someone squirm as much as they did from any desire to be informed. He once told then-governor of Arizona, Evan Mecham, "I tell you what . . . let's play by my rules for a moment, let's play go back to the question that I asked you initially." To Soviet commentator Vitali Kobesh, he admonished: "When I come on your program I'll answer your questions; now you're on my program. . . . You answer mine, all right?" When baseball executive Al Campanis suggested that blacks had inferior management skills, Koppel replied, "that really sounds like garbage, if you'll forgive me for saying so."

As much as *Nightline* was Koppel's show, the program was not immune to being used as a public relations vehicle by prominent figures. Public figures who were in trouble often used *Nightline's* live format because they knew the live broadcast would afford them the chance to present their side of the story. Failed Clinton nominee Lani Guinier, who once appeared in a desperate attempt to save her nomination, remarked that *Nightline* had "a moment of emotional intensity" that no newspaper was capable of delivering. This quality led *Nightline* to score major journalistic coups throughout the 1980s: Senator Gary Hart after his extramarital affair; televangelist Jim Bakker following the PTL (Praise the Lord or People that Love) scandal; and United Nations Secretary Kurt Waldheim hopelessly trying to minimize his Nazi past.

Through its willingness to exert the journalistic clout that it had begun to acquire, *Nightline* continued to demonstrate an ability to produce groundbreaking television into the late 1990s. Producing the first face-to-face debate between Israeli and Palestinian leaders was the most improbable result of the show which began improbably. After wrangling with both sides just to get them to appear on the same stage together, the show had to ensure that result by building a three-foot high wall in between the two panels. The image of Ted Koppel in a Jerusalem theater, straddling the wall because of Middle Eastern differences, became one of those immediate and succinct metaphors that television effectively communicates.

—Daryl Umberger

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## Nike

The emergence of the Nike sports apparel corporation has mirrored the sky-rocketing popularity of sports, athletes, and personal athletic activity in the late twentieth century. Nike has fueled a great deal of this popularity, particularly by employing athletes as product spokespeople and infusing the world of sports with vast amounts of capital. Moreover, by becoming a bone fide cultural icon, "the swoosh," as the corporation's symbol is referred to, has become one of the most ubiquitous product emblems in American life—possibly second only to that of Coca-Cola.

Nike began in 1962 when Phil Knight took an idea he had proposed in his MBA thesis and made it a reality. His paper proposed that well-merchandised shoes from Japan could end Germany's domination of the U.S. athletic shoe industry. After completing his Stanford degree, Knight met in Japan with the Onitsuka Tiger Company, manufacture of quality athletic shoes, and convinced them of the merit of his plan to develop the U.S. market. When the Tiger representatives asked whom he represented, Knight on the spot created "Blue Ribbon Sports," the forerunner of Nike. Knight and his wife distributed Tiger shoes from their garage and financed the endeavor with their own money plus \$500 investments from their son and from Bill Bowerman, Knight's well-known track coach at the University of Oregon. With Bowerman reshaping the Tiger products with new designs, Blue Ribbon Sports began producing its own products in 1971. In six years, revenues climb from \$8,000 to \$1.96 million. Legal wrangling with Tiger led to the dissolution of Blue Ribbon Sports and the birth of Nike, the debut of which took place at the 1972 Olympic Trials in Eugene, Oregon. By 1979, Nike claimed 50 percent of the U.S. running shoe market.

From the start, Nike pushed the similarity between contemporary sport and ancient warfare: Nike, the shoe, was intended to inspire athletes as just as Nike, the Greek goddess, had inspired Greek warriors on history's earliest battlefields. With such aspirations, the corporation's name suggests the added importance of sports in contemporary life. More than any other entity, Nike may be most responsible for the rapid commercialization of sport in the late twentieth century. In terms of sales, Nike is one of the most successful companies in the world. In 1998 Nike posted record sales of \$9.6 billion, selling nearly 160 million pairs of athletic shoes. Shoes form the core of Nike sales, but the company has broadened into all types of sports apparel. Today, one out of every two pairs of athletic shoes in the nation is made by Nike. The sneaker, a fairly rudimentary article of clothing prior to the 1970s, became the vehicle through which the fan and athlete could connect to raise the role of sports in American life to new levels.

"It's the shoes," boasted one of Nike's most memorable ad campaigns. As opposing athletes tried to explain the exceptional skills of Michael Jordan, Nike spokesman and basketball star since 1984, this was the only explanation they could find. Conveniently for Nike, this explanation would also help to make "Air Jordans" the shoe that formed this new link between fans and their stars, as millions of fans purchased a pair in hopes that the shoes would give them a piece of Jordan's unique gift.

As evidenced by this episode, Nike began to commodify sports in a way never seen previously. The core of this restructuring revolved around using athletes to represent products to the public in carefully-crafted advertisements. Athletes, including Jordan, became

characters to be packaged with products that somehow reflected their actual or contrived personal details. With such “product tie-ins,” sporting events often appear as stages on which corporations such as Nike orchestrate “product placement,” a term for noticeably positioning name-brand products in feature films. For instance, it has now become common for football’s Super Bowl, or other significant sporting events, to be tied to the introduction of new ads, each attempting to outdo the others or to continue an ongoing narrative with the viewing public. Such efforts are aimed at reinforcing a bond between performer/athlete and fan/viewer that ultimately benefits corporations such as Nike.

These changes have helped to propel the world of sports into a big money business for athletes and lawyers, who are used as agents similar to those employed by Hollywood celebrities. The agent’s task is to manage the career of the athlete into these new economic possibilities so that most athletes will not need to work after retiring from sports. Nike proved visionary in defining this process by associating itself with young athletes in a bond that often proves more lasting than an athlete’s team affiliations. Most often, immediately upon turning professional, the modern athlete carries a brand contract to wear and represent certain apparel. Nike now has more than 3,000 athletes in the fold worldwide, including 82 percent of the players in the National Basketball Association, over half of the Major League Baseball and National Football League players, and players at more than 200 universities. In addition to learning characteristic athletic moves, aspiring athletes often choose the apparel of their favorite athlete as well. This tendency has been fostered, if not altogether manufactured, by Nike’s effort to give athletes personal characteristics in the marketplace.

The most famous of the branded sports personalities was Michael Jordan, who served as the pioneer for the modern athlete. Jordan was signed to Nike representation prior to his emergence as the best basketball player ever, and as both the player and the Nike apparel he wore rose in prominence, Jordan’s public image blurred the line between product and personality. Named the NBA’s Most Valuable Player five times and responsible for leading the lowly Chicago Bulls from also-rans to powerhouse of the 1990s, Jordan’s skills are undeniable. Yet his celebrity—fostered by innumerable advertisements—has allowed him to become the world’s most recognizable figure. Though Jordan was the product spokesman for innumerable companies and has starred in feature films, it is his representation of Nike that was primarily responsible for his widespread recognition. Both Nike and Jordan reaped the benefits of his product development.

In recent years, Nike’s popularity has fueled some harsh criticism. The ubiquity of the “swoosh” has seen it publicly worn and associated with criminals and oddity: just before the Heaven’s Gate cult members poisoned themselves in 1997, they each laced up new black Nikes. Of course, any symbol worn by so many people is liable to such accidental notoriety. More damaging, Nike manufacturing has been directly linked to the exploitation of child labor abroad. With most of Nike’s shoes manufactured in Indonesia, Vietnam, and China, the company risks allowing local workplace ethics—which run counter to Western standards—to infiltrate their production. Exposé articles in 1998 disclosed that Nike plants forced workers into a sub-standard, “sweatshop” environment and often employed younger workers. The episode has turned into a public relations nightmare for Nike, allowing it to become for many Americans a symbol of “unethical big corporations.” The company hired former United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young to inspect the plants. When

Young reported that the factories were “lean, organized [and] adequately ventilated,” Nike began one of its mammoth ad campaigns in order to inform its American buyers.

Interestingly, though, the “sweatshop” has proven to be a daunting association to shake publicly, which may say more about Americans’ feelings about themselves than about Nike. In an era of global capitalism, many consumers see Nike as a symbol of American greed. Indonesian Nike workers, for instance, are not allowed to wear the shoes or purchase them at cost (How could they when they earn U.S. \$2.20 per day without overtime?). In fact, all Nike shoes are made for export; none are sold in Indonesia. The idea that a luxury item such as sports shoes exploits children abroad has led many Americans to question the culture of consumption that makes \$150 sneakers part of everyday life. This is exactly the type of questioning that Nike has avoided as it constructed one of the most successful corporations of the late twentieth century.

—Brian Black

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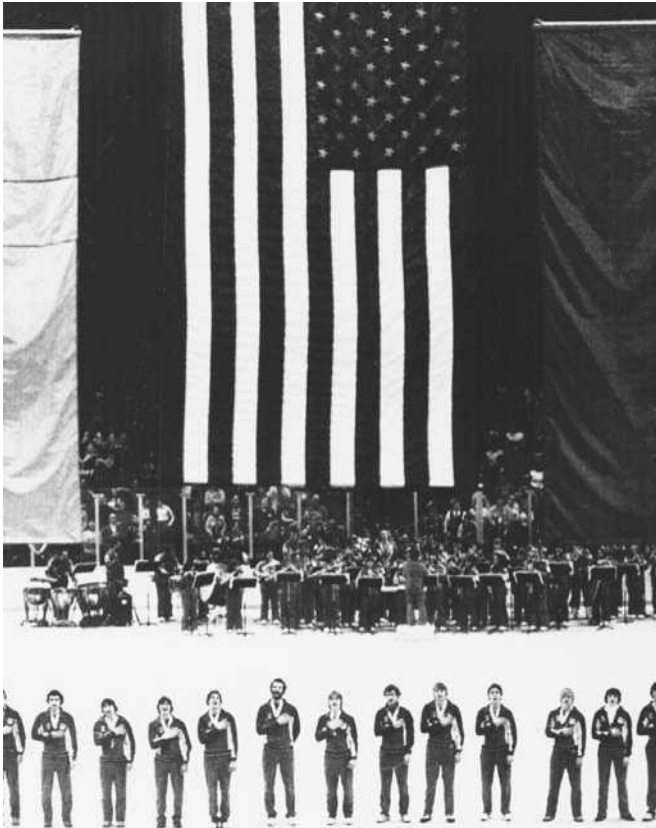
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## 1980 U.S. Olympic Hockey Team

Before the 1980 Winter Olympics in Lake Placid, New York, the United States Olympic hockey team was not expected to compete for a medal. After all, their pool included powerhouses such as Sweden and Czechoslovakia, while the other pool included the Soviet Union and Finland. Only the top two teams from each pool would advance to the medal round, so the United States team faced long odds. By the time the fortnight had ended, the United States team had pulled off one of the greatest upsets in hockey history by defeating the Russians in the semifinals and winning the gold medal after defeating Finland 4-2 in their final game.

The victory inspired a national celebration. After a year of disappointment and disaster, from the Iranian Embassy takeover to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (a result of which was the boycott by the U.S. of the Summer Olympics in Moscow), Americans were looking for something to cheer for. High inflation and unemployment plagued the country, and President Jimmy Carter’s policies were often met with scorn and derision.

After defeating the Russians for the right to play for the gold medal, the U.S. team retreated to their locker room and attempted to sing “God Bless America,” though many could not remember all the words. Radio City Music Hall erupted during a performance when the



**The U.S. Men's Hockey Team, after being awarded the gold medal at the 1980 Winter Olympics in Lake Placid, New York.**

Finland score was announced. A nationally televised NBA game between the Kansas City Kings and Milwaukee Bucks was interrupted for a second rendition of "The Star-Spangled Banner." Euphoria swept through the country, giving U.S. citizens something to be happy about after months of disappointment.

Before 1980, the United States formed their Olympic hockey teams hastily and then expected them to compete in the tournament. But more often than not the U.S. teams struggled against European squads that had played together for months. In 1980, however, the plan was different. Led by University of Minnesota coach Herb Brooks, the U.S. team spent six months in training and played 61 games before the Olympics. At the same time, Brooks installed a European-type system, emphasizing puck control, instead of the dump-and-chase style favored in the past. Those plans appeared to be all for naught just before the tournament, as the Soviet squad routed the U.S. team 10-3 on the eve of the tournament. Coach Brooks commented after the game that a loss like that was not necessarily bad, since it might prevent overconfidence in his team.

The U.S. team would find out quickly if they had a chance for a medal because their first two contests were against Sweden and Czechoslovakia. In that first contest, the U.S. managed a 2-2 tie, scoring with only 27 seconds left. A huge upset followed two days later as the host team routed the Czechs 7-3. With those two tougher contests out of the way, the U.S. had a good chance to advance to the medal round. Their next three opponents were not as strong—Norway, Rumania, and West Germany. As it turned out, the host team took care of business, winning all three contests with relative ease to

advance to the medal round. Both the United States and Sweden had 4-0-1 records in pool play, but the Swedes were the top seed because of goal differential. That fact forced the United States to face the same Soviet squad that had annihilated them only two weeks earlier.

The Soviets controlled play throughout much of the game, outshooting the Americans 39-16. Going into the third period, the U.S. trailed the four-time defending champs 3-2. However, two goals scored only 90 seconds apart propelled the Americans to the improbable win. Mark Johnson and Mike Eruzione became forever etched in American Olympic history with their goals. A call from ABC broadcaster Al Michaels became famous after the win: "Do you believe in miracles? YES!"

It must be remembered, though, that the victory over the Soviets did not win the Americans the gold medal. The U.S. still had to beat Finland to assure themselves the gold. The contest was televised live in the United States, despite its early Sunday morning start (11 a.m. local time, 8 a.m. West Coast time). If the U.S. had lost this game, they actually would have finished third, and the hated Russians would still have won by virtue of their win over Sweden. Things looked bleak going into the final period, as the U.S. trailed 2-1. The never-say-die American team did not quit, however, and with three third-period goals, they won the gold medal with a 4-2 triumph.

Since that improbable win, the United States hockey team has failed to earn a medal. Even in 1998 in Nagano, Japan, with NHL players participating for the first time, the Americans could not corral a medal, though they earned distinction for the damage they caused to their hotel rooms following raucous parties.

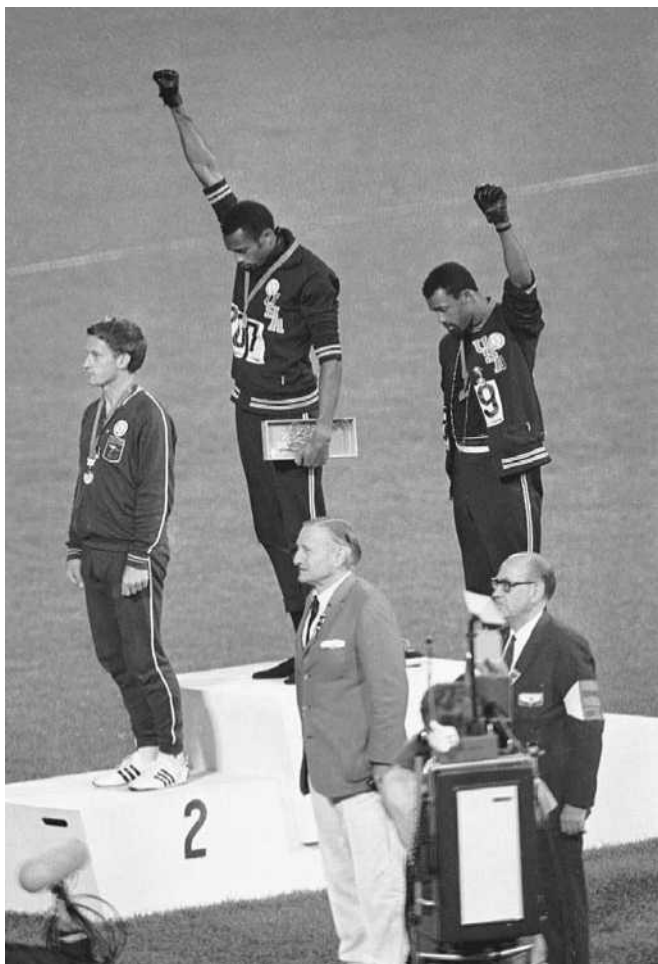
—D. Byron Painter

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## 1968 Mexico City Summer Olympic Games

Few who witnessed Tommie Smith's and John Carlos's black power salute on the medal stand on 16 October, 1968, following their gold and bronze medal performances in the 200 meters at the Mexico City Olympic Games, could remain neutral about the sentiments behind their protest. Fewer still could challenge the symbolic significance of their action. Nor was it possible to explain their stance as the actions of isolated extremists, for while they provided the most public



U. S. athletes Tommie Smith (center) and John Carlos stare downward with arms raised during the playing of the “Star Spangled Banner” in protest at the 1968 Olympics.

protest of those games, their action articulated a political sentiment that was widespread among African American athletes competing for the United States. Smith and Carlos, in stocking feet, wearing black beads and black scarves, with their black-gloved fists raised over their heads as the American national anthem was played, used the biggest stage in sports to air grievances about racial injustice in the United States.

The Mexico City Olympics had arrived during a transitional period in the American civil rights movement. Although the movement had achieved important success in gaining legal protections for African Americans, particularly in dismantling “Jim Crow” laws mandating segregation in the southern states, the movement had been less successful in ameliorating economic disparity between whites and blacks. Frustrated with white America’s lack of commitment to change, many younger African Americans, especially men, increasingly supported the more militant black power wing of the movement, turning away from older leaders who had emphasized alliances with white liberals.

These changes were reflected within the sports world. Led by Harry Edwards, a sociologist at San Jose State in the late 1960s, a group of 50 to 60 African American athletes representing several sports, particularly track and field, formed the Olympic Project for Human Rights, an organization which hoped to use its visibility

within the sports world for political action. Reflecting prejudices even among individuals fighting against bigotry, however, membership was limited to men. Although members of the project rejected a suggestion that they boycott the Mexico City Games in protest, some athletes resolved to take individual action. The assassination of civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King in April, 1968, only heightened tensions in the months leading up to the games, as did attempts by the white Olympic leadership to allow South Africa in the games, despite that nation’s policy of racial apartheid.

These Olympic Games saw tremendous performances by African American athletes, as many resolved to make their statements through competition. African American athletes won ten golds and set seven world records in track and field. Several black athletes, including heavyweight boxer George Foreman, also won gold medals in other sports.

As a result of their silent protest, Smith and Carlos were stripped of their medals, becoming the only athletes to be punished in that way for political reasons by the United States Olympic Committee. (Silver medalist Peter Norman of Australia, a white athlete who also participated in the protest, was severely reprimanded by his national sports federation as well.) Their protest highlighted the relationship between race, politics, and sports in their era, much as Jesse Owens’ victories in the 1936 Berlin Games had done for his.

—John Smolenski

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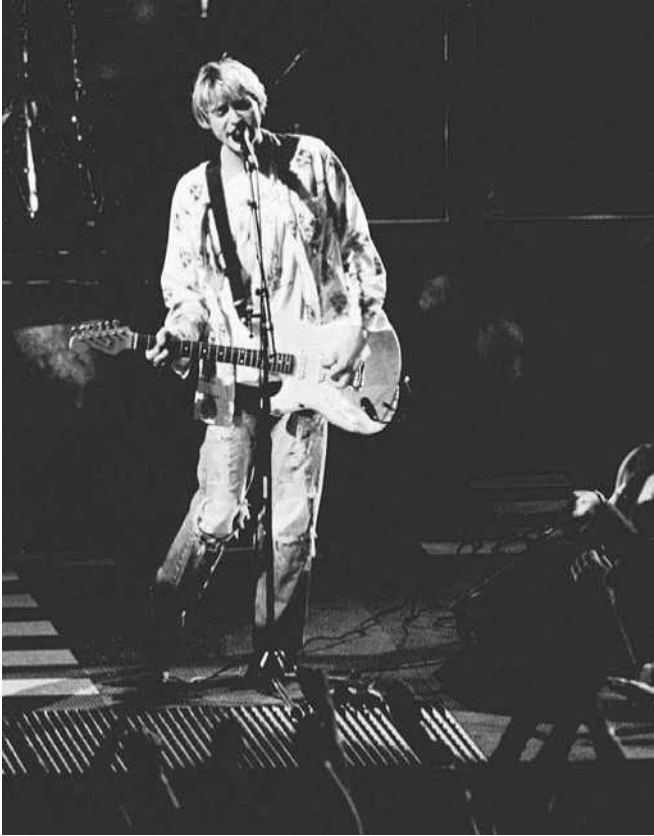
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## Nirvana

Rarely does a single album make a massive impact on music and popular culture, but Nirvana’s *Nevermind*—released in the fall of 1991—did just that. Nirvana essentially brought the sound and fury of Punk Rock to the mainstream of America about 15 years after it initially broke, and temporarily changed the course of American popular music in the process. Fusing Punk’s speed and energy with 1970s Metal heaviness, Nirvana popularized what would later be labeled “Grunge,” making loud and abrasive guitar rock one of the biggest money making genres of the 1990s. Within one year of *Nevermind*’s success, MTV (Music Television) went from being dominated by lightweight dance-pop and “hair” metal acts to being monopolized by guitar-wielding, long-haired quasi-punk rockers. Furthermore, in the early 1990s “Grunge” fashion became the next big thing, with the flannel thrift-store shirts and ripped jeans worn by Nirvana being imitated by upscale Madison Avenue fashion stores. The group’s two-and-half-year reign over popular music ended



**Kurt Cobain of Nirvana.**

tragically when Nirvana leader Kurt Cobain took his life with a shotgun blast to the head on April 4, 1994.

For those who did not have their ear to the American underground music scene of the 1980s, Nirvana's sound may have come as a shock. Nirvana was, however, more representative of a musical tradition than an aberration. Formed in 1987, core members Kurt Cobain (1967-1994) and Chris Novoselic (1965—) were directly inspired by American underground music played by bands such as the Minutemen, Big Black, Black Flag, the Melvins, and Sonic Youth. This Aberdeen, Washington, band soon was signed to the ultra-hip Seattle label, Sub Pop, which specialized in the type of heavy Punk-meets-1970s Metal music that Nirvana played at the time. After an initial single, the band recorded their first album, *Bleach*, for \$600, which went on to be a moderate underground success—picking up a considerable amount of critical acclaim along the way. Still, in 1990, the band was considered to be nothing more than just another pretty good band on an independent label.

After the band resurfaced in 1991 on a major label, DGC, the group had both a new drummer (Dave Grohl, 1969—) and considerably improved songs—creating catchier, albeit no less loud music. “Smells Like Teen Spirit” was perhaps their most likable song, and when it was released in the fall of 1991 it steadily climbed the charts and its video quickly became a staple on MTV. With little push from Nirvana's record company, by early 1992 *Nevermind* went to the top of the *Billboard* album charts, unseating such superstars as U2, Garth Brooks, Michael Jackson, and MC Hammer. Even though there was a precedent for what Nirvana was doing, mainstream America reacted to it as being the newest, biggest thing in music. Major record labels

began signing relatively unknown bands (Stone Temple Pilots, L7, Pearl Jam, Helmet) who fit the newly-dubbed “Alternative” genre, as well as older artists like Circle Jerks, Jesus Lizard, and the Butthole Surfers.

Always a Punk idealist, Kurt Cobain often did his best to alienate many of the new members of his audience, whom he referred to as the ones “who used to beat me up in school.” The desire to drive away this segment of his audience began with Cobain planting an open-mouthed kiss on Novoselic on *Saturday Night Live* and culminated in the recording of *In Utero* (1993). Feeling like *Nevermind* was too slick, the band hired veteran underground engineer Steve Albini to produce an extremely abrasive follow-up to their multi-platinum major label debut. But Cobain's plan backfired, and *In Utero* went to the top of the *Billboard* album charts again, primarily because Cobain had not buried his songwriting gifts and, further, the landscape of popular music had changed dramatically since *Nevermind* was released. In two years, mainstream listeners' ears had been hardened by endless streams of Nirvana-clone bands, making even the extremely dissonant sounds of *In Utero*'s “Scentless Apprentice” and “Very Ape” palatable.

Growing increasingly discontent with his role as a big rock star, Cobain became more depressed—a feeling that was fueled by his heroin use. Cobain and Courtney Love's drug-related problems fell under mounting scrutiny by the mainstream press, and Nirvana repeatedly took criticism from the underground music community for “selling out” (after buying a new Lexus, for instance, Cobain took so much flack from his peers that he returned the car to the dealership and took back his old Volvo from the pre-*Nevermind* days). For reasons that will never be fully known, Kurt Cobain took his own life with a shotgun blast to the head on April 4, 1994 in the room above his Seattle home's garage. When his body was found on April 8, it was a major media event, and thousands publicly mourned, including Courtney Love, who recorded an infamous eulogy/rant in which she read parts of her husband's suicide note—punctuated by her own grief-stricken asides.

Courtney Love's group, Hole, recorded *Live Through This*, coincidentally released the Tuesday after Cobain's suicide. It went on to become a critical and commercial success. Nirvana drummer Dave Grohl formed the extremely popular Foo Fighters, while bassist Chris Novoselic concentrated on forming Political Action Committees that lobbied against anti-censorship laws. In early 1998, Novoselic's band, *Sweet 75*, released its poorly-selling debut, which had not even surpassed *Bleach*'s sales of 35,000 months after its release.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## Nixon, Agnes (1927—)

Agnes Nixon is the most influential writer in daytime television, introducing social issues and moral seriousness to the soap opera. She served an apprenticeship with the creator of the genre, Irna Phillips, developing dialogue for the radio serial *Woman in White*. After

writing anthology dramas and working on inaugural story lines for *Search for Tomorrow*, she worked again with Phillips on *As the World Turns*. During the early sixties she became head writer of another Phillips's creation, *The Guiding Light*, where she had the heroine, Bert Bauer, undergo treatment for uterine cancer. In 1968 she created her first series, *One Life to Live*, conceiving a multicultural community of many ethnic groups, a major departure from the traditional WASP universe of the soaps. In 1970 she created her most personal series, *All My Children*, in which she tackled the Vietnam War, abortion, and drug addiction. For *All My Children* she crystallized one of the genre's most enduring archetypes, the bitch goddess, as embodied in Susan Lucci's Erica Kane. Erica was not only a soap icon, but, like all of Nixon's characters, a three-dimensional individual who grew over time. In the early 1980s Nixon created the prime-time miniseries *The Manions of America* and the serial *Loving with Douglas Marland*. Nixon was the first woman and writer to receive the prestigious Trustee's Award from the National Academy of Television Arts & Sciences.

—Ron Simon

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## Noloesca, La Chata (1903-1980)

La Chata Noloesca was the most famous and celebrated vaudevillian on the Hispanic theatrical circuits of the United States, northern Mexico, and the Caribbean. For more than four decades, she sang, danced, and acted on stage and screen, principally drawing her material from Mexican-American working-class culture and performing for the Hispanic working classes in Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, Tampa, Havana, and San Juan.

Born Beatriz Escalona on August 20, 1903, in San Antonio, Texas, into an impoverished Mexican immigrant family, Escalona's schooling was minimal and she began working at an early age, selling food and drink to passengers on trains that stopped in San Antonio. Undoubtedly her sharp observations of street life and her acute ear for the nuances of Spanish working-class dialect were nurtured during these years of daily contact with the masses of Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans in transit at the train station.

Escalona's life as a theatrical artist began in 1920, when she was discovered while working as an usherette and box office cashier at the Teatro Nacional, the most important theater house in Texas at that time. It was then that she was recruited by the Spanish-Cuban song and dance troupe of Hermanos Areu, after they spotted her on the Nacional stage competing in a beautiful-legs contest, a promotional event run by a hosiery company. She won the contest and won a place

in the Areu troupe. She made her debut with the Areus that same year in El Paso (she later married José Areu) and went on to star in everything from melodrama to vaudeville. Over the course of the 1920s, Escalona developed and perfected her comic persona of La Chata Noloesca (Noloesca is a scrambled version of her real last name, Escalona)—the street-wise maid, a *peladita*, or underdog character, with an attitude who maintained a spicy and satirical banter that was not above touching taboo subjects and improvising monologues on topical themes. So successful did the Areus become with La Chata Noloesca on board, that they were able to rent their own theater in Los Angeles and serve as the impresarios for the numerous Hispanic companies touring to that city during the 1920s. La Chata Noloesca, by far became the main draw for the mainly working-class, immigrant audiences of Los Angeles during these years.

By 1930, Escalona had divorced José Areu, split from the Areus, and formed her own company, Atracciones Noloesca, made up principally of young women recruited in her hometown, San Antonio. During the Great Depression she continued to tour the Southwest and northern Mexico, but it became evident that, as Mexicans voluntarily and involuntarily returned to their homeland during the economic crisis, audiences had dwindled and theater owners could no longer afford live performances in their houses; many switched to the more lucrative showing of movies that were now offered with Spanish sound tracks. In response, Escalona decided to set out for venues where the Hispanic community was growing, not decreasing; this meant heading out for cities that were drawing Puerto Rican immigrants, such as New York and Chicago.

In 1936 she reformed her company with local San Antonio talent under the name of the *Compañía Mexicana* and set out to weather the depression by performing at points east: Tampa, Chicago, and New York—as well as Puerto Rico and Cuba. Escalona's novel idea was to bring to the Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and other ethnic Hispanics her brand of Mexican vaudeville, music, folklore, and her own brand of humor. In 1941, the company set down roots in New York for a stretch of nine years, during which time it was a mainstay on the Hispanic vaudeville circuit made up of the Teatro Hispano, the Teatro Puerto Rico, the Teatro Triboro, and the 53rd Street Theater.

In 1950, Beatriz Escalona returned to her beloved San Antonio for her retirement, but nevertheless performed periodically for special community events until her death in 1980. She was survived by her daughter Velia Areu, a singer and vaudevillian in her own right who had come up in La Chata's companies.

—Nicolás Kanellos

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## Norris, Frank (1870-1903)

Born in Chicago on March 5, 1870, Frank Norris is best known as one of the leading lights of American literary naturalism. Having studied art in Paris for a year before attending the University of California in Berkeley and then Harvard, Norris worked as a reporter and critic for a number of newspapers and magazines in San Francisco and New York. After moving to New York in 1898, Norris published seven novels and two short story collections in quick succession.

*Moran the Lady Letty, Blix, and A Man's Woman* were standard "New Woman" adventure novels, largely forgotten during the twentieth century. *Vandover and the Brute* and *McTeague*, on the other hand, were Norris's classic Zolaesque studies of human degeneration. *The Octopus* and *The Pit*, his last two novels before his untimely death from peritonitis in 1903, were both contributions to his ambitious *Epic of the Wheat* trilogy.

—Bennett Lovett-Graff

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## North by Northwest

When screenwriter Ernest Lehman was assigned to work for Alfred Hitchcock, he told the famed "master of suspense": "I'd like to write the Hitchcock picture to end all Hitchcock pictures." The result, released in 1959, was *North by Northwest*, and although—fortunately—it did not end all Hitchcock pictures, it did seem to offer a summation of the best of the director's work up to that time. Starring Cary Grant in a fast-paced thriller of mistaken identity and cold war intrigue, *North by Northwest* had it all: glamour, mystery, wit, hairbreadth escapes, macabre humor, romance, and a breakneck cross-country chase culminating in a literally cliff-hanging climax atop the Mount Rushmore monument. Also, it was in this film that Hitchcock inserted one of his most famous set-pieces: Grant, alone near a seemingly deserted cornfield, suddenly being stalked and strafed by a crop-dusting airplane. A big hit movie, *North by Northwest* remains important as the pinnacle of the romantic-spy-chase genre Hitchcock himself had virtually originated—and was a turning point for the famed film-maker.

The precursors for *North by Northwest* were the romantic espionage thrillers with which the British director had first gained fame in the 1930s, such as *The Lady Vanishes*, *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, and, especially, *The Thirty-Nine Steps*. In this last film, the leading man (Robert Donat) is mistakenly accused of murder, causing him to flee both the police and the spies who are the true killers. The chase carries the hero all over Scotland, handcuffed to blonde Madeleine Carroll, with whom he is forced to have a relationship characterized by equal parts distrust and sexual attraction. All of this is played out and filmed in a style of high comedy, which actually serves to emphasize the excitement and suspense—the "Hitchcock touch." Once Hitchcock had established himself in Hollywood in the late 1930s, he wasted no time in extending this genre he had created, directing such successful pictures as *Foreign Correspondent* (with Joel McCrea) and *Saboteur* (with Robert Cummings). Both became regarded as classic Hitchcock thrillers, but at the time the director was

disappointed that his reputation was not big enough to secure the services of the most important stars; (he had wanted Gary Cooper for *Correspondent*). By the 1950s, this was no longer a problem for Hitchcock. As one of the top directors in town, he could employ such first-rank actors as James Stewart and Cary Grant—and he preferred such casting because he felt the audience could most readily identify with a big star and empathize with him during the scenes where he's placed in jeopardy. With *North by Northwest*, Hitchcock's only film at MGM, he once more had the services of Cary Grant—and also the opportunity to improve upon his best work. As Hitchcock later explained to François Truffaut, audiences were terrified by the climax of *Saboteur*, in which hero Robert Cummings tries to save a spy who is dangling from the Statue of Liberty—but they would have been twice as frightened if it had been the hero, not the spy, who was hanging on for dear life. With his new film, Hitchcock made sure that Cary Grant and his leading lady (Eva Marie Saint) were both hanging by Grant's manicured fingernails atop the Mount Rushmore monument.

The story-line with which Lehman and Hitchcock manipulated their stars into this precarious position was an improbable cross-country labyrinth of spy vs. spy and love vs. betrayal, all spinning out from the fateful moment when jaded Madison Avenue executive Roger Thornhill (Grant) is mistaken for a mysterious Mr. Kaplan by the henchmen of spymaster Phillip Vandamm (James Mason, at his slyly sinister best). The spies kidnap Thornhill, interrogate him for secrets (which, of course, he does not possess), and attempt to kill him. Though Thornhill manages to survive this ordeal, his troubles are only beginning. Unable to convince the authorities—or even his own mother—that he was attacked, Thornhill investigates the mystery, only to find himself mistakenly accused of murdering an ambassador at the United Nations. Now, in the tradition of *Thirty-Nine Steps*, with the spies and the police after him, Thornhill flees west by train, befriended—or is he?—en route by beautiful blonde Eve Kendall (Saint), who hides him in her state room. Thornhill's perils continue to pile up as he makes his way across the country in search of the real Mr. Kaplan. What the audience learns before Thornhill does is that there is no real Mr. Kaplan—he's an imaginary agent created as a decoy by real U.S. agents.

If all of this begins to sound confusing or far-fetched, that is part of the point. If ever a director made a film with a twinkle in his eye, Hitchcock is that director and *North by Northwest* is that film. (He claimed that he'd intended to call the picture *The Man in Lincoln's Nose*, and include a scene of Cary Grant in the giant nostril having a sneezing fit. The actual title is inconsequentially a reference to Hamlet's madness.) Hitchcock always claimed that logic was a quality which a film-maker should be willing to sacrifice if it would allow for a great scene or a great shot, and *North by Northwest* is filled with such scenes and shots. (In truth, the plotting of the picture, improbable though it may be, is worked out ingeniously.) Hitchcock also claimed that, in a thriller, the revelation of the secret being sought—"the MacGuffin," as he called it—was totally irrelevant to the story; for Hitchcock, the fun was all in the chase. Consequently, he took delight in the airport sequence where government operative Leo G. Carroll finally explains the mystery to Cary Grant—and his words are drowned off the soundtrack by airplane engines.

For his original screenplay, Ernest Lehman (*The Sweet Smell of Success*) Lehman was nominated for an Academy Award (as were the film's editor and art directors). Bernard Herrmann, Hitchcock's favorite



Cary Grant in a scene from the film *North by Northwest*.

composer in the 1950s, concocted an exciting musical score. The main title was in the form of a fandango—symbolizing, according to Herrmann, “the crazy dance about to take place between Cary Grant and the world.” For the film’s most famous scene, the attack of the crop-dusting airplane, Herrmann wisely refrained from providing any music, realizing that it would only distract from the sonic impact of the ever-approaching plane and the firing of its machine gun. Ironically, the following year, Hitchcock would request that Herrmann leave the shower-murder in *Psycho* similarly unscored. Herrmann, of course, disregarded this instruction, and when Hitchcock saw the scene with Herrmann’s now-famous attacking violins on the soundtrack, the director apologized for having made “an improper suggestion.”

Cary Grant contributed one of his most expert performances as the unlikely Thornhill, suavely romancing Eva Marie Saint’s Eve while a world of spies is pursuing him. *North by Northwest* proved a triumph for both its star and its director, a cinematic high-water mark which remains much admired, and much imitated in films, including *Charade*, *Silver Streak*, etc. The second James Bond feature, *From Russia With Love*, boasts an exciting helicopter sequence not unlike Hitchcock’s crop-dusting scene. From that point on, however, the Bond films would start going their own way, creating the genre of outrageously gimmick-stuffed espionage thrillers. After his horror-film one-two punch of *Psycho* and *The Birds*, Hitchcock would make

films like *Marnie* and *Topaz*, which harked back to his erotic espionage thrillers of the 1940s, such as *Notorious*. But never again did he attempt another flat-out, action/chase thriller in the manner of his 1930s hits.

—Preston Neal Jones

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## *Northern Exposure*

Airing first in 1990, comedy-drama series *Northern Exposure* brought an engaging and eccentric vision of small-town Alaskan life to television viewers. Its utopian portrait of a simpler existence reflected an early 1990s concern with scaling down from the yuppie excesses of the 1980s. Set in the fictional town of Cicely, the series



began with the arrival of Dr. Joel Fleischman (Rob Morrow), a native New Yorker, and hinged upon the initial contrast and growing affinity, between the urbane Doctor and the quirky, close-knit, local populace. Created by *St. Elsewhere's* Joshua Brand and John Falsey, the series had a savvy use of artistic and literary references within its off-beat storylines. *Northern Exposure* picked up a loyal audience, along with six Emmy awards in the second of its six seasons. The series ended in 1996, its demise hastened by Morrow's departure.

—James Lyons

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## Novak, Kim (1933—)

Critics have never been kind to Kim Novak. They often (and wrongly) have dismissed her as a typical star manufactured by the



Kim Novak

studio system, or as one of the many cinema's goddesses gifted with plenty of sex appeal but little acting talent. Directors have not been too kind either. Richard Quine, allegedly paying her a compliment, declared she had "the proverbial quality of the lady in the parlor and the whore in the bedroom." An embittered Henry Hathaway remembered resigning as director of *Of Human Bondage* (1964), which he had originally planned to film with Marilyn Monroe, because of Novak: "they made it with Stupid-what's her name-Kim Novak. . . I worked one day with her and quit." And yet, although briefly, audiences loved her passionately and were most receptive to her peculiar appeal as an actress, responding to it with 3,500 fan letters per week.

Born Marilyn Pauline Novak, Kim Novak's star began to shine when Rita Hayworth's started to fade. In the early 1950s, Harry Cohn, the head of Columbia, decided to create another sex goddess to replace Hayworth and his choice fell on the young model Novak. She was cast as a femme fatale in *Pushover* (1954) by Richard Quine, and her first starring performance is already remarkable for that peculiar mixture of destructive sex appeal and extreme vulnerability which will later inform her role in Alfred Hitchcock's *Vertigo* (1958). In 1955, she starred in two of that year's biggest hits: the sexy comedy *Picnic* by Joshua Logan and the controversial *Man with the Golden Arm* by Otto Preminger. In both movies, Novak plays female characters who are only superficially weak and who refuse to be appreciated only as sex objects. Her slow-motion jitterbug dance with the sexy hobo William Holden in *Picnic* ranks as one of the most sensual scenes of the 1950s. As Kathleen Murphy puts it, "this perversely virginal blonde seemed a voluptuous projection of every smalltown Sleeping Beauty."

By the end of 1956, Kim Novak was worth at least \$300,000 per film and a poll commissioned by the magazine *Box Office* voted her the most popular star in the United States. And yet, by that time, she also began to have a reputation for being "difficult" to work with. George Sidney, who directed Novak and Tyrone Power in *The Eddy Duchin Story* (1956), listed her as evidence for the belief that "hopeless poison gets into actresses when they become big stars." But Novak began to make it clear that she was unwilling to conform to the cliché of the brainless sex goddess, which Cohn had thought she would fit so well. Interviewed in 1998 on the occasion of the release of the restored copy of *Vertigo*, Novak declared that to the label of "difficult" she preferred that of "impudent": "I had views, or rather, instincts—like animals do. I trusted my instincts and wanted to be true to myself, so a director had to convince me of something else. . . ."

When Vera Miles became pregnant, Alfred Hitchcock replaced her with Novak for the role of Madeline Elster/Judy Barton in *Vertigo*. One of the central motifs of the movie is Madeline's, and then Judy's ability to make the quasi-Pygmalion character Scottie Ferguson, played by James Stewart, fall in love with the beautiful image he has created for himself. Novak displays a remarkable ability to sustain the ambiguity and the tensions between sensuality and vulnerability, between seeming and being implied in her character. When the restored copy of the movie was re-released, Novak claimed she saw the James Stewart character as a variation on Harry Cohn, who created an actress he never thought had any quality: "Cohn wasn't interested in me as a woman. He didn't think I had anything to offer. . . he just didn't see you. He looked beyond you. . . to where the audiences were."

During the 1960s and 1970s, Novak made a series of wrong choices. She was either miscast in movies that did no justice to her abilities (*The Amorous Adventures of Moll Flanders*, 1965; *Satan's Triangle*, 1975; *White Buffalo*, 1977) or which received poor distribution (*The Legend of Lylah Claire*, 1968). By the end of the 1970s, after marrying her veterinarian, she decided to be less active as an actress. She appeared in a supporting role in David Hemmings's *Just a Gigolo* (1979), where she seduces David Bowie over the body of her dead husband, and she joined the all-star cast of the rather bland Agatha Christie's mystery *The Mirror Crack'd* (1980). In both movies Novak's performances are interesting for her subtle irony at the self-parodying of her own former image of sex goddess.

After appearing in the mini-series *Malibu* (1983) and in the extremely popular soap-opera *Falcon's Crest* (1986), she made a major comeback to cinema, giving very fine performances in Tony Palmer's *The Children* (1990) and in Mike Figgis's *Liebestraum* (1991). Both movies offered her complex roles. In the former she is a refined widow, courted by a man promising affection who ultimately abandons her, while in the latter she plays a tormented woman dying of cancer coming to terms with her own past. Both performances show Novak's maturity as an actress, who, as the character of Madge Owens in *Picnic* says, gets tired of simply being told she is beautiful. For once, a former sex goddess who did not turn to drugs, alcohol, or suicide escapes from her past image.

—Luca Prono

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## Nureyev, Rudolf (1938-1993)

The first male ballet dancer to become a superstar since Nijinsky, Rudolf Nureyev completely redefined the place of men in classical ballet. A moody, bigoted egomaniac who routinely revised ballets to give himself larger roles, Nureyev was nonetheless an electrifying performer. In 1961, while on tour in Europe, he generated spectacular publicity when he defected from the Soviet Kirov Ballet. His celebrated partnership with Margot Fonteyn, a prima ballerina with Britain's Royal Ballet who was more than twice his age and poised to retire when they began dancing together, completely revitalized her career. From 1983 to 1989, as the director of the Paris Opera Ballet, Nureyev promoted a new generation of dancers and revived the world's oldest ballet company, making it one of the finest contemporary ballet troupes. Passionately devoted to performing, he continued to dance almost until his death, from AIDS, at age 55.

—Jeffrey Escoffier



Rudolf Nureyev

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## Nylon

A synthetic thermoplastic material, nylon was first introduced commercially by E.I. du Pont de Nemours and Company in the form of toothbrush bristles in 1938. The process of condensation polymerization, by which nylon and the synthetic rubber neoprene are made, was discovered by Wallace Carothers, a chemist working for the du Pont company in the 1930s. The name "nylon" itself was originally a trademark of the du Pont company, but the material is now produced in many different forms, all of which belong to the chemical group known as polyamides. Although these nylons have different characteristics and can be used in different ways, they all share the same basic qualities. In general, nylon is useful because it is

a light, strong, hard-wearing material that is resistant to corrosive chemicals and can be easily molded when heated and colored with pigments. Besides these qualities, nylon is also remarkably cheap and easy to manufacture. As a result, a huge variety of different uses have been found for it, and nylon is present in almost all areas of life. For example, it appears in the form of woven fabrics, thread, and rope, as plastic sheets, moldings, and netting. Because it is resistant to wear, nylon is also used as an alternative to conventional steel bearings and gears, and as insulation in electrical equipment.

Within two years of the introduction of the first nylon toothbrushes, nylon was being spun as a multifilament yarn to make hosiery. Being harder-wearing than silk, nylon stockings were much sought after when they first appeared in 1940. This was particularly true in Europe during World War II, where gifts of nylons made American servicemen as popular with local women as Hershey chocolate made them with children. More crucially, nylon parachutes were lighter and more reliable than silk, and in military slang a parachute descent became known as a "nylon letdown." In the 1960s and 1970s nylon was at the height of its popularity as a fabric material, perhaps because of its longevity and the fact that clothes made from colored nylon do not fade with washing. Because of their tendency to generate static electricity, however, nylon fabrics are not always comfortable to wear, and as dye and detergent technologies have improved, nylon's popularity has decreased. In the 1990s nylon fabrics were most often found in waterproof outer clothing and hosiery. The material also had an effect on modern healthcare, since nylon surgical sutures, splints, braces, and many other medical items, are cheap, and easy to sterilize and keep clean.

The versatility of nylon as a material means that, besides the multifilament yarns used in clothing and the monofilaments used as bristles, nylon can also be moulded into solid objects of many different sizes and shapes. Because of its resilience, nylon is a good material for making objects that need to resist wear and tear, such as plastic containers, stationery items, floor coverings, and bearings. Nylon bearings are particularly useful under extreme conditions, where lubrication is impractical or where the bearing is exposed to water. It can also be formed into objects that hold pressure, such as bicycle tires, inflated balls, certain pump cylinders, and valves. The invention of nylon, and the plastics technologies that followed, made possible the cheap mass production of high quality consumer objects, from children's toys and kitchen utensils to computers, cameras, televisions, and sound systems.

Despite his remarkable discovery, and despite receiving over 50 other patents, the inventor of nylon, Wallace Carothers, was an unhappy man, suffering from severe depression and alcoholism. Although nylon revolutionized life in the late twentieth century, Carothers did not live to enjoy the benefits of his work. He committed suicide in 1937, not long before those first bristles went into production.

—Chris Routledge

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## *NYPD Blue*

Premiering on September 21, 1993, *NYPD Blue* was one of the most critically acclaimed new series ever and one of the most controversial programs television had seen in years. Even before the first program aired, word had leaked out regarding the show's use of language and presentation of partial nudity. While critics across the country praised its style and content, by the time the first episode aired fifty-seven of ABC's affiliates had declined to carry the program. Perhaps because of the immense publicity the program generated, this gritty police drama managed to rank nineteenth in the ratings and garnered a record twenty-six Emmy nominations during its first year. By the time the year ended, eighteen of the dissenting stations gave in and carried the program; by its second season *NYPD Blue* won the Emmy for Outstanding Dramatic Series while becoming the seventh highest rated program in the country. Amidst a whirlwind of controversy and debate, co-creators Steven Bochco and David Milch had managed, during a period of conservative programming, to launch what some have referred to as the first "R-rated" television series.

*NYPD Blue's* rare combination of critical acclaim, controversy, and mass appeal was familiar terrain for Bochco, who had earlier produced *Hill Street Blues* and *Cop Rock*. Like other Bochco programs, *NYPD Blue* used an ensemble cast led by *Blues* veterans Dennis Franz and David Curuso. Franz became a fixture at the Emmy Awards, winning Outstanding Lead Actor in a Drama Series three of the show's first four years. While Franz won critical acclaim, Curuso, who appeared partially nude in multiple episodes, became a popular star and generated new controversy when he demanded higher pay. Eventually, and quite publicly, Curuso left the show. Rather than slipping in the ratings, however, the program again benefited from the controversy and became even more popular with the addition of *LA Law* veteran Jimmy Smits taking over as Franz's partner. In addition to Franz, as detective Andy Sipowicz, and Smits's character Bobby Simone, other cast members included Emmy winner Kim Delaney, James McDaniel, Rick Schroder (who replaced Smits in 1998), and Nicholas Turturro.

The success of *NYPD Blue* can be linked in part to its realistic depiction of police work and the complex and conflicting impact that regular exposure to crime has upon these committed, yet flawed, individuals. The program consistently has used crimes, investigative processes, and character interactions to explore complex ethical and contemporary social conditions related to class, gender, and race. Like the hit *Hill Street Blues*, *NYPD Blue* has managed to be thought-provoking, entertaining, and moving whether it's dealing with the mundane activities of day-to-day life or the disturbing events which detectives might experience in New York City.

—James Friedman

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## The Oakland Raiders

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The Oakland Raiders, a professional football franchise based in California, operates under the motto “Commitment to Excellence.” Yet turmoil has been as much a hallmark of the team’s history as high-quality play. Established in 1961 from the ruins of a Minneapolis franchise, the Raiders were one of the stalwart clubs of the now-defunct American Football League. Since 1963, they have been run by Al Davis, a maverick who instilled a pirate ethic in his “silver and black”-clad players as well as a high-powered passing offense that led the team to the Super Bowl in 1968. The Raiders won their first world championship under coach John Madden in 1977, then followed with another under Tom Flores in 1981. In 1982, in defiance of a National Football League lawsuit, Davis moved the club to Los Angeles, where it remained for 13 years. World champions again in 1984, the Raiders moved back to Oakland in 1995, where, at the end of the twentieth century, they continued to rank among the league’s roughest, most penalized teams.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Oates, Joyce Carol (1938—)

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Undoubtedly one of the most prolific and versatile authors of the twentieth century, Joyce Carol Oates writes short stories, novels, plays, poetry, screenplays, and essays. She also writes psychological thrillers under the pseudonym Rosamond Smith. Her works have been included numerous times in *The Best American Short Stories*, *The O. Henry Awards* anthology, *The Pushcart Prize* anthology, and *The Year’s Best Fantasy and Horror*. She won the National Book Award in 1970 for *Them*. Her writing receives continuous critical attention, and she is alternately praised for the quality of her work and criticized for being too prolific, too dark, or too violent. “Where Are You Going, Where Have You Been,” a story about a teenage girl who is pursued by an older and seemingly dangerous man, is one of the most anthologized stories of the century, earning her a place on most college readings lists and ensuring her continuing influence.

—Adrienne Furness

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## Objectivism/Ayn Rand

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Few philosophers or philosophies can claim the public recognition and “fan” following of Ayn Rand (1905-1982) and her philosophy, Objectivism. Espoused in several novels and in countless essays and speeches, Rand’s Objectivism glorifies the heroic individual pursuing his/her goals utterly free of the fetters that society, especially government, would place upon him/her. Though Rand’s written works have always been extremely popular, it was the movie of her novel *The Fountainhead*, starring Gary Cooper, that made her a kind of intellectual celebrity. Rand and her philosophy have attained a kind of cult stature among college students, not least because her works narrate the process by which a person can articulate a principled rejection of the social mores in which they were raised.

Ayn Rand was born Alisa Rosenbaum in 1905 in St. Petersburg, Russia. Her father’s pharmacy was confiscated by Bolshevik authorities after the Russian Revolution. The anti-semitism of the Czarist regime and the anti-capitalism of the Communist regime do not seem to have endeared her to government intervention in private affairs, something which she was to oppose throughout her political life. Rosenbaum studied history at the University of Petrograd, and left for the United States to be a writer. In America, she took the first name Ayn (rhymes with “line”) and the last name Rand (naming herself after her typewriter), and ended up in Hollywood, where she worked as a movie extra and as an employee of R.K.O. Nights’ wardrobe department. In Hollywood, she met and married writer Frank O’Connor.

Rand worked her way up to writing scripts for Hollywood and Broadway, moving to New York in 1934. She published her first novel—an anti-Communist work called *We the Living*—in 1936. This was followed in 1938 by *Anthem*, a story set in a totalitarian society that attempts to destroy individuality.

In 1943, Rand published her second-greatest novel, *The Fountainhead*. This is the story of a young architect named Howard Roark (a character apparently modeled on Frank Lloyd Wright). Roark insists on pursuing his own vision of architecture, which brings him into conflict with his teachers, his customers, and the government, and into the arms of the heroine (whom he rapes in a scene which is denounced in feminist Susan Brownmiller’s 1975 book, *Against Our Will*). The novel’s portrayal of heroic individualism seems to have hit a chord with American readers, who put the novel on the bestseller list two years after it came out. By the 1980s the book had sold over four-and-a-half million copies. The movie version of the novel, released in 1949 with Gary Cooper in the lead role, helped make a hero out of Roark and began attracting adherents to Rand’s philosophy.

After *The Fountainhead*, Rand became fairly well known. She was a friendly witness before the House Committee on Un-American Activities when it was investigating Communism in Hollywood. She also acquired many followers, one of whom, a young man named Nathaniel Branden, helped her publicize her ideas, became an important figure in the Objectivist movement she founded, and eventually became her lover. But Rand’s fame was not fully secure until 1957, when she published her greatest novel.

*Atlas Shrugged*, over 1,000 pages long, is best described as a dramatization of Rand’s philosophy. The title’s reference to Atlas (whose broad shoulders, according to the ancient Greeks, held up the

world) alludes to the independent, self-sustaining, productive members of society, many of whom, in the novel, move to a secret outpost where they can live in freedom without the government taxing and confiscating the fruits of their labor. By taking themselves out of the jurisdiction of the government, the freedom-fighters are basically going on strike, refusing to collaborate with an oppressive state. The characters are not so much fully fleshed-out individuals as they are embodiments of Rand's philosophy, and they have ample opportunity to give speeches outlining their (i.e., Rand's) principles. The most prominent of these speeches, hero John Galt's speech, is perhaps the best single statement of the Objectivist creed.

The political philosophy of the book cannot be called conservative, despite its celebration of individualism and its denunciation of government tyranny. Although conservatives often denounced government welfare programs, Rand was opposed to any form of "altruism," whether public or private. In fact, "altruism" was something of a dirty word in Rand's writing. Also in contrast to conservatism, Rand's philosophy is atheistic, emphasizing heroic humans and rejecting God. The leading magazine of conservatism, *National Review*, denounced *Atlas Shrugged* in violent terms. Most other reviews were also hostile, focusing on the writing style. But despite the critics, *Atlas Shrugged* was, and still is, a very popular novel. Most Americans who took part in a *Reader's Digest*/Library of Congress survey in 1991 said that the book that had the greatest influence over their lives was the Bible, followed by *Atlas Shrugged*. Politically, it is probably fair to say that *Atlas Shrugged* proved an inspiration to libertarians, especially the young.

Though Rand endorsed libertarian individualism, she insisted that her associates define individualism in her terms. If someone adopted an interpretation of individualism different from Rand's, that person was generally unwelcome in Rand's circle. Rand's relationship with her more committed followers (they called themselves "the Collective," with self-conscious irony) was similar to the relationship between a prophetess and her worshippers. Rand's atheistic religion was even given a name—Objectivism.

With the help of Nathaniel Branden (who collaborated with her until they broke up in 1968), Rand propagated her Objectivist views through lectures (especially speeches to college students), a newsletter, a newspaper column, and philosophical books. The theme was always the same: The heroic individual versus the collective, which was usually the state. She praised Canadian doctors who went on strike against socialized medicine. She denounced both racism (a collectivist philosophy) and the Civil Rights Bill of 1964 (a gross violation of property rights). She spoke of the importance of "self-esteem," meaning a justifiable pride in one's accomplishments. Self-esteem was deemed a necessary defense against altruists who wanted you to give up your liberty or property for the sake of an alleged greater good. Someone with self-esteem would not be bamboozled by false guilt into giving up the fruits of his labor to the tax government (Nathaniel Branden later became a California psychotherapist, where he also preached the value of self-esteem).

Rand has inspired some important public figures. One of Rand's fans was Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas. When Thomas headed the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in the 1980s, he allegedly invoked Rand in his speeches to conservatives. In addition, he allegedly invited people to lunch with him in his office, where he treated them to the film based on *The Fountainhead*. Another Ayn Rand disciple who later rose to high position was Alan Greenspan, the future chairman of the Federal Reserve. While he was a budding economist and Wall Street analyst in the 1950s and 1960s,

Greenspan was a member of Rand's inner circle. Unlike other members of Rand's circle, he exercised some independence of thinking and got away with it. British ex-Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and tennis star Billie Jean King were also followers of Rand's philosophy.

Rand died in 1982. Her intellectual legacy is claimed by the Ayn Rand Institute, run by her follower (and legal heir) Leonard Peikoff.

—Eric Longley

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## O'Brien, Tim (1946—)

Best known for his fictional portrayal of the Vietnam War, Tim O'Brien is an American novelist and short story writer who has been compared to Ernest Hemingway, Stephen Crane, and Joseph Heller. In *Going After Cacciato* (1978) and *The Things They Carried* (1990), the novels that established his reputation, O'Brien explores the horrors and ambiguities of war in a style that is eloquent, precise, and highly evocative. An intensely passionate writer, O'Brien has attempted to move beyond the tag of "war writer" by composing works

that reveal the ways in which love and civilian life can resemble war. In his novel *In the Lake of the Woods* (1994), which portrays a defeated politician struggling with a secret past and imperiled marriage, O'Brien brings the fear and torment of Vietnam to the Minnesota wilderness.

—James Schiff

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A contemporary of Bob Dylan and Joan Baez, Phil Ochs achieved modest success as a singer/songwriter during the mid-1960s. After receiving a standing ovation at the Newport Folk Festival in 1963, he was signed by Elektra Records. A fervent activist who yearned for stardom, Ochs gained recognition for his topical songs about subjects such as civil rights and the Vietnam War. As a protest singer in the era of the urban folk revival, he was often overshadowed by Dylan. In the late 1960s, his interest in politics remained strong even as his compositions became more personal. Bothered by political events and his inability to write commercially successful songs, Ochs suffered from severe depression in the last years of his life. His career essentially ended in the early 1970s, and six months after his final performance in 1975, Ochs committed suicide by hanging himself.

—Anna Hunt Graves

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## O'Connor, Flannery (1925-1964)

The name Flannery O'Connor has become synonymous with Southern literature. Her characters are good country people and lowly misfits who speak with rich Southern accents, and no matter how misguided their actions, they are never beyond redemption. In an essay entitled "The Catholic Novelist in the South," O'Connor, an orthodox Catholic, wrote that the "two circumstances that have given character to [her] own writing have been those of being Southern and being Catholic." Her remarkable fictional landscape—a "Christ-haunted" place of backwoods preachers, mad prophets, and moonshine visionaries—signifies the intimate relation that exists between Flannery O'Connor's art and the dynamics of the Southern culture that brought her art to life.

Born in Savannah, Georgia, on March 25, 1925, Flannery O'Connor was the only child of Regina Cline and Edward Francis O'Connor, Jr. Raised in her mother's family home in Milledgeville, Georgia, the author later moved to a dairy farm in Andalusia, where she lived with her mother. It was there that she was diagnosed with lupus erythematosus, the disease that caused her untimely death at the age of 39.

In a letter to a friend, O'Connor wrote, "Sickness is more instructive than a long trip to Europe." She further described her illness as "one of life's blessings." The blessing was that the disease brought her home to her native Georgia and to the landscape where she recreated the language and the often bizarre and grotesque characters, which come to life in her fiction. Addressing her Georgia homecoming—one strikingly similar to that of Asbury in "The Enduring Chill"—O'Connor told Cecil Dawkins that she had always thought the "life of [her] writing depended on . . . staying away," and that she would have persisted in that delusion had she "not got very ill and had to come home. The best of my writing has been done here."

O'Connor's work, though scant, generates the kind of critical attention that makes her, along with William Faulkner, Eudora Welty, Walker Percy, Truman Capote, and Tennessee Williams, one of the most notable figures in Southern literature. This body of work consists of two novels, *Wise Blood* and *The Violent Bear It Away*, two collections of stories published in *A Good Man Is Hard to Find* and *Everything That Rises Must Converge*, and a collection of essays, *Mystery and Manners*. "The Grotesque in Southern Fiction," "The Fiction Writer and His Country," "The Catholic Novelists and Their Readers," "The Catholic Novelist in the Protestant South," and "The Teaching of Literature"—essays found in this collection—address the issues with which O'Connor was most concerned. *The Flannery O'Connor Bulletin*, expertly edited by Sarah Gordon at Georgia College & State University in Milledgeville, is devoted solely to O'Connor scholarship. Books and critical studies continue to proliferate. Although a volume of letters collected in *The Habit of Being*, edited by Sally Fitzgerald, reveals elements of O'Connor's life, a biography has yet to be published. Much of the mystery and manners associated with Flannery O'Connor's life and work is yet to be discovered.

—Sue Walker

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## *The Odd Couple*

Can two divorced men share an apartment without driving each other crazy? That was the question that fueled a play, a movie, and a classic sitcom. Neil Simon's 1965 play *The Odd Couple* and the subsequent 1967 movie, starring Walter Matthau as the sloppy sportswriter Oscar Madison and Jack Lemmon as the fastidious photographer Felix Unger (Art Carney had the role on Broadway), spawned a popular and well-written television series that ran on ABC from 1970 to 1975.

In the television series, Oscar was played by Jack Klugman (who had taken over the role from Matthau on Broadway), Felix was played by Tony Randall, and the spirit of the play remained intact. Oscar was a happily divorced New Yorker who thought of ketchup as "tomato wine," and who slept with his wardrobe and his meals. Felix, still pining away for his ex-wife, was a neat freak, constantly spraying air freshener in Oscar's direction, and reheating gourmet meals for which Oscar was late. They were the definition of opposites: Felix loved opera and classical music, and Oscar preferred gambling; Oscar gruffly threw stuff on the floor, Felix picked it up, complaining; Oscar smoked cigars and ate junk food despite his ulcer, and Felix had constant sinus trouble, but otherwise took compulsively excellent care of himself. The point of the show was that despite their vast

differences, these two guys cared about each other and were friends when it counted.

The only other regular who stayed on through the whole run of the series was Al Molinaro, who played dim-witted policeman and poker buddy, Murray the Cop. Other poker buddies included Speed (Garry Wahlberg), Roy (Ryan MacDonald), and Vinnie (Larry Gelman). Elinor Donahue played Felix's girlfriend, Miriam, from 1972 to 1974. Klugman's real-life wife Brett Somers (a regular on the television game show *Match Game* in the 1970s) played Oscar's acerbic ex-wife, Blanche. Janis Hansen played Felix's long-suffering ex-wife, Gloria, whose name had been Frances in the play and movie. The series borrowed flighty British neighbors the Pigeon sisters from the play and movie for the first season. Because the roommates were somewhat in the New York media, the *Odd Couple* could justify guest stars playing themselves, such as Bobby Riggs, Billie Jean King, David Steinberg, Monty Hall, Allan Ludden, Roy Clark, Howard Cosell, Richard Dawson, and Deacon Jones.

Forever linked to their roles now, Randall and Klugman were not everyone's first choices. ABC did want Tony Randall, but also fancied Mickey Rooney for Oscar. The producers wanted Art Carney and Martin Balsam. Garry Marshall and Sheldon Keller served as executive producers for the series; Marshall, who created *Happy Days* and its spin-offs and directed *Pretty Woman*, also wrote several



Jack Lemmon (left) and Walter Matthau in a scene from the film *The Odd Couple*.

episodes, and his sister Penny, who went on to direct *Big* and *A League of Our Own*, played Oscar's nebbishy secretary Myrna from 1973 to 1975 (Garry had a cameo in one episode, as did Rob Reiner, Penny's then-husband).

Though the series wrapped up cleanly with Gloria and Felix finally remarrying, the *Odd Couple* formula was oft-repeated. From 1975 to 1977, a cartoon called *The Oddball Couple* ran on ABC Saturday mornings. It featured Fleabag, a sloppy dog, and Spiffy, a neat cat, reporters who shared an office. Simon updated his durable play in the mid-1980s to support female versions of his characters; it starred Sally Struthers as Florence Unger and Rita Moreno as Olive Madison. From 1982 to 1983, ABC tried to cash in again with *The New Odd Couple*, which borrowed scripts from the original series but cast black actors. Ron Glass, of *Barney Miller* fame, played Felix, and Demond Wilson, from *Sanford and Son*, played Oscar. Felix's ex-wife went back to being called Frances. It did not take long for that show's producer to admit that seven out of the first 13 episodes of *The New Odd Couple* had been recycled from its predecessor.

Felix and Oscar informed every subsequent role Randall and Klugman played. Randall had his own show, *The Tony Randall Show*, from 1976 to 1978, in which he played a stuffy widowed Philadelphia Superior Court judge. Klugman and Wahlberg were reunited in the television drama *Quincy, M.E.* (1976-1983) in which Klugman played the gruff but lovable titular medical examiner (who was never given a first name) who helped solve the murders of the bodies he autopsied, and Wahlberg played police liaison Lieutenant Frank Monahan.

In 1993, Randall, Klugman, Wahlberg, and Marshall returned for *The Odd Couple: Together Again*, a two hour CBS television movie. Klugman was recovering from throat cancer, and in the movie Felix moved back in with Oscar who was recovering from throat cancer surgery. Randall and Klugman also revived another Neil Simon play—*The Sunshine Boys*—on Broadway late in the 1990s. Matthau and Lemmon reunited in 1998 in *Neil Simon's Odd Couple II*. They also did a few other *Odd Couple*-esque buddy films together in the 1990s, such as *Grumpy Old Men* and *Out to Sea*. The original *Odd Couple* series was rerun in the 1990s on Nick at Nite and Comedy Central. The term "odd couple" goes beyond the pop culture scope and has taken on a life of its own, being used by snappy headline writers to describe any unlikely pair of opposites who are working together or merely get along, much like *The Odd Couple* continues to get along with audiences of all ages.

—Karen Lurie

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## O'Donnell, Rosie (1962—)

Stand-up comic Rosie O'Donnell has transformed the definition of "talk show" since her syndicated debut in 1996. Rather than falling into the trap of sensationalized fisticuffs and searing emotionalism à la Jerry Springer and Jenny Jones, O'Donnell has created a show that feels as comfortable as one's own living room. Her star-struck reaction to her guests seems to mirror that of her viewers, and



Rosie O'Donnell

her ease with guests and audiences alike creates an atmosphere of having a few friends over to visit. O'Donnell often confesses that she does not sing well. Yet, she sings often and loud, and the viewers love it—and her. She refuses to apologize for her weight and has become a positive role model for females of all ages. The adjective most often used to describe O'Donnell is "real."

Born in Flushing, New York, and brought up in Commack, on Long Island, Rosie O'Donnell's early years were typically middle class and suburban. Her Irish Catholic father was an electrical engineer, and her mother was the president of the Parent Teacher Association. The middle of five children, O'Donnell reveled in her tightly knit family. This typical suburban lifestyle ended abruptly when her mother was diagnosed with what was believed to be pancreatic cancer in 1972—O'Donnell has since said that she believes her mother died of breast cancer. Edward O'Donnell chose to hide the seriousness of his wife's illness, telling the children that she had hepatitis. Therefore, the O'Donnell offspring were unprepared when their mother died at the age of 39. Roseann O'Donnell was buried on her daughter Rosie's eleventh birthday. Either believing that he was helping his children or blinded by his own grief, O'Donnell's father refused to let the children openly grieve for their



mother, nor were they allowed to attend her funeral. When her father turned to alcohol to ease his pain, O'Donnell, by all accounts, was forced to mother her four siblings.

While she was nurtured by both teachers and neighbors, Rosie O'Donnell turned to the fantasy world of movies and television to give her the family life that she needed; she particularly liked stories in which families regenerated themselves after the loss of a parent. Her favorite fantasy parents were the Von Trapps from *The Sound of Music*, the Bradfords from *Eight Is Enough*, and the Bradys from *The Brady Bunch*. To Rosie, her mother's death became the defining point of her life, leaving her with the certainty that she, too, would die at a young age. She has frequently said that she associated being thin with being sick. Eating was, therefore, a way to avoid illness and, ultimately, death.

Despite the problems with her home life, O'Donnell continued to do well at school. She was popular with her classmates and was named homecoming queen, prom queen, and senior class president. She was also an all-round athlete, and continues to be interested in sports today. Even as a teenager, O'Donnell understood that humor brought her the attention that she craved. This recognition of her ambition and talent led her to become a stand-up comic at the age of 16. She won recognition for her abilities on *Star Search* on five separate occasions. This exposure paved the way for her stint as Nell Carter's neighbor on *Gimme A Break* and her hosting of VH-1's *Stand-Up Spotlight*.

By the time that Rosie O'Donnell appeared in *A League of Their Own* in 1992, she had won a loyal following. She cemented her popularity with supporting leads in *Sleepless in Seattle* (1993), *Another Stakeout* (1993), *Car 54, Where Are You?* (1994), *The Flintstones* (1994), *Now and Then* (1995), and *Beautiful Girls* (1996). Realizing her life-long ambition to star on Broadway, Rosie O'Donnell spent a year playing Rizzo in *Grease* in 1994. The following year, O'Donnell decided that it was time for a new direction in her life. She had recently adopted a son, Parker Jarren, and wanted to spend more time with him than her movie career allowed. She presented herself to Disney, but they were not interested. Fortunately for her fans, Warner Brothers proved to have more foresight and signed her to a contract. *The Rosie O'Donnell Show* was born, providing a breath of much needed fresh air amid the tawdry sensationalism of daytime television. In 1998 O'Donnell adopted a daughter, Chelsea Belle, and has said that she wants to adopt more children. She has continued to act in movies during breaks from her talk show. O'Donnell played a nanny in *Harriet, the Spy* and a nun in *Wide Awake* (1998), and she provided the voice of Turk in Disney's *Tarzan* (1999); she is also negotiating to star in a television movie about the life of comedienne Totie Fields.

Throughout the late 1990s, O'Donnell won both popular and critical acclaim. She won a Day Time Emmy for Best Talk Show Host in 1997 and tied with Oprah Winfrey for that honor in 1998. She has almost single-handedly rejuvenated the theater industry with her championship of Broadway and served as host for the Tony Awards in 1997 and 1998.

It is her love of children, however, that defines the essence of Rosie O'Donnell. She has demonstrated that she is still young at heart with her hosting of the *Kid's Choice Awards* for Nickelodeon. The sale of her book *Kids Are Punny* and the Rosie O'Doll by Tyco have generated at least a million dollars for her For All Kids Foundation. When Scope named her one of the least kissable celebrities, O'Donnell won her revenge by negotiating a deal with Listerine, whereby they donated \$1,000 to her foundation every time she kissed a guest on her

show. Rosie O'Donnell has proved that audiences are still comfortable with talk shows such as those of Merv Griffin, Mike Douglas, and Dinah Shore. Dubbed the "Queen of Nice" by *Newsweek*, she has also demonstrated that "nice" girls do win.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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## O'Keeffe, Georgia (1887-1986)

A renowned American woman artist, Georgia O'Keeffe was among the first generation of modernists in this country. She translated a love of nature and a feeling for form into some of the most advanced paintings and drawings of the twentieth century.



Georgia O'Keeffe

Born outside of Madison, Wisconsin, into a family of farmers, O'Keeffe decided to be an artist at the age of ten. She studied at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1905-1906 and, after her move to New York the following year, at the Art Students League under William Merritt Chase and Kenyon Cox. Chase was an important American Impressionist who encouraged O'Keeffe's love of landscape. She was more stylistically influenced, however, by Arthur Wesley Dow at Columbia University. Dow had studied with the post-Impressionist Paul Gauguin and greatly admired Japanese art. O'Keeffe was moved by Dow's orientaling landscapes, arranged simply in flat, saturated color.

Alfred Stieglitz, the most passionate promoter of art photography and modern art in America at this time, exhibited O'Keeffe's remarkably advanced watercolors—without her permission—in 1916. Stieglitz's gallery "291," named for its Fifth Avenue address, also hosted her first solo exhibition the following year. Along with artists such as John Marin, Marsden Hartley, and Max Weber, O'Keeffe became one of the artists in Stieglitz's stable of talented modernists. The young painter (age 29) and the older photographer/impressario (age 52) were married in 1924.

In 1916 O'Keeffe had accepted a position as supervisor of art in the public schools of Amarillo, Texas. The landscape and light there inspired her to create some radically reductive abstractions. A series of watercolors and charcoal drawings she made at this time, for example *Light Coming on the Plains III* (1917, Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas), rivals the most abstract art of any made in the twentieth century.

Throughout the 1920s, O'Keeffe painted the sharp architectural forms of Manhattan and the soft landscapes around Lake George, in the foothills of the Adirondacks. Though she often said that she was "not a joiner," her works of the 1920s shared affinities with contemporary painting. The art of Charles Sheeler, Charles Demuth, and other "Precisionists," consisted of precisely rendered architectural forms, industrial landscapes, and machine subjects. Although O'Keeffe depicted cavernous city streets and painted in crisp forms, her touch was never quite as dry as theirs. Moreover, she eschewed specifically industrial subjects in favor of more natural ones. In 1924 she began painting her renowned series of large-scale flowers—viewed closely and filling the entire canvas. At once realistic and abstract, these works often reveal explicit vaginal shapes, as in *Black Iris III* (1926, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). Though the artist vehemently denied any sexual readings of these works, they may safely be said to express a generalized feminine principle.

Wintering in New York and summering in the west, O'Keeffe made annual visits to New Mexico beginning in 1929. That summer, she stayed in Taos where she painted *Black Cross, New Mexico* (1929, Art Institute of Chicago). Explaining their appearance in her art, she recalled, "I saw the crosses so often—and often in unexpected places—like a thin dark veil of the Catholic church spread over the New Mexico landscape." Three years after Stieglitz's death in 1946 she moved to remote Abiquiu, New Mexico, to a ruined adobe called Ghost Ranch. Here she spent the last four decades of her life. On intimate terms with the land, and ever sensitive to the shapes of things, she began collecting the bones she found in the desert. One is featured in *Cow's Skull—Red, White, and Blue* (1931-1936, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). Characteristically, she denied that the bones reflected a personal preoccupation with death.

In 1953, when O'Keeffe was in her mid-sixties, she traveled throughout Europe. Five years later she took a three-and-a-half-month trip around the world by air, and in 1960 she visited the Far

East. The experience of flying was an epiphany for O'Keeffe; she was entranced by the topography below and cloud formations seen from the air. Her works of this period reflect this new visual preoccupation. For instance, her *Sky Above Clouds IV* (1965, Art Institute of Chicago), a mural measuring eight-by-twenty-four feet, was painted for a major retrospective exhibition of her work in 1966.

As attested by photographs—showing her determined face, her hair tightly pulled back, dressed in black—O'Keeffe's last years saw no decline in energy or creativity. Extending her range of artistic expression, she took up pottery in the last decade of her life. In 1976 she produced a lavishly illustrated self-titled autobiography. On the occasion of her ninetieth birthday, the National Gallery in Washington, D.C., hosted a tribute to her. In 1987, it was also the site of the first large-scale posthumous retrospective of her work after her death at age 98.

Although her greatest contribution to avant-garde art occurred in the years between 1915 and 1920, she had in subsequent decades come to embody the notion of the uncompromising artist and was regarded as the very icon of the independent woman.

—Mark B. Pohlad

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## Oklahoma!

The musical *Oklahoma!* was the first collaboration between composer Richard Rodgers (1902-1979) and lyricist/librettist Oscar Hammerstein II (1895-1960), both of whom already had extensive careers in show business behind them. *Oklahoma!* was based on the play *Green Grow the Lilacs* by Lynn Riggs, first produced by the Theatre Guild in New York in 1931. It took a radically new approach to musical theatre on several fronts. The story of ordinary, real-life people and rural life during the Oklahoma land rush was an unusual subject at that time. The libretto followed the play closely, breaking with the conventional placement of song and dance elements. The choreography by Agnes de Mille synthesized ballet and American vernacular dance, and a "dream ballet" advanced the story. Oscar Hammerstein's libretto and lyrics celebrated the hardy, optimistic spirit of the American West during the bleakest years of World War II. *Oklahoma!* became a runaway hit show and won a Pulitzer Prize



A scene from the original production of *Oklahoma!*.

for drama in 1944. Many of the young actors and dancers in the opening production went on to stellar careers. Since the initial run, touring companies have presented the musical around the world, and revivals have been frequent. *Oklahoma!* proved to be only the first of a series of artistically and financially successful musicals by Rodgers and Hammerstein, but none of their works has influenced the development of musical theater more than this one.

*Oklahoma!* takes place at the turn of the twentieth century between the Oklahoma land rushes in 1889 and 1893, and statehood in 1907. Curley, a cowhand, and Jud Fry, a farmhand, are in love with Laurey. She is in love with Curley, but after an argument with him agrees to go to a dance with Jud Fry, whom she secretly fears. At the dance Curley puts up his entire belongings to buy Laurey's box lunch. She and Curley admit their love for each other and are married. After the wedding Jud fights with Curley and is killed with his own knife during the struggle. Laurey's Aunt Eller engineers a trial at the scene and Curley is acquitted, enabling the young couple to begin married life happily. A second, more comic subplot involves man-crazy Ado Annie, her true love cowboy Will Parker, and her temporary interest, peddler Ali Hakim. Like Laurey and Curley, Ado Annie and Will work out their problems and settle down to married life.

The happy combination of events which produced *Oklahoma!* began with the 1940 revival of *Green Grow the Lilacs* by the Westport Country Playhouse in Westport, Connecticut. The Playhouse was owned by Lawrence Langer and his wife Armina Marshall, who were also partners in the Theatre Guild, a theater management group active in New York since 1918. Another partner in the distinguished Theatre Guild was Theresa Helburn. After seeing the Riggs play revival in Westport with square dances choreographed by Gene Kelly, Helburn thought it would make a good musical theatre production. Later in the summer of 1940, Richard Rodgers saw the play and told Langer and Helburn that he agreed the musical theatre adaptation was a promising idea. Rodgers was still working with his first partner Lorenz Hart in 1940; their shows *Pal Joey* (1940) and *By Jupiter* (1942) had yet to open. Hart had struggled with alcoholism for years, and although he continued to write inspired lyrics, his working habits had become erratic. Rodgers, however, was determined to continue collaborating with Hart as long as possible, and he asked Hart to join the *Oklahoma!* project. Hart refused, feeling that Riggs's play did not provide good musical theatre material. Rodgers turned to Oscar Hammerstein II for *Oklahoma!* Hammerstein knew the play and was eager to write the book and lyrics.

*Oklahoma!* opened at the St. James Theatre in New York on March 31, 1943, remaining on Broadway for a remarkable 2,212 performances. The reviews after opening night in New York were dazzling. *New York Times* reviewer Lewis Nichols said, "Wonderful is the nearest adjective, for this excursion of the Guild combines a fresh and infectious gaiety, a charm of manner, beautiful acting, singing and dancing, and a score by Richard Rodgers that doesn't do any harm, either, since it is one of his best." The next morning the box office was in pandemonium and performances quickly sold out for the foreseeable future. But no accolade could have meant more to Richard Rodgers than that of his former partner Lorenz Hart. In *Musical Stages* Rodgers remembered the traditional post-show gathering at Sardi's when a grinning Hart threw his arms around Rodgers and said, "Dick, I've never had a better evening in my life! This show will be around 20 years from now!" Max Wilk's *OK! The Story of Oklahoma!* quotes lyricist/librettist Alan Jay Lerner, who said, "A musical in the twenties and the thirties had no dramatic validity and the wit was the lyric writer's, never the characters'. Oscar Hammerstein, on the other hand, was very much a dramatic writer, and with *Oklahoma!* he and Dick Rodgers radically changed the course of the musical theatre. The musical comedy became a play."

A remarkable number of popular songs came from *Oklahoma!*, especially when compared to earlier shows. Except for the monumental *Show Boat* (1927) by Jerome Kern and Oscar Hammerstein II, most musicals of the 1920s and 1930s contained one or two memorable songs. *Oklahoma!* gave birth to several: "Oh, What a Beautiful Mornin'"; "The Surrey with the Fringe on Top"; "Kansas City"; "I Cain't Say No"; "People Will Say We're in Love"; and of course, "Oklahoma," the energetic "title song" which caused the musical's original title *Away We Go!* to be changed. Songs from the show became overnight smashes: "People Will Say We're in Love" was the top radio song of 1943, and the cast recorded the first "original-cast" recording of a Broadway show, beginning a practice which continues today. Since 1943 the original cast album has been in print as 78s, LPs, cassette tapes, and now as compact discs.

Writing his autobiography *Musical Stages* in 1975, Rodgers theorized about what made *Oklahoma!* such an extraordinary work. "When a show works perfectly, it's because all the individual parts complement each other and fit together. No single element overshadows any other . . . That's what made *Oklahoma!* work. All the components dovetailed. There was nothing extraneous or foreign, nothing that pushed itself into the spotlight yelling 'Look at me!'" Critics and audiences have agreed with Rodgers for over half a century about *Oklahoma!*'s significance. In 1993 the United States Postal Service acknowledged its place in American cultural history with a stamp commemorating the show's fiftieth anniversary.

—Ann Sears

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## Old Navy

If the Gap was the Cinderella among clothing retailers in the affluent 1980s, its downmarket offshoot Old Navy enjoyed a comparable fairy tale existence in the belt-tightened 1990s. The brainchild of Gap CEO Millard "Mickey" Drexler, the store began as an attempt to reel in customers put off by the Gap's prices but too hip to buy clothes at Wal-Mart. By relying on attractive packaging, quirky promotions, and the pioneering use of headsets by customer service personnel, Old Navy succeeded in making cheap threads seem cool. Even the Gap's pseudo hipsters were won over by a series of campy television commercials featuring such entertainment industry fossils as Barbara Eden and Eartha Kitt, alongside an adorable pooch named Magic and the campaign's icon, weirdly fascinating fashion doyenne Carrie Donovan.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Oliphant, Pat (1935—)

With a career spanning 35 years of American politics and counting, popular political artist Pat Oliphant serves as a role model for a generation of political and editorial cartoonists. Deemed the "most influential editorial cartoonist now working" by the *New York Times*, and credited by fellow Pulitzer Prize-winning editorial cartoonist Mike Luckovich with "creating modern-day political cartoons," Oliphant's work appears in approximately 375 newspapers, four days a week.

Oliphant grew up in Adelaide, South Australia, the son of a cartographer for Australia's Ministry of Lands. According to Oliphant, art was an early interest. He was drawing constantly by the age of five and spent a couple years in art school after high school. In 1953, he joined the *Adelaide News* as a copy boy and "press artist" charged with drawing weather maps. Three years later he became the cartoonist for the *Adelaide Advertiser*, a job that combined his love for art with an interest in political cartoons fostered by his father. In 1964, he immigrated to the United States to escape what he described a stifling, oppressive editorial environment. As he put it, "In 10 years cartooning there, I couldn't get anything controversial in the paper. To get anything done I had to leave." An artistic artifact of his days of dealing with conservative, intrusive Australian editors is his alter ego, the miniature penguin Puck, who still expresses his subversiveness by delivering the final word from the corners of his cartoons. In retrospect, he explained that the editors may not have realized that he was "trying to subvert their system and say something in my own words. But the bird became very popular and became a regular element of my cartoons."

Just one example of the way Puck adds an extra element of humor to Oliphant's cartoons can be illustrated through a 1972 drawing published upon Truman's death. The drawing pokes fun at Truman's well known forthrightness by portraying a confrontation between Truman and St. Peter at the gates of heaven: As Truman

tosses a harp over his shoulder with grumpy indignation, St. Peter leans back toward his assistant with an expression of weary resignation to ask, “See what you can do about digging up a piano” (a reference to Truman’s hobby of playing the piano). In the bottom left-hand corner, Puck warns an angel, “And you just better like his playing!”

Within a year of his arrival in the United States, Oliphant was a nationally syndicated editorial cartoonist working at the *Denver Post*. He then drew for the *Washington Star* from 1975 until it folded in 1981. Since then, unlike most syndicated cartoonists, Oliphant has not been affiliated with a newspaper; instead he works directly for the Universal Press Syndicate.

A curator who coordinated a 1998 exhibition of Oliphant’s work at the Library of Congress characterized him as a “fine artist who happens to be a cartoonist rather than a cartoonist who happens to be a fine artist.” In addition to his syndicated panels, Oliphant produces political sculptures (wax busts and bronze sculptures), abstract oil paintings, lithography, and monotypes. In 1998, a collection of his sculptures of seven American presidents, each less than a foot tall, was featured in a national traveling exhibition. The tour included a bust of former President Gerald Ford with a quizzical expression on his face and a small plastic bandage on his head and a bronze of former President George Bush playing horseshoes that one critic described as “a large almost insect-like figure . . . all thinned-out arms, torso, and legs.” Oliphant’s self-described artistic routine involves spending his mornings drawing cartoons and his afternoons painting, sculpting, and printmaking. Although largely self-taught, Oliphant took three years of drawing classes in the 1980s at the Corcoran School of Art in Washington D.C. He also travels to New York City monthly to participate in a drawing group that works with live models. Among his artistic idols are painter Edgar Degas, English cartoonist Ronald Searle, and French artist and political cartoonist Honore Daumier.

Among his many awards, Oliphant holds a Pulitzer Prize, awarded in 1967. The legendary account of how he won it is a testament to his bluntness and honesty. Oliphant recounted his prizewinning strategy as follows: he sought out a book of past Pulitzer winners and noted that they were all “very jingoistic sorts of cartoons.” Using that book as a guide, he found one “very patriotic jingoistic cartoon” that he had done earlier in the year and included it among his 11 entries. The cartoon portrays North Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh carrying the corpse of a Viet Cong soldier, with a caption that reads, “They won’t get us to the conference table . . . will they?” The Committee selected it as their winner. Another infamous tale reveals a self-proclaimed tendency to vote for politicians he despises because they provide the most material for his cartoons. Confirming this old story in a 1998 interview, Oliphant explained, “Of course I voted for Reagan, who would want to draw Walter Mondale for four years?”

—Courtney Bennett

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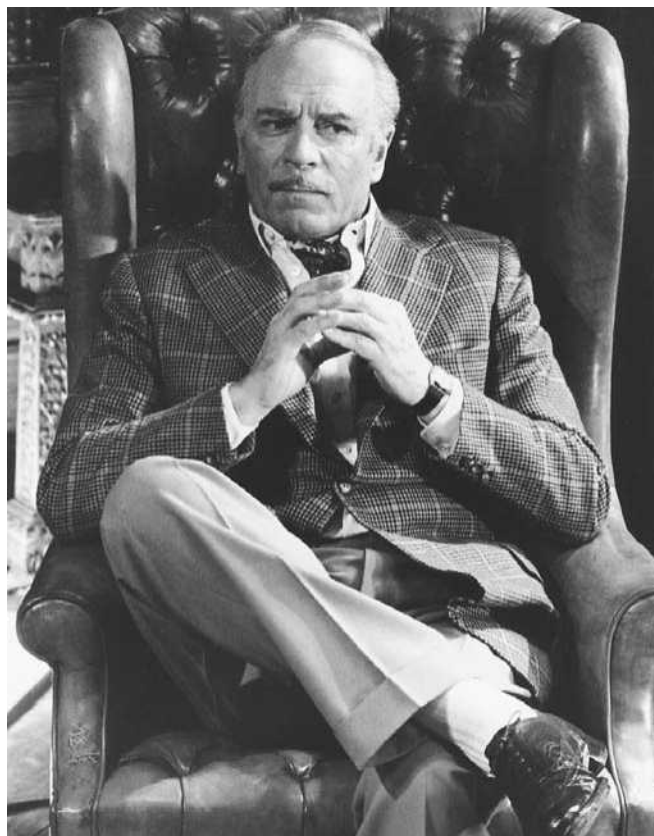
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## Olivier, Laurence (1907-1989)

Hailed as the greatest actor of his time, Laurence Olivier reflected the twentieth century definition of the consummate actor. He starred in hundreds of roles on stage and on screen, was fundamental in establishing Great Britain’s Royal National Theatre, and wrote one of acting’s seminal texts *On Acting*. In addition, Olivier was a successful director, writer, and producer, credited as the first to bring Shakespeare to the silver screen. Olivier’s persona on and off the stage led to his widespread acceptance as one of the finest actors and most popular personalities the world has known.

Laurence Kerr Olivier was born to a family of churchmen and schoolmasters in the town of Dorking, Surrey, England, his father being a parson. Much of his life would be shaped by the death of his mother, Agnes Louise Crookenden, who died of cancer in 1920. Olivier would later write of his mother, “I’ve been looking for her



Laurence Olivier

ever since.” His father encouraged him to be an actor and by age 9 he was playing Brutus in *Julius Caesar* and Julia in *Twelfth Night* at All Saints School. He attended the Central School of Speech Training and Dramatic Art in 1924. It was there that he began his passion for creating roles through the use of makeup. Olivier refuted method-acting techniques and preferred a character-driven acting style. “I discovered the protective shelter of nose-putty and enjoyed a pleasurable sense of relief and relaxation when some character part called for a sculptural addition to my face,” he wrote in *Confessions of an Actor*, “affording me the relief of an alien character and enabling me to avoid anything so embarrassing as self-representation.”

Olivier’s professional stage acting career spanned 48 years, beginning with the Lena Ashwell Players in 1925 and concluding in 1973 at the Royal National Theatre. During that time he acted and directed many of the classics of the theatre. He was a member of Lena Ashwell Players (1925-26), Birmingham Repertory Theatre Company (1926-27), Old Vic Company (1937-49), and Director of the National Theatre Company (1962-73). His most memorable stage performance was in the National Theatre Company’s 1964 production of Shakespeare’s *Othello*. In his text, *On Acting*, he would write “I am Othello. . . . He belongs to no one else, he belongs to me. When I sigh, he sighs. When I laugh, he laughs. When I cry, he cries.”

Olivier’s first foray into film came in 1930, but his first major success was in William Wyler’s *Wuthering Heights* in 1939. Despite his roles in popular films of the time, his greatest success was his film adaptation of Shakespeare’s *Henry V* (1946) in which he was producer, director, and star. The success of the picture led to his Academy Award winning film *Hamlet* (1948) and *Richard III* (1955). As the first director/producer to successfully bring Shakespeare to the screen, Olivier re-introduced mainstream culture to the works of Shakespeare and led to a revitalization of the classics in the modern age. Olivier would act many more Shakespearean roles in film and television including *Othello* (1966) and *King Lear* (1983).

Olivier married three times: to actress Jill Esmond in 1930; to actress Vivien Leigh in 1940; and to actress Joan Plowright in 1961. He fathered two sons and two daughters. He would later say that Plowright filled the place left so long empty by the death of his mother. During the last years of his life Olivier would play roles that were considered beneath him and he was plagued by a series of painful illnesses. His health forced his retirement in 1986, yet he wrote two revealing books before his death: *Confessions of an Actor* (1982) and *On Acting* (1986). Olivier was buried in Westminster Abbey beside the Shakespeare Memorial and the graves of King Henry V and Henry Irving.

Few personalities have made an impression on the world as did that of Sir Laurence Olivier. He left an indelible mark on the world of theatre, film, and television to which many aspire. His legacy has inspired directors such as Franco Zeffereilli and Kenneth Branagh to bring Shakespeare’s plays to contemporary audiences. Perhaps Director Richard Eyre put it best when he said “we shall never see his like again.”

—Michael Najjar

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## Olmos, Edward James (1947—)

Guy D. Garcia wrote in *Time* (1988) that Edward James Olmos is not only “possibly the best Hispanic-American actor of his generation, but one of the best performers working today.” Edward James Olmos, however, did not have Hollywood success and greatness served to him on a platter. He was born and raised by in the poor, working-class Boyle Heights section of East Los Angeles. Fortunately, at a young age Olmos avoided drugs and gangs by throwing himself into baseball; it was only at baseball games that he saw his father. By his late teens, however, it wasn’t baseball that beckoned, but rock ‘n’ roll. After graduating from Montebello High School, a longhaired Olmos not only attended junior college, but was the lead vocalist for the band Pacific Ocean. Although Olmos eventually transferred to California State University, Los Angeles, and pursued a degree in sociology, his interest in drama led him to drop out and try his hand at acting. He appeared in several small productions around



Edward James Olmos

Los Angeles and eventually landed bit parts on *Kojak* and *Hawaii Five-O*. Soon after Olmos made \$89 playing a nonspeaking role in the low-budget *Aloha, Bobby and Rose* (1975), he starred in the successful independent Chicano feature *Alambrista!* (1977). Thanks to much hard work and a Tony Award nomination for his role as *el pachuco* in the Broadway production of Luis Valdez's musical *Zoot Suit*, doors began to open. In 1982 he appeared as the Mexican-Asian detective in Ridley Scott's blockbuster *Blade Runner*, and in 1984 he became known to television audiences as Lieutenant Martin Castillo of *Miami Vice*—a role that won him an Emmy. In 1987 Olmos was nominated for an Academy Award for his role as Jaime Escalante, the East Los Angeles *barrio* math teacher in the widely acclaimed *Stand and Deliver* (1987). He also received critical praise for his acting in *Mi Familia* (1995), *Selena* (1997), and *The Disappearance of Garcia Lorca* (1997). Among his peers Olmos is respected for his talent, as well as his dedication to perfecting his roles. For example, he studied the tape-recorded speech patterns of the real-life Jaime Escalante for hours and gained over 40 pounds to resemble him.

While Olmos is a working actor willing to play anyone from a Greek to an American Indian steelworker, he is actively committed to portray characters in stories about Chicano lives, culture, and history. He formed the production company YOY to produce such films as *The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez* (1982)—the true story of a Tejano farmer (played by Olmos) brutally victimized by the Texas Rangers in the early part of the twentieth century. Olmos not only produced but directed and starred in *American Me* (1992)—a powerful cautionary tale of Chicano gang life. Finally, Olmos's commitment to the Chicano community extends beyond his work in film. Understanding the importance of promoting positive Chicano male role models, he regularly visits and gives lectures on crime and education at public schools, hospitals, Indian reservations, libraries, prisons, and colleges across the country. After the Rodney King riots in April 1992, Olmos was out with a broom helping to clean up the streets. Actor and activist, Edward James Olmos has offered disenfranchised members of society a vision of life's possibilities.

—Frederick Luis Aldama

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## Olsen, Tillie (1913—)

Tillie Olsen has given voice to constituencies that have traditionally been unrepresented in literature, particularly working-class women. Influenced by her socialist parents, Olsen joined the Young Communist League in 1931 and embarked on a career of political activism. Her first short story, "The Iron Throat" (1934), was published in *Partisan Review* and reappeared as the first chapter to *Yonnondio*, an uncompleted novel manuscript that she rediscovered in 1973. As this lapse indicates, Olsen's artistic career was interrupted, primarily by the exigencies of motherhood and poverty. She poignantly reflected on the gender politics of her forced sabbatical in *Silences* (1978). A fellowship to Stanford University enabled her to resume writing in 1957, when she began a collection of short fiction, *Tell Me a Riddle* (1961). The title piece earned the O. Henry Award for the year's outstanding short story. In addition to writing, Olsen has played a

prominent role in recovering previously unheralded women authors, including Rebecca Harding Davis, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and Agnes Smedley.

—Bryan Garman

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## Olympics

Among the most potent of popular culture heroes is the athlete. Throughout history, the athlete has frequently been said to symbolize the best of an individual culture, as a uniquely human manifestation of beauty, valor, and physical prowess. Over the course of the last century, the modern Olympics have provided the greatest international stage for the creation of the athlete hero. In two-week competitions featuring men and women from around the world, Olympians come together in a gathering of the best athletes from each country. Hosted every four years by a different country, the world turns its attention not only to the individual competitors but also to the host nation, which invariably puts on a display of its artistic, cultural, and often political puissance. With the advent of television, the Olympics have become a global media event—a conscious stage for the creation of history. Peopled with heroes and villains, royalty and the common man, the Olympics have become one of the world's most anticipated rituals—a drama of victory, defeat, joy, and tragedy that captures the global imagination as perhaps no other event in contemporary society.

The modern Olympic Games, which were first held in Athens in 1896, were inspired by the ancient Olympic Festivals, which took place in the sacred sanctuary of Olympia on the Greek mainland, every four years from 776 B.C. until they were banned in 394 A.D. As both athletic and religious pageants, the Olympics were revered throughout Greece as essential displays of athleticism, beauty, and physical perfection. Attended by poets, writers, and artists, who lauded the athlete-heroes in paintings and in poetry, the ancient Olympic Festival became the most important of all Greek festivities.

The ancient Olympics lasted only five days and included chariot races, horse racing, the pentathlon, foot races, wrestling, and boxing, as well as two days of religious ceremonies and sacrifices. To compete in the ancient Olympics was the highest honor to which a Greek man could aspire. Victors were crowned with a wreath of olive branches and were assured fame and wealth for the rest of their lives and often immortality thereafter for, in the ancient Olympics, there were no second prizes, only winners.

Throughout the city-states of ancient Greece, athletes prepared for the Games in schools and clubs dedicated to training athletes. In order to qualify to compete in the Games themselves, athletes had to undergo strict training and testing, so as to ensure the absolute purity of the competitors. Additionally, the Olympic festival was an all-male domain. Women could neither compete nor observe the competitions on threat of death. So sacred were the Olympics that wars were known to cease during the festival. However, by the third century A.D., the widespread influence of Christianity had begun to undermine the influence of the Olympics, and by 394 A.D. the games were banned. But their legacy, as captured in literature and art would remain alive,



The closing ceremony for the 1984 Summer Olympic games in Los Angeles.

and would eventually captivate the imagination of a generation of young athletes almost 1,500 years later.

In the mid-nineteenth century, after hundreds of years of societal indifference to sports, athletic activities once again assumed a place of prominence in Europe and America. Scientists promoted sporting activities for the health and well-being of mankind and sporting clubs became popular gathering places for the upper classes. During the 1880s, a young Frenchman named Baron Pierre de Coubertin undertook a study of the impact of sports on society. As noted in *Chronicle of the Olympics*, de Coubertin “became convinced that exercise had to be the basis of sensible education. He was convinced that equal opportunity for all participants was a prerequisite for these competitions.” De Coubertin’s amateur ideal in his new “religion of sport” reached its apotheosis in his dream of reviving the ancient Olympic games. However, his idea initially met with little enthusiasm. But the persistent Frenchman recruited sport enthusiasts from Europe and the Americas and finally succeeded in organizing the first modern Olympic Games in Athens in 1896.

One hundred years later, in 1996, Juan Antonio Samaranch, president of the International Olympic Committee, wrote, “When Coubertin established the International Olympic Committee in 1894 in Paris, his goal was to encourage a better understanding among nations through the linking of sport, education, art, and culture.”

However, the first Olympic Games were not particularly well-organized, as amateur athletes from Europe and the Americas gathered in Athens for the first “international sporting competition,” most of them having arrived in Greece under their own steam. Approximately 200 men from fourteen countries competed in nine events; however, most of the participants were Greek. Winners were awarded an olive branch, a certificate, and a silver medal while the next two runners-up received a laurel sprig along with a copper medal. Despite the fact that the participants were mostly Greek, the United States won more medals than any other country. The Greeks, however, were triumphant in the most symbolic event of the first Olympiad—the recreation of the ancient Greek run by a messenger following the battle of Marathon. A shepherd named Spyridon Louis won the 26-mile race and was hailed as a national hero.

Greece hoped to host all of the Olympic games, as they had done in the past. But political unrest made that impossible. Thus, in 1900, the Games were brought to de Coubertin’s homeland and held in Paris. Public interest in the event, however, was almost non-existent because the Olympiad was merely a part of the World’s Fair taking place in Paris. Four years later, the Games traveled to the United States, where they were also subsumed by the World’s Fair in St. Louis, Missouri. In St. Louis, however, for the first time athletes paraded in an opening ceremony and winners were awarded gold,



silver, and bronze medals. But it wasn't until 1908, when the Olympics were staged as an event in their own right in London that the public really began to take notice.

Four years later, the Fifth Olympiad would become the model upon which future Games would be based. Held in Stockholm, featuring athletes from all the continents of the world, 2,547 athletes from 28 countries competed in the brilliantly organized two-week event. Women were now competing as well and the opening day parade was a truly international pageant. From the Stockholm Olympics emerged the first global sports hero—Jim Thorpe, a Native American from Oklahoma won both the pentathlon and the decathlon. Another star for the American team was swimmer Duke Kahanamoku, descended from the Hawaiian royal family, who would go on to popularize surfing around the world.

The modern Olympic Games had finally caught on, but World War I prevented the 1916 Olympiad. When they resumed in Antwerp in 1920, the spirit of reconciliation that enveloped Europe transformed the Games into a symbolic spectacle. At the opening ceremony, doves were released and one competitor took the Olympic oath on behalf of all of his fellow athletes, pledging to participate in the Games "in the true spirit of sportsmanship." A new Olympic flag was introduced. The white banner featuring five interlocking colored circles symbolized the unity of the five continents. The star of the Games was Finnish runner Paavo Nurmi, who took home four medals—three gold and one silver.

Throughout the first twenty-four years of the modern Olympics, various sports were added, such as diving, rowing, yachting, and cycling, while others such as tug of war, cricket, and lacrosse were discontinued. Throughout the history of the modern Olympics, various sports would come and go, but the major events would remain track and field, gymnastics, swimming and diving, wrestling, boxing, and weightlifting, sailing and rowing, and equestrian events.

During this first quarter century of the Olympics, athletes who participated in winter sports had largely been excluded. In 1920, ice skating and ice hockey were included in the Antwerp Games, but a movement was afoot to create a separate Winter Olympics. In 1924, an International Winter Sports Week was held in Chamonix, France, but it wasn't until four years later in St. Moritz that the first official Winter Games took place. During the mid-1920s, France seemed to hold the monopoly on the Olympics, as the Summer Games of 1924 once again were held in Paris. There the handsome American swimmer Johnny Weissmuller won four medals and would later parlay his status as Olympic champion into a Hollywood movie career. Because the crux of the Olympics was to promote amateur sports, the 1924 Games would be the last to include tennis, until the sport was reintroduced in Seoul in 1988.

Four years later, the Winter Games would officially capture the public imagination as fifteen-year-old Sonja Henie captured the first of her three gold medals in ice skating. She, too, would eventually find her way to Hollywood through her Olympic fame. The 1928 Amsterdam Summer Games introduced another symbolic Olympic act—the lighting of the Olympic flame brought from Greece. And, finally, women were allowed to compete in track and field events. Four years later, the Games would return to the United States for the first time in twenty-eight years, with the Winter Games in Lake Placid, New York, and the Summer Games in Los Angeles, California. One of the stars of the Los Angeles Games was a woman who would go on to become one of the world's first professional female athletes, the inimitable Babe Didrikson.

Four years later, both the Winter and Summer Olympics were held in Germany, where Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party used the Games as a showcase for their new regime. Politics entered the Olympics with a vengeance when German emigrants living in the United States tried to force a boycott of the Games. Although their efforts failed, the IOC felt compelled to step in and demand that Jewish athletes not be excluded from German teams. In the Summer Games, Hitler staged an immense spectacle glorifying the Aryan race. But the star of the Games was an African-American athlete named Jesse Owens who, to Hitler's ire, won four gold medals in track and field.

Although the IOC had done their best to ensure that politics did not interfere with sports, World War II prevented the staging of another Olympics until 1948, when athletes from around the world once again met in St. Moritz for the Winter Games and in London for the Summer Games. Both Germany and Japan were prevented from competing in these first post-war Games.

In the years following World War II, the Olympics gradually grew in size and spectacle. Having lived through the tragedy of a global conflict, athletes and fans alike warmed to the idea of a peacetime gathering of nations. As if to exemplify this desire, a truly international collection of men and women rose to stardom through the ensuing games, from Czechoslovakia's brilliant distance runner, Emil Zápotek, to America's world-class ice skater, Dick Button, and unmatched decathlete, Bob Matthias, to Australian swimming phenomenon, Dawn Fraser. But the biggest change in the makeup of the Olympic Games was the emergence of the powerhouse teams from the Soviet bloc, whose athletes would dominate the Games for almost forty years. Their presence would guarantee the often-unwelcome shadow of politics that would cloud the Games for years to come.

During the 1960s, television brought increasingly global audiences to the Olympics, quickly making stars out of winners, losers, and charismatic participants—even if only for Andy Warhol's proverbial fifteen minutes. Wilma Rudolph, who had overcome polio to become the top woman sprinter in the 1960 Games in Rome, soon became a household name in America, as did boxers Cassius Clay (soon to become Muhammad Ali), Joe Frazier, and George Foreman. Certain sports seemed to gain in popularity as television allowed them to be viewed to their best effect for the first time. Downhill skiing was one such sport, whose stars, such as Jean-Claude Killy of France, would become internationally famous. But television also created a new arena for political exploitation, and the Mexico City Olympics of 1968 became as famous for the high-altitude record set there by long jumper Bob Beamon as for the black-gloved fists raised on the winners' podium by African-American sprinters Tommie Smith and John Carlos. But it wasn't until the 1972 Summer Games in Munich that politics would virtually succeed in completely dominating sports.

Although the 1972 Olympics created huge stars, such as swimmer Mark Spitz, winner of seven gold medals, and seventeen-year-old Soviet gymnast, Ludmilla Tourischeva, who virtually single-handedly catapulted women's gymnastics into the Olympic spotlight, the Munich Games will undoubtedly be most remembered for the tragic kidnapping and killing of members of the Israeli team by Arab terrorists. In ensuing Games, politics seemed to creep into public consciousness more and more, particularly as Cold War tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union seemed to heighten. The 1980 Winter Games were capped off with the patriotic fervor surrounding the upset of the Soviet ice hockey team by an inexperienced American squad. Six months later, the United States boycotted the Moscow Games to protest the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Four years later, the Soviet bloc countries would retaliate by boycotting the Los Angeles Games.

As television audiences for the Olympics swelled around the world, the media latched on to the sports that seemed to garner the best ratings. Women's gymnastics continued to grow in popularity, assuring young stars such as fourteen-year-old Romanian phenom Nadia Comaneci, American Mary Lou Retton, and the brilliant Soviet squads, plenty of air time. Track and field continued in popularity, with Edwin Moses, Carl Lewis, Florence Griffith-Joyner and Jackie Joyner-Kersey garnering fame and fortune from their Olympic wins. In the Winter Games, ice skating continued to be the ratings winner, with winners such as Britain's Torville and Dean, America's Scott Hamilton, Brian Boitano, and Kristi Yamaguchi, Germany's Katerina Witt, and Japan's Midori Ito finding that an Olympic gold guaranteed them a lucrative professional career.

But in fact, the line between amateur and professional athletics was becoming blurrier every year and, in 1981, the term "Olympic amateur" was stricken from the Olympic Charter, allowing each individual sports association to decide athletic eligibility for the Games. This new ruling seemed to open the door for a new kind of Olympiad and, in 1992, the American basketball team was dubbed "The Dream Team," when it featured stars from the NBA instead of amateur athletes. Since then, other professional athletes have begun to compete, including tennis and hockey players.

Despite these changes or, as the media would claim, because of them, the Olympics continues to attract ever-larger television audiences, eager to watch the drama of the Games unfold every four years. From the ever-grander spectacle of the Opening of the Games, which provide each host country with the opportunity to show off their cultural contributions to the world, to the dramatic human stories that inevitably unfold at each Olympiad, the Games are ready-made for the media. In fact, the Winter and Summer Games are no longer held during the same year so that television audiences can recover from the Olympic media saturation over a two-year period. Nonetheless, new stars continue to emerge, many of whom parlay their Olympic glory into professional opportunities and endorsements. Although ice skaters such as Tara Lipinski and Ilia Kulik, track stars such as Michael Johnson, and downhill skiers such as Alberto Tomba and Picabo Street remain among the most popular Olympic athletes, the Games inevitably produce heroes in a variety of sports, from diver Greg Louganis to swimmer Janet Evans to freestyle mogul skier Johnny Mosely.

Because the modern Olympics have become an international media event, they are inevitably subject to the pendulum swings of modern politics. From the bombing in Atlanta in 1996 to the scandal of the Salt Lake City Organizing Committee for the 2002 Winter Games, the Olympics continue to be rocked by controversy and confusion. Every year, American television audiences complain about the escalating commercialization of the games and the increasingly jingoistic coverage by the networks. But each year, audiences continue to come back for more. In our media-saturated age, when so much of what we view and read is filled with tragedy and despair, sports in general, and particularly the Olympics, which still remain largely free from the money controversies swirling around professional athletics, continue to attract audiences who crave the rare, unscripted moments of heroism, athletic prowess, physical beauty, and acts of bravery that can still be said to exemplify the best of the human condition.

—Victoria Price

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## Omnibus

Produced and funded by the Radio and Television Workshop of the Ford Foundation under the direction of Robert Saudek, *Omnibus* introduced Sunday afternoon and evening commercial television audiences in the 1950s to a wide variety of programs of cultural distinction. Hosted by Alistair Cooke, the BBC's (British Broadcasting Corporation) American correspondent, the 90 minute *Omnibus* was carried by the CBS network from 1952-1956; by ABC from 1956-1957; and by NBC from 1957-1959. NBC continued *Omnibus* on an irregular basis during the 1960-1961 season, and ABC revived it briefly in 1980. Notable segments included James Agee's *Abraham Lincoln—The Early Years*, which appeared in installments during the 1952-1953 season; Orson Welles' television debut in *King Lear* in 1953; and concerts conducted by Leonard Bernstein during the 1954-1956 seasons. *Omnibus* helped establish an elite audience for programming later carried by PBS (Public Broadcasting Service).

—Paul Ashdown

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## On the Road

Jack Kerouac's 1957 novel was a mostly autobiographical travelogue of cross-country trips that Kerouac took during the late 1940s. *On the Road's* characters were thinly-disguised Beat luminaries, including Allen Ginsberg, William S. Burroughs, and Kerouac himself who—as narrator Sal Paradise—reflected the American fascination with road travel. The road's attraction is expressed throughout America's literature, popular culture, and twentieth-century life. *On the Road* fostered an alternative view of American life, preceding the counterculture of the 1960s; this unintended effect on Kerouac's part was partially responsible for his reclusiveness during his later years.

The book covers four road trips, mainly between New York and San Francisco, with several stops in Denver, and detours into Chicago, New Orleans, Virginia, and Mexico. The catalyst for the book was Neal Cassady, a mutual friend of Kerouac's and Ginsberg's, whose character was named Dean Moriarty. A fast-talking, charismatic womanizer from Denver, Cassady had a love of joyriding in stolen cars, which put him through Denver's reform schools. In *On the Road*, Sal idolizes Dean (as Kerouac idolized Cassady) as a swaggering, cowboy-like man of action: "(Dean's criminality) was a wild

yea-saying overburst of American joy; it was Western, the west wind, an ode from the Plains.”

Kerouac’s book sparked controversy by featuring the underside of American life in the 1950s: frenetic travel, hit-and-run romances, bop jazz, liquor, marijuana, all-night diners, and hitchhiking. The book begins with Sal, the novelist-to-be who lives with his aunt in New Jersey, travelling to Denver to see Dean. This trip initiates a series of cross-country trips by car, bus, and hitchhiking. One memorable sequence finds Dean and Sal travelling east from Denver to Chicago in a Cadillac they are hired to drive. Making the trip in 17 hours, the car makes it to Chicago in worse shape than when it left from Denver.

The actual writing of the book provided *On the Road* with a built-in legend. Kerouac loved promoting the story about how, in 1951, he wrote the book in three weeks, typing continuously onto a 120-foot roll of teletype paper while on benzedrine. Although the story is true, in actuality Kerouac began *On the Road* in November 1948, producing several versions in between then and the completion of his manuscript in 1951. The teletype roll was “the outcome of a fastidious process of outlining, chapter drafting, and trimming—began long before April of 1951,” according to Douglas Brinkley in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

The impetus for the continuous roll developed out of Kerouac’s dissatisfaction with his early manuscripts. Kerouac wrote, in excerpted diaries published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, that “All along I’ve felt ‘Road’ was not enough for a full-scale effort of my feelings in prose: too thin, too hung up on unimportant characters, too unfeeling. I have the feelings but not the proper vehicle as yet.” Conventional prose failed to capture the exhilaration that Kerouac felt for the open road. In 1950, he experienced an epiphany after receiving a letter from Cassady that some scholars call “The Joan Letter.” A thousand-word rambling confessional, Cassady’s letter described his visit to his hospitalized girlfriend Joan after her suicide attempt, and a sexual episode that required his escape by climbing out of a window. Neal’s autobiographical style “convinced Kerouac that the best way to write his own novel,” wrote biographer Ann Charters in *Kerouac*, “was to tell the story of his trips cross-country with Cassady as if he were writing a letter to a friend, using first-person narration.” Kerouac soon outlined his style in the “Essentials of Spontaneous Prose,” which were guidelines for a form that reflected the improvisational fluidity of a jazz musician: “Blow as deep as you want—write as deeply, fish as far down as you want . . . then reader cannot fail to receive telepathic shock and meaning.”

Published on September 5, 1957, with a second printing scheduled 15 days later, the book was on the best-seller list for five weeks late that year. By the 1990s, the book’s sales had reached 3 million copies. *On the Road*’s auspicious reception was deceptive; Kerouac would later be savaged by reviewers. Upon its release, the *New York Times* heralded *On the Road* as “an authentic work of art,” but the following Sunday, in its regular review section, the newspaper panned it. Kerouac was attacked for his aesthetic philosophy: Truman Capote quipped that Kerouac’s fiction was not writing but typing. Other reviewers were scandalized by the book’s spotlight on characters who were drifters and misfits. The *Washington Post* dismissed *On the Road* as a chronicle of “the frantic fringe,” while *Time* magazine vilified the book for its “degeneracy.”

While literature’s self-appointed guardians viewed *On the Road* as a barbarian storming the gates of literature’s manor, they ignored the book’s deep connection to uniquely American themes. “Whenever spring comes to New York,” wrote Kerouac in his misunderstood

book, “I can’t stand the suggestions of the land that come blowing over the river from New Jersey and I’ve got to go. So I went.” The automobile is deeply ingrained in twentieth-century American life. “Long drives and long drivers,” proclaimed *Car & Driver* magazine in 1995, “will be part of us while roads and automobiles still exist. The elemental urge to climb into a favorite automobile and blast away, unfettered, toward a distant destination lies deep within us all.” *On the Road* recalled the Mississippi travels of Mark Twain’s Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn, and the fascination with the road in the poetry of Walt Whitman.

Kerouac became a precursor to the writers of the 1960s and 1970s—like Norman Mailer, Hunter Thompson, and Tom Wolfe—who were active participants in the stories they covered. By the 1990s, reviewers began to favorably reappraise *On the Road*: “Kerouac’s work represents the most extensive experiment in language and literary form undertaken by an American writer of his generation,” declared the *New York Times* in 1995. For many readers, however, the emotional response to *On the Road* will always remain foremost in their judgment: “No book,” Ann Charters simply stated, “has ever caught the feel of speeding down the broad highway in a new car, the mindless joyousness of ‘joyriding’ like *On the Road*.”

—Daryl Umberger

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## *On the Waterfront*

*On the Waterfront* (1954), a riveting drama of labor union corruption on the New York City docks, was directed by Elia Kazan and won eight Academy Awards; it has been a classic of the American cinema for nearly half a century. Reasons for its enduring appeal include a taut script by Budd Schulberg, magnetic performances by an all-star cast featuring Marlon Brando, a compelling score by Leonard Bernstein, stark black-and-white photography by Boris Kaufman, and, above all, transcendent themes that resonate across the decades with the American experience.

The film tells the story of Terry Malloy (Brando), a dock worker and former prize fighter, who turns against the union’s mob leaders, including his brother Charlie (Rod Steiger) and John Friendly (Lee J. Cobb), by testifying in a federal Crime Commission investigation.



Marlon Brando in a scene from *On the Waterfront*.

Terry's inner moral struggle is played out for the love of a good woman, Edie Doyle (Eva Marie Saint), with encouragement from Father Barry (Karl Malden), modelled on crusading waterfront priest, Father John Corrigan.

Brando brings complexity to his portrayal of the confused prize fighter, striving for decency and dignity despite pressure from his brother to keep silent about the union's criminal activities. The Oscar-winning performance is one of Brando's most memorable, conveying the subtle emotions of a simple man enmeshed by irresistible forces.

The movie reflects the historical conditions of the 1950s in subject matter and theme. Author Budd Schulberg (*What Makes Sammy Run*) based the screenplay on a newspaper expose of labor conditions on the New York waterfront. Men jostled for work every morning in the infamous "shape up," forming a horseshoe around foremen and vying for favors. This degrading system thrived on nepotism and violence. *On the Waterfront's* realistic subject matter, captured by moody black-and-white photography and a score with harsh jazz elements, places the film in an emergent realist genre of filmmaking that was turning away from the light musicals and romantic comedies of the 1930s and 1940s, to dramas about social problems such as Kazan's earlier treatments of anti-Semitism (*Gentleman's Agreement*) and racism (*Pinky*).

The film's theme rationalizes Kazan's appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) as a friendly witness. Kazan renounced his involvement in the Communist Party and gave up the names of Hollywood "fellow travelers." The hearings reflected a fierce ideological struggle, as a political movement that had held enormous intellectual appeal during the hard times

of the Depression came under suspicion from Cold War fears about Communist Russian aggression and nuclear proliferation. The HUAC inquisition ruined careers, divided friends, and sent to prison ten well-known directors and writers for refusing to cooperate. Terry Malloy, in the words of Peter Biskind, "is the informer as hero." Terry's renunciation of his union "family," personified by his brother Charlie, valorizes Kazan's decision (also that of Schulberg) as the film sorts through issues of loyalty to family and friends versus duty to one's country—silence versus informing.

The film remains a favorite long after waterfront corruption and the HUAC investigations have faded from fans' minds, reaching out to new generations because it captures cultural concerns that transcend 1954 realities. In addition to the perennial dilemmas people confront in negotiating issues of personal versus national loyalty and silence versus honesty, the story embodies the heroic American vision of the good individual struggling against dehumanizing civilization, moral redemption, the Cain-and-Abel parable, and the frustration of personal failure when confronted with the forces of mass society.

Terry is a hero in the American tradition of rugged individualism, exemplified by the cowboy who rides into town, fights the outlaws, saves corrupt society from itself, then rides off into the sunset. After testifying against the mob, Terry reclaims his job in a dramatic fight. After taking a beating from mob goons, he dispatches union boss John Friendly into the river. Terry restores order to the longshore community as he, badly battered like a crucified Jesus, leads the men back to work at the urging of Father Barry. It is an ambiguous ending, critics have argued, as the huge warehouse doors close on Terry's back, suggesting entrapment in the processes of mass society as much as triumphant resolution.

Terry's decision to testify exacts a high price. He nearly loses the love of Edie Doyle when he reveals he played an unwitting role in the mob murder of her brother, Joey, killed to prevent his appearance before the Crime Commission. The plot creates a situation where "informing on criminal associates is the only honorable course of action for a just man," Biskind writes, and it is the only way that Terry can redeem himself in his own eyes, those of Edie, and his fellow dock workers.

Terry also pays for his choice when the mob kills his brother, Charlie, a variation on the ancient Cain-and-Abel theme. This exploration of fraternal conflict provides the set-piece of the movie. In a scene filmed in the tight confines of the back seat of a car that allows no escape, Terry and Charlie come to grips with their relationship with virtuoso performances by Brando and Steiger. Terry condemns Charlie for asking him to throw a fight, ending his chance at the title. Hemmed in by the imposing forces of corrupt civilization and family pressure, Terry settled for "A couple of bucks and a one-way ticket to Palookaville. It was you, Charlie. You was my brother. You should have looked out for me instead of making me take them dives for the short end money."

When Charlie demurs, Terry continues with the words that are most closely identified with the film: "You don't understand! I could've been a contender. I could've had class and been somebody." As spoken by Brando, the words have become a hackneyed cultural emblem of the film, yet remain a poignant cry of the little guy overwhelmed by the forces of family and mass society. They also express a cultural excuse for stifled ambition and dreams gone sour that places blame outside the self. Terry's words remain as timely and apt as when they first impressed audiences in 1954.

—E. M. I. Sefcovic

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## Onassis, Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy (1929-1994)

Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy Onassis, wife of President John F. Kennedy, captivated the world as she evolved from political wife to widow to pop-culture icon and became famous in her own right as Jackie O. Jacqueline was complex, creative, elegant, intelligent, and ambitious; qualities which endeared her to many and which ensured her a place in the history of twentieth century American celebrities.

Jacqueline was born to wealthy parents, John (Black Jack) Vernou Bouvier, III and Janet Lee, in East Hampton, New York, on July 28, 1929. In 1947, she was dubbed "debutante of the year," and was the toast of East Coast society. Jacqueline's parents divorced in 1940, but her mother married wealthy Hugh Dudley Auchincloss, which permitted Jacqueline and her sister Lee to live on in wealth and privilege. She was educated at Vassar College, studied one year in France at the University of Grenoble and the Sorbonne, and graduated with a B.A. from George Washington University.

Jacqueline met John F. Kennedy while working as a photographer for the *Washington Times Herald*. They married September 12, 1953, at St. Mary's Church in Newport. She was a dutiful but stylish political wife whose celebrity status began when she became First Lady.

Jacqueline's White House days are remembered for her efforts at restoration and her impact on foreign dignitaries. In 1962, she gave a televised tour of the progress of restoring the White House. As First Lady, she presented herself with an image of grace and charm. She set fashion, most notably with the little pillbox hats she wore during her White House days. A favorite of many genre's artists, she was written into songs, discotheques were named for her, and Andy Warhol painted her portrait in a famous pop-art series.

She led the nation through the grief of President Kennedy's assassination with incredible composure and with an astute eye to history. She stood by in a bloodstained suit as President Lyndon

Johnson was sworn in on November 22, 1963. She planned the funeral pageantry; she appeared as a widow, dressed in black, with her children by her side. As a final tribute, she requested the eternal flame that burns at President Kennedy's grave site.

Interestingly, *Camelot*, the 1960 musical based on King Arthur and his Court, influenced Jacqueline and the Kennedy presidency. In 1995, the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston released the secret "Camelot Papers" of Jacqueline's five hour interview with author Theodore H. White a week after President Kennedy was assassinated. William Langley of the *Telegraph* reports that Jacqueline worked to have *Camelot* be identified with Kennedy's 1,000 day administration of youth and good fortune.

Jacqueline Kennedy transformed from the fairy tale widow of a fallen President to the status of a global celebrity after her marriage to Aristotle Onassis, the Greek shipping tycoon, in 1968. When Aristotle Onassis died in 1975, Jackie O. went to court to get the \$26 million that she said he would will her. After Onassis died, Jackie O. found a companion in a third wealthy individual, diamond merchant Maurice Tempelsman, who was married. Tempelsman quadrupled her fortune to an estimated \$200,000,000.

Jackie O. was a good mother to her children: Caroline, born November 27, 1957, and John, Jr., born November 25, 1960 and killed in a plane crash in July 1999. A third child, Patrick Bouvier, was born on August 7, 1963, and the nation mourned with her when he died two days later. Jackie developed an identity apart from Kennedy and Onassis when she began a career as a book editor, first at Viking Press in 1975 and later at Doubleday in 1978. A wealthy woman, she did not have to work, and yet she held her job at Doubleday until her death. Jackie O. died of non-Hodgkin's lymphoma at the age of 64 on May 19, 1994.

Jackie was a firm believer in her right to privacy, but her fame coincided with a tremendous growth of media that made her personal struggle for seclusion more difficult; more than 25 unauthorized biographies have been written about her. In death, as in life, Jackie O. cherished her privacy. She left behind a book she wrote, with instructions that it not be released for 100 years. She also left personal notes with her son John, instructing him to keep them private. Although she remains a private person, her historical sense of ceremony and dignity not only helped preserve a young assassinated president in the nation's memory, but also reserved for her a place in American history.

—Rosemarie Skaine

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Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy Onassis

## *One Day at a Time*

Norman Lear's *One Day at a Time* (1975-1984) explored the life of a liberated divorcee who took back her maiden name and found success without a husband. Ann Romano (Bonnie Franklin) married too young, divorced her husband, and took her two teenage daughters, who kept their father's name, from suburban Logansport to a tiny apartment in the big city of Indianapolis. The older daughter, 17-year-old Julie (Mackenzie Phillips), was stubborn, headstrong, and impetuous. Her sister, 15-year-old Barbara (Valerie Bertinelli) cracked wise, but was basically a good girl. The girls had all of the dating and school problems of most teenagers, but lived with only one parent, the feisty Ann, who had gone from her parents house to her husband's, and was now finally on her own.

Though developed by Lear, *One Day at a Time* was created by Allan Mannings and Whitney Blake, who had been a regular on the TV series *Hazel*. Originally called *All About Us*, the show became almost notorious for the casting of pert, freckle-faced redhead Franklin as a hot-tempered Italian woman. Like all Lear comedies, *One Day at a Time* tackled serious contemporary issues. The show focused on these issues and how they played out in an unconventional family structure. Early episodes focusing on Ann had her suburban friends worrying about her being alone and man-less. But Ann had men in her

life. The building superintendent, mustachioed Duane Schneider (Pat Harrington, Jr.), who fancied himself Don Juan with a pass key, soon developed a strong platonic relationship with Ann and became a sort of uncle to the kids. Ann did date, however. First she dated her divorce lawyer, a younger man, named David Kane (Richard Masur). She later incorporated partner and lover Nick Handris (Ron Rifkin) and his ten-year-old son, Alex (Glenn Scarpelli) into her life. Nick soon left the show, and—in one of the more contrived plot twists—gave Ann custody of Alex, even though he had a real mother in Chicago.

As youths, Julie ran away with her boyfriend, and Barbara tried to shed her good-girl image by running off with a platonic friend. As the series continued, Bertinelli's character made her a teen star at a time when Jodie Foster and Tatum O'Neal also played all-American tomboys. In 1981, when Bertinelli married rock musician Eddie Van Halen, CBS tried to keep it a secret, worrying that it would tarnish "Barbara's" image as the little sister or girlfriend everyone wanted. But Barbara soon grew old enough to marry dental student Mark Royer (Boyd Gaines). After the series ended, Bertinelli enjoyed success as a "women's movie" and mini-series regular. Phillips, daughter of the Mamas and the Papas leader John Phillips, developed chronic drug problems that forced *One Day at a Time's* writers the unenviable job of coming up with reasons for the now-skeletal and bug-eyed Julie to leave and return, culminating toward the end of the



Valerie Bertinelli (left) and Mackenzie Phillips in a scene from the television show *One Day at a Time*.

series with the character abandoning her husband Max (Michael Lembeck) and infant daughter.

*One Day at a Time* held a unique position in television as one of the first shows to feature a mother who had chosen to be single. Ann wasn't widowed, and her ex-husband, Ed (the occasionally-seen Joseph Campanella) wasn't an adulterous lout. Ann and Ed simply did not have a happy marriage. Ann was also TV's first prominent "Ms." One of Ann's bosses made a big deal out of calling her "M.S. Romano," as the rest of the country got used to using that new appellation. Ann's co-worker—and later business partner—Francine Webster (Shelley Fabares), represented a more strident version of a liberated woman. Unlike Ann, Francine was calculating, manipulative, and sexual. *One Day at a Time* did not conclude with a cancellation; it was ended when Franklin and Bertinelli decided not to return for another season. By the last season, Ann had become a successful advertising executive, remarried (her son-in-law Mark's father), and moved to London after receiving a great job offer. Julie was gone, and Barbara and her husband were starting a new life.

—Karen Lurie

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## *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*

Ken Kesey's first and best known novel, *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1962), the story of an unlikely redeemer who triumphs over the authoritarian "Combine" run by Big Nurse Ratched, became the credo of an entire generation of rebels; and in the late twentieth century it continues to command the interest of new generations of readers with its comedic virtuosity.

The novel's genesis seems to confirm Kesey's belief that life is a form of art. As a graduate student at Stanford University in the late 1950s, Kesey learned from a fellow student about experiments with "psychomimetic" drugs at the Veteran's Hospital in Menlo Park and volunteered to be a paid subject. Kesey—by his own admission in *Kesey's Garage Sale* (1973) "a jock, never even been drunk but that one night in my frat house before my wedding"—began taking government-administered LSD and other hallucinogens. When the original drug experiments ended, Kesey accepted a job as night attendant on the psychiatric unit at Menlo Park, where his access to the patients' medicines and the long stretches of time between ward checks led him to abandon his novel-in-progress about San Francisco's North Beach and to undertake a new work, about the plight of asylum inmates who defiantly assert their humanity against overwhelming forces.

Kesey claimed that peyote was the inspiration for the character of Chief Bromden, whose highly subjective and often hallucinatory first-person narration gives *Cuckoo's Nest* its metaphoric richness, its peculiar horror, and ultimately its emotional force. Chief, a hulking giant who survived not only the horrors of World War II but also the asylum's 200 or more electroshock therapy treatments, has been emasculated and dehumanized by Big Nurse and the "Combine." Reduced to an object of ridicule by the orderlies, who call him Chief Broom, Chief withdraws into a voluntary muteness. Only with the help of the newly admitted con man Randle Patrick ("Mack") McMurphy, who draws all of the inmates into his game of wits with Big Nurse, is Chief able to find his way back from "the fog," rediscover his manhood, and ultimately escape the hospital's confines to return to the world of nature he left behind.

McMurphy is like the Grail Knight who restores life to the wasteland: his eccentric behavior brings laughter back to the ward and serves as a liberating counter-therapy to Ratched's regimen of silence and fear, just as the friendly touch of his big hand, the opposite of Ratched's icy mothering, helps the men to regain their potency. In the asylum and on a day-long fishing trip, Mack forces them to appreciate the importance of solidarity and to exercise their new strength. Ratched, of course, recognizes the radical threat to her authority that McMurphy poses; in an act of symbolic castration, she arranges to have him lobotomized. But McMurphy's self-sacrifice only further empowers the inmates, who rebel against her tyranny and who ultimately break out—or sign themselves out—of the hospital, leaving her powerless over them.

Recognizing the tremendous cinematic potential of such a popular novel, actor Kirk Douglas bought the rights from Kesey in 1962 for \$18,000. Douglas, who had played McMurphy in Dale Wasserman's theatrical adaptation of *Cuckoo's Nest* (which ran briefly and unsuccessfully in late 1963 at the Cort Theatre in New York), originally intended to recreate the role on film himself. After numerous delays, however, he turned the rights over to his son, Michael Douglas, who co-produced the film with Saul Zaentz in 1975. Directed by Milos Forman and starring Jack Nicholson as



Jack Nicholson, sitting on Josip Elic's shoulders, and Will Sampson in a scene from the film *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*.

McMurphy and Louise Fletcher as Ratched, with Brad Dourif (Billy Bibbit), Sydney Lassick (Cheswick), Scatman Crothers (Turkle), and Danny DeVito (Martini) in supporting roles, the film proved to be a commercial and critical success, sweeping all four of the major Academy Awards—best picture, best director, best actor, and best actress—as well as the Oscar for best screenplay adapted from another medium (remarkably, it was the first film since *It Happened One Night* [1934] to win the “Big Four” awards.)

Kesey, originally hired to write the screenplay and then fired, successfully sued over the use of his name in the final version. Kesey was particularly displeased with the handling of the character of Chief: unlike the producers, who wanted a realistic depiction of institutional life (even to the point of casting a real psychiatrist as Dr. Spivey and several inmates as patients in minor roles), Kesey felt that the film needed Bromden's hallucinatory point-of-view. Indeed, contrary to Kesey's vision, the film's Bromden (Will Sampson) appears as a figure of lesser importance than McMurphy, and the Combine is never mentioned at all. Similarly, on film Ratched is far less monstrous than her counterpart in the novel; an attractive woman (albeit with a hairstyle suggesting two devil's horns) who is contemporary in age to McMurphy, she loses much of her mythic stature and at times seems more misguided than malicious and machine-like.

Forman's departures from the novel, however, are often as artistic as they are original. By moving some of the novel's ward scenes outdoors, he establishes a keen visual contrast between the claustrophobia of the institution and the freedom just beyond its walls. And his recurring use of windows, including the dark television

set that reflects the inmates' mounting insubordination, heightens the impact of Chief's escape at the film's end. Above all, Nicholson's brilliant depiction of McMurphy brings Kesey's manic, mythic hero to life.

—Barbara Tewa Lupack

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## *One Man's Family*

*One Man's Family* (1932-1959) was the granddaddy of a radio broadcasting genre that decades later would be dubbed the “prime time soap.” It was also arguably its era's most realistic portrayal of American family life. True, the fictional Barbour family saw its share of psychotic maniacs, international intrigue, even a case of amnesia as the years passed, but even the silliest plots were enacted with a sense of depth and history that eluded most of the series' contemporaries. Writer-director Carlton E. Morse remained the series' guiding hand for its entire 27-year run; the same actors essayed the key roles for years, even decades. And the stories they enacted faced head-on the realities of the day: war, death, the changing roles of gender and generations. The result was a series whose integrity, consistency, and sense of reality left it unparalleled in the history of broadcasting.

Patriarch Henry Barbour was, even at middle age, a curmudgeon: conservative, bullheaded, frequently wrong but never in doubt. Wife Fanny suffered Henry's tirades and flights of fancy, frequently with an exasperated cry of “That man!” Henry had no shortage of complaints; his own children seemed determined—if not destined—to make his life miserable. Eldest son Paul, a pilot, had been crippled in action in World War One; his ambivalence bordered on a bitterness that his father would not abide. Hazel was the oldest Barbour daughter, cut straight from her mother's mold: a sensible, straitlaced girl who seemed particularly stodgy in comparison with the other Barbour daughter—Claudia, who along with twin brother Cliff made up the least well-adjusted segment of the Barbour household. Cliff was a free spirit whose lack of ambition drove his father to distraction; Claudia was a spitfire, an uninhibited rebel whose antics led to trouble even in the series' opening episode on April 19, 1932. The youngest Barbour was Jack, a high-spirited teen as the series began.

The series was first broadcast to a limited network of NBC's West Coast affiliates, originating each week from San Francisco. It struck an immediate chord, proving so popular the series soon attracted a sponsor and was picked up for the full NBC network. Production moved to Los Angeles at mid-decade, and by 1940, *One Man's Family* stood near the top of the weekly ratings chart, its audience share approaching that of Jack Benny or Bob Hope. The series' fans, meanwhile, were unusually loyal—and outspoken. *One*



*Man's Family* won several "Favorite Drama" awards in the late 1930s; a 1935 sponsorship deal with a cigarette company was quickly nixed when listeners protested their wholesome family drama being bankrolled by such a nasty product as a cigarette!

The serial proceeded in top form as the Great Depression gave way to World War II, its huge audience following every Barbour trial and tribulation: romances, marriages, pregnancies, and the sudden deaths of many of the Barbour children's spouses. The family also was known for its fertility—Hazel gave birth to twins in 1933; some years later, Jack's wife Betty bore a set of triplets. The series suffered its share of wartime loss. When actress Kathleen Wilson (Claudia) got married and left the series in 1943, Morse shocked his audience by making the character a casualty of war; Claudia and two of her children were sent to the bottom of the ocean, the Nazis torpedoing their ocean liner. Claudia's husband was also killed in action. Actress Winifred Wolfe (who played Paul's adopted daughter Teddy) left in 1945, also to get married; her character was written out and eventually became an army nurse. When actor Page Gilman entered the service, his character Jack followed suit. For much of the war, Jack appeared periodically whenever actor Gilman was on leave; actor and character disappeared completely when Gilman shipped out for the Pacific in May 1945. Jack's goodbye to his family stands arguably as not only the finest episode of this series, but possibly the most wrenching, true-to-life radio dramatic presentation of the entire war.

The series was by this time an institution. Gilman's Jack returned from the service, and the Claudia character returned, too—from the dead, now portrayed by actress Barbara Fuller, with the explanation that Claudia had survived her ocean ordeal and spent the past two years in a Nazi concentration camp. When longtime sponsor Standard Brands abruptly dropped the series in early 1949, 75,000 angry fans flooded NBC with letters begging the network to keep the Barbours on the air. The show ran sponsorless for nearly a year; Miles Laboratories picked it up in February 1950. That June, in a risky but successful move, the series ended its 18-year weekly run and shifted into a nightly 15-minute format that within a year was dominating its time period—even beating the nightly broadcast of legendary newsman Edward R. Murrow.

With the aging of the original children—and the unexpected death of actor Barton Yarborough (Cliff) in December 1951—the second generation of Barbours moved to the forefront of the narrative: the trials of Joan, Pinky, Hank, Penelope, and Teddy carried the series through much of its final decade. The show moved to an afternoon time slot in July 1955. NBC unexpectedly canceled the series in 1959, so abruptly the cast had already recorded what would turn out to be the final episodes. The show simply ended in mid-story on April 27, 1959.

—Chris Chandler

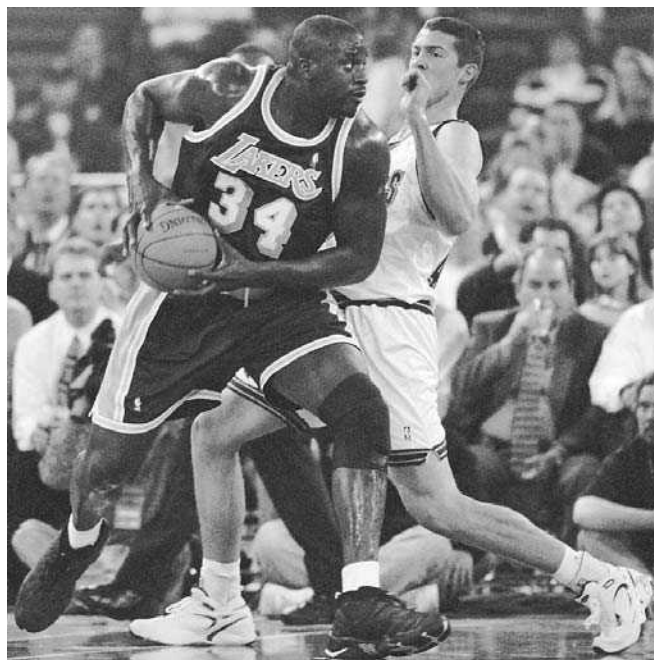
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## O'Neal, Shaquille (1972—)

At the close of the twentieth century, the multimedia marketing of products was applied to celebrities. Shaquille O'Neal, or "Shaq,"



Los Angeles Lakers' Shaquille O'Neal in a game against the Denver Nuggets, 1999.

was one of the pioneers in this area. A star basketball player for the Orlando Magic and the Los Angeles Lakers, O'Neal quickly branched out into motion pictures and popular music. O'Neal also attached his name to children's toys, video game cameos, clothing, and basketball shoes. A star of the court, the television, the radio, the music video, and the screen, O'Neal's seven-foot presence has been felt across the commercial spectrum, epitomizing changes in the sports industry.

On March 6, 1972, Shaquille Rashaun O'Neal was born in Newark, New Jersey. O'Neal's biological father left the family, and O'Neal and his mother moved to San Antonio. His mother and a his stepfather raised O'Neal, offering an abundance of food and discipline along the way. After high school in Texas, O'Neal set off to Louisiana State University and stardom. After his freshman year in college, O'Neal thundered into national prominence. He was named national player of the year by AP and UPI in 1991, and was a unanimous first team All-American in 1991 and 1992. His size and power sometimes drew three defenders, leaving teammates unguarded. But even with O'Neal, LSU was unable to go far in the NCAA championship tournament.

O'Neal left college after his junior year and was the first pick in the 1992 NBA draft. He had an instant impact in the National Basketball Association (NBA) and was the 1993 NBA Rookie of the Year. He quickly led Orlando's nascent franchise to the playoffs and repeatedly made the All-Star team. Although other talented players played for the Magic, it was O'Neal's massive presence that gave them an unmatched weapon. In 1995 he helped the Magic reach the NBA finals, where the team and O'Neal were swept (4-0) by Hakeem Olajuwon and the Houston Rockets. As a member of the Dream Team, O'Neal enjoyed Olympic gold. But O'Neal had difficulty convincing critics into considering him as one of basketball's great players. When he was named to the NBA's 50 Greatest Players, many critics questioned his worthiness.

O'Neal's size, strength, and athleticism are unmatched. Never before has a basketball player possessed such controlled power. At 7'1" and 300 pounds, O'Neal is a giant among giants. But even opponents who come close to O'Neal's size cannot equal his strength and agility. During the 1998 playoffs, a similarly sized Utah Jazz center, Greg Ostertag (7-2, 280 lbs.), compared guarding O'Neal to attempting to stop a speeding truck by yanking on a chain. O'Neal's power and size have allowed him to knock aside other giants. His trademark "Shaq Attaq" is a dunk so powerful, that few players can stop it. In an effort to contain Shaq, other teams foul him with abandon and exploit his greatest weakness: free-throw shooting. Most analysts agree O'Neal could become unstoppable if he mastered the free-throw.

When O'Neal's contract with Orlando expired, he attracted the largest NBA contract in history. He signed with the Los Angeles Lakers for 120 million dollars. In joining the Lakers, O'Neal rejected a larger offer from Orlando. O'Neal's decision was based on the allure of the Lakers' championship tradition, and by the close proximity to Hollywood. Whatever additional millions Orlando offered could not be matched by the prospects of the show business. O'Neal's move to Los Angeles reflected the evolving merger of sports with other entertainment industries. Star players often calculated their access to national television and other publicity. A high profile could lead to multimillion-dollar endorsements. By becoming a Laker, O'Neal could cash in on his larger-than-life (and larger-than-court) status.

O'Neal's salary, unthinkable only ten years earlier, showed the value of a marquee name: a player of O'Neal's status had the power to drive television ratings, ticket prices, "luxury box" seating sales, corporate sponsorships, and even public financing of arenas. Although quality players were perceived as valuable by any team, none drew as much attention as a quality player with a name-brand persona. Where city rivalries and team names once clashed, a new merchandising ethic promoted a contest of star players. For example, what was once advertised as a game between Los Angeles and New York became a battle between Shaq and Patrick Ewing. More than ever before profit became the name of the game, and more than ever before profit became linked to charismatic players. In the new era of player as product, Shaquille O'Neal was at center stage.

—Dylan Clark

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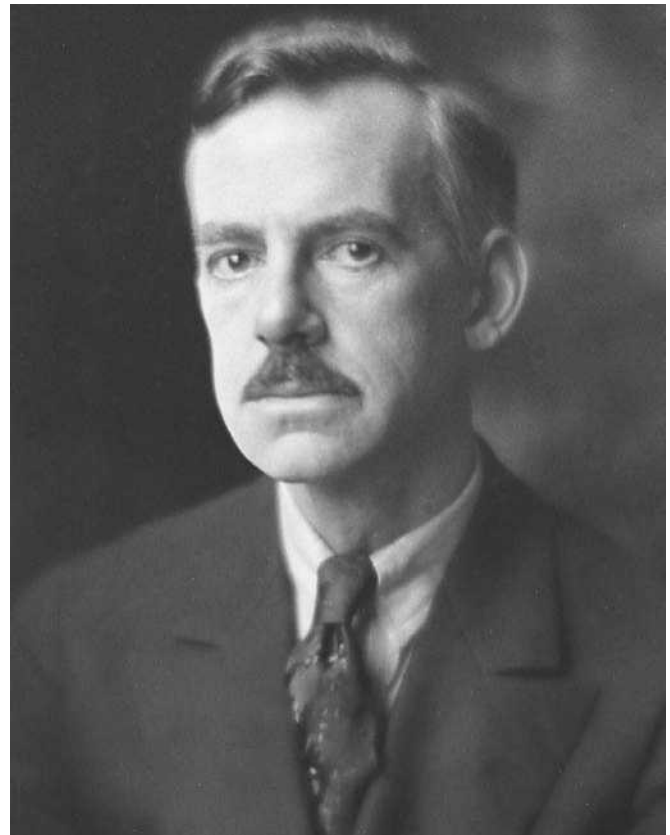
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## O'Neill, Eugene (1888-1953)

Four times the winner of a Pulitzer Prize and the Nobel laureate for literature in 1936, New York-born Eugene O'Neill is a towering, ground-breaking figure in American dramatic literature. The son of actor James O'Neill and a drug-addicted mother, he recorded his tormented upbringing in his dysfunctional family with lacerating honesty in his autobiographical play, *Long Day's Journey into Night*



Eugene O'Neill

(1940). The work allows for a *tour de force* of acting and is oft revived on both sides of the Atlantic and beyond. He ordered it withheld from production for 50 years but, in 1956, his widow released the play to Jose Quintero and it received its first staging in New York. O'Neill traveled the globe aboard tramp steamers and his experiences formed the basis for several of his plays. Many of them are extremely long—running typically four or five hours on stage—and tend to feature marathon monologues and profound themes touching on the human condition. A number have been filmed, but the only popular success among these was *Anna Christie* (1930), the film in which Greta Garbo first spoke on screen.

—Robyn Karney

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## Op Art

A writer for *Time* magazine coined the term "Op Art" in a 1964 article anticipating an exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art in New

York. The popular show, entitled “The Responsive Eye,” prominently featured works by Optical artists who, beginning in the late 1950s and 1960s, created paintings and graphic designs that effectively played with the way human beings see. With machine-like precision, Op artists painted swirling lines and checkered grids that seemed to flicker and vibrate, heave and billow, and change color. Op works were extolled in the popular press as refreshingly neat and mechanical; they appeared scientific and enjoyed popularity with a post-World War II American public consumed with lust for gadgetry, modern appliances, and atomic power.

Op Art started mainly as a reaction to the high spiritualism of prevalent post-war movements like Abstract Expressionism and Action Painting. While abstractionists and action painters attempted on their canvases to express the inner-world of their emotions and philosophical yearnings, Op artists joined a wider cultural movement to de-mystify the creative process and recapture it from an increasingly elite class of artists and scholars. Op artists therefore made a direct appeal to the spectator; they relied upon viewers’ eyes to complete their works, to physiologically dissolve and expand the space between lines, to mix colors, and to generate afterimages. “There must be no more productions exclusively for the cultivated eye, the sensitive eye, the intellectual eye. . .” wrote the Groupe de Recherche in their 1964 Op manifesto. “The human eye is our point of departure.” The fact that over the course of the 1960s advertisers and fashion designers lifted Op paintings for use on billboards, t-shirts, bathing suits, and dresses, for instance, only served to bolster proud assertions that Op was art for the masses.

Yet unlike Pop Art, which similarly aimed at closing the gap between art and life, Op Art attracted attention mostly because of its scientific character. Indeed, in the cultural climate fostered during the 1950s by the Cold War, many might have viewed Op Art, with its foreign language manifestos and proletarian sympathies, as a threatening import from the European Left. During the age of the space race, however, anything couched in science and technology carried cachet. Op Art not only appeared computer-generated, it was also partly a product of well-known seminars taught by scientist-painters like Josef Albers at Harvard and Yale. In fact, in 1965 *Yale Scientific Magazine* devoted an entire issue to Op Art, claiming that the movement served “as an example of the interrelationship of science and the humanities in the modern world.”

The 1960s’ psychedelic movement in its own way also championed Op Art. Timothy Leary’s widely imitated “celebrations” at the Village Theater on Second Avenue included Op designs in multimedia shows intended to simulate drug-induced experiences. Popular and commercial psychedelic art erupting out of San Francisco at the time similarly incorporated Op designs. Famous concert posters, comic strips, album covers, and concert stage sets inspired by hippie guru Ken Kesey’s “Acid Tests” regularly borrowed Op’s radial images and distorted checker boards for use alongside Day-Glo Pop Art images and art nouveau lettering.

Outside the Ivy League and beyond the world of the psychedelic underground, Op thrived as fashion design. A 1965 *Vogue* magazine cover featured a model’s face overprinted with an Op pattern, while *Harper’s Bazaar* celebrated a new line of dotted and checkered dresses perfect for mixing in the “Op scene.” It was the borrowings of the fashion industry that finally provoked British artist Bridget Riley to rail against the way her art was being “vulgarized” and to sue an American clothing manufacturer over the use of one of her paintings as a dress pattern.

Predictably, the same qualities that made Op popular with news magazines and fashion reporters made it vulnerable to attacks in the art world. Many critics dismissed Op Art as trendy kitsch, as mere gimmickry devoid of serious content. Others, however, highlighted the movement’s ties to venerated investigations in optics conducted by the Impressionists and painters like Georges Seurat, Paul Signac, and Piet Mondrian. Other than Riley and Albers, the most famous Op artists include Victor Vasarely, J. R. Soto, Richard Anuszkiewicz, and Julio Le Parc.

—John Tomasic

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## Opportunity

*Opportunity* magazine was published from 1923 to 1949 by the National Urban League (at first as a monthly, later as a quarterly). Founded in 1911, the National Urban League hoped to document the urban conditions of African Americans who, in the wake of World War I, increasingly migrated north from the southern United States. The publication’s title came from the National Urban League’s slogan, “Not Alms But Opportunity.” Charles S. Johnson served as its first editor for five and a half years; Elmer A. Carter took over in 1928. The magazine published both sociological reporting on conditions of African American life and poetry and literature written by young black writers.

*Opportunity* reached its highest reputation and widest circulation in the late 1920s (what one member of the National Urban League called its “Golden Era”). Published out of New York City during a time in which Harlem was becoming a predominantly black neighborhood, the magazine became a central part of the “Harlem Renaissance.” This literary movement of black writers of poetry and fiction created what Alain Locke (who wrote major pieces of literary criticism for *Opportunity* on a regular basis) called “the New Negro.” Writing about the distinct but inherently American experiences of black citizens, these writers expressed pride in their people’s accomplishments.

As editor of *Opportunity* during the 1920s, Charles S. Johnson played a central role in the Harlem Renaissance. He was something of a “sidelines activist”—playing the role of a behind-the-scenes agent, connection maker, and entrepreneur. As Langston Hughes (the author of the poem, “The Weary Blues,” which originally appeared in *Opportunity*) put it, Johnson “did more to encourage and develop

Negro writers during the 1920s than anyone else in America.” He did this by publishing numerous young black writers in the pages of *Opportunity* at a time when they had very few venues.

Beyond publishing young African American writers, Johnson used the pages of *Opportunity* to publicize his awards system for good literature and poetry. Finding financial sponsorship from wealthy black businessmen like Casper Holstein and supportive white writers like Carl Van Vechten, Johnson granted prize money to black writers. These included Zora Neale Hurston and Countee Cullen who went onto greater fame. At celebration dinners that Johnson put together and *Opportunity* sponsored, young black writers were given a chance to network with major book and magazine publishers, furthering the promotion of black writers to a wider audience. Johnson sincerely believed that this sort of promotion would improve race relations in America. Announcing a story competition in the September 1924 issue of *Opportunity*, Johnson explained that African Americans could force “the interest and kindred feeling of the rest of the world by sheer force of the humanness and beauty of [their] own story.”

Alongside this literary expression, Johnson published essays by a variety of social workers and sociologists with titles like “How Minimum Standards of Life May Be Attained,” “Helping Negro Workers to Purchase Homes,” “Tuberculosis and Environment,” and “The Need for Health Education Among Negroes.” In fact, Johnson seemed less enamored with literature and more with the sort of sociological positivism he had been schooled in by University of Chicago sociologist Robert Park. *Opportunity* magazine documented the living conditions of black Americans in northern cities (this included some of the earliest works by the sociologist, E. Franklin Frazier) and the social work efforts to improve their conditions.

After Johnson left the magazine for Fisk University in 1928, the magazine continued to stress socio-economic analysis of northern, urban African Americans. Though he never stopped publishing stories and poems, Elmer A. Carter, Johnson’s successor, “directed his attention to the sociological and economic aspects of the Negro’s relation to American life,” as one early historian of the publication put it. The magazine focused on working conditions of African Americans during the Great Depression—and their precarious relationship with America’s labor unions. Then it focused on the Fair Employment Practice Committee during the 1940s and the general fight for racial equality which occurred during and immediately after World War II.

*Opportunity* magazine accomplished a great deal for a publication with a small circulation. In every possible way, it promoted the work of black writers and documented the lives of a growing number of African Americans in northern cities.

—Kevin Mattson

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## Orbison, Roy (1936-1988)

Introduced by Elvis Presley in 1976 as “quite simply, the greatest singer in the world,” Roy Orbison—with his lush, dramatic orchestral songs and near-operatic voice—helped expand the sonic and emotional limitations of pop music. His most influential material came from his work during the early to mid-1960s, and his songs “Only the Lonely,” “Running Scared,” “It’s Over,” “Down the Line,” “Cryin’,” and “In Dreams,” among others would support his career for decades. Although Orbison’s stage show would remain essentially the same from the mid-1960s until his death in 1988, he insisted that he didn’t tire of repeatedly singing the same songs. “Gracious, no, because I’ve worked a lifetime to do a show of just my own material,” Orbison told *Radio Two*, according to Alan Clayson in his biography *Only the Lonely*. Orbison credited the lasting impact of his music to a certain innocence in his songs. He noted in *The Face* that “God has a way of giving you the lyric and the melody and, if it stands up over the years, that adolescence, that innocence helps to keep its intentions pure. That innocence is the big ingredient that keeps my songs alive, that makes them stand tall,” according to Clayson.

Born in Wink, Texas, to a musical family (his father played Jimmie Rodgers songs and his uncle was a blues artist), Orbison made his performing debut at age eight, and was soon regularly playing on local radio stations. In high school he formed the Wink Westerners, which played mostly western swing music, and when Orbison went off to college at North Texas State College, he rechristened the group the Teen Kings. While in college, the group recorded a raucous rockabilly tune called “Ooby Dooby,” which eventually caught the



Roy Orbison

attention of Sun Records owner Sam Phillips, who rereleased it to become a mild hit in 1956. On the heels of his first hit, Orbison cut a number of sides for Sun during the mid-to-late 1950s, and although his career as a minor rockabilly star was booming, he grew increasingly tired of this music and the energetic stage presence it required.

By the late 1950s, Orbison had severed his ties with Phillips and Sun, and moved to Nashville to write songs for the country music publishing powerhouse Acuff-Rose. The ballad "Claudette," written about his wife, became a hit for the Everly Brothers. Interested in returning to his own singing career, Orbison—with the help of Wesley Rose—signed with Fred Foster at the newly opened Monument in 1959 and the following year released "Uptown," which rose high enough on *Billboard's* pop chart to suggest that Orbison could maintain a career as a singer.

By 1960, with the release of "Only the Lonely," Orbison had embraced what would become his unique presence in pop music. With this song, Orbison exercised his vocal range and introduced audiences to the power of his voice, which Clayton noted that media enthusiasm would stretch to "an impossible six octaves." Duane Eddy commented, according to Clayton, that "when you thought he'd sung as high as he possibly could, he would effortlessly go higher and finish up with a big finish and it was wonderful." "Only the Lonely" soon hit number two in the Hot 100 in the United States and topped the charts in both Australia and Great Britain.

Although Orbison had already been dying his hair black for years, he soon incorporated what would become his trademark black attire and sunglasses into his stage act. Orbison dropped his hip-shaking stage acrobatics in favor of a much more emotionally composed vocal style and austere stage presence. Deciding to let his voice stand on its own, Orbison would remain almost motionless on stage.

Orbison's voice opened pop music to manly emotions. About his song "Cryin'," Orbison told *New Musical Express* that "I wanted to show that the act of crying for a man—and that record came out in a real "macho" era when any act of sensitivity was really frowned on—was a good thing and not some weak. . . defect almost," according to Clayton. With the operatic quality of his voice and his soulful singing, Orbison successfully maintained a strong sense of masculinity in dramatic melodies. His use of falsetto and his ability to quickly switch to a vulnerable delivery lent to the emotional buildup in his songs like "Blue Bayou," "I'm Hurtin'," and "Oh! Pretty Woman." After the success of "Oh! Pretty Woman," Orbison signed with Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer for a contract estimated at over \$1 million. And soon the emotions Orbison displayed in his songs became tragically real when his wife Claudette died in a motorcycle accident in 1966, and again when two of his three children died in a fire in 1968. Orbison found happiness again in 1969 when he remarried, had another son, and returned to performing.

Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, Orbison continued to tour the world. His stage presence won over audiences for years. He received a standing ovation when he toured in the United Kingdom with the Beatles in 1963 and later charmed adolescent audiences when on tour with the Eagles in the early 1980s. By 1980, Orbison's duet with Emmylou Harris of "That Lovin' You Feelin' Again" won the pair a Grammy award for the best country performance by a duo or group. Although Orbison is often associated with countrified pop music, Orbison's duet with Harris was the only time he ever made the country charts. Once produced by the influential Chet Atkins and backed by musicians of the "Nashville sound," Orbison was Nashville's first major pop success.

And even though—as Bruce Springsteen noted at Orbison's induction into the Rock 'n' Roll Hall of Fame—"no one sings like Roy Orbison," many artists have enjoyed the rewards of recording Orbison's songs and trying to mimic his vocal style. Springsteen borrowed much from Orbison for his *Thunder Road* album; John Lennon noted that he'd tried to write a "Roy Orbison song" with "Please Please Me"; Linda Ronstadt sold more of her 1977 version of "Blue Bayou" than Orbison sold of his original; and by the early 1980s, when the music charts were filled with nostalgic reissues or revivals of 1960s songs, heavy metal band Van Halen reached number twelve with a version of "Oh! Pretty Woman" in 1982. John Cougar recorded the same song in 1986.

Orbison's career was given an unconventional boost in 1986 when movie director David Lynch featured "In Dreams" during a brutal scene in *Blue Velvet*. During the scene the Dennis Hopper character sadistically had another character beaten; the dark quality of "In Dreams" perfectly fit the sinister montage-like cinematography that is Lynch's trademark. In 1987 Orbison was inducted into the Rock 'n' Roll Hall of Fame at its second ceremony by Bruce Springsteen, and was later the subject of a tribute concert that featured Orbison playing alongside such fans as Springsteen, Elvis Costello, Jackson Browne, Tom Waits, Bonnie Raitt, and k. d. lang. Orbison soon found himself in the company of Bob Dylan, Tom Petty, Jeff Lynne, and George Harrison, which resulted in the release of the big selling *The Traveling Wilburys* collaborative album. By 1988, Orbison's career was regaining momentum—he released a hit single, "You Got It," and recorded an album with songs and production by Elvis Costello, U2's Bono and The Edge, and with Jeff Lynne—but before that record was released he died at home of a heart attack on December 6, 1988. *Mystery Girl*, his posthumous comeback album, became the highest charting album of his career, eventually going platinum.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## *The Organization Man*

William H. Whyte's popular psychology bestseller of the mid-1950s outlined a contemporary figure who captured many fears for the nature of the American individual in an age of increasing rationalization. *The Organization Man* (1956) showed the white-collar employee as increasingly shaped by his employer's demands: focused on advancement through the firm, he became narrow, conformist, and unwilling to innovate. This figure's fear of original thought and his lifestyle (situated in rationalized suburbs and marked by consumption, rather than community) seemed to contravene the American values of competitive individualism. Whyte's work was simplistic and deterministic, but it influenced the broad discussion of conformity, and its risks, in the 1950s.

—Kyle Smith

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## Original Dixieland Jass (Jazz) Band

The Original Dixieland Jass Band initiated the jazz revolution when Columbia Records released the band's first recordings in April 1917. Comprised of white New Orleans musicians and led by Nick LaRocca, the band has often been maligned by jazz purists. And when compared with King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band, with Louis Armstrong, or with any of Armstrong's own groups, the Original Dixieland Jass Band does suffer. The music it played, however, was fresh and bright when compared with the popular music of the day, and the musicians in the group were more than competent in their performance.

—Frank A. Salamone

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## O'Rourke, P. J. (1947—)

In 1998, satirist P. J. O'Rourke announced his intention to write a memoir. The most serious problem with this idea, he wrote, is "that I haven't really done much. But I don't feel this should stand in my way. O. J. Simpson wrote a memoir, and the jury said he hadn't done anything at all." A sharp social critic, O'Rourke finds himself one of the most loved—or hated—literary figures of the twentieth century.

Patrick Jake O'Rourke grew up in Toledo, Ohio. He went to the state university in Miami, Ohio (where he majored in English), and then to Johns Hopkins. He became a strong leftist which, according to him, caused some distress to his Republican grandmother. He says that he informed his grandmother that he was a Maoist, prompting the reply, "[j]ust so long as you're not a Democrat."

From 1969 to 1971, O'Rourke worked for an underground Baltimore newspaper entitled *Harry*. He then moved to New York in 1971 and later told the magazine *New York* that he came to the city to "write experimental, deeply incomprehensible novels." Instead, he went to work for another underground publication, the East Village *Other*, after which he joined the humor magazine *National Lampoon*. He rose through the ranks, becoming a junior editor in 1973 and editor-in-chief in 1978.

O'Rourke left *National Lampoon* in 1980 and worked in Hollywood for a brief time as a scriptwriter. He eventually returned to New York and joined *Rolling Stone*, where he is the foreign affairs editor; he probably comprises *Rolling Stone's* entire foreign affairs desk. O'Rourke has written for other magazines, most notably *Car and Driver* and *The American Spectator*. Additionally, he has published

several books, including both original works and reprints of his journalistic efforts. As evidence of his political acumen, O'Rourke became an H. L. Mencken research fellow at a libertarian think-tank, the Cato Institute.

O'Rourke's political views evolved since his days as a young Maoist in the 1960s. By the late 1990s he wrote as a libertarian Republican. "You know," he said in a 1993 speech at the Cato Institute, "if government were a product, selling it would be illegal." O'Rourke explained in a 1995 article why he shared the conservative faith in individualism: "Under collectivism . . . [i]ndividual decision making is replaced by the political process. Suddenly the system that elected the prom queen at your high school is in charge of your whole life."

Despite his association with the conservative movement, O'Rourke disassociates himself from the more puritanical conservatives. In 1994, over drinks with a reporter from the Toronto alternative newspaper *eye*, O'Rourke said that "I would be incredibly hypocritical if I were to say that I was in favor of the sort of morality that is put forward by some elements of the right wing: . . . never get a divorce, never touch drugs and, more to the point this evening, never touch booze! Forget it!"

A look at O'Rourke's publications shows that he can discuss both high politics and less exalted matters. In his satirical etiquette book *Modern Manners*, O'Rourke includes a section on the etiquette of drug use, especially the use of cocaine—"cocaine is bad for the health. And this is why it's never bad manners to go off alone and fire some 'nose Nikes' and not share them with anyone else . . . when offered someone else's cocaine, you should Electrolux as much as possible for their sake." An article by O'Rourke that originally appeared in *National Lampoon*, and which he included in his book *Republican Party Reptile*, is called "How to Drive Fast on Drugs While Getting Your Wing-Wang Squeezed and Not Spill Your Drink." Indeed, the article lives up to its title: "Most people like to drive on speed or cocaine with plenty of whiskey mixed in. This gives you the confidence you want and need for plowing through red lights and passing trucks on the right."

O'Rourke somehow manages to combine this kind of style with serious political commentary. Discussing the Savings and Loan scandal, he deplors what he sees as the incompetence of the government investigators who might have prevented the mess: "Federal bank regulators . . . had to clean their room and mow the laws before they were allowed to go regulate banks." Commenting on allegedly anti-American attitudes in the Jordanian Rotary Club, O'Rourke imagines a meeting of that organization: "Okay, fellows, any member who hasn't drunk the blood of an infidel dog since the last meeting has to stand on his chair and sing 'I'm a Little Teapot.'" It is exactly this kind of "call-'em-as-you-see-'em" critique that has brought O'Rourke fame—or infamy—in his attempts to entertain and educate Americans in the latter half of the twentieth century.

—Eric Longley

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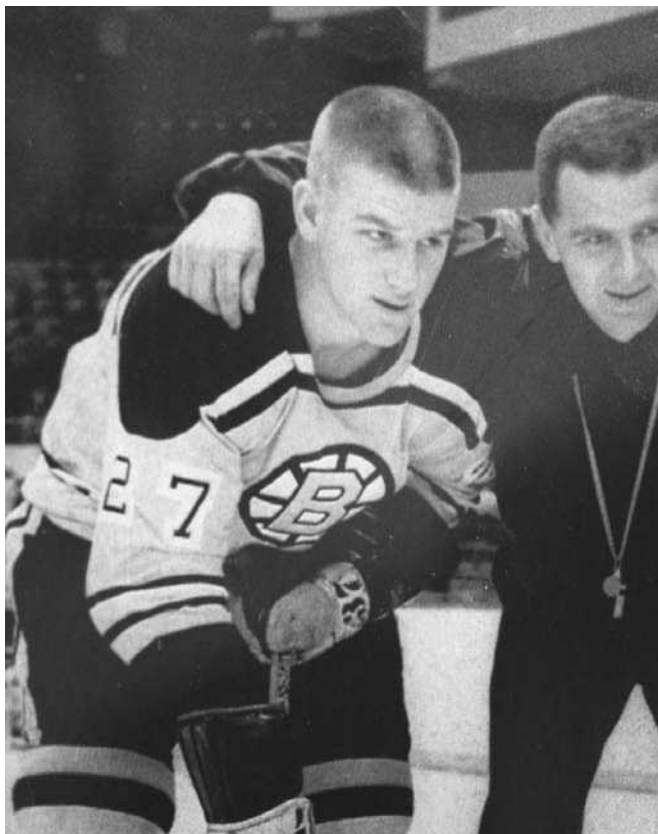
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## Orr, Bobby (1948—)

Before Wayne Gretzky, three names topped the lists of the greatest hockey players: Gordie Howe, Bobby Hull, and Bobby Orr.



**Bobby Orr**

Bobby Orr's name is indelibly linked with the Boston Bruins as their legendary #4. With 915 career points in the National Hockey League (NHL), including 270 career goals and 645 career assists, this defenseman revolutionized hockey by being highly efficient in the offense as well.

Born on March 20, 1948, in the small town of Parry Sound in Ontario, Canada, Robert Gordon Orr, the third child of Arva Steele and amateur athlete Douglas Orr, was named after a paternal grandfather who had been a professional soccer player in Ireland. At the age of four, he began skating and playing "shinny," a good training game for stick handling, dodging, passing, and controlling the puck. From the age of five he played hockey in the Minor Squirt Hockey league, becoming the Most Valuable Player in the Pee-Wee division at age nine while dazzling fans with a particularly fast spin on his skates. He was quickly considered as a natural defenseman, though he was an offensive threat as well.

In 1960, playing in a tournament with the Parry Sound Bantam All-Stars, Orr made a profound impression on a scout for the Boston Bruins. At thirteen, while still attending school, he signed a Junior A contract card with Boston to play for the Oshawa Generals. In a team of much older players Orr was noted for his precise interceptions and dazzling rushes up ice; he played for four all-star seasons and won the MVP.

In 1966, when Hull signed a \$50,000 contract for two years with the Bruins, with a \$25,000 signing bonus, this contract played a part in changing the NHL pay structure. Assigned #27 when he first signed, he quickly switched to the #4. His first goal against the Montreal Canadiens at the Boston Garden marked the beginning of a career during which, while a blueliner, he won twice the Art Ross Trophy as the scoring leader in the league, in 1970 and 1975.

Orr won the Calder Trophy as top rookie for the 1966-67 season and, beginning with the 1967-68 season, he won the James Norris Trophy for the NHL's top defenseman for a record eight years in a row. He was also a perennial choice for the NHL All-Star Team. During his best season with the Bruins, in 1970-71, he had 37 goals and 102 assists for 139 points. From 1969 to 1975, he established a record for defensemen with regular 100-point seasons. *Sports Illustrated* named him "Sportsman of the Year" in 1970.

Although his individual brilliance is undisputed, Bobby Hull won the heart of Boston fans because he was the ultimate team player. He led a team of perennial also-rans to the top of the NHL. With his speed, grace, precision, and recklessness he made hockey history by leading the Bruins to their first Stanley Cup in 29 years. His most famous goal, in overtime of the fourth game of the Stanley Cup Finals on May 10, 1970, where he can be seen flying through the air, was voted the greatest moment in NHL history in 1996.

Although the 1970-71 Stanley Cup went to the Montreal Canadiens, the 1971-72 finals saw the cup back in Boston, with Orr winning the Conn Smythe Trophy (playoff MVP) for the second time after having scored his second Stanley Cup clinching goal. In 1976 he played, despite extreme pain, in the historic Canada Cup series against the Soviets, winning again the "Outstanding Player" award as Team Canada defeated the Soviets.

In 1976, wanting to prove to himself he could still play despite numerous knee surgeries, he signed with the Chicago Blackhawks for \$3,000,000 over five years, but was able to play only 26 games. At age 30 he had to hang up his skates. On January 9, 1979, Orr's #4 was lifted to the rafters at the Boston Garden. In 1979 he was the youngest player, at 31, elected to the Hockey Hall of Fame. A newspaper chose him in 1989 as the most representative Boston athlete.

Human qualities won Orr the enduring respect of fans and other players alike. In his retirement, Orr worked as a sports agent and devoted his spare time to doing charity work throughout New England. Although his contracts with the Bruins obviously paved the way for the high pay scales of NHL stars, he never agreed to a heavy commercial use of his name and accomplishments.

—Henri Paratte

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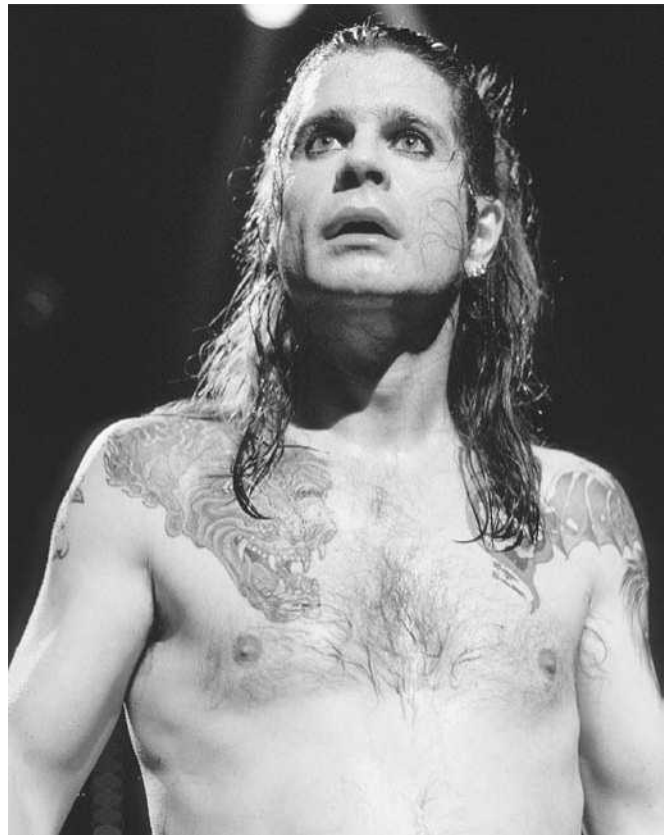
## The Osborne Brothers

Kentucky natives Bob (1931—) and Sonny (1937—) Osborne made their mark on bluegrass and country music by combining innovative, jazzy instrumental work on the mandolin and banjo, respectively, with precise and powerful harmony singing. Intent on finding steady work before country audiences, they were dogged by controversy in bluegrass circles over their use of country instrumentation (drums, pedal steel guitar, strings) and electric amplification in the 1960s and 1970s. Nevertheless, the Brothers achieved enduring popularity by creating a vocal style that emphasized Bob's clear, high voice, placing two harmony parts underneath his leads; known as "high lead," this form of arrangement found widespread use by female singers in country and bluegrass. The Brothers would become the first bluegrass band to perform for a college audience when they played at Antioch College in Ohio in 1960, and they were the first bluegrass band to play at the White House when they played for President Nixon in 1973. Though it was only a modest commercial success when released, their 1967 recording of "Rocky Top" has since become one of the most recorded song in bluegrass music history.

—Jon Weisberger

## Osbourne, Ozzy (1948—)

With his rebellious image as a dangerously extreme rock musician, Ozzy Osbourne became, in the 1980s, one of the foremost creators of the heavy metal genre and one of the era's most outrageous performers. He first came to prominence as the lead vocalist for the British hard-rock group Black Sabbath from 1969 to 1978. Throughout his career, his music has consistently focused on alienation and nonconformity, from "Paranoid" (1970), one of Black Sabbath's biggest hits, to his "Mama, I'm Coming Home" (1991). As a master of overwrought stage performances, Ozzy Osbourne taught other



Ozzy Osbourne

performers how to transform hard rock into theater, continuing in the vein of Black Sabbath, which had employed pseudo-religious images like the upside down cross and pentagrams. He advocated the notion that a modern rock hero should be a troubled, alienated outcast. Of all of his contemporaries, his rebellion against church, family, and convention seems most extreme and genuine. He was one of the most despised, censored, and idolized musical figures of the 1980s.

John Michael Osbourne was born to a blue-collar family in Birmingham, England. He dabbled only in vocal music in his early years while working in local steel mills and engaging in petty thievery. It was during an early prison term that he tattooed the word "OZZY" on his knuckles. His band, Earth, had some local success in the late 1960s, but it was with Black Sabbath that Osbourne would record his first album and tour outside of Britain. Black Sabbath played blues hooks under muddy distortion, topping their often disturbing sound with Osbourne's wavering nasal vocals. Sabbath's first manager is reported to have said, "Black Sabbath makes Led Zeppelin look like a kindergarten house band." *Paranoid*, its 1970 album, caught the attention of American record executives and catapulted Osbourne and his bandmates to world-class status. As he described it, "When we hit America we were the wild bunch. We bought dope and f—ed anything that moved." Their behavior did nothing to alienate audiences of the time, and Black Sabbath's star rose steadily.

Osbourne left Sabbath at the height of its popularity, blaming his own bouts with depression and a sense that the band was "losing their edge." As a solo performer, he found himself laying the groundwork for the developing genre called heavy metal. Capitalizing on his



reputation as a troubled soul, and using album titles like *Diary of a Madman* (1981) and *The Ultimate Sin* (1986), Osbourne summed it all up for fans in the opening verse of “Crazy Train,” his 1980 hit: “mental wounds not healing, life’s a bitter shame / I’m going off the rails of a crazy train.”

Ozzy Osbourne spent the 1980s developing an image and personal mythology that placed him on the gothic fringe of heavy metal. He threw raw meat into the audiences, was arrested for urinating on the Alamo, bit the head off of a dove in a record company’s office, and in his most publicized antic, bit the head off of a bat on stage. Ozzy’s dark songs became targets of the religious right and other groups concerned about negative influences of rock music. He was sued more than once for the negative effects of his 1980 song “Suicide Solution,” which Osbourne claims is really about the ill effects of alcoholism. By the 1990s, he was creating a gentler sort of heavy metal, and he eventually faded into the role of tour organizer with his Ozzfest events that tapped into the summer-festival tradition in American music.

—Colby Vargas

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## Oscars, The

See Academy Awards

## Ouija Boards

The mysterious Ouija board has long epitomized the fear and curiosity people feel toward the unknown. Noted as being used by Pythagoras as early as 540 B.C., ouija boards came to more popular attention in the nineteenth century when they were played as parlour games. Ouija boards are used by one or more people who place their fingers lightly on the indicator, which moves across the wooden board, seemingly involuntarily, from letter to letter, making words or sentences. The messages created during the game have been described as links to the spiritual world and/or the subconsciousness of the players.

The modern ouija board was invented to ease the process of what believers thought of as communicating with the beyond. Its predecessors included the “automatic writing” of nineteenth-century French spiritualist M. Planchette and the system of raps (one for no, two for yes) devised by the Fox sisters of New York state, who were among the first to hold seances with the dead. In 1890 Charles Kennard set up the Kennard Novelty Company to market the ouija board that he, E.C. Reich, and Elijah Rand had designed. Their flat wooden board was inscribed with two arches, one of letters and one of numbers, with “Yes” and “No” options on either side. The board had an indicator (called a planchette) on which users lightly placed their fingers and which floated mysteriously across the board to spell out words. In 1892 William Fuld purchased the company and renamed it the Ouija Novelty Co. (It was Fuld who explained the name as the conjunction

of the French and German words for yes.) After Fuld died in 1927, the company remained a family operation until 1966, when Parker Brothers bought the business. Throughout the years various methods of communication had been devised for the boards; automatic writing, drawing, and musical notation were some of the innovations.

Studying ouija boards in 1914, William F. Barret of the American Society for Psychical Research declared that after “reviewing the research as a whole, I am convinced of their supernatural character, and that we have here an exhibition of some intelligent, discarnate agency, mingling with the personality of one or more of the sitters and guiding their muscular movement.” In addition to those who viewed the ouija board as a medium for receiving messages from other worlds, others suggested that the boards were a medium for the subconscious of an individual or a group to say things that they would not voice out loud. After World War I and the Spanish flu epidemic, spiritualism became very popular and so did ouija boards. National newspapers ran regular columns devoted to the subject of ouija boards.

Mrs. John H. Curran is perhaps the most noted ouija board user. A woman of limited education and travel, Mrs. Curran nevertheless created texts of quality by using the ouija board. Her books, *The Sorry Tale: A Story of the Time of Christ* (1917), *Hope Trueblood* (1918), and *The Pot upon the Wheel* (1921), listed the spirit Patience Worth as the imputed author and Mrs. Curran as the communicator.

In the 1970s ouija boards played a role in frightening urban legends and graphic horror films, including the *The Exorcist* (1973), which linked them to evil spirits and demon possession. At this time moral and religious objections to ouija boards increased. The dangerous connotations of ouija boards spurred some users to incorporate ritual elements into the use of the boards, including reciting Psalm 23 and opening and closing each session with blessings. By the end of the twentieth century, ouija boards continue to be viewed either as dangerous links to the occult or as amusing games.

—Nickianne Moody

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## Our Gang

Children acting like children, making mischief and finding themselves in goofy predicaments as they play with their pals, has been a foundation for endless and ageless humor. This is precisely what producer Hal Roach had in mind when he began making his *Our Gang* comedies in 1922. In these films, a hardscrabble conglomeration of boys and girls came together to amuse themselves and their audiences with prankishness and frivolity. The series was astoundingly successful and over the next 22 years, 221 10- and 20-minute-long *Our Gang* comedies were produced, with Roach re-energizing the



A Ouija Board in use.

series by adding carefully selected replacements as his pint-sized stars outgrew their roles.

*Our Gang* comedies were not completely original, having evolved from a series of “Sunshine Sammy” shorts produced by Roach in 1921 and 1922 and featuring Ernie “Sunshine Sammy” Morrison, a black child actor. Back in the 1920s, the majority of silent comedy shorts emphasized visual humor and pratfalls over plotlines; indeed, many comic one and two-reelers were surreal affairs in which a zany star moved from one unrelated predicament to the next. *Our Gang* films were different in that they were more story-driven, with the humor a byproduct of the everyday situations in which the children found themselves.

While seeking out the right mix of youngsters to star in the series, Roach emphasized character types over acting ability or experience. He was searching for children who were naturally funny, either because of their physical appearance or the manner in which they interacted among their peers or around adults, rather than those who could become characters on cue. His aim was to milk laughs from their instinctive behavior. At the same time, Roach wanted his *Our Gang* kids to be resourceful and tenacious. These were youngsters who needed no adults to show them how to enjoy themselves. In fact, Mickey Rooney, then at the beginning of his long Hollywood career, unsuccessfully auditioned for *Our Gang* in the late 1920s. It

was Roach’s belief that, even at his young age, Rooney was too affected to fit into the series.

The naturalness of the *Our Gang* kids could also be contrasted to the popular child stars of the day, including Jackie Coogan and Shirley Temple, who were tug-at-your-heartstrings adorable, starring in classics of children’s literature or other material artificially contrived for the cinema. The *Our Gang* comedies were not set in faraway locales; indeed, the most exotic spots in which the youngsters found themselves were junkyards, ball fields, or makeshift backyard stages. They were not depicted as orphans to be teamed with an adult as Jackie Coogan was teamed with Chaplin’s Little Tramp in *The Kid*; neither were they polished miniature belters and hoofers who, like Shirley Temple, could wow one and all while vocalizing “On the Good Ship Lollipop” and tap-dancing with Bill “Bojangles” Robinson.

While Coogan played *Oliver Twist*, *Little Robinson Crusoe*, and *A Boy of Flanders* and Temple toplined *Baby Take a Bow*, *Susannah of the Mounties*, and *Little Miss Broadway*, the *Our Gang* titles were much more akin to a child’s real life: *Circus Fever*; *Ask Grandma*; *Helping Grandma*; *Shootin’ Injuns*; *Your Own Back Yard*; *Buried Treasure*; *Telling Whoppers*; *Baby Brother*; *Rainy Days*; *Wiggle Your Ears*; *Fly My Kite*; *Bedtime Worries*; *Mama’s Little Pirate*; *The Awful Tooth*; *Hide and Shriek*; and *Practical Jokers*. Quite a few emphasized the trials of education: *School Begins*; *Readin’ and Writin’*;



A typical escapade from an *Our Gang* short.

*Playin' Hookey; Fish Hooky; Spooky Hooky; Bored of Education; Time Out for Lessons; Teacher's Pet; Teacher's Beau; and School's Out.* Others spotlighted pets: *Love My Dog; Cat, Dog & Co.; Pups Is Pups; Dogs Is Dogs; The Pooch; and Dog Daze.*

The series debut was titled, appropriately enough, *Our Gang*. The original members were a mix of types: cute and lovable Mary Kornman; pretty Peggy Cartwright; freckle-faced Mickey Daniels, a true (albeit vulnerable) leader of boys, girls and pets; devilish Jackie Condon; good-looking, rough-and-tough Jackie Davis; roguish yet cheerful Ernie "Sunshine Sammy" Morrison himself, who at age 11 was the eldest in the group; and its littlest member, one-year-old Allen Clayton "Farina" Hoskins, who would be featured in 105 *Our Gang* comedies—more than any of his fellow players. The first of the *Our Gang* pets was a mule named Dinah; the most famous came to be Pete the Pup, a bulldog with a black circle painted around his right eye. Added to the group early on were such diverse types as fat Joe Cobb and all-American handsome Johnny Downs.

As the years passed and these kids outgrew their roles, they were replaced by other pubescent performers. Jackie Cooper (who was six

and seven years old when he appeared in 15 *Our Gang* films) was a rare casting exception in that he was a show-biz veteran who had been performing on screen since age three. He later enjoyed an impressive (albeit brief) career as a junior Hollywood superstar, earning an Academy Award nomination in 1930 for his performance in *Skippy*. Other casting selections were more in the original *Our Gang* mold. Norman "Chubby" Chaney was a clone of Joe Cobb, while Jean Darling and Darla Hood were pretty-girl replacements. Engaging little Bobby "Wheezer" Hutchins fit in nicely, as did Dorothy DeBorba, Scotty Beckett, Eugene "Porky" Lee and Tommy "Butch" Bond. Another *Our Gang* performer started out billed as Mickey Gubitosi. He eventually changed his name to Bobby Blake, and grew up to be Robert Blake, Emmy Award-winning star of the hit television series *Baretta*. However, the most renowned and beloved of the kids were a quartet of 1930s series headliners: Matthew "Stymie" Beard and William Henry "Buckwheat" Thomas (both captivating "Farina" successors), freckle-faced, creaky-voiced Carl "Alfalfa" Switzer; and pudgy, irrepressible George "Spanky" McFarland, arguably the most popular of all *Our Gang* actors. These youngsters are the

best-known today, because the most enduring *Our Gang* comedies came during their years with the series and their films were talkies—the first non-silent *Our Gang* film was *Small Talk*, released in 1929—and are more likely to be screened on television. (Because ownership of the name *Our Gang* was held by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, the series was renamed *The Little Rascals* when it first came to TV in 1955.)

One other special feature of the *Our Gang* films is that their casts were integrated—“Sunshine Sammy,” “Farina,” “Buckwheat” and “Stymie” were black—and all the children were allowed to act funny in equal measure. Back in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, African American characters in Hollywood movies were commonly and demeaningly stereotyped as lower class types, mammies and maids, train porters, and janitors who usually fractured the English language. In *Our Gang* films, children were children, whether black or white.

In 1938, the changing economics of the movie business resulted in a sharp decrease in the production of comedy shorts. That year, Hal Roach sold his rights to the series to MGM, and the quality of *Our Gang* films sharply declined. Of the 221 films in the series, a fair share from all periods was bound to be lackluster. Still, the series was loaded with what film historians and *Our Gang* experts Leonard Maltin and Richard W. Bann have called “imperishable comedy classics, full of heart and warmth.” All those are from the 1930s. “If *Our Gang* had made only a dozen films like *Dogs Is Dogs*, *Mama’s Little Pirate*, *Hi-Neighbor!*, *Free Wheeling*, *The Kid from Borneo*, *Teacher’s Pet*, *Bedtime Worries*, *Divot Diggers*, *Our Gang Follies of 1938*, *Glove Taps*, *Fly My Kite* and *Pups Is Pups*,” noted Maltin and Bann, “the series would be worthy of comparison with the best short films of Chaplin, Keaton, Laurel & Hardy, W.C. Fields, and anyone else who’s come before or since, in theaters or on television.”

Only a couple of *Our Gang* alumni eventually went on to thriving careers in show business. Robert Blake won his stardom only after being booted out of high school and embracing drugs and alcohol. After his career as a child performer waned, Jackie Cooper endured a rough period as a young actor before becoming a television sitcom star, director and executive producer. Blake and Cooper were the glaring exceptions. After leaving the series, quite a few of the kids made some additional films or worked in vaudeville and on radio and television, only then to drift out of the industry. Meanwhile, the careers of others ended at the conclusion of their series stints.

Jackie Condon went on to become an accountant at Rockwell International, and Joe Cobb also worked there. Mickey Daniels was a construction engineer, Allan “Farina” Hoskins worked with the mentally disabled, and Jackie Davis became a doctor. William “Buckwheat” Thomas worked as a lab technician, and George “Spanky” McFarland toiled at a variety of odd jobs, eventually becoming a sales executive. The lives of other “Our Gangers” were brief and tragic. Bobby “Wheezer” Hutchins served in the army during World War II, and then became an air cadet. He was 20 years old when he was killed during an instructional drill just after the war’s end. Norman “Chubby” Chaney became much more than plump. As an adolescent, his weight ballooned to 300 pounds. He was afflicted with a glandular disorder, and died at age 18.

Sadly, the plights and fates of several *Our Gang* graduates reflect upon the often disastrous lives led by child stars who are unable to adjust to normal life away from the spotlight. Matthew “Stymie” Beard quit high school and ended up a heroin addict and petty criminal who did not rehabilitate himself until the 1960s. While featured in small parts in quite a few high-prestige Hollywood features of the 1930s and 1940s, including *Going My Way*, *It’s a Wonderful Life*, *State of the Union*, *A Letter to Three Wives* and *Pat*

and *Mike*, Carl “Alfalfa” Switzer was no longer a leading light, and was just 31 when he was killed by a former business partner in a dispute over a \$50 debt. While still a teenager, Scotty Beckett began leading a tumultuous life that was characterized by frequent lawbreaking. He died at age 38 of a fatal beating.

Ironically, Hal Roach, the comic genius behind *Our Gang*, outlived most of his youthful actors. He died in 1992, at the ripe old age of 100.

—Rob Edelman

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## *The Outer Limits*

From 1963 to 1965, *The Outer Limits* was the gold standard of television science fiction. The hour-long series, broadcast weekly by ABC, adopted the anthology format of such earlier series as *Twilight Zone* and *Tales of Tomorrow*. *Outer Limits* distinguished itself from these seminal programs by its high production values and its emphasis on “hard” science concepts and themes. “What is all this experimentation and exploration getting us?” the series asked time and time again. A kick in the chops from a large mutated alien, came the standard answer.

*Outer Limits* was the brainchild of two men. Producers Leslie Stevens and Joseph Stefano both came with theatrical and feature film backgrounds. Stevens had written the script for *The Left-Handed Gun*, a 1958 western starring a young Paul Newman. Stefano had had even more success, penning the screenplay for Alfred Hitchcock’s classic *Psycho* in 1960. The pair teamed up in 1962 to begin work on Stevens’s idea for a sci-fi anthology series, originally entitled *Please Stand By*.

After a year of work, *Please Stand By* had germinated into *The Outer Limits*. A pilot was sold to ABC, and the series premiered on the network on September 16, 1963. In some ways, it was a typical sci-fi genre show. Like *Twilight Zone*, the stand-alone stories were bracketed by narration. Voice-over specialist Vic Perrin supplied the all-knowing “Control Voice” for these segments, reminding viewers that “there is nothing wrong with your television set.” But the program’s startling visual effects were light years beyond any show of its time, evidence of the care and thinking lavished on the series by its creators. As the playlets unfolded, television watchers of the early 1960s were introduced to a number of performers who would go on to become household names on other series, including Martin Landau, William Shatner, and Robert Culp.

Today, *The Outer Limits* is remembered primarily for its elaborately realized monsters—or “bears” as they were known in the series’s production parlance. Notable entries in this derby of horrors included “The Zanti Misfits,” a race of antlike extraterrestrials; a hissing lizard-like creature in “Fun and Games;” and the amphibious



A scene from *The Outer Limits*.

beasts of “Tourist Attraction.” A crack team of production specialists, including makeup wizard Wah Cheng and professional monster performer Janos Prohaska, was brought in to bring these exotic creatures to life.

When *Outer Limits* wasn’t shocking the bejesus out of viewers, it could also generate terror in subtler, more suggestive ways. Episodes like “The Man Who Was Never Born,” about an earth inhabitant of the far future who returns to the present day to kill his own father and thus prevent a worldwide plague, featured little of the pyrotechnics customary to the “bear” installments. Another classic episode, “The Hundred Days of the Dragon,” involved the replacement of an American presidential aspirant by a double created by the Chinese—a plot strongly reminiscent of the feature film *The Manchurian Candidate*.

These atypical stories were among the series’s finest, but they became increasingly rare as low ratings forced network executives to ratchet up the monster content. By the show’s second season, a “bear a week” policy had been put in place—albeit with budget cuts that compelled the supplanting of intricately designed creatures with cheaply constructed puppets. Leslie Stevens and Joseph Stefano left the show altogether, and while a number of classic episodes were filmed—“Demon with a Glass Hand” by veteran fantasist Harlan Ellison is a notable standout—the quality of the show slipped precipitously. The axe of cancellation fell in January of 1965.

*Outer Limits* never lost its core fan following, however. Reruns of the show continued running in syndication, introducing it to a whole new generation of viewers. In 1994, the Showtime cable network revived *The Outer Limits*, using the same sci-fi anthology

format but largely foregoing the “monster of the week” approach. Stefano himself returned to contribute scripts for the new show. Directorial chores went to the usual sci-fi veterans, as well as such “outside the box” choices as *Beverly Hills 90210* heartthrob Jason Priestley, SCTV alum Catherine O’Hara, and blaxploitation pioneer Melvin van Peebles. Still running as of 1999, the series spawned the development of an *The Outer Limits* feature film by the Trilogy Entertainment Group for MGM.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Outing

Unlike most other identity variables, homosexuality is invisible. Western culture may have developed a complex and elaborate range of codes by which we identify homosexuality—from voice (lisps) and gestures (limp wrists) to hair styles and clothing (gay male flamboyance, lesbian dungarees)—but these remain only suggestions. The codes are transient and could, indeed, be adopted by anyone. This means that homosexuality can easily remain hidden and that its revelation can truly come as a shock. Outing is the activity of exposing someone’s homosexuality; the shifting forms it has taken over the twentieth century are indicative of changing attitudes towards sexuality.

Given that lesbians and gay men have endured a history of persecution due to their sexual orientation, the ability to “hide” homosexuality is a useful survival tool. Over the course of the twentieth century, homosexuality has been culturally conceptualized as, variously, an illness, as “unnatural,” and as a moral weakness. Such widespread views, with their core notion of homosexuals as “lesser” individuals, have led to bullying and acts of violence against individual lesbians and gay men. They also enable the reputations and statuses of individuals to be instantly tarnished; accusations of homosexuality supposedly expose inferiority. Outing can thus be employed as a political smearing device. For example, Senator Joseph McCarthy’s attempts in the 1950s to uncover all subversive anti-American activities took the form of witchhunts for communist sympathizers. This included homosexuals; McCarthy conflated homosexuality with communism in his paranoid drive to expunge political and moral minorities from the United States.

It is difficult to think outside of the dominant (negative) conceptualizations of homosexuality because they have been (and remain) so prevalent. The birth of the gay rights movement in the late 1960s, however, proposed an alternative—a positive conception of homosexuality; lesbians and gay men claimed that they were “glad to be gay.” “Gay is good” proclaimed sloganeers; lesbians and gay men outed themselves in order to publicly demonstrate that they were not degenerates and that, in fact, they were little different from “normal” heterosexuals (historically, there had previously been more minor attempts to garner acceptance for homosexuals, such as the efforts of the American “Mattachine Society” of the 1950s; the scale of organization, among other factors, prevented success). Again, this form of outing has a political dimension. For the gay rights

movement, as with other civil rights movements, the personal was/is political; outing oneself was a way of expressing solidarity with other, similar, marginalized individuals. Although a risky process, outing oneself enabled participation in a burgeoning lesbian and gay community.

But despite the best efforts of the gay rights movement, homosexuality has continued to be widely conceived in a negative way. Thus, even as individuals continue to find group solidarity in coming out, still particular groups (the political right and Christians, particularly) out homosexuals in order to imply inferiority. The gay rights cause has not been helped by the emergence of the AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) epidemic. The spread of the virus that causes AIDS was initially highly concentrated amongst gay men and particular black minorities, and was thus sometimes seen as (divine?) judgement exacted upon the marginalized. AIDS often manifests through cancerous facial scarring and thyroid problems, altering facial appearance; suddenly, the invisible homosexuality of gay men was readable in physical symptoms.

The late 1980s and early 1990s saw an additional twist added to the history of outing: the formation of a more radical group of gay rights activists. "Queer" activism, as it became known, believed that the perspective of the 1970s gay rights movement had been too assimilationist; that is, it was looking for acceptance by the (heterosexual) mainstream. With a chant of "we're here, we're queer, get used to it" queer activists loudly proclaimed their difference from, rather than similarity to, heterosexuals. The underlying drive, however, was similar . . . to reduce the stigma against sexual minorities. For queer activists this involved outing themselves, but also, notably, public figures. This included individuals seen as hypocritical, such as priests and politicians who publicly preached against what they performed in private; but it could also include media celebrities. The argument mustered was that if all "hidden" homosexuals were outed, the widespread prevalence of homosexuality would be recognized and the stigma would be removed. Arguing along these lines, Michelangelo Signorile's book *Queer in America* thus included a lengthy section outing John Travolta.

This imposed form of outing carries problematic moral, ethical, and conceptual implications. For many people, the outing of oneself should be a personal decision, not one forced upon them by a group of activists with a particular political agenda. Perhaps more problematically, outing serves to reproduce rigid sexuality boundaries—you are either gay, straight, or bisexual—whereas a great deal of evidence would seem to suggest that sexuality is a much more fluid variable. In the 1990s, then, we find that the differences between queer activists, tabloid journalists, and religious/political groups, all of whom out people for particular reasons, are more complex and confused than they were only 20 years previously.

—Glyn Davis

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## *The Outline of History*

Author H.G. Wells is probably best known today for his forays into science fiction. Indeed, many consider him the father of modern science fiction, and the influence of ground-breaking novels like *The Time Machine*, *The War of the Worlds*, *The Invisible Man*, and *The Island of Doctor Moreau* can be seen throughout the genre. The anniversary of *The War of the Worlds* saw the proliferation of books and films consciously nodding to Wells's work. But Wells was no mere writer of fantastic tales. In fact, science fiction made up but a fraction of his more than 80 published books. Wells worked also within the traditional forms of the novel and wrote extensive nonfiction, often with a sociological bent. Of all his work, none had the impact of *The Outline of History*. This massive project was first published serially in 1919, and as a single volume in September of 1920, to critical and popular acclaim, initially selling an astonishing two million copies. Besides being one of the most popular histories ever written, the book was groundbreaking, a new kind of history text, arguing for a holistic look at history with a nod to the necessary subjectivity of such a project. Wells acknowledged that history was what the historian made of it, and his own interests manifested themselves as he regarded the history of humanity as a story of inevitable change and progress towards world unification.

Wells's own life certainly shaped the views that would manifest themselves in *The Outline of History*. He was born in 1866 in Bromley, Kent, into a lower-middle-class family that, in 1880, would experience financial collapse, dropping into poverty. Wells experienced first-hand the economic struggles of those trying merely to survive. He continued in school, however, eventually working briefly as an apprentice draper. After quitting his apprenticeship and returning to school, Wells had his break in 1884—a scholarship to The Normal School of Science in South Kensington. It was here that he came under the tutelage of T.H. Huxley, and it was during this time that he was introduced to the Socialist party. After earning his degree in zoology, Wells published his first book, *A Text-book of Biology*.

The impact of the natural sciences and Socialist thought is visible throughout Wells's work, informing both his fiction and his nonfiction. Ultimately, divergent works like *The Time Machine* and *The Outline of History* explore the same territory, examining the way mankind has evolved or will evolve. In writing *The Outline of History*, Wells had definite agendas. He claimed that the book was an attempt to explain the truth about human nature and that that nature was one of change; humankind, in other words, had been gradually evolving towards a greater social state. For Wells the evolution towards global unity was to be applauded, but he was aware that although change must by nature occur, there was nothing dictating that such change would be positive. *The Outline of History* thus served as a cautionary tale demonstrating not only how humanity had advanced, but highlighting historical figures and institutions that resisted this change. It is on these grounds that Wells encouraged education, elevated sound philosophy and literature, discouraged sexual licentiousness (in print, if not in person), and condemned fundamentalism.

Yet Wells was not content to state his ideas and let the public sort them out. Instead, he enlisted the aid of numerous experts in the various fields through which *The Outline of History* passed to contribute footnotes to the work, sometimes complementary, sometimes argumentative. The footnotes made clear to the reader that

the work was not intended as the final word on history, but only the beginning of the conversation. They also suggested the “interpretability” and mutability of historical thought. And the footnotes were not the only stand-out feature of *The Outline of History*. Illustrations and charts filled the book and stylistically, it demonstrated Wells’s wit and accessibility.

H.G. Wells did not strictly consider himself an historian. Thus, it is understandable that, though critically acclaimed within the field, *The Outline of History* was largely intended for a lay audience, as evidenced by the readability and Wells’s own insistence on the importance of knowledge to the common man. Previously, history texts of this scope had been largely academic, but now history had entered the popular realm. The success of the book surprised and pleased Wells; understandably, it became his own dearest achievement and one on which he would continue to work. Subsequent editions were published with additions and modifications by the author into the 1940s. *The Outline of History* also spawned other works. An abbreviated version of *The Outline of History*, *A Short History of the World*, sold nearly as well, while two companion books, *The Science of Life* (written with Julian Huxley and H.G.’s son G.P.) and *The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind*, failed to perform as expected.

Despite these failures and despite the fact that *The Outline of History* is not nearly so widely disseminated today, the impact of Wells’ most ambitious project has been profound. The work is still considered by many to be one of the great books of the twentieth century, and certainly one of the finest overviews of human history. Most importantly, perhaps, Wells’s dream of educating the masses has largely been fulfilled and *The Outline of History* deserves much of the credit for dragging the field of history away from the exclusive grasp of experts and scholars and into the public forum.

—Marc Oxoby

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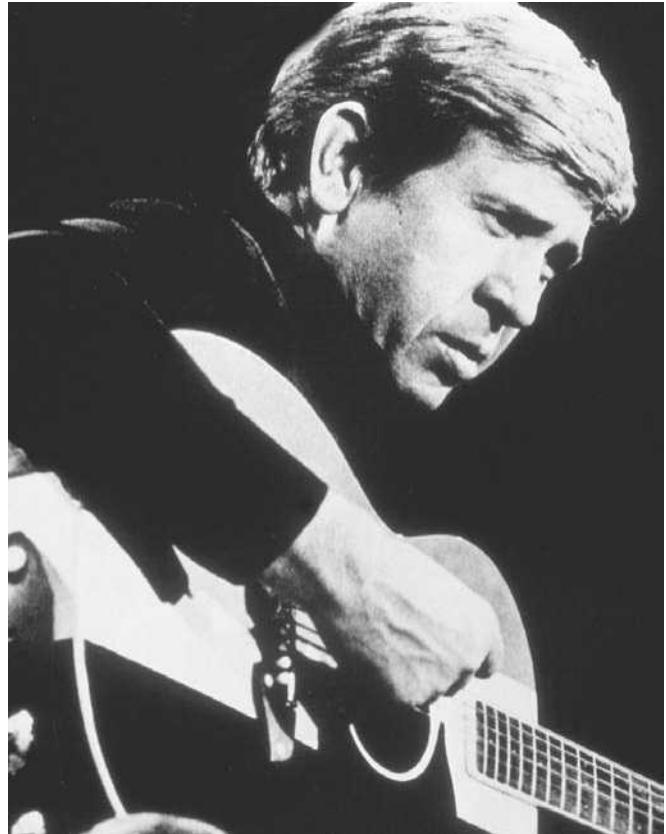
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## Owens, Buck (1929—)

Bucking Nashville country music conventions, the Bakersfield-based Buck Owens helped put his town on the musical map with his spare, twangy, rock-influenced sound that shunned the background singing and orchestral fluff that dominated country music in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Along with Bakersfield native Merle Haggard, Owens helped to popularize a more “authentic” version of country music, known as the Bakersfield Sound, that better reflected how country sounded in the bars and honky-tonks throughout the United States. Despite Owens’s great musical influence—he made a big impression on artists such as Gram Parsons, and his “Act



**Buck Owens**

Naturally” was covered by the Beatles—he later became known more as a television personality with his work on the country comedy variety show *Hee-Haw*, on which he appeared from 1969 to 1986.

Owens was born in Sherman, Texas, and his family moved to Mesa, Arizona, during the 1930s. In Mesa, he met and later married country singer Bonnie Campbell and had two sons. He then moved his family to Bakersfield, California, where he began to play music around town. A semi-depressed area that provided a slight relief for the many folks who tried to escape the 1930s Midwest Dust Bowl, Bakersfield was a host for many bars that took people’s minds off the bleak conditions of the surrounding area. Owens once claimed that Bakersfield’s music was, in fact, a reaction to those desperate conditions, in that the music was a way of providing an escape. In defining the Bakersfield Sound, Owens emphasized the elements that got live crowds most excited. In his days playing guitar with Bill Woods’s Orange Blossom Playboys at one of Bakersfield’s more popular clubs, The Black Board, those elements were a loud, twangy electric guitar sound laid atop a rock ’n’ roll backbeat and bouncy bass—elements found in his first hit, “Under Your Spell Again,” as well as his number one hit, “Act Naturally,” and “I’ve Got a Tiger by the Tail.”

Owens’s success helped to add more variety to country music in the 1960s, with his more edgy sound providing a counterbalance to the string-laden recordings being produced in Nashville at the time. His commercial clout opened the doors for Merle Haggard, who quickly went on to match Owens’s sales and artistic influence. Owens also used his newfound commercial clout to branch off, and by the late 1960s he owned a television production company, a significant

amount of real estate, numerous radio stations, a management company, and a booking agency—becoming a Bakersfield music giant both behind and in front of the scenes.

In 1969 came *Hee-Haw*, initially considered simply a summer replacement show, but which gained enormous popularity, causing Owens's star to shine even more brightly as he regularly hosted or appeared on the show through the mid-1980s. Despite his *Hee-Haw* appearances, Owens virtually disappeared from the music scene by the mid-1970s—partially the result of a self-imposed exile from which he only rarely emerged to play a few live dates or record a live album or duet (Owens and Emmylou Harris's "Play Together Again Again" was a highlight of 1979).

—Kembrew McLeod

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J.C. "Jesse" Owens is best remembered for his participation in the Berlin Olympics of 1936, where as part of the United States



Jesse Owens

athletics team he won four gold medals in the track and field events. As a black athlete, Owens' success was in direct contradiction with the Nazi doctrine of Aryan supremacy espoused by the Third Reich. Nine of the ten black Americans competing for the United States at the Berlin Olympics won gold medals. Adolf Hitler refused to congratulate Owens on his achievement, and left the stadium before the awards ceremony. Owens' place in history has thus been assured as much for the politics of his sporting achievement as for the achievement itself.

If the implications of what Owens had done at Hitler's Olympics sent a powerful message across pre-World War II Europe, his success had more ambiguous implications for domestic politics in the United States. Back home the clear statement which Owens had made in Europe seemed more confused and contradictory. In the year before his prodigious feats in Berlin, white mobs had lynched nearly two dozen black Americans, and Harlem had witnessed its worst racial rioting since 1919. Whilst Owens received widespread public acclaim on his return from Germany (including a ticker tape parade in New York), at the time his performance was not acknowledged through any official channels by the White House. Despite all this, and despite the conditions endured by many black Americans in the years leading up to the World War II (when the United States Army was to fight against Aryan supremacy in segregated units), Owens found himself hailed as a living symbol of American freedoms and democratic aspiration. In this context the complex political implications of Owens' achievement have been considered by historians alongside the case of Joe Louis, the black American boxer who fought "Hitler's heavyweight" Max Schmeling twice during the 1930s, losing in 1936 but taking his revenge in two minutes in 1938.

Born, like Louis, the son of Alabama sharecroppers, Owens was nine years old when his family moved to Cleveland, Ohio. His athletic prowess had already been evident in junior high school where he had established the first in a remarkable series of record breaking performances, extending records in the long jump and broad jump in 1928. Owens moved on to the Ohio State University track team, for whom, on the single afternoon of May 25, 1935, he set six new world records in the 100 yards, 220 yards, 220 meters, 220 yards hurdles, 220 meters hurdles, and the broad jump. Owens retained a high profile in the years after his retirement from competitive athletics and became an influential figure in United States sports administration. In 1950 he was named "top track performer" by a poll of American sportswriters. In 1955, as America's Ambassador of Sports, Owens represented the United States State Department in a "goodwill" tour of India, Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines, and in 1956 he was President Eisenhower's personal representative at the Australian Olympics. In 1976, President Ford presented Owens with America's highest civilian honor, the Medal of Freedom, and in 1990 President Bush presented the Congressional Gold Medal to Owens' widow, Ruth.

—David Holloway

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## Oxford Bags

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In 1924, Oxford (and Cambridge) students, reacting to a ban on knickers in University classrooms, began wearing wide trousers, 25 inches around at the knee and 22 inches around the bottom, slipped over their knickers. Capacious pants became an immediate fad in America, copying the dimensions, but not hiding knickers within. John Held's collegiate caricatures featured undergraduates in vast pants cavorting and Charlestoning with girls in short skirts. New Yorker John Wanamaker advertised the pants at \$20 a pair in the

spring of 1925 and *Men's Wear* reported on their presence in San Francisco and on the University of California campus in the fall of 1925. Even for those not enthralled by the outlandish width of the Oxford Bags, young men's pants were loose and roomy through the 1930s. Many on American campuses enjoyed genuine or spurious Oxford pedigree—Oxford cloth shirts, Oxfords (shoes), Oxford gold eyeglass frames, and Bags, these last as much a fad as goldfish swallowing.

—Richard Martin

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## EDITOR'S NOTE

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Thirty some years ago Ray Browne and several of his colleagues provided a forum for the academic study of popular culture by forming first the *Journal of Popular Culture* and later the Popular Culture Association and the Center for the Study of Popular Culture at Bowling Green State University. Twenty some years ago Thomas Inge thought the field of popular culture studies well enough established to put together the first edition of his *Handbook of Popular Culture*. In the years since, scholars and educators from many disciplines have published enough books, gathered enough conferences, and gained enough institutional clout to make popular culture studies one of the richest fields of academic study at the close of the twentieth century. Thirty, twenty, in some places even ten years ago, to study popular culture was to be something of a pariah; today, the study of popular culture is accepted and even respected in departments of history, literature, communications, sociology, film studies, etc. throughout the United States and throughout the world, and not only in universities, but in increasing numbers of high schools. Thomas Inge wrote in the introduction to the second edition of his *Handbook*: “The serious and systematic study of popular culture may be the most significant and potentially useful of the trends in academic research and teaching in the last half of this century in the United States.”<sup>2</sup> It is to this thriving field of study that we hope to contribute with the *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture*.

The *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture* includes over 2,700 essays on all elements of popular culture in the United States in the twentieth century. But what is “popular culture?” Academics have offered a number of answers over the years. Historians Norman F. Cantor and Michael S. Werthman suggested that “popular culture may be seen as all those things man does and all those artifacts he creates for their own sake, all that diverts his mind and body from the sad business of life.”<sup>1</sup> Michael Bell argues that:

At its simplest popular culture is the culture of mass appeal. A creation is popular when it is created to respond to the experiences and values of the majority, when it is produced in such a way that the majority have easy access to it, and when it can be understood and interpreted by that majority without the aid of special knowledge or experience.<sup>3</sup>

While tremendously useful, both of these definitions tend to exclude more than they embrace. Was the hot dog created for its own sake, as a diversion? Probably not, but we’ve included an essay on it in this collection. Were the works of Sigmund Freud in any way shaped for the majority? No, but Freud’s ideas—borrowed, twisted, and reinterpreted—have shaped novels, films, and common speech in ways too diffuse to ignore. Thus we have included an essay on Freud’s impact on popular culture. Our desire to bring together the greatest number of cultural phenomena impacting American culture in this century has led us to prefer Ray Browne’s rather broader early definition of popular culture as “all the experiences in life shared by people in common, generally though not necessarily disseminated by the mass media.”<sup>4</sup>

### *Coverage*

In order to amass a list of those cultural phenomena that were widely disseminated and experienced by people in relatively unmediated form we asked a number of scholars, teachers, librarians, and archivists to serve as advisors. Each of our 20 advisors provided us with a list of over 200 topics from their field of specialty that they considered important enough to merit an essay; several of our advisors provided us with lists much longer than that. Their collective lists numbered nearly 4,000 potential essay topics, and we winnowed this list down to the number that is now gathered in this collection. We sought balance (but not equal coverage) between the major areas of popular culture: film; music; print culture; social life; sports; television and radio; and art and performance (which includes theatre, dance, stand-up comedy, and other live performance). For those interested, the breakdown of coverage is as follows: social life, 23 percent (a category which covers everything from foodways to fashion, holidays to hairstyles); music, 16 percent; print culture, 16 percent; film, 15 percent; television and radio, 14 percent; sports, 10 percent; and art and performance, 6 percent. A variety of considerations led us to skew the coverage of the book in favor of the second half of the century. The massive popularity of television and recorded music, the mass-marketing of popular fiction, and the national attention given to professional sports are historical factors contributing to the emphasis on post-World War II culture, but we have also considered the needs of high school and undergraduate users in distributing entries in this way.

### *The Entries*

The entries in this volume vary in length from brief (75 to 150-word) introductions to the topic to in-depth 3,000-word explorations. No matter the length, we have asked our contributors to do two things in each entry: to describe the topic and to analyze its

significance in and relevance to American popular culture. While we hope that users will find the basic factual information they need concerning the topic in an entry, it was even more important to us that each user gain some perspective on the cultural context in which the topic has importance. Thus the entry on MTV, for example, chronicles the channel's rise to world popularity, but also analyzes the relationship between MTV, youth culture, and consumerism. The entry on John Ford, while tracing the outlines of the film director's long career, assesses the impact Ford's films have had on the film Western and on Americans' very perceptions of the West. Given the brevity of the entries, we chose to emphasize analysis of a topic's contribution to popular culture over a full presentation of biographical/historical information. The entry on World War I, for example, offers an analysis of how the war was understood in popular film, print culture, and propaganda rather than a blow-by-blow description of the actual military conflict.

Entries are accompanied by a list of further readings. These readings are meant to provide the user with readily accessible sources that provide more information on the specific topic. As befits a multimedia age, these "further readings" come not just from books and magazines, but also from albums, liner notes, films, videos, and web sites. Users of the Internet know well the perils of trusting the information found on the World Wide Web; there are as yet few filters to help browsers sift the useful from the absurd. We cited web sites when they provided information that was unavailable in any other known form and when our reasonable efforts to determine the veracity of the information led us to believe that the information provided was valid and useful. We have occasionally provided links to "official" web sites of performers or organizations, for the same reason that we provide citations to autobiographies. All web links cited were accurate as of the date indicated in the citation.

### *Organization and Indexing*

Entries are arranged alphabetically by the name under which the topic is best known. For topics which might reasonably be sought out under differing names, we have provided in-text cross references. For example, a user seeking an entry on Huddie Ledbetter will be referred to the entry on Leadbelly, and a user seeking an entry on Larry Flynt will be referred to the entry on *Hustler* magazine. Far more powerful than the cross references, however, are the indexes provided in the fifth volume of the collection. The general index is by far the most powerful, for it leads the user searching for information on Humphrey Bogart, for example, to the entries on Lauren Bacall, *Casablanca*, *The Maltese Falcon*, *The African Queen*, and several other entries that contain substantive information about Bogie. Equally powerful is the subject index, a list of categories under which we listed all pertinent entries. Consulting the subject index listing for Sex Symbols, for example, will lead the user to entries on Marilyn Monroe, the Varga Girl, *Playboy* magazine, David Cassidy, Mae West, and a long entry on the Sex Symbol, among others. Finally, a time index, organized by decades, provides a list of the entries that concern each decade of the twentieth century. Those entries that concern nineteenth-century topics are indexed by the first decade of the twentieth century.

We encourage readers to use the indexes to discover the fascinating intertwinings that have made the development of popular culture in the twentieth century such a vital field of study. Using the indexes, it is possible to uncover the story of how the American humor that was first made popular on the vaudeville stage evolved into first the radio comedies that entertained so many Americans during the Depression and War years and later the sitcoms that have kept Americans glued to their television screens for the last 50 years. That story is here, in the entries on Vaudeville, the Sitcom, *Amos 'n' Andy*, and the many other programs and comedians that have defined this tradition. A teacher who wishes students to uncover the similarities between sitcoms of the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s might well ask the students to use this collection to begin their research into such comedies. Similarly, a teacher who asks students to explore the cross-pollination between musical genres will find that the indexes reveal the mixing of "race music," rhythm and blues, gospel, soul, and rock 'n' roll. It is hoped that this collection will be of particular use to those instructors of high school and undergraduate courses who challenge their students to discover the real cultural complexity of the music, films, magazines, and television shows that they take for granted. This collection should also be of use to those more advanced scholars who are beginning new research into an area of popular culture or who are looking for some context in which to place their existing research.

### *Acknowledgments*

The *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture* represents the work of hundreds of people, and we owe our thanks to all of them. We have had the privilege of working with 20 advisors whose experience, knowledge, and wisdom have truly helped shape the contents of this collection. Each of our advisors helped us to discover hidden corners of popular culture that we would not have considered on our own, and the breadth of coverage in this collection is a tribute to their collective knowledge. Several of our advisors deserve special thanks: Paul Buhle, George Carney, B. Lee Cooper, Jerome Klinkowitz, and Ron Simon all showed an extraordinary level of commitment and helpfulness.

It has been a pleasure to work with the nearly 450 contributors to this collection; we've appreciated their expertise, their professionalism, and their good humor. Several of our contributors deserve special mention for the quality of their contributions to this collection: Jacob Appel, Tim Berg, Pat Broeske, Richard Digby-Junger, Jeffrey Escoffier, Bryan Garman, Tina Gianoulis, Milton Goldin, Ian Gordon, Ron Goulart, Justin Gustainis, Preston Jones, Robyn Karney, Deborah Mix, Leonard Moore, Edward Moran, Victoria Price, Bob Schnakenberg, Steven Schneider, Charles Shindo, Robert Sickels, Wendy Woloson, and Brad Wright. Our team of copyeditors helped us bring a uniformity of presentation to the writings of this mass of contributors, and spotted and corrected innumerable small errors. Heidi Hagen, Robyn Karney, Edward Moran, and Tim Seul deserve special thanks for the quality and quantity of their work; we truly couldn't have done it without them. The contributors and copyeditors provided us with the material to build this collection, but it has been the editors' responsibility to ensure its accuracy and reliability. We welcome any corrections and comments; please write to: The Editors, *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture*, St. James Press, 27500 Drake Road, Farmington Hills, MI 48331-3535.

Gathering the photos for this collection was an enormous task, and we were helped immeasurably by the knowledgeable and efficient staff at several photo agencies. We'd like to thank Marcia Schiff at AP/Wide World Photos; Eric Young at Archive Photos; and Kevin Rettig at Corbis Images. Lisa Hartjens of ImageFinders, Inc. also helped us acquire a number of photos.

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At the St. James Press, we'd like to thank Mike Tyrkus for his good humor and efficiency in helping us see this project to completion; Peter Gareffa for his usual wise and benevolent leadership; Janice Jorgensen for helping us shape this project at the beginning; the permissions department for smiling as we piled the photos on; and the staff at the St. James Press for their careful proofreading and for all their work in turning so many computer files into the volumes you see today.

Finally, we'd like to thank Lee Van Wormer for his sage management advice and our children, Conrad and Louisa, for their warm morning cuddles and for the delightful artwork that adorns our office walls.

—Tom Pendergast and Sara Pendergast,  
Editors

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# INTRODUCTION

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## *The Art of Everyday Life*

Sometimes, when I'm wandering in an art museum looking at the relics of an ancient civilization, I find myself wondering how a future society would represent a defunct American culture. What objects would be chosen—or would survive—to be placed on display? Would I agree with a curator's choices? Were I to choose the items that some future American Museum of Art should exhibit to represent twentieth-century American culture, here are some I would name: an Elvis Presley record; a Currier & Ives print; a movie still from *Casablanca*. To put it a different way, my priority would *not* be to exhibit fragments of an urban cathedral, a painted landscape, or a formal costume. I wouldn't deny such objects could be important artifacts of American culture, or that they belong in a gallery. But in my avowedly biased opinion, the most vivid documents of American life—the documents that embody its possibilities and limits—are typically found in its popular culture.

Popular culture, of course, is not an American invention, and it has a vibrant life in many contemporary societies. But in few, if any, of those societies has it been as central to a notion of national character at home as well as abroad. For better or worse, it is through icons like McDonald's (the quintessential American cuisine), the Western (a uniquely American narrative genre), and Oprah Winfrey (a classic late-twentieth century embodiment of the American Dream) that this society is known—and is likely to be remembered.

It has sometimes been remarked that unlike nations whose identities are rooted in geography, religion, language, blood, or history, the United States was founded on a democratic ideal—a notion of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness elaborated in the Declaration of Independence. That ideal has been notoriously difficult to realize, and one need only take a cursory look at many aspects of American life—its justice system, electoral politics, residential patterns, labor force, et. al.—to see how far short it has fallen.

American popular culture is a special case. To be sure, it evinces plenty of the defects apparent in other areas of our national life, among them blatant racism and crass commercialism. If nothing else, such flaws can be taken as evidence of just how truly representative it is. There is nevertheless an openness and vitality about pop culture—its appeal across demographic lines; its interplay of individual voices and shared communal experience; the relatively low access barriers for people otherwise marginalized in U.S. society—that give it real legitimacy as the art of democracy. Like it or hate it, few dispute its centrality.

This sense of openness and inclusion—as well as the affection and scorn it generated—has been apparent from the very beginning. In the prologue of the 1787 play *The Contrast* (whose title referred to the disparity between sturdy republican ideals and effete monarchical dissipation), American playwright Royall Tyler invoked a cultural sensibility where “proud titles of ‘My Lord! Your Grace/To the humble ‘Mr.’ and plain ‘Sir’ give place.” Tyler, a Harvard graduate, Revolutionary War officer, and Chief Justice of the Vermont Supreme Court, was in some sense an unlikely prophet of popular culture. But the sensibility he voiced—notably in his beloved character Jonathon, a prototype for characters from Davy Crockett to John Wayne—proved durable for centuries to come.

For much of early American history, however, artists and critics continued to define aesthetic success on European terms, typically invoking elite ideals of order, balance, and civilization. It was largely taken for granted that the most talented practitioners of fine arts, such as painters Benjamin West and John Singleton Copley, would have to go abroad to train, produce, and exhibit their most important work. To the extent that newer cultural forms—like the novel, whose very name suggests its place in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century western civilization—were noted at all, it was usually in disparaging terms. This was especially true of novels written and read by women, such as Susanna Rowson's widely read *Charlotte Temple* (1791). Sermons against novels were common; Harvard devoted its principal commencement address in 1803 to the dangers of fiction.

The industrialization of the United States has long been considered a watershed development in many realms of American life, and popular culture is no exception. Indeed, its importance is suggested in the very definition of popular culture coined by cultural historian Lawrence Levine: “the folklore of industrial society.” Industrialization allowed the mass-reproduction and dissemination of formerly local traditions, stories, and art forms across the continent, greatly intensifying the spread—and development—of culture by, for, and of the people. At a time when North America remained geographically and politically fragmented, magazines, sheet music, dime novels, lithographs, and other print media stitched it together.

This culture had a characteristic pattern. Alexis de Tocqueville devoted 11 chapters of his classic 1835-40 masterpiece *Democracy in America* to the art, literature, and language of the United States, arguing that they reflected a democratic ethos that required new standards of evaluation. “The inhabitants of the United States have, at present, properly speaking, no literature,” he wrote. This judgment, he made clear, arose from a definition of literature that came from aristocratic societies like his own. In its stead, he explained, Americans sought books “which may be easily procured, quickly read, and which require no learned researches to be understood. They ask for beauties self-proffered and easily enjoyed; above all they must have what is unexpected and new.” As in so many other ways, this description of American literature, which paralleled what Tocqueville saw in other arts, proved not only vivid but prophetic.

The paradox of American democracy, of course, is that the freedom Euro-Americans endlessly celebrated co-existed with—some might say depended on—the enslavement of African Americans. It is therefore one of the great ironies of popular culture that the contributions of black culture (a term here meant to encompass African, American, and amalgamations between the two) proved so decisive. In another sense, however, it seems entirely appropriate that popular culture, which has always skewed its orientation toward the lower end of a demographic spectrum, would draw on the most marginalized groups in American society. It is, in any event, difficult to imagine that U.S. popular culture would have had anywhere near the vitality and influence it has without slave stories, song, and dance. To cite merely one example: every American musical idiom from country music to rap has drawn on, if not actually *rested* upon, African-American cultural foundations, whether in its use of the banjo (originally an African instrument) or its emphasis on the beat (drumming was an important form of slave communication). This heritage has often been overlooked, disparaged, and even satirized. The most notable example of such racism was the minstrel show, a wildly popular nineteenth century form of theater in which white actors blackened their faces with burnt cork and mocked slave life. Yet even the most savage parodies could not help but reveal an engagement with, and even a secret admiration for, the cultural world the African Americans made in conditions of severe adversity, whether on plantations, tenant farms, or in ghettos.

Meanwhile, the accelerating pace of technological innovation began having a dramatic impact on the form as well as the content of popular culture. The first major landmark was the development of photography in the mid-nineteenth century. At first a mechanically complex and thus inaccessible medium, it quickly captured American imaginations, particularly by capturing the drama and horror of the Civil War. The subsequent proliferation of family portraits, postcards, and pictures in metropolitan newspapers began a process of orienting popular culture around visual imagery that continues unabated to this day.

In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, sound recording, radio transmission, and motion pictures were all developed in rapid succession. But it would not be until well after 1900 that their potential as popular cultural media would be fully exploited and recognizable in a modern sense (radio, for example, was originally developed and valued for its nautical and military applications). Still, even if it was not entirely clear how, many people at the time believed these new media would have a tremendous impact on American life, and they were embraced with unusual ardor by those Americans, particularly immigrants, who were able to appreciate the pleasures and possibilities afforded by movies, records, and radio.

Many of the patterns established during the advent of these media repeated themselves as new ones evolved. The Internet, for example, was also first developed for its military applications, and for all the rapidity of its development in the 1990s, it remains unclear just how its use will be structured. Though the World Wide Web has shown tremendous promise as a commercial enterprise, it still lacks the kind of programming—like *Amos 'n' Andy* in radio, or *I Love Lucy* in television—that transformed both into truly mass media of art and entertainment. Television, for its part, has long been the medium of a rising middle class of immigrants and their children, in terms of the figures who have exploited its possibilities (from RCA executive David Sarnoff to stars like Jackie Gleason); the new genres it created (from the miniseries to the situation-comedy); and the audiences (from urban Jews to suburban Irish Catholics) who adopted them with enthusiasm.

For much of this century, the mass appeal of popular culture has been viewed as a problem. “What is the jass [*sic*] music, and therefore the jass band?” asked an irritated New Orleans writer in 1918. “As well as ask why the dime novel or the grease-dripping doughnut. All are manifestations of a low stream in man’s taste that has not come out in civilization’s wash.” However one may feel about this contemptuous dismissal of jazz, now viewed as one of the great achievements of American civilization, this writer was clearly correct to suggest the demographic, technological, and cultural links between the “lower” sorts of people in American life, the media they used, and forms of expression that were often presumed guilty until proven innocent.

Indeed, because education and research have traditionally been considered the province of the “higher” sorts of people in American life, popular culture was not considered a subject that should even be discussed, much less studied. Nevertheless, there have always been those willing to continue what might be termed the “Tocquevillian” tradition of treating popular culture with intellectual

seriousness and respect (if not always approval). In his 1924 book *The Seven Lively Arts* and in much of his journalism, critic Gilbert Seldes found in silent movies, cartoons, and pop music themes and motifs fully worthy of sustained exploration. Amid the worldwide crisis of the 1930s and 1940s, folklorist Constance Rourke limned the origins of an indigenous popular culture in books like *American Humor* (1931) and *The Roots of American Culture* (1942). And with the rise of the Cold War underlining the differences between democratic and totalitarian societies, sociologists David Riesman and Reuel Denny evaluated the social currents animating popular culture in Denny's *The Astonished Muse* (1957), for which Riesman, who showed a particular interest in popular music, wrote the introduction.

European scholars were also pivotal in shaping the field. Johan Huizinga's *Homo Ludens* (1938), Roland Barthes's *Mythologies* (1957), and Antonio Gramsci's prison letters (written in the 1920s and 1930s but not published until the 1970s) have proved among the most influential works in defining the boundaries, strategies, and meanings of popular culture. While none of these works focused on American popular culture specifically, their focus on the jetsam and flotsam of daily life since the medieval period proved enormously suggestive in an American context.

It has only been at the end of the twentieth century, however, that the study of popular culture has come into its own in its own right. To a great extent, this development is a legacy of the 1960s. The end of a formal system of racial segregation; the impact of affirmative action and government-funded financial aid; and the end of single-sex education at many long-established universities dramatically transformed the composition of student bodies and faculties. These developments in turn, began having an impact on the nature and parameters of academic study. While one should not exaggerate the impact of these developments—either in terms of their numbers or their effect on an academy that in some ways has simply replaced older forms of insularity and complacency with new ones—it nevertheless seems fair to say that a bona fide democratization of higher education occurred in the last third of the twentieth century, paving the way for the creation of a formal scholarly infrastructure for popular culture.

Once again, it was foreign scholars who were pivotal in the elaboration of this infrastructure. The work of Raymond Williams, Stuart Hall, and others at Britain's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in the 1950s and 1960s drew on Marxist and psychoanalytic ideas to explain, and in many cases justify, the importance of popular culture. Though not always specifically concerned with popular culture, a panoply of French theorists—particularly Jacques Derrida, Louis Althusser, and Michel Foucault—also proved highly influential. At its best, this scholarship illuminated unexamined assumptions and highly revealing (and in many cases, damning) patterns in the most seemingly ordinary documents. At its worst, it lapsed into an arcane jargon that belied the directness of popular culture and suggested an elitist disdain toward the audiences it presumably sought to understand.

Like their European counterparts, American scholars of popular culture have come from a variety of disciplines. Many were trained in literature, among them Henry Nash Smith, whose *Virgin Land* (1950) pioneered the study of the Western, and Leslie Fiedler, who applied critical talents first developed to study classic American literature to popular fiction like *Gone with the Wind*. But much important work in the field has also been done by historians, particularly social historians who began their careers by focusing on labor history but became increasingly interested in the ways American workers spent their free time. Following the tradition of the great British historian E. P. Thompson, scholars such as Herbert Gutman and Lawrence Levine have uncovered and described the art and leisure practices of African Americans in particular with flair and insight. Feminist scholars of a variety of stripes (and sexual orientations) have supplied a great deal of the intellectual energy in the study of popular culture, among them Ann Douglas, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, and Jane Tompkins. Indeed, the strongly interdisciplinary flavor of popular culture scholarship—along with the rise of institutions like the Popular Press and the Popular Culture Association, both based at Bowling Green University—suggests the way the field has been at the forefront of an ongoing process of redrawing disciplinary boundaries in the humanities.

By the 1980s, the stream of scholarship on popular culture had become a flood. In the 1990s, the field became less of a quixotic enterprise than a growing presence in the educational curriculum as a whole. Courses devoted to the subject, whether housed in communications programs or in traditional academic departments, have become increasingly common in colleges and universities—and, perhaps more importantly, have become integrated into the fabric of basic surveys of history, literature, and other fields. Political scientists, librarians, and curators have begun to consider it part of their domain.

For most of us, though, popular culture is not something we have to self-consciously seek out or think about. Indeed, its very omnipresence makes it easy to take for granted as transparent (and permanent). That's why trips to museums—or encyclopedias like this one—are so useful and important. In pausing to think about the art of everyday life, we can begin to see just how unusual, and valuable, it really is.

—Jim Cullen

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Benjamin Griffith  
Perry Grossman  
Justin Gustainis  
Dale Allen Gyure

Kristine J. Ha  
Elizabeth Haas  
Ray Haberski, Jr.  
Jeanne Lynn Hall  
Steve Hanson  
Jacqueline Anne Hatton  
Chris Haven  
Ethan Hay  
Jeet Heer  
Andrew R. Heinze  
Mary Hess  
Joshua Hirsch  
David L. Hixson  
Scott W. Hoffman  
Briavel Holcomb

- Peter C. Holloran  
David Holloway  
Karen Hovde  
Kevin Howley  
Nick Humez
- Judy L. Isaksen
- Jennifer Jankauskas  
E. V. Johanningmeier  
Patrick Jones  
Patrick Jones  
Preston Neal Jones  
Mark Joseph  
Thomas Judd
- Peter Kalliney  
Nicolás Kanellos  
Robyn Karney  
Stephen Keane  
James D. Keeline  
Max Kellerman  
Ken Kempcke  
Stephen C. Kenny  
Stephen Kercher  
Matt Kerr  
M. Alison Kibler  
Kimberley H. Kidd  
Matthew A. Killmeier  
Jason King  
Jon Klinkowitz  
Leah Konicki  
Steven Kotok  
Robert Kuhlken  
Andrew J. Kunka  
Audrey Kupferberg  
Petra Kuppers
- Emma Lambert  
Christina Lane  
Kevin Lause  
Nadine-Rae Leavell  
Christopher A. Lee  
Michele Lellouche  
Robin Lent  
Joan Leotta  
Richard Levine  
Drew Linsky  
Daniel Lindley  
Joyce Linehan  
Margaret Litton  
James H. Lloyd  
David Lonergan  
Eric Longley  
Rick Lott  
Bennett Lovett-Graff  
Denise Lowe
- Debra M. Lucas  
Karen Lurie  
Michael A. Lutes  
James Lyons  
John F. Lyons
- Steve Macek  
Alison Macor  
David Marc  
Robin Markowitz  
Tilney L. Marsh  
Richard Martin  
Sara Martin  
Linda A. Martindale  
Kevin Mattson  
Randall McClure  
Allison McCracken  
Jennifer Davis McDaid  
Jason McEntee  
Cheryl S. McGrath  
Daryna McKeand  
Jacquelyn Y. McLendon  
Kembrew McLeod  
Josephine A. McQuail  
Alex Medeiros  
Brad Melton  
Myra Mendible  
Jeff Merron  
Thomas J. Mertz  
Nathan R. Meyer  
Jonathan Middlebrook  
Andre Millard  
Jeffrey S. Miller  
Karen Miller  
P. Andrew Miller  
Dorothy Jane Mills  
Andrew Milner  
Deborah M. Mix  
Nickianne Moody  
Richard L. Moody  
Charles F. Moore  
Leonard N. Moore  
Dan Moos  
Robert A. Morace  
Edward Moran  
Barry Morris  
Michael J. Murphy  
Jennifer A. Murray  
Susan Murray  
Pierre-Damien Mvuyekure
- Michael Najjar  
Ilana Nash  
Mary Lou Nemanic  
Scott Newman  
Joan Nicks  
Martin F. Norden  
Justin Nordstrom  
Anna Notaro
- William F. O'Connor  
Paul O'Hara  
Angela O'Neal  
Christopher D. O'Shea  
Lolly Ockerstrom  
Kerry Owens  
Marc Oxoby
- D. Byron Painter  
Henri-Dominique Paratte  
Leslie Paris  
Jay Parrent  
Felicity Paxton  
Sara Pendergast  
Tom Pendergast  
Jana Pendragon  
Geoff Peterson  
Kurt W. Peterson  
Emily Pettigrew  
Daniel J. Philippon  
S. J. Philo  
Allene Phy-Olsen  
Ed Piacentino  
Jürgen Pieters  
Paul F. P. Pogue  
Mark B. Pohlrad  
Fernando Porta  
Michael L. Posner  
John A. Price  
Victoria Price  
Luca Prono  
Elizabeth Purdy  
Christian L. Pyle
- Jessy Randall  
Taly Ravid  
Belinda S. Ray  
Ivan Raykoff  
Wendy Wick Reaves  
James E. Reibman  
Yolanda Retter  
Tracy J. Revels  
Wylene Rholetter  
Tad Richards  
Robert B. Ridinger  
Jeff Ritter  
Thomas Robertson  
Arthur Robinson  
Todd Anthony Rosa  
Ava Rose  
Chris Routledge  
Abhijit Roy  
Adrienne Russell  
Dennis Russell
- Lisa Jo Sagolla  
Frank A. Salamone  
Joe Sutliff Sanders

Andrew Sargent  
Julie Scelfo  
Elizabeth D. Schafer  
Louis Scheeder  
James Schiff  
Robert E. Schnakenberg  
Steven Schneider  
Kelly Schrum  
Christine Scodari  
Ann Sears  
E. M. I. Sefcovic  
Eric J. Segal  
Carol A. Senf  
Tim Seul  
Alexander Shashko  
Michele S. Shauf  
Taylor Shaw  
Anne Sheehan  
Steven T. Sheehan  
Pamela Shelton  
Sandra Sherman  
Charles J. Shindo  
Mike Shupp  
Robert C. Sickels  
C. Kenyon Silvey  
Ron Simon  
Philip Simpson  
Rosemarie Skaine  
Ryan R. Sloane  
Jeannette Sloniowski  
Cheryl A. Smith

Kyle Smith  
John Smolenski  
Irvin D. Solomon  
Geri Speace  
Andrew Spieldenner  
tova stabin  
Scott Stabler  
Jon Sterngrass  
Roger W. Stump  
Bob Sullivan  
Lauren Ann Supance  
Marc R. Sykes

Midori Takagi  
Candida Taylor  
Scott Thill  
Robert Thompson  
Stephen L. Thompson  
Rosemarie Garland Thomson  
Jan Todd  
Terry Todd  
John Tomasic  
Warren Tormey  
Grant Tracey  
David Trevino  
Marcella Bush Trevino  
Scott Tribble  
Tom Trinchera  
Nicholas A. Turse

Anthony Ubelhor  
Daryl Umberger

Rob Van Kranenburg  
Robert VanWynsberghe  
Colby Vargas

Sue Walker  
Lori C. Walters  
Nancy Lan-Jy Wang  
Adam Wathen  
Laural Weintraub  
Jon Weisberger  
David B. Welky  
Christopher W. Wells  
Celia White  
Christopher S. Wilson  
David B. Wilson  
Kristi M. Wilson  
Jeff Wiltse  
Wendy Woloson  
David E. Woodward  
Bradford W. Wright

Sharon Yablon  
Daniel Francis Yezbick  
Stephen D. Youngkin

Kristal Brent Zook



## LIST OF ENTRIES

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- A&R Men/Women  
Aaron, Hank  
AARP (American Association  
for Retired Persons)  
ABBA  
Abbey, Edward  
Abbott and Costello  
Abdul-Jabbar, Kareem  
Abortion  
Abstract Expressionism  
Academy Awards  
AC/DC  
Ace, Johnny  
Acker, Kathy  
Acupuncture  
Adams, Ansel  
Addams, Jane  
Addams Family, The  
Adderley, Cannonball  
Adidas  
Adler, Renata  
*Adventures of Ozzie and  
Harriet, The*  
Advertising  
Advice Columns  
*Advocate, The*  
Aerobics  
Aerosmith  
African American Press  
*African Queen, The*  
Agassi, Andre  
Agents  
AIDS  
Ailey, Alvin  
Air Travel  
*Airplane!*  
Alabama  
Alaska-Yukon Exposition  
(Seattle, 1909)  
Albert, Marv  
Album-Oriented Rock  
Alda, Alan  
Ali, Muhammad  
*Alice*  
*Alien*  
Alka Seltzer  
*All About Eve*  
*All in the Family*  
*All My Children*  
*All Quiet on the Western Front*  
Allen, Steve  
Allen, Woody  
Allison, Luther  
Allman Brothers Band, The  
*Ally McBeal*
- Alpert, Herb, and the  
Tijuana Brass  
Altamont  
Alternative Country Music  
Alternative Press  
Alternative Rock  
Altman, Robert  
*Amazing Stories*  
*American Bandstand*  
American Girls Series  
*American Gothic*  
*American Graffiti*  
American International Pictures  
*American Mercury*  
American Museum of Natural  
History  
*Amos 'n' Andy Show, The*  
Amsterdam, Morey  
Amtrak  
Amusement Parks  
Amway  
Anderson, Marian  
Anderson, Sherwood  
Andretti, Mario  
Andrews Sisters, The  
Androgyny  
*Andy Griffith Show, The*  
Andy Hardy  
Angell, Roger  
Angelou, Maya  
*Animal House*  
Animated Films  
Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas  
Senate Hearings  
Anka, Paul  
*Anne Frank: The Diary of a  
Young Girl*  
*Annie*  
*Annie Get Your Gun*  
*Annie Hall*  
*Another World*  
Anthony, Piers  
Aparicio, Luis  
*Apocalypse Now*  
Apollo Missions  
Apollo Theatre  
Apple Computer  
Arbuckle, Fatty  
Archie Comics  
Arden, Elizabeth  
*Argosy*  
*Arizona Highways*  
Arledge, Roone  
Armani, Giorgio  
Armed Forces Radio Service  
Armory Show
- Armstrong, Henry  
Armstrong, Louis  
Army-McCarthy Hearings  
Arnaz, Desi  
Arrow Collar Man  
Arthur, Bea  
Arthurian Legend  
*As the World Turns*  
Ashcan School  
Ashe, Arthur  
Asimov, Isaac  
Asner, Ed  
Astaire, Fred, and Ginger  
Rogers  
*Astounding Science Fiction*  
Astrology  
AT&T  
*A-Team, The*  
Athletic Model Guild  
Atkins, Chet  
Atlantic City  
*Atlantic Monthly*  
Atlantic Records  
Atlas, Charles  
Auerbach, Red  
Aunt Jemima  
Automobile  
Autry, Gene  
Avalon, Frankie  
Avedon, Richard  
*Avengers, The*  
Avery, Tex  
Avon  
Aykroyd, Dan
- “B” Movies  
Babar  
Baby Boomers  
Babyface  
Bacall, Lauren  
Bach, Richard  
*Back to the Future*  
*Bad News Bears, The*  
Baez, Joan  
Bagels  
Baker, Josephine  
Baker, Ray Stannard  
Bakker, Jim and Tammy Faye  
Balanchine, George  
Baldwin, James  
Ball, Lucille  
Ballard, Hank  
Ballet  
Bambaataa, Afrika  
Band, The

- Bara, Theda  
 Baraka, Amiri  
 Barbecue  
 Barber, Red  
 Barbershop Quartets  
 Barbie  
 Barker, Clive  
 Barkley, Charles  
*Barney and Friends*  
*Barney Miller*  
 Barry, Dave  
 Barry, Lynda  
 Barrymore, John  
 Barton, Bruce  
 Baryshnikov, Mikhail  
 Baseball  
 Baseball Cards  
 Basie, Count  
 Basketball  
 Bathhouses  
 Batman  
 Baum, L. Frank  
 Bay, Mel  
 Bay of Pigs Invasion  
*Baywatch*  
 Bazooka Joe  
 Beach Boys, The  
 Beach, Rex  
 Beanie Babies  
 Beastie Boys, The  
 Beat Generation  
 Beatles, The  
 Beatty, Warren  
*Beau Geste*  
 Beauty Queens  
 Beavers, Louise  
*Beavis and Butthead*  
 Bee Gees, The  
 Beer  
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 Belafonte, Harry  
*Bell Telephone Hour, The*  
 Bellbottoms  
 Belushi, John  
*Ben Casey*  
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 Benchley, Robert  
*Ben-Hur*  
 Benneton  
 Bennett, Tony  
*Benny Hill Show, The*  
 Benny, Jack  
 Bergen, Candice  
 Bergen, Edgar  
 Bergman, Ingmar  
 Bergman, Ingrid  
 Berkeley, Busby  
 Berle, Milton  
 Berlin, Irving  
 Bernhard, Sandra  
 Bernstein, Leonard  
 Berra, Yogi  
 Berry, Chuck  
*Best Years of Our Lives, The*  
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*Better Homes and Gardens*  
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*Beulah*  
*Beverly Hillbillies, The*  
*Beverly Hills 90210*  
*Bewitched*  
 Bicycling  
 Big Apple, The  
 Big Bands  
 Big Bopper  
 Big Little Books  
*Big Sleep, The*  
 Bigfoot  
 Bilingual Education  
 Billboards  
*Bionic Woman, The*  
 Bird, Larry  
 Birkenstocks  
*Birth of a Nation, The*  
 Birthing Practices  
 Black, Clint  
*Black Mask*  
 Black Panthers  
 Black Sabbath  
 Black Sox Scandal  
*Blackboard Jungle, The*  
 Blackface Minstrelsy  
 Blacklisting  
*Blade Runner*  
 Blades, Ruben  
 Blanc, Mel  
 Bland, Bobby Blue  
 Blass, Bill  
 Blaxploitation Films  
*Blob, The*  
 Blockbusters  
*Blondie* (comic strip)  
 Blondie (rock band)  
*Bloom County*  
 Blount, Roy, Jr.  
*Blue Velvet*  
*Blueboy*  
 Bluegrass  
 Blues  
 Blues Brothers, The  
 Blume, Judy  
 Bly, Robert  
 Board Games  
 Boat People  
 Bob and Ray  
 Bobbsey Twins, The  
 Bobby Socks  
 Bochco, Steven  
 Body Decoration  
 Bodybuilding  
 Bogart, Humphrey  
 Bok, Edward  
 Bomb, The  
 Bombeck, Erma  
 Bon Jovi  
*Bonanza*  
*Bonnie and Clyde*  
 Booker T. and the MG's  
 Book-of-the-Month Club  
 Boone, Pat  
 Borge, Victor  
 Borscht Belt  
 Boston Celtics, The  
 Boston Garden  
 Boston Marathon  
 Boston Strangler  
 Boston Symphony Orchestra, The  
 Bouton, Jim  
 Bow, Clara  
 Bowie, David  
 Bowling  
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 Boy Scouts of America  
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 Bradbury, Ray  
 Bradley, Bill  
 Bradshaw, Terry  
*Brady Bunch, The*  
 Brand, Max  
 Brando, Marlon  
 Brat Pack  
 Brautigan, Richard  
*Breakfast at Tiffany's*  
*Breakfast Club, The*  
 Breast Implants  
 Brenda Starr  
 Brice, Fanny  
*Brideshead Revisited*  
 Bridge  
*Bridge on the River Kwai, The*  
*Bridges of Madison County, The*  
 Brill Building  
*Bringing Up Baby*  
 Brinkley, David  
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 Broadway  
 Brokaw, Tom  
 Bronson, Charles  
 Brooklyn Dodgers, The  
 Brooks, Garth  
 Brooks, Gwendolyn  
 Brooks, James L.  
 Brooks, Louise  
 Brooks, Mel  
 Brothers, Dr. Joyce  
 Brown, James  
 Brown, Jim  
 Brown, Les

- Brown, Paul  
 Browne, Jackson  
 Brownie Cameras  
 Brubeck, Dave  
 Bruce, Lenny  
 Bryant, Paul “Bear”  
 Brynner, Yul  
 Bubblegum Rock  
 Buck, Pearl S.  
 Buck Rogers  
 Buckley, William F., Jr.  
 Buckwheat Zydeco  
 Budweiser  
 Buffalo Springfield  
 Buffett, Jimmy  
 Bugs Bunny  
 Bumper Stickers  
 Bundy, Ted  
 Bungalow  
 Burger King  
 Burlesque  
 Burma-Shave  
 Burnett, Carol  
 Burns, George, and Gracie Allen  
 Burns, Ken  
 Burr, Raymond  
 Burroughs, Edgar Rice  
 Burroughs, William S.  
*Buster Brown*  
*Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*  
 Butkus, Dick  
 Butler, Octavia E.  
 Butterbeans and Susie  
 Buttons, Red  
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- Cabbage Patch Kids  
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 Caesar, Sid  
*Cagney and Lacey*  
 Cagney, James  
 Cahan, Abraham  
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 Caldwell, Erskine  
 Calloway, Cab  
*Calvin and Hobbes*  
 Camacho, Héctor “Macho”  
*Camelot*  
 Camp  
 Campbell, Glen  
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*Candid Camera*  
 Caniff, Milton  
 Canova, Judy  
 Canseco, Jose
- Cantor, Eddie  
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 Capone, Al  
 Capote, Truman  
 Capra, Frank  
 Captain America  
*Captain Kangaroo*  
 Captain Marvel  
*Car 54, Where Are You?*  
 Car Coats  
 Caray, Harry  
 Carey, Mariah  
 Carlin, George  
 Carlton, Steve  
 Carmichael, Hoagy  
 Carnegie, Dale  
 Carnegie Hall  
 Carpenters, The  
 Carr, John Dickson  
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 Carson, Johnny  
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 Caruso, Enrico  
 Carver, Raymond  
*Casablanca*  
 Cash, Johnny  
 Caspar Milquetoast  
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 Cassidy, David  
 Castaneda, Carlos  
 Castle, Vernon and Irene  
 Castro, The  
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*Catch-22*  
*Catcher in the Rye, The*  
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*Cathy*  
*Cats*  
 Cavett, Dick  
 CB Radio  
*CBS Radio Mystery Theater, The*  
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 Central Park  
 Century 21 Exposition (Seattle, 1962)  
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 Challenger Disaster  
 Chamberlain, Wilt  
 Chandler, Raymond  
*Chandu the Magician*  
 Chanel, Coco  
 Chaplin, Charlie  
 Charles, Ray  
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- Charlie’s Angels*  
 Charm Bracelets  
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 Checker, Chubby  
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 Chessman, Caryl  
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 Child, Julia  
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*Chinatown*  
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 Choose-Your-Own-Ending Books  
 Christie, Agatha  
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 Chrysler Building  
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 Chun King  
 Church Socials  
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*City Lights*  
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 Claiborne, Liz  
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 Clark, Dick  
 Clarke, Arthur C.  
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 Cline, Patsy  
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 Clooney, Rosemary  
*Close Encounters of the Third Kind*  
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- Cobb, Ty  
 Coca, Imogene  
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     Wild West Show  
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 Cohan, George M.  
 Colbert, Claudette  
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 Cole, Nat ‘‘King’’  
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 Collins, Albert  
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*Columbo*  
 Columbo, Russ  
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 Comics  
 Comics Code Authority  
 Coming Out  
 Commodores, The  
 Communes  
 Communism  
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 Conceptual Art  
 Condé Nast  
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 Coney Island  
 Confession Magazines  
 Coniff, Ray  
 Connors, Jimmy  
 Consciousness Raising Groups  
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*Consumer Reports*  
 Consumerism  
 Contemporary Christian Music  
 Convertible  
 Conway, Tim  
 Cooke, Sam  
 Cooper, Alice  
 Cooper, Gary  
 Cooperstown, New York  
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 Copland, Aaron  
 Corbett, James J.  
 Corman, Roger  
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 Corwin, Norman  
 Cosby, Bill  
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 Cosell, Howard  
*Cosmopolitan*  
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 Coughlin, Father Charles E.  
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 Cousteau, Jacques  
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 Crawford, Joan  
 Cray, Robert  
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 Crichton, Michael  
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*Crisis, The*  
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 Cronkite, Walter  
 Crosby, Bing  
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 Crumb, Robert  
 Crystal, Billy  
 Cukor, George  
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 Daly, Tyne  
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     *Without Fear*  
*Dark Shadows*  
 Darrow, Clarence  
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 Day, Doris  
*Day the Earth Stood Still, The*  
*Days of Our Lives*  
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 DC Comics  
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 De Niro, Robert  
 Dead Kennedys, The  
 Dean, James  
*Death of a Salesman*  
 Debs, Eugene V.  
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 DeGeneres, Ellen  
 Del Río, Dolores  
 DeMille, Cecil B.  
 Dempsey, Jack  
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 Denver, John  
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*Dick and Jane Readers*  
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 Dickinson, Angie  
 Diddley, Bo  
 Didion, Joan  
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*Dilbert*  
 Dillard, Annie  
 Diller, Phyllis  
 Dillinger, John  
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 Doby, Larry  
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 Dyer, Wayne  
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 Dylan, Bob  
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- Eames, Charles and Ray  
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- Eddy, Mary Baker  
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 Edison, Thomas Alva  
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*Family Matters*  
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*Far Side, The*  
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 Fauset, Jessie Redmon  
 Fawcett, Farrah  
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 Feliciano, José  
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 Fellini, Federico  
 Feminism  
 Fenway Park  
 Ferrante and Teicher  
 Fetchit, Stepin  
*Fibber McGee and Molly*  
*Fiddler on the Roof*  
 Fidrych, Mark "Bird"  
*Field and Stream*  
*Field of Dreams*  
 Field, Sally  
 Fields, W. C.  
 Fierstein, Harvey  
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 Firearms  
 Firesign Theatre  
 Fischer, Bobby  
 Fisher, Eddie  
 Fisher-Price Toys  
 Fisk, Carlton  
*Fistful of Dollars, A*  
 Fitzgerald, Ella  
 Fitzgerald, F. Scott  
 Flack, Roberta  
 Flag Burning  
 Flag Clothing  
 Flagpole Sitting  
 Flappers  
*Flash Gordon*  
 Flashdance Style  
 Flatt, Lester  
 Flea Markets  
 Fleetwood Mac  
 Fleming, Ian  
 Fleming, Peggy  
*Flintstones, The*  
 Flipper  
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- Flying Nun, The*  
 Flynn, Errol  
 Foggy Mountain Boys, The  
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 Folkways Records  
 Follett, Ken  
 Fonda, Henry  
 Fonda, Jane  
 Fonteyn, Margot  
 Ford, Glenn  
 Ford, Harrison  
 Ford, Henry  
 Ford, John  
 Ford Motor Company  
 Ford, Tennessee Ernie  
 Ford, Whitey  
 Foreman, George  
*Forrest Gump*  
 Forsyth, Frederick  
*Fortune*  
*42nd Street*  
 Fosse, Bob  
 Foster, Jodie  
 Fourth of July Celebrations  
 Foxx, Redd  
 Foyt, A. J.  
 Francis, Arlene  
 Francis, Connie  
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 Frankenstein  
 Franklin, Aretha  
 Franklin, Bonnie  
*Frasier*  
 Frawley, William  
 Frazier, Joe  
 Frazier, Walt "Clyde"  
 Freak Shows  
*Freaks*  
 Frederick's of Hollywood  
 Free Agency  
 Free Speech Movement  
 Freed, Alan "Moondog"  
 Freedom Rides  
*French Connection, The*  
 French Fries  
 Freud, Sigmund  
 Friday, Nancy  
*Friday the 13th*  
 Friedman, Kinky  
*Friends*  
 Frisbee  
 Frizzell, Lefty  
*From Here to Eternity*  
 Frost, Robert  
 Frosty the Snowman  
 Frozen Entrées  
 Fu Manchu  
*Fugitive, The*  
 Fuller, Buckminster  
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 Funicello, Annette  
 Funk  
 Fusco, Coco  
  
 Gable, Clark  
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 Gammons, Peter  
 Gangs  
 Gangsta Rap  
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 Garbo, Greta  
 Gardner, Ava  
 Garfield, John  
 Garland, Judy  
 Garner, James  
 Garvey, Marcus  
 Garvey, Steve  
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 Gated Communities  
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 Gay and Lesbian Press  
 Gay Liberation Movement  
 Gay Men  
 Gaye, Marvin  
 Gehrig, Lou  
*General, The*  
*General Hospital*  
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*Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*  
 Gere, Richard  
 Gernsback, Hugo  
*Gertie the Dinosaur*  
*Get Smart*  
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*Giant*  
 Gibson, Althea  
 Gibson, Bob  
 Gibson Girl  
 Gibson, Mel  
 Gibson, William  
 Gifford, Frank  
 Gillespie, Dizzy  
*Gilligan's Island*  
 Ginny Dolls  
 Ginsberg, Allen  
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 Girl Scouts  
 Gish, Dorothy  
 Gish, Lillian  
*Glass Menagerie, The*  
 Gleason, Jackie  
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 Gnagy, Jon  
*Godfather, The*  
 Godfrey, Arthur  
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 Gold, Mike  
 Goldberg, Rube  
 Goldberg, Whoopi  
 Golden Books  
 Golden Gate Bridge  
*Golden Girls, The*  
 Goldwyn, Samuel  
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*Gone with the Wind*  
*Good Housekeeping*  
*Good, the Bad, and the Ugly, The*  
*Good Times*  
*Goodbye, Columbus*  
 Gooden, Dwight  
*GoodFellas*  
 Goodman, Benny  
 Goodson, Mark  
 Gordy, Berry  
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 Gotti, John  
 Grable, Betty  
 Graceland  
*Graduate, The*  
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 Grafton, Sue  
 Graham, Bill  
 Graham, Billy  
 Graham, Martha  
 Grandmaster Flash  
 Grand Ole Opry  
 Grant, Amy  
 Grant, Cary  
*Grapes of Wrath, The*  
 Grateful Dead, The  
 Gray Panthers  
 Great Depression  
*Great Train Robbery, The*  
 Greb, Harry  
*Greed*  
 Greeley, Andrew  
 Green, Al  
 Green Bay Packers, The  
 Green Lantern  
 Greenberg, Hank  
 Greene, Graham  
 Greenpeace  
 Greenwich Village  
 Greeting Cards  
 Gregory, Dick  
 Gretzky, Wayne  
 Grey, Zane  
 Greyhound Buses  
 Grier, Pam  
 Griffin, Merv  
 Griffith, D. W.  
 Griffith, Nanci  
 Grimek, John  
 Grisham, John

- Grits  
Grizzard, Lewis  
Groening, Matt  
Grunge  
Grusin, Dave  
Guaraldi, Vince  
Guardian Angels, The  
Gucci  
*Guiding Light*  
Gulf War  
*Gunsmoke*  
Guthrie, Arlo  
Guthrie, Woodie  
Guy, Buddy  
Gymnastics
- Hackett, Buddy  
Hackman, Gene  
Haggard, Merle  
Hagler, Marvelous Marvin  
Haight-Ashbury  
*Hair*  
Hairstyles  
Halas, George “Papa Bear”  
Haley, Alex  
Haley, Bill  
Hall and Oates  
*Hallmark Hall of Fame*  
*Halloween*  
Halston  
Hamburger  
Hamill, Dorothy  
Hammett, Dashiell  
Hancock, Herbie  
Handy, W. C.  
Hanks, Tom  
Hanna-Barbera  
Hansberry, Lorraine  
*Happy Days*  
Happy Hour  
Hard-Boiled Detective Fiction  
Harding, Tonya  
Hardy Boys, The  
Hare Krishna  
Haring, Keith  
Harlem Globetrotters, The  
Harlem Renaissance  
Harlequin Romances  
Harley-Davidson  
Harlow, Jean  
Harmonica Bands  
Harper, Valerie  
*Harper’s*  
Hate Crimes  
Havlicek, John  
*Hawaii Five-0*  
Hawkins, Coleman  
Hawks, Howard  
Hayward, Susan  
Hayworth, Rita
- Hearst, Patty  
Hearst, William Randolph  
Heavy Metal  
*Hee Haw*  
Hefner, Hugh  
Hellman, Lillian  
*Hello, Dolly!*  
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Hemingway, Ernest  
Hemlines  
Henderson, Fletcher  
Hendrix, Jimi  
Henry Aldrich  
Henson, Jim  
Hep Cats  
Hepburn, Audrey  
Hepburn, Katharine  
Herbert, Frank  
*Hercules: The Legendary Journeys*  
Herman, Woody  
Herpes  
Hersey, John  
Hess, Joan  
Heston, Charlton  
Higginson, Major Henry Lee  
*High Noon*  
Highway System  
Hijuelos, Oscar  
Hiking  
*Hill Street Blues*  
Hillerman, Tony  
Himes, Chester  
*Hindenberg*, The  
Hippies  
Hirschfeld, Albert  
*Hispanic Magazine*  
Hiss, Alger  
Hitchcock, Alfred  
Hite, Shere  
Hockey  
Hoffman, Abbie  
Hoffman, Dustin  
Hogan, Ben  
Hogan, Hulk  
*Hogan’s Heroes*  
Holbrook, Hal  
Holden, William  
Holiday, Billie  
Holiday Inns  
Holliday, Judy  
Holly, Buddy  
Hollywood  
*Hollywood Squares*  
Hollywood Ten, The  
*Holocaust*  
Holyfield, Evander  
*Home Improvement*  
Home Shopping Network/QVC  
*Honeymooners, The*
- Hooker, John Lee  
*Hoosiers*  
Hoover Dam  
Hoover, J. Edgar  
Hopalong Cassidy  
Hope, Bob  
Hopkins, Sam “Lightnin”  
Hopper, Dennis  
Hopper, Edward  
Hopscotch  
Horne, Lena  
Horror Movies  
Hot Dogs  
Hot Pants  
Hot Rods  
Houdini, Harry  
Houston, Whitney  
*How the West Was Won*  
*Howdy Doody Show, The*  
Howe, Gordie  
Howlin’ Wolf  
Hubbard, L. Ron  
Hudson, Rock  
Hughes, Howard  
Hughes, Langston  
Hula Hoop  
Hull, Bobby  
Hunt, Helen  
Hunter, Tab  
Huntley, Chet  
Hurston, Zora Neale  
*Hustler*  
Huston, John  
Hutton, Ina Ray
- I Dream of Jeannie*  
*I Love a Mystery*  
*I Love Lucy*  
*I Spy*  
*I Was a Teenage Werewolf*  
Iacocca, Lee  
IBM (International Business Machines)  
Ice Cream Cone  
Ice Shows  
Ice-T  
*In Living Color*  
Incredible Hulk, The  
*Independence Day*  
Indian, The  
Indianapolis 500  
Industrial Design  
Ink Spots, The  
*Inner Sanctum* Mysteries  
International Male Catalog, The  
Internet, The  
*Intolerance*  
*Invisible Man*  
Iran Contra  
Iron Maiden

- Ironman Triathlon  
 Irving, John  
*It Happened One Night*  
*It's a Wonderful Life*  
*It's Garry Shandling's Show*  
 Ives, Burl  
 Ivy League  
  
 J. Walter Thompson  
 Jack Armstrong  
 Jackson Five, The  
 Jackson, Jesse  
 Jackson, Mahalia  
 Jackson, Michael  
 Jackson, Reggie  
 Jackson, Shirley  
 Jackson, "Sholess" Joe  
 Jakes, John  
 James Bond Films  
 James, Elmore  
 James, Harry  
 Japanese American Internment Camps  
*Jaws*  
 Jazz  
*Jazz Singer, The*  
 Jeans  
 Jeep  
 Jefferson Airplane/Starship  
*Jeffersons, The*  
 Jell-O  
 Jennings, Peter  
 Jennings, Waylon  
*Jeopardy!*  
 Jessel, George  
*Jesus Christ Superstar*  
*Jet*  
 Jet Skis  
 Jewish Defense League  
*JFK (The Movie)*  
 Jogging  
 John Birch Society  
 John, Elton  
 Johns, Jasper  
 Johnson, Blind Willie  
 Johnson, Earvin "Magic"  
 Johnson, Jack  
 Johnson, James Weldon  
 Johnson, Michael  
 Johnson, Robert  
 Jolson, Al  
 Jones, Bobby  
 Jones, George  
 Jones, Jennifer  
 Jones, Tom  
 Jonestown  
 Jong, Erica  
 Joplin, Janis  
 Joplin, Scott  
 Jordan, Louis  
  
 Jordan, Michael  
*Joy of Cooking*  
*Joy of Sex, The*  
 Joyner, Florence Griffith  
 Joyner-Kersee, Jackie  
 Judas Priest  
*Judge*  
 Judson, Arthur  
 Judy Bolton  
 Juke Boxes  
*Julia*  
 Juliá, Raúl  
*Jurassic Park*  
 Juvenile Delinquency  
  
 Kahn, Roger  
 Kaltenborn, Hans von  
 Kansas City Jazz  
 Kantor, MacKinlay  
 Karan, Donna  
 Karloff, Boris  
 Kasem, Casey  
*Kate & Allie*  
*Katzenjammer Kids, The*  
 Kaufman, Andy  
 Kaye, Danny  
 Keaton, Buster  
 Keillor, Garrison  
 Keitel, Harvey  
 Kelley, David E.  
 Kelly Bag  
 Kelly, Gene  
 Kelly Girls  
 Kelly, Grace  
 Kennedy Assassination  
 Kent State Massacre  
 Kentucky Derby  
 Kentucky Fried Chicken  
 Kern, Jerome  
 Kerrigan, Nancy  
 Kershaw, Doug  
 Kelsey, Ken  
 Kewpie Dolls  
 Key West  
 Keystone Kops, The  
 King, Albert  
 King, B. B.  
 King, Billie Jean  
 King, Carole  
 King, Freddie  
*King Kong*  
 King, Larry  
 King, Martin Luther, Jr.  
 King, Rodney  
 King, Stephen  
 Kingston, Maxine Hong  
 Kingston Trio, The  
 Kinison, Sam  
 Kinsey, Dr. Alfred C.  
 Kirby, Jack  
  
 KISS  
 Kitsch  
 Kiwanis  
 Klein, Calvin  
 Klein, Robert  
 Kmart  
 Knievel, Evel  
 Knight, Bobby  
*Knots Landing*  
 Kodak  
*Kojak*  
 Koontz, Dean R.  
 Koresh, David, and the Branch Davidians  
 Korman, Harvey  
 Kosinski, Jerzy  
 Kotzwinkle, William  
 Koufax, Sandy  
 Kovacs, Ernie  
*Kraft Television Theatre*  
 Krantz, Judith  
 Krassner, Paul  
*Krazy Kat*  
 Krupa, Gene  
 Ku Klux Klan  
 Kubrick, Stanley  
*Kudzu*  
 Kuhn, Bowie  
*Kukla, Fran, and Ollie*  
*Kung Fu*  
 Kwan, Michelle  
  
*L. A. Law*  
 L. L. Cool J.  
 "La Bamba"  
 Labor Unions  
 Lacoste Shirts  
 Ladd, Alan  
 Laetrile  
 Lahr, Bert  
 Lake, Ricki  
 Lake, Veronica  
 LaLanne, Jack  
 Lamarr, Hedy  
 LaMotta, Jake  
 Lamour, Dorothy  
 L'Amour, Louis  
 Lancaster, Burt  
 Landon, Michael  
 Landry, Tom  
 Lang, Fritz  
 lang, k.d.  
 Lansky, Meyer  
 Lardner, Ring  
*Larry Sanders Show, The*  
 LaRussa, Tony  
 Las Vegas  
 Lasorda, Tommy  
 Lassie  
*Late Great Planet Earth, The*



- Latin Jazz  
*Laugh-In*  
 Lauper, Cyndi  
*Laura*  
 Laurel and Hardy  
 Lauren, Ralph  
 Laver, Rod  
*Laverne and Shirley*  
 Lavin, Linda  
 Lawn Care/Gardening  
*Lawrence of Arabia*  
 Lawrence, Vicki  
 La-Z-Boy Loungers  
 le Carré, John  
 Le Guin, Ursula K.  
 Leachman, Cloris  
 Leadbelly  
*League of Their Own, A*  
 Lear, Norman  
 Leary, Timothy  
 Least Heat Moon, William  
 Leather Jacket  
*Leave It to Beaver*  
 Led Zeppelin  
 Lee, Bruce  
 Lee, Gypsy Rose  
 Lee, Peggy  
 Lee, Spike  
 Lee, Stan  
 Legos  
 Lehrer, Tom  
 Leisure Suit  
 Leisure Time  
 LeMond, Greg  
 L'Engle, Madeleine  
 Lennon, John  
 Leno, Jay  
 Leonard, Benny  
 Leonard, Elmore  
 Leonard, Sugar Ray  
 Leone, Sergio  
 Leopold and Loeb  
*Les Miserables*  
 Lesbianism  
*Let Us Now Praise  
     Famous Men*  
*Let's Pretend*  
 Letterman, David  
 Levin, Meyer  
 Levi's  
 Levittown  
 Lewinsky, Monica  
 Lewis, C. S.  
 Lewis, Carl  
 Lewis, Jerry  
 Lewis, Jerry Lee  
 Lewis, Sinclair  
 Liberace  
*Liberty*  
 Lichtenstein, Roy  
 Liebovitz, Annie  
*Life*  
*Life of Riley, The*  
*Like Water for Chocolate*  
 Li'l Abner  
 Limbaugh, Rush  
 Lincoln Center for the  
     Performing Arts  
 Lindbergh, Anne Morrow  
 Lindbergh, Charles  
 Linkletter, Art  
*Lion King, The*  
 Lionel Trains  
 Lippmann, Walter  
 Lipstick  
 Liston, Sonny  
 Little Black Dress  
 Little Blue Books  
 Little League  
 Little Magazines  
 Little Orphan Annie  
 Little Richard  
 Live Television  
 L.L. Bean, Inc.  
 Lloyd Webber, Andrew  
 Loafers  
 Locke, Alain  
*Lolita*  
 Lollapalooza  
 Lombard, Carole  
 Lombardi, Vince  
 Lombardo, Guy  
 London, Jack  
 Lone Ranger, The  
 Long, Huey  
 Long, Shelley  
 Long-Playing Record  
 Loos, Anita  
 López, Nancy  
 Lorre, Peter  
 Los Angeles Lakers, The  
 Los Lobos  
*Lost Weekend, The*  
 Lottery  
 Louis, Joe  
 Louisiana Purchase Exposition  
 Louisville Slugger  
*Love Boat, The*  
 Love, Courtney  
 Lovecraft, H. P.  
 Low Riders  
 Loy, Myrna  
 LSD  
 Lubitsch, Ernst  
 Lucas, George  
 Luce, Henry  
 Luciano, Lucky  
 Ludlum, Robert  
 Lugosi, Bela  
 Lunceford, Jimmie  
 Lupino, Ida  
 LuPone, Patti  
 Lynch, David  
 Lynching  
 Lynn, Loretta  
 Lynyrd Skynyrd  
  
*Ma Perkins*  
 Mabley, Moms  
 MacDonald, Jeanette  
 MacDonald, John D.  
 Macfadden, Bernarr  
 MacMurray, Fred  
 Macon, Uncle Dave  
 Macy's  
*MAD Magazine*  
 Madden, John  
 Made-for-Television Movies  
 Madonna  
 Mafia/Organized Crime  
*Magnificent Seven, The*  
*Magnum, P.I.*  
 Mah-Jongg  
 Mailer, Norman  
 Malcolm X  
 Mall of America  
 Malls  
*Maltese Falcon, The*  
 Mamas and the Papas, The  
 Mamet, David  
*Man from U.N.C.L.E., The*  
*Man Who Shot Liberty  
     Valance, The*  
*Manchurian Candidate, The*  
 Mancini, Henry  
 Manhattan Transfer  
 Manilow, Barry  
 Mansfield, Jayne  
 Manson, Charles  
 Mantle, Mickey  
 Manufactured Homes  
 Mapplethorpe, Robert  
 March on Washington  
 Marching Bands  
 Marciano, Rocky  
*Marcus Welby, M.D.*  
 Mardi Gras  
 Mariachi Music  
 Marichal, Juan  
 Marie, Rose  
 Marijuana  
 Maris, Roger  
 Marlboro Man  
 Marley, Bob  
*Married . . . with Children*  
 Marshall, Garry  
 Martha and the Vandellas  
 Martin, Dean  
 Martin, Freddy  
 Martin, Quinn

- Martin, Steve  
 Martini  
 Marvel Comics  
 Marx Brothers, The  
 Marx, Groucho  
*Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*  
 Mary Kay Cosmetics  
*Mary Poppins*  
*Mary Tyler Moore Show, The*  
 Mary Worth  
*M\*A\*S\*H*  
 Mason, Jackie  
 Mass Market Magazine  
     Revolution  
*Masses, The*  
 Masterpiece Theatre  
 Masters and Johnson  
 Masters Golf Tournament  
 Mathis, Johnny  
 Mattingly, Don  
*Maude*  
 Maupin, Armistead  
*Maus*  
 Max, Peter  
 Mayer, Louis B.  
 Mayfield, Curtis  
 Mayfield, Percy  
 Mays, Willie  
 McBain, Ed  
 McCaffrey, Anne  
*McCall's Magazine*  
 McCarthyism  
 McCartney, Paul  
 McCay, Winsor  
*McClure's*  
 McCoy, Horace  
 McCrea, Joel  
 McDaniel, Hattie  
 McDonald's  
 McEnroe, John  
 McEntire, Reba  
 McGwire, Mark  
*McHale's Navy*  
 McKay, Claude  
 McKuen, Rod  
 McLish, Rachel  
 McLuhan, Marshall  
 McMurtry, Larry  
 McPherson, Aimee Semple  
 McQueen, Butterfly  
 McQueen, Steve  
 Me Decade  
 Meadows, Audrey  
*Mean Streets*  
 Media Feeding Frenzies  
 Medicine Shows  
*Meet Me in St. Louis*  
 Mellencamp, John  
 Mencken, H. L.  
 Mendoza, Lydia
- Men's Movement  
 Merton, Thomas  
 Metalious, Grace  
*Metropolis*  
 Metropolitan Museum of Art  
 MGM (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer)  
*Miami Vice*  
 Michener, James  
*Mickey Mouse Club, The*  
 Microsoft  
*Middletown*  
 Midler, Bette  
*Midnight Cowboy*  
*Mildred Pierce*  
 Militias  
 Milk, Harvey  
 Millay, Edna St. Vincent  
 Miller, Arthur  
 Miller Beer  
 Miller, Glenn  
 Miller, Henry  
 Miller, Roger  
 Milli Vanilli  
 Million Man March  
 Milton Bradley  
 Minimalism  
 Minivans  
 Minnelli, Vincente  
 Minoso, Minnie  
 Minstrel Shows  
 Miranda, Carmen  
*Miranda Warning*  
 Miss America Pageant  
*Mission: Impossible*  
*Mister Ed*  
*Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*  
 Mitchell, Joni  
 Mitchell, Margaret  
 Mitchum, Robert  
 Mix, Tom  
 Mod  
*Mod Squad, The*  
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 Modern Dance  
*Modern Maturity*  
*Modern Times*  
 Modernism  
 Momaday, N. Scott  
*Monday Night Football*  
 Monkees, The  
 Monopoly  
 Monroe, Bill  
 Monroe, Earl "The Pearl"  
 Monroe, Marilyn  
 Montalban, Ricardo  
 Montana, Joe  
 Montana, Patsy  
*Monty Python's Flying Circus*  
 Moonies/Reverend Sun  
     Myung Moon
- Moonlighting*  
 Moore, Demi  
 Moore, Michael  
 Moral Majority  
 Moreno, Rita  
*Mork & Mindy*  
 Morris, Mark  
 Morrissette, Alanis  
 Morrison, Toni  
 Morrison, Van  
 Morse, Carlton E.  
 Morton, Jelly Roll  
 Mosley, Walter  
 Moss, Kate  
 Mother's Day  
 Mötley Crüe  
 Motley, Willard  
 Motown  
 Mount Rushmore  
 Mountain Biking  
 Mouseketeers, The  
 Movie Palaces  
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*Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*  
*Mr. Wizard*  
*Ms.*  
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 Muckraking  
 Multiculturalism  
 Mummy, The  
 Muni, Paul  
*Munsey's Magazine*  
 Muppets, The  
*Murder, She Wrote*  
*Murphy Brown*  
 Murphy, Eddie  
 Murray, Anne  
 Murray, Arthur  
 Murray, Bill  
 Murray, Lenda  
 Murrow, Edward R.  
 Muscle Beach  
 Muscle Cars  
 Muscular Christianity  
 Musical, The  
*Mutiny on the Bounty*  
*Mutt & Jeff*  
 Muzak  
*My Darling Clementine*  
*My Fair Lady*  
*My Family/Mi familia*  
 My Lai Massacre  
*My So Called Life*  
*My Three Sons*  
  
 Nader, Ralph  
 Nagel, Patrick  
 Naismith, James  
 Namath, Joe

- Nancy Drew  
 NASA  
*Nation, The*  
 National Basketball Association (NBA)  
 National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA)  
*National Enquirer, The*  
 National Football League (NFL)  
*National Geographic*  
 National Hockey League (NHL)  
*National Lampoon*  
 National Organization for Women (N.O.W.)  
 National Parks  
*Natural, The*  
*Natural Born Killers*  
 Nava, Gregory  
 Navratilova, Martina  
 Naylor, Gloria  
 Neckties  
 Negro Leagues  
 Neighborhood Watch  
 Nelson, Ricky  
 Nelson, Willie  
 Nerd Look  
*Network*  
 Networks  
 New Age Music  
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 New Deal  
 New Kids on the Block, The  
 New Left  
 New Look  
 New Orleans Rhythm and Blues  
*New Republic*  
 New Wave Music  
 New York Knickerbockers, The  
 New York Mets, The  
*New York Times, The*  
 New York Yankees, The  
*New Yorker, The*  
 Newhart, Bob  
*Newlywed Game, The*  
 Newport Jazz and Folk Festivals  
*Newsweek*  
 Newton, Helmut  
 Niagara Falls  
 Nichols, Mike, and Elaine May  
 Nickelodeons  
 Nicklaus, Jack  
*Night of the Living Dead*  
*Nightline*  
 Nike  
 1980 U.S. Olympic Hockey Team  
 1968 Mexico City Summer Olympic Games  
 Nirvana
- Nixon, Agnes  
 Noloesca, La Chata  
 Norris, Frank  
*North by Northwest*  
*Northern Exposure*  
 Novak, Kim  
 Nureyev, Rudolf  
 Nylon  
*NYPD Blue*
- Oakland Raiders, The  
 Oates, Joyce Carol  
 Objectivism/Ayn Rand  
 O'Brien, Tim  
 Ochs, Phil  
 O'Connor, Flannery  
*Odd Couple, The*  
 O'Donnell, Rosie  
 O'Keefe, Georgia  
*Oklahoma!*  
 Old Navy  
 Oliphant, Pat  
 Olivier, Laurence  
 Olmos, Edward James  
 Olsen, Tillie  
 Olympics  
*Omnibus*  
*On the Road*  
*On the Waterfront*  
 Onassis, Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy  
*One Day at a Time*  
*One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*  
*One Man's Family*  
 O'Neal, Shaquille  
 O'Neill, Eugene  
 Op Art  
*Opportunity*  
 Orbison, Roy  
*Organization Man, The*  
 Original Dixieland Jass (Jazz) Band  
 O'Rourke, P. J.  
 Orr, Bobby  
 Osborne Brothers, The  
 Osbourne, Ozzy  
 Ouija Boards  
*Our Gang*  
*Outer Limits, The*  
 Outing  
*Outline of History, The*  
 Owens, Buck  
 Owens, Jesse  
 Oxford Bags
- Paar, Jack  
 Pachucos  
 Pacino, Al  
 Paglia, Camille
- Paige, Satchel  
 Paley, Grace  
 Paley, William S.  
 Palmer, Arnold  
 Palmer, Jim  
 Pants for Women  
 Pantyhose  
 Paperbacks  
 Parades  
 Paretzky, Sara  
 Parker Brothers  
 Parker, Charlie  
 Parker, Dorothy  
 Parks, Rosa  
 Parrish, Maxfield  
 Parton, Dolly  
*Partridge Family, The*  
 Patinkin, Mandy  
*Patton*  
 Paul, Les  
 Paulsen, Pat  
 Payton, Walter  
 Peale, Norman Vincent  
*Peanuts*  
 Pearl Jam  
 Pearl, Minnie  
 Peck, Gregory  
 Peep Shows  
*Pee-wee's Playhouse*  
 Pelé  
 Penn, Irving  
*Penthouse*  
*People*  
 Peppermint Lounge, The  
 Pepsi-Cola  
 Performance Art  
 Perot, Ross  
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*Psycho*  
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     Andy  
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     Rado  
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     Bailey Circus  
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*Schindler's List*  
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*Scream*  
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*Scribner's*  
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- Shorter, Frank  
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*Six Million Dollar Man, The*  
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- Sound of Music, The*  
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*Wall Street Journal, The*  
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 Yellow Kid, The  
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 Zydeco  
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## Paar, Jack (1918—)

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When Jack Paar was chosen to host NBC's faltering *Tonight Show* in July 1957, the program had been reduced to two sponsors and was carried by only 62 network stations. Within eighteen months, the antics of the witty, unpredictable Paar had brought a total of 115 stations on board, and the show, renamed *The Jack Paar Tonight Show*, had full sponsorship. Paar's unique style would both establish the popularity of talk shows and set the standard for all future television hosts.

Born in Canton, Ohio on May 1, 1918, Paar dropped out of high school and began working as a radio announcer for stations in Indianapolis, Youngstown, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and Buffalo. Working for the army special services during World War II, Paar entertained enlisted men with irreverent gibes at the military brass. He appeared in three movies in the early 1950s: *Walk Softly, Stranger, Love Nest*, and *Down Among the Sheltering Palms*. During the same period, he hosted two television game shows, *Bank on the Stars* and *Up to Paar*, which led to a contract as host of *The Morning Show*, an attempt by CBS to compete with *The Today Show* on NBC. However, none of these programs would ever bring him the amount of success he enjoyed with the *Tonight Show*.



Jack Paar

Temperamental, spontaneous, and at times brilliantly incisive, Paar brought drama to the art of late-night conversation with such semi-regular guests as Washington hostess Elsa Maxwell, Cliff Arquette (who played the character Charlie Weaver), Joey Bishop, Hans Conried, Peggy Cass, Zsa Zsa Gabor, Hermione Gingold, Buddy Hackett, Florence Henderson, Betty White, and Oscar Levant. Levant, a classical pianist with an acid tongue, is remembered for such barbs as "Zsa Zsa has discovered the secret of perpetual middle age" and his nomination of Elizabeth Taylor for the "Other Woman of the Year Award." There were also more serious guests. During the 1960 presidential campaign, John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon made separate appearances on Paar's show.

In addition to conversing with his guests, Paar featured comic sketches and frequently visited the audience for interviews. On one memorable occasion, Cary Grant was seated in the audience as a surprise to Paar, who pretended not to recognize the international film star while interviewing a little old lady from out of town sitting beside him. Paar's orchestra leader, Jose Melis, liked to play a "telephone game," improvising melodies based on the last four digits of an audience member's telephone number. In another popular routine, Paar showed baby pictures on the screen while supplying humorous captions.

Although he professed to dislike controversy, Paar was continually involved in it, carrying on much-publicized feuds with such celebrities as Steve Allen, Dorothy Kilgallen, Walter Winchell, and Ed Sullivan. Many of the feuds started with a remark made on the show. Paar said, for example, that Winchell's "high, hysterical voice" came from "wearing too tight underwear." The feuds were never easy to quell. Paar's friend and mentor, Jack Benny, finally had to step in to moderate the Paar-Sullivan conflict. But the most famous controversy occurred on February 11, 1960, when an angry Paar walked on stage and began to berate NBC executives for censoring out a joke from the previous night's taped show. Paar then told the audience he was tired of being the center of controversy and bid them an emotional farewell, leaving an astonished Hugh Downs to carry on the show.

Paar returned a month later, but his controversial days had not ended. In September 1961, he took Peggy Cass and a camera crew to Germany to report on the Berlin Wall, which had been erected a month earlier. Paar arranged for a detachment of American troops to be shown in the background of his televised scenes near the Brandenburg Gate. The incident led to a Defense Department inquiry, and the press raked Paar over the coals for the militaristic overtones of his broadcast. Paar maintained that his visit had actually eased East-West tensions. A short time later he announced he would be leaving the show the following spring, and this time he kept his word. His last show aired on March 29, 1962, and dozens of celebrities dropped by or sent tapes to wish him an affectionate farewell.

After his much publicized departure from *The Jack Paar Tonight Show*, he became the owner of Mount Washington TV Inc., broadcasting from WMTW TV and FM, Portland and Poland Springs, Maine. Paar is the author of three humorous books: *I Kid You Not* (1960), *My Saber Is Bent* (1961), and *Three on a Toothbrush* (1965).

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Pachucos

The pachucos were Latino street rebels of the 1940s who innovated a style and attitude that expressed their defiance of mainstream America. Dressed to kill in zoot suits and with pompadour haircuts they hung out on the streets of East Los Angeles, speaking their own language and asserting their difference from everyone around them. They were the first subcultural group to exhibit their rebellion by display—through their clothing and behavior on the street. Their unique brand of defiance opened up an avenue of rebellion which was later followed by youth cultures in genres such as rock and roll.

The pachucos were second generation Mexican-American youths who lived in the barrios of East Los Angeles during the years of World War II. They were branded “delinquents” by the Los Angeles Police Department, and held responsible for the wave of juvenile crime that was sweeping the city at the time. The pachucos also incurred the wrath of their Mexican elders by their “degenerate” behavior of draft-dodging, marijuana-smoking, and their foppish attention to their clothes.

The style they sported was the zoot suit: a long drape jacket that reached to the knees and high waisted trousers that were baggy on the leg but tapered at the ankle. The suit was worn with a very long key chain and often a crucifix or a medallion over the tie. The hairdo to go with the look was the pompadour, a relatively long hair cut for men, worn greased into a quiff at the front and combed into a duck’s tail at the back. In the hair the pachucos kept their fileros (flick knives), the thickness of the hair style providing a secure hiding place for weapons. Distinctive tattoos, such as the Virgin of Guadalupe, were also part of the pachuco look. Their female counterparts, the pachucas, had their own dress code which consisted of short tight skirts, flimsy blouses, dramatic makeup, and longer pompadour hairdos.

The name “pachuco” is of uncertain origin but is believed to be derived from the word “Pachuca,” a town in east Central Mexico. The pachucos spoke a hybrid slang called “Calo,” derived from the gypsy tongue. The word “Chicano”—a politicized term of self-definition for Mexican Americans—is itself a Calo word. Music was also an important ingredient in the scene, and much of the pachuco lifestyle revolved around the dance halls where they would go to dance and listen to swing bands. A bandleader called Don Tosti had a hit with a song called “Pachuco Boogie,” a big band number with lyrics in Calo.

The Sleepy Lagoon Case in 1942 brought the pachucos into the national limelight. This was a murder case in which 13 Mexican-American youths were convicted on varying charges, including that of first degree murder, for the killing of José Díaz. The trial took place

at a time when William Randolph Hearst’s Los Angeles newspapers had been running incendiary stories about gang violence. The image of the pachuco circulated by these papers was that of a bloodthirsty killer spurred on by the ancestral Aztec desire to let blood. Two years later these convictions were reversed by an appeal court, largely due to the efforts of the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee, which featured public figures as illustrious as Orson Welles and Rita Hayworth amongst its number. Luis Valdez’s 1981 film *Zoot Suit*, an adaptation of the stage musical, gives a part-fact, part-fiction account of the case from the perspective of Henry Reyna, the leader of the convicted gang of pachucos.

The pachucos’ brush with controversy, however, did not end there. In early June 1943, disturbances broke out in East Los Angeles. Mobs of sailors and marines began scouring the streets in taxis looking for zoot-suited pachucos to beat up, supposedly in retaliation for attacks on their number by pachucos. If no candidates could be found the servicemen would storm into movie theaters and drag any young males they perceived as pachucos from the auditorium, take them outside and strip them of their zoot suits, and cut their pompadour hairdos. Eyewitness accounts report the attacks as unprovoked and, furthermore, that they were actively encouraged by crowds of observing civilians.

At a time when national obedience was everything, the pachucos were singled out by servicemen for being bad citizens. Not only were the pachucos dodging the draft, but the zoot suits they wore contravened fabric rationing regulations in the generosity of their cut. “Pachuquismo”—or the pachuco style—was the total contradiction of military discipline, order, measure, and effort. The pachucos cultivated a manner of languid detachment and were not seen to have a good work ethic. They performed their defiance through their clothes, openly inviting hostile attention. The Mexican poet Octavio Paz described the pachuco as a “sinister clown” who courted the hunter by decking himself out as his prey.

The pachuco look was taken up by the mainstream and emerged in the 1950s greaser style. Within marginal groups, the pachucos served as inspirational icons for the Chicano Civil Rights Movement that fomented in the late 1960s. As the first people to forge a position for themselves in opposition both to the American mainstream and their traditional Mexican backgrounds, the pachucos were the first Mexican Americans to self-consciously style and define themselves on exactly their own terms. In the late 1990s renewed interest in swing music by groups such as the Cherry Poppin’ Daddies brought “pachuquismo” back into vogue. The 1994 film *The Mask*, starring Jim Carrey, characterized the pachuco as the outrageous transformation of the wimpish bankclerk protagonist for the rebellious, maverick, and magical qualities that the style evokes. Quixotic, sinister, and theatrical, the pachuco is continually evoked as one of the mythic figures of American popular culture.

—Candida Taylor

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## Pacino, Al (1940—)

When director Francis Ford Coppola's film masterpiece *The Godfather* was released in 1972, Al Pacino galvanized filmgoers with his brooding, dark good looks and masterfully controlled performance as a Mafia leader. Pacino, already an award-winning stage actor, virtually established a new level of screen intensity, winning an Oscar nomination and launching an international career as a major film star. The film depicts a significant passing of power when the ailing Vito Corleone (Marlon Brando) makes his son Michael (Pacino) the new "godfather." Since both Brando (a film icon) and Pacino (relatively unknown in films) were considered "Method" actors, many critics and filmgoers saw a parallel symbolic passing of influence from one generation of actors to another. For box-office reasons Brando was designated "the star" but Pacino, with his aura of low-key sensuality, compelling screen presence, and underlying explosiveness not only held his ground onscreen with Brando, but mesmerized audiences.

The film completely transcended the traditional gangster picture; Pacino's performance forever changed filmgoers' image of ganglords. The uneducated, raised-in-poverty, loud, brutal Edward G. Robinson/Jimmy Cagney "tough guy" of the past was replaced by Pacino's educated, soft-spoken, unobtrusively wealthy, self-controlled characterization. In this film and his starring role in *The*



Al Pacino

*Godfather, Part II* (1974 Best Actor Oscar and Golden Globe nominations), Pacino chillingly portrays the metamorphosis of the basically decent Michael—idealistic, patriotic, and gentle—into an austere, steely-eyed, implacably heartless tyrant, deadly to anyone who defies him. His portrayal of Michael's obsessive self-control is so effective that rare displays of temper jar the audience. Pacino shows the gradual erosion of humanity in Michael by infrequent but extreme changes in character intensity, and subtle alterations in manner, speech, posture, facial muscles, and his deep, expressive eyes. Writer Jimmy Breslin said that Pacino "dominates *The Godfather* with a creeping sense of tyranny." Many years later, in *The Godfather, Part III* (1990), Pacino again assumed the role of Michael Corleone, now an aging, ill, demoralized, and ultimately tragic figure. Breslin described Pacino well: "The [*Godfather*] movies unleashed a new force, raw and fearless in his willingness to allow the intrusion of a camera into the soul of a man."

Pacino always seemed determined to become an actor. Although poor, from an early age he regularly saw movies, afterwards reenacting the major roles. He also was excited by and continues to love the stage. Because of family finances he had to quit school early and worked at various jobs; after some acting classes he began to get theater parts. In 1966 the Actors Studio accepted him; two years later he won an Obie Award. His first Tony Award came in 1969 and in that same year he made an effective screen debut in a bit part in *Me, Natalie*. Those performances led to his first leading role in a film at age 31—*The Panic in Needle Park* (1971).

In the 1970s he starred in five film hits, each role garnering him an Oscar nomination: the first two *Godfather* portrayals; an incorruptible, volcanic hippie cop in *Serpico* (1973); a sexually-confused would-be bank robber in *Dog Day Afternoon* (1975); and an idealistic, angry lawyer in *And Justice for All* (1979). In the 1980s he chose far-ranging and unusual scripts, but did not have any major hits. Although included in lists of the top 25 most popular film stars in almost every year, his box-office success was shrinking. Then in 1989 he played a hard-drinking, lonelyhearts police detective having a steamy affair with a possible murderess in *Sea of Love*. The reviews were mostly good and many heralded his "comeback." Most filmgoers do not know that in those two decades, Pacino also was performing onstage in works by playwrights as diverse as Tennessee Williams, Shakespeare, Bertolt Brecht, and David Mamet; he won another Tony Award (1977, for Best Actor) for David Rabe's *The Basic Training of Pavlo Hummel*.

Pacino films made in the 1990s were successful because with few exceptions, such as the comically hammy *Dick Tracy* (1990), Pacino returned to the persona/roles that his fans wanted and expected—the intense, focused, explosive, emotionally-disconnected anti-hero on either side of the law. Successful performances included the haunting and haunted Godfather in *The Godfather, Part III*; the shark-like real estate "closer" in *Glengarry Glen Ross* (1992); the ferociously bitter blind man in *Scent of a Woman* (1992); the charismatic, wheeler-dealer mayor in *City Hall* (1996); and the declining "goodfella" in *Donnie Brasco* (1997). *Looking for Richard*, a 1996 pseudo-documentary Pacino produced, directed, and starred in shows a cast and crew during parts of the rehearsals, discussions, and stage production of Shakespeare's *Richard III*. This unusual and enlightening film makes Shakespeare's gripping drama more accessible to a broader audience.

Pacino is especially effective at changing his facial expressions and altering the volume of his voice, dialect, and speech patterns. But he is best known for using his eyes, which in any one film can be

tender and loving, cold and penetrating, full of rage, melancholy, confused, imploring, or cloudy and distant, changing from one look to another in an instant. He is capable of generating an icy heat, of exuding a physical energy while standing perfectly still. Although relatively short, he has a compelling presence and body language that increase his physical stature.

In the sentiments of *Entertainment Weekly* writer Ty Burr, Pacino was “[the best] fusion of Method acting and charisma since the young Brando.” He has become an elder statesman of Hollywood; his versatility, integrity, and dedication to his craft are admired and respected by critics, fans, and peers. Eminent film director Sidney Lumet says that “every star evokes a sense of danger, something unmanageable.” Pacino is a star; in the best sense, he has become the “godfather” of acting.

—Jaye Cohen

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## Paglia, Camille (1947—)

Following the release of her provocative book *Sexual Personae* in 1990, Camille Paglia, a professor of Liberal Arts at the University of Pennsylvania, established herself as an internationally recognized and highly controversial public intellectual. She is known for being non-conformist in her approach to intellectual life and for her unique methods of communicating her uncommon and sometimes unpopular viewpoints.

Born April 2, 1947 in Endicott, New York, to parents Pasquale John and Lydia Anne (Colapietro) Paglia, she was raised in Syracuse New York where she attended public school. Her academic training continued on a traditional path: she earned a B.A. from SUNY Binghamton in 1968, a M.Phil. from Yale University in 1971, and a Ph.D. in English in 1974, also from Yale. Her teaching career began at Binghamton University in Bennington, Vermont, where she was a faculty member in the Literature and Language department until 1980. Before arriving at Penn's University of the Arts in 1984 she held various fellowships and was a visiting lecturer at both Wesleyan and Yale.

Although Paglia is an accomplished scholar, non-academic influences are instrumental to her work. In her writing, Paglia often identifies herself as a “daughter of the sixties,” and its progressive politics are evident in her work. In addition, she was greatly influenced by her Italian-American heritage, using her cultural experience to shape her feminist analyses. She argues that women should view the world as a Darwinian battle for survival. She began to learn such lessons as a child, she writes in *Vamps and Tramps*, when she “. . . was fed wild black mushrooms, tart dandelion greens, spiny artichokes, and tangy olives flecked with red pepper flakes . . . life lessons in the sour and prickly.”

Sprinkling her prose with such observations, Paglia broke many of the conventions of academic publishing in ways that both thrilled and angered readers. *Sexual Personae* (1990), the scholarly tome that launched her into the public spotlight, is a study of art, social ideas, and sexuality in the Western world. In it, she argues that great art derives from tensions between “Dionysian lust and Apollonian rationality,” and makes her argument with salacious discussions of John Keats and Emily Dickinson, and attacks “sanctimonious P.C. intellectuals” and the “weakness of those who cry date rape.” This best-selling book, which combined standard research with highly abstract philosophies, became controversial for three reasons. First, it espoused a belief in the pagan origins of human sexuality. Second, the book's approach to feminism directly opposed most of the feminist establishment, including institutionalized feminism on American campuses. Third, the format of the book grated on those who rejected her idiosyncratic style of academic argument.

An instant academic celebrity, Paglia was drawn into national controversies over date rape, sexual harassment, censorship, political correctness, poststructuralism, and the role of television, among others. In 1992, she published *Sex, Art, and American Culture*, a collection of essays that chronicled her engagement with these thorny cultural issues; her second book of essays, *Vamps & Tramps* (1994), addressed similar themes. The main essay in *Vamps and Tramps*, entitled “No Law in the Arena: A Pagan Theory of Sexuality,” systematically presents Paglia's libertarian views on rape, abortion, battering, sexual harassment, prostitution, stripping, pornography, homosexuality, pedophilia, and transvestitism. “Vamps and tramps are the seasoned symbols of tough-cookie feminism, my answer to the smug self-satisfaction and crass materialism of yuppie feminism.” Unlike other feminists—who she claims were focused on victimization—Paglia argues that “women will never succeed at the level or in the numbers they deserve until they get over their genteel reluctance to take abuse in the attack and counterattack of territorial warfare.”

These and other remarks earned Paglia a reputation as an “anti-feminist.” Not surprisingly, this stance contributed to her notoriety and Paglia appeared on a variety of television shows such as CBS's *60 Minutes* (1992) and *Think Tank* on PBS (1995), where she displayed her combative style of discourse. Paglia was featured in or contributed to many of the leading periodicals of the day, including *Playboy*, *Vanity Fair*, *New Republic*, *The New York Times*, *Time*, *Rolling Stone*, *The New York Times Book Review*, and *Harper's Magazine*. In 1991, Paglia even graced the cover of *Village Voice* with the headline “Counterfeit Feminism, Wanted for Intellectual Fraud.”

Paglia may be one of the most misunderstood thinkers of the century. Not unlike earlier radicals, her innovation was in utilizing unique methods for making her arguments against the status quo. As she explained, “although I wasn't a follower per se of . . . Allen Ginsberg or Marshall McLuhan . . . those radical thinkers broke through the conventions of tradition and allowed us of the Sixties to find our own voices . . . which is what I wish to do for students of the 1990s.” Her aggressive conduct befit this goal. In *Vamps and Tramps* she wrote, “I espouse offensiveness for its own sake as a tool of attack against received opinion and unexamined assumptions.” Given that she claims her highest ideals are free speech and free thought, this approach corresponds with her philosophy.

Her critics from the feminist establishment notwithstanding, many found her approach liberating. She received a series of stellar reviews for her books, was nominated for a National Book Critics Circle Award in 1991, and has a number of followers in the academic world. In 1997, she became a columnist for the on-line magazine

*Salon* and in 1998 published a book about Hitchcock's classic film *The Birds* at the behest of the British Film Institute. Only time will tell whether Paglia achieved her goal of helping students of the 1990s find their own voices. There can be no doubt that she found hers.

—Julie Scelfo

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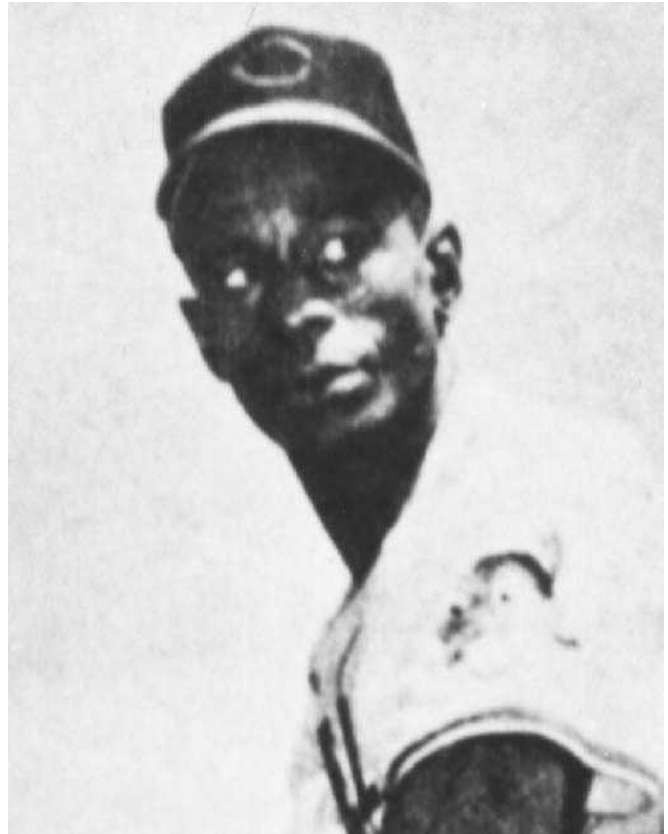
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## Paige, Satchel (1899?-1982)

In an era when American major league sports were a white man's game, African American Leroy "Satchel" Paige achieved legendary fame as Negro League baseball's undisputed star and standard bearer. In a career spanning three decades, the lanky, limber right-handed pitcher hurled a reputed 2,500 games, won nearly 2,000, and came to symbolize the untapped potential of black professional athletes. He later followed Jackie Robinson and Larry Doby into the Major Leagues as one of baseball's first African-American players and solidified his reputation as one of the game's most talented performers. Joe DiMaggio, facing a Paige well past his prime, praised him as "the best and fastest pitcher I've ever faced."

Controversy has surrounded the issue Paige's age throughout his career, and his date of birth has been placed as early as December 18, 1899 and as late as July 7, 1906. By 1930, the young Alabaman had earned a reputation as one of the brightest young stars in Negro League baseball. He joined Gus Greenlee's Pittsburgh Crawfords in 1931 for an extraordinary \$250 a week, and for the next six years teamed up with catcher Josh Gibson to form the dominant battery in black baseball. His performance with the Crawfords quickly demonstrated that he was worth his salary. In 1933, he won 21 games in a row and ended the season with a 31-4 record, racking up a professional record of 62 straight scoreless innings in the process; in 1935, he pitched on 29 consecutive days. Paige later led the Kansas City Monarchs to five pennants, earning both the nickname "the iron man" for his stamina and a reputation as the most respected—as well as one of the most talented—figures in Negro League Baseball. He



Satchel Paige

also played before sell-out crowds in the Caribbean and Central and South America.

It was Paige's success in exhibition play against white performers, however, which helped earn him nation-wide renown. On barnstorming tours with white pitching aces Dizzy Dean in the 1930s and Bob Feller in the early 1940s, Paige proved that he could stand toe to toe with the best white baseball had to offer. He struck out the game's leading right-handed hitter, Rogers Hornsby, five times in one game and, in a 1930 exhibition match, struck out 22 big leaguers including future Hall-of-Famers Hack Wilson and Babe Herman. His 1934 1-0 victory in 13 innings over Dean is still widely touted as the greatest pitching performance of all time.

When Brooklyn Dodgers' general manager Branch Rickey determined to break Major League Baseball's color barrier during the mid-1940s, Paige's name was circulated widely as a possible candidate. The veteran's age proved to be an obstacle and the pioneer's role fell to Paige's Kansas City Monarchs teammate Jackie Robinson. By the time Robinson entered the National League in 1947, Paige—well into his forties—appeared to be too old for the majors. His high salary demands did little to help his prospects. Although a nationally recognized figure, Paige seemed destined to follow fellow veteran Negro League stars Gibson, "Cool Papa" Bell, and Judy Johnson into obscurity.

Bill Veeck, the owner of the Cleveland Indians, considered purchasing Paige's contract in 1947 but abandoned the plan for fear his efforts would be misinterpreted as a publicity stunt. In 1948, however, Veeck's team was in a tight four-way pennant race and the young executive found himself desperately in need of pitching.

Scouting reports suggested that Paige was the best player available. Confounding his critics, Veeck signed Paige—paying him a full year's salary to pitch the remaining three months of the season—generating one of the most vocal outcries in the history of professional sports. Tom Spink of the *Sporting News* typified Veeck's detractors with the observation that "to sign a player at Paige's age is to demean the standards of baseball in the big circuits . . . Were Satchel white, he would not have drawn a second thought from Veeck." Veeck's reply became legend: "If Satch were white," he said, "he would have been in the majors twenty-five years earlier and the question would not have been before the house."

On July 8, 1948, Paige made his Major League debut in Cleveland to a cheering crowd of 34,780 fans—the majority of whom had come to the ballpark to see the Negro League star's debut. In an unprecedented frenzy, press photographers ran onto the field to photograph his warm-up pitches; the forty-something Paige then stunned his audience with two scoreless innings. By the middle of August, he boasted a record of 5-1 and a 1.33 earned run average. Paige became, in historian Jules Tygiel's words, "the most discussed performer in baseball." The Indians went on to win the American League pennant.

Paige later pitched for the St. Louis Browns and the Kansas City Athletics. He ended his Major League stint with a modest 28-31 record and a 3.29 earned run average. Yet throughout his career, Paige continued to be one of baseball's most popular attractions. Author "Doc" Young estimated that on one occasion, one in six black residents of Cleveland came out to watch "Ol' Satch" perform. After retirement, Paige coached for the Atlanta Braves. He died in 1982 in Kansas City, Missouri.

During a time when many whites disparaged the abilities of black athletes, Paige's perennial feats served as a powerful symbol to the critics of segregated sports. Along with track star Jesse Owens and boxer Joe Louis, he became one of the leading African-American celebrities of the pre-integration era and a unifying, morale-boosting figure in the black community. Sports critic Tom Meany wrote in the *Sporting News* that Paige's Major League debut proved to be an event "far more interesting than was the news when Branch Rickey broke baseball's color line." Paige's celebrity and talent helped pave the way for pioneers Jackie Robinson and Larry Doby. Moreover, he may have been the best pitcher ever to play professional baseball. Quite appropriately, when the Baseball Hall of Fame formed a Committee on Negro Leagues in 1971, Satchel Paige was the first man elected to the shrine in Cooperstown.

—Jacob Appel

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## Paley, Grace (1922—)

With the publication in 1959 of the first of three short story collections, *The Little Disturbances of Man: Stories of Women and Men at Love*, Grace Paley, at the age of 37, made an immediate impact on the literary scene. In these stories and the work that followed, readers have been charmed by a voice that is startlingly original yet as familiar as an overheard conversation on a city bus. Paley's work clearly reflects her own experience as a child of the Jewish Bronx, a young wife and mother staked out with the kids in Greenwich Village's Washington Square Park, and an activist involved in many of the important political movements of her time, most notably feminism and various antiwar efforts. Paley's literary output has been relatively small, due in part to time-out for motherhood, but it has been enthusiastically received by a wide audience. A photograph of Paley that accompanies several of her books shows the author bundled up in parka and wool hat, wearing her commentary for the day's political action sandwich-board style over her coat. It reads, from top to bottom: "Money/Arms/War/Profit," and a few other words or phrases that don't fit into the camera's frame. With her characteristic elfin grin, Paley appears to be ready for any weather. The photograph has a caption from the late Donald Barthelme, Paley's fellow fiction writer, neighbor, and friend: "Grace Paley is a wonderful writer and troublemaker. We are fortunate to have her in our country."

—Sue Russell

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## Paley, William S. (1901-1990)

For more than 50 years, CBS and William S. Paley were synonymous. In 1927, Paley was involved with the formation of the Columbia Broadcasting System, and in 1928, his family purchased the company. The network grew quickly under Paley's leadership. Within six years the upstart challenger to the National Broadcasting System had almost 100 affiliate stations, nearly equal to that of NBC. By 1940, CBS was being recognized as the leader in the broadcasting field, in large part because of balanced mass entertainment and highly respected reportage, first in radio, and later in television. Reporter/broadcasters hired by Paley included Edward R. Murrow, Eric



William S. Paley

Sevareid, William L. Shirer, Howard K. Smith, and Walter Cronkite. Paley's leadership kept CBS as the leading network well into the 1980s.

—Lloyd Chiasson, Jr.

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## Palmer, Arnold (1929—)

Modern professional golf began its rise to popularity with the emergence of Arnold Palmer in 1955. The son of a club professional from Latrobe, Pennsylvania, Palmer learned the game as a child. He won the United States Golf Association Amateur Championship in 1954, before entering the professional ranks and dominating in the early 1960s. He won the Masters four times (1958, 1960, 1962, 1964), the British Open back to back in 1961 and 1962, and the U.S. Open in

1960. Palmer won the Seniors Championship, his first event on the Seniors tour, in 1980 and won the U.S. Seniors Open in 1981. Palmer was one of the earliest golfers to use his success on the golf course to create lucrative endorsement and business deals. Legions of fans, known as "Arnie's Army" followed Palmer weekly on the professional tour, and he was responsible for introducing the game to millions.

—Jay Parrent

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## Palmer, Jim (1945—)

From 1965 to 1984, Jim Palmer was among baseball's most successful pitchers, winning three Cy Young Awards for a team that won six pennants. Palmer achieved stardom at the age of 20 when the righthander shut out the Dodgers on the way to a Baltimore Orioles sweep in the 1966 World Series. An injury kept Palmer out of baseball for nearly two years, but in 1969 he was able to come back and establish himself as one of the game's premier pitchers, winning 268 games in a career that spanned 19 years. Despite the team's success, throughout his career Palmer shared a stormy relationship with manager Earl Weaver. When his baseball pitching days ended in 1984, the handsome Palmer embarked on a new career as a pitchman for Jockey shorts. Advertising posters in which he models underwear could be seen in Europe and Asia in addition to the United States.

—Kevin O'Connor

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## Pants for Women

As the proverbial question of who "wears the pants" in a relationship suggests, the history of women's pants says as much about the evolution of twentieth century gender roles as it does about the capricious swings of the fashion pendulum. Pants for women emerged from the burgeoning nineteenth century feminist movement, which demanded a change from Victorian dresses to a more practical costume that would permit women to engage in activities beyond those traditionally assigned to the female domestic sphere. Ironically, however, women's pants would achieve widespread social acceptance only when the fashion industry convinced women that pants were a necessary part of a well-dressed woman's wardrobe.



A model wearing Capri pants, c. 1950s.

The first feminine garments approximating pants were “bloomers”—a full skirt reaching just below the knee, with full-cut trousers underneath. Named for their chief advocate, feminist Amelia Jenks Bloomer, the outfit liberated women from heavy skirts, whalebone corsets, petticoats, bustles, and padding. In spite of the unprecedented mobility bloomers permitted, the fashion never spread beyond a small group. The bloomers’ association with the suffrage movement stigmatized its wearers and, as an article in the September 1851 issue of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* hypothesized, bloomers did not take because most women would not wear what did not originate in fashionable Paris.

Though unsuccessful themselves, bloomers influenced the design of the popular feminine bicycling costume of the 1880s and 1890s. The outfit, consisting of a pair of knee-length, very baggy knickerbockers, had a split skirt with stockings worn beneath. These bicycle bloomers marked the first concession made by the fashion industry towards enabling women’s participation in skirt-prohibitive activities. Formerly, as with the original bloomers, an activity was deemed immodest and unladylike if it could not be performed in a skirt. While some criticized bicycling for this reason, most women showed no inclination to give up cycling, and the craze for bicycle bloomers raged for the next two decades.

As the somber mood of the World War I replaced the frivolity of the “Gay Nineties,” women replaced men in the factories the latter had abandoned for battlefields. At work, when skirts proved too cumbersome, women wore trousers or overalls, although this practice was much criticized. Women worked in the fields too, sometimes wearing overalls, as noted by L.M. Montgomery in her book *Rilla of Ingleside* (1921) which depicts life on Prince Edward Island during World War I. In the novel, some young women wear pants as they work, while the older women working beside them remain in their skirts because pants were still considered indecent or shocking. Clearly, though, those women who wore pants during World War I did so for reasons of practicality and not of fashion.

Following the war, in the 1920s, women exposed their arms and legs, flattened their chests, bobbed their hair to look boyish, and got the vote; but pants remained taboo, except in the realm of sports. Here, ease of movement somewhat dictated fashion. And so the ski-costume, a knitted tunic over knitted trousers which fit into ankle-high ski boots, was created. Riding outfits similar to men’s became popular, and women wore the loose trousers of “lounging pajamas” on the beach.

When diva film star Marlene Dietrich appeared in slacks with flared bottoms in her United States debut film *Morocco* in 1930, she signaled the emergence of women’s pants from sportswear to high fashion. Wearing them both in films and private life, she popularized the pants look. For summer wear, shorts and beach slacks were stylish, and pants were worn regularly with short-sleeved knit tops. Women’s pants had gained such importance by 1939 that in the November issue of *Vogue* the magazine advised, “Your wardrobe is not complete without a pair or two of the superbly tailored slacks of 1939.”

During World War II, however, fashion followed the needs of the war. Clothing was simple, sensible, and, in some cases, rationed. In England, the Board of Trade specified the maximum amount of cloth and buttons which could be used in women’s slacks. Urged by images like “Rosie the Riveter,” shown once on the cover of *The Saturday Evening Post* in 1943 as muscular and wearing coveralls, women returned to factory work; this time they wore their dungarees without looks askance.

In 1947, after the austerity of the war years, Christian Dior introduced his lush New Look, reverting to full skirts and soft femininity. Women’s pants, however, were by then an acknowledged fact, and the 1950s brought many innovations to casual wear. Women wore a variety of slacks, ranging from tight-fitting to loose, worn with all types of blouses. Following the post-World War II baby boom, the 1950s ushered in the cult of youth and the creation of a market division specifically for teenage fashions. Girls wore Capri pants, stretch pants with stirrups, and Bermuda shorts.

These innovations set the stage for “unisex” fashions, which were developed in the 1960s. Both men and women wore blue jeans, “hipsters” and close fitting pants with zip fly fronts. The spirit of this latest association of pants with social and sexual liberation can be seen in Alice Walker’s novel *The Color Purple* (1982), in which the social victory of the heroine culminates in her opening of a unisex jeans shop. In addition to jeans, pant-suits became popular with women in fabrics ranging from PVC and lurex to velvet and satin.

Since the 1960s, women’s pants have run the gamut of trends from the bell-bottoms of the 1970s and the skin-tight jeans of the 1980s, to the return of bell-bottoms and tight jeans in the 1990s. The fashion, however, is not yet entirely divorced from its controversial beginnings. Only in the 1990s has the issue over whether women



should wear pants in the workplace cooled, aided by the phenomenon of “business casual” days. Perhaps a greater indicator of the merge in the feminist and fashionable aspect of women’s pants is reflected in the 1998 Miss America Pageant, where a number of the contestants, having been allowed, for the first time, to choose their outfits for the introductory number, came out wearing jeans.

—Sandra Sherman

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## Pantyhose

In 1937 the invention of spinnable nylon made sheer, durable stockings affordable for the average woman, but in the 1960s, pantyhose, a convenient one-piece garment consisting of nylon-spandex stretchable stockings and underpants, made traditional stockings obsolete. Supermodel Twiggy popularized pantyhose when she stepped out on a runway in a miniskirt in 1965. Since then, pantyhose, which come in a wide range of colors, styles, and prices (\$3.50-\$40.00), have become an indispensable part of virtually every woman’s working or fashion wardrobe. Emotionally appealing to women and sexually appealing to men, pantyhose have become a staple product in the global economy, having created a competitive, multi-billion dollar market by the end of the twentieth century that showed no signs of diminishing.

—John R. Deitrick

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## Paperbacks

When Pocket Books introduced the paperback to American consumers in 1939, book publishing changed forever. Paperbacks did more than make books affordable to a mass audience; they made books available to readers who did not live near book stores, they helped popularize genre fiction, they turned otherwise obscure writers into best-selling authors, and they ensured a lasting existence for hardback books that went into paperback.



A model demonstrates the need for pantyhose.

Although there had been many earlier attempts to publish books with paper covers, the modern paperback book can be traced to Tauchnitz Books, a German publisher who began issuing paperbound books in 1841. Tauchnitz published English language editions of American and English books, primarily in non-English speaking European countries, assuming that there were enough American and British expatriates as well as Europeans fluent in English to establish a market for inexpensive English language books on the continent. Tauchnitz attempted to publish only the best literature and voluntarily paid royalties to its English and American writers at a time when most European publishers did not, so it was both flattering and financially rewarding to be chosen for publication by Tauchnitz. Perhaps what is most striking about Tauchnitz books is their complete lack of color or decoration; in contrast with American paperbacks, Tauchnitz book covers carried no illustration, only bearing the title and author in black letters against an off-white background.

For 90 years Tauchnitz had the European paperback market to itself. Its primary competitor, Albatross, emerged in 1931. Albatross was founded by German and English publishers; the name Albatross was chosen because that word is the same in nearly every major European language and therefore the company name would need no translation. Albatross brought one major innovation to the paperback market; it color-coded its books, so that one could determine the book's subject matter merely by glancing at the cover: blue books were love stories, red books were crime novels, and so forth. In 1934 Albatross bought out Tauchnitz and the two houses continued to publish until the outbreak of World War II. Meanwhile, an English paperback publisher, Penguin, largely adopted Albatross's book's appearance for its own publications, using a Penguin as its company logo and color-coding its books as well. All Penguin paperbacks were either orange or green in the 1990s.

Robert de Graff brought the paperback to America in 1939. De Graff had worked in book publishing for 14 years and was convinced that there was a market for inexpensive books in the United States. He said he got the idea of selling books for 25 cents when he was driving to work one day, stopped to pay a quarter at a tollbooth and realized that "Nobody misses a quarter." He named his new company Pocket Books because the books were small enough to fit into one's pants pocket; at six and one half inches high and four and one quarter inches wide, the books were one quarter of an inch shorter than paperbacks.

De Graff faced two key obstacles in the development and marketing of the paperback book. He was determined to keep the price to 25 cents, but experts estimated that it would cost a minimum of 27 cents to produce and distribute the books. De Graff dealt with that issue by lowering author's royalty rates and by using cheaper paper, which is why the paperback has always had a reputation of being "cheaper" than the hardback book, in terms of quality as well as price. The second problem was a lack of cooperation from book publishers, who were reluctant to sell paperback rights to Pocket Books, fearing that potential buyers would wait and buy the less expensive version. To prove that paperbacks would not harm the sales of hardback books, De Graff arranged for a test marketing in Texas of Dale Carnegie's *How to Win Friends and Influence People*. When the paperback sold well and sales of the hardback book remained steady, publishers realized that the two formats could co-exist. Eventually it became standard practice to delay the release of a paperback edition for a year or more after the hardback was published.

Pocket Books was launched in June of 1939. Ten titles were published, with a print run of 10,000 copies per title. The selected titles ranged from classics such as *The Way of All Flesh* to popular

literature such as Agatha Christie's *The Murder of Roger Ackroyd*. The initial print run sold out in one week, the first indication de Graff had that his new company might be a big success. By the end of the year Pocket Books had sold 1.5 million books. The success of the new paperback format can be attributed to many things. Before the books were printed, De Graff had the edges of the paper dyed red, so that they stood out on a bookrack. He had also insisted that his books be grouped by subject matter, rather than simply divided into fiction and non-fiction, so that a person looking for one specific mystery novel, for example, might see several such novels grouped together and buy two or more. He even insisted that the company's recognizable trademark/mascot, a kangaroo named Gertrude (kangaroos have pockets), had a great deal to do with the company's success. But the most important factor in the success of Pocket Books was distribution. De Graff had managed to have his paperbacks sold in many, many more stores than those who sold hardback books; one estimate was that there were 40 stores carrying paperbacks for every one carrying hardbacks in the United States. Pocket Books were not just available in bookstores; they could be purchased in grocery stores, pharmacies, and candy stores, at bus stations, airports, and train terminals, through Sears, Roebuck and Spiegel catalogs—and at a price of 25 cents. What De Graff had done was make book purchasing an impulse buy, like a candy bar or a pack of gum.

Pocket Books' success did not go unnoticed by the publishing industry and several competitors emerged in 1941. The most successful was Avon Books, which imitated Pocket Books format slavishly. Avon adopted the same dimensions as Pocket Books, also dyed its pages red on the edge, used a bust of Shakespeare as a trademark and originally called its products Avon Pocket-Size Books. Pocket Books sued; eventually Avon dropped the word Pocket-Size from its cover but retained the logo, the red-trimmed pages, and the size.

When America entered World War II it became difficult for either Pocket Books or Avon to obtain as much paper as they needed to meet the demand for paperbacks and the war did substantial damage to the industry—at least in the short term. In the long term, it might have been the best thing that ever happened to paperbacks. During the war Avon, Pocket Books, and Penguin all printed military editions under the auspices of the Council on Books in Wartime, a government organization. These books were given free to servicemen during the war. Military editions were of different size and shape from the regular paperback; wider than they were tall, approximately five and a half inches across but only three and three-quarter inches high, the books could easily be slid into a shirt pocket if a soldier under attack suddenly had to put away his book. The military editions were extremely popular with American G.I.s and helped create a strong market for paperbacks in post-war America; not only did most of the returning soldiers who had read military editions overseas continue to buy and read paperback books, but many recommended them to their family and friends as well.

In 1943 two more publishers entered the paperback market, Dell and Popular Library. Both companies were founded by magazine publishers and therefore were even more attuned to the popular tastes of the American public than was Pocket Books. Dell's most noteworthy contribution to the paperback format was the "map book"—on the back cover of many Dell paperbacks was a map of the setting of the novel to help readers who might otherwise get confused. Bantam Books, like Avon, closely followed the Pocket Books model of red pages, small size, and mascot, a bantam rooster in this case. Bantam was founded in 1945 by Ian Ballantine, a former Penguin editor who

went on to found another company, Ballantine, in 1952. New American Library, also founded by former Penguin editors, was established in 1947. NAL, with its Signet and Mentor imprints, soon developed a reputation as the most literary paperback house, publishing William Faulkner and D.H. Lawrence, among others.

The paperback industry changed again in 1950 with the founding of Fawcett Books, certainly the most influential publisher of paperbacks since Pocket Books and arguably the most important publisher in the history of the paperback. Like Dell and Popular Library, Fawcett had published magazines before entering the paperback market and had in fact distributed paperbacks for other companies along with its magazines. Fawcett wanted to enter into paperback publishing, but was contractually bound from producing paperback reprints of hard cover books. So Fawcett by necessity created what was to be the key market innovation of the paperback industry—the paperback original. Fawcett's Gold Medal line published not reprints of earlier works but brand new novels. This was particularly appealing to customers at the time; many publishers changed the titles of books when putting them into paperback so that buyers frequently got home with books they had already read, but Gold Medal novels guaranteed that would not happen. Each Gold Medal book concluded with this phrase: "The End of an Original Gold Medal Novel. The Gold Medal Seal on this book means it has never been published as a book before. To select an original book that you have not already read, look for the Gold Medal seal."

Fawcett attracted better authors than might have been expected from a paperback house; Kurt Vonnegut, John D. MacDonald, Jim Thompson, and Lawrence Sanders are among the authors who published early works with Gold Medal. The company paid one thousand dollars upon delivery of a manuscript, which meant writers did not have to wait to collect royalties, and a bonus if the book went into reprints. Fawcett also had a genuinely talented editor, Knox Burger, heading up its paperback line. Gold Medal targeted male readers; their books were mostly crime and western novels with titles such as *Second-Hand Nude* or *River Girl*, and their covers were lewd and lurid even by the standards of the paperback industry. They were also very successful and inspired a host of imitators. Dell quickly introduced its line of First Editions and other paperback houses started issuing original novels. New publishers appeared as well, somewhat more disreputable than the older publishers and willing to go even further than Fawcett in using sex and violence to attract a male audience. Paperback houses such as Midwood and Beeline produced hundreds of trashy sex novels, not quite soft-core pornography, in the 1950s. The paperback original boosted sales of softcover books so much that publishers today refer to the "paperback boom" of the 1950s. Ironically, the success of its Gold Medal line led Fawcett eventually to create a reprint line, Crest; the company has published Gold Medal books very infrequently since the early 1980s.

The overt sexual nature of many of the paperbacks published in the early 1950s eventually resulted in the threat of censorship. In 1952 the House of Representatives Select Committee on Current Pornographic Materials began an investigation of the paperback book industry. One representative referred to the three S's of paperbacks: "sex, sadism and the smoking gun." Gold Medal was under particular scrutiny by the Committee, due in part to the lesbian novels the company published. The Committee never made any official move to censor, but the industry did begin to restrict the sexual content of paperbacks, with many books actually recalled and reissued with new covers. Furthermore, censorship attempts occurred at state and local levels throughout the 1950s.

Few major paperback publishers emerged after Fawcett. Ace, founded in 1952, added its own market innovation with the double novel—after completing an Ace paperback, readers could turn it over and find another entire (though usually very brief) novel. Harlequin, a Canadian publisher founded in 1949, began publishing its highly successful line of romance books in 1964. In 1969 Pinnacle was founded by former 1950s publishers of "adult" paperbacks. Pinnacle specialized in the "series" novel, books with recurring characters that even included numbers on each new novel so that customers could easily collect an entire series. Pinnacle's most successful characters were the Executioner and the Destroyer; the former was a Vietnam veteran turned vigilante and the latter was a former police officer, who worked for a highly secret government agency. The series novel dominated the 1970s, with westerns, military adventures, and martial arts stories being particularly popular. Finally, DAW books became in the 1970s the first paperback house to specialize in one genre; founded by respected editor and author Donald A. Wollheim, the company published science fiction only.

Other trends developed in the 1970s and 1980s. The relative speed with which a paperback could be published resulted in the "instant" book, a quickly produced volume that discusses a current political or social event. The O.J. Simpson trial, Operation Desert Shield, and the Monica Lewinsky scandal all generated instant books, and there have been instant biographies of stars whose fame seemed destined to be short-lived, such as the Spice Girls and Vanilla Ice. The novelization is a book that is based upon a movie or television program, rather than the other way around. Novelizations of all sorts of TV shows and motion pictures were common in the 1970s and at least one, the novel version of *Jaws 2*, actually achieved bestseller status. By the 1980s, novelizations in the science fiction genre were most common and hundreds of *Dr. Who* and *Star Trek* novels have been written, many featuring original adventures of the characters.

The trade paperback, also called the quality paperback and the oversized paperback, has been in existence at least since 1953, when Doubleday introduced its series of Anchor Books, but has enjoyed its greatest success in the 1980s and 1990s. Trade paperbacks are substantially larger than the regular paperback book, now referred to as the "mass market" book. They are almost as large as a standard hard cover book and cost about one half as much. Trade paperbacks seem to have a cachet of respectability that regular paperback novels were never able to acquire and there is undeniably a certain amount of "snob appeal" involved in the publication of a book in a trade edition.

In the 1990s consolidation of publishers left only a handful of companies producing most of the paperback books in America. Prices have risen considerably from de Graf's 25 cents, and six- and seven-dollar paperbacks have become standard. A great emphasis, especially among mass market publishers, is placed on "category fiction"—novels that can be placed into easily identifiable genres, such as science fiction, westerns, courtroom thrillers, or historical novels. There are fewer original novels published in paper.

The paperback book has played an enormous role in the development of literature in contemporary America. Authors as disparate as J.R.R. Tolkien, Benjamin Spock, Louis L'Amour, and Mickey Spillane all reached mass audiences through the paperback medium. The paperback has been a ubiquitous part of our lives; since the first Pocket Books appeared in 1939, almost anybody in America, living anywhere, has been able to walk into a local store and find a wire rack filled with paperback books.

—Randall Clark

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## Parades

Whether to demonstrate military might, to advertise public events and holidays, or simply to entertain, parades traditionally have been part of the community experience, probably since human beings first gathered together in a social order; as far back as 3000 B.C.E., there are records of religious processions and parades. Whether it is a New York ticker tape parade or a ragtag local procession, a parade is a kind of social narrative, as symbols and tableaux approach and pass by, telling cheering spectators a sort of story about their society.

The first public parades were likely military or political in origin, as armies and rulers found that a huge demonstration of power was an effective way both to intimidate opposition and to muster support. Patriotism, that nationalistic pride so important to those who rule nations and those who make war, is still an important product of military and political pageants. Religious institutions also used parades to gain power and solidify connections with the populace. The public welcomed such parades, both as a diversion from workday life and because, for a moment, they put the powerful within reach of the common people. Less enthusiastic were the conquered people forced to watch the victors flaunt their triumph down the main streets of vanquished towns.

Other early parades were connected with fairs and festivals and offered opportunities for people to gather, socialize, and exchange information. In medieval Italy, *carreros*, or carts, were painted with historical scenes and brought out at parade times as a sort of rolling history exhibit. Circus parades were often the most anticipated public events in small towns in earlier centuries. Part flamboyant spectacle and part advertisement for the show, the brightly painted wagons and exotic performers and animals of the circus parade were greeted with enthusiasm by the working people in small, uneventful towns.

More modern parades have tended to fall into the same categories, augmented by modern excesses. The military parade is still a standby, whether to honor veterans of past wars or to celebrate victory in a new one. The end of World War II was cause for hundreds of parades nationwide, but later wars evoked more complicated emotions. Veterans of the undeclared conflicts in Korea and Vietnam complained that their homecomings went unfeted, since most Americans were merely glad to put the controversy and discomfort behind them. In a sort of backlash effect, both public and government seemed almost embarrassingly determined to honor troops. In the next major U.S. conflict, the Persian Gulf War of 1991, the spate of parades celebrating the returning troops lasted longer than the forty-three-day war itself.

Religion has always been a major inspiration for a parade, and many major U.S. parades are at least nominally religious. Mardi Gras parades, major events in many southern cities, the most famous being New Orleans, celebrate the last feast before the beginning of Lent. In practice, Mardi Gras has always been an occasion for revelry and debauchery—and endless parades. In New Orleans, where the first Mardi Gras celebration was held in 1837, social groups called *krewe*s sponsor dozens of balls and parades. The *krewe*s offer a chance of visibility for many who are otherwise marginalized. There are black and Jewish *krewe*s, and, since 1958, several gay *krewe*s. All are welcomed and celebrated in the spirit of Mardi Gras, and all compete for the most artistic and ostentatious parade floats.

The feast of St. Patrick also offers an excuse for a parade in many U.S. cities. In New York City, the nation's largest St. Patrick's Day parade drew one hundred fifty thousand marchers and more than one-and-a-half million spectators in 1998. Though it is on one hand a raucous revel, a St. Patrick's Day parade also often has a subtle political agenda of Irish nationalism. Unlike the Mardi Gras parades, however, St. Patrick's Day parades have often sought to prevent the inclusion of marginalized groups; many have banned contingents of gay Irish marchers, for example.

As in the circus parades, advertising continues to be a motivating factor for parading. Since its beginning in 1924, the famous Macy's Thanksgiving Day parade in New York City is an extravagant advertising gesture, where companies pay hundreds of thousands of dollars to display helium-filled toys and logos before millions of spectators. Many other companies are catching on to parading as a marketing tool, hiring specialized companies to plan and execute their parades to maximum effect.

Gay Pride Day offers an example of the political evolution of a parade. With the beginning of the gay liberation movement in the 1970s, Gay Pride marches were first demonstrations, often angry and challenging, demanding gay rights. As the movement progressed and gays began to feel more strength and solidarity in their communities, the event evolved into a celebratory parade, complete with elaborate floats, commercial advertisements, and glad-handing politicians seeking votes. Though some gays bemoan this change from protest to festivity, others see it as a sign of progress and social acceptance.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Paretsky, Sara (1947—)

Creator of Chicago's famous feminist detective V. I. Warshawski, author Sara Paretsky paved the way for a new category of female detectives within the mystery genre. In 1986, angered at the treatment of female mystery writers, who were often ignored, unrewarded,

underappreciated, and forced into creating stereotypical protagonists, Paretsky helped to create Sisters in Crime. This group has consistently worked to garner awards for female mystery writers, demand that more reviews of mysteries be written by women, and improve the image of women in mystery novels.

Paretsky, who was born in Iowa and grew up in Lawrence, Kansas, was influenced in her choice of career by her mother, a children's librarian at the Lawrence Public Library. Young Sara began writing at the age of five. As an adult, however, Paretsky worked as a dishwasher, secretary, market manager, and freelance writer before writing her first V. I. Warshawski mystery, *Indemnity Only*, in 1982. In her first novel Paretsky combined her love of writing with her experience in the insurance industry to create a realistic, feminist detective who dealt with real problems on her own terms.

Victoria Warshawski, who prefers to be called V. I. or Vic, is described as being 5'8" tall, weighing 140 pounds, with dark brown hair and green eyes. She loves Black Label whiskey, red wine, and pasta. V. I. is ferociously loyal to her friends and tenacious when solving crimes. Although she is frequently assisted in her endeavors by her friend Dr. Lotty Herschel and downstairs neighbor Mr. Conteras, V. I. primarily applies her own intelligence and physical abilities to solve cases. Paretsky has succeeded in her goal of creating a female detective who combats the stereotypes of women prevalent in fiction before 1980. In her wake, other mystery writers, such as Dorothy Cannell (Ellie Haskell) and Selma Eichler (Desiree Shapiro), challenged the traditional mode of women in mysteries throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Within the mystery genre, major female characters now include Black, Jewish, lesbian, 60-plus, and divorced protagonists.

In addition to *Indemnity Only*, Sara Paretsky has written eight mysteries featuring V. I. Warshawski: *Deadlock* (1984), *Killing Orders* (1985), *Bitter Medicine* (1985), *Blood Shot* (1988) (entitled *Toxic Shock* in Great Britain), *Burn Marks* (1990), *Guardian Angel* (1991), *Tunnel Vision* (1994), and *Windy City Blues* (1995). She also edited *Women on the Case* (1997), a collection of short stories with female protagonists.

In 1998 Sara Paretsky turned her attention to writing a novel that dealt with the lives of women in a broader context than was possible with the V. I. Warshawski series. *Ghost Country* features a group of women from distinctly different backgrounds who come together in Chicago's underground network of streets. Paretsky's characters become involved with exploring their own identities and their relationship to the world around them.

Sara Paretsky, a mother and grandmother, lives in Chicago with her husband, physicist Courtenay Wright and her golden retriever Cordhu. She was named *Ms. Magazine's* Woman of the Year in 1987, awarded the Mark Twain Award for the Society of the Study for Midwestern Literature, and nominated for a Silver Dagger for *Blood Shot*. In all her novels, Paretsky addresses traditional perceptions regarding the role of women in American society.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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## Parker Brothers

Parker Brothers is the company most well-known for *Monopoly*, arguably the most famous board game of all. In 1883 a 16-year-old named George S. Parker of Salem, Massachusetts, invented *The Game of Banking*. After two companies rejected the game, he decided to market it himself. With his profits, he established the George S. Parker Company. He later invited his brothers to join and the company officially became Parker Brothers. Long a successful company, alongside its rival Milton Bradley (also located in Massachusetts), Parker Brothers' biggest success came in the 1930s with *Monopoly*, which brought the company revenues of a million dollars by 1936. Over the years, Parker Brothers produced many other popular games, such as *Clue* and *Trivial Pursuit*. In 1968 General Mills bought Parker Brothers—it was spun off as Kenner-Parker two years later—and in 1991 it was acquired by Hasbro, the second leading toy producer after Mattel.

—Robin Lent

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## Parker, Charlie (1920-1955)

When alto saxophonist Charlie "Bird" Parker died at the age of thirty-four from the effects of drug and alcohol addiction and hard living, graffiti appeared on walls and sidewalks all over New York City proclaiming "Bird Lives!" The grief-stricken graffiti artists were more prescient than they could have imagined. One of the premier jazz artists in history, Parker made a contribution to American music that continues to be strongly felt decades after his own life was cut short. First reckoned as a major influence in jazz when he helped develop the "bebop" style while playing in Harlem clubs in the 1940s, his style is still widely imitated not only by saxophone players, but by jazz musicians on every instrument and even by scat singers. A master improvisationist whose command of theme and counterpoint has been compared by some critics to Bach, Parker was not only a victim of his addictions but also of the contradictions of being a brilliant black musician in the racist United States of the 1940s and 1950s.

Charles Christopher Parker, Jr., was born in Kansas City, Kansas. His father, a singer and dancer who also worked as a Pullman chef for the railroad, left the family when Parker was quite young.



**Charlie Parker**

Parker was raised by his mother, who doted on her chubby, affectionate, only child. His hearty appetite, especially his love for chicken, may have given rise to his lifelong nickname “Yardbird” or “Bird.” When he was eleven, Parker bought his first alto sax, inspired by listening to Rudy Vallee on the radio. By the age of fifteen he had left school to become a professional musician, playing at clubs in the lively Kansas City jazz district. Within a year, through a family friend, he became addicted to morphine.

While developing his music in Kansas City jazz clubs, Parker married a local girl at age sixteen, and by the time he was eighteen he was a father. A year later, in 1939, he asked his wife’s permission to leave. He felt that he needed to go to New York to develop his music. Playing with several well-known big bands as well as in the Harlem jam sessions where the direction of jazz evolved, Parker developed a formidable reputation as a saxophone soloist. Modern studies of Parker’s recorded music show that he never repeated an improvisation, no matter how often he played the same piece of music.

It was while playing in Harlem with trumpet player Dizzy Gillespie that Parker helped develop the innovative flexible rhythm patterns that became known as bebop or bop. The bebop sound worked better in small combos rather than big bands, and Parker and Gillespie worked together for many years co-leading small jazz groups. From the big bands Parker had learned the delicate art of blending with other instruments while leading them through inventive riffs and motifs. In the five-piece combos and jamming with such greats as Thelonious Monk and Max Roach, he learned to expand on the rhythmic inventions and dynamic phrasing that would revolutionize jazz.

Parker was always a man of contradictions. His warm personality and transcendent horn improvisations made him a revered character in the jazz community, while his ruthless ambition and flamboyant disregard for authority often caused both peers and employers to be wary of him. In the 1920s and 1930s, white America’s view of the African-American experience usually came from minstrel shows featuring white (or even black) actors in blackface. With the rise of the jazz age, white audiences thronged to hear black musicians playing the blues and jazz they had developed. Parker was deeply angry and defiant about the contradictions of being famous and black, privileged and oppressed. As a leader in jazz, one of the most American and one of the most truly African-American art forms, Parker constantly rebelled against the power structures in the music business. Unfortunately, his rebellion was often self-destructive, and he became known as a difficult musician. In 1946, after being found naked in his hotel lobby and setting a mattress on fire, he was sent to jail and then to a state mental hospital for six months. Even when he returned to his career, he continued to have problems bowing to authority. In 1949 the famous Birdland Club, named in honor of Parker, opened in Harlem, but in 1954 he was fired, no longer allowed to play there because of his unpredictable behavior.

Parker died in 1955 from complications of pneumonia, but his impact on jazz was immense, affecting not only how jazz is played but also how it is listened to up to the present day. Actor/director Clint Eastwood made a movie about Parker’s life called *Bird*, which was released in 1988. Many of Parker’s fans complained that it stereotyped the sax player by focusing on his addictions and showing his life through the eyes of his fourth wife, a white woman, and other white characters. Perhaps the only way to really understand Parker is to listen to his music. New mixes of his recordings are continually released, and jazz fans wait for them enthusiastically. It is in these recordings, as well as in the music of thousands of subsequent musicians and singers influenced by Parker’s style, that Bird truly lives.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Parker, Dorothy (1893-1967)

Dorothy Parker was the leading light and most scathing wit of the notorious “Algonquin Round Table”—a collection of literary notables who defined the intellectual tastes of New York City in the 1920s and 1930s. Parker is most often remembered for short verses like “Men seldom make passes at girls who wear glasses.” Her wisecracks (“I require only three things in a man. He must be handsome, ruthless and stupid”) and acerbic critiques (“This is not a book to be set aside lightly. It should be thrown with great force”) filled the gossip columns of the New York press, gained her a national following, and helped to establish the “magazine culture” of the period.

—Barry Morris

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## Parks, Rosa (1913—)

One of the most prominent African American women in history, Rosa Parks is regarded as the person who sparked the twentieth century Civil Rights Movement in the United States—although Parks herself downplayed her role. Her refusal to stand up and allow a white man to have her bus seat, however, gave Ms. Parks a permanent place in history. On December 1, 1955, in Montgomery, Alabama, as a city bus filled with passengers, a white bus driver told Parks to stand and give her seat to a white man. She was already seated in the “Negro” section located at the back of the bus and refused to relinquish her

seat. The bus driver responded by calling the police who arrested Parks and took her to jail. The act changed the lives of African Americans, especially in the old Confederacy, and changed American history forever.

Rosa Lee McCauley was born on February 4, 1913, in Tuskegee, Alabama, to a farmer father and a schoolteacher mother. Both her grandparents were born slaves. When Rosa was 11, her mother sent her to a private school in Montgomery. Rosa’s life changed forever while attending a summer institute at Highlander Folk School in Tennessee. The integrated institution was renowned for producing social activists and Rosa McCauley would become one of them.

In 1932, Rosa married a barber by the name of Raymond Parks and they settled in Montgomery. Ms. Parks gained employment as a seamstress for the Montgomery Ward department store. She also served as the secretary of the local chapter of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which she joined in 1943. Parks organized the NAACP Youth Council in Montgomery and sat on the National Committee to vindicate the Scottsboro Boys who were wrongfully accused of raping a white woman in Alabama.



Rosa Parks being fingerprinted by a police officer in Montgomery, Alabama.

All over the United States the NAACP was gaining momentum, headed for black civil rights, especially after the 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education decision ended legal segregation. Rosa Parks was well known in Montgomery and maintained a certain respect in the community for her many activities prior to the bus boycott, including failed attempts to try to vote.

Well known were the Montgomery bus system's race discrimination, not just segregation, policies. For example, African American riders were forced to enter busses through the front door to pay their fare, exit, and reenter through the rear door. Sometimes drivers would leave the stop before black passengers could reenter. In an ironic twist, this had happened to Parks. The same driver who had the 43-year-old Parks arrested had driven off on Parks 12 years earlier, an incident she had not forgotten.

Rosa Parks was by no means the first person to be arrested for refusing to give up her seat. In fact, someone had been arrested just the week before for the same offense. What made Rosa Parks unique was that she had standing in the African American community. She was respected for her efforts with the NAACP, and Montgomery leaders knew she would be an exemplary person to support their cause of integration in the court system. On December 5, 1955, the court found her guilty and fined her \$14. The stage was set for a long court battle and a battle of wills as the Montgomery Bus Boycott followed the conviction of Parks. The boycott was organized by the new Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA), and brought the young MIA leader Martin Luther King, Jr. to the national forefront. The bus boycott would last 380 days and only end with a United States Supreme Court order in November of 1956 that banned bus segregation.

In 1957, Parks and her husband, fired from employment and victims of harassment, moved to Detroit, Michigan, where Rosa took a job with local United States Congressman John Conyers. Parks worked for the Congressman in his Detroit office for 25 years. In 1995, she gave a rousing speech at the Million Man March in Washington at the age of 83. Throughout her life, Rosa Parks has continued her social activism. She and Raymond, who died in 1977, founded the Institute for Self-Development to train African American youth to take leadership roles in their community.

Ms. Parks has received numerous honors and accolades throughout her life. In 1987, Parks was venerated with a night in her honor at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington D.C. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference names their award the Rosa Parks Freedom Award in her honor. Rosa Parks represents how one person can make a difference in history.

—Scott Stabler

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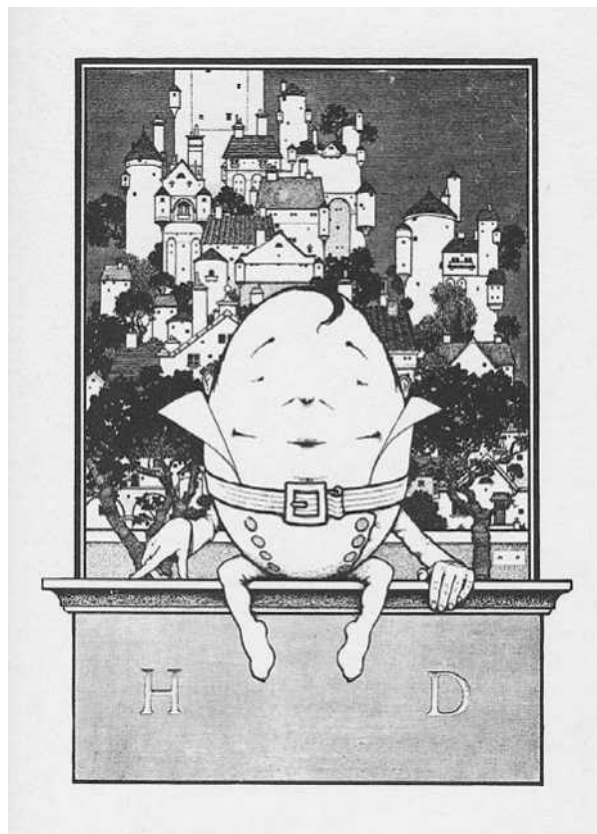
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## Parrish, Maxfield (1870-1966)

One of the most popular American artists of the twentieth century and one of the most prolific, in his long career Maxfield Parrish produced book and magazine illustrations, landscapes, advertisements, posters, and murals. Although many of his paintings initially give the impression of a meticulous devotion to realism, he actually had a highly individual approach to color and lighting, and many of his most famous illustrations depict giants, dragons, genies, centaurs, mythical kingdoms, and enchanted palaces. Observers of Parrish's work have pointed out that what he really did was rearrange and improve on reality.

Parrish was born in Philadelphia. His father was a landscape painter and etcher. Parrish initially intended to be an architect, but soon shifted to illustration. By the middle 1890s he was starting to get work doing magazine covers. His first was for *Harper's Weekly*. In 1897 Parrish illustrated his first book, *Mother Goose in Prose* by L. Frank Baum, who was still a few years away from discovering Oz. One of Parrish's specialties became the illustrating of children's books, and over the next decade or so he provided imaginative pictures for *The Golden Age* and *Dream Days* by Kenneth Grahame, *Poems of Childhood* by Eugene Field, *A Wonder Book and Tanglewood Tales* by Nathaniel Hawthorne, and *The Arabian Nights*.

He was in large demand as a magazine artist from the 1890s into the 1930s. One checklist of his magazine covers and illustrations includes nearly 400 items. Parrish turned out numerous covers for *Century Magazine*, *Life*, *Harper's Bazaar*, and *Collier's*. His work



An illustration of Humpty Dumpty by Maxfield Parrish.



was also to be seen in *Scribner's*, *McClure's*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, and *St. Nicholas*. In addition, he did commercial work for a wide range of advertising accounts. These included Jell-O, Wannamaker's, Oneida Silver, H. O. Oats, Columbia Bicycle, Royal Baking Powder, and Swift's Premium Ham. Often he made use of fantasy and fairy tale elements in these pictures, utilizing knights in armor, fantastic palaces, jesters, kings, princesses, dwarfs, goddesses, and nursery rhyme characters.

Probably the most financially rewarding area was the color reproductions of Parrish's paintings that were sold by such distributors as House of Art. *Daybreak*, issued in 1923, has the distinction of being the best-selling art print of all time. During the 1920s and 1930s copies of the work could be seen framed and hanging in many a parlor and living room around the country. The painting shows a colonnade in the foreground with a young woman in vaguely Grecian robes reclining and a nude girl bending over her as dawn tints everything a typically Parrish pink. There are Parrish leafy branches dangling overhead and in the distance Parrish misty mountains. The model for the reclining figure was William Jennings Bryan's granddaughter and the naked little girl was Parrish's daughter. Parrish always worked from photographs that he took himself, except when depicting monsters, elves, and the like. He'd project the photo onto his drawing or painting surface and then trace it in with pencil. Another very successful print was *Stars*, which shows a naked young woman sitting on a rock and gazing contentedly up into the night sky. Painted a few years after *Daybreak*, it was also adapted from a photo Parrish shot of his daughter Jean.

Parrish's favorite model was Susan Lewin. Originally she was the housekeeper for Parrish and his family at their Vermont home, The Oaks. The artist was soon asking the attractive young woman to pose for him, and she can be seen in several of his paintings, including *Sleeping Beauty*. A recent biography of Parrish explained that for many years he lived with Susan and not his wife.

Parrish was responsible for several murals as well. The most famous was *Old King Cole*, painted for the Hotel Knickerbocker. In addition he painted *The Pied Piper* for the men's bar in San Francisco's Palace Hotel and *Sing A Song of Sixpence* for Chicago's Sherman House. His most ambitious undertaking was a series of 18 murals, each over ten feet high, done for the offices of *The Saturday Evening Post* in Philadelphia. Parrish worked from 1911 to 1913 on the project.

An accomplished landscape painter as well, from the middle 1930s onward he concentrated almost exclusively on the genre and did no further illustration of any kind. The landscapes included many paintings of farmhouses, old mills, and small town churches and continued to exhibit the artist's meticulous rendering and his fascination with the effects of light. He stopped painting in 1960, at the age of 90. In 1965 the Metropolitan Museum of Art finally took notice of him and purchased one of his fantasy paintings, *The Errant Pan*. Maxfield Parrish died the following year.

—Ron Goulart

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## Partner Swapping

See Swinging

## Parton, Dolly (1946—)

Dolly Parton is a country singer, songwriter, movie actress, businesswoman, children's author, and media image, and yet none of these labels, neither singly nor collectively, capture the paradox that is Dolly. Her public image is near caricature, big blonde hair, little-girl voice, and a bust measurement that defies belief. But both her autobiographical lyrics and her multi-million-dollar empire, Dolly Parton Enterprises, testify to the substance beneath the image.

Dolly's life story is the stuff of which American legends are made. Born the third of twelve children in a log cabin in Sevier County, Tennessee, she was delivered by a doctor who was paid with a sack of corn meal milled from corn grown by her then tenant father. The country cliché of humble beginnings where material things were scarce but love and faith were plentiful has been captured in some of her best known songs, including "My Tennessee Mountain Home." But in the skilled hands of this talented songwriter the cliché acquired an unexpected freshness and power. "Coat of Many Colors," the title



Dolly Parton

cut from her 1971 album (RCA Victor), for example, recalls an actual incident from Parton's life. The coat her mother made her from scraps of material becomes an object of ridicule when she wears it to school; her mother assuages her pain by reminding her that the coat was made with love. Parton revealed in interviews that the episode, which she still found hurtful, fired her ambition to become a star. It also gave her a country classic and the material for her first children's book, *Coat of Many Colors*.

Musical ability was not rare in the family of Avie Lee and Lee Parton. Seven of their twelve children would someday work as professional musicians, but Dolly's talent was exceptional even among so talented a group. She began singing before she was two years old and was writing songs on her homemade guitar before she was seven. By the age of twelve, she was singing on a Knoxville radio station, and a year later she recorded "Puppy Love," a song she had written on Gold Band, a small label. A local celebrity by the time she reached high school, Dolly dreamed of Grand Ole Opry stardom. She left for Nashville the day after her high school graduation.

Three years later she had her first charting record, "Dumb Blonde" (Monument); that same year she became Porter Wagoner's "girl singer," appearing regularly on his syndicated television show. Enormously successful as duet partners, Parton and Wagoner during the next thirteen years had fourteen top ten hits and were twice named the Country Music Association's duo of the year. Parton, however, wanted more than being known as Wagoner's duet partner. She signed with RCA in 1968 and became a Grand Ole Opry member in 1969. Successes like "Joshua," number one on country charts in 1970, gave her the courage to strike out on her own, and she left Wagoner in 1974, although she recorded duets with him through 1980.

Recognition as a solo artist was immediate and impressive. The awards began to stack up: the Country Music Association named her Female Vocalist of the Year in 1975 and 1976, and in 1978 she received a Grammy as Best Female Country Vocal Performance and Entertainer of the Year awards from both CMA and the Association of Country Music. As she began appearing on television specials and talk shows, her fan base increased. Dolly's dreams were growing larger.

Parton came under attack within the country music community when it became clear that her plans were not limited to success in a single field. She was not the first country music star to explore different avenues of entertainment, but her independence and ambition were viewed as ingratitude by many in the industry, which was still a man's world. Her switch to Los Angeles management and the firing of her family band made it clear that Parton would ignore critics and chart her own course. Her film debut in *9 to 5* (1980) proved that Dolly could succeed in other media. The million-selling *Trio* album, a 1987 collaboration with Emmylou Harris and Linda Ronstadt, offered further evidence of Parton's range. The irony was that whatever the medium or the message, Dolly remained her inimitable self. Roger Ebert praised her natural acting ability, but Parton perhaps came nearer the truth when she explained that she only played herself. Both Doralee Rhodes (*9 to 5*) and Truvy Jones (*Steel Magnolias*), her two most acclaimed characterizations are essentially Dolly, warm, vulnerable, strong, funny, and as Southern as grits and barbecue.

The best metaphor for Dolly Parton may be found in the history of one of her songs. Parton admitted that she wrote "I Will Always Love You" for Porter Wagoner in an effort to express her reasons for leaving him. She first recorded the song in 1973; a year later it was number one on the country charts. She recorded it again in 1982 and repeated her success. When Whitney Houston recorded it a decade later for the soundtrack of her first film, *The Bodyguard*, it was

number one on the pop charts for fourteen weeks. Dolly recorded it once again, this time as a duet with Vince Gill, and again it was a hit. Like "I Will Always Love You," Dolly Parton continued to appear in new guises even as she remained unmistakably Dolly. "I enjoy making fun of myself and join in when other people are making jokes. I don't ever take that personal because I know exactly who I am," Parton provided in a 1998 Country Music Television interview

She became fodder again for clever comics when in 1986 she signed on as a partner in a Smokey Mountain theme park to which she gave her name, but today Dollywood is a flourishing multi-million-dollar business. Dolly's business empire continued to expand, as did her creative efforts during the 1990s. Her 1998 album, self-penned and self-produced, was appropriately entitled *Hungry Again*. Beyond the glitzy image and tabloid headlines and the larger than life public personality lies the mountain child from Sevier County, Dolly Rebecca Parton—always hungry and always pursuing another dream.

—Wylene Rholetter

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## *The Partridge Family*

From 1970 to 1974, a time when most kids swore by the adage "Don't trust anyone over thirty," ABC aired *The Partridge Family*, an extremely popular sitcom featuring a mom who went on tour with her kids in a band. The hit show was loosely based on the late 1960s folk-music family, the Cowsills.

*The Partridge Family* (one of two 1970s sitcoms about a big family and a perky blond mom; *The Brady Bunch* was the other) starred Oscar winner and musical theater staple Shirley Jones as Shirley Partridge, the widowed matriarch whose kids started jamming in an impromptu session in the garage of their suburban California home. They asked her to join them, and it sounded groovy. They recorded the song "I Think I Love You," and to everyone's surprise, a record company bought it, it became a smash hit, and a band was born.

And what's a family band without a manager and reluctant father-figure? Enter fast-talking, child-hating, stewardess-dating Reuben Kinkaid (Dave Madden), perpetual foil for ten-year-old con artist, Danny (Danny Bonaduce). The rest of the family included Suzanne Crough as 5-year-old Tracy, Jeremy Gelbwaks (1970-71) and then Brian Forster (1971-74) as 7-year-old Chris, Susan Dey as 15-year-old Laurie, and Jones' stepson, David Cassidy, as 17-year-old Keith.

The Partridge Family toured around the country in a psychedelically-painted school bus (with the astoundingly unhip "Careful, Nervous Mother Driving" on the back) and the show focused on their exploits on the road, and in their California hometown, and their attempt to have normal family lives and be pop stars at the same time. Every show wrapped up in time for a song, during which the

Partridges were usually wearing matching burgundy velvet pantsuits with white ruffled shirts.

Like the Monkees before them, the Partridge Family TV band was heavily cross-promoted in the music business, and “I Think I Love You” sold 4 million copies. Unlike the Monkees, they had no musical pretensions as a band. None of them were professional musicians, and Cassidy and Jones were the only ones providing actual vocals in recordings and on the show. It didn’t take a musical genius to figure out that if Cassidy was the lead male vocalist, pre-teen Bonaduce was (impossibly) singing the baritone harmony parts.

*The Partridge Family* made a huge teen idol out of the androgynous Cassidy, who toured solo to throngs of screaming adolescent girls. His fans were so rabid that one actually asked for one of the gallstones he’d passed as a keepsake. After failing at solo television, he found he was a powerful draw in Las Vegas in the 1990s.

Despite his heartthrob status, Cassidy actually didn’t carry the show. That responsibility fell to impish, red-headed, smart-alec Bonaduce. The precocious Bonaduce had the comic timing of an old master. Unfortunately, as he got older and was told he wasn’t cute anymore, he went the way of many a child actor—into a drug haze, punctuated with appearances on *The Love Boat* and *Fantasy Island*. His antics included an arrest in 1990 in Daytona Beach, Florida, for attempting to buy cocaine; a year later he was charged with assaulting a transvestite prostitute in Phoenix. He spent the rest of the 1990s as a disc jockey.

The saga of a slightly-hipper-than-Mrs.-Clever-mom and family couldn’t hold up; ratings of the *Partridge Family* started to sag in 1973, when it was moved from Friday night to Saturday night, up against *All in the Family* and *Emergency*. The 1974-75 season included an ABC Saturday morning cartoon version called the *Partridge Family 2200 AD* which, for some reason, put the family in space. Dey, Bonaduce, Forster, Crough, and Madden provided their voices.

Young viewers in the early 1970s inexplicably felt the need to “choose” between *The Brady Bunch* (which some saw as even more implausible) and *The Partridge Family*. In the end, both shows were representative of the happy, mindless nature of many 1970s sitcoms.

—Karen Lurie

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## Patinkin, Mandy (1952—)

Known for his work on Broadway, film, and television, Mandy Patinkin is one of the most versatile performers working in the

entertainment industry. The three principal roles he created on Broadway—Che Guevara in Lloyd Webber’s *Evita* (1979); George Seurat in Sondheim’s *Sunday in the Park with George* (1986); and Archibald Craven in Simon’s *The Secret Garden* (1991)—all received critical praise. Film credits include *Ragtime* (1981), *Yentl* (1983), *The Princess Bride* (1987), and *Dick Tracy* (1990).

In the mid-1990s, Patinkin starred in the television series *Chicago Hope*, for which he won an Emmy Award in 1995. His character in *Chicago Hope*, Dr. Jeffrey Geiger, provided the opportunity for Patinkin to showcase his vocal abilities for television audiences. He has recorded a number of solo albums, including *Mandy Patinkin* (1989), *Dress Casual* (1990), *Oscar and Steve* (1995), and the entirely Yiddish *Mamaloshen* (1998).

—William A. Everett

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## Patton

*Patton*, one of the most critically acclaimed films of the 1970s, opened with George C. Scott as United States General George S. Patton, addressing the audience in front of a giant American flag. His speech combined inspiration with profanity: “Now I want you to remember, that no bastard ever won a war by giving his life for his



George C. Scott in a scene from *Patton*.

country. He won it by making the other poor dumb bastard die for his country.”

Based on Omar Bradley’s memoirs, *Patton* presented an unflinching look at the volatile general during the European battles of World War II. General Patton was given to poetic, occasionally vulgar evocations of the duty of soldiers in the heat of battle, claiming that he had been a warrior during past lives (“The Carthaginians were proud and brave but they couldn’t hold. They were massacred. Arab women stripped them of their swords and their tunics and lances. The soldiers laid naked in the sun. Two thousand years ago. I was here”). To his military colleagues, Patton was a brilliant strategist but emotionally unstable. His instability reached critical mass when, in a fit of rage, he slapped a wounded soldier.

The box-office success of the film surprised many 1970 moviegoers. Hollywood had been inundated with World War II movies since the 1940s, and a movie about the toughest American general seemed a risky commercial proposition during the unpopular Vietnam War; the extensive profanity of the screenplay was also unprecedented for a major studio release in 1970. But director Franklin J. Schaffner, screenwriters Francis Ford Coppola and Edward North, and star Scott crafted a compelling, sophisticated movie that satisfied both conservative and liberal audiences. Critic Pauline Kael observed that Patton’s character “is what people who believe in military values can see as the true military hero—the red-blooded American who loves to fight and whose crude talk is straight talk. He is also what people who despise militarism can see as the worst kind of red-blooded American mystical maniac; for them, Patton can be the symbolic proof of the madness of the whole military complex.”

The outstanding cast included Karl Malden as Omar Bradley and Michael Bates as Field Marshal Montgomery. *Patton* won seven Academy Awards in 1970, including one for Best Picture. Scott won a well deserved Oscar for Best Actor, but he publicly rejected the award (the first such rejection in history), saying he did not wish to compete against fellow actors. Scott had already portrayed a war mongering general (Buck Turgidson) in Stanley Kubrick’s landmark 1964 comedy *Dr. Strangelove*, but his performance in *Patton* was more nuanced and sympathetic, and caught the pathos in Patton’s gradual loss of control; indeed, it became his signature role. Scott reprised his role in a 1986 made-for-television movie, *The Last Days of Patton*.

One of the most prominent fans of the film was President Richard Nixon, who reportedly watched *Patton* over and over prior to announcing the expansion of the Vietnam War into Cambodia in April 1970. Coppola and North won an Oscar for their screenplay, and on the strength of *Patton*’s success, Coppola was able to green-light his next project—directing *The Godfather* (1972).

—Andrew Milner

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## Paul, Les (1915—)

An influential guitarist and recording artist, Les Paul fundamentally changed the way in which popular music was produced. Among

many innovations, he developed the first successful techniques of multi-tracking and the eight-track tape recorder, which led directly to modern recording technology.

Lester Polsfuss was born in Waukesha, Wisconsin, on June 9, 1915. He began playing harmonica at the age of eight, performing at every opportunity. By age 12 he was a sidewalk musician, playing for tips. Over the next few years he taught himself guitar and formed his first band in 1929.

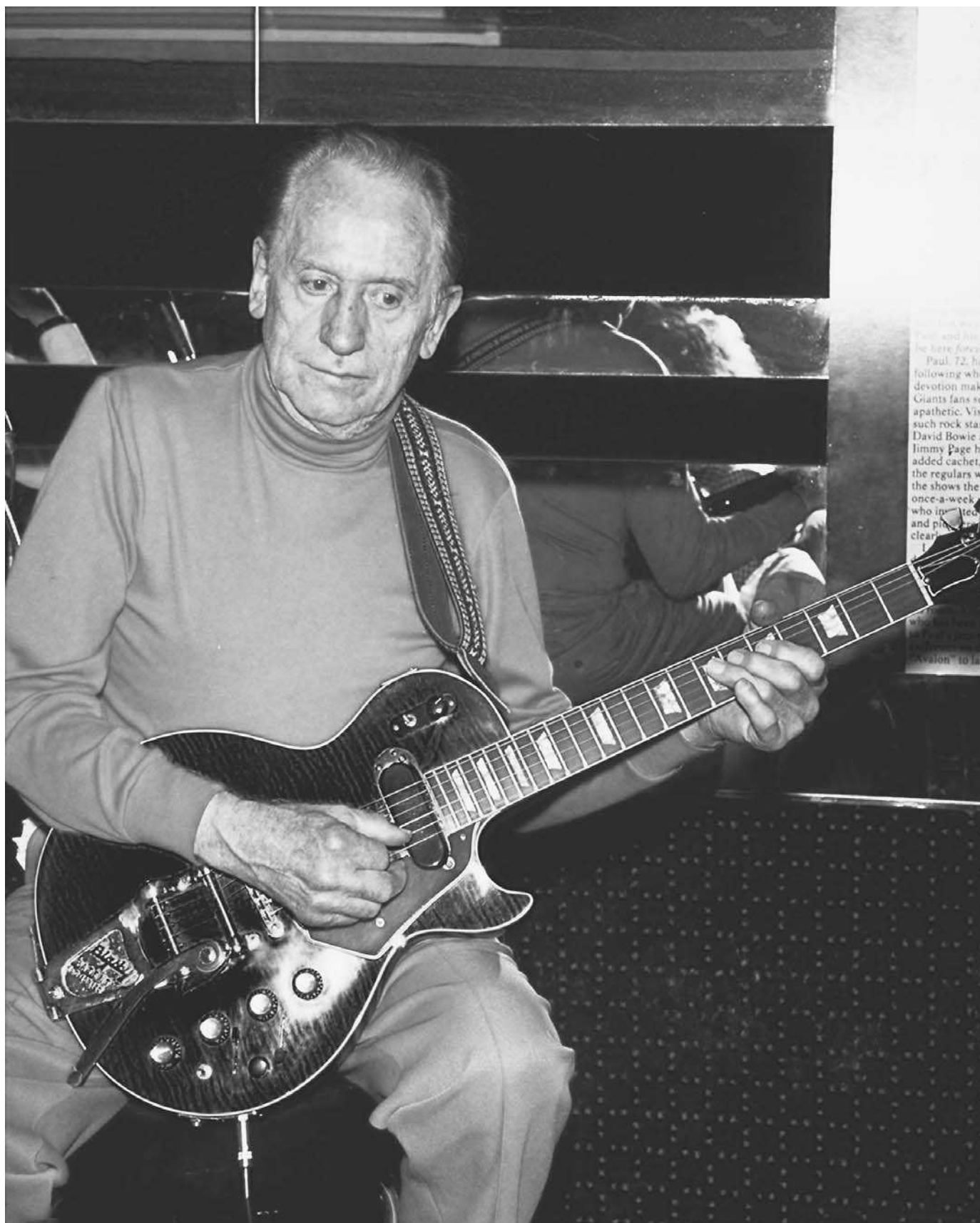
At age 17 Polsfuss dropped out of high school and became a full-time professional musician. During the following six years he performed in a bewildering number of radio and personal appearances, under several different stage names and in a variety of smaller and larger acts. Somewhere along the line he changed his name to the more easily remembered Les Paul. About the same time, he became intrigued by jazz music, especially during a long stay in Chicago in the mid-1930s, and he gradually changed from a hot country picker to a jazz stylist. Soon he gained recognition in the music world as a superior guitarist.

While Les Paul did not invent the electric guitar, he made major improvements in the areas of electronic amplification. He was fascinated by the technical aspects of amplifying and recording sound, often building his own pickups and speaker arrangements, as well as consulting with engineers to produce equipment to his specifications. (The eight-track tape recorder of the late 1950s was developed under this sort of symbiotic relationship with an electronics engineer.) Paul created a major innovation in guitar construction and design with his one-of-a-kind “Log,” the world’s first solid-body guitar, and he was the first to put two pickups on an electric guitar, now a standard feature.

In 1938 Les Paul and his current sidemen went to New York, quickly landing jobs with Fred Waring and the Pennsylvanians, a prestigious radio and dance orchestra. During three years in Waring’s outfit, Paul gained something of a national following, and continued to mature both as a musician and as a technological experimenter. Always a perfectionist and driven by ambition, Paul tired of his relatively small place in Waring’s musical empire and once more went out on his own in 1941.

It was a wise move. After a year or two of frequent job changes, Les Paul found his niche in wartime Hollywood. He performed regularly on the NBC radio network, eventually playing on records with Bing Crosby. The added exposure greatly helped his career. During this time in California, Paul continued his experiments in recording technology. Using a homemade lathe, he produced high-quality wax recordings with several generations of overlapped musical tracks. Les Paul succeeded in this where others had failed more from obsessive perfectionism and drive than from any new technological breakthrough. He used this technique to record several separate guitar tracks on one song. His recordings from this point on all used some variation of multi-tracking, giving his work a unique sound.

In 1947 Les Paul became romantically involved with Iris Colleen Summers (1924-1977), a young country singer in southern California. Paul’s first marriage was failing, and he would soon marry Summers. Before this, however, she frequently accompanied him on tour. During a road trip in January 1948, with Colleen Summers at the wheel of Paul’s Buick, they were in a major automobile accident. She was only slightly injured, while Les Paul suffered numerous broken bones. His right elbow was essentially destroyed, and doctors were seriously considering amputating the arm. Les Paul refused to let the operation be performed; when his elbow had to be fused into an immobile solid mass, Paul directed his surgeons to place it at a roughly 90 degree angle, to facilitate his guitar playing.



Paul and his  
be here forever  
Paul, 72, has  
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David Bowie a  
Jimmy Page ha  
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"Aviation" to fan

Les Paul

After months of recuperation, Les Paul reentered show business. He created a new act with Summers, a gifted singer and guitarist, who he renamed Mary Ford. In 1949 Paul and Ford made numerous records and toured at a frantic pace. Their recordings made use of Paul's multi-tracking to feature many simultaneous guitar and vocal lines, and their work became very popular. Late in the year they were married.

The duo recorded for Capitol Records, for whom they produced almost 40 singles and many best-selling albums over the next decade. Les Paul and Mary Ford became among the most popular and successful musical performers in the world, while Paul masterminded their professional and private lives in a domineering manner. They were sought by radio and television, producing daily programs for the former and a short weekly show for the latter during the early 1950s.

In 1951 Les Paul was approached by the Gibson guitar company, who sought his endorsement for their about-to-be-released solid-body guitar. Although he had almost nothing to do with its design, Les Paul lent his name to what would become one of the most popular electric guitars in existence. This, along with his innovative use of guitar as a solo instrument, helped Paul become the first "guitar hero" of pop music. Partially in response to his popularization of guitar, by the mid-1950s a new wave of music arose: rock 'n' roll, which had roots in R&B and country. Les Paul and Mary Ford were among the many older performers who vanished from the Hit Parade. Their last major hit was "Hummingbird" in 1955.

In 1958 the duo moved to Columbia Records, but had no more success there. A few years later Mary Ford divorced Les Paul, and thereafter both lived in comparative obscurity. By the late 1970s, however, Les Paul began to receive some of the credit he deserved for his innovations in popular music. A documentary film, *The Wizard of Waukesha*, helped promote a comeback. Paul started a long-term weekly performance at a New York night club that soon became highly popular with music business insiders. In 1988 he was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame, in the category of "Early Influences."

—David Lonergan

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## Paulsen, Pat (1928-1997)

Performing perhaps the longest parody skit in history, comic Pat Paulsen ran for president five times between 1968 and 1996. A performer and comedy writer with progressive, rabble-rousing political leanings, Paulsen ran on a satirical platform, which, though relentlessly silly, drew serious attention to the real lack of choices in the American political arena. As Paulsen often said, he represented "the citizen who wants to vote for 'none of the above.'"

Pat Paulsen was born in South Bend, Washington, and raised in Point Bonita, California. He majored in forestry at City College in San Francisco, but his career as a ranger was derailed when he joined the Ric-Y-Tic Players performing troupe. He was performing and working odd jobs as a Fuller Brush salesman and a gypsum miner when he was discovered in the mid-1960s by Tom and Dick Smothers. The Smothers Brothers, quirky comics who did leftist political comedy interspersed with droll dialog and farcical antics, hired Paulsen as a writer for their new weekly television show on CBS.

Paulsen spent three years on *The Smothers Brothers Show*, writing satirical songs and much of the political comedy that kept the show in a constant battle with the CBS censors. He also participated in sketches and performed his own monologues, always with his trademark deadpan expression and loopy, off-the-wall sensibility. In 1968, he won an Emmy for his work on the show.

It was Tom and Dick Smothers too, who first suggested Paulsen run for president in the highly contentious 1968 election. Paulsen reportedly responded, "Why not? I can't dance." Paulsen began his tradition of pointing out the ludicrous contradictions in American politics then, running as a candidate of the Straight Talkin' American Government Party, or STAG Party. He opposed sex education ("Let kids learn it where we did—in the gutter."), and promised to fight poverty ("... by shooting four hundred beggars a week"). Paulsen's mock campaign was so successful that he went on television to remind people not to really vote for him. Even so, he got 200,000 votes in the 1968 election.

*The Smothers Brothers Show* was taken off the air in 1970, at least partly because of its continued volatile political content. Paulsen had a short stint on his own network show on ABC in 1970, and when that failed, he moved to Cloverdale, California, where he and his second wife bought a five hundred acre farm and started a winery.

Paulsen's life continued to provide fodder for comedy and for the hang-dog expression he always wore. Even at the winery, he expressed his comedic sensibility—one of his basic wines was called Refrigerator White, and came with Paulsen's mournful face on the label. The winery also featured the satirical Pat Paulsen Museum to entertain visitors. Even thus trading on his fame, the winery was not a successful business, and Paulsen was soon drowning in debt and back-tax penalties. Even his lucky moments were dogged by disaster. His third marriage ended in divorce when he caught his wife embezzling hundreds of thousands of dollars from him, and once while on a comedy tour in Reno, when he won a \$300,000 jackpot on a quarter slot machine, the IRS stepped in to claim \$285,000 of it. By 1986, Paulsen was forced to sell the winery and go back on the road with his comedy.

Through it all, Paulsen kept his sense of the ridiculous. He continued to perform, both his comedy act and theatrical roles, and he continued to campaign for president every four years. Beginning in 1972, his name was actually on the ballot. For the baby boomers who had nurtured their rebellious politics each week watching the Smothers Brothers, Paulsen was a comforting and irreverent reminder that rebellion still existed even in the complacent 1980s and the cynical 1990s. Paulsen last ran in 1996, under the campaign slogan, "United we sit."

A ubiquitous participant in American political history and popular culture during the latter third of the twentieth century, Pat Paulsen died in 1997 in Tijuana, Mexico, where he was receiving alternative medical treatments for cancer.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Payton, Walter (1954—)

Walter Payton is considered one of the greatest running backs in the history of American professional football. Born in Columbia, Mississippi, on July 25, 1954, Payton attended Jackson State University, where he set a college football record for points scored and earned his degree in special education. Although he left his mark on college football, it is in the National Football League that he secured his astonishing reputation.

Drafted by the Chicago Bears in 1975, Payton showed phenomenal talents that had an immediate impact on the team. He led the National Football Conference (NFC) in rushing in 1976, the same year that he made the Pro Bowl team for what would be the first of nine times. In addition to his talents as a running back, Payton was a gifted receiver and team leader, and was chosen the National Football League's Most Valuable Player in 1977 and again in 1985. In 1984 he became football's all-time rushing leader when he broke the record previously held by Jim Brown. After many years of toiling with mediocre teams, Payton finally played in the Super Bowl in 1986, helping to demolish the New England Patriots in the biggest rout in Super Bowl history.

When Payton retired after the 1987 season, he was the NFL's career leader in rushing yards (16,726), rushing touchdowns (100), and total yards gained (21,264). He also held the record for most rushing yards gained in a single game (275), and he had passed for

over 300 yards and eight touchdowns. Walter Payton was elected to the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 1993.

While his statistics and on-field accomplishments rank Payton as one of the greatest athletes in the history of professional football, it was his off-field accomplishments that truly set him apart from his contemporaries. His nickname, "Sweetness," not only described his ability as an athlete, but was also an accurate comment on his personality. His charm and understated demeanor made him one of the most endearing of sports personalities and he quickly became a favorite among the fans. Payton never had a negative word to say about his opponents or his city, and his overwhelming love for the game of football was obvious to everybody.

By the end of the 1990s, Walter Payton had been long and constantly dedicated to charity work, particularly causes involving inner-city children and special education. He recognized his position as a role model for youngsters, and made enormous efforts to provide a positive image for them to emulate. In 1988, he helped to start the Halas/Payton Foundation to help the inner-city youth of Chicago. His dedication, integrity, and generosity made him one of the most admired men in the history of professional sports, and his name has become inextricably linked to the city of Chicago.

—Geoff Peterson

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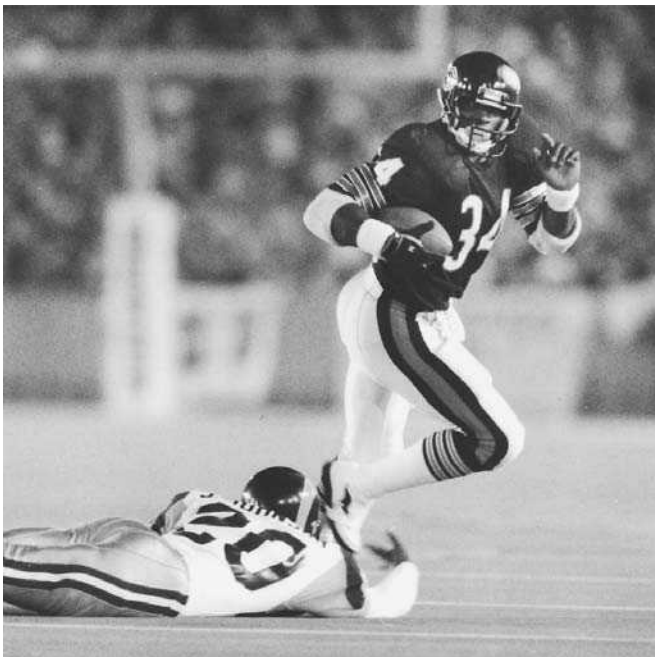
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## Peale, Norman Vincent (1898-1993)

A long happy life, national acclaim, professional satisfactions, and accumulating wealth seemed to attest to the success of Norman Vincent Peale's blend of New Thought, psychotherapy, optimism, and Protestant Christianity. The phrase "positive thinking" became part of the national vocabulary, as Peale's books repeatedly topped the bestseller lists. While Pealeism, as his thought came to be known, exactly suited the American post-World War II mood, it also became the object of angry attack from academic theologians for two decades. Along with Billy Graham and Bishop Vincent Sheen (who often found himself introduced as "Norman Vincent Sheen"), Peale became one of the best known American clergymen of his time. His books constituted the greatest commercial success of religion in the middle of the twentieth century. His concepts linger on, though no longer labeled as "Pealeism," in the optimism and mind control techniques of the New Age.

There was much of New England Transcendentalism in Peale's thought. He gratefully acknowledged his debt to Ralph Waldo Emerson, that archbore of American literary classics. There was also much of New Thought in Peale's spirituality. He would have agreed frequently with Mary Baker Eddy, though they did not speak the same theological language. He further learned from both Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung, though he never penetrated the depths of the human psyche or engaged in grandiose speculation about racial archetypes. Most of all, he never discovered the murky underground passages of the human soul; most serious theologians agreed he had a deficient sense of sin.



Walter Payton



**Norman Vincent Peale**

But within modest limits Peale's thought was energizing; his self-applied therapy worked. And people enjoyed reading his books, which made few intellectual demands and abounded in homey anecdotes of folk who became millionaires or successes in their professions. His Bible quotations were invariably sunny.

Peale's best known self-help book was *The Power of Positive Thinking*, published in 1952; it was one of the bestselling books of the decade. Peale became increasingly well known as a public motivational speaker and as regular preacher in the marble Collegiate Church at Fifth Avenue and 29th Street in New York. There he preached to a packed sanctuary and ministered spiritually to Presidents. His message was consistent. The American dream was real; the Protestant work ethic made one virtuous, wise, and prosperous. Material pleasures were not contrary to Christian piety; personal goals were realizable. With the power of positive thought working, a person need not fear any defeat. Good mental and physical health were possible; the goal of life seemed to be contentment, even joy.

Peale described his therapeutic system as "applied Christianity, a simple yet scientific system of practical techniques of successful living that works." His techniques of spiritual healing, derived from his personal experiences and a variety of other sources and ultimately,

he claimed, traceable to the Gospels, involved silent meditation, positive affirmation, creative visualization, and biblical quotations used almost as a mantra. When he talked about getting into "time synchronization" with the Almighty by listening to the sounds of the earth, he sounded suspiciously pantheistic.

Peale was born in Bowersville, Ohio, the son of a Methodist preacher who had given up a medical practice to answer the call. After some hesitation, young Peale accepted ordination in the Methodist ministry, studying theology at Boston University and serving churches in Rhode Island, New York, and New Jersey. Congregations grew and flourished under his care. In 1930 he married Loretta Ruth Stafford, often called "the true positive thinker" of the family, who remained a full partner in his national media ministry. In 1932 Peale was persuaded to accept appointment at the historic Marble Collegiate Church in New York City, founded by the Dutch in 1628 and reputed to be the oldest Protestant church in continuous use in North America. This appointment necessitated Peale's transfer from Methodist to Dutch Reform affiliation. This caused no crisis of conscience, since denominational identity meant little to Peale. Under Peale's direction, Sunday attendance grew from 200 to 4,000.

His calling, however, could never be limited to one congregation, no matter how enormously it expanded. His publications and lectures became central to his national ministry. Early books sold well across the nation, even before the resounding success of *The Power of Positive Thinking*, which stayed at the top of the *New York Times* bestseller list for three years. Other organs of ministry included his monthly pastoral magazine, *Guideposts*, an inspirational book club, the American Foundation of Religion and Psychiatry, emanating from his church's counseling center, and the Foundation for Christian Living, operated by Mrs. Peale with the aim of disseminating her husband's sermons through booklets and recordings. Radio appearances were also frequent and the *Reader's Digest* was the perfect forum for Pealeism.

A Republican and personal friend of Dwight D. Eisenhower and Richard M. Nixon, Peale ventured unsteadily into political controversy during the presidential campaign of John F. Kennedy. Much to his later embarrassment, Peale lent his name to a statement issued by a group of religious leaders opposing Kennedy on the basis of the politics of the Roman Catholic Church and its record of church-state relations. Peale certainly did not harbor personal anti-Catholic prejudice. He maintained cordial relations with Vincent Sheen and other Catholic dignitaries and the Catholic daughter of *Reader's Digest* editor Fulton Oursler called Peale "my Protestant pastor."

To the end of his career, Peale's critics were harsh in their attacks. They found his thinking simplistic, even heretical in its confusion of historic Christianity with American materialism and doctrines of self-reliance and worldly success. Critics found Peale's optimism at variance with reality in a century which had witnessed history's two bloodiest wars, a holocaust, and the advent of nuclear weapons. Peale's own sons attending seminary were forced to listen to their professor's tirades against "Pealeism," and Mrs. Peale especially found the attacks a savagery against a gentle man. It might be supposed that Peale himself, who became a wealthy man from the sale of his books, would have laughed all the way to the bank. On the contrary, he was deeply wounded and even considered dropping out of the ministry. His own brand of positive thinking eventually won over; he forgave his critics, outliving them all, and dying with his optimism unshaken.

—Allene Phy-Olsen



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## Peanuts

Charles Schulz's famed comic strip, *Peanuts*, had rather modest beginnings. Originally marketed for its flexible size and format (four squares that allowed it to be run horizontally, vertically, or in two rows), it premiered on October 2, 1950, in only seven United States newspapers. United Features Syndicate chose the title; a title, Schulz says in *Charlie Brown, Snoopy and Me*, he has never liked. Sales of the strip climbed slowly at first, worrying United Features Syndicate management. But, by 1960, the strip appeared in over 400 newspapers worldwide. In 1984, *The Guinness Book of Records* listed *Peanuts* as the world's most widely syndicated comic strip, and by its fortieth anniversary in 1990, *Peanuts* was running in over 2,000 newspapers in dozens of countries. Through the years, the *Peanuts* characters



*Peanuts* creator Charles Schulz.

have appeared in print, animation, and even on stage, making them some of the most popular cartoon characters of the twentieth century.

Charlie Brown, Schulz's main character, first appeared in a panel cartoon called *L'il Folks* that Schulz sold to a St. Paul, Minnesota, newspaper in 1947. Charlie Brown was not named until the first *Peanuts* strip, where he quickly took the lead role. Charlie Brown is insecurity itself. He cannot fly a kite, his baseball team never wins, he receives no valentines on Valentine's Day, and he gets rocks instead of candy on Halloween. The things we fear will happen to us are the types of things that do happen to Charlie Brown. Even so, Charlie Brown displays a plucky spirit. He keeps trying to fly kites, keeps managing the baseball team, keeps sending valentines to his friends, and keeps going out for tricks-or-treats. Faced with continual depression and the torment of his peers, he tends to be friendly and kind. Charlie Brown is a character people identify with because, as Schulz says in *Charlie Brown, Snoopy and Me*, "Who hasn't felt like Charlie Brown after a bad day?" Evidence of the empathy people feel for Charlie Brown came after the first airing of the *Peanuts* animated Halloween and Valentine's Day television specials, when hundreds of people sent Schulz candy and valentines to give to Charlie Brown.

Snoopy, Charlie Brown's exuberant beagle, acts as Charlie Brown's foil. Snoopy is one beagle who does not let being a dog get in the way of his ambitions. He often imagines himself as a writer, a World War I flying ace, an attorney, or the impressive Joe Cool. He plays hockey and baseball. He likes eating and sleeping and picking on the neighbor's cat, his truly dog-like traits, and he particularly likes chocolate chip cookies. He is confident and has an overactive imagination. He is a strange, quirky character who may embody childlike qualities more than the actual children do in this strip. Snoopy is everything Charlie Brown is not, and Snoopy may even exceed his owner's popularity.

The neighborhood children are not quite as depressed as Charlie Brown, but they all have their own insecurities and vulnerabilities. Lucy Van Pelt, Charlie Brown's next door neighbor, is a bossy fussybudget. Generally she is loud and mean-spirited, and is best known for annually coaxing Charlie Brown into kicking the football she has every intention of pulling away at the last minute. Seemingly invulnerable, she has a crush on the musical Schroeder and continually suffers his insults just to be around him. Linus Van Pelt, Lucy's brother, carries a security blanket in spite of the rather loud protests of his sister and grandmother. Sally, Charlie Brown's little sister, worries constantly about her school work. The other neighborhood children are much the same, worrying about school, unrequited crushes, and sports—typical childhood worries. Children and adults see themselves and their own insecurities in these characters.

The *Peanuts* characters, however, are not typical children. They do torment each other (making them some of the first realistic children in comics) and play games, much as other children do, but the *Peanuts* characters are somewhat more serious and intelligent than the average child. Lucy says she would like real estate for Christmas, Linus can philosophize about life's problems while sucking his thumb, and Schroeder's hero is Beethoven. They quote the Bible and have incredible vocabularies. Not only are these children intelligent, they are independent. Adults only appear "off stage," and rarely at that. The *Peanuts* characters seem to go through most of their activities with little adult supervision or interference, and they manage just fine. The characters tend to be a bit less fun-loving than the children we know. They are all somewhat depressed, and when they laugh, they tend to be laughing at each other rather than something innocent that simply strikes them as funny. As Schulz says in *Charlie*

*Brown, Snoopy and Me*, “Strangely enough, pleasant things are not really funny. You can’t create humor out of happiness.” Charlie Brown himself is the apex of this philosophy. The *Peanuts* characters have enough childlike qualities to keep children interested, but much of this is adult humor.

The successful transition of *Peanuts* into animation and stage productions has helped maintain and expand the strip’s popularity. The first animated television special, *A Charlie Brown Christmas*, premiered on December 9, 1965, and drew 50 percent of the United States viewing audience. It won an Emmy Award and a Peabody Award and has been rerun annually into the 1990s. Other *Peanuts* animated specials have received Emmys, including *A Charlie Brown Thanksgiving* and *You’re a Good Sport, Charlie Brown*. On December 11, 1969, the first of several *Peanuts* animated feature films premiered at Radio City Music Hall. The shows and movies continue to be popular, and many have been released on home video. A musical, *You’re a Good Man, Charlie Brown*, opened off-Broadway on March 7, 1967, becoming a long-running show especially favored by schools and regional theater groups. Through the animated specials and the musical, the *Peanuts* characters have reached an audience who might never have picked up the funny pages to read the strip.

Through the years, *Peanuts* has stayed in the news and the public eye. In the late 1960s, Snoopy was adopted as the official emblem of NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration) for outstanding achievement within the organization. In 1969, the Apollo 10 Lunar Expedition nicknamed their command module “Charlie Brown” and the lunar module “Snoopy.” Astronaut John Young transmitted a picture of Snoopy back to earth during the mission’s fourth telecast. In 1974, when Hank Aaron was approaching Babe Ruth’s home run record, Schulz read about people sending Aaron hate mail, angry that a black man was challenging the record. Schulz addressed this in a series of cartoons recounting Snoopy’s trials and tribulations as he approaches the home run record. Schulz even commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of D-Day in his strip. *Peanuts* characters have appeared on the covers of *Time*, *Life*, *Newsweek*, *Woman’s Day*, *The Saturday Review*, and *TV Guide*. Additionally, other authors have used *Peanuts* comics to illustrate their books. Therapist Abraham J. Twerski chose *Peanuts* comics to illustrate various psychological concepts in his book, *When Do the Good Things Start*. In *The Gospel According to Peanuts* and *Short Meditations on the Bible and Peanuts*, Robert L. Short uses the cartoons to highlight various lessons in Christian living. The characters have also been spokespeople for Metropolitan Life Insurance, Chex Party Mix, and the United States National Park Foundation. They were some of the first heavily merchandized cartoon characters, starting with calendars and moving on to everything from coffee mugs to tee shirts to shower curtains. Charlie Brown, Snoopy, Lucy, Linus, and the other characters are easily recognized by most Americans and certainly by many people throughout the world.

Charles Schulz himself is highly regarded as a comic artist and has received numerous awards and honors for his work. In 1955, the National Cartoonist’s Society awarded Schulz their prestigious Reuben Award; he won it again in 1964. In 1962, Schulz won the National Cartoonist Society’s “Best Humor Strip of the Year” award. In 1978, he received the “Cartoonist of the Year” award from the International Pavilion of Humor of Montreal. In 1990, the Smithsonian’s National Museum of American History presented “This Is Your Childhood Charlie Brown—Children in American Culture, 1945-1970.” And in 1996, he received a star next to Walt Disney on the

Hollywood Walk of Fame. Clearly, Schulz has been repeatedly recognized for his professionalism, intelligence, and for the quality of his output and has experienced a popularity not enjoyed by many cartoonists.

In his book, *When Do the Good Things Start*, Abraham J. Twerski says, “The lovable characters created by Charles Schulz do more than amuse; they depict important psychological principles in a manner so deceptively simple that it masks the force of their impact.” Indeed, *Peanuts* raised a new standard of what could be done in comic art. The intelligence displayed in such comics as Bill Watterson’s *Calvin and Hobbes* and Gary Larson’s *The Far Side* comes from this tradition—the belief that comics and humor can have more meaning than a simple laugh. The *Peanuts* characters are some of the most popular in the genre. *Peanuts* is intelligent and funny, a combination that has kept it in the public eye for nearly half a century and which should fuel its popularity into the new millennium.

—Adrienne Furness

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## Pearl Jam

When grunge music exploded into the mainstream of popular culture in the early 1990s, it was Pearl Jam, along with fellow Seattle band Nirvana, who filled the column inches and the billboard charts. While Nirvana’s September 1991 debut *Nevermind* generated an immediate media frenzy, it was Pearl Jam’s more orthodox blues-rock album, *Ten*, released almost simultaneously, that would eventually overtake it in sales—over ten million copies in the United States alone by the end of 1996. The breakthrough single from the album, “Jeremy,” won four MTV awards, and recognition for a video that tried to create a coherent story for lead singer Eddie Vedder’s typically elusive and obtuse lyrics. What was clear from the video was the sense of pain and anger that characterized Pearl Jam’s music: songs that helped recharge rock ’n’ roll, a seemingly exhausted genre that had been slipping in both market share and musical relevance since the late 1980s.

Pearl Jam was formed in 1991 by bass guitarist Jeff Ament and rhythm guitarist Stone Gossard. Together with Mike McCready (guitar), drummer Dave Krusen (later replaced by Dave Abruzzese and then Jack Irons), and Eddie Vedder (vocals), the band began



**Eddie Vedder, lead singer of Pearl Jam.**

recording under the name Mookie Blaylock, after the New Jersey Nets basketball star. After Blaylock objected, they changed to Pearl Jam (allegedly after a jam containing peyote made by Vedder's great-grandmother, Pearl). Their debut album, *Ten*, combined a hard, guitar rock sound with anthemic choruses, slow pop melodies, and Vedder's vocal gyrations that told stories of suicide and childhood neglect. If Nirvana's *Nevermind* was a punk-rock incendiary aimed at classic rock, Pearl Jam's *Ten* provided a more mainstream-sounding attack on the established order. Both albums were instrumental in positioning grunge, or the "Seattle-sound" (fellow bands Soundgarden and Alice in Chains also hailed from Seattle), as the dominant MTV aesthetic and confirming Alternative music's arrival overground in the early 1990s.

Pearl Jam's more commercial sound prompted an attack from Nirvana's Kurt Cobain in 1993. The singer called the band a "corporate, alternative, cock-rock crossover" and charged Pearl Jam with "jumping on the alternative bandwagon." Their response was to record a much rawer and harder second album, *vs.*, which they refused to support with videos, singles, or a major tour, though the album still managed to sell five million copies and top the billboard charts. In 1994 the band also embarked upon a stand against ticketing agency Ticketmaster, alleging that the company had a monopoly over ticket distribution in U.S. arenas and stadiums. Pearl Jam officially asked

the Department of Justice to investigate Ticketmaster on antitrust charges, and band members Ament and Gossard found themselves testifying before a congressional committee.

The Justice Department dropped its investigation of Ticketmaster in July 1995, but the band gained praise in many quarters for a stand against a stadium system that in some ways mirrored their increasing rejection of stadium rock. The band's third album, *Vitology* (1994), stripped away the grunge sound in favor of a diverse collection of influences, including folk and reggae. One of the standout, Grammy Award winning tracks was "Spin the Black Circle," a homage to vinyl records, and the album was made available on vinyl before its release on other, more polished formats. The move reflected the group's seeming desire to reestablish serious grassroots credibility after tremendous media hype; singer Eddie Vedder had appeared on the front cover of *Time* magazine in October 1993, despite his refusal to be interviewed for the accompanying article. The album also reflected Vedder's musings in light of Kurt Cobain's suicide, an event that increased the attention given the Pearl Jam vocalist. As Andrew Mueller of the British music weekly *Melody Maker* commented at the time, "Eddie Vedder is out there alone now."

Vedder and Pearl Jam's response was increasingly to shirk the limelight and to move away from the grunge sound that had helped generate their fame. Their fourth album, *No Code* (1996) employed

Indian drones, psychedelic rock, folk, and punk, only occasionally returning to a high-energy rock sound. Similarly, their 1998 album *Yield* continued with the combination of Vedder's existential musings and more eclectic range of musical instruments. It included a track showing the influence of Pakistani qawwali star Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, with whom Vedder collaborated for the *Dead Man Walking* soundtrack. Music critics were less receptive to Pearl Jam's attempts to redefine themselves; yet the demise of the grunge phenomenon and a diminished, if still significant, fan base suited the band. Their stated wish was to sustain a lengthy and credible musical career, in line with those they admired, such as Bob Dylan, Pete Townsend, and in particular Neil Young, with whom they collaborated on the *MirrorBall* album.

—James Lyons

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## Pearl, Minnie (1912-1996)

Country music's first comedian, Minnie Pearl, entertained Grand Old Opry audiences for more than half a century. Her gingham dress, white stockings, and straw hat complete with \$1.98 price tag dangling from it made her a figure recognized wherever country music was heard. Ploughboys and presidents responded to her contagious grin, her homespun humor, and her exuberant greeting. So familiar was her image that upon her death in March of 1996, commentators, columnists, and cartoonists alike pictured her entering the pearly gates and greeting St. Peter with her trademark, "How-dee! I'm just so proud to be here."

Sarah Ophelia Colley Cannon never planned to become a country comic. The sheltered, youngest daughter of conventionally conservative Southern parents and a product of Ward-Belmont, a Tennessee finishing school, she dreamed of becoming a fine dramatic actress. "I planned," she said, "to out-Bernhardt Bernhardt."

The character "Minnie Pearl" evolved from young Ophelia Colley's years working for the Sewell Production Company, an Atlanta-based touring theater company that sent young women directors to stage productions throughout the small-town and rural South. What began as a collection of stories culled from her touring experience gradually developed into a country character that Ophelia used to sell the Sewell productions. She named the character Minnie Pearl because they were common country names, names that were familiar to her audiences. When Ophelia earned her first job, not as a Sewell director but as an entertainer named Minnie Pearl, she was paid the handsome sum of \$25 (more than twice her weekly salary). She then added the costume to her act. Minnie Pearl performed for the Pilots Club Convention in Aiken, South Carolina, in 1939, and Ophelia



Minnie Pearl

Cannon acquired an alter ego. That performance, the comedian later revealed, was the first time that she "became the character."

A year after the Aiken appearance, Minnie Pearl debuted on the Grand Ole Opry in a three-minute spot at 11:05 p.m., a time chosen so that if Minnie flopped, the affected audience would be as small as possible. Far from failing, however, Minnie received several hundred fan letters and an offer to become a regular at the Opry. For the next fifty-one years Minnie Pearl, with her tales of Brother, Uncle Nabob, Aunt Ambrosy, and other inhabitants of Grinder's Switch (a name Ophelia Colley borrowed from an abandoned loading switch in Hickman County, Tennessee) captured the affections of Opry audiences and other audiences far from Nashville, including standing-room-only audiences at Carnegie Hall. An early indication that Minnie was on her way to becoming an American icon came in 1948 when Alben Barkley, Harry Truman's vice president, began his first official address to the nation with the words "well, as Minnie Pearl would say, I'm just so *proud* to be here!"

Minnie Pearl with her hillbilly naivete and her inexhaustible search for a "feller" may seem an incongruous figure as a pioneer for women's equality, but Miss Minnie opened doors in the country music business that other women eagerly walked through. She headlined in an era when the only women around were "girl singers" in clearly subordinate roles. Aside from being the first female member of the Grand Ole Opry, Minnie Pearl was also one of the first women to be elected to the Country Music Hall of Fame (1975) as well as the National Comedy Hall of Fame.

The woman who auditioned for WSM knowing nothing about country music became one of the most beloved figures in the country

music industry. Initially befriended by Roy Acuff, already an established star when Minnie Pearl came to the Opry, she in turn befriended generations of newcomers, including Chet Atkins and Hank Williams. The esteem in which younger entertainers held her is evident. Dwight Yoakam, who managed to alienate himself from many in the industry, sent fifty dozen roses for Minnie Pearl's fiftieth anniversary celebration on the Grand Ole Opry. And both pop-contemporary Christian music star Amy Grant and country music sensation Garth Brooks named daughters after her.

The same generosity that endeared her to the country music community led her to work for humanitarian causes. As a cancer survivor, Minnie Pearl worked tirelessly for the American Cancer Society. Her efforts were recognized in 1987 by President Ronald Reagan, who presented her with the Cancer Society's Courage Award. In 1988 she became the first recipient of the Nashville Network/Music City News humanitarian award, which bears her name. A stroke in 1991 forced her to retire, but her presence continued to be felt in the country music community where good wishes for Miss Minnie were standard fare on award shows. Her husband, Henry Cannon, represented her on tribute shows she could only watch. She died on March 4, 1996.

Minnie Pearl ended her 1980 autobiography by wishing for her readers a Grinder's Switch. "Grinder's Switch," she wrote, "is a

state of mind—a place where there is no illness, no war, no unhappiness, no political unrest, no tears." Perhaps it was her ability to evoke such a place that endeared her to fans and peers alike. She allowed her audience to inhabit a space where eccentricities were tolerated, humor was barbless, and laughter was easy.

—Wylene Rholetter

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## Peck, Gregory (1916—)

The last of the classic leading men from Hollywood's Golden Age, Gregory Peck became a star during the 1940s when a spinal injury prevented him from joining the armed forces during World War II. With many of its male stars in uniform, Hollywood turned to



Gregory Peck, in the jaws of the great whale, in a scene from the film *Moby Dick*.

the tall, dark, and handsome Peck, who soon made a name for himself playing men of moral fortitude and great dignity. A five-time Academy Award nominee and Oscar winner for Best Actor for his wonderful turn as Atticus Finch in the classic *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1962), Peck was a versatile actor who was able to take on a wide range of roles, including those depicting the darker side of humanity. A tireless supporter of the film industry, Peck has served on almost every major film and arts council. But Hollywood's dedicated elder statesman will undoubtedly always be best remembered as the actor who became a pop culture icon by unflinchingly showing America both the best and the worst about itself.

Eldred Gregory Peck was born in the beach town of La Jolla, California, the son of the town's only pharmacist. Eldred's parents divorced when he was six, but the boy continued to live in the seaside resort community with his mother and grandmother until age ten, when he was sent to St. John's Military Academy in Los Angeles. Upon graduating from the academy after ninth grade, Peck moved in with his father in San Diego, where the teenager attended San Diego High School. The handsome six-foot-two-inch boy was an average student who enjoyed being on the rowing team, but because his father wanted him to become a doctor, Eldred studied at San Diego State University before transferring to study medicine at the University of California, Berkeley. There he quickly realized that he was more interested in literature than in medicine and, as an English major, he fell in with an artistic crowd and was soon persuaded to audition for a production of *Moby Dick*. Cast as Starbuck, Peck so fell in love with the theater that shortly before graduation he dropped out of school and caught the train for New York City.

Arriving in New York in 1939, Gregory Peck, as he now called himself, found work as a barker at the New York World's Fair, before auditioning for Sanford Meisner's famed Neighborhood Playhouse. While studying there with renowned dancer Martha Graham, he received the severe back injury which would eventually keep him out of the war. In the meantime, however, Gregory Peck gradually began to find acting work in stock companies around the East Coast before being "discovered" by distinguished director Guthrie McClintic, who regularly began to use the handsome young leading man in his productions.

Gregory Peck made his Broadway debut in McClintic's 1942 production of an Emlyn Williams wartime drama. The young actor received excellent reviews and soon began to find regular work on Broadway. But not long thereafter, Hollywood, whose ranks of leading men had been depleted by the war, came calling.

With a paucity of available actors, the talented Peck was immediately cast in prime leading roles, working with some of Hollywood's best directors—from John Stahl in *Keys of the Kingdom* (1944) to Alfred Hitchcock in *Spellbound* (1945); and from King Vidor in *Duel in the Sun* (1946) to Elia Kazan in *Gentleman's Agreement* (1947). Overnight the versatile actor became a star, garnering four Academy Award nominations in five years. Despite becoming a famous movie actor, Peck continued to devote himself to the theater, co-founding the prestigious La Jolla Playhouse in his hometown with fellow actors Dorothy McGuire and Mel Ferrer.

Although the gifted Peck could play a wide range of characters, as Baseline's *Encyclopedia of Film* notes, it was "as an authority figure of quiet dignity and uncompromising singlemindedness" that audiences seemed to love Peck best—in such films, for example, as *The Yearling*, *The Gunfighter*, and *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*. Throughout the 1950s, Peck's popularity only seemed to grow. He was a popular leading man opposite such A-list actresses as Audrey

Hepburn, Jean Simmons, and Lauren Bacall, even as he topped the list of Hollywood's favorite action heroes in war films such as *Pork Chop Hill* and *The Guns of Navarone*. But the apex of his career came in 1962, when he was cast in a role that would earn him cinematic immortality. Playing a morally courageous lawyer and single father of two children in a small Southern town who defends a black man accused of rape, Gregory Peck turned in a superb performance as Atticus Finch, epitomizing his appeal as an actor. *To Kill a Mockingbird*, which has become a screen classic, would go on to win three Academy Awards, including Peck's for Best Actor.

Although Peck continued to work in films throughout the 1960s and on into the 1990s, only a few of his later movies, such as *The Omen* and *The Boys from Brazil*, were particularly notable. Peck, however, found an outlet for his creative energies as a founder of the prestigious American Film Institute, three-time president of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, and a member of the National Council for the Arts. Long one of Hollywood's most popular actors, Gregory Peck has managed to meld life and art in creating both an honorable career as well as a career playing some of movies' most honorable men.

—Victoria Price

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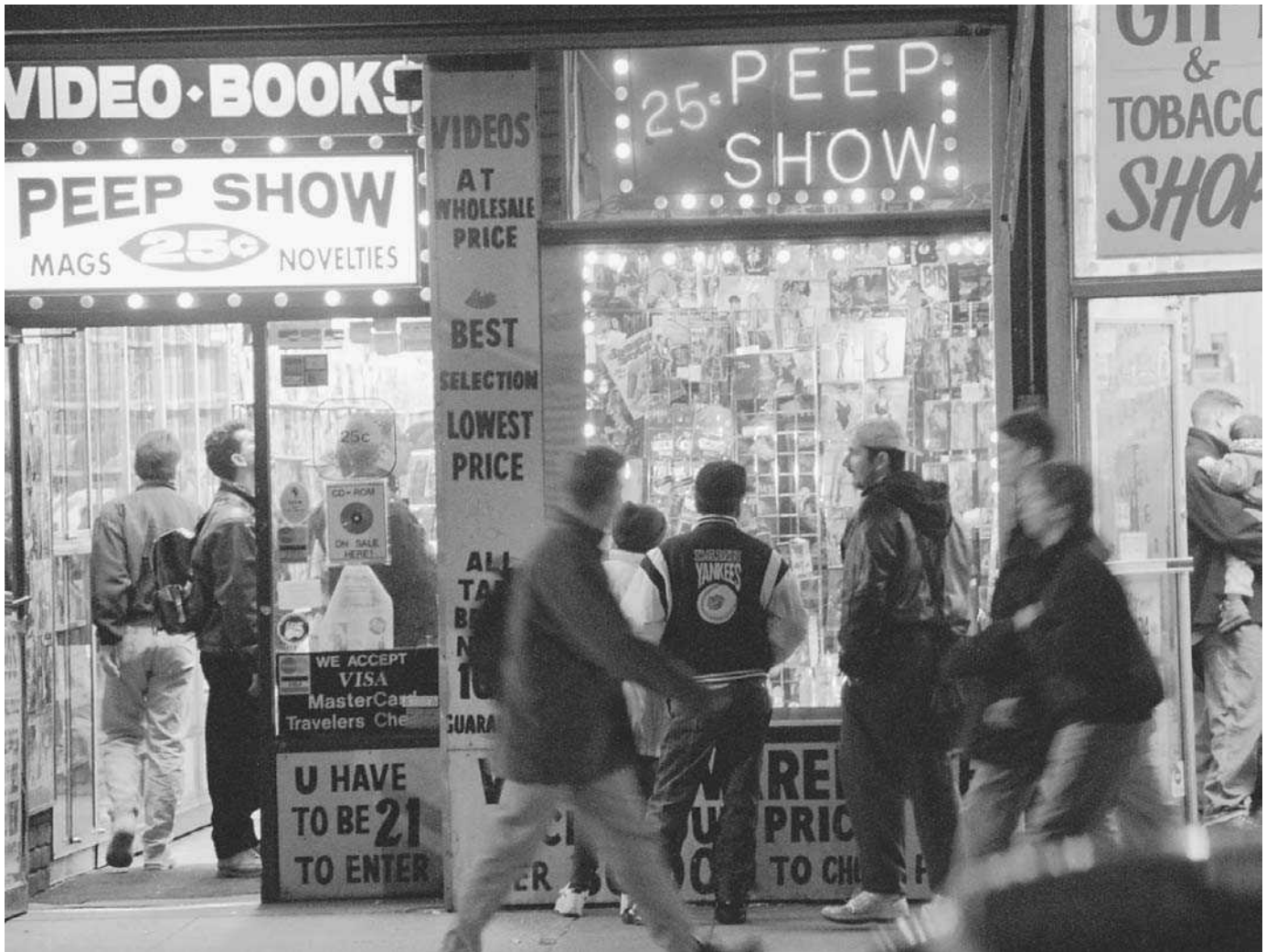
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## Peep Shows

Contemporary peep shows, featuring video taped or live performances of sexual activity, developed on the heels of several hundred years of interest in optical principles, the construction of novel, very small spaces, and apparent human fascination with the particulars of these settings. The history of today's peep shows might even be much older. Certainly, examples of very small private meal cubicals (often associated with licentious behavior), buskers and tented tableaus, traveling entertainers with all manners of portable containers offering the entrepreneur control and the consumer a sense of security, are mentioned across continents and ages. Today's manifestations exhibit the presence of several particular circumstances: new and cheap materials, changes in public mores and the ability to regulate human behavior, and rapid changes and improvements in technology.

As science became the pastime of leisured gentlemen in the 1700s and through the early quarter of the 1800s (when a transition began to move science into the hands of specialists and Societies), experiments with amusing outcomes were very popular. Thus, the *camera obscura* (a closed device ranging in size from a large box to a reasonable sized room) and the related *camera lucida* both entertained and fostered further work with the phenomena of sight. Literally a "dark chamber," the *camera obscura* allowed the projection of images, often pornographic, onto a wall, through the agency of



An adult entertainment shop on 42<sup>nd</sup> Street in New York.

the physics of light, a tiny hole, and a willing actor. Meanwhile, the participants inside could act along.

At about the same time, the expanding notion of a hospitality industry allowed commercial eateries and inns to flourish in growing commercial centers. Tiny, secluded chambers away from the restaurant's main hall provided privacy for a range of adult hanky-panky. By the mid-1800s, the commingling of the commercial provision of secure, intimate chambers, and the development of a number of ways to “play” reproductions of titillating forms of entertainment reliably and cheaply offered lucrative opportunities. The early “secure chamber” still exists as the so-called “private room” at contemporary full-service striptease clubs and, indeed, in a slightly changed form at many present day peep shows.

Zoetropes, stereoscopes, crankable flip-card devices, and early movie loops tumbled off the inventor's and manufacturer's conveyor belt from the mid-to late-1800s. Burgeoning city growth and the accompanying cash economy of the factory system virtually guaranteed the lush development of adult entertainment neighborhoods chock-a-block with cafes, dance halls (which also allowed hookers to stroll and display off the street), taverns, theaters, and so on. Well before the assault of Reform Movement “do gooders” in urban

centers after the Civil War, the peep show devices made good sense to entrepreneurs. Images could be loaded to suit the consumer—if the nudes were of brown-skinned women one could deny prurient intent and ride the rage for exotic exploration. Bars would advertise new “shows” and have underemployed day workers hand out tokens. Tokens would work the peep shows and, lured to the tavern, the viewer would buy drinks.

By the time of the Great Depression, movies were commonplace and, through market pressure, cheap. It was hard for a penny peep show to compete with a nickel or dime movie. One result of such competition was a tendency to show increasingly risqué content, but what happened more regularly was that peep shows failed at the competition. By the 1960s or so, the peep show machines that still existed were largely curiosities. The sexual revolution stimulated two related but separate updates of the peep show idea.

At first, small booths with a seat, a lock, and a roll of paper towels were made available for individual viewing of 8 or 16 mm stag loops or for access to a usually circular “stage” with living performers. Innovation was rapid and, with the development of cheap video cameras, duplicators, and players—or, in live action settings, willing responses to the consumer's varied tastes—peep shows became an

enormously profitable industry. In the privacy of the secure booth, patrons could look on passively to recorded pornography or masturbate, as they preferred. Peep shows featuring live performance booths functioned in several ways, but generally once the patron locked the entry/exit door, feeding tokens or coins to a slot dropped and kept lowered a partition at the front. Depending on the particular business, patrons could “tip” fully or partially nude “models” to act out their directions and requests. In some cases the patron could fondle the performers.

As was the case throughout the history of these secure settings for one or two people, it was commonplace for patrons to hire a loitering sex professional to enter the booth and carry out this or that commercial sexual transaction. Because it was far easier for most regions to regulate prostitution than to regulate the vague, poorly defined activity of viewing live or filmed sexual display, this activity was carefully controlled by the management.

At the end of the twentieth century, wide-spread downtown clean-up campaigns, the explosive growth in availability of inexpensive, technically high-quality pornographic videos and appropriate home viewing units, and a growing awareness of crime combined to make the peep show businesses less profitable. Much investment capital was wooed elsewhere.

—Dr. Jon Griffin Donlon

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## *Pee-wee's Playhouse*

Despite the taint of scandal, *Pee-wee's Playhouse*, a live-action Saturday morning children's television show, stands as a singularly creative example of successful children's programming. First airing in 1986, *Pee-wee's Playhouse* starred actor and stand-up comedian Paul Reubens as Pee-wee Herman and featured the multicultural Playhouse gang, talking puppets, a robot, and occasional celebrity guests. Despite its time slot, *Pee-wee's Playhouse* appealed to adults as well as their children as Pee-wee led viewers through inventive educational activities that did not condescend to young audiences and held enough double entendres to keep adults laughing. When Reubens was arrested in the summer of 1991 on an indecent exposure charge, CBS pulled the five remaining episodes from its schedule and canceled the series entirely. The scandal and CBS's subsequent action sparked intense public debate and nearly ruined the actor's career.

Reubens conceived of the character at the Groundlings Theater in Los Angeles in 1980 and introduced him to audiences in a sketch that became the basis for the 1981 HBO special *The Pee-wee Herman Show*. The actor claims he took the first name from a toy harmonica with the word “Pee Wee” printed on its side, while the character's last name was borrowed from a disliked childhood acquaintance. Audiences appreciated Pee-wee's obnoxious attitude and silly humor. In 1985, Reubens starred in the summer film *Pee-wee's Big Adventure*. The film cost about six million dollars and earned nearly 50 million, becoming a sleeper summer hit. The film's main character, Pee-wee Herman, was a hyperactive man dressed like a boy in a tight-fitting, grey, glen plaid suit with a perky red bow tie. Although Reubens always maintained in interviews that Pee-wee was male,



Pee Wee Herman appearing at Comic Relief, 1986.

some critics thought that Pee-wee's effeminate body language and mincing manner made the character's gender, not to mention his sexuality, ambivalent at best.

CBS executives liked the character so much that they invited Reubens to develop a children's television show based on Pee-wee Herman. While the network laid down some ground rules (no toilet paper sticking to Pee-wee's shoe as he emerged from the playhouse bathroom, for instance), Reubens basically had carte blanche in developing *Pee-wee's Playhouse*.

Compared to the other Saturday morning television, *Pee-wee's Playhouse* was a breath of fresh, wacky air. While *Sesame Street* was the undisputed leader in children's programming for its seamless blend of education and puppet magic, *Pee-wee's Playhouse* stood out as a smart, creative show among the formulaic animation typically pitched to smaller viewers on weekend mornings. From its carnivalesque score written by former Devo member Mark Mothersbaugh to its visually stimulating set design that mixed vintage decor with plastic toys, *Pee-wee's Playhouse* distinguished itself through sheer difference. This difference was essential to the message that Reubens wanted his character and the show to project to kids. “I'm just trying to illustrate that it's okay to be different—not



that it's good, not that it's bad, but that it's all right. I'm trying to tell kids to have a good time and to encourage them to be creative and to question things," Reubens told one interviewer in *Rolling Stone* during the program's first season. Ultimately, this message championing difference would come back to haunt the performer in 1991 upon his arrest.

Gary Panter's art direction, the program's title design, and its sound mixing all were recognized with Emmys throughout the program's five-year run. At a time when many children's shows were experimenting with new effects in computer animation, *Pee-wee's Playhouse* was using seemingly outdated techniques such as stop-motion photography to set itself apart. The program also made use of claymation designed by Aardman Animations in Bristol, England, the company that brought to life the beloved Wallace and Gromit characters.

Each episode of *Pee-wee's Playhouse* began with a wild ride through its opening graphics accompanied by a zany theme song. Viewers would learn the day's secret word and were instructed to "scream real loud" every time a character on the show said the word, which was given to Pee-wee by his robot friend, Conky. Although the episodes were guided by Pee-wee's childlike stream-of-consciousness, each show revolved around a loosely structured narrative dilemma such as Pee-wee's winning a Hawaiian dinner for two and having to decide which Playhouse friend to invite along. Such plots embodied basic values such as loyalty, honesty, and sharing. Helping Pee-wee to have fun and negotiate personal dilemmas were *Playhouse* regulars such as the glamorous Miss Yvonne (Lynne Stewart), curmudgeonly Kap'n Karl (the late Phil Hartman), sneaky neighbor Mrs. Steve (Shirley Stoler), and amiable Cowboy Curtis (actor Laurence Fishburne).

While many critics faltered in trying to categorize *Pee-wee's Playhouse*, all agreed that its fast pace and frenetic energy made it a natural for children, whose nonlinear thought patterns and short attention spans were matched by Pee-wee's near-maniac behavior and the program's quick-moving visuals, which critic Jack Barth described as "a fast-paced technologically updated Ernie Kovacs in color."

Given its action-packed innovation, *Pee-wee's Playhouse* was an exhausting show to produce, and by 1989 Reubens decided not to renew his contract with CBS. Instead, he spent the next year working overtime to produce two years' worth of episodes so that he could fulfill his contract to the network and retire the character for good. In the summer of 1991, having completed production on the final episodes, Reubens was visiting family in Sarasota, Florida, when he was arrested in an adult theater for indecent exposure, touching off a media scandal whose hallmark was witty headlines such as "Today's Secret Word: Suspended." CBS abruptly canceled the remaining episodes of *Pee-wee's Playhouse*, and Reubens spent months trying to resuscitate his career while parents tried to explain to their children what had happened to their favorite television character.

Reubens's career did continue, although not with the same pre-scandal promise of success. Episodes of *Pee-wee's Playhouse* were packaged as a set and released for home video rental in the early 1990s. In the fall of 1998, the newly created Fox Family Channel included reruns of *Pee-wee's Playhouse* in its weekday programming blocks.

—Alison Macor

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## Pelé (1940—)

Pelé, born Edson Arantes do Nascimento on October 23, 1940 in a small village in the Brazilian state of Minas Gerais, is recognized as the greatest, and most popular, soccer player the world has ever seen. Pelé played professional soccer for Santos Football Club in Brazil from 1956 to 1974. Between 1958 and 1970, he played in four World Cup finals, is the only person to have won three world cups as a player, and scored an astonishing 1,280 goals in 1,362 professional games. In April 1975, the New York Cosmos of the North American Soccer League signed Pelé in an attempt to popularize the sport in the United States. Although thousands came to see him play in New York, only a minority of the American public saw or appreciated his unique skills.

—John F. Lyons

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## Penn, Irving (1917—)

Irving Penn began his photographic career with *Vogue* magazine in 1943. Rejecting the ornate, theatrical style of fashion photography that predominated at the time, he produced simple powerful images that revolutionized the discipline. Penn's subsequent work falls into a variety of categories: fashion, portraits, still lifes, nudes, travel, ethnographic studies, and street photography. In his advertising work, his straightforward manner of focusing on the subject while stripping away superfluous elements is especially apparent, as in the product-centered Clinique advertisements. Penn's photographs—especially

his portraits of influential individuals, including actors, artists, politicians, writers, and more—serve as a record of cultural, economic, and political trends in the second half of the twentieth century.

—Jennifer Jankauskas

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## Penthouse

*Penthouse*, “the international magazine for men,” became a household name along with its number one competitor, *Playboy*, during the 1960s and 1970s era of “free love” and sexual revolution. Following the 1953 debut of Hugh Hefner’s erotic magazine, Bob Guccione rightly sensed that men might prefer to see a bit “more flesh” than was being offered by *Playboy*. In 1965, Guccione launched the London-based *Penthouse*, with slightly racier pictorials as well as investigative stories.

In 1969, the magazine was moved to the United States, where it expanded into a publishing dynasty that included *Forum* (1975), *Penthouse Letters* (1981), and several non-erotic ventures, such as *Omni*, a consumer science magazine (1978), *Compute* (1979), and *Longevity* (1989). Although *Penthouse* (a subsidiary of General Media Publishing) continued to grow and diversify over the next three decades, the company remained privately owned by Guccione and his companion, Kathy Keeton, whose operation was something of a Mom-and-Pop arrangement, staffed by several members of Guccione’s family. Working from the nine-story mansion he shared with Keeton on Manhattan’s Upper East Side, Guccione became known for his gold chains and lavish lifestyle.

Guccione’s enterprise was anything but smooth sailing during the 1980s. Throughout the Reagan era, *Penthouse* was ravaged by attacks from Christian right-wing conservative groups such as the National Federation for Decency. One of the more damaging campaigns came in 1986 when Attorney General Edwin Meese and an 11-member Commission on Pornography sought to intimidate retailers by publishing a blacklist of pornography distributors. Sending its warning on Justice Department stationary, the Commission advised several large booksellers and retail chains that they would be named. Bowing to the pressure, Southland Corporation, parent company of 7-11 convenience stores, announced that it would no longer sell either *Penthouse* or *Playboy* in its 4,500 outlets. By the end of the campaign, some 20,000 retail and convenience stores had been dissuaded from carrying the adult titles.

*Penthouse* retaliated, along with *Playboy* and the American Booksellers Association, by filing a suit against the Commission, charging it with violating the First Amendment. Although a Federal District Court eventually forced the Commission to retract its letter, it denied the plaintiffs financial relief; in a strange footnote, Edwin Meese was later reported to have said that he did not consider either *Playboy* or *Penthouse* to be obscene.

*Penthouse*’s constant legal battles throughout the 1980s and 1990s cost it millions of dollars in annual litigation fees, but the

magazine had another, more threatening problem: videocassette distributors, who now boasted that some ten percent of their sales were in the category of erotica. “People are simply reading less,” noted Guccione. “They’re into other media.”

Overall, *Penthouse* witnessed a steady decline in circulation and never recovered its 1979 high of 4.7 million. By 1987, the numbers had fallen to 3 million; by 1995, circulation was just over the one million mark. That same year, the magazine actually lost money for the first time in its history. *Playboy*’s numbers were also steadily declining, but remained slightly higher than those of *Penthouse*.

To recoup profits, Guccione’s team experimented with a range of strategies, including a cover story on celibacy as “the new hot lifestyle.” It also launched headlong into three new ventures in the 1980s, including *Spin*, a music magazine to be run by Bob Guccione, Jr., *New Look*, which survived less than six months, and the unexpected *Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Defense Technology*, which targeted defense industry personnel.

Never one to back down from a First Amendment challenge, *Penthouse* found itself under siege yet again in 1990; this time, by the American Family Association, a Christian group which planned to picket 400 Waldenbooks and K-Mart stores for carrying *Penthouse* and *Playboy*. In response to the threat, Ed Morrow, President of the American Booksellers Association, and Harry Hoffman, President and CEO of Walden, took out advertisement space in 28 daily papers, in which readers were asked to respond by “voting” for freedom of expression. The campaign was a success: over 50,000 Americans returned ballots in support of First Amendment rights within the first seven days of the appearance of the advertisements. In contrast, less than 100 picketers showed up for the American Family Association’s planned protests.

In 1992, *Penthouse* faced yet another challenge from the United States Navy, which found the distribution and sale of adult magazines on naval bases to be inconsistent with rules and regulations concerning sexual harassment and human dignity. Guccione responded rhetorically, asking, “How do you put a man in uniform, teach him to kill, expose him to images of war and all sorts of inhumanity and in the same breath tell him he is not sanctioned to buy a magazine that shows people making love?” This, however, was a battle that *Penthouse* would lose. In 1996, President Clinton signed The Military Honor and Decency Act, stating that “the Secretary of Defense may not permit the sale or rental of sexually explicit material on property under the jurisdiction of the Defense Department.” Although Guccione won an appeal, citing the First, Fifth, and Fourteenth Amendments, the decision was overturned in a 1998 Supreme Court ruling which held that a military base is not a public forum.

So as not to be left behind in the technological race, *Penthouse* went on-line in 1995, and quickly became one of the 25 most frequently-visited web sites. The magazine also found something of a new niche in the early 1990s with unauthorized celebrity sex photos. During this period, it won court battles to publish explicit materials of Tonya Harding (sold to the magazine by ex-husband, Jeff Gillooly), Paula Jones (also obtained from a former boyfriend), and Pamela Lee Anderson and her husband Tommy Lee.

In 1995, *Penthouse* received additional publicity from an unlikely source when the Unabomber named the magazine as his third choice—after *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*—for publication of a manuscript advocating an anti-technology revolution. Guccione offered the terrorist—who was linked to 16 bombings since 1978—an unedited monthly column in return for his agreement

not to strike again; the offer was nullified, of course, by the Unabomber's subsequent capture.

Peter Bloch, *Penthouse* editor since 1983, once claimed that Guccione's publication, unlike *Playboy*, had never been ashamed to portray explicit sexuality in its pages. Indeed, *Penthouse* broke barriers, said Bloch, by being "the first to show full frontal nudity." In 1997, the magazine ventured a step further into carnality, announcing that it would no longer shy away from depicting copulation. It remains to be seen, of course, what the anti-pornography forces will make of this.

—Kristal Brent Zook

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## People

When Time, Inc. launched *People Magazine* in 1974, the leading afternoon talk television show, *Donahue*, brought considered debate about important issues into the nation's living rooms and the leading national daily newspaper, the *Wall Street Journal*, brought serious news to the nation's doorsteps. *People* defined the personality-driven style that paved the way for confessional, emotional—often exhibitionistic—television talk shows such as *The Oprah Winfrey Show* in the 1980s, and later, the *Jerry Springer Show*, to lead afternoon ratings. *People's* reliance on images rather than insightful text anticipated *USA Today's* visual, less wordy, approach to news in the 1980s and subsequent ascendance to the top position among daily newspapers in the United States. Striving to capture the intimate and everyday lives of celebrities and the occasionally astonishing lives of everyday people, *People* further disintegrated the line between entertainment and news, bringing the personal into the public space.

Time, Inc. conceived *People* as a replacement for its weekly magazine *Life* that had ceased weekly publication in 1972. *Life* covered the grand sweep of world events and the people causing them or caught up in them. It also reported on everyday people, doing everyday things. *Life* lavished many pages and many large or full-page, artful photos on a story. A *Life* story celebrated what made a hero heroic or what made a great event epic—such as coverage of Winston Churchill's funeral or the passing of a U.S. Navy submarine beneath the polar ice cap. It would examine the commonplace with such stories as a detailed account of a day in the life of a small town or what different people in different parts of the country were doing at the exact moment a joke was told on television. This was all reported, sometimes whimsically, but always in a serious journalistic style.

*People* instead focused on what made public figures seem more like regular people and what made regular people noteworthy. Instead of reporting the great public triumphs of public figures, *People* would report the common personal problems such as divorce or addiction, that they overcame to attain their oft-reported triumphs. This novel formula was described as "extraordinary people doing ordinary things and ordinary people doing extraordinary things." *People's*

appearance on the media landscape was consistent with changes in the way Americans perceived public figures. Observes Leo Braudy, author of *The Frenzy of Renown: Fame and its History*, "it is not the social order so much as an individual's own emotional problems that are conquered" in the new media spotlight. According to Braudy, the media is now "more likely to stress a victory over alcoholism or personal tragedy than it is to sketch a Lincolnesque rise from poverty."

Years before *People*, fanzines had been trading in gossip and intimate stories about celebrities, relating their favorite recipes, likes and dislikes, or how they relaxed at home. And tabloids such as the *National Enquirer* had long reported on celebrity gossip and the freakish events that could happen to everyday people. But fanzines and tabloids were not published by as respected a journalistic institution as Time, Inc. *People* was designed, graphically and editorially, to look conventional, respectable, and mainstream. While the tabloids and fanzines historically made no pretenses of "respectability," *People* treated the reporting of intimate information about stars and everyday people as a perfectly legitimate undertaking. *People* also expanded the boundaries of celebrity beyond the movie, television, and music stars of the fanzines and the freaks of the tabloids to include religious leaders, business people, fashion designers, models, athletes, and politicians.

*People* drew on the conventions of television, adopting its visual treatment to news and working within strict constraints of space. By the 1970s, news was beginning to be treated more and more as entertainment, as dramatized in the movie *Network*. This was evidenced by the signing of Barbara Walters as an ABC Nightly News co-anchor for a record setting \$1 million, as much for her celebrity status as for her reporting skills. Like television, *People* treated news as another branch of entertainment, but it also reported celebrity gossip and stories as valid news. *Life* had already shown that a magazine could be a collection of pictures, narrated by text. However, where traditional print journalism would allow one, or a few, images to sometimes dramatically stand alone to tell a story, *People* instead adopted television's visual language, displaying a blizzard of many images, none standing dramatically alone.

Financially, *People* found immediate success, selling over 120 million copies in its first two years. The first national weekly magazine to be launched since *Sports Illustrated* 20 years earlier, *People* became profitable within 18 months. The company's flagship weekly publication, *Time*, had taken three years to become profitable. *Sports Illustrated* had taken ten. The news establishment was not as receptive as the average consumer. Said William Safire in the *New York Times*, "*People* fails on its own tawdry terms." Tom Donnelly of *The Washington Post* declared "It will tax none but the shortest attention spans and it is so undemanding that it can be read while the TV commercials are on. It is the reading equivalent of those 'convenience foods.' . . ." *People* was represented no better in popular culture. To indicate that a character in the movie *The Big Chill* had completely sold out his 1960s idealism, he is shown lamenting his life as a writer for *People*, where, he complains, the length of his articles are constrained by the length of time readers spend in the bathroom.

Initially the magazine was not sold by subscription and the cover was crucial in generating copy sales. The staff developed a set of rules for magazine covers based on its experience with sales figures:

Young is better than old.  
 Pretty is better than ugly.  
 TV is better than music.  
 Music is better than movies.

Movies are better than sports.  
 And anything is better than a politician.  
 And nothing is better than the celebrity dead.

*People's* readership was about two-thirds female and experience proved that covers showing women sold more copies than did those with men. In the magazine's first 25 years, Princess Diana, Elizabeth Taylor, (former Duchess) Sarah Ferguson, John Travolta, and Madonna were among the most frequent cover subjects. Best-selling covers included tributes to John Lennon, Princess Grace of Monaco, and Princess Diana, soon after their deaths.

*People* examined anything and everything through the lens of personalities. Every story was anchored to a person or group of people, and generally concerned the more intimate details of their lives. This approach of covering the personality more than the event began to filter into other media properties. This was reflected not only in the rise of "softer" shows such as *The Oprah Winfrey Show* and *Jerry Springer Show*, or the launch of *USA Today*. It was not even limited to the proliferation of tabloid shows such as *A Current Affair* or the numerous celebrity gossip shows of the 1980s and 1990s such as *Entertainment Tonight* and *Access Hollywood*. Beyond mere imitators such as *Us*, *People* changed the mainstream, "serious" media. In the 1980s and 1990s, most newspapers developed a "style" or "people" section to report on celebrity news and human interest. These newspapers were more and more likely to report on rumor, stars, and scandal in their news sections. Newsweeklies such as *Time* and *Newsweek* increased their coverage of celebrities and personalities. When, in 1997, sportscaster Marv Albert pled guilty to minor sex crimes committed in private, off the job, the respected paper of record, the *New York Times* reported it on the front page, as news.

The influence of *People* stretches not merely to the dozens of new outlets for celebrity gossip and intimate confession in its wake, but the legitimization of personality journalism in the mainstream press and the introduction of the intimate and personal into the public realm. *People* is the emblem of American celebrity culture and its public intimacy.

—Steven Kotok

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## The Peppermint Lounge

The Peppermint Lounge, or The "Pep," a mid-town biker bar on West 45th Street between Sixth and Seventh Avenues in New York,

was the site where rock 'n' roll and youth culture crossed generational and social boundaries. A brief mention by Cholly Knickerbocker (Oleg Cassini) in September of 1961 in the *Journal-American* made the tiny club a mecca for society types and celebrities. Judy Garland, Noel Coward, Elsa Maxwell, Greta Garbo, and the Duke and Duchess of Bedford mingled with a young crowd, many of them New Jerseyites attracted by New York's 18-year-old drinking age. They twisted to the music of the house band, Joey Dee and the Starlites, who shortly thereafter had a number one record with *Peppermint Twist-Part I* and starred in a movie, *Hey, Let's Twist*. Extensive media coverage re-ignited the Twist dance craze and made it an international phenomenon.

—Louis Scheeder

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## Pepsi-Cola

In the early 1890s the beverage that evolved into Pepsi-Cola originated in the North Carolina drugstore of Caleb Bradham. Patterned after other soft drinks and patent medicines of the time, the concoction was initially known as "Brad's Drink." In 1893 the name of the drink was changed to Pepsi-Cola, and a few years later the Pepsi-Cola company was formed. Like industry leader Coca-Cola,



An early six pack of 12-oz. bottles of Pepsi-Cola.

the drink was largely made of sugar and water. Combining the sugar and water with other oils and extracts unique to Pepsi gave it a “citrus” flavor and aroma. Unlike Coca-Cola, however, Pepsi did not find success quickly. Instead Pepsi struggled to challenge Coca-Cola for dominance in the nearly century-long Cola War. Through much of its history Pepsi often found itself playing the role of David to Coca-Cola’s Goliath. In the early years of the twentieth century, however, it did not appear as if the beverage would be around long enough to challenge anyone.

Through a combination of poor business decisions, limited distribution, and less than insightful marketing Pepsi spent many of its early years on the fringes of the soft drink industry. By the early 1930s the company manufacturing the beverage had gone bankrupt twice, and rights to manufacture the drink were held by a man who was employed in the candy industry. Charles Guth of Loft Incorporated, attracted to Pepsi only after Coca-Cola refused to grant price concessions on the sale of Coke in his drugstores, resurrected the beverage in 1932. Guth’s early fortunes with Pepsi were no better than those of his predecessors, and he was nearly forced into bankruptcy. At one point Guth sent ambassadors to Atlanta to attempt to sell the rights of Pepsi to Coca-Cola. Assuming that the drink would soon disappear of its own accord Coke officials refused to purchase the company. In the decision not to purchase Pepsi, Coke officials, to their lasting regret, allowed Guth to continue to manufacture the drink. A desperate man, Guth soon hit upon a marketing scheme that forever changed the face of the soft drink industry.

Anxious for any means to sell Pepsi, Guth was persuaded to sell the drink in used beer bottles that were 12 ounces in size. Twice the size of the normal six ounce soft drink, he marketed Pepsi at ten cents per bottle, twice the price of the six ounce beverage. Sales of the new larger Pepsi continued to lag, and the drink’s future appeared dim. Then, in a move that spoke more of desperation than marketing savvy, Guth decided to sell the 12-ounce Pepsi for five cents per bottle. In Depression era America the “Twice as Much for a Nickel Too” campaign was a success. Within six months of the start of the marketing campaign, sales of Pepsi had grown tremendously and it was soon on its way to prosperity. However, due to the extralegal measures he had used to acquire Pepsi-Cola Charles Guth was forced out of the company and its future.

Despite its growing success, Pepsi manufacturers did not have the advertising capital of industry leader Coca-Cola. Therefore, they were forced to invest in nontraditional sources of advertising. Seizing the new medium of radio, the attributes of Pepsi were soon being hailed in the nation’s first musical jingle. The Pepsi jingle not only spurred interest in the drink, but it also revolutionized radio advertisements. Pepsi was also sold through art shows, skywriting, and comic strips. Sales of Pepsi continued to grow until the limitations placed on the drink’s ingredients were imposed during World War II.

During World War II, sales of Pepsi, while substantial, paled in comparison to those of Coca-Cola. After the conflict ended Pepsi’s identification with youth, labor, and minorities as well as being seen as the “poor man’s drink” limited the drink’s acceptance. The identification with value that had served Pepsi well during the Depression and war years was less suited for the growing middle class who was looking for prosperity and material comforts. Accordingly Pepsi advertising began to target new American suburban markets and stress its connection to modernity and glamour. Whereas Coke was marketed as a product of nostalgia, Pepsi highlighted its appropriateness for the future. In doing so Pepsi advertising largely identified itself as a youth product.

Slogans such as “Now it’s Pepsi for those who think young,” and “Come Alive, You’re in the Pepsi Generation,” made Pepsi appealing among the youth market. Beginning in the 1960s Pepsi began to cement its reputation as the drink for the younger market. Pepsi consistently targeted young people, labeling them the “Pepsi Generation,” a slogan that would go beyond advertising into popular jargon. In the 1980s social critics labeled the 18-30 generation as “Generation X” as well as the “Pepsi Generation.”

Since the 1960s Pepsi has emphasized itself as the drink of the present and the future. Even though many industry observers argued that it was the taste of Pepsi that caused Coke to change its formula, Pepsi does not challenge the status of Coke. Though Pepsi has had the role of the underdog to Coca-Cola throughout the century, its existence as an alternative to Coke has helped fuel the Cola Wars to the delight of consumers.

—Jason Chambers

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## Performance Art

Performance art became known as the distinctive art form of the 1970s, and followed the Happenings and action art of the 1960s. The concept behind performance art has been linked historically to Russian “living newspaper” groups in the 1920s. These groups performed selections of political events and breaking news in the streets, factories, clubs, and colleges. Performance art has been referred to as possessing postmodern qualities and, as such, it tends to be discussed in contrast to modernist art, such as painting and sculpture as well as modernist and avant-garde theater, for its interrogation of language, signs, and visual codes. Unlike most traditional arts and theater, the actual presence, control, and guidance of the artist who conceived the piece was central to performance art. While late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century modernist and avant-garde theatrical performers saw their work as part of a new movement in acting, performance artists were generally artists from non-theatrical backgrounds utilizing the act of performance to convey diverse meanings and create a new type of communication.

Though the term “performance” has been vaguely defined, the performance art piece is usually defined as existing in one time and space for the spectators who are there at the time of performance. Unlike other artists, performance artists are in direct contact with their audiences and, unlike a finished painting or sculpture, performance art is not static; it varies from circumstance to circumstance. Commonly, artists draw from a wide range of media to create their art and



Performance artist Carmelita Tropicana.

choose meaningful durations of time and locations to perform their art. Some have suggested that the migration of artists from traditional art to performance art signaled a shunning of the hierarchical art world for its production of esoteric pieces for a wealthy clientele. But others believe that the move was, for many artists, a matter of professional necessity; a way to enter the art world in a time of diminishing opportunities in painting and sculpture. Performance art offered opportunities to more than traditional artists looking for work. Because performance art did not make creating a masterpiece the artist's ultimate goal and encouraged a blurring between disciplines, it accommodated the work of the non-expert or non-virtuoso.

Performance art has been generally associated with the technology of production and the process of art as opposed to the finished product. In performance art, the idea triumphed over the finished product and the visual communication of ideas and actions were privileged over pictorial values. Emphasizing the importance of the role of the artist and often times the presence (body) of the artist, performance art highlights the actual production of the work.

A precursor to performance art was the work of music composer John Cage. Cage challenged the disciplinary boundaries between art and performance in the United States and Europe in the 1950s and

early 1960s. Cage's work involved the concept of "silence," which he believed the traditional work of art could not convey or embody. Cage's silent pieces were meant to be scored, silent, musical performances which lasted for a specified duration of time, in which no musical instrument was played. Through these pieces, Cage attempted to convey an absence of empty space or time. His music was a compilation of the sounds in any given environment which would have been suppressed by predetermined parameters of other works of music. Cage was opposed to notions of fixity or "real" qualities with respect to art. His work attempted to deflect attention from ideas of the art "object" and focused instead on art's continual state of becoming. The introduction of the concept of silence to the work of art signified, for Cage, the dissolution of the formal integrity and authority traditionally claimed by the art object or piece of music. In addition, Cage's work included the viewer or listener in the art process. By mingling notions of art and non-art, Cage allowed the spectator a hand in the creation of the work.

The poet Vito Acconci became a performance artist when he felt art had reached a stage in which it needed to transcend its standard location on the page or museum wall. Acconci's "body art" of the early 1970s can be said to reveal the ideology behind the historical and cultural construction of the human body. In a 1971 video piece called *Waterways*, Acconci let his mouth fill with saliva until the saliva was forced to spill into his cupped hands. In another performance piece which took place in a restaurant, entitled, "Rubbing Piece" (1976), he rubbed the same spot on his arm until a sore appeared. Both of these pieces emphasized the time in which it takes the body to perform an action. Acconci also produced a short film, *Hand to Mouth* (1970), in which he put his hand in his mouth and pushed it down his throat until he choked.

In 1970, Acconci performed a piece in which he ran in place for two hours, pressed up against a painted wall, and left the wall stained with sweat and parts of his body covered in paint. Acconci explored issues of gender in his 1971 film, *Conversations*. He used a variety of tactics to try to change his body from male to female, including burning the hair off of his breasts and assuming poses in front of the camera in which his penis was strategically hidden. The failure to produce a polished image of a female body for the camera was very much the point of this film as the means in which bodies and genders are constructed and represented was made visible. In his "body art" pieces, Acconci emphasized the degree to which the body's normal functions and productions must be suppressed in order for it to be represented as a natural part of an orderly society. As such, Acconci drew attention to his culture's discomfort and anxiety about notions such as sexuality and uncleanliness.

Performance art tends to intervene in a physical or social reality and to be situational. For example, in 1977, at the Bologna Art Fair, performance artists Ulay and Marina Abramovic stood face to face on either side of the door to the Bologna museum, causing art patrons to pass through the narrow space between the artists' bodies as they entered the museum. The scene was relayed via video camera to a screen in the main gallery of the museum. The performance piece was designed to counter the definition of traditional theater, which creates a set time, place, and space, and attempts to recreate it over and over. This particular performance attempted to expose the hierarchical structure between an art product, the institution surrounding the product, and the consumer of the product.

In another performance art piece, "one year performance: 26 Sept. '81—26 Sept. '82," artist Teh-ching Hsieh lived on the streets of New York city for one entire year without going into a building for

shelter. This piece illustrated the ways in which traditional modes of art interpretation are often deconstructed in performance art, as the value of the art does not reside in aesthetic characteristics but in the artist's actions. In this case, interpretation involves considering how and why an action is done. Questions of time and place are also foregrounded in Hsieh's performance piece.

Performance art of the late 1980s and 1990s has been characterized as quieter and perhaps less optimistic than the artform in its earlier stages, with a focus on issues of cultural diversity, spatial politics, and notions of all types of borders and border crossings. For example, in the 1990s in London, as a result of the collapse of a ten-year period of economic prosperity, performance art began to appear in the spatial ruins of the economic boom, taking place in empty factories, warehouses, and office buildings. Along the same lines, adverse conditions with respect to economic, political, gender, and race relations were addressed in the semi-autobiographical performance pieces of such well-known artists as Guillermo Gomez-Peña, Annie Sprinkle, Karen Finley, and Spalding Gray. Radical transformations in city spaces, film, music, video, and television in the last two decades have forced artists to create new contexts for their work: the inclusion of new cultural forms, rather than exclusion, tends to be the rule. In the face of the continued institutionalization of art and culture and prolonged funding crises for independent artists, club-style events have begun to spring up in the United Kingdom and in the United States. These events provide an affordable venue for artists, create a more informal relationship between performance artists and audience members, and incorporate new trends in music and club culture into the performance.

—Kristi M. Wilson

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## Perot, Ross (1930—)

Maverick businessman Ross Perot turned American politics upside down in 1992 when he mounted one of the most effective



Ross Perot

independent campaigns for president in American history. Although he was ultimately unsuccessful, Perot's bid threatened to derail the hopes of Republican incumbent George Bush and Democratic challenger Bill Clinton, who ultimately won the election.

Henry Ross Perot, who normally went by his middle name, Ross, was born June 27, 1930 in Texarkana, Texas. He learned his distinct world-view of self-reliance and ambition as an Eagle scout and later as a Naval officer. He married Margot Birmingham in 1956; they would eventually have five children. After several years as a computer salesman for IBM, Perot founded Electronic Data Systems Corporation (EDS) with \$1,000 in 1962. Perot's shrewd dealing and ability to land lucrative government contracts made EDS a major player and Perot a billionaire in a few short years.

Long before he ever ran for elected office, Perot courted controversy several times. He was seen by some as an apologist for the Nixon administration, holding televised "town hall meetings" in 1969 that, according to Perot biographer Todd Mason, gave implicit support to Nixon. Nevertheless, Perot's interest in American prisoners of war in Vietnam tended to strain his relationship with Republican administrations. In 1969 he tried to deliver Christmas gifts, food, and medicine to American POWs, and in 1986 and 1987 he strongly criticized the Defense Department and the Reagan administration, accusing them of covering up information that POWs remained in Vietnam.

Perot achieved a reputation as a folk hero and a certain amount of notoriety in 1978, when two of his employees were imprisoned by Iranians who demanded that EDS design a new computer system for Iran. Perot, who made a point of hiring Vietnam veterans, recruited

several talented members of his staff to rescue the pair. The tale of the rescue was told in Ken Follett's book *On Wings of Eagles* and adapted as a television movie starring Richard Crenna as Perot.

Perot gained more attention on February 20, 1992, when he announced on the *Larry King Live* talk show that he would run for president if volunteers could get him on the ballot in all 50 states. Within days his Texas offices were swamped with hundreds of thousands of phone calls from volunteers offering to help with the campaign. The following weeks and months were a flurry of activity as word of Perot's intentions spread and volunteers across the country joined the effort to get Perot on the ballot. Eventually the nationwide volunteer effort coalesced into a new political party, known as the Reform Party.

Perot's greatest edge may have been sheer luck. The political scene in 1992 was perfect for a third-party candidate to enter. Voters were fed up with what they perceived as "politics as usual" in Washington: Republicans and Democrats at each other's throats, pointing fingers and spreading blame without really solving any problems. Perot appealed to the large segment of the population who identified with neither Democrats nor Republicans and resented being forced to choose between the two.

Perot energized the segment of the population that was disgusted with politics in general. Cynical voters who had long ago given up any hope of finding a candidate who would stand up for what they believed in suddenly found someone they could believe in. Even those who disagreed with Perot's political stance—and one of the main criticisms leveled at him was that he often appeared to have no real stance—could not deny that he had a powerful personal charisma and rarely allowed himself to be bullied. In addition, many voters were leery of the influence of special-interest money in campaigns. Perot's pledge to pay his own campaign expenses greatly heartened those who feared that politicians were increasingly "for sale."

Despite such grassroots support, Perot had a difficult time being taken seriously by much of the mainstream media. With his short stature, squeaky voice, and large ears, he was rich fodder for late-night comedians and editorial cartoonists. Furthermore, Ross Perot always did and said exactly what Ross Perot thought was best, a trait that tended to both endear and infuriate his followers. In 1990, Perot biographer Todd Mason wrote these oddly prescient words, which perfectly describe the difficulty many had envisioning Perot as president: "(Perot) realizes that his low tolerance for frustration rules out politics. . . . He continues to decline invitations to run for president. He doesn't have the patience to deal with the inanities of public office. He can't compromise. He sees bureaucracy as maddeningly slow and ineffective at its best, and wrongheaded and corrupt at its worst."

As a presidential candidate, Perot had an advantage in the mercurial nature of public opinion, which was unusually difficult to predict in 1992. 1991 had been a historic year, marking the fall of communism and an enormously popular conflict in the Persian Gulf. Bush's approval ratings hovered above 90 percent for months after the war, but an economic recession hurt his approval ratings in 1992. Clinton understood this and ran on a theme summed up by his motto, "It's the economy, stupid." Perot also campaigned on an economic platform and took the bold step of validating the worst fears people had about the economy. Speaking plainly, Perot told America that everything was messed up, that the government had squandered their money, and that if the country continued on the same course things would only get worse. Perot also made a special point of bringing up

the nation's \$4 trillion debt, a number so large it almost defied description, and which he insisted must be paid sooner or later.

Perot ran an unorthodox campaign, eschewing large staffs and often ignoring the advice of his experienced campaign strategists, Hamilton Jordan and Ed Rollins. Perot used television as a campaign medium in manners very unlike anything that had been done in major races of the past. He avoided paid advertisements, preferring to appear on the "free media": talk shows, morning news shows, and *Larry King Live*. The differences in his approach to campaigning, his bitter-medicine campaign speeches, and his outsider status struck a chord with many voters early in the summer. At the campaign's peak, Perot ranked ahead of Clinton and Bush in many voter polls, including a June poll which reported that 37 percent of the voting population intended to vote for Perot.

On July 16, Perot made a surprise announcement: He believed that the revitalized Democratic Party was the right choice to lead the nation. Furthermore, the close three-way race would end up throwing the election into the House of Representatives, according to Perot, so he had decided to drop out of the race entirely. The reaction of Perot's followers covered the gamut from complete shock to anger. Most felt betrayed. Supporters and critics alike wondered if Perot's entire campaign had been a rich man's game, a diversion played out with millions of pawns until he had quit when the going got rough. By October, after weeks of speculation, Perot returned to the race, claiming that he was not satisfied that Bush or Clinton were really willing to fix the severe problems with the economy. After quitting once already, Perot had an uphill battle on his hands to regain his credibility.

His biggest advertising effort came late in the campaign, when he purchased half-hour blocks of time on major networks to present his campaign "infomercials." The infomercials were charming, low-budget affairs. For the most part they featured Perot speaking in an office, using his distinctive folksy humor and illustrating economic issues with a pointer. "Let's take a little time to figure out what's happened to the engine (of the American economy)," Perot said in one characteristically homespun analogy. "Let's raise the hood and go to work." Once again Perot flew in the face of conventional political wisdom and managed to come out on top. "The ruling political wisdom was that a single 'talking head' was the most boring thing in television and would drive viewers away rather than attract them," wrote Robert D. Loevy in *The Flawed Path to the Presidency 1992*. Instead, Perot's infomercials attracted large audiences and praise from voters. The first of the presentations attracted 16 million viewers.

Unlike many politicians, Perot ignored negative campaigning almost altogether, even as he painted a drastic picture of the economy. Perot's speeches, advertisements, and infomercials often avoided attacking his opponents by name, which was another popular move. And he also made a strong impression during the presidential debates with Bush and Clinton; many observers felt he was the real winner of the first and third debates and held his own in the second.

Despite the popularity of Perot's approach, Perot was not wholeheartedly embraced. Many of his most devoted followers and volunteers felt betrayed by his quitting; they had put their lives on hold for his campaign and he had failed them by bailing out for reasons that never became quite clear. In addition, negative reports that his management style was dictatorial and autocratic, and that he maintained absolute control over his company and employees repelled some. There were also those that questioned the wisdom of his choice of running mate, retired Rear Admiral James Stockdale. The



choice of Stockdale, who had been the highest ranking prisoner of war during the Vietnam conflict, was in character for Perot because of his respect for Vietnam veterans and former POWs. Nevertheless, Stockdale seemed a bit out of touch to some and tended to further turn away those whose support for Perot was wavering.

The week before the elections, Perot harmed his campaign by revealing that he had initially quit the campaign based on information he had that a Republican “dirty tricks committee” was planning to sabotage his daughter’s wedding. Perot never offered any evidence to support this allegation, and it gave much ammunition to his detractors, who painted him as a conspiracy-theorizing, paranoid eccentric. Ultimately Perot lost the election, garnering 18.9 percent of the popular vote and no electoral votes.

Perot had energized many voters in the 1990s, but he was tapping into a larger zeitgeist that has infused American politics nearly since the country was founded. Reformers in American history such as William Jennings Bryan and “Battling Bob” LaFollette have ridden the wave of “throw the bums out” public opinion to varying degrees of success. Perot was only the latest reformer to take advantage of his outsider status. Although his campaigns have ultimately been unsuccessful, he left a strong populist legacy and a reminder to both parties that a two-party system was not the unassailable fortress many believed it to be.

His extraordinarily high poll numbers early in 1992 and 18.9 percent of the final vote, one of the highest ever for an independent candidacy, sent a clear message to Washington that voters no longer considered a third party an irrational choice. His presence and influence reminded Republicans and Democrats alike that the two-party system could not be taken for granted, and that may well be his most important political legacy.

—Paul F.P. Pogue

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## Perry Mason

America’s favorite crime-solving lawyer, Perry Mason, was a character created by lawyer-turned-author Erle Stanley Gardner (1890-1970). Eventually featured in over 80 popular books, Gardner’s creation had a modest success in films and radio, but proved a sensation on television. Mason’s first appearance came in *The Case of the Velvet Claws*, published in 1933, but it was not until subsequent volumes that Gardner allowed Mason to spend much time in court.



Raymond Burr (left) as Perry Mason in a scene from the television show of the same name.

The mixture of legalistic detail with the time honored whodunit format was a winning combination, but one which Warner Brothers failed to capture in its series of six films (1934-1937); there was also a brief radio series in 1943. Determined not to repeat Hollywood’s mistakes, Gardner formed his own production company and oversaw the creation of the *Perry Mason* series, which debuted on CBS-TV in 1957 and ran until 1966.

Cold War viewers who had been exposed to the Army-McCarthy Hearings quickly warmed to this invincible knight who invariably ferreted out the enemy within. With undertones of film-noir, each episode led to a gripping conclusion of almost ritualistic predictability: Mason’s courtroom theatrics and cross-examination elicited a sudden confession from the one who had committed the murder for which Mason’s client was on trial. This weekly morality play made a television star out of movie villain Raymond Burr, sparked public awareness of America’s legal system, and led to countless other courtroom drama series on the tube. The Burr/Mason combo proved so popular that, after starring in the *Ironside* series as the wheelchair-bound detective, the actor reprised his most famous role in *Perry Mason Returns* (1985), the first in a sequence of 90-minute made-for-television movies which ended only with Burr’s death in 1993.

—Preston Neal Jones

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## Perry Mason

See also Burr, Raymond

## Personal Watercraft

See Jet Skis

## Pet Rocks

Pet Rocks were among the most popular gifts of 1975, and the name has become synonymous with ridiculous fads. Developed by Gary Dahl, a California advertising man who came up with the idea, the Pet Rock—actually rosarita beach stones that Dahl bought for one cent each and sold for two dollars wholesale—was a hit at an August

1975 San Francisco gift show. By Christmas of 1975, Dahl had sold two-and-a-half tons of Pet Rocks, or one million rocks, and had become a millionaire. The Pet Rock was packaged in a cardboard “pet” carrying case and came with the *Pet Rock Training Manual*. Dahl rocketed to fame, appearing on *The Tonight Show* twice. Immediately after Christmas 1975, the market for Pet Rocks dried up, and Dahl donated his remaining inventory of one hundred thousand to needy children a year later. Dahl's next attempt to sell nothing for something, the 1976 Official Sand Breeding Kit, was a flop.

—Jeff Merron

## Peter, Paul, and Mary

Peter, Paul, & Mary (PP&M) came together in Greenwich Village in 1961. Noel Paul Stookey (1937—) was working as a stand-up comic when he met Mary Travers (1937—). They formed a folksinging duo, but soon they were approached by Albert Grossman, producer for the Kingston Trio. He united them with Peter Yarrow (1938—), who had played at the 1960 Newport Folk Festival. Grossman debuted PP&M at the Bitter End coffeehouse, where the magic of their beautiful harmonies and the skillful, subtle interaction



Gary Dahl, creator of the Pet Rock, rings up \$2 million in sales.



**Peter, Paul, and Mary**

of their two guitars captivated audiences. Soon PP&M were touring across the country, bringing their positive vibes to young, hip audiences.

PP&M embraced many strains of folk music: political songs, love songs, traditional ballads, spirituals, humor, and children's songs. All these elements were featured on their first album, *Peter, Paul and Mary* (1962), which occupied the *Billboard* Top Ten for ten months. Their second album, *Moving* (1963), introduced their hit "Puff, the Magic Dragon" and the Woody Guthrie song, "This Land is Your Land." Their third album, *In the Wind* (1963), included three songs by Bob Dylan, notably "Blowin' in the Wind," and even featured a poem by Dylan on the back cover, thereby introducing their friend and inspiration to a wider audience. Their fourth production, *Peter, Paul and Mary in Concert* (1964) was a double album with plenty of original material, and included Paul's comedy routines. *A Song Will Rise* and *See What Tomorrow Brings* (both 1965) offered more of the PP&M magic, but little in the way of development at a time when the rest of the music world was in state of exciting flux. They acknowledged this on the back cover of *See What Tomorrow Brings*, noting that the "Beatles have gone folk, Bob Dylan has gone pop," but PP&M chose to stick to their roots.

With *Album* (1966) PP&M began to experiment with more instrumentation and a harder sound. Mike Bloomfield, Paul Butterfield, and Al Kooper played on some tracks. "Norman Normal," with its

electric guitar, proved to be their hardest rock song, with supercilious lyrics criticizing the "average" man, in imitation of the Beatles' "Nowhere Man." On *Album 1700* (1967) they continued to experiment with other instruments, but were more at home singing about rock rather than imitating it: "I Dig Rock and Roll Music" is a classic commentary upon the music scene, praising the Mamas and Papas, the Beatles, and other bands who were influenced by folk and in turn enriched folk music.

Their next album, *Late Again* (1968), was another fine performance but again showed little development. Perhaps running out of ideas, PP&M then recorded a collection of children's songs, with the embarrassing title *Peter, Paul and Mommy* (1969). This is easily their worst album of the 1960s. The inclusion of "Puff" and "It's Raining," both of which had appeared on earlier studio albums as well as the live album, made *Mommy* all the more regrettable. The album, however, is valuable for the inclusion of two excellent songs, the folk ballad "Leatherwing Bat" and Gilbert and Sullivan's "I Have a Song to Sing, O!" These two beautiful performances, mercifully appearing back to back, make the album worth having.

In 1970, PP&M split to pursue solo projects. Peter and Mary continued their political activism, while Paul converted to Christianity. Their solo albums tended to fall in with the wishy-washy "singer/songwriter" trend that emerged in the early 1970s. The many charms

that had made the original trio so spellbinding were gone on the solo albums. Special mention, however, should go to Paul's timeless classic "The Wedding Song (There Is Love)."

In 1978 Peter invited Paul and Mary to join him for an anti-nuclear benefit concert, and this was followed by the album *Reunion* (1978). This too lacked the quiet magic of their earlier folk tunes: there seemed to be no going back. Thereafter they produced an album every few years and appeared frequently on PBS to benefit membership drives. Highlights from the reunion period include *A Holiday Celebration* (1988), which found the trio once again drawing on traditional material, and *Lifelines* (1995), which featured an impressive gathering of the "folk family," including Pete Seeger, Judy Collins, and Richie Havens.

PP&M were often objects of ridicule for their smiley, sunshiny image. Their covers usually showed them skipping down a country lane arm-in-arm. This led even the Beatles (who also had a clean cut image in the early days) to call them "Pizza, Pooh and Magpie." Unfortunately, PP&M are often remembered by this G-rated image and dismissed as superficial family entertainment. Some wondered whether PP&M were genuine folk musicians or mere popularizers like the Kingston Trio. Folk purists found them too polished and wholesome, lacking the earthy ruggedness of Dylan or Guthrie. It should be remembered, however, that many of their lyrics dealt frankly and realistically with adult themes such as infidelity, loneliness, death, and the sorrows of growing old. Furthermore, PP&M showed their commitment to folk ideals time and again in many benefit concerts, demonstrations, and marches for civil rights and other causes.

Not least among PP&M's legacy is the recruitment of fans into other kinds of folk music, both contemporary and traditional. Besides introducing Dylan and Gordon Lightfoot, they brought Woody Guthrie, Pete Seeger, and traditional ballads to a new generation, and bridged two eras of folk music when rock was stagnant. Half the fun of spending time with the "folk family" lies in recognizing different versions of songs, sometimes with different lyrics, arrangements, or titles. Anyone well-versed in PP&M and folk-rock will experience a shock of recognition when listening to the *Anthology of American Folk Music* (1952), a collection of recordings from the 1920s and 1930s which often contain the nucleus of songs popularized in the 1960s. For many people, the winding, dusty road back to that winding, dusty anthology begins with Peter, Paul, and Mary.

—Douglas Cooke

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## Peters, Bernadette (1948—)

Bernadette Peters is a most distinctive Broadway singer. Her voice encompasses all facets of vocal technique—she can sing with a small, pinched sound, a full-bodied belt sound, or anywhere between the two, depending on the dramatic needs of the song. She made her stage debut at age ten in a revival of *The Most Happy Fella*. Her principal Broadway roles include Dot in *Sunday in the Park with George* (1983), Emma in *Song and Dance* (1985), the Witch in *Into*

*the Woods* (1987), and Marsha in *The Goodbye Girl* (1993). She won a Tony Award for her performance in *Song and Dance*. Her musical film credits include *Pennies from Heaven* (1981), for which she won a Golden Globe Award, and *Annie* (1982). She provided singing voices for the animated *Beauty and the Beast 2: The Enchanted Christmas* (1997) and *Anastasia* (1997). Her tremendous talent and vocal ability have earned her the well-deserved reputation as one of the finest musical theater performers of the century.

—William A. Everett

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## Pets

For thousands of years people have kept and cared for domesticated animals, often developing strong emotional ties with their pets and regarding them as members of the family. While once important for the services they provided—including rodent control, hunting, and guarding—pets have become even more popular as companions. Noting that relationships between people seem to be less reliable and more complicated, Veterinarian Aaron Katcher described the appeal of pets, explaining that animals offer "a much less difficult relationship." Pets have made an impact on more than just their owners, however. Stories of pets' heroism, hilarious escapades, and loyal companionship abound throughout popular media.

The dramatic heroism and unbreakable devotion of some animals is reflected in literature. In stories like *The Incredible Journey* (1961) loyal pets brave the Canadian wilderness to find their families, Wilbur wins the heart of a small farming community in *Charlotte's Web* (1952), and in *The Odyssey* only Argus, Odysseus' dog, recognizes him upon his return.

Animal stories have proven to be potent material for Hollywood movies. In 1957 *Old Yeller* broke the hearts of American movie audiences with the story of a dog who lost his own life in order to save that of a boy's. The little dog Benji used cunning intelligence to solve crimes in the 1970s. The 1980s and 1990s saw a virtual explosion of live and animated films starring pets. Hooch slobbered his way through a murder mystery with Tom Hanks in *Turner and Hooch* (1989). The true story of Balto the Siberian husky, who carried the diphtheria serum 650 miles from Nenana to Nome in 1925, became a moving animated film in 1995. And hits such as *Beethoven*, *101 Dalmatians*, and *Babe* scored at the box office with stories of animal ingenuity.

Since the golden age of television pets have entertained audiences. *Lassie*, television's longest running show, kept people tuned in for seventeen years in the 1950s and 1960s while the loyal dog saved people, solved mysteries, and generally loved his owner. In lesser roles, animals have added insight and comic relief to the tensions in human life. Both Murray, who drinks out of the toilet in *Mad about You*, and Eddie, who won't stay off the furniture in *Frazier*, anger and amuse humans by exposing the triviality of common annoyances. Even Data from *Star Trek: The Next Generation* keeps Spot the cat as a companion in his quarters because the pet makes him feel more human.

In the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s pets dominated the world of animated cartoons. In 1976, cat and bird duo Sylvester and Tweety began a long-running cartoon showcasing their antics. Comic-born Snoopy entertained audiences with fascinating stories of his imaginary world and *Garfield* comically revealed the intelligence of animals and the foibles of humans.

Even in the comics, stories of pets inspire and excite. In *For Better or Worse*, Farley saved April from drowning and then died from exhaustion; Little Orphan Annie's dog Sandy stays loyally by her side; and Huey, Calvin's real pet hamster, provides amusing comments about the young boy's adventures with his stuffed Tiger in *Calvin and Hobbs*.

Americans have been fascinated by the pets who occupy the White House. Richard Nixon talked about his dog Checkers in a speech which saved his place on the Eisenhower ticket. Barbara Bush helped the cocker spaniel Millie write a best-selling book in 1990 about what it's like to be the President's best friend. The coverage of President Clinton's decision to adopt a dog in 1997 overshadowed major news events. The White House received so many letters concerning the first pets that Hilary Rodham Clinton compiled *Dear Socks, Dear Buddy: Kids' Letters to the First Pets* to share American children's interesting questions about the Clintons' cat and dog. The presence of pets in the White House has become such a part of American life that it would be hard for many Americans to imagine a pet-less president.

The twentieth century was truly a remarkable one for pets, famous or not. Despite the fact that they can be dirty, expensive, and demanding, pets reside in nearly half of all Western European and North American homes. Many people consider their pets to be surrogate children. In 1993 alone Americans spent 17 billion dollars on food, veterinary bills, leashes, apparel, toys, and other accessories and services for their pets. The influence of pets in popular media surely encouraged many people to become pet owners and it is clear that anyone wishing to understand pet-human relationships can understand exactly what pet owners are looking for in an episode or two of *Lassie*.

—Angela O'Neal

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## Petting

Though the term "petting" may seem quaintly archaic in the sexually frank latter days of the twentieth century, it reveals a lot about sexual attitudes in the earlier part of the century in which it was coined. Describing pre-intercourse sexual acts, or foreplay, the word

petting manages to capture both the innocence and the euphemistic repression that we identify with the 1950s and early 1960s.

This post-World War II period, which is loosely referred to as "the fifties," was characterized by coded and metaphorical references to sex, the baseball metaphor being one of the most common. There are regional differences in the meanings of the bases, but one common definition describes first base as passionate kissing, second base as touching the (girl's) breasts, third base as touching the (girl's) genitals with the (boy's) hands, and home base as intercourse. Likewise, the definitions of necking and petting have been a subject of intense debate, especially among those engaged in the activity, but necking is generally described to be passionate physical contact occurring above the neck, while petting comprises attention to the parts of the body below the neck. Evelyn Duvall, author of a much-used sex education guide of the 1950s, *Facts of Life and Love for Teenagers*, defines petting as, "the caressing of other, more sensitive parts of the body in a crescendo of sexual stimulation." She also warns, "These forces are often very strong and insistent. Once released, they tend to press for completion."

This, then, is the true "fifties" meaning of petting, the unleashing of forces within the body that may then spiral out of control. This idea encapsulates decades of fear of sex, which has its roots, for both sexes, in the church and notions of mortal sin and—for young men—perhaps a latent fear of women as well. Almost all of the sexual metaphors of the era describe heterosexual sex where the male is the aggressor and the woman the defender. The very word petting implies a passive recipient, a "pet" receiving attention from a "petter." If the feelings aroused by petting were to get out of control, they could lead to the most feared result of all—pregnancy out of wedlock, with the attendant stigma that might bring harsh social condemnation, even ostracism, and possibly lead to suicide. That situation, too, was euphemistically couched as "getting in trouble." Sex was viewed as a dangerous force, a threat to young people, to society, to civilization itself. Since boys were largely viewed as slaves to their raging libidos, it was up to girls to control the sexual urge. Most sex education of the time revolved around the general theme expressed in the title of one popular book, *How to Say No*.

Though this was the conventional morality of the 1950s and early 1960s, it had not always been that way. F. Scott Fitzgerald had described ribald "petting parties" in the 1920s, and, in fact, conventional morality often had little to do with people's actual experience even in the 1950s. The Kinsey Report on women's sexuality, released in August of 1953, scandalized the conservative society of the time with its statistics compiled from interviews with women. Kinsey reported that 99 out of 100 of female interviewees born between 1910 and 1929 had petted by the age of 35. In the same age group, one third of the unmarried women were no longer virgins by the age of 25, and a sizable percentage of those had had several sexual partners. There was, and is, so little awareness about women's sexuality at mid-century that these figures remain surprising. Kinsey's statistics challenged the notion that women were by nature less sexual creatures than men. It was not women's nature, but the will of 1950s society that demanded sexual repression. Interestingly, many girls found they preferred the partially permitted petting to the totally forbidden intercourse for purely sexual reasons. Petting was focused on the female body and often led to orgasm for young women, while the self-involved male fumbblings of early intercourse seldom did.

The social meaning of petting and other forms of introductory sexuality is explored in Obie Benz's documentary film, *Heavy Petting* (1988), which juxtaposes representations of sex in the media

of the 1950s with sex education materials of the time and the reminiscences of celebrities who came of age then.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Petty, Richard (1937—)

Known throughout the stock car-racing world as "King Richard," Richard Lee Petty compiled an extraordinary record of 200 wins in events sanctioned by the National Association of Stock Car Auto Racing (NASCAR). After 34 years of success in the sport, he retired in 1992 with a record 700 top ten finishes and an astonishing seven Winston Cup championships, based on annual point totals. Finishing in the money nearly every time he raced, Petty earned a

career total of \$7,757,964. He was widely sought after for commercial endorsements, and his fans voted him the year's most popular Winston Cup Series driver nine times. He also holds the distinction of being the first driver to be inducted into the National Motorsports Press Association's Hall of Fame.

In the 1967 season, Petty won ten consecutive races—another of his records unlikely to be broken—and added to his legend by coming in first in races where all the odds were stacked against him. In a race in Nashville that season, he was leading when a tire blew out, causing him to smash against the fence. He managed to drive his car to the pits, and his crew changed the tires and hammered on the sheet metal to straighten it. While Petty waited, he dropped from first place to ten laps behind, but the crew got him back on the track. "It looked awful," Petty said of the car, "but it ran." No one gave him much of a winning chance, but by the time the race was three-fourths over, he was in fifth place, and with the leaders falling out one by one, "King Richard" won the race by five laps.

Petty also won his 55th race in 1967 and replaced his father, Lee Petty, as the NASCAR driver with the most victories. Lee, a NASCAR pioneer and a three-time winner of the Winston Cup, was the first back-to-back winner of that trophy in the 1958 and 1959 seasons. Lee and Richard Petty were the first of what has become a dynasty of champion stock car race drivers that, by the late 1990s, included



Richard Petty (center)

Richard's son, Kyle, and his grandson, Adam, both young drivers with promising futures.

The period from 1964 through the 1979 season, when Petty won his seven Winston Cup Championships, was to many fans the Golden Age of stock car racing, featuring fierce competition among some of the top drivers in NASCAR history. During those 16 years, both David Pearson and Cale Yarborough were three-time Winston Cup winners. In the three remaining years Ned Jarrett, Bobby Issac, and Benny Parsons each took the trophy once. Petty ranked David Pearson "a better pure driver than I am and probably the best pure driver ever." Pearson, said Petty, "drives smart and hard and he has to be one of the best ever. I respect his record, which is the best ever." Assessing Yarborough, Richard called him a "tremendous competitor, but he runs so close to the ragged edge he'll spin cars more often than most good drivers." Yarborough said, at the mid-point of Petty's career, "The thing that sets Richard apart is his dedication to stock car racing. He's been at it a long time, he knows it as well as anyone, and he works just as hard at it today as he did ten years ago."

The Darlington Speedway, called the "granddaddy" of stock car tracks, was the scene of some bad racing luck for Petty, and it was there in 1970 that he had his most dramatic accident. Coming out of the fourth turn, he lost control of his car, which struck a concrete wall and skidded sideways into the main stretch before becoming airborne, tumbling end over end and then crashing into the pit wall in front of the main stands. Fans were hushed with horror as they saw Richard hanging unconscious, half out of his upturned car. After being rescued by pit crewmen, he was carried off on a stretcher while the crowd watched in stunned silence. When the track announcer spread the good news that he had suffered no more than a dislocated shoulder and a few cuts and bruises, the fans stood and cheered.

Petty has argued that athleticism is required in the sport of stock car racing, stating that the "race driver has to have the reflexes, eyesight, strength, and stamina of any athlete." He pointed out that "driving in tight traffic, speeding up and slowing down at just the right times, passing and being passed, there isn't a time your reflexes aren't important." Eyesight is as important for a race driver as for a baseball hitter, he says, and physical strength is needed to "wrestle a car that weighs three to four thousand pounds for three to five hours." Stamina is vital to compete at a high level for hours in a "roasting hot" car, with no breaks other than the 15 seconds or so during pit stops.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Peyton Place

Few imaginary cities are as well known as Peyton Place, and perhaps only Metropolis and Gotham City can rival it for success in a



(Clockwise from left) Ryan O'Neal, Mia Farrow, and Barbara Parkins of *Peyton Place*.

variety of media. The fictitious New England village has been the setting of two novels, two motion pictures, one prime time television series, one daytime drama, and two made-for-television movies—all this from a book written by a New Hampshire homemaker with little formal education.

Grace Metalious published *Peyton Place* in 1956. It was the first novel for Metalious, who was thirty-two at the time, a homemaker with three children and a high school education. Metalious had lived in New Hampshire her entire life, and it is widely assumed that she based her novel on her experiences growing up. *Peyton Place* is set in the late 1930s and early 1940s. The primary character is Allison MacKenzie, a teenager whose mother, Constance, owns a dress store. Constance claims to be widowed but eventually it is revealed that she never married Allison's father. Other major characters in the novel are Betty Anderson, Allison's beautiful and flirtatious classmate; Rodney Harrington, a spoiled rich youth; Selena Cross, Allison's best friend, who comes from an impoverished family; and the new school principal, Michael Rossi. The novel interweaves many stories as it reveals the dirty secrets of many of the townspeople, particularly Allison's illegitimacy and Selena's rape by her stepfather, whom she murders.

Authors had explored the seamy side of small town America before, particularly John O'Hara in his *Gibbsville* stories and Henry Bellamann in *King's Row*, but the fact that Metalious was a woman and a New Englander made *Peyton Place* more shocking. Critics were not kind to the novel—the *New Yorker* complained that its characters lead "humorless, ungenerous lives" and the *New York Herald*

*Tribune* commented that “the book reads like a tabloid version of life in a small town.” Nevertheless, *Peyton Place* was an enormously popular success, the third best-selling novel in 1956 and the second in 1957. By 1965 it had become the best-selling novel in U.S. history, although it was eventually surpassed by *The Godfather*, *The Exorcist*, and *To Kill a Mockingbird*. Metalious was sued in 1958 by her hometown’s high school principal, who claimed she had based one of the novel’s character on him; the case was settled out of court. She wrote a sequel, *Return to Peyton Place*, and several other less notable books, but died due to complications from alcoholism in 1964.

Hollywood immediately recognized the potential of Metalious’s novel. The six-figure sum she received for the film rights to her book was the highest paid at the time for a first novel. *Peyton Place* the motion picture was released in 1957. Lana Turner starred as Constance MacKenzie, and her casting against type generated a great deal of publicity for the movie, which was the highest grossing film of that year. The film received nine Academy Award nominations, including Best Picture, Best Director, and Best Screenplay. Turner received a Best Actress nomination, and Diane Varsi and Hope Lange, who played Allison MacKenzie and Selena Cross, respectively, each received a nomination for Best Supporting Actress. The sequel, *Return to Peyton Place*, was released in 1961.

*Peyton Place* reappeared in 1964 as a television series on the American Broadcasting Company (ABC). As it was one of the first prime time soap operas, new episodes of *Peyton Place* were broadcast twice a week, and three times a week from 1965 to 1967, when the series was at the height of its popularity. The television version of *Peyton Place* is best remembered for making stars of Mia Farrow, who portrayed Allison MacKenzie, and Ryan O’Neal, who portrayed Rodney Harrington. The series was canceled in 1969, but it paved the way for subsequent prime time soaps such as *Dallas* and *Knot’s Landing*. A daytime drama, *Return to Peyton Place*, ran on the National Broadcasting Network (NBC) from 1972 to 1974. In 1977 the television movie *Murder in Peyton Place* reunited most of the television series cast except Farrow and O’Neal, whose successful film careers kept them from making television appearances. The movie explained the absence of Allison and Rodney by explaining they had been killed, hence the film’s title. Another television movie, *Peyton Place: The Next Generation*, also brought back many of the television show’s cast members and introduced new characters as well in the hopes of inspiring a television series, but such a program never materialized.

*Peyton Place* has become a permanent part of American culture. The name itself has become synonymous with deceit and vice. When Jeanine C. Reilly sang in “Harper Valley P.T.A.” “Well, this is just a little Peyton Place and you’re all Harper Valley hypocrites” all America knew exactly what she meant. And when the Warner Brothers network launched its prime time soap *Savannah*, it seemed almost inevitable that its sluttiest character be named Peyton.

—Randall Clark

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## Pfeiffer, Michelle (1957—)

By 1999, Michelle Pfeiffer had been cited in *People* magazine as one of the “50 Most Beautiful People in the World” six times. Three-time Oscar nominee Michelle Pfeiffer has proved herself as more than just a pretty face; her physical beauty is accompanied by her dramatic versatility as an actress. Though she began her career playing “dumb blondes,” she soon won the chance to captivate audiences with her ability to portray both serious and comedic characters. She has received critical acclaim for such films as *Dangerous Liaisons* (1988) and box office success playing a former Marine turned high school teacher in *Dangerous Minds* (1995), yet rarely have her critical successes also been box office ones.

Born in Santa Ana, California, in 1957 (some sources also list 1958 and 1959), Michelle Pfeiffer was the second of four children by a heating and air conditioning contractor. Never considering herself pretty, Michelle says she was often bigger than all of the other girls. Nevertheless, encouraged by a high school teacher who told her that she had some talent, Michelle studied acting. Upon graduating from



Michelle Pfeiffer



high school, she also studied court reporting at a junior college and simultaneously worked as a supermarket checker. Learning that talent scouts were often judges at beauty pageants, Michelle entered and won the “Miss Orange County” beauty pageant of 1978, and with it, an agent, who got her an episode of *Fantasy Island* and some television work. The next year she landed her first role in a TV series as a character simply known as “the Bombshell” in ABC’s short-lived *Delta House* (1979), an *Animal House* derivation.

Pfeiffer won her first starring role in the feature film *Grease II*—the highly-anticipated 1982 sequel to the former box office hit. Though this film failed at the box office, Pfeiffer’s performance led to her first memorable role. As Al Pacino’s drug-addicted and doomed wife, Pfeiffer generated considerable critical attention in the box office hit *Scarface* (1983). Though she later played a comedic variation on this role in *Married to the Mob* (1988), critics agree her breakthrough was in playing one of the women romanced by devilish Jack Nicholson in the 1987 hit, *The Witches of Eastwick*. Her dramatic portrayal of Madame De Tourvel, the tortured object of John Malkovich’s sexual treachery in *Dangerous Liaisons* (1988), won her her first Oscar nomination as Best Supporting Actress. Her subsequent role as world-weary but sexy lounge singer Suzie Diamond in *The Fabulous Baker Boys* resulted in a second Oscar nomination in 1989, and she was acclaimed for her turn as the tormented Selena Kyle/Catwoman in *Batman Returns* (1992), for which she did her own stunts (except for the back-flips), going through some 60 copies of the Catwoman suit in the process. Pfeiffer won her third Oscar nomination—her second for Best Actress—for the little seen 1992 film, *Love Field*, a character study of a 1960s Dallas housewife who travels by bus to JFK’s funeral. Pfeiffer played the part of the mysterious Countess Olenska, the woman who abandoned her philandering husband and fell in love with Daniel Day Lewis’ Newland Archer, though they were forced to live a platonic relationship due to the repressive society of the times in Martin Scorsese’s prestigious period piece *Age of Innocence* in 1993.

Pfeiffer produced *Dangerous Minds* through her company Via Rosa. A critical disaster, but box office hit, this film was the first on which Pfeiffer had acted as executive producer. Based on the true story of Lou Ann Johnson, an ex-Marine turned inner-city English teacher, the film cost approximately \$24 million and grossed over \$85 million. This was followed by her *Up Close and Personal* (1996) pairing with Robert Redford in the story of a journalist inspired by Jessica Savitch. Then she tried her hand at romantic comedy opposite George Clooney in *One Fine Day* (1996), and played the ghost of the title character in *To Gillian on Her 37th Birthday* (1996) written by her husband. *A Thousand Acres*—from Jane Smiley’s Pulitzer Prize winning novel—followed in 1997, with Pfeiffer playing Rose, the angry sister struggling to expose the debilitating family secrets despite resistance from older sister Jessica Lange, and younger, Jennifer Jason Leigh. While Pfeiffer continued to act in other movies, she had further plans to produce and star in *Faithful*, *Privacy*, *The Ice Queen*, *Venus to the Hoop*, and *Waltz into Darkness*.

Once married to *thirtysomething*’s Peter Horton, Pfeiffer later married writer-producer David E. Kelley (*Chicago Hope*, *Picket Fences*, *Ally McBeal*). The couple has one adopted daughter and one birth son. Since starting her family in the early 1990s, Pfeiffer has limited her roles based on time spent away from her children. She has always considered the level of nudity involved in a role, considering herself “the biggest prude in the industry,” and her interest level in a role. Pfeiffer has found that “unless I really had some kind of very strong connection with the character, it wasn’t worth it. If you are

playing a character that really energizes you, every day it gives you something. At the end of three or four months, when you might be fighting with the director, they may have completely rewritten the script underneath you, so many things can go wrong. . . . But if you have your character every day, it will get you through the movie. . . .” Pfeiffer also contends that despite reviews to the contrary, she has not improved as an actress since *Grease II*, but rather the quality of material she’s being offered has gotten higher. “And I think I’ve worked with more and more interesting people and talented people, and I sometimes think that actors are as good as the material that they get to play. I mean, you can see somebody be really shitty in something and then they can turn around and work with a really good director and have a great part and good material and they can just soar.”

—Rick Moody

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## *The Phantom of the Opera*

*The Phantom of the Opera* (1986) is one of the most popular musicals of the late-twentieth century. Andrew Lloyd Webber’s haunting musical score includes such classic musical theater songs as “Think of Me,” “The Phantom of the Opera,” and “Music of the Night.” More than a decade after its premiere, the musical continued to play to sellout audiences in both London and New York. Similarly, numerous other productions also played to packed houses worldwide.

Perhaps Lloyd Webber’s most famous work, *The Phantom of the Opera* opened at Her Majesty’s Theatre in London (the edifice of which strongly resembles the Paris Opera House) in 1986. Charles Hart was the lyricist, and additional lyrics were provided by Richard Stilgoe. Lloyd Webber and Stilgoe based their libretto on Gaston Leroux’s 1911 novel and cast Michael Crawford as the mysterious Phantom, Sarah Brightman as the opera singer Christine Daae, and Steve Barton as Raoul, Christine’s suitor. The three singers recreated their roles when the musical opened on Broadway in 1988. Hal Prince’s imaginative and impressive staging captivated audiences on both sides of the Atlantic.

The familiar tale of the disfigured, masked Phantom who lives in the lake below the Paris Opera House and is obsessed with the beautiful young soprano Christine Daae and takes her from chorus girl to diva is told in an intensely romantic and operatic style. The Phantom teaches Christine to sing and secures for her the lead role in his opera, *Don Juan Triumphant*, by terrorizing all who would stand in his way, including Raoul, Christine’s true love. At the end, the Phantom kidnaps Christine and when she kisses him without being repulsed by his physical appearance, he disappears and leaves her to be with Raoul.

Among the show’s most inspired songs are “Think of Me,” “The Phantom of the Opera,” “Angel of Music,” “All I Ask of You,” “The Music of the Night,” “Masquerade,” “Prima Donna,” “Wishing You Were Somehow Here Again,” and “The Point of No



Michael Crawford as “The Phantom” in a scene from Andrew Lloyd Webber’s *The Phantom of the Opera*.

Return.” The music is decidedly operatic in style, as befits the story. Rock elements permeate much of the score, whether in a hard style as in the title number or in a gentler vein as in “All I Ask of You.” Lloyd Webber recreated the atmosphere of nineteenth-century operatic Paris and made it accessible to audiences of the twentieth century.

Spectacular visual effects fill the show, as in the climatic end of the first act when the chandelier rises above the audience during the overture only to be cut down by the Phantom and plummets to the stage. Other lasting images like the grand staircase filled with chorus members and mannequins in the “Masquerade” number at the beginning of the second act and the ghostly candelabra on the Phantom’s lake prove that, in *Phantom*, the visual is equal to the aural.

*The Phantom of the Opera* is representative of two dominant trends in the musical of the 1980s and 1990s: the sung-through musical and the mega-musical. The former type is a musical in which spoken dialogue is minimalized and generally replaced by operatic recitative (speech-singing). The second descriptor refers to a show in which sets, costumes, and special effects are as important to the dramatic narrative as are the traditional coupling of music and words. Every aspect of the work is meant to dazzle the audience.

Lloyd Webber’s musical is not the only adaptation of Leroux’s novel. No less than five film versions of *Phantom* have been produced. Perhaps the most famous is the first, Lon Chaney’s 1925 silent classic. Other musical theater reworkings of the tale include those by Ken Hill (1984) and Mary Yeston (1990).

—William A. Everett

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### *The Philadelphia Story*

In George Cukor’s comedy *The Philadelphia Story* (1940), socialite Tracy Lord (Katherine Hepburn) is about to marry George Kittredge (John Howard) when her first husband, C. K. Dexter Haven (Cary Grant), arrives with two reporters from a gossip magazine (James Stewart and Ruth Hussey). Tracy suddenly cannot decide whether she should marry George, Dexter, or Mike Connor (Stewart). Donald Ogden Stewart’s witty, Oscar-winning script, derived from a stage play by Philip Barry, satirizes the divisions between classes and argues that people should have sympathy for the flaws of others.

—Christian L. Pyle

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### *Philco Television Playhouse*

One of the most distinguished of the live anthology series, NBC’s *Philco Television Playhouse* is best remembered for nurturing talent to create original television productions. Producer Fred Coe assembled one of television’s most illustrious writing teams, including Paddy Chayefsky, Horton Foote, Tad Mosel, and Gore Vidal. When Philco debuted on October 3, 1948, the series was produced in conjunction with the Actors’ Equity Association and specialized in Broadway adaptations, including *Dinner at Eight* with Peggy Wood, *Cyrano de Bergerac* starring Jose Ferrer, and *Counsellor-at-Law*, Paul Muni’s TV debut. A year later, *Philco* worked with the Book-of-the-Month Club to present dramatizations of noteworthy novels, including *Sense and Sensibility* with Cloris Leachman. Beginning in the early 1950s, Coe instructed his writers to create intimate dramas for the small screen. What resulted were such acclaimed teleplays as Chayefsky’s *Marty* with Rod Steiger (1953); Foote’s *A Trip to Bountiful* with Lillian Gish (1955); and Vidal’s *The Death of Billy the Kid* with Paul Newman (1955), all of which were later made into films. Goodyear became an alternating sponsor of Coe’s *Playhouse* in 1951, and, in all, more than 350 live dramas were produced over eight seasons.

—Ron Simon

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George Cukor (left) directing Cary Grant (right), Katharine Hepburn, and John Howard during the filming of *The Philadelphia Story*.

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## Phillips, Irna (1905-1973)

A pioneering radio writer, Irna Phillips created arguably the first soap opera (*Painted Dreams*, 1930), then spent the next 40 years as the creative force behind everything from *Woman In White*, *Today's Children*, and *Road of Life* on radio to *As The World Turns* and *Another World* for television. She was among the first soap writers to focus on professional characters—doctors, nurses, and lawyers. Phillips also mentored future soap greats Agnes Nixon and Bill Bell.

—Chris Chandler

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## Phone Sex

Computerization and the deregulation of the telephone industry in the United States and Europe in the 1980s made it possible for companies to provide a variety of services, from banking and insurance to mail order shopping, over the telephone. During the 1980s the telephone rapidly became a major source of income for the sex industry. The mostly male callers to premium rate “fantasy lines” pay by credit card to engage in sexually stimulating and anonymous role playing over the telephone. Some commentators suggested that the fear of AIDS contributed to the popularity of phone sex, which in 1995 generated 45 million dollars of income through calls to “900” numbers—so called because they are normally assigned the prefix 900 in lieu of an area code—in California alone.

Opinion has been divided over whether it is the customer or the operator who is being exploited in the phone sex “relationship,” but when interviewed, many operators (also known as “call-doers” or “fantasy makers”) described what they do as an ordinary job. Many of the companies that provide phone sex services are run by women, and many women in the industry claim that the life is a liberating one.

It allows them to work from home or to look after children; some reported that they are glad to be able to dress the way they want or that the job frees them to work at other things. For others, phone sex is an alternative to prostitution. On the down side, Amy Flowers, who worked for four months as a phone sex operator, pointed to low pay, insecurity, and exposure to abuse as contributors to making employment in the industry a bad experience. For many of the men on the other end of the line, phone sex is an addiction. They spend thousands of dollars on credit cards and run up debts that destroy marriages and break up families.

Phone sex companies provide two basic forms of service: the prerecorded message accessed by the caller making choices through the telephone keypad; and access to live operators, who specialize in performing particular identities and fantasies. These services are advertised in pornographic magazines and sometimes through cards posted in phone booths, placing phone sex somewhere in between the unreality of the magazine and the physical risks of prostitution. Most of the “fantasy makers” in the United States are around 30 and describe themselves as white and middle-class. Similarly, most of the callers are middle-class, white, heterosexual males. A small number of lines cater to heterosexual women. In the late 1990s, there emerged a lucrative gay and cross-gender market.

The prerecorded message is the cheaper of the two services, sometimes generating revenue by credit-card subscription, but primarily by keeping the caller on the premium rate line for as long as possible. Although they can be seen as an audio equivalent of pornographic stories, prerecorded adult telephone messages differ significantly from written forms of pornography in that they address the caller directly and involve him in a secret, personal conversation. This illusion of privacy is achieved despite the fact that the brief messages are played continuously and can be accessed by many thousands of callers at the same time.

The illusion of involving the caller in personal contact is created still more effectively on the more expensive live fantasy lines, paid for by the premium rate call, but more importantly from the caller’s credit card. Live “fantasy makers” can respond to the caller’s requirements, adjusting their stated identity, occupation, and the story they tell as they go along. They are trained to begin the call by presenting themselves as the ideal woman, then moving on to various stereotypes, such as lesbian, coed, housewife, or virgin. Operators take pride in being able to take on whatever identity the caller demands, to the extent that African-American roles are often successfully played by European-American women, while the few male operators are able to disguise their voices enough to convince callers that they are talking to a woman. Many regard their work as a form of theater or performance art and describe themselves with titles such as “telephone fantasy artist.” One operator, interviewed by Kira Hall, described herself as a storyteller and claimed to have improved her work through studying the techniques of Garrison Keillor.

By adopting stereotyped identities, phone sex operators can protect themselves from much of the racist, sexist, and personal abuse directed at them by callers, but they also help to perpetuate racist, sexist, or antisocial perceptions. Kira Hall acknowledged that while European Americans are often successful in playing the role of African-American women, African-American women themselves are sometimes rejected by clients for not being “realistic” enough. The anonymity of the phone sex lines allows the participants on both sides to be whoever they choose to be. As a phenomenon, phone sex can be seen as a metaphor for the way identity and relationships were often defined in the 1990s. In financial terms, phone sex companies are very

successful, but Amy Flowers criticized their role in American society, suggesting that they are not selling sex so much as the fantasy of human intimacy.

—Chris Routledge

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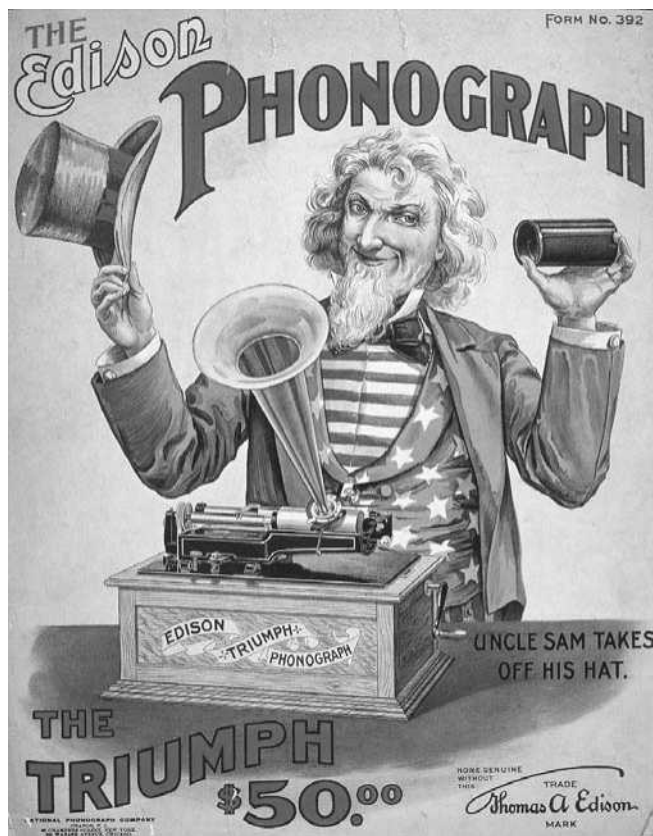
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## Phonograph

Thomas Edison’s invention of the phonograph in 1877 opened up a world of recorded sound and created one of the great entertainment industries. The phonograph made it possible to reproduce sounds at will, and the machine eventually emerged as a critical step in the mechanization of leisure time. The first talking machine, the phonograph was an entertainment technology encased in a piece of



A poster advertising the Edison Triumph phonograph.

furniture; its acceptance into millions of homes made it an important forerunner for the radio and television sets that became the center of home life entertainment in the twentieth century.

The technology of sound recording was conceived as an accessory to the telephone. Alexander Graham Bell's invention was aimed primarily at businessmen, and it followed that once a message was transmitted there should be a device to make a permanent record of it. Thomas Edison was heavily involved in improving all aspects of Bell's telephone and he stumbled upon the principles of acoustic sound recording in the fall of 1877. He found that the sound vibrations of his voice were strong enough to power a stylus to cut a signal into a revolving sheet of tinfoil. Even his own laboratory staff were surprised to hear a faint reproduction of his voice when the tinfoil was rerun under the stylus.

Edison was only one of many inventors and scientists experimenting in telephony and in the years after his famous invention of 1877 several important improvements were made to his phonograph—wax cylinders were used instead of sheets of tinfoil, spring motors replaced hand powered cranks, and a disc format for the recording medium was developed. The latter was the work of the inventor Emile Berliner, who called his machine the Gramophone. Both phonographs and gramophones were based on the same technology; only the format of the record was different. Two large business organizations were founded on each format and the competition between cylinder and disc lasted until the late 1920s when Edison phased out the production of cylinders. Despite the demise of the cylinder-playing phonograph Americans continued to call their talking machines "phonographs" while Europeans called theirs "gramophones," regardless of make or format.

Acoustic sound recording technology was as yet too primitive to be adopted by businessmen; subsequently, the only commercial applications were found in entertainment. First people paid to hear their own voices and then they paid to listen to music. The demand for prerecorded cylinders and discs was so great that the manufacturers of talking machines moved into studio recording and the mass production of records. They recorded all types of popular music—patriotic band music, sentimental Irish and German ballads for immigrants, bawdy songs and the ethnic humor of vaudeville, and selections from opera and classical music.

As mass production techniques were applied to the manufacture of talking machines, more customers had to be found to maintain sales levels, so more types of music were recorded. By 1914 the manufacturers of talking machines had recorded the music of every immigrant group in the United States—including those from Asia—and had delved into the nostalgic antebellum past to recycle the music of the minstrel show, the "coon" songs that made fun of the slaves.

It was not until the 1920s that the manufacturers discovered two groups of customers who would sustain their business for much of the century: African Americans and rural folk. In 1920 the Okeh record company discovered the enormous untapped market of black urban consumers with the phenomenal sales of "Crazy Blues," sung by Mamie Smith. This began the craze for blues and jazz records in the 1920s that prompted the author F. Scott Fitzgerald to label the decade "the jazz age." In 1927 the RCA company sent Ralph Peer to the South to record local music. He recruited (among others) Jimmie Rodgers and the Carter family to sing for the recording machine and enshrined them as the pioneers of country music. During the Great Depression, when sales of records dried up, the demand for "hick discs" sold in general stores or by mail order was an important source of income for the record companies.

The introduction of radio and electronic recording in the 1920s dramatically extended the capabilities of sound recording and reproduction but did little to change the role of the phonograph in popular culture. Nearly every household in the United States had a talking machine and a collection of records in the living room as a source of entertainment. Radio initially cut into sales of phonographs but over time the two learned to coexist; radio depended on recorded sound as a primary source of programming and the phonograph companies found that radio was a good way to introduce new recordings to a national audience. The industry of recorded sound survived the Great Depression and by the 1940s recordings of swing music were selling in the millions of units.

Recorded sound defined popular music in the twentieth century and the record companies determined how it was categorized. Rock 'n' roll bridged the gap between country music for the white audience and rhythm and blues for the black in the late 1950s. The musical tastes of the baby boom generation born after the end of World War II drove the industry of recorded sound in the 1960s and 1970s, as rock 'n' roll on vinyl 45-rpm discs was gradually supplanted by art rock and psychedelic rock recorded on long playing discs.

Although generations of users had learned how to place a needle on a revolving disc and ignore the scratches and pops as it travelled along the groove, the phonograph still suffered from short playing times and lack of a recording capability. Magnetic tape recording proved to be the solution to these problems, and the introduction of the first tape cassettes in the 1960s signalled the beginning of decline for the phonograph. During the 1970s sales of the Philips compact audio cassette equalled those of phonograph records and a tape recorder became an essential part of the home entertainment center. A new form of sound recording based on digital encoding was introduced in the 1980s. The compact disc offered virtually noiseless recordings, ease of operation, and much longer recording times. Slowly, phonograph records disappeared from retail stores and the end was predicted for a technology that was now over a hundred years old. Yet many music lovers refused to throw away their phonographs, and the manufacture of needles and record players continued into the 1990s.

—Andre Millard

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## Photoplay

The editors of *Photoplay*, Julian Johnson and James Quirk, established one of two most popular fan magazines in the early part of the twentieth century. By 1918, the editors could boast a circulation figure of 204,434. The basic format of *Photoplay* set a precedent for almost all other movie magazines that followed it. It catered largely to

the public's craving for information about their favorite stars and reviews of new motion picture releases. A color picture of a movie star, drawn specially for the magazine, appeared on the cover of each issue. Such original art work distinguished *Photoplay* from other fan magazines and made the covers collectors' items.

Inside the magazine, following a few pages of advertisements and the table of contents, there appeared a section of about 10 to 15 pages of photographs of actors and actresses. The key to this layout was a proper balance between pictures and text. And the text could vary between long articles on screen personalities such as D.W. Griffith and the Gish sisters, Lillian and Dorothy, and short opinion pieces written by the editors.

Julian Johnson, the first editor appointed by James Quirk, the vice-president of the magazine from its inception in 1911 until 1917, started a column called "Close-Ups" in which he commented on the state of the moving picture world. He advanced the notion that a better educated public would lead to better films. In order to make this endeavor seem serious, Johnson and Quirk worked to convince their readers that movies were indeed an art-form. For example, when Geraldine Farrar, an opera singer of high repute, crossed over into the movies, Johnson remarked that "the triumph of active photography" was complete. "Let us never hear again the snivel that photodrama is a minor art, or not an art at all." Active photography, he believed, was "destined to raise the art standard of the world by bringing every art, every land and every interpretative genius to every man's door. Broadway will come to Borneo, and Borneo will go right back to Broadway." In fact many contributors to *Photoplay*, such as Terry Ramsaye and Burns Mantle, both respected critics, had frequently published extended pieces on the history of the film industry (Ramsaye) and critiques on movies (Mantle) illustrating that they could be considered serious fun. In a series of editorials that praised the democratic nature of movies, James Quick seemed to exemplify the spirit of a new cultural criticism.

*Photoplay* performed a double service by catering to the fan's appreciation of movies as entertainment and an escape and by treating the photoplay and its audience with a respect normally reserved for elite patrons of fine arts. As other periodicals appeared devoted solely to expert evaluation of film (even the terms had changed), *Photoplay* settled into a role that accentuated stars over anything else. Photo essays, for example, became the staple of the magazine's success. Fans could browse through pictures of movie stars in and out of their screen roles. Mary Pickford and Douglas Fairbanks—two megastars of the silent era—received considerable coverage on their estate in California known as Pickfair. By the 1940s, *Photoplay* provided the "pin-ups" that teenagers and young adults prized for their collections of Hollywood's stars and starlets.

A second feature that bolstered *Photoplay*'s coverage of stars was the gossip column. James Quirk reportedly hired a young woman named Adela Rogers St. John to begin a regular column that commented (and speculated) on the lives of the famous. This feature grew into an industry—a rumor mill—all its own. Generations of readers were entertained by the gossip of such notable insiders as Hedda Hopper, Sheilah Graham, Dorothy Kigallen, and one of the most powerful voices (and ears) of them all, Louella Parsons. The most valuable currency in the gossip trade was rumors of love—whether illicit, broken, triangular, or innocent. *Photoplay* readers had a chance to hear about Charlie Chaplin's marriages and divorces, Rudolph Valentino's mysterious love-life, and in another generation, the public love affairs of Lana Turner, Clark Gable, Errol Flynn, and many others.

*Photoplay* merged with another fan magazine—*Movie Mirror*—in 1941 and changed again in 1977 when the name became *Photoplay and TV Mirror*.

—Ray Haberski, Jr.

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## Physique Pictorial

See Athletic Model Guild

## Picasso, Pablo (1881-1973)

Pablo Picasso's widely reported lifestyle, his wealth and womanizing, and his meticulously documented method of working are legendary; his face has become a mythic symbol of the artist for millions around the world. Likewise, his immediately recognizable paintings, readymades, sculptures, and ceramics virtually stand for modern art. Reproductions of Picasso and his works decorate everything from college dormitory walls to neck ties, coffee cups, flatware, and umbrellas. Protean, bold, a daring experimentalist, and technical master, Picasso stands as the indisputable genius of twentieth-century art.

The process that transforms artworks into commodities reaches its most dizzying heights in the case of Picasso. His paintings, etchings, pottery, sketches, indeed, anything he scribbled upon brought small fortunes even as he produced them. For those who could not afford the real thing, there existed an endless supply of reproductions and imitations long before museum bookshops began covering all variety of consumer items with his images. Art writer and novelist John Berger has written that by the early 1950s Picasso transcended the need for money because "whatever he wished to own, he could acquire by drawing it." The explanation for this incredible reality lay in the technological advances of the era's developing mass media—and the ability of the creative genius Picasso to harness them for an unprecedented experiment in self-promotion. In this, as in so much of his work, Picasso created the model that would generate endless variations. Celebrities of all sorts continue to take cues from his life. He invited expert photographer friends into his studio to capture his eccentric and expansive lifestyle. He constantly reworked stories of his creative influences and accomplishments for sympathetic writers. He painted with specially designed inks before a film crew for the popular 1955 movie *The Mystery of Picasso*, a setting tailor-made to showcase his particular artistic style. The film presents Picasso in all

his glory: not meticulous or painterly, but dynamic and mercurial, as if he were a channel through which the Absolute Spirit delivered messages from on high. In fact, his story is one of his masterpieces. His biography has become the archetypal tale of modern genius, inspiring countless fictional and real-life imitations.

Born Pablo Ruiz Picasso in Málaga, Spain, Picasso was accepted into the senior course at the School of Fine Arts in Barcelona when he was 14 years old. He exhibited his works at the Els Quatre Gats gallery five years later. He moved from Barcelona to Paris in 1904 and spent the decade or so thereafter living as an impoverished émigré on the crooked streets of Montmartre, meeting interesting women and enjoying the easy camaraderie of the so-called Picasso Gang of soon-to-be-great men. In 1906 collectors Gertrude and Henri Stein and art dealer Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler began to buy Picasso's paintings. In 1919 Picasso moved forever away from his famously bohemian lodgings to a lavish apartment in one of the most fashionable quarters of Paris. Soon he was a millionaire and one of the first super-star celebrities of the modern era. He was hounded by the press, which he courted and castigated in ritual fashion. He was the subject of tell-all bestsellers written by his beautiful ex-lovers Fernande Olivier and Françoise Gilot. His family and friends made a cottage industry of his life. In the face of all this, he hid behind the curtain of his wealth, retreating to a series of fenced-off villas in the south of France. Estranged from his family and surrounded finally by more sycophants and curiosity-seekers than friends, Picasso nevertheless remained vital and prolific to the end.

It is a testament to the extraordinary power of the modern celebrity-making industry that Picasso's persona came to overshadow his art, for Picasso created unrivalled masterpieces in several of Modernism's widely diverse and rapidly changing styles. The sentimental works of the Blue and Rose periods remain popular favorites, perhaps in part because they seem to conform to reality. Later distorted figures are less immediately appealing, with their characteristic sideways noses, uneven torsos, and twisted limbs. Yet these works, inspired in part by African sculpture, effectively questioned European ways of seeing, freeing Picasso from traditional vanishing-point perspective and naturalistic figuration. After the great masterwork of that era, *Les Femmes d'Alger (O. J. and F.)* (1911), Picasso, together with Georges Braques, turned toward Cubism, where many angles of a figure are portrayed at once, where the constantly varying perspectives of reality constitute the actual subject of the painting. Picasso's anti-war works also represent the standard of the genre. In 1937 Picasso completed *Guernica* (1937), an enormous painting depicting in ferocious allegory the aerial bombing of a Basque town during the Spanish Civil War. *Guernica* contains many of the images that mark Picasso's body of work, including a gored and dying horse, an ominous monster bull, and the upraised arms of a powerless victim.

—John Tomasic

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## Pickford, Mary (1893-1979)

Touted as the first female movie mogul, “America's Sweetheart” Mary Pickford is best remembered for the sticky-sweet Pollyanna image she cultivated in her films of the 1910s and 1920s. The child-like innocence and eternal optimism of her star persona have become somewhat cliché, obscuring the fact that Pickford was one of the most popular international screen icons of her day. Biographer Scott Eyman contends that “she defined her era, roughly 1910-1925, as surely as Marilyn Monroe defined hers.”

Born Gladys Smith in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, in 1893, she grew into one of the most powerful figures of early Hollywood. This power was secured in 1919 when she formed the independent studio United Artists with Douglas Fairbanks, Charlie Chaplin, and D. W. Griffith. Her stature was reinforced a year later when she entered into a highly celebrated marriage with Fairbanks. One of the most salient



Mary Pickford

aspects of Pickford's career is the dichotomy between naive, "Little Mary" and the liberated, sophisticated businesswoman which structured her persona. In later life, the star lamented that her public never allowed her to grow up.

Starting her career as a very little girl indeed, Pickford began acting in 1898 in an effort to help support her mother, Charlotte, and two siblings, Jack and Lottie, after her father's death. She made her Broadway debut at the age of 14 in David Belasco's *The Warrens of Virginia* and signed a film contract with D. W. Griffith's Biograph Studio two years later. By 1914, Pickford had made 74 films including *In the Bishop's Carriage* (1913), *Cinderella* (1914), and *Rags* (1914). Though her name and off-screen personality were unknown to her audiences, she realized that she was one of the major reasons that her films brought in extraordinary box-office receipts and, on that basis, she continually renegotiated for higher salaries through the 1910s. Adolph Zukor, then head of Famous Players Film Company, grumbled that "it often took longer to make one of Mary's contracts than it did to make one of Mary's pictures." With Zukor, Pickford made a number of high-grossing films, including one of her best-remembered silents, *Tess of the Storm Country* (1914), which the producer later claimed saved Famous Players from bankruptcy.

Pickford's involvement in early Hollywood includes a range of contributions. In addition to being one of the first actors to recognize the economic and social power of film stardom, she achieved many technological "firsts" (albeit some of which are self-proclaimed). For example, Pickford alleged that she conceived of the film "close up" on the set of her picture *Friends* (1912) when she encouraged cameraman Billy Bitzer to move his camera in toward her face—she re-applied her make-up to further facilitate the innovation. She also helped invent the low-level (hazy) lighting which would become a staple of silent, black-and-white films. Hollywood biographer Cari Beauchamp has argued that Pickford's collaborations with screenwriter Frances Marion significantly shaped the story-telling structures which have become classical tradition and that the contribution of these women to early cinema cannot be overestimated.

In 1916, Pickford gained a great deal of creative autonomy by signing a contract with Zukor which afforded her the Pickford Film Corporation, her own production unit, and allowed her films to be distributed separately through Paramount's Artcraft. Pickford had more power to choose her film roles, and she could now contribute to the process of final cut. With her newfound agency, Pickford starred in some of her more memorable roles, including *The Poor Little Rich Girl* (1917), *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* (1917), and *Stella Maris* (1918). In the latter film, she played both the wealthy, sheltered title character and a working-class, homely orphan, impressing critics with her theatrical talents and wowing audiences with her willingness to dress down for the camera.

A distribution contract with First National in 1917 increased Pickford's power even further by allowing her to produce her films. This deal, unprecedented for a female star, meant that she would choose her own scripts, develop them, and be able to exercise final cut. But it was Pickford's organization of United Artists with Fairbanks, Chaplin, and Griffith in 1919 which cemented her position in film history. These four figures considered themselves artists whose creative potential was being squashed by the studio economy. By forming an independent studio, they could engage in a hands-on approach to the development, production, distribution, and, eventually, the exhibition of their films without interference from "above." Their actions provoked the exasperated proclamation (and now infamous quotation) from the president of Metro Pictures that, "The

lunatics have taken charge of the asylum." Despite such skepticism, the founders of United Artists fared quite well for more than a decade with "Little Mary" proving to be one of the company's more capable leaders. Allene Talmey wrote in 1927 that Pickford had a great deal more business sense than her counterpart, Fairbanks, and that she deserved the title "mental arithmetic Mary."

*Pollyanna* (1920) was one of the star's first United Artists films. The story of an orphan who sees the bright side of every adversity, *Pollyanna* drew on the most charming and endearing qualities of Pickford's persona. Pickford, however, evidenced some disdain for the blind optimism of this character in her autobiography when she wrote, "If reincarnation should prove to be true, and I had to come back as one of my roles, I suppose some avenging fate would return me to earth as Pollyanna—the 'glad girl.'" Her childish naivete seemed particularly well-suited to audiences of her time. As support of this, her films of the 1920s consistently garnered one million dollars at the box office except for those in which she attempted more mature characters (*Rosita* in 1923 and *Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall* in 1924). Film critic C. A. LeJeune explained the phenomenon in 1931, remarking that the star's films were "made yesterday for today rather than today for tomorrow." In a historical period of great social upheaval related to industrialization, first-wave feminism, and World War I, Mary reassured audiences with her blend of nostalgic sentimentality and an optimistic eye toward the future. Moviegoers of the early part of the century felt strongly that she was "one of them," a regular person who understood life's difficulties and had summoned the strength to triumph over her hardships.

Pickford's 1920 marriage to Douglas Fairbanks has been celebrated as one of the first Hollywood "fairy tale" marriages. The stars had spent a great deal of time together on the Liberty Bond tour during World War I, so much so that fans were asking studios if they would marry even before they had divorced their respective spouses. At the time, Pickford was married to film star Owen Moore, though the two basically had been separated since the honeymoon. In March 1918, newspaper reports nearly led to scandal after they placed Moore at the scene of New York City's Algonquin Hotel lobby waving a gun around and threatening Fairbanks's life. Scandal was averted again somehow in the spring of 1920 when Nevada district attorneys made it public that Pickford had lied under oath about her residency status in order to obtain a divorce from Moore.

But Pickford and Fairbanks's marriage that spring was received warmly by their fans. It seemed only appropriate that "the Glad Girl" and "the Smile Guy" should come together. While the couple enjoyed an international honeymoon, swamped by massive public attention and mob hysteria, *Photoplay* issued a definitive judgement in a one-page "telegram" that read, "ALL IS FORGIVEN. PLEASE COME HOME." Eventually they did return home to an estate named Pickfair, which boasted fountains, ponds, stables, a swimming pool, a tennis court, a gymnasium, and a home movie theatre. Their estate became a favorite destination for European royalty, and they were often referred to as "American royalty" themselves. Accounts which have emerged since Pickford's death suggest that she suffered from Fairbanks's jealousy and possessiveness, but the precedent they set as Hollywood's premiere star couple is powerful nonetheless.

Pickford won an Academy Award for her performance in *Coquette* (1929), but her popularity had already begun to slip. Her attempts at adult characters found little success, and her 1928 decision to cut off the long curls which had been her signature earned scorn. For her last film, she chose *Secrets* (1933), a remake of a Gloria Swanson movie which she had initiated two years earlier. Her



discontent with the project had led her to burn the 1931 print, which was one-third complete. In the version which made it to the screen, Pickford played Mary Carlton from early womanhood to retirement. Her character is forced to confront her husband's adultery and try to rebuild her marriage after the ensuing scandal. (At the time, Pickford's own marriage was headed for divorce because of Fairbanks's strayings.) Predictably, reviewers admired the star in the early part of the picture, when she played a young Mary, but they disliked her as an older woman. Pickford's last film performed decently in theatres, but it signified a disheartening denouement.

Pickford tried her hand at a producing career; however she lacked the cachet and industry intuition which had proven so beneficial for the early films she had starred in. *One Rainy Day Afternoon* (1936), *The Gay Desperado* (1936), and Douglas Sirk's *Sleep, My Love* (1948) failed to launch her as a producer. In the late 1940s, she came very close to starring as the faded silent screen actress Norma Desmond in *Sunset Blvd.* (1950). She and Chaplin sold United Artists in 1953. Sensing that her films would quickly become dated, Pickford made plans to burn all of her original prints, to which she had exclusive rights, but friend and film preservationist Matty Kemp convinced her to create a custodial space for them by forming the Mary Pickford Film Corporation, which eventually led to a retrospective of her work in 1971.

As for her personal life, the "Queen of Hollywood" married *My Best Girl* (1927) costar Charles "Buddy" Rogers in 1937 and remained his wife until her death in 1979. As her career declined, so did her optimistic outlook. In Pickford's later years, she began to be viewed as a rigid relic of the Victorian era. She became increasingly reclusive, withdrawing into Pickfair and, many say, resorting to alcohol as a salve for her poor spirits. According to her niece Gwynne Ruppe Pickford, the star came home from a Paris retrospective of her films in 1965 and announced that "she had worked hard all her life since she was five . . . and she would not get up out of bed or leave the house again, except to go to the hospital."

—Christina Lane

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## The Pill

In 1968, a popular writer ranked the Pill's importance with the discovery of fire, among other things. Twenty-five years later, the Pill was still in the news, with *The Economist*, the leading British weekly, listing it as one of the seven wonders of the modern world. In the 1990s, over ten million women in the United States used oral contraceptives, "the Pill," as birth control. During the 1950s, Margaret Sanger, a nurse and feminist who championed birth control education and methods for women, played a pivotal role in finding research funding for the development of the birth control pill.

Shortly after chemist Carl Djerassi first synthesized the Pill, its widespread use helped to catalyze the "sexual revolution" of the 1960s, a time when people were exploring "free love"—sex with multiple partners, without traditional commitment. Because the Pill's accuracy rate in preventing pregnancy is almost 100 percent, it offered an opportunity, before AIDS, for people to be sexually adventurous without the fear of unplanned pregnancies. "The Pill's commercial availability in the early 1960s permitted women far greater reproductive choice, created a new set of ethical and religious questions, encouraged feminism, changed the dynamics of women's health care, and forever altered gender relations," asserted Elizabeth Siegel Watkins in *On The Pill, A Social History of Oral Contraceptives, 1950-1970*. The Pill liberated women's sexual views considerably, making them feel more in control of their bodies, as America was just coming out of the puritanical tyranny of the 1950s, when sex was still confined to the suburban, nuptial bed.

The 1960s was a landmark decade when America questioned conventional ideas about marriage, family, and sex. People continue to look on that period with nostalgia, whether they lived through it or not. The 1960s and 1970s combined student protests/the peace movement with the counterculture and oral contraceptives, to help create a climate where people felt freer about sex. Capitalism was challenged by such "new left" writers as Herbert Marcuse and William Riech, who argued that it demanded self-restraint and compulsive work, which were contrary to any liberated sexual expression. Sexuality was also becoming more political, and with the new freedom and ease that the Pill offered, relations between men and women, among other things, were starting to shift.

Introduced at a time of social reforms, such as the civil rights and gay and lesbian movements, and environmental and peace movements, the impact of the Pill is intertwined with these social changes. The social controversy surrounding the Pill stems from some critics asserting that the Pill encouraged promiscuity. Some analysts think the sexual mentality of the 1960s, which continued well after the decade, has caused devastating consequences for society. "It's women its way into every single fabric of our society and has literally almost destroyed us," according to Dr. Joe McIlhaney, Jr., president of the National Institute for Sexual Health. In Kristine Vick's CBN report, "The Sexual Revolution Thirty Years Later," Dr. McIlhaney noted the abundance of sexually transmitted diseases (of which the Pill does not safeguard against), non-marital pregnancies, and abortions since the advent of the sexual revolution. Attitudes among the sexes were conflicted because although the Pill took the burden of

unwanted pregnancy off women, it put the responsibility of contraception entirely on them. The sudden, widespread acceptance and use of the Pill caused men to often expect and assume that a woman would “go on the pill” when a couple began a sexual relationship. The Pill did make preventing pregnancy seem simple and easy, but it is not entirely innocuous, having various side effects ranging in severity, in addition to causing women to gamble with their hormone levels.

The Pill works by stopping ovaries from releasing an egg each month, making the mucus in the cervix thicker so it is harder for sperm to travel into it, and thinning the lining of the uterus, so it is more difficult for a fertilized egg to attach itself. It interferes with a woman’s normal cycle of ovulation by creating a hormone imbalance (pills contain estrogen and progesterin; progesterone blocks ovulation) that mimics pregnancy. Many women have no problems with it, but there are common, diminishing side effects—nausea, bloating, and changes in skin, are some. Although rare, there are more serious side effects, which include severe headaches, visual changes, blood clots and/or heart attacks. The Pill has been linked to cancer, in that it reduces the risk of ovarian cancer and endometrial cancer, but whether it causes breast cancer remained uncertain in the late 1990s. The Pill has changed the hormonal programming of women’s bodies, has revolutionized birth control and sexual attitudes, and has continued to intrigue people at the end of the twentieth century.

—Sharon Yablon

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## Pink Floyd

Formed in London in 1965 and named for Georgia bluesmen Pink Anderson and Floyd Council, Pink Floyd performed music that marked the pinnacle of the psychedelic rock scene in the late 1960s. After the departure of drugged-out frontman Syd Barrett in 1968, bassist Roger Waters took charge and penned a string of meditations on madness and the perils of stardom that found great popular favor, including *Dark Side of the Moon* (1973) and *The Wall* (1979). Floyd’s expansive, atmospheric sound, combined with over-the-top special effects, packed stadiums across America. The group disbanded in 1983 but was reformed under guitarist David Gilmour’s leadership in

1987. Pink Floyd was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1996.

—David B. Welky

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## The Pin-Up

Although the “pin-up” gets its name from the act of display it encourages, which might apply to any mass produced and widely distributed image, the term commonly identifies a more narrow category of pictures, from glossy portraits of Hollywood stars to *Playboy*’s monthly “centerfolds.” With an even tighter focus, “pin-ups” usually designate pictures of pretty girls wearing skimpy bathing suits, exotic lingerie, or sometimes even less, in “sexy” images that only the most puritanical viewer would now condemn as obscene. The term’s most evocative use recalls the drawn, painted, or photographed representations of idealized, all-American femininity produced in the decades surrounding World War II. While the pin-up has obvious precursors in naughty French postcards from the turn of



A pin-up of Bettie Page.

the twentieth century, and late variants like the annual *Sports Illustrated* swimsuit issue, the form is exemplified by the odd balance of eroticism, innocence, healthiness, and patriotism found in commercial images of women produced between the 1920s and 1960s.

Viewed within a large frame, the pin-up is a species of the portrait, yanked down off the walls of exclusive galleries and museums and posted in ordinary gas stations and poolhalls. Generated by the development and proliferation of inexpensive processes of photography, lithography, and color printing, the pin-up contributed to more democratic, and perhaps inevitably more vulgar, understandings of celebrity, voyeurism, consumption, and eroticism, closing the gap in taste and appreciation between classical nudes and burlesque showgirls. Early professional photographers like Nadar in France and Napoleon Sarony in New York specialized in the celebrity portrait, redefining the concept of fame through the mass production and distribution of commercial publicity stills. Although pictures of prominent theatrical performers were common by the turn of the twentieth century, the pin-up thrived as a component of the film industry, as talented photographers like Clarence Sinclair Bull, George Hurrell, Eugene Robert Richee, and Ted Allen were exclusively employed by the Hollywood studios to idealize their most precious commodities, the movie stars. Much of the residual glamour of Hollywood's golden age certainly derives from the striking black and white images these photographers produced of screen celebrities like Jean Harlow, Louise Brooks, Greta Garbo, and Joan Crawford.

Preceding the Hollywood dream factory, commercial illustrators and graphic artists such as Charles Dana Gibson and Howard Chandler Christy had already glorified the American girl in the pages of popular illustrated magazines like *Life* and *Collier's*: the cleanly etched "Gibson Girl"—first appearing in 1887—and her younger sisters helped define the modern ideal of femininity that would eventually coalesce as the jazz age's flapper. From the 1920s onward, popular magazine, calendar, and advertising artists like Antonio Vargas, Gil Elvgren, Earl Moran, Zoe Mozart, and George Petty produced hundreds of "cheesecake" images of sleek, flawless, all-American femininity marked by the "tease" of blowing skirts and sheer fabric rather than by explicit nude display. By World War II, the Vargas girl and Hollywood pin-ups like Betty Grable and Rita Hayworth came to represent not only American femininity but the very values American soldiers were defending. The erotic titillation of pin-ups was thus effectively linked to patriotic sentiment and memories of the homefront, especially through the five million prints of Grable's famous bathing-suit pose (photographed by Frank Powolny in 1943) distributed to American soldiers around the globe. As the French film critic Andre Bazin later recognized, "A wartime product created for the benefit of the American soldiers swarming to a long exile at the four corners of the world, the pin-up girl soon became an industrial product, subject to well-fixed norms and as stable in quality as peanut butter or chewing gum."

After the war, the classic, scantily clad pin-up continued to thrive until an underground tradition was brought into the mainstream in 1955 by Hugh Hefner's *Playboy* magazine, which provided an entire "Playboy philosophy" of robust, healthy heterosexuality to justify its monthly inclusion of a nude Playmate at the heart of each issue. *Playboy* redefined the pin-up by shifting the earlier period's emphasis on long legs to an all-but-exclusive fascination with large breasts. Eventually, with the appearance of pubic hair and further investigations of all the classic pin-up had (barely) concealed, *Playboy* and other "men's magazines" left little to the once-necessary erotic imagination. The concept of "tease" which had crucially defined the

voyeur's relation to earlier pin-ups now seemed rather prim. At the very least, the presumably long-standing function of the pin-up as an aid to self-arousal could no longer be denied. Finally, against the widespread competition of explicit pornography in the mainstream market by the 1970s, *Playboy* held its relatively demure ground, maintaining an airbrushed glamour ignored by the more gynecological perspectives provided in subsequent magazines like Bob Guccione's *Penthouse* and Larry Flynt's *Hustler*.

*Playboy*, by publishing an early nude photograph of Hollywood star Marilyn Monroe, had collapsed the distinction between "innocent" sexiness in mainstream "leg art" and a more surreptitious tradition of straightforward sexual imagery. But for specialized tastes, alternatives to the Vargas girl and Hefner's Playmates were also available. Although fetishistic photographs had been produced in Europe at an early stage in the medium's development, in the United States a mail-order market for "kinky" images only developed much later. In the late 1940s Irving Klaw and his sister Paula, the owners of Movie Star News, a New York shop that sold Hollywood movie stills, began producing their own photographs of women in fetish gear and bondage poses to satisfy the requests of their more discriminating customers. Among Klaw's models, a young woman with jet-black bangs named Betty (or Bettie) Page quickly became a customer favorite, and decades after she disappeared from sight, Page became a cult icon among comic book fans and collectors of 1950s kitsch, perhaps because she so effectively summarized the cultural contradictions of the post-war period: Page, like most pin-ups, was a pretty girl-next-door type, but she also wore stiletto heels and leather bondage gear. In retrospect, Betty Page seemed the ideal pin-up of a period that produced both the McCarthy witchhunts and the Kinsey Reports on human sexuality.

Another specialized market for pin-ups was also first addressed in Europe, where the photographs of nude boys taken by Baron Wilhelm von Gloeden in the Sicilian village of Taormina around the turn of the twentieth century circulated among homosexual collectors. In the United States, a number of studios mirroring Klaw's Movie Star News marketed their images to homosexual consumers. Because the period demanded secrecy and obfuscation, pin-ups of nude or loin-clothed young men were commonly sold to "physique" or "muscle-building" enthusiasts, but the erotic component of images produced by "beefcake" pioneers like Bruce of Los Angeles (Bruce Harry Bellas), Chicago's Kris Studios, and most notably Bob Mizer's Athletic Model Guild, through its regular catalog *Physique Pictorial*, was never very hidden. Although the pin-up has commonly been assumed to be a form depicting women for an audience of heterosexual males, the homosexual tradition of pin-ups has a lengthy history as well: in fact, one of the young artists who regularly contributed his drawings to *Physique Pictorial*, who called himself Tom of Finland, would eventually emerge as the gay Vargas, exaggerating the features of his muscular young men just as the earlier artist idealized his female figures. Recuperated and celebrated in later decades, the "physique" photographs of the post-war period, like Betty Page's bondage pictures, revise simple and nostalgic stereotypes of the era's conservative values and sexual inhibitions.

The legacy of the classic Hollywood pin-up survives in the work of contemporary celebrity photographers like Matthew Rolston, Annie Liebovitz, Bruce Weber, and Herb Ritts, whose subjects are as likely to be rock musicians or "supermodels" as movie stars. Posters of attractive women in bathing suits or underwear, from Farrah Fawcett or Madonna to the Spice Girls, have also never disappeared from adolescent bedroom walls. But the classic pin-up, save for a

thriving network of nostalgic collectors, seems to have certainly succumbed to, on the one hand, feminism's largely effective redefinition of women as social subjects rather than simply sexual objects and, on the other hand, the increased availability of hard-core pornography, whose blatant meanings no longer encourage the slightly muted eroticism essential to the classic pin-up.

—Corey K. Creekmur

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## Piper, "Rowdy" Roddy (1951—)

One of professional wrestling's hottest renegades and all-time great interviews, "Rowdy" Roddy Piper has been a headliner for over 25 years. Piper, whose real name is Roderick Toombs, was born in Glasgow, Scotland, but spent most of his early years in Canada. He was a gold glove boxer who began his wrestling career at the age of 15. Piper headlined cards in California and the Pacific Northwest throughout the 1970s. While wrestling in Georgia in the early 1980s, he received national attention through exposure on Ted Turner's WTBS Superstation. In a "sport" that receives much criticism for its "authenticity" (or lack thereof), Piper has fashioned himself as one of the twentieth century's more prominent television personas.

Piper's ability to rile a crowd and "draw heat" almost cost him his life in 1982 when a fan stabbed him. His subsequent "turn" into a good guy was a classic wrestling angle. In *Wrestling to Rasslin'*, Gerald W. Morton and George M. O'Brien described the transformation: "the drama finally played itself out on television when one of his [Piper's] hired assassins, Don Muraco, suddenly attacked the commentator Gordon Solie. Seeing Solie hurt, Piper unleashed his Scottish fury on Muraco. In the week that followed, like Achilles avenging Patroklos, he slaughtered villain after villain. . . . In the arenas fans chanted his name throughout his matches." Piper's character went from lunatic villain to a classic hero: standing tall, standing alone, and standing up for right. It is the same character he would play throughout his wrestling career and in most of his film and television work.

Piper was one of the first wrestlers signed in 1984 as part of Vince McMahon's national expansion of the World Wrestling Federation (WWF), although at first Piper was brought in only as a

manager and personality. His manic style shone through in an interview segment called "Piper's Pit," where he would interview other "heel" wrestlers. Famous Piper Pits include Piper interviewing himself on a split screen, attacking Jimmy "SuperFly" Snuka with a coconut, and assailing a wrestler by shouting into the camera "just when they think they have all the answers, I change the questions." Entering the ring to a chorus of bagpipe music, Piper became the most hated wrestler with his penchant for sneak attacks, low blows, and devastating verbal put-downs.

After his feud with Snuka, Piper became new WWF champion Hulk Hogan's greatest foe. It was Piper who started the feud and the "rock 'n' wrestling connection" by smacking Captain Lou Albano over the head during a broadcast on MTV (Music Television) that featured pop singer Cindy Lauper. The feud escalated with Lauper's involvement, leading to "the brawl to settle it all" between Hogan and Piper. Rather than settle anything, this match at Madison Square Garden, broadcast live on MTV and setting a cable ratings record at the time, served as a precursor to *Wrestlemania I*. Teaming with Paul "Mr. Wonderful" Orndorff, Piper squared off in the main event against Hogan and television star Mr. T. The celebrity-laden event put wrestling back on the popular culture landscape. Piper continued the feud with Hogan, as well as with Mr. T, whom he battled in a boxing match at *Wrestlemania II*. Piper's features on NBC's *Saturday Night Main Events* demonstrated a charisma which soon caught the attention of Hollywood.

Piper left wrestling after a "retirement match" at *Wrestlemania III*. He told *TV Guide* that "I'm not just going to go out into the world and wing it, like I always have. I'd like to do some movies and TV. Not as anything in particular—just as a personality. I can always come back and fight." Piper started off strong in movies like *Body Slam* (1987), in which he played himself more or less, and in *Hell Comes to Frogtown* (1987), playing the only virile man left in the world. His biggest role, however, was in John Carpenter's *They Live* (1988). Considered a cult classic, Piper stars as Nana, a homeless man who stumbles upon an alien takeover. In Carpenter's vision yuppies and Reaganites are an alien force as they bombard citizens with subliminal messages to consume and obey. The film's cult following certainly comes from Piper's performance, which was described by *Entertainment Weekly* as "scenery chewing," and from the fight scene that Piper told television personality Joe Bob Briggs had been planned as the "longest fight scene ever." Piper also told Briggs that he ad-libbed the films most famous line: "I have come here to chew bubble gum and kick ass, and I'm all out of bubble gum." Piper continued to make film and television appearances, including shooting a pilot called *Tag Team* with fellow WWF personality Jesse "The Body" Ventura; it was about detectives who moonlight as wrestlers. He also made money in direct-to-video action films like *Terminal Rush* (1995) and *Battleground* (1996).

Like many other WWF wrestlers, Piper found himself in the middle of the steroid scandal when shipments to Piper of illegal steroids from an indicted doctor were entered into court as evidence. Piper weathered that storm and continued to work part-time with the WWF, wrestling, commentating, or playing the role of WWF commissioner while keeping a career in Hollywood. In 1996, Piper unexpectedly left the WWF and showed up in World Championship Wrestling to rekindle his feud with Hulk Hogan. During their interviews, Piper reminded Hogan that fans only "loved you because they hated me." Since coming back from his 1987 retirement Piper has been a fan favorite, but it was his two-year stint as the lead heel in the

WWF that made him a crossover celebrity. He was, true to the cliché, the man the fans loved to hate.

—Patrick Jones

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## Pippen, Scottie (1965—)

Scottie Pippen has evolved into one of the greatest all-around basketball players in the National Basketball Association. Pippen's road to stardom began at the inauspicious NAIA school, University of Central Arkansas. After joining the Chicago Bulls in a 1987 trade, Pippen quickly became a starter and a major contributor to the team. Along with teammate Michael Jordan, the duo became the cornerstone for six world championship teams in the 1990s. Pippen was named one of the 50 greatest players of all time and has been a mainstay on the All-NBA team and the All-Defensive team. Pippen has had a number of lucrative endorsement deals and has appeared on many television programs, such as the popular NBC series *ER*.

—Jay Parrent

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## The Pittsburgh Steelers

The Pittsburgh Steelers are regarded as the most successful professional football franchise of the 1970s, the decade when the sport became a major spectator pastime in the United States thanks to increased live television coverage and the growing momentum of the annual Super Bowl. As millions of American fans were getting hooked on weekly football telecasts in the 1970s, the Steelers won four Super Bowl titles, becoming a sort of touchstone that represented pro football at its best. The team remained a consistent playoff contender in the 1980s and 1990s, though it has not since returned to the league-dominant status of its '70s heyday.

The Steelers were founded in July 1933 by Arthur J. Rooney, who used \$2,500 he had won at the racetrack to purchase a football team. The team was known as the Pirates until 1940, when Rooney changed the name to reflect Pittsburgh's steelmaking heritage. Rooney's first obstacle was to circumvent Pennsylvania's blue laws, which did not allow professional sporting events on Sundays; he did so with several clever maneuvers, including inviting high police officials to

be his guests at the team's first game. The Steelers never won any major honors until 1972, when the team captured its first division title. Despite the team's lack of success from the 1930s until the 1970s, Rooney remained dedicated to the team and maintained a constant presence at games and other events with his ever-present cigar.

Despite its poor initial record, the team did have a number of star performers, including the running backs Johnny "Blood" McNally and Bill Dudley, and quarterback Bobby Layne. In the late 1930s, Rooney signed Colorado University star Byron "Whizzer" White for nearly \$16,000, making him the highest-paid player in professional football. White played only one season for Pittsburgh. Later, in the 1960s, he was appointed by President Kennedy as a Supreme Court Justice.

The Steelers started to gain a small measure of respectability in the 1950s and 1960s, but the team's turnaround really began in 1969 with the arrival of Chuck Noll as head coach. Noll began his career as a defensive assistant and then coached the Baltimore Colts from 1966 to 1968. At the same time, Dan Rooney, Arthur's eldest son, began to assume greater control over the team. Noll and Rooney proceeded to assemble a group of outstanding players including defensive tackle Joe Greene, quarterback Terry Bradshaw, running back Franco Harris, and wide receivers Lynn Swann and John Stallworth. The hallmark of the Steelers' success in the 1970s was its defense, which earned the nicknamed "Steel Curtain" for its ability to prevent opposing offenses from gaining yardage.

The team's turnaround after Noll's arrival was gradual, as the Steelers won only one game during his first season. However, by 1972, they went 11-3 and won their first divisional title. The team reached its first Super Bowl in 1975, beating the Minnesota Vikings by a score of 16-6. Running back Franco Harris, rushing for a then-Super Bowl record 158 yards on 34 carries, was named Most Valuable Player. The following year, the Steelers returned to the Super Bowl and defeated the Dallas Cowboys 21-17, with wide receiver Lynn Swann earning MVP honors.

In 1978 the Steelers once again beat Dallas in the championship game, 35-31, and returned to defeat Los Angeles 31-19 in the 1979 Super Bowl, becoming the first team ever to win back-to-back Super Bowls on two separate occasions. Quarterback Terry Bradshaw was the MVP in both games, setting records for most career touchdowns (9) and passing yards (932) in the Super Bowl. These honors were a vindication of sorts for Bradshaw, who had initially struggled under high expectations after coming to the team as the first player selected in the 1970 draft. Bradshaw, who came from a rural background and played for an unheralded program at Louisiana State University, suffered from a lack of support and had to endure fans and commentators who habitually questioned his intelligence.

In 1980, however, the Steelers' dominance came to an end when the team suffered a devastating array of injuries and missed the playoffs for the first time since 1972. Gradually, many of the team's stalwarts of the 1970s retired over the next few years. Noll retired as coach after the 1991 season, having served one of the longest head coaching tenures in league history. Bill Cowher succeeded Noll as coach, and the Steelers once again became a perennial playoff team. Under Cowher, the team reached Super Bowl XXX in 1996, only to lose to Dallas 27-17 in its first trip to the championship game since 1979. With its four Super Bowl victories, Pittsburgh ranks second overall only to Dallas and San Francisco, each of which has won five times.

—Jason George



“Mean” Joe Greene (No.75) of the Pittsburgh Steelers takes aim at Dallas Cowboy’s running back Walt Garrison (No.32).

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## Pizza

Pizza is a popular dish in America that consists of a baked crust, typically between twelve and twenty inches in diameter, topped with a combination of tomato sauce, vegetables, meats, and melted cheese.

Originally an open-face tomato pie, pizza had long been a simple, cheap, and popular “workingman’s food” in Italy. Although the dish had been baked since ancient times, the term “pizza” (meaning, “to pluck”) started appearing in Italian dictionaries in the 1850s. The quintessential pizza is said to have been created by a

baker, Raffaele Esposito of Naples, for the 1889 visit of the reigning king and queen of Italy. Inspired by patriotism, Esposito incorporated Italy’s national colors into his creation—tomatoes for red, mozzarella cheese for white, and basil for green—establishing what would become the basic ingredients for the pizza. At the turn of the century Italian immigrants brought pizza to the United States, and Gennaro (or, Giovanni, depending on the account) Lombardi opened the first pizzeria in 1905 in New York City’s Little Italy. Very rapidly, other Italians (many trained by Lombardi) opened their own shops, baking their pizzas in coal- or wood-burning brick ovens.

By the 1930s and 1940s, people running small local shops were making and selling pizzas in towns all across the country, enabled in part by new gas-heated ovens that made the baking safer, more efficient, and more reliable. Despite the improvements in technology, the real accelerator in making pizza a national fad came with the return of soldiers after World War II, who had developed a taste for the pizza of Naples. As a food of relative simplicity, pizza allowed for many ethnic and regional variations, making it a foodstuff readily able to please most Americans. Traditional Italian pizzas were round and had thin crusts, while Sicilian versions were square with thick, chewy crusts. Chicago was known for its “deep dish” style, while the

midwest in general preferred pizza pies with thin crusts and spicy sauce, and the northeast opted for thick-crust pizzas with a lot of sauce, extra cheese, and less meat. New Haven was known for its clam pie; California, for its thin crusts, gourmet toppings, and unusual combinations.

While some pizzerias were sit-down restaurants that served other Italian cuisine, the most successful businesses, founded in the later decades of the twentieth century, specialized in take-out and delivery service, making pizza a very mobile food that suited Americans' growing preference for home delivery of convenience meals. Delivery service combined this convenience and the desire for choice: people could call up a nearby pizza shop, place an order selecting as many "pies" with as many different toppings as they liked, and have the food delivered to their door within the hour.

As such, pizza enjoyed a reputation for being a casual food meant for informal occasions, and, indeed, defined these occasions as such. People commonly ate the slices of pizza with their hands, right out of the boxes they were delivered in, foregoing plates and eating utensils. Popular with all age groups and ethnicities, pizzas were commonly associated with children and teenagers, becoming familiar staples at parties and other casual gatherings in college dorm rooms and private homes, around the television and especially during media events like the Super Bowl. Specific occasions, called "pizza parties," were even organized around the food.

The love that Americans shared for pizza gave rise to many successful national chains. Shakey's, the first pizza franchise, began in 1954 in Sacramento. Pizzeria Uno, an Italian restaurant specializing in deep dish Chicago-style pizzas, was first opened in 1943 and had over 110 outlets nationally by the late 1990s. Pizza Hut, a pizza restaurant founded in 1958, grew to more than 10,000 businesses nationally by 1996. Domino's, offering delivery-only service (and promising their pizzas would reach one's doorstep within 30 minutes or the pizza was free), was started in 1960 and enjoyed sales of \$2 billion at the end of 1986.

The growth of Americans' taste for pizza also sparked the development of frozen pizzas one could cook oneself. Rose and Jim Totino began one of the most successful of the frozen pizza enterprises in 1962; Totino's was quickly joined by other brands such as Red Baron, Celeste Pizza-For-One, and Stouffer's. In addition, other make-at-home pizza products were successful, including Ragu pizza sauce in a jar, Boboli ready-made pizza crust, and Robin Hood pizza dough mix.

In 1996, Americans ate 100 acres of pizza daily, or 350 slices per second, making it a \$30 billion dollar industry. In that same year, 17 percent of all restaurants were pizzerias, many characterized by familiar red and white checkered tablecloths. The overwhelming popularity of pizza in America was mainly due to its convenience, versatility, and its association with pleasure, communal eating, and informality. In cities and suburbs, it was easy to grab a slice for lunch if one's time was limited. It could be made with an almost endless combination of ingredients on which the consumer decided (in the late 1990s pepperoni was the most preferred topping next to cheese), with thick, thin, or stuffed crusts. It could be delivered to one's home and eaten in front of the television set, or, it could be consumed in a restaurant. It could also be the product of a national chain operation or from a local "mom and pop" establishment.

The later decades saw such a proliferation of pizza that anything topped with tomato sauce and cheese was called "pizza," including pizza bagels, pizza English muffins, pizza french fries, and pizza

burgers. Many snack foods, such as tortilla chips and snack crackers, also came in "pizza flavored" varieties.

—Wendy Woloson

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## *A Place in the Sun*

George Stevens won an Oscar for directing this 1951 adaptation of Theodore Dreiser's novel *An American Tragedy*, de-emphasizing Dreiser's focus on class and social justice and bringing the romantic angle to the story's center. Montgomery Clift stars as a small-town factory foreman who cannot bring himself to break off a love affair with the equally poor Shelley Winters even after falling in love with the wealthy Elizabeth Taylor. When Winters becomes pregnant, Clift contemplates murder, and she in fact drowns when they go for a canoe ride. The naturalistic Clift delivered a sympathetic performance, and his love scenes with Taylor (in one of her first adult roles) were passionate. Winters proved a formidable opponent, as Clift's passive-aggressive ex-lover. *A Place in the Sun* was both a critical and box-office hit; Charles Chaplin considered it the best movie in Hollywood history. It was the second film based on *An American Tragedy*, a novel Dreiser in turn based upon a 1906 murder case in upstate New York.

—Andrew Milner

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## *Planet of the Apes*

*Planet of the Apes*, directed by Franklin Schaffner and released in 1968, was almost singlehandedly responsible for elevating cinema's science fiction genre from traditional "B" movie budgets into the lavish and expensive blockbuster art form.

Schaffner's *Planet of the Apes*, based on Pierre Boulle's novel *La Planète des Singes* (1963), portrayed misanthropic George Taylor (Charlton Heston) and his fellow astronauts' deep-space mission to find other forms of life. These voyagers program the ship's computers



Charlton Heston under control of the Apes in a scene from the film *Planet of the Apes*.

to wake them from their hibernation some 2,000 years in the future, when they expect to be light-years from Earth but in the same physical state due to the effects of travelling at the speed of light. Upon awakening, the crew guides their spaceship to a remote planet, barren and seemingly devoid of life. Soon, though, the astronauts encounter a race of reasoning and talking apes that hold court over a complex aristocratic ape civilization. They also discover a rogue group of primate-like humans, against whom the apes make war. Upon discovering Taylor, the ape leader Dr. Zaius (Maurice Evans) reacts in horror and demands his death. The apes Cornelius (Roddy McDowell) and Zira (Kim Hunter) risk their lives to protect Taylor; in the process, they uncover the damning secret of the planet's history.

Previous science fiction films such as *The Man From Planet X* (1951) and *The Day the Earth Stood Still* (1951) had been big box-office hits despite their shoddy low-budget depictions of futuristic worlds and beings. *Planet of the Apes*, with its expensive makeup and costumes, demonstrated the economic viability of big-budget science fiction fare to Hollywood studios. The following three decades were characterized by a host of similar blockbuster futuristic productions. By the late 1990s, the big-budget science fiction film had become one of the most popular styles of filmmaking and also one of the surest returns on studio investment.

*Planet of the Apes* became such a cultural phenomenon that it spawned four sequels—*Beneath the Planet of the Apes* (1970), *Escape from the Planet of the Apes* (1971), *Conquest of the Planet of the Apes* (1972), and *Battle for the Planet of the Apes* (1973)—as well as a live action (1974) and an animated (1974-1975) television series.

In addition, the film occasioned its own merchandising line, as children of the 1970s could purchase *Planet of the Apes* action figures and lunch boxes. The film's cultural resonance continued into the 1980s and 1990s. Greenpeace, for instance, seized upon the film's image of Taylor kneeling before the fallen Statue of Liberty as the basis for a series of antinuclear posters. White supremacists have embraced *Planet of the Apes* as well, reading the film's ape dominance as a coded warning against increased racial tolerance.

As of late 1998, Twentieth Century Fox was considering another *Apes*-related production to capitalize on the film's continued cultural appeal and also to honor its contributions to science fiction filmmaking by treating it in the context of elaborate production costs and special effects, both of which the film made possible.

—Scott Tribble

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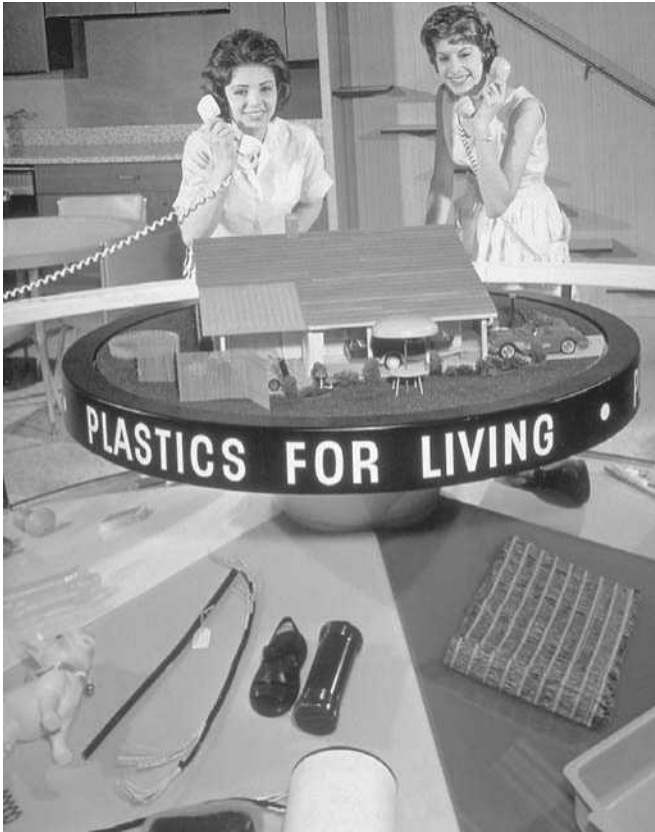
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## Plastic

Plastic (from the Greek *plassein*, meaning to mold or shape a soft substance) was originally invented as a substitute for natural resources; by the end of the twentieth century, however, it had become a material in its own right, no longer simulating organic substances, but instead being used to create entirely new products, everything from tableware to car bodies to artificial hearts. More than any other material, plastic changed life in twentieth-century America even as it came to symbolize a particularly artificial and superficial culture concerned more with appearances than substance, more with imitation than reality. In the popular vernacular, "plastic" took on a pejorative connotation early on, to mean false or fake or disingenuous. Early Hollywood starlets were called "celluloid women"; in 1962, Ken Kesey used the phrase "her fixed plastic smile" in his writing. In an ironic statement on the condition of the culture, a character in the movie *The Graduate* confided these words of encouragement to Dustin Hoffman's character: "I just want to say one word to you, Ben. Just one word. Plastics." Proof that the material was durable enough to withstand the cybernetic age came when a commencement speaker declared to a 1999 graduating class at a major American university: "... Just one word. Plastics.com."

The first plastic-like material, celluloid (a derivative of cellulose), was invented in 1869 by John Wesley Hyatt, a man in search of a substitute for the ivory used in billiard balls. While celluloid was never successfully put to this recreational purpose, it did become a viable replacement for coral, marble, bone, and ivory and was used to make things such as piano keys, collars, cuffs, novelties, combs, and brushes. Celluloid democratized a host of consumer goods by making once-expensive goods out of a cheaper but equally functional substitute for those rare materials. In addition, it reflected the growing desire and willingness of people to harness the products of nature and





“Plastics for Living,” a display by B.F. Goodrich, at the 9th National Plastics Exposition at the New York Coliseum.

control them for their own interests, expressed most often in the burgeoning industrial ethic.

Celluloid found many applications beyond domestic ones: in the 1920s, it was used as transparent sheeting in automobiles for rear windows and windshields. Cellulose acetate, a nonflammable version of celluloid, could be shaped through injection molding into a variety of objects, from adding machine keys and knife handles to bobbins and eyeglass frames. The use of celluloid that affected American culture the most—and on a grand scale—was its application in the photograph and movie industries. George Eastman revolutionized photography by improving upon a gelatin-coated flexible celluloid film in 1889, which enabled photographers to snap pictures without the encumbrance of a large apparatus and dark room. So popular was this new portable photographic technique that at the turn of the century, about 40,000 tons of the film were sold each year. Thomas Edison ordered film from Eastman to use in his Kinetoscope, and opened up the first “peep” shows in American cities in 1894. Adapted from projection techniques invented in France, Edison’s films democratized image-making. Celluloid moving pictures took the power of cultural reproduction away from the academy, and took its products out of museums, exposing them to masses of people. As historian Stephen Fenichel pointed out, “celluloid film succeeded in raising the first plastic’s cultural profile from a medium of mere mimicry into a priceless repository of human memory.”

Derived from cellulose, celluloid had its roots in nature. Bakelite, in contrast, was the first chemically synthetic plastic; it was invented in 1907 by Leo H. Baekland, later dubbed “the father of plastics.”

Known as “the material of a thousand uses,” Bakelite was marketed not as a substitute for natural materials, but as an innovative material in its own right. A major advantage of Bakelite over hard rubber and other materials was its ability to conform to the exact details of a mold. It found ready applications in the power industry as electrical insulators, but its formation into pipe stems, billiard balls, buttons, knife handles, radios, telephones, cigarette holders, jewelry, pens, and even airplane propellers indicated the degree to which Americans were willing to accept wholly new materials on their own terms, rather than as nature’s substitutes. Indeed, Bakelite was *the* material of the Art Deco 1920s. Industrial designer Henry Dreyfuss used the plastic in his redesign of the Bell telephone, creating its quintessential shape by combining the ear and mouthpiece into a single handset, giving the entire object a streamlined silhouette. Raymond Loewy improved on the design of a mimeograph machine in 1929 by adding a Bakelite shell that concealed its inner workings, coming up with an artful yet utilitarian object for the office. Walter Dorwin Teague used brown Bakelite in 1934 for the body of the “Baby Brownie” camera he designed for Kodak; it was so popular that four million of them were sold in the first year—in the depths of the Depression.

The success of Bakelite and the subsequent popularity of other types of plastic—many of which were much more colorful and versatile than celluloid and Bakelite—moved America from the Machine Age into the Plastic Age. The word “plastic” became a household word between the world wars, and came to be a popularly understood symbol of modernity. As with all new things, however, the increasing intrusion of plastic items into people’s lives was met with widespread ambivalence. It at once enabled people to escape the forces and often limited resources of nature and threatened an abrupt disjunction with past materials and manufacturing processes. During the 1920s and 1930s, the world of plastic was a hopeful and stable one, bright and unthreatened by rust and decay. By the late 1930s and 1940s, conservative utopians looked upon plastic as a substance that promised social stability by replacing scarcity with abundance and enabling many more people to own consumer goods. By the 1960s and 1970s, environmentalists were worried about the glut of plastic materials, especially throwaway food containers, disposable diapers, and plastic bags that were clogging landfills and littering the landscape.

Social utopianism, in part, led to the popularity of plastic products like cellophane, a French invention that DuPont purchased the rights to in the 1920s. The first American products wrapped in cellophane, Whitman’s chocolates, were soon followed by cigarette packs, which promised to be fresh if wrapped in sheets of this crisp, clear plastic. During the rest of the decade, everything seemed to be wrapped in cellophane—from sheets and towels to tires and pianos. It offered a new sensibility based on ideas of cleanliness and sterility: people wanted to see the products they were buying, but also wanted to be assured of their purity and freshness. Lucite and Plexiglas, more substantial forms of clear plastic which also tapped into this popular ethos, both entered the market in 1937. Cellophane also made things glamorous, immediately conferring a kind of sparkle and sex appeal to the most mundane objects. Cole Porter’s 1934 song “You’re the Top” exclaimed, “You’re the purple light of a summer night in Spain/You’re the National Gallery/You’re Garbo’s salary/ You’re cellophane!” The thin plastic film also had practical uses besides heightening the fetishized aspects of consumer goods. In 1930, Richard Drew, an engineer at 3M (then the Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Company), devised a way to coat cellophane with pressure-sensitive adhesive, coming up with “Scotch” tape, an enduring modern convenience. Cellophane was also used as the lens

for gas masks in World War II, and served as an ideal semipermeable membrane for dialysis machines. In a 1940 poll, the most beautiful words in English were identified as “mother,” “memory,” and “cellophane.”

Rayon, or viscose, also a cellulose derivative, was a fabric made out of cellulose fibers, which gave it an attractive sheen and silk-like luster. Elsa Schiaparelli, an avant-garde designer, incorporated this prosaic material into her fashions, immediately democratizing luxury with her drapery, form-fitting outfits. The sales of rayon underwear increased fivefold between 1925 and 1928, and by the mid-1930s, about 85 percent of all American dresses had rayon content, thus moving synthetics into the realm formerly monopolized by such organic materials as cotton, wool, silk, and linen. People were now willing to put plastics intimately close to their bodies (“wrap themselves in plastic,” as an acidulous Ralph Nader would sneer in the 1970s).

Polyvinyl chloride (also known as PVC and more commonly called vinyl), was developed into a workable material in 1926 by Waldo Semon. He found that it was water-resistant and fireproof and that it could be molded and extruded into any number of forms. Semon put his new invention toward making things like shower curtains, raincoats, ship’s upholstery, and color-coded electrical wires. A related synthetic, polyethylene, was used to coat coaxial cable, an innovation that enabled high-speed telecommunications and revolutionized the methods by which people communicated with one another.

Nylon, which had been primarily used for toothbrush bristles before World War II, was one of plastic’s best success stories. Silk was expensive and not durable enough for wartime needs. In addition, most silk imports were coming from Japan, an unreliable supplier by the late 1930s. Invented by DuPont chemist Wallace Carothers, nylon was the first truly artificial fiber that could be woven. Even though nylon stockings (generally called “nylons”) were more expensive than their silk precursors, women bought them en masse in the hope that they were more durable (they were, but only slightly); women also loved the sheerness of nylons, a welcome change from the opacity of silk stockings. Like the cellophane sheaths that enhanced and glamorized the products they wrapped, nylons functioned similarly for the women who wore them: they were seen as naughty but sexy. May 15, 1940, known as “N-day,” marked the beginning of national sales of nylon stockings. They proved so popular that all five million pairs had been sold by the day’s end.

During World War II, plastics reverted to their original purposes as replacements for scarce natural materials, and nylon was no exception. It was made into glider towropes, parachutes, and cords for synthetic rubber tires, among other things. As a result, women had to give up their beloved nylons and often sported the “bare-legged” look to signify their patriotism, often painting a line down the backs of their legs to simulate the otherwise absent stocking seam, so even in its absence, nylon was very much a cultural presence. Other plastics that figured into the war effort included Naugahyde, a form of vinyl, used to upholster military vehicles and furniture; bubbled windshields of Plexiglas that replaced glass in cockpits, allowing pilots to survey their surroundings without visual interference; phenolic resin, a relative of Bakelite, which substituted for steel as a viable helmet liner; and Teflon, whose durability and slipperiness made it ideal for coating the valves and gaskets used in uranium processing and testing at the Manhattan Project. The success of plastic during the war convinced the American public of its worth and value—people could trust it because it had helped the Allied cause win the war. As

Fenichell stated, “If before the war plastic’s image had been defined by frivolity, trumpery, and above all, a sleazy pretense at luxury, by the time Teflon was enlisted in the atomic bomb effort, plastic materials had matured under fire.”

By the late 1940s, plastic, however artificial, was firmly rooted in the material life of all Americans, especially in the domestic sphere. Tupperware, made from polyethylene, was a brand of housewares developed by Earl S. Tupper in 1942. Even before the war’s end, Tupperware and its home sales method of marketing and distribution, which combined entrepreneurialism with domestic duties, enjoyed large success among suburban housewives. Tupperware exploited the very plasticity of plastics—tumblers, bowls, tableware, and resealable containers—were durable yet soft, were strangely organic, and came in many forms and colors, as in pink, blue, orange, yellow, and green pastels. Dacron, another form of polyester, was invented in 1948 by DuPont chemist Hale Charch and woven into fabric to make clothing. Even though it melted, easily pilled, and caused static cling, such fabrics promised drip-dry suits that were machine washable instead of requiring dry cleaning. Magnetic metal particles imbedded in polyester film made audiotapes a viable option for consumers by 1949.

Vinyl experienced similar postwar popularity. Naugahyde, a cheaper and tougher substitute for leather, was now used to upholster recliners such as La-Z-Boys and Barcaloungers and came to symbolize a durable manliness in material form. In 1946, RCA marketed the first vinyl phonograph records, which performed better than earlier versions made from brittle shellac. These were further improved in 1949 as more grooves were pressed into the vinyl, thus producing the first “long-playing” record album. Saran wrap, a vinyl film, could stick to itself, and was therefore used to provide airtight protection; it found use as a kind of disposable Tupperware, covering food either under refrigeration or being transported.

Other plastics that had been around for decades did not experience their heydays until put to especially domestic postwar uses. The durable but slick Teflon, for example, which was invented in 1938 by Roy Plunkett, had unique qualities that made its application to normal life difficult at best: it would neither burn, freeze, nor conduct electricity. As the original space-age material, Teflon was used in space exploration and as an industrial lubricant. But it was not until Teflon was applied to cookware to render it non-stick that it gained a foothold in popular culture. Formica shared a similar history. Invented in 1913 by Westinghouse engineers Daniel J. O’Connor and Harold A. Faber, this cousin to Bakelite was used in institutional settings as an easily wipeable, durable, heat-resistant table surface most apt for hotels, diners, and soda fountains. Since Formica sheets could be manufactured with any number of designs, it frequently was used to simulate natural surfaces like wood grain or marble. After the war it appeared at, or rather on, the dinner table as a popular furniture surface. While utilitarian, it also “provided a blank screen for the unconscious projection of a prime fifties anxiety: the atom bomb. . . . Formica provided protection against internal and external attack, eternally vigilant in its struggle to wipe clean the past,” in the words of Fenichell.

The exuberance expressed in postwar America as it reveled in its material abundance was most clearly seen in plastic objects. Children were surrounded by plastic toys, from educational Legos to quirky Silly Putty and faddish Hula-Hoops and Frisbees. Adult versions of these novelties included pink-flamingo or elfin lawn ornaments. Velcro (“velvet hook”), perfected in 1957, was inspired by the sticking power of the cockbur in nature. Pieces of Velcro stuck

together could be easily peeled apart from each other, but required considerable shear strength to pull the pieces sideways. The Houston Astrodome, complete with Lucite sky and AstroTurf grass, was an almost wholly plasticized environment. The creation of Disneyland and other similar fantasy places during this time symbolized America's willingness to settle for the artificial rather than the real and to prefer the human-made world of plasticized fakery over that of nature. This comfort with the unreal would, by the 1980s and 1990s, emerge in a postmodern culture of simulacra that accepted not only artificial replicas of nature, but also replicas of the replicas.

The 1960s pop aesthetic, influenced by modernity, space flight, and the interrelationships of human and machine, embraced the colors, textures, and forms of plastic, highlighting the materiality of plastic. Inflatable furniture, vinyl go-go boots, and plastic bubble helmets all enjoyed great popularity. Paco Rabanne connected hard plastic pieces to each other with metal rings, creating chain mail-like dresses, vests, and pieces of jewelry. Betsey Johnson designed an entire line of see-through clothing made out of cellophane. Conceptual artist Christo made it his trademark to wrap buildings and landscapes in plastic fabrics, like part of the Australian coast, to celebrate the beauty of synthetic materials as juxtaposed against the natural landscape.

By the 1970s, any clinging romance between people and plastic had disappeared. In this decade, the links between plastics and cancer were becoming clearer, even to the plastics industry, which found that its toxic fumes threatened the health of industrial workers. The wholesale disposability of convenient plastic goods—from contact lenses to cups to diapers—was seen to pose acute environmental hazards. Many forms of plastic would not biodegrade, making them a polluter of seashores and a threat to marine life. In the late 1980s, an anti-Styrofoam campaign launched in a Milford, New Jersey, lunchroom eventually came to pressure McDonald's into finding a more ecologically sound alternative to its Styrofoam sandwich containers and coffee cups. Consumers also debated the relative merits of plastic and paper bags in grocery stores with little consensus; by the end of the twentieth century, both were still offered in most U.S. stores, though the "green" movement seems to have had more of an impact on these matters in Europe. Around this same time, doctors diagnosed a new malady variously called "environmental illness," "twentieth century disease," or "sick building syndrome," which made some people develop an oversensitivity to the toxic environment around them. Concurrently, the first artificial heart made of plastic, the Jarvik-7, was successfully implanted in Barney Clark, underscoring the fact that plastic no longer existed just in people's external world, but that it could also become, literally, a part of them.

Plastic has entered Americans' material lives to such a degree that extricating themselves from their reliance on the simulated stuff would now be impossible without serious impact on the U.S. standard of living. The material has become so "naturalized" that it often seems more real, tangible, and honest than nature itself. It permeates every aspect of daily life, even to the extent that many consumer transactions are carried out via credit cards that are generically referred to as "plastic." As a descriptive term applied to people, "plastic" has come to reflect the larger trends in American culture that have blurred the distinction between animate beings and the inanimate goods that surround them. Ronald Reagan enjoyed notoriety as the "Teflon President" because nothing terrible that happened during his time in office stuck to his reputation. In attempts at self-beautification, large numbers of women and men turned to plastic surgery to alter noses and brows and to dispense with wrinkles and

fat—perhaps in emulation of their idealized plastic counterparts, Barbie and Ken, whose sleek figures remain a sometimes unreachable goal to millions of overweight and aging Americans. In little over a century, the plastic ethos has embraced not only the versatile material but also the lifestyle and mindset that accompanied it, turning America into a prefabricated, simulated environment filled with people hungry for bright surfaces devoid of decay, even including their own.

—Wendy Woloson

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## Plastic Surgery

Plastic surgery is the surgical repair of skin defects and deformities, the removal of skin tumors, and surgical reconstruction. Increasingly, however, this medical specialty includes other procedures such as fatty-tissue removal, wrinkle reduction, breast and penile enlargement or reduction, and even the permanent application of make-up. Technological advances and changing cultural mores have continually broadened the scope of plastic surgery such that it is now primarily equated with cosmetic or aesthetic surgery.

Surgery may well be the oldest branch of medicine, but many centuries passed before modern methods, including plastic surgery, were possible. It was not until precise knowledge of the body was available, anesthesia was understood, and methods of controlling hemorrhage and post-operative infection were devised that complex surgery could be undertaken. There is evidence to suggest, however, that surgery could have been an ancient practice. One Indian text dating from the fourth century B.C.E. includes an extended section on surgery, though it is unknown whether the procedures described were actually practiced. Direct accounts of a plastic surgery performed in Poona in 1793 do exist, and the British physicians who witnessed the procedure described the "Hindu method" as far superior to comparable Western techniques, which suggests that plastic surgery had been performed in India for perhaps centuries. Interestingly, the procedure was a rhinoplasty involving skin grafts and reconstruction for a man whose nose had been amputated as punishment for adultery. Because this method of punishment was common, it may have served as impetus for the development of early plastic surgery. Other records indicate that syphilis, which reached epidemic proportions during European colonial expansion, may have also facilitated advances in surgical techniques that attempted to repair the disease's grotesque manifestations.

Innovations in reconstructive surgery continued through the nineteenth century and, at least in America, interest in cosmetic

surgery was already rising. Yet it is World War I which most medical historians designate as the dramatic beginning of modern plastic surgery. The war resulted in unprecedented devastation and death but also in thousands of mutilating facial injuries. The horror inspired one physician, Harold Gillies, to establish a plastic surgery unit in the south of England where he personally attended approximately 2,000 cases of facial trauma with equal sensitivity to the patient's medical needs and appearance. In America, three military hospitals were specifically designated as plastic surgery units to treat soldiers disfigured in battle. In the next 20 years, the American Board of Plastic Surgery was formed, and by 1941 it was certified as a primary specialty board by the American Medical Association.

By the 1960s, evolving attitudes about beauty began to change the course of plastic surgery, and cosmetic, rather than reconstructive, procedures began to dominate the field. In the intervening decades, many new techniques emerged to reduce or reverse the effects of aging, including dermabrasion to remove acne scarring; collagen injection to fill out the lips or sunken skin; and blepharoplasty to eliminate bags under the eye. One procedure on the wane at twentieth century's end is the rhinoplasty or "nose job," which reached its height of popularity in the 1960s and 1970s.

As plastic surgery has become a common cultural phenomenon, its critics have grown increasingly vocal. Some view it as radical conformity to artificial standards of beauty perpetuated by mass media, and its most strident opponents are particularly concerned that women have aesthetic operations more often than men and that even adolescent girls sometimes elect surgery. Nonetheless, each year more cosmetic procedures are performed than ever before, and many plastic surgery patients attest to the psychological benefits of feeling younger, thinner, and more attractive. Perhaps the most notable, if ambiguous, commentary on cosmetic surgery has been offered by the French performance artist Orlan, who explores standards of beauty by undergoing repeated plastic surgery.

—Michele S. Shauf

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## Plath, Sylvia (1932-1963)

Author Sylvia Plath's association with death and madness stemmed from her confessional poetry, her novel *The Bell Jar*, and the facts of her life, but most of all from the cult of readers—many of them teenage girls—that formed after her suicide. Plath's stormy marriage to poet Ted Hughes was a matter for the literary tabloids,

and her work was taken up by scholars as evidence of a troubled soul oppressed by sexist times. Her poems—most particularly those published posthumously in *Ariel*—are an enduring proof of her very real talent.

Plath was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on October 27, 1932. Her father, a college professor and expert on bees, died when she was eight. She was a good student, and published her first short story in the magazine *Seventeen* when she was just a teenager.

In 1950, Plath entered Smith College on a scholarship. She already had an impressive list of publications, and while at Smith she wrote over four hundred poems. She spent some time in New York as a "guest editor" at *Mademoiselle*; when she returned home, she attempted suicide by swallowing sleeping pills. Afterward, she received electroshock and psychotherapy in a mental hospital. (Plath used much of this experience for her autobiographical novel *The Bell Jar*, published pseudonymously in England in 1963 under the name Victoria Lucas. Plath's mother, Aurelia, fought against American publication; the book was not published in the United States until 1970.)

Plath graduated from Smith in 1955 and won a Fulbright scholarship to study at Cambridge, England, where she met poet Ted Hughes. The story of their tempestuous first meeting is now mythic in literary circles: he stole her hair band; she bit his cheek. They were married in 1956.

In June of 1957, Plath attended Robert Lowell's poetry class at Boston University, where she met the poet Anne Sexton; the three of them would later be considered the foci of the intensely personal "confessional school" of poetry. In 1959, Plath and Hughes moved to England. The following year, when she was 28, her first book of poetry, *The Colossus and Other Poems*, was published.

Plath and Hughes separated later that year, when Hughes left Plath for another woman. Plath spent that winter with their two children, Frieda and Nicholas, in a small London flat, waking up at four a.m. in order to write before the children arose. This was a very productive period for her; she wrote almost a poem a day. On February 11, 1963, just days after the publication of *The Bell Jar*, Plath killed herself with kitchen gas.

Ted Hughes became Plath's literary executor. He brought her collection of poetry, *Ariel*, to publication in 1965. Among the "scorching" poems in *Ariel* is Plath's most famous poem, "Daddy," along with "Death and Co." and "Lady Lazarus" ("Dying / Is an art, like everything else. / I do it exceptionally well. // I do it so it feels like hell. / I do it so it feels real. / I guess you could say I've a call"). Other posthumous publications included *Crossing the Water*, *Winter Trees*, and, in 1981, *The Collected Poems*, edited by Hughes, which won the Pulitzer Prize for poetry.

For feminist scholars, Plath was a talented, brilliant woman done wrong by men and the times. If she had lived in a later era, they ask, would her story have unfolded the same way? Was she a victim of the 1950s ideal of woman as housewife and mother, wedged into a domestic role inappropriate for someone with her skills? Anne Sexton and Sylvia Plath are usually mentioned in the same literary breath—both were women, confessional poets, and suicides; Sexton's poem "Sylvia's Death" discusses their mutual preoccupation with the subjects of death and desire.

After her death, Plath achieved iconic status as a "madwoman" poet. For some cultural critics, she was the epitome of the silenced woman. Hughes had total control over her literary estate, and may have exerted that control to protect his own image; he destroyed at least one journal and censored many other pieces. Many Plath fans

had a deep hatred for Hughes, and called him a betrayer, even a murderer. Although her gravestone was inscribed “Sylvia Plath Hughes,” it has been repeatedly defaced to read just “Sylvia Plath.”

Years after her death, Plath remained a literary presence. In 1996, *About Sylvia: Poems* was published, containing works by Diane Ackerman, John Berryman, Rachel Hadas, Robert Lowell, Anne Sexton, and Richard Wilbur. Ted Hughes, British poet laureate, broke his silence on Plath soon before his own death in 1998 with the publication of *Birthday Letters*, a collection of poems about their relationship.

—Jessy Randall

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## *Platoon*

Oliver Stone's *Platoon* (1986), a critically acclaimed Hollywood film about the Vietnam War, was the first in its category to be directed by someone who saw combat in that most divisive of U.S. wars. The film, which cost \$6 million to make, grossed \$160 million and won four Oscars, including Best Film and Best Director. Like his cinematic alter ego, Chris Taylor (played by Charlie Sheen), Stone abandoned a wealthy family and an Ivy League education for a chance to fight in Vietnam, just as his grandfather had fought in World War I and his father had fought in World War II. In 1967-68, Stone was stationed near the Cambodian border, and it took him about a day to realize that he had made a horrible mistake. More than once, the pressure of battle caused Stone to go over the edge, once shooting at an old man's feet (as Chris does in the film), and once attacking the Viet Cong with such foolish ferocity that he was called a hero and awarded a Bronze Star. He also received a Purple Heart with Oak Leaf Cluster for his two injuries.

Stone's own experiences helped make *Platoon* an especially valuable vehicle for conveying the immediacy and brutality of armed conflict. During Stone's second week in Vietnam, his platoon encountered some Viet Cong and, during the ensuing battle, he was wounded in the back of the neck and the soldier next to him had his



Charlie Sheen (left) and Keith David in a scene from the film *Platoon*.

arm blown off. Suffering only a flesh wound, Stone was soon back in combat. He said most soldiers fell into one of two camps, as shown in the film: the lifers, the juicers, and the unintelligent whites in one camp; and the progressive, hippie, dope-smokers—who wanted only to survive the war with some integrity intact—in the other. Stone fell in with this second group. After being wounded again, he was transferred to the platoon where he met Juan Angel Elias, the inspiration for Sgt. Elias (Willem Dafoe) in *Platoon*. The part-Spanish, part-Apache, compassionate Elias proved to Stone that someone could be both a good soldier and a decent human being. Stone also met a facially scarred officer who would become the inspiration for Sgt. Barnes—the best soldier Stone ever met, but also an angry loner obsessed with killing and getting even.

*Platoon* is remembered for its authentic and unbiased portrayal of combat. During the war, the only Hollywood movie dealing with the subject had been *The Green Berets* (1968), a laughably bad John Wayne vehicle partially financed by the U.S. government, little more than a World War II-type film with propaganda added, and so inaccurate that the last scene, of the sun setting in the east, seemed appropriate. The *Rambo* and *Missing in Action* films used the war as an excuse for some comic-book macho fantasies, with the U.S. winning some battles for a change. *The Deer Hunter* (1978) and *Apocalypse Now* (1979) were great films, but they seemed to be condemning war in general, not this particular one. *Platoon* immediately dropped the viewer into a jungle so thick that technological superiority became meaningless. Only *Platoon* is so filled with closely observed details—the snakes, the mosquitoes, the ants, the leeches—that it was deemed absolutely authentic in every respect. As Stone says, the film shows kids “what combat is really like, and what war really means. . . . I hope a lot of kids who see *Platoon* will think twice. Maybe they won’t make the same mistake I made.”

—Bob Sullivan

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## Playboy

The Puritan influence in American culture lasted far longer than did the Puritans themselves. Over the years, the prudishness of the Puritans combined with the rigid moral code of fundamentalist Protestants and the sexually conservative teachings of the Catholic Church to produce a culture in which sex and sexuality were forbidden from virtually all forms of public entertainment and discourse. That culture endured, and dominated, for many years. Beginning in the 1950s, however, the cultural climate in America began to thaw. The heat came from two principal sources. One was Dr. Alfred



Hugh Hefner and Cynthia Maddox (Miss February 1962) enjoying a copy of *Playboy* together, 1962.

Kinsey, who conducted the first scientific research on the sexual practices of Americans, and published the surprising results in a series of *Kinsey Reports*. The other source was Hugh Hefner and his magazine, *Playboy*.

Prior to starting *Playboy* in 1953, Hugh Marsten Hefner, 27, had not achieved much success in life. After college and the Army, he returned to his native Chicago and married his high-school sweetheart. After failing as a freelance cartoonist, Hefner worked in the promotion departments of several magazines, including *Esquire*, the premier “men’s magazine” of its day. But when *Esquire* moved its headquarters to New York City, it did not invite Hugh Hefner to come along. Frustrated and somewhat desperate, Hefner borrowed a few thousand dollars from relatives and friends and prepared to launch the magazine that had been his dream for years.

The new magazine was very nearly called *Stag Party*, to be symbolized by a drawing of an urbane-looking buck in a smoking jacket. But there was already a magazine devoted to hunting called *Stag*, and its publisher threatened to sue if Hefner used the name. Thus, at the last minute, the magazine was re-christened *Playboy*, with the horny deer transformed into a sophisticated-looking rabbit figure—a name and image that would eventually become known throughout the world.

The first issue appeared in December of 1953. So uncertain of success was Hefner that he left his name off the editorial masthead, and declined to put a date on the magazine’s cover. The first decision was designed to allow him to avoid associating his name with a flop if the magazine failed; the second would make the first issue marketable

beyond the month of its publication. Hefner need not have worried. Although he would have welcomed the sale of 30,000 copies, the first issue sold over 54,000—helped, no doubt, by a centerfold photo of a nude Marilyn Monroe, one of America's most popular actresses. She had posed for the picture years earlier, while unknown and in need of money. Hefner bought the rights to the photo for \$500.

From that point, *Playboy* and its publisher were on their way up. Within a year, the magazine had a circulation of over 100,000, and the figure would eventually reach the millions. The magazine catered to the educated, urban male, who either was affluent and sophisticated or wished to see himself that way. In short, the typical *Playboy* reader was a young man not unlike Hugh Hefner.

As *Playboy* matured, it took on certain features that would eventually help to define it, both within the publishing world and in American culture, as well. These characteristics included profiles of upscale consumer goods, such as sports cars, stereo equipment, and elegant clothing. There would also be articles on fine food, good wine, sophisticated cocktails, and the best places to find them.

Fiction and nonfiction by well-known writers was also incorporated into the magazine. Hefner wanted to compete for *Esquire's* audience, and he also knew that having "legitimate" authors writing for him meant he would be able to defend *Playboy* as more than a mere "skin magazine." At first, Hefner's resources were so limited that he was forced to rely on work in the public domain, such as Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories. But the magazine's success soon brought in enough money to allow it to purchase original fiction from such notables as Ernest Hemingway, Ray Bradbury, Irwin Shaw, and Gore Vidal. Not surprisingly, one of *Playboy's* favorite writers was Ian Fleming, whose James Bond character embodied many of the fantasies dear to the magazine's readership. The suave secret agent made his first *Playboy* appearance in March 1960, and thereafter the magazine serialized each new James Bond novel until Fleming's death in 1964.

The "Playboy Interview" was another addition to be greeted with enthusiasm by readers. Beginning with the September 1962 issue, the magazine featured long interviews with prominent figures likely to be of interest to *Playboy* readers. The subjects included no shortages of actors, athletes, and sex symbols, but there were surprising choices, as well, including Malcolm X, Fidel Castro, Albert Schweitzer, Yasir Arafat, and presidential candidate Jimmy Carter (who created a flap by admitting that he sometimes lusted after women in his heart).

Playmates and other naked ladies, of course, were a mainstay of the magazine from the beginning. Each issue of *Playboy* usually offered readers three "pictorials." One of these occupied the center of the magazine and included a folded mini-poster of the young lady designated "Playmate of the month." Hefner's conception of the model who would occupy the centerfold and its surrounding pages has by now become a cultural cliché: he wanted, he said, "the girl next door." She should be beautiful, but not glamorous. The famous Marilyn Monroe picture notwithstanding, the Playmate would not be a celebrity (those would appear elsewhere in the magazine). The photos accompanying the centerfold would show the model in the "real world"—at home, at school, in a restaurant having lunch. The message sent to the male reader was: "This girl is real, she is accessible, she really is the 'girl next door'" (always assuming the girl next door had blonde hair, perfect skin, and a 36-22-36 shape).

Other pictorials sometimes featured a montage of young women, grouped around themes that could be educational ("The Girls of the West Coast Conference"), geographical ("The Girls of Australia"),

or occupational ("The Girls of Radio"). Sometimes a pictorial featured a single model who happened to work in an occupation popular in male sexual fantasies. Thus, there were photo layouts devoted to a female police officer, another to a firefighter, and still another to a female stockbroker. And, although Marilyn Monroe's appearance in *Playboy* was not her decision, many well-known women did voluntarily grace the magazine's pages, including Brigitte Bardot, Drew Barrymore, Madonna, Farrah Fawcett, LaToya Jackson, Jayne Mansfield, Kim Novak, Jane Seymour, Nancy Sinatra, Sharon Stone, and Raquel Welch.

The *Playboy* formula was hugely successful, bringing in increasing numbers of readers and advertising dollars throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. Hefner spent some of the revenue on a lavish lifestyle (including the Playboy Mansion in Chicago, Playboy Mansion West in Los Angeles, and a luxury, full-sized jet named the Big Bunny), but much of it went into building what would become known as the Playboy Empire. Its components included the chain of Playboy Clubs (best known for their scantily clad waitresses, called Bunnies), followed by resort hotels and then casinos in both Atlantic City and Great Britain. There was a book publishing division, a music division, and a film production company. All of it made money—for a time.

The 1980s, however, were not kind to the Playboy Empire. On the magazine front, it faced competition from rivals like *Penthouse* and *Hustler*. Both were more explicitly erotic than the "wholesome" *Playboy*, although they took different approaches—*Penthouse* strove for the same "sophistication" as *Playboy*, but with a European accent, while raunchy *Hustler* was blatantly lowbrow.

This competition was not the worst of Hefner's problems. Although he had faced opposition from religious groups in the past, none of them had been sufficiently well organized to be troublesome. But the 1980s saw the rise of arch-conservative televangelists such as Jerry Falwell and Jimmy Swaggart, and the founding of political-religious organizations such as Falwell's Moral Majority and Reverend Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition. Further, many feminists, who otherwise had little in common with the fundamentalists, found common ground with them on the issue of pornography and its supposed danger to women. And, following the 1980 election, the social conservatives had allies in Washington, including the White House. President Ronald Reagan, inclined toward the Christian Right's beliefs in any case, recognized the important role that these groups had played in the last election, and might well play in the next one. Reagan courted them whenever he could, and one of his favors involved the establishment of the Meese Commission on Pornography. Attorney General Edwin Meese assembled a panel that heavily favored the social and religious right, and set out to see whether "pornography" had harmful effects on society. To the surprise of no one, he found that it did.

If the political climate of the 1980s was unfavorable to *Playboy*, the economic one was even more so. Playboy Enterprises lost its gaming license in Great Britain for violating gambling regulations. This caused the New Jersey Gaming Commission to reconsider its decision to grant a casino license to the Playboy hotel in Atlantic City. The resulting financial setbacks were enormous, and were soon followed by others. The Playboy Clubs, considered daring in the 1960s, were almost quaint two decades later. Club membership declined greatly, and financial losses followed. Further, advertising in the magazine, the flagship institution of the empire, was down 60 percent from 1970. Clearly, drastic change was in order if *Playboy* were to survive.

Appropriately for an empire founded on the female form, the answer was embodied in a woman: Christie Hefner, adult daughter of founding father Hugh. She agreed to serve as chief executive officer of Playboy Enterprises, while her father enjoyed semi-retirement at Playboy Mansion West (although he retained the majority share of company stock). Working with experienced financial managers, Ms. Hefner sold off the clubs and resorts, as well as other drains on revenue (including her father's jet, The Big Bunny). She recognized the potential of the emerging video market, and Playboy Enterprises was soon profitably producing soft-core adult videos, CD-ROMs, and cable television shows. As the new millennium approached, Playboy Enterprises was again in the black, with *Playboy* magazine (subscribers numbering in the millions) bringing in about half of all revenue.

—Justin Gustainis

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## Playgirl

With its appearance on the stands in May 1973, *Playgirl* magazine became the first magazine for women to focus on men. Although Helen Gurley Brown's *Cosmopolitan* had featured the first nude male centerfold, *Playgirl*, first published by Douglas Lambert and edited by Marin Scott Milam, was more of a female counterpart to *Playboy*. While *Cosmopolitan* may have pushed at the far edges of women's magazines, *Playgirl* went over the line in its effort to bring a newly blossomed feminism to the realm of popular reading material. It desired to offer women "the good life," much as *Playboy* identified a way of life that encompassed the music their male readers listened to, the books they read, the cars they drove—and the women who fed their fantasies.

By the late 1990s, although *Playgirl* could boast a circulation of more than 500,000, this was still nowhere near the much larger circulation figures for *Cosmopolitan* and doesn't enter the sphere of circulation occupied by *Playboy*. Perhaps this is because of the fact that *Playgirl* always had trouble deciding what kind of magazine it wanted to be. Its fiction, although at times featuring such notable authors as Joyce Carol Oates and Margaret Atwood, rarely rose higher than romance novels and confession magazines, while *Playboy's* fiction often featured the top writers of the day, and it featured interviews with Margaret Thatcher, Henry Kissinger, Warren Beatty, and Jane Fonda, to name a few. While aspiring to emulate *Playboy*, in its early years *Playgirl* periodically featured silly centerfolds, such as actor Rip Torn and Benji the dog. And on the nudity question, it wavered between the extremes of full frontal and none at all.

The magazine's lack of identity reflected the fact that women themselves were struggling to find and assert their identity during the 1970s and 1980s. Could a woman retain her femininity or did she have to ape a man to succeed in a man's world? Her wages were

certainly arguing that she could not compete on equal terms with men. How could she aspire to "the good life" when her wages were often half that of her male counterpart? Women themselves were divided on the issues. Many continued to believe that husbands should work and wives should stay home and care for the family. To these women, working mothers meant bad mothers.

Another reason for the lack of clear focus in *Playgirl* was its publishing history. While the image of *Playboy* boss Hugh Hefner could offer men a vision of what the ultimate playboy was supposed to look like, *Playgirl's* original publisher was a man. *Cosmopolitan* and *Ms. Magazine* were both headed by strong feminists, able to commit themselves to the message they were proclaiming in the pages of their magazines. In 1986, Drake Publishers bought *Playgirl* and relocated to New York. They believed that women didn't want to see nude men, preferring traditional images of handsome men that they could fantasize about. This romanticized view of women's sexuality didn't go over well with the readers, and the change lasted less than a year before the full frontal nudity was back.

Further, *Playgirl* ignored a vocal part of the women's movement that decried the objectification of women in such magazines as *Playboy* and *Penthouse*. Many men and women argued that sexualizing women led to violent crimes such as rape. It was further argued that men's magazines objectified not only women but men as well, making men nothing more than the sex they were having. While many women's groups called for reform in men's magazines, *Playgirl* was pushing for what many considered equal depravity rather than equal rights. They thought that *Playgirl* actually weakened the arguments for the fair treatment of women.

Despite some of its rocky history, *Playgirl* earned a reputation for listening to what its readers wanted. When the first issue came out, centerfold Lyle Waggoner was featured in a cross-legged pose. Readers complained that *Playgirl* hadn't gone far enough. The next issue featured a fully revealed George Maharis. In 1986, it was the readers' responses to the withdrawal of nudity that convinced Drake Publishers to reintroduce male nudity in the magazine.

In the last years of the twentieth century, *Playgirl*—one voice in a myriad of women's magazines—remained the only women's magazine that regularly featured nude men. Deciding at last to be the only erotic magazine for women, *Playgirl*, in the words of their historical overview, now serves "to legitimize female sexuality and introduce women to the same provocative features and photographs men [have] been enjoying for years." While *Playgirl* may not have presented the fully fleshed-out vision of "the good life" that *Playboy* inspired, it has remained for many women the authority on female sexuality.

—Cheryl A. Smith

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## Playhouse 90

Considered by many to be the most ambitious of the anthology dramas to emerge during the "Golden Age of Television," *Playhouse 90*, according to historian William Boddy, was voted the greatest television series of all time in a 1970 *Variety* poll of television editors. Appearing Thursday evenings on CBS from 1956 to 1959, the program presented new ninety-minute dramas, many of which were telecast live. Like other "anthology dramas" of the era, *Playhouse 90* is often remembered as a fertile ground for quality performances and an opportunity for writers and directors to showcase dramatic talents for a national audience. During its four-year run, *Playhouse 90* launched careers, lured stars back to television, and allowed actors the opportunity to take chances performing roles which they otherwise might not have been offered. The program began on October 4, 1956, with *Forbidden Area*, starring Charlton Heston, Tab Hunter, and Vincent Price. It was followed by Rod Serling's classic *Requiem for a Heavyweight*, which won the Emmy as best single program of the year, and starred Jack Palance, who won an Emmy for best single performance by an actor. Other *Playhouse 90* stars included Johnny Carson (in his first dramatic television role), Errol Flynn, Kim Hunter, Paul Newman (in his last dramatic television role) and Joanne Woodward, Cliff Robertson, Jack Lemmon, Claude Rains, Burt Reynolds, and Robert Redford. Among the memorable programs from this series are *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, *Judgement at Nuremberg*, *The Male Animal*, *The Days of Wine and Roses*, and Joseph Conrad's *The Heart of Darkness*. *Playhouse 90* was recognized with five Emmys during its first season and won the award for best drama each of the next three years it was on the air. In its final season of production, *Playhouse 90* was limited to sixteen programs or specials as it shared a time slot with *The Big Party*.

—James Friedman

## Pocket Books

See Paperbacks

## Pogo

Eventually a very political possum, Walt Kelly's Pogo was first seen in 1942 in a comic book. By the time he moved into the funny papers in 1948, he was not only considerably cuter but also much more socially aware. A success, albeit a controversial one, from almost the start of his newspaper days, Pogo soon branched out into a series of popular soft-cover reprint books. As the strip progressed, Kelly took increasing interest, and delight, in poking fun at many of the biggest political targets of the day; these included Senator Joe McCarthy, Lyndon Johnson, Nikita Khrushchev, Spiro Agnew, and J. Edgar Hoover. Needless to say, this was sometimes a risky sort of satire in which to indulge, especially in the social climate of the 1950s.

Born in Philadelphia and raised in Bridgeport, Kelly had always yearned to be a cartoonist. In the mid-1930s he went West to work for

the Disney organization. Along with hundreds of other artists, the young Kelly worked on such animated features as *Snow White*, *Pinocchio*, and *Dumbo*. After leaving Walt Disney in 1941, Kelly came back East and was soon gainfully employed in the comic book business. By then he had become an excellent cartoonist; it was logical that he would find work with *Animal Comics* and *Fairy Tale Parade*.

In 1942 Kelly invented *Pogo* as a backup feature for *Animal Comics*, a magazine wherein the designated star was supposed to be the venerable rabbit gentleman Uncle Wiggily. A very scruffy and too-realistic-looking possum at the start, Pogo soon improved in appearance and eventually came to be the leading character in the feature. Among his swamp companions were the turtle Churchy LaFemme, Porky Pine, Howland Owl, and Albert the Alligator, a likeable ne'er-do-well who smoked cigars and possessed a mind overflowing with sly schemes—a goodly portion of which involved food.

By 1948 Kelly was working as staff artist and chief political cartoonist for the short-lived *New York Star*, which was more or less the successor to the liberal newspaper *PM*. On October 4 of that year, *Pogo* began as a daily comic strip exclusively in the pages of the *New York Star*. When the paper ceased publication three months later, Kelly's swamp denizens were temporarily without a home. The strip, however, was picked up for syndication that May and it immediately began to gather a sizeable client list. Although he had liberal political views, Kelly was at heart a comedian and he also included considerable slapstick, burlesque, puns, and uncontrolled nonsense in his saga of Okefenokee Swamp. In addition to outrageous continuities, mixed frequently with political satire, Kelly was especially fond of having his characters sing somewhat garbled versions of traditional songs. No Christmas, for example, went by without a heartfelt rendering of "Deck Us All with Boston Charlie."

Aware that Kelly's views on such topics as Senator McCarthy, the Ku Klux Klan, and the John Birch Society did not sit especially well with some of their subscribing editors, his syndicate suggested that he prepare a few alternative strips to run in place of an offensive one. Kelly went along with this, creating what he called his "bunny rabbit strips." These featured none of the *Pogo* regulars, but only a bunch of cute little rabbits enacting very tame and quiet gags. Kelly produced at least two dozen of these, and some of them must have been run far more than once.

Because of failing health in his final years, Kelly had to rely on assistants to turn out his strip. After he died in 1973, *Pogo* went on until 1975, written and drawn by others and controlled by his heirs. Early in 1989, the *Los Angeles Times Syndicate* attempted to resurrect Pogo, Albert, and the rest of the gang. A brand new version of the strip, titled *Walt Kelly's Pogo*, was launched with art by Neal Sternecky and scripts by Larry Doyle. This version, which concentrated mostly on whimsy and not social comment, was not particularly successful. By 1992, both members of the creative team had departed and Kelly's daughter Carolyn was drawing it while his son Peter oversaw the writing. *Pogo* closed up shop for the second time soon after.

—Ron Goulart

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## The Pointer Sisters

Popular music audiences in the late twentieth century had never seen anything like the Pointer Sisters. Throughout their career, they defied categorization like no other female group had ever done, all while maintaining their substantial popularity. They took risks, and in doing so, expanded the boundaries in music for all women. They had a strong, self-aware style that came through whatever type of music they happened to be singing, and this style influenced the changing social mores of the 1970s and 1980s surrounding women.

Born in Oakland, California, sisters Ruth (1946), Anita (1948), Bonnie (1950), and June (1954) had a strict upbringing. Both of their parents were ministers in the West Oakland Church of God, and for many years church singing was their only form of public entertaining. Eventually Bonnie and June began performing in San Francisco clubs as a duo. Their sister Anita joined them later, and in 1971 they officially became the “Pointer Sisters” and signed with manager Bill

Graham. For the next few years, they sang backing vocals for a number of popular 1970s recording artists. Eventually, their strong vocal skills brought them to the attention of Atlantic Records, which signed the group. The first few singles, in the rhythm and blues style, were not successful, but the sisters persevered. Ruth quit her job to join the act, and the new quartet of sisters left Atlantic and signed with ABC’s Blue Thumb label.

Their self-titled debut album brought them immediate national recognition. The songs moved seamlessly from jazz to rhythm and blues, and showcased the Pointer Sisters’ dynamic vocal range, powerful soul-shouting lungs, fierce scat-singing technique, and the effortless beauty of their distinctive vocal blend. The Pointers dressed in 1940s-era clothes, evoking positive comparisons between them and the definitive 1940s vocal group the Andrews Sisters. They performed at Nashville’s Grand Ole Opry—the first African-American women to do so. In 1974, they became the first pop act to perform in the San Francisco Opera House, and were the subjects of a PBS documentary.

The group did not restrict themselves to rhythm and blues for long. Bonnie and Anita wrote a country song called “Fairytale,” which fared well on the pop charts and won them a Grammy award in 1974 for Best Country Single of the Year. Soon after, however, emotional and financial hardships divided the group for a few years.



The Pointer Sisters

Bonnie decided to be a solo recording artist, so in 1978 she left the group and signed with Motown Records. Although Bonnie found some success with the few songs she released, it was minimal. The remaining trio struggled for a while with an image problem and declining record sales. Because of the 1940s-style image they presented, they were beginning to be thought of, by the late 1970s, as a nostalgia group, albeit a tremendously talented one. The sisters knew they needed to change their image and sound if they were to keep making successful records.

They signed with Planet Records, and with producer Richard Perry's help, they launched a stream of top ten pop records that forever solidified their place in contemporary music history. The new and improved Pointer Sisters seemed, in many ways, like a new group altogether. Their clothes were no longer period pieces, but the latest fashions of their day. Always known for their energetic performances, the Pointers were now dubbed "high energy" and seemed to dance faster, jump higher, and sing stronger than they ever had. Seven top ten hits made the Pointers a household name by the mid-1980s. Other groups may have been content to stay with a formula, just as all the girl-groups of the 1960s had done, but the Pointer sisters set out to break every mold they made of themselves in the public eye.

Covering Bruce Springsteen's "Fire" got them labeled as a quasi-rock group, but they later recorded the soulful pop "He's So Shy." "Slow Hand" seemed to highlight the strong rhythm and blues flavor of their voices, yet they proved again with "Jump" that they could deliver pop music with as steady a punch. The nature of the lyrics and the melodies—self-assured, world-wise, sexy, and high-spirited—gave audiences a powerful image of three very independent and energetic women. The advent of MTV (Music Television) and the appearance of the group in a number of music videos (as well as television specials) helped advertise this new image. Audiences all over the country could turn on the television and see these fashionable women—with amazingly seductive voices—laughing, jumping, and having a party on stage because they felt like doing so. Even the title of one of their biggest hits, "I'm So Excited," evokes the kind of party attitude and self-determination the group presented on television, recording, and radio. By revitalizing their career through public image renewal and exploring new styles, the sisters developed a model under which other female artists could emulate and expand upon.

At the end of the 1980s, the group took a break. They occasionally made television appearances, but it was not until the mid-1990s that the group fully stepped out into the spotlight again. This time they turned their attention to Broadway, starring in a revival of *Ain't Misbehavin'*—the hugely successful 1920s musical-revue based on Fats Waller. It seemed, by the end of the twentieth century, that the Pointer Sisters had come full circle—returning, in a sense, to the nostalgic jazz style that first brought them recognition. But for a group that made a career out of sweet musical surprises, there was no way anyone could be certain of anything concerning the Pointer Sisters, except that their powerful voices would not easily be forgotten.

—Brian Granger

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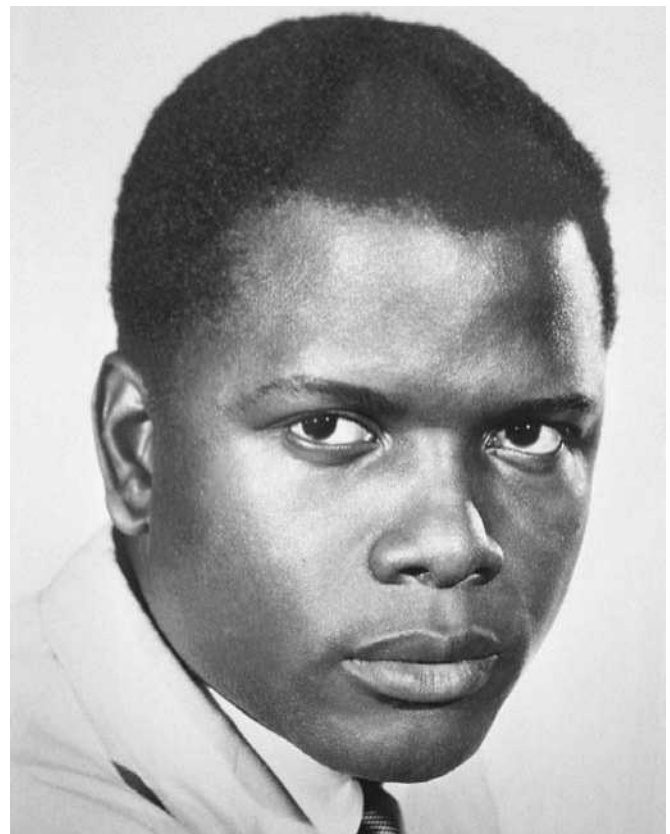
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## Poitier, Sidney (1927—)

As one of the first African-American actors to consistently appear in serious dramatic roles in American films, Sidney Poitier is acknowledged as a major catalyst for Hollywood offering more substantive roles to black performers. In 1992, the American Film Institute paid tribute to Poitier, with Denzel Washington referring to him as "a source of pride for many African Americans," and James Earl Jones saying that Poitier has "played a great role in the life of our country."

Although born in 1927 in Miami, Florida, Poitier grew up on his family's farm in the Bahamas. Despite being a poor man, Poitier has said that his father—a tomato farmer—was never a man of self-pity. As Poitier once said, "Every time I took a part, from the first part, from the first day, I always said to myself, 'This must reflect well on his name.'" His family moved from the tiny village of Cat Island to Nassau, the Bahamian capitol, when Poitier was eleven years old. It was at that age that he became captivated with the cinema after watching a Western drama unfold on the screen.

After serving in the U.S. Army in the early 1940s, Poitier worked as a dishwasher and janitor until he landed a backstage position with the American Negro Theater. Because his West Indian accent was unintelligible, Poitier developed a more professional voice by listening to radio commercials and imitating the announcers. After perfecting his voice, he was cast in several American Negro Theater productions during the 1940s, including *Days of Our Youth*, *Lysistrata*,



Sidney Poitier

*Anna Lucasta*, and *A Raisin in the Sun*. Poitier understudied for actor-singer Harry Belafonte in *Days of Our Youth*, and he impressed critics with his work in *Lysistrata*, despite being so nervous on the play's opening night that he delivered the wrong lines and ran off stage.

Poitier's film career began in 1950 in the feature *No Way Out*, playing a doctor tormented by the racist brother of a man whose life he could not save. Poitier worked steadily throughout the 1950s, most notably in the South African story *Cry, the Beloved Country*, the urban classroom drama *The Blackboard Jungle*, and Stanley Kramer's *The Defiant Ones*, in which Poitier and Tony Curtis played prison escapees whose mutual struggle helped them to gain respect for each other despite their racial divisions.

It was in the 1960s, however, that Poitier produced his most impressive body of work that simultaneously helped to reduce the barriers faced by African-American actors and dispel racial stereotypes on the screen. He appeared in the 1960 film adaptation of the play *A Raisin in the Sun*, in which he played the role he had created on the Broadway stage in 1959. Following that film, Poitier accepted the role of an American serviceman in Germany, in the 1963 production *Lilies of the Field*, which earned him the Academy Award for best actor. He was the first African-American actor to win this award.

Poitier continued throughout the 1960s to break down racial barriers in American film. In 1967, Poitier played a charismatic school teacher in *To Sir, with Love*, and that same year costarred with Rod Steiger in the film *In the Heat of the Night*. In this latter role, Poitier played Virgil Tibbs, an African-American detective from the North who helps solve a murder in a small Southern town with the assistance of a racist police chief. Poitier's role as Virgil Tibbs spawned two sequels and a television series, although Poitier did not appear in the TV project. The actor concluded the watershed year of 1967 by working with Spencer Tracy and Katherine Hepburn in the film *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*—an important work because it was Hollywood's first interracial love story that did not end in tragedy. Poitier has acknowledged that he suited the needs of filmmakers during this period who wanted to deliver an antiracist message. "I was a pretty good actor," he said. "I believed in brotherhood, in a free society. I hated racism, segregation. And I was a symbol against those things." However, Poitier's involvement in civil rights was more than just symbolic; the actor participated in demonstrations led by Martin Luther King, Jr. in Montgomery, Alabama, and Memphis, Tennessee.

In 1972, Poitier costarred with Harry Belafonte in the revisionist Western *Buck and the Preacher*. It was on this picture that Poitier made his debut as a film director when the original director resigned because of creative differences. Although Poitier and Belafonte wanted Columbia Pictures to hire another director, studio officials liked some of Poitier's own footage so much that they asked him to finish the film himself. His other directorial credits include *A Warm December* (1973), *Uptown Saturday Night* (1974), *Let's Do It Again* (1975), *A Piece of the Action* (1977), *Stir Crazy* (1980), *Hanky-Panky* (1982), *Fast Forward* (1985), and *Ghost Dad* (1990).

In the 1980s, Poitier took only a handful of film roles, primarily *Shoot to Kill* and *Little Nikita*, both action thrillers released in 1988. However, the 1990s produced an upswing in Poitier's film activity, starting with playing Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall in the television film *Separate but Equal*. In 1992, he returned to the big screen costarring with Robert Redford, River Phoenix, and Dan Aykroyd in the espionage comedy-drama *Sneakers*. That same year, the American Film Institute presented Poitier with a Lifetime Achievement Award, with the veteran actor humbly remarking in his acceptance speech: "I enter my golden years with nothing profound to say

and no advice to leave, but I thank you for paying me this great honor while I still have hair, and my stomach still has not obscured my view of my shoe tops." In 1995, Poitier returned to television for a role in the Western drama *Children of the Dust*.

With more than thirty film credits to his name, coupled with his work as a director and civil rights activist, Poitier has emerged from a childhood of poverty to the status of an American icon. Actor Michael Moriarty summed up what Poitier represents both on and off the screen by saying, "You see a face that you've grown up with and admired, someone who was . . . a symbol of strength and persistence and grace. And then you find out that in the everyday . . . work of doing movies, he is everything he symbolizes on screen."

—Dennis Russell

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## Polio

Throughout most of human history, polio has caused paralysis and death. Often found in wet areas, the virus is most acute in cities during summer months. The virus inflames nerves in the brain and spinal cord, causing paralysis and can be passed through contact with contaminated feces or oral secretion. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, paralytic poliomyelitis was perhaps the most feared disease in the nation. In 1950 alone, 33,300 people were stricken. In its widespread impact and public awareness, polio bears a striking resemblance to AIDS.

President Franklin Roosevelt, who had been struck by a form of polio in 1921 and left unable to use his legs, declared a War on Polio, and developing a vaccine became a national priority in the 1930s. While he took an active role in getting the leg braces, iron lungs, and other hardware for Polio treatment to all communities in the 1930s, Roosevelt went to great lengths to limit public awareness of his own affliction. Although there are over 35,000 still photographs of FDR at the Presidential Library, only two show him seated in his wheelchair. Through his own experience, Roosevelt seemed to understand that rehabilitation of the polio patient was a social problem with medical aspects, not a medical problem with social aspects. Speaking to a group at the Warm Springs, Georgia, rehabilitation center, FDR said: "The most important point is that people all over the country know about what we are doing and are following our example in their own communities." Iron lungs and rural retreats became well-known possibilities for those suffering from polio, but FDR sought to reduce their stigma.

Roosevelt sought to raise funds for polio victims throughout his presidency. In 1937 he helped to create the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, which offered financial assistance to families with polio victims. The Foundation also helped to establish treatment centers in many American communities, whereas previously polio victims had been shunned to remote facilities. Further donations were

made to a less medical and more popular organization, “The March of Dimes,” also created in 1937. In 1938, the two organizations collected \$1.8 million; by 1945 they collected \$18.9 million. Treatment was only one use of the funds; these donations combined with government funding to initiate the pursuit of a vaccine. Controlling the virus became one of the first examples of the federal government’s involvement in Americans’ expectations for a safer standard of living. In essence, the public began to look toward the federal government to ensure a healthy environment. Public awareness campaigns made the virus and its modes of transmission part of the American popular culture through 1950.

With federal funds assisting the search, vaccines became available in the early 1960s. The most well-known was created by Jonas Salk. The Salk vaccine allowed most of the industrialized world to defeat the polio virus, creating a significant economic effect: it is said that the polio vaccine pays for itself every three weeks. By the end of the twentieth century 97 percent of all children have been administered a Polio Vaccine. The scourge of early twentieth century America, polio and its control became indicative of the nation’s ability to solve social and medical problems with increasing technology.

—Brian Black

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## Political Bosses

Political bosses are professional politicians who control political machines in cities, counties, or states in ostensibly democratic regimes. Bosses first emerged in the United States in the early 1800s when masses of newly franchised, inexperienced voters provided bosses with opportunities for regimentation, mobilization, and manipulation. Each subsequent expansion of the franchise to new classes of voters, and each new wave of immigrants allowed bosses to strengthen their political power base.

Each individual political boss is a leader within the political machine hierarchy. Little bosses and big bosses are connected in a feudal hierarchy, each with a fiefdom to be exploited, and each bound to the other by mutual self-interest and personal loyalty. The boss is accountable for his actions to no one outside the machine.

The principal methods used by the boss to gain control over voting blocs are patronage, the power to appoint persons to formal positions of power in the government; spoils, the power to distribute tangible rewards, including government contracts for goods and services, tax favoritism, formal and informal exemptions from legal enforcement and prosecution, and the issuance of government permits; the politics of recognition, especially the rapid integration of newly arrived immigrant groups and minority groups into the political system; and the nomination of a balanced electoral ticket in which all supporters of the machine are represented. Bosses secure the public and electoral support of extended families, gangs, business organizations, neighborhoods, ethnic groups, and immigrant groups through patronage, graft, and the granting or withholding of favors,

including government services, government welfare benefits, and social and economic benefits provided by the machine itself. Machine-provided benefits include membership in social clubs, gift baskets for the needy, and make-work employment for unemployed machine supporters.

The political machine is an interdependent community bound together through the boss. Various class, race and ethnic groups are united by the common political objectives of seizing control of government and using government to secure advantages for the constituent groups within the machine. The machine is a vehicle for class, race, and ethnic cooperation and integration, and for the distribution of economic, social, and political benefits across all social groups. Membership in the machine is an achieved status, earned through demonstrated service to the machine. The machine recruits political outsiders into the political system, provides rapid political and social advancement for members of immigrant and minority groups, and helps mainstream and empower groups and individuals previously outside the acting political community.

In jurisdictions where political machines are active, the informal political power of the machine replaces the legal authority of government officials. Bosses typically put their personal self-interest and the machine’s self-interest above the interests of political parties, government institutions, and the public. Bosses use their power over politics and government to accumulate personal wealth and social status, and demand deference from leaders of non-political institutions, including businesses, churches, charities, community groups, and criminal organizations. Bosses practice politics for personal profit.

During the course of building the machine, bosses often form mutual-support alliances with corrupt business and criminal elements. These alliances, the conspiracy upon which they are based, and the scintillating lawlessness inherent in reciprocation of power and influence, undermine popular respect for politics and for machine-supported public officials. The resulting scandals and public outrage are the central themes for many novels, films, and television programs, especially police dramatic series. Feelings of helplessness in confronting an overpowering machine also leads to public withdrawal from politics and to political apathy.

Efforts at political reform during the Progressive Era in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including the civil service system, party primary elections, the multiplication of elected offices, especially in the state and local executive branches, the rotation, staggering, and shortening of elected terms of office, and introduction of the Australian ballot, merely strengthened the power of the boss. First, the reforms further complicated politics, making amateur political leaders less able to compete with the bosses. Second, the diffusion and legal limitations of official authority increased the need and opportunity for unofficial, efficient authority to emerge. Attempts to solve the problem of bossism merely increased the opportunities for bosses to flourish.

Famous bosses include William W. “Boss” Tweed and George Washington Plunkitt, leaders of Tammany Hall, a fraternal aid, charitable, and political organization that controlled the New York City Democratic Party and city politics from 1798 until Tweed’s fraud conviction in 1872. Boss Tom Pendergast ran the Kansas City, Missouri, machine throughout the 1930s, paving city streets and rivers and giving Harry Truman his start before being sent to jail on tax evasion charges late in the decade. Mayor Richard Daley controlled the Chicago machine during the mid-twentieth century. Most American cities and states succumbed to the power of similar bosses and political machines at one time or another. There is no distinctive

personality type, life history, or other measurable criteria to distinguish a boss from a legitimate political leader. “Bossism” is defined subjectively. E. J. Flynn, author of *You’re the Boss*, writes that it is only the leader you do not like who is a boss, and the political organization you do not like that is a machine. Throughout American history, writers, journalists, and political opponents have readily found evidence of bossism in the political leaders they dislike.

—Gordon Neal Diem

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## Political Correctness

The social and cultural phenomenon known as political correctness emerged on American college campuses during the 1980s and became a part of the larger cultural scene in the 1990s. Political correctness was neither a social movement nor a coherent political platform, but rather a tendency among governing bodies, especially in academic institutions, to police the spoken, written, or implied beliefs of those with whom they disagreed. Organizations and individuals behaved in a politically correct, or PC, manner when they attempted to restrict the rights of others to espouse opposing beliefs or to use offensive language. To its critics, primarily conservatives, political correctness was censorship, pure and simple; to its proponents, primarily liberals, it was an attempt to create an environment in which no one gave or took offense.

The historical origins of the term political correctness are unclear but telling. Some trace the origins of political correctness to Chinese communist leader Mao Tse-Tung, who debated the origins of correct ideas in his *Little Red Book*. The term was used even earlier, however, when in 1793 a U.S. Supreme Court justice wrote in an

opinion, “This is not politically correct.” In Russia in the 1930s, Stalinists used the phrase to evoke a “sense of historical certitude.” Leninists used the phrase to describe those steadfast to their party affiliations. The phrase was used in the 1960s to describe people who altered their manners and beliefs to fit the prevailing political movements. But political correctness at the end of the twentieth century took on its meaning beginning in the 1980s, when conservative campus advocates began using the phrase to describe the leftist movement to increase multicultural, gay, and feminist studies and to impose codes of conduct that would eliminate behaviors deemed racist, sexist, homophobic, or otherwise unacceptable. Political correctness was thus a pejorative term used by conservatives to describe what they perceived as an attempt to undermine their values.

Whatever its origins, it is clear that political correctness was born of political power, and exerted by socially or politically powerful blocs attempting to establish norms for behavior and speech. When those politically powerful groups first emerged on college campuses in the 1980s, they were largely identified with the generation of academics who had come of age in the 1960s and had recently acquired enough power, through tenure or academic leadership, to enact their agenda. Under the banner of a celebration of American multiculturalism, politically correct academics encouraged the study of feminism, homosexuality, and ethnicity, all in an attempt to give oppressed groups a stronger voice in society. Politically correct theorists proposed that oppressive white males of European descent had dominated American history for long enough, and that it was time to value the contributions of other social and cultural groups.

The concrete impact of political correctness on college campuses came in the creation of codes of conduct and the establishment of courses and departments dedicated to the study of previously marginalized topics. Codes of conduct took many forms across college campuses. Speech and harassment codes punished verbal or physical conduct (epithets, slurs, graphic materials, etc.) that offended an individual or group of individuals. While most such codes were inherently reasonable—how could one favor date rape?—critics claimed that they were used to silence the opinions of conservative white males and that they were enforced, often without regard to due process, by governing bodies eager to serve the needs of the so-called oppressed minorities. As politically correct ideals were mandated, open and honest debate declined. Students and faculty feared being labeled incorrect and faced serious punishment if they violated broadly defined and sometimes subjective speech codes. Although conduct codes were created with good intentions, many students and faculty felt the codes limited academic freedoms and constitutional rights to freedom of speech and assembly.

Multicultural studies were intended to make higher education more demographically and culturally inclusive. Feminist and homosexual studies followed the multicultural movement, and quickly became established in college curricula. Supporters of political correctness claimed that they were attempting to broaden the canons of classical texts and studies by including works by women and minority groups. Conservatives and traditionalists argued that politically correct professors taught the ideas of inferior female or minority authors instead of civilization’s greatest authors and philosophers. Stanford University, for one, engaged in a very public and divisive debate over which books to include in its curriculum in the late 1980s.

Political correctness did not descend on campuses overnight, nor did it change college curriculums without a fight. As they began to perceive the ill effects of political correctness, social and political

conservatives and liberal proponents of free expression began to articulate their opposition to the changing political atmosphere. Opponents of political correctness decried the inclusion of what they deemed inferior subject matter into the curriculum, charged that politically correct professors were intimidating students into expressing only politically correct beliefs, and hailed the crackdown on anything politically incorrect as a new kind of McCarthyism. These fights between liberals and conservatives were soon carried out in public debates, in articles and books, and on talks shows, thus bringing political correctness to the attention of mainstream culture.

Many governmental organizations soon found themselves facing similar issues to those debated on college campuses in the 1980s as they attempted to define how they would deal with such issues as gays in the workplace and the military, sexual harassment, and hate crimes. On both a state and a national level, legislatures argued over whether to adjust laws to extend special protections to women, homosexuals, or minorities. The passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act in 1990, the backlash against any form of sexual harassment that followed the Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill Senate Hearings in 1991, and the passage of hate crime legislation all seemed to indicate that political correctness had found its way into American law. But the passage of anti-Affirmative Action legislation in California and Washington in the late 1990s indicated that the tide might be turning against legislation intended to protect minority groups.

Perhaps the most pervasive impact of political correctness on American culture came with regard to language. In an effort to show no disrespect for anyone, promoters of political correctness largely succeeded in reducing the number of offensive or inaccurate names used to refer to people. For example, descendants of historically oppressed groups are now called “Native Americans” instead of “Indians” and “African Americans” instead of “blacks.” (But descendants of groups that are predominantly of European origin—Italians, Germans, Irish, etc.—did not receive new classifications.) Euphemistic language emerged as a means to prevent offending the sensitivities of others. Examples include using the term “sanitation engineer” instead of garbage man, and “firefighter” instead of fireman. The mentally retarded or physically handicapped became “challenged.” It also became politically correct behavior to recycle, to oppose wearing fur, and to accept homosexuality as an “alternative lifestyle.” Though such language became the source of frequent jokes—short people became known as “vertically challenged,” for example—its impact was far reaching.

By the late 1990s, open public discussion of political correctness had largely ended, in large part because it had been naturalized into the cultural landscape. To its credit, political correctness helped create a new politeness and sensitivity to differences among American cultural groups. However, by pointing out the differences and mandating codes of behavior, it also heightened hostilities between opposing political sides and contributed to the culture wars of the late twentieth century.

—Debra Lucas Muscoreil

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## Pollock, Jackson (1912-1956)

His aggressive, sometimes violent personality combined with a new painting technique elevated artist Jackson Pollock to legendary status among American painters. His turbulent outbursts and his drip paintings earned him a reputation that would later become the stereotypical idea of the modern artist. Reconciling the unconscious

with the creative act of painting was the impetus behind the paintings of abstract expressionist artist Pollock. His gestural works and technique of flinging and dripping paint over canvas had its inspiration in an exploration of the painting process and stemmed from his association with surrealist artists. Pollock once referenced the act of painting in itself as a source of magic. The art critic Harold Rosenberg picked up on this thought and termed the work “action painting.” Pollock’s action paintings became the cornerstone of the abstract expressionist art movement. This technique, an all-over approach that redefined pictorial space by doing away with any differentiation between the foreground and the background, stunned the art world when first presented at the Betty Parsons New York Gallery in 1948.

Paul Jackson Pollock, born in Cody, Wyoming, January 28, 1912, spent his early years in the American Southwest, specifically Arizona and California, where he developed an interest in mysticism and mythology. This fascination resurfaced after studying with American Regionalist painter Thomas Hart Benton at the Art Students League in New York from 1930 to 1932. Pollock’s imagery began to contrast sharply with the realism of Benton; Pollock had more of an interest in the intangible expressions of emotions as subject matter. Pollock’s brush with the work of Mexican muralists Diego Rivera and Clement Orozco during his tenure with the Works Projects Administration Federal Art Project in 1935 reinforced his interest in metaphysical ideas. Pollock also became obsessed with large scale images. In the 1940s some of his canvases grew to sizes over 16 feet long.

Before Pollock began applying the action painting technique, his work in the early 1940s related to the automatic gestural painting practiced by many surrealists and the influence of Wassily Kandinsky and Pablo Picasso. Pollock’s earliest images contained loose, gestural figurative forms. The gesture of the painting overtook the subjects beginning in 1947. Soon, recognizable imagery became obliterated by tangles of lines and shapes formed by dripping and poured paint. The movement and layers of the paint intermingled, flattening the plane and often seeming to continue beyond the edges of the canvas. Large scale works such as *Lavender Mist* (1950) and *Full Fathom Five* (1947) were the culmination of this style and became some of Pollock’s best known and most successful pieces. Pollock claimed every drip and line was deliberate; he refuted the idea of chance or accident as part of his creative process. Art critic Clement Greenberg, familiar with Pollock’s work, encouraged the artist to continue with his unique technique. Greenberg’s favorable reviews and his backing of the New York School, with Pollock at the center, led to an exciting period in art history. The abstract expressionists, including Pollock, Mark Rothko, Willem De Kooning, Robert Motherwell, and Franz Kline, in addition to Pollock’s wife, artist Lee Krasner, helped make New York the art center of the world. There artists produced exciting new works that defined the idea of avant-garde art.

A return to figurative imagery in Pollock’s work after 1950, seen in works such as *#27* (1951) and *Easter and the Totem* (1953), still incorporated the philosophy of applying paint purely for its expressive qualities. Yet, Pollock did not have as much success with these later images as he did with his earlier non-figurative paintings. This lack of success fueled a problem with alcoholism that began to consume Pollock. Moreover, his marriage was disintegrating, and Pollock’s life rapidly spiraled downward, culminating in a fatal automobile accident in 1956.

During his short life, Pollock was a prolific and original artist. His works of art had a profound impact on an art community that was ready for reinvention. Pollock and the New York School revitalized

the American art scene while filling New York City with a raw, artistic excitement—the discovery of a new way of producing and thinking about art. Pollock and his action paintings were pivotal to the art movement abstract expressionism. Often parodied, Pollock is a legendary figure representing modernity in art in the twentieth century.

—Jennifer Jankauskas

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## Polyester

The Frankenstein’s monster of fabrics, polyester has enjoyed more lives than the evil baron’s monstrous creation. The wonder fiber of the post-war West became the fashion rage of the superfuelled 1970s. Then, dismissed and disavowed by the cognoscenti, it seemed on the verge of extinction until modern science resurrected its utility in the form of polar fleece in the 1990s. What a long, strange trip it’s been.

Other than LSD, perhaps no man-made compound influenced the style of an era quite like polyester. And like LSD, it had its origins in a European laboratory. Polyester, the invention of two chemists working at the Calico Printers Association in England, was not the first man-made fiber. Rayon and Nylon had been in use for years as sportswear and stockings, respectively. But when J.T. Dickson and J.R. Whinfield hit upon a way to spin petrochemical molecules into threads, they created a fiber that was light years ahead in terms of its versatility and utility. The DuPont company sensed the commercial potential of the new invention and purchased the patents for it in 1950. Within three years, polyester was being produced in mass quantities.

Polyester’s principal virtue was its plasticity. Natural fibers like cotton or wool cannot be re-engineered, but a man-made fabric like polyester can be custom designed to produce a different aesthetic. With advances in technology, new polyester blends were concocted that simulated the look and feel of “real” fabrics. Furthermore, because polyester is naturally permanently pressed, the need for irons and ironing boards was greatly reduced. DuPont even coined a term, “wash and wear,” to describe the wondrous properties of its new synthetic.

Throughout the 1960s, polyester was sold to the public as the avatar of a new era of space age convenience in clothing. And for the most part, the people seemed to be buying it. Ads for “perma-prest,” “wash-and-wear,” and “double knit” items began dotting the pages



of such barometers of public taste as the *New York Times* and the Sears catalog. In the 1970s, polyester pantsuits, leisure suits, and garishly-colored knit shirts stormed into fashion, as the fabric attained a kind of hipster cachet among suburban moderns. Poly blend sport shirts and flared slacks seemed the perfect attire for weekend barbecues, wife-swapping parties, and trips to the singles bar. Demand for the wonder synthetic became so great by 1974 that manufacturers had difficulty filling their orders.

What killed polyester? Like the fierce debate over “Who lost China?” in the 1950s, the question admits no easy answer. For one thing, there was the problem of ubiquity. By the late 1970s, polyester fashion had become so absorbed into the mainstream that it lost all claim on fashionable taste. Furthermore, with so much polyester on the market—and so much of it cheaply constructed—the fabric’s inherent weaknesses began to assert themselves. Simply put, polyester does not breathe the way cotton does. The resultant tendency toward sweatiness gave the clothes a disagreeable downmarket connotation. Finally, the excesses of disco, as personified by John Travolta’s egregious white polyester suit in the 1977 film *Saturday Night Fever*, put the final nail in the wonder fabric’s coffin.

For almost two decades, polyester languished in popular disrepute. Occasionally used in blends in order to make clothes less expensive, it was all but shunned as an emblem of poor taste by anyone with a shred of fashion sense. Camp film director John Waters even titled his 1981 celebration of tackiness *Polyester*. In the mid-1990s, however, the miracle fiber began to make a comeback in the form of polar fleece. Best known under the trade name Polartec, the fabric was marketed in the form of sweaters, leggings, hats, and mittens by such hip winter wear outfitters as Patagonia and Lands’ End. Once again, polyester’s utility was the major selling point. Polar fleece is lightweight and does not absorb as much water as other fabrics, making it the perfect lining for outerwear.

And as it had in the 1950s, utility begat fashionability. By 1998, top designers such as Donna Karan and Tommy Hilfiger were integrating polar fleece into their clothing lines. While it was perhaps too early to declare polyester completely rehabilitated, the popularity of winter sports and the rise of casual chic seemed to assure the continued marketability of polar fleece into the new millennium. The wonder fabric’s most remarkable attribute, it seemed, was its indestructibility.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Pop Art

Pop art developed in the turbulent cultural milieu of the early 1960s as a response to the brooding intellectual and emotional aspects of abstract expressionism. Originally a British movement of the mid-1950s, in American hands pop art became commentary on the mass production culture and the banality of everyday life. Artists like Andy Warhol, Roy Lichtenstein, and Claes Oldenburg utilized the images and production techniques of daily American life in a consumer society, transforming them into objects that were neither wholly real nor wholly art; in the process, they strove to make viewers aware of

the extent to which advertising and the production/consumption cycle had come to dominate their lives.

The phrase “Pop Art” seems to have originated from two sources: from British artist Richard Hamilton’s 1956 collage picture *Just What is it that Makes Today’s Homes so Different, so Appealing?*, which featured a bodybuilder holding a gigantic “Tootsie Pop” sucker; and as a descriptor of an art which highlighted “popular” everyday objects. The latter definition is more relevant. Pop Art was filled with images of consumer products, rendered in styles derived from advertisements or familiar images. The subject matter, as an early critic described it, was “the twentieth century communications network of which we are all a part.” Pop artists borrowed heavily from the slick, flashy, cliché-ridden advertising industry to depict the objects that were a part of American consumerism. Subjects were rendered in a simple, flat manner that emphasized the thinness of the canvas. Strong, bright colors were favored, and the image was centralized within the pictorial space. All of this was in direct contrast to the work of the abstract expressionists, who created formless, nonobjective art that grappled with existential questions of meaning.

The most successful pop artists adopted these techniques in different ways. Roy Lichtenstein used the style of comic strips—bright colors, single scenes, Ben Day dots, and dialogue balloons. He depicted a world of prepackaged emotions (parallel to consumer products) and gender stereotypes. The women in Lichtenstein’s paintings were concerned with love and marriage, as in the romance comics; the men inhabited the war comic world of violence and death. In the mid-1960s, Lichtenstein also drew from art history within his comic strip style, integrating such genres as cubism and abstract expressionism. His work thus shifted from a critique of the banal world of everyday America to a commentary on the secularization of high culture.

James Rosenquist’s referent was the billboard. A former sign painter, Rosenquist painted on huge canvases a succession of seemingly random fragmented images. For example, his most famous painting, *F-111* (1965), features a military jet, a young girl beneath a missile-shaped hair dryer, and close-ups of spaghetti and an automobile tire. Rosenquist described his work in these words: “I treat the billboard image as it is. I paint it as a reproduction of other things. I try to get as far away from it as possible.”

This retreat from the thing itself into the image of the thing was most evident in the work of pop art’s most famous practitioner, Andy Warhol. His Campbell’s Soup cans, Brillo pad boxes, and Coca Cola bottles epitomized the tension between high art and popular culture. Rather than stacking actual Brillo boxes, he made his own—at a studio appropriately called The Factory—thus demonstrating a preference for the representation over the original. Perhaps this was most cogently demonstrated in Warhol’s *The Marilyn Diptych* (1962), which reduced the late actress to a single repeated image that exemplified Hollywood’s commodification of the individual. This detachment from the real thing became a desensitization or anesthetization in Warhol’s images of automobile crashes and electric chairs. The banality of the every day had spilled over into our emotional lives, numbing us to the real feeling that should naturally arise in the face of violence or tragedy. Warhol, like other pop artists, used the mass production techniques of advertising. His particular favorite was the silkscreen, which he used to repeat identical images across a canvas.

Claes Oldenburg transformed common consumer products into sculptures. In 1961, he turned his New York studio, which occupied a converted shop front that he called The Store. He lined the space with

his plaster recreations of food items and consumer goods. Visitors who purchased his work, such as a plaster soda can, were thus recreating the activity of a traditional store. Oldenberg succeeded in treating the gallery as a pseudo marketplace, underscoring the producer/consumer aspect of the artist/patron relationship. Later, he created huge soft sculptures—foam-filled images of everyday items which sagged and drooped, like the human body, under the effects of gravity.

Perhaps the greatest legacy of pop art was the union of art and popular culture. Pop art expressed the idea that the American common stock of shared cultural knowledge no longer came from “high culture” sources like literature or mythology, or from religion, but rather from television, movies, and advertisements. While increasingly fewer Americans in the late twentieth century were familiar with great poetic works, for example, nearly all could recite a good line from a popular movie a clichéd phrase from a television advertisement. Pop artists sought to reflect this increasing banality by blurring the distinction between art and consumption. After the heyday of pop art, the public no longer could be sure whether a Coca Cola bottle was an object, a work of art, or both. In pop art and commercial advertising the image became more important than the thing. Pop art begged the question: What is more important, the thing or its image? In the end, pop art may have been, as the poet and critic Frank O’Hara called it, merely a “put on.” Nevertheless, it was important in that it facilitated the examination of the effects of consumerism on human thought, emotion, and creativity.

—Dale Allen Gyure

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## Pop, Iggy (1947—)

As the vocalist and leader of the rock band The Stooges, Iggy Pop helped to popularize a new style of music that was loud, raw, and deceptively simple. It dealt with subjects such as boredom, drugs, and violence. Songs such as “Death Trip” and “Your Pretty Face Is Going to Hell” served as a counterblast to flower power idealism of the 1960s, and their stripped down, primal sound worked against the prevailing trends toward longer songs and complex instrumentation. As a result, Iggy and the Stooges were an important influence on the punk and grunge movements.

Pop, born James Osterberg, originally planned to be a blues drummer and moved from his home in Ann Arbor, Michigan, to Chicago, Illinois, to learn the music first hand. Although he sometimes sat in with established musicians, Osterberg came to realize that

the best he could do was to parrot their riffs, which he believed was exactly what most prominent white blues bands were doing. Deciding to create a type of simple yet powerful music based on his own experiences, he contacted Ron and Scott Asheton whom he knew from high school, and their neighbor Dave Alexander. They formed a band, first known as the Psychedelic Stooges

Shortly afterward, Osterberg began calling himself Iggy Pop and established an on-stage persona that was designed to shock audiences. Pop would sometimes perform with his head and eyebrows shaved and wearing a maternity dress, but as his reputation emerged and his drug problems worsened, his antics escalated accordingly. Pop lacerated himself on stage, picked fights with members of motorcycle gangs who had come to heckle the band, and routinely dove from the stage to crawl at the feet of audience members. On one infamous occasion, he even vomited into the crowd before a show. Although the Stooges never achieved commercial success, their music and performances set the stage for the punk movement of the late 1970s and 1980s, and a number of groups explicitly acknowledged a debt to Iggy and the Stooges. The Ramones cited the band as one of their favorites, and The Sex Pistols released a version of “No Fun.”

While Iggy Pop may have to some cultivated the persona of an idiot, that was far from the truth. He had been class valedictorian in high school, and The Stooges soon collected a number of intelligent and musically savvy supporters. Jazz trumpeter Miles Davis counted himself as a fan, and, although David Bowie was moving toward a heavily produced, complex form of rock that seemed the antithesis of the Stooges, he also praised them. John Cale, then with The Velvet Underground and formerly with La Monte Young’s avant garde ensemble The Dream Syndicate, produced their first release in 1969.

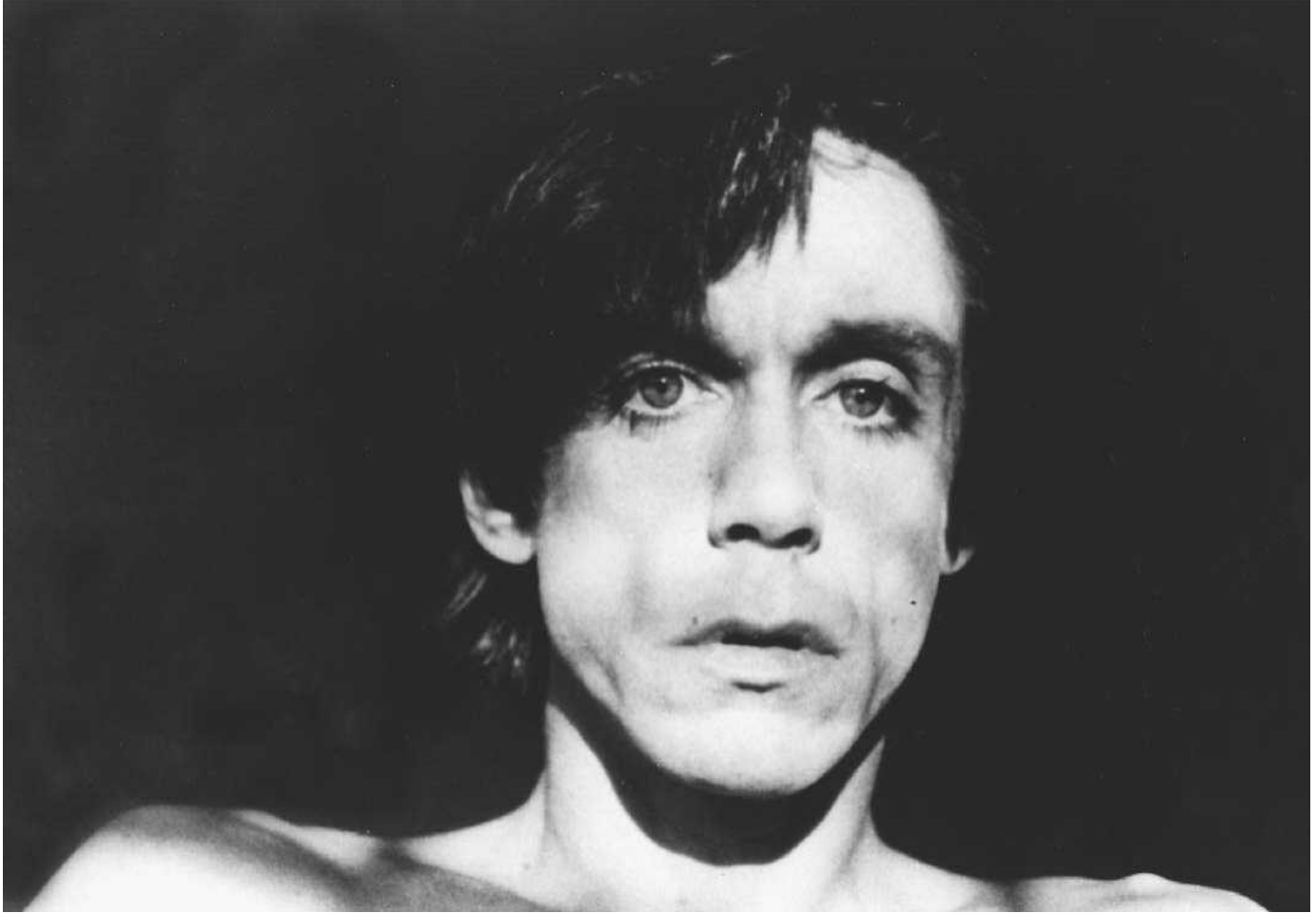
That self-titled album drew no shortage of detractors, who claimed that the band was little more than a bunch of amateurs whose popularity rested entirely on Iggy Pop’s antics. Although the music seemed basic, its vigor attracted a following. A number of bands attempted to imitate The Stooges’ seemingly elementary sound, but few came anywhere near the power and intensity of songs like “I Wanna Be Your Dog.” After releasing *Funhouse* in 1970, the band took a four-year hiatus from the studio that was due in part to their increasing drug abuse and, later, to Pop’s departure for England to work with David Bowie. Pop would dissolve the band in favor of a solo career, only to reform it when he was unable to find musicians who met his standards. Bowie produced the band’s final album, *Raw Power*, in 1974. Songs such as “Gimme Danger” and “Search and Destroy” showed that The Stooges had lost none of their edge, although critics complained that Bowie’s production effectively sanitized the band’s sound. The Stooges broke up shortly afterward.

Pop’s solo work for the rest of the 1970s was more restrained. Still, songs such as “Lust for Life” (later featured in the soundtracks to the films *Trainspotting* and *Basquiat*) and “The Passenger” also garnered some praise, and David Bowie enjoyed a hit single with “China Girl,” a song he had co-written with Pop. Turning to acting, Pop appeared in John Waters’ *Cry Baby* (1990) and Jim Jarmusch’s *Dead Man* (1995).

—Bill Freind

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**Iggy Pop**

## Pop Music

While there has always been “popular” music in the United States, and all forms of music are popular with certain audiences, the term “pop music” generally denotes forms of music that are non-classical, very mainstream, intended for very wide audiences, and often controlled by the giants of the music business: sheet music publishers in the early decades of the century, recording companies after 1930. While these companies often produced a great variety of music, their need for profits mandated a constant search for the “next big thing,” the next great artist, or style of music whose popularity would generate big record sales. Thus fueled by the profit motive, companies sought to reach the widest markets possible. And while the large companies did produce music targeted at markets considered “marginal,” such as the African-American population, they tended to focus on music that was unchallenging, unthreatening, and palatable across the spectrum of listeners.

The focus on palatable, tuneful, and unchallenging music did not necessarily mean music of poor quality. White crooners such as Bing Crosby, Frank Sinatra, Doris Day, Tony Bennett, and other artists, along with black performers such as Ella Fitzgerald and Nat “King” Cole, dominated the popular music charts during the 1940s and early 1950s. They also produced some of the finest pop vocal music ever

recorded, often composed by the accepted masters of the popular genre such as the Gershwins, Cole Porter, Jerome Kern, Irving Berlin, Harold Arlen and others, whose best-known songs have become standards of the repertoire—the classics of light, romantic, and/or witty music. Prior to the rise of rock ’n’ roll in 1955, this style of music *was* American pop music, and it appealed to white Americans, and listeners in other English-speaking countries, of all ages and classes. The music was easy to produce, and the recording companies knew what material to look for. With the rise of rock ’n’ roll, however, things changed. The large companies that defined the pop music field began finding it increasingly difficult to control or predict the course of pop music and the “next big thing” became harder and harder to find with any regularity. Thus, after 1955, the pop music field fragmented and, by the end of the twentieth century, that fragmentation had become so great that the term “pop music” is now very difficult to define.

This fragmentation was the result of numerous of factors. First, while the major record companies such as Columbia, RCA, Decca, and Capitol dominated the pop vocal field during the 1940s and 1950s, they were not the only companies in the music business. Small, independent labels such as Chess, King, Specialty, Sun, and others were busy recording and selling more marginal or specialized music—blues, rhythm and blues, country and western, ethnic music,

folk, gospel, and so on. What they were doing was tapping into the diverse musical landscape that existed in the United States. Occasionally, one of these small independents would have a major hit. Chess had huge successes in the mid- and late 1950s with such early rock 'n' roll greats as Chuck Berry and Bo Diddley. Sun was the first to record Elvis Presley, whose amalgamation of country, blues, and rhythm and blues styles hit the charts in the mid-1950s. These successes not only challenged the commercial success of the major labels, but they also shattered the homogeneity of the pop music field. How could Chuck Berry and Tony Bennett both be singing pop music? The answer was that they were not. After the rise of rock 'n' roll, new styles challenged the primacy of pop music dominated by white crooners.

This rupture in the landscape of popular music set off a scramble by the large companies to keep up with the changes. For a brief period, from about 1955 to 1958, they were unable to do so alone. RCA succeeded for a time by buying Elvis Presley's contract from Sun, adopting an "if you can't beat 'em, join 'em" approach, but Presley's experience at RCA was indicative of the entire approach the major labels took to pop music: co-optation. Compared to the raw power of his early Sun recordings, Presley's output on RCA was a rapid devolution into the pop crooner formula. It was the only form the major labels understood. Thus, while Presley scored some early rock 'n' roll hits on RCA ("Jailhouse Rock," "Hound Dog"), by the late 1950s he had been reshaped into the pop crooner mold, recording such songs as "Love Me Tender" and "Treat Me Nice." By the mid-1970s, Presley was recording the same songs as Frank Sinatra, notably "My Way."

By 1958, the major companies had regained much of their position through the process of co-opting many of the more marginal sub-genres of American music. If a record became a hit in one of these more marginal markets, the major labels found someone to record the same song in a way that was palatable to white middle-America. Thus, while black America heard an original like Little Richard singing "Tutti Frutti," white America heard Pat Boone's watered-down version. These major labels also followed the tried-and-true formula that had worked during the crooner era of relying on professional songwriters to write material for young singers. Thus pop music during the 1958 to 1963 period was dominated by teen idols and young vocal groups singing professionally written songs, many written out of New York's Brill Building songwriting center. This was a system the major labels understood, one controlled by professional producers using professional songwriters and studio musicians. While some great music came out of this era, it largely conformed to the major pop requirements, producing unthreatening, easy to listen to music with mass appeal.

Pop music fragmented further after the arrival of the Beatles in 1964. Since the dominance achieved by rock 'n' roll by the late 1950s, the line between rock and pop has never again been clear. The Beatles were simultaneously great rock and great pop artists, and they dominated the pop charts throughout the 1960s. "Yesterday" was undeniably in the pop mold; "Revolution" was clearly rock. Pop music in the 1960s could include both the Rolling Stones "(I Can't Get No) Satisfaction" and Dionne Warwick singing the Burt Bacharach/Hal David song "Walk On By." With this degree of variety, the meaning of the term "pop music" was becoming increasingly hazy, yet the term endures as a loose description of a wide variety of musical styles and trends. And, while earlier periods in pop music can be described as homogeneous (the "crooner" era, the "Brill Building sound," etc.), the pop field after the mid-1960s came to encompass a wide variety of overlapping styles in various stages of waxing or

waning. New styles often emerged from regional, ethnic, racial, gender-specific, or other musical communities, or they arose due to the influence of one particular artist or group. After 1964, no one style could be called "pop music" to the exclusion of all others. This fact reflected the diversity of the record-buying public, now exposed to such a wide variety of music that many were not content listening only to one style.

However, these developments did not mean the extinction of older pop styles. Crooners such as Sinatra and Bennett enjoyed great commercial success in the 1960s and 1970s. The professional songwriting tradition lived on in the work of Burt Bacharach and others and traditional practices in the pop music industry continued. As each new trend emerged, major record companies rushed to take advantage of it. Thus, after the emergence of the Beatles, record companies promoted a host of Beatles knock-offs, and almost any band from Liverpool, England, the Beatles' home town, could get a record contract after 1964. Numerous American groups were also developed and promoted to capitalize on the music and image of the Beatles. Some, such as the Knickerbockers and their song "Lies," were direct rip-offs of the Beatles sound; others, such as the Monkees, aimed to emulate the Beatles in both looks and sound. When the Beatles recorded their psychedelic masterpiece *Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* album in 1967, they set off another round of imitators, from the Rolling Stones' *Their Satanic Majesties Request* on down. After 1967, the Beatles moved on from psychedelic music, but their influence meshed with the rising San Francisco psychedelic sound that produced such groups as the Grateful Dead and Jefferson Airplane, both of whom used drug imagery in their music. Both groups might have been too much for the broad range of American pop music listeners, but the pop music field was still able to profit from the sound. Using the old tradition of watering down a musical form, Top 40 radio listeners heard Scott McKenzie singing "San Francisco (Be Sure to Wear Flowers in Your Hair)" or the Mamas and Papas' "California Dreaming."

This trend of co-opting more marginal musical forms and making them palatable to broad audiences remained strong in the late 1960s. The 1960s was a period when several of popular music's most innovative artists were making ground-breaking records, some of which made the pop music charts, but they shared the charts with much lighter fare. Another significant trend during the late 1960s was the rise of manufactured groups. In addition to trying to co-opt other sounds, large corporate record companies tried to manufacture their own groups for the pre-teen and teen market, which, increasingly, had been left behind by psychedelia and other harsher forms of rock music. With such groups as the Monkees, the Partridge Family, and the cartoon group the Archies, companies could make light, pop fare that was extremely palatable to this young market. All of these three groups were promoted with their own television shows. The Monkees and David Cassidy from the Partridge Family became teen idols. This trend was not new to the late 1960s. Earlier teen idols had been similarly "manufactured," and the trend continued in later decades with such singers and groups as Shawn Cassidy, Andy Gibb, Leif Garrett, Menudo, New Edition, Boys to Men, N'Sync, and others.

In the 1970s, the variety of styles that were part of the broad pop music mainstream increased. They included the singer-songwriter tradition, hard rock, southern rock, the California sound, disco, glam rock, stadium rock, heavy metal and others. All entered the pop field at various points. The most important of these trends were the singer-songwriter tradition, the California sound, and disco. The light sound

of the singer-songwriter tradition was especially suited to pop music, and brought huge hits for artists such as Carole King, James Taylor, Joni Mitchell, Cat Stevens, Paul Simon, Randy Newman, and John Denver during the decade. All sang introspective songs, often using mostly acoustic instruments that were perfect for the pop sound. Some listeners could find deep meaning in the lyrics of the songs, but these songs were also extremely radio-friendly, soft and often very hummable. Carole King's *Tapestry* album sold over 10 million copies and was on the charts for years; John Denver was all over the airwaves in the later 1970s with such songs as "Rocky Mountain High" and "Sunshine on My Shoulders." The singer-songwriter tradition meshed well with the California sound that emerged in the early 1970s. Led by such groups and singers as America, the Eagles, Linda Ronstadt, and Jackson Browne, the California sound was often easygoing, acoustically-oriented music that reflected the laid-back atmosphere of southern California. The Eagles' songs "Peaceful Easy Feeling" and "Take It Easy" spoke for themselves.

The singer-songwriter tradition and the California sound were largely eclipsed in the late 1970s, as was much of popular music, by disco. Disco, with its thumping, repetitive dance beat and electronic sound was greeted with great enthusiasm by many; for others it was considered the death of pop music. Disco music was dance music, and as such it was part of a much larger club scene rather than simply music for listening. Disco grew, like much of pop music, from the culture of black America, particularly the smooth black urban pop of the early 1970s. Some commentators trace elements of it to dance clubs in Manhattan, in particular to the city's gay culture. Whatever its precise origins, the style reached the pop charts in the mid-1970s with Donna Summer's "Love to Love You Baby," KC & the Sunshine Band's "Get Down Tonight," and others. But the genre exploded in popularity when the film *Saturday Night Fever*, starring John Travolta as a disco-dancing Brooklyn teenager, was released in 1977. Its soundtrack album, featuring the Bee Gees' new disco sound, became one of the most successful records in pop music history. After this success, everyone from the Beach Boys to Rod Stewart to the Rolling Stones jumped on the disco bandwagon for a time. Disco's heyday was short-lived, ending with the 1970s, but its influence continued in the 1980s and beyond.

Pop music's purview widened even further in the 1980s and 1990s, encompassing both old and new trends and styles. The vocal tradition, although far-removed from its crooner days, continued with such major solo vocal divas as Whitney Houston, Mariah Carey, Celine Dion, and Madonna. While most of these singers stayed with predictable and comfortable material, Madonna was unique among them and achieved great success with her meld of disco, pop, r&b, and often outrageous image and controversial material. The teen-idol tradition remained alive and well, but now many of the teen idols were young women such as Debbie Gibson, Tiffany, and the Spice Girls, who offered soft pop to an eager pre-teen market. The 1980s and 1990s, not unlike earlier decades, was also an era of great solo stars such as Billy Joel, Michael Jackson, and Elton John, all of whose songs topped the charts in the 1980s and drew huge crowds for their stadium concerts. Jackson's album *Thriller* was one of the best selling albums of all time, crossing over between pop, disco, and rhythm and blues.

A new trend in the early 1980s was what has been called a "second British Invasion" (the first being the Beatles-led invasion of the early 1960s). Coming out of the influential but less widely popular new wave movement of the late 1970s, groups and artists such as

Duran Duran, the Eurythmics, Culture Club, U2, Adam Ant, Wham!, and others were significant to the decade. Many relied on synthesizers and drum machines that gave their sound a widely popular electronic feel. There was also a strong fashion consciousness to many of these bands, which—as always in pop and rock—was integral to their image. The visual aspects of this music were heightened by the rise of MTV (Music Television), which began in the early 1980s by playing specially produced music videos of new bands. MTV's increasing influence proved a powerful force in music during the 1980s and 1990s.

Pop music continued to absorb other, more marginal, musical styles. Rap music, a product of black urban youth culture in the 1980s, was one such style. While rap still maintains its authenticity in the hands of many artists, mainstream pop music gradually adopted some of its conventions in diluted form with such performers as MC Hammer and Vanilla Ice, both of whom achieved brief periods of popularity. Another important trend in the late 1980s and into the 1990s was the rise of "alternative" music. Originally, alternative music was the harder-edged, guitar-based "grunge" sound that emerged out of Seattle with such bands as Nirvana. But the "alternative" label could just as easily be applied to somewhat older, influential bands such as Athens, Georgia's R.E.M. and the B-52s. The style was broadened during the 1990s to include a whole host of new bands that challenged the bland pop music that was occupying the official pop charts. Groups such as Nirvana, Pearl Jam, Stone Temple Pilots, and others provided a fresh alternative to such mainstream fare as Phil Collins, Michael Bolton, and Whitney Houston. The alternative genre saw the rise of a new influx of female talent, including the somewhat harder-edged Alanis Morissette and Joan Osborne as well as more pop-oriented female performers such as Sarah McLachlan and Jewel. As in many of the trends absorbed by pop, the term "alternative" widened to such a degree that it had become virtually meaningless by the late 1990s. With the great success achieved by these and other bands, the question "alternative to what?" became a hard one to answer by the late 1990s.

As a whole, pop music was much more diverse by the late 1990s than at any other period in its history, and a wide variety of performers and genres could be grouped under its broad umbrella. While that variety certainly proved refreshing to many people, it has raised the problem of defining pop music. However, there are some general characteristics of pop music that have remained fairly constant. First, while pop music is an inclusive genre that draws from a wide variety of styles, it often does so by co-opting them, taking unique musical forms and watering them down for mass consumption. While unique performers and artists continue to find success, the pop charts are often crowded with lesser talents enjoying their ride on the current trends. Second, pop music is primarily commercially driven. All recorded music has its commercial imperatives, but in pop music the drive for commercial success dominates, and this focus often leads to less-than-original music, centered on the lowest common denominator. Third, the style of pop music is fundamentally dictated by trends, and no one in the music industry knows what the next big trend will be. When a trend emerges, often because of a particularly innovative artist or group, a host of imitators follow close on their heels. The originators often move on to new areas, the wave of imitators eventually crashes, and the search for the new begins all over again. Thus, for better or worse, pop music is an ever-changing phenomenon in American popular culture.

—Timothy Berg

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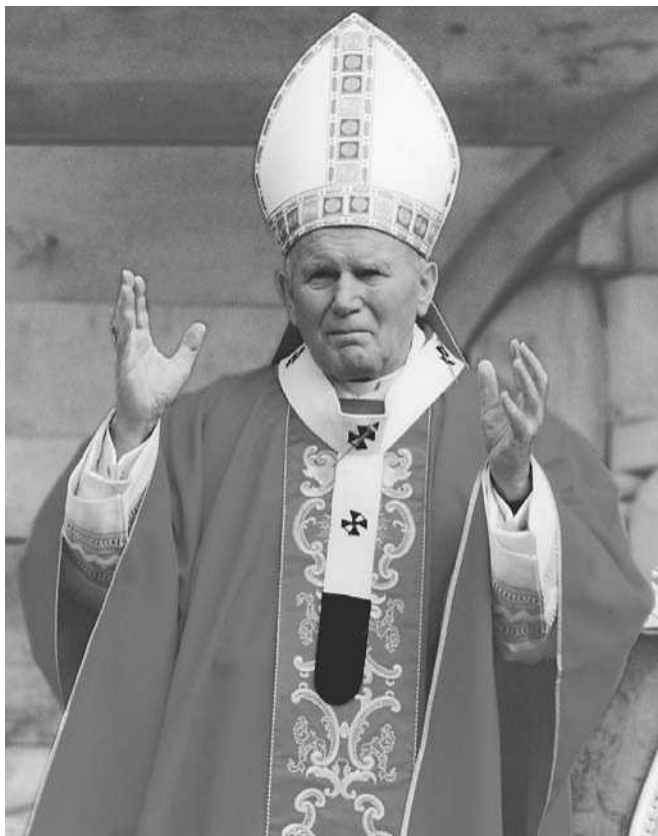
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## The Pope

Within the Roman Catholic Church, the pope serves a dual role as both the Bishop of Rome and the spiritual and symbolic leader of the Church as a whole. According to Catholic doctrine, the pope is the ultimate arbiter of Church tradition and, in specific cases, his teachings are recognized as infallible in matters of faith and morals. As the global personification of Catholicism, the institution of the papacy has exerted a strong influence on American religion, culture, and



**Pope John Paul II**

politics, shaping not only how Catholics expressed their religious beliefs, but how they were viewed by their Protestant neighbors. Throughout American history, Catholicism in general and the papacy in particular has sparked periodic attacks by “nativist” Protestants who saw newly arriving Catholic immigrants as detrimental or dangerous to American society. In the nineteenth century, this resulted in several riots in northern cities and the burning of Catholic churches, schools, and convents. Although tensions between Catholics and Protestants cooled in the twentieth century, attacks against “popery” remained a common feature of America’s political and cultural institutions. Both evangelical Protestant leaders and the popular press condemned Catholic immigrants as soldiers or spies for Rome who were undermining the Protestant character of the nation.

The crux of the nativist argument was that individuals, particularly newly arrived immigrants, could not be spiritually committed to the pope and remain politically loyal to the American government. One of the most outspoken proponents of this nativist rhetoric was the early twentieth century writer and agrarian Populist Tom Watson. Watson insisted that several Catholic groups in America—parish priests, the Knights of Columbus, and religious orders, particularly the Jesuits—were actually the pope’s secret warriors. Their goal, Watson claimed, was to overthrow the American republic and enthrone the pope as supreme ruler over the United States. The same themes were articulated by the prominent anti-Catholic journal *The Menace*, which both warned of a papal coup and blamed Catholic corruption for the failure of progressive political reforms. *The Menace* was founded in 1911 and, within four years, it boasted a circulation in excess of one and a half million and spawned a host of imitators in rural towns throughout the next decade. Tensions with Germany and the rise of World War I brought a halt to *The Menace*, and a lull in anti-Catholicism in general, in the later half of the 1910s as resentment toward the pope was shifted toward the Kaiser. In the 1920s and for the next several decades, however, Catholics were exposed to renewed attacks, largely from the Ku Klux Klan. Catholics were one of many groups singled out as “un-American” by the Klan, which became an increasingly powerful and political organization.

American Catholics’ own understanding of the papacy have often been ambiguous. On one hand, Catholic prayer, ritual, and iconography had centered on the pope. But, on the other hand, Americans frequently reinterpreted, or even ignored, papal demands that seemed out of place in American life. During the first decade of the twentieth century, Pope Leo XIII and Pius X routinely condemned Catholic leaders for cooperating with Protestants in providing public schooling for Catholic children, involving the laity in parish affairs, and their ecumenical work with other Christian denominations. By labeling these offenses “Americanism,” the popes insisted that Americans had broken from longstanding Catholic traditions and needed to bring their behavior in line with the rest of the Catholic world. Yet, on several levels, the breach between America and Rome increased over the next several decades, particularly in the liturgical movement of the 1930s and 1940s, which sought to reform the traditional Latin Mass long before it was altered by the dictates of the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s. Thus, American Catholics were caught in a paradoxical bind, criticized by their religious leaders for being too American and denounced by journalists and politicians as not American enough.

America’s uneasiness towards Catholicism often had deep political implications. “No Popery” and “Immigrants Out” became synonymous slogans in the political battle for immigration restriction in the 1920s. In fact, the immigration quotas adopted in 1924 were

designed explicitly to exclude large numbers of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe whose religious beliefs and ethnic stock were deemed inferior to Protestant Americans. In 1928, Al Smith, the Catholic governor of New York, encountered similar resentment when he ran for the presidency. Although he won the Democratic nomination, Smith was denounced and defeated largely over assumptions that he would bring “Popery” into public schools and undermine the Protestant character of the nation. Although Smith’s criticisms toward prohibition and his Democratic connections also hurt his campaign, his attachment to “foreign” Catholicism contributed to Smith’s loss to Republican candidate Herbert Hoover.

In 1960, John F. Kennedy faced similar opposition in his presidential campaign against Richard Nixon. Kennedy, a Catholic Senator and Democrat from Massachusetts, was heavily influenced by the anti-Catholic propaganda surrounding his candidacy. Kennedy often downplayed his connections to Rome, insisting that he “wore his religion lightly” and that the Constitution, not papal dogma, would dictate his political decisions. In the Senate, Kennedy voted against using federal funds to subsidize parochial schools and opposed the appointment of an American ambassador to the Vatican. While both moves earned him sharp reprisal in the Catholic press, Kennedy’s political record also demonstrated to many Protestant voters that Catholicism was not enough to disqualify a candidate from office. Some conservative critics still felt that Kennedy’s election was part of a papal plot aimed at subjecting Americans to Roman rule. But Catholics cheered Kennedy’s election not simply as a political victory but as a symbol of Catholics’ prosperity and success in spite of adversity and bigotry.

According to Catholic doctrine, when a reigning pope dies, a new one is chosen by the college of Cardinals—a group of high-ranking Church officials throughout the world. Although the papacy as an abstract symbol has played a pivotal role in shaping America’s politics and culture, the actions of certain individual popes have also attracted American attention among Catholics and non-Catholics alike. One example is Pius X (1835-1914), who reigned as pope from 1903 to 1914 and was the only twentieth century pope to be declared a saint. Pius X seriously offended many Americans by refusing to receive Theodore Roosevelt during his visit to the Vatican because the former president had visited a Methodist congregation earlier on his trip. A more significant example of the papacy’s role in American culture is the decision by Pope John XXIII (1881-1963), who reigned from 1958 to 1962, to call the Second Vatican Council. Convened from 1962 to 1965, the rulings of the council transformed Catholic religious services and increased communication and dialogue with other religions. But, more importantly, Vatican II sought to “shake off the dust” in Catholicism by signaling a new willingness to participate in and minister to an increasingly complex modern world.

Yet, for many Catholics, John XXIII’s successor, Paul VI (1897-1978), did much to undo the enthusiasm and liberalism generated by Vatican II. In 1968, Paul VI issued an encyclical (papal ruling) known as *Humanae Vitae* that denounced all forms of artificial birth control; it was rejected by 90 percent of American Catholics as well as several of his own advisors. While he upheld the rulings of Vatican II, Paul VI represented a conservative shift in Catholic leadership that continued through the late twentieth century. This is particularly apparent in the papacy of John Paul II (1920—), formerly the Archbishop of Krakow and the first non-Italian pope elected in over 400 years. While previous popes had remained in relative isolation within the Vatican, John Paul II has been a tremendous world traveler known for his

charisma and dramatic speaking voice. While he has received criticism in both America and abroad for his condemnation of abortion, birth control, homosexuality, and women’s ordination, John Paul II has increasingly brought Catholicism into the public eye. John Paul II has been the twentieth century’s longest living pope, as well as one of its most prolific and outspoken. His conservative theology has caused many late-twentieth-century Americans to view the papacy not as an institution bent on national domination, as was feared in earlier decades, but as either a guardian of traditional morality or an outdated model of leadership that has become increasingly out of touch with the modern world.

—Justin Nordstrom

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## Popeye

A seagoing superhero, Popeye was first seen in 1929 in E.C. Segar’s *Thimble Theatre*. The comic strip itself had been running, dispensing fairly cockeyed mock-adventure continuities, since King Features Syndicate introduced it in 1919. Segar, however, did not get around to inventing his tough, spinach-eating sailor until almost ten years later. Already on board when the squint-eyed sailor entered were the quintessentially thin Olive Oyl and her diminutive and entrepreneurial brother Castor Oyl. J. Wellington Wimpy, whose fondness for hamburgers knew no bounds, entered the strip in 1931. By that time the crusty, two-fisted Popeye had long since become the undisputed star and the title had changed to *Thimble Theatre Starring Popeye*.

Never a master cartoonist, Segar compensated for his lack of drawing ability with a gift for audacious comedy. In his long, rambling comic continuities he kidded serious adventure narratives as well as current political and social activities at home and abroad. Segar also frequently made fun of the newspaper business and the cartooning profession. In one early 1930s sequence he showed an artists’ bullpen where a group of interchangeable cartoonists spoke nothing but exclamations like “Zowie,” “Zam,” and “Bonk,” and drew strips with such titles as *Zip the Dip* and *Boop the Doop*. A long time science fiction buff, he frequently built stories around strange creatures and odd inventions. Among the eccentrics who frequented *Thimble Theatre* were Alice the Goon, the Sea Hag, the tough café owner Roughhouse, the mystical critter known as Eugene the Jeep, and his foster child Swee’pea. Popeye was a fellow who believed that might made right, and a sock in the snoot was a frequent negotiating tool with him. As the strip progressed his powers continued to

increase until he was bulletproof, incredibly strong, and came close—except that he was not nearly as serious—to foreshadowing Superman. Eventually Segar revealed that it was spinach, usually consumed straight from the can, that gave Popeye his incredible abilities.

Popeye also proved to be an impressively successful merchandising figure. In addition to being reprinted in comic books and Big Little Books, he inspired windup toys, toy musical instruments, pull toys, and puppets. According to toy expert Richard O'Brien, "the two most popular comic strip toy characters of the 1930s were Popeye and Buck Rogers." Popeye's image also appeared on every sort of product from canned goods to tooth brushes. In 1933 King Features licensed the Max Fleischer Studios to produce a series of animated cartoon shorts. Though not especially faithful to Segar's strip, the Popeye cartoons were box office hits and continued for over 24 years; later, they became a staple of kids' television. The revenue from all the salty seaman's subsidiary rights eventually reached millions of dollars every year.

Popeye's oft repeated pragmatic statement, "I yam what I yam," was widely quoted during his heyday—as were such Wimpyisms as "I would gladly pay you Tuesday for a hamburger today," "Let's you and him fight," and "Come to my house for a duck dinner—you bring the ducks."

After Segar died of leukemia in 1938 at the age of 44, King replaced him with bullpen artist Doc Winner. They then brought in cartoonist Bela Zaboly and writer Tom Sims. While Zaboly was actually a better cartoonist than either of his predecessors, Sims was never to duplicate the eccentric nonsense and oddly paced adventures that Segar had concocted. During the early 1950s, writer and magazine gag cartoonist Ralph Stein was brought in to work with Zaboly. Finally, Bud Sagendorf took over the writing and drawing in 1958. This was a job Sagendorf had sought for 20 years while working on an assortment of art assignments for King Features; he had been Segar's

assistant in the 1930s, starting the job while still in high school. In the mid-1980s, onetime underground cartoonist Bobby London assumed the daily strip. Today *Thimble Theatre* runs in only a handful of papers around the world. Only the Sunday page, drawn by Hy Eisman, offers new material and the daily strip consists of reprints of Sagendorf material.

—Ron Goulart

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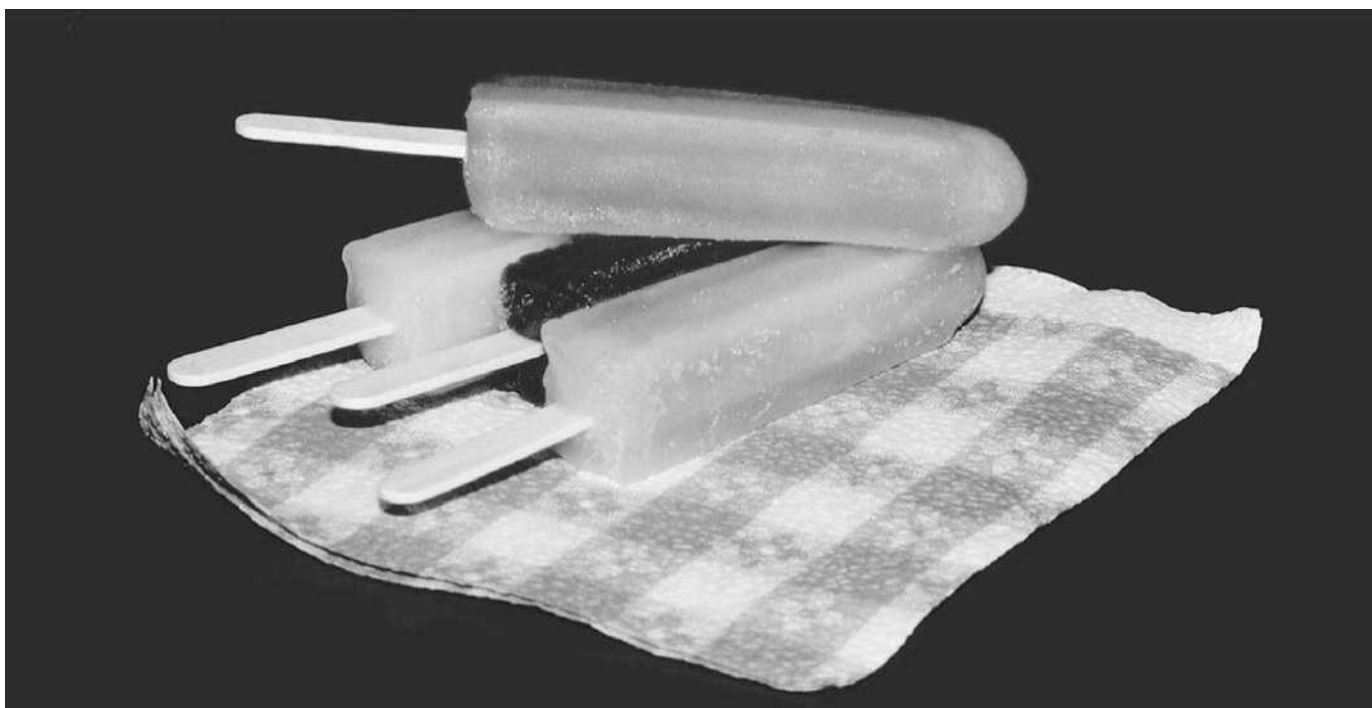
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## Popsicles

Popsicles are a confection made of fruit juice frozen on a stick. In the 1870s the Ross and Robbins company sold something similar, which they called the Hokey-Pokey. In 1924, Frank Epperson, a powdered lemonade vendor from California, patented a more fully realized version of the product, which he originally named the Epsicle. He sold his patent to the Joe Lowe Corporation, which became Popsicle Industries. The chief Popsicle flavors were grape, orange, and cherry. Later variations of the product included the Creamsicle, the Fudgsicle, the Twin Pop, and the Bomb Pop, and helped keep neighborhood ice cream trucks like Skippy and Good Humor in business during the summer. What made the Popsicle line



Several popsicles resting on a napkin.



distinctive was the inclusion of the flat wooden stick, allowing the frozen confections to be eaten like lollipops. People saved these sticks and used them for craft projects, making everything from baskets and boxes to lamp bases out of them.

—Wendy Woloson

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## Popular Mechanics

Since 1902, *Popular Mechanics* has been published as a monthly magazine that describes the wonders of twentieth-century technology for the lay reader in a “gee-whizz” style, with do-it-yourself home-workshop projects thrown in for good measure. Debuting just a year before the Wright Brothers’ flight at Kitty Hawk, when automobiles and motion pictures were still recent innovations, *Popular Mechanics* has chronicled the breakthroughs of the most productive century in the history of science and mechanics. The periodical made its appearance in Chicago in January 1902 as *Popular Mechanics* and did not become *Popular Mechanics Magazine* until 1910, by which time it had already absorbed another small technical publication by the name of *Technical World*. Its readership grew from only five subscribers in 1902, plus a few readers paying five cents a copy at the newsstand, to a worldwide circulation of 1,428,356 by 1998. In 1947, a Spanish language edition (*Mecanica Popular*) was produced, along with several other foreign language editions in French, Danish, and Swedish.

The story of its founding tells as much about American ingenuity as its content. *Popular Mechanics Magazine* was founded by Henry Haven Windsor, Sr., a former city editor of the Marshalltown, Iowa, newspaper, and the son of an Iowa minister. A strong advocate of science and mechanics, Windsor saw the need for a periodical that could present clearly written technical material to the average man (*Popular Mechanics* continued its focus on a male readership into the 1990s). Prior to his work as founder and editor of *Popular Mechanics*, Windsor had worked for the Chicago City Railway Company in the 1880s. There he started a trade magazine, the *Street Railway Review*, which he edited from 1892-1901. Researching articles for the *Review*, Windsor once spent six months disguised as an operator of an old-fashioned grip car so he could acquire firsthand understanding of the problems of operators.

Windsor brought this same passion for mechanical detail and technical know-how to *Popular Mechanics*. Initially, he wrote every article and sold every advertisement himself for the fledgling eight-page weekly, which by 1904 had grown to 100 pages. Its rapid growth in both size and circulation was testimony to Windsor’s vision for the magazine and his ability to tap into a previously unrecognized market. Although Windsor died in 1924, the magazine remained under the control and editorship of the Windsor family through several generations. It became part of the Hearst Corporation in the mid-1950s.

Although developments in science and technology spawned other successful publications, such as the earlier *Popular Science Monthly* (1872), *Mechanics Illustrated* (1928), followed by *Science Digest*, *Popular Homecraft*, *Popular Electronics*, and others, none gained the wide appeal of *Popular Mechanics Magazine*. During

World War II, the magazine was popular among American G.I.s, who sometimes wrote letters home to request that family members respond to job-training advertisements for them, in anticipation of their return to civilian life. With its practical, down-to-earth, hands-on advice, its focus on “how-to” articles, its clear writing and copious illustrations, the periodical’s success lay in its narrow focus, appealing directly to the independent, do-it-yourself reader. With its slogan, “Written So You Can Understand It,” *Popular Mechanics* during these years strove to appeal to the general, nonacademic reader who wanted to read about new “modern” advances during the golden years of American science and technology. The publication was also famous during these years for its classified ads section, which offered hundreds of money-making schemes every month, ranging from home locksmithing equipment to furniture building kits to such “untechnical” pursuits as songwriting, stuffing envelopes, and selling patent medicine nostrums.

Especially from the 1930s through the 1950s, *Popular Mechanics* anticipated developments in astronautics by publishing futuristic articles that offered hints about the evolution of rocket science and space exploration, some of which were dismissed as speculative “Buck Rogers” fiction but that were later proven to have been prescient. During the 1970s, when the omnipotence of science and technology began to fade in the minds of some Americans, the magazine and others like it were criticized by environmentalists and others for advancing a worldview based on technological domination of the planet and the exploitation of nonrenewable resources. In the 1980s, *Popular Mechanics* devoted many pages to covering new developments in consumer electronics and personal computers. By the end of the 1990s, the magazine was featuring such articles as “Half Man, Half Machine: New Breakthroughs in Bionics Perfect Battery-Powered Eyes, Ears, Limbs and Muscles,” as well as buyers’ guides to new cars and trucks, new lawn mowers, and gardening tools. These articles reflected perspectives of the late twentieth century, with awareness of current breakthroughs in medical technology as well as attention to consumer information.

Since its beginnings, a distinctive feature of *Popular Mechanics* has been its emphasis on “descriptive illustration.” As Roland E. Wolseley pointed out, Henry Windsor issued a policy statement when he founded the publication: “Most magazines use illustrated articles. We do not. We use described pictures.” At the end of the 1990s, articles in *Popular Mechanics* remained profusely illustrated with detailed analyses of machine parts and step-by-step procedures for everything from replacing roof shingles to performing periodic washing machine maintenance.

In the late 1990s, Joe Oldham was editor-in-chief of *Popular Mechanics Magazine*, which by then had its own website, called “PM. Zone,” and a television version of *Popular Mechanics for Kids*. Offering a detailed chronicle of mechanical and technological innovation throughout the twentieth century, the magazine was as familiar to working- and middle-class Americans as *Harper’s Weekly*, with its illustrated coverage of the Civil War, had been to those of the nineteenth century.

—Lolly Ockerstrom

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## Popular Psychology

Popular psychology springs from the desire of people searching for inspiration and self-improvement in a secular form. This desire accounted for some of the success of the eighteenth-century bestseller *Poor Richard's Almanack*, through which Benjamin Franklin conveyed proverbs and aphorisms about human nature along with weather reports and other practical information. By the time psychology emerged as a discipline in the 1880s and 1890s, the United States already had a sizeable reading public that readily consumed literature on self-improvement and the “gospel of success,” and there was also a strong market for spiritualism and mental healing. Books and articles of popular psychology merged easily into these two streams, one secular and the other metaphysical, because they aimed to provide an understanding of the mind's workings that could be used for either practical self-improvement or for more mystical psychic explorations.

Although psychology detached itself from religion when it became an academic discipline, popular psychology maintained a fairly close relationship with the religious lives of Americans. This connection was visible from the start. William James, the most influential of all American psychologists, believed in mesmerism, the practice of inducing a trance so as to open the mind of the subject to extrasensory perceptions and healing forces. Mesmerism in America yielded a very popular mind-cure philosophy that predisposed Americans to consider psychology a means for tapping unconscious psychic forces for the general betterment of the person.

The phenomenal 1897 bestseller, *In Tune with the Infinite* by Ralph Waldo Trine, exemplified this “transcendentalist” characteristic of American popular thought. Until the appearance of the not dissimilar *Power of Positive Thinking* (1952) by Norman Vincent Peale, Trine's book was the biggest selling inspirational book of the twentieth century. In it, the author offered his readers peace of mind through a meditative, ecumenical approach for achieving psychic oneness with God. Though not a book of psychology, *In Tune with the Infinite* drew on the concept of the unconscious as a deep spiritual reservoir. Trine urged the reader “to come into the full realization of your own awakened interior powers”:

There is a mystic force that transcends the powers of the intellect and likewise of the body. There are certain faculties that we have that are not a part of the active, thinking mind. . . . Through them we have intuitions, impulses, leadings, that instead of being merely the occasional, *should be the normal and habitual*.

As formally trained psychologists, neurologists, and psychiatrists entered the fray of popular literature, they often seemed to be saying much the same thing, but in a secular form and with titles that were less ethereal, more “scientific” or simply duller. *Directing Mental Energy* by Francis Aveling, for example, a 1927 book whose jacket carried the supertitle “The Business of Thinking,” aimed to

help readers “economize” their mental and emotional energy so as to lead more productive and satisfying lives. “The successful man or woman of today,” the book's promotional copy read, “must know how to organize every ounce of energy to meet the pressure of our complicated existence.”

Efficiency in the use of one's inner resources and relaxation of an overtaxed body and mind were common themes of psychological self-help books, all of which were based on the premise that Americans were coping with a complex and nerve-wracking civilization. The words “nervous” or “nerves” frequently appeared in the title of this literature. Some of the most popular books of the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s were neurologist Abraham Myerson's *The Nervous Housewife* (1920), psychiatrist Josephine Jackson's *Outwitting Our Nerves* (1921), and psychiatrist David Harold Fink's *Release From Nervous Tension* (1943). These authors aimed to help their readers cope with anxiety, insomnia, exhaustion, boredom, and depression, problems that were linked to the peculiar demands of America's fast-paced, competitive, work-oriented, and technologically-driven society.

It is clear that many of the same problems and goals of Americans at the end of the twentieth century were already well articulated in its early decades. Then, as now, the quest for inner reserves of power and tranquility, for methods of maximizing energy and efficiency, and for solutions to vexatious emotional problems has fueled the engine of popular psychology. Yet, across the span of a century, there are discernible phases and eras of popular psychology, which reflected significant changes in American society and culture.

The genesis of popular psychology can be observed partly through the career of Joseph Jastrow, the first person to receive a Ph.D. in psychology in the United States and a pioneer popularizer of the discipline. Born in Warsaw in 1863 and raised in Philadelphia, Jastrow was the son of a prominent rabbi and Talmud scholar. Studying with Charles S. Peirce and G. Stanley Hall, he completed the Ph.D. in psychology at Johns Hopkins in 1886 and went on to the University of Wisconsin, where he set up one of the nation's first and best psychology laboratories. At the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, Jastrow and Hugo Munsterberg, a pioneer of applied psychology, made the first big public demonstration of modern psychology. The two young men set up an apparatus to measure various mental responses and distributed an explanatory pamphlet. For a nominal fee, visitors tried out the testing laboratory and learned something about their mental characteristics.

From the beginning of his career, Jastrow regularly wrote on psychological topics for magazines, but his fame as a popular psychologist was rooted in the 1920s and 1930s, when he wrote syndicated newspaper columns of psychological advice. These became the basis of two popular books, *Keeping Mentally Fit* (1928) and *Piloting Your Life* (1930). Jastrow also hosted a radio program on this subject for NBC from 1935-38. His writing and speaking encompassed all aspects of the field and told something about prevailing attitudes toward psychology at the time. Jastrow authored a book for the general public on the theories of Freud (*The House That Freud Built* (1932)), but he himself was no Freudian. Like many psychologists, as opposed to psychoanalysts, Jastrow preferred to discuss the facts produced by tests of perception and cognition rather than wander into grand theories of childhood sexuality.

One of the purposes he set for himself, and one that typified books of psychology for the layman, was to puncture myths and weigh generalizations with data. “Are bright children weaklings?” “Do school leaders make good?” and “Are city children brighter?”—these were the sort of questions being answered by citing the

latest studies of aptitude and achievement. A second goal was simply to explain psychological categories that had come into vogue, such as “complex” and “repression,” and to give an explanation of such everyday phenomena as absent-mindedness, fatigue, anxiety over dreams, and sexual self-consciousness. The most obvious defect of these “genres” of popular psychology, even in the hands of an eminent scholar like Jastrow, was their tendency to degenerate into glibness and conviviality. For example, in *Keeping Mentally Fit* Jastrow answered one young woman’s appeal for advice about her “sex-consciousness” with the jest that men cannot really understand the way women think about sex: “A man can have only the man’s sense of this sex relation, and he sees nothing in other men to get excited about. He isn’t blind to the fact that women find men attractive, and he tries to see some compliment in it to himself; he doesn’t get much farther than recognizing it as an amiable weakness of women.”

By far the overriding theme of Jastrow’s psychology, and of many of his contemporaries, was the need for emotional self-control and proper social adjustment to one’s work, community, and family. The Mental Hygiene movement of the Progressive Era and 1920s emphasized bodily integrity through exercise and diet, emotional integrity through relaxation, and mental integrity through proper self-assessment and concentration on one’s tasks. Americans were dedicated enough to an optimistic philosophy of efficiency and advancement, both personal and social, that they managed to transform even Freudianism in their own image, deleting its atheism and pessimism and making it another program for social betterment. Freud’s notion of sublimation, whereby unruly impulses were turned to productive endeavors, was easily compatible with the psychology of usefulness. While child psychology underscored the value of giving children freedom to express themselves, particularly through constructive play, Jastrow’s generation nonetheless emphasized the dangers of the self-indulgent personality type. “For efficiency and happiness we must have emotional control,” advised the 1929 book *The Healthy Mind: Mental Hygiene for Adults* edited by Henry Elkind:

The angry man cannot think clearly; the man in fear of losing his job does poor work. . . . The infant, a complete tyrant, absolutely selfish, is a model exhibition of anger, or fear and of most of the undesirable emotions. He has to learn control of his responses through social pressure. That is the object of modern education—the comfortable adjustment of the individual to his surroundings.

Popular psychology entered a second phase of popularity in the 1940s, catalyzed by the Second World War. As had happened in World War I, the reality of war-related mental disorders—“psycho-neuroses,” as they were then known—stimulated great public interest in the workings of the mind and its effect on the soul. Sympathetic to the plight of GIs who returned home troubled by insomnia, nightmares, nervousness, and malaise, the American public showed not only a heightened interest in psychology but also a greater appreciation of its usefulness for normal people experiencing temporary or occasional problems. Popular magazines ran feature stories candidly conveying the emotional effects of war on fighting men and approving the soldiers’ need to express their emotions by crying when necessary. Psychologist Abraham Sperling began his 1946 book *Psychology for the Millions* by discussing this new phenomenon: “The model of courageous behavior is no longer portrayed by a stoic,

tight-lipped, muscle-bound he-man. . . . The supposed hard-bitten soldier bares his soul and is that much better off for it.” *Psychology for the Millions*, in its praise of the new emotional openness of Americans, reflected the rising sophistication about psychology and the more exuberant self-expression that characterized American society since the 1920s.

The psychology boom of the 1940s was perhaps most obvious in its penetration of religious inspirational literature. The postwar therapeutic age was heralded in 1946 by an immensely popular book on psychology that was written not by a psychologist but by a clergyman, Rabbi Joshua Loth Liebman. The book, *Peace of Mind*, sold a million and a half copies in a few years, preaching a new creed in which an optimistic neo-Freudian psychology, based on the work of Karen Horney and Alfred Adler, teamed up with religion to help Americans overcome angst and personal problems en route to spiritual fulfillment. Liebman believed in the power of modern psychotherapy to cure ills that had befuddled traditional religion and in this belief he was joined by two of the most influential Protestant ministers of the century, Harry Emerson Fosdick and Norman Vincent Peale.

Both these men had begun to introduce psychology into their pastoral counseling in the 1930s, and along with Liebman, they helped disseminate it to millions of people in the 1940s and 1950s. The special significance of these writers lay in their being clergymen, for their audience included many people who might not otherwise have considered psychology a legitimate resource. Fosdick’s *On Being a Real Person* (1943) was based on actual cases of people who came for pastoral counseling. The book, Fosdick hoped, would describe the “familiar mental and emotional maladies” of ordinary people, “their alibis and rationalizations, their ingenious, unconscious tricks of evasion and escape, their handling of fear, anxiety, guilt, and humiliation, their compensations and sublimations also, and the positive faiths and resources from which I have seen help come.” Peale, the biggest selling inspirational writer of the century, collaborated with a psychiatrist for the popular 1950 book *The Art of Real Happiness* which, following the lead of Liebman’s *Peace of Mind*, showed how psychological insight and religious guidance could solve personal problems. Like Fosdick, Peale discussed real cases, frankly presenting stories of guilt and neurosis induced by repressed sexuality and repressed anger, family harmony ruined by alcoholism, and inundating his readers with uplifting accounts of people overcoming obstacles through prayerful concentration. Peale’s 1948 *Guide to Confident Living*, which went through thirty-five printings in seven years, was promoted as a “book of workable spiritual prescriptions [that] used the principles of religion and modern psychiatry to bring practical help and new hope to millions of readers.”

In the 1960s and 1970s Peale’s blend of Christianity and psychology found a competitor in a “countercultural” melange of Eastern meditation, consciousness-raising, and humanistic and Gestalt psychology. Instead of concentrating on the book of Psalms and the Gospel, some Americans now strove for a “zen mind” and “peak experiences.” The venerable American belief in the great hidden capacities of the mind, in a subconsciousness where the mental and the spiritual could be unified, transformed from “the power of positive thinking” to “transcendental meditation.” Peale’s positive thinking was supposed to produce public success, not just peace of mind. The meditationist trend of the 1960s and 1970s, however, rejected social convention and focused intensely on the state of the mind. At its most extreme, this trend was personified by psychologist Timothy Leary.

Leary's idiosyncratic career started with the prestigious job of directing the Kaiser Foundation Hospital of Oakland, California. Swept up by the current of the times and by experiments with hallucinogenic drugs, Leary quit his practice to preach to American youth about a new drug-based psycho-spiritual creed: "Turn on, tune in, drop out." The college-oriented youth culture produced wide-ranging demands for a new psychology of insight and growth, whether through the fiction of Hermann Hesse's *Journey to the East* (1964) or *Siddhartha* (first published in the United States in 1951), Richard Bach's quirky best-seller *Jonathan Livingston, Seagull* (1970), the lectures and writings of Zen disseminator Alan Watts, or the holistic and growth-oriented theories of Gestalt and humanistic psychology. Gestalt therapists introduced the idea of the "holistic" into American awareness, and the founders of humanistic psychology, especially Abraham Maslow, purveyed the concepts of "self-actualization" and "peak experiences." These ideas gained currency fairly rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s for they conformed to the era's optimistic, almost utopian, expectations of human growth and potential.

In the 1980s and 1990s popular psychology took another turn, this time back toward religion and physiology, both of which were predominant interests at the start of the century. M. Scott Peck, a psychiatrist with a strong Christian orientation, wrote one of the biggest bestsellers of the late twentieth century. *The Road Less Traveled: A New Psychology of Love, Traditional Values and Spiritual Growth* first appeared in 1978 and stayed on the *New York Times* non-fiction bestseller list until the early 1990s. Peck merged psychoanalytic and humanistic insights with a strong commitment to lasting relationships of marriage and family. Turning away from the idealization of the self that was apparent in the popular psychology of the 1960s, he insisted that to love another person required emotional self-discipline, an ability to subordinate one's immediate gratification to the spiritual needs of another. These decades also saw another type of traditionalist return to biology. After several generations dominated by environmentalist approaches, psychologists reasserted the importance of biochemical processes in the brain. Peter D. Kramer's *Listening to Prozac* (1993) was the most popular exposition of the new evidence for physical sources of depression, one that mirrored and stimulated the sudden popularity of this and other antidepressants. Public fascination with the neurology of the brain surfaced in the 1980s with Oliver Sacks' *The Man Who Mistook His Wife for a Hat and Other Clinical Tales* (1985), which detailed case histories of people whose relationships and identity were derailed by discrete forms of brain damage or dysfunction.

The close of the twentieth century also witnessed a flowering of psychology books on interpersonal communication between men and women, such as John Gray's *Men Are from Mars, Women Are from Venus* (1992) and Deborah Tannen's *That's Not What I Meant!* (1986) and *You Just Don't Understand!* (1990). Counterpoised to the emphasis on biological roots of behavior, these books emphasized the social and cultural bases of gender differences in language. Interpersonal communication—"getting along with others"—had long been an interest of American popular psychology, although these books showed a new sensitivity to the role of gender differences.

There was, however, one completely new development that defined much of American popular psychology in the final decades of the century. This was the literature of "recovery"—meaning recovery from addictions. Rooted in the Twelve-Step program of Alcoholics Anonymous, a unique American organization founded in the 1930s, the concept of addiction expanded in the 1980s to include not only substance abuse—alcohol and drugs—but also other kinds of

deeply engrained, habitual behavior ranging from temper tantrums to sexual obsessiveness. Although the addiction idea was undoubtedly stretched too far, the A.A. model for coping with seriously troubled people was magnetic. Merging with the newly popular idea of "dysfunctional families," it produced a separate psychotherapeutic literature that counseled individuals on how to maintain their own dignity while involved with "out-of-control" friends and family members. The Twelve-Step idea was grounded in a non-sectarian monotheistic creed and therefore represented a unique fusion of self-help and religion. As addicts came increasingly into the domain of psychiatric rehabilitation centers during and after the 1960s, the grass-roots A.A. approach was adapted by psychiatrists like Abraham Twerski. Founder of a rehabilitation center in Pennsylvania, Twerski, a Hasidic rabbi, wrote a number of popular books on recovery in the 1980s and 1990s. Like M. Scott Peck, he blended traditional religious values with therapeutic insights. For American popular psychology, the twentieth century ended much as it had begun, with intense public interest in both the physiology of the brain and the theology of psychological healing.

—Andrew R. Heinze

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## Pornography

For over a century there has been great debate about the role of pornography in American society. Despite years of social crusades and legal and political wrangling, America remains in the late



The star of *Deep Throat*, actress Linda Lovelace.

twentieth century deeply conflicted about how to handle the “problem” posed by the existence of pornography, which *Webster’s International Dictionary* defines as “writing, pictures, etc. intended to arouse sexual desire.” To some, any mention or depiction of human sexuality is pornographic and should be censored; to others, no depiction of human sexuality, no matter how “perverse,” should be forbidden to adults (with the exception of child pornography, which no one defends). Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart’s enigmatic 1964 statement on pornography perhaps best captured the opinion of most Americans concerning pornography; in his comment regarding *Jacobellis v. Ohio*, Stewart acknowledged that while he couldn’t define pornography precisely, “I know it when I see it.”

Pornography has always been present in American culture, though the “problem” of pornography has certainly been exacerbated by the ubiquity of media representations of pornography in the late twentieth century. Up until the middle part of the nineteenth century, widely shared social, religious, and cultural prohibitions against pornographic materials kept such materials largely hidden. Because what little existing early pornography was either literary or artistic, and such materials tended to circulate among the literate and well-to-do, who tended not to worry about their corrupting effects. But all that changed with the social and economic convulsions that began in the late nineteenth century. Several factors combined to put pornography into the hands of the growing working and lower classes who, according to their social “betters,” were unable to fend off pornography’s corrupting influence.

The vastly increased immigration of non-Protestant peoples and the concentration of the working class in urban centers, combined

with the expansion of printing operations and the rise in sex trades in cities, all helped to alarm those middle-class Protestant Americans concerned with their lack of control over the direction of American culture. By the turn of the century, a number of forms of pornography became widely available, including French postcards featuring pictures of nude women, flip books (small, multi-paged booklets which revealed an “animated” sex act as the pages flipped by), and, by 1904, the first calendar featuring scantily clad women. As such materials became available to an emerging urban “underclass” no longer willing to subscribe to the moral dictates of a moralizing middle- and upper-class Protestant establishment, pornography emerged as a problem that required the attention of reformers, and the arbitration of lawyers.

The last half of the nineteenth century saw the growth of numerous reform movements in the United States (as in other industrializing nations). Reform groups, typically led by middle-class Protestant women, worked hard to improve the quality of life for urban workers swarming in their crowded warrens. Especially during the Progressive Era, reform-minded activists sought safe work places and humane work hours, especially for children, improved educational opportunity, and the suppression of “dissipating” pastimes such as gaming, festive drinking, and what was called at the time “whoring.” The reformers sought to change notions of women’s clothing, duties, and rights, and lobbied for women’s suffrage. Through the good agency of these reformers, school attendance was mandated, parks were established, and drinking hours, human sexual interaction, and hunting seasons were routinized.

While social reformers sought to remove or criminalize the forums in which pornography might circulate, prosecutors and lawyers struggled to define what exactly was meant by terms like obscenity and pornography. For years, U.S. obscenity law (which covered pornography) relied on the English case *Regina v. Hicklin* (1868), which overtly supported class, race, and sex divisions. It stated that obscenity be determined by “whether . . . [its] tendency . . . [was] to deprave and corrupt those whose minds [were] open to such immoral influences, and into whose hands a publication of this sort may fall.” This benchmark thus assumed that a small group of morally superior people were capable of setting the standards of what was obscene for their social inferiors. Such a standard may have made sense within a rigidly defined social and class structure, but it ran counter to the very freedoms on which the American democracy was based, savaged the First Amendment, and abridged both the letter and spirit of the Constitution as a whole. Technically, it was so unnecessarily broad that even academic or scientific discussion about almost any sexual topic could be suppressed. Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter once opined that the case tended to “reduce the adult population . . . to reading what is fit for children.”

The first major case that aimed to clarify the legal standing of pornography was the now famous *Roth v. United States*. The 1957 ruling attempted to establish a uniform and constant standard for determining obscenity. As the result of the case, a three part test was developed to determine whether what was under examination did, in fact, have a realistic tendency to excite lust or lustful thought and thus should be censored. According to *Roth*, the key to dissemination was “whether to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole appeals to prurient interest.” Despite the best efforts of the Court, the ambiguity concerning the terms “dominant theme,” “community standards,” and “prurient interest” meant that the issue was far from being resolved.

Subsequent rulings added to the *Roth* decision. In *Jacobellis v. Ohio* (1964), the Supreme Court added another requirement to the legal definition by declaring that to be pornographic the material must be “utterly without redeeming social importance.” Publishers of such magazines as *Playboy* and its many (and often more raunchy) imitators learned that as long as they published articles with some redeeming value, their work as a whole, though it contained images of nudity, would not be deemed pornographic. But the legal resolution of just such a case brought about the most elaborate ruling on obscenity yet issued by the Supreme Court in its 1973 *Miller v. California* ruling. In addition to the *Roth* language, *Miller* offered as a standard that the work in question “depicts or describes in a patently offensive way . . . sexual conduct specifically defined by the applicable law” and “that a reasonable person would find that the work, taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political, and scientific value.” Chief Justice Warren Burger further clarified the ruling by explaining that the Court meant only to restrict hard-core materials from constitutional protection.

The *Miller* ruling, together with the ongoing sexual revolution that had begun in the 1960s and that generally increased the nation’s tolerance for sexual material, meant that most pornographic works (excluding child pornography) were now extended First Amendment protections and that pornographers could safely produce and distribute their works.

The major forums for pornography produced in the twentieth century have been magazines and films. The first pornographic magazines appeared in the United States and England during the Victorian era, and an odd pulp called *Captain Billy’s Whiz Bang* published French postcards in its pages in the early 1920s, but it wasn’t until the publication of *Esquire* in 1933 that a mass market magazine began to offer pictures of scantily clad women. *Esquire’s* Varga and Petty girls wore only the briefest and flimsiest of night clothes, but they were meant to be respectable. *Playboy* trumped *Esquire* when, beginning in 1953, it began to publish nude photographs of wholesome American “girls-next-door.” *Playboy* opened the door for the “girlie” magazine in America, and such imitators as *Penthouse*, *Oui*, *Dude*, *Gent*, and others soon followed. The raunchiest of the girlie magazines, and the only one to truly push the now-loosened definitions of obscenity, was Larry Flynt’s *Hustler*.

The presentation of nudity on film also has a long history. Early silent films, including D. W. Griffith’s *Intolerance* (1915), sometimes presented brief flickers of nudity, and imported stag films showed much more, but the motion picture Production Code administered by Will Hays successfully barred any mention or depiction of sexuality in major motion pictures for several decades beginning in the 1930s. Truly pornographic films, first imported and then domestically-produced, first caught on in the 1960s, where they were shown in adult theaters and in the homes of those with a movie projector. With the advent of the VCR (videocassette recorder), the pornographic video industry boomed, such that 410 million adult videos were rented in 1991 alone, according to one study. Moreover, images once considered pornographic were by the 1980s and 1990s a regular feature in popular films and even on television.

The widespread availability of pornography beginning in the late 1960s and early 1970s reinvigorated the opponents of pornography. Concerned with whether pornography indeed promoted social problems, the U.S. Congress in 1967 formed the National Commission on Obscenity and Pornography to study the problem. The commission’s 1970 findings stated that, according to available data, regulating pornography and obscenity was not a matter of national importance.

Further, it recommended that, “Federal, state, and local legislation prohibiting the sale, exhibition and distribution of sexual materials to consenting adults should be repealed,” except in the cases of child pornography. Seventeen of the nineteen commission members concluded that “empirical research designed to clarify the question has found no evidence to date that exposure to explicit sexual material plays a significant role in the causation of delinquent or criminal behavior among youth or adults.”

The findings of the commission, which had been appointed by then-President Lyndon Johnson, enraged President Richard Nixon, who denounced the commission as “morally bankrupt.” Other conservatives followed suit, and the commission’s findings were largely disregarded and led to no new legislation. Fifteen years later, under the even more socially conservative administration of Ronald Reagan, another commission was established to study the “scourge” of pornography. Attorney General Edwin Meese’s commission set out to study the effects of pornography on the American people and, according to *Pornography: Debating the Issues* author Ted Gottfried, “to figure out ways to stop it from spreading without stepping on rights guaranteed by the Constitution.” The highly-publicized commission findings charged that exposure to pornography led to “anti-social acts of sexual violence” and to other “non-violent forms of discrimination against . . . women,” among other evils.

The diametrically opposed findings of these two government commissions made one thing clear: after almost three decades of research, no consistent body of empirical data published in English corroborates the idea that mainstream pornography causes any particular harm or damage to the normal consumer or citizen. Nor, it might be noted, does much data support the contrary theory that pornography acts as a sort of catharsis, that its presence creates a “safety valve” in a stressful society. The absence of any conclusive data on the social effects of pornography meant that the battles over pornography would be based not on reason and science but on emotion and politics. On one side of the debate were those who decried the devastation pornography visited on families and women; on the other side were those who warned of the even greater devastation that censorship caused to civil society. The debate rages on, with no clear winners.

Though they led to only one piece of significant legislation (the Child Protection and Obscenity Enforcement Act of 1988), the Meese Commission’s findings energized an array of right-wing forces, pressured the Southland Corporation, owner of the 7-11 convenience store chain, to pull *Playboy* and *Penthouse* magazine from its shelves, and encouraged Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, who led an attack on the National Endowment for the Arts for its alleged sponsorship of pornographic art, notably the work of Robert Mapplethorpe and Andres Serrano. Perhaps the most surprising ally of the anti-pornography forces in the 1980s was a vocal group of what came to be known as anti-pornography feminists.

Women Against Pornography founding member Andrea Dworkin announced her group’s agenda to audiences in the late 1970s when she declared that: “Pornography exists because men despise women, and men despise women in part because pornography exists.” Anti-pornography feminists (including the group Feminists Fighting Pornography) found a potent ally in University of Michigan law professor Catharine MacKinnon, who led the campaign to establish new legislation to suppress pornography (though such laws were largely unsuccessful). Other leading feminists, including Nadine Strossen and Betty Friedan (whose own *The Feminine Mystique* had once been labelled obscene), fought very publicly against what they depicted as

the forces of censorship, pure and simple. The issue thus revealed sharp divides within the feminist movement, divides which mirrored those in the public at large.

The rise of the Internet in the 1990s added new fuel to the debate over pornography. With all that the Internet could do, the thing that it seemed to do best in the 1990s was provide ready access to a vast trove of visual pornography. Some studies claimed that as much as 30 percent of the material available via the World Wide Web was pornographic in nature, and industry analysts estimated the revenues from adult web sites could reach \$200 million by the end of the century. To be sure, the porn was out there: vast archives of still photography, much of it hard core, were available with the click of a mouse; much of it was available free of charge, and still more for a fee. By the late 1990s technology had made possible the transmission of video clips as well. The most troubling element of Internet pornography was its ease of access. Without special filters to screen out adult content, any child could easily stumble upon material that no parent would deem permissible. Politicians responded to the problem of “cyberporn” in 1996 with the creation of the Communications Decency Act, which prohibited the transmission of material deemed “indecent” over computer networks. The bill attracted the immediate attention of civil liberties groups and was soon found to be unconstitutional. At the end of the century, politicians, parents, and public librarians still struggled to figure out a way to restrict the access of minors to pornography over the Internet without infringing upon the rights of adults.

Throughout the century, Americans have grappled with the problem of pornography. This struggle has illuminated one of the central dramas of the American experience—the struggle between individual freedom and social control—and revealed a prudery that international observers have often found amusing. The agonizing, century-long struggle over pornography has largely supported the rights of adult Americans to have access to sexually explicit materials. But conservative zealots, progressive feminists, and concerned parents alike wonder at the social costs of such freedom of access. As with violence and bigotry, pornography is probably a problem that will remain with us.

—Dr. Jon Griffin Donlon

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## Porter, Cole (1891-1964)

Cole Porter was one of the most important creators of musicals from the 1920s to the 1950s. He was one of those rare Broadway composers who wrote both lyrics and music. His impressive list of twenty-three Broadway shows included *Anything Goes* (1934), *Kiss Me, Kate* (1948), and *Can-Can* (1953). Porter also wrote songs for



Cole Porter

films such as *Rosalie* (1937) and *High Society* (1956). Porter enjoyed the luxurious lifestyle, and his affluent upbringing is reflected in the wit and sophistication of both his music and his lyrics.

Cole Porter was born on June 9, 1891, in Peru, Indiana, with a proverbial “silver spoon” in his mouth; his grandfather was a multi-millionaire banker. Music was important to the young Cole, and he was already publishing songs at age 11. He continued writing songs and playing piano while a pre-law student at Yale University (B.A., 1913). Law school at Harvard did not fit well with Porter’s interests, and he changed his studies to music. This greatly concerned his family, which was fearful that the heir to the family fortune would not have formal training in business acumen.

A devoted francophile, Porter spent a great deal of time in Paris, where he maintained a lavish apartment. He studied in Paris with French composer Vincent d’Indy, and Parisian locales appeared frequently in his shows.

Porter’s first show, *See America First* (1916), opened and closed almost immediately. His second show, the revue *Hitchy-Koo* (1920), was as disastrous as its predecessor. Despite these early failures, Porter nevertheless continued to pursue a career as a composer. His first successful song, “Let’s Do It,” appeared in the musical comedy *Paris* (1928). In this song, Porter’s penchant for *double entendre* is readily apparent. Two moderately successful shows, *Fifty Million Frenchmen* and *Wake Up and Dream*, appeared in 1929. During the early 1930s, Porter had hit songs with “Love for Sale” from *The New Yorker* (1930) and “Night and Day” from *The Gay Divorcee* (1932).

Although he had produced a number of hit songs by the mid-1930s, Porter still had not written a successful show. *Anything Goes* (1934) changed that, playing 420 performances in its initial Broadway run. The plot involved mistaken identity aboard a ship, and the colorful list of characters included Reno Sweeney, an ex-evangelist turned nightclub singer; Billy Crocker, a stowaway; Hope Harcourt, a debutante; and Moon-Face Mooney, Public Enemy No. 13. Songs such as “Anything Goes,” “You’re the Top,” “I Get a Kick out of You,” and “Blow, Gabriel, Blow” garnered lavish praise for the show and its creator. Ethel Merman, William Gaxton, and Victor Moore starred in the original production.

Porter’s success continued through the 1930s with several important musicals. *Jubilee* (1935), inspired by the Silver Jubilee of Britain’s King George V and Queen Mary, concerned a royal family who were able to live *in cognito*. Songs included “Just One of Those Things,” “Begin the Beguine,” and “Why Shouldn’t I?” *Red, Hot and Blue!* (1936), a political satire, starred Jimmy Durante, Ethel Merman, and Bob Hope. “It’s De-Lovely,” one of Porter’s greatest songs, was introduced in this show. Another political spoof, *Leave It to Me!* (1938), is best remembered as the show in which Mary Martin made her Broadway debut. She sang her one solo number, “My Heart Belongs to Daddy,” (the lyrics of which are replete with double entendres) while doing a striptease atop a steamer trunk and surrounded by fur-clad chorus boys. *DuBarry Was a Lady* (1939), the fifth longest-running musical of the decade, starred Bert Lahr and Ethel Merman, who introduced the immortal duet “Friendship.”

Porter was an avid equestrian. In 1937, he suffered a serious riding accident from which he never would completely recover, despite over two dozen operations and several years in a wheelchair. His right leg, which was crushed in the accident, had to be amputated in 1958. From 1937 to 1958, despite intense, constant pain, Porter continued to write successful musical comedies filled with notable songs.

Porter’s shows from the 1940s included *Panama Hattie* (1940), *Let’s Face It!* (1941), *Mexican Hayride* (1944), and *Kiss Me, Kate* (1948). *Kiss Me, Kate*, his most successful Broadway show, takes place onstage and backstage during rehearsals for a musical version of Shakespeare’s *The Taming of the Shrew*. The book by Samuel and Bella Spewack blurred the distinction between the lives of the characters as actors and as non-actors. The calvacade of hit songs included “Another Op’nin’, Another Show,” “Why Can’t You Behave?” “Wunderbar,” “So in Love,” “I Hate Men,” “Where Is the Life That Late I Led?” and “Brush Up Your Shakespeare.” The show starred Alfred Drake and Patricia Morison. Howard Keel and Kathryn Grayson played the lead roles in the 1953 film version.

During the 1950s, Porter continued to compose successful musicals. *Can-Can* (1953) epitomized Porter’s love for the French capital. Songs included “C’est Magnifique” and “I Love Paris.” While Lido, the French actress who played the lead role, introduced the world to “I Love Paris,” it was Gwen Verdon, who danced an Apache dance and the sensuous “Garden of Eden” ballet, who received the greatest accolades. *Silk Stockings* (1955) was Porter’s last show, and his sixth to be set in France. The spy plot spawned such songs as “Paris Loves Lovers,” “All of You,” and “Silk Stockings.” The 1957 film version featured Fred Astaire and Cyd Charisse.

Porter also maintained an active career in Hollywood. Twelve of his Broadway shows were made into films, and he wrote songs for numerous other motion pictures. Significant film songs included “I’ve Got You Under My Skin” from *Born to Dance* (1936), “Rosalie” and “In the Still of the Night” from *Rosalie* (1937), “Be a Clown” from *The Pirate* (1948), and “True Love” from *High Society* (1956).

Cole Porter was one of the most important creators of musicals during the middle part of the century. His sophisticated use of *double entendre* and his love for the city of Paris inspired his greatest work. His ability to create both sophisticated words and chic music made his songs stand out from those of many of his contemporaries.

—William A. Everett

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## Postcards

Perhaps no communications medium exemplifies twentieth-century popular culture more accurately than the unpretentious postcard. This simple message-bearer had tremendous public appeal



during the final decades of the 1800s, and although it seemed to have reached a peak in popularity during the first 20 years of the twentieth century, now, at the turn of the millennium, the postcard's symbolic power and presence show little sign of giving way to e(lectronic)-mail or other potential electronic replacements. Readily available at any tourist destination along the way, at interstate truck stops, or in the revolving racks at local downtown shops, postcards are an icon of a culture in a hurry. Taped to our refrigerator doors or tacked to the office bulletin board, they have become commonplace signals that someone we know is off traveling. Expressions such as "wish you were here" have become popular parlance ushered into our vocabulary by virtue of being oft-utilized on postcards.

The postcard has a fascinating and well-documented history. Before the idea of a graphic face became popular, plain cards were used for brief correspondence during the mid-nineteenth century. The concept was officially recognized at the 1865 General Postal conference in Karlsruhe, Germany, and four years later the first card published by a government postal agency was issued by the Austrian-Hungary monarchy. It was a plain card with a printed stamp. In the United States, a federal law passed by Congress on May 19, 1898 authorized "Private Mailing Cards" with one side exclusively for the address. This allowed the other side of the card to be used for a picture or drawing. Prior to 1907, one whole side of a picture postcard was reserved for the address, leaving the only place for a written note to be across the picture itself. But in 1907 another law permitted a divided back, one half for the address and the other for the message.

With the sanctioning of a graphical front to the postcard by government postal agencies, picture postcards soon became very popular. This was encouraged by advances in printing and photography allowing mass production. Also, Rural Free Delivery was instituted in 1898, stimulating personal use of the mail system for spontaneous correspondence. People could always find the time to scribble a short note on the back of a postcard, and seemed to enjoy sending these pictures to each other. It has been estimated that more than a billion postcards were produced in this country during the decade preceding World War I. Such volume suggested a significant retail commodity for many commercial establishments, and marketing strategies took advantage of postcard popularity. In *The Book of Postcard Collecting*, Thomas Range reports that "the familiar revolving wire rack for the display of cards has been attributed to one E.I. Dail, who patented this product in 1908." After 1915, the use of postcards declined somewhat, partly due to the war but also because the telephone and the automobile were creating a revolution in communication and transport connectivity.

In the late 1990s, a revival of postcard popularity began in the United States, both for currently published offerings as a means of quick communication, and for the collecting of postcards from the past. Collecting postcards became very popular during the height of their production just after the turn of the twentieth century. Postcards lend themselves to collecting because of their generally uniform size and ease of storage. Postcard collector's clubs first formed during the 1940s, and remain a major storehouse of information and research. There exists a recognized field of study for postcards, which probably began as the popularity of sending postcards declined. As related by Marian Klamkin in the book *Picture Postcards*, "Randall Rhodes of Ashland, Ohio, coined a word in the early 1930s that became the accepted description of the study of picture postcards, 'deltiology,' taken from the Greek word, *deltion*, meaning a small picture or card." Today there are numerous newsletters and magazines devoted to the hobby. Many postcard collectors concentrate on various themes:

railroad stations, city and town bird's-eye views, steamships, and other symbols of technological progress. These subjects often represent the spirit of the age, what seems or had seemed important to us at the time. Natural disasters commonly became topics for postcards, perhaps going along with what Morgan and Brown, in their book *Prairie Fires and Paper Moons*, have termed an "emphasis on the minor events in out-of-the-way places." Of course, whatever the subject, there was always an imbedded discourse within the image portrayed. And this hidden message continues in the postcards of today, especially for those cards with the "wish you were here" scenery.

Here are the glossy images of lakes, waterfalls, rugged mountains, or bucolic rural scenery. That the picture postcard is produced and designed to be sent through the mail is itself an act of reinforcement for popular perceptions of place, and as such, the lowly postcard can offer insight into both past and present geographies. The record they leave behind is indelible and unmistakable. Postcards represent a sequential snapshot of both the landscape's and society's changes over time. Not only do postcards impart information about trends and cultural shifts, but have themselves been used as vehicles for diffusion of new ideas and styles of artistic expression. Their use in commercial advertising likewise has a long history. The hobby of collecting postcards has resulted in additional value being imparted to them. Ultimately, however, postcards are fun to send and fun to receive, and therefore show little sign of disappearing from popular culture.

—Robert Kuhlken

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## *The Postman Always Rings Twice*

James M. Cain's (1892-1977) controversial bestseller *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (1934) is an erotic and violent story about a waitress and a drifter who kill the woman's well-heeled, unattractive older husband. Cain's novel is central to the hard-boiled novel/film noir tradition in American popular culture. As in many novels in this genre, an amoral hero falls victim to his own powerful sexual



Lana Turner and John Garfield in a scene from the film *The Postman Always Rings Twice*.

attraction to a beautiful *femme fatale*. *L'amour fou* (obsessive love) is at the heart of much of Cain's writing, making it eminently adaptable to film noir—a genre where amorality, violence, and a malevolent fate hang over its often psychologically realistic, morally ambiguous characters.

Cain's novel has been adapted four times to film: as *Ossessione* by Luchino Visconti in 1942 (unavailable until very recently because of copyright problems), under its original title in 1946 by Tay Garnett (starring Lana Turner and John Garfield), in 1981 by Bob Rafelson (starring Jessica Lange and Jack Nicholson), and by Marcus DeLeon, in an uncredited version, as *Kiss Me a Killer* in 1991.

—Jeannette Sloniowski

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## Postmodernism

The word "postmodernism" means many things to many people. To some it describes a fad or a personal style, to others, a theory of society, a philosophy of human significance (or its lack thereof), a historical epoch, a phase of capitalist development, or a curious feeling of personal weightlessness in a world of synthetic pleasures and meanings. Unlike most "isms," postmodernism has no stock tenets or creeds to fall back on, relying instead on a general attitude of misgiving for all things "modern." The foundational assumptions that undergird modern personal and social beliefs, even the belief in "reality" itself, are, for postmodernists, canon fodder in a relentless "ungrounding" assault waged on modernity. This essay will assess the relevance and achievements of the postmodern critical enterprise (which are significant), while exercising a healthy skepticism about some of postmodernism's more lofty assertions. Postmodernism will be understood for what it is—a product of an academic "idea" industry, meant to describe an awkward period in the history of

western society. In this way, postmodernism, the academic fad, will be explained via the use of postmodernism, the critical “ungrounding” of cultural assumptions and beliefs.

To call postmodernism an intellectual fad is neither disparaging nor inaccurate: all cultures are subject to fads, and intellectuals, as any postmodernist would assure you, are no exception. Postmodernism has its origins in the erudite practices of the academic and scholarly world, where new ideas are generated regularly, contested and advanced through the commerce of publishing, hobnobbing at academic conferences, power politicking at faculty meetings and on department budget committees—all processes which are driven by academics’ desire to expand personal influence by thinking of something new to say. Beginning in the early 1980s, postmodernism began to emerge as a vanguard movement in the idea market, with all the equipment for a successful intellectual coup—its own fancy vocabulary, a cryptic set of canonical texts, and a seemingly inexhaustible ability to come off cleverer than any of its challengers. Indeed, the ability of the postmodern rhetorician to inflate the significance of familiar issues by describing them with thick jargon has proven a fruitful intellectual stratagem for postmodernists, one whose success rivals that enjoyed by structural functionalist sociologists of the 1950s who, under the leadership of Talcott Parsons, stormed American sociology in a whirlwind of technical sounding lingo.

By the 1990s, the term “postmodern” had crept into the vernacular of American cultural commentary, in much the way that such terms as “existential angst,” “mass culture,” and “the medium is the message” once held sway over their own distinct periods, promising the key theoretical and rhetorical tools for unlocking the social and cultural mysteries of their time. Of course, fads are never arbitrary: they only catch on because they seem meaningful to people and offer some help in the interpretation of their real lives and the conditions under which they live. For America in the 1980s, many confusing social changes seemed to lend themselves to a postmodern analysis: a new Reagan era emphasis on media theatrics over political realities; a deepening permeation of TV, home videos, and MTV into the most intimate recesses of personal and everyday life; the waning of the promise of left social movements; and the failure in the 1970s of any cultural movements capable of countering the hegemony of consumerism and its seductive culture of images. All suggested a society that had to be fundamentally rethought. In addressing these conditions, postmodernism provided an anti-foundationalist theory for a society struggling with its slipping grasp on any founding reality or system of its own.

To understand postmodernism, we must first understand what postmodernists mean when they speak of “modernity” (a broad term that includes a sweeping host of thinkers and artists from Descartes and Darwin to Jackson Pollock and Mick Jagger). “Modern” thought defines an outlook that grounds human history, social organization, and the human condition in certain essential personal qualities which are, happily, perfecting themselves over time. Modernism proposes that the human capacity for reason, justice, and enlightened knowledge about the world is gradually becoming clearer and more defined, and with those changes, modern society is becoming an increasingly pleasant place to live: modern governments are fairer; technology more capable; capitalist systems, though prone to hard times, are better and more efficient than the older ones they replace; and scientific knowledge is superior to superstition, mysticism, and bunk. Modernists also assume that the greatest share of progress in the development of those personal qualities and the social products they engender has fallen on the shoulders of the Occidental West, and in

particular, its ruling elites. It is thus the duty of those elites to inspire progress elsewhere in the world as best they can. Though this is not an easy task, it is nonetheless a burden modern nations must undertake, even (as critics say) if it means establishing huge colonial empires, stigmatizing and exploiting women, minorities, and other less modern types, and making oneself very rich and influential in the process. In fact, the myth of “progress” provided an immense carpet under which all voices of discontent emanating from the less modern quarter could be quickly and easily swept. In short, modernists maintain that being modern is a fundamentally good and desirable thing for anyone who wants to perfect their innate cognitive and moral potentials (which everyone does, whether they realize it or not).

This is, in short, the modern doctrine of progress: one day, everyone will be perfect, rational, and modern (like us). It is against this doctrine that postmodernists have released their most penetrating, anti-foundationalist critique. Postmodern thought is in many ways quite simple: it repudiates any belief in the foundations that are thought to support various modern institutions and ideologies. The implicit justice and reasonableness of the human character, the moral potential of human social organization, and the bright outlook and optimism supplied by “modernist” apostles of progress is exposed by postmodernists as a fiction of Western civilization. Postmodernists cut away at the foundations of everything, revealing the loftiest of modern principles as silly fetishes, or worse, tools of Western domination. The view of the universality of human reason that led the philosophers of the enlightenment to criticize the teachings of the church as “unscientific” is, for postmodernists, just another quaint European superstition. The vision of universal justice that inspired the democratization of Europe and America is disclosed as another form of social organization, no better or worse than the despotic regimes they opposed. Postmodernists are decidedly relativistic, and their assertion of the ultimate relativity of all values is arrived at by exposing all the great principles of modern thought—science, justice, reason, egalitarianism—as carefully orchestrated shams.

But there is more at stake than the abstract “groundedness” of modern principles: postmodernists use these questions to rethink fundamental questions of contemporary society, from sexuality to racism to social movements to popular culture. Having repudiated the foundational principles that bound modern society, all the fragments of contemporary society have to be somehow collected and pieced back together again. This presents postmodernists with a set of deeply troubling questions: How do you accuse the media of deception without presuming some sort of “truth”? How do you insist that something is unfair without presuming a foundational human morality? How do you separate popular culture from high culture with no objective standard of beauty? And most importantly, how do you think of the historical present and plan for a better future without a modern vision of progress to explain social change? Postmodern relativism has demanded that everything be considered anew, without the help of overarching principles. To understand how postmodernists got to this position, we must consider the connection between modernism’s foundational assumptions and its optimistic view of historical development.

From a postmodern perspective, the modernist vision of progress is already in tatters, and has been for years. Perhaps since the Holocaust, perhaps since Dada, or perhaps since the recession of the early 1970s, the rosy modern story or “meta-narrative” of progress has encountered increasing challenges from the many voices it had to silence in order to remain credible. Whether the dream of progress died in the gas chambers at Auschwitz or in the tract homes of Orange

County, this meta-narrative is no longer believable, no longer able to sweep the many unique “irrational,” unmodern voices under the carpet of its universal assumptions of rationality and progress.

In light of the unravelling of modern historical consciousness, postmodernism greets a rudderless society, adrift in a sea of fragmented ideas, symbols, and ideologies, where the refuse of history has come unglued. No longer “obsolete” (an idea that depends on a belief in “progress”), figments from the past collide with a contemporary world that no longer thinks of itself as “new”—as evidenced by the barrage of retro-nostalgic films and fads that have characterized consumer culture since the early 1980s. With hierarchies of taste no longer separating high from low, symphony orchestras play an evening of Warner Brothers’ cartoon classics, and prominent art museums feature “The Art of the Motorcycle.” With ideologies of ethnic difference no longer holding sway, take-out sushi and Kraft guacamole spread become staples of the American diet. In short, postmodernism announces a world in fragments. Where modernity’s narrative of progress used to tell us what belonged where, in a postmodern society everything, past, present, and future intertwines in a pastiche of difference and contrast. A typical feature of postmodernism is its intermixing of reality and representation: Peter Seller’s character in *Being There* is often cited in this respect, a man who carries a remote control with him through the streets, trying unsuccessfully to change the channels to remove himself from various situations.

For postmodernists, this fragmenting of society is, in many ways, a good thing: the past presents itself to us like a painter’s pallet, offering a range of historical styles for the taking. The blurring of the line between old and new, so troubling to the avant garde 1960s, and the breakdown between real and fake, so troubling in the “authentic” culture of the 1970s, is a source of campy joy to the postmodernist, who sees infinite possibilities in the production of new combinations: Why burn a real Christmas log when you can rent a video of a picturesque fireplace burning perfectly for hours? Why buy real flowers when plastic ones are in every way superior? Or even more postmodern: Why try to find your own words to express feelings and sentiments when you can just drop clichés from popular television shows? Indeed postmodernism’s assessment of a society without a foundation is always two-sided, sometimes apocalyptic and foreboding, dwelling on the “death of the subject,” the “end of history,” and the “disappearance of the social,” while at other times celebrating the “multiplicity of meanings” and the “carnavalesque” qualities of a society freed of all foundational obligations.

This perspective has led postmodernists to read culture and society in a unique way, uncovering many subtle dimensions of culture and society that had escaped others. Where modernists saw people as fundamentally reasonable things, postmodernists see people as infinitely shaped by their cultural environments, “socially constructed” by the spaces, roles, clothing, and consumer goods they make part of their lives. Gender, for example, is more the product of advertising and fashion than any essential human quality. Revolutionary leaders are not to be found among heroic resistance movements, but rather on TV and in the record store; for instance, volumes have been written by feminist theorists on Madonna for her unapologetic assertion of women’s sexuality, and her ability to shift identities by changing her hair color. Though postmodernists were certainly not the first ones to claim to have discovered the social construction of things we usually take to be natural (sociologists have been studying the “social construction of reality” since the 1960s), postmodernism launched a new study of everyday life in consumer society, where

language, consumer culture, the body, and the structuring of physical space were understood as the “sites” where people acquired identities, shaped “discourses,” and formed communities. For this reason, postmodernism’s new vocabularies seem justified: naming things that have never been spoken of before (like the effect a TV commercial for lipstick might have on a woman’s sense of her body as “feminine”) required a new critical terminology, and postmodern critics were quick to spin off volumes of innovative terms—“identificatory structures,” “liminal sites of resistance,” “multiplicity of subject positionalities”—and to pour them thickly in a jargon saturated prose that sent spell-checks reeling, and quickly became the postmodern signature style. The lipstick commercial, rather than “influencing” the woman’s “sense” of her body, “inscribes” her body with the “normative structures” of “gender signification.” To understand why postmodern writing takes on the style it does, how it galvanized such support throughout the 1980s and raised so much ire in the 1990s, we must reach back to the theoretical traditions from which postmodernism developed, and the peculiar understanding of language, writing, and argumentation postmodernists inherited from their intellectual forbearers: the French poststructuralists.

In the 1950s, another intellectual fad, structuralism, swept the French scene. Parisian intellectuals, bored with Jean Paul Sartre’s existentialist diatribes that grounded modern angst in the lonely subject of existential philosophy, felt the need for a new, more dispersed “structural” take on the individual and its significance. Following Claude Levi-Strauss and Roland Barthes, “structuralism” emerged with the model of an individual caught in a fixed network of signs and symbolic relations. Structuralism cut the ground from the under the crucible of the modern subject that had adorned French philosophy textbooks since Descartes, a marvelous and bold gesture that soon drew the admiration of readers across the Atlantic. But structuralism would have to suffer its own ungrounding before it could serve as the theoretical keystone for postmodernism: by the late 1960s, a few French intellectuals (most prominent among them were Jacques Derrida, Jean Francois Lyotard, Jean Baudrillard, and Michel Foucault) undertook a harsh critique of structuralism’s own grounds, its assumption that all meanings and social relations could be understood in terms of elements connected in fixed and limited symbolic structures.

The stability of Levi-Strauss’s systems of signs was to give way to “poststructuralism,” an approach that liquidated assumptions not only about the unique properties of the individual subject, but also the inherent structure of signs and meanings, which included writing and traditional forms of argumentation and explanation. Poststructuralism argued that all structures, which included equally the structures of the human psyche, social institutions, the modern economy, the structures of texts and signs, and the structure of such ideological systems as modernism and its great narrative of progress, always depend on a certain unstated exclusions. Something, some meaning or some voice, had to be pushed to the outside or swept under a carpet if any established meaning or “foundation” was to be achieved. Every modern structure, poststructuralists maintained, was premised on a troubling, concealed element, which was never entirely banished, but could be detected lingering at its margins or flickering on its periphery. Reason could never quite escape its nemesis, madness, just as democratic capitalism could never quite come to terms with its history of slavery. From the poststructuralist position, this extra element in every structure never has a “position” of any kind—positions are concrete structures in themselves—but is always present as a thing excluded, something ghostlike in its absence. Applying the

poststructuralist critique of the destabilizing, outside element to the structure of modern thought, postmodernists pried back the face of modernity to see what outside elements, what ghostlike absences, it had swept under its rug. And of course, modernity's grand narrative of progress was revealed to harbor a whole range of "subordinated" narratives and outside voices: those of women, slaves, gays and lesbians, and other "subalterns" who had haunted the confidence of modern narratives, deemed too irrational to be modern.

In both France and America, poststructuralism couldn't have come at a better time: a Paris student population, disappointed with the results of the uprisings of 1968, met with a splintered American left looking for something to replace the stodgy Marxism and worn-out feminism of their campus years. The new poststructuralism, promising to make criticism sexy again, quickly found space on the bookshelves of American and French academics. Moreover, what made the writings of many poststructuralist authors so enticing was their sense that their own criticism itself should take up that same outside "subordinate," ghostlike relation that poststructuralism had uncovered lurking at the edges of every modern text. To take a position, to speak the language of direct argumentation, or to tell someone in a straightforward manner what postmodernism was all about would be to incorporate oneself into the structure of the argument itself. Poststructuralists like Derrida believed in the importance of elusiveness in their writing, of avoiding taking "positions" in the structure of a text and staying evasive, vague, and irritating. Derrida's philosophy of deconstruction uses indeterminate, multiple meanings in order to keep the poststructuralist's "voice" on the outside of the structure of the debates in which he or she engages, avoiding clarity, producing a style of scholarly writing that insists on remaining open to different readings, with the belief that purposefully unclear and ambiguous writing undermines or "ungrounds" the foundations of writing—and reasoning—itsself.

The purposeful ambiguity that postmodernists inherited from poststructuralism and deconstruction and applied to cultural and social commentary has both exasperated its critics while drawing droves of inspired followers to the "critical theory" shelves of university bookstores. Following the poststructuralist lead, the postmodern author stands outside of all structures and systems: permanently defiant, elusive, and clever, remaining faithful to the groundlessness she takes as her only ground, and refusing to explain her evasions for fear she might turn "evasion" into a position, and thus become simply one more element in the structure of its own argument. In reality, of course, postmodern evasiveness has become precisely that: a familiar position, a clearly identifiable style practiced by a group of identifiable postmodern authors. These techniques are by now quite familiar: placing parts of words in (paren)theses so as to suggest double meanings; linking homophones with a backslash, "the body is the cite/site of inscription," or in triplet, "the apparatus of visuality defines the body as the cite/site/sight of inscription"; and the relentless pluralizing of terms, so as to invite, without confirming other meanings—feminism(s), consumerism(s)—and so on. These devices make it appear that one's own position eludes the limitations of language and argumentation that one's opponent remains within. Postmodern argumentation often casts the opposing position as a micro police-state of (modernist) discursive order, converting any effort to sustain a point as an effort to "police the boundaries" of meaning. This move, familiar in discussions between modernists and postmodernists, is a neat trick: it portrays the frustration of the modernist as an anxious response to the destabilization of his own argumentative structure in the face of the subversive instabilities

unleashed by the postmodernist's evasive techniques. As the modernist becomes impatient, the postmodernist says "told ya so." By the late 1990s, postmodernism, or "pomo" in academic parlance, had become common fare in college classrooms (thus betraying the spirit of linguistic subversion poststructuralists had in mind.)

No proponent of postmodernism did more to seduce American critical audiences than Jean Baudrillard, whose seemingly bleak pronouncements on the "death of subjectivity" in the postmodern age inspired zealous loyalty and fierce opposition. Baudrillard's expeditions through the dregs of American consumerism took him through Las Vegas, Disneyland, and Los Angeles, where he discovered the European's fantasy of the vulgar (if alluring) American: a nation of crass media addicts whose grip on anything more than the TV's remote was tenuous at best. In America, Baudrillard discovered a new relationship to reality: a simulated "hyper-reality" in which the individual self and all of its experiences were disappearing into a deluge of reproducible copies. Everything, Baudrillard argued, was reproduced in some image or another. In fact, part of what it means to be real, in the postmodern age, is to be copied in one form or another, either on television or in print. His message was not just critical, it was apocalyptic: it announced an end to reality itself, to criticism, to politics, and to all personal experience, leaving only the mesmeric effects of reproduced images. His dense elliptical terminology and his vague, portentous inflection took American art criticism and downtown bookstores by storm, and soon shaped a new genre of chic cultural commentary. Moreover, Baudrillard's books stung the American left with declarations that politics had "disappeared," been rendered "fictional," lost in a maze of representations. Among his most provocative claims was his assertion in 1992 that "the Gulf War didn't happen," a statement that drew a group of angry anti-war activists to one of his lectures, bearing signs insisting that "the Gulf War DID happen" after all.

No account of postmodernism would be complete without some mention of the events of 1996, and the stunt perpetrated by New York University professor of physics Alan Sokal that did more to draw public attention to the goings on of the scholarly world than any other event in years. Though not a postmodernist himself, Sokal pieced together an essay stuffed with postmodern verbiage, which he titled "Transgressing the Boundaries: Toward a Transformative Hermeneutics of Quantum Gravity," and submitted it to *Social Text*, a prominent journal of cultural studies with, at times, strong postmodern tendencies. To his surprise, his lark was accepted and published in the spring/summer 1996 issue. When the piece came out, Sokal went public with an article in *Lingua Franca*, the *People Magazine* of the academic world. While the editors of *Social Text* were stunned, Sokal gloated through a firestorm of controversy, touting his essay as the smoking gun that exposed the sham of the entire poststructuralist critical tradition. Though Sokal lacked theoretical savvy, the incident launched his career as a chief critic of the French intellectual oeuvre, and brought *Social Text*, postmodernism, and the "Sokal scandal" to the front page of the *New York Times*. It seems a shame that postmodernism, whose chief theoretical asset has been its unique ability to expose the charade of expert narratives, was so lazy about questioning its own emperor's new clothes, leaving the job instead to Sokal. Sokal's lark provided a clear testament to the routinization of postmodern prose and commentary, and if nothing else, the event may have closed or at least tempered what may be remembered as the halcyon days of postmodern rhetorical flourish.

—Sam Binkley

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## Potter, Dennis (1935-1994)

Dennis Potter was one of the most significant and innovative dramatists in the history of British television. From 1965 until his death in 1994, he created an oeuvre of haunting intensity and personal vision that ranks with the greatest achievements in any popular art form. His two best-known works to international audiences, *Pennies from Heaven* (1978) and *The Singing Detective* (1986), are strikingly original miniseries that use the television narrative to journey into an inner, psychological reality. Both series and many of his other dramas, including *Moonlight on the Highway* (1969), *Cream in My Coffee* (1980), and *Karaoke* (produced posthumously in 1996), share a fascination with popular culture and employ songs non-naturalistically to reveal repressed emotions. Although he wrote such films as *Dreamchild* and *Track 29*, Potter considered television "the most democratic medium," and used all his creative powers to open up the artistic possibilities of the medium.

—Ron Simon

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## Powell, Dick (1904-1963)

A pop singer and bandleader, Dick Powell became famous as the perennial youthful star of backstage musical films during the 1930s. He appeared as the juvenile lead opposite dancer Ruby Keeler in a string of films which included *42nd Street*, *Footlight Parade*, and *Gold Diggers of 1933* (all 1933). Other films included *Gold Diggers of 1935* (1935), *Thanks a Million* (1935), *Gold Diggers of 1937* (1937), *On the Avenue* (1937), *Varsity Show* (1937), and *Star Spangled Rhythm* (1942). Powell later eschewed his clean-cut image and began to aspire to non-singing dramatic roles in films such as *Murder, My Sweet* (1944) and *The Bad and the Beautiful* (1952). He also directed several films, but it is as the energetic, wide-eyed dancer of the 1930s that Powell is best remembered. He married fellow singing actor June Allyson in 1945.

—William A. Everett

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## Powell, William (1892-1984)

Actor William Powell, who lived to the age of 92, retired from the screen in 1955 having made 94 films, beginning with the role of Moriarty in the 1922 silent version of *Sherlock Holmes* (1922) starring John Barrymore. He was never more than a supporting player, generally a villain of some kind or another during the 1920s, until his accomplished performance in a featured role in Von Sternberg's *The Last Command* (1928) brought him attention. It was, however, the coming of sound, which ruined the career of many a silent star unable to deliver lines, that gradually elevated him to stardom as the quintessential screen sophisticate of the glamorous 1930s—immaculately tailored, impeccably spoken, witty, occasionally attractively caddish, and sometimes cynical. He was as much the perfect embodiment of the type as Gary Cooper was the archetypal emblem of honor, or Clark Gable the prototype of brash and unbridled masculinity. With the later change in styles and trends, Powell was in danger of sharing the obscurity of many of his forgotten films. He escaped such a fate thanks to *The Thin Man* (1934), which has defined his image ever since, despite the fact that the "thin man" of the title was not Powell, but some mysterious stranger.

The debonair, urbane, and amusing Powell persona that brightened the lives of moviegoers during the Depression era was famously

blended into the perfect screen incarnation of Dashiell Hammett's cocktail-sipping sophisticate-cum-detective, Nick Charles, who, with his wife Nora (Myrna Loy) and their dog Asta, beguiled audiences in *The Thin Man* with such hugely profitable results for MGM, that six more "Thin Man" films followed, ending with the inferior *Song of the Thin Man* in 1945. Powell and the glamorous Loy, both needing a bit of a career boost, found it together when director W.S. Van Dyke paired them in *Manhattan Melodrama* (1934), Powell's first for MGM. There followed *The Thin Man*, in which the stars joyously impersonated a couple to whom marriage was clearly an equal and thoroughly enjoyable partnership—a then innovative concept. They were teamed, too, in *Evelyn Prentice* (1934), a melodrama of adultery and blackmail, and in the screwy comedy *Double Wedding* (1937), but it was as Nick and Nora Charles that, after Astaire and Rogers, the Powell-Loy combination was perhaps the most successful star team of the 1930s. As film historian David Thomson puts it, "The match was perfect: two slender sophisticates, smiling haughtily at each other through a mist of wisecracks."

William H. Powell was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on July 29, 1892, the son of an accountant who intended that he should go into the law. However, he became an avid playgoer, in love with the theater from an early age, and dropped out of the University of Kansas after a week or two to pursue a stage career in New York. He studied at the American Academy of Dramatic Arts (with such talented classmates as Edward G. Robinson and Joseph Schildkraut) and, after a couple of years of struggle, began to find work in vaudeville and stock and on Broadway from 1912. He worked steadily but without particular distinction until 1920 when his performance in a play called *Spanish Love* brought him some notice and led to the beginning of his film career. By then he had honed his craft through performances in some 200 plays.

Powell was under contract to Paramount for seven years from 1924 to 1931, where, as well as *The Last Command*, he made *Dragnet* (1928) for Von Sternberg, and where he made the transition to sound, appearing in *Interference* (1929), a drama whose only distinction lay in being the studio's first all-talkie. In 1929, however, he was cast as S.S. Van Dine's gentleman detective, Philo Vance in *The Canary Murder Case*, establishing the image that was to grow familiar and paving the way for Nick Charles. He played Vance in three more (the last at Warner Bros.), was paired with Kay Francis in three, and made two comedies—*Man of the World* and *Ladies Man*—with Carole Lombard in 1931, the year his first, 15-year marriage to Eileen Wilson ended and his second, two-year marriage to Lombard began.

The actor's professional marriage to Paramount, however, was faltering, and along with Kay Francis, he left the studio for Warner Bros., who revived his pairing with Francis in *One Way Passage* (1932), he a condemned criminal, she the doomed object of his affections. As well as his fourth Philo Vance outing, *The Kennel Murder Case* (1933), directed by Michael Curtiz, he made *The Key* (1934) for the same director, but Warner was proving no more satisfactory than Paramount and he departed the studio. En route to Columbia, he was intercepted by Van Dyke and MGM for *Manhattan Melodrama* (the movie John Dillinger had been viewing just before being gunned down by the FBI), and put under contract to the studio where his talents would be best employed. Powell's next film with Loy was *The Thin Man*, breezily directed by W. S. ("One-Take Woody") Van Dyke, which earned Powell an Oscar nomination and, more importantly, set the tone for many of his romantic comedies to follow. "Few images so succinctly convey the essence of thirties comedy," asserts critic Tom Shales, "as a scene from . . . *The Thin*

*Man* in which Powell's Nick Charles, reclining on the couch, shoots the ornaments off a Christmas tree with the new gun his wife has given him."

Now one of the brightest lights at MGM, Powell brought his impeccable flair to such comedy-dramas as *Reckless* (1935) with Jean Harlow and *Libeled Lady* (1936) with Harlow, Loy, and Spencer Tracy, and the title role in the biographical extravaganza, *The Great Ziegfeld* (1936), which won the Best Picture Oscar. (He again played impresario Florenz Ziegfeld in *The Ziegfeld Follies* in 1946). On loan to Universal, Powell co-starred with his ex-wife, Carole Lombard, in one of the most exemplary of "screwball" comedies, *My Man Godfrey* (1936), and earned his second Oscar nomination. Ever the gentleman in life as well as art, he had insisted that Lombard be cast, explaining, "Just because we couldn't live together doesn't mean we shouldn't work together." As film columnist Robert Osborne has commented, "For a man with such a perpetual twinkle in his eye, always seemingly in good humor, his personal life was surrounded with a surprising number of tragedies." Among these were the sudden death in 1937 of Jean Harlow, with whom Powell was deeply in love and was planning to marry; the bout with cancer that kept the actor off the screen for almost two years and hastened his retirement; and the suicide of his son from his first marriage. In 1940, Diana Lewis became his third and last wife in a union that lasted until his death.

As Powell began to get on in years, he effected a smooth transition to character parts, chiefly by giving an Oscar-nominated and New York Critics' Award-winning performance in the plum role of the elder Clarence Day in *Life with Father* (1947) opposite Irene Dunne. On stage, Day had peppered his pronouncements with profanity; denied these choice words for the film version, Powell put so much persuasive power into his tirades that the epithets were never missed. The way in which Powell bypassed the censors by making "Gad!" sound as profane as "God!" was a true lesson in the actor's craft. He made *The Senator Was Indiscreet*, a political satire, that same year, and played half the title role in a wistful, rueful fantasy, *Mr. Peabody and the Mermaid*. The actor, who had begun his film career in the days of the silents, continued working into the era of CinemaScope, essaying a key part in *How to Marry a Millionaire* (1953) with Marilyn Monroe and Lauren Bacall. He bowed out as Doc in the film version of *Mister Roberts* (1955) opposite Henry Fonda, giving a performance every bit as expert as his Nick Charles or his Ziegfeld. The three-time Oscar nominee, resting on his laurels as one of the legends of Hollywood's golden era, finally passed away at the age of 92 in his Palm Springs home.

—Preston Neal Jones

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## Prang, Louis (1823-1909)

Founder of one of America's best-known art education publishers and art supply firms, Louis Prang immigrated to Boston, Massachusetts, from Prussia in 1852. Initially a wood engraver, he became a lithographer, making prints to decorate the homes of New England's growing middle class. He also made labels for manufactured goods, campaign maps for families of Civil War soldiers, and America's first Christmas cards.

In 1870 a Massachusetts law mandated art instruction in the public schools to meet a burgeoning demand for commercial artists. Prang and Company seized on this new market with drawing cards for imitation in the classroom, art textbooks, the Prang Solids (geometric forms to be drawn by the student), paints, crayons, and drawing papers. Although the "art labor" movement receded by the turn of the twentieth century, Prang's firm continued to manufacture art supplies into the 1990s as a subsidiary of the American Crayon Company.

—Nick Humez

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## Prater, Dave

See Sam and Dave

## Preminger, Otto (1905-1986)

During his career, Austrian-born director and actor Otto Preminger worked equally hard at his films and his public persona. With the years he created for himself the identity of the independent producer-director par excellence who refused to submit to the Big Studio system or to restrictive production codes and who could fire a star like Lana Turner, originally cast for Lee Remick's role in *Anatomy of a Murder* (1959), because she refused to wear the pair of trousers he had selected for her. The following statement is as typical of his persona as courtroom scenes are of his movies: "I say what I like because it is completely my picture, an independent picture. I am the producer, the director, the casting director, it's all my decision." This self-consciously iconoclastic and autocratic character endeared him in the 1950s and 1960s to the French critics and directors of *Cahiers du Cinéma*, as well as to auteur-theorists like Andrew Sarris and others writing for magazines such as *Movie* and *The Village Voice*.

Preminger's career can be divided into three periods. After immigrating to the United States in 1936, he signed a contract with Twentieth Century-Fox, where he had several conflicts with producer Darryl F. Zanuck. Together with his first hit *Laura* (1944), Preminger's most interesting films of this period are a series of *noirs* shot during the late 1940s and early 1950s: *Whirlpool* (1949), *Where the Sidewalk Ends* (1950), *The Thirteenth Letter* (1950), and *Angel Face* (1952). Preminger was always quite reluctant to talk about these movies and emphasized instead his contrasts with Zanuck, thus adding to his reputation as a rebel against big studio rules.

*The Moon Is Blue* (1953) marked the beginning of Preminger's career as an independent producer-director, and was his first movie to be released without Motion Picture Association approval because of Preminger's refusal to cut dialogues containing sexual innuendoes. With his newly gained independence from big studios, Preminger started a successful series of grand-scale movies on, at least superficially, scandalous topics such as drug addiction (*The Man with the Golden Arm*, 1955), rape (*Anatomy of a Murder*, 1959), communism and homosexuality (*Advise and Consent*, 1962), institutions like the United States Army (*The Court Martial of Billy Mitchell*, 1955, and *In Harm's Way*, 1965), and the Catholic Church (*The Cardinal*, 1963). A recurring theme of these rather diverse and eclectic movies is the quest for truth through an apparently objective and scientific "anatomy" whose results, in the end, turn out to be more ambiguous than we would expect. This quest is embodied by the numerous courtroom scenes in Preminger's movies and is usually carried out by solitary male heroes such as U. S. General Billy Mitchell (Gary Cooper) in *The Court Martial of Billy Mitchell* and the lawyer Paul Biegler (James Stewart) in *Anatomy of a Murder*.

His iconoclastic persona notwithstanding, Preminger's use of controversial topics was essentially conservative and embedded in the conformist ideology of the 1950s and early 1960s. Two examples will suffice. As in the case of *The Moon Is Blue*, *The Man with the Golden Arm* (1956) was released without the seal of approval because of its subject. The film was a great box-office hit and people queued to see the taboo topic of drugs on the big screen for the first time. Yet, what they saw was, in Jackie Byars' words, a movie which is radical only on its surface, having at its base "a very conservative championing of the family, of aspirations to upward mobility, and of traditional gender definitions." Nelson Algren's novel of defeat in the Chicago slums is turned by Preminger into a success story starring Frank Sinatra as the ultimate self-made man: by the end of the movie Sinatra's Frankie Machine gets rid of his addiction and of his hysterical wife Zosh (Eleanor Parker), leaves the slums together with his new supportive girlfriend Molly (Kim Novak), and becomes a musician with the help of American big business. Just as *The Man with the Golden Arm* was perhaps the first mainstream movie to portray drug addiction, *Advise and Consent* (1962) was one of the first to treat explicitly the topic of homosexuality and was to influence the fate of many cinematic gay characters as well as popular perceptions of gay people: tormented by their sexuality, gays have little choice but to die. In this story of political intrigues and scandals, Senator Brig Anderson is appointed chair of the committee investigating the communist past of Senator Robert Leffingwell, who has just been designated Secretary of State. Along his quest for truth, Anderson is blackmailed by Leffingwell's supporters because of a gay affair he had while he was in the army. The movie clearly contrasts the cozy domestic space of Anderson's heterosexual household—filled with a beautiful, supporting wife and a cute daughter—with the squalor of the New York gay neighborhood where Anderson goes to talk to his



former lover, Ray. The landlord who first receives Anderson is the very antithesis of his wife. He is ugly and obese; homosexuality is conceived in terms of both moral and physical corruption. In the last instance, as Vito Russo has pointed out, Anderson kills himself “not because he is being blackmailed in Washington, but because he has gone to New York and found people with whom he has something in common and he is so repulsed he sees no alternative to the straight razor.”

Preminger’s final phase, which includes movies continuing his analysis of contemporary society (race-relations in the South in *Hurry Sundown*, 1967, Palestinian terrorism in *Rosebud*, 1975) and others striving for new directions (the slapstick farce *Skidoo*, 1968), was marked by critical and commercial disappointments. In spite of Preminger’s self-appointed role as freedom-fighter, we should wonder, following Dwight MacDonald, if any other director was more skilled than he “at giving the appearance of dealing with large ‘controversial’ themes in a bold way without making the tactical error of doing so.”

—Luca Prono

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## Preppy

The word “preppy” (also spelled “preppie”) derives from “preparatory” and refers to someone who attends or has attended a college preparatory secondary school. In actual use, preppy implies a wide variety of assumptions about the class, style, and values of such a person. Preppy can be used as a noun (“She dresses like a preppy.”) or an adjective (“I’m not interested in your preppy friends.”) It can be congratulatory or condescending, though its use is usually humorous and to some degree derisive.

Though preppy was long in use among high school and college students, the word first gained wide national exposure in Erich Segal’s 1970 romantic novel *Love Story* and the movie that was made from it. Set on the Harvard University campus, the novel describes the relationship between working-class Radcliffe student Jenny Cavilleri and blueblood Harvard jock Oliver Barrett. Jenny’s personality is characterized by salty language, a blue-collar chip on her shoulder, and her hostile references to Oliver as “Preppy.” The word preppy entered the national vocabulary at that point in its most common usage—an antagonistic epithet for the elite, used by those who are not in the upper classes.

In 1980, Lisa Birnbaum published *The Official Preppy Handbook*, a tongue-in-cheek look at the very real characteristics, quirks, and foibles of the privileged classes. She focuses her not-altogether-unloving mockery on the “old money” upper crust society of the East Coast, the alumni of such schools as Choate, Groton, Exeter, and

Andover. By poking fun at their “Chip and Muffy” nicknames, and their expensive-shoes-without-socks pseudo-casual style, Birnbaum shined a revealing light on the quietly rich. Her book inspired imitators, including some that were more overtly hostile to her subject, such as Ralph Schoenstein’s *The I-Hate-Preppies Handbook: A Guide for the Rest of Us*.

Part fashion, part breeding, and part attitude, preppiness denotes wealth, privilege, pomposity, and dissipation. The hostility with which the epithet preppy is hurled casts doubt on the reality behind the U.S. myth of the classless society. Preppy continues to be used regularly in the press, sometimes interchangeably with “yuppie,” though yuppie does not carry the East Coast blueblood connotation that preppy does. One of the most memorable outbreaks of preppy in the headlines occurred in the fall of 1996, after Jennifer Levin was strangled in New York’s Central Park by Robert Chambers. Levin and Chambers were both members of Manhattan’s high-society prep-school elite, and Levin’s death was immediately dubbed “The Preppy Murder” in newspapers across the country, giving credibility to the axiom that a particular form of public outrage is reserved for the misdeeds of those who have “all of the advantages.”

Though the working classes may have their revenge on preppies in the press and in film, it is the preppies who continue to triumph. With elite boarding schools becoming almost as expensive as private colleges, the prep-school education is more out of reach than ever for working people. A 1997 *Fortune* magazine study showed that corporate executives with upper-class prep-school backgrounds are consistently paid higher salaries than those executives with more middle-class upbringings. Preppies may be targets of fun and ridicule, but grown-up preppies become the power elite who perhaps see themselves safely insulated from the impact of jokes made at their expense.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Presley, Elvis (1935-1977)

It is no accident that Elvis Presley’s rise to fame in the 1950s was in tandem with the rise of rock ‘n’ roll, for the man and the music are indelibly linked. Though not the first rock ‘n’ roll star, Presley was the most prominent prophet of the pioneering musical form. Moreover, with his daringly unique style, delivery, and sound, he symbolized the cultural shakeup that rumbled throughout the era. As the Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist and social historian David Halberstam proclaimed, “In cultural terms, [Elvis’s] coming was nothing less than the start of a revolution.”

Presley himself was as complex and as conflicted as the decade he has come to represent. Though shy and beguilingly sweet offstage, his early onstage persona was swaggering, even leering, with performances marked by frenzied bumping and grinding and seemingly gravity-defying bolts, leaps, and slides. To the sexually repressed



Elvis Presley

young people of the day, he was an emblem of rebellious liberation. To the terrified adult establishment, parents especially, he was initially viewed as the devil incarnate. At the time, no one could have predicted that rock 'n' roll would "last," or that Presley's stardom would not only endure, but also grow to mythic proportions following his death in 1977.

Known the world over by his first name, the American legend had decidedly humble beginnings. Elvis Aaron Presley was born on January 8, 1935, in a two-room shack in Tupelo, Mississippi, following the stillborn birth of twin brother, Jesse Garon. The attending country doctor had to collect his fifteen-dollar fee through welfare. Scions of large, sharecropping families, Presley's parents were poor and uneducated. But Vernon and Gladys Presley indulged their precocious, tow-headed son, and Gladys went on to become a pivotal force in his early career. In fact, Presley was so devoted to her that he has often been depicted as a "mama's boy."

Drawn to music from early childhood, Presley was initially exposed to the gospel music that was inherent to the Deep South, and the Pentecostal church he attended in Tupelo. His musical horizons expanded in 1948 when he moved with his family to Memphis, Tennessee. Beale Street, home of the blues, was within walking distance of Lauderdale Courts, the public housing project that became home to the Presleys. Roadhouses were venues for hillbilly bands and

cowboy singers. Churches and meeting halls echoed with spirituals. Local airwaves were also diverse. In defiance of the times, Presley avidly listened to so-called "race" stations, which played the music of African-American artists for their primarily African-American audience.

It was during high school that Presley began experimenting with his looks and dress style. At a time when others his age were wearing plaid shirts and blue jeans, he favored flashy "pimp"-type clothing. Colors not ordinarily worn by the era's males, including pink, were a Presley fashion favorite. His hair style was equally distinct. Though crewcuts were the rage, he wore his dark blond hair slicked back with rose oil. That "greaser" look would go on to become a "cool" statement in films and on television. But Presley was far from popular at school. Most students recoiled from the young man with the greasy-looking hair and the acne. His shyness, thick Mississippi accent, and a tendency to stutter, further hampered his status among both classmates and teachers, who were taken aback when he performed in a student show during his senior year. Most were unaware that he sang. But in fact, Presley was consumed by both music and ambition.

It was a July 1953 vanity recording, made just six weeks after high school graduation, that led to his introduction to Sun Records founder Sam Phillips. The blues-loving Phillips was known for recording "colored" artists, such as B.B. King, Bobby Blue Bland, and Big Ma Rainey. But what he was searching for, he used to say, was "a white man who can sing like a Negro." He sensed that Presley, with his wide-ranging voice, might be that person. Presley was working as a truck driver when Phillips teamed him with guitarist Scotty Moore and bass player Bill Black. Their potent chemistry resulted in a sped-up, rhythmically charged version of "That's All Right (Mama)," their first Sun recording. Popular local disc jockey Dewey Phillips, no relation to Sam, played the song multiple times on the night of July 10, 1954. Later that month, as an extra added attraction at a local "hillbilly hoe-down," Presley subconsciously exhibited the gyrating body movements that he would eventually make a trademark.

For the next year and a half, Presley and musicians Moore and Black, who were now Sun Records artists, were on an extended road trip. Traveling throughout east and west Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana, they played high school auditoriums, Future Farmers of America halls, and backwater honky-tonks. One show found Presley performing atop a flat-bed truck parked at the second base of a baseball diamond. As his regional celebrity grew, disc jockeys and promoters alternately labeled him "the hillbilly cat," the "Memphis flash," a "bebop Western star," and even a "folk music fireball." But if his music was difficult to label, there was unanimity that Presley was one of a kind. Recalling the sensational impact of the early Presley, country music singer Bob Luman once related, "This cat came out in red pants and a green coat and a pink shirt and socks, and he had this sneer on his face and he stood behind the mike for five minutes, I'll bet, before he made a move. Then he hit his guitar a lick, and he broke two strings. . . . So there he was, these two strings dangling, and he hadn't done anything yet, and these high school girls were screaming and fainting and running up to the stage, and then he started to move his hips real slow like he had a thing for his guitar. That was Elvis Presley when he was about 19, playing Kilgore, Texas. He made chills run up my back, man, like when your hair starts grabbing at your collar."

Radio was a pivotal force in Presley's early career. Via the popular *Louisiana Hayride* radio show, his music reached listeners in thirteen states. His sensual, electric performances increasingly drew

young women. When he wrapped an act in Jacksonville, Florida, by drawing “Girls, I’ll see y’ all backstage,” hundreds of female attendees took him at his word. The May 1955 incident marked the first riot of his career.

His ascendancy caught the attention of manager-promoter Colonel Tom Parker. The former carnival man had received his honorary “Colonel” title in the 1940s, from hillbilly singer-turned-Louisiana governor Jimmy Davis. As shrewd as he was colorful, the Colonel was managing the *Grand Ole Opry*’s Hank Snow when he first heard about the young man from Memphis. He signed Presley to a contract in late summer 1955, and then promptly negotiated the singer’s move from the regional Sun Records to the nationally prominent RCA Records.

Even before the move to RCA, Presley proved surprisingly astute about stardom and its demands. From his own office in Memphis, he saw to it that fan mail was answered, and photo requests were filled. Aware that he was becoming the music world’s equivalent of James Dean and Marlon Brando, the image-savvy Presley refused to smile for a *Parade* magazine photographer during a late 1955 session, explaining, “I know that you can’t be sexy if you smile. You can’t be a rebel if you grin.” After asking if he could pose himself, Presley casually stripped off his shirt, and stared soulfully at the lens.

A momentous year for Presley, 1956 saw his first RCA single, “Heartbreak Hotel,” top the charts and become his first gold record. His first album, *Elvis Presley*, likewise went gold. “Don’t Be Cruel” and “Hound Dog” were top ten hits. TV appearances followed, along with a lucrative film contract, and, in a triumphant homecoming, several now-legendary performances at the Tupelo fairgrounds. Presley’s name and likeness also adorned a myriad of products, ranging from charm bracelets to stuffed hound dogs. During their first fifteen months on the shelves, Presley merchandise accounted for \$40 million in sales.

There was, after all, a new and burgeoning market: the American teenager. The country’s approximately thirteen million teenagers had annual earnings, including allowances, of more than \$7 billion. Teen paychecks, the emergence of the 45 rpm record, and the popularity of the jukebox were integral to Presley’s meteoric rise.

But not everyone applauded his pervasive presence. Originally, it was “race” artists such as Fats Domino, Little Richard, and Chuck Berry who spread the startling sound called “rock ‘n’ roll,” which merged elements of gospel, rockabilly, and rhythm and blues. When white artists performed the music, it became more accessible. As performed by Presley, it became a volatile force. Denounced from pulpits, as well as by educators, the music was targeted for suppression by communities from coast to coast. As moral indignation grew, Presley became a whipping boy. The national boiling point followed his sexually charged performance of “Hound Dog” on *The Milton Berle Show*. Critics railed, calling him “lewd,” “obscene,” and “suggestive.” A reprieve came with his third and final appearance on America’s premiere variety show, *The Ed Sullivan Show*. Following Presley’s performance of January 1957, the respected host assured his audience that Presley was a “real decent, fine boy.”

Fame brought changes to Presley’s personal life. He moved his family into their new home, the Memphis estate named Graceland. He indulged in cosmetic alterations, including capped teeth, a nose-job, and skin treatments. He dyed his hair black, in the belief that black hair made a subject more striking for the cameras.

The inveterate moviegoer had dreamed of becoming a serious actor. But producers did not want Presley to dramatically emote; they

wanted him to sing. Thus, anachronistic musical numbers found their way into Presley’s 1956 film debut, the bittersweet Civil War romance, *Love Me Tender*, for which he was critically reviled. He fared better in 1957 with the back-to-back, somewhat autobiographical entries *Loving You* and *Jailhouse Rock*. The latter is significant for his surly performance, and the stunning title song musical sequence. His follow-up film, the gritty *King Creole*, boasted his most promising work. Then came his induction into the U.S. Army.

The Memphis Selective Service Commission’s 1958 decision to draft Presley prompted congratulatory letters from parents, along with death threats from teenage girls. For many, his haircut by U.S. Army barbers was a powerful and welcome sign that a rebellious era was ending.

The military stint proved significant for Presley. While stationed in Germany he began seriously popping barbiturates in an effort to keep longer hours. In the wake of his mother’s death, which left him devastated, he also formed a close relationship with the fourteen-year-old daughter of an Air Force captain. He later had the teenage Priscilla Beaulieu brought to Memphis, to surreptitiously live at Graceland.

Returning from the service in 1960, Presley headed to Hollywood where he and his entourage became renowned for their womanizing and wild parties. Presley’s inner circle, which came to be known as the Memphis Mafia, provided a buffer for the star, who increasingly kept his private life private.

His first post-Army film, the formulaic *G.I. Blues*, triggered a series of lightweight romantic musicals set against exotic settings, co-starring myriad pretty girls. Presley cynically referred to them as “travelogues.” Still, films such as *Blue Hawaii* and *Fun in Acapulco* were huge moneymakers. And he found his match, in talent and charisma, opposite real life romantic interest Ann-Margret in the 1964 title, *Viva Las Vegas*.

Musically, the post-Army Presley concentrated on ballads. Signifying his shift from rock ‘n’ roll was “Are You Lonesome Tonight?,” as well as “It’s Now or Never,” which featured Presley in a crooning mode. There were also frothy songs from his movies, and religious entries including “Crying in the Chapel.” To young people, it appeared Presley was stagnating. He himself worried that he was being eclipsed by the “British invasion.” In desperation, he agreed to star in an NBC-TV special. The resulting *Elvis*, which aired in December 1968, stands as one of the great show business comebacks. Looking slim and sexy, clad in tight-fitting black leather, Presley performed before a live audience in jam session-style. When he returned to TV five years later, Presley was likewise a mesmerizing figure, in white jumpsuit and an American eagle-emblazoned cape. *Elvis: Aloha from Hawaii—Via Satellite*, was beamed to countries around the world, to a record-breaking audience of as many as 1.5 billion.

Enshrined as “The King,” the Presley of the early 1970s was the top headliner of Las Vegas, where he was under contract to the Hilton International Hotel. He also played to sold-out crowds in concert arenas across the country. With the revitalization of his career came a tone of playful self-mockery, as evidenced by the inclusion of Richard Strauss’s monumental “Also Sprake Zarathustra” as the opening music for his concerts.

But Presley’s professional triumphs were marred by escalating personal woes. His relationship with Beaulieu, who he had married in May 1967, unraveled shortly after the 1968 birth of daughter Lisa Marie. The couple divorced in 1973. His health also suffered. From late 1973 until his death, Presley was in and out of hospitals,

“officially” for treatment of pneumonia, exhaustion, and other ailments. In truth, he was battling a long term dependence on prescription drugs, as well as weight problems. During 1975 and 1976 his performances were increasingly erratic. One Las Vegas engagement was canceled when he collapsed, in tears, on stage.

Despite the warning signs, the world was stunned when Presley died at his Graceland home at age forty-two, on August 16, 1977. President Jimmy Carter observed the passing with a statement saluting the man who symbolized America’s “vitality, rebelliousness, and good humor.” An estimated 80,000 people lined the streets of Memphis to watch the funeral procession.

Coincidentally, Presley died shortly after the publication of *Elvis: What Happened?*, a lurid exposé penned by former aides. The dark side of his life consequently became fodder for tabloid writers and biographers. Among them was Albert Goldman, whose 1981 book, *Elvis*, is infamous for its cruel tone. Because of the tell-alls, some Presley associates, including the Mafia members and personal physician Dr. George Nichopolous, became familiar names. And there was heightened skepticism over the exact cause of Presley’s death. When he died, his system contained traces of ten different drugs, including morphine and codeine. But the medical examiner had determined that “hypertensive heart disease” had caused the death. Autopsy results were reexamined in 1994, and it was concluded that Presley had died of a heart attack. Yet drugs and gluttony certainly contributed to his downward spiral. Presley stands as a preeminent example of the dangers of excess.

But Presley also personifies the American Dream. He ranks as a preeminent musical influence of the twentieth century. At the time of his death, he had sold more than 500 million records. His vast catalog, encompassing blues, rockabilly, country, gospel, rock ‘n’ roll, and more, is unsurpassed. In revolutionizing popular music, he spawned countless imitators, including the pompadoured rock ‘n’ rollers who climbed the charts in his aftermath. He also influenced two generations of performers and musicians, professionally and personally.

With his penchant for pink Cadillacs, jewel-encrusted rings, and other audacious trappings, Presley embodied the concept of the superstar as conspicuous consumer. By buying his mother a house, he set a rock-world precedent. By cleverly reinventing himself to suit changing times and tastes, he set a pattern since emulated by rock stars ranging from Elton John to Michael Jackson, from Madonna to Courtney Love. But unlike his successors, his varying images went beyond promotional angles to become cultural benchmarks. When the U.S. Postal Service issued a twenty-nine cent Presley stamp in 1993, the public voted for the image to illustrate the young Fifties-era Elvis. Within the merchandising arena, Elvises of all eras abound, on products ranging from alarm clocks to dolls, from designer ties to doormats. Closely guarding the name, likeness, and image of the entertainer is Elvis Presley Enterprises, Inc., a multimillion dollar business owned by Presley’s daughter, Lisa Marie Presley, and overseen by Priscilla Presley. It was Priscilla who salvaged the Presley estate, which was mismanaged during Presley’s lifetime due to business dealings balanced in favor of Colonel Parker. The empire’s crown jewel is Graceland, which is visited annually by some 750,000 people, making it the second most-toured residence following the White House.

Presley was himself a visitor to the White House, albeit an uninvited one, when he showed up in December 1970 and asked to be part of the country’s war on drugs. Unaware of the rock star’s own drug dependency, President Richard M. Nixon made Presley an honorary narcotics agent. Their meeting, one of the oddest political

summits, ever, typified the surreal, unsurpassed nature of Presley’s stardom. That bizarre quality continued into the 1990s, as personified by Elvis cults, Elvis “sightings,” Elvis impersonators, and even Lisa Marie Presley’s brief marriage to pop superstar Michael Jackson.

So rife is the Elvis Presley influence that the mere mention of certain foods, such as the fried peanut butter and banana sandwich, a Presley favorite, summon up his memory. Certain clothing attire, including blue suede shoes, immediately suggest Presley. He is the subject of a thriving cottage publishing industry, has been scrutinized in movies and TV shows, and even shows up as a “character” in movies and on TV. His appeal spans all social strata; studied and analyzed in universities, he remains a frequent tabloid subject. The Presley concert closing announcement, that “Elvis has left the building!,” has even become part of the lexicon. But Presley hasn’t really left. He lives in the collective conscience. In the parlance of Presley fans, Elvis is eternal.

—Pat H. Broeske

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## *The Price Is Right*

The longest-running game show in television history is *The Price Is Right*, a proving ground of consumer shrewdness that will serve future historians well as an artifact of capitalist ideology. As it entered its sixth decade on the air during the 1990s, the program continued to beguile millions of shut-ins, homemakers, and truant school children on a daily basis nationwide.

The venerable game show made its debut on NBC in November of 1956, with Bill Cullen as host. In its early days the program had a rigid format centered on contestants guessing the prices of various consumer items. It ran until 1965 in this incarnation, at which point it was canceled and seemed consigned to TV oblivion. But the show came back in 1972 with a new host, genial former *Truth or Consequences* emcee Bob Barker. He would remain with *Price Is Right* throughout the remainder of the twentieth century, logging more man-hours on network television than any other person in history.

Under Barker’s stewardship, the show took on a less fixed format. A host of different price-guessing games were introduced,



A typical moment from *The Price Is Right*.

some with complicated rules that bewildered the participants. In “The Clock Game,” for example, the contestant was given 30 seconds to guess the prices of two prizes. The price of the items was shown only to the live audience and the viewers watching at home. Barker provided assistance by telling the contestant if the prices he or she guessed were higher or lower than the actual price. The process continued until the contestant guessed the exact price. At the end of every show were “showcase” rounds in which the successful contestants could compete for expensive prizes like trips, cars, and furniture.

A number of staple features gave *Price Is Right* a distinctive look and sound. Announcer Johnny Olson added his unique voice to America’s pop cultural consciousness with his booming exhortation to contestants to “Come on down!” Rod Roddy succeeded Olson after his death in 1985. And “Barker’s Beauties,” an ever changing stock company of leggy models who presented the prizes, were on hand to hook male viewers. Over the years there were a number of notable onstage mishaps as well, including a woman who lost her tube top while “coming on down” and a refrigerator that nearly toppled over onto a contestant.

One of the more unusual aspects of *Price Is Right*’s long television run was the bizarre behavior of its host and star, Barker. A onetime karate student of action hero Chuck Norris, Barker seemed the epitome of blow-dried, hair-dyed emcee cool on stage. Off the set,

however, he often courted controversy. An ardent animal rights activist, Barker enraged the producers of the Miss U.S.A. Pageant in 1988 when he stopped hosting the show to protest the fact that fur coats were being given to contestants. The next year, in response to ads Barker had run in *Variety* accusing them of negligence and incompetence, the American Humane Association, an organization that monitors the treatment of animals in show business, slapped the host with a \$10,000,000 suit for libel, slander, and invasion of privacy.

Litigation against Barker was not confined to his political activity, however. It reached into his personal life as well. In 1994, Dian Parkinson, a former *Price Is Right* model, sued Barker for sexually harassing her during their years together on the show. According to the suit, Parkinson claimed Barker frequently called her to his dressing room, told her that “Daddy’s bored,” and then forced her to perform oral sex on him. The case was eventually dropped.

Such shenanigans might have been the kiss of death for any other game show host, but not for Barker, who kept rolling along even after he stopped dyeing his hair (with network approval) in 1987. The new, silver-maned Barker gave no indication of slowing down, and *Price Is Right* continued to do well in the ratings. Like its host, this revered television institution has proven that a little snow on the roof does not preclude the existence of a considerable fire in the furnace.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Price, Reynolds (1933—)

Southern novelist and man of letters Reynolds Price has been a distinguished figure in American literature since the 1962 publication of his first novel, *A Long and Happy Life*. With a distinct prose style and rich narrative voice that are firmly rooted in the language and rhythms of his native North Carolina, Price depicts a world of rural familiarity in which characters struggle with personal desires while trying to answer to family duties. Among his many novels, short stories, plays, poems, essays, translations, and memoirs are *Kate Vaiden* (1986), *The Surface of Earth* (1975), and the cancer memoir *A Whole New Life* (1994). Price has also collaborated on songs with singer/songwriter James Taylor, and broadcast personal commentaries on National Public Radio's *All Things Considered*. A graduate of Duke University and a Rhodes scholar, Price has taught in the English Department at Duke since 1958.

—James Schiff

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## Price, Vincent (1911-1993)

A veteran of theatre, film, radio, and television, Vincent Price's fifty-five-year acting career ran the gamut from classic film noir to especially bad "B" movies, but his lasting legacy is the Gothic horror movies he made with ghoulish glee and good humor. In the era that preceded the cinematic bloodbath of late-twentieth century slasher films, the mellifluous and debonair Price reigned as Hollywood's Master of the Macabre. With his distinctive voice, handsome demeanor, and somewhat tongue-in-cheek approach to Gothic films, as he liked to call them, Price brought style and fun to the horror genre. Generations of film fans reveled in Price's ability to send his audiences on a hilarious horror romp and then scare them to death.

Although his style was decidedly English, Vincent Leonard Price Jr. hailed from Middle America. The youngest child of a successful candy manufacturer, Price was raised in financial comfort among the social elite of St. Louis, Missouri. The son and brother of Yale graduates, Price received an excellent education aimed at prepping him for Yale, which he attended for four years, receiving a

degree in English. But Price's passion was art history, which he studied at the prestigious Courtauld Institute in London.

A longtime theatre and movie buff, Price auditioned for a bit part at London's Gate Theatre on a dare and was cast in the role of a Chicago policeman. Bitten by the acting bug, Price next won the coveted role of Prince Albert in *Victoria Regina*. When Broadway producer Gilbert Miller bought the play as a vehicle for Helen Hayes, Price returned to New York, where he made his Broadway debut in 1936. For two years, he appeared nightly in the hottest play on Broadway. Regarded as a matinee idol, the handsome six-foot-four-inch actor eventually struck out on his own and ended up in Orson Welles's Mercury Theatre.

In 1938, Price signed with Universal Pictures, where he was groomed to be a leading man, but after a disappointing screen debut in a light comedy, Price was cast in second and third leads for four years before returning to Broadway in 1941 to star in *Angel Street*. Playing the sadistic villain in a play that would become Broadway's longest-running melodrama (and later a hit movie, *Gaslight*), Price discovered a penchant for playing evil men. A year later, he returned to Hollywood, where he joined the strong stable of actors at Twentieth Century-Fox.

During the 1940s, Price appeared in such screen classics as *Laura* and *The Song of Bernadette* before winning the starring role in *Dragonwyck*. Cast as a despotic, drug-addicted, murdering landowner, Price won rave reviews, but it would be another decade before he fully embraced villainy. It was the 1953 3-D horror classic *The House of Wax* that catapulted Price into horror-movie fame. During the 1950s, when the genre was undergoing a resurgence of public interest, Price appeared in two cult classics, both directed by the master showman of horror, William Castle: *The House on Haunted Hill* and *The Tingler*.

American International Pictures's cycle of films based on the work of Edgar Allan Poe and directed by Roger Corman ultimately transformed Price into the modern King of Horror. Shot on a ridiculously low budget in fifteen days, Corman's *House of Usher* (1960) was a tour de force for Price, who played the tormented Roderick Usher. The film was both critically acclaimed and financially successful. Price and Corman made five more Poe films together, from the lighthearted *Tales of Terror* (1962) to the surreal *The Masque of the Red Death* (1964). *The Raven* (1963), a delectable comedy that united Price with fellow horror stars Boris Karloff and Peter Lorre, became a particular audience favorite and remains a staple of late-night television. Price's tongue-in-cheek approach delighted his fans, as did his willingness to spoof himself in popular TV shows such as *The Brady Bunch* and *Batman*, on which he appeared as the villainous Egghead.

To counteract his horror persona, Price assembled and sold the Vincent Price art collection for Sears, Roebuck & Company; and wrote three best-selling gourmet cookbooks. Cultured and intelligent, Price was often referred to as Hollywood's Renaissance man.

During the early 1970s, Price continued to make horror classics such as *The Abominable Dr. Phibes*, but he grew discouraged as the genre changed from Gothic tales to slasher films and decided to return to his roots in the theatre, spending almost a decade touring the globe with his one-man show about Oscar Wilde. In the mid-1980s, Price was introduced to a whole new generation when Michael Jackson asked the seventy-two-year-old actor to provide the rap for his mega-hit "Thriller." And in 1987, Price played his first non-horror role in decades in the acclaimed film, *The Whales of August*, starring Bette Davis and Lillian Gish.

In 1982, Price was contacted by a young animator at Disney named Tim Burton who had made a short film about a boy who wanted to grow up to be Vincent Price. When the actor agreed to narrate the film, Price and Burton became friends. Eight years later, it would be Burton who provided the ailing actor with his cinematic swan song as the kind-hearted inventor in *Edward Scissorhands*.

—Victoria Price

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## Pride, Charley (1938—)

Singer Charley Pride has the distinction of being the only African-American musician to make his career entirely in the field of



Charley Pride

country music, a musical genre dominated by white performers. His string of hits that began in the mid-1960s and continued for more than 18 years broke the color line in country music, even if no other black performers have followed Pride's lead. Pride's smooth voice and country-pop sound carried him to success despite his record company's initial fears that he would not be accepted by the country music establishment, or its fans, because of his race.

Born in 1938 to a sharecropping family on a cotton farm in Sledge, Mississippi, Pride crossed racial lines early in life, preferring to listen to white country music rather than delta blues or other black musical forms. He bought his first guitar from the Sears Roebuck catalog at the age of 14, with money he earned picking cotton, and began to teach himself country songs he heard on the radio. Although he did not want a life as a cotton farmer, Pride did not turn to music at first as a way out. Instead, he left home at age 17 to play baseball with the Negro American League where he played with the Detroit Eagles and later the Memphis Red Sox. He served for two years in the Army and returned to baseball after his discharge, joining the Los Angeles Angels. He tried to break into the major leagues with both the California Angels and the New York Mets, but he missed the cut both times.

His short career in baseball over, Pride returned to his love of country music. While working part-time as a semi-pro baseball player and as a smelter for the Anaconda zinc works in Helena, Montana, Pride also sang in a local nightclub where he was overheard one night by country singer Red Sovine. Sovine, impressed by Pride's voice and singing style, encouraged him to go to Nashville. Unsuccessful at first, Pride was eventually heard by country guitarist and producer Chet Atkins, who was also in charge of RCA Records' Nashville division. Atkins signed Pride to a record deal in 1966. Pride's first single was "The Snakes Crawl at Night." RCA issued the record without any publicity photos, fearing that southern disk jockeys would not play a country record by a black artist. That song, and a follow-up, "Before I Met You," were modest successes. Pride had his first major hit, "Just Between You and Me," at the end of 1966. That success, and the long string of hits that followed, established Pride as a major star in mainstream country music. His acceptance by country music fans soon broke down any initial fears that a black artist could not succeed in country music. In early 1967, Pride became the first black artist to appear on the Grand Ole Opry since Deford Bailey in 1925.

Between 1969 and 1971, Pride released five straight number one singles, including "All I Have to Offer You Is Me," "I'd Rather Love You," "Is Anybody Goin' to San Antone," "Wonder Could I Live There Anymore," and "I'm So Afraid of Losing You Again." His biggest chart successes came in 1971 with "Kiss an Angel Good Mornin'" and "I'm Just Me." These songs topped the country charts and, significantly, also crossed over into the pop charts, providing compelling evidence of Pride's wide appeal among a variety of audiences. Next to Elvis Presley, Charley Pride was RCA's best-selling artist.

Pride maintained his consistent country-pop style throughout the 1970s and 1980s, refusing to follow newer trends in country music. His adherence to his trademark sound encouraged him to break with RCA in 1986 when he felt they were not promoting younger artists at the expense of longtime successes like himself. In the 1990s, Pride continued to record, occasionally forming duets with younger performers such as Travis Tritt, and he maintained an active concert schedule. In 1994, in recognition of his groundbreaking achievements

in country music, he was awarded the Academy of Country Music's Pioneer award.

—Timothy Berg

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## Prince (1958—)

An exciting live performer and a prolific singer-songwriter, Prince resists easy categorization because of his uncanny ability to transcend genres in music and image. Often a misunderstood and controversial entertainer, Prince emerged on the music scene in 1977 to eventually record a staggering 20 albums in just 20 years. In the 1990s, Prince staged a bitter and highly publicized dispute with his record company, Warner Brothers, over the nature of his contract. Ultimately, the artist changed his name to a symbol in an attempt to regain creative control over his career. While Prince attained the peak of his critical and commercial success in the early 1980s, by the end of the 1990s he had emerged as a musical entrepreneur, continuing to tour regularly while maintaining a legion of fans in the United States and abroad.

Prince Rogers Nelson was born in Minneapolis on June 7, 1958 to Mattie Shaw and John Nelson, a local musician. In his formative years during the 1960s and 1970s, Prince honed his skills on a number of different instruments and immersed himself in the music of artists who would eventually come to influence his sound: Carlos Santana, Joni Mitchell, Curtis Mayfield, Stevie Wonder, Sly and the Family Stone, and Jimi Hendrix. Drawing from this rich legacy, by the late 1970s Prince would help to invent what became known as the Minneapolis Sound: a blend of horns, guitars, and electronic synthesizers supported by a steady, bouncing rhythm.

While Prince has often been classified as a rock musician, his work is much more complex in the way it fuses elements from rhythm and blues, pop, rock, funk, punk, and country. The singer also boasts a wide-ranging vocal ability which includes a growling baritone, a full tenor sound, an elegant falsetto, and a piercing shriek. The multifaceted nature of Prince's music and singing helped earn him a wide and diverse audience throughout his career, allowing him to crossover the racial boundaries that tended to dominate the music scene before his arrival.

In April 1978, Prince released his first album, *For You*, on which he played most of the instruments and overdubbed his voice to heightened effect. While the album was a modest success, his next release, *Prince* (1979), sold over one million copies, producing the hit singles "I Feel for You" and "I Wanna Be Your Lover." The two

albums that followed, *Dirty Mind* (1980) and *Controversy* (1981), were highly influenced by 1980s new wave and punk music. The latter album was aptly named: with each release, Prince became increasingly controversial for his explicit lyrics that would engage sexual themes including oral sex, incest, and sadomasochism.

Prince's outrageous sense of style also proved to be attention-grabbing. Sporting a small, short frame and a full mane of hair, Prince showed an affinity for lacy, frilly, and often suggestive clothing. His rare appearances in media interviews were awkward and self-effacing; yet on stage, he was carnal and exhibitionist in a way audiences had not witnessed before. Along with his musical peers Boy George and Michael Jackson, Prince helped establish a new sense of masculinity in the 1980s that owed a major debt to the images of popular rock stars like David Bowie, Iggy Pop, and Mick Jagger. In Prince's world, men could wear makeup and women's clothes and still maintain a diverse and supportive fan base.

Prince rose to superstar status with the release of his next two groundbreaking albums: *1999* (1982), a double-album set featuring several hit singles, including "Little Red Corvette" and the infectious, prophetic title track; and *Purple Rain* (1984), which became the defining moment of Prince's career. The album functioned as a soundtrack for Prince's first film, also titled *Purple Rain*. Directed on a modest budget by Albert Magnoli (who later became Prince's manager), the semi-autobiographical film presented Prince as the Kid, a struggling rock singer tormented by his dysfunctional relationships with women and his father.

Unexpectedly, *Purple Rain* became the most commercially and critically successful rock film since the Beatles' *Hard Day's Night* (1965). The soundtrack spawned a series of number one and top ten singles on the pop chart, including "Let's Go Crazy" and "When Doves Cry." The album ultimately earned the singer three Grammy Awards, while the title track garnered Prince a 1984 Academy Award for Best Original Song. The unprecedented success of the black-cast film also prepared the way for Spike Lee's groundbreaking independent film, *She's Gotta Have It* (1984), which in turn helped catalyze a new wave of black filmmaking in the 1980s and 1990s.

Although Prince never again attained the commercial visibility of the year in which he released *Purple Rain*, he followed that work with a series of sophisticated and critically praised albums on his own record label, Paisley Park. These albums included *Around the World in a Day* (1985), which sold four million copies and featured the hit single "Raspberry Beret," and *Parade* (1986), which served as the soundtrack for his next film, the disastrous *Under the Cherry Moon*.

After disbanding his backup group the Revolution, Prince released a double-album set, *Sign o' the Times* (1987), which generated a concert film in the same year. The melodic complexity and musical diversity of *Sign o' the Times* helped firmly establish Prince as a "true" artist in many critical circles. His next album, *Lovesexy* (1988), was complemented by a lavish, expensive international tour. The album received attention mostly for its controversial album cover on which Prince appeared fully nude, his loin area strategically covered. Prince also composed the music for two soundtracks, Tim Burton's hugely successful *Batman* (1989) and his own film vehicle, *Graffiti Bridge* (1990), a project that failed miserably at the box office.

During the height of his fame in the 1980s, Prince became linked in the media to a string of glamorous female performers, including Vanity, Appolonia, Sheena Easton, and Kim Basinger. Prince also helped bring a number of artists to visibility, including Morris Day, Tevin Campbell, Sheila E, and Carmen Electra. In the 1990s, he used his formidable talent to produce albums and songs for legendary but





Prince

largely forgotten rhythm and blues and funk artists like Mavis Staples and George Clinton.

In October 1991, Prince released an album titled *Diamonds and Pearls*, featuring his newly formed backup band, the New Power Generation. Although the album was a commercial success, Prince's mix of rap, rhythm and blues, and funk styles no longer seemed fresh or original in the changing scene of popular music in the 1990s. The artist seemed to be "chasing trends rather than creating them," according to his biographer Liz Jones. Moreover, Prince's androgynous

image was no match for the powerfully abrasive images of masculinity that had gained appeal in popular culture in the early 1990s through gangsta rap and black films.

In 1993, Prince's behind-the-scenes battle with Warner Brothers—the record label that had represented him since his debut—came to public attention. In August 1992, Prince had signed a deal with the company which promised him one hundred million dollars for six albums, and a ten million dollar advance. Yet in order to recoup funds spent on Prince in the latter half of the 1980s and into the 1990s, in 1993 Warner Brothers released a double album set of Prince's

greatest hits against the singer's wishes. In 1994, the company proceeded to close Prince's struggling Paisley Park label, much to the artist's chagrin. In response, Prince refused to release newly composed music, choosing instead to provide Warner with pre-recorded, and often lesser material from his vault of over 500 unreleased songs.

Yet Prince's attempt to resist Warner Brothers had far reaching effects on his audience and his critics, who longed to hear the quality of music that had defined his early career. Then, in 1993, Prince changed his name to a symbol which combined the generic signs for male and female. Unpronounceable, the new name alienated the singer from many of his fans, who were forced to refer to him as The Artist Formerly Known as Prince or as The Artist. In September 1995, he released a new album, *The Love Symbol Album*, under the new symbolic name. Eventually, the release went gold, spawning one hit single, "The Love Symbol Album." Yet, partly due to poor management, Prince found himself deeply in debt at the end of year. As a result, he was forced to close several of the entrepreneurial ventures he had launched since the 1980s, including his Miami nightclub, Glam Slam, and his merchandise shops in Minneapolis and London.

In 1995, after a commercially and critically disastrous album release, *Chaos and Disorder*, The Artist Formerly Known as Prince met with Warner Brothers and the two entities mutually decided to terminate their contractual agreement. Prince then signed to EMI in 1996 and went on to release a three-CD collection titled *Emancipation*. The album contained new material and covers of songs made famous by artists as diverse as Bonnie Raitt and the Stylistics. As a celebration of both his relationship with his new wife Mayte Garcia and his hard-won independence from Warner Brothers, the album rose to number 11 on Billboard's pop album chart and number six on the rhythm and blues charts. The artist's next release, *Crystal Ball*, would not emerge until 1998. In the same year, the Artist continued to develop his independent label by writing, producing, and distributing material for rhythm and blues icons Chaka Khan and Larry Graham of Sly and the Family Stone.

Although Prince continued to be known as an innovator in popular music, he was not able to sustain the commercial success of his early career into the 1990s, partly due to the rise of rap and other changes in popular music. Still, his emphasis on live instrumentation and musical virtuosity served to influence an entire generation of musical artists of the 1990s, including rhythm and blues performers D'Angelo and Maxwell. Prince also helped to establish a crossover scene in popular music, in which black singers were no longer limited to musical styles and became increasingly able to cross racial boundaries. Always ahead of his time, Prince's ambiguous, gender-bending image helped usher in a new, ostentatious style in popular culture and worked to transform the perception of black masculinity in U.S. society. No matter what name he goes by, Prince is truly an American superstar.

—Jason King

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## Prince, Hal (1928—)

Harold S. Prince revolutionized the American musical in the twentieth century. His resistance to the acting and singing conventions of early twentieth-century musical theater, his refusal to construct musicals as star-vehicles, and his use of filmic staging techniques make him one of the world's most original and innovative directors. From his first production, *The Pajama Game*, which cost \$170,000, to his 1998 production of *Showboat*, which rang in at \$8.5 million, Prince has known his share of artistic and financial successes as well as failures. *New York Times* critic David Richards described Prince as "the undisputed master of the Broadway musical."

Although not from a theatrical family, Prince was constantly exposed to the theater as a young boy. "Mine was a family addicted to theatre, and still there was no effort to encourage me to work in it nor discourage me, and at no time was there any to push me into finance. So I didn't have to resist something I *would* have resisted." Prince was born into what he called a "privileged upper-middle, lower-rich class" German-Jewish family in New York City on January 30, 1928. He was exposed to many of the greatest productions and actors of the time, including Orson Welles's *Julius Caesar* and Burgess Meredith's *Winterset*. In 1944 he graduated from the Franklin School, a private preparatory school, which was also his grandfather's alma mater.

He attended the University of Pennsylvania, where he was a member of the Penn Players. Along with his work in the theater, he also founded and managed the campus radio station and wrote, acted, and directed weekly play adaptations. He enrolled in a liberal arts program with a concentration on English, psychology, philosophy, and history. After graduating in 1948, he wrote plays and sent them to New York producers. After sending one script to ABC-TV, he was referred to the television production office of George Abbott in New York City. There he offered to work "on spec" and, by the end of the month, was earning \$25 a week.

Prince worked on all aspects of Abbott's productions, including an original program titled *The Hugh Martin Show*. After Abbott's production company disbanded, Prince was hired by Abbott's production stage manager, Robert E. Griffith. Prince was stage manager for Broadway revues such as *Touch and Go* and *Tickets, Please*. In 1950 Prince was inducted into the army and stationed in Stuttgart, Germany, for two years as an anti-aircraft artillery gunner. There he spent many evenings visiting a nightclub called Maxim's, which would later become the muse for his hit musical *Cabaret*. Prince was discharged in October 1952. He immediately returned to work with Abbott and Griffith on several more hit musicals and began to learn the craft of directing from Abbott. Their production of Leonard Bernstein's *Wonderful Town* ran 500 performances, inspiring Griffith and Prince to become a producing team. Prince directed his first play, *The Pajama Game*, at the age of 26. The following years led to a string of successes for the Griffith-Prince team including *Damn Yankees* (1955), *New Girl in Town* (1957), and *Cabaret* (1966).

Prince's career became much more prominent after 1957 due to two major factors: his collaboration with composer/lyricist Stephen Sondheim and his ability to create his own directorial style free from the influences of George Abbott. His first major success was co-producing the Bernstein-Sondheim musical *West Side Story* (1957). Carol Ilson noted that Prince, "having learned his trade well through his working experiences with Abbott, Robbins, Bernstein, Laurents and Sondheim, would emerge with a unique vision of his own for the American Musical Theatre." Prince would go on to collaborate with

Sondheim on many more breakthrough productions: *Company* (1970), *Follies* (1971), *A Little Night Music* (1973), *Pacific Overtures* (1976), *Sweeney Todd* (1979), and *Merrily We Roll Along* (1981). Prince described their partnership as “creative abrasion,” combining Sondheim’s shy, introverted nature with Prince’s gregariousness.

In the 1980s Prince had a string of box-office and critical failures, including the musicals *A Doll’s Life* (1982), *Grind* (1985), and *Roza* (1986). Prince said of those six years, “no matter what I did, it could not please critics or audiences . . . during that period, I thought maybe I’d ceased to be able to create something that people want to see.” His career rebounded following a series of successful collaborations with British composer/lyricist Sir Andrew Lloyd Webber. Their productions of *Evita* (1978) and *The Phantom of the Opera* (1986) were international successes. In the following years, Prince directed operas, dramas, and musicals, yet none were as successful as his stagings of *Kiss of the Spider Woman* (1992) and *Showboat* (1997).

Few directors can claim to have revolutionized the theater as much as Prince. His career, spanning the “golden age” of Broadway to the postmodern theater, has been one of incredible success and failure. He set the standard for the musical art form, and his productions are known worldwide for their innovative stagings, astounding effects, and impact on the popular theater. He acknowledged, “I want to leave a mark, to do something of artistic value.” Judging from the lasting impact of his work, he has managed to do both.

—Michael Najjar

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## Princess Diana

See Diana, Princess of Wales

## Prinze, Freddie (1954-1977)

Comedian Freddie Prinze is one of only a handful of Hispanic Americans to earn national prominence as a popular entertainer. Prinze was born in Washington Heights, New York, a multi-ethnic neighborhood on the Upper West Side. His father was a Hungarian immigrant who worked as a tool-and-die maker; his mother was a Puerto Rican immigrant who worked in a factory. Playing on the name “Neurican,” which is how many Puerto Ricans living in New York identify themselves, Prinze called himself a “Hungarican.”

Prinze not only came from a diverse ethnic background, but a diverse religious one as well. His father was part Jewish and his mother was Catholic, but they chose to send him to a Lutheran elementary school. On Sundays he attended Catholic mass. “All was confusing,” he told *Rolling Stone* in 1975, “until I found I could



Freddie Prinze

crack up the priest doing Martin Luther.” Prinze was also overweight when he was a young boy, which further heightened his anxiety about his “mixed” identity. “I fitted in nowhere,” he continued, “I wasn’t true spic, true Jew, true anything. I was a miserable fat schmuck kid with glasses and asthma.” Like many comedians, Prinze used humor to cope with the traumas of his childhood. “I started doing half-hour routines in the boys room, just winging it. Guys cut class to catch the act. It was, ‘What time’s Freddie playing the toilet today?’” His comedic talents paid off, as he was selected to attend the prestigious Performing Arts High School in New York.

Prinze did not graduate from the Performing Arts High School, although after his professional successes school administrators awarded him a certificate. The young comedian skipped many of his morning classes, most commonly economics, because he often worked as late as 3:00 A.M. in comedy clubs perfecting his comedy routine. One of his favorite spots was the Improvisation on West 44th Street, a place where aspiring comics could try out their material on receptive audiences.

Prinze called himself an “observation comic,” and his routines often included impressions of ethnic minorities and film stars such as Marlon Brando. One of his most famous impressions was of his Puerto Rican apartment building superintendent who, when asked to fix a problem in the building, would say with a thick accent: “Eez not mai yob.” The line became a national catch phrase in the early 1970s. His comedy also had a political edge that was poignant and raw. This is perhaps best illustrated by his line about Christopher Columbus: “Queen Isabelle gives him all the money, three boats, and he’s wearing a red suit, a big hat, and a feather—that’s a pimp.” Prinze’s

comic wit, based in the tradition of street humor pioneered by such comics as Lenny Bruce and Richard Pryor, landed him a number of television appearances, including *The Tonight Show* in 1973.

Prinze's performance on *The Tonight Show* was a major success, and signalled the start of his television career. Indeed, Jimmie Komack, a television producer, liked what he saw in Prinze's routine and cast him to play the part of Chico Rodriguez, a wisecracking Chicano, in a situation comedy called *Chico and the Man* (1974-1978). The series also starred veteran actor Jack Albertson, who played "the Man," a crusty old-timer who owned a run-down garage in a Chicano barrio of East Los Angeles. In the tradition of situation comedies like *All in the Family* and *Sanford and Son*, most of the plots involved ethnic conflicts between Chico, who worked in the garage, and the Man, who was the only Caucasian living in the mostly Latino neighborhood. "Latin music sounds like Montovani getting mugged," the Man says to Chico in one episode. Chico would often respond to the old-timer's bigoted statements with the line, "Looking good," which also became a national catch phrase.

*Chico and the Man* faced criticism from the Los Angeles Chicano community, who protested the use of Prinze, a New York Puerto Rican, to play a Los Angeles Chicano. Citing dialect and accent differences—and the fact that network television rarely employed Chicano actors—Chicano groups picketed NBC's Burbank studios. Prinze responded with his usual irreverent humor: "If I can't play a Chicano because I'm Puerto Rican, then God's really gonna be mad when he finds out Charlton Heston played Moses." Fearful of the bad publicity, the network and producers of the show changed the character of Chico into a half-Puerto Rican and half-Chicano who was brought up in New York City. The shift in the character's ethnic identity apparently did not bother the audiences, as *Chico and the Man* never slipped below sixth place in the Nielsen ratings when Prinze was its star.

Prinze had a difficult time adjusting to his success. Indeed, friends reported that the comic turned to drugs to cope with the pressures of fame. "Freddie was into a lot of drugs," comedian Jimmy Walker told the *New York Times*, "not heroin, as far as I know, but coke and a lot of Ludes. The drug thing was a big part of Freddie's life. It completely messed him up." During this period, he also experienced many personal problems. His wife of 15 months, Katherine Elaine Cochran, filed for divorce. They had a ten-month-old son, whom Prinze adored. He was also engaged in a lawsuit with one of his business associates. The totality of these events depressed the young comic.

On January 28, 1977, after a night of phone calls to his secretary, psychiatrist, mother, and estranged wife, Prinze shot himself in the head in front of his business manager. He was rushed to the hospital, where he was pronounced dead. He was twenty-two years old. A note found in his apartment read: "I can't take any more. It's all my fault. There is no one to blame but me." According to the *New York Times*, Prinze had previously threatened suicide in front of many of his friends and associates, often by holding a gun to his head and pulling the trigger while the safety was on. It is not known whether the young comedian actually intended to kill himself that night or just allude to killing himself as he had done in the past, but it is clear that he was extremely depressed.

The death of Freddie Prinze is an American success story turned tragedy. His streetwise insight and raw wit are surely missed, perhaps most by the Puerto Rican-American community who have yet to see another politically minded Puerto Rican comedian grab national attention. "I am ee-noyed there is no Puerto Rican astronaut," Prinze

told *Rolling Stone* in an exaggerated Spanish accent, "thee bigots think we will blow thee horn all the way to thee moon, play thee radio, stick our heads out thee window and whistle . . . and then, on thee moon, the white astronaut says, 'Bring in the Rocks now,' and we reply, 'Eez not mai yob, man!'"

—Daniel Bernardi

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## *The Prisoner*

The British television series *The Prisoner* aired in the United States during the summer of 1968, setting a standard for imagination and existential vagary that subsequent shows such as *Twin Peaks* and *The X-Files* aspired, many years later, to match. The brainchild of actor/writer Patrick McGoohan, *The Prisoner* chronicles the travails of Number Six, an unwilling "resident" of what appears to be a sleepy British resort village. Under constant surveillance, and thwarted in his repeated attempts to escape, Number Six may (or may not) be John Drake, the spy hero of McGoohan's previous series, *Secret Agent*. That the events related admitted of no one particular explanation was part of *The Prisoner's* visionary charm, while the program's recondite plots touched on themes of conformity, rebellion, and free will over the course of 17 increasingly bizarre episodes. In the end, the prisoner managed to turn the tables on his captors and escape to freedom. Or did he?

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Professional Football

Thanks to television's impact on the viewing public, football threatened to supplant baseball as America's favorite professional sport as the 1950s wound to a close. The December 28, 1958 National Football League championship game, which witnessed the Johnny Unitas-led Baltimore Colts' defeat of the New York Giants 23-17 in

overtime, set the stage for professional football's enormous popularity during the years ahead. Some 30 million television viewers watched the stirring contest, which helped the pro game to finally join the same league as both the national pastime and college ball.

First organized at the close of the nineteenth century, professional football remained less highly regarded and considerably less popular than the college game. By 1889, charges were leveled that Ivy League players had been given financial inducements. Then, on November 13, 1892, Yale All-American guard Walter "Pudge" Heffelfinger and Princeton end Ben "Sport" Donnelly received \$500 and \$250 respectively, plus expenses, to join the Allegheny Athletic Association for a contest against the Pittsburgh Athletic Club. Other players, many from the college ranks, including Bucknell's Christy Mathewson, were soon hired by various teams throughout western Pennsylvania, upstate New York, and Ohio. Football thrived in the Midwest, with teams from Akron, Canton, Columbus, Dayton, and Massillon fiercely competing in the Ohio League. After its 32-game winning streak was broken by Canton in 1906, Massillon won the rematch; more importantly, sportswriter Grantland Rice highlighted the games, allowing pro ball to attain a measure of national attention.

During the 1910s, college athletes like Notre Dame's Knute Rockne, Brown's African American halfback Fritz Pollard, and Rutgers's black All-American end Paul Robeson competed alongside the greatest star of pro football's earliest days, the Canton Bulldog Jim Thorpe, who received \$250 a game. An All-American halfback at Carlisle, Thorpe had competed in the 1912 Stockholm Olympics, where he captured both the decathlon and pentathlon. Following revelations that he had been paid for playing baseball in the Carolina League, Thorpe's gold medals were taken away. Led by Thorpe, its stellar performer and gate attraction, Canton dominated the Ohio League, considered the pro game's premier league, from 1916-1919. Thorpe, Robert W. Peterson suggests, "lifted professional football out of the minor sports among the truss ads on the nation's sports pages to a position of some respectability." Yet pro football long proved unable to win the kind of fan allegiance reserved for college football, baseball, or boxing.

On September 17, 1920, representatives from 11 teams, including Thorpe and George Halas, player-coach of the Decatur, Illinois, Staleys, gathered in Canton. They agreed to form the American Professional Football Association and named Thorpe league president. While \$100 fees were called for, Halas later acknowledged "that no money changed hands." Sixteen-man rosters were generally employed, thus requiring players to play both offense and defense. Decatur's linesmen averaged 206 pounds, their backs only 174. Players had to provide much of their protective gear, while some teams offered helmets, socks, and jerseys. Stars averaged about \$150 a game, with quarterback Paddy Driscoll of the Chicago Racine Cardinals receiving \$300. Akron, with an 8-0-3 record, was awarded the Brunswick-Balke Collender loving cup in April 1921 for having captured the "world's professional football championship."

Franchise shuffling abounded, but three teams appeared that provided a foundation for the league's future: Halas's Chicago Bears, Curly Lambeau's Green Bay Packers, and the Chicago Cardinals. In June 1922, team managers renamed their organization the National Football League. Professional football's success remained problematic, however, as the Packers performed on an open field and had to pass a hat among their fans at halftime. Then, in 1925, the pro game received a great boost from Halas's signing of University of Illinois All-American Red Grange. After wrapping up his collegiate career, Grange appeared in a Thanksgiving Day game against the Cardinals,

attended by 36,000 fans. Barnstorming tours followed, enabling Grange, managed by C.C. Pyle, to pull in over \$200,000 from gate receipts alone. A knee injury in 1927 ended Grange's broken-field running, but new stars were arriving, including Duluth's Ernie Nevers and Cleveland's tailback Benny Friedman, who immediately established new passing records; on Thanksgiving Day, 1929, Nevers scored all of the Chicago's Cardinals 40 points in a rout of the Bears. As the decade closed, the top teams were Timothy J. Mara's New York Giants, now quarterbacked by Friedman, and the Packers, led by halfback Johnny Blood. The Packer's three-year title streak was ended in 1932, when the Bears, relying on running backs Bronko Nagurski and Grange, defeated Portsmouth 9-0 in the NFL's first playoff game.

As the Great Depression wound on, dooming a number of franchises, seeds were planted for the NFL's eventual ascendancy to the top tier of American sports. Now, passes could be delivered anywhere behind the line of scrimmage, a task soon made easier by the reduction of the ball's size. Goal posts were placed on the goal line, also allowing for increased scoring. Significant too was the establishment of two divisions and the waging of a championship game. Attendance rose, with over 79,000 watching the first annual College All-Star game, in which the finest collegians battled the NFL champ. New owners joined the NFL ranks, including George Preston Marshall, eventual boss of the Washington Redskins, the Philadelphia Eagles's Bert Bell, and the Pittsburgh Steelers' Art Rooney. In 1936, the NFL introduced the player draft, with Heisman trophy winner Jay Berwanger the first player selected. The Packers and the Bears were the decade's top teams, each winning three titles from 1933 onward. The 6'2", 225-pound Nagurski averaged nearly five yards a carry in a run-oriented offense, while halfback Beattie Feathers, in 1934, rushed for a then record 1,004 yards, averaging 9.9 yards a carry. The passing combination of Arnie Herber or Cecil Isbell to Don Hutson accounted for much of Green Bay's success. The lightning fast 6'1", 180-pound Hutson snared 99 touchdown passes in his 11-year career while leading the league in receiving and touchdowns eight times and in scoring on five occasions. Washington also relied on the passing game, thanks to Marshall's signing of TCU's Sammy Baugh, who steered the Redskins to the championship in his initial season in 1937.

The 1940s also ushered in a series of changes, including pro football's first national radio broadcasts, the explosive T-formation, wartime losses, the Cleveland Rams's move to Los Angeles, a competitive struggle with a rival league, and African American ballplayers, who had been excluded from the game for over a decade. The 1940 championship was broadcast nationwide, as the Bears avenged a regular season loss in destroying the Redskins 73-0. The Bears's T-formation attack was guided by quarterback Sid Luckman, who also took Chicago to titles in 1941, 1943, and 1946. Victimized by Chicago in both the 1940 and 1943 championship contests, Washington managed to break the Bears's streak in 1942. The greatest passer of his generation, Baugh, in 1945, established a 70.3-percent completion record (later broken) after setting a season punting mark of 51.3 yards per kick five years earlier.

World War II service depleted the ranks of the NFL, requiring the Chicago Cardinals and Pittsburgh Steelers to merge during the 1944 season. Old-timers like the Bears's Bronko Nagurski temporarily returned to the gridiron, while George Halas served as a naval lieutenant commander in the South Pacific. By 1945, peacetime arrived and attendance rebounded to an average of nearly 29,000 spectators a game. But a new war broke out, a four-year battle with the rival All-American Football Conference. The AAFC was dominated

by Paul Brown's Cleveland Browns, starring quarterback Otto Graham and fullback Marion Motley. While taking his team to four consecutive league championships, Brown initiated a series of coaching innovations: employment of full-time, year-round assistant coaches, use of intelligence and psychological tests, reliance on play-books and classroom instruction, timing of players's 40-yard dashes, use of messenger guards, grading of players through film analysis, and placement of spotters in the stadium to help with play selection.

The postwar period ushered in the African Americans' reentry into professional football. In 1946, Motley and guard Bill Willis signed with the Browns, while the Los Angeles Rams' halfback Kenny Washington and end Woody Strode became the first African Americans to play in the NFL since 1933. The Los Angeles county commission pressured the Rams, newly arrived from Cleveland, to give former UCLA All-American running back Washington a tryout, threatening to deny use of the expansive Coliseum. Black ballplayers began to trickle into both major leagues, including Emlen Tunnell, who became a standout defensive back with the New York Giants, and Buddy Young, a 5'5" scat-back with the New York Yankees.

During the 1950s, professional football began to be perceived as a major sport. The decade opened with the admission of three teams—Cleveland, Baltimore, and San Francisco—from the now dissolved AAFC into the NFL. The Browns immediately proved their mettle, crushing the defending champion Philadelphia Eagles, 35-10, in their opening game. Cleveland went on to take the title that year, captured six straight division crowns, and two more NFL championships through 1955. Other outstanding teams of the era included the Rams, who relied on twin quarterbacks, Bob Waterfield and Norm van Brocklin, throwing to ends Tommie Fears and Elroy "Crazlegs" Hirsch; the Detroit Lions, featuring quarterback Bobby Layne and halfback Doak Walker; and the New York Giants, starring halfback Frank Gifford and linebacker Sam Huff, and boasting a brilliant coaching staff that included offensive coordinator Vince Lombardi and defensive coordinator Tom Landry.

By the mid-1950s, televised pro games were drawing in more and more fans. The sudden-death championship game between the Colts and Giants in 1958 proved to be one of those epochal moments in sports history. In the following decade, technological innovations such as instant replays and slow motion shots allowed for a closer examination of the game's key moments. Television even helped to bring about new leagues: the American Football League in 1960, the short-lived World Football League in the mid-1970s, and the United States Football League in the following decade. Managerial acumen helped to ensure the sport's popularity too, ranging from its largely Irish-Catholic early owners to commissioners Bert Bell and Pete Rozelle, who devised a potent economic cartel. Thanks to Rozelle, the NFL signed lucrative television contracts, including one with ABC that resulted in the establishment of the enormously popular *Monday Night Football* game.

Thus, pro football's golden age had arrived, initially illuminating new stars like the Browns's fullback Jim Brown, who won eight rushing titles in nine years and led Cleveland to the 1964 championship, and the Baltimore Colts' Johnny Unitas. Weeb Ewbank's championship teams in 1958 and 1959, quarterbacked by former Steelers castoff Unitas, preceded the Lombardi dynasty in Green Bay. From 1961-67, the Packers, led by quarterback Bart Starr, halfback Paul Hornung, and fullback Jim Taylor, won five NFL championships. In 1960, Hornung, a former Heisman award-winning quarterback at Notre Dame, had scored a record 176 points on 15 touchdowns, 15 field goals, and 41 extra points. Capping a run of three

consecutive NFL titles, Green Bay also won the first two Super Bowls, held after the 1966 and 1967 regular seasons. The Bears, who captured the 1963 championship, remained competitive, with stars like linebacker Dick Butkus, tight end Mike Ditka, and halfback Gale Sayers, who, during his rookie season in 1965, scored a record 22 touchdowns, including six in one game against San Francisco.

The Super Bowl became, along with the World Series and the Olympic Games, the greatest sports extravaganza. It was the by-product of both the television revolution that changed the sporting world and a new territorial skirmish that the NFL now contended with. In 1960, Lamar Hunt had helped to establish the AFL, which was awarded a multi-million dollar television contract from NBC. The AFL's signing of star collegians, particularly Alabama's Joe Willie Namath, who inked a four-year contract with the New York Jets for the then unheard of sum of \$427,000 on New Year's Day 1965, eventually brought about a merger of the two leagues. In the first two Super Bowls, pitting winners of the NFL and the AFL, Green Bay displayed the older league's supposedly clear superiority. But in January 1969, the heavily favored Colts fell to the New York Jets, 16-7, a result earlier guaranteed by Namath, who had become a media darling, with his stylish locks, playboy allure, and rifle-like arm. New stars shone brightly, including Buffalo running back O. J. Simpson, who established a rushing record in 1973 with 2003 yards.

The 1972 Miami Dolphins, led by coach Don Shula and quarterbacked by Bob Griese and Earl Morrall, became the first team to complete a season undefeated. The Dolphins repeated their championship run the following year, but Chuck Noll's Pittsburgh Steelers, with quarterback Terry Bradshaw, were the team of the decade, winning four Super Bowls, twice against Tom Landry's Dallas Cowboys. The Cowboys, guided by quarterback Roger Staubach, managed two Super Bowl titles of their own. In the 1980s, Bill Walsh began constructing the latest dynasty in San Francisco, eventually capturing three Super Bowls before turning the team over to George Seifert, who won two more; quarterback Joe Montana led the 49'ers to all but one of those championships. The Cowboys, coached first by Jimmie Johnson and then by Barry Switzer, garnered three additional Super Bowl crowns, relying on the so-called "Triplets": quarterback Troy Aikman, halfback Emmitt Smith, and receiver Michael Irvin. By 1994, 135 million fans watched Dallas take a second straight Super Bowl match-up with the Buffalo Bills.

Like other major professional sports, football, by the mid-seventies, was ensnared in a series of legal battles resulting in strikes, cancelled games, and eventually, free agency. Franchise free agency also occurred with one team, the Oakland Raiders, who moved to Los Angeles and then returned to the Bay area. Despite such turmoil, professional football continued to thrive, thanks in part to record-setting performances by the likes of Miami quarterback Dan Marino, 49'er receiver Jerry Rice, and Lion running back Barry Sanders.

—Robert C. Cottrell

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## Prohibition

Prohibition, which lasted from 1919 to 1933, attempted to eliminate the consumption of alcoholic beverages but instead created a legacy of bootleggers, flappers, and speakeasies. Widespread crime in American cities and corruption within the Prohibition enforcement agencies resulted. Profits from illegal alcohol and disrespect for the law grew during the period of legislated moral behavior.

The states ratified the 18th Amendment to the United States Constitution in January of 1919, and nationwide Prohibition began on January 29, 1920. The Amendment made the manufacture, sale, and transport of alcoholic beverages illegal. The widely accepted Volstead Act provided enforcement of Prohibition and was enacted in October of 1919.

Prohibition had its roots in the temperance movements to reduce alcohol consumption in the 1820s. The state of Massachusetts was the first state to enact prohibition laws when it prohibited the sale of spirits in less than 15 gallon containers. This law passed in 1838 and was repealed two years later. In the 1850s, several states enacted

prohibition laws but support for prohibition declined during the Civil War. States maintained jurisdiction over state and local prohibition laws from 1880 to 1914.

The Prohibitionist Party, formed in 1869, began to revitalize the temperance movement to eliminate alcohol consumption. Other reformists such as ministers, physicians, devout middle-class Protestants, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union drove the prohibition movement. The reformers believed drinking caused numerous social dilemmas: social reformers blamed alcohol for poverty, moral decay, and domestic abuse; physicians argued that alcohol caused health problems; and political reformers saw taverns as corrupt establishments. In addition, employers in the new industrial society believed that employees who drank alcohol were lazy, unproductive, and prone to sickness, absenteeism, and on-the-job accidents. Overall, drinking alcohol was deemed an immoral act by prohibitionists.

Although Prohibition initially reduced the amount of alcohol consumed, it also caused an increase in crime. Where the desire to consume alcohol remained, even increased, a new breed of criminal emerged. Millions of otherwise law-abiding citizens became criminals because they purchased alcohol. Gangsters, enticed by the potentially huge profits related to distributing and manufacturing alcohol, battled for business and settled market disputes with guns. The bootlegger became an American icon. Bootlegged liquor came across Canada waterways, off the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and from the Caribbean Sea. Bootleggers also manufactured liquor in makeshift distilleries and bathtubs. This liquor was often poor in quality and dangerous to one's health. Drinking patterns also changed; sales of hard liquor rose because it was easier to transport, while beer became less popular to distribute.

Drinking became fashionable during these years. Prohibition created an illegal drinking establishment, the speakeasy, which outnumbered the previous legal drinking establishments. Additionally, only women of ill-repute frequented the saloons of pre-prohibition years, but during Prohibition the number of women who frequented speakeasies rose. It was also during this time that the flapper was born.

Anti-prohibitionists argued that prohibition encouraged crime and widespread disrespect for the law. The dramatic increase in crime overwhelmed the criminal justice system. Citizens lost respect for the system and corruption within enforcement agencies thrived. While some enforcement agents took bribes, others could not be bought. The levels of enforcement varied widely between states, with enforcement agents cracking down harder in areas where the prohibition movement was strongest. Lawmakers thought getting tougher on alcohol crimes would help them achieve success; penalties for the sale of one drink increased to five years and thousands of dollars in fines. Federal prisons operated at over 150 percent of capacity, enforcement budgets increased, and more cops were put on the beat, all to no avail.

Support for Prohibition declined during the Great Depression. People believed that ending Prohibition would create alcohol manufacturing and distribution job opportunities. In 1932, the Democratic Party endorsed a repeal on Prohibition and Democratic presidential candidate Franklin D. Roosevelt won by a large margin. In February 1933, Congress proposed the 21st Amendment to repeal Prohibition. The states ratified the amendment and national Prohibition ended on December 5, 1933. The 18th Amendment is the only repealed Amendment in United States history.

A few states maintained prohibition after the enactment of the 21st Amendment. In 1966, all states abandoned prohibition laws. After Prohibition ended, liquor control laws were created by local



Police inspect equipment at an illegal brewery in Detroit during Prohibition.

government officials. Prohibition ended when public officials and citizens admitted it had failed, but the negative effects of national prohibition continue to echo in American society. Despite the failure of a national prohibition designed to increase moral behavior and eliminate social ills, many Americans in the 1990s still believe prohibition is the answer. When prohibition ended, emphasis was placed on education and treatment. One could argue that today's drug prohibition is history repeating itself. U.S. society is still divided into wets and dries, users and non-users, the moral and the so-called immoral.

—Debra Lucas Muscoreil

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## Prom

Every spring, millions of teenagers across the United States take part in a quintessentially American rite of passage known as the high school prom. Experienced by rich and poor, black and white, Jewish and Catholic, Californians and Virginians, prom night is arguably the most widely shared of all modern American rituals. Certainly, it is one of the most talked about. Though the exact format varies, a traditional prom involves high school students in tuxedos and gowns coming together for a formal dinner dance. Corsages, limousines, favors, photographers, and post-prom festivities are all standard extras. Depending on the location of the school and the age of the participants, proms are held either in school gyms and cafeterias or in hotels, country clubs, and banquet halls. Freshman, Sophomore, and Junior Proms tend to be less extravagant rehearsals for the all-important Senior Prom, the final social gathering of a graduating class.



Though popular historical imagination, influenced by films like *Back to the Future* (1985) and *Grease* (1978), remembers proms as a product of the 1950s, they in fact long pre-date that legendary era of bobby socks and drive-ins. In Philadelphia, home to many of the nation's oldest public, private, and parochial schools, proms first emerged in the 1920s and rapidly replaced "Senior Play and Dance" evenings as the high school social events of the year. By the 1930s, proms were commonplace, their rise in popularity linked to several interwoven factors, including ongoing urbanization and industrialization, the expansion of secondary education, the rise of "youth culture," and, stemming from all of these, the mass dissemination of prom stories.

Tales about the glories and mishaps of prom night were first published in the pages of high school magazines which were then exchanged between educational institutions throughout the nation. Early twentieth-century student journalists were extremely zealous about this new event and appear to have regarded prom attendance as an essential marker of good citizenship. "If You Don't Like This," quipped the headline of a 1931 article on the merits of prom night,

"Go Back to the Country Where You Came From." There is evidence to suggest that these early proms served an important unifying function, especially in city schools filled with first and second generation immigrants from around the world. Certainly then, as now, prom night was constructed as having been synonymous with "Americanness."

Prom night quickly became a hot topic for the writers of popular dramas and romance novels. From 1934 onwards, a whole series of prom plays, short stories, and novels went to press. The 1930s also saw the publication of the first ever prom guidebook, penned by Marietta Abell and Agnes Anderson. Writing in the midst of the Great Depression, the authors hailed the prom as a potential money-saver but admonished readers that "No one should think of planning and arranging for any one of the proms suggested in less than four weeks." To millennial readers, both statements seem laughably ironic. Modern proms cost individual students anywhere from \$200 to \$2,000, are planned a year in advance, and call on the expertise and services of a vast array of party professionals. Proms, 1990s style, are very big business.



Teenagers jitterbugging at the Anacosta High School Prom in Maryland, 1953.

The exact ritual antecedents of prom night are difficult to trace as proms draw on a number of earlier cultural traditions. To many observers, the prom resembles a democratic version of the elite debutante ball, which is in turn a Republican version of the aristocratic ritual of presenting young ladies at the royal courts of Europe. Proms are also closely related to the cotillions and college dances of the mid to late nineteenth century where formal dress and terpsichorean skill were essential and where the practice of giving out party favors was popularized. Important regional differences existed though: in the Deep South, where religious intolerance of dancing determined the shape and form of early-twentieth-century youthful pleasures, proms were literally “promenades” during which young ladies would take short and keenly supervised walks around the block with male escorts.

Throughout their history, proms have most obviously resembled weddings in both their ritual form and function. Weddings and proms share an emphasis on heterosexual pairing that is reinforced through parallel iconography and corresponding rites of exchange and remembrance. Prom couples often look—from the gown to the tux, flowers, limo, and location—like a young bride and groom. Their night together is subject to many of the same acts of ritual celebration and sanctification. Families gather to send the young couple off, photographs are taken, and flowers and keepsakes are exchanged. Late-twentieth-century prom couples also often share a post-ritual “honeymoon.” Indeed, for many teens, these post-prom trips are now more eagerly anticipated than the prom itself.

Prom night’s emphasis on heterosexual dating has, since the early 1980s, been a subject of public controversy. Several lawsuits have arisen at schools where students who wanted to attend solo, or who wanted to attend with a same sex partner, were barred. Aaron Fricke’s *Reflections of a Rock Lobster* offers an autobiographical account of his legal battle to take his male partner to his senior prom in 1980. As the century draws to a close, many public schools have been forced to relax their boy-girl dating rules and many teenagers now regard prom night less as a night of romance and more as a night to have fun as a group. Meanwhile, since the late 1980s, lesbian, gay, and bisexual teenagers who want to celebrate with a date and who live in major cities in the United States have had the option of attending “gay proms” that provide a safe and friendly environment in which these teens can celebrate. Prom traditions, however, prevail, particularly in parochial schools. In Philadelphia, Catholic schools continue to insist that prom night be a heterosexual affair and they continue to bar both single teens and same-sex couples.

Prom night has also been involved in debates about racial discrimination. In 1994, an Alabama student challenged her school’s policy barring interracial prom dating. Meanwhile, at schools around the nation that are de jure desegregated, de facto segregation within the student body often leads to heated disputes over music selection for prom night. Some schools have resolved tensions over musical tastes by holding two proms, one catering to what is seen as “white” musical taste, one to “black.”

At all schools, the greatest ongoing prom battle concerns drug use. Prom night is mythically a night for letting go and experimenting, but a series of tragedies, most involving drunk driving, have led teachers, parents, and students across the nation to campaign against prom night’s infamous excesses. Some schools have experimented with random breath tests and many lock students inside their prom venues to prevent furtive drinking. Pre-prom safety awareness programs are commonplace and all schools enforce tough penalties for

students involved in prom night drug use. Eager to distance themselves from inappropriate symbolism, most school boards have also now banned the giving of glasses as prom favors. Savvy promware manufacturers have responded quickly; they now fill their ever-popular champagne, wine, and beer glasses with brightly colored wax and market them as “candles.”

Perhaps the most famous prom controversy occurred in 1997 when an 18-year-old New Jersey senior gave birth at her prom. According to prosecutors, she then suffocated the infant and returned to the dance floor. She is now serving 15 years for aggravated manslaughter. Her case stands as a vivid reminder that prom night is not always as sweet and innocent an event as popular mythology would have us believe. Students make remarkable sacrifices on prom night, and though these are usually financial they can also be academic, emotional, and physical.

At its best, prom night offers adolescents a unique opportunity to dress up, go out with their peers, and celebrate their high school achievements. Many find the excitement, camaraderie, and grandeur of it all profoundly enjoyable and memorable. At its worst, prom night diverts students’ attention away from their academic studies and breeds unhealthy and superficial competition between peers at an age when self-esteem is notoriously fragile. Certainly, this is the angle filmmakers exploit in classic prom movies such as *Carrie* (1976), *Prom Night* (1980) and its sequels, *Pretty in Pink* (1986), and *She’s All That* (1999).

Prom night is as much a controversy as it is a national pastime; few if any rituals are so widely shared, and few are subject to as much hope or hype. Proms are now featured in magazines and movies, talk shows and tabloids, soap operas and songs. They make millions of dollars for the numerous industries that have grown up around them and, for all the talk of declining traditions, proms show no sign of waning in popularity. For better or worse, prom night is a part of American popular culture that is very much here to stay.

—Felicity H. Paxton

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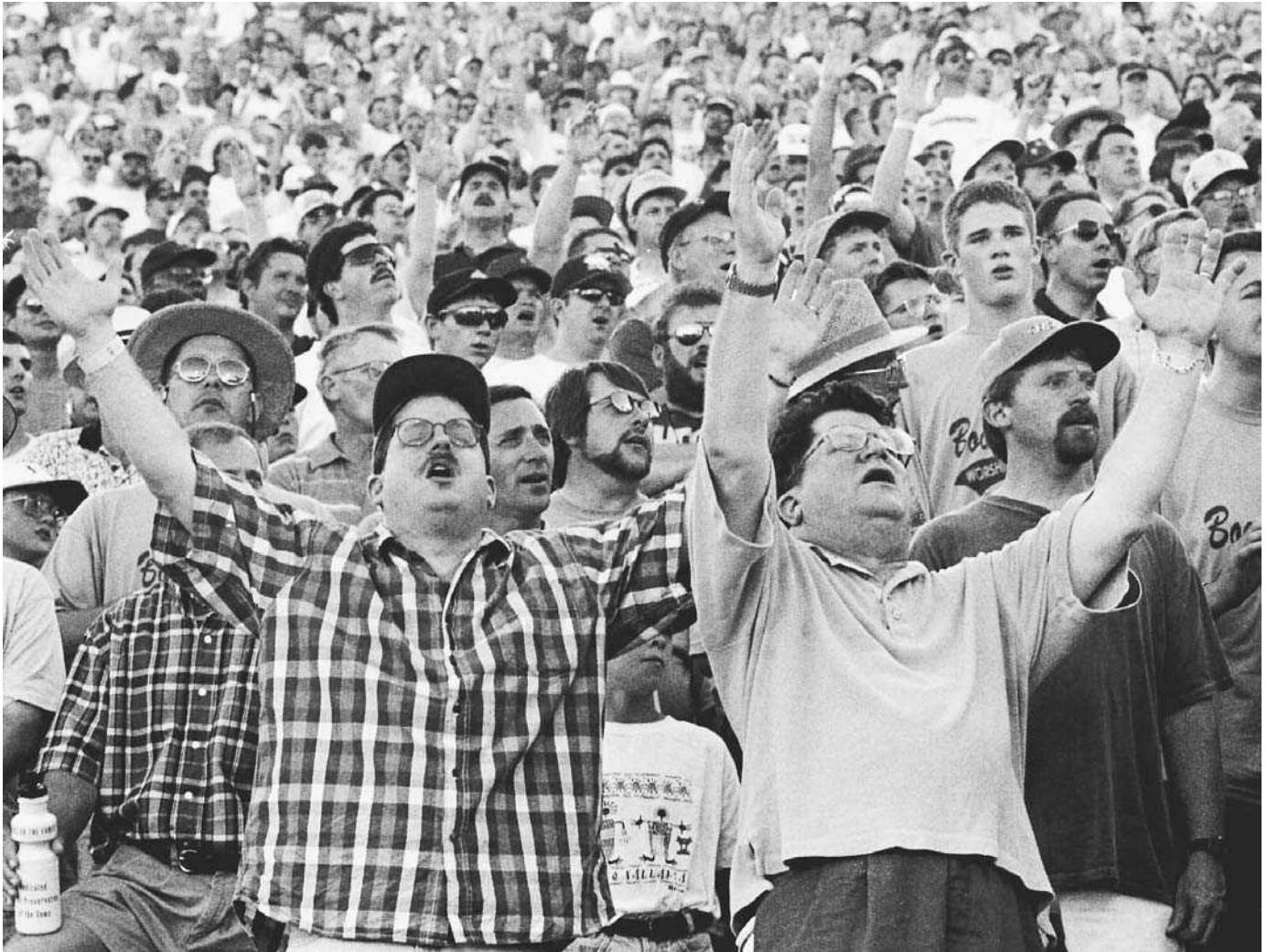
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## Promise Keepers

Public gatherings promoting spiritual revivalism have been a distinctive feature of American religious life since the frontier camp meetings of the early nineteenth century. During the 1990s, a new and controversial expression of this tradition of public revivalism emerged in the activities of the Promise Keepers, a Christian men’s organization devoted to restoring conservative family values to American society. Through large outdoor rallies, often held in football stadiums and drawing tens of thousands of participants at a time, the Promise Keepers spread their message of male responsibility and family leadership to millions of American men. The group’s name derives



Several thousand men attend a Promise Keeper conference in 1998.

from its members' pledge to maintain an active Christian life, to build strong families and marriages, to seek moral and ethical purity, and to associate with other men who have made the same commitments. The Promise Keepers' insistence on male leadership of the family has produced considerable opposition among feminists, who see the group as a threat to women's equality. Moderates and liberals have also criticized the group for their conservative stance on politically charged social issues like abortion and gay rights. The controversies surrounding the Promise Keepers reflect the ongoing conflict between religious tradition and secular trends within American culture.

The Promise Keepers movement was founded in 1990 by Bill McCartney, a former football coach at the University of Colorado. It began as a local fellowship led by McCartney and other members of the Vineyard Church, a conservative, charismatic group with a strong emphasis on evangelism. By stressing discipline and male bonding, the organization provided support for members trying to lead an exemplary Christian life. The group's leaders also sought to extend its message of religious renewal across denominational boundaries, and so began staging large public rallies to attract new members. Centering on sermons, hymns, prayer, and mutual support, these exclusively

male rallies attracted several million participants during the 1990s, and helped to spread the movement across the United States. The Promise Keepers' largest and most widely publicized rally, held on October 4, 1997, attracted 700,000 men to the Mall in Washington, D.C. Through the success of their public rallies, the Promise Keepers also established a network of thousands of local support groups, led by specially trained leaders or "key men," whose members monitored one another's observance of the organization's principles.

To its supporters, drawn largely from conservative Protestant churches, the Promise Keepers represented a necessary response to moral decay and the decline of the American family. The organization also found many critics, however, among feminists, political moderates and liberals, and mainstream religious leaders. The Promise Keepers' emphasis on the need for male-headed households struck many as an antiquated commitment to patriarchal families and an attack on women's rights. Critics also faulted the group for its ties to the new religious right and that movement's conservative social agenda. The Promise Keepers denied the existence of such ties, but McCartney himself was a featured speaker at meetings of the militant anti-abortion group Operation Rescue, and he publicly supported a

Colorado constitutional amendment limiting the legal recourse available to homosexuals subjected to discrimination in housing or employment. Critics also challenged the Promise Keepers' avowed commitment to racial reconciliation, arguing that the group did little to support concrete efforts to promote political, social, or economic equality for racial minorities.

By the late 1990s, attendance at the Promise Keepers' rallies had begun to decline and financial difficulties led the organization to reduce the size of its paid staff and the scope of its activities. Both critics and supporters questioned the organization's ability to survive in its existing form. During its initial period of growth, however, it had a significant impact on American society by sustaining the resurgence of religious conservatism that had started in the 1970s. In its concern with male responsibility and authority, the Promise Keepers movement also focused attention on the persisting differences of opinion within American society regarding gender roles and family structure, decades after the start of the women's movement.

—Roger W. Stump

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## Protest Groups

The United States was created by a revolution and American history is replete with examples of protest groups attempting to alter governmental policies and social and cultural patterns. One of the first things U.S. school children read about is the Boston Tea Party, where a group of colonial protestors, disguised as Native Americans, boarded British ships and destroyed valuable cargoes of tea to demonstrate their opposition to onerous British tax policies. But protest in America only became part of the popular culture during the 1960s, when television brought the strife and turmoil of the Vietnam War and the Civil Rights Movement into the living rooms of the American people. Since that turbulent era, sit-ins, marches, demonstrations, and boycotts have become common protest tactics practiced by various interest groups attempting to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the public.

The nineteenth century witnessed the birth of several important protest groups in the United States. The abolitionists sought the immediate and uncompensated end of slavery. Anti-slavery groups were present as far back as the colonial era, but most had not advocated complete freedom or equality for blacks. For example, the American Colonization Society, which began in 1817, attempted to solve America's race problem by shipping willing blacks back to Africa. In 1831, New England publisher William Lloyd Garrison condemned this gradual approach to ending slavery and called for immediate emancipation. These so-called radical abolitionists included prominent ministers and other activists in the northern states and they flooded the country with anti-slavery literature. At first, they sought to convince slave owners that slavery was a sin and attempted to secure voluntary emancipation. Later, they turned to political action and were potent enough to produce two political parties: the

Liberty Party in the early 1840s and the Free-Soil Party later in that same decade.

Also during the antebellum era, the Women's Suffrage Movement began. Women had always been kept politically and legally subordinate to men; they could not own property, make wills, vote, attend college, or retain wages they had earned. As women became active in various reform activities and social crusades, they began to seek equality. The official beginning of this women's movement dates from an 1848 meeting at Seneca Falls, New York, where a women's right to vote was pronounced as a national goal. Under the leadership of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe, and Susan B. Anthony, a variety of women's protest groups championed this cause for the next generation. Some states did pass suffrage laws but it was not until the passage of 19th amendment in 1919 that women gained the right to vote nationally.

The late nineteenth century saw the rise of two different protest groups: farmers and labor activists. Associations of farmers organized in the Midwest after the Civil War. Railroad abuses and high shipping rates compelled U.S. farmers to seek regulatory legislation. In addition, overproduction, resulting from the introduction of sophisticated farm machinery, brought a decline in the price of crops. Farmers and farm protest groups sought to redress these problems with federal regulations. Rural protest groups included the National Grange, the Farmer's Alliances, the National Farmers Union, and various political coalitions like the Greenback Party and the Populist Party.

In that same period, industrial laborers began to protest working conditions. The rapid rise of industrialization after the Civil War stimulated the growth of labor unions at the local, state, and national levels. Unions and labor organizations sought to alleviate dangerous and unhealthy working conditions and resolve problems concerning pensions, disability pay, and child labor. Leading labor protest groups included the Knights of Labor, the National Labor Union, the American Federation of Labor, the Molly Maguires, the Industrial Workers of the World, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The contemporary American view of protests has unquestionably emanated from two mid-twentieth-century issues: Civil Rights and the Vietnam War. During the 1950s, blacks began to challenge the degrading system of segregation in the American South. Leading groups included the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Southern blacks used a variety of protest tactics such as boycotts, sit-ins, and marches in attempting to achieve racial equality and end segregation. Perhaps the most famous protest was the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955-56. When Rosa Parks was arrested in Montgomery, Alabama, for refusing to move to the back of a segregated city bus, black leaders organized a one-year boycott that inspired black protest groups and eventually ended the segregation of public buses.

In the early 1960s black college students throughout the South passively sat at segregated department store lunch counters in order to force integration. Often, these students were attacked by local whites and carried off to jail for this "illegal" practice. In 1961 CORE and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) organized a group of Freedom Riders in an attempt to further integrate bus systems in the South; the Freedom Riders embarked on a long bus ride through the South. In Alabama, they were beaten by white hoodlums and their bus was bombed. The federal government finally dispatched marshals to protect the Freedom Riders although they were ultimately arrested and sent to jail.

The largest demonstration during the Civil Rights era took place in Washington, D.C., in August, 1963. Civil Rights groups organized the March on Washington to pressure the federal government to support the civil rights of African Americans. More than a quarter of a million people gathered and heard Martin Luther King, Jr., give his famous "I Have a Dream" speech. African American protest groups continued to organize throughout the 1960s using sit-ins, boycotts, marches, and voter registration drives in their efforts to gain equality in the South and in the nation as a whole.

The Vietnam War provided a second major protest direction in the 1960s. A peace movement had long existed in the United States, largely based upon Quaker and Unitarian beliefs. While protest groups were active during many of America's wars, they failed to gain popular support until the Cold War era. The escalating nuclear arms race brought about groups like the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), Women Strike for Peace (WSP), and the Student Peace Union (SPU). The SPU not only wanted to stop the production of nuclear weapons, but also sought to restructure society on a more equitable basis. But the SPU never became an effective student interest group and faded away by 1964; its banner was taken up by a more active and successful Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

SDS, centered on college campuses, published the Port Huron Statement in 1962, expressing its disillusionment with the American military-industrial-academic establishment. SDS cited the uncertainty of life in Cold-War America and the degradation of African Americans in the South as examples of social and cultural drift, and called for a revolution of sorts among American youth. Throughout the first years of its existence, SDS focused on domestic concerns. But in 1965, when the United States began bombing North Vietnam, SDS and other student protest groups began focussing on the war. In February and March 1965, SDS organized a series of "Teach-Ins" modeled after earlier Civil Rights seminars. These teach-ins sought to educate large segments of the student population about both the moral and political foundations of America's Vietnam involvement.

As the Vietnam War escalated, the antiwar protests became more raucous. In 1968 protestors occupied the administration building at Columbia University; police used force to evict them. Raids on draft boards in Baltimore, Milwaukee, and Chicago soon followed, as activists smeared blood on records and shredded files. In May 1970, Ohio National Guardsmen fired on a group of antiwar protestors at Kent State University, killing four and wounding 16.

As the Vietnam War became more unpopular in the early 1970s, antiwar sentiment and protest began to gain popular acceptance. During the next three decades, protests became a normal reaction to what were believed to be zealous excesses of power by government and other institutions. After the 1960s, other groups have attempted to continue these protest tactics—although most have met with less success. In the 1970s, environmental activists registered their concerns over the ravaging effects of industrial pollution. The environmental movement was led by older conservation organizations like the Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society, as well as several new protests groups. Greenpeace, founded in 1971, protested nuclear testing and campaigned to save whales, other ocean animals, and rain forests around the world. Earth First!, established in 1981, was a more militant group committed to direct action and the sabotage of projects harmful to the environment.

The Feminist Movement came to fruition during the 1970s, spawning hundreds of new protest groups and advancing radical ideas regarding women's role in society. The National Organization for

Women (NOW) advanced three demands: equality for women in employment and education; child care centers throughout the nation; and women's control over their own reproduction, including a woman's right to abortion. Women's protest actions ranged from lobbying Congress to more direct action.

The 1980s and 1990s saw a change in protest and activism. Since the 1950s, protest groups in the United States have come from the left of the political spectrum. But the 1980s saw a political and social counterrevolution—probably in response to the rapid upheaval and perceived permissiveness of the 1960s. Conservatives found voices through the Moral Majority, founded in 1979, while the Christian Coalition advanced its views with more religious fervor. Conservatives also utilized journals and research institutions (think tanks) to advance their message. These included publications like the *National Review* edited by William F. Buckley, and institutions such as the American Enterprise Institute and the Heritage Foundation. A vigorous anti-abortion protest movement has also been a part of the conservative resurgence. Liberal groups remained active in the 1980s and 1990s, but with much less political support than earlier decades. A nuclear freeze movement, gays and lesbians, and AIDS activists have all been active, but the focus of protest continues to change and new issues evolve.

—David E. Woodard

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## Prozac

Perhaps more than any prescription medication in history, Prozac has had a profound impact, not only on the patients who have taken it, but on the very practice of psychiatry, and on popular conceptions of mood and personality as well. Within three years of its release in 1987, Prozac (fluoxetine hydrochloride) had become the drug most prescribed by psychiatrists in the United States; by 1994 it was the second-best-selling drug of any kind in the world, with a reported one billion prescriptions written per month. In *A History of Psychiatry: From the Era of the Asylum to the Age of Prozac*, Edward Shorter describes Prozac as the household word of the 1990s; in 1994,

*Newsweek* proclaimed that Prozac had attained the familiarity of Kleenex and the social status of springwater. The drug has been the subject of numerous television programs, magazine articles, and psychology and self-help books. Much more than a medication, Prozac has come to represent the angst and antidote of a generation, as described in Elizabeth Wurtzel's 1994 best-seller, *Prozac Nation*; and with millions of people taking Prozac each year, and its benefits being touted in the media and discussed at cocktail parties, this new-generation antidepressant arguably has contributed to the destigmatization of mental illness.

Released in December 1987 by the Eli Lilly Company, Prozac was the first in a new class of antidepressant medications: the selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors. The SSRIs are "designer drugs," highly potent chemical compounds that selectively affect a single biological process and, by extension, target a highly specified physiological function. In the case of Prozac (and the other SSRIs, such as Zoloft and Paxil), the target is the brain's reuptake of the neurotransmitter serotonin (5-HT), which is involved in the regulation of mood. By increasing the levels of serotonin available to the brain, Prozac has been found to enhance not only mood, but also energy, assertiveness, and optimism; along with treating anxiety, panic attacks, social discomfort, rejection-sensitivity, and obsessive thoughts. Thus, the effect of Prozac goes beyond the relief of clinical depression: for many people, Prozac ultimately improves one's self-concept.

While earlier antidepressants—such as the tricyclics and monoamine oxidase inhibitors—were effective in controlling depressive symptoms, they were less selective in their action, making them cumbersome to use and difficult to monitor. Tricyclics, which are highly effective in controlling "classical" depression characterized by insomnia, loss of appetite, low mood, and low energy, also interfere with the neurotransmitter acetylcholine, triggering side effects associated with the "flight or fight" response: rapid heart rate, sweating, dry mouth, constipation, and urinary retention. The MAOIs, which effectively alleviate the "nonclassical" depressions that aren't helped by tricyclics, are less "dirty" but more problematic because of their potentially fatal interactions with many foods.

In clinical trials, Prozac has proven to be as effective in treating classical depression as the tricyclics and, for many patients, even more effective in alleviating nonclassical depression than the MAOIs. Because its action is so specific, it is difficult to overdose on Prozac, and doing so does not pose major risk of death. Most significantly, Prozac is "clean": it works without the sedative effects, weight gain, and dangerous interactions associated with the other antidepressant medications. Prozac's tendencies to increase energy and decrease appetite are both highly desirable and supremely marketable traits that have contributed much to its popularity.

Yet, despite the clinical evidence supporting Prozac's marketing as a safe and virtually side-effect-free drug, its initial release was marred by sensational reports of patients "going crazy" on Prozac: some purportedly becoming suicidal for the first time, others claiming to experience episodes of violent behaviors—including murder—triggered by the medication. In 1989, an attorney filed a series of lawsuits against the Eli Lilly Company following an incident in which a man who had taken Prozac (along with several other medications), killed eight people, wounded twelve, and then killed himself. This story was featured on *Donahue* (in a show provocatively titled "Prozac: Medication That Makes You Kill"), and a similar story was featured on *Larry King Live* in 1991, but neither case held up in court. In the end, the claims that Prozac created dangerous behavior in

patients who previously had no history of suicide or violence subsided. The sensational headlines soon gave way to a general acceptance of Prozac as a drug safe enough for patients with severe depression and "clean" enough to appeal to a more general public seeking relief from mild dysphoria.

This use of medication to enhance personality in the absence of significant mental illness—a practice that Peter Kramer has called "cosmetic pharmacology"—has been a boon for drug manufacturers and a red flag for naturalists and ethicists. While *Time* hailed the use of Prozac for personality improvement as "a medical breakthrough," others have decried the use of pharmaceuticals to enhance socially desirable traits as a triumph of consumer culture over rational science and an alarming example of social Darwinism. Those concerned about the ethical implications of Prozac argue that, by enabling people who are not clinically depressed to brighten their mood and improve their personalities, Prozac may contribute to a lowering of our cultural tolerance for pessimism, grief, and other manifestations of dysphoria. On the other hand, some have argued that a positive by-product of the widespread popularity of Prozac may be a narrowing of the gap between the so-called "normal" population and the "mentally ill."

—Ava Rose

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## Pryor, Richard (1940—)

In the 1970s and 1980s, Richard Pryor was one of America's top comedians, creating a daring new comedy of character by transforming African-American culture into humorous performance art. Pryor called upon both personal and social tragedy for his comic material, with his irreverent stage appearances laced with salty language and adult humor. His comedy albums during the 1970s and 1980s sold millions, and his work has influenced a new generation of comedians, including Eddie Murphy, Keenen Ivory Wayans, and Arsenio Hall.

Despite his popularity and critical acclaim, tragedy often was just around the corner for Pryor. Throughout much of his career, he battled drug and alcohol abuse. He also survived a heart attack and a suicide attempt, and has incurred the onset of multiple sclerosis. Because of the disease, Pryor now lives a reclusive life in his Bel Air, California, home, almost unable to walk and seeing only a small group of friends. Bill Cosby once summed up the element of tragedy in Pryor's life and work by saying, "For Richard, the line between comedy and tragedy is as fine as you can paint it."

Born in Peoria, Illinois, in 1940 to an unwed mother, Pryor claims to have been raised in his grandmother's brothel, where his mother worked as a prostitute. His parents, LeRoy and Gertrude Pryor, married when he was three years old, but the marriage soon



**Richard Pryor**

failed. Pryor continued to live with his grandmother, who administered beatings on a regular basis. While in school, the comedian was often in trouble with the law. However, it was at age eleven that Pryor got his first taste of show business when he was cast in a community theater performance by a teacher who also allowed him to entertain fellow students with his comedic antics. Many years later, Pryor gave the teacher an Emmy Award that the comedian had won for writing a Lily Tomlin special.

However, trouble continued to plague Pryor in high school when he was expelled for hitting a teacher. After deciding not to return to school, Pryor worked in a meat-packing house and then joined the Army in 1958. While serving a two-year hitch in West Germany, Pryor clashed with his superiors. In 1960 he returned to Peoria, married the first of five wives, and fathered his second child, Richard Pryor, Jr. Pryor's first child, Renee, had been born three years earlier.

Pryor's first professional break came when a popular African American nightclub in Peoria let him perform stand-up on stage. By the early 1960s Pryor was performing regularly on a comedy circuit that included East St. Louis, Missouri, and Youngstown and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. In 1963 he moved to New York City, performing an act highly influenced by his comedic heroes, Bill Cosby and

Dick Gregory. Pryor made his television debut in 1964 by appearing on the series *On Broadway Tonight*. Soon thereafter, he appeared on the *Ed Sullivan Show* and the *Merv Griffin Show*. By the mid-1960s, Pryor had moved to Los Angeles, landing small parts in such films as *The Green Berets* and *Wild in the Streets*. During this time, he continued playing live shows, primarily in Las Vegas showrooms, where he dropped the Cosby-influenced act and developed his own raw, raucous stage persona.

By the late 1960s, Pryor's career was in high gear, while his personal life was in chaos with a cocaine habit; clashes with Las Vegas management, landlords, and hotel clerks; a battery lawsuit by one of his wives; and an Internal Revenue Service audit for failure to pay taxes between 1967 and 1970. After laying low in the counterculture community in Berkeley, for several years, Pryor emerged in 1972 with a new stand-up act and a supporting role in the film *The Lady Sings the Blues*, for which he earned an Academy Award nomination. In 1976, he wrote and starred in *The Bingo Long Traveling All-Stars and Motor Kings*, plus co-starred with Gene Wilder in the hit comedy-suspense film *Silver Streak*, which grossed \$30 million. Also in the 1970s, two of Pryor's comedy albums went platinum, and the 1979 movie *Richard Pryor Live in Concert* was acclaimed by critics as the comedian's crowning achievement. In the film, the characters portrayed by Pryor include winos, junkies, prostitutes, street fighters, blue-collar drunks, and pool hustlers—all denizens of the underbelly of the American Dream.

During the course of this success, Pryor's life continued on its erratic path, as he suffered a heart attack in 1978 and was divorced after a violent New Year's Eve incident that ended with his riddling his wife's car with bullets. By 1980 Pryor was freebasing cocaine, which apparently precipitated the June 9, 1980, incident in which Pryor caught on fire, suffering severe injuries to half his body. Once again calling upon material from his own life, Pryor in his 1982 concert movie *Live on Sunset Strip* parodied the accident, his drug use, and his stay in the hospital. A year later, he joined a drug rehabilitation program and worked with other addicts to overcome his problems. In 1985, Pryor co-wrote, directed, and starred in the autobiographical movie *Jo Jo Dancer, Your Life Is Calling*, playing a comedian reliving his life following a near fatal accident. Other 1980s films featuring Pryor included *The Toy* (1982), *Brewster's Millions* (1985), *See No Evil, Hear No Evil* (1989), and *Harlem Nights* (1989).

Pryor was diagnosed with multiple sclerosis in 1986, and his later films show him in a weakened condition. In 1990 he appeared in *Another You*, and he also had a small role in David Lynch's 1997 film *Lost Highway*. With more than forty movie credits, more than twenty comedy records, numerous appearances on the *Tonight Show* and other TV programs, and countless live performances, Pryor's legacy is that he turned African American life into a bold one-man theater, and in so doing transformed the face of modern comedy.

—Dennis Russell

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## Psychedelia

The word “psychedelic” entered the English language in 1947, courtesy of British psychologist Humphrey Osmond. In a paper he was presenting at a conference of the New York Academy of Sciences, Osmond described his own experiences with mind-altering chemicals such as LSD and mescaline. Dissatisfied with the judgmental terms that his profession typically used to describe such drugs, Osmond came up with “psychedelic” as a more neutral descriptor, and the name stuck.

Psychedelic drugs remained in the cultural background, the sole province of discreet, professional, scientific research, until 1963. That year, it became widely known that two Harvard psychology professors, Timothy Leary and Richard Alpert, were giving controlled doses

of LSD to graduate student volunteer subjects. Leary and Alpert were engaged in legitimate research, and the LSD (short for lysergic acid diethylamide) had been obtained legally and with government permission. However, Harvard deemed the project irresponsible and fired both men on the grounds of unprofessional conduct.

Freed from the constraints of academia, Leary became a vocal advocate of the use of LSD to expand human consciousness. He was perhaps best known for his pithy admonition to young people: “Tune in, turn on, drop out.” By the middle of the decade, many had heard of Leary’s advice—and quite a few had taken it. LSD and other psychedelic drugs, such as psilocybin and peyote, came to occupy a prominent place in the youth culture that developed in the 1960s and continued into the 1970s.

One of the focal points for what became known as the “counter-culture” was San Francisco, especially the city’s Haight-Ashbury district. An area of traditionally low rent and bohemian lifestyle, “the Haight” attracted many young people who were in search of new experiences, whether chemical, sexual, or social. Although they sometimes referred to themselves as “flower children” or even “freaks,” many adults began to use the term “hippie,” a word that eventually grew so imprecise that it was often used to refer to anyone who looked, dressed, or acted unconventionally.

An important aspect of the scene was the music, especially the variety that became known as “psychedelic” music or “acid rock”—so named because listening to it could supposedly simulate the experience of a hallucinogenic “trip” without the use of chemicals. Psychedelic music was characterized by extremely high volume, deliberate electronic distortion, the use of synthesizers, extended instrumental improvisations or “jams,” and the addition of Eastern instruments, such as the sitar, to the traditional rock instrument repertoire. The accompanying lyrics tended to emphasize mysticism or drug references. Some of the more successful acid rock bands included Jefferson Airplane, Iron Butterfly, Quicksilver Messenger Service, the Grateful Dead, and the British bands Pink Floyd and Led Zeppelin. Other musical groups, while not usually identified as psychedelic, sometimes recorded songs that fit the mold—such as the Beatles’ “Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds,” Strawberry Alarm Clock’s “Incense and Peppermints,” and The Jimi Hendrix Experience’s “Purple Haze.” Scottish folk singer Donovan had a hit record with “Mellow Yellow,” which extolled the mind-altering properties of dried banana peels.

Nor was any other aspect of 1960s and 1970s culture left untouched by psychedelia. The publishing world produced books like Aldous Huxley’s *The Doors of Perception* and Carlos Casteneda’s three-volume *Teachings of Don Juan*—the former a paean to the mind-expanding aspects of hallucinogens, the latter an account of the author’s initiation, at the hands of a Yacqui Indian guru, into the mystical dimensions of peyote.

Films were also quick to cash in on the psychedelic scene. Roger Corman, a director best known for his series of horror movies based on the works of Edgar Allen Poe, in 1967 brought *The Trip*, starring Peter Fonda, to audiences. A year later, the Beatles’ animated film *Yellow Submarine* was released. Its kaleidoscopic imagery and outrageous use of color hinted, for some, at the surreal experience of an LSD trip.

The world of art was also affected. Psychedelic artists employed glaringly bright colors and unusual shapes to evoke the visual experience that came from the use of mind-altering drugs. The work of Isaac Abrams is notable in this regard, and some of Andy Warhol’s



A psychedelic promotional poster for a concert with Jefferson Airplane at the Fillmore Auditorium in 1967.



paintings also show a psychedelic influence. A number of illustrators also adopted the psychedelic style, especially for display on concert posters and the covers of record albums. Some of the better known work was produced by R. Crumb and Rick Griffin, but the most successful of the psychedelic illustrators was Peter Max. Born in Germany, Max lived for a time in China and Israel before coming to the United States to study art. He had achieved modest success as an illustrator by the mid-1960s, but in 1967 his career really began to take off. Max's bold, colorful designs graced products from posters to shirts to clocks to lamps. In 1968, his posters alone sold over one million copies.

By the mid-1970s, the psychedelic era was over, its LSD and acid rock replaced by cocaine and disco. Although a brief attempt at revival took place in the late 1990s, it was no more than an exercise in nostalgia. The psychedelic era was a product of its time, and, for better or worse, that time is unlikely to come again.

—Justin Gustainis

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## Psychics

Psychics as clairvoyants, fortunetellers, and earth-bound connections to the spirit world can be traced back thousands of years and as far away as ancient Egypt. As an element of American popular culture in the 1990s, the Psychic Friends Network is as close as a 1-900-phone call, though some who claim to be more serious clairvoyants scorn these \$3.99-a-minute fortunetellers as charlatans.

The psychic movement in the United States followed closely on the tails of the Mesmeric and Spiritualist movements of the nineteenth century. Austrian doctor Franz Antoine Mesmer (1766-1815) captured followers' attention with his reports of psychic phenomenon such as "thought transference, clairvoyance and 'eyeless vision'" in subjects who came to be referred to as "mesmerized." Mesmer's popularity opened the door for acceptance of the Spiritualist movement by acknowledging the concepts of clairvoyance and communication with the dead. The mesmeric trance, as it had come to be known, led naturally to the idea of the mediumistic trance, the core of the Spiritualist movement. In 1848, Margaret Fox and her two sisters from Hydesville, New York, produced spirit "rappings" in response to questions from the audience. They moved to Rochester, New York, where they grew in popularity until their fame as mediums had spread across the Atlantic. Several imitators followed the Fox sisters, with varying routines: E.S.P. (extrasensory perception), table levitation or "turning," spirit-induced writing, and speaking in a spirit's voice while in trance, later referred to as "channeling." Spiritualism gained such popularity—even First Lady Jane (Mrs. Franklin) Pierce was an

adherent—that many churches and societies were born of the movement. Incidentally, Margaret Fox later confessed to producing the "rapping" noises through her joints.

Connecting the Spiritualist movement with religion did little to shelter the movement from accusations of fraud. In 1882, Sir William Barrett (1844-1925), Henry Sidgwick (1838-1900), and F. W. H. Meyers (1843-1901) founded the Society for Psychical Research (SPR) to scientifically investigate claims of psychic phenomena. The SPR made very few strides toward proving psychic manifestations and instead, uncovered a myriad of fraudulent activities, including those of the famed Russian psychic, Madame Helena Petrovna Blavatsky.

Interest in psychics waxed and waned throughout the twentieth century. In the United States, two psychics in particular had a strong hold on the popular imagination: Edgar Cayce and Jean Dixon. Cayce, known as America's "sleeping prophet," had a remarkable talent for learning clairvoyantly in his sleep, and for diagnosing ailments and describing an appropriate treatment while from a trance-like state. Consistently, doctors confirmed the diagnoses and the treatments were effective. Cayce's individual "health readings" eventually turned into predictions of life events, not only for individual clients, but also for the country and the world at large. Cayce successfully predicted the 1929 Wall Street crash, America's involvement in World War II, the defeat of the Axis powers in 1945, and the collapse of Soviet communism. Cayce also predicted a number of worldwide geological upheavals, many of which simply did not occur. By allegedly predicting the assassination of John F. Kennedy in 1963, Jean Dixon (1918-1997) became something of a media sensation, though she had won the confidence of followers from an early age. Dixon served as a consultant to Presidents Roosevelt and Truman and Britain's Winston Churchill. She successfully predicted the assassination of Gandhi, the suicide of Marilyn Monroe, and the assassinations of Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr. Despite her success, however, Dixon began to discredit herself by publicly showcasing her talents and authoring a syndicated horoscope column with worldwide distribution. Her annual "predictions," most of which did not materialize, became a prominent feature in super-market-tabloid newspapers.

The pop-culture psychic of the 1990s emerged on the crest of New Age metaphysics, Hollywood hype, and a good TV infomercial. For a \$3.99-per-minute phone call, the psychics at singer Dionne Warwick's Psychic Friends Network could be consulted about love, money, careers, and even weight loss. In person, a look into the future can cost between \$45 and \$200. It is estimated that psychic hotlines gross approximately \$1 billion per year. Investigative journalists have uncovered evidence that some psychic hotlines do not employ psychics at all, but hire unemployed actors or housewives who offer their consultations from prepared scripts.

Today's psychics are a far cry from the joint-rapping Fox sisters of the early psychic movement. Every large city, and some smaller ones, have their share of storefront "gypsy fortunetellers," and many ethnic groups have their own psychic traditions, such as the "roots" healers in Black and Caribbean communities or the psychics in U.S. Chinatowns that are regularly consulted for advice on business or romantic decisions. Others are more media-savvy, with their 1-900 numbers and Internet websites. Most, it appears, are seasoned entertainers, though they are far shrewder businessmen and women than their early counterparts, with technology clearly on their side. The evolution of the psychic from early charlatan to telephone fortuneteller is

proof positive of two basic tenets of human existence: humankind will always have a burning desire to know what the future holds, and nothing, absolutely nothing, can escape commercialization—not even the paranormal.

—Nadine-Rae Leavell

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## Psycho

Directed by Alfred Hitchcock, this 1960 film thriller based on a novel by Robert Bloch is remembered for its depiction of on-screen violence and for its celebrated “shower scene.” Shot on a shoestring budget of \$800,000 by the crew of Hitchcock’s television show, this black-and-white classic was a carefully crafted work of cinema that also upped the ante on movie mayhem. The staggering box-office success of *Psycho*—it has earned \$40 million to date—inspired, and continues to encourage, a host of imitators who are still pushing the envelope on filmic bloodshed, but rarely with the artistry displayed by Hitchcock. *Psycho* is the first classic black-and-white film since Selznick’s *The Prisoner of Zenda* that underwent a later, full-color, shot-for-shot remake of its original script.

Mystery/fantasy/science-fiction writer Bloch based his 1959 novel *Psycho* very loosely on the real-life case of murderer Ed Gein. The book tells the story of a lonely, mother-fixated motelkeeper named Norman Bates. Norman and his mom are the sole proprietors of the Bates Motel, a now-seedy establishment patronized by Mary Crane, a young office worker who has impulsively stolen \$40,000 of her boss’s money. After a chat with Norman in which he discusses his apparently unbalanced mother (“I think perhaps all of us go a little crazy at times”) Mary resolves to return the loot before anyone knows it’s missing. But Mary is fated never to leave the Bates Motel alive, cut down in her shower by a butcher knife wielded by someone with “the face of a crazy old woman.” Mary’s sister initiates an investigation into her disappearance, which, after more murder and mystery, eventually reveals that Norman killed his mother as a youth and has now become a homicidal split personality of Norman/Mother.

It was screenwriter Joseph Stefano who came up with the inspiration to begin the story with the secretary (now Marion) instead of Norman and his mother. By telling the story from Marion’s point of view, and engaging audience sympathy for her, the film could shock the audience by disposing of her before the film was barely half over. To add to this impact, Hitchcock cast well-known actress Janet Leigh in the role. To attract sympathy for Norman, the director chose Anthony Perkins, portrayal of sensitive men in such 1950s films as *Friendly Persuasion* and *Fear Strikes Out*. After the release of

*Psycho*, public perception of Perkins was irrevocably altered, leading to a career of “weird” roles, climaxed by his reprises of Norman Bates in several much-belated sequels.

Shooting on *Psycho* proceeded rapidly, but a week was lavished on one sequence: the shower murder. Working from a storyboard by title designer Saul Bass, Hitchcock shot the death scene from many different angles which, when edited into a rapid montage—and underscored by the piercing strings of Bernard Herrmann’s music—had the desired effect of shocking the audience on a primal level. Hitchcock’s clever ad campaign, coupled with the stricture against seating anyone after the film had begun, was tongue-in-cheek: “Don’t give away the ending—it’s the only one we have!” The director always claimed that the film was a black-humored joke, not to be taken seriously, but there was no denying its impact on the moviegoers who flocked to the film in great numbers and subsequently swore off taking showers. (Among those claiming still to be afraid of showers: Janet Leigh.) *Psycho* proved to be the capstone of Hitchcock’s career, earning him one of his few Oscar nominations.

Compared to the host of horrors which have followed in its wake, from the *Friday the 13th* series to *Scream* and its imitators, *Psycho* was most circumspect in its handling of gore. Hitchcock had been offered the opportunity by his technicians to show a knife actually entering Marion’s torso, but had chosen instead to achieve his effects through sheer montage. The monochromatic cinematography he used not only suited the eerie, haunted house mood but also avoided a Technicolor blood bath: The blood seen spattering in the shower sequence was actually chocolate syrup. One proof of *Psycho*’s impact on popular culture came in the 1990s when acquitted murder suspect O. J. Simpson jokingly surprised a TV interviewer by pouncing from behind a door, making stabbing motions, all the while imitating Bernard Herrmann’s high-pitched violins.

—Preston Neal Jones

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## PTA/PTO (Parent Teacher Association/ Organization)

Parent-Teacher Associations or Organizations are voluntary groups that forge mutually cooperative relationships between parents and public schools. The umbrella organization of these local groups is



Janet Leigh in Alfred Hitchcock's *Psycho*.

the National Parent Teacher Association, which claims affiliation with 27,000 local groups and close to 7 million members. Its mission statement advocates speaking out on behalf of children and youth in schools, assisting parents in their childrearing responsibilities, and encouraging parental involvement in schools. Originally called the National Congress of Mothers, it was formed during the 1890s by Alice McLellan Birney and Phoebe Apperson Hearst, the latter a member by marriage of the prominent newspaper dynasty.

The name of the original national organization—the National Congress of Mothers—reflects its historical context: during the late nineteenth century, women were expected to focus on nurturing and raising children. Most Americans believed these crucial activities took place solely in the domestic sphere and the private home. What women like Birney did was to extend the traditional role of female nurturing to a realm outside the home and into the arena of public advocacy and activity. This new organization both confirmed the special—some would say subordinate—role of women in raising children while extending it to what Settlement House Movement leader, Jane Addams, once called “social housekeeping.” This early

group viewed parenting as a specialized activity in need of education and training.

Not surprisingly, the National Congress of Mothers also reflected the spirit of the Progressive Era in American history (roughly 1890-1917), during which time the organization changed its name to the National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations. These years saw an increasing number of middle-class Americans dedicate themselves to reforming the inhumane excesses of industrial capitalism. Perhaps the most famous leader of this movement was President Theodore Roosevelt, who played a major role in the National Congress by serving as a speaker at its conventions. Taking up Roosevelt’s call for social and political reform, the National Congress threw itself into numerous Progressive Era causes, including the abolition of child labor, the reform of the juvenile court system, and the passage of the Pure Food Bill in 1906. In addition, the organization helped promote John Dewey’s child-centered schooling methods that became known as “progressive education.”

During the Progressive Era, the National Congress carved out its particular concern in the midst of other school reform movements.

According to Louise Montgomery, a Chicago educator at the turn of the century, the proliferation of the public school system brought with it new challenges since it divorced the traditional activities of education from the home. She argued, "The parent has been strangely silent, surrendering his child to the school system with a curious, unquestioning faith." Parent-Teacher Associations were meant to challenge this sort of passivity on the part of parents. Members of the organization believed ordinary citizens had a fundamental role to play in America's civic and public life.

Though the original idealism of the groups declined after the Progressive Era, the goals remained the same at century's end, with the National PTA maintaining its role as the nation's biggest child-advocacy organization. The PTA continued to involve parents in decision-making about local schools, and to make child welfare its central focus. Among the contemporary issues important to the PTA in the 1990s were the quality of children's television programming; various attempts to reform the public education system, as by vouchers or charter schools; the threat of violence in many public schools; and the rise of drug and alcohol abuse among many young people.

—Kevin Mattson

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## Public Enemy

Public Enemy burst onto the hip-hop scene in 1987 with their debut album *Yo! Bum Rush the Show*. Articulating a militant Black Nationalism over a heavy bass-line and driving rhythms, Public Enemy marked out a new space in the emerging rap genre. They soon attracted attention by their hardline and uncompromising lyrics that sought to bring down the white power system, which had oppressed blacks for so long. Their twin tactics of visibility and militancy soon marked them out as a threat and they were hailed as the "Black Panthers of rap."

The members of Public Enemy are more than just rap musicians. Fronted by Chuck D, self-styled prophet of rage, Public Enemy pronounced themselves as the "Black CNN." Originating from Long Island, Chuck D (Carlton Ridenhour), the son of ex-1960s activists, proclaimed his mission as championing the cause of the African-American underclass. He located himself in the tradition of black orators like Jesse Jackson and Martin Luther King, Jr. Chuck D distinguished himself from his rap predecessors by a conspicuous lack of macho clichés and empty boasts. Instead he rapped intelligently and unrelentingly about African-American history while his sidekick, Flavor Flav (William Drayton), incited him on and DJ Terminator X (Norman Rogers) fused the revolutionary teachings of Malcolm X, Kwame Toure, Louis Farrakhan, and Martin Luther King with the beats of LL Cool J and Run-DMC. Public Enemy's emphasis on

education over machismo situated them in a rap tradition begun by the Last Poets and served as a blueprint for other rappers. Paris, KRS-One, Basehead, the Disposable Heroes of Hip-Hop, and Kool Moe Dee soon followed Public Enemy's lead in establishing the new genre of "hardcore" rap that fused education with entertainment.

Visibility is a key strand of Public Enemy's hip-hop strategy. On stage, they are backed by Professor Griff (Richard Griffin) and his Security of the First World posse—uniformed, Uzi-toting, paramilitaries—who present a potent image subversive of existing power relations. Their logo—a silhouetted figure between the crosshairs of a gunsight—positions them both as targets of the society at large and society as their target. The figure represents the black man in America, a perceived menace to an establishment bent on excluding him. Many of Public Enemy's fans can be seen wearing this logo on their shirts; and Flavor Flav wears a huge clock as a reminder to "know what time it is"—it is a stopped alarm clock caricaturing a consumer society that privileges expensive watches while suggesting that time has stopped since social reform is limited.

Their second album, *It Takes a Nation of Millions to Hold Us Back* (1989), extended Public Enemy's campaign to uproot the status quo with tracks like "Bring the Noise" and "Rebel without a Pause." "Black Steel in the Hour of Chaos" resists the draft as an example of black defiance while "Louder Than a Bomb" accuses the Central Intelligence Agency of assassinating Dr. King and Malcolm X. "Fight the Power," on their next album, debunked American icons such as Elvis and John Wayne; this track was Motown Records' biggest-selling twelve-inch. The album has been described as a prototype of what a rap album can achieve. By turning platinum, producing provocative videos, and attracting a vast multiracial audience, Public Enemy set the trend and standards to which rap could aspire.

Accusations of anti-semitism, however, nearly destroyed the group. In May 1989 Professor Griff, Public Enemy's "minister of information" and a member of Louis Farrakhan's Nation of Islam, stated that Jews were responsible "for the majority of wickedness that goes on across the globe." Chuck D fired Griff (who later formed his own group) and replied to the media criticism with *Fear of a Black Planet* (1990). By combining news samples with their music and recreating media broadcasts about them, Public Enemy attempted to fight back by depicting themselves as the victims of a white power structure committed to destroying them.

Public Enemy has since made five more albums: *Apocalypse '91* (1991), *Greatest Misses* (1992), *Muse Sick-N-Hour Mess Age* (1994), and *He Got Game* (1998). Chuck D took a break from the group to make a solo album titled *The Autobiography of Mistachuck* (1996). Singles such as "Shut 'Em Down" (1991), "Give It Up" (1994), and "I Stand Accused" (1994) continued their hard-line, myth-breaking militancy.

Not only did Public Enemy raise consciousness among their black following, they also attracted a significant body of white fans. Their ability to sell so many records can be attributed to their influence beyond the confines of inner-city ghettos. Public Enemy proved to be popular among white, middle-class fans and consequently the group drew a sizeable following not only for their music, but also for the rap genre in general. Groups like NWA and other "gangsta" rappers have massively benefitted from this new white audience. Undoubtedly it was this consumer bloc that helped rap to crossover into the mainstream music industry such that by the late 1990s, hip-hop singles often reached number one in the charts, selling more than half a million copies.



**Public Enemy, from left: Terminator X, Flavor Flav, and Chuck D.**

Members of Public Enemy were pioneers of the hardcore rap genre. Their rap militancy shifted the genre from the party-style, macho boasting of “electro” toward a more politically conscious music. They set the trend for many others and thus spawned a host of imitators. In doing so, Public Enemy attracted a broad, multiracial following allowing rap to break out of the confines of the inner-city ghettos in which it originated. As a consequence, the group has ensured a wider audience for its vocalization of the problems of blacks in America.

—Nathan Abrams

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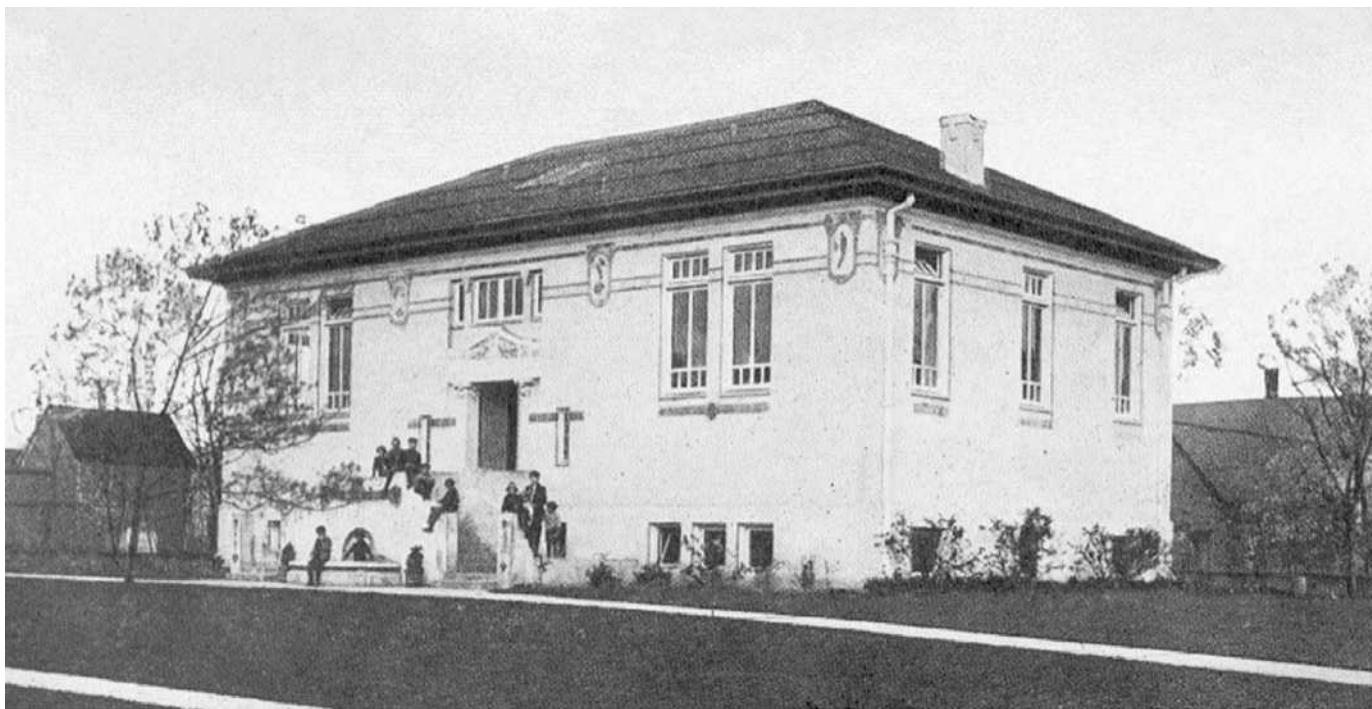
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## Public Libraries

Of all its public institutions, perhaps America’s most enduring are its libraries. U.S. libraries arose out of the democratic beliefs in an informed public, enlightened civic discourse, social and intellectual advancement, and participation in the democratic process. Libraries became part of the U.S. commitment to equal educational opportunity and freedom of thought and expression. Though libraries have existed for almost as long as records have been kept, libraries as public institutions are rather recent and the idea to use public funds for library operation had to overcome considerable opposition. In 1854, the Boston Public Library opened, becoming the first American library to be supported by general taxation. Public libraries became products of the nineteenth century due to the influences of the industrial revolution, urban growth, and the accumulation of private and public wealth.

The traditional structure of the public library is based on service, intellectual freedom, education, democracy, and preservation of the record of civilization. For nearly 150 years, the mission of public



**The Carnegie Public Library in Snohomish, Washington.**

libraries has been to collect, organize, preserve, and provide free and equal access to information, knowledge, and entertainment in different formats. By following this mission, libraries foster community, lifelong learning, recreation, literacy, outreach, and personal advancement. The example of the U.S. public library has been recognized and copied in countries throughout the world.

Though public libraries enjoyed an image of well-organized houses of information at the end of the twentieth century, in the mid-nineteenth century public libraries lacked standards of service, adequate acquisition funds, proper cataloging, and professional librarians. To ameliorate the problems in libraries, library leaders resolved at an 1876 librarian conference to make their occupation professional. Soon an accelerated library movement started; librarians founded the American Library Association and began developing methods and systems for organizing information. Among the methodologies created was the Dewey Decimal Classification created by Melvil Dewey in 1876 for cataloging materials, and William Frederick Poole's authoritative indexing for periodicals, which Poole created while studying at Yale University and later published as *Poole's Index to Periodical Literature* (1887-1908). Dewey went on to establish the first professional school of librarianship at Columbia University in 1887.

While the standardization of organizational methods and professionalization of librarians made public libraries easier to use, private funding provided the boost needed to reach the public they desired to serve. Steel magnate Andrew Carnegie gave over \$41 million to erect 1,679 public library buildings in 1,412 communities between 1890 and 1919. His funding helped erect libraries in numbers of underserved communities throughout the country. Many of these libraries are still in use today. Carnegie's level of philanthropy was unmatched until 1997 when once again America's richest man chose the public library as the object of his giving. Bill Gates gave two \$200 million grants, one for software and one directed at providing digital

technology and Internet access to underserved libraries. In addition to these two significant philanthropic gifts, federal programs and grants have assisted the local tax base of library budgets. During the 1930s, Roosevelt's Works Progress Administration (WPA) built 350 new libraries and repaired many existing ones. Later, the Library Services Act of 1956 and the Library Services and Construction Act of 1964-65 provided federal dollars for library construction.

The public and private funds used for libraries produced some significant results. In 1876, there were 188 public libraries, a number that had grown to more than 9,000 at the end of the twentieth century. A 1998 Gallup Poll showed that two-thirds of Americans stopped into a public library during the past year, and of these 81 percent checked out one or more books. While public libraries have been criticized as an institution serving the middle class, the library's strength lies in its democracy: equal access to all, free services to people across ethnic, economic, and cultural lines, and a governing board made up of community members.

Libraries and librarianship shifted radically in the latter half of the twentieth century with the development of new information technology. The technology allowed new ways of creating, storing, organizing, and distributing information. Public expectation of the role of libraries also increased, and librarians have responded by taking new initiatives, for example, offering computer access to the library catalog and delivery of full-text items online. While some believe that the virtual world of online information will replace libraries, there is still a need and desire for libraries and librarians. Libraries are the one institution that can fill the gap between the information "haves" and "have nots," for example, by providing the public access to computers and teaching them how to navigate for information.

Placing libraries in cyberspace is just one more form of outreach, a role long identified with library service. From the early horse-drawn

book wagons to the modern bookmobile, outreach services have extended from telephone and e-mail reference to services for shut-ins and prisoners. Serving the remote online user is just one more extension of service.

Besides adjusting to rapidly changing technology, libraries are faced with challenges in other areas. The rapid rise of book superstores have created competition for libraries. While the information available on the Internet has also generated competition for libraries, librarians have found it necessary to decide whether or not to put filters that block Internet sites unsuitable for children on computers within libraries. In addition, libraries must find ways to contain technology and telecommunications costs, and protect online intellectual property while assuring fair use. Faced with increased competition and costs, libraries continue to struggle with budgetary matters, competing for limited local tax dollars and regularly supplementing their budgets through funds provided from grant writing. With limited funding, public libraries have found it challenging to keep up with changing demographics, especially in serving multi-ethnic and racial populations.

Despite new challenges, it is clear that communities still want libraries. They want them to serve the disadvantaged, provide free access to collections and online technology, promote literacy, provide books and reference service, make a place for community information and programming, and conduct programs for children. Considering that three out of every five library users are children or young adults, public libraries are a vital resource for parents. Libraries cost little, averaging approximately \$21 per capita annually. It has been suggested that supporting a public library outranks any other single investment a community can make to help its people.

—Byron Anderson

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## Public Television (PBS)

With its dedication to the high ideals of presenting the finest in drama, music, children's programs, and political debate, the U.S. public television system has proved a significant cultural force in a nation where broadcasting is largely driven by commercial considerations, often to the detriment of quality. Public television was at least partially born in reaction to Federal Communications Commission (FCC) chairman Newton Minnow's now famous comment that by 1961 American commercial television had become "a vast wasteland." (In 1978 Minnow would become chairman of PBS). From its 1950s roots in educational television, public (or non-commercial)

television has grown, not without problems, internal conflicts, political opposition, and funding setbacks, to enjoy some considerable popular successes as a formidable, if vulnerable, alternative to the increasingly trivial and commercial-sodden programming of late twentieth-century network television.

Public and educational television dates back to the first public radio broadcasts from universities and scientific laboratories. The first radio broadcast of any kind originated from an educational venue, the University of Wisconsin, in 1919, and in the ensuing decade other universities followed suit, forming electronic extension services, though mostly for scattered audiences with crystal sets.

While the first television programs were broadcast in the late 1930s, World War II curtailed the industry's development. By 1945, however, the FCC had set aside 13 channels for commercial television, and by 1949 one million television receivers were in use across the United States. It was during the FCC's four-year freeze on station licenses (1948-1952) that a movement began among educators for channels that would be non-commercial and dedicated to education. In 1952, after its historic Sixth Report and Order, the FCC reserved 242 channels for non-commercial TV, and the Educational Television and Radio Center (ETRC) was established in Ann Arbor, Michigan, on a grant from the Ford Foundation's Fund for Adult Education. The center secured and distributed programs for the emerging system, as well as renting them out to schools and other public institutions.

In 1958 the Center moved to New York where it became National Educational Television (NET), again chiefly supported by the Ford Foundation. NET soon revised the limited classroom approach to educational TV, and shifted to providing a broader range of cultural, public affairs, documentary, and children's programming. It laid the groundwork both for expansion into network status, and for Educational TV's eventual re-designation as Public TV. NET lives on in the spirit and call letters of WNET, New York City's Channel 13 public television station, which is still active in producing original programming for public television.

Public television thus evolved directly out of educational television, a difficult rite of passage due to the fact that ETV originally began as a collection of autonomous stations, each serving in various and sundry ways the cause of education, but with no overriding administrative/creative policy. PBS's non-commercial status was another stumbling block, totally financed as it is by federal and state funding and, increasingly, by voluntary contributions from local viewers and grants from foundations and corporations. The fact that public TV was born after commercial network television had been firmly entrenched in the American mind was another obstacle to its initial development.

When the ETV system was redefined as public television by the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, some internal confusion remained due to the diversity of the original educational TV system. (This in spite of the ideals for non-commercial TV that had been clarified in the Carnegie Commission Report of that same year). Some stations clung to their original ETV agendas, while others were reluctant to surrender their autonomy to the national system. Regional and political differences further complicated PBS's development, and contributed to the factionalism of its first decades. Thus the history of public television is also a history of conflict from within over the definition of the medium's true mission.

Despite internal and organizational conflicts, however, the avowed overall purpose of public television from the start was to make a dedicated attempt to free the television medium from the tyranny of the marketplace and to address the ideal of quality rather than mass appeal

and commercial profit. In theory, it also marked an attempt to realize the humanistic, social, and intellectual potential of the mass television medium, and to provide a varied menu of cultural, informational, educational, and innovative programming. These ideals were first voiced in the Carnegie Commission Report of 1967, *Public Television: A Program for Action*, the result of a two-year study of educational TV by a prestigious 15-member commission composed of educators, businessmen, producers, and artists. Funded by the Carnegie Corporation, a second Carnegie Commission was formed in 1977 to examine the history of the first decade of public television.

Public television has also been called “a name without a concept,” but the system has nonetheless consistently managed to build both an audience and a profile, and to compete positively with, and sometimes even influence, the commercial system. By the 1970s PBS ratings were on the rise due to a flowering of excellent, well-produced original shows displaying variety as well as quality, and ranging from sitcoms and children’s programs to documentary series about the arts and classical music. These included *The Adams Chronicles*, *Great Performances*, *Nova*, *Live from Lincoln Center*, and *Sesame Street*, while British imports included the sitcom *Upstairs, Downstairs*, Sir Kenneth Clark’s series on the history of art, *Civilization*, Jacob Bronowski’s *The Ascent of Man*, and *Monty Python’s Flying Circus*. These shows became popular PBS staples, leading to more of the same in later decades. In 1973 the network’s detailed coverage of the Senate Watergate hearings was one of its most effective programs ever for fund-raising, and by that year PBS had over a million subscribers, all voluntarily contributing an average annual amount of \$15.00 to keep their regional PBS stations on the air. In 1990 *The Civil War*, aired on five consecutive nights, set an all-time ratings record for a series of limited length, and by 1991 the audience had grown to five million, making average yearly contributions up to \$56.00. During the 1990s the most popular shows were the *National Geographic Specials*, the *MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour*, *This Old House*, *The Frugal Gourmet*, and the British import, *Mystery*.

Two extended mini-series attracted particular attention to public television during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Both were British productions and both pushed the envelope of content and permissiveness for television in general, proving compulsively watchable on a scale that no PBS programming had achieved thus far. *I, Claudius*, a 13-hour BBC drama series, that first aired in 1978, challenged the boundaries of what was acceptable not only on PBS, but for television as a whole. Adapted from two novels by Robert Graves, *I, Claudius*, and *Claudius the God*, the series chronicled in fairly explicit detail the political and sexual intrigues of the reigns of the four decadent Roman emperors who followed Julius Caesar. Told from the viewpoint of Claudius, a presumed idiot who ultimately becomes emperor, the violence and sexuality of the series made many PBS stations uneasy, though none of them failed to air it. *I, Claudius* was one of the most popular entries in PBS’s excellent *Masterpiece Theater* series.

In 1982 an elaborate 11-episode adaptation of Evelyn Waugh’s novel *Brideshead Revisited* emulated both the critical success and audience ratings of *I, Claudius*. Produced by England’s Granada Television International, the twelve-and-a-half-hour production was one of the most expensive British television series to date. The extended story followed an Oxford student who becomes emotionally involved in the life of the semi-decadent upper classes of an England between world wars, and was opulently filmed on location in England, Venice, and Malta. Again, the series created some controversy in its discreet, but unselfconscious depiction of the homosexuality of

one of the leading characters, Sebastian Flyte, and his intense involvement with the story’s narrator, Charles Ryder.

Content aside, both *I, Claudius* and *Brideshead Revisited* also pioneered a new genre of high-toned television and literary adaptation. Longer by far than the longest movies ever made, both productions (but *Brideshead* especially) still maintained the production values and prestige of quality filmmaking. While ABC’s popular success *Roots* had appeared as a 12-hour, week-long miniseries on ABC in 1977, the PBS broadcasts were the first time that works of classic literature were given their due in a format that finally did justice to both the detail and tempi of the literary originals. Nothing like either *Claudius* or *Brideshead* had ever really been seen anywhere before, and their acceptance and, indeed, overwhelming popularity on American public television laid the groundwork for the global acceptance of a new and somewhat rarefied genre of quality visual entertainment. The genre thrived on PBS, but the style also influenced actual movie making, such as the popular films of James Ivory, who adapted much of E. M. Forster in a similar fashion, and ensuing adaptations of the novels of Jane Austen and others.

Another innovative PBS series also inspired a number of spin-offs, and indeed launched an entire industry: the popular and enduring children’s show, *Sesame Street*, with its cast of now globally beloved characters, including Jim Henson’s Muppets. The series, which premiered in November of 1969 with an initial budget of only eight million dollars, has been described as “a revolutionary children’s program that sought to teach numbers and letters (and, later, social concepts) to preschool children through TV entertainment chiefly by harnessing the techniques used in commercials.” *Sesame Street*’s original target audience was language-impaired preschool inner-city children, and thus the colorful and ethnically diverse characters (both live and Muppet) were often seen in drab urban settings uncharacteristic of children’s shows.

Visual zap animation was the innovative instructional method pioneered on the show, and evaluative tests soon verified that *Sesame*’s new formula of teaching letters and numbers through animation, paced at the attention-friendly duration of television commercials and augmented by the use of frequent repetition, was indeed an effective teaching method. The show later expanded from the teaching of educational basics to dealing with more complex issues such as the environment and racial understanding. With the 1984 death of actor Will Lee, who played one of the show’s leading characters, Mr. Hooper, the subject of death and dying was raised for what was probably the first time on a children’s television program. *Sesame Street* remains the most innovative end-product of the venerable educational TV system, and as such changed the face and techniques of children’s programming everywhere.

In 1990 the death of Jim Henson, who not only created the show’s popular Muppet characters, but lent his distinctive voice characterizations to several of them, left another void in the show. Henson’s Muppet characters had made their debut on *Sesame Street*, and quickly became one of its most popular elements. The character of the huge but affable canary-yellow Big Bird became one of the most recognized and exploited characters of the late twentieth century, and PBS’s first genuine superstar. Henson’s own *Muppet Show* became one of the top-rated prime time CBS shows of the late 1970s, and in 1979 *The Muppet Movie* launched a film series which continues into the 1990s. *Sesame Street*’s chief advisor was Dr. Gerald Lesser, a Harvard University psychologist, and the show also launched the songwriting career of Joe Raposo, whose popular *Sesame Street* songs were covered by many adult-g geared recording artists of the era.



In spite of its popular successes, PBS has seldom been without its opponents since Lyndon Johnson signed the Public Broadcasting Act that created the Corporation for Public Broadcasting in 1967. That same year Johnson suggested that he would also work out a long-range funding plan for public TV in the coming year, but his withdrawal from the 1968 presidential campaign crushed this hope of extended support. The ensuing Nixon administration is remembered for, among other things, its attacks upon PBS as a “fourth network” and the White House’s repeated attempts to decentralize public television. Documents later released under the Freedom of Information Act verify that the Nixon White House’s aim was to shift control to individual stations, believing that they would act more conservatively in political terms. In 1972 Nixon vetoed CPB’s authorization bill, but after several key members, including the chairman, president, and director of television of CPB resigned, the president signed a bill authorizing public broadcast funding for 1973.

The affair made public television aware of several key issues: that it was vulnerable to presidential political pressure, that it needed to develop a new, decentralized method for distributing production funds, and, especially, that it needed to look for new sources of funding, particularly from the private sector. So it was during this phase that PBS first turned more aggressively toward corporate underwriting, initially from the major oil companies, as a new source of program funding (ergo Exxon’s sponsorship of the *Great Performances* series which aired *Brideshead Revisited*).

Congressional Democrats have been traditional supporters of public television, and the Carter administration was relatively hospitable to PBS, which prospered during Carter’s term. However, Ronald Reagan’s election to the presidency in 1981, just as public TV was becoming a viable alternative to commercial television, occasioned renewed political opposition. During the Reagan years public television’s budget was reduced to the extent that some stations came to believe they could only survive by airing commercials. Reagan’s drastic budget cuts resulted in FCC approval for experimentation with a form of commercial advertising on public television, though this was termed “enhanced underwriting,” and meant that “logos or slogans that identify—but do not promote or compare—trade names, and product and service listings” were now permissible on public television, and have remained so.

In the late 1980s and 1990s PBS continued to produce well-received documentaries such as *The Civil War* and *Vietnam: A Television History*, the latter of which, for conservative viewers, perhaps verified suspicions of PBS’s long-standing liberal and even leftist tendencies. In 1992, public television, along with such organizations as the National Endowment for the Arts, came under attack from a coalition of conservative groups led by the Heritage Foundation. The attack was timed to a period when Congress was to consider the reauthorization of public broadcast funding, and the Heritage Foundation simultaneously distributed “Making Public Television Public,” a widely quoted report, which, contrary to its title, actually called for the privatization of public television. (One concept espoused was the selling of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to the private sector, which, the report argued, would “clean up the public television mess.”) The outcome, at least as William Hoynes puts it in his book, *Public Television for Sale*, “in the short run,” was that a Democratic-controlled Congress passed the reauthorization bill, but with some qualifications. To many the 1992 debate was merely a reprise of ground covered in the Nixon and Reagan years, albeit, as Hoynes also points out, in a “post-cold war climate that celebrated the market in a quasi-religious manner.”

On a more mundane level, the frequent periods of air time devoted to lengthy, although necessary, fund-raising campaigns that occur regularly on all public television and radio stations throughout the year sometimes chafe at even the most dedicated supporters of regional PBS. Some of these campaigns, however, also offer audience members the opportunity to appear “on the air” as the vital phone-answering staff for the call-ins from donors, or to see their friends and neighbors become temporary TV personalities on their favorite PBS channel in a kind of throw-back to the older and more audience-friendly days of early local and regional television.

E. B. White once commented on the television medium: “I think television should be the counterpart of the literary essay, should arouse our dreams, satisfy our hunger for beauty, take us on journeys, enable us to participate in events, present great drama and music, explore the sea and the sky and the woods and the hills. It should be our Lyceum, our Chautauqua, our Minsky’s, and our Camelot. It should state and clarify the social dilemma and the political pickle.” While still far from perfect, and while still both evolving and often in harm’s way, public television has come the closest of anything yet in the pervasive and much maligned medium in attempting to fulfill White’s ideals.

—Ross Care

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## Puente, Tito (1923—)

No individual performer has contributed more to the popularity of Latin music in the United States than the legendary Tito Puente. A musician, arranger, composer, bandleader, and four-time Grammy winner, the internationally acclaimed “King of Latin Music” has moved audiences around the world to the beat of *cha-cha-chas*, *mambos*, and *pachangas*. Best known as a virtuoso of the timbales, Puente is also an accomplished pianist with a degree from the prestigious Juilliard School of Music. Puente’s remarkable career to date has spanned nearly sixty years and produced over one hundred albums. He has been featured in numerous television sitcoms, commercials, music shows, and motion pictures (including *Radio Days* and *The Mambo Kings Play Songs of Love*). The recipient of the Smithsonian Medal and three honorary doctorates, Puente has been nominated eight times for Grammy awards (more than any Latin music artist). His name, which means “bridge” in Spanish, truly captures his achievement—for Puente’s music reaches across generational, national, and racial boundaries.

Born April 20, 1923, in New York City to Puerto Rican parents, Ernesto Antonio Puente, Jr., grew up in Spanish Harlem to the sounds of Afro-Cuban and jazz music. By 1949, the successful fusion of these



Tito Puente

influences produced one of his first crossover hit songs, "Abaniquito," and fueled the mambo craze of the 1950s. As one of the famed mambo kings of the era, Puente consistently earned top billing at New York's Palladium Ballroom, a *nuyorican* club that served as the cradle of what is now called "salsa." Jazz greats such as Dizzy Gillespie, Charlie Parker, and Woody Herman often showed up to jam with the mostly Cuban and Puerto Rican musicians appearing nightly at the Palladium. Always in tune with the tempo of his day, Puente contributed to the various Latin music trends of the 1950s and 1960s, first appealing to the early popularity of the cha cha cha, then releasing several hits in the pachanga style that became the rage. In the late 1960s, when an R&B/Latin fusion called *boogaloo* emerged as the latest dance music craze, Puente kept up with the times and obliged his audiences, despite his professed dislike of the form. During those years, Puente recorded and performed with numerous other Latin music stars, including the "Queen of Salsa" Celia Cruz, La Lupe, Santos Colon, Machito, Mongo Santamaria, Mario Bauza, and Xavier Cugat. He also played with Gillespie and would pay tribute to the jazz master in a 1994 concert event at the Apollo Theatre. Puente's "Oye Como Va" and "Para los Rumberos," first recorded in the early 1960s, were later adapted and released by Carlos Santana, introducing audiences in the 1970s to a new synthesis of rock and Latin music. The overwhelming popularity of Santana's remakes led to a joint concert in 1977 and revitalized an interest in Latin music among a new generation of concert-goers. By 1979, when President Jimmy Carter invited him to play at the White House in honor of Hispanic Heritage month, Puente had achieved world-class status.

Puente's musical talent and warm, outgoing personality have made him a favorite among young and old. He has been featured on the popular television sitcom the *Bill Cosby Show*, in a Coca-Cola commercial, and even a 1995 episode of *The Simpsons*. Burger King has used Puente's tune "I Like It like That" in their ads, and he has hosted his own show on Spanish-language television. At the closing ceremony following the 1996 Olympic games in Atlanta, Puente joined B. B. King, Wynton Marsalis, Stevie Wonder, and Gloria Estefan in an extraordinary finale. According to *Time* correspondent Mark Coatney, the group "whipped up an ever-growing conga line that threatened to spill into the streets." Puente's joyous participation in this event helped to rekindle everyone's spirits and proved that Latin music had truly achieved international recognition.

—Myra Mendible

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## *Pulp Fiction*

Crime drama is given stylish and original treatment in Quentin Tarantino's 1994 film *Pulp Fiction*. In his take on the genre there is an easy interplay between the mundane and the brutal. Told with visual panache and unconventional dialogue, three stories of the Los Angeles underworld interweave in a complex structure.

The tales were written separately, with two of them written years before the film was conceived. In the first story, two professional hitmen, Jules and Vincent, kill some young men who have stolen a brief case containing something of great beauty and value from gang boss Marcellus Wallace. The routine job becomes a life-changing incident for Jules when one of the young men shoots repeatedly at Jules and Vincent from across the small room, but every shot misses. Jules takes this "miracle" as a sign from God. The job is further complicated when Vincent creates a literal and figurative mess by accidentally blowing their informant's brains out in the back seat of the car. The second story begins when Marcellus Wallace asks Vincent to take his wife Mia out and show her a good time while he is away. After dinner and a dance contest, Vincent and Mia return to the Wallace home where Mia overdoses on Vincent's powerful heroin and almost dies. In the third story, Marcellus Wallace pays an aging fighter, Butch, to take a dive. Instead, Butch wins the fight and attempts to flee the country before Wallace can have him killed. In addition to these three stories, the film begins and ends with a framing incident of a husband and wife team of small-time crooks deciding to hold up the restaurant where Jules and Vincent are having breakfast. The incident takes place chronologically between stories one and two.

The seemingly unrelated stories all tie together in a highly unconventional plot. The structure of the film is not only non-chronological, but there are also repeated actions and parallel actions. A single viewing of the film is a powerful experience, but subsequent viewings are also rewarding, as more of the subtleties and complexities of the film become apparent. It often takes more than one viewing to become comfortable with the film's blending of the horrifying and the oddly funny; not every viewer is prepared to find dark humor in

scenes that involve scooping skull fragments off of the upholstery, homosexual rape, or a family heirloom hidden for years in a rectum. The film is an unpredictable mix of the lurid and the absurd, told in dialogue that is alternately hip, mundane, or intriguingly odd.

The dialogue in *Pulp Fiction* does more than simply advance the plot. Tarantino avoids the typical gangster stereotypes by giving his thugs distinctive speech patterns and quirky conversations that bring the characters to life. No two characters in the film speak alike. Mr. Wolf, the professional problem-solver who comes in to take care of Vincent and Jules's mess, speaks in clipped, efficient sentences. Jules freely spices his erudite vocabulary with the harshest profanity, and just before putting a bullet into his target he likes to give a dramatic and frightening recitation of Ezekiel 25:17. Although the dialogue often meanders, just like real conversation, it is still very memorable. On the way to make the hit on the college boys, Vincent explains to Jules that at the Paris McDonalds a Quarter-pounder is called a Royale with cheese. It is just the type of inane conversation that goes on between two co-workers passing the time during the morning commute.

*Pulp Fiction's* style and originality did not go unnoticed in the film community. At the Cannes Film Festival the film won the Palm d'Or. *Pulp Fiction* revitalized the career of John Travolta, making him the hottest property in Hollywood for the next several years. Travolta garnered Academy Award, Golden Globe, and Screen Actors Guild nominations for Best Actor. The film was nominated for seven Academy Awards, including Best Picture, but only Roger Avary and Quentin Tarantino won for Best Original Screenplay. *Pulp Fiction* established Quentin Tarantino as a major player in Hollywood.

—Randy Duncan

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## Pulp Magazines

Pulp magazines were a cheap form of popular entertainment that emerged just before the dawn of the twentieth century, grew to immense popularity during the 1930s, and withered away by the early 1950s. Sold for 10 to 25 cents each and chocked full of sensational action, the pulps appealed primarily to the middle class and the educated lower class, but drew avid readers from every strata of society. As pulp publisher Henry Steeger noted in the preface to Tony Goodstone's *The Pulps*, "the names of Harry Truman, President of the United States, and Al Capone, lowest figure of the underworld, graced our subscription lists at the same time." Beneath the garish and lurid covers, the rough-edged pages (made from the cheapest wood-pulp) were often filled with hastily written purple prose. Yet, a few of the pulp magazines contained genuinely fine writing, and many of them contained crude, but powerful storytelling that shaped

American popular culture. The pulps offered a proving ground for some of America's most popular authors, and introduced some of the world's best known fictional heroes.

The pulp magazines grew out of a nineteenth-century tradition of stories for the masses that began with religious chapbooks that warned against "the pernicious effects of dram drinking" and other vices. These small paperbacks were peddled on street corners by hawkers (or chapmen). Although meant to be cautionary tales, some buyers no doubt read these stories of innocent young girls seduced into a life of alcohol and prostitution more for titillation than for moral inspiration. The chapbooks created an appetite for fiction that was satisfied for a time by serialized tales in the weekly story papers that emerged mid-century. In 1860, the publishing house of Beadle & Adams began publishing entire novels in a small paperback format that became known as a dime novel (although many of them actually sold for five cents). Once the format proved successful, Street & Smith, which had been in the weekly fiction business since the 1850s, started their own dime novel line. Street & Smith soon had two very popular dime novel series that would have direct links to the pulps. *Nick Carter Weekly* featured a clean-cut young detective, by the same name, who was a master of disguise. Edward Zane Carroll Judson, writing under the Ned Buntline pen name, elaborated on the exploits of the real-life William Cody in *Buffalo Bill Weekly*. However, the story papers and "nickel weeklies" did not disappear, and at the end of the nineteenth century sensational popular fiction existed in a variety of formats.

Frank A. Munsey is generally considered the father of the pulp magazines. In 1882, he launched *Golden Argosy*, a weekly story magazine for children. Over the next decade, Munsey modified the magazine in a number of ways. He changed the content to all fiction, targeted it for an older audience, switched to cheap wood-pulp paper and shortened the name. By 1896, Munsey had transformed his newly named *Argosy* into the first pulp magazine. Stephen Crane was one of the early contributors to *Argosy*. As the turn of the century approached, *Argosy* was selling half a million copies a month. In 1905, Munsey added *The All-Story Magazine*, followed by *Cavalier Weekly* in 1908. With the publication of the 1912 story "Under the Moons of Mars," *All-Story* introduced Edgar Rice Burroughs, whose work insured the popularity of the pulps and left an indelible mark on popular culture. Later that same year, *All-Story* published Burroughs' "Tarzan of the Apes." The following year Burroughs began his Pellucidar series. After the *All-Story* editor repeatedly quibbled about rate of payment and rejected the sequel to the first Tarzan story, Burroughs began sending his work to other pulp magazines. *All-Story* fell on hard times and was combined first with *Cavalier* and then with *Argosy*. In its 1919 incarnation as *All-Story Weekly*, the magazine published Johnston McCulley's first Zorro story, "The Curse of Capistrano." Munsey's magazines were creating popular culture icons, but they were also facing stiff market competition.

Once again, Street & Smith shifted to a format pioneered by other publishers and soon dominated the field. They began with *Popular Magazine* in 1903 and *Top Notch* in 1910. Street & Smith steadily expanded their offerings until they were one of the largest and most successful pulp magazine publishers. Soon, dozens of other publishers were trying to copy their success. At the end of World War I, only a few dozen pulps were being published. In the midst of the Great Depression there would be several hundred.

By the 1920s, the general interest or family pulp gave way to the specialized pulp. At the height of the pulps in the 1930s, there seemed



A collection of pulp magazines.

to be a magazine for every interest: horror, sports, the exploitative “spicy” pulps, gangsters, romance, cowboys, trains, and even a magazine titled *Zeppelin Stories*. Because profit margins were small, publishers constantly shuffled their offerings and followed new trends. If a title started to lose readers, they dropped it immediately and tried a new genre. The history of the pulps is littered with many esoteric and short-lived magazines.

Street & Smith created the first successful specialized pulp magazine in 1915 when they converted their dime novel *Nick Carter Weekly* into the pulp magazine *Detective Story Magazine* (which was supposedly edited by “Nick Carter”). Police sleuths and private detectives had been a staple in other popular fiction formats and at first the pulps offered nothing new in this genre. Then, in 1920, H. L. Mencken and George Jean Nathan (who published pulps only to subsidize their more literary magazine, *The Smart Set*) began *The Black Mask*. At first, the magazine published general adventure fiction. Within a few years, a distinctive style began to emerge. First, there was Carroll John Daly’s brutally tough Race Williams. Next, there was Dashiell Hammett’s world-weary and often violent Continental Op. Employing terse dialogue, nuanced characters, and realistic settings, Hammett began to develop the new style of detective story that would become known as hard-boiled fiction. When Joseph T. Shaw took over as editor in 1926, he sought out more writers who

could produce work in the Hammett tradition. In 1933, Shaw made his greatest find, and published “Blackmailers Don’t Shoot,” the first work of detective fiction by Raymond Chandler. Chandler’s tough guys, who followed their own code and dealt their own justice in a harsh world, helped define hard-boiled fiction.

*Black Mask* was the most significant of the detective pulps, but it was certainly not the only entry in the field. The “Black Mask School” was perpetuated, and even refined, in the pages of *Detective Fiction Weekly*, *Dime Detective*, *Thrilling Detective*, *Ten Detective Aces*, and others. The detective pulps also launched many significant authors in addition to Hammett and Chandler. Erle Stanley Gardner was one of the most prolific and popular of the detective pulp writers. John D. MacDonald and Lawrence Treat had stories published in the waning days of the detective and mystery pulps. As with most genres, the detective pulps had their “spicy” versions that mixed a healthy dose of sex with the detection. Most notable of these was *Spicy Detective Stories*, which often featured the erotic adventures of Hollywood private eye Dan Turner, written by Robert Leslie Bellem. A totally different tradition in detective fiction, the “weird menace,” began in *Dime Mystery Magazine*. With covers that often combined the ghoulish and the sadistic, *Dime Mystery* and its spawn offered stories of “impossible” crimes that seemed to be caused by the supernatural, but were eventually revealed by the detective to have a

rational solution and a human culprit (oddly enough, the *Scooby Doo* cartoons seem to be a direct descendent of this sub-genre).

The Western, a staple of the dime novels, came to pulp magazines when Street & Smith converted their *Buffalo Bill Weekly* dime novel series into *Western Story Magazine*. With a loyal audience already existing for tales of gunfights, Indian wars, and hairbreadth escapes, the leading Western pulps, such as *Far West*, *Western Story*, and *Ranch Romances*, easily sold 20 million copies per month. Gradually, the pulp Westerns deviated from the blood-and-thunder style of the dime novels as more pulp writers began to emulate the more restrained and polished style of best-selling Western novelists such as Owen Wister and Zane Grey (who had a number of his novels serialized in the pulps). One of the new breed of Western writers who got their start in the pulps was Louis L'Amour. In creating characters such as Hondo, L'Amour began to crystalize the Western hero. However, the most popular author of pulp Westerns was Frederick Faust, who wrote under numerous pseudonyms, but became best known as Max Brand. While some Western pulp writers strove for gritty realism, Brand elevated the cowboy of the Western pulps to a figure of mythic proportions that could stand shoulder-to-shoulder in the popular culture pantheon with the fantastic heroes of the adventure or single character pulps.

Science fiction, more than any other popular genre, owes a great debt to the pulp magazines. Jules Verne, H. G. Wells, and others had planted the seeds in the previous century, but the true golden age of science fiction flowered in the pulp magazines of the 1920s and 1930s. The "scientific romances" of Edgar Rice Burroughs and his imitators had been appearing in pulp magazines for over a decade, but it was not until an immigrant with a love of science got into publishing that the pulps provided an outlet for true science fiction. Hugo Gernsback immigrated to the United States from Luxembourg in 1904 and immediately became involved with the new science of radio. Gernsback began publishing a magazine, *Modern Electronic*, devoted to his new interest. By 1919 Gernsback had expanded the scope of his magazine and changed the name to *Science and Inventions*. He had also begun including stories of what he called "scientifiction." In 1923, he produced an all-scientifiction issue with six stories, and reader response was enthusiastic.

In 1926, Gernsback published *Amazing Stories*, the first magazine devoted solely to science fiction. While it was not until 1933—and after a change of publishers—that the magazine became standard pulp size, *Amazing Stories* is still considered the first science-fiction pulp. By August of 1928, Gernsback's magazine was publishing landmark science-fiction novels such as E.E. "Doc" Smith's first installment of the Skylark series and Philip Francis Nolan's "Armageddon, 2419 A.D.," the first Anthony "Buck" Rogers story. Gernsback did more than anyone to establish science fiction as a distinct genre, and earned his title as the "father of science fiction." Yet, much of what *Amazing* published tended toward space opera, and Gernsback never quite realized the dream of teaching readers hard science through the stories in his magazine. It was John W. Campbell, editor of *Astounding Stories* (begun in 1930) who truly championed hard science, and issued in the golden age of science fiction. Campbell demanded high-quality fiction based on believable extrapolations of hard science. Campbell also discovered and nurtured many of the authors who would set the standards for science-fiction writing, including Isaac Asimov, Arthur C. Clarke, Lester del Rey, and Robert Heinlein. There were plenty of other science-fiction pulps on the stands over the years, but it was *Amazing Stories* and *Astounding Stories* that defined the future of the genre.

*Weird Tales*, launched in 1923, was aptly subtitled "The Unique Magazine," and warrants consideration in a category all by itself. The magazine provided an outlet for some of the earliest and most outré work of Clark Ashton Smith, Robert Bloch, Ray Bradbury, Fritz Lieber, and other notable authors. Tennessee Williams' first published work, "The Vengeance of Nitocris," was in *Weird Tales*. However, the writers who did the most to sustain the magazine during its first decade were H. P. Lovecraft and Robert E. Howard. Lovecraft specialized in tales of slithering ancient horrors. Lovecraft's most enduring contributions are his creation of the Cthulhu Mythos, about the indescribably ancient and horrific beings that exist in the dark infinity outside humankind's perception, and the fictional grimoire of forbidden lore, the Necronomicon. In relentlessly vigorous prose, Howard chronicled the adventures of many a brawny and brutal hero, but his best-known creation is Conan of Cimmeria. Although never a consistently profitable magazine, *Weird Tales* was published for 279 issues and was one of the last pulps to grace the newsstands when it finally ceased publication in 1954. Other pulps, such as *Strange Tales*, *Unknown*, and *Fantastic Adventures*, emerged to compete with *Weird Tales* in the fantasy market, but none managed to match the wonderful strangeness of the original.

The greatest boon to pulp magazine sales was the advent of the single-character pulps, sometimes referred to as the "hero pulps." Recurring heroes such as Tarzan and Zorro had been appearing in various pulp magazines for years, but in 1931 Street & Smith published *The Shadow*, *A Detective Magazine*, and *The Shadow* became the first character to appear in a magazine created specifically for his adventures. It did not take long for the Shadow's success to be noticed, and the next wave of characters seemed to hit all at once. *The Phantom Detective*, *Doc Savage*, *G-8 and His Battle Aces*, and *The Spider*, the four longest-running hero pulps next to *The Shadow*, all appeared in 1933. These and other hero pulp characters had a direct influence on the superhero comic books that appeared in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Some of the Superman mythos seems to come directly from Doc Savage. To begin with, they are both named Clark. Each hero has a female cousin nearly as remarkable as himself, and each has a secret arctic getaway referred to as a Fortress of Solitude. And while Doc Savage had no true powers, he was often referred to in the stories and in advertisements as a superman. Perhaps no superhero has inherited more from his pulp ancestors than the Batman. His costume and vigilante crusade are reminiscent of Zorro. His *modus operandi* of prowling the night and striking fear in criminals is borrowed from the Shadow. And like Doc Savage, The Batman is a normal human who has, through years of hard work, trained his mind and body to perfection. The immense popularity of progeny, such as Superman and the Batman, is one of the factors that led to the demise of the pulps.

A number of forces converged to bring the pulp magazines to an end. By the early 1940s they faced stiff competition from comic books. Not only were the comic-book heroes flashier, but a number of pulp publishers converted to comic books when the new medium proved profitable. Then, World War II brought about paper shortages. In spite of this, a new format, the paperback book, emerged offering pulp-type content, with authors like Micky Spillane, at the same price and in a more convenient format. After the war, paperback publishing boomed and pulp magazines faded away. By the middle of the following decade, all of the pulps were gone. A few of the science-fiction and mystery titles continued in digest format. The tradition of the hero pulps lives on in comic books and paperback adventure series.

As products, the pulps proved ephemeral. Of the thousands of different magazines and characters that existed, most have been forgotten by everyone except a handful of collectors and historians. More copies of the cheaply made magazines crumble to dust each day, yet they have shaped every genre of popular fiction. Their purple blood runs in the veins of every hero of film, television, and paperbacks. The pulp magazines have proven to be the wellspring of the American mythology.

—Randy Duncan

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## The Punisher

The Punisher is a superhero character appearing in Marvel comic books. Created in 1974 by Gerry Conway, the Punisher is a costumed vigilante—something of a comic-book answer to *Death Wish*. He is Frank Castle, a Vietnam veteran who embarks on a solemn war against crime after his family is murdered by gangsters. Clad in a black costume emblazoned with a skull-and-crossbones, he punishes the guilty whom the law is either unable or unwilling to convict. After a decade as a recurring character in various Marvel titles, the Punisher won his own series in 1985. The vigilante superhero found a large and receptive audience at the height of the Reagan-Rambo era, and became one of the most popular comic books of the late 1980s and early 1990s.

—Bradford Wright

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## Punk

In the mid-to-late 1970s a radical youth culture called punk emerged out of the larger rock 'n' roll scene, and developed its own music, attire, and ideology. The Sex Pistols are the best known of the punk bands; their music, like all punk rock, was aggressive, fast, and loud. Punk attire is characterized by dark clothes, outlandish costumes and ornamentation such as colored hair and earrings and

bracelets made from assembled items (the quintessential punk earring was a safety pin). Punk ideology is explicitly at odds with mainstream society and rails against contemporary civilization, which is seen as sterile and banal. Punk is heavily critical of existing political, economic, and cultural institutions, yet is ambivalent about creating alternatives.

The earliest forms of punk rock developed in the United States. The Velvet Underground's minimalist music and commentaries about life outside mainstream society inspired a number of bands, but the first group to be considered a punk rock band was the Ramones. Formed in 1974, the Ramones gained a following around New York City by stripping rock down to its bare essentials and playing with near-anarchic energy. Their first album, *Ramones* (1976) featured a string of songs, most shorter than two minutes, including "Blitzkrieg Bop" and "Now I Wanna Sniff Some Glue." The album became a minor hit in the U.S. and a major hit in England, where a number of bands began to pick up on the energetic rock played by the Ramones and fellow New York-bands the Stooges and the New York Dolls that played at clubs like Max's Kansas City and CBGB's. While punk was a minor sensation in the United States, it gained real popularity in the United Kingdom. The first British punk band was the Sex Pistols, which in the three short years of its existence largely created the ideal of the punk rock band.

The Sex Pistols, led by singer Johnny Rotten (formerly John Lydon) and bassist Sid Vicious and managed by Malcolm McLaren, took the music scene by storm when they began playing in 1976, singing about anarchy, abortion, and fascism in some of the most violent live shows and recordings ever heard. The band alienated several recording labels and frightened the establishment, but they also encouraged the rapid growth of the punk scene in England and sparked the creation of such bands as the Clash, the Damned, the Buzzcocks, and others.

Punk made a very visible, shocking, public display. However, with the drug-related death of Sex Pistols' bass player Sid Vicious in 1979 and the demise of several punk bands, some proclaimed that punk was a short-lived fad that had come to an end. The rumors of punk's death were unfounded, and many bands set about to defend the true meaning of punk and extend its musical influence. The most direct development from early punk is the hardcore punk movement that developed during the 1980s, foremost in the United States, but also in England, France, Italy, and other countries, with bands like the Dead Kennedys, Social Distortion, the Misfits, and Upright Citizens. Since the 1980s there have been any number of bands that have echoed the influence of punk, including Hüsker Dü, the Replacements, Soul Asylum, Green Day, Sonic Youth, and the Minutemen, among others. Though the era of punk rock is generally considered to be the years between 1975 and 1980, the punk ethos lives on.

Musically, rock 'n' roll provided an important foundation for punk, as youths who came of age in the 1970s and 1980s were well acquainted with rock bands like the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, and Led Zeppelin. Many punk bands learned music by playing other people's songs and it was commonplace among young punks, and even well-known bands, to release cover songs. The Dickies, for example, played fast but melodic versions of Led Zeppelin's "Communication Breakdown" and the Moody Blues' "Nights in White Satin." Bands often performed cover versions of older songs that had historical significance or that made a particularly salient political point. Generation X, for example, performed a cover version of John Lennon's "Gimme Some Truth." While cover songs often signaled respect for past music, cover songs could also represent an ironic



Seminal punk rock group, the Sex Pistols

comment on or critique of rock and roll. Although cover songs were common, punk ideology derided cover bands that did not play original songs for a lack of creativity.

Despite the powerful influence of rock, punk music differs significantly from its predecessor. Punk songs are generally short, fast, and loud, and place increased emphasis on distorted guitars. Many punk bands use “power” or bar chords, and speed is often emphasized over intricacy. The musical skills of punk musicians are often rudimentary and this lack of virtuosity is connected to an ideology that anyone can write and play songs. Fairly simple songs with basic four-four drum beats are common and many punk bands form with friends picking up instruments and learning as they play. Punk’s minimalist three-chord approach and shouted vocals stand in clear opposition to the melodic singing of earlier styles.

Punk music developed “scenes” centered on bands, clubs, and fans in a particular area, such as Manchester and London, England. The Damned, Stiff Little Fingers, the Jam, and Sham 69 were particularly influential, as were the Gang of Four, the Mekons, and the Delta 5 from Leeds, England. In the United States, the Los Angeles, California, scene produced such bands as Black Flag, Fear, the Germs, X, and the Circle Jerks. Two documentaries—*The Decline of*

*Western Civilization* (1981) and *Another State of Mind* (1984)—document the lives of various L.A. punk bands both on stage and off. The Dead Kennedys (San Francisco), the Teen Idols, State of Alert (S.O.A.), and the Bad Brains (all Washington, D.C.), and Hüsker Dü (Minneapolis) were all especially important early punk bands.

Punk was always about more than music, however. For both fans and musicians punk amounted to a kind of lifestyle. From the beginning, punk haircuts and clothing stood in stark contrast to the appearance of rock ’n’ rollers. As Dick Hebdige describes, punks rebelled by wearing ripped clothing, black leather, and assembling cultural icons as decoration. Mohawk haircuts, dyed hair, or extremely short cropped haircuts distinguished punks from the typically long-haired rockers. Hardcore attire followed directly from punk, although it tended to be more subdued. Dark clothes, black leather jackets, ripped jeans, sneakers, or boots (especially Doc Martens) were common; however, the outlandish costumes of punk—bright clothes and colored hair—were often toned down. Many hardcore fans simply wear jeans, a tee-shirt (often with a band insignia), and sneakers. In some sense this was a rebellion against the mainstream cooptation of punk dress but it was also an attempt to get beyond an anti-fashion style that was not only a lot of work, but made punks

subject to verbal, and occasionally physical, harassment. Less dramatic attire allowed hardcore punks to move more easily between mainstream and alternative cultures. Thus hardcore, while characterized by a louder and more aggressive music, began a tendency back to more mainstream attire.

Punk has offered a radical critique of society and has been noted for its unique ideological characteristics; however, punk has not presented a coherent philosophy but rather a series of related critiques. Punks have been particularly hostile to authority and questioned rules and rulemakers. Rather than focussing simply on politics in the conventional sense, punk challenged the patterns and norms of contemporary social relations. As Dick Hebdige writes, punk has “signified chaos at every level.” The politics of everyday life were most central to punk and lyrics question social rules and relationships. Many lyrics are centered on love, relationships, jobs, and so on, but punks put a radical spin on such issues. Punks have aimed to shock and offend and are particularly anti-romantic in their sentiments. Love is frequently referred to only in sexual terms and often quite graphically, as in the Dead Boys’ “Caught with the Meat in Your Mouth.” Some punks have used Nazi images and ornaments in their outfits, and have made callous reference to such tragedies as the Holocaust in such songs as “Belsen Was a Gas.” However, such practices generally reflect an attempt to use images in an ironic sense to question conventional meanings. Furthermore, punks have been by and large anti-Nazi and anti-fascist and have frequently espoused left-wing and humanitarian concerns.

Political issues have been important for many in the hardcore punk scene as well. War, social inequality, and capitalism are common topics of punk lyrics. *Maximum Rock and Roll*, one of the foremost hardcore fanzines, covers these and other topics in its columns, letters, and interviews. Leftist, anarchist, and communist leanings are prevalent as punks express concerns about politics, the military, censorship, corporate crime, and other issues. The band Millions of Dead Cops (MDC) has attacked government and police authority. MDC also railed against corporate capitalism, calling McDonald’s hamburgers “corporate death burgers.” While a wide range of political views have emerged from the hardcore movement, most of these political statements were rudimentary, as few had worked out the complexities of the many issues they discussed. Typical of a punk political critique was a catch phrase such as “Reagan sucks.”

Punk has tended to be very cynical regarding political activism, and emphasizes chaos rather than concerted action. While for some punks this has meant an attempt to avoid politics or just to have fun, for others this critique meant an emphasis on social or personal politics rather than large-scale political concerns. Many emphasize personal politics and promote difference as a value; the Big Boys sang: “I want to be different, I want to make you see, I want to make you wonder is it you or is it me?” Adherence to the local scene for its own sake is important and punks have tried to establish a core set of values that set punk off from mainstream society. Bands like Reagan Youth, Minor Threat, Youth of Today, and Youth Brigade promote youth power as an ideology opposed to conventional adult married and working life.

Anger is common in punk lyrics. Henry Rollins of Black Flag yelled: “Everybody just get away/I’m gonna boil over inside today/they say things are gonna get better/all I know is they fucking better.” Void growled: “I’m so fucking filled with hate/I want to decapitate.” Boredom is also a common complaint, as Tony of the Adolescents sang: “We’re just the wrecking crew/bored boys with nothing to do.”

Punks launched critiques against hippies and consumerist yuppies alike: the Teen Idles sang “Deadhead deadhead, take another toke/deadhead, you’re a fucking joke.” “Die yuppie scum” was also a common punk mantra.

While many punks were critical of “hippie burnouts,” drug use was and is an element of punk culture and a symbol of punk excess. Punk lore has tended to glorify some of the more outrageous events that transpired under the influence of drugs. Scott Asheton, in *Please Kill Me*, recounts a story about Iggy Pop: “He was walking down the street and he finally just collapsed. It was from massive amounts of drugs—I mean, you can’t take acid and Quaaludes at the same time, it just doesn’t work.” Similarly, in *Please Kill Me*, one person describes the night of the death of Nancy Spungen:

Nancy was stoned. She was stoned and she was bragging. She’s talking in that fucking cockney accent, you know, being Mrs. Sid Vicious. But it wasn’t much of a party because Sid was passed out. Sid did not look like he was going to get up. He wasn’t moving.  
I said, “What’s wrong with Sid?”  
Someone said, “Oh, he just ate about thirty Tuinals.”  
I said, “Oh, he’s going to be fun tonight.”

The deaths of Sid Vicious and Nancy Spungen (the subject of the movie *Sid and Nancy*, 1986) were particularly vivid reminders of the presence of drug use and violence in the punk scene. Many other drug-related deaths occurred among punks, particularly in connection with heroin use.

However, in response to frequent cases of addiction and overdose, and in the face of legal restrictions, some punks rejected the use of drugs. The Washington, D.C., straight-edge scene, opposed to drinking, drugs, and casual sex, developed alongside the refusal of clubowners to let underage kids into shows. As a compromise, underage kids were allowed in but were marked with X’s on their hands to signify that they couldn’t buy alcohol. The kids took this would-be stigma and turned it into a symbol of positive self-identification.

Punk identity has been strengthened by the social networks that developed to organize concerts, start zines, and spread ideas. Bands and fans established ties across the country (as well as through much of the world) through which they could share common interests, book shows, or find a needed place to sleep. Many punk musicians, ignored by major record labels, produced their own music on independent labels like Dischord, SST, Touch and Go, and SubPop. Punk was particularly critical of the rock and roll establishment. While rock began as a non-conformist youth culture, punks voiced opposition to the cult of rock stardom and the large stadium concerts that clearly separate the audience from musicians. Punk, by contrast, is premised on the idea that anyone can start a band. Punks have also been critical of major record labels and large-scale industry in general and espoused a “Do-It-Yourself” (D.I.Y.) philosophy that emphasizes independent actions and personal creativity.

Centered around punk rock music, the punk movement was an important development in the youth culture of the late 1970s and it remained an identifiable element in youth culture in the late 1990s. Punk was unique for its aggressive and fast musical style, its purposefully shocking visual impact, and its ideological emphasis on chaos, nonconformity, and radical criticism. Punk rock developed as an ideological, musical, and stylistic critique of modern society, and while it is a movement that may be self-limiting in its effectiveness in



reaching out to other groups, it has nonetheless had a powerful influence on youth cultures, in particular the emergence of alternative rock and grunge.

—Perry Grossman

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## Pynchon, Thomas (1937—)

Though a difficult literary author who has written only five novels in 35 years, Thomas Pynchon has remained a figure who has captured the imagination of a wider public and has avoided the academic and literary communities who revere him. His use of popular culture in his fiction, along with other such "unliterary" subjects as science, have had a highly influential effect on modern fiction. Pynchon, however, is also known to many who have never read his work as an author who has maintained an unheard of level of anonymity in a society that thrives on self-promotion.

Thomas Pynchon was born on May 8, 1937 in Glen Cove, Long Island, New York, into a prosperous family with an American heritage dating back to the early seventeenth century. He studied at Cornell University, served a two-year stint in the Navy, and worked in Seattle for Boeing Aircraft Corporation. From the late 1950s to the early 1960s he published a number of short stories and began work on his first novel, *V.*, published in 1963. *The Crying of Lot 49* was published in 1966 and when *Gravity's Rainbow* came out in 1973, it was selected by the judges for the Pulitzer Prize in literature. They were overruled, however, by the Pulitzer advisory board whose members called the sprawling and bawdy book, with a cast of over 400 characters, "unreadable," "turgid," "overwritten," and "obscene." In 1990 the much awaited *Vineland* came out to mixed reviews but the reception of *Mason & Dixon* (1997) appeared to be more positive.

Pynchon's work has received wide acclaim amongst the literary media and the academic fraternity, but also amongst readers outside these fields drawn towards his use of science and philosophy and his utilization of science fiction and other popular genres. Over his career, his very dense, extensively researched prose has taken him

across many periods and many places, studying the motivation and circumstances behind the excesses of empire and the forces of institution and rationalization at the center of Western society. Pynchon uses the "languages" of popular fiction, comics, cinema, and television. *V.* is obviously influenced by the British tradition of spy and adventure fiction, *The Crying of Lot 49* by the detective novel, *Gravity's Rainbow* by spy and war fiction—not to mention a plethora of cinema genres and the comic—and *Vineland* is laced with metaphors surrounding rerun television— from *The Brady Bunch* to *CHiPs*—and the blockbuster movies of the age like the *Star Wars* trilogy. Even *Mason & Dixon* is partly a product of the genre of historical romance. Pynchon utilizes codes, knowledge, and language to both show their worth and to show that anything with a structure can be integrated into rationalized and institutionalized control in order to manipulate and exploit. Ironically, nowhere is this more clear than in the academic reception to his work, where interpreting his wide frames of reference has become an industry in itself.

Although Pynchon may be relatively unread compared to some of the popular writers he adapts in his own writing, he has a broader presence in the popular imagination. Since successfully avoiding a *Time* photographer attempting to take his picture in Mexico in 1963, Pynchon has become famous for maintaining his privacy. In the years following the success of *Gravity's Rainbow*, Pynchon avoided television interviews, lecture tours, and literary prize ceremonies (even when he won prizes); any knowledge of his whereabouts became increasingly valuable and scarce. It was considered something of a scoop in 1974 when *New York* magazine was able to show a 20-year-old photo. *Playboy* magazine printed an article in 1977 by a friend of Pynchon's from Cornell and over the years various magazines and newspapers have run articles by individuals who have run into Pynchon: from reporters attempting to track him down to pundits peddling theories he is anyone from J. D. Salinger to the Unabomber. In the 1980s a series of letters purported to be written by Pynchon in the guise of a local bag-lady appeared in a northern Californian newspaper and were collected in 1996 under the title *The Letters of Wanda Tinasky*. Also in 1996, *New York* magazine finally tracked Pynchon down to a salubrious section of Manhattan and produced a fresh photograph of him for the first time in over 40 years. The magazine chose to print a picture that only showed Pynchon from the back, but, inevitably, the novelist's photo was finally taken by a reporter for the *New York Times* in June 1997. Add to this the number of professional and informative web sites that Pynchon has engendered—carrying both information on all the media says of Pynchon as well as attempting to detail and decipher his work—and the writer appears more a phenomenon than a mere novelist. Clearly, his mixture of intellectual extravagance and biographical frugality has created a fascinated audience larger than his prose alone could muster.

The ability to blend subject matters from so-called "high art" and "low culture," science and literature, and contemporary politics and history, may today almost appear a necessity in the budding "great novelist." Pynchon, however, has been doing this for the last 40 years while maintaining a political agenda that denounces empire and slavery in all its racial, economic, and political manifestations. His maintenance of his privacy is probably both a personal matter and a reflection of his distrust of authority, patently obvious in all his work. Whatever the reasons, Pynchon's wariness of creating a public persona has inadvertently created one for him: a much more intriguing one than most media-friendly writers have achieved.

—Kyle Smith

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# Q

## Quayle, Dan (1947—)

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Forty-fourth U.S. vice president John Danforth Quayle was a figure of mild controversy from the time he was announced as running mate through his 1989-1993 term with President George Bush. On the summer day in 1988 when Republican presidential nominee Bush declared his choice for a running mate, it was difficult to assess who was more surprised—the journalists covering the convention, Bush’s advisors, or the junior senator from Indiana himself.

Quayle was a graduate of DePauw University and Indiana University Law School. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1976 with a campaign emphasizing conservative issues and was reelected in 1978. He was elected to the Senate in 1980, reelected in 1986, and was identified as a spokesman for the New Right wing of the conservative movement. He had married Marilyn Tucker in 1972 and was the father of three children.

Bush selected Quayle as a running mate for several reasons: it was thought that Quayle, who bore a slight resemblance to actor Robert Redford, might help Bush with the “gender gap” the polls were warning him about—Bush was far more popular among men than women; further, Quayle was politically to the right of the moderate Bush, and his selection might help to reassure conservative Republicans, who had never found Bush a kindred spirit; Quayle also

provided the geographic balance that the ticket needed—Bush had roots in both the Northeast and Southwest, and believed that some connection to the Midwest would be helpful in the election; in addition, Quayle was part of the “baby boomer” generation, and Bush advisor Lee Atwater was convinced that this group would prove crucial to the campaign.

Upon being introduced as Bush’s choice for a running mate, Quayle was immediately the subject of a media feeding frenzy. As with most modern conventions, the Republican National Convention of 1988 was dull; Bush’s nomination had been a foregone conclusion for months, leaving the assembled journalists with little of consequence to cover—until Bush gave them Dan Quayle. The Indiana senator was not well known outside his home state, but the reporters made up for lost time quickly. Quayle’s life and record were under the national media microscope within hours, and it did not take long for the blemishes to appear.

There was Quayle’s academic record, for example. Professors at DePauw remembered Quayle as an indifferent student, more interested in golf and fraternity life than his political science courses. There was also a story about a golfing trip that Quayle had taken to Florida a few years earlier. He had stayed at a rented house with two other men and Paula Parkinson, a beautiful Washington lobbyist of reputedly easy virtue. But most damaging was the account of Quayle’s military service. A strong supporter of U.S. involvement in Vietnam, Quayle had nonetheless joined the Indiana National Guard instead of a unit more likely to see combat. Further, some said that Quayle’s influential family had pulled strings to get him into the guard ahead of other applicants.

Unused to the national spotlight, Quayle became flustered easily and tended to be sloppy about details, sometimes contradicting himself from one interview to the next. Bush’s staff helped Quayle work out acceptable answers to the questions about his grades, marital fidelity, and patriotism, but considerable damage had already been done to the young senator’s credibility. Many people, both in the news media and among the public, had developed the impression that Quayle was an intellectual lightweight who had benefited greatly from his family’s money and connections. Privately, there were some in the Bush camp who shared that assessment, but Bush’s choice had been made, so damage control became the order of the day. It was decided that Quayle would spend most of the campaign in small towns, away from the major media markets and among audiences who shared his conservative values. This strategy worked well, but it could not protect Quayle from the national exposure of a debate between himself and the Democrats’ vice presidential candidate, Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas. Quayle worked hard in preparation for the debate, and he committed no major gaffes, but he appeared nervous, and did, at one point, give Bentsen an opening for a devastating retort. In response to a question about his limited experience in the U.S. Senate, Quayle compared his term of service with John F. Kennedy’s. Bentsen, in response, shook his head, saying, “I knew Jack Kennedy. I served with him in the Senate. Jack Kennedy was a friend of mine.” Then, with a scornful look at Quayle, he concluded, “Senator, you’re no Jack Kennedy.”

Quayle may be said to have had the last laugh, since he and Bush were elected. But, election results notwithstanding, Quayle had become a national joke. He was a favorite topic in the nightly



Dan Quayle

monologues delivered by Johnny Carson, David Letterman, and others (example: “Have you heard about the new Dan Quayle savings bond? It has no interest and no maturity”). Unfortunately for Quayle, he was often his own worst enemy. While it must be admitted that a mistake by Quayle received more media attention than a slip by other public figures, Quayle managed to misspeak on a regular basis. It was even possible to buy videotapes containing footage of the vice president’s flubs.

During the 1992 campaign, Quayle staked out a position on the “family values” issue by publicly criticizing the TV series *Murphy Brown*, in which the lead character, played by Candice Bergen, had a baby out of wedlock. “Fathers are important,” Quayle declared, “and shows like *Murphy Brown* are sending the wrong message.” But Quayle’s ethos was such that few were inclined to take him seriously. A few nights later, David Letterman described the controversy, then sneered to the camera, “Vice President Quayle, sir, *Murphy Brown* is a fictional character!” When the new season of *Murphy Brown* began a few months later, the entire first episode was devoted to making fun of Quayle.

As the 1992 political race became tighter, Bush considered asking Quayle to step down but decided against it for fear of appearing unappreciative of Quayle’s loyalty. The Bush-Quayle ticket lost to Clinton-Gore, and Quayle disappeared from the lime-light. He continued to act as a spokesman for conservative issues and published his book *Standing Firm* in 1994. In the late 1990s, Quayle indicated a desire to run for president in the 2000 election.

—Justin Gustainis

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## Queen, Ellery

The pseudonym of writers Manfred B. Lee (1905-1971) and his cousin Frederic Dannay (1905-1982), and the name of the main character of their popular mystery novel series, Ellery Queen was probably the most popular American mystery novelist of the Golden Era of detective fiction, from the 1920s to the 1940s. The cousins (particularly Dannay) also did much to preserve and promote the mystery short-story form. They produced the long-running *Ellery Queen’s Mystery Magazine*, edited short story anthologies that promoted short fiction as a viable mystery vehicle, and avidly collected short-form mystery fiction. As fellow mystery writer Anthony Boucher is often quoted as saying, “Ellery Queen is the American Detective Novel.”

The cousins grew up together in New York and tried their hands at various careers in adulthood. In the late 1920s, Lee and Dannay (real names Manford Lepofsky and Daniel Nathan) decided to try writing a mystery novel in response to a contest cosponsored by

*McClure’s* magazine and Frederick A. Stokes’s Publishing. They chose the name Ellery Queen for their author and, reasoning that mystery readers are better at remembering the names of characters than names of authors, they decided to give their detective the same name. They submitted their story and were told they had won the contest, but the magazine went bankrupt and changed hands, after which the prize was awarded to someone else. Stokes still wanted to publish the book, however, and *The Roman Hat Mystery* (1929) was the first Ellery Queen novel. Queen’s career is often divided into three distinct periods: 1929-1935, 1936-1941, and 1942-1970. This first period is notable for titles that all follow the same formula—“The Adjective-of-Nationality Noun Mystery”—such as *The Chinese Orange Mystery*.

After several successful Queen novels, the cousins decided to create another character and pseudonym, and the Barnaby Ross series was born. The detective in this series was a deaf former Shakespearean actor named Drury Lane. This series survived through four books, the first of which was *The Tragedy of X*.

In 1939 they launched the first Ellery Queen radio series. The Queen mystery shows became a popular fixture on the radio and, subsequently, three different television series were produced from 1950-1959, none very successfully. More recently, a critically acclaimed series starring Jim Hutton premiered in 1975. Unfortunately, the ratings were not good and the show was canceled. The show’s producers later had more success as the creators of the long-running show, *Murder, She Wrote*, starring Angela Lansbury.

Queen was not any more successful as a motion picture character. There were several Ellery Queen films beginning in 1935 and continuing with a series of films in the 1940s, starring Ralph Bellamy as Ellery. Other motion pictures were made in the 1960s and 1970s, all of them forgettable. None of the films were very good, although the Bellamy series did have a following.

In 1938 Dannay started *Challenge to the Reader*, the first of many anthologies edited as Ellery Queen. In 1941 *Ellery Queen’s Mystery Magazine* was launched and it remains the most successful magazine of its type. Also in 1941, Dannay published the anthology, *101 Year’s Entertainment*, considered as the definitive anthology of short mystery fiction of its time. Dannay was principally responsible for the magazine and the anthologies while Lee devoted more of his time to the radio show.

The cousins were also among the founding members of the Mystery Writers of America, the organization that annually presents the Edgar Allan Poe awards. They themselves won Edgars in 1945 for Best Radio Play, in 1947 and 1959 for Best Short Story, and in 1960 they were given the Grand Master Award.

Ellery Queen continued to produce novels and short stories throughout the 1950s and 1960s, with the last book, *The Last Woman in His Life*, appearing in 1970. Manfred Lee died in 1971 and Dannay briefly considered continuing with the series with another writing partner, but he later rejected the idea. Dannay did, however continue to produce anthologies and personally edited the magazine until his death in 1982.

Ellery Queen novels are still widely read by fans of older mystery fiction and certainly influenced many mystery writers of today. However, it is probably from the *Ellery Queen Mystery Magazine* that most people recognize the name. The magazine continues to be the most popular and enduring of its kind and is considered a valuable training ground for future mystery novelists.

—Jill A. Gregg

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## Queen for a Day

*Queen for a Day*, a popular afternoon network television program from 1955 to 1964, originated on radio in 1945. Running five days a week, this program featured five women chosen from a studio audience who competed by presenting their hard-luck stories so as to persuade the audience that each was in the most dire straits. The audience selected the “queen” for each day by applause that was recorded on an applausimeter. The winner was adorned with a sable-collared velvet robe, given a scepter, and crowned by the host, Jack Bailey, who loudly proclaimed “I now pronounce you Queen for a Day!” The queen was then showered with an array of prizes such as appliances, furs, and jewelry—all donated by the show’s sponsors in exchange for commercial consideration.

With its obvious Cinderella fantasy, this show added a royal twist to the rags-to-riches myth linked to the American Dream. The show’s producers encouraged this comparison by using an opening format in which Bailey pointed at the camera and yelled: “Would you



The host of *Queen for a Day*, Jack Bailey, receives a manicure from Jeanne Cagney.

like to be queen for a day?,” to which the audience would respond with a resounding “Yes!”

First broadcast on NBC Radio in 1945, with Dud Williamson as the original host, the program moved to NBC Television in 1955. In 1960 it moved to ABC Television where it remained until its demise in 1964. Expanded from 30 to 45 minutes during its peak years of 1955-56, the show reached a daily audience of about 13 million and commanded advertising rates of \$4,000 per commercial minute. Its longevity of almost 20 years attests to the show’s popularity with the mass audiences of both radio and television. Since *Queen for a Day* was a live show, only a few kinescope recordings remain as historical records of the program.

*Queen for a Day* was frequently described by critics as a vulgar exploitation of the helpless female contestants’ miserable conditions sandwiched in between commercial advertising. They pointed out that the show excluded unattractive or inarticulate women, or contestants who needed more assistance than brand-name merchandise could provide, such as legal or medical counseling. The program was also criticized for rewarding the losers with minor consolation prizes such as hosiery or toasters (also brand-name, of course). “Sure, *Queen* was vulgar and sleazy and filled with bathos and bad taste,” former producer Howard Blake wrote in 1966, as quoted in the *New York Times Encyclopedia of Television*. “That was why it was so successful. It was exactly what the general public wanted.”

In answering the critics who pointed to the women as victims of a sleazy entertainment production, Blake’s retort cynically reflects on the American consumerism of the 1950s, as quoted in *The Ultimate Television Book*:

Everybody was on the make—we on the show, NBC and later ABC, the sponsors and the suppliers of gifts. And how about all the down-on-their-luck women who we used to further our money-grubbing ends? Weren’t they all on the make? Weren’t they all after something for anything? Weren’t they willing to wash their dirty linen on coast-to-coast TV for a chance at big money, for a chance to ride in our chauffeured Cadillac for the free tour of Disneyland and the Hollywood nightclubs? What about one of the most common wishes they turned in? ‘I’d like to pay back my mother for all the wonderful things she’s done for me.’ The women who made that wish didn’t want to pay back their mothers at all. They wanted *us* to.

—Mary Lou Nemanic

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## Queen Latifah (1970?—)

Like most realms of mass media, the popular music industry has been historically dominated by men. Rap, the urban music style that developed in the late 1970s, has been characterized as particularly male-defined, with lyrics dedicated to bravado and pleasure derived from the treatment of women as commodities and sexual objects. Though women have always had a presence within the rap and hip-hop culture, it was Queen Latifah who brought women from the sidelines into the limelight.

Queen Latifah, who was born Dana Owens, began her musical career in East Orange, New Jersey, where she performed in high school with a group called Ladies Fresh. Soon after she began her solo career, she rocketed to the top, becoming the first female solo artist to have a gold record. Her musical style is often described as combining elements of hip-hop, jazz, house, and reggae. Queen Latifah's first album, *All Hail the Queen* (1989), showcased her talents as a rap artist with which to be reckoned. Previously, women in rap were considered novelty acts and were not taken very seriously, especially on the East Coast; the style and content of rap articulated issues of oppression, racism, economics, lack of adequate access to the legal and medical systems, inadequate public education, and the need for revolution on all fronts. Queen Latifah added to the mix by noting something not discussed in the lyrics of her male counterparts: sexism.

In some sense Queen Latifah's persona can be described as androgynous, for it combines both masculine and feminine traits. Her



Queen Latifah

chosen moniker, Latifah, which means delicate or sensitive in Arabic, almost contradicts the music she performs as a woman who is strong, independent, ready to challenge any rapper, male or female, while still mainlining her womanhood. On her first album, which was nominated for a Grammy, is a track which critics have called hip-hop's first "womanist anthem." Titled "Ladies First," the song, in a call-and-response pattern performed along with British female rapper Monie Love, clearly challenges sexism in the rap music world: "Some think that we can't flow / Stereotypes they got to go / I'm gonna mess around and flip the scene into reverse / With what? / With a little touch of ladies first."

Queen Latifah has continued her pro-woman stance throughout her career, releasing a single in 1996 that would surpass that first anthem—"U.N.I.T.Y." In this song she tackles issues of sexism that divide the African-American community along gender lines: domestic violence, sexual harassment, and a lack of respect for women.

As the influence of rap and hip-hop culture expanded to other forms of popular culture, Queen Latifah began applying her talents to film and television. As an actress she has appeared in films such as *Jungle Fever* (1991), *House Party II* (1991), and *Juice* (1992). On television she starred on the Fox series *Living Single*, a popular show that countered many African-American stereotypes. She was recognized for her acting talent in the film *Set It Off* (1996) by the Indie Spirit Awards. Her portrayal of Cleo was a daring one, for it was one of the first overt constructions of an African-American lesbian in a big-budget Hollywood production. Queen Latifah has set many precedents in contemporary popular culture, and she continues to influence its changing landscape. In order to make a further impact on that landscape, she formed her own company—Flava Unit—which serves to discover and represent new artists and also functions as a full-fledged record label.

## Queer Nation

Formed in March 1990, Queer Nation is an activist organization founded in New York City by four men, all of whom had been victims of anti-gay violence. Its goal was to be a grass-roots, direct-action response to the invisibility of homosexuality in American culture and expressions of homophobic prejudice, using tactics proven effective by the AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP). It espoused the idea of "outing" persons whose homosexuality was not public knowledge, a concept whose radical nature drew objections from more moderate gay rights organizations. Even its name reflected a defiantly marginal identity, reclaiming a common epithet and reworking it into a newly proud badge, most visible in its trademark slogan of "We're here, we're queer, get used to it."

—Robert Ridinger

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## Quiz Show Scandals

In 1958, while television was still in its infancy, Americans were still innocent about the medium's predilection to sacrifice veracity in favor of entertainment. That year, a series of revelations about the fixing of television quiz shows shook the confidence of viewers. The shows had big money, high ratings, and were subject to the whims of sponsors; these aspects combined to corrupt the quiz shows. The more charismatic and telegenic contestants were supplied with answers, while others were told to miss questions intentionally. Shows were so scripted that producers told contestants when to wring their hands, or mop their brow. A series of tie games was often fabricated as a way to build suspense and keep viewers tuning in each week. Contestants, enamored with their newfound fame and prize money, were more than willing to go along with the charade. Finally, a series of revelations in the press from disgruntled former contestants led to a congressional investigation the next year. The rigged contests marred an otherwise innocent era in America, prefiguring the large-scale lies that would surround Vietnam and Watergate.

The most popular of the quiz shows, *\$64,000 Question*, was modeled after its radio predecessor, *The \$64 Question*. *The \$64,000 Question* appeared in 1955, after a 1954 Supreme Court ruling paved the way for high-stakes quiz shows by eliminating jackpot-type quizzes from the category of gambling. However, no specific laws existed to regulate television game shows in the wake of the high court's ruling. The shows were immediately and wildly popular: in August, 1955, approximately 47 million viewers tuned into watch *The \$64,000 Question*.

Americans watched these shows because of the big prize money, and their "spontaneous" nature. The prosperity of the 1950s gave rise to the American Dream, as Americans sought to acquire the material goods, homes, and good-paying jobs that were denied to their Depression-era parents. The quiz shows were a reflection of the new materialism. The 1957-58 season featured 22 network quiz shows, broadcast live and mainly during prime time. The most popular shows were those that featured contestants competing for unlimited cash prizes. Some contestants amassed winnings of over \$100,000, a large sum for the pre-inflationary dollar. Contestants included future celebrities like television actress Patty Duke, and popular psychologist Dr. Joyce Brothers. Picked by producers to fail, Brothers beat the system by studying so extensively that she won her prize money legitimately.

One former contestant, Antoinette DuBarry Hillman, described a typical screening session which the producers of *Dotto* used to coach contestants. At the time the highest-rated daytime quiz show, *Dotto* required players to answer questions and then identify a puzzle in which drawings of famous people were gradually revealed. In Kent Anderson's *Television Fraud*, Hillman recalled:

Actually the first day I was on the show (the screener) asked me in the preliminary thing how I would recognize Victor Borge. . . . Then when I got on the show and was answering the questions, I got my first clue (for the emerging dot connections) and it was Danish. I didn't think much about that. Then the second clue was a musician. How many Danish musicians do you know? . . . Finally I had to give in and say Victor Borge. I was right and I won. When I went off stage I popped over to Mr. Green (the screener) and started to thank him, and he said hush, hush, hush.

In his defense, Edward Jurist, the producer of *Dotto*, complained that the world of information was so vast that "you cannot ask random questions of people and have a show. You simply have failure, failure, failure, and that does not make for entertainment."

One major flaw with the quiz shows was that they were created around one sponsor. Companies would act as the show's sole advertiser, and used this to their advantage by exerting its influence on the show's production. The stakes involving the quiz shows were as high for the networks and sponsors as they were presumably for the contestants. For instance, *Twenty-One*'s sponsor, Geritol, advertised as "a relief for tired blood," saw annual sales jump by an average of \$3 million a year during the years 1957 and 1958, when the show was being televised. After the scandal erupted, and *Twenty-One* was canceled, Geritol's sales fell back to pre-quiz show levels.

*Twenty-One*, one of the most popular of the quiz shows, featured two competitors in isolation booths who were required to answer questions on any given topic. Questions were rated by difficulty from 1 to 11. The first contestant to reach a score of 21 without a tie won, and players' scores were concealed from each other until one of them reached 21. The show was not immediately popular after its debut on September 12, 1956, and the show's producers, Jack Berry and Dan Enright, were under pressure to improve its ratings. "Twenty-One," writes Walter Karp, "needed talking encyclopedias and human almanacs." The knowledge required was so broad and expert that initial contests ended in 0-0 ties.

*Twenty-One* recruited Herbert Stempel, a short, awkward New Yorker from Forrest Hills who had a photographic memory, to represent the underdog figure of the "average man." Viewers soon began watching to see if he could continue winning for one more week. Despite his considerable knowledge, Stempel was enlisted to help fix the show. Stempel was told how to dress, how to get his haircut, and was rehearsed with questions that would appear on-air. In his testimony to Congress in 1959, Stempel stated that producer Enright visited him at home to go through questions and answers. "After having done this," Stempel attested, "he very, very bluntly sat back and said with a smile, 'How would you like to win \$25,000?' I had been a poor boy all my life, and I was sort of overjoyed."

However, Stempel was not a photogenic man; viewers could see him visibly sweating during the telecast. Geritol felt that Stempel was not the right image, and new contestants were sought in order to attract bigger audiences. Enter Charles Van Doren, an instructor at Columbia University, whose father, Mark Van Doren, was a Pulitzer Prize-winning poet. Charles possessed a cool, WASP-like detachment, and was attractive as well: "He was very American," writes Joseph Epstein, who knew Van Doren. "He looked as if he could have played on our Davis Cup tennis team. . . . Mothers, it was said, saw him as the answer to Elvis Presley." The antipodal contestants played a series of staged ties that delivered big ratings, until Stempel was told by producers to take a dive, giving the wrong response to a question to which he genuinely knew the correct answer. Van Doren continued as reigning champion for 15 weeks.

For his part, Van Doren was told that the riggings were common practice and that the shows were mere entertainment. Karp quotes Van Doren's statement that producer Al Freedman convinced him with "the fact that by appearing on a nationally televised program, I would be doing a great service to the intellectual life, to teachers and to education in general, by increasing public respect for the work of the mind through my performances."

Stempel had grown accustomed to minor celebrity status, and felt betrayed by Enright, who in turn, considered Stempel to be an

ingrate. The disgruntled contestant took his “defeat” in hard fashion and began seeing a psychiatrist. Stempel tried to tell anybody he could about the fraud, including the newspapers, who were reluctant to print his charges, fearing a libel suit. Enright produced a statement, signed by Stempel, that denied he had been coached in any way while on the program. Stempel was trying to get anyone to listen to his story; meanwhile his nemesis, Van Doren, was being featured on the covers of *Life* and *Time*.

Stempel was not the only former contestant to come forward. One of them, the Reverend Charles E. “Stoney” Jackson, Jr., was an unwitting participant in the frauds. After going public with his charges, the Reverend Jackson discovered that the quiz shows were too popular, for he could not even convince his own congregation of the shows’ misdeeds. Another contestant on *Dotto*, Edward Hilgemeier, Jr., produced a page from a winner’s crib sheet. Hilgemeier refused the initial \$500 settlement from the show, which then accused him of trying to blackmail the network. Eventually, a reporter convinced him to accept any form of hush money in order to obtain evidence of the show’s corruption. Hilgemeier assented, and left a copy of his affidavit to the Federal Communications Commission at Colgate-Palmolive, *Dotto*’s sponsor. Rumors began appearing in print of the quiz show’s misdeeds, and *Dotto* was canceled on August 15, 1958.

Reaction to the revelations was disbelief. As early as April 1957, magazines like *Look* believed the shows were controlled by selecting more or less difficult questions, but “no TV quiz shows are fixed in the sense of being dishonest.” Of three polls that appeared shortly after the revelations, the most emphatic response was from the 65 percent who answered in the affirmative to the following statement: “These practices are very wrong and should be stopped immediately, but you can’t condemn all of television because of them.” Americans liked their new TV sets, and weren’t going to let one segment of programming taint the overall “experience” of watching television. Some were more alarmed by the public’s apathy, or cynicism, than they were by the fixed shows. In the end, the cynicism on the part of Americans may have been justified, since the only people who were legally punished were contestants and not the shows’ producers.

The New York District Attorney’s office announced its investigation of *Dotto* on August 25, 1958. Three days later, two New York newspapers published Stempel’s allegations, which were once considered to be the products of a hysterical, raving maniac. Enright produced a tape of a conversation between himself and Stempel that included revelations of Stempel’s receiving psychiatric help, and his gambling debts to a bookmaker. Stempel claimed that part of the tape was altered. Then, after nine months of testimony, the grand jury’s report was expunged by the presiding judge “to protect the dubious reputations of the not-so-innocent.” Anderson quotes District Attorney Frank Hogan in 1959 as saying that:

The very essence of the quiz program’s appeal lies in its implied representation of honesty. Were it generally understood that these programs do not present honest tests of the contestants’ knowledge and intellectual skills, they would be utterly ineffectual in acquiring the public’s “time.”

In July of 1959, Oren Harris (D-Arkansas) announced a House investigation committee, which convened on October 6. Freedman boasted before the committee that not one of the 20 contestants singled out for collaboration had refused. Former *Twenty-One* contestant James Snodgrass produced letters that he sent to himself by

registered mail. Snodgrass’s letters correctly predicted the outcome of the televised proceedings: “According to the plan I am to miss the first question, specifically the lines by Emily Dickinson. I’ve been told to answer Ralph Waldo Emerson. I have decided not to ‘take the fall’ but to answer the question correctly.” It was also revealed that, of the 150 witnesses called before the grand jury, 100 of them committed perjury under oath. According to Epstein, when it was suggested to the committee that Van Doren—who by his own testimony was the “principal symbol” of the corruption—be spared the exposure of testifying, one member replied, “It would be like playing Hamlet without Hamlet.”

In response, the networks swiftly canceled the quiz shows during the 1958-59 season. Van Doren lost his job as an assistant professor. President Eisenhower signed a bill in 1960 that declared illegal any contest or game with intent to deceive the audience. People in television began working to get the networks to acquire or produce their programs *before* lining up advertisers. The lasting effects on the quiz shows was a change within their fundamental nature. They returned to television as “game shows,” free from any negative associations with the old shows. The overall effect of the scandals, writes Olaf Hoerschelmann, was that they:

undermined the legitimacy of high cultural values that quiz shows—the term and the genre—embodied. Thus, the new name, “game shows,” removed the genre from certain cultural assumptions and instead created associations with the less sensitive concepts of play and leisure.

Thirty years after the scandal, game shows were more likely to present contests with questions requiring everyday knowledge, rather than expert knowledge.

The quiz show scandals have been used to interpret, with varying degrees of plausibility, the downfall of innocence in America. They have been blamed for laying the groundwork for future deceptions involving Vietnam and Watergate. Others saw the scandals as a precursor to the 1960 Nixon/Kennedy presidential debates, in which the telegenic man (Kennedy) wins again. In essence, this is a discussion about Americans’ naivete towards a new medium, not the complete shakedown of their innocence; it is dubious as to whether there was an innocence in the first place. Breathless assertions that Van Doren’s televised intellectual ability was the American answer to Soviet Russia’s Sputnik launch show that people made far too much out of the quiz shows during their broadcast.

The view from the 1990s, as expressed by John Leo, is that the Van Doren/Stempel pairing exploited stereotypes of class and race, by featuring “the elegant high WASP from a family of famous scholars versus the underachieving and volatile Jewish nerd from Queens.” *Quiz Show*, the 1994 movie directed by Robert Redford, successfully highlighted this angle. However, the movie’s docudrama presentation yielded to making changes of fact in order to enhance dramatic effect. The movie ignored the newspapers, the district attorney, and the grand jury by making bureaucrat Richard Goodwin the singular force behind the exposure of Van Doren. Although widely regarded as a well-made movie, the irony had come full circle: television, represented by *Los Angeles Times*’ TV critic Howard Rosenberg, got to stand on the high moral ground for a change. “How ironic,” the *U.S. News & World Report* quotes Rosenberg, “that a movie so judgmental about the TV industry’s dishonesty in the 1950s



should itself play so fast and loose with the truth for the sake of putting on a good show.”

Television’s “high ground” is still not solid. One of the reasons the quiz show scandals remain instructive is because television retains the use of deception: it routinely employs the use of dramatic reenactments of crimes, talk-show guests who are rehearsed before tapings, and staged consumer-product safety tests. In the beginning, people believed that television was inherently trustworthy and factual. The quiz shows shattered such beliefs, and showed that television was fictional, engineered, and manipulative, rather than innocent or natural. This is perhaps the longest-lasting effect of the quiz show scandals upon television: they at once uncovered and reinforced the notion that television was solely designed to entertain. Any subsequent successful television show that is inventive, creative, or educational *and* entertaining is regarded as a curious anomaly.

—Daryl Umberger

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## Race Music

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Prior to the emergence of rhythm & blues as a musical genre in the 1940s, “race music” and “race records” were terms used to categorize practically all types of African-American music. Race records were the first examples of popular music recorded by and marketed to black Americans. Reflecting the segregated status of American society and culture, race records were separate catalogs of African-American music. Prior to the 1940s, African Americans were scarcely represented on radio, and live performances were largely limited to segregated venues. Race music and records, therefore, were also the primary medium for African-American musical expression during the 1920s and 1930s; an estimated 15,000 titles were released on race records—approximately 10,000 blues, 3,250 jazz, and 1,750 gospel songs were produced during those years. Race records are significant historical documents of early-twentieth-century African American music and have been and remain influential to artists, audiences, and scholars alike. Most twentieth-century white, popular music—especially rock ‘n’ roll and country—has roots in race music, in particular jazz, swing, and blues.

The terms “race music” and “race records” had conflicting meanings. In one respect, they were indicative of segregation in the 1920s. Race records were separated from the recordings of white musicians, records solely because of the race of the artists. On the other hand, the terms represented an emerging awareness by the recording industry of African-American audiences. The term “race” was not pejorative; in fact “race was symbolic of black pride, militancy, and solidarity in the 1920s, and it was generally favored over colored or Negro by African-American city dwellers,” noted scholar William Barlow in “Cashing In: 1900-1939.” The term “race records” first appeared in the *Chicago Defender*, an African-American newspaper, within an Okeh advertisement in 1922.

Race music and records resulted from the concentrated commercialization of American popular music beginning in the early twentieth century. In 1920 Mamie Smith, a female African American singer little known outside of vaudeville, recorded the song “Crazy Blues” for the small Okeh record label. The record unexpectedly sold over 100,000 copies by the end of the year and turned the nascent recording industry’s attention to African-American artists and audiences. The early 1920s were a period of declining revenues for the recording industry, and race records emerged in part as a way of expanding the consumer market for recorded music. The two dominant record companies, Victor and Columbia, had seen their status erode dramatically. Victor’s sales had fallen from \$51 million, and Columbia’s sales had declined from \$7 million to \$4.5 million in the period of 1921 to 1925. The combined impact of radio and competition from new labels were catalysts for the emergence of race records. The onset of commercial radio broadcasts in the early 1920s impacted the recording industry’s dominant position as the gatekeeper of recorded music. Prior to a lawsuit in 1919, the two dominant recording companies controlled the patents for phonograph record production. Following this lawsuit, however, the industry was opened to competition. Many of the new record labels that emerged, such as Okeh, Paramount, and Gennett, would be instrumental in the development and production of race records.

The production of race records was a more profitable endeavor than the recording of white artists. As in other endeavors, African-American artists were paid less than their white counterparts for recording sessions and were often exploited. Artists’ ignorance of copyright law, and the lack of an independent accounting body to track sales, allowed industry personnel to grossly underpay or waive royalty monies. Bessie Smith, “the queen of the blues,” recorded over 160 songs for Columbia and never received royalty payments in the ten years she recorded for the company. Folk blues artists, such as Blind Lemon Jefferson and Son House, were also more profitable to record because their songs could be copyrighted. Unlike their urban peers, folk blues artists’ songs generally had not been published, thus record companies could make money off the published songs in addition to sales of records. Once published, songs became commodities and any future recordings would result in royalty payments to the publisher. This practice has remained widespread throughout the twentieth century.

With few exceptions, the labels that produced race records were white-owned and—controlled. One significant exception was Black Swan, formed in 1921 by Harry Pace, W.C. Handy’s former partner, as a division of Pace Phonography. Musician and arranger Fletcher Henderson was retained as musical director and recording manager. In 1924, largely due to a lack of sustained financial success, Black Swan sold its catalog to Paramount. Paramount also had a connection to the other major African American-owned label of this time, Black Patti. Black Patti was started in 1927 by J. “Mayo” Williams, an African American who was recording director for the Paramount label. While employed there Williams started the label with money from disgruntled Paramount vice president E.J. Barrett and Richard Gennett, brother of Gennett Records owner Harry Gennett. After releasing approximately 50 records, Black Patti folded in less than a year. Other African American-owned labels include Sunshine and Merritt. Overall, the race labels constituted a small minority in the context of race record production during this period which was dominated by white-owned businesses. Segregation and racism, combined with only fleeting access to capital, technology, and distribution—which were almost exclusively controlled by whites—placed the African-American labels at a disadvantage and ultimately contributed to their quick demise.

Race music and records in the 1920s were characterized by the popularity of two significant genres of music and the dominance of three race record labels. In particular, jazz and blues became part of the American musical idiom in the 1920s, popularized in large part through recordings released on Columbia, Paramount, and Okeh. Jazz, the dominant American indigenous popular music, emerged from the New Orleans area to become national, and eventually international, in popularity and practice. For example, Joe “King” Oliver was a seminal figure in jazz, and his band featured Louis Armstrong. Oliver’s Creole Jazz Band came out of New Orleans and was a mainstay in several Chicago clubs; the group recorded some of the earliest and most influential jazz records for the Gennett label. Likewise, Jelly Roll Morton, an influential pianist from New Orleans, recorded groundbreaking songs for the Gennett label.

The blues emerged from diverse regions of the American South and Southwest and had urban and rural progenitors. In the urban North, the vaudeville blues became popular in the early 1920s,

especially following the success of Mamie Smith's 1920 recording. Female blues artists in particular were quite successful during the early 1920s. Artists such as Alberta Hunter, who recorded for Paramount, and Sean Martin, who recorded for OKeh, had a large following through their recordings. The folk blues, with origins in the rural South, became popular in the latter half of the 1920s. Artists such as Texan Blind Lemon Jefferson, who recorded 75 songs for Paramount between 1926 and 1930, were popular with audiences and would influence later generations of blues artists. Other folk blues artists of note who recorded during this period were Missippians Charley Patton—a.k.a. "The Masked Marvel"—and Son House; both recorded for Paramount.

During the 1930s, the commercial success and expansion of race music and records were impacted by the Great Depression. While sales of race records had reached \$100 million in 1927, they had fallen drastically to \$6 million in 1933. In response, the record companies dropped their record prices from an average of 75 cents in the 1920s to 35 cents in the 1930s. Until the mid-1930s, few new songs were released and virtually no new race recordings were made; instead the industry re-released titles and songs that had been previously unreleased. Following the repeal of Prohibition in 1933, the demand for live music increased. And in the late 1930s, the emergence of the jukebox stimulated sales of records. Three race record labels dominated the production of recordings in the 1930s and reflected the impact of the Depression on the music industry: Columbia, RCA-Victor, whose race label was Bluebird, and Decca. Columbia, which had acquired OKeh in 1926, was profitable until 1938 at which time it was sold to CBS. The RCA-Victor label had emerged from RCA's purchase of Victor in 1928. Decca, a new entry into the race market, was a subsidiary of London-based Decca. Despite the economic downturn, the 1930s were a creative period for race music.

In the 1930s race music was expanded by the popularity of swing. Swing grew out of big band jazz ensembles in the 1920s. Unlike the jazz bands of the 1920s, however, swing was more often arranged and scored, instead of improvised, and used reed instruments as well as the brass instruments that dominated earlier jazz. Swing in the 1930s was epitomized by the Fletcher Henderson Band which featured Louis Armstrong on trumpet, Coleman Hawkins on tenor saxophone, and arranger Don Redman. Other notable swing bands during this period included Chick Webb's band, which had vocalist Ella Fitzgerald, Jimmy Lunceford's Band, Duke Ellington's Orchestra, Count Basie's Orchestra, and Cab Calloway's Orchestra.

During the 1940s race records as a distinctly separate catalog of recordings waned due to several factors. The United States' entry into World War II curtailed the production and consumption of recorded music. In 1942 the government rationed shellac, a key component in the manufacture of record discs, which limited the number of releases. Likewise in 1942, the American Federation of Music announced a ban on all recording and as a result the studios were closed for two years. Following the war and the lifting of the recording ban, recording resumed with verve, but the industry concentrated on mass-market sales and neglected their race catalogs. Small labels that emphasized African-American music emerged in the Midwest and South and challenged the status of the major labels. Significantly, these labels—such as Chess, King, and Vee Jay—did not use the nomenclature "race records." Race music during this period was greatly expanded. While blues and jazz titles were still being recorded and released, a diversity of styles, collectively known as "rhythm and blues," began to coalesce. Although race music was still largely

produced for and consumed by black audiences, the segregated status of the music and recordings was declining.

—Matthew A. Killmeier

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## Race Riots

Although baseball, Mom's apple pie, and the Fourth of July are staples in the cultural fabric of the United States, nothing is more American than race riots. Throughout the nation's history nothing has been more constant than racial warfare. In many ways race riots have taken on a life and a culture of their own.

The 1906 riot in Atlanta, Georgia, would set the stage for the majority of white attacks on African Americans. The conflict erupted on September 22, when approximately 10,000 whites, angry at a report that black men were allegedly assaulting white women, "beat every black person they found on the streets of the city." In all, twelve deaths were registered, at a time when African Americans had begun to assert themselves as men and women, shedding an image of compliancy. Two years later, a similar attack occurred in Springfield, Illinois.

The period of World War I ushered in a new era of racial conflict. As African Americans migrated to urban areas in search of better social and economic conditions, the immediate post-war period was a literal powder keg as white GI's returned home to find a "New Negro" emerging. The first World War I-related riot occurred in East St. Louis, Illinois, in 1917, and left forty African Americans dead, all at the hands of white attackers. This riot foreshadowed the notorious "Red Summer of 1919" when twenty-five cities witnessed racial conflict, leaving 100 dead and another 1,000 wounded. The most dramatic riot of 1919 was in Chicago, where an incident at a Lake Michigan beach touched off thirteen days of rioting, leaving fifteen whites and twenty-three blacks dead. In 1921, Tulsa was the scene of a race "war" after whites destroyed over \$1 million worth of black-owned property.



The aftermath of the riots in Watts, Los Angeles.

The World War II period represented a watershed in the history of race riots in the United States. Whereas the previous riots/conflicts were initiated by whites, these new eruptions would be fueled by both black and white frustration. The most notorious World War II riot occurred in Detroit in 1943, leaving twenty-five blacks and nine whites dead. In what was largely a battle over jobs and housing, the all-white Detroit Police Department was responsible for the majority of black deaths.

Following World War II, the second great migration brought over three million African Americans from the South to the urban North and West. But black frustration would set in when black Southerners realized that the “Promised Land” was anything but that. Greeted with poor housing, unequal police protection, de-facto school segregation, and employment discrimination, black migrants became increasingly frustrated. As conditions continued to worsen in the mid-1960s, they took their battle to the streets, destroying white property in hopes of drawing attention to their plight. In 1964, Harlem, Chicago, and Philadelphia were the scene of incidents that left more than 100 citizens dead. One year later, the black enclave of Watts in Los Angeles erupted leaving thirty-four dead and approximately \$200 million in property damage. In all, the 35,000 active

rioters caused 1,000 injuries, but the riot also highlighted the conditions faced by the urban poor.

The year 1967 was by far the worst year of racial disturbances in American history. Serious riots occurred in Newark and Detroit, leaving twenty-six and forty dead, respectively. Most of these deaths were at the hands of white policemen who valued white property over black lives. Thirty-eight other cities experienced outbreaks as well, as black Northerners continued to take out their frustrations upon white property. Similar riots occurred on the night of Martin Luther King, Jr.’s assassination, when over 110 cities erupted.

The decades of the 1970s and 1980s witnessed a decline in rioting; however, in 1992 Americans who were unfamiliar with this aspect of our country’s past would be jolted by the Rodney King riots in Los Angeles. In March of 1991 King was brutally beaten by at least four white officers from the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD). A nearby resident videotaped the incident and within hours the image of a big black man being beaten like a dog was broadcast throughout the world. The officers were indicted but ultimately acquitted of police brutality in the all-white suburb of Simi Valley by a jury composed of eleven whites and one Hispanic. This verdict touched off several days of rioting. At the end of the riot there were thirty-eight fatalities, 4,000 arrests, and over \$500 million in property damage. The most infamous image of the riot was the beating of Reginald Denny, a white truck driver who was caught in a black neighborhood. Denny was pulled from his truck and almost beaten to death. Although many Americans expressed shock at the riot, few understood how the Rodney King riots were merely building upon a long-standing tradition in U.S. culture.

—Leonard N. Moore

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## Radio

In September of 1895, Guglielmo Marconi, a young Italian inventor, pioneered wireless telegraphy when he transmitted a message to his brother, who was out of sight beyond a hill. By 1906, U.S. inventor Lee De Forest had greatly increased the potential of Marconi’s work by developing a three-electrode vacuum-tube amplifier that made modern radio broadcasts possible. From these relatively humble beginnings radio quickly evolved to become the basis of an electronic media revolution that would shape the face of American popular culture during the middle years of the twentieth century. From the early 1920s to the mid-1950s radio both recorded and influenced popular culture in a way that no other media had ever done, forever changing the way information and entertainment would be disseminated and paving the way for television.



An example of an early radio.

The first modern radio station came into being in 1920, when Westinghouse engineer Frank Conrad set up KDKA in East Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and began sending out programs “over the ether,” in the parlance of the day. On November 2 of that year, KDKA broadcast the results of the Harding-Cox presidential election. However, at that time only about 5,000 Americans had radio receivers, so the broadcast went largely unnoticed. As Susan Smulyan writes in *Selling Radio*, the problem was that “when the first radio station began in 1920, no one knew how to make money from broadcasting.” Nevertheless, a number of different groups soon realized that radio could be a powerful and important medium, which resulted in a battle for control of the airwaves.

One faction, spearheaded primarily by educators, believed that radio could be a tool for enriching people’s lives. They wanted a government-funded national radio program that would be largely informational and educational. These groups would have to wait nearly fifty years to get their wish; on November 7, 1967, President Lyndon B. Johnson would sign the Public Broadcasting Act into law, resulting in the creation of the noncommercial National Public Radio and the Public Broadcasting (television) networks. But in 1920 the question for broadcasters was, “Who would pay for radio?” The general public was not yet ready to pay for its information and entertainment directly (that would come in the 1970s, with the growth of cable television beyond its humble beginnings as a source for programming in areas beyond the reach of airborne signals). In 1922 New York radio station WEAF—which would later become WNBC—solved the funding dilemma when it aired the first paid radio commercials. Although advertisers were initially unconvinced as to

radio’s ability to sell products, they eventually realized that it was an incredibly effective way to reach people in their homes. Accordingly, WEAF’s commercialization set into motion the private control of U.S. public airwaves. In a now-famous quote, radio pioneer De Forest responded to radio’s commercialization by asking, “What have you done with my child? You have sent him out on the street in rags of ragtime to collect money from all and sundry. You have made of him a laughingstock of intelligence, surely a stench in the nostrils of the gods of the ionosphere.”

The concept of “selling time” for advertisements had immense ramifications for American popular culture. Since the inception of mass media advertising, the public’s conception of life in the United States has become defined not by what people do, but by the products they consume; success or failure in the U.S. is largely defined by material possessions instead of by accomplishments. As Smulyan writes, “broadcasting’s programs and structures,” which paved the way for later media advertising like television commercials and website banners, were first “developed in radio.” However, radio’s contribution to popular culture is not exclusively confined to its role in the birth of modern advertising. Just as important are the medium’s contributions to the ways in which people are informed and entertained.

Prior to the onset of the Depression, radio had already established its core of music, news, and entertainment programming. Of the three, music and news programming were the most predominant because they were the cheapest to produce; entertainment programming would not enter its golden age until the early 1930s. There were two ways of presenting music on radio: either by playing records or broadcasting musicians as they played live in a studio, concert hall, or hotel ballroom. The widespread integration of musical numbers into more complex variety shows was still a number years off. In addition to musical programming, news broadcasts and issue-based discussion shows also flourished in the 1920s. Never before had the dissemination of news been so immediate. Sports events like the World Series and news events like the infamous Scopes trial, which Chicago station WGN broadcast live, united Americans around their radios. From its earliest days, radio began the move towards instantaneous news.

Radio networks also began appearing in the late 1920s: NBC was established in 1926, and CBS in 1927. Perhaps the most important effect these networks had on radio was their contribution to the establishment of a more national medium. The respective networks began buying up local stations, which became known as “affiliates.” Locally produced shows gave way to uniform national shows that the networks broadcast over their affiliates. Concurrently, radio was becoming an item commonly found in every home. As noted by Fred MacDonald in *Don’t Touch That Dial*, by the early 1930s approximately 90 percent of Americans had at least one radio in their homes. As a result, American regionalism began to disappear at an accelerated rate as Californians began to hear the same shows as people in Alabama and New Jersey. What in the late 1990s has come to be known as the “homogenization of American culture” can be traced back to the rise of the early radio networks.

Despite the success of radio in the 1920s, something was still missing. Although there were a few popular programs, radio shows had yet to fully come into their own; however, the Great Depression ushered in their “golden age.” By the early 1930s, listeners had grown bored with mostly music, news, and talk, and many of them craved escape from the hard reality of their difficult financial circumstances. Radio responded by expanding its programming diversity and broadcasting shows in many genres, including Westerns, detective shows, dramas, soap operas, comedies, romances, and variety

shows. Americans danced to the latest rhythms as played by bandleaders who broadcast live from hotel ballrooms, or gathered around their radio sets on Sunday morning to hear prominent preachers and choirs, precursors to the radio and television evangelists of a later era. Many radio shows of the period were serialized so fans could follow the ongoing weekly adventures of their favorite characters. The serialization of radio shows created a continuity in American entertainment that was unique to the medium at that time. *The Lone Ranger*, for example, was on the air for twenty-two years. Likewise, *The Jack Benny Program* enjoyed a twenty-six-year run. Perhaps MacDonald best sums up radio's importance during the Depression when he writes, "for audiences trapped by the economic depression and social uncertainty of the 1930s, radio became the great wellspring from which came escape, diversion, knowledge, and inspiration." As programmers realized that national shows needed national celebrities in order to achieve immediate success, they came to rely heavily on the many popular performers who had been displaced by the rise of electronic media—making radio stars out of ex-vaudevillians like the Marx Brothers, Burns and Allen, Jack Benny, and Fred Allen.

Conversely, in the early 1930s, entertainment's brightest lights—Hollywood movie stars—were reluctant to appear on radio. Most studios, and many stars, believed that appearing on radio would somehow lessen a star's cinematic appeal. Radio loved the movies, on the other hand: most stations ran movie reviews, and syndicated gossip columnists such as Louella Parsons and Walter Winchell often focused on Hollywood figures. Hollywood studios eventually came to the realization that increased exposure for their stars would most likely result in increased revenues for their films. By the early 1940s Hollywood actors, including Humphrey Bogart, Katharine Hepburn, Jimmy Stewart, James Cagney, and Clark Gable, routinely participated in radio reenactments of their films; at the same time a number of actors who got their start in radio, such as Don Ameche, Richard Widmark, Agnes Moorehead, and Art Carney, were beginning to appear in films. As the lines between the two media slowly blurred, America became more and more infatuated with its stars. As a result of the unprecedented media exposure stars received when they began to appear both on radio and in film, the cultural iconolatry of entertainers, which began in earnest with the silent movie stars of the late 1910s and early 1920s, reached new heights in the 1930s and 1940s.

Perhaps the most vivid example of the cultural influence radio had in its heyday is Orson Welles' October 30, 1938, broadcast of an adaptation of H. G. Wells' *The War of the Worlds*, which presented itself as a would-be Martian invasion broadcast in real time. Welles and the other actors meant the broadcast to be dramatic fiction, but millions took it seriously. Although the show did run an opening explanation, many who tuned in late were greeted by an announcer saying, "Ladies and gentlemen, we interrupt our program of dance music to bring you a special bulletin from the Intercontinental Radio News." Listeners mistakenly believed that Martians were invading the United States and that radio was covering it live. All over the country hysteria prevailed for several hours, and the power of radio to influence the American public was confirmed.

Just as radio entertainment became more diversified during the 1930s, so too did the ways in which news was presented. Whereas in the 1920s and early 1930s news had most often been simply read, a new type of reporter was coming into being in the mid-1930s: the broadcast journalist. Reporters began live coverage of developing stories and often offered on-air appraisals of news stories as they

happened. Americans who had previously only heard reporters reading recaps of speeches, conferences, conventions, and military clashes began to hear them live. These live broadcasts of social and political events played a large role in America's national attitude of unity as it entered World War II. The public had been largely uninformed when America entered World War I, but because of radio and its broadcast journalists the American public was keenly aware of the cumulative series of events that had occurred prior to its entering World War II.

As radio grew, politicians realized its importance as a means through which to disseminate their ideology. In an extreme example, European leaders such as Mussolini and Hitler routinely broadcast their fervent speeches live. Although their message was often one of hatred and intolerance, both leaders—but especially Hitler—were brilliant and impassioned speakers who understood just how effective a propaganda tool radio could be. Perhaps the most fervent ideologue on U.S. radio in the late 1930s was Father Charles Coughlin, the "radio priest" of Royal Oak, Michigan, who commanded an audience of millions with tirades that became increasingly anti-Semitic and pro-Franco. On the home front, perhaps no U.S. leader used radio as effectively as President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Beginning in 1933 and lasting until his death in 1945, Roosevelt took his message directly to the people in a series of live radio speeches. Roosevelt called some of these speeches "fireside chats," which were constructed to seem like personal conversations with the public. Opening each chat with the phrase, "My dear friends," Roosevelt carefully explained his policies and programs and used the intimate format to gain popular support from the American people. In addition, Rooseveltian sound bites such as "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself" (from his first inauguration) and "a date which will live infamy" (from his speech to Congress after Pearl Harbor) were immediately and permanently thrust into the nation's popular culture, in part because they were broadcast live to an audience of millions.

Throughout U.S. involvement in World War II, radio played a crucial role in the public's perception of the war. Although not televised as the Vietnam War would later be, radio brought World War II into every American living room. From Britain and France's declaring war on Germany in 1939, to Roosevelt's "day of infamy" speech after the attack on Pearl Harbor, to the surrender ceremonies aboard the *U.S.S. Missouri* on September 2, 1945, Americans heard the war's major events as they happened. Perhaps the most memorable broadcasts of the war were Edward R. Murrow's reports during the London blitz of 1940, which helped solidify U.S. public opinion on behalf of the Allies. As the war proceeded, and despite strict censorship restrictions, other broadcast journalists reported from military hot spots and the government used radio to communicate with the nation. All through the war Americans turned to their radios for the latest news from the fronts. In addition to the first-hand accounts of those returning from overseas and newsreels, America's memories of World War II have been shaped largely by the immediacy offered by radio.

Although radio continued to enjoy tremendous popularity in the early 1950s, it was never quite the same after World War II. The war had given radio a uniformity of purpose and focus. With the war over, radio was forced to scramble to institute peacetime programming that could match the heady days of broadcasting during the war years. As traditional formats began to lose popularity, it became clear that new formats and ideas were needed; but radio was slow to change. Experimentation was limited by the cold war atmosphere of fear created by the anti-Communist movement of the late 1940s and early

1950s. Producers were afraid that anything different from the norm might be construed as subversive. Concurrently, television was beginning to gain a firm hold in American homes. Many of the shows that had long been broadcast on the radio made the transition to television. By 1960 the golden age of radio was over.

Radio has never fully regained the popularity it enjoyed during its forty-year heyday from 1920 to 1960. The rise of FM radio stations in the 1960s propelled rock 'n' roll to a position of cultural influence unequaled by any other musical genre. FM stations sounded better than AM stations, and came in stereo. The disc jockeys who played records took advantage of their new-found freedom to experiment with the FM dial as "free form" radio. Whereas radio news had chronicled the cultural events of the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, rock 'n' roll became the sound track for the cultural revolution ushered in by the Boomer generation in the 1960s and early 1970s. Before World War II, most radio programs, dramas, comedies, musical shows, or quiz shows, were fifteen-minute or half-hour programs; after the war, stations tended to devote round-the-clock programming to specific musical formats, such as rock 'n' roll, Top-40, classical, rhythm & blues, or jazz, for example. In the 1990s, talk radio enjoyed a resurgence, especially on the AM dial, with figures as diverse as Rush Limbaugh, Dr. Laura Schlessinger, and Howard Stern enjoying a cultural influence perhaps never equaled by their radio predecessors—to say nothing of the frank sex therapy dispensed by Dr. Ruth Westheimer and Dr. Judy Kurlansky.

During the height of radio's popularity, as Charles Siepmann writes, "The average man or woman spends more leisure hours in listening to the radio than in anything else—except sleeping. . . . For radio—cheap, accessible, and generous in its provision for popular tastes—has come to be the poor man's library, his 'legitimate' theater, his vaudeville, his newspaper, his club. Never before has he met so many famous and interesting people, and never have these people been at once so friendly and so attentive to his wishes." On the eve of the year 2000, American audiences had immediate access to more news and entertainment options than any population in the history of the world; radio was the seed from which the structure of contemporary current mass media grew. But America's plethora of options reflects its culture: fractious, scattered, and able to agree on little. Conversely, for a brief forty years in the mid-twentieth century, radio contributed to the creation of at least the semblance of a united country and inspired the national imagination in a way no medium has done before or since.

—Robert C. Sickels

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## Radio Drama

Before the advent of television in the late 1940s, radio was the most popular mass medium in America. During radio's "Golden Age" from 1929 through the end of World War II, radio's comedy-variety, soap opera, and drama programs were a part of the daily lives of most Americans. Unlike movies, radio brought mass entertainment directly into the home and radio stars like Jack Benny, Gracie Allen, and Orson Welles became familiar presences within the family's private space. For the first time, listeners across the country planned their schedules around the same programs and personalities; for example, movie theaters were forced to pipe in the popular *Amos 'n' Andy* program in 1929 because so many people did not want to leave their homes and miss hearing it. Radio programs functioned as tools of assimilation for many Americans, defining "American" identities through voices. Radio nationalized ethnic, class, and regional accents, creating recognizable standard blueprints for how "Black," "Irish," "rich," and "rural" were supposed to sound. As radio historian Michele Hilmes has written: "In speaking to us as a nation during a crucial period of time [radio] helped to shape our cultural consciousness and define us as a people."

Radio drama emerged in the late 1920s with the formation of national networks and the subsequent commercialization of the industry. In the Radio Act of 1927, the United States government endorsed commercial over government ownership of radio by favoring the networks in allocating wavelengths. Because national networks provided advertisers with the opportunity to sell their products to a mass audience, the government's decision ensured the dominance of mass culture over high culture and educational programming on radio. In order to appeal to this mass audience (especially to women, whom they recognized as the primary consumers within the household), advertisers relied on personalities and programs that seemed to have popular appeal. Throughout the 1920s, music and talk radio had been radio's primary fare, but in 1929 the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) began daily broadcasts of a radio minstrel act that had become quite popular in the Midwest, *Amos 'n' Andy*. It was the network's first attempt at a fictional serial program, and radio was never the same again. The tremendous popularity of *Amos 'n' Andy* convinced advertisers that audiences wanted more narrative programs, and "radio drama," the common inclusive term for radio fiction programs, began to take up more and more network time.

The evolution of radio drama is rooted in the tension between the advertisers and the networks. To make the most money and attract the broadest audience, radio programs had to appeal to the masses without alienating the middle-class family audience. Advertisers thus took a new "lowbrow" approach to advertising, developing programs that emphasized the most pleasurable and stimulating aspects of popular culture like "gag" humor and "shocking" stories. At the

time, mass culture was associated primarily with the working classes and the street culture of recent immigrants. Moviemakers and vaudeville entrepreneurs had worked hard to attract a middle-class family audience by toning down their bawdier aspects, but the dominance of mass culture on radio was still a cause for concern among the middle classes. It was the responsibility of the networks to maintain cultural standards before the public in order to keep their licenses; they had to avoid public attacks from the morality-minded who worried about the effects of low-culture programming on society. To avoid public criticism—and hence maintain their monopoly (and their profits),—networks developed two different kinds of radio drama: popular drama, produced by advertisers, and commercial-free “prestige” drama, produced and sustained by the networks to appease their critics. Although these two forms developed separately, by the end of the 1930s they had each begun to take on aspects of the other, blurring the line between popular and high culture.

Popular radio drama drew on a variety of mass culture forms, including pulp fiction, comic strips, and vaudeville. Pulp fiction anthologies of short stories had become immensely popular in the United States from the 1890s to the 1920s with the development of cheap printing techniques and national distribution systems. The “pulp” were usually first printed in magazines, and they offered audiences the predictable satisfactions of standard genres: romance, western, crime, detective mysteries, and horror. Pulp fiction had been the major source of advertising before radio; with the advent of radio drama, advertisers were able to simply shift their sponsorship to a different medium. Pulp fiction genres became well known on radio: programs like *The Shadow*, *Gangbusters*, and *Gunsmoke* were developed from mystery, crime, and Western pulp fiction, respectively. Romance genres aimed primarily at women were soon segregated into daytime, and became popularly known as soap operas because soap companies sponsored them. Comic strips were also popular sources for radio programs, particularly children’s serials like *Little Orphan Annie*. When radio took over these forms, it made them more dramatic. The crime-fighting Shadow, for example, became much more a man of action than he had been in written form, and the constant sound of riot guns in the “real-life” crime show *Gangbusters* produced complaints from parents who charged that the guns frightened their children.

Certainly the most successful of radio’s popular programs were comedy-variety shows. In the early 1930s, as the Depression put more and more vaudeville theaters out of business, vaudeville players made increasing use of radio and became the medium’s biggest stars. These programs combined vaudeville “gag” humor with nightclub performance, linking the different sections together through one central personality and continuing, familiar stock characters. *The Jack Benny Show* was the most popular of such programs, running from 1932 until 1955; Benny starred as the miserly, childish, vain star of a radio program called *The Jack Benny Show*. Like other popular comedy-variety programs such as *Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy* and *The Bob Hope Show*, *The Jack Benny Show* relied on ethnic and gender stereotypes widely used in vaudeville. Radio programs differed from vaudeville, however, in that vaudeville shows were much more fragmented and often adapted to local tastes; radio comedy-variety, on the other hand, offered audiences a more predictable narrative structure and consistent characters in order to foster familiarity between players and listeners. Programs that attempted to be more spontaneous or have a more satirical edge either failed to attract a significant audience or, like comedian Fred Allen’s show, were streamlined to fit the Benny formula.

While popular drama got much higher ratings with listeners than prestige drama, the latter had a significant impact on the evolution of radio drama because of its technical and artistic innovations. Because prestige drama did not have the constraints of commercial sponsorship, its producers could experiment with sound effects, acting styles, language, and traditional narrative structure. Programs like the *Radio Guild* adapted classical plays for radio audiences, while *The Columbia Workshop* produced original scripts written for radio by some of the country’s best known writers, among them Archibald MacLeish, William Saroyan, and Dorothy Parker.

The most famous name associated with radio prestige drama is Orson Welles, whose 1938 adaptation of H.G. Wells’ *The War of the Worlds* caused a nationwide panic. Welles’ *Mercury Theatre of the Air* program featured radio’s first repertory theater, and Welles was the first prestige drama auteur, serving as writer, director, and leading player in most of the program’s productions. Welles was also known for his imaginative use of the medium; *War of the Worlds* was so convincing in part because Welles borrowed techniques from radio news programs, giving his program the semblance of a news broadcast. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, Welles continued to do radio work in both sustaining and sponsored programs, but his name was always linked to “high culture” although he often used material from more popular sources; for every dramatization of *A Tale of Two Cities*, Welles offered a *Dracula* or a *Sherlock Holmes*.

Two other famous names associated with prestige drama were writer-directors Norman Corwin and Arch Oboler. Corwin, who worked for CBS, pushed the boundaries of the radio drama form, developing new radio-specific genres like the “radio opera” (musical-documentary-dramas) and adapting poetic works like Walt Whitman’s *Leaves of Grass* and Edgar Lee Master’s *Spoon River Anthology* for radio. Oboler, who worked for NBC, focused on realist drama and psychological horror. He is best known for his *Arch Oboler’s Plays* series and his original scripts for the horror series *Lights Out*. Oboler’s work often explored the supernatural, taking his listeners into settings where they could not ordinarily go; his characters were haunted by ghosts, buried alive, or made bargains with the devil. Where Corwin’s work focused on language, Oboler’s work exploited radio’s potential to unnerve. The war interrupted Oboler and Corwin’s experiments, and like other radio writers, they turned their attention to patriotic themes. While prestige dramas were never again given the airtime they enjoyed in the late 1930s, the influence of these dramatists became more obvious in commercial drama during and after the war.

One of the most popular radio genres of the 1940s was the suspense program; programs like *Suspense*, *Inner Sanctum*, and *Mystery in the Air* were very much products of the radio drama which proceeded them. Unlike most radio genres that originated in pulp fiction, suspense programs shared with prestige dramas a reliance on scripts produced originally for radio. They also utilized several of the techniques of prestige radio programs, including first person narration and interior monologue, psychological complexity, the use of dreams and fantasy, and a preoccupation with the supernatural. Like Oboler’s plays, they foregrounded psychological horror, but their context in an uncertain postwar America meant that certain subjects like wartime traumas and sexual tension came to the fore. The most famous and popular original radio play was the *Suspense* play “Sorry, Wrong Number” (1943), written by Lucille Fletcher and starring Agnes Moorehead, which focused on an invalid wife who overhears a murder plot on the phone and does not realize until the last few moments that she is the intended victim. The success of this program



influenced radio dramas throughout the 1940s; plots continued to emphasize mistrust between the sexes and feature bizarre, often graphic violence.

As television came to dominate the postwar era in the late 1940s and early 1950s, radio drama faded in significance and popularity; the rise of the disc jockey in the 1950s ensured the resurgence of popular music as the medium's dominant entertainment. Radio drama's lasting influence is most obvious in the content and structure of television programming, which lifted its stars and genres directly from radio fiction, but commercialized radio was distinct from television in its greater acknowledgment of ethnic and class differences. Although both television and radio served to homogenize U.S. culture, much of radio's mass-culture programming remained rooted in the humor and worldview of the nation's underclass, while television's fiction programs moved away from the culture of the urban masses to appeal primarily to middle-class nuclear families.

—Allison McCracken

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## Radner, Gilda (1937-1989)

Gilda Radner, with her mass of seemingly untameable curly hair and striking ability to use her voice for comic effect, will be best remembered as one of the original "Not Ready for Prime Time Players" who starred in *Saturday Night Live* (1975—), a television series that became a hit with young adults despite its late time slot. She stayed with the series for five years, during which time she parodied many celebrities and created several of her own characters, such as reporters Roseanne Roseannadonna and Baba Wawa (her Barbara Walters parody). Radner married actor Gene Wilder in 1984. She died of ovarian cancer in 1989. After her death, Wilder became active in cancer awareness.

—Denise Lowe

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See Ragni, Gerome, and James Rado



Gilda Radner as Roseanne Roseannadonna during the "Weekend Update" skit on *Saturday Night Live*.

## Raft, George (1903-1980)

Screen actor George Raft's greatest lasting contribution to the film industry was in creating the clichéd image of the caring and compassionate gangster who was more victim than victimizer. Raft may be more famous, however, for turning down Humphrey Bogart's four star-making roles than for any of the parts he did play. Raft was offered *Dead End*, *High Sierra*, *The Maltese Falcon*, and *Casablanca*; he turned each one down only to be quickly eclipsed by Bogart, who had been struggling to make a name for himself.

Raft's acting career was based on the premise that as a former gangster himself (he was friends with racketeer Owney Maddon and at one time aspired to be a big shot in Maddon's liquor mob), he would excel at playing one. Raft preferred playing tough, brutal men who were revealed to be not as cold and heartless as they pretended. He was very concerned with how crime was portrayed on-screen and would insist on stipulations in his contract about how his character could treat women and children, how knowledgeable about the crime scene his character was, and what his idea of crime was—Raft refused to play an out-and-out rat. Unfortunately, Raft was never a very expressive actor, so he managed to connect with the audience in only a few of his films.

Raft was born in New York City in 1903 and was brought up in the Hell's Kitchen area. As a young man, according to his autobiography, he was a layabout who did some boxing, winning fifteen of his twenty-two matches. He became a dancer and dance hall gigolo, and began to get parts in shows such as *City Chap*, *Gay Paree*, *Palm Beach Nights*, and *No Foolin'*. Maddon sent Raft to Texas Quinan's nightclub, where Miss Quinan suggested that he take a part in her movie, *Queen of the Night Clubs* (1929). Heading to Los Angeles, Raft was discovered at the Brown Derby restaurant by director

Rowland Brown, who gave him a bit part in *Quick Millions*. Raft's best parts were in *Taxi!* (1932); *Scarface* (1932), as the coin-flipping best friend of Tony Camonte, the main character; *Each Dawn I Die* (1939), as an idealistic gang leader who learns honesty from James Cagney's con; and *Dancers in the Dark* (1932), as a murderer.

Thinking they had found another Valentino, Paramount signed Raft to a contract and starred him in lackluster features, then suspended him after he refused to appear in *The Story of Temple Drake*. While he had a few tough-guy parts, he did his best work at Paramount as a dancer in *Bolero* (1934) with Carole Lombard and in *Rumba* (1935). Raft also objected to his role in *Souls at Sea* (1937), and went on suspension until his part was more sympathetically written. The gambit paid off and he earned an Oscar nomination for his work as a likeable, romantic tough guy with a sinister slave-trading past who spends most of his time romancing Olympe Bradna. Throughout the story, his character is encouraged to be good by an idealistic Gary Cooper, resulting in Raft's redemption.

By the end of the thirties, Paramount let Raft go, and Warner Brothers made a bid for his services, teaming him with Cagney and Bogart in such pictures as *Each Dawn I Die* and *They Drive by Night* (1940). Raft refused to appear in *South of Suez*, and once Bogart became established, the studio was quite willing to let Raft go. From there, Raft drifted from one minor part to another, appearing mostly in forgettable B films from United Artists or RKO. He finally got a couple of good parts in *Black Widow* (1954) and *Rogue Cop* (1954), but they were not enough to reestablish him in the public eye. He took a cameo role in *Around the World in 80 Days* (1956) and appeared in the television series *I'm the Law* in 1953.



George Raft

Nevertheless, Billy Wilder remembered Raft and cast him as gangster "Spats" Baxter in the comedy classic *Some Like It Hot* (1959). He made another cameo appearance in *Ocean's Eleven* (1960), the first Rat Pack film, and was given parts in Jerry Lewis's *Ladies' Man* (1961) and *The Patsy* (1964). In 1965, Raft was indicted for income tax evasion and could have ended his life behind bars, but the court proved merciful and the case did not go to trial. From there Raft traveled Europe and made a few disastrous comedies from a high in *Casino Royale* (1967) to a low in Otto Preminger's *Skidoo* (1968). Unable to get work, he spent his declining years watching television.

—Dennis Fischer

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## Raggedy Ann and Raggedy Andy

Raggedy Ann, the central character in a series of children's books about dolls that come alive when their people are away, made her official debut in 1918 with the *Raggedy Ann Stories* by author and illustrator Johnny Gruelle. She was first a real rag doll for a real little girl, then was mass-produced to accompany the nearly 1,000 stories written by Gruelle before his death in 1938. Raggedy Andy, the little rag-brother of Raggedy Ann, was introduced in 1920 with *The Raggedy Andy Stories*. Raggedy Ann's image, with her black shoe-button eyes, red yarn hair, her white pinafore, and scalloped pantaloons over red-and-white striped legs remained surprisingly intact over the years, and was featured on a vast array of children's toys, clothing, furnishings, and other objects. Gruelle produced a series of 40 books, as well as using Raggedy Ann in cartoons, but the dolls themselves remain the most popular collectibles.

John Barton ("Johnny") Gruelle (1880-1938), the son of a painter, grew up in Indianapolis, Indiana. He first worked as a newspaper cartoonist for several papers, illustrating stories as well as drawing cartoons. He won first prize in 1910 in a comic drawing contest sponsored by the *New York Herald* with the adventures of an elf named Mr. Twee Deedle. His full-color cartoon was syndicated as a full-page feature. Gruelle wrote and illustrated children's stories for popular magazines as well, and in 1914 he produced his first book commission, an illustrated Grimm's fairy tales.

The Gruelles had a daughter, Marcella, who was devoted to an old rag doll that had belonged to Johnny's mother. Resurrected from the attic, and with a new painted face and a new name, this first Raggedy Ann was Marcella's companion through an illness that ended in her death in 1916. Raggedy Ann's initial adventures were stories Johnny told to amuse and divert his bedridden daughter.



**Raggedy Ann and Raggedy Andy dolls.**

In 1915, Gruelle applied for a patent on Raggedy Ann. The family made a dozen prototype dolls, although accounts differ as to whether the impetus for Raggedy Ann's manufacture came from Gruelle or the P.F. Volland Company of Chicago, with whom he had the book contract. In any event, the dolls and stories were simultaneously produced and were instantly successful. In the time-honored tradition of little brothers, Raggedy Andy came along two years later. Raggedy Andy never acquired the central status of his sister, but remained a secondary character.

Several factors account for Raggedy Ann's great popularity. The dolls, which included an entire cast of other characters—the Scotsman Uncle Clem, Beloved Belindy, Percy the Policeman—were kept at the forefront of consumer consciousness by the large number of books written by their prolific author (a sequel every year and sometimes two). The Raggedy series, while never enjoying great critical acclaim, was very appealing to its young audience. Gruelle's soft line drawings and full-page, color illustrations fill every alternate page of the books. His talents as a cartoonist were well employed in the difficult task of imbuing dolls, whose faces never change, with a full range of expression and attitude. The narratives—romping adventures out of

sight of the “real for sure folks,” usually involving peril and a cheerful resolution—are set in an innocent and somewhat dated world, but Gruelle had real insights into the way children think. He uses repetition and naming devices consistent with children's language patterns. He fills his stories with little tiny things, child-sized things, good things to eat, playing games, and (nice) secrets. He creates, in other words, an entire, internally consistent, vicarious world.

Finally, Raggedy Ann and her coterie were easily accessible. Raggedy was not a high-priced porcelain doll with an equally exclusive wardrobe, but a rag doll with a homespun quality that was deliberately preserved despite changes in manufacturers. She could even be made at home, beginning in the 1940s when McCall's Pattern Company marketed an authorized pattern to reproduce Raggedy Ann and Andy.

No discussion of Raggedy Ann would be complete without revealing her secret. She wears stamped over her heart the words “I Love You.” And that came about when she fell into a bucket of paint and had to be restuffed by the painter's mother, who sewed into her chest a candy heart with the motto “I Love You” on it. Raggedy Ann was a household presence for the greater part of the twentieth century.

Johnny Gruelle's gifts as an author and illustrator produced a classic American character.

—Karen Hovde

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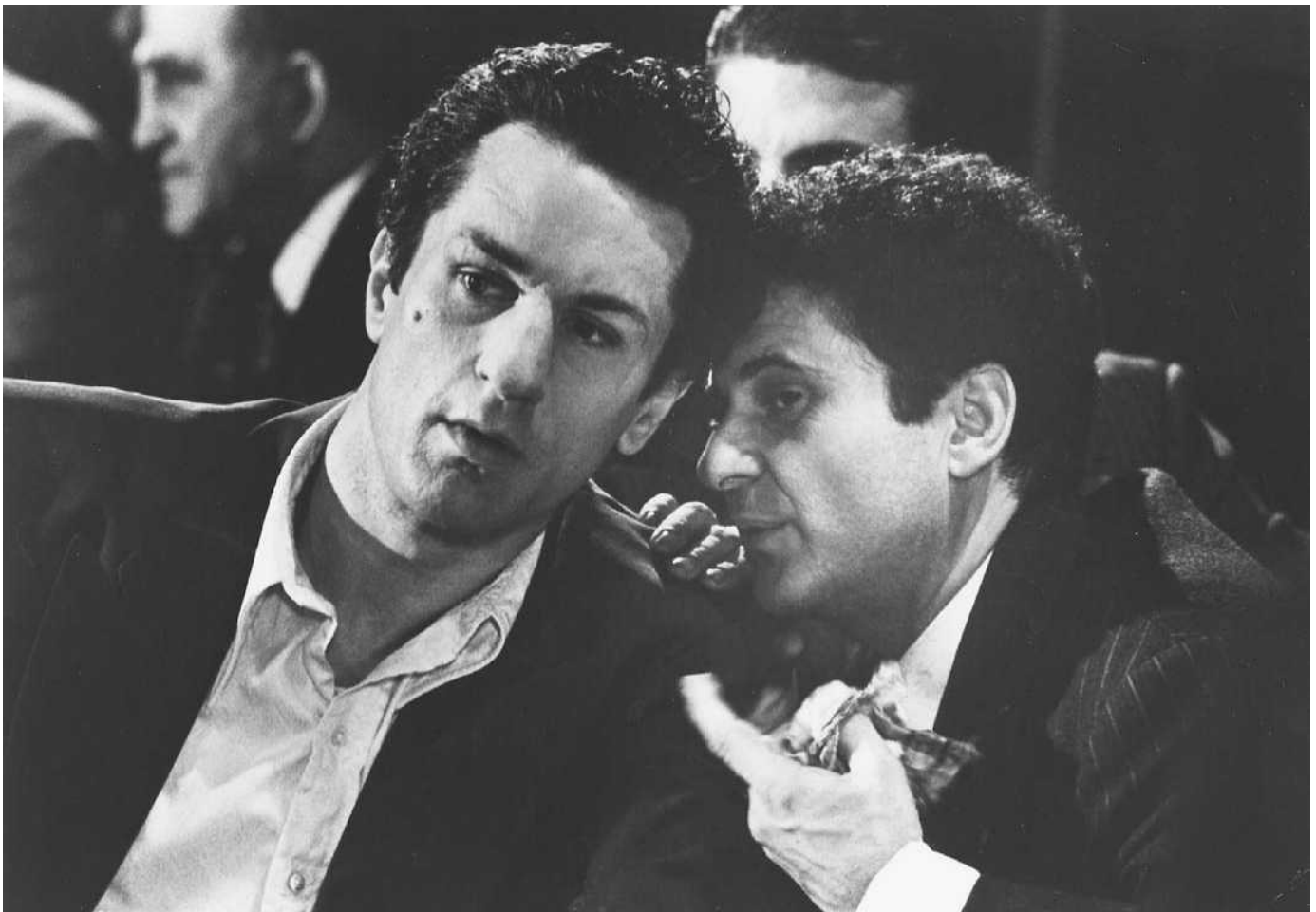
## *Raging Bull*

When *Raging Bull*, Martin Scorsese's biopic of 1940s middle-weight boxing champion Jake LaMotta, premiered in November of 1980, critics and audiences alike hailed it as a masterpiece. The film's expressionistic black-and-white photography, its lyrical realism, and Robert De Niro's stunning performance gave it an expressive power of great magnitude. The amazing physical transformation De Niro

underwent in the title role—adding an estimated 60 pounds of fat to his slender frame to portray the older, bloated LaMotta without a fat suit—also made it the most extreme example of method acting thus far in filmmaking. De Niro won an Oscar for his work in *Raging Bull*, as did editor Thelma Schoonmaker. But many critics, most notably Pauline Kael, film critic for the *New Yorker* magazine, were uncomfortable with the film, wondering if LaMotta—a violent, troubled wife-abusing lout—was worthy of the spiritual transformation Scorsese attributed to him.

Scorsese undertook the film at a time of crisis in his career. His previous feature, *New York, New York*, had been a critical and commercial bomb. Scorsese was so demoralized by its failure that he embarked on a debauch of epic length, resulting in his 1978 hospitalization. While visiting Scorsese in the hospital, De Niro, who had lobbied to adapt LaMotta's biography for over four years, once again broached the subject of *Raging Bull* with his friend and collaborator.

The picture Scorsese envisioned would be a meditation on the Catholic themes that had inspired his best work of the 1970s: redemption, alienation, morality, and guilt. It would be at once a wholly personal work and a revision of the 1940s movies he had loved as a child. It is the tension generated between the formal aspects of the picture—the stylized black-and-white photography, at times documentary-like in execution—and the subject matter that gives *Raging*



Robert De Niro (left) and Joe Pesci in a scene from the film *Raging Bull*.

*Bull* its almost hallucinatory ferocity. “What De Niro does in this picture isn’t acting, exactly,” wrote Pauline Kael, who for the most part took a pejorative view of the film’s excesses. “Though it may at some level be awesome, it definitely isn’t pleasurable.” She was right. In fact, De Niro’s portrayal is so harrowing that every moment he is onscreen is excruciatingly tense.

De Niro’s LaMotta is a violent, self-centered, egotistical man, a man possessed by uncontrollable paranoia. And like his sobriquet, “The Bronx Bull,” LaMotta is bullish. But, as the film begins *in medias res*, the audience never learns the reasons for LaMotta’s obstinate behavior, only that it is his fatal flaw, the chink in his armor. Because of his intransigence in dealing with a local mob boss, he remains a contender for years, unable to gain a shot at the title. But only after acquiescing to mob demands—to throw a fight—does he get his chance at the championship. In his final boxing match—against his old nemesis, Sugar Ray Robinson—LaMotta is virtually crucified on the ropes, taking a brutal beating while refusing to go down. With his face reduced to a bleeding pulp, he taunts the victor, repeating, “You never got me down, Ray,” in an infantile chant.

Retired in Florida, LaMotta has become an obese parody of himself, presiding over a Miami nightclub where he introduces the acts with a crass version of suave nightclub patter. Indeed, things fall apart: his long-suffering wife leaves him and he is eventually arrested on a morals charge. In a pivotal scene, he retrieves his championship belt, attacking it with a hammer to dislodge the gems he needs for bail money, mindlessly deforming the belt as he has destroyed his life. Finally, locked in solitary confinement, LaMotta reaches a crisis, attacking his confinement, banging his head against the wall, kicking and punching it in anger and frustration, his body half in shadow and half in light. “Why, you’re so stupid, an animal,” he screams. Finally he collapses, sobbing, “I wasn’t that bad.” As he cries, a piece of his sleeve catches a beam of light in the darkened cell. It is one of Scorsese’s most transcendent moments, perfectly blending religious metaphor with film language.

The film closes as it had begun, with LaMotta, now a nightclub entertainer, practicing Marlon Brando’s “I shoulda been a contender” speech—from *On the Waterfront*—in front of his dressing-room mirror. He has achieved a measure of peace. Something is now apparent than was not clear in the first scene, where LaMotta appeared a figure of ridicule, butchering Shakespeare with his ludicrous Bronx accent: looking at his face in the mirror, he says, “Let’s face it, it was you, it was you.”

Scorsese told an interviewer at the time of *Raging Bull*’s release that “those who think it’s a boxing picture would be out their minds. Its brutal, sure, but it is a brutality that could take place not only in the boxing ring, but in the bedroom or in an office.” Because the film speaks on the level of the specific and the universal notion of man’s craving for redemption, its brilliance affects one at a visceral level. As a child, Scorsese had been “taught to hate the sin, but love the sinner.” Perhaps no other film so complexly embodies this basic philosophy.

*Raging Bull* was the culmination of one of several cycles in Scorsese’s work, a cycle preoccupied with, in the words of Paul Schrader, “a sense of guilt, redemption by blood, and moral purpose.” For Scorsese, filming it seemed to have a salutary effect, resolving the moral conflicts that had permeated *Mean Streets* and *Taxi Driver*.

—Michael J. Baers

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## Ragni, Gerome (1942-1991), and James Rado (1939—)

The collaborative theatrical team of Gerome Ragni and James Rado created *Hair* (1967), the first rock musical on Broadway. *Hair* was a milestone for musical theater as an art form: experimental in nature, controversial in its subject matter and presentation. It was the first Broadway show to display totally nude performers, and to have a truly racially integrated cast. Supported by composer Galt MacDermot’s rock music score, *Hair* celebrated the 1960s hippie lifestyle and examined the concerns of America’s youth at that time—anti-war beliefs, sexual freedoms, drug use, and the search for community. Though the show remained Ragni and Rado’s only major success, it was a substantial one. *Hair* became wildly popular, even spawning a film version a decade later, and became the only show that fully embodied the youthful energy of the 1960s.

—Brian Granger

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## *Raiders of the Lost Ark*

While on vacation in Hawaii in 1977, filmmakers Steven Spielberg and George Lucas came up with the idea for a movie based on the serials they had loved as children: action movies set in exotic locales



Harrison Ford in a scene from the film *Raiders of the Lost Ark*.

with cliffhangers every second. Recalled Spielberg: “I wondered why they didn’t make movies like that anymore. I still wanted to see them.” Apparently, so did millions of Americans, as *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981), the fruit of the filmmakers’ labors, grossed more than \$200 million domestically in its first box-office run and re-established the adventure movie genre in U.S. film.

With Spielberg as director and Lucas as executive producer, *Raiders of the Lost Ark* follows the adventures of Indiana Jones (played by burgeoning screen icon Harrison Ford), a mild-mannered, bespectacled archeology professor who leads a double life as a whip-wielding swashbuckler who hunts down ancient treasures and prevents them from falling into the wrong hands, generally those of profit-seekers. Jones’s adversaries in this particular episode, set in the 1930s, are Nazis in search of the Ark of the Covenant, allegedly once the storehouse for the Ten Commandments. The Nazis want the Ark because they believe possession of such an ancient treasure would serve as a rallying point for nationalistic pride. Jones and his partner Marion (Karen Allen) venture across the globe in search of the Ark, all the while avoiding the Nazis’ best attempts on their lives. The movie climaxes with a fantastic showdown between the two sides over the prized treasure.

With its exotic locations and storyline of “narrow misses and close calls,” *Raiders of the Lost Ark* brought adventure back to

American cinema. The B-movie adventure story had been out of style since the 1940s, and only in the James Bond films of British cinema could films be found that were remotely adventure-based. In making *Raiders of the Lost Ark*, Spielberg and Lucas attempted to do away with the quintessentially British adventure narrative and restore to the action film the uniquely American flavor of such 1930s serials as *Commando Cody* and *Don Winslow of the Coast Guard*.

*Raiders of the Lost Ark* was resoundingly popular with both the public and critics. It earned Academy Awards in film editing, visual effects, sound, and art direction. It also ushered in a new era of American action movies, as the 1980s and 1990s gave rise to a host of adventure serials, not the least of which were the two *Raiders of the Lost Ark* sequels: *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom* (1985) and *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* (1989), also starring Harrison Ford.

An unintended consequence of *Raiders of the Lost Ark* was the way it spawned renewed interest in the profession of archaeology. With series such as *Mysteries of the Pyramids*, the Discovery Channel and the Arts & Entertainment Network maintained the public’s fascination with the exotic and fantastic image of archaeology presented by *Raiders of the Lost Ark*. However, much to the chagrin of savants in the field, *Raiders of the Lost Ark* created a less-than-accurate image of professional fieldwork, in which the spoon, not the bullwhip, represents the traditional tool of choice. Professionals have

had to disabuse not a few starry-eyed youngsters that the field is not quite as exciting as the movies make it out to be.

—Scott Tribble

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## Rainey, Gertrude “Ma” (1886-1939)

Gertrude “Ma” Rainey is known as the “Mother of the Blues.” Born Gertrude Pridgett in Columbus, Georgia, on April 26, 1886, Rainey was the first woman known to sing the blues, combining country blues simplicity with more urban styles. Her accompanists included Louis Armstrong and Fletcher Henderson. More commonly, however, her accompaniment consisted of an old-style jug or a washboard band.

Rainey began her entertainment career when she was still a teenager. At fourteen, she started singing in front of audiences, and not long thereafter she began touring with the Rabbit Foot Minstrels.



Ma Rainey, sitting, in a promotional photo for the Rabbit Foot Minstrels.

It is commonly held that while touring with the Minstrels she taught Bessie Smith. Rainey is given credit for being the first woman to bring the blues into the popular entertainment of her day—vaudeville, minstrel, and tent shows. In 1904 she married Will “Pa” Rainey, an elderly entrepreneur of the minstrel circuit, and thus got the name by which she became famous. She and her husband had an act billed as “Rainey and Rainey, Assassins of the Blues.”

During the 1910s and 1920s, Ma Rainey became a solo act and the foremost proponent of the blues style. She was the most rural of the classic blues singers, drawing most of her support from a Southern audience. She picked up a number of other nicknames, including the “Paramount Wildcat” (for the Paramount record company) and “Gold Necklace Woman of the Blues” (for the necklace of gold coins which she always wore in performance). She earned for the blues its reputation as a “low down music.” Her open bisexuality did a great deal to foster that reputation. Rainey’s advertisement for the notorious 1928 record “Prove It on Me,” featured her in a man’s outfit coming on to two women. The lyrics were similarly challenging: “Wear my clothes just like a fan. / Talk to gals just like any old man; / ‘Cause they say I do it, ain’t nobody caught me, / Sure got to prove it on me.” The song confirmed Rainey’s independent image and advocacy of women’s issues. Rainey practiced what she preached and controlled her own career; she was famous for her business acumen and always carried a trunk full of money.

In 1923, the thirty-eight-year-old Rainey began recording for Paramount Records. She recorded more than 100 sides in her six years at Paramount, including “C.C. Rider” and “Ma Rainey’s Black Bottom.” However, male blues singers soon began to surpass female blues singers in popularity while the blues in general went into a decline. Rainey’s last recording was in 1928, but she continued to perform until 1935, when she left the circuit and went back home to Columbus, Georgia, where she ran two theaters until she died in 1939 of heart failure.

Rainey had followed the path of other blues singers, returning to the church in her later years. She became active in the Congregation of Friendship Baptist Church, joining her brother who was a deacon there. In 1983 Ma Rainey was posthumously inducted into the Blues Foundation’s Hall of Fame. In 1990 the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame followed suit, citing her as an early influence on Rock and Roll. In 1994 the U.S. Postal Service honored her with a stamp.

—Frank A. Salamone

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## Rains, Claude (1889-1967)

The words “unique actor” and “consummate professional” are overused in the entertainment industry, but they describe perfectly

Claude Rains, an exceptional character actor of the Golden Age of Hollywood during the 1930s and 1940s. Rains was known for his subtle nuances in style, his perfect diction, and his mellifluous voice as he skillfully created memorable characters on stage, screen, television, and radio for nearly 50 years.

Of the 54 movies Rains made from 1933 to 1965, he is most remembered for his unforgettable performances as the mad chemist in *The Invisible Man* (1933), the smoothly corrupt senator foiled by Jimmy Stewart in Frank Capra's *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939), the sympathetic and pitiful betrayed husband of Ingrid Bergman in Alfred Hitchcock's *Notorious* (1946), and the charmingly corrupt Vichy police official who joins Humphrey Bogart to fight for freedom at the end of *Casablanca* (1942). But few Americans know that the British-born Rains was an eminent stage actor both in London and with the renowned Theatre Guild in New York for 30 years before he entered motion pictures.

Even though Rains was not particularly good looking, and at 5'6" rather short, he possessed a commanding air, a seemingly inbred impeccable manner, and a sly humor, all of which resulted in a presence more imposing than his slight physical build implied. His acting suggested suaveness with just a hint of wickedness, but it was his elocution and husky-toned velvety voice that became his trademark. Rains could combine words, subtle gestures, and emphatic pauses with perfect timing. His speech and style were all the more remarkable given that he was born into abject poverty in London's slums during the latter part of the Victorian Era, and lived a rather Dickensian childhood on the streets. Until well into his teens, Rains suffered a serious speech defect and also had a strong cockney dialect. As the eminent writer J. B. Priestly stated about the actor's persona in his book *Particular Pleasures*, "I can imagine an American filmgoer seeing Claude Rains . . . as an autocrat or smooth villain, feeling certain that here was a man who must have left an aristocratic family . . . to amuse himself making films. Rains had that air [of refinement]."

Rains began his career at age ten as a callboy in the British theatre and was encouraged to take voice lessons and overcome his speech problems. His self-discipline and responsible attitude were noticed by theatre owners and, in an unprecedented manner, Rains eventually became stage manager. In this way he learned every aspect of theatrical production, including effective acting.

In 1915 Rains served with the British Army in France, where he suffered the ill-effects of the German's use of mustard gas. Although his vocal cords were damaged, he astonished the doctors when ironically he recovered with a much deeper and unusual voice. In 1919 he returned to the London stage as an actor and performed in diverse plays penned by talents ranging from George Bernard Shaw to Pirandello, and was noticed by critics for his exceptional ability. Prominent writers such as Graham Greene were highly complimentary, describing the actor's interpretations as brilliant: "Mr. Rains' low husky voice, his power of investing even commonplace dialogue with smoldering conviction, is remarkable. . . . He can catch, as no one else can, the bitter distrust of the world, religious in its intensity" Rains arrived in the United States in 1925 with a touring company and decided to remain in this country, becoming a naturalized citizen in 1938. By the early 1930s he was one of the leading actors with the Theatre Guild.

Initially Rains avoided films, and he especially refrained from making silent movies. The Great Depression, however, forced him, and many other actors, to leave the theatre for Hollywood. In 1933, he accepted the lead role in Universal's *The Invisible Man*, a film directed by his old theatre friend James Whale, who insisted on Rains

for the part. Whale recognized the power of the actor's extraordinary voice, which was essential since the actor's face was completely covered during the entire film. He made three movies in 1934 and 1935, impressing studio heads, and by 1936 Jack Warner offered the actor a contract, recognizing he had the ability "to do anything and do it well." It was a relationship that lasted ten years.

While most film admirers saw Rains as a reflection of the characters he portrayed—self-assured, cunning, devious, well-educated, polished, and urbane—in reality he was none of these things. He was an extremely honest, entirely self-taught, shy, reserved man who lived quite simply but who always felt very insecure and frightened. Rains' persona of sophistication was self-created and in his acting he never used his own personality, as did so many film stars like Cary Grant and Gary Cooper. Above all, he rarely duplicated his characters and with equal aplomb could be a heavenly messenger (*Here Comes Mr. Jordan*, 1937) or the devil himself (*Angel on My Shoulder*, 1946), a wise and shrewd Caesar (*Caesar and Cleopatra*, 1945), or a naive cuckold to Bette Davis (*Mr. Skeffington*, 1944). Davis considered Claude Rains the greatest actor she ever worked with and they were friends for 20 years. He made two other popular films with her; as the kindly and understanding psychiatrist (in *Now, Voyager*, 1943), and as an egotistical, brilliant, but mean-spirited composer (in *Deception*, 1946). Rains displayed an inherent intelligence in his characterizations, that enabled him to overcome a shallow script or trite dialogue in many films. Producers and directors knew his broad range and his box-office popularity, and they frequently enlarged or built in roles for him. But even when his part was small Rains' presence was commanding, and he made a powerful impression, such as his portrayal of the mysterious Dr. Tower in *Kings Row* (1942).

Rains could suggest thoughts without words, but when he did speak his tone revealed, without affectation, the complexity of his character or set the mood for the scene. He was often labeled a "villain" simply because in some parts he implied intrigue and exuded an element of cunning. He used his unique voice to intimidate, suggest, or seduce an audience by controlling the pitch, volume, and innuendo; and his timing was impeccable. Perhaps Rains' uniqueness was that he could "put on" a complex personality as easily as other actors use make-up or costumes. This is especially apparent in his suggestive "effete" portrayal of Prince John in *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938). Often his characters seemed to border between being scrupulous and unscrupulous, and while scheming, not necessarily evil; this is most evident in his performance as the wily police captain in *Casablanca*. Although he was nominated four times for an Academy Award, he never won the honor.

At age 60, and after a 16 year absence, Rains returned to the New York stage in 1951 in Sidney Kingsley's *Darkness at Noon*, playing an old Bolshevik during the Stalinist purge trials. For his remarkable and astonishing portrayal he won every award the theatre world bestows. During the 1950s he attempted a few plays but only found critical success in T.S. Eliot's *The Confidential Clerk* (1954). He also acted in many early prominent television shows such as *Judgement at Nuremberg*, and appeared in a musical version of *The Pied Piper*, along with several Alfred Hitchcock episodes. Sadly, by 1960 his voice began to fail, along with his health, which was very apparent in his portrayal of the devious British official in David Lean's *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962). Rains' last film role was as King Herrod in *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (1965), of which one reviewer wrote: "After you've seen Rains in the first twenty minutes of the film, you can leave the theatre."



In the early 1960s, Rains married for the sixth time and moved to New Hampshire, but within a few years his wife died of cancer. Old, quite ill, and alone, he remained isolated in his home until his death in May 1967. His friend Bette Davis best summed up Rains' artistry when she stated during an interview, "an actor of his technique and style was irreplaceable; we shall not see his kind again."

—Toby Irene Cohen

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## Raitt, Bonnie (1949—)

Although she is one of rock 'n' roll's biggest names, Bonnie Raitt has always been more concerned with musical integrity and social activism than with easy fame. The daughter of Broadway musical star John Raitt, Bonnie was raised in Los Angeles in a politically active Quaker household. She began playing guitar at age nine, but only began to pursue a musical career while attending Radcliffe, where she played at Cambridge, Massachusetts, blues clubs. Becoming a dedicated student of African-American musical traditions, Raitt dropped out of college to sign with Warner Bros. and released her first album in 1971. A white woman performing classic black blues, Raitt's virtuoso guitar playing and appealing voice made her a critical darling. But she devoted as much time to her political activism as to her music and, struggling with alcoholism, by the late 1970s, her career began to wane. Raitt became sober in the mid-1980s and, in 1989, she released *Nick of Time*. At age 40, after almost 20 years of being overlooked by commercial audiences, Raitt was an overnight success, winning four Grammys. Now one of the music industry's most successful artists, Raitt continues to eschew formulaic pop albums in favor of work that reflects her musical heritage and political beliefs, making her that pop culture rarity—a best-seller with integrity.

—Victoria Price

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## Rambo

One of the best known and most popular fictional characters of the 1980s, Rambo was introduced in David Morrell's 1972 novel *First Blood* with the words, "His name was Rambo, and he was just some nothing kid for all anybody knew, standing by the pump of a gas



Sylvester Stallone as Rambo.

station at the outskirts of Madison, Kentucky.'" Rambo's popularity was due especially to the series of films based on the Rambo character, especially the second film, *Rambo: First Blood Part II*, in which the hero, played by Sylvester Stallone, symbolically "wins" the Vietnam War. After the humiliation of Vietnam, the disgust over Watergate, and the four-year presidency of the somber, soul-searching Jimmy Carter, America in the 1980s was ready for a change. Throughout that decade, both President Ronald Reagan and Rambo proclaimed the same message: America is back!

In the novel, the character bears little resemblance to Stallone. Rambo is barely out of his teens. He is only six months home from Vietnam, where he served with the elite Special Forces, was captured by the Viet Cong, escaped, and went a little mad in the process. He has let his hair and beard grow, and now hitchhikes aimlessly around the country. In Madison, Kentucky, Rambo runs afoul of the local sheriff, who arrests him for vagrancy. While being forcibly shaved at the local jail, Rambo has a flashback to the war. In a panic, he kills one deputy, wounds another, and escapes to the nearby wilderness. He is soon the focus of a manhunt by a posse of men who have no idea what kind of tiger they have by the tail. Rambo's hard-won guerrilla skills allow him both to avoid capture and to inflict heavy casualties upon his pursuers. The National Guard is eventually brought in but is no match for the former Green Beret. Many deaths later, Rambo kills his enemy, the sheriff, before being shot dead himself—by his former Special Forces commander, Captain Trautman.

The novel was moderately successful, but the story was not filmed until 1981, and a number of changes were made before Stallone would take on the lead role. The biggest change was in the

behavior of Rambo. In the film, he is still a Special Forces veteran of Vietnam, but his use of survival skills is much more restrained. In the novel, Rambo kills his pursuers with no thought of mercy; for him, it is war. Stallone's is a kinder, gentler Rambo. He wounds many people, but kills no one directly, and the one death attributable to him is an accident. Clearly, this rewriting stems from a desire to have Rambo conform more closely to the mold of the "good guy" hero, whereas his literary incarnation is more of an anti-hero. The change in the character may also explain why the savagely realistic Rambo of the novel had to die, while Stallone's character lived to fight another day.

That day was three years in coming, but in May 1985, *Rambo: First Blood Part II* burst upon America's movie screens. Rambo is released from prison to undertake a mission for the CIA. Satellite photos suggest that Americans are still being held prisoner in Vietnam. Rambo is to sneak in through the jungle and find out for certain. The tone of the movie is set early when Trautman, Rambo's former commander, comes to get him out of prison and explain the mission. Rambo asks, "Do we get to win this time?" Trautman's reply: "This time it's up to you." Once in Vietnam, Rambo is betrayed by the CIA, captured by the Vietnamese, and tortured by their Russian "advisors." Refusing to break under torture, Rambo escapes, arms himself, and proceeds to slaughter every Vietnamese and Russian soldier in the vicinity. In an interesting reversal of America's role in the Vietnam War, Rambo is now the wily guerrilla, using stealth, guile, and primitive weapons (a knife and longbow) against a large force of well-armed enemies.

The film was a huge success both in the United States and worldwide, earning more than \$150 million in its U.S. theatrical release alone. Even President Ronald Reagan praised it. For some, that was a problem: the character of Rambo seemed to represent the kind of kill-the-Comms machismo that had involved the country in Vietnam in the first place—an attitude that also could be said to typify most U.S. foreign policy in the Reagan years.

*Rambo III*, one of the most expensive movies made up to that time, was released in 1988. Some estimates put the film's budget at a whopping \$63 million, with about a quarter of that going to Stallone. In this incarnation, Rambo is seeking tranquility in a Thai monastery when he is visited by his mentor, Trautman. The Green Beret colonel has been given a dangerous assignment: to help Afghan guerrillas fight the Soviet invaders of their country. Trautman asks Rambo to come to Afghanistan with him, but Rambo is tired of war and declines. Trautman undertakes the mission alone and is captured by the evil Russians. Rambo learns of his friend's plight and vows to rescue him. Reaching Afghanistan, Rambo finds Trautman, frees him, and the two then mow down the Russians in an orgy of grunts, explosions, and automatic weapons fire.

To the surprise of many, *Rambo III* actually lost money, at least in its U.S. release. One reason was its immense budget, but the "Rambo" formula also appeared to be growing stale, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan lacked the kind of emotional resonance for Americans that could be found in the second film's refigting of the Vietnam War.

Rambo also saw action as a Saturday-morning cartoon character, battling such enemies as Russian spies, Arab terrorists, and evil American punk rockers. A number of toy companies were licensed to produce action figures of Rambo and his foes, as well as plastic guns and knives modeled after the weapons used by Stallone's character in the films.

—Justin Gustainis

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## The Ramones

Generally regarded as the forefathers of the punk rock movement, the Ramones—Joey, Dee Dee, Johnny, and Tommy—formed in Forest Hills, New York, in 1974. Their influence was felt overseas after several future members of Britain's leading punk acts witnessed the Ramones' 1976 tour of England. Many Americans, though, weren't sure whether the band was a joke or not. Their identical attire of ripped denim and biker jackets, and the use of the same surname ("Ramone" was a pseudonym used by Paul McCartney when he was with the Beatles), poked fun at the pomposity that infected rock during the 1970s. Joey Ramone recalled to Matt Diehl in *Rolling Stone* that "1976 was the height of disco and corporate rock, and we were like nobody else." When other groups were recording songs that lasted the length of an LP's entire side, the Ramones' first album clocked in at 30 minutes, with many songs lasting a mere two minutes. The songs' short length was part of the same minimalist, no-frills technique that characterized the band's career-long discipline and consistency. A Ramones show in 1997 was pretty much the same show as one in 1977, and it was this consistency that helped the band outlast most of its punk peers.

The Ramones were signed in 1975 by Sire Records, an independent American label that had a heavy roster of punk and new wave acts, including the Replacements and the Talking Heads. Their first release in 1976, *Ramones*, contained short, energetic songs that used three chords and shunned existing rock conventions like guitar solos. The combination of surf music and fast rhythm guitar was initially abrasive, something the band undoubtedly knew and capitalized on by recording an actual chain saw to introduce "Chain Saw." Songs like "Beat on the Brat" and "Blitzkrieg Bop" contained elements of aggression and conquest, but this fueled a campaign to overtake the music industry, not one that advocated street violence.

By the time *Rocket to Russia* was released in 1977, the group's cartoonish persona was established; the "joke" band that people thought would fall into obscurity didn't. As many of rock's superstars clung to a leftover 1960s mysticism, the Ramones' records featured cretins, pinheads, lobotomies, and shock treatment. On a more serious level, these elements of fun served to repudiate 1960s hippie culture. The Ramones recaptured the short and simple aesthetic that rock music had abandoned and revived the generation gap, all in the same stroke.

*Road to Ruin* was released in 1978 and introduced the group's first lineup change. Tommy, the group's drummer and co-producer, gave up performing to produce records; he was replaced by Marky Ramone. *Road to Ruin* included a cover from the British Invasion period and—surprise—a ballad called "Questioningly." The group then starred in the 1979 movie, *Rock 'n' Roll High School*, which fairly represented the group's just-dumb-fun ethos.



### The Ramones

The Ramones' last recording was 1995's *Adios Amigos*. They left fans with 11 original recordings and a number of live recordings and retrospectives. Throughout their career the band's style remained largely intact, with the occasional incorporation of metal and psychedelia. Lyrically, the band expanded into topical subjects, like 1986's "Bonzo Goes to Bitburg," a reference to Ronald Reagan's ill-advised trip to a German war cemetery. The song was subsequently retitled "My Brain Is Hanging Upside Down" for its release on *Animal Boy*.

The Ramones characterized the complex nature of punk while exposing the contradictions within rock 'n' roll itself. Their music, lyrics, and image were drawn entirely from popular culture. Some critics, especially those who tried to legitimize rock music to a broader audience, dismissed the Ramones as lowbrow entertainment. These writers missed the point, or forgot, that rock derives a large part of its validity by standing opposite to mainstream culture. Reminding people of this, the Ramones were put in the position of initiating a conservative artistic reaction within the punk movement, a movement

that was perceived by many as a radical threat. Even among their songs the group expressed seemingly contradictory ideas: the group that recorded “Bonzo Goes to Bitburg” later recorded a pro-NRA song called “Scattergun.”

The Ramones’ cartoonish pose masked their conceptual nature, which Talking Heads bassist Tina Weymouth commented on in 1990: “What set the Ramones apart from all the hardcore bands that came later was their discipline. They chose to be primitive.” The Ramones’ spontaneous do-it-yourself style made them a mass-scale influence in rock. They launched the development of punk, but they also emboldened musicians outside of punk as well. Once young musicians realized that forming a band did not require anyone else’s blessing, local club scenes emerged and independent record labels developed. In the commercially conservative climate of the music business in the late 1970s, the Ramones’ appearance showed others that it was possible to work outside an often hostile music industry.

—Daryl Umberger

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## Ranch House

The hiatus in home building enforced by the Great Depression ended in a period when older architectural styles, such as the bungalow, made popular during the housing boom of the turn of the century, was replaced by newer design ideas. After World War II, new designs proliferated due to the largest housing boom in the history of the United States. Unlike designs used at the turn of the century, those used after World War II incorporated a well-thought-out public discourse concerning the design of the modern home. Specifically, many home magazines, such as *Ladies’ Home Journal*, linked surveys of home owners with ideas of architects and designers in order to argue that the modern home should pair the latest building technology with the needs of the modern family. In addition, this discourse involved a new attentiveness to domestic life, led by Dr. Benjamin Spock, that suggested that the home design greatly influenced family life. As early as 1940, the ranch house became the form indelibly attached to the new ideal of the American family.

The basic features of the ranch house—its simple, informal, one-story structure, its low-pitched eaves, its large, expansive “picture” windows—were fused in the public mind with the easygoing lifestyle identified with the Southwest and West Coast. Although such homes did not necessarily populate the ranches of the Western Prairie—the ranching frontier cared little about architecture—the form of the homes did bear some resemblance to western ranch houses of the

1880s. More directly, the ranch house derived from architect Frank Lloyd Wright’s prairie and usonian houses.

Within the overall ranch-house type a pattern of evolution can be traced. Both the size and complexity of the floor plan layouts increase. The modest ranch type evolves into a sprawling, highly articulated ranch Rambler, incorporating split and bi-level variants. Three zones of the home are structured around the basic acts of its human occupants: a bedroom zone; family living and entertaining zone; and a garage with adjoining hobby area. The center of the home is the living zone, which incorporates a strikingly open orientation allowing the design to feel free-flowing. While the home appears as a single-story home from the exterior, these zones stretch into a main floor and a lower floor. In this fashion, the ranch form can be deceptively large while placed on a fairly small lot. This, of course, made it a very attractive option for developers.

The ranch house became the most ubiquitous form of American house design after 1950, arguably helping to define family life and structure during this same period through its layout and design. The dominance of the living zone, where it really becomes a multi-purpose area composing the heart of the home, dovetailed beautifully with the life of leisure that awaited many middle-class Americans after 1950. The design was particularly conducive to the television, which could be placed in the main living room and viewed from any number of areas in the living zone. Purchasers associated the form with “heritage, status, and respectability,” but functionality was never too far from their minds.

—Brian Black

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## Rand, Ayn

See Objectivism/Ayn Rand

## Rand, Sally (1904-1979)

Best known for her sexually provocative dance, using ostrich feather fans, that she introduced at the 1933 Chicago World’s Fair (supplemented in 1934 by a bubble dance), Sally Rand eventually made her form of erotic movement more acceptable to mainstream audiences than strip-tease had been. Rand, who came to her calling after stints as a chorine, vaudeville performer, circus acrobat, and Hollywood film star, thought of herself as a “terpsichorean artiste” rather than a stripper or exotic dancer. While controversial enough during the 1930s through the mid-1960s to earn arrest for indecency, there was considerable debate about whether she actually wore a body stocking or was naked underneath her feathers. Ultimately, Rand was good at creating the illusion of nudity while she cavorted tastefully under blue or pink lights to the music of Chopin and Debussy, and that

was what mattered. She became an American institution, performing into her seventies.

—Frederick J. Augustyn, Jr.

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## Rap/Hip-Hop

Hip-Hop music, or to use the more popular marketing term, Rap music, was the most popular, influential, and controversial form of black and Latino urban popular music throughout the 1980s and 1990s. It emerged in the early to mid-1970s in the Bronx, though in later years, distinctive East Coast and West Coast styles would emerge and clash, sometimes with fatal results for its performers. Rap and Hip-Hop culture entered mainstream America's collective consciousness as a novelty, resulting from the massive success of the Sugarhill Gang's "Rapper's Delight." "Rapper's Delight" contained all the elements that would characterize Hip-Hop's essence: spare instrumentation, rhythmically spoken rhymes, and the borrowing of previously existing musical elements to construct a new song ("Rapper's Delight" borrowed heavily from Chic's then-current hit, "Good Times").

Music is only one part of Hip-Hop culture, which encompasses four major elements: rapping, deejaying, breakdancing, and graffiti-writing. Beyond the rhyming style known as rapping or MC-ing, deejaying uses the turntable as an instrument that the MC raps over while listeners engage in the quasi-acrobatic gyrations of breakdancing. Rapping can take many forms—from the rhythmic vocal delivery of blues artists and the artsy jazz-influenced delivery of the Last Poets to the almost spoken-word delivery of Bob Dylan and Lou Reed. Graffiti ranges from the illegal stylized form of public art often spray-painted on walls to the signature design motifs on clothing, album covers, and posters. As an extension of graffiti, the creative spellings used by many "aerosol artists" ("Str8" for "straight" or "boyz" for "boys," for example) has constituted a unique vocabulary that has itself become a stylistic signature of the Hip-Hop movement and has spilled over as a shorthand in computer chat rooms.

Hip-Hop's deceptively simplistic nature and appropriation of other music drew early criticisms about its merits as a musical form, and its graphic and often controversial lyrics delivered mostly from the perspective of African-American urban youth fanned the flames of criticism concerning its social merits. The practice of borrowing fragments from other songs, often with a digital sampler, greatly influenced other forms of music to the point that, by the late 1990s, sampling-based sound collage became recognized as a legitimate musical art form. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Hip-Hop music remained one of the only outlets where an inner-city youth's opinion could be heard unfiltered by mass media censors, prompting artist Chuck D to proclaim that form of music "Black America's CNN." By the late-1990s, Hip-Hop has become virtually synonymous with

youth culture (black or white), and its music and associated styles have been appropriated for TV ads, music videos, Pop and R&B songs, fashion magazines, and in malls throughout the United States.

The significance of breakdancing and graffiti should not be downplayed, but it is obvious that the music has become Hip-Hop culture's most noticeable and persistent component. The key figure in the development of Hip-Hop music was the DJ (disc jockey). The role of the DJ during the earliest phases of the style was to spin popular records that kept the party alive and people dancing. In the early 1970s a number of DJs had strong followings in their respective areas. Few of them ever had access to large clubs, so their primary venues were block parties, schools, and parks (where, during the summer, they would plug their sound systems into lampposts and play until the police broke up the gathering).

The most popular of these early DJs was Jamaican immigrant Kool DJ Herc, who is credited with two innovations that, Tricia Rose argues in *Black Noise*, "separated rap music from other popular musics and set the stage for further innovation." The first was Herc's habit of isolating the fragments of songs that were the most popular with dancers and segueing them into one long musical collage. These song fragments were composed of the percussion breaks within the songs and came to be known as "breakbeats." In David Toop's book *Rap Attack 2*, early DJ pioneer Afrika Bambaataa recalls Kool DJ Herc's DJ style: "Now he took the music of Mandrill like 'Fencewalk,' certain disco records that had funky percussion breaks like the Incredible Bongo Band when they came out with 'Apache' and he just kept that beat going."

Other DJs took this concept and began expanding on the possibilities that two turntables could offer. The endless collages of breakbeats that were an integral part of breakdancing required DJs to draw from massive libraries of obscure records, giving the most popular DJs the title of "masters of records." One of the first DJs to pick up on the breakbeat technique was Grandmaster Flash, who went further than Kool DJ Herc in his turntable wizardry. With two turntables Flash was able to, as told to David Toop, "take small parts of records and, at first, keep it on time, no tricks, keep it on time. I'm talking about very short beats, maybe 40 seconds, keeping it going for about five minutes, depending on how popular that particular record was." Flash continued, "After that, I mastered punch phasing—taking certain parts of a record where there's a vocal or drum slap or a horn. I would throw it out and bring it back, keeping the other turntable playing. If this record had a horn in it before the break came down I would go—BAM, BAM, BAM-BAM—just to try this on the crowd." Another technique that is credited to Grandmaster Flash is "scratching." Scratching consists of moving a record back and forth with one's hand while the needle rests in the groove to produce a rhythmic noise that is completely divorced from the sound the record makes when played at a normal speed. This sound is often used to accent parts of another record playing on the second turntable. These basic Hip-Hop DJ techniques laid the foundation for all Hip-Hop music to come.

Kool DJ Herc is credited with a second important innovation—the development of rapping, or MC-ing. During the parties he began "dropping rhymes" or shouting simple phrases that were popular in the streets like "rock on my mellow," "to the beat y'all," or "you don't stop" on top of the break beats he played. Herc borrowed this rhythmic form of talking (called "toasting") from the microphone personalities who deejayed in his native Jamaica, and he is recognized as the person who brought this style to New York. Early on, when he began concentrating more on mixing break beats, he enlisted the help

of his friend Coke La Rock to take over MC duties. The MC was responsible for exciting the dancers and giving the party a live feel; the MC also functioned as a type of crowd control—diffusing tensions that might arise from rival groups in the audience.

Grandmaster Flash, an acrobatic DJ whose showmanship resembled a circus act, saw the importance of having a live MC to keep the crowd dancing and not looking at the DJ. Together with Melle Mel, Scorpio, Kidd Creole, and Raheem & Cowboy, Flash formed Grandmaster Flash & the Furious Five. This trend-setting group inspired numerous rhyme battles throughout the South Bronx, and many “crews” such as Grand Wizard Theodore & the Fantastic Five, the Funky Four Plus One, the Cold Crush Brothers, and the Treacherous Three fought for microphone supremacy.

In the early days of rap, since other venues were unavailable, DJs like Kool DJ Herc, Grandmaster Flash, and Afrika Bambaataa often played for free in outdoor parks, abandoned buildings, and community centers. Soon Grandmaster Flash’s popularity surpassed Kool DJ Herc’s and Flash began to play for paying customers at numerous high schools and clubs. By 1977 Flash’s following had grown to the point where he was playing in clubs to crowds numbering more than 3,000. Until July, 1979, when the Sugarhill Gang released “Rapper’s Delight,” Hip-Hop was strictly an underground phenomenon that had not been documented beyond the numerous bootleg tapes of live performances that circulated throughout New York City, played on portable radios called “ghetto blasters.” The Sugarhill Gang was not a part of the South Bronx Hip-Hop scene that had been developing in the late 1970s; the group was instead put together by Sugarhill Records owners Sylvia and Joe Robinson. They had no street credibility and were not known to anyone involved in the Hip-Hop scene, but this did not stop them from having a huge hit in “Rapper’s Delight,” which sold more than two million records worldwide.

After the commercial success of “Rapper’s Delight” many of the MCs and DJs who were popular on the club circuit began to sign with record labels. By 1982, Afrika Bambaataa was playing for increasingly hip white audiences in downtown Manhattan clubs such as The Ritz, The Mudd Club, and Negril, as well as producing his own hit singles (“Planet Rock” was his biggest). This helped provoke an intense media infatuation with Hip-Hop culture, which singled out and highlighted the elements of Hip-Hop and breakdancing during the early 1980s. Soon after, a deluge of movies began featuring breakdancing and rapping, such as *Wild Style*, *Beat Street*, *Breakin’*, and *Krush Groove*. Many journalists and music consumers in the mainstream treated Hip-Hop as a passing fad, but Hip-Hop’s popularity continued to increase.

Some Hip-Hop artists from its early days—like Grandmaster Flash & the Furious Five, Kurtis Blow, Kool Moe Dee, and Doug E. Fresh—found themselves becoming minor stars while others such as Busy Bee, Spoonie Gee, Debbie Dee, Cold Crush Brothers, and Funky Four Plus One achieved little commercial success. One of the characteristics of what became known as the “old school” of Hip-Hop artists was an avoidance of using DJs and a reliance on live funk bands laying down instrumentals over which the MCs rapped. Also, Hip-Hop artists like Kurtis Blow and Grandmaster Flash & the Furious Five wore flashy outfits that in no way reflected the styles worn by Hip-Hop fans on the street.

By the early 1980s, Hip-Hop music went through its first major stylistic change, ushered in by Run-DMC, which practically invented the “new school.” Eschewing the showbizzy outfits and more lightweight backing instrumentals of old school acts, Run-DMC wore the same clothes worn by urban youths on the street. Further, they

stripped the music down to raw basic beats and rhymes, which was more true to Hip-Hop’s sound as it was originally heard in Bronx block parties and nightclubs. Run-DMC’s influence was enormous, paving the way for the success of more hardcore-sounding Hip-Hop artists like Public Enemy, LL Cool J, the Beastie Boys, and other Def Jam recording acts.

Soon to be a major player in the Hip-Hop music industry, Def Jam Records was co-founded in 1984 by Russell Simmons, the brother of Run from Run-DMC. By 1985, Simmons’ label had released a string of seven 12-inch singles that sold over 250,000 each (an unprecedented number at the time), launching the careers of LL Cool J and the Beastie Boys. Simmons’ business partner, Rick Rubin, produced their debut albums as well as that of Public Enemy, and also had a hand in producing Run-DMC’s *Raising Hell* (the first Hip-Hop album to go platinum). After starting the company with a \$5,000 investment, Simmons and Rubin signed a \$1 million distribution deal in 1985 with the corporate record label CBS.

While Run-DMC was considered the first Hip-Hop group to attract a predominantly white rock audience (with its cover of Aerosmith’s “Walk This Way”), the Beastie Boys, the first white Hip-Hop group, were the first rappers to top the *Billboard* Pop Album charts, a sign that Hip-Hop had finally infiltrated the white suburbs of America. This was another watershed moment in the evolution of Hip-Hop and a wake-up call to major record labels that Hip-Hop was becoming a very profitable genre. These major labels, which had access to large amounts of capital, moved quickly to sign new artists, and began to absorb many of the small independent labels either through distribution deals (such as CBS’s relationship with Def Jam Records or RCA’s relationship with Jive Records) or by purchasing the independents outright (like Warner Brothers did with the small but profitable Tommy Boy and Sleeping Bag labels).

During the genre’s first major commercial explosion (following a number of minor explosions), Hip-Hop entered what is considered to be its golden age during the late 1980s. It was a period of exciting creativity and diversity, with Boogie Down Productions and Public Enemy introducing the Hip-Hop world to overtly political messages with their albums *By All Means Necessary* and *It Takes a Nation of Millions...*, respectively. Rakim radically advanced the art of rhyming on Eric B. & Rakim’s *Paid in Full* and *Follow the Leader*, and the likes of Schoolly D, Ice T, and Niggaz with Attitude introduced the harsh, reality-based street rhymes of what would become known as “gangsta rap.” Afrocentric groups such as the Jungle Brothers and X-Clan proliferated, and party records by Kid ‘n’ Play and Rob Base & DJ E-Z Rock were just as popular as Hip-Hop’s clown prince Biz Markie and the longest lasting ladies of Hip-Hop, Salt-n-Pepa.

Salt-n-Pepa were not the first female rappers, but they were the first to become extremely popular. Women’s participation in Hip-Hop has largely been obscured, primarily because there were few female MCs who were able to release albums during the early 1980s, when Hip-Hop was getting underway. Despite this shortage of female artists, women did participate in the scene. Grandmaster Flash recounted in David Toop’s *Rap Attack 2* that there was a greater female presence during the early days, with crews like the Bronx-based Mercedes Ladies playing to large crowds. Other artists like the Funky Four Plus One’s Sha-Rock, Dimples D, and the Sequence were among the only recorded female rapper role models that Salt-n-Pepa could look to during the early 1980s.

By the late 1980s, Hip-Hop music was proving itself a big money maker. In 1988, Hip-Hop’s annual record sales reached \$100

million, which accounted for two percent of the total music industry's sales. The next year *Billboard* added "Rap" charts to its magazine and MTV debuted *Yo! MTV Raps*, which quickly became the network's highest-rated show. By 1992, it was estimated that Hip-Hop was generating \$400 million annually, roughly five percent of the music industry's yearly income. These estimates nearly doubled to \$700 million in 1993. In 1995 CNN reported that Hip-Hop's annual sales had risen to eight percent of the music industry's annual income. After a brief slump mid-decade, by the late 1990s, Hip-Hop was still going strong, with the majority of gold and platinum albums being awarded not to new pop and rock acts, but to new R&B and Hip-Hop artists. During the first half of 1998, Hip-Hop sales were up twenty-eight percent over 1997.

With the financial success of Hip-Hop came a proliferation of lawsuits involving copyright infringements, owing to the genre's established style of borrowing from previously existing music—a key practice since Hip-Hop's inception, whether by DJs playing fragments of records at Bronx block parties or via the technologically savvy method of collaging found sounds with digital samplers. This method of creation became extremely influential, becoming an accepted and legitimate form of music making by the late 1990s, with many mainstream Pop acts incorporating sampling into their recordings. But for a time during the mid- to-late 1980s, the practice of sampling appeared to be in danger. The deluge of lawsuits began in 1986 when funk artist Jimmy Castor, popular in the 1960s and 1970s, sued Def Jam and the Beastie Boys for their appropriation of the phrase "Yo, Leroy" from Castor's 1977 recording "The Return of Leroy (Part I)." Even though the legal atmosphere surrounding sampling became highly charged, the practice continued. By the early 1990s, businesses called "sample clearing houses" had been established, allowing labels and artists to use them in order to avoid any legal problems that may arise from sampling.

Hip-Hop continued to grow more diverse after its late-1980s golden age, though the mainstream media representations of Hip-Hop were dominated by coverage of gangsta rap during the first half of the 1990s. During this time, artists such as Ice Cube, Dr. Dre, Snoop Doggy Dogg, and Tupac Shakur sold millions of albums, many to white suburban teens. The violent and sometimes misogynist imagery contained in gangsta rap lyrics, and the fact that white teenagers were listening to it, drew protests from many conservative groups, prompting Time-Warner to drop "original gangsta" Ice T from its roster after a much publicized controversy surrounding the lyrics of his song, "Cop Killer." Under pressure, Time-Warner also sold off its investment in Interscope, the distributor of Death Row Records, which was the preeminent gangsta rap label during the first half of the decade. Although gangsta rap sales had been in decline for a year, the violent deaths of Tupac Shakur and Notorious B.I.G. in 1996 and 1997, respectively, marked the symbolic death of that genre.

Even though the West Coast-based gangsta rap genre was in decline by the mid-1990s, many more sub-genres and artists took its place. For instance, the Wu-Tang Clan, a New York City crew of nine talented MCs, bubbled up from the underground in 1993 to become one of the major forces in Hip-Hop by the late 1990s. By 1998, the Wu-Tang Clan had two multi-platinum records. Puff Daddy sold millions of records making popular party raps, and the multicultural Fugees became one of the most successful crossover groups of the 1990s. Female artists like Foxy Brown, Lil' Kim, Lauryn Hill, Lady of Rage, Missy Elliot, Queen Latifah, Bahamadia, Heather B, and others increased women's profiles in the Hip-Hop industry. Also in the late 1990s, the art of deejaying underwent a renaissance, with

turntable crews Invisibl Skratch Piklz, X-ecutioners, and the Beat Junkies, as well as individual turntablists DJ Shadow, DJ Krush, DJ Faust, Kid Koala, and Mixmaster Mike expanding the sonic possibilities of using two turntables.

Despite almost yearly predictions of Hip-Hop's commercial and artistic failure since 1979's "Rapper's Delight," Hip-Hop remained a commercially vital, artistically rich musical tradition well into the 1990s. By the end of the century, Hip-Hop appeared to be more popular and influential than ever.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## Rather, Dan (1931—)

Dan Rather succeeded Walter Cronkite as anchor of the *CBS Evening News* on March 9, 1981. After he took over the anchor desk, *CBS News* dissolved into turmoil due to budget cuts and new owners, and the ratings slipped. Rather had solid credentials, having been with CBS since 1962 (including a stint on *60 Minutes*), but his expertise soon proved less noteworthy than the often bizarre happenings that began to occur around him. His signoff one week was "courage"; he tended to use the vernacular of his Texas upbringing during broadcasts ("that dog won't hunt"); he let CBS "go to black" for six minutes when U.S. Open tennis ran too long, and he tangled on air with then Vice President George Bush. Perhaps oddest was Rather's assault on New York streets by a man asking, "What's the frequency, Kenneth?" (later, during an appearance on *The Late Show with David Letterman*, he joined rock band REM in a performance of their song based on this incident). From 1993 to 1995, Rather co-anchored with Connie Chung, but she was forced out and Rather subsequently trumpeted a "hard news" program. In 1998, he signed a contract to stay with CBS until 2003. Along with Peter Jennings and Tom Brokaw, Rather was one of the leading news broadcasters of the 1980s and 1990s.

—Michele Lellouche



Dan Rather at the Democratic National Convention, 1968.

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## Reader's Digest

The moral obligation to save time has been a sovereign force in American culture since colonial days. Time saving took on added importance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when businessmen sought to standardize the performance of the country's growing industrial sector. This movement toward greater efficiency extended into personal lives as well, as people sought to maximize

their own working and leisure time. An instant success that went on to become the most powerful vehicle for the printed word in the world, *Reader's Digest* was only one expression of the time-saving vogue when it was introduced in 1922. Printed in a handy booklet form that made it suitable for slipping into a coat pocket or purse, *Reader's Digest* featured 31 articles, one for each day of the month, culled from leading magazines, "each article of enduring value and interest, in condensed and permanent form," as the magazine maintained.

*Reader's Digest* did not introduce the concept of sampling and condensing other publications. An American magazine called *Littell's Living Age* first reprinted periodical articles in 1844. Almost 50 years later, *Literary Digest*, founded by Isaac Kauffman Funk of Funk & Wagnalls fame, capitalized upon the success of a British periodical, *Review of Reviews*, and presented condensations of articles from American, Canadian, and European publications. The highbrow *Literary Digest* achieved a circulation of over one million by 1927, earning praise from *Time* magazine (another 1920s time-saving publication) as "one of the greatest publishing successes in history." But *Literary Digest* fell out of the reading public's good graces in 1936 when it incorrectly predicted that Franklin D. Roosevelt would lose in a landslide in one of the first national presidential preference polls. The magazine failed the following year, not long after Roosevelt was inaugurated for the second of his record four terms.

The less esoteric *Reader's Digest* was the brainchild of William Roy DeWitt Wallace (1889-1981), a Minnesota-born college dropout who, according to biographer Peter Canning, touted various "schemes and stunts" as a young man. While employed as a traveling salesman, Wallace would condense and memorize important facts from magazine articles on three-by-five slips of paper in an effort to impress customers. He suffered shrapnel injuries fighting in France in World War I, and he read a variety of popular magazines and practiced condensing their articles while he recovered. His college professor father loaned him \$300 and in January 1920 Wallace produced a 64-page prototype issue of *Reader's Digest*, complete with 31 articles from publications such as *Ladies' Home Journal*, *McClure's*, and *Vanity Fair*. Potential publishers—such as William Randolph Hearst—rejected the magazine's concept as interesting but without any commercial promise because of an assumed limited readership and Wallace's determination not to have illustrations or advertisements detract from the reading material in his magazine.

While searching for a publisher, Wallace met feminist reformer Lila Acheson (1887-1984). She was not looking for a husband so much as a business partner in life. She encouraged Wallace to publish *Reader's Digest* himself and helped him advertise and process the first subscription orders. The couple married in Pleasantville, New York, and with \$5,000 in advance subscription orders established the Reader's Digest Association in the New York City suburb in 1921. Pleasantville became the headquarters of the *Reader's Digest* empire, as the first issue went out the following January. The magazine was an immediate success, capitalizing on self-education and self-confidence crazes then underway, a growing sense of national pride, and the omnipresent desire of readers to save time.

Except for a signature line drawing of a woman within a circle on the front cover, the drab text-only early *Reader's Digest* was issued without artwork or illustrations until November 1939. That drawing was removed in 1942 to be replaced by the magazine's table of contents. The front-cover table of contents became a trademark for *Reader's Digest* until May 1998, when it was moved inside the magazine, its cover spot replaced by a photograph. A greater number of illustrations began appearing with articles in the 1970s and 1980s,



giving the magazine a greater visual appeal. The Wallaces were able to support their publication on circulation revenues until the 1950s, using their financial freedom to espouse populist causes that other magazines were less willing to discuss. Eventually, however, a survey revealed that 80 percent of readers preferred advertising over increased subscription costs and advertisements began appearing in April 1955, generating as much as \$91,000 per page by the 1980s. Tobacco advertisements, a mainstay for many periodicals, were never accepted and the first liquor advertisement did not appear in *Reader's Digest* until 1979; no advertisement has ever appeared on the last page of the magazine—an attractive picture or art reprint, suitable for coffee-table display, always graced the magazine's back cover. Many reprints came from the magazine's own collection of original art.

Wallace never surveyed readers about their article preferences. Until he and his wife turned over control of the magazine to senior editors during the 1970s, he selected the articles for condensation based on what interested him, mindful of the need to appeal to a large audience of both sexes and all educational levels. In 1954, *Reader's Digest* business manager Albert Cole called the magazine "the greatest common denominator in communications we have." The topics were almost always universal: science and nature, morals, health, ordeals, education, biography, animals, lifestyle, sex, and humor. The contents remained remarkably similar over the years, including feature departments such as "My Most Unforgettable Character," "Humor in Uniform," "Campus Comedy," "Life in These United States," "Picturesque Speech," "News in Medicine," and "It Pays to Enrich Your Word Power." Occasionally, Wallace's personal tastes intruded. Often, articles were heartwarming and inspirational, involved personal success stories such as his own, or advocated a nondenominational Protestantism that was described as "muscular Christianity."

Carl Sandburg once complained that *Reader's Digest* was "often as solemn as death and now and then funny as a barrel of monkeys." The Wallaces were criticized for their socially and politically conservative agenda, which chided labor, big government, and any form of political radicalism, and their all but open endorsement of the Republican Party. The magazine's staff even wrote articles for other publications, adhering to the Wallaces' conservative leanings, so that they could be reprinted in *Reader's Digest*. The magazine defended such "plants" as a means of providing proper editorial balance. The magazine was also criticized for refusing to publish any letters to the editor, especially corrections or rebuttals. The editors maintained that the mail was usually evenly split, making letters unnecessary. Furthermore, *Reader's Digest* articles were shortened by as much as three-fourths from the manuscripts, leading to complaints that the condensations diluted or lost the entire point of the original. Although conservative, the magazine did not shy away from controversy. Some *Reader's Digest* articles reported on medical or scientific breakthroughs years before details appeared in other publications. The magazine also published crusading articles on venereal disease, cigarette smoking, safe driving, conservation, and other populist-style issues. Competitors such as *Literary Digest*, *Quick*, and *Esquire's* one-time popular *Coronet* tried but failed to seriously challenge *Reader's Digest*.

From 5,000 first issues, the circulation of *Reader's Digest* soared for most of the twentieth century. The Wallaces kept circulation figures secret until 1936, but the number of copies exceeded 200,000 by 1930, one million in 1935, and nine million by 1950. In 1954, it was estimated that one out of every four families in the United States received the magazine. The domestic circulation peaked at

over 17 million copies in 1984, second only to *TV Guide*. The magazine's profits were enhanced by a series of foreign editions, beginning with Great Britain in 1938 and extending to 49 international editions, published in 19 languages, with a total circulation of over 28 million that made *Reader's Digest* the most widely read periodical on the planet.

In 1934, Wallace added a condensed book section as a regular feature to the magazine and it led to a Reader's Digest Condensed Book Club in 1950. In 1965, he purchased Funk and Wagnalls, publishers of the *Literary Digest*, and added their extensive line of encyclopedias, dictionaries, and reference works to his magazine's book publishing division. Records, movies, and video sales were added, along with a direct mail sweepstakes competition that landed the Reader's Digest Association in trouble with the Federal Trade Commission until an agreement was reached in 1983. Their long-standing belief in the Golden Rule induced the Wallaces to fund the Reader's Digest Foundation, one of the greatest philanthropic institutions of its time. The foundation supported a variety of causes, including education, the arts, and major projects such as a new contemporary wing for New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art and the effort to move Egypt's Abu Simbel temple up the Nile Valley to make way for the Aswan High Dam.

The Wallaces gradually passed on control of their magazine during the 1960s and 1970s. DeWitt died in 1981 and Lila in 1984. As biographer John Heidenry explained, during a management struggle days before her death, Lila sought to return the magazine to "old fashioned American values." The once powerful magazine began to flounder without the Wallaces at the helm. The Reader's Digest Association began buying other magazines in 1986, but the new titles were plagued by mounting losses that hurt the magazine's once-enviable profit margin. Advertising losses, increasing competition, and the aging of its core readership dogged *Reader's Digest* into the 1990s, even in the profitable book and home entertainment groups. The company's stock price dropped from \$56 in 1992 to \$17 in 1998. An outside chairman and chief executive officer, Thomas Ryder, was hired to revitalize the magazine in 1998. Ryder began a cost-cutting campaign that included employee layoffs, a magazine redesign, the auction of 39 pieces from the magazine's prized art collection, and a self-admitted drop in *Reader's Digest* domestic circulation base from 15 to 12.5 million copies. At the end of the twentieth century, the magazine was discussing such possibilities as *Reader's Digest* made-for-television movies to attract a new and younger audience, along with a merger with another media corporation. Observers, however, could not help but notice that time may have finally caught up with *Reader's Digest*.

—Richard Digby-Junger

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## Reagan, Ronald (1911—)

America's fortieth president from 1981-1989, known variously as "Dutch," the "Teflon President," "The Great Communicator," and the father of an economic system named after him ("Reaganomics"), Ronald Wilson Reagan is one of the most controversial political figures of the twentieth century. In fact, an entire system of thought, appropriately titled "Reaganism," was coined to describe the effects of, depending on who you ask, his destructive social legacy or his repositioning of American optimism and strength at the forefront of world politics. In either case, one cannot underestimate the importance of Reagan's influence during the social and political upheavals of the 1980s and beyond.

On February 6, 1911, Ronald Wilson Reagan was born to Nelle and John Reagan in Tampico, Illinois. Although Reagan recalls his younger years as idyllic, his family moved often, living on the fly in five different places in Dixon, four in Tampico, and two in Galesburg, Illinois. His family was involved in the religious revivals hitting Tampico at the time but, though his mother was a leader of church life



Ronald Reagan

in her area, his father displayed a destructive reliance upon alcohol. Ronald's acting skills and religious views were formed together in these early years: he acted in his mother's skits, dated his pastor's daughter for eight years, led the Easter sunrise service, and cleaned and worked at the church.

Ronald attended high school in Dixon and enrolled at Eureka College as a freshman in 1928. He was a fairly good student, studying just enough on the easiest courses to get by, but he displayed a skill for last minute memorization that was, in the words of his brother Neil (who also attended Eureka), "photographic." He performed solidly at the guard position for the football team and was a stellar lifeguard at Lowell Park from 1927 to 1932, rescuing up to 77 swimmers. He performed in seven plays, lettered in two sports and was a cheerleader in others, became president of both the booster club and the senate, and spent time on the school paper and the yearbook, all while majoring in economics.

Upon graduation, he became a radio sports announcer at WHO in Des Moines, Iowa. He was particularly associated with baseball and, curiously enough, was not in attendance at most of the games he called. Though he became wildly popular in Des Moines for his broadcasting, he worked from a telegraph relay, providing his listeners with improvised action and drama. Success as an announcer eventually landed him at Warner Brothers studio in Hollywood. A screen test in 1937 won Reagan a contract and during the next two decades he appeared in 53 films, becoming famous for his cool vocal command and grace under pressure. He became most popular for his role of Notre Dame football coach Knute Rockne in the film *Knute Rockne, All American* (1940) and as the reckless Drake McHugh in *King's Row* (1942), a star vehicle that put Reagan firmly on the Hollywood map. He eventually married actress Jane Wyman, fathering two children, Maureen and Michael. Later divorced, and Reagan married his second wife, Nancy Davis, another Hollywood starlet, in 1952, fathering two more children, Patricia and Ronald.

By this time, Reagan's political career was already underway. As president of the Screen Actors Guild, Reagan became embroiled in disputes over the issue of communism in the film industry and his political views shifted from liberal to conservative. He toured the country as a television host, becoming a spokesman for conservatism and a company man for General Electric. Financially secure by 1962, Reagan then spent a few years delivering speeches to groups across the country, mostly about business and conservative interests and decrying big government. His oratory was dazzling and in 1966 he was elected governor of California by a margin of a million votes. His terms as governor were marked by conflict and controversy. Though he ran as a candidate opposed to taxes (a consideration that carried itself into his presidency), he implemented the highest tax increase in California at the time. He demanded the resignation of University of California, Berkeley, chancellor Clark Kerr during the free speech demonstrations, positioning himself as the voice of moderation exasperated with "campus radicals," yet was lauded by the state for balancing the books. The early stirrings of Reaganism thus became evident during Reagan's stint as governor: a devotion to business interests (General Electric), hard-line stances against liberals seeking to expand social freedoms, the demonization of Communism and the USSR, concern over America's perceived moral disintegration, a delegation of power to the point where the executive's ultimate responsibility lay in his rhetorical influence over party constituents, and finally, the entrenchment of governmental power and influence coupled with the oratorical promise of deregulation.

Reagan won the Republican presidential nomination in 1980 and chose as his running mate former Texas congressman and United Nations ambassador George Bush. The “New Right” program of the minimalist state and the free-market economy adopted by Reagan Republicans hit Washington by force. Primary among these policies was supply-side economics, once called “voodoo economics” by George Bush (before he became Reagan’s vice president), a curious theory that relied upon the “trickle-down” of revenue from the wealthy to the poor. This effect would occur when the rich were encouraged to spend money, and to facilitate this, Reagan set about implementing tax breaks and benefits to the wealthy that continued on long past his presidency. He coupled this with cutbacks in domestic spending, especially on the welfare programs AFDC (Aid for Families with Dependent Children) and Medicaid. Welfare recipients were castigated by the Republican Party as loafers who had been coddled by the oversized government that Reagan campaigned against throughout his career. But Reagan’s most important political victories came in the arena of foreign policy. He came into power on the heels of a crisis involving Iranian seizure of the U.S. embassy and the taking of hostages, whom former president Jimmy Carter (a Democrat), had been unable to free. Reagan resolved the crisis and freed the hostages shortly after his election to office. He railed against the Soviet Union and Communism as he had done throughout his Hollywood and California years, and set about increasing the budget of the Pentagon and the U.S. defense industries.

At home, he implemented equally aggressive domestic policies against crime, drugs, and pornography; although he championed a United States free from the dictates of oppressive government control, he nevertheless used government to further his conservative social agenda, which included the banning of abortion, reinstatement of school prayer, and promotion of the nuclear, heterosexual family. In hindsight Reagan’s programs can be critiqued correctly: American prosperity and position had increased, at least in theory; one can arguably credit the United States’ attractive capitalist prosperity for the eventual fall of communism in the Soviet Union that occurred during the Reagan–Bush years. This economic deregulation, however, led to at least one major economic recession, a growth in the unemployment rate, and a stigmatization of those whom Reagan’s first domestic policy adviser, Martin Anderson, called the “Dependent American,” citizens who relied upon social programs like AFDC and Medicaid for assistance. His punishing stances on social disintegration came back to haunt him during the infamous Iran-Contra Hearings, in which Reagan’s cabinet was caught red-handed funneling drug money to the Contras in Central America, a geographical and political zone important to the presidency for its massive drug production. These were the kinds of inconsistencies that coursed throughout the Reagan Revolution, inconsistencies that can be traced all the way back to Reagan’s imaginative renderings of baseball games at which he was never present. Some had a hard time sorting out where rhetoric and truth, in the form of policy, met. Yet Reagan, through his incredible oratorical skill and deep-seated beliefs in morality and independence, imparted a sense of relentless optimism and nationalism to a country whose national character and trust in its government had been marred by failures at home (in the form of civil rights dilemmas, the sexual revolution, divisive stances on race and class) and abroad (the Vietnam War, Iran).

A critique of Reaganism would not be complete without a consideration of the major effect Reagan had on the growth and use of media power in the United States. Popular culture can point to

Reagan, much more than John F. Kennedy, as the premier political media presence of the twentieth century. It is obvious that Reagan’s history in broadcasting, Hollywood, and advertising played a part in his success as the Great Communicator. Yet Reagan’s influence could be felt everywhere in popular culture. In music, down-home heroes like Bruce Springsteen and John Mellencamp climbed the charts on the strengths of their blue-collar, heartland lyrics (Springsteen’s biggest album of the period was *Born in the U.S.A.*), yet the birth of rap and its vocal dissatisfaction with unfair treatment of minorities and the poor in the lyrics of groups such as Public Enemy, KRS-One, and Grandmaster Flash & the Furious Five also occurred under Reagan’s terms. Films moved toward hard-bodied, masculine heroes such as Sylvester Stallone (whose mythic Rambo was the de facto Reagan icon; in one political speech, Reagan actually compared himself to the character), Chuck Norris, the wildly popular Arnold Schwarzenegger, and, of course, Clint Eastwood (whose character’s challenge, “Go ahead, make my day,” Reagan appropriated as a motto during a foreign policy speech).

Television became fascinated with the Reagan 1980s, especially the world of glitz and glamour: *Dynasty* was one of the 1980’s biggest television hits, while *thirtysomething* provided the Yuppies (Young Urban Professionals, who became the de facto Reaganite model constituents) with a forum for voicing their middle-class concerns. Further, the ultimate conflation of the entertainment industry and political sphere by the end of the Reagan era prefigured the rise in power of so-called tabloid talk shows, news programs (and even 24-hour news channels, such as CNN and CSPAN), “Reality TV” shows such as *Cops*, and an increasing influx of media attention on the personal lives of political figures (Nancy Reagan’s alleged affair with Frank Sinatra, the Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill hearings, Gary Hart’s indiscretions, the Bill Clinton-Monica Lewinsky affair, among others). Politics and entertainment had finally reached the stage in their evolution where they become linked together; Reagan’s persuasive use of the media in his policy implementation strategies, as well as his economic deregulation which allowed media monopolies to grow from film to publishing to sports and further, gave the media heretofore unrealized power. This would be part of the legacy of Reaganism: his presidency while setting the foundations of an economic upswing that would last through the 1990s, had opened the door for all forms of the media, from television to film to publishing to the Internet, to become major players in the American sociopolitical landscape. With the presidency of Bill Clinton, the use of media to manipulate public opinion would perhaps reach its apex in “spin.”

—Scott Thill

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## *The Real World*

*The Real World*, MTV's first "reality-based" television series, was launched in the fall of 1991 to immense critical and popular acclaim which has increased over its eight-year run, transforming it from a controversial experiment into a money-making franchise. A pseudo-documentary, its concept—reiterated in the opening credits of each week's half hour episode—is "This is the story of seven strangers, picked to live in a house, and have their lives taped, to see what happens when people stop being polite, and start being real." As columnist Benjamin Svetkey observes, "we get to witness these telegenic urbanites live out their 'real' lives. We watch as they feud with each other (over everything from telephone manners to race relations), flirt with each other, rush off to work or school, chat with their moms on the phone (the ubiquitous microphones eavesdrop on both ends of the conversation), schmooze about sex, get drunk, pass out, and do all the other things twenty-somethings do so well, all of it spliced together as slickly as a Paula Abdul video and set to an in-your-face soundtrack of Guns N' Roses and R.E.M. Voyeurism has never been so cool."

The show's "strangers" are a diverse group of Generation X-ers of various geographic, socioeconomic, religious, and sexual orientations, whom the producers carefully screen and assemble hoping for the most volatile—and therefore sensationally watchable—combination possible. According to producer Jon Murray, "the main point of the series is to tell the story of this group of kids. It's to show them getting involved with each other, learning from each other, sharing fears and dreams."

More often than not, however, this "fishbowl" existence causes the sharing to become ugly, as the cast members must agree to allow themselves to be constantly video- and audio-taped by an arsenal of surveillance and hand-held cameras, as well as microphones hidden in every room, on each character, and in the phone. As the months of recording pass, allegiances and grudges are formed, manifest in direct camera address footage from weekly interviews of the subjects by the filmmakers regarding their feelings about day-to-day incidents, and their changing attitudes toward their roommates. Murray contends that these interviews are held to clear up the narrative, not to create one. The "characters" are also expected to pay a weekly visit to the "confessional" room to air their feelings in private to a camera. Thus, *The Real World* has its antecedents in both cinema verité as well as direct cinema practices of the 1960s.

Once the months of filming are completed, the approximately 180,000 minutes of video are edited down to the 440 minutes that will compose the season; in other words, less than one percent of the actual filmed experience is aired. Footage of everyday activities such as reading, cooking, and cleaning are excised to focus on moments of conflict over philosophies, relationships, and the like. These include controversial moments, such as when abrasive stand-up comic David and the infamous scab-picking bike messenger Puck were booted out of their respective casts due to their inability to get along. Grunge singer Neil sticking his tongue in the mouth of a heckler during a performance only to have it nearly bitten off provided real drama, as did gay cast member Pedro Zamora's marriage to his lover, Sean. While many of the incidents that become the plotlines of an episode are significant, cast members also charge that focusing an episode on what they deem to be insignificant incidents tends to exaggerate their importance way out of proportion—a charge leveled by many subjects of documentary films.

In addition, after each season begins airing and the respective casts are interviewed by the press, the first question often posed to them concerns whether they are being themselves, or playing themselves. Though *Real World*-ers generally contend they quickly grew used to the constant surveillance, paradoxically they also agree that the cameras elevated the intensity of every encounter—so much so that MTV offers each cast free psychological counseling at the end of the taping as a means of recovering from the experience. Producer George Verschoor warns each cast at the outset: "Once you get in this house, you are going to be challenged in ways you never thought of. Every move, every part of your past is going to be questioned. . . . So you'd better be ready to look in that mirror. Because when you do, you're going to see yourself—and not only what you think of yourself, but what others think of you . . . and then what a nation thinks of you."

Consequently, though they are not celebrities in the conventional sense, veterans of the show have found their "15 minutes of fame" through continual public recognition and occasionally harassment; the show's popularity, constant reruns, and updated reports on their respective activities never really allowing them to retire to anonymity. Some cast members have marketed their newfound fame into performing careers—models Jacinda Barrett and Eric Nies and even David "Puck" Rainey turning to acting, with Nies also doing a stint as the host of MTV's dance show, *The Grind*, and creating his own workout video.

The series' popularity also resulted in MTV expanding its slate of reality-based programming, including introducing the equally popular spin-off show, *Road Rules*, in 1995, which is essentially "The Real World-in-a-Winnebago," as five youths take an extensive—often international—road trip involving both thrills (skydiving, swimming with sharks) and chills (staying the night in a haunted house; milking snakes for venom).

—Rick Moody

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## Reality Television

Reality-based television is an amorphous collection of syndicated thematic shows and one-time episodes that have one unifying basis: they rely, in some fashion, on real or true events. This reality can take numerous forms, and the television industry has defined the genre broadly to include tabloid news, talk shows, comedic style shows, and crime-based shows. Examples include shows such as *Hard Copy*, *A Current Affair*, *The Jerry Springer Show*, *America's Funniest Home Videos*, *Cops*, *America's Most Wanted*, and one-time episodes such as "When Good Pets Go Bad," "World's Most Shocking Medical Videos," and "Scariest Chases and Shootouts." These shows rely on film or video footage of actual events, reenactments of events, and interviews with individuals involved with a

specific topic. But the importance of these shows stems from how they shape “reality,” emphasizing some aspects over others and limiting some details to create a “news” story. The phenomenon of reality television first gained momentum in the mid-1980s, and due to its popularity and economical production costs, has proliferated into the late 1990s.

Tabloid news shows are a less recognized form of reality television, because shows such as *A Current Affair* and *Hard Copy* have a format that resembles mainstream broadcast news. The tabloids actively try to position themselves as closer to the mainstream news media by using such conventions such as reporters and anchors, a reliance on sources for information, and the occasional presentation of pieces that could be seen as “hard news.” Despite complaints from mainstream broadcast journalists who insist that tabloid news shows are very different and very inferior to their own product, in actuality both types of broadcasts have begun to mimic even more of each others’ practices. Both investigative broadcast news and tabloid news take a moralizing tone with their stories, and both present a clear villain and victim. Both also rely on real events, and both occasionally turn to re-enactments and amateur home video to tell their stories.

While tabloid news had shaped itself to look like mainstream news programs, the popularity of the tabloid news shows has prompted some mainstream news programs to adopt conventions of tabloid news programs. News magazines such as *Dateline NBC* and *48 Hours* have begun using these techniques, as well as the intermittent use of music and emotion in telling their stories. Although the practice cannot be confirmed, some researchers believe that these more mainstream outlets are employing some form of checkbook journalism, or paying sources for their story, as well. Yet, while news professionals may object to these cross-overs and fight the blurring of these lines, these practices ultimately serve to place tabloid television news more within the broadcast news genre than within the reality television genre.

Television talk shows also have elements of “reality” within them, as they often feature individuals and families presenting their problems to a host and studio audience. Yet, the shows have more in common with radio talk and call-in shows, and tend to identify themselves more as talk shows than reality shows. It should also be pointed out that charges have been leveled against some of the more sensational talk shows, such as *The Jerry Springer Show*, that some of the stories are fabricated, and some of the guests are given scripts directing them how to act and when to become less talkative and more physical.

Comedic style reality includes such shows as *America’s Funniest Home Videos* and one-shot specials that rely on audience submitted home videos of their embarrassing moments, funny pets, and precocious children. Often, these shows provide prizes for the best or funniest video clip submitted, which is voted on by a studio audience. Although many of the clips appear to be staged or planned, this does not seem to matter to the shows’ producers as long as the results are humorous. Additionally, the continuous advertising for the submission of more clips, often with specific themes, seems to acknowledge and approve of this activity.

Other forms of reality television include shock shows that draw together home video and other amateur video, such as police surveillance footage, on a certain shocking theme. These are often one-shot shows, which occasionally have a sequel. This first one of these specials was *World’s Most Dangerous Animals*, which appeared on the Fox network on January 25, 1996. The show collected film clips from nature documentaries, including an elephant stomping on a

trainer and a bear attacking a woman. The show had a moral message—that humanity was to blame for what had happened to these animals. Due to the high ratings it received, this show spawned a series of successors, but without the pro-social message. According to George Gerbner, a communications professor and scholar who studies violence on television, these shows “exploit the worst fears and nightmares of people.” NBC executive Don Ohlmeyer called Fox’s video of animal attacks “one step short of a snuff film.”

The most established reality shows are the crime-oriented shows. Programs such as *Cops*, *America’s Most Wanted*, and *Unsolved Mysteries* appear on a weekly basis and devote themselves to exploring the world of crime and criminals. Because of their established position, they are the form of reality television that has received the most attention from other media and media critics, as well as the television audience. These shows define reality television and provide the best clue as to what reality television reveals about “reality,” especially America’s beliefs about crime and law and order in the late twentieth century.

The proliferation of reality crime shows can be explained in part, but only in part, by the ratings that they receive. It is true that America’s commercial broadcast system relies on profits to continue operating, and that profit comes from advertisers willing to pay money to reach certain audiences or segments of audiences. If reality crime shows did not draw viewers, they would not remain on the air. Yet, this is not the only factor in their continued appearance. According to Mark Fishman, reality crime shows receive below average ratings in the total number of households that watch television. Additionally, they have a mediocre share of the audience that does tune in to television during the time slots that they appear. What high ratings they do get are the result of one or two of these shows—usually *Unsolved Mysteries* and *Cops*. Yet, if these shows do not draw crowds of viewers, how can they stay on the air?

One reason for the continued appearance of reality crime shows, as well as the comedic and shock reality shows, are the low production costs involved in making them. Broadcast television has been in a long-term decline, steadily losing viewers to cable television and other sources of entertainment such as home computers and the Internet. This has led the networks to focus on smaller, more specific audience segments to appeal to advertisers (such as men aged 18-49), and has also led them to invest in low-cost programs. Typically, drama and comedy series are quite expensive. The science-fiction program *Star Trek: Voyager* cost approximately \$1.5 million an episode, and the hospital drama *ER* cost NBC \$13 million per episode in 1998. In contrast, reality crime shows such as *America’s Most Wanted* cost—in its early days—\$140,000 to \$170,000 to produce one weekly half-hour episode. Thus, although they may not draw the same size audience, these shows are cheaper to produce and so can afford to generate smaller audiences and less advertising revenue.

In addition to their low cost, reality crime shows are valuable to broadcasters for other reasons. For example, many of these shows do not have temporal references in them, and so can be shown again and again in syndication. Once a show has survived at least two seasons, there are enough episodes to sell the show into syndication, where the most profits can be made. Crime reality shows can also fill broadcast station owners’ need to provide their viewing audience with “public-service” programming—a requirement for maintaining their FCC license. Because these shows are a somewhat ambiguous mix of news and documentary, station owners can claim that by showing these programs, they are fulfilling their obligation to air public service

shows. So, for a host of reasons beyond simply high ratings, these shows remain on the air, and increasing in frequency.

As mentioned above, reality crime shows have likely been watched by the greatest number of viewers, due to their long-running nature and series status. These are also the shows that make the greatest attempt to convey a message to their viewers. Their repetitive messages center on crime and law and order; and through a careful construction of reality, they make their point quite effectively. These shows present crime as rampant, violent, and obvious to spot, criminals as villains, and the police and jails as America's best line of defense against these challenges to decent society. These shows also capture minorities committing a greater percentage of crimes, feature crimes that are readily and easily solved, and are filmed more in less affluent urban areas.

For example, *Cops* features "the men and women of law enforcement" and nightly rides along with police from different parts of the country. *Cops* would appear on the surface to be the most realistic of these shows, as it does not have a narrator or host beyond the police who offer background or context for the situations they encounter. The cameraperson for the show rides along in the squad car, taping hours of footage for what will ultimately become a half-hour show. Although the show is carefully edited to appear "uncut," Debra Seagal reports that shows such as these often rely on stock footage and spend a great deal of time constructing the "stories" that appear on the show. Large portions of tape containing no real action must be edited out, and only the most exciting crimes will be included in the final show. Thus, footage of the police riding around for hours on end or the issuance of a speeding ticket would never appear on *Cops*, unless the receiver of the ticket suddenly engaged the police in a high-speed car chase.

Likewise, shows such as *America's Most Wanted* often use re-enactments to explain past criminal activity. The show centers on criminals that are still at large, and urges the audience to become part of the solution, and call the show or police if they see any of these wanted criminals. The show regularly runs updates on wanted criminals that are either still at large or have been captured, thanking viewers if they have called in to provide tips or information. The re-enactments, which attempt to graphically demonstrate the criminal's original lawbreaking, however, often rely on circumstantial evidence or statements, especially if the primary victim does not remember the events or is not around to convey the details. Thus, the show is forced to take some artistic license in creating a reasonable version of events, which viewers are likely to see as the truth of the matter.

Another way these shows construct a version of reality is through the narrative closure they attempt to provide. Resolution of events is preferred over unsolved crimes or escaped or unknown criminals, and these shows attempt to provide viewing audiences with this closure. This leads to a view of law enforcement that is at odds with federal statistics on suspects apprehended and cases closed. For example, Mary Beth Oliver and G. Blake Armstrong report that in a sample of reality-based programs, 61.5 percent of all crimes portrayed were depicted as solved, "as compared to FBI reports of an 18.0 percent arrest rate." Thus, reality shows are far more likely to create the impression that more criminals are being apprehended than is actually the case. Furthermore, the shows perpetuate the idea that minorities are more likely to engage in criminal activities. Oliver and Armstrong also report that "the vast majority of African-American characters are cast in roles of criminal suspects where they are also shown as recipients of police aggression." And while shows such as *Cops* state that "all suspects are innocent until proven guilty in a court

of law," researchers have found that most viewers believe the suspects apprehended are indeed guilty, otherwise the police would not have arrested them in the first place.

Shows such as *Cops* provide a version of society where most criminals are caught and are automatically guilty. These criminals are also more likely to be minorities, and to have come from poorer, more crime-infested areas of cities. In addition to the prevalence of criminal activity, however, reality shows perpetuate the idea that criminals are one-dimensional villains, beyond redemption or reason, and therefore deserving of maximum sentences and harsh justice. Gray Cavender reports that on shows such as *America's Most Wanted* and *Unsolved Mysteries*, "the night teems with drug dealers and satanists, and crazy, cold-blooded killers prowl the mean streets of cities and small towns. . . . Criminals are described in terms that connote physical ugliness. They are depicted as dangerous, depraved, unremorseful people." Because of this portrayal, criminals are caricatures, and are depicted as fundamentally different from the audience and are beyond redemption. This view of criminals as beyond reason, as "rotten to the core," then legitimates strict crime control measures and idealizes justice as something wielded by a community to punish the bad apples that threaten the stability and life of the group.

The view of reality depicted by these crime shows is distorted in many respects. Yet, it provides many people with an interpretation of their society and how crime fits into it. In actuality, during the period in which these shows have become more popular, crime in the United States has decreased and non-violent crimes are now more prevalent than violent crimes. Yet, these are not the sorts of facts presented in reality television. Television has always been criticized for its portrayal of crime and violence. Critics maintain that television presents a world that is more violent, where criminals are one-dimensional and are generally caught. Yet, until reality shows appeared, most of these depictions were either found in fictional series such as crime dramas or in the news. The addition of reality crime shows adds a new dimension to the picture. Although the shows claim to portray reality and therefore real crime, the conventions they rely on and their close association with the police often preclude the possibility that they will accurately portray crime in America.

Reality programs are not strictly an American phenomenon, however. Tabloid television news began in Great Britain, and was brought to America by media magnate Rupert Murdoch. Likewise, according to Justine Boissard, reality programming appears in France and Italy as well, where local versions of crime reality shows are very popular. Thus, viewing reality, or what is attempting to pass for reality on television, appears to be a global pastime. How close television reality comes to actual reality and how distorted views of crime effects people's perceptions of their own surroundings remains a central concern.

—Mia Consalvo

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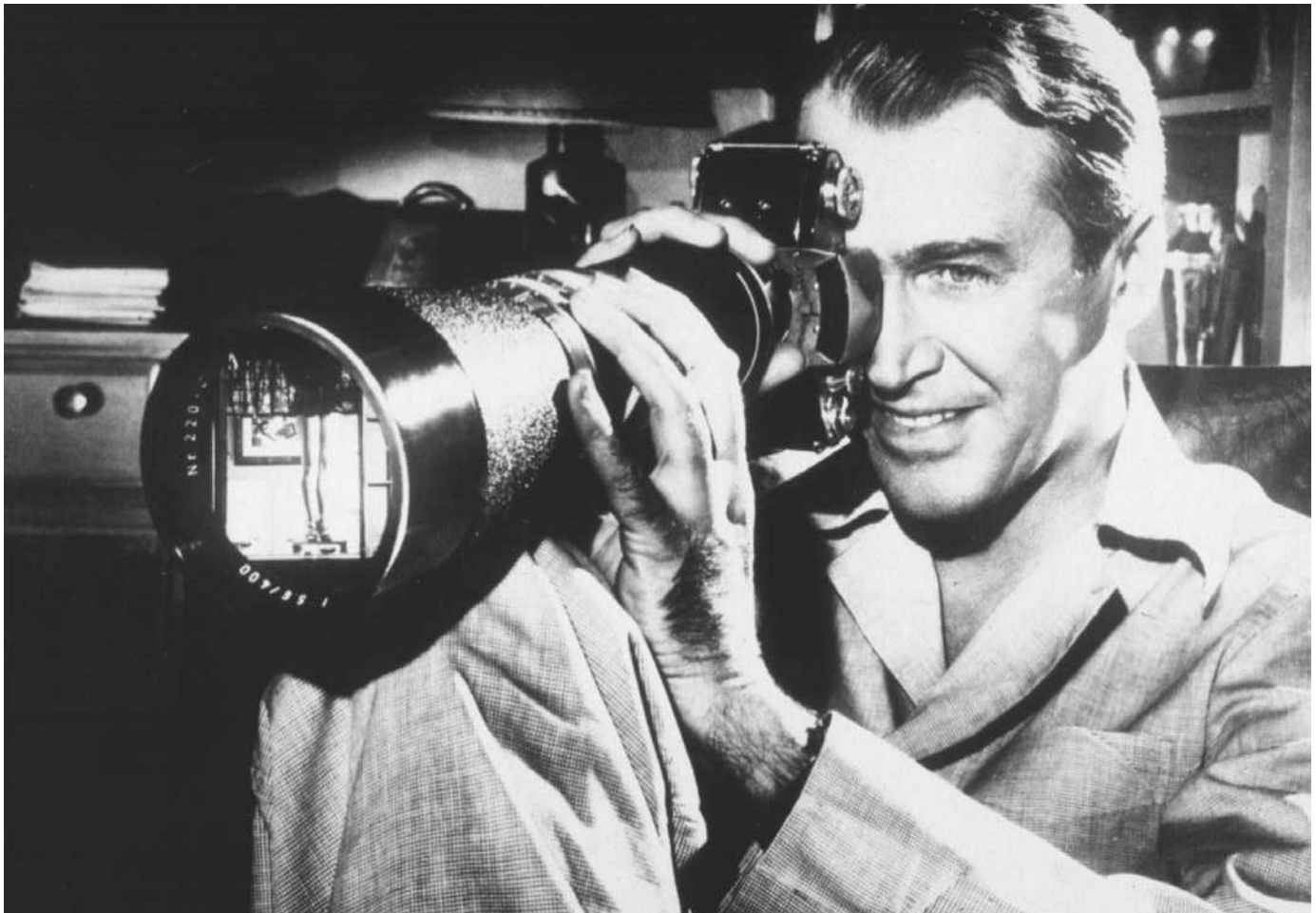
## Rear Window

Alfred Hitchcock's *Rear Window* (1954) belongs indisputably among the director's acknowledged masterpieces of suspense. It sprang from an inspired three-picture collaboration during the 1950s with James Stewart (*The Man Who Knew Too Much*, 1955, and *Vertigo*, 1959) and marked the flowering of the director's Technicolor period (he had ventured into color only twice previously, the first time for *Rope* in 1948, starring Stewart). *Rear Window* continues to be shown regularly on television, at retrospectives of both Hitchcock and Stewart's films, and as an occasional movie theater rerun. It not only endures in popularity but also, despite repeated viewing, never loses its suspense and fascination for the viewer. *Rear Window* is a virtual master class in the concerns, obsessions, and techniques that continue to distinguish Hitchcock's work from that of any filmmaker working in the suspense thriller genre.

Collaborating closely with Hitchcock, John Michael Hayes wrote the skillfully constructed screenplay, in which suspense is tempered by a measure of humor—both salty and sophisticated—sadness, and a rare nod to redemptive compassion. Hayes, who would go on to write Hitchcock's next three films, worked from a novelette called *Window* by Cornell Woolrich (the pseudonym of William Irish), a prolific writer whose fiction had, over the decades, provided

fodder for countless B-thrillers and better *films noirs*, including Robert Siodmak's *Phantom Lady* in 1944. The basic plot is simplicity itself. A news photographer (Stewart), having suffered an accident, has his left leg encased in a heavy plaster cast and is confined to a wheelchair in one room of his small city apartment. Thus immobilized, bored and frustrated, he passes the time in observing the occupants of the apartments across the court through a telephoto camera lens. What begins as a casual way to pass the time turns into compulsion, then voyeuristic obsession, as the details of the lives lived behind the windows opposite begin to emerge, and Stewart grows convinced that one man (Raymond Burr) has murdered his wife and disposed of her body. Stewart's glamorous, society-girl fiancée (Grace Kelly), his down-to-earth nurse-housekeeper (Thelma Ritter), and his police detective buddy (Wendell Corey) are skeptical of his suspicions, but the women are eventually convinced and become dangerously involved in snaring the quarry.

Hitchcock loved to present himself with the challenges of filming in the confinement of a single studio-bound set as, for example, in *Lifeboat* (1943), *Rope*, and *Dial M for Murder*, which immediately preceded *Rear Window*. With *Rear Window*, the director told the entire story through the vantage point of Stewart's character, never straying from the apartment, and showing the audience only what Stewart himself can see. What we have here is a protagonist who



James Stewart in a scene from the film *Rear Window*.

generates the action but is forced into a passive role as observer, a role that is shared by the audience, as is his fascination with the myriad domestic dramas played out in the neighboring apartments. The task of populating the movie posed specific problems. As Hitchcock told Charles Higham and Joel Greenberg: “The set had to be pre-lit because it was such a tremendous job. We had 31 apartments, 12 of them fully furnished. The people moving around in them had microphones on, which you couldn’t see at that distance, through which they received instructions.”

On a purely technical level, what perhaps delighted Hitchcock most about the challenge inherent in filming from so confined a visual set-up was the necessary emphasis this would place on the elementally cinematic device of montage. The building blocks of *Rear Window* are the moments in which the film cross-cuts between Stewart peering through his lens and the various scenes he’s watching across the courtyard. It is the constant juxtaposition of the two, back and forth, that tells the story and proves that montage makes a movie more than the sum of its parts. As Hitchcock frequently pointed out, the same shot of Stewart could take on an entirely different meaning for the audience, depending on whether Hitchcock preceded his “reaction shot” with that of a mother-with-child or chose to show an attractive blonde disrobing. The director here was self-confessedly working at the height of his considerable powers in dealing with confined settings and exploiting montage.

In discussing *Rear Window* with his great admirer, French filmmaker François Truffaut, for the interview book, *Hitchcock/Truffaut*, Hitchcock explained the importance he had given to the assorted vignettes played out by Stewart’s neighbors in their various apartments: “It shows every kind of human behavior. . . . What you see across the way is a group of little stories that . . . mirror a small universe.” Truffaut, in turn, points out that “all of the stories have a common denominator in that they involve some aspect of love. James Stewart’s problem is that he doesn’t want to marry Grace Kelly. Everything he sees across the way has a bearing on love and marriage.” In Woolrich’s original story, the protagonist had no girlfriend at all. Hitchcock and Hayes supplied this rich secondary theme, which allowed sophisticated verbal sparring between reluctant man and determined woman, for the movie.

In addition to the mini-subplots and the unconventional romantic relationship that add rich and complex dimensions to the film, there is the ambiguity in regard to the Stewart character. As critic Andrew Sarris put it to the director, “One (argument) says that a good deal of the suspense comes from one’s not being sure whether James Stewart is right, whether he’s making a fool of himself. The other says that you’re meant to be certain that he’s right, and the suspense comes from whether he will prove it in time.” Hitchcock, in reply to Sarris, opted for the latter perspective, but the fact that the film works either way is a testament to its subtextual complexity. On a deeper, more disturbing level, the film explores Hitchcock’s recurring theme of the transference of guilt—from the villain to the hero, and, by extension, from the hero to the audience. As Hitchcock admitted to Truffaut, “(Stewart’s character) is a real Peeping Tom. (One critic) complained . . . that *Rear Window* was a horrible film because the hero spent all of his time peeping out of the window. What’s so horrible about that? Sure, he’s a snooper, but aren’t we all?” And, by implication, aren’t we all engaging in an act that is inherently voyeuristic when we sit in a darkened theater and watch the people in a movie?

In both its technique and its story elements, therefore, *Rear Window* exemplifies the duality in Hitchcock’s best work, that depth of perspective that so often eludes his imitators and keeps his films

entertaining for contemporary audiences. In his interview with the master, Truffaut confessed that, as a young film critic, “I (wrote) that the picture was very gloomy, rather pessimistic, and quite evil. But now I don’t see it in that light at all; in fact, I feel it has a rather compassionate approach. What Stewart sees from his window is not horrible but simply a display of human weaknesses and people in pursuit of happiness.” The same movie, the same moviegoer, but in one juxtaposition, he sees darkness, and in the other, he sees light. If that isn’t an example of the power of montage, what is?

In a bumper year for the Academy Awards—the year Judy Garland lost out for *A Star Is Born* and *On the Waterfront* was voted Best Picture, *Rear Window* gained only a single nomination, and that for its director. Today, it is regarded as an exemplary piece of filmmaking in every department, from Edith Head’s carefully designed clothes and Robert Burk’s photography, to Franz Waxman’s musical score and an impeccably chosen cast. If the film remains, above all, a masterpiece of screenwriting and direction, it is also a testament to the stature of James Stewart who, in middle age, had matured into an actor of depth and subtlety, able to mine and reflect the darker complexities of character that Hitchcock presented him within this film and, even more tellingly, *Vertigo* five years later.

The potent Woolrich story was remade for television in the 1990s as a vehicle for the paralyzed star Christopher Reeve but, not surprisingly, failed to capture the rich subtexts embodied in Hitchcock’s version.

—Preston Neal Jones

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## *Rebel without a Cause*

*Rebel without a Cause* (1955) is Hollywood’s best film about rebellious youth in the 1950s. Promoted as a story about why a kid from a “good” family would “tick . . . like a bomb,” the film sympathetically presents an adolescent perspective on the rebelliousness of middle-class youth of the time. The film focuses on three frustrated teenagers who seek to form their own identities apart from the world and values of their parents and other adults from which they feel alienated. In his role as James Stark, James Dean presented the American archetype of the troubled and tormented teenager, and in so doing became a spokesman for frustrated youth.

The Jim Stark character is the insecure offspring of a domineering mother (Ann Doran) and henpecked father (James Backus), who





James Dean (right) in a scene from the film *Rebel without a Cause*.

seeks to find a place where his inner gentleness and love can be safely expressed. The other two teenagers include John Crawford (Sal Mineo)—called “Plato”—whose divorced parents have abandoned him, and Judy (Natalie Wood), who cannot understand why her father (William Hopper) seems to have withdrawn his love now that she is a young lady. The three meet at a police station at the beginning of the film, where Plato is brought in for drowning puppies, Judy for being out after curfew, and Jim for being drunk.

The juvenile offenders officer Ray Framek (Edward Platt) is the only sympathetic adult in the film, offering the teenagers a calm and considerate hearing. In contrast, both Judy and Jim’s parents seem confused by the needs of their teenagers and misunderstand or avoid their children’s desires for comfort and guidance. Plato is cared for by a powerless black nanny (Marietta Canty).

Director Nicholas Ray felt young people and their problems were an important subject matter and regularly made movies that sympathized with outsiders. *Rebel* was adopted from his 17-page “The Blind Run,” a series of images of troubled teens that lacked any real story. Taking his idea to Warner Bros., Ray was asked to adapt a nonfiction book by Dr. Robert M. Lindner called *Rebel without a Cause: The Story of a Criminal Psychopath* into a script. Ray refused

because he wanted to dramatize the problems of “normal” delinquents from “ordinary” families. The studio consented, and Ray’s movie took Lindner’s title but nothing else.

Leon Uris, Irving Shulman—the author of the first novel to deal with modern juvenile delinquency, *The Amboy Dukes*—and Stewart Stern all collaborated with Ray on the script. After Stern spent 10 days in juvenile court passing himself off as a welfare worker and talking to various kids, he created a despairing script which convinced the studio that a film could be made from the project. *Rebel* was a modern-day version of *Peter Pan*, with three kids inventing a world of their own, and expressing teen feelings about the nature of loneliness and love. The story also had a mythic feeling because the action was confined to a single day, recounting the happenings from dawn-to-dawn.

Ray had already selected Dean for the role of Jim Stark, and Dean had helped conceive many of the film’s scenes. In playing Stark, Dean portrays the tensions of adolescence, bottling up his feelings to the point of explosion. *Rebel* captures the path Stark takes toward manhood, having him learn that he does not need violence to assert his power, that he can be brave, and that he can go against the pack and risk being unpopular as long as he is true to himself. Dean defined

masculinity in a different way for his time, allowing the audience to see the undercurrent of sweetness in a character who longs for a world where people drop their bravado and treat each other gently.

To cast the supporting juvenile roles, Ray held two weeks of mass improvisations at an amphitheater on the Warner's backlot, where 300 boys were asked to run to the top of the bleachers, play King of the Mountain and other games. Ray cast not according to who was the winner, but according to the attitudes he could see expressed by the players as they competed. Ray considered Jeff Silver, Billy Gray, and even Dennis Hopper for the role of Plato, but Mineo expressed such enthusiasm as well as a facility for improvisation for the role that Ray was won over.

For Judy, the studio wanted a star and considered borrowing Debbie Reynolds from MGM, while Ray wanted Carroll Baker, consigning Natalie Wood to playing Judy's scheming friend. Wood badly wanted the part, and after being in a car accident with Dennis Hopper, when the police asked her for her parents' phone number, she supplied them with Ray's instead. She later told the director, "Nick, they called me a goddam juvenile delinquent, now do I get the part?" She did, though Jack Warner initially complained about her delivery, resulting in Ray sending Wood to voice coach Nina Moise.

Censorship demands curtailed some of the violence in the film. There could not be any intention to kill, knives during the chase scene were to be replaced by bicycle chains which could not be whirled about, and there were to be no doubts about the innocent nature of cigarettes furtively palmed or Judy's chastity. Even so, when the movie opened in Great Britain, the British censor was so appalled at the chicken run, where teens watch as Buzz and Jim drive their cars over a cliff (originally over a crowded road, but changed to an empty seacoast at the studio's insistence), that he demanded six minutes of cuts and still gave the film an X rating.

*Rebel without a Cause* was released four days after Dean's reckless demise in a car accident. The film received three Academy Award nominations, to Ray for Best Original Story, to Mineo for Best Supporting Actor, and to Wood for Best Supporting Actress, but won none of them. It was Ray's only film to be so honored. James Dean, giving the finest performance of his career and one that would cement him forever in the public's imagination, was overlooked entirely, but the film unquestionably belongs to him and his portrayal of an anguished adolescent.

—Dennis Fischer

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## Recycling

Earth Day 1970 suggested to millions of Americans that environmental concern could be expressed locally. Through organized activities, many citizens found that they could actively improve the environment with their own hands. Many communities responded by organizing ongoing efforts to alter wasteful patterns. Recycling would prove to be the most persistent of these grassroots efforts. Though the effort has been trivialized by extremist environmentalists, trash and waste recycling now stands as the ultimate symbol of the American environmental consciousness.

Recycling grew out of a conservative impulse to reduce waste, rather than as an expression of environmentalism. The effort to make worthwhile materials from waste can be traced throughout human society as an application of commonsense rationality. The term "recycling" became part of the American lexicon during wartime rationing, particularly during World War II. Scrap metals and other materials became a resource to be collected and recycled into weaponry and other materials to support the fighting overseas. But the public's enthusiasm for recycling did not last. Historians point to the conclusion of World War II, and the commensurate growth in the U.S. middle class as defining points in the American "culture of consumption"—which reinforced carelessness, waste, and a demand for newness—that became prevalent in the 1950s but extended, in some form, through the end of the twentieth century. The prodigious scale of American consumption quickly made the nation the most advanced and wasteful civilization in the world. It was only a matter of time before a backlash brought U.S. consumption patterns into question. As the 1960s counterculture imposed doubt on much of the American "establishment," many Americans began to consider more carefully the patterns with which they lived everyday life. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, this mindset was met by a litany of examples of American exploitation of resources, ranging from gas shortages to oil spills to toxic leaks. Many Americans began to call for a new ethic to guide everyday life, and, for many, Earth Day 1970 marked the symbolic start of a "greener" perspective.

Belittled by many environmentalists, recycling often seems like busywork for kids with little actual environmental benefit. However, such a minor shift in human behavior suggests the significant alteration made to people's view of their place in nature. Environmental concerns such as overused landfills and excessive litter contributed to a new "ethic" within U.S. culture that began to value restraint, reuse, and living within limits; and gave communities a new mandate in maintaining the waste of their population. Reusing products or creating useful byproducts from waste offered application of this new ethic while also offering new opportunity for economic profit and development. Green, or environmental, industries took form to facilitate and profit from this impulse, creating a significant growth portion of the American economy. Even more impressively, the grassroots desire to express an environmental commitment compelled middle-class Americans to make recycling part of an everyday effort. However, the consumptive momentum of the American economy in the twentieth century made it necessary for citizens to relearn the ethic to decrease waste, and often it was children and schools who fuelled community efforts to recycle. By the end of the twentieth century, many institutions and communities had made recycling a portion of waste disposal service.

Most children born after the 1980s assume the "reduce, reuse, recycle" mantra has been part of the United States since its founding.

In actuality, it serves as a continuing ripple of the cultural and social impact of Earth Day 1970 and the effort of Americans to begin to live within limits.

—Brian Black

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## Red Scare

The Red Scare of 1919-1920 was the first, but not the last, widespread outbreak of anti-communist sentiment in U.S. history. In a national panic over alleged foreign-inspired subversion, people of varying political beliefs were termed "Reds" and became victims of public rage and government suppression. The culmination of these events was the arrest and deportation of hundreds of American citizens—particularly immigrants—in the Palmer Raids of 1920.

The event that initiated the Red Scare was the Bolshevik Revolution of November 1917 in Russia. Inspired by the writings of German philosopher Karl Marx, the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin, believed that the revolution in Russia was the first in a chain of workers' revolutions that would spread throughout the world. In March 1919, the Bolsheviks founded the Communist International to coordinate communist parties worldwide and promote revolution abroad. Many Americans became fearful that, just as a small faction had seized power in Russia, so could a similar group take over the United States. Those under most suspicion were members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), a syndicalist labor union that had espoused revolution for the previous decade, and Bolshevik supporters who formed the Communist Labor Party and Communist Party of the USA in 1919.

The fear of a communist coup in the United States was fueled by a number of events. After World War I, the U.S. economy was in recession, living costs had risen, and many soldiers returned home to a country with high unemployment. In the summer of 1919, as blacks and whites competed for jobs, major race riots broke out in both the North and the South. Also labor unions, which had grown in size and influence during the war years, became involved in a number of major conflicts with employers. In 1919 alone, over four million workers went on strike. There was a general strike in Seattle in January and then a nationwide stoppage of steelworkers in September, both of which, employers alleged, were Bolshevik conspiracies. Worst of all, also in September, the Boston police force walked off the job, and Massachusetts Governor Calvin Coolidge called out the state militia to replace the striking policemen and to stop incidents of looting.

In addition to economic distress and labor unrest, the public was further alarmed by a spate of bomb attacks on prominent figures in commerce and government. Although it was unclear who sent the bombs, newspapers and politicians blamed them on a Communist conspiracy. In April 1919, the maid of U.S. Senator Thomas R. Hardwick of Georgia had her hands blown off when she opened a package delivered to the senator's home. Fifteen other mail bombs were detected that were addressed to other notable figures, including J. P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, and Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. In June 1919, Attorney General A. Mitchell

Palmer was one of the targets of another series of attempted bombings. Consequently, Palmer organized a new general intelligence division within the Justice Department and placed it under the direction of J. Edgar Hoover, whose job it was to uncover the alleged conspiracy.

The panic over radicalism was chiefly directed at immigrants. Building on a tradition of nativism, many Americans came out of World War I inspired by a militant patriotism and a dislike of foreign influences. Many of the leading radicals were foreign-born, and newspapers and politicians portrayed anarchism, communism, and socialism as foreign ideologies. Moreover, many of the workers who went on strike in 1919 were recent immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. Opponents of labor, such as the newly formed American legion, labeled the strikes as un-American and claimed that radical immigrants were fomenting unrest.

Fear and hysteria mounted as the press, politicians, and pressure groups called for action against subversives. All across the nation, police broke up meetings of radical groups, raided their headquarters, and closed down their newspapers. In May 1919, the newly opened offices of the Socialist paper the *New York Call* were ransacked by a mob and its workers hospitalized. On the weekend of November 7 and 8, 1919, federal agents raided the offices of the Union of Russian Workers in New York and arrested over 200 of its members. A few days later in Centralia, Washington, an IWW hall was attacked by American Legionnaires, many of those inside were arrested in the fighting, and one was dragged from jail, castrated, and shot. Also in 1919, socialist leader Victor Berger was elected to Congress from Milwaukee but the House of Representatives refused to allow him to serve his term. In April 1920, the New York State legislature expelled five elected Socialist members. A number of liberal figures and organizations, such as Chicago settlement house worker and pacifist Jane Addams, the League of Women Voters, and the American Civil Liberties Union, also came under attack for their lack of patriotism.

The Red Scare reached a climax with the Palmer Raids of January 2, 1920. On the orders of Attorney General Palmer, around 10,000 people were arrested in 33 cities for their part in alleged subversion. In violation of their constitutional rights, homes were searched, arrested were held without bail, and foreigners were sent to Ellis Island to face deportation hearings without the aid of lawyers. Many of those arrested spent days and weeks in jail with no formal charges filed against them before they were released. Of those arrested, nearly 600 foreigners were ultimately deported.

After the Palmer Raids, the Red Scare quickly subsided. As labor unrest receded, the economy strengthened, bolshevism refused to take root anywhere outside Russia, and the American public became less concerned with subversion. The effects of the Red Scare, however, lingered. Throughout the 1920s reformers were afraid to speak openly, fearing that they would be labeled radical or anti-American. Americanization programs flourished as states sought to stamp out the foreign roots of this radicalism. Twentieth century American radicalism never recovered from the Red Scare. The IWW was virtually destroyed, socialism's electoral strength declined, communism failed to grow, and radicalism was relegated to the margins of U.S. politics.

—John F. Lyons

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## Redbook

Published continuously since 1903, when it was known as *The Red Book* magazine, this mass-circulation American monthly is now targeted toward young wives and mothers, *Redbook* is regarded in the media industry as one of the so-called “Seven Sisters” of women’s service magazines, a badge shared with *Good Housekeeping*, *Ladies’ Home Journal* and *McCalls*, among others. But it was not until 1951 that its format was revamped to include its now-familiar mix of articles on contemporary living that, in its own words, “help young working mothers bring balance to a hectic life and focus on what matters most.”

*The Red Book* was so named because, in the words of founding editor Trumbull White, “Red is the color of happiness.” For the first several decades of its existence, many of them under the editorship of Edwin Balmer, the magazine was primarily a vehicle for short fiction. However, even Balmer realized that this format was becoming stale and unattractive to mass audiences, complaining that his publication seemed to appeal only to “the little old ladies in Kokomo.” In 1951, following the lead of other periodicals that were redefining their images to appeal to the new post-World War II generation of younger, working women and mothers, the magazine metamorphosed into the *Redbook* that is still recognizable in the 1990s: a lifestyle publication with vivid four-color layouts, departments on childcare, careers, intimacy, fashion, and homemaking, and thoughtful, sometimes controversial features on personal and social issues. With Wade Nichols as editor, *Redbook* became “The Magazine for Young Adults” and its circulation soon increased to two million, doubling to 4.5 million by the end of the 1960s. By that decade, *Redbook*’s editorial focus was considered generally more provocative and socially conscious than that of its sister publications, with frank articles that discussed feminism, social and cultural issues, and changing sexual mores. The readership had shifted from “the little old ladies in Kokomo” to a new generation of twenty- and thirty-something readers interested in child-care and household tips but also in navigating their way in careers and marriages, the rules of which were being rewritten during a rather turbulent period of American history.

Despite several ownership changes during the 1970s and *Redbook*’s eventual acquisition by Hearst Magazines in 1982, the periodical continued its emphasis on contemporary issues. Editor-in-chief Kate White caused no little controversy when she selected for its December 1997 cover a photograph of actress Keely Shaye Smith and actor Pierre Brosnan looking on as their infant son, Dylan Thomas, is being breastfed by Smith. The graphic cover was ultimately printed on newsstand copies only, about a third of *Redbook*’s circulation; a non-breastfeeding version was supplied to the magazine’s regular mail subscribers.

Lesley Jane Seymour took over as *Redbook*’s editor at the end of 1998, with promises to make over the publication. “My aim is to jazz up the magazine, make it more energetic and a little younger,” she was quoted as saying. By century’s end, *Redbook* had an audited circulation of 2.9 million and was described by the *DrMag* media-watch website as “an inspiring entertainment magazine” that “addresses the needs of young working mothers between the ages of 25

and 45, especially those who work outside the home and have children under 18.” Hearst’s own website touted *Redbook* as “the must-read magazine for today’s young married woman,” one whose pages offer “exciting, provocative features that address the fullness of her life—everything from stylish fashion and beauty portfolios and scintillating stories on keeping her marriage fresh, to balancing home and career demands twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week.”

—Edward Moran

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## Redding, Otis (1941-1967)

Hailing from Georgia, 1960s soul man Otis Redding exemplified the “Stax sound,” named after the record company for which he recorded throughout his career as a solo artist. His grainy, emotive vocals backed by the raw but extremely tight house band (Booker T. & the MGs) created a sound that was much copied, and which was responsible for making Memphis-based Stax Records a major player in the 1960s rhythm and blues (R&B) market. Earning a reputation as the penultimate showman and entertainer (rivaling only fellow Georgian James Brown), Redding also became known both as an excellent interpreter (he covered the Rolling Stones’ “Satisfaction” to great effect) and an exceptional songwriter (he wrote “Respect,” which Aretha Franklin later popularized). Though most of his influence was confined to the R&B market, at the time of his death at 26, Redding was on the verge of crossing over to the pop market, which he later did with the posthumously released number-one single, “Sittin’ on the Dock of the Bay.” It was with this song and earlier crossover hits that Redding helped to merge the gulf between pop and R&B markets during the 1960s.

Redding was born in Dawson, Georgia, and raised in Macon, and was heavily influenced as a young man by the shouting of Little Richard and the more restrained gospel delivery of Sam Cooke. Beginning his career working in small clubs and recording a handful of singles as a Little Richard sound-alike (such as “Shout Bamalama”), Redding joined Johnny Jenkins’ band beginning in the late 1950s, continuing in an off-and-on fashion through the early 1960s. In 1962, when a recording session for Jenkins was going poorly, Redding used the time to step up to the microphone and use the studio band to record “These Arms of Mine,” a number 20 R&B hit that established Redding as a solo artist. But his career really did not take off until the mid-1960s when his cover of the Rolling Stones’ “Satisfaction” and the Redding-penned “I’ve Been Loving You Too Long,” “Fa-Fa-Fa-Fa-Fa (Sad Song),” and “Respect” all became top-forty hits.



Otis Redding

His legendary sweat-drenched live shows on the so-called “chitlin’ circuit” had already made him one of the most popular black solo artists of the 1960s among African American crowds, and his much-talked-about performance at the Monterey International Pop Festival helped to bring him to the attention of a wider (read “white”) audience. By 1967, Redding was not only on the verge of crossing over to the pop market in a big way, but he was expanding his artistic horizons dramatically and redefining what soul music could sound like in the process. “Sittin’ on the Dock of the Bay” was the result of his experimentation, and it eventually went to number one on the *Billboard* pop charts, albeit posthumously. On December 10, 1967 Redding’s plane went down near Madison, Wisconsin, killing Redding and four members of his back-up band, Stax recording artists the Bar-Kays.

—Kembrew McLeod

## Redford, Robert (1937—)

Robert Redford may very well be the last of the classic movie stars. Possessing rugged good looks in the tradition of Clark Gable and Cary Grant, he has been a major leading man since he rocketed to fame in the role of the Sundance Kid in 1969’s *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*, playing opposite another screen legend, Paul Newman. Throughout his 30-year career, which began on Broadway in 1959 in *Tall Story* and continued with his 1962 film debut in *War Hunt*, he has

demonstrated an ability to portray American icons so memorably as to recreate them in his own image. Yet, in most ways, Redford is rather an atypical movie star. Though not necessarily anti-Hollywood, he goes his own way both on the screen and off and is extremely selective about his film roles. Although his blonde, blue-eyed charisma made him the most popular actor in America in 1974, his choice of screen roles were anything but glamorous.

In such films as *Downhill Racer* (1969), *The Candidate* (1972), *Jeremiah Johnson* (1972), and *The Way We Were* (1973), Redford portrayed men who questioned the prevailing political and social systems. In *The Candidate*, for example, he portrayed a man running for the senate on the basis of ethics and idealism, who quickly learns that people care more about appearances than about a candidate’s positions on real issues. Winning is what the game was about, he discovers. By the end of the film, the candidate learns how to get himself elected but has no idea of what he will do in office.

This theme is repeated in 1973’s *The Way We Were*, in which he plays a popular “most likely to succeed” college athlete paired with Barbra Streisand’s idealistic socialist in a marriage of opposites. As in *The Candidate*, Redford’s character succeeds in life largely through appearances, connections, and an ability to say the right thing even if it is meaningless. Thus, while he is depicting the American dream, he is troubled by it.

Redford’s characters during the early years of his career appeared to be dichotomies: happy on the surface, yet emanating a haunting emptiness. In *Jeremiah Johnson*, he steps out of the system all together by portraying a “frontier trapper” who could not stand the restraints of society and was more at home in the wilderness. This film established the essential Redford character that would dominate the films of his middle and later career. In a string of successful films beginning with *The Great Gatsby* in 1974 and continuing with *Three Days of the Condor* (1975), *All the President’s Men* (1976), *Sneakers* (1992), and *Quiz Show* (1994), he took a decidedly mistrusting stance against the government, big business, cultural institutions (such as marriage), and the integrity of the media.

This attitude also typified his behind-the-camera efforts as well. By 1975, he had turned his own production company, Wildwood Productions, into a major player in acquiring film properties, only picking projects that dealt with issues important to Redford. For example, the company acquired film rights to the best-selling book *All the President’s Men*, which is about the Watergate investigation and the attempt to impeach President Nixon. The film won an Academy Award. In 1980, Redford won an Academy Award for directing *Ordinary People*, a brilliant dissection of the dark secrets haunting a typical American family. He cast television’s most wholesome icon, Mary Tyler Moore, as the overbearingly neurotic mother haunted by the death of her son and blaming it on the youngest sibling. In 1988, he continued his political themes by directing an award-winning documentary *Incident at Ogala*, which investigated the persecution of a Native American by the FBI.

Redford is a passionate environmentalist and political activist for social justice with genuine concerns for the quality of both life and art. He lobbied for the Clean Air Act of 1974, the Energy and the Conservation Act of 1976, and several strip-mining bills. In 1976, he also took three years off from filmmaking to write a book, *The Outlaw Trail*, about the American West.

In 1980, he founded the Sundance Institute in Utah to promote the pure, idealistic side of filmmaking. Eschewing Hollywood, the



**Robert Redford**

institute aims to nurture young, independent filmmakers by creating an environment in which seasoned professionals can help beginners to find their voice without the pressures of commercialism.

One outgrowth of his creation of the Sundance Institute is an annual film festival dedicated to independent cinema. However, the festival was discovered by Hollywood executives desperate for new ideas in 1990, and a number of films screened there have been subsequently purchased and plunged into the mainstream cinema. While this has been financially beneficial for the artists involved, they rarely go on to experience the creative freedom in Hollywood that they enjoyed at Sundance. By the mid-1990s, the festival became a winter retreat for Hollywood executives. The products screened evolved from truly independent films devoid of big-name stars to Hollywood films utilizing Hollywood talent.

Although he has had some setbacks, Redford has become one of only a few actors who can make his own choices in both his personal life and in his films. He has used his star power to produce and star in films that publicize his beliefs and his causes. Both his lifestyle and his motion pictures have become fully intertwined with their common theme of iconoclastic loners who take on the establishment and live life on their own terms. At the same time, most of his screen roles reflect his political and environmental views to such an extent that one may wonder if he could portray an unsympathetic character. He came

close in 1990's *Havana*, in which he portrayed a Bogart-like professional gambler who only looked out for himself. The film's failure at the box-office may have been because audiences were not used to seeing Redford in such a downbeat role. In 1998, he retreated to his traditional pro-environment, loner character in the successful *The Horse Whisperer*, but broke with his own off-Hollywood stance in his personal life by actually appearing on talk shows around the world to promote the film.

—Sandra Garcia-Myers

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## Reed, Donna (1921-1986)

With *The Donna Reed Show* (1958-1966), actress Donna Reed was one of the most popular women of early television. While the character she played was a typical television housewife of the 1950s, Reed was also a pioneer as one of the only women at the time who produced her own shows. She began her career playing sweethearts and wives in films of the 1940s—in 1946 she appeared opposite Jimmy Stewart in the film classic *It's a Wonderful Life*. Reed eventually attempted to break out of good-girl roles by portraying a prostitute in *From Here to Eternity* (1953), for which she won an Academy Award. When the film industry did not provide her other parts she wanted, Reed decided to turn to the new medium of television, where she became a huge star. After her show went off the air in the 1960s, she continued to act periodically until her death.

—Jill A. Gregg

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## Reed, Ishmael (1938—)

Ishmael Reed, regarded as one of the greatest satirists in America since Mark Twain, is also one of the best known multi-faceted writers of the twentieth century; his titles include novelist, poet, publisher, playwright, literary critic, songwriter, editor, television producer, founder of the multicultural group Before Columbus Foundation and There City Cinema, and essayist. In 1967, he changed the American literary scene when he published *The Free-Lance Pallbearers*, a novel that set the tone and aesthetic for the eight novels, five collections of poetry, four essay books, and several anthologies

that followed. With a writing technique called Neo-HooDoo Aesthetic or Neo-HooDooism, a multicultural style based on Voodoo and African-based religious beliefs which he mixed with elements from other cultural traditions, Reed has consistently supported multiculturalism and argued for a multicultural society in the United States and the world over. Though literary critics have been baffled by his innovative techniques, which include combining several seemingly non-related elements from different time periods into his writings—one novel, *Mumbo Jumbo* (1972), for example, contains photographs, drawings, footnotes, quotes, and a partial bibliography—he has been nationally and internationally recognized as the Charlie Parker of American Fiction. In June 1998, Ishmael Reed received the MacArthur Foundation Award.

—Pierre-Damien Mvuyekure

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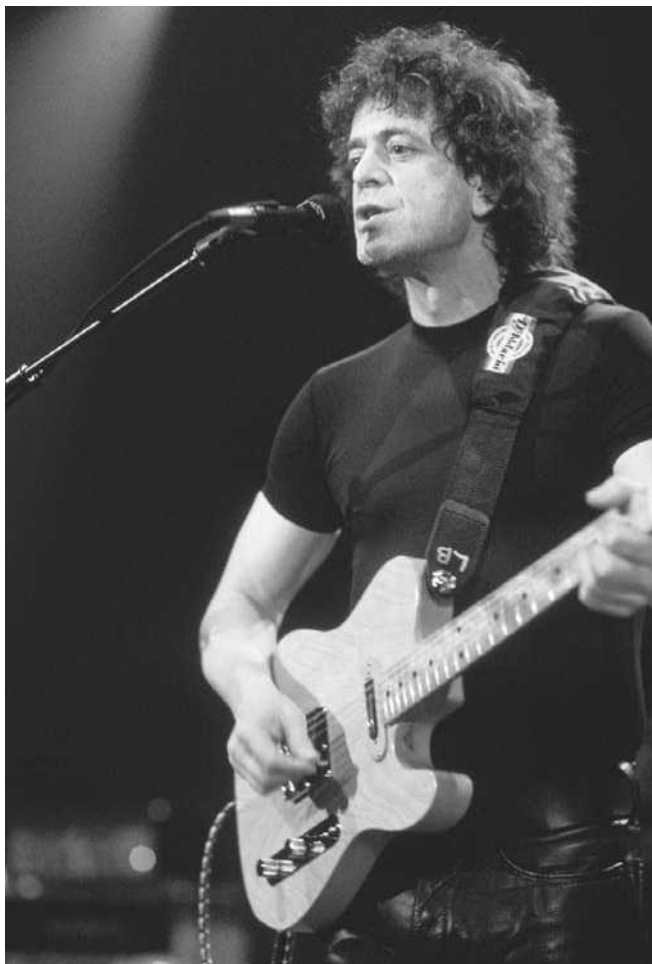
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## Reed, Lou (1942—)

Lou Reed, both as a solo artist and as a member of the Velvet Underground, had an extraordinary influence on the history of rock and roll from the 1960s through the 1990s. Brian Eno once observed that hardly anyone bought the Velvet Underground's albums when they were first released, but the ones who did all formed their own bands.

Born and raised on Long Island, Reed attended Syracuse University, where he met and befriended the poet Delmore Schwartz. After leaving Syracuse, Reed landed a position writing pop songs for Pickwick Records, where he met John Cale, a classically trained cellist who had played with the Dream Syndicate, LaMonte Young's avant-garde ensemble. In 1965, Cale and Reed formed a band, rounding out the lineup with Sterling Morrison, whom Reed had known from college, and Angus MacLise on drums, later replaced by Maureen "Mo" Tucker. After going through a variety of names, they finally settled on the Velvet Underground, the title of a pulp pornographic novel. The band's first show was less than auspicious: they were booked as the opening act at a high school dance in Summit, New Jersey. The following year, the Velvets became the house band at The Factory, Andy Warhol's studio and performance space. Warhol convinced them to add Nico, the German actress and model, as a vocalist and signed them on to the Exploding Plastic Inevitable, his touring multimedia show.

Their first album, *The Velvet Underground and Nico*, features topics unheard of in 1960's rock. "I'm Waiting for the Man" and "Heroin" are frank and even celebratory depictions of drug addiction, while the sadomasochistic themes of "Venus and Furs" would provide a model for many gothic bands of the 1980s and 1990s.



Lou Reed

Beyond the lyrics, however, the album was important for a number of reasons. The songs, all of which were written or cowritten by Reed, were deceptively simple (Reed once said he liked the fact that anyone could play them), and the musicianship was deliberately stripped down. Reed's vocals were often laconic, almost spoken, and provided a model for singers such as Ric Ocasek of the Cars, Gordon Gano of the Violent Femmes, and Jonathan Richman. While the band acquired a reputation as both arty and dark, songs such as "I'll Be Your Mirror," "There She Goes Again" and "Femme Fatale" were straight-up pop songs. That combination of a do-it-yourself attitude, artistic aspirations, and a strong pop sensibility would exert an enormous influence on the punk and independent music scenes of the late 1970s and 1980s.

While the Velvets' first release had used feedback and Cale's dissonant string arrangements as a kind of background noise, *White Light, White Heat*, the band's second album, was a relentless barrage of sound. Experimenting with various effects pedals for his guitar, Reed developed a style in which a squalling wall of feedback was overlaid on every song. It was a wildly different approach from the highly produced and orchestrated sounds which most rock bands of the 1960s had adopted. Even in the 1980s, *White Light, White Heat* remained influential, as bands such as the Gang of Four and the Jesus and Mary Chain incorporated a layer of feedback into their music.

Cale left the band after *White Light, White Heat*, and the Velvets recorded two more albums, *The Velvet Underground* and *Loaded*, as well as unreleased sessions later issued as *VU*, before Reed left the band in 1970. While those efforts at first did not reach the less-than-impressive sales of the first two albums, they indicated the direction Reed's solo career would take. *Loaded* featured "Sweet Jane" and "Rock and Roll," two songs which would become among Reed's most famous.

After quitting the band, Reed took a day job as typist at his father's accounting firm, then released two albums in 1972: *Lou Reed* and *Transformer*. The latter was produced by David Bowie, who was an unapologetic Reed admirer. ("Queen Bitch," released on Bowie's 1971 album *Hunky Dory*, is an unmistakable tribute to the Velvets.) *Transformer* contains "Walk on the Wild Side," which remains Reed's most popular song.

Reed was exceptionally prolific from the 1970s through the late 1990s, and while his work was often well received, few listeners believed it equaled his work with the Velvet Underground or his early solo efforts. In 1989 he reunited with John Cale on *Songs for Drella*, an album of songs about the Andy Warhol, who had died two years earlier. In 1993, the original Velvet Underground reunited (minus Nico, who had died in 1988) and played a brief reunion tour. Perhaps one of the oddest moments in Reed's career was when he played a twenty-minute set at the White House in 1998 at the request of Czech President Vaclav Havel, who had insisted that Reed and the Velvets were important influences on the Czech underground who had fought against Soviet domination.

—Bill Freind

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## Reese, Pee Wee (1918-1999)

Known for his fine defensive play and leadership, shortstop Harold Henry "Pee Wee" Reese was the captain of the Brooklyn Dodgers baseball team in the 1940s and 1950s. The "Little Colonel" led Brooklyn to seven National League titles and a World Series victory in 1955. The intangibles Reese brought to the game earned him top ten mention in the MVP voting eight times and induction into the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1984. In 1947, Reese gained attention off the field by befriending teammate Jackie Robinson, who was the first black baseball player allowed to play in the major leagues. Reese's friendship with Robinson was instrumental in easing Robinson's acceptance among his Dodger teammates and Major League Baseball. Reese's historic actions remain a symbol of social progress in American civil rights.

—Nathan R. Meyer

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## Reeves, Martha

See Martha and the Vandellas

## Reeves, Steve (1926—)

From 1957 to 1968, Steve Reeves was able to parlay his bodybuilding success and classical good looks into a film career which, for a brief time, made him the highest paid screen performer in the world. Most of his films were "sword and sandal" spectacles, made in Italy, but they provided entertainment for his millions of fans around the world and served as an inspiration for later stars of action films, such as Sylvester Stallone and Arnold Schwarzenegger.

Reeves was born on a ranch outside the small town of Glasgow, Montana, and was not quite two when his father was killed in a farming accident. When Reeves was ten, he and his mother moved to Oakland, California, where the active youngster soon had a paper route and was developing his legendary calves by pedaling the rolling hills of his new hometown. Serendipity brought a teenage Reeves into contact with Ed Yarick, one of the most knowledgeable gym owners



Steve Reeves as Hercules in a scene from the film *Hercules Unchained*.



in the United States. Within two years, Reeves' genetic gifts and Yarick's carefully designed programs had combined to produce a physique equalled by few men in the world at the time.

World War II interrupted Reeves' training for a time, but after fighting in the Philippines he returned to Yarick and began to train for competitive bodybuilding. His first national victory came in 1947, in the biggest contest of all in the United States—the A.A.U. Mr. America. As the holder of this prestigious title, he came to the attention of the media, whose journalists and photographers were drawn to this tall young man, who looked, many said, like a living god.

One of the people who saw photos of Reeves was Hollywood's master of the epic, Cecil B. DeMille, who offered the young bodybuilder the role of Samson in an upcoming film. The one catch was that Reeves had to reduce his 215-pound weight to 200 pounds, a sacrifice he was unwilling to make, having trained so hard to build himself up, and he passed up the opportunity. However, he went to London in 1950 to compete for the world's most important physique title, Mr. Universe, won the contest, and began getting small roles on the stage and in television. In 1954, the eccentric independent director of poverty row movies, Ed Wood, cast Reeves as a policeman in *Jail Bait*, and later that same year, Reeves was given a much larger role in the musical *Athena*. In 1957, however, the daughter of the Italian director Pietro Francisci saw *Athena*, and suggested to her father that the big, handsome American would make a perfect lead for Francisci's upcoming Franco-Italian production of *Hercules*. Francisci saw Reeves, agreed with his daughter, and a deal was struck that launched Reeves into a series of mythological hero films that made both men wealthy.

A significant factor in the huge success of Reeves' first four European adventure films was the producer/promoter Joseph E. Levine, who took *Hercules* (1957), *Hercules Unchained* (1959), *Morgan the Pirate* (1960), and *The Thief of Baghdad* (1961), dubbed them into English, and premiered them internationally, not only using slick promotion and distribution methods, but also instigating the publication of tie-in paperbacks and comic books. The result was that Reeves rapidly acquired massive marquee value and found himself in demand.

Unfortunately, however, the popularity of these "neo-classical" epics resulted in such a rash of Reeves films in a short time that his popularity began a steady decline in the early 1960s. *Hercules* opened in the United States in 1959, but by the summer of 1961 eight of his films had appeared in U.S. theaters. Eight films in 24 months was obviously too much for an American audience to take, and ticket sales fell off. He remained hugely popular in many overseas markets and continued to appear in films throughout the early 1960s. His last, and one of his personal favorites, was the 1969 *A Long Ride from Hell*, a late entry in a genre of violent Italian films dubbed "spaghetti westerns." Ironically, Reeves had turned down the role, which eventually went to Clint Eastwood, in the movie that popularized spaghetti westerns, Sergio Leone's *A Fistful of Dollars* (1964). With the success of the spaghetti westerns, the costume epics in which Reeves had found fame and fortune were eclipsed and faded away as the men who made them turned to the new genre.

Reeves suffered a serious injury to his shoulder in 1959. Over the years the effects of the damage were exacerbated by the often dangerous stunts demanded by his action pictures—stunts that he did himself since, because of his unique build, no suitable stunt man could be found. Reeves prized his health; and as he mourned the early

deaths of his friends Errol Flynn and Tyrone Power, he decided to retire while he was young and healthy enough to enjoy it. By 1970 Reeves, who had married Princess Aline Czartjarwitz in 1963, settled on a ranch in southern California to raise Morgan horses.

In 1982, Reeves published a best-selling book, *Powerwalking*, in which he encouraged runners to slow down and save their knees, ankles, and hip joints. Instead, he advocated a form of fast walking using ankle and wrist weights as a safer and equally effective form of aerobic exercise. He was in many ways a pioneer in the field of exercise walking, and in the years since the publication of *Powerwalking* millions of people have switched from running to walking.

For many years, Reeves has been an outspoken opponent of bodybuilding drugs, which were not used during the years in which he competed, and in 1995 he published *Building the Classic Physique—the Natural Way*. Few historians would argue with the premise that no bodybuilder before or since Steve Reeves has ever had such a truly classic physique.

—Jan and Terry Todd

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## Reggae

Reggae is a broad term encompassing a related variety of musical styles that emerged from the island nation of Jamaica after 1960. These styles include ska, rock steady, reggae, and dancehall, all of which swept Jamaican music in distinct stylistic waves, one after the other, during the 1960s and 1970s. Musically, these styles share a common loping rhythm that accents the subsidiary beat. Reggae, however, is many things to many people. It can be seen as merely another great Caribbean dance rhythm, but at the same time many of its songs have highly political overtones. It is also often associated with the Rastafarian religion, an ascetic, millenarian sect that originated in part in the back-to-Africa teachings of Marcus Garvey in the 1920s and 1930s. Since its arrival on the world scene after 1960, reggae and its associated musical styles have become immensely popular around the world. It is one of the world's first truly international musical forms, both in its origins and in its worldwide appeal.

Reggae's origins come from a unique blend of Caribbean musical styles and American rhythm and blues from the 1950s. Prior to World War II, the most popular musical style in Jamaica was mento, which drew from Caribbean forms such as calypso, merengue, and rumba, as well as older African-derived folk styles. After World War II, Jamaicans began to hear R&B music being broadcast from the United States, particularly from New Orleans. In comparison to the BBC-style official radio programming coming from within Jamaica, these R&B sounds were a breath of fresh air. Early American R&B pioneers such as Louis Jordan, Roscoe Gordon, and Fats Domino were immensely popular in Jamaica during the 1950s. These records



Reggae artist Jimmy Cliff in concert.

were also promoted in Jamaica by sound-system operators who carried portable speakers and record players in their trucks, playing at parties and selling records. As the classic phase of R&B music dried up in the late 1950s, Jamaicans turned to producing R&B-inspired music themselves. The first result of these efforts was “ska,” a hybrid of R&B and mento musical forms that featured shuffling rhythms, accented on the second and fourth beats, a chopped guitar or piano sound, and a loose horn section. Ska became the dominant musical style in Jamaica after 1960, propelled by such groups as the Skatalites, the Ska Kings, the Soul Vendors, the Maytals, and Millie Small, whose song “My Boy Lollipop” was an international hit. Much of this music was produced by new Jamaican-run studios, notably those of Coxsone Dodd, Duke Reid, and Prince Buster, all of whom were veterans of the sound-system circuit. Jamaica’s political independence from Great Britain in 1962 further strengthened the desire to produce all-Jamaican musical forms, and the dance rhythms of ska provided a soundtrack to the celebrations that accompanied independence. The era of ska’s dominance lasted until about 1966, although the style continues to have adherents and practitioners, especially in the United States and Great Britain, where it was revived in the late 1970s.

By 1966, following American R&B’s evolution into gospel-inspired soul music, the ska style gave way to slower rhythms called

“rock steady,” after the Alton Ellis hit “Get Ready to Rock Steady.” Other musicians, such as Hopeton Lewis with “Take It Easy” and the Heptones with “Ting a Ling,” contributed to the new rock-steady style. The music slowed down, and the horns largely disappeared, replaced in dominance by a more melodic bass line. While rock steady was certainly dance music, it was not without its social commentary aspects: Desmond Dekker’s “Shanty Town” commented on life in the ghetto communities around Kingston; the Ethiopians sang about the wave of strikes afflicting Jamaica in 1968 with their song “Everything Crash.” As innovative as rock steady was in Jamaican music, combining sweeter melodies, lyrics worth listening to, and new rhythmic combinations, the rock steady era lasted only until about 1969.

Replacing rock steady was a new sound, reggae, a name that eventually would be applied to all of Jamaican music. The exact meaning of the term is unclear, some claiming it means ragged or street rough. Others defined reggae as a general term referring to poor people who were suffering. For others it was simply a beat. Musically, reggae slowed the rock steady beat down even further with a stronger bass driving the beat, a loping, chopping guitar sound, and more rhythmic freedom for the drummer to play around the beat of the bass. Early reggae records, such as Toots and the Maytals’ “Do the Reggay” blended elements of rock steady and reggae. Much of this

new sound came from new producers such as Lee Perry, Clancy Eccles, and Bunny Lee, who established their own studios in the late 1960s. Unable to hire established studio musicians, they turned to younger talents such as Aston and Carlton Barrett and Leroy Wallace. These producers and musicians established the new reggae beat that soon became the most popular style in Jamaica, eclipsing both ska and rock steady.

Of all the various groups to emerge from the reggae sound, none had a greater impact than Bob Marley & the Wailers. Singer, songwriter, and guitarist Marley became the greatest reggae star ever, with an enduring international appeal. Born in 1945, Marley grew up in Trench Town, a rough slum in Kingston. He formed the Wailers with Peter Tosh and Bunny Livingstone in 1960, and they made their first recordings in 1962. In the later 1960s, Marley became an adherent of Rastafarianism. In 1970, they signed a recording contract with Chris Blackwell's Island Records. Blackwell gave Marley the money and artistic freedom to do largely as he pleased. What followed was a string of some of the most influential reggae recordings in the genre's history. On albums such as *Catch a Fire* and early singles, Marley and the Wailers took on political, religious, and social topics, from ghetto conditions in "Trench Town Rock" and "Concrete Jungle" to "Natty Dread" on Rastafarianism. Tosh and Livingstone left the group in the early 1970s, but Marley continued on, releasing such reggae classics as "No Woman No Cry," "Get Up Stand Up," "Exodus," and "Them Belly Full (But We Hungry)." His 1975 album, *Live*, was a bestselling record that encapsulated the live power of Bob Marley & the Wailers' sound. Marley died of cancer in 1981 at 36 years of age.

Along with the success of such reggae ambassadors as Marley and the Wailers during the 1970s, another event that made reggae an international cultural force was the release of the 1973 film *The Harder They Come*. This film, by white Jamaican filmmaker Perry Henzell, starred reggae singer Jimmy Cliff as a young street tough (or "rude boy" in Jamaican slang terms) who comes to Kingston, records a hit record, and then gets in trouble with the law. Although fictional, *The Harder They Come* was based on several years of research by Henzell on the culture that surrounded reggae music. The story of success, oppression, and rebellion hit a literal and figurative chord with young people around the world, awakening an interest in Jamaican music and culture that has never completely subsided. The soundtrack album that accompanied it, which included such stars as Jimmy Cliff, the Melodians, the Maytals, and Desmond Dekker, introduced reggae music to millions around the world.

By the early 1980s, reggae was evolving once again. DJs had always been important in Jamaican popular music, bringing music to the masses and sometimes acting as producers of reggae artists. DJs began to dominate Jamaican music in the late 1970s and early 1980s in a style that came to be known as "dancehall." DJs such as Ranking Trevor, U Brown, and Trinity began to revive an earlier style from the 1960s, called "toasting," that had DJs adding vocal effects or talking over instrumental tracks. With toasting, this was an ad-hoc musical form. In the late 1970s, these younger DJs began to record their own songs in the toasting style, which was dubbed "dancehall." The dancehall style became the dominant musical form in reggae with such performers as Yellowman, Sugar Minott, and U Roy, and had direct connections to the emerging rap or hip-hop style among African-American performers in the United States in the early 1980s. The dancehall style continued to be the dominant form of reggae in the late 1990s.

Although the dancehall style now predominates, the earlier Jamaican musical forms continued through the 1980s and 1990s. The reggae style was by no means dead, and groups such as Black Uhuru, Steel Pulse, Peter Tosh, Gregory Isaacs, Third World, and a host of other stars carried the reggae tradition forward. Ska enjoyed a revival in Britain in the late 1970s as young English musicians discovered the music through the many Jamaicans and West Indians living in London. Such groups as the Selector, Madness, the Specials, the Beat, and hundreds of other groups revived the ska sound, using its musical forms while often combining them with socially conscious lyrics that commented on life in Margaret Thatcher's Great Britain. The ska revival also infected the United States, and the style continued to draw a large cult following both in the United States and in Britain during the 1990s.

—Timothy Berg

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## Reiner, Carl (1922—)

Among the most influential comedic actors, writers, directors, and producers of his generation, Carl Reiner has been associated with many of the brightest lights in American comedy during the post-World War II era, including Mel Brooks, Dick Van Dyke, and Steve Martin.

Reiner was born in the Bronx on March 20, 1922. During the Great Depression he got his first taste of show business as a writer and actor in a dramatic workshop sponsored by the Works Projects Administration (WPA). He was drafted into the U.S. Army during World War II, and further developed his performing abilities while acting in a South Pacific service troupe directed by Shakespearean actor Maurice Evans.

After the war, Reiner was part of the first generation of writer-performers on the new medium of television. In 1950 he was signed to write and co-star on NBC's variety series *Your Show of Shows*, starring Sid Caesar and Imogene Coca. Reiner appeared on-screen, serving largely as a straight man to Caesar and Coca's antics. In the writer's room, Reiner worked alongside such greats as Neil Simon, Joe Stein, and a young, maniacal Mel Brooks. Brooks and Reiner developed a rapport for mad improvisation—Reiner would introduce Brooks as a Jewish pirate, for example, and Brooks would begin off-the-cuff dialogue. On one such occasion, Reiner asked Brooks about witnessing the Crucifixion. Brooks's persona became the genesis of the 2,000-Year-Old Man character. The pair developed the routine at



Carl Reiner (left) with Mel Brooks.

show business parties during the 1950s, and on the advice of Steve Allen and George Burns, they recorded an album of the routine in 1960. It became a best-seller and spurred four more records.

Reiner wrote the critically acclaimed autobiographical novel *Enter Laughing* in 1958, which Joe Stein adapted into a hit Broadway play. Reiner realized that the story of his life—a young husband and father who wrote comedy—would also make a good TV situation comedy. The idea eventually became *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, which debuted in 1961 and ran for five seasons. The series was a beautiful combination of physical shtick, verbal jousting, and ensemble acting, and turned Van Dyke and co-star Mary Tyler Moore into TV superstars. Reiner eventually made guest appearances as Alan Brady, the demanding, vainglorious star for whom Van Dyke's character was writing.

During the 1960s and 1970s Reiner branched out as a successful film director. His 1969 movie, *The Comic*, starred Van Dyke as a silent screen comedian. Reiner's next film was the cult classic *Where's Poppa?* (1970), a blissfully off-color farce with something to offend everyone (the film ends with the middle-aged protagonist about to go to bed with his aged mother). He directed the 1977 surprise hit, *Oh, God!*, starring George Burns as the Almighty; the

film was written by fellow Caesar alumnus Larry Gelbart, and its style echoed the 2,000-Year-Old Man routines.

Reiner found his ideal film collaborator in stand-up phenomenon Steve Martin. Reiner directed Martin's first starring role, *The Jerk* (1979), which grossed well over \$100 million. Reiner and Martin teamed up three more times, most famously on the 1984 hit, *All of Me* (co-starring Lily Tomlin).

By the 1990s, Reiner was an elder statesman in the comedy field. He reprised his Alan Brady character (and won an Emmy) in a 1995 episode of the popular *Mad about You* sitcom. In 1998 he and Brooks recorded their first 2,000-Year-Old Man album in a quarter century, for which the pair won a long overdue Grammy. "Thirty-nine years ago we were nominated for a Grammy, and lost," Reiner said in his acceptance speech. "We can't wait another 39 years!"

Reiner married singer Estelle Lebest in 1944, and they have three children. The eldest is actor/director Rob Reiner, known for such films as *This Is Spinal Tap* and *A Few Good Men*. Estelle is probably best remembered for her one line—"I'll have what she's having"—in the deli scene in son Rob's 1989 hit, *When Harry Met Sally*.

—Andrew Milner

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## Religious Right

Since the 1970s, the Religious Right, often known as the "Christian Right" or the "New Christian Right," has referred to a coalition of organizations and individuals with three major goals in U.S. politics: to get conservative Protestants to participate in the political process, to bring them into the Republican party, and to elect social conservatives to public office. It is not, however, merely an electoral movement. Broadly speaking, the Religious Right is made up of evangelical Christians who are socially, theologically, and economically conservative. Its adherents are primarily, but not exclusively, white middle-class Americans who affirm so-called "family values," promote laissez-faire economics, and believe in a generally literal interpretation of Biblical Christianity. Although the coalition claims support from conservatives among Catholics and other religious groupings, it is generally made up of evangelical Protestants, and it is from this tradition that the movement has emerged. The Religious Right is best known for its positions on contemporary hot-button issues; for example, its adherents oppose abortion on demand, reject homosexuality as an acceptable lifestyle, push for prayer in public schools, and protest high taxes and an expanding welfare state.

The rise of the Religious Right began in 1976, dubbed the "Year of the Evangelical" by *Time* magazine. The *New York Times* claimed that the blossoming evangelical movement was "the major religious

force in America, both in numbers and impact,” and Christian periodicals like *Christianity Today* praised the fact that evangelicals were finally reaching cultural prominence. Americans elected Jimmy Carter, a Southern Baptist, to the White House, a sign to some that the self-indulgence of the 1960s seemed to give way to born-again Christian fervor. Carter himself, however, was a middle-of-the-road Democrat who was far more tolerant of diversity in American culture than many of the outspoken evangelists and politicians who have since come to represent the Religious Right; his election was not so much the fruit of any proactive evangelical movement as it was a result of voters expressing frustration with a decade of Washington-based excesses: unpopular Vietnam policies by the Democrats and the Watergate scandal by the Republicans. Conservative Christians who helped to elect Carter in 1976 turned on him in 1980 as concerns over a variety of social issues caused them to reject Carter’s moderate political policies and turn to the socially conservative Republican Party. Since then evangelical Christians largely have been associated with the Republican Party; however, the two are not coterminous and many left-leaning evangelicals decry the evangelical/Republican conflation.

The Religious Right remained an influential political movement through the end of the 1980s until several events caused many to argue that the movement had run its course: a series of televangelist scandals, the failed presidential bid of Pat Robertson in 1988, the disbanding of Jerry Falwell’s Moral Majority, and Democratic electoral gains, including the recapture of the White House in 1992. Since the 1980s, however, the Christian Right has established influential new organizations like the Christian Coalition, and has organized many voters on the local level, making conservative Christians an important voting bloc in electoral analysis. For example, the Republican resurgence in 1994 was due in part to the strength of the Religious Right in local politics around the country.

The post-1960s Religious Right draws some of its power from the historical forces that shaped church-state relations in the United States over the past three centuries. The New England Puritans of the seventeenth century believed that they were founding a holy commonwealth and that they were entering into an explicit covenant with God: if they obeyed God’s commands they would be blessed, and if they disobeyed they would be punished. Puritans also saw their society as a “city on a hill,” an exemplary redeemer nation that the world should revere and imitate. This combination of covenantal thinking and a sense of divine mission has shaped American Protestants’ perception of their role in U.S. culture for centuries, as expressed in statements like “This is God’s country and it should be run God’s way!” No matter how many mistakes Americans make, they continue to see themselves as the “last, best hope of earth.” Since the Puritan era, evangelical Christians have considered themselves custodians of culture, called not only to serve in churches, but to bring the nation (and the nations) under the rule of God.

During the nineteenth century many of the nation’s social reformers were evangelical Christians. Leading revivalists preached the doctrine of perfectionism—the idea that Christians could and should lead sinless lives. Evangelicals tended to be obsessed more with shortcomings in personal piety and opposed such vices as the consumption of alcohol, gambling, fornication, profanity, and dishonesty. While this preoccupation with individual behavior helped to civilize the frontier and encouraged pioneers to lead sober and decent lives, for some it bred social conservatism, causing them to ignore larger cultural issues like political decision-making, economic policies, and social ills such as slavery, exploitation of workers, and

poverty. Many antebellum evangelicals were socially radical in their opposition to slavery, however, and evangelicals founded many of the nation’s most prominent institutions of higher learning. Clearly, antebellum evangelicals did not eschew public responsibility, but the dynamic of revivalism did sow the seeds of social conservatism that blossomed in the 1970s with the Religious Right’s rigid moralism. For many, God was more concerned about personal moral behavior than problems of social justice and economic equity.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the United States had become, more than at any other point in its history, a Christian republic, though Roman Catholics, as “foreigners,” i.e., non-white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, were excluded from this equation because of their supposed allegiance to the Papacy, a foreign power, and because of fears that the poorer Catholic immigrants would upset the social order. Evangelical, revivalistic Protestantism remained the dominant religious expression, church membership had reached record levels, and Americans believed more than ever that through their example they would save the world. Buttressed by the support of wealthy businessmen, evangelists set out to improve the world through personal piety evidenced through public service and reform. Evangelicals pioneered scores of voluntary associations whose attention to single issues made them highly effective instruments of reform. They learned how to raise money and promote their enterprises and how to continually add numbers to their ranks. Most American colleges had evangelical roots, and Protestant clergymen were among the most influential of the country’s celebrities. In many ways Victorian America was the heyday of American evangelicalism, as it dominated much of American public life and continued to grow exponentially.

Starting in the second half of the nineteenth century, forces of industrialization, urbanization, and immigration interrupted the evangelical march to cultural preeminence. Multiple subcultures divided by class, ethnicity, language, and religion replaced the relative homogeneity and social cohesion of an earlier era. Expansive immigration from eastern and southern Europe brought Jews, Roman Catholics, and Orthodox Christians to North America, thus weakening Protestant influence over the culture. The growing secularism that came to be found in urban America alarmed many in the country’s leading Protestant denominations. The challenges of Darwinism and historical criticism of the Bible made traditional religious belief untenable for many more sophisticated Americans. Many Christian progressives sought to address the social problems accompanying growing industrialism (urban poverty, inadequate public housing, political corruption, for example) with an emphasis on social service, and the Social Gospel movement began to eclipse evangelicalism’s traditional emphasis on personal salvation.

Between 1870 and 1925 evangelicals divided into two warring camps: modernists and fundamentalists (with many gradations in between, of course). Modernists adapted the Christian faith to modern science and new Biblical criticism. They espoused “theistic evolution” which made room for Darwin’s theories and admitted the earth was very old. In addition, conceding that the Bible was often factually untrue and that it was at times supernaturally naive, modernists focused instead on a Social Gospel that emphasized moral instruction and service to fellow humans. Fundamentalists, on the other hand, rejected modernism in all its forms and argued that the Bible could be taken at face value—that it was literally true in all its claims. They also rejected evolution and any findings of modern science that questioned divine creation. Urban revivalists like Dwight L. Moody and Billy Sunday carried the fundamentalist “old-time religion” to

millions of Americans, and it was from this wing of U.S. Protestantism that the “Old Christian Right” emerged.

After World War I, fundamentalist leaders like Sunday, William Jennings Bryan, and William Bell Riley championed two major causes: prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquor and banning the teaching of evolution in tax-supported public schools—the two leading causes of the Old Christian Right. By 1920, fundamentalism was well organized and had made some impressive gains. Leaders achieved a stunning moral victory in the passage of Prohibition, the movement had respectable intellectuals who defended the fundamentals of the faith, and a handful of Southern states had passed laws that banned the teaching of evolution in public schools. By the early 1930s, however, the movement had disintegrated and lost its public credibility. Trouble began in 1925 with the trial of John T. Scopes in Dayton, Tennessee, concerning the teaching of evolution. This cultural event, swarming with national media—it was one of the first news events broadcast live on radio—cemented in the minds of Americans the notion that fundamentalists were rural, uneducated, backward simpletons unwilling to embrace advances in science and technology. Within five years all state laws prohibiting the teaching of evolution had been repealed. Prohibition itself was repealed in 1933, ending the fundamentalist dream of an America free from drunkenness and immorality.

By the mid-1930s, modernists had taken control of the largest Protestant denominations as liberals opted for a more flexible faith not imprisoned in fundamentalism’s doctrinal rigor. As many Northern denominations embraced modernity, the fundamentalist center of gravity shifted to the rural South where Protestant conservatives stopped short of demanding social transformation. Southern evangelicals had traditionally been socially conservative, seeking to preserve the Southern ideal against Northern capitalistic encroachment. Evangelical Protestantism was now in the hands of social conservatives, and the marriage between the two would grow stronger as each year passed.

Fundamentalists had suddenly become emasculated. No longer capable of redeeming the nation for God, they retreated into culturally conservative communities. Fundamentalists were associated with the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s and went on to be associated with segregationism and anti-Communism in the 1950s. These links between conservative Christians and retrograde political movements fixed in the minds of Americans the image of fundamentalists as narrow-minded, bigoted, and backward looking—a very different image from that maintained by evangelical progressives a generation earlier. Between 1930 and the 1970s, Americans paid little attention to conservative evangelical Protestants. Having lost key battles in the 1920s, fundamentalists withdrew from public life and nurtured their own institutions. Because they had lost control not only of American culture as a whole but also of the country’s major Protestant denominations, fundamentalists set out to create their own organizations that would preserve an unadulterated Christian message. Large independent congregations sprouted up all over the country led by famous preachers such as John Roach Straton, William Bell Riley, J. Frank Norris, Carl McIntire, and “Fighting Bob” Schuler. Individuals and churches formed coalitions that they hoped would increase their strength and effectiveness, the most notable being the World’s Christian Fundamentals Association, the National Federation of Fundamentalists, and the Baptist Bible Union. In addition, fundamentalists established Bible colleges all over the country that favored Christian teaching and practical instruction over the liberal arts, the two leading ones being the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago and the

Bible Institute of Los Angeles (BIOLA). Conservative evangelicals also published newspapers and periodicals like the *King’s Business*, the *Christian Beacon*, *Crusader’s Champion*, and many others, and also pioneered in radio broadcasting as they attempted to spread the Christian message around the country and the globe.

To the extent that conservative Protestants participated in national political life after 1930, their sympathies generally remained with the Democratic party. In the South, the force of tradition kept conservatives attached to the party that had re-established white political dominance in the wake of Reconstruction. This linkage was further cemented by the popularity of New Deal social-welfare programs that sought to eradicate poverty and assist farmers in financial distress. As evangelicals climbed the social and economic ladders, their affinity for liberal programs faded as they became more conservative. A significant number of conservative evangelicals fled the Democratic party in 1960 when it ran Roman Catholic John F. Kennedy as its presidential candidate. Traditionally anti-Catholic, white, churchgoing Protestants defected to the Republican party and voted for the Republican candidate, Richard Nixon. Southern whites, who fifty years earlier had supported Democrat William Jennings Bryan, responded favorably to the candidacy of Republican Senator Barry Goldwater in 1964, and in 1968 showed significant support for independent presidential candidate George Wallace. Georgian Jimmy Carter won the White House in 1976 and carried most of the Southern states. He did not, however, win the votes of the majority of white Southerners, many of whom were evangelical Christians. By the mid-1970s, most conservative Protestants were Republicans, and they would turn on Carter en masse in 1980 in support of ultraconservative candidate Ronald Reagan.

Scholars refer to the return of conservative Protestants to organized political action as the rise of the “New Christian Right,” descendants of the “Old” Christian Right of the 1920s. During the 1950s and 1960s American culture became more liberal. Among many social changes, the Supreme Court under Earl Warren declared segregated schools unconstitutional in 1954 and upheld laws banning organized prayer in public schools in 1963; the Warren Court also progressively lifted prohibitions against books and movies that had been considered obscene. In 1960, the Food and Drug Administration approved use of the birth control pill, removing yet another barrier to nonmarital sex. As the conservative reaction intensified, evangelical Protestants joined in the cultural critique. A number of local movements around the country helped to galvanize conservative Christian political concern and united action. One of particular importance took place in 1974 when a group of fundamentalists led by educators Alice Moore and Mel and Norma Gabler protested proposed public school textbooks in Kanawha County, West Virginia. They argued that the sex education curriculum was too explicit, that the science books pushed evolution at the expense of creation science, and that books with sexually explicit, negative, or morbid language were inappropriate for young people. A culture war of sorts developed in Kanawha County as conservatives and liberals squared off over educational freedom, public school curricula, and issues of public decency. Religious and political conservatives from all over the country offered support to the embattled fundamentalists, among them Paul Weyrich and James McKenna and their Heritage Foundation, a fledgling conservative think tank in Washington, D.C. Journalists observed the “wedding of right-wing politics and right-wing religion” and the Religious Right was back in the limelight of American politics as a major constituency within the Republican party.

As the 1970s advanced, conservative Protestants climbed out of the back seat and were vying for America's cultural steering wheel. *Time* magazine referred to 1976 as the "Year of the Evangelical," noting the prominence of conservative Protestants in American business, political, and social circles. During the 1960s and 1970s evangelist Billy Graham emerged as a celebrity via his well-organized crusades in U.S. cities where he preached a "born again" message. Graham rarely engaged in commentary on specific political issues, nor was he ever tainted by personal scandal, and he is generally regarded as a middle-of-the-road pastor whose political activities were limited to acting as an unofficial chaplain to national political figures. Chuck Colson, one of Nixon's Watergate-era henchmen, found Jesus and fought for an evangelical presence in American politics. Phyllis Schlafly led conservative Christians in their battle against feminism, lesbianism, and the Equal Rights Amendment. Jerry Falwell, pastor of Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Virginia, and host of the *Old Time Gospel Hour* television program, came to the aid of Anita Bryant in her crusade to repeal a gay-rights ordinance in Dade County, Florida. Robert Billings, James Dobson and scores of evangelical leaders battled the IRS in 1978 when it attempted to remove tax-exempt status from private Christian schools. Fundamentalist ministers who had long warned their constituents to avoid secular politics now encouraged them to reject the division of human affairs into sacred and secular spheres, insisting that there is no area of human activity, including law and politics, that should be outside of Christian influence. The task was "not to avoid this world, but to declare God's kingdom in it."

Political activists with little or no background in the Religious Right attempted to strengthen the Republican party by building bridges between secular and religious conservatives. Howard Phillips of the Conservative Caucus, John "Terry" Dolan of the National Conservative Political Action Committee, Paul Weyrich of the National Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, and Richard Viguerie, a major fund raiser for conservative causes, all attempted to woo fundamentalist Christians. The basis for this new coalition would be an all-out attack on big government as the major threat to traditional religious and economic values. In addition to their traditional anticommunist, pro-business, and anti-tax stances, conservative activists added the concerns of the Religious Right: feminism, homosexuality, prayer in schools, and sexual laxity, among others. In 1978 Robert Billings, assisted by Paul Weyrich, formed the National Christian Action Coalition, the first national organization of the Christian Right; televangelist Jerry Falwell founded the Moral Majority, a conservative political action group, in 1979. Evangelical leaders embraced conservative political issues, but did so with a religious rationale. Increased defense spending was justified as a way of keeping the world free for ongoing preaching of the gospel; support for the government of Taiwan was key because the U.S. was protecting Christian allies from the godless, communist Chinese; governmental support for Israel was necessary because biblical prophecy demanded a unified and strong Israeli state. Now ideologically and institutionally viable, and savvy about electronic media like television and radio, the Religious Right entered the 1980s stronger than ever before.

Elected president in 1980, Ronald Reagan embraced the views of the Religious Right and pledged to work on its behalf. Among other gestures, he appointed anti-abortion activist and evangelical Christian C. Everett Koop surgeon general, frustrating many conservatives and delighting liberals when Koop took a strong pro-active stance in disseminating nonjudgmental information about the AIDS crisis. In

1980 Republicans regained control of the Senate for the first time in a quarter century, and the Religious Right was credited by many with securing those congressional victories. Throughout the 1980s the Religious Right was constantly on the mind and lips of political commentators and electoral analysts. Falwell became the unofficial spokesperson for conservative Protestants, and Pat Robertson's *700 Club* television show reached record numbers of viewers as it combined revivalistic preaching with analysis of current events in a format similar to the network news. No one could ignore the Religious Right for its profound influence on local and national elections during the Reagan years. Approximately 25 percent of the American public described themselves as "born again" Christians, forcing politicians to contend with conservative Christians as a key voting bloc.

Beginning in 1987, a series of scandals involving prominent televangelists tarnished the image of religious conservatives, and the movement began to lose its cohesion. First, Oral Roberts brought ridicule upon himself by announcing that God would "call him home" if his supporters did not contribute eight million dollars to save his City of Faith Hospital. Then Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker, heroes of the PTL television network and Heritage USA amusement park, found themselves embroiled in controversy. Journalists uncovered Jim's romantic tryst with former secretary Jessica Hahn and discovered that one of Bakker's colleagues had paid her \$250,000 in hush money. To make matters worse, IRS investigators charged Jim Bakker with tax evasion and fraud. The Bakkers had mismanaged loyal followers' financial contributions and used them to support their lavish lifestyle. Jim Bakker, though released on parole a few years later, was sentenced to forty-five years in prison, and his wife, Tammy Faye, entered the Betty Ford Clinic to deal with a drug problem brought about by the stress. After this news story broke, televangelist Jimmy Swaggert was caught in a seedy hotel room with a New Orleans prostitute. Taken as a whole, these scandals humiliated the conservative Christian community and sowed seeds of dissent among its constituents.

At the same time journalists and cultural critics were heaping ridicule upon the Religious Right for its leaders' misdeeds, the movement began to disintegrate politically. In 1988, Christian Right religious leaders were politically split during the Republican primary campaign. Falwell endorsed George Bush, while many others supported Jack Kemp and Bob Dole. Television preacher Robertson, head of the multimillion dollar Christian Broadcasting Network, campaigned for president and even made impressive showings in several early primaries. Robertson, however, eventually withdrew from the race after finding himself unable to garner the full support of the Religious Right that he had taken for granted. Falwell disbanded the Moral Majority in 1989, and the hopes of the Religious Right lay in ruins. Many commentators announced the death of the Religious Right in 1992 when Bill Clinton, a liberal Southern, pro-choice, pro-gay rights child of the 1960s, entered the White House.

The Republican congressional resurgence in 1994, revealed these obituaries to be premature. The Religious Right helped to elect political conservatives to office in that year; and Robertson's new organization, the Christian Coalition, was instrumental in that process. In 1989 Robertson, with the counsel of Religious Right leaders Charles Stanley, D. James Kennedy, Beverly LaHaye, Marlene Elwell, James Muffett, and Lori Parker, formed the Coalition as a grassroots conservative political organization independent of the structures of the Republican party. Under the leadership of a young and vibrant Ralph Reed, this new organization would no longer kowtow to Republican presidents but would instead "be a force unto

its own.” The Coalition de-emphasized national politics and followed the principle that the real battles of concern to Christians were in neighborhoods, school boards, city councils, and state legislatures—in other words, they accepted the dictum that all politics is local. During the 1994 election, the Christian Coalition distributed thirty-five million voter guides and seventeen million congressional scorecards, and made telephone calls to three million voters. In 1995 the organization added its support to the Republican “Contract with America” and penned its own “Contract with the American Family” that called for religious equality, local control of education, school choice, protection of parental rights, family-friendly tax relief, eradication of pornography, privatization of the arts, and victims’ rights. By 1995, the Christian Coalition claimed 1.6 million members and a budget of over \$25 million. It continues to educate conservative Christians regarding local political issues and candidates in a grassroots campaign to purify the United States.

During the 1990s, a group called the Promise Keepers also garnered national attention. Founded by University of Colorado football coach Bill McCartney and friend Dave Wardell, the Promise Keepers brought together large numbers of Christian men in stadium rallies across the country, asking them to re-commit their lives to Christ and reclaim their traditional role as head of the family. The group’s mission statement: “a Christ-centered ministry dedicated to uniting men through vital relationships to become godly influences in their world” came under fire by the National Organization for Women and religious-left groups like People of Faith, who claimed Promise Keepers was really advancing a right-wing, homophobic, anti-feminist agenda that wanted to relegate women to traditional, submissive roles. The Promise Keepers organization affirmed, however, that the group has “no affiliation with the Christian Coalition or any other organization” and that “Promise Keepers is not politically motivated in any way.” It also claimed some success in going beyond the white-Protestant image of the Religious Right by including Catholics and members of racial minorities in its rallies.

Robertson resumed the presidency of the Christian Coalition after the departure of Ralph Reed. In June, 1999, the organization announced it was splitting into two separate organizations after the Internal Revenue Service revoked its tax-exempt status. Under the reorganization, Christian Coalition International would endorse candidates and make political contributions, while the existing tax-exempt body, to be renamed Christian Coalition of America, would continue distributing its controversial voters’ guides. The move was seen by critics as yet another example of the decline of the once-powerful organization.

—Kurt W. Peterson

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## R.E.M.

An alternative rock band of the 1980s and 1990s, R.E.M. served up an eclectic mix of musical styles that included punk, rock, and even country and folk. Comprised of Michael Stipe (vocals), Peter Dinklage (guitar), Mike Mills (bass), and Bill Berry (drums), R.E.M. had a homegrown feel to its music, with a jangly guitar sound that was reminiscent of the Byrds. R.E.M.’s music also represented a link between the postpunk alternative music of the 1980s and punk forerunners Patti Smith (who appeared on 1996’s *New Adventures in Hi-Fi*) and the Velvet Underground. According to *Rolling Stone* magazine, which selected the group as its 1992 Artist of the Year, R.E.M. ascended to “mainstream popularity without caving in to record-industry dictums or betraying its original college-radio constituency.”

The group began the 1980s in Athens, Georgia, hometown to its members and a small college town with a vibrant and diverse music scene, one that rejected the southern rock establishment’s sounds of barroom blues and boogie. Although R.E.M. recalled traditional American songwriting forms, like country and folk, the band was definitely shaped by 1977’s punk scene. R.E.M.’s music had very little to do with punk, but the do-it-yourself ethic of punk rock carried tremendous influence within the band. “You have to remember,” said Peter Dinklage, “growing up at the time I did, there wasn’t anyone who made records like us. Rock & roll was full of super-rich guys that had mustaches and were ten years older than me.”

Tiny HibTone Records released R.E.M.’s first single in 1981. Not a hit in conventional terms, “Radio Free Europe” still caused considerable excitement. Independent record labels had yet to become a mainstay in the United States, so the single’s reach was nothing but astonishing. It almost singlehandedly revitalized the American independent recording scene. If the punk groups of 1977 showed Dinklage and Stipe that anyone could perform in a band, R.E.M. took things one step further by demonstrating that relative success could be attained without the support of a major record label. A year later, the band signed with I.R.S. Records, a larger independent, and released an extended play single called “Chronic Town.”

R.E.M.’s first full-length release, 1983’s *Murmur*, displayed the group’s melodic guitar and harmonies. Stipe’s vague lyrics, emphasizing subtlety over abrasiveness, added to the band’s idiosyncratic manner. Passionate, atmospheric, and pensive, *Murmur* defined R.E.M.’s sound and set the standard for alternative guitar pop. The follow-up, 1984’s *Reckoning*, had a clearer sound and used traditional song forms, like the country sound in “(Don’t Go Back to) Rockville.” The next two releases—*Fables of the Reconstruction* (1985), and





R.E.M. performing at the 1995 MTV Video Music Awards.

*Life's Rich Pageant* (1986)—represented a transitional phase. *Fables of the Reconstruction* was depicted in the rock press as either an interesting experiment with dissonance and melody, or an unfocused and meandering mess. Correspondingly, *Life's Rich Pageant* was viewed by some critics as the band's renewal—a return to melodic songs, augmented by powerful guitar riffs—while for others, it was a stop on the way to the big time. All doubts about the band were put to rest in 1987 with *Document's* succinct pop and its hit single “The One I Love.” What sounded at first to be a song of devotion was, on closer inspection, cloaked in spite. For years, people wanted to know what Stipe was singing. When Stipe was once asked if he wouldn't like people to understand him he replied, “I don't see any reason for it. I think music is way beyond rational thinking. It doesn't have to make any sense.” Finally, R.E.M. delivered a clear mix with “The One I Love,” another song whose meaning bypassed many listeners. By 1988, R.E.M. signed with Warner Brothers Records, becoming a major label artist. The promise of a larger audience made some fans worry that the group would dilute its sound for a new mass audience. They were not disappointed with the release of *Green* in 1988.

Having allayed fans' fears, the group's next series of releases challenged the expectations of their audience. *Out of Time*, released in 1991, featured rapper KRS-One in “Radio Song,” and then proceeded to use string arrangements for a large part of the album. *Automatic for the People* (1992) switched moods by being elegiac. In 1994, the group responded to the suicide of Kurt Cobain, and the death of actor River Phoenix, with the furious electric guitar of *Monster*. Its next release, *New Adventures in Hi-Fi* (1996), had been recorded on the band's tour for *Monster*, during sound checks and live performances. That same tour witnessed a series of medical emergencies that affected three of the band's members, with Berry undergoing brain surgery, forcing his departure from the band, which began recording as a trio in 1998.

By helping revitalize the independent recording industry as well as bolstering college radio and local music scenes, R.E.M. contributed to several shifts in American rock. R.E.M.'s success from Athens, Georgia, and the achievements of Prince and the Replacements from Minneapolis, signaled to young musicians that relocating to New York or Los Angeles was no longer a prerequisite to breaking into the

music business. R.E.M.'s success with roots-based, traditional forms marked a major shift away from the Anglophilia of album-oriented rock to a more organic, indigenous perspective that reached its full development in grunge rock.

—Daryl Umberger

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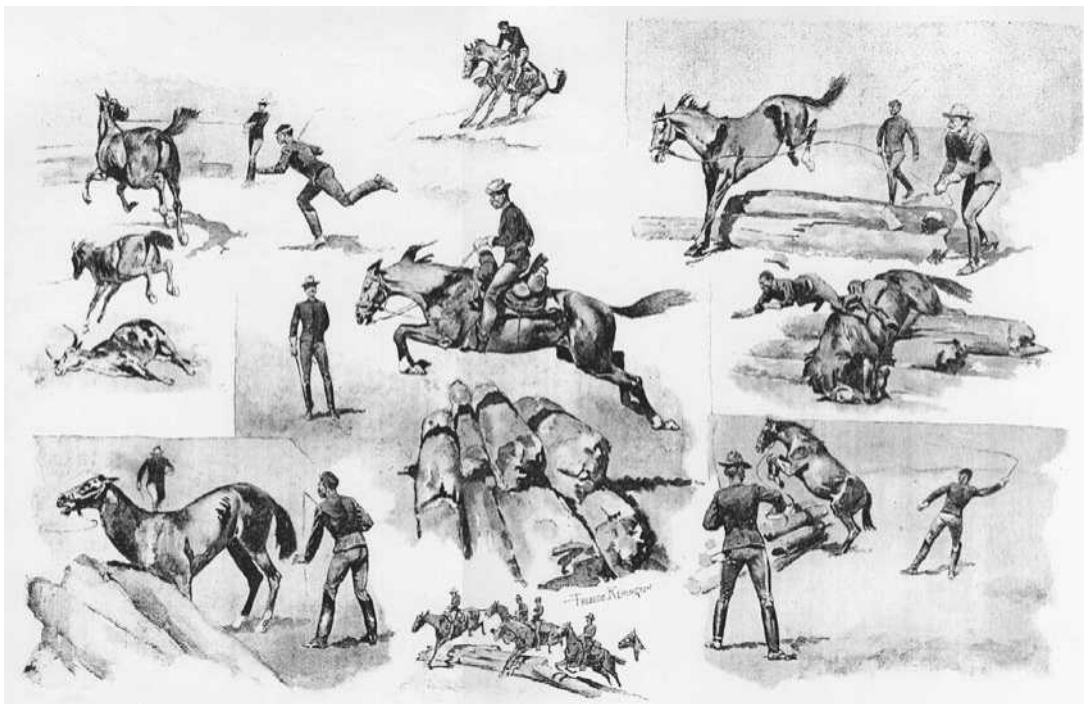
## Remington, Frederic (1861-1909)

Largely recognized as one of the great artists of the Wild West, Frederic Remington's own life mirrored, in many ways, those of his subjects. Capturing the last days of the exciting, vibrant western frontier, he completed nearly 3,000 works derived from working cowboys whose lifestyles were rapidly vanishing. Although he spent

two years at the Yale School of Art and studied at the Art Student's League in New York, in the 1880s he went to the American West, sketching, riding, and prospecting in new territories. His traveling was to be his most practical on-the-job training. Commissioned by *Harper's Weekly* to provide drawings of the West for publication, the artist recorded the Sioux uprisings, Sitting Bull's murder, the capture of Geronimo, and the last great buffalo slaughter in the northern plains. During this time, he continually published, wrote, and illustrated short stories from his experiences with the cavalry and western escapades.

After watching Frederic Ruckstull in 1895, Remington decided to sculpt his cowboy subjects in motion. The clay models he made were then cast in bronze and became immediately successful, with his masterful ability to depict fine details, action, and characterizations. *Bronco Buster*, cast in 1895, depicting a bucking horse and a tenacious rider, became one of Remington's most identifiable works. Multiples were produced for the large audience that had been created through the popularity of his published prints and the art he had produced in *Colliers* and *Scribner's*. Since 1901, these drawings, since 1901, had appeared in full color, double-page spreads, further increasing the demand for his oil paintings.

Remington's work had the ability to connect directly with a vast audience that was often suspicious of "high art," people who were conventionally moral and patriotic. He worked at a time when the proliferation of newspapers and magazines provided a new vehicle for making art available to a mass audience with an insatiable appetite for dramatic content. As the popularity of his work continued to rise, Remington began painting landscapes, broadened his enthusiasm for easel painting, and heightened the exacting demands of his technical standards. Extremely interested in fine detail and a connoisseur of draftsmanship, the artist remarked that he wanted to make his paintings "so you could feel the details instead of seeing them." Two



Tenth United States Cavalry drawings by Frederic Remington, 1891.

of his most famous works, *Downing the Nigh Leader* (1907) and *Dash for the Timber* (1889), realistically show the action and drama of the Wild West.

Sparking even more interest in his work, in 1935, wealthy oilmen, including Amon Carter, Sid Richardson, and the Hogg brothers of Houston, became major collectors of Remington's art. They identified with the dynamics and energy in the trailblazing cowboy and horse images, viewing them as similar to their "wildcat" attitudes in the oil business. Both the artist and the oilmen were enthused by active, physical movement, and the championing of the "little guy."

The value of Remington's work continued to rise into the late 1990s, when a posthumous cast of *Coming through the Rye* was sold in 1998 at Sotheby's in New York for \$1,100,000. In his appreciation of U.S. culture one hundred years earlier, Remington had made a significant contribution. His ambition and determination, combined with his position as part of the West's vanishing, romanticized last days, helped to bring his works wide recognition. The printing industry expanded his ability to reach a wide, general audience as well as important men, including Theodore Roosevelt, who believed in Remington's importance and approved his efforts.

—Cheryl McGrath

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## Reno, Don (1926-1984)

An early pioneer of bluegrass banjo playing, Don Reno had an instantly identifiable approach to the instrument that was widely admired but seldom imitated. After a brief stint with Bill Monroe in the late 1940s, Reno formed a highly productive partnership with guitarist/singer Red Smiley, and the two made well over 100 influential recordings in the 1950s and early 1960s. When Smiley's health failed, Reno took his tenor vocalizing and banjo style—an innovative blend of country and jazz chording and single-string, guitar-like picking—into a partnership with Bill Harrell, following that with a solo career that lasted until his death. Ironically, it was a casual, short-term studio partnership with Arthur Smith that produced one of Reno's most enduring and influential recordings, the original version of the widely known "Dueling Banjos."

—Jon Weisberger

## Renoir, Jean (1894-1979)

A French filmmaker who created some 37 films in the realist tradition during a 40-year career, Jean Renoir is regarded as a mentor to the French New Wave directors of the late 1950s and a mainstay of art films beloved by American cinephiles. The son of Impressionist painter Pierre-Auguste Renoir, he made his first film, *La Fille de l'Eau*, in 1925 and his last, *Le Petit Théâtre de Jean Renoir*, in 1969. Renoir treated complex issues of class and sexuality in his films, in which he created a sense of cinematic space through in-depth staging, location shooting, and camera work noted for its long, complex takes. These processes inflect such seminal works as *La Grande Illusion* (1937), *La Bête Humaine* (1938), and *La Règle du Jeu* (1939). He moved to Hollywood after the outbreak of World War II, making several films in the United States before returning to France after the war. Renoir was given an Academy Award for life achievement in 1975.

—Neal Baker

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## The Replacements

A Minneapolis punk quartet that formed in 1979, the Replacements gained quick notoriety for their inebriated, freewheeling live performances. Verging upon success in the mid-1980s, the group mocked rock's conventional marketing tools. Their video for "Bastards of Young," from *Tim* (1985), was a three-minute close-up of a stereo speaker that was not MTV (Music Television)-friendly. Beginning with "Hootenanny" (1983), however, singer Paul Westerberg's songwriting demonstrated a newfound maturity by including styles that veered from punk into country, folk, and jazz. The Replacements pushed aside the purists, who regarded punk as a self-contained musical form closed to any outside influences. Neither musically mainstream nor punk, Westerberg sang in 1987 that the band had "One foot in the door / The other one in the gutter." The group that could not find their niche disbanded in 1991, but became a model for the guitar-pop bands that proliferated in the mid-1990s, when the alternative became the mainstream.

—Daryl Umberger

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## Retro Fashion

The term “retro” applied to stylistic trends in music, film, and fashion in the 1990s, that were characterized by their iconic or kitsch use of the past. Stemming from the late 1960s concept of “retrochic” developed by the Paris avant garde, retro fashion embraced the use of revival or period styles from certain counter-cultural examples of alternative consumerism. Although retrochic began as an impromptu anti-fashion, it soon blossomed into a profitable, commercial style known by fashion critics as “the nostalgia industry.” Retro became associated with a playful, postmodern nostalgia where the past is used as a storehouse of fashion. But what distinguished the retro fashion of the 1990s from older forms of revivalism, was the cavalier and eclectic disregard for the past. Designs and styles were used without sentimentality or discrimination; the aura of a previous style inspired revelry more than reverence. Retro was a form of pastiche, less concerned with historical context than with the fashionable and hip qualities of “pastness.” Retro can thus be defined as a process of scripting history into nostalgic narratives of the chic and trendy.

The critical and media debate concerning the larger significance of this phenomenon, of various industries marketing the past within new regimes of style, has promoted controversy. In his book *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, Frederic Jameson suggests that “in a world in which stylistic innovation is no longer possible, all that is left is to imitate dead styles.” For critics like Jameson, retro suggests a profound lack of invention; for others, it represents an ironic return to a past given new and creative cachet.

Describing clothing, music, and films as “retro” categorized the style by time period. While certain styles have been described as “retro” because they constitute pop-cultural kitsch of some description, more concrete definitions are available. Within the vintage clothing market, for example, the difference between vintage and retro styles is one of historical era, loosely distinguishing pre-war and post-sixties fashion: retro being commonly associated with kitsch of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Within the music industry, the term “retro” was used by radio stations, journalists, and marketing managers to categorize music linked to a particular moment or musical zeitgeist, principally Disco and New Wave. While the music cognoscenti in Britain and the United States also used the term to describe the creative character of Britpop (Blur evoked the Kinks, Oasis aped the Beatles), retro is more widely associated with popularized nostalgia for music kitsch of the 1970s and 1980s, from Abba to Duran Duran. Similarly, films described as “retro” have been labeled such because of their music. *Boogie Nights* (1997) and *The Wedding Singer* (1998) both display a self-conscious use of iconic style and sound in their respective evocations of the 1970s and 1980s. Both films illustrate a tendency in postmodern culture, identified by Jameson, to understand the past through stylistic connotation: less 1970s, more 1970s-ness.

The fashion industry embraced retro perhaps more than any other industry. The popularity of stylistic nostalgia and the selling of vintage clothing and retrochic in the 1980s began, in part, as a response to the consolidation of designer fashions like Calvin Klein and Ralph Lauren. Vintage and retro clothing stores (London’s American Retro opened in 1986) provided an alternative to the international offerings of the designer labels. The success of these stores influenced mainstream fashion; in the 1990s, both vintage and retro became a distinguishable “look” in Britain and the States. Mathew Rolsten’s portraits for *Vanity Fair*, *Rolling Stone*, and in

Britain *GQ* and *Vogue*, illustrate these looks to some degree. His signature is one of glossy nostalgia, using motifs of 1930s glamour photography and the style of 1940s Hollywood studio stills.

A more particular retro aesthetic was evident in mainstream fashion with the comeback in the 1990s of flares, fly collars, and platform shoes. Witness to the popularity of the trend was the 1998 premier of the Fox Television sitcom, *That ’70s Show*, and the McDonald’s advertising campaign “Get Back with Big Mac,” which featured fashion and dance trends from the 1970s. In each case, the vogue was playful pastness.

—Paul Grainge

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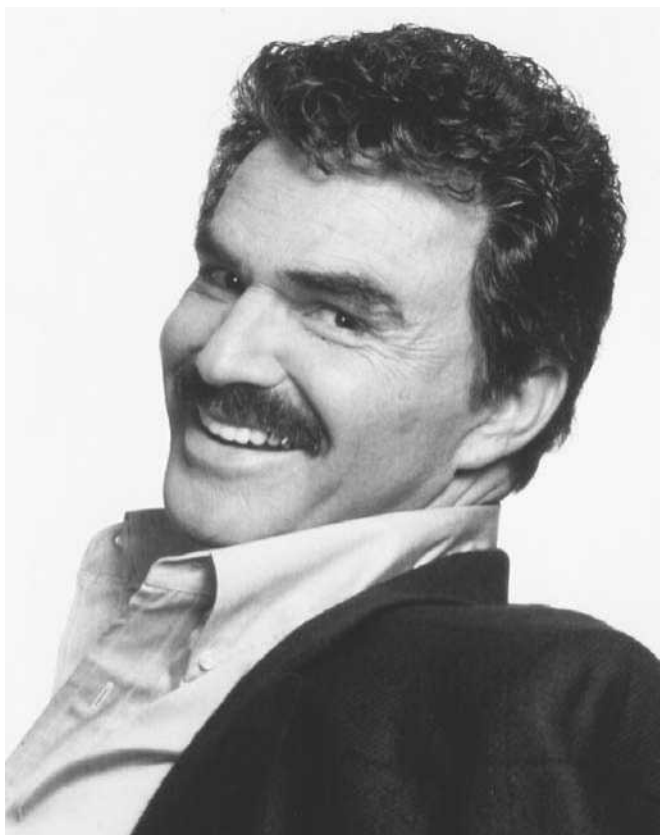
## Reynolds, Burt (1936—)

A motion picture superstar of the late 1970s and early 1980s—thanks largely to his roles in the *Smokey and the Bandit* and *Cannonball Run* movies—the affable and charming Burt Reynolds was voted the Most Popular Box Office Attraction five years in a row during this period and received nine People’s Choice Awards for favorite motion picture actor and favorite all-around male entertainer. Reynolds also enjoyed a prosperous television career in series including the western *Gunsmoke*, the detective show *Dan August*, and the sitcom *Evening Shade*. Despite a much-publicized divorce from actress Loni Anderson that left him bankrupt, Reynolds bounced back in the late 1990s with an Oscar-nominated role in *Boogie Nights*.

With his dreams of a career in sports ended by a car accident, Reynolds headed to New York to break into acting and worked on Broadway. He soon landed a role on the TV series *Riverboat* (1959-1960), which led to a popular three-year stint on *Gunsmoke* (1962-1965), where he played the half-breed blacksmith Quint Asper. His husky good looks and muscular physique increased the number of female viewers and, in turn, caused the writers to contrive more opportunities for Quint to take off his shirt. Reynolds’ popularity eventually led to his own short-lived detective show, *Dan August* (1970-1971).

Though he had been making a series of forgettable motion pictures since 1961—which Reynolds once explained “were the kind they show in prisons and airplanes, because nobody can leave”—his big movie break came in the widely praised *Deliverance* in 1972. The story of a group of men on a river trip who run afoul of murderous backwoods yokels, Reynolds shined as the macho leader of the group who is seriously wounded early on and must bow to the ministrations of his insecure peers.

1972 was also the year in which Reynolds agreed to appear nude in *Cosmopolitan* magazine, causing sales to soar. Simultaneously his private life also became increasingly public due to his involvement



**Burt Reynolds**

with a succession of women that included Kim Basinger, Candice Bergen, Catherine Deneuve, Farrah Fawcett, Sally Field, Sarah Miles, Cybill Shepherd, Dinah Shore, and Tammy Wynette. Reynolds' increasing popularity paved the way for his late-1970s fame in a series of films designed to showcase his image as a cocky, carefree, and smooth-talking charmer who wooed women and bucked authority in such films as *Smokey and the Bandit* (1977), *Cannonball Run* (1981), and *Stroker Ace* (1983).

Though Reynolds occasionally attempted to branch out of this mold, the success of these "lame-brained action comedies directed by and co-starring his pals"—as critic Roger Ebert characterized them—thwarted his efforts. (Intriguingly, Orson Welles once quipped that "Success is Burt Reynolds' only handicap.") Reynolds turned to directing with *The End* in 1978, a well-received black comedy about a man who learns he has a short time to live and determines to end his life. This was followed by the highly praised cop thriller *Sharky's Machine* (1981), and the comedy *Paternity* (1981), about a man who hires a woman to have his child.

Reynolds returned to television with the series *B.L. Stryker* in 1989, and on the sitcom *Evening Shade* from 1990 to 1994. His role as a small-town basketball coach won him both a Golden Globe and Emmy Award for Outstanding Lead Actor in a comedy in 1991. Reynolds also created and toured in the one-man stage shows *An Evening with Burt Reynolds* in 1991 and *My Life* in 1992.

Despite the break-up of his second marriage to Loni Anderson (his first was to actress Judy Carne, the "sock-it-to-me" girl from TV's *Laugh-In*), and his subsequent declaration of bankruptcy in 1996, Reynolds returned to the big screen with his performance in

*Boogie Nights* in 1997 as a veteran porn film director serving as a father figure to new discovery Dirk Diggler (Marky Mark). Despite losing the Best Supporting Actor Oscar to Robin Williams, Reynolds won the Golden Globe, the New York Film Critic's Circle Award, the Los Angeles Film Critics Association Award, and the National Society of Film Critics Award for what many critics described as an "outstanding" performance. This in turn led to further offers, including a three-picture production deal from Turner Network Television. No longer a muscled hunk, Reynolds survived in the late 1990s thanks to a quality that doesn't fade with age: good acting.

—Rick Moody

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## Rhythm and Blues

Rhythm and Blues was the urban popular black music of the 1940s and 1950s. Its antecedents were the jazz and blues of the 1930s, especially Kansas City jazz; in the 1960s, it turned into soul. R&B, as it is often known, was the precursor and the vital center of rock 'n' roll. It used small-group jazz instrumentation, centered on piano and saxophone as often as on guitar, and it moved in the direction of straightforward, danceable rhythms at the time when jazz was moving toward the more complex structures of bebop. Blending the emotional immediacy of the blues, the instrumental intensity of jazz, and the wit of black vaudeville, it became arguably the most irresistible of American musical forms.

*Billboard* magazine first used the term "Rhythm and Blues" as the title for its black music charts in 1949, replacing "race music." But more than the name was new. The postwar era had created an entirely new musical landscape, involving new African American audiences, new black musical styles, and new musical markets that were being serviced by a new music business.

There were social and technological reasons for these changes. The black migration to Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, and Detroit, with their healthy blue collar economy of defense plants that then retooled to service the postwar economy, created a solid urban working class with some disposable income and a changed social dynamic. Black performers, meanwhile, had been hardest hit by the wartime demand for shellac in the defense industry, which had drastically cut back on the production of records, and had made labels trim their rosters dramatically. But a war-created technology was about to open unprecedented possibilities for entrepreneurship in the music industry. The development of recording tape meant that anyone could have a recording studio, and the recording business was no longer in the hands of a few major companies. Thus

newly entrepreneurial musicians began producing music for a waiting audience.

The precursors of rhythm and blues came from the jazz and blues worlds, which were starting to come closer together in the 1930s. Singer-pianist Leroy Carr was the first of the Delta blues singers to incorporate jazz influences and smooth urban stylings. Through the early 1930s, until his death in 1935, Carr was one of the most influential figures in blues. Kansas City blues shouter Big Joe Turner created a solo style on a new instrument, the electric guitar. Jazzman Illinois Jacquet, in Lionel Hampton's 1941 recording, "Flying Home," played a honking, emotionally charged tenor sax solo that became the model for rhythm and blues instrumentals.

The most important jazzman to enter rhythm and blues, though, was Louis Jordan, who virtually created "jump blues." Like so much of the music of the 1940s, jump blues came out of the driving dance music of Count Basie's great 1930s bands, in such numbers as "One O'Clock Jump" and "Jumpin' at the Woodside." Jordan adapted Basie's big band swing to small group instrumentation, with an emphatic 2/4 shuffle beat and brilliant comic showmanship derived from Cab Calloway and black vaudevillians. Jordan dominated the charts throughout the early 1940s.

Jordan recorded on Decca. The new rhythm and blues performers of the 1940s, though, were a phenomenon of the new independent labels. Many of these labels were located in the entertainment centers of New York and Los Angeles, but others were regional. They tended to be run by entrepreneurs (more often than not white) who had businesses that serviced the black urban communities and who saw a hugely popular sound ripe for commercial exploitation. Each label contributed some facet of the developing rhythm and blues sound.

The earliest important indie label was Savoy (founded in 1942). Founded by a Newark, New Jersey, record store owner, Herman Lubinsky, Savoy was one of the few labels to specialize in both of the cutting edge black musical styles of the 1940s: bebop and rhythm and blues. Apollo (founded in 1943), a New York label, and King (1944), a Cincinnati label that also recorded country singers, also came along during the war years, but the real explosion of independents began in the postwar era.

Los Angeles, in these years, became a huge center for rhythm and blues recording. T-Bone Walker had settled in Los Angeles. The first breakout rhythm and blues single, "I Wonder," was recorded by Private Cecil Gant in a simple basement studio and released in 1944 on Gilt Edge Records, a short-lived L.A. indie. When "I Wonder" went to the top of *Billboard's* race charts, a number of labels sprang up to capitalize on the smooth, cool, Leroy Carr-derived L.A. blues style Gant had popularized. The most successful of these was Modern Records, which was to have its biggest success with a T-Bone Walker disciple, B. B. King. Aladdin Records signed Charles Brown, who brought jazz-pop stylings reminiscent of Nat "King" Cole to R&B. Swingtime recorded Lowell Fulson, who combined the smooth L.A. sound with a T-Bone Walker-influenced guitar style and a Charles Brown-influenced singer-pianist who would later develop his own, revolutionary style: Ray Charles.

The two most important postwar independent labels out of L.A. were Imperial and Specialty. Imperial, founded by record producer Lew Chudd in 1945, became a major player—and changed the face of rhythm and blues—when Chudd moved his talent search from Los Angeles to New Orleans and signed Fats Domino. Domino had some of the smooth style of the L.A. singers, but he also had the robust energy of Big Joe Turner, and the rollicking, quirky rhythm that grew up in the Caribbean seaport city of New Orleans. Imperial, which also

recorded other New Orleans R&B performers like Smiley Lewis and Guitar Slim, adopted the finest New Orleans session musicians—producer-arranger Dave Bartholomew, and brilliant instrumentalists like saxophonist Lee Allen and drummer Earl Palmer. Domino was also one of the first successful R&B artists to incorporate the influence of white country music. Generally, when discussing the fusion of rhythm and blues and country that produced rock 'n' roll, music historians point to white singers like Elvis Presley and Carl Perkins, but the real pioneers were Domino and, a few years later, Chuck Berry.

Other L.A. labels started to scout New Orleans for talent. Aladdin signed Shirley and Lee, whose 1950s hits like "Feel So Good" and "Let the Good Times Roll" were a unique amalgam of the mature sexuality of the blues and the teenage sexuality of rock 'n' roll. But the most important Los Angeles beachhead in New Orleans was established by Specialty Records' Art Rupe.

Rupe, who started Specialty in 1946, had developed a successful small label, originally recording jump blues bands like Joe Liggins and the Honeydrippers, then signing former Swingtime artist Percy Mayfield, a fine singer in the L.A. style, and one of the century's greatest songwriters. Mayfield's first recording for Specialty in 1950 was his masterpiece, "Please Send Me Someone to Love."

In 1951, Rupe, excited by Imperial's New Orleans roster, sent producer Bumps Blackwell to scout for talent in New Orleans. Blackwell's first success was Lloyd Price, who hit with "Lawdy, Miss Clawdy," backed by Domino and Bartholomew, in 1952. Specialty had a hit in 1954 with Guitar Slim's "The Things I Used to Do" (with Ray Charles). But the label's most significant performer, also signed and produced by Blackwell, was Little Richard. Richard had made a few marginally successful records for Peacock, a Houston-based indie owned by Don Robey, one of the few black entrepreneurs in the rhythm and blues business (romantic balladeer Johnny Ace recorded for Robey's Duke-Peacock, as did Big Mama Thornton and Bobby "Blue" Bland). With Blackwell, he developed a new, over-the-top style. His first single, "Tutti Frutti," came out in 1955, and was one of the most important developments in the merging of rhythm and blues into rock 'n' roll.

Basically, the big difference between rhythm and blues and rock 'n' roll was that white teenagers, as well as blacks, listened to rock 'n' roll. As a result, rock 'n' roll was generally safer and more conservative. As Robert Palmer pointed out in his book, *Baby, That Was Rock and Roll* (about Jerry Lieber and Mike Stoller), the theme of conflict between blacks and the surrounding white culture turned into the theme of conflict between teens and their parents. Little Richard was an exception to that rule. His songs were full of heavy sexual innuendo, and his performances held nothing back.

Specialty had a strong lineup of gospel singers along with its rhythm and blues line. One of its best gospel groups, the Soul Stirrers, had Sam Cooke as its lead singer. Cooke wanted to go into R&B, but Rupe, afraid of losing his gospel audience, forbade it. Cooke and Blackwell left the label together. Rupe hired Sonny Bono as his new chief talent scout, and Specialty lost its edge.

Chess Records, begun in Chicago in 1947 by Leonard and Phil Chess, drew on a different musical style: the Delta blues singers who had migrated north from Mississippi and electrified their sound. The Chicago audiences, like other postwar urban black audiences, were ready for something newer and livelier than the traditional blues they—or their parents—had left behind in the Mississippi Delta. They wanted the big sound of jump blues, and the loud, electric sound that could be heard in the nightclubs they frequented; but they were also

still largely recent Southern immigrants, and they wanted a more down-home sound. The musicians were ready to give the public what it wanted, but they were blues-based guitar and harmonica players, not jazz-based horn players. The most successful performers were the ones who could adapt the country blues style to the group configuration of jump. The best of these was Muddy Waters, who put together bands with such brilliant instrumentalists as Little Walter, Jimmy Rogers, Otis Spann, and Fred Below.

The Chess brothers were nightclub owners who realized that there was a record market for the music that was packing their clubs. Using the talent of a brilliant producer/songwriter Willie Dixon, Chess Records began to sign up the top Chicago rhythm and blues acts. Muddy Waters first recorded for them in 1950, singing traditional blues with only a bass accompaniment. These records were so successful that the Chess brothers were reluctant to change the formula, and it was not until 1950 that they let Waters record with his group. Waters was the prototype of the Chicago blues style; other successful Chess rhythm and blues acts were Howlin' Wolf and Little Walter. These artists did not cross over, at least in the 1950s; their sales were to black audiences. But they were the most profound of influences on the British rockers of the 1960s and the guitar rock bands of the 1970s.

The first Chess rhythm and blues record that made an impact on what was to become the rock 'n' roll market was "Rocket 88," by Jackie Brenston and Ike Turner. Produced in Memphis by Sam Phillips and leased to Chess, it inspired Phillips to go on experimenting with the sound that was to lead to Sun Records and Elvis Presley. The Chess artist who was to change the face of American music most profoundly, though, was Chuck Berry.

Berry, introduced to the Chess brothers by Muddy Waters, was a formidable musician who had absorbed the jump blues of Louis Jordan, the jazz guitar innovations of Charlie Christian, the Chicago rhythm and blues of Waters, and—as with Fats Domino—country. Berry's first recording for Chess was "Maybellene," in 1955, and it was one of the key records to cross black rhythm and blues over to a white audience. Berry's style was so immediately accessible to the new rock 'n' roll market that his hits, unlike Domino's or Little Richard's, were never taken away from him by white artists like Pat Boone. Berry's gifts as a lyricist have led literary critics, as well as pop culture scholars, to hail him as one of the century's most significant writers.

Because of Berry and other rhythm and blues artists who appealed to rock 'n' roll audiences (Bo Diddley, Clarence "Frogman" Henry, and groups like the Flamingoes, the Dells and the Moonglows), Chess became one of the most influential independent R&B labels of the 1950s.

The most important label, though, was unquestionably Atlantic. Founded in 1948 by Ahmet and Nesuhi Ertegun and Herb Abrahamson, Atlantic came to dominate both rhythm and blues and rock 'n' roll.

Atlantic's biggest drawback became its greatest strength. Since there was no blues tradition to speak of in New York, the Erteguns were more or less forced to invent one. Using a brilliant black producer, Jesse Stone, and musicians drawn from the jazz clubs on 52nd street, they created a slick but bluesy sound that redefined American music.

Atlantic's first major star was Ruth Brown, a jazz-pop singer who told Ahmet Ertegun when he signed her, "I don't like blues." But her pop-blues amalgam was perfectly suited to the hip New York audience, and to the white teenagers who were starting to listen to

rhythm and blues. She and Lavern Baker, signed in 1954, became the biggest female stars in R&B.

The vocal harmony group style that came to be known as doo-wop found its most popular manifestation on Atlantic, with the Clovers, the Drifters, and the Coasters as the label's biggest stars. Doo-wop came from one of the oldest traditions of black music: harmony singing. In the early 1940s, the principle harmony purveyors were gospel groups and smooth pop groups, principally the Mills Brothers and the Ink Spots. The doo-wop groups modeled themselves after the smooth groups, but they had something of the rawness and the rocking rhythm of the gospel groups, too.

The first important doo-wop group was the Orioles, on Jubilee Records. Chess developed a significant doo-wop stable with the Flamingoes, the Moonglows, and the Dells. The Los Angeles scene produced the Penguins and the Platters. In New York, record executives George Goldner and Morris Levy, on a succession of labels, recorded a number of classic doo-wop groups, the most famous being Frankie Lymon and the Teenagers.

The Clovers signed with Atlantic in 1951, and from their first recordings—Orioles-influenced harmonies with a stronger, more danceable beat—they were at the top of the charts. The Clovers had a strong career throughout the 1950s. The Drifters were signed by Atlantic in 1953 as a setting for the talents of Clyde McPhatter, whose gospel-tinged voice and erotic passion were the precursors of Sam Cooke, and then the soul singers of the 1960s. McPhatter left the Drifters in 1955, but the group, with a series of other lead singers, continued into the 1960s. The Coasters, originally a West Coast group, were produced by songwriters Jerry Lieber and Mike Stoller, two white men who began by writing blues and who became, along with Chuck Berry, the architects of the rock 'n' roll sensibility. Berry, Lieber, and Stoller had always had a wider range to their writing than sexuality, which was the subject of most blues writing.

Atlantic signed and rejuvenated the careers of R&B pioneers T-Bone Walker and Joe Turner. But artistically, the label's most important solo star was Ray Charles, who had begun on the West Coast as a ballad singer in the Charles Brown/Nat "King" Cole tradition. With Atlantic, Charles moved from the Cole piano trio model to a horn-driven band that was unlike Louis Jordan's Tympany Five, and created a gospel-influenced sound that remains one of the most powerful, original contributions to American music.

In the 1960s, a new group of singers came to Atlantic. The first of these was Solomon Burke, signed to the label to replace the departing Ray Charles. According to Burke, he refused to allow the label to promote him as a rhythm and blues singer, because he had promised his devout mother that he would never sing rhythm and blues. The label had to come up with a new name for this new music, and settled on "soul," a name whose religious overtones would satisfy Burke's mother. Whether or not the story is true, the coming of Burke, Otis Redding, Aretha Franklin and others signaled the beginning of a new musical era.

—Tad Richards

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## Rice, Grantland (1880-1954)

Grantland Rice, arguably the best-known American sports writer ever, was also one of the most highly regarded personally and professionally. Born in Murfreesboro, Tennessee, Rice attended Vanderbilt University and upon graduation began his journalism career with the *Nashville News*, moving to the *Atlanta Constitution*, then to the *New York Mail* and finally to the *New York Tribune* (later the *Herald-Tribune*). In 1930, his column, "The Spotlight," was nationally syndicated and strengthened Rice's position as the "Voice of Sports." What separated Rice's column from countless others was his writing style and the column's content: a combination of sport news, gossip, and commentary. Since the year of his death, the Football Writers Association of America has awarded the Grantland Rice Trophy to the team it considers the best in college football.

—Lloyd Chiasson, Jr.

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## Rice, Jerry (1962—)

Maybe the greatest wide-receiver in NFL (National Football League) history, Jerry Rice has been a part of the San Francisco 49ers' success for his entire career, which began in 1986. Coming from small Mississippi Valley State University in Itta Bena, Mississippi, Rice holds numerous NFL regular season and postseason records, including most receptions in a career, most receiving yards in a career, and most touchdowns in a career, to name just three. He was on track for another record, most consecutive games with a reception, before a freak injury in the 1997 season opener stopped that streak. Despite that torn anterior cruciate ligament in his left knee, Rice miraculously returned just three and a half months later in a Monday night game against Denver. Unfortunately, he suffered a shattered kneecap (the same knee), preventing the 49ers' most potent weapon from participating in the postseason. After that injury, Rice returned to his old self

in the 1998 season, racking up over 1,000 yards receiving while leading the 49ers in receptions.

—D. Byron Painter

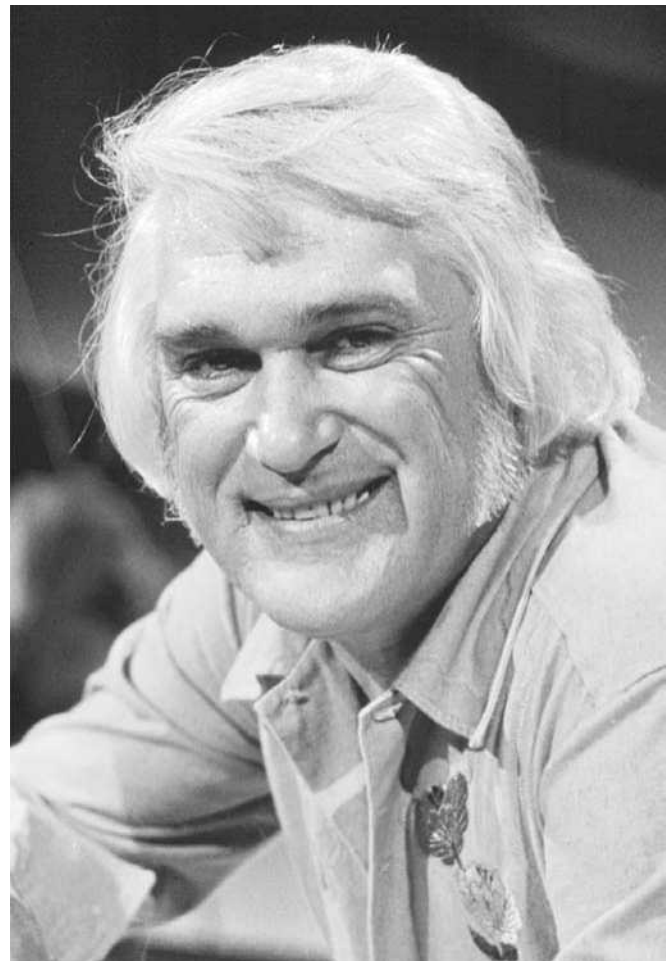
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## Rich, Charlie (1932-1995)

A versatile artist whose recording career spanned five decades and seven labels, Charlie Rich is primarily remembered for his 1970s country crossover megahits "Behind Closed Doors" and "The Most Beautiful Girl." Produced by Billy Sherrill, the architect of the crossover country sound, these two songs propelled a reluctant Rich into country music stardom. Despite his identification with country, Rich's music incorporated jazz, pop, rock, gospel, R & B, and soul, making him one eclectic country musician.

Born in Arkansas in 1932, Rich began his musical career as an enlisted man in the early 1950s, playing piano with a jazzy outfit



Charlie Rich



called the Velvetones at the U.S. Air Force base in Oklahoma where he was stationed. After leaving the service in the mid-1950s, Rich farmed by day and worked as a supper-club pianist in Memphis by night. Margaret Ann Rich, Charlie's wife, biggest fan, and sometime collaborator, took his tapes to Sun Records, Sam Phillips's legendary recording label, and the early musical home of Elvis Presley, Jerry Lee Lewis, Johnny Cash, and Carl Perkins. Phillips associate Bill Justis liked the tapes, and Rich was signed to Sun, first as a session man and arranger, and eventually as a recording artist. In 1960, he had his first Top 30 hit with "Lonely Weekends." Unable to score with any of his follow-up singles, Rich's career stalled.

In 1964, Rich left Sun and signed with Groove, an RCA subsidiary, where he recorded several albums that were not commercial successes until they were reissued in the wake of his big 1970s hits. After Groove's demise in 1965, Rich signed with Smash/Mercury, where he had another Top 30 novelty hit with "Mohair Sam." Once again unable to follow up his hit, Rich switched labels again, signing with Hi Records in 1966, where he was unable to make any impression on the charts.

In 1967, Rich signed with Epic, and with Billy Sherrill he recorded the body of work with which he would become most closely identified. Sherrill's production style, which favored lush string arrangements and vocal choruses over the steel guitar and fiddle found in much recorded country music, was a great fit with Rich's soulful, sultry voice and supple phrasing. In his first five years at Epic, Rich had no commercial successes, but remarkably the label stuck with him. Sherrill had some clout, having scored major hits for Epic with Tammy Wynette and David Houston, and Epic was probably sticking with Rich at Sherrill's insistence. This persistence paid off in 1972 when "I Take It on Home" was a hit on the country charts. In 1973, "Behind Closed Doors" spent twelve weeks on the Top 40 chart, peaking at number fifteen, and "The Most Beautiful Girl" spent seventeen weeks on the same chart, peaking at number one. For those breakthroughs, Rich was named the Country Music Association's Male Vocalist of the Year for 1973, and he won the Grammy for best male country vocal performance. In the wake of these successes, Rich's earlier labels began to re-release the previously unsuccessful material in their vaults, and Rich continued to chart. In 1974, he was the CMA's Entertainer of the Year. After 1974, though the hits kept coming to a degree, Rich never again reached the commercial success of the early 1970s.

While Sun's Phillips called Rich the most talented musician he had ever worked with and the only one who had the potential to rival Elvis Presley, Rich seemed uncomfortable with his status as international sensation. His well-documented drinking problem and occasional erratic behavior (in 1975, while on national television presenting the CMA award to his successor for male vocalist of the year, Rich set fire to the piece of paper that revealed John Denver to be the winner) may be part of what kept him from becoming a superstar. In addition, Rich was always reluctant to do the kind of touring and personal appearances a performer is urged to do to maximize record sales, opting instead to spend time at home with Margaret Ann and their children. Perhaps it had something to do with the fact that commercial tastes dictated that he should temper his tendency for artistic experimentation in blending genres.

Rich left Epic for United Artists in 1978 and had a few country hits there. In 1980, he moved to Elektra and had some successes there through 1981, when he went into semi-retirement for a decade. In 1992, he reemerged to make what would be his final album, a lovely, heart-wrenching, jazzy record called *Pictures and Paintings*. In the

liner notes to Epic's *Feel Like Going Home: The Essential Charlie Rich*, Margaret Ann talks about *Pictures and Paintings*: "That last album that he did I think was more representative of what he really was all about, because it was all different kinds of music—it was the music he loved, and he was really pleased about that. But I don't think he had any idea of the lives he touched. I'm sure he didn't. Because it was just always about the music. It wasn't about being famous. He never really cared a flip for that. In fact, he kind of ran from it. He just wanted to play music; that's all." Charlie Rich died from a blood clot in 1995 while traveling through Louisiana with Margaret Ann.

—Joyce Linehan

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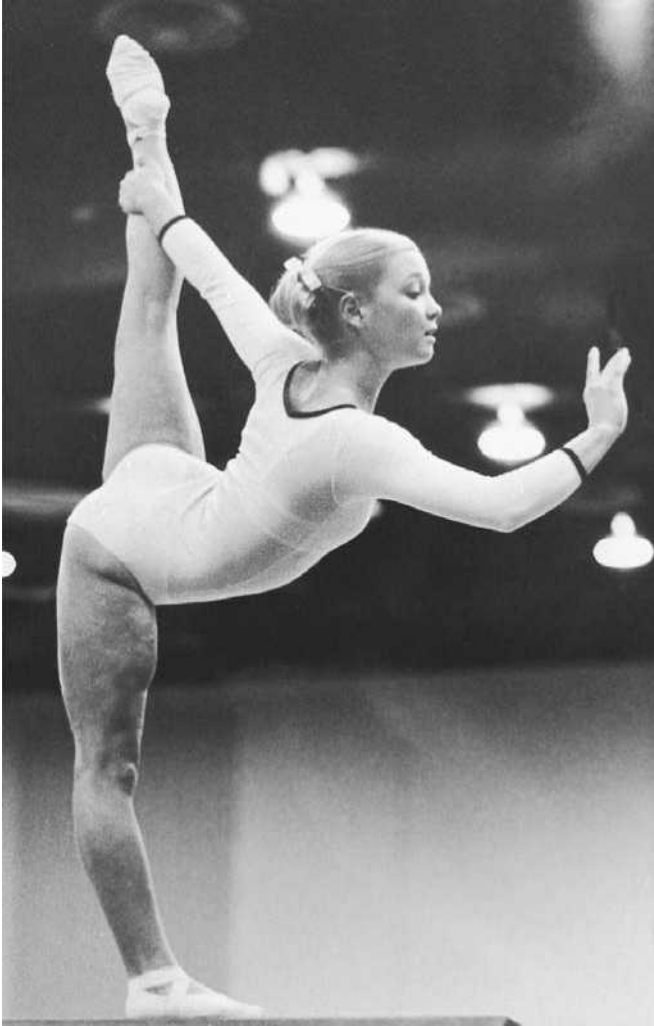
See Big Bopper

## Rigby, Cathy (1952—)

Though Cathy Rigby never won an Olympic medal, her plucky strength and vulnerability won the hearts of American sports fans in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when she competed as a gymnast. At the 1968 Summer Olympics in Mexico City, "Little Cathy Rigby" was the media's darling, finishing 16th in the all-around competition, the best ranking ever for an American female. She continued to compete internationally, becoming the first U.S. female to win a silver medal at the 1970 World Gymnastics Championships. In all, she won 12 medals in international competitions, eight of them gold. She was highly favored, by the U.S. press at least, to take the honors at the 1972 Summer Olympics in Munich until her aspirations were thwarted by the stress of public attention, bringing on eating disorders that jeopardized her health for some years to come. She was 20 when she retired from sports and past 30 before she had healed herself and begun a new and surprisingly successful career on the stage.

Rigby was born in Los Alamitos, California, into a middle-class family. Her father, an aircraft engineer, and her mother, a materials analyst, were protective of their daughter, whose health was poor as a child. At ten years of age, the small and lithe child discovered a talent for the trampoline and tumbling. Her father aggressively encouraged her newfound skills and hired a coach to push along her development. While Rigby was still young, her father lost his job and became an alcoholic, causing tension at home. Though she felt the stress of her father's unhappiness and of his disagreements with her coach, Rigby began to win gymnastic competitions, becoming especially well known for her expertise on the balance beam.

Rigby was just under five feet tall and weighed a slight 92 pounds, but her coach insisted that she needed to reduce even further. Plagued by insecurity and lack of self-confidence, Rigby soon became obsessed with her weight and the need to control it. She tried starvation diets and fasting, but it was difficult to compete without food. By the time of the 1972 Munich games, she had become



Cathy Rigby

bulimic. Having learned the technique from a teammate with similar worries, Rigby ate what she wished, then forced herself to vomit, sometimes as often as six times a day.

Fighting dizziness and exhaustion caused by her bulimia, Rigby placed tenth at the 1972 Olympics, still higher than any American woman ever had. But the press called her performance “disappointing,” and flocked to their new darling, Olga Korbut, who had eclipsed Rigby at the games. Feeling like a failure, Rigby retired from the sport and married Tommy Mason, an ex-athlete himself. They had two children and Rigby forged a career doing sports commentary and commercials; still obsessed with being thin, she continued to force herself to vomit several times a day.

It was not until 1981 that Rigby was able to begin dealing with her eating disorder. Offered the role of Dorothy in a revival of *The Wizard of Oz*, Rigby developed a new driving interest—the stage. Buoyed by the enthusiastic critical response to her acting, and supported by a new friend, Tom McCoy, who would become her second husband, she finally defeated her eating disorder. She “came out” in the press as a bulimic and continues to tell her story in the hopes of helping other young women fight their self-destructive obsession with weight.

Soon Rigby found herself cast in other acting roles. She acted in several movies, among them *The Great Wallendas*, a vehicle for her considerable gymnastic skills, and *Perfect Body*, about the problem of eating disorders among young women athletes. Her trademark role, however, is Peter Pan, which she revived on Broadway on the thirty-fifth anniversary of the original production. Once again the American press was charmed by Cathy Rigby, and she got rave reviews for her performance in a role that Mary Martin, a Peter of the 1950s, had once said, “You’d have to be an acrobat,” to play.

It was not only her athletic ability that won her a Tony nomination, however, but her spunky, upbeat acting style and her accomplished singing and dancing. When she first joined the cast of *Peter Pan*, the songs were prerecorded by another singer, but Rigby was determined to learn to perform them herself. She studied acting and singing with palpable success. “It’s that athlete’s obsessiveness,” she said of training for her new career, “the need to prove yourself and work harder than anybody else. I think it’s what helped me do well in the theater.”

Rigby continues to perform regularly. She has done gymnastics exhibitions in Las Vegas, has had lead roles in many other musicals from *Annie Get Your Gun* to *South Pacific*, and continues to play the boy who never grew up with the *Peter Pan* touring company that she and her husband produce. They have also produced a video called *Faces of Recovery* about the dangers of eating disorders. Rigby’s resilient career, and the help she has offered those who come after her, continue to make her a role model, not only for young athletes, but for all young women seeking to discover their strengths and use them.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Riggs, Bobby (1918-1995)

In 1939 Bobby Riggs was the number one-ranked tennis player in the world. He is remembered, however, not as much for his skills as for his ill-fated 1973 “Battle of the Sexes” match with Billie Jean King at the Houston Astrodome, in which the 55-year-old Riggs was easily beaten by King in front of a national television audience. Riggs claimed he could beat any woman player despite his age. In fact, Riggs had already beaten the top-ranked women’s player, Margaret Court, so King knew she could not avoid playing him. Riggs’s loss did wonders for women’s sports, not just tennis. King thought that her victory was more symbolic and psychological than athletic, and she hoped it would provide a springboard for women’s athletics, which it ultimately did. The timing of her victory was also important; Title IX, which banned gender discrimination in education, had just passed.

—D. Byron Painter

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## Riley, Pat (1945—)

National Basketball Association (NBA) coach Pat Riley is one of the most successful basketball coaches of all time and his achievements have led him to become one of the country’s most respected motivational speakers. After three years starring at Kentucky University, a mediocre nine-year professional playing career, and a two-year stint as a broadcaster, Riley became head coach of the Lakers during the 1981-1982 season. He instituted a fast-breaking style which became known as “Showtime”—a term that reflected his offense as well as his personal, media-savvy style. Riley coached the team to four NBA championships and, through their battles with the Boston Celtics, helped the NBA become a top spectator sport. After leaving Los Angeles, Riley showed his coaching flexibility by instituting a defensive, slow-down style in taking both the New York Knicks and Miami Heat to the playoffs. During the 1990s, Riley became the career leader for most playoff victories.

—Dr. Robert S. Brown

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## Ringling Bros., Barnum & Bailey Circus

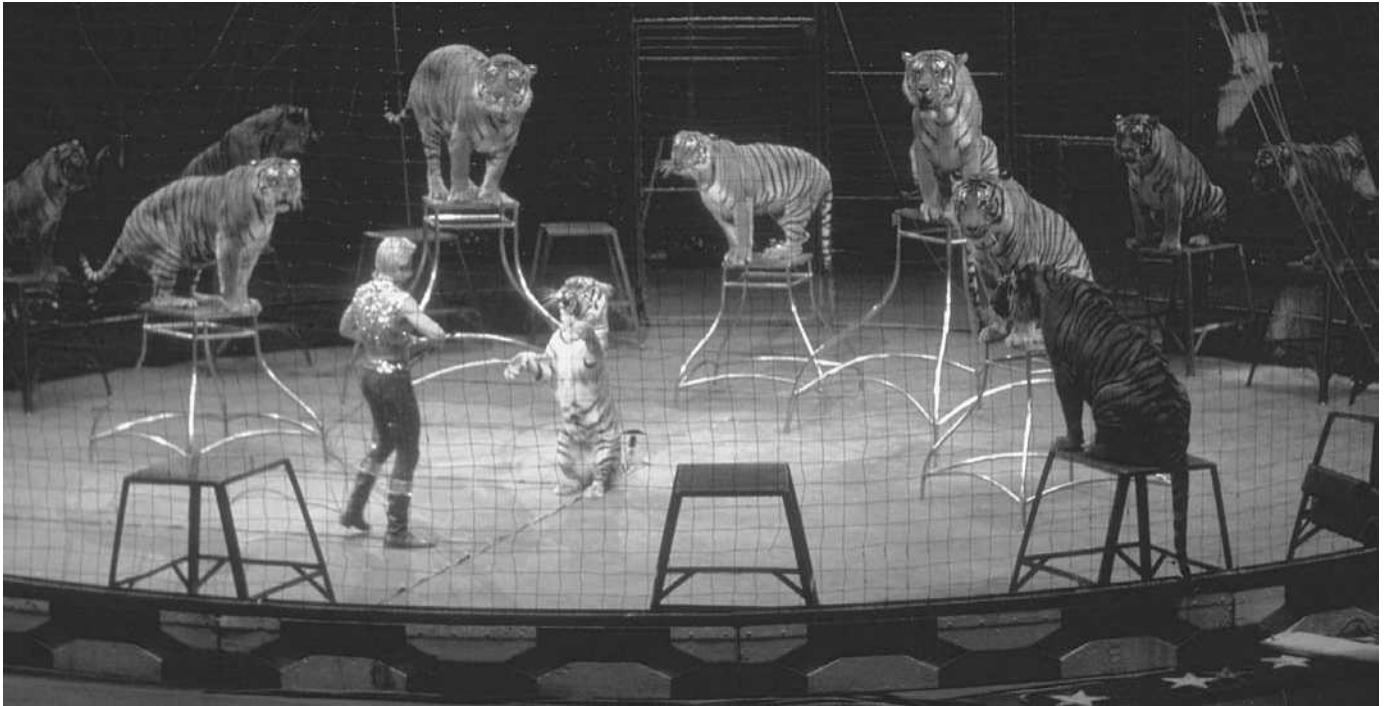
Two nineteenth-century American men, Phineas T. Barnum and James A. Bailey, largely defined the image of the circus, with acrobats, animals, band music, clowns, and trapeze artists, that is now deeply embedded in American popular culture. In 1881, they merged their separate circuses into Barnum & Bailey’s Circus, which crisscrossed the United States for decades, bringing the excitement of the Big Top to towns and cities from coast to coast. In 1919, the Barnum & Bailey Circus was merged with the Ringling Brothers Circus, which had purchased it in 1907 but ran it as a separate entity for twelve years. In the 1990s, the Ringling Bros., Barnum & Bailey Circus continued to thrill thousands of children and adults nationwide.

The first circuses to be seen in the United States were opened in 1793 in New York and Philadelphia by John Bill Ricketts, who specialized in riding horses through flaming hoops. These shows were performed in semi-permanent structures, but as early as the

1840s, traveling circuses on the Barnum & Bailey model moved slowly overland in their horse-drawn caravans, attracting excited, entertainment-starved crowds to their tents. The idea of presenting the circus in a tent is an American contribution, believed to have begun in 1825 with an itinerant show belonging to J. Purdy Brown. The custom evolved from small tents with a single ring and a few hundred seats to two rings in 1872 and three in 1881, calling for larger and larger canvas coliseums. The distinctive quarter poles that support the canvas roof in large areas between the central “king poles” and the side poles, invented by Gilbert Spalding, a former chemist, make it possible to cover much larger areas for spectators. The idea of having a number of acts going on simultaneously in several rings is also an American innovation. In Europe there are many circuses, such as the famous one in Copenhagen, which is staged in a permanent building with a single ring. The nomadic U.S. circuses relied more and more on the railroads, and Ringling Bros., Barnum & Bailey at one time traversed the country in four trains, pulling a total of 107 seventy-foot railroad cars.

Circus impresario Phineas T. Barnum (1810-1891) was a flamboyant showman who bought a five-story marble museum in New York City in 1842 and transformed it into the American Museum, a carnival of live freaks, theatrical tableaux, beauty contests, and other sensational attractions. In the first year he attracted thousands with such exhibits as the Feejee Mermaid, who wore the fake body of a fish; Siamese twins Chang and Eng; and Charles S. Stratton, a 25-inch-tall man whom he renamed General Tom Thumb. In 1850 he risked his entire fortune to bring Jenny Lind, a Swedish soprano he had never heard, to America for 150 concerts, earning Barnum huge returns. With his rare talent for gaining publicity for his enterprises, Barnum became an international celebrity who called himself the “Prince of Humbugs.” In 1871, he opened the extravaganza he called the “Greatest Show on Earth,” combining traditional circus acts with a menagerie of caged animals and sideshows featuring both human and animal curiosities—alive and dead, real and bogus. There is no evidence he ever spoke or said the words, but Barnum has long been credited with the remark, “There’s a sucker born every minute.” Although he is not the sole originator of the present-day circus, Barnum made this popular theatrical form into a gigantic spectacle, drawing huge crowds to his famous attractions gathered from all parts of the world. The grand climax of Barnum’s circus career was his purchase of Jumbo, an elephant weighing six tons. Barnum’s sales pitch was so compelling that the huge pachyderm earned back his purchase price in one season under the Big Top.

James Anthony Bailey (1847-1906) was much more retiring in personality than his partner, but his efficiency and astute sense of business combined well with Barnum’s flamboyant salesmanship. Bailey had begun traveling with circuses as a boy and gradually worked up the ladder to responsible managerial positions. In 1872 he became a partner in James E. Cooper’s Circus, later called the Great International Circus after a lucrative tour of Australia, New Zealand, Java, and several South American countries. When it was renamed the Cooper, Bailey & Company Circus in 1876, it was seen as a strong competitor to Barnum’s Greatest Show on Earth, and in 1881 the two shows merged as Barnum & Bailey Circus. After Barnum’s death in 1891, Bailey led the show on several successful tours of Europe and brought his circus to new levels of popularity in America, transporting it coast-to-coast on 85 railroad cars. His version of the greatest show on Earth boasted the largest traveling menagerie and displayed its spectacles in five rings as well as on stages. More than a thousand persons were employed in the enterprise.



**Bengal tigers perform with their trainer, Gunther Gebel-Williams, in the center ring of a Ringling Brothers, Barnum & Bailey Circus performance in New York, 1970.**

In 1907, after Bailey's death, the Ringling Brothers bought the Barnum & Bailey Circus for \$400,000 and ran it as a separate entity until 1919, when their operations were combined into Ringling Brothers, Barnum & Bailey, its present name. The Ringling Brothers of Baraboo, Wisconsin, had begun their tent shows in 1884 with the lengthy name: "Ringling Bros. United Monster Shows, Great Double Circus, Royal European Menagerie, Museum, Caravan, and Congress of Trained Animals." In a short time Alf, Al, Charles, John, and Otto Ringling became known as the Kings of the Circus. Later, two other brothers, Henry and Gus, joined their ranks. By 1889 the show had a seating capacity of 4,000 under its Big Top and was playing cities and towns in the midwest, charging 50 cents for adults and 25 cents for children. That same year they became the twelfth American circus to travel by rail.

American circuses made important contributions to popular spectacle, including the traditional free morning parade down Main Street. Beginning usually at eleven o'clock, a uniformed brass band would step out sharply, their instruments blaring a stirring march. Next would come a long procession of flag bearers, beautiful ladies on horseback, trapeze artists waving from brightly painted circus wagons, and clowns performing their well choreographed highjinks. Cages of wild animals moved by in their horse-drawn cages, followed by cowboys and Indians on horseback, Roman chariots, and a line of elephants, marching trunk to tail in their characteristic shuffling gait. Last in the parade was always the steam calliope, with 32 steam whistles, operated by a keyboard, hissing smoke as well as high-pitched tunes like "The Sidewalks of New York."

Many performers who appeared in the Barnum & Bailey circus became star attractions, notably those who performed daring death-defying feats on the high wire or the flying trapeze. The Wallenda family, who came from Germany to join the circus in 1928, did

acrobatics and rode bicycles on the high wire under the name the Flying Wallendas; they ultimately developed a stunt in which three bikes were balanced on the wire. In 1947 they began performing a seven-man pyramid, and in a tragic fall in 1962, two family members were killed and a third was paralyzed. Another acrobat, Con Colleano, the "Toreador of the Tight Wire," retained his popularity in America for decades, dancing a flamenco on the high wire. Lillian Leitzel, who came from a German circus family, thrilled audiences by performing 150 or more swingovers—pivoting on her shoulder socket like a pinwheel—while suspended by a rope looped around her right wrist. The petite star was fatally injured when her rigging broke during her act. Aerialist Alfredo Codona, her husband, was the first to perform the triple aerial somersault from the high trapeze, and Tito Gaona later began performing the same act blindfolded.

Trained animals, both wild and domestic, were popular in circuses. One of the crowd favorites involved "liberty" horses, who performed intricate routines without rider or reins, guided only by visual or oral commands from the trainer. In 1897 Barnum & Bailey featured an act using a record 70 liberty horses performing simultaneously in one ring. The traditional final in most of the larger circuses was the Great Roman Hippodrome Races, demonstrating the ancient arts of chariot racing and riding horses while the equestrians were standing erect. Clyde Beatty, who appeared with Ringling Bros. Barnum & Bailey in 1934, used a whip and a hand-held wooden chair to subjugate as many as forty lions and tigers in a round cage in the center ring. He also performed with dangerous combinations of other animals, including leopards, pumas, hyenas, and bears. The Knie family of Switzerland also became well known in this country for their gentle training of such exotic animals as giraffes, polar bears, hippopotamuses, and rhinoceroses. Elephants were always popular,

and Barnum & Bailey used as many as fifty of the huge animals in three-ring spectacles. By the 1990s, animal-rights activists were boycotting circuses around the world for their practice of using animals for mere spectacle, or for allegedly abusing the beasts. These allegations are denied by circuses, but the boycotts have encouraged the development of new-wave “non-animal” circuses, such as Le Cirque du Soleil of Montreal, which uses human performers exclusively.

Clowns, who came in a variety of make-up and costumes, were always immensely popular as they packed themselves in a small vehicle or performed juggling or comic acrobatics. The best known clown of all was Emmett Kelly, who played the sad-faced tramp, “Weary Willie.” Kelly joined the Ringling Bros. Barnum & Bailey circus in the late 1930s and was a special favorite until he died in 1979 on the opening day of that year’s circus season. Kelly made his motion-picture debut in *The Greatest Show on Earth* (1952).

Through the years the circus has remained one of the most enduring of America’s popular entertainments, remaining in much the same format while modes of transportation and venues have changed. Though the canvas Big Top was generally abandoned after 167 people died in a disastrous circus-tent fire in Hartford, Connecticut in 1944, parents and grandparents can still accompany children to Ringling Bros., Barnum & Bailey Circuses with the confidence that the show will still go on, and be much as it was when they were children.

—Benjamin Griffith

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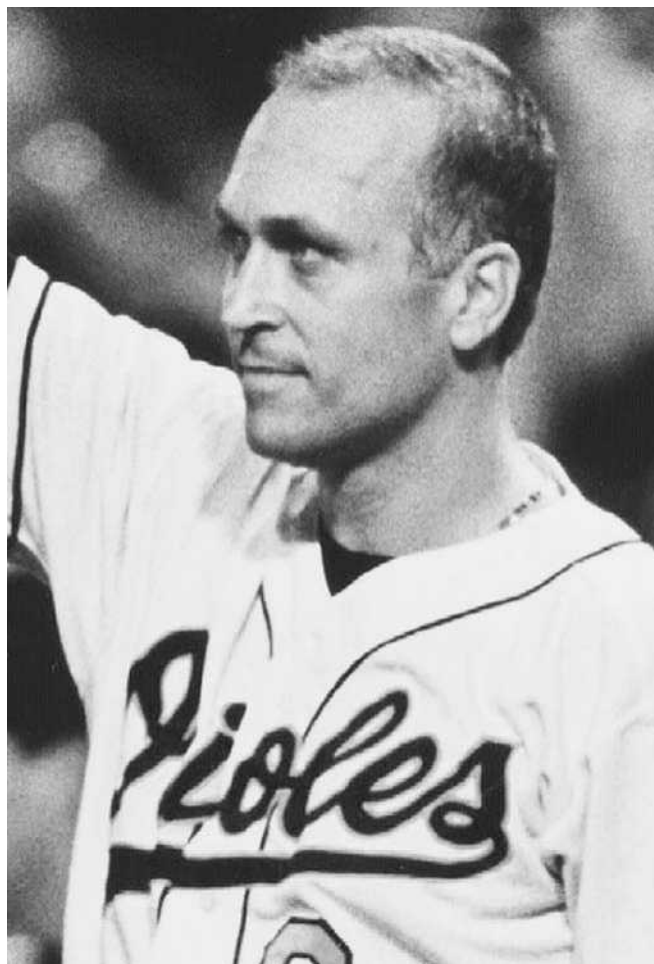
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## Ripken, Cal, Jr. (1960—)

Cal Ripken, Jr., is the person more responsible for the resurgent popularity of baseball in the 1990s than any other individual. His pursuit of Lou Gehrig’s consecutive games played record became the focus of national attention in 1995. In addition, his calm, good-natured, “average guy” demeanor and clear understanding of his place in history has made him a favorite of millions of baseball fans around the world.

Ripken was born August 24, 1960 in Havre de Grace, Maryland, and grew up in nearby Aberdeen, Maryland. He attended Aberdeen High School, earning All-County and All-State honors. Ripken was selected by the Baltimore Orioles in the second round (48th overall) of the 1978 baseball draft. He rose quickly through the Orioles’ minor league system, starting the 1982 season as the Orioles’ third baseman and moving to shortstop in June. That same year he was



Cal Ripken, Jr.

voted the American League Rookie of the Year. The next season, he was selected as the American League’s Most Valuable Player (MVP) and he played on the winning team in the 1983 World Series.

Ripken continued to demonstrate his abilities as a player throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. In 1990, he compiled a string of 95 consecutive games without an error that set a major league record for shortstops. In the same year, he set records for fewest errors by a shortstop (3) and highest fielding percentage by a shortstop (.996). In 1991, Ripken became the second player in major league history to be named the league’s MVP, Major League Player of the Year (by *Sporting News*, Associated Press, and *Baseball Digest*), All-Star Game MVP, and winner of a Gold Glove in the same season (the other being Maury Wills in 1962). He became the first shortstop ever to hit 20 or more home runs in ten consecutive seasons, and led American League shortstops in fielding percentage for the second straight year.

Although Ripken would have been considered one of the greatest shortstops in the history of baseball without breaking Lou Gehrig’s consecutive games played record, it was that honor that ensured his place in baseball history. The excitement surrounding Ripken’s “streak” was particularly important for baseball because of labor problems during the mid-1990s; baseball players went on strike in late 1994, resulting in the cancellation of the 1994 World Series. The strike continued into the start of the 1995 season, and fans were

becoming increasingly disillusioned with both the players and the owners. When baseball finally resumed, attendance for most teams was down a whopping 25 percent or more, and independent estimates put the total lost revenue at nearly \$700 million over the two-year span. With predictions of continued fan disenchantment and lost revenue continuing to build, Ripken changed everything.

Ripken had not missed a game since the 1983 season, and on September 6, 1995, he played in his 2,131st consecutive game, breaking the record established by Lou Gehrig in 1939. Baseball fans around the world tuned in on television to watch Ripken play in the historic game, and he capped off the record-breaking event by hitting the game-winning home run. Fans found their interest revitalized, and attendance at the ballparks began to rebound. Ripken was chosen by the Associated Press and United Press International as Male Athlete of the Year, by the *Sporting News* as Major League Player of the Year, and by *Sports Illustrated* as Sportsman of the Year.

Even after breaking Gehrig's record, Ripken continued to play every game of every season. In 1996, The Streak reached 2,216 games, surpassing the world record for consecutive games played set by Sachio Kinusaga of Japan. In 1997 Ripken moved from shortstop to third base, but The Streak continued. On September 20, 1998, The Streak finally ended at 2,632 when Ripken chose to sit out a game. Over the 15-plus years of The Streak, the Baltimore Orioles used 289 other players, had 32 different coaches, and 8 different managers. At the time The Streak ended, Ripken had played in 502 more consecutive games than Gehrig and over twice as many as the player in third place, Everett Scott.

Although The Streak may be what most people remember about Ripken, it is certainly not his only achievement. Ripken has been named to the Associated Press Major League All-Star Team six times, the American League All-Stars 13 times, and the *Sporting News* American League All-Star Team seven times. He has also received nine Silver Slugger Awards for being the most productive offensive shortstop in baseball, and he has won two American League Gold Gloves at shortstop. Ripken owns records for fewest errors in a season by a shortstop, most career home runs as a shortstop, and most consecutive games without an error. He is a lock to be elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame as one of the greatest players ever at his position.

—Geoff Peterson

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## *Ripley's Believe It or Not*

Truths stranger than fiction have captivated writers ever since there have been books. But for most twentieth-century Americans, the phrase "Believe it or not!" is indissolubly wedded to the name of Robert Le Roy Ripley, whose illustrated panel of wonders and curiosities was published in hundreds of newspapers across the



Robert L. Ripley

United States. Although Ripley himself died in 1949, his famous brainchild continued to be produced by his successors throughout the twentieth century.

Ripley's career might have been very different but for several strokes of luck. In 1907, as a boy of 14 in Santa Rosa, California, he sold his first cartoon to the humor magazine *Life*. Later, while he was still a teenager, his talent was recognized by a neighbor, Carol Ennis, who steered him to his first newspaper job with the San Francisco *Bulletin*.

But Ripley's biggest break came after he moved to Manhattan and got hired as a sports cartoonist for the New York *Globe*. Casting about for ideas in a slow week, he hit on the idea of drawing up a panel of surprising sports facts, heading it "Believe It or Not." Reader response was overwhelmingly enthusiastic, and his editors urged him to do more in the same vein.

Ripley soon branched out beyond sports oddities to all of the world's wonders, and "Believe It or Not" was in limited syndication, earning him a modest but respectable \$10,000 annually by the end of 1927, the year he moved to the New York *Post*. (It was also the year of one of his most famous cartoons, in which he pointed out that "The Star-Spangled Banner" was not the national anthem because America had never officially designated one. As a result Congress was flooded with letters, resulting in the statutory adoption of the song in 1931.) In 1929, Ripley was sought out by the head of King Features Syndicate, Joseph V. Connolly, who had been sent a laconic telegram from William Randolph Hearst saying "SIGN RIPLEY." Ripley signed, and his income immediately jumped tenfold; by the mid-1930s he was making \$500,000 a year, enabling him to travel

worldwide and to buy expensive properties on Long Island and in Florida.

Ripley's staff grew until he had dozens of paid assistants. One of his most loyal researchers was Norbert Pearlroth, who had been hired in the 1920s because he knew 14 languages. Pearlroth became legendary at the New York Public Library reading room, where he could be seen nearly every day for over 50 years, combing foreign journals for the unusual facts that were the feature's stock in trade. (Although Ripley left Pearlroth a surprisingly modest bequest when he died—only \$5000—the cartoonist had also put Pearlroth's son through school at his own expense.)

Facts were true to Ripley so long as they were in print somewhere. Hearing of a president of Mexico whose term had set a record for brevity (37 minutes from inauguration to assassination), Ripley set his research team scouring sources, until, in the 9832nd book checked, the desired documentation was found. Some of Ripley's eye-openers were simply matters of deduction: Based on a growth rate extrapolated from two fourteenth-century censuses of China plus the standard day's march for U.S. Army infantry units, Ripley came up with one of his most famous panels, the "Marching Chinese," which purported to demonstrate that if all the inhabitants of China were to begin marching four abreast past a given point, their numbers and birth rate were such that the column would never end.

Ripley's exoticism and ethnocentrism were comfortable bedfellows, and his account of a visit to India in the late 1920s, published in his first book for Simon and Schuster in 1929, is rife with contempt for Hinduism. On the other hand, he had great respect for Chinese civilization and artifacts, collecting the latter avidly, including a motorized junk, the pride of a motley flotilla whose home port was Bion, his Long Island estate. (Like many self-made men of his era, Ripley tended to flout his wealth.)

In addition to his newspaper feature and the books that anthologized it, Ripley went on radio in the 1930s, first as a feature on the *Collier Hour* in 1930 and then with his own show, whose succession of sponsors included Standard Oil, Hudson Motors, General Foods, and Royal Crown Cola. Outmaneuvered for a World's Fair concession in 1939 by a rival, John Hix, who produced the panel "Strange As It Seems," Ripley simply opened up nearby with his "Odditorium;" and though it lost money its first year, he returned in 1940 to turn a healthy profit.

After World War II, Ripley also tried his hand at television, being featured on the show *Truth or Consequences* in the winter of 1948 and in his own show beginning on March 1, 1949. Three months later, he was dead, having blacked out on the set on May 24 and died of heart failure in a hospital bed several days later.

The Ripley organization, however, carried on almost seamlessly. The research team, including Pearlroth, continued to ferret out marvels, which were drawn in the Ripley style by Paul Frehm, who Ripley had hired as an understudy when Frehm was illustrating ads for Borg-Warner. Paul Frehm ran the organization until 1977, when his brother Walter, who had begun his career doing Paul's lettering, took control. In 1989 Walter Frehm retired and was succeeded by Don Wimmer, formerly a freelance artist with United Features Syndicate, which had acquired the rights to *Believe It or Not* and was still distributing it to newspapers nationwide at the end of the 1990s.

*Ripley's Believe It or Not* continued to be operated under license in a number of U.S. cities, including Chicago, Illinois, and Orlando, Florida. His feature gave rise to numerous parodies as well, from a 1950s *Mad Magazine* spoof titled "Ripup's Believe It or Don't" to the National Lampoon's *True Facts: The Book*, a photo archive of

funny roadside signs, and Kevin Goldstein's *The Leslie Frewin Book of Ridiculous Facts*.

—Nick Humez

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## Rivera, Chita (1933—)

One of the musical theater's most durable personalities, Chita Rivera is revered as an actress, singer, and dancer. Her first major role was as Anita in *West Side Story* (1957). Other Broadway credits include *Bye Bye Birdie* (1960), *Chicago* (1975), *The Rink* (1983), and *Kiss of the Spider Woman* (1993). She has received numerous accolades for her work, including Tony Awards for *The Rink* and *Kiss of the Spider Woman*; the Drama Desk Award for *The Rink*; and top honors at the 1996 Helen Hayes Awards for contributions to theater. Her film credits include *Sweet Charity* (1969) and *Pippin* (1981). Possessing a voice with a wide dynamic and timbral range, Rivera's talent and charisma both as a singer and a dancer have allowed her to enjoy a successful and diverse stage career for over 40 years.

—William A. Everett

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## Rivera, Diego (1886-1957)

Probably more than the work of any other visual artist, Diego Rivera's murals and paintings are representative and emblematic of Mexico's history and culture. A man of his times, Rivera used a language very much his own to express his conception of the world.



### Diego Rivera

Through the use of figures representing his socialist ideology and others which went against his beliefs, Rivera created his compositions following simple horizontal and vertical lines. His murals, balanced in terms of colors, forms, and composition, offer us a peaceful world, static and inert yet filled with the energy of the search for a better and just world.

Born in Guanajuato, Mexico, Rivera began his art studies at the age of ten. Three years later, his father insisted that he enroll in a military college, but Diego only lasted two weeks, repelled by the regimented training, and was allowed to enroll in regular classes at the Academy of San Carlos. His first exhibit took place in 1906 at the academy. A year later, he took his first trip abroad, one of many to come, traveling to Spain to study and forming friendships with leading members of the Spanish avant garde. A couple of years later he traveled to Paris and Bruges and studied with several painters, exhibiting his work at the Société des Artistes Indépendants. In 1910 he returned to Mexico.

Back and forth between Mexico and Europe, Rivera exhibited at numerous galleries, salons, and studios. In 1913 his work showed a

transition to cubism while he was also executing Ingres-style drawings and Cézanne-inspired painting and pencil studies. Several years later he became obsessed with the sensuous quality of paintings by Renoir and traveled to Italy to study Renaissance art. Finally, in 1921, Rivera returned to Mexico and saw his country with new eyes, as a foreigner, the way Gauguin saw Tahiti. With his new outlook, Rivera began his long trajectory of mural painting for public buildings, schools, museums, and chapels. His figures became more and more indigenous, his themes political and social. A reevaluation and dignification of the Indian and the workers of the world would, over the years, turn into a longing for recovery and conquest of a better everyday life for the majorities.

In 1922 Rivera joined the Mexican Communist Party and, in 1927, traveled to the Soviet Union to participate in the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution. The Soviets recognized him as a great Communist artist whose art was dedicated to the public and the masses.

In 1929 Rivera married Frida Kahlo, a union that lasted, on and off, for the rest of her life. Kahlo, a painter in her own right, and



Rivera became a fashionable and much-talked-about couple in Mexico and abroad, their extramarital affairs and frequent separations and divorces the material of gossip columnists and art lovers alike.

The same year, Rivera was expelled from the Communist Party, and a year later he arrived in San Francisco to paint two murals for the California School of Fine Arts. He painted twenty-seven murals depicting auto history for the Detroit Institute of Arts (1932-1933), and in 1933 began working on a mural commissioned by Nelson A. Rockefeller for the RCA building in New York City. Depicting the Soviet May Day celebrations and a portrait of Lenin, *Man at the Crossroads* provoked a series of pro and con demonstrations. When Rivera refused to cover Lenin's face with the portrait of an unknown individual, the mural was destroyed and covered with canvas painted to match the adjoining blank wall. Rivera later reproduced the work at the Palace of Fine Arts in Mexico City.

In 1937, Communist theorist-in-exile Leon Trotsky found asylum in Mexico, and Rivera became his host. However, in 1939, Rivera broke off with Trotsky. Rivera's painting career escalated to the point where he spent most of his time traveling and working. His political trajectory also moved from one end of the spectrum to the other. In 1954 Rivera participated in the demonstrations in support of the fallen Guatemalan president Jacobo Arbenz. That same year Kahlo died, and Rivera was reinstated into the Communist Party. Three years later, on November 24, 1957, Rivera died of heart failure in his San Angel studio and was buried, against his wishes, in the Rotonda de los Hombres Ilustres (Rotonda of Illustrious Men) at the pantheon of Dolores in Mexico City.

—Beatriz Badikian

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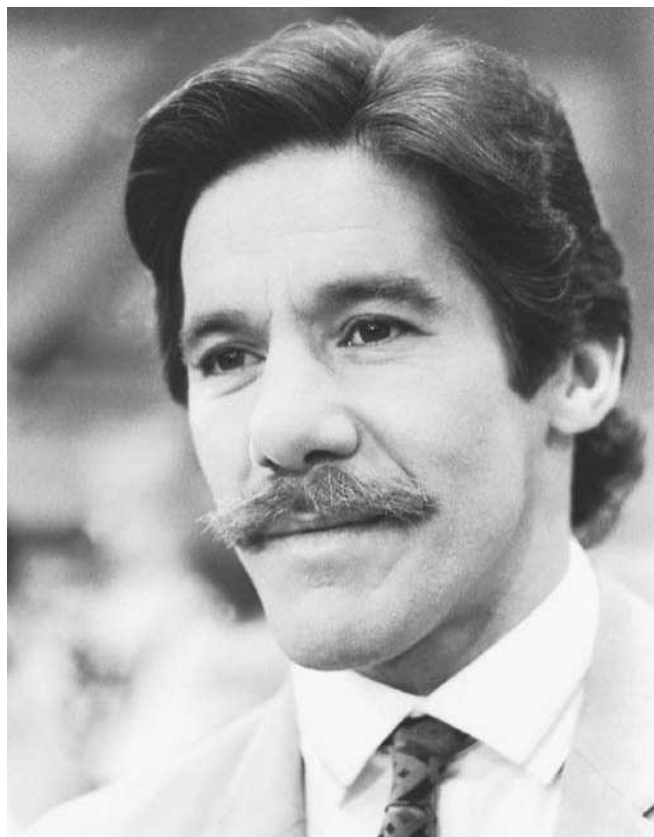
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## Rivera, Geraldo (1943—)

In 1987, Geraldo Rivera became the first Hispanic to host a nationally syndicated talk show, *Geraldo*. In both his personal life and his career in the media, Rivera has experienced roller coaster-like highs and lows. After growing up in the mean streets of New York City, Rivera went on to receive some of the most distinguished awards for broadcast journalism, only to suffer a tarnished reputation for pandering to the masses as an exponent of Trash TV.

Geraldo Miguel Rivera, journalist and television personality, was born to a Puerto Rican father and a Jewish-American mother in New York City. Rivera studied at the University of Arizona and the Brooklyn Law School, but received his a law degree from the prestigious University of Pennsylvania Law School and a degree in journalism from the equally prestigious Columbia University. As such, he was one of the best-prepared and most intellectual of the broadcast and investigative journalists of his generation.



**Geraldo Rivera**

Rivera began his journalistic career as a reporter for WABC-TV in New York in 1970, and later served as a reporter, producer, and host for various television news and entertainment shows. In 1971 Rivera became the first Hispanic to win the New York State Associated Press Broadcaster Association Award, for his investigative series "Drug Crisis in East Harlem." He also became the first Hispanic to be named Broadcaster of the Year in 1972 and 1974. Rivera went on to become one of the nation's most celebrated and respected investigative television journalists, writing and producing various award-winning documentaries. Over the course of his early career, Rivera also won a Peabody Award and ten Emmys for distinguished broadcast journalism.

In the late 1990s, Rivera was one of the most visible and successful Hispanics in media and entertainment. He hosted a nightly news commentary show for CNBC and produced and starred in NBC broadcast specials. Over the last decade of his career, however, Rivera gained the reputation of being a sensationalist and an exponent of the phenomenon dubbed by critics as "Trash TV." Unfortunately, he is too well remembered for an NBC special in which he was to break into one of Al Capone's long lost treasure vaults on live television, which turned out to be empty. The show will always be remembered as one of TV's greatest fiascoes. He also memorably hosted a sensationalistic Trash TV talk show, one of many that proliferated throughout the 1990s, called *Geraldo*. Since that time, Rivera has exhibited a more serious and sober approach to his coverage and discussions of national topics, such as the O.J. Simpson case and race relations, the Rodney King incident, the Los Angeles

riots, and the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal. This work has redeemed him somewhat among critics as a serious journalist.

—Nicolás Kanellos

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## Rivers, Joan (1933—)

Stand-up comedy has become a pillar of popular culture in the late twentieth century. Among the pioneers of contemporary stand-up was Joan Rivers, whose bold, bitchy, self-deprecating humor broke new ground for women comics. Like Lenny Bruce, whose outrageous

routines set the tone for a wave of new comedy in the 1960s, Rivers' bravura flew in the face of acceptable female behavior and paved the way for future generations of tough-talking, straight-shooting comediennees.

The daughter of a successful doctor and his hardworking wife, Joan Molinsky was born on June 8, 1933, in Brooklyn, New York. A smart girl, Rivers' grades were good enough to get her into competitive Barnard College. After graduating Phi Beta Kappa with a degree in English, Joan ended up working as a publicist at Lord & Taylor. But her dream was to become an actress, and so she auditioned for agents all over Manhattan, trying to find representation. But time after time, she was turned away. As Rivers described it, "They told me I had everything needed to be a star, except for looks and talent. After hearing such moving responses, I would wander back to the receptionist and makes jokes to cover the hurt I was feeling. And the receptionists began to tell their bosses that I was funny." Finally, one of the agents offered her a gig at a small stand-up comedy club.

In the 1950s and early 1960s, comediennees were few and far between. Fannie Brice was no longer alive, and the only other women



Joan Rivers (seated) with Elton John (left), Cher, and Pee Wee Herman.

making a living doing stand-up comedy were Phyllis Diller and Totie Fields. Furthermore, Rivers' humor was edgy, raunchy, and often distinctly unladylike. But she was funny. And she was determined to succeed.

For almost seven years, Joan Molinsky, an overweight Jewish girl from Brooklyn, tried to make it in stand-up. She slogged away at small clubs all over the East Coast, even resorting to using the name Pepper January, before permanently becoming Joan Rivers. In the early 1960s, she started working at Greenwich Village coffee shops, telling jokes that pushed the limits of the acceptable. As Rivers herself later wrote, "I was not unaware of my gender. In a routine about how I got into show business, I used to say: 'How do I get booked? My talent? No, I just go into the agent's office and say, 'Hi, I'm Joan Rivers and I put out.'" In the late 1960s no woman said such things in public. No woman said that when she had her baby, she screamed for 23 hours straight—and that was just during the conception. And certainly no white woman came onstage after a black male singer and said at the end of his applause, "I'm so glad you liked my husband's act." "Critics felt that such jokes entitled me to another line of work, perhaps in a delicatessen," Rivers remarked.

While Rivers' was getting panned, Lenny Bruce was getting praised for his shocking comedy. One day, Bruce came to see her show and sent her a note backstage. He wrote, "Joan, you're right, they're wrong." Encouraged by Bruce, Rivers' stuck with it. In 1965, her big chance finally came—she was booked on the *Tonight Show*. Her routine was a hit, and she continued to be asked back on the program.

Rivers frequently joked that her marriage prospects were so grim that her parents hung out a big sign which said, "Last girl before Thruway." In fact, Rivers' marriage to the erudite, Oxford-educated Edgar Rosenberg was a loving, happy union of 22 years. Rosenberg, who also managed Rivers, was her biggest supporter and, with his encouragement, Rivers became a Vegas headliner, a movie producer, and actress in *Rabbit Test*, and finally, in 1983, the *Tonight Show's* sole guest host, filling in for Johnny Carson every third week. The now petite blonde was a household name, and her bitchy, self-deprecating humor, which had once been reviled by critics, was now being imitated by young women hoping to follow in Rivers' footsteps. Her signature line "Can we talk?" became ubiquitous.

Although Edgar was sometimes the butt of Rivers's jokes, their marriage was stronger than ever. Despite suffering a heart attack in 1984, Rosenberg orchestrated Rivers' move to a show on the new Fox network, which would be in direct competition with the *Tonight Show*. But the move provoked Carson's wrath, and with low ratings the show floundered. In 1987, after less than a year on the air, *The Late Show Starring Joan Rivers* was canceled. Edgar was distraught and took all the blame on himself. Suffering from a chemical depression brought on by his heart medication, he committed suicide a few months later.

A devastated Rivers' and her daughter Melissa were left nearly broke. A few weeks later, Rivers' agent canceled her contract, saying that no one would book a comedienne whose husband had just died—too unfunny. But Rivers' slowly crawled back into show business, doing gigs at tiny comedy clubs and appearing as the center square on a revival of *Hollywood Squares*. A year later, she was asked to read for a small part in Neil Simon's *Broadway Bound*. She leapt at the chance, and she not only won the part but wowed the critics.

Rivers found her way back in front of a national audience with her syndicated daytime talk show, for which she won the 1990 Emmy for best talk-show host. In the mid-1990s, however, she decided to

give up the program to do a Broadway play she had written about Lenny Bruce's mother. *Sally Marr . . . and Her Escorts* was a critical success, but closed after five months due to financial difficulties. When her popular jewelry business fell apart at the same time, Rivers once again found herself in pieces.

Once again, Rivers bounced back. After reconciling a difficult estrangement from daughter Melissa in the wake of Edgar's death, mother and daughter played themselves in a NBC TV movie called *Tears and Laughter: The Joan and Melissa Rivers Story*, and now the mother-daughter duo appear regularly on E! TV, providing commentary on the Oscars and all the major awards shows. A popular author, Rivers has written three top-selling books, *Enter Talking*, *Still Talking*, and *Bouncing Back*, a humorous self-help memoir.

Like her predecessor in comedy, Fannie Brice, Rivers has survived tragedy through humor. Her petite, ladylike appearance notwithstanding, Rivers is still a tough-talking, funny woman from Brooklyn. Alternately panned and praised, Rivers remains a groundbreaking comic whose unflinching ability to tell it like it is broke longstanding taboos, and whose guts and determination paved the way for other brash women such as Roseanne, Ellen DeGeneres, and Rosie O'Donnell to have their say.

—Victoria Price

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## Rizzuto, Phil (1918—)

New York Yankees shortstop and colorful television and radio announcer Phil Rizzuto gave new meaning to the exclamation "Holy Cow!" The wiry New York native debuted with the Yankees in 1940 and, except for a three-year stint in the Navy during World War II, made the baseball team his lifelong living. Keystone of the team's defense in the 1940s and 1950s, he was voted the American League's Most Valuable Player in 1950 and inducted into the Hall of Fame in 1994. "The Scooter" became a Yankees sportscaster after retiring from play in 1956, bringing his tremendous personal warmth to the game. He appealed to fans not only with his enthusiasm and insider's knowledge but with rambling personal anecdotes, amusing commentary, and descriptions of Italian delicacies he consumed with colleagues in the broadcast booth. His *cri de cow*—used to describe everything from bad calls to violent rainstorms and grand slams—was adopted in a rock song by Meat Loaf and served as the title of a book of his on-air musings translated into free verse.

—Daniel Lindley

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## Road Rage

As American roadways became ever more congested in the 1980s and 1990s, drivers began to experience, either as aggressors or victims, a new phenomenon called "road rage." Reports of violence and shootings provoked by incidental breeches of driving etiquette caused an escalating level of paranoia surrounding driving and heightened its presence in the media and the popular imagination. News headlines announced "Five-Year-Old Victim of Road-Rage Shootout," "Father Charged with 'Road Rage' Killing of Son," "Ugly Increase in Acts of Freeway Fury." While the occurrence of shootings while driving began to epitomize road rage in the 1990s, road rage was characterized by any display of aggression by a driver including verbal abuse, tailgating, hand gestures, intimidating stares, or violence. The American Automobile Association (AAA) reported in 1997 that incidents of "aggressive driving" where an "angry or impatient driver tries to kill or injure another driver after a traffic dispute—has risen by 51 percent since 1990," according to *U.S. News and World Report*.

The term "road rage" was first coined, apparently, in 1988, to describe the increase of aggressive driving behavior. Stemming from the phrase "'roid rage," which refers to sudden, violent outbursts in people taking steroids, the proliferation of the term road rage around the nation led some to call the phenomenon an "epidemic." Although it is difficult to quantify, some researchers believe aggressive driving behavior is a growing trend. A 1996 poll indicated that aggressive driving concerned people more than drunk driving. In 1998, the Department of Transportation listed aggressive driving as one of the top-three highway safety concerns.

Although newspaper headlines announcing incidents of road rage that erupted into shootings or beatings instilled the most fear in drivers, Sandra Ball-Rokeach, co-director of the Media and Injury Prevention Program at the University of Southern California explained, "Aggressive driving is now the most common way of driving. It's not just a few crazies, it's a subculture of driving." In focus groups set up by her organization, two-thirds of drivers said they reacted to frustrating situations aggressively, and almost half admitted to deliberately braking suddenly, pulling close to another car, or driving in some other potentially dangerous way. By 1997 nearly 90 percent of motorists had experienced road rage incidents during the previous 12 months, while 60 percent admitted to losing their temper behind the wheel, according to a survey released by the AAA. The most common examples of road rage include verbal abuse, hand gestures, and driving in an intimidating manner.

Reports of extreme incidences of road rage have made drivers acutely aware of their vulnerability while driving. Knowing that they are susceptible to the unpredictable emotional flare-ups of fellow drivers, many drivers experience anxiety. And when drivers feel provoked, their car is a self-contained place where they can engage in confrontations without the tense proximity of face-to-face interaction. The concern about the ease with which drivers are provoked in the 1990s has generated the research of "road rage experts" who have begun to examine the roots of road rage. John Larson, a psychiatrist at Yale University, linked certain car models to some

aggressive driving behavior: "BMW's, pickup trucks, sports cars, or off-road vehicles may be given aggressive motivations; thus aggressive drivers react to the 'personality' they associate with the make and model of the vehicle, not the person inside it." Arnold Nerenberg, a clinical psychologist in Whittier, California, and an expert on road rage, cited evolution as one cause. "This competitiveness on the road is similar to what you see in all social mammals. There is this 'I will not let you get ahead of me.'" Dr. Leon James, professor of psychology at the University of Hawaii, who began researching driving behavior in 1977, defines road rage as a cultural problem, not an individual mental problem, because U.S. culture condones the expression of hostility when people feel wronged. He proposed that drivers should use "emotional intelligence skills" when upset by another driver. Instead of being intent on teaching the other driver a lesson, he advocated that drivers should choose to back out of an escalating conflict. Doing so, he suggested, would help drivers to change their attitude to a more peaceful one.

The righteous indignation often found at the core of many drivers' hostile outbursts may be fostered by other elements of American culture. Talk shows that encouraged emotional venting, such as *The Jerry Springer Show*, as well as the cultural obsession with the self, as indicated by the popularity of confessional and self-help books, promote American's concern for their own problems. And technological advances, such as the fax, e-mail, fast food, and the Internet, have helped nurture American's expectations of convenience. Americans' affection for their automobiles may be the ultimate representation of their cultural obsession with convenience and the self. Sometimes purchased to boost the driver's ego, cars allow people to feel as if they have control over their lives and environments while providing them with the convenience of self-determined travel. But crowded roadways impede their ability to get where they are going.

A study of 50 metropolitan areas by the Federal Highway Administration in the 1990s found each area clogged during rush hour. The study also predicted that congestion would spread to unspoiled locations. Daily commutes have become characterized by long hours of traffic moving at a snail's pace. Radio and television traffic reports during rush hours regularly referred to stretches of highways as parking lots. As the suburban sprawl across America continued, road rage seemed a difficult epidemic to stop, especially when Americans' preferred mode of travel remained the automobile. Advocates of safer roads are lobbying for ways to ease traffic congestion and support mass transportation and better urban planning to make U.S. roadways less lethal.

—Sharon Yablon

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## Road Runner and Wile E. Coyote

The Road Runner and Coyote cartoons have endured since 1949, when legendary director Chuck Jones and storyman Michael Maltese created Wile E. Coyote and the Road Runner for the Warner Brothers cartoon short "Fast and Furry-Ous." The cartoon established a formula that has continued to entertain audiences for half a century. The hungry Coyote ("Carnivorous Vulgaris") chases the truly wily Road Runner ("Acceleratii Incredibus") across the desert southwest. In escalating frustration, the Coyote resorts to using a boomerang, a rocket, a boulder, jet-propelled tennis shoes, and the first in a long line of Acme products doomed to failure, the Acme Super Outfit. Each scheme backfires, leaving the Coyote on the wrong end of a boulder, falling off a cliff, or simply exploding.

As Jones recalled in *Chuck Reducks*, studio management, fearful that no one would like the cartoon duo, was reluctant to allow Jones and Maltese to create any more Coyote and Road Runner cartoons. Although it was three years before the release of the second cartoon, "Beep, Beep," Wile E. Coyote and the Road Runner proved so popular that they appeared in 35 cartoons together by 1966, with one, "Beep Prepared," nominated for an Academy Award in 1961. The timeless premise and comedy of these cartoons was common to many successful cartoons produced in the forties and fifties: the bungling predator simply can't outwit his smarter or just plain luckier prey. Such classic pairing as Bugs Bunny and Elmer Fudd (Warner Brothers), Sylvester and Tweety (Warner Brothers), and Tom and Jerry (MGM Studios) thrived on this idea. What set the Coyote and Road Runner cartoons apart was the uniqueness of the characters themselves.

The Road Runner may be one of the most irritating foes any cartoon character has faced. While Bugs, Tweety, and Jerry often display ingenuity, the Road Runner is comparatively oblivious. In the first cartoon, the swift bird displays more aggression, going out of his way to irritate the Coyote. At one point, with the Coyote close on his tail, the Road Runner even looks concerned. In subsequent cartoons, as the Coyote's efforts escalate, the Road Runner generally doesn't seem to even notice his foe. The Road Runner does on occasion take deliberate steps to avoid a trap, but, more commonly, with nothing more than a "beep, beep" and a flick of his tongue, the Road Runner eats the birdseed without setting off traps, runs through rock walls, and stops short at the edges of cliffs while the Coyote goes toppling over.

It is Wile E. Coyote himself who creates the primary appeal of these cartoons. While other predators plow ahead, the Coyote plans,

diagrams, and builds. As the cartoons progress and the Coyote's schemes become more and more violent, culminating in a plan involving dynamite or dropping a piano on the Road Runner, the audience realizes that the Coyote's quest is no longer about hunger. With the Coyote, the chase eventually becomes a matter of his wounded pride. Mute, communicating only through the occasional hand-held sign or yelp of pain, his expressive face conveys emotions from cunning to frustration to confusion to fear and back again. He frequently addresses the audience, holding signs that say "Egad" or throwing a sly look toward the camera. Audiences see the effort the Coyote puts into his plans and his doomed hope, making it somehow all the more funny when his plans don't work.

More than anything, the characteristic that truly distinguishes the Coyote is his inability to learn from his mistakes. Despite his diagrams, his schemes fail in often surprising ways. The rocket doesn't take off, it just explodes; the boulder falls backward off the catapult; and the jet-propelled sneakers send him off a cliff. The Coyote often averts one mishap only to find another. When he gets his Acme Bat-Man's Outfit to work only moments before hitting the ground, he smashes into a rock wall. The Coyote faithfully uses Acme products even though, again and again, the explosives, the magnetic birdseed, and the rocket-powered roller skates don't work. The Coyote is surprisingly human in his dogged attempt to attain a goal that doesn't seem to be meant for him. When audiences laugh at the Coyote, it is part slapstick humor and part catharsis, part visual and part mental. People see themselves in the Coyote's continually frustrated attempts to achieve his goal, but no one seems to have it quite as bad as the poor Coyote.

The Road Runner only appeared in cartoons with the Coyote. However, the Coyote proved to be so popular a character, he appeared in other Warner Brothers cartoons. Most notable is a series with Bugs Bunny. In these cartoons, the Coyote is somewhat snooty and introduces himself as "Wile E. Coyote, Genius." Of course, in spite of being a genius, he can't outwit the likes of Bugs Bunny. The Coyote also doubled as a red-nosed wolf, Ralph, in a series of cartoons with Sam the Sheepdog. Again our hero simply cannot seem to catch his dinner. The Coyote is ever the doomed schemer.

Cartoons featuring Wile E. Coyote and the Road Runner first appeared as "curtain-raisers" in theatres, eventually moving to television. In September 1966, *The Road Runner Show*, a repackaged version of the older cartoons, premiered in the CBS Saturday morning lineup. From the sixties through the nineties, the Road Runner and Coyote cartoons have been a staple of children's programming, running on the networks as well as cable stations such as TNT and the Cartoon Network.

—Adrienne Furness

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## Robbins, Tom (1936—)

The novelist Tom Robbins was one of the foremost writers of the 1970s and 1980s counterculture, joining Kurt Vonnegut and Robert Pirsig as the gurus of the youth market. His novels wittily debunked the powers that be and challenged conceptions of normalcy, earning him a following of college student groupies. His novels' trademarks are episodic, nonlinear structures that mimic psychedelic LSD trips; casts of eccentric characters with names like Bonanza Jellybean and Marx Marvelous; plots that center on the quest for the Meaning of Life; a flamboyant style characterized by over-the-top metaphors and absurd images; and an optimistic philosophy based on Eastern mysticism, quantum physics, anti-materialism, feminism, and above all, playfulness.

Robbins grew up in Virginia and was raised to be a "southern gentleman," although two years at Washington and Lee University convinced him that he did not fit the mold. In the 1950s, he hitchhiked across the country and was drafted into the military, serving in the air force in Korea. After the war, Robbins earned his degree from the Richmond Professional Institute and started a career as a newspaper arts critic. He fled the conservative South in 1962 and settled in the Seattle area, where he still lives. During the 1960s, Robbins began to experiment with LSD, which he told Steven Dougherty ranks "right up there with the microscope and the telescope as an instrument of exploration." When he began to publish his novels, he was already a prominent figure of countercultural Seattle and New York.

Robbins landed on the national scene in 1973 when his first book, *Another Roadside Attraction* (1971), came out in paperback. Its popularity fueled by word of mouth, the novel became an instant cult favorite on college campuses. In this book, a group of eccentrics discover Christ's mummified body, bring it to a hot dog stand called Capt. Kendrick Memorial Hot Dog Wildlife Preserve, and try to disprove Christianity. The book repudiates the authority of Christianity and offers Eastern religion as a more healthy alternative.

His second book, *Even Cowgirls Get the Blues* (1976), was his most popular. Within four years it sold 1.3 million copies. It tells the story of Sissy Hankshaw, a beautiful woman who learns to live with her socially unacceptable, oversized thumbs, by becoming the best hitchhiker in the country. She ends up at a South Dakota ranch run by cowgirl feminists, where she discovers the path to wisdom with the help of a Japanese hermit. The book struck a chord with readers who had grown disillusioned about America's materialist and patriarchal society. Sissy learns that Americans must reach back to their spiritual roots in Pantheism, which is characterized by feminine receptivity rather than masculine aggression. In 1993, after years of failed deals, the novel was finally made into a film by director Gus Van Sant.

Robbins' next novel, *Still Life with Woodpecker* (1980), a love story about a terrorist and a princess who escape their assailants through the image of the desert on a pack of Camel cigarettes, gained him popularity with a new generation of college students, although critics were growing tired of his style and playfulness, believing him unwilling to grow up and accept the status quo. *Jitterbug Perfume* (1984), an elaborate novel loosely centered around the search for immortality, likewise landed on the best-seller lists. With this novel, his reviews also improved. His last two novels, *Skinny Legs and All* (1990), which features inanimate, everyday objects as characters, and *Half Asleep in Frog Pajamas* (1994), which is told entirely in the second person, employ his trademark style, but their themes are much darker. Robbins has become more serious in his depiction of greed,

religious fundamentalism, and destruction of the environment, turning off some readers. Others feel that his style and message have largely lost their appeal for a generation of readers and critics who have outgrown their attraction to absurdity and countercultural ethics. But for Robbins, critiquing the culture he lives in is not a fad but his life's work. His goal as a writer is to help change human consciousness. "We are in this life to enlarge the soul and light up the brain," he has written.

—Anne Boyd

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## Roberts, Jake "The Snake" (1955—)

Part of a professional wrestling family, Jake Roberts (who was born Aurlian Smith, Jr.) was known for bringing a pet snake into the ring and for inventing the wrestling finishing hold called "the DDT." Roberts started wrestling in 1975, but achieved his greatest success after entering the World Wrestling Federation (WWF) in 1986. Although never the star of the promotion, Roberts' interview skills, ring psychology, and pet snake gimmick kept him near the top of the card. Roberts, whose career was hampered by substance abuse problems, left the WWF after Wrestlemania VIII in 1992 for a brief stint in World Championship Wrestling (WCW). Retired, he was "born again," and could soon be seen on Christian TV stations talking about his substance abuse. Roberts' short 1996 comeback in the WWF was most notable for his loss to Stone Cold Steve Austin in a match that helped Austin win over WWF fans.

—Patrick Jones

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## Roberts, Julia (1967—)

Julia Roberts became a firm candidate to the title of America's sweetheart with her role as Vivian Ward, a humble hooker retired from the bitterness of street life by a handsome millionaire (Richard Gere) in the romantic comedy *Pretty Woman* (1990). Though Roberts would try serious dramatic roles in the early 1990s, her talents and audiences' attention peaked with her romantic comedies. By the end of the twentieth century she would become the highest paid female actress of her generation, earning \$20 million dollars per picture.



**Julia Roberts**

The youngest sister of actor Eric Roberts, Julia began her career in 1986 with a minor role in a film starring her brother, soon followed by a leading role in *Mystic Pizza* (1988). A year later, Roberts received her first Oscar nomination at age 22 for her tragic role as a dying bride in *Steel Magnolias* (1989), the film she made just before *Pretty Woman*. The phenomenal success of *Pretty Woman* and her nomination as Best Actress for her role in this film plunged Roberts into the full glare of the public eye, turning her private life into fodder for the predatory sensationalist press. Her string of romantic relationships and one failed marriage to singer Lyle Lovett perpetuated public interest in her.

Roberts, like others including Meg Ryan, has fought hard to dissociate her image from the romantic role that made her famous, but has hardly succeeded. The remarkable box-office performance of the comedy *My Best Friend's Wedding* (1997) indicates that the public prefers to see Roberts in romantic roles. Though her performances in serious roles in suspense films like *Flatliners* (1991), *Sleeping with the Enemy* (1991), and *The Pelican Brief* (1993) were sound, they met only with moderate acclaim. Roberts' dramatic roles in Neil Jordan's *Michael Collins* (1996) and Stephen Frears' *Mary Reilly* (1996) lacked credibility. Like other leading actresses in search of a good role, such as Demi Moore or Sandra Bullock, Roberts has founded her own production company. Her work as producer might well change

the course of her career, something which Hollywood seems unable to do. But *Notting Hill* (1999), her film with Hugh Grant, is a comedy in the line of *Pretty Woman* and indicates best the limitations of her career.

Roberts' difficulty breaking away from romantic comedies paralleled the difficulty actor John Travolta had in overcoming his association with *Saturday Night Fever*. Both Travolta and Roberts became connected so closely in the audiences' imagination to their characters that the chance for them to develop a more varied career was limited by public expectations. Travolta managed to overcome his fusion with *Saturday Night Fever* and his years of obscurity thanks to Quentin Tarantino's providential intervention with a role in *Pulp Fiction*. Roberts, however, continues to be in the public eye. She is the champion of the romantic comedy, and no other actress has yet challenged her ability to charm audiences. Unlike Ryan or Bullock, Roberts can portray the all-American sweetheart and the alluring sex symbol. This is what makes her charm unique, but it is also the main dilemma she faces to consolidating her successful career. She might be condemned to be Vivian Ward forever, no matter who she chooses to play.

—Sara Martin

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## Roberts, Nora (1950—)

Nora Roberts is one of the most prolific novelists of all time, with an output approaching 126 novels with 42 million copies in print as of 1999. A popular writer who specializes in "paperback" romances such as *Carnal Innocence* (1992), *Public Secrets* (1990), and *Born in Shame* (1996), she broke into publishing in 1979 as a 29-year-old housewife who turned to writing to avoid being driven stir crazy by a snowstorm that kept her confined to the house for a week. This house-bound experience played a major role in shaping her research and writing style, which does not depend on first-hand knowledge of the world she writes about. In fact, most of her research is performed on the Internet. "I know they say write what you know," Roberts told a *Publishers Weekly* interviewer in 1998, "but I write about what I want to know." Indeed, her "category romances," as she terms them, rely less on reality and fully fleshed out plots than they do on idealized characters and romanticized settings. She views her works as appealing to readers on an emotional level, evoking the feeling of first love, bitter loss, and quiet romance. "That's what people want to learn about."

—Sandra Garcia-Myers

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## Robertson, Oscar (1938—)

Although almost unknown to many younger basketball fans in the 1990s, Oscar Robertson ranks among the greatest players in the history of the sport. Red Auerbach, longtime Boston Celtic coach and general manager and one of Robertson's most ardent supporters, called the "Big O" one of the most versatile and complete players he had ever seen. Fellow Hall of Fame member and Celtic player John Havlicek simply stated, "Oscar was the best player I ever played against." Robertson was an unstoppable offensive force, who could also pass, rebound, and play tenacious defense. At 6'5" and 220 pounds, he was the prototype of the modern "big" point guard, paving the way for more recent players who have also excelled at the position, such as Earvin "Magic" Johnson and Anfernee "Penny" Hardaway. Among his many accolades and awards, Robertson is one of only four guards to have ever won the NBA Most Valuable Player (MVP) Award, along with Bob Cousy, Magic Johnson, and Michael Jordan.

While a collegiate player at the University of Cincinnati (1957-1960), Robertson was both a three-time National Player of the Year and three-time national scoring champion, leading the Bearcats to two appearances in the NCAA Final Four (1959 and 1960). He is one of only three players to have scored more than 900 points in three different seasons as a collegiate player, and ranks seventh all time on the NCAA career scoring list with 2,973 points (33.8 points per



Oscar Robertson (No. 12) in mid-air, grabbing a rebound.

game). Prior to his collegiate career, Robertson was a two-time "Mr. Basketball" in Indiana, and led Crispus Attucks High School of Indianapolis to two state championships. The capstone of his amateur career came in 1960, when Robertson was co-captain with Jerry West of the U.S. Olympic Basketball Team, a group that easily won the gold medal at the Games in Rome. This team is considered by many basketball experts to be among the most talented amateur assemblies in the history of the sport.

In 1960 Robertson was drafted by the Cincinnati Royals of the NBA, and began a fourteen-year professional career that ranks among the most prolific and successful of all time. In 1961 Robertson was voted Rookie of the Year and won the first of his three All-Star Game MVP awards. In 1964 Robertson won the league MVP. But his greatest individual accomplishment may have come in his second season (1961-62), when he averaged a triple double for the entire season, (30.8 points, 11.4 assists, and 12.5 rebounds per game). This achievement is undoubtedly his most legendary among basketball players and fans. Many modern players strive to attain this type of production for individual games—not entire seasons—and it has never been duplicated in almost 40 years. Among his many accomplishments in the game, Robertson was a member of the All Star squad 12 of his 14 seasons in the NBA.

Following the 1969-70 season, Robertson was traded by the financially strapped Royals to the Milwaukee Bucks, where he teamed with a young Lew Alcindor (Kareem Abdul-Jabbar) to win the NBA title in 1971. Following a second appearance in the NBA Finals in 1974, Robertson retired from the NBA as the highest scoring guard of all time, with 26,710 points. At the time of his retirement he was also the all-time career assists leader and had made more free throws than any player in NBA history. Additionally, Robertson was an outspoken leader of the NBA Players Association, and is credited with helping bring free agency to the league in the 1970s. Robertson was inducted to the Basketball Hall of Fame in 1979.

Since his retirement as a player, Oscar Robertson has been a community and business leader in Cincinnati, working in both the land development and political arenas to bring economic and civic improvements to lower income neighborhoods throughout the city. In 1996, at the age of 58, he displayed his character and love for his family by donating a kidney to his daughter, who was suffering from severe kidney failure. For his many contributions to the community, his friends, and family, Robertson is among the most beloved citizens that both Cincinnati and the broader basketball community have ever known.

—G. Allen Finchum

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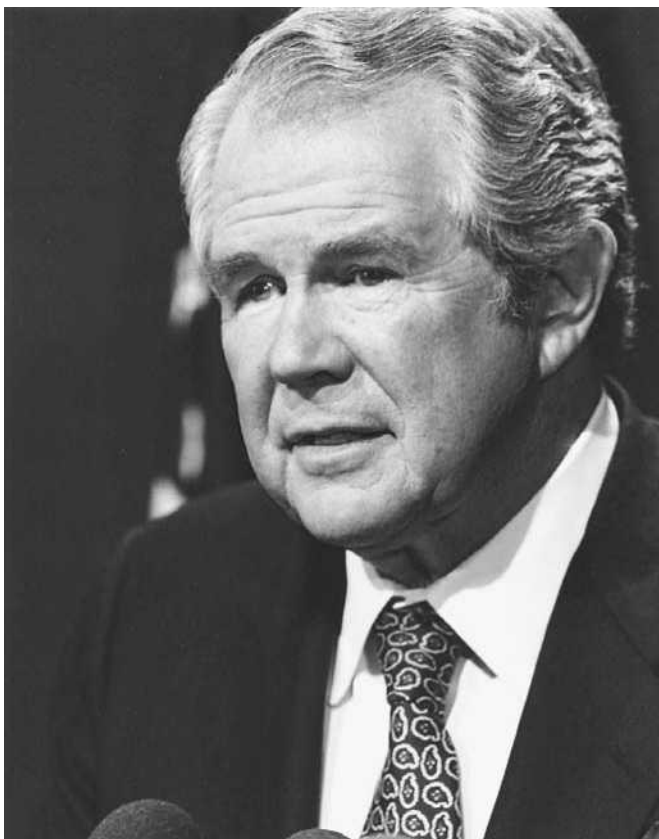
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## Robertson, Pat (1930—)

The son of a Democratic United States senator from Virginia, Pat Robertson turned from a career in the law to one in religion and made himself one of the most influential and enigmatic leaders of the





**Pat Robertson**

so-called Christian Right during the Reagan era of the 1980s and beyond. As president of the Christian Coalition, which he founded, from 1989 to 1997, Robertson helped galvanize millions of evangelical Christians toward greater participation in the political process, and has himself considered running for the White House.

Raised in the Southern Baptist tradition, Robertson graduated magna cum laude from Washington and Lee University in 1950. After serving as a Marine Corps officer during the Korean conflict he returned to his education, receiving a J.D. from Yale Law School in 1955. Failures in an early business venture, and his attempts to pass the New York bar exam helped steer him back toward his religious roots. He attended a theological seminary, graduating with a B.Div., and worked for a time with the mostly black inner-city poor in Brooklyn before returning to Virginia where he was ordained a Southern Baptist minister in 1960.

Robertson demonstrated the intensely entrepreneurial side of his character in 1961 when he started operating WYAH, a television station in Virginia that became the first in the nation devoted to primarily religious programming. From this single station Robertson launched what would become a veritable communications empire: the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN), offshoots of which grew to include a relief agency, cable television holdings, the American Center for Law and Justice, which specializes in First Amendment cases, and Regent University, which came to call itself “America’s premier Christian graduate school.”

The flagship program of his network was *The 700 Club*, which Robertson hosted from 1966. His success both behind and before the camera led many conservative Christians to promote Robertson’s

involvement in U.S. politics. Though he at first thought political organizing was inconsistent with his clerical calling, he had a change of heart by the 1980s, when he began to organize mobilization efforts such as a 1980 “Washington for Jesus” rally and his own Freedom Council (1981-86). In 1984 he changed his party affiliation to Republican. When presented in 1987 with what was purported to be a petition of some 3.3 million names urging him to run for office, he resigned his church offices and launched a campaign for the 1988 Republican presidential nomination. Despite early successes in some primaries, Robertson’s candidacy had been decisively rejected by “Super Tuesday” in March of that year, even by many members of conservative Christian churches.

Undaunted by his electoral failure Robertson returned to the idea of grassroots organizing. In 1989 he founded and became the first president of the Christian Coalition, an organization whose mission was to represent evangelical opinion to government bodies, protest anti-Christian bias in public life, train leaders, and develop policies—all while being careful not to lose its tax-exempt status by supporting partisan candidates. The Christian Coalition proved very successful in enunciating the social agenda of the religious right in the United States. With a national membership well in excess of a million, the group raised the political profile of a hitherto-marginalized section of the population. Mirroring the Republican Party’s “Contract with America,” the Coalition advanced its “Contract with the American Family,” which was trumpeted as “A Bold Plan to Strengthen the Family and Restore Common-Sense Values.” Many attributed the G.O.P.’s triumphs in 1996 Congressional races to the efforts of Robertson and his branch of the religious right.

Robertson astonished the media world in 1997 when, on the same day he resigned the presidency of the Christian Coalition, he sold his International Family Entertainment corporation to Rupert Murdoch, a media mogul whose television and newspaper holdings had often been criticized for taking the low moral road. Robertson tried to assuage criticism by promising that the hundreds of millions of dollars the sale had generated would go toward a new global television evangelism campaign as well as to enhance the endowment of Regent University. Part of the deal with Murdoch’s Fox Kids Worldwide Inc. was that *The 700 Club* would continue to be aired by the new entity and that CBN itself would remain independent.

At the turn of the century, Robertson remained a figure who defies easy characterization. For many on the political left, Robertson is, as described in Robert Boston, “the most dangerous man in America” due to his stances on social issues like homosexuality and the role of women. Those who valued the country’s multicultural heritage reacted with horror to Robertson’s suggestion that only devout Christians and Jews were fit to hold public office. Other liberals decried his proposals to abolish the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and the National Endowment for the Arts. Robertson’s hopes of restoring prayer to public schools and re-establishing the United States as a “Christian nation” seemed an affront to the constitutional separation of church and state and drew the ire of the Jewish Anti-Defamation League.

Robertson is neither a backwoods fundamentalist nor a one-dimensional Elmer Gantry. He is well educated, well off, and well connected, with two American presidents on his family tree, and his pragmatism has made him an enormously successful businessman. His particular brand of charismatic theology, moreover, is opposed by

many right-wing Christians who are uneasy about his claim to receiving divinely inspired “words of knowledge” and his belief that even the faithful will suffer from a pre-millennial period of tribulation before the final coming of Christ. During the 1988 primaries, for example, Robertson’s bid for the Republican nomination drew less support from members attending conservative Baptist churches than it did from other white voters. Despite the criticism he has received from some American Jewish groups, he is a leading defender of the state of Israel, which he sees in the context of Biblical end-times prophecies. Robertson resumed the presidency of the Christian Coalition after the departure of Ralph Reed, and presided over the reorganization of the group into two entities—Christian Coalition International and Christian Coalition of America—in the wake of a 1999 IRS ruling that revoked its tax-exempt status.

By criticizing secularism and unbridled personal liberty, Robertson exploited a deep-seated popular discontent and won himself and his organizations a considerable following. Despite his failure to achieve ultimate power, he succeeded in bringing many conservative issues to the public discourse. When he began his career in broadcasting, religious television was in its infancy; forty years later, even after the disasters of the scandal-ridden 1980s, it is a multibillion-dollar industry. From a point on the political fringe, Robertson has helped shape the religious right into a powerful force in U.S. politics.

—Gerry Bowler

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## Robeson, Kenneth

Pulp magazine publisher Street & Smith used the house name Kenneth Robeson on two of their publications. Kenneth Robeson was credited as the author of 179 of the original 181 novels that appeared in *Doc Savage Magazine* from 1933 to 1949. The first issue carried the byline Kenneth Roberts and, due to a mistake by an editorial assistant, the March 1944 issue carried the byline Lester Dent, the true author of the novel. Dent wrote the majority of the *Doc Savage* novels, but worked with at least five ghost writers on some 38 of the stories. In 1939, Street & Smith launched *Avenger Magazine* with novels by Kenneth Robeson, “the creator of Doc Savage.” All 24 of

the *Avenger* novels were written by Paul Ernst. In the 1960s and 1970s the name Kenneth Robeson appeared on paperback reprints, and in the 1990s it appeared on seven original Doc Savage novels written by Will Murray; they were based on Dent’s notes and story fragments.

—Randy Duncan

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## Robeson, Paul (1898-1976)

Paul Robeson must be counted among the most broadly talented men ever born in the United States, but the fact that he was also a “Negro” in a society that could not easily accept exceptional skills in one of his race regularly limited his opportunities to demonstrate his talents. That he accomplished so much in so many public arenas despite the restrictions he faced remains especially remarkable. At times Robeson was probably, often simultaneously, the most famous and controversial black man in America; in retrospect, his long and complex public career marks some of the high and low points in American race relations during the twentieth century.

While Robeson frequently faced racism and, eventually, political intolerance, he nevertheless excelled in whatever field he entered: he was an excellent scholar, an All-American athlete, a riveting stage and screen actor, a spellbinding orator, and one of America’s most powerful folk singers. Born and raised in New Jersey, Robeson acted, sang, and delivered speeches in high school before entering Rutgers University, where he then triumphed in several sports, was elected to Phi Beta Kappa in his junior year, and addressed his graduating class as valedictorian. While attending Columbia University Law School, Robeson also played professional football with the Akron Pros, and made his professional stage debut. Recognizing the barriers facing black lawyers, Robeson concentrated on his theatrical career after graduating from Columbia, accepting lead roles in Eugene O’Neill’s *All God’s Chillun Got Wings* and *The Emperor Jones* in 1924. In the same year Robeson made his screen debut in the independent African-American director Oscar Micheaux’s *Body and Soul*, signaling his career-long attempt to address both mainstream and minority audiences.

By 1925, Robeson was frequently recording and singing in concert, as if no single entertainment form could contain his talents; by 1929 he could easily fill both London’s Royal Albert Hall and New York’s Carnegie Hall. In 1928 he was added to the cast of Jerome Kern and Oscar Hammerstein II’s *Show Boat*, beginning his indelible association with the pseudo-spiritual “Ol’ Man River,” originally a cry of resignation that he eventually reformed in concert as a defiant protest song. By the time the watershed musical was filmed in 1936, Robeson’s fame demanded that his small but crucial role be filled out with additional songs provided by the show’s composers. Robeson and his wife Eslanda appeared in the experimental film *Borderline* in 1930, and in 1933 *The Emperor Jones* was adapted as Robeson’s first



**Paul Robeson**

talkie. In 1930 Robeson had also opened in London to rave reviews as Shakespeare's *Othello*, a role that, along with O'Neill's Brutus Jones and *Show Boat*'s Joe, he would often reprise in later years.

As early as 1933 Robeson had become involved with leftist organizations and causes, and his direct involvement with international politics intensified as he continued to act, sing, and make films. Traveling extensively in the late 1930s, Robeson supported the Republicans in Spain fighting Franco's Fascists, sang for dozens of working-class organizations, denounced racial discrimination in every form, and regularly defended the Soviet Union, even after the Nazi-Soviet Pact in 1939. While a number of Robeson's films from this period—including *Song of Freedom* (1936), *Jericho* (1937), *Big Fella* (1937) and *The Proud Valley* (1940)—tacitly supported his political views and growing attachment to Africa, others, such as *Sanders of the River* (1934) and *King Solomon's Mines* (1937), placed him uncomfortably in the role of the exotic native within nostalgic colonialist fantasies. After appearing as an ignorant sharecropper in *Tales of Manhattan* (1942), Robeson announced his rejection of Hollywood films. Almost all of Robeson's films, whether produced in

Hollywood or Europe, betray their uncertainty about how to depict a charismatic black man in entertainment directed at white audiences, so even Robeson's apparent strengths were usually qualified. As Richard Dyer argued, in his films "Robeson was taken to embody a set of specifically black qualities—naturalness, primitiveness, simplicity and others—that were equally valued and similarly evoked, but for different reasons, by whites and blacks."

A high point in Robeson's singing career came in late 1940, when he sang "Ballad for Americans" on the radio. Once recorded, the patriotic piece became one of his best-known numbers, and performing the "Ballad" at the Hollywood Bowl, Robeson set an attendance record by drawing a crowd of 30,000 listeners. Following World War II, Robeson regularly drew attention to the restrictions preventing African-American achievement in the United States, leading the Crusade against Lynching to Washington and meeting with President Truman in 1946. In 1949, two Robeson concerts held in Peekskill, New York, were disrupted by riots, and in the following year the State Department refused to issue Robeson a passport to travel outside of the United States, a restriction that would not be

lifted until 1956, resulting in such bizarre circumstances as his singing to 40,000 listeners across the Canadian border in 1952. Declining health and persistent suspicions regarding Robeson's earlier communist and Soviet affiliations prevented him from participating fully in the prominent civil rights struggles of the 1960s, but his last decade was marked by a number of awards and affirmations that would have been unthinkable only a decade earlier, including the renaming of a number of Rutgers University buildings after the school's prominent alumnus. When Robeson died in the first month of the American bicentennial, over 5,000 people attended his funeral.

Although by any measure a remarkable individual, Robeson was fated to represent his race even when his views clashed with those of many other African Americans. Often he was a proud and willing representative of black America, but the persistent demand that he stand for others also exceeded his control, forcing Robeson to carry an impossible symbolic weight. In the long run, the dignity with which he bore the burden of America's racial heritage far outweighs his—or anyone else's—inability to fully contain the varied meanings of blackness in and beyond Robeson's lifetime.

—Corey K. Creekmur

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## Robinson, Edward G. (1893-1973)

Actor Edward G. Robinson remains inextricably linked with the establishment, in the early 1930s, of a new, popular and influential genre in the cinema: the Warner Bros. gangster movie. The films reflected an era overshadowed by the Depression, Prohibition, and the reign of notorious Chicago mobster Al Capone, expanded into hard-hitting social-conscience dramas, and progressed to film noir in the 1940s with Humphrey Bogart at the center of the Warner contribution. This significant strand in film history dates from *Little Caesar* (1931), which enhanced the reputation of Warner Bros., unleashed a torrent of similar films, established the producer credentials of Darryl F. Zanuck and Hal Wallis and the reputation of director Mervyn LeRoy—and made Edward G. Robinson into a huge star.

Robinson was a man of many contradictions. Despite his world-famous screen image as a crude gangster, in the course of his career he



Edward G. Robinson

demonstrated his artistry and versatility many times over, segueing from mobsters to blue collar workers, business men, and detectives. Off-screen he was a highly cultured man who, over the course of a lifetime, managed to amass two art collections of museum quality. He was a man of the theater who reluctantly turned to movies when the Depression hit, became an instant sensation as *Little Caesar*, and settled into a long and successful career, but claimed never to enjoy the piece-meal process of filming. Despite his stardom, he avoided the trappings of celebrity yet, like many prominent Hollywood citizens of liberal bent, he ran afoul of the House Committee on Un-American Activities—a misfortune that he met by returning triumphantly to the stage. His last years were spent as one of cinema's elder statesmen, gracing films from science fiction to melodrama with his innate dignity and now-vintage craft.

Born in Bucharest in 1893, Emanuel Goldenberg arrived with his Rumanian Jewish family in the United States at the age of nine. The child was fluent in six languages, none of them English, but he quickly picked up the language from his young classmates, and from the Shakespearean actors whose performances thrilled him from his vantage point in the top balcony. The youth turned to political speech making, which in turn led to school plays and the choice of a theatrical career. It was while training at the American Academy of Dramatic Arts that Emanuel became Edward G. Robinson. His short stature and

thick features gave him no hope of ever becoming a leading man, but he was determined to make good as an actor and, after a stint in the Navy during World War I that interrupted his progress, he returned to make a career on the New York stage, appearing in some 40 plays.

Robinson appeared in his first film, *The Bright Shawl*, in 1923, and did not make another until *The Hole in the Wall* (1929). He went to Hollywood to play a gangster in *A Lady to Love* (1930), based on Sidney Howard's play *They Knew What They Wanted*, and made four more films that year, including *The Widow from Chicago* in which he played a Prohibition beer racketeer. It was his first film for Warner Bros., who went on to cast him in the title role in the film version of W.R. Burnett's gangster novel, *Little Caesar* (inspired by the career of Al Capone). In Mervyn LeRoy's fast-moving film the stocky, diminutive New York actor electrified audiences, whether sneering, shooting, or uttering one of cinema's most well-remembered curtain lines: "Mother of mercy, is this the end of Rico?" For years thereafter, all a comedian had to do was clench an imaginary cigar and sneer, "Nyah," for the audience to recognize his impression of Robinson's iconic mobster. Well into the 1940s and 1950s, comics and animated cartoons were caricaturing Robinson's "Rico" face and mannerisms. (Late in his life, Robinson himself jokingly closed off a TV commercial by imitating that famous "Nyah.")

Throughout the 1930s, Robinson, along with Cagney and Bogart, made up a triumvirate of Warner Bros.' pre-eminent tough guys. However, not content to become stereotyped, he broke out of the mold as often as he could, going so far as to satirize himself as half of the double role in John Ford's *The Whole Town's Talking* (1935), playing a milquetoast office clerk mistaken for a public enemy. He was a fight manager in Michael Curtiz's *Kid Galahad* (1938), the chief investigating G-man in *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (1939), and discovered the cure for syphilis in the biopic *Dr. Ehrlich's Magic Bullet* (1940), his personal favorite. During and after the war, Robinson excelled at portraying both the lighter and darker facets of the American businessman, from the insurance investigator in Billy Wilder's classic, *Double Indemnity* (1944), to the war profiteer getting his comeuppance in *All My Sons* (1948), from Arthur Miller's somber play. In two classic Fritz Lang noirs, *The Woman in the Window* (1945) and *Scarlet Street* (1946), Robinson personified to perfection the mild-mannered Everyman caught in a grim web of fate.

The McCarthy era could well have seemed to Robinson a real-life evocation of Lang's dark vision. Never openly accused of disloyalty, yet unable to find work, Robinson made no less than four humiliating appearances at HUAC before his career could resume in full. Ironically, the lack of Hollywood opportunities drove Robinson into a triumphant return to stage acting in Arthur Koestler's anti-Communist drama *Darkness at Noon* (1951). He was forced back into gangster mode in a handful of second-league films, but the year 1956 saw him in the starry line-up of DeMille's remake of *The Ten Commandments* and marked his successful Broadway starring role in Paddy Chayefsky's *Middle of the Night*. But 1956 was unfortunately also the year of Robinson's divorce, after nearly three decades of marriage, from Gladys Lloyd, the terms of which forced the actor (and amateur painter) to sell off his precious art collection.

Eventually, Edward G. Robinson amassed a second art collection equally as distinguished as his first, and enjoyed a second marriage with Jane Adler. In 1973, the 80-year-old veteran filmed his last ever scene, a death scene in *Soylent Green* (1973), in which Sol, an old man, submits himself to euthanasia while bidding farewell to images of a beautiful world. Within a few months, Robinson, the

revered artistic tough guy, was dead of cancer. In his last days, he had been informed that he would be receiving an honorary Academy Award—his first. Jane, his widow, accepted it for him.

—Preston Neal Jones

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## Robinson, Frank (1935—)

In the Cleveland Indians' first win of the 1975 season, the new manager Frank Robinson achieved the distinction of entering his own name in the lineup and hitting a home run. A standout ballplayer for over two decades, Robinson was perhaps just as well known for being major league baseball's first black manager. As the only major leaguer to have won the Most Valuable Player Award in each league (1961 and 1966), Robinson was one of those rare players to combine power, an excellent batting average, base-stealing ability, and solid defense. When he retired in 1976 with 586 home runs, only three other men had ever hit more. Although his managerial career was somewhat less successful, his style nevertheless reflected the same kind of intensity he had brought to the game as a player.

Robinson was signed by the Cincinnati Reds out of McClymond's High in Oakland in 1953. Three years later he began his major league baseball career as an unknown 20-year-old outfielder, but by season's end he had established himself as a star, tying the rookie record of 38 home runs. In 1947 another Robinson—Jackie—had paved the way for the first generation of black ballplayers that included Roy Campanella and Larry Doby. Thus, when Frank Robinson began his professional baseball career (the same year Jackie played his final season), black men had been playing major league baseball for less than a decade. Spanning the years 1956 to 1976, his career paralleled that of a remarkable second generation of black players who broke a number of "unbreakable" records, including those set by Willie Mays (1951-73), Hank Aaron (1954-76), Ernie Banks (1953-71), and Bob Gibson (1959-75).

In his ten years in Cincinnati, Robinson was an annual All-Star who struck fear into the hearts of opposing pitchers with his bat and played the game aggressively in the field and on the basepaths. In 1961 he led the Reds to their first pennant in 21 years, while winning the National League MVP award with a .323 batting average and 37 home runs. His follow-up season was equally spectacular, as Robinson achieved new career highs in runs (134), hits (208), doubles (51), home runs (39), runs batted in (136), and batting average (.342). By 1965, however, the Reds' front office judged Robinson to be an "old



**Frank Robinson**

thirty” and after the season traded him to the Baltimore Orioles. This trade proved to be a boon for the Orioles (and a bust for the Reds), as Robinson led the Orioles to their first world championship in 1966. That year Robinson won baseball’s triple crown by leading the American League in home runs (49), runs batted in (122) and batting average (.316), while picking up his second MVP award.

The Orioles went on to win another three American League pennants (1969-1971) and a second World Series title (1971) during Robinson’s six seasons in Baltimore. Although the team’s biggest strength was pitching, he shared the bulk of the offensive load with third baseman Brooks Robinson and first baseman Boog Powell. Back in the National League with the Los Angeles Dodgers in 1972, Robinson appeared to be slowing down. However, when he was traded to the California Angels, his career was extended by the American League’s adoption of the designated hitter rule in 1973, which allowed older players like Robinson to hit while not having to play the field.

As his playing career wound down with the Cleveland Indians in the mid-1970s, Robinson was hired as the team’s manager, becoming the first black manager to be hired in major league baseball. Midway through the 1977 season, a year after hanging up his spikes as an active player, Robinson became the first black major league manager to be fired as well. He experienced modest success at the helm of the

San Francisco Giants from 1981-1984, but failed to lead his team to a playoff berth. Perhaps his most painful year as a manager was 1988, when he was hired by the Baltimore Orioles after the team had lost its first six games. Unfortunately for Robinson and for Orioles’ fans, the team continued its losing streak, setting the league record with 23 losses in a row on their way to a last-place finish. This was followed by a considerably more successful season, in which the Orioles finished only two games behind the division winners, resulting in the American League Manager of the Year award for Robinson in 1989.

Robinson continued to manage the Orioles until 1991, but like many former stars who have tried their hand at managing, with a record of 680 wins against 751 losses, he never achieved anything like the success he enjoyed as a player. During his years as a major league manager and front office employee, Robinson was outspoken about racial issues in baseball, calling attention to the underrepresentation of blacks in baseball’s management positions. In 1982, Robinson was elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame on the first ballot.

—Kevin O’Connor

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## **Robinson, Jackie (1919-1972)**

When Jackie Robinson broke Major League Baseball’s color barrier in 1947, he was both hailed as a hero and vilified as a traitor. So much attention was paid to the color of his skin that it took the public a little while to realize the scope of his talents. When they did, it only increased the animosity of the men who were determined to keep America’s national pastime an all-white bastion. But with his quiet dignity and brilliant athleticism, Robinson tore down the walls of bigotry, forever changing the course of American sports.

Although nineteenth-century baseball had fielded all-black teams and even featured a few black players on white teams, twentieth-century major league baseball had steadfastly been a white-only sport. Black players, however, found an outlet for the sport in various incarnations of the Negro Leagues throughout the first half of the twentieth century. These leagues were widely acclaimed among management, players, and fans of major league baseball both for the depth and scope of their talent as well as for the unique style of quick, tough, and athletic baseball that was played. Stars of the Negro Leagues such as catcher and slugger Josh Gibson, center fielder and brilliant base runner Cool Papa Bell, and the extraordinary pitcher Satchel Paige were known to be as good or better than their white contemporaries such as Babe Ruth and Lou Gehrig. But the only time they could play against these white players was in rare exhibition games.

Although integration was often discussed by fans, owners, and players alike, there was no real thought that it might happen until after the United States entered World War II in 1941. Major League Baseball’s ranks were quickly decimated as players joined the armed



Jackie Robinson sliding past the tag of Yogi Berra.

services. With black and white soldiers serving together in the newly integrated armed forces, it was inevitable that the prospect of integrating baseball would become a subject of heated discussion. But baseball's commissioner, Judge Kennesaw Mountain Landis, was adamant on the subject of integration: as long as he remained commissioner, Major League Baseball would remain all white. Nonetheless, as the war drew to a close and baseball's ranks remained depleted by the war, the subject continued to surface, and the stars of the Negro Leagues dared to hope that one day they would play in the majors.

In 1945, Commissioner Landis' death brought a new commissioner, Albert Benjamin "Happy" Chandler, whose views on integration were diametrically opposed to those of his predecessor. Chandler said, "I'm for the Four Freedoms. If a black boy can make it in Okinawa and Guadalcanal, hell, he can make it in baseball." But a secret vote held among club owners revealed that all but one opposed integration. That one was Branch Rickey of the Brooklyn Dodgers.

A God-fearing, teetotaling Christian and a staunch Republican, Rickey had revolutionized major league baseball when he created the first farm system for the St. Louis Cardinals. Now president, part-owner, and general manager of the Dodgers, Rickey firmly believed that integration would not only be good for both the country and for baseball, but that it would mean big business as well. All he needed

was the right man for the job. That man, he ultimately decided, was Robinson.

Jack Roosevelt Robinson was born on January 31, 1919 in Cairo, Georgia. When his father abandoned the family, Jackie's strong-willed mother, Mallie, moved her five children west to the predominately-white town of Pasadena, California, where her half-brother was living. Although poor, Mallie Robinson found a way to provide her children with a good home and a solid education. She quickly realized that two of her sons were precocious young athletes. Mack excelled in track and field and would eventually earn a spot on the 1936 Olympic team, placing second to Jesse Owens in Berlin in the 200-meter dash. Her youngest son, Jackie, preferred team sports along with the jumping events in track and field. In high school he played baseball, basketball, tennis, and football. Following high school, he enrolled at Pasadena Junior College, where he devoted most of his energy to football, at which he excelled. After two years, he was heavily recruited by many of the West Coast universities. Jackie chose the University of California, Los Angeles, where he would become the first player to letter in four sports—football, basketball, track, and baseball.

In 1941, the United States entered the war and so did Jackie Robinson. But although the armed forces were now integrated, black servicemen faced extreme racial discrimination. Despite being a

nationally recognized athlete, Robinson was no exception. Although he was eventually admitted to Officer Candidate School, he continued to be hounded by racism, eventually being subjected to court-martial proceedings based on trumped-up charges. Although he was acquitted in under ten minutes, Second Lieutenant Jackie Robinson resigned from the army in 1944 and took a job playing baseball in the Negro Leagues.

After a year of hitting .387 with the Monarchs, in 1945 Robinson was invited to meet Branch Rickey. In their now-legendary exchange, Rickey told Robinson that he not only needed a great black player to integrate major league baseball, he also needed a great man—someone who would be able to stand up to the abuse he was sure to receive and have the guts not to fight back. After a few minutes of consideration, Robinson accepted Rickey's offer.

On October 23, 1945, Rickey announced that the Montreal Royals, Brooklyn's AAA farm team, had signed Robinson to a contract. Robinson spent the next season in Montreal, playing superb baseball, undergoing daily taunts and abuse from fans and players alike, and ultimately leading the Royals to victory in the minor league World Series.

In 1947, Robinson was called up to the Brooklyn Dodgers, despite the opposition of some of the Southern players on the team, who initially refused to have an African-American teammate. But Rickey and Robinson were ready to make history and, on April 15, 1947, 26,623 fans—over half of whom were African American—turned up to watch Robinson play. Although his first game would prove anti-climactic, the crowd was electrified, as crowds would be all season everywhere the Dodgers played. Robinson endured verbal abuse from fans and players alike, deliberate spikings from opposing teams, and even death threats aimed at his wife, Rachel, and their young son. But Robinson kept his promise to Rickey and never reacted. In the meantime, he brought a brilliant new style of baseball to the major leagues.

As Ken Burns writes, "It was Robinson's style as much as his statistics or his color that made him a star; the fast, scrambling style of play Negro Leaguers called 'tricky baseball' has largely been absent from the big leagues since Ty Cobb's day. Robinson brought it back, bedeviling pitchers by dancing off base, even stealing home (something he would manage to accomplish 19 times before he was through)." In just his first year in the majors, Robinson would be voted Rookie of the Year, hitting 12 home runs, stealing 29 bases, and boasting a .297 average. He would also lead the Dodgers to a National League pennant.

With Robinson's success in the majors, the American League soon had their first African-American player when the Cleveland Indians signed Larry Doby and then perhaps the greatest Negro League star of them all, Satchel Paige. More and more great African-American players became baseball stars in the ensuing years, from the Giants' Willie Mays to the Cardinals' Curt Flood to the Braves' Hank Aaron. But it was Robinson who continued to symbolize the integration of America's National Pastime. He was, however, never content to be a mere figurehead. Rather, he became a team leader and a National League Most Valuable Player who, through his brilliant play, helped transform the once hapless Dodgers into a team of perennial contenders.

In 1955, the Dodgers won their eighth pennant. Seven times before they had entered the World Series as National League champions, and seven times they had lost. Although he was 35 years old, Robinson was still a terror on the base paths. His intimidating base running would help lead the Dodgers to their first World Series

championship. A year later, after ten years in the major leagues, Robinson retired.

For the next 17 years, until his death in 1972, Robinson lived an extraordinary yet difficult life. Nominated to the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1962, his legend as a baseball star continued to grow, even as he used his fame to bring the public's attention to the African-American struggle to end racial discrimination, becoming a staunch and outspoken supporter of the civil rights movement. Toward the end of his life, he struggled with illness and suffered the death of his eldest son, before passing at age 53. Eulogized at the time of his death by athletes, politicians, and presidents, Robinson was hailed as a hero—a courageous man, an outstanding athlete, a trailblazer for humanity. He has not been forgotten. In 1997, Major League Baseball honored Robinson by retiring his number—42—forever. More than 25 years after his death, the legacy of Jackie Robinson continues to grow, rendering him one of the true icons of the twentieth century.

—Victoria Price

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## Robinson, Smokey (1940—)

William "Smokey" Robinson did more to define the Motown sound than anyone except founder Berry Gordy. Involved in all facets of the operation—songwriter, producer, vice president, member of the Quality Control board that approved or rejected every candidate for single release—Robinson somehow found time for a successful singing career, first as leader of the Miracles and then as a solo artist. Along the way, he set a standard for clever wordplay and smooth crooning that has rarely been equaled.

Robinson was born in Detroit, Michigan, on February 19, 1940. He put together his first vocal group, the Matadors, at the age of 14. They were a smooth doo-wop group in the tradition of the Five Satins or the Platters. In 1957, the Matadors became the Miracles, when original member Emerson Rodgers went into the army and was replaced by his sister Claudette, who would later become Mrs. Smokey Robinson and retire from the group. From the start, Robinson had a hand in writing the group's material, as well as handling most of the leads with his pure, expressive tenor. He met Berry Gordy in 1957, and together they wrote the Miracles' first local hit, "Got a Job," an answer to the Coasters' "Get a Job." When Gordy started his own Motown label with his modest songwriting royalties and a loan from his parents, the Miracles were one of the first acts he signed, and Motown's 1960 breakthrough hit was a Miracles tune written by Robinson—"Shop Around." Robinson soon branched out into songwriting and production for other Motown artists. He wrote and produced nearly every hit single for the label's first bona fide star, Mary Wells, including her #1 hit "My Guy." More than his early Miracles numbers, which were often simplistic, this song showed Robinson's genius at creating intelligent, moving music within the





**Smokey Robinson**

restrictions of the pop single format. He also wrote the first charting Supremes single, “Breath-taking Guy,” though their incredible run of success came later with the Holland-Dozier-Holland writing/production team.

From 1963 to 1965, Motown grew at an unprecedented rate, and Robinson grew along with it. His hits with the Miracles included “Mickey’s Monkey,” “The Tracks of My Tears,” “Going to a Go-Go,” and “Ooh Baby Baby.” He was also chief songwriter for the Temptations, giving them “The Way You Do the Things You Do,” “My Girl,” and “Get Ready.” Robinson was demanding in the studio and often recorded dozens of takes of a track before he was satisfied, but his perfectionism resulted in many of the best-crafted, most memorable recordings of the 1960s. His catchy melodies, painstaking arrangements, and cliché-free love song lyrics influenced such 1960s giants as the Beatles, who covered his “You’ve Really Got a Hold on Me,” and Bob Dylan, who once called Robinson “America’s greatest living poet.”

Robinson scored more hits in the late 1960s—“I Second That Emotion,” “Baby Baby Don’t Cry,” and “The Tears of a Clown” (his first #1 as a performer)—but musical tastes were changing. The Temptations left Robinson behind, reaching new commercial heights with the psychedelic funk of producer Norman Whitfield. Holland-Dozier-Holland had left Motown, and flagship acts the Supremes and

Four Tops were struggling. The tuneful precision, exemplified by Motown at its peak, had lost popularity to the rawer sounds of hard rock being incorporated by James Brown and Aretha Franklin. After a number of lackluster albums, Robinson left the Miracles, but he was unable to resist the lure of recording, and regained chart success with the 1975 solo album *A Quiet Storm*, which adopted the long song formats and thematic coherency of his former protégés Marvin Gaye and Stevie Wonder. Though he scored a number of hits in his second singing career, including “Cruisin’,” “Being with You,” and “Just to See Her,” Robinson had nothing like his former influence over the pop scene. His key contribution came with the rapid maturity of the pop song in the early and mid-1960s.

—David B. Wilson

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## **Robinson, Sugar Ray (1921-1989)**

Sugar Ray Robinson’s abilities and accomplishments made him the idol not only of a generation of boxing fans, but of a generation of boxers as well. Muhammad Ali idolized Sugar Ray Robinson. During the decades of the 1940s and 1950s, Robinson dominated boxing like no one else, sometimes on the front pages of the newspapers, and always in the ring. Born Walker Smith, the man later nicknamed “Sugar” for his sweet-as-sugar style of fighting, originally borrowed the identity of a friend named Ray Robinson in order to enter an amateur boxing tournament for which he was under the required age. Known in the ring for his raw athletic ability, refined boxing skill, and devastating punching power; Sugar Ray Robinson was identifiable outside the ring by his handsome features and flashy pink Cadillac, both of which he sported all over New York City, and especially Harlem. In an era when most fighters did what they were told when they were told, Robinson remained independent, refusing to do business with organized crime, and negotiating many of the contracts for his own fights by himself. Robinson’s reputation as a tough negotiator is legendary and the fact that he in effect managed his own career is part of his legacy as an American original.

Robinson began fighting professionally in 1940 and retired for the final time in 1965. Along the way he defeated a list of champions and near-champions that reads like a roll-call of the boxing Hall of Fame. At his best, as a welterweight (147 pounds), he was nearly invincible. As an older middleweight (160 pounds), he became a five-time champion. Nearly all the fighters who fought him and nearly all the fans who watched him fight insist that Robinson was the best ever. The great Jake LaMotta (of *Raging Bull* fame) managed one single victory against Robinson in six fights, and LaMotta outweighed him in many of their fights by up to 15 pounds. Because the only fighters able to compete with Robinson were fighters larger than him, writers began referring to Robinson as “pound for pound” the best fighter in the world. And indeed, by the time he had completed his career, he had come to be known as the greatest fighter, pound for pound, in the history of boxing. He outboxed all the boxers and out-slugged all the sluggers. “Robinson could knock you out with either hand, while he was going backwards!” was the mantra of those who watched his career unfold.



**Sugar Ray Robinson pummeling Carmen Basillo.**

The title “pound for pound” is not the only expression developed for the express purpose of describing the career of Sugar Ray Robinson. The term “entourage,” widely used in the sporting world of the 1990s, was rather new to the boxing world when it was first used to describe the gang of hangers-on that surrounded Robinson. During the height of his career, after winning the middleweight title against LaMotta in 1951, Robinson and his entourage toured Europe for a year, living the good life. Along the way, however, Robinson lost the title to an Englishman named Randy Turpin. Though Robinson got serious for the rematch and won back the title three months later, it was becoming clear that interests other than boxing were beginning to occupy the time of the greatest fighter the world had ever seen. Sure enough, Sugar Ray Robinson retired in 1952, to become a nightclub entertainer, doing song and dance acts, and not doing them very well. By 1955 he was back in the ring, winning and losing the title three more times before finally hanging his gloves up for good at the age of 45—ancient for a boxer. Sugar Ray Robinson occupies a niche similar to that of Babe Ruth or Michael Jordan, if not in popular culture, then at least in the history of sports. All three were thoroughly dominant during their sport’s golden age, and all three represent the standard by which greatness in their sport is measured.

—Max Kellerman

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## Rock and Roll

In the beginning, rock and roll music was a provocation, an affront to parents and proper citizens. As rock critic Jim Miller put it, “It was the music you loved to have them [parents] hate.” The name itself was sexual, deriving from black slang for copulation. Dominated by a heavy back-beat and amplified guitars, the music was crude, raucous, easily accessible, and within a few years of its inception, tailored and marketed specifically to the young, now a consumer block of singular importance. And rock was inherently democratic. Any kid could muster up enough money for a guitar, and, gathering together three or four like-minded souls, start a band—many of the best groups were started in precisely this manner. But if the music itself was simple, its origins were not. In fact, rock and roll was the culmination of more than a century of musical cross-pollination between white and black, master and slave; a music born of miscegenation. It was in essence a post-modern medium, one of the first true

products of the consumer society. With a whole array of gestures, attitudes, styles, inflections, and narratives, it was endlessly receptive to outside influences and was thus endlessly adaptable—a ground to receive all the narratives of youthful rebellion. Hence, it was far more contingent on history than other musical forms.

When parents first heard rock music in the 1950s, they heard only cacophony. They were unaware of the rich tradition behind rock and roll, that it was playing out a cultural evolution begun in slavery, a blending of musical and cultural forms—African and European, religious and secular—a syncretistic blending of two traditions of music. Prior to the Civil War, white minstrels began to copy the styles of the plantation orchestras, becoming the rage of Europe and America. These slave orchestras had learned a smattering of European dance tunes, which they combined with traditional African forms played on European instruments (not too dissimilar from the lutes and fiddles used by African *griots*—storytellers—of the Savannah), adapting their traditional music in ways both overt and clandestine, and thereby continuing a cultural heritage that had been in effect outlawed by the slaves' owners. By the time of rock's inception, this musical cross-fertilization had already occurred several times over, creating jazz, blues, gospel, western swing, and rhythm and blues.

These new musical forms—western swing, rhythm and blues, jump blues—proliferated in the years following World War II, the result of migrations out of the rural South and Southwest, as well as greater dissemination through radio and records. Many country musicians introduced blues tunes into their repertoire, while Delta blues musicians adapted to urban nightclubs with electric guitars and small combo arrangements. In the Southwest, small combos and jazz orchestras were combining blues vocals and arrangements with raucous saxophones and a backbeat-heavy rhythm section that spread from its Texas-Oklahoma roots west to Los Angeles and San Francisco. The birth of rock, however, centers around Memphis and a few farsighted individuals. Sam Phillips moved to Memphis in 1945, lured by the black music that had been his lifelong passion. He set up Sun Studios, recording Beale Street blues musicians, moonlighting and engineering demos to make ends meet. In 1951 he recorded "Rocket 88" by Ike Turner. It became a number-one rhythm and blues hit and is considered by many to be the first rock and roll song. Phillips himself was not concerned with race, but he knew intuitively that all the music he recorded would remain "race" music until a white man recorded it. He boasted to friends that if he could find a white singer who sang like a black man, he would make them both rich.

Memphis was home to a particularly energetic urban blues movement and a magnet for poor blacks and whites seeking to escape the grinding poverty of the countryside. The Presley family was characteristic of this pattern, moving there from rural Mississippi after World War II. They lived in the federal housing (the best housing they had ever had), and the illiterate Vernon Presley got a job driving a truck. Their son majored in shop at Hume High School, where he was regularly beaten for his long hair and effeminate appearance, but despite these eccentricities, it was anticipated that he would follow in his father's marginal footsteps, working some menial job and perhaps playing music on the side.

Elvis Presley's genius lay in his capacity to absorb different influences. He watched *Rebel without a Cause* a dozen times, cultivating a James Dean sneer and memorizing whole pages of dialogue, and visited the late-night gospel revivals, absorbing the religious frenzy. He listened to the radio, to the black gospel stations and groundbreaking DJ Dewey Phillips on WHBQ. At a time when

Memphis itself was thoroughly segregated, Phillips was one of the first DJs in the country with an integrated set-list, playing blues and country alongside each other, and his influence on Elvis was evident by the songs on the singers first legendary Sun single—"I'm All Right, Mama," a blues by well-known Delta transplant Arthur "Big Boy" Crudup, and bluegrass Bill Monroe's country hit "Blue Moon of Kentucky." The bluesy "I'm All Right, Mama" was countrified, featuring a country-style guitar solo, while Monroe's classic was delivered with a rollicking back beat and a vocal delivery unlike any country singer; Presley sang with the fervor of the gospel musicians he loved to watch. This single 45, the culmination of two hundred years of musical cross-pollination, changed the music forever, and because Presley was white (an early radio interviewer made a point of asking what high school Elvis went to simply to prove that this was so), the entire nature of the music industry was stood on its head.

The music had arrived in the night, as it were. Like Dewey Phillips before him, DJ Alan Freed began mixing black and white artists on his late night show, *The Moondog Show*, after a Cleveland record store owner mentioned the droves of white teenagers buying black music at his store. Freed was soon promoting live rock events, drawing crowds well in excess of capacity, and alarming Cleveland's powers-that-be with integrated audiences and performers at a time when the city was largely segregated. "This unprecedented convergence of black and white," wrote cultural theorist Dick Hebdige, "so aggressively, so unashamedly proclaimed, attracted the inevitable controversy which centered on the predictable themes of race, sex, rebellion, etc., and which rapidly developed into a moral panic." Freed became a champion of scandal, an unashamed proponent for the young, and one of rock and roll's first martyrs, suffering legal harassment throughout his career and later an indictment in the Payola Scandal (he died sick and penniless in Palm Springs), but he was a crucial figure in its dissemination, especially when his 1954 move to WINS in New York blanketed the East Coast with rock and roll music.

Having seen the commercial potential of rock and roll, the large record companies were eager to profit from the craze but were not altogether enthusiastic about the music itself. Rock and roll was not respectable, nor proper; it was redolent of the kind of culture mainstream America had tried to keep at arm's length for years. Its growing popularity fed into middle-class anxiety that their children were being inextricably corrupted; a study on juvenile delinquency by a Dr. Walter B. Miller asserted among other things that the parental anxiety was not attributable to any increase in delinquency as much as to the adoption by middle-class youth of conduct formerly reserved to the working class; that is, the adoption of a whole array of slangs, styles, and attitudes—proletariat chic—that comprised rock and roll in its essence. Needless to say, the corporate record companies were uncomfortable with Southern and black musicians alike. They were suspicious of rock, could not fathom it, and, as history will attest, did their utmost to tone it down whenever possible. Rock's original journeymen were replaced by sanitized teen idols—Bobby Rydell, Fabian, Frankie Avalon—scrubbed and polished little gems, carefully groomed for their role as sex symbols minus the sex. "It [the music] tended to become bowdlerized, drained of surplus eroticism, and any hint of anger or recrimination blown along the 'hot' lines was delicately refined into inoffensive nightclub sound," wrote Hebdige of jazz's mutation into swing. The same could be said of rock and roll in the late fifties. There was pressure to cleanse the music of unwholesome (black or the more obvious poor Southern musician) influences. Jerry Lee Lewis fell victim to this cultural sanitation,

convicted by public opinion of incorrigible perversity after he married his teenage second cousin. His music was as heavily influenced by white Pentecostal ecstasy as by black gospel, but Lewis's very personal battle with sin made him an obvious target for the legions of decency. Chuck Berry was dispatched first through violation of the Mann Act, and then by internecine squabbles with the IRS that netted him several jail terms, but it was the infamous Payola Scandal (payola being a term for the bribery to which many small record companies resorted in order to get airplay) that broke the market power of small, independent labels and cleansed the airwaves for the sanitized dreck of the teen idols.

As it was, most of the original rock-and-rollers fell victim to a premature anachronism. Of all the pioneer musicians who carved rock and roll out of the musical wilderness, only Johnny Cash and Elvis survived the early 1960s as anything more than an oldies-but-goodies attraction. A list of these performers reads like a litany of bad luck and willful destruction: Buddy Holly, Ritchie Valens, and the Big Bopper dead in a plane crash, February 3, 1959; Chuck Berry and Jerry Lee Lewis, who found out too late that fame could not insulate them from the law; the flamboyant Little Richard, who traded in rock and roll for the Bible; Carl Perkins, destroyed by alcohol and drugs; rockabilly legend Eddie Cochran, killed in an automobile accident in England just after rock's first decade came to a close. Pioneering always exacts a heavy price on body and soul, and it would appear that bringing rock and roll into fruition turned out to be one of the more lethal endeavors in the creative history of the modern era.

While the pioneering musicians' music and influence was being subsumed in the United States by teen idols, in Great Britain rock and roll was undergoing a parallel evolution that started where stateside rock left off. Vintage rock, blues, rhythm and blues, and country were originally brought over by American servicemen following World War II. For the British youth, it was a revelation, a welcome change from the threadbare music hall tradition of British jazz. The ensuing generation of British rock stars, from ardent blues revivalists to their pop-inflected cousins, all credit the importation of American music as being central to their musical evolution. The British heard rock and roll through a cultural scrim, a sensibility expertly attuned to picking up the subtleties of class differences. With its introduction, the music was formed amid a complex, invisible relationship between its roots in the working-class American South and the chronic dissatisfaction of the British working class, curtailed by the accident of birth from anything more meaningful than menial labor. The British absorbed blues and rock like holy writ, bringing to the music an insouciance born of desperation that had withered in American pop. The British groups that would emerge as vanguards of the new style—the Beatles, the Animals, the Rolling Stones, the Yardbirds, Them, the Dave Clark Five, not to mention a whole host of lesser names—introduced an enthusiasm for American forms that seemed fresh and vital. Incidentally, it caused near riots, panic in the streets, and all sorts of other commotion when it returned to American shores, capturing a new generation grown quite bored by Frankie Avalon, Annette Funicello, Connie Francis, and company.

The expropriation of rock by British artists had a profound effect on rock music and rock fashion, as if, seen through the alien lens of another culture, rock music was revealed as at once more complex and more immediate to American musicians. Many of the British musicians—John Lennon, Pete Townshend, Keith Richards, to name a few—were the products of the English art school system and took influences from the world of art, especially the pop artists and their preoccupation with the language of advertising and their enthusiasm

for obliterating the traditional demarcation between high and low art. In fact, Townshend borrowed the idea of auto-destruction from a lecture by artist Gustave Metzke at Townshend's art school, Ealing. As Chris Charlesworth wrote shortly before that crucial year, 1967, "Pop music was no longer aimed directly at young fans who screamed at their idols, and neither was it looked upon by its creators as a disposable commodity, good for a quick run on the charts and little else." Rock strove to make statements and be considered as serious art. In the Beatles' single "A Day in the Life" (on *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*), one can hear echoes of John Cage, Nam June Paik, and the whole current of high art. "How does the musician compose," wrote Dave Marsh, "when what's being heard is not the noise that the instrument and/or orchestra makes but the noise that the instrument and/or orchestra makes many times removed, on a piece of black plastic with a context of its own? This is what John Russell refers to as the 'element of exorcism' in pop, and it functions as effectively in a Who 45 as in an Oldenberg sculpture. . . . Thus were barriers—between art objects and everyday stuff, between the theory of avant-garde viewers and unaesthetic masses, between high culture and low, between respectability and trash—not simply eradicated but demolished."

The ecstatic communion of a Fillmore West concert (very similar to the ecstatic communion of the "holy rollers" who so influenced Elvis, Jerry Lee Lewis, and others) was a connection to rock's past, but rock music was fundamentally at odds with mainstream culture in a different way than in the 1950s. No longer was it a matter merely of social stigma or cultural chauvinism on the part of the dominant culture. "For performers like John Lennon, Bob Dylan, and Pete Townshend, Vegas and supper clubs, Hollywood movies and glittering television specials weren't a goal, they were a trap to avoid," wrote Marsh. "Very few of the post-Beatles performers courted the kind of respectability that Col. Tom Parker or Larry Parnes would have understood." For generational reasons and in large part because of the Vietnam War, which many rock performers viewed as symptomatic of a larger rot, the options that had satisfied previous generations of performers were no longer open to rock musicians. But as a music, rock was more dependent on the whole armature of consumer capitalism than any previous genre, and in the ensuing decade, these contradictions became glaringly apparent.

Rock is a porous music; this is its value as a social glue and, like other essentially postmodern arts, also its weakness. It is wholly contingent on historical circumstance, not divorced from it, and with the end of the 1960s, rock would once again be in the position it had occupied in the early 1960s—a holding period until the next big thing came along. Early in the 1970s, 1960s rock had become but a vivid memory, with many of its best talents dead or in retirement: Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin, and Jim Morrison were dead; the Beatles had broken up. Those bands that remained intact could offer little more than a gesture of resistance (the gesture being an important figuration of the music—think of Pete Townshend's upstretched arm about to rip through his guitar strings, or Mick Jagger's effeminate stage persona, mincing and limp-wristed). Without the cohesion of the Vietnam War behind that rebellious, defiant gesture, it was employed as mere dramatic embellishment. It might be striking, but rock had become essentially hollow.

With nothing left to rebel against, rock devolved into specialized subgenres that bore only a passing resemblance to each other—heavy metal, the singer-songwriter, country rock, disco. The music was reflective of lifestyle choices as much as generational identity, and it no longer spoke to issues of class and youthful rebellion, except in the

most base, degraded manner. The gentility of a Joni Mitchell listener bespoke sensitive college-educated professional; Fleetwood Mac and the Eagles, a relaxed middle-class hedonism—nonintellectual, but respectable; while the testosterone bluster of heavy metal—the music of choice for teenage boys and a certain type of blue-collar post-adolescent, hence its status as keeper of rock’s rebellious flame—was critically derided. Critics might deride both disco and heavy metal, but appropriately enough, it was these two genres that transcended class distinctions in a similar manner to 1950s rock: as constituting a craze.

In the 1980s, rock, its fire stolen by the punks, appeared even more moribund. Its leading proponents were either aging or one of a variety of manufactured anonymous drones producing vapid, formulaic music not so dissimilar in content from the offerings of the teen idol years. Rock music had been assimilated, contained, and with the advent of MTV, entrenched in an “entertainment” industry to a far greater degree than ever before. Even punk, which had begun its life as a brutal caricature of consumer culture, insisting that rock must be *detoured*, as the French would say, led away from its intended signifier, was finally integrated into the mainstream fifteen years after the fact. One could see the commercial acceptance of bands such as Nirvana, Rancid, and Green Day as evidence of some final co-optation, or the stardom of Marilyn Manson as a final embrace and integration of the *other* (when all is familiar, nothing is strange) or as punk rock’s final triumph. More likely, punk’s popularity was proof that the gestures of youth rebellion, as they had been since James Dean, were implicitly exciting and thus easily marketed given the proper incentive, which is, if one is a record executive, to swallow one’s revulsion all the way to the bank. Was rock finally a dead form, as safe and nonthreatening as swing music?

With such theorizing, it is easy to lose sight of rock’s essential nature as being anti-high-art, proletarian, and egalitarian. What was true in the 1950s—that rock in its fundamentals was easy to play, hence easily accessible—remains true in the present, though some rock music is indeed as difficult and as rigorous in composition as any classical music. But there is a possibility inherent in rock, a possibility inherent in all folk forms. The music is not owned by experts or specialists, but by the people; rock celebrates the potential of four kids getting together in a garage and playing. And as a legacy of rock’s roots in slave music, where the slave master’s strict prohibitions necessitated concealment, rock encodes within it a hidden corrosive message, a secret, a call to arms based on symbols and repetition discernible to anyone with a mind to decipher it, broadcasting its complaint despite the manipulations of record executives. “According to one theory,” writes Lester Bangs, “punk rock goes back to Ritchie Valens’s ‘La Bamba.’ Just consider Valens’s three-chord mariachi squawkup in the light of ‘Louie Louie’ by the Kingsmen, then consider ‘Louie Louie’ in the light of ‘You Really Got Me’ by the Kinks, then ‘You Really Got Me’ in the light of ‘No Fun’ by the Stooges, then ‘No Fun’ in the light of ‘Blitzkrieg Bop’ by the Ramones, and finally note that ‘Blitzkrieg Bop’ sounds a lot like ‘La Bamba.’ There: twenty years of rock & roll history in three chords, played more primitively each time they are recycled.”

—Michael Baers

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## Rock, Chris (1966—)

Comedian Chris Rock’s blunt, urban honesty quickly gained him a wide following. His stand-up success led to slots on the sketch comedy shows *Saturday Night Live* (1990-1993) and *In Living Color* (1993-1994) and to roles in several movies, including *New Jack City* (1991), *CB4* (1993), and *Lethal Weapon 4* (1998). In 1997 he began his own talk show—*The Chris Rock Show*—on HBO (Home Box Office). His comedy albums include *Born Suspect* (1991) and *Roll with the New* (1997).

—Christian L. Pyle

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## Rock Climbing

Once a chic pursuit for wealthy youth and adventurous others, by the 1990s rock climbing had come to embody a path toward greater self-fulfillment for the average person. Embraced by corporations and schools, rock climbing and the rope skills associated with it became tools to improve corporate teamwork and boost self-esteem in “at

risk” school children. While an international audience could watch extremely skilled athletes scale difficult, dangerous rock faces in televised competitions, rock climbing was available to almost anyone. For the average person, the physical challenges offered by rock climbing were overshadowed by the mental strength participants could gain by learning the sport’s skills even if they never stepped foot on an actual mountain top.

Essentially a subset of mountaineering, especially during the early part of the twentieth century, rock climbing involves scaling rock faces ranging in height from tens to thousands of feet and in environments ranging from Southern California seawalls to Alaskan mountain faces. Mountain climbing became a popular sport among the British gentry during the nineteenth century, with most expeditions operating under the guise of scientific study. Yet, not until the 1920s did people begin to climb rock faces simply for the sake of the climbing experience. Over the course of the twentieth century, rock climbing grew into a multifaceted sport that encompassed recreational climbing on crags and cliffs worldwide, extremely difficult mountaineering routes, competitive sport climbing with an international television audience, and afternoons at the gym.

The sport of rock climbing has numerous subsets, all defined by the type of activity in which a climber engages; a rock climber may engage in all or only one of these specific areas of the sport. The simplest form of rock climbing is known as bouldering, in which climbers work out “problems” in scaling or traversing boulders or small cliffs without protective ropes. Bouldering is generally considered as training for climbing larger and more committing rock faces, though some climbers, most notably John Gill, have focused solely on this often extremely difficult kind of climbing. Crag climbing consists of climbing rock faces anywhere from seventy-five (considered a half of a standard climbing rope length) to one thousand or more feet. Usually, climbing routes on crags takes no more than a single day to climb. Routes that take longer than a day become considered “big wall” climbs. These are climbs in which climbers often spend multiple days on a rock face or may drop to the ground at night before climbing back up fixed ropes to the day’s earlier high point. During the 1980s, sport climbing, a type of crag climbing prevalent in France that involved extremely safe pre-placed rope anchors on relatively short climbs, became popular on crags worldwide. This new climbing, with a focus almost exclusively on difficult gymnastic moves to gain the top, led into the sport of competitive climbing that moved off of natural rock walls and into gyms or prefabricated outdoor walls with resin “holds.” In this arena, climbers were judged on speed, style, and the highest point reached on any given route (climbing routes here became defined by which resin holds a climber may or may not use.) Climbers who focused on bouldering, crag climbing, or big wall climbing tended to group together, forwarding self-images of adventurers, social outcasts, or heroes, while sport climbers were seen as athletes; sport climbing’s competitive nature differed sharply from the recreational enthusiasm of weekend rock-jocks or devoted big wall mountaineers.

Recreational climbing was generally seen as an outdoor activity more akin to hiking, backpacking, or non-technical mountain climbing. Schools devoted to teaching outdoor skills appeared throughout the twentieth century. The two largest and most popular schools were Outward Bound, which started in Wales in 1941 to train young sailors to survive in a lifeboat during World War II, and the National Outdoor Leadership School, which opened in Wyoming in 1965 and focused on leadership training and wilderness skills. During the latter quarter of the century, attending these schools became a rite of passage for

certain groups of generally affluent teenagers (and occasionally their parents during a mid-life search for meaning or adventure). While rock climbing was not the singular focus of these programs, it was a central skill that students learned not only as a wilderness activity, but as a tool toward personal growth and maturity.

By the 1980s, as the popularity of the sport spread and the growth of sport climbing made climbing safer and more accessible to more people, rock climbing became not simply a recreational activity (or a competitive sport), but an avenue toward self-fulfillment. With the increasing development of indoor artificial facilities during the 1990s, a rhetoric of “facing one’s fears” and increasing one’s “mental fitness” appeared to make climbing popular for mental well being, rather than for recreational purposes. As an offshoot of rock climbing (mixed with specific kinds of military training), ropes courses in which teams work to get groups or individuals through various climbing oriented tasks (rope climbing, falls, beam walking, etc.) became popular in the 1980s. These courses were not training grounds for future climbing activities, but rather focused on self-improvement and teamwork for its participants. These courses were especially popular among corporations who sent groups of management personnel there to learn skills they could apply to the contemporary corporate culture, particularly the teamwork approach of Total Quality Management. Also, both ropes courses and rock climbing activities became popular as self-empowerment tools for people working with “at risk” poor, inner-city youths who had little experience beyond urban centers. By the end of the century, rock climbing had become not only a form of recreation or sport, but a personal empowerment tool.

—Dan Moos

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## The Rockefeller Family

During the 70 years between oil magnate John D. Rockefeller, Sr.’s emergence as the richest man in the world (c. 1901) and grandson Nelson A. Rockefeller’s service as the first U.S. vice president who was appointed, not elected, to that office (1974-77), the Rockefeller family stood as the very epitome of extraordinary wealth and influence, not rivaled in popular imagination until the emergence of Bill Gates in the 1990s. In at least one measure of wealth, John D., Sr. remains the wealthiest American of all time: Bill Gates may have exceeded him in terms of sheer dollars (\$40 billion to Sr.’s \$1 billion) and he also dominates an industry—computers. But where John D., Sr. at one time received two and a half percent of the national income, Gates has never received more than a half percent. Proof of the pervasiveness and power of the Rockefeller name came in the 1950s, when the Chock Full o’ Nuts Coffee jingle that had originally run



**John D. Rockefeller, Sr.**

“Better coffee Rockefeller’s money can’t buy” was altered to “Better coffee a millionaire’s money can’t buy” after the family objected to the allusion. Throughout the twentieth century, several generations of Rockefellers tried to demonstrate how a robber-baron aristocracy could justify its extraordinary wealth by philanthropy and public service.

When John D., Sr. (the founding grandfather) retired from his active business life at Standard Oil in the mid-1890s, he was earning an average of \$10 million per year, at a time when the average American earned less than \$10 per week. One of the two originators of the modern U.S. corporation—the other was Andrew Carnegie—John D., Sr. was as aloof and secretive as he was before his ascent from utter poverty. Still, Rockefeller remained loyal to the fundamentalist Baptist pieties of his youth. He never bought a yacht, he never sought the treasures of Europe and other continents, and he never exhibited any undue passions for worldly pleasures. Despite glad tidings about his essential humility, the public could not decide what to make of him—just as in years to come, contemporaries and writers could not reach any firm conclusions about his descendants.

On the one hand, John D., Sr. used his money primarily for charitable and educational purposes: to improve health care not only in America but worldwide, to finance great institutions of higher learning such as Spelman College and the University of Chicago, to improve education in the South, and to wipe out hookworm. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. used the family’s money to recreate Colonial Williamsburg and to assume quasi-government responsibilities in dealing with the scourge of “white slavery.” John D., Sr.’s grandsons (the Brothers) used family funds to help pay for the Museum of Modern

Art and Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, which not only provided the masses with access to the arts, but raised American standing in the world community. All the Rockefellers, through grants by their foundations, helped catalyze significant advances in knowledge, particularly in medicine and in the sciences.

Its financial benefactions were not the only reasons why the family enjoyed wide respect. John D., Sr. and his descendants symbolized the utter determination and boundless energy that made America a superpower. John D., Sr. had achieved his wealth and position by eliminating competitors so remorselessly that he enjoyed a virtual monopoly in oil production. Americans regarded him as a genius of private enterprise who demonstrated his superiority over his rivals so commendably that he fully deserved all the rewards of his marvelous organizational abilities.

Paradoxically, John D., Sr. was also seen as the great American villain, a living, breathing dollar sign, a corrupter of railroads and legislators, the murderer of free enterprise in the oil industry, someone who declared individualism dead, and the man who made the masses pay double for their kerosene and axle grease. He dealt in millions, saved in pennies, gave away dimes, and savored pettiness. Among examples cited of his miserliness was his directive to use one less drop of solder in the manufacture of each oil can. On the positive side of the ledger, he and John D., Jr. deeply impressed the public with the sincerity of their religious beliefs. John D., Sr. tithed when, as a youth, he did not have the money to buy himself a warm overcoat for cold Ohio winters. Even after he began his climb to fortune, he helped sweep Cleveland’s Euclid Avenue Baptist Church. One of the monuments built by Rockefeller money in 1930, the Riverside Church in New York City, remains a contradictory symbol: it is at once a memorial to John D., Sr.’s childhood religion and a bastion of the liberal Social Gospel theology that finds more sin in unbridled capitalism than in personal peccadilloes. John D., Jr., who saw to its building and the appointment of the liberal Harry Emerson Fosdick to its pulpit, was a more sensitive man who suffered from nervous disorders and had few interests in business. His main interest was Christian benevolence. John D., Jr. also collected Renaissance art and Ming Dynasty porcelain. He explained to his father, “I have never squandered money on horses, yachts, automobiles or other foolish extravagances. . . . This hobby [of collecting], while a costly one, is quiet and unostentatious and not sensational.”

Yet, even the charities of father and son and their claims of piety struck suspicious observers as nothing but covers for their insatiable need to dominate and to profit from duping the masses. The New York *Herald* commented, “The only thing Standard Oil lacks is a . . . twenty-five-thousand-dollar chaplain who would open their meetings with religious services.” At the University of Chicago’s first commencement, John D., Sr. said, “The good Lord gave me my money,” to which grateful students responded, “John D. Rockefeller, wonderful great man is he/Gives all his spare change to the U. of C.”

Few criticisms of Rockefeller’s tactics were as withering as muckraker Ida Tarbell’s *The History of the Standard Oil Company* (1904). Rockefeller’s defenders claimed that the writer’s antagonism toward the titan sprang from her background as the fiercely independent daughter of an oil producer broken by Rockefeller. Nonetheless, her analysis of Standard Oil was masterful and would thereafter serve as a model for how to dissect a giant corporation. Readers almost invariably came to believe that Rockefeller (like Carnegie) had to be assigned responsibility for the labor strife that had begun to besiege the country in the early 1900s.

Congress's reaction to such anti-Rockefeller sentiment was not only to pass antitrust legislation, but to refuse to grant the Rockefeller Foundation a federal charter in 1913. A second development, which mightily stoked fires against the family, occurred after Woodrow Wilson appointed Frank Walsh, a prominent Kansas City trial attorney, as head of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, an agency created to explore causes of industrial violence. Walsh turned commission hearings into lectures at which he declared that the family's huge philanthropic trusts were not only a "menace to the welfare of society" but "attempts to present to the world, as handsome and admirable, an economic and industrial regime that draws its substance from the sweat and blood and tears of exploited and dispossessed humanity."

When the commission met for the first time in the fall of 1913, strikes marked by violence had become commonplace. Possibly the worst took place in Ludlow, Colorado, in April 1914, where about a thousand miners living in tents with their families struck Colorado Fuel and Iron, a Rockefeller-owned subsidiary. The company dug trenches around the tents, bought machine guns, employed a private army to guard its property, and persuaded Colorado's governor to call out National Guard units. Strikers acquired weapons, and guardsmen and workers fought a 12-hour pitched battle, the "Ludlow Massacre," during which several miners, two women, and 11 children were killed.

Walsh moved commission hearings to Denver, Colorado, and then back to Washington, where he called John D., Sr. as a witness. The magnate skillfully deflected Walsh's probing comments and questions. "Let the world wag," he advised John D., Jr., to whom he had already begun to transfer significant assets and authority over family philanthropic and business enterprises. But John D., Jr. had neither his father's studied calm nor his deep conviction of his own saintliness. He wilted under Walsh's ruthless examination, and his weak responses helped convince the public that the family was legally and morally guilty in the Ludlow incident. The manifest rise in public anger toward the family led John D., Sr. to hire a public relations counsel named Ivy Lee (recommended by John D., Jr.) and John D., Sr. began handing out dimes to passersby, a tactic said to increase his popularity. Still, bodyguards had to protect family members. The most surprising development in the aftermath of Ludlow, however, was that John D., Jr. made one of the most abrupt turnabouts of any major capitalist in American history. After first defending Colorado Fuel and Iron, he toured the Ludlow site, ate with miners in their homes, and advised that improvements would be forthcoming. Thereafter, he received an excellent press nationwide. John D., Jr.'s "transformation" distinguished him from his father, who did not relent.

There was no break with fundamentalist outlooks in the family's second generation. Like John D., Sr., John D., Jr. and his six children reserved Sundays for prayer, and the five boys and one girl were taught that careful accounts must be kept of money received and spent. Above all, as befit an imperial family, they received constant reminders that they were Rockefellers, and that their wealth and good name were sacred trusts. The Rockefeller grandsons, John III, Laurance, and David, tended to fall in line uncomplainingly with their father's and grandfather's strict rules. But Abby (Babs) kept sloppy accounts, smoked at 15, drove recklessly, was ticketed repeatedly for speeding, and necked with her future husband in full view of servants. Winthrop's experiences with liquor and women became the stuff of tabloids; he was a cattle rancher who served as Republican governor of Arkansas in the late 1960s.

In the generation of the brothers, it would be Nelson, born on the founding grandfather's birthday in 1908, who not only had the most active and direct contact with the public, but exhibited some of John D., Sr.'s most pronounced characteristics. Everything Nelson did was strategic, and, like his grandfather, he demonstrated the relentless drive of the self-made go-getter and could not be hurried in his decisions. His brother David remarked, "He spent a lot of time in seeing where he wanted to go, and then developing a strategy to get there. In other words, things did not happen by accident in his life."

Nelson was governor of New York four times and unsuccessfully sought nomination as the Republican candidate for president three times. The public had problems deciding what to make of John D., Sr. and had to be persuaded after Ludlow that John D., Jr. truly regretted what had happened. But Nelson's "anything is possible" behavior both confirmed and confused the public's perception of how the very rich behave. Nelson placed no limits on satisfying his demands for personal gratification. Whether in art, real estate, women, or building monuments to himself with public funds, he simply took whatever he wanted. And this was to be a basis for his political undoing. He was perceived as the mainstay of an Eastern Establishment of money and power, which contrasted unfavorably with "cloth coat" Republicans such as Barry Goldwater (in 1964) and Richard Nixon (in 1968 and 1972).

Succeeding generations of Rockefellers (the Cousins followed the Brothers) have not produced personalities who dominated headlines as the earlier ones, except for John D., IV ("Jay"), who went to West Virginia in 1964 as a VISTA volunteer and remained to become its governor and a U.S. senator devoted to progressive causes, and his cousin Abby Aldrich, daughter of David, who came to be seen as the "hippie" of the family for her interest in environmentalism. She formed a company in the 1970s to import a Swedish composting toilet, the Clivus Multrum, and to educate Americans about the value of recycling—showing at least that the Rockefellers still had a knack for nuancing worthy endeavors with their traditional habits of thrift and shrewd business sense.

—Milton Goldin

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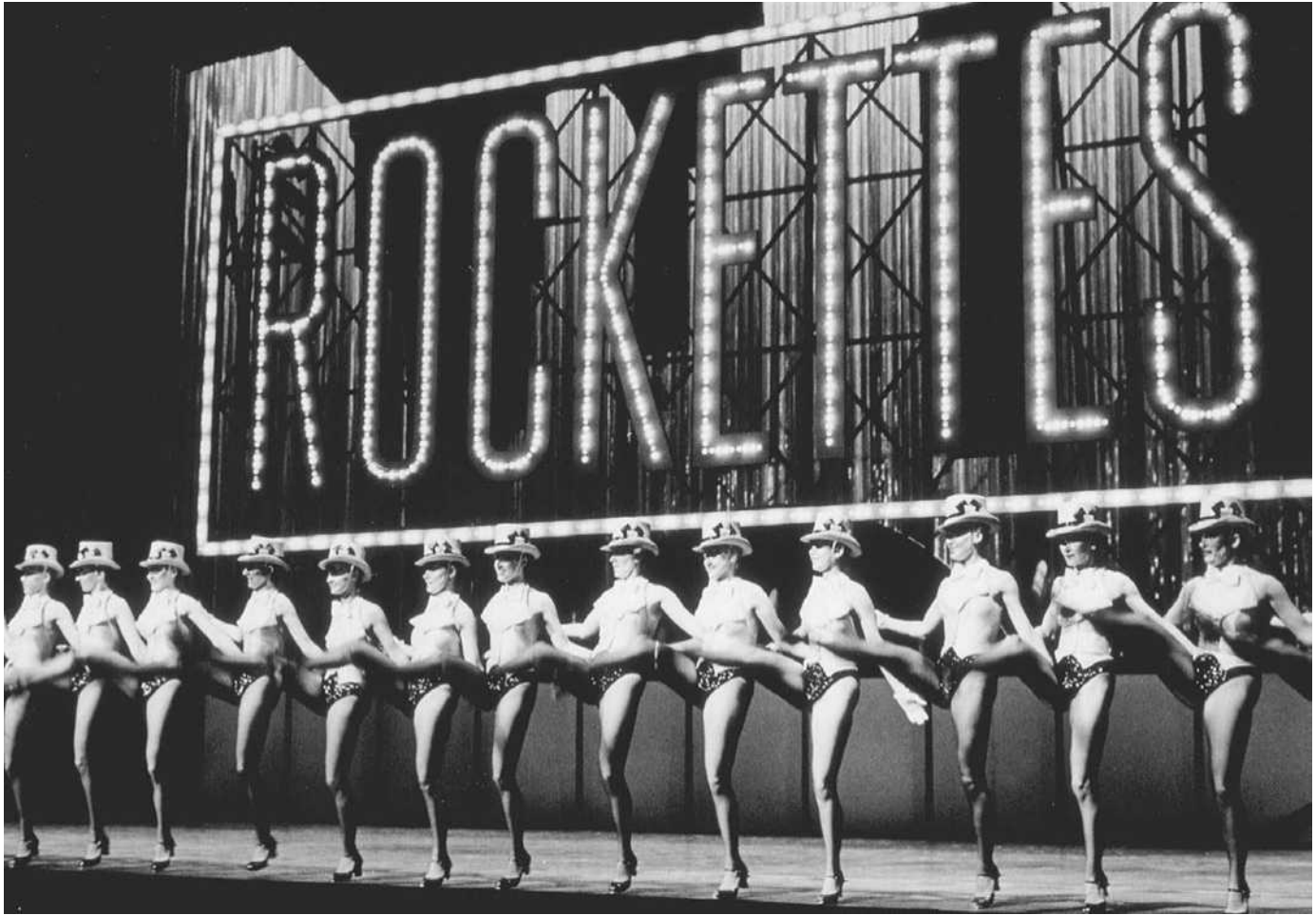
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## The Rockettes

The most renowned chorus line in the world, the Rockettes engendered the American form of precision dancing and have remained the paramount practitioners of synchronized tap-dance routines ever since. A quintessential New York tourist attraction, seen by millions of spectators since their debut at Radio City Music Hall in 1932, the Rockettes spawned multitudinous imitations and made precision kick-lines an established element of American entertainment culture—from amateur theatricals and school productions to Broadway musicals, Las Vegas extravaganzas, ice spectaculars, and





The Rockettes on stage.

half-time shows. The Rockettes are often recognized as epitomizing the “all-American girl,” perhaps from a bygone era. They are beautiful, but not overtly sexy, they move in unison, but with a natural athleticism, not as automatons.

The Rockettes were the brainchild of Broadway dance director Russell Markert, who was inspired by the Tiller Girls, a precision dance troupe from England that he saw in the Ziegfeld *Follies* during the 1920s. Markert yearned to create an American counterpart of the British troupe, but with taller dancers, longer legs, and higher kicks. In 1925, for stage shows that he was producing in St. Louis, Markert assembled a 16-member precision dance team that he called the Missouri Rockets. The group enjoyed great popularity and soon began touring as the American Rockets. “Hide your daughters—here comes Markert” became a common phrase of the late 1920s as the choreographer scoured the land for suitable girls to join the ever-increasing number of dance troupes he was assembling to meet the growing demand for performances nationwide.

While rehearsing in New York for a Broadway appearance, one of Markert’s troupes was observed by Samuel L. “Roxy” Rothafel, who invited them to perform in nightly shows at his Roxy Theatre for the six weeks before their Broadway opening. They were such a hit that Rothafel was reluctant to let them go, so Markert trained yet another group to continue performing at the Roxy. When it came time

for the theatre’s big Easter show, Markert combined two groups into a new 32-member troupe called the “Roxyettes.” Thus, when when Roxy Rothafel was asked to produce a gigantic stage spectacular for the opening of Rockefeller Center’s Radio City Music Hall on December 27, 1932, he cast his Roxyettes as one of the featured attractions, along with the Flying Wallendas, and modern dancer Martha Graham, among others. The production, however, was not a popular success and, by January 1933, the Music Hall decided to abandon full-evening variety shows and adopted what became its signature format—the showing of a first-run family film, accompanied by a live stage show. The only performers retained from the opening night production were the Roxyettes. In 1934 their name was changed to the Rockettes and they became a regular institution at the famous art deco-style music hall.

In 1937 the Rockettes were invited to represent the United States in an international dance festival at the Paris Exposition and won the grand prize. In accepting the award, the director of Rockefeller Center, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., said that the Rockettes remind us that “the only way we can find success in any walk of life is in working for the group and not for personal aggrandizement.”

The governing aesthetic principle of the Rockettes is uniformity. Though they range in height from five-foot four inches to five-foot nine (having gotten progressively taller over the years), the illusion

that they are all the same height is achieved by placing the tallest dancers in the center of the line and sloping downward. As director of the Rockettes from their inception until his retirement in 1971, Markert was criticized for his “whites only” hiring policy, but defended his actions by claiming that visual harmony is the backbone of precision dancing, explaining that he didn’t even allow his Rockettes to get suntanned. (In 1988, for the first time, an African American dancer did perform as a Rockette.) When auditioning his dancers Markert looked not only for women who could tap, turn, and kick with proficiency, but who could suppress their individuality to conform to the group dancing style. While many Rockettes have spoken of the “high” they get while performing with the troupe on the magnificent Music Hall stage, others have found the experience mechanical, demeaning, and boring for anyone with creative inclinations.

Though the Rockettes have been elaborately costumed over the years as various characters, from cowgirls, poodles, and daffodils, to West Point cadets and astronauts, their routines are choreographically predictable, consisting of a series of tap-danced military drill formations and an obligatory kick-line finale. Unlike the Tiller Girls, who kicked only waist-high, the Rockettes kick to eye-level, straight front, and on the second beat, following a tiny two-footed preparatory jump on the downbeat. The troupe’s most distinctive maneuver is the contagious toppling of the annual Christmas show’s wooden soldiers: they fall backwards one at a time, neatly collapsing like a row of dominoes.

By the 1970s, as the Music Hall’s G-rated films and wholesome variety shows grew out of step with the youth culture of the time, many viewed the Rockettes as kitsch. When, due to sagging box-office receipts, the famous showplace was scheduled to close on April 12, 1978, the Rockettes were instrumental in spearheading the successful efforts to save their home. In order to remain open, however, the Music Hall cut back to producing only three large-scale productions a year and began renting its space to presenters of rock concerts and other entertainment attractions. By the late 1990s the annual “Christmas Spectacular” remained the only vestige of the Music Hall’s extravagant stage shows.

The Rockettes, however, have continued to perform there, and at entertainment events worldwide. In 1983 their backstage lives were celebrated in the fictionalized ABC-TV movie *Legs*. They franchised in the 1990s, permitting cities such as Las Vegas and Branson, Missouri, to form their own Rockette companies.

Critics have opined that precision dancing, even when considered old-fashioned, continues to attract audiences because it conveys a reassuring sense of stability. In the rapidly changing techno-world of the late twentieth century, the Rockettes and their simulators remained familiar and comforting providers of popular entertainment.

—Lisa Jo Sagolla

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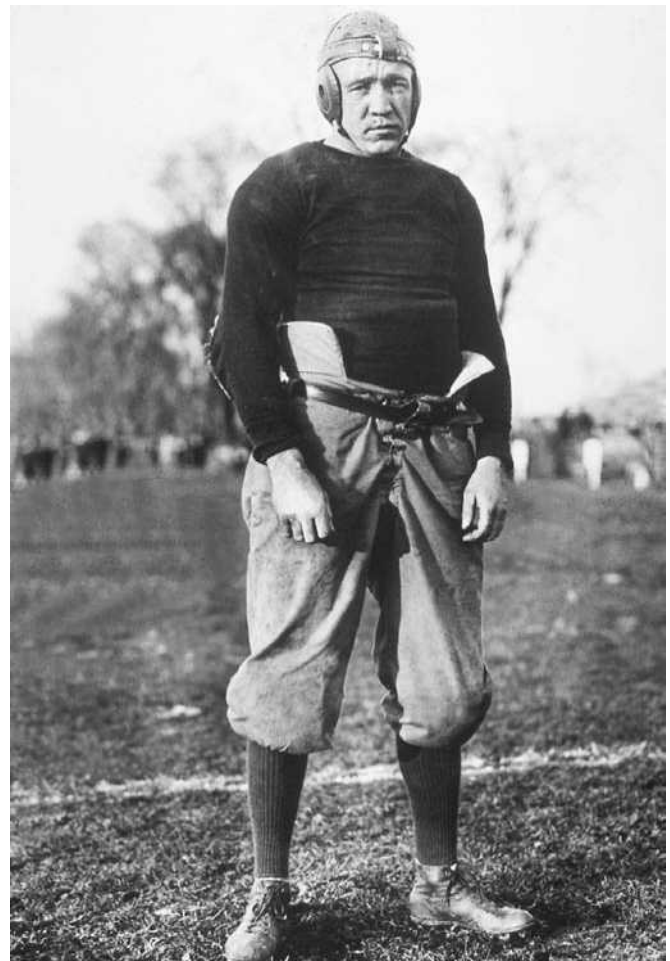
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## Rockne, Knute (1888-1931)

The legend of Knute Rockne goes beyond football. Every school with an active athletic program has its share of sports legends—stories about great athletes and coaches of the past and the games that made them famous. The University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Indiana, is no exception; the school’s athletic tradition has produced many legendary figures, especially from its Fighting Irish football team, but the tale of Knute Rockne has transcended Notre Dame to become part of Americana.

Knute K. Rockne was born in Voss, Norway, on March 4, 1888. His family immigrated to the United States in 1893, settling in Chicago. Rockne entered the University of Notre Dame in 1910 and tried out for the football team—unsuccessfully. In that era, football was almost entirely a game of brute force, and Rockne was deemed neither large enough nor muscular enough. The following year, with the Irish under a different coach, Rockne made the team and played for three years, striving to make up in speed and guile what he lacked in size and strength.

Upon graduating in 1914, Rockne was immediately hired as assistant coach of Notre Dame’s football team. During his four years in that position, he was credited with introducing two innovations into the game: the forward pass and the shift. In fact, Rockne probably did



Knute Rockne

not invent these tactics (and never claimed that he had), but his teams were the first to integrate these new moves into their regular game plan. The use of the forward pass greatly increased the role of strategy in the game, and the shift (lateral movement on the part of offensive players before the ball is snapped) allowed the offense to adapt to the defense's formation and made the game more exciting.

It was while he was assistant coach in 1916 that Rockne recruited a young man named George Gipp to the team. Gipp turned out to be the best all-round athlete that Rockne ever coached, and when Rockne was appointed Notre Dame's head coach in 1918, George Gipp was his star player. However, in his senior year, Gipp contracted pneumonia following a game. Despite hospitalization, his condition worsened and, tragically, Gipp died on December 13, 1920. But the story of George Gipp did not end with his death. Years later, when a surprisingly mediocre Notre Dame team was trying to salvage a winning season by defeating football powerhouse Army, Rockne gave the locker-room speech that is the centerpiece of the Rockne legend. The team knew who George Gipp had been, but Rockne told them something they didn't know: Gipp's last words to his coach. According to Rockne, the dying Gipp had told him, "I've got to go, Rock. It's all right, I'm not afraid. Some time, Rock, when the team is up against it, when things are wrong and the breaks are beating the boys, tell them to go in there with all they've got and win just one for the Gipper. I don't know where I'll be then, Rock, but I'll know about it, and I'll be happy."

This sentimental story of Gipp's last wish may well be fiction, but it worked for the Fighting Irish, who went on to defeat Army, the heavy favorites. It also became the key scene in the 1940 film about Rockne's life, *Knute Rockne, All American*. Pat O'Brien portrayed the great coach, and the young Ronald Reagan played George Gipp. The role haunted Reagan for the rest of his life, and when he left movies for a career in politics, the name was revived by journalists, who sometimes referred to Reagan in print as "the Gipper." This led to "Win one for the Gipper" being used as a campaign slogan when Reagan ran for President in 1980, and reporters used the term occasionally during his presidency and afterward.

The skill and spirit of Rockne also resides in another enduring aspect of sports mythology that has passed into popular culture, and is arguably the most famous passage in American sports journalism. After another Rockne-coached Notre Dame team defeated Army on October 18, 1924, Grantland Rice wrote in the next day's edition of the *New York Herald Tribune*: "Outlined against a blue-gray October sky, the Four Horsemen rode again. In dramatic lore they are known as Famine, Pestilence, Destruction and Death. These are only aliases. Their real names are: Stuhldreher, Miller, Crowley and Layden. They formed the crest of the South Bend cyclone before which another fighting Army team was swept over the precipice at the Polo Grounds this afternoon as 55,000 spectators peered down upon the bewildering panorama spread out on the green plain below."

Rockne's team was undefeated that season, one of five such triumphant seasons that he enjoyed during his 13 years as Notre Dame's head coach. His overall record during that time was 105 wins, 12 losses and 5 ties. Knute Rockne was killed in a plane crash on March 31, 1931.

—Justin Gustainis

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Despite his distinction as a popular painter of everyday life, Norman Rockwell has, for much of the twentieth century, represented a point of controversy concerning the definition of art and the nature of American culture itself. Although a sizable public embraced the illustrator as America's greatest painter, others have reviled his work as vacuous commercial art depicting a highly restricted spectrum of the national makeup. Rockwell's prominence and the prevailing conception of advocates and critics alike—that his task was to represent America—largely issued from his long association with the popular magazine, the *Saturday Evening Post*. Even when, in the last decades of his life, Rockwell undertook assignments challenging the conservative cultural values of the *Post*—values which were mistakenly ascribed to the illustrator as well—his apparently unselfconscious, realistic style remained out of step with contemporary artistic practices. By the end of the twentieth century, he was widely recognized as a highly successful illustrator though not as an artist, his name serving as a shorthand term for the values of small-town America that he so often depicted.

Rockwell himself enjoyed the pleasant irony that, this reputation notwithstanding, he was born—on February 3, 1894—in the paramount metropolis of New York City. Although his father's family had



Norman Rockwell

once held substantial wealth and his mother took great pride in an English aristocratic ancestry, by the time of Norman Percevel's birth the family's fortune and status had both declined. Rockwell recalled growing up in modest circumstances, and described episodes of acute embarrassment in the face of his own social indiscretions which, he thought, bespoke his lower-middle-class background. Still, his family remained respectably pious, to the extent that Norman and his younger brother Jarvis were conscripted into the church choir by their parents. This religiosity, however, did not stick, and as an adult Rockwell would decline to attend church services.

In his autobiography, Rockwell described a boyhood full of anxieties and punctuated by numerous unpleasant episodes. Amongst his friends he stood out as an awkward and pigeon-toed boy, his face dominated by large, round eyeglasses that earned him the despised nickname "Mooney." He nonetheless participated in all the games and pranks of his neighborhood playmates including, as he later recalled with contrition, incidents of bigoted name-calling. Urban encounters with indigent drunks and rancorous couples enhanced, by contrast, his cherished memories of summer trips away from the city. He would later characterize his early interest in drawing as a compensatory practice that won him admiration from his peers.

As a high school freshman, Rockwell began taking weekly leave in order to attend the Chase School of Art on a part-time basis (c. 1908), and in his sophomore year he left altogether, becoming a full-time student at the National Academy of Design at the age of 15. Finding the academy's program "stiff and scholarly," he enrolled at the Art Students League in New York in 1910. There he devoted himself to the study of the human figure and illustration under instructors George Bridgman and Thomas Fogarty.

Like his fellow students, Rockwell admired and identified with the work of prominent American illustrators such as Howard Pyle and Edward Austin Abbey, particularly their inspiring attention to historically accurate detail and compelling visual narratives. At the same time he esteemed the expressive qualities and technical virtuosity of painters from Rembrandt and Vermeer to Whistler and Picasso. Although modernist practices held little interest for Rockwell in his own art—excepting some brief experiments in the 1920s—neither he nor his peers saw much distinction between the fine arts and illustration. They did, however, disdain other, debased spheres of artistic practice. Rockwell wrote that he and his peers "signed our names in blood, swearing never to prostitute our art, never to do advertising jobs." But the nature of the field of illustration itself was in transition with the proliferation of cheap illustrated magazines (which needed advertisers who in turn needed illustrators), the increasing use of photography, and the demise of handsomely decorated books which had seen their zenith during the so-called Golden Age of Illustration. Rockwell's own practice would soon include the production of successful and highly sought after advertising illustrations.

His first inroads into a professional career included illustrating a didactic children's book called *Tell Me Why Stories*. Landing the position of contributing art director for *Boy's Life* in 1913, Rockwell soon developed a reputation as the "Boy Illustrator," referring both to his young age and his favored subjects rendered for an emerging group of youth magazines. These popular magazines, including *St. Nicholas*, *American Boy*, and *Youth's Companion*, were intended to entertain white, middle-class adolescents and promote the same ideals of American citizenry embodied in the Boy Scouts and the Young Men's Christian Association movements. But Rockwell sought a more distinguished venue for his art.

Working for the youth magazines, he was soon able to afford a succession of shared studios in New York City and then in New Rochelle where his family took up residence in a boarding house. Despite his steady income, Rockwell aspired to see his work on the cover of what he considered "the greatest show window in America for an illustrator," the *Saturday Evening Post*. Setting his sights on the *Post* he struggled to paint a sample image of a sophisticated society couple in the style of the Charles Dana Gibson, but soon realized that his strength lay in genre scenes, realistically rendered pictures of everyday life. He presented the *Post* editors with two finished canvases depicting scenes of American boyhood and several like sketches. All were approved, and within two months his first illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post* appeared on the cover of the issue for May 20, 1916. In his words, he "had arrived." Having broken into the field of illustration for adult magazines, Rockwell was soon submitting work to *Life*, *Judge*, *Leslie's*, and the *Country Gentleman*. By the early 1920s he would gain substantial recognition and could be selective about his assignments, working only for the most prominent magazines.

Throughout Rockwell's 47-year association with the *Post* as its most prominent cover illustrator, he continued to undertake a variety of assignments including calendars, books, and advertisements. Amongst his best known works are the annual Boy Scout calendars painted from 1924 to 1976 (he missed only two years); his illustrations for new editions of Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1936) and *Huckleberry Finn* (1940); and the long series of pencil-drawn advertisements for Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Company done from 1950 to 1963. In 1943, the *Post* published his *Four Freedoms*—illustrating the essential principles declared by President Franklin D. Roosevelt—which soon became successful war bond posters. Each of these has in common the optimism and moral salubrity Rockwell depicted throughout his seven-decade career.

Still, it was his long-standing affiliation with the *Saturday Evening Post* that marked Rockwell's cultural reception. Between the World Wars and under editor George Horace Lorimer, the *Post* advanced illustration as a particularly American art. Illustration was characterized there as speaking a common-sense visual language in opposition to modern art as a rarified and intellectualized foreign import. In short, illustration was wrapped in the magazine's conservative and isolationist positions on culture and politics. This legacy, combined with the *Post's* pronounced decline and unsteady revival as a discredited voice of nostalgia during the 1960s and 1970s, left Rockwell himself as a representative of obsolescence.

In 1963, Rockwell left the *Post* and soon expanded his repertoire of themes to encompass explicitly controversial social issues. Until this time he had applied his high-detail realism to folksy scenes—usually witty, sometimes poignant—of what appeared to be everyday life in America. As critics would note, this image of the nation's people was generally restricted to white, middle-class, and heterosexual families. Rockwell later explained, in part, that longtime *Post* editor Lorimer had instructed him "never to show colored people except as servants." And so they appeared throughout the *Post* and Rockwell's oeuvre. By contrast, Rockwell's work for *Look* magazine in the mid-1960s explored black-white race relations and the social turmoil which followed the civil rights movement and subsequent legislation. Best known of these is his 1964 image of Ruby Bridges escorted by deputies from the United States Marshall's office as she integrated a white elementary school in New Orleans in 1960 (*Look*, January 14). Thus, it was only in the last decade and a half of his life

that Rockwell's own liberal views might have become readily apparent to a broad public.

This late turn towards inclusive subject matter came packaged in Rockwell's brilliant, if familiar, realist style which itself seemed anti-progressive to many art-scene observers. For them, Rockwell's illustrations, though technically accomplished, lacked artistic freedom, intellectual engagement, and creative insight. Still, he remained popular with a substantial portion of the American public. This disparity was played out when art critics dismissed a popular 1968 exhibition of his canvases at a New York City gallery, and again in 1972 on the occasion of a Rockwell retrospective held at the Brooklyn Museum. Any reconsideration of Rockwell's aesthetic and historical significance proposed by these exhibitions was further stymied after 1969 by the apparent crass commercialism of an agreement permitting the Franklin Mint to produce versions of his well-known earlier images as porcelain figurines and silver coins.

Notwithstanding the failure of earlier attempts to present a convincing reassessment of Rockwell in the 1980s and 1990s, he was reasserted as a significant cultural figure. Popular interest in his work hardly abated as witnessed by the proliferation of Rockwell picture books. In the early 1980s a major fund-raising campaign to build a new home for the Norman Rockwell Museum in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, drew substantial support from prominent political figures, including then President Ronald Reagan and Senator Edward Kennedy, indicating that with regard to Rockwell's reception, so-called traditional values might be severed from conservative politics. At the end of the twentieth century, Rockwell remained an iconic figure, his name serving as short-hand for idyllic values promoting family and community. These deeply nostalgic associations recall an America of the past, one imagined as modern, prosperous, homogeneous, and free of the social ills that plagued the late twentieth century.

Rockwell died November 8, 1978 in Stockbridge. His first marriage, which had followed the success of his earliest *Post* cover, ended in divorce in 1930. In that same year he met and married Mary Barstow with whom he was to raise three sons, Jarvis, Thomas, and Peter. After Mary's death he was remarried once more, to Mary (Molly) Punderson. The most comprehensive collection of his works is found at the Norman Rockwell Museum at Stockbridge, to which he left many paintings and papers upon his death.

—Eric J. Segal

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## Rocky

*Rocky* (1976) may not be the best sports film ever made, but for many it is the best loved. As much love story as boxing movie, this



Sylvester Stallone and Talia Shire in a scene from the film *Rocky*.

feel-good box-office smash launched Sylvester Stallone's career into the stratosphere, inspired countless imitations (some of which were the *Rocky* sequels), and provided America with a simple blue-collar hero at a time when nonheroes and antiheroes—in movies like *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest* and *Dog Day Afternoon*—predominated on American movie screens. As Stallone told the *New York Times* at the time the film came out, "I've really had it with anti-this and anti-that. Where are all the heroes? I want to be remembered as a man of raging optimism, who believes in the American dream."

Much of the film's enjoyment stems from the fact that Rocky Balboa's succeeding-against-all-odds story is neatly paralleled by the succeeding-against-all-odds story of Stallone himself. The actor had been living in a seedy Hollywood apartment with his wife, his savings having dwindled to \$106, when he wrote his script about the Italian Stallion. Producers Irwin Winkler and Robert Chartoff showed the script to United Artists, and the studio was sufficiently impressed to offer Stallone \$75,000 for the script—then \$125,000, then \$350,000—so they could make the film starring Ryan O'Neal, Robert Redford, James Caan, or one of the other superstars of the day. But Stallone wanted the role for himself and, realizing that the story was about having faith in yourself and going the distance, he declined the offers, even though he was about to be evicted from his apartment and his wife was pregnant with their first child. When he finally got the

chance to star in the film, it launched his career and went on to win the Academy Award for best picture of 1976, beating out such box-office and critical champs as *Network* and *All the President's Men*.

Early in 1975, before Rocky Balboa existed in anyone's imagination, Chuck Wepner was, to many boxing fans, a joke. Living in Bayonne, New Jersey, he sold liquor by day and boxed at night. The 35-year-old Wepner, who was ranked eighth by *Ring* magazine, had been nicknamed "the Bayonne Bleeder" because of the 300-plus stitches he had accumulated on his face, mostly around his eyes. He was an unlikely boxer to be facing "the Greatest," Muhammad Ali, in the ring, but Ali was just looking for an easy fight as a warm-up for his next major heavyweight title bout. The fight was such a joke that oddsmakers did not even put out a betting line. The week before the fight, a reporter asked Ali if he thought of Wepner as representing white America in their upcoming bout. Ali rolled his eyes and said, "White America wouldn't pick *him!*" Ali called Wepner a "cinch," and someone else suggested that if Wepner was ranked eighth, then a punching bag must have been seventh.

This champ-vs.-chump fight was a joke to everyone—except, of course, to Wepner himself, who spent the two months leading up to the fight in the Catskill Mountains with his trainer and manager, training constantly. On March 15, 1975, the spectators who gathered in the Coliseum outside Cleveland were expecting Wepner to last three rounds at most but, to everyone's amazement, Wepner hung in there round after round after round. At one point Ali's fist broke Wepner's nose. In Round 7, Ali opened a cut over Wepner's left eye, and reopened it in every round thereafter. Wepner's eye swelled shut to the point where he could no longer see Ali's powerful right jabs coming. But in Round 9, Wepner brought the crowd to its feet when he knocked Ali down with a roundabout right—only the fourth time in Ali's long illustrious career that he had been knocked down. When Wepner answered the bell beginning the 15th and final round, he became only the sixth Ali opponent to make it so far. Ali then slammed a powerful right into Wepner's bloody face, the barely conscious Wepner slumped against the ropes and, with 19 seconds remaining in the fight, the referee stopped the bout and awarded Ali a TKO (technical knock-out). Ali later said, "None of my fights was tougher than this one. There's not another human being in the world that can go 15 rounds like that." The spectators had been galvanized, not just in Cleveland but at pay-per-view venues across the country where the fight was carried on closed-circuit television. One of those spectators was Stallone, who had dipped into his \$106 in savings to watch the fight at the Wiltern Theater in Los Angeles. Stallone had gone because "there's something about sweating that inspires me to write," and he certainly got his money's worth. According to Stallone, "That night, Rocky Balboa was born."

Stallone nurtured the idea for three months before churning out the script in three and a half days. When he first brought up the script to possible investors, he was reluctant to do so because he considered it a rough draft with a number of problems. In this early version, Rocky's trainer, Mickey (played by Burgess Meredith in the film), was a racist, and opponent Apollo Creed (played by Carl Weathers) was much older. At the climax, when Rocky has Apollo on the ropes, Mickey's racism comes out in full force, and he screams at Rocky to kill his opponent. This angers Rocky, who then allows Apollo to land a punch so Rocky can take a dive, and Apollo wins. Rocky retires from fighting and uses his earnings from the fight to buy girlfriend Adrian (played by Talia Shire) a pet shop. During Stallone's next two drafts, he considered having Rocky win, but realized, not only would

this be unbelievable, it would turn Rocky from a common man into a superhero. Cannily, Stallone opted for the ending that was eventually filmed, with Rocky losing the fight but "going the distance." For Stallone, the film was not about winning, it was about courage; the opponent was not Apollo Creed, it was unrealized dreams and fear of failure.

Even though Stallone had refused United Artists' offer of \$350,000, Winkler and Chartoff still thought the film might get backing with Stallone as the star if they could come up with a low-enough budget. They finally trimmed the budget to an extremely modest \$1,750,000. United Artists executives felt even this was too high, considering the fact they were not sure if Stallone had sufficient charisma to be a leading man, or could be convincing as a boxer. They finally agreed to back the film if the budget were trimmed to an even million, with Chartoff and Winkler paying for any budget overruns. The producers then proceeded to slash salaries in exchange for a percentage of the profits, agreed to take nothing up front, told Stallone he would get only \$20,000 for his script and would have to act for union scale, found file footage of crowd scenes from actual fights to save having to hire extras, and scouted real locations to reduce the number of sets that had to be built. Stallone rewrote the scene where Rocky takes Adrian to a crowded skating rink for their first date, substituting a rink that is closed for Thanksgiving in order to save the cost of all those extras on skates. Director John G. Avildsen agreed to direct for half his usual \$100,000 fee in exchange for a percentage of the film. For the five months before the cameras rolled, Stallone and Weathers trained together, and Stallone spent every spare moment jogging on the beach, doing pushups, studying fight films, and working out at a gym with a former fight trainer. The film was shot in 28 days, and came in \$40,000 under budget.

The movie was a box-office and critical smash, with the public taking to heart this story of a Philadelphia lug who supplements his income as an enforcer for a loan shark but refuses to break thumbs, talks to his pet turtles Cuff and Link, trains at a slaughterhouse by pummeling sides of beef, and makes that triumphant run up the steps of the Philadelphia Art Museum. *Rocky* received ten Academy Award nominations, and Stallone's nominations for both best actor and best screenplay marked only the third time in Oscar history that someone had received both nominations for the same film, previous nominees being Charlie Chaplin and Orson Welles. The film won for best picture, best director, and best film editing. Following the movie, men flocked to gyms in order to bulk up, drinking raw eggs became a passing fad, and a wave of films flooded out of Hollywood copying the *Rocky* formula, notably *The Karate Kid* films directed by Avildsen, and the *Rocky* sequels. When the first *Rocky* premiered, Stallone said he was planning two sequels: in the first, Rocky would attend night school, enter politics and get elected mayor of Philadelphia; and in the second he would get framed by the political machine because of his honesty, get impeached, and return to the ring. But after the phenomenal success of *Rocky*, Stallone and the producers realized that a fortune could be made by, in effect, remaking the first film, but climaxing it with a Rocky-Apollo Creed championship fight with Rocky winning this time. Stallone directed *Rocky II* (1979) and all involved made fortunes, but the film was a far cry from the original. Stallone then directed *Rocky III* (1982) and *Rocky IV* (1985), and Avildsen returned to direct *Rocky V* (1990), with each generally worse than the one before. This sequel overkill may have tarnished the reputation of the original, though the original still holds up, retaining enough of a reputation to have been selected by the

American Film Institute as one of the 100 greatest films of the last 100 years.

—Bob Sullivan

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## Rocky and Bullwinkle

The 1990s saw a renaissance in American animation on television, as the phenomenal ratings success of *The Simpsons* prompted network executives to introduce a host of new cartoon series for adult audiences. But the irreverent humor and satirical eye of these post-modern programs owed a great debt to one of the pioneering shows of this genre, *Rocky and Bullwinkle*. The animated series about a moose and a squirrel aired from 1959 to 1964 on various networks, setting the standard for sophisticated cartoon whimsy.

"*Bullwinkle* was a magnificent marriage of concept, writing, performing, and direction," observed June Foray in 1991. Foray would know, having served as the voice of Rocket J. Squirrel since the cartoon's inception in 1959. A one-time radio performer, Foray was hired for the long-running gig by Jay Ward, a Harvard Business School graduate who created *Rocky and Bullwinkle* in the late 1950s. Ward, who had no background in writing or animation, relied on a staff of creative types led by writer and vocal stylist Bill Scott, who became the voice of Bullwinkle J. Moose. Others who worked on the show included Allan Burns, a talented comedy writer who would go on to help create *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* in the 1970s.

The program they created, originally titled *Rocky and His Friends*, followed the adventures of Bullwinkle J. Moose, a good-natured, if slightly dim, antlered mammal, and his resourceful cohort Rocky the Flying Squirrel. But this was no ordinary cutesy animal cartoon. *Bullwinkle* episodes were leavened with generous helpings of topical humor, including Cold War satire in the form of Boris and Natasha, dastardly spies from a nebulous Eastern Bloc nation called Pottsylvania. In a typical series plotline, Boris and Natasha attempt to sabotage the U.S. economy by counterfeiting America's most indispensable currency, the cereal box top. "Serial" became an operative term for the show itself, as the storylines carried over from week to week in the manner of old-time adventure movies.

There were additional segments of the program as well, including "The Adventures of Dudley Do-Right," about a stolid mountie; "Fractured Fairy Tales," a send-up of the Brothers Grimm and company; and "Mr. Peabody's Improbable History," which followed the exploits of a pedantic pooch who can travel back in time to great moments in the past. All the elements of the show incorporated the same dry humor, reliance on puns, and disdain for the "fourth wall" separating the characters from the audience. Thus unlike most cartoons, *Rocky and Bullwinkle* could keep the attention of both children and adults alike.

After concluding its original run of 156 episodes, *Rocky and Bullwinkle* appeared regularly in reruns until 1973. At that point, sophisticated animation sadly went out of style. The moose and squirrel popped up only sporadically in reruns on local stations for the next 18 years. But this long fallow period was only the prelude to a grand *Bullwinkle* renaissance.

In 1991, six video tapes of classic *Rocky and Bullwinkle* episodes were released. With the success of Fox's animated series *The Simpsons* fostering a renewed appreciation for edgy cartoon comedy, sales were brisk. Nostalgic baby boomers and their offspring gobbled up two million copies of the video cassettes in the first year of release. Even an ill-conceived 1992 live-action movie, *Boris and Natasha*, could not slow the moose's long march back to public favor. Cable television's Cartoon Network soon added *Rocky and Bullwinkle* to its lineup of cartoon classics, and it quickly became one of the channel's most watched shows among teenagers, a notoriously hard-to-please demographic. To capitalize further on the cartoon's retro hipness, a handsome commemorative volume, *The Rocky and Bullwinkle Book*, reached bookstore shelves in 1996.

But there was perhaps no greater indication of Rocky and Bullwinkle's return to the pinnacle of the pop culture pantheon than their reinstatement to the front lines of the annual Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade in New York City. The inflatable moose had disappeared from the parade after 1983, but in 1996 a new Bullwinkle balloon, redesigned with Rocky on his back, once again joined the likes of Bugs Bunny, Mighty Mouse, and Underdog. It seemed a fitting apotheosis for one of cartoondom's most beloved and influential figures.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## The Rocky Horror Picture Show

*The Rocky Horror Picture Show* was not the first midnight movie, but it is arguably the most well known. With its rebellious blend of "B" movie science fiction, horror, and a rock 'n' roll soundtrack, *Rocky Horror* celebrates sexual difference. Inspiring viewers with the catch phrase, "Don't dream it, be it!," *Rocky Horror* earned its cult status in part through its transgressive nature. Its fans are legion, and since the film's release in 1975, *Rocky Horror* has developed into a full-fledged cult that has spawned its own cottage industry of merchandise and memorabilia. *Rocky Horror* has become synonymous with participatory cinema, and its history as a midnight feature has helped to define what it meant to be a cult film in the late twentieth century.

*The Rocky Horror Picture Show* grew out of the fertile imagination of English actor Richard O'Brien, who wrote a rock musical titled *The Rocky Horror Show* over the course of six months in 1972. O'Brien's play combined his appreciation for "B" movies and his love of science fiction within a story set in the fictional town of Denton, Ohio. After attending the wedding of two friends, nerdy sweethearts Brad Majors and Janet Weiss are caught up in the moment and decide to get married. En route to the home of Brad's former college professor, Dr. Everett V. Scott, the couple is deterred



From left: Nell Campbell, Patricia Quinn, Tim Curry, and Richard O'Brien in a scene from the film *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*.

by inclement weather. Taking shelter in a roadside mansion, Brad and Janet encounter their host, Dr. Frank-N-Furter, a transvestite overseeing the annual convention of aliens from the planet Transylvania. Although Brad and Janet are less than charmed by the doctor, he insists that they remain in the mansion overnight in order to witness his ultimate scientific creation: the perfect male specimen. In the course of their stay, Brad and Janet both are seduced by Frank, and Janet in turn seduces the doctor's creation, Rocky Horror. Along the way the couple meets Riff Raff, the doctor's sidekick; his sister

Magenta; and a groupie named Columbia. The next morning, Brad's mentor comes to the mansion looking for his nephew Eddie, the former lover of Frank whose brain was used to create Rocky Horror and whose remains become the main dish in an elaborate last supper held at the mansion. In a grand finale, Frank is overthrown as overseer of the Transylvanians and Riff Raff and Magenta take over the group, blasting the mansion back to Transylvania and leaving Brad, Janet, and Dr. Scott to contemplate their experiences.

Premiering at a small theater in the Chelsea neighborhood of London in June 1973, *The Rocky Horror Show* was an instant success.



The popularity of the musical, which starred the charismatic performer Tim Curry as Frank, made it necessary to move the production to successively larger theaters throughout London. After seeing one of these performances in 1974, U.S. movie producer Lou Adler (*Monterey Pop*, *Brewster McCloud*) struck a deal with O'Brien and fellow *Rocky Horror* producer Michael White that allowed Adler to bring the stage show to Los Angeles and eventually turn the musical into a feature-length film produced by Twentieth Century-Fox.

After O'Brien's musical finished its ten-month run in Los Angeles, Curry returned with some of the other performers to London to shoot the film version at Bray Studios, the former home of the horror films made by Hammer Studios. The film, whose title was changed to *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*, was shot over the course of eight weeks by director Jim Sharman from a script co-written by Sharman and O'Brien. While some of the stage actors, like Curry and O'Brien (Riff Raff), reprised their roles in the film version, actors Susan Sarandon and Barry Bostwick were brought in to play Janet and Brad. Patricia Quinn played Magenta both on stage and in the film, and her wet, red lips provide *Rocky Horror* with its seductive opening sequence as she mouths the words to the song, "Science Fiction/Double Feature." As J. Hoberman and Jonathan Rosenbaum observe in *Midnight Movies*, this image of Quinn's salacious mouth lip-synching the lyrics sung on the accompanying soundtrack by O'Brien immediately introduces viewers to the tantalizing presence and overwhelming significance of bisexuality within *Rocky Horror*.

After a brief, unsuccessful run of the play on Broadway at the Belasco Theater, *Rocky Horror* the film previewed in California in the summer of 1975. Responses to preview screenings of the film were as negative as those leveled at the Broadway production, but Tim Deegan, the film's publicist, focused on the few viewers who were enthusiastic about the film and kept their responses in mind when promoting it. When it opened in Los Angeles in the early fall of 1975, *Rocky Horror* had little trouble filling the theater. Elsewhere in the country, however, the film did not fare as well. Inspired by the exhibition techniques used to promote George Romero's *Night of the Living Dead*, however, Deegan arranged to release the film in New York only at midnight and to keep it at the same theater for at least one month so the film could find its audience. As it turned out, word-of-mouth drew viewers to the theater, and the movie itself kept audiences coming back for repeat viewings—a defining characteristic of cult films.

Although it is difficult to pinpoint when audiences first began participating in the *Rocky Horror* experience, Hoberman and Rosenbaum suggest one of the earliest instances occurred in New York City in 1976, a few months after the film's release. Dubbed "counterpoint dialogue," this verbal interaction with the film began as a way to fill the awkward pauses between dialogue exchanges and to comment on the poorly written lines uttered by some of the characters. Soon, repeat audiences were staging their own "shows" before the film's midnight screening and during the screening as well. Scripts were written by *Rocky Horror* fans containing counterpoint dialogue for the entire film, and directions for dancing the Time Warp (a dance sequence that occurs in the film) were passed out to audiences—a technique that had its roots in the stage show's early days. Some fans began attending screenings dressed as the film's characters. Props were used as a kind of visual counterpoint to the film as well. During a screening of *Rocky Horror*, for instance, it is customary for audience members to throw rice at the screen during the wedding sequence. When Brad and Janet get caught in a storm, viewers open umbrellas in the theater or hold newspapers over their heads while other members of the audience fire water pistols into the

crowd. Newcomers to the *Rocky Horror* film are called virgins, and their initiation into the experience is gleefully overseen by veterans who have attended the screenings many times over.

The cult surrounding *Rocky Horror* has continued to grow since the film's release in late 1975. Movies like *Fame* (1980), which contains a sequence in which two characters attend a *Rocky Horror* screening, introduced mainstream audiences to a phenomenon that may have otherwise eluded them. During the 1980s in liberal arts classes throughout the country, scholars began to analyze and write about the cult of *Rocky Horror* and to discuss this cultural phenomenon in terms of religion, socialization, sexuality, and ritual. It is customary for the film to screen on college campuses, and this event serves as a kind of initiation into underground culture, sexual difference, and participatory cinema.

For some hard-core *Rocky Horror* fans, the film's acceptance into mainstream society contradicts the very essence of what *Rocky Horror* represents. With its emphasis on unbridled sexuality and transgressive behavior, *Rocky Horror* has been described by Hoberman and Rosenbaum as an "adolescent initiation" that rearticulates the sexual politics of the 1960s. Its release to home video in 1990 struck some as counterproductive since so much of one's enjoyment in the film comes from watching it with an audience. Nonetheless, the video release proved successful enough to spawn a laser disc version in 1992, and in 1996, to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the film's wide release, FoxVideo unveiled a deluxe, remastered edit of the film. On an alternate audio track, the counterpoint dialogue of two Los Angeles-based audiences of *Rocky Horror* regulars can be heard. The inclusion of this separate audio track, carefully selected from the scores of *Rocky Horror* fan communities in existence, acknowledges the significant role the audience plays in the experience and success of *Rocky Horror*.

In 1981 O'Brien and Sharman re-teamed to direct the sequel to *Rocky Horror*, titled *Shock Treatment*. In the film, Brad (played by Cliff De Young) and Janet (Jessica Harper) are still married but are dissatisfied with their lives and one another. Their hometown has become a large television station, and citizens are either participants or viewers. Although *Shock Treatment* did not fare as well as its predecessor and disappointed many *Rocky Horror* fans, its plot recapitulates *Rocky Horror's* original message, which encouraged viewers to lose their inhibitions and become participants rather than mere viewers of life even decades after its release. *Rocky Horror* continues to screen at midnight in theaters all around the globe and attract new generations of fans on a regular basis. The open text of *Rocky Horror's* narrative allows viewers from a variety of cultural backgrounds to appreciate its campy spectacle. The film's ability to be read by audiences as both transgressive and recuperative, argues Barry K. Grant, has contributed to *Rocky Horror's* longevity.

—Alison Macor

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## Roddenberry, Gene (1921-1991)

Gene Roddenberry was the creator of a genuine twentieth-century cultural phenomenon: the *Star Trek* television series. It aired for three seasons between 1966 and 1969 before its cancellation, but went on to thrive in syndication. By the end of the 1990s, the various *Star Trek* manifestations included four live-action television series, one animated television series, nine feature films, and countless novels, short stories, technical manuals, magazines and fanzines, comic books, fan conventions, and Internet sites. There is even a *Star Trek*-inspired “language”: Klingon. Though Roddenberry died in 1991, the utopian future he envisioned would continue to thrill millions of “Trekkies,” as fans are known, via print, television, and cinema.

Growing up in El Paso, Texas, as an isolated and sickly boy who sought temporary refuge from his unhappy circumstances in fantasy, Roddenberry discovered science fiction. Though he grew out of his youthful shell to embark on a varied and adventurous early career, he never lost his appreciation of the genre. After flying for the Army and

Pan Am, Roddenberry moved to Los Angeles to become a television writer in the 1950s. While working as a motorcycle policeman for the Los Angeles Police Department, he also wrote episodes for many respected TV series such as *Dr. Kildare*, *Highway Patrol*, and *Naked City*, and became head writer for *Have Gun Will Travel*. In 1962, he began writing one-hour pilots to sell as potential series, and was the producer of the short-lived show *The Lieutenant*. When it became clear that the series would not last longer than one season, Roddenberry turned to the science-fiction genre for his next project. Tired of the constraints and timidity of American commercial television, he believed that science fiction was a way to covertly address social issues that sponsors, and hence networks, would otherwise shy away from.

Pursuing this idea, Roddenberry wrote up a proposal for a series titled *Star Trek*, which, as every true fan knows, Roddenberry described as a kind of “*Wagon Train* to the stars.” He imagined a future in which a united Earth would work together with other alien worlds to create a Federation, which would then dispatch giant starships throughout the galaxy “to boldly go where no man has gone before.” The series would focus on the captain and crew of one starship (initially called “Yorktown” but later changed to “Enterprise”) during its five-year mission of exploration. To create limitless story potential, Roddenberry staffed his starship with hundreds of crew members; to save money, he also emphasized that the series would use standing sets and visit only “Class M” (Earth-like) planets. He submitted his proposal to MGM on March 11, 1964, and when they failed to respond, he took it to other Hollywood studios. Eventually, it was Desilu, financially strapped and looking for a hit series, that signed Roddenberry to a three-year deal. His next step was to find a network for the show. CBS turned him down, but NBC agreed to give him \$20,000 to write three stories, one of which would be chosen for development as a screenplay and pilot episode. Eventually, NBC chose “The Cage” (later changed to “The Menagerie”) as the pilot for *Star Trek*.

Filming on the pilot began on December 12, 1964, and lasted for 12 days. The pilot introduced the characters of Captain Christopher Pike (played by Jeffrey Hunter), the Vulcan officer Mr. Spock (Leonard Nimoy), and the female executive officer Number One (Majel Barrett, also the future Mrs. Roddenberry). The pilot cost \$686,000 to make because of post-production special effects and budget overruns, and was eventually rejected by NBC as “too cerebral” for the television audience. However, the network took the unprecedented step of requesting another, more action-oriented pilot from Roddenberry. The second pilot, titled “Where No Man Has Gone Before” and using a cast much different from the first but for Nimoy, was accepted. The series was scheduled to begin in the fall of 1966, and after personally supervising the show’s crucial first half-season, Roddenberry became executive producer. For the next three television seasons, the series regulars included Captain James Kirk (William Shatner), First Officer Mr. Spock (Leonard Nimoy, retained from the first pilot), Chief Medical Officer Leonard McCoy (DeForest Kelley), Chief Engineer Montgomery Scott (James Doohan), Helmsman Hikaru Sulu (George Takei), Communications Officer Uhuru (Nichelle Nichols), and Nurse Christine Chapel (Majel Barrett). Ensign Pavel Chekov (Walter Koenig) was added to the show in the second season. But ratings were low and NBC decided to cancel the next series. Halfway through that second season, Roddenberry capitalized on a tremendous outpouring of fan-mail support for the series’ renewal in order to convince network executives to continue the show. However, when the network decided to place *Star Trek* in a



Gene Roddenberry and friends.

late-night Friday time slot, which effectively meant killing the show's ratings once and for all, Roddenberry chose to distance himself from daily production, becoming executive producer again. At the end of the 1969 season, the series was canceled.

Although he began developing other television and movie projects, most of which failed, Roddenberry was very much aware of the extremely enthusiastic following that was growing up around *Star Trek* in syndication. Beginning in 1972, he began working the *Star Trek* convention circuit, asking the "Trekkers" to write and/or call Hollywood executives in support of reviving the series. Paramount Studios and Roddenberry worked together over a period of years to bring back *Star Trek* as, alternately, a made-for-TV movie, a series, and a low-budget theatrical movie, but none of the projects panned out. Finally, following the financial success of science fiction feature films such as *Star Wars* and *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (both 1977), Paramount green-lighted the project that reunited the principals from the television cast and became *Star Trek: The Motion Picture* in 1979. Roddenberry co-wrote the screenplay and served as the film's producer, the first and last time that he would have any direct control over the franchise's films. The finished product proved an expensive, effects-heavy disappointment, although it still earned over one hundred million dollars—enough to justify a sequel.

With the sequels, Roddenberry fought a bitter but futile battle over what he saw as ideas designed to damage the franchise. In particular, he objected to the death of Mr. Spock in the second film, the destruction of the "Enterprise" in the third, and the militaristic Federation of the sixth. Nonetheless, he continued as executive producer of the still lucrative films, and in 1987, he created a "spin-off" television series titled *Star Trek: The Next Generation*. The second series was set 75 years after the original and featured a fresh new crew, led by Patrick Stewart's cerebral Captain Jean-Luc Picard, and a larger and faster starship, the "Enterprise D." After a shaky start, the *The Next Generation*, with Roddenberry as executive producer, became a bona-fide hit during its third season and ran four more years until the cast graduated to their own feature films in 1994.

Roddenberry died of a heart attack shortly after attending a screening of *Star Trek VI: The Undiscovered Country* in late 1991, but the success of the *Next Generation* films and the syndicated *Star Trek: Deep Space Nine* and *Star Trek: Voyager* series retained its popular appeal and remained a testament to his vision and determination.

—Phil Simpson

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## Rodeo

Roping, riding, and bronco busting all form part of one of the oldest American spectator competitions, the rodeo. What began as a way for working cowboys to blow off steam has developed into a lucrative international skills competition replete with glitzy costumes, whooping audiences, and Broadway production values. Less violent than wrestling and even smellier than the circus, rodeo remains an enormously popular family entertainment option across the United States and Canada.

Traditionally, rodeo competition consists of eight events divided into two categories: rough stock and timed. In rough stock events, cowboys (or, in some instances, cowgirls) try to ride bucking horses or bulls for a specified length of time. The traditional rough stock events are bareback bronco riding (or "busting"), saddled bronco riding, and bull riding.

In timed events, contestants must complete a certain task, such as roping a steer, within a required number of seconds. The five traditional timed rodeo events are calf roping, steer wrestling, team roping, steer roping, and barrel racing. Customarily, female competitors take part only in barrel racing, a precision equestrian event that involves riding a horse in a cloverleaf pattern around an array of barrels. The advent of all-female rodeos, however, has resulted in the easing of this restriction.

The word rodeo derives from the Spanish word *rodear*, meaning to encircle or surround. Spanish settlers in sixteenth-century Mexico used the word rodeo to refer to a cattle round-up. It did not attain its present-day meaning—that of a skills competition devoted to round-up events—until the late nineteenth century. At that time, cowboys looked forward to the Fourth of July holiday (or "Cowboy Christmas" as it was also called) as an opportunity, not to grill up some burgers and set off some fireworks, but to ride through town roping steers and corralling them in the public square. Eventually, this activity was systematized into a form resembling today's organized rodeos.

A number of states, including Texas, Colorado, and Wyoming, take credit for being the birthplace of rodeo, though its true place of parentage is unclear. Cheyenne, Wyoming, was the scene of one of the first anarchic exhibitions, on Independence Day in 1872, when a band of cowboys thundered down its main drag on the backs of unruly steers. The next year, bronco busting was added to the mix, and thus began the diversification of activities that led to today's eight standard rodeo events.

Buffalo Bill Cody became one of the first impresarios of the rodeo during the 1880s. In 1883, Cody and others formed *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, a traveling show that toured the United States and parts of Europe. The show included a mock battle with Indians and a demonstration of Cody's shooting skill. In addition, cowboys competed for prizes in the arenas of roping, riding, and bronco busting, and there was always a show-stopping bull ride finale. Cody used the term "rodeo" to sell these extravaganzas to a fascinated public. Sometimes as many as a thousand cowboys participated.



A bull-riding cowboy at a rodeo in Wyoming.

By the 1890s, rodeos had proliferated throughout the cattle-raising regions of the American west. Over time, they spread to other areas of the country as well. Today, rodeos are held in many parts of the United States, Canada, and Australia. The sport's continuing popularity can be credited to its increasing concentration on entertainment value, as a one-time leisure pursuit for drunken cowboys metastasized into a multi-million dollar entertainment extravaganza.

Nowhere were the changes in rodeo more visible than in the contributions of its female participants. Though barred from competing in many of the events, women made significant contributions to the rodeo from its very beginnings. Female equestrian performers carved out a niche with their acrobatic feats, pleasing crowds with their ability to balance themselves on two horses as they traversed the arena. When allowed to take part in the more rough-and-tumble events, they invariably wowed spectators with their steer-roping and bronco-busting prowess.

Women achieved their most noticeable impact on rodeo, however, in the area of costuming. In the early days of motion pictures, many female rodeo performers found that winning rodeo championships was a surefire way to break into silent films, so they began wearing highly decorated outfits to attract the attention of talent scouts. Bright-colored leggings and red velvet skirts with embroidered hems eventually gave way to bold pants, silk blouses, and eye-catching

neckerchiefs. Rodeo fans became so enamored with these costumes that they soon demanded the men wear them also—to the chagrin of the blue jeaned and brown-shirted cowboys. Glitzy get-ups like the one worn by Robert Redford in the 1979 film *The Electric Horseman* became de rigeur for the rodeo set, giving the sport a raucous game-show quality that turned off some purists while winning many new adherents nationwide.

Over the decades, rodeo's "new adherents" turned up in some strange places. Prison rodeo was, for many years, a popular event in America's Southern penitentiaries, but in recent years it has been deemed cruel and unusual—or at least politically incorrect. The Angola Prison Rodeo, conducted annually at the Louisiana State Penitentiary in Angola, Louisiana, now stands as the only remaining competition of its kind. The official rodeo program promises "inmate cowboys flying off the backs of those bulls like corn in a popper."

With its incongruously festive atmosphere, the Angola Prison Rodeo features food booths and a fenced-in bazaar where inmates can sell their handicrafts. Many of the events are unique to Angola and only tangentially derived from rodeo. In fact, the activities of the Roman Coliseum may be a more apt antecedent. In one popular event, "Convict Poker," four inmates sit at a table in the center of the arena and a bull is released. A perverse game of chicken ensues, in which the convict who remains seated longest wins. The showstopper of

every prison rodeo is the “Guts and Glory Challenge,” in which an especially ferocious bull enters the ring with horns painted bright orange and a \$100 chit attached to the front of its head. A group of inmates (whose typical salary for prison work is four cents an hour) are then given three minutes to subdue the beast long enough to retrieve the chit.

Whatever their quarrels with the mainstream culture, the gay and lesbian community has not remained immune from the charm of rodeo either. The idea for a “gay rodeo” originated with Reno, Nevada, gay activist Phil Ragsdale in 1975. It was Ragsdale who decided that a rodeo for homosexuals might be a good way to raise money for the Muscular Dystrophy Association (MDA). At first, Ragsdale was not able to find any ranchers willing to lease livestock for the spectacle, but eventually the animals were procured and the rodeo went on as scheduled. Crowds were sparse the first year, but Ragsdale opted to keep it as an annual event. The extravaganza became known as the National Reno Gay Rodeo and raised thousands of dollars for MDA over the first decade of its existence.

In fact, gay rodeo became so popular that it eventually spread to other localities—and other countries as well. In 1985, the International Gay Rodeo Association (IGRA) was formed with the express intention of “fostering national and international amateur rodeo and other equestrian competition and related arts, crafts and activities which encourage the education on or preservation of Country/Western lifestyle heritage.” The group immediately ratified bylaws, approved events, and standardized rodeo rules, largely along the same lines as traditional rodeo. By 1999, the IGRA was comprised of 19 Member Associations representing 22 states, the District of Columbia, and two Canadian Provinces.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Rodgers and Hammerstein

The collaboration of composer Richard Rodgers (1902-1979) and lyricist/librettist Oscar Hammerstein II (1895-1960) began in 1943 with their landmark musical *Oklahoma!* Each man had already enjoyed a long and impressive career in musical theater. Hammerstein had worked with some of the most famous composers writing for

Broadway and Hollywood: Vincent Youmans, Rudolf Friml, Sigmund Romberg, George Gershwin, and, most notably for Hammerstein's own colleague, Jerome Kern, with whom Hammerstein wrote the stunning *Show Boat* in 1927 and whose music Rodgers greatly admired. By 1943, Rodgers had written nearly 30 shows with his previous partner Lorenz Hart (1895-1943), including musicals, film versions of musicals, and original film music. The Rodgers and Hammerstein partnership produced a series of critically and commercially acclaimed musicals, beginning with *Oklahoma!* and ending with *The Sound of Music* in 1959. Rodgers and Hammerstein also excelled in the business aspects of musical theater, establishing a music publishing company and producing the shows of other composers in addition to their own. However, it is their contribution to the evolution of musical theater—the genre's style and form—and the extraordinary number of highly touted shows they wrote together, that determines their unique place in musical theater history.

In the early 1940s Richard Rodgers reluctantly began to contemplate working with a new lyricist. The shows he had written with Lorenz Hart were popular and profitable, and had spawned many durable hit songs, but Hart's drinking problems, poor health, and erratic working habits had become difficult to overcome. Nevertheless, Rodgers wanted to continue the relationship with his close friend and creative partner of 25 years, and asked Hart to join him in a new project, turning Lynn Riggs' play *Green Grow the Lilacs* into a musical. Hart, who could write so compellingly about the darker sides of life, was not persuaded that this play provided good material for a musical and said no. Needful, therefore, of another collaborator for the new show, Rodgers turned to another old friend, Oscar Hammerstein II.

Hammerstein brought a wealth of experience and theatrical wisdom to the endeavor. He was the grandson of opera impresario Oscar Hammerstein I, and both his father, William, and his uncle, Arthur Hammerstein, worked in show business. The well-established lyricist/librettist Otto Harbach had been Hammerstein's mentor, and the two became full-fledged colleagues in 1920. Through the 1920s Hammerstein shared lyricist's responsibilities with Harbach for several important shows: *Wildflower* (music by Vincent Youmans, 1923); *Rose-Marie* (music by Rudolf Friml, 1924); *Sunny* (music by Jerome Kern, 1925); *Song of the Flame* (music by George Gershwin and Herbert Stothart, 1925); and *The Desert Song* (music by Sigmund Romberg, 1926). Then, in 1927, Hammerstein and Kern wrote what many historians consider their masterpiece: *Show Boat*. In this work Kern and Hammerstein took American themes and musical idioms and infused them with a dramatic coherence and intensity that changed the landscape of musical theater. Hammerstein's career seemed secure. He went on to write *The New Moon* with Romberg in 1928 and *Sweet Adeline* with Kern in 1929 but, surprisingly, the 1930s brought little of the recognition he had enjoyed in the 1920s. Although *Music in the Air* with Kern in 1932 was well received, other shows did not prosper—not even *Very Warm for May* with Kern in 1939, which included the much-recorded song “All the Things You Are.” Hammerstein had worked steadily through the 1930s writing and directing some productions, but by the 1940s, he needed a new challenge; that challenge appeared in the person of Richard Rodgers.

Rodgers had always been concerned with the integration of words and music, both the careful setting of text to music and the significance of the songs to the plot and character development of the whole work. When working with Lorenz Hart, Rodgers usually wrote the music first, then collaborated with Hart on the lyrics. Even though he and Hart would discuss the libretto and how the musical numbers



### Rodgers and Hammerstein

would fit, their songs could often easily and effectively be sung outside the context of the show. Many of these songs have become much-loved standards.

With Hammerstein, however, the creative process worked the opposite way around. Hammerstein often labored over the lyrics for weeks. Rodgers then took the lyricist's carefully polished words and quickly produced the appropriate music to support the text. Working with Hammerstein brought a change to Rodgers' musical style. The typical thirty-two-bar forms of Rodgers' earlier work became less predictable as the musical forms were altered to fit Hammerstein's lyrics, producing many songs which were so fundamental to the thrust of the show that they often carried plot or character development.

Their first show, *Oklahoma!*, already clearly demonstrated Rodgers and Hammerstein's commitment to integrating lyrics, libretto, and music. Its incorporation of dance into the story continued a current in Rodgers' work, which had first appeared in *On Your Toes*, written with Lorenz Hart in 1936 and choreographed by George Balanchine. The dances in *Oklahoma!* were choreographed by Agnes de Mille, whose ballet background imbued her work with a narrative quality. *Oklahoma!* opened during the dreadful years of World War II, on March 31, 1943, and ran for 2,212 performances. Several

elements coalesced to produce a hit like nothing Broadway had ever seen before: the story of frontier life and the Oklahoma land rush at the turn of the century was a perfect vehicle for Hammerstein's gift for fresh, simple poetry, while characters such as Ado Annie were treated with sympathetic humor; the musical was at once folksy ("Oh, What a Beautiful Morning"), romantic and charming ("The Surrey with the Fringe on Top"), yet with hints of dark undercurrents as represented by the character of Judd Fry; the muscular, popular-dance and ballet influenced choreography broke new ground; Rodgers' sensitive score was witty ("I'm Just a Gal Who Cain't Say No"), rambunctious ("Everything's up to Date in Kansas City"), and soaringly romantic ("People Will Say We're in Love") as the context demanded. *Oklahoma!* held the record as the longest-running musical in Broadway history until 1961. In 1944 the show won a special Pulitzer Prize for drama; touring companies presented it from October, 1943 until May, 1954, and revivals have been frequent. A film version appeared in 1955, and in 1993 the United States Postal Service issued a fiftieth-anniversary commemorative stamp.

Following the phenomenon of *Oklahoma!* Rodgers and Hammerstein continued to astound the musical theater world with a series of extraordinary shows. The first of these, *Carousel* (1945) was

hugely successful and proved that *Oklahoma!* had been no mere flash in the pan. Rodgers and Hammerstein dominated the Broadway scene for two further decades. *South Pacific* (1949) brought them a second Pulitzer Prize for Drama (awarded in 1950), and was followed by *The King and I* (1951) and *The Sound of Music* (1959). All enjoyed long runs, critical recognition, and commercial success, and all were made into popular films. The pre-eminent composer/lyricist position that the partnership held was ended with Hammerstein's death from cancer in 1960. Rodgers continued to compose, writing some of his own lyrics, but nothing in his later life equaled the sustained flood of musical and dramatic brilliance that he and Hammerstein had created together.

—Ann Sears

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## Rodgers and Hart

American composer Richard Rodgers (1902-1979) and lyricist/librettist Lorenz Hart (1895-1943) were one of America's most successful composer/lyricist teams in the golden age of American songwriting. Their works for the musical theater produced a cornucopia of lasting songs. From the beginning of a collaboration that began in 1925 and lasted until Lorenz Hart's death in 1943, Rodgers and Hart shared the goal of writing music for the theater that joined lyrics and music with dramatic and emotional coherence. By the time of their last work together, their experiments in musical theater had prepared the way for Rodgers's later great musicals with Oscar

Hammerstein II—works such as *Oklahoma!* (1943) and *Carousel* (1945), in which the interaction of lyrics, libretto, music, and dance reached a new level. Rodgers and Hart's best known shows are *The Boys from Syracuse* (1938), for which the songs "Falling in Love with Love" and "This Can't Be Love" were written, and *Pal Joey* (1940) which includes "Bewitched (Bothered, and Bewildered)," one of their most popular songs.

Both Rodgers and Hart were born in New York City, and both had evinced an early interest in music and theater. Rodgers studied at Columbia University from 1919 to 1921 and then, from 1921 to 1923, at the Institute of Musical Art, later known as the Juilliard School of Music. He began writing for amateur musical theater productions while still a student, and in 1918 he met Lorenz Hart, a Columbia student majoring in journalism. Rodgers and Hart shared an interest in a style of writing that would integrate words and music in an artistically successful manner. Rodgers's first published song, "Any Old Place with You," interpolated in *A Lonely Romeo* (1919), was a collaboration with Hart. They continued to work together until their 1925 success with *The Garrick Gaieties*, a revue which included the now classic and still immensely popular "Manhattan." By the time of their show *A Connecticut Yankee* in 1927, Rodgers was much in demand as a Broadway composer, and Hart was acknowledged as an accomplished lyricist whose only serious competitor was Ira Gershwin.

From 1926 to 1930 the pair produced 14 shows for both New York and London, along with individual songs for other productions. Following the Wall Street crash in 1929, financing for musical theater in New York became difficult to obtain; thus, like many other Broadway composers and lyricists, Rodgers and Hart turned to Hollywood. From 1930 to 1934 they wrote songs and background music for many films, and were memorably responsible for the score of the smash-hit *Love Me Tonight* (1932) for Maurice Chevalier and Jeanette MacDonald. In 1935 they returned to New York and unleashed a spate of new shows. One of the most notable of their new endeavors was *On Your Toes* in 1936, for which Rodgers wrote his first extensive orchestral music, the ballet score, "Slaughter on Tenth Avenue." This ballet was George Balanchine's first choreography for a book musical, and its importance to the plot presaged the significant "Dream Ballet" which would later be so important in *Oklahoma!* (1943). The string of Rodgers and Hart hits continued with *Babes in Arms* (1937) and *The Boys from Syracuse* (1938).

With *Pal Joey* in 1940, they departed from conventional musical theater practice and built the production around a much darker subject than Broadway was accustomed to contemplating. *Pal Joey* was based on John O'Hara's *New Yorker* stories about Joey Evans, an opportunistic, small-time entertainer. Joey gets a job at a nightclub where he begins a relationship with fellow entertainer Linda English, but when a wealthy older woman, Vera Simpson, notices him, he leaves Linda. Vera builds a glitzy nightclub, *Chez Joey*, for her lover, but soon tires of him, ultimately leaving Joey to move on to greener pastures. The best known song from *Pal Joey* is "Bewitched," a song whose suggestive lyrics were shocking at the time. The show introduced not only adult themes and provocative lyrics to Broadway, but addressed a segment of American life unfamiliar to musical audiences. Although *Pal Joey* ran for 374 performances following its opening on December 25, 1940, critics were ambivalent about it. However, the revival in 1952 and the 1957 film starring Frank Sinatra were more successful, assuring *Pal Joey* a secure place in the musical theater repertoire.



### Rodgers and Hart

In 1942 Rodgers and Hart wrote one final show together, *By Jupiter*, set, as was *The Boys from Syracuse*, in ancient Greece. Starring Ray Bolger, it ran for 427 performances, the longest run of any Rodgers and Hart Broadway collaboration. Rodgers attempted to interest Hart in one more project together, a musical adaptation of Lynn Riggs's play, *Green Grow the Lilacs*, but Hart was unenthusiastic about the suitability of the material and declined to participate. His refusal coincided with the escalation of difficulties—largely the consequence of Hart's futile and self-destructive battle with alcoholism and homosexuality—that had plagued the partnership for years, and the situation was now nearly impossible for Rodgers to cope with. Throughout their 25-year collaboration, Rodgers had usually composed the music first, then asked Hart to write the lyrics. This approach enabled Rodgers to work when Hart was available, while the music Rodgers had already written would stimulate Hart's interest. As Hart's health deteriorated, however, his ability to keep appointments, appear at rehearsals, or revise material also failed. He died only a few months after the show he turned down, *Green Grow the Lilacs*, opened under the new title *Oklahoma!* on March 31, 1943,

beginning an unprecedented run of 2,212 performances and a fruitful new partnership for Rodgers with Oscar Hammerstein II.

Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart created some of the most beloved of American songs for their shows, of which "My Funny Valentine," "The Lady Is a Tramp," "Blue Moon," "Mountain Greenery," and "With a Song in My Heart" are just five of many dozens. Written primarily in the 32-measure form popular with Tin Pan Alley's songsmiths, and not generally essential to character or plot development, they were easily excerpted from the shows in which they originally appeared to become standards, recorded time and time again over the years by top vocal artists. Their style combined Hart's witty lyrics, brilliant interior rhymes, and wry twists of meaning with Rodgers's expressive approach to harmony and his highly individual rhythmic choices. Even though Rodgers and Hart's shows are infrequently revived, the individual songs taken from them have become a cornerstone of the musical theater and popular song repertoire.

—Ann Sears



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## Rodgers, Jimmie (1897-1933)

Singer and musician Jimmie Rodgers, who rose to national fame through his recordings in the late 1920s and early 1930s, is profoundly connected to a uniquely American form of popular music—country. Since the 1950s, he has been known as the “father of country music” to musicians and fans alike, and his records have continued to sell decades after his death, solidifying a national and international following that was still alive in the 1990s. Rodgers’ unique amalgamation of folk blues, popular, and hillbilly music disseminated previously marginal, regional styles to national and international audiences, and he was one of the first nationally recognized musicians to feature and popularize the guitar in his recordings.

Considered a “popular” or “hillbilly” artist in his lifetime, Rodgers was officially canonized as the “father of country music” at a memorial celebration in Meridian, Mississippi, on the twentieth anniversary of his death in 1953. With some 30,000 people in attendance, his songs were played by Hank Snow, Ernest Tubbs, Webb Pierce, Bill Monroe, and Roy Acuff. In his lifetime, Rodgers’ songs were covered by jazz bands and orchestras, while Gene Autry, the “singing cowboy,” recorded 28 Rodgers songs between 1929 and 1937. Tribute songs were recorded after his death by Autry and by Bradley Kincaid and Dwight Butcher. They have also been recorded by the likes of Woody Guthrie, Merle Haggard, the Blasters, and Hank Snow. In 1961 Jimmie Rodgers, Hank Williams, and Fred Rose were the first inductees into the Country Music Association Hall of Fame.

Born James Charles Rodgers in Pine Springs, Mississippi, Rodgers spent his formative years in and around the city of Meridian. Drawn to music at an early age, he won an amateur singing contest when he was 12. At 13 Rodgers went to work on the railroad, where he picked up diverse musical styles, and traded songs with hobos, roustabouts, and rounders throughout the South and Southwest. However, he contracted tuberculosis in 1923, and the resultant health problems, coinciding with a decline in available work, forced Rodgers off the railroad in 1925. Over the next two years he worked a handful of odd jobs to sustain his wife and young daughter while concentrating on music. In 1927 he auditioned and recorded for

Victor in Bristol, Tennessee, in a session that was the first to capture the songs of the Carter Family, another foundational country act.

Although Rodgers was a uniquely radical figure in twentieth-century American popular music, his composition, lyrics, and life epitomize the prototypical country artist. His music featured African-American blues stylings, nasal vocals, and a Southern accent. His lyrics further emphasized his Southern roots, drawing as they did on his difficult life experiences and his travels as a brakeman on the railroad. Many of his songs used the bawdy double-entendres and sexual boasts that characterized African-American blues of the period. Rodgers was deft at rendering the sentimental (“The Mystery of Number Five”) as well as the blues (“In the Jailhouse Now”), and he did so with a simplicity and sincerity that touched the working-class audiences who were his biggest fans. His creative works mirrored his life most clearly when he sang about tuberculosis in such songs as “T.B. Blues” and “Whippin’ That Old T.B.” Although a national star on radio and records, he preferred to play live performances throughout small towns in the South and Southwest. Rodgers rubbed elbows with his fans whenever he had a chance.

While much of his music is an adaptation of the folk blues idiom, Rodgers’ work is eclectic and resists simple categorization. He recorded with artists as diverse as the Carter Family, Louis Armstrong, the Louisville Jug Band, and Lani McIntire’s Hawaiians during his short, six-year recording career. Traveling with the railroad, Rodgers was likely exposed to African-American folk blues, which he incorporated into his distinct style, and his interpretations of the blues often confused listeners about his race, leading one critic to characterize him as a “White Man Gone Black.” Rodgers was an early “crossover” artist who was heard and admired by African-American audiences and working- and middle-class whites alike. Unlike later white blues performers, Rodgers was respectful of the material, interpreting it, rather than imitating black singers; as music scholar Tony Russell noted in *Blacks, Whites, and Blues*, some African-American artists “may have even regarded him as an honorary Negro.” Most of Rodgers’s songs featured falsetto yodeling, which he termed “blue yodeling,” a characteristic that further distinguished him from other musicians during his career, and he was known as “The Singing Brakeman” and “America’s Blue Yodeler” during his lifetime.

Rodgers bridged the regional world of the nineteenth century and the modern, mass world of the twentieth. He worked in vaudeville and in blackface minstrel shows, performed on radio, recorded over 100 songs, and appeared in a movie short titled *The Singing Brakeman* in 1929. He played shows in conjunction with movies, headlined at the Earle Theater in Washington, D.C., toured with Will Rogers to raise money for victims of drought and the Depression, and played a plethora of small venues throughout the South. His best known songs include “Blue Yodel (T for Texas),” “T.B. Blues,” “Blue Yodel No. 9” (which features Louis Armstrong), and “Blue Yodel No. 8 (Muleskinner Blues).”

Although his health was progressively failing, Rodgers signed autographs, performed in country theaters, and continued to record until his untimely death at the age of 35. He recorded his last songs just two days before his death.

—Matthew A. Killmeier

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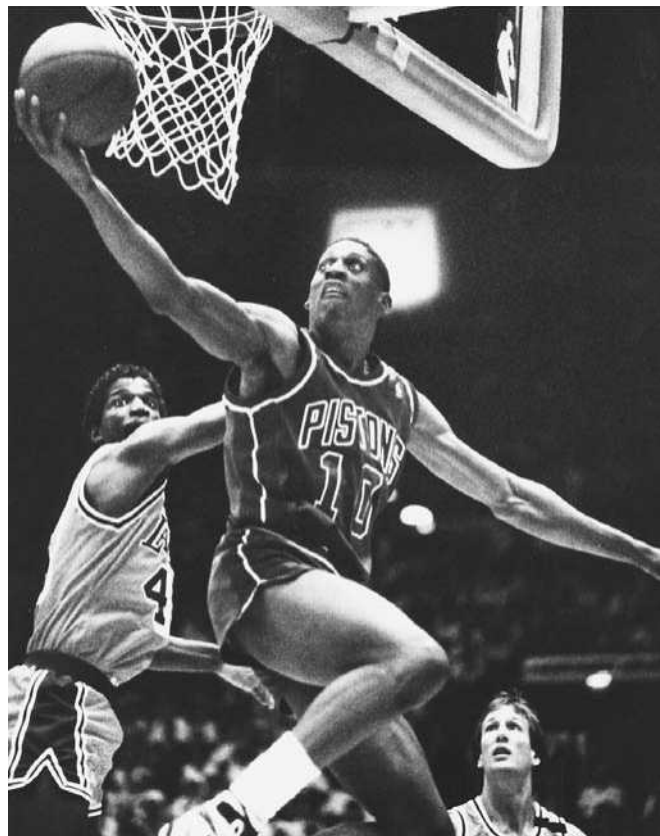
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## Rodgers, Richard

See Rodgers and Hammerstein; Rodgers and Hart

## Rodman, Dennis (1961—)

Dennis “The Worm” Rodman was born in Trenton, New Jersey, but grew up in Dallas’s infamous Oak Cliff housing projects. A gangly small child, Rodman lived in the shadows of his two extremely tall older sisters, both of whom were adept with a basketball. In his autobiography *Bad As I Wanna Be*, he describes feeling invisible and clumsy growing up. Everything changed in his late teens, however, when he grew by more than a foot. In his autobiography he announces, “It was like I had a new body that knew how to do



Dennis Rodman

all this shit the old one didn't.” At age twenty-one Rodman’s new body allowed him to transform himself from a nobody who stole wristwatches and worked the janitorial night shift at the local airport into a somebody who played basketball. After a junior college recruited Rodman to play in the late 1970s, he won a basketball scholarship to Southeastern Oklahoma University in 1983. By his mid-twenties he had made it into the NBA, first drafted by the Detroit Pistons (1986-1992), then later traded into the San Antonio Spurs (1993-1995). Finally, with a reputation as the league’s best rebounder (he won Defensive Player of the Year in the 1990-91 season) Rodman realized his ultimate dream: he was acquired by the Chicago Bulls in 1995 and became a World Champion again.

Although Rodman got off to a late start, he has risen to become one of the NBA’s top players, earning more than \$26 million in NBA salary and corporate endorsements a year. Rodman has also made himself an eccentric celebrity. He makes news headlines with stories of that cover his latest hot-tempered antics on the court (such as head-butting referees), his unlikely romances (including a date with Madonna and his impromptu Las Vegas marriage to actress Carmen Electra), his off-the-court cross-dressing style, and his ever changing hair color. Rodman is willing to try it all. He has penned two autobiographies (*Bad as I Wanna Be* has sold more than 800,000 copies) and has tried his hand at acting, co-starring with Jean-Claude Van Damme in the 1997 film *Double Team*.

—Frederick Luis Aldama

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## Rodríguez, Chi Chi (1935—)

One of golf’s all-time greats, Juan “Chi Chi” Rodríguez was the first Hispanic to become an international champion in golf. Born Juan Rodríguez in Río Piedras, Puerto Rico, on October 23, 1935 into an extremely impoverished family, Rodríguez found his way into golf as a caddy on the links that served Puerto Rico’s booming tourism. His is one of the most famous Hispanic “rags to riches through sports” tales, his career earnings having passed the \$3 million mark. Included among the important tournaments that he has won are the Denver Open (1963), the Lucky Strike International Open (1964), the Western Open (1964), the Dorado Pro-Am (1965), the Texas Open (1967), and the Tallahassee Open (1979). As a member of the Senior PGA (Professional Golfers’ Association) Tour, he won numerous tournaments, including the Silver Pages Classic (1987), the GTE Northwest Classic (1987), and the Sunwest Senior Classic (1990).

—Nicolás Kanellos



**Chi Chi Rodriguez**

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## ***Roe v. Wade***

In 1973 the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a decision in *Roe v. Wade* that would become arguably the most controversial decision of the twentieth century. Using the concept of privacy and the belief that individuals should be able to make important decisions about their own lives, the Court determined that only a pregnant woman and her medical care provider should be involved in a decision to end a pregnancy within the first three months. States were given the right to limit abortions at any time thereafter. The decision resulted in battle lines being formed, and Pro-Choice and Pro-Life advocates, as they came to be known, engaged in a decades-long struggle to control the reproductive rights of American women.

Before *Roe v. Wade*, only four states and Washington, D.C., provided easy access to abortion. All other states limited access to some degree. Public opinion on abortion shifted, however, when an epidemic of German measles and the exposure of U.S. women to the European tranquilizer Thalidomide resulted in a large number of babies born with serious birth defects. Because abortion access was limited, only those who could afford to travel to one of these states or to a foreign country were allowed the privilege of ending an unwanted or unhealthy pregnancy. Many pregnant women and health care professionals believed that access to safe abortions should be a right and not a privilege and challenged the right of states to restrict access to abortions by trained medical personnel. Desperate women who could not afford to travel often self-aborted or trusted themselves to back-alley abortionists. Both practices frequently led to later health problems, sterility or even death.

Ten years before the decision in *Roe v. Wade* the women's movement had gained momentum with the 1963 publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*. The birth of this "second wave" of feminism led to a greater awareness of the rights of women. Gaining control of their reproductive rights became a significant way of allowing women to take an equal place in American society. It was argued that women should not be made to become mothers against their will, and the medical community and many churches went on record as supporting the right to choose.

The chief players in this landmark decision were a poor pregnant woman, two young inexperienced lawyers, and a Supreme Court justice with a background in medical law. Norma McCorvey, the pregnant woman who became known as "Jane Roe," claimed that she had been raped by a carnival worker in Augusta, Georgia. She later recanted her story. When McCorvey returned to her home state of Texas and attempted to obtain an abortion, she was told that it was impossible. She was sent to two young lawyers, Sara Weddington and Linda Coffee, who were looking for a pregnant woman willing to serve as a test case to challenge restrictive abortion laws. By the time the case was heard before the Supreme Court, McCorvey had given birth to a baby that was put up for adoption. Weddington presented her first case when she argued before the Supreme Court for the right of "Jane Roe," representing all pregnant women, to determine when and if they gave birth. Coffee continued to consult but took a lesser role as the case progressed through legal channels. Although she was inexperienced, Weddington was a thorough researcher and a quick learner. When it was suggested that she shift her chief argument from equal protection to the right to privacy, she did so. Harry Blackmun, a conservative Republican member of the Supreme Court, was assigned to write the Court's majority opinion in *Roe v. Wade*. Blackmun devised the trimester system based on available medical information tracing the development of the fetus. He became a lifelong proponent of a woman's right to control her reproductive life and remained true to his convictions even when the Supreme Court shifted to the right.

From its inception, *Roe v. Wade* incited strong emotions among both its supporters and detractors. Feminists lauded the control it gave to women, and the religious right began a battle to overturn it that would last for decades. Even though Congress had managed to limit the right of poor women to obtain abortions with its passage of the Hyde Amendment in 1976, the Court stood solidly behind the decision. It was the presidency of Ronald Reagan in 1980 that revived the Pro-Life movement. Throughout the 1980s, political candidates turned their views on abortion into campaign slogans. One's position on this issue became the litmus test for entry onto the federal judiciary, including the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1989,

the Court backed away from its position in *Roe* but did not overturn it. *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* gave control over access to abortion to individual states and resulted in a number of restrictive abortion laws, such as those passed in Louisiana and Guam.

Given the mood of the conservative Reagan/Bush Court, scholars, political activists, and the legal community all predicted that the Supreme Court would overturn *Roe v. Wade* with the 1992 case *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey*. Then Supreme Court justice Thurgood Marshall went so far as to write a dissenting vote that only became public after his death. Contrarily, in that election year the Supreme Court reaffirmed their position in *Roe v. Wade* but upheld restrictions such as informed consent and mandatory waiting periods. They rejected the requirement that married women had to notify their husbands before obtaining an abortion. Once the right to choose was upheld by the conservative court, the focus shifted to the violent attacks on doctors and clinics that performed abortions. After a 1993 decision that, in effect, protected the attackers, the Supreme Court again shifted position and in 1994 allowed severe punishment and fines to serve as a deterrent to the continued attacks on abortion clinics and providers.

The battle between Pro-Choice and Pro-Life supporters is based on core values for both groups. Pro-choice advocates believe that women have the right to control when and if they become mothers and argue that a fetus is not a person in the letter of the law. Pro-Life proponents, on the other hand, insist that a fetus is a person and that its rights should supersede those of the mother. Even though *Roe v. Wade* continues to protect the right to choose, there is little likelihood of ending the controversy that surrounds it.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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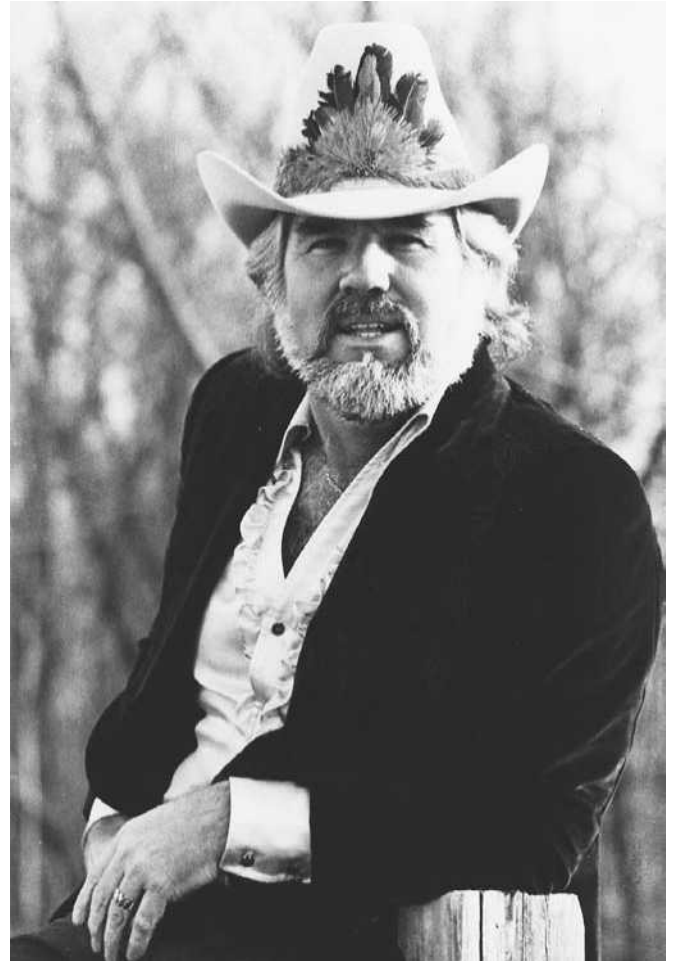
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## Rogers, Kenny (1938—)

Born in Texas in 1938 and raised in one of the state's poorest Federal Housing projects, the country singer Kenny Rogers grew up to become one of the most recognizable celebrities in the United States. Although variously a television and film actor, photographer, author, and fast food entrepreneur, it is for his music that he has secured a place in popular American culture.

Rogers began his first career, music, in the 1950s when he joined a singing group called the Scholars, who had local hits. He made his first national television appearance in 1958, when a solo hit on a local label, Carlton Records, became popular enough to land him an *American Bandstand* slot. In the late 1950s, he played bass in a jazz combo called the Bobby Doyle Three, and made one record with them before being given a solo contract with Mercury. The arrangement



Kenny Rogers

proved short-lived and commercially fruitless, and when Mercury failed to renew his contract, Rogers joined the folk-pop group the New Christy Minstrels and stayed with them for a year. Together with other members of the group, Rogers left to form the New Edition, with whom he made his first significant national splash. The New Edition performed a mixed bag of styles, but they scored a top ten hit for Reprise in 1968 with the psychedelic "Just Dropped in (To See What Condition My Condition Was In)." They also had success with Mel Tillis's "Ruby Don't Take Your Love to Town," as well as "Reuben James," in which Rogers' country tendencies were becoming apparent. The group parlayed this and a few other minor hits into a prime-time television show in 1972. Rogers left the group in 1974, and the Edition broke up shortly after.

In 1975, Rogers signed with United Artists, and released a number of records, achieving his first major number one smash-hit with "Lucille" in 1977. It was also a big crossover success, peaking at number five on the pop charts. Thus began a run of massive crossover hits, including "The Gambler" in 1978, a song that spawned a series of made-for-television movies starring the singer. In the late 1970s, Rogers teamed up with Dottie West for a series of successful duets, beginning a run of pairings in the early 1980s with such major female stars as Sheena Easton, Kim Carnes, and, memorably, Dolly Parton, with whom he duetted to a number-one smash with

the Bee Gees' "Islands in the Stream." He also had a hit with Lionel Richie's "Lady," further blurring the lines between country and pop. Crossover successes like those enjoyed by Rogers and a handful of other artists changed the course of the country music industry. Country artists were no longer satisfied to succeed solely in the country charts, and they began producing music with a sonic quality appropriate for Top 40 radio. The twangy steel guitars and fiddles of the Grand Ole Opry were widely forsaken in favor of the lush "Nashville" sound as pop success became both desirable and attainable.

In 1983, Rogers signed with RCA records, and though he had several number-one country hits, his crossover appeal was starting to wane. When his contract came up for renewal in 1988, RCA opted out. Though he was no longer as looming a presence on the radio charts, he did appear in several television shows and continued to tour. He invested in the new country music mecca of Branson, Missouri, the Ozark Mountain resort where many older country stars built theaters in which to perform regularly; he also became involved in charity work and published two well-received books of his own photography. He diversified further into the fast food business, lending his name to the Kenny Rogers Roasters franchise, which expanded to hundreds of outlets countrywide.

In 1996, Rogers twice moved into a new spot on the cultural radar. In January that year, his album *Vote For Love* was the first release on "onQ" records, owned by the QVC cable shopping station. It was, of course, marketed exclusively through QVC, and sold over 100,000 copies in its first month of release. Then, in November, the television comedy *Seinfeld* produced a classic episode revolving around Kenny Rogers Roasters. This multi-faceted man has continued to release records almost yearly, but outside of his devoted fan base, they have not made much impact. However, through all of his entertainment and business exploits, he has remained a high-profile figure in the landscape of popular culture.

—Joyce Linehan

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## Rogers, Roy (1912-1998)

Roy Rogers, with his horse, Trigger, came to prominence in the late 1930s and early 1940s, following closely in the footsteps of singing cowboy Gene Autry. Rogers' rise to stardom transformed the "singing cowboy" from an isolated phenomenon to a recognized movie genre, and his popular success, added to Autry's, brought screen stardom in turn to Tex Ritter, Jimmy Wakely, Monte Hale, Johnny Mack Brown, and others. None of them attained the iconic status of Rogers or Autry, but all of them contributed to the mythology of the straight-shooting, clean-living hero who is also sensitive enough, in a folksy, regular-guy sort of way, to pick up a guitar and sing a song or two. The singing cowboy movie was—at least in retrospect—a natural phenomenon for the 1930s. The old West was only a generation or so removed from movie audiences, and the cowboy films or "B" Westerns (as opposed to the weightier Western as conceived by John Ford) spoke to the public's sense of nostalgia. Then, too, the arrival of sound in the cinema created a demand for music and singing, which dovetailed neatly with the Rogers-style



Roy Rogers (right) with Dale Evans.

Westerns, set in an increasingly stylized world not unlike the fanciful Ruritanian villages of light opera, which created a perfect backdrop for good-looking, guitar-playing, singing heroes.

Unlike Gene Autry, Rogers didn't have a western background, but he did come from a rural environment. Born Leonard Slye in Cincinnati, Ohio, he moved to California with his father, a migrant laborer, and worked as a fruit picker and truck driver, as well as singing with a variety of country groups. In the California of the 1930s, country music was influenced by Hollywood pop and by Western Swing, and Rogers (then using the name Dick Weston) was in groups with names like Uncle Tom Murray's Hollywood Hillbillies, the International Cowboys, and the O-Bar-O Cowboys. In 1934, with Bob Nolan and Tim Spencer, he formed a group called the Pioneer Trio which, shortly after, changed its name to the Sons of the Pioneers. The Sons of the Pioneers was a harmony trio, more influenced by barbershop and contemporary jazz-flavored pop groups like the Modernaires than by any country music, but they had a unique sound and, in Nolan, the advantage of a brilliant songwriter ("Tumbling Tumbleweeds," "Cool Water"). They became an important influence on the country and western music that followed them. Rogers, in fact, is the only person to have been inducted into the Country Music Hall of Fame twice—once as a solo performer, and once as a member of the Sons of the Pioneers.

Rogers broke into movies in the mid-1930s, playing bit parts in Westerns, first for Columbia Pictures and then for Republic, Autry's studio and the leading purveyor of "B" Westerns. His first starring role was in *Under Western Stars* (1938), and for the next five years, he and Autry shared stardom at Republic, with Autry still considered the

screen's "King of the Cowboys." When Autry went into the Air Force during World War II, Republic threw all the weight of its publicity machine behind Rogers, and his career really took off. From 1943 through 1954, he was listed by a theater owners' poll as the top Western star in Hollywood.

In a genre characterized by stylization, Rogers was perhaps the most stylized of all, as evidenced in his colorful and distinctive outfits, designed by Nudie of Hollywood. Other cowboys had been associated with horses, from Tom Mix (Tony) to Autry (Champion), but no other cowboy had a horse as colorful and identifiable as Rogers's palomino, Trigger, billed as "the smartest horse in movies." Other cowboys had sidekicks, but none quite as colorful as Rogers's Gabby Hayes. Rogers inherited Autry's title of King of the Cowboys, and his wife, Dale Evans, whom he married in 1947, was dubbed the Queen of the West.

Rogers became a symbol of an idealized America in the spirit and style of Norman Rockwell's paintings. He represented the normality that Americans were seeking in the aftermath of the war years but, eventually, his films proved too tame for later postwar audiences. His on-screen romances, generally with Evans, were shy and chaste, and his action sequences had a low violence quotient; he would shoot the gun out of the bad guy's hand, toss away his own, and subdue the baddie in a rousing but fair fist fight. To a generation that had seen the horrors of war, this was at first reassuring, then tame and corny, and Rogers' popularity waned, along with that of the "B" Western.

A shrewd businessman, Rogers took his talents to television, aiming his initial show at younger audiences whose parents, the cowboy's former fans, enthusiastically encouraged their children to enjoy the innocent myths that Rogers perpetrated. *The Roy Rogers Show* debuted in 1951 and continued with first-run episodes until 1957, retaining the familiar style of Rogers' big-screen image. It was all there: Roy and Dale on their ranch, the Double R Bar; sidekick Pat Brady (formerly with the Sons of the Pioneers, replacing Gabby Hayes); wonder horse Trigger and faithful dog Bullet; Dale's horse Buttermilk and Brady's jeep Nellybelle. The show's theme song, "Happy Trails" (by Evans, a skilled songwriter), remains a national catchphrase. Rogers' popularity through the 1950s was international, and of his over 200 fan clubs the one in London, with over 50,000 members, was estimated to be the biggest such club for any performer, anywhere on earth.

In 1962, Rogers and his wife co-hosted a variety program, *The Roy Rogers and Dale Evans Show*, but most of his time since the late 1950s was given over to building a substantial business empire that included ownership of a TV company, interests in thoroughbred horses, real estate, and rodeo, and his well-known Roy Rogers fast food chain. In 1967, he opened the Roy Rogers museum in Apple Valley, California. The most noteworthy display, among other Rogers memorabilia, was Trigger himself, stuffed and mounted in a rearing posture.

During the 1980s and 1990s, Rogers made a singing comeback, recording solo and as a duet performer with Clint Black and others. Some said it was a publicity move to advertise his restaurant chains by reviving his image for a generation that didn't know who he was. Whether or not this was so, his legacy remained strong, with even Bruce Willis's character in *Die Hard* (1988), for example, invoking Roy Rogers as his ideal of courage and decent values.

—Tad Richards

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## Rogers, Will (1879-1935)

Humorist Will Rogers' impact upon American culture was great and lasting. He made himself into the archetypal American Everyman, apparently baffled and out-smarted by the machinations of politicians and tycoons, but in reality always managing to get the better of them through the shrewd and timely use of common sense and self-effacing humor. Some 35 years before Mort Sahl based his nightclub act on satirical observations of government officials, writer-actor-humorist Rogers told a joint session of Congress, "It's a pleasure to be here in Washington with all these other comedians. The only thing is, when *you* make a joke, it's a law! And when you make a law, it's a joke." But Rogers was not so much a pioneer in the realm of political humor as he was an utterly unique character, whose wry and seemingly naive comments on U.S. politics and society were so integral a part of his public persona that no entertainer could have modeled his act on Rogers' without being dismissed as a mere imitator. When Rogers, a lifelong Democrat ("No, I'm not a member of an organized political party—I'm a Democrat") was introduced to Republican President Calvin Coolidge, he held out his hand and cocked his head to one side. "Pardon," he said, "Didn't catch the name." It was the only occasion during Coolidge's presidency when he was observed to smile.

Born William Penn Adair Rogers on November 4, 1879, on a ranch between Claremore and Oologah, in Oklahoma (then known as the Indian Nation), he became an expert rider and roper at a very early age. Both of Rogers' parents were part Cherokee, and when a reporter asked him if any of his ancestors had come over on the *Mayflower*, he replied, "No, my ancestors met the boat." He received a very light formal education, admitting only to two years at Kemper Military Academy in Booneville, Missouri ("One year in the guardhouse and one in the fourth grade"). He left school for good in 1898 to become a cowboy in the Texas Panhandle, from there drifted to Argentina, and eventually joined Texas Jack's Wild West Circus with a rope-trick act, making his first public appearance in Johannesburg, South Africa, during the Boer War (1899-1902).

When Rogers returned to the United States, he continued with his roping act, playing at county fairs and in vaudeville. Twirling his lariat, making fantastic shapes in the air, he would tell stories and jokes and began to introduce topical humor into his act. As his popularity increased, the humor became more and more important, and by the time his act reached the New York stage in 1905, the rope tricks had become props and punctuation for the jokes. Branching into musical comedy, he had his first taste of real fame: a starring role in the *Ziegfeld Follies* of 1916. His standard lead-in line, "All I know is what I read in the papers," became something of a signature and a

ubiquitous watchword in the 1920s. The zenith of his New York stage career came in 1934 when he appeared in Eugene O'Neill's only comedy, *Ah, Wilderness!*, and he made his film debut in 1918. It wasn't until the advent of sound, however, that he became a popular box-office attraction, starring in such memorable John Ford features as *Judge Priest* (1934) and *Steamboat 'round the Bend* (1935). Meanwhile, he had begun a successful parallel career as a writer, at first of humorous books (*The Cowboy Philosopher on Prohibition*, *The Illiterate Digest*) and, from 1926 onwards, as a syndicated columnist. He also conquered the new medium of radio as a commentator, and had all of America laughing when he announced, "I don't know jokes; I just watch the government and report the facts." All of his brilliant gifts were tragically silenced in 1935 when, flying in Alaska with the noted aviator Wiley Post, the plane crashed and both men were killed.

Will Rogers left other political humorists with very little to do, and the field lay mostly fallow until the late 1950s when Mort Sahl revived political humor. Sahl did so from a very different point of view, commenting that "Will Rogers's act was that he was a country

bumpkin up against clever sophisticates, whereas my situation is just the reverse."

—Gerald Carpenter

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## Rolle, Esther (1920-1998)

Emmy award-winning Esther Rolle is best remembered as Florida Evans, the strong matriarch of the hit CBS television series *Good Times* (1974-1979). *Good Times* was a spinoff of Norman Lear's *Maude*, in which Rolle played Florida from 1972-1974. Florida was a feisty sarcastic black maid employed by Bea Arthur's loud, white, middle-aged liberal Maude Findlay. On *Good Times*, Florida was the female head of a lower class family of five in the Chicago projects. At Rolle's insistence, hoping to present positive role models to black Americans, the family was not fatherless. Rolle left the series in 1977 reportedly feeling the storylines involving Jimmie Walker, who played her oldest son, were reinforcing negative stereotypes. Promised changes, she returned in 1978, but ratings had slipped and the show was canceled. Rolle won three NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) Image awards throughout her career. She also appeared in numerous feature films. Ironically, she frequently played a maid.

—Joyce Linehan

## Roller Coasters

Most everyone can remember the first time they rode a roller coaster, and how it felt. People either love to ride roller coasters or do not, but very few are indifferent to the bone-rattling structures that have become a popular pastime worldwide, ever since the first one—"Flying Mountains," developed in Russia in the fifteenth century—introduced the combination of fear and amusement. The engineering technology of roller coasters defies nature by allowing human beings to be catapulted at varying speeds every which way. There were approximately 475 operating roller coasters in North America as of 1998, all competing in speed, architecture, and inventiveness. The progress of engineering has enabled coasters to travel backward or around inverted loops at alarming speeds (most average in the mid-60-miles-per-hour range), while riders can sometimes stand, be in the dark, or sit in chairlift-style trains with tracks that run along the top, while strapped tightly into their seats. Whether they are steel or wooden, the names bestowed upon roller coasters are always given careful thought, their purpose being to evoke a really good and scary ride (Colossus, Fireball, Cyclone, and the Superman are some examples). As of 1999, there were 13 roller coaster clubs and organizations formed by people who share a similar enthusiasm and spend much of their leisure time engaging in lengthy critiques of coasters all over the world. There are even front- and backseat enthusiasts who argue over which seat will elicit the most surprises and offer the best ride.

The physics are relatively simple: roller coasters are powered by gravity (and operated by computers). As the train is pulled up the hill, "potential energy" is built up and then converted into "kinetic energy" once it begins its descent. Positive gravitational forces ("g-forces") press riders into their seats at the bottom of a dip, whereas



Esther Rolle

"negative g's" create a temporary sense of weightlessness that is pleasurable for some and nauseating for others. During the ride, people experience a communal thrill of traveling at extreme speeds and heights while being in the open air.

Part of the fun of roller coasters is that they are scary, and there is a perverse delight people feel in being afraid, especially when they are (relatively) sure that nothing can go wrong. Some roller coasters have speed to offer (the best usually surpass 70 miles per hour), or the height of dips (225 feet, for example), or the frequency of the dips during a ride (a coaster in Texas boasts 20 additional drops, after the first one, which descends 137 feet). Most trains travel slowly up the track at the ride's beginning to allow the coaster to gain speed during its first plunge that will sustain it for the duration of the ride, but also to build up the anticipation of riders as to what lies ahead (most likely the highest of many drops, loops, or speed). But some blast off instantly, gaining awesome speed in a short amount of time (one popular roller coaster accelerates from 0 to 100 in just 7 seconds). Sometimes the real adventure, though, lies in a roller coaster's stature or age. A creaky, old wooden coaster, without fancy safety mechanisms, can hint at an impending derailment, as well as offer a truly jostling, loud ride.





The Cyclatron roller coaster at Rockaway's Playland in Queens, New York.

The famous, rickety Cyclone in Coney Island, New York, helped to popularize the roller coaster in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century. Coaster mythology has it that a mute man once rode it and spoke his very first words after riding it: "I feel sick." Even in the 1990s, the coaster still continues to frighten riders who can never be sure if and when it will fall apart. In 1927, a nurse was stationed next to the Cyclone in Crystal Beach, Ontario, just as a precaution, because of its 90-foot drop and hairpin turns. The Zippin Pippin in Libertyland, Memphis, was singer Elvis Presley's favorite amusement park ride. Apparently, the King once rode it nonstop for hours when he rented out the park one night in 1977, just eight days before he died.

There is always an element of uncertainty in riding these man-made machines, and roller coasters have had their share of widely publicized mishaps. Oftentimes the computers that run them fail. Cars have smashed into each other, safety lap bars have suddenly popped open during a ride, and trains have become uncoupled while climbing hills. In turn, riders have been thrown out of trains and suffered other injuries that—combined with the speed, twists, and turns of roller coasters—can be very serious, if not fatal. An extensive study by the Associated Press found that the roller coaster industry was one in which blunders and bad judgment can abound. There is constant competition for companies to design faster, bigger, and more awe-some rides, in which riders often serve as guinea pigs, testing the rides' safety when they first open. "It's hard sometimes on paper to anticipate those forces," said Robert Johnson, executive director of the Outdoor Amusement Business Association, a carnival trade group. "People aren't built the same. Some people can withstand

forces differently than others. Any major new ride, it's a trial ride. A prototype. The first year is a trial year." There is a certain degree of misbehaving that goes on in parks with patrons (holding up their hands during a ride, for example), and that coupled with the fact that the industry is one of the least regulated and monitored in the country (there are no federal guidelines for the degree of gravitational forces that people can be subjected to), can produce more risks. But the knowledge that an occasional, injurious accident can occur does not stop enthusiasts from waiting in long lines to ride roller coasters.

—Sharon Yablon

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## Roller Derby

Roller Derby is a team sport of fast, furious, and often violent action that first appeared in the mid-1930s. The games take place on a banked oval track, where two squads of five men or five women—the sexes do not usually compete against each other—skate around the track, with each team sending out "jammers" in front of the pack. Points are scored when jammers lap an opponent. Like rugby or football, other players act as "blockers" clearing the way for the jammer.

Long-distance bicycle races and marathon dances inspired the original game, invented in 1935 by Leo Seltzer. The objective was to make 57,000 laps around the track, a distance of 4,000 miles. While at that time it was a true athletic contest, it was also quite boring for the spectators because matches would last for hours on end. Similar to the development of professional wrestling, it was when Roller Derby introduced violent contact and shorter matches, and began developing personality players, that its popularity boomed. Legend has it that writer Damon Runyon, after witnessing a fight between two women skaters, suggested that Seltzer turn Roller Derby into something akin to pro wrestling on skates. Like pro wrestling, it is not an authentic competitive sport since the games, fights, and all action are "worked." The participants are heroes and villains, acting out feuds and grudges that pro wrestling fans might find familiar. The most popular skaters were not necessarily the best athletes, but rather the most charismatic characters, dramatic performers, and captivating interview subjects.

The mix of speed and mayhem, coupled with cheap production costs, was perfect for early television, and Roller Derby was the most popular show on ABC during the network's infancy.

The popularity of the sport was such that in 1949 the playoffs of the National Roller Derby League sold out New York's Madison Square Garden for a week. A large part of the Roller Derby audience has always been women, in part because the Roller Derby was almost the only sports activity prior to the 1970s where female athletes could be seen on television. In addition, the Roller Derby integrated very early and many of the skaters were black or Hispanic, among them Ronnie Robinson, son of boxing great Sugar Ray Robinson.

In 1950, Leo Seltzer's son Jerry took over the Roller Derby and moved the base of operations to southern California, then to northern California in 1958. The home team Bay Area Bombers achieved the most success. With stars like Charlie O'Connell, Ann Calvello, and "The Blonde Bomber" Joanie Weston, the Bombers dominated the sport and Weston was the star of the show. She was, according to sports writer Frank Deford, "not only the best skater, but she clearly looks the part as well. With her bleached blonde pigtailed flowing out from beneath her shiny black pivot helmet, Joanie appeared like a brave Viking queen in full battle regalia." With huge local shows, which often outdrew those of the expanding Oakland Raiders football team in the early 1960s, the popularity of Roller Derby remained strong. The sport spread to more cities and to other countries, and had ten full-time teams at its peak of popularity. Yet, in 1973, only two years after drawing a record 35,000 people to the Oakland Coliseum, Jerry Seltzer folded the league, selling out to a rival organization based out of Los Angeles called Rollergames. Rollergames was even more outlandish than Roller Derby and featured more professional wrestling gimmicks such as death matches. The Rollergame league's Los Angeles T-Birds, which once featured a huge woman skater with the number 747, was the most dominant team until Rollergames folded in 1975.

Like its cousin, professional wrestling, Roller Derby is considered a trash sport. But fewer people have admitted to watching it than actually do. Eventually, the popularity of Roller Derby found its way into mainstream popular culture. The film *Kansas City Bomber* (1972) featured Raquel Welch as a Roller Derby queen; *Rollerball* (1975) starred James Caan and was a futuristic parable set in a society where an ultra-violent Roller Derby-like sport is used to give anti-social feelings an emotional outlet, thus becoming the most popular mass pastime. In 1978, the TV show *Roller Girls*, centered on the fictional Pittsburgh Pitts Roller Derby team, lasted for less than ten episodes. Numerous attempts at comebacks have been equally unsuccessful. The International Roller Derby League was formed in 1979, but appeared only in the Bay Area and, in 1986, a souped-up version of Rollergames that included "a wall of death" appeared on ESPN. It lasted less than a season.

The most recent revival took place in 1998 and looked to have a chance at success with Jerry Seltzer, as President of the World Skating League, again at the helm. The WSL put together six teams to produce *Roller Jams* for the Nashville Network. While the concept remained the same, the packaging was much different. Rather than roller skates, skaters in the new league donned roller-blades and tight-fitting latex uniforms, and special effects and rock music were introduced to accompany the event. The late 1990s sport was faster and sexier than ever before, and Seltzer expressed the belief that the resurgence of pro wrestling in the 1990s, coupled with the wide attraction of roller-blading, would put Roller Derby back on top for the twenty-first century.

The other inspiration for the new look Roller Derby was Joanie Weston. Even after the Roller Derby folded, Weston kept skating, training new talent, and holding exhibitions in the Bay Area in an attempt to revive the sport. When she died suddenly in 1997, Roller Derby was thrust back into the news. After reading Weston's obituary, TV executive Stephen Land was "inspired to get together with TNN and make Weston's dream come true." Weston has lived on through ESPN's Classic Sports Network show, *Roller Super Stars*, which features old tapes of the golden years of the "blonde bomber" and her teammates.

—Patrick Jones

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## Rolling Stone

Almost two years before the *Saturday Evening Post*—"America's magazine"—first folded in 1969, a small magazine named *Rolling Stone* began in a San Francisco print shop. With the look of an underground newspaper, *Rolling Stone* targeted a young readership that was attuned to the counterculture. Whereas the *Post* conveyed a consensus within American culture, *Rolling Stone* had more in common with *Playboy's* approach as the embodiment of a particular lifestyle. At its height, *Rolling Stone's* cover became an icon in itself—for many, it served as a cultural barometer. At different points in its history, the biweekly had been regarded as a daring anti-establishment voice, or a slick mainstream media product. The magazine's one main constant was its music coverage. *Rolling Stone* deemed rock musicians and their music to be newsworthy, which helped to legitimize one of the key elements of 1960s' oppositional culture. The inception of *Rolling Stone* marked the changes in U.S. culture following the 1960s: one such change held that the personal—one's lifestyle, even the kind of music one listened to—is political.

Jann Wenner, editor and publisher, was a 21-year-old dropout from Berkeley when he began *Rolling Stone* with only \$7500 in borrowed capital. "*Rolling Stone* is not just about music," wrote Wenner in the inaugural issue, "but also about the things and attitudes that the music embraces." The magazine's name was taken from a song, by blues legend Muddy Waters, that borrowed its title from an old proverb: "A rolling stone gathers no moss." *Rolling Stone's* look—newsprint on a quarterfold format—was of an underground newspaper, although that was the furthest thing from Wenner's mind. The intention from the beginning was to make the magazine look as professional as possible, with column rules and Times Roman type. Wenner, who derisively referred to "the hippie press," wanted to be as legitimate as *Time* magazine. Despite Wenner's efforts, outsiders saw *Rolling Stone* as part of the underground press, a perception that lasted into the 1970s.

The magazine took its slogan, "All the News That Fits," from the *New York Times'* "All the News That's Fit to Print"—it was a facetious swipe and a description of the limitless space allotted to *Rolling Stone's* writers. The magazine's focus on music as a newsworthy topic distinguished it from any other publication before it. Its

interviews with musicians (later to include actors, politicians, and other celebrities) went beyond the fan magazine's interest in personal likes and dislikes, and probed the creative processes behind the music instead. One of the magazine's early record critics, Greil Marcus, declared in Robert Anson's *Gone Crazy and Back Again*: "I am no more capable of mulling over Elvis without thinking of Herman Melville, than I am of reading Jonathan Edwards without putting on Robert Johnson's records as background music."

After barely getting off the ground—the first issue had a press run of 40,000 copies where all but 6000 of them were returned—the magazine had a circulation of 325,000 by 1974, a figure that reached 1.25 million in 1998. Along the way, the magazine dropped its quarterfold format for a regular tabloid style and four color. In 1974, 16 percent of its readership was over 25 with a median age of 21. By the end of the 1990s, its original audience was older and more like yuppies. Once a necessity to young Americans, the 1990s *Rolling Stone* faced heavy competition from other music magazines and MTV.

Wenner, dubbed the "hip capitalist" by journalist Robert Draper, once offered the early subscription incentive of a free roach clip (to hold marijuana joints). Hip promotion aside, the magazine's steadily gaining reputation for publishing "some remarkably good reportage," as the *New York Times* was forced to admit in 1973, was what gave *Rolling Stone* its foothold. Wenner's magazine thrived on reporting the cultural events of the late 1960s for which it seemed best suited. While mainstream newspapers condemned the tribal goings-on at the Woodstock festival, *Rolling Stone* reported that the festival crowd temporarily constituted New York State's third-largest city and successfully policed itself. When 1969's Altamont festival self-destructed into violence, *Rolling Stone* weighed in with the headline, "Let It Bleed," and assigned blame to anyone even remotely involved with the festival. Its hard-hitting reporting of Altamont was in sharp contrast to the establishment press that lazily reported facts and figures: how long the traffic jam was, and the estimated crowd, all the while giving no impression of the orgy of violence that ensued there.

Somehow, the optimistic possibilities, ahead of the magazine in the late 1960s, dissipated as it entered the 1970s. The shootings at Kent State in 1970 provoked many on the staff to steer the magazine towards more political coverage. Wenner fought off the revolt and insisted the magazine remain focused on music, which resulted in several resignations. This was problematic because rock music also limped into the 1970s. Many of rock's new legends—like Jimi Hendrix, Jim Morrison, and Janis Joplin—were either dead, or else they were defunct like the Beatles. As rock critic Jon Landau expressed it, as quoted from a 1974 *New York Times* book review: "Bob Dylan has lost much of his impact . . . the end of the Beatles as a group is now irreversible . . . there are no longer any superhumans to focus on."

Enter Hunter Thompson, the iconoclastic writer who became a celebrity through the magazine's pages. Thompson, the "Gonzo Journalist," practiced a bombastic style of writing that pushed aside objectivity, and forced the writer into the stories he covered. Thompson was a cultural outlaw: open about his drug abuse and alcohol consumption, his prose could be gifted in its insights on one page and babbling nonsense on the next. The writer who once wrote that President Richard Nixon had "the integrity of a hyena and the style of a poison toad," managed to find himself, during the 1968 campaign, with the president in Nixon's limousine, where they talked about football. It was the kind of inconceivable situation that endeared Thompson to *Rolling Stone's* readers. Issues that carried Thompson's installments of his infamous book, *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*,

sold out quickly. Soon Thompson was covering the 1972 presidential election for the magazine, which was beginning to display a unique ability to transfer rock-and-roll panache to more sober pursuits, like literature and politics.

*Rolling Stone* quietly became a literate magazine that happened to cover music. More influential celebrities were granting lengthy interviews, like the ones that had been popularized in *Playboy*. The magazine's literary credentials were further established by the appearance of authors Tom Wolfe and Truman Capote; Richard Goodwin, former speechwriter for John F. Kennedy, helped to give it political cachet. It won the 1970 National Magazine Award for its pieces on Altamont and Charles Manson. Now recognized for challenging its readers' assumptions, *Rolling Stone* had the envious ability to cover stories in ways that major newspapers couldn't, or wouldn't.

*Rolling Stone's* breakthrough followed in 1975, after being contacted by a San Francisco attorney who claimed he provided refuge for fugitive Patty Hearst, the kidnapped newspaper-chain heiress. "The Inside Story," as the article was titled, scooped the major media outlets on what was an intensely followed story. It was widely recognized that *Rolling Stone's* Patty Hearst story was the biggest journalistic event since the *New York Times* printed the Pentagon Papers five years before.

Perhaps the magazine's toughest critics were its readers and its staff; every decision, from the changes in format, to the kind of advertising *Rolling Stone* accepted, was subjected to active debate. According to Draper, it was simply that "Rolling Stone's staffers wanted nothing so much as to set a good example for their peers. When they did not, their readers cried 'sellout'—a charge that perhaps no other magazine had ever yet faced." After *Rolling Stone's* move to New York in 1977, the magazine's culture was altered. Bit by bit, the look and content steered towards more market-driven concerns—Wenner was eager to shake the magazine's hippie image in pursuit of mainstream success. The fragmented music scene and the aging readership helped to underscore the editorial drift that ensued. The magazine, once a haven for writers escaping the establishment press, was put in the unusual position of watching its writers defect to the mainstream press.

"Few things sound less glamorous," proclaimed Louis Menand in a 1991 *New Republic* piece, "than 'the counterculture'—a term many people are likely to associate with Charles Manson." *Rolling Stone's* constituency had changed. Faced with competition from other music magazines, like *Spin* (alternative music) and *Vibe* (hip-hop/rap), the 1990s presented the challenge of a young audience who could get their music news without having to read *Rolling Stone*. The magazine responded by increasing its content towards fashion and technology. Out of touch with even its core topic, *Rolling Stone* gave covers to major 1980s rock acts like U2 and Talking Heads behind *Time* and *Newsweek*. "Yet this was where the magazine found itself at the close of the eighties," Draper's book concluded: "respected but no longer relied upon, a force among other forces—an institution, surely, and like many such institutions, disregarded."

—Daryl Umberger

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## The Rolling Stones

While the Beatles and other exponents of "the British Invasion" served an updated version of rock 'n' roll to the United States, the Rolling Stones emerged in 1963-1964 as the most prominent of the British acts who brought the Afro-American musical form of blues to a young, white American audience. The group was at the peak of their musical and cultural significance at the end of the 1960s, when their violent lyrics and brooding blues-rock seemed to reflect the potentially cataclysmic clefs in American society. After the early 1970s, the Rolling Stones made very few musically or politically radical records, but their famous 1960s songs continue to resound.



The Rolling Stones

Mick Jagger and Keith Richards attended the same primary school in Dartford, England, during the late 1940s, but lost touch until a legendary reunion at Dartford railway station in 1961, when Richards' interest was piqued by Jagger's selection of Chuck Berry records. Jagger and Richards soon began to play with slide guitar afficiando Brian Jones. The trio recruited jazz drummer Charlie Watts and bassist Bill Wyman, Jones naming the fledgling group the Rollin' Stones after a Muddy Waters song. In April 1962, aspiring pop-group manager Andrew Oldham saw the Stones at the Crawdaddy club in Richmond, London. Oldham later reminisced: "I knew what I was looking at. It was sex."

Oldham negotiated the Stones' contract with Decca Records in early 1963. The group's earliest recorded songs were a compromise between expurgated rhythm and blues (R&B), and pop ballads intended to exploit the popularity of the Beatles. In early 1964, however, Oldham began to promote the Rolling Stones as the antithesis of the "Fab Four," ordering the band to abandon their "Beatle boots" and leather waistcoats and to accentuate the slovenly, surly sexuality which he had seen have such an effect on audiences at their early Crawdaddy gigs. Oldham's propaganda included planting newspaper headlines such as "WOULD YOU LET YOUR DAUGHTER GO WITH A ROLLING STONE?" When the Stones' arrived for their first tour of the United States in June 1964, American newspapers fulminated that the "New Beatles" were a disgrace compared to the adorable, mop-topped originals. Old-school crooner and compeer Dean Martin made sneering references to the Stones' long hair during their appearance on *Hollywood Palace*. But hip American youths embraced the Stones, not least because the Beatles had been coopted by their parents, and, as Lillian Roxon later noted, "No one had ever seen a white man move on stage the way Jagger moved."

The Rolling Stones' commercial appeal to young Americans was confirmed when the single "(I Can't Get No) Satisfaction," a sexually aggressive anthem of disillusion with society, reached number one in June 1965. A run of similarly incendiary hit singles followed, before the 1967 albums *Between the Buttons* and *Their Satanic Majesties Request*, a disastrous foray into fay Anglocentric psychedelia, revealed the extent to which the Stones had neglected their R&B influences during their immersion in the "Swinging London" scene. Nevertheless, the Stones remained notorious during the "Summer of Love." Jagger and Richards were busted for possession of drugs at the latter's English country home, and the June 1967 court case was a very public microcosm of the clash between traditional moral strictures and the liberalized youth culture burgeoning on both sides of the Atlantic.

In May 1968, "Jumpin' Jack Flash" was released, instigating an astonishing period during which the Stones harnessed sinister and salacious lyrics to an intense, rootsy sound. Their finest album, *Beggars Banquet*, released in late 1968, featured "Streetfighting Man," on which Jagger pondered his position as a figurehead for an imminent revolution, and "Sympathy for the Devil," an ironical ode to their own demonic image which incorporated a topical reference to the murder of Bobby Kennedy. In June 1969, Brian Jones was sacked and replaced by young blues virtuoso Mick Taylor. The following month, Jones drowned in his swimming pool. On *Let It Bleed* (1969), the Stones extended their devilish disquisition on violence in contemporary society on such songs as "Midnight Rambler" and "Gimme Shelter" ("Rape, murder, it's just a shot away"). In December 1969, the Stones headlined a free festival, organized in the spirit of Woodstock, at Altamont speedway in California. Hells' Angels,

fuelled by liquor and LSD, murdered a young black teenager while the Stones performed. In hindsight, "Gimme Shelter" (also the title of the Maysles brothers' brilliant tour film, which concluded with the horror of Altamont), seemed to have anticipated the nihilistic death knell of 1960s idealism.

*Sticky Fingers* (1971) was a prime piece of Americana featuring "Brown Sugar," a typically scurrilous account of sex and slavery in Dixie. Though criticized at the time, *Exile on Main Street* (1972) has since been recognized as the influential apogee of the Rolling Stones' relationship with the American musical forms of country, blues, and soul. They adapted to the glam era with what Philip Norman called the "mid-1970s high camp" of "It's Only Rock'n'Roll (But I Like It)." The song's title, however, was telling: creating musically innovative and culturally representative music was no longer the Rolling Stones' top priority. Jagger would later admit that after 1972 the group became "complacent." Instead, the Stones became, along with Led Zeppelin, the archetypal early 1970s rock 'n' roll circus, a touring cavalcade of sexual, chemical, and egotistical excess. On *Some Girls* (1978), the band was somewhat reinvigorated by the influence and challenge of disco and punk, but the "Glimmer Twins" were now more media celebrities than musicians: Jagger revelling in his jet-set, high-society lifestyle, Richards' renowned for his decline into heroin addiction.

The group effectively split between 1986 and 1989 due to antagonism between Jagger and Richards. Wyman belatedly emerged as a target of tabloid opprobrium over his relationship with 13-year-old Mandy Smith. During the 1990s, Jagger and Richards made millions from commercials: their seminal mid-1960s attack on consumerism was adapted to promote the "Satisfaction" provided by a particular chocolate bar, while the 1981 hit "Start Me Up" provided appropriate lyrics for the launch of Microsoft's Windows 95 computer program. The reunited Stones, minus the retired Wyman, continued to undertake extravagant world tours into the late 1990s, during which a bewildering variety of official Stones merchandise was sold. Appropriately, Andy Warhol's lapping-tongue logo had become the massively reproduced signifier of the Rolling Stones' commodifiable cultural endurance.

—Martyn Bone

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## Romance Novels

"Mind candy" critics declare, adamant about the intellect-eroding properties of romance novels which account for half of all mass-market paperback sales. The phenomenal sales seem only to intensify the attacks of those who object to the simplistic plots and flat characters of the novels. Some see these attacks as a chauvinistic



Romance novelist Danielle Steele.

refusal to take seriously this popular literature, written and edited largely by women for a mostly female audience. But many of the genre's sternest critics are other women who condemn romance novels as dangerously passive texts that encourage readers to find in the fictional world consolation for the fulfillment that a patriarchal culture denies them.

The very term "romance novel" is used pejoratively, and the image of romance readers as bored and boring housewives who live vicariously through the fantastic experiences of incredible characters persists even in the face of evidence that refutes the stereotype. Janice Radway's *Reading the Romance* suggests that women's reasons for reading romance are complex. But even a defender like Radway appears ambivalent about the romance genre. Her limited sample reinforces the idea that romance readers are mostly housewives who lead limited lives, and in her introduction to the 1991 edition of her study, Radway makes clear that she sees romance readers as distinctly "other" women from whom she and her peers are separated "by class, occupation, and race."

Romance novels have always been frowned upon by champions of high culture who value fiction for its originality and see formulaic romance novels as sentimental trash. More than a century ago, Marianne Evans called them "silly novels by lady novelists," distinguishing between this species of sub-literature and her own, more serious fiction, published under the pseudonym George Eliot. Across the Atlantic, Nathaniel Hawthorne complained bitterly of "that damned lot of scribbling women" whose novels outsold his own work. Despite the contempt with which denizens of "real literature" view the novels, the romance formula can claim roots deep in Western literary tradition. Mikhail Bakhtin's description of classical Greek romances (a male and female of marriageable age experience a mutual, passionate attraction, encounter obstacles that threaten their union, overcome the obstacles and consummate their love within marriage) could as easily describe the latest romance to roll off Harlequin's presses.

Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* has been called the greatest romantic novel of English literature. It, along with Austen's other novels, is entrenched in the literary canon, yet readers of romance novels claim Austen as one of their own. *Pride and Prejudice* was the only pre-twentieth-century work that online fans included in a 1998 list of the top 100 romance novels. While Austen would no doubt be shocked by the frank sexuality of many twentieth-century romantic heroines, she would recognize the sensible, independent women and the arrogant males they humble as descendants of Elizabeth and Darcy. The characters of Emily and Charlotte Brontë also serve as inspiration for romance writers: Heathcliff, the dark and dangerous spirit who serves as hero and villain of the monumental *Wuthering Heights*; Jane Eyre, the plain heroine who wins with courage and integrity; and Rochester, the maimed hero who learns that true love conquers all are stock characters in romance novels.

While the romance novel can claim legitimate kinship with works that have earned established places in the Western literary canon, the most direct precursor of popular romance novels is the "domestic novel" of the nineteenth century. Susan Warner's *The Wide, Wide World* (1851) defined the term "bestseller," and Maria Cummins' *The Lamplighter* (1854) was nearly as popular. These novels focused on the trials of a young heroine, often an orphan, who struggled to survive and cherished her independence, but who ultimately married and surrendered her autonomy. These "scribbling women" recognized that most women could find economic security only within marriage. Yet if marriage offered the young heroine salvation from economic deprivation, her love offered the hero salvation from an emotionally and spiritually barren life. In Augusta Jane Evans' *St. Elmo* (1867), beloved by generations of readers, the beautiful, virtuous Edna Earl capitulates to St. Elmo Murray, the Byronic hero complete with "piercing eyes" and "savage sneer," only after his reformation from hardened cynic to tender lover and Christian minister.

Writers like the prolific Grace Livingston Hill continued this pattern of mutual redemption into the twentieth century. During a career that spanned five decades, Hill produced more than 100 novels, all a retelling of the same story. *White Orchids* is typical: Jeffrey Wainwright, son of a millionaire, falls captive to Camilla Chrystie's beauty and virtue, and discovers in her Christian faith all that is lacking in his own empty life. By the 1920s, however, Hill's strict religious tales were the exception. Women's magazines were enjoying enormous success; periodicals with a circulation of 128,621,000 per issue were flooding U.S. households. Three of the top five consistently brought romance stories with predictable characters and plot and the requisite happy ending. *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Woman's Home Companion*, and *Pictorial Review* published serialized novels by Kathleen Norris, Faith Baldwin, and other romance novelists. These pre-World War II romances, still formulaic in many ways, had a new heroine, the "New Woman," eager for career success and unwilling to surrender her right to self-expression. These new novels extended the range of romance to reflect the wider experiences available to women in the twentieth century. Meanwhile, Georgette Heyer, only 19 when she wrote her first novel *The Black Moth*, was proving herself a worthy successor to Jane Austen and founding a sub-genre of the romance novel, the regency. Heyer's heroines in *The Grand Sophy* (1950) and *Frederica* (1965) are managing females who put Austen's Emma to shame, and Leonie, the French urchin of *These Old Shades* (1926), prefers masculine clothing and manages her own escape from abductors.

Heyer, Baldwin, and dozens of others continued to write what by the end of the twentieth century would be labeled "gentle romances" to distinguish their novels from the sexually explicit romances of the post-1960s. In Great Britain, Mills and Boon, a name synonymous with the romance novel, was publishing books that were little more than modernizations of the nineteenth-century sentimental novels: an 18-year-old heroine saved from genteel poverty by an older, incredibly wealthy hero who raises her to the heights of luxury as she brings him to his knees in an acknowledgment of love's power. In 1949, Harlequin Enterprises, a Canadian company, began publishing Mills and Boon reprints for a North American audience. The venture was so successful that in 1957 Harlequin suspended publication of other category fiction to focus exclusively on Mills and Boon romances. About the same time, another sub-genre of romance was also experiencing a revival. Phyllis Whitney's *Thunder Heights* and Victoria Holt's *Mistress of Mellyn*, both published in 1960, sold over a million copies, and by the end of the 1970s, gothic romances (35 titles monthly) were outselling every other form of category fiction. But an unsolicited manuscript was about to change the romance scene to an unprecedented degree.

In 1972, Avon published *The Flame and the Flower*, a slush pile find by then unknown Kathleen Woodiwiss. This historical romance, more than twice the length of the average gothic, featured conventional elements of popular romance—mature hero; young, virginal heroine; orphan in peril; forced marriage—but it also introduced explicit sex as part of the formula. Woodiwiss doubtless owed part of her success to timing; greater openness about female sexuality characterized the larger culture of the 1970s. However, Woodiwiss and those who followed her were able to incorporate this new openness within the conventional frame of a monogamous relationship that culminated in marriage. A generation of romance readers and writers date their love affair with the genre from their reading of a Woodiwiss novel.

But the "bodice rippers" had their detractors too. Vehement in their criticism were the feminists who deplored the rape scenes standard in the Woodiwiss-influenced historical romance novels. Some saw such scenes as fodder for those who claimed women wanted to be raped. Others saw the scenes as reflecting a culture in which violence against women was commonplace. But readers, as Radway found, drew a sharp distinction between the hero's passion for the irresistible heroine that led to "forcible persuasion" and "true rape" which brutally dehumanized a woman. More than a decade after Radway's study, Karen Mitchell found that readers glossed over the rape scenes, in effect rewriting the scenes. Romance writers themselves argue that readers are capable of distinguishing between fiction and reality and that these attacks are mere prejudice against romance novels. Jayne Ann Krentz, a Romance Writers of America Lifetime Achievement Award winner and an outspoken defender of the genre, points out that female predators who seduce passive males have long been a feature of male detective fiction with no public outcry. Daphne Clair, an award-winning New Zealand writer, adds that no critic has accused consumers of thrillers and Westerns of being masochists because protagonists in these categories are routinely beaten, tortured, and shot. The controversy was never resolved, but rape scenarios became rarer by the early the 1980s, and the damsel with the ripped bodice, although still around, was replaced by the bare-chested, fantastically muscled hero as the cover model. Eventually, the age of Fabio (the best known of the cover boys) also ended, and the clinches retreated to inside covers.

While detractors and defenders were debating the violence in the new historical romances, readers just kept buying the books, and they

were buying not only historical romances. Harlequin Enterprises merged with Mills and Boon in 1971 and began marketing contemporary romances in new outlets. Suddenly romance was everywhere. Women could buy romance novels in supermarkets, variety stores, airports, and drugstores. Harlequin was promoting books like soap powder, and the approach was working. By the end of the decade, Harlequin sales had increased 800 percent, and the company was distributing 168 million copies of its titles in 98 countries. By the end of the century, one in six mass paperbacks sold in North America was published by Harlequin.

Other publishing companies, eager to duplicate Harlequin's success, rushed into romance publishing. Dell, Fawcett, Warner, and Bantam introduced their own romance lines, but Harlequin's stiffest competition came from Simon and Schuster's Silhouette romances. Sexier romances were outselling the traditional, and series with provocative names like *Candlelight Ecstasy*, *Harlequin Temptation*, and *Silhouette Desire* appeared. Harlequin author Anne Mather shattered one barrier in series romance when the heroine of a 1980 novel engaged in premarital sex, but later romance novels were influenced by the explicit sexuality of the historical romances. Promiscuity was unacceptable, and the relationships were love affairs that led to marriage, but graphic descriptions of love scenes became common in the "sensual romances."

By 1984, "the romance wars" were over. A year later Harlequin purchased Silhouette, and only Bantam's Loveswept line, which promoted author over product, challenged Harlequin's absolute rule over series romance fiction. Romance novels had also become subjects of interest for mainstream publications as diverse as *Time*, *Forbes*, and *Psychology Today*. Scholars too were examining this phenomenally popular category fiction, but most significant were the changes in the novels themselves, changes that accelerated in the next decade. The 18-year-old virgin did not disappear as heroine, but she became a rare species. In her place was an older heroine, often sexually experienced, who had meaningful work, women friends, and a sense of humor. The romantic hero was still handsome, and usually wealthy, but he was now sensitive, expressive, and supportive of a woman's autonomy; and the story line had become socially relevant. While the love story was still primary and the happy ending still sacrosanct, single parents, alcoholism, infertility, divorce, even homelessness were woven into plots.

The romance audience was changing as well. By the 1990s romance readers were largely college-educated women who worked full-time outside the home. These readers saw themselves as mature women who could support themselves, think independently, and contribute to their communities. Though some critics continued to sneer at romance novels, others, including some feminist scholars, had broadened their ideas about women's experience. Those who had predicted the demise of romance novels had been proved wrong. *Dangerous Men and Adventurous Women*, a collection of essays written by romance writers about their craft, became the fastest-selling title in the history of the University of Pennsylvania Press. The idea these essays challenged most firmly was the stereotype of the passive heroine.

Judith Arnold, one of the contributors, described the romance heroines of the 1990s: they "do"; they "take steps, hold opinions, and move forward into the world." Any random sampling of romance novels published after 1990 will support Arnold's contention. "Murphy Brown meets June Cleaver" proclaims the cover of a Harlequin Love & Laughter title. Heroines include teachers, lawyers, doctors, corporate executives, small business owners, architects, computer

geniuses, builders, psychologists, artists, and country music singers who are also mothers, friends, lovers, soccer coaches, mentors, foster parents, church organists, and volunteers. The romance heroine has not surrendered her place in the domestic world; she has merely added triumph in the public world. She can rescue herself and sometimes the hero as well. It is not a question of the heroine usurping the hero's role, but of her proving the interdependence of their relationship.

The hero may have mixed emotions about this new balance of power but he learns to accept it. Typical is the response of Kenny Traveler, hero of Susan Elizabeth Phillips' humorous *Lady Be Good*, who responds to the news that his genius wife has expunged his bad-boy high school records by thinking of "his own public defender. It was embarrassing . . . but wonderful too." Romantic heroes have always been skillful lovers and conquerors in the public realm, but modern heroes must prove their prowess outside the boardroom and the bedroom. They cook, clean, and change diapers, and this new image seems to hold true across sub-genres. The heroes of historical romances and regencies may do kitchen duty infrequently, but even they regularly show themselves competent caretakers and loving fathers.

Romance novels have always been about relationships, but the relationships in 1990s romances extended beyond the primary relationship of one woman and one man to offer the dream of family. Sheryl Woods's *The Unclaimed Baby* (*Silhouette*, 1999) concludes with the "family gathered to celebrate the day's happy news" of an adoption and a pregnancy. The heroine exults "Cord would have the family he'd always dreamed of." Romance novelists also defined "family" in unconventional ways that reflected new configurations in real life. Barbara Freethy's single-title contemporary *The Sweetest Thing* (Avon, 1999) ends with Alex telling Faith, who has no family, that she will be not only his lover, partner, and best friend but also granddaughter to his idiosyncratic grandfather and mother to Jessie, a teenage girl who may or may not be his daughter.

Nora Roberts, arguably the most successful romance novelist of the late twentieth century, has made a career of novels that place characters within extended families. Roberts has written more than 128 novels since 1981, but her most popular works are the linked tales of the O'Hurleys, the Stanislaskis, the Concannons, the Quinns, and the MacGregors. In her bestselling *The Perfect Stranger*, Roberts describes the heroine Cybil Campbell: "Her mother was a successful, internationally respected artist; her father, the reclusive genius behind the long-running 'Macintosh' comic strip. Together they had given her and her siblings a love of art, a sense of the ridiculous, and a solid foundation." Roberts evokes a world where generations are connected by loving ties. To this she adds the traditional world of the romance novel: a world where a woman can be strong, independent, and articulate without being labeled unfeminine, where problems like glass ceilings, sexual harassment, single motherhood, and uncommunicative males are always happily resolved, where a woman can share passion, intimacy, and blissful monogamy with a powerful and attractive man who fulfills her intellectually, emotionally, and sexually. Small wonder that millions of women are willing to pay their share of the \$1 billion romance novels earn annually in order to enjoy the fantasy.

The enduring success of romance novels can be attributed to a paradox. Romance novels remain true to their ancient formula, but they are constantly evolving. More than 20 years ago John Cawelti speculated that the women's movement would render the "moral fantasy" of the popular romance obsolete. But the romance novel has reshaped itself and thrived. At the end of the twentieth century, the lines between popular romance and general women's fiction have

blurred. Romance novelists regularly publish in hardcover, are reviewed in mainstream publications, and appear on bestseller lists of the *New York Times*, *Publishers Weekly*, and *USA Today*. The Romance Writers of America, an organization that includes 8,200 romance writers and other industry professionals, lists on its Honor Roll 47 romance novelists who have made the bestseller lists. Nineteen publishing houses produce romance novels, and the once white-bread industry now publishes lines targeting African-American and Latino-American readers. Romance novels may be historical or contemporary, long or short, inspirational, gentle, or sexy. In cyberspace, publishers, romance writers, and industry-related groups offer author biographies, book summaries, chat rooms, and e-mail newsletters. Fan-generated sites offer independent reviews, reading lists, spirited discussion, and the sense of community that researchers have found central to the experience of romance readers. Forty-five million women in North America alone regularly read romance novels, and experts predict a 22-percent increase in readers by 2010.

—Wylene Rholetter

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## Romero, Cesar (1907-1994)

Tall, urbane, and sleekly handsome, Cuban-American actor Cesar Romero helped define the stereotypical "Latin Lover" in over 100 film and television appearances beginning in 1933. But he made his biggest impact on American pop culture playing the outlandishly coifed Joker on television's *Batman* from 1966 to 1968. Outfitted in an over-the-top green fright wig and pasty white clown make-up (which took about an hour to apply), Romero mugged and cackled his way through the villainous part with unbridled relish. His campy capering clearly influenced Jack Nicholson's interpretation of the role in the 1989 film adaptation of the comic book adventure. After hanging up his fright wig in 1968, Romero returned to playing elegant rogues on film and television. He died of a blood clot on New Year's Day, 1994, at the age of 86.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

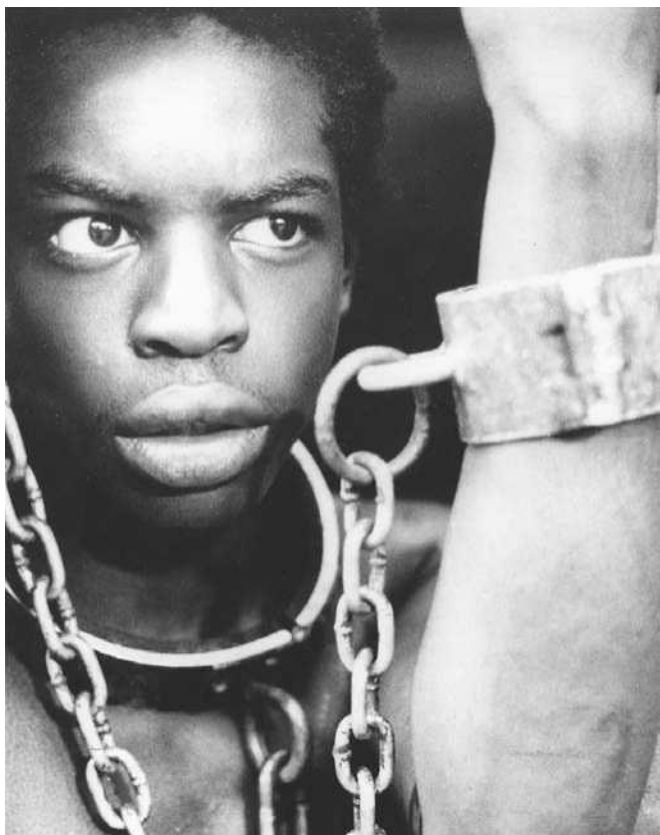
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## Roots

In 1977, African-American author Alex Haley published *Roots: The Saga of an American Family*, in which he traces the history of his mother's family. *Roots* begins in 1750 with Kunta Kinte, a young man who was captured in Africa by slavers and brought to the United States where he eventually tells the story of Kinte's descendants through seven generations in America. The book immediately captured the imaginations of both whites and blacks in the always racially uneasy United States. By February 1977, it was the number-one-selling book in the nation. *Roots: The Saga of an American Family* spent 20 weeks on the *New York Times* bestseller list, earned its author





LeVar Burton in Alex Haley's *Roots*.

a Pulitzer prize, and, later the same year, was made into a television event: a 12 hour mini-series that was broadcast over eight consecutive nights to more viewers than had watched any program in the history of television. One hundred and thirty million people watched some portion of *Roots*, drawn by its all-star cast and its moving drama. In 1979, the story continued with another hit mini-series, *Roots, the Next Generations*.

Starting with Kunta Kinte's traumatic capture and tracing an African-American family through slavery, the Civil War, and the complex transition into freedom, *Roots* gave blacks something they had been lacking in American popular culture: a history with a human face. Though the days of slavery had been the subject of debate, bitterness, and defensiveness, *Roots* looked at slavery in a different way, as the life experience of real people, bringing the African-American experience vividly to life in an epic tale of family continuity. Black faces were rare on television, and devoting so many prime-time hours to the story of a black family was a fairly radical concept. Though there were some complaints from whites that *Roots* villainized white people, many more whites were themselves captivated by the humanity of the story.

Haley was born in Ithaca, New York, in 1921. His father was an architect, the first of his family to attend college, and Haley's brothers followed his upwardly mobile track, becoming professionals themselves. Alex, however, sought something different, a search that led him to spend 20 years as a cook in the Coast Guard where he honed his writing skills and earned extra money writing love letters for fellow crew members. After his retirement from the Coast Guard, he began his writing career in earnest with adventure stories published in

*Reader's Digest*, *Saturday Evening Post*, and *Playboy*. He landed a regular job writing interviews for *Playboy*, and collaborated with civil rights activist Malcolm X to write *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. Haley remained relatively obscure, however, until his grandmother's stories inspired him to begin to research his family history. The research took him 12 years and led him to the small African nation of Gambia, where he supposedly found the village where his great-great-great-great grandfather had lived before being captured into slavery.

With the publication of *Roots*, Haley became famous and *Roots* would dominate the rest of his career. He outlined another television special, *Roots: The Gift*, which he later wrote in book form as *A Different Kind of Christmas*, and he continued his family research, spending 20 years tracing his father's family. He died in 1992, before he could write up the results of his work, leaving white British writer David Stevens to take over for him. Stevens wrote the epic *Queen*, which was also made into a television mini-series, but critics lambasted both the book and series as boring and derivative. The problems were just as likely the overworked mini-series format and a jaded new audience of readers and viewers. The topic of *Roots*, once innovative, had become "old hat."

Writing the story of Kunta Kinte and his descendants Kizzy, Chicken George, and others, Haley blended history with fictional embellishments to create a writing genre he called "faction." Though *Roots: The Saga of an American Family* was published as nonfiction, its authenticity has always been questioned. Immediately upon publication novelists Harold Courlander (*The African*) and Margaret Walker (*Jubilee*) brought suits against Haley, accusing him of plagiarism. Walker's suit was dismissed, but Haley paid Courlander \$650,000 in settlement, admitting that parts of his book "found their way" into *Roots*.

In 1997, as Haley's publisher Doubleday was preparing a twentieth-anniversary celebration for *Roots*, the British Broadcasting Company released a documentary called *The Roots of Alex Haley*, pointing out the many controversies about *Roots*. Along with the accusations of plagiarism, Haley was frequently accused of making up many of the most important facts in the book, even his emotional meeting with the griot, or oral historian, in Gambia, who confirmed for him that Kunta Kinte was Haley's forefather. Haley's critics claim that his family cynically planned to set the beginning of the story in Gambia so that they could use the success of *Roots* to boost the family travel business which arranges tours to Gambia. Haley's supporters call this sort of criticism "literary lynching," and point out that it matters little whether or not the actual facts in the book are true. *Roots*, they say, contains a truth that is deeper than small details of fact, and it continues to resonate with readers and viewers on the basis of that deeper truth. Johns Hopkins historian, Philip Carter, counseled those trying to disprove Haley's story, "You can't win," he advised, "You're fighting TV."

In Gambia, *Roots* has brought a steady stream of African-American tourists, seeking perhaps something of their own roots in the country from which Kunta Kinte was stolen. In June of 1997, the country hosted the Roots Homecoming Festival to celebrate the connection between Africa and the descendants of slaves. Gambia, however, is a poor country, one of the smallest in Africa with a population of 1.2 million, and there are conflicting feelings about the fame that *Roots* has brought. Many Gambians are angry that Haley and his family did not share more of the profits from the books and television shows with their nation of origin, while the Haleys insist that adequate compensation was made.

Both a best-selling book and a record-breaking television production, *Roots* was remarkably influential as literature and entertainment. Though Haley did not invent the expression “tracing one’s roots,” he did introduce it into everyday parlance, bringing the idea of tracing one’s heritage dramatically into the popular imagination. Since the publication of Haley’s book, the word “roots” has become a sort of shorthand for the search for a personal history that will give meaning to modern struggles. After Haley’s death, many of his possessions were auctioned off to pay debts on his estate. The manuscript of *Roots* sold for \$71,000, and the Pulitzer Prize Haley had won for it brought \$50,000. Ironically, the man who had impressed upon the nation the importance of gathering one’s history together had much of his own history scattered upon his death. He left an enduring legacy, however, an affirmation that each family history is a drama of survival and endurance and an inspiration for people to seek out their own histories. Distinguished African-American writer James Baldwin described the phenomenon this way: “*Roots* is a study of continuities, of consequences, of how a people perpetuate themselves, how each generation helps to doom or helps to liberate, the coming one.”

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Rose Bowl

Long considered college football’s premier post-season game, the Rose Bowl was first played on New Year’s Day in 1902, when 8,500 fans watched Fielding H. Yost’s Michigan “point-a-minute” Wolverines blank Stanford 49-0. The Tournament of Roses committee in Pasadena, California, was the driving force behind the first contest. Disappointed by Stanford’s performance, however, the committee arranged chariot races and other events over the next several years. Consequently, 14 years passed before a second Rose Bowl was held, with Washington State shutting out Brown, which was led by the black All-American halfback Fritz Pollard, 14-0. Held continuously since 1916, the East-West classic was played in the Rose Bowl stadium from 1923 onward; ultimately, the capacity crowd surpassed 100,000. Starting in 1947, when Illinois defeated UCLA 45-14, the champions of the Western Conference—later called the Big 10 and eventually joined by Penn State—and the Pacific Coast Conference—superseded first by the Athletic Association of Western Universities, then by the Pacific 10—battled one another. By 1998, the two conferences agreed to join in the Bowl Alliance that sought to bring the top pair of ranked teams in the country to determine an uncontested national champion. Consequently, in the future, such a highly rated Big Ten or Pac-10 championship team could play in the title game, to be waged in the Fiesta, Sugar, Orange, and Rose Bowls on a rotating basis.

Beginning with Michigan’s undefeated 1901 team, 19 squads that won Rose Bowls were proclaimed national champions. Two schools, Wallace Wade’s Alabama and Pop Warner’s Stanford, played to a 7-7 tie and were named co-champions following the 1926 season. Three competitors had already been named the best team in the country prior to their defeat in the Rose Bowl. Other Hall of Famers who guided teams to Pasadena included Notre Dame’s Knute Rockne, Southern California’s Howard Jones, Ohio State’s Woody Hayes, and USC’s John McKay. Some of college football’s legendary games were played in the Rose Bowl, such as the 27-10 shellacking in 1925 by Rockne’s team, featuring its Four Horsemen backfield, of Stanford and fullback Ernie Nevers. In 1948, Fritz Crisler’s great Michigan team, boasting a two-platoon system, destroyed USC 49-0, resulting in a second “final” Associated Press poll that placed the Wolverines at its top, not Frank Leahy’s unbeaten Notre Dame squad. In one of the most exciting finishes, Wisconsin, in 1963, roared from far behind but still fell to McKay’s Trojans, 42-37. In 1968, USC, led by halfback and MVP O.J. Simpson, beat Indiana 14-3. The following year, notwithstanding an 80-yard touchdown scamper by Heisman trophy winner Simpson, USC’s bid for a repeat national championship ended with a 27-16 Rose Bowl defeat at the hands of Hayes’s Buckeyes.

The stature garnered by the Rose Bowl for both its participants and sponsors, along with the economic doldrums engendered by the Great Depression, led to the formation of additional post-season college games during the 1930s. Hoping for a financial windfall, boosters in the American South helped establish the Orange (1933), Sugar (1935), Sun (1936), and Cotton (1937) Bowls. Initially, monetary rewards were lacking, but a series of additional bowls were created in the following decades. Indeed, by the 1990s, analysts contended that the large number of such bowls enabled mediocre teams to play, while detracting from the quality games. However, the amount of available television revenue ensured that no scarcity of bowl games would likely result. By the end of the decade, universities participating in the Bowl Championship Series received 12 million dollars apiece.

Many bowl games, such as the one generally held on January 1 in Pasadena, are preceded by elaborate parades. Once again, the most famous is the Tournament of Roses carried out in Pasadena, involving scores of elaborately designed floats, richly covered with floral arrangements. Marching bands, festively attired horses and riders, a grand marshal, and the Rose queen are prominently featured for both the gathered throng and large television audiences. The television presence of the Tournament of Roses parade followed by the Rose Bowl every New Year’s Day has guaranteed their place in the American popular consciousness.

—Robert C. Cottrell

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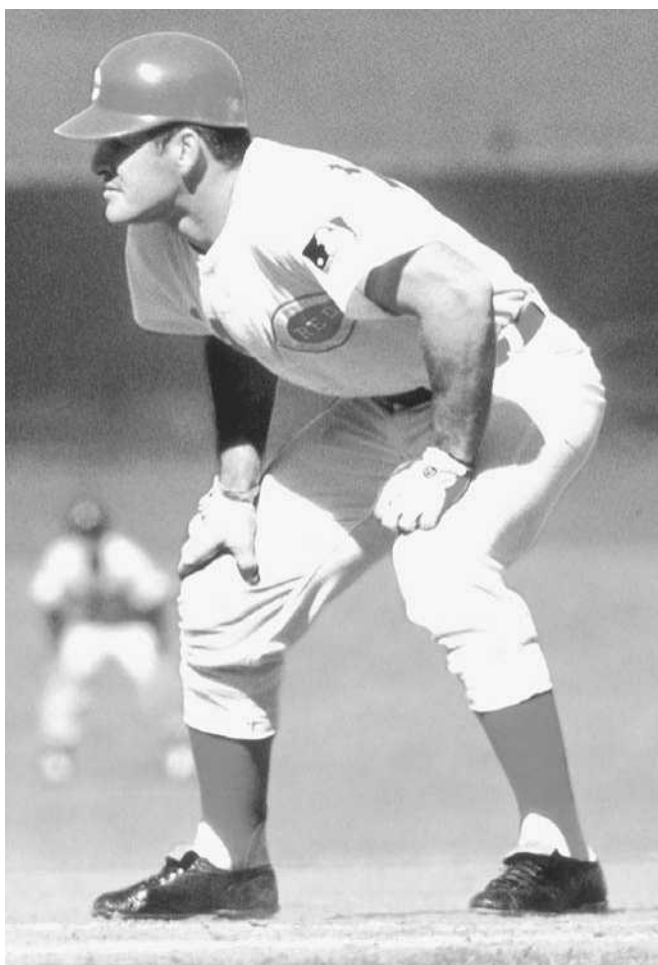
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## Rose, Pete (1941—)

Although ball player Pete Rose ended a 26-year career with retirement in 1986, at the end of the 1990s he was still actively at the center of controversy in the sport. The holder of several records, including major league records for most career hits, games played, and at bats, he was declared ineligible for the Baseball Hall of Fame because of allegations that he placed bets on games while both a player and a manager in the major leagues. His reputation as a player has also been thrown into question over the years, with some pundits contesting his abilities and arguing that, gambling charges aside, Rose never displayed the talent necessary to be considered for the Hall of Fame.

Rose started playing professional baseball in 1960 with the minor league Geneva (New York) Red Legs. By 1963 he had reached the majors as a rookie second baseman with the National League's



Pete Rose

Cincinnati Reds and was named Rookie of the Year. During his subsequent career as a player he broke one of baseball's seemingly unbreakable records, Ty Cobb's career record of 4,191 hits. Rose ended his career with 4,256 hits, 14,053 at-bats, 3,562 games played, and 3,315 singles—figures that remained unsurpassed 13 years after his retirement.

Although his career numbers are impressive, Rose was arguably more famous for his attitude on the baseball diamond. Known as "Charlie Hustle" among fans and fellow players, he was famed for his constant effort, head-first slides, and incredibly competitive demeanor. His presence on the field seemed to energize the players around him, and his willingness to do anything to help his team win was apparent. It was also apparent that Rose was not the most physically gifted player in baseball, but he made up for his lack of physical abilities with an awesome show of determination and persistence that appealed to his fans. Many fans saw Rose as an "average guy" who was willing to give everything he had to win, and he actively encouraged this perception.

When Rose retired as a player in 1986, it was unanimously believed that he would be selected for the Baseball Hall of Fame. In 1989, however, everything changed. After months of investigation, Rose was banished from baseball and declared ineligible for the Hall of Fame by Commissioner Bart Giamatti. Giamatti concluded there was substantial and credible evidence that Rose had bet on baseball games, including those involving his own team, the Cincinnati Reds. By 1999, the evidence on which the Commissioner based his decision had not yet been made available to the public. It is a sacrosanct rule of baseball, dating back to the early 1920s, that any player or manager caught gambling on a baseball game is banished for life. After the disaster of the 1919 Black Sox scandal, baseball established a zero-tolerance policy on the gambling issue. Although Rose consistently denied the charges, he signed an agreement with major league baseball and accepted his de facto banishment from the sport.

While there are many who call for Rose's election to the Hall of Fame, others argue that he was never Hall-of-Fame caliber. While it is true that Rose has 65 more hits than Ty Cobb to his credit, it took Rose an extra 2624 at-bats to get those 65 hits. He was never a great home-run hitter, base stealer, or fielder, and did not drive in very many runs, given the number of times he came to the plate; nor did he score very many runs, given the number of times he was on base. In many ways, the argument for Rose's entrance into the Hall is based on his longevity and persistence rather than his abilities. Bill James, baseball's most famous statistician/historian, argued in 1985 that even at his peak Rose was only the 97th greatest player of all time, fanning the continuing debate that surrounds the player's reputation.

Rose was still fighting his banishment from baseball in the 1990s, petitioning the league to lift his banishment and allow him eligibility for the Hall of Fame, a request supported by legions of his fans who continue to call for his punishment to end.

—Geoff Peterson

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## *Roseanne*

Consistently Nielsen-rated in the top ten programs throughout its 10-year lifespan, the situation comedy *Roseanne* wielded an unprecedented socio-cultural influence on the American television-viewing nation. The series played a key role in revitalizing an ailing television genre by demonstrating that playing for laughs need not preclude intelligent, thought-provoking scripts. As with its contemporary *Cheers* (1982-96), fine ensemble playing and even finer writing ensured this blue-collar sitcom's longevity.

That the show actually reached the nation's television screens is as much a testament to a major shake-up in the world of American television as it is to the creative endeavors of those directly involved in its production. The 1980s witnessed a challenge to the power of the

Big Three networks, which saw a substantial drop in their near-monopoly of audience share from 90 percent to 60 percent by decade's end. Shaken by the success of Rupert Murdoch's Fox network, and by the rise of satellite, cable, and VCR ownership, the networks were forced to take a long, hard look at their own output. One positive outcome of this reappraisal was that it led to the commissioning and purchase of innovative programs, often made by independent production companies like Carsey Werner, the makers of *Roseanne*. The challenge to the hegemony of the Big Three, then, undoubtedly helped reinvigorate a tired genre like the situation comedy.

With *Roseanne*, viewers witnessed the return of the blue-collar family to their TV screens. The Connors, led by mother and father Roseanne and Dan Conner (played by Roseanne Barr and John Goodman), were subject to the stresses and strains of contemporary living. The small, midwestern town of Lanford—the sitcom's fictional setting—was recession-hit for much of the series and the family was unable to escape this context. In contrast to so many sitcoms, the domestic arena in *Roseanne* did not provide the Connors with a safe haven in a heartless world; rather, that harsh outside world frequently



Roseanne Barr and John Goodman from the television sitcom *Roseanne*.

threatened to engulf the family as it staggered from one economic crisis to another. As a result of this, *Roseanne*'s literate comedy often took on a clear socio-political dimension, attributable in large measure to the creative influence of the show's star, Roseanne Barr, a successful stand-up comedienne. The sassy humor of Barr's heavily autobiographical "trailer mom" monologues supplied the show's writers with a ready-made central character around which to build a variety of relationships. As the show's co-creator, Barr unquestionably stamped both her unique personality and her own agenda on the series that pointedly shared her name. In response to an interviewer's query as to exactly how much of the real her was invested in the screen character, Barr observed "that's me up there, [although] there's a deliberate choice of what to expose."

By the early 1990s, on the heels of a successful second season which saw *Roseanne* take over the top slot in the ratings from *The Cosby Show* (1984-1992), Barr had gained complete creative control. It was in these early 1990s shows that an explicit political edge emerged, partly as a result of plots that focused on the workplace as much as the home. In one show Roseanne harasses a vote-canvassing Congressional candidate, first when he calls on her at home, and again when he turns up at her husband's failing motorbike shop. When the politician talks of attracting new businesses to Lanford, Roseanne presses him on how and why these companies would want to set up business in her hometown. Given a familiar clichéd answer which points to the lure of tax incentives and inexpensive production costs, Roseanne pithily notes that the promise of cheap, de-unionized labor and generous corporate-friendly tax breaks simply means that the ordinary working folk in her town will be made to pay twice by making up the shortfall in taxation and then taking jobs at "scab" wages. In this same episode, the Connors' son, D.J., ironically wins a regional spelling bee by correctly spelling the word "foreclosure," while an inconsolable eldest daughter, Becky, discovers that there is no college fund for her, despite her having achieved the necessary grades.

While *Roseanne*'s ancestry might appear traceable to early blue-collar sitcoms like *The Honeymooners* (1955-1956), it arguably owed more of a debt to the uncompromising and occasionally uncomfortable humor of a show like *All in the Family* (1971-1979). It certainly did not have much in common with its anodyne immediate predecessors such as *Family Ties* (1982-1989) or *The Cosby Show*. As Judie Mayerle has pointed out, the show simply did not look "televisionish," from the physical appearance, speech, and behavior of the characters themselves through to the variety of cheaply furnished sets that comprise the Connors' household and workplaces (diner, factory, garage, etc). More significantly, the show also consistently denied that familiar sitcom narrative trajectory which offered resolution in the form of the "warm hug," closing moral, or sermon. Instead, *Roseanne* presented the viewer with a "slice of life" episodic structure more akin to a drama series, offering ongoing narratives that denied comedic closure since problems such as marital or financial difficulties could not be neatly tied up in under half an hour. The fact that the Conner kids appeared destined to follow in their parents' footsteps was often at the very core of the show's bittersweet humor, and such a recognition rested on a successful narrative carry-over from episode to episode, series to series.

Both plots and characterization prompted a more complex set of audience responses to the adventures of the Connors, simply because

on one important level we laughed *with* instead of *at* them. The show avoided lazy stereotypes of ordinary, working Americans, and as a result Roseanne (who, for example, talks to Darlene about Sylvia Plath in one episode) and her family are played as sharp, intelligent, and funny. While life frequently dealt them and their friends a losing hand, they remained defiant in defeat, their one-liners empowering them where few other options were available. *Roseanne* spearheaded a late 1980s revival of the satiric, blue-collar sitcom, in the process bucking the trend for shows in which working-class characters were often represented as loud-mouthed bigots in the Archie Bunker mold. The show arguably paved the way for both *The Simpsons*, begun in 1989 and still running at the end of the century, and *Married... with Children* (1987-1997). Both of these, while admittedly presenting cognitively disabled characters, nevertheless offered conflict as opposed to resolution, mercilessly lampooned authority figures, and unflinchingly pointed up America's failings.

Despite its early instances of a direct political agenda, David Marc has pointed out that *Roseanne* "len[t] itself more successfully to the politics of culture than the politics of labor." For example, the show stirred up conservative ire because of its perceived failure to back traditional family values. Along with *Murphy Brown* (1988-1998) which the then vice-president Dan Quayle described as "socially disruptive" for its depiction of and failure to condemn single-motherhood, *Roseanne* brought complaints from pro-family groups about the prime-time representation of poor parenting displayed by the Connors. In his book *Hollywood versus America*, Michael Medved quoted Ross Perot complaining that "if you watch Roseanne Barr on television you don't get a very good role model . . . You and I didn't see that kind of stuff growing up." Backing Perot, Medved himself drew attention to an episode in which Roseanne takes daughter Becky to her gynecologist for birth control pills. To Medved, this is an act of gross indecency and parental irresponsibility, tantamount to an active endorsement of teenage promiscuity. "Roseanne's sister Jackie," he writes, "applauds the main character's willingness to facilitate the girl's sex life: 'Isn't it great that Becky has such a progressive, open-minded mom that she can talk to?' When Roseanne moans 'She's all grown up . . . She doesn't need me anymore!' her sister reassures her: 'Of course she needs you! She needs you to pay for her pills.'"

Yet the sheer range of issues aired in the scripts extended the range of subject matter deemed appropriate for future sitcoms. By tackling such subjects as masturbation, lesbianism, same-sex marriage, teenage sex and pregnancy, abortion, drug use, unemployment, and familial abuse in a common-sense way, *Roseanne* surely contributed towards the fostering of a healthy and responsible attitude towards these previously taboo topics. Thus, in the case of the birth control episode, the show pointed up that it was far better that Becky should avoid running the risk of an unwanted pregnancy or disease, particularly if she was going to "experiment" anyway.

Sadly, the show limped on a season too long. In its final run, the Connors' multi-million-dollar lottery win deprived the show of its satiric engine, in that so much of the humor had emanated from its portrayal of real people facing real daily struggles with flashes of extraordinary wit. Yet, at its best, *Roseanne* was remembered for its earthy, natural warmth and unabashed display of human imperfection that appealed to millions of viewers, and for fostering a level of audience identification and affection that flew in the face of much critical opprobrium.

—Simon Philo

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## Rosemary's Baby

Director Roman Polanski's 1968 film adaptation of Ira Levin's occult novel remains as unsettling at the end of the twentieth century as when it was first released. Mia Farrow and John Cassavetes play the young couple that becomes part of a Manhattan devil cult's plan to impregnate Farrow with Satan's child. Ruth Gordon won an Oscar for her performance as a sinister neighbor whose husband makes Cassavetes a bargain he can't resist. Instead of using graphic violence for shock value as many horror films do, Polanski employs a hallucinatory tone that vacillates between eerie and banal. Set in a creepy, old apartment building, the film questions neighborly friendliness as suspect and posits that home might be the most menacing place of all—ideas that continue to fascinate. Few films since have had the skill to use mood and character, rather than blood and violence, to convey horror.

—Sharon Yablon

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## Rosenberg, Julius (1918-1953) and Ethel (1915-1953)

In 1953, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg became the first Americans to be executed for espionage. Their conviction and execution were a crucial factor in the intensification of the Cold War in America, which in turn led to the phenomenon known as McCarthyism. Their guilt and the harshness of their sentence continue to be vigorously debated.



Julius and Ethel Rosenberg

The Rosenbergs have been viewed by leftist intellectuals as martyrs, conveniently sacrificed by an iniquitous United States in the name of anticommunism. They have been remembered for their deaths far more than for their lives and have been the subject of many books, articles, poems, plays, works of art, and documentaries.

Ethel (nee Greenglass) and Julius Rosenberg both hailed from the lower east side of Manhattan. Like many young Americans during the Depression, both became involved in leftist groups. They met at a union-sponsored party in 1936, and they were married in the summer of 1939. In 1943 they curtailed their official affiliation with the Communist party.

The explosion of an atomic bomb by Russia in 1949 led to a search for spies in the American government, and it was discovered that David Greenglass, Ethel's brother, had passed secret information to Soviet agents. Greenglass implicated the Rosenbergs in his confession, and the Rosenbergs were arrested. Their trial lasted from March 6th through March 29th, 1951, and after appeals they were executed on June 20, 1953. A young Richard Nixon made a name for himself as the congressional investigator who originally uncovered the Rosenbergs' crime.

The Rosenberg case divided Americans, many of whom believed the couple were innocent, and had a dramatic impact on U.S. leftists. In particular, it was a watershed for those New York Jewish

intellectuals who had become anti-Stalinist, pro-American Cold Warriors. They used the Rosenberg case to dissociate themselves from their previous radicalism at a time when such activity was construed as un-American. U.S. Jewish leaders feared that the case would increase anti-Semitism as the public drew a link between Communism and the Jewishness of the Rosenbergs. Consequently, a great deal of effort was expended by liberal anticommunist organizations and anti-Stalinist intellectuals to dissociate Jews from the actions of the Rosenbergs.

A flurry of literary activity occurred that aimed to discredit the Rosenbergs and to prove the political loyalty of American Jewry. Liberal anticommunist Jewish intellectuals, in particular, Leslie Fiedler and Robert Warshow, wrote vicious critiques of the Rosenbergs. This bloc supported the prosecution's case and argued for the couple's execution. Liberal anticommunists, in contrast, countered these attacks by accusing the prosecution of anti-Semitism. They pointed to the flimsiness of the evidence against the Rosenbergs and highlighted the plight of the Rosenbergs' two sons—Robert and Michael—who would be orphaned as a result of the government's actions.

The image of the Rosenbergs as sacrificial lambs, martyred by a complex of Cold War interests, has entered American popular culture. One of the earliest appearances of the Rosenbergs-as-martyrs theme is Arthur Miller's *The Crucible* (1953). The initials of the central protagonists—John and Elizabeth—have been construed as representing Julius and Ethel. In the post-Rosenberg era, further texts have appeared. The Rosenbergs figured in Sylvia Plath's *The Bell Jar* (1966), E.L. Doctorow's *The Book of Daniel* (1971), and Robert Coover's *The Public Burning* (1977). Focusing on the idea of the Rosenbergs, rather than the factual detail of their lives and deaths, the latter two texts interspersed actual historical reality with fictional characterization in postmodern representations of the Rosenberg story. Other popular texts in which the Rosenbergs have appeared include John Updike's *Couples* (1964), Gore Vidal's *Myra Breckinridge* (1968), Howard Fast's *The Outsider*, Joyce Carol Oates' *You Must Remember This* (1988), Don DeLillo's *Libra* (1988), and Tema Nason's *Ethel: A Fictional Autobiography* (1990).

The imagery of the Rosenbergs was further extended in other media. In 1969 Donald Freed's multimedia play, *Inquest*, opened in Cleveland, Ohio. Freed's play highlighted the sensitivity that the Rosenberg case still aroused: the presiding Judge Kaufman contacted the Federal Bureau of Investigation to complain that the play represented politically threatening procommunist propaganda. In 1993, Tony Kushner's two-part drama, *Angels in America*, was produced. Set in the Reagan era, the Rosenberg's prosecutor—Roy Cohn—figured prominently. Rosenberg iconography also animated visual artists. In 1988 an exhibit titled "Unknown Secrets" opened under the auspices of the Rosenberg-Era Art Project. Some of the works memorialized the Rosenbergs as Jewish victims of American injustice with titles such as *Roy Judas Cohn*, *Remembering the Rosenbergs*, and Robert Arneson's *2 Fried Commie Jews*. Other works took a multimedia, postmodern approach that emphasized the Cold War context of the Rosenbergs' death.

—Nathan Abrams

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## Diana Ross and the Supremes

Although their time in the spotlight only lasted six years, Diana Ross and the Supremes quickly became the most successful female group in the history of American popular music. During their years of greatest success from 1964 to 1970, the black female trio brought Berry Gordy's fledgling Motown Records to international visibility through a string of successive number one pop hits. With their flashy gowns, coiffed hairdos, stylized choreography, and polished harmonies, the Supremes helped define the Motown sound. Their crossover



Diana Ross and the Supremes

music reached diverse audiences, acting as a kind of soundtrack for the civil rights movement. Offstage, however, internal conflict often rocked the musical group. In 1970, lead singer Diana Ross left the Supremes to embark on a solo career that would bring her to unprecedented levels of fame in the 1970s, 1980s and into the 1990s.

While the details of their history are somewhat contentious, the development of the Supremes dates back to Detroit in 1958. Originally named the Primettes, the group was created as a female counterpart to the Primes, a male vocal quartet that would eventually rocket to success as the Temptations. The Primettes consisted of sixteen-year-old Ross, then named Diane; Florence Ballard, who was fifteen at the time; sixteen-year-old Mary Wilson; and eighteen-year-old Betty McGlown. Ballard and Ross alternated lead vocals, while Wilson and McGlown mostly sang backup. In the first year of their existence, the Primettes toured around local venues and sock-hops as the opening act for the Primes. In March 1959, the teenage girls had already recorded their first single, which consisted of two songs, "Tears of Sorrow" and "Pretty Baby." Released on a small-time record label called Lu-Pine, the record found little success or circulation outside the Primettes' hometown of Detroit.

Eventually, however, the Primettes' professional demeanor and skill won them a first-place trophy in the 1960 Detroit/Windsor Freedom Festival talent contest. There, the Primettes were spotted by a talent scout from Tamla Records (a division of the Motown Corporation), and the group managed to secure an audition with the founder of Motown, Berry Gordy. Although the audition failed to catch Gordy's interest, the Primettes soon became regulars at the Motown Studios, spending hours after school learning about the music business and singing backup vocals for known acts. When Betty McGlown left the group to get married, she was quickly replaced by Barbara Martin. The Primettes' diligence paid off in January of 1961 when they were contractually signed to Motown. After some debate, the Primettes were renamed the Supremes.

The Supremes' early beginnings were filled with obstacles. Soon after their first two singles in release failed to catch the public attention, Martin left the group to attend to family life. The Supremes decided to continue on as a trio, eventually touring around the country as the opening act for the Motown Revue. Still without a major hit, the Supremes performed strenuous hours for low pay despite their underage status. Touring the American South at the height of the Civil Rights movement, the young trio witnessed first-hand incidents of racial prejudice.

The turning point for the Supremes arrived in early 1963 when Gordy decided to match the female trio with songwriting team, Eddie and Brian Holland and Lamont Dozier, better known as Holland-Dozier-Holland or H-D-H. Gordy also made the contentious decision to have Ross become the group's lead vocalist. Years later, Gordy's decision proved to be a continuing thorn in the side of Ross's co-Supremes, Wilson and Ballard.

The string of hits that followed the pairing of the Supremes and H-D-H proved to be unprecedented and helped introduce the burgeoning Motown Records to wide and diverse audiences across racial lines. The Supremes' first hit, "Where Did Our Love Go?," exemplified the infectious rhythm that was quickly becoming known as the Motown Sound. Sung by Ross in a sultry tone, "Where Did Our Love Go?" reached number one on the pop and R&B charts in July 1964. The Supremes' next two singles, "Baby Love" and "Come See about Me," also reached number one on the pop charts.

The Supremes' first album, *Where Did Our Love Go?* sold over one million copies and remained on the pop charts for more than a year. After record-breaking U.S. and European tours, the Supremes became the first Motown act to appear on the *Ed Sullivan Show*, the most popular variety television show of the era. Surpassed in success only by the Beatles, the Supremes had garnered status as surefire hit-makers. Their new status now meant that black popular music was able to reach audiences across color lines. The group's success also propelled other Motown artists to visibility, boosting the record company's revenue to levels never imagined. While black music had once previously been regarded as "race music" by the entertainment industry, the Supremes' success demanded that styles of black music become integrated into the larger consciousness of American popular music.

As the trio continued to rack up number one hits with songs like "Stop in the Name of Love," internal changes within the group began to threaten their cohesiveness. In January 1966, Ross officially changed her name from Diane to Diana. To enhance their success, the group was subjected to refinement and finishing through Motown's Artist Development Unit. The new clean-cut image of the Supremes would eventually allow them to play sophisticated venues and night-clubs, like New York's Copacabana. As music critic Nelson George claims, these turn of events would "change The Supremes from a diligent, rather juvenile trio into the epitome of upwardly mobile, adult bourgeois charm."

Although each of the Supremes underwent refinement and finishing at Motown, Ross apparently began to show a special knack for audience appeal, charisma, and performing in the spotlight. Around this time, the singer also had begun a romantic affair with Gordy, much to the consternation of Wilson and Ballard. Although their relationship remained a public secret, Gordy would eventually father Diana's first child, Rhonda, in 1971.

When Ballard left the group in 1967, she was replaced by Cindy Birdsong, who had previously been a member of Patti LaBelle and the Bluebelles. As a result of these developments and changes within the group, Gordy decided to change the name of the trio to Diana Ross and the Supremes in order to bring more focus to the attention-grabbing lead singer. By the late 1960s, the group still continued to release chart-topping hits. "Love Child" and "I'm Livin' in Shame" featured lyrics that leaned toward social commentary, reflecting the turbulent changes that marked the era. Moreover, the group began to diversify their interests, starring in Motown's first TV productions and making over twenty-five appearances on popular television shows.

By 1969, however, Ross announced her intentions to leave the Supremes. After having changed the face of popular music over the course of twelve years, the trio played their final historic appearance on the *Ed Sullivan Show* in December of 1969 and made their final live performance in 1970. Their last single, "Someday We'll Be Together," proved to be a fitting tribute to a group ready to disband.

While the Supremes continued on with Jean Terrell as a new lead singer, they never again reached the level of success they had found with Ross. As a Motown solo act, Ross quickly became the most popular black female in pop and R&B, landing chart hits throughout the 1970s that included "Reach out and Touch Somebody's Hand" and "Ain't No Mountain High Enough." After marrying publicist Bob Silberstein in 1971, Ross gained new levels of credibility and acceptance through her much-acclaimed film performance as Billie Holiday in *Lady Sings the Blues* (1972), for which she received an Oscar nomination. She also reunited with her *Lady Sings the Blues* co-star Billy Dee Williams for the romantic film *Mahogany* (1975). In



the early 1970s, Ross and Silberstein had two children, Tracee and Chudney, but divorced in 1976. After taking a critical misstep with her performance in the film musical *The Wiz* (1978), Ross left the film business in the 1980s.

In 1980, Ross decided to take greater control of her career by ending her contract with Motown Records. Her last record with the company was the platinum-selling *Diana*, which spawned the hit singles “Upside Down,” “I’m Coming Out,” and “It’s My Turn.” As Ross’s albums in the 1980s and 1990s became less commercially viable, she married Norwegian shipping magnate Arne Naess in 1986 and the couple had two children. By the late 1990s, Ross continued to exemplify the penchant for glamour and sophistication that she had demonstrated during her tenure with the Supremes, consistently producing work as a singer and an actress.

Diana Ross & the Supremes have proved to be a lasting cultural force. In 1982, *Dreamgirls*, a lavish Broadway musical, opened in New York. Starring Jennifer Holiday and conceived by Michael Bennett of *A Chorus Line* fame, the hit musical was based in large part on the rise and fall of the Supremes. The musical particularly focused on the drama surrounding the group’s expulsion of Ballard, who had passed away in 1976. By the late 1990s, the Supremes still held the record for most consecutive number-one hits by a musical group and their legacy formed the basis of hit trios and quartet female musical groups of the 1990s including TLC and En Vogue.

Although they only lasted six years in the limelight, the Supremes managed to leave a lasting impression on U.S. society and culture. The group brought to public attention Diana Ross, the first major international African-American superstar to cross mediums of music, film, and television. The Supremes transformed live performances in R&B music through their emphasis on style, professionalism, and stylized choreography. They also helped to change racial consciousness by being highly visible, successful African-American female performers during a time of civil rights struggles and social upheaval.

—Jason King

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## Roswell Incident

The Roswell Incident—the alleged government cover-up of the recovery of a crashed flying saucer and the bodies of its crew at a site near Roswell, New Mexico, in 1947—has achieved worldwide notoriety as the strongest “proof” of extra-terrestrial visitation.

On June 14, 1947, William “Mac” Brazel discovered a sizable amount of debris on the ranch he operated some 75 miles north of the town of Roswell. The material included a tangle of rubber strips, paper, sticks, and tinfoil. Brazel reported his findings to local authorities, which occasioned a minor cause célèbre in the town of Roswell.

The police ultimately referred the matter to the nearby Army Air Field. Base office collected the debris from Brazel and shipped it to Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, where, after much analysis, it was determined to be the wreckage of a weather balloon.

The public accepted the story, and the case was closed for some 40 years. In 1979, Jesse A. Marcel, a former base intelligence officer at Roswell Army Air Field, resurrected the episode in an interview with the *National Enquirer*. Marcel claimed that the wreckage at Roswell had not been of this Earth: it had borne strange alien pictorial markings and it could be neither dented nor burned. A number of civilian witnesses stepped forward to say that they had seen alien bodies among the wreckage. UFOlogists Charles Moore and Stanton Friedman compiled these statements and, in 1980, with the help of well-known occult writer Charles Berlitz, published *The Roswell Incident*, which charged the government with conspiring to withhold the evidence of this alien visitation from the public.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the Roswell Incident came to represent the foundation of faith in the UFO phenomenon for a growing community in the United States; Roswell offered the only known UFO case that involved physical evidence of any sort, and believers considered the incident a validation of their years of belief. A number of books published in the last two decades of the twentieth century explored further the government “cover-up,” and thousands of letters poured into Congress, demanding that the “truth” be revealed. Filmmakers and television producers capitalized on Roswell mania. The hit film *Independence Day* (1996) re-figured the Roswell tale for its narrative, and the popular television series *The X-Files* routinely dealt with government conspiracies connected with alien visitations.

On July 5, 1997, the fiftieth anniversary of the government’s seizure of the wreckage, nearly 40,000 people flocked to Roswell to pay homage to the crash site. They were undeterred by a 231-page government report, published one month earlier, that again asserted there was no crashed flying saucer, no alien bodies, and no cover-up associated with the episode.

—Scott Tribble

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## Roundtree, Richard (1937—)

Born July 9, 1937 in New Rochelle, New York, ex-model Richard Roundtree established himself as one of Hollywood’s first black action heroes in only his second feature film, *Shaft* (1971). Expertly directed by Gordon Parks, and with an Oscar-nominated soundtrack by Isaac Hayes, *Shaft* (based on a novel by Ernest



A sign off U.S. 285, north of Roswell, New Mexico, points west to the alleged 1947 crash site of a flying saucer.

Tidyman) is probably the best representative of the genre of low-budget American movies known as “blaxploitation.” Roundtree stars as a streetwise private eye who sets out to find the missing daughter of a Harlem ganglord. Two sequels, *Shaft’s Big Score* (1972) and *Shaft in Africa* (1973), as well as a short-lived network television show, soon followed. Over the years Roundtree has established himself as a popular character actor. His work numbers over 60 movies and television miniseries, not to mention an album, *The Man Called Shaft*. Films include *Q-The Winged Serpent* (1982), *Seven* (1995), and *Original Gangstas* (1996).

—Steven Schneider

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## Rouse Company

During the 1970s and 1980s, the Rouse Company developed and managed a series of “festival marketplaces”—central city shopping malls featuring entertainment and historically themed architecture—that were widely credited with attracting crowds of shoppers and new investment dollars to formerly blighted downtown commercial areas. In the ten years following the 1976 opening of its Faneuil Hall Marketplace in Boston, Rouse built such colorful retail complexes as New York’s South Street Sea Port, Baltimore’s Harbor Place, Milwaukee’s Grand Avenue Mall, and St. Louis’s Union Station, a frenzy of development that some observers dubbed the “Rouse-ification” of the American city. Typically such developments depended on extensive subsidies from city government. Critics charged that Rouse projects failed to provide jobs for the urban poor, catered to the nostalgia of yuppie consumers with their use of stylized historical architecture, and squandered scarce public dollars better used elsewhere.

—Steve Macek

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## Route 66

Though it no longer carries travelers across the nation the way it once did, Route 66 remains America's highway. "America's Main Street" spawned popular songs—"Get Your Kicks on Route 66"—and helped to define the culture of the American automobile in its heyday, the 1940s through the 1960s. The escape from reality embodied by the "open road" defined Route 66, and nostalgia continues to imbue the road and road culture with symbolic significance.

From the outset, planners endowed U.S. 66 with a nationalistic goal: to connect the main streets of rural and urban communities along

its course. Entrepreneurs Cyrus Avery of Tulsa, Oklahoma, and John Woodruff of Springfield, Missouri, originally conceived of a road to link Chicago to Los Angeles, but more than their efforts were needed to kick off such a massive roadbuilding project. Legislation for public highways first appeared in 1916, but it was not until Congress enacted an even more comprehensive version of the act in 1925 that the government initiated the construction of a national highway. The numerical designation 66 was assigned to the Chicago-to-Los Angeles route in the summer of 1926. America's "main streets" now accessed one common "Main Street," Route 66.

As opposed to existing regional highways, which cut straight to their destination, Route 66 followed a meandering course which linked hundreds of surrounding rural communities to the metropolis of Chicago. Farmers shipping produce and trucking companies soon became some of the greatest users of the road. The more direct route between Chicago and the Pacific coast quickly dropped south toward the flat prairie lands and temperate climates that made Route 66 a favorite of truckers. But the road soon became beloved by more than truckers seeking the fastest route between cities.

In *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), novelist John Steinbeck proclaimed U.S. Highway 66 the "Mother Road," for it came to stand for personal survival for the thousands of "Okies" who used the road to migrate to California to escape the despair of the Dust Bowl. Such



Wrink's Food Market on old Route 66.

cultural and social significance increased the road's legendary and mythic standing nationwide. With continuous paving completed in 1938, the road was ready to unlock a nation's dreams as well as its hopes.

The increased mobility made possible by the automobile and the expansion of leisure time for America's growing middle-class helped draw ever more drivers to Route 66 after World War II. In such a time of change, relocation was very frequent—particularly to California, where many segments of the defense industry had mobilized during the war. These sensibilities were represented in the song of one such transient professional, former Marine captain Bobby Troup, as he traveled West to begin playing with Tommy Dorsey's well-known band. "Get Your Kicks on Route 66," his song about his move, became a catch phrase for countless motorists. The popular recording was released in 1946 by Nat King Cole, only one week after Troup's arrival in Los Angeles. It became a "musical map" of the traveller's odyssey by listing the stops, the feel, and the aura of the road.

A unique "automobile culture" soon took shape along Route 66. Enterprising entrepreneurs met the needs of even the poorest travelers by building motels, gas stations, diners, and tourist attractions. Most Americans who drove the route preferred motels instead of hotels, because they provided ease of access to their car. Motels evolved from earlier features of the American roadside such as the auto camp and the tourist home. The auto camp had been an entirely informal development as townspeople along Route 66 roped off spaces in which travelers could camp for the night. An outgrowth of the auto camp and tourist home was the cabin camp (sometimes called cottages) that offered minimal comfort at affordable prices.

Gas stations were another new presence on the American landscape. Initially, "filling stations" consisted of a house with one or two gasoline pumps in front. With the addition of service bays the facilities began to grow. Finally, petroleum companies realized that entire structures could serve as advertisements if designed properly. Ordinarily, service stations were developed through regional prototypes and then dispersed across the country. The buildings were distinctive and clearly associated with a particular petroleum company.

Route 66 and the many points of interest along its length had become familiar landmarks by the time a new generation of postwar motorists hit the road in the 1960s. It was during this period that the television series *Route 66* (1960-1964), starring Martin Milner and George Maharis, brought Americans back to the route looking for new adventure. American youth romanticized the image of the road portrayed in the program and in the writings of authors such as Jack Kerouac. The "open road" became a symbol of new opportunities and unfettered living. Driving the route to California became for many a rite of passage into adulthood; for some adults, it became an opportunity to revisit one's youth. The leisure culture of the 1950s and 1960s thus defined itself around sites such as Route 66.

Ironically, such popularity also eroded the future of Route 66. The public cry for easy and rapid automobile travel soon led to improved highways beginning in the 1950s. Under President Dwight D. Eisenhower, massive federal funding went into the construction of a national highway system. When Congress passed the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956, Route 66 lost its figurative and literal meaning. It became an impractical mode of travel in contrast to the rapidly moving highways. Slowly, Route 66 was taken out of service—the signs removed and the roads taken over by individual states. By the 1970s, the "Mother Road" no longer existed.

Nostalgia, though, can do funny things to practicality. In the 1980s and 1990s, preservationists have reclaimed stretches of the

road as a living museum of the evolution of tourist-targeted, roadside architecture. "The Main Street of America" has proven a great attraction, and Historic Route 66 signs now bind the disparate state routes to their common heritage. Route 66 thus binds together the nation's attraction to the automobile and the open road, and the opportunity to control one's own destiny, whether it be for a momentary escape or a lifetime move across the country. Many generations will likely continue to learn about the "kicks" a society got on a seemingly insignificant highway.

—Brian Black

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## *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*

*See Laugh-In*

## **Royko, Mike (1932-1997)**

Pulitzer prize-winning journalist Mike Royko was born on September 19, 1932 in Chicago, the city in which he lived most of his life, and it was as a distinctively Chicagoan journalist that he earned nationwide fame. Royko's journalism awards included the Ernie Pyle Memorial Award, the Heywood Brown Award, the H.L. Mencken Award, the National Headliner award, and the Pulitzer Prize for commentary; however, his readers did not need any award committees to tell them that Royko was a great journalist.

Royko had a sporadic formal education, dropping in and out of school. But he received another form of education by working for his father Michael, a tavern owner, at a young age, and by holding several other jobs. The last degree he earned came when he graduated from Central YMCA High School. Royko then joined the Air Force and was stationed near Seoul, South Korea, during the final months of the Korean War. While in the Air Force, Royko was transferred to O'Hare Field, Chicago. There, he became editor of the base's newspaper. This was his inauguration into newspaper work.

Royko's first job as a civilian journalist was with the *Lincoln-Belmont Booster*. He became a cub reporter for the *Chicago Daily News* in 1959. In January 1964, the paper made him a full-time columnist. The *Daily News* closed down in 1978, but Royko got a columnist position at the *Chicago Sun-Times*, which was owned by the same company as the defunct *News*. In 1984, Royko left the *Sun-Times* for the rival *Tribune*; he despised Australian press baron Rupert Murdoch, who had purchased the *Sun-Times*. At all three papers, Royko wrote a column whose distinctive style set a new standard for journalistic commentary.

Like other opinion journalists, Royko would comment about the news of the day; however, he would approach his topics with a common-sense perspective that often eluded fellow columnists. For instance, in an April 26, 1981 column, Royko dealt with a *Washington Post* reporter who had won the Pulitzer Prize for a story that turned out to be fake. The story claimed that a man was getting his girlfriend's eight-year-old son addicted to heroin. Other columnists were talking about how horrible it was that a journalist had faked a story, but Royko brought up a different issue: What if the fake story had actually been true? Royko argued that the *Post* should have reported the alleged dope-pusher to the authorities, even though the reporter had claimed that she had promised the man confidentiality: "What would the *Post* have done if it had discovered that a congressman knew that an eight-year-old child was being murdered, but had given the killer his word he wouldn't reveal his identity? . . . what does [the publisher of the *Post*] have to say about her editors covering up the murder of an eight-year-old child?"

Royko often used his column to expose injustice. For example, a Royko column of December 10, 1973, described a Vietnam veteran whose face had been mutilated by an enemy rocket. The veteran, who was forced to take his food in liquid form, wanted surgery so that he would be able to eat solid foods. The veteran thought that the Veterans' Administration should pay for the operation, but the VA said that the damage to his face was not a "service-connected disability." Royko discussed the VA's position as follows: "How can this surgery be for anything else but his 'service-connected disability?' Until he was hit by a rocket, [the veteran] had teeth. Now he has none. He had eyes. Now he has none. People could look at him. Now most of them turn away." The day after this column ran, Royko was able to report that the VA would pay the faceless veteran's medical expenses after all. "It shows how efficient a government agency can be—a year late—if its inefficiency is suddenly splashed across a newspaper."

Royko's columns also featured fictional characters who discussed matters of political or cultural importance. One such character, Slat Grobnik, was portrayed as a native of the same area of Chicago as Royko. A column on March 31, 1972, described the young Slat Grobnik's reason for not believing in Santa Claus: "Anybody who can get in and out of that many houses without being seen is going to take stuff, not leave it." Another piece of Slat Grobnik's wisdom (from a column of January 11, 1984): "Everybody says that work is so good for ya. Well, if work is supposed to be so great, how come they got to pay ya to do it?"

Royko published one book (apart from several collections of his columns). That book was the bestseller *Boss*, which was published in 1971 during the reign of Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, whose career the book described. Royko described Daley as the political ruler of Chicago, a man who focused on developing the business district but who neglected the inner city. As portrayed by Royko, Daley was an honest man whose political machine was staffed by less-than-honest men. Royko said that Daley's "moral code" was: "Thou shalt not steal, but thou shalt not blow the whistle on anyone who does." While discussing how members of Daley's machine profited from certain shady deals, Royko reported (but did not claim credit for) a suggested change in Chicago's civic motto. According to the suggestion, the old motto, "Urbs in Horto" ("City in a Garden"), should be replaced with "Ubi Est Mea" ("Where's Mine?").

A 1981 movie, *Continental Divide*, featured a character based on Royko. The Royko character was played by Royko's friend John Belushi, of which Royko noted: "[A]s much as I like Belushi

personally, I think the producers might have made a mistake in casting my part. I think Paul Newman would have been a better choice, although he's older than I am. And in appearance we're different because he has blue eyes and mine are brownish-green." Royko died in his native city on April 29, 1997, in Chicago's Memorial Hospital.

—Eric Longley

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## Rubik's Cube

Rubik's Cube, the multicolored puzzle with 43,252,003,274, 489,856,000 possible combinations and only one solution, baffled many a partygoer in the early 1980s, when it briefly seized America's attention. The quintessential Reagan-era toy fad was actually a product of the 1970s, when Hungarian professor Erno Rubik came up with the idea as a way to stump his students. He was awarded a patent in 1976 and promptly licensed the product to the Ideal Toy Company. Cube fever soon began spreading across North America in the form of clubs, newsletters, and even a Saturday morning cartoon, *Rubik the Amazing Cube*. Once solved, however, a Rubik's Cube did not have many other uses, and in 1983 the market for the multicolored mind game suddenly disappeared.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## *Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer*

“The most famous reindeer of all,” Rudolph has become a vital ingredient of Christmas lore for generations of children around the world, but few people recall the true genesis of the story. Fewer still would be able to explain how much the original Rudolph fable has been changed by the efforts of songwriters and animators through the decades since its 1939 conception. Yet such is the enduring popularity of this tale in its myriad forms that sociologist James Barnett declared Rudolph the twentieth-century Christmas symbol “most likely to become a lasting addition” to Christmas folklore.

*Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer* was the brainchild of Robert L. May, a 35-year-old advertising copywriter for the Chicago-based Montgomery Ward department store. In 1939, May was commissioned by his supervisor to create an original Christmas story that the store could give away to shoppers at holiday time. May was tapped in part for his affinity for children’s limericks, the form in which the first Rudolph iteration was written.

Drawing on his own childhood experiences (he had experienced ridicule because of his slight frame), May dreamed up a title character who was ostracized by his fellow reindeer because of his glowing red nose. For an alliterative name, he originally suggested Rollo, but this idea was rejected by the Montgomery Ward catalog department. After briefly considering Reginald, May finally settled on Rudolph as the moniker for his creation, a name reputedly arrived at with the help of his four-year-old daughter.

The first Rudolph booklet, with illustrations by Denver Gillen, was distributed to two and a quarter million Montgomery Ward customers during Christmas of 1939. Although quite popular, it was not released again until 1946 due to wartime paper shortages, but by the end of that year, a total of six million copies had been distributed nationwide.

The story of *Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer* that these initial customers enjoyed was quite different from the one that would be immortalized in later versions. In May’s original poem, Rudolph is not one of Santa’s reindeer—at least, not at first. He is an ordinary reindeer living with his family in an obscure village, and although he is ostracized by some of his companions for his glowing red nose, he maintains a positive self-image and has the loving support of his parents. He hooks up with Santa only after the corpulent gift-giver’s reindeer team arrives at Rudolph’s house one particularly foggy Christmas Eve. Upon noticing his beaming honker, Santa enlists Rudolph to lead his beleaguered team. Rudolph does so with great skill and bravery, prompting Santa to congratulate him upon the team’s safe return with the words, “By you last night’s journey was actually bossed. / Without you, I’m certain we’d all have been lost.”

It was in this form that Rudolph first became an icon for wartime Christmas celebrants and a lucrative marketing tool for Montgomery Ward. It made little money for May, however, until 1947, when he persuaded Montgomery Ward president Sewed Avery to transfer the copyright to him. With these rights secured, May set about building the next generation of Rudolphiana. In 1947, a nine-minute *Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer* cartoon, directed by *Popeye* creator Max Fleisher, played in movie theaters nationwide. Two years later, May commissioned his brother-in-law Johnny Marks to write a song based on the Rudolph character. The song, which glossed over many of the key details of May’s original story, became an immense hit for vocalist Gene Autry, selling two million copies in 1949 and joining “White Christmas” in the pantheon of Yuletide standards. In 1952, a

now wealthy May quit his job at Montgomery Ward to manage the Rudolph business full-time.

In 1964, the stop-motion animation house of Rankin and Bass produced a new *Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer* TV special that solidified the legend—again in altered form—in the minds of baby-boom viewers. In this new version, narrated by bearded songster Burl Ives, Rudolph is a miserable, self-loathing creature rejected even by his status-conscious parents. The “other reindeer” who taunt him are no longer peers from his village but Santa’s actual reindeer, who compete among themselves for the old man’s favor. Even Santa himself seems a little ashamed of Rudolph’s deformity, and it is only after Rudolph links up with a society of “misfit toys” and proves himself as the head of the sleigh team that he earns the respect of those around him.

This new iteration of the Rudolph legend was to prove almost as popular as the previous ones. In its own way, it was certainly more influential. The innovative stop-motion techniques devised by Rankin-Bass inspired a generation of animators, most prominent among them Tim Burton, who paid homage to Rudolph in his 1993 feature *The Nightmare before Christmas*. The hit movie *Toy Story* and the popular MTV series *Celebrity Death Match* both showed the influence of the Rankin-Bass *Rudolph* as well.

The 1964 *Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer* special continues to generate huge television ratings for its annual holiday broadcast, and the Gene Autry song recording, among many other renditions, is a staple of every radio station’s Yuletide music programming. Robert L. May’s prototypical creation was commemorated in 1990 with the publication of a handsome facsimile edition—the first time the story had been offered for sale in its original form. Rudolph’s fans have thus had many ways in which to appreciate this enduring icon of Americana.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## *Run-DMC*

Queens, New York-based hip-hop artists Run-DMC, and Jam Master Jay are responsible for revolutionizing hip-hop in two very important ways. First, during hip-hop’s infancy as a recorded form, they changed the direction of recorded hip-hop by stripping it of all its “old school” aural fluff and cutting it down to its barest essentials: hardcore beats and rhymes. Their debut 1983 12” single, “It’s like That/Sucker MCs,” reflected the way hip-hop sounded as it was performed in local parks and nightclubs, and it laid a blueprint that

most 1980s hip-hop artists followed. Second, Run-DMC is credited for almost singlehandedly bringing hip-hop music to a wide scale audience with their Aerosmith collaboration, “Walk This Way,” a single that reached number four on the *Billboard* Pop charts in 1986. Among other firsts, they were the first hip-hop artists to earn a gold record, a platinum record, a multi-platinum record, a *Rolling Stone* cover, and have their videos regularly played on MTV.

Run (Joseph Simmons, born November 14, 1964), DMC (Darryl McDaniels, born May 31, 1964), and their DJ, Jam Master Jay (Jason Mizell, born January 21, 1965), were three black middle-class Hollis, Queens, high school kids who grew up listening to hip-hop in New York City parks. Run got his foot in the recording studio door because he was the brother of Russell Simmons, the then manager of hip-hop stars Kurtis Blow and Whodini (and soon-to-be co-founder of one of the most important hip-hop labels, Def Jam). Having rapped professionally since age 12 as “the son of Kurtis Blow,” Run often boasted that he could make a record better than the older guys who dominated the early recorded hip-hop scene; Run even went so far as to dismiss those more lightweight records as “bull——.”

After continually bugging Russell Simmons, the older brother relented and allowed Run and his two friends to cut a 12” single. Using just their voices and a drum machine (with light touches of synthesizer used to punctuate the rhythm), “It’s Like That” and

especially “Sucker MCs” essentially created hip-hop’s first “new school.” Rendering previous acts Grandmaster Flash & the Furious Five, the Cold Crush Brothers, Funky Four Plus One, and the Sugarhill Gang “old school,” Run-DMC created a new sound that was truer to the way hip-hop sounded in its raw form when it was performed live with a DJ and one or more MCs. This new sound was also extremely popular, earning a gold record (for 1984’s self-titled debut), a platinum record (for 1985’s *King of Rock*) and a platinum record (for 1986’s *Raising Hell*).

Although singles like “King of Rock” received significant airplay and were occasionally played on MTV, it was Run-DMC’s collaboration with Aerosmith on a cover of that hard rock band’s “Walk This Way” that put them over the top. Run-DMC was familiar with the song only because they had rapped over the song’s beat for years, but they had no idea who Aerosmith was; until they entered the studio with those veterans, they thought the name of the group was Toys in the Attic (the Aerosmith album from which “Walk This Way” came). Run-DMC’s “Walk This Way” smashed down walls between rock and hip-hop audiences, pleasing both crowds and making music history in the process. (It should also be noted that this wasn’t Run-DMC’s first fusion of rock and rap; they did it before on 1984’s “Rock Box” and 1985’s “King of Rock.”) The Run-DMC album that contained “Walk This Way” also featured a number of



Run-DMC

other popular songs, including “It’s Tricky,” “My Addidas,” and “You Be Illin’.”

By the late 1980s, Run-DMC found themselves victims of the restless drive for innovation and freshness. After 1988’s *Tougher than Leather*, their later albums—*Back from Hell* and *Down with the King*—barely charted, and Run-DMC was seen as “old school” has-beens. Before 1993’s *Down with the King*, the group embraced Christianity and Run even went so far as to become an ordained minister, founding his own church in Harlem. The group continued to remain active in the late 1990s, touring and performing in a popular 1998 Gap clothing television ad, but they still had not released a record of new material.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## Runyon, Damon (1880-1946)

Damon Runyon personified the spirit of Broadway in the Roaring 1920s. A renowned American journalist and sports writer for three and a half decades, he is best remembered for the people he created in his popular short stories of New York during Prohibition—touts, bookies, gamblers, gangsters, and their molls, who frequented the glittering world of speakeasies and nightclubs. “Runyonesque” is a commonly used term denoting a rough talking person with a slightly shady purpose, a wisecracking Good Time Charley or grasping Miss Billy Perry. His short story collection, *Guys and Dolls* (1931), became a successful Broadway musical and Hollywood box-office success, starring Frank Sinatra, while his *Little Miss Marker* launched the screen career of Shirley Temple. Together with Walter Winchell and his contemporary, Ring Lardner, Runyon presented a lively, humorous vision of Broadway during this era.

—Joan Gajadhar and Jim Sinclair

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## RuPaul (1960—)

RuPaul Andre Charles was the first African-American, disco-loving drag queen to secure a contract with a major cosmetics



RuPaul (left) with Joan Rivers.

company (M.A.C., 1995). RuPaul was a stunning beauty at six-feet-seven-inches in heels and propagated an ethic of self-love, acceptance of others, finger-wagging questioning of convention, and self-promotion not seen since Andy Warhol.

A fixture of the fashion and dance club scene in New York City beginning in the late 1980s, RuPaul became a household name when his 1993 debut album, *Supermodel of the World*, earned three #1 Billboard hits and received heavy airplay on cable music video channels and radio stations. In 1994 RuPaul teamed with Elton John to record “Don’t Go Breaking My Heart” for John’s *Duets* album. RuPaul hosted a morning drive-time show on New York City’s top-rated WKTU-FM (1996-97), several cable television specials, and a talk show on cable’s VH1 music video channel (1997-98). Addressing fashion, music, and current news issues, *The RuPaul Show* was a half hour of glitz, glamour, and infectious self-affirmation.

Between 1994 and 1998 RuPaul appeared in eleven films, sometimes in drag, sometimes not. His roles in *The Brady Bunch Movie* (1995) and *A Very Brady Sequel* (1996) aptly combined his neo-disco style with the retro-chic, tongue-in-cheek revival of the Brady franchise for a bit of cultural nostalgia that was very successful commercially.

RuPaul was forthcoming about his status as a cross-dresser and even used it as a marketing ploy with M.A.C. cosmetics: “If M.A.C. products can make a big old black man like me look this good,” he was known to say, “just think of what they can do for you, girl.” As co-chair of M.A.C.’s AIDS fund, RuPaul helped raise several million dollars between 1995 and 1997. His fundraising prowess and altruism notwithstanding, RuPaul attracted the criticism of religious leaders



worldwide who denounced the use of a drag artist as a spokesperson for an otherwise reputable company and cause.

—Tilney Marsh

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## Rupp, Adolph (1901-1977)

Known as the “Baron of the Bluegrass,” Adolph Rupp led the University of Kentucky basketball team to 18 Southeastern Conference championships, a National Invitational Tournament championship, and four NCAA national championships (1948, 1949, 1951, 1958) while compiling a record of 876-190 in his 41 years as head coach. In 1951, three of his star players admitted to taking money to shave points in a 1949 game. The NCAA suspended the team for the 1952-53 season and publicly reprimanded Rupp. Rupp’s all-white Wildcats squared off against the all-black Texas Western University in the 1966 National Championship game and lost, prompting Rupp to make some disparaging racist comments after the game. Soon after that season, all southern schools began to lift the unspoken ban on recruiting black athletes.

—Jay Parrent

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## Russell, Bill (1934—)

In thirteen seasons as a professional basketball player between 1956 and 1969, Bill Russell played on a record eleven National Basketball Association championship teams for the Boston Celtics, serving as both player and coach on the final two. While many believe that Michael Jordan was the best individual player in league history, an accolade that often went to Russell prior to Jordan’s ascent in the late 1980s through the 1990s. Russell is still widely recognized for his incredible winning record.

Born in Monroe, Louisiana, in 1934, Russell moved with his family to the San Francisco area and played basketball, without great distinction, at McClymonds High School in Oakland, California. Despite his lack of success at the high school level, Russell was big enough and promising enough to earn a scholarship to the University of San Francisco. There, he developed both physically and skill-wise,

and enjoyed an impressive career, during which he and future Celtic teammate K. C. Jones led the team to two National College Athletic Association championships in 1955 and 1956. Russell averaged more than twenty points and twenty rebounds a game during his college career, one of a very select group of players ever to have done so. He joined the Celtics after helping the United States to win a gold medal at the 1956 Olympic Games in Melbourne, Australia. Russell was initially drafted by the St. Louis Hawks, but Celtics coach Arnold “Red” Auerbach engineered a trade for Russell, as the high-scoring Celtics sorely lacked a player who could rebound and play defense.

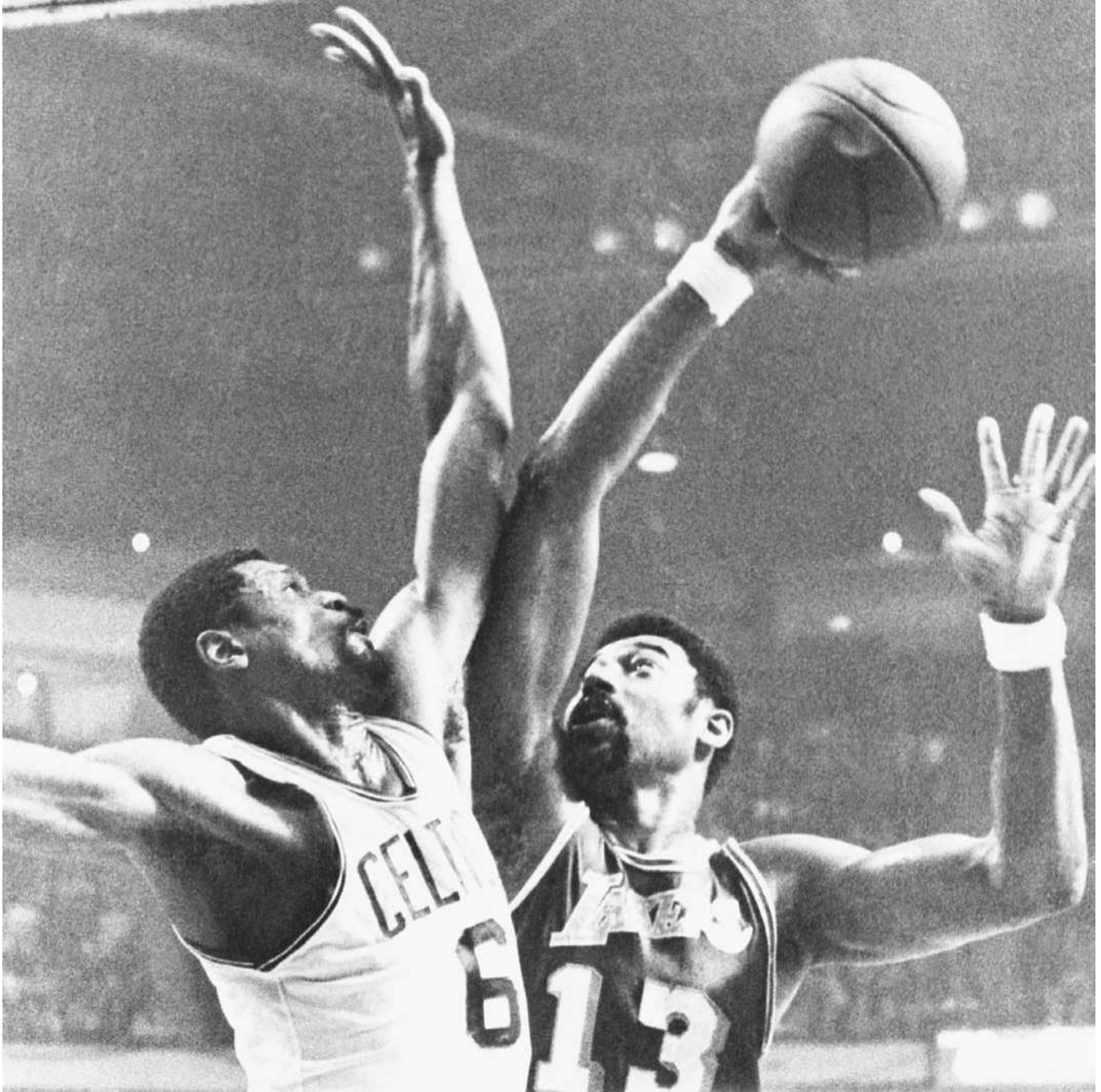
Russell’s defensive ability, coupled with the team’s already high-powered offense, proved the key to an unprecedented string of NBA championships for Boston. In Russell’s rookie season, the Celtics defeated the St. Louis Hawks for the league championship in 1956-57, due largely to Russell’s nineteen points and thirty-two rebounds in the decisive final game. Although the Celtics lost to the Hawks the following season, with Russell suffering a debilitating ankle injury in the opening moments of the third game of the championship series, the Celtics began a string of eight straight championships from 1958-59 through 1965-66.

The six-foot-nine-inch Russell became the leading rebounder in Celtics’ history and the second in NBA history after Wilt Chamberlain. Russell’s biggest innovation, however, was related to his ability as a shot-blocker. He would patrol the area near the basket and wait for opposing players to drive for an attempted score. With impeccable timing, Russell would gently swat the ball away to a teammate, who would often take it to the other end of the court for an easy basket. Later, as an outspoken television announcer in the 1970s and 1980s, Russell would criticize players who blocked shots by violently knocking the ball out of bounds. This, according to Russell, was a form of showing off that offended his concept of team play. Unfortunately for Russell, the NBA did not begin keeping track of blocked shots until the 1973-74 season, so his exact number of blocked shots is unknown.

Russell’s career-long rivalry with Chamberlain, one of the greatest scorers in NBA history, epitomizes his commitment to team play. While Chamberlain’s scoring numbers were much higher (Russell never averaged more than nineteen points a game during the regular season, while Chamberlain averaged at least fifty on several occasions), Russell was famed for his ability to help his teammates, particularly in crucial game situations. Russell won five NBA Most Valuable Player awards, given to the player who contributes the most to helping his team win. As Russell noted in his autobiography, *Second Wind*, “Star players have an enormous responsibility beyond their statistics—the responsibility to pick their team up and carry it. . . . I always thought that the most important measure of how good a game I’d played was how much better I’d made my teammates play.”

During the 1966-67 season, Russell became the player-coach of the Celtics, the first African American head coach in league history. Although the Celtics lost to a powerful Philadelphia team in that season, Russell led the aging Celtics to consecutive championships in the 1967-68 and 1968-69 seasons. The 1969 championship was perhaps the team’s most dramatic, as the Celtics, who had finished a mere fourth in their own division during the regular season, defeated a heavily favored Los Angeles Lakers team which included future Hall-of-Famers Chamberlain, Jerry West, and Elgin Baylor, winning a decisive game seven in Los Angeles.

Russell retired after the 1968-69 season and was elected to the NBA Hall of Fame in 1974. He undertook stints as the coach and general manager of the Seattle SuperSonics from 1973 to 1977 and as



The Lakers' Wilt Chamberlain tries for a basket over the Celtics' Bill Russell, 1969.

coach of the Sacramento Kings in 1987-88, neither of which approached his success as a player. Part of the problem was that the game had become more and more focused on individual stars since Russell's playing days, and players had a difficult time adjusting to the team style of play that Russell advocated. In addition, even Russell's admirers concede that he had little patience for detail and practice. As a player, notes former coach and close friend Auerbach in *On and off the Court*, Russell would put forth the minimum effort in practice, saving his energy for games. During his stint as player-coach

of the Celtics, Russell would often sit on the bench and drink coffee and read a newspaper while the team practiced. Once the game started, however, Russell was always ready to play.

—Jason George

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## Russell, Jane (1921—)

It was voluptuous Jane Russell’s cleavage that brought her to the attention of eccentric Hollywood producer, Howard Hughes. It was the exposure of too much of said cleavage in the 1941 film, *The Outlaw*, that brought the censors down on Hughes and brought Jane Russell an avalanche of publicity. But it was Russell’s ability to both laugh at and rise above her sex symbol status and prove herself a talented actress, a lovely singer, and a gifted comedienne that made her one of Hollywood’s top stars during the 1950s.

Ernestine Jane Geraldine Russell was born on June 21, 1921 in Bemidji, Minnesota. The daughter of a former actress and an office manager, Russell moved to Southern California at nine months and it was there she grew up, a tall, fun-loving tomboy. The oldest of five children, and the only girl, she loved the outdoors, and spent much of



Jane Russell in the film *The Outlaw*.

her time riding horses and climbing trees on her family’s Van Nuys ranch. Even in high school, Russell’s rambunctious spirit was more self-evident than her study habits. But after graduation, her mother insisted that her tall, beautiful, raven-haired daughter go to finishing school. When Russell balked at the idea, they compromised on drama school. After all, when her daughter was born, Russell’s mother had named her Jane Russell because she thought the name would look good up in lights.

In September 1939, Russell started taking lessons at the Max Reinhardt School of Drama. But she missed classes more than she attended them and instead hung out at the bowling alley across the street. She dropped out, only to decide a week later to enroll at Maria Ouspenskaya’s School of Dramatic Arts. Bitten by the acting bug, Russell stuck with her studies and six months later she was on her way to her first screen test at Twentieth Century-Fox. But nothing came of it except that Russell’s desire to become an actress grew, as did her disappointment when no one else called for a screen test. At last, she realized that she was going to have to give up her dream and get a real job, which she did, working as a chiropodist’s assistant.

One day out of the blue, her mother called to tell her that an agent had been calling every day. But Russell was no longer interested in pipe dreams. The agent persisted and finally got Russell on the phone, telling her that Howard Hughes wanted to test her for a picture. The next day, Russell was at the studio, and met with Howard Hawks, who would direct *The Outlaw* for Hughes. Russell’s part in this Western was as a half-Irish, half-Mexican girl whose brother has been killed by Billy the Kid and who tries to kill the Kid with a pitchfork, but is raped by the outlaw in retribution. The nineteen-year-old’s knockout figure and devil-may-care attitude may have won her the role, but she didn’t care. She was now a working actress.

On the shoot in Arizona, national magazines such as *Look*, *Life*, and *Photoplay*, photographed the new star in her costume of a low-cut peasant blouse and skirt. As Russell would later write, “My boobs were bulging out over the top of my blouse every time I picked up those pails. But I didn’t know it until I saw myself on the covers and centerfolds of practically every magazine on the newsstands . . . Those pictures came out for the next five years.”

When Howard Hawks walked off the set of *The Outlaw*, Howard Hughes took over. The result was a film that the Hays office censors took two years to approve, a film which Pauline Kael described as “the definitive burlesque of cowtown dramas . . . Jane Russell swings her bosom around and shows her love for frail, seedy Billy the Kid (Jack Buetel) by hitting him over the head with a coffepot and putting sand in his water flasks when he is setting out across the desert. To reciprocate, he ties her up with wet thongs and leaves her out in the sun. Walter Huston and Thomas Mitchell provide a little relief from the amorous games.” But even after the 1943 San Francisco premiere, the film remained hung up in red tape and was not released nationwide until 1947, leaving Russell’s dream of becoming a working actress stalled. Hughes owned her contract and refused to lend her out to other studios. She was, however, famous. During World War II, Russell was hailed as the “sexpot of the century,” becoming one of the favorite pinup girls for U.S. soldiers overseas.

Finally, after five years of inactivity, during which she married football star Robert Waterfield, Hughes agreed to loan Russell out to make *The Young Widow*, a teary war film. But the weepy widow role didn’t suit Russell’s strengths and it wasn’t until 1948’s *Paleface*, in

which she starred opposite Bob Hope, playing the strong, sharpshooting straight woman to Hope's timid funny man, that she hit her stride.

When Howard Hughes bought RKO the same year, Russell's career finally took off. She exhibited her singing and acting ability in *His Kind of Woman* and *Macao*, both opposite frequent co-star Robert Mitchum, her appeal as a dark, sexy, leading lady in *The Las Vegas Story*, and her comic talent in two more films with Bob Hope, *Road to Bali* and *Son of Paleface*. But it was 1953's *Gentleman Prefer Blondes*, which best showcased Russell. Starring opposite Marilyn Monroe, Russell gave what Leonard Maltin calls a "sly, knowing, comic performance," more than holding her own against the electric Monroe.

Russell remained an audience favorite in movies through the 1950s and 1960s. But it wasn't until she took over for Elaine Stritch in the Broadway musical, *Company*, in 1970, that Russell found another vehicle suited to her many talents. Playing a blowsy, boozy broad, Russell showed off her ability to sing, dance, act, and have a laugh at her own expense. Though 1970s TV audiences will always associate Russell and her full figure with the many commercials she made touting the virtues of Playtex bras, she has certainly proved herself to be more than the woman Bob Hope once introduced as "the two and only Jane Russell." Beautiful, talented, and funny, Jane Russell is that rare Hollywood sex symbol who can simultaneously laugh at herself and enjoy being the star that she is.

—Victoria Price

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## Russell, Nipsey (1920?—)

With an air of grace and intelligence, and an endless supply of original comic poems, comedian Nipsey Russell was one of the first African Americans to become a national television personality. Russell came to prominence in 1959 after a series of appearances on *The Tonight Show* with Jack Paar. Since then, he has surfaced on a long list of comedy, variety, and talk shows. His forte, however, is as a quiz show panelist. Known as "the poet laureate of television," he entertains with clever conversation and the recitation of his poems, which range in humor from silly to topical. His game show credits include *To Tell the Truth*, *Match Game 73*, and *Masquerade Party*. During the 1961-62 season, Russell played the character of Officer Anderson on *Car 54, Where Are You?*, a popular situation comedy about police antics in the Bronx. His big-screen credits are sparse, with his most memorable movie performance as the Tin Man in *The Wiz*, a 1978 black-cast musical version of *The Wizard of Oz*.

—Audrey E. Kupferberg

## Russell, Rosalind (1911-1976)

Rosalind Russell is best remembered for numerous roles in 1930s and 1940s comedies as high-powered career women (executives, judges, psychiatrists) caught between the problems of ambition and independence, and romantic notions of love and domesticity. Russell was allowed to dominate many of her scenes in these films, playing with power, verve, and perfect comic timing as her roles reversed and questioned gender relationships and exemplified the dilemmas facing women in the war period and beyond. But these roles were played out in the relatively safe haven of comedy and with the promise she would, in the last reel, settle down to domestic bliss with the right man.

—Kyle Smith

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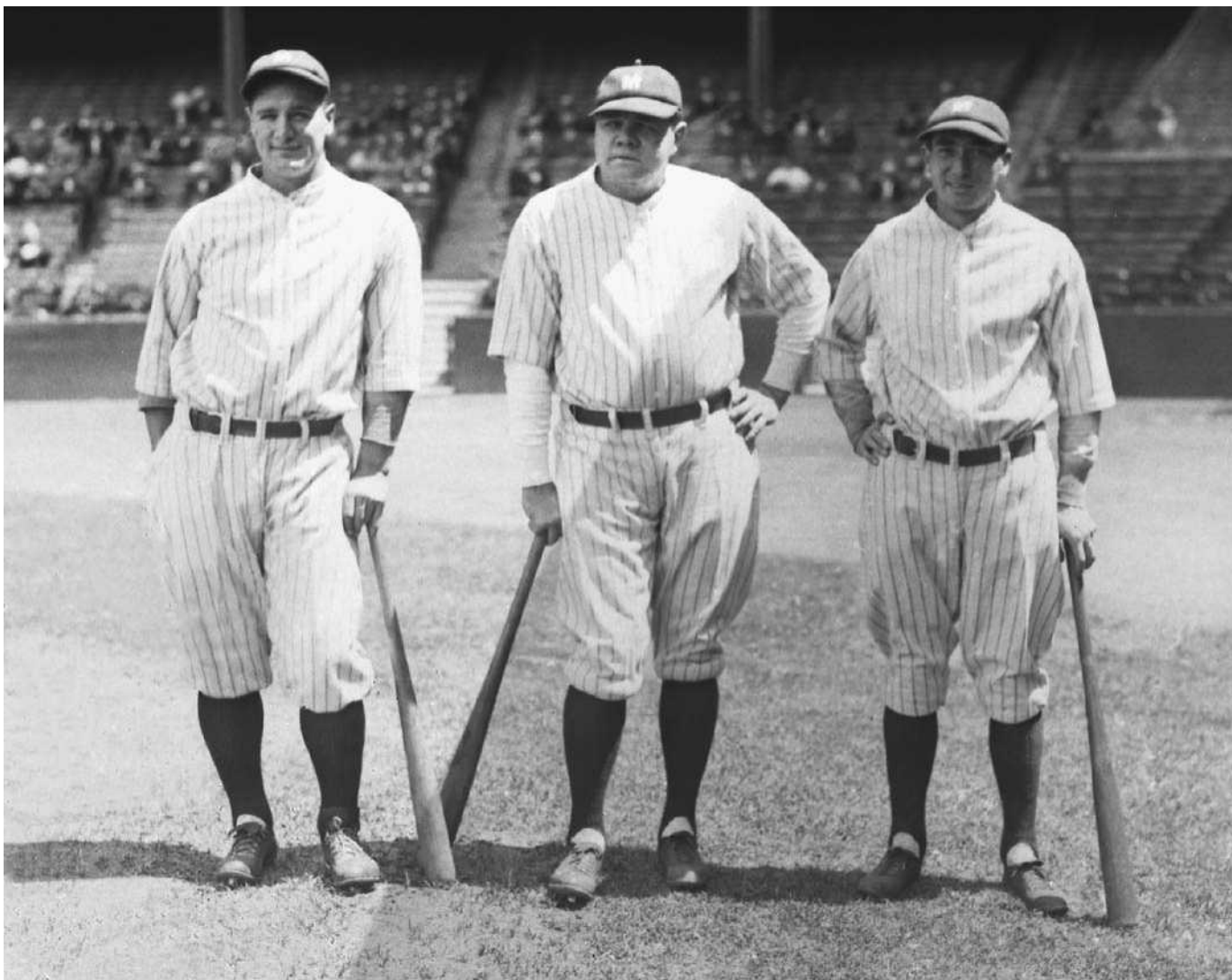
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## Ruth, Babe (1895-1948)

By most estimates, George Herman (Babe) Ruth was the greatest baseball player in the history of the game, and he is easily the sport's most renowned and enduring symbol. Ruth's legendary power with a baseball bat—many announcers still describe long home runs as "Ruthian" blasts—and his extravagant life off the field contributed to Ruth's extraordinary fame during his lifetime and after his death. Not only did Ruth's prodigious slugging help change the way baseball is played, but his enormous visibility changed the public role and responsibilities of professional athletes. Through team success with the New York Yankees during the 1920s, Ruth helped establish baseball as the "national pastime" and himself as an international celebrity.

Though Ruth was the most famous person in the United States at the time of his death—more people could identify Babe Ruth than film stars or U.S. presidents—his more humble beginnings led Ruth to conclude that he had "gotten a rotten start in life." Born on February 6, 1895, the son of second-generation German saloon proprietors, Ruth grew up in the working-class harbor district of Baltimore. Unsupervised during most of his childhood years, Ruth spent his time "on the street" with the sons of the longshoremen employed at the docks. His refusal to attend school eventually led to his enrollment at St. Mary's Industrial School for Boys, a Roman Catholic protectorcy for orphans, delinquents, and poor children consigned there by the city. Later in life, Ruth always reminisced fondly on his days at St. Mary's. While Ruth was the most highly paid player in the Major Leagues, he often bragged that he could still make a tailored shirt (the trade he learned as a youth at St. Mary's) in under twenty minutes.

Brother Matthias became Ruth's surrogate father at St. Mary's, and it was the Xaverian priest who became the young man's first instructor in the game of baseball. Baseball was the sport of choice at the school, and Ruth exhibited both passion and talent from the very



**Yankee sluggers (l-r) Lou Gehrig, Babe Ruth, and Tony Lazzeri.**

beginning. He proved an able understudy, and the lanky left-hander became one of the finest pitching prospects in the city of Baltimore by the age of fourteen. After several unsuccessful attempts, on February 27, 1914, Brother Matthias secured his progeny a tryout with the Baltimore Orioles of the International League, a very competitive minor league franchise. Ruth's first contract as a professional baseball player stipulated a salary of \$600 a year.

Ruth got his odd nickname during his first month with the Orioles. While speaking to a reporter about the team's new recruits, one of the coaches suggested that Ruth "is the biggest and most promising babe in the lot." Mistakenly thinking that Ruth's former home of St. Mary's was a refuge for foundlings and "babe" a reference to that past, the reporter used the moniker and it stuck. Ruth's baseball acumen impressed big-league scouts enough that his contract was purchased by the Boston Red Sox in July of 1914. On the eleventh of that same month Ruth began his twenty-two-year major league career as a pitcher, starting and winning his first game.

In order to measure Ruth's importance to the game of baseball, it is necessary to understand his career within the history of the game at

the professional level. At the organizational level, there were at least two significant challenges to the supremacy of the National and American Leagues (the two dominant, and still extant, professional associations in the United States): the creation of a rival organization, the Federal League, in 1914 and the "Black Sox" scandal of 1919. For a brief period, the Federal League posed a serious threat to the two more-established leagues. In fact, a well-supported Federal League team in Baltimore, the Terrapins, forced the owner of the struggling Orioles to sell his top prospects, including Babe Ruth. By competing for players, the Federal League also caused temporary inflation in the market value of athletes, a trend Ruth would continue single-handedly throughout the 1920s. The "Black Sox" scandal of 1919, however, posed a much different threat to the game: widespread corruption. In 1919, just before Ruth began his illustrious tenure with the New York Yankees, a group of players from the Chicago White Sox had accepted bribes in order to "throw" the World Series that year. Details of the incident leaked out during the 1920 season, causing the new commissioner of baseball, Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, to ban eight players for life, including Ruth's idol, "Shoeless" Joe Jackson

(see the film *Eight Men Out* for more). By that time, however, Ruth's home-run prowess was enough to ensure baseball's growing popularity.

On the field, baseball was played much differently before Ruth changed the game with his powerful batting style. During the era of Ty Cobb, from about 1900-1920, the league's best players specialized in hitting for a high average, bunting well, stealing bases, and cultivating defensive skills. It was also the "dead ball" era, in which pitchers dominated through the use of foreign substances and "lifeless" baseballs. Rule changes and the introduction of a livelier baseball made the 1920s more favorable to hitters. Before 1920, extra-base hits, much less home runs, were an oddity; after Ruth, power-hitters, though rarely as prolific as Ruth, became quite common.

Ruth's transition from pitcher to hitter was gradual, only completed during his final year in Boston. Though he was a fine pitcher (he won 95 games as a hurler and still holds World Series pitching records from his time with the Red Sox), Ruth became a full-time outfielder for the Red Sox in 1919. Though it was still part of the "dead ball" era, Ruth hit twenty-nine home runs in only 130 games, easily shattering the previous single-season record. From 1900-1920 the home run leader in the American League had averaged only ten home runs per year; Ruth's twenty-nine were more than most teams' seasonal output. During the winter of 1919, Ruth was sold to the Yankees for a record \$125,000.

Ruth's statistical feats with the Yankees have been well chronicled, but it is worthwhile to note how drastically his performances affected the way baseball is played and watched. Though no player in the American League had topped sixteen home runs during the previous twenty years, Ruth hit twenty-five or more in fifteen consecutive years from 1919-1934, bettering fifty on four separate occasions. At the time, he set modern records for home runs, extra-base hits, runs batted in, runs scored, walks, and strikeouts. The Yankees continually set attendance records both at home and on the road, making the American League club easily the most famous sports franchise in the United States. At its opening in 1923, Yankee Stadium set an attendance mark of 74,000 paying customers, an astounding number in an age before radio broadcasts had widened the sport's fan base. The Stadium later became known as "The House That Ruth Built" (coincidentally, its outfield wall was tailored to Ruth's home run swing). In 1927, he hit sixty home runs, and that Yankee club, after winning 110 games and the World Series, became commonly known as the greatest baseball team of all time.

Ruth's most famous hit came during the 1932 World Series; the story behind it is typical of the mythology surrounding Ruth. During game three of the Series, Ruth allegedly "called" his home run against Charley Root of the Chicago Cubs. With two strikes against him, Ruth pointed in the direction of the centerfield wall, signaling his intent to hit a home run. As the story goes, Ruth hit one over the fence just where he had pointed. Often repeated by reporters but rarely confirmed by Ruth, the tale, widely circulated after his retirement and death, only augments his mythical status. Ruth finished his playing days with more World Series appearances than any other player, and his 714 career home runs were almost three times that of the next highest total. Ruth was honored in retirement by becoming one of the five original inductees to the National Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, New York.

Ruth's flamboyance off the field of play only added to his enormous fame. Newspapers carried daily reports of his legendary

gluttony (it was rumored that he could consume up to eighteen hot dogs and a dozen bottles of soda at one sitting) and nightly debauchery (he rarely returned to the hotel before five in the morning when the team traveled), and towards the end of his career his expanding waistline became a common concern of the press. His stomach problem during the 1925 season was called "The Bellyache Heard 'round the World," while stories about his numerous love affairs caused trouble in both his marriages. Perpetually unsatisfied with his contract, Ruth frequently threatened to quit baseball in favor of boxing (one fight with Jack Dempsey had actually been arranged), Hollywood (he appeared in several films during his baseball days), or professional golf. A great lover of children, Ruth visited hospitals and orphanages with astounding regularity and contributed both time and money to any number of charity organizations during his playing days.

After retirement, Ruth remained a very public figure. He continued to champion a series of philanthropic causes through campaigns all over the country. Acting as an ambassador for baseball, he also traveled the globe, including very successful tours of England, France, and Japan, where Ruth helped establish baseball's popularity. Only thirteen years after his retirement from professional baseball, Ruth developed throat cancer, a result of years of incessant cigar smoking. His number, 3, was "retired" by the Yankees at the Stadium, in front of 70,000 fans, in 1948 before his passing on August 16 of that year. Throngs of supporters crowded New York's Fifth Avenue to catch a glimpse of Ruth's funeral cortege, and thousands later visited Yankee Stadium where his body was displayed before burial. Given the unrivaled popularity of baseball during his playing days and his undisputed dominance of the game, it is unlikely that any single sports figure could captivate the American public in quite the same way.

—Peter Kalliney

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See Ruth, Babe

## RV

When technological innovation brought early twentieth-century Americans the liberating effects of the automobile, it also produced ancillary developments in terms of vacation, travel, and shelter. Long-distance auto travel led many Americans to use tents or lean-tos in roadside areas, but trailers and recreational vehicles (RVs) would not begin to appear until the 1920s. What began as haphazard

homemade contraptions have evolved into a major industry constructing lavish homes on wheels.

Following the model of the “gypsy kit,” which started being marketed in 1909, manufacturers sold trailers and trucks possessing enclosed living areas. The liberation of the American traveler had reached a new level. RVs would become identified with complete autonomy because they represented fully transportable shelter. One of the first applications of the new RVs had little to do with the independence of the open road; instead the military made this form of temporary shelter part of many endeavors. During World War II, trailers replaced tents in the field, and, on the domestic side, trailers became overflow housing outside of military bases.

As leisure time and road quality increased after World War II, many Americans began to purchase RVs for lengthy summer travel, particularly in the American West where motels were rare. Tourist travel fed by the interstate highway system, which had been begun in the late 1950s, made even remote areas of the United States potential tourist destinations. Even infamous commercial sites such as Wall Drug in South Dakota or South of the Border in South Carolina could manufacture a tourist industry through excessive signage along interstates carrying travelers to destinations such as Mt. Rushmore and the southern beaches, respectively. And the popularity of RVs increased as new models—some with the towing vehicle incorporated into the design—appeared after 1950.

Many retirees found such mobility ideal; some even sold their homes in order to own an Airstream trailer or a Winnebago RV. The

Airstream culture is one of the nation’s most unique. The easily recognizable Airstream trailer campers have a bullet-like, metallic, industrial appearance that makes little claim to aesthetics. This utilitarian design, however, has gathered a huge amount of appreciators, including clubs such as the Vintage Airstream Club. Led by the Wally Byam Foundation, named after Airstream’s founder, and with the purpose to “support people to people understanding through trailer travel,” Airstreamers have led the way in transforming a form of travel into a culture of its own. With organized trips, called caravans, Airstreamers can be seen throughout the America’s highway system.

In the end, RVs have had little to do with outdoor adventure and exploration. By the end of the twentieth century, American families seeking outdoor exploration continued to use tents and hike into areas difficult—if not impossible—for the large-sized RVs to travel. RVs had instead become part of road tourism particularly for retired couples. RVs represent the pinnacle of American mobility, making it possible for Americans to remain “on the road” for as long as they like. This mobility has led Americans of many different ages to explore distant locations along the open road.

—Brian Black

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A Winnebago camper.



Meg Ryan

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## Ryan, Meg (1961—)

Meg Ryan became the queen of romantic comedy by faking a very public orgasm in the memorable restaurant scene of *When Harry Met Sally* (1989). Later, *Sleepless in Seattle* (1993) strengthened her status as America's favorite girl-next-door. Since then Ryan has held her throne against the competition of younger comedy stars Julia Roberts and Sandra Bullock. Her uneven filmography reveals, however, a clear underlying tension between the audience's preference for her romantic roles and her own wish to explore her talent for drama. The revengeful Maggie of *Addicted to Love* (1997) should be seen, thus, as her last unsuccessful attempt to leave her sunny persona behind. The failure of her brave performances as a Gulf War heroine in *Courage under Fire* (1996) and as an alcoholic wife in *When a Man Loves a Woman* (1994) to impress the audience seems to have oriented her career definitively towards romantic comedy.

—Sara Martin

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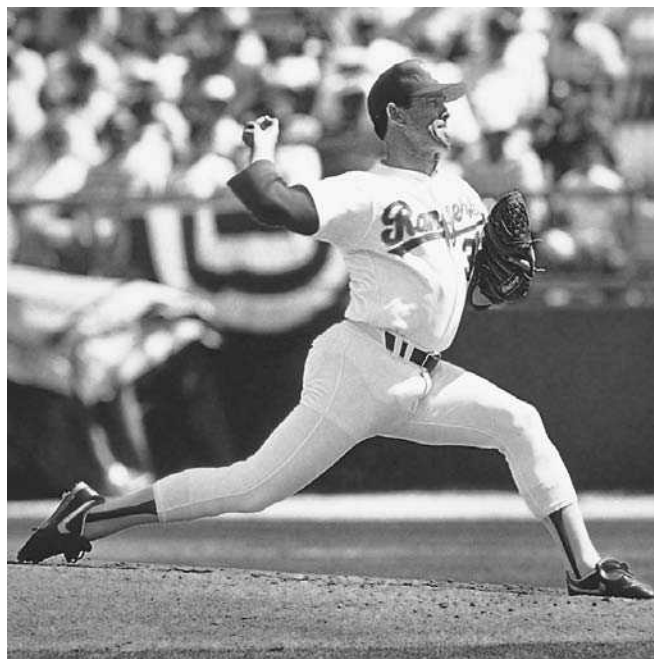
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## Ryan, Nolan (1947—)

Nolan Ryan was the greatest power pitcher of his era, and certainly the greatest pitcher never to win the Cy Young award. His blazing fastball (consistently measured in excess of 100 miles per hour) and intensity on the mound made him one of the most dominant pitchers in baseball history. His extraordinary work ethic and perseverance became legendary, and his ability to strike out opposing batters made him a role model for thousands of aspiring pitchers. Consigned to playing on mediocre teams for his entire career, Ryan still managed to win 324 games, throw seven no-hitters, and strike out over 5,700 batters in his 27 years in the majors.

Lynn Nolan Ryan, Jr. was born January 31, 1947, in Refugio, Texas, the youngest of six children. He grew up playing Little League baseball under his father's coaching, and later played in high school. It was in high school that a New York Mets scout saw him pitch and signed him to play rookie ball in Virginia.

Early in his career, Ryan's flaming fastball caused many problems. Although he could throw the ball with astonishing velocity, he had little control over where it would actually go. This lack of control translated into a large number of walks and hit batters, and the Mets kept him pitching in middle relief for most of the time he was with the team. In 1969, Ryan made his first appearance in the World Series as a reliever, earning a save in game three.



Nolan Ryan



Although he clearly had the arm to be a major league pitcher, Ryan's poor control became an increasingly big problem for the Mets and in 1971, after four years with the team, he was traded with three other players to the California Angels. It was with the Angels that Ryan began realizing his potential. As a member of the pitching rotation from 1972 to 1979, he threw four no-hitters, compiled a 138-123 won-lost record (far better than the team's overall winning percentage), and set the single-season strikeout record in 1973 with 383. Although Ryan liked pitching for California, he wanted to return to his home state of Texas, and he signed a contract with the Houston Astros for the then record-breaking sum of \$1 million per year.

In Houston, Ryan consistently ranked among the league leaders in strikeouts and pitched his record fifth no-hitter in 1981. In 1987, he became the first pitcher to lead the league in earned-run average and strikeouts without winning the Cy Young Award for pitching. This snub was probably due to his record of eight wins and 16 losses, a consequence of the Astros' anemic offense. In 10 of his 16 losses, the Astros scored two or fewer runs. In 1988, at the age of 40, Ryan was asked to take a pay cut by the Astros, but he preferred to leave them rather than accept the cut and signed with the Texas Rangers.

With the Rangers, Ryan earned his 300th win, his 5000th strikeout, and tossed his sixth and seventh no-hitters (no-hitters being previously unthinkable for a pitcher of his age). During his tenure with the Rangers, he finally gained recognition for his astounding achievements, with baseball fans and writers at last recognizing his phenomenal athleticism and perseverance as he approached the end of his career. His amazing conditioning regimen and natural physical gifts allowed Ryan to continue to pitch effectively well past the age of 40, and he reached the status of the "Grand Old Man" of the game of baseball.

The 1992 and 1993 seasons were full of injuries, and Nolan Ryan retired from the game he had served on the field for 27 years. He was elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1999, his first year of eligibility. His uniform numbers have been retired by the Angels, the Astros, and the Rangers.

—Geoff Peterson

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## Rydell, Bobby (1942—)

Boyishly handsome, with an infectious smile, teen idol Bobby Rydell summoned up the image of the boy next door. Like fellow

Philadelphian heartthrobs Frankie Avalon and Fabian, he catered to teenage desires at a time, circa 1959-1960, when the music world wanted safe alternatives to the sexually explosive Elvis Presley.

Still, Rydell stood out as a bonafide talent. A musical prodigy, he began playing drums at six, had a nightclub act at seven, and became a regular on a television amateur show at nine. He was a drummer with the group Rocco and the Saints, which also boasted Avalon on trumpet, when he was approached about a singing career. Resulting hits, including "Volare" and "Wild One," were marked by a smooth delivery. In his only major movie, *Bye Bye Birdie* (1963), however, he was eclipsed by volatile Ann-Margret. In the 1990s, Rydell played to former fans in "oldies" shows.

—Pat H. Broeske

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## Ryder, Winona (1971—)

Actress Winona Ryder's ability to appear both vulnerable and sophisticated won her a devoted following among Generation X viewers. Born Winona Laura Horowitz, she is noted for such diverse roles as a death-obsessed teen (*Beetlejuice*, 1988); Mrs. Jerry Lee Lewis (*Great Balls of Fire!*, 1989); a high school student involved in murder (*Heathers*, 1989); a vampire's love interest (*Bram Stoker's Dracula*, 1992); a struggling Gen Xer (*Reality Bites*, 1994); a vindictive Puritan (*The Crucible*, 1996); and an android (*Alien: Resurrection*, 1997). She received Academy Award nominations for her performances in *The Age of Innocence* (1993) and *Little Women* (1994).

—S.K. Bane

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# S

## Safe Sex

Sex can be considered “safe” if it avoids the risk of one person infecting another with a sexually transmitted disease (STD). Some individuals and groups maintain that the only sex that is 100 percent safe is no sex—that is, abstinence. But since STDs are usually passed on through bodily fluids (genital herpes is an exception, being transmitted by skin-to-skin contact), any form of sexual expression that avoids one partner’s exposure to the body fluids of another can be reasonably described as “safe.” Although this definition would include such practices as mutual masturbation (once known as “heavy petting”), the most common contemporary definition of the term “safe sex” involves the use of a latex condom to avoid the spread of STDs; such devices have been shown to be 98-100 percent effective.

Safe sex is a vital necessity in the modern age, and has been so ever since the 1980s, when medical science first identified the virus that causes AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome), a fatal disease with no known vaccine or cure. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention report that STDs constitute five of the ten most common infectious diseases reported in the United States: AIDS, syphilis, gonorrhea, hepatitis-B, and chlamydia. Further, there



An example of a campaign for condom use among seniors.

are some 12 million new cases of STDs reported in the United States every year.

One of the early efforts to increase public awareness of STDs in the age of AIDS was made by Otis R. Bowen, Secretary of Health and Human Services during the Reagan administration. In a 1987 press conference, he claimed that “When a person has sex, they’re not just having it with that partner. They’re having it with everybody that partner has had it with in the past 10 years.” Bowen’s observation made its way into the popular culture quickly. It was picked up by the news magazines, appeared in public service advertisements, and even showed up in television dramas like *L.A. Law*.

When it comes to depictions of sexual activity, however, television entertainment programs are contributors to the STD problem much more frequently than they are part of the solution. A 1999 study by the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation showed that 67 percent of prime-time television programs contained verbal or visual references to sex, but only 10 percent made any mention of safe sex or contraception. Within the program sample studied, 88 scenes were identified portraying or implying sexual intercourse, and not one contained any depiction or mention of safe sex. These results were consistent with similar studies performed in 1986, 1993, and 1996: there was considerable sexual activity portrayed on television, but very little mention of STD prevention by any of the sexually involved characters.

There have been a few notable exceptions to this trend. In 1989, an episode of the situation comedy *Head of the Class* caused a stir when one of the characters, a teenage boy, asks his teacher whether he should have intercourse with his girlfriend. The teacher (portrayed by Howard Hesseman) advises the boy not to have sex, but, if he must, to be sure to use a condom. In the late 1990s, several shows on the WB network, including *Dawson’s Creek* and *Felicity*, showed characters discussing sex with disease prevention raised as an issue; similar scenes have also been seen on the UPN network’s popular show *Moesha*.

If discussion of condoms is rare in network television shows, it is unheard of in the advertising that pays for those programs. Neither the major networks (ABC, CBS, NBC, or Fox) nor the largest independents (WB and UPN) will accept paid advertising for condoms, even during late-night shows. The networks’ concern is that such advertisements would cause offense in the more conservative areas of the country, and also that some advertisers of more conventional products would not wish to have their advertisements preceded or followed by a condom commercial.

Local network affiliates, however, are allowed to accept condom advertisements, and several have done so. In August of 1998, CBS affiliate stations in New York and Los Angeles broadcast condom advertisements for the first time, and were followed by Boston a month later. The advertisements were protested by the conservative American Family Association, but the stations continued to run them.

The networks have been more open to the airing of public service announcements (PSAs) for AIDS prevention, which often mention condoms. In 1994, the networks (along with many cable television channels) began broadcasting a series of PSAs sponsored by the Centers for Disease Control. Although Fox and NBC showed the six advertisements without alteration, ABC felt obliged to add this tagline to each: “Abstinence is the safest, but if you do have sex, latex

condoms can protect you.” CBS was willing to air five of the PSAs, but drew the line at one that featured a counselor infected with AIDS and an “800” number to call for more information.

Just as concern about safe sex rarely shows up in television programs, it is also generally absent from the movies Americans watch. One exception was *Pretty Woman* (1990), in which prostitute Vivian Ward (Julia Roberts) offers a choice of condoms to her “date,” Edward Lewis, played by Richard Gere. More recently, the 1997 sex farce *Boozy Call* features two women’s insistence on condom use by their men as a central plot element.

Condoms are also becoming more common in the last place where one might expect to find them—XXX adult films. In 1998, porn star Mark Wallace reportedly tested positive for HIV, the virus that causes AIDS. This is not unusual in itself, but it has been alleged that Wallace had tested positive more than a year earlier, and had concealed that fact while continuing to have unprotected sex in films, apparently infecting several of his female co-stars in the process. Consequently, pornography is likely to be showing a lot more latex in the future.

Another unlikely source for safe sex advocacy was Kate Shindle, the 1997-1998 Miss America. Unlike her predecessors, who generally shied away from controversy, Shindle used her many public appearances to discuss AIDS and its prevention through safe sex practices. This caused the cancellation of some of her speaking engagements, but Shindle was undeterred, delivering her message in any venue where she could reach an audience. “To me,” she said, “the most important thing is saving lives.”

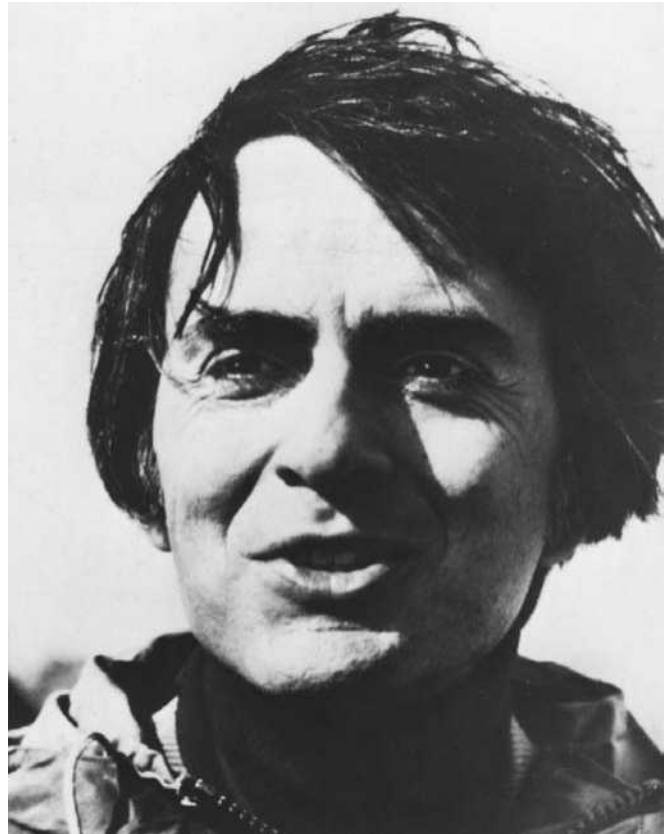
—Justin Gustainis

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## Sagan, Carl (1934-1996)

Of all the spokespeople for the space sciences active during the last three decades of the twentieth century, astronomer Carl Sagan



Carl Sagan

was the most widely recognized and articulate. Through his accessible and instructive writings on the subject of space and their accompanying television programs, he earned a significant and popular place in American culture, and defined one of the world’s most frightening forebodings as “nuclear winter.”

The explosion of popular interest in astronomy and space travel in the United States following the Soviet Union’s launch of Sputnik on October 4, 1957 provided the scientific community with an unparalleled opportunity for public education that continued for several decades. An entirely new genre of writing began to appear from either prominent figures involved in the American space effort, such as Werner von Braun and the members of the newly formed astronaut corps, or science writers knowledgeable in these fields. In addition to the obvious political overtones to the so-called “space race,” discussion of humanity’s place in the universe and questions regarding the future uses of outer space assumed new importance in both American and worldwide consciousness.

Born in New York City on November 9, 1934, Sagan showed an interest in astronomy early on and pursued it as a career, completing doctoral work at the University of Chicago in 1960 and serving as a faculty member at Berkeley, Harvard, and the Smithsonian Institution before settling at Cornell. While his main research interests lay in planetary studies and the origin of life, many of his writings were designed to educate the general public on these fields, a task he poured heart and mind into throughout his life. His first popular work in this line was the 1973 introduction to the search for extra-terrestrial life and space travel, *The Cosmic Connection*. His interest in the processes through which life might have arisen and developed

intelligent awareness was the focus of his next work, *The Dragons of Eden*, awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1977. But it was with the text of his 1980 volume *COSMOS* (written in conjunction with a series of 13 programs widely broadcast on public television networks) that this unassuming astronomer truly became a recognizable and familiar figure in the public mind of America, if not the planet.

The idea for the *COSMOS* project was born in 1976 while he was part of the imaging team working on the Viking Lander mission to Mars. Journalistic interest in the operation waned swiftly once it became clear that the question of the presence of life on the planet remained unsettled. Sagan and B. Gentry Lee, director of data analysis and mission planning, decided to create a television production company whose goal was the communication of science in an accessible and inviting manner. Several lines in the introduction set forth the essential features of a personal and philosophical view of the space age: these stated that “the present epoch is a major crossroads for our civilization and perhaps our species . . . our fate is indissolubly bound up with science.” A lively respect for the intelligence of his audiences, and an unflinching joy and wonder at the infinite diversity of a patterned universe, made Sagan in several ways the ideal teaching voice, able to provide a comprehensible perspective on the flood of new information becoming available from various space missions and orbiting instruments.

His concern for the role of science and its potential to determine the human future was also evident in his involvement with research on the effects of an exchange of nuclear weapons on the Earth’s biosphere. Basing their work on models created during analysis of the temperature fluctuations caused by a massive Martian dust storm, encountered in 1971 by the Mariner 9 probe, Sagan and other scientists synthesized available data into the first comprehensive study of the impact of the explosions of numerous megaton atomic weapons on global climate and atmospheric factors. He presented the grim results of these findings as one of the two principal papers at the 1983 Conference on the Long-Term Worldwide Biological Consequences of Nuclear War held in Washington, D.C. It was here that Sagan first publicly coined the phrase “nuclear winter.”

Arguably, Sagan’s most influential contribution made to the popular memory with regard to planet Earth began in 1976. It was then that he was requested to head the team to choose the contents of a message to be sent with the Voyager spacecraft, an unmanned probe that ventured into deep space after its years-long mission through the solar system was completed. Rather than duplicate the aluminum plaques affixed to the earlier Pioneer 10 and 11 probes, Sagan and his team decided to include a long-playing record, containing both audio recordings and visual images gathered from diverse societies, that, collectively, would enable extra-terrestrial beings to gain a sense of human accomplishment. Types of information placed within the final product ranged from 118 pictures representing different aspects of human civilization and its world, through greetings in 54 languages, music ranging from the Navajo Night Chant and Indian ragas to a Mozart aria, and recorded natural sounds, including the cry of a newborn infant. The motivation for sending such a rich record was, in Sagan’s view, that “no one sends such a message on such a journey, to other worlds and beings, without a positive passion for the future.” Until his death from cancer on December 20, 1996, Sagan continued to promote a clear and well-reasoned perspective on the wonders and complexities of space, and humanity’s future within it aboard its “pale blue dot.”

—Robert Ridinger

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## Sahl, Mort (1927—)

Mort Sahl pioneered the type of biting satirical political humor that inspired so many other comics who came after him, from Lennie Bruce to Jay Leno. Appearing first in nightclubs during the late 1950s, Sahl did not follow earlier comics who told mother-in-law jokes or stuck to ribbing their show business cronies. Instead, he adopted the style of jazz musicians who begin with a theme, are reminded of another idea, and then circle back to the original theme.

Sahl was born May 11, 1927, in Montreal, Canada, but soon moved to Los Angeles, where his father eventually worked as a clerk for the F.B.I. Sahl was a high school member of R.O.T.C. and was stationed, after being drafted, in Alaska. There, he got into trouble as editor of the base paper, “Poop from the Group,” and claimed to have served 83 days in a row on KP (kitchen patrol). Nevertheless, Sahl claims that he remained an establishment supporter, the same boy who won an American Legion Americanism award. He served his country with pride, but turned to the comedy of satire as he drifted away from those values.

It took time for Sahl’s style of comedy to catch on. Audiences, at first, did not quite know what to make of him. Sahl appeared on stage with a rolled-up newspaper. The paper held a crib sheet of topics and lines he wanted to follow. The owners of San Francisco’s Hungry i comedy club believed in him and kept him working until fans came to appreciate the sweater-clad, hip comedian. Here was a man who dared chide President Dwight D. Eisenhower: “Eisenhower proved we don’t need a President,” Sahl once said. Nothing was sacred to him, and he paraded his ability to expose others’ foibles, wondering, “Is there any group I haven’t offended yet?”

Sahl was one of the first comedians to do comedy records. In the late 1950s his recordings—such as 1958’s *The Future Lies Ahead*—sold quite well and Sahl’s humor became familiar to many that never



**Mort Sahl**

had the chance to see him in clubs. He set his sights on politicians especially, taking swipes at Eisenhower, Adlai Stevenson, and John F. Kennedy (even though he had once penned one-liners for the Kennedy campaign). Sahl once remarked, "Whoever the President is, I will attack him." But liberals who supported the jibes aimed at Eisenhower failed to appreciate the jokes made at Kennedy's expense and this lack of fan appreciation, coupled with what Sahl complained was a blacklisting by entertainment executives sympathetic to Kennedy, sent his career into a sharp decline in the later 1960s.

Sahl soon became obsessed with Kennedy's assassination, and he felt it was his responsibility to educate the American public that the CIA was responsible for the president's death. His income dropped from about a million dollars a year to \$17,000 in 1967. Sahl was reduced to working small clubs and writing movies that never were filmed. He published an autobiography, *Heartland*, in 1976 and in the late 1980s staged a comeback of sorts, appearing in a one-man show on Broadway called simply *Mort Sahl on Broadway*, and acting as host of the radio program *Publishers Weekly's Between the Covers with Mort Sahl* on the ABC Radio Network beginning in 1995. Though he had defined the cutting edge of comedy 40 years earlier, it seemed that Sahl still had something to say to American audiences in the late 1990s.

—Frank A. Salamone

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## Saks Fifth Avenue

The retail specialty store, Saks Fifth Avenue, has stood as a symbol of American wealth and prestige for most of the twentieth century. The firm was founded in 1902 when Andrew Saks, a street peddler from Philadelphia, opened Saks & Company, a men's clothing shop in Washington, D.C. Saks soon expanded his store operations to Richmond, Virginia; Indianapolis; and New York City. For his New York store, Saks began actively courting the high-end retail market by stocking quality merchandise and offering first-class service. After Horace Saks became firm president upon his father's death in 1912, Saks made a bid to become the premiere specialty store for New York society. Saks buyers scoured the globe for unique and fashionable merchandise in order to build the store's reputation. With the shift of New York retail uptown during the 1910s, it became apparent to Saks that for the firm to continue its fashionable reputation, it needed a more prestigious address than its present location on



**Saks Fifth Avenue in New York City.**

34th Street near Herald Square. The firm entered negotiations to takeover the site of the New York Democratic Club between 49th and 50th Streets on Fifth Avenue, but lacked sufficient capital to meet Tammany Hall's asking price. Therefore, Horace Saks agreed to merge his retail store chain with Gimbel Brothers department store, which operated stores in Philadelphia; Madison, Wisconsin; and New York. The resultant merger in 1923 created one of the earliest regional department store chains in the United States. Saks' old Herald Square store site was leased to Gimbels and combined with their existing store nearby, making it the largest department store in the world at that time.

The uptown store, christened Saks Fifth Avenue, opened in 1924 with great fanfare. Street windows displayed such luxurious items as raccoon coats and foot muffs for automobile travel. An electric-lighting system signaled chauffeurs when to pick up patrons. In an attempt to capitalize on the growing notoriety of the uptown store, Saks president Adam Long Gimbel decided to rename all the firm's outlets Saks Fifth Avenue, a stroke of marketing genius that conveyed the prestige of the address to every store. Gimbel undertook a branch store building program in 1926 designed to place Saks Fifth Avenues in carefully chosen locations in resort towns and prestigious residential areas in Chicago, Miami Beach, and Beverly Hills. Gimbel establish several trademark services including a gift-buying service for business executives, and they were the first retail store to have their own in-house fashion designer producing collections in the guise of Sophie Gimbel. The store's national reputation grew to the extent that "very Saks Fifth Avenue" became a popular euphemism for posh style.

The firm was bought out by Brown & Williamson Tobacco in 1973, and today remains an active retail chain with more than 32 branches, outliving its sister Gimbel Brothers department stores.

—Stephanie Dyer

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## Sales, Soupy (1926—)

Comedian Soupy Sales built his reputation on the unlikely skill of pie throwing; he is reputed to have thrown 19,000 pies in a career that stretched from the 1950s into the 1990s. Sales, born Milton Supman, planted pies in the faces of some of America's most noted celebrities, including Frank Sinatra, Sammy Davis, Jr., and Tony Curtis. The comedian appeared on local television variety shows for both children and adults in several major markets before taking the *Soupy Sales Show* national in the mid-1960s. Sales, who delighted fans with his antics, went too far on New Years day in 1965 when he asked the children who watched his show to "go to Daddy's wallet



#### Soupy Sales

and get those little green pieces of paper with pictures of George Washington on it and send them to me." They did, to the tune of \$80,000, but the prank led to the show's brief suspension. Sales made frequent guest appearances on TV and in movies into the 1990s.

—Naomi Finkelstein

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## Salsa Music

Easily the most successful form of music named for a condiment, salsa transcended its humble beginnings as a marketing hook to become a powerful influence on music and culture worldwide. A blend of African rhythms and European harmony born in Cuba and developed in New York City, salsa is a truly international music encapsulating the Latin American experience—and you can dance to it.

Beginning in the sixteenth century, Spanish settlers brought Africans to Cuba to work as slaves, mostly on sugar and tobacco

plantations. Afro-Cuban music developed out of traditional West African musical forms, replicated on homemade or Spanish instruments. Some elements stemming from African religious practice, including call-and-response singing and polyrhythms, remain dominant features of Afro-Cuban music to this day, and *santería*, a typically Cuban blend of African religions and Catholicism, is still a popular musical topic. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Afro-Cuban music had taken three main forms: *son*, a popular dance music with three contrasting rhythms; *rumba*, informal street music, enthusiastic and improvised, typically just percussion and vocals; and *danzón*, derived from European dance forms, spotlighting piano and flute. All three forms are distinguished by their use of the *clave*, a two-measure, five-beat syncopated rhythm played on small wooden sticks called *claves*. The music's impact was first felt outside the island beginning in the 1930s, when *rhumba* (an Americanization of *rumba*) and *mambo* (an evolution of *danzón*) music began to be played by dance bands in the United States, and soon after, jazz pioneer Dizzy Gillespie incorporated Cuban elements into *be-bop*, a combination Gillespie called "Cubop."

But by the early 1960s, *rumba* and *mambo* had become *passé* in the United States, at least among those who considered themselves too hip for the likes of Ricky Ricardo. At the same time, many of Cuba's biggest talents moved to New York City, fleeing their country's Communist revolution—most notably Celia Cruz. These artists combined with young, predominantly Puerto Rican, New Yorkers to breathe new life into the city's Latin dance scene, dropping the traditional violins in favor of blaring, often dazzling, horn arrangements. Pianist and bandleader Eddie Palmieri was the first to bring the complex *mozambique* rhythm—developed in Cuba by Pello el Afrokán—to New York; he was also the foremost of a new generation of jazz-trained pianists, bringing a new harmonic complexity to the music. By the late 1960s, *Fania Records*, a label owned by Jerry Masucci, had signed most of the rising stars of the new Afro-Cuban music. It is unknown who first applied the word "salsa" to this genre, but Masucci and *Fania's* musical director Johnny Pacheco relentlessly promoted the use of the term. Many older Latin musicians and fans still bristle at the name, feeling that their cultural heritage is being reduced to tomato sauce. But the name caught on, and is now used—if grudgingly—by nearly all participants.

Almost immediately, sales of salsa records went through the roof, and in the early 1970s there were a wealth of successful bands, making up in energy and swing what they lacked in technical polish and production values: Palmieri, Cruz, Joe Bataan, Ray Barretto, Larry Harlow, Johnny Colón, and most importantly, trombonist Willie Colón (no relation to Johnny). Raised in the Bronx, Willie cut his first record, *Guisando* (1969), in his late teens, and soon established a reputation as salsa's bad boy and biggest hitmaker. His main vocalist in the 1970s was Hector LaVoe, who moved beyond familiar romantic themes to depict the often harsh reality of New York's *barrios* on such songs as "Piraña," "Barrunto," and "Te Conozco." Colón refused to be limited to Masucci's vision, and he soon expanded his musical palette to include traditional Puerto Rican rhythms—*bomba* and *plena*—and Brazilian styles. Of the 1940s and 1950s generation of bandleaders, only the seemingly ageless percussion master Tito Puente remained prominent. Salsa's lyrics have been justly criticized for sexist content, and from the beginning there have been very few female singers—and next to no writers or arrangers—in the form. Central to Masucci's marketing plan was the idea of advertising salsa as a completely new style, and to this end he downplayed the music's Cuban origins, though nearly everything

*Fania* released—aside from *merengue*, which came from the Dominican Republic—was Afro-Cuban in character. Partly because of sour United States-Cuba relations, Masucci did not credit Cuban composers on *Fania* records, even when the majority of an album's tracks were covers of Cuban songs.

In the late 1970s, Panamanian-born Rubén Blades brought a new level of lyrical sophistication to salsa. Both his love songs and his devastating political critiques borrowed the imagery and nuance of Latin American protest music (*nueva canción*, called *nueva trova* in Cuba) but brought them to a larger audience by blending them with driving dance rhythms. Blades came to prominence as vocalist and main songwriter for Willie Colón, and their collaboration *Siembra* (1976) is the best selling and probably the most critically praised salsa album of all time; Blades reached his solo peak a few years later with *Buscando América* (1984) and *Escenas* (1985). Thanks in part to his fluency in English, Blades made friends with many rock stars: his 1988 English-language release *Nothing but the Truth* features Sting, Lou Reed, and Elvis Costello, and he also recorded with Joe Jackson and Jackson Browne. In the early 1990s Blades became better known for his character roles in Hollywood films, and in 1994 he put both entertainment careers on hold in favor of an unsuccessful run for president of Panama.

Unlike, say, reggae, salsa was never incorporated into mainstream music in the United States, perhaps because of the language barrier. Even amateur ethnologists Paul Simon and Peter Gabriel ignored the genre: it was at once too close to home, and too far away. Although some New York pop artists, including Janis Ian and Patti LaBelle, recorded salsa tunes, such efforts were few, and no one—traditionalist or imitator—ever hit the Top 40 with a salsa. The best illustration of salsa's failure to cross over to English-speaking markets is that the Puerto Rican act best known to the United States public is not El Gran Combo or Willie Colón, but Menudo: a prefab pretty-boy group with about as much connection to Afro-Cuban rhythms as the Osmonds.

By the late 1980s, Nuyorican youth were buying more high energy dance music than salsa. Many of the old guard had retired or faded into obscurity (Harlow, Barretto) while those who remained had trouble getting their records played (Willie Colón). A film—*Salsa!* (1988)—starring former Menudo vocalist Robby Rosa bombed. The singers who flourished in this environment were those with the least penchant for innovation, the slickest production, and absolutely no political message: for example, Jerry Rivera and Tito Nieves, "the Pavarotti of Salsa." Though salsa was still popular throughout Latin America, as exemplified by Colombia's Grupo Niche and Venezuela's Oscar D'León, the music was stagnating in New York City, where the new hitmakers were lightweight "Latin hip-hop" acts like Exposé, Sweet Sensation, and Brenda K. Starr. These artists relied on static, pre-programmed beats and breathy, high-pitched vocals—the antithesis of salsa.

In a backhanded way, Latin hip-hop provided the impetus for salsa's revival in the mid-1990s. India and Marc Anthony, two artists whose personalities and voices were too strong to be confined by Latin hip-hop's formulas, returned to the music of their childhoods, cutting albums with young producer/arranger Sergio George. George was unafraid to supplement traditional elements with innovative borrowings from funk, soul and hip-hop, but both artists' albums were unmistakably salsa, and they succeeded on those terms, reawakening critical and commercial interest in the genre. At the same time, enormous Latin American immigration into the United States helped bring the music out of its traditional strongholds in New York, Miami,



Salt-n-Pepa

and California. Cuban-born pop singer Gloria Estefan also helped popularize salsa with her tremendously popular *Mi Tierra* (1993), which featured many top salsa artists. Marc Anthony even made it to Broadway, along with Blades, in Paul Simon's ill-fated musical *The Capeman*. Ultimately, salsa outlived Latin hip-hop, and by 1997 Starr was attempting to revive her career with a disc of salsa tunes.

Meanwhile, back in Cuba, the most forward-thinking bands were beginning to incorporate elements of New York salsa into their music. NG La Banda's "Yo Necesito Una Amiga" was a perfect New York Sound ballad, and when it became a hit other bands followed suit. By the mid-1990s all the most popular Cuban bands—Los Van Van, Orquesta Revé, Irakere, Dan Den—had cut salsa numbers. Young sensation Manolín even calls himself "el Médico de la Salsa" (Dr. Salsa). The music had come full circle—a development Jerry Masucci had probably never imagined.

—David B. Wilson

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## Salt-n-Pepa

At a time when hip-hop music was shunned by mainstream radio, Salt-n-Pepa broke through in 1986 with their multi-platinum crossover debut, *Hot, Cool and Vicious*. Along with Run-DMC and the Beastie Boys, Salt-n-Pepa were among the first hip-hop groups to be heard on a wide scale outside American urban centers during the mid-1980s. The Queens, New York-based Salt-n-Pepa also were the first all-female hip-hop group to gain commercial success in a genre dominated by men, opening doors for such female hip-hop artists like MC Lyte, Yo-Yo, Foxy Brown, Lil' Kim, Lauryn Hill, Lady of Rage, Missy Elliot, Queen Latifah, Bahamadia, Heather B, and others. Further, in a genre where the life of a hip-hop career is about one year, Salt-n-Pepa persevered, continued to have hits, and were still active well into the late 1990s.

Formed in 1985 under the name Super Nature, Cheryl "Salt" James, Sandy "Pepa" Denton, and their Sears department store coworker turned producer Hurby "Luv Bug" Azor released a minor hit called "The Show Stoppa," an answer record to the Doug E. Fresh hit, "The Show." Super Nature's song reached number 46 on the *Billboard* R&B singles chart, making enough of a name for the group to perform in local New York clubs. The women changed the group's name to Salt-n-Pepa and added a DJ named Spinderella (Pamela



Greene, who was later replaced by Deidre “Dee Dee” Roper). Salt-n-Pepa signed to the independent hip-hop label Next Plateau and released *Hot, Cool and Vicious* in 1986. The album sold successfully with a number of singles doing well on the R&B charts, but it was not until a remix of “Push It” was released in 1988 that Salt-n-Pepa were launched into the mainstream of pop music.

In 1988, they followed up their success with a relatively lackluster album, *A Salt with a Deadly Pepa*, which did well enough with the singles “Twist and Shout” and the EU collaboration, “It’s Your Thang.” But after facing the gendered charges of “selling out” and “going pop,” they put out the Afrocentric-tinged *Black’s Magic*, a commercial and artistic success with the number one Rap chart song “Expression” and the Top 20 *Billboard* Pop hit, “Let’s Talk About Sex.” For their fourth album, Salt-n-Pepa signed to the major label, London, and distanced themselves from their longtime producer Hurby “Luv Bug” Azor (who the group felt imposed too much control (for instance, he got full songwriting credits on their first album, despite the women’s assertions that they also contributed lyrics).

*Very Necessary*, released in 1993, was a massive hit—the biggest of their career. It spawned the Top Ten Pop hits “Shoop” and “Whatta Man,” and a lesser hit, “None of Your Business,” and won the group a Grammy in 1995 for best Rap performance. Songs like “Shoop” and “None of Your Business” exemplify the assertive female-centered sexuality that they have cultivated since their earliest recordings like 1986’s “Tramp.” They have been able to successfully walk the line between engaging in a fun-loving sexual expression and avoiding reducing themselves to purely sexual objects, primarily because of their smart, in-your-face lyrics. For instance, Salt-n-Pepa often engaged in dialogue with their sexist male peers in their songs, challenging traditional notions of femininity and sex-role double standards. In 1995, the group recorded the single “Ain’t Nuthin’ But a She Thing,” the theme song of a documentary about women that aired on MTV in November of 1995.

Having completely split with Azor and taken time off from their careers to raise their children, Salt-n-Pepa entered a new hip-hop era in which many more female hip-hop artists were gaining popularity. For a variety of reasons, including changing audience tastes and poor record company marketing, their 1997 album sold poorly.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## Sam and Dave

Sam Moore and Dave Prater were perhaps the most exciting soul duo of the 1960s. Both got their start as gospel singers in Miami, Florida, and after turning to secular music they caught the attention of Atlantic Records co-owner Jerry Wexler, who quickly signed them to a recording contract. Wexler wisely decided to “loan” them to Stax Records, the Memphis soul label which was distributed by Atlantic.

At Stax, they secured not only the label’s formidable studio musicians but also the songwriting talents of Dave Porter and Isaac Hayes, who penned such hits as “Hold On! I’m Comin’,” and “Soul Man,” which was later a hit for the Blues Brothers.

Although Moore and Prater sometimes utilized vocal harmonies, their more distinctive contribution was a call-and-response approach which stemmed from their roots in gospel music. Prater died in 1988.

—Bill Freind

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## Sandburg, Carl (1878-1967)

A maverick son of Swedish immigrant parents, Carl Sandburg became one of America’s best loved poets, as well as one of its most significant. However, he was also a journalist, storyteller, balladeer, and noted biographer of Abraham Lincoln, and his literary works and journalistic writings became ingrained in popular American culture from World War I, through the Roaring Twenties and the Great Depression, to the tumultuous times of World War II and its aftermath.

Part newspaperman, part poet, Sandburg reflected the lives of ordinary people caught up in these events, articulating his concerns through his writings in a career that spanned half a century. He wrote during a time of great industrial and social change. Across America, cities proliferated and grew, while rural populations were displaced from the land and European immigrants flooded the cities. Sandburg wrote in a broad, earthy style, and with honesty and perception, about the burgeoning urban life. Adopting a bold, free verse style reminiscent of Walt Whitman, Sandburg spoke, not in poetically lyrical language, but in the slang and speech patterns of working people, the language of factory and sidewalk. Roger Mitchell, in *A Profile of Twentieth Century American Poetry* explains that “Sandburg wrote in the language of the people he described and in the belief that their lives mattered.” Unlike many of his contemporaries, he looked only to America for his inspiration and celebrated the lives of its ordinary citizens.

Born in Galesburg, Illinois, in 1878, the son of hardworking Swedish immigrants, Carl Sandburg grew up on the prairies of Illinois, left school at 13, and, in the wake of a depression, joined the homeless and unemployed in a journey across America. He worked as a laborer and lived as a hobo, sleeping in boxcars and riding the rods of the transcontinental railway for seven years. In 1898 he returned to Galesburg and became a housepainter, but soon after enlisted in the Sixth Illinois Infantry during the Spanish American War. It was during his eight months’ service in Cuba and Puerto Rico that Sandburg wrote in his journal of the hypocrisy and injustice of war and its effects on the ordinary soldiers, dying of heat, malaria, and dysentery without firing a shot in battle. After the war he again returned to Galesburg and attended Lombard College, but left without a degree. He pursued journalistic work and became a staunch member of the Socialist Party, through which he met his future wife, Lillian (Paula) Steichen, sister of the great photographer, Edward Steichen. Paula, a university graduate, encouraged Sandburg in his writing, especially his poetry.

In 1916 Sandburg had his first real taste of success as a poet with the publication of his first publicly acclaimed volume, *Chicago Poems* (1916), of which the title poem, “Chicago,” attracted popular attention. In the poem, he describes the city as “stormy, husky, brawling . . . a crooked brutal place. . . .” He pictured the people of the city with a harsh reality: prostitutes, gangsters, exploited factory workers and their families starving on low wages. Sandburg’s *Chicago*, however, for all its coarseness and cruelty, was “alive. . . strong. . . cunning. . . .” The poet received negative reviews from critics, but encouraging mail from ordinary Americans proved that his works had their support. This situation prevailed more than once during his long and prolific career, but he had more success with *Cornhuskers* (1918) and *Smoke and Steel* (1920). He was a great storyteller, and his *Rootabaga Stories* (1922) were written for children. When he felt his old wanderlust during this period, he began touring the country as a lecturer and folk singer, accompanying himself on his guitar, and collected folk songs and tales that he published as *American Songbag* (1927). Returning to poetry in “The People Yes” (1936), he expressed his belief in America’s people at a time when they needed a champion. His hope for the future lay in the common people. In her biography of Sandburg, Penelope Niven suggests that, in the process, he became “the passionate champion of people who did not have the power to speak for themselves.”

The historical writings of Carl Sandburg were the most important twentieth-century factor in Abraham Lincoln’s continuing popularity. In 1940 Sandburg received the Pulitzer Prize for his four-volume biography, *Lincoln: The War Years*, published in 1939. For once Sandburg’s critics were silenced by the immediate success of the massive work, in which he defines Lincoln as an ordinary person—no idealist, but a beleaguered man struggling to make the right decisions under pressure. Sandburg examines the inside of the government during a time of crisis in American history, and Sandburg reveals his faith in Lincoln as a representative of the American spirit of democracy. Together with his earlier two-volume biography, *Lincoln: the Prairie Years*, (1926), the word-count outstripped that of the collected works of William Shakespeare.

Sandburg’s total commitment to World War II led to his greatest undertaking, the novel *Remembrance Rock*, which spans American experience from Plymouth Rock to World War II and beyond. The book was a labor of love for its author, but was never acclaimed as a literary success. He was awarded a second Pulitzer Prize for his *Complete Poems* published in 1951, and in 1953 he wrote an autobiography, *Always the Young Strangers*. Penelope Niven explains Sandburg’s life as “an odyssey into the American experience. He helped the American people discover their national identity through songs, poems and that mythical national hero, Abraham Lincoln.”

Together with Robert Frost and William Carlos Williams, Carl Sandburg stands as one of the greatest and best loved poets of the twentieth century. He died on July 22, 1967 and his ashes were buried at his birthplace in Galesburg, beneath a granite boulder called Remembrance Rock.

—Joan Gajadhar

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## Sanders, Barry (1968—)

While many argue whether or not he was the best ever or even the best of his decade, Barry Sanders of the Detroit Lions was the most intriguing running back in the National Football League (NFL) during the 1990s for two reasons: his productivity and personality. Sanders’s consistent productivity on the football field was incredible; he averaged more than 100 rushing yards for every game in which he played. Despite never playing for a championship team, Sanders’s remarkable on-the-field production—achieved through a combination of power, speed, and tremendous agility—brought him many postseason awards including player-of-the-year honors in 1997. Yet, Sanders may be best known for his humility during an era of professional sports dominated by outspoken and self-absorbed players constantly trying to increase their wealth. According to Paul Attner of the *Sporting News*, Sanders preferred a lifestyle that was “neither flamboyant nor extravagant,” which was why he consistently turned down lucrative endorsement opportunities. In the final game of one season, Sanders even took himself out of the game in the closing minutes despite being close to setting the season rushing record. He later explained that the personal achievement meant little to him and he wanted to let his backup have a chance to play. Accentuated by his quiet demeanor, the leadership, modesty, and family values exhibited by Barry Sanders made him not just a great athlete but a uniquely humble superstar. Prior to the 1999 season, in a surprising move, Sanders retired from playing professional football for the Detroit Lions, claiming that he had lost his drive to play.

—Randall McClure

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## Sandman

In 1989, a comic book hit the shelves that would change the way fans, critics, and even the indifferent, would view the industry. Its title was *Sandman*, its hero Morpheus. At the height of its popularity, sales of *Sandman* rivaled, and frequently exceeded, those of individual *Superman* or *Batman* titles, the two reliable top-sellers for its parent company, DC Comics. The series and its author, Neil Gaiman, won



Barry Sanders in a game against the San Francisco 49ers.

praise from critics both within and without the comic book industry; even Norman Mailer hailed it as a literary achievement. Among its many awards, the most notable might be the World Fantasy Award, which no comic book had ever won before, and which—as a result of rule changes after *Sandman's* win—no comic book is likely ever to win again. The publication consistently sold over a million copies a year and remained one of the most stable modern titles in the speculators' market. The individual issues became so scarce and valuable that DC released collections of the issues in hardback to meet the demands of new readers. The collections have now sold well over three-quarters of a million copies.

*Sandman* tells the story of a god-like being who is captured by a group of occultists. He freed himself in the first issue, then spent the next six or seven issues re-establishing his rule after decades in prison. The rest of the series continued to analyze a large diversity of issues, unafraid to tackle concepts that had previously been taboo for comic books.

What is most astounding about *Sandman's* success is that it was achieved in a fraction of the time it has generally taken other

champions of the genre to reach high levels of popularity. *Sandman* ran for under a decade—a blink of an eye compared to *Superman's* half-century or the *X-Men's* 30-plus years—and went to a voluntary grave at issue number 75. Within its pages, Gaiman and a host of groundbreaking visual artists floated away from conventional comics with only the thinnest of umbilical cords connecting their work to the mainstream. “There’s definitely a level on which *Sandman* is my creating a superhero I’d be happy writing,” Gaiman has said. “One of the things I like best about *Sandman* is all the wonderful powers he has . . . and they really have nothing to do with anything. They don’t get used much, because he doesn’t go around doing things heroically.” In fact, the title character—Morpheus, an enigmatic symbol of the realm of dreams—often appears only at the fringes of the tale. Because of the protagonist’s unique perspective on reality and history, the stories can be told from nearly any point of view and at any point in human history.

The themes Gaiman chose likewise push the envelope. He reached an adult audience, a demographic that could not have been depended on before the 1980s, and crafted tales for them that featured

homosexuals, alternate histories, unreliable narrators, and an intricately told story that began in the first issue and was explored from a multitude of angles. All this was done within stories structured with careful attention to good storytelling, and readers responded accordingly. “Very few people seem to turn around and say, ‘This comic has lesbians in it,’” Gaiman reported. “What they tend to say is, ‘This comic has really good people in it.’”

As one critic has pointed out, “Although Gaiman’s talent shouldn’t be downplayed, it should be noted that his breed of story owes some of its success to the mood of the times, an environment where stories of coincidence and unseen powers fill a nagging cultural need.” Gaiman has often stressed that the conclusion of the story in issue 75, is the same story that begins, despite various digressions, in issue one. In the first issue, Morpheus is stripped of his godhood and forced to re-evaluate humanity, precisely at the moment Generation X is questioning the bourgeois values it has been asked to accept from the generations before it.

What is perhaps most important to the field of popular culture is how *Sandman* affected the comic book industry. Stanley Wiater and Stephen R. Bissette, in their *Comic Book Rebels*, say of Gaiman that he is “representative of a new order of creators. Cosmopolitan and nomadic, they successfully maintain their creative autonomy while demanding the respect of their chosen publishers through a clear sense of who they are, what they are worth, and a canny blend of independence and diplomacy.” This is revolutionary in that, for most of comic book history, creators who worked for major publishers wrote within the bounds set by their editors and were divested of any right to influence the character created once the individual story was finished. Characters that proved popular would not reap rewards for the creator, but for the publisher who owned the copyright through work-for-hire laws. *Sandman*, under what was almost exclusively Gaiman’s guidance, became so popular that, as Wiater and Bissette note, “The first year of its run led to DC’s granting an historically unprecedented (and retroactive) creative co-ownership and share of the character and title, including all licensing and foreign sales—rights and revenue DC had always denied creators.”

Gaiman’s creativity and sheer storytelling power seemed to increase with the continuing monetary rewards, and *Sandman*’s following swelled. Many retailers have credited *Sandman* alone with reaching female fans in a readership that had always been largely male. As the comic’s fan base swelled, DC saw that there was a great market for comic books written for adults and, in 1993, only a handful of years after *Sandman*’s debut, the company launched Vertigo, a new imprint which has since produced some of the comic book world’s most promising titles. *Doom Patrol* and *Preacher* in particular have enjoyed success through the high-profile creative atmosphere provided only by Vertigo, and, though *Sandman* finished its run in 1999, Vertigo guaranteed that its influence would continue well into the future.

—Joe Sutliff Sanders

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## Sandow, Eugen (1867-1925)

Although a native of Koenigsberg, Germany, Eugen Sandow left an indelible mark on American life. Born Friedrich Wilhelm Muller, on April 2, 1867, he became one of the most popular and influential men of his age throughout the world through his activities that gave rise to the modern conceptualization of what we now term bodybuilding. Sandow traveled Europe as an acrobat, artist’s model, and wrestler, before achieving prominence in England as a strongman/physique artist in the latter stages of the nineteenth century.

While Eugen Sandow’s stage act consisted of the standard weightlifting feats of the era’s strongmen, he achieved his greatest recognition for artistic physique posing, in which he displayed hitherto unseen muscular definition and vascularity. In contrast to the barrel-chested and pot-bellied weightlifters of the age, he popularized a new physical ideal that captured the imagination of turn-of-the-century men and women. Appearing on stage in nothing but a pair of briefs or, posing for physique photographs clad only in a fig leaf, Sandow offered an aesthetically appealing, scantily-clad, sexualized physique which challenged the repressive conventions of the late Victorian age.

A leading figure of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century “Physical Culture” movement, Sandow became one of the



Eugen Sandow

most recognized and influential men of his generation. Far from being merely a strongman, or what later generations would term a sex symbol, he branched out into lecturing and publishing, penning five full-length books and innumerable pamphlets and brochures, and editing a physical culture publication, *Sandow's Magazine*, from 1898 to 1907. While not regarded as a leading academic in any sense, his theories were considered scientific and he was respected for his practical knowledge of physiology and medicine.

Sandow's interplay with the scientific and medical authorities extended throughout his professional career. His system of weightlifting and physical fitness was endorsed by a great number of physicians, including blood pressure diagnostics pioneer, Sir Lauder Brunton. In December 1892, Sandow's exhibition before Army cadets was the subject of an article in the medical journal *The Lancet*. He was examined by Harvard professor and medical doctor Dudley Sargent, considered the "dean of American physical educators," and was judged to be "the most perfectly developed man in the world." Sargent then invited Sandow to lecture the students at Harvard, an offer that the strongman took up in 1902. He was also selected by the British Museum to represent the "Caucasian race" in the natural history branch's "Races of the World" exhibit. His crowning achievement in the field of medico-bodybuilding, however, came when he was named "Professor of Scientific and Physical Culture" to King George V in 1911.

While cementing his reputation as a scientific, if not scientific, entity, Sandow also advanced his career as a popular cultural icon. Having achieved widespread acclaim as a stage star touring the United States with impresario Florenz Ziegfeld, Jr., he was invited by Thomas Edison to star in one of the inventor's Kinetoscope films. On March 10, 1894, Sandow waived his \$250 appearance fee to shake the hand of Thomas Edison—who he considered "the greatest man of the age"—and to become the star of one of the first moving pictures. He later went on to star in "big screen" shorts produced by Edison's rival, the American Mutoscope and Biograph studios.

Along with his on-screen exploits, Sandow continued to travel as a stage performer. He incorporated a glass-case posing routine into his act, whereby he would occupy a glass enclosure with a rotating pedestal, which allowed the audience a voyeuristic total view of the bodybuilder's physique. After touring Europe, the British Isles, and the United States, where he was a star attraction at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Sandow set out to take his brand of physical culture and his trademark physique to the rest of the world. In 1902, he toured Australia and New Zealand, preaching his sermon on bodybuilding, and embarked upon a grand tour of South Africa, India, China, Japan, Java, and Burma in 1904. He brought along an entire troupe of performing athletes, and a tent which could comfortably accommodate six thousand people for his exhibitions in areas lacking appropriate theatrical facilities.

While Sandow is noted for his own stage performances, he also organized the first major bodybuilding competition, the so-called "Great Competition" of 1901, in Great Britain. Gathering together the foremost British physique artists, he hosted a pageant where, together with sculptor Charles Lawes and Sherlock Holmes creator Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, he set about determining exactly who was the most perfectly developed man in the British Isles. Before a capacity crowd of 15,000 spectators, Sandow put forth an exhibition the likes of which had never been seen. After a parade of athletes, marching to a musical composition written by Sandow, a performance by a boys' choir, wrestling, gymnastics, fencing, exercise displays, and an exhibition by the premier bodybuilder himself,

bronze, silver, and gold statuettes of Sandow were given to those judged to have the three best physiques.

Though age began to take its toll on the athlete's musculature, Eugen Sandow was a very popular figure well into the twentieth century. His likeness was used to sell numerous products from exercisers and dime novels to cocoa and cigars, and he remained active in his adopted homeland of Great Britain through publishing and public speaking. While preparing for a lecture tour of Britain in 1925, he fell ill and was forced to cancel his plans. Hazy details surround his ailment, and when he died at the age of 58 on October 14, 1925, newspaper accounts stated that he suffered a burst blood vessel in his brain after attempting to single-handedly pull an automobile out of a ditch. The story was questioned at the time and is still in question today. Sandow's biographer, David Chapman, speculates that the strongman's death may have been the result of an aortic aneurysm brought about by syphilis.

—Nicholas Turse

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## *Sanford and Son*

The NBC television sitcom, *Sanford and Son*, was created by writer-director and independent producer, Norman Lear, whose lengthy list of successful, long-running, and often controversial television programs revolutionized primetime television during the 1970s. The popular program chronicled the escapades of Mr. Fred G. Sanford, a cantankerous widower living with his thirty-something son, Lamont, played by Demond Wilson, in the Watts section of Los Angeles, California. *Sanford and Son* was the first program with a most Black cast to appear since the cancellation of the *Amos 'n Andy* show nearly twenty years earlier.

Airing from 1972 to 1977, *Sanford and Son* was the American version of a British program called *Steptoe & Son*, which featured the exploits of a Cockney father-and-son junkman team. In the starring role of *Sanford and Son* was veteran actor-comedian John Elroy Sanford, popularly known as Redd Foxx, whose bawdy recordings and racy nightclub routines had influenced generations of Black comics since the 1950s. Foxx was born in St. Louis, Missouri, and began a career in the late 1930s performing street acts. By the 1960s he was headlining in Los Vegas. In 1969, he earned a role as an aging junk dealer in the motion picture *Cotton Comes to Harlem*. This portrayal brought him to the attention of producer Norman Lear, who was casting his newest show, *Sanford and Son*.

In addition to its two stars—Redd Foxx and Demond Wilson—*Sanford and Son* featured a unique, multiracial cast of regular and



*Sanford and Son* castmembers Desmond Wilson (left) and Redd Foxx.

occasional characters, who served as the butt of Sanford's often bigoted jokes and insults, including Bubba (Don Bexly), Smitty the cop (Hal Williams), Grady (Mayo Williams), Julio (Gregory Sierra), Rollo (Nathaniel Taylor) and Ah Chew (Pat Molina). LaWanda Page played the "evil and ugly" Aunt Esther, Fred's archenemy. Their constant bickering and put-downs of each other provided some of the funniest moments in the show. "I'm convinced that *Sanford and Son* shows middle class America a lot of what they need to know. . . ." Foxx said in a 1973 interview, "The show . . . doesn't drive home a lesson, but it can open up people's minds enough for them to see how stupid every kind of prejudice can be."

The "feigned heart attack routine" became a trademark of the series as Fred, pretending to have a heart attack, clasped his chest in mock pain and threatened to join his deceased wife, saying "I'm coming to join you, Elizabeth!" It was Foxx's enormously funny portrayal that quickly earned *Sanford and Son* a place among the top ten most-watched programs to air on NBC television.

"Certain things should be yours to have when you work your way to the top," declared Redd Foxx in a *Los Angeles Times* article. In 1977 he walked-out on the production of his enormously successful show complaining that the mostly white producers and writers had little regard or understanding of African-American life. He lambasted the total lack of Black writers or directors on the crew. Moreover, he was dissatisfied with his treatment as the star of the program. Believing that his efforts were not appreciated, he left NBC for his own variety show on ABC. The program barely lasted one season. After Foxx left, a pseudo spin-off, called *Sanford Arms* proved unsuccessful and it too, lasted only one season.

*Sanford and Son* survived five seasons on prime-time television. It earned its place in television history as one of the first successful television sitcoms with a mostly Black cast to appear on American network, primetime television in nearly twenty years. It was an enormously funny program, sans obvious ethnic stereotyping. Redd Foxx died at sixty-eight in October 1994.

—Pamala S. Deane

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## Santana

Led by virtuoso guitarist Carlos Santana (1947—), the band Santana has been one of the most successful mainstream ethnic fusion acts in rock history, topping the charts since the 1960s with its signature blend of Latin and African sounds. Carlos Santana grew up to the distinctive mariachi sounds of his native Tijuana, Mexico. As a teenager in the 1950s, he became fascinated by the rhythm and blues and rock and roll sounds he heard on the radio. Upon learning to play guitar, he fused these disparate traditions into an exciting and unique sound that would later become his trademark.

In the mid-1960s, Santana moved to San Francisco, where he and other local musicians formed the Santana Blues Band, later shortened to Santana. The group—featuring Santana (guitar), Gregg Rolie (vocals and keyboards), Dave Brown (bass), Mike Shrieve (drums), Armando Peraza (percussion and vocals), Mike Carabello (percussion), and Jose Areas (percussion)—first gained recognition in the same dance halls that hosted psychedelic rock groups of the era such as the Grateful Dead and Jefferson Airplane. Santana's blend of Latin and African sounds was ill suited to the acid rock scene, but the group's frenetic performances captivated hippie audiences across the Bay Area. Under the direction of concert promoter Bill Graham, Santana landed a spot at the Woodstock Festival in New York, where the band's *tour de force* performance lodged Santana in the mainstream consciousness before the group had even recorded an album.

Santana released its first album, *Evil Ways*, in 1969. The title track from that debut effort reached the Top Ten—an unprecedented feat, given the song's overt Latin sound. The group's 1970 single "Black Magic Woman" enjoyed similar mass appeal and pushed the band's second album, *Abraxas*, to the top of the charts where it remained for six weeks. *Santana III*, released in 1971, likewise topped the charts and established Santana as a major force in the recording industry.

The band underwent frequent personnel changes during the remainder of the decade. Carlos Santana brought drummer Buddy Miles and guitarist John McLaughlin into the fold, while original vocalist Gregg Rolie, along with newer member Neil Schon, departed to form the highly successful band Journey. Despite their internal flux, however, Santana continued to release such stellar albums as *Amigos* (1976) and *Moonflower* (1977), as well as hit singles such as the group's 1977 cover of The Zombies' "She's Not There."

The band continued recording well into the 1980s, but, more often than not, Carlos Santana's supporting cast was a revolving set of hired session musicians. Nevertheless, the group's signature sound remained intact as well as relevant. In 1987, the group took part in "Rock and Roll Summit," the first joint American and Soviet rock concert in history, and, seven years later, Santana made a triumphant return to the Woodstock II anniversary concert in New York. The group also earned a Grammy Award for Best Rock Instrumental Performance in 1988 as well as a *Billboard* Magazine Lifetime Achievement Award in 1996. As of 1998, Santana's albums had sold more than 30 million copies, and the group had performed for more than 13 million people worldwide.

—Scott Tribble

## Sarandon, Susan (1946—)

Actress Susan Sarandon is a Hollywood rarity: a strong, sexy, successful, older woman. The five-time Academy Award nominee won her first Oscar just before her fiftieth birthday for *Dead Man Walking* (1995). A former Ford model, her boundary-breaking acting career began with a small role in a 1970 film. In 1975 she appeared in the campy cult film, *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*. A lesbian love scene in *The Hunger* (1983) also attracted attention. First nominated for an Oscar in 1980, she got the nod three more times in the early 1990s for films such as the popular feminist road movie *Thelma and Louise* and true-to-life medical drama *Lorenzo's Oil*. Sarandon's private life is as progressive as her politics. The divorcee has had several high-profile romances with younger co-stars, including common-law husband actor Tim Robbins, father of two of her three children. The two met while filming *Bull Durham* (1988).

—Courtney Bennett

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## Saratoga Springs

Throughout the twentieth century, this upstate New York summer resort—1990 population, 25,001—has jumbled together invalids, nouveaux-riche social climbers, fastidious old-money sportsmen, and both hard-core and petty gamblers. A nineteenth century health resort featuring carbonated waters, the village began promoting summer horse-racing in 1863, and the Saratoga race track is the

oldest still existent in the United States. Saratoga's reputation as a distinctive American congeries was spread in such disparate works as Edith Wharton's unfinished *The Buccaneers*, Edna Ferber's *Saratoga Trunk* (movie version starring Gary Cooper and Ingrid Bergman), and E.L. Doctorow's *Billy Bathgate*. The Kefauver investigation (1951) ended a century of public gaming, but the horse-racing continues unabated and, unlike similar resorts, Saratoga underwent a popular renaissance in the 1970s. It continues to thrive in the 1990s as "the summer place to be," entertaining an appealingly raffish mix attracted to health, history, horses, and the Saratoga Performing Arts Center.

—Jon Sterngass

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## Sarnoff, David (1891-1971)

A significant innovator in the field of communications, particularly in radio and television, David Sarnoff's influence is indelibly stamped on the cultural development of these media. In creating the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) as the first permanent network, he invented commercial broadcasting as we know it. Sarnoff clearly valued technology and foresaw uses for it beyond the understanding of his contemporaries. In doing so, he helped to propel television from the domain of experimentation to one of global status.

Sarnoff was born in Uzlian, near Minsk, in what is now Belarus. His family emigrated to New York in 1900, and the young Sarnoff was raised in Lower Manhattan's Hell's Kitchen district. In 1906 he was employed as an office worker by the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company and soon after became a telegrapher. He was first noticed as the lone radioman to relay news from the sinking *Titanic* to the rest of the world. He advanced rapidly, and in 1915 presented his idea for a radio receiving set to the company. In 1919, at the age of 28, Sarnoff became commercial manager of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) when it absorbed Marconi. He contradicted the current thinking that radio had no application beyond military and corporate use by proposing the "radio music box," a home radio that could receive entertainment programming. Initially, the radio manufacturers financed programming production, but increasing costs led Sarnoff, together with General Electric (GE) and Westinghouse to organize NBC as part of RCA in 1926. Thus, the first advertiser-sponsored national radio network was born, and radio was thereafter established as the medium for home entertainment.

In 1930 Sarnoff became president of RCA and, with radio firmly established, he concentrated his energies on the development of television. He masterminded the independence of RCA from GE and Westinghouse and acquired the Victor Company as a manufacturing base for his assault on the television market. In 1939 he launched television as a new industry at the World's Fair. The onset of World War II, however, caused a temporary hiatus in RCA's advance into television research. Once the war ended, Sarnoff turned back to marketing his new visual technology and spearheaded the development of color television. In 1947 he became chairman of the board of RCA.

Sarnoff was also an enthusiastic partner for governmental initiatives. Prior to World War II he had overseen RCA's total conversion to defense production, and during the war he offered his services to the military and was appointed General Dwight D. Eisenhower's chief of communications. He organized and coordinated all radio communications on the Western front, and in recognition of his services, he was named a brigadier general in the U.S. Army. Sarnoff's involvement with government projects did not, however, end with the war. He was an energetic participant in the Cold War struggle against the Soviet Union; indeed, with the onset of the Cold War, his involvement deepened, as he submitted to the Administration regular proposals for fighting Communism. He also advised Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberation, whose staff members trained at NBC studios. At his suggestion, *Voice of America* adopted the sign-off, "This is the Voice of America, for freedom and peace." RCA also cooperated with the United States Information Agency to produce advertising that would sell its own products as well as promoting America.

David Sarnoff died in 1971, but he will be remembered by many as the "Father of Television." His faith in technology and his support for innovation led to the creation of modern radio and television commercial broadcasting in a manner and on a scale that his contemporaries could not have foreseen, and he has been immortalized by the communications industry.

—Nathan Abrams

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## Sarong

The sarong is a basic form of dress, best known as the fundamental dress form of the Malay Archipelago peoples, men and women alike. A long, straight piece of cloth wraps around the waist. In deference to its primacy in Malay dress, it is generally thought of as being in colorful batik and cognate materials, but metaphorically the sarong can seem to describe the short kilt of ancient Egyptian men. In the 1930s and 1940s, the "exotic South Seas" attire was popularized in Dorothy Lamour films generous in native or para-native skin. Meanwhile, the name lent itself to such imperialist Bob Hope word play as, "what'sarong?" Although never assimilated into mainstream Western dress, the sarong has been used in designer collections and sportswear to connote the beach and/or Orientalism. For America, the sarong symbolizes an exotic, luxurious existence of pleasure.

—Richard Martin

## Sasquatch

See Bigfoot

## Sassoon, Vidal (1928—)

"Swinging London" of the 1960s, with the Beatles and Carnaby Street, produced no revolution more important perhaps than that of Vidal Sassoon. Sassoon created the bob and easy geometric hairstyles that liberated women from weekly visits to the beauty parlor and the stiff, heavy, fixed hairstyles of prior generations. Sassoon's new ideal of beauty was literally care-free and could, for most women, be cut once a month. Its abiding principle was geometry, letting the hair move naturally, and was typified by the 1960s hairstyles of the Beatles themselves. Freeing women from the beauty parlor and nights of sleeping with curlers and other mechanisms on their heads, Sassoon became emblematic of freedom and sensible good health. His salons became the first chain of worldwide hair styling salons and were complemented by his international sales of hair-treatment products. Sassoon, too, became a television talk-show host and celebrity.

—Richard Martin

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## Sassy

Launched in 1988 in the midday heat of conservative Reagan America, *Sassy* was the first magazine aimed at teenage girls and young women to deal frankly with the fact that its readership—despite statutory rape laws, remaining cultural taboos against premarital sex, parental strictures, and limited access to adequate birth control—might indeed be engaging in sexual activity. Instead of addressing the topic of boys and physical attraction in moralistic tones, *Sassy's* writers tried to provide a realistic viewpoint along with coherent, practical advice, and it forced its competition to do the same. "What *Sassy* did—to its everlasting shame or credit, depending on one's point of view—was to suggest not only that these teenage girls had sexual lives but that it was a proper editorial mission for a magazine to address their urgent informational needs about sex," commented Kathleen T. Endress and Therese L. Lueck in *Women's Periodicals in the United States*. "Perhaps unsurprisingly," the authors continued, *Sassy* became "an immediate success with its teenage readers."

When *Sassy* debuted in early 1988, statistics indicated a population of 14 million young American women aged 14 to 19, with only about 30 percent of that figure purchasing or reading the typical teen fare for females: *YM*, *Seventeen*, and *Teen*, all holdovers from a more virginal era. *Sassy's* publishers also recognized the potential force of this captive audience in the realm of advertising dollars: because many teens were being raised in households with two working parents, a combination of guilt and affluence led to a greater "income" level for such young women. With their allowances and access to parental credit cards, it was estimated that they spent an average of \$65 a week on clothes and cosmetics. Advertisers



were excited at the prospect of reaching such a malleable demographic—buyers with vast leisure time and a desire to conform through consumerism.

*Sassy* was a knockoff of a successful Australian publication named *Dolly*, but was toned down for its American readership. Key to its success was a young, iconoclastic editor to head it, and Fairfax, Ltd., the American branch of the Australian media company, found one in Jane Pratt, a 24-year-old granddaughter of a onetime executive at Doubleday with a liberal-arts degree and documented wild streak. Pratt had grown up reading teen magazines, and had some experience in the field at a few failed publications. Perhaps more importantly, she had undergone a rough time as a teen after being shipped off to an elite boarding school, and would later say the incident traumatized her so much that she would remain stuck at that age for the rest of her life.

*Sassy* set itself apart from its major competition in its very first issue in March of 1988. Unlike *Seventeen*, which strove to impart a “good girl” ethos, *Sassy* offered readers the feature, “Losing Your Virginity: Read This Before You Decide.” Readers bought *Sassy* in droves. Quickly, *Seventeen* and other magazines got hip to the competition and immediately drew up plans for redesign and refocus. *Sassy* also made media history by allowing ads for condoms. From the start, the magazine was accused of encouraging young women to be boy-crazy and engage in sexual activity, but a more careful reading of its articles showed them to be balanced and frank about the negative physical and emotional consequences of sexual activity.

Most adults seemed to have strong feelings against *Sassy*. Media pundits faulted it for the self-reflexive editorial content—it was not unusual for copy to incorporate penciled rejoinders from dissenting colleagues in the margins—and parents found it threatening, to say the least. In a 1992 *New York* article about Pratt and the success of *Sassy*, *Seventeen* editor Midge Richardson declared her competition “sometimes vulgar, and the politics are unabashedly liberal. The magazine also pokes fun at traditional values,” Richardson said, forgetting that this was usually the perpetual *raison d’être* for teens in general. Yet both *Seventeen* and *YM* immediately jazzed up their features and style to compete and become more “sassy.” Its own ad campaign trumpeted the line, “I’m too Sassy to read *Teen*.”

From the start, however, *Sassy*’s critics seemed bent on silencing it. After only a few months on the newsstands, it became the target of a well-organized boycott from the Moral Majority and Christian fundamentalist minister, Jerry Falwell, for what was deemed its promotion of promiscuity and alternative sexuality; a letter-writing campaign managed to scare off a few big advertisers, and Pratt and the staff writers began to tone down the sex features. Unrelated financial difficulties with Fairfax led to *Sassy*’s sale to Lang Communications in 1989, and though it still addressed teen sexuality, it attempted to bring its zingy style to a wider range of issues. In 1991, for instance, it ran articles explaining the Gulf War situation with such titles as “What Saddam Is Irked About.”

Under Pratt’s guidance, a *Sassy* for boys was launched in 1992 (titled *Dirt*), and Pratt also landed her own television talk show on the Fox Network. Both eventually failed, and Pratt left *Sassy* to create another magazine, a sort of *Sassy* for the 18-to-34 female demographic called *Jane*.

—Carol Brennan

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## Satellites

The launch of the Telstar satellite on July 10, 1962 heralded a new age for communications. Prior to Telstar, live television broadcasts had been confined within continental borders, hindered by the inability of television’s high frequencies to bounce off the ionosphere. Although transatlantic telephone cables to Europe existed, as late as 1957 the system could accommodate a mere 36 calls at any one time. Telstar was designed as the first link in a vast network of satellites capable of relaying images and telephone calls around the globe.

While the Soviet Union’s Sputnik thrust satellites onto the world stage, its faint chirping beeps served little purpose other than as a tracking signal. However, beyond the immense political ramifications, Sputnik proved that a manmade object could not only be placed into orbit, but it could function in the hostile environment of space. The possibilities for satellites were far reaching—they could be distant sentinels tracking volatile weather formations, spies in the sky for the military, or communication repeater outposts.

The concept of utilizing satellites for communication purposes first appeared in an article penned by space visionary Arthur C. Clarke in October 1945. Entitled “Extra-Terrestrial Relays” the article, published in the trade journal *Wireless World*, predicted three geostationary communication satellites would provide simultaneous worldwide radio broadcasts by the year 1995. Less than 20 years after the publication of this article, science fiction was well on its way to becoming scientific reality, with Telstar blazing the trail.

Realizing the potential of satellites, U.S. telecommunications giant AT&T (American Telephone & Telegraph) initiated funding for a project named Telstar in the fall of 1960. AT&T coined the term “Telstar” by combining “telecommunications” and “star.” Their ambitious network of satellites would be an expensive venture, but AT&T’s monopoly status at that time allowed the company to simply pass research and operating costs on to the consumer. AT&T even reimbursed NASA \$3 million for the use of its Thor-Delta launch vehicle.

From its initial relay, Telstar electrified the world. For the first time an image generated on one side of the Atlantic could be instantly viewed on the other. The telecasting feat answered critics who questioned the practical applications of the Sputnik induced space race. As a propaganda tool, Telstar bolstered America’s sagging image as a technological innovator. The Soviets could claim the world’s first artificial satellite, but its scientific value paled when compared to the technologically sophisticated instrument designed by American minds.

Reflecting Vice President Lyndon Johnson’s statement of Telstar being “another first in the American conquest of space,” the first image telecast from three thousand miles above the Earth was an



**The Intelsat VI satellite orbits the Earth.**

American flag waving in the foreground of AT&T's antenna tracking facility near Andover, Maine. "America the Beautiful" and "The Star Spangled Banner" acted as the musical score for the sequence. Although European tracking stations were unable to receive this broadcast, France was able to establish a link at 7:47 PM EDT. The following evening, July 11, American television viewers were treated to their first live images of Europe courtesy of Telstar; they watched entertainer Yves Montand singing "La Chansonette."

A technological wonder, relaying both television signals and telephone calls, the basic premise of the Telstar network was flawed. Telstar was capable of transatlantic relay for a mere 102 minutes a day. In order to create a stable communications network AT&T estimated 50 to 120 Telstars would need to be placed into orbit. The geostationary concept of Arthur C. Clarke, where a satellite is in synch with the Earth's rotation at a height where it could cover 42 percent of the planet's surface, required only three satellites. On July 26, 1963, Telstar became obsolete as Syncom II became the first satellite to transmit from a synchronous orbit some 22,235 miles in space.

President John Kennedy looked to Telstar as an "outstanding example of the way in which government and business can cooperate in a most important field of human endeavor." Telstar benefitted both the United States and AT&T greatly. The satellite restored America's image as a leader in technology, an image severely battered in the wake of a series of humiliating space firsts achieved by the Soviet Union. An extensive advertising campaign by AT&T featured Telstar linking progress and AT&T firmly in the subconscious of the American public. While geostationary communication satellites quickly eclipsed the Telstar network concept, subsequent satellites failed to achieve the public notoriety of Telstar.

—Dr. Lori C. Walters

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## *The Saturday Evening Post*

Long before *Time* and *Newsweek* recapped the events of the world for millions of Americans, long before *Reader's Digest* and *Life* condensed the world's news in words and pictures, the *Saturday Evening Post* was truly America's magazine. Born at the turn of the century, with roots in colonial America, the *Saturday Evening Post* quickly became required reading for anyone who wished to stay in touch with the issues that mattered in American culture, politics, or the economy. The *Post*, as it is widely known, dominated the American magazine landscape for the first thirty years of the century, both in circulation and in influence. In its heyday, the *Post* was the voice of American common-sense conservatism. When that brand of conservatism declined, so did the magazine, but for a time the *Post* reached its editor's goal of being America's "indispensable magazine."

The modern *Post* was born when magazine magnate Cyrus H. K. Curtis, who published the nation's leading magazine, the *Ladies' Home Journal*, purchased it from Andrew Smythe in 1897 for \$1,000. Curtis liked the magazine's pedigree—it claimed to be the oldest magazine in America, and was once printed in Benjamin Franklin's print shop (though historians now doubt that Franklin had anything to



A boy sells the *Saturday Evening Post* in Rochester, New York, 1910.

do with the publication)—but the content of the magazine was without distinction. Curtis soon hired as his editor one George Horace Lorimer, a young preacher's son with a clear idea of how to pitch a magazine to the great middle class. Lorimer believed that the cultural values of the nineteenth-century American middle class—honesty, integrity, hard-work, and self-reliance—would sustain the nation as it entered a new century. By retaining final say on every word that was printed in his magazine, Lorimer made sure that every issue echoed his vision for America. And he soon found readers who agreed with him.

The *Post's* circulation reached one million per week in 1908, two million in 1913, and three million in 1937. Lorimer had devised what became known as the “*Post* formula,” a mix of equal parts business, public affairs, and romance, with sports, humor, illustrations, and cartoons thrown in for spice. The magazine published fiction, much of it in serial form, and much of it romantic, and it published nonfiction articles that celebrated American achievement. The *Post* rarely opposed the status quo and seemed perfectly attuned to the tastes of the “average” American, as long as that American was white, middle-class, middle-aged, and comfortable. Norman Rockwell, who began to illustrate covers for the *Post* in 1916,

perfectly captured the tone of the magazine. While the contents of the magazine remained largely the same for the better part of the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s, so did the price: until 1942, an issue cost just five cents. The stable price was a measure of the magazine's success, for the magazine attracted so many advertisers eager to peddle their products before the *Post's* readers that the publisher could cushion his readers from the rising costs of the magazine's production.

Critics complained that the *Post* was sugarcoating the rise of big business in America. They had a point. While other notable American magazines like *McClure's* drew attention to the dangers posed by the rise of large monopolistic corporations, the *Saturday Evening Post* largely applauded the effects that big business was having on the American landscape. As long as pro-business politicians were in office, editor Lorimer was an optimist, for his magazine benefited as much as any large business from the Republican party's dominance over national politics in the first third of the century. But when the political and economic tide turned, Lorimer turned into a scold. It wasn't the stock market crash of 1929 that changed Lorimer's mood—in fact, Lorimer saw the crash and the ensuing economic depression as a healthy correction to an economy that had grown dangerously speculative. Rather, it was the election of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the administration of his New Deal programs that turned Lorimer and the *Post* from the spokesman for the common-sense majority into the shrill voice of American conservatism.

Lorimer deplored Roosevelt's New Deal because he felt that what Americans needed to do most was tighten their belts and return to the “old values” he had long promoted in the *Post*. In opposing the New Deal, Lorimer “changed the *Post* from an organ of entertainment and enlightenment into a weapon of political warfare,” writes magazine historian Theodore Peterson. Lorimer's views were popular with many Americans, but fighting these battles took the steam out of the aging editor, who left the *Post* in 1937 with the magazine reaching more Americans than ever before. The magazine experienced a sharp decline during World War II, when the magazine's unpopular isolationist stance and a nasty article on Jews drew bitter criticism, but it soon revived in the post-War boom.

The *Post* reached four million readers in 1949, five million in 1955. While such continually increasing circulation figures would have once convinced both editors and advertisers that the magazine was healthy, major changes in the American magazine market instead revealed the *Post's* tenuous position in an increasingly competitive market. First, increasingly sophisticated means of tracking magazine readership allowed advertisers and marketers to determine precisely which readerships were likely to bring revenue to potential advertisers. The *Post*, with its aging readership, was no longer the best medium for carrying advertising. Second, the number of magazines on the market had exploded in the 1940s, meaning that the *Post* had more competitors, and the arrival of television in the 1950s meant even more competition for the newly choosy advertising dollar. Hoping to return the *Post* to its former position as the leading medium for advertising in the United States, the Curtis Company experimented with a number of changes to the magazine's format and contents. But the venerable *Saturday Evening Post* was losing so much money that it ceased publication in February of 1969. The *Post* returned from the grave two years later, and was published into the 1990s in one form or another, but it never reclaimed its status as a major magazine.

In its later years the *Saturday Evening Post* was just one among many American magazines struggling to attract enough readers and advertisers to survive, but during its heyday the *Post* was a true

phenomenon. According to Jan Cohn, author of *Creating America: George Horace Lorimer and the "Saturday Evening Post,"* "Despite the vast changes in American society between 1899 and 1936, what the *Post* achieved was the fullest expression of a broad American consensual view." Bringing together enthusiasm for the benefits of modern society—economic growth, a wealth of new goods, exciting developments in technology—with a healthy respect for old American truths—reverence for hard work, belief in honesty and sincerity, and love of the home—the *Post* spoke in a language that calmed Americans during a period of dramatic social change. Even during the tumultuous 1920s, a period known for its crazes, enthusiasm, and for its flaming youth, the *Post* managed to contain the burgeoning energy of popular culture within its pages, publishing stories from Jazz Age icon F. Scott Fitzgerald, among others.

Anyone wishing to understand America during the first decades of the century must surely turn to the pages of the *Post*. The story told by the *Post*, week after week, year after year, is not the story of all of America, but of the Americans who wielded power and influence, or at least voted for and revered those who did. It was a consensus magazine for a time when Americans believed that a consensus still existed. The magazine's demise is representative of changes in America as well, for it occurred amid the splintering of American identities that characterized the 1960s. Today, no one magazine could aspire to represent all Americans, but for a brief span of time the *Post* truly was, as it often claimed to be, "America's magazine."

—Tom Pendergast

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## Saturday Morning Cartoons

Saturday morning cartoons have been an integral part of the American television scene since the 1960s. Saturday morning is unlike any other time of the programming week in that the viewing audience is more monolithic than any other. At no other time do so many stations broadcast such similar material for such an extended period of time, all aimed at the same audience: children. Several

generations of children have planned their weekends around the ritual of pouring huge bowls of sugar-saturated cereal and gathering about the television for the week's dose of animation.

The earliest incarnation of the Saturday morning cartoon came about almost as an accident. In 1949, producer Jerry Fairbanks sold NBC on the idea of a new series of cartoons developed especially for television. His product was a low-budget project titled *Crusader Rabbit*, created by Jay Ward and Alex Anderson. This simply-animated series followed the adventures of an intrepid rabbit and his tiger sidekick. "I don't recall anything special about Saturday morning at that point except that the networks had some vague idea that they wanted programs for kids," Fairbanks said, according to Hal Erickson's *Television Cartoon Shows: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*.

The idea certainly had merit. According to Erickson, statistics going back to the radio years showed that the peak tune-in hours for children were between 10 a.m. and noon on Saturday mornings and 4 p.m. to 6 p.m. weekdays. *Crusader Rabbit* was the very first cartoon created exclusively for television and the first to take advantage of this window of opportunity to market to children. Prior to *Crusader Rabbit*, the only cartoons that had appeared on television were repackaged shorts originally created for the big screen. In order to keep costs down and constantly turn out new material, Ward and Anderson pared *Crusader Rabbit* down to its absolute bare essentials. Characters moved an average of once every four seconds and tended to stay in static poses. The show ran for two years, from 1950-1952.

*Crusader Rabbit* failed to trigger a deluge of morning cartoons. Television stations preferred to stay with the tried-and-true (and much less expensive) format of a live-action host holding court over a studio audience of children and plugging the sponsors' products. But CBS took a gamble and placed a well-known character, Mighty Mouse, on Saturday mornings in 1955. *Mighty Mouse Playhouse* ran for 12 highly successful seasons and further edged live-action shows out the door in favor of direct-to-television animation.

That same year, another important development was taking place: William Hanna and Joseph Barbera, two talented MGM animators, took over the animation division of MGM, only to be shown the door in 1957. The pair soon set up their own animation studio and started turning out television animation, usually aimed towards prime time or afternoon slots. Such shows as *Ruff and Ready* (the studio's first effort), *The Jetsons* (1962), and *The Flintstones* (1960-1966) were strong successes for the fledgling studio, but it was in the Saturday morning field that its cost-effective techniques made Hanna-Barbera an industry powerhouse.

In order to feed into the huge time and work demands required to develop a half-hour of animation every week, Hanna-Barbera, Ward, and other early television cartoon pioneers developed a wide array of cost-cutting and corner-cutting techniques. Characters were often drawn with a minimum of motion; if a character was speaking, often the only thing moving on the screen was the mouth. Character design was also geared towards efficiency of action. Many Hanna-Barbera characters, such as those in *The Jetsons* or the seminal *Ruff and Ready*, were designed with wide collars so it would be easier to show them turning their head by simply flopping the drawing of the head on the collar.

In some cases, sharp writing made up for the deficiencies in animation. *The Jetsons* and *The Flintstones* were well known for their occasional double entendres. Jay Ward's adventuresome duo of Rocky and Bullwinkle and their friends appeared in a number of incarnations, including a few Saturday morning runs. They were

better known for their sharp gags and jokes that worked on two levels than the rough, sketchy animation that characterized them. The Hanna-Barbera studio was not without its share of critics, many of whom felt that its quickie techniques cheapened all of animation. “Hanna-Barbera proved to the networks that by cutting corners (actually chunks), it was possible to make cartoons cheaply enough for television’s needs,” Erickson quotes Mark Nardone as writing in 1977.

As the 1960s progressed, animation was increasingly seen as a children’s medium. As a result, animation was funneled away from the prime-time slots and into Saturday mornings. 1966 marked an important turning point in the history of Saturday morning cartoons; it was the first year that all three major networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC) broadcast animation blocks on Saturday morning. The ongoing struggle for the support of advertisers, the attention of children, and the money of their parents was waged in earnest. Prime-time animation, though not completely dead, was a flagging form.

Comic books and cartoons are first cousins in the world of entertainment media, and comic books often successfully made the jump to Saturday morning. In the 1960s, *Spider-Man*, *The Fantastic Four*, and *Iron Man* were among the comic book characters who made their mark on Saturday morning. In the 1970s *Superman*, *Aquaman*, and *Batman* were individual successes, and the three teamed up with other superheroes to form the *Superfriends*. *Spider-Man* took the team approach early in the 1980s with *Spider-Man and His Amazing Friends*. Comics were strangely absent from Saturday morning for nearly a decade after that, however. In the early 1990s there was another boom of comic-inspired cartoons, including *Batman*, *Superman* and *Spider-Man* revivals, *X-Men* and *Silver Surfer*.

A recurring trend in Saturday morning cartoons has been the attempt to break through the animation stranglehold and produce successful live-action programs to compete with the animated stars, often in an updated style of the old 1950s live-action host shows. Not surprisingly, the most successful of the live-action Saturday morning programs have been those that have been most similar to cartoons themselves. *H.R. Pufnstuf*, first produced in 1969, and *Mighty Morphin Power Rangers*, which aired in various incarnations in the 1990s, were live-action shows with liberal doses of garish color, surreal design, outlandish costumes, and fast-paced, cartoon-style plots. The most successful of the live-action Saturday morning shows was *Pee Wee’s Playhouse* in the mid-1980s, which deposited comedian Pee Wee Herman into a surreal world of talking chairs, puppets, and wacky neighbors. It was perhaps the most effective of the live-action shows at replicating an animated world in a live environment.

An unusual side development of live-action Saturday morning television was the creation of animated shows based on (and sometimes voiced by) real celebrities. *The Beatles* (1965) was the first Saturday morning show to embrace this concept. In decades to come, Kid ’n’ Play, the New Kids on the Block, and the Jackson Five were only a few of the musical groups to follow in the footsteps of the Fab Four. Similarly, animated versions of live-action shows, such as *Mork and Mindy*, *Laverne and Shirley*, *Punky Brewster*, and *Alf*, were common Saturday morning fare over the years.

Like most other forms of entertainment media, Saturday morning cartoons exemplify the truism “Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery.” When the adventures of *The Smurfs*, a band of friendly blue forest dwellers, debuted on NBC in 1981, the program was one of the most successful animated shows ever. *The Smurfs* is often credited with bringing renewed vigor to an art form that had slipped into a

creative slump throughout the 1970s. As a result, studios and broadcasters were encouraged to pay even greater attention to the Saturday morning market. Whatever the subjective effects of the *Smurfs*’ success, one thing is clear: everybody wanted a piece of the action. Hence the endless clones that followed, such as *The Care Bears* and *My Little Pony*, further (much further) expounding on the happy and friendly themes that made *The Smurfs* popular.

Saturday morning cartoons made important and lasting changes to the landscape of American popular culture. One distinct change wrought was a subtle but irrevocable shift in the makeup of the week. Sunday may be a day of rest, but Saturday is a day of entertainment. In a very real sense, Saturday became an unofficial holiday, an event manufactured by advertisers and programmers to take advantage of a captive audience home from school with little to do—except, perhaps, park themselves in front of a television set. By and large, parents didn’t mind; it offered them relief from the children in the form of an electronic pacifier.

Parent’s groups and government agencies expressed concern about the effect the saturation of Saturday morning cartoons might have on children. Violence was their prime concern; as far back as the 1950s, there were those that had expressed dismay at the alien-blasting antics of *Space Ghost* or *Popeye*’s tendency to solve problems with a can of spinach and an act of violence. In fact, the majority of scholarly attention paid to television animation focused on the question of whether the violence presented was harmful to children. Additionally, parents and regulators feared the growing phenomenon of “half hour commercials”—cartoons that were primarily meant as long advertisements for the toys and trinkets relentlessly marketed to children.

Under pressure from many fronts over the course of the 1960s and 1970s, the networks imposed firm standards on themselves to avoid having the FCC or some other regulatory agency do it for them. But standards were nonetheless imposed. One important decision by the National Association of Broadcasters in 1969 dictated that advertisements for toys would not be aired during the same show the toys were based on. In other words, no longer would children watching *The Alvin Show* be regaled with commercials entreating them to run out and purchase doll likenesses of Alvin and the Chipmunks. Violent acts were curtailed by the broadcasters themselves, as was any act that might encourage children at home to imitate their onscreen heroes. Such demands required quite a bit of rewriting and revision; even old cartoon shorts rerun on Saturday mornings were subject to the new slash-and-burn treatment, sometimes rendering them incoherent in the process.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s some the networks attempted to head off accusations of being harmful to children by airing cartoons with social messages. Sometimes these messages were incorporated into the actual storyline of the show; Bill Cosby, producer and creator of *Fat Albert and the Cosby Kids* (1972-1979), was a particular proponent of educating children this way. Quite often, however, the lesson came in the form of a short epilogue to an episode that featured characters breaking “the fourth wall” and speaking directly to children, expounding on some educational issue or telling them the moral of the day. Erickson writes critically of this trend: “While some of these prosocial bites came off with sincerity, most appeared to be hastily inserted with an eye-dropper and wedged in with a shoe-horn—a fleeting conscious-stricken afterthought, a forced apology, for *not* educating the viewers within the body of the program.”

In the 1980s, NBC took this one step further by placing popular live-action stars of the day in *One to Grow On*—short vignettes

placed between programs that set up a morally tricky situation (from the 10-year-old standpoint) and resolved it with the help of an all-knowing NBC personality. In a similar vein, from time to time programmers and public agencies have tried to take advantage of the Saturday morning youth monopoly by offering programs that were just enough like standard cartoons to capture children's attention but sent a different message. Educational and religious programming often tried to "draw in" viewers to their message with animation as the hook, but most such efforts fared poorly. As anyone with children knows, kids are very savvy TV viewers.

One of the most successful attempts at educational Saturday morning programming was the *Schoolhouse Rock* project, a series of short educational lessons set to song which aired in the late 1970s and early 1980s. *Schoolhouse Rock* served its purpose well by injecting itself into the long-term language of popular culture, which is to say, its message survived longer than three months. In the 1990s, a generation after *Schoolhouse Rock* first bopped its way onto the scene, it experienced a revival of sorts. *Schoolhouse Rock* T-shirts and albums sold well and many college students could still sing along to "Conjunction Junction, What's Your Function?" and "I'm Just a Bill, Sittin' Here on Capitol Hill."

Possibly the most important economic impact of Saturday morning cartoons was the manner in which their merchandising and influence leaked into the mainstream, beginning in the late 1970s. There seemed to be no end to the variety of media in which the animated characters could be displayed. Characters such as the Smurfs smiled at children from lunchboxes, appeared on their clothes, shoes, party favors, napkins, and school supplies. The potential for toy sales was almost limitless for a successful cartoon.

The increasingly lucrative Saturday morning shows also effected a shift in the business dynamic of other creative forms. Many comic books and animated movies are developed with an eye towards big Saturday morning success a few years down the road. The weekly adventures of *The Little Mermaid*, *Aladdin*, or *Wild C.A.T.s* can go a long way towards sealing the brand name of a character in the minds of children who had already watched the original movie or read the comic book.

Thanks to the advertising and marketing blitz that accompanies the cartoon takeover of Saturday morning, the characters and memories border on the legendary with those who grew up watching them. Better than ninety percent of all Saturday morning characters slipped into television oblivion—few indeed are those who fondly remember the Snorks or the Orbots—but the ones that succeeded catapulted themselves into the popular imagination in a manner normally reserved for popular music stars or actors. Saturday morning has been a haven for television animation since 1950. Although the Saturday morning cartoon form has suffered through slumps, turmoil, regulation, and change, it still remains a viable and successful form.

—Paul F.P. Pogue

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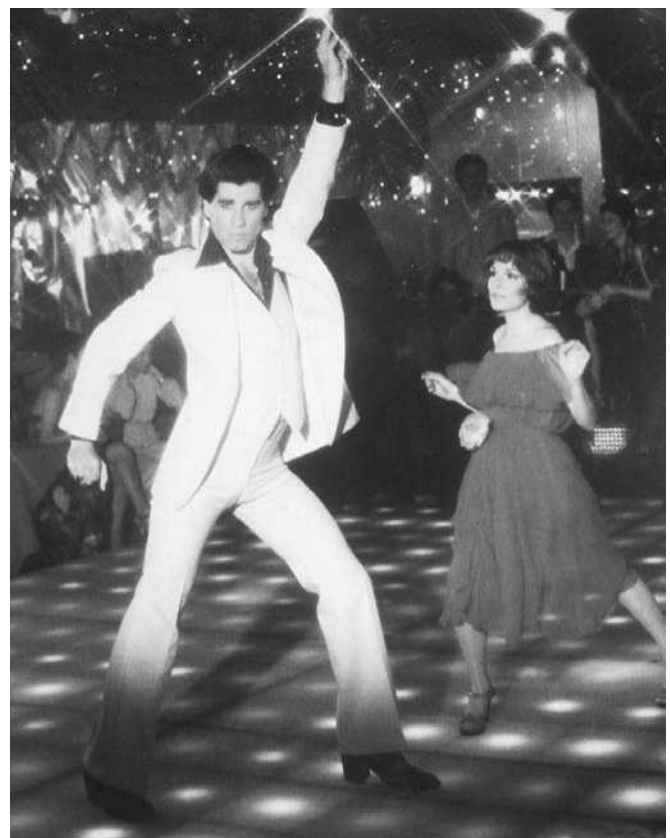
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## Saturday Night Fever

A film that captures the essence of the disco craze that flowered in the 1970s, *Saturday Night Fever* (1977) is arguably the quintessential document of an era that came, a decade later, to be one of the most ridiculed periods of the twentieth century. Supported by a best-selling



John Travolta, striking a pose in a scene from the film *Saturday Night Fever*.

movie soundtrack and instantly iconic leading man in John Travolta, *Saturday Night Fever* survived the demise of 1970s cultural artifacts such as polyester, *Soul Train*, and KC and the Sunshine Band, to become a cult classic. The film enjoyed a resurgence in popularity with the 1990s disco-culture renaissance that was heralded by such films as *Boogie Nights* (1997) and *The Last Days of Disco* (1998). Based on a short story by Nik Cohn and directed by John Badham, *Saturday Night Fever* starred Donna Pescow, Karen Lynn Gorney, and Travolta as Tony Manero, an average, Italian-American working man by day, and a disco demigod by night. The role rocketed Travolta to international stardom, while making him as idolized a figure in America as Farrah Fawcett (a poster of whom Tony Manero has on his bedroom wall in the film).

An over-abundance of foggy, disco-ball dance scenes aside, *Saturday Night Fever* is as much a film about what some consider to be the frivolous, politically neutral disco scene of the 1970s as it is about long-standing class and cultural differences. Set in a lower-middle class, Catholic neighborhood of Brooklyn, New York, *Saturday Night Fever* traces Tony Manero's struggle to attain a sense of self-worth in economically depressed, culturally conservative surroundings. The film opens with an aerial shot of the Manhattan skyline that moves across the Brooklyn Bridge in silence until, as the camera reaches Brooklyn itself, the throbbing sounds of the Bee Gees and the noise of traffic chime in as Tony struts down the streets of his neighborhood. Raised by conservative, Catholic parents, and a revered older brother who is a priest, Tony spends all of his free time and money perfecting his image for weekend appearances at the "2001-Odyssey" discotheque, where he excels as a dancer. Tony's function in his community can be likened to that of shaman, according to critic John Cooke in "Patterns of Shamanic Ritual in Popular Film." Neither a priest nor a medicine man, the shaman's function is to cure the sick in his community. On the dance floor, Tony commands ecstatic admiration from his peers and acts as a new type of spiritual savior in the face of Catholic conservatism. His dancing unites and lifts the spirits of his alienated, economically depressed community of peers. The power of his physical presence and prowess, combined with his confident "attitude" is graphically demonstrated in scenes where the crowd parts when Tony hits the dance floor and his friends cheer as he dances his solos. The bartender of the club even calls him Nureyev.

The opposition between the non-ideological impact of the disco scene and the staunch, ideological power of the Catholic Church in the film is underscored in the relationship between Tony and his brother, Frank. When Frank announces that he has lost his faith in religion and will leave the priesthood, Tony's own faith in his talent as a dancer and his belief in the regenerative space of the discotheque grows. After meeting Stephanie McDonald, an older woman from the neighborhood who is enamored with Manhattan and in the process of refining her image, he begins to drift away from his group of friends. Stephanie, a local girl turned posh, presents the key to escape from his neighborhood and entry into the upscale world of Manhattan, just over the bridge.

John Travolta was a trained actor and dancer by the time he landed the role of Tony Manero. He quit school at the age of 16 to pursue acting, studied dance under Gene Kelly's brother, Fred Kelly, and had appeared in several stage productions, a popular television show (*Welcome Back, Kotter*), and a major motion picture by the time he made *Saturday Night Fever*. He reprised his role as Tony Manero

in *Staying Alive* (1983), but the disco craze had faded and so had Travolta's luster. After a long period out of the limelight, Travolta returned to mainstream Hollywood cinema with a string of 1990s hit films, including *Pulp Fiction* (1994), *Phenomenon* (1996), and *Primary Colors* (1998).

—Kristi M. Wilson

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## *Saturday Night Live*

A landmark of the 1970s, NBC's *Saturday Night Live* challenged America's comic sensibilities with its outrageous and satirical humor in skits such as "The Samurai Warrior," "Wayne and Garth," "The Coneheads," and "Deep Thoughts by Jack Handey," and launched the careers of many of the brightest comedy performers America has ever known, including Chevy Chase, Eddie Murphy, Bill Murray, Adam Sandler, and David Spade. *Saturday Night Live* made President Gerald Ford into the world's clumsiest man. Mock commercials satirized anything and everything. The show made it a policy to feature musical talent usually not found on network television. Its increasing popularity meant that first-season musical guests such as Harlan Collins and Leon Redbone were replaced by the likes of Aretha Franklin and Billy Joel in the 1994 season. *Saturday Night Live* continues to feature bands that are on the cutting edge of new music: the same 1994 season featured Tony Toni Tone and Crash Test Dummies. For a show that debuted in a dead-end spot on NBC's schedule, *Saturday Night Live* has become an institution that seeks to constantly redefine American comedy.

Producer Lorne Michaels first conceived of *Saturday Night Live* as a reaction to the staid, prime-time comedy of American television. Inspired by Britain's *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, Michaels wanted to produce a comedy show that would break all the rules. He wanted to bring the dangerous energy evident in America's comedy clubs to a television industry that he instinctively distrusted. He was lucky to get the moribund 11:30 p.m. Saturday evening slot, and he began to create a comedy variety show. He was constantly quoted as saying he knew the ingredients of the show, but not the recipe. Michaels scoured the underground comedy scene for his writers and performers, and found many in Chicago's Second City comedy troupe. He established a *Saturday Night Live* repertory of actors, the Not Ready for Prime Time Players, and a core of writers who were raised on TV but were



The original cast of *Saturday Night Live*.

ready to break its rules. They were all aware that few comedians with anything serious to say got to do so on network television, where humor was safe and orderly.

On October 11, 1975, *Saturday Night Live* debuted from the NBC studios in New York City's Rockefeller Center. From the first moment, with its trademark cold opening (no credits or titles), the audience knew something different had arrived on late night television. John Belushi played an immigrant who came for English lessons from writer Michael O'Donoghue's professor. As O'Donoghue was teaching Belushi how to say "Would you like to feed your fingers to the wolverines," he suddenly died of a heart attack. A tremulous Chevy Chase, playing the stage manager, walked into camera shot, looked at the audience with a grin, and bellowed: "Live from New York, it's Saturday Night."

At first, the cast took second place to the guest hosts. The exception in the first few episodes was Chevy Chase, a performer who was originally hired as a lead writer. His suave, sophisticated looks and his recurring role as the anchor of the Weekend Update news parody segment soon set him apart from the rest of the repertory cast. The others, Dan Aykroyd, John Belushi, Jane Curtin, Garrett Morris, Bill Murray, Laraine Newman, and Gilda Radner, got their chance to shine on the third show, hosted by Rob Reiner. The cast felt the host was being dictatorial, and when John Belushi came up to him on stage, as a Bee, their backstage resentment poured out on camera: "[W]e didn't ask to be Bees . . . But this is all they [the writers] came up with for us. DO YOU THINK WE LIKE THIS? No, no, Mr. Reiner, we don't have any choice . . . we're just a bunch of actors

looking for a break, that's all! What do you WANT from us! Mr. Rob Reiner, Mr. Star! What did you expect? THE STING?"

*Saturday Night Live* was determined to challenge all the standards. Michaels himself stepped from behind the camera in April 1976 to offer the Beatles \$3000 to appear on the show and sing three songs. He later came back and upped the offer to \$3200. In November, George Harrison showed up and tried to claim all the money himself. Michaels again appeared to say that if it was up to him, George could have the money, but NBC wouldn't agree. When Paul McCartney appeared on the show in 1993, he and Michaels were seen talking about the offer during the monologue.

The cast of *Saturday Night Live* went through numerous changes over the years. At the end of the first season, Chevy Chase departed for Hollywood. Bill Murray joined the repertory, but it was John Belushi who ended up star of the show with his manic weatherman, Samurai Warrior, and Joliet Jake Blues characters. In 1979, Belushi and Aykroyd left to make the *The Blues Brothers* film (1980), followed at the end of the fifth season by Lorne Michaels and virtually the rest of his cast and writers. The season that followed saw the show fall in ratings, but it also saw the debut of the brash young Eddie Murphy. Murphy was hidden for most of his first season on *Saturday Night Live*. His first break came during a commentary he co-wrote for Weekend Update. His "Yo, baby," was belted out with force, and his character of Raheem Abdul Muhammed proceeded to steal the show. Murphy appeared in virtually every other Update segment for the rest of the season, and when new producer Dick Ebersol took over the show in the next season, Murphy was the undeclared star. It was Ebersol who moved away from Michaels's repertory idea, hiring tried and true comics to star as part of the cast (including Billy Crystal and Martin Short), but they did not stay with the show for long.

Michaels returned in 1985 as executive producer. He proceeded to reinvent *Saturday Night Live* as America's one true comedy factory, where new and untried performers and comedians could experiment with their art and in the process reinvent television comedy standards. It was Michaels who brought to the show the likes of Dana Carvey, Chris Farley, Phil Hartman, Mike Meyers, and Dennis Miller. In fact, he continued to add to his repertory even when his actors stayed with the show. It has been suggested that he decided to overstaff this time around to protect himself should more of his stars head for Hollywood. Whatever the reason, the show overcame its legendary past to produce some of its most memorable moments: Carvey presented the viewers with his razor-sharp caricatures of "wouldn't be prudent" George Bush and Ross Perot, while Hartman responded with an uncanny President Bill Clinton. Meyers, with Carvey, brought the world into the basement of "Wayne's World" and was shocked at how big the segments became—Aerosmith came to the show as musical guests in February 1990 and demanded to be included in a "Wayne's World" sketch. Two *Wayne's World* movies followed in 1992 and 1993.

*Saturday Night Live* was still going strong at the turn of the century, while the early shows were being rerun on cable.

—John J. Doherty

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## Savage, Randy “Macho Man” (1952—)

Randy Savage (Randy Poffo) entered the World Wrestling Federation (WWF) in 1985. Although other wrestlers had been accompanied to the ring by a female valet, the pairing of Savage and his real-life wife Miss Elizabeth, pushed Savage to the top with this “beauty and the beast” gimmick. With a manic ring style, outlandish wardrobe, and strained voice interviews ending with a shout of “oh yea!” Savage quickly won over WWF fans. He was one of the first “bad guys” to be cheered, a trend which took off in the later half of the 1990s with the success of anti-heroes like Stone Cold Steve Austin. A feud with Hulk Hogan—started on NBC’s Main Event—culminated in Hogan defeating Savage for the WWF title at Wrestlemania V in 1989. Like Hogan, Savage made public appearances on television talk shows. He also achieved success as the spokesperson for Slim Jim’s beef jerky. Savage left the WWF in 1994 to join Hogan in World Championship Wrestling as they resumed their feud, drawing a record gate for their *Halloween Havoc* Pay-per-view match in 1996.

—Patrick Jones

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## Savoy Ballroom

The Savoy Ballroom was the most popular dance venue in Harlem. Many of the dance crazes of the 1920s and 1930s were perpetuated there. The Savoy was a veritable institution that featured the best of jazz bands, competitions, and dancers. Vocalist Ella Fitzgerald made her famous recording of “A-Tisket, A-Tasket” with the Chick Webb Orchestra, the Savoy’s house band, later leading the band after Webb’s untimely death. Moe Gale (Moses Galewski), Charles Galewski, and a Harlem real estate investor Charles Buchanan opened the Savoy Ballroom to the public on March 12, 1926. Moe Gale was known as “The Great White Father of Harlem,” since he discovered and mentored a number of musicians and groups. Charles Buchanan served as manager. The Savoy Ballroom was connected by landline to a New York radio station and often broadcast the bands that played there. It enjoyed a successful run from its opening in 1926 to 1956, when it closed.

First marketed as “The World’s Most Beautiful Ballroom” and later as “The Home of Happy Feet,” the Savoy was situated on the second floor of a building that stretched for a whole block on 596 Lenox Avenue between West 140th Street and West 141st Street in New York’s Harlem. The interior consisted of a large dance floor of approximately 200 by 50 feet, two bandstands, and a retractable stage. Marble stairs were sandwiched between mirrored walls. The springy dance floor bounced from the dancer’s feet and was completely renovated every three years. Street car barns occupied the site prior to the ballroom’s opening.

Also known as “The Track” because of its early use for dog racing, the Savoy was a dancer’s paradise. Different nights drew different clienteles and emphases. Saturday night saw the largest crowds and was known as “square’s night” to the regulars because there was not much room to dance. Wednesday and Friday nights were reserved for social clubs and other voluntary associations. Thursday night was known as the “kitchen mechanics’ night” since most of the patrons were domestics off for the evening. Tuesday was the night for serious dancers because there was plenty of floor space. The “Opportunity Contest,” where money was given to dancers who won first and second prizes, was held on Sunday nights. Sunday night also attracted a number of celebrities. In addition to its black clientele, the Savoy encouraged and welcomed white dancers and spectators. “The lindy-hoppers at the Savoy even began to practice acrobatic routines, and to do absurd things for the entertainment of the whites. Then Harlem nights became show nights for the Nordics,” observed poet Langston Hughes.

The Savoy was a place of intense and creative dance activity—new and old steps were refined and taken to new heights in response to the evolution of swing jazz and be-bop. When the Savoy opened in 1926, it instituted a policy that sprightly dances such as the Charleston were forbidden. Two muscular bouncers enforced the rule; but the dancers evaded the policy by creating “the run,” a swift step that allowed them to quickly escape the bouncers. Savoy dancers even adapted to the new and difficult-to-dance-to rhythms of be-bop, and the bands that played there likewise created new rhythms in response to the movement of the dancers. The Savoy dancers were known to add “air steps” to the Lindy that later became known as the Jitterbug. Many dance steps were disseminated after dancers at the Savoy Ballroom were filmed so that others could watch and learn the movements.

In its 30 years of existence, the Savoy featured a veritable who’s who of jazz bands of the Swing Era. Some bandleaders were inherently associated with the Savoy because of their long residencies there. The first such band was the Charleston Bearcats, who opened the Savoy and later changed their name to the Savoy Bearcats. Fess Williams and His Royal Flush Orchestra and the Fletcher Henderson band also participated in the opening night’s ceremonies. In 1927, the Missourians became the Savoy’s house band. By 1935, drummer Chick Webb and vocalist Ella Fitzgerald played frequently at the Savoy, several years later becoming the house band and broadcasting nationally. Trumpeter and bandleader Erskine Hawkins achieved great popularity playing at the Savoy from 1939–1941, and continued playing extended engagements through the 1950s. Another group that enjoyed a long association with the Savoy Ballroom was the Savoy Sultans, a swing band led by Al Cooper, that was extremely popular with dancers and played a powerful swing later known as “jump.”

Benny Carter, Coleman Hawkins, Andy Kirk, and Glenn Miller, among many other bandleaders, played single engagements at the ballroom.

Chick Webb's band has been inextricably linked to the Savoy Ballroom. In October 1932, the band was renamed Chick Webb's Savoy Orchestra and began setting record-breaking attendances. More than 4,600 patrons came to one breakfast dance. The Webb band, on most occasions, won out in the battles of the bands. One of the band members, alto saxophonist Edgar Sampson, wrote "Stompin' at the Savoy," the ballroom's theme song. Sampson's "Stompin' at the Savoy," Eddie Durham's "Harlem Shout," and Sy Oliver's "Raggin' the Scale" and "For Dancers Only" set the riff instrumental formula for dozens of white swing bands from Tommy Dorsey to Miller to Les Brown. "Stompin' at the Savoy" was a hit for the Benny Goodman band and "Big John's Special," his encore for his Carnegie Hall performance, was reportedly named after the Savoy's doorman.

The ballroom usually employed two bands that played alternate sets and became famous for the battles of the bands. One band would



A couple swing dancing at the Savoy Ballroom in Harlem, 1947.

spar with the other for the dancer's favor. The Savoy hosted a number of significant band battles during the Swing Era. One long anticipated battle occurred in 1938 between the Savoy's house band, led by Chick Webb, and the Count Basie Band, with the Basie band receiving the longest applause. The Savoy Ballroom was instrumental in the dissemination of swing dance and played an important role in the coalescence of popular dance and music.

—Willie Collins

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## *Schindler's List*

The highly anticipated film *Schindler's List*, directed by Steven Spielberg and based on a 1982 historical novel entitled *Schindler's Ark* by Australian writer Thomas Keneally, premiered in December

of 1993. In a year that had also seen the opening of the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C., the film quickly became a cultural event. The public and many critics praised the harrowing but inspirational tale of individual decency in response to the horrors of genocide. The \$23 million film was also a box-office success, eventually earning more than \$300 million worldwide, in spite of its black-and-white photography and three-hour-plus running time—normally considered audience deterrents. Given the epic film's high public profile and cross-cultural praise, it was not surprising that *Schindler's List* would go on to garner seven Academy Awards in 1994, winning for best picture and giving Spielberg his first-ever best director honors from the Academy. It should be noted that a great many academic critics are troubled by certain aspects of Spielberg's treatment of such sensitive subject matter, particularly in regard to the film's sentimentalized conclusion, the portrayal of Jews as passive victims, and the perhaps-inevitable trivializing of the Holocaust through traditional Hollywood narrative technique. However, even with the shortcomings, the film was generally acknowledged to be Spielberg's most mature, visually striking, and well-crafted work to date. Not even *Saving Private Ryan*, another Spielberg-directed World War II epic that opened to another round of general praise during the summer of 1998, has come close to capturing the cultural impact of *Schindler's List*.



Ralph Fiennes, walking by a line of women prisoners, in a scene from the film *Schindler's List*.

The film and novel differ in dramatic emphasis and characterization but are both reasonably faithful to the details of the real-life story of a Catholic-German entrepreneur named Oskar Schindler, who saved more than one thousand Polish Jews from the Nazi death camps during World War II. As detailed in the novel, Schindler was born in 1908 in the Sudetenland, in an area that would later become Czechoslovakia. As he grew to manhood, Schindler quickly developed a reputation as a carouser and playboy—a reputation founded in reckless actions that even his early marriage in 1927 to a devoutly religious woman named Emilie did not stop. His parents were prosperous in their hometown of Zwittau until the family business, a farm implement factory, went bankrupt in 1935. At this point, the elder Schindler left his wife, and Oskar was forced to seek his living elsewhere. As a salesman and a member of both the Nazi Party and German military intelligence, Oskar traveled alone to Krakow after the German military occupation of Poland in 1939. (This is the point at which Spielberg's adaptation of the novel begins.) In Krakow, Schindler bought an enamel factory that he then staffed with Jewish workers.

Shortly thereafter, the Germans forced the Jews of Krakow to move to a ghetto within the city and also built a forced labor camp named Plaszow outside the city. The extermination camp of Auschwitz began receiving Plaszow inmates during 1942. Throughout the escalating levels of Nazi persecution and brutality directed against Jews, Schindler was able to keep his well-treated Jewish workforce more or less intact, even after the Krakow ghetto was closed in 1943 and all Jews were forced into Plaszow, commanded by a ruthless man named Amon Goeth. Goeth and Schindler formed an unusual relationship: each exploiting the other for personal advantage but nevertheless reluctantly sharing some similarities of taste and lifestyle. (Spielberg emphasizes their duality of character throughout the middle portion of the film.)

Schindler's employees were able to work in his factory by day until 1944, when orders came to send all of Plaszow's Jews to Auschwitz. Through his close contacts with Goeth and others in the German military hierarchy, Schindler somehow managed to receive permission to relocate one thousand Jewish workers to another camp in the relative safety of Czechoslovakia. In one of the most amazing episodes of the Schindler legend, he even retrieved a group of his female employees from Auschwitz, where their train had been mistakenly diverted. At the Czechoslovakian camp, Schindler provided a haven for another two hundred or so escaped Jewish refugees. With the European war's end in May of 1945, the "Nazi war profiteer" Schindler and his wife were forced to flee the camp ahead of its Russian liberators.

After the war, Schindler moved from Austria to Argentina to West Germany, eventually leaving Emilie. He proved consistently unable to make any kind of living and in the end had to rely for daily survival on the financial largesse of the Jews he had so protected during the war. He also visited Israel yearly, all expenses paid by Jewish organizations and individuals. The Holocaust memorial in Jerusalem, Yad Vashem, recognized Schindler as a Righteous Gentile in 1962. He died, perhaps predictably given his lifestyle, of liver failure in 1974 and was buried in a Catholic cemetery in Jerusalem.

The story of Oskar Schindler remained in relative obscurity until the early 1980s, when author Thomas Keneally published *Schindler's Ark*. The historical novel had its origins in a 1980 visit by Keneally to a luggage store in Los Angeles, where Keneally met the storeowner—a Jew who had been rescued by Schindler. Intrigued by the owner's dramatic tale of the long-ago events, Keneally interviewed dozens of

the *Schindlerjuden* (Schindler Jews) in several different countries and researched the relevant documents in Israel and Poland. After Keneally's book was published as *Schindler's List* in America, Universal Studios acquired it for development. Director Steven Spielberg, about to achieve yet another spectacular box-office success with *E.T.: The Extraterrestrial*, read the book and was determined that he, too, when he felt he was a mature-enough filmmaker, would someday tell the story of Oskar Schindler.

Ten years passed, during which Spielberg alternated between taking on the project and passing it to others. Finally, in 1992, Spielberg believed the time was personally and historically right to begin active production on the film. He made several important and risky artistic decisions: to use black-and-white film, to shoot on location in Europe, to rely heavily on handheld cameras, to select European extras, and to cast nonstars in the key roles (Liam Neeson as Schindler, Ben Kingsley as Schindler's Jewish accountant Stern, and Ralph Fiennes as Amon Goeth). In spite of Spielberg's determination to use authentic locations, some were unavailable: Spielberg had to painstakingly reconstruct the Plaszow camp; and when his request to film inside Auschwitz was denied by the World Jewish Congress, he and production designer Allan Starski built a chillingly convincing replica directly outside the grounds. After principal photography was finished, Michael Kahn edited the film to its three-and-a-half-hour running length, and longtime Spielberg collaborator John Williams composed the musical score.

The final result, released to theaters at the end of 1993, was generally well received and capped one of Spielberg's most personally and financially successful years ever. (Earlier that summer, his film *Jurassic Park* had earned nearly \$360 million domestically.) Many critics reevaluated their previous dismissal of Spielberg as a skilled but trivial filmmaker. But more significantly for history, with the profits from *Schindler's List*, Spielberg established two organizations: The Righteous Persons Foundation, dedicated to memorializing Gentile rescuers of Jews during World War II, and the Shoah Visual History Foundation, set up to record the first-hand accounts of Holocaust survivors before the passage of time silences their voices.

—Philip Simpson

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## Schlatter, George (1932—)

Television producer-writer-director George Schlatter's credits are impressive. He has produced special programming featuring a Hall of Fame of entertainers, from Nat King Cole to Elton John, Frank Sinatra to Michael Jackson, Judy Garland to Bette Midler. He founded the American Comedy Awards, an annual televised event that spotlights the accomplishments of funny-men and women. Over

the years he has earned more than two dozen Emmy nominations, and a quartet of Emmy Awards.

Schlatter's greatest contribution to television, however, was as co-executive producer (with Ed Friendly) during the initial—and funniest—seasons of *Rowan & Martin's Laugh-In*. *Laugh-In*, which aired between 1968 and 1973, was a fast-paced hour crammed with goofy, irreverent sketch comedy. While its often surreal sensibility evolved from Ernie Kovacs's pioneering television humor, *Laugh-In* itself was to alter the future of television comedy from the pacing of sitcom buffoonery to the structure and content of such sketch comedy shows as *Saturday Night Live*. The show also served as the launching pad for the careers of Goldie Hawn and Lily Tomlin.

—Rob Edelman

### Schlessinger, Dr. Laura (1947—)

With an estimated weekly listening audience of 18 million, Dr. Laura Schlessinger ranks as the most popular talk radio personality of the late 1990s, surpassing even Rush Limbaugh and Howard Stern. An advocate of high ethical standards and personal accountability, Schlessinger—known to her fans simply as Dr. Laura—takes to the

airwaves for three hours each weekday to offer her “never to be humble opinion” on various moral dilemmas. Employing her own brand of tough love, Schlessinger, guided by her Judeo-Christian faith, preaches to her callers, frequently chastising them for their behaviors and nagging them to mend their ways. It is this abrasive manner which causes her to be alternately hailed for her stern morality and criticized for her intolerance of contrary viewpoints. But despite assertions that Schlessinger's message is one of hate, punishment, and vengeance, her audience has continued to grow. Her radio talk show, nationally syndicated in June of 1994, built an audience of 10 million in its first two years; her syndicated column runs in 55 newspapers nationwide, and her self-help books continuously top bestseller lists. Her overwhelming popularity indicates she is doing something right, and many people, including Schlessinger, attribute this success to her tough talk and impeccable timing.

Following nearly three decades of “me generation” ethics—as defined by Fritz Perls' 1960s credo, “I do my thing and you do yours”—Schlessinger offers a radically different message: one of personal responsibility. She challenges her listeners to improve their character by employing a strong moral code when making decisions rather than relying on emotions. In a 1996 interview with Amy Bernstein for *U.S. News and World Report*, Schlessinger stated that between the 1960s and the 1990s Americans, “. . . erected a



Dr. Laura Schlessinger

monument to feelings and made them the vantage point from which to make decisions. That's dangerous." Instead, Schlessinger instructs her listeners to take responsibility for their actions by making rational choices and doing the morally correct thing, regardless of emotion. As strident as she sometimes sounds, her message is one Americans want to hear. Indeed, after witnessing numerous high profile personal and political scandals, the American populace has grown tired of excuses. Instead, the public craves integrity, commitment, candor, and conscience—all keystones in Schlessinger's definition of character, and all part of a new counter-culture Americans appear to be embracing. During the presidential elections of 1992 and 1996, "family values" were at the foundation of every campaign platform, indicating that Americans were anxious for a return to the simplicity of life symbolized by the 1950s.

In addition to her moral message, Schlessinger offers the idea that individuals have ultimate control of their lives, claiming that even physical addictions such as alcoholism are a matter of personal choice. According to Schlessinger, a person can choose the direction his life will take by practicing self-restraint and religious faith. In a society where many people feel their lives are spinning out of control because violence appears commonplace and marriage is no longer a sacrament, hers is a message which offers stability amidst the chaos.

But for every American who embraces Schlessinger's message, there is another who rejects it. Her critics describe her as narrow-minded, self-righteous, and prudish, primarily due to her stances against live-in relationships—which she refers to inimically as "shacking up"—premarital sex, abortion (in most cases), and gossip. Additionally, Schlessinger regularly badgers listeners who engage in such behaviors, telling them to "grow up," "stop whining," or "quit cold turkey,"—advice her detractors fault for its harsh, black-and-white nature. Ironically, this is precisely the kind of advice that keeps listeners rushing to their telephones. On average, nearly 50,000 callers vie for a moment on-air with Dr. Laura, seeking her matter of fact opinions, regardless of how severe they may be.

The issue which draws the biggest fire, however, is Schlessinger's position on child care. As evidenced by her assertion following every commercial break that she is, first and foremost, "her kid's mom," children rank high on her agenda. She espouses the belief that once a child is born, a parent should put everything on hold—specifically a career—to stay home and care for that child. In most cases, she believes the at-home parent should be the mother, explaining that women are better and more natural nurturers, especially during a child's first few years. In Schlessinger's view, day-care centers are inadequate methods of child care, and largely to blame for delinquent, immoral, or irresponsible youths who suffer from a lack of one-on-one time with their parents. This view is criticized by many who say Schlessinger abuses her powerful position by placing unnecessary guilt on parents—especially working mothers—and demanding unhealthy amounts of self-sacrifice. Adding more fuel to the fire is Schlessinger's assertion that the feminist movement is responsible for breaking up families by encouraging women to put their own needs before those of their children.

In addition to their disenchantment with her message, detractors have tagged Schlessinger as both a fraud and a hypocrite. The fraud charge stems from her use of the address "doctor" on air. While she does have a Ph.D., it is in Physiology, not Psychology, as many listeners may assume. While Schlessinger does have a post-doctoral certificate in Marriage, Family, and Child Counseling, and did practice as a Licensed Marriage, Family, and Child Counselor for 12 years, critics worry that some callers may assume her knowledge of

psychotherapy to be more vast than it is. As for being a hypocrite, detractors cite Schlessinger's assertion that people must accept their faith in whole while simultaneously breaking with her own faith on two important issues. She excuses abortion in cases where the mother's life is in danger, and condones homosexuality, saying it is an issue she and God will work out later. In response, Schlessinger states that the particulars of morality can always be debated; her focus is on the lifelong struggle to be a person of character. Needless to say, Schlessinger's position as "America's moral compass" inspires devotion, antipathy, and above all, controversy wherever her message is heard.

—Belinda S. Ray

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## Schnabel, Julian (1951—)

The emergence of artist Julian Schnabel as a mythical figure was a phenomenon of the modern art world in the 1980s. Once considered the bad boy of the New York art scene, Schnabel seemed to rise to prominence from nowhere. After earning a bachelor of fine arts degree from the University of Houston, Schnabel toured Europe before returning to his home of New York City. On his journeys both stateside and abroad, while living a bohemian lifestyle, Schnabel tackled many occupations, including cab driver and cook. Once he began painting as a profession, Schnabel's ability for self-promotion propelled him into the limelight.

Enormous canvases filled with vibrant colors and bold strokes typify Schnabel's paintings. With his first exhibition at Mary Boone Gallery in 1980, which launched him into the New York art scene, he gathered a following for his emotion-filled unusual works. By the time he exhibited his work in a show jointly organized by Boone and Leo Castelli in 1981, he had become firmly established, and a clamoring for his neo-expressionist paintings created on and with remarkable surfaces ensued. Schnabel's signature works, both abstract and figurative, have as a base surface either black velvet or broken crockery. Filled with raw emotion, the paintings contain an underlying edge of brutality while still being suffused with energy. Schnabel claims that he's "aiming at an emotional state, a state that people can literally walk into and be engulfed by." The monstrous canvases have elements of collage, yet his arrival as an artist signified



**Julian Schnabel**

the return of painting to an art scene that previously revolved around conceptual and minimalist art.

Schnabel's quick rise to popularity became representative of the money-driven 1980s. His notoriety exemplified the commercialization of the art world that related to the economic boom. Considered heroic, with his charismatic and somewhat eccentric personality—the artist worked in pajamas, slippers, and robe—Schnabel became a superstar in art. Controversially, his persona, carefully hyped, often outshone the artwork itself, which inspired debate by critics as to whether it actually held any artistic merit. To the art-buying public, Schnabel's work was the work to own, and his exhibitions often sold out. A proficient artist who worked quickly, Schnabel once claimed to have sold more than sixty canvases in one year. Typifying the era, many critics judged Schnabel's success as an artist based on the incredible demand for his work. With the recession of the late 1980s and the stabilization of the economy in the 1990s, Schnabel's star faded somewhat.

While Schnabel continued to paint successfully through the 1990s, he explored other art forms. In 1996, he wrote and directed the movie *Basquiat*. The \$3.3 million independent film related to the life and struggles of his friend and fellow artist Jean-Michael Basquiat. This proved to be a fairly triumphant endeavor, realizing some commercial and critical recognition and success. Schnabel's foray into the cinematic arena again proved his mastery at adapting to the current trends, and this addition of filmmaker to his persona further solidified his reputation as modern artist.

—Jennifer Jankauskas

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## *Schoolhouse Rock*

The *Schoolhouse Rock* series of animated musical shorts that ran on the ABC network on weekend mornings from 1973 to 1985 dazzled a generation of young viewers raised in front of the television. Vibrant, catchy, exuberant, fast-paced, and entertaining: they were also educational and instructive about basic grammar, mathematics, science, and American history.

David McCall, president of New York's McCaffrey and McCall advertising agency, conceived the series. He had observed that his young son had trouble learning his multiplication table but easily and happily recounted the lyrics and music of popular songs. Working with his agency colleagues, McCall commissioned some songs about mathematics and presented them to Michael Eisner, then vice-president of children's programming at ABC (and future chairman of the Walt Disney Corporation), and Chuck Jones, famed for his Bugs Bunny, Daffy Duck, and Road Runner cartoons. ABC bought the series and General Foods sponsored it. The first animated shorts, a series of songs with titles such as "Zero My Hero" and "Three Is the Magic Number," appeared in January 1973. In the early 1970s, Saturday morning cartoons became an institution and the networks were under pressure to run programming that was perceived as having social value. In 1974, the FCC established guidelines for children's programming in an effort to improve their educational content. In this regard, *Schoolhouse Rock's* timing was perfect.

Over the next 12 years, ABC aired over 41 of these animated musical pieces, running as many as seven different spots in one weekend. The spots were broken into five subject areas: multiplication, grammar, American history, science, and computers. For the "Multiplication Rock" series, the creative team wrote songs concerning the multiplication products from zero to twelve (excluding one), while "Grammar Rock" informed viewers of the parts of speech. "America Rock" was created for the American bicentennial in 1976 and its songs detailed the American Revolution, the Constitution, the westward expansion, racial diversity, and women's suffrage. Later series included "Science Rock" and "Scooter Computer & Mr. Chips."

The series won four Emmy Awards, making McCaffrey and McCall the first advertising agency ever to win the coveted television prize. Advertising art directors working at McCaffrey and McCall, as well as at the Young and Rubicam agency, created most of the designs, and many of the songs were penned by copy and jingle writers. The language of advertising drove the three-minute spots, featuring vivid images supported by a catchy tune and continuous repetition of a key message. As a method for teaching a generation raised on television, *Schoolhouse Rock* was anticipated somewhat by the animated segments interspersed between live action sequences on the Public Broadcasting System's successful *Sesame Street* television

program, which debuted a few years earlier. But in style, look, feel, and tone, the series was unique in children's programming.

The creative team that grew out of McCaffrey and McCall created all but a few of the original pieces during the 1970s. The design, colors, and lyrics of the spots were in tune with the aesthetic and the ethic of this era—more so than many of the Saturday morning cartoons and advertisements alongside which they ran. Visually, they were more faithful to the work of underground comic-book artist R. Crumb and the Beatles movie *Yellow Submarine* (1968) than to cartoons by Walt Disney or Hanna-Barbera. The *Schoolhouse Rock* images were bright, colorful, simple, and playfully psychedelic. The colors were earthy, the hip lyrics accessible and vernacular, and the jazzy music had a rock and roll edge. The tone was optimistic and the outlook diverse. The spots presumed that everyone was capable of learning simple mathematics and grammar, and celebrated American history and civic life. The animated spots included refreshingly non-stereotyped people of color, a rarity in the medium.

Among the more renowned *Schoolhouse Rock* pieces was "Conjunction Junction" which asked, "Conjunction junction, what's your function?" while a manic train conductor linked various colored boxcars as an illustration of the conjunction's grammatical role in "Hookin' up words and phrases and clauses." In another well-known spot, a young boy visiting the Capitol spots a "sad little scrap of paper" that turns out to be a bill under consideration by Congress. "Bill" pines to become a law and plaintively sings his predicament to the boy: "I know I'll be a law some day / At least I hope and pray that I will / But today I am still just a bill." Bill then musically explains to the boy the precise legislative process he must endure to become a law.

As the Reagan administration deregulated broadcasters' duties in the area of children's programming in the early 1980s, there was less pressure to include educational pieces during commercial air-time. Production of the program was discontinued in 1985 and ABC took the series off the air. However, in the early and mid-1990s, as the generation that was raised on *Schoolhouse Rock* grew up to become Generation X, the series experienced a resurgence. College students led a national petition drive to bring it back on the air, and in 1993 ABC began re-running the spots and commissioning new ones. That same year, the musical stage show, *Schoolhouse Rock Live*, opened, eventually running on Broadway and across the country. The original songs were re-released on CD and, in 1996, were also re-recorded by popular musicians of the day and released as *Schoolhouse Rock Rocks*. The animated spots themselves were released on video. An "Official Guide" was published by some of the creators in 1996 and *Schoolhouse Rock* T-shirts and other popular paraphernalia began to appear.

*Schoolhouse Rock* was not only one of the many inventive and original cultural phenomena of the 1970s, but unique as a cultural creation that a generation returned in force to retrieve.

—Steven Kotok

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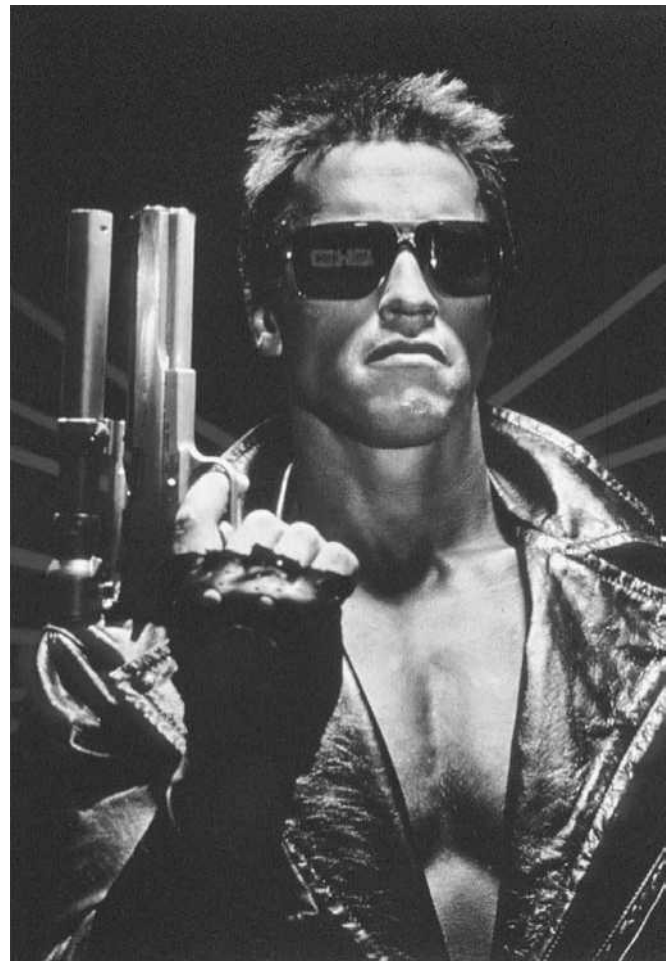
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## Schwarzenegger, Arnold (1947—)

Born in Austria and naturalized as an American citizen in 1983, Arnold Schwarzenegger is one of the main Hollywood male icons of the 1980s and 1990s. Schwarzenegger—Arnie, as he is known to his fans—has used his spectacular body as a passport to fame, gaining celebrity in bodybuilding contests. Arnie won in 1968 (the first of five times) the title of Mr. Universe, the world's top bodybuilding distinction. He used his initial popularity as a sportsman to start businesses including real estate, gyms, and diet products. The next phase in his rising business career included film stardom, which he reached in the 1980s despite his limited acting skills. Consolidated in the early 1990s as both Hollywood star and businessman, Schwarzenegger is rumored to be planning a political career. This could lead him to run for governor of California.

Schwarzenegger's acting career began with a role as Hercules in a mediocre television film. His first memorable screen appearance was as himself in George Butler and Robert Fiori's documentary on bodybuilding contests, *Pumping Iron* (1977). But Schwarzenegger definitively entered stardom thanks to two roles. One was Robert Howard's sword and sorcery hero Conan in *Conan the Barbarian* (1982) and *Conan the Destroyer* (1984); the other, the ultraviolent cyborg sent from the future to eliminate the mother of mankind's



Arnold Schwarzenegger as "The Terminator."



future leader in James Cameron's *The Terminator* (1984). A number of action films followed, among them the box-office hits *Predator* (1987) and *Total Recall* (1990). In the same period, Arnie started playing leading roles in Ivan Reitman's comedies *Twins* (1988) and *Kindergarten Cop* (1990). Since then, his main hit has been the sequel to *The Terminator*, *T2* (1991). He has also starred in a rather long list of interesting films, including *True Lies*, *Eraser*, and the much underrated *Last Action Hero* and *Junior*, in which he played a pregnant daddy. Schwarzenegger became Hollywood's best paid villain with the role of Mr. Freeze in *Batman and Robin* (1997), for which he reaped \$25 million.

Several factors contribute to Schwarzenegger's popularity. He is a self-made man in two senses—he has “made” his body and has “made” himself. He embodies health and heroism, and is, no doubt, perceived as a father figure. Yet each aspect of his success is in itself ambiguous, even contradictory. To begin with, his thick Austrian accent clashes with his roles as all-American hero. Despite his impressive physical appearance, he seems to be more popular with children than with women, who have never seen him as a sex symbol. His harsh facial features—deeply set eyes, prominent cheekbones and jaw—by the 1990s somewhat mellowed by age, and also apparently by cosmetic surgery, have allowed him to play both heroes and villains. Few actors could have successfully transformed, as he did, the murderous first Terminator into the heroic fatherly Terminator of the sequel. Still, this new father has no future and is sacrificed in the end. This capacity to cross the line between good and evil on the screen (and also that between comedy and the action film) seems also closely intertwined with his capacity to quickly overcome the failure of some of his films, such as *Jingle All the Way* and *Last Action Hero*. Schwarzenegger is, in short, a much more malleable, flexible star than he might seem at first glance. This may be, indeed, the secret of his success.

Schwarzenegger's public image is based on his self-presentation as family man and entreprenuring American citizen, roles that contrast with those he plays in his often violent movies. His long-lasting marriage to journalist Maria Shriver of the Kennedy family has fuelled speculations on his future as a politician. Ironically, although a Catholic like the Kennedys, he is a staunch Republican, having even acted as Counselor for Fitness during the presidency of George Bush. As a public figure Schwarzenegger has also been involved with the Special Olympics, the Inner City Games, diverse charities devoted to caring for sick children, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center. But when he was awarded a Wiesenthal National Leadership award in 1991 for his generous funding of the Center, a museum devoted to the Jewish Holocaust, malicious tongues hinted at young Arnie's alleged involvement with Nazi politics. The open-heart surgery Schwarzenegger underwent shortly before his fiftieth birthday prompted some to insist that this icon of health is in fact a very sick man, placed too early at the gates of death by his (acknowledged) use of steroids in the height of his bodybuilding days. His detractors seemingly find his success as excessive as his body.

Possibly, the key to Schwarzenegger's success is the fierce control he exerts on his career and his innate ability to market himself. Schwarzenegger has confessed his addiction to the public's admiration and his wish to present himself as a role model. He has argued that the lucky combination of the Austrian sense of discipline and the American sense of opportunity are the foundation of his successful career. He is, no doubt, a competitive man gifted with a knack for self-promotion, exuding a positive kind of self-confidence with which people love to identify. But he is also, as David Thomas has noted, a

new phenomenon . . . the star as bully. Schwarzenegger wants, above all, to be in the public eye and for that he has constructed a persona—a mask—that seems impervious to the contradictions that surround him. Nigel Andrews, his unauthorized biographer, insists on the elusiveness of the real man behind the star, speculating that Arnie does believe in the myths he himself has invented. This may be, after all, the fittest definition of Schwarzenegger: he is the star who never doubts himself.

—Sara Martin

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## Science Fiction Publishing

Science fiction is a popular literary genre, abutting such fictional fields as techno-thrillers, fantasy, horror, and the “lost world” narratives of the early twentieth century. Less frequently it overlaps spy novels, mysteries, and romantic fiction; it occasionally even surfaces as “serious” literature. With varying degrees of success, science fiction narratives and themes have been translated into movies, television, radio dramas, comics, games, and (in one instance) opera. Science fiction has created or popularized such concepts as spaceflight, extraterrestrials, time travel, atomic war, genetic engineering, and ecological disaster. Science fiction mirrors the apprehensions and anticipations of an age; it is increasingly the product of a society that is concerned about the relationship between its continued existence and its dependence upon technological development and scientific knowledge beyond the comprehension of laymen.

Those seeking a worthy pedigree for science fiction have found its ancestors in the works of H.G. Wells and Jules Verne, Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac*, and *The Golden Ass* of Lucius Apuleius. All were published in their time as ordinary literature without stigma. Modern science fiction is the natural child of those classics, given birth in the “pulp” of the 1920s and 1930s, neglected and even despised by its legitimate relatives, and occasionally raised to prominence.

Imaginative stories—notably Edgar Rice Burroughs's tales of Tarzan and John Carter's adventures on Barsoom—had appeared for decades in magazines like Munsey's *All-Story*. In the 1920s fashion changed, however, when general interest fiction magazines lost circulation to more narrowly focused publications, and the remaining

readers demanded fiction with ever more conventional settings. Authors without name recognition were thus pushed toward genre magazines, which paid less well but accepted their stories without qualms. Readers with specialized tastes—for interplanetary sagas, plainly told detective yarns, and G-9 and his Battle Aces—defected as well to the newer magazines, which in turn made the general interest publications even more conservative. Ultimately, even Burroughs, Abraham Merritt, and Ray Cummings were banished to the pulps.

By early 1919, Street and Smith's *Thrill Book* already specialized in imaginative literature; it lasted for 16 issues. *Weird Tales*, whose metier was blood-curdling fantasy, fared better, circulating from 1923 to 1953. By general agreement, the first true science fiction magazine was Hugo Gernsback's *Amazing Stories*, which began in April 1926. (The publisher's name is commemorated today in the "Hugos," much-coveted awards presented annually at the official World Science Fiction Convention—a fan-dominated event which Gernsback himself helped institute.) Technically, neither *Amazing Stories* nor the clones later started by Gernsback (*Science Wonder Stories*, *Air Wonder Stories*) began as pulp magazines, for they were printed on 8.5" x 11" "bedsheet size" paper instead of 7" x 10" sheets.

The distinction of being the first science fiction pulp waited upon January 1930 and the Clayton chain's *Astounding Stories of Super-Science*. From the beginning, *Astounding* outdid its competitors, paying contributors more (with rates of one to two cents per word) and establishing a steady, secure distribution. In addition, *Astounding* was better edited. Both Harry Bates (1930-1933)—who wrote the story which became the movie *The Day the Earth Stood Still*—and F. Orlin Tremaine (1933-1937) were only adequate writers, but excelled as

editors who believed in the future of the new genre. Their pursuit of quality and encouragement of new writers secured better authors and better stories for *Astounding*, which helped the magazine build up a higher circulation and to become profitable more quickly than its rivals. These aspects aided *Astounding's* return from the grave when the Clayton chain fell into bankruptcy in 1933, and the rapid rebuilding of its circulation after the Street and Smith takeover of the Clayton chain in 1933. As of 1998 the magazine was named *Analog Science Fiction and Fact* and published by Dell Magazines.

Tremaine's hand-picked successor, John W. Campbell Jr. (1937-1971), proved to be brilliant. A 27-year-old, well-regarded, but second-string author of superscientific romances (that he was also the author of the moody "Don A. Stuart" stories was generally unknown), Campbell quickly mastered the editorial skills of his mentor and moved on to shape the magazine's—and for a while, the field's—philosophy. Gernsback, mesmerized by turn-of-the-century experimental science, had favored stories whose narrative element was often little more than sugar coating around a core of semi-imaginable technological achievements. Campbell, better educated, and an inveterate tinkerer, controversialist, and promoter of science fiction, placed equal emphasis upon the science and the impact of science and technology upon human beings. Campbell was also a stern advocate of plots with logical consistency, many of which he devised himself and cast wholesale at his contributors in an unending series of letters which doubled as mini-lectures on writing style and technique.

The different emphasis did not make humanists of Campbell and his evolving school of authors—A. E. Van Vogt, Theodore Sturgeon, George O. Smith, C. L. Moore, Henry Kuttner, Robert Heinlein, L. Sprague de Camp, Isaac Asimov, etc. Pulp fiction was fast moving, easily comprehensible, and generally devoid of moral ambiguity; its readers were not disposed to look below the textual surface for deconstructive ironies, and if they had been, they would generally have been disappointed. At a penny a word, writers took no pains to be subtle; they seldom found time to do second drafts.

Fortunately, readers were easily satisfied. Rather than avant-garde literary values, readers of science fiction sought the affirmation of moral or ideological views: that justice was obtainable in a corrupt society in the detective magazines, that courage and gentlemanly virtues coexisted in adventure tales. Science fiction magazines promised an expanding technological and technocratic future and provided ever more grandiose descriptions of action and scenery. Whether the readers sought "transcendence" or a "sense of wonder," this fiction had little to do with the private epiphanies that climaxed much "literary" fiction.

Moreover, pulp fiction was ephemeral. Some pulp authors cracked the book market for detective stories, but most writers' work perished as the yellowing, brittle pages of the magazines crumbled away. A handful of specialist reprint publishers—among them Gnome Books, Shasta, Fantasy Press, Prime Press, and Arkham House—appeared to publish imaginative fiction, but their print runs were small and their material limited. No one expected pulp science fiction to last through the ages, and no one expected to make a living writing it. As the 1930s and 1940s wore on, readers and writers of science fiction were increasingly isolated from the literary values that came to prominence with modernism.

Defenders of science fiction's merits are prone to point at certain masterpieces of the genre, works so carefully told not a comma seems misplaced, so heartbreakingly beautiful that it seems their readers must break into tears. Included among these masterpieces are *More*

*Than Human* by Theodore Sturgeon, *Childhood's End* by Arthur C. Clarke, *The Year of the Quiet Sun* by Wilson Tucker, *Dying Inside* by Robert Silverberg, and *The Man in the High Castle* by Philip K. Dick. Advocates also list the utilitarianism offered by science fiction as a predictor of inventions used in the modern world—from Verne's Nautilus to Heinlein's waldoes—and the impact of those inventions on modern lives. At the end of 1945, Campbell was predicting in his magazine that men would reach the moon by 1950, and that *Astounding* would be on sale there in 1955. Robert Heinlein's projections, in a 1947 letter to the *Saturday Evening Post*, were only slightly paler, with a moon landing in 1952 and a permanent base there in 1962. But science fiction writers were not alone in contemplating how technology impacted modern lives, as *Collier's* and Walt Disney would demonstrate in the next decade. And science fiction writers had foretold atomic energy, which had become a reality with the devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Despite the reality of atomic energy and the promise of space flight, however, there was no great increase in science fiction's prestige in the immediate wake of the war. Much of the internal esprit de corps of Campbell's school had evaporated. The genre was aging; its practitioners were retiring or moving on to other fields. By the early 1950s new authors had come to prominence; this later generation was often better trained in the sciences than their predecessors, more attuned to good prose, more sophisticated politically and more reflective. By and large they labored in similar obscurity. Only Arthur C. Clarke would achieve a real reputation among the general public, and that not until 1969, although 1980s film goers might recognize the names of Philip Dick and Frank Herbert.

A few things were different, however. Blessed with a good agent, Robert Heinlein had found it possible in the late 1940s to sell short fiction to the *Saturday Evening Post*, becoming the first pulp science fiction writer to break that market. Later on, Ray Bradbury also made it to the slicks, but for most science fiction authors such high-paying sales remained aspirations rather than reality until *Playboy* proved a receptive audience. Heinlein broke more new ground in 1947, when Scribners published his original *Rocket Ship Galileo*, a novel specifically aimed at teenagers. Throughout the 1950s, he, Andre Norton, Fred Pohl, Jack Williamson, Lester del Rey, Isaac Asimov, and others would write for the juvenile market. Sales were not great, since the hardbound editions usually wound up in public libraries and few were reprinted before the 1960s (Norton proved the exception), but the books were well read, allowing Heinlein to spread his pro-space flight "propaganda" and Asimov to describe the wonders of science to a new crop of readers.

Anthologies of science fiction stories also appeared after the war. Sales were good enough to encourage Simon and Schuster to bring out A. E. Van Vogt's *The World of A* in 1948. In 1950, Doubleday published Max Ehrlich's *The Big Eye*, Asimov's *Pebble in the Sky*, and Heinlein's *Waldo and Magic, Inc.* At last, major publishers were willing to print science fiction between hard covers. Soon thereafter Ace Books and other soft cover publishers were reprinting those editions and original material themselves. For science fiction writers who could break into this market, it was suddenly possible to tell a science fiction story for more than one or two cents a word; it was even possible to tell a story which would pay royalties for years afterward. One could actually make a living as a full time writer.

But not everyone, for the book market was not large enough for all the magazine writers, and the publishers preferred novels to stories. As late as 1959, even Heinlein's story collections *The Menace*

*from Earth* and *The Unpleasant Profession of Jonathan Hoag* were first printed in hardback by small press publisher Gnome Books, reaching a mass audience only later through paperback. Through the late 1950s, in terms of volume science fiction continued to be a magazine phenomenon. The magazines were smaller than before, the paper of better quality, and the story telling more sophisticated, but circulation figures were small, ranging from 20,000 to no more than 100,000 at *Astounding* (whereas *Playboy* had sales of 2 million by the end of decade, the *Saturday Evening Post* over 5 million). To make up for this, there were many magazines, twenty to thirty at a time, often no longer lived than mayflies, but all—if briefly—markets for aspiring writers.

The boom in American science fiction magazines peaked in 1953, with 174 issues of 36 magazines. Thereafter the number of magazines fell off first slowly, then abruptly in 1958 when the American News Service folded. Twenty science fiction magazines ceased publication in 1958; sales of those which remained were cut in half. The survivors learned to rely on subscribers rather than newsstand sales. This brought stability, but at a cost; the magazines became increasingly set in molds. Late 1950s issues of *Astounding* and *F&SF* sometimes seemed parodies of themselves in happier times, and of course, without impulse buyers, total circulation figures did not increase. Like other publications, the science fiction magazines also faced competition from television and the increasing volume of paperback books. These juggernauts were not to be defeated; a handful of magazines limp on today with stable (and small) lists of subscribers, but they are peripheral to the film and book markets; most self-professed science fiction "fans" do not read them.

A full account of science fiction in the 1950s would be incomplete without mention of the movies and television, from *Them!* (1954) to *Twilight Zone* (1959-1965). It is enough to note that Hollywood's version of science fiction was a separate art form, with strengths and weaknesses of its own, and that until the 1970s, the influence ran one way: the movies used some themes of genre science fiction, but had virtually no effect on magazine fiction and novels. A similar story could be told of the comics, except that *Superman* and *Flash Gordon* stayed closer to their literary roots.

What noticeably did not happen to science fiction in the late 1950s and 1960s was any improvement in its respectability and sales figures with the advent of the Space Age—a mystery perhaps best explained by the notion that the general public does not want firsthand acquaintanceship with technology and is thoroughly suspicious of science's offerings. Certainly the general repute of scientists deteriorated as the 1960s wore on (as did that of most authority figures). Even that triumphant symbol of science fiction perspicaciousness—the first manned flight to the Moon in July 1969—failed to satisfy; as many Americans (49 percent according to one poll) disapproved of the Apollo program as those who favored it, and space exploration has languished ever since.

Instead, in extraordinary numbers, readers of science fiction (and many authors) turned to the field of heroic fantasy, as exemplified by J. R. R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* trilogy and the Conan tales of Robert E. Howard. The same authors often write both science fiction and fantasy, the same readers buy both genres (more or less, although fantasy is reputed to appeal more to women than does science fiction), and the same publishers print both, so distinguishing between them may be wasted effort. Fantasy's allure continues to increase, and its sales may now rival or even surpass those of traditional science fiction. The material generally runs low on literary

merit (with some honorable exceptions, including C. J. Cherryh, Glen Cook, Joel Rosenberg) but brims over with action, villainy, and schmaltz; admirers of Dunsany and Cabell would be disappointed by the generally solemn mood. In tone and style, this material is redolent of the pulps, without the 1930s touch of class consciousness—American fantasy readers turn up their noses at proletarian protagonists but adore heroic lords, ladies, and royalty.

In retrospect, the science fiction of the 1960s looks very like what one might expect of science fiction published during that era. By 1950s standards, it was rebellious. Authors as diverse as Robert Heinlein and Philip Jose Farmer chose sex as their subject matter (Farmer was more successful); others touched upon drugs (Frank Herbert) and mysticism (Philip K. Dick). English authors toyed with surrealism and the multiple-viewpoint characterization of John Dos Passos; these fifty-year-old literary techniques became renowned as a “New Wave.” Stylistic experimentation coincided frequently with opposition to the Vietnam War and embrace of “alternative life styles.” In the 1970s, Vietnam’s fall made political argument pointless; authors perceived that the New Wave was on the ebb, wrote their “unprintable” stories for Harlan Ellison’s *Dangerous Visions* series of anthologies, and moved on to cypertext and fast paced militaristic sagas.

Meanwhile, the great American public moved on to horror fiction. Horror, one might think, is an offshoot of fantasy, and might be expected to have the same sort of readership and perhaps the same authors. This has not been the case. To generalize, science fiction fans read fantasy and vice versa and the same authors may write in both genres. Science fiction and fantasy readers, however, are not automatically fans of horror. In any event, they form only a small portion of the readership for horror; most horror readers are uninterested in science fiction and fantasy, and most horror writers are not linked to science fiction. This seems rather strange, since science fiction and fantasy elements are often prominent in horror works (consider Stephen King’s *The Tommyknockers*), but the visceral appeal of the three genres is evidently quite different.

In the 1980s war novels, in the form of near-future “techno-thrillers” by Tom Clancy, Larry Bond, Steven Coontz, and others made a return to publishing prominence. As with horror, despite the apparent overlap with science fiction, high tech military fiction is a separate market. It has proven impenetrable to science fiction authors, even to those who specialize in military science fiction.

During this period, movie science fiction has passed through several phases, from low-budget “B” movies in the 1950s to studio-breaking spectacles in the 1970s. In this last period, movies did influence the literary science fiction market: part of making these big-budget films profitable involved extramural marketing of all kinds and the book publishers cooperated to the hilt, with novelizations of the scripts, cocktail table volumes showing off *The Art of Star Wars*, and the like. These in turn have created an audience for novels set in Star Wars settings, semi-facetious non-fiction such as *The Physics of Star Trek*, autobiographies by some principal actors, and even series of novels by those actors (or with those actors’ names on the covers). These spinoffs continued to be profitable into the 1990s, producing a slew of science fiction “readers” who seemed familiar with the literature primarily through movies and television. This is good news for publishers; whether the market for science fiction outside the Star Wars-Star Trek “Universes” has increased is another issue.

For all its claims to prescience, science fiction since World War II has been more shaped by popular culture than shaping. The atomic

wars and mutants of the 1950s are obvious tokens of the Cold War and ambivalence about atomic energy. The mismanaged battles and angst-torn protagonists depicted in the military science fiction of the 1970s (most memorably, Joe Haldeman’s *The Forever War*) were parables of the Viet Nam experience, and the comic book heroics of soldiers in 1980s stories reflected the revival of American morale during the Reagan era. Sagas of pollution, overpopulation, and genetic engineering gone awry also draw more from day-to-day experience and commonplace observation than from esoteric scientific knowledge. Even the omnipresent computer and internet have developed largely without anticipation by science fiction writers; technology evolves today at a faster pace than science fiction authors can accommodate in their stories.

Conservatism has tended to be the norm in recent science fiction’s treatment of lifestyles. Despite some claims, science fiction has never been a good medium for presenting feminist ideas, it has not advanced gay rights, and until the 1980s it had problems with multiculturalism. In the 1990s, gay and lesbian characters could be used, but they tended to be in the background; non-Western protagonists were equally unusual. A woman’s viewpoint is sometimes used—ironically, male authors seem to do this with more skill. (Deserving of note is C. J. Cherryh’s approach of using as protagonist a low-status, insecure male who in the climax must prove himself worthy of a domineering, high-status female love interest.) A similar lack of nerve is present in 1990s-vintage science fiction’s treatment of political and economic topics, a rather surprising development given the political consciousness of most authors and the large number of stories dealing with socioeconomic trends in the 1950s and 1960s.

At the end of the 1990s, genre science fiction seemed to be reaching exhaustion. Some magazines continued, notably *Analog*, *Isaac Asimov’s*, and *F&SF*. In technique and literary quality, their material was not much different from the 1940s or 1950s vintages; the “Can Do!” spirit was much rarer.

In book publishing, after a slump in the early 1980s, the flow of both hardbacks and paperbacks continued unabated. Science fiction works tended to be profitable in a small way; they were seldom best-sellers, but since modern technology made print runs of under 5000 copies practical, that had not mattered. With the consolidation of the publishing industry in the 1990s, presumably to be paid for by concentration on best-sellers, and the ever-increasing importance of bookselling chains and “superstores,” the situation may change. If so, desktop publishing has already given rise to a new generation of small press operators; methods of distribution need to be improved but science fiction novels and anthologies will likely continue to find a home.

A related trend is the almost universal rejection of over-the-transom manuscripts by major American publishers. It has become very difficult for unagented writers to break into the commercial science fiction field, and difficult even for established authors with mediocre sales to find their manuscripts considered, regardless of merit; this has harmed the careers of European authors who had relied on American sales for the bulk of their income, and probably made science fiction a more insular and parochial field in the 1990s than it was in the 1960s. The book market has effectively adopted the star system; a relative handful of authors can hope to achieve success through being well known and well publicized, while others linger in the shadows. A number of Old Guard authors have died in the last two decades, most notably Robert Heinlein, Isaac Asimov, Clifford Simak, and Theodore Sturgeon. Authors of the later period—Poul

Anderson, Hal Clement, Arthur Clarke, Gordon Dickson, Robert Silverberg, Jack Vance—have reached their 60s or 70s and are declining in productivity. None of their possible successors seems likely to reach the heights attained by Heinlein or Clarke.

Science fiction is ceasing to be a medium in which ordinary authors can make a living simply by writing. Publicity is a necessity for the modern author—frequent convention attendance, a web page, negotiated advertising figures in book contracts, etc.—and ceaseless self-marketing. We need anticipate no shortage of authors who will undergo such rigors; the question an outsider must ponder is whether such a career is as rewarding as the “school teacher’s” existence L. Sprague de Camp once saw as characteristic of science fiction writers.

Increasingly, the fiction itself, as it attempts to fit itself to the realities of the modern world, seems tired. The excitement of space travel and the expectation that technology may bring wonders to the world are no longer part of the science fiction writers repertoire. Governments are unlikely to underwrite exploration or innovation, modern writers know, and thus books like Michael Flynn’s *Fire Ship* and Poul Anderson’s *Harvest of Stars* show space flight as the product of gifted, obsessed entrepreneurs stamped from the mold of Ayn Rand’s tycoons. Great inventions are now devised by misfits rather than heroic leaders; their impact on the world is often inadvertent, and more often than not, gruesome. In recent science fiction, planetary pioneers are met by bureaucrats and pumelled by paperwork; we learn that it will be hard to colonize new worlds, it will be expensive, it will be tedious, and about as adventurous as sidewalk superintending. In direct contrast to earlier science fiction, which proposed that the future was full of exciting possibility, much recent writing offers the thrilling prospect that the future will be glum and unrewarding. Undoubtedly, this approach brings science fiction closer to “serious literature.” But it is not one likely to increase readers or to inspire them with a sense of wonder.

—Mike Shupp

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## Scientific American

The reliable and readable scientific writing published in the *Scientific American* has instructed and entertained readers since its foundation in 1845, and the magazine occupies a unique position in the culture of science. Early readers felt an affinity for the magazine because of its personal contact with inventors. Clarifying patent procedures, the magazine’s editors answered readers’ questions, stimulated their creativity, and encouraged their ambitions. By being accessible to, and interactive with, its readers, whether nineteenth-century tinkerers or twentieth-century rocket scientists, the magazine had a significant impact on the development, understanding, and acceptance of science in America. Throughout the twentieth century, it remained at the forefront in providing informative articles about current and emerging technology, covering the space age, the development of modern pharmaceuticals, and philosophical debates about science. The *Scientific American*, indeed, has chronicled the inventive spirit of America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The first issue of *Scientific American* was dated August 28, 1845, and appeared weekly until monthly editions began in November 1921. Inventor Rufus Porter created *Scientific American* in New York City. Experimenting with electrotyping, Porter produced a four-page periodical focusing on new inventions. The early *Scientific American* sold for two dollars per copy and had the subtitle “The Advocate of Industry and Enterprise, and Journal of Mechanical and Other Improvements.” At that time, unique technological achievements were forming American industry, and several magazines, such as the monthly *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, addressed the topics of patents and mechanics as applied to mining, transportation, and manufacturing.

Porter served as *Scientific American*’s first editor until Munn & Company purchased the magazine in 1846. Orson Desaix Munn and Alfred Ely Beach, the son of *New York Sun* publisher and inventor Moses Y. Beach, jointly invested money in printing their first edition of *Scientific American* on July 23, 1846. They focused on providing information about patented inventions, including the official list of patents approved by the United States Patent Office. Because so many hopeful inventors asked for help with the patenting process and laws, the partners created a patent agency. *Scientific American* described the models of inventions their clients brought them, among them Thomas Edison’s 1877 phonograph. The thriving agency attracted such major inventors as Samuel F.B. Morse, Captain John Ericsson, and Elias Howe. The pages of *Scientific American* published a few lines about every invention the agency promoted, even obscure and unsuccessful ideas, thus revealing insights into the history of invention in the United States.

Expanding to eight pages, the September 26, 1846, *Scientific American* remarked that the editors strived to “furnish an acceptable

family newspaper” and “give in brief and condensed form the most useful and interesting intelligence of passing events” while “avoiding the disgusting and pernicious details of crime.” Although inventions dominated the news, information about other aspects of science were included. Circulation reached 10,000 subscribers by 1848, doubling to 20,000 in 1852 and hit 30,000 the next year. While other scientific periodicals struggled for survival, *Scientific American* succeeded, merging with *The People’s Journal* in 1854 to boost readership. Readers especially liked such features as Salem Howe Wales’s letters from the 1855 Paris Exposition.

In July 1859, *Scientific American* began producing a new series of semi-annual volumes. A Washington D.C. bureau of Munn & Company opened with Judge Charles Mason, a former commissioner of patents, acting as a legal advisor to inventors. During the Civil War, the journal commented primarily on military inventions, and after the war improved its appearance with engraved illustrations and larger pages, increasing the price per issue to three dollars. Also, their editorial and financial support for construction of an underground pneumatic tube 21 feet below Broadway in 1870 increased public curiosity both about inventions and *Scientific American*.

In 1885 Munn & Company founded the monthly *Scientific American: Architects’ and Builders’ Edition*, later known as *Scientific American Building Monthly*. Demand for specialized periodicals and the incentive to profit from increased advertising resulted in Munn & Company catering to business construction, and they hired architects to provide building plans featured in the magazines. By January 1905, the company was publishing the monthly *American Homes and Gardens* with the subtitle “New Series of *Scientific American Building Monthly*”; this magazine was absorbed by *House and Gardens* in September 1915. The *Scientific American* house also published export and Spanish editions.

*Scientific American* featured many inventions and their applications years before the American public was familiar with those ideas—for example, horseless carriages were pictured, with plans for construction, for half a century prior to the popularization of automobiles in America. Such major events as the Chicago World’s Fair were also covered and *Scientific American* was the primary source of information for many industries. Promoting aviation, they chronicled the efforts of the Wright Brothers and sponsored monetary prizes for aerospace achievements. The editors were, however, critical of unscientific efforts and designs.

In 1911 the *Scientific American*, for which government, industrial, and university professionals penned articles, began publishing a “mid-month number” focusing on a specific topic such as agricultural science or reviews of automobiles. The special issue bore a colored cover, which the main magazine also adopted. The June 5, 1915, issue celebrated the publication’s seventieth anniversary, and two years later the price rose to four dollars an issue, with the format by then resembling popular magazines of the era in size and print. The 1919 printers’ strike, however, resulted in the suspension of the weekly supplement. Declining circulation due to competitive specialist magazines caused *Scientific American* to become a monthly magazine in 1921 to save costs. Munn & Company changed its name to Scientific American Publishing Company, and the magazine stopped printing lists of patents. No longer primarily an inventor’s magazine, it attempted to transmit scientific information to the American public as a popular science magazine. “It has been the constant aim of this journal to impress the fact that science is not inherently dull, heavy or abstruse,” an editorial stated, “but that it is essentially fascinating,

understandable, and full of undeniable charm.” In the post-World War II era, a revised *Scientific American* reached out to the segment of the community that was already scientifically literate and yearned to learn more. The modern *Scientific American* expanded in size and cost, had glossy covers and illustrations, and increased circulation to hundreds of thousands of readers.

—Elizabeth D. Schafer

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## Scientology

See Hubbard, L. Ron

## Scopes Monkey Trial

One of the most sensational court cases in twentieth century America, the Scopes Monkey Trial went infinitely beyond the boundaries of law and the courtroom to question the social, intellectual, and cultural values of America. The explosive and passionate conflicts instigated by the arguments in the case of the State of Tennessee vs. public schoolteacher John T. Scopes in 1925 characterized the decade in which they took place. On one side stood those who emphasized secularism, science, new ideas and theories, and individual self-expression; on the other side stood religious dogma and traditionalism. Thus, there was a bitter division between those Americans who wanted change, and the many others who clung to repressive notions of conformity, moral purity, and order.

The battleground for this conflict between new and old ideas was the public school system within which John Scopes taught Darwin’s Theory of Evolution, which contradicted the Bible’s interpretation of the origins of man. Although by the 1920s, Darwin’s principles were being taught in most American universities and public schools, the middle of the decade brought a concerted drive by religious fundamentalists to stop the teaching of evolution in the schools. School boards, individual schools, and many states in the South prohibited the teachings in public schools of any theory about the origins of human life that conflicted with the teachings of the Bible.

In 1925, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) announced that it was willing to financially support anyone challenging a recently enacted Tennessee law that prohibited the teaching of Darwin in the state’s schools. John T. Scopes, a 25-year-old high-school science teacher in Dayton, Tennessee, who taught evolution in his school biology class, accepted the ACLU offer and agreed to stand as the defendant in a test case to challenge the law. On the initiative of



In the courtroom at the Scopes Monkey Trial.

Scopes' friend George Rappelyea, the teacher was reported to the police for breaking the new law, arrested, and sent for trial. A number of prominent legal counselors, led by the famous liberal trial lawyer Clarence Darrow, undertook the defense of Scopes. The prosecuting attorney was William Jennings Bryan, former Secretary of State, three-time Democratic candidate for president, one time Populist, and now a leader of the new fundamentalist movement in Christianity.

During the summer of 1925 the Scopes Monkey Trial grabbed national and international headlines. Almost a thousand people packed the Tennessee courtroom daily, and millions more listened to the proceedings—it was the first trial ever to be broadcast live on the radio. Judge John T. Raulston, a conservative Christian who started each day's court proceedings with a prayer, did not allow the defense to bring any expert scientific testimony about evolution. As a result, Darrow called prosecuting attorney Bryan, an expert on science and religion, as his only witness, and systematically proceeded to humiliate him. With his probing questions, Darrow led Bryan to declare that a big fish had swallowed Jonah, that Eve was literally created from a piece of Adam's rib, and that in 2348 B.C. the world was flooded and fish and animals escaped onto Noah's ark. The press mocked Bryan's literal interpretation of the Bible, thus undermining the fundamentalist cause.

At the conclusion of the hearings, Darrow asked the jury to return a verdict of guilty in order that the case might be appealed to the Tennessee Supreme Court where, he hoped, the anti-Darwin law would be overturned. The jury, complying with Darrow's request, returned a verdict of guilty and Judge Raulston fined Scopes \$100. Publicly humiliated and exhausted, Bryan died just a few days after the trial. A year later, however, the decision of the Dayton court was overturned by the Tennessee Supreme Court on a technicality.

Although Scopes was convicted, and the existing anti-evolution law remained on the Tennessee statute books, many Americans

perceived the religious fundamentalist cause as the loser in the trial. The existing statutes banning Darwin's theories were never enforced and evolution continued to be taught in the schools. Moreover, the need for the separation of theology from general education became even more firmly entrenched in the minds of many Americans. Everywhere, prayer and other religious activities were eventually abolished in the public schools.

The Scopes Monkey Trial, wearing only the thinnest of disguises in that the names of the place and the protagonists were changed, became the subject of Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee's successful Broadway play *Inherit the Wind* (1956), which was turned into a film in 1960 with Spencer Tracy and Fredric March as Darrow and Bryan, respectively.

—John F. Lyons

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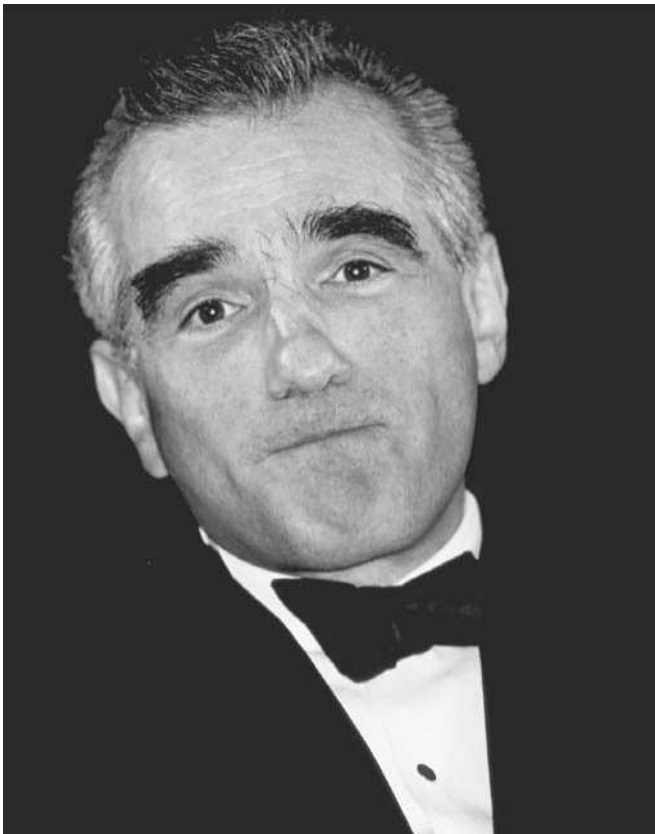
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## Scorsese, Martin (1942—)

By the end of the 1990s, Martin Scorsese was recognized as one of the most significant of American film directors. His uncompromising cinematic examination of New York City's underbelly, beginning with *Mean Streets* (1973), has exerted a profound cultural influence on cinemagoers and filmmakers. Scorsese was initially one of a select group of innovative young filmmakers, famously dubbed the Movie Brats, who began making a mark during the 1960s and went on to secure major reputations. By the 1990s, Francis Ford Coppola, who had led the way for the Movie Brats, had become a venerable but unpredictable artist, veering dizzily between huge successes and dismal failures; George Lucas, the creator of *Star Wars*, was long entrenched in trailblazing technology; Brian De Palma was committed to a controversial, individualistic and uneven course as a skillful specialist in screen violence; and Steven Spielberg reigned as the acknowledged *eminence grise* of the blockbusting commercial cinema. Of them all, it was Scorsese who, with *Taxi Driver* (1976), *Raging Bull* (1980) and *GoodFellas* (1990) as the high watermarks of three decades of filmmaking excellence, had emerged as the most consistently powerful and provocative film director of his generation.

Scorsese's own background provided the fertile soil in which his filmmaking ambitions took root. Born in New York to a first generation Italian-American family, he grew up in Manhattan's Little Italy, the setting of his first full-length features. A sickly child, much confined indoors by asthma, he became addicted to movies at an early age. In the 1960s, he abandoned ambitions to become a Catholic priest



Martin Scorsese

and joined the New York University film school, where he wrote and directed several award-winning shorts, including *The Big Shave* (1968), while the ideas germinated for his first full-length feature, *Who's That Knocking at My Door?* (1969). Starring the young Harvey Keitel, making his film debut, the story concerned an Italian-American trapped by his working-class background and ever present Catholic guilt, which would become characteristic Scorsese themes. Made on a very low budget, the film combined realistic street scenes with *nouvelle vague* techniques that revealed Scorsese's self-confessed enthusiasm for the European cinema of the time, and can be seen as a basic template for work to follow. He then hired himself out as supervising editor on *Woodstock* (1969) and *Elvis on Tour* (1972), and had a directorial breakthrough when Roger Corman gave him *Boxcar Bertha* (1972), a Depression-era tale of Arkansas misfits who turn to robbing trains.

It was, however, with *Mean Streets* that critics and the industry were alerted to the arrival of a major new talent. The film traversed similar territory to that of his first, dealing with the life of streetwise youth and petty crime in Little Italy, and once again starred Harvey Keitel. Pulsating with felt life (and a pounding rock soundtrack) in its depiction of friendship, betrayal, guilt, and casual violence, the film packed a punch and unleashed an electrifying Italian-American New York actor whose future collaboration with Scorsese would result in a handful of major films on which the director's reputation rests: Robert De Niro. After *Mean Streets* came the heavily contrasting *Alice Doesn't Live Here Any More* (1974), a studio picture for Warner Bros. and a tough, contemporary "slice of life" take on the Hollywood "woman's weepie," which won a Best Actress Oscar for Ellen Burstyn.

Then in 1976, came the most completely realized example of Scorsese's particular vision of New York as a hell-on-earth, and the first of his unsurpassed major films with De Niro. Moving away from the bonding of brothers, friends, and hoods that had characterized *Mean Streets*, *Taxi Driver* focused on an alienated loner, the taxi-driving Vietnam veteran, Travis Bickle, whose abhorrence of anti-social behavior he encounters in the city sends him over the edge into psychopathic violence. Self-appointed to cleanse the city of its pimps, prostitutes, and other human detritus, Bickle embarks on a spree of organized savagery, calculated with impeccable logic from his point of view. As Bickle, De Niro gave one of the best screen performances of the later twentieth century, aided by Paul Schrader's penetrating screenplay and Bernard Herrmann's atmospheric and Oscar-nominated score. The film, which introduced a teenage Jodie Foster, Oscar-nominated as a drug-addicted whore, also received nominations for best picture and best actor. Director John G. Avildsen actually won the best picture and director Oscars that year for the highly commercial *Rocky*, but the signal failure of the Academy even to nominate Scorsese as director of *Taxi Driver* displayed a gulf in appreciation for Scorsese's work between the Hollywood powerbrokers who vote at Oscar time and respected critics and serious moviegoers—a gulf which, by the late 1990s, had still not been entirely bridged.

Scorsese and De Niro followed *Taxi Driver* with *New York, New York* (1977), a cynical musical in which De Niro, co-starring with Liza Minnelli, played a saxophonist. This film, much under-rated, was a box-office failure, as were two later excursions into new subject matter—that of ironic comedy—*King of Comedy* (1983, with De Niro) and *After Hours* (1985), both brilliant. After making the "rockumentary" *The Last Waltz* (1978), Scorsese began the 1980s with *Raging Bull* (1980), which many consider to be his masterpiece. Based on the autobiography of heavyweight boxer Jake La Motta, the film—shot in black-and-white—revealed the interior as well as



exterior violence of the fight profession and its deleterious effect on the life and relationships of its protagonist. With an astonishing and authentic Oscar-winning performance by De Niro at its center, the film laid bare the brutality of its subject matter, both in the ring (the fights are filmed with uncompromising accuracy, grace, and alternating speed) and out; similarly, the performances are sheer rage, and the documentary style of the domestic scenes resonates with the verbal blows. The whole film, technically flawless, was enhanced by the editing of Thelma Schoonmaker, an integral fixture of Scorsese's team. This time, at least, the Academy nominated both film and director, but the awards went to Robert Redford and his *Ordinary People*.

During the 1980s, continuing his attempts to vary his choice of material, Scorsese successfully entered more reliably commercial territory with *The Color of Money* (1986), a sequel to Robert Rossen's classic, *The Hustler* (1961), starring Tom Cruise and Paul Newman in a reprise of his original role. From there, Scorsese placed himself at the center of an international controversy with *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1988). Adapted by Paul Schrader from the Nikos Kazantzakis novel, the film presents Christ (Willem Dafoe) as a fallible human, a victim of circumstance, who longs to escape his destiny and live the life of a normal man. Overlong and verbose, but rich in ideas and striking photography (by Michael Ballhaus), *The Last Temptation* suffered from the welter of pre-release condemnation it drew, but its director did earn an Oscar nomination, and the film has continued to occupy a respected place in the canon of his work.

In 1989, Scorsese's New York joined that of Woody Allen (and Coppola) in the triptych anthology *New York Stories*, after which came *GoodFellas* (1990) and *Cape Fear* (1991). Adapted by Scorsese and Nicholas Pileggi from the latter's book about real-life Mafia hood Henry Hill, *GoodFellas* joined *Taxi Driver* and *Raging Bull* as a Scorsese masterwork. Starring Ray Liotta and a galaxy of America's finest character actors, including De Niro and Joe Pesci in support, the film graphically depicts the criminal sub-culture in all its shoddy vaingloriousness and misplaced devotions in a masterful blend of uncompromising violence and an exposure of the corruption it renders within the individual. As a piece of filmmaking, *GoodFellas* dazzles with its technique and control, enthralls with its plot, and entertains with its relationships, wisecracks, threats, and performances. It does not, however, neglect to make manifest the complexity of the moral issues that abound within the enclosed world it inhabits. Screenplay and picture were Academy Award -nominated; the director was not.

Opinion remains divided about *Cape Fear*. Once again technically expert, this remake of the 1962 film that had starred Robert Mitchum as a convict released from prison and seeking sadistic vengeance against the lawyer who got him convicted cast De Niro—covered in full-body tattoos—in the Mitchum role. An unqualified success in the delivery of tension and menace, *Cape Fear* bludgeoned its audience with shock tactics and conveyed an unmistakable voyeuristic nastiness that many found hard to swallow. The *New York Times* called it Scorsese's "worst picture—an ugly, incoherent piece of work."

The director—who also makes cameo acting appearances in several of his own films, and in some made by others (Bertrand Tavernier's *Round Midnight*, 1988, and Kurosawa's *Dreams*, 1990, among them)—having commenced both the 1980s and the 1990s with a masterpiece, now turned to a classic literary source to venture into his first period piece. The announcement that this tough chronicler of the sordid, the sleazy, and the violent would film Edith Wharton's

stylish, scathing and poignant Pulitzer Prize-winning novel about a love affair thwarted by the morals and manners of New York high society, was greeted with undisguised scepticism. However, *The Age of Innocence* (1993), set in the 1870s, and starring Daniel Day-Lewis, Michelle Pfeiffer, Winona Ryder, and a starry supporting cast of British actors, marked a complete and impressive change of pace for Scorsese. He rose to the challenge of opulence, elegance, and oblique and disappointed passions with taste, style, and a sumptuous visual display at once seductive and powerful. The film was almost entirely overlooked at Oscar time, but Scorsese did, at least, receive a nomination as co-writer (with Jay Cocks) of the screenplay.

It was unfortunate that after such innovation, perseverance, and restraint, *Casino* (1996) turned out an overblown excursion back into *GoodFellas* territory, set this time amidst the rampant neon-lit greed of Las Vegas, and with De Niro's presence contributing little. *Kundun* (1998), however, signalled a return to higher ambition, as Scorsese made the leap into another culture, philosophy, and place to recount the early years of the Dalai Lama in Tibet. It is a stately film of poetic imagery, and for all the criticism it attracted for its "Western" view of the East, it is an epic—reminiscent of Bernardo Bertolucci's Oscar-winning *The Last Emperor* (1987)—of profound psychological and spiritual impact. Although *Kundun* won Scorsese another nomination for Best Director (he did not win) and the Academy seemed to look on his work with increased favor, it seemed possible that he might someday join the list of great directors, including Orson Welles and Alfred Hitchcock, who never received Hollywood's supreme accolade, the Academy Award, for their incomparable contributions to the art of film.

—Stephen Keane

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## Scott, George C. (1927—1999)

At once a commanding presence on the screen and a subtly nuanced character actor, George C. Scott was a significant force in American theater, film, and television for almost fifty years. A workmanlike actor, who had always spread his focus among all of the available stages, Scott the man was almost as hard-boiled and sensitive as the characters he played. With little patience for fuss or pandering, he was never been a publicity seeker; nonetheless, publicity sought him out, sometimes for his quietly principled stands, but often simply because of his incredibly prolific career.

Born in Wise, Virginia, and raised in Detroit, George Campbell Scott spent World War II in the Marine Corps. When he was



George C. Scott as General George S. Patton.

discharged, he enrolled in journalism school at the University of Missouri on the GI Bill. He soon grew disenchanted with the idea of a writing career; “I discovered I had no talent for it,” he said, “so I looked around for something else to do.” While looking, he tried out for a college play and discovered where his talents really lay.

In 1951, Scott landed his first professional acting job in the New York Shakespeare Festival, performing in *Richard III*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *As You Like It*. At almost the same moment, he began to get job offers on television, an exciting new medium that had just begun to burgeon with programs of serious theatrical merit. Scott starred in productions on such respected shows as *Hallmark Hall of Fame*, the *DuPont Show of the Month*, *Playhouse 90*, *Kraft Theater*, and *Omnibus*. By 1959, the movie offers began to roll in. That year, Scott had major roles in *The Hanging Tree* and *Anatomy of a Murder*.

During the 1960s, Scott continued to perform with great vigor and flexibility on the Broadway stage, on television—in TV movies and in his own series (*East Side, West Side*, 1963-64)—and in over forty motion pictures. A few of his best known films from this period are: *The Hustler*, with Paul Newman (1962); *Dr. Strangelove*, with Peter Sellers (1964); and *They Might Be Giants*, with Joanne Wood-

ward (1971). Along with many great films, Scott also made his share of

hack films, such as *Exorcist III*, notable for little else than his august presence. His craggy face, imposing size, and trademark raspy growl might tend to typecast an actor with less skill and versatility, but Scott managed to play everything from tragedy to farce to rugged adventurer. He also succeeded in portraying a widely-diverse range of characters, from sleazy gangsters to tender grandpas, from an antisocial aging Huckleberry Finn (*The Boys of Autumn*, Broadway, 1986) to “Old Blood and Guts,” the megalomaniacal General George Patton.

It is perhaps the character of Patton, in the 1970 film of the same name, that will remain as being most identified with George C. Scott. Scott, who once called Patton “a once-in-a-lifetime part,” read thirteen biographies of the famous general to prepare for the part. His portrayal of the controversial general is still recognized as a tour de force, and immortalized Patton in a way that the general’s checkered military career did not. The other enduring legacy of the film is the famous incident when Scott refused his Best Actor Oscar for the role. Though he had been nominated for Academy Awards before, Scott had made very public his distaste for the Academy’s voting methods and for the whole notion of competition among actors. He had announced his intention to refuse the Oscar if it was awarded to him, and, indeed, was home in bed when the award was announced. Nonetheless, Scott’s snub to the Academy was felt dramatically and is often still listed among memorable moments of the Oscars.

Scott himself felt a strong attachment to the character of Patton. Though he had, like many actors, agreed to appear in commercials, he adamantly refused to trade on the likeness of himself as Patton. In 1986, Scott bought the rights to the general’s memoirs and portrayed him again in a TV movie, *The Last Days of Patton*.

Though he never played the establishment game in Hollywood, Scott remained an admired and highly employable star. Because he always divided his time among television, film, and the Broadway stage, he retained a control and flexibility in his career that few actors have managed. Though he disdained the destructive competition of the awards system, he was nominated for a Tony for his performance in *Inherit the Wind* on Broadway in 1996, and continued in his seventh decade to appear in more television shows, movies, and plays than seems humanly possible.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Scott, Randolph (1903?-1987)

Probably more so than any other Western film star, Randolph Scott symbolized rugged individualism, unwavering honesty, and a gentleman quality seldom matched. As an actor, Scott was noted for his polite, civil manner in an industry filled with out-of-control egos and temper tantrums. A soft-spoken man with a rather passive screen presence, Scott made more than sixty pictures from 1932 to 1962, thus placing him within the ranks of Western film legends Gary Cooper and John Wayne.

Born in Orange, Virginia, in 1903 (some sources say 1898), George Randolph Scott attended Georgia Tech and the University of



Randolph Scott (left) in a scene from the film *Comanche Station*.

North Carolina to prepare for a career in textile engineering. After a brief stint working for his father's textile company in Charlotte, North Carolina, Scott moved to Hollywood to satisfy his growing interest in acting. He found work as an extra in several pictures and landed roles with local theater groups, including the Pasadena Playhouse. This exposure led to Paramount signing him to a seven-year contract. Although many of his early roles were bit parts, Scott received top billing from 1932 to 1935 in a popular series of nine Westerns based on Zane Grey stories. In seven of these films, Scott learned much about the acting process from director Henry Hathaway, a veteran filmmaker best known for directing John Wayne in *True Grit* (1969). Paramount used Scott in several non-Westerns as well, then in 1936 he was cast as James Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking hero, Hawkeye, in *The Last of the Mohicans*.

When Scott completed his Paramount contract in 1938, he signed nonexclusive contracts with Twentieth Century-Fox and Universal. In 1938, Fox teamed him with Shirley Temple in *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm*, then cast him opposite Tyrone Power and Henry Fonda in the financially successful *Jesse James* in 1939. As he did throughout his career, Scott played the tall, handsome marshal who was bound by his honor in enforcing the law. The box-office success

of *Jesse James* prompted a Fox sequel, *The Return of Frank James* (1940), and a flurry of other outlaw tales. *When the Daltons Rode* (1940) and *The Desperadoes* (1943) again featured Scott as a law-and-order hero reacting to the colorful exploits of the outlaws.

After paying his dues in numerous Western film supporting roles in the 1930s, Scott finally achieved stardom by the early 1940s and was teamed with some of Hollywood's leading actors. Warner Brothers signed him to play opposite Errol Flynn in *Virginia City* (1940), while Universal teamed him with John Wayne in *The Spoilers* (1942), but those were not as successful as his Westerns. Nor did Scott appear particularly comfortable playing a sword-wielding son of an English nobleman in the pirate movie *Captain Kidd*.

After World War II, Scott returned to the genre that suited him best—the Western. Except for three pictures, Scott's forty-two post-war films were all Westerns. During the next fifteen years, Scott averaged five Westerns every two years. His total of thirty-eight Westerns from 1946 to 1960 made Scott the most prolific Western star of his time. Unlike his acting counterparts Gary Cooper, John Wayne, or Alan Ladd, Scott never made a critical or box-office hit. Instead, he relied on a steady stream of professionally made, action-packed, entertaining movies. In 1951, Scott revealed to a reporter his

formula for making movies, saying that he looked for “a strong believable story with seventy-five percent outdoor action and twenty-five percent indoor. If you get any more of your picture indoors, you’re in trouble.”

Scott did some of his finest work in a series of Westerns he made in the 1950s and early 1960s with director Budd Boetticher. In such pictures as *Seven Men from Now* (1956), *Decision at Sundown* (1957), *Ride Lonesome* (1959), and *Comanche Station* (1960), Scott’s presence filled the screen with courageous dignity and laconic stoicism in tales concerning redressing personal tragedy. In each of the films, Boetticher focused on a group of individuals reacting under stress, with Scott and a capable adversary inevitably facing a showdown.

Scott’s final film before retiring is considered by critics to be perhaps his finest work—Sam Peckinpah’s *Ride the High Country* (1962). In the movie, Joel McCrea was cast as the poor but honest former marshal who is hired to bring in a gold shipment from a mining camp. Scott played McCrea’s longtime friend, also an ex-lawman, who hires on to help escort the gold shipment, but who intends to steal it. The theme of the displacement of aging frontier individualists by an encroaching civilization intrigued critics, and Western fans enjoyed watching Scott and McCrea work together. Between them, they had starred in eighty-seven Westerns since the early 1930s.

Following *Ride the High Country*, Scott retired from the movie industry, overseeing his considerable business investments in oil wells, real estate, and securities. By the time of his death in 1987, it was estimated that Scott’s holdings were worth anywhere from \$50 million to \$100 million. But from a popular culture standpoint, Scott left behind more than substantial personal wealth—he left behind a body of work that helped define the rugged individualism theme of American Westerns and provided one of the more convincing portrayals of the frontier hero.

—Dennis Russell

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## Scream

Single-handedly resuscitating the horror genre, as well as the sagging career of its director, *Scream*, the 1996 sleeper written by then-Hollywood neophyte Kevin Williamson, brought in a staggering \$103 million at the box office and inaugurated a new wave of “teenie kill pics.” Self-consciously flagging the hackneyed conventions of

post-*Halloween* stalk-and-slash horror movies, *Scream* contrived to grip audiences by mixing genuine scares with affectionate spoofing. Originally titled *Scary Movie*, the name was changed amid concerns that middle America might think this implied it was a comedy. Beyond the startle effects and the self-parody, however, there lies in *Scream* a scathing critique of the way America’s mass-media representatives exploit tragedy for profit. In this respect, *Scream* more closely resembles Oliver Stone’s serial-killer farce *Natural Born Killers* (1994) than it does Sean Cunningham’s stalker classic *Friday the 13th* (1980).

After unsuccessful stints as an actor and as an assistant director of music videos, Williamson had little trouble selling *Scream* (only his second screenplay) to Dimension Films, the newly established “genre division” of Miramax. Wes Craven signed on as director immediately upon reading it. Craven, whose past successes in the horror genre include *The Hills Have Eyes* (1978) and *A Nightmare on Elm Street* (1984), was at the time mired in a decade-long slump, having directed such duds as *A Vampire in Brooklyn* (1995) and *Shocker* (1989). Understandably bored with conventional slasher fare, he saw at once the potential of Williamson’s story to bring lapsed horror fans back to their seats while simultaneously initiating a new crop of enthusiasts. In fact, Craven’s 1994 contribution to the *Nightmare on Elm Street* franchise, which he wrote as well as directed, can be seen as an ambitious though under-appreciated attempt at generating just the kind of reflexive horror that would come to serve as *Scream*’s signature. With a \$15 million budget, an experienced director, and an established star (Drew Barrymore) already attached, *Scream* attracted a bevy of gifted Gen-X actors eager to gain recognition in a popular genre.

The intense ten minute opening of *Scream* bears a striking resemblance to the award-winning prologue of *When a Stranger Calls* (1979). An anonymous caller raises the stakes of playing “slasher movie trivia” by threatening the lives of teenage cutie Casey Becker (Barrymore) and her incapacitated boyfriend unless she can answer such questions as “Who was the killer in *Friday the 13th*?” Like everyone else in *Scream*, Casey has some familiarity with the horror film subgenre that began with *Halloween* in 1978. But only copious amounts of insider knowledge are enough to ensure one’s survival in this paean to postmodern pastiche. The main storyline centers around the efforts of Sidney Prescott (played with the appropriate mixture of sensibility and sex appeal by Neve Campbell) to avoid the murderous advances of a sadistic slasher film fanatic wielding a very sharp knife and wearing a mask appropriately inspired by Edvard Munch’s masterpiece expressionist painting, *The Scream*. With a nod to the traditional whodunit, the identity of Sidney’s stalker is kept a secret until the movie’s final scene, and not before each of her high school buddies has exhibited just enough dubious behavior to qualify as a suspect. Only the timely intervention of dirt-seeking newshound Gail Weathers (Courtney Cox, of sitcom *Friends* fame) is enough to save Sidney, stunned to discover that her assailant is really a pair of male friends who revel in the motiveless nature of their crimes.

Much has been made of *Scream*’s numerous slasher film references and its abundance of in-jokes. Linda Blair (demon-possessed star of *The Exorcist*), Priscilla Pointer (*Carrie*), and Craven himself (playing a Freddy Krueger lookalike) all make uncredited cameos. One of the killers—Billy Loomis (Skeet Ulrich)—is named after the psychiatrist in *Halloween*, himself named after Janet Leigh’s lover in *Psycho* (1960). And at one point, Sidney’s friend mentions the director “Wes Carpenter,” obviously referring to both Craven and *Halloween* director John Carpenter. At times, however, *Scream* goes



Neve Campbell (left) and Rose McGowan in a scene from the film *Scream*.

beyond mere self-referentiality, approaching something closer to self-reflexivity. Not only do the characters exhibit insider knowledge about slasher films, they occasionally evince awareness of being in one. Thus, an unwitting victim pleads sarcastically, “Oh please don’t kill me, Mr. Ghostface, I wanna be in the sequel!” And in response to Sidney’s cry that “this is NOT a movie,” Billy states, “Yes it is Sidney. It’s all one big movie.”

As noted by Isabel Pinedo, *Scream* breaks in various ways the “rules” of the traditional slasher. There are two killers, for example, and two heroines, both of whom are sexually active. The victims are bright, articulate, even witty. The nerd survives. And the film ends with the killers’ unambiguous deaths. Much of *Scream*’s effectiveness, in fact, comes from the setting up and subsequent undermining of audience expectations. It also comes from a blurring of the already hazy line between real-life violence and violent entertainment. Tabloid news reporters in particular are singled out as insensitive instigators of mayhem; one such reporter asks Sydney “how it feels to be almost brutally butchered. How does it feel? People have a right to know!”

Williamson and Craven again teamed up for *Scream 2* (1997), which took the self-reflexivity of its predecessor to new heights; there is a film within the film, for example, supposedly a fictionalized account of the “events” occurring in Part One. And like its predecessor, *Scream 2* grossed over \$100 million at the box office (*Scream 3* is in the works.) Williamson’s adaptation of a young-adult novel, *I Know What You Did Last Summer* (1997), was another sleeper hit, and his treatment for *Halloween H20* (1998) helped make a success of the “final” installment in that dying series. A \$20 million long-term contract with Miramax, a hit television show for teens (*Dawson’s Creek*), and permission to direct his own *Killing Mrs. Tingle*, all serve to ensure a steady stream of Williamson-inspired products. Craven too has reaped the benefits of *Scream*’s success, his desire for

cinematic respectability finally satiated with a go-ahead to direct Meryl Streep in *50 Violins*.

—Steven Schneider

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## Screwball Comedies

Born in the early 1930s, during the bleakest years of the Depression, the screwball comedy became a very popular variation of the romantic comedy film. Although the leading characters were usually reconciled to the basic values of polite society by the story’s end, most screwball comedies, up until that final reel, were irreverent toward the rich, big business, small town life, government, and assorted other sacred cows, not the least of which was the institution of marriage. Among the unorthodox notions that these movies advocated were the ones that marriage could be fun, that women and men were created equal, and that being bright and articulate was not necessarily a handicap for a woman.

There were, from the early 1930s to the mid-1940s, well over 200 screwball films, almost all of them dedicated to the celebration of eccentric, unconventional behavior and attitudes and the proposition that life could be a lot of fun in spite of war and a fouled-up economy. These movies frequently offered smart, savvy reinterpretations of such classic folk tale plots as *Beauty and the Beast*, *Sleeping Beauty*, and, most especially, *Cinderella*. Although the plots always dealt with romance, the focal couple might also find themselves involved, while trying to pursue the path of true love, with kidnapping, election campaigns, scandals, runaway leopards, shipwreck, amnesia, divorce, murder, seeming adultery, and all sorts of impersonations.

Of the considerable number of actors and actresses who tried their hands at the screwball category there were several who displayed a true knack for the genre and appeared in quite a few successful titles. Among the women were Rosalind Russell, Carole Lombard, Jean Arthur, Claudette Colbert, Myrna Loy, and Irene Dunne. Top men included Cary Grant, Joel McCrea, Melvyn Douglas, Fred MacMurray, and William Powell. It was not just the madcap heiresses, masquerading shop girls, and disinherited playboys who behaved in wild and eccentric ways. A majority of the films were peopled with a wide variety of odd and outrageous minor characters. Anybody from a rural judge to a Park Avenue cabdriver to a nightclub torch singer might turn out to be a world class screwball. Frequently falling into this category were Alice Brady, Charlie Ruggles, Eugene Pallette, Eve Arden, Mischa Auer, Una Merkel, Robert Benchley, William Demerest, Franklin Pangborn, Billie Burke, and Luis Alberni. Many of these gifted character actors appeared so frequently in this sort of film that they give the impression they must have been permanent residents of a special screwball world. Ralph Bellamy was the ablest portrayer of an essential screwball movie type: the attractive but flawed suitor who is never going to win the leading lady.

Movies with most of the essential screwball ingredients started to show up on the screen in 1932, notably *Trouble in Paradise*. Set in Venice, it dealt with a pair of thieves, played by Miriam Hopkins and Herbert Marshall, who set out to fleece wealthy Kay Francis. Directed by Ernst Lubitsch from a script by Samson Raphaelson, it also made use of several actors who would become part of the screwball stock company throughout the 1930s and into the 1940s—Charles Ruggles, Edward Everett Horton, and Robert Greig (who specialized in grouchy butler parts and worked with everybody from the Marx Brothers to Veronica Lake). The following year saw such films as *Bombshell*, which featured Jean Harlow, aided by the energetic Lee Tracy, in a very funny burlesque version of what looked a lot like her own life as a movie star. Things picked up even more in 1934. Probably the most important screwball comedy was Frank Capra's *It Happened One Night*, scripted by Robert Riskin. Claudette Colbert was the runaway heiress who ends up taking a very strenuous cross country bus trip with salty reporter Clark Gable. Backing them up were portly Walter Connolly, an expert at irascibility, and Roscoe Karns. The film swept the Oscars and put Columbia Pictures firmly in the screwball business for the rest of the decade. Also released in 1934 was *The Thin Man*, adapted from the Dashiell Hammett novel and briskly directed by W.S. Van Dyke. Extremely appealing as the wisecracking husband-and-wife detective team, Myrna Loy and William Powell, went on to make five more movies about Nick and Nora Charles as well as several very good non-mystery comedies, including *I Love You Again* and *Labeled Lady*.

A moderately successful Broadway playwright before going to Hollywood, Preston Sturges started writing comedy screenplays in the mid-1930s. His adaptation of *The Good Fairy* changed the Ferenc

Molnar play completely, turning it into an effective screwball comedy set in Vienna. William Wyler directed, and Margaret Sullavan and Herbert Marshall starred in this variation of the Cinderella story that has orphan Sullavan instrumental in changing the fortunes of struggling attorney Marshall; character actors included Frank Morgan and Reginald Owen. Sturges' *Easy Living* came out in 1937, with Mitchell Leisen directing. Another cockeyed Cinderella story, it has working girl Jean Arthur being mistaken for the mistress of wall street tycoon Edward Arnold. Ray Milland is the young man who falls in love with the transformed Arthur. Demerest and Pangborn are in the cast and Alberni gives a bravura performance as the English-mangling, hyper-active manager of a faltering ritzy hotel who offers Arthur a luxury suite because he thinks it will influence Arnold.

Finally in 1940, Paramount Pictures offered Sturges the opportunity to direct and he proceeded to turn out an impressive string of successful comedies at a rapid rate. They included *The Great McGinty*, with Brian Donlevy, *The Lady Eve*, with Barbara Stanwyck and Henry Fonda, *The Palm Beach Story*, with McCrea and Colbert, *Sullivan's Travels*, with McCrea and Lake, and *The Miracle of Morgan's Creek*, with Eddie Bracken and Betty Hutton. Sturges' comedies had a headlong pace, bright dialogue, social satire, enough eccentrics, curmudgeons, and fatheads to populate a small city, and generous helpings of broad slapstick. He gathered around him a group of gifted comedy actors who appeared in nearly every one of his films. These included Greig, Demerest, Pangborn, Raymond Walburn, Al Bridge, and Eric Blore.

Leisen, working with various writers, provided a string of other screwball comedies. Among them were *Hands across the Table*, with Lombard, MacMurray, and Bellamy—as the fellow who does not get the girl—and *Take a Letter, Darling*, with MacMurray as a very reluctant male secretary to Rosalind Russell. He also directed, with a script by Charles Brackett and Billy Wilder, the quintessential screwball Cinderella movie of the period, *Midnight*. Colbert is a gold digging chorus girl stranded in Paris and she ends up impersonating a countess. Don Ameche is a cab driver who falls in love with her, and John Barrymore and Mary Astor are also on hand.

The performer several critics and historians consider perhaps the best comedienne of these years always thought of herself as a serious actress and a singer. Irene Dunne had to be coerced into taking the starring role in the 1936 comedy *Theodora Goes Wild* at Columbia Pictures. Cast opposite Melvyn Douglas, she plays a quiet small-town young woman who writes a racy bestseller under a pen name. The transformation she undergoes after meeting and falling in love with Douglas, and then realizing that he is even less liberated than she is, forms the basis for the story. Dunne had, in the words of historian James Harvey, “the acutest kind of self-awareness. Where Lombard seems driven and distraught, Dunne seems intoxicated, magical, high-flying. Dunne does not just see the joke—she is radiant with it, possessed by it and glowing with it. Nobody does this so completely or to quite the same degree.” The next year Dunne appeared in Leo McCarey's *The Awful Truth*, which has been called “the definitive screwball comedy.” It is about infidelity, love, trust, and the inevitability of some relationships. Cary Grant, who did not want to, plays opposite her and establishes the characterization he used for much of his subsequent career. Ralph Bellamy does one of his most memorable turns as the loser of the girl and, for good measure, the dog who played Asta in the *Thin Man* movies appears as the pet over whom the divorcing Dunne and Grant get into a custody battle. As in *Theodora*, Dunne gets to cause considerable embarrassment for the object of her affection by impersonating a different sort of woman, this time

Grant's vulgar, and fictitious, sister. She made a few more comedies, including the equally successful *My Favorite Wife*, again with Grant, in 1940.

On the long list of other screwball comedies many others stand out. They include *Nothing Sacred*, with Lombard, Connolly, and Fredric March; *My Man Godfrey*, with Lombard and William Powell; *Bringing Up Baby*, with Katharine Hepburn and Grant; *Bachelor Mother*, with Ginger Rogers and David Niven; *Ninotchka*, with Melvyn Douglas and, of all people, Greta Garbo; *His Girl Friday*, with Grant and Russell; *The Major and the Minor*, with Ginger Rogers and Ray Milland—the first film directed by Billy Wilder; and *The More the Merrier*, with Arthur, McCrea and Charles Coburn. While attempts have been made in most subsequent decades to revive the genre, for the most part the best screwball comedies remain the ones made more than 60 years ago.

—Ron Goulart

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## Scribner's

In their heyday *Scribner's* magazine (1870-81) and *Scribner's Monthly* (1887-1942) gave their largely middle-class readership beautiful illustrations and outstanding popular fiction and nonfiction. *Scribner's*, named for a New York publisher Charles Scribner, was founded by Scribner, Roswell C. Smith, a lawyer, and Dr. Josiah Gilbert Holland, a writer of moral tales and poems scorned by critics but popular with young Americans. From the start the men imbued the magazine with their shared Christian outlook, giving it a tone of religious uplift rare among general interest periodicals. As part of their mission they sought to extend art and literature to readers outside the big cities. Promising that *Scribner's* would be "profusely illustrated," Holland proposed it as a "democratic form of literature" for people who lacked time for books. After Scribner died in 1871, Holland became the magazine's guiding light. He emphasized a sort of moderate Christianity, favoring temperance but not prohibition, for instance. "Orthodoxy saves nobody; Christian love and Christian character save everybody," he once wrote.

Spurred by improvements in printing, engraving technology, and other industrial advances, the number of American magazines nearly doubled to 1,200 in the five years after the end of the Civil War. Intended as competition for two older, high-quality rivals, *Harper's Monthly* and the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Scribner's* published more nonfiction than both. Early on it caught the public's eye with its excellent illustrations and varied articles, many aimed at women. The magazine published much sentimental fiction and poetry and many nonfiction articles on children, gardening, fashion, and the like.

Holland and his assistant editor, Richard Watson Gilder, gradually took a more daring tack later in the 1870s. Walt Whitman's sensual poems offended Holland, and the editor often disparaged the

poet in print and even rejected a poem he submitted for publication. Nevertheless, Holland published an article that described Whitman as one of America's leading poets, although "too anatomical and malodorous." *Scribner's* thus became one of the first conventional magazines to recognize Whitman as a great American poet. The magazine also began printing more realistic fiction, including stories by Henry James and Bret Harte. John Muir contributed nature pieces. Illustrators included artists like Winslow Homer. Circulation rose steadily, and by 1878 *Scribner's* was earning a solid profit. It owed part of its financial success to its policy of accepting non-literary advertisements, making it one of the first good quality magazines to do so.

Following a dispute with Charles Scribner's Sons, the editors and part-owners of *Scribner's* separated from the publishing firm and changed the magazine's name to the *Century Illustrated Monthly* in 1881. Holland died after editing just one issue. Gilder took over and led the *Century* to even greater success than its predecessor had enjoyed, nearly doubling its circulation in the 1880s with retrospectives on the Civil War written by leading participants like William T. Sherman and Ulysses Grant. The *Century* continued to flourish until 1900, when it began a long, slow decline brought on partly by competition from cheaper muckraking magazines. By 1930, when it had cut back to quarterly publication with a circulation of just 20,000, it was merged with *Forum* magazine and its name disappeared.

In 1887, meanwhile, Charles Scribner's Sons started *Scribner's Monthly*. Under its first editor, Edward L. Burlingame, the new *Scribner's* continued its namesake's tradition of publishing fine illustrations and articles. Burlingame gained an early advantage over his main competitors, *Harper's*, the *Atlantic*, and the *Century*, by offering the new *Scribner's* at 25 cents an issue, or three dollars a year, compared to the standard 35 cents an issue or four dollars a year. Publishing works by Stephen Crane and Rudyard Kipling, among others, he overtook his rivals in circulation in the 1890s. Important early nonfiction articles like Charles Francis Adams' "The Prevention of Railroad Strikes" and Jacob A. Riis' "How the Other Half Lives" examined labor problems, urban poverty, and other social issues.

The magazine weathered a severe economic depression and challenges from new and cheaper competitors like *McClure's* in the 1890s, and continued to prosper. *Scribner's* largely disdained the muckraking stance most magazines took in the early years of the twentieth century. It continued to concentrate on art, running lavishly illustrated articles with outstanding full-color pictures by N. C. Wyeth, among others. It also printed more outstanding fiction as well as popular travel and adventure features, including a number of articles by Theodore Roosevelt describing his exploits in Africa, South America, and elsewhere. The magazine published fiction by Edith Wharton, Ernest Hemingway, John Galsworthy, and Thomas Wolfe. It reached its peak circulation of more than 200,000 around 1911 and began to decline thereafter.

Dogged by its old-fashioned appearance and the onset of the Great Depression, *Scribner's* suffered a severe slump in the 1930s. Alfred Dashiell, who became editor in 1930, attempted to revive its sagging fortunes by running more left-leaning political articles intended to appeal to young intellectuals. He also continued the magazine's strong literary tradition, publishing stories by Sherwood Anderson, Langston Hughes, Erskine Caldwell, William Saroyan, William Faulkner, and F. Scott Fitzgerald. Nevertheless, he lost many long time readers and did not gain many new ones. By the time he resigned in 1936 to take a job at *Reader's Digest*, circulation had fallen from 70,000 to 43,000.

An English professor and magazine analyst named Harlan Logan became editor in 1936 and redesigned and enlivened the magazine. Although he doubled circulation and cut financial losses, his efforts fell short and *Scribner's* ceased publication in May of 1939. *Esquire* acquired its subscriber list and the title was merged with that of another magazine. The resulting *Scribner's Commentator* met an inglorious death in 1942 after one of its staff pleaded guilty to taking payoffs from the Japanese government in exchange for publishing propaganda favoring United States isolationism.

—Daniel Lindley

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## Scruggs, Earl (1924—)

An enormously influential musician, North Carolina native Earl Scruggs essentially rescued the five-string banjo from its fate as a country comedian's instrument, moving it into the realm of virtuosity by his work with Bill Monroe's Blue Grass Boys and his own band, the Foggy Mountain Boys, in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. Though he did not invent the three-finger picking style that bears his name, he refined, developed, and popularized it as both a backing and solo approach, winning enthusiastic fans worldwide and earning comparisons to the greatest classical music instrumentalists. In the late 1960s, he left the Foggy Mountain Boys to work with his sons in the Earl Scruggs Revue, bringing a fusion of bluegrass, country, and rock to audiences around the United States, especially on college campuses. Thanks to its use in the soundtrack for the movie *Bonnie and Clyde*, his "Foggy Mountain Breakdown" (1949) is one of bluegrass music's best known numbers.

—Jon Weisberger

## Scruggs, Earl

See also Foggy Mountain Boys

## Scully, Vin (1927—)

One of sports broadcasting's most recognizable voices, Vin Scully is known primarily as the long-time play-by-play announcer for baseball's Dodgers. But his work on national telecasts, including NBC's *Game of the Week* from 1983 to 1989, exposed his mellifluous vocal stylings to viewers from coast to coast. Scully joined the

Brooklyn Dodgers' broadcast team in 1950, just a year after graduating from Fordham University. Under the tutelage of Red Barber, he developed a warm, personable on-air style that perfectly suited the national pastime's slow, wheeling pace. His vivid descriptions of such events as Sandy Koufax's perfect game and Kirk Gibson's dramatic home run in the 1988 World Series remain iconic moments in baseball play-by-play. After the 1997 season, Scully retired from national broadcasting to concentrate solely on his local responsibilities with the Dodgers. All told, he called 25 World Series and 12 All-Star Games over the course of his career.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Sea World

In the highly competitive amusement industry—a \$4 billion dollar industry by 1990—Sea World has attempted to provide visitors with a greater understanding of marine life. Unlike Disneyland and other amusement parks, Sea World uses environmental education, spectacle, and science to create an experience that appeals to tourists. The spectacle of Sea World is centered around orca shows; the most famous orca is Shamu. With an environmental experience compared to *Wild Kingdom* and *Jacques Cousteau*, Sea World enables tourists to appreciate nature in a tradition that places humans in control of nature. Sea World performs as a figurehead of green consumerism. "Sea World," Susan Davis notes in her cultural analysis of Sea World, *Spectacular Nature*, "is not so much a substitute for nature as an opinion about it, an attempt to convince a broad public that nature is going to be all right." But Davis contends, "Sea World represents an enormous contradiction. Using living animals, captive seas, and flourishing landscapes, the theme park has organized the subtle and contradictory cultural meanings of nature into a machine for mass consumption." Opened in 1964, Sea World was soon purchased by Anheuser-Busch and by the late 1990s operated four parks in Florida, California, and Ohio.

—Brian Black

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## Seals, Son (1942—)

One of the strongest live performers to work Chicago's blues circuit, Son Seals brought a new energy to the scene as many of the older musicians were beginning to slow down. Seals was at the forefront of a generation of young guitar players who carried on the traditions of Muddy Waters, Sonny Boy Williamson, and Howlin' Wolf. Seals's father owned the Dipsy Doodle Club in Osceola, Arkansas, exposing young Son to blues at an early age. He took up



drums and played with Williamson, Robert Nighthawk, and Earl Hooker while a teenager and toured with Albert King during the mid-1960s. Seals moved to Chicago and formed his own group as a guitarist in 1972, recording *The Son Seals Blues Band* for Alligator Records in 1973; he recorded seven more albums for Alligator through 1996. Seals was shot in the jaw by his wife during a domestic disturbance in January, 1997. He recovered and remained a top draw in Chicago's clubs.

—Jon Klinkowitz

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## Search for Tomorrow

Producer Roy Winsor developed *Search for Tomorrow* in 1951 and proved that the soap opera could succeed on television. The CBS serial reflected the concerns of postwar America by focussing on a widowed heroine, Joanne Tate (played for all thirty-five years by Mary Stuart), who struggled with issues of marriage and children. Jo was the problem solver for the town of Henderson, counseling friends and neighbors, especially the comic Bergmans (Larry Haines and Melba Rae). Later story lines centered on Jo's children and the exotic adventures of a new family, the Sentells. *Search* moved to NBC in 1982 and, a year later, presented the first live show on daytime in seventeen years (the tape was reportedly stolen). In the mid 1980s the entire community of Henderson was flooded and surviving citizens were forced to live in the same building. The final episode of *Search for Tomorrow* was broadcast on December 26, 1986, and in the last scene Jo was asked for what she was searching. She responded, "Tomorrow, and I can't wait."

—Ron Simon

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## The Searchers

Since its release in 1956, John Ford's *The Searchers* has become one of the most controversial films in Hollywood history. At the center of the controversy is Ethan Edwards, played by John Wayne in what many consider his finest performance. Throughout the film Edwards pursues a band of Indians who killed his brother's family and captured the daughters, one of whom, Debbie (Natalie Wood), is still alive. Film scholars, particularly during the late 1980s and early

1990s, have attacked Ford's shabby treatment of Indians, which is perhaps most vividly evidenced in the reactionary persona of Ethan Edwards. Despite its critics, *The Searchers* remains a hugely influential film. It is often cited as a seminal influence by filmmakers as diverse as those of the French New Wave and the American directors who came of age in the late 1960s and early 1970s—most notably Martin Scorsese, Francis Ford Coppola, and Brian DePalma. And in Ethan Edwards filmmakers found a model for the semi-psychopathic antihero so often present in films since the late 1960s.

—Robert C. Sickels

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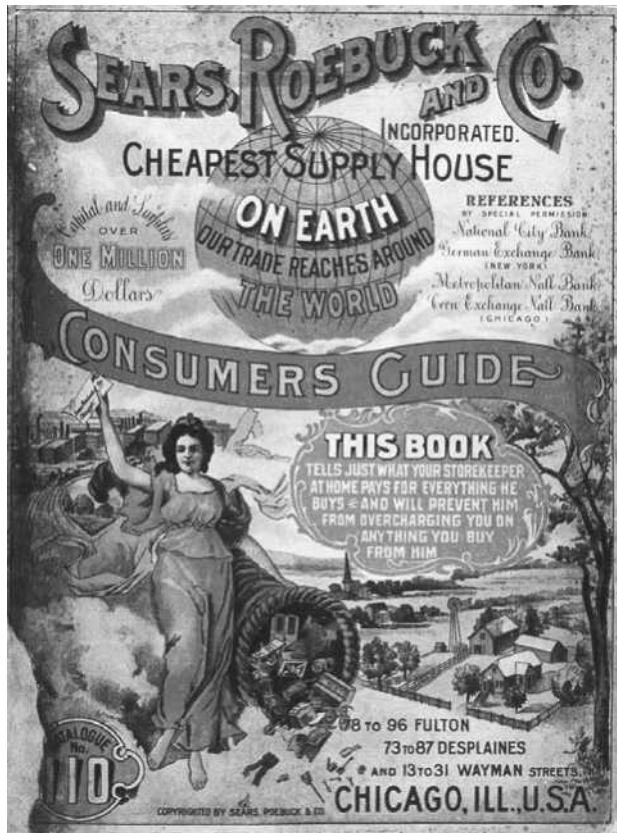
## Sears Roebuck Catalogue

Known affectionately as "a department store in a book," "the farmer's wishbook," and the "farmer's Bible," the Sears Roebuck mail order catalogue, while not the first of its kind in retail merchandising, was certainly the most famous and the one that inspired the most imitations.

Mail order catalogues—visual and textual descriptions of a store's inventory in print form—were used to select and purchase mass-produced goods. Although the first publication resembling a mail order catalogue was supposedly a mail circular distributed by Ben Franklin in 1744, modern versions became popular in America during the Gilded Age. Montgomery Ward established the modern mail-order industry in 1872, selling his wares, selected primarily for the needs of farming families, through the mail.

Inspired by Ward's success in rural America, Richard W. Sears, a watch salesman who joined forces with Alvah Roebuck, a watch repairman, expanded the line of goods offered to country families, launching his company and publishing his first catalogue in 1886. By 1893 Sears began publishing his catalogue on a regular basis, dubbing it the *Consumer's Guide* in 1894. In the first decade of the twentieth century the Sears catalogue offered over 10,000 different items dealing with every aspect of life from birth to death, including firearms, sewing machines, clothing, bicycles, patent medicines, pianos, and eventually even houses.

The early years of the Sears catalogue were significant in bringing a largely urban and mass-manufactured way of life to rural areas that had until then been relatively isolated from metropolitan goods and culture. In 1897, 318,000 copies of the Sears catalogue were sent to the Midwest; by 1908, 3.6 million copies were sent out. Sears's drawings and verbal descriptions of the items helped sell these otherwise unexaminable goods, through the mail, to customers far



Cover of the Sears Roebuck catalogue, c.1910.

away. The success of the mail order business was aided by governmental policies, including the advertiser's penny postcard in 1871, Rural Free Delivery (RFD) in 1898, and parcel post in 1913. Both Sears and Ward took advantage of these policies, remaining mail-order competitors well into the twentieth century. In fact, Sears consistently published a catalogue smaller than Ward's so that it would sit on top of his rival's book in the family home.

As historian Thomas Schlereth pointed out, "With the spread of mail-order merchandising, people who had lived, to a large extent, on a barter or an extended credit system now became immersed in a money economy." Rural merchants, feeling their businesses threatened, decried the use of mail-order catalogues, trying to convince local townspeople that the merchandise offered within was inferior and its delivery unreliable. But Sears allayed people's fears, establishing the familiar "Satisfaction guaranteed or your money back" policy. His catalogue impacted rural life in other ways as well. No longer were farmers completely reliant on the food that they grew themselves or procured from local produce merchants. Instead, they could purchase prepackaged food through the mail. The catalogues also presented middle-class styles and tastes and made them accessible to everyone in the country. Further, catalogues were often used as educational tools: children practiced their math by computing the total price of orders, became literate by reading the endless product descriptions, and learned geography by studying the maps inside.

In 1946 the Sears catalogue was selected by the Grolier Society as one of the 100 outstanding American books of all time. By the 1970s Sears was distributing 65 million copies of its main catalogue—by then a familiar adjunct to Sears retail salesrooms—along

with an additional 250 million tabloid catalogues, per year. The 1897 catalogue has even been successfully reprinted, a testament to its endurance as a cultural icon and as a source of American nostalgia.

The Sears catalogue is perhaps most significant in establishing the viability of mail-order trade, no longer requiring face-to-face interaction between buyer and seller. Thousands of other catalogues sprang up during the twentieth century, including those selling clothing, jewelry, gourmet food, plants, herbs, and art supplies, among other things. Although still a source of revenue for Sears in the 1990s, the mail-order catalogue had paved the way for similarly anonymous sales institutions, such as televised shopping channels like QVC and the Home Shopping Network, and commercial Internet sites.

—Wendy Wolosen

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## Sears Tower

The Sears Tower looms over downtown Chicago, an unmistakable symbol of the city's pride in its heritage as the birthplace of a uniquely American concept, the modern skyscraper. Built in 1974 to a height of 1,468 feet, the Sears Tower succeeded the Empire State Building as the world's tallest building, and held that title until 1996. The building was designed by the distinguished and world famous firm of architects, Skidmore, Owings and Merrill to serve as the corporate headquarters for Sears Roebuck and Company. Its architectural style, while incorporating significant engineering advances, relates back to the impersonal glass boxes of the 1950s and 1960s rather than looking forward to the more idiosyncratic towers of the 1980s and 1990s. Though large and impressive, the building never quite captured the hearts of Chicago's citizens in the way that the city's John Hancock Center did. Nevertheless, the Sears Tower epitomizes the bustling prairie metropolis that Carl Sandburg called the "City of Big Shoulders."

—Dale Allen Gyure

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## Second City

The Second City theater company of Chicago has set the standard for improvisational comedy since the early 1960s, and no single institution has made a greater impact on the development of American comedy since. The comedy troupe has produced a stellar array of improvisational and stand-up comedians, actors, writers, and directors who have had a profound influence on comedy worldwide.

The troupe's roots go back to the progressive campus of the University of Chicago in 1951, where a group of performers and writers began presenting plays. After two years, the group migrated from the university's Southside campus to a Northside converted chop suey house, pooled their resources, and launched the Playwrights Theatre Club, which produced 25 plays over the next two years. When the fire department ordered extensive remodeling, the Club broke apart, forming two new groups: the Compass Players, an improvisational troupe that played nightclubs around Chicago, and the Studebaker Theater Company, which presented repertory theater in a 1200-seat house in the Loop area. Members oscillated back and forth between these two new companies until, a year later, both of them also broke up.

Three former members of the group (or groups)—Mike Nichols, Elaine May, and Shelley Berman—each rapidly achieved individual national recognition. Berman became a successful stand-up comedian and recording star, while Nichols and May played nightclubs across the country, were a hit on Broadway, and produced several smash comedy albums. They parted ways in 1961, with May going on to work variously as an actress, writer, and director, and Nichols forging a major directing career on Broadway and in Hollywood. The comedy background of each was evident in films such as Nichols's *The Graduate* (1967) and May's *A New Leaf* (1971). Meanwhile, the other members of the original group kept in touch, dreaming of reuniting. Their dream came true in 1959 when they obtained use of a defunct Chinese laundry building on the edge of Old Town, which they converted into a coffeehouse. Taking their name from a derisive article about Chicago written by A. J. Liebling for the *New Yorker*, The Second City opened in December 1959 to dazzling reviews, and continued to perform throughout the rest of the century, delighting audiences and training successive generations of comics. Among Second City alumni are several who reached national recognition as cast members of *Saturday Night Live*, including John Belushi, Bill Murray, Dan Aykroyd, Gilda Radner, Martin Short, Mike Myers, Chris Farley, James Belushi, Tim Kazurinsky, Mary Gross, and Robin Duke. Stand-up comics who started at Second City include Robert Klein, David Steinberg, Joan Rivers, and the comedy teams of Stiller and Meara, and Burns and Schriber. Film actors who got their start improvising at this coffeehouse include Alan Arkin (*The In-Laws*), Jane Alexander (*The Great White Hope*), Barbara Harris (*Family Plot*), Ron Liebman (*Slaughterhouse-Five*), and Severn Darden (*The President's Analyst*). Television actors include Ed Asner and Valerie Harper (*The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, then *Lou Grant* and *Rhoda*, respectively), Shelley Long and George Wendt (*Cheers*),

Linda Lavin (*Alice*), Dan Castellaneta (the voice of Homer Simpson), Fred Willard (*Fernwood 2-Night*), Peter Boyle (*Everybody Loves Raymond*), Bob Odenkirk (*Mr. Show*), and David Rasche (*Sledge Hammer*). Directors include Paul Mazursky (*Bob & Carol & Ted & Alice*, *Moscow on the Hudson*), Betty Thomas (*The Brady Bunch Movie*, *Private Parts*), indie favorite Henry Jaglom (*Eating, Babyfever*), and actor/director/writer Alan Alda (*Sweet Liberty*).

Apart from its reputation as the most fertile breeding ground for American comics, Second City is best known for the most consistently hilarious sketch comedy show in television history, *SCTV*. In 1976, when the members of the Toronto company of Second City were searching for something to satirize on a proposed television show, they hit upon the perfect topic: television itself. Regulars John Candy, Joe Flaherty, Eugene Levy, Andrea Martin, Rick Moranis, Catherine O'Hara, Harold Ramis, Martin Short, and Dave Thomas week after week acted as various members of the staff of *SCTV*, the call letters for the fictional Second City television station, serving Melonville. The station was owned by wheelchair-bound Guy Caballero (Flaherty), with Moe Green (Ramis) as the station manager—until he was kidnapped by the Leutonian Liberation Front and Edith Prickley (Martin) took over. Other staffers included Monster Chiller Horror Theater host Count Floyd (Flaherty), exercise show host Johnny Larue (Candy), Bob and Doug McKenzie (Thomas and Moranis) with their Great White North, pitchmen Tex and Edna Boil (Thomas and Martin), the polka playing Schmenge Brothers (Candy and Levy) and Ed Grimley (Short)—not to mention cleaning woman Perini Scleroso (Martin) and porn salesman Harry, the Guy with the Snake on His Face (Candy). The show ran for seven years and produced 185 episodes, starting on Canada's Global television and in syndication in the United States, then moving to NBC, and finally to Cinemax. All the show's stars have moved on to success in other projects. John Candy became a film star (*Uncle Buck* and *Planes, Trains & Automobiles*), as did Martin Short (*Innerspace*, *Three Amigos*) and Rick Moranis (*Little Shop of Horrors*, *Honey, I Shrunk the Kids*). Catherine O'Hara appeared in films (*Beetlejuice*, *Home Alone*), and Andrea Martin did both films (*Club Paradise*) and television (*Kate & Allie*). Harold Ramis directed *Caddyshack*, *National Lampoon's Vacation*, and *Groundhog Day*. Dave Thomas directed and costarred in the McKenzie Brothers movie *Strange Brew* and was a regular on *Grace Under Fire*. And Eugene Levy created the children's show *Maniac Mansion*, starring Joe Flaherty.

The original Second City troupe continues in Chicago, supporting national touring companies and training new generations of improvisational actors. "In a changing society," writes Second City chronicler Donna McCrohan, "The Second City is a constant, no less committed to quality theater than in 1959."

—Bob Sullivan

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## Sedona, Arizona

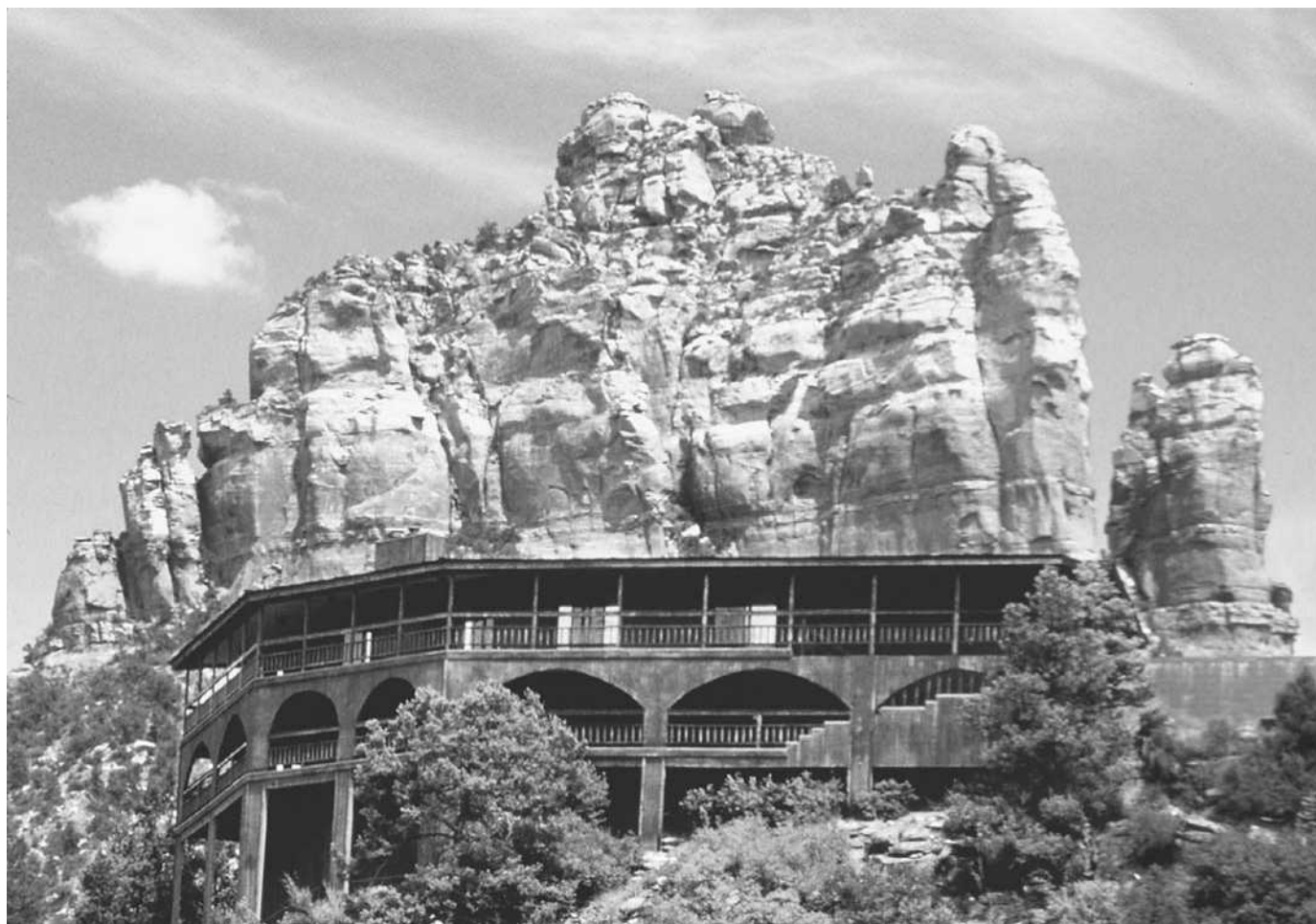
The small town of Sedona in Northern Arizona has had a marked influence on late twentieth-century American religious culture. Characterized by its red rocks, and boasting a population of 15,000 people, Sedona is the New Age capital of the world. It is home to UFO enthusiasts, New Religious movements, New Age philosophers, and devotees of paranormal phenomena. Located in the high desert 120 miles north of Phoenix, Arizona, Sedona is on the edge of the Colorado Plateau, surrounded by a landscape of hellfire cliffs, buttes, and spires, and enjoys a climate that is described as near-perfect. Tourism and a thriving community of artists form its economic base. That more people do not live there is a surprise.

Like most Western tourist towns, Sedona is really two places: one where more than four million tourists a year stop to gawk and buy crystals; the other where the real Sedonians live. In popular imagination, however, Sedona is one place, where new churches form—some

to die, others to thrive—to worship some alien deity, or follow Native American shamanism, or Eastern mythology. It is the Mecca of the New Age, where people flock to change their lives, and the place of Gabriel of Sedona, who *Dateline NBC* suggested was a fraudulent guru.

Sedona did not always have such a reputation. When the nearby Cline Library of Northern Arizona University began collecting materials relating to Sedona in 1992, little enough could be found to fill one box. Six years later, the collection had overflowed to 18 linear feet of ephemera on the Sedona experience. Things changed for Sedona when psychic Page Bryant announced the discovery of seven vortexes, or natural power spots, of psychic energy. Many today feel that the Sedona area contains the highest concentration of key lines, power centers, and vortexes in the world. These vortexes are said to be wells of natural power emanating from deep within the Earth that, some believe, act as a beacon for intergalactic travelers. People can also heighten their psychic awareness through the vortexes and are able to see beyond this dimension into others. The surrounding hellfire landscape of the place encourages these mystical musings, quests for circles of power, and the communing with spirits or aliens.

Hikers in the wilderness have reported suffering from inexplicable fatigue, and have recounted tales of three-foot-tall “rock people,” mysterious rumblings beneath the ground, and floating balls of light. Some have also been confronted by dark-suited secret agents,



Sedona, Arizona

the “Men in Black,” who are said to guard the UFO base beneath Secret Mountain.

The area is also the home of many Native American cultures. Scattered throughout the landscape are ruins and wonderfully preserved examples of prehistoric artwork. Until the late 1800s the Yavapai Apache lived in the canyons; before them were the Sinagua and other ancient peoples, or Anasazi. All left their indelible marks on the landscape that spiritualists believe was a result of the magnetic attraction of the vortexes. The descendants of these people, however, believe otherwise, and are concerned that Sedona’s popularity is endangering their own sacred sites.

Nearly 400 New Age businesses thrive in the Sedona area, which encompasses the nearby communities of Oak Creek, Cottonwood, and Jerome. These businesses include publishers, retailers, and so forth, but there are also many holistic health practitioners, psychic readers, channelers, Sacred Earth tour guides, and others, who service the demands of the town’s ever-growing New Age reputation.

—John J. Doherty

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## *Seduction of the Innocent*

In 1948, Dr. Fredric Wertham, a respected New York psychiatrist, began a campaign against comic books. Wertham, the author of two books on the causes of violence, argued in *Collier’s* and the *Saturday Review of Literature* that comic books, particularly crime comics, corrupted young minds and contributed to juvenile delinquency. His conclusions were based on his work with juvenile delinquents, who reported that comics showed them how to commit crimes, and on his examination of the violence and sex depicted in comics. Wertham’s work on the subject culminated in his 1954 book, *Seduction of the Innocent*. The campaign he spearheaded led to the formation of many committees against comics—mass burnings of comics, Senate hearings, and the formation of the Comics Code Authority (CCA). Wertham and his book would remain for decades after notorious among comic-book fans and professionals, and the word “Werthamite” would come to mean “censor.”

In the 1940s, comic books were a popular form of entertainment for both children and adults. The adult readership was particularly important after World War II since many men took up reading comics in the service, largely because the slim magazines could be read quickly and carried easily rolled-up in a pocket. Perhaps to appeal to these older readers, comic-book publishers introduced dozens of crime and horror titles after the war, which often depicted gruesome acts of cruelty.

In *Seduction of the Innocent*, Wertham wrote, “the most subtle and pervading effect of crime comics on children can be summarized in a single phrase: moral disarmament.” In crime comics, he argued, the reader is often asked to identify with a criminal on the run from the law. Even though the criminal is usually captured or killed at the story’s end, the stories romanticize a violent and immoral life outside the law. The outlaw protagonist “lives like a hero until the very end, and even then he often dies like a hero, in a burst of gun fire and violence.”

Wertham did not find the “good guys” of comic books to be any more wholesome. Superman, for example, seemed to embody the fascist idea of a master race that got its way by force: “The superman conceit gives boys and girls the feeling that ruthless go-getting based on physical strength or the power of weapons or machines is the desirable way to behave.” Batman and Wonder Woman, Wertham argued, promoted homosexuality because they had child sidekicks of the same gender. He described the home-life of Batman and Robin as “a wish dream of two homosexuals living together.” Wonder Woman represented “the cruel, ‘phallic’ woman,” a poor role model for girls because she emphasized power and independence rather than nurturance. Wertham also discovered sadomasochism and other variant sexualities in crime and adventure comics. He titled one of his chapters after a young patient’s exclamation, “I want to be a sex maniac!”

Stirred by the outcry against comics that Wertham’s charges created, the U. S. Senate put the comics industry on trial. In 1950, a Senate subcommittee chaired by Estes Kefauver found no evidence that linked crime comics to juvenile delinquency. Undaunted, Wertham and others continued to agitate for further government inquiry. In 1954 the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency investigated comics again. The committee’s verdict was that comics needed to be cleaned up and that the comic-book industry should police itself. Publishers were already moving in that direction. Fearing government censorship, many of the leading comic-book publishers formed the Association of Comics Magazine Publishers in 1948 to establish standards of decency for their publications. Because their efforts at self-censorship were ineffective and failed to convince their critics, these publishers created the Comics Code Authority, an independent board, to evaluate every story before publication. For decades after, most comic books sold in the United States bore a CCA stamp of approval on their covers.

One lasting effect of this era is that by the end of the twentieth century comics were still considered by most Americans to be children’s entertainment and to be incapable of conveying substantial artistic content. While countries such as Italy, France, and Japan have developed sophisticated varieties of comics for adult readers, American comics have remained marginalized. The attitude that comics are “bad for you,” the intellectual equivalent of junk food, has continued to linger.

—Christian L. Pyle

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## Seeger, Pete (1919—)

The American singer and composer Pete Seeger was quite simply the foremost popularizer of American folk music of the twentieth century. While others engaged in field work or labored in dusty archives, Seeger recorded over 100 albums in a half a century of performing. An evangelizer with an inborn sensitivity to crowd techniques, Seeger excelled in concert and had few musical peers in working a crowd. An intimate, casual, and charming performer, he often successfully invited his audience to sing along with him. The stringbean performer, bent over his long-necked five-string banjo, dressed in an old work shirt and denims, completely reshaped American musical taste in folk, topical, and protest music. Seeger's banjo read, "This machine surrounds hate and forces it to surrender," and if some segments of America reviled him as a Communist sympathizer, others perceived him as standing for peace, equality,



Pete Seeger

and decency in a troubled world. Seeger formed a bridge from the folk song revival of the 1940s, across the political repression of the 1950s, to the folk/protest scene of the 1960s. A gifted storyteller and musical historian, his influence on American music was incalculable.

Seeger was born in New York City in 1919, the son of a violinist mother and musicologist father, both on the faculty of the Juilliard School of Music. His uncle was the war poet Alan Seeger (who wrote "Rendezvous With Death,"), his sister Peggy became an accomplished singer and songwriter and married British folk-legend Ewan MacColl, and his brother Mike made a career as one of the foremost proponents of banjo music. Pete Seeger learned banjo, ukelele, and guitar by his teens. He received a scholarship to Harvard in 1936 (same class as John Kennedy) but left in 1938 due to disinterest and poor grades. He then journeyed through the United States, collecting songs, meeting Woody Guthrie and Huddy Ledbetter (Leadbelly), and working with noted folk archivist and field recorder Alan Lomax.

In 1940, Seeger organized the Almanac Singers with Guthrie, Lee Hays, and Mill Lampell, and they recorded an album the next year. Seeger's zeal for labor organizing was nearly religious ("Talking Union"), and the group often performed anti-war songs for left-wing audiences and organizations. After Pearl Harbor, the Almanac Singers emphasized their patriotism ("Reuben James"), and Seeger served in World War II entertaining American troops by singing folk songs. In 1944, he helped create People's Songs Inc. (PSI), which formed a national network of folk music that eventually boasted over 2,000 members. In 1948, he toured with the anti-Cold War presidential candidate Henry Wallace, but PSI drew more interest from the FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation) than labor unions, and it eventually went bankrupt in 1949.

At the low point of his fortunes in 1948, Seeger joined with Hays, Ronnie Gilbert, and Fred Hellerman to form The Weavers. Despite their unpopular leftward leanings (they were present at the Peekskill "anti-Communist" riot of September 1949), The Weavers not only helped to revive national interest in folk music, but also enjoyed astonishing commercial success. Their second single, "Goodnight Irene" backed with Leadbelly's "Tzena, Tzena, Tzena," went to the top of the pop charts and sold over two million copies, a phenomenal amount for 1950. They followed with other hits that became (re)established in the American folk tradition, including "On Top of Old Smokey," "So Long Its Been Good to Know You," "Wimoweh (The Lion Sleeps Tonight)," "Rock Island Line," and "Kisses Sweeter Than Wine." Concert promoters and the media blacklisted the group in 1952 because of their political views and associations, and The Weavers all but disappeared; Seeger left the group to go solo in 1958 after opposing their participation in a cigarette commercial. Always active in left-wing politics, Seeger refused to answer questions when investigated by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in 1955, although he never invoked the Fifth Amendment. He was indicted in 1956, convicted in 1961 on ten counts of contempt of Congress, and sentenced to an astounding ten years in jail. The United States Court of Appeals dismissed all charges against Seeger on a technicality, the very same week in 1962 that the cover version of his song "Where Have All the Flowers Gone" hit the Top 40.

In 1958, the success of the Kingston Trio touched off an enormous five-year folk music revival. Seeger's music was "rediscovered" and his career once again ascended. In 1962, Peter, Paul, and Mary made a hit out of "If I Had a Hammer," a song Seeger co-wrote in his Weavers' days. The Byrds covered "The Bells of

Rhymney,” and eventually had a huge number one hit with “Turn! Turn! Turn!” (1966), a biblical passage from Ecclesiastes that Seeger had set to music. In 1964, commercial radio listeners heard Seeger’s voice for the first time in 12 years when his version of Malvina Reynolds’ “Little Boxes” became a minor hit. Since the 1940s, Seeger had been one of the guiding lights of folk magazine *Sing Out!* (20,000 subscribers in 1965; bankrupt in 1967); in 1961 he helped Sis and Gordon Friese found *Broadside*, a bulletin of topical songs which helped stimulate the careers of singer/songwriters such as Bob Dylan, Phil Ochs, Tom Paxton, and Eric Anderson.

Paradoxically, Seeger had become a semi-popular success despite being one of the most picketed and blacklisted singers in American history. In 1962, the refusal of the ABC television folk music show, *Hootenanny*, to allow Seeger to perform resulted in a boycott that tore the folk community in half. The incident hurt him commercially, but only served to reinforce his standing as a martyr for freedom of speech. By the mid-1960s, Seeger had become a cultural hero through his outspoken commitment to the anti-war and civil rights struggle. He was involved in several civil rights campaigns in 1962-1965, and helped popularize the anthemic “We Shall Overcome” with mainstream audiences. Even supporters had felt that Seeger’s belief that music could transform society was hopelessly naive, but for a moment, it all seemed to be coming true. This period of his greatest influence is wonderfully captured on the recording of his concert at Carnegie Hall in June 1963.

Then it all fell apart. The folk-topical song revival came to a crashing halt at the Newport Folk Festival in 1965, when Bob Dylan appeared with electric accompaniment. Seeger, who distrusted electric music as unauthentic, was crestfallen, and literally tried to pull the plug on the amplifiers. He fought on, however, despite Dylan’s defection, the crumbling of the civil rights movement, and the escalation of the war in Asia. His anti-Vietnam War ballad, “Waist Deep in the Big Muddy,” became a classic of the 1960s, and he dusted off a series of anti-war ballads he had performed with the Almanac Singers a generation before. His disdain for wealth and worldly vanities seemed hopelessly outdated in an indulgent age, but his moral rectitude still inspired, or infuriated, vast numbers of Americans.

In the 1970s, Seeger mirrored the movement away from mass politics to localism and community control. He became particularly interested in ecology, co-founding the organization Clearwater, dedicated to the cleanup and revival of the Hudson river. Through sheer tenacity, he had become a living legend, more frequently parodied than banned. Critics from all over the spectrum praised his life’s work, and the grandchildren of his original listeners attended his concerts.

Seeger widely influenced countless performers, and his instructional books and records inspired generations of self-taught musicians and folksingers. He always believed there was something in the best music to inform, stir, rally, direct, or cause social and personal interaction. His moral earnestness often overflowed into self-righteousness, but both friends and foes conceded his indomibility. Perhaps his optimism was often naive, but his music helped unionize workers, inspired Americans to revere their own musical traditions, encouraged civil rights and anti-war activists, and helped clean up a river. In his case, at least, one person could make a difference, and the United States was a better place for his having lived in it.

—Jon Sterngass

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## Seinfeld

The weekly situation comedy *Seinfeld*, which aired on NBC from 1990 to 1998, was the most highly-rated show on American television during much of its production run. The show marked the revival of a comic subgenre that had originated on radio and then was adapted for early television by such stars as Jack Benny and the team of George Burns and Gracie Allen. Jerry Seinfeld plays himself, a standup comedian starring in a sitcom about the life of a standup comedian. Like Benny and Burns, Seinfeld retained the privilege of walking back and forth across a metaphoric proscenium, speaking to the audience presentationally (i.e., in the second person) as a standup comic in a nightclub, and representationally (in the actions of a third person). The TV Jerry is a well-to-do New Yorker with a Manhattan



The cast of *Seinfeld*: (from left) Jason Alexander, Michael Richards, Julia Louis-Dreyfus, and Jerry Seinfeld (center).

apartment, a small group of “off-beat” friends, a career, an active sex life, and several other recognizable trappings of a contemporary successful American.

Seinfeld however adds an element that neither Benny nor Burns ever dared venture. As a bridge in his physical movement between the nightclub stage and the apartment, he walks a balancing act of personal identities. He is, to most appearances, Jerry the American, one of TV’s “us,” a televisually acceptable, conventionally well-dressed single white male. But Jerry is also, by turns of emphasis, one of “them,” a New York Jew, a sarcastic wisecracking cynic with an overbite, living on the margin of the American middle class. He can be funny, weird, exotic, lively, obnoxious, or any of the other qualities American ethnic mythology has tagged on to Jewishness.

In this way, *Seinfeld* shares more with the early fiction of Phillip Roth (especially *Good-bye, Columbus*, and *Portnoy’s Complaint*) than with the Jewish-American characters that can be found in such sitcoms as *The Goldbergs*, *Bridget Loves Bernie*, and *Rhoda*. Like Alexander Portnoy, Jerry lives out a dilemma that is simultaneously his deepest source of anxiety and the richest resource of his strength. He can easily “pass” for an American. Militantly bourgeois in attitude and taste, apparently freed of the burdens of millennial suffering, he is ready and willing to take on the high-end problems of sexual gratification and unchecked consumerism. But somehow, like the early Roth characters (especially the title character “Eli the Fanatic”), Jerry cannot help but be heir to the legacy of the Diaspora. His sense of humor, the very asset that has allowed him entrée to an advantaged hedonistic secular life among the gentiles, remains rooted in a marginalized point of view that grows out of exclusion—and he is unexcludable without his Jewishness.

Seventy years after Al Jolson opened up the age of talking pictures with *The Jazz Singer*, the theme of Jewish assimilation remains insistent in American popular culture. Like Woody Allen, Jerry Seinfeld is no Yeshiva boy, but he is also under no illusions about transcending his Jewishness. Like Jolson and Allen, he enjoys the money and the small-nosed girls. But no matter how American his show business success makes him, he takes it for granted that he will always carry a second psychological passport. He is neither embarrassed by his Jewishness (like Walter Lippman) nor enamored of it (like Norman Podhoretz). He accepts the cards that were dealt him and makes the most of his hand, moving seamlessly between two spheres of consciousness with as much grace and refinement as he can muster.

His best friend George (Jason Alexander) would like to enjoy the American garden of gentile delights the way that Jerry does, but he cannot. He remains a prisoner of the Bronx. Round, balding, and bespectacled, he is not only physically removed from ideals of gentile televisual masculinity, but he is psychologically mired in a tangle of neuroses that he has inherited wholesale from his parents (played by Jerry Stiller and Estelle Harris). “Next to George,” the critic Joshua Ozersky has written, “Jerry seems like Lee Marvin.” And this is exactly what Jerry wants. The flexible Jerry is more successful than George at the two most important pursuits in Unmarried-American culture: making money and getting dates.

George embodies all three of the traditional Yiddish comic archetypes. George is a *schlemiel*. He meets a comely WASP woman, and goes away with her for a romantic weekend; however, while trying to build a cozy fire he burns down her father’s vacation house. George is a *schlimazel*. When he is accused of racism for telling an African American co-worker that he resembles Sugar Ray Leonard, he finds himself compelled to stop black people on the street to try to

befriend them. George is a *nebbish*. All the principal characters on the show, we learn, masturbate frequently. But only George gets caught by his parents while doing it in their home.

What does a man with successful figures at both the bank and in the mirror see in a friendship with such a broadly defined American failure? Jerry the American needs George around to remind him of his Jewishness, which, despite any problems it might still present, is after all the secret engine of his professional success as a joke-teller. He takes George as his collaborator in creating a new television sitcom. George’s surname, Constanza, is not Jewish. To suggest that George is not Jewish, is itself a kind of Jewish joke.

Elaine Benes (Julia Louis-Dreyfus), an outwardly graceful but internally haggard New Yorker, enhances the suggestion of Jerry as a cosmopolitan, enlightened contemporary. A former lover, she is now a member of his small circle of best friends. Elaine’s chief identity is that of Unmarried-Gyno-American Worker. Like Mary Richards and Murphy Brown, she has yet to find a man worth slowing down for. Unlike them (or Jerry), however, Elaine lacks a lucrative position in the entertainment-industrial complex. Murphy and Mary both work in TV; when we meet Elaine, she works for a book publisher. Over the course of the series she works at a succession of jobs for neurotic and borderline psychotic men who derive much of their pleasure in life from being her boss. Elaine lacks a traditional ethnic identity, but instead is principally hyphenated by her sex and marital status. This stands in contrast to George’s ethnic hyperbole, leaving Jerry just where he likes to be: in perfect balance at the American middle. He has girlfriends and girls as friends. He has money and power enough to play philosopher-king among the working stiffs (a group which includes the other members of the cast as well as the television audience).

Jerry’s balance in the order of things is emphasized yet again by his physical positioning between tall, ectomorphic, manic Kramer (Michael Richards) and short, endomorphic, mono-polar George. Kramer functions in the sitcom as a kind of postmodern Ed Norton, entering and leaving Jerry’s unlocked apartment at will. (The unlocked door of the inner city apartment somehow endured from *The Honeymooners* to *Seinfeld* as a teledramatic convention in defiance of rational convention.) Kramer’s susceptibility to every identity that passes him by—entrepreneur, gambler, chef, playboy, hot-tub owner—puts him in a state of eternal self-image chaos, a sharp contrast to Jerry’s elegantly constructed balance of American, Jew and Jewish-American. Jerry, the least marginal of the four characters, is the only one who is specifically and repeatedly identified as a Jew.

Jerry seems to be mocking himself when he refers to the sitcom that he and George pitch to NBC as “a TV show about nothing” (the idea is originally George’s). But if *Seinfeld* is “a TV show about nothing,” as the magazines liked to hail it, then it would have achieved what Samuel Beckett just fell short of in stageplays such as *Waiting for Godot* and *Endgame*. But real life Jerry Seinfeld and his producer, Larry David, learn the lesson of Beckett’s struggle: narrative cannot be stamped out. Like God, where it does not exist it will be created.

Jerry is a man committed to only one thing: detachment. He can make fun of fascists when George is mistaken for a neo-Nazi leader. He can make fun of communists when Elaine starts dating one. Jerry makes fun of Elaine when she stops going out with an attractive man “just because” he is an opponent of abortion rights. But positing no political beliefs of his own, and glad to take pot shots at anyone who does, he leaves the viewer with the implication that anyone stupid enough to be committed to political causes (or anything, as opposed to nothing) deserves ridicule. The metamorphosis of alienation into



detachment is a signal achievement of the sitcom, the most popular of all commercial narrative genres.

—David Marc

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## Selena (1971-1995)

Singer Selena Quintanilla-Perez's life was short but dynamic. She began her career at the age of five, and was murdered just a month short of her twenty-fourth birthday. Raised in the bicultural world of



Selena

south Texas, she brought a flamboyant new face to Tejano, the Tex-Mex fusion music she performed, and, more significantly, she brought a new kind of pride and ambition to the young Latina women who were her fans. Though her future as an entertainer and businesswoman will forever remain a question mark, her death itself gave Anglo-American society a new perspective on the 28 million of their fellow citizens who comprise the Latino community of the United States.

Selena was born on April 16, 1971, in Corpus Christi, Texas. Her father, Abraham, a musician and restaurateur, put together a family band, playing the traditional Tejano music of the Texas borderland. By the time she was five, Selena was performing regularly with “Los Dinos” (“The Guys”), playing parties, weddings, and bars throughout Texas. Her strong, clear voice and personable interpretations captivated audiences, and by the time she was 15 the band had been renamed “Selena y los Dinos” and she had been chosen as the Tejano Music Awards “Female Entertainer of the Year.” She would claim that award for the next eight years.

Once discovered by a major Latin music record label at the Tejano Music Awards, Selena was soon on her way to becoming a star. She was wildly popular with Latino audiences, especially young women, who looked to her as a role model. Raised a strict Jehovah's Witness, she embodied a “clean” moral lifestyle, while at the same time exuding vitality and sexuality on stage, wearing her trademark revealing costumes such as rhinestone-studded brassieres. In fact, the fusion of different cultures is what Selena was all about, and it was her unabashed expression of all of her differing selves that allowed so many Latinos to identify with her.

To understand Selena's contribution to American culture, it is necessary to know a little about the Tejano music tradition. In the early 1900s, Czech and German immigrants brought their accordions and polka beats to the south Texas border towns where they settled. That music blended with traditional Mexican music to form a distinctive music called “conjunto.” In the 1930s and 1940s, migrant workers returned from fields in the north bringing with them the big band sounds that were then blended with the conjunto of la frontera (the border). The new music thus created was called Tejano, which is Spanish for Texan, and is the same word used to describe the Mexican-American people of Texas. Like the Latino people, Tejano music has continued to grow and change as it is exposed to new influences. By the time Selena brought her own voice to Tejano, it carried flavors of rap, rhythm and blues, country, and rock, as well as the traditional Mexican songs and the polka beat.

Like Tejano music, Selena herself was that uniquely American product—the fusion of cultures. Raised speaking only English, she learned Spanish songs phonetically and had only begun to learn the Spanish language months before her death. Though in part the obedient and submissive Latina daughter, she had definite plans for herself. In at least two important instances she defied her controlling father, first by marrying fellow band member Chris Perez, then by using her skills at costume design to open a clothing boutique, Selena, Etc. She had ambitions to become a crossover artist, and many critics, comparing her to Madonna and Marilyn Monroe, believe she could have made it.

Before these ambitions could be put to the test, Selena was shot by a trusted friend and employee. Yolanda Saldivar had been president of Selena's fan club when the two met and became friends. When Selena's clothing boutique required more time than she had to spare, she hired Saldivar to manage it for her. In March of 1995, however, Selena began to suspect Saldivar of stealing money and when she confronted her, Saldivar shot and killed her in the parking lot of a

motel in Corpus Christi. Though Saldivar always insisted the shooting was an accident, she was convicted of murder and sentenced to life imprisonment. The Latino community across the southwest, reeling with pain and outrage, followed “El Juicio de Selena” (“The Selena Trial”) closely, demanding punishment for the woman who had killed the golden girl.

Whether or not Selena would have achieved her crossover goal in life, she certainly achieved it in death. Before her murder, she had won the Grammy Award for Best Mexican-American Performance. Her album *Amor Prohibida* had sold 500,000 copies, and she had performed in Houston’s Astrodome to a crowd of 62,000. Just months after her death, her posthumous album, *Dreaming of You*, debuted at number one on the Billboard Top 200 and sold over three million copies. Her songs received play on anglo radio stations, and a feature film and a television movie were made about her life and death. The former, titled *Selena* (1997), was released in two versions—one with Spanish subtitles—and starred Jennifer Lopez; the latter, *True Hollywood Stories: The Selena Murder Trial*, aired in 1996.

Perhaps Selena’s greatest achievement, however, was in making Anglo-America take notice of its Latino counterpart. Though there are close to 30 million American Latinos, with over \$300 billion in purchasing power, media and corporations often ignore them. After Selena’s death, she became something of a folk hero in the United States Latino community, with her face appearing everywhere from street murals to bank checks, and hundreds of babies in Texas and California named after her. Business and the media responded to this surge of grief in unprecedented ways. *People Magazine* not only released a special southwest edition with Selena’s death as the cover story, but followed up with a tribute issue, only the third such in the magazine’s history, and continued to reach out to Latino readers with *People en Espanol*. During Yolanda Saldivar’s trial, *TV Guide* provided bilingual coverage for the first time in its history, with English and Spanish versions of an article about the movie version of “The Selena Trial.”

Perhaps in life Selena would not have been able to achieve the crossover she desired. Certainly it would not have come without conflict and controversy. Few Latin music performers have been welcomed into the anglo music scene, and those who have often alienate their Latin audiences by leaving too much of their roots behind them. Though her life was cut tragically short, Selena Quintanilla-Perez remains “una de nosotros” (one of us) to her Latino community, and she unquestionably opened the door for a wider awareness and appreciation of the Latin pop music she loved.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Seles, Monica (1973—)

Yugoslavian-born Monica Seles burst onto the women’s professional tennis scene in 1988 at the tender age of fifteen, and made it all

the way to number one in the world in just two years. Easily recognizable because of her powerful two-handed groundstrokes and her loud grunting during points, Seles relished in her role as a young female sports celebrity and role model. In April, 1993, well on her way to becoming the most dominant women’s tennis player of all time, a deranged Steffi Graf supporter stabbed her in the back during a match in Germany. This life-threatening incident focused public attention on the danger obsessed fans pose to pro athletes. Seles made a comeback in 1995, after an arduous twenty-seven month recuperation period. To the delight of her fans and the astonishment of her peers, she was a winner in her very first tournament back. An eighth Grand Slam victory soon followed.

—Steven Schneider

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## Sellers, Peter (1925-1980)

Born in London to parents who were professional performers in the music halls, Peter Sellers became one of Britain’s foremost comic



Peter Sellers

actors of radio, film, and television in the 1950s and 1960s. Famous for his impeccable comic timing, his improvisation skills, and his ability to switch from one character to another, Sellers appeared in films as diverse as *The Ladykillers* (1958), *Lolita* (1962), and *Dr. Strangelove* (1964). But it was the Pink Panther series that both confirmed his versatility as an actor and raised him to an international superstar. Since his death in 1980, four biographies of Sellers have been published, and the actor has gained notoriety for his unpredictable behavior and the excesses of his life as a movie star.

Sellers spent the last couple of years of World War II in the Royal Air Force, where he infuriated high-ranking senior officers by impersonating their voices. After the war he tried to build a career as a drummer, but after an audition at the Windmill theatre in London, he became a comedian. In the late 1940s, Sellers established himself as a comedian and impressionist on BBC radio, working first on *Showtime*, a program that encouraged new talent. Later, he became a regular BBC "voice man," impersonating well-known personalities on a show called *Ray's a Laugh*. In 1951, when he began working with Michael Bentine, Spike Milligan, and Harry Secombe on a radio show called *Crazy People*, later to become known as *The Goon Show*, Sellers's comic talent began to blossom. The anarchic, surrealistic humor of "The Goons" marked a significant break with the comedy that had gone before, and paved the way for the comic style of *Monty Python's Flying Circus* and the "alternative" comedy of the 1980s and 1990s. It was from working with "The Goons" that Sellers was able to move into films, having his first major success with the British-made *The Ladykillers* (1958), in which he worked alongside Alec Guinness and Margaret Rutherford. It was inevitable that he would eventually move to Hollywood, where he made the Pink Panther series of films for which he is, arguably, best known.

Five original Pink Panther movies were made, featuring Sellers as Inspector Clouseau, the endearingly clumsy and incompetent French detective. The first film, *The Pink Panther*, appeared in 1963, followed by *A Shot in the Dark* (1964), *The Return of the Pink Panther* (1975), *The Pink Panther Strikes Again* (1976), and *Revenge of the Pink Panther* in 1978. All the films focus on Clouseau's earnest efforts to solve bizarre, trivial, even non-existent mysteries with a maximum of fuss and melodramatic intrigue. The humor, as with much of Sellers's work, is based on language and voices. Clouseau's comic accent, his inability to understand or pronounce English words, and his attempts to cover up his mistakes with elaborate explanations, satirize our often misplaced respect for authorities of all kinds. A sixth Pink Panther film, *The Trail of the Pink Panther*, appeared in 1982, after Sellers's death. This final, ill-advised outing for Sellers's bumbling detective contains no original material involving him, being constructed from outtakes from the five earlier films. Sellers made over fifty feature films in his relatively short career in Hollywood and in Britain.

After a major heart attack in 1964, his performances, though occasionally brilliant, were no longer as consistent as they had been, and the films to which he contributed in the late 1960s and the 1970s are variable in their quality and their success at the box office. Roger Lewis's 1994 biography of Sellers, *The Life and Death of Peter Sellers*, points to his chaotic private life and dramatic mood swings as part of the reason for the inconsistency of his later work. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Sellers's behavior became increasingly unpredictable; he was a drug abuser, became self-destructively obsessed with people, and could be generous and dangerously violent by turns. He married four times, to Ann Hayes, Britt Ekland, Miranda Quarry, and Lynne Frederick, respectively, and was known to be sexually

promiscuous. While he was a comic actor of extraordinary abilities, Sellers was also a vain, self-centered man, who enjoyed, and was ultimately let down by, his fame.

Lewis's biography draws loose connections between Sellers's on-screen persona and the private man, suggesting that the megalomania that made his performances so exacting spilled over into his private life. Peter Evans, an earlier, more reserved, biographer, confirms this when he suggests that such was his immersion in whatever role he was playing, Sellers had practically no personality of his own. However difficult or unpleasant he could be as a man, most of those who worked with him agree that as an actor, Sellers has left us a legacy of comic performance and innovation that is among the most rewarding of his generation.

—Chris Routledge

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## Selznick, David O. (1902-1965)

David Selznick's production of *Gone with the Wind* is enough to secure his place in history. While this landmark film was his most successful, his influence on movie production in the 1930s and 1940s also marks his career with greatness. He was a very successful producer and writer with other films to his credit, such as *David Copperfield* (1935), *A Star Is Born* (1937), and *Rebecca* (1940).

Selznick worked for his father's motion picture company, Lewis J. Selznick Productions, until it was forced into bankruptcy in 1923. His first produced feature was *Roulette* in 1924. Selznick joined Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) in 1926 as a script reader and assistant story editor. After rapidly rising to supervisor of production he was fired because of disagreements with head of production Irving Thalberg.

Paramount made him their head of production in 1927, but after the depression forced salary cuts he moved to RKO Studios in 1931 as studio boss. While he was there, Selznick personally oversaw such productions as *A Bill of Divorcement* (1932) and *Little Women* (1933), both starring Katharine Hepburn.

When MGM decided that Thalberg's ill health made it sensible to spread some of his production duties around, Louis B. Mayer was able to lure Selznick back to MGM. Since Selznick had married Mayer's daughter Irene in 1929, his return to MGM sparked the saying, "the son-in-law also rises." Intent on bringing more prestigious pictures to the screen, Selznick produced hits such as *Dinner at Eight* (1933) and *Anna Karenina* (1935). In the former picture, Selznick defied conventional wisdom and cast the film with big stars in every role, instead of just one star. By using such performers as Marie Dressler, Jean Harlow, and John Barrymore he produced a blockbuster hit.



David O. Selznick

In 1936 Selznick again left MGM to become an independent producer and founded Selznick International Pictures. His first film was the highly successful *A Star Is Born* (1937). His most memorable is, of course, *Gone with the Wind*. The film was fraught with problems, such as having a total of six directors and having to give up the distribution rights to MGM to get Clark Gable for the male lead. However, Selznick's search for an actress to play Scarlett O'Hara caused a national sensation, as young women everywhere, not just in Hollywood, auditioned for the role. This ultimate triumph won 10 Academy Awards and remains extremely popular. He followed this box office hit with the classic *Rebecca* (1940), directed by Alfred Hitchcock, which won a best picture Oscar.

After a massive tax debt forced his company onto the auction block Selznick formed a new company, David Selznick Productions. In this venue he became more of a talent scout than a producer. One of his biggest personal discoveries was Jennifer Jones, who had won an Oscar for *Song of Bernadette* (1943). While he was not responsible for discovering her, he fell in love with her and did his best to make her a superstar. He produced many films starring her, the most successful of which was 1946's *Duel in the Sun*.

When Selznick and Jones were married in 1949 he virtually gave up his independent producer status and became more of a Svengali to her. Pictures such as *Portrait of Jennie* (1949) and *A Farewell to Arms*

(1957) starring Jones were moderately successful, but Selznick became something of a joke for his obsession with his wife. He continued to work in Hollywood, but his preoccupation with his wife's career relegated him more and more to the background until his death. Nevertheless, David O. Selznick is a name that is firmly planted in motion picture history. He was the biggest of the independent producers at a time when such a thing was rare.

—Jill A. Gregg

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## Sennett, Mack (1880-1960)

In February of 1914, Mack Sennett's Keystone company released a comedy called *Kid Auto Races at Venice*, in which a young English vaudevillian who had recently joined Sennett's company of comedians appeared briefly in a battered suit of morning clothes and top hat. His name was Charlie Chaplin and the cameo gave birth to the most famous comedic creation in cinema history, "The Tramp." The very name Mack Sennett resonates with images of early pioneering Hollywood, when rickety, makeshift "studios" sprang up in dusty streets and directors in plus-fours and caps cranked out one and two-reel silent movies with primitive equipment. It was an era both rough and romantic, the earliest days of the Dream Factory when maids and chauffeurs, waitresses, shopgirls, and street sweepers flocked to find fortune, and when fame too often fell victim to scandal in the hothouse atmosphere of the closed film community. It was a time, too, when comedy, brilliantly suited to the technical limitations of the early silent screen, reached a peak of public popularity with stars such as "Madcap" Mabel Normand, Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle, Ford Sterling, Chester Conklin, and a host of others. It was to the acumen, imagination, and energy of Mack Sennett, who entered legend and history as the "King of Comedy," that they owed their rise.

Born Michael Sinnott in Danville, Quebec, the son of an Irish Catholic innkeeper, Sennett harbored unfulfilled ambitions to become an opera singer. At age 22 he was working as a laborer in Massachusetts when a chance meeting with actress Marie Dressler led him to New York and an introduction to producer David Belasco. Ignoring Belasco's advice to go home, he embarked on a minor stage career in burlesque and musicals until 1908 when he talked himself into film work at the Biograph studios in Manhattan. He graduated from supporting roles to leads, co-starring with many top leading ladies of the day from Florence Lawrence (the "Biograph Girl") to Mary Pickford and the irrepressible Mabel Normand, who played a profound role in both his professional and personal life for many years. Significantly for his education in the filmmaking process, many of Sennett's films at Biograph were directed by D.W. Griffith, for whom he also wrote some scripts. Driven by curiosity and a desire to learn, by 1910 he was directing shorts at the studio.

In 1912, Mack Sennett, now an experienced director with a pronounced facility for comedy and, with former bookies Charles Bauman and Adam Kessel as his business partners, formed his Keystone company in California. Several of his Biograph colleagues joined him, notably Mabel Normand, the most gifted comedienne of her time. The first ever Keystone program, released in September, 1912, consisted of two split-reel comedies, *Cohen Collects a Debt* and *The Water Nymph*, prototypes for the unrestrained style that became the keystone trademark. Thereafter, Sennett, something of a slave driver, worked at a furious pace, turning out a reel of comedy per week, and rapidly became the foremost purveyor of filmed comedy in America. The earliest Keystone movies were crude, haphazard affairs, largely improvised from the flimsiest of scripts, but they had enormous physical gusto and hilarious sight gags, a stable of major comic acting talents, and Sennett's impeccable sense of timing and skillful editing to control the finished product. Gradually, as the company expanded both its roster of actors, the length of its films and its prodigious output, the frenzied, freewheeling custard-pie-in-the-face-slapstick farce that was its trademark gave way to more carefully considered and controlled material, and the general chaos that prevailed was subjected to better organization.

Within two years, Sennett's Keystone Kops (or "Cops"), a bunch of inept, accident-prone policemen, were a national American institution in films that poked irreverent fun at the guardians of law and order; a little later they were joined by the famous Mack Sennett Bathing Beauties, a line-up of dizzy "sexpots" from whom several successful early female stars emerged in due course. In January 1914, Chaplin arrived, a total newcomer to film, at the invitation of Sennett, who had seen him on stage in Fred Karno's traveling vaudeville company. He stayed almost a year before being lured to Essanay by big money and more artistic freedom, but he made 35 films at Keystone, establishing himself not only as a star actor and creator of the Tramp, but also as a writer and director. He made several with Mabel Normand, and their partnership and his tenure with Sennett concluded with the six-reel *Tillie's Punctured Romance* (1914). Directed by Sennett, the film was unusual in that Chaplin and Normand played second fiddle to a star (Marie Dressler), and historically important in being the first feature-length comedy (90 minutes) to have been made anywhere in the world, exceeding the running time of any previous comic film by two-thirds.

Sennett, dedicated to an ever-increasing production schedule and to the editing process, and retaining final say over each and every film, hired several other directors to come in and make them. To the Kops and the Bathing beauties, he added the Kid Komedies series for children, pre-dating Hal Roach's famous Our Gang series by nearly ten years. In 1915, however, Keystone was absorbed into the new Triangle Film Corporation, which, with Sennett joining directors Griffith and Thomas Ince, could now boast a triumvirate of the American silent screen's most famous filmmaking names. Keystone retained autonomy within Triangle and benefited from larger budgets. Their productions became more polished, and their material more varied, with slapstick no longer the sole product. Humor was broadened to include what would now be called situation comedy, and a series of romantic comedies were made that provided star vehicles for the young Gloria Swanson. For all its seeming advantages, however, Triangle failed to live up to expectation and in 1917—at the cost of relinquishing the Keystone title—Sennett (following the example of Griffith and Ince) broke away and formed Mack Sennett Comedies, his own company releasing first through Paramount, and later Associate Producers and First National.

Living up to its name, the company continued to make two-reel comedies, but also produced several features, some showcasing Mabel Normand and comic Ben Turpin. Then, in 1923, he entered an association with Pathe that saw out the silent era. It was here that, continuing his gift for recognizing and nurturing talent, Sennett launched the career of the great comedian, Harry Langdon in a series of shorts. Throughout his career, Sennett adhered to assembly-line discipline and prodigious working hours (up to 18 a day), but to work for him as a writer or director was tantamount to attending a graduate school in how to make films. He hired Frank Capra to write gags for Langdon, and when the comedian left Sennett he took Capra with him.

The coming of sound toppled Mack Sennett from his throne as the King of Comedy, although he continued producing and directing for some years. He made low-budget shorts for the Educational studio, and produced some comedy shorts with W.C. Fields and a series of musical shorts with Bing Crosby for Paramount in 1932. At Educational in 1935, he directed *The Timid Young Man*, a short starring Buster Keaton (the only time they worked together), before retiring back to Canada, broke and alone. Mabel Normand, dogged by scandal and disillusioned in her long and stormy affair with Sennett that failed to lead to marriage, married actor Lew Cody in 1926 and had died of drug abuse and TB in 1930, aged 35. Their relationship is the subject of Jerry Herman's nostalgic musical, *Mack and Mabel*, first performed on Broadway in 1974 with Robert Preston and Bernadette Peters.

In 1937 Sennett received a special Academy Award "to the master of fun, discoverer of stars, sympathetic, kindly, understanding comedy genius . . . for his lasting contribution to the comedy technique of the screen, the basic principles of which are as important today as when they were first put into practice." Mack Sennett, the self-proclaimed King of Comedy, wrote his autobiography under that title in 1954 and died on November 5, 1960 in Woodland Hills, California.

—Peter C. Holloran

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## Serial Killers

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, the threat of serial and mass murder became a topic of great popular and academic interest in America. While there is no murder "epidemic," as hyperbolic writers and law-enforcement officials claimed in the mid-1980s, the apprehension of high-profile serial killers (such as David Berkowitz, Ted Bundy, John Wayne Gacy, and Henry Lee Lucas) and an apparent upswing in mass shootings in schoolyards, post offices, etc., served to bring the problem to public attention. In a capitalistic mass-media age where sensational news stories increase ratings and sell advertising time, the "random" killer (especially the serial murderer) provides good source material. He also inspires generations of fiction writers,



Serial killer David Berkowitz, the “Son of Sam,” being arrested by New York police.

who simultaneously view him not only as an artistic metaphor for any number of social ills but a guaranteed moneymaker. Literally thousands of fiction and nonfiction (“true crime”) novels and films centered on multiple killers have grossed hundreds of millions of dollars during the past twenty years in America alone. One of the most recognizable of these is the Oscar-winning film *The Silence of the Lambs*, which is based on a best-selling novel by Thomas Harris. Harris, in turn, was inspired to create his memorable work of fiction by his research into the lives of real-life serial killers and the law-enforcement agents (“profilers”) who pursue them. Most of the well-known fictional stories that feature serial and/or mass murder, then, are contemporary morality plays in which evil, murdering villains threaten the social fabric but are eventually brought to bay by the heroic profilers. The reality of serial and mass murder, however, is much more complicated.

Multiple homicide, whether called serial or mass murder, has always been a part of human history. Gilles de Rais, Countess Elizabeth Bathory, Jack the Ripper, Belle Gunness, Carl Panzram, Albert Fish, Earle Nelson, Peter Kurten, Ed Gein, Albert DeSalvo, Ian Brady and Myra Hindley, Edmund Kemper, Juan Corona, David Berkowitz, Ted Bundy, John Wayne Gacy, Peter Sutcliffe, Angelo Buono, Kenneth Bianchi, Dean Corll, Wayne Henley, Henry Lucas, Ottis Toole, Richard Ramirez, Joel Rifkin, Danny Rolling, Dennis

Nilsen, Jeffrey Dahmer, Andrei Chikatilo, and Aileen Wuornos are only some of the most notorious practitioners of multicide. However, “serial murder” has existed only, in the strictest sense, since FBI Agent Robert Ressler coined the term and the American mass media disseminated it throughout the culture during the 1980s. Before “serial murder” as a sobriquet came into vogue, the phenomenon in question was usually called “lust murder” or “mass murder” and included a variety of multiple-homicide crimes. Now, in criminological jargon, serial and mass murder usually refer to two disparate concepts. Complicating matters further, there are many “subspecies” of serial and mass murderer. All of them must be distinguished from other varieties of multiple killers, such as paid hit-men or state-sanctioned assassins, executioners, torturers, etc.

Serial murder is most commonly defined as the commission of three or more murders over a period of time, with a “cooling off” period or hiatus between each murder. The victims may or may not be known to the killer, but more often than not the social class any one victim represents to the killer is more important than the victim’s identity. The fact that victims are often unknown to the killer prior to the murder episode leads many to call serial murder “irrational” or “evil.” In most cases, no comprehensible motive exists for the crimes, and the murders do not seem to provide the killer with any clearly understood, tangible benefits. According to Elliott Leyton, the

serial-killer category most definitely does not encompass those who kill repeatedly for profit or for governments. These killers are performing more of a public "job" than a privately significant act; the motive is basically rational and readily apparent. By contrast, the serial killer, while not without certain "professional" aspirations of his own, works according to a more esoteric agenda which observers often find inscrutable. This leads them to call him insane, psychotic, or schizophrenic: psychiatric terms that all denote a severe and socially crippling disjunction between reality and perception. The terms do not fit most serial killers. The serial killer only appears nonrational because he operates from, as R. M. Holmes and J. De Burger have it, "intrinsic motive systems . . . that originate within the individual; they govern and structure the serial killer's behavior."

The vast majority of known serial killers are males, and the vast majority of their victims females (a fact which understandably leads many to conclude that serial murder is synonymous with sexual murder; however, this is not strictly the case). In August of 1985, the *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* published a series of articles (later expanded to a book-length study entitled *Sexual Homicide* in 1988) in which primary offender characteristics were listed. This data was compiled from lengthy interviews with thirty-six incarcerated serial murderers, all of them male. Most writers on the fact and fiction of serial murder, even those critical of law enforcement claims and methods, have been drawing on this specific set of FBI conclusions ever since, so the study is crucial to any analysis of the popular culture's portrayal of the "typical" serial murderer. He is usually a white male between twenty-five and thirty-five years old, though of course there are teen-aged and elderly serial killers as well. Generally, the male serial killer is at the height of his physical powers, a fact which not only serves him in the practical matter of overpowering victims but also empowers him in the public arena: his strength and apparent potency (and of course, choice of innocent victims) render him an effective media monster. He is also likely to be an eldest son or an only child and of average or above-average intelligence. His childhood may have been marked by incidents of sexual or physical abuse, and his parents may be divorced or flagrantly unfaithful to one another. He usually possesses a strong belief that he is more intelligent and privileged than ordinary people (a belief that only grows stronger when confronted by evidence to the contrary) and thus exempted from the social restrictions that govern the masses. No safe predictions can be made about his economic origins, but as Leyton notes, serial murder in our era is more a crime of the middle classes than of the lower or upper ranges of the socioeconomic hierarchy. Also, it should be noted that while males are overwhelmingly responsible for most serial/mass murders, there are more female multicides than commonly believed. A partial list of female American multiple killers alone includes Susan Denise Atkins, Patricia Krenwinkel, Charlene Gallego, Belle Gunness, Nannie Doss, Martha Beck, Carol Bundy, Dorothea Puente, Priscilla Ford, Amy Archer-Gilligan, Anna Hahn, Mary Elanor Smith, Jane Toppan, Genevieve Jones, Judy Neeley, and Debra Brown. The most famous female multicide of all is Hungarian Countess Elizabeth Bathory, who with a coterie of female disciples imprisoned and murdered hundreds of women in her castle in the early 1600s.

Not all privately conceived acts of multiple homicide qualify as serial murders. Scholars now generally agree that mass murder forms a separate category. James Alan Fox and Jack Levin point out that mass murderers are generally caught at or near the crime scene, and that the crime is of horrific proportions but relatively short duration.

Unlike serial killers, who typically target strangers and traumatize a community over an extended period of time, the mass murderer plans one ultraviolent assault upon victims who, more often than not, are known to him. The mass murderer category can include depressed people who kill their entire families before committing suicide, but more commonly refers to those who violently retaliate against a specific group or class of people because of a real or imagined grievance; for example, disgruntled employees gunning down supervisors and coworkers. Racism or sexism also often motivates this kind of killer, as was the case with James Huberty, who killed twenty-one people in California because of an obsessive hatred of Hispanics; or Marc Lepine, who killed fourteen women at the University of Montreal because he blamed "feminists" for his romantic and professional difficulties. Massacres in public places (restaurants, schoolyards, classrooms, the work place, the post office, commuter trains, campuses, etc.) typically involve one heavily armed killer who racks up a high death toll. However, the massacre is a one-time-only event that often ends in the death of the killer by the police. Charles Whitman, who opened fire on students from a clock tower on the University of Texas campus in 1966, is probably the best-known example of this kind of mass murderer.

The spree killer occupies an intermediate position between the mass murderer and the serial murderer, although it should be noted that some authorities see no real distinction between spree killing, mass murder, and serial murder. The spree killer does not operate in secret like the serial killer, but neither does he lay siege to one specific locale until a SWAT team cuts him down. Instead, he often drives cross-country, with a companion or two (what R. M. Holmes and S. T. Holmes call "disciple killers"), murdering randomly and noisily as he goes until he is captured or killed. His weapon of choice is the gun, as opposed to the serial killer's more intimate knife. He makes little or no effort to cover his tracks; instead, he exults in the sheer nihilism of destruction and relies on brute mobility to keep him free as long as possible. His crimes are very visible but generally of short duration *because* of their high profile. During the 1950s, for example, embittered garbageman Charles Starkweather and his young girlfriend Caril Fugate rampaged across the Midwest, killing eleven people before they were captured and arousing the nation to new heights of paranoia concerning the dangers of juvenile delinquency. The conspicuousness of the spree killer contrasts significantly with the serial killer, who wishes to remain undetected for a period of time, at least in identity if not in deed.

It is undeniable that during the past half-century the United States has been producing more of these sensational criminals than the other Western industrialized nations. Sociologists point to many possible explanations. One of the most compelling is that the American cult of individuality has always prized violence (particularly for males) as a quick response to frustration. The simple outlaw (Jesse James, Billy the Kid) on the lam from the maddening complexities of communal, multicultural existence remains a heroic American icon. For many (if not most), violence is more attractive as a form of immediate gratification than the intangible results of long-term, peaceful political activism. In spite of the public rhetoric condemning violence, Americans have traditionally accepted even extreme levels of group and individual violence alike as appropriate responses to conditions perceived as intolerable. Marvin Wolfgang and Franco Ferracuti's hugely influential study, *The Subculture of Violence*, analyzes how it is possible for people within a culture to embrace some of its general values while denying, de-emphasizing, or inverting others, and yet remain within that culture. For many segments of the

American public, violence is regarded as a perfectly legitimate form of social expression and problem solving, dependent upon and framed in terms of prevailing local conditions even as it is decried by the supposedly overriding social discourse.

The serial killers and mass murderers of America are no exception or aberration in this sense. Their fantasies of murder and revenge are constructed from accessible cultural symbols recognizable to others. If such killers were truly alien to us, as facile notions of evil and deviance insist, then their motives would not be comprehensible. Indeed, many insist that serial murder *is* incomprehensible. While such exclusionary approaches are undeniably comforting, the unsettling observation must be made that serial murder is clearly rooted in our consensual reality and discourse. Its manifestation and shape obviously relies on the contemporary values, norms, and beliefs it seeks to overturn or, perversely enough, to uphold. In medieval Europe, multiple killers were perceived as, and often believed themselves to be, vampires (Gilles de Rais) or werewolves (Peter Stubb); in modern America, as demonically possessed monsters or formerly abused children, depending on the observer's sociopolitical orientation. The only commonality one can easily discern about multiple murderers from century to century and country to country is their monstrous, outcast status. In ancient legend and contemporary fiction, they lurk on the fringes of civilization, raid us in our vulnerability, then retreat back into the wilderness until a hero (usually an amateur or professional detective) can find them and destroy them. After this ritual expurgation of the murderous exile, the people can reassume their complacency until the next time. In the interval, however, narrative myths keep alive the awareness that somewhere out there, the monsters (be they Grendel or Norman Bates) grow hungry. The names and details may change from one generation's folklore to the next, but the basic plot remains.

—Philip Simpson

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## Serling, Rod (1924-1975)

Best known as the host of television's *The Twilight Zone*, Rod Serling was a prolific author of live teleplays and television scripts who did much to raise the artistic bar of a fledgling medium in the 1950s and 1960s. With contemporaries such as Paddy Chayefsky and



Rod Serling



Reginald Rose, Serling found television a reprobate cousin to film and theater, and left it a respected forum for expression.

Born Rodman Edward Serling on Christmas Day 1924, he grew up in the sleepy university town of Binghamton in upstate New York. He served in the army during World War II, seeing combat action in the Philippines. Hospitalized with multiple shrapnel wounds, Serling sought an outlet for his pent-up emotions. "I was bitter about everything and at loose ends when I got out of the service," he later recalled. "I think I turned to writing to get it off my chest."

When he returned from the war, Serling began selling radio scripts to programs in New York City. When television's growing popularity created a demand for writers, he moved on to that medium. In four years of freelancing, Serling saw 71 of his teleplays produced, but none of them approached the quality of his 72nd. "Patterns," a powerful drama about internecine warfare within the halls of a major corporation, aired on *Kraft Television Theatre* on January 12, 1955. It earned Serling the first of six Emmy Awards and provided his big break.

The glowing reviews of "Patterns" made Serling one of the hottest commodities in the entertainment industry. "I found I could sell everything I had—and I did," he said later. Some of his scripts were brilliant. The harrowing boxing drama "Requiem for a Heavyweight" became a live television classic, for example. Others should have remained buried in the author's desk drawer. All of them bore the trademark Serling attributes of moral probity and social concern.

Those social concerns occasionally got Serling into trouble with jittery advertisers and network censors, however, and as a defiant defender of free expression, he bristled at every change to his work. In one instance, the word "lucky" was stricken from one of Serling's scripts because the sponsor, a tobacco company, did not want viewers to be reminded of Lucky Strike cigarettes. That was harmless compared to what CBS did to his drama "A Town Has Turned to Dust." An outspoken progressive on civil rights issues, Serling had penned a script based on the case of Emmett Till, a black teenager who was lynched for allegedly whistling at a white woman. The network, afraid that the show would outrage viewers in the South, changed the setting from present-day Mississippi to Mexico in the 1870s. Other racially charged story elements were likewise toned down. Of his original script, the author lamented, "They chopped it up like a roomful of butchers at work on a steer."

In part because of his desire to make an end run around the censors, Serling turned his creative energies in 1959 away from live drama. He envisioned a weekly half-hour fantasy anthology series that could address philosophical and political topics in an oblique way. Intrigued at the prospect of signing up one of television's most respected writers, CBS green-lighted the project, which Serling christened *The Twilight Zone*. He was given total artistic control along with the title of executive producer.

*Twilight Zone* debuted on October 2, 1959, to generally positive reviews. Literate and highly entertaining, the show raised the science fiction/fantasy genre to a new level of artistic quality. True to Serling's concept, many of the stories used sci-fi trappings to speak to contemporary social issues like racism, cultural conformity, and Cold War paranoia. For actors, the series relied on a dizzying repertory company of seasoned character players and up-and-comers. Serling himself joined their ranks by serving as on-camera host/narrator. His bizarre persona—clenched teeth and gravelly monotone, crisp Kuppenheimer suits and the eternally cupped cigarette—made him seem like some kind of celestial undertaker beamed in to viewers' homes once a week for their edification and enjoyment.

In addition to hosting and serving as executive producer, Serling wrote 92 of *Twilight Zone*'s 156 episodes over the course of five seasons. He contributed some of the show's most memorable teleplays, including "Eye of the Beholder," which explored relative perceptions of beauty through the eyes of a "disfigured" young woman. Unfortunately, the demands on Serling's time and concentration also forced him to write quickly and sloppily. Many of the show's worst installments—and its often preachy and moralizing tone—bore his imprimatur as well.

With the occasional critical brickbat, however, came the fame and recognition due to the unmistakable face and voice of a successful network television series. Serling collected numerous awards for his work on *Twilight Zone*, including another Emmy. After the series was canceled in 1964, he went back to writing dramatic teleplays for anthology shows. In 1968, he wrote the first three drafts of the screenplay for *Planet of the Apes*. His verbose, purple style still can be heard in the finished film, voiced with delicious pomposity by the perfectly cast Charlton Heston.

Lured back to series television in 1970, Serling lent his name and visage to *Night Gallery*, a *Twilight Zone*-esque anthology that ran for two seasons on NBC, but while he penned some exceptional episodes, Serling became frustrated with the network's vision of the show as, in his words, was "Mannix in a cemetery." He even suffered the indignity of having several of his own scripts rejected for insufficiently frightening content. Contractually bound to serve as host, the humiliated fantasist desultorily went through his paces until the show's cancellation. Three years later, he died following complications of heart bypass surgery. To the end, he remained committed to the integrity of his work and the vision of a higher standard of televised entertainment.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Sesame Street

Broadcast on more than 300 Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) stations and in more than 140 countries around the world, this widely acclaimed children's television program celebrated its 30th anniversary in 1998. It has won more than 100 of the top awards in its field, including 71 Emmys, two Peabodys, eight Grammys, four Parent's Choice Awards, and the Action for Children's Television Special Achievement Award. Created by Joan Ganz Cooney for the Children's Television Network to provide educational material to inner-city kids, *Sesame Street* has endured by remaining true to its initial goals while changing with the times. It survived the deaths of Will Lee, who played Mr. Hooper, one of its major characters, and of Jim Henson, its creative force, who made his Muppet characters like Kermit the Frog, Big Bird, and Cookie Monster some of the most familiar faces in American popular culture. Other characters have come and gone, and actors have been replaced over the years, but *Sesame Street* remained an important program by the end of the century.



Joan Ganz Cooney, the creator of *Sesame Street*, standing with Big Bird and other *Sesame Street* characters.

The originators of *Sesame Street* spent several years culling the expertise from relevant fields to present a show that would educate and entertain at the same time. It was geared toward a viewing culture in which the typical child will have spent over 5000 hours watching television before entering first grade, and 19,000 hours by high-school graduation. According to Cooney, none of those involved in the beginning realized that *Sesame Street* would become an icon of popular culture and a family to which generations of children would belong. From the beginning *Sesame Street* employed techniques that had been successful in commercials by presenting educational material in the form of fast-paced, highly visual, and oft-repeated commercials. Children who watched the show quickly learned the alphabet, numbers, concepts, and relationships through repetition. The songs sung daily on *Sesame Street* became part of the repertoire of preschoolers and parents alike for the same reason. Over the years, the producers of the show developed a specific curriculum for each season aimed at imparting key information and concepts. For example, in Season 29 the show sought to teach social concepts such as acceptance, cooperation, tolerance, conflict resolution, birth, love, and marriage; practical skills such as addition, computers, drawing, geography, and history; and social awareness of such issues as cultural diversity, handicaps, Native Americans, Hispanic, and Chinese Americans.

The adults who appeared on the show at its outset won their roles by auditioning before real kids who chose only those with whom they felt comfortable; many of them have remained with the show for many years. Over the years, the adults have been chosen to represent specific role models for young children. Maria, played by Sonia Manzano, joined *Sesame Street* in 1974 as a young teenager who worked at the lending library. She grew up on the show, married Luis (Emilio Delgado) and had a baby, teaching children about love, marriage, and birth at the same time. Bob McGrath, one of the original cast, has continued to provide stability as children grew up and watched the show with their own children. Gordon, played by Roscoe Orman since 1973, was already married to Susan (Loretta Long) when the show began. Later they adopted a son and taught children about adoption. In response to concerns of the National Organization for Women (NOW) that the character of Susan had become a negative role model for young girls, Susan became a public-health nurse. From the show's inception to his death in 1982, Mr. Hooper (Will Lee) ran the neighborhood store, representing the ideal grandfather as he served up love, comfort, and cookies. *Sesame Street* used his death to help children recognize the importance of memories when someone they love dies and to understand that death is real and final. Other adults have been added to the show, including Buffy St. Marie, a Native American folksinger, comedienne Ruth Buzzi, who uses magical objects in her thrift shop to tell stories to children in the studio and at home, and singer Savion Glover, who entertains and teaches with music.

It was the creative genius of Jim Henson, however, that gave birth to the Muppets, some of the best loved children's characters of all time. Henson had brought the Muppet named Rowlf to national attention on *The Jimmy Dean Show* and was hired to do a series of commercials with his appealing inventions that were a combination of marionettes and puppets. The first Muppets were simple pieces of cloth that came alive under his hand, and the secret of how the Muppets are made is still closely guarded. Originally, the Muppets were not meant to interact with the adults, but tests revealed that young children paid more attention when their favorites were on screen. This allowed the show's producers to use the Muppets as surrogate children. For example, Big Bird, operated by Carol Spinney, is the epitome of a child who with the best of intentions is often confused and who constantly makes mistakes. One of the best loved plots on *Sesame Street* concerned the friendship of Big Bird and Mr. Snuffleupagus, who was thought by the whole neighborhood to be invisible for over a decade. One of the best loved Muppets, Kermit the Frog, appeared on the show only for a short time. In the early days, Kermit served as a roving reporter, attempting to discover the truth behind various tales and usually becoming an unwitting part of the story. Henson chose to remove the frog from *Sesame Street* because he had appeared in commercials before the show aired. Kermit went on to star in *The Muppet Show* and a series of movies.

Bert and Ernie, the Odd Couple of *Sesame Street*, have demonstrated the give and take of friendship through three decades of manipulation on the part of Ernie and gullibility on the part of Bert. Grover, on the other hand, is bright and patient and always ready to share his wisdom by teaching concepts and relationships. Oscar the Grouch, with his irascible personality, teaches children that some people use gruffness to hide a heart of gold. Cookie Monster allows children to laugh at the selfishness that they sense is part of their own personalities. Perhaps the favorite of the newer Muppets has been Elmo, who represents the sweet, gentle, and trusting child. Elmo frequently visits *The Rosie O'Donnell Show* as a welcomed guest,

saying whatever comes to mind and expressing his affection through frequent kisses, just as many small children do. Indeed, with some help from O'Donnell, the Tickle Me Elmo doll became the top-selling toy of 1996. It is impossible to say whether or not *Sesame Street* would have succeeded without the Muppets, but no one would argue that the show has endured in great part because of their charm and originality and because of the hard work of those who manipulate them. In addition to Carol Spinney (Big Bird), Frank Oz continues to operate Bert, Grover, and the Cookie Monster.

Guest stars have been a staple of *Sesame Street* since its inception. Actor Noah Wylie noted that the most exciting thing about being a guest star was being able to meet his idol Big Bird. One of the classic moments in television occurred when a plethora of guest stars, including Willie Nelson, Jane Curtain, and Danny DeVito, implored Ernie to "put down the duckie if you want to play the saxophone." They referred, of course, to Ernie's tendency to clutch his rubber duckie the way that Linus clutches his blanket.

Over 30 years, *Sesame Street* has not escaped criticism, however. Some studies have demonstrated that television stunts imagination, turns out restless and ill-informed students, and that kids who grow up watching *Sesame Street* expect school to be like the show: colorful, fast-paced, and entertaining. In the 1980s, right-wing critics demanded that the show should be removed from the air because the close relationship of Muppets Ernie and Bert suggested that they were gay. Conservatives who deplored the use of tax money to fund public television used this alleged relationship as support for cutting out all funds to public television stations and to the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA). On the other hand, many teachers and parents agreed with a 1988 report that found that watching television may nurture attention-focusing capabilities and self control, while promoting teacher-student responses. Students who watched *Sesame Street* and its sister show for older children, *The Electric Company*, were found to be more proficient in basic skills.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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## Seven Days in May

Released in 1964, director John Frankenheimer's political thriller is based on the 1962 Fletcher Knebel and Charles W. Bailey II novel of the same title. Addressing the issue of nuclear disarmament treaties at the height of the Cold War, *Seven Days in May* tells of a coup by U.S. military leaders in response to American participation in such a disarmament treaty. Fueled by a combination of patriotism and megalomania, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General James Mattoon Scott plots to "save" the United States from a President who

is willing to trust a nation "who has never honored" a single treaty in their existence. Black and white cinematography adds to the film's tense dialogue provided by screenplay writer Rod Sterling.

—Lori C. Walters

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## The Seven Year Itch

Released in 1955, *The Seven Year Itch* represents the epitome of Marilyn Monroe's popular screen persona as the naive and sexually appealing blond. Directed by Billy Wilder and based on the play of the same name by George Axelrod, the film centers around the supposed tendency of men married for seven years to seek extramarital affairs. One hot New York summer, while his wife is vacationing in Maine, a middle-aged publisher (Tom Ewell) considers just such an affair with his pretty, young neighbor (Monroe). In the end, however, he chooses to remain faithful and leaves to join his wife. The film features several humorous sexual fantasy sequences and the famous image of Monroe exposing her shapely legs as she stands over a subway vent in a billowy white dress.

—Scott W. Hoffman

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## Seventeen

*Seventeen* magazine first appeared on newsstands in September, 1944, and it forever changed the media and consumer market for teenage girls. It was not the first publication to notice teenage girls, but it was the first that successfully reached a large teenage audience by devoting an entire magazine to them. Physically larger than today's magazine, *Seventeen* was initially 10 3/8-by-13 1/8 inches, printed on quality, thirty-five pound paper. The reader was first attracted to the colorful cover that promised "Young fashions and beauty, movies and music, ideas and people," as well as the section headings dividing the entire magazine into well-defined categories; "What You Wear," "How You Look and Feel," "Getting Along in the World," "Your Mind," and "Having Fun." Inside its covers, *Seventeen* offered a world of advertising, shopping, responsibility, and advice in the voice of a big sister or aunt, older and experienced, yet friendly and concerned. From the beginning, *Seventeen* was remarkably popular with teenage girls—all 400,000 copies of the first issue sold out in six days. By February, 1947, circulation exceeded one million, and over two-and-a-half million copies sold monthly by July, 1949. This success has continued for over 50 years, and despite stiff competition in the 1980s and 1990s, *Seventeen* is still the most widely read magazine for teenage girls.

In 1944, publisher Walter Annenberg of Triangle Publications decided to overhaul a dying movie screen magazine called *Stardom*. Helen Valentine, promotional director at *Mademoiselle*, agreed to become editor-in-chief of the new magazine if she could design it as a service magazine for teenage girls. She borrowed the name from Booth Tarkington's novel, *Seventeen*, because she thought it fit the thirteen- to eighteen-year-old age group she wanted to reach. While the bulk of the new magazine was designed to focus on fashion and beauty, Valentine insisted that it treat teenage girls seriously and respect what she perceived to be their emotional and intellectual needs. In addition to helping teenage girls choose their first lipstick and survive their first dates, Valentine wanted to teach them about the world and their place in it as responsible citizens.

At a time when advertisers, manufacturers, and media producers were beginning to recognize the economic importance of teenagers, the magazine's editors and publishers invested substantial resources in interpreting and promoting their definition of a prototypical teenage girl, whom they dubbed "Teena." In an effort to help develop the image of the teenage girl as a consumer of the magazine and the products advertised within its covers, *Seventeen's* promotional staff created an advertising advisory board to encourage age-appropriate advertisements and unite advertising and editorial content into a seamless product. Rejecting ads for dark red nail polish or shoes with spiked heels, and discouraging ad copy with heavy slang, *Seventeen* preferred to advertise a "wholesome" teenage girl who dressed neatly and conservatively for high school and dates. Triangle Publications initially invested over \$500,000 in a lavish promotional campaign to create and distribute these images, attract advertising, and strengthen the teenage market.

The content balance of *Seventeen* shifted over the years in response to internal institutional changes as well as external social and political changes. During *Seventeen's* early years, articles addressed serious issues such as the political system, preparing to vote, development of the new United Nations, postwar inflation, and atomic energy. Book reviews further encouraged teenagers to read about community forums, the World Youth Conference, and college and career options for young women. These messages were always embedded in a magazine primarily devoted to fashion and beauty that encouraged girls to spend endless hours learning to fix their hair, shape or enhance their body types, pick the right clothes, read up on sports to be interesting for their dates, and learn to cook, decorate, and prepare the perfect party. But reader letters confirm that many of the magazine's consumers read the political articles seriously, could articulate their opinions intelligently, and wanted more coverage of these issues.

As the median age of marriage dropped during the postwar years and more women married in their teens, *Seventeen's* editorial message—not to marry young—was increasingly in conflict with its proliferation of wedding-related advertising for engagement rings, hope chests, silver, linen, china, and carpets. Advertisements pictured dreamy-eyed young women in their new homes with their new, handsome husbands, or sitting in their bedrooms happily collecting china or silver in anticipation of their wedding day. The magazine sought to present a variety of options and to continue to reach its readers who were marrying right out of high school as well as those going on to college and work.

In 1951, Helen Valentine was fired as editor-in-chief due to conflicts within the corporation. The woman who brought the original

vision and inspiration to the magazine and her supporters moved on to create other magazines. *Seventeen* retained its basic structure but entered a period of transition toward closer ties with advertisers and away from encouraging responsible citizenship. Categories like "Your Mind" disappeared and "Getting Along in the World" became "You and Others." The sections entitled "What You Wear," "How You Look and Feel," "Home Food and Doings," and "Having Fun" became noticeably longer, encompassing most of the magazine by the mid-1950s.

*Seventeen* responded to the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s with a shift towards self-development and independence. Articles on the Peace Corps, new careers in science, teen democrats and republicans, and prejudice joined the preponderance of articles on clothes, looks, and domestic talents. The thirtieth anniversary edition in September, 1974, heralded the new opportunities that had opened for teenage girls since the 1940s, when their futures were centered around home and family. In the 1970s, the article claimed, discrimination based on sex no longer existed in the workplace. Girls could be anything they wanted to be and could successfully combine their careers with family life. The conservative 1980s, however, marked a return to more domestic and traditionally feminine content, and a decline in articles encouraging self-development. The more serious content, therefore has changed with the years, but the magazine never regained its initial commitment to politics, current events, and civic consumerism.

For over 50 years *Seventeen* has remained a fashion and beauty magazine that addresses teenage girls' interpersonal concerns with boys, family, and friends above all else. Other magazines have tried to copy this formula, but it wasn't until *Sassy* entered the market in the late 1980s that *Seventeen* faced serious competition. *Sassy* was more outrageous and tried harder to imitate the language that readers spoke. Magazines like *Young Miss* also began put more emphasis on boys and sex. While *Seventeen* responded in kind, it tried to remain balanced—to continue to cover fashion, beauty, relationships, school, and entertainment as well as boys.

*Seventeen* emerged amid economic, social, cultural, and institutional changes that provided the basis for the emerging "teenage girl." The decreasing presence of teenagers in the full-time work force along with growing high school attendance enhanced the separation of teenagers from the adult world and increased the potential for a distinct, age-specific identity. Teenagers began to rely more heavily on their peers and on commercial popular culture, such as movies and music, for guidance and entertainment. With their growing access to disposable income, especially in the years following World War II, they created an opportunity for a magazine that spoke to them directly about issues that were important to them. It is clear that *Seventeen's* messages were significant for the millions of teenage girls who continued to read the magazine and praise its efforts. The magazine played a central role in identifying and constructing teenage girls as a distinct group and in establishing their economic viability as a distinct market.

In the 50th anniversary edition, September 1994, the editorial staff reflected on half a century of *Seventeen*, concluding that it is undoubtedly a different magazine in the 1990s because teens are growing up in a different world. Teenagers today no longer look to adults for information, guidance, and taste. They are more focused on their peers and more likely to reject direct advice. Today's issues, such as gun violence, AIDS, and homelessness, personally affect

teenagers who have been exposed to adult topics, violence, and sexuality, whether in their own lives, on talk shows, news, or in movies, far more than their counterparts in the 1940s. Though they may be more knowledgeable and jaded on one level, this veneer of sophistication does not necessarily make teenage girls more mature than they were in the 1940s. Regardless of how much a teenage girl knows about the range of sexual preferences and acts, infidelity, and relationship problems, her first date is still scary and her first kiss still exciting. Although “Teena” in the 1990s is more likely to be Black, Latina, or Asian American, consumer culture for teenage girls is permanently established and continues to thrive. *Seventeen* still interprets teenage girls for advertisers, manufacturers, and society at large, but it is no longer the only voice doing so.

—Kelly Schrum

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## *Sex and the Single Girl*

When Helen Gurley Brown’s candid primer *Sex and the Single Girl* was published in 1962, both its provocative title and spirited tips on men, money, and morals caused a sensation. It became one of the bestselling books of the year and went on to international success in translation as well. Overnight its author became a media sensation, and Brown just a few years later would be practically handed a magazine of her own—*Cosmopolitan*—to remake according to the *Sex and the Single Girl* principles.

*Sex and the Single Girl* was published only two years after the oral contraceptive pill appeared on the market in the United States. Though there were tens of millions of unmarried women in the country, conventional attitudes in the media—with the exception of *Playboy*—largely assumed that women did not engage in premarital



Helen Gurley Brown, author of *Sex and the Single Girl*.

sexual relations; if they did, they were usually shown to suffer degradation, unwanted pregnancy, or social ostracism as a result of it. Magazines for young women featured articles that recommended “saying no” as a strategy to avoid a man’s pressures for them to have sex while on a date. Brides were then still generally expected to be virgins, and abortion was still illegal in most states.

Belying her glamour-girl persona, Brown was actually of humble origins. A native of the Ozarks, she could not afford college, and so learned how to type and got a job as a secretary. Eventually she became an advertising copywriter, and by 1959 (also the year of her marriage to film producer David Brown) she was the highest-paid woman in advertising on the West Coast. Wishing to write a book, Brown heeded the advice of her husband: “Write what you know.” And so Brown began pounding out chapters for a primer on the single life for young women.

*Sex and the Single Girl* offered tips on decorating, on making one’s way through more affluent social circles, and suggestions for looking stylish on a budget. Throughout its pages was the constant message: being single is fun, and there’s a whole world of men out there ready to flatter their dates. Never interrupt one when he is telling a story, she cautioned; conveniently “forget” to wear some of your lingerie on a date; or wow guests at your chic little dinner parties with “champagne peach”—a peeled peach in a pilsner glass with bubbly

poured over. In the book's recipe for stuffed lobster tails, Brown begins the preliminaries with the helpful hint to "ask that nice gentleman behind the counter to scoop out the lobster meat and then put it back in the tail." She even gave tips for investing in the stock market.

But most significantly, Brown wrote both frankly and coyly about sex. She claimed that single women probably enjoyed far more exciting and satisfying sex lives than married women. Throughout its pages, the text treats married people and their attitudes toward single women rather scathingly. A modern unmarried woman, declared Brown, "is so driven by herself and her well-meaning but addepleted friends to become married that her whole existence seems to be an apology for *not* being married." Elsewhere, Brown theorized that "... the single woman, far from being a creature to be pitied and patronized, is emerging as the newest glamour girl of our times." In one of the last chapters, "The Affair: From Beginning to End," Brown wrote of several different reasons a woman might engage in an affair—even with a married man.

The book was an immediate bestseller. Not surprisingly, there was a huge outcry from conservatives against it—it was an era when U.S. courts were still battling over Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer*, a novel that had been legally banned for explicit sexual content since the 1930s. Later, Brown would also become an easy target of feminist ire, who accused her of objectifying women and encouraging them to see themselves only as sexual creatures.

But *Sex and the Single Girl* was also a similar hit in translation in numerous other countries, and at one point was selling nearly five thousand copies a week. Brown began to appear often on television and radio, and she did a cross-country lecture tour. She also wrote three other books, including *Sex and the Office*, which actually caused even more of a stir. In it she set forth explicit guidelines for how to make yourself indispensable to a boss. Some newspapers refused to run advertisements for it. Warner Brothers bought the rights to her first book for \$200,000, then the highest amount ever paid for a nonfiction title. The film (1964) was less a documentary than a comic tale, starring Natalie Wood as a marriage counselor with a Ph.D. who was the author of a bestselling book for single women.

Brown and her husband came up with the idea for a magazine, *Femme*, which would bring the *Single Girl* attitude to readers on a monthly basis. They were unable to secure funding for a launch, but in early 1965 Brown was hired by the Hearst Corporation to revitalize *Cosmopolitan*, a moribund magazine that was trying to target single, fun-loving women as its readership. By the time of Brown's retirement in 1997, it had become one of the most successful mass-market magazines for women in publishing history.

—Carol Brennan

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## Sex Scandals

Like the world's oldest profession, scandals motivated by human sexuality have always been with us. From the Old Testament and those scandalous Greek deities, to modern tabloids which obsessively monitor the erotic misadventures of the modern gods and goddesses of today, the sexual Achilles' heels of the human race has provided hot copy through the ages. Scandal has been defined as "grave loss of or injury to reputation" resulting from actual (or suspected) violation of morality, ethics, propriety, or law. Sex, deceit, bribery, power, excess, and fame are the key elements of most scandals. And of course, it all has to be exposed in some publicized, often lurid fashion, for as George C. Kohn notes: "There has to be some extra element as well—something untoward, shocking, and reprehensible to the public." Kohn might also add, something infinitely fascinating.

Artists and entertainers have always been considered innately scandalous, but at the turn of the twentieth century movies and sex became inextricably linked. In 1921 Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle, Hollywood's most popular silent-era comedian, threw a party to celebrate his new \$3 million contract. The three day affair resulted in the death of starlet, Virginia Rappe, who suffered a ruptured bladder and died as a result of a questionable sexual encounter with the 266 pound comedian. Arbuckle was charged with Rappe's rape and murder, and became a symbol of all that appeared morally offensive in early Hollywood. Though acquitted, public opinion remained against him. His contract was canceled, his films banned, and he was no longer cast in Hollywood. By 1933 both Hollywood and the public had either forgiven or forgotten, and Arbuckle managed a comeback. But just hours after completing his first film in over a decade, the once beloved comedian died in his sleep of a heart attack in a New York hotel room.

William Randolph Hearst and actress Marion Davies indulged in a long-standing affair which was only partially shielded by the newspaper mogul's wealth and power. The married Hearst became infatuated with Davies in the early 1920s. She became his mistress, and he relentlessly promoted her movie career. Hearst and Davies became the subject of an unresolved scandal when director Thomas Harper Ince died on the Hearst/Davies yacht in 1924. Though the final verdict was death by "heart attack due to acute indigestion," rumors of foul play persisted, including one that Ince had been accidentally shot in a fit of Hearst jealousy aimed at Charlie Chaplin. After the incident the Hearst/Davies relationship continued much as before, and was later fictionalized by Orson Welles in *Citizen Kane*, a 1941 film which enraged Hearst, but which even his vast media empire was unable to suppress.

Sinclair Lewis explored the relationship between sex and evangelism in his famous novel, *Elmer Gantry*, as did Reverend Jim Bakker, mogul of the 1980s "Praise The Lord" Christian TV network. With wife Tammy Faye, Bakker became embroiled in a lurid affair encompassing everything from embezzlement to wife swapping and homosexuality. The scandal was motivated by Bakker's brief extramarital liaison with Jessica Hahn, and his ensuing attempt to bribe her into silence. Bakker was eventually forced to yield control

of his lucrative empire to Jerry Falwell, and in 1987 was dismissed from serving as a minister in the Assemblies of God church. But even his ensuing prison term could not quell the controversy, with the tabloids gleefully continuing to report on his alleged affair with another male inmate.

Political sex scandals are among the most venerable, dating back nearly to the creation of the highest office itself: i.e., the recent DNA verification of relations between Thomas Jefferson and his quadroon slave, Sally Hemings. And even well-loved modern presidents, such as Roosevelt and Eisenhower, have not been immune to romantic/erotic controversy.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy (JFK) was informally known as the “playboy” president, but his extracurricular sex life was carefully suppressed to maintain his well-hyped family image. His erotic exploits commenced while still a Senator, but the first affair to endanger his presidency was with a 26-year-old playgirl, Judy Campbell. Campbell, also known as Judith Exner, was also involved with Chicago Mafia boss, Salvatore “Sam” Giancana. Campbell eventually asserted that Kennedy had encouraged her sexual relationship with Giancana, and used her as a courier to pass intelligence and money to the mob boss, with some of the funds used to buy votes for Kennedy in the 1960 election. In 1962 Federal Bureau of Investigation Chief J. Edgar Hoover, noted for his knowledge of the sexual habits of influential people in all walks of life, lunched with Kennedy, and the affair with Campbell came to an end shortly thereafter.

An explosive relationship that has continued to elicit speculation about both JFK and Bobby Kennedy, was the affair the brothers shared with Marilyn Monroe. The Kennedy/Monroe affairs were blown into history by Monroe’s sudden death in 1962, officially a suicide, but still giving rise to persistent rumors that she had been murdered, either by Mafia hit men or by United States intelligence operatives. One investigator claimed that Bobby Kennedy and Monroe shared angry words shortly before her death when Kennedy, fearing public scandal, attempted to end the affair.

John Kennedy’s assassination in 1963 threw a sanctified shroud over any scandalous revelations for over a decade. Thus, the American public was considerably jolted when in 1975 word first leaked out concerning Campbell, and Kennedy’s other affairs. Kennedy’s final involvement was with a Washington socialite, Mrs. Mary Pinchot Meyer. The long term affair may have remained a secret, except for the bizarre fact that Meyer was murdered only 11 months after Kennedy’s assassination, and during the investigation their relationship was revealed.

Speculations on Marilyn Monroe’s death have continued to the present day, though due to the fact that key data mysteriously vanished shortly afterwards, the truth about the actress’ demise may never be known. The ongoing suspicions that she was killed to protect the Kennedy reputation, however, hint at the extremes to which those in high power may have gone to protect themselves from the destructive breath of scandal during the still conservative early 1960s.

Of the later Kennedy controversies, the most publicized was the 1969 incident in which Senator Edward Kennedy’s secretary, Mary Jo Kopechne, was killed when the car Kennedy was driving careened off a bridge on Chappaquiddick, a small island near Martha’s Vineyard. Kennedy did not report the fatal accident until the following morning, arousing suspicion of an illicit affair between the two. Kennedy pleaded guilty to leaving the scene of an accident, and after suspending his driver’s license and a two month suspended jail sentence, local authorities closed the case. It was, however, reopened by the Massachusetts federal district attorney. No one was indicted in

the closed inquest in October, 1969, and while Edward Kennedy won re-election to the Senate in 1970, he declined to seek the presidency in 1972.

Not long after Chappaquiddick another senator, Gary Hart, was a leading contender for the 1988 Democratic presidential nomination. But accusations of an extra-marital affair with actress/model, Donna Rice, thwarted his chances, and became an overriding campaign issue. The Hart affair also included reactions against the scandal mongering of the press, particularly the *Miami Herald*, which launched an aggressive investigation that included a secret stakeout of Hart’s Washington townhouse. But though no proof of adultery was unearthed, the press rumors persisted, and it was accusations of adultery, rather than any conclusive evidence, that actually cost Hart the candidacy. Before withdrawing Hart made the startling (but prophetic) comment that, if elected he would not “be the first adulterer in the White House.”

And certainly not the last. The end of the millennium climaxed with the most graphically documented sex scandal in American history; the 1998/1999 President William Jefferson Clinton/Monica Lewinsky/Paula Jones/Ken Starr/Henry Hyde et al affair. This was state-of-the-art, high-tech scandal, integrating DNA testing, the Internet, new buzzwords such as “censure-plus,” and reams of copy from both the legitimate and tabloid media (not to mention a voluminous outpouring of letters to various editors from a passionately divided American public). In contrast to the aggressively guarded Kennedy affairs, the public was spared no detail of the Clinton incident, and articles counseling parents on how to deal with the explicit details of certain highly accessible news stories were a frequent aspect of the scandal.

After the inundation of words, a terse, matter-of-fact item appeared in the “Milestones” column of *Time* magazine’s February 22, 1999 issue: “Acquitted, William Jefferson Clinton, 52, of perjury and obstruction-of-justice charges, by the U.S. Senate; in Washington (see cover story).” The cover story: “How the Scandal Was Good For America.” After the official verdict, a public consensus seemed to emerge that indicated while many remained disapproving of Clinton’s morals, most were satisfied with his performance as president and happy with the state of the American economy.

In a statement on actual character, and a comment on scandal mongering everywhere, Ethan Canin drew a parallel between morality and popular culture in the “Talk of the Town” column of the October 5, 1998 *New Yorker*: “In a novel, I am interested in complex personality, in ranging intelligence, in moral originality - what in fiction is called rounded character. This is also what I want in the President of my country. Ken Starr’s zealous and chillingly unambiguous morality suggests to me none of the fullness, none of the complex interplay and recognition of opposing forces that interest the intelligent mind. And this, in fiction, is called flat character. If Bill Clinton and Ken Starr were characters in one of my students’ stories, the class could agree that it is Mr. Starr, not Mr. Clinton, who lacks character.”

In the wake of the Clinton affair, one might well ask: Is scandal still a decisive issue in modern life, or merely a titillating, rather tiresome diversion? If we define scandal as “a grave loss or injury to reputation resulting from actual or apparent violation of morality, ethics, propriety, or law,” we might conclude the latter. In the tabloid age scandal now promotes, rather than ends, careers—the Los Angeles *New Times* comments only half-jokingly that “There is no bad publicity . . .”—and with the O. J. Simpson case, even children seem to comprehend that certain individuals are now above the law; terms

such as “ethics” and “propriety” echoing with a decidedly antiquated ring. As in Bertolt Brecht’s mythical American city, *Mahagonny*, when everything is permitted (or accepted), nothing is sacred (or shocking). Where there is no apparent overriding morality left, there can be no scandal, only media buzzwords and cheap, hot copy.

—Ross Care

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## Sex Symbol

The “sex symbol” in twentieth-century American culture is, for the most part, a product of the movies, which over the decades has offered a dizzying variety of male and female images to American audiences: the Vamp, the Red-Hot-Mama, the Golddigger, the Exotic Other, the Girl (and Guy) Next Door, the Femme Fatale, the Strong, Silent Type, the Sex Bomb, the Sex Kitten, the Latin Lover, the Matinee Idol, the Punk, and the Hunk, among many others. Before films became popular entertainment in the 1910s, attractive models having particular standards of “desirability” were only beginning to be seen in the new mass culture, as with the Gibson Girl and Gibson Guy images found in mass-circulation magazines. But once Americans were able to attend films, it was possible for millions to see the same kinds of women and men being held up as models of beauty and sensuality on the silver screen. Over the years, practically the only thread of commonality to be found throughout the various manifestations of the movie sex symbol have been racial and ethnic—the Hollywood sex symbol is almost always white, almost always of northern or western European heritage, and almost always American, though “exotic” examples from Asian, Latino, and African cultures have had their place in film as well as print media. Indeed, two of the earliest sex symbols, Theda Bara and Rudolph Valentino, did not fit

these stereotypes. In general, what defines a person as a “sex symbol” has little or nothing to do with who that person is off the movie or television screen. Instead, sex-symbol status places the emphasis on the “symbol,” on the performer’s ability to fit into a role that offers, either overtly or covertly, a model for and release of sexual tension. These roles have shaped the development of women’s and men’s sexual consciousness and confidence during the twentieth century.

One of the earliest sex symbols was Theda Bara (born Theodosia Goodman) who appeared as a vampire woman in the 1915 film *A Fool There Was*. In contrast to the prevailing and desexualized image of wholesome European-American womanhood embodied by Mary Pickford, Bara’s Vamp embodied a dark, exotic, and foreign sensuality, a kind of open sexuality not permitted to white American women until much later in the century—though it is precisely this kind of sexuality that was appropriated by some of the black blues divas of the 1920s such as Bessie Smith, Sippie Wallace, and Ma Rainey. In later films, such as *The Vixen* and *The She-Devil*, Bara’s Vamp would entrap men with her sexual wiles, only to be punished in the end for transgressing gender roles. Though Bara’s career in film was short-lived, the figure of the Vamp as an important sex symbol has marked American film ever since.

As Americans moved into the 1920s, when the androgynous flapper look was in vogue, Mae West, with her unfashionably zaftig figure and unapologetic bawdiness, offered the Red-Hot-Mama as a counterpoint to the more popular ingenue or girl-next-door image of stars like Clara Bow. Known for her humorous quips and innuendo (“Come up and see me some time”; “What’re you doin’, honey? Makin’ love or takin’ inventory?”); for styling one of her characters as “Lady Lou, one of the finest women who ever walked the streets”; and even for being jailed in 1926 for obscenity, Mae West both exuded sexuality and contained it through humor, offering a sexual gratification that she never got a chance to deliver, though she played the Red-Hot-Mama role well into her 80s. Sexual transgressiveness has also been a part of Mae West’s camp appeal to gay men, especially with her role in the 1970 film adaptation of Gore Vidal’s *Myra Breckinridge*, a romp in polymorphous sexuality.

In the 1930s, Hollywood crafted the Golddigger in the person of Jean Harlow. Harlow’s platinum-blond hair and wisecracking persona set her in the tradition of Mae West, but her brassy, open sensuality seemed disconcerting from the mouth of a sweet-looking young woman who was “out to make a killing” in more ways than one. “Would you be shocked if I changed into something more comfortable?” she asked in *Hell’s Angels* (1930). The Hays Production Code, which set rules for the depiction of sexuality in the movies in the 1930s, is often seen in part as a response to Harlow’s unabashed sensuality.

The other major sex symbol archetype of the 1930s was Swedish actress Greta Garbo, the Exotic Other. Garbo’s passions seemed to stem not from erotic desire, but from some unspeakable internal suffering, and the interest in Garbo seemed to stem mainly from the fact that she was foreign, different, and could, therefore, be made to symbolize whatever the viewer desired. Always carefully made up and glamorous, Garbo exuded a melancholy persona that seemed designed to draw viewers in to her personal torment, creating a sense of intimacy between actor and audience. When, in *Grand Hotel* (1932), she uttered her famous line about wanting to be left alone, audiences responded to her faintly mysterious Swedish accent and swooned over her noble, classy, and discreet suffering. Male characters wanted her, but she always wanted the wrong men, almost never



achieving on-screen bliss. Her allure for American audiences was so great that, when she left the acting world in 1941, her disappearance excited years of cultish obsession. Don McPherson and Louise Brody fueled this myth in their profile of Garbo, claiming that she “remained an enigmatic and unreachable phenomenon. . . . She seems to wish she were invisible: it is not so much a face as a shadow of one, suggested by isolated glimpses and memories, inscrutable and austere.”

World War II ushered in the era of the sex symbol as pinup, the suggestive photos that graced lockers and military barracks in all theaters of war. Actresses that had made their reputations prior to the start of the War—Betty Grable, Rita Hayworth, Jane Russell, Veronica Lake, and Lana Turner—were suddenly in great demand in “pinup” form, usually as images of the sex roles for which they were known. The two most popular wartime versions were the wholesome Girl-Next-Door (personified by Grable) and the Femmes Fatales (Hayworth, Russell, Lake, Turner). The stylized poses taken by these actresses, the most famous being that of Grable, in shorts and high heels, showing off her cleavage and million-dollar gams, offered an image of femininity that seemed to be missing at home, where wives and girlfriends were working and emulating the decidedly unsexy Rosie the Riveter. They offered a reminder of peacetime normality, where women were women, i.e., filled traditional roles. If Grable’s look was that of the “good girl,” the pinups of Rita Hayworth, Jane Russell, and Lana Turner smoldered openly. These women’s provocative poses promised a sexuality just out of reach, and a vision of American womanhood worth fighting for.

World War II had a profound effect on the representation and symbolization of sexuality in general. The term “bombshell” entered American vocabularies as a reference to the openly sexual woman, pointing not only to their power over men but also to their potential for destroying those same men and themselves. Women’s sexuality, according to this logic, was dangerous, in need of containment, lest the hapless male end up obliterated by the sex bomb. Coming partly from the portrayals of hardboiled Femmes Fatales in the popular 1940s *film noir* genre, and partly from an anxiety over gender roles destabilized during wartime, the association of women’s sexuality with danger continued to linger in American popular culture. (It is this same threatening sexuality that led to the naming of the “bikini” bathing suit after the Bikini Atoll on which nuclear weapons were tested, and the voguish slang word “atomic” to mean splendidly desirable.)

The most popular sex symbol of the 1950s was that great Ingenue-cum-Sex Bomb, Marilyn Monroe. Oozing sexuality but seeming never to recognize it, Monroe offered a soothing sensuality for America’s frazzled sensibilities. Monroe’s on-screen persona, that of the breathy, innocent girl, provided a welcome return to clear gender roles, to a kind of idyllic sexual past. Monroe was not attired in a sexless coverall like the wartime Rosies, nor did she even want to work: She preferred to marry a millionaire, as in the title of one of her films. But once married, she had no intentions of chewing him up and spitting him out like a Golddigger or a Femme Fatale: Monroe wanted true love, too, in a reassuring return to “lost” femininity. Donald Spoto explained that she represented “the post-war ideal of the American girl, soft, transparently needy, worshipful of men, naïve, offering sex without demands.” Though Monroe often sought to transcend her role as symbol (trying to be “taken seriously,” marrying the American dramatist Arthur Miller, seeking more challenging film roles), she never managed to separate herself from her Sex Bomb image, eventually becoming almost a parody of herself as in her famous birthday serenade to President John F. Kennedy.

Latching on to Monroe’s huge popularity, other studios tried to create their own Sex Bombs, casting American actresses like Mamie Van Doren, Jayne Mansfield, and Kim Novak, or foreigners like Brigitte Bardot, Sophia Loren, and Gina Lollobrigida, in roles that seemed to emphasize a kind of trashy, even sluttish, glamour—women to be played with, not to settle down with. While these women were quite popular in their own right, they never quite reached the stratospheric heights that Monroe did in popular consciousness. Monroe and the other Sex Bombs stood at one end of the continuum of 1950s women’s roles, promising a kind of power in sensuality, an ability to control men (though always kindly, always with good intentions); at the other end stood Doris Day, smart, sporty, and perpetual virgin. If Monroe was the archetypal dumb blonde, the kind of girl men wanted to have fun with, the girl they wanted to scratch their *Seven-Year Itch*, Doris Day was the not-so-dumb blonde, the kind of girl men married.

The 1950s ushered in a more “permanent” way to display the sex symbol—as pinup in the form of the *Playboy* magazine centerfold. Created in 1953, Hugh Hefner’s risqué magazine catered to the newly developing sex symbol of the Sex Toy, and particularly to the display of the Sex Toy’s greatest assets—her breasts. For the unhappy male, caught in what was being portrayed in popular culture as a web of asexual domesticity (June Cleaver and Donna Reed were at the other end of the spectrum), Hefner’s magazine offered an escape to a trendy, sophisticated world where men never quite grew up, never had to take on responsibilities, and always had curvaceous women at their sides. If a hapless man couldn’t afford to have his own Sex Toy, *Playboy*’s centerfolds offered the next-best thing. Both Jayne Mansfield and Kim Novak appeared in *Playboy*—Mansfield numerous times—and pictures of a younger Monroe eventually did as well, harkening back to Mae West’s laughing claim that the only thing she had on during her calendar shoot was “the radio.”

With Monroe’s death of a drug overdose in 1962, the sex symbol became a symbol of the perils of female sexuality. No longer dangerous to men—magazines like *Playboy* promised that women’s eroticism could be tamed and packaged for male consumption—the sexual woman was a danger to herself, a sign that the sexually liberated woman was, after all, desperately unhappy. Thus the 1960s offered up a range of sex symbols that seemed designed to counter the overkill of the 1950s Sex Bomb. These 1960s Icons—Julie Christie, Twiggy, Jean Shrimpton—were sexy, but in attainable ways. Pretty in a healthy kind of way (Christie), or in a waifish way (Twiggy and Shrimpton), these actresses and models were, as Sheila Rowbotham described them: “[d]escendants of Doris Day . . . adapted to an era when virginity was no longer feasible or fashionable.” Even stars who seemed closer to the Sex Bomb role—Jane Fonda, Raquel Welch, Faye Dunaway—were, in the end, very much a part of the youthful, no-nonsense image of the Icon.

After the 1960s, it becomes quite difficult to track a specific genealogy of the female sex symbol, and most of the women in subsequent decades seem to be reworkings of aforementioned roles. The 1970s favored sex symbols that combined the Girl-Next-Door qualities of the Icon, the overtness of the Red-Hot-Mama, and the naivete of the Sex Bomb. The walls of many teenaged boys’ rooms were decorated with posters of Farrah Fawcett [Majors], Cheryl Tiegs, and other “all-American” women (blond, blue-eyed, fair-skinned) posing semi-provocatively in swimsuits. Television shows like *Charlie’s Angels*, *Three’s Company*, and *Wonder Woman* promoted various (re)visions of the sex symbols of decades past. The stars of the former series, Fawcett, Cheryl Ladd, and Jaclyn Smith in

particular, seemed to be throwbacks to the Betty Grable-Girl-Next-Door model—women who are smart and resourceful but who also happen to look lovely in the revealing outfits their crime-fighting efforts seemed to require in every episode of *Charlie's Angels*. In *Three's Company* (1977-1984), Suzanne Somers offered a return to the Ingenue-Sex Bomb: blonde, sweet, and not too bright, her antics, comic misunderstandings, tight blouses, and short shorts were one of the show's main attractions. Lynda Carter's Wonder Woman was a street-savvy superhero who just so happened to fight crime wearing a strapless, red, white, and blue bathing suit and go-go boots. The 1960s and 1970s also marked the introduction of non-white sex symbols into American popular culture, such as Pam Grier, the African-American star of the early 1970s "blaxploitation" films. Perhaps the only "new" sex symbol to come out of this era is the Bimbo, a woman who is all about sex appeal (pneumatic breasts, easy virtue, slow wits) but not about much else.

Changing standards in film, particularly the introduction of more female nudity and explicit sexual content, may have contributed to the shift away from sex symbols as such. The female sex symbol's mystique is, after all, predicated in part on her mystery, on the audience's desire to know more about her. Viewers are captivated by her because they are left to imagine what she would be like; viewers today can find out more or less first-hand. Most of the sex symbols of the 1980s and 1990s seem to have been reinventions of past models. Elvira, Mistress of the Dark, capitalized on the Vamp with her dark clothing, ample cleavage, and promises of gothic intrigue. The Red Hot Mama was reborn in Bette Midler, whose stage performances as "the Divine Miss M" depicted her as the reincarnation of Mae West's brassy, wisecracking dame who knew a thing or two about sex and wasn't afraid to say so. The Femme Fatale was personified by Kathleen Turner and Sharon Stone, among others—women who used their sexual wiles to manipulate and even destroy the men they claimed to love. Cindy Crawford and Claudia Schiffer seemed to combine their roles as exotic fashion models with that of the down-to-earth gal to play the role of the Girl Next Door; no-nonsense talk-show pals one minute, and hot and sultry catwalk models the next, they offered both public and supposedly private visions of what that Girl would be like. Kate Moss, particularly in her Calvin Klein advertisements, has assumed the role of the Waifish Icon, seeming vulnerable and desirable at once. And Madonna, the ever-shifting symbol, has tried on all these roles and more.

Though the female sex symbol has dominated American popular culture, there are male sex symbols as well, and theorists have begun to expand the concept by deconstructing sex symbols outside of traditional heterosexual modes, acknowledging the repressed same-sex eroticism that might have informed sex-symbol interactions in the past. Silent-film actors like Rudolph Valentino offered early visions of the Perfect Lover, effortlessly sweeping his female co-stars off their feet and, presumably, into his bed, and some males have also reported being drawn by his magnetic personality. The Matinee Idol has been the primary manifestation of the male sex symbol during the twentieth century: Actors like Cary Grant, Clark Gable, and Rock Hudson captivated moviegoers during their heydays with their suave masculinity, their classic good looks, and promises of economic security. The 1950s also saw the introduction of the male sex symbol as Bad Boy. Both Elvis Presley and James Dean played this role to the hilt when their shaking hips, brooding looks, and sullen demeanors sent young fans into swoons and parents into paroxysms of worry. Good-looking stars of the 1960s like Paul Newman, Robert Redford, and Warren Beatty combined the Matinee Idol with the Bad Boy,

often manifest in the parts of criminals or outsiders with "hearts of gold" like Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid, or Clyde Barrow.

The 1970s saw the introduction of the Sex Machine. Burt Reynolds posed nude in *Cosmopolitan*, a women's magazine. Around this time, *Playgirl* magazine, featuring nude men, was introduced as a "counterpoint" to *Playboy*, attracting a readership of women as well as men with an erotic interest in their own gender. As with female sex symbols, the first non-white male sex symbols appeared during the 1970s, particularly as a result of "blaxploitation" films such as *Shaft*, whose theme song promised that its star, Richard Roundtree, was a "sex machine with all the chicks," and *Dolemite*, starring Rudy Ray Moore. These stars embodied the Sex Machine role, turning women on screen into putty with their sexual prowess and doing the same to fans in the audience. This particular vision also partook of cultural folklore and stereotype about black males' virility. Other male sex symbols of the 1970s assumed the James Bond image of a man as suave, debonaire, and sexually irresistible. In the 1980s and 1990s, male sex symbols included Richard Gere, Harrison Ford, Tom Cruise, Johnny Depp, Leonardo DiCaprio, and Marky Mark. Like their female counterparts, they combined elements of various manifestations of the sex symbols of generations past to create their screen personae.

Despite the introduction of non-white figures into the sex symbol mythos, the majority of sex symbols remain white and European-American, though the growing diversification of the American population may alter that situation in the new century. A double standard for male and female sexuality remains: Despite the fact that men are regularly depicted as sexual objects on television and in film, it is still more likely that the female sex symbol will be punished for her sexuality. In American popular culture, it is more common for a sexually active woman to be regarded as a slut, but a sexually active male as a stud.

—Deborah M. Mix

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## Sexual Harassment

In the 1990s, sexual harassment became a highly visible part of American pop culture. In 1991, Anita Hill testified in a televised United States Senate hearing that Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas sexually harassed her when she worked for him in the early 1980s at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Thomas was confirmed, but by a very close vote of 52-48. Some of the

Senators who voted for confirmation were defeated for re-election in 1992. In 1994, Paul Corbin Jones accused President William Jefferson Clinton of sexually harassing her when he was Governor of Arkansas and she was an Arkansas state employee. In 1998, Jones' lawsuit was dismissed, but a deposition President Clinton gave about his relationship with Monica Lewinsky, a former White House intern, triggered an investigation by Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr that resulted in Starr recommending to the United States Congress that President Clinton be impeached.

Sexual harassment is defined as unwelcome sexual advances and requests for sexual favors. Other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitutes sexual harassment when submission or rejection of this conduct explicitly or implicitly affects an individual's employment, unreasonably interferes with an individual's work performance, or creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment. The two types of harassment are *quid pro quo* and hostile environment. *Quid pro quo*, or "this for that," exists when an employee's supervisor or a person of higher employment rank demands sexual favors from a subordinate in exchange for tangible job benefits. Hostile environment, or environmental harassment, is a pattern of intimidating, hostile, or offensive behaviors which affect the person being harassed.

Federal laws on sexual harassment have existed since Congress passed Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments. Title VII prohibits sex discrimination in employment; sexual harassment is considered a form of sex discrimination. Title IX prohibits sex discrimination in education. The laws began to have effect when in 1980, and again in 1988, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) issued guidelines to define sexual harassment.

The courts have defined sexual harassment more precisely, and have been involved in resolving key issues. In 1986, in the *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson* case, the Supreme Court ruled that *quid pro quo* sexual harassment was a form of sex discrimination under Title VII. In the *Meritor* case, the Supreme Court made a very important distinction. It affirmed that a victim may comply voluntarily with sexually harassing behavior, but may not welcome it. If it is unwelcome, it is sexual harassment. The *Meritor* case also set a precedent because it established employer liability for acts of sexual harassment committed by its employees. The Court ruled that *quid pro quo* and environmental harassment are two distinct claims, but that they can and often do occur at the same time. It is necessary, however, to distinguish between them when employer liability is being determined; the employer is always liable in *quid pro quo* harassment, but may not always be liable in hostile environment cases.

In education, the United States Supreme Court significantly expanded protection for student victims in *Christine Franklin, Petitioner v. Gwinnett County Public Schools and William Prescott*, on February 26, 1992. For the first time, students had the right to win monetary damages from schools that receive federal funds. This decision provided strong motivation for schools to engage in a proactive strategy to prevent sexual harassment.

On November 9, 1993, the United States Supreme Court ruled, in *Harris v. Forklift Systems*, that harassing conduct need not seriously affect an employee's psychological well-being or cause the plaintiff to suffer injury. On March 4, 1998, the court again ruled, in *Oncale v. Sundancer Offshore Services*, that same-sex harassment in the workplace violates federal law.

The Hill-Thomas hearings led to more legislation. On October 11, 1991, Titles I, II, and III of the 1991 Civil Rights Act were passed.

Title I expands the rights of sexual harassment victims to enable them to collect monetary damages. Title II, commonly referred to as the "Glass Ceiling Act of 1991," encourages corporate practices and policies that promote opportunities for, and eliminate artificial barriers to, the advancement of women and minorities into higher level positions. Title III focuses on fair employment practices and covers employees of the House of Representatives, Senate, and Executive Office of the President.

The military faced the issue of sexual harassment in September 1991, when the "Tailhook" scandal became public. A female Navy helicopter pilot, Lt. Paula Coughlin, complained to Rear Admiral John Snyder, Commander, Naval Air Test Center, that she had been physically and indecently assaulted on September 7, 1991, by a group of naval officers at the 1991 Tailhook Symposium at the Las Vegas Hilton. Commander of the Naval Investigative Service, Rear Admiral Duvall M. "Mac" Williams, was requested to open an investigation. A mammoth investigation was initiated on October 11, 1991. Snyder was relieved of his command for dealing inappropriately with Coughlin's complaint. On February 7, 1994, Coughlin resigned from the Navy and gave as her reason the retaliation she had experienced as a result of her complaint.

Coughlin filed civil law suits against the Tailhook Association and the Las Vegas Hilton. She settled with the Tailhook Association for \$400,000 before the trial began. On October 28, 1994, the jury in Las Vegas decided that the Las Vegas Hilton Hotel was negligent because it failed to provide adequate security during the 1991 Tailhook Convention. The jury awarded Coughlin \$1.7 million in damages. On October 31, 1994, the jury ordered the Las Vegas Hilton and its parent company to pay Coughlin \$5 million in punitive damages for a total award of \$6.7 million, an amount later reduced to \$5.3 million.

In November 1996, the United States Army brought charges of rape and sexual harassment against military trainers at the Army Ordnance Center at Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland. According to the Pentagon, there were more than a dozen victims; all of the victims were female soldiers in their second eight weeks of training. The Army charged 12 staff members of Aberdeen with sex crimes, ranging from inappropriate sexual comments to rape. In September 1997, the Army issued a "scathing report" acknowledging that sexual harassment and discrimination were prevalent.

The Paula Jones case broke legal ground when the Supreme Court ruled that a sitting President can be sued for actions that occurred before he took office and that the case can proceed while the President is still in office. The case went forward and depositions were taken, including a deposition from President Clinton in January 1998 that questioned whether the President had sexual relations with Monica Lewinsky. In March 1998, Judge Susan Webber Wright ruled that Monica Lewinsky "is not essential to the core issues" of Jones' case, and ordered all evidence related to Lewinsky be excluded from the proceedings. Judge Wright dismissed the Jones lawsuit on April 1, 1998.

President Clinton's legal troubles, however, did not end with the dismissal of the Jones' lawsuit. While under oath during his deposition in the Jones case, he denied having sexual relations with Monica Lewinsky. Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr requested and received permission to investigate whether the President had lied under oath. After a seven month investigation, Starr reported to Congress that there were possible grounds for impeachment and the President was impeached by the full House, though the Senate chose not to remove the President from office.

Illustrating the pervasiveness of sexual harassment issues in America, the problem itself has evolved from a behavior without a name, to a social behavior, to a defined legal behavior, and by 1998, to a highly visible social problem for the President of the United States and the nation.

—Rosemarie Skaine

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## Sexual Revolution

Reports of a “sexual revolution” first appeared in the media in the mid-1960s. The reports identified a number of trends and developments taking place throughout American society. Midway through the decade, the popularity of rock music, the increased use of marijuana, LSD, and other drugs among youth, widespread public displays of nudity, and a new openness about sexuality contributed to the awareness of radical cultural change. Public interest in sex had been growing since the late 1940s and the number of novels, magazine articles, and advice books dealing with sexuality grew to epic proportions. Already in the 1950s, a number of famous novels that had previously been banned because of their sexual explicitness, such as D.H. Lawrence’s *Lady Chatterly’s Lover* and Henry Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer*, began to be published in the United States. Advice books like *Sex and the Single Girl* (1962) by *Cosmopolitan* editor Helen Gurley Brown, and *The Sensuous Woman* (1969) by J. poured from the presses. Betty Friedan’s *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) initiated the revival of feminism and stimulated the discussion of sex and gender roles. Popular sociologists like Vance Packard in *The Sexual Wilderness: The Contemporary Upheaval in Male-Female Relationships* (1968) explored the interplay of both feminism and the sexual revolution. In 1966, Drs. William Masters and Virginia Johnson published the first of their scientific studies—*Human Sexual Response* (1966). Sexually explicit pulp novels, like Jacqueline Susann’s *Valley of the Dolls* (1966), and sexually explicit movies, like *I Am Curious (Yellow)* (1967), attempted to satisfy a public’s growing hunger for the vicarious experience of sex. By the 1970s, newspapers with names like *Screw*, offering sexual information, personal ads, and sexually explicit photos and art, were available on street corners in larger American cities. These cultural developments demonstrated an

increased public interest in sex and suggested that sexual behavior was undergoing changes as well.

What “sexual revolution” means, when it began (if it did), to whom it applied, and what changes it wrought are highly contested subjects. According to sociologists there is no doubt that patterns of sexual partnering underwent significant change in the 1960s, and it is this shift away from “monogamous” sexuality that is usually signified by the term “sexual revolution.” However, the revolution that emerged in the 1960s was as much a change in attitudes about sex as it was a significant shift in sexual conduct. Changes in the way that people thought about sexuality and gender roles stimulated new modes of behavior that were not always measured by increased sexual activity. For example, women entered marriage with greater sexual experience and confidence than women in the past. As a result there was an increased demand for sexual satisfaction in marriage. It contributed to the growth of a market for books and magazine articles about how to improve your sex life, a greater demand for marriage manuals and counselors. It may have also led to an increase in divorces, which reinforced the likelihood of those who were divorced having additional sexual partners in their lifetime. These developments also challenged the double standard—which permitted men to engage in sexual activity outside their marriage, but harshly stigmatized women having extra-marital affairs. In the end, all these experiences probably generated both increased frustrations and greater freedom. Betty Friedan’s *The Feminine Mystique* capitalized on precisely these developments—thus the emergence of feminism and women’s rights overlapped with and were intertwined with the developments later labeled “the sexual revolution.”

The sexual revolution as it emerged in the 1960s was the historical culmination of processes begun during World War II, and it produced significant changes in the decades that followed. The term “revolution” usually implies something that occurs rapidly and dramatically. However, the time frame of the sexual revolution is much longer and it resembles the time frame of the Industrial Revolution—the transition from an agricultural society to one built on new technologies and industrial production. It has been an immense and contradictory process, often not very obvious, stretching out over the life span of two generations. This sexual revolution radically altered the sex/gender system, as anthropologist Gayle Rubin has called the system that translates biological capacities—of sex and gender differences—into the cultural and social patterns that constitute our lives as gendered and sexual human beings. The sexual revolution started as a result of three major cultural forces. First of all, of the explosion of youth culture and the thirst for sexual experience before marriage by young men and women; secondly, the emergence of feminism and the women’s movement at the end of the 1960s; and lastly, the gay liberation movement’s dramatic Stonewall rebellion in 1969. But the sexual revolution also provoked a profound and powerful counter-revolution—the Religious Fundamentalist Right—which continues to wage a battle against the forces that originally ignited the revolution.

The mobilization of young men for the Armed Services and the recruitment of female factory workers during World War II initiated a profound shift in the social relations of gender and sexuality in the United States. Young men and women left the haven of their families and lived for four years among other people far from parental guidance. These young women and men in their late teens and early twenties were at the threshold of their most sexually active stage of life and usually, they were unmarried. This generation had grown up during the Great Depression and were heavily influenced by the

exuberant and free-wheeling culture of swing—a cultural explosion roughly analogous to the rock culture of the 1960s. Throughout the war years young men and women—in constant motion and under the uncertainty and stress of combat—engaged in sexual relations with each other outside of marriage and other constraining contexts.

Recognition of sexual revolution dawned slowly after the war. The publication of Alfred Kinsey's two pathbreaking volumes on human sexuality in 1948 (*Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*) and 1953 (*Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*) probably exerted greater influence on modern conceptions of sexuality than any work since Sigmund Freud's. Moral outrage and a great deal of professional hypocrisy greeted the report, but few Americans remained immune to a new awareness of the gap between public attitudes toward sexual behavior and daily sexual activities. Kinsey was so struck by the extraordinary extent of individual variation in sexual behavior that he argued that any attempt to establish uniform standards of sexual conduct was both impracticable and unjust. He believed that his discovery of the widespread deviation from accepted sexual standards showed that attempts to regulate sexual behavior were doomed to failure and "the only proper sexual policy was no policy at all."

Although the research in the Kinsey reports was not based on the generation that experienced the postwar sexual revolution (they had focused on the inter-war generations), the reports did come to symbolize it in the popular consciousness and in the history of American culture. Most of what we mean by sexual revolution refers to non-marital sexual activity. By the early 1960s, shifts had begun to take place along several fronts that consolidated the sexual revolution. One of the most important was that young men and women engaged in their first acts of sexual intercourse at increasingly younger ages. The impact of earlier sexual experimentation was reinforced by the later age of marriage; thus young men and women had more time available to acquire sexual experience with partners before entering into a long-term monogamous relationship. In addition, the growing number of marriages resulting in divorce provided another opportunity for men and women (to a lesser degree) to engage in non-monogamous sexual activity. All three of these developments allowed the generation born between 1935 and 1945 to experience sexual activity with a larger number of sexual partners in their lifetime than most men and women born earlier.

These trends received reinforcement from a number of other developments. Technical improvements and the increased access to birth control methods made it easier for women to engage in sex without the risk of unwanted pregnancy. In 1960, the most popular form of birth control, the oral contraceptive pill, became commercially available. Political developments, such as the emergence of the women's movement, also encouraged women to reject the double standard and to postpone marriage. In the wake of the women's movement, the gay liberation movement emerged in 1969. The gay movement sought to combat the stigma attached to homosexuality. It promoted self-acceptance and a positive evaluation of homosexuality that significantly contributed to the sexual revolution. For example, lesbians and gay men organized dances, coffee houses, and other social activities in order to facilitate sexual and social contacts among men and women with homosexual desires.

If the Kinsey reports represent the first shot fired in the sexual revolution, the research of William Masters and Virginia Johnson represented an ambiguous resolution of some issues raised by the shifts in sexual attitudes and behavior. *Human Sexual Response* (1966) was the first volume published, to be followed four years later by *Human Sexual Inadequacy* (1970); both books were based on

laboratory observations of sexual behavior and became the basis of a therapeutic practice devoted to sexual dysfunction. Nevertheless, their work also exemplified the sexual egalitarianism of the 1960s—not only in their working relationship, but also in the image of sexual relations that they project in their books. Their work stressed the importance of the *quality* of sexual activity—yet they made the couple rather than the unattached individual the preferred unit of analysis and therapy. In the end, Masters and Johnson focused almost exclusively on the quality of sexual experience within committed relationships. They did not discuss improving the quality of sexual experience for those men and women who chose to engage in sex with casual (non-marital) sexual partners, the sex that is essential to the definition of the sexual revolution.

By the late 1960s, social institutions emerged to facilitate non-marital sexual contacts. Singles bars opened so that single men and women could meet and make sexual contacts. Weekly alternative newspapers sprouted in most major cities—all of which carried personal ads of people looking for sexual partners and relationships. Swinging or mate swapping also became the practice among certain social circles where couples swapped partners among themselves. Swingers clubs were started and others took out ads in swinging and alternative publications. Within this context other kinds of sexuality also gained visibility—fetishes, S/M (sado-masochism), and transvestitism. The proportion of the population that participated in the new swinging and singles scene was probably small but the scene was widely publicized in the press and popular culture. The dilemmas of sophisticated sexual experiments like swapping were satirized in movies like *Bob & Carol & Ted & Alice* (1969) and *Shampoo* (1975). Movies like *Looking for Mr. Goodbar* (1977) exploited the vulnerabilities and anxieties of these new trends for young women. The movie *Cruising* (1980) set a police thriller in a gay world of men engaged in an endless and desperate hunt for sex.

Another sign of the sexual revolution was the increased availability of sexually explicit books, magazines, and films. In 1967 the U.S. Congress set up a Commission on Pornography and Obscenity to define pornography and obscenity, provide guidelines for its regulation and to assess its significance in American society. The *Report* of the Commission concluded that its researchers had found no evidence that exposure to explicit sexual materials led to any criminal or delinquent behavior among youth and adults. This report was later criticized by conservatives and some feminists in the 1980s and was countered by a later Commission appointed by the Reagan administration. Nevertheless, the sexual revolution of the 1960s was associated with much greater degrees of sexual explicitness throughout the culture. Mainstream media like Hollywood movies achieved a level of sexual explicitness that receded in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

By the late 1970s, the sexual revolution encountered a number of obstacles. One was the growing opposition of conservative and religious groups to all those new gender roles and forms of sexual conduct that appeared during the peak years (1964—1977) of the sexual revolution: non-marital and youth sexuality, birth control, abortion, and homosexuality. Conservatives established new organizations, elected political representatives, passed legislation, fought to defund sexually progressive programs and to fund sexually conservative programs. These battles continue to take place up until the present. What many call commentators call "the culture wars" are, in part, an extension of the sexual revolution.

However, the sexual revolution also encountered obstacles of another sort—sexually transmitted diseases (STD). The diseases spread by sex are numerous and ancient: gonorrhea, syphilis, genital

warts, genital herpes, and hepatitis B. AIDS is also transmitted sexually but it was discovered only in 1981; it is the most serious and devastating of sexually transmitted diseases. Starting in the late 1970s, there were a growing number of reports about STD—both *Time* and *Newsweek* produced cover stories on herpes, and the gay male communities were swept by waves of gonorrhea, syphilis, and Hepatitis B. The discovery of an AIDS epidemic among gay men in the early 1980s provoked a major crisis in the sexual politics of the gay community. Medical researchers and gay leaders struggled to find ways of stopping the epidemic without completely excluding all sexual activity. Eventually a number of gay activists invented the idea of “safer sex”—in which gay men could engage in sex, using condoms, without transmitting the virus (HIV) that causes AIDS. Soon after, safer sex was adopted by public health educators and AIDS activists as the basis for HIV prevention. Safer sex and traditional public health treatment programs for the older STD have since reduced the spread of these diseases considerably.

The sexual revolution was not only a revolution in sexual behavior per se—measured by sociologists as an increase in the lifetime number of sexual partners—but also a cultural revolution that was intertwined with many other significant social changes. STD had reached epidemic proportions by the early 1980s, but provided another form of evidence of extensive and casual sexual partnering. Women’s sexuality was redefined, and new stress was laid on clitoral orgasm and sexual satisfaction. A culture of sexual experimentation (swinging, S/M clubs, singles bars) emerged that contributed to the evolution of new sexual norms. The women’s movement, the counter-culture, the development of new lifestyles, lesbian and gay liberation, a greater acceptance of pleasure and all kinds of improvements in the quality of life overlap with the sexual revolution. Religious fundamentalists and the New Right represent the conservative response to the sexual revolution. Many of the social changes and the conflicts engendered by them continue on into the present. Cultural and political changes resulting from the sexual revolution are still in the process of forming. However, the sexual revolution of post-World War II America has changed sexual and gender roles permanently.

—Jeffrey Escoffier

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## The Shadow

For 18 years, from 1931 to 1949, The Shadow, an unrelenting defender of justice, appeared as the title character in 325 novel-length adventures in *The Shadow* magazine, making it the first and most important of the character or hero pulps. A prototypical figure named The Shadow had appeared on radio even earlier, on the *Detective Story Hour*, but the fully-evolved character is best remembered for the radio series that ran from 1937 to 1954, with episodes punctuated by such memorable phrases as “Who knows what evil lurks in the hearts of men? The Shadow knows!” and “The weed of crime bears bitter fruit. Crime does not pay. The Shadow knows!”

The creation of the character named The Shadow is appropriately shrouded in mystery. Although no actual link has been established between the two characters, a seeming prototype of The Shadow appeared in the February 1929 issue of Street and Smith’s *Fame and Fortune*. In that story, a character named Compton Moore, with glittering eyes and a mocking laugh, donned a green shroud to fight evil as The Shadow. Whether by imitation or coincidence, when pulp publishers Street and Smith sponsored *Detective Story Hour*, a radio dramatization of stories from their *Detective Story Magazine*, The Shadow was portrayed as the show’s narrator, voiced by James La Curto, complete with that familiar haunting laugh.

To get a copyright on their accidental creation and meet what seemed to be a growing demand, Street and Smith quickly created a new pulp magazine, *The Shadow, a Detective Magazine*. John Nanovic, who would a few years later create the Doc Savage character, served as editor for the first twelve years. Journalist and amateur magician Walter Gibson was hired to turn the name and the laugh into a character. In just a few weeks, Gibson produced *The Living Shadow*, the first of the 325 novels that the magazine would publish over the next eighteen years. The stories were all attributed to the house name of Maxwell Grant, and Walter Gibson did not write all of them. However, he did write an astounding 282 of the novels, including the first 112 stories that firmly established the character. When the magazine went from quarterly to twice-monthly publication, Gibson simply picked up his pace and produced two complete novels a month.

In the first story The Shadow is a mysterious presence who works through Harry Vincent and his other operatives. It took a few issues before The Shadow himself was in the center of the action, but the basic look and ambiance was established early on. On the first page of the first story, The Shadow, an ominous figure in a long black coat, seems to materialize out of the thick fog, with only his hawk nose and piercing eyes visible beneath his broad-brimmed felt hat. When The Shadow does go into action, he does so with an automatic pistol spitting death from each hand.

As Walter Gibson fleshed out the mythos, The Shadow acquired scores of agents in addition to right-hand man Harry Vincent. Chief among them were cab driver Moe Shrevitz, gangster Cliff Marsland, reporter Clyde Burke, and the mysterious Burbank, who coordinates communications between The Shadow and his cadre of agents. Another operative, would-be love interest Margo Lane, originated on the radio program but was eventually added to the pulp stories. The Shadow’s most interesting relationship is with Lamont Cranston, a

wealthy playboy whose guise The Shadow sometimes assumed when Cranston was traveling abroad. The 1937 novel *The Shadow Unmasks* reveals the fact The Shadow is really World War I flying ace and former spy Kent Allard, although some later novels called even this identity into doubt. When The Shadow appeared in other media, his background was simplified—he was Lamont Cranston, though he was not so in the original pulps. The final novel in the series, *The Whispering Eyes*, appeared in 1949.

Within a decade after his creation The Shadow had captured the popular imagination. “As intensely exploited as Tarzan, The Shadow sold wrist watches, coloring books, disguise and fingerprint kits, sheet music, Better Little Books, comic books, and a succession of nearly worthless moving pictures,” recounts Robert Sampson, author of *Deadly Excitements*. In 1937 The Shadow returned to radio, not just as narrator, but as the lead character, voiced for the first year by Orson Welles. The radio series portrayed The Shadow as less dark and deadly, relying more on his new-found hypnotic powers than on his twin automatics. The show was immensely popular, lasting until 1954. The 1937 feature film *The Shadow Strikes* was based on the radio program, and there was a film serial in 1940 that starred Victor Jory. Some of the later Shadow films were almost domestic comedies, in which the hero is beset with more trouble from his jealous wife than from the villain. The 1994 film starring Alec Baldwin returned to the dark pulp roots for inspiration, pitting The Shadow against his greatest pulp nemesis, Shiwan Khan. The opening scene of the film is even reminiscent of the first chapter of “The Living Shadow.”

The Shadow had a long and varied life in comic books. Street and Smith published the first of them. Even though Walter Gibson wrote the scripts for the first six years, The Shadow appeared quite differently in the comic book version than in the pulps. Since the radio show had become more popular than the pulp magazine, Gibson was pressured to conform to the radio concept. From 1938 to 1942, Ledger Syndicate distributed a *Shadow* comic strip by Gibson and Vernon Greene. In the 1960s Archie Comics published a series that portrayed The Shadow as a superhero in green and blue tights. One of the most faithful comic-book adaptations was the series published by DC Comics from 1973 to 1975.

—Randy Duncan

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## Shaft

Directed by Gordon Parks and starring Richard Roundtree as the itinerant black detective, John Shaft, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's hugely successful 1972 feature, helped initiate Hollywood's Blaxploitation



Richard Roundtree in a scene from *Shaft*.

film craze, a series of cheap and sensational, but lucrative productions featuring provocative ethnic protagonists. Although *Shaft* offers a proud and raw revision of the typical Hollywood African-American hero, the tough spectacle of John Shaft's defiance ultimately contributes little to the cause of racial harmony and understanding.

Provoked by the \$10 million in profits of Melvin Van Peebles' independently produced *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* in 1971, the aging Hollywood studios observed that Van Peebles had managed to target a widely ignored new box office patronage. Three social factors combined to create a new public taste for successful ethnic “badasses” like Sweetback and Shaft. The rise of the civil rights and Black Power movements fostered a popular appreciation for the intelligent, capable, and righteous black individual who triumphed in his attack on the white establishment. The national white flight to the suburbs also contributed to a shifting racial demographic that revised city centers like Chicago, Detroit, and Atlanta where the cinemas of downtown commercial areas now catered to a predominantly middle- and working-class African-American clientele. Lastly, in the late 1960s, Hollywood's long-standing policy of self-censorship gave way to a more liberal rating system that offered mainstream film a new outlet for what had been previously considered uncomfortably blatant expressions of African-American sexuality and anger.

Never as openly revolutionary as the X-rated *Sweet Sweetback*, whose title character escapes white justice after a virulent spree of fornication and murder, *Shaft* tapped into popular feelings of racial tension as it revised the standard Hollywood hard-boiled detective with an R-rated ghetto flavor that tweaked but never attempted to topple the status quo. *Shaft* did much, in Ed Guerrero's words, to "crystallize Hollywood's formula for the 'new' filmic representation of blacks." The film itself revolves around Private Detective John Shaft's rude, but shrewd negotiation of a triple threat. Hired to free the kidnapped daughter of "Bumpy Jonas," a dubious black mob boss, Shaft tangles with the white racist police who attempt to reduce him to a slavish errand boy, navigates the race-complicated grudges between black and white organized crime, and utilizes the revolutionary fervor of militant, but ultimately doomed black urban youth. Throughout the film, Richard Roundtree's performance as the indefatigable private detective subtly revises many of the best hard-boiled moments of Sam Spade and Philip Marlowe. Like Humphrey Bogart in *The Maltese Falcon*, John Shaft overpowers an attacker in his own office, and taunts both his employers and the police, but Shaft also makes deft use of his ethnic appearance when he masquerades as a servile bartending "boy" in order to foil two white assassins. Finally, *Shaft*'s dramatic climactic assault on the hired guns in a seedy inner-city hotel references both the war film and the Western in its calculated, paramilitary strike on a fortified outpost of white evil.

Shaft's sexual escapades, boldly aestheticized by Gordon Park's disco-energized cinematography and Isaac Hayes' funky grooves, further exhibit his prowess as a thoroughly masculine black badass. While Shaft shares his most romantic liaisons with a comely African-American woman, he also asserts his manhood by picking up random white women in a local bar. Shaft's post-coital pillow talk with his regular black partner is tender, but his biracial one night stand ends coldly. As Shaft ignores and insults his nameless white lover the following morning, she labels him decidedly "shitty." This brief exchange between the black hero and his white bedfellow powerfully informs the film's finale, when Shaft mimics the angry white woman's insult as a climactic joke on a white establishment cop. Subtly taunting but never openly attacking the racial hierarchy in which he survives, Shaft ends the film disappearing into the city after having effectively "screwed" all his white antagonists.

Aside from two fair sequels, *Shaft's Big Score* and *Shaft in Africa*, Shaft's popularization of the sexy, truculent black male spawned an often bizarre series of Blaxploitation rip-offs and pretenders. A few of these heroes, like *Superfly's* Youngblood Priest and *The Harder They Come's* Ivan Martin, offer some psychological depth. Most Shaft-inspired Blaxploitation heroes, however, are grotesque, ultraviolent perversions of black sexuality. In films like *Welcome Home, Brother Charles* and *Cotton Comes to Harlem*, black male pride and defiance is reduced to crude arrogance, degrading sexual stunts, and brutal vengeance. Hollywood also marketed the feminine side of Blaxploitation through female Shafts, Pam Grier and Tamara Dobson. Films like *Coffy*, *Foxy Brown*, and *Cleopatra Jones and the Casino of Gold* advertised a shapely, violent black heroine whose arrogant appeal centered around ample doses of ethnic attitude and T&A.

*Shaft's* new heroic stage in the Hollywood image of the African-American male is clearly limited. Gladstone Yearwood explains, "films such as *Shaft*, *Superfly*, and *Cooley High* attempt to subvert, or at least question, the dominant tradition in the cinema, but they are effectively harnessed by it in their usage of the Hollywood model as the basis for the development of black heroes." Originally conceived

and scripted for a white actor, MGM quickly darkened its Shaft project for an inner-city African-American audience in order to test drive a new narrative formula where the black won and survived for profitable sequels. Richard Roundtree received a mere \$13,000 for his starring role in the first film and the majority of *Shaft's* startling profits were rolled back into MGM's white executive wallets.

Exemplifying the studios' new drive toward customized saturation marketing, *Shaft's* success with the African-American urban audience resulted in a wave of diversified product tie-ins. Aside from more than \$10 million in profits from the film's first year of release and the success of Isaac Hayes' Oscar-winning, platinum soundtrack album, MGM capitalized on the popularity of John Shaft's refusal to bow to the man through a merchandising storm that B.J. Mason detailed in *Ebony* as a plague of *Shaft* "suits, watches, belts and sunglasses, leather coats, decals, sweatshirts and night shirts, beach towels, posters, after shave lotion and cologne." Beginning with *Shaft*, Hollywood's cheap and sly appropriation of the racial tensions in America's metropolitan centers became the basis for a parade of crude fantasies and commercial gimmicks revolving around predominantly brutal and misogynistic black heroes who rule the ghetto, but would never garner Sidney Poitier's invitation to dinner.

—Daniel Yezbick

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## Shakur, Tupac (1971-1996)

Rapper, film actor, and poet Tupac "Amaru" Shakur, also known as "2Pac," was one of the most influential and greatest rappers of the 1990s, who launched his rap career when he appeared in the Digital Underground's "Same Song" video in 1991. After the video aired, rap fans across America were asking who the young man was in the African outfit with beads beaming down his chest like an "African King." Critic Armond White has noted that it was after his appearance in the Digital Underground video that Tupac Shakur "first realized the thrill of putting a rhyme on tape and getting it to the public." As a solo artist, Tupac Shakur burst on the rap scene with *2Pacalypse Now* (1991), a 13-rap-song album that was destined to change the face of rap music in America and the world over. Through this album, Tupac Shakur vowed to use his poetic power to tell those stories from the streets and the ghetto that the mainstream media refused to talk about, including the plight of black males and other African Americans in America, police brutality, and poverty. In the rap song "Rebel of the Underground," Shakur foreshadowed the conflict between him and the police/media by arguing that they cannot stand the reign of a man like him "who goes against the





Tupac Shakur

grain.” Furthermore, not only did he characterize himself as “cold as the devil” and “straight out of the underground,” but he called himself “the lyrical lunatic, the maniac MC,” and asserted that “the most dangerous weapon” is “an educated black man.”

Themes of police brutality, black-on-black crimes, the American Dream deferred, black males in America, and the African-American struggle and survival permeate songs like “Trapped,” “Soulja’s Story,” “I Don’t Give a Fuck,” and “Words of Wisdom.” While in “I Don’t Give a Fuck” and “Soulja’s Story” Shakur rapped that he does not give “a fuck” about the police and other American officials and institutions who oppress African Americans, in “Words of Wisdom” he charged America with the “crime of rape, murder, and assault” for “suppressing and punishing” his people. Additionally, he accused America of falsifying black history and of falsely imprisoning black males by keeping them “trapped in the projects.” He concluded the song by warning America that it reaps what it sows and that he is “2Pacalypse, America’s nightmare.” The rough side and revolutionary stance of *2Pacalypse Now* are what later misled music and popular culture critics to label Tupac Shakur a “Gangsta Rapper” and his music “Gangsta Rap,” thus blaming the messenger for the message.

Critics who labeled Tupac Shakur a “gangsta rapper” and called him controversial and confused failed to see that his music always contained two sides: a tough side bristling with the realities of the ghetto life and a didactic side endowed with positive messages. Such was the case with “Brenda’s Got a Baby” from *2Pacalypse Now*, one of Shakur’s best known rap songs. The song described the carelessness of a cousin who impregnates Brenda, the ignorance of Brenda who tries to throw the baby in the garbage can, and the callousness of the community that fails to realize that Brenda’s plight affects the whole community. *Strictly 4 My N.I.G.G.A.Z.* (1993), Tupac Shakur’s second album, contained a song called “Keep Ya Head Up” in which he both debunks some black men for their misogyny, sexism, and irresponsibility, and advises black women to keep their heads up no

matter what the situation is. Furthermore, Tupac Shakur showed his softer side yet again on *Me Against the World* (1995), with “Dear Mama,” a tribute to his mother, Afeni Shakur. Autobiographical in nature, “Dear Mama” chronicles the Black Panther days of Afeni Shakur and how she struggled to keep her family together. Also, Shakur reminisced about the stress he caused a mother trying to raise him while struggling with drugs, and how, in the absence of a father, he turned to the streets in search of love and fame.

In 1996, the music scene changed when Tupac Shakur became the first rapper to release a double album, *All Eyez On Me*; it reached number one on rhythm and blues and Pop charts and was certified seven times platinum within ten months. In the late 1990s, *All Eyez On Me* remained the best selling rap album of all time. The most notable and famous song on the album was “California Love,” Shakur’s single, a song which, according to Armond White, “certifies a level of achievement, of rap triumph, and American commercial bliss.” Both Dr. Dre and Tupac Shakur create “a sense of belonging that neglects rap protest, preferring an affirmation that is vaguely patriotic.” Other work of Tupac’s include two posthumous albums, *Makaveli the Don Killuminati: The 7 Day Theory* (1996) and the double album *R U Still Down? [Remember Me]* (1997).

Shakur influenced the Hollywood film industry by starring in six films in five years: *Juice* (1992), *Poetic Justice* (1993), *Above the Rim* (1994), *Bullet* (1997), *Gridlock’d* (1997), and *Gang Related* (1997). Except for *Poetic Justice*, a film in which he starred beside Janet Jackson and which shows his romantic and soft side, all the other films look like they were written out of Tupac Shakur’s tough lyrics; they exploited and contributed to his “gansta” and “thug-life” image. Though his life was cut short on September 13, 1996, Tupac Shakur has become a legend—some people still think he never died—and his legacy will live forever through his released, and still to be released, records and poems.

—Pierre-Damien Mvuyekure

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## Shane

In 1945 Jack Schaefer, an editor and reporter for the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, wrote and published the story “Rider from Nowhere” in *Argosy* magazine. Houghton Mifflin released a revised and expanded version of the story as *Shane* in 1949. Based somewhat on the Johnson County War in Wyoming in the early 1890s, it was Schaefer’s attempt to reduce the legend of the West to its basic components, and to elevate it to the level of Homeric mythology. It



Alan Ladd (left) in a scene from the film *Shane*.

remains a simple tale of a mysterious stranger who descends into the valley in the midst of a conflict. Choosing sides, he removes his godly raiment to mingle with the common people. He crosses a body of water to challenge the enemy and then, after donning again his godly clothes, recrosses the body of water to vanquish the enemy, before ascending from the valley into the night. The novel has sold over 6 million copies in over 80 editions in more than 30 languages. The resulting movie rendition remains the ultimate statement of the legend of the American West.

Young Bob Starrett watched the lone rider make his way slowly across the valley toward the cluster of small farms. "Call me Shane," he said. He was from Arkansas. At 15 he had left his Arkansas home to wander. He did not say where. The Starretts, Joe Marion, and Little Bob, invited Shane to stay on with them as a farm hand. There was something about him, something mysterious and terrifying, but Joe Starrett sensed they had nothing to fear. "He's dangerous, all right . . . but not to us."

The West was changing. The frontier was gone. Homesteaders were fencing off the land in 80 and 160 acre lots. But the old ways die hard. The Fletcher Brothers, owners of the biggest ranch in the valley, had recently contracted with the Army to supply them with beef, and

they needed the range land. This precipitated the conflict between the Fletchers and the farmers that led to several confrontations. Joe Starrett, the strongest willed of the farmers, became their leader, and Shane, sensing the danger of the growing tension, supported Starrett and the farmers.

In two preliminary bouts with the Fletcher cowhands, Shane humiliated them. The first was a fist fight with Chris, a man whom he admired, in which he broke the man's arm. In the second, a barroom brawl at Grafton's Saloon, Shane and Starrett soundly defeated a group of cowhands. In the days following the brawl, young Bob noticed a growing restlessness in Shane, a gradual loss of the serenity that had come over him after he hired on. Fletcher's response to the brawl was to call for a hired gun, Stark Wilson, to come to the valley as their enforcer. When Wilson instigated a face-off with Ernie Wright, and then killed him before Ernie could clear his holster, Shane knew that the conflict had gone far beyond what the farmers could manage. He decided that the time had come to act. "You seem to know about that kind of dirty business," said one of the farmers. "I do," responded Shane.

Fletcher arranged for a meeting with Joe Starrett. But Shane, knowing that it was a trap, knocked Joe unconscious and went to

Grafton's alone, followed by Little Bob. Shane killed Wilson and Fletcher in a gun fight. Then he rode out of town, but not out of memory, as the stories of Shane were told and retold for years after in the valley.

The 1953 film version was produced and directed by George Stevens for Paramount. Alan Ladd played Shane, Van Heflin and Jean Arthur played Joe and Marion, and Brandon DeWilde played Little Joey Starrett. Jack Palance played Wilson and Emile Meyer and John Dierkas played the Ryker Brothers, Rube and Morgan.

In this beautifully filmed movie, the basic elements of Schaefer's story are presented as a mythological tale set in the West. The simple American theme of good winning over evil, and the more complex themes of unstated love, the virtue of economic progress, and the inexorable progress of the order of civilization superseding the chaos of the frontier, are unfolded beneath the dominating peaks of the Grand Tetons.

A lone rider descends into the valley. As a stag bends down to drink from a stream and then raises his head, the rider is framed by the antlers as he comes on slowly toward Little Joey, who is watching him. The audience knows that this is no ordinary drifter. Where is he from? "Here and there." Where is he going? "Someplace I've never been." He learns of the conflict between the homesteaders and the Rykers, who own the largest cattle ranch in the valley. The Rykers want the range opened up and the fences torn down. They are standing in the way of progress. The old ways of open range ranching and cattle drives are inefficient in the face of feed lots and fenced off farming. Shane, in a melancholy surrender to changing times, sees his world coming to an end. The open range is gone. The presence of women and children in abundance requires the banishment of guns and the violent way of life in which he flourished. Reluctantly, he sheds the buckskins of the trail and adopts the drab homespun of the farmer and becomes Starrett's farm hand.

Marion, who watched him ride up, is immediately taken by this handsome Apollo who stands in stark contrast to her dull, dependable husband, Joe. Although she is committed to her family and the farm, she is in love with Shane, as he is with her. Their love, however, is unfulfilled passion, chivalric and pure. This upholds Shane's heroic stature and sets him apart from ordinary men. Little Joey is mesmerized by Shane and his obvious proficiency with guns. He loves his parents, seeks their advice and counsel, and obeys their directives. But he worships Shane. He is a fantasy hero, a little boy's dream.

In the confrontations with Ryker's men, Shane at first backs down. This makes some of the farmers question his dependability. To counter this, Shane picks a fight with Chris Calloway, the ranch hand who first challenged him. The fight turns into a brawl in which Joe and Shane defeat a large group of Ryker's men. Ryker, rebuffed angrily when he offers to hire Shane, responds by sending for Wilson, an evil gunfighter. Played by Palance as a morose, quiet spoken, calculating killer, he personifies evil. As he strolls into the darkened saloon, a dog gets up and walks away, adding an exclamation point to this evil presence. Wilson baits and then kills Torrey, one of the farmers. This prompts an attempt at negotiation between Starrett and Ryker, but Shane is worried that the confab is a set up, that Joe will be killed. Shane then knocks Joe unconscious and rides to meet Wilson at the Saloon. In a beautifully choreographed scene underlined by Gordon Willis' point-of-view photography, Shane kills Wilson and both Ryker brothers in a poetic replay of Wilson's murder of Torrey.

In keeping with the innocent-eye narrative of the novel, the film is presented from little Joey's point of view. Many of the scenes were

filmed in low angle camera shots, as if the audience were viewing the action from Joey's level. This technique also solved the problem of photographing the short, 5-foot-5 Ladd in fight scenes with the much taller Heflin and Ben Johnson. The low camera angle makes Ladd look much taller. Joey is presented as an observer in most pivotal scenes, and as such, Ladd is filmed in a manner that depicts Shane as a god-like figure, looming over the action of the story.

Both the novel and the film succeed in transforming the Western legend into a pure and simple tale of the triumph of good over evil. Shane is presented as an incongruous hero, out of his element, in desperate search for a new existence. His world is ending. He tries farming, but he cannot change what is. He appears hopelessly out of place in the family scenes and in the burial scene. He is forced to revert to an existence he realizes cannot exist anymore. He is an ambiguous hero who desires to eliminate violence and killing from the valley, but he must kill to accomplish his objective. Then he must leave the valley. "There is no living with a killing," he tells Joey, "It's like a brand."

Shane's desperate struggle to escape his past thus ends tragically. In order to save the lifestyle he sought to embrace, he was forced to revert to his past life. "I tried it. It didn't work for me," he explains to Joey. As Shane rides off, Joey begs him to come back. "Shane, come back!" he yells into the night. It is a plaintive cry for a return of his lost innocence, of his fantasy hero, and of his hero's way of life. Before civilization came to the West, life was simple and predictable, pure and unambiguous. Personal honor and the law of the gun marked the difference between right and wrong. In the final analysis, *Shane* appeals to that nostalgic longing in urban society for a time long past when life's options remained open, where men were dominant, and where ethical gray areas did not exist. The invocation of a person's moral code was abrupt and final.

This is a towering, landmark Western film. It is the final statement of the legend of the West, reduced to its simplest components and elevated to the status of myth. Yet it is flawed. It is slow and pretentious; it is studied and self-conscious. It lacks spontaneity. At times, the understated dialogue and suggested themes of unfulfilled love, hero worship, male bonding, and the adherence to moral codes seem stagey and lacking in vitality. But these are trivial points. After *Shane*, the Hollywood Western became less and less viable as a genre and, except for *The Searchers* (1957), it remains unmatched in stature or influence by any later Western films.

The Academy of Motion Picture Arts & Sciences nominated *Shane* for Best Picture, Best Director, and Best Writing (screen adaptation by A.B. Guthrie). Brandon DeWilde and Jack Palance were both nominated for the Best Supporting Actor award. Loyal Griggs won an Oscar for his superb color photography. *Shane* was remade by Malpaso Productions in 1985 as *Pale Rider*, starring Clint Eastwood as a lonely preacher riding in to help a group of miners. It is a gritty film and in places almost a frame by frame clone of the original. It marked Eastwood's return to the Western genre after a nine year absence.

—James R. Belpedio

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## Shaw, Artie (1910—)

One of the three great clarinet-playing band leaders of the twentieth century, along with Benny Goodman and Woody Herman, Artie Shaw was also an experimental leader during the big band era. Born Arthur Arshawsky in New York City, he played in dance bands while in high school and turned professional at age 15, eventually free-lancing in recording studios. In 1935, he played jazz backed by a string quartet and formed a big band that included a string section. Two years later, returning to traditional instrumentation, he recorded his first big hit, Cole Porter's "Begin the Beguine." In 1939, he abandoned his band and went to Mexico. After frequent stops and starts in the music business, Shaw published his autobiography in 1952 and played briefly with a new combo called the Grammercy 5 before a final retirement. He was married eight times to a bevy of beauties that included screen stars Ava Gardner and Lana Turner.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Shawn, Ted (1891-1972)

Ted Shawn is regarded as the father of American modern dance. Born Edwin Meyers Shawn, he began dancing as a form of physical therapy for his paralysis. He recovered, and became a partner and later husband to dancer Ruth St. Denis, who had become famous for her religious solo dances. The couple formed a pioneering dance company and training school called Denishawn in 1915, which toured across America and the world. Shawn often explored Christian and other world religion themes, and was the first American choreographer to combine nudity with movement. After leaving Denishawn, he created the first all-male dance troupe in America, called simply Men Dancers, and Jacob's Pillow, an international dance festival and training center in Massachusetts. Shawn was responsible for establishing dance as a legitimate career for men in America, inspiring generations of dancers and choreographers.

—Brian Granger

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## She Wore a Yellow Ribbon

Director John Ford's *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949) is the first color feature film shot in Monument Valley, Arizona, and the second of three films Ford made about the 7th Cavalry—the other two are *Fort Apache* (1948) and *Rio Grande* (1950). Collectively these films are known as the "Cavalry Trilogy." Set in the American southwest in 1876, *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* revolves around Captain Nathan Brittles (played by John Wayne), an aging officer leading a final patrol before retirement. Due to its gung ho glorification of the concept of Manifest Destiny, the film is best known as a reflection of mainstream America's post-World War II optimism.

—Robert C. Sickels

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## Sheldon, Sidney (1917—)

By the time he wrote his first book at age fifty-three, Sidney Sheldon had already had a substantial impact on popular culture via the creation of successful screenplays and television series, but his subsequent career as a novelist has far eclipsed everything that preceded it. Along with such rivals as Irving Wallace, Jacqueline Susann, Harold Robbins, and Judith Krantz, Sheldon has dominated the bestseller lists by producing fast-moving tales of sex and power among the jet set, such as *Bloodline*, *The Other Side of Midnight*, and *A Stranger in the Mirror*. And, like these other authors, Sheldon's popularity with the public has been in inverse proportion to his standing with literary critics. Unfazed by the critics' disapproval of his efforts, Sheldon continues to create tales that enthrall readers and—bringing his career full circle—often find a second life dramatized as feature films or television miniseries.

Born in Chicago in 1917, Sheldon entered Northwestern University on a scholarship in 1935, but was soon forced to drop out by the economic hardships of the Depression. He journeyed to Manhattan in hopes of becoming a songwriter, and when that didn't pan out he tried the other coast, where he had better luck. On the strength of the story-sense displayed in his sample précis of Steinbeck's *Of Mice and Men*, Sheldon was hired as a reader by Universal Studios. He had managed to break into screenwriting on a modest basis when World War II

broke out, but Sheldon's service proved only a brief interruption, as the Army Air Force quickly discharged him for medical reasons. After some ventures into writing musicals and comedies for the New York stage, Sheldon returned to Hollywood. His acclaim as a scriptwriter was capped by the Oscar he won for the screenplay of *The Bachelor and the Bobbysoxer* (RKO, 1947), a romantic comedy starring Cary Grant, Myrna Loy, and Shirley Temple. The following year, Sheldon collaborated with Frances Goodrich and Albert Hackett on the script for the highly successful MGM musical, Irving Berlin's *Easter Parade*, the only film to unite Judy Garland and Fred Astaire. That script earned the ScreenWriters Guild award for best musical of the year, as did Sheldon's adaptation of Berlin's *Annie Get Your Gun* in 1950.

Other frothy Hollywood vehicles in which Sheldon was involved as writer or producer include *You're Never Too Young and Pardners* (1955 and 1956 respectively, both starring Martin and Lewis), Cole Porter's *Anything Goes* (1956, with Bing Crosby), and *Dream Wife* (1953, Sheldon's debut as a director, starring Cary Grant). In the late 1950s, Sheldon made a second assault on Broadway, which proved more successful than his first. He collaborated with Herbert and Dorothy Fields and David Shaw on the 1959 Gwen Verdon vehicle, *Redhead*, which earned four Tony Awards, including best musical.

Following less than stellar work on other shows and movies, Sheldon transferred to the medium of television, where he created and produced two memorable situation comedies for two different networks. ABC premiered Sheldon's *The Patty Duke Show* in 1963. The young actress, most famed for portraying Helen Keller in the serious drama *The Miracle Worker*, played identical cousins, one from America and one from Scotland, who often exchanged identities in Sheldon's frivolous plots. That series ran for three seasons. Even more successful for Sheldon was his NBC series, *I Dream of Jeannie*, starring Barbara Eden as a sweet natured but naive genie and Larry Hagman as the befuddled astronaut for whom she performs her magic. Debuting in 1965, the show ran for five years initially and has been re-running ever since, spawning further *Jeannie* TV movies and commercials. A generation of Americans can probably, if asked, sing the entire lyrics of these two sitcoms' theme songs as readily, if not more so, than they could sing Mr. Berlin's aforementioned "Easter Parade." Sheldon's 1970s ABC series, *Hart to Hart*, was another ratings winner, starring Robert Wagner and Stephanie Powers as wealthy married sleuths in the romantic/comedic tradition of Nick and Nora Charles.

Looking for new worlds to conquer, and anxious to create characterizations with more depth than that afforded by most TV or film scripts, Sheldon tried his hand at writing a novel. His first effort, *The Naked Face* (1970), was a suspense tale about a psychoanalyst who discovers that someone wants him dead. Although it was not a great success in its first printing, *Naked Face* was followed by Sheldon's first blockbuster success, *The Other Side of Midnight* (1974). This rags-to-riches story of a woman's vengeance catapulted Sheldon to the bestseller lists, where he has remained ever since with each successive book. (Thanks to his later volumes, Sheldon's initially moribund *Naked Face* has remained a steady seller in reprints.) *Midnight* brought Sheldon a movie sale, but not, unfortunately, a successful movie. The same pattern was repeated with other Sheldon bestsellers, such as *Bloodline* (1978). Consequently, he elected to write and produce his own adaptation of *Rage of Angels* (1980), among others. Whatever the outcome of these adaptations, however, the hard-working Sheldon takes pride in the success of the

novels themselves. At the age of eighty, on the eve of the publication of his fifteenth novel, *The Best Laid Plans* (1997), the author described his working methods to the *Los Angeles Times*: "I dictate everything to a secretary and she transcribes it. I'll do up to 50 pages a day, but when I get those pages, I'll do a dozen to 15 total rewrites before I ever let my publisher see them." And that, apparently, is when the publisher gets busy: At last count, according to the Guinness Book of World Records, Sheldon is the most translated author in the world, with books in 51 languages in 180 countries.

—Preston Neal Jones

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## Shepard, Sam (1943—)

Playwright, actor, and director Sam Shepard is a serious and distinguished playwright whose work is performed by his peers and admired by critics and theatergoers in many countries. He is, however, most widely and popularly known, particularly in the United States, as a movie actor, notably in *The Right Stuff* (1983), writer-director Philip Kaufman's tribute to the Mercury project astronauts which has become ingrained in American popular culture. Shepard played Chuck Yeager and was Oscar-nominated for his fine performance. His stage and screen persona is in the strong and silent mold—tall, slim, cleft-chinned and good looking—and he has made effective appearances in numerous other films, among them *Crimes of the Heart* (1987), *Steel Magnolias* (1989) and *Thunderheart* (1992) that have varied in both quality and success. He co-starred with Jessica Lange, later his off-screen partner and mother of some of his children, in *Francis* (1982) and *Country* (1984).

It is, however, his work as a playwright that has defined Sam Shepard's cultural contribution. The structure of his dramatic language has received close critical attention as directors and scholars, like Stephen J. Bottoms, have striven to discover "how it is that his strange language and stage imagery so often seem to lodge themselves in the spectator's imagination with such peculiar force." Shepard's "peculiar force" of language earned him Obie awards for three early-career one-act plays in the 1960s, the New York Drama Critics Circle Best Play Award for *Lie of the Mind* (1985), and the Pulitzer Prize for Drama for his play *Buried Child* (1978).

Born Samuel Shepard Rogers in Mount Sheridan, Illinois, he endured an "army brat" childhood until his family eventually settled in California. He became interested in theater early, joined a church dramatic group, and later became a playwright-in-residence at the Magic Theatre in San Francisco. He then moved to New York in the 1960s and began working off-off-Broadway as a writer and actor with such experimental groups as the La Mama company. The origin of Shepard's unique dramatic language can be traced to this early period and his subsequent move to London in 1971. The music scene of

Greenwich Village, the fragmented, improvisational nature of jazz, and the driving, electric sound of rock influenced the tone, structure, and characters of his initial theatrical experiments. Shepard's plays did not conform to the established, traditional dramas of Arthur Miller or Tennessee Williams, a rebellion of approach that became a trademark of his work.

Eschewing both realism and conventional exposition, character conflicts and inner meaning in Shepard's plays are expressed through his use of syntax, imagery, and rhythm. In his preface to *Angel City* (1976), Shepard wrote a "Note to the Actors," revealing how music influences characterization. "Instead of the idea of a 'whole character' with logical motives behind his behavior which the actor submerges himself into, he should consider himself a fractured whole with bits and pieces of characters flying off the central theme. In other words, more in terms of collage construction or jazz improvisation." Although New York had witnessed the staging of almost 20 plays by Shepard between 1964 and 1971, drugs and a troubled affair with rock musician Patti Smith prompted a move to England, where he remained until 1974.

Of his major works, only the rock star/status-struggle drama *Tooth of Crime* (1972) was written and first produced in London; however, this distanced perspective on American culture significantly influenced Shepard's writing. In an interview conducted in England in 1974, he explained this creative dichotomy. "It wasn't until I came to England that I found out what it means to be an American. Nothing really makes sense when you're there, but the more distant you are from it, the more implications of what you grew up with start to emerge." What Shepard "grew up with" was to form what many critics have termed a "family tetralogy," created by the plays *Curse of the Starving Class* (1977), *Buried Child* (1978), *True West* (1980), *Fool for Love* (1983), and *Lie of the Mind* (1985). These works represent his major successes, and while all deal with the psychological dysfunction of the American family, he has remained an artist who resists traditional genre classification, mixing comic absurdism with the faintly sinister.

An actor writing for actors, the power of Shepard's language links him to a renowned tradition of American playwrights; yet, it is precisely this language, which is uniquely his own, that also separates his work from that of his predecessors. Actor Joyce Aaron, who originated many of the female roles in Shepard's early plays, concurs, stating: "Sam is a recorder of the authentic American voice. He starts from a certain perception of daily life, and then transforms that into a specific voice—a voice with its own rhythms and shifting consciousness, its unique, particular curve or leap. . . . That is part of the theatrical challenge and wonder of speaking Sam's language."

Sam Shepard wrote the screenplay for Wim Wenders' *Paris, Texas* (1984), adapted *Fool for Love* to the screen in 1985 (and starred in it), and wrote an original screenplay, *Far North* (1988), in which Jessica Lange starred and which marked his none-too-successful film directing debut. In 1994, he wrote and directed *Silent Tongue*, but it was clear by the late 1990s that his natural metier as a dramatist was the live theater.

—John A. Price

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## Sherman, Cindy (1954—)

To some extent, Cindy Sherman has reached cult figure status in the artworld. With her ability to transform herself into various subjects, Sherman uses her photography as a way to confront and explore the representations of women in society; additionally, she challenges ideas about appearance. With the showing of her first series, the black and white photographs in the *Untitled Film Stills* (1977-80), Sherman burst upon the art scene. Immediately recognized for her new way of approaching photography while promoting a feminist viewpoint, Sherman, in her international exhibitions, has generated a large following and prompted much discussion about many issues. Her images cross the boundaries of several genres, yet, essentially, all of her photographs deal with the ideas of exhibitionism, voyeurism, and in many cases, the portrayal of women. Her theatrical works employ both art theories and critical issues from the 1980s and 1990s, and actively engage critics, collectors, museums, and the general public.

For an artist who so quickly became successful with her images of sometimes surreal, horrific, and always fascinating depictions of invented characters, Sherman had a simple upbringing. She was born, the youngest of five children, on January 19, 1954, in Glen Ridge, New Jersey. Not long after her birth, Sherman's father, an engineer, and her mother, a school teacher, moved the family to Huntington Beach, Long Island, where she grew up. For fun, Sherman would dress up in her mother's and grandmother's clothes, but she was not trying to be "pretty." Even at an early age Sherman was trying to create new characters. As an adult, she continued a form of "dress-up," shopping at second-hand stores to find clothing and props to enhance her characters that she would develop in front of a mirror. This element of her personality would directly feed into later images.

While studying painting at the State University College in Buffalo, New York, Sherman often produced self-portraits. She found difficulty expressing some of her ideas in this medium, however, and turned to photography. Failing her first photography class due to troubles with the technical aspects, Sherman began focusing on ideas rather than technology; this finally produced some success. Sherman's friend, artist Robert Longo, suggested that she incorporate her "dress-up" sessions into her artwork. It was then that Sherman found her niche; it provided her with a way to assert her ideas about the roles and depiction of women. Sherman graduated with a B.A. in 1976 and not long after, received a National Endowment for the Arts grant in 1977. The money gave her the resources to move into New York City and helped finance her first project.

Appropriating ideas and images from "film noir" and movies of the 1950s and 1960s, Sherman's black and white *Untitled Film Stills* carry nostalgic overtones. Sherman has used herself as a model to portray and identify stereotypical roles of women—the femme fatale, the housewife, and the innocent office girl, for example. The photographs are not self-portraits, but are studies of characters that Sherman has invented. In each image she dresses up and applies make-up to change or obscure some of her facial features, thus creating new

characters. She feels that her face becomes a canvas. The *Untitled Film Stills* are essays influenced by the media. Sherman adapts the messages promoted in the media regarding the universal archetypes of women and holds them up for scrutiny. She questions how the structuring of identity relates to society's visions of womanhood.

Continuing to examine mass media, Sherman began to use her constructed identities exclusively in color images, delving into the emotions and situations of her representations. Her artwork of the early 1980s dealt with portrayals of women in the porn and fashion industries. Commissioned to make fashion images for several designers, boutiques, and magazines, Sherman created unglamorous images that directly contrasted with most fashion photographs. The delineation between commercial photography and fine art becomes blurred with Sherman's work. She has also imbued her works with social commentary, referencing the psychological and emotional toll brought on by conforming to society's ideals. Sherman reveals and highlights internal pathos in her *Fairy Tales* and *Disaster* images (1985-89). These horrific and grotesque images portray the dark side of fairy tales. The subject matter of the photographs becomes less concerned with identities invented by Sherman. She begins to remove herself from the images in a blatant way; yet often found in the photographs are unrecognizable aspects of her body.

In *History Portraits* (1988-1990), Sherman adapted elements from several famous paintings and combined them to create parodies of historical images and icons. She photographed herself with exaggerated make-up, costumes, and props. The characterizations take on specific identities: the Madonna and Bacchus, for example. After this series, Sherman removed her body from the images completely. By manipulating dolls and interchangeable body parts ordered from a medical supply magazine, Sherman created strange still life tableaux in her *Sex Pictures* (1992). This series proved to be controversial; many critics felt this work was pornographic. The work, however, surpasses pornography; the clinical approach that Sherman employed removes any erotic overtones and infuses the images with an artificiality. The images were a reaction to censorship issues caused by the debate in defining obscenity and pornography that the National Endowment for the Arts used in the grant award process in the 1990s. *Horror and Surrealist Pictures* (1994-96) continued to use masks and objects, which become almost undiscernible due to Sherman's use of several photographic processes including double exposures. These color saturated images again refer to the inner psychological and emotional elements that constitute identity.

Sherman's last project, the horror movie *Office Killer* (1997), is a logical extension of her artwork. In all of her images Sherman plays off of existing elements in mass media culture. She finds inspiration in movies, fairy tales, fashion, and books. Using components from these groups in exaggerated forms, Sherman presents her ideas as new representations that attack and transcend universal stereotypes.

—Jennifer Jankauskas

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## The Shirelles

In 1961, four young African American women known as the Shirelles—original members: Doris Kenner Jackson (1941—), Addie "Micki" Harris (1940-1982), Beverly Lee (1941—), and Shirley Alston Reeves (1941—)—ushered in the girl group era with the Gerry Goffin-Carole King composition "Will You Love Me Tomorrow?" Released on Scepter Records, the song reached number one on *Billboard's* pop charts. The first all-female act to reach the number one position, the Shirelles demonstrated that girl groups could be commercially successful, challenging the music industry's prejudice against female rhythm and blues groups. Subsequent hits included "Baby, It's You" (later recorded by the Beatles) and "Soldier Boy." When their final Top Ten single appeared in 1963, they were competing with other girl groups and their label had turned its attention to new artists, including Dionne Warwick. The Shirelles disbanded in the late 1960s; decades later, original members of the group teamed with new singers to play oldies revival shows. In 1996 the Shirelles were inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame.

—Anna Hunt Graves

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## Shirer, William L. (1904-1993)

A globe-trotting newspaperman and author of 15 major works of fiction and history, William L. Shirer is best known for his pioneering work as a radio newscaster during Europe's march toward World War II. From Germany's forcible union with Austria and the Czech Crisis of 1938 to the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials in 1945, Shirer spanned the Atlantic and kept Americans informed of the aggressive intentions of Hitler and the dynamics of Nazism in his memorable *European News Round-Up* broadcasts. By the time he left CBS radio in 1947, he had helped lay the foundation for modern international news broadcasting and achieved, with his "Fall of France" report, one of the biggest on-air scoops in history.

Shirer began his career as a foreign correspondent in 1925 when he joined the Paris office of the *Chicago Tribune*. Before moving to the newspaper's Central European Bureau (Vienna) in 1929, he had the opportunity to cover Charles Lindbergh's famous oceanic flight and the sessions of the League of Nations. Shirer regarded 1930-31 his "most interesting years," when he traveled the breadth of India with Gandhi and reported on the activities of his civil disobedience movement. Shirer returned to Paris in January 1934 after a skiing accident robbed him of part of his eyesight, and he secured a position with the *New York Herald*. He was Universal News Service's Berlin correspondent from August 1934 until the organization was disbanded by William Randolph Hearst in 1937.

Shirer did not remain unemployed for long. Recognizing his vast experience covering European affairs and his facility with German and French, Edward R. Murrow (chief of CBS's European staff) asked him to open the network's office in Vienna and arrange for the



**The Shirelles**

broadcasts of its correspondents there. At first Shirer was to act only in an administrative capacity, and because his voice was considered inadequate for extensive broadcasts, as an announcer for other speakers. But when the German army moved into Austria on March 12, 1938, in an effort to achieve *Anschluss* (union) between the two states, Shirer was given a rare opportunity. As soldiers swarmed through the streets of Vienna, Shirer managed to locate a microphone, but when he tried to deliver his account, he was forced out of the studio at bayonet-point. Undeterred, Shirer hopped the first flight to London and made his uncensored broadcast there over the network's 117-station hookup. The next day, March 13, CBS news director Paul White charged him with making the arrangements for the first international multiple pickup broadcast, in which a succession of correspondents at various strategic points across the continent would go on the air and provide their own perspective on the crisis. Because this type of direct broadcast had never been done before, Shirer was compelled to improvise. In the few hours before airtime, he located the relevant personnel and ensured their access to short-wave facilities. In order that all scheduled sources could be heard within the

fifteen-minute period allotted for the broadcast, and in the absence of any cueing system or feedback device, Shirer instructed his correspondents to time their words precisely and to go on the air "blind." The success achieved with this first *European News Round-Up* guaranteed it a regular spot in the nightly newscasts of the war period. In many ways, it established the pattern for international coverage later found on television.

As a result of his *Anschluss* performance, CBS made Shirer one of its regular newscasters. In September 1938, he was the man-on-the-scene during the Czech Crisis. As Hitler's conflict with the Czech government over the fate of the Sudetenland threatened to precipitate a major European war, millions of Americans anxiously tuned in to Shirer's nightly five-minute broadcasts from Prague. When the Fuehrer set his sights on Poland in September 1939, Shirer covered the impending crisis from the main vantage point of Berlin itself. On the first day of war, September 1, Shirer captivated listeners with his report of an air raid alarm while it was in progress.

Reporting from the Nazi capital offered distinct opportunities but also had significant drawbacks. Shirer's accounts of German life



and strategy during wartime had to pass three rigorous censors prior to airtime, and the approved script could only be read in the presence of official observers from the propaganda office. Shirer used his ingenuity to mitigate the effects of such adulteration. Listeners became sensitive to the way he expressed his true feelings by his “ironic sense of humor,” sarcastic tone, and use of peculiarly American phrasing and slang that academically trained German censors could not comprehend. In May 1940 Shirer became one of a handful of correspondents allowed to accompany the German army during its conquest of France and one of the few to beam reports from occupied Paris. The *Wehrmacht's* (armed forces’) advance was so swift that, by the end of the campaign, CBS had lost all contact with Shirer. When he finally reached a transmitter on June 22, he achieved one of the greatest scoops in the history of American broadcasting. Most correspondents had believed the Franco-German armistice would be signed in Berlin, and they took up positions there. Shirer, learning the actual location would be a railroad car in the Compiègne Forest (where the Germans had been forced to capitulate to the French in 1918), was able to arrive there in time to witness the spectacle and relay his account several hours before any other reporter.

In December 1940, the burden of German censorship became intolerable, and Shirer ceased his “This Is Berlin” broadcasts. He returned to the United States, embarked upon a vigorous lecture tour, and became technical advisor for the wartime film *Passport to Bordeaux*. While continuing to analyze the news for CBS, he published an uncensored account of the story behind his on-the-spot broadcast from Germany in *Berlin Diary: Journal of a Foreign Correspondent, 1934-41*. In 1941 his book became a best-seller, and the Headliner’s Club honored him with an award for “excellence in radio reporting.” In 1945, he returned to Germany as CBS’s chief European correspondent to cover the Nuremberg War Crimes trials and made it back in time to cover the opening of the United Nations in San Francisco. In 1946, Shirer received the Peabody Award for his “outstanding interpretation of the news.” The following year, he resigned from CBS after an “objectivity” dispute with Murrow.

Shirer served briefly as a commentator for the Mutual Broadcasting System in 1947-49 but was blacklisted and forced to retire from broadcasting in the early 1950s because of his links with the Hollywood Ten. Thereafter, Shirer sustained himself through his lectures and prolific writings. He wrote substantial articles for *Life*, *Harper's*, and *Collier's*, and the fictionalized biographies *Traitor* (1950) and *Stranger Go Home* (1954). He produced *End of a Berlin Diary* (1947) as a sequel to his earlier historical work and authored five additional books based on his experience as a correspondent: *Midcentury Journey* (1952), *The Collapse of the Third Republic* (1969), *Twentieth-Century Journey* (1976), *The Nightmare Years* (1984), and *A Native's Return* (1990). His most well-known literary achievement, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, was published in 1959, after five years of scrutinizing rare Nazi state documents and private memoirs. The work received the National Book Award in 1961. Shirer died in December 1993 in his home state of Massachusetts.

—Robert J. Brown

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## Shock Radio

The bane of the Federal Communications Commission, shock radio exploded on the American scene in the closing decades of the twentieth century. Some hailed this format as a refreshing example of free speech at work—its very outrageousness proof that any message can be disseminated over America’s airwaves if there is an audience willing to receive it. Others decried the success of shock radio as a sign of the coarsening of the nation’s popular culture—and pointed to its origins in broadcast hate speech as evidence of its secretly poisonous nature.

Shock radio has a thousand fathers (all of them illegitimate, its detractors might add). From the mid-1920s to the 1940s, Father Charles Coughlin spewed anti-Semitic, pro-Nazi, and crypto-Fascist venom to an audience of millions via his national radio program. The so-called “father of hate radio” was one of the first broadcasters to divine the nexus between controversial opinions and a large and avid listenership. Coughlin also established a pattern followed by other successful radio hosts of leaping into other media. He established his own newsletter, *Social Justice*, to disseminate his views. When Franklin Roosevelt dared him to run for president in 1936, Coughlin did so, as the head of the xenophobic Union Party. But America’s involvement in World War II dealt a severe blow to the vituperative priest, whose tirades against “international Jewry” began to take on a seditious connotation for a nation committed to the struggle against Fascism.

After Coughlin and his imitators departed the airwaves, American radio largely slept through the serene 1950s. The advent of rock and roll presented the only challenge to the heterodoxy of somnambulant top forty fare being offered up on a local and national basis. That all started to change in the 1960s, when big-city markets began to buzz with the controversial opinions of hosts like Joe Pyne. Working out of KABC in Los Angeles, America’s first all-talk station, Pyne was one of the first radio hosts to fuse conversation, confrontation, and conservatism in an effort to boost ratings. He once famously directed a caller to “go gargle with razor blades.” Pyne’s right-wing rants continued in the political tradition of Father Coughlin, a path many subsequent shock jocks followed as well. Others, by contrast, opted to depoliticize their programs in an effort to move beyond an audience of like-minded adherents while still maintaining a high shock value.

In the late 1970s, WNBC in New York became the proving ground for this latest wave of shock radio hosts. Two deejays in particular, Don Imus and Howard Stern, helped perfect the form that each would later take to an even higher level of popularity. Imus, an ex-Marine and one-time rhythm and blues performer, was one of the first to devote the bulk of his show to outrageous, scatological, and offensive humor. Often he would start a conversation with a female

guest by asking what she was wearing. Inquiries into breast size and sexual history would invariably follow. There was also an abundance of anti-clerical material, as personified by Imus' popular "Rev. Billy Sol Hargus" character, a lapsed minister whose riffs Imus later expanded into a best-selling book and comedy album. All of this chatter was accompanied by a cacophony of quacking noises and sound effects that were to become standard fare for the shock radio genre. A peanut gallery of sidekicks and joke suppliers was on hand to prop up the host when his alcohol and cocaine addictions rendered him unfit to broadcast, which was often.

Playing second fiddle to Imus in those heady days was gangly Long Island native Howard Stern, who at first merely aped the "I-Man's" high-volume shtick but would later outstrip him in influence. Stern's daily program took Imus' audacious sex chatter to its logical extreme. Anchored around a running commentary on the news of the day, *The Howard Stern Show* also featured mock game show segments like "Guess the Jew," in which callers try to pick the Semite from a group of three celebrities. Stern's own sexual obsessions, such as lesbianism and the size of his own sex organ, were also given copious attention. "Conversations" with guests like Jessica Hahn often devolved into simulated sex acts or on-air stripteases. Despite constant scrutiny by the FCC, Stern managed to remain on the air and export his show to markets across the country. By the early 1990s, he was dubbing himself "the King of All Media."

During the 1980s, thanks largely to Stern, "shock" became a hot format among radio programmers. Every city, it seemed, had its "morning zoo" crew dedicated to keeping alive the art of the prank phone call. Some were fairly tame, never straying far from the standard repertoire of "big boob" and dumb politician jokes. Others ventured dangerously far into the minefield of racial and sexual humor. Two St. Louis deejays, Steve Shannon and D.C. Chymes, shocked themselves out of a job in 1993 when they accused a caller to their show of "acting like a nigger." The incident sparked a massive protest by the NAACP and the Urban League and illustrated the perils of on-air confrontation. Most hosts had a better understanding of where their bread was buttered. Even the nascent sports radio format was not immune to the allure of shock. Jim Rome, a host at 690-AM in Los Angeles, was one of the first to bring the arts of insult and confrontation to the task of covering professional athletics. His daily four-hour "smack-talking" session proved highly successful and inspired a slew of imitators.

In the 1990s, shock radio reached the apex of its influence. However, in all but taking over the talk radio airwaves, it became a genre increasingly hard to define. Politically oriented hosts like Rush Limbaugh and New York City's conservative firebrand Bob Grant argued that their purpose was not to shock, but to inform and rally support for their viewpoints. Their critics on the other side of the ideological aisle rejected this claim and dismissed their output as "hate radio." Stern and his many imitators treated politics as a mere lark, subservient to their primary mission to titillate and break taboos. Imus, who had blazed the trail in this arena, largely forsook such adolescent shenanigans altogether. His daily forum *Imus in the Morning*, originating out of WFAN in New York beginning in 1988, took on an increasingly topical tone over the years. Gone were the phone calls to semi-nude women, replaced by conversations with U.S. senators and political commentators like Jeff Greenfield and Tim Russert.

Whatever its format, however, there was no denying shock radio's influence on the American pop cultural landscape. The new-and-improved Don Imus became something of a cult figure with the

C-SPAN crowd after a well-publicized interview with then-presidential candidate Bill Clinton during the New York Democratic primary in 1992. In 1993, *Imus in the Morning* entered national syndication. Within three years, it aired on over eighty stations across the country. The I-Man's daily audience was estimated at 10 million. Not unexpectedly, Imus later squandered much of his newfound political capital in 1996 during a speech at the annual Radio and Television Correspondents dinner in Washington, calling now-President Clinton a "pot-smoking weasel" to his face. Still, his brand of shock continued to sell around the country. A fawning 1999 *Newsweek* cover story on the grizzled shock jock even trumpeted "The Importance of Being Imus."

Howard Stern was even more successful. The era of political correctness gave an additional impetus to his transgressive brand of comedy. His listeners were among the most loyal and dedicated in the medium, often prank calling TV phone-in shows to drop the name of their dear leader. Stern briefly stood for election as governor of New York in 1994, but realized his extreme brand of libertarian politics was too idiosyncratic for even a liberal electorate and quickly withdrew. Instead he published a best-selling autobiography, *Private Parts*, and later starred in a movie adaptation well-received by critics. And by adding a weekly national television show in 1998, he seemed perilously close to fulfilling his prophecy to become "king of all media." Stern's meteoric rise in stature, like that of Imus, cemented shock radio's place in the forefront of American popular culture at the turn of the twenty-first century.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Shore, Dinah (1917-1994)

A sultry-voiced pop singer with Southern charm, Dinah Shore recorded 75 hit records between 1940 and 1955. After a modest career in the movies, Dinah found her niche in television, making her debut in 1951 as the cheery host of a fifteen-minute variety show, which aired twice a week. She became even more popular with *The Dinah Shore Chevy Show* (1956-63), singing the jingle "See the USA in your Chevrolet," and smacking a signature sign-off kiss to the audience. Like another of that era's television singers, Kate Smith, Dinah quickly became a national institution.

Born in Winchester, Tennessee, Dinah graduated from Vanderbilt University with a degree in sociology. Moving to New York City after graduation, she sang on radio with Frank Sinatra—who nicknamed her "Magnolia Blossom"—and tried out unsuccessfully as a vocalist for several top dance bands. Eddie Cantor's daughters heard her singing on WNEW, and she successfully auditioned for Cantor's radio show, which had been a career springboard for singers Deanna Durbin, Margaret Whiting, and Bobby Breen. Within weeks of her debut she had a Columbia recording contract, and Cantor put up \$750 of his own money to buy her the rights to the song, "Yes, My Darling Daughter," which became her first hit. By the end of 1940, she was voted Outstanding New Star of the Year by six hundred radio editors.

Shore made her movie debut in the Eddie Cantor musical, *Thank Your Lucky Stars*, perhaps best remembered for a decision made by



**Dinah Shore**

Warner Brothers' make-up artists to lighten Shore's dark hair to an off-blond color. Samuel Goldwyn chose Dinah to co-star in Danny Kaye's 1944 debut film, a GI comedy, *Up in Arms*, in which she introduced two Harold Arlen songs, "Now I Know" and "Tess's Torch Song." In the few movies that followed (*Belle of the Yukon*, *Follow the Boys*, *Till the Clouds Roll By*, and *Aaron Slick from Punkin Crick*), Dinah was featured in guest-singing spots or given minor roles. "I bombed as a movie star," she candidly admitted, but she soon became a superstar on television.

Dinah's warm, friendly manner with her top-name guest stars made her one of the few women to achieve a major success as a variety-series host, and the *Chevy Show* ran for seven seasons as a highlight of NBC's Sunday night schedule. The program allowed Dinah to display a variety of talents in skits and production numbers, in addition to singing such perennial favorites as "Blues in the Night," "I'll Walk Alone," and "Buttons and Bows." In 1961 NBC moved Dinah to Friday nights to give a new Western show, *Bonanza*, the Sunday slot, but her popularity continued.

During her years on television, Dinah received ten Emmy Awards and was regularly named to the list of the nation's most admired women. Making the transition from variety show to talk

show host, she continued to win fans with *Dinah's Place* (1970-74), *Dinah and Her Friends* (1979-84), and *A Conversation with Dinah* (1989-91).

In the early 1970s, Dinah's six-year romance with Burt Reynolds, who was 18 years her junior, made big news in the tabloids. A UPI reporter called it "one of the most tastefully handled Hollywood love affairs in recent memory." Both Burt and Dinah openly conversed about it on talk shows and saw no problem with the age difference. They remained good friends after the break-up, and he often appeared on her television shows.

In 1981, at the age of sixty-four, Dinah boldly signed a contract for a series of live stage performances, her first in over thirty years. Although accustomed to television cue cards, she was able, after a few rehearsals, to remember all her new lyrics and arrangements, and the shows went smoothly. During her last years she was an avid tennis player and golfer, also sponsoring a tournament on the Ladies Professional Golf Tour.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Shorter, Frank (1947—)

Often credited with having spurred the running boom of the 1970s, Frank Shorter was one of America's greatest Olympic performers. He is best remembered for his victory in the marathon during the ill-starred games in Munich in 1972, and for his runner-up finish four years later in Montreal. The Munich games were marred by the terrorism meted out against Israeli athletes, but they are also recalled for swimmer Mark Spitz's unprecedented seven gold medals and Shorter's long-distance triumph. On the day of the marathon, September 10, 1972, *Runner's World* later contended, "distance running was changed forever . . . transformed from the cult exercise of an eccentric breed of skinny men into what would become for many a way of life." An international television audience watched as the tousle-haired Shorter, born in Munich in 1947—his father was an American army physician stationed in Germany after the war—and a graduate of Yale University, held the lead from the fifteen-kilometer marker. Days earlier, Shorter had finished fifth in the 10,000 meters race. On entering the stadium near the close of the marathon, he was stunned to encounter jeering and booing, which was intended for a prankster who had landed on the track a short while earlier. Shorter went on to best the Belgian Karel Lismont, who had never lost a marathon previously. "Five seconds beyond the finish line it hit me what I'd done," Shorter, who often ran 140 miles a week, remembered. "I don't have to do it again for a while." The marathon, he reasoned, "is a battle against slowing down."

Four years later in Montreal, Shorter, by then a graduate of the University of Florida School of Law and an associate with French & Stone in Boulder, Colorado, was favored to repeat and thereby



**Frank Shorter**

duplicate the feat of Ethiopia's Abebe Bikila. Shorter however, was defeated by the little-known East German Waldemar Cierpinski, who established an Olympic record. When he passed the front-running Shorter, Cierpinski later reflected, "I looked right into the eyes of the man who was my idol as a marathon runner. I knew all about him. And yet I could tell by the return glance that he didn't know much, if anything, about me. The psychological advantage was mine."

Shorter's Olympic accomplishments followed earlier victories in the 1969 NCAA six-mile run, the 10,000-meter race in the 1970 U.S.-USSR dual meet in Leningrad, the 1970 AAU outdoor three-mile and six-mile events, the 1971 AAU six-mile run, and the 1971 Pan-American Games 10,000-meter race and the marathon. From 1970-1973, he was also the AAU cross-country champion. Shorter eventually won a record four Fukuoka marathons. In 1972, he received the Sullivan Award, given annually to the nation's top amateur athlete. But by 1979, serious foot and back injuries sorely hampered his track performances.

Shorter is a member of the National Track & Field Hall of Fame and the Olympic Hall of Fame. He has served as a television sports commentator for track-and-field performances and founded Frank Shorter Running Gear, headquartered in Colorado. But among his greatest achievements, Shorter helped to challenge the false separation between amateur and professional track-and-field performers, thus ushering in "a new cooperative climate between athletes, sponsors and federations," according to *Runner's World*.

Shorter's Olympic feats, including the first victory in the marathon by an American in 64 years, helped to trigger a running boom in

the United States. (Instrumental, too, were the early successes and later nearly epochal failures in the 1968 and 1972 Olympic games by world record-holding miler Jim Ryun, Dr. Kenneth Cooper's championing of aerobic conditioning, and James F. Fixx's and Joe Henderson's writings extolling running.) By 1970, two million Americans were jogging regularly, according to a Gallup Poll. Following Shorter's triumph, road racing became more popular in the United States, thanks to favorable media coverage and corporate sponsorships. For a time, under-the-table expense payments were often delivered, as the lines between amateur and professional athletes continued to narrow. By 1980, the United States reportedly boasted 30 million runners, while by 1997, *Runner's World* suggested, a second running boom was occurring. This one tended to be less competitive, "more individual- and family-centered, more health- and fitness-oriented, more 'set your own goals and choose your own pace.'" Frank Shorter's contribution to one of late-twentieth-century America's most ubiquitous fitness crazes renders him a significant figure in U.S. popular culture.

—Robert C. Cottrell

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## Show Boat

*Show Boat* (1927), Jerome Kern and Oscar Hammerstein II's immortal tale of life on the Mississippi River from the 1880s to the 1920s, was one of the landmark works of the American musical theater. It not only contained a calvacade of songs that included "Ol' Man River," "Can't Help Lovin' Dat Man," "Make Believe," and "You Are Love," but also helped propel the American musical theater forward with its serious libretto and a musical score that was wedded to the dramatic content.



Howard Keel and Kathryn Grayson in a scene from the film *Show Boat*.

Based on Edna Ferber's 1926 novel of life on the Mississippi River, Hammerstein's libretto focuses on Magnolia (Nola) Hawks, impressionable daughter of Cap'n Andy Hawks—owner of the show boat Cotton Blossom—and his domineering wife, Parthy. Nola falls in love with Gaylord Ravenal, a river gambler, at first sight. They marry and move to Chicago, where their daughter Kim is born. Gaylord loses all his money and deserts his family. The musical ends in 1927, years later, with a reunion of Nola, Gaylord, and Kim on the Cotton Blossom.

Secondary plots and characters are of great importance in the show. Julie, the mulatto actress, is forced to leave the Cotton Blossom when her racial background is exposed. In the second act, Julie sacrifices her career for Nola, who, destitute, auditions to sing at the Trocadero Club. Joe and Queenie, an African-American couple who live on the Cotton Blossom, provide continuity as the personifications of wisdom and the joy of life through numbers such as Joe's "Ol' Man River" and the couple's "Ah Still Suits Me," written for the 1936 film and interpolated into some of the show's subsequent revivals. Frank and Ellie embody the essence of musical comedy with their farcical antics. In Ellie's "Life upon the Wicked Stage," the comic actress describes her profession to her adoring fans.

*Show Boat's* musical score contained a substantial number of songs that entered the canon of American popular music. Considered the most operatic of Kern's scores, the music in *Show Boat* elevated the standard of popular song. The show's numbers became defining works in the musical theater repertoire. In the music of *Show Boat*, characters were defined through their music. The relationship of Nola

and Gaylord develops from the fantasy world of "Make Believe" to overt expression in "You Are Love" and "Why Do I Love You?" Julie's torch song, "Bill" (written in 1918 for *Oh, Lady, Lady!* but cut from the show), became a classic of the genre, and "Can't Help Lovin' Dat Man," with its opening line "Fish gotta swim, birds gotta fly," emerged as a standard romantic ballad.

*Show Boat* became an institution in American musical theater because of its skillful integration of operetta, realistic drama, and musical comedy. The fantasy world of the operetta is captured through the show's numerous waltzes. The *credo* of operetta, "Make Believe" (though not a waltz), is the title of one of the musical's early numbers. The fantasy world of the operetta is represented by the show boat and its theatrical escapism. The real world is manifested through the Chicago scenes—the World's Fair, Gaylord's gambling and desertion, and the plights of Julie and Nola. The real world enters the Cotton Blossom in the miscenagation scene, where Julie and her husband Steve are forced to leave the show boat. Musical comedy elements appear in the characters of Ellie and Frank, whose music is decidedly Tin Pan Alley in style. The integration of these diverse musical styles accounts for *Show Boat's* importance and popularity.

The musical score of *Show Boat* is integrated with the show's dramatic narrative. Music did not exist solely for its own sake—its purpose was to enhance the drama. The standard was set and groundwork was laid for a more serious approach to the Broadway musical. Characters could no longer waltz their way out of difficulty as the tragedy of real life entered the popular musical theater. Kern and Hammerstein did give in to the Broadway tradition of a happy ending, however; Ferber's novel does not include the final scene of reconciliation between Nola and Gaylord.

*Show Boat*, produced by Florenz Ziegfeld, opened at the Ziegfeld Theatre in New York on December 27, 1927. Howard Marsh and Norma Terris played the lead roles of Nola and Gaylord. Helen Morgan created her legendary role of Julie, and Jules Bledsoe was the first Joe. The show ran for 572 performances, making it the second longest running Broadway musical of the 1920s.

*Show Boat* has continued to be successful on both stage and screen. Numerous revivals included Ziegfeld's in 1932, Kern and Hammerstein's 1946 production, the Musical Theater of Lincoln Center's 1966 version, and Hal Prince's lavish treatment that opened in Toronto in 1993 and in New York the following year. Three film versions of *Show Boat* were created: a 1929 part-talkie, a 1936 adaptation with Irene Dunne and Allan Jones, and the 1951 classic with Kathryn Grayson and Howard Keel.

In 1988, EMI released what it claimed to be "the first ever complete recording" of *Show Boat*. Under the direction of John McGlinn, it featured opera singers Frederica von Stade, Jerry Hadley, Teresa Stratas, and Bruce Hubbard in the principal roles, thus emphasizing the work's operatic qualities. Music which was cut from the show during its pre-Broadway tryout and songs written for film versions and revivals are included on the recording.

*Show Boat* is a classic American musical. Its memorable score and its integration of plot and music display a high level of craftsmanship on the part of its creators. The combination of realism and fantasy inherent in the story will ensure that *Show Boat* will continue to delight audiences for generations to come.

—William A. Everett

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## Shula, Don (1930—)

Don Shula is the winningest coach in National Football League (NFL) history. Born on January 4, 1930, in Grand River, Ohio, Shula started his professional football career as a defensive back with the Cleveland Browns in 1951. He also played for the Baltimore Colts from 1953 to 1956 and the Washington Redskins in 1957. Shula is best known for his thirty-three seasons as a head coach, eight with the Baltimore Colts (1960-1969) and twenty-five with the Miami Dolphins (1970-1995). His teams compiled a record of 347-173-6, and reached the playoffs 20 times. Shula took the Colts to the Super Bowl in 1969, and the Dolphins in 1972, 1973, 1974, 1983, and 1985. He is also the only coach in NFL history to record an undefeated season, capped when his 1972-73 Dolphins beat the Washington Redskins 14-7 in Super Bowl VII. After several disappointing seasons, Shula stepped down as head coach of the Miami Dolphins on January 5, 1996. He was elected in his first year of eligibility to the National Football League Hall of Fame.

—Daniel Bernardi

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## Shulman, Max (1919-1988)

A popular humorist, Shulman was best known for *The Many Loves of Dobie Gillis*, a CBS television program he created from a volume of short stories of the same name. The television series, for which Shulman was also a writer, ran from 1959 to 1963 and starred Dwayne Hickman and Bob Denver, and was one of the first television shows to focus on the lives of teenagers.

During World War II, Shulman served in the Army Air Corps. He published comic novels concerning college students, civilians

during the war, and the difficulties of adjusting to peacetime (*Bare-foot Boy with Cheek*, *The Feather Merchants*, and *The Zebra Derby*) in 1943, 1944, and 1946, a very productive period—during the remainder of his life, he wrote only four more novels. The Dobie Gillis stories were collected in 1951. Shulman adapted his first novel into an unsuccessful musical in 1947, and co-authored the Broadway hit *The Tender Trap* seven years later. In 1957 he published a novel about the establishment of a missile base next to a complacent commuter town in Connecticut, *Rally Round the Flag, Boys!*; Paul Newman, Joanne Woodward, and Joan Collins were the stars of a film adaptation. Shulman himself was an MGM (Metro Goldwyn Mayer) screenwriter for a brief period; three comedies he wrote were released in 1953. In later life Shulman was less productive, writing little after the mid-1960s. He co-authored the film *House Calls* (1978) and was co-creator of the television series of the same name a year later.

—David Lonergan

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## SIDS (Sudden Infant Death Syndrome)

Of all the fears associated with early parenthood, none is greater than the possibility of an infant's unexplainable and sudden death. Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS) poses such a threat to seemingly healthy babies of all socio-economic and racial backgrounds under one year old. Officially defined and named at a 1969 international conference on causes of sudden death in infants, SIDS has been a political and medical controversy ever since. Although researchers had linked a lower risk of SIDS to babies sleeping on their backs and a higher risk of SIDS to babies exposed to second-hand smoke, by the late 1990s researchers were still uncertain of SIDS' cause(s). SIDS was the leading cause of post-natal mortality from 1980-1994. Heightening the fears surrounding SIDS, controversy rose in late 1997 as an article in *Pediatrics* stated that some SIDS attributed deaths are caused by child abuse and, in 1998, when a large German study associated SIDS with CMV virus, which is common in AIDS patients. As the millennium came to a close, many unanswered questions and innumerable theories surrounded SIDS, which continued to cause grief.

—tova stabin

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Bugsy Siegel

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## Siegel, Bugsy (1906-1947)

Benjamin "Bugsy" Siegel is remembered as the visionary mobster who first recognized the enormous money-making potential of the legalized gambling oasis of Las Vegas, Nevada, and who oversaw the construction of the town's first lavish casino and hotel, the Flamingo, in the mid-1940s. Like his close associates Meyer Lansky and Lucky Luciano, Siegel began his underworld career as a street hoodlum on New York's Lower East Side, and with Lansky formed the Bug-Meyer Mob while still in his teens. Specializing in protection rackets, gambling, and auto theft, Siegel also quickly gained a reputation as a brutal hit man and worked alongside Lansky in the formation of Murder Inc., the enforcement arm of the New York syndicate. In the mid-1930s Siegel moved to California, where he worked to expand organized crime operations chiefly in gambling and drug smuggling, and renewed his acquaintance with the movie actor George Raft, a childhood friend. Through Raft, Siegel (who longed for a movie career himself) gained contacts in the film industry and was linked romantically with several actresses, including Wendy Barrie and, most notably, the mob courier Virginia Hill. When the Flamingo failed to bring the promised quick return on their \$5 million investment, Luciano and his syndicate associates demanded Siegel settle his debt. Siegel refused and was subsequently shot and killed while he sat in the living room of his Beverly Hills mansion in June 1947.

During the ensuing decades of the twentieth century, Siegel's vision was fully realized as Las Vegas became the chief gambling center of the United States and a favorite location for mob investment. While Siegel himself never found success in Hollywood, several films have traced his career, including *Neon Empire*, a cable television movie that aired in 1989, and the star-studded 1991 biographical feature *Bugsy*, directed by Barry Levinson, in which Siegel and Hill were portrayed by Warren Beatty and Annette Bening. However, perhaps the ultimate ironic tribute was announced in June 1998—more than fifty years after Siegel's murder—when a Las Vegas investment group unveiled plans to construct a \$130 million luxury casino named in honor of Siegel. Scheduled to open in early 2000, Bugsy's Resort and Casino will reportedly feature a 1940s Las Vegas decor reminiscent of Siegel's own ill-fated Flamingo.

—Laurie DiMauro

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## *The Silence of the Lambs*

The film *The Silence of the Lambs*, directed by Jonathan Demme and starring Jodie Foster and Anthony Hopkins, was released in the winter of 1991 to substantial financial and critical success. The film is based on a 1988 novel by Thomas Harris, which in turn is a sequel to Harris's 1981 best-seller on similarly themed material, *Red Dragon*. Both novel and film focus on the strange emotional and intellectual connection between a female FBI Academy student, Clarice Starling, and an imprisoned serial killer, Dr. Hannibal "The Cannibal" Lecter. The two work together to apprehend another serial killer, known in the tabloid press as "Buffalo Bill," before he can kill his next female victim. The film version not only introduced Dr. Lecter into the ranks of popular culture villains but garnered the top five Oscars during the 64th annual Academy Awards in 1992. The film won for Best Picture, Best Actor (Hopkins), Best Actress (Foster), and Best Adapted Screenplay (Ted Tally).

—Philip Simpson

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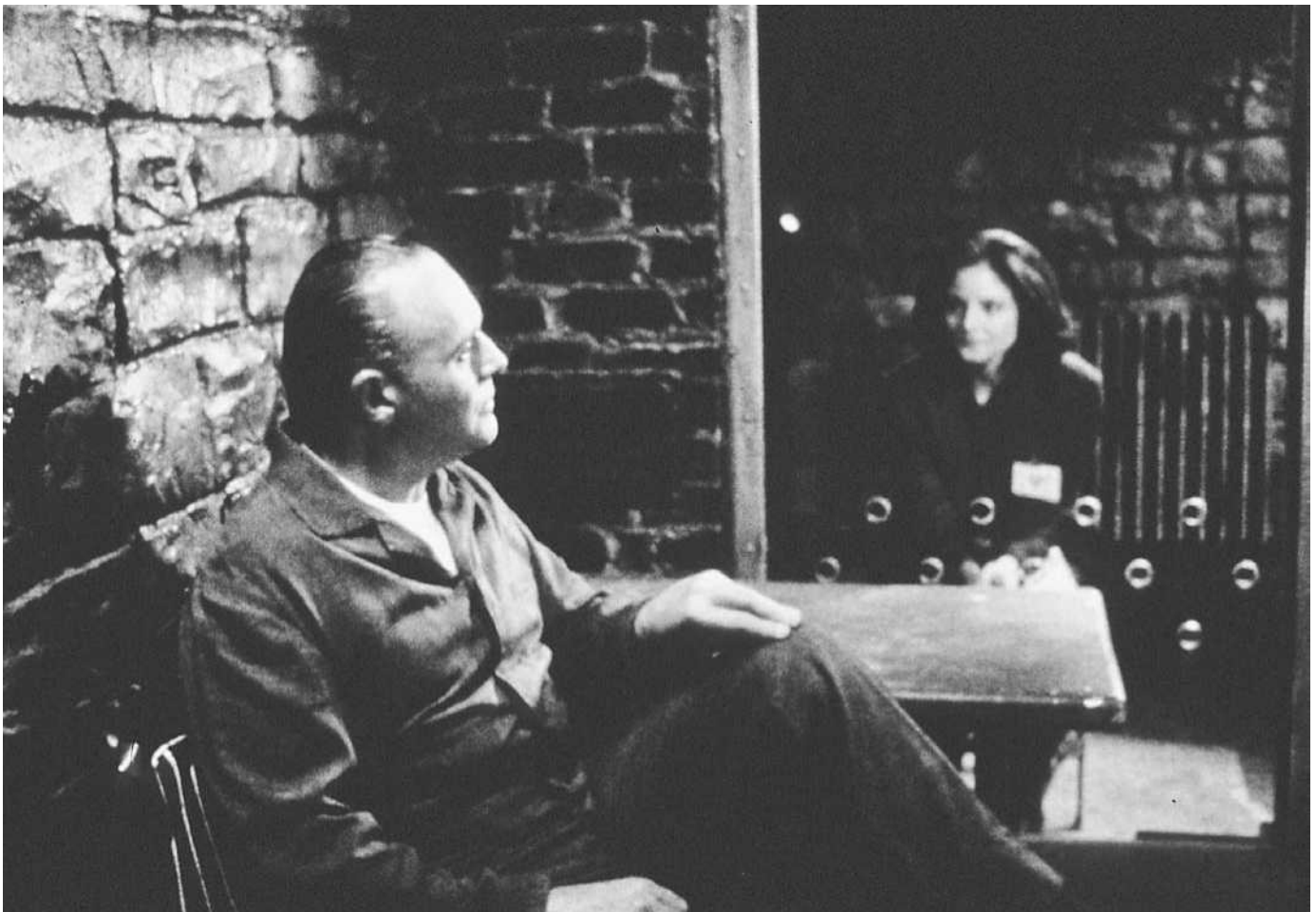
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## Silent Movies

At the advent of the twentieth century, America stood as the most prosperous nation in the world. William S. McKinley was well regarded as President; photographs replaced illustrations in newspapers, and coal was the fuel of choice. There was a strange amalgamation of old and new: horse and buggy and the automobile; covered wagon and locomotive. In Europe, modern art eschewed realism for the abstract, as Sigmund Freud challenged the way people thought about behavior. For those who could indulge in such pleasures, there was the phonograph, the theatre, and vaudeville entertainments. But by 1895, a new curiosity emerged that would slowly but surely inflict profound, controversial, and sometimes curious changes in the moral sensibilities, cultural life, and social order of human society. That new curiosity was the moving picture.



Anthony Hopkins and Jodie Foster in a scene from the film *The Silence of the Lambs*.



The moving picture was never intended to be silent but was envisioned by American inventor Thomas Edison as visual accompaniment to his earlier phonograph. It wasn't until late until the late 1920s, however, that "talkies" would be technologically and economically viable. The first three decades of film, therefore, would be the history of the silent movie.

To the average viewer, the silent movie may appear to represent little more than dusty vestiges of a bygone era, featuring storylines with little in common with current issues, and production values that pale in comparison to the slick look of the contemporary cinema. But the silent film can evoke more than nostalgia. The story of the silent film offers a history of the brand new industry of movie-making, as it struggled to overcome the forces of public opinion and censorship, differentiate its products, and create styles of filmmaking that would survive generations. Beyond industry and economics, it is during the period of the silent movie that we see the first glimpses of the film medium as an art form; the surviving collection of silent pictures, produced both in America and abroad, include some of the finest creative achievements in cinematic history. Far from being primitive, a number of silent pictures are today considered marvels, with high levels of technological innovation achieved by their producers (including color and special effects), long before the advent of computers, portable power tools, and motion picture capture and morphing. Moreover, the era of silent moving pictures has left behind a fascinating record of the biases and prejudices, fads and fixations, taboos and preoccupations of human history during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and not just in the documentary or fact film, but in the perhaps thousands of shorts, one and two-reelers, and feature films produced between 1896 and 1927.

The history of the early development of the moving picture, from its origins as 1870s series photography to the American studio system, is long, convoluted, and has no single point of origin. Moreover, the history of the invention of the moving picture is associated with a great deal of myth and lore. Americans commonly attribute the invention of the moving picture to the pioneering efforts of Thomas Edison, the flawed genius noted for his patents for electric light, storage batteries, the phonograph, and the telegraph. Contrary to common belief, the birth of the moving picture was not the genius of a single originator but of a kind of competition between inventors in Britain, France, Germany, and the United States. It was in Edison's West Orange, New Jersey, laboratory, however, that the genesis of the American film industry was nurtured through its embryonic stages. In 1894, Edison patented the Kinetoscope, an early movie camera, and in a makeshift studio called the Black Maria, he and his associates produced the earliest American silent pictures.

Soon after the initial discoveries of Edison and his rivals, the moving picture quickly arose as a phenomenal success. Perhaps thousands of small-time businessmen and women from all backgrounds and ethnic constituencies competed to enjoy the profit-making potential of the newest novelty. Moreover, notes David Cook in his *History of Narrative Film*, the new medium of film moved quickly "toward becoming a mass medium with the then-unimaginable power to communicate without print or speech."

By the turn of the twentieth century, Kinetoscope "shorts" attempted to satisfy a quickly growing audience fascinated with the moving picture. The nickelodeon boom, (a period known as "nickel madness"), saw the growth of film-showing storefronts from a mere handful in 1904 to nearly 10,000 in less than five years. Almost overnight, any available space was converted to a movie theatre. The

moving picture evolved from being a sideshow and filler for vaudeville to an entertainment by itself. Recordings of "entertaining or amusing subjects" as noted in one catalogue, comprised short films such as *The Chinese Laundry*, *Dancing Bears*, and *The Gaiety Girls Dancing*, featuring comedy, skits, and other brief performances. The storytelling possibilities of film were all but lost on early filmmakers. But whether novelty, filler, or short, as the popularity of this new form of entertainment arose, so did the public concern.

Similar to contemporary debates about film content and effects on society, the emergence of the moving picture as a popular form of entertainment caused an increasing measure of public disapproval. Daniel Czitrom documents early public concern about the movies in *Media and the American Mind*, noting that unlike the near "unanimous praise" afforded the introduction of the telegraph, "the motion picture confronted the accepted standards of culture itself." Film emerged during a time when a glimpse of a woman's bare ankle was considered by some to be obscene. To be sure, there were many early film shorts containing material of an "adult" nature. *The Serpentine Dance* (1895), produced by the Edison Co., was banned because the brief film included titillating glimpses of the female performer's undergarments. But content wasn't the only concern. "Indeed," notes Champlin in an article on the film production code for *American Film*, "it was the instant and immense popularity of the movies that stirred the first fears of their corrupting and inciting power." The culture war had begun.

As all and sundry flocked to the local store theatre to take in the latest short, worried cultural traditionalists and moralists debated the effects of motion pictures on society. "At the turn of the century," notes Janet Staiger in her book on sex and the early cinema, "people argued about what should and should not be said or shown during the first years of the American cinema." The people to whom she refers include the upper classes and the cultural and moral elite who felt themselves to be responsible for the maintenance of public culture and morals and for the governance of the middle and working classes.

To a punctilious Gilded Age society with Victorian moral sensibilities, a knowing glance, a leer, a glimpse of a woman's undergarment, and anything resembling burlesque could be considered inappropriate or outright obscene. In 1908, the seconds-long Edison short *The Kiss* created quite a stir. There, in grainy black and white, were stage actors May Erwin and John Rice bound together in a long and loving caress. Many were shocked at the "brazen" lack of morality in this brief exhibition.

It was not only film content that worried moralists, but also the nature of the audiences that flocked to the theatre and the circumstances of exhibition. The patrons of theatre stores included members of all ethnic constituencies as well as the lower and working classes. Some felt that this opportunity for races and classes of people to commingle could have potentially disastrous effects on the social structure. Moreover, the places where store theaters were located were considered indecorous—including amusement parks, penny arcades, dance halls, and pubs. A woman's reputation could suffer were she seen in such questionable establishments. Sanctioned censorship occurred in Chicago in 1907, where the first ordinances preventing the "exhibition of obscene and immoral pictures" were established. The film industry in America would escape its first decade with only a mild scolding and a bit of self-regulation, including the 1909 National Board of Censorship. But the die was cast, and in subsequent decades, the cries for regulation of the pictures would grow more strident.

The very earliest silent motion pictures were not full-fledged stories, notes Cook, but "unmediated glimpses of real action as it

unfolded before the camera.” French film entrepreneur Louis Lumière was said to have wandered the streets and set-up his portable camera before any scene that happened to take his fancy, creating what the French called “actualités.” These brief glimpses of unmanipulated life fascinated viewers because nothing like it had ever been seen before. It is said that during the film screening of a train pulling into a station, panicked audience members rushed from their seats to get out of harm’s way (*The Arrival of a Train at the Station*, 1895). In America, surviving “film-as-record” includes glimpses of San Francisco before and after the earthquake and fire; a peek inside a turn-of-the-century factory; footage of the Spanish-American War; and the inauguration and funeral of President William McKinley. Although mostly “staged” for the camera, silent shorts were produced as fillers and teasers for vaudeville, leaving behind a rare peek at Gilded Age theatrical performance and popular entertainment.

Quickly, the moving picture began to evolve into its next phase: story-telling. Film pioneers such as Georges Méliès, Ferdinand Zecca, Emile Cohl, D.W. Griffith, and countless others contributed to the development and refinement of the film narrative. In America, it is Edwin R. Porter whose name is strongly connected with creation of the true film story and who is often afforded much of the credit for the birth of narrative film.

Porter, a protege of Edison, began his filmmaking career in Edison’s labs turning out actualities and one-shot film shorts. His 1902 *The Life of an American Fireman* and *The Great Train Robbery* (1903) are seen as the earliest true film narratives produced in the United States. The latter was a popular sensation. Though only 12 minutes in length, the building of suspense and the development of the action captivated an audience used to static shots of a single scene. Porter also produced *The Ex-Convict* (1904) and *The Kleptomaniac* (1905). It is interesting to note that these were more than simply stories for entertainment’s sake; they also reflected prevailing “social values.” The message movie was born.

Porter’s 15-minute long *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1905?) is considered to be one of the longest and most expensive American movies produced at the time. It would be the first of many adaptations of the 1852 Harriet Beecher Stowe abolitionist classic. Edward Campbell has documented filmdom’s romance with various American myths noting, “Significant was the wedding of film to historical myths that were uniquely American . . . storylines which would grow to be the most beloved, the Western and the Old South romance.” As the length of the silent movie increased, so did the story possibilities. Filmmakers and the writers of scenarios turned to many sources for material including literature, legend, lore, and stereotypes.

A striking element in film shorts and early narratives is America’s painful legacy of racism and bigotry. Early film audiences didn’t need to ask why an Indian craved whiskey or a black man was a thief. “Racial stereotyping,” note Bohn and Stromberg in *Light and Shadows*, “helped trigger conflict without the need of complex explanations as to motivation.” Early filmmakers relied heavily upon rather egregious ethnic typecasting in their depictions of African-American life and culture, of Native Americans and recent immigrants. Contributors to the book *Unspeakable Images: Ethnicity in the Cinema*, document the inclusion of “dumb Irish maids, pilfering, lazy blacks, unscrupulously savvy Jewish storekeepers and naïve Yankee farmers” as the subjects of short subjects and ethnic-based comedies. The racial stereotyping evident in early film didn’t suddenly evolve with the medium but emerged from predominant ideas about race and class communicated through literature, sociological studies, vaudeville, and cultural artifacts such as advertisements.

Ruthless and sinister Asian gangsters, whooping savage Indians, and superstitious “coon” characters were common fare in shorts, popular film series, and later, full-length features. “[T]he Mexican bandits were clearly the most vile,” notes Allen Woll. “They robbed, murdered, plundered, raped, cheated, gambled, lied and displayed virtually every vice that could be shown on the screen.” It took a combination of complaints and the First World War (which provided new villains) to “end the derogatory portrayals.” In 1915, Cecil B. DeMille produced the highly successful *The Cheat*. In this story, a white socialite takes out a loan with a rich but lecherous and evil Asian man who viciously brands her with a hot iron when she can’t pay him back. Black Americans were viciously lampooned and portrayed as ignorant, ridiculous, and animal-like on the covers of sheet music and advertisements. These same depictions quickly found their way into silent pictures. Early titles (often featuring whites in blackface) included the popular *Rastus* series (1910-1913) about an ignorant black thief and the *Sambo* comedies. “The pages of catalogues were thick with chicken thieves and crapshooters,” notes film historian Thomas Cripps, “one catalogue urging its wares because ‘these were darkies of the ‘Old Virginny’ type.’”

The year 1900 saw the largest influx of immigrants to the United States ever, and many native-born Americans were distrustful if not outright hostile, toward foreigners. Wars, revolution in Russia, anarchy, and fear of communism led some Americans to view foreigners as war-mongers and to blame them for the sometimes squalid conditions that were the reality in urban centers with high immigrant populations. Early on, foreigners were often used as the butt of jokes in such titles as *How Bridget Served the Salad Undressed* (1900), *A Bucket of Ale*, and *Murphy’s Wake*, a film that earned the outrage of Irish movie-patrons because of its stereotypes of the Irish as drunkards.

By the early 1910s, films shorts and one-reelers would expand to multiple reels that later came to be known as “features.” The rise of the longer length film was significant in that it helped to make motion pictures respectable for middle-class patrons. Longer films could more resemble legitimate theatre, and classic plays and novels could now be adapted for film.

Silent features expanded to several reels with more defined storylines, creative editing techniques, crosscutting, and innovative use of camera angles (some discovered accidentally). The popularity and success of the feature was in large part caused by the success of Italian-produced spectacles, which transfixed and delighted American audiences. These include Enrico Guazzoni’s 1913 *Quo Vadis?* and Giovanni Pastrone’s 12-reel masterpiece *Cabiria* (1914). *Cabiria*, more than two hours long, featured elaborated constructed sets, intricately designed costumes, and unique camera-work, dazzling the American movie-going public and influencing American directors like D. W. Griffith and Cecil B. DeMille. Soon, “nickel-madness” gave way to “feature madness.”

David Wark Griffith was one of the earliest American filmmakers to realize, perhaps by accident, the dramatic potential of the cinema and its persuasive power over an audience. A failed actor, he turned to directing pictures for Biograph in 1908. As the “master of melodrama,” he refined techniques already in use and created new styles of editing, photography, montage, camera movement, and placement—precursors to the emerging classical Hollywood Style. With his “ensemble” of silent film luminaries (including Mary Pickford, Lillian Gish, Lionel Barrymore, and Blanche Sweet) he all but perfected the potboiler and chase scene story and also adapted the serious work of Shakespeare, Tolstoy, and Edgar Allen Poe. He

approached his work with an energy, style, and innovation that worried investors while it fascinated and delighted audiences.

Though he enjoyed a respectable career in film, Griffith's name will be forever associated with the notoriety surrounding one particular film. When one and two-reelers could no longer contain Griffith's grand ideas, he turned to the feature. He adapted a civil war novel, *The Clansman*, and to much fanfare, released it in 1915 as *The Birth of a Nation*. It was widely hailed by most, including President Woodrow Wilson, who called it a "remarkable artistic achievement." But the film's scenes of racial violence, including sexually depraved black villains and hooded Ku Klux Klan heroes, were not lost on everyone. In 1916, the Boston Branch of the NAACP led the way in organized protest of the film's patently racist message. In a 47-page pamphlet, supported with endorsements by leading public figures, the group was one of many that sought to have the film banned altogether. Black citizens picketed and protested. In some places where the film was shown, race riots broke out. Wilson was forced to recant his earlier praise. The film was banned in some states. Griffith, a Southerner and the son of a Confederate officer, was surprised, perplexed, and insulted by the criticism of the film. As far as he was concerned, the film was based on a true and accurate portrayal of history. Black citizens knew better, realizing that such pejorative propaganda could only cause more lynchings and distrust, and heighten racial tensions. Griffith responded with a 17-page pamphlet on free speech and counter with his epic production, *Intolerance* (1916). Though one could argue the overall effectiveness of the campaign against this highly successful and groundbreaking silent film, the incident was one of many in a long history of organized protests staged by pressure groups against the images in American cinema.

With so much dissension over Hollywood's depiction of black life and culture, it is not surprising that a number of enterprising film entrepreneurs attempted to fill the void with independently produced, all-black feature films. "Race movies" evolved, in large part, as a response to *The Birth of a Nation*. With the means of financing and distribution often out of reach for the average black filmmaker, all-black, independently produced films were sometimes the products of white producers. Yet, with an all-black cast, black themes, black writers, composers, and sometimes black directors, race-movies provided black audiences a meaningful glimpse of how they saw themselves and their world at the time.

Though there were perhaps hundreds of black film companies, of particular mention is the career of black filmmaker Oscar Micheaux. Like Edison, he was only mildly interested in the cinematic possibilities of the film medium. He was a businessman who wrote, produced, directed, and distributed his own pictures from 1919 to 1948. His subject matter varied widely, but he seemed particularly interested in melodramatic interpretations of personal events in his life. His scenarios included interracial romance, race and color consciousness, lynching, failed marriages, the black bourgeoisie, and issues of class. Most of his work was derived from his own novels, and he was known for his penurious approach to filmmaking. Notes Gehr for *American Film*, "[Micheaux] translated standard Western, gangster and melodramatic fare to a black context, but never without adding something unique, if only in the form of his own rough-hewn, self-taught technique." Not surprisingly, his surviving work has an unfinished look—an odd amalgamation of bad acting, thin storylines, and sometimes nonsensical editing. But the significance of Micheaux and his contemporaries is not aesthetic value. Their films provided work for many black artists and filled the void for a race of people desperately seeking an improved image. Though the scripts may not

have always been perfect, and the production values lacking in contrast to today's standards, in the all-black films, blacks could be doctors, lawyers, police officers, entertainers, and otherwise contributing members of society. Micheaux's surviving works include *The Homesteader* (1919); *Body and Soul* (1925; featuring Paul Robeson in his first film role), *Within Our Gates* (1920), and *The Exile* (1931).

In the 1910s, the American film industry evolved from a scientific oddity to an important big business. Notes Douglas Gomery, a scholar of the economic history of the film industry, "the former system of film sales 'by the foot' was soon replaced with the star system, a finely tuned network of national and international distribution, and the 'run-zone-clearance' system of exhibition." Fights over patents and the eventual monopolistic ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exhibition helped to change the structure of the film industry to one that came to be dominated by a handful of very powerful companies, including the Famous Players-Lasky Co. (later Paramount), the Goldwyn Picture Corporation, Universal, and the Fox Film Corporation. Film production shifted to the West Coast to escape patent litigation and unpredictable weather. Early in film's infancy, the names of the performers and directors of a film were not publicized. It didn't take long however, for the newly organized studios to exploit the profit potential of "star power." By 1915, Little Mary Pickford, nicknamed "America's Sweetheart," would earn a staggering \$10,000 weekly and the adoration of millions of fans; Theda Bara became the first screen "vamp," and Clara Bow the "It" Girl. The faces of Lon Chaney, John Barrymore, little Jackie Coogan, Rudolph Valentino, and a young Swedish newcomer named Greta Garbo would grace the covers of fanzines. Striking was the swift development of the new industry. Notes Czitrom, "[o]f all the facets of motion picture history none is so stunning as the extraordinarily rapid growth in the audience during the brief period between 1915 and 1918." As Europeans mobilized for war, the American motion picture industry became an important, legitimate, and powerful facet of American industry.

While film history books have most often chronicled the "great men" of the movies, a number of women managed to carve out respectable filmmaking careers in the new male-dominated industry. Alice Guy Blaché (also known as Alice Guy) was probably the first woman film director, directing nearly 200 films between 1897 and 1920. Born in Paris, by 1912 she used her own money to organize the Solax Film Company. Her mission, notes Alley Acker in *Reel Women*, was to "cater films specific to American tastes and acted in by American artists." Among her American films were *The Vampire* (1915), *The Heart of a Painted Woman* (1917), and *When You and I Were Young* (1917). Former teenage actress Ida May Park was one of several prominent women directors employed at Universal Studios during the late 1910s. Dorothy Arzner began as a script-girl during the silent film era and continued on a respectable career as a director of "women's pictures" well into the 1940s. Similar was the career of Virginia Vann Upp, a former assistant, screenwriter, producer, director, and executive producer and one of few early film women who would later crash the "glass ceiling" of a major film studio. While the current screenwriting industry has endured a reputation as being sexist, most notable are the contributions of women who wrote hundreds of scenarios and screenplays for the early silent pictures. Respected women writers like Grace Cunard, June Mathis, Frances Marion, Julia Crawford Ivers, and Anita Loos created or contributed to the scripts for such films as *Ben Hur* (1907), *The Four Horsemen of Apocalypse* (1914), *The Sheik* (1921), and *Tom Sawyer* (1917).

Although some filmmakers continued the style for years to come, the decade of the 1920s would be the final decade that the silent movie would be a viable, profit-making mode of production. The film industry in United States began to organize itself into what become known as the American Studio System. Though the reasons for this development are many, the evolution of the studio system is often attributed to the success of producer Thomas Ince. Ince's legacy to film history was not the production of a classic film. He was no cinema-auteur, nor did he enjoy a long reign as a mogul of some major studio. His contribution was the institution of "production conventions," including his absolute control over screenplays, shooting script content, and editing. His Inceville Studio served as a model for the efficient and cost-effective running of a motion picture factory. Under his guidance, directors had to adhere to tight budgets and pre-approved schedules. Moreover, he required that scripts not emerge extemporaneously from the muse of a director but be finished products that contained lines of dialogue. The power of the individual would diminish greatly. Variations of Ince's model would soon dominate American film production.

Soon cash would overpower creativity. Film became industry and filmmaking was business. American film studios evolved into factories for the large-scale production of mass entertainment. Filmmakers developed "conventions" and formulas: frequently used devices and techniques that were cheap, economical, easily recognizable, and easy to recreate over and over. Formulas allowed producers to remain within tried and true patterns; they helped keep costs contained since the same sets, props, and costumes could be used more than once. Early mass-produced films quickly began to appear very much alike, with the director's task being to create an "illusion" of variety (keeping well within, of course, the tight economic boundaries that would ensure profit margins). Among other things, producers in the 1920s quickly tried to capitalize on whatever fad, controversy, or preoccupation had caught the imagination of the public: "cycle filmmaking" was born. It is estimated that between 1920 and 1927, nearly 100 films apiece were produced about cars, aviation, and chorus girls, three of the decade's more popular subjects.

Filmmaking strategies in the 1920s also included the development of genres or distinctive categories of films, the continued exploitation of types and stereotypes, the homogenization of cultures, and the creation and propagation of a mythical and filmic view of manners and morals. The process of "standardization" that occurred in silent filmmaking in America had a profound effect on film structure and determined the images and stories audiences would see in the movies for generations to come.

The emerging Hollywood formula film came to include such tried-and-true conventions as: stories with a linear plot (a clearly defined beginning, middle, and "happy" ending); a focus on one or two central characters with clearly defined goals; and in general, a style that didn't call much attention to itself. Moreover, a high premium was placed on the conventions of genre (Western, gangster, women's picture) and the film's entertainment value. It was at this time that many of the more endearing, popular, and successful American film genres would emerge.

With its emphasis on wide open spaces, firearms, exciting action, clear delineation of heroes and villains, and Native American stereotypes, the Western emerged as one of the most popular and endearing genres in American filmmaking. Western formulas included the "myth of the West" stories, Western epics such as *The Iron Horse* (1925), and the Western star vehicle, which included the popular films of William S. Hart including *The Gun Fighter* (1916)

and *The Covered Wagon* (1923), and films featuring Tom Mix, Buck Jones, and Hoot Gibson.

The virile planter bedecked in a white suit; the ever-present mint julep; frail, white womanhood (whose existence never included a day of work!); and happy and contented darkie slaves who profited from the benevolence and care of the overseer—these were some of the conventions of "plantation tales." "The movies of the Antebellum South," notes Campbell, "with their increasingly familiar settings and character types . . . reinforced an image shaped cinematically since 1903."

The suave, dashing, acrobatic, athletic, swashbuckling hero of the action adventure film also found popularity in the silent film, as popularized by screen star Douglas Fairbanks. His films, including *The Three Musketeers* (1921), *Q, Son of Zorro* (1925), *The Black Pirate* (1926), and *Robin Hood* (1922), helped to establish a new kind of filmmaking with a new flow and tempo, dynamic editing, and a building of action scenes still evident in contemporary action adventure films such as the *Indiana Jones* series.

Although film as a visual medium was perfectly suited for physical gags and comic mime, the potential for true comedy went unrecognized by early filmmakers. At first, some directors copied the popular style of trick photography pioneered by Méliès in France, but a true comic style had yet to be identified. By 1913, an amalgamation of foreign and American performers and producers came to create what has been described as American filmmaking's most enduring contribution to the history of film—that of silent screen comedy.

Mack Sennett was a Canadian who became head of the Keystone Co. in 1912. He is the originator of silent slapstick comedy, high-action films signified by their purely visual acrobatic humor including pie-throwing, cliff-hangers, auto-chases, explosions, and last minute rescues. He is notable for his creation of the zany Keystone Cops, and is responsible for "discovering" comedy greats Fatty Arbuckle, Ben Turpin, and Charles Chaplin. Between 1913 and 1935 he produced thousands of one and two-reel films and features, helping to fine-tune a new screen genre in a way that no one ever had done before.

America's favorite comics also included Harry Langdon and Buster Keaton, whose deadpan countenance never changed even as he struggled to hang onto a moving locomotive; Harold Lloyd with his wide-rim glasses, dangling precariously from the hands of a clock suspended over a busy street in a "comedy of thrills"; and Stan Laurel and Oliver Hardy, who continued their successful careers beyond the coming of sound.

By far the most celebrated figure in silent filmmaking was Charles Chaplin, an English vaudevillian who made his first appearance in America in a 1913 film by Keystone Studios producer Mack Sennett. A master of the art of mime, he developed a unique style of humor that exploited the connection between comedy and tragedy—a style that was in sharp contrast to a Sennett picture. He developed his famous persona, the "Little Tramp," while still working for Sennett. In 1919 he formed a partnership with three of the more powerful names in film—Mary Pickford, Douglas Fairbanks, and D.W. Griffith—that they called the United Artists Corporation. There Chaplin produced *A Woman of Paris* (1923) and his signature film, *The Gold Rush* (1925), where in a classic scene he serves up a boiled boot and devours it like a gourmet meal. The success of this film and others caused him to become the most popular, the highest paid, and the most successful figure in film history. "During the silent era," notes Silver for *American Film*, "[Chaplin] was regarded as a indisputable genius by nearly everyone who cared about movies in any remotely serious

matter.” Chaplin continued to produce “silent” pictures well after the evolution of sound in film.

The exigencies of World War I and the launching of the industrial age helped to melt away Victorian-age ideals in American society. Women cut their hair and donned short dresses for a night of dancing to the sultry sounds of black jazz artists like Louis Armstrong and Bessie Smith. Formerly secure taboos like divorce were discussed more freely. For some, it was an exhilarating time when the champagne flowed and the party was endless. It is not surprising that this prevailing mood was depicted on Hollywood film screens. Divorce, adultery, sex, drinking, and drugs were now treated openly in the same medium that once gasped at the sight of a woman’s bare ankle. Rudolph Valentino resonated a smoldering, on-screen sexuality in films like *Blood and Sand* (1922), while a young Greta Garbo made her U.S. film debut with John Gilbert in the erotic *Flesh and the Devil* (1926).

But dark clouds formed on the Hollywood horizon, as a series of scandals rocked the film world. First, there was Chaplin’s highly publicized divorce in 1920. And then Mary Pickford, accused of bigamy for her liaison with Douglas Fairbanks (while still married to Owen Moore). Charles “Fatty” Arbuckle, one of the country’s more cherished comic figures, was falsely implicated in the brutal rape and death of a young starlet during a party that was described as wild, drunken, and orgiastic. The lurid details of the crime were widely exploited in the press and, even though he was cleared of any charges, Arbuckle’s career was over. In 1922, actor Wallace Reid, positioned as an “all-American boy” type, was found dead of a drug overdose. Director William Desmond Taylor was found murdered, and the two women film stars he was involved with (Mabel Normand and Mary Miles Minter) were implicated in the crime that was never solved. Notes Champlin in an article on the Taylor murder for *American Film*, “all were seen as proof that Hollywood, on and off-screen, was an affront to decent men and women everywhere.”

The public outcry was tremendous. *Birth of a Nation*, with its riots and Klan organizing, had shown what damage a film could create. Now this. Some called for government legislation of the film industry. To stave off government regulation, the industry once again turned to self-regulation. They hired a conservative, Presbyterian elder named William Hays to head their trade association, the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA). Among other things, a list humorously referred to as *Do’s, Don’t’s and Be Carefuls* was published to serve as a kind of guideline for producers. In truth, the Hays Office was ineffectual, possibly even corrupt. But the die was cast. Censorship of the movies was reality. And as silent pictures evolved into sound, a much more stringent and limiting form of censorship would emerge that would influence filmmaking for decades to come.

Even as American movies were fitted into formulas, shrouded in conventions, and stamped-out in an assembly-line process, the artistic potential of the medium continued to emerge. It was during the era of silent filmmaking that some of the greatest artistic achievements in film were produced. And nowhere was the film-as-art movement more evident than in Europe. Emerging from the rubble of World War I, German Expressionists, Soviet Revolutionaries, and French artists and intellectuals sought freedom from the conventions, behaviors, and structures of the former world order. The roots of the phenomenon can be attributed to artistic movements currently in vogue, and the influence of American directors like D.W. Griffith. European filmmakers were particularly interested in the “visual potential” of

the medium. They experimented freely with makeshift mobile cameras, bold, new editing techniques, and revolutionary optical effects such as masks, supers, and dissolves. Soon, film production in 1920s Europe would pose the strongest competition ever to the growing Hollywood machine.

In Germany, the art movement known as Expressionism first became important in painting around 1910 and was later adapted to theatre and literature. The motto of filmmakers who adapted the expressionist style was, “the film image must become graphic art.” Expressionist artists tended to distort or exaggerate natural appearances in order to create a reflection of an inner world. The stylistic techniques of Schauerfilme (films of fantasy & horror), notes Cook, included extreme stylization—like a “moving expressionist woodcut.” The effect was heavily dependent upon *mise-en-scène*, including geometrically stylized sets and nightmarishly distorted decor, actors with heavy make-up moving in jerky or slow motion, chiaroscuro (or Rembrandt) lighting, and unusual camera work. In addition to the prominent expressionist artists hired to design and paint film sets, important German filmmakers include Carl Meyer, with his *Das Kabinett des Dr. Caligari* (1919); F.W. Murnau, with *Nosferatu, A Symphony of Horrors* (1922); and Fritz Lang, with *Dr. Mabuse, der Spiler* (1922) and *Metropolis* (1926-27). So prominent and striking was the work of these men that Hollywood felt compelled to lure many of them away to produce films for American movie screens.

In Denmark, notes Cook, Carl Dreyr concerned himself with “communicating with the audience’s soul” in his monumental *The Passion of Joan of Arc* (1928), which featured Renee Falconetti, who cropped her hair and wore no make-up for the role. In sharp contrast to America’s straightforward approach, Dreyr’s directing technique emphasized close-ups that could relay Joan’s “spiritual agony.” It was the success of French silent filmmaking that perhaps posed the most competition for America. Between 1919-1929, film artists in France developed a style that offered interesting alternatives to the classical Hollywood style. Film, felt the French, should owe nothing to literature or theatre but be an occasion for the artist to express feelings. After surviving near destruction during World War I, the French film industry rose like a phoenix to produce some of the finest silent motion pictures in the history of film. Of particular mention is the work of Abel Gance and his production of the epic *Napoleon* (1926). Notes Cook, “Cameras were “carried at arms length, attached to swings, strapped to a horse’s back and sent into the air in balloons.” Gance used 18 cameras during the shooting and introduced the earliest use of wide-screen effects.

“Of all arts, for us cinema is the most important,” stated Russian revolutionary Vladimir Lenin. Probably the most striking and influential of all the European styles to emerge during the period is the film editing technique that came to be known as Soviet montage. Sergei Eisenstein is possibly the most famous filmmaker to emerge from the silent period. He was a Marxist intellectual and a veteran of the abortive 1905 revolution who saw film as a mass medium designed to appeal to and educate millions of illiterate Russian peasants. His *The Battleship Potemkin* (1925) is considered by some to be one of the most influential films ever made, and is even today the focus of analysis and marvel. Eisenstein’s stylistic techniques represented a sharp contrast to the style of American pictures. Eisenstein communicated primarily by means of emotion. He highlighted no individual protagonist (large groups could form a collective hero), used non-actor “types,” and promoted a kind of documentary reality in his use of photography. Most significantly, he pioneered a new editing technique, one based on “psychological stimulation”

rather than narrative logic. As opposed to the seamless or “invisible” editing” that signified American films, Eisenstein used a juxtaposition of shots to create a concept and/or emotion. He felt that in order to create the maximum effect (a jolt for the viewer) shots should not fit together perfectly but create a montage of “shock stimuli.”

The reality of a second European war would curtail the short-lived triumph of film production in Europe. A host of European actors, performers, designers, and directors made the transition to the sound stages of Hollywood—with varying degrees of success. While no one style would have a profound effect on the American film industry, the influence of montage editing, crosscutting, wide screen, and mosaic narrative would inspire generations of filmmakers on both continents for generations to come.

More than merely a repository of the past, the era of the silent movie represents nearly three decades of sex and scandal, art and angst, sin and censorship, and crime and comedy. From the Gilded Age to the Jazz Age, the silent picture has left behind striking images of American society as it swelled to include the recently manumitted and the thousands of immigrants from many nations who appeared on its shores. From the Black Maria to motion picture palaces, from seconds-long shorts to feature-length spectacles, from a film-by-the-foot to multinational business, the silent film helped create new and profitable forms of commerce, forms which continued on in the guise of the talking film which has dominated the industry ever since. A combination of myth proffering, image building, and empire construction, the legacy of the silent film still endures, and remains a vital and potent facet of human cultural history.

—Pamala S. Deane

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## The Silver Surfer

The Silver Surfer is a superhero appearing in Marvel comic books. Created by Stan Lee and Jack Kirby in 1965, the Silver Surfer is a noble alien endowed with the “power cosmic.” He travels throughout the universe on a surfboard championing good over evil. During the late 1960s the Surfer’s comic book became unusually “adult” in tone as the character became a vehicle for Lee’s existentialist musings and commentary on the failures of human civilization.

The Surfer won a sizable cult following especially among college students. But it was too small to support the series, which was canceled after only a few years. Nevertheless, Lee’s ambitious writing influenced young creators seeking to “make a statement” even in a medium widely dismissed as ephemeral by the mainstream public. And the Surfer’s audience later grew; Marvel revived the character’s series in 1986, and it remained a popular title in the 1990s.

—Bradford Wright

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## Simon and Garfunkel

Simon and Garfunkel, the extremely popular folk-rock duo of the 1960s, was one of the first groups to emphasize poetry in its lyrics, demonstrating that lyrical complexity and pop music were not mutually exclusive. Simon and Garfunkel were also very influential because, along with the Byrds and a handful of other artists, they were among the first to meld acoustic folk instrumentation with the sounds associated with rock ’n’ roll: electric guitar, bass, and drums. Significantly, and symbolically, Simon and Garfunkel’s songs were featured prominently in the 1967 Mike Nichols film *The Graduate*, a film starring Dustin Hoffman that is very much about the 1960s generation’s coming of age. Taken as a whole, their albums—*Wednesday Morning, 3 A.M.*, *Sounds of Silence*, *Parsley, Sage, Rosemary and*



Paul Simon (right) and Art Garfunkel.

*Thyme*, *Bookends*, *The Graduate* soundtrack, and *Bridge Over Troubled Water*—also provide an eloquent soundtrack to the turbulent second half of the 1960s.

The duo, comprised of Paul Simon (1941—) and Art Garfunkel (1941—), initially met at their elementary school in Forest Hills, New York, and soon realized that they could harmonize to the Doo-Wop songs that were popular on the radio. Soon the two began singing some of the many songs Simon was writing and, when they were both sixteen, the two recorded the song “Hey Schoolgirl.” This Everly Brothers-inspired song was released as a single on the independent label, Big Records, under the pseudonym Tom & Jerry, and it sold respectably, reaching the *Billboard* Top 50. The two continued to work with each other intermittently throughout the late-1950s and early-1960s, though they primarily remained solo artists during this time. Garfunkel recorded as Artie Garr and Simon had modest chart success as a member of Tico and the Triumphs (“Motorcycle” briefly appeared at number 99 in 1962) and as Jerry Landis (“The Lone Teen Ranger” topped off at 97 in 1963).

The two got back together in 1964, playing in coffee houses in New York’s Greenwich Village and recording the album *Wednesday Morning, 3 A.M.*, which sold poorly. The two split up again, with Simon going to England to eke out a living by performing live and recording his first solo album. While Simon was away, folk-rock

producer Tom Wilson added electric bass, guitar, and drums to an obscure track from *Wednesday Morning, 3 A.M.* named “Sounds of Silence,” which immediately topped the *Billboard* pop singles chart in 1965. Hearing of his unexpected overnight success, Simon promptly returned to the States for a promotional tour and to record the duo’s second album, which was primarily comprised of songs from Simon’s U.K. solo album. That second album, *Sounds of Silence*, contained the popular remixed version of the title track and another Top 40 hit, “I Am a Rock.” The popularity of their subsequent albums made Simon and Garfunkel among the most popular musical artists of the 1960s, and Paul Simon’s complex and occasionally pretentious poetry influenced a number of other imitators.

Because Simon was not a prolific writer (most of the material contained on their first three albums was written between 1962 and 1965), the songs came more slowly near the end of their career together. This, along with the duo’s increasing inability to get along, was one of the major reasons Simon and Garfunkel’s final album, *Bridge Over Troubled Water*, took two years to record. This album, however, was their most popular and contained their most complex and varied material, from the genre dabbling of “Cecilia” and “El Condor Pasa” to the symphonic grandiosity of the title track (all of which were Top Forty hits). Since their breakup in 1970, the duo have only played together at two major concerts, a 1972 fund-raiser for

presidential candidate George McGovern and a 1981 free concert in New York City's Central Park, which yielded the album, *The Concert in Central Park*.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## Simon, Neil (1927—)

Since the early 1960s, Broadway has almost never been without a Neil Simon hit play, which has earned the prolific New Yorker the title of the world's most commercially successful playwright. In his

earlier work, with such hits as *The Odd Couple* and *The Sunshine Boys*, Simon garnered a reputation for churning out charming comedies that were virtually guaranteed long Broadway runs. But in his later work, including the 1980s bittersweet autobiographical trilogy composed of *Brighton Beach Memoirs*, *Biloxi Blues*, and *Broadway Bound*, Simon conclusively proved that he was capable of more than light comedy. In the early 1990s, when Simon's *Lost in Yonkers* earned four Tony Awards and the prestigious Pulitzer Prize, the transformation of Neil Simon from Broadway wonder to "serious author" was complete. With plays that both bespeak and laugh at the human condition, Neil Simon is one of the world's best-loved playwrights and a fixture of American popular culture.

Born Marvin Neil Simon in the Bronx, New York on July 4, 1927, America's greatest living comedic playwright was raised in a troubled Depression-era household, which would ultimately provide the inspiration for much of his future work. Growing up with a father who frequently abandoned his family, and a mother for whom young Neil felt a great sense of responsibility, the boy looked up to his older brother, Danny, who would become his most important influence. With eight years difference in their ages, Neil idolized his older brother, who had dropped out of high school to become a comedy writer. Danny Simon, about whom Woody Allen would later say, "Everything I know about comedy I learned from Danny Simon,"



Neil Simon



was a comic genius. But so, as it all turned out, was his younger brother, Neil, whom Danny nicknamed Doc, because of Neil's childhood infatuation with a toy medical set. By the time Doc, as he was always called, was sixteen, the two brothers had begun working together.

During World War II, both Simon brothers joined the armed forces, and when they returned to New York City, they soon found work writing for television, which was in its infancy. During the early 1950s, in what would come to be known as the Golden Age of Television, Danny and Doc Simon were staff writers for such classic programs as Sid Caesar's *Your Show of Shows* and Phil Silvers's *The Sergeant Bilko Show*. However, although the Simon brothers almost exclusively wrote for small screen, one of their sketches did make it to Broadway in the 1956 revue *New Faces*, starring Maggie Smith.

After working with his brother for many years, Neil Simon went out on his own. But as the quality of the shows for which he wrote gradually began to dwindle, Simon began dreaming of writing for the theatre. He began his first play when he was thirty years old. Almost two years and twenty-two drafts later, *Come Blow Your Horn*, based on Simon's family and, specifically, the relationship between Neil and Danny, opened on Broadway in 1961. Although the initial revues were lukewarm, audiences loved it. And when Noel Coward and Groucho Marx were quoted in a Broadway column as finding the play hilarious, *Come Blow Your Horn* took off, playing 677 performances.

Neil Simon's career as a playwright was launched. His next effort was the book for a 1962 Cy Coleman-Carolyn Leigh musical called *Little Me*, a vehicle for Sid Caesar, for whom Simon had previously written. A year later, *Barefoot in the Park*, directed by first-timer Mike Nichols and starring Elizabeth Ashley and Robert Redford, opened at the Biltmore. Although the play would go on to become a huge success, running for over 1,500 performances, Simon was greeted with the dual-edged reviews that would forever plague him. Howard Taubman of *The New York Times* wrote that "Mr. Simon evidently has no aspirations except to be diverting, and he achieves those with the dash of a highly skilled writer."

Two years later, Simon followed up with his second unqualified hit, *The Odd Couple*, starring Walter Matthau and Jack Lemmon, for which he won the Tony Award for Best Author. By 1966, with *Barefoot in the Park* still running, Simon, who had also written the book for the 1966 Bob Fosse musical, *Sweet Charity*, was now earning approximately \$20,000 a week as a playwright. Not yet forty years old, Simon was already the most commercially successful playwright in the world.

Throughout the 1960s, Simon continued to write hit after hit—*Plaza Suite*, *Promises, Promises*, *Star Spangled Girl*, and *The Last of the Red Hot Lovers*. However, despite this string of successes, Simon continued to be attacked by the critics for his glib comedy and commercialism. And so he set out to write his first "serious play." *The Gingerbread Lady* opened in 1971; *The Prisoner of Second Avenue* followed a year later. Both were successful, but still critical recognition continued to elude him. Then tragedy struck in his personal life in 1973 when his wife of twenty years and the mother of his two daughters, Joan Baim Simon, died of cancer. Always a prolific writer, Simon struggled through Joan's illness and death while writing *The Sunshine Boys*, a play about aging vaudevillians, which would open at the end of 1973.

By the early 1970s, Simon had written ten Broadway plays, which had grossed over \$30 million and had run almost 7,000

performances. He also had written three books for musicals, which had run over 2,000 performances, and still he continued to work, rarely going a day without writing.

Just a year after his wife's death, Neil Simon married actress Marsha Mason, an Academy-Award nominated actress and the star of Simon's 1974 play, *The Good Doctor*. Not long thereafter, the couple moved to Hollywood, where they soon became popular members of the film community. Although Simon had written a number of screenplays based on his Broadway hits—*Barefoot in the Park*, *The Odd Couple*, *Plaza Suite*—he soon began to write exclusively for films, usually creating vehicles in which Marsha Mason starred. *The Goodbye Girl*, *Chapter Two*, and *Only When I Laugh* earned Mason three Academy Award nominations for Best Actress. Simon himself was nominated for four Oscars for screenwriting. But Simon's heart was still in the theatre, and so he continued to write for Broadway, where his *California Suite* opened in 1976—a play that the *New York Times*' Clive Barnes called "Plaza Suite gone West."

Throughout his prolific career, much of Simon's material continued to be inspired by the people in his life. He said, "I've written about my brother over and over, my mother and father, my past wife, good friends. I've tried to write about them truthfully; these are all people I care for. I try to show the good and bad parts." In the early 1980s, Simon embarked on a trilogy that would chronicle his younger years. The first play, *Brighton Beach Memoirs*, opened on Broadway in 1982, with Matthew Broderick playing Simon's alter ego, Eugene. Chronicling the trials and tribulations of a Brooklyn family struggling through the Depression, *Brighton Beach Memoirs* was awarded Best Play by the New York Drama Critics Circle. Running for over 1,500 performances at the Alvin, the theatre was renamed the Neil Simon Theatre during the run of the play.

In 1983, Neil Simon and Marsha Mason were divorced. The next year, Simon returned to Broadway with *Biloxi Blues*, the second play in his autobiographical trilogy. This time, Simon was awarded the Tony for Best Play. Matthew Broderick returned to Broadway as Eugene, undergoing Army Basic Training during World War II. It would be two more years before the third play of the trilogy, *Broadway Bound*, would find its way to the New York stage.

Simon followed up his award-winning trilogy with a witty piece about an attempted suicide at a dinner party, called *Rumors*, which ran for 531 performances on Broadway during the 1988-89 season. But his next play, *Jake's Women*, would prove one of Simon's first flops in years, initially not even making it to Broadway after a tryout at the Old Globe in San Diego. Thus, it came as a wonderful kind of redemption when Simon's 1991 play, *Lost in Yonkers*, received not only four Tony Awards, including Best Play, but also the coveted Pulitzer Prize. Because Simon had long been decried as a "popular" playwright, he had never expected to win the prestigious Pulitzer. Finally, after years of commercial success, Simon had been accepted into the pantheon of America's great playwrights.

Throughout the 1990s, Simon continued to write at his usual breakneck pace, although his Broadway hits were fewer and farther between. With plays appearing on the London stage and even off-Broadway, Simon focussed his energies on reworking *Jake's Women*, writing *The Goodbye Girl* for the stage, and even penning the first volume of his memoirs, *Rewrites*. Although Simon is not the prolific playwright he once was, he still remains one of the theatre's most recognizable figures. A Pulitzer Prize, New York Drama Critics

Circle, and Tony Award-winning playwright and an Academy-Award nominated screenwriter, Neil Simon is one of the icons of twentieth-century film and theatre—a man whose comic view of American life has helped to shape popular culture.

—Victoria Price

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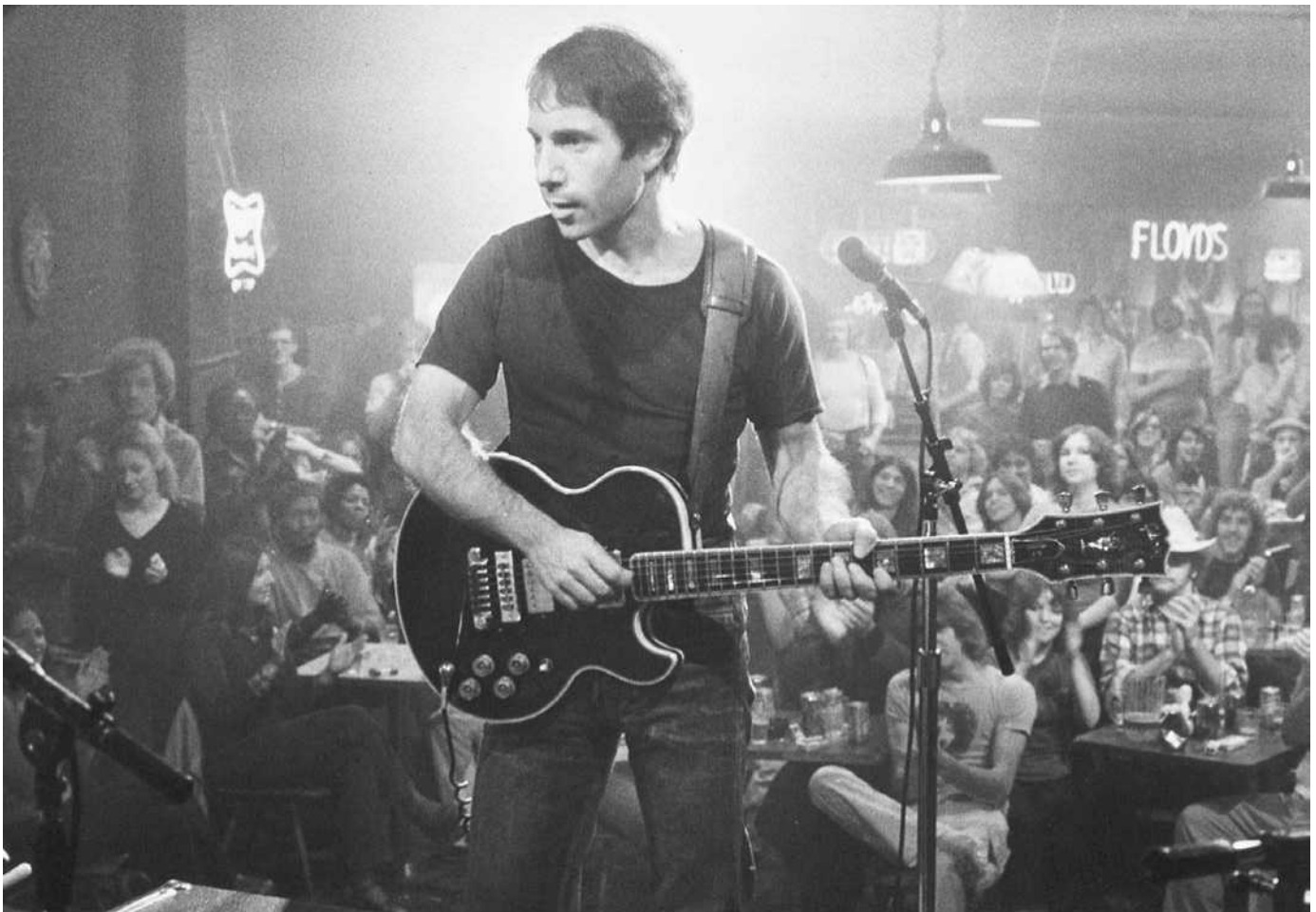
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## Simon, Paul (1941—)

As one half of the 1960s folk-rock team, Simon and Garfunkel, Paul Simon's place in pop music history as a first rate songwriter was

sealed. But after Simon's split with his partner in 1970, this Newark, New Jersey-born musician went on to not only distinguish himself as a veteran songwriter with a substantial body of work, but as a performer who experimented with a variety of musical genres. Throughout his career as a solo artist, Simon has incorporated salsa, jazz, reggae, gospel, doo-wop, Caribbean, South African, and Brazilian music into his finely crafted pop songs. One of his most well-known works, the Grammy-winning album *Graceland*, drew both protest and praise for his use of South African musicians during the height of the Apartheid regime in the 1980s. Paul Simon's music-making method is also interesting for the questions of cultural identity and appropriation that it raises.

Although Simon had experimented with a variety of styles that strayed from Simon and Garfunkel's poetic folk-rock formula when he was part of that duo ("Cecilia" and "El Condor Pasa," for example), Simon's first post-breakup solo record was more eclectic. The Latino music influence was evident on that self-titled album's cut "Me and Julio Down by the Schoolyard," and the Caribbean-flavored song "Mother and Child Reunion," which was recorded in Jamaica. His even more varied second album, *There Goes Rhymin' Simon*, was recorded at the Muscle Shoals studio, where dozens of classic soul records were made. It contained a Dixieland number, "Mardi Gras," mixed in with songs such as "Tenderness" and



Paul Simon

“Loves Me Like a Rock,” which featured the gospel-like vocals of the Dixie Hummingbirds. The rest of his albums followed this precedent (excepting the more sober 1975 album, *Still Crazy After All These Years*), with each one charting new musical paths that Simon explored, culminating in 1986’s Grammy-winning world music fusion album, *Graceland*.

*Graceland* is an interesting album because not only is it chock full of Simon’s consistently good pop songs, but it has also sparked many debates surrounding the political and cultural implications of a white American working with black South Africans under the Apartheid regime. While the South African vocal group Ladysmith Black Mambazo and other native musicians contributed to the “sound” of the songs, *Graceland*’s songwriting credits were exclusively his. This is significant from an intellectual property vantagepoint, but also from the standpoint of identity politics. Simon could legally “capture” indigenous forms of music and make them his own and, as a famous white American artist, he also had the power to mediate the representation of black South Africans. The critical discourse that surrounds *Graceland* can also apply both to a critique of Simon’s frequent use of “exotic” music throughout his career and to the Western music industry’s and Western consumers’ relationship with World Music.

Throughout his solo career, Simon occasionally rejoined Garfunkel, once for a George McGovern fund-raiser for the 1972 election and later during a free Central Park concert for an estimated half-million fans. Further, Garfunkel intermittently joined Simon on stage as a guest at his concerts and the two worked together on the single “My Little Town,” which was featured both on Simon’s *Still Crazy After All These Years* and Garfunkel’s *Breakaway* albums.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## Simpson, O. J. (1947—)

O. J. Simpson was one of America’s top college and professional football players in the late 1960s and 1970s, but by century’s end he was being remembered not for his gridiron exploits but for his role as the defendant in one of the most celebrated murder trials of the 20th century. Accused of the 1994 slayings of his estranged wife, Nicole Brown Simpson, and of her friend Ron Goldman, Simpson was brought to trial in Los Angeles in a case that attracted enormous media attention both because of his earlier sports celebrity status and because of his race. From his arrest until his eventual acquittal, the Simpson case divided Americans along racial lines, with most blacks believing in his innocence and most whites convinced that he was guilty. Yet prior to these sorry events, Orenthal James Simpson was one of America’s most beloved sports heroes. In the late 1960s, he was a college gridiron idol and Heisman Trophy winner. In the 1970s, he starred in the National Football League and earned a reputation as

one of the greatest running backs in the history of college and professional football.

O. J. Simpson, a cousin of Chicago Cubs baseball player Ernie Banks, was born on July 9, 1947 in San Francisco. At age two he suffered from rickets, and wore leg braces for the next three years. In 1960, when he was thirteen, he joined the Persian Warriors, a San Francisco-based street gang. Upon his entry into the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 1985, his mother Eunice observed, “I didn’t really think he’d turn out the way he did, but he always said you’d read about him in the papers someday and my oldest daughter would always say, ‘In the police report.’”

Athletics eventually consumed Simpson’s life, and he realized he had a special talent for carrying a football. He earned national attention during two varsity seasons as star rusher at the University of Southern California. In 1967, he scored 13 touchdowns, and added 21 more the following season. In both years he played a total of 18 games, rushing for 3,187 yards. In his senior year, he was handed the ball 40 times in the USC-UCLA contest, allowing him to set an NCAA record of 334 carries in a season. In that game, he ran for 205 yards; his season total of 1,654 yards gained was another NCAA milestone. Simpson earned All-American honors in 1967 and 1968, and topped off his college career by winning the 1968 Heisman Trophy. In 1985, he was elected to the National Football Foundation and College Hall of Fame. John McKay, his USC coach, once observed, “Simpson was not only the greatest player I ever had—he was the greatest player anyone ever had.”

Simpson became the number one draft pick of the NFL Buffalo Bills. He played for the Bills from 1969 through 1977, during which time he scored 70 touchdowns and rushed for 10,183 yards on 2,123 carries. In 1972, he gained over 1,000 rushing yards for the first time, and was named AFC Player-of-the-Year. The following season, he set a single-game NFL rushing record with 250 yards ground out against the New England Patriots. In the season finale, in which the Bills faced the New York Jets, Simpson ran for 200 yards, allowing him to finish up with 2,003 yards (in 332 attempts) and become the first player in league history to amass 2,000-plus rushing yards in a season. It was Simpson’s greatest year as a pro, and he was named the NFL’s Most Valuable Player. He was to enjoy several other solid years with the Bills, along with one more superior campaign: 1975, in which he rushed for 1,817 yards, set an NFL record for touchdowns in a season with 23, and was again named the AFC’s Most Valuable Player.

While with the Bills, Simpson played in the NFL Pro Bowl on six occasions, in 1969 and between 1972 and 1976. Two years later, the aging runner, disheartened that the Bills had never reached the Super Bowl, requested a trade to a West Coast team. He soon found himself with the San Francisco 49ers, from which he retired the following year. He eventually was elected to the Pro Football Hall of Fame, and named to the NFL’s 75th Anniversary Team.

Simpson’s friendly smile, movie-star looks, and extroverted personality also allowed him to become a media fixture who appealed to a cross-section of Americans. While still starring on the gridiron, he established himself as an actor. In 1967, while at USC, he played a student on TV’s *Dragnet* ‘67; the following year, he appeared as himself in “The Big Game,” an episode of *Here’s Lucy*. In 1974, while playing for the Bills, he debuted on the big screen in *The Klansman* (1974) and *The Towering Inferno* (1974) and went on to appear in *The Cassandra Crossing* (1976), *Capricorn One* (1978),



O. J. Simpson (#32) in a game against the New York Jets.

and three *Naked Gun* comedies as well as additional television series and made-for-TV movies.

In retirement, Simpson remained in the public eye as an actor, a football broadcaster on ABC and NBC and, most famously, a Hertz Rent-a-Car spokesperson who would be seen dashing through airline terminals in TV commercials. Just around the time when Nicole Brown Simpson and Ron Goldman were murdered, Simpson had recently starred in *Frogmen* (1994), a TV series pilot, and the third *Naked Gun* feature had just played in movie theaters.

—Rob Edelman

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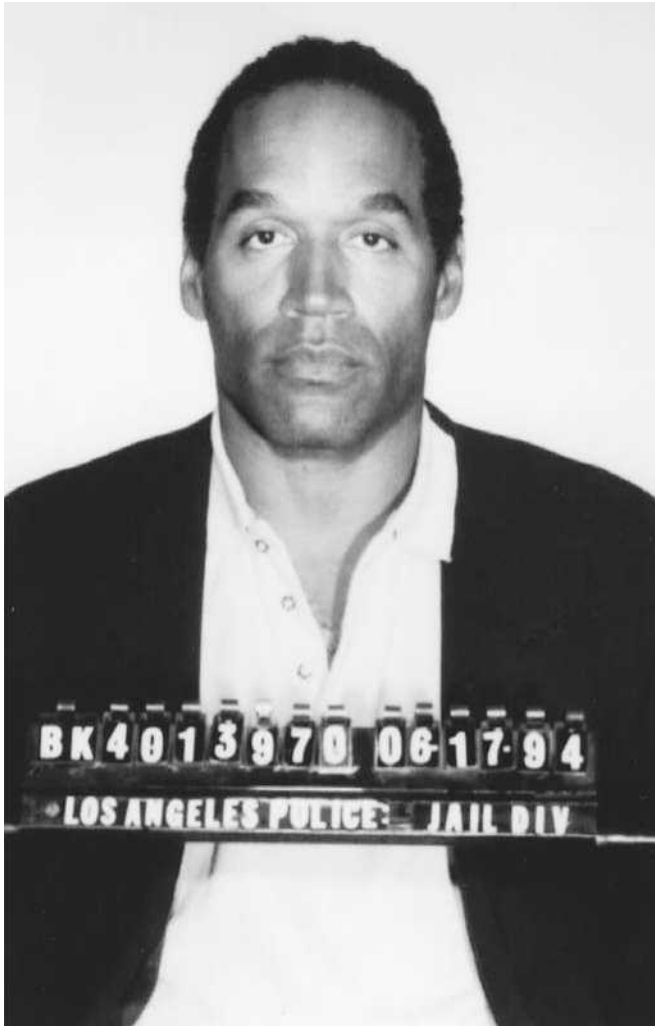
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## Simpson Trial

On the night of June 12, 1994, Nicole Brown Simpson and her friend Ronald Lyle Goldman were viciously stabbed to death outside the former's townhouse in Brentwood, California. The murders immediately received an extraordinary amount of media coverage because Nicole Brown was the ex-wife of former football star, minor film star, and celebrity pitchman O. J. Simpson. O. J. Simpson came under immediate suspicion in the murders, was briefly questioned by detectives assigned to the case, and formally notified four days later of his impending arrest on double homicide charges. Rather than surrender, however, Simpson left behind a maudlin note for the media, which some construed to be a suicide note, and took off with his friend A. C. Cowlings in Cowlings's white Bronco. After a few hours of uncertainty and suspense, police cars located the white Bronco on the L.A. freeway and began pursuing it in what the media,



O. J. Simpson's police mug shot.

televising the dramatic event to a spellbound worldwide audience, quickly dubbed a “low-speed chase.” In contrast to the public animosity that would soon make Simpson a social outcast, hundreds of people lined the freeway overpasses above the bizarre procession and waved handwritten signs of support for the “Juice.” The strangest chase in LAPD history ended at Simpson’s estate in Rockingham, where he was quietly placed under arrest, out of camera range of the circling news helicopters, and taken to the L.A. County Jail. Eighteen months later, Simpson, acquitted of all charges, would again be escorted home by the LAPD, but this time to the jeers and contempt of his neighbors and the scorn of much of white America. The reaction to Simpson’s acquittal, as well as belief in his ultimate innocence or guilt, was and still is sharply divided along racial lines, with African Americans tending to support Simpson and white Americans ostracizing him. The process by which Simpson became legally vindicated but socially exiled is indicative of the force of the mass media in late twentieth-century America.

The international spectacle of the Bronco chase was only a hint of the media obsession to come regarding the Simpson case. All of the major figures involved in the investigation and trial procedures would become celebrities in their own right, courted by the media and in

many cases given multi-million dollar book deals. The preliminary hearing and the trial were televised in whole or in part by the major networks, and night after night the cable news stations, such as CNN and MSNBC, devoted hours of often-heated analysis from mostly obscure legal pundits to the day’s legal developments. (Some of these legal pundits, such as Roger Cossack and Greta Van Susteren, soon gained their own regular cable shows, and much later some of the Simpson trial veterans, such as Johnnie Cochran and Marcia Clark, ironically became pundits themselves.) Millions of viewers across the United States followed the television proceedings throughout the day, and millions more watched the nighttime trial summaries, commentary, and analysis. The wall-to-wall coverage and the high ratings ensured that future extended real-life dramas, such as the 1998 national sex scandal involving President Bill Clinton and a young White House former intern Monica Lewinsky, would receive the same exhaustive treatment from the media.

Simpson was formally arraigned on June 20, 1994, entering a plea of “not guilty.” Thus far, public opinion seemed to have more or less reserved judgment on Simpson’s guilt, but all of that began to change on June 22. That was the day that the District Attorney’s office leaked to the media a tape of a frantic 911 call made by Nicole Simpson back in October of 1993. In that tape, Nicole tearfully pleads for help as an enraged Simpson shouts and swears in the background. The contrast between the chilling tape and Simpson’s genial public persona could not have been more striking, and many students of the case point to the release of the tape as the beginning of the public shift of opinion against Simpson. Two other instances of domestic violence in the Simpson household then received widespread media play: a 1985 incident that resulted in no formal charges, and a 1989 incident in which Simpson was charged but eventually pleaded “no contest.” On the basis of such abusive incidents, the District Attorney’s office, under the leadership of D.A. Gil Garcetti, began formulating its theory of the murders: that O. J. Simpson, already a violent wife-batterer, had killed Nicole and her friend Goldman out of jealousy and rage. Thus began a public debate between various experts as to whether Simpson fit the “profile” of an abuser-turned-murderer.

However, contrary to most expectations, the prosecution’s emphasis on domestic violence eventually proved to be a losing strategy. What ultimately carried the day for Simpson was a defense that compellingly argued that a combination of LAPD malfeasance (evidence planting and tampering) and crime lab incompetence (evidence contamination) had conspired to make an innocent man look guilty. Central to this defense strategy was the ambiguous figure of Detective Mark Fuhrman, one of the original investigating detectives at the Bundy crime scene. Fuhrman was in some ways a star witness for the prosecution: movie-star striking in appearance and unwaveringly methodical in crime-scene investigation. However, according to some sources, Fuhrman had a reputation as a racist who allegedly targeted black suspects for brutal treatment. Problematically for Fourth Amendment advocates, Fuhrman also had entered Simpson’s Rockingham estate on the night of the murders without a warrant, ostensibly because he and fellow detectives Tom Lange and Philip Vanatter, having just come from one bloody crime scene, feared for Simpson’s safety and did not consider him a suspect. (Judge Lance Ito later characterized Vanatter’s version of this story as demonstrating “reckless disregard for the truth.”) Fuhrman provided a convenient way for defense lawyers to negate one of the most damning bits of evidence against Simpson: a bloody leather glove found by Fuhrman at Simpson’s Rockingham home that matched one left behind at the

Bundy crime scene. The defense theory, which was formulated early on and never so much explicitly stated in court as implied, was that racist Fuhrman, alone behind Simpson's house, had motive and opportunity to plant the bloody glove, surreptitiously lifted from the Bundy crime scene, and thus make the case against Simpson ironclad. Such a theory had undeniable resonance in racially troubled Los Angeles, which still remembered all too clearly the deadly riots that followed the 1992 acquittal of four LAPD officers charged with beating African-American motorist Rodney King.

However, it would be some months before the defense could square off against Fuhrman and the LAPD in open court. In July of 1994 at the preliminary hearing, Judge Kathleen Kennedy-Powell found that there was enough evidence for Simpson to stand trial. A few weeks later, Judge Lance Ito became the trial judge. Jury selection began in September and continued into November. The jury was predominantly African American, a fact that would later cause much controversy. The attorneys who represented Simpson, some of them nationally famous, became hyperbolically known in the media as "The Dream Team." Simpson's team of lawyers at various times included F. Lee Bailey, Bob Blazier, Shawn Chapman, Johnnie Cochran, Alan Dershowitz, Carl Douglas, Robert Kardashian, Ralph Lotkin, Peter Neufeld, Barry Scheck, Robert Shapiro, Skip Taft, and Bill Thompson. Robert Shapiro first organized Simpson's defense. Later, the locally famous African-American lawyer Johnnie Cochran joined the defense team and eventually became its lead attorney after public disputes between Shapiro and F. Lee Bailey caused a severe rift in strategy. Against this team were arrayed some forty full-time prosecutors, of which Marcia Clark and Chris Darden (an African American) became the most visible advocates for the People's case.

Clark and Darden delivered opening arguments in the case of *The People vs. O. J. Simpson* on January 24, 1995. The trial lasted for nine months, during which the rapt television audiences witnessed many defining moments, some of high drama and others of low comedy, that have since passed into legal lore. A partial list of those moments includes: Nicole's sister Denise crying on the stand as she described Simpson's contemptuous and abusive behavior toward Nicole; the jury field trip to Simpson's elaborately staged Rockingham estate; the cross-examination of Detective Mark Fuhrman by F. Lee Bailey, in which Fuhrman unwisely denied using the word "nigger" in the previous ten years; the befuddled demeanor and tortured vocabulary of Kato Kaelin, a houseguest of Simpson's who had been with Simpson on the night of the murders; the rigorous cross-examination of LAPD criminalist Dennis Fung by Barry Scheck, in which Fung admitted to numerous errors in processing the crime scene; the horrendous decision by prosecutor Darden for Simpson to try on the killer's leather gloves, which apparently did not fit, in front of the jury; the defense team's first courtroom suggestions that evidence may have been planted by the LAPD in order to frame Simpson; the playing to the jury of tapes which conclusively refuted Fuhrman's contention that he had never said "nigger" in the past ten years; Fuhrman's subsequent pleading of the Fifth Amendment as to whether he had planted evidence in the case; the calling of two sinister-looking mob informants to impeach the testimony of one of the case's detectives; Simpson's in-court assertion to Judge Ito that "I did not, could not, and would not commit this crime;" and Clark's impassioned rebuttal to the defense's closing arguments.

But by far the most dramatic days of the trial were October 2 and 3, when the jury deliberated the case for only four hours before reaching a verdict. Judge Ito decided to delay the announcement of

the verdict until the following day, thus allowing one full night of feverish pundit speculation as to the outcome. On the morning of October 3, 1994, as much of the nation halted work to watch the suspenseful reading of the verdict, Simpson was found "not guilty" of the murders of Nicole Brown Simpson and Ronald Lyle Goldman. Television viewers across the nation saw news video of white audiences stunned by the news and black audiences rejoicing. Official reaction was primarily that of disbelief. A visibly stunned Gil Garcetti and his lead prosecutors held a post-verdict press conference, during which Chris Darden was reduced to tears. Public reaction depended very much on the race of those being asked. Polls taken in the days and weeks after the verdict confirmed that people's views of the verdict tended to break down along racial lines. The voices of the white establishment press, including those of highly visible network news anchors, swiftly grew in protest against the African American jury that, it was implied, freed Simpson for reasons of racial solidarity. Subtly racist criticism was also leveled against Asian American Judge Ito for not having kept tighter control of his courtroom.

The white backlash against the jury and its verdict only grew stronger over the coming months, eventually reaching its crescendo in the wrongful-death civil trial that grew out of a suit earlier filed against Simpson by Fred Goldman, the father of Ron. Fred Goldman had been a highly visible spokesman for his slain son during the criminal trial. The lead lawyer for the plaintiff was Daniel Petrocelli; Simpson's lead lawyer in the civil trial was Robert Baker. The civil trial began on September 16, 1996, in Santa Monica. In contrast to the first trial, the civil trial was not televised, and Simpson himself took the stand to testify. On the evening of February 4, 1997, in another media spectacle that threatened to overshadow President Clinton's annual State of the Union address, a predominantly white jury found Simpson liable for the wrongful deaths of Nicole Brown Simpson and Ron Goldman and assessed combined compensatory and punitive damages of \$33 million. Just as the first trial's verdict was roundly condemned by the establishment press, so too was the second verdict hailed as a triumph of justice. O. J. Simpson was forced to sell his Rockingham estate and, as of this writing, stands in jeopardy of losing the custody of his and Nicole's two children, Sydney and Justin. The "Trial of the Century" at which he was acquitted has proved to satisfy no one. Many people remain convinced that Simpson legally, if not financially, got away with murder, while others are equally convinced that institutional racism and police malevolence allowed the real murderer(s) to escape justice.

—Philip Simpson

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## ***The Simpsons***

The family situation comedy has long been a staple of American entertainment, and no family brings together more of the foibles and saving graces of the family than *The Simpsons*, which has aired on the FOX network since 1989. Part *Honeymooners*, part *All in the Family*, the animated Simpson family, crudely drawn with bright yellow skin and outlandish stylized hair, have represented the flailing attempts of human beings to keep up with twentieth-century life. Far from being a cartoon show for children only, *The Simpsons* deals with adult and teenage issues as well as world events. At the same time, the show is full of enough visual goofiness to keep the attention of young children.

Living in the Anywhere, USA, town of Springfield, these are the Simpsons:

Homer, the dad, works, between doughnut breaks, as a safety inspector at the Springfield nuclear power plant, where he was once replaced during a strike by a brick placed on a lever. Homer has a taste for just about anything remotely edible, washed down with Duff Beer, which he prefers to drink on the sofa in front of the television or at the local tavern, Moe's. Homer is always on the lookout for a free lunch, or at least a piece of lint-covered candy behind the sofa cushion.

Marge, Homer's better half, sports a towering blue beehive and is, in the main, the sensible anchor of the family. She has what Homer lacks in both common sense and moral fiber, and, though she struggles to stay a step ahead of the damage her family wreaks, she loves them all like—well, like a mother.

Bart is the demon spawn of Homer and Marge. From his first word—"Cowabunga!"—Bart has faced the world with an irreverent attitude. There is no scheme too depraved for Bart to consider, no mischief too evil to undertake. He is, however, only in the third grade, so, once in a while, even Bart finds himself in over his head.

Lisa, in second grade, is Bart's sister, and must have received her genes solely from Marge's pool. Lisa is a prodigy, and therefore somewhat of a misfit in the Simpson family. She loves school and learning, and plays saxophone like a pro, using its sweet tones to voice her own angst—a sensitive soul trapped in a crude wasteland. However, her Simpson side does show through now and then, and she always gets a laugh out of *Itchy and Scratchy*, the ultra-violent cartoon show Bart loves.

Maggie, the baby, has only uttered one word, "Daddy." For the most part, she only makes suck-suck noises while nursing her "Neglecto" brand pacifier. But she shows signs of becoming a true Simpson. When her pacifier is taken away by a brutish day-care worker, Maggie organizes the other babies in a *Great Escape*-style caper to retrieve their contraband "binkies." And, despite her tender age, she has already been responsible for a murder attempt on Homer's boss.

The supporting cast of *The Simpsons* represents a colorful assortment of characters, many of whom play against their stereotype to create a commentary on the wide variation among modern U.S. citizenry: Moe, the hard-boiled bartender, who secretly reads to homeless children at the shelter, weeping over *Little Women*; Waylon Smithers, the closet gay administrative assistant, who harbors a not-so-secret yen for his boss, power plant owner, Mr. Burns; Apu, the Quiki-mart owner, who has a Hindu shrine and a shotgun behind the cash register; Krusty the Clown, who had to leave behind his orthodox Jewish family and his career as a cantor to follow his calling to make little children laugh and make a fortune from licensing his name. Though clearly stereotyped, each character contains surprising quirks and changes, which make the audience laugh but are also surprisingly realistic and reassuring in an ever more complex society.

Each week, *The Simpsons* begins with a long opening sequence. The afternoon whistle blows and Homer packs up to leave work. He doesn't notice that one of the glowing radioactive bars he has been handling falls into his jacket and follows him home. At school, Bart finishes his daily punishment: writing 1000 times on the blackboard "I will not..." everything from "waste chalk" to "instigate revolution." Marge finishes shopping; Lisa blows a blues riff on her saxophone as she leaves band practice. The family reunites in the modern archetypal spot—plopped on the sofa in front of the television.

There is much that speaks to American families in the silliness of *The Simpsons*, and the show appeals to all ages. Adult viewers

approaching middle age recognize themselves caricatured in the Simpsons and their friends, from disillusion with dead-end jobs, to children they cannot handle, to fear of nuclear radiation, to the love and warmth they experience in life despite it all. The show functions on several different levels, allowing it to appeal to children as well as adults. The quirky, innovative animation contains visual jokes, some very subtle, that spoof all aspects of American life and culture, from consumerism to baby boomer political values. The light vehicle of animated comedy allows exploration of many normally taboo topics. While network live-action sitcoms still struggle with audience reactions to gay characters, the Simpsons has been a favorite with gay audiences because it has not only had gay storylines, but has a recurring gay character, Smithers, whose crush on the evil Mr. Burns is not always as hopeless as it looks.

Matt Groening is the cartoonist who created the Simpsons, though the television series is produced by an army of writers, animators, and voice actors. Groening, who draws an alternative comic strip called "Life in Hell," first created the Simpsons in 1986, for short spots on *The Tracy Ullman Show*, an innovative variety hour. He named the characters after his own family, except for Bart, who started life as "Matt" but was soon changed to an anagram of "brat." The bright-yellow family soon captured an audience of its own, and, as Groening says, "The phenomenon has gone beyond my wildest dreams—and my wildest nightmares." Their first full-length show was a Christmas special in 1989, called *Simpsons Roasting on an Open Fire*, followed by a half-hour weekly series in January. By the end of 1990, *The Simpsons* was the highest rated show on the FOX network, and was widely syndicated.

"I try not to let anything in our culture be either too high or too low for me," Groening has said, and his work on *The Simpsons* bears this out. With a leftist, alternative point of view, Groening has created a palatable critique of American values, combining sophisticated humor with goofy cartoon slapstick. A husband and father himself, his skewering of the family is incisive, yet loving. Episodes of *The Simpsons* often parody popular movies, movements, and public figures. The perennial mayor of Springfield, for example, speaks with a Kennedy-like Boston accent, and one episode revolves around his attempt to cover up the misdeeds of his spoiled, dissolute nephew. For one vacation, the family goes to a crassly commercial beer theme park, Duff Gardens, which shamelessly promotes alcoholism. Director John Waters guest stars on another episode, as a gay character, Jon, who Homer initially likes until he finds out that Jon is gay. Angriest about being fooled, he sputters, "He should at least have the good taste to mince around and let everyone know he's that way!"

Not to be outdone by Krusty the Clown, Groening is unapologetic about licensing products with the Simpson name. Dozens of products carry pictures of the bright yellow crew. *The Simpsons Comic Extravaganza* put the family in print, along with *Maggie Simpson's Alphabet Book* and *Counting Book*, and there have been Simpsons video games and even a record *The Simpsons Sing the Blues* (1990). In the late 1990s a single cel of Groening's animation sold at Christies' famous art auction house for \$24,200.

*The Simpsons* appeals to its public because it is hilarious entertainment; it is packed with cultural satire and is full of throw-away visual references. The show pulls the audience into its in-jokes, not requiring too much effort, but rewarding a little mental exertion with hidden layers of meaning. Then, just when the viewer seems to find real depth, *The Simpsons* refuses to be predictable, and dissolves into old-fashioned buffoonery. Its cartoon format gives the show that

touch of fantasy which makes it the perfect vehicle for cataloging the stuff of real life.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Sinatra, Frank (1915-1998)

Frank Sinatra was, by most accounts, the greatest entertainer of his time, known to his legions of fans as "The Voice" of the twentieth century. But his life intersected with worlds beyond show business—with politics, both left and right, with the underworld, and with the celebrity culture of postwar America. An exceedingly complex man, Sinatra articulated in his songs the romantic dreams and existential longings of his generation. His music and life had a Shakespearean "ages of man" arc—from the callow youth of "I Fall in Love Too Easily" to the world-weary maturity of "In the Wee Small Hours" and, ultimately, to the triumphant patriarch of "My Way." But above everything, Sinatra will be remembered, in the words of Pete Hamill, as "a genuine artist, and his work will endure as long as men and women can hear, and ponder, and feel."

During a career that spanned more than 60 years, Sinatra exploited the technology of the century to define and transform his public persona. He received major breaks in his early career when he was heard over the radio by bandleaders seeking a vocalist. During the 1940s his voice seemed to caress the microphone in concert, and Sinatra created a sexual awakening, some say mass hypnotism, among adolescent girls. More than anyone else during the 1950s, he conceived the long-playing record as a vehicle of personal expression for a mature artist. His 60 movies yielded a multitude of Sinatras to contemplate: the joyous song-and-dance man of *Anchors Aweigh* and *On the Town*; the brooding, doomed loner of *From Here to Eternity* and *The Manchurian Candidate*; and the suave hipster of *Pal Joey* and *Ocean's 11*. Sinatra's final project, *Duets*, produced by recording wizard Phil Ramone in the early 1990s, utilized digital fiber optics to create electronic pairings with a new generation of performers and resulted in one of his best-selling albums of all time.

Sinatra's upbringing reflected the immigrant world of urban America. He was born in rough-and-tumble Hoboken, New Jersey, on December 12, 1915. The only child of a hard-working Sicilian household, Sinatra had big dreams to cross the Hudson River and discover his fortune in New York City. He dabbled in sportswriting and engineering before finding his calling at a Bing Crosby concert in the mid-1930s. Determined to become a singer, he polished his act at church suppers and firemen's socials. In September 1935 he and several local musicians made their radio debut as the Hoboken Four





**Frank Sinatra**

on *Major Bowes' Original Amateur Hour*. Bowes took a liking to the boys, and they began to tour with one of his traveling companies. After immediate success proved elusive, Sinatra went solo.

The ambitious Sinatra did everything he could to nurture his talent. He appeared on local radio with little compensation to attract any type of attention. He undertook voice lessons, which he would continue throughout his career. And, most importantly, he sang publicly, notably at the Rustic Cabin, a small North Jersey roadhouse. His persistence achieved what every singer of his era desired, a featured vocalist spot in a big band. Harry James, a former trumpeter for Benny Goodman, heard Sinatra broadcast from the Cabin and signed him to his first contract in June 1939. James's new orchestra spotlighted the confident Sinatra, especially on "All or Nothing at All," one of the first big band recordings to feature a vocalist from start to finish.

After six months, Sinatra was lured away by a more prominent bandleader, Tommy Dorsey. Inspired by Dorsey's trombone playing, Sinatra crafted a distinctive singing style, gliding from note to note without a semblance of breath. Sinatra's apprenticeship with the band lasted three years, and his recordings of "I'll Never Smile Again," "I'll Be Seeing You," and "This Love of Mine" established the boy vocalist as a star in his own right. Sinatra's ascent anticipated the dominance of the singer in postwar popular music.

Beginning in late 1942 Sinatra took control of his destiny, the first of many such moves throughout his mature years. After rancorous negotiations, Sinatra left Dorsey, leading the way for featured vocalists to make it as soloists. His debut performance at the Paramount Theatre on the last day of 1942 created a riotous sensation as thousands of teenage girls, known as the bobbysoxers, swooned (a publicist's description that caught on) at the skinny crooner in a bowtie. Amateur psychologists debated this ardent popularity: did he signify wartime degeneracy or did he bring out the maternal instinct in adolescents? Whatever the reason, Sinatra became a regular on *Your Hit Parade*, network radio's most popular show on Saturday night.

Critics also analyzed the unique communication that Sinatra had with his audience. E. J. Kahn, in one of the first major articles on the Sinatra phenomenon, stated for *The New Yorker* that while singing Sinatra "stares with shattering intensity into the eyes of one trembling disciple after another." His intimacy with the microphone and personalization of the lyrics involved his listeners in a sexual experience. Sinatra learned how to transmit powerful emotions through his songs by studying the haunted textures of Billie Holiday. And in the best jazz tradition, he also liked to come up with innovative ways to treat musical phrases.

Sinatra strove to completely identify with the music in the recording studio. He teamed up with Dorsey arranger Alex Stordahl

to produce introspective ballads for Columbia Records throughout the 1940s. Stordahl's lush strings complemented the soulful rapture of Sinatra's baritone. Between 1943 and 1946 he had 17 top singles, including his first Columbia recording, the tender "Close to You" and more upbeat "Saturday Night (Is the Loneliest Night in the Week)," which had special meaning for women whose lovers were away fighting in Europe.

Sinatra made his first movie appearances as a Dorsey vocalist in *Las Vegas Nights* (1941) and *Ships Ahoy* (1942). The hysteria surrounding Sinatra's personal appearances in the early 1940s led to a contract with MGM in 1944. Gene Kelly became his mentor and teacher, and he was groomed for energetic, splashy musicals. He starred as a nerdy, shy sailor in *Anchors Aweigh* (1944); a show business-crazed New Yorker in *It Happened in Brooklyn* (1947); and a baseball playing, tap dancing vaudevillian in *Take Me Out to the Ball Game* (1949) with Kelly. But Sinatra quickly outgrew this manufactured image of cheerfulness and frivolity.

Since his boyhood, Sinatra was immersed in Democratic politics. His mother was a party ward organizer and her only child became a crusader for racial tolerance. Sinatra and his Hoboken sweetheart Nancy named their son Franklin after President Roosevelt for whom the singer had campaigned vigorously. In 1945 Sinatra had received a special Oscar for the short *The House I Live In*, an outspoken attack on religious and ethnic bigotry. But in the late 1940s, when the political mood of cold-war America was shifting rightward, Sinatra was lambasted as a communist sympathizer and fellow traveler as well as criticized for his trip to Havana to meet syndicate boss Lucky Luciano. Questions about his connection to the underworld, especially as the quintessential nightclub and Las Vegas performer, bedeviled the Italian-American entertainer the rest of his career, begetting a nasty feud with the press over personal privacy.

By 1950, Sinatra's public and personal worlds had collapsed. As America began celebrating economic prosperity and organizational conformity, Sinatra's record sales slumped and MGM dropped him from their galaxy of stars. His private indiscretions had become fodder for the gossip columns, and the singer was scandalized for a tumultuous affair with movie goddess Ava Gardner, which disintegrated his marriage. Sinatra also failed to conquer the new medium of the home, television, in the early 1950s as his first series was widely assailed by the critics. The city girls, who had idolized "The Swoon" during the war years, were now busy raising families in the suburbs; Sinatra appeared to be a relic.

Sinatra's comeback, receiving a 1954 Oscar for his portrayal of the downtrodden Maggio in *From Here to Eternity*, has been the stuff of legend. What was more remarkable was the entire transformation of the Sinatra persona. No longer would he be the sensitive balladeer who spoke directly into a woman's heart. Now, he was a man's man, the one who hoped for swinging times, but was often left anguished at the bar alone. His image in the movies was toughened. He played a psychopathic presidential assassin in *Suddenly* (1954), an agonized heroin addict in *The Man With the Golden Arm* (1955), and a disillusioned writer in *Some Came Running* (1958). He also brought a maturity to his musical roles: as the cynical reporter in *High Society* (1956), performing a rousing "Well Did You Evah?" with his inspiration, Bing Crosby, and as the ultimate heel in *Pal Joey* (1957), taking such delight in his crucial number, "The Lady Is a Tramp."

In 1953 Sinatra signed with Capitol Records and, collaborating with arranger/conductor Nelson Riddle, would orchestrate an entirely new sound for his mature self. They pioneered the concept album, which in a suite of songs looked at one aspect of adult love. Riddle, a

former trombonist, brought a pulsating rhythm to the records, helping to define Sinatra's new swinging style. Sinatra adapted a variety of roles to articulate a deeper understanding of romance: the bold sensualist in *Song for Swingin' Lovers* (1956); the tender, intimate companion of *Close to You*; and the gloomy, introspective loner in *Only the Lonely* (1958). Sinatra also hooked up with arrangers Gordon Jenkins and Billy May to explore other masks: the intense and tortured romantic (Jenkins's *Where are You? And No One Cares*) and the raucous swinger (May's *Come Fly Me* and *Come Dance with Me!*). In the studio, Sinatra incarnated each role; he was the ultimate "method" singer.

From 1953 to 1962 Sinatra recorded 17 albums for Capitol and exploited the dramatic possibilities of the long-playing twelve-inch disc. Sinatra was at his powers as an interpretative artist and these recordings constitute a treasury of American popular song. Many songs were carefully selected from the golden age of the Broadway musical, and Sinatra's readings plumb the emotional depths of the lyrics. A majority of his meticulously-rehearsed versions are considered definitive, including "I've Got a Crush on You" (George and Ira Gershwin); "I've Got You Under My Skin" (Cole Porter); "One for My Baby" (Harold Arlen and Johnny Mercer); and "I Wish I Were in Love Again" (Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart). Sinatra always paid tribute to the songwriting art by announcing in concert the name of the composer before each song. During the Capitol years Sinatra also returned to the charts with singles produced for quick recognition and consumption, most notably "Learnin' the Blues," "All the Way," and "Witchcraft." By the end of the 1950s, Sinatra was again America's most prominent performer.

In the early 1960s Sinatra reconfigured his identity once again. He formed his own record company, Reprise, the first major artist-owned label in music history. (He sold the company to Warner Brothers in 1963, retaining a one-third interest.) He became the embodiment of a middle-aged swinging playboy with the release of *Ring-a-Ding Ding!* (1960) and *Swing Along with Me* (1961). He surrounded himself with hard-drinking and high-living friends, called by the press the Rat Pack, whose members included Dean Martin, Sammy Davis Jr., Peter Lawford, and Joey Bishop. The Rats, nicknamed The Summit by the leader, were headquartered in Las Vegas, where Sinatra was established as the premier performer and an owner of the Sands Hotel. Reveling in tuxedo until daybreak, they were, and for some will always be, the epitome of cool.

Sinatra with his pals promulgated a hedonistic philosophy of swagger and style. An outgrowth of Humphrey Bogart's inner circle, they campaigned for the equally fun-loving John F. Kennedy in 1960, with Sinatra supervising the inaugural gala. The Pack made light-hearted slapdash movies, including *Ocean's 11* (1960), *Sergeants 3* (1962), and *Robin and the 7 Hoods* (1964). With the assassination of President Kennedy, who publicly snubbed Sinatra in 1962 because of his mob associations, and the emergence of The Beatles, the Rat Pack seemed tired and out-of-touch by the middle of the decade. And once again, Sinatra reinvented himself.

During his 50th year in 1965, Sinatra contemplated his life and profession. He released *September of My Years*, one of his most personal works, a touching musical reflection on the joys and anguishes of his younger years. Sinatra also compiled and narrated a retrospective album, *A Man and His Music*, which surveyed his career in 31 songs. Both projects received the Grammy Award for album of the year, anointing Sinatra as elder statesman of the industry. Personally, Sinatra was still frisky, marrying actress Mia Farrow, 30 years his junior.

*A Man and His Music* also inspired a television special, which marked Sinatra's triumphant return to the medium. His two previous weekly series had fizzled, both succumbing to Sinatra's unwillingness to rehearse outside the recording studio. His most noteworthy performances had been one-time only engagements: as the stage manager in a musical adaptation of *Our Town* (which yielded the hit single "Love and Marriage") and as host of a "Welcome Home, Elvis" extravaganza, in which the two former teen idols joined for an incomparable duet. The 1965 special was acclaimed "the television musical of the season," receiving an Emmy Award for outstanding program. Sinatra continued to produce and star in television specials, almost on an annual basis, making sure he remained a force in contemporary music.

During the 1950s Sinatra dismissed rock and roll as music "sung, played, and written for the most part by cretinous goons." By the late 1960s Sinatra had accommodated many diverse sounds in his repertoire. Adapting to changing fashions, he recorded songs composed by Jimmy Webb, Stevie Wonder, Paul Simon, and George Harrison. One of his most advantageous collaborations was with the Brazilian samba stylist, Antonio Carlos Jobim. Sinatra discovered unexpected pleasures in the soft and delicate rhythms of the bossa nova. This embrace of a new beat also provided several popular hits, including "Strangers in the Night," winner of the Grammy Award as record of the year; "That's Life," Sinatra at his bluesiest; and "Something Stupid," a duet with his eldest daughter Nancy. In 1969 he adapted a French ballad, "Mon Habitude," with English lyrics by Paul Anka, and crafted one of his signature songs, "My Way."

Tired of the investigations into his private life, Sinatra announced his retirement from show business in June 1971. He made yet another comeback two years later with the album and TV special, *Ol' Blue Eyes Is Back*, engendering another show business moniker. He was most frequently nicknamed The Chairman of the Board, referring to his pervasive presence in all aspects of the entertainment industry. Although his professional life slowed down, especially after his marriage to Barbara Marx in 1976, Sinatra still made artistic waves. He delivered a classic reading of Stephen Sondheim's innovative "Send in the Clowns," a staple of his concerts during the 1970s. In 1980 he released his most ambitious undertaking, *Trilogy: Past, Present & Future*, three discs that showed off both the swinging and serious facets of his artistry. Sinatra recorded for *Trilogy* yet another defining song, "Theme from New York, New York," which became a showstopper in performance. In movies, he was most comfortable as a hard-boiled, aging sleuth, a role he began in *The Detective* (1968) and further explored in the television movie *Contract on Cherry Street* (1977) and his final starring theatrical role in *The First Deadly Sin* (1980). In 1987 *The Manchurian Candidate*, featuring Sinatra's most complex role as a brainwashed soldier, was re-released, twenty-six years after its premiere. There was a renewed appreciation for Sinatra's acting skills, especially in challenging material.

Like many in his generation, Sinatra's politics drifted rightward as he got older. Becoming an ardent Republican during the Vietnam era (though still a registered Democrat), he campaigned aggressively for Ronald Reagan in 1980. Victorious again, as twenty years before, he produced the presidential inaugural gala. He was appointed to the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities as well as was awarded the Kennedy Center Honor for Lifetime Achievement (1983) and Presidential Medal of Freedom, America's highest civilian recognition (1985). He still received millions of dollars for concert performances around the world, including a controversial appearance in Sun City, South Africa.

Sinatra's personal life was always riddled with contradictions. His generosity to friends was legendary as was his vicious feuds with targeted members of the press. Back in 1947, he publicly attacked one of his critics, Lee Mortimer, and was ordered to pay a substantial fine. Although his friendship with Chicago mobster Sam Giancana cost him a gambling license in the 1960s, he still associated with the underworld throughout his career, including a 1975 infamous photograph backstage at the Westchester Premier Theater with Mafia boss Carlo Gambino and Jimmy "the Weasel" Frantianno. Many unauthorized biographies focussed on these unsavory aspects of Sinatra's volatile temperament, most significantly the bestselling *His Way* (1986), by Kitty Kelley. Even the 1992 authorized miniseries *Sinatra*, produced by youngest daughter Tina, did not shy away from controversies, portraying Sinatra's relationship with Giancana (played by Rod Steiger).

Sinatra remained a permanent fixture and influence on the American popular culture landscape even in his twilight years. Although his 1988 reunion tour with Sammy Davis Jr. and Dean Martin dissipated when Dino lost interest, the Rat Pack were embraced as the arbiters of hip by the twentysomething generation in the 1990s. At the age of 77, Sinatra made another recording comeback as his *Duets* album unexpectedly sold several million copies. Although his partners were not in the same studio and electronically overdubbed, Sinatra was heard singing with stars from other musical fields, including international personalities Julio Iglesias and Charles Aznavour; from the jazz and soul front, Aretha Franklin, Luther Vandross, and Anita Baker; and from his own genre, Barbra Streisand and Tony Bennett. Rocker Bono of U2, another "duetist," grandiloquently presented Sinatra with the 1994 Grammy Legend Award, enshrining him as "the Big Bang of Pop." Sinatra's 80th-birthday special also featured a wide array of celebrants, including rappers Salt-N-Pepa and rock superstars Bruce Springsteen and Bob Dylan. Sinatra himself toured rigorously well into his 70s, before giving his last concert in February 1995.

Sinatra's death on May 14, 1998 eclipsed one of television's most heavily promoted events, the final episode of *Seinfeld*. Every corner of news, from print to cyberspace, was awash in memorial tributes. As David Hadju of *Entertainment Weekly* pointed out: "No American since JFK (the Sinatra of Presidents) seemed to have received such a grand media memorial, effusive in its praise of his talent and celebratory in its recollection of his life."

The one quality that Sinatra strove for in his nearly 1,300 commercially available recordings and his many different incarnations was honesty. Each song was the personal expression of a deeply felt moment. There was no separating the incomparable singer from the intimate experience of the lyric. Like many other supremely gifted artists, his life did not always live up to the ideals of his art. But, as *New York Times* critic John Rockwell noted, "no singer of our time has better invested the widest range of emotion in his music than Frank Sinatra."

—Ron Simon

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## Sinbad (1956—)

A popular African American television comic character of the 1980s and 1990s, Sinbad, whose offstage name is David Adkins, offered wholesome, family-oriented entertainment for children and adults alike. The legitimate heir to Bill Cosby's clean-cut comic style, Adkins, an African American, broke barriers at mainstream studios like Disney by starring in youth-oriented feature films with predominantly white casts, such as *Houseguest* (1995) and *First Kid* (1996).

Sinbad first entered mainstream culture as dorm director, Walter Oakes, on the Cosby-produced NBC sitcom *A Different World* (1987-1991), once the nation's number-three rated show. It was this role that catapulted Sinbad into living rooms across the nation. Following the show's run, Sinbad gained further notoriety as host of *It's Showtime at the Apollo*, where his improvisational storytelling on topics such as hair weaves, parenting, and divorce helped to make him one of America's most widely-recognized funny men.

Born in Benton Harbor, Michigan, on November 18, 1956, David Adkins was the child of Baptist minister Reverend Donald Adkins and his wife, Louise. The second of six children, the future comedian was raised in a household in which a high value was placed on morals, personal responsibility, and God. Rejecting both alcohol



Sinbad

and drugs throughout life, Sinbad takes seriously his job as a role model—challenging the need for vulgar language in his performances with the oft-quoted maxim: “If my kids can’t watch it, I can’t do it.”

Tall in stature—he reached 6'5" in adulthood—the comedian grew up feeling “big and goofy,” and saw himself as something of an outsider. Luckily his size was of use in pursuing his first love: basketball. He won an athletic scholarship to the University of Denver, but found himself particularly isolated on the largely white campus, where he became increasingly militant during the black-power era of the 1970s. Never one to play by the rules, Adkins surprised his peers by quitting college just short of a diploma. After dropping out, Adkins signed up with the Air Force, where he soon discovered his true calling during a talent contest. Arriving at a steadfast decision to pursue comedy, he got himself discharged from the service—as legend has it—by walking off duty in his underwear. “Kick me out,” he told his superiors. “Let’s work as a team.”

In 1983, embarking on what he has called his “Poverty Tour,” the future Sinbad crossed the country by Greyhound bus, performing stand-up routines in small-town clubs and hitching rides with members of his audience. The grueling schedule paid off. By the mid-1980s, the comedian’s first big break came through repeated appearances on *Star Search*. With his brightly-colored hair (dyed every shade from gold to red to platinum blond) and feather earrings in both ears, the budding talent had made an impression. He relocated to Los Angeles, and in 1986 was cast as Redd Foxx’s foster son on ABC’s *The New Red Foxx Show* (1986).

Like his mentor, Bill Cosby, Adkins has consistently challenged stereotypical images in Hollywood film and television productions. On *Houseguest*, for example, he refused to do humor that he termed “very broad and anatomical.” During production on his short-lived sitcom, *The Sinbad Show* (1993), which aired on the Fox network during 1993-94, the star’s arguments with producers and executives were legend, as he struggled to represent his character, a black single father, in a positive light.

In 1997, Sinbad joined the flurry of black-oriented, late-night talk shows when he was asked to take over hosting duties on *Vibe* (1997-1998). It was a time when competition was stiff for the genre: *The Keenen Ivory Wayans Show* (1997-1998) ran neck-and-neck with *Vibe* before being replaced by Magic Johnson's *The Magic Hour* (1998). But Adkins had also co-hosted, with singer Stephen Bishop, another late-night variety show ten years earlier called *Keep on Cruisin'* (1987).

At the close of the 1990s, Sinbad had expanded his influence beyond the world of entertainment, and had become a pioneer advocate for technology, particularly among inner-city youth. A computer buff who has been known to chat online for hours, he served on an advisory council at Howard University, and as a spokesperson for the National Action Council for Minorities in Engineering, lecturing to some 23 million kids about the importance of math and science in a technologically advanced world. Sinbad also participated in the first annual ThinkQuest Internet competition, along with Ron Howard, Nobel-laureate physicist Kenneth Wilson, and Gene Sperling, advisor to President Clinton, in which more than \$1 million in scholarships and cash prizes were awarded to students, teachers, and schools across the country. In 1996, he accompanied first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton to Bosnia to provide comic relief for United States peacekeeping forces stationed there and throughout Europe.

—Kristal Brent Zook

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## Sinclair, Upton (1878-1968)

American novelist Upton Sinclair is most famous for his 1906 novel *The Jungle* and the reforms to which it gave rise. Sinclair was a muckraker—so dubbed by President Theodore Roosevelt, who regarded them as a nuisance—one of a group of journalists who were relentless in their exposure of corruption in American business and government.

Sinclair intended his book, set in the Chicago meat-packing industry, to arouse support for the plight of immigrant laborers. He exposed the political machinations of the Democratic and Republican parties and put forward the Socialist Party as the only trustworthy organization. Instead, *The Jungle* triggered outrage at the malfeasance of the meat packers, who had little care that much of their processed meat was adulterated with dirt, dung, poisoned rats, and the odd human body part. Roosevelt apparently read the book and dispatched investigators who confirmed the veracity of Sinclair's account. Under threat of releasing the report, Roosevelt forced through the 1906 Meat Packing Act to regulate the industry. Although the act brought the meat packers under the regulatory arm of the government, it had little in the way of enforcement. Moreover, the bigger firms were able to meet the government's requirements, whereas many smaller firms could not, and so the act effectively

increased the strength of big business; certainly not Sinclair's intended outcome. At the time, Sinclair joked, "I aimed at the public's heart and by accident I hit it in the stomach."

*The Jungle* was Sinclair's sole best-seller, but he went on to publish a series of similarly themed novels. Among them were *Oil!* (1927), about the Teapot Dome Scandal of President Warren Harding's administration, and *Boston* (1928), about the trial and execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, two Italian-American radicals convicted and executed for robbery and murder, a cause celebre of 1927. In 1940 Sinclair began a series of eleven novels with a contemporary setting featuring an antifascist hero, Lanny Budd. Sinclair placed Budd in the action of all major events of his time.

In 1933 Sinclair established and led the End Poverty in California (EPIC) campaign. His solution to Depression-era unemployment was for the state to rent unused land and factories so the unemployed could grow their own food and produce clothing and furniture. In August 1934 he easily won the Democratic primary race for governor. Conservative Democrats then aligned with the anti-New Deal Republican Governor Frank Merriman to defeat Sinclair in the November election. The campaign was marked by the hysterical level of the anti-Sinclair material, which included faked newsreels showing hoboes descending on California and accusations of Communism.

By the end of the twentieth century *The Jungle* was still in print but not included in college anthologies of American literature. EPIC generally is treated as an indication of the sort of political anomalies the Depression produced, and as an aside to Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal.

—Ian Gordon

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## Singer, Isaac Bashevis (1904-1991)

Singer is considered almost by unanimous consent to be the greatest postwar writer of Yiddish literature. Born on July 14, 1904 in Leoncin, Poland, child of a Chasidic rabbi and pious mother, Singer first made his mark in Yiddish literature in Poland, having published his first novel, *Satan in Goray*, in serialized form in 1934. The next year Singer moved to America where he began writing for the Yiddish-language newspaper the *Jewish Daily Forward*. His creativity blocked by his relocation, Singer produced little fiction until 1943, when an explosion of short stories and novels erupted from his pen that continued until his death on July 24, 1991. In 1966, he published his first of several well-received children's books, *Zlateh the Goat*. In 1978, Singer received the Nobel prize for literature. Several of his works were filmed, including his novels *The Magician of Lublin* and *Enemies, A Love Story*, as well as his short story "Yentl, the Yeshiva Boy," which formed the basis of the musical *Yentl*, which starred Barbra Streisand in the lead role.

—Bennett Lovett-Graff

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## *Singin' in the Rain*

Co-directed by dancer Gene Kelly and Stanley Donen, *Singin' in the Rain* epitomizes how the musical works as Hollywood genre, studio (MGM) product, and instrument of American popular culture. Produced in 1952, the movie's narrative, scripted by Broadway writers Betty Comden and Adolph Green, is set in the 1920s, when viable sound synchronization spawned the "talkie," forcing universal adoption of sound and the invention of the musical. *Singin' in the Rain* is a parody of the backstage musical and the biopic; it playfully mocks the trials of the early studio system and the egos of its silent film stars being tutored to speak and perform in sound pictures.

The movie pays homage to the musical's classical form, tracing its roots from vaudeville to its influence on film. Gene Kelly plays Don Lockwood, who rises from variety shows to the silver screen with dance partner Cosmo Brown (Donald O'Connor). Within the musical's formula of narrative-inspired production numbers and romance, Lockwood guides the object of his desire, Kathy Selden (Debbie Reynolds), into the emotional effects of song-and-dance.

It is the Hollywood kiss, that staple of romantic resolution, which seals the attraction between Lockwood and Selden, then prompts Lockwood to begin "singin' in the rain." Critic Jane Feuer, in *Film Genre Reader II*, dubs such outburst into song-and-dance "the myth of spontaneity" common to the musical genre. Kelly's athletic free spirit in the "singin' in the rain" number celebrates the individual male at play within the American neighborhood. In this liberating, public site, Lockwood moves his feet skillfully through rain with umbrella as ballast, gets soaked and loves it, is chided by a local cop and shrugs it off. His "gotta dance" compulsion not only drives *Rain's* theme-song number, as if coming from the streets as well as his heart, it also inspires Lockwood to move instinctively into the full-blown artistry and seduction of Cyd Charisse's enigmatic dance/love object in the "Broadway Melody Ballet" fantasy.

Critic Rick Altman, in *The American Film Musical*, calls this device of courtship through dance the male's "loving lesson." In the film's major dance suite, the "Broadway Melody Ballet," the sexual connotations of Lockwood's earlier loving lesson with the neophyte Selden are projected as a fantasy danced with an "other" woman (Cyd Charisse). In the course of the suite, Charisse's vamp transforms into bride, then ethereal "angel", then back to vamp willingly controlled by gangster "hoods." Only dance itself safely permits this eruption of coded sex and this evocation of American culture's darker forces.

These forces, inflected in *Rain* as fantasy, are made central in Charles Vidor's *Love Me or Leave Me* (1955). A biopic of another order, *Love Me or Leave Me* is based on singer Ruth Etting's successful career and dark personal life in the 1920s and her marriage to a petty gangster whose possessiveness turns into rape on their wedding night. Domestic melodrama delineates the couple's fraught relationship, with musical numbers playing out of, and off, the drama. In *Rain*, Don's loving protection of the amber-voiced Kathy from the wily, tin-eared silent star Lina Lamont (Jean Hagen) is without social threat, while *Love Me or Leave Me's* foregrounding of obsessive male control is made tough by its basis in melodrama. In Stanley Kubrick's *A Clockwork Orange* (1971), the darkly parodic "Singin' In the Rain" song-and-dance by Alec (Malcolm McDowell) in the act of torturing a woman makes a cold ritual of violence, a major ideological reach from the original source, *Rain*, but closer to *Love Me or Leave Me*. But in his television special, *You Must Remember This* (1994), Canadian figure skater Kurt Browning's skilled athletic homage restores to family entertainment *Rain's* 1950s classicism and the nostalgia of Kelly's muscular dancer's persona. Browning's faithful recreation of Kelly's "Singin' In The Rain" number—complete with rain-covered ice surface, look-alike set, and original soundtrack of Kelly's singing and tapping—circulates a memory of the film, specifically a myth of wholesomeness for popular culture of the 1990s. In the 1990s, figure skating's popularity has grown as its imitative performers, tour-shows, and television specials have adopted elements of the production number established and conventionalized by the Hollywood musical, including costuming, lighting, familiar theme songs, dance-step choreography, tributes to screen and pop music stars, and the loving lesson evident in pairs and dance skating.

The impulse to act out in song-and-dance form reveals the gears of social engineering adapted by the Hollywood musical to produce and to promote show-musical culture as a vital ingredient of American popular culture. *Singin' in the Rain* reveals the seams of this process, much as it enfolds audiences into its veiled pleasures.

—Joan Nicks

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## Singles Bars

Singles bars flourished in the 1970s, reflecting the sweeping changes that followed the Sexual Revolution and the attempted passage of the Equal Rights Movement. Commonly referred to as "meat markets," singles bars acted as an open setting in which men and women felt free to engage one another. Statistics cited by sociologist Nancy Netting revealed that by 1980 the rate of premarital sexual intercourse for American college-age women equaled the rate

for college-age men. This was a significant change, as the rate for women having premarital intercourse between 1930-1965, studies showed, was 30 percent lower than that of men. One change that resulted from all of these factors was that bar patrons were no longer exclusively male.

Singles bars have a popular image as hotbeds of frenzied, sexual activity, but there is some evidence to suggest that this presumption may be somewhat exaggerated. Despite the promiscuous conduct that many assume occurs, the singles scene operates upon some rather traditional gender roles: men initiate contact, and women flirt as passive objects of desire. By pursuing a female in this environment, the male places his self-assessment at risk, since "rejection may signify that he has miscalculated and is less desirable than he had assumed," concluded a 1991 ethnographic study of singles bars. Another study, published by two psychologists in 1978, found that men avoid the most attractive women because they fear rejection. The study also found that attractive women responded just as positively to researchers as unattractive women. In this respect, the study concluded, "men's anxieties about attractive women may be unfounded."

If a conversation is struck, the talk is likely to be about generalities, wrote Jamie James in *Rolling Stone*:

They talk about the weather, football (year-round), the latest big murder trial ("Do you think he's guilty?" "Of course he's guilty. But he'll get off"). They talk about everything but what's on their minds. The clincher comes in its own good time: "This place is so noisy I can hardly hear you. Listen, my place is just a few blocks away. . . ."

The 1991 study showed that the micro-order of the singles bar is a fragile one and can fracture when the male "presses forward, failing to accept (the female's) rejection and the chance to save face." The female's rejection can take the form of a polite refusal, a rejection not final ("maybe some other time"), or an excuse: "I'm married," "I have a boyfriend," or "I can't dance in these shoes." Fracturing occurs when the male insults the female to "even the score," or by ignoring her suggestion and continuing his pursuit. When this occurs, the ethnologists noted changes in the female's demeanor through a stiff posture, or sharper tone: "concern with softening the blow is jettisoned for the overriding concern of extricating oneself from the situation."

Faced with excusing oneself, what could possibly serve as refuge in a noisy singles bar? The study noted:

The most common refuge for escape from unsolicited encounters appeared to be the women's restroom. One of the authors tested this observation by remarking to a queue of women in a restroom that she guessed she wasn't the only one avoiding a man. She was answered by an affirmative nod by a number of women. . . . Women can plan future strategies to avoid male approaches or escape from the necessity of performing these strategies through retreat into an all-female world.

The need to parry male advances is one explanation for findings that show that most women are usually accompanied by at least one other woman at the bars.

An element of danger exists in encountering people who are strangers. This risk was portrayed in the sensational 1975 novel *Looking for Mr. Goodbar*, in which a single woman picks up a stranger in a bar, only to be murdered in her own apartment. "Everybody who hangs out in these places is acutely aware of the intrinsic creepiness of the (singles) scene," explained a woman to James. "It's sort of demeaning, but there has to be some way for us to meet, you know." The one commonly acknowledged taboo among singles is "never go to bed with a stranger."

Although singles bars remained a primary way for singles to meet, other alternatives appeared in the 1980s. Those who desired more control used the screening process of a matchmaking service or did their own screening through newspaper personal ads. More adventurous singles opted for singles cruises, a marketing device that successfully contributed to the boom in cruiseship trips during the 1990s. After AIDS became a serious concern during the 1980s, screening and refraining from risky sexual activity became important for health reasons. In a survey conducted at a college in British Columbia, Canada, the number of students who reported having one-night stands decreased by over 50 percent between the years 1980 and 1990.

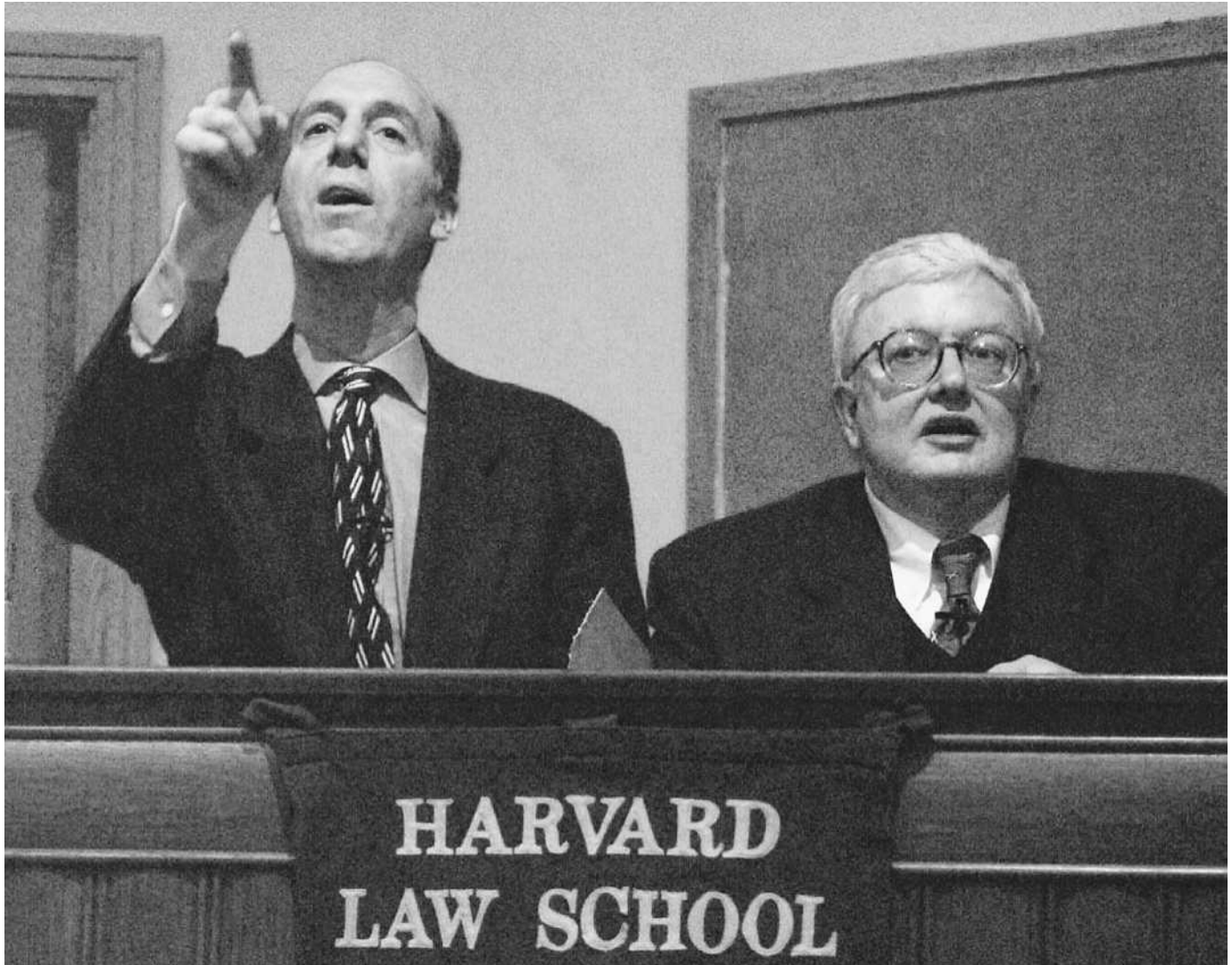
—Daryl Umberger

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## Sirk, Douglas (1900-1987)

Born Claus Detlev Sierk in Denmark, Douglas Sirk emigrated first to Germany and then, with the rise of Nazism, to the United States where he directed some of the biggest grossing melodramas of the 1950s such as *All I Desire* (1953), *Magnificent Obsession* (1954), *All That Heaven Allows* (1955), *There's Always Tomorrow* (1955), *Written on the Wind* (1956), and *Imitation of Life* (1959). These movies were clearly marketed as "adult films" whose social concerns such as class and race relations justified the graphic, voyeuristic displays of upper-class lifestyle, psychological malaise, sex (ironically Rock Hudson starred in eight of Sirk's movies as the quintessential



Gene Siskel (left) and Roger Ebert

American heterosexual male), and murder. Considered in turn by critics as subversive critiques of family values and of the 1950s sexual repression or as products celebrating the consumeristic and affluent ideologies of the decade, in the 1980s and 1990s, Sirk's melodramas have come to be regarded, in Barbara Klinger's words, "as 'camp,' as outdated forms that exuded artifice in everything from narrative structure to depiction of romance."

—Luca Prono

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## Siskel and Ebert

Gene Siskel (1946-1999) and Roger Ebert (1942—) are to film criticism what Arnold Palmer and Julia Child were to golf and cooking respectively. They popularized a formerly stuffy discipline and made it accessible to masses of people. Long after Bosley Crowther, Pauline Kael, and other highbrow critics made reviewing movies an art form, this Mutt and Jeff duo, through their nationally syndicated television program, made it a spectator sport.

Siskel and Ebert established their critical bona fides writing for rival Chicago tabloids. They began their strange odyssey together in 1975, when producers at PBS station WTTW invited them to co-host a weekly film review program. Though initially reluctant, the two men eventually were persuaded that their mutual hostility might make for good television. The series began its run under the name *Opening Soon at a Theater Near You* and was wisely retitled *Sneak Previews*.

The show's low budget allowed the hosts to do little more than air a succession of clips and bicker about the latest theatrical releases,



which they then rated with a “thumbs up” or “thumbs down” in the old gladiatorial tradition. To everyone’s surprise, *Sneak Previews* became a huge local hit and was broadcast nationally beginning in 1978. It quickly became the highest rated series in PBS history.

On the surface, the show’s appeal lay in the cocktail party simplicity of its premise: two guys sitting around arguing about the merits of the latest crop of movies. But the clash of personalities allowed viewers to feel like they were eavesdropping on a private argument, as the opinionated co-hosts flung invectives at each other. Siskel was arguably the more intellectual of the two. Lean and birdlike, he combed the few thin wisps of hair he had left over the bare crown of his head. Ebert was the people’s favorite, a beefy failed screenwriter who amazingly chose not to expunge his name from the credits of the soft-core porn turkey *Beyond the Valley of the Dolls*. Together they were like oil and water, soon referred to nationwide as “the bald one” and “the fat one.”

In 1982, Siskel and Ebert outgrew PBS and moved their show into commercial syndication, retitling it *At the Movies*. Along the way, the show lost some of the ramshackle charm of the original. The “Dog of the Week,” a feature honoring the week’s worst low-budget film release, was replaced by the “Stinker of the Week” and later scrapped entirely. New segments were created to highlight home video releases, a sop to the program’s new bourgeois commercial audience. *At the Movies* went through a second, tortuous retitling, to *Siskel & Ebert & the Movies* before settling on the prosaic *Siskel & Ebert*.

With increased popularity came greatly enhanced power. Woody Allen and Eddie Murphy were just two of the stars who railed publicly about the pair’s ability to sink a picture with a bad review. On the flipside, the encomium “two thumbs up from Siskel and Ebert” soon became prized by publicists all over Hollywood. When they gave their stamp of approval to more outre film fare (both loved 1994’s *Pulp Fiction*, for example) it gave mainstream America permission to check it out as well. Their critical criteria—they both put a great emphasis on likability of characters—influenced many mainstream reviewers, as did their show’s format (they spawned a host of imitators). Siskel and Ebert became late-night talk show mainstays and frequent targets of parodies like *In Living Color*’s cheeky “Men on Film.”

The pair continued to host a weekly show and to pop up from time to time on the talk show circuit into the late 1990s. Both men continued to write their weekly reviews in the (Chicago) *Tribune* and *Sun-Times*, respectively. Ebert enjoyed a profitable sideline as the nominal writer of an annual movie reference guide. In 1998, the program even survived a leadership crisis when Siskel underwent an emergency brain operation to remove an unspecified growth. He emerged only slightly worse for wear, his hopeless comb-over an apparent casualty of surgery and his cognitive skills only slightly diminished. Ebert seemed barely to notice the changes, taking Siskel’s slowness on the draw as an excuse to lace into his reviews with renewed ferocity. In February of 1999 Siskel died from complications linked to his brain tumor; he was 54.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Sister Souljah (1964—)

Black female rapper Sister Souljah, born Lisa Williamson, made national headlines in 1992 in the wake of the Los Angeles riots when she asked an interviewer, “If black people kill black people everyday why not have a week and kill white people?” The interview, in support of her album *360 Degrees of Power*, gained national attention when 1992 Democratic Presidential Candidate Bill Clinton, in order to attract the conservative white vote, condemned her remarks while addressing Jesse Jackson’s Rainbow Coalition. Political analysts suggested that this criticism of Sister Souljah in front of an all black gathering was responsible for Clinton attracting a sizable number of white southern voters. Although the media attention increased sales of her disappointing album, it was not enough to energize her rap career. The New York City native resurfaced in 1995 with a quasi-autobiography, *No Disrespect*, which focused on black male/female relationships.

—Leonard Nathaniel Moore

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## Sitcom

“Sitcom” is the abbreviated name for the half-hour television situation comedy. It is a form of television programming, generally 30 minutes in length, and consisting, in writer’s jargon, of an opening teaser, two acts, and a closing tag; in all about 22 minutes of program sandwiched between spots (advertisements), PSAs (public service announcements), and station IDs. The situation comedy derives its name from the fact that, at least initially, each episode involved the antics of a regular character who found him/herself in a particular “situation.”

Like other forms of popular entertainment, commercial television has sometimes suffered from bad press. TV has been derided as a “boob tube”—a place where delinquents and couch potatoes frittered away the bulk of their sorry lives; in 1961, it was described by the Chairman of the FCC as a “vast wasteland.” And what better example of all that was distasteful, moronic, and potentially culturally corrupting than the situation comedy. But the legacy of the television sitcom in popular culture encompasses more than prat falls, canned laughter, and endless reruns in syndication. From the groundbreaking achievements of the *I Love Lucy* show to the phenomenal success of *Seinfeld*, the popularity of the sitcom helped propel American commercial television from its origins as an off-shoot of radio to a multi-billion dollar industry.

Even with images and themes that are often sanitized, circumscribed, and fantasized, the sitcom has provided a compelling portrait of the American landscape throughout periods of plenty, recession, and great societal upheaval. Evolving notions about sex, fashion, urban renewal, child rearing, the government, war, and the changing status of African Americans and women have all been fodder for the

producers and writers of the episodic comedy. Other programming formats have also made an impact. Made-for-television movies have sometimes provided thought-provoking portraits of contemporary issues and the historical past, while realistic police-detective dramas offer striking images of the dangers of life on the street. It is the episodic comedy, however, with its humor, weekly format, and regular characters, that has most soundly featured the taboos, preoccupations, prejudices, obsessions, fads and fixations of twentieth century American society—not only by what was shown on the small screen but also by what was sometimes omitted.

Historically, the evolution of the situation comedy on television is firmly anchored to the history of radio programming. Soon after its invention, the new medium of radio emerged from its beginnings in experimental, often amateur-produced “stunts” to organized formats. Early radio programming consisted mostly of music, drama, and public affairs. Early in the Depression years, however, radio began its 20-year reign, known as the Golden Age of Radio, as the primary medium of entertainment in America. Probably the most significant program of early radio, notes Melvin Ely, was *Amos 'n' Andy*. Originating on WMAQ Radio, Chicago, in 1929, the show went on to become the longest-running and most successful radio program in American broadcast history. The show was conceived by Freeman Gosden and Charles Carroll, two white actors who played the part of “Amos” and “Andy” by mimicking so-called Negro dialect. The success of this comedy led to the creation of similar shows, including *Fibber McGee and Molly*, *The George Burns and Gracie Allen Show*, and *The Jack Benny Show*. All of these, including *Amos n' Andy*, eventually made the transition to the new medium of television.

Very early television programming was largely experimental, consisting of sports (wrestling, baseball, boxing), vaudeville crossovers, and variety shows such as *The Milton Berle Show* (1948-1956) and Ed Sullivan's *Toast of the Town* (1948-1955). But quickly, programming formats that were popular and successful in radio found their way to television, including drama, soap operas, and the situation comedy.

Erik Barnouw has traced the unfolding of two important circumstances that played an important role in the success of the sitcom as a programming format in his book *Tube of Plenty*. During television's infancy in the late 1940s, shows were broadcast live (a throwback from the days of live radio broadcasts). A viable form of videotape recording had not yet been introduced, and film was considered an unnecessary expense. The programs that were preserved for rebroadcast were kinescope reproductions: very bad quality, filmed copies of the video signal. In 1951, Lucille Ball and her husband Desi Arnaz used several thousand dollars of their own money to produce a pilot television program that would be based on their successful radio show, *My Favorite Husband*. *I Love Lucy* (1951-1957) was wildly successful and quickly dominated the ratings. “The premise of *I Love Lucy*,” note Brooks and Marsh in *The Complete Directory to Prime Time TV Shows*, “was not that much different from that of other family situation comedies . . . a wacky wife making life difficult for a loving but perpetually irritated husband. . . .” But beyond the comical antics of the character Lucy Ricardo, the program forged sitcom history.

First, Lucy's show was shot employing a three-camera process and using film, providing high-quality prints that could be broadcast over and over and at previously designated times. In 1953, on the same day that the fictitious Lucy Ricardo character gave birth to her first child (to a captivated 68 percent of the television audience), real person Lucille Ball also gave birth to her son, Desi Arnaz, Jr.

Additionally, Ball shot her show in Hollywood, hastening the migration of television production from the live studios of New York to the motion picture sound stages of Hollywood. The show was filmed before a live audience, an innovation that didn't catch on with other sitcoms until nearly the 1970s. *I Love Lucy*, sponsored by Philip Morris, enjoyed six full seasons as the number one watched program in the nation.

Another important development in the evolution of episodic comedy was the eventual partnership forged between motion pictures and television. At first, the film industry regarded TV as a competitor and refused to allow feature films to be aired on television or for film stars to make television appearances. Eventually, film studios like Paramount and Walt Disney Studios began a dialogue with television. The eventual partnerships that were forged drastically altered the course of prime time television. Motion picture studios began to produce filmed programming for network television, at first mostly Westerns, but soon including the production of sitcoms like *Father Knows Best* (1954-1963), which was produced by Columbia Pictures. By the end of the 1950s, the Golden Age of Television—with its live-broadcast, anthology dramatic series—had begun to fade, to be replaced by more the formulaic fare that is the modern sitcom.

Though the history of television is relatively brief, viewers and critics have already identified distinct periods of television programming. Fifties sitcoms were signified by their vanilla suburbs, their emphasis on hearth and home, and non-threatening humor. Outside of the rare light reference to a social issue like teenage smoking, the characters of *The Aldrich Family* (1949-1953), *Make Room for Daddy* (1953-1965), *Lassie* (1954-1974), and *Father Knows Best* existed in a world that was generally far-removed from the harsh realities of poverty, atomic warfare, and segregated accommodations. In the early 1960s, as America increased its presence in Vietnam, civil rights tensions heightened to the boiling point, and Khrushchev aimed Cuban-based missiles at the U.S., television viewers found solace in the hayseed humor of sitcoms like *The Beverly Hillbillies* (1962-1971), *Petticoat Junction* (1963-1970) and *The Andy Griffith Show* (1960-1968). Moreover, “idiot sitcoms” such as *My Favorite Martian* (1963-1966), *Bewitched* (1964-1972), *The Flying Nun* (1967-1970), and *Gilligan's Island* (1964-1967) occupied spots among the top-ten most watched programs. While news documentaries and variety shows occasionally dotted the program guide, the situation comedy came to dominate the ratings in the 1960s. In less than two decades, television comedy had evolved from transplanted radio shows to fantasy family comedies to scenarios about talking horses. It was the decade of the 1970s, however, that would usher in changes that were at once striking and, at times, controversial.

Leading the changes in the sitcom in the 1970s was Robert D. Wood, who became network president of Columbia Broadcasting System television in 1969. In his chronicle of the CBS network, *This Is . . . CBS*, Robert Slater claims that Wood will be remembered for his “extensive overhaul” of CBS television's programming strategy—a strategy which significantly changed the flavor of prime time American television. Since the 1950s, CBS Television had been the undisputed ratings leader. The network retained its top ranking with a strong line-up of new and old shows, including long-running programs with loyal audiences, such as Western dramas and *The Ed Sullivan Show*. Slater notes, however, that with the great success of programs such as *The Beverly Hillbillies* and *Green Acres* (1965-1971), CBS television was jokingly referred to as “the Hillbilly Network.” But by the late 1960s, bigger threats than stereotyping loomed over CBS.

The business side of television had changed a great deal since the days of General Food's sponsorship of *The Aldrich Family*. Programming had slowly evolved from sponsor-owned, sponsor-controlled shows to the selling of "spots" (30 and 60-second commercial messages) to many sponsors. The findings of program research departments took on major significance. Moreover, a new concept was being addressed by television programming executives in the conference rooms of the major networks: demographics. Now it was no longer enough for a program to attract the widest possible audience; it also had to attract the "right" audience, one with disposable income to spend on advertiser's products. CBS's loyal but aging, "fixed-income" audiences for popular shows like *The Beverly Hillbillies* were not representative of the kind of sophisticated spender that advertisers desired. Not surprisingly, during this age of The Beatles and campus anti-war protest, advertisers were eager to orient their products to youth culture. Notes Barnouw: "Older viewers were not big spenders. . . . Programs now tended to survive to the extent that they served the demographic requirements of sponsors." It was clear to Wood and CBS executive William S. Paley that if the network simply rested on its laurels, it would soon lose rating points and advertising dollars.

Not only had the television industry changed, so had life in America. The 1960s was a period of great social and cultural upheaval. Americans had witnessed the assassination of President John Kennedy, his brother Robert, and civil rights activist Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The nightly news brought grim footage of the death and destruction of the Vietnam war to American dinner tables. Civil rights protestors were doused with fire hoses and attacked with dogs to the cheers of southern bigots. Student activists created a new American left. College campuses, draft cards, and cities burned. Television programming, it was felt, needed to in some way reflect the needs and feelings of the current culture. Though the situation comedy and the hour-long drama would remain the primary formulas, both genres would experience a shift away from the "consensual mood" of the early years of television to include social issues and themes more appealing and "relevant" to a young, educated audience.

Upon arriving at CBS, Wood initiated a "clean sweep" of the network's programming. Successful shows like *Green Acres*, *Ed Sullivan*, and *Beverly Hillbillies* were canceled. Banished were old favorites such as *Here's Lucy* (1968-1974), *Gunsmoke* (1955-1975), and *Red Skelton* (1951-1971). Independent producer Norman Lear purchased the rights to a hit British television show called *Till Death Do Us Part*. In the American version, now called *All in the Family* (1971-1979), he cast veteran actor Carroll O'Connor as the "lovable" but bigoted and totally outrageous Archie Bunker. The show included concepts never before approached on television: crude racial epithets, sexual situations, and verbal sparring unheard of around the dinner tables of 1950s sitcom families.

Paley regarded the show as too risky and feared that it might alienate viewers and advertisers alike. But Wood worked hard to allay the fears of censors and advertisers and persuaded Lear to eliminate some of the more risqué language. Notes Barnouw, CBS launched the program "with trepidation" in January 1971. Although *All in the Family* was not an instant hit, within about a year it became the most watched and talked about television sitcom in America.

More importantly, this program's success bred other programs, including more Norman Lear productions. These "spin-offs" of *All in the Family* included *The Jeffersons* (1975-1985), *Maude* (1972-1978), and *Good Times* (1974-1979). In the 1974 comedy *Good Times* (a black-themed show about life in a Chicago tenement),

suburban street crime, muggings, unemployment, evictions, Black Power, and criticism of the government were frequent and resounding themes. Also full of irreverent humor was the show *M\*A\*S\*H* (1972-1983). Set during the Korean War, it was created by veteran writer Larry Gelbart from the successful hit movie. *Sanford and Son* (1972-1977) featured a multi-racial cast and the irreverent and topical humor of black comic Red Foxx as the owner of a junkyard. One of the keys to the success of these sitcoms was that they were "relevant."

The nature of the prime time television sitcom had changed significantly. Now there were interracial marriages, Latino and Asian characters, and scenarios about drag queens and birth control. In one famous and controversial episode of the program *Maude*, the character Maude, a bit past her child-rearing days, agonizes over the idea of having an abortion. At least three sitcoms featured a mostly black cast—the first since the cancellation of *Amos 'n' Andy* nearly 20 years prior. But social realism seemed to end as quickly as it had started. By the 1978-79 season, there was a return to the mythic world of the TV fantasy family. The four top shows included the safe and congenial humor of *Happy Days* (1974-1984), *Laverne & Shirley* (1976-1983), *Three's Company* (1977-1984), and *Mork and Mindy* (1978-1982).

The evolution of *The Doris Day Show* (1968-73) offers an interesting glimpse of the sitcom's portrayal of the changing status of women. When her show appeared in 1968, Day portrayed a recent widower with two sons who returns to her rural roots to live with her father. By the second season, Doris was a secretary working for the editor of a magazine. In the third season, Doris had moved to San Francisco and was not just a secretary, but did independent writing. By the fourth and final season of the comedy, Doris was a single woman and independent writer with her life as a mother, secretary, and daughter all but forgotten.

To the consternation of traditionalists, the Women's Liberation movement in American unfolded right on the small screens of prime time television. The concerns of the "model moms" of early sitcoms were relegated mostly to issues at home. Although *Lucy (I Love Lucy)*, *June Cleaver (Leave It to Beaver)* and *Margaret Anderson (Father Knows Best)* may have occasionally asserted their authority on some issue, it was kept safely within the minor vicissitudes of family life.

Early sitcoms occasionally featured single women with jobs, generally as secretaries, housekeepers, and assistants. In *Comic Visions*, David Marc describes the long-suffering career-women type who "worked for a living in lieu of marriage, which was valorized as the principal or 'real' goal of any woman." Early comedies featuring single, working women include *Our Miss Brooks* (1952-1956), *The Dick Van Dyke Show* (1961-1966) and *Private Secretary* (1953-1957).

By the end of the 1960s, television featured two interesting precursors to the truly liberated woman. In *That Girl* (1966-1971), Marlo Thomas portrayed a young, independent woman trying to make it as an actress in New York. Some regard the Anne Marie character, with her comical antics and zany behavior, as little more than an extension of Lucy. Moreover, she was often rescued by her understanding boyfriend or doting father. But unlike Marc's long-suffering TV career women of earlier television, Anne Marie actually pursued a viable career—she wasn't simply marking time until her wedding day.

The sitcom *Julia* (1968-1971) is interesting in that it also featured a single, working, and professional woman. Moreover, Julia was black. "Respectably widowed" and a nurse, Julia and her incredibly polite young son Corey lived quiet lives in a safe and accepting world, successfully negotiating the minor challenges of

life—far removed it seemed, from the harsh realities that existed in the black community at the time.

The Women's Liberation Movement brought more than bra burning and freedom from Victorian conventions. It shook-up long-held and cherished assumptions about women and sex, gender, marriage, family life, respect, and equal opportunity in jobs and pay. Probably the most celebrated in the vein of liberated women in sitcoms in the highly successful *Mary Tyler Moore Show* (1970-1977). Mary Richards was a career woman employed as an assistant producer at a Minneapolis television station. Her survival did not depend on the support and benevolence of a father figure, steady man, or for that matter, a supportive family. She had a Jewish friend named Rhoda and, in a twist on the typical scenario, together they often joked about—not envied—the life of the married woman on the show. Mary's suitably gruff boss had interpersonal problems and sometimes drank too much, but they developed a unique affection for each other. Moreover, she maintained a close but platonic relationship with a male co-worker. Now, sitcom men and women could be friends without the compulsory romantic relationship. The *Mary Tyler Moore Show* "transcended the model moms" of earlier TV, replaced the widowed career-women role and remade the ambitious, eligible single woman "on-the-make," notes Marc, becoming "a watershed event in American television." Moreover, many of the principle characters of the *Mary Tyler Moore Show* returned in spin-off programs of their own, building the fortunes of the MTM production company.

While Mary Richards, Edith Bunker, and Maude became more liberated and assertive, black women in prime time sitcoms were poorly represented by Florida Evans of *Good Times*, Louise Jefferson of *The Jeffersons*, and occasional characters on shows like *Sanford and Son*. In a 1970s scholarly study of gender and race in television, the authors note that "the black female has become almost invisible."

As a prominent element of American life and culture, race has often been the subject of television programming. But late-century television viewers, raised on a diet of *Family Matters*, *The Hughleys*, *Roc*, *Fresh Prince of Bel Air*, and especially *The Cosby Show* may find it difficult to appreciate the feelings of post-war African Americans about the depictions of black life on network television. For a century or more, African Americans endured vicious lampooning and egregious stereotyping in various forms of popular culture, including sheet music illustrations, advertising, marketing, radio, and motion pictures. Blacks were depicted as ignorant and superstitious, thick-lipped and animal-like; as servants or contented slaves in plantation tales or as dangerous savages in stories rooted in the mythical dark jungles of Africa. For postwar African-Americans, the popularity of television heralded a period of hopeful excitement. The new medium had the potential to forge positive changes in race relations as it nullified decades of pejorative depictions of black life and culture. The frequent appearance on early television of black stars such as Billy Eckstein and Ethel Waters was met with hearty approval. In a 1950 article, *Ebony* magazine endorsed the "liberal exploitation of black talent" as "a sure sign that television is free of racial barriers." However, an untoward amalgamation of economic forces and historical events would soon prove otherwise.

At the same period that television evolved into a viable economic medium, President Harry Truman called for the integration of the U.S. armed services, Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier in professional baseball, and "freedom riders" staged non-violent demonstrations against segregated accommodations. At this time, major sponsors produced much of the network programming that appeared

during prime time. The Southern market was of great concern to advertisers and the agencies that represented them and both were reluctant to have their products too closely associated with the concerns of black people. Media historians Bogel and MacDonald note that the fear of "White economic backlash" and the threat, perceived or real, of "organized consumer resistance" caused advertisers and advertising agencies to steer clear of appearing "pro-Negro rights."

Still, in 1950, film star Ethel Waters became the first black television series "star," capturing the title role in the popular sitcom *Beulah* (1950-1953). The show concerned the life of a black housekeeper working for a white family—a typical role for a black character. After three seasons (and three different dissatisfied actresses in the title role), the *Beulah* show finally succumbed to pressure from the black community regarding its stereotyped images. But the level of black resentment that took *Beulah* off the air hardly approached the clamor of controversy aroused by the appearance of another black-cast, black-themed program.

The sitcom *Amos 'n' Andy* (1951-1953) is probably one of the most protested television programs in broadcast history. After enjoying decades of popularity on radio, television's *Amos 'n' Andy* featured black actors portraying the roles of Amos (a conservative, Uncle Tom-type), the Kingfish (a scheming smoothie), the straight-laced Andy, Lawyer Calhoun (an under-handed crook that no one trusted), Lightnin' (a slow-moving janitor), Sapphire (a nosy, loudmouth shrew), and Mama (a domineering mother-in-law). The *Beulah* character, although an obvious stereotype, was at least well-mannered and spoke intelligible English. But *Amos 'n' Andy*, with its malapropisms, satire, parody, and ethnic humor, stirred up the level of black indignation almost to the boiling point.

As the series appeared in June of 1951, the NAACP appeared in federal court seeking an injunction against its premiere. To white studio executives, the show was harmless, not much different from *The Goldbergs* (1949-1954), *Life with Luigi* (1952-1953), or any other ethnically-oriented sitcom. It was funny, a testament to a remarkably talented cast and good writing. It was a commercial success and was endorsed by some vehicles of the black press and many in the black entertainment community. "[T]hey are undoubtedly funny," notes an August, 1951 editorial in the *Afro-American*. But, the op-ed continues, "Slapstick comedy of this type does not go well in an age where a great mass of disadvantaged humanity is struggling to lift itself to full citizenship in an often unfriendly atmosphere." This and other articles and editorials underscored the major objection of many postwar blacks. Except for the occasional black entertainer in a guest spot on variety show, the *only* blacks on television were the likes of the Kingfish and *Beulah*. CBS removed *Amos 'n' Andy* from the air in 1953 after two years. However, the program remained in syndication well into the 1960s, and is available on videocassette today. Moreover, except for the earlier-mentioned, 1968 sitcom *Julia*, another black-cast or black-themed show would not appear on prime time network television for almost 20 years.

In her book *Prime Time Families*, Ella Taylor describes the TV family as "[h]armonious, well-oiled building blocks of a benignly conceived American society founded in affluence and consensus." From the days of the homogenous suburban family life of *Leave It to Beaver* to the "sitcom social realism" of *Good Times*, many have pondered the supposed effects of TV on the family—the most sacred of American institutions.

In the 1950s, *The Aldrich Family*, the Cleavers (*Leave It to Beaver*), the Andersons (*Father Knows Best*), and the Nelsons (*Ozzie and Harriet*) lived in virtual domestic bliss. By the Kennedy years, single heads of households appeared in the sitcoms *My Three Sons* (1960-1972) and *The Andy Griffith Show*. The 1960s also featured “quirky” families in the form of *The Beverly Hillbillies*, *The Addams Family* (1964-1966), *Bewitched* (1964-1972), and *The Munsters* (1964-1966). Some consider *The Dick Van Dyke Show* as a standout of the era. It, too, was fashioned amongst the ideals of domestic harmony. But the Petries were different, more sophisticated and hip; Laura Petrie sometimes appeared in pants, while Bob Petrie’s co-workers included a Jewish man and a single woman.

In contrast, the 1970s would feature the travails of the Evans, an African-American family eking out an existence in a Chicago slum (*Good Times*), and at the same time present a 1950s fantasy family in the form of the Cunninghams of *Happy Days*. But in the decades since *The Aldrich Family* made the transition from radio to television, the TV family had incurred monumental change. The sitcom would now feature non-traditional families, bi-racial adoption, rebellious teenagers, parent bashing, divorce, twins separated at birth, ghetto families and wealthy ones.

In particular, one unwed mother basked in notoriety that emerged from the most unlikely of places: the American political arena. On the sitcom *Murphy Brown* (1988-1998), the character Murphy was a television journalist and single woman who became pregnant but showed little inclination to marry the father and settle into a life of domesticity. In 1992, former Vice President Dan Quayle led the attack on this highly popular sitcom, condemning the idea of an unmarried woman becoming a mother as being acceptable fare for prime time television. As noted liberally in American newspapers, he regarded the entire affair as “an attack on family values.”

The 1980s saw the emergence of the “boomer” audience, the youngish, upscale professionals favored by advertisers who greedily snatched-up commercial time for programs like *Cheers* (1982-1993). For a brief time, nighttime soaps and realistic crime dramas displaced the popularity of the situation comedy. However, the decade is also noteworthy for one particular family-oriented sitcom featuring a predominantly African-American cast which rose to become one of the most watched programs of the period.

*The Cosby Show* (1984-1992) made its debut on NBC in 1984 and became one of the biggest successes of the decade. If the ratings figures were correct, if you were breathing and watched television, you watched *Cosby*. The popularity and immense success of this sitcom makes clear how programming, once considered mindless entertainment, had attained major stature. Jack Curry, in an article for *American Film*, explains the significance of a hit comedy to the fortunes of television networks. Not only did a popular show like *Cosby* “deliver its own night,” but it was used as a “promotional base for other series.” It was used to “troubleshoot,” assisting with “ratings battles” wherever needed. No sitcom of the decade “had the impact and the acclaim of NBC’s *The Cosby Show*,” he notes. Moreover, the show became a cash cow. Notes John Lippman in the *Wall Street Journal*, “*The Cosby Show*, for example, has generated nearly \$900 million in revenue since it was sold into syndication in the late 1980s.”

But while *Cosby* may have featured the lives of a professional, educated, upscale black family, another eighties sitcom would forever

shatter the image of the TV sitcom family. Like a 1950s Mom, Roseanne Connor cleaned the house, washed the clothes, and made meatloaf for dinner. But that was the end of any similarity to 1950s-style domestic bliss on the quirky, controversial hit sitcom *Roseanne* (1988-1997).

Roseanne was “she who must be obeyed.” She sparred (verbally and physically) with her younger, occasionally employed, and sometimes promiscuous younger sister. Roseanne’s mother drank too much and at one point thought she was gay. Her boss and later co-worker was indeed gay, as was a female friend who took them for a night of dancing at a gay bar. While Lucy and Desi couldn’t share a bed, Dan and Roseanne Connor openly discussed the particulars of their sex life. Over the years, Roseanne’s daughter eloped with a mechanic; her college-enrolled daughter was discovered living with her boyfriend; their pubescent son D.J. suffered the embarrassment of getting an erection in math class; and in one show the Connors had their electricity turned off for non-payment. They referred to themselves as “white trash.” With so much contention, it is surprising that the show was as funny and successful. It enjoyed top ratings for most of its 10-year run and was probably responsible for the success of other quarrelsome, dysfunctional family scenarios like the Fox Network’s, *Married . . . with Children* (1987-1997) and the animated sitcom, *The Simpsons* (1989—).

A 1997 editorial in *The Columbus Dispatch* noted that “something has changed since the days when today’s parents sat watching Beaver Cleaver, Andy Griffith, and Gilligan. The three networks have given way to a cornucopia of new channels, and much of the fare is coarser and more irreverent.” In the Cleaver household, no one had ever raised their voice, used bad words, or suffered from intestinal gas. There was no sex, ethnic group issues, or alcoholics. Dad was happily, gainfully employed and Mom was always there when you needed her—at home. But sitcom families of the 1990s tended to feature dopey dads, absentee parents, grandparents who had sex, and moms whose behavior sometimes bordered on sadism. The flawless persona of Jim Anderson (*Father Knows Best*) evolved into parents whose flaws are clearly apparent. In an article titled “Father Knows Squat,” Megan Rosenfeld of the *Washington Post* notes, “Parents are one of the few remaining groups that are regularly ridiculed, caricatured and marginalized on television. Ask a typical viewer to describe how parents are portrayed on most shows and the answer is: stupid.”

Though television changed dramatically in the late 1980s and especially in the 1990s, as widespread cable access brought dozens of channels into American homes, the decade of the 1990s will still be remembered for a sitcom: *Seinfeld* (1990-1998). *Seinfeld* was noteworthy for its unique and quirky cast, its irreverent humor, and the fact that it was described as a show about nothing. Set in New York City, the program followed the life of character Jerry Seinfeld (a comedian), his three friends (Elaine, George, and Kramer), their families, and an odd assortment of occasional characters. In an example of art imitating life, the show even parodied itself as several episodes followed Jerry as he attempted to produce a sitcom about himself on the same network where the real *Seinfeld* program was aired. The group explored former TV taboos and “touchy” subject matter: a chef who neglected to wash his hands after using the toilet, sperm counts, and the size of a man’s genitals after a swim. In one episode the group made bets to see who could hold off masturbating the longest. There were ugly babies, cancer scares, bras for men,

black-market cable, scary bar mitzvahs, lesbian weddings, and stolen lobsters.

But *Seinfeld* is noteworthy as more than just another success story for NBC. So successful was the program to NBC and its fortunes that the real Jerry Seinfeld was paid one million dollars per episode to continue the show. The cost of advertising during an episode of *Seinfeld* during the 1997-98 season was \$700,000 for a 30-second spot. Advertising time for the program's final episode was \$1.5 million for 30-seconds, and included big advertisers like Anheuser-Busch, Visa, Mastercard, and the manufacturer of a vegetarian burger. The *Wall Street Journal* noted in 1998 that the one million-per-episode fee that the TBS cable network paid for reruns of *Seinfeld* was "one of the richest rerun deals in cable history." Noted the *Seattle Times*, "The program is poised to become the first television show to generate more than \$1 billion in syndication revenues." Moreover, the success of *Seinfeld* was the catalyst for similar shows about well-heeled young professionals with too-much time on their hands, for example, the program *Friends* (1994—).

Unlike the relevant-issues theme sitcoms of the 1970s, 1990s comedies often featured prosperous young professionals sipping expensive coffee and drowning in self-centered angst. Concerns about "real" issues like poverty, nuclear weapons, and the government appeared to be passé. In the Nelson's neighborhood (*Ozzie and Harriet*), the characters couldn't use the word toilet, let alone broach the subject of sex. Nineties sitcom characters talked candidly about orgasms and their choice of sexual partners. On the show *Ellen* (1994-1998), the character Ellen (played by Ellen DeGeneres) even "came out," announcing to the world that she was indeed gay. Beyond the occasional gay supporting character, however, portraits of gay life would remain a scenario much too risky a venture for networks whose fortunes rested on the success of the prime time line-up.

Just decades after the far-fetched scenarios of *My Favorite Martian*, the 1990s also saw the exploitation of "literate humor." Rife with references to Kant and existentialism, shows like *Frasier* (1993—) were created to appeal to upscale audiences with graduate degrees, people who, like the characters Frasier and Niles, had "advanced" cultural tastes. The format itself has evolved, with the "situation" part playing second fiddle. Notes producer Gary Goldberg, now there are sitcom stories with no beginning, middle, and end, or four stories running simultaneously with sometimes no resolution. Moreover, 1990s sitcoms are not always funny, but have often crossed-over (with comic relief) into drama, exploring broken marriages, alcoholism, and teenage sex. Sitcoms of the 1990s featured lovable nerds, soup Nazis, teenage witches, Korean families, dysfunctional families portrayed by cartoon characters, home improvement scenarios, and shows about nothing.

Between the debut of *I Love Lucy* in 1951 and the demise of *Seinfeld* in 1998 spans a period of nearly 50 years. Given the monumental reformation in the television industry, changing concepts of what is considered funny, and the evolution of American society in general, 50 years may seem more like centuries. What is clear, however, is that the situation comedy has come to signify much more than the good old days of black and white television and nostalgic images of Lucy in a hoop skirt. The episodic comedy has ushered America and its people through recession, boom times, war, civil unrest, and conservative and liberal presidencies. It has challenged ideas about sex, morals, reproduction, and fashion. The sitcom

has survived the Family Hour, Prime Time Access Rules, cable TV competition, mergers and takeovers, deregulation, debates, disputes, controversy, scholarly assessment, atomic warfare, and the building and the annihilation of the Berlin Wall to emerge as one of the more enduring forms of commercial television programming in United States.

—Pamala S. Deane

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## Situation Comedy

See Sitcom

## The Six Million Dollar Man

First hitting the airwaves as a made-for-TV movie in 1973, *The Six Million Dollar Man* became a weekly hour-long series that aired

from 1974 to 1978 on the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) network. The show starred Lee Majors as Colonel Steve Austin, an astronaut who suffered serious injuries from the crash of an experimental craft and was rebuilt into a bionic man by the government. Austin was given bionic legs, a bionic arm, and bionic eye. His new parts gave him super strength, super speed, and super vision. He worked for the OSI, the Office of Strategic Investigation. His superior was Oscar Goldman, played by Richard Anderson, and his doctor/scientist was Rudy Wells, played by Allan Oppenheimer and later by Martin E. Brooks.

During the regular series, Austin faced a variety of foes, including spies, a rogue bionic man, Bigfoot (a robot created by aliens), and the fembots (robots made in the image of women Austin and his fiancée, Jamie Sommers, the Bionic Woman, knew). During most of the episodes, Austin worked as a secret agent. When the character achieved super hero status among young television viewers, the show's producers imitated comic book hero plots with spinoffs and a “bionic family.” Sommers “died” only to be brought back the next season. Eventually there emerged *The Bionic Women* television



Lee Majors (right) as *The Six Million Dollar Man* with Richard Anderson.

series, involving a bionic boy and Sommers's bionic dog, a German shepherd named Max. The two shows shared a supporting cast and Austin and Sommers crossed over onto each others' shows.

The show lasted longer than several other super spy shows (*The Invisible Man*, *The Gemini Man*) that appeared around the same time. Both shows were in the top ten rated shows, with *The Six Million Dollar Man* even enjoying the spot as the number one rated show in America. It enjoyed a healthy run in syndication at home and abroad as well, appearing on cable television into the late 1990s. Austin and Sommers also appeared in several movie specials that aired in the late 1980s and early 1990s. (These movies also introduced another bionic man—Austin's son—and a bionic girl.)

Based on the novel *Cyborg* (standing for cybernetic organism), by Martin Caidin, the television series made the terms bionics and cybernetics familiar to the general American population, especially America's youth. Caidin served as technical advisor to the show.

The television shows generated other forms of popular culture. Novels, especially young adult novels, were based on episodes and characters from the series. Steve Austin starred in his own comic book series produced by Charlton Comics. There was a Six Million Dollar Man action figure and lunch box. Dusty Springfield recorded a pop single titled after the show. Parodies also appeared: the Bionic Watermelon debuted on the *Captain and Tenille Show*; a children's joke book was titled *The Bionic Banana*.

The show's opening sequence, showing Austin's crash, gave several phrases to American slang. "He's breaking up! He's breaking up!" and "We can rebuild him; we have the technology. We can make him better than he was before." became expressions among children during play. Pretending to be bionic was easy thanks to the show's low-budget special effects. Every bionic act was usually done in slow motion and was accompanied by a distinctive sound effect, easy to imitate in backyards and school playgrounds.

Besides being a fun thing to say on the playground, the show's opening statement about "making him better than he was before" indicated an American attitude toward technology. After putting a man on the moon, most Americans became extremely proud of technology as a remedy to any problem. The show postulated that technology could even fix a broken person. And of course, scientists involved in the actual field of bionics were attempting to do just that. The show tended to highlight the technology, although *The Bionic Woman* tended to highlight the person. However, although technology solved the problems, it could also be faulted as the source of power for the villains on the show. Killer robots and Venus probes were Austin's biggest challenges. What cannot be overlooked, though, is the significance of Austin's humanness in allowing him to triumph against his machine foes.

The show also expressed a view of government agencies as entities protecting the population. The OSI was concerned with doing good and mostly benign in its practices. This perception of government agencies contrasts radically with the way government is portrayed in the 1990s hit science fiction show *The X-Files*.

—P. Andrew Miller

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## 60 Minutes

Prior to the emergence of prime-time network newsmagazine programs like *20/20*, *Primetime Live*, and *Dateline*, and before the era of round-the-clock cable news on CNN, MS/NBC, and Fox News Channel, the CBS newsmagazine *60 Minutes* was unchallenged as television's premiere news program. From its initial broadcast on September 24, 1968, *60 Minutes* pioneered the "magazine format" of television journalism, which allowed it to run a mixture of hard news, investigative reports, personality profiles, and light feature pieces. Its prominence enabled it to feature candid stories on the most powerful world leaders, distinguished artists, and crafty villains of the last thirty years. Although it was not a ratings sensation during its first several seasons, by the mid-1970s it grew to become the most prestigious, most watched, and most imitated news program on television.

The creation of *60 Minutes* came about after its producer, Don Hewitt, was fired in 1964 from his position as producer of *The CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite*. Before his dismissal, he had become a key behind-the-scenes player at CBS News. Hewitt had directed Edward R. Murrow's *See It Now* programs in the 1950s, including the first live coast-to-coast hookup in November 1951 which depicted the simultaneously broadcast images of the Brooklyn and Golden Gate bridges. In 1960, he produced and directed the nation's first televised presidential debate between John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon. Hewitt was also remembered for such technical achievements as the invention of cue cards, the development of subtitles to identify people and places on screen, the creation of the "double projector" system to enable smoother editing, and coining the term "anchor man." After a dispute with Fred Friendly, president of CBS News, he was relegated to the network's lowly documentary division. He describes his attempts to revive the little-watched, moribund format by stating, "Sometime in 1967 it dawned on me that if we split those public affairs hours into three parts to deal with the viewers' short attention span . . . and come up with personal journalism in which a reporter takes the viewer along with him on the story, I was willing to bet that we could take informational programming out of the ratings cellar."

Hewitt presented his newly fashioned documentary program in the guise of a newsmagazine, such as *Time* or *Newsweek*. Each week his chief correspondents would present several stories on a wide variety of topics. A brief concluding segment in the early years, titled "Point Counterpoint," consisted of debates between liberal and conservative columnists Shana Alexander and James Kilpatrick. In 1978, writer Andy Rooney assumed this segment to present his own brand of short, humorous commentary. Each portion of the program was separated by an image of a ticking stopwatch, which became the show's symbol.

By the late 1970s *60 Minutes* became one of television's most popular shows with its concept of stories presented in a "Hollywood style" that emphasized attractively packaged factual events. In 1979,



it was the highest rated television program of the season—a distinction that no other news show had ever attained. Its great popular success made *60 Minutes* one of the most profitable programs in TV history. Costing only about half the price of an hour-long entertainment show while commanding the same commercial rates of such series allowed CBS to earn enormous sums of money from what was once the least-watched network program type. Much of the show's great appeal was based on its increasingly hard-hitting investigative reports. Presented mainly by aggressive correspondents Mike Wallace and Dan Rather, the show exposed a number of frauds and abuses including the sale of phony passports, kickbacks in the Medicaid business, and mislabeling in the meat-packing industry. Reporter Morley Safer commented on the show's ability to get dishonest businessmen and scam artists on camera by saying, "A crook doesn't believe he's made it as a crook until he's been on *60 Minutes*."

The show's greatest strength derives from its correspondents and their choice of stories. Harry Reasoner, Ed Bradley, Diane Sawyer, Steve Kroft, and Leslie Stahl were correspondents at various times and were able to deliver insightful pieces within the show's potpourri format. One week a reporter would be speaking from a war zone and the next speaking to movie stars or pool hustlers. The large number of correspondents freed each one of them from being studio-bound, thus allowing them to report from the field themselves. Hewitt's focus on "personality journalism" allowed the reporter's own characteristics to shine through. Mike Wallace was seen to embody the image of the tough reporter, while Morley Safer projected a more elegant image. All were considered leaders in their field. The reporter's personal team of six producers, a cameraperson, assistant, soundperson, and electrician supports each on-air personality.

Of all the journalists associated with *60 Minutes*, none is as strongly identified with the program as is Mike Wallace. His intense

reporter's image came only after a long and varied career. He was a radio performer in the 1940s and appeared as an actor on many popular shows like *Sky King*, *The Lone Ranger*, *The Green Hornet*, and *Ma Perkins*. After moving to television in 1949, he hosted a variety of talk, interview, and game shows. Following the 1962 death of his son Peter in a climbing accident, Wallace decided to become a straight newsman. He possesses a direct, often abrasive, style that is well suited for the show's confrontational format. He is generally regarded as the most fearless reporter in the business and is unafraid to ask the most provocative questions even of friends. In the 1990s the nearly eighty-year-old Wallace showed no signs of slowing down. His continued tenacity has caused him to be referred to as the "geriatric *enfant terrible* of television."

Although it has long been considered television's most distinguished news program, *60 Minutes* has not been without its critics or controversies. Some claimed it practiced "ambush journalism" by editing its massive amounts of interview footage to distort the positions of some of its subjects. Others have complained the many off-screen producers do the majority of the reporting while the on-air correspondents merely provide each story's narration. In the 1990s, humorist Andy Rooney was temporarily suspended for a supposedly racist remark. Other low moments in the program's long history include its being duped in 1972 by a forged diary of industrialist Howard Hughes and, most seriously, its being forced to delay an exposé on the tobacco industry due to the network's fears of litigation. Despite these problems, *60 Minutes* remains a respected program that is trusted by viewers in Middle America.

An examination of the personalities, issues, lifestyles, and major events covered on *60 Minutes* provides a remarkable window on America from the late 1960s onward. Don Hewitt created a format that has allowed for a varied presentation of ideas that have shaped the



A question is put to a contestant on *The \$64,000 Question*.

post-Vietnam era. He and his able correspondents, led by Mike Wallace, revealed to the networks that factual, documentary programming could be highly successful both in terms of journalism and ratings. Their success led to a proliferation of other television newsmagazines in the 1990s. In 1998, it was announced that CBS was planning on expanding the show's franchise by creating *60 Minutes II*.

—Charles Coletta

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## The \$64,000 Question

During the 1950s, game shows were television's most popular fare, and *The \$64,000 Question* (1955-58) was unquestionably America's favorite game show. Every Sunday night, the country came to a stop as millions of households tuned in to watch. The premise behind the show was brilliant—in addition to a profession or vocation, many people have hobbies or avocations about which they are remarkably well informed. The show featured contestants such as a jockey who was an art expert, or a psychologist—the young Dr. Joyce Brothers—who loved prize fighting. Players entered an isolation booth and answered questions, working their way up each week to the final \$64,000 Question. Unbeknownst to the viewers and, indeed, to some of the contestants, however, the producers of the show were giving answers to the more charismatic players. A few years later, *The \$64,000 Question* came under scrutiny during the investigation by the U.S. Congress known as the Quiz Show Scandal. When the public learned the truth about the “fixed” quiz shows, game shows fell out of favor for years and the American television audience adopted a cynicism that has permeated popular culture ever since.

—Victoria Price

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## Skaggs, Ricky (1954—)

A seasoned musical veteran by the time he turned 18, Ricky Skaggs parlayed early bluegrass music prominence and an apprenticeship with Emmylou Harris's country-rock Hot Band into a career



Ricky Skaggs

that put him on top of the country music charts in the early 1980s. While he was capable of brilliance within each genre, it was his creation of a modern sound out of traditional elements from both that earned him widespread acclaim and respect even after the rise of the hot New Country format shut him (and others like him) out of country radio in the early 1990s. Down but not out, he roared back into the limelight in 1997 when the album that signalled a return to his roots, *Bluegrass Rules!*, became the first traditional bluegrass album to break onto the country sales charts.

Born in a small town in the hills of Eastern Kentucky, Skaggs began his career early, playing mandolin and fiddle with his parents' semi-professional band by the time he was five. In 1971, he and partner Keith Whitley were taken under the wing of bluegrass pioneer Ralph Stanley, with whom they toured and recorded for several years. While Whitley continued to work with Stanley through much of the 1970s, Skaggs left to take a short-term job with the Country Gentlemen, and then joined J. D. Crowe and the New South in 1974. Though his tenure with Crowe was brief, it was exceedingly influential; the band toured widely, including a visit to Japan, and made one of the most significant bluegrass albums ever, a self-titled release for Rounder Records in 1975. When Skaggs departed from the New South, he and fellow alumnus Jerry Douglas formed Boone Creek, another influential act that combined traditional bluegrass with a more modern, rock-influenced sound.

Following the breakup of Boone Creek, Skaggs went to work for Emmylou Harris, then an habitual presence at the top of the country music charts. As a member of the Hot Band he both influenced and

was influenced by Harris, bringing bluegrass sounds into her material while honing his skills as an electric guitar picker and developing an appreciation for the application of rock beats and accents to traditional country material. A 1979 solo album, *Sweet Temptation*, made while he was still with Harris, showed Skaggs in the process of turning these lessons into a catchy, distinctive sound that melded his influences and experiences into something new; when a single from the album, "I'll Take the Blame," garnered some airplay on country radio, he plunged into a solo country music career, signing with Epic Records and producing *Waiting For The Sun To Shine* in 1981.

Skaggs's first Epic single, "Don't Get Above Your Raisin'," hit the Top 20, and after his second single reached the Top 10, he had his first number one recording with an updated version of Flatt & Scruggs' "Crying My Heart Out Over You." From then until 1986, he was never absent from the upper end of the country charts, scoring 15 consecutive Top 10 hits, most of which reached the top. The winning formula proved to be a combination of modern-sounding remakes of country and bluegrass classics ("I Don't Care," "I Wouldn't Change You If I Could," "Don't Cheat In Our Hometown," "Uncle Pen") and well-crafted country-rockers ("Heartbroke," "Highway 40 Blues") by younger, sophisticated writers, all delivered by a supremely talented band of musicians, many with bluegrass backgrounds. These achievements brought him acclaim—the legendary guitarist/producer Chet Atkins credited him with "single-handedly" saving country music—as well as a flood of honors, including membership in the Grand Ole Opry (at the time of his induction he was the youngest person ever to join the cast), eight awards from the Country Music Association, and four Grammys. Though he continued to make occasional guest appearances with bluegrass acts in concert and on record, the 1980s saw Skaggs take up what seemed to be a permanent residence in the world of country music.

By the end of the 1980s, though, Skaggs's releases were no longer topping the charts. Some critics attributed the decline to stagnation and a decline in the quality of his material, while others took note of the changing shape of country music radio, then turning toward a variety of broader rock music influences. Whatever the cause, he had only one number one recording after 1986 ("Lovin' Only Me," 1989), and by 1988 most of his singles were failing to reach the Top 20, with his last charting one coming in 1992. Though he continued to maintain a high profile on the Opry and cable television's Nashville Network, hosting a well-received concert series on the latter in the mid-1990s, mutual dissatisfaction between Skaggs and his label found him making a jump to Atlantic Records, for whom he made two strong albums that were favorably received by critics, but not by mainstream country radio.

However, shortly after the release of his second—and, it turned out, final—Atlantic album, Skaggs found a new lease on musical life by returning to his starting point: traditional bluegrass. Turning his country band into a bluegrass one, he recorded an album of standards—*Bluegrass Rules!* (1997)—that startled virtually everyone by selling well enough to earn a place on Billboard's country album chart. Not by coincidence, the shift came at a time when the death of bluegrass's founder, Bill Monroe, had prompted concern about the longevity of the style; Skaggs was as well-positioned as anyone to contribute to its survival, and the album release was followed by broad-ranging tours and televised appearances, as well as savvy use of the Internet to reach listeners directly, bypassing commercial radio. By the end of the

decade, Skaggs was proclaiming his permanent commitment to bluegrass, and hundreds of thousands of fans appeared to greet the news with equal devotion.

—Jon Weisberger

## Skateboarding

Invented in the 1950s by southern California surfers who sought a way to surf without waves, skateboarding has itself experienced several waves of popularity. Almost universally outlawed in the 1960s because it was perceived as dangerous, skateboarding enjoyed a revival in the 1970s and another in the 1980s, helped along by Marty McFly, the skateboarding hero of the *Back to the Future* movies. In the 1990s, skateboarding once again flourished, not only as a popular "extreme" sport, but also as a five hundred million dollar a year business. Perhaps because it was spawned by the bohemian surfer culture, skateboarding has always had a rebel image, and it is this that may be responsible for the continuing renewal of its popularity among youth.

In the 1950s bored surfers attached composite roller skate wheels to pivoting axles and put them on the front and back of a wooden plank. The pivoting action helped steer the board, which was maneuvered much like a surfboard on the water, steering by changing the position of the feet and shifting one's weight. In 1973, the old fashioned metal wheels were replaced by newer roller skate wheels made of polyurethane. The new wheels gave the board stability, a smoother ride, and greater traction. Modern boards are made with



Mathias Ringstrom (top) and Max Dufour at the 1997 X-games in San Diego, California.

scientific precision, often at small specialty companies run by skaters, with lighter, more durable decks (the board itself), neoprene wheels, and lightweight tempered trucks (the pivoting axle assembly). Selling at a hundred dollars each or more, skateboards are efficient vehicles both for transportation and for the flamboyant tricks that skaters refer to as “grabbing air.”

Unlike surfers, skateboarders need nothing but the streets and concrete structures of the city to hone their skills, and they have nothing but concrete to break their falls. Thus skateboarding has attracted a tough, independent, and rebellious type of urban youth, who have created their own subculture. Skateboarders, who call themselves “thrashers” or “shredders,” are largely self-taught. They have their own lingo, their own clothing styles, their own competitions, and their own publications. *Thrasher*, a radical “zine,” and *Transworld Skateboarding*, a slightly more clean cut publication, are two of the most successful skateboarding magazines. Each has a circulation of well over 150,000. Skateboarding also spawned its own music genre, with a similarly wild image. Groups with names like Septic Death and Gang Green record their “speed metal” music on small labels devoted to “skate rock.” One skate rock disc jockey, Skatemaster Tate, describes the music vividly: “It’s punk rock and skating rolled up in a ball of confusion and screaming down the alley in a gutter.”

Since skateboarding is often done by groups of teenagers on city streets, parking garages, empty swimming pools and the like, skaters are often subject to hostility from local citizenry and law enforcement officials. Cities have two basic approaches to controlling the thrashers: banning skateboarding or developing special parks devoted to the sport. Banning skating is usually unsuccessful simply because breaking the rules is as much a part of the flashy street sport as wheelies and spins. Skateboard parks offer a compromise that is often at least partially successful. Parks like the Savanna Slamma and Milwaukee’s Turf Skateboard Park attract hundreds of skaters to show off their tricks on ramps and half-pipes constructed especially for safe skating. Some skaters however, feel that skating is by right a street sport and that relegating it to special parks robs it of its rebel cachet. This antipathy between thrashers and the law resulted in the most widely known skateboarding slogan, seen on bumper stickers nationwide, “Skateboarding is not a crime.”

With an estimated twenty million skaters at the end of the 1990s, skateboarding is well entrenched as a flamboyant mode of transportation and expression for urban youth. Competitions such as ESPN’s Extreme Games offer thrashers a chance to win gold, silver, and bronze medals in downhill racing, slalom racing, and freestyle. Though often considered dangerous, skateboarding has far fewer reported injuries than soccer, baseball, or basketball, and many skaters, in addition to the mandatory baggy T-shirt and baggier shorts, now sport kneepads, wrist guards, and helmets. Perhaps those statistics are best kept secret from older generations, however, to avoid ruining a perfectly good rebellious outlet for their offspring.

—Tina Gianoulis

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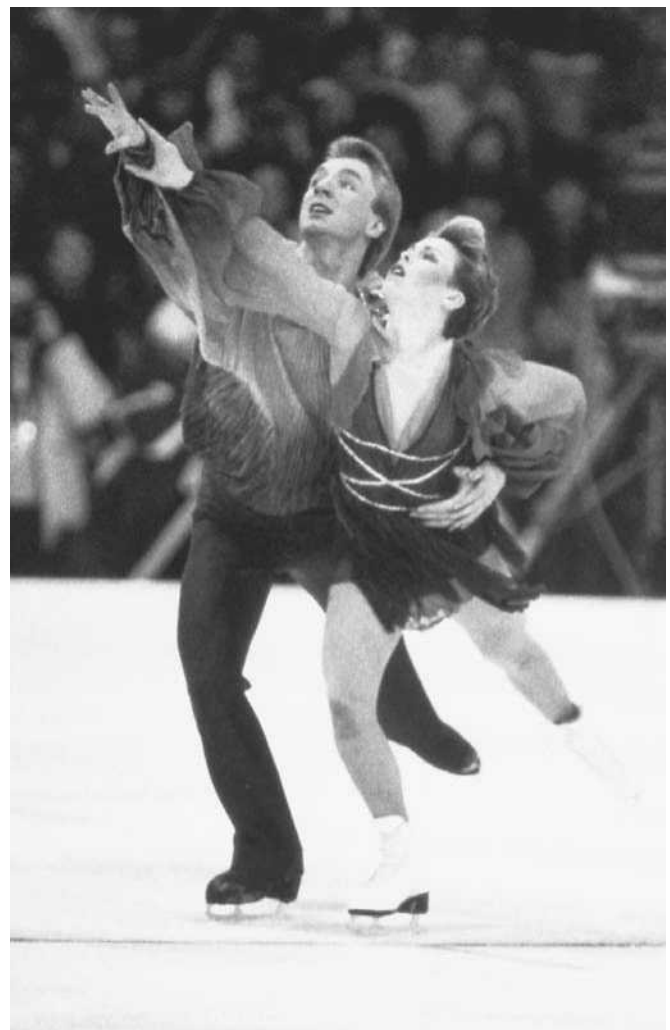
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## Skating

From its ninth-century, Northern European origins as a means for hunting and traveling on ice, skating has been explored for its leisure possibilities. By the time that iron skates—or *schaats* as their sixteenth-century Dutch inventors called them—had replaced their wooden or bone predecessors, their transformation to recreational



Jayne Torvill (right) and Christopher Dean perform their ice dancing routine at the Winter Olympics in Sarajevo, 1984.

usage was well under way. This can be seen in some of Pieter Brueghel's sixteenth-century paintings of peasants skating on the canals of Belgium and the Netherlands, activities that were made famous in Hans Christian Andersen's fairy tales of Denmark. Not so long after iron blades were invented, skates that could snap on to the sole and heel of boots were being manufactured by the Acme Skate Company in Halifax, Nova Scotia. These skates were electroplated in nickel or gold for the wealthy to carry around in expensive carrying cases.

It may be the numerous variations on ice skating that explains its growing popularity today. There is short and long-track speedskating, barrel jumping, pairs, and figure skating. Originally a sport for the Dutch common-folk, speedskating was initially made popular in the Winter Olympics as a sport that involved packs of skaters racing in laps over different distances on a track. The current objective of speedskating is to get around an oval track as quickly as possible (although some of speedskating's most popular races are marathons set on the canals of the Netherlands). Barrel jumping, a common variation of speedskating, was especially popular around the turn of the twentieth century. Skaters, set side-by-side on the ice, would skate as fast as they could, and try to jump over as many barrels as possible. Without a doubt however, it is figure skating, and specifically Sonja Henie's white skates and short skirts in the Olympics of 1928, 1932, and 1936, that commanded the world's attention. Henie's jumps and spins so captured the public imagination that ice skating began to evoke images of talented individuals, alone or in pairs, performing highly technical actions in nearly perfect union with music and all towards the goal of "a clean skate."

Sonya Henie was the most successful figure skater ever, maintaining a public skating career for 46 years. Born in Oslo, Norway, on April 8, 1912, she began skating when she was six years old. At the age of 11 she competed in the Olympics. In 1927 she won the world amateur championship for women, holding that title for 10 consecutive years. She won three gold medals in the Winter Olympics of 1928, 1932, and 1936. Trained in ballet, Henie incorporated some of its maneuvers into female figure skating; she was largely responsible for converting a predictable series of colorless exercises into a spectacular and popular exhibition. After having caught the attention of Americans at the 1930 World Championships in New York, she turned professional after her Olympic triumph in 1936, and toured Europe and the Americas as the star of the *Hollywood Ice Revue*, and for a time (1951-52) she acted as producer of her ice shows. In 1936 she signed with Twentieth Century Fox and starred in 11 popular films including *One in a Million* (1936/37), *Thin Ice* (1937), and *Wintertime* (1943). From 1937 to 1945 she was one of the leading box-office attractions in the motion-picture industry and died in 1969 with a fortune estimated at \$47 million dollars.

Since Henie's time, her status as celebrity has been replicated by other female figure skaters. Peggy Fleming, Dorothy Hamill, Katarina Witt, and Kristi Yamaguchi have loomed larger than male figure skaters in the public imagination, paying for this privilege by almost always being cast, as Feuer explains in the anthology *Women on Ice*, as the "wounded bird, a child, or a fairy tale princess." This embodiment of grace has traditionally belied the athleticism necessary to perform the necessary jumps, loops, and spirals that mark elite amateur and professional figure skating careers. The move away from, and reinterpretations of, vestigial images of femaleness and

maleness marked figure skating's skyrocketing popularity in the 1990s. The new figure skating was a media-conscious, entertainment-driven form that thrived in the age of tabloid TV. Although part of the tabloidization of skating is attributable to the death of compulsory figures and endless speculation about who Katarina Witt was dating, the current connection between skating and the tabloids owes much of its origin to the disgraceful but unforgettable Tonya/Nancy scum.

The rivalry between "trailer trash" Tonya Harding and "ice princess" Nancy Kerrigan, the subsequent scandal in which Harding was found complicit in her husband's assault on Kerrigan at the 1994 US National Championships, and the controversial representation of the two women on the U.S. women's team at the 1994 Lillehammer Winter Olympics is integral in the current popularity of figure skating. Why? Almost 50 percent of U.S. homes with television sets were tuned into the primetime telecasts of the women's figure skating competition, making it the sixth most popular television program ever.

From that point, figure skating increased its allure. Figure skating in the 1990s became a form of public spectacle, the extension of skating beyond competitions like the Olympics to a myriad of touring ice shows and pseudo-competitions that appeared regularly on prime time television. The change was most telling in men's skating, where competitors were acclaimed by fans for their masculine rather than artistic qualities—thus world champion Elvis Stojko performed as a motocross bike-driving, karate-fighting, arm-pumping, quadruple toe loop-jumping super male. More telling were the young members of the audience who hooted and hollered like fraternity brothers at a strip bar as Philippe Candeloro took off his shirt amid squeals of pleasure.

Skating's new popularity was revealed in very full arenas in cities where double axles are more traditionally associated with truckers, not skaters. It was revealed on TV, where the airwaves featured Fox Television's *Rock 'n' Roll Skating Championship*, and six professional championships on 9 Sundays on CBS alone. There were also television specials hosted by individual skaters (Kurt Browning's *You Must Remember This* was considered the best). Finally, rock and roll-like touring such as Campbell Soups' *Tour of World Figure Skating Champions* (televised by CBS as *Artistry on Ice*) ensured complete saturation. Or did it?

In the late 1990s, almost 30 million Americans ice skated. The United States Figure Skating Association membership jumped 25 percent since 1994. It is speculated that 35 percent of the audience for figure skating may be male. According to some marketers, figure skating ranks just behind the NFL in U.S. popularity. In other words, figure skating may have merely completed its compulsory and long programs while its more exciting and even more popular short program awaits.

—Robert VanWynsberghe

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## Skelton, Red (1913-1997)

One of television's most popular comedians, Red Skelton is most fondly remembered for *The Red Skelton Show*, which ran on NBC from 1951-1953, and then on CBS from 1953-1970 (with a brief return to NBC for the 1970-1971 season). A very likeable personality and gifted pantomimist, Skelton also starred in a series of comedy films and had a career filled with contradictions. Noted writer Ross Wetzsteon once commented, Skelton was "a mime whose greatest success was on the radio. A folk humorist in the years when American entertainment was becoming urban. A vulgar knockabout at a time when American comedy was becoming sophisticated and verbal. A naïve ne'er-do-well in the age of the self-conscious schlemiel. Red Skelton's career is a study in how to miss every trend that comes down the pike."

Skelton was born Richard Bernard Skelton in 1913 (few sources list 1910), and was the son of a circus clown with the Haggback and Wallace circus. His father died before he was born, and he grew up in punishing poverty. Active in show business from the age of 10, Skelton trained in stock companies, tent shows, burlesque, and vaudeville. In the 1930s, he stumbled upon a formula for finding humor in people's idiosyncracies and displaying his gift for pantomime, developing his famous routine on the different ways people dunked their doughnuts—he later performed this bit for a two-reel short, *The Broadway Buckaroo*. Skelton developed much of this material with the help of his wife Edna, who served as his manager, writer, and foil for many years.



Red Skelton

Skelton started his film career in 1938 when RKO hired him to perform some of his vaudeville routines for *Having a Wonderful Time*. In the film Skelton plays Itchy Faulkner, the entertainment director of a resort camp in the Catskill Mountains, and performed a routine about the different ways people walk up a flight of stairs. RKO, however, expressed no continued interest in his services. But in 1940, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) assigned Skelton to appear as comedy relief in *Flight Command* and two Dr. Kildare films, but his first starring role and real breakthrough came when he got the lead role of Wally Benton, also known as the radio comic "The Fox," who solves mysteries in a remake of *Whistling in the Dark* (1941). Ace comedy writer Nat Perrin added a bounty of snappy lines for Skelton, and a brief film series of *Whistling* films was launched, which while not wildly funny are unpretentious and diverting, and they represent Skelton's best film work—the other films in the series were *Whistling in Dixie* (1942) and *Whistling in Brooklyn* (1943).

Despite its resources, MGM had difficulty in figuring out how to present their new property, often relegating their new star to more minor comedy relief roles. He was given brief routines in a number of elaborate MGM productions, including *Neptune's Daughter* (1949), *Three Little Words* (1950), *Texas Carnival* (1951), and *Lovely to Look At* (1952), but was most notable in *Bathing Beauty* (1944), where he performed a routine about a woman getting up in the morning, and *Ziegfeld Follies* (1946), where his Guzzler's Gin routine was rechristened "When Television Comes" and represented the comic highlight of this kitchen sink film.

Skelton had his own radio series from 1941 until 1953, where he developed the characters he was most noted for, including Junior (the Mean Widdle Kid), Freddie the Freeloader, Clem Kadiddlehopper, George Appleby, Sheriff Deadeye, Willy Lump Lump, Cauliflower McPugg, Cookie the Sailor, San Fernando Red, Bolivar Shagnasty, and others.

Skelton served for a time in the army, and his return vehicles at MGM proved unfunny flops (*The Show-off* [1946] and *Merton of the Movies* [1947]). One of Skelton's better efforts, Vincent Minelli's *I Dood It* (1943), was loosely based on Buster Keaton's MGM film *Spite Marriage* (1929). Skelton developed a good relationship with the out-of-work and underutilized Keaton who supplied him with advice about comedy and worked with Skelton on some of his better efforts, notably *A Southern Yankee* (1948) and *The Yellow Cab Man* (1950) both of which credited former Keaton director Edward Sedgwick as "comedy consultant" to keep the resistant front office from getting suspicious. Keaton pinpointed a problem with *A Southern Yankee* right away, noting that when the film began, Skelton, who plays a bumbling northern spy down South, acted like an imbecile and alienated the audience, and so the scenes were re-shot to tone down Skelton's nutty behavior. Keaton also contributed the classic gag where Skelton wears a uniform that is half-Union and half-Confederate, strolling between the two sides to cheers until the charade is discovered.

In *The Yellow Cab Man*, Skelton played a would-be inventor of unbreakable glass and other "safety" devices, and featured a classic routine about Skelton's first day at driving a cab. He was also loaned out to Columbia for *The Fuller Brush Man* (1948), where he played a door-to-door salesman who becomes involved in a murder, which was successful enough to spawn a follow-up, *The Fuller Brush Girl* (1950), starring Lucille Ball, in which Skelton made brief appearance.

One of Skelton's most memorable quips occurred on the occasion of Columbia head Harry Cohen's death. When someone remarked on the large number of people who turned out for the hated studio head's funeral, Skelton returned, "Give the people what they want, and they'll come out for it."

Skelton's true medium, however, turned out to be television as his remaining film comedies proved rather lackluster. His final film appearance was in a series of comedy sketches at the beginning of *The Daring Young Men and Their Flying Machines* where Skelton mimed various aviation pioneers and their unsuccessful efforts. It was on television where Skelton was most popular and most beloved.

One of Skelton's earliest writers was legendary television host Johnny Carson, who got his first on-camera big break when Skelton knocked himself unconscious one day during rehearsal and Carson was quickly summoned to fill in—CBS liked his appearance enough to offer him his own show in 1955.

Skelton was an inveterate ad libber, much to the consternation of his guest stars who expected him to follow the script (Tim Burton's movie *Ed Wood* (1994) captures the confusion of Bela Lugosi when he appeared on the show). Skelton delighted in getting his guest stars to break up on camera. The rock band the Rolling Stones made one of their earliest television appearances on Skelton's show.

As his professional life was soaring, however, his personal life turned grim. His nine-year-old son Richard Jr. died of leukemia and his second wife tried to commit suicide. Skelton's work became more maudlin and he began losing his audience. He spent his declining years painting a large series of clown faces which were sold in art galleries across the country. These paintings proved enormously lucrative. He died from pneumonia in 1997 at his home in Rancho Mirage, California.

With his television episodes rarely revived, Skelton is in danger of becoming increasingly forgotten, which is a pity because he was a talented comic with a genuinely inspired gift of mimicry. His gifts put him in the same league as Marcel Marceau. One of the most popular comics of the 1940s and 1950s, he was awarded a Golden Globe for Best Television Series in 1959, and received a Cecil B. DeMille Golden Globe years later, as well as a Governor's award from the Emmys in honor of his contributions.

—Dennis Fischer

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## Skyscrapers

The "skyscraper" is a uniquely American invention that has come to symbolize the cultural and economic predominance of the United States in the twentieth century. With the invention of the elevator in 1859 and the development of new building materials and



Several skyscrapers across a cityscape.

techniques, tall buildings have been occupying the heart of American cities since the late nineteenth century. They are both soaring examples of technological capability and symbols of deeper concerns. As architectural historian Carol Willis wrote in a 1995 book: "Skyscrapers are the ultimate architecture of capitalism. The first blueprint for every tall building is a balance sheet of estimated costs and returns." The modern city, center of economic activity and capital of culture, is unimaginable without skyscrapers.

While the definition of what qualifies as a skyscraper has changed over the years with increasing technological capabilities, the inherent elements remain the same as a century ago—a tall building of stacked, repetitive office spaces (and sometimes retail and/or residential spaces) located in an urban setting. In 1900, the Park Row Building in New York City was the world's tallest at 382 feet and 32 stories. Today, it would be dwarfed in most large cities. In 1997, the twin 1,476-foot Petronas Towers were completed in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, surpassing Chicago's Sears Tower as the tallest occupied building in the world. The fact that they were built in Asia demonstrated the emerging economic power of the region in the late twentieth century and the exportation of American cultural symbols and economic models to all parts of the world.

The century-long evolution of the skyscraper from five-story building to 1,000-foot-plus tower was influenced by many factors. Three of the most important influences were the invention of the passenger elevator by Elisha Graves Otis in the 1850s, the development of steel framing by William LeBaron Jenney of Chicago in the 1880s, and the escalation of real estate prices in downtown areas.

Other factors included stylistic trends, legislation in the form of height restrictions, and civic competition (mainly between New York and Chicago). The first identifiable skyscrapers appeared in Chicago in the 1880s. Masonry buildings, where the stone walls actually carry the weight of the building, were approaching the limits of their capacity. The 16-story Monadnock Building (1891) in Chicago remains the world's tallest masonry building; because of the load created by this height, the Monadnock's walls are six feet thick at the base. By the time of its completion, however, a totally new generation of Chicago-style skyscraper construction was in progress, led by Louis Sullivan, who wrote a famous essay in 1896 entitled "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered." With the invention of the steel-frame building, in which a lightweight steel skeleton is covered by a masonry skin emphasizing their verticality, buildings could rise higher and provide more interior space while more nearly expressing the spirit of the industrial age. Such tall buildings soon appeared in New York and other cities as downtown real estate became more expensive; the only logical solution was to build upward. The steel-frame building and its derivatives proved indispensable in the development of the twentieth-century American city.

Skyscrapers embody many things, including technical achievement, economic prosperity, urban congestion, and civic and corporate pride. The extent to which the skyscraper has become an American icon demonstrates how corporate capitalism has come to represent America to the rest of the world. Tall buildings have become instantly recognizable urban symbols at home as well. They appear in countless movies and television shows, and have been the subject of paintings, poems, and musical compositions. The Empire State Building in New York, the world's tallest building for four midcentury decades (1931-1972) is one of the most famous silhouettes in the world. Skyscrapers provide an instantaneous means of identification in the modern world; they can be used as shorthand for the anonymous twentieth-century city, like the incomparable forest of tall buildings that occupy the tip of lower Manhattan. Individual buildings like the Empire State Building (1931), Chicago's Sears Tower (1974) and San Francisco's Transamerica Pyramid (1972), stand as prominent civic symbols and tourist attractions, as does the RCA Building (now the GE Building) in the modern Rockefeller Center complex whose original core complex was completed in 1940. One of the most daring and atypical skyscraper designs was never realized: Frank Lloyd Wright's visionary 1930s proposal for a mile-high skyscraper rising not in a congested urban downtown but in the midst of a planned rural complex he called Broadacre City.

More important, however, is the manner in which tall buildings have been used as advertising for America's businesses. In the early 1900s, corporate capitalists discovered that the skyscraper was a more effective advertisement than any billboard, newspaper, or magazine ad. Beginning with Cass Gilbert's Woolworth Building (1913) in New York—the world's tallest building at the time, designed in a striking Neo-Gothic style—skyscrapers have become indelibly linked with America's top companies. Prominent examples of the tall building as corporate symbol include the Gothic-style Chicago Tribune Tower (1922); the American Art Deco Chrysler Building (1930, New York); two International Style skyscrapers: the Seagram Building (1958, New York) and the John Hancock Center (1968, Chicago); and the postmodern AT&T Building (1984, New York). The skyscraper form proved so popular that it was also applied outside the

business world. The Nebraska State Capital, designed by Bertram Goodhue and completed in 1932, combined a two-story base with a soaring 400-foot tower that copies the setback style of New York skyscrapers. The United Nations Secretariat (1950) designed by Le Corbusier, and Lakeshore Drive Apartments (1951-52), designed by Mies van der Rohe, are typical examples of a European High Modernist interpretation of an originally American architectural form; these buildings helped pave the way for the International Style "glass boxes" typically seen in mid-Manhattan and elsewhere, a style that would become pervasive in the 1950s and 1960s in many other cities of the West. Such incursions of business imagery into the political realm testify to the growing power of business in what has been called "the American Century."

Among their other functions, skyscrapers are an index to the economic health of a society. Certain "boom" periods have given rise to a proliferation of tall buildings in various cities; Chicago in the 1880s, New York in the 1920s, and Houston in the 1980s are salient examples. By the late 1990s, almost every American city of decent size has at least one tall building—even where real-estate prices do not require them. The skyscraper is a technological and economic solution to an urban problem that has been transformed into a status symbol for cities and developers alike. Because it fulfills so many functions, the skyscraper has proven to be the typical building type for the modern urban world.

—Dale Allen Gyure

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## Slaney, Mary Decker (1958—)

Mary Decker Slaney, the first woman to win the prestigious Jesse Owens track and field award, is considered to be America's greatest mid-distance runner. Slaney won both the 1,500 and 3,000 meters at the 1983 World Championships in Helsinki, has set 36 American and 17 world records, and still holds four American records, all set between 1983 and 1985. In a career that began at age 11, Slaney, who set her first world record at age 14, has established



herself as a world-class runner despite a series of painful injuries and remarkable recoveries (19 operations) as well as exercise-induced asthma. After four Olympic tries, Slaney has yet to win a medal. After a successful comeback in 1997 at age 39, however, she made plans to run in the year 2000 Sydney Olympics.

—John R. Deitrick

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## Slang

Slang is unconventional, hard-hitting, metaphorical language that is colloquial, sometimes vulgar, and always innovative—nothing registers change in cultural thought faster or more dramatically than slang. Lexicologist Stuart Berg Flexner defines slang more precisely as "the body of words and expressions frequently used by or intelligible to a rather large portion of the general American public, but not accepted as good, formal usage by the majority." Linguists Lars Andersson and Peter Trudgill, on the other hand, claim there is no good definition of slang and quote the poet Carl Sandburg: "Slang is a language that rolls up its sleeves, spits on its hands, and goes to work." Although linguists make no value judgments on levels of language, the general public seldom views slang without passion. It is seen as either a harbinger of hope and change (particularly among the young) or as a threat to what is perceived as "proper" language and society.

Informal and spoken rather than formal and written, slang is not the same as dialect, nor is it equal to swearing, although it may take on a vulgar edge, and it almost always evokes negative attitudes. Characterized by its ability to startle, slang falls below the "neutral register" of daily speech: terms such as "whore," "ho," "tart," and "slagheap" for the neutral "prostitute," for example. Perhaps most importantly, slang changes its identity according to who is speaking. What is slang to one, to another is not, depending on one's educational, economic, or social position, and even according to location and generation. Slang is generated from any number of specific language communities or subgroups: jazz musicians, college students, narcotics addicts, immigrants, the military, show business, street gangs, etc. From each of these sometimes overlapping groups come specific terms which identify practices and behaviors particular to its members. Distinct lifestyle choices fuel the need to find a language to name evolving social behaviors and thought, which often challenge more established cultural codes. "Mallie," a term unthinkable prior to the rise of American shopping malls, refers to persons (usually young) who frequent shopping malls for sociability and entertainment. Although most slang is generated by male speakers, the rise of feminism has spawned a female slang or "girl talk," showing the degree to which ideas about gender are changing. Because slang is spoken rather than written, it lacks the status of standard written English. Once slang terms appear in dictionaries, they are seen as having gained currency and, therefore, fuller entrance into the culture. Until then, slang is fully accessible only to insiders of particular subgroups.

Slang also changes over time, and either disappears quickly or becomes fully integrated into the language. Few, if any, would now recognize the word "knucker," which originated from the criminal world of the mid-1880s, but most would understand its current incarnation, "pickpocket," which originated from late eighteenth-century criminal slang. Drug slang changes quickly, in part so that drug dealers can more easily spot undercover agents. "Phone," "bike," and "bus," once slang versions of the more formal "telephone," "bicycle," and "omnibus," have now all but replaced the original terms. Most slang coinages are local in both time and place; much of it, like other cultural phenomena, originates in such large cities as New York or London and fans out to distant towns and cities.

The exact origin of slang is not known, although given the nature of language as a living, changing entity, it is probably as old as language itself. Andersson and Trudgill identify Aristophanes, the fourth-century-B.C. Greek playwright, as the first writer to use slang. The Roman writers Plautus, Horace, Juvenal, and Petronius also employed slang for stylistic purposes. Shakespeare also used slang in his plays. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, underworld criminal societies became rich and potent sources of slang, some of which is reflected in early detective fiction by such writers as Wilkie Collins and Agatha Christie.

What differentiates slang from other categories of speech (such as jargon or argot) is one's reasons for using it. In *Slang, Today and Yesterday*, Eric Partridge identifies several reasons for using slang, including the desire to be different, novel, or picturesque; to enrich the language; to engage in playfulness; to identify one's self with a certain school, trade, or social class; to reduce or disperse the pomposity or excessive seriousness of an occasion; to be secret. Slang is always used self-consciously, with a desire to create a particular identity. One might say (but not write) affectionately, "Sweetheart, you da cat's meow," or "Yo—what's happenin'?"

In the twentieth century, the development of slang has paralleled the rise of dominant cultural movements throughout the decades. The 1920s left its mark with jazz and the rise of the machine, creating such terms as "flapper" (a female dancer in a short skirt) and "percolate" (to run smoothly). The 1930s contributed "dehorn," a hobo word for bootleg whiskey or denatured alcohol, and such railroad slang as "groundhog," meaning a train's brake operator. The 1940s was the decade of the military with such coinages as "pea-shooter," from World War II Army Air Force pilots to denote a fighter pilot or plane, and the word "buddy" (meaning "pal"), which, although created in the 1800s, was heavily used by American GIs and took on a particularly sentimental connotation. This term later evolved into several variations such as "ace boon" or "ace buddy" in the black community. The 1950s' beatnik generation revived 1930s jive talk and used such enduring slang phrases as "cool it" to mean relax, and such colorful phrases as "cool as a Christian with aces wired" to signify someone who is tranquilly confident.

By the 1960s, political unrest resulted in the use of such words as "Dove" and "Hawk," which by the 1980s became accepted terms for antiwar advocates and the military. The youth culture (or "NOW generation") coined such phrases as "where it's at" to signify being up-to-date, and also used the term "groady" (with variations of "grotty" and "groddy") to denote anything that was disgusting, nasty, or repellent. Often this was followed by the phrase "to the max" for emphasis. The 1970s' drug scene left numerous terms:

“crack” for cocaine and “narc” for undercover agent (which actually comes from Romany, “nak” or nose). During the 1990s, computers created not only a whole new way of life, but a language to describe it, although this resulted in a computer jargon rather than a computer slang. Nonetheless, such terms as “PC” (personal computer) and “e-mail” (electronic mail) were not even thought of prior to the development and widespread use of personal computers. By the end of the 1990s, the term “Y2K” had gained widespread usage to signify “the year 2000,” with particular reference to anticipated problems stemming from the inability of existing programs to recognize dates beyond the year 1999.

While slang itself always reflects contemporary trends of thought, the practice of recording slang in Anglo-American dictionaries goes back more than two hundred years. The British antiquarian Francis Grose published *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* in 1785, the first known lexicon of slang. Grose’s work went through several editions and remained the seminal work in the field until John C. Hotten’s *A Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Words* was published in 1859. From the latter nineteenth century through the early twentieth century, several dictionaries of slang were produced, but it was not until 1937 when Eric Partridge published the landmark *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*, that slang was bestowed with respectability. This text was enlarged and reprinted several times through the 1980s and remains one of the best resources available. Also significant was Harold Wentworth and Stuart Berg Flexner’s *Dictionary of American Slang*, published in 1960.

Since then, numerous dictionaries of slang have appeared. The titles of these texts alone trace the degree to which slang has become more accepted by the general public; by the late 1990s, slang was viewed with an increasing degree of amusement, as illustrated in such playful titles as *Juba to Jive: A Dictionary of African-American Slang*. As public sentiment moved toward a greater sense of multiculturalism during the 1990s, slang enjoyed increased acceptance, although with a recognition of its lower than standard status in the language.

—Lolly Ockerstrom

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## Slasher Movies

With the possible exception of the hardcore porn flick, no modern film genre has managed to achieve quite the level of commercial success in spite (or because) of its inherent controversiality as has the slasher movie. Otherwise known as the “stalker,” “dead babysitter,” or “teenie-kill” pic, the “slasher” label has been adopted by most fans and critics to designate the entries in a voluminous collection of remarkably similar post-1960 horror films. In these movies, isolated psychotic males, often masked or at least hidden from view, are pitted against one or more young men and women (especially the latter) whose looks, personalities, or promiscuities serve to trigger recollections of some past trauma in the killer’s mind, thereby unleashing his seemingly boundless psychosexual fury.

Although the precise formula of the slasher movie varies depending on one’s initial characterization, the genre’s exploration (at times its exploitation) of some or all of the following themes has remained strikingly consistent through the years: male-upon-female voyeurism, gender confusion and sexual perversion, the spectacle of murder, the efficacy of female self-defense, the substitution of violent killing for sexual gratification, and the utter inability of traditional authority figures to eliminate a communal threat. Vilified by feminists for supposedly promoting misogynistic messages and targeted for censorship by outraged parents and lawmakers, the slasher movie has nevertheless been treated as unworthy of critical discussion by most mainstream academics, presumably because of its “low-culture” status. In recent years, however, the progressive potential of a genre once dismissed as “violent pornography” has been examined by film theorists as well as cultural historians.

The slasher has its roots in two 1960 films, Alfred Hitchcock’s *Psycho* and Michael Powell’s *Peeping Tom*. Although the former movie has since received immeasurably more critical and commercial attention than the latter, together they are responsible for establishing many of the slasher’s primary generic elements. These elements include an “explanation” of the killer’s motive in quasi-psychoanalytic terms, a figuring of the main victim as a sexually transgressive female, and a focus on intimate assault with sharp, phallic, penetrating implements. It is tempting to read the subsequent history of the slasher as little more than elaborations on the themes introduced in these two films.

Like *Psycho* before it, Tobe Hooper’s *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre* (1974) took for inspiration the monstrous crimes of

necrophilic serial killer Ed Gein. Unlike *Psycho*, however, Hooper's film emphasized gore and bodily carnage, thereby situating itself within the tradition of Herschell Gordon Lewis's notorious "splatter" films, *Blood Feast* (1963) and *The Wizard of Gore* (1968). *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre* also contributed two important elements of its own to the slasher movie formula: a group of adolescent victims who are picked off one by one, and a "final girl" who undergoes a lengthy, terrifying ordeal in the film's second half, only to come out alive at the end. Although John Carpenter's *Halloween* (1978) eschewed the gore of *Texas Chainsaw Massacre* in favor of impressively subtle startle effects, it kept the latter film's youthful victims, and made its final girl (Jamie Lee Curtis, daughter of *Psycho* star Janet Leigh) even more aggressive and self-reliant. The unprecedented commercial success of this movie ensured its place at the head of the "Stalker Cycle" class; between 1978 and 1981, no fewer than 11 *Halloween*-inspired slashers were made (including *Friday the 13th*, *Prom Night*, *Terror Train*, and *Graduation Day*), all structural, if not quite stylistic, copies of the original. In these movies, the predator-prey theme takes on unprecedented importance, as does the emphasis on "creative" murders, and a reliance on camera shots taken from the killer's point of view. To what extent this camerawork forces viewer identification with the killer, however, remains an open question.

Despite the final girl's ever-increasing strength and ferocity—as exemplified by "Ripley" (Sigourney Weaver) in the *Alien* series of outer-space slashers—public debate over the genre's antisocial consequences only intensified in the 1980s. Representatives from numerous states, citing hastily acquired and somewhat dubious "empirical evidence" for support, complained of a direct cause-and-effect relationship between the depiction of graphic violence in films such as *Friday the 13th* and the increase in violent crimes perpetrated by youths. In 1984, the "Video Recordings Bill" passed through Britain's Parliament on the heels of an effort to restrict the consumption of arbitrarily designated "video nasties" (the vast majority of which were slashers). By 1989, bills were passed in Colorado, Missouri, Ohio, and Texas granting local prosecutors the power to decide which videos cross the line of "excessive violence" and so cannot be rented to persons under 18 without parental permission.

It is arguable that at least some of this negative attention was unnecessary, even self-defeating. By 1986 the slasher movie was in a state of decline, primarily because of an over-reliance on convention and a glut of predictable entries. But just like its best known psychopaths, Michael Myers and Jason Voorhees, the slasher would rise from the dead. *Fatal Attraction* (1987), *Pacific Heights* (1991), and especially the Oscar Award-winning *Silence of the Lambs* (1996)—the so-called "yuppie slashers"—brought a heretofore unimagined respectability to the genre. And with the appearance of self-consciously reflexive slashers such as *Scream* (1996), *Scream 2* (1997), and *Halloween H20* (1998) came a whole new range of convention-bending possibilities.

One thing is clear: no easy answer to the question why slasher movies have proven so popular exists. Whether they enforce conservative values by demonstrating "the inefficacy of sexual freedom" (Vera Dika), promote tolerance by "constituting a visible adjustment in the terms of gender representations" (Carol Clover), or further a feminist agenda by "articulating the legitimacy of female rage in the face of male aggression" (Isabel Pinedo), it can hardly be denied that these films appeal to different audiences at different times and for

different reasons or that they will continue to engender heated debate in homes, classrooms, and courtrooms.

—Steven Schneider

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## Slinky

Since its introduction to the public at Gimbels Department Store in Philadelphia in 1945, the Slinky has been one of the best-selling toys in America. This simple, steel spring developed by Richard James, a naval engineer who was trying to produce an anti-vibration device for ship instruments, has become one of the most widely recognized toys, with over 250 million Slinkys sold by the time of its fiftieth anniversary. When James and his wife, Betty, first demonstrated the Slinky's rhythmical step-by-step movement at Gimbels, they sold their entire lot of 400 Slinkys in ninety minutes.

In addition to playing with Slinkys, innovative Americans have used them as pecan-picking devices, envelope holders, light fixtures, and during the Vietnam War as makeshift radio antennae. Since 1962, children watching television have heard the Slinky jingle with its famous lines, "It's Slinky, it's Slinky, for fun it's a wonderful toy/It's Slinky, it's Slinky, it's fun for a girl and a boy." In addition to being featured in television commercials, the Slinky has appeared in the films *Hairspray*, *Ace Ventura: When Nature Calls*, and as a leading, animated character, the Slinky Dog, in *Toy Story*. Slinkys have been manufactured in large-size, brightly colored plastic models for younger children, and the elite retailer Neiman Marcus sells an \$80 gold Slinky. The original steel model sold in 1945 for one dollar. Fifty years later, in 1995, the same model (changed only by having its ends crimped for safety) sold for a mere one dollar and ninety-nine cents. Its low price has allowed for its presence, at one time or another, in nearly every American home.

—Sharon Brown

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The Slinky

## Sly and the Family Stone

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At their apogee, Sly and the Family Stone made music that broke racial and commercial barriers, combining soul, R & B, doo-wop, white rock, and British Invasion influences into an ineluctably delicious package that slithered and grooved and, at times, shouted from radios and turntables across America. For its time, the group's personnel was no less remarkable: an integrated, multi-gender line-up where the musicians switched instruments and roles with a fluidity as

snaky as the band's trademark syncopated backbeat. Emerging in 1968, Sly and the Family Stone filled a vacuum in the musical landscape, presaging a whole new form of music-funk with their musical cross-pollination and incandescent live shows.

Sylvester Stewart, the guiding force behind this musical pot-pourri, was born in Texas and grew up in Vallejo, a tough oil-town across the Bay from San Francisco. As a child, Stewart sang in church choirs, playing music with his siblings and learning guitar, piano, and organ, among other instruments. From all accounts, Stewart was



Sly Stone

already something of a wunderkind by the time he met up with radio personality Tom Donahue and was hired as resident producer for Donahue's Autumn Records label. Sly produced much of the mid-1960s San Francisco rock music, crafting albums for groups like the Beau Brummels, the Mojo Men, and the Vejtables. But Sly was an imperious presence in the studio, a notorious perfectionist, and by the time the acid-rock groups began to beat a path to Autumn Records's doorstep, he decided he had more important things to do besides marshal stoned musicians (he allegedly forced Grace Slick and the Great Society through two hundred takes, resulting in exactly one completed song). Sly took a DJ job at a local black radio station where, always iconoclastic, he interspersed Beatles and Bob Dylan tracks among the regular Stax-Volt and Motown singles fare.

"The pop scene was then at a turning point," writes Dave Marsh, "Both Soul and Rock were trapped—the former by its own conventions, the latter by its increasing solemnity as it pursued High Art. Sensing a gap, Sly moved to fill it with his characteristic mixture of calculation, conviction, and dumb luck." He had formed a bar band and was regularly plying his trade with what would become the nucleus of Sly and the Family Stone while hunting for a record label. His first effort for Columbia, *A Whole New Thing*, being perhaps too

ahead of its time, was an unmitigated failure, but Columbia was interested enough to give him a second chance. Through the rest of the decade, Sly and the Family Stone registered an impressive list of hit singles, music as mold-breaking as it was danceable, with an ideological twist: part populist, part utopian hippie. In songs like "Dance to the Music," "Everyday People," "Everybody Is a Star," and "You Can Make It If You Try," Sly preached a message of total reconciliation, expressing, in the words of Marsh, "the sentiments of the Haight and hopes of the ghetto."

On stage, the band dressed like psychedelic peacocks, sporting fringes, satin shirts, leathers, and bangles. Musically, there were role reversals, epiphanies, unexpected surprises. The woman played instruments, the men sang, the whites grooved, the blacks freaked out. The result was a revelation and a call to arms; when Sly sang "I Want to Take You Higher"—as he did for two million at Woodstock—you believed him.

But being spokesperson for inner-racial unity is a tough act, and like Jimi Hendrix before him, Sly was resistant to becoming swept up in the internecine squabbles between the New Left and the black power groups. And there were other problems. As one of the highest paid performers in the business, excess was not simply a danger, it was almost de rigeur. Sly began missing shows, his behavior became more eccentric, and no new music was forthcoming, although his progeny were filling the charts with their versions of Sly's *Whole New Thing*. When he broke his silence late in 1971, the resultant album, *There's a Riot Goin' On*, took his formula and stood it on its head. It was an abstract, introspective album that shied away from declamations, acknowledging instead the bitter realities of racial inequity—utopia turned dystopic. It was the perfect soundtrack for the end of the 1960s, a brilliant synthesis of despair, and if the album's success was any measure—it rose to number one on the charts and generated three hit singles—Sly had once again hit the mark.

*There's a Riot Goin' On* was a tour de force, but it was also a blind alley. Apparently Sly was unable to extricate himself from this self-created musical cul-de-sac. As the seventies progressed, albums from Sly grew fewer, with longer gaps in between. A 1976 *Jet* magazine article reported Sly had gone broke. Rumors abounded that he had spiraled into addiction-fueled seclusion, living alone in his mansion without a telephone or much to eat. 1979 saw the release of a new album, *Back on the Right Track*, but apparently it was an aberration. The silence has continued.

In the dialectic of creativity, Sly's career followed a predictable arc from synthesis to innovation to decline, but if he could only go so far, he left in his wake a legion of imitators that kept his vision very much in evidence. Established soul groups let their hair down and started turning out records with a pointed political subtext. The slinky drum beats, slapped bass lines (a technique Stone bassist Larry Graham is credited with inventing), and minimalist keyboard arrangements were responsible for the evolution of funk and disco. And the sartorial splendor—rhinestones, leathers, gold lame—that was the band's trademark was embellished by everyone from George Clinton to Earth, Wind, and Fire. In their music and flamboyance, artists like Rick James and Prince would pay homage, but Sly and the Family Stone remained the template from which these disparate artists sprang. As Dave Marsh wrote, "No one has gone past them."

—Michael Baers

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## Smith, Bessie (1894-1937)

Elizabeth “Bessie” Smith was born in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and became known as the “empress of the blues.” She began her career with Chappelle’s Rabbit Foot Minstrels, starring Ma Rainey, who taught Smith the art of blues singing. Smith developed her own style of powerful and theatrical blues with a jazz orientation, which became the accepted classic blues style. Her first recording, “Down Home Blues” (1923), sold 800,000 copies. She recorded until 1933, toured extensively with her troupe, the Liberty Belles, and appeared in the film *St. Louis Blues* (1929). Smith died while touring when her car was hit by a truck and run off the road in Mississippi.

—Charles J. Shindo

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## Smith, Dean (1931—)

North Carolina’s Dean Smith retired after the 1997 season as the all-time winningest head coach in college basketball. Smith’s 879 wins over 36 years surpassed legendary Kentucky coach Adolph Rupp by three games. For twenty-seven consecutive years, Smith’s squads won 20 or more games, and they captured two national titles along the way.

Smith coached some of the games best players during years at North Carolina, including Billy Cunningham, James Worthy, Mitch Kupchak, and Michael Jordan. Smith also saw many of his assistant coaches go on to become head coaches, including Roy Williams and Larry Brown. But the achievement of which Smith is most proud is that fact that 97 percent of his players graduated with a degree. In the 1980s and 1990s, as college hoops came to seem ever more glamorous under the bright lights of increasing television coverage, Smith represented the finest values of amateur athleticism.

—D. Byron Painter

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## Smith, Kate (1907-1986)

Long known as the “first lady of radio,” Kate Smith starred on CBS radio from 1931-1947, always opening with her theme song, “When the Moon Comes Over the Mountain.” The lyrics of this song were adapted from a poem Kate had written as a teenager to celebrate her native Shenandoah Mountain area. She was also associated in the public mind with Irving Berlin’s “God Bless America,” which she introduced on Armistice Day in 1938. Berlin was so pleased with her treatment of the song that he granted her exclusive rights to sing it on radio in the late 1930s. Moving to television in later years, Smith’s popularity continued, leading a pop music critic to write: “For at least five decades, Kate Smith ranked close to apple pie, baseball, and the Statue of Liberty among America’s best loved and most instantly recognized symbols.”

Smith became a household name from coast to coast within a month of her radio show’s debut on her 22nd birthday, May 1, 1931. The long-running show, originally called “The A&P Bandwagon,” gave the first radio appearance to such show-business luminaries as Greta Garbo, John Barrymore, Bert Lahr, and Mary Boland. Comedians on their way to the top, including Abbott and Costello and Henny Youngman, were also first brought to national attention on her show.



Kate Smith

The great success of the new show caused NBC to move its popular *Amos 'n' Andy* comedy program to another time slot.

Smith's homey, small-town image flowed naturally out of her upbringing. Her birthplace was the small town of Greenville, Virginia, and she was originally billed on radio as "The Songbird of the South." As a child her singing talents were evident as she began early to sing in church services. During World War I, eight-year-old Kate sang at Liberty Loan rallies, where she was introduced to President Woodrow Wilson.

After the war Smith entered amateur contests in the Washington, DC, area and aspired to a career behind the footlights. Her family, fearing that her increasing girth would make her the target of taunts in a theatrical career, insisted that she study nursing. She found that she was unhappy as a nursing student, however, and 16-year-old Kate tried out some song routines in Washington vaudeville houses and then headed for New York City. While waiting her turn in an amateur contest, she saw a young dancer bring down the house doing the Charleston and became convinced that despite her bulk she could do the vigorous, hip-wiggling dance herself. She worked it into her closing number and won a standing ovation. The show's headliner, Broadway star Eddie Dowling, hired her for a small part in a new musical, *Honeymoon Lane*, singing "Half a Moon" and dancing the Charleston. The *New York Times* review read: "*Honeymoon Lane* is Colorful & Lavish; Kate Smith, 250-pound Blues Singer, a Hit."

Several Broadway shows followed. Made up in blackface, she sang "Hallelujah" in Vincent Youman's *Hit the Deck* (1927). In George White's *Flying High* (1930) she played star Bert Lahr's mail-order bride and suffered his relentless jibes about her size. Every performance she heard him say, "When she sits down, it's like a dirigible coming in for a landing." After the show closed, she made her radio debut on the Rudy Vallee variety show, where she attracted the attention of Columbia Records executive Ted Collins, who offered her a recording contract and became her personal manager. Collins got Kate 11 weeks at the vaudeville pinnacle, New York's Palace, as well as a contract with CBS for a 15-minute network radio show four nights a week, and the show became an instant success that was to grow in popularity for the next 16 years. By 1933, during the Great Depression, Kate was making \$3,000 a week, the highest salary of any woman in radio.

During the years of World War II, Kate traveled over a half-million miles to entertain service men and women, and she sold more than \$600 million in war bonds. Her recording of "God Bless America" sold thousands of copies and, following the lead of Irving Berlin, she gave all her royalties to the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts of America.

Smith moved to television in 1950, hosting a daytime variety show mainly for housewives. When her popularity lessened in the 1960s, Ted Collins, noting that Judy Garland's career had been rekindled with a famous concert, arranged for Kate to appear at Carnegie Hall in 1963. From this came a new RCA recording contract and numerous guest appearances on television. When Ted Collins died the following year, Kate stopped performing. Her career had another rebirth several years later when the Philadelphia Flyers hockey team discovered that they always won when Kate's record of "God Bless America" preceded the game. The team made her the official team sweetheart, and she was invited for guest appearances on shows hosted by Ed Sullivan, Jackie Gleason, Dean Martin, and the Smothers Brothers.

In the mid-1970s Kate began a major national tour, only to have it interrupted in Lincoln, Nebraska, by an illness that caused the

remainder of the tour to be canceled. Severe diabetes made her a virtual recluse for the next ten years. In 1982 she was awarded the U.S. Medal of Freedom by president Ronald Reagan. George T. Simon, former *Metronome* editor, observed, "From 1931 onward, Kate Smith did indeed seem to personify the country—idealistic, generous, home-spun, sentimental, emotional, and proud."

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Smith, Patti (1946—)

Poet, performer, and "queen of punk" Patti Smith made her mark in the disparate worlds of punk, rock and roll, and poetry, with seven albums, six books of poetry, and a world-renowned performing



**Patti Smith**

style. “Three chord rock merged with the power of the word,” Patti Smith’s first album *Horses* described itself in 1975.

Smith was born in Chicago but raised in Woodbury, in rural southern New Jersey, the eldest of Grant and Beverly Smith’s four children. Isolated and sickly as a child, Patti was encouraged to be creative by her mother and lived an intense, imaginary life in games with her siblings and, as she grew older, in her writing, fed by the work of Arthur Rimbaud, Bob Dylan, James Brown, and the Rolling Stones. A literate punk icon in the 1970s, Smith achieved her greatest success with the single “Because the Night,” off her album *Easter* (1978). In 1979, Smith left performing for marriage and children in suburban Detroit with Fred Smith, ex-MC5 guitarist and leader of Detroit’s Sonic Rendevous Band. In 1994 Patti lost her husband, Fred Smith, her brother, Todd Smith, and her longtime friend and former lover, Robert Mapplethorpe, to various early deaths. She slowly returned to performing and publishing with a book of poems, *Early Work* (1994), and an album, *Gone Again* (1996).

—Celia White

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See Oates, Joyce Carol

## Smithsonian Institution

Established by an Act of Congress in 1846 with the bequest of English scientist James Smithson, the Smithsonian Institution is a research center that holds some one hundred million artifacts and specimens in sixteen museums and galleries. The mission of the Institution includes public education, national service, and scholarship in the arts, sciences, and history. Artifacts held by the Smithsonian include the Wright Brothers’ 1903 Flyer, the Hope Diamond (the world’s largest deep blue diamond), the Star Spangled Banner, Judy Garland’s Red Slippers from *The Wizard of Oz*, Harrison Ford’s fedora and leather jacket from *Raiders of the Lost Ark*, and Archie Bunker’s chair and Fonzie’s leather jacket from the television shows *All in the Family* and *Happy Days*, respectively. Duke Ellington’s papers are housed in the Smithsonian and the Institution also owns the Folkways Records back catalog.

Museums and galleries of the Smithsonian include the National Air and Space Museum, the National Museum of American History, the National Museum of African Art, the National Museum of Natural History, the National Museum of American Art, and the National Portrait Gallery, all of which are in Washington, D.C. The Smithsonian-run Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum and the National

Museum of the American Indian are in New York City. The Smithsonian is also responsible for the National Zoo and a number of scientific research institutes.

Many of the museums are located on the Mall in Washington and a visit to the Capitol seems to require an obligatory visit to at least one of these buildings. From April through October the various Washington locales of the Smithsonian are packed with visitors. One summer highlight is the Festival of Folklife, which explores the diversity of American and world cultures, that takes place on the Mall in late June and early July.

In 1970 the Institution launched its own magazine, *Smithsonian*, which carries general readership articles on the arts, the environment, sciences, and popular culture. The magazine has a readership approaching eight million. Another magazine, *Air & Space/Smithsonian*, was created as an extension of the Smithsonian Institution’s National Air and Space Museum. It examines the culture of aviation and space.

In 1995 the Smithsonian launched its home page ([www.si.edu](http://www.si.edu)) on the World Wide Web and has since averaged over four million “hits” per month. The site has grown to contain a wealth of information on the various activities and collections of the Smithsonian.

In the 1990s the Smithsonian engendered considerable controversy with its exhibition, *The West as America*, at the National Museum of American Art and its proposed *Enola Gay* exhibition at the National Air and Space Museum to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These exhibitions questioned received versions of history and the outrage generated broad public debates about history, culture, and the role of academics and museums.

The Smithsonian Institution is a repository of American cultural artifacts. The diversity of its collections and activities place it at the center of public understanding of American history and culture.

—Ian Gordon

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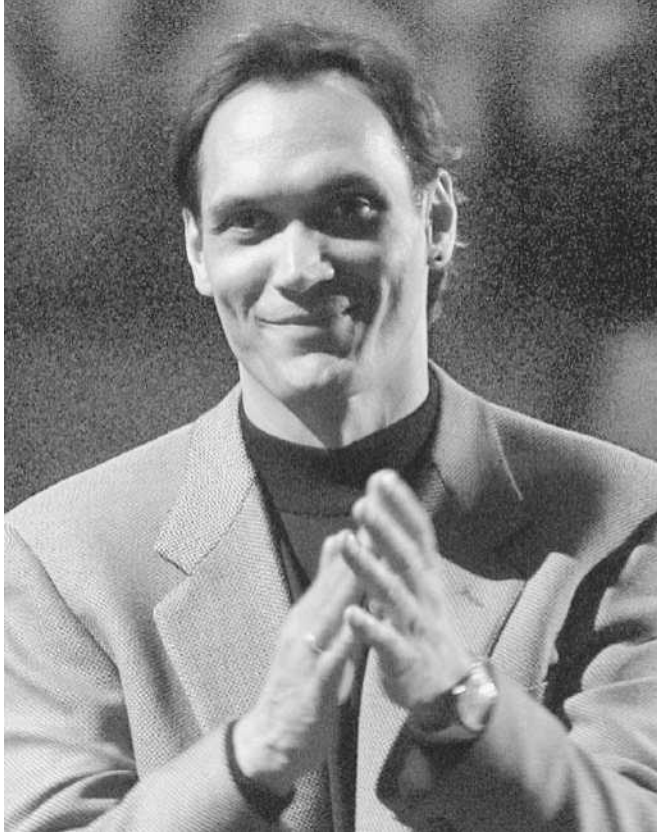
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## Smits, Jimmy (1945—)

Emmy Award-winning television, film, and stage actor Jimmy Smits is one of a very small handful of highly visible Hispanic actors. A co-founder of the National Hispanic Foundation for the Arts, an organization whose mission is to establish opportunities for Hispanic Americans in entertainment, Smits has used his immense popularity and fame—both of which derive in part from his stunning good looks—to publicize the cause of Hispanics and other minority groups in the entertainment industry. An elegant and truthful actor with a persona that combines charm, sex appeal, and vulnerability with a tough and steely inner core, Smits carved a place for himself as an





**Jimmy Smits**

American cultural icon when he was cast in Steven Bochco's landmark television ensemble drama series, *L. A. Law* (1986-1991) and went on to an even higher profile as detective Bobby Simone in Bochco's hard-hitting cop series, *NYPD Blue* (1994-1998).

Born in Brooklyn, New York, on July 9, 1955 to a Puerto Rican mother and a South American (Suriname) father, Smits was raised mostly in Brooklyn, though he did live in Puerto Rico for a short time between the ages of nine and 11. While attending school at Thomas Jefferson High, he made the championship football team, but quit playing to become the star of the school's drama club. He went to Brooklyn College where he got his B.A. in Education, and worked for a while as a teacher before becoming a student again, earning his Master's degree in Theater Arts from Cornell in 1982. After graduating, he traveled around the country working in repertory theater until 1984, when he made his television debut in the pilot episode of *Miami Vice*. The experience was short-lived: cast as Don Johnson's partner, he was killed in the course of the episode.

Then, in 1986, Smits landed the ongoing part of Victor Sifuentes, Hispanic public defender turned corporate litigator, in Bochco's critically acclaimed and wildly successful *L. A. Law* for NBC. (The number of law school applications in the United States increased dramatically at the height of the show's popularity). The role of Sifuentes catapulted Smits into stardom, and he became a heartthrob and sex symbol much as George Clooney would in *E.R.* a few years later. He was nominated for a Best Supporting Actor Emmy every year, finally winning it in 1990, but left the show in 1991 to pursue opportunities on the big screen. However, with the exception of his co-starring appearance, alongside Jane Fonda and Gregory Peck, as a

smoldering Mexican soldier in *Old Gringo* (1989), and a role in the 1997 Chicano family drama *Mi Familia (My Family)*—both of them critically respected but commercially unspectacular features—he made only a handful of forgettable films.

Bochco and ABC came to the rescue in 1994, when he joined *NYPD Blue* in its second season. For the next five years, he delivered an elegant, understated portrayal of a quietly complex character, in perfect counterpoint to the explosive acting of Dennis Franz as Simone's troubled, sometimes bigoted partner, Andy Sipowicz. The gritty cop drama was controversial from the outset because of its coarse language and explicit sexual content and, during its first season, many network affiliates refused to carry it. Despite (or maybe because of) this, it was an almost immediate ratings success, as were its sometimes ambiguous lead characters, multi-dimensional and complex, following a trend already set in other cop series such as *Homicide: Life on the Streets* and *Law and Order*. Smits was thoroughly convincing as an introspective widower who joins the 15th precinct after months of tending to his dying wife, and who raises homing pigeons as a hobby. However, the fact that Bobby Simone was conceived as being of French-Portuguese rather than Hispanic descent drew some criticism, emphasized by the fact that the only Hispanic officer was played by an actor of Italian heritage (Nicholas Turturro).

In 1998, with his contract up and due for renewal, Jimmy Smits decided to leave *NYPD Blue* in search of fresh challenges. The challenge to the program in finding a way to write him out resulted in a sequence of tense and tearjerking episodes in which Bobby Simone succumbs to previously undetected heart disease. This turn of events in the plot all but dominated the 1998 series and tested Smits' acting abilities to the limit. He passed with flying colors.

—Joyce Linehan

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## The Smothers Brothers

Comedy/singing team the Smothers Brothers has been entertaining audiences on stage, record album, and, most famously, on television for more than 40 years. "Mom always liked you best!" stuttering, slow-witted comic dunce Tom Smothers on guitar would complain to his supercilious, smooth-talking, straight-man brother Dick on bass as they both crooned folk songs and engaged in comic banter, often with pointed political overtones. The Smothers Brothers' penchant for political satire resulted, in the late 1960s, in one of the most celebrated and infamous cases of television censorship as the brothers battled their network, CBS, over the antiwar and countercultural content of their top-rated variety series, *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour*—a precursor of later shows such as *Saturday Night Live*. Attempting to bring some of the political and social turmoil of the era into prime time, the Smothers Brothers discovered the limits set by American commercial television in the 1960s for controversial material in entertainment. Their variety show, with its ongoing battles against network censorship, became a flash point of debate about the role of popular entertainment in the process of social change.



**Tom (left) and Dick Smothers**

Nothing much in the Smothers' background would indicate that they would become rebels against the system. Tom and Dick, born, respectively, in 1937 and 1938, were sons of West Pointer Thomas Bowen Smothers, who died in a POW camp during the Second World War. The boys were raised by their mother and a stepfather in Redondo Beach, California. Their comic career began while students at San Jose State College where they found themselves working the burgeoning folk circuit of college clubs, blending accomplished folksinging with eminently clean-cut comedy. Their first big break into television came in 1961 when Jack Paar introduced them to a national audience on his show. A few years later, CBS gave the Smothers their first television series. Running for only one season, 1965-66, *The Smothers Brothers Show* featured Tom and Dick in a situation comedy. Similar to other contemporary "magical" shows like *My Mother the Car*, *My Favorite Martian*, and *Bewitched*, the Smothers' series had Tom as an apprentice angel who made life difficult for his mortal brother Dick. The series failed, but CBS remained committed to finding a more appropriate vehicle for the Smothers Brothers' talents.

Debuting on Sunday night in February 1967, *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour*, a variety show, found itself in an unenviable position scheduled next to the long-standing, top-rated NBC stalwart *Bonanza*. CBS's strategy for the *Comedy Hour* was to attract a younger, more urbane audience than was traditionally drawn to the rival network's horse opera. The gambit worked. *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour* cracked the top 20 Nielsen ratings in its first two years on the air, and in its second helped to dislodge *Bonanza* from its three-year run as the number-one-ranked series in the country.

In its first season, the series played things fairly safe. The brothers attempted to appeal both to the burgeoning generation of disaffected and politicized baby boomers as well as to the parents. According to *Time* magazine, the Smothers were "hippies with haircuts." The show featured countercultural bands like Buffalo Springfield singing its anthem of youthful paranoia and alienation, "For What It's Worth," and also middle-of-the-road Jim Nabors singing "The Impossible Dream." Like Ed Sullivan, the Smothers' show balanced the tastes and sensibilities of the increasingly polarized generations.

Controversy and censorship began to plague the series beginning most notably following the *Comedy Hour*'s second season premier, aired on September 10, 1967. The Smothers had invited folk singer Pete Seeger as a special guest. While the network expressed no qualms about having the previously blacklisted performer appear on the airways, CBS balked at a song Seeger proposed to sing: "Waist Deep in the Big Muddy." The song was an allegory about Vietnam and contained the following lyrics that CBS found unacceptable: "Now every time I read the papers / That old feelin' comes on / We're waist deep in the Big Muddy / And the big fool says to push on." The network disapproved of the disrespectful reference to the president as a fool and, further, felt political material such as this had no place on an entertainment show. The performance was summarily censored. The network's action led to an avalanche of public criticism of the network's high-handed action. Eventually, CBS relented and allowed Seeger to pay another visit to the Smothers' show later in the season where he was permitted to sing the song in its entirety.

Emboldened by the show's popularity, Tom Smothers began pushing for more confrontational and cutting-edge material. Despite his slow-witted persona, Tom was both highly intelligent and increasingly aligned with anti-establishment youth politics. He was also the major creative force behind the series. Pushing the envelope of political satire, sexual innuendo, and matters of taste, Tom dared CBS to censor his show. The network responded, and the battle was on. Some of the flaps between the show and the censors involved material that now seems benign. CBS objected to a sketch about sex education: the words "sex" and "sex education" were unacceptable. The network also objected to a sketch about censorship in which Tom and guest star Elaine May played motion picture censors at work objecting to the word "breast" in sequence. Says censor Elaine: "I think the word 'breast' should be cut out of the dinner scene. I think that 'breast' is a relatively tasteless thing to say while you're eating." CBS censors were not amused and blue penciled the entire sketch. The network was also uneasy with a recurring character on the show, Goldie O'Keefe, a kooky hippie whose comedy revolved around celebratory references to hallucinogenics. In a recurring sketch, a parody of advice shows for housewives titled "Share a Little Tea with Goldie," the character proclaimed, "A lot of you ladies have written in asking when I'm on. . . . Ladies, I'm on as often as possible and I highly recommend it." Some of the marijuana and LSD references evaded censorship as the elderly guardians of taste didn't understand that "Goldie," "tea" and "Keefe" were drug code words. Comedian David Steinberg created consternation for the network as well with a series of "sacrilegious" sermonettes. The network began demanding that the Smothers make preview copies of their episodes available for affiliated stations to review—a completely unprecedented move by any network.

The most infamous run-ins with the network involved the Smothers' increasingly unapologetic anti-establishment political material. In their third season premier in September 1968, CBS balked at

letting guest star Harry Belafonte do a song criticizing the police and institutional violence meted out to youthful demonstrators at the Chicago Democratic Convention the previous month. The number included lyrics such as “Tell all the population / We’re havin’ a confrontation / Let it be known freedom’s gone / And the country’s not our own” to images of police rioting against unarmed demonstrators. The network axed the entire number and, to add insult to injury, sold the five minutes worth of air time to the Republican Party for a Nixon/Agnew campaign ad.

The escalating confrontations between Tom Smothers and the network eventually came to a head. On April 3, 1969, with a few weeks yet to go in the television season, Robert D. Wood, president of CBS television, informed Tom Smothers by wire that the brothers were fired. The ostensible reason was that the Smothers had not delivered an acceptable broadcast tape in time for preview by network censors and affiliated stations. The unprecedented forced removal of a television series from a network schedule led to public uproar. Tom Smothers attempted to launch a free speech campaign in Washington, D.C., to force the network to relent, but to no avail. Eventually, the Smothers filed a lawsuit against the network for wrongful dismissal. They won, but it was a Pyrrhic victory as *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour* would not be revived for 20 years.

The brothers continued to turn up on the broadcast dial however. A year after being kicked off of CBS, ABC gave the brothers a summer variety series. However, the wind was out of Tom Smothers’s sails, and the series was not picked up in the fall. In January 1975, NBC gave the brothers a try with yet another variety series, but that one also did not last the full season. The brothers continued touring in their highly successful stage concerts and were frequent guests on various television shows. Then, 20 years after being booted off CBS’s airwaves, the network invited the brothers back to do a twentieth-anniversary special of *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour* in 1989. The special brought back the familiar stage set and many of the show’s supporting players, such as Leigh French as Goldie O’Keefe, Pat Paulsen, and Bob Einstein as Officer Judy. The special was a big enough hit that CBS agreed to bring *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour* back in the regular season. Goldie O’Keefe was now a yuppie, and political commentary tended to focus on American intervention in Central America. Tom also introduced his alter ego, the Zen-like, silent “master of Yo,” the “Yo-Yo Man.” The revived *Comedy Hour* was moderately successful but did not result in a second season.

After more than forty years in show business, the Smothers Brothers continued to tour extensively and very successfully throughout North America in the 1990s. *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour* remained their most important popular cultural achievement. The show was enormously influential on future comics and television shows which attempted to bring political satire to the television, *Saturday Night Live* being the most noteworthy legacy of the Smothers’ groundbreaking work. Bill Maher of the late night *Politically Incorrect* talk/comedy series also credited the *Comedy Hour* with inspiring his approach to political satire. *Saturday Night Live* alum Dennis Miller’s show on HBO also owes much to the Smothers’ example. However, all of these shows are either aired outside prime time or on cable and specialty channels: thirty years after *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour*, it would appear that sophisticated political satire and comedy is still not ready for prime time.

—Aniko Bodroghkozy

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## Sneakers

See Tennis Shoes/Sneakers

## Snoop Doggy Dogg (1971—)

Perhaps the most recognized performer of the gangsta rap tradition, Snoop Doggy Dogg emerged in 1993 with two commercially successful albums on controversial Death Row/Interscope Records. Notorious for his violent and explicit lyrics, Snoop Doggy Dogg became a central target of political censorship and attack soon after his appearance on the rap scene. Despite his initial commercial success, the rapper’s career began to flounder after gangsta rap fell out of favor in the latter half of the 1990s. By 1998, Snoop Doggy Dogg had changed his name to Snoop Dogg, switched music labels, and toned down his graphic and controversial act in an effort to maintain his status in the industry.

Born Calvin Broadus in 1971, he was nicknamed Snoop as a child and raised in an urban ghetto in California, suffering through a childhood of harsh social realities. One month after his high school graduation, the soon-to-be rap star was arrested on drug charges and spent the next three years in and out of jail on three separate charges related to drug possession.

Following his release from jail, Snoop began to hone his skills as a rapper and shopped a demo tape of his work around his hometown. Soon, he was introduced to Dr. Dre, a key member of the controversial rap group N.W.A. Dre invited the young rapper to make a cameo appearance on his song “Deep Cover,” which soon reached number one on the rap charts. In 1991, Snoop was invited to appear on Dre’s critically acclaimed solo album *The Chronic*, and the young rapper’s performances became legendary in the hip-hop community. Their rapping duet on the song “Nothin’ but a ‘G’ Thang” launched the single into the top five on the pop charts, establishing for the first time hardcore rap as crossover music. Snoop’s unique rap style—aggressive but melodic, nasal and “cool”—created an instant buzz on the streets. After appearing on three major magazine covers, the widespread anticipation for Snoop’s solo project seemed to be unprecedented in the history of rap music.

Nothing could prepare the young rapper for the attention he would receive with his debut 1993 album, *Doggystyle*. The album



Snoop Doggy Dogg

sold eight hundred thousand copies in its first week and debuted at number one on the Billboard charts. With his lanky, six-foot-four-inch frame and his long, braided hair, Snoop presented an image of black masculinity that hadn't been seen before. To his fans, the rapper appeared slightly effeminate but also menacing and hardcore. Through his realistic, graphic lyrics about living in the ghetto, Snoop helped bring to public attention the form of hip-hop known as gangsta rap. In this musical form, rappers portrayed themselves as instruments of menace and terror in order to shed light on the problems of youth living in the harsh social realities of urban ghettos. The success of *Doggystyle* also helped establish the West Coast as a viable center for the production of rap music.

Nonetheless, Snoop's success was a double-edged sword. Along with the Death Row record label and the label's head, Suge Knight, Snoop came under the critical scrutiny of a number of politicians and advocates for his glorification of violence and criminality, his explicit language, and his promotion of hustler and pimp lifestyles. Moreover, Snoop's legal troubles and his portrayal of criminality also seemed to spill into his offstage life. In the month before *Doggystyle* was released, Snoop was charged as an accomplice to the shooting death of a young black man. After receiving the legal services of O. J. Simpson trial lawyer Johnnie Cochran, Snoop was acquitted in 1996. Yet Snoop's brush with the law only boosted his credibility among his

fans, as they witnessed his offstage life blend into his art. As a result, his second album, *Murder Was the Case*, sold more than two million copies. By the mid-1990s, Snoop had also become one of the leading proponents of an escalating and highly publicized war of words between East Coast and West Coast rappers.

Eventually, however, Snoop's career suffered as gangsta rap began to weaken in its cultural power. In 1996, Death Row Records buckled under massive censorship from political conservatives, and as the year wore on, the hip-hop community became revolutionized by the untimely shooting deaths of hip-hop's two biggest stars, Tupac Shakur and the Notorious B.I.G., and by the incarceration of Death Row's Suge Knight. Unprepared to respond to the changing culture, Snoop's third album, *Tha Doggfather* (1997) suffered poor critical reviews and limited commercial attention. To increase his bad fortune, the rapper was then sued by Suge Knight's wife, who also acted as Snoop's manager, for millions of dollars in unpaid management fees. As Time/Warner sold its share of Interscope Records to MCA, Snoop found his musical home of Death Row Records in serious disrepair and public disrepute. Yet the record company continued to claim that the rapper contractually owed them another six albums.

In 1998, Snoop returned to visibility. Louisiana's No Limit Records label, run by emerging hip-hop entrepreneur and rapper Master P, entered into a deal with Death Row Records to release Snoop from future responsibilities. After having sold seven million albums in six years, the rapper released his fourth album, *Da Story Is to Be Sold Not to Be Told* on the No Limit Records label. In the same year, he appeared in bit parts in the straight-to-video movie *The Game of Life* and in the feature film release *Half-Baked*, and he decided to drop the word "Doggy" from his name to distance himself from his association with the gangsta rap idiom which he had helped popularize. In media interviews, Snoop Dogg began to publicize his offstage role as a father to two children. The rapper described his newfound image in 1998 as "more educated, wise, and more of a thinker—more for life."

—Jason King

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## *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*

Though criticized for the implied message that every girl needs a "prince" to rescue her, Walt Disney's first animated feature remains a classic. Debuting in 1937, the movie had a simple story line. Snow White escapes the murderous Queen and finds refuge with the Seven Dwarfs (Doc, Bashful, Sleepy, Sneezy, Happy, Grumpy, and Dopey). Learning she is alive, the Queen disguises herself and tricks Snow White into eating a poisoned apple. She apparently dies. A handsome prince, however, wakes her with a kiss. Reviewers criticized the human characters for being wooden, but the film broke ground in animation. The illusion of depth in the forest scenes and such details as rain splashing on the ground had never been seen before. The

movie proved animated features could be done and paved the way for later Disney films.

—P. Andrew Miller

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## Soap Operas

In the 1930s, advertisers such as Procter & Gamble sought sponsorship of daily radio programming targeted to homemakers, who controlled the household purse strings for cleaning and other household product purchases. Daytime serial dramas soon answered this call, focusing melodramatically on women, multi-generational families, and romantic intrigue in live, 15-minute shows. Although derogatory at first, the term “soap opera” was eventually embraced and is now the genre’s customary designation.

The first soap opera, *Painted Dreams*, was developed in 1931 for WGN radio in Chicago by Irna Phillips, who would go on to become the most prolific creator of soap operas for both radio and television. The program aired without specific product association until content changes were made to accommodate Montgomery Ward & Co., the show’s first sponsor. Phillips employed the same enticements to secure advertisers for her other serial inventions, and the genre’s characteristic sponsor ties were established. Phillips’ *Today’s Children*, sponsored by Pillsbury, evolved into the first network soap opera when NBC began airing it nationwide in 1933.

Understanding that women often performed their domestic chores while listening to radio and were, consequently, all the more inclined to buy and use merchandise that could be casually promoted within a program, Procter & Gamble (P&G) initiated its first soap opera, *Ma Perkins*, in 1933. Other P&G ventures, including *The O’Neills* (1935), *The Guiding Light* (1937), and *Kitty Keene* (1937), soon followed.

Once television became a feature of the domestic landscape after World War II, soap operas gradually faded from the radio airwaves and took up residence on the small screen. *The Guiding Light*, a Phillips creation, ran simultaneously on both media for several years and remained in CBS’s lineup at the end of the twentieth century. While radio soaps shifted to tape before they faded, television soaps were, until the late 1950s, presented live. The decade saw myriad TV soaps begin and end abruptly, but several in addition to *Guiding Light*, including Roy Winsor’s *Search for Tomorrow* and *Love of Life* and Phillips’ *As the World Turns*, exhibited staying power. By the 1960s, soap operas were the only television genre whose production was still owned and managed by sponsors, with P&G dominating the field (other shows had shifted to running “spots” by a variety of advertisers). As a by-product of the shift to television, an extra measure of redundancy and “backstory” exposition was added to the

soap opera formula in order to accommodate viewers’ tendency to turn or step away from the screen momentarily in attending to their household tasks. When added to the genre’s open, serial form, this element further ingrained feminine domesticity into the very fabric of the soap opera.

The tried-and-true ability of soaps to target the preferred audience of women, aged 18-49, was unmatched by any other type of programming. Younger viewers became “hooked” on their shows by watching with their mothers after school, during the summer, and on holidays, and were then counted upon to become loyal viewers for the next three decades. With the lucrative, Baby Boom generation of women coming of age in the late 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, soap producers geared up to capture a new crop of female consumers.

When *As the World Turns* (CBS) featured the teenaged elopement of Penny Hughes and Jeff Baker in the late 1950s, the strategy of the “summer storyline” was inaugurated. Since that time, soaps have made special efforts to highlight and write for younger characters during the summer months in order to attract high school and college students at home during their breaks. New soaps with new angles also attempted to snare these viewers. ABC’s Gothic soap opera, *Dark Shadows*, emerged in the mid-1960s to beguile a largely cult audience with vampires, witches, and werewolves for half a decade, creating a fandom which has lingered far longer than the program. Additionally, by the end of the decade, most soaps had expanded to a half-hour format.

The summer storyline became more of a year-round prospect in the 1970s, as Agnes Nixon’s *All My Children* (ABC) and William Bell’s *The Young and the Restless* (CBS) were devised with Baby Boomers in mind. Meanwhile, NBC’s *Another World*, a 1964 co-creation of Phillips and Bell, emerged in 1975 as the first soap to make 60 minutes the industry standard.

In the late 1970s, *General Hospital* evolved into a winner for ABC when ratings increased dramatically due to executive producer Gloria Monty’s decision to pair teenaged “soap babe” Laura Baldwin (Genie Francis) with bad boy “soap hunk” Luke Spencer (Anthony Geary)—a courtship that clicked into full gear after the writers realized the enormous popularity of the couple and recontextualized Luke’s previous rape of Laura as a “seduction.” Luke and Laura became soap opera’s first “super couple,” and were promoted in a newfangled fantasy and adventure-oriented “ice princess” story. NBC’s *Days of Our Lives*, a 1960s creation of Irna Phillips, Ted Corday, and Alan Chase, followed suit with super couples such as Bo and Hope and fantasy scenarios of its own. When Luke and Laura finally wed during the November ratings sweeps of 1981, in excess of 30 million viewers tuned in, the largest audience ever to view an episode of any daytime soap opera.

Although Luke’s “rape redemption” fueled controversy, taboo topics were addressed on soaps in the 1970s and 1980s as an integral part of the campaign to lure Baby Boomers. Roger Thorpe’s rape of wife Holly was the groundbreaking issue on *Guiding Light*. The writers who penned it, Jerome and Bridget Dobson, followed with a similar story on *As the World Turns*, where *General Hospital*’s former scribe, Douglas Marland, eventually took the reigns and conceived socially conscious tales about bulimia, incest, and homosexuality. *Another World*, which tackled addiction, abortion, and alcoholism under the leadership of Irna Phillips, William Bell and, later, Harding Lemay, went on to offer the first AIDS story in the late 1980s.

As much as they tried, soaps that were caught behind the curve during the youth boom soon experienced downturns in popularity and

have never completely recovered. Procter & Gamble, the only sponsor to still produce its own soaps in the late 1980s, was especially hard hit, and one of its properties, *Search For Tomorrow*, switched from CBS to NBC before going under in 1986. P&G's *Guiding Light*, *Another World*, and *As the World Turns* also struggled with their aging viewerships. The 1980s saw efforts to reach other specific demographics with NBC's *Generations*, targeted primarily to African-Americans, and Christian Broadcasting Network's *Another Life*, geared to Christian viewers. Neither achieved long-term success.

Another feature of the 1970s and 1980s was the rise of the prime time soap opera. Although *Peyton Place* (ABC) had attempted such a temporal shift in the 1960s, launching the film careers of Ryan O'Neill and Mia Farrow but little else, it was not until the late 1970s and Lorimar's saga of an oil dynasty in *Dallas*, headed by the infamous J.R. Ewing (Larry Hagman), that the idea finally caught on. Unlike *Peyton Place*, which offered two episodes per week, *Dallas*'s once-a-week format proved more palatable to prime time viewers, and the CBS series became immensely popular, enduring for a decade. It's worldwide appeal was even more staggering, and when a 1980 season-ending cliffhanger posed the question, "Who shot J.R.?", massive, global speculation ensued. Elihu Katz and Tamar Liebes' scholarly study of this international phenomenon, published in *The Export of Meaning*, demonstrates how popular texts can be interpreted in numerous ways according to culture, nationality, and other aspects of identity. CBS later added other serial sagas to its lineup, including *Falcon Crest* and *Knot's Landing*—a *Dallas* spin-off. But it was Aaron Spelling's *Dynasty* that answered the challenge for ABC, resonating 1980s' narcissism and opulence and dishing up "soap vixen" Alexis Carrington who, owing to Joan Collins' brazenly camp portrayal, emerged as a cult favorite. Moreover, other nighttime formats began exhibiting seriality and other soap opera conventions as the genre's influence was seen in domestic dramas such as *thirtysomething*, law enforcement, legal, and medical shows such as *Hill Street Blues*, *L. A. Law*, and *St. Elsewhere*, and "dramedies" such as *Moonlighting*.

By the 1980s, academic study of daytime soap operas had evolved from statistical audience surveys and content analyses such as those contained in Mary Cassata and Thomas Skill's *Life on Daytime Television*, to critical analyses of soap opera texts and the potential identifications of viewing subjects such as those found in Tania Modleski's *Loving with a Vengeance* and Robert Allen's *Speaking of Soap Opera*. Despite their denigration in the larger culture, a feature attendant to most any "feminine" genre from romance novels to film melodrama, soaps were found to provide central female characters through whom women in the audience might seek affirmation and empowerment. Although some scholars found many aspects of these representations lacking, the genre's serial form, its emphasis on and elevation of the domestic sphere, and its focus on feminine subjects, were considered by most to be positive and noteworthy traits.

As the 1990s loomed, soaps began to undergo a period of transition, seeking to retain their audience of Baby Boomers while attracting the younger, MTV generation of viewers. Jerome and Bridget Dobson's 1984 creation for NBC, *Santa Barbara*, took its lesson from *Dynasty* and delivered a spirit of camp postmodernism to daytime. While proving a huge success overseas, the soap failed to capture the domestic demographics the network was hoping for and suffered cancellation nine years later. *All My Children*'s devilish "soap diva" Erica Kane and the actress playing her, Susan Lucci,

became household names, as multiple onscreen marriages for Erica and offscreen Emmy losses for Lucci were grist for the publicity mill.

In the late 1980s, another Agnes Nixon soap, *One Life to Live* (ABC), had endeavored to replicate *General Hospital*'s winning fantasy adventures by depicting unconventional journeys to the Old West and to a lost city called "Eterna." Under the management of former movie producer Linda Gottlieb and mystery novelist Michael Malone, the program shifted to hard-hitting realism in the 1990s. Stories involving the town of Llanview's homophobic response to a gay teen, Billy Douglas, and the brutal gang rape of a college student by three fraternity brothers led by Todd Manning (Roger Howarth), emerged from the collaboration. Controversy ensued when Howarth's charisma with fans led creators to orchestrate Todd's redemption, much to the chagrin of Howarth, who found himself braving screams of "rape me, Todd," from overly ardent admirers. *All My Children* followed *One Life to Live*'s homophobia story with its own tale of a popular teacher who nearly loses his job after revealing his homosexuality during a classroom lecture.

*General Hospital* adopted a similar tone of verisimilitude during this decade, largely as a result of headwriter Claire Labine's heart-wrenching tales of a child's tragic death, her gift of a healthy heart to an ailing cousin, and a middle-aged woman's battle with breast cancer. The most risky and significant decision during Labine's tenure was to have teenager Robin Scorpio (Kimberly McCullough), who had literally grown up on the program, contract the AIDS virus by engaging in unprotected sex with her boyfriend, Stone. Stone subsequently suffered and died of the dread disease before the eyes of both Robin and viewers. These dark stories garnered *General Hospital* critical acclaim but endangered the program's healthy ratings, as the incoming generation of fans seemed more stimulated by fantasy and escape than by tragedy and catharsis.

Meanwhile, it was NBC's long-running *Days of Our Lives*, under the creative leadership of executive producer Ken Corday and innovative writer James Reilly, which appeared to discover the key unlocking the devotion of this new generation. Taking a lead from *Dark Shadows*, Reilly conjured up Gothic fantasy scenarios, camp "supervillains," never-ending "super triangles," and bizarre sagas involving premature burial and demon possession. This latter escapade required the soap's most beloved diva, Marlena Evans (Diedre Hall), to levitate and morph into wild animals. While many longtime fans could not tolerate the program's drastic change in tone and jumped ship, teens gravitated to its postmodern panache and rushed aboard. While *Young and the Restless* gained and retained the number one spot in ratings during the late 1980s and 1990s, warranting the addition of a second Bell soap, *The Bold and the Beautiful*, to CBS's lineup, *Days of Our Lives* mounted a serious challenge to this ratings leader and at one point surpassed it in terms of demographics—the advertisers' target group of younger women. After a few years, ratings and demographics for *Days of Our Lives* dipped a bit, but its producers seemed not to question whether the "formula" they had concocted might prove to be a short term fix rather than a long term remedy.

*Days of Our Lives* was very influential in the 1990s, with many programs endeavoring to emulate it and refusing to relinquish their future audience to any other soap or network. Even more than during the Baby Boom influx, "youthification" became the order of the day. Multi-generational or Baby Boom-centered soap operas had become scarce in prime time, with only NBC's *Sisters* breaking out as an instance of both. Most remarkable had been Aaron Spelling's

groundbreaking creations for FOX, *Beverly Hills 90210* and *Melrose Place*, which demonstrated that it was possible for soaps to focus almost exclusively on teens and/or twenty-somethings and be successful in prime time. Late in the decade, *Party of Five* (FOX) and *Dawson's Creek* (WB) extended this trend. Despite differences in potential audience and format, some daytime powers hoped they could corner the youth market in similar fashion. With the children of the Baby Boom generation, the Baby Boomlets, lying in wait and nearly as numerous as their parents, there appeared to be no turning back. Although some had predicted that Boomers would dominate the culture well into and even beyond their middle age, the trajectory of soap operas responding to the advertisers' increasing concern with demographics, as opposed to household ratings, portended otherwise.

Most deliberate in its campaign was NBC, making *Days of Our Lives* its standard bearer and pressuring its only other soap, *Another World*, to "backburner" and eventually fire much of its over-forty cast while adopting a decidedly more outrageous tone. The network then picked up Aaron Spelling's first daytime offering, the virtually uni-generational *Sunset Beach*, to complete its menu. After writer James Reilly departed *Days of Our Lives*, the network hired him to develop a new daytime venture. *Another World*, whose ratings continued to spiral downward after the loss of its veteran performers, was the likely candidate for replacement by the new Reilly soap. The fact that Procter & Gamble was a "middle man" for *Another World* did not help its chances, and NBC's contract disputes with *Days of Our Lives*, which was threatening a move to another network, offered the ailing *World* its only glimmer of salvation as the millenium approached. Sadly though, *Another World* was cancelled during the summer of 1999.

Meanwhile, the traditional Procter & Gamble soaps on CBS, *As the World Turns* and *Guiding Light*, were not surviving this period unscathed. The former escorted many of its veterans to the chopping block and was inundated with young, inexperienced performers. The latter bore its own spates of downsizing and had taken to featuring otherworldly stories, including an especially controversial one in which popular diva Reva Shayne (Kim Zimmer) was cloned.

Despite the tenuous success of *Days of Our Lives*, daytime soap operas realized an overall decline in viewership during the 1990s. Competition with the O.J. Simpson trial, more abundant offerings on cable, and the fact that more and more women were in the work force, all had an impact. Although many working women videotaped or "time-shifted" their soaps, advertisers refused to pay for viewers who were apt to fast-forward through ads. Still, avid fans had become more active and, indeed, interactive, establishing communities on the Internet in which they could discuss the latest storylines, root for their favorite "core" characters, families, and/or super couples, or lament some of the genre's more flagrant lapses in logic, including resurrections from the dead, multiple recasts, and the "rapid aging syndrome" in which children are ushered off to boarding school only to return six months later, ten years older, and ripe for romance in a summer teen storyline. Online soap operas such as *The Spot* also sprang up.

Accordingly, during this decade, scholars engaged in cultural studies and other approaches to media analysis turned their attention to soap opera viewers, exploring their interpretations and activities in fan groups, clubs, and Internet forums. In *Soap Opera and Women's Talk*, Mary E. Brown argues that female audiences recognize their subordination through negotiating and celebrating the genre's feminine emphasis, while in a study entitled "'No Politics Here,'" Christine Scodari examines soap opera "cyberfandom" and bemoans

ruptures in the audience attendant to creators' "youthification" efforts and the genre's postmodern turn.

Despite their attempts to enthrall succeeding generations of viewers with controversial and/or outlandish subject matter, some research, such as Mumford's *Love and Ideology in the Afternoon*, maintains that daytime soaps have persisted in their essential conservatism. While many programs welcome African-American and Hispanic characters and viewers, race is still a thorny issue. Soapland's black women and white men have occasionally fallen in love across racial lines, but when *Another World* tried to reverse that equation by developing a flirtation between Caucasian diva Felicia Gallant (Linda Dano) and a handsome black suitor, a backlash apparently prevented the story from moving beyond the initial stages. Similarly, *Soap Opera Digest* received disagreeable letters from fans of *Young and the Restless* in response to a blossoming romance between African-American Neil and Caucasian Victoria. *Another World's* plan to make race an explicit component of a trial in which an African-American cop accused a popular—and white—"hunk" of raping her, was buried under the negative fallout of fans whose sensibilities it violated. And, although soap opera's focus on female viewers would seem to warrant the overturning of double standards, serious romances between older women and younger men remain taboo. Only one—Vanessa and Matt of *Guiding Light*—was evident in the late 1990s. As soaps became more devoted to younger segments of the audience, such stories were apt to be seen as inimical to commercial goals and, therefore, inadvisable. Moreover, while soaps may depict women in career roles, the workplace continues to serve as a stage upon which women are seen "catfighting" with one another for the love of a man rather than seeking professional accomplishment for its own sake.

Still, soap opera's ongoing focus on human relationships and the "feminine" is exceptional and laudable. Adapted to a plethora of international cultures, featured in numerous fan magazines, celebrated at the *Daytime Emmys* and *Soap Opera Digest Awards*, and lampooned in movies (*Soapdish*, *Tootsie*) and television (*Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman, Soap, The Carol Burnett Show*), the genre endures as a highly accommodating and exportable staple of American popular culture.

—Christine Scodari

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## Soccer

Soccer in America is in a strangely paradoxical position. It is the world's most popular sport, yet it has never managed to gain much of a spectator footing in the United States. It may be virtually ignored on television as a spectator sport, but it has become one of the biggest participatory forms of leisure activity in America by the late 1990s. Nonetheless, many Americans are still ignorant not only of the rules of the world's biggest game, but also of their country's own soccer history.

The origins of soccer in America are obscure. Folklore suggests that the Pilgrim Fathers discovered the American Indians playing a form of the game along the Massachusetts coastline. British immigrants, however, imported the game that developed into association football (soccer) around the world in the nineteenth century, into America in the seventeenth century; there is documentation of the game as early as 1609. The game was an early folk pastime played mainly in the streets and open squares, and it remained so until the nineteenth century. By the 1820s, soccer was a violent, unorganized, and casual game almost exclusively played on college campuses. The first intercollegiate soccer match took place in 1869 between Princeton and Rutgers. Schoolboys established the first organized soccer club, the Oneidas of Boston, in 1862. They played on Boston common and were undefeated for several years.

At this point it looked as if soccer would develop in the United States. British expatriates had exported soccer around the world and many immigrants from the British Isles arrived in America bringing the game with them. Harvard, however, had other ideas. In an attempt to distinguish itself from the other Ivy League colleges, Harvard adopted rules similar to those developed by rugby football. Since Harvard was the leader in physical education during the nineteenth century and other colleges did not want to lose such prestigious competition, they adopted rugby rules. This set of rules subsequently became the basis for the innovation of American football. Football was then highlighted as a uniquely American sport while soccer was relegated in significance as the game of immigrants, particularly as it was played by the new arrivals from Southern Europe.

Nonetheless, soccer did not die out in America. In 1884 the American Football Association was organized in Newark, New Jersey. And in 1885 the United States played its first "international" against Canada, one of the first soccer games to be played outside the British Isles. The United States soccer team participated in the 1904 Olympic games in St. Louis and in 1914 the United States Football Association (USFA) was granted full membership in FIFA, the governing body of world soccer. In 1916 the USFA team traveled to Sweden and Norway. It played its first international match on foreign soil on August 20, defeating Sweden 3-0. When the first World Cup

competition was organized in 1930, America was one of 13 nations to compete and its Bert Patenaude was the first player to score three goals in a single World Cup game. The highlight of the USFA's international games, however, was in the 1950 World Cup when it defeated England 1-0. This has been considered the biggest upset ever in international soccer.

Soccer in America has since undergone many incarnations during the twentieth century. In 1923, the world's first indoor soccer league was organized in Boston. In 1958, the International Soccer League was set up. It was composed of top teams from Europe, South America, and the United States, holding its first championship tournament in 1959. The league survived for a decade as a testing ground for soccer as a spectator sport in America. In 1967 two more soccer leagues were established: the United Soccer Association (USA) and the National Professional Soccer League. At the end of the year, these leagues were merged at the request of FIFA, forming the North American Soccer League (NASL). This newly established professional league had 18 teams by 1974 and it achieved a major success by signing the world's greatest footballer, Pelé, in 1975. Professional soccer as a spectator sport finally appeared to have taken root in America when a seven game contract was signed with national television in 1977. The NASL eventually collapsed, however, due to a combination of highly paid foreign stars, a failure to develop the game at grassroots level, the withdrawal of its sponsors, and falling gate receipts.

Soccer was revitalized once again during the early 1990s. In 1994 the United States hosted the World Cup for the first time. Three and a half million fans filled the stadia and broke all previous attendance records. For the first time in 64 years the USA progressed beyond the first round, eventually losing a creditable 1-0 to the team from Brazil. On the back of the World Cup the United States Soccer Federation set up Major League Soccer, promising a blend of home-grown talent, imported foreign stars, and audiences of 14,000 per game. The World Cup had proven that Americans could both play and watch soccer. Major investment in the sport, from companies such as Nike, has also boosted the popularity of soccer amongst Americans. In America, soccer is now played by both sexes and is a major participatory activity. Indeed, the USA's women's team is currently an Olympic champion. The men's team, however, has not fared so well. At the 1998 World Cup in France, they went out during the first round. The lowest point came when they were defeated 3-1 by Iran, a team who had never previously appeared in the World Cup Finals.

Despite the formation of domestic soccer leagues and international successes, soccer is somehow still not recognized as an American sport. Unlike football and baseball, it is not considered an American invention, but rather as the sport of immigrants. Undoubtedly, soccer has suffered from its lack of prime-time television coverage. Television sport schedules are virtually monopolized by the "big three": football, baseball, and basketball. This lack of exposure has continued to hinder soccer's development at the professional level, while overshadowing its thriving grassroots existence at a participatory level. Until soccer's television and earning power match that of the big three it will continue to remain in their shadows.

—Nathan Abrams

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## Social Dancing

Social dancing refers to all those forms of dance that are recreational and public. It is not a professional form of dance, except for exhibition dancing or teaching, nor a form of theatrical dancing, like ballet, modern dance, tap dancing, or flamenco, although such forms of art and entertainment incorporate steps and gestures from social dance. In American society almost everyone has some sort of relationship to social dancing. Many people participate with great intensity in social dance activities for a period of their lives. In pre-industrial societies and working-class communities, social dancing has often been a group activity, but by the end of the twentieth century in many parts of the world, social dancing was primarily a form of couples dancing.

Folk dancing is the earliest form of social dancing. Most folk dancing is a group activity, and often includes only a single sex. A common folk dance form is the European round dance that is for both men and women in which the dancers are linked in a circle by holding hands, or holding the arms and shoulders or the waist belts of the other dancers. The couple dance where a man and woman hold each in their arms is a late development in folk dancing. Couple dances probably originated as courtship or wedding dances. Folk dances have often existed in a dialectical relationship with court dancing. Folk dances were usually codified by "dancing masters" when they were introduced to the aristocratic courts so that the dances could be taught more easily.

English country-dances were exported to France, where they were codified and introduced into French aristocratic circles. Known as the *contredanse*, they were group dances that formed circles and lines of dancing to make an elaborate shape through which members of the court could thread. In the minuet, a related dance form, couples danced as part of the group. These early ballroom dances were grouped together under the title of cotillion and quadrille. Elite ballroom dancing of this sort was destroyed by the French Revolution.

After the French Revolution, the waltz swept across Europe; it was considered a "popular" democratic dance—the dance of the rising middle classes. Social dance moved out of the ballroom of the

aristocratic court into public dance halls and "assembly rooms." Paris had, in the period after the revolution, over 700 dance halls. It was also the first dance of urban life. The waltz was the first example of the "closed couple" dance—the dance partners faced one another and were in intimate physical contact with one another. Because of that and its whirling and the intoxicating effect of its 3/4 time, it was thought to be vulgar and lascivious. The waltz was introduced to the United States in the early nineteenth-century. The waltz remained the dominant form of social dance in Europe—where it culminated in the Viennese waltzes of Johann Strauss—and North America. Other dances that emerged rivaled it for short periods of time, but did not displace it until late in the nineteenth century.

At the end of the twentieth century in the United States, most forms of social dance were hybrid dance forms descended from European and African musical and dance traditions. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, most of the social dances that Americans participated in were imported from Europe, but since the beginning of the twentieth century American popular forms of social dance have originated in or were primarily influenced by African-American music and dance styles. Even the many forms of Latin dancing that have also been popular—from the tango, to the samba, to salsa—are cross acculturations of African and Hispanic musical traditions.

The emergence of ragtime, in the 1890s, revolutionized social dancing in the United States. Composed by Black musicians as piano music to be played in saloons, bars, brothels, and cafes, ragtime was rarely written down or recorded. The first identifiable style of jazz, ragtime comes from *ragged music*, also known as syncopation, where the musical stress is on an unaccented beat and then held over until the next beat. The most famous ragtime composer in the early twentieth century was Scott Joplin. His pieces, "Maple Leaf Rag" and "The Entertainer" were among the most popular compositions of the day. Ragtime radically changed American dance styles. Before ragtime, there was an emphasis on learning complicated steps and the pleasure in movement. After ragtime, the main impetus of social dancing was the music's rhythm and the impulse that it gave to dancing.

The one-step—called so because one step was taken to each beat of the music with a constant tempo—was the first kind of dancing done to ragtime. The one-step spawned a series of other one-step dances accompanied by different arm and body gestures: the turkey-trot involved flapping one's arms like a turkey, the grizzly bear included lurching like a bear, and so on with the bunny hug, the shiver, and the Boston dip. Vernon and Irene Castle, a world famous, husband and wife team, adapted the one-step as the Castle Walk and popularized it across the country, commanding huge fees for performing ballroom dances in exhibitions, cafes, and theaters. The one-step and the other new dances were much simpler—they undercut the social distinction to be gained by ballroom dancing lessons. Anyone could learn them by observation in an evening of dancing. One English observer noted, that "[A]ll you have to do is grab hold of the nearest lady, grasp her very tightly, push her shoulders down a bit, and then wiggle about as much like a slippery slush as you possibly can." Many new dances also allowed much closer physical contact between the couple, in part because they were somewhat slower than the waltz or the polka.

One offshoot from these early one-steps was the two-step—which is basically a marching step with interpolated skips. Neither the one-step nor the two-step had the major impact of later dance styles on American recreational dancing. The two-step was originally danced

to the popular marches of John Philip Sousa. Ragtime, Dixieland jazz, and later swing, offered rhythmically complex musical frameworks for more sophisticated dance forms. With the revival in popularity of country and western music in the late twentieth century, the two-step survived as country and western dancing primarily as a line dance incorporating open couples.

The next dance to sweep the country was the foxtrot; its invention the most significant development in social dancing until the 1960s. Incorporating some aspects of the one-step and other new dances, the foxtrot was more enjoyable to dance because its combination of quick and slow steps allowed greater variety and flexibility than the monotonous one-step. Most ballroom dances that followed—the *shimmy*, Black Bottom, and Charleston—were variations on the foxtrot.

After ragtime, jazz became the dominant idiom of urban dance music and popular song up until the 1950s. The popularity of the foxtrot and its centrality to ballroom dancing was instrumental to the infusion of jazz into mainstream American popular music. The big dance bands of the 1920s and 1930s were the vehicle for the most popular and exciting dance vogue in the era before rock 'n' roll—*swing* and all the dances that grew out of it such as jitterbug, Lindy Hop, and Jive.

Rock 'n' roll, a new style of music that emerged in the late 1950s, and a synthesis of blues, rhythm, and country music—was a popular form of dance music. Songs like “Shake, Rattle and Roll” and “Rock Around the Clock” typified both this new music as well as a dance style. Couples continued to dance the jitterbug to early rock 'n' roll, but in the early 1960s, Chubby Checker recorded a dance song called “The Twist”—a dance in which partners shook their shoulders, swiveled their hips, but did not touch. As a dance it swept across the United States. And although the enthusiasm for it faded within a year or two, popular social dance was decisively changed. Coordinated couple dancing was a thing of the past. After the twist, social dancing was characterized by standing in one place, small foot movements (somewhat resembling the motion of putting out a cigarette), dance partners hardly touching one another, or dancing alone on a crowded dance floor. Partners usually maintained eye contact, but dance fashions no longer focused on footwork so much as the motion of the arms and upper body.

Less influential than the dance forms that emerged from jazz, rock 'n' roll, soul, and hip hop, although still highly visible at times, were Afro-Latin dances, such as the tango, rumba, samba, mambo, cha-cha, and salsa. The tango was the first to arrive—creating a huge dance craze in 1913 and 1914. The tango traveled back and forth throughout the nineteenth century between Europe and Latin America as well as passing through Japan in the 1940s. In the course of these movements the tango was modified by black and Creole influences being transformed once more in the brothels and cafes of Buenos Aires in the 1930s and 1940s. Popular at the end of the twentieth century, the tango had enjoyed several revivals throughout the century.

Rumba music is popular throughout the Caribbean islands of Jamaica, Haiti, and Cuba. The rumba as a dance migrated to the United States from Cuba—where it was a sex pantomime danced extremely fast with exaggerated hip movements and very aggressively led by the male partner. The music is played with a staccato beat. The samba, a Brazilian dance form first performed by blacks at carnival time and other holidays, is a difficult dance because of its speed and because its steps are taken on a quarter of a beat with a rocking motion. It was introduced to the United States by Fred Astaire

and Dolores Del Rio in the 1933 movie *Flying Down to Rio*, where they danced the ballroom version of the samba, the carioca. The “Brazilian Bombshell,” as movie star Carmen Miranda was known, popularized the samba's rhythms in her movies. Mambo is a voodoo term in Haiti, although as a dance it was created among upper-class Cubans for the ballroom. To some extent it evolved from the rumba, although it is more difficult and danced fairly fast with jitterbug-like acrobatics and jerky staccato rhythm. The difficulties of the mambo led to the creation of the cha-cha, a simpler and easier dance, which resembled a much slower version of the mambo. In the United States the cha-cha has been the most popular Latin dance since the 1950s, although in the 1990s the mambo, tango, and salsa have eclipsed the cha-cha. Salsa, a Puerto Rican dance, has steadily gained in popularity in the last decade of the twentieth century.

In the 1970s new forms emerged that revived close couple dancing as well as a greater stress on footwork and coordination than did the post-Twist dances. The hustle and its close cousin, disco, grew up among the black and Puerto Rican bars and dance clubs in New York City. *Saturday Night Fever* (1977), starring John Travolta, had an immense impact on the popularity of disco dancing. Disco spurred an exhibition-style dancing, emphasizing improvisation and individual expression—the dancer becoming almost a soloist or choreographer. The hustle (and disco) closely resembles the Lindy except that disco music does not have the rhythmic swing of big band music. Instead, the hustle consists of dancing three beats against the music's four beats. One variation of the hustle was the “Good Foot” popularized by soul singer James Brown in his 1969 hit song, “Get on the Good Foot” which he performed in an acrobatic style. The “Good Foot” pointed towards breakdancing.

Hip hop as a musical style emerged in opposition to the increasing commercialization of disco, funk, and soul. It came out of New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago. This new style was created by DJs (disk jockeys) in dance clubs who blended, scratched, and inter-cut music from different tracks thus creating a new musical form. Break dancing or breaking emerged as dance form in response to a number of new developments. The DJs melding of percussion breaks from two identical records and playing the breaks over and over again generated opportunities for dancers to perform their gymnastic dance routines. Some break dancing routines were derived from the miming of robot-like actions, inspired by the character of Robot on the popular 1970s TV program, *Soul Train*. It also resulted from the incorporation of moves from martial arts—especially Kung Fu and Capoeira, the Brazilian dance-like martial art. In some cases, this also transformed violent conflict between gangs into dance competitions. Break dancing requires great skill and acrobatic abilities and was popularized by the 1983 movie, *Flashdance*. Hip hop musical culture continued to generate variations on break dancing such as popping, uprock, house, and bebop (a swing-like revival) that continued to influence social dancing at the end of the twentieth century.

—Jeffrey Escoffier

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## Soda Fountains

The classic American soda fountain was defined as much by its atmosphere as by what it served. Light, cool, and airy places furnished with marble-topped counters and tables, shining mirrors, and sparkling glass and chrome serving dishes, soda fountains began springing up in the early nineteenth century, and kept essentially the same formula until the 1950s. The bill of fare was simple: carbonated beverages and, later, ice cream and combinations thereof. In the heyday of the soda fountain (roughly 1890-1940) one could order a tempting variety of dishes, from an ice-cream soda (soda water and ice cream) to an ice-cream sundae (ice cream topped with nuts and a chocolate or fruit sauce) to a plain soda (carbonated water with fruit syrup mixed in).

For millennia, people have partaken of bubbly mineral water that came from natural springs, which was thought to have therapeutic qualities. After chemists figured out how to make artificially carbonated water, apothecaries and later drug stores featured it as one of their

many curatives. In 1770 a Swede named Bergman produced the first artificially carbonated water, and by 1806 Professor Benjamin Silliman of Yale was manufacturing bottled water in Hartford, Connecticut. Early in the nineteenth century druggists began carbonating water in their basements, installing a readily accessible spigot on the first floor to serve customers. Before long the local literati were gathering at the drug store, making it a common meeting place and establishing the soda as a social beverage.

In 1832, John Matthews of New York City invented the first compact soda-water machine and dispenser unit, which popularized the drink and gave tavern owners their first stiff competition. Six years later, Eugene Roussel, a Philadelphia perfume maker, combined fruit syrups with this carbonated water, making the first flavored sodas, including orange, cherry, lemon, teaberry, ginger, peach, and root beer.

The ice-cream soda was not invented until about 1874, at the Franklin Institute Exposition in Philadelphia, when Robert M. Green, a soft drinks vendor, ran out of cream and substituted ice cream in his drinks. This new libation quickly became a national institution. By 1876, helped along by the Centennial Exposition's 30-foot-high fountain, soda fountains replaced ice-cream saloons as the fashionable place for the elite to patronize and see the wonders of technology at work. By 1900 common brand names sold at soda fountains



A soda jerk displaying his skills.

included Hires Rootbeer, Moxie, Dr. Pepper's, and Coca-Cola, the "great national temperance drink."

Prohibition greatly increased the popularity of the soda fountain. By the 1920s the improvement of refrigeration allowed these places to serve meals as well, and soda fountains were incorporated into department stores, luncheonettes, grocery stores, tobacco shops, and five-and-dime stores. While they were popular with all Americans, teenagers frequented soda fountains the most. Soda jerks, named for the way they jerked the handles used to extract fruit syrups from the pumps, worked behind the counter making the sometimes complicated concoctions for the patrons—anything from a Brown Cow to a Bonnie Belle Cream to a Catawba Frappe. Usually good-looking men, soda jerks were a popular attraction to their customers, and even had their own lingo. For example, "shoot (or hang) an honest" meant a cherry coke, "one sweet" or "pull one" referred to milk, "Adam and Eve on a raft" translated as two eggs on toast, a "ninety-five" described someone trying to get away without paying, and "thirteen!" warned that the boss was around.

Such a familiar icon in popular culture, the soda fountain appeared in plays and movies: people drank strawberry sodas at the fountain in *Our Town*, it appears as the place of courtship in the 1919 movie *True Heart Susie*, and Mickey Rooney and Judy Garland flirted over sodas in the 1938 film *Love Finds Andy Hardy*. The legendary soda fountain at Schwab's drugstore in Hollywood was supposedly the place where young hopefuls went to get noticed by the film industry; legend has it that Lana Turner was "discovered" there in 1937.

The "golden days" of the soda fountain were from the end of the nineteenth century to the early 1940s. During the World War II years, soda jerks got drafted, sugar was rationed, manufacturers of soda equipment had to retool for the war effort, and fountain operators saw larger profits in goods like cosmetics and nylon stockings. After the war there was a brief resurgence in soda fountains, but the business was never again as popular as it had been earlier in the century. Americans turned to ready-made food, and began motoring to the new fast-food restaurants sprouting up along the nation's highways, spelling the demise of the time-consuming ice-cream soda and its attendant institution, the soda fountain.

—Wendy Woloson

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## Soldier Field

Dedicated as a memorial to World War I soldiers, the colonnaded stadium known as Soldier Field has served as a cultural mecca for

Chicago residents, hosting professional sports, presidential visits, religious events, and concerts. The architectural firm of Holabird & Roche was awarded the commission for the stadium in 1919. Construction on the \$6,000,000 stadium (which was originally known as Grant Park Stadium) began in 1922 and was dedicated in November 1925. Though a centerpiece of Chicago's waterfront, the stadium fell victim to disuse and poor maintenance. Talks were initiated in the 1950s to bring a professional baseball team to the stadium, but it was not until 1971 that the stadium found a permanent resident in the National Football League's Chicago Bears. Plans for demolishing, revamping, or possibly doming the stadium continued until 1983, when the structure was placed on the National Register of Historic Places. The building—with its classic columns and pre-cast concrete resembling slabs of stone—remains a magnificent sight along the shore of Lake Michigan and an anomaly among professional football stadiums.

—Michael A. Lutes

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## Some Like It Hot

*Some Like It Hot*, a critically acclaimed farcical romp produced by United Artists and directed by Billy Wilder, premiered at Loew's Capitol Theatre on Broadway in 1959. Set in Chicago in the 1920s, the film stars Tony Curtis and Jack Lemmon as hapless musicians who are pursued by gangsters when they witness the Saint Valentine's Day Massacre. Joe and Jerry decide to disguise themselves as "Josephine" and "Geraldine," and join a female band headed for Florida. (Actually, Jerry takes to his new role quickly, spontaneously introducing himself as "Daphne.") On the southbound train, the pair befriend Sugar Kane, played by Marilyn Monroe, and begin competing for her affections. It turns out that Sugar is on the run as well, fleeing the string of saxophone players who have loved her and left her. In Florida, Joe woos Sugar by masquerading as a millionaire, and "Daphne" is courted by Osgood, who is indeed a millionaire.

Wilder was by this time an established auteur. Reviews of *Some Like It Hot* compare his sophisticated comedy to that of Ernst Lubitsch and refer to "the Wilder touch." Wilder enjoyed a great deal of control over the production of the film. For example, although few films were shot in black and white by the end of the 1950s—especially since Hollywood was competing with television for viewers—Wilder felt that Lemmon and Curtis would look too garish in color and got his way.

*Some Like It Hot* marked Monroe's emergence from semi-retirement. She had made 21 films between 1950 and 1956, only one in 1957, and none in 1958. She was married to Arthur Miller and pregnant with his child during filming, but suffered a miscarriage shortly after. She had long since earned the reputation of being extremely difficult to work with: showing up late, drinking on the set, stumbling over lines, and consulting with her drama coach constantly. Wilder is the only director ever to work with her more than once, and he was extremely critical of her unprofessionalism afterward. According to Carl Rollyson in his *Marilyn Monroe: A Life of the Actress*, "He had been cautious with the press during filming, but shortly



Tony Curtis (left) and Jack Lemmon in a scene from the film *Some Like It Hot*.

afterwards he allowed his disgust with her to show. She had seldom worked a full day on the set, and because of her the production had gone several weeks past its scheduled end and had exceeded its budget by about half a million dollars. He took his revenge in a series of sarcastic statements"; for example, suggesting that the Screen Directors Guild should give him a Purple Heart for casting her in two of his films, and he was too old and too rich to ever go through such an ordeal again. Curtis also spoke of her contemptuously, describing their love scene as "like kissing Hitler." In the final film, however, the ensemble acting of the cast was considered superb.

According to Bernard F. Dick, "It would not be hyperbole to call *Some Like It Hot* a comic masterpiece. It has the classic comic plot of disguise, deception, and intrigue where a single complication generates a series of subplots the way a single pebble creates concentric ripples in a pool. *Some Like It Hot* also possesses a quality found in the best comedies—a sense of humanity and an attitude of compassion for the lunatics and lovers who play the fool for our sake."

—Jeanne Hall

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## Sondheim, Stephen (1930—)

Stephen Sondheim is one of the most important creative personalities in the American musical theater of the late twentieth century. Like George M. Cohan and Cole Porter before him, Sondheim is one of those rare songsters who creates both words and music. Sondheim and his shows have almost a cult following because of their sophistication of topic, music, and approach. Sondheim is a composer who creates something unique and different for each show, yet each work bears his unmistakable imprint. His most popular number, "Send in the Clowns," has been recorded by numerous singers worldwide.

Sondheim was born on March 22, 1930, into an affluent New York family and began his musical studies at very young age. He grew up as a neighbor of Oscar Hammerstein II, who took the young Stephen under his wing. He graduated from Williams College with a music degree and continued his composition studies with Milton Babbitt, a pioneer in computer-generated music. He began his career as a composer of musicals in the 1950s with *Saturday Night* (1955), a show which was not staged until 1997. He also wrote incidental music for the play *Girls of Summer* (1956).

Sondheim's first commercial success was as librettist for *West Side Story* (1957). With music by Leonard Bernstein, Sondheim penned the words to such immortal songs as "Maria," "Tonight," "America," "One Hand, One Heart," "I Feel Pretty," and "Somewhere."

Sondheim's next major project was *Gypsy* (1959). He was to write both words and music before the star of the show, Ethel Merman, demanded a more experienced composer. Jule Styne wrote the music, and Sondheim once again created the lyrics for his second hit show of the late 1950s. Songs in *Gypsy* included "Let Me Entertain You," "Everything's Coming Up Roses," "Wherever We Go," and "Rose's Turn."

The first show to appear on Broadway for which Sondheim penned both words and music was *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* (1962). Based on the plays of Plautus, the fast-moving musical farce included such songs as "Comedy Tonight," and "Everybody Ought to Have a Maid." The plot concerned Pseudolus, a slave who must go through a series of hilarious adventures in order to gain his freedom. Zero Mostel received rave reviews for his performance as Pseudolus in the original production. The show won Tony Awards for Best Musical and Best Producer (Harold Prince). It was revived on Broadway in 1972 with Phil Silvers and again in 1996 with Nathan Lane. A number of original songs were dropped for the 1966 film version with Zero Mostel and Phil Silvers.

Two works followed in the succeeding years: *Anyone Can Whistle* (1964) and *Do I Hear a Waltz?* (1965). *Anyone Can Whistle*, a musical about corrupt city officials, played only one week on Broadway. Its cast album, made after the show closed, gained cult status. Sondheim returned to his single role as lyricist for *Do I Hear a Waltz?* (1965), a show for which Richard Rodgers wrote the music. The plot



Stephen Sondheim (standing) with Richard Rodgers.

centered around the experiences of an American tourist in Venice and, like its immediate predecessor, was a commercial failure.

Sondheim's work during the 1970s began with two concept musicals, *Company* (1970) and *Follies* (1971). A dramatic plot in the traditional narrative sense does not exist in either of these works. Rather, each show revolves around a central theme or concept. *Company* concerned five New York couples and their mutual bachelor friend, while *Follies* centered around four people in their early fifties who attend a reunion and reflect on earlier times. *Company* included the numbers "Being Alive," "You Could Drive a Person Crazy," "Another Hundred People," and "Barcelona." The show won the New York Drama Critics' Circle Award for Best Music and six Tony Awards, including Best Musical, Best Score, and Best Lyrics. *Follies*, with a fifty-member cast and a twenty-two number score, included "Who's That Woman?" "I'm Still Here," and a myriad of pastiche songs in the styles of earlier Broadway composers. Although *Follies* won the Drama Critics' Circle Award for Best Musical and seven Tony Awards, it closed after 522 performances with a loss of its \$800,000 investment. A revival of *Follies* appeared in 1987.

*A Little Night Music* (1973) was based on the 1955 Ingmar Bergman film *Sommarnattens Leende* (*Smiles of a Summer Night*). Set in Sweden at the turn of the century, the book by Hugh Wheeler dealt with the complicated romantic world of the aging actress Desiree Arnfeldt, her former lover—the lawyer Fredrik Egerman, his child-bride Anne, and their circle of acquaintances. Glynis Jones and Len Cariou starred in the original Broadway production, while Elizabeth Taylor and Cariou appeared in the 1978 film. *A Little Night*

*Music* is entirely in 3/4 time (or multiples thereof), the meter of a waltz, a musical symbol of nostalgia. The show contained a number of memorable songs, including "A Weekend in the Country," "Night Waltz," and "Remember." But the show's most unforgettable number was "Send in the Clowns," Desiree's nostalgic soliloquy.

*The Frogs* (1974) was one of Sondheim's most curious experiments. Created as incidental music for a Yale Repertory Theatre production of Burt Shevelove's English adaptation of the Greek play of the same name, Sondheim's score received its first performance in the Yale University swimming pool. The score avoided traditional musical theater idioms and contained fiendishly difficult choral writing. Without the experience of writing *The Frogs*, the innovation which Sondheim demonstrated in *Pacific Overtures* may not have been possible.

*Pacific Overtures* (1976) is one of the most unique shows in the repertory of the American musical theater. The saga of 120 years of Japanese history, from the arrival of Commodore Perry in 1856 to the late twentieth century, is told in the style of traditional Japanese Kabuki theater. The all-male, all-Asian cast performed numbers such as "Chrysanthemum Tea," "Please Hello," and "The Advantages of Floating in the Middle of the Sea." Despite its striking originality (or perhaps because of it), *Pacific Overtures* closed after 193 performances, losing all of its half million dollar budget.

Always wanting to expand the boundaries of the musical theater, Sondheim chose the macabre tale of a murderous barber as the basis for *Sweeney Todd, The Demon Barber of Fleet Street* (1979). The title character, swearing revenge on a judge for the demise of his family and murdering everyone who sits in his barber chair, enters into a business partnership with Mrs. Lovett, owner of a pie shop who has difficulties finding meat for her pies. The pair find a practical, but macabre, solution to both of their problems. The score contains a very high percentage of music—so many, in fact, that the work has sometimes been called an opera. Among the most memorable numbers are "Not While I'm Around," "Epiphany," "A Little Priest," "God, That's Good," "Pretty Women," and "Johanna." The show, described as "one giant step forward for vegetarianism," garnered eight Tony Awards, including Best Musical, Score, and Book. Angela Lansbury and Len Cariou starred in the original Broadway production.

*Merrily We Roll Along* (1981) was a pastiche score which, like *Follies*, emulated earlier musical comedies. The show ran for only 16 performances on Broadway. Like *Anyone Can Whistle*, *Merrily We Roll Along* lived beyond its Broadway run through the success of its cast album.

*Sunday in the Park with George* (1984) revealed yet another approach to Sondheim's efforts to expand the musical theater. Based on characters in Georges Seurat's painting *Sunday Afternoon on the Island of La Grande Jatte*, the book by James Lapine dealt with issues of creativity and the power of art. Mandy Patinkin and Bernadette Peters starred in the original production. The show ran for over a year and a half and won the 1985 Pulitzer Prize for Drama. Among the numbers in its intriguingly intricate score were "Finishing the Hat" and "Move On."

Sondheim, again in collaboration with Lapine, ventured into the world of fairy tales for his next show, *Into the Woods* (1987). The stories of Cinderella, Jack and the Beanstalk, Little Red Riding Hood, Snow White, and Rapunzel were fused around a central tale about a baker and his wife who live under the curse of a witch. In order to break the curse, the baker and his wife must secure an item from each of the other fables. All ends well at the end of the first act. In the second act, the widow of the giant in Jack and the Beanstalk demands

revenge, and the characters must join together in order to defeat her. Songs such as "Into the Woods," "Agony," and "Giants in the Sky" appeared in the score, as did the instructive ballads "No One Is Alone" and "Children Will Listen." Bernadette Peters, Joanna Gleason, and Chip Zien starred in the original Broadway production.

With *Assassins* (1991), Sondheim returned to the darker side of the human experience. All of the major characters are people who tried, either successfully or unsuccessfully, to assassinate American presidents. From the opening chorus, "Everybody's Got the Right to Be Happy," to the final scene at the Texas Book Depository, these "anti-heroes" of American society each present the motives behind their actions.

*Passion* (1994), based on the French film *Passione d'Amore*, concerned the love triangle between a military officer, his beautiful young lover, and an invalid who captures his soul. The story is presented in a rhapsodic manner with a seamless blend of music and dialogue. Songs included "Happiness," "I Wish I Could Forget You," and "No One Has Ever Loved Me."

In addition to original shows, several stage compilations of Sondheim songs have appeared in London and New York: *Side by Side by Sondheim* (1976), *A Stephen Sondheim Evening* (also known as *You're Gonna Love Tomorrow*, 1983), and *Putting It Together* (1992).

Sondheim has also written for the motion pictures. Among his film credits are *The Seven Per-Cent Solution* (1976), *Reds* (1981), and *Dick Tracy* (1990). The song "Sooner or Later" from *Dick Tracy*, performed by Madonna in the film, earned Sondheim an Oscar for Best Original Song. Sondheim's only television musical, *Evening Primrose* (1966), was featured on ABC's "Stage 67" series and starred Anthony Perkins.

Stephen Sondheim is one of the most original creators for the musical theater at the end of the twentieth century. Each of his shows is unique. Sondheim has expanded the boundaries of the musical theater not only through his choice of subject matter (in which he often challenges the audience to extremes) but also in his handling of musical form and structure. Songs are intrinsically joined together in his shows, and are likewise bound to particular characters. Through live performances, video releases, and recordings, Sondheim's music enjoys world-wide dissemination. For Sondheim's avid fans, his work represents a level of accomplishment and innovation which is difficult to match.

—William A. Everett

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## Sonny and Cher

When struggling songwriter and publicist Salvatore Bono met 16-year-old runaway Cher Sarkisian in a Los Angeles Club in 1962, he saw the possibility that he could make her into a performer. What neither of them could have seen was how phenomenal the musical act "Sonny and Cher" would become over the next decade. Sonny and Cher materialized on the pop scene in 1965. Their second radio hit, "I Got You Babe," sold 3 million copies and became their signature song, while their first album, *All I Really Want to Do* (1965), shot to second place on the charts. To a generation of teenagers looking for a more serious message than that found in the pop of the early 1960s, Sonny and Cher represented an exciting new rebellious style. Often pictured with sullen expressions, both had long dark hair and wore clothes that were outlandish even by hippie standards: wide bell-bottomed jeans with fur vests and boots and large peace medallions. The words to their songs were often filled with the resentful pain of



Sonny and Cher

the outsider, and their voices complimented the words perfectly: Cher's, deep and soulful, and Sonny's, nasal and sneering. Adding to the mystique was their relationship; they might be alienated from society, but they had each other, a very appealing concept to their young audience. Though their career as rebel icons lasted only a few years, they were a pivotal part of an important transition in white rock music from 1950s pop to the folk rock of the late 1960s.

Salvatore Bono was born in 1935 in Detroit to working-class Italian immigrant parents. His family eventually moved to Los Angeles where, after dropping out of high school in 1952, "Sonny" drove a delivery van for a butcher shop. Though he had no formal musical training and admitted "I only knew five chords," Bono wanted to become a songwriter. Between meat deliveries, he tried to sell his songs at the music stores on Sunset Boulevard. By 1962, when he met Cher, he was working as a songwriter and publicist.

Cher Sarkisian grew up in Los Angeles. Her Armenian father deserted the family, and though Cher renewed contact with him for short periods during her childhood, she was raised by her mother, whose background was Irish, English, German, and Cherokee. Her mother, Georgia Holt, was an aspiring actress with a transient lifestyle and a long line of boyfriends and ex-husbands, giving Cher's childhood an unstable quality. As the only dark child in a family of blondes, Cher later said she keenly felt the lack of ethnic role models. By age sixteen, she left home for good.

When Bono met Cher, he thought she was a lesbian, since many of her friends were gay. They became friends, but even after they became lovers, neither was compelled by any physical relationship. Eleven years older, and with clear ambitions, Sonny took the role of mentor and promoter in the relationship. Cher was the talent. Sonny wrote songs for Cher and intended that she should sing them alone. When she pleaded shyness, he agreed to sing with her, and Sonny and Cher was created. The immediate success of their first album and several top-ten hits overwhelmed the couple. Luxuriating in their new-found fame, they bought a mansion and treated themselves to nose jobs. However, their second album was a failure, and they began the struggle to stay on top. Though they played themselves in the Beatles-like film entitled *Good Times* (1967), the public had turned away. The new psychedelic music was in vogue, and Sonny and Cher did not fit in.

Sonny's next direction was moviemaking. He wrote the screenplay for *Chastity* (1969), a coming-of-age film about Cher's life. When *Chastity* lost money at the box office, the couple was desperate, since he had invested all their money in making the film. Ever resourceful, Sonny developed a nightclub act for the duo, and they were booked at the Flamingo Hilton in Las Vegas, opening for Pat Boone. The act revolved around Cher's singing and some comedy dialogue, mostly involving put-downs of the gawky Sonny by his glamorous wife. (They had finally been legally married in 1969, shortly after the birth of their daughter, Chastity.) Though the put-down humor was Sonny's idea, and he wrote the jokes, the various strains with his relationship with Cher were beginning to become obvious.

When success finally arrived in the form of a variety show on network television, their relationship was essentially over. From the fall of 1972 until the spring of 1974, Sonny and Cher hosted a weekly show—*The Sonny and Cher Comedy Hour*—that was essentially a recreation of their Vegas act, complete with supposedly good-natured marital carping. The show was widely liked, but by quite a different audience than the one that had loved them in the 1960s. An older, more settled generation watched the show, which was built around

Sonny and Cher as a family. In an era when the Vietnam War and economic problems made society feel insecure, it was reassuring to see that the hippie couple was still together. Though their marriage was famous, it was more a creation of public relations than a reality. They still lived together, but each had a lover living in the household as well. Cher finally divorced Sonny in 1975, citing "involuntary servitude" as the grounds. Though Sonny claimed to be stunned by the charges—he wrote in his diary, "I though I was teaching; she thought I was intimidating"—Cher insisted that he had been controlling and stifling. "I left Sonny for another woman," she has said, "Myself." Their relationship was to remain discordant for years.

Sonny and Cher, who chose to use their one-word names after the divorce, each went on to extraordinary careers separately. Immediately after the cancellation of their television show and the divorce, Cher's career seemed to soar. While continuing to sing, she also starred in several movies, receiving kudos for acting in *Silkwood* (1983) and an Academy award for best actress for *Moonstruck* (1987). Frequently showing up on "worst dressed" lists because of her continued penchant for outrageous and revealing clothes, Cher was a constant figure in the tabloids, which loved to follow her romantic exploits and marriages, often with younger men. With the help of personal trainers, plastic surgery, and cosmetics, she has made her beauty itself a career, creating fitness books and videos and selling a cosmetics line. She was ridiculed by critics when she made a series of infomercials for beauty products, but, always resilient, has continued to make music and movies.

In the meantime, Sonny was reduced to infrequent guest appearances on shows like *Love Boat*, which made a specialty of showcasing forgotten stars. He finally gave up entertainment and opened a restaurant, first in Los Angeles, then in Palm Springs, where he remarried. When he became frustrated with the red tape involved in moving the sign for his restaurant, Sonny decided to run for mayor of Palm Springs, even though he had registered to vote for the first time only in 1987. While some voters thought his candidacy a joke, enough of them agreed with his "less government" message to put him in office in 1988. Discovering a taste for politics, he ran for the U.S. Senate in 1992, suffering a humiliating defeat. Two years later, he made a bid for the U.S. House of Representatives, and won. Many still thought him a joke and called him "Sonny Bonehead" behind his back, but Bono managed to command respect in his new career. Having left his rebellious hippie roots far behind him, Sonny reinvented himself as an uncomplicated conservative with an outsider's fresh viewpoint and a self-deprecating humor that appealed to many constituents. By the time he died, in January, 1998, in a skiing accident, he was a far cry from the sullen hippie in the Eskimo boots and bobcat vest who peered out from under shaggy bangs on his album covers. His colleagues, his ex-wife Cher, and the public who had watched him change along with their own changes, came to eulogize him.

Sonny and Cher's daughter Chastity Bono has made news on her own account. At the age of thirteen, watching a movie kiss between two women, Chastity realized that she was a lesbian. She intended to keep her sexuality a secret, but media scrutiny of her famous parents made it impossible. The tabloids "outed" her in their headlines, and in 1987, Chastity told her parents she was a lesbian and began to work actively on gay-rights issues. Initially horrified, Cher threw her daughter out of their apartment, but they soon reconciled. Her relationship with her father was more problematic. Sonny's conservative politics did not mix well with Chastity's lesbian activism, and at the time of his death they remained estranged.



In retrospect, Sonny and Cher burst on the American scene in an impressionable era. Because they so seemed to capture the spirit of youth—angry, vulnerable, intensely loyal to each other—the young fans who admired them could not forget them. Their resilience continued to give hope to their aging audience, likewise battered by life. Though their musical contributions may not have been exactly classic, they have been enduring, and their signature song, “I Got You Babe,” contains a hope for connection that spans generations.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Sosa, Sammy (1968—)

Born in the Dominican Republic, Chicago Cubs outfielder Sammy Sosa became a baseball sensation almost overnight in 1998, when he was named the National League’s Most Valuable Player after battling St. Louis Cardinals hitter Mark McGwire neck-and-neck for baseball’s home-run championship. In that year, Roger Maris’s 37-year-old record was broken twice, by McGwire who hit 70 homers, and by Sosa, with 66. In June, Sosa had hit 20 home runs, the most ever by one player in a single month. Sosa’s 158 runs batted in (RBIs) in 1998 ranked him fourth in National League history. His impressive statistics helped the Cubs to make the post-season playoffs for only the third time since 1945. Despite being constantly followed by the media during his home-run chase with McGwire, Sosa maintained his good charm and easy-going manner and helped contribute to a renewal of America’s faith in its national pastime, beset by strikes and player scandals in recent years.

—Matt Kerr

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## Soul Music

Soul music emerged in the late 1950s and early 1960s as one of the most distinctive forms in the history of American popular music. For black Americans especially, soul music defined the 1960s, offering a cultural soundtrack to the civil rights movement and the larger awakening of black consciousness and pride. Soul hits dominated the charts during that decade, but defining exactly what soul was proved no easy task, even for some of its greatest artists. Wilson



Soul singer Sam Cooke.

Pickett defined soul as “nothin’ but a feelin’.” Don Covay said, “For a singer, soul is total vocal freedom.” Aretha Franklin explained, “Soul to me is a feeling, a lot of depth and being able to bring to the surface that which is happening inside. . . . It’s just the emotion, the way it affects other people.” Elements of the genre live on, but the classic period of soul music, from about 1960 to 1975, remains one of the most important contributions to American popular culture for its style, its raw, emotive power, and its depth of feeling. Alongside jazz, it is one of America’s most original contributions to world culture.

If defining soul music proved elusive, its origins were not. Soul music emerged during the 1950s as a cross between rhythm and blues and gospel music. Soul music combined the Saturday-night sinner and the Sunday-morning repentant into one person or one song, just as they existed in real life. In combining the R&B themes with gospel elements (call-and-response singing, close harmonies, and themes of celebration, loss, and longing), early soul artists often secularized gospel tunes by changing key words: the gospel song “Talkin’ Bout Jesus” became “Talkin’ Bout You”; “This Little Light of Mine” became “This Little Girl of Mine”; “I’ve Got a Savior” became “I Got a Woman.” This transition reflected changes occurring in the black community after World War II as more and more black Americans moved from the rural South to the urban North. Early arrivals in the North had created R&B music in the mid-1940s as an expression of the new realities of life in these urban neighborhoods. Later, as more Southern blacks poured into these communities, they brought with them elements of Southern gospel music. Both musical forms coexisted as separate expressions of black life. They soon crossed, however, producing what became soul music.

The acknowledged father of this cross was Ray Charles. All of the secularized gospel songs mentioned above were hits for Charles in the mid-1950s. Born in 1930 in Albany, Georgia, Charles moved to Seattle as a teenager and emerged in the late 1940s as a Nat “King” Cole-style crooner playing local clubs such as the Rocking Chair and the Black and Tan. There he caught the attention of Swingtime

Records, one of the early black-owned R&B recording companies, and he released a number of blues and Cole-inspired tunes, among them “Kissa Me Baby” and “Confession Blues.” Moving to Atlantic Records in 1952, Charles began developing an earthier style that he picked up working with blues musicians Guitar Slim and Lowell Fulson. At Atlantic, he began to combine blues elements with gospel stylings he had picked up as a child in Georgia. That style became the basis for soul music and provided Charles with a string of hits during the 1950s, including “Lonely Avenue,” “I Got a Woman,” “Hallelujah I Love Her So,” and perhaps his biggest hit, “What’d I Say,” which combined a gospel call-and-response segment between Charles and his backup singers, the Raelettes, moans that could easily have come from either the bedroom or the pulpit, and a driving R&B band.

Following close on Charles’s heels was Sam Cooke, who had come to prominence as the lead singer of the gospel group the Soul Stirrers before developing a more pop-oriented soul style which brought him such hits as “You Send Me,” “Twistin’ the Night Away,” and “Bring It on Home to Me.” Jackie Wilson similarly had started out in a vocal group, the Dominoes, before forging a driving pop-soul style with such songs as “Reet Petite,” “Lonely Teardrops,” and “Baby Workout.” While Charles’s music maintained a close connection with the raw elements of R&B music, Wilson and Cooke moved the R&B and gospel marriage closer to the realm of pop.

It took three record companies to bring soul into the mainstream. They were Atlantic Records in New York City, Motown Records in Detroit, and Stax/Volt Records in Memphis. While numerous smaller labels made invaluable contributions to soul music, these three labels were responsible for some of the most explosive soul music of the 1950s and 1960s. Most of the major talents in soul music, with some very notable exceptions, were on these three record labels. And, while there were major individual talents on each label roster, each company managed to build a unique sound that identified each artist with his or her particular label.

Herb Abramson and Ahmet Ertegun formed Atlantic Records in 1947. Their initial releases were in the jazz vein, but they moved into R&B in 1949 and became one of the dominant independent record labels in that field in the 1950s due to their successes with such R&B artists as Ruth Brown, Ray Charles, Joe Turner, LaVern Baker, the Clovers, and others. With the success of Charles’s records in the emerging soul style, Atlantic moved even further into soul music. In the early to mid-1960s, Atlantic had soul hits with The Drifters’ “Up on the Roof,” “This Magic Moment,” and “Save the Last Dance for Me”; Ben E. King’s “Stand by Me” and “Spanish Harlem”; Percy Sledge’s “When a Man Loves a Woman”; Wilson Pickett’s “Land of 1000 Dances,” “Mustang Sally,” and “Funky Broadway”; Don Covay’s “Seesaw”; and Solomon Burke’s “Just out of Reach.” Atlantic’s major sound innovation was to bring soul “uptown” with a more polished, professional sound accomplished by adding string arrangements and by using professional Brill Building songwriters.

Atlantic’s biggest success, however, came in 1967 with the discovery of singer Aretha Franklin. Franklin was the perfect embodiment of soul music, combining a strong background in church music (her father, the Reverend C. L. Franklin, was the well-known minister of the New Bethel Baptist Church in Detroit) with the depth of feeling and style required to take her gospel training to the secular music world. She had first signed with Columbia Records in the early 1960s, where she attempted to become a pop/soul singer in the Sam Cooke style. Her records in this vein fared poorly, and when her contract with Columbia expired in 1967, producer Jerry Wexler signed her to

Atlantic. There, Wexler took Franklin to Rick Hall’s Fame Studios in Muscle Shoals, Alabama, where he had had success remolding Wilson Pickett’s sound. Hall’s Muscle Shoals, with its combination of black and white Southern musicians, was developing a reputation as a hotbed of soul music, a place where the all-important *feeling* necessary in soul music seemed to come out more readily. There, Franklin remade her sound, letting her gospel roots come out. She debuted on Atlantic in 1967 with the album *I Never Loved a Man the Way I Love You*, which went to number two on the album charts that year. Both the title song and Franklin’s cover of Otis Redding’s “Respect” went to number one on the R&B charts that year. The album also contained “Do Right Woman—Do Right Man,” “Baby, Baby, Baby,” and “Save Me,” all of which have become soul classics. Franklin released two more records in the space of a year, unleashing such hits as “Baby I Love You,” “Chain of Fools,” and the smash “(You Make Me Feel Like) A Natural Woman,” a top ten hit on both the pop and R&B charts. These releases earned Franklin the undisputed title of “The Queen of Soul” and cemented Atlantic as the home of some of the most powerful soul music ever produced.

Songwriter, producer, and one-time record shop owner Berry Gordy, Jr. founded Motown Records in 1960 in a simple white bungalow at 2648 West Grand Boulevard in Detroit, Michigan. Gordy had successfully written and produced songs for Jackie Wilson (“Lonely Teardrops”) and Barrett Strong (“Money”) during the late 1950s that drew upon Ray Charles’s innovations in fusing R&B and gospel styles. In 1960, Gordy moved from independent producing (where he would lease songs to other labels) and began his own label, Tamla, which later became part of Motown. In Motown, Gordy put together a songwriting/producing/recording formula that would sell more singles by the end of the 1960s than any other company. He did this with what resembled assembly line production, and Gordy referred to his role as “quality control.” First, he assembled a team of crack songwriters and producers, including Smokey Robinson and the team of Brian Holland, Lamont Dozier, and Eddie Holland, who wrote one hit after another for Gordy. Next, he put together a house band that included Benny Benjamin on drums, Joe Messina on guitar, James Jamerson on bass, Earl Van Dyke on keyboards, and other regulars. Together, the songwriting, production teams, and house band established a signature style that was unmistakable. Then, drawing from the rich local talent of Detroit, Gordy assembled or signed vocal groups or individual singers to record the songs.

Part of Gordy’s gift lay in transforming raw street talent into a polished musical product, which he did using this assembly line process and his eye for promising young talent, calling Motown the “Sound of Young America.” Motown’s roster of stars included the Supremes (“Baby Love,” “You Can’t Hurry Love,” “Love Child”), Marvin Gaye (“I Heard It through the Grapevine,” “Pride and Joy”), the Four Tops (“Standing in the Shadows of Love,” “Bernadette,” “Reach out I’ll Be There”), the Temptations (“My Girl,” “Ain’t Too Proud to Beg”), Mary Wells (“My Guy”), Martha and the Vandellas, Smokey Robinson and the Miracles (“I Second That Emotion,” “The Tracks of My Tears”), the Marvelettes, Jr. Walker and the All-Stars, Stevie Wonder (“Uptight,” “Signed, Sealed, Delivered, I’m Yours,” “For Once in My Life”), and Gladys Knight and the Pips, among many others. Motown’s nationwide success with this formula lay in the ability of its music to resonate in both the black and white communities, and many of the above hits topped both the R&B and Pop charts throughout the 1960s. From the very beginning, for commercial reasons or otherwise, Gordy followed

an integrationist approach, and his success pushed the soul music created at Motown closer and closer to the larger pop realm.

Although Gordy's formula was responsible for most of Motown's success, in the later 1960s and early 1970s, a few of his early artists began to break out of the Motown formula, maturing musically to create very personal, signature styles all their own. The two most prominent and unique were Marvin Gaye and Stevie Wonder. Gaye broke out of the Motown mold in a decisive way with the topical album *What's Going On* in 1971: both its title track and "What's Happening Brother" addressed the war in Vietnam, "Mercy Mercy Me" the environment, and "Inner City Blues" the urban crisis in America's ghetto communities. Wonder became a musical force unto himself with a string of important albums in the early 1970s on which he wrote and sang all of the songs and played most of the instruments. Included in albums such as *Innervisions*, *Talking Book*, *Fulfillingness First Finale*, *Music of My Mind*, and his double-album opus *Songs in the Key of Life*, Wonder scored huge hits with such songs as "You Are the Sunshine of My Life," "Isn't She Lovely," "I Wish," and "Superstition." His songs also often took a topical turn, with such songs as "Living for the City" and "Village Ghetto Land" on urban problems, and "Too High" on drug addiction. "Higher Ground" was an exhortation for black self-empowerment, and "You Haven't Done Nothin'" a larger critique of the white power structure. The classic Motown era ended after 1971 when Gordy moved the company to Los Angeles and gave up direct hands-on control over studio production. With those changes, the trademark sound disintegrated.

If Atlantic and Motown defined soul in the urban North, Memphis's Stax/Volt Records, during its classic period from 1960-1968, virtually defined Southern soul, a sound at once relaxed and easy yet filled with musical tension that left listeners begging for more, which became as easily recognizable as the Motown sound. Jim Stewart and his sister Estelle Axton founded Satellite Records in 1959, changing the name to Stax by 1961 (Volt Records was a later subsidiary), and began to record local black musicians, eventually establishing a studio in an old Memphis movie theater at 926 E. McLemore Avenue. Among their first recording artists were local DJ Rufus Thomas and his daughter Carla. Carla Thomas scored an early hit in 1960 with "Gee Whiz," which reached the top ten on both the R&B and Pop charts. Stax's next hit was "Last Night," an instrumental number by the Mar-Keys that featured a unique combination of organ, guitar, and horns that would become the hallmark of Stax/Volt's sound. Although not quite as tightly run as Motown, Stax/Volt did employ some of the same techniques. The instrumental band Booker T. and the MGs became in essence Stax's house band in addition to scoring numerous hits on its own such as "Green Onions" and "Time Is Tight." Stax also benefited from a core group of songwriters and producers, most prominent among them David Porter and Isaac Hayes, who wrote many of Stax's great hits, including "Hold On! I'm Comin'" and "Soul Man" by Sam and Dave and "B-A-B-Y" by Carla Thomas. A number of Stax/Volt's stars were also writers, including Eddie Floyd, who cowrote his own hits "Knock on Wood" and "Raise Your Hand," among others. Even more prolific was MG guitarist Steve Cropper, who, in addition to playing guitar on many Stax/Volt records, also cowrote many songs with other Stax/Volt artists, including the best selling Stax/Volt single of all time, "(Sittin' on) The Dock of the Bay," with Otis Redding. Like Aretha Franklin at Atlantic, Redding was far and away Stax/Volt's greatest star, and one of the most distinctive soul singers ever, with a powerful, raw, emotional style that seemed to wring every bit of feeling from every

note of a song. A prolific songwriter as well, Redding had some of Stax/Volt's biggest hits, including "Respect," "Try a Little Tenderness," "These Arms of Mine," "Mr. Pitiful," "The Happy Song (Dum-Dum)," and literally dozens of others before his untimely death in a plane crash in December 1967.

Stax/Volt continued after the death of Redding, but things were never quite the same. Despite a number of hits in the 1968-1972 period, Stax declined with the dissolution of Booker T. and the MGs and the loss of its deal with Atlantic Records, which had given Atlantic distribution rights to Stax's recording, since the early 1960s. With the breakup of that deal, Atlantic took Stax's biggest sellers, the Otis Redding and Sam and Dave catalogs, which were in many ways the heart of the Stax/Volt empire. These problems slowly eroded Stax's signature style, and the company folded in bankruptcy in 1975.

While the artists on Atlantic, Motown, and Stax/Volt did much to define soul music in the 1960s, the genre's most distinctive, and perhaps most influential, innovator came not from these three labels but in the person of Augusta, Georgia's James Brown. Born in 1933, Brown emerged as an early R&B/soul singer in the mid-1950s with such hits as "Please, Please, Please," and "Try Me." He scored more hits in the early 1960s, but his heyday came later in the decade when he diverged from more standard soul forms to fashion his own brand of soul/funk, a harder-driving, more intense and powerful sound that came through on such songs as "Cold Sweat," "Papa's Got a Brand New Bag," "Get Up (I Feel Like Being a) Sex Machine," and "I Got You (I Feel Good)." Brown also made powerful statement songs during the heyday of black power, including "Say It Loud—I'm Black and I'm Proud," "I Don't Want Nobody to Give Me Nothing (Open Up the Door I'll Get It Myself)," "Get Up, Get into It, and Get Involved," and "Soul Power." Brown's stylistic innovations in soul music influenced the development of both funk music in the 1970s and rap music in the 1980s.

Although great soul artists such as Al Green, the Staple Singers, Curtis Mayfield, the aforementioned Marvin Gaye and Stevie Wonder, and many others continued to record soul music, the classic soul era ended in the mid-1970s as black music fragmented into such styles as disco and funk, which emphasized dance rhythms over well-crafted singing and songwriting. The great record labels that had acted as important conduits for soul music had moved in other directions as well. Atlantic moved more toward rock acts, Motown left for Los Angeles, and Stax/Volt fell apart in financial trouble. In terms of style, the connection to gospel music that was such a hallmark of soul became less influential in black music generally, and soul evolved into a more homogenous sound known as "urban contemporary" music.

—Timothy Berg

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## Soul Train

Since 1970, fans have been grooving every week to America's top soul and R&B hits on a televised boogie down called *Soul Train*. Known as "the black *American Bandstand*," the syndicated dance party proved to be more than just a musical showcase: It established

an African American presence on television at a time when such representation was almost nonexistent.

Created and hosted for 23 years by Don Cornelius, a former Chicago disc jockey with a silky, measured baritone, *Soul Train* was conceived around the notion of "soul music going from city to city as a train would." The program relied on a sequence of stock elements that gave it an air of familiarity. The show's distinctive squealing "Soouulll Traaain" opening, devised by a deejay friend of the host, has remained unchanged since 1970. Each week, Cornelius opened the show by promising viewers they could "bet your last money it's gonna be a stone gas, honey." A series of musical performances followed, with the camera alternating between the lip-synching band and the gyrating denizens on the dance floor. Occasionally stopping to banter with his musical guests, Cornelius closed each program by wishing his viewers "love, peace, and soul!"

The show was a first of its kind on mainstream American television, a weekly forum for the best in African-American rhythm and blues. "It was trailblazing," observed J. R. Reynolds, R&B editor of *Billboard Magazine*, "not in terms of being a dance music show, but in terms of R&B being offered a platform on a consistent basis." In its heyday during the 1970s, *Soul Train* was able to attract some of the top names in the entertainment industry. Guests on the first national telecast were Gladys Knight and the Pips; the performers



Chaka Khan performs with the group Rufus on the *Soul Train* television show.

who made regular appearances included Barry White, Marvin Gaye, Aretha Franklin, and James Brown. Several of the dancers went on to show business careers of their own, including Jody Watley, Rosie Perez, and Fred “Rerun” Berry. *Soul Train* shows from the 1970s even became popular staples of Japanese TV in the 1990s.

In the 1980s, with the advent of rap, *Soul Train* began taking on a hip-hop orientation. The appearance of the politically charged rap group Public Enemy was a sure sign that the torch had been passed to a new generation of African-American musicians. Through it all, Cornelius continued to beam beatifically and tout his program as “the hippest trip on television.”

The transition from trailblazing series to revered television institution did not diminish the show’s impact. Young people of all races continued to watch *Soul Train* for tips on dress and personal style. “*Soul Train* showed a generation what it meant to be cool,” declared Todd Boyd, assistant professor of critical studies at the University of Southern California’s School of Cinema-Television. In the 1990s, the show became a cultural touchstone for the African-American artistic community, cropping up in movies like Spike Lee’s *Crooklyn* and the Hughes Brothers’ *Dead Presidents*. But *Soul Train* had a wider pop cultural impact as well, as witnessed by *Soul Trek*, a 1992 comic book parody that placed the affable Cornelius in command of the U.S.S. *Enterprise*.

Cornelius served as host of *Soul Train* until 1993, when he assumed the role of “host emeritus,” introducing a new guest emcee every week. He graduated from independent producer to partner with the Tribune Entertainment Co., the show’s distributor. In 1995, he was inducted into the Broadcasting & Cable Hall of Fame. Despite the show’s success, however, Cornelius continued to have difficulty getting exposure from TV stations. Even in cities with large black populations like Cleveland and St. Louis, *Soul Train* continued to air at irregular times well into the 1990s.

*Soul Train* is the longest running program in television history originally produced for first-run syndication. While originally created by African Americans for young African American viewers, it has grown to attract a much larger and more diverse audience. “I’ve been a fan for a long time!” gushed President Bill Clinton on the *Soul Train* 25th Anniversary Special in 1995.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## *The Sound of Music*

The longest running Broadway musical of the early 1960s, *The Sound of Music* marked the last collaboration between composer

Richard Rodgers (1902-1979) and lyricist/librettist Oscar Hammerstein II (1895-1960), just before Hammerstein’s death from cancer. Based partially on Maria Von Trapp’s autobiography, *The Trapp Family Singers*, and partially on a German film, *Die Trapp Familie*, the show was written for Mary Martin, who had already appeared as Nellie in Rodgers and Hammerstein’s musical *South Pacific*. Like many other Rodgers and Hammerstein productions, *The Sound of Music* included a remarkable number of popular songs: “The Sound of Music,” “My Favorite Things,” “Climb Ev’ry Mountain,” “Do-Re-Mi,” and “Edelweiss.”

The setting for *The Sound of Music* is Salzburg, Austria, where Maria, a postulant at Nonnberg Abbey, is too free-spirited to accept the discipline of the order easily and frequently escapes to the mountains. Thus, the Mother Abbess arranges for Maria to work as a governess for the wealthy, aristocratic Captain George Von Trapp—a widower with seven children. By adding music and outdoor expeditions to the children’s normally rigorous schedule, Maria wins the children’s hearts. Although Captain Von Trapp is engaged to the elegant socialite, Elsa Schraeder, through the course of the play he falls in love with Maria and eventually marries her. But it is 1938, and the Von Trapp’s married life is quickly disrupted by Nazi Germany’s annexation of Austria. The family has become well known as an amateur singing group, and after a final appearance at a local contest, they manage to escape and cross the mountains on foot to Switzerland. The first romance of Von Trapp’s oldest daughter Liesl, unfortunately with a young Nazi, provides a bittersweet subplot.

*The Sound of Music* was originally the idea of director Vincent J. Donehue with Mary Martin’s husband, Richard Halliday, and Leland Hayward producing. Howard Lindsay and Russel Crouse adapted Maria Von Trapp’s book. Rodgers and Hammerstein were approached to write only one song, but ended up doing the entire score and lyrics as well as co-producing the show. *The Sound of Music* opened at the Lunt-Fontanne Theatre on November 16, 1959, and ran for 1,443 performances. In 1965 Twentieth Century-Fox released a film version starring Julie Andrews as Maria and Christopher Plummer as Captain Von Trapp. Featuring a young, exuberant Julie Andrews, one of Rodgers and Hammerstein’s most accessible scores, and spectacular views of the Alps and Salzburg, *The Sound of Music* garnered ten Oscar nominations and won five: Best Picture, Best Director (Robert Wise), Best Adapted Score, Best Film Editing, and Best Sound. The film also won awards from the Directors Guild of America, the Golden Globes (Best Actress in a Musical Comedy), and the National Board of Review. It was the top box office draw from 1966 through 1969, and it has remained one of the most popular films ever made.

—Ann Sears

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Julie Andrews (right) in a scene from the film *The Sound of Music*.

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## Sousa, John Philip (1854-1932)

Known as the "March King," John Philip Sousa created more than 100 marches which reflected the optimism, patriotism, and military prowess of late nineteenth and early twentieth century America. Sousa was called the "Dickens of Music" and "Knight of the Baton." He described himself as a "Salesman of Americanism, globetrotter, and musician."

Sousa was born on November 6, 1854, in Washington, D.C., to John Antonio and Maria Elisabeth (Trinkhaus) Sousa. His father played a trombone for the United States Marine Band. Musically gifted at a young age, John Philip Sousa studied at a local conservatory and was inspired by Civil War marches he heard during his boyhood. At age 13, Sousa considered joining a circus band, and his father enlisted him in the United States Marine Band.

By the summer of 1872, Sousa conducted and played in orchestras in Washington, D.C., and began composing music. His first published composition was "Moonlight on the Potomac Waltzes." Sousa's early work revealed his unique style that would gain him international distinction. Touring as orchestra conductor for various companies, Sousa performed as a violinist during the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876. He composed his first comic opera, "The Smugglers," for a Philadelphia choir.

On September 30, 1880, Sousa became conductor of the United States Marine Band. During his leadership, the band improved in quality from a mediocre ensemble into a superb group. Sousa's exacting standards enabled the band to achieve fame internationally for its spirited style. The Marine Band became the model for other bands to emulate. Sousa led the band on national and international tours while composing music such as "Semper Fidelis" (1888).

In the spring of 1892, Sousa resigned from the Marines Corps to create a concert band of civilians. Sousa assembled talented musicians and staged his band's first concert on September 26, 1892, at Plainfield, New Jersey. The band's programming was a unique blending of instrumentalists, a soprano vocalist, and violinist. "In



**John Philip Sousa**

dynamics, I have never heard any orchestra that could touch us,” Sousa told *Music* magazine in 1899. Sousa’s band appeared throughout the United States and traveled to Europe, including an around-the-world trip from 1910 to 1912. Sousa and his band enhanced the image of American culture in Europe, proving that American musicians were not inferior to European performers.

Sousa constantly composed new music for his band, such as “The Stars and Stripes Forever,” which later was designated the United States’s official march. Some critics argue that this composition alone secured Sousa’s acclaimed status as a composer. A patriotic and emotional musician, Sousa sought to create music that was assertive and energetic like the United States was militarily at the turn of the twentieth century. He wanted his music to make people proud to be Americans. During the Spanish-American War, Sousa was musical director of the VI Army Corps and prepared a pageant, *The Trooping of the Colors*.

Nicknamed the “Pied Piper of Patriotism,” Sousa thought a march should “make goose pimples chase each other up and down your spine.” He stressed that marches should be characterized by simplicity with a steady, stimulating rhythm. Sousa’s marches reflected the country’s spirit of optimism, and his driving, pulsating tunes emphasized the strength of the country. Sousa’s martial music standardized the march form and became popular classics. In addition to

his music, Sousa developed a new instrument, the Sousaphone, which resembled a tuba. He also devoted time to protecting composers’ rights. He coined the term “canned music” in 1906 when he protested the phonograph industry recording music without compensating composers.

During World War I, Sousa joined the United States Naval Reserve as a lieutenant, directing the Great Lakes Naval Training Station Band which toured the country to raise millions of dollars in Liberty Loan drives. Sousa was a familiar figure, wearing his uniform and carrying his sword at the head of parades. After the war, he toured with his band, promoted music education, and testified to Congress about composers’ rights. Sousa’s dramatic performances reinforced his reputation as a showman. Choosing entertainment over education, he vowed to present audiences the music that they wanted. His band played in remote parts of the United States where people had never heard a symphony orchestra. Town dignitaries declared “Sousa Day” when the band arrived, and performances were often standing-room-only. Sousa strived to present music that people appreciated while making unfamiliar music, such as early jazz, accessible to them thus influencing Americans’ musical taste. Sousa often invited the audiences to sing along with the band.

Americans’ interest in bands peaked between 1890 and 1910, and Sousa helped to disseminate band music. Before televisions, radios, and movies, instruments provided entertainment in homes, and people played Sousa pieces, especially popular dance songs. The July 4, 1898, *Musical Courier* commented, “go where you may, you hear Sousa, always Sousa. . . . It is Sousa in the band, Sousa in the orchestra, Sousa in the phonograph, Sousa in the hand organ, Sousa in the music box, Sousa everywhere.” The name Sousa became a household term, and at one time he was the best known musician in America. Vaudeville comedians imitated him, and towns hosted public celebrations for his birthday. Sousa also received many honors and medals.

Although he refused to perform on the radio because he preferred interacting with live audiences, Sousa was convinced to broadcast concert series in 1929 and 1931 because of overwhelming public demand. Sousa especially focused on encouraging young musicians. He accepted invitations to help amateur bands and supported the school music movement and the National Music Camp at Interlochen, Michigan. Every year John Philip Sousa awards are given by high school band directors to talented band members. The John Philip Sousa foundation recognizes excellent high school, college, and community bands.

Sousa died on March 6, 1932, after a rehearsal at Reading, Pennsylvania. The last piece he conducted was “The Stars and Stripes Forever.” The Marine Band played “Semper Fidelis” during his funeral procession. Buried at Congressional Cemetery in Washington, D.C., Sousa’s gravestone was carved with a bar from “The Stars and Stripes Forever.” His music library was donated to the University of Illinois. The movie *Stars and Stripes Forever* (also called *Marching Along*) premiered in 1952 with Clifton Webb playing Sousa, and Sousa’s family and band members criticized the movie’s inaccuracies. In 1957, George Balanchine choreographed the ballet *Stars and Stripes*. The Public Broadcasting Corporation televised the documentary *If You Knew Sousa*. The Sousa Stage was dedicated at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, D.C., and other Sousa memorials include schools and band shells. Sousa’s former band members belonged to chapters of

the Sousa Band Fraternal Society. In 1997, the United States Postal Service issued a 32 cent stamp, "The Stars and Stripes Forever!," to celebrate the centennial of Sousa's most famous march.

—Elizabeth D. Schafer

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## South Pacific

With Mary Martin and Ezio Pinza in the lead roles, the musical *South Pacific* opened at the Majestic Theatre in New York on April 7, 1949, and ran for 1,925 performances. It was the fifth collaboration between composer Richard Rodgers (1902-1979) and lyricist/librettist Oscar Hammerstein II (1895-1960), following *Oklahoma!* (1943), *Carousel* and *State Fair* (1945), and *Allegro* (1947). The phenomenal success of *Oklahoma!* and *Carousel* had made Rodgers and Hammerstein the dominant figures in American musical theater; *South Pacific* only added to their stature and reputation. Director Josh Logan suggested that Rodgers and Hammerstein base a musical theater production on one of the short stories from James Michener's *Tales of the South Pacific*, winner of a 1948 Pulitzer Prize. They decided to combine two stories, "Fo' Dolla" and "Our Heroine," and the resulting musical went on to win Rodgers and Hammerstein their second Pulitzer Prize in a decade (the first was for *Oklahoma!* in 1943). *South Pacific* starred Mary Martin, in her first Rodgers and Hammerstein show, and Metropolitan basso Ezio Pinza in his Broadway debut, and was co-produced and directed by Logan. Like *Oklahoma!*, *South Pacific* yielded a remarkable number of songs that became popular apart from the show: "Some Enchanted Evening," "There Is Nothin' Like a Dame," "Bali Ha'i," "I'm Gonna Wash That Man Right Outa My Hair," "A Wonderful Guy," and "Younger Than Springtime." A film version, also directed by Logan, was released by Twentieth Century-Fox in 1958 starring Mitzi Gaynor, Rossano Brazzi, Ray Walston, Juanita Hall, and France Nuyen.

The story takes place in the islands of the South Pacific during World War II, as two very different romantic couples face similar obstacles to their happiness together. First, French plantation owner Emile deBecque and young Navy nurse Nellie Forbush from Arkansas fall in love. When Nellie encounters his children with a deceased Polynesian wife, she reconsiders married life with him. Meanwhile, Lt. Joe Cable from Philadelphia has a brief romance with Liat, a native girl, but like Nellie wonders how he can explain the racial issues to his family back home. DeBecque and Cable go on a secret mission behind the Japanese lines. Cable is killed, but deBecque returns to find Nellie transformed. She has faced her racism and realized that the children are fellow human beings whom she has already begun to love.

Commenting on social issues through music was a pattern in Rodgers and Hammerstein's work from the beginning of their partnership. The issue of racism has rarely been addressed directly on stage in musical theater, with the exception of the revolutionary musical *Show Boat* (1927), which not so coincidentally also had book and lyrics written by Oscar Hammerstein II. However, *South Pacific* meets Caucasian versus Asian racial prejudice head on through the stories of its main characters and through the song "You've Got to Be Carefully Taught to Hate." This approach to social justice continues in later Rodgers and Hammerstein shows; for example, there are gender and racial issues in *The King and I* (1951), conflict between generations and cultures in *Flower Drum Song* (1958), and issues of freedom and patriotism in *The Sound of Music* (1959).

The initial touring company of *South Pacific* traveled for five years. The musical was revived at Lincoln Center in 1967 and staged by the New York City Opera in 1987. The popular film version of 1958 was shot in the Fiji and Hawaiian Islands, but the colored filters that changed lighting effects from scene to scene hinder appreciation of the scenic beauty and the glorious music. Nonetheless, the film has kept the musical before the public, and *South Pacific* remains a perennial favorite with amateur theater groups around the world.

—Ann Sears

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Mitzi Gaynor (center) belts out a song in a scene from the film *South Pacific*.

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## South Park

The animated comedy *South Park*, created by animators Trey Parker and Matt Stone, premiered on Comedy Central in August 1997 to rave reviews and loud criticism. The main characters, four round-headed third graders, have been involved in unlikely adventures with zombies, aliens, and Mr. Hanky the Christmas Poo. Stan, Kyle, Cartman, and Kenny respond to most situations by belching, vomiting, or swearing. Kenny is killed in nearly every episode to the refrain: “They killed Kenny! You bastards!” The show is wildly popular among children, teens, and twenty-somethings. Its unflinching look at how sweet and innocent most children *really* are when left to themselves takes the portrait of childhood offered by such popular comics as *Peanuts* and *Calvin and Hobbes* several steps further. In a town where Jesus has his own cable access show, Parker and Stone

have created an environment where nothing is sacred and everything is fodder for their satire.

—Adrienne Furness

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## Southern, Terry (1924-1995)

Texas-born writer Terry Southern is best remembered for the wildly written satires—usually featuring a Candide-esque heroine—that earned him acclaim in the early 1960s. Southern also cut a wide swathe through the 1960s film world. His writing on *Dr. Strangelove* (1964) and *Easy Rider* (1969) earned him two Academy Award nominations and helped define the rebelliousness and paranoia of that era. But by all accounts, Southern’s exposure to Hollywood had an unwholesome effect. By 1970, his fictional output had slowed to a

trickle. What he did publish belied the promise of his early work. Silent for the next two decades, in 1992 he published *Texas Summer*, a poorly received autobiographical novel. At his death he left behind more than 40 unproduced screenplays and an unpublished spoof of Virgin Records, titled *Virgin*. While many found his writing sophomoric, Southern had a special gift for unmasking hypocrisy, and while he used it, he was among the funniest writers working.

—Michael Baers

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## Spacek, Sissy (1949—)

Sissy Spacek is a fine actress who has made an indelible impression, both through her unique quality as an eternal waif, and because of four particular films whose overall quality was matched by her performances. Texas-born Elizabeth Mary Spacek won a singer-songwriter contest, went to New York to pursue a music career, but studied with Lee Strasberg instead. A little modeling and TV, and an extra's job in Warhol's *Trash* (1970) preceded her debut in *Prime Cut* (1972). Then, at twenty-four, she played the first of her dangerously disturbed yet sympathetic teenagers, on a killing spree in *Badlands* (1973); at twenty-seven she was *Carrie* (1976), the tormented teenager with telekinetic powers, which brought her first Oscar nomination; at thirty she essayed thirteen-year-old country singer Loretta Lynn in *Coal Miner's Daughter* (1979) and won the best actress Oscar and, in 1982, playing grown-up but barely looking it, she was Oscar-nominated for Costa-Gavras' *Missing* (also for *The River*, 1985, and *Crimes of the Heart*, 1990). She took a four-year break between 1986 and 1990, and by the late 1990s, although working consistently, was no longer a major box-office draw.

—Robyn Karney

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## Spaghetti Westerns

Spaghetti westerns were hyper-violent, low-budget genre films made in Europe by European (usually Italian) studios between 1961

and 1977. The more than five hundred of these films, many forgettable, used European crews, writers, directors, and, for the most part, actors. Location shooting often took place in Spain, parts of which resemble the geography of the American Southwest.

The spaghetti western shot its way into mainstream American culture in 1964 with the release of *A Fistful of Dollars*, directed by Sergio Leone and starring a little-known American actor named Clint Eastwood as The Man with No Name, an amoral bounty hunter with a lightning-fast draw. The film was immensely popular in the United States and around the world, and led to the production of two sequels: *For a Few Dollars More* (1965) and *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly* (1966). Two other Leone films were also successful in the United States: the lavish, sprawling 1969 epic *Once upon a Time in the West*, starring Charles Bronson, Jason Robards, Claudia Cardinale, and a cast-against-type Henry Fonda playing a ruthless killer; and *Duck, You Sucker*, also known as *A Fistful of Dynamite* (1971), which paired James Coburn with Rod Steiger.

Spaghetti westerns had several stylistic elements in common. They were often very violent (for their time) and did not flinch from portraying brutal beatings, rape, and the murder of women and children. The films were usually made cheaply, and their production values showed it (exceptions were *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly* and *Once upon a Time in the West*, both of which had large budgets for production). Further, since the supporting actors (and sometimes the stars) of spaghetti westerns were usually Italian, most of the speaking parts had to be dubbed for release outside Italy (in some cases, limited budgets made for sloppy dubbing and unintentionally hilarious results). Finally, the films often made use of tight close-up shots, which meant that the actors, even bit players, tended to have interesting (if not always handsome) faces. This photographic technique was especially common in scenes leading to a showdown: the camera would alternate between the two (or more) characters who were preparing to duel, with the close-ups growing increasingly tight until only the eyes could be seen. Then the tension would be broken as the gunmen drew and fired. This trademark motif was labeled by some critics the "squint and shoot" style of cinematography.

The musical scores for spaghetti westerns tended to be moody and atmospheric. The best-known composer to work in the genre was Ennio Morricone, who went on to write music for a variety of other films. Morricone's scores for Leone constitute some of the best-known movie music of the 1960s and early 1970s. In addition to traditional instruments, Morricone made use of bells, jangling spurs, whistling, and a Jew's-harp to create a distinctive, and much-imitated, sound.

An attempt was made to revive the genre in 1998, when Turner Network Television produced and broadcast a made-for-cable homage called *A Dollar for the Dead*, starring Emilio Estevez as yet another Man with No Name.

—Justin Gustainis

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## Spalding, Albert G. (1850-1915)

After fully dedicating his career to baseball in 1871, Albert Goodwill Spalding went on to become pro baseball's first recorded 200 game winner, dividing his time between the Boston Red Stockings and the Chicago White Stockings. As first captain/manager and later as president/owner of the White Stockings, Spalding helped mold Chicago into the baseball dynasty of the 1880s. Yet, it was as an owner that Spalding had his greatest cultural impact. In 1876, he helped found the National League and became its president in 1901. Through such actions, he was key in establishing baseball as a viable and acceptable commercial enterprise. Spalding helped to solidify professional baseball as a business. In addition to his baseball duties, in 1876 he and his brother opened their first sporting goods store in Chicago, the beginning of the Spalding sporting goods chain.

—S. Paul O'Hara

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## Spartacus

*Spartacus* represents the pinnacle of the epic film trend which included spectaculars such as *Cleopatra*, *Ben Hur*, and *Fall of the Roman Empire*. It was acclaimed as the first truly intelligent epic, but

its director, the highly acclaimed Stanley Kubrick, has largely disowned it. Kubrick took the assignment, partially as a way of escaping the ill-fated *One-Eyed Jacks* project he was working on with Marlon Brando (Brando himself took over direction and went heavily overbudget with the film).

Kubrick was belatedly brought aboard by producer/star Kirk Douglas, who was impressed with their classic collaboration on *Paths of Glory*. Initial director Anthony Mann resigned after only a week's shooting, only completing the opening scenes at the rock quarry. Kubrick picked up the project from the gladiator school on.

Kubrick objected to the script for *Spartacus* on the grounds that it was dumb and rarely faithful to what is known about the actual Spartacus. The former slave in reality twice led his victorious slave army to the northern borders of Italy and could have easily gotten out of the country, but instead he led his army back to pillage Roman cities. Instead of exploring the question of why he chose to do this or whether the intentions of the rebellion changed, whether Spartacus lost the control of his followers who became more interested in the spoils of war rather than in freedom, Trumbo's script simply has Spartacus prevented from escaping by a silly contrivance in which a pirate leader (played by Herbert Lom) reneges on a deal to take the slave army away in his ships.

Nor did Spartacus die by crucifixion as the film depicts. He was actually killed in battle and hacked into pieces on the battlefield. However, six thousand of his followers were later crucified along the Appian Way. As a director-for-hire, Kubrick discovered he had to bow to the wishes of his producer.

*Spartacus* happened because producer Eddie Lewis brought the Howard Fast novel to Douglas's attention, and he optioned the book, seeing its potential to become a popular epic. He hoped to interest United Artists in the film, but they were planning their own version of the tale called *The Gladiators* which was to be directed by Martin Ritt



Battle scene from the film *Spartacus*, with Kirk Douglas leading the charge (center).

and star Yul Brynner and Anthony Quinn with a script by Abe Polonsky. Howard Fast was given first crack at adapting the material into a screenplay, but his work had a political axe to grind and was quickly rejected. Douglas needed somebody who could write both well and fast, and so pitched the project to blacklisted writer Dalton Trumbo, who hated Fast but agreed to write the script under the name Sam Jackson.

Douglas needed some high-powered talent to convince a studio to back the film, and so he approached Laurence Olivier, Charles Laughton, and Peter Ustinov. Olivier expressed interest in both starring and directing the film as well, but then committed to appearing in *Coriolanus* in Stratford-on-Avon, and consented to appear as Crassus, provided the part was improved. Laughton did not care for the material but needed the money and so agreed to appear as Gracchus, the rotund Republican senator who opposes Crassus, while Ustinov was eager to play the role of an ingratiating middleman for once (he usually had played kings or peasants) and had suggestions for improving his part. Universal agreed to undertake the film.

Douglas wanted Ingrid Bergman to play his love interest Varinia, but she turned it down as being “too bloody.” Jean Simmons wanted the role, but Douglas preferred a foreigner who was not British. Jeanne Moreau refused to leave a play she was in to take the part. Douglas thought German actress Sabina Bethmann had the right look and hired her for the part, despite her thick accent. She was sent to be coached by blacklist victim Jeff Corey.

*Spartacus* began with Anthony Mann as director on January 27, 1959, when Mann filmed the mine sequence in Death Valley, but when the production started filming the sequences at the gladiator school, it started to fall apart and Universal pushed for Mann’s replacement, and Douglas paid him off \$75,000 and asked for Kubrick to come in. Universal was against hiring the 30-year-old maverick director, but with the clock already running up large expenses, they capitulated and filming resumed under Kubrick on February 16.

Kubrick immediately realized that the inexpressive Bethmann was not going to work out, and decided to test her powers of improvisation by telling her that she had just lost the part in the movie. Rather than reacting emotionally, the actress froze and thereby ensured her departure from the production. Simmons was quickly summoned to take her place. However, shortly afterwards she had emergency surgery and could not work for over a month, so the production had to shoot around her.

One of Kubrick’s innovations was to film the scene where Varinia serves food to the gladiator trainees without dialogue, using only Alex North’s music to make his point, and thereby improving the scene. Indeed, the scenes in the gladiatorial school are some of the best in the film, especially those where Marcellus (Charles McGraw) uses Spartacus to demonstrate where to maim or kill one’s opponent and the famous scene where because of an idle whim by two Roman ladies, Draba (Woody Strode) is forced to fight Spartacus in the ring, but the Ethiopian chooses to attack Crassus at the cost of his own life rather than kill a fellow slave.

Tony Curtis begged to be put in the film, and so the part of Antoninus was written for him as a sensitive young man who becomes like a son to Spartacus and is forced to fight him to the death at the end of the film. Curtis severed his Achilles tendon and had to spend some time in a wheelchair. Even Douglas became sick, the film went months over schedule, and 250 percent over budget.

Douglas, Lewis, and Kubrick got into a discussion over who should get the writing credit on the film. Lewis did not feel right

taking credit for Trumbo’s work, and Douglas was uneasy about crediting the film to a Sam Jackson who did not really exist. Kubrick put forth the suggestion that he be given credit for the script. Revolted, Douglas decided to break the blacklist by crediting Trumbo and summoning him to the studio. (Soon afterward, Otto Preminger announced that Trumbo would be credited on *Exodus* as well, and soon other blacklisted artists were finding employment again). One of *Spartacus*’s most significant accomplishments was this breaking of the blacklist, considered a risky move at the time.

Kubrick’s rough assemblage of the film was not well-received. Trumbo wrote a critique running over 80 pages, detailing the changes made and what he felt was wrong with them. Douglas agreed and declared that the film would have to be restructured and a battle scene added (originally, the battle was just to have been suggested, much like Kurosawa did in *Kagemusha*). Visual design consultant Saul Bass was hired to design the battle sequence and noted that scenes of preparation for the battle helped build up more excitement than the actual battle itself. The Spanish government loaned their army to play the Roman army, and the scenes were shot in Spain. The budget became \$12 million, or \$750,000 less than MCA paid for Universal Pictures in its contemporaneous takeover.

Finally, *Spartacus* was ready for release. The American Legion sent a letter demanding a boycott of the film because of Trumbo’s involvement to 17,000 local posts. Hedda Hopper joined the fray, attacking the film’s use of “Communist” writers. Still, despite its shortcomings, the film stands up as one of the best of the Roman screen epics, and won Peter Ustinov an Academy Award for best supporting actor for his role as Batiatus, the conniving purveyor of slaves.

In 1988, *Spartacus* was restored and re-released to theaters in all its glory. Kubrick, although he had never expressed a fondness for the film, was involved in carefully re-editing the film, adding numerous small snippets that had been trimmed previously. One of the most significant additions was the scene where the bisexual Crassus attempts to seduce Antoninus while Antoninus is bathing him by asking Antoninus if he eats oysters and snails, explaining that it is a matter of appetites rather than morals. (Crassus then proceeds to compare himself to Rome, expounding, “No nation can withstand Rome. No man can withstand her. And how much less—a boy. There’s only one way to deal with Rome, Antoninus. You must serve her. You must abase yourself before her. You must grovel at her feet. You must love her.”)

The footage for the scene was located, but not the original soundtrack. Tony Curtis agreed to revoice his part, but Olivier was dead, and so Anthony Hopkins imitated Olivier’s vocal inflections in order to restore this scene that had so outraged the censors of the 1960s. The scene does add to the film’s portrait of Crassus as a self-serving manipulator obsessed with demonstrating his power and authority.

—Dennis Fischer

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## Spawn

Todd McFarlane's *Spawn* comic book changed the dynamics of the comic book industry in the 1990s. *Spawn* set sales records, helped an upstart new company become a major publisher, and enticed the top talents in the industry to leave Marvel and DC to make their fortunes with creator-owned properties.

In the late 1980s, Todd McFarlane gained some notoriety as a comic-book artist for his work on Marvel Comics' *Incredible Hulk* title. At the time, "hot" artists drove comic-book sales, and when McFarlane moved to penciling *Amazing Spider-Man*, it quickly became Marvel's best-selling book. In 1990, Marvel created a new *Spider-Man* title for McFarlane to write, pencil, and ink. It immediately became their top selling monthly, and the first issue sold an incredible two and a half million copies. McFarlane began to wonder why, if he was so popular, he needed to do work-for-hire on a character that someone else owned.

Born of this thinking, McFarlane formed a partnership with a few of Marvel's other popular young artists in 1992. Together they founded Image Comics in order to publish creator-owned comic books and reap the full rewards of their popularity. For the first few years, Image Comics, true to its name, proved to be more flash than substance. However, when McFarlane came up with *Spawn*, it proved to be the backbone of the company. Unlike the majority of Image books, *Spawn* was consistently published on time and, thus, enjoyed consistently high sales. The first issue sold 1,700,000 copies, far outstripping the circulation of any other independent comic book. For decades, Marvel and DC had so dominated the industry that any comic not published by one of the "big two" was considered "independent." By its second year, Image Comics had such volume of sales that the industry press began to suggest the possibility of "the big three," and by 1996 Image, albeit briefly, surpassed DC to become number two in market share.

McFarlane proved to have the best head for business of the young Image artists, and was aggressive in marketing his characters. *Spawn* became a multi-million dollar industry. By 1993, there was a "Spawnmobile" super-competition funny car touring with car shows, and Mattel was selling a "Spawnmobile" Hot Wheel. A comics industry trade magazine, *Hero Illustrated*, named Todd McFarlane the "Most Important Person in Comics," and in 1995, with New Line Cinema's McFarlane-scripted live-action *Spawn* movie in pre-production (it was released in 1997), he signed contracts for a *Spawn* animated series on HBO. Also in 1995, Sony began developing a *Spawn* video game, a *Spawn* board game was in stores, Halloween costumes were licensed, and McFarlane Toys brought out a new line of action figures. Somehow, McFarlane found time to keep producing

a new *Spawn* comic book each month, remaining number one in industry-wide sales for a fourth year in a row. Both the sales and the marketing frenzy then began waning somewhat, but in the space of four years Todd McFarlane had become one of the wealthiest people in the comic book industry.

The name and face of McFarlane's main character were borrowed from his real-life friend Al Simmons, who became somewhat of a minor celebrity on the comic convention circuit. The fictional Al Simmons is a principled but efficient killer for a mysterious branch of the government. When he begins to question the orders of his commander, Jason Wynn, he is burned to death with laser weapons by two of his fellow agents. Sent to Hell for the bloody deeds he has committed, Simmons becomes a pawn of the Dark Lord Malebolgia, who needs just such a soldier to lead Hell's army in the final battle against Heaven. For a chance to return to Earth to see his family again and take revenge on Wynn, Simmons forfeits his soul and agrees to become Malebolgia's general. Simmons's horribly burned body is reanimated, and he returns to Earth as a grotesque but incredibly powerful Hellspawn. *Spawn* is clothed in a symbiotic uniform and wields hell-born energy that is seemingly capable of anything that he can imagine. Yet, once this energy is fully expended, Simmons will have to return to Hell to fulfill the rest of his bargain. As *Spawn* regains memories of his former life, he begins following his own agenda and using his powers against the forces of evil. He lives with homeless people in a Bowery alley and becomes their defender. He watches over his family and his love for his wife begins healing him spiritually. However, he is constantly plagued by his "guardian demon," The Clown, whose task is to keep *Spawn* from straying too far from Hell's path.

*Spawn* provides savage, gory adolescent fantasy with sexy images; McFarlane has admitted that much of the success of his book is probably due to his ability to draw a "really cool looking cape." As other "hot" artists migrated to Image, or copied the Image style, there was an ascendancy of what comics pioneer Will Eisner refers to as "wallpaper comics," filled with splash pages, double-page spreads, and bravura artwork but not much story. In a medium that already stressed the visual over the verbal, the success of *Spawn* and other "wallpaper" comic books further diminished the role of the writer.

—Randy Duncan

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## Special Olympics

The first International Special Olympics was held in Chicago's Soldier Park in July of 1968. Before this event, there was no opportunity for mentally disabled children and adults to compete in sporting events. With the help of the Kennedy Foundation, mentally disabled citizens have been given the chance to take part in the kinds of sporting events unavailable to them before the advent of the competition. Under the leadership of Eunice Kennedy Shriver and with the efforts of thousands of volunteers, mentally disabled children

and adults now compete locally, regionally, and internationally in games based on the Greek Olympics.

Traditionally, mentally disabled children did not receive many opportunities to take part in physical activities because popular theory held that they did not need physical activity. As a result, these children were never given the chance to excel in sports or physical activity, and many mentally disabled children were doomed to accept a lifestyle without exercise. As early as 1963, however, a movement was underfoot to change these perceptions. The Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr. Foundation, in conjunction with the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, began work in providing a physical fitness program for the mentally disabled. In addition, President John Kennedy established the President's Council for Physical Fitness and Sports, and by 1967, after considerable study by different organizations, research indicated that lack of opportunity, not lack of ability, was the major reason for the low physical ability of mentally disabled children.

In 1967, members of the Chicago Park District decided to organize a track and field meet for mentally disabled children based on the Greek Olympics. When letters were sent to the individual states inviting them to join, they received mixed responses. Reasons for not participating included a lack of support or a lack of interest based on the premise that promoting physical activity among the mentally disabled would be a waste of time and effort. These and other reasons kept nearly half the states from participating in the first Special Olympics. Unwilling to give in to negative feedback, several states and Canada pressed on to hold the event. The Kennedy Foundation donated \$20,000, and the games were to be held at Soldier Field as planned.

At a press conference shortly after the success of the first International Special Olympics, Eunice Kennedy Shriver reiterated the mission of the Special Olympics—to provide all mentally disabled children a chance to participate in athletic events—and pledged \$75,000 in monetary support on behalf of the Kennedy Foundation to build the Special Olympics program. This support allowed communities across the United States to take part in the Special Olympics originally planned to be held every two years. Because the response to the first Special Olympics was so positive, Senator Edward Kennedy announced the formation of Special Olympics, Inc., and named Eunice Kennedy Shriver its president. The new foundation's purpose was to provide the means for all mentally disabled citizens to have access to a physical fitness program like the Special Olympics.

The games are modelled after modern-day Olympic competition. They are divided into winter and summer games with both team and individual competitions. Held every two years, they alternate summer and winter games with the same schedule as the modern Olympics. Anyone eight and above, with an IQ of 75 and below, is eligible to compete free of charge. Ranging in age from eight to seventeen years-old, 1,000 children from 26 states and Canada competed in the first International Special Olympics in 1968. By 1970, all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Canada had Special Olympics organizations and state directors. In 1975, the event had grown to 3,200 participants. In planning for the 1999 Special Olympics, organizers estimated that 7,000 athletes from 150 countries will participate, generating a need for 35,000 volunteers to organize 19 sports.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the Special Olympics came under intense scrutiny by mental health professionals who questioned the games and their benefit. Critics cite such reservations as the value of segregating the mentally retarded from mainstream athletic events

and the theory that the games are becoming overly competitive. In response to criticism, Special Olympics organizers emphasize the positive physical, mental, and emotional achievements of the athletes. The debate remained a controversial one at the end of the 1990s, with professionals on both sides of the question presenting strong arguments to back up their opinions.

Though still controversial, the International Special Olympics continues to grow and over one million athletes take part in local, area, and chapter competitions each year. The motto of the Special Olympics states, "Let me win, but if I cannot win, let me be brave in the attempt." The motto sums up the attitude and accomplishments of both organizers and participants throughout the more than 30 years of the Special Olympics.

—Kimberley H. Kidd

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## Spector, Phil (1940—)

As the developer of a style of production so lush it was dubbed "the wall of sound," Phil Spector was arguably the most influential record producer in the history of popular music. From the late 1950s through the early 1960s, Spector, along with his arranger, Jack Nitzsche, produced a sound characterized by complex arrangements of strings, horns, and percussion. Although that sound is most evident in pop songs by the Ronettes, Crystals, and Righteous Brothers, all of whom recorded for Spector's label, he also produced a variety of other performers. The Beatles enlisted his skills in the studio, and Spector also produced solo efforts by John Lennon and George Harrison. Acts as diverse as the Ramones and Leonard Cohen worked with him, and Bruce Springsteen cited him as a major influence on his own music.

When he was seventeen, Spector wrote "To Know Him Is to Love Him," which became a number one single for his band the Teddy Bears. It was the beginning of an impressive songwriting career, but Spector's real achievements were in the studio. He learned the craft of production under Lee Hazlewood, who had given Duane Eddy his trademark guitar sound by a variety of techniques, including manipulating tape speeds and recording in an empty grain elevator. Spector left California for New York, ostensibly in hopes of securing a position at the United Nations, but within a few months he had cowritten "Spanish Harlem" with Jerry Leiber, half of the songwriting team of Leiber and Stoller. The song would become a hit for Ben E. King.

Spector also began producing prominent performers such as LaVern Baker, Ruth Brown, and Gene Pitney, but his most original and influential work came after he established Philles Records. Although he originally had three partners, Spector was sole owner when he was only twenty-one; he was also a millionaire. The Crystals's "He's a Rebel" was the label's first hit and is generally regarded as the first "wall of sound" song. It's worth noting that the phrase is something of a misnomer: although Spector employed an

extraordinary number of musicians, and although the primitive technology of the time required an extensive use of overdubbing, the instruments remain surprisingly distinct. That is certainly a result of Spector's obsessiveness in the studio. According to one story, Spector once listened to the same note for twelve hours, trying to determine whether it needed to be rerecorded. Although probably apocryphal, it is undeniable that he worked with a vastly higher degree of attention than most other producers of the time. Labels usually worked on a variety of singles simultaneously in an attempt to get a hit single. Spector, on the other hand, focused his energies on one single at a time, and that approach proved extraordinarily successful. Songs such as the Ronettes's "Be My Baby" and the Righteous Brothers's "You've Lost that Lovin' Feeling" are some of the most recognizable hits of the 1960s, and Spector's collection of Christmas songs, *A Christmas Gift for You*, remains an exceptionally popular holiday album.

Spector shut down Philles Records in 1966. Some have claimed that he did so because Ike and Tina Turner's "River Deep, Mountain High" failed to achieve the success he had expected. A more likely explanation is that he recognized the music industry had changed fundamentally. The increasingly corporate nature of record distribution pushed independent labels to the margins; additionally, listeners began to favor full-length albums instead of singles. Spector no doubt understood that those shifts worked against his emphasis on the hit song. Ironically, however, other changes showed just how deeply Spector had influenced contemporary music. Although the Beach Boys had been known for their hit singles, in 1966 they released *Pet Sounds*, an album of complex and highly orchestrated pop songs which showed a clear debt to the wall of sound. The following year, the Beatles issued *Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*; in part a response to *Pet Sounds*, it also bore the hallmarks of Spector's work.

Despite his undeniable genius, Spector's megalomania and eccentricities became so infamous that fewer artists sought his talents in the 1980s and 1990s. At the same time, however, Spector became almost reclusive and certainly showed little interest in searching out new acts to produce. In 1998, a short-lived collaboration with Celine Dion ended amid rumors that Spector had been impossible to work with in the studio.

—Bill Freind

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## Spelling, Aaron (1928—)

The most successful producer in the history of television, Aaron Spelling began his career with writer/producer credits on such classic early television fare as *Zane Grey Theater* and *Playhouse 90* in the 1950s, and 40 years later has more than 3,000 productions to his credit, including such audience favorites as *The Mod Squad* (1960s); *Charlie's Angels*, *Love Boat*, and *Fantasy Island* (1970s); *Dynasty* and *Family* (1980s); *Beverly Hills 90210*, *Melrose Place*, *Dawson's Creek*, *7th Heaven*, and *Charmed* (1990s). Interspersed with these

series were critically acclaimed television series such as *Day One* and *And the Band Played On*.

Despite his success, Spelling has never been a favorite of the critics. "There is good and there is bad Spelling," a *Washington Post* TV critic stated in a 1996 *Los Angeles Times Magazine* article, "but there is never great Spelling, only degrees of terribleness." Yet, even his severest detractors agree that the producer has an uncanny knack for knowing what the public wants to see. During the 1980s, it was his *Dynasty*, a clone of the popular CBS hit *Dallas*, that propelled ABC to the top of the ratings charts; and during the 1990s his *Beverly Hills 90210* and *Melrose Place* helped transform the FOX network from an also-ran in the ratings into a major player. With *Felicity*, in the late 1990s, he is performing the same feat with the fledgling Warner Brothers network.

Spelling's background is remarkably similar to those of many of the legendary pioneers of both television and motion pictures. He began life as the youngest of five children born to struggling immigrant parents in Dallas during the 1930s. Two decades later, after an acting stint in *Guns Smoke*, he approached the producers of the Western anthology *Zane Grey Theater* with an idea of how to write the host's segments on the show and was given an assignment to write it on a continuing basis for \$100 per week. The spots were so successful that he was approached by producer Martin Manulus who wanted to do a Western story on his *Playhouse 90* and offered Spelling the task of writing it. The resulting program, *The Last Man*, proved so popular that Twentieth Century-Fox optioned it as a feature film project within 48 hours of its airing.

The experience of writing the film version convinced Spelling that his rightful place was on television. Chided by his superiors for writing too fast, he completed the screenplay, which was finally released as *One Foot in Hell*, starring Alan Ladd, and returned to television where he went to work with Four Star productions where his creative speed paid dividends. At one point during the late 1950s, he was producing eight shows at once including *Johmny Ringo*, *Alcoa Presents*, *The June Allyson Show*, *Kaiser Presents Lloyd Bridges*, *The Dick Powell Theater*, and *Honey West*.

As Spelling's TV career began to take off during the 1960s, his forte became his ability to capture the mood of the American public at just the right time: his 1960s series *Burke's Law* coincided with the detective and spy craze incited by the emergence of the James Bond films on the big screen; *Mod Squad*, which premiered at the end of the decade, combined the always popular police genre with a teenage-rebels-seeking-social-justice motif that captured the unrest of a turbulent decade and managed to be entertaining at the same time. Although some shows, particularly *Amos Burke Secret Agent*, the spy-spoof sequel to *Burke's Law*, and, later, *Dynasty* were open to accusations of being less on the cutting edge of public taste and more derivative of existing films and shows such as the James Bond series and *Dallas*, Spelling always managed to imbue his shows with qualities that differentiated them from their predecessors through unpredictable plot devices and eccentric characters (notably Joan Collins's Alexis in *Dynasty*).

It was during the 1960s that Spelling produced his defining vision—one that would be evident in every one of his subsequent shows in one form or another. It was his role, he decided, to present the audience with the vision of itself it most wanted to see. In most cases, this meant putting together a glossy, idealized version of Southern California. The public was fascinated, he reasoned, with the trials and tribulations of the wealthy, particularly problems that could not be solved by money (unrequited love, legal entanglements, and

incurable diseases). During the next three decades, he packaged and exported the Southern California lifestyle.

During the 1970s, he caught the viewers' interest in sex and titillation with *Charlie's Angels*, which combined crime fighting action with glamorous women and lots of skin. Although it was based in Los Angeles, the show's action routinely roamed to Palm Springs and Las Vegas—anywhere sex could be combined with wealth and glamour. During the 1980s, Spelling took it even farther with *Dynasty* and its spin-off, *The Colbys*, which presented life among the wealthy in less "black-and-white" terms. Unlike *Charlie's Angels*, there were no clear-cut heroes; it all depended on where individual viewer's sympathies lay. For those who hated the rich and famous, it was simply fun to watch all of the characters strive to do the others in.

By the end of the 1980s, Spelling's star began to dim. The emergence of the sitcom (*Cosby* and *Cheers*) and the public's growing fascination with the gritty realism of Steven Bochco's *Hill Street Blues* signaled trends that Spelling was slow to pick up on. In 1989, to headlines announcing "Spelling Dynasty Over," ABC canceled the show that had led them to the top of the ratings charts. Two of Spelling's medical dramas, ABC's *HeartBeat* and NBC's *Nightengales*, were also canceled. Suddenly, Spelling was unable to sell any of his one-hour programs, prompting him to admit to the *Los Angeles Times*, "I can honestly say that I don't know what the networks want anymore."

Within a year, however, he was back on top with *Beverly Hills 90210* suddenly putting the fledgling Fox network on the map. He followed it with the successful spin-off *Melrose Place*, which proved once and for all that if there was one thing that Spelling knew, it was how to combine money, glamour, and the Southern California lifestyle into an unforgettable package. His knowledge of the youth market paid big dividends in the mid-1990s with such successful shows as *7th Heaven*, *Dawson's Creek*, and *Felicity* reworking his traditional formula to incorporate more real-to-life people and their problems in other areas of the country besides California.

—Sandra Garcia-Myers

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## The Spice Girls

After half a decade of alternative rock authenticity ruling the popular culture landscape, Britain's Spice Girls burst upon the scene in 1996 and—seemingly within five minutes after the release of their debut single, "Wannabe,"—helped change the direction of mainstream pop music for the latter half of the 1990s. While their

explosion happened on a smaller scale than Madonna, Prince, or the nuclear bomb that was Michael Jackson, the Spice Girls nevertheless left a noticeable crater in the pop culture landscape that was still evident by the turn of the century. Just as alternative angst-ridden demigods Nirvana and Pearl Jam wiped away the superficial spectacle that was pop music in the late 1980s, the Spice Girls made being shallow and fun cool again, paving the way for a number of other commercially successful soul/dance-influenced, good-looking boy and girl bands.

The Spice Girls comprised five young women chosen to be in the group after auditioning in 1993, making them similar to many of the "manufactured" girl groups of the early 1960s. But that is where the comparison ends. Writing or cowriting many of their songs, publicly acting fiercely independent, and, importantly, firing their manager before the release of their second album, these women were no mere puppets. Nor were they revolutionaries but, instead, existed very much as sexily dressed commodities who nonetheless brought the fire and brimstone rhetoric of the pro-woman punk rock riot girl movement to pubescent and prepubescent girls—which was either a calculated marketing strategy or a positive, empowering move, depending on one's perspective.

Early on, the girls carved out very specific identities for themselves: Geri Estelle Halliwell (Ginger Spice), Melanine Janine Brown (Scary Spice), Victoria Addams (Posh Spice), Melanie Jayne Chisholm (Sporty Spice) and Emma Lee Bunton (Baby Spice). This made the group more distinctive and, with the help of a number of catchy singles ("Wannabe," "Say You'll Be There" and "2 Become 1"), by the end of 1997 they were one of the top selling acts in the world. Many dismissed them as a passing fad that couldn't last a year and—after a series of Pepsi commercials, Top 40 singles and a feature film—several media watchers believed they would become overexposed and fade from the public's consciousness. Their second album, *Spiceworld*, was considered a flop (even though it went multi-platinum), and in late 1997 it seemed that those predictions might have been true. But the critical and commercial success of their movie, *Spiceworld*, and their subsequent sold-out world tour proved those prophecies to be incorrect. The departure of Geri Halliwell at the beginning of the American leg of their world tour similarly did not keep the group down and certainly did not discourage Spice Girl fans from attending their concerts.

On the surface, the Spice Girls seemed as plastic as Barbie dolls, just as artificial as the numerous dance-pop groups that preceded them before the alternative rock explosion (and those groups that followed in the Spice Girls's wake, such as the popular "boy bands" N-Sync and the Backstreet Boys). While the Spice Girls may be the farthest thing from being "real," debates over their authenticity become moot upon seeing thousands of energized young girls chanting "girl power," the group's slogan. The Spice Girls are certainly not as complex as female-centered artists like Ani DiFranco and Bikini Kill, but at their best they provided a self-esteem boost for thousands of young girls and, at their worst, may have only been "mere" entertainment.

—Kembrew McLeod

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The Spice Girls

## Spider-Man

Spider-Man, a character appearing in Marvel comic books from 1962, ranks not only as Marvel's most popular superhero, but as one of the most instantly recognizable comic-book characters of all. Of the many superheroes to appear over the years, only Superman and perhaps Batman have had a greater impact on the history and fortunes of the comic-book industry. And no other comic-book character has more perfectly realized the adolescent angst and male fantasies at the heart of the modern superhero genre.

With innovative characters like the Fantastic Four and the Incredible Hulk, Marvel, in the 1960s, pioneered the formula for superheroes who evinced such human failings as jealousy, insecurity, and alienation. This stood them in sharp contrast to the impossibly noble and stiff superheroes offered by competitors like DC Comics. Marvel's formula would attract an expanding fan base throughout the 1960s and beyond, ultimately making it the preeminent comic-book company. Although he was not the first of the new Marvel superheroes, Spider-Man was the true archetype of the Marvel formula. In a calculated stab at the teenage market, which had dwindled since the institution of the Comics Code in 1954, writer-editor Stan Lee set out to create a superhero who was himself an adolescent—one who had to wrestle with his own insecurities and personal difficulties as often as

he had to fight the bad guys. This superhero, in Lee's words, "would lose out as often as he'd win—in fact, more often." Lee bypassed his chief artist Jack Kirby and chose Steve Ditko to illustrate the concept, feeling that Ditko's own offbeat style was more appropriate for such an odd character as Spider-Man. The premise was so unusual, in fact, that Lee chose to debut Spider-Man in the fifteenth and final issue of *Amazing Fantasy*, a series slated for cancellation.

The August 1962 issue of that title introduced readers to Peter Parker, a shy bespectacled teenager ridiculed by his classmates for his social awkwardness and his love of science. One day when he attends an exhibit on radioactivity, Peter is bitten by a spider that unbeknownst to him has just been irradiated. Later, Peter discovers that somehow the radioactive spider's bite has transferred its power to him. Now possessing superhuman speed and agility, the ability to cling to walls, and the proportionate strength of a spider, Peter designs himself a pair of web-shooters attached to his wrists, tailors a costume to conceal his identity, and becomes Spider-Man.

What came next in the originating story set the character apart from his costumed predecessors. Instead of swearing an altruistic oath to aid humanity, Peter sets out to cash in on his new powers. Why, after all, should he do anything for a society that has done nothing but ostracize him? He cares only for his Aunt May and Uncle Ben, who have raised him since the death of his parents. So selfish is his pursuit

of fortune and glory that Spider-Man refuses to come to the aid of a policeman who fails to apprehend an escaping burglar. Then one night, Peter comes home to discover that his beloved Uncle Ben has been murdered. As Spider-Man, he pursues the killer only to discover that it is the very same criminal whom he had earlier neglected to stop. The shocking revelation that his self-interest has indirectly led to the death of his uncle forces Spider-Man to accept the role that fate has forced upon him. He learns that “with great power must come great responsibility.” It is this painful lesson that would form the guiding principle and tragic quality of his life as a superhero.

It is difficult to conceive of a more perfect origin story for a comic-book superhero. Lee and Ditko created a hero instantly relevant to the many shy, lonely, and disoriented adolescents who read comic books at a time when anxieties over the perils of atomic energy prevailed in the culture. Young people had a new superhero whom they could truly claim as their own. But Spider-Man’s story imparted an important moral message as well. Although inclined to be a loner, Spider-Man was compelled by tragedy to enlist in a cause. This call to commitment proved to be a watchword not only for Spider-Man, but for the discontented baby boomers who mobilized their numbers in the service of political, social, and cultural change. In this important respect, Spider-Man meshed effortlessly with the currents then shaping 1960s youth culture.

Spider-Man immediately became Marvel’s most popular superhero—a distinction that he has held ever since. Responding to overwhelmingly positive reader mail, Stan Lee in 1963 launched the character in his own series, *The Amazing Spider-Man*, which remained in circulation in the late 1990s. Spider-Man’s commercial

success fueled Marvel’s mid-1960s superhero revival and set the company on the course toward becoming the industry leader.

Stan Lee quite ingeniously billed Spider-Man as “the superhero who could be you.” Peter Parker lived at home with his Aunt May, whose motherly doting was a constant source of inconvenience, as Peter had to fabricate explanations for the late nights and extended absences that Spider-Man’s lifestyle demanded. His high school and college life figured prominently into the stories, as did his job as a photographer for the cranky publisher J. Jonah Jameson’s *Daily Bugle*. His perennial money problems and romantic travails with high school sweetheart Liz Allen, co-worker Betty Brant, and college flames Gwen Stacy and Mary-Jane Watson became an integral part of what was arguably the first comic-book soap opera. Spider-Man’s good-natured wise-cracking, irreverence for authority, and self-deprecating humor made him an especially endearing antihero to the young. Although he battled a colorful array of middle-aged villains like Dr. Octopus, the Green Goblin, and the Vulture, Spider-Man was himself branded an outlaw by the press, the police, and other sources of adult authority who always seemed to suspect and misunderstand the hero’s motives and actions.

Spider-Man’s popularity only grew over the following decades with a proliferation of licensed products, several Saturday-morning television cartoon series, and a long-running syndicated newspaper strip. In keeping with industry trends, Spider-Man’s stories became increasingly sophisticated during the 1970s and 1980s. Three notable issues in 1971 defied the Comics Code Authority by dealing explicitly with the subject of drug abuse. The controversy over the anti-drug stories led immediately to the liberalization of the Comics Code. Mindful of the fact that Spider-Man was especially popular among the youngest comic-book readers, Marvel has tended to keep the series rather squarely within the boundaries of mainstream cultural acceptability.

Several new comic-book titles featuring the hero increased his presence in the market to near-saturation point during the late 1980s and 1990s. In 1990 the first issue of *Spider-Man* sold a record two million copies in multiple printings. The proliferation of the *Spider-Man* series and crossover stories prompted a number of fans to charge that Marvel was over-marketing their favorite hero at the expense of coherent stories, but this controversy has done little to diminish his standing among general comic-book readers. The lack of a major movie deal and accompanying hype on par with that of DC’s Superman and Batman has limited Spider-Man’s exposure in American mass culture. But that fact may also help account for his continuing popularity among comic-book fans, a subculture generally resistant to mainstream media trends.

It is Spider-Man who most completely epitomizes the ideal of the comic-book superhero for people raised since the 1960s. As a personification of adolescent anxieties and fantasies, Spider-Man truly deserves his status as the quintessential modern comic-book superhero.

—Bradford W. Wright

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## Spiegelman, Art

See *Maus*

## Spielberg, Steven (1946—)

Reviewing Steven Spielberg's first theatrical film, *Sugarland Express*, in 1974, critic Pauline Kael wrote, "The director, Steven Spielberg, is twenty-six; I can't tell if he has any mind, or even a strong personality . . . but he has a sense of composition and movement that almost any director might envy . . . He could be that rarity among directors—a born entertainer." The next year, Spielberg came out with *Jaws*, the blockbuster that helped launch a new era in Hollywood, and put Spielberg on the road to becoming the most successful filmmaker of his time. By the 1990s, not only was he considered by many critics to be one of the most talented filmmakers in history, but he had broken three modern box office records (with *Jaws*, *E.T.*, and *Jurassic Park*), owned his own studio, and was reportedly worth almost \$2 billion.

Steven Allan Spielberg was born on December 18, 1946 (not 1947, as traditionally reported) in Cincinnati, Ohio. His youth—displaced from Ohio to New Jersey to Arizona to California, obsessed



Steven Spielberg

with movies, television, and comic books, bullied by anti-Semites, and culminating in his parents' divorce—seems to form the subtext of many of his films. Crucial to his success has been his ability to invest the horror, science fiction, and other Hollywood genres he has continually recycled with the emotional force of his childhood obsessions. His early family difficulties, for example, seem to have provided raw material for a filmography crammed with broken homes, abandoned children, and wayward, would-be, or substitute fathers.

Spielberg started making amateur films at age ten. He made the amateur 8mm sci-fi feature *Firelight* in 1964, at age 17. Rejected from the prestigious film schools at the University of Southern California and the University of California Los Angeles, he attended California State College at Long Beach. While contemporaries such as George Lucas, Francis Ford Coppola, and Martin Scorsese became the first "Film School Generation," Spielberg was essentially self-taught, spending three days a week during college hanging around the Universal lot, observing and hobnobbing. His last amateur film, the short *Amblin'* (1968), won him a directing contract at Universal, prompting *The Hollywood Reporter* to call him the youngest filmmaker ever contracted to a major studio. For the next two years, he directed television programs like *Night Gallery*, *Marcus Welby, M.D.*, and *Columbo*.

Spielberg's professional feature debut, the made-for-television road thriller *Duel* (1972), made an international splash, prompting *LA Times* television critic Cecil Smith to remark, "Steve Spielberg is really the *wunderkind* of the film business." Spielberg quickly established himself as a leading figure in American mass culture. In nine years, he made five of the highest grossing films of his era, a feat certainly unsurpassed in film history. *Jaws*, essentially a horror film starring a huge mechanical shark, was so successful that it helped transform the whole American film industry from the post-studio dispersion of the 1960s to "the blockbuster mentality" of the 1980s. It also marked Spielberg's debut as an impresario of cutting-edge special effects. In *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977), Spielberg transformed the 1950s movie alien from a monster into a saint. Ray Bradbury called it a religious film; Jean Renoir called it poetry. The more nakedly commercial *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981) and its two sequels (1984 and 1989) re-popularized the adventure serial genre with tongue planted firmly in cheek. With *E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial* (1982), a fairy tale about a boy's friendship with an alien stranded on Earth, Spielberg made what is probably the most cherished film of modern times. It made him a celebrity in his own right, and even garnered him a United Nations Peace Medal. Spielberg's influence on American culture in this period cannot be overestimated. Indiana Jones, *E.T.*, and the shark became durable American icons, helping to transform the national Zeitgeist from the turbulence of the 1960s to the high-tech nostalgia of the 1980s.

In 1985, Spielberg began a series of attempts to break away from the kind of genre-dominated filmmaking that had previously defined his career. *The Color Purple* (1985) was his first feature entirely about people (no car chases, sharks, or aliens). He took a huge risk in tackling Alice Walker's historical novel of black female liberation, and the results were ambiguous. While successful with the mainstream of American viewers and critics, *The Color Purple* was the first in a series of "serious" Spielberg films accused by a vocal minority of substituting sentimentality for an honest engagement with historical and political realities. The apparently perfect marriage between art and commerce that Spielberg had attained in his earlier

genre films began to founder. *Empire of the Sun* (1987), *Always* (1989), and *Hook* (1991) met with mixed reviews.

In 1993, Spielberg regained commercial and critical success, though not in the same film. First came another box office smash, *Jurassic Park*, a return to the horror genre, with computer-generated dinosaurs instead of a mechanical shark. Then came *Schindler's List*, a self-consciously European-style Holocaust film in black and white, and winner of seven Academy awards, including Best Picture and Spielberg's first for Best Director. This alternating pattern repeated with two films in 1997: a *Jurassic Park* sequel, and *Amistad*, the true story of a maritime slave revolt. It remains to be seen whether *Saving Private Ryan* (1998) signifies a reunion of Spielberg's commercial and artistic ambitions.

Considering their authorship by a variety of screenwriters and their mass appeal, Spielberg's films display a striking degree of thematic and stylistic unity. In Spielberg's world, the highest ideal is childlike innocence—embodied by children themselves, endangered by monsters and villains, defended by heroes, reclaimed by grown men, and symbolized by flying. Human relationships in the films are based on the model of the family broken and mended. Emotions tend to the extremes of terror and wonder. Stylistically, Spielberg's talent for visual composition is unsurpassed. With his embrace of high technology, his blending of genre and art cinema traditions, his prodigious quotation of other films, and his increasing concern with themes of vision and artifice, Spielberg is a consummate postmodernist. During the 1990s, his thematics and stylistics have tended to become unified under the banner of excessive, if sometimes historically justified, violence.

While Spielberg's directorial career alone would guarantee him a place in the history of mass culture, he has also made his mark as a film producer, studio mogul, and civic personality. He formed the highly successful production company, Amblin Entertainment, in 1984, producing or executive producing such films as *Gremlins* (1984), *Back to the Future* (1985), *An American Tail* (1986), and *Who Framed Roger Rabbit?* (1988), and such television series as *Tiny Toon Adventures* and *ER*.

In 1994, Spielberg launched both DreamWorks and the Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation. DreamWorks SKG, co-founded with film executive Jeffrey Katzenberg and music mogul David Geffen as the first new major Hollywood studio since the 1930s, produces film, television, music, and computer-based entertainment. With *Schindler's List*, Spielberg publicly reclaimed his Jewish heritage and proclaimed his civic ideals. Seeded with \$6 million from his *Schindler's List* earnings, the Shoah Foundation set out to videotape 50,000 testimonies by Holocaust survivors around the world, to catalogue them, and to make them available for research and education via a sophisticated interactive computer system.

Thematically, economically, and ideologically, Spielberg's truest predecessor was Walt Disney. For many, he represents Hollywood at its best. For some, he represents it at its worst. His films have been criticized as both infantile and manipulative—essentially as theme park thrill rides. His adherence to a liberal political agenda has been accused of masking a retrograde paternalism in both his films and his business dealings. The new Hollywood he helped create has been viewed as the embodiment of the most greedy and destructive tendencies of capitalism. Even his Shoah Foundation has been criticized for Hollywood-izing history. A genius without, as Kael put

it, "a mind," Spielberg embodies the contradictions of late twentieth-century American mass culture.

—Joshua Hirsch

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## Spillane, Mickey (1918—)

In terms of sales, Mickey Spillane is one of the most popular writers of the twentieth century, and of all time. In terms of the content of the books themselves and the two fictional heroes for which he is best known, he has been widely reviled for his portrayal of extreme violence, sexual excess, and right-wing bigotry. Whatever the opinions of his critics, since the 1940s Spillane has proved himself to be a talented comic book writer, an author of prize-winning books for



Mickey Spillane

children and young adults, and, through his *Mike Hammer* series, a key player in the history of the hard-boiled detective novel.

Frank Michael Morrison Spillane was born in Brooklyn, New York, and brought up by working-class parents during the Great Depression. He began publishing stories in the pulp magazines soon after graduating from High School and, dropping out of college and frustrated with his sales job, eventually ended up working on comic books. In *One Lonely Knight* Max Allan Collins and James L. Traylor suggested that he was particularly successful at this, producing three times the output of other writers and devising a new, more efficient method of composition. When the war intervened, Spillane became a fighter pilot instructor, and afterwards found that comic books were no longer popular enough to provide a reliable source of income. This led him to write his first novel and to create the New York-based detective, Mike Hammer.

The first Mike Hammer novel, *I, the Jury*, was published in 1947 and is a landmark in the development of private-eye fiction. Famously, in *I, The Jury*, Mike Hammer discovers his lover, Charlotte, to be the killer he has been pursuing. When she tries to save herself by seducing him, Hammer shoots her and leaves her to die. The underlying moral logic of this (that the villain must be punished at whatever cost to the hero) is no different from Sam Spade's turning Brigid O'Shaunnessy over to the police in Dashiell Hammett's *The Maltese Falcon* (1930). However, Spillane's novel represents a significant shift from public to private justice. Sam Spade investigates but does not punish crime. Mike Hammer is investigator, judge, jury, and executioner. Spillane's other series hero, the spy Tiger Mann, is also successful in his use of violence to solve problems. *Tiger Mann* differs in very little other than name from Mike Hammer and appears to have been written in response to successful spy stories, including Ian Fleming's *James Bond* novels in the 1950s and 1960s.

After publishing seven novels between 1947 and 1952, Spillane seemed to respond to criticism of his portrayal of sex and violence by producing no more for the next nine years, although he continued to write and publish short stories during this period. When he began publishing novels again in 1961, the violence in them, and particularly the link between sex and violence, was hardly diminished, but over the years since, Spillane's reputation with critics gradually improved. He became respected as one of the most influential mystery writers of the late twentieth century. After producing over 30 adult novels, including 13 Mike Hammer adventures and four in the Tiger Mann spy series, Spillane surprised critics by publishing a novel for children and young adults, *The Day the Sea Rolled Back*, in 1979, which won a Junior Guild Literary Award.

Spillane has always been heavily involved in promoting his work. He has appeared as Mike Hammer on film and on the covers of some of the later novels, as well as reading his work on audio recordings. He made numerous chat show and game show appearances during the 1970s and even appeared as a parody of Mike Hammer in TV commercials for Miller beer. Somewhat notoriously, his second wife, Sherri, posed nude for the dustjackets of *The Erection Set* (1972), and *The Last Cop Out* (1973). Despite this, Spillane remains a rather private man, and his desire for publicity is perhaps summed up in a comment he made, quoted in *One Lonely Knight*: "Hell, I'm not an author, I'm a writer. I've got to make a living, somehow."

—Chris Routledge

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## Spin

Just as a tennis player puts spin on the ball in order to influence the direction of its bounce, so too do public figures (especially politicians) try to "spin" events so as to favorably influence coverage by the news media. The first uses of the term "spin" in this context date to the U.S. elections of 1984, and the term "spin doctor," meaning a press secretary, publicist, campaign manager, or other surrogate adept at dealing with the press, came into use about 1990. Given the growing plethora of news outlets and the undeniable power of the news media to influence public opinion, the concept of spin control has only become more prevalent by the end of the century.

Political campaigns are prime occasions for the exercise of spin control, because everything that occurs in a campaign, short of the final vote count, is open to interpretation. The candidate who placed second in a primary, for example, may spin the result as a moral victory or as a sign of growing momentum. The candidate in third place may claim that the result is acceptable, considering the very limited time and money that he or she spent in the state. The candidate coming in fourth may claim to have gained valuable experience and name recognition that might bode well for future primary contests.

One aspect of campaigns that is especially amenable to spin is the political debate, which lacks clear criteria for victory, and the television audience is not, in any case, made up of trained debate judges. As a result, the opinions of media pundits can have a great influence on public perceptions of a political debate's outcome. This is well illustrated by Gerald Ford's remark, during a 1976 televised debate with Jimmy Carter, about the status of Poland. In response to an earlier statement by Carter, Ford claimed that Poland was not under the domination of the Soviet Union. Opinion polls conducted immediately after the debate showed that a significant portion of the audience thought Ford had done well. But by the next day, after the news media had made much of Ford's gaffe about Poland, many viewers apparently decided that Carter was the debate's clear winner. Occasions like this, demonstrating the media's power to sway public perceptions, have convinced political professionals of the necessity of effective spin control.

Wartime provides another instance of the usefulness of spin, especially in the post-Vietnam War era. It is virtually doctrine at the highest levels of the U.S. armed forces that the news media "lost" the Vietnam War for America by writing and broadcasting stories that undermined the public's will to win. News stories about human rights abuses by the South Vietnamese government, mistreatment of prisoners and other atrocities allegedly committed by U.S. troops, and the

effects upon civilians of indiscriminate bombing of North Vietnam—along with vivid images of dead, dying, and horribly disfigured American troops—are believed by the Pentagon to have convinced many citizens that the war was unwinnable.

That does not mean that spin control was absent during the Vietnam War. It was, in fact, widely attempted by politicians at home and by the Military Assistance Command in Vietnam. But the official spin on the war lost effectiveness as the conflict dragged on. President Lyndon Johnson, whose Vietnam policies had enjoyed wide support in 1964, was alleged to have developed a “credibility gap” concerning the war by 1967—a euphemism for the belief that Johnson had been caught lying. In Vietnam, military Public Information Officers held daily press briefings in Saigon at 5 p.m. In time, many journalists grew so cynical about the official spin on the war that they began to refer to the briefings as the “Five O’Clock Follies.” Fed up with the official line, many reporters went off on their own, and in the process sometimes uncovered stories embarrassing to both the U.S. military and its commander in chief.

Having learned what it saw as the public relations lesson of Vietnam, the Pentagon has since taken careful and comprehensive steps to ensure that media coverage of military conflict receives the proper spin. The new policy involves the close supervision of reporters in combat zones, restriction of journalists from “sensitive” areas, and frequent official briefings so as to ensure that journalists receive the military’s version of events. This approach was followed successfully by the military in Grenada (1984) and Panama (1990). However, the crowning achievement in military spin control probably came in the Persian Gulf War. In the Saudi Arabia staging area for Coalition forces, correspondents were forbidden to travel on their own; instead, battlefield newsgathering was only permitted by a closely supervised “pool” of reporters, while the others were left behind. Then, the journalists were brought back to the press area to brief their colleagues. Military briefings during the Gulf War were much more effective as spin than the “Five O’Clock Follies”: the carefully scripted briefings created the desired impression of the Coalition Forces’ invincibility.

A more recent spin control campaign began in the spring of 1998, when stories began to surface in Washington alleging that President Bill Clinton had engaged in a sexual relationship with a young White House intern named Monica Lewinsky. The Clinton White House, especially Press Secretary Mike McCurry, tried hard to spin the story into something innocuous. Observing McCurry at work over a long period, writer Howard Kurtz derived some of the press secretary’s “spin strategies,” including: 1) Don’t let television break a scandal. If it’s inevitable, leak it to the print media, which tend to provide more nuance and are seen by considerably fewer people; 2) Do not let Senate committees break scandals, either. Beat them to the punch by informing the media yourself, providing your own “spin” in the process; and 3) Leak favorable but boring stories to one media outlet as an “exclusive”—chances are, they’ll be grateful enough to give the story a positive spin.

—Justin Gustainis

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## Spiritualists

See Psychics

## Spitz, Mark (1950—)

The first Olympian ever to win seven gold medals in a single Olympics, U.S. swimmer Mark Spitz became part hero and part controversial athlete during his Olympic career. With his black mustache and movie star looks, Spitz dominated his sport in 1972 and retired to find even greater fame as the first athlete to become a commercial success in corporate America. Even the specter of terrorism at the 1972 Munich games did not lessen his extraordinary appeal. With 11 Olympic medals under his belt and a reported \$5 million in endorsements, Spitz enjoyed enormous popularity and success in the 1970s.

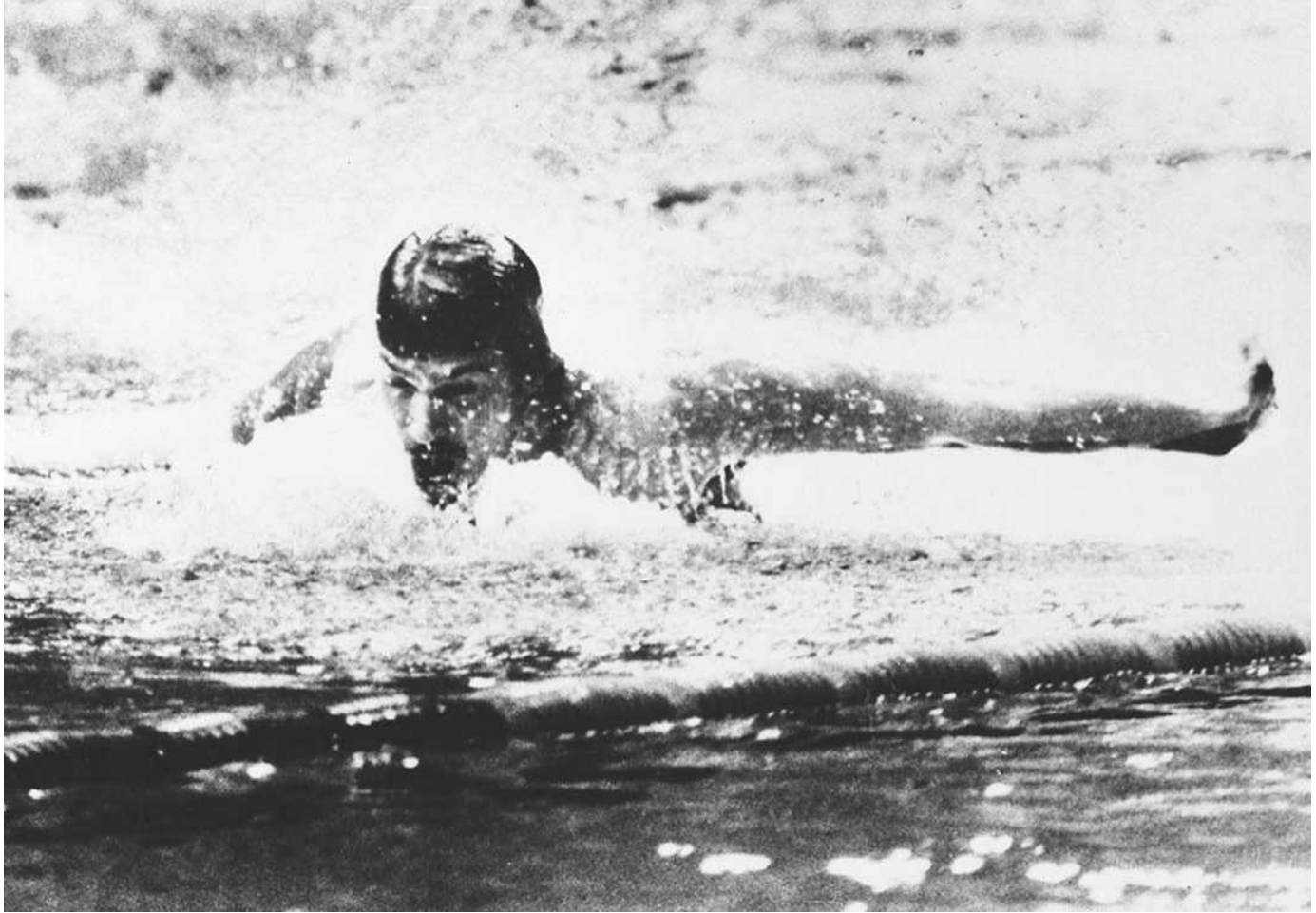
Spitz began training at an early age, and by the age of eight he was already swimming in competitions. With his family firmly behind him, the Spitzes relocated to California in search of a better training environment. Spitz received encouragement and training from both his father, Arnold, and three coaches during the course of his career. Coaches Sherm Chavoon, Doc Counsilman, and George Hains, all Hall of Fame members, guided Spitz to success in competition.

Known for his self-confidence, Spitz was not always popular with his teammates but continued to train for both team and individual competitions. By the 1968 Summer Olympics in Mexico City, the outspoken Spitz had already made a name for himself as a cocky, self-assured young man. In the days before the games, he boasted that he would take home six gold medals. Unfortunately, his prediction fell far short; he won only two gold medals, one silver medal, and one bronze medal. Disappointed, but not daunted, Spitz returned home to train with the Indiana University swim team in preparation for the 1972 Summer Olympics in Munich, West Germany.

By the beginning of the 1972 Olympics, Spitz had matured as both an athlete and as a person. His personal appearances lacked the boasting predictions of 1968, and he appeared more focused on his goal of winning as many medals as possible. His determination paid off. By the end of his second Olympiad, Spitz had won seven gold medals and set seven world records in only eight days, a record that remained unbroken throughout the century. Even amid the terrorism during the Munich games, in which nine members of the Israeli team, a West German police officer, and all five Arab terrorists were killed, Spitz’s victories remained a high point for both himself and the U.S. Olympic swim team.

Spitz’s popular appeal did not wane following the 1972 Olympics, and he returned home a hero with seven gold medals, endorsement contracts, and even a popular poster underscoring his achievements as the winner of seven gold medals. With a contract from the William Morris Agency, Spitz promoted a range of items from swimwear and pool accessories to milk, razors, and even hair dryers. In addition to his endorsements, Spitz also made numerous television appearances with such stars as Sonny and Cher and Bob Hope.

However, Spitz never really found success in the advertising world. Lacking the agents and the public relations experts employed by athletes in the 1990s, Spitz did not receive the guidance he needed to succeed in product endorsement. He was considered “too quiet” by some and was criticized for his often stiff appearance on camera.



### Mark Spitz

But by the standards of the 1990s, the most surprising criticism Spitz received was that he endorsed too many products. After clearing the way for future athletes to carve out lucrative niches in advertising, Spitz left both his swimming career and his endorsements behind for a life out of the spotlight.

By the time he retired from swimming shortly after his 1972 Olympic victories, Spitz, at age 23, had won 11 Olympic medals and had set 26 individual world records and 24 national records. In 1972, he was named World Swimmer of the Year and was inducted into the International Swimming Hall of Fame as an Honor Swimmer in 1977. In the years following Munich, Spitz led a busy life pursuing a wide variety of interests including real estate investments, sailing, speaking engagements, and appearances at swimming events.

In the 1990s Spitz attempted a comeback at the age of 40. His attempt to qualify in the 100-meter butterfly for the 1992 games fell short, and he retired again. But this setback did not alter his love of the sport or his active participation in it. At the 1998 World Championships in Perth, Australia, Spitz proposed the creation of a position dealing with the problem of performance-enhancing drugs used by swimmers. Though no longer a competitor, Spitz retains his love for and interest in the sport through personal appearances at competitions and the enjoyment he still finds in swimming. Though his outstanding career has been punctuated with disappointments in 1968, tragedy in

1972, and a failed comeback in 1992, Mark Spitz remains a national hero and a shining star in the Olympic firmament.

—Kimberley H. Kidd

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### Spock, Dr. Benjamin (1903-1998)

By introducing new child-rearing techniques that contradicted those practiced for hundreds of years, pediatrician Dr. Benjamin McLane Spock changed the way several generations of parents raised their children. Through his practice, his books, and his articles in numerous child-rearing magazines, he taught parents that their own common sense, their own instincts, their unique bond with their children, were to be trusted more than any theories. He told them to

listen to their children and to respect their unique individual abilities. Dr. Spock gave parents flexible tools to use for child rearing, which he called “a long, hard job.” Without being an ideologue or professing to be a guru, Dr. Spock and his liberal views on child rearing also opened or reinforced new directions in education. From the 1950s education moved away from the force-fed teaching of pre-digested materials toward a nurturing of children’s natural desires for knowledge.

As North America’s foremost pediatrician and parenting authority for over fifty years, Dr. Spock had the privilege of witnessing firsthand the results of his earlier recommendations to parents. His best-known book, *Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* (later re-titled *Baby and Child Care*), was published in June 1946 and became the predominant how-to guide for parents in the post-World War II baby boom. In it, Dr. Spock urged parents to trust their instincts and their own parenting abilities. The book became a virtual bible of child rearing, guiding many parents from the 1950s to the 1990s. By the end of the century, virtually all parents with young children in the United States had grown up within the child-rearing and educational framework advised by Dr. Spock. Though parts of the book have been criticized as fostering over-permissiveness, the book remained one of the most influential books on parenting at the end of



Dr. Benjamin Spock

the twentieth century. Dr. Spock embraced the flexibility he asked of parents by adapting his basic volume to changes in society, expanding and revising it several times during his lifetime.

The United States was ripe for change when Dr. Spock first introduced his radical ideas. The end of World War II in 1945 meant the end of many social values inherited from the nineteenth century, and, with the disappearance of those—along with so many millions of human beings the world over—there was a need for new beginnings and different ways of tackling the world. If the atomic bomb created a constant nuclear death threat, the joys of reunion with the homecoming veterans spurred a celebration of life.

Dr. Spock’s optimistic vision of parents was welcomed in this climate. His confidence in parental instincts probably found its source, deep down, in Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s romantic vision of mankind as fundamentally good. Nevertheless, Spock’s optimism found willing readers from veterans who had experienced cruelty, savagery, and crimes against humanity during the war. Parents of children during the 1950s clearly wanted to turn their backs on misery and despair and to believe that the world was good, that life could only get better, that progress was now unlimited, and that the future was wide open. Gone was the rigid discipline and sacrifice used to contribute to the war effort; gone was the rationing of sugar, bananas, meat, cigarettes, butter, chocolate, and gasoline. Americans could rejoice in their lives and their new prosperity. Such optimistic views and indulgence luxuries would last until the “difficult times” of the 1970s and beyond—times that Dr. Spock would address in his further writings.

The generation most influenced by Dr. Spock was the baby-boom generation, which would give the second half of the twentieth century many of its characteristics. The significant increase in the number of babies born in 1946 over those born in 1945 is attributable to the return of veterans of the war to their current or future wives. In 1945 2,873,000 babies were born compared to 3,500,000 in 1946, a 20 percent increase. In 1954 the number increased to 4,000,000 and remained high through 1964, the last year of the baby-boom generation. The sheer number of babies born at the same time gave tremendous importance to Dr. Spock’s writings and teachings. Dr. Spock’s opinions would shape the first generation of children born into a United States that was a dominant world power.

From the Middle Ages, children raised within Western traditions had been considered trainees, who should be taught early on to obey specific rules. Feeding was restricted to specific hours and toilet training had to be done according to specific principles and at precise ages. The rules applied to all children regardless of their individual differences. This approach, still widely practiced in some European contexts and in highly socialized countries in Asia, runs counter to the advice given to the parents of baby boomers by Dr. Spock. “I wanted to be supportive of parents rather than to scold them,” Dr. Spock said. “My book set out very deliberately to counteract some of the rigidities of pediatric tradition, particularly in infant feeding.” He emphasized what may have been obvious to parents with some degree of common sense (especially parents of multiple children), but may not have been obvious to authors of books on parenting: there were enormous differences between individual babies. These differences were important, and had to be taken into account. Parents needed to be flexible and did not need to worry constantly about “spoiling” as a danger. Aside from giving parents permission to make their own decisions, Dr. Spock also needed to dispel many myths about what was good or bad for children. When he began practicing pediatrics, bananas were considered hazardous to a



young child's health and castor oil was praised as a cure-all. Obviously, that first book was needed. In the 52 years since its publication, 50 million copies of *Baby and Child Care* have been sold, and the book has been translated into 39 languages.

This extremely influential man did not live his life in the ivory tower of some academic community. Born on May 2, 1903, in the New England community of New Haven, Connecticut, he had gone to Yale University, and been a member of the crew team that won a gold medal for the United States in the 1924 Olympics. He then went on to receive his medical degree from Columbia University and went to the New York Psychoanalytic Institute for further studies. He was not an advisor who did not practice what he preached either: from his marriage in 1927 with Jane Cheney (that would end in divorce after 48 years) two sons were born, Michael and John.

While maintaining a private practice in New York City, he taught pediatrics at Cornell University from 1933 to 1943. He participated in World War II as a psychiatrist in the U.S. Naval Reserve Medical Corps, and was discharged as a Lieutenant Commander in 1946. He then went on to teach psychiatry at the University of Minnesota, which he left in 1951 to join the University of Pittsburgh as professor of child development. In 1955, he joined the faculty at Case Western Reserve University.

The enormous influence Spock had through his books exemplified the changes in society. The traditional way of handling child-rearing practices had been through confidential, direct information from doctor or nurse to the parent, or from parents to children of parenting age. Such practices continued, of course, but they did not correspond to the needs of a new age, with growing mass media where everything had to be made available to the largest possible number, through paperbacks or newspaper articles, radio broadcasts or cassette tapes. To reach these audiences, he wrote or collaborated on 15 books over the years. With his wife, Mary Morgan, he wrote an autobiography, *Spock on Spock*, published in 1989. He also wrote columns for more than 30 years in mass-market publications such as *Ladies Home Journal* or *Redbook*. He was a contributing editor to *Parenting* magazine (including the Web version for the last year of his life) from 1992 until his death. The editors of *Parenting* magazine mourned his death by saying, "We will miss his common sense approach to parenting and his dedication to raising healthy, happy children. The work he did at *ParentTime* will continue to be available as *Dr. Spock's Perspective* and soon we will publish a number of columns he did for us that have never been seen before. It is our hope that future generations of parents and children will benefit from his beliefs." From his perspective, the Internet was certainly new, but did not modify the basic realities of parenting: "Despite the newness of this setting," Spock said, "parents and children really haven't changed, and I anticipate addressing many of the same concerns and issues I have for the past six decades."

As the baby boomers have aged, Dr. Spock has been criticized for preaching permissiveness and was held responsible for a "Spock-marked" generation of hippies. Such criticism should certainly be put in perspective. There is no doubt that Spock did endorse beliefs held by the younger generation. He certainly was neither a fundamentalist of any kind, nor an arch-conservative. He joined protests against nuclear technology and the Vietnam war. While Vice President Spiro Agnew accused him of corrupting the youth of America, Dr. Spock only took credit, though, for having a "mild influence." His message had not been to substitute the preaching of a "doctor" for sound parental judgment. This included a measure of discipline and parental authority. Respecting and understanding children was not letting

them do anything they wanted. Contrary to the claims of his critics, Dr. Spock was always a firm believer in sound, responsible parental authority. He said: "Respect children because they deserve respect, and they'll grow up to be better people. But I've always said, ask for respect from you children, ask for cooperation, ask for politeness. Give your children firm leadership." He went beyond this statement, though, by saying: "strictness or permissiveness is not the real issue. Good-hearted parents who aren't afraid to be firm when it is necessary can get good results with either moderate strictness or moderate permissiveness. On the other hand, a strictness that comes from harsh feelings or a permissiveness that is timid or vacillating can each lead to poor results."

The basic message Dr. Spock sent to parents remains: "Don't take too seriously all that the neighbors say. Don't be overawed by what the experts say. Trust yourself, you know more than you think you know." It is a message of respect in all possible ways: respect for parents by a health professional, respect for children by parents, respect for parents by children. It is a deeply humanist message, stating that the real values are always individual values, that the only valid judgment is the judgment made by responsible individuals. It is the very opposite of cults and of every theory or system that would diminish, reduce, or even annihilate the fundamental duty that we have to our individual decision-making process, in child rearing or in any other matters. Dr. Spock left a deep impression of wisdom. He died at the age of 94 at his home in San Diego, with his family by his side.

—Henri Parette

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## Sport Utility Vehicles (SUVs)

Short for sport utility vehicle, the SUV earned its name by its ability to transport people and their gear to outdoor recreation areas. While the SUV has been available to drivers in the United States since the end of World War II, its immense popularity arose only in the 1980s and 1990s, when baby boomers discovered that the more luxurious models were a sporty and practical alternative to the family sedan, minivan, or station wagon. Even though the majority of SUVs rarely go off road, many owners appreciate the rugged potential of SUV, while safety-conscious drivers value its handling on snow and ice.

The first SUVs in the United States were much more spartan than the Mercedes, Lexus, and Cadillac versions of the 1990s. Surplus military Jeeps converted to meet the needs of the civilian market at the

end of World War II, the first SUVs met the recreational demands of consumers who sought escape from the deprivation of the Great Depression and war-time rationing.

The supply of surplus military Jeeps did not last long, however, and the Willys-Overland Company began to produce models specifically for the civilian market. Ranchers, farmers, hunters, and campers appreciated their affordability and the fact that they were four-wheel drive. These early models did not compete with passenger automobiles because they lacked space for both people and luggage and because they handled like the trucks on which they were based. Although International Harvester manufactured the Travelall and the Scout, and Jeep brought out the Jeep Wagoneer, the first dedicated sport utility from a major manufacturer was the Ford Bronco, introduced in 1966 and followed in 1969 by the Chevy Blazer and GMC Jimmy. These relatively compact SUVs were joined in 1973 by the Suburban, which was marketed by both Chevrolet and GMC and came in a choice of two- or four-wheel drive versions. (An earlier version of the Suburban, which appeared in the 1930s, was a delivery truck, not a true SUV.) Still the largest SUV in the 1990s, the Suburban offered interior spaciousness and towing capacity unknown to earlier models.

The gas shortage of the 1970s created numerous changes in U.S. driving habits. Gasoline shortages, long lines at the pumps, and the encouragement of public figures, including President Jimmy Carter, caused many Americans to abandon their gas-guzzling muscle cars for a more socially responsible alternative. Although many drivers chose either small European or Japanese cars, others discovered the versatility of imported trucks. Still others found that they needed a vehicle that could tow a boat or trailer. In 1983, both General Motors and Ford offered alternatives to the imports, a smaller version of the Blazer and the Jimmy and the Bronco II. Although SUVs in the early 1980s counted for only two percent of all vehicle sales in the United States, drivers were very different from those who had purchased converted military jeeps. Instead of wanting a vehicle for off-road use, the new generation of SUV owners included a high percentage of women who wanted an alternative to the station wagon and later to the minivan.

Attempting to appeal to these diverse drivers, manufacturers offered more amenities, including more horsepower, sophisticated sound systems, better handling, and the ability to "shift on the fly" from two-wheel drive to four-wheel drive. In addition, manufacturers began offering a variety of sizes from the tiny sub-compact Suzuki Sidekick (which weighed under 3,000 pounds and towed a modest 1,500 pounds) to the behemoths of the SUV set, the Chevrolet and GMC Suburbans, weighing over two tons and able to tow 10,000 pounds. In 1998, about one in every eight vehicles sold in the United States was a SUV, and that trend shows no signs of diminishing as the children of baby boomers leave the nest while their still-youthful parents have time and energy for recreational activities.

Enthusiasm for SUVs was dampened briefly in 1997 when Consumers Union, publishers of *Consumer Reports*, petitioned the National Highway Traffic Administration to investigate the Isuzu Trooper (1995/96) and the Acura SLX (1996) for placing occupants at a higher risk for rollovers. Other studies, including those by NHTSA, reported different conclusions, including the fact that the additional size and weight of SUVs made them safer than passenger automobiles. Nonetheless, many manufacturers aggressively addressed the perceived threat by warning consumers to drive SUVs a bit differently.

While SUVs have gained popularity with consumers, they are not popular with everyone. In fact, groups like the Sierra Club and

Friends of the Earth criticize SUVs for their impact on the environment. Classified as light trucks under federal rules, SUVs must meet less stringent fuel and emission standards than are required of passenger automobiles; and because they can also go off road, they can inflict greater damage on the environment. In addition, their higher ground clearance means that they can inflict costly damage on smaller cars. As a result, some insurance companies have raised their liability rates on SUVs.

Sales of SUVs continue to be strong at the end of the 1990s because they provide both a sporty feel and the ability to transport everything from boats and trailers to Labrador Retrievers to a gaggle of school children and their gear. More fun than the sedans and station wagons that baby boomers remember from their childhoods and more versatile than their chief competitor, the minivan, SUVs (many with designer labels, such as the Orvis Edition Jeep Grand Cherokee and the Eddie Bauer Ford Explorer) offer American drivers both more practicality and panache than their ancestors, the Jeep and Land Rover of the post World War II years.

—Carol A. Senf

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## *The Sporting News*

Known as the "Bible of Baseball," *The Sporting News* helped to expand the popularity of baseball among Americans in the first half of the twentieth century, before coverage of the sport was saturated by daily newspapers, radio, and television. A weekly newspaper, *The Sporting News* provided in-depth coverage of baseball that reflected its close connections to the game's inner circles and thoroughly informed its readers, helping to elevate baseball to its status as the national pastime. For many years, the tagline "The Base Ball Paper of the World" ran on the paper's front-page masthead.

"*The Sporting News*' coverage of baseball issues, ranging from the reserve clause and the farm system to night baseball, radio, and the major leagues' color barrier, represents more than an incidental source of information about baseball," G. Edward White wrote in his book *Creating the National Pastime: Baseball Transforms Itself 1903-1953*. "*The Sporting News* was consistently traditionalist to the point of being reactionary about most innovations in the game, although it made an effort to give a fair-minded presentation of most issues."

*The Sporting News* was owned and operated by the Spink family from 1886 to 1977. Its founder was Al Spink, a Canadian emigre who became a St. Louis promoter interested not only in baseball but also horse racing and the theater. When Al Spink suffered a financial setback, he enticed his brother Charlie to leave his homestead in the Dakotas and take over the fledgling newspaper. In its early years, the newspaper covered horse racing and the theater, as well as baseball, boxing, hunting, track, and cycling. In the early 1900s, Charlie Spink

set the editorial direction that would distinguish the publication for decades to come—the paper would cover only baseball.

With a circulation of a meager 3,000 readers at the turn of the century, Charlie Spink hoped to capture more readers by establishing editorial positions that stood for the good of the game, not necessarily the position of the baseball team owners. Perhaps the paper's most controversial position was to support Ban Johnson in his 1901 quest to establish the American League as a second major league to the National League. "The success of these crusades, combined with the changing nature of baseball, helped to consolidate the paper's editorial position," Stanley Frank wrote in his 1942 *Saturday Evening Post* article entitled "Bible of Baseball."

Sparse advertising revenue in the early years led Charlie Spink to contract with correspondents rather than hire permanent writers for much of the paper's content. Born out of frugality, the correspondent system became one of the paper's great strengths, giving readers the insight of a local scribe who witnessed the action and conversed with the participants as opposed to the basic details of wire reports. The correspondent system was especially important to the paper's extensive coverage of the minor leagues, a hallmark of its Bible of Baseball reputation. While most readers could get at least an overview of results of major league competition in their local daily newspapers, *The Sporting News* was the only publication that consolidated coverage of the minor leagues, covering the up-and-coming players as well as the big league stars and players. Another hallmark of *The Sporting News* was its printing of box scores from both major and minor league games.

When Charlie Spink died in 1914, his son J. G. Taylor Spink took over as publisher of the newspaper. During his 48-year tenure, he cemented the publication's place in baseball journalism. In his *Saturday Evening Post* article, Frank described Taylor Spink as "the game's unofficial conscience, historian, watchdog and worshipper; and happily, he has made a nice piece of change in these public-spirited roles." Taylor Spink piloted *The Sporting News* as baseball emerged as the nation's favorite spectator sport in the 1920s and 1930s, campaigning for progressive policies to improve baseball and keep it an honest game following the 1919 Black Sox scandal. Two of his innovations had lasting impacts on the game of baseball. In 1925 he introduced *The Sporting News* annual major league all-star team, selecting the best players at each position and best left- and right-handed pitchers. This was the precursor to an actual game among all-stars that began in 1933. In the late 1920s, *The Sporting News* also picked the most valuable players in each major league, filling a void in the abandoned haphazard approaches previously used to select players for this honor. This led to the establishment of today's MVP selection system by vote of the Baseball Writers of America Association.

While Spink was said to have his finger on the pulse of baseball, critics of *The Sporting News* contended that the paper was overly one-sided to the baseball powers, as the paper initially resisted integration (it virtually ignored the Negro Leagues), night baseball, and radio broadcasts. "Despite its traditional bias," White noted in *Creating the National Pastime*, "*The Sporting News* had a sense of when changes were on the verge of taking place in baseball."

In 1942, *The Sporting News* took over from Spaulding the publication of baseball's annual *Official Record Book and Guide*. This furthered its baseball influence and spurred the newspaper into even greater publication pursuits, for which it was best known for in the 1990s. Restricted advertising revenues during World War II also forced Taylor Spink to abandon the newspaper's baseball exclusivity, as it expanded into coverage of football, basketball, and hockey.

When Taylor Spink died in 1962, his son C. C. Johnson Spink assumed the helm of *The Sporting News*. In the 1960s, Johnson Spink further expanded coverage into golf, tennis, and auto racing. With no children to transfer the business to, Johnson Spink sold the newspaper in 1977 for \$18 million to the Times-Mirror Company.

The paper remained an influential force in baseball through the 1950s, but it dissipated thereafter. Daily newspapers had significantly improved the quality and volume of baseball-related material following World War II. Television also offered faster transmission of information. While the paper no longer exerts the influence it once had in baseball, the J. G. Taylor Spink Award established in 1962 honors outstanding writers with a place of high acclaim at the Baseball Hall of Fame.

—Charlie Bevis

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## Sports Heroes

Americans look to their sporting heroes to be models of courage, discipline, strong character, and success; those perceived to be breaking the rules of the game are stereotyped as villains. In the last third of the century, the media has demanded that the hero's off-field conduct matters nearly as much as the onfield performance. In addition to winning the physical contest, the hero must negotiate other conflicts: the technicalities of the game's rules; overcoming physical pain; and negotiating the pitfalls of private self-doubt. This accounts for the American notion that sports, in addition to building physical skills, also builds moral character. Therefore, the sports hero often transcends the athletic arena: "Because their lives helped, in part, to shape our values, habits, and, arguably, the content of our character, no full understanding of America is possible without an understanding of its sports idols," argue Robert Lipsyte and Peter Levine in *Idols of the Game*.

Developments in communications technologies throughout the twentieth century changed the sports they broadcast. The rise of radio transformed local hero athletes into national icons. As television began reaching a wider audience, the expanded broadcasting of events created an insatiable need to find and promote heroes. Televised sports created a shared experience, in which national audiences participated in their heroes' victory or defeat, or bore witness to an athlete's sportsmanship or misconduct. "The most outstanding [athletes]," writes John Izod in "Television Sport and the Sacrificial Hero," "become media personalities, and as such they reveal their hopes and fears as well as their thoughts about the game to the viewer." The proliferation of statistics in modern-day sport has helped create an overabundance of sports heroes. Figures such as "most career home runs" or "career average rushing yards per

carry” help the transfixed fan distinguish a pantheon of great athletes emanating from the television factory.

According to sociologist Orrin Klapp, author of the 1949 study “Hero Worship in America,” the emotional behavior of hero worship encompasses “popular homage, familiarity, possessiveness, curiosity, identification, and imitation.” Fans identify with their heroes by adopting their uniforms, mannerisms, and even their style. As an ad from the 1920s proclaimed: “A Spalding Swimming Suit won’t teach you to swim. But it will make you *feel* like an Olympic champion.” Following his 1969 Super Bowl triumph with the New York Jets, fans began wearing sideburns in emulation of pro quarterback Joe Namath. The veneration bestowed upon the sports hero often creates demigods, as this piece on Namath from *Esquire* demonstrates:

Once in a generation, more or less, a chosen figure detaches himself from the social matrix and swims into mythology, hovering somewhere near the center of the universe, organizing in himself our attention, monopolizing our hopes and fears, intruding on our dreams, compelling our hearts to beat as his.

The sports hero is at once distant, placed in high-esteem, and simultaneously the subject of intense personal interest. This intense curiosity sometimes turns into a possessive need to learn more about the hero. Klapp quotes boxer Jack Dempsey’s description of the fans who forced themselves into his dressing room:

They want to look at your eyes and your ears to see how badly you may have been injured. They want to pick up a word here or a gesture there which, later on, they can relay, magnified, to their own little public. I have always regarded these curious fans in a tolerant, even friendly way.

By the 1990s, superstars such as Michael Jordan could scarcely venture forth in public for fear they would be crushed by the onslaught of fan interest.

The genesis for the American sports hero can be traced back to the the 1920s—often referred to as “The Golden Age of American Sports.” The then-largest paying crowd to witness a sports event was for the 1926 Dempsey-Tunney bout in Philadelphia, which was watched by 120,757. Figures like Babe Ruth, Lou Gehrig, Knute Rockne, Helen Wills, Bobby Jones, and Jack Dempsey enabled each sport to claim its own titan.

The most towering object of hero worship during the 1920s was aviator Charles Lindbergh. Like sports heroes, Lindbergh performed a colorful feat that received tremendous admiration. “Lindbergh,” writes Klapp about the aviator’s overnight recognition following his transatlantic flight, “was literally jerked upward in status and in his vertical ascent became almost a demigod.” Americans’ hero worship of Lindbergh literally set the tone for later fan behavior. A story about Lindbergh in Klapp’s study could be in reference to any celebrity of the twentieth century: “A respectable-looking woman of middle age came up to Lindbergh, at dinner in a New York hotel, and tried to look into his mouth to see whether he was eating ‘green beans or green peas.’”

In a similar fashion, Ruth’s home run-hitting feats captured the popular imagination. Prior to Ruth, the game of baseball was played in a methodical fashion, by stringing together a series of singles in order to achieve runs. Ruth’s powerful swats ignored the assembly line of singles-hitting by producing runs instantly. “Ruth was like the

movie stars of the time who were discovered overnight,” noted sports historian Benjamin Rader. “Their seemingly effortless rise to fame and fortune was so unlike the arduous work of a bureaucrat or an assembly line worker.”

By the 1920s, the subjects of popular biographies shifted from worshipping “idols of production”—politicians, or captains of industry—to the “idols of consumption,” or sporting and entertainment heroes. These new heroic tales, writes Mark Dyreson, were “every bit as didactic as a tale about Horatio Alger,” that describe the triumphs of heroes “who succeeded against the odds, not simply because they got the breaks, but because of their adherence to the traditional values of perseverance, hard work and clean living.”

For decades following the rise of the sports hero, those enshrined in the public spotlight basked in the uncritical admiration of the media and fans alike. It wasn’t that the private exploits of such heroes as baseball’s Mickey Mantle and Ted Williams, basketball’s Bill Russell, and football’s Jim Brown were exempt from scrutiny; rather, it was that they were judged first and foremost on their public acts, and their private lives remained private. As the century wore on, however, a serious debate about what constitutes a true hero emerged among fans, the media, and athletes. Whereas the heroes of the 1920s were lionized for committing a specific feat that captured the public’s imagination, by the 1990s the sports hero was asked to behave as a “role model” whose personal conduct was as important as his or her athletic feats.

Perhaps the figure that best marks this change was New York Yankees great Mickey Mantle. The Oklahoman who broke Ruth’s record for home runs in a World Series in 1964 joined the Yankees during the 1950s. This was a decade of conflicting demands for those who were coming of age, writes Michael Anderson: “their best was never good enough. Only by overachieving could they live up to their parents, those grimly stoic survivors of war and want.” Mantle—as the old athletic cliché goes—lived hard and played hard, and few faulted him for it. Once he left the game of baseball, Mantle was no longer able to outplay others on the field so he seemed to try to outdrink them. In 1994, Mantle publicly admitted his alcoholism and promptly assumed the role of the socially-responsible role model by imploring others to avoid his mistakes. He also underwent a failed liver transplant and urged others to sign organ donor cards. “I have thought about trying to define what a hero is,” wrote Mantle’s son David, shortly after his father’s death. “Dad was one throughout his baseball career, and a different kind at the end of his life.”

In the 1980s and 1990s, as the private lives of all celebrities (even political celebrities) came under increasing scrutiny, it was no longer enough for sports figures to swat a baseball the farthest, or catch a game-winning touchdown pass: they were increasingly sought after to set examples for the young. After sports fans witnessed several player strikes, and watched well-paid athletes land in drug abuse clinics, many yearned for an edenic time when athletes were clean-cut role models. This was a mythic notion: Ruth attained his legendary status alongside his womanizing, and a rather unathletic regimen of beer and hot dogs that showed in his overweight condition. Sociologist Charles Payne in *Newsweek* sums up this mistaken notion of innocence before the advent of big-money sports: “If you were to go through baseball’s or football’s Hall of Fame, you’re not going to come up with a bunch of choirboys.”

Athletes themselves disagree over their obligation to lead exemplary private lives. In a 1993 *Newsweek* article basketball star Charles Barkley, in his typically forthcoming manner, declared “I’m not paid to be a role model. I’m paid to wreak havoc on the basketball

court.” Karl Malone, another basketball great, openly disagreed with Barkley, stating that “We don’t choose to be role models, we are chosen.” Fans, devoted as they may be, had become hardened to the complaints of multimillionaire pro athletes. “Funny,” objects sports columnist Phil Mushnick, speaking for many fans, “how big shots accept all the trappings of role modelhood—especially the residual commercial cash—before they renounce their broader responsibilities to society.”

Although it is true that not every athlete deserves a role model status, critics inflate the debate somewhat by failing to recognize that children have the capacity to distinguish between real-life heroes and daydream ones. As one 12-year-old told *Sports Illustrated for Kids*, if his sports hero were to “mess up” then “he wouldn’t be my favorite player anymore. I would sell all his cards. I have about 65 of them, and I’d give them away.” It is possible that the adults are the ones who have changed, and not the kids. An enduring piece of baseball lore describes Shoeless Joe Jackson, a participant in the 1919 Black Sox Scandal, passing a young boy in public, who plaintively cries to the fallen hero: “Say it ain’t so, Joe!”

Americans learned to look for their heroes’ faults, even while they were in the process of exalting them. In 1993 Michael Jordan, who is generally acknowledged as the greatest basketball player ever, was reported to have lost a substantial amount of money from gambling and was subjected to months of media attention and a brief diminishment of his reputation for his strictly legal activities. A few years later, in the midst of 1998’s home run record chase, record-setter Mark McGwire was spotted with a legal performance enhancement drug sitting in his locker, prompting one editorial from St. Louis to proclaim: “There probably aren’t going to be any heroes anymore. The media won’t let us have them.” Yet it is the media that has helped create the impossible dilemma that confronts the sports hero. On the one hand they feed athletes on a steady diet of adulation beginning in college and increasing exponentially once they reach a professional level. Told for years that he (and, rarely, she) can do no wrong, the hero is then subjected to equally intense scrutiny aimed at uncovering faults and weaknesses. Wrote a St. Louis paper after McGwire’s legal steroid was reported, “In an oftentimes desperate attempt to get the story no one else has, the media look behind closed doors . . . to come up with something that might taint the reputation of an otherwise unblemished character.”

Other instances have caused Americans to examine themselves. In 1994, crowds gathered along a California freeway to witness ex-football star O.J. Simpson engage police in a surreal, televised car chase as a suicidal fugitive. Like fans urging on a self-destructive rock star, the crowd implored O.J. Simpson to run—as if he still carried the football—or made pronouncements like “I can’t believe he did it.” Tom Verducci of *Sports Illustrated* commented that “it sounded as if half of America lived next door to Simpson.”

Not all athletes have a choice about whether to act as a role model or not. Some, by virtue of their gender, race, or ethnicity, have no choice but to perform to higher expectations. Early on, female athletes—like Babe Didrikson, the winner of three track and field medals at the 1932 Los Angeles Olympics—found that their exploits were not viewed with the same legitimacy reserved for their male counterparts. “America has lionized the male athlete to the female athlete’s disadvantage,” write Lipsyte and Levine; “there is a definite misogynist streak in the sensibility of the big-time locker room and its boys-will-be-boys rationale.” By the 1990s, women were still fighting against media images that trivialized female athletic accomplishments. This despite the fact that, in 1991, women outspent men

in the purchase of athletic shoes and apparel, and more women participated in sports and fitness than did men. In 1994, athletic shoemaker Nike used an ad depicting a female volleyball player lying on satin sheets in her underwear. CBS Sports, in 1996, suspended a golf commentator for characterizing professional female golfers as lesbians and opined that women with “big boobs” were less able to play the sport. In the absence of serious, authentic portrayals of female athletes, the focus for young girls upon female athletes is more than just upon skill; the female sports hero is also a model who counteracts a broad social stereotype.

Sports heroes have often been used as an avenue for disenfranchised groups to participate in an American life that was otherwise closed to them—politically, economically, or socially. It is hard for late twentieth-century Americans, who take the achievements of African-American athletes for granted, to appreciate Boxer Joe Louis’s significance. As Lipsyte and Levine reconstruct it: “Louis was out there representing all black people in those bitter days when most colleges admitted few if any blacks, when college-educated blacks were lucky to get jobs as railroad waiters, when even the Army was segregated.” Ethnic athletic heroes bear the similar weight of carrying the hopes of millions. Unlike their parents, second-generation ethnics had the time to devote to leisure and recreation, and sports heroes began serving as important role models.

The best example of a single athlete representing the aspirations of an entire people was Jackie Robinson, the first African-American major league baseball player. On the field, and off, Robinson was subject to racial slurs, hate mail, and death threats; once in Philadelphia, Robinson’s Brooklyn Dodger teammates were refused admittance into a hotel because of his presence on the team. Robinson was an integral symbol of the African-American struggle against discrimination in the pre-civil rights era. Robinson’s enormous burden is palpable in this 1947 passage by sportswriter Jimmy Cannon, as quoted by *Sports Illustrated* in 1997:

In the clubhouse Robinson is a stranger. The Dodgers are polite and courteous with him, but it is obvious he is isolated by those with whom he plays. . . . Robinson never is part of the jovial and aimless banter of the locker room. He is the loneliest man I have ever seen in sports.

Sports heroes often say as much about the larger social milieu as they do about themselves: “Independent of their own intentions and beliefs—sometimes even counter to those intentions and beliefs—idols can be coopted to represent both the dominant culture and the concerns and interests of outsiders,” write Lipsyte and Levine. Every so often, though, a dominant figure emerges in sport to renew the fan’s emotional involvement with sports that, according to historian Benjamin Rader, “encourages a kind of primitive solidarity among the population despite our diverse backgrounds. Our society has many forces that pull it apart . . . (Sports) is a tie that binds.”

—Daryl Umberger

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## *Sports Illustrated*

Using a blend of groundbreaking photography and revolutionary writing, *Sports Illustrated* changed the way spectator sports fit into American culture during the 1960s and 1970s. As the first weekly magazine devoted solely to sports, *Sports Illustrated* was a media leader that contributed, along with television, to sports moving from a pleasant diversion into big business, spewing out multi-million-dollar player salaries. The magazine's influence also cast beyond sports, as its annual mid-winter swimsuit issue became a popular phenomenon and created lasting changes in the modeling industry. "*Sports Illustrated* served as a counterbalance to the persistent hype of television, offering a way for new and educated fans to put the endless rounds of games and matches into a meaningful context," Michael MacCambridge observed in his book *The Franchise*. "It made an art out of in-depth reporting on those games, and thereby made the games themselves more important to more Americans."

Henry Luce, founder of Time Inc., the publisher of *Time* and *Life*, conceived the idea for *Sports Illustrated*. Though not much of a sports fan, Luce saw the potential for a weekly sports magazine based on the increased leisure time of the burgeoning post-war middle class, a large percentage of whom were migrating to the suburbs. Against the advice of his aides, who thought the idea folly, Luce launched

*Sports Illustrated* on August 16, 1954. Initially, the magazine covered an eclectic assortment of sports—big game hunting, yachting, horse racing, dog shows, and fishing, along with cooking, fashion, and travel—in addition to more traditional sports such as baseball, football, and boxing.

The magazine was positioned as a "class" magazine, much like the *New Yorker*, with sophisticated, intelligent, critical writing with no pandering. But it attracted neither readers nor advertisers in large numbers early on. The magazine began to fulfill its promise with the installation of Andre Laguerre as managing editor in 1960. Laguerre, a cosmopolitan and urbane native of France, had a keen appreciation for good writing. He focused the magazine on the four major team sports (baseball, football, basketball, and hockey) plus boxing, golf, and tennis. Fishing, which had ranked fourth among all sports in articles per year in the magazine's third year, ranked number 13 by 1963.

Laguerre hired two writers who would forever change the face of sports journalism: Dan Jenkins and Frank Deford. These two writers gave readers insight and analysis unavailable elsewhere and helped *SI*, as the magazine was often called, to create a new approach to sportswriting. MacCambridge described the *SI* style as "not just reporting or covering an event, but distilling it, capturing its essence and presenting it in a compressed, lyrical image of deadline literature and photojournalism."

*SI* became a part of the weekly routine as much as the daily sports page. Millions watched the games on the weekend, then waited for *SI* to arrive in their mailboxes on Thursday or Friday to tell them what had really happened behind the scenes. To many sports fans, *SI* was "the final word" and "an event wasn't real until ratified in the pages of *SI*." From its initial 350,000 subscriber base in 1954, circulation grew to 1 million readers in 1960, 2 million in the mid-1970s, 3 million in the mid-1980s, and topped out at nearly 3.5 million in the late 1980s.

As James Michener explained in his book *Sports in America*, "*Sports Illustrated* has become the bible of the industry, and it has done so because it appreciated from the start the facts that faced printed journalism in the age of television: don't give the scores, give the inside stories behind the scenes. And deal openly with those topics which men in saloons talk about in whispers." Besides the ongoing sports seasons, the magazine also took on hard subjects as exemplified by Jack Olsen's 1968 series on the exploitation of the black athlete, "The Black Athlete - A Shameful Story." In the late 1960s, *SI* also published series about the growing threat of drugs in sports, women's rights in athletics, and the electronic revolution in sports.

In addition to great writers, Laguerre also hired two photographers named Neil Leifer and Walter Iooss, who would transform the nature and art of sports photography. Leifer and Iooss shot many of the *SI* cover photos in the 1960s. As *SI* continually pushed the technological limits in color photography printing, Leifer and Iooss captured on film the very essence of a weekend sports event and had it appear within a few days in *SI*. Laguerre thus merged the best color with the latest analysis to expand the *SI* influence. In 1965, Leifer also shot what is considered one of the most famous sports photos of all-time, Muhammad Ali standing over a prostrate Sonny Liston with Ali's fist angrily imploring Liston off the canvas, with three faces—mouths agape—seen between Ali's legs. The image, oddly, was not chosen for the cover shot that week.

An athlete's appearance on the cover of *Sports Illustrated* became a cultural icon, proof of an athlete's legitimacy. People framed *SI* covers for keepsakes, beginning with the cover of its first issue in 1954, Milwaukee Braves' third baseman Eddie Mathews. The

top cover subject in the magazine's first 40 years was Ali, who appeared on 32 covers, followed closely by Michael Jordan with 30. Being on the *SI* cover also became identified as a jinx, a double-edged sword of being on top of the sports world but at risk for malfunctioning in the big game. The first incident occurred shortly after the release of the January 31, 1955 issue, with skier Jill Kinmont on the cover, when Kinmont fell in a ski meet that left her paralyzed below the neck.

Laguerre also pioneered the swimsuit issue in 1964. The original concept was as a "sunshine issue" in the bleak winter days of late January. It was designed to bridge the gap between the New Year's Day college bowl games to the start of baseball spring training in early March, in the years when basketball, either pro or college, had little national following. What might have been just a single issue article blossomed into an annual event, with the commotion about the issue. It brightened some people's winter, but outraged others. The issue went "from moral outrage to hallowed tradition in only one generation," Deford wrote in his 1989 retrospective on the swimsuit issue, "How It All Began."

To take charge of the swimsuit issue, Laguerre tapped Jule Campbell. After fashion model Babette March graced the 1964 initial cover, Campbell used unknown women with "natural" or "healthy" looks instead of the gaunt high fashion look. As the issue gained popularity, Campbell blended known faces with her "healthy" look. She even used the models' names in photo captions, providing a degree of identity that fashion magazines did not at the time. This helped to accelerate the career of Cheryl Tiegs, who appeared on the cover of the 1970 swimsuit issue, and some say, helped to usher in the supermodel era. Other famous models that appeared early in their careers on the cover of the swimsuit issue were Christie Brinkley (1979), Elle MacPherson (1986), and Kathy Ireland (1989).

As the issue's swimsuits became skimpier, the battlefield changed from moral corruption of youth to sexism. "Women should stop screaming about that one issue and start screaming that *SI* doesn't carry enough women's sports. That's sexism," tennis star Billie Jean King said. The debate came to a head with the 1978 issue, when Iooss photographed Tiegs wearing a fishnet swimsuit. When dry, the suit was sensual but not revealing in the upper body area. Tiegs, however, had dipped into the water and the wetness created an exceptionally provocative pose, leaving nothing to the viewer's imagination. The picture caused a furor, eliciting more letters and canceled subscriptions in the history of the swimsuit issue. But it was a defining moment for both the swimsuit issue and the supermodel industry. "If there was any doubt before that modeling was, like everything else, about to lose its virginity (or illusion of virginity) in the 70s, the January 1978 *Sports Illustrated* swimsuit issue put an end to it," Stephen Fried wrote in *Thing of Beauty*. "The uproar caused by one picture of Cheryl Tiegs reinforced the new truth that the way straight men perceived fashion models would determine the future of the business." "It's a sweet little picture, that's it," Tiegs told Michael Gross, author of *Model: The Ugly Business of Beautiful Women*. Gross went on to write, "But in fact, it was a major coup, adding the powerful appeal of the pinup picture to modeling's arsenal of promotional gimmicks."

As the swimsuit issue gained popularity, *SI* stepped up its marketing of the issue in the mid-1980s by introducing the swimsuit calendar and touting the models on the talk show circuit before the issue hit the newsstand. The 1986 issue with MacPherson on the cover sold 1.2 million copies at the newsstand, up from just 300,000 in 1983. The 25th anniversary issue in 1989 sold 2.7 million single

copies. Newsstand sales by 1996 had slumped back to 1986 levels, a reflection of the changing dynamics in sports journalism.

The creation of ESPN and other round-the-clock media in the 1980s made the magazine's original mission less compelling. Its influence began to wane as sports fans no longer depended on the magazine to explain what had happened a few days before, as a plethora of television highlight shows and the Internet had already done so. In the 1989 merger of Time with Warner, *SI* moved away from writing and began to pursue a strategy to "extend the brand." Videos and calendars were hawked in crass television advertisements, as were magazine subscriptions (example: this awesome [item] is free with your one-year subscription to *Sports Illustrated*, which includes the swimsuit issue!). A spin-off magazine was also introduced, *Sports Illustrated for Kids*.

In the 1990s, *Sports Illustrated* was as well known, if perhaps not more so, for its swimsuit issue, free videos, and clothing line as it was for the writing and photography that had made it famous in the first place. And thousands of loyal readers still treasured its arrival every week.

—Charlie Bevis

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## Spring Break

Each year, as the cold and gray of winter gives way to the bright new green of spring, human beings also experience an influx of energy: hopeful, youthful, and, at least partly, sexual. Psychologists explain this phenomenon with a variety of theories, but all agree that "spring fever" is normal and fairly universal. For the past six decades, American college students have celebrated this vernal "rising of the sap" with a unique ritual called "spring break," which involves travel to a sunny beachside resort to participate in drunken revelry and sexual debauchery. Though people of all ages, races, and classes may feel the urge to head somewhere sunny and warm as spring approaches, it is the fairly well-off, mostly white full-time students at four year colleges and universities that have created the famous phenomenon of spring break, celebrated in movies, television, and police blotters.

Traditionally, college spring vacations are scheduled sometime between the first Saturday in March and Easter Sunday in April. Students converge on the most fashionable spot they can afford to go to, often cramming 15 to 20 people in a motel room to limit expenses. Local bars cater to partying students, offering drink specials and rowdy entertainment such as Belly Flop, Hot Bod, and Wet T-shirt contests, designed to appeal to the young and inebriated. Vacationers



Young adults doing “The Twist” during a typical spring break.

sport T-shirts with such spirited slogans as, “I’m too drunk to fuck,” “Party Naked,” and “University of Heineken.” Crowds of tourists become a nightmare for local police, snarling traffic, littering and vandalizing the streets of resort towns. Many spring breaks have turned literally riotous, resulting in destruction of property and arrests. Cleaning up after spring break becomes a major expense for cities that draw large numbers of students, though the money the students pour into a community during those first weeks of spring tends to offset the disadvantages.

In 1936, the swim coach at Colgate University in Hamilton, New York, unwittingly began a tradition when he brought a few members of his swim team to train at the Casino Pool by the beach in Fort Lauderdale, Florida. The experiment was so successful that the entire team returned for Christmas vacation. In 1938, Fort Lauderdale continued to attract students as the Casino Pool hosted the first College Coaches’ Swim Forum, and the famous Elbo Room opened in the Seabreeze Hotel. By 1946, in spite of wartime travel restrictions, Fort Lauderdale had become a regular destination for college students on spring vacation. Fifteen thousand student revelers came in 1953, and in 1954, 20,000 arrived and started another spring break tradition: trouble with the police. That year, eight students were arrested for disorderly conduct and two for public indecency. Two were killed in drunk-driving incidents.

*Time* magazine reported on the phenomenon in 1959, and in 1960 a new film solidified Fort Lauderdale as spring break capitol of the United States. *Where the Boys Are*, starring Connie Francis, Paula Prentiss, and Yvette Mimieux, was the film version of a 1958 novel by Glendon Swarthout. It describes the adventures of three young college women on spring vacation in Fort Lauderdale, seeking independence, fun, and romance. The film, with its clean-cut adventure and obligatory cautionary tale of the tragic end of the girl who went too far, became an icon of the spring break experience. Along with the “Beach Party” movies of Frankie Avalon and Annette Funicello, *Where the Boys Are* advertised a beach vacation culture

that many students were eager to emulate. By 1961, 50,000 of them flocked to Fort Lauderdale to find it.

In 1963, *Palm Springs Weekend*, starring Connie Stevens and Troy Donahue, advertised Palm Springs, California, as another mecca for students and by the late 1960s Florida’s Daytona Beach was actively promoting itself as a spring break destination, trying to lure students and their dollars away from Fort Lauderdale. One hundred thousand students responded and converged on Daytona Beach.

The self-indulgent 1980s were peak years for the hedonistic spring revels. In 1983, the film *Spring Break* was released, with Tom Cruise and Shelly Long, and *Where the Boys Are* was remade in 1984. In 1985, spring break in Fort Lauderdale reached its height as 350,000 students crammed into the city. Fort Lauderdale had had enough. By erecting barricades between the beach and the streets and enforcing room occupancy rules and alcohol laws, the city managed to reduce its spring break tourism numbers back to 20,000 by 1989. Of those, 2,400 were arrested. Fort Lauderdale, while still a popular destination on a much smaller scale, relinquished its title of “spring break capitol” to Daytona Beach. By the mid-1990s, Daytona too was trying to find ways to manage the rowdy crowds without alienating the tourist dollars.

By the end of the 1990s, spring break vacation spots were much more varied, though there were still “hot spots” that attract hundreds of thousands of visitors. Panama City, Florida, hosted 550,000 student tourists in 1997, and little South Padre Island, Texas, which has a resident population of just over 1,000, welcomed 130,000 visitors in the spring of 1997. California also welcomed its share of visitors, especially in San Diego and Palm Springs. Ski vacations have become more and more popular and destinations like Colorado’s Vail and Steamboat Springs and California’s Lake Tahoe are flooded with students looking for both ski and apres-ski adventures. Foreign travel has an appeal as well, not the least of which is a drinking age of 18 in Mexico, the Bahamas, and Canada. Even in the United States, many resort towns resisted enforcing laws like the drinking age that might drive tourists away.

Many businesses not specifically related to the tourist trade also take advantage of the huge audiences drawn to spring break meccas. Daytona Beach hosts ExpoAmerica, a giant trade show with high-tech exhibits designed to appeal to modern students. Both CBS and MTV offer extensive spring break special telecasts from spots like Daytona and San Diego, to bring the festivities to those who had to stay at home. Some businesses even try to recruit employees among the crowds of student vacationers, though some report difficulties finding sober prospects.

Each generation has added its own personality to the celebration of spring break. Crazy Gregg, manager of venerable Fort Lauderdale institution the Button, explained in 1986, “Basically, we’ve had three different generations here. In the ’50s, the kids were more mellow and conservative, not blatant. In the late ’60s and early ’70s, they weren’t gung ho or rah-rah. They didn’t seem to want to have fun. When we played ‘God Bless America,’ they booed us. But now the pendulum has swung completely around. They enjoy themselves to the hilt. The morality is looser. Golly, I saw a guy walk through the hotel stark naked. They wouldn’t have done that 15 or 20 years ago.” The 1990s has brought its own influences to the spring break phenomenon. A sharpened awareness of the problems of alcoholism has resulted in a marked decrease in the glorification of drink at resort destinations. While there is still a high level of consumption, liquor and beer company advertisements are more likely to advise caution and adherence to drinking age laws, where a decade earlier they might



have focused only on the fun and excitement of drinking. Also evidence of a more serious generation is the “Breakaway” program at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee. Started in 1991, Breakaway is a national network that arranges what it terms “alternative spring break” for students who would rather volunteer in soup kitchen, homeless shelters, and other community programs than spend a week getting drunk and having casual sex. In its first year, the Breakaway network served 2,500 students in 40 colleges nationwide. By the late 1990s, it arranged volunteer work for close to 15,000 students in 350 colleges.

Spring break came of age in the 1950s and 1960s when students needed a hedonistic outlet from a repressive society. Perhaps in the pleasure-seeking culture of the 1990s, what young people really seek is an escape from self-indulgence.

—Tina Gianoulis

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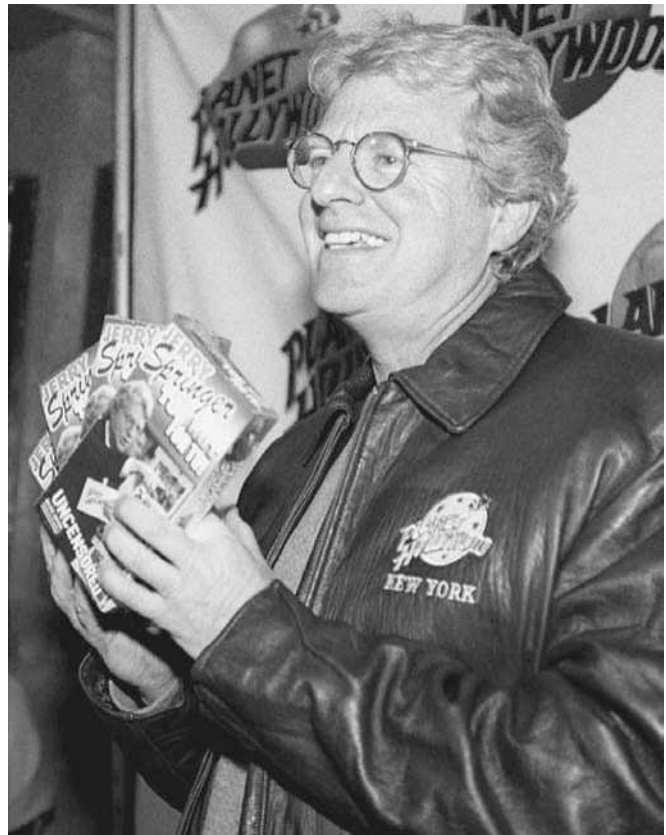
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## Springer, Jerry (1944—)

Jerry Springer has taken the talk show genre to a new level, and placed himself at the helm of a growing public controversy. Banned by placard-carrying ministers who protest outside its Chicago studios, *The Jerry Springer Show* combines drama and sensationalism that borders on the hilarious. Since its debut in 1991, the show’s outrageous style and often perverse topics have either strongly enticed or offended individuals. The show not only allows but encourages brawls between its guests, egged on by Springer’s audience of adoring fans, who repeatedly chant, “Jerry, Jerry, Jerry!” Guests are permitted to vent antagonistic emotions that often result in physical fights, quelled at the last minute by clean-cut, beefy bouncers. In addition to his public defense of his show, Springer has also been in the news as the subject of an alleged sex scandal with a porn star and her stepmother (the romping was supposedly caught on tape), both of whom were guests on his show. Springer has also starred in the 1998 film *Ringmaster* (also the title of his autobiography).

Before becoming a talk show host, Springer, who has a law degree from Northwestern University, had a brief political career as the mayor of Cincinnati in the 1970s and worked as a news anchorman and commentator in Cincinnati in the 1980s, during which time he won seven Emmys. But when a Chicago station in the 1990s hired him, an anchorwoman promptly resigned in disgust, calling him “the poster child for the worst television has to offer.”

Talk shows have served different purposes. They can act as an informal, supportive forum for topics and guests varying in controversy. But with a growing interest people have in hearing titillating, personal, and sometimes shocking details concerning others’ lives, formats have swiftly veered towards the sensational. The trend was first started on the *Rikki Lake Show* (1993), when producers began encouraging confrontations among guests. A success, it spawned



Jerry Springer

imitators, as well as a growing group of those opposed to what has been labeled “trash TV.” *The Jerry Springer Show* took the sensationalism one step further and became the first talk show to include physical confrontation on a regular basis. The show’s swift rise in ratings and the popularity of its host have confirmed for many that people find the show entertaining. Critics say people watch the show for the same reasons they would drive slowly by a traffic accident. Because *The Jerry Springer Show* tends to deal with such outrageous and often hopeless problems, some contend that people viewing it tend to feel better about their own lives.

Guests on the show are often marginalized people who solve their problems through physical conflict. The regularity of the fights on the show have prompted speculation into whether the fights are staged with out-of-work actors. If the fights are genuine, one can imagine the pre-show akin to a cockfight, in which guests are purposely baited against each other. Because of the nature of the show’s topics and the often consistent personality traits of its guests, it has come to be known as a humorous “white trash” sensation. Springer says that he encourages guests to be as outrageous as possible, but defends his show against charges of exploitation, stating that his critics are “elitists” who only want to see beautiful or rich people discussing their problems on television. But poverty should not be an excuse for extreme, inappropriate behavior, like mothers sleeping with their 13-year-old daughter’s ex-boyfriends (a past show topic). Other topics include a family of strippers, and possibly the most perverse in all of talk show history—bestiality.

Not every topic on the show has shock value, however, the appearance of brawling guests has been consistent. Springer has

featured interracial couples facing disapproval from their families, for example. And, at the end of every show, Jerry offers a brief but eloquent epitaph, his “Final Thought,” that functions as the show’s “moral” thermometer. After an episode on cheating lovers, for example, he counseled viewers that it is unhealthy to pursue someone who does not want you, and to work on raising their self-esteem. Delivered with an authentic smile, he manages to convey that although he will quietly observe the antics onstage, he may really want people to be happy.

Jerry Springer is most certainly an enigma, and a man of contradictions. As the “ringmaster” of his exhibitionist show, he maintains a relatively private life. He often takes pride in his work, stating that it gives a platform to people media “snobs” would rather ignore, but he is often surprised at his own success, dismissing his program as a “circus” and saying, “I don’t have any talent.” He has been an active voice and fundraiser for various charities. He also has country music aspirations. “It struck me that the subjects of country songs and talk shows are very similar,” he said. Springer now has a music CD out, and will tour as his schedule permits. He has even impersonated Elvis.

—Sharon Yablon

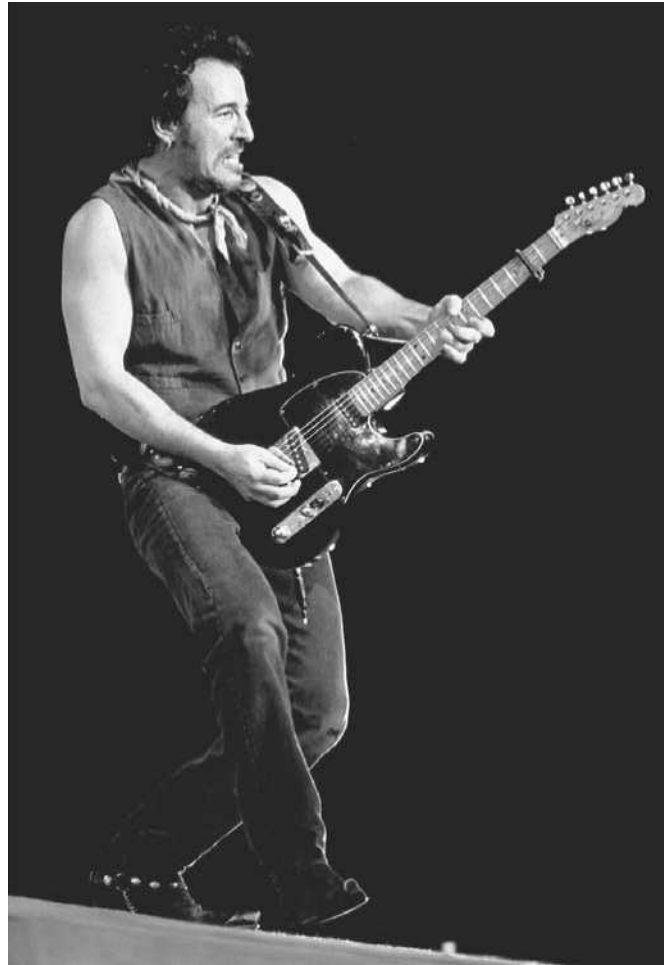
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## Springsteen, Bruce (1949—)

Bruce Springsteen has placed himself in a lineage of folk and popular musicians, including Woody Guthrie and Bob Dylan, who have sought to effect social change. An acclaimed songwriter and energetic performer, Springsteen spent his early years singing in New Jersey bars, garnered a sizable commercial audience by 1975, and achieved superstar status with the release of *Born in the USA* (1984). His tremendous popularity, combined with his own ambition for success, opened his music to interpretations that seemed to conflict with his populist lyrics. Anxious to ride the bandwagon of his success, politicians and pundits appropriated his image to support their own perspectives. In much of the work that followed *Born in the USA*, however, Springsteen made a self-conscious effort to elucidate a liberal cultural politics.

Born in Freehold, New Jersey, Springsteen grew up in an austere working-class household. Uninterested in school, he was fascinated by Elvis Presley’s 1957 performance on the *Ed Sullivan Show* and began to imagine that rock and roll might provide a ticket out of his socioeconomic situation. After leading several bands in the late 1960s, Springsteen was performing acoustic shows in Greenwich Village when he auditioned for the legendary Columbia Records



**Bruce Springsteen**

talent scout, John Hammond, in 1972. “The kid absolutely knocked me out,” recalled Hammond, who billed the guitarist as the successor to another of his “discoveries,” Bob Dylan.

Springsteen’s first two albums, *Greetings from Asbury Park, N.J.* (1973) and *The Wild, the Innocent, and the E Street Shuffle* (1973), chronicled the culture of the New York streets and Jersey boardwalks in a familiar Dylanesque style. Despite lackluster sales figures, Springsteen enjoyed a warm critical reception and began to establish a loyal following along the eastern seaboard. Backed by the E Street Band, he was renowned for electrifying performances that often exceeded three hours. His tremendous energy caught the eye of former *Rolling Stone* critic Jon Landau, whose enthusiastic review of a 1974 concert transformed Springsteen’s career. “I saw the rock and roll future,” wrote Landau in *The Real Paper*, “and its name is Bruce Springsteen.” Columbia enlisted this hyperbole to launch a marketing blitz for *Born to Run* (1975), which landed Springsteen on the covers of the October 27, 1975 issues of *Time* and *Newsweek*. The album was both a critical and commercial triumph, attaining platinum status within four months.

Springsteen’s career stalled, however, when he became entangled in a legal battle with manager Mike Appel. In 1976, Springsteen and Appel filed countersuits involving copyrights and royalty payments. Appel won a court injunction that prohibited Springsteen from

recording a new album with Landau, who became the musician's manager when the dispute ended a year later.

The hiatus was intellectually productive for Springsteen. At Landau's urging, he read the works of Flannery O'Connor and John Steinbeck, and watched the films of John Ford and Sergio Leone. Inspired in part by Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* (1939) and Ford's 1940 adaptation of it, *Darkness on the Edge of Town* (1978) marked a turning point in his career. While *Born to Run* expressed a longing to escape the rigors of working-class life, *Darkness* explored the human costs of social and economic injustices.

This change in perspective compelled Springsteen to develop a political consciousness. Following the 1979 Three Mile Island crisis, he headlined several shows for Musicians United for Safe Energy, an anti-nuclear power consortium that included Bonnie Raitt and Jackson Browne. Two years later, he staged a benefit for the Vietnam Veterans' Association, asking the audience to help heal the physical and psychological wounds inflicted on the soldiers who fought the nation's most unpopular war.

Meanwhile, Springsteen's double album, *The River* (1980), soared to number one on the *Billboard* chart and produced "Hungry Heart," his first top ten hit. *The River* treated familiar topics of cars and girls, but also revealed Springsteen's burgeoning interest in both traditional music and social issues. In the late 1970s, he had begun to listen to classic country recordings as well as the Folkways Records *Anthology of American Folk Music* (1952). Based on Hank Williams's "Long Gone Lonesome Blues," the album's title track was a particularly moving ballad about two teenagers who have a child, marry, and watch their dreams evaporate in the face of economic uncertainty. Springsteen later identified this song as a breakthrough in his writing.

In November 1980, Springsteen acquired a copy of Joe Klein's *Woody Guthrie: A Life* (1980). Impressed with Guthrie's artistry and political commitments, he began to cover the folksinger's "This Land Is Your Land" (1940) in his concerts. Guthrie's influence was palpable on *Nebraska* (1982), a largely acoustic and remarkably uncommercial album that Springsteen recorded in his home. Sparse guitars, wailing harmonicas, and somber vocals guided listeners through a desolate, deprived landscape where individuals committed acts of desperation, ranging from petty crimes to mass murders. Greil Marcus described *Nebraska* as "the most convincing statement of resistance and refusal that Ronald Reagan's U.S.A. has yet elicited"; *Rolling Stone*, one of Springsteen's staunchest supporters, called it his "bravest" album, a work that solidified his reputation as a performer who cared more about artistic integrity than commercial success.

The validity of such observations was complicated when Springsteen attained unimagined fame and fortune in 1984. *Born in the USA* sold 20 million copies, generated seven top ten singles, fueled a world-wide stadium tour (1984-1985), and, with the aid of music video, introduced Springsteen to a younger generation. This success, which Springsteen actively cultivated and obviously enjoyed, clouded his politics. Unlike most of the album's songs, which eschewed the bleak realities of *Nebraska*, "Born in the USA" told the story of an unemployed Vietnam veteran who lost his brother in the war. The lyrics clearly questioned the morality of war as well as the country's treatment of its veterans, yet much of Springsteen's audience misconstrued his intentions. The ringing melody and the exuberant chorus of "Born in the USA" led listeners to interpret it as a

jingoistic celebration of American militarism. Moreover, the working-class woes that Springsteen expressed were lost in the celebration of his own success story.

Politicians scrambled to claim Springsteen as their own. Syndicated columnist George Will lauded him for both his optimism and the work ethic he demonstrated in his four-hour shows. Will's enthusiasm convinced Reagan to invoke the musician during a campaign stop in New Jersey. "America's future rests in the message of hope in songs of a man so many young Americans admire: New Jersey's own Bruce Springsteen," remarked the president. "And helping you make those dreams come true is what this job of mine is all about." Springsteen's anti-war song conflicted with Reagan's aggressive military policies, but the president's appropriation confused the musician's intentions. The song was further obscured by Sylvester Stallone's *Rambo: First Blood Part 2* (1985), a film that sought to redeem America's performance in Vietnam. Soon after its release, major newspapers dubbed Springsteen, whose muscle-bound body resembled Stallone's, "The Rambo of Rock."

Springsteen was not an innocent bystander in this process. The Los Angeles Summer Olympic Games and the presidential election made 1984 a year for stars and stripes, a fact he exploited by placing the flag on the album cover and using it as a backdrop to his concert stage. Moreover, as his detested sobriquet "The Boss" suggested, he projected a commanding masculine presence that made it difficult to separate him from the hard-nosed aggression and conservatism that both Reagan and Rambo represented. But if Springsteen capitalized on the resurgence in American patriotism, he made an effort to clarify his politics. At a Pittsburgh concert, he dedicated "Johnny 99," a song about an unemployed autoworker, to the president. Three days after Reagan's remarks, he initiated a \$2 million personal charity campaign by donating \$10,000 to a union-sponsored food bank.

In 1986, Springsteen documented his concert legend with the release *Live/ 1975-1985*, a 40-song compendium that used long introductory speeches to "The River" and a rendition of Edwin Starr's "War" to express his disapproval of American military policy. He continued to articulate liberal viewpoints following the release of *Tunnel of Love* (1987), a collection inspired by his failing marriage to actress Julianne Phillips. In 1988, he underscored his connection to Guthrie by recording ballads about homelessness for the tribute album, *A Vision Shared*. More importantly, he headlined Amnesty International's Human Rights Now! Tour, where he criticized the "economic apartheid" that existed in the United States.

After divorcing Phillips and breaking up the E Street Band in 1989, Springsteen entered a period of depression and took a sojourn from cultural politics. Like *Tunnel*, *Human Touch* and *Lucky Town* (1992) explored the dynamics of gender relationships, celebrating his subsequent marriage to former band member Patti Scialfa and the birth of their children. Disappointing sales prompted many critics to question Springsteen's viability in a changing market, but success returned when he reembraced social issues in "Streets of Philadelphia." Written for Jonathan Demme's motion picture about an AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) patient, the composition won an Academy Award in 1994. A year later, Springsteen earned his second Oscar nomination with "Dead Man Walkin'."

Springsteen reconvened the E Street Band to record four new songs for *Greatest Hits* (1995), but promptly returned to solo work. *The Ghost of Tom Joad* (1995) reasserted his connection to Steinbeck,

Ford, and Guthrie: Joad was the protagonist of *Grapes of Wrath* and the subject of a lengthy Guthrie ballad. Following in the footsteps of its cultural predecessors, the folk-styled album explored the plight of the underclass and identified injustices endured by Mexican immigrants. To ensure that his political intentions were understood, Springsteen embarked on an acoustic tour during which he performed his most socially engaged songs and explained the meaning of and inspiration for his lyrics. He reiterated his politics on a 1996 edition of *60 Minutes*, where he criticized the policies of the Reagan-Bush years and urged his audience to promote values of human welfare rather than individualism.

In the late 1990s, Springsteen remains one of the most influential and politically engaged performers in popular music. His historical awareness has led him to become involved in the promotion of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame, into which he was inducted in 1999.

—Bryan Garman

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## Sprinkle, Annie (1955—)

American performance artist Annie Sprinkle (born Ellen Steinberg) made her mark as one of the pre-eminent practitioners of the art form in the 1980s with her one-woman show "Post-Porn Modernist." Described in a British broadsheet newspaper in 1999 as "porn-queen-turned-new-age-sex-goddess," Sprinkle's onstage antics invoked the wrath of conservatives, who used her work, along with that of certain others, as a weapon for the argument to cut funding to the National Endowment for the Arts. Although allying her work to the feminist cause, she has also offended mainstream feminists. Her controversial exhibition, which aimed to demystify the female body and encourage sex as a spiritual act, included simulating oral sex, performing masturbation, and inviting audience members to inspect her cervix. Sprinkle began her career as a prostitute in a massage parlor and went on to act in over 200 adult films and videos throughout the 1970s and 1980s, in addition to serving as the editor of a pornographic magazine and contributing to many others.

—Geri Speace

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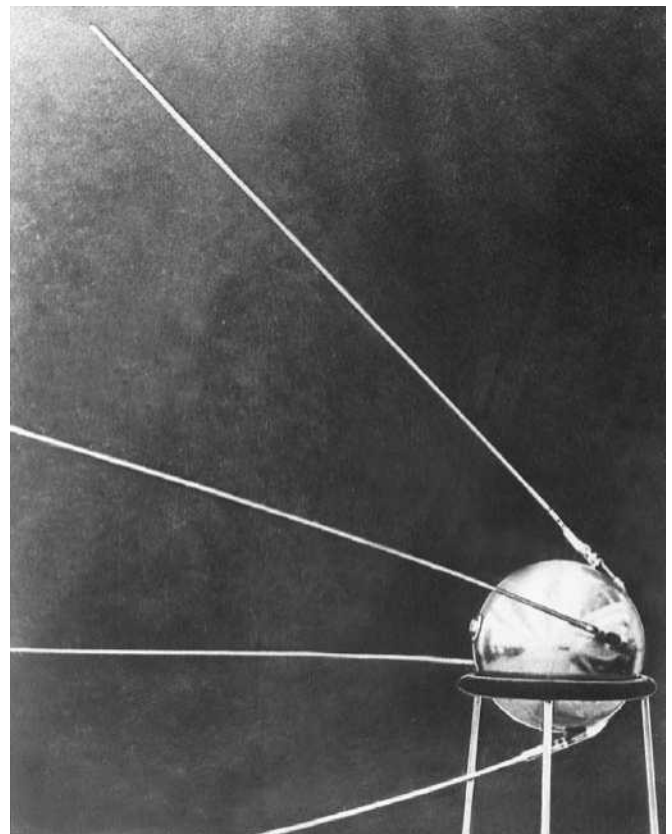
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## Sputnik

A thin plume of orange rising into the Soviet sky on October 4, 1957, carried aloft humankind's first artificial satellite. A 22-inch, 184-pound, beeping sphere, Sputnik ("Fellow Traveler") marked the beginning of a new chapter in the Cold War, where national prestige would be measured by a race in space. An incredible technological achievement in which all of humanity should have taken pride, the flight of Sputnik 1 and its successors (launched through 1961), was transformed into propaganda by the intense political posturing of the Cold War. For the Soviets, a supposedly technically backward nation, Sputnik instilled national pride; for the United States, watching their own puny Vanguard rockets fizzle and blow up on the launch pad, it enhanced fears of the growing Red Menace. While the satellite fell from orbit in January 1958, the word Sputnik became embedded in the American lexicon—symbolizing a period in time in which the United States first realized space exploration would not be a wholly American enterprise.

The International Geophysical Year, a period of worldwide scientific study spanning from July 1957 to December 1958, prompted efforts toward the development of satellites. President Dwight



The Soviet satellite Sputnik I.

Eisenhower announced that the United States would orbit a scientific package—Project Vanguard—during the IGY with an anticipated launch date in March 1958. Unlike Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, the administration failed to foresee the propaganda coup of placing the first manmade object into space. Sputnik captured headlines around the world. The Soviet News agency TASS boasted how the people of a Socialist society turned dreams into reality.

Noted atomic weapons pioneer Edward Teller professed, “America has lost a battle more important and greater than Pearl Harbor.” Following the revelations of the Rosenberg trial, McCarthy hearings, the fall of mainland China to a Red Mao, conflict in Korea and the Revolt in Hungary, Sputnik only added to a sense of fear toward the Red Menace by Americans. Eisenhower sought to alleviate anxiety by reminding the nation that U.S. satellite efforts had not been conducted as a race with other nations. Not only was Vanguard on schedule, it would make serious contributions to science, while Sputnik did little more than transmit its location. Such reassurances did little to calm the citizenry as a blanket of paranoia and insecurity unfurled across the nation.

The role of the United States as the leader in science and technology was being directly challenged. Before Sputnik, there was a widespread belief by Americans that the Soviets were far behind the United States in such areas, relying on espionage rather than originality. Had such smugness bred mental stagnation among Americans? Senator Styles Bridges made this case declaring, “The time has clearly come to be less concerned with the depth on the new broadloom rug or the height of the tail fin of the car and to be more prepared to shed blood, sweat and tears if this country and the free world are to survive.”

A second Sputnik launched in less than a month, on November 3, only served to increase the nation’s anxiety. Sputnik II weighed an incredible 1,100 pounds and contained a living passenger, a dog named Laika. Clearly, any booster capable of such feats had to possess a massive thrust capacity. This brought to light fears the Soviets were on the verge of perfecting the first Intercontinental Ballistic Missile and with it nuclear warheads that could rain down upon the United States at any given moment.

Attempting to bolster national pride domestically and the United States image abroad, the White House ordered an acceleration of Vanguard’s timetable by four months to attempt a December 1957 launch. With the nation’s eyes transfixed on Cape Canaveral, the pencil-like Vanguard rose four feet, dropped, and burst into a pyrotechnic display of brilliant orange and white flames. The Soviet United Nations delegation promptly inquired if the United States desired to enlist rocketry aid under their nation’s program of technical assistance to backward nations.

The United States did successfully launch the 31-pound Explorer 1 on January 31, 1958. In May, the Soviets launched Sputnik 3, which carried the first space laboratory and used solar energy to power its instruments and transmitters. Sputniks 5 through 10 (four of which carried dogs) were launched 1960-61; these were working models of the spacecraft that carried Yuri Alekseyevich Gagarin, the first human passenger, into space in 1961.

Politically, the impact of Sputnik within the United States would be far-reaching. In Washington, critics charged that the president’s policy of fiscal responsibility hindered the military’s ability to develop ICBMs. Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Baines Johnson opened a subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee to review the nation’s missile and space programs. Eisenhower succumbed to such pressures, increasing defense dollars allocated for

missiles. To ensure the peaceful exploration of space, the president called for the creation of a civilian space agency. The National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958 formally established the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Through NASA the nation set forth to combat the Soviets in this new arena of the Cold War called the space race. Because some critics charged the U.S. educational system with not stressing the same fundamentals in science and mathematics as the Soviet system, the National Defense Education Act allocated nearly \$1 billion to increase science, mathematics, and foreign languages in elementary, secondary, and collegiate education. American school children needed to be as versed in algebra formulas as they were in baseball batting averages if the United States hoped to surpass Sputnik.

While average Americans found themselves terrified by Sputnik, it became a phenomenon filtering into their everyday lives. Sputnik-watching became a popular evening event. Broadcast in a frequency range that amateur short-wave radio operators could receive, the beeps of Sputnik were as familiar to many families as the “Ballad of Davy Crockett.” Toy stores found their shelves lined with Sputnik-inspired toys. David Glover wrote and published the song “Go! Sputnik Boogie.” Bartenders concocted Sputnik cocktails—with vodka as a primary component, naturally.

—Dr. Lori C. Walters

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## St. Denis, Ruth (1879?-1968)

Early-twentieth-century American dancer and choreographer Ruth St. Denis is often considered to be the mother of modern dance. Born Ruth Dennis in Newark, New Jersey, she began her dance career as a teenager and took the stage name Ruth St. Denis. St. Denis traveled extensively, performing on the vaudeville circuit in the United States and using her visits abroad to learn about the dances of other countries. She was the first to present Eastern dance forms and themes to American audiences, developing a nationwide acceptance of Eastern art. She performed her first dance work, *Radha*, in New York in 1906 after studying Hindu art and philosophy. With her husband and dance partner, Ted Shawn, she created a dance school and popular performing company known as Denishawn in 1915 in Los Angeles, California. The two profoundly influenced modern dance through their company, the first organized center for dance experiment in the United States; they separated, both professionally and personally, in 1931. St. Denis will be remembered for her

teachings and often religious choreographic works that helped to establish modern dance as a serious artistic genre for later generations. A dancer of considerable power and beauty, St. Denis was a great inspiration to her three most accomplished students: Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, and Charles Weidman, who each became legendary modern dance figures in their own right. Called the “First Lady of American Dance,” St. Denis performed into the 1960s.

—Brian Granger

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## St. Elsewhere

Medical dramas like *Dr. Kildare*, *Medical Center*, *Chicago Hope*, and *ER* have long been one of the most popular television show formats. Of the many programs that presented the issues surrounding major medical institutions, none was more unique, ambitious, and unpredictable than *St. Elsewhere*. The series, which ran on NBC from 1982 to 1988, focused on the lives of the doctors, nurses, and patients at St. Eligius, an inner city Boston teaching hospital. Each episode offered a realistic look at the fallibility of doctors, the stresses of being hospitalized, and the ethical dilemmas inherent in the practice of medicine. Mixed in with the often tragic storylines were oblique jokes, subtle bawdy humor, and countless intertextual references to other works of popular culture. Although the series often struggled with mediocre ratings, its strong appeal to the demographically important baby-boomer and upscale urban professional audiences allowed the idiosyncratic show to remain on the air. After its surreal final episode, *St. Elsewhere* was widely hailed as one of television’s most literate and original programs.

The term “St. Elsewhere” is derived from medical school jargon for a hospital that serves as a dumping ground for patients not wanted by more prestigious medical facilities. Unlike its namesake, however, the series had a distinguished pedigree. Joshua Brand and John Falsey, staff writers on the basketball series *The White Shadow*, were encouraged to create the series after hearing of a friend’s experiences as an intern at the Cleveland Clinic. They assembled a core group of young producers and writers, including Bruce Paltrow, Mark Tinker, John Masius, and Tom Fontana, who crafted a program distinctly different than previous medical dramas featuring noble and perfect physicians. Their stories presented flawed doctors trying, and often failing, to provide the best medical care in less than ideal circumstances. The show’s narrative center was held by three veteran physicians: Daniel Auschlander (Norman Lloyd), a liver specialist faced with liver cancer; Donald Westphall (Ed Flanders), a widowed chief of staff raising an autistic son; and Mark Craig (William Daniels), a brilliant and heartless heart surgeon. Many young residents, who confronted their own problems, surrounded them. That the

series was set in a large, decaying urban institution, featured a large and diverse cast, and continued plots over a number of episodes caused many to initially consider the series as little more than “*Hill Street Blues* in a hospital.”

In 1986, executive producer Bruce Paltrow said of the series: “The original concept was to try to do an ensemble medical drama in a real way, with a kind of spontaneity and snap—and comedy.” The intense realism of the series was evident in its willingness to frankly address such issues as breast cancer, rape, infertility, impotence, and addiction. A 1983 episode contained one of network television’s first dramatic presentations of the AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) crisis. To heighten the sense of reality, the writers routinely placed their main characters in life-threatening situations from which they did not always survive. Over the years main characters left the show through such means as committing suicide, being murdered, going to prison, and contracting fatal diseases. Howie Mandel, who played a resident, reflected that the characters were as vulnerable as real people when he said: “I could get hit by a car and killed on my way to work and so could Fiscus (Mandel’s character). You always felt they could’ve killed anybody off. It wasn’t past what they would do on *St. Elsewhere*.”

The harshly realistic tone of the series was tempered by the writers’ willingness to experiment with the show’s form and their frequent use of black humor and pop culture references. The obnoxious patient Mrs. Hufnagel entered St. Eligius for an entire season only to die in a freak accident when her bed folded up on her. Another recurring patient, the amnesiac John Doe number six, became convinced he was “Mary Richards” from the *Mary Tyler Moore Show*. For that episode the writers included dozens of references to the classic series and other MTM productions. A highlight was a scene in a psych ward featuring actor Jack Riley as “Mr. Carlin,” his neurotic character from *The Bob Newhart Show*. Episodes that departed from the show’s usual format included one doctor’s journey to heaven where he met God and another structured like the play *Our Town*. Robert Thompson, director of the Center for the Study of Popular Television at Syracuse University, stated “More than any other series in the history of American television, *St. Elsewhere* rewarded the attentive viewer.”

Careful viewers were aware of the writers’ affinity for placing dirty, but subtle, jokes in many episodes. The most infamous was one of the first references to oral sex on network television. While dictating a novel Dr. Craig stated: “She came in from the garden, cheeks flushed, arms filled with flowers. I sat playing the Wurlitzer. She said ‘Where would you like these?’ I smiled. ‘Put the roses on the piano and the tulips on the organ.’” Such hidden gags were a bonus for active viewers. The series’ final episode itself contained dozens of references to other programs throughout television history. In its final moments the writers offered devoted viewers a great surprise as it was revealed that the hospital was only a model within a snowglobe. The entire series had sprung from the imagination of Westphall’s autistic son.

Few television programs can claim to be as thoroughly dramatic, humorous, and inventive as *St. Elsewhere*. The writers demonstrated respect for their audience’s intelligence on a weekly basis and revealed that network television can provide a level of sophistication beyond mere mindless entertainment. Furthermore, the constant intertextual references demonstrated that television possesses a rich heritage that can be drawn from by capable artists. Although it may

not have been high in the ratings, the series stands as a high point in television history that has rarely been matched by other series.

—Charles Coletta

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## Stadium Concerts

In the 1970s, stadiums became the main venue for staging concert performances of popular music. From country and rock music stars to more traditional singers like Frank Sinatra and Barbra Streisand, popular performers attracted audience sizes anywhere

from 20,000 to 100,000 people at a time. Rock music—with its mass participation and the sheer volume that was necessary to reach so many people at once—was particularly suited to playing concerts at football stadiums and in sports arenas. Rock musicians looked to the stadium as a way to play in front of the most people, for the most money, as audiences broadened during the seventies. Rock’s dominance on the concert circuit continued into the 1990s. Of the 20 top-grossing North American concert tours between 1985 and 1994, the average tour grossed \$55 million and visited 42 cities; nearly all of them were rock artists.

Rock’s first stadium concert was in 1965, when the Beatles performed in New York’s Shea Stadium to 55,000 screaming fans. Newspaper reports treated the concert as a curious aberration. The *New York Times* referred to the screaming fans’ “immature lungs,” which produced a “magnificent and terrifying voice,” and quoted a policewoman who called the fans “psychos.” The Shea Stadium concert, at which the Beatles earned more than \$160,000 for 28 minutes’ work, prefigured rock’s commercial power. By 1967, outdoor rock festivals began attracting audiences on an even larger scale. The Monterey Pop Festival in 1967 drew more than 50,000 people, while the 1969 Woodstock festival attracted more than 400,000. The festivals accustomed rock fans to attend concerts in large numbers, but they were plagued by major problems. Festival promoters were



Queen guitarist Brian May (left) performing with Slash at the Freddie Mercury Tribute Concert at Wembley Stadium, 1992.

often corrupt or inept, and violence was a looming threat that was realized at Altamont. In ensuing years, concert promoters—by having to coordinate 40-city tours—had no other choice but to improve; violence, as always, remained a threat.

Rock's development toward big business can be partly tracked by the growing professionalism among rock acts. At the beginning of the seventies, rock acts like the Rolling Stones and Led Zeppelin would routinely arrive at concerts an hour or more late; in addition, the Stones would not do encores. Jefferson Airplane's Paul Kantner, in *Bill Graham Presents*, expressed the attitude toward performing in rock's pre-stadium era: "A show was not just a performance. . . . A show was a whole social something-or-other. Bonfire ceremony or something. After we played, we wanted to go out and hustle girls. Get drunk and party, come back and play another set, go out and party again, and pretty soon dawn was there. To break that up was business." The move toward the stadiums was inevitable, however, as rock artists commanded greater receipts. Madison Square Garden and places like it, "could not have had an artist play there unless the artist said they wanted to," said Graham, who added that, at the time, he thought stadiums "should just be for . . . Roller Derby and boxing."

In the 1970s, declared *Rolling Stone* magazine, "there was no unifying presence in rock . . . and no artist whose latest record had to be heard by every fan and musician. By the time the decade began, rock was entertainment; in fact, it was well on its way to being the entertainment industry." Soon, performers were accompanied by special effects, like pyrotechnics or laser light shows. Professionalism had become the norm, as the stadium concert gave birth to one of rock's biggest clichés: the audience ritual of requesting encores by holding lit cigarette lighters into the darkness of the arena. If the outdoor festivals were characterized by their free-form nature, then the stadium concert was defined by its ritualistic showmanship.

Holding the attention of 20,000 (or more) people at a time was a serious challenge to those performing, and the rock star was well-armed. Any given tour might include several buses, a couple of trailer rigs, and a road crew ("roadies") to set up and disassemble increasingly elaborate stages; stacks of speakers became impossibly high towers that could allow performers to reach 120 decibels. The amplifiers were as much an assault on the poor acoustics as they were upon the audiences.

The dark side to such mass gatherings, when part of the audience was drinking, drugging, or both, was security concerns. The "stage rush," where people in front rows pushed forward toward the stage, sometimes threatened performers. At other times, the concert frenzy could produce tragedy, like the December 1979 Who concert at Cincinnati's Riverfront Stadium. A stampede of 7,000 people, through two open banks of doors, resulted in the trampling deaths of 11 people. A later-abandoned practice known as "festival seating," in which concertgoers entered the stadium by dashing to secure the best seat possible, was held to blame.

By the late 1980s, rock and country artists used stadium concerts as a way to voice their social concerns. Stadium-sized benefits of the late 1980s included Farm Aid—relief for America's farmers—and the Conspiracy of Hope Tour for Amnesty International. The biggest benefit concerts were the simultaneous Live Aid shows in Philadelphia and London. On July 13, 1985, between one-and-a-half and two billion people worldwide watched the televised concert. In the process, the event raised more than \$100 million for African famine relief. Tours for individual groups grew to comparable proportions. The top two touring acts of 1994, the Stones and Pink Floyd, grossed

\$121 million and \$103 million, respectively. Stadiums with a 20,000-seat capacity, which were considered to be the big prizes in the 1970s, had become second-tier venues when superstar groups were on the road.

—Daryl Umberger

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## Stagecoach

The critically-acclaimed classic film, *Stagecoach* (1939), not only helped to revive the A-movie Western, which had been out of favor since the advent of the sound era, but it cemented director John Ford's reputation as one of America's greatest filmmakers. And, as if that weren't enough, *Stagecoach* was the movie that catapulted John Wayne into stardom. Based on Ernest Haycox's short story, "Stage to Lordsburg," *Stagecoach* follows eight travelers on a trip through Indian country and explores the tensions and relationships that emerge during times of crisis.

Despite its big-movie pretensions, *Stagecoach* shares many similarities with B-movie Westerns. Its main characters are standard clichés from any number of low-grade cowboy flicks: Ringo (John Wayne), the young outlaw bent on revenge; Dallas (Clare Trevor), the prostitute with a heart of gold; Boone (Thomas Mitchell), the drunken doctor; Gatewood (Benton Churchill), the pompous businessman; Hatfield (John Carradine), the chivalrous gambler; Lucy (Louise Platt), the snobbish rich lady; and Peacock (Donald Meek), the timid whiskey drummer, are hardly unique to this film. Nor is the plot particularly original, with chases and shootouts that are typical Western fare.

What makes the film special is its character development and, more importantly, the clear social vision it presented to movie audiences mired in the Great Depression. Primary to this vision was the idea of community. The coach itself, set adrift in the savage wilderness of Indian country, represents a microcosm of civilized society. The passengers in the stagecoach-society are clearly from





Claire Trevor and John Wayne in a scene from the film *Stagecoach*.

diverse backgrounds. In the course of the film, however, these outlaws, out-of-towners, and snobs work through their differences to form a cohesive unit (with one notable exception). The driving force behind their union is crisis. The premature birth of Lucy's baby forces Dr. Boone to sober up, brings Dallas and Lucy together, and draws sympathy from the others. Similarly, the climactic (if not slightly stereotypical) Indian-coach chase requires these disparate elements to join forces to repel the common foe. The message was clear for contemporary audiences, who themselves faced a different sort of crisis: The best way to persevere through hard times is to band together and fight. Ford was no utopian idealist, however. Once the danger had passed and the stage reached Lordsburg (an ironic name, considering the amount of gambling, prostitution, and gunplay that took place there), the group went their separate ways. Clearly, such a community could only exist in extraordinary times.

But Ford's community is not all-inclusive. Significantly, the banker Gatewood is left out, as if he had no role in society. Depression-era audiences, who largely blamed bankers for the decade's ills, found in Gatewood a figure richly deserving of their scorn. While others try to help Lucy after she gives birth, Gatewood impatiently demands that the coach continue its trip. He is notably absent in the chase scene, remaining invisible inside the moving coach while the others desperately fire at the marauding Indians from its windows.

Gatewood presents an alternative social vision, which is roundly rejected. The other passengers are noticeably bored when he demands that bankers be free from government inspection and proclaims that America needs a "businessman for president." Their disinterest is a swipe at the conservative Republican administrations of the 1920s and is an implicit nod of support for the more liberal Franklin Roosevelt and his New Deal. At the film's end, Gatewood is revealed as a thief and dragged off in handcuffs.

Ford extended his vision beyond this call for community and used *Stagecoach* to present a largely traditionalist idea of the perfect man and woman. *Stagecoach*'s heroic men are tough and rugged problem-solvers who are not afraid to use weapons to defend themselves and their civilization from outside threats. Fainthearted men like Peacock are lampooned and exposed as effeminate. "I've had five children," Peacock notes when Lucy is in labor. "I mean," he notes, "my dear wife has." Throughout the movie, Peacock, doing his best impression of a disapproving nurse, tries to dissuade the alcoholic Dr. Boone from imbibing. Women, conversely, are most sympathetic when acting as mothers. The cold and aloof Lucy becomes a much more likable character once she has her baby, and Ringo first expresses his feelings for Stella after he admires her as she holds Lucy's baby. These ideal types are as important to *Stagecoach*'s message as its presentation of a society in crisis; to weather times of

trouble, a community needed to be made up of the right kind of people.

*Stagecoach* struck a chord with both critics and audiences. The *New York Times* hailed the film as “a noble horse opera,” and declared the film “a beautiful sight to see.” *Variety* called *Stagecoach* a “sweeping and powerful drama” and enthusiastically lauded its “photographic grandeur.” The film packed movie houses and won Academy Awards for Best Supporting Actor (Thomas Mitchell) and Best Score.

*Stagecoach* was John Ford’s first Western since 1926’s *3 Bad Men*, and was his first “talkie” Western (he had made forty-three silent Westerns). He would go on to make many more, including *Fort Apache* (1948), *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949), and *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962), all of which starred John Wayne. Many, however, still consider *Stagecoach* to be Ford’s best.

—David B. Welky

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## Stagg, Amos Alonzo (1862-1965)

Amos Alonzo Stagg, the charismatic “Grand Old Man” of college football, was one of the sport’s immortal leaders and innovative strategists. Stagg coached on the college level for an astounding 57 seasons. He started out at Springfield College in Massachusetts and, in 1892, became head football coach and associate professor of physical culture at the University of Chicago, where he enjoyed his lengthiest coaching tenure of 40 years. After retiring from the Big Ten school in 1932, he went on to the College of the Pacific in Stockton, California, where he headed up the football program through 1946.

Stagg was born in West Orange, New Jersey, and attended Yale University, where he participated in several sports. In 1886, he pitched Yale to a victory over Harvard to win the college championship. He also played end on the football team, coached by Walter Camp and made the 1889 All-America squad. It was under Camp’s peerless guidance that he became a student of the game. Stagg, who originally wished to become a minister, also developed the conviction that within football there existed the positive force with which to mold men’s characters. This concept, which he adhered to with evangelical zeal, was to become one of the cornerstones of his football philosophy.

At the University of Chicago, Stagg became the nation’s initial tenured football coach, as well as his era’s most imaginative, enterprising, and dominant athletic mentor. His on-field innovations

ranged from the “ends back” flying wedge formation to end-around plays and hidden-ball plays (in which he had his runners hide the pigskin under their jerseys). He instituted the modern T-formation and the flea-flicker pass and was the first coach to spotlight the forward pass in his team’s offense. He also was fabled for devising forceful defenses. The one he employed against the powerful Harold “Red” Grange of Illinois resulted in a 21-21 tie in 1924 and a moral victory for his underdog Maroons.

Stagg was the first to organize scrimmage games. In order to decrease injuries during practice, he devised the tackling dummy. He also was the first to add numbers to the jerseys worn by his players. As a coach, Stagg was noted for his intensity. Occasionally, he would even suit up and illustrate for his players the way he wished them to block and tackle. “No coach ever won a game by what he knows,” he observed. “It’s what his players have learned.”

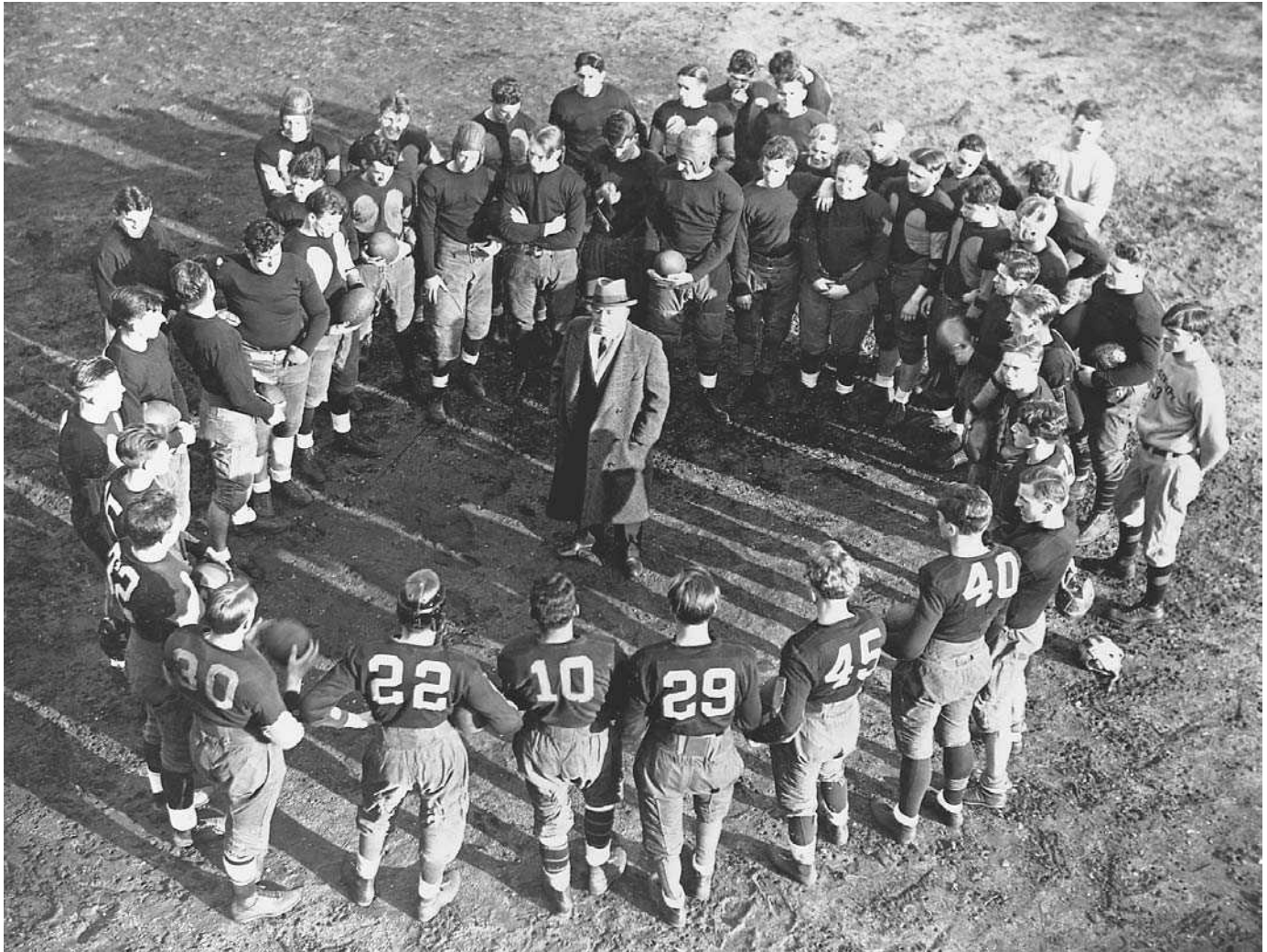
Stagg coached in the era in which professional football first emerged and was in its infancy. As his University of Chicago football program became renowned nationwide, he seized on the idea to commercialize the sport. In this regard, he and the university’s president, William Rainey Harper, served to transform football from an intercollegiate pastime to a high-profile, moneymaking industry. In their wake, for better or worse, universities came to be defined by the success or failure of their football programs. Stagg also was a crafty recruiter of athletic talent. In 1902, he established the University of Chicago interscholastic, a national track-and-field tournament for high school students—an event which served to acquaint him with the country’s top scholastic athletes, whom he then could entice to enter his athletic program.

At the University of Chicago, Stagg amassed a 268-141 record and earned six Big Ten conference titles, along with a tie for a seventh crown. Upon his retirement in 1932 at age 70—when his football program was in the process of deteriorating—he moved on to coach at the College of the Pacific. At the end of the decade, the University of Chicago decided to close down its varsity football program. However, its unofficial demise came in 1938, when it was blanked 32-0 by a rising football power from California: Stagg’s College of the Pacific team.

Stagg was 84 years old when he retired from the College of the Pacific in 1946. Incredibly, the following year, he became an assistant coach at Susquehanna College in Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania, working under his son, Amos Alonzo Stagg, Jr. The younger Stagg coached at Susquehanna between 1935 and 1954; his father remained at the school for six seasons. Stagg, Sr. did not officially retire until 1960, when he was 98-years old. During his career, he guided his teams to 314 victories, which ranks third among major college coaches (behind Glenn “Pop” Warner’s 319 wins and Paul “Bear” Bryant’s 323; division I-AA Grambling’s Eddie Robinson is the all-time NCAA leader, with 408).

Stagg was the initial individual inducted into the College Football Hall of Fame as both a player and coach and was cited as coach of the all-time Big Ten team. Across the land, high schools and athletic facilities are named for him, including those at the schools in which he coached. Each year, the American Football Coaches Association hands out the Amos Alonzo Stagg Award, honoring “the individual, group or institution whose services have been outstanding in the advancement of the best interests of football.”

—Rob Edelman



Amos Alonzo Stagg (center) amidst prospective University of Chicago football players.

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## Stallone, Sylvester (1946—)

The most pervasive action star of the 1970s and the 1980s, Sylvester Stallone became renowned for his depictions of inarticulate, larger-than-life heroes, most notably the lovable pugilist Rocky Balboa, and the alienated Vietnam War veteran John Rambo. As a creative force, who wrote/directed/produced many of his movies, he also became a favorite target of critics, who took aim at the overt

sentimentality of the formulaic *Rocky* sequels, and at the revisionist politics of the *Rambo* series. Yet Stallone triumphed with audiences, to become one of the biggest movie stars in the world.

Not coincidentally, the Hollywood anomaly rose to fame in the shadow of the Watergate scandal. Amid the cynicism of the 1970s, moviegoers flocked to *Rocky*, the uplifting 1976 saga of the Philadelphia southpaw, also known as the Italian Stallion, who inadvertently gets a shot at the title. The year's sleeper hit made its screenwriter-star the year's most talked-about talent.

As with the character of Rocky Balboa, whose saga was underscored by the line, "his whole life was a million to one shot," Michael Sylvester Stallone was an unlikely contender for success. A native of Hell's Kitchen, New York, he was born with droopy eyes and slurred speech, the result of a forceps injury. His childhood and adolescence were troubled; growing up in a broken home, he had behavioral problems that resulted in frequent expulsion. By age 15 he had attended a dozen schools. After graduating from a high school for troubled youth, his athletic prowess led to a scholarship to the American College in Switzerland. He went on to study dramatics at the University of Miami. He was just a few credits shy of graduating when he headed to New York.

He once described his earliest efforts in show business as “off the wall.” Indeed, he co-starred in the 1970 soft-core adult movie, *A Party at Kitty and Studs*, which was later rereleased and retitled *The Italian Stallion*, and he appeared nude in several off-off Broadway plays. He made his mainstream movie debut in 1974, with the 1950s-era look at Brooklyn buddies, *The Lords of Flatbush*, and was followed by roles in *Capone*, *Bananas*, and *Death Race 2000*. But his career remained in stasis.

Stallone was 30 years old, with a pregnant wife and \$106 in the bank, when he chanced to see a closed-circuit prize fight between Muhammad Ali and Chuck Wepner, a longshot who thrilled the crowd by going the distance. Over the next three days, Stallone wrote his screenplay about Rocky Balboa, who squares off against the champion, Apollo Creed. By fight’s end, Rocky has not only won respect, but also the love of the shy, bespectacled Adrian, who works in a pet shop. Initially, the producers Irwin Winkler and Robert Chartoff envisioned a vehicle for a leading actor such as Robert Redford or Al Pacino. But Stallone refused to sell the script unless he could also star.

Filed over 28 days for \$960,000, *Rocky* became the year’s top-grossing movie, and won the year’s Best Picture Oscar. Its ten nominations included those for best actor and best screenplay, putting Stallone in prestigious company. At that time, the dual honor had previously been bestowed only on Charles Chaplin for *The Great Dictator* and Orson Welles for *Citizen Kane*. Of his watershed movie, Stallone once said, “It was never a script about boxing. It was always about a man simply fighting for his dignity. People require symbols of humanity and heroism.”

With its prolonged training sequences, and publicity about Stallone’s own body building regimen, *Rocky* also evoked the benefits of health and fitness, foreshadowing the fitness movement of the 1980s. Much of the Stallone oeuvre has celebrated physicality. The five *Rocky* movies have all included a rigorous workout sequence. With their loving close-ups of the title character’s rippling pectorals



Sylvester Stallone

and abs, the three *Rambo* movies are as much a paean to the body beautiful as they are about the adventures of a modern-day warrior. Moreover, it was under Stallone’s supervision that actor John Travolta resculpted his body, to sinewy perfection, for the 1983 movie, *Staying Alive*, which Stallone directed, co-wrote, and co-produced. Stallone has said that as a teenager he was inspired to body build after watching the gladiator movies of Steve Reeves; doubtless, teenagers of the 1970s and 1980s were similarly inspired by Stallone.

His own movies certainly impacted the action-adventure arena—particularly *Rambo: First Blood Part II*, the 1985 sequel to *First Blood*. In fact, *Rambo* redefined the genre, with elements that became genre staples. Among them, the visceral style, minimal dialogue, the ticking time clock that gives Rambo limited time to carry out his covert mission, and scenes of the hero readying for war. Because the plot took the disenfranchised veteran back to Vietnam, to rescue forgotten American POWs (Prisoners of War), and because Rambo asked, “Sir, do we get to win this time?,” critics and commentators assailed the movie for rewriting history. They also took personal aim at the star-co-writer, noting that, like John Wayne, another star famed for his patriotic alter egos, Stallone had managed to elude real life military service. But *Rambo* proved critic-proof, touching a responsive chord that transcended language and cultural barriers.

Stallone, or “Sly” as he is called, shrewdly parlayed his 1980s-era power into deals that included creative control, and the highest salaries of the day. His celebrity was further amplified by his colorful personal life, which has included a string of public romances and marital woes. In the 1990s, however, as the action arena sought new direction, his career waned. He tried playing against type in several comedies that failed. More successful was his turn as a paunchy, lonely, sheriff in the 1997 crime drama, *Copland*. At the time it was widely publicized that Stallone had gained 30 pounds for the role. Today, it is the career, not the man, that needs redefinition. But if Stallone is a star in transition, there is no denying his charisma and star quality, or the crowd-pleasing appeal of his most famous creations, Rocky and Rambo.

—Pat H. Broeske

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## *Stand and Deliver*

*Stand and Deliver* (1987) is a movie about mathematics—yes, mathematics. It also features a most unusual movie hero: an educator. Yet this independently produced 1987 drama is as riveting and satisfying as the most cleverly plotted, edge-of-your-seat thriller. It is the fact-based story of Jaime Escalante, a math teacher in an East Los Angeles barrio high school, brought brilliantly to life by Hispanic actor Edward James Olmos in an Oscar-nominated performance.

Engaging, affecting, and inspirational, the film gave Escalante's philosophy and methods wide popular exposure, exercising a positive influence on American attitudes to education culture among those who saw it.

Jaime Escalante transformed a classroom of potential dropouts into calculus wizards, and *Stand and Deliver* shows how he did it. In so doing, the film's title takes on extra resonance. The phrase "stand and deliver" (originally a military term) has come to define how a person—any person—is capable of succeeding if he or she works hard, stands tall, and presents him or herself positively and intelligently, and thus the film's title takes on a specific resonance. The bespectacled educator's nondescript, slightly paunchy appearance in no way obscures his extreme intensity and his dedication to his job, and he wins the attention of his charges by the sheer force of his enthusiasm for his subject, and his ability to communicate it.

Several of Escalante's students start off as underachievers. A few are nice enough youngsters but destined never to progress beyond serving fast food or stocking shelves in a supermarket. Others are Hispanic Dead End Kids, macho punks with boulder-sized chips on their shoulders. Under Escalante's patient and gifted tutelage, 18 students learn the intricacies of calculus, and take an extremely difficult advanced placement exam. Each and every one passes the test. However, the story of *Stand and Deliver* only begins when this success is tainted by a charge of cheating, leading to an invalidation of the test results.

*Stand and Deliver* (the pre-release title was *Walking on Water*) is a multi-themed film, at once a tale of institutional racism and false accusation and an allegory of how an individual can accomplish a task through sheer will-power. In its most incisive scenes, director Ramon Menendez, who co-scripted with Tom Muscia, tellingly conveys how youthful minds and spirits can be dulled by parents who quash their children's natural eagerness for knowledge. Ultimately, it is Escalante, always aware of the pressures in their lives, who pushes, manipulates, cajoles, and hustles the kids, and gets results.

At the heart of *Stand and Deliver* is the wonderfully lively and expressive acting of Olmos. His performance is crammed with keenly observed inflections and mannerisms. Without ever having met the real Jaime Escalante, one can be certain that Olmos does not so much act the role as become the man. "When we see a film like *Rocky*," Olmos explained while promoting the film prior to its release, "we see an Anglo in a boxing ring. I'd say about 98 per cent of us, black, white or Hispanic, will never step in a boxing ring. But imagine how people must feel when they see a film set in a classroom—a place where everybody has been. Everyone has at one point or another sat behind a desk, and everyone knows that calculus is hard. But in this movie, you realize that calculus really isn't that hard—if you have an exceptional teacher."

Most of the real-life Escalante's calculus prodigies went on to complete college. When the film was released, several were in graduate school, and one had even joined Escalante as a colleague. "You can get anything you want in this country, as long as you are willing to pay the price and the price is right," Escalante declared, nine years after his story was told on screen. "You don't get anything unless you work for it." He also stressed that schools alone cannot be responsible for educating children, noting that he prescribes the "Three Ts" to parents: Tell your kid, 'I love you'; touch your kid; and time. "It is important to devote time to your kid. The best investment you can make in your kid is time."

—Rob Edelman

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## Standardized Testing

Standardized testing is so much a part of American culture that almost everyone can recognize its multiple choice format, even young children. It is no wonder; for most Americans, the testing starts in kindergarten. This testing culture seems to be uniquely American. In fact, Europeans refer to these tests as "American tests." A standardized test is called such because everyone takes the same test with the same questions, so one's performance can be compared to everyone else's, in order for a relative score to be obtained. Schools across the country vary greatly, so an A at one school might not be equal to an A from another; standardized tests thus serve to offer an equitable measure of aptitude. Because they are designed to screen applicants and are nearly impossible to finish, many people freeze when taking them. Perhaps their fear would change to anger if they knew the checkered history of these tests.

In 1912, Henry Goddard, who coined the word "moron," ran his version of an intelligence test at Ellis Island, and "proved scientifically" that the majority of Jews, Hungarians, Italians, and Russians were what he considered "feeble-minded." A few years later, the president of Columbia College, disappointed by all the recent Jewish immigrants enrolling after World War I, made Columbia the first school to use an "intelligence" test for admissions; he hoped these tests would limit the number of Jewish students without instituting an overt policy to do so.

World War I provided a perfect opportunity to test large numbers of people. The Army Mental Tests were created in 1917, with the help of Goddard and Carl Campbell Brigham. Results of these tests were to be used in assigning recruits to jobs in the army. Questions had the familiar multiple choice format, but pretty odd subject matter. For example, "Crisco is a (A) patent medicine (B) disinfectant (C) toothpaste (D) food product" and "The forward pass is used in (A) tennis (B) hockey (C) football (D) golf." Few would agree that these questions test not intelligence, but rather an awareness of consumer and leisure culture, things to which impoverished immigrants without American hobbies and with little or no English skills probably would not know the answers to.

Brigham used questions like these to prove his thesis. In analyzing the "data" from the Army tests, Brigham concluded that there are four racial strains in America. In order of their supposed "intelligence," and using his terminology, they are: Nordic; Alpine; Mediterranean; and last, American Negroes. The data gathered from Brigham's army tests was continually invoked in Congress and was instrumental in fostering congressional debates that led to the Immigration Restriction Act of 1924. The act imposed quotas on immigrants entering the United States.

In 1925, the College Board, which had been established in 1900 to standardize the entrance exams that Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and a few other elite colleges had all been administering separately—and today includes more than 2,500 colleges, schools, school systems, and

educational associations—hired Brigham to develop an intelligence test for use in college admissions. That test was called the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT). The first SAT, published in 1926 and administered to 8,040 people, included questions about brand names, chicken breeds, and cuts of beef, and had a section on artificial language that included made-up vocabulary and grammar rules, and asked testers to make sentences. There was also an analogy section that gave testers only six minutes to answer 40 questions. The test was—and still is, albeit in dramatically modified form—used to “predict” one’s success in college.

Because so many people were going to college after World War II, there was a huge demand for the SAT. In 1947 the College Board created the non-profit Educational Testing Service (ETS) to take care of the testing demand. The next year, 75,000 students took the SAT. In 1954 the College Board instituted a “test use” requirement, which forced all members of the Board to use at least one of its exams; a monopoly was thus established. Until 1957 neither the testers nor their high schools were even told their scores. Annual administrations of the SAT passed over one million in 1963, and were at 1.8 million by 1994.

Henry Chauncey, ETS’ first president, thought of the SAT as an IQ test. He admired such tests and believed that testing could help define vocational goals of students, especially those whose “talents” lend themselves to stopping education after high school. He suggested that students get tested at the end of the eighth or ninth grade, and then every one or two years thereafter. One does have to pay a fee each time one takes a standardized test. Some estimates of the amount Americans spend on testing in general are as high as \$500 million annually.

Standardized tests are being used more than ever to aid overworked and understaffed admissions departments. The tests come by their nickname “the Gatekeepers” honestly; the score is the first, and often the only thing, an admissions officer looks at on an application. If the prospective student has too low a number, they do not get in, no matter how impressive the rest of the application. And schools sometimes jack up the “average” incoming test scores of students in their admissions material so the school will seem more “selective.” Yet these gatekeepers are not crafted by academicians; writing test questions requires no special academic training. College professors do not write the SAT; lawyers do not write the LSAT, much less the Bar exam.

Most of ETS’ tests contain some combination of math and verbal questions (analogies, sentence completions, and critical reading passages); some throw in “analytic” questions such as logic games. The MCAT (Medical College Admissions Test) contains curriculum based questions on biology, chemistry, and physics; this is more like the non-ETS (and less expensive) ACT (American College Testing) Assessment Test, a curriculum-based test that is also used for college admissions. The GRE (Graduate Record Examination) and GMAT (Graduate Management Admissions Test) were by the 1990s given only on computer, as opposed to pencil and paper, in a format called “computer adaptive” or CAT. The CAT format redefines “standardized,” since each tester gets questions from a pool and the computer “adapts” each time she gets a question right or wrong by giving her a harder one if her last answer was correct and an easier one if her last answer was incorrect. It is therefore possible that no two test takers will take the exact same test.

ETS does seem to be distancing itself from the idea of “aptitude” testing. Until 1982, the GRE General Test was called the GRE

Aptitude Test. And in 1994, the A in SAT began to stand for “Assessment.” ETS now says that native intelligence is not what their tests are designed to detect; the SAT measures “developed ability, not innate intelligence; a test of abilities that are developed slowly over time both through in-school and out-of-school experience.”

The world of standardized testing starts long before high school. Estimates report that 127 million tests a year are being given at the K-12 level alone (including the Iowa Test of Basic Skills, a widely-used achievement test for grade schools). Also at that level, teachers have complained that because their peers are “teaching to the test,” the resulting scores are meaningless. ETS has always maintained that coaching is not effective on its tests; it did not even publish its own practice questions until 1978. But the million-dollar cottage industry of coaching businesses, whose existence depends on these tests, disagrees. Some such coaching programs claim that a student can raise his or her SAT score by up to 300 points after taking a coaching course.

Not only do testing opponents insist that high scores reveal little more than a talent for taking tests and understanding the testing “mentality,” but they also seem to correlate with the income and education of the tester’s parents. College Board data shows that someone taking the SAT can expect to score about 30 points higher for every \$10,000 in her parents’ yearly income. Unfortunately, these tests still seem to do what Brigham meant for them to do. For many years now, the median score for African Americans on the SAT has been 200 points below that for whites; females have been scoring 35 points lower on the math sections than males. ETS has made some changes to answer these charges. The 1996 “recentering” of SAT scores, done technically to create a better distribution of scores around the test’s numerical midpoint, boosted the average scores for groups like African Americans and Hispanics. Additionally, the Preliminary Scholastic Assessment Test (PSAT), a test used to determine who gets the National Merit Scholarship, replaced its old scoring formula, which assigned equal weight to the math and verbal sections, with a formula that doubles the verbal score, usually the higher one for female testers, in the hope that more women might get the scholarship.

School entry might be the most common way people are introduced to the entrenched testing culture, but it is not the only way. A partial list of organizations that buy tests from ETS includes, but is not limited to: the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency), the government of Trinidad and Tobago, The American Society of Plumbing Engineers, and The Institute for Nuclear Power Operations. One might also be required to take an ETS exam to become a golf pro, and in some states, a travel agent, a real estate salesman, and a beautician.

—Karen Lurie

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## Stand-up Comedy

Born in the smoky halls of turn-of-the-century vaudeville and thrust into mainstream American culture by the advent of radio and television, stand-up comedy is the entertainment industry's most accurate social thermometer. From Milton Berle to Roseanne Barr, comics have used the power of laughter to challenge Americans to face the controversial issues of the day, whether sex, government or



Stand-up comedian Jerry Seinfeld

religion. A good routine can turn the most tragic headlines into a gut-wrenching guffaw. Sometimes comics go too far for a laugh; sometimes they're the only ones brave enough to point out hypocrisy and social injustice.

The profession developed long before the discovery of electricity. Court jesters performed the first stand-up routines in medieval times. Elements of stand-up also pervaded William Shakespeare's work in the form of a fool providing the audience with a dose of comic relief. If the nineteenth-century American humorist did his work on paper, like Mark Twain, the twentieth century ushered in the age of performance. Vaudeville, a pre-cursor to the television variety show, provided a stage for the first generation of stand-up comedians such as Bob Hope, Jack Benny, George Burns and Gracie Allen, Bud Abbott and Lou Costello.

In Oscar Hammerstein's Victoria theatre, opened in Times Square in 1899, or the Palace Theatre, opened on Broadway and 47th Street in 1913, you could find singing women (Sophie Tucker, Nora Bayes, Elsie Janis), monologists (Milton Berle, Julius Tannen), the earliest comedy teams (Burns and Allen) and an assortment of freak acts. This was nothing like the high profile comedy showcases that would come later in the century, filled with Hollywood agents and television scouts. These variety shows were for the masses, which is why the young Berle, the brilliant monologist, might find himself on the same stage as the Armless Lutz Brothers, who could assemble a car with only their feet.

The foundations of stand-up were laid in the age of vaudeville, with terms like the "one-liner" and "straight man" entering the lexicon. Comics also developed different styles, deciding whether to space out laughs, build elaborate routines or just deliver the punch lines. Legendary society columnist Walter Winchell dubbed Henny Youngman, the "King of the One Liner." Youngman relied on vivid imagery in his jokes. "If a joke is too hard to visualize, then what the hell good is it?" he asked in his autobiography, *Take My Life, Please!* "I tell easy jokes where people don't have to think."

His clear and concise one-liners continue to amuse. "I'm so old, that when I order a three-minute egg here, they make me pay up front," went one of those jokes, and another, "A guy came up to me and said he'd bet me fifty dollars that I was dead. I was afraid to take the bet."

George Burns and Gracie Allen became the first great comedy team. Performing for the first time in Newark, New Jersey, Burns cast himself as the joke man, with Allen delivering the straight lines. A funny thing happened: Allen got all the laughs. Burns rewrote the show to refine what he called her "illegal logic." With the new formula, the couple continued to get laughs for years. One example of how Burns' highlighted Allen's humorous logic follows:

GRACIE: Where do you keep your money?

GEORGE: In the bank.

GRACIE: What interest do you get?

GEORGE: Four percent.

GRACIE: Ha! I get eight.

GEORGE: You get eight?

GRACIE: I keep it in two banks.

The vaudeville generation made a natural transition to the next stage of stand-up: radio and television. Burns and Allen debuted on radio in 1932 with *The Adventures of Gracie* show (later renamed *Burns and Allen* (1932-1950)) and then moved to television with *The Burns and Allen Show* in 1950 for another eight years. On the small

screen, Burns would often talk to the viewing audience, dropping all pretenses that the show they were watching was in fact reality. Called “breaking the fourth wall,” this method would be practiced years later by another former stand-up, Garry Shandling, in the 1980s. Berle became known as “Mr. Television” because of his popular variety show, *The Texaco Star Theater*, which ran from 1948 to 1953. Bud Abbott and Lou Costello, before trying television and the big screen, debuted their famous “Who’s On First?” routine on radio in 1938. As the people of vaudeville moved to radio, film, and television, these new media soon eclipsed vaudeville, which disappeared by the 1940s.

Without the vaudeville stage to help hone their acts, stand-up comedians turned to strip clubs and the growing nightclub circuit. The new clubs proved fertile ground for comedians like Bob Newhart, Woody Allen, Bill Cosby, and Lenny Bruce. No longer forced to shout over a rowdy audience riled by dancing girls or fish swallowing Swedes, comics could develop stories for their acts in the more controlled atmosphere of these new venues. While one-liners still ruled many acts, younger comics worked to draw the audience into a “bit” which might run for 20 minutes—about the time it took Henny Youngman to blast through a few dozen punch lines.

At the forefront of the movement stood Lenny Bruce, the comic philosopher. One of the first truly controversial stand-ups, he used vivid, sometimes obscene, language and sexually charged subject matter. Unlike comics who used profanity and went “blue” for cheap laughs, Bruce’s monologues spoke to the simmering social war, the contrast between the emerging hipster cool and the prosperous, conservative, postwar America. At the time, Communists—both in Asia and in Hollywood—were under attack, and Pat Boone, the five-cent hamburger, and nondescript but affordable subdivisions were embraced. Into this cultural milieu came Bruce—a barely concealed heroin addict—with his thirst for controversial talk about race, censorship, and sex. “Show me the average sex maniac, the one who takes your eight-year-old, schtupps her in the parking lot, and then kills her, and I’ll show you a guy who’s had a good religious upbringing,” went one of his routines. “You see, he saw his father or mother always telling his sister to cover up her body when she was only six years old, and so he figured, one day I’m going to find out what it is she’s covering, and if it’s as dirty as my father says I’ll kill it.”

Woody Allen benefited from the nightclub scene as much as Bruce. Though he went on to become one of stand-up’s greatest success stories, Allen would never have made it in the vaudeville era. His quiet, intentional half-stutter delivery would have been drowned out after the first few rows of a burlesque hall. In a nightclub world, he was a headliner, known for his satiric stories and willingness to always poke fun at himself, using his noodly, bookish physique to his advantage. On stage, Allen carved out a niche as the loveable schlemiel, an intellectual comic who referenced philosophers, shrinks, and college. He would tell long stories, presented as autobiographical. But somewhere before the punch line, an absurd twist would let the audience into the tall tale; their comedic confessor was in fact a master yarn spinner.

Not interested in radio, and frustrated by the constraints of television, many among Allen’s generation tapped into the growing comedy album industry. The 1960s and 1970s were a golden age for the comedy record, starting with Bob Newhart’s million-selling 1960 release, *The Button-Down Mind Of*. For racier comics, George Carlin, Richard Pryor, and Eddie Murphy in particular, comedy records would prove invaluable, enabling them to use hot material that would

either not be allowed on television or have to be softened for the viewing audience.

Sparked by the general loosening of social rules brought on by the sexual revolution and youth-oriented civil rights and antiwar movements, stand-up comedy continued to push boundaries in the 1970s. Stuffy network executives were often tested or outright mocked, as in George Carlin’s famous “Seven Words You Can Never Say On Television.” Female comics also began to get more stage time, in particular Lily Tomlin, Gilda Radner and Joan Rivers. It wasn’t until the 1980s, when Roseanne Barr (later Arnold) developed a successful sitcom out of her stage act, that female comics made a true mark in the male-dominated industry. *Saturday Night Live*, a sketch comedy show based largely on stand-up principles, was created in 1975. In addition to a cast that included Dan Aykroyd, John Belushi, Jane Curtin, Chevy Chase, and Bill Murray, *SNL* guest hosts like Carlin, Pryor, and Steve Martin gained exposure.

The 1970s generation included two of the more important comedians in Richard Pryor and Andy Kaufman. Pryor grew up in a poor, black neighborhood; Kaufman was white and from Long Island. But they shared a thirst for original and unpredictable behavior, both on and off stage, leaving audiences and critics wondering where the act ended and reality began.

Kaufman didn’t just tell jokes; he wrestled with women on stage, slipped into a bad toupee to play the lounge lizard, Tony Clifton, and according to legend, read *The Great Gatsby* in its entirety to an audience in Iowa. (On another occasion, after being asked to stop reading, Kaufman agreed and put on a record instead—of him reading *The Great Gatsby*.) He had the talent to succeed with more conventional fare; his “Foreign Man” character was adapted as Latka Gravas for the popular television series, *Taxi*; his Elvis impersonation was so hilarious the pop band, R.E.M., centered its 1992 Kaufman tribute, “Man on the Moon” around it. But Kaufman preferred to push his act into performance art territory. On *Late Night with David Letterman*, he and professional wrestler Jerry Lawler appeared to get into a genuine argument, ending with Lawler slapping the comedian off his chair. The Clifton routine could run for a half-hour, with Kaufman—as Clifton—growing angry at the suggestion that he was simply doing an impression. “Listen, folks, what I’m doing up here—that’s how I make my living,” Clifton would yell. “I don’t have to take this kind of crap!” For several years, he became so consumed by professional wrestling that his friend, comedian Robin Williams, noticed during lunch that Kaufman was wearing trunks under his clothing. When Kaufman died of cancer in 1984, many wondered whether it was the ultimate put-on.

Pryor was equally unpredictable. The most important black comics who preceded him, Bill Cosby and Flip Wilson, tended to be non-confrontational and television-ready. And Dick Gregory’s biting routines were political instead of personal and less effective in the post-activist climate of the 1970s. Pryor was unique in that he based his act on common black experience in America. He grew up poor, in a world of pimps, wife beaters, and poolroom hustlers. Even as he became one of Hollywood’s most bankable comic stars, Pryor remained erratic, cursing, yelling, and storming off the stage when he didn’t feel right. On *The Tonight Show*, Pryor suggested to the studio audience: “If you want to do anything—if you’re black and still here in America—get a gun and go to South Africa and kill some white people.” He also bared his soul. In 1980, after setting himself on fire while free-basing cocaine, Pryor worked it into his routine. Pryor’s red-hot stage show paved the way for the generation of black comics that would include Eddie Murphy, Martin Lawrence, and Chris Rock.



His sexually-oriented material also led to the one-dimensional, smut routine of Andrew Dice Clay.

The success of the late 1970s and early 1980s comics led to a boom in the stand-up business. Clubs opened, comedy specials were produced for cable television, John Belushi and Dan Aykroyd's Blues Brothers toured the country playing rhythm and blues, Sam Kinison's manic re-recording of "Wild Thing" climbed the *Billboard* charts. But the inevitable crash which came in the 1990s, when headliners moved onto television or films, and left behind a glut of second and third-rate comedians. Nearly 5,000 were listed by *Comedy USA*, the bible of stand-up comedy, in the mid-1990s. There were fewer stages, as well: The 450 clubs registered in 1991 had dwindled to 350 by the middle of the decade.

The scene was unforgiving, as described by *The New York Times*' Neil Strauss in 1999: "The bottom rung of the comedy ladder can be uglier, crueler and more demeaning than in any other line of entertainment—be it actor, model, musician, writer or clown. Sexism and racism run rampant, club-owners ask struggling comedians to scrape gum off the bottom of tables to get a booking, competition between comics is fierce, and newcomers have to pay to perform." In a way, stand-up comedy had returned to the days of vaudeville, when Burns and Allen were competing against acrobats or dancing dwarfs. And the sheer volume of comics led to an important development: the rise of the alternative stand-up scene. At places like the Luna Lounge in New York City, the Velveeta Room in Austin, Texas, and the Subterranean Cabaret in Chicago, comics didn't dare trot out stand-up's war horses—jokes about mother-in-laws, terrible airplane flights or the single life. With an audience packed mainly with other comics, the performers retired well-worn bits for fresher, more experimental material. That could be, as Strauss notes, a struggling comic delivering her monologue with her pants at her ankles or a male comic acting out how a cat feels.

If the late 1990s marked the decline of the comedy club, stand-up grew even more pervasive. Bill Maher's *Politically Incorrect*, which featured four different roundtable guests each night, was hailed as one of the freshest talk shows. Books by Dennis Miller, Paul Reiser, and Martin—among others—climbed *The New York Times* bestseller list. And even the veritable CBS news, launching the *60 Minutes II* newsmagazine, chose a Boston stand-up, Jimmy Kimmel, to offer a commentary at the end of each program. Jerry Seinfeld, after deciding to retire his groundbreaking television sitcom, took his stand-up routine back on the road.

Not much had changed on the front lines. In comedy clubs all across America, managers continued to strain to make money on unknowns. Drink minimums kept crowds unruly and joke-hungry. Entertainers exposed themselves, under the glare of the klieg light, defended by only a microphone and every rage, fear, and insecurity that might be cashed in for a laugh. It had been this way since Milton Berle's day, and there was never a shortage of young comics vying for that chance to deliver the perfect punch line. Because, as Steve Allen wrote in his book, *Funny People*: "Without laughter, life on our planet would be intolerable."

—Geoff Edgers

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## The Stanley Brothers

During the late 1940s, the Stanley Brothers (Carter, 1925-1966, and Ralph, 1927—) and their band the Clinch Mountain Boys helped to establish bluegrass—as Bill Monroe's new style came to be known—as a musical genre. According to folklorist Neil Rosenberg, their 1948 recording of "Molly and Tenbrooks"—featuring Darrell "Pee Wee" Lambert, a tenor singer and mandolin player like Monroe—offers the first proof that Monroe's sound was being copied by other groups. Merging the old-time sound of traditional mountain music, haunting vocal harmonies, and bluegrass instrumentation, the early recordings of the Stanley Brothers have become bluegrass classics. When lead singer Carter Stanley died in 1966, Ralph took control of the group. He revitalized the band with new members (including Keith Whitley and Ricky Skaggs during the 1970s), and over the next two decades they developed and maintained a following among bluegrass and traditional folk fans that continued into the late 1990s.

—Anna Hunt Graves

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## Stanwyck, Barbara (1907-1990)

From her modest beginnings as a Broadway chorus girl named Ruby Stevens, Barbara Stanwyck forged a long and versatile career as one of Hollywood's strongest female stars. Her breakthrough performance occurred in 1930's *Ladies of Leisure*, directed by Frank Capra, who said her emotionally charged acting could "grab your heart and tear it to pieces." In her earliest roles she epitomized the self-sacrificing woman, culminating in her title part in the 1937 woman's picture, *Stella Dallas*. The 1940s transformed her into a sexy, ruthless femme fatale. She played the movies' first woman to murder for no reason nobler than avarice in the 1944 seminal film noir, *Double Indemnity*. Unlike Bette Davis and Joan Crawford, her peers in melodrama, Stanwyck also made an impression as a comedienne in canonical romantic comedies like 1941's *Ball of Fire* and *The*

*Lady Eve*. Her image, onscreen and off, as a tough, independent woman overcoming a hardscrabble childhood is her legacy.

—Elizabeth Haas

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## Star System

With the rise of the Hollywood film industry in the 1920s and thereafter, the world came to recognize that fame, like American automobiles or hot dogs, could also be manufactured and successfully marketed. In a democratic, officially classless culture, where “personality” provided a vehicle for upward mobility, it came to be increasingly understood that personality required manufacturing and regular maintenance. As a mass movie audience, the anonymous public also began to recognize that many of the most notable people in the world were manufactured, like the movies featuring their close-up faces, in a semi-mythic place called Hollywood. Carefully crafted to complement the technical components of the entertainment industry, the “star system” focused attention of the public onto idealized “picture personalities” that simultaneously embodied familiar social types and represented privileged individuality for their fans.

While American show business, exemplified by early impresarios like P. T. Barnum, Florenz Ziegfeld, and “Buffalo Bill” Cody, had relied upon the promotion of featured “players” throughout the nineteenth century, the construction of a regulated system for the production and promotion of Hollywood stars was designed along the industrial model pioneered by Henry Ford and his Detroit assembly lines. Commercial cinema did not have stars in its early years, not until film producers, perhaps goaded by audiences, came to understand the commercial appeal of specific actors. Among the first “stars” so identified were such as Charlie Chaplin, Lillian Gish, Mary Pickford, Douglas Fairbanks, Rudolph Valentino, and Clara Bow. As Hollywood’s financial and cultural power grew, it came to heavily depend upon the distinctive charisma of specific actors to promote its product to an adoring audience. Working behind the scenes from the mid-1920s through the 1950s, the Hollywood star system relied on a coordination of working parts that both imitated and rivaled Ford’s efficient factories: dance and singing lessons; careful decisions about names, makeup, hair, and clothing; the posing of glamour photographs; carefully chosen publicity appearances and constructed gossip. Using these tools, the major film studios groomed and marketed their most visible products, the stars whose weekly secular worship sold millions of tickets, fan magazines, and tie-in consumer goods. Beginning with *Motion Picture* in 1911 and dominated by the long-running *Photoplay*, the fan magazine provided the public’s key link to the “real lives” of their favorite actors; the construction of an offscreen image for its contract players thus became just as important for the studios as the tailoring of a specific star’s screen persona. Fans were hungry for information on the “real” Clark Gable or the “actual” Joan Crawford that supplemented their film roles, and so the star system negotiated a careful balance

of identification and adoration. Stars like Judy Garland and Mickey Rooney were kids “just like us” who we knew we would never really be.

The underlying tension between studio-controlled information about stars and less-regulated gossip occasionally surfaced when major stars were caught in scandals that threatened to create wide gaps between their onscreen and offscreen images. Shocking trials in the 1920s featuring beloved comedians like Charlie Chaplin and Roscoe “Fatty” Arbuckle, and widespread rumors about the sex lives of Clara Bow or Rudolph Valentino, redefined the star system’s promotional work as crisis management until the industry adoption of the Production Code allowed the studios to fully enforce “morality” clauses in actors’ contracts. As far as the film studios were concerned, there was a direct relationship between a star’s public behavior and his or her box-office receipt, so controlling the image of contract players was an economic imperative, even if it appeared under the guise of moral guardianship. Only in later decades would serious ethical questions be raised about, for instance, a film studio’s arranging dates and even a sham marriage for Rock Hudson so that his legions of female fans might not suspect that he was in fact a homosexual.

Of course, as a capitalist structure well aware of the quick gratifications of mass culture, the star system also demanded a regular selection of fresh products, so new names and new faces were constantly put before the public even as the careers of older stars were retooled as long as the public showed interest in them. While some stars, like Mae West, Boris Karloff, or John Wayne, were narrowly defined by their iconic star personas, other stars were transformed in attempts to attract changing audiences and reflect shifting fashions. Popular child stars like Elizabeth Taylor or Shirley Temple were or were not successfully redefined for adult roles as they grew up, and performers once closely associated with one genre were reconceptualized for others: the 1930s boy singer Dick Powell reemerged as a screen tough-guy in the 1940s, and Barbara Stanwyck moved with relative ease from women’s melodramas and screwball comedies in the 1930s into 1950s Westerns.

The Hollywood star system began to weaken as the studio system itself lost prestige and power in the 1950s, especially after a number of major stars, including Burt Lancaster and Kirk Douglas, declared themselves “independent” by forming their own production companies. In other cases, a star’s contracts with studios, once long-term and binding, were redrawn as short-term, profit-sharing deals that linked an actor’s salary directly to the success of a specific film. In 1950, James Stewart received half of the profits of his hit western *Winchester ‘73*, dramatically revising the industry’s understanding of a star’s earning potential. With stars, along with their personal agents and talent agencies, increasingly responsible for their own public images and career choices, the control over performers once secured within the studio hierarchy had clearly shifted. By the 1980s, the old Hollywood concept of the “star vehicle,” a film specifically tailored to the image and talents of its leading player, was again fully active, but only a handful of stars called the shots that determined which major films were produced and promoted. The self-styled moguls of the studio era had been displaced by their former puppets, the “talent” whose survival skills now included, most significantly, a keen business sense.

Certainly a contemporary “celebrity system” remains visible in the small army surrounding any major celebrity: agents, publicists, managers, and personal assistants all work to secure film projects, recording deals, promotional endorsements, talk-show appearances,

and cameo roles for their employers. The earlier star system, however, has merged into a much larger “culture of celebrity” that extends massive fame not only to film stars and professional athletes or pop musicians, but also to the legions of “minor celebrities” necessary to regularly replenish television talk shows, fashion catwalks, award presentations, and “special guest” appearances on weekly sitcoms. The pop artist Andy Warhol’s notorious designation of previously unknown figures as “superstars” and his famous allotment of 15 minutes of fame to everyone in a media-saturated world perhaps signaled the real end of any remaining purpose for a coherent “system” that was once constructed to transform mere mortals into minor gods and goddesses.

—Corey K. Creekmur

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## Star Trek

A worldwide science-fiction pop culture triumph, Star Trek has become a veritable empire of movies, television shows, novels, comic books, fanzines, clubs, conventions, board games, video games, and memorabilia. Star Trek began as a television series originally conceived by writer-producer Gene Roddenberry (1921-1991) in the early 1960s. Airing on NBC from Fall 1966 through Spring 1969, *Star Trek* episodes chronicled the adventures of the twenty-third century starship Enterprise, serving the interplanetary Federation on a five-year mission to “explore strange new worlds” and “boldly go where no man has gone before.”

Initially assembled at Desilu Studios, the series took shape with significant help from the actors, all of whom had the sense that they were involved with something quite new and important. Captain James T. Kirk (played by William Shatner) was the young, handsome leader of the mission, the youngest captain in the history of Starfleet. Though occasionally headstrong and impetuous, and with a weakness for beautiful women of all races (and all species), Kirk was an inspiring and resourceful leader, often the most popular character of the show. Rivaling and sometimes surpassing Kirk in popularity was Mr. Spock (Leonard Nimoy), a native of the planet Vulcan, where emotions are suppressed in an attempt to achieve complete objective



**William Shatner (right) and Leonard Nimoy as they appeared in *Star Trek: The Motion Picture*.**

logic. Spock’s tapered eyebrows and pointed ears were at once sinister and fascinating, like a hybrid between a devil and an elf. Spock was particularly interesting because he was half human; though raised as a Vulcan, he was torn between the rigors of logic and the “irrational” pull of friendship and love. The third major character was Dr. “Bones” McCoy (DeForest Kelley), a curmudgeonly and quick-tempered older man. McCoy had little patience for the impossible idealism that often accompanied Kirk’s confidence, and even less patience for the self-importance that often accompanied Spock’s self-restraint.

The other prominent members of the original Enterprise crew were a deliberate mixture of races and nationalities, as Roddenberry felt an accurate vision of the future must depict humanity as having transcended ethnic and political strife. Montgomery Scott—“Scottie”—(played by James Doohan) was the ship’s Scottish engineer; he could push the ship beyond its limits and work miracle repairs. The Japanese Lieutenant Sulu (George Takei) and the Russian Ensign Chekov (Walter Koenig) were the ship’s helmsmen. The African Lieutenant Uhura (Nichelle Nichols) was the communications officer.

*Star Trek* was originally conceived as a rather dark and serious show, but it quickly became much more than this. There is a great variety in the original *Star Trek* episodes: tragedy, comedy, mystery, romance, action, adventure. Among the most popular humorous episodes is “The Trouble with Tribbles,” during which some members of the Enterprise crew purchase some cute, round, fur-covered creatures known as tribbles from an intergalactic merchant, only to discover that the creatures multiply at a rate fast enough to threaten engulfing the entire ship. Often voted the best all-time episode is “The City on the Edge of Forever,” a time-travel drama written by Harlan Ellison and co-starring Joan Collins. In this heart-wrenching episode, Kirk is forced to choose between saving the life of the woman he loves or forever altering the natural course of history.

Other popular episodes feature the Enterprise in conflict with the Federation's redoubtable alien enemies, the warlike Klingons and the scheming Romulans.

The 1960s *Star Trek* is justly famous for its social commentary. A few episodes, including "A Private Little War," offer thinly veiled criticism of Vietnam by showing the problems of getting involved in other nations' internal struggles. Indeed, Starfleet's "Prime Directive" is that no technologically advanced society may interfere with the normal development of a more primitive society. Other episodes promote racial harmony and equality; the exciting "Last Battlefield" episode shows a planet of racists engaged in a futile and self-destructive war. A few episodes, including "A Way to Eden," critique the communal counterculture: intergalactic hippie types are seen spoiled by drugs or foolishly deluded into thinking they will find a perfect paradise. Overall the show is upbeat, suggesting that many of the problems of twentieth-century Earth will ultimately be solved. The tradition of social commentary in the episodes of the original *Star Trek* series carried into the later *Star Trek* series, which have examined issues such as overpopulation, environmentalism, homelessness, drug abuse, bisexuality, and religious fanaticism.

The original *Star Trek* is also remarkable for its breaking of television taboos. Apparently, the show's being set in the future allowed it to get away with content that would have been unacceptable in a "real life" show. Many episodes feature scantily clad men and women, often in thin and flimsy outfits that seem about to fall off entirely; but as many of these men and women were "robots" or "aliens" the network censors allowed them on the show. *Star Trek* was also historic in condoning interracial (or even inter-species) love. The fine "Plato's Stepchildren" episode (aired 1969) features television's first interracial kiss, between Shatner and Nichols.

Over the years, the original *Star Trek* series has furnished its fans with a multitude of inside jokes. Drinking games have developed during which fans take one drink every time the show's most famous motifs are repeated: the ship's teleporting "Transporter" always breaks down; red-shirted security officers always die at the hands of evil aliens; Kirk always finds a way to talk attractive female aliens into bed; Uhuru always taps the microphone in her ear to get better reception across the light years; Spock and his fellow Vulcans greet each other with mystic hand-signals and with the words, "Live long and prosper"; after McCoy examines a dead body, he always turns sadly to the captain and says, "He's dead, Jim"; after a mission accomplished (and after the ship's Transporter has been conveniently repaired), Kirk radios his engineer and chimes, "Beam me up, Scotty." Yet all these jokes, along with the occasional silly-looking sets and ham-acting, have become a source of endearment rather than derision.

Despite the tremendous efforts of everyone involved with the show, and despite the high cost of close to \$200,000 per episode, media critics considered the show a failure. Worse still, after some initially high Nielsen ratings, the show's popularity began to decline. Although fan mail increased week after week, the number of viewers appeared to be dwindling. NBC came close to canceling the show after the first season but relented after being deluged by letters written during a "save *Star Trek*" campaign organized by prominent science-fiction writers. But the show's second season still failed to capture high ratings. Again the show was nearly canceled, but again a "save *Star Trek*" campaign (this time organized by fans) saved it. The third season was the show's last, but the total of 79 episodes were enough to allow syndication.

In syndication, *Star Trek* became an immediate hit. Fanzines and fan clubs proliferated, enough to inspire the first Star Trek convention in January 1972 in New York City. In response to this burgeoning popularity, NBC revived the show as an animated series, featuring the original actors as the voices of their original characters. Unfortunately, though the animated show featured stories as complex as the live action series, it was aired for young viewers on Saturday mornings and thereby was misplaced. It was canceled after a brief 22-episode run from Fall 1973 into Winter 1974. Plans for a second television series were in the works, but after the spectacular success of *Star Wars* in 1977, Star Trek's new owner Paramount decided to make the show into a movie. *Star Trek: The Motion Picture* (directed by Robert Wise) hit theaters in 1979, and while it was not well-liked by critics or hardcore fans (mostly because of its extravagant special effects and emphasis on concept over character), the picture drew tremendous crowds and was a financial success.

Star Trek movies have since hit theaters regularly every few years. *Star Trek II: The Wrath of Khan* (1982, directed by Nicholas Meyer) was an action-packed adventure co-starring Ricardo Montalban and Kirstie Alley; it became both a critical and popular success despite the death of Mr. Spock in the film's final scenes. *Star Trek III: The Search for Spock* (1984, directed by Leonard Nimoy) was another all-around success; the Enterprise is lost, but Spock is resurrected. *Star Trek IV: The Voyage Home* (1986, directed by Nimoy) time-warped the crew back to 1980s San Francisco in search of a pair of humpback whales; possessing a playful sense of delight, it has become the most successful Star Trek film of all. *Star Trek V: The Final Frontier* (1989, directed by William Shatner) gave the crew a rebuilt Enterprise and sent them in search of an evil alien whom they mistake as God; the movie also purposefully suggested that the characters were perhaps getting too old to be adventuring in outer space. *Star Trek VI: The Undiscovered Country* (1992, directed by Meyer), in which the Klingons and the Federation make peace, was the last film to feature the original cast.

*Star Trek: Generations* (1994, directed by David Carson) portrayed the death of James T. Kirk, and was also the first film to feature the second generation of Star Trek characters from the already-successful *Next Generation* television show. *Star Trek: First Contact* (1996, directed by Jonathan Frakes) was a multi-layered time-travel film showing Earth's first contact with an alien race. And *Star Trek: Insurrection* (1998, directed by Frakes) portrayed a power-struggle over a beautiful pleasure-planet.

The success of the first Star Trek movies inspired Paramount to produce a second television series, *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, that took place 78 years after the first series. The new show (aired 1987-94) took a more contemplative and peaceful approach to its episodes; there was less action but more science and more diplomacy. Beautiful computer-generated special effects added further breadth. But as with the original series, a prime appeal of the second series was the emphasis on character. With families and couples on board a much larger starship, the show had a balanced "group" feel. Captain Jean-Luc Picard (played by Patrick Stewart) was mature and dignified, while First Officer Riker (Jonathan Frakes) was suave and sturdy. Klingon security officer Worf (Michael Dorn) was often torn between his hereditary codes of honor and his duties serving the Federation, while android Lieutenant Data (Brent Spiner) struggled to compare his thoughts and his "emotions" with those of human beings. Major characters also included the empathetic Counselor Troi (Marina Sirtis), the young engineer Geordi La Forge (LeVar Burton), and the doctor Beverly Crusher (Gates McFadden). Some episodes

featured Dr. Crusher's son Wesley (Wil Wheaton), the Ukrainian security officer Tasha Yar (Denise Crosby), and the 500-year-old Guinan (Whoopi Goldberg). Like the original series, *The Next Generation* offered fans a great variety of shows ranging from the very lighthearted to the very serious. Popular episodes feature the Romulans (now a major enemy of the Federation), the Borg (frightening and hostile aliens who resemble a cross between insects and robots), and the nearly-omnipotent alien "Q" (John DeLancie), who enjoys teasing the earnest but helpless humans.

After seven seasons, it was decided that *The Next Generation* be replaced by a new show, *Star Trek: Deep Space Nine* (created largely by Rick Berman and debuting in 1993), whose characters inhabit a space station rather than ship. The station is precariously situated at the edge of the Federation near an intergalactic "wormhole" through which all manner of alien spaceships frequently pass. Besides accommodating their alien visitors, the Deep Space Nine crew faces the challenge of a conflict raging in their sector between the empire of the Cardassians (reptilian Federation adversaries) and the inhabitants of the planet Bajor. In later shows the crew faces the threat of the hostile Jem'Hadar alien troops and their masters in the "Dominion." The look and mood of the show is darker than in the earlier shows, but the optimistic vision remains. The characters include widower Captain Benjamin Sisko (Avery Brooks) and son Jake (Cirroc Lofton), the Bajoran first officer Kira (Nana Visitor), the unscrupulous merchant Quark (Armin Shimerman), the symbiont-hosting alien Dax (Terry Farrell), and the shapeshifting officer Odo (Rene Auberjonois). As in the earlier shows, the *Deep Space Nine* crew is a harmonious mixture of peoples: Sisko is black, the ship's doctor (Siddig El Fadil) is an Arab, the operations officer (Colm Meany) is Irish, the botanist (Rosalind Chao) is Japanese.

With *Deep Space Nine* still intended to run a full six or seven seasons, in 1994 yet another Star Trek TV series debuted, entitled *Star Trek: Voyager* (also created largely by Rick Berman). As in the first two series, the characters serve on board a space ship, but this ship is lost light years from the Federation and must find its way home. The Voyager crew must also deal with internal Federation rebels known as The Maquis, some of whom serve on the Voyager bridge. Crew members include the scientist-captain Kathryn Janeway (Kate Mulgrew), Native American officer Chakotay (Robert Beltran), ex-convict Lieutenant Paris (Robert Duncan McNeill), youthful Ensign Kim (Garrett Wang), Vulcan Lieutenant Tuvok (Tim Russ), half-Klingon engineer Torres (Roxann Biggs-Dawson), holographic-projection "Doctor" (Robert Picardo), chef Neelix (Ethan Phillips), telekinetic Kes (Jennifer Lien), and part-Borg Seven of Nine (Jeri Ryan). As with the preceding series, there is an underlying sense of optimism about the future, but also a broad variety of episodes that deal with serious subjects such as personal versus professional loyalties, legitimate versus illegitimate forms of authority, foreign (or alien) codes of ethics, and the loss of families and loved ones.

In all its manifestations, Star Trek has made an incalculable impact on American culture. Social critics have viewed Star Trek as something of a modern mythology basing itself on the future rather than the past. Few Americans exist who have not seen at least one Star Trek movie or television show. The stars of the original *Star Trek* series have virtually become national legends, regularly featured on talk shows or as the subjects of biographical articles, books, and documentaries. NASA named one of its space shuttles "Enterprise"

in tribute to the show. World-renowned physicist Stephen Hawking appeared on a *Next Generation* episode, as did Mae Jemison, the first African-American woman in space. In the late 1990s, Star Trek television shows are seen in more than 100 countries worldwide and viewed by an audience of 30 million each week. There are more than 63 million copies of Star Trek books in print, and every newly-released Star Trek novel has been a best-seller—making this the most successful series in publishing history. There have been more than a dozen different Star Trek comic book series since the early 1970s, and there are thousands of Star Trek websites. There have been Star Trek museum exhibits, and there is a permanent "Star Trek: The Experience" museum/spaceship-simulator at the Hilton Hotel in Las Vegas.

There are many reasons for Star Trek's successes—the deep and compelling characters, the charismatic actors, the intelligent themes and plots of individual shows, the consistency of the future technologies and devices, the believability of the future universe. Perhaps one of the most important reasons is Star Trek's positive vision of the future. Star Trek shows and movies are an inspiration and hope for a twentieth-century world dealing with crime, homelessness, ethnic strife, and AIDS. In the twenty-third century, Earth has solved all its biggest problems. Political and racial harmony is so strong that warfare no longer exists. Understanding and altruism are so universal that money is no longer necessary. Sickness and hunger have all but vanished; humans live to age 130 and beyond.

For hardcore fans, Star Trek has truly become a way of life. Costumes from each of the television series are available, as are the tools of the trade—"phaser" weapons, "communicator" radios, and scientific or medical "tricorders." Nearly every science fiction shop in the country carries tribble dolls and Klingon dictionaries. The biggest Star Trek fans—"Trekkies" or "Trekkers"—have become something of a culture of their own, the subject of serious sociological studies as well as condescending satires. Trekkies are occasionally stereotyped as overweight nerds, but are in fact a very diverse bunch, as ethnically mixed as Star Trek characters themselves. Trekkies are the only fans listed in the OED, and they have become so numerous that, by the late 1990s, during every weekend of every year there is a Star Trek convention held somewhere in the world.

—Dave Goldweber

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## Star Wars

In 1977, George Lucas released a space opera titled *Star Wars: A New Hope* that has become not only one of the most important movies ever made, but one of the largest merchandising enterprises ever. The *Star Wars* phenomenon has led to two sequels (*The Empire Strikes Back* [1980], and *Return of the Jedi* [1983]), a set of prequels set for release at century's end, a score of books, numerous awards, and more toys than was once thought imaginable. *Star Wars* the movie was a

remarkable piece of filmmaking, but *Star Wars* the industry permeated popular culture in an unprecedented fashion—and looks to do so for years to come.

The *Star Wars* trilogy (as it was known before the release of the first *Star Wars* prequel, *Star Wars Episode I: The Phantom Menace*, in May of 1999) was one of the most successful movie endeavors of all time. All three of the movies rank in the top ten of box office revenue and by 1999 it was estimated that the trilogy had earned \$1.5 billion, plus three times that amount in merchandising. Beyond ticket sales the importance of the movies can be seen in the numerous Oscars, Golden Globes, and many other awards it has received. The movies were so popular that on the twentieth anniversary of the original, Lucas re-released the *Star Wars* trilogy with additional new footage (made with special effects that were not technologically possible in the late 1970s and early 1980s) and again drew viewers to theaters by the millions. Lucas stated that *Star Wars* was only 70 percent of what he had imagined and he described the release of the Special Edition not as the director's cut, but as the "director's wish."

The *Star Wars* movies are often described by critics as "corny" or "hokey" and as having a childishly simplistic plot, but these corny plots have taken hold of popular culture in an astounding fashion. The overall story has the simplicity of myth: rebel forces do battle with an evil empire, led by a cruel Emperor and his dark enforcer, Darth



(From left) Mark Hamill, Harrison Ford, Peter Mayhew as Chewbacca, and Carrie Fisher in a scene from *Star Wars*.

Vader. The movies depict the struggle between good (Luke Skywalker, Princess Leia, Han Solo, Obi-Wan Kenobi, etc.) and evil (Darth Vader, Emperor Palpatine, and the Storm Troopers); they are populated with heroes, villains, warrior-wizards, wise mentors, ogres, and princesses. The story tells of the transmission of good and evil from father to son; it is also a story, according to Lucas, about “redemption.” There is little that is new in the movies, much that is familiar. As scholar Andrew Gordon put it, “*Star Wars* is a masterpiece of synthesis, a triumph of American ingenuity and resourcefulness, demonstrating how the old may be made new again: Lucas has raided the junkyard of our popular culture and rigged a working myth out of scrap.”

Prior to *Star Wars*, merchandising was only used to help promote a movie and rarely lasted after the movie had finished its run. But *Star Wars* merchandising became a business unto itself and produced the most important licensing properties in history. The commercialization of *Star Wars* can be seen everywhere, from action figures to comic books to bank checks; there are even *Star Wars*-themed versions of Monopoly, Trivial Pursuit, and Battleship. Kenner toys once estimated that for most of the 1980s they sold in excess of \$1 billion a year in *Star Wars* related toys. In 1996, *Star Wars* action figures were the best selling toy for boys and the second over-all best-seller, after Barbie; in 1999 Legos introduced new models based on space ships from the early movies. Even in the late 1990s, *Star Wars* toys remained incredibly popular.

As time wore on the amazing popularity of *Star Wars* items did not falter. In 1991, Timothy Zahn’s *Heir to the Empire* became the first in a series of books based upon the *Star Wars* universe. It surprised the publishing world by going to No. 1 on the *New York Times* hardcover-fiction list. Marketers quickly discovered a new generation of fans who had never seen the movies in theaters but were nevertheless obsessed with *Star Wars*. This popularity can be easily seen, as a majority of the books published in the 1990s have reached the *New York Times* best seller list. The books have in one respect mirrored the real world; as the first generation of fans, now parents, take their children to see the re-release of *Star Wars* several of the books have focussed on the adventures of the children of Han Solo and Princess Leia.

Other books and movies spun off characters found in the trilogy. One set of books focused on the adventures of Lando Calrissian; two made-for-television movies featured the Ewoks (characters introduced in *Return of the Jedi*). The movies, *The Ewok Adventure: Caravan of Courage* (1984) and *Ewoks: The Battle for Endor* (1985) benefited greatly from the splendid special effects provided by Lucas’s Industrial Light and Magic, providing a rare treat for television movies. Both were considered superior fare for television, and were released theatrically abroad. The popularity of the two Ewok movies among children led to two half-hour animated adventure series. One featuring the Ewoks (1985-86) and the other the Droids R2D2 and C3PO (1985). Not only did the spin-offs demonstrate the appeal of the plethora of characters created by Lucas, but they further ingrained the *Star Wars* story into the cultural consciousness of fans old and new.

*Star Wars* merchandising kept pace with technology as LucasArts (the division of Lucas Industries tasked with developing computer games) created several games designed for the Nintendo system and for personal computers. Among the most popular of these games are

X-Wing (1993), which was the best-selling personal computer game of the year; Rebel Assault (1993), which sold 1.5 million copies, and the sequel Rebel Assault II: The Hidden Empire (1995); and Dark Forces (1995). In the late 1990s LucasArts became one of the top 5 producers of video games in the United States. As Lucas did in the film industry, LucasArts has pushed the outer limits of what was possible in computer games.

The popularity and long-term interest in *Star Wars* merchandise has given rise to a substantial collectors industry. With the high-level demand for original run *Star Wars* toys the value of many has skyrocketed. A vinyl-caped Jawa, which sold in 1978 for approximately \$3, brought as much as \$1,400 in the late 1990s. This has led to a number of conventions, books, and websites dedicated to collectibles. The demand and hoped for return on investment has led many toy stores to limit the number of any one item that can be purchased by customers.

*Star Wars* has had other far-reaching influences on American popular culture. The theme music by John Williams, which won both the Oscar and the Golden Globe in 1978, is one of the most identifiable pieces of film music ever created. The sound of Darth Vader’s artificially enhanced breathing is universally connected to dark foreboding danger, in much the same way that the theme music to films like *Psycho* and *Friday the 13th* connote coming horror. “May the force be with you” is just one of the most widely known of the many phrases from the movies that have worked their way into popular terminology. Nearly as well known is Obi-wan Kenobi’s admonition to Luke Skywalker, uttered during the hurtling chase scene in the high-walled metallic canyon of the Death Star, to “trust the force, Luke.”

Perhaps the most obvious influence *Star Wars* had in the political arena was its use as a linguistic device in the debate over the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). In an unrehearsed speech that took many foreign policy analysts by surprise, on March 23, 1983 President Ronald Reagan announced a goal of rendering nuclear weapons “impotent and obsolete” by constructing a space-based defensive system. For 30 years, the American defense against nuclear attack had rested on the policy of MAD (Mutual Assured Destruction). MAD assumed that the threat of massive retaliation would deter Soviet attack. SDI would provide an actual defense against the weapons themselves. Opponents of Reagan’s plan bitterly argued that not only would SDI prod the Soviet into developing new nuclear weapons that could penetrate SDI but that it wouldn’t work anyway. Shortly after President Reagan’s March 1983 speech, Senator Ted Kennedy derided SDI as “*Star Wars*” fantasy that was reckless, costly, and technologically unfeasible.

Senator Kennedy’s term of derision stuck. Years after President Reagan’s proposal was made, SDI is still known as “*Star Wars*.” Indeed, the Federation of American Scientists, an interest group opposed to SDI, has on its web site page for SDI issues a moving picture of Darth Vader menacingly waving his lightsaber. And in an academic conference sponsored by Northwestern University, one group of scholars claimed that “*Star Wars*” was worse than simply defensive weapons in space: SDI was in reality a “Death Star,” a potential offensive device in orbit that could destroy Earth just as Princess Leia’s homeworld of Alderaan was destroyed.

Not surprisingly, the *Star Wars* series has directly influenced many subsequent science fiction films, first, in its upbeat and individualist theme and characterizations, and second, (and perhaps

contradictorily) in its “mindless” special effects-induced action and weak plotline. In the first half of the 1970s science fiction films were either themed around gloom and doom messages of imminent environmental catastrophe—as in *The Andromeda Strain* (1971), *The Omega Man* (1971), and *Soylent Green* (1973)—or depicted an oppressive, corporate-controlled future in films such as *Rollerball* (1975) and George Lucas’s own *THX-1138* (1970). These films reflected the public backlash against government corruption in the Watergate-era and government dishonesty during the Vietnam conflict.

*Star Wars* abruptly changed the previously dispiriting and grim view of the future taken by science fiction films, offering a pro-freedom, anti-tyranny theme where the good guys actually won. (In *The Omega Man* and in *Soylent Green*, the lead characters are killed at the film’s conclusion.) *Star Wars*, with its backdrop of a totalitarian universe, promoted the values of the individual against the state and the “freedom fighter,” foreshadowing and congruent with the decade of the 1980s. The Empire is seen as a synthesis of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, a faceless bureaucratic tyranny that disturbs the agrarian, peaceful, trading peoples of the galaxy. Indeed, two of the primary heroes of the *Star Wars* saga, Han Solo and Lando Calrissian, are depicted as entrepreneurial privateers struggling against the oppressive state and avoiding its regulators.

The revival of religious values in the 1980s was also indicated in the *Star Wars* series. The individual-against-state theme of *Star Wars* is qualified by its solemnly spiritual individualism. With the mysticism of The Force, a plot device that Lucas had not originally intended to be a centerpiece of the series, *Star Wars* conveys the values of faith over reason and simplicity over complexity. *Star Wars* may be libertarian, but it is definitely not libertine and as such served as a precursor to the revival of small-town traditional values in the 1980s.

In keeping with its upbeat theme, *Star Wars* also resurrects the role of the unambiguous hero. In the 1960s and 1970s the heroes of many films were dubious heroes at best, and at worst anti-heroes. Among the films in this category are Francis Ford Coppola’s *Godfather* series; Martin Scorsese’s *Taxi Driver* (1976); Sam Peckinpah’s *The Wild Bunch* (1969); and the “Man with No Name” westerns and Dirty Harry cop films of Clint Eastwood. On the other hand, *Star Wars* offers the likes of Luke Skywalker, Han Solo, and Lando Calrissian as genuinely good-hearted, if not faultless, characters. The faults they do possess—Luke leaving his Jedi training too soon to rescue Han and Leia—are faults of judgment that arise out of a love and concern for friends and not of character. In short, *Star Wars* reverses the bleakness, grimness, and unsettling tragedy inherent in many early 1970s films by, in part, offering characters to cheer for. Other science fiction films—indeed Hollywood in general—would come to mimic the heroic characterizations of *Star Wars*. The Indiana Jones series, Chuck Norris’s *Delta Force* series, the *Superman* series, the *Conan* series, and of course the *Rocky* series all revive the heroic archetype central character. Nearly gone were the no-name, angst-ridden, amoral “heroes” of the late 1960s and 1970s.

A second influence of the *Star Wars* series was the way in which it heightened the use of special effects in film, especially science fiction film, to the detriment of plot. *Battlestar Galactica* (1978), for example, was an obvious and cheap *Star Wars* reproduction that was wholly devoid of plot. While other science fiction films succeeding *Star Wars* such as the *Alien* series, *Superman* (1978), *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977), *E.T.* (1982), the *Jurassic Park* series all

possessed passable plots, the emphasis on the effects is clear. One film, *Independence Day* (1996), went so far as to mimic Luke’s attack run through the Death Star’s trench, replacing TIE fighters and X-Wings with F-18s and alien fighters.

Lucas has stated that the next *Star Wars* films are prequels to the released films, taking place approximately 35 years prior to the events of the original *Star Wars* (which is the fourth episode in the saga). The first of the prequels, *Star Wars—Episode 1: The Phantom Menace*, takes place in the last years of the Jedi Republic and deals with the early Jedi training of Luke’s father, Anakin Skywalker, under Obi-Wan Kenobi, his love for a young Queen, and the maneuverings of Senator Palpatine to the throne. The film stars Liam Neeson, Ewan McGregor, Natalie Portman, and Frank Oz as the voice of Yoda. According to David Ansen in *Newsweek*, while the first film took audiences by surprise, the prequel came out “amid a cacophony of media hype, carrying on its shoulders the wildest hopes of several generations of worshipful moviegoers. . . . It’s not hype to say that *Phantom Menace* [was] the most eagerly awaited movie ever made.” The prequel was directed by George Lucas himself (the first film Lucas will have directed since the original *Star Wars*), and was reported to have cost \$115 million to produce, with a 20-minute finalé alone costing a reported \$22 million. The first prequel contains over 1,500 special effects, five times the number in effects-laden *Independence Day*. If one can judge by the hype that preceded the release of the movie on May 19, 1999, the force remains with the *Star Wars* franchise.

—Craig T. Cobane and Nicholas A. Damask

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## Starbucks

The brand recognition of Starbucks coffee, and its elevation to a catchword denoting the ultimate corporate commodification of the anti-corporate, “slacker” lifestyle, is all the more phenomenal for the company’s marked refusal to achieve that status through the medium of advertising. A chain of retail coffee outlets that offer fresh specialty drinks and beans to go, the Seattle-based company expanded across North America at a quick pace during the 1990s, and by early 1998 Starbucks stores could boast a combined foot-traffic count of five million visitors weekly. Because of Starbucks, Americans can now pronounce the foreign terms “latte” and “barista” when discussing complex coffee beverages and the food-service professionals who make them.

Starbucks’ corporate origins date back to 1971, but the company did not really begin its march to massive success until 1986, when a Starbucks executive, Howard Schultz, created a coffeehouse in Seattle to serve upscale espresso drinks. He called it Il Giornale, and modeled it on the coffee-imbibing locales ubiquitous to Italian cities. The following year, Schultz put financing together and bought out Starbucks’ two original founders, who had little faith in his attempt to introduce European-style coffee and coffee culture.

Starbucks was a hit in Seattle, however, and soon began expanding down the Pacific Coast. Exporting the concept to Chicago in the early 1990s was equally successful, and forays into the Northeast and Canada were also lucrative. The trade journal *Restaurants & Institutions*, naming Starbucks as its “Changemaker” for 1995, explained



Starbucks president, Howard Behar, poses in front of the first Starbucks in China.

that “with ethnic influences shaping the American palate, consumers demand more from everything they consume. . . . Along comes Starbucks with a flavor profile stronger than many Americans had ever experienced.” With a featured “coffee of the day” and a variety of espresso, cappuccino, and latte drinks priced from \$1.15 to \$3.15, Starbucks became a morning stop for urban commuters in major American cities, and a hangout for the home-office-bound and stroller-mom brigade of the more affluent suburbs. In some urban spots, Starbucks outlets were so successful that the company simply opened up a second Starbucks across the street.

By 1998, Starbucks was the number-one roaster and retailer of specialty coffee in the United States, closing in on its goal of 2,000 stores by the year 2000, expanding into Asian markets, and introducing bottled beverages and packaged beans in supermarkets. Yet it was the actual Starbucks space that attracted both devotees and disparagers. The stores are carefully designed to look just slightly cutting-edge and modern in their fixtures and fabrics; the lighting is subdued and ambient. Sociologists term it a “third place”—neither work nor home, but a neighborhood spot where it’s okay to sit alone, offering the chance of running into old friends or making new ones. “I don’t think Starbucks’ success has that much to do with coffee,” urban sociologist Peter Katz told *Seattle Weekly*’s Bruce Barcott. “Starbucks is selling community.”

Katz and other academics have contemplated Starbucks’ success and increasing ubiquity, and cite certain elements in North American culture and demographics as key factors. First is the importance of the “private sphere” in American life, and because of it a near-planned lack of designed community spaces, as in Europe. The predominance of suburban living spaces has led, in turn, to too much isolation. Economic considerations have also contributed to Starbucks’ empire: By the 1990s, the workplace no longer offered the security and stabilized socialization of the past and more Americans had opted to work at home. Coupled with the extreme transiency of North America culture in general, these factors engendered this longing for just such a “third place.”

Furthermore, coffeehouse culture allows, to a certain extent, people from different social and belief strata to mix, and fulfills a post-Yuppie era desire to appear sophisticated and European. It also allows more straitlaced personality types to participate in what had been the coffeehouse culture pre-Starbucks, when such places were frequented by artists, college students, and the underemployed. “Square America needs a hangout too,” observed the *Seattle Weekly*’s Barcott. “Starbucks joins the concept of the coffeehouse with mainstream America’s demand for brand-name assurance.” Locating the stores near or even inside mega-bookstores such as Barnes & Noble or Borders creates what Barcott calls the “upscale leisure ghetto.”

Yet anti-Starbucks sentiment is strong, especially among the original slacker coffeehouse crowd. Stores under construction are sometimes vandalized, there are Internet web sites that rail against “McLatte,” and National Public Radio host Ira Glass speaks of the common bond uniting his audience as “a fear of Starbucks.”

—Carol Brennan

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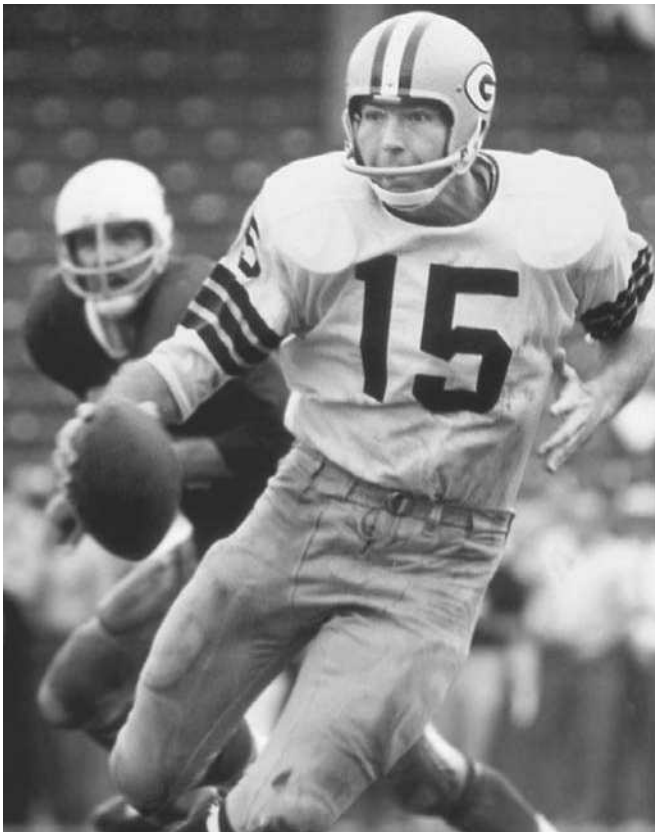
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## Starr, Bart (1934—)

Bart Starr retired from the Green Bay Packers as the winningest quarterback in the history of professional football. From 1956 to 1971 he directed the Packers to six Western Division titles, five World Championships, and two Super Bowl victories. He won the National Football League's (NFL) Most Valuable Player award in 1966, made four Pro Bowl teams, and won the league passing title three times. Even as the talented starting quarterback of the NFL's best team during the decade that saw football become America's number one sport, Starr's humble personality was initially overshadowed by more outspoken Packers like Ray Nitschke, Paul Hornung, and coach Vince Lombardi. But his stature rose among both football fans and the general public as the Packers evolved from a running to a passing team during their championship run. Teammates and outsiders recognized the balance his cool personality offered the intense Packers. Like other American celebrities from Gary Cooper to Dwight Eisenhower, Starr's public persona sprang from a dependable, appealing toughness and self-effacing gentility.



Bart Starr

Born in Montgomery, Alabama on January 9, 1934, Bryan Bartlett Starr struggled through his playing days in high school and college. Although he was not a high school star and was considered too shy to be an effective starting quarterback, his career at the University of Alabama began well. As a freshman he was all-SEC (South Eastern Conference) and started in the 1953 Orange Bowl, which Alabama won 61-6. Due to injuries and a coaching change, however, Starr rode the bench his final two years.

At the urging of his former coach at Alabama, the Green Bay Packers selected Starr in the seventeenth round of the 1956 NFL draft. For his first four seasons, Starr alternated at quarterback and observers echoed concerns at Alabama: Starr's arm was weak and he was too passive and nice to develop the presence necessary for a championship quarterback. When Vince Lombardi became head coach of the Packers in 1959 he too shared in that assessment, and like Starr's previous coaches, badgered the quarterback to assert himself. In time, Lombardi recognized that Starr's future depended upon quiet encouragement instead of public humiliation. Starr responded, embracing Lombardi's single-minded will to succeed and dogged preparation for games. Starr's liabilities—his quiet focus and selflessness—became advantages for the team, which needed a firm but unassuming presence amidst Lombardi's tumultuous personality. By mid-1961, Starr was the starter for good. "Everything I am as a man and a football player I owe to Vince Lombardi," Starr later told *Sport* magazine. "He is the man who taught me everything I know about football, about leadership, about life. He took a kid and made a man out of him, with his example, with his faith."

Starr developed into an inspiring leader and one of the most efficient passers in the history of football. A clever quarterback who expertly read defenses and studied game films year-round, he set NFL records for the lowest percentage of passes intercepted in a season (1.2 percent), fewest interceptions in a full season (3), and lifetime passing completion percentage (57.4 percent). In 1964 and 1965 he threw a record 294 passes without throwing an interception.

Starr came to symbolize the clutch player, creating a model for later NFL quarterbacks like Terry Bradshaw and Joe Montana. His post-season quarterback rating set records as the highest in NFL history. In six NFL championship games he threw 11 touchdowns but only one interception. Starr made big plays, too. Most famously, he engineered "The Drive" in the final moments of the 1967 NFL Championship game against the Dallas Cowboys. One of the most famous series in the history of professional football, The Drive culminated in Starr's quarterback sneak behind Jerry Kramer to give the Packers the victory in the game later known as the "Ice Bowl."

Throughout all his successes and his failures, like his disappointing nine years as head coach of the Packers from 1974 to 1983, Starr retained his likeable, modest, hard-working personality. After coaching, he remained in Green Bay, setting up businesses in Wisconsin and his home state of Alabama, and working for charitable causes. To many, he will always be the sturdy conscience behind the Packer dynasty.

—Alexander Shashko

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## Starr, Kenneth (1946—)

Kenneth Starr will be remembered in the popular imagination as the soft-spoken but tenacious Republican special prosecutor locked in mortal combat with Democratic President William Jefferson Clinton and his White House—a battle which culminated in impeachment proceedings for only the second time in U.S. history. Starr, a former Federal Appeals Court judge and solicitor general under President George Bush, was appointed as Independent Counsel by U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno in 1994 to investigate allegations of wrongdoing by the former Arkansas governor William Jefferson Clinton, his wife Hillary Rodham Clinton, and their various business and personal associates. Starr's investigation, which began as an attempt to ascertain if the President and First Lady had illegally benefited from a land deal in Arkansas, culminated in the referral of a controversial report to the U.S. House of Representatives regarding President Clinton's affair with a 21-year-old White House intern named Monica Lewinsky. The story of the affair, and the legal clash between Starr and Clinton, dominated the media during 1998 and well into 1999.



Kenneth Starr

From the beginning of his investigation, Starr was accused of partisan bias and conflict of interest, particularly in representing tobacco companies for his law firm of Kirkland & Ellis and nearly filing a Supreme Court brief in support of Paula Jones's sexual harassment suit against Bill Clinton. The charges against Starr intensified when the Lewinsky story broke in January of 1998. Though Starr had received permission from a three-judge panel and the Attorney General to expand his Whitewater investigation to include the Lewinsky matter, critics took issue with some of the Office of the Independent Counsel's legal tactics, such as its wiring of a Pentagon employee named Linda Tripp to record Lewinsky, its justification for expanding the investigation, and its subpoenaing of sympathetic witnesses such as Betty Currie (the President's personal secretary) and Monica Lewinsky's mother. Seemingly unheeding of his public relations problems even as the President's approval ratings climbed, Starr pressed forward with his grand jury investigation throughout the first half of 1998. For months, the President stood by his initial denial of having had "sexual relations" with Lewinsky, but before Starr's grand jury on August 17, the President reluctantly admitted to at least some details of what he called an "inappropriate relationship."

The Starr Report, submitted to Congress on September 9, 1998, and quickly released to the American public both on the Internet and through various publishers, was widely criticized not only for its omission of most matters relating to the original Whitewater investigation, but for its explicitness in detailing specific sexual encounters between President Clinton and Ms. Lewinsky. Starr's office and its defenders argued that the detail was unfortunate but necessary in order to prove that the President had obstructed justice and committed perjury first in a deposition in the Paula Jones sexual harassment case against him and later before the grand jury investigating the matter. The referral went to the House Judiciary Committee, charged with the task of debating and drawing up articles of impeachment against the President. Starr himself appeared before the committee in order to defend his office's investigation and the report that resulted. Following often acrimonious debate between Republicans and Democrats in the Judiciary Committee, President Clinton was formally impeached on December 19, 1998, on a mostly party-line vote by the full House on two charges of obstructing justice and committing perjury before a federal grand jury—only the second such presidential impeachment in American history. The Senate declined to remove the President from office. The man singly most responsible for the President's impeachment, Kenneth Starr, remained as Independent Counsel into 1999, though analysts predicted that the case against Clinton would go no further.

—Philip L. Simpson

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## *Starsky and Hutch*

A popular detective show during the 1970s, *Starsky and Hutch* (1975-1979) brought violence on television to the forefront of national debate in that decade. Shot in Los Angeles, but set in a city that was never named, *Starsky and Hutch*—unlike previous detective shows—featured a shootout and a car chase in each episode. The show starred dark haired Paul Michael Glaser as the wisecracking, street smart David Starsky and blue-eyed blonde David Soul as the educated, soft-spoken Ken “Hutch” Hutchinson. Every week, the two undercover

police officers came in contact with big city criminals, drug dealers, prostitutes, mobsters, cultists, and murderers, and managed to catch the bad guys in less than 60 minutes while wearing skin tight bell bottom pants. Drawing inspiration from hit movies like *The French Connection*, the capture of the criminal always required a car chase, which featured Starsky’s prize possession, the “red tomato,” a 1974 Ford Torino with a white racing stripe.

When the show debuted on ABC in 1975, much was written about the chemistry between the two lead actors. *Starsky and Hutch* was one of the first shows where men could be friends and openly care about each other. These two young, hip, bachelor plain clothes detectives were as vulnerable as they were tough. Not afraid to hug each other, they were a far cry from the cardboard Joe Fridays and Mike Stones that preceded them, and the relationship between the two men had sensitive qualities rarely—if ever—seen before on television.

The show also featured blaxploitation film star Antonio Vargas as the flamboyant Huggy Bear, a con man who moonlighted as a police informant, and had the fashion sense of a pimp. *Starsky and Hutch*’s boss was Captain Harold Dobey, played by Bernie Hamilton. Captain Dobey, a member of the old guard, often butted heads with his two new-breed detectives about the manner in which police work should be done. The gruff-but-lovable Dobey was a glimpse of what would later become a staple in many television cop dramas—the



David Soul (left) and Paul Michael Glaser as *Starsky and Hutch*.

almost one dimensional African-American police boss. The use of the African-American actor as a supervisor in these kinds of dramas became very popular in the 1990s, with the likes of *Homicide's* Lieutenant Al Giardello, *NYPD Blue's* Lieutenant Arthur Fancy and *Law and Order's* Lieutenant Anita Van Buren.

William Blinn created the show. Aaron Spelling and Leonard Goldberg acted as executive producers and produced 92 episodes of *Starsky and Hutch*, which ended its television run in 1979. Glaser and Soul directed several episodes of the show themselves, which was unusual for actors at the time. In subsequent decades, the practice of stars performing directing and producing duties would become more common.

*Starsky and Hutch's* influence can be seen in TV cop shows in which the partners have a very close relationship. But the good looking hipster cops were descendants of television's *The Mod Squad* (1968-1973), and they were part of a post-*Serpico* spate of cop narratives, including *Baretta* and *Toma*, which depicted law enforcement's battle with the dark side of America's crime-ridden urban landscape. The contentious relationship they had with their superior has become a staple in cop dramas. The violence in the show, shocking in 1975, seems tame by later standards.

In the late 1990s, though it had been off the air for a couple of decades and had not been a terribly popular network choice for reruns, *Starsky and Hutch* surfaced in a rather odd way. An August 18, 1997 *New York Times* article by Amy Harmon about fan fiction, an Internet phenomenon in which fans write and post new episodes of their favorite shows, mentions *Starsky and Hutch* as a favorite of the "slash" genre writers and readers. In "slash" fan fiction, the sexual orientation of the main characters has been changed, and in 1999, there were about a dozen web pages devoted to the homoerotic exploits of the two detectives.

—Joyce Linehan

## State Fairs

A reflection of American life and its diverse people and interests, state fairs featuring exhibits, rides, shows, and food have been popular since the mid-nineteenth century and became an American tradition in the twentieth. The pride, nostalgia, and entertainment that make up a state fair experience have transcended political, social, and economic changes that America has faced during the twentieth century. By the 1990s state fairs have come to represent a nostalgic, "old-fashioned" form of family entertainment that emphasizes state and national pride, agricultural roots, and good times.

Fairs have existed for centuries and can even be dated back to ancient Mesopotamia in 3000 B.C. Modern American fairs grew out of an 1807 idea by Elkanah Watson, a banker and farmer in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. He decided that the best way to convince other farmers to raise sheep was to show them his own animals. The townspeople were so impressed with Watson's idea that they gathered together to form the first Berkshire Cattle Show in 1810. Although many people were concerned about attending a nonreligious celebration, Watson convinced the people of New England that the show was an acceptable event for upstanding citizens because of its importance

to the business of farming and its educational value. Throughout the next decade the show expanded to include men's and women's manufacturing exhibits, a parade, and a dance. The fair quickly spread throughout the United States, and by the time of the Civil War, agricultural societies in 25 states were holding annual fairs.

With the success of county and local agricultural fairs, state governments quickly realized that fairs could be used to highlight the growth and achievements of their states. New York held the first state fair in September 1841, and several states in the Midwest quickly followed its example. State fairs were among the first places in the nation where people could see electric lights, automobiles, solar homes, and dozens of other modern inventions. Railroads contributed to the popularity of state fairs by allowing people to travel quickly and cheaply. Some railroads even provided discounts for exhibitors and families going to the fair. People attended the early state fairs in overwhelming numbers and still do: more than 900,000 people attended the 1997 Ohio State Fair, the second largest state fair next to Texas.

State fairs attempt to feature the most appealing aspects of their respective state. Each year people who have made a difference, such as sports heroes, celebrities, teachers, and activists are chosen to be recognized at the state fair. In cooperation with the state wildlife bureau, many state fairs offer an area showcasing native birds and animals. Prominent businesses, churches, and social organizations highlight their own achievements. Each organization is given a booth in which it can introduce people to its work. Visitors shopping for certain items are offered a large selection, while those who are just browsing are introduced to many new and exciting people and goods that they may not have known existed. Agriculture continues to be a vital component of state fairs in the twentieth century. Exhibits of farm machinery and tools are common. Competitions for crops and farm animals remain much the same as in the nineteenth century, except that advances in technology have allowed for stronger and healthier crops and livestock.

Young people are an important part of the state fair experience. Their presence allows older people to recall their own experiences at fairs past, and their participation helps to forge a new bond between the young and the old that often does not exist the rest of the year. High school marching bands come from around the state to play at the fair. Youth groups such as the 4-H, Future Farmers of America, and Girl and Boy Scouts hold competitions for raising animals, cooking, sewing, woodworking, citizenship, art, and gardening. In the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s many young people who participated in state fairs were far removed from the rural farm setting of the traditional fairgoers. Encouraged by their parents' fond memories, young people living in urban areas often will concentrate on home manufacturing areas or raise small animals.

Mechanical rides became common at state fairs in the years following their introduction at the 1893 world's fair in Chicago. The Ferris wheel, first introduced there, became a hit at state fairs around the nation and remained popular throughout the twentieth century. In the 1990s, a state fair would not be complete without a diverse and abundant selection of rides for people of all ages. The Bumper Cars, the Himalaya, and the Scrambler are just a few of the rides that have kept Americans returning to the state fair since the 1950s. State fair rides are popular with teenagers and have been romanticized as the starting place for many first dates.



A State Fair in Louisville.

Sideshows featuring multiheaded people or animals, bearded women, and extra-human contortionists are expected at state fairs and were once part of the novelty of discovery that made up the fair. Since the 1970s, however, sideshows have declined in popularity and presence at state fairs, either because of an effort to provide “wholesome” entertainment for families or simply due to lack of interest. Nonetheless, sideshows remain part of the nostalgic image of state fairs.

Food is an essential part of the state fair experience. French fries, coney dogs, Polish sausage, cotton candy, and apple pie fill the air with a smell that only a state fair can create. State fairs often offer specialty foods that are made of locally grown ingredients, but many foods highlight the ethnic diversity of the state. It is common for a single state fair to have food from dozens of countries around the world—Mexican, Greek, Chinese, Polish, and German are especially popular—creating a common ground where ethnic and racial tensions present in everyday life may be muted.

Since the 1950s, state fairs have offered shows featuring popular musical groups of many different styles—rock, Christian, blues, folk, gospel, and even some classical. Country music is usually the most popular, however. In the 1980s and 1990s, country musicians Alabama, Willie Nelson, and Garth Brooks sold out shows at state fairs

around the country. While big names such as these do attract crowds, other sorts of shows such as rodeos, exhibition sporting events, and magic shows are also popular and can sometimes attract crowds as large as those for concerts.

—Angela O’Neal

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## Staubach, Roger (1942-)

In his eleven-year career with the Dallas Cowboys from 1969 to 1979, quarterback Roger Staubach frequently engaged in last-second heroics to help his team to two Super Bowl victories and four National Football Conference titles.

A native of Cincinnati, Ohio, Staubach played quarterback for the United States Naval Academy, where he won the 1963 Heisman Trophy, awarded to the top player in college football each season. Staubach was drafted by the Cowboys in the tenth round of the 1964 NFL draft, but first served in the navy for four years before beginning his professional career.

After Staubach began his career with the Cowboys in 1969, he played sparingly during his first several seasons, when Dallas Coach Tom Landry was using Craig Morton as the team's starting quarterback. In 1971, Dallas had suffered a disappointing 16-13 loss to the Baltimore Colts in Super Bowl V, and the following season, Landry decided that he would give Staubach the opportunity to compete for the job of starting quarterback. At the end of preseason, Landry decided to alternate Staubach and Morton at the position during 1971-72, a situation which did not seem to work out particularly well, as the



Roger Staubach

team lacked cohesion in the early part of the regular season. However, in mid-season, Landry made Staubach the starting quarterback, and he responded by leading the Cowboys to the Super Bowl. Staubach earned the Most Valuable Player Award in Super Bowl VI in 1972, as his Dallas Cowboys defeated the Miami Dolphins by a score of 24-3. Staubach completed 12 out of the 19 passes that he attempted, for 119 yards and two touchdowns.

Staubach had little chance to savor his success, however, for he badly separated his right shoulder in a game the following preseason, which required surgery and caused him to miss much of the 1972 regular season. Staubach's injury came while he tried to fight through several defenders in an attempt to score, a style unlike that of most other quarterbacks, who generally try as hard as possible to avoid physical contact on the playing field.

Staubach was able to return later that season, however, and in the 1972 playoffs, he delivered a performance that defined much of the rest of his career and earned him the title "Captain Comeback." He entered a first-round game against the San Francisco 49ers with his team trailing at the end of the third quarter and the 49ers already beginning their celebration. Staubach, however, led the Cowboys to two dramatic touchdowns in the last two minutes and an improbable come-from-behind 30-28 victory. Despite Staubach's heroics, the Cowboys lost that season's NFC title game 26-3 against the Washington Redskins.

The Cowboys reached the Super Bowl three times in the late 1970s with Staubach at quarterback. Twice, in Super Bowls X and XIII, they lost to Pittsburgh teams that were considered by many to be among the greatest of all time. However, the Cowboys defeated the Denver Broncos in Super Bowl XII in 1978 by a 27-10 score, giving Staubach his second Super Bowl victory. In that game, Staubach threw a 45-yard touchdown pass in the third quarter to give the Cowboys an insurmountable 20-3 lead. During this period, the Cowboys came to be known as "America's Team."

Staubach retired following the 1979 season, despite the fact that at 37, he was still playing at a very high level. The quarterback, however, cited a desire to spend more time with his family, a declining enthusiasm for football, and concern over the possibility of permanent injuries, as he had already suffered numerous concussions and a variety of other physical problems as a result of his tenacious style of play.

Staubach was enshrined in the Professional Football Hall of Fame in Canton, Ohio in 1985. He was the leading passer in the NFL during four of his 11 seasons, and was an All-NFC selection four times during his career. "Captain Comeback" also managed to lead the Cowboys to 21 come-from-behind victories in the fourth period, living up to his nickname.

—Jason George

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Staubach, Roger, with Frank Luksa. *Time Enough to Win*. Waco, Texas, Word Books, 1980.

## *Steamboat Willie*

Premiering in 1928, *Steamboat Willie* was the first of Disney's Mickey Mouse cartoons to feature sound, which helped to launch the character's phenomenal career. Unlike other cartoons of the time where sound served simply as a background to the action, both music and sound effects were essential to the film's structure and visual rhythm. The clever animal concert (in which Mickey plays a cow's teeth like a xylophone and transforms a nursing sow into a bagpipe) illustrates Disney's ability to successfully blend sight and sound, so that neither element dominates the other. It also anticipates the complex musical sequences, featured in later films like *Fantasia*, which transformed the art of animation and became key to Disney's financial success.

—Scott W. Hoffman

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## The Steel Curtain

The Steel Curtain was the name given to the defensive line of the Pittsburgh Steelers football team during their glory days in the 1970s. Composed of L. C. Greenwood, Ernie Holmes, "Mean" Joe Greene, and Dwight White, the four members of the Steel Curtain routinely dominated the opposition, crushing opposing running backs and sacking quarterbacks. Although the Steelers defensive unit as a whole was one of the greatest of all time, it was the Steel Curtain that was the focus of public attention. Joe Greene, the leader of the Steel Curtain and two-time Defensive Player of the Year, was also a media celebrity in his own right. Greene appeared in one of the most famous soft-drink advertisements in television history. The advertisement featured Greene trading his football jersey to a small child in exchange for a bottle of Coca-Cola.

—Geoff Peterson

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## Steffens, Lincoln (1866-1936)

At the beginning of the twentieth century, when corruption in city government ran rampant in large American cities, one of the

original muckrakers—so named by Theodore Roosevelt for their aggressive journalistic tactics in investigating controversial stories—was Lincoln Steffens. Steffens hounded corrupt city officials all across the United States. He faced numerous death threats and stood up to local political machines in many cities, including Pittsburgh, New York City, and Minneapolis. His first effort at a story came in Philadelphia, where he compared the local extortionists' control of the city voting to that of the disenfranchisement of African-Americans in the South. He wrote in *McClure's* magazine, "The honest citizens of Philadelphia have no more rights at the polls than the Negroes in the South." Over the course of his career, Steffens' muckraking led to the indictment of eighteen municipal legislators in St. Louis and the ouster of twenty corrupt city councilman in Chicago. Through the journalistic ideology of muckraking, Steffens challenged the way in which city business was done and set a standard many others would follow.

Lincoln Steffens was born in 1866 in San Francisco. He failed his first attempt at the entrance exam to the University of California-Berkeley. On his second try he succeeded and graduated in 1889 with a degree in philosophy. In 1891, Steffens moved to Paris and married Josephine Bontecou. He returned to New York City in 1892 after landing a job with the *New York Evening Post*. He later became managing editor of *McClure's*, joining other muckrakers like Ida Tarbell and Ray Stannard Baker. In a nationwide publication, Steffens exposed corrupt city officials, who often received and gave bribes, and bought and sold privilege at all levels. Steffens published six articles on corruption in local city governments and these articles formed the hallmark on city reform for the next half-century. The six articles were published together in a book in 1904. *Shame of the Cities* quickly became a bestseller and stood out for its prose and style.

Lincoln Steffens' public call for the end of democracy led to a permanent split with *McClure's*. In 1906, he became co-owner of *American* magazine, but sold his shares in 1907, after a little more than a year. By 1910, Steffens had become disillusioned with muckraking and concerned himself with the radical revolutionaries in Mexico. This involvement led him to become even more skeptical of capitalism. In 1917, he traveled to Soviet Union, proclaimed himself a Marxist, and joined the Communist Party. At the conclusion of the Great War, Steffens attended the 1919 Paris Peace Conference at Versailles. After leaving Paris, Steffens returned to the United States and embarked on a cross-country tour promoting the Bolshevik Revolution. By late 1921, Steffens was pressured out of America with the onset of the first Red Scare. He first returned to Paris then later moved to Italy, where he wrote his autobiography in 1931. *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*, and its theme of an intellectual reformer turned revolutionary, appealed to many during the Great Depression. The book, with its witty, charming, and compassionate narrative, sold well in the United States and laid the groundwork for autobiographical style for years to come. Steffens moved back to the United States in 1927 and died in 1936 in Carmel, California. He is buried in San Francisco. Lincoln Steffens' life will be remembered for many achievements in journalism. He helped end city corruption, published two popular books nearly thirty years apart, and became the first truly revolutionary writer. Steffens has left his mark on journalistic history.

—Scott Stabler



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## Steinbeck, John (1902-1968)

A native Californian, writer John Steinbeck built his career on stories based primarily in Northern and Central California, around his hometown of Salinas, near Monterey. Best known for the novels *Of Mice and Men* (1937), *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), and *East of Eden* (1952), along with numerous short stories, Steinbeck also published non-fiction, plays, and screenplays. He was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for *The Grapes of Wrath*, and, in 1962, he received the Nobel Prize for Literature. Steinbeck's works have been widely read and have been the subject of many motion pictures.

Born John Ernest Steinbeck in the fertile valley of Salinas, California, inland from Monterey Bay, Steinbeck grew up in an



John Steinbeck

environment caught between the transition from farming and ranching to the “respectable culture” of universities and businessmen. Steinbeck's parents were middle-class citizens of Salinas (his father served as Monterey County Treasurer and his mother was a schoolteacher), but John himself often worked as a laborer on nearby farms. Attending Stanford University as a marine biology major, Steinbeck left without completing his degree, having made the decision to try making his living at writing, first in New York and then back in California. His early works, *Cup of Gold* (1929), *Pastures of Heaven* (1932), and *To A God Unknown* (1933), went largely unnoticed until the publication of *Tortilla Flats* (1935), which described the exploits of a group of *Paisanos* (Mexican-Americans) living in Monterey. Steinbeck's reputation as an advocate for farm labor organization began with the publication of *In Dubious Battle* (1936), which recounts the efforts of farm labor organizers during a fruit pickers strike. His next work, *Of Mice and Men* (1937), was first conceived as a stage play and was produced simultaneously as a play and a novel. The play received the Drama Critics' Circle Award, and the novel, the compelling story of two itinerant farm hands, firmly established Steinbeck as a major California writer.

Steinbeck's most acclaimed work, *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), has become a classic work of the Depression era. The book was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1940 in addition to being made into a classic motion picture by John Ford that same year. Following the success of *The Grapes of Wrath*, Steinbeck concentrated on non-fiction works such as *Sea of Cortez* (with Edward F. Ricketts, 1941) and *Bombs Away: The Story of a Bomber Team* (1942). During World War II, he worked as a war correspondent—his articles were published collectively as *Once There was a War* in 1958. He returned to fiction with *Cannery Row* (1945), *Sweet Thursday* (1954), *The Red Pony* (1945), *The Pearl* (1947), and his most ambitious novel, *East of Eden* (1952), which tells the stories of three generations of the Trask family, focusing on the conflict between two brothers. In the 1960s Steinbeck once again returned to non-fiction with *Travels with Charly in Search of America* (1962) and *America and Americans* (1966). In addition to having many of his works adapted for the screen, including *Of Mice and Men* (1939 and 1992), *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940), *Tortilla Flat* (1942), *The Moon is Down* (1943), *The Pearl* (1947), *The Red Pony* (1949), *East of Eden* (1955), and *Cannery Row* (1982), Steinbeck himself wrote several original screenplays, including Alfred Hitchcock's *Lifeboat* (1944) and Elia Kazan's *Viva Zapata* (1952).

In his acceptance speech for the Nobel Prize, Steinbeck described his belief in the power of literature to improve the condition of humankind: “I hold that a writer who does not passionately believe in the perfectibility of man has no dedication nor any membership in literature.” The realism of his writing, along with the intensity of his belief in the transformative power of literature, has helped develop an American literary style, which influenced the protest writings, both literary and musical, of the late 1950s and 1960s.

—Charles J. Shindo

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## Steinberg, Saul (1914-1999)

Best known for the hundreds of enigmatic, captionless drawings and frequent covers he has contributed to the highbrow *New Yorker* magazine since 1941, the Romanian-born, world-traveled Saul Steinberg has employed in his long career an eclectic range of media and styles that are rarely straightforward and frequently attest to his literary and philosophical musings. Steinberg has often incorporated the likes of unintelligible calligraphy, watercolor, rubber stamps, tracings, thumbprints, graph paper, and collage into his pen-and-ink drawings for books and magazines. Recurring themes have included the relationships among abstract concepts, as in “Ship of State” (1959), and places he has known, such as “Bleecker Street” (1971), in which a parade of street characters are rendered in dozens of cartoon styles. Few have so successfully blurred the line between popular and high art as Steinberg.

—Craig Bunch

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## Steinbrenner, George (1930—)

The word “controversial” has preceded the name George Steinbrenner ever since the multimillionaire shipbuilder from Cleveland became the principal owner of the New York Yankees in 1973. Considered to have been the driving force behind baseball’s escalating salary structure in the late 1970s and 1980s, Steinbrenner was loathed for his frequent criticism of his players and managers while being credited with bringing winning baseball back to New York City. Never one to shy away from the media limelight, Steinbrenner’s brash personality and penchant for grabbing newspaper headlines often overshadowed his team’s play on the field.

With his father’s retirement from the family shipping business in 1963, George M. Steinbrenner III, a former football player for Ohio State University, was called upon to take over the company. With the millions he made in business, Steinbrenner returned to the sports world, attempting in the early 1970s to acquire the Cleveland Indians. When that deal fell through, Steinbrenner’s attention turned to the floundering New York Yankees, then owned by the Columbia Broadcast System. In 1973, CBS sold the team to a syndicate headed by Steinbrenner for \$10 million. Although he had vowed not to take a prominent role in running the club, the new Yankees president soon became one of the most controversial owners in the game.

After a decade of disappointing seasons, under the new ownership the Yankees quickly became competitive again, finishing a close second in 1974, followed by a pennant in 1976, and world championships in 1977 and 1978. Through a series of shrewd trades and large free-agent contracts, “Boss” Steinbrenner had brought winning baseball back to New York. On New Year’s Eve 1974 he signed American League Cy Young Award winner Jim “Catfish” Hunter to a five-year contract worth an estimated (and unprecedented) \$3.75 million, following this up in later years with huge contracts to sluggers Reggie Jackson, Dave Winfield, and many other players.

Although successful on the baseball diamond during his first decade with the Yankees, Steinbrenner’s tenure was marred by legal battles and feuds with managers and players. In 1974, baseball’s commissioner Bowie Kuhn barred Steinbrenner from serving as Yankees president for one season for having made illegal contributions to President Richard Nixon’s campaign two years earlier. Steinbrenner’s tempestuous relationship with his managers began with the resignation of longtime manager Ralph Houk after the 1973 season. Over the next 20 years Steinbrenner made 18 more managerial moves involving 12 different managers. His most turbulent relationship was with former Yankees second baseman Billy Martin, who was first hired as the Yankees’ manager in 1975 and first fired in 1978—a sequence that was repeated four more times before Martin’s last firing in 1988. After being dismissed 16 games into the 1985 season, Yankees manager (and former star catcher and fan favorite) Yogi Berra vowed never to set foot in Yankee stadium again as long as Steinbrenner continued to run the Yankees.

Despite the team’s success on the field, in the late 1970s and early 1980s the Yankee clubhouse was awash in controversy. As Yankee third baseman Graig Nettles recalled, “When I was a little boy, I wanted to be a baseball player and join the circus. With the Yankees, I’ve accomplished both.” Egos clashed in the Yankee clubhouse with the arrival of highly paid free agents. Outfielder Reggie Jackson, signed to a record-setting, free-agent contract in 1977, made himself unwelcome to his Yankee teammates even before his arrival when he announced, “I’m the straw that stirs the drink.” Though dubbed “Mr. October” for his World Series heroics, Jackson’s five years with the Yankees were marked by a love-hate relationship with Steinbrenner and an even more acrimonious relationship with manager Billy Martin, who once said of Jackson and Steinbrenner that “One is a born liar, the other convicted.” The animosity shared by many players toward the team’s owner—despite all the big contracts—was partly fueled by Steinbrenner’s frequent public criticisms of his players, including an apology to the city of New York after the team’s poor performance in the 1981 World Series.

Steinbrenner’s years with the Yankees reached an all-time low in 1990, when after a decade of steady decline the team finished in last place for the first time since 1966. That year Steinbrenner once again found himself embroiled in controversy when Commissioner Fay Vincent learned that the Yankees owner had paid a professional gambler named Howard Spira \$40,000 to dig up damaging information on Dave Winfield, a player with whom Steinbrenner had feuded for nine years (Steinbrenner unfavorably compared the millionaire outfielder to Reggie Jackson by sticking Winfield with the demeaning moniker “Mr. May”). On July 30, 1990, Steinbrenner agreed to resign permanently as general managing partner of the Yankees for his violation of “the best interests of baseball” rule.

Steinbrenner’s campaign to have himself reinstated brought success in July 1992, when the outgoing Vincent lifted the ban,



### George Steinbrenner

effective March 1, 1993. The seasons that followed proved to be among the most placid—and successful—in the history of the Steinbrenner era. Steinbrenner now seemed to defer more often to the expertise of his front office staff, and Yankee field managers breathed easier. In the strike-plagued year of 1994 the Yankees finished in first place for the first time since 1981. Under the calm leadership of manager Joe Torre, in 1996 the Yankees staged an unlikely come-from-behind World Series victory over the defending champs (Atlanta Braves). However, Steinbrenner's greatest baseball success came two years later, when the Yankees astounded the baseball world by winning 114 games en route to their second world championship in three years. What made this team different from the rowdy 1970s crew was that these Yankees seemed to actually like each other, and their visibly mellowed owner appeared content to avoid controversy. For once, Steinbrenner remained silent while the accomplishments of the team itself received most of the attention.

—Kevin O'Connor

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### Steinem, Gloria (1934—)

American feminist and journalist Gloria Steinem is perhaps the most visible representative of the women's rights movement, an effort that has resulted in immeasurable effects in contemporary society. She is best known for founding the groundbreaking women's magazine *Ms.* in the early 1970s and for being heavily involved in spearheading the drive to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment, which, although it was never adopted, generated a maelstrom of dialogue on the topic and contributed to a new consciousness for women in America. Though more radical feminists have criticized Steinem for having too much of a middle-class approach to the struggle, some have noted that her mainstream persona helped make women's rights accessible to a greater number of women.

Steinem was born March 25, 1934, in Toledo, Ohio, to Leo and Ruth (Nunevillar) Steinem. When she was a youth, her parents divorced, leaving her mother—who had already been prone to nervous breakdown—extremely depressed. Steinem spent much of her youth caring for her incapacitated mother, who enriched her daughter by exposing her to literature and instilling in her a deep respect for others. In high school, Steinem moved to Washington, D.C., to live with her older sister, Suzanne, then went on to attend Smith College. After graduating *magna cum laude* in 1956, Steinem earned a fellowship to study in India, where she learned of the nonviolent philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi.

Steinem returned to the United States and aspired to a career in journalism. In 1960 she began writing for periodicals, and in 1963 went undercover as a Playboy “bunny,” a cocktail waitress in the famous men’s club, in order to write a wry expose detailing the degradation women faced there. By the late 1960s, Steinem began emerging as a serious journalist when she was tapped to produce a weekly political column for the newly launched *New York* magazine. Brimming with advocacy and pleas for activism, her pieces tackled

subjects ranging from the fight to free Angela Davis, to support of Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers, to backing author Norman Mailer in his bid for mayor of New York City. She was not considered a leader in the women’s movement until she produced the article “After Black Power, Women’s Liberation” in 1968, following a meeting by a group called the Redstockings that addressed the issue of abortion.

From 1969 to 1972, Steinem rose to acclaim as a figure head of the women’s rights movement. Appearing regularly in the media, she was articulate and humorous, thus endearing many to the cause. She was in stark contrast to the far-left feminists of the day, who quickly earned derision and ridicule by much of the press for their Marxist views and lesbian orientation. In July of 1971, Steinem joined Betty Friedan, Bella Abzug, and Shirley Chisholm to found the National Women’s Political Caucus, which supported women running for public office. Also that year, Steinem founded *Ms.*, a magazine by, for, and about women. The first full issue was published in January of 1972 and sold out its print run of 300,000 in just over a week. By summer of 1972, it had become a monthly magazine, financed by



Gloria Steinem

Warner Communications. Beginning in 1979, it operated as a nonprofit organization.

As she gained prominence, Steinem faced opposition from various radical feminist camps because her views did not always agree with theirs. In addition, men from both the conservative and liberal camps were threatened by her attacks on male power as well as issues like pornography, which she opposes. In addition, the Redstockings began accusing Steinem in the mid-1970s of working for the CIA in the 1950s. She had indeed briefly been employed with a liberal student group after college that was funded by the agency, but maintained that she was not aware of the ties. Meanwhile, the Equal Rights Amendment was introduced and passed Congress in 1972. It was a proposed amendment to the Constitution that guaranteed equal rights to women under the law. Though it was never approved, Steinem was one of its leading advocates, helping to stir up debate that went far in changing the role of women in society. Due to this cultural shift, more and more women began entering the work force, thus empowering themselves economically. It became illegal to discriminate against and harass women, and it is no longer legal for a man to rape or beat his wife. As recently as the 1960s, classified ads for jobs were segregated by sex; that practice is no longer acceptable. Though women still may not have achieved the full status of men in American business and politics, the effects of the women's movement on society has been enormous.

Into the 1980s, Steinem continued to urge for more fairness in the treatment of women. She championed the concept of equal pay for equal work and wanted to see it come to fruition, though studies show that it has not yet happened. She also began shifting her focus from mainly financial and job-related issues to a more humanistic approach, hoping to encourage a world where gender lines will not be so strictly defined. Pushing for men to accept more of the responsibility of child-rearing and domestic duties, she espoused that men and women should be less bound by traditional roles in order to make their lives more well-rounded. In 1983 Steinem published a well-received collection of essays titled *Outrageous Acts and Everyday Rebellions*. She also stayed involved with *Ms.*, but in 1987 Australian company John Fairfax, Ltd. bought the magazine and readership fell drastically. The legendary publication was in dire straits. In 1990, it returned without paid advertising. For the first of the new issues, Steinem wrote a scathing commentary on the control that advertisers have in editorial operations of women's magazines. In 1994 she released a new set of essays, *Moving Beyond Words*, and continued to stand as the leading spokesperson for feminist activism in America.

—Geri Speace

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## Stengel, Casey (1890-1975)

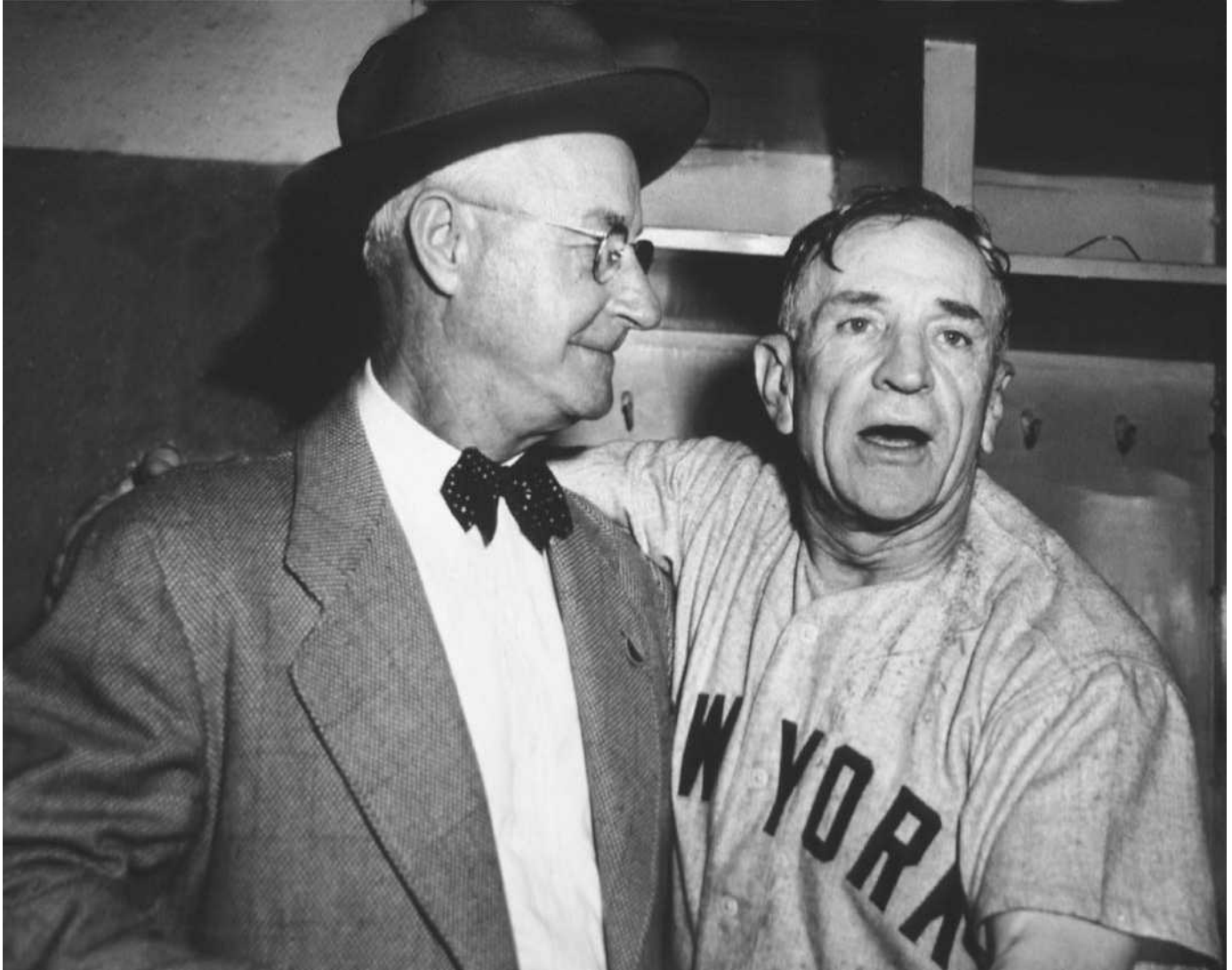
Baseball legend Casey Stengel spent fifty-five years in baseball as both player and manager. He is best remembered for managing the highly successful New York Yankees and the highly unsuccessful New York Mets. While his management skills sustained his career, his outrageous use of the English language gained him equal fame.

He was born Charles Dillon Stengel in Kansas City, Kansas, and began playing semiprofessional baseball while in high school, where he was known as "Dutch" because of his German ancestry. An outfielder, he played with different minor league teams before joining the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1912. It was there he acquired the nickname "K.C." because he was from Kansas City, a nickname that soon eased into "Casey," after the poem *Casey at the Bat*. After Brooklyn, he played major league ball for the Pittsburgh Pirates (1918-19, with time out for the U.S. Navy), Philadelphia Phillies (1920-21), New York Giants (1921-23, where in 1923 he batted .339 and won two World Series games with two home runs), and the Boston Braves (1924-25). He ended his playing career as a player-manager for the minor league Toledo (Ohio) Mud Hens.

Stengel was a jokester and a fighter, and was thrown out of many games both as a player and a manager. For one of his early pranks, he stepped back from the plate, doffed his hat, and out flew a sparrow. The fans loved his antics. Stengel was also famous for his "Stengelese," with statements such as "I've always heard it couldn't be done, but sometimes it don't always work." Yet, he could be succinct and telling: when he married his wife in 1924 he said of himself in the third person, "It is the best catch he ever made in his career." He said of Willie Mays, who played in a notoriously windy Candlestick Park in San Francisco: "If a typhoon is blowing, he catches the ball." Sometimes he could describe someone in a phrase: a nervous batter had "jelly leg," bad players were "road apples," rookies were "green peas," and a player who didn't carouse was a "milkshake drinker."

From 1934 to 1948, Stengel managed the Dodgers, Boston Braves, Milwaukee Brewers, Kansas City Blues, and Oakland Oaks. In October of 1948, the Stengel legend began when he was named manager of the Yankees. In Stengel's first year as manager the Yankees beat the Dodgers in the World Series and went on to win six more out of ten appearances under Stengel, thus being the team to beat in the 1950s. Stengel managed such outstanding players as Joe DiMaggio, Billy Martin, Yogi Berra, and Mickey Mantle. Stengel's critics said that anyone with that kind of talent playing for him could win, and many wouldn't give him credit for his knowledge of baseball and players. "Ability," Stengel once said, "is the art of getting credit for all the home runs someone else hits." His ability ran out when the Yankees lost the World Series to the Pirates in 1960 and he was fired, although the public story was that he was stepping aside as part of a youth movement at the Yankees. A bitter seventy-year-old Stengel quipped: "I'll never make the mistake of being seventy again."

He was down, but not out. A year later he was the manager of the expansion National League New York Mets, a team he was to call the "Amazin' Mets." What was amazing was that they ever took the field. In his four seasons as manager, the team never played better than .327. "The only thing worse than a Mets game was a Mets doubleheader," Stengel once said, and "Without losers, where would the winners be?" But because they were bad, they were endearing and they drew a better crowd than their cross-town rivals, the Yankees, viewed by many as an elitist team.



Casey Stengel (right)

A broken hip finished Stengel's managing career. He retired one month after turning seventy-five. He was inducted into the Hall of Fame on a fast-track vote. The honor was obviously important to him, for afterward he signed his letters "Casey Stengel, N.Y. Mets & Hall of Famer." Stengel died the day after the 1975 season ended.

—R. Thomas Berner

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## Steppenwolf

With landmark power-chord anthems like "Born to Be Wild," the popular late-1960s band Steppenwolf coined the phrase for the bombastic, fast-paced genre it created: heavy metal, one of the most popular musical styles of the late twentieth century. The group came to prominence in 1969, when "Born to Be Wild" was featured in the opening sequence of the landmark film *Easy Rider* (1969). The song became a call-to-arms for a generation of rebellious youth, and its reference to "heavy metal thunder" became the tagline for the musical style it adopted. "Born to Be Wild" ultimately reached number two on the *Billboard* singles chart that year. By 1999, the song had appeared in more than sixty films and television programs.

Steppenwolf's founder and lead vocalist John Kay was born as Joachim Krauledat in the former East Germany in 1944, where he grew up listening to an Armed Forces Radio playlist that featured American blues-rock artists such as Chuck Berry and Little Richard. Emigrating to Toronto in the early 1960s, Kay joined a local blues



**Steppenwolf**

band known as The Sparrows. After attempts to record with The Sparrows for Columbia Records, Kay left the group, relocating to New York and later to San Francisco. In 1967, he formed Steppenwolf, named after the novel by Herman Hesse. The band featured guitarist Michael Monarch, keyboard player Goldy McJohn, drummer Jerry Edmonton, and bass player Rushton Moreve, later replaced by John Morgan.

Steppenwolf's eponymous debut album, released in 1968, belied some of Kay's blues influences as well as the group's ties to the Bay Area psychedelia scene. However, it was the fierce power-chord stomp "Born to Be Wild" that captured the counterculture's imagination. Steppenwolf largely forsook its blues influences to hone this tough hard-rock sound on its next two albums, *The Second* (1968) and *At Your Birthday Party* (1969). The albums spawned two Top Ten hits, "Magic Carpet Ride" and "Rock Me," as well as a host of heavy metal classics such as "Move Over" and "Hey Lawdy Mama." The band reached its creative peak in 1970 with the release of *Monster*, a concept album based on Kay's jaundiced view of contemporary America. *Monster* featured newcomers Larry Byrom on guitar and Nick St. Nicholas on bass, both former members of the band called Time.

Constrained by the pressure of making music for bikers and frustrated by continued personnel turnover, Kay disbanded Steppenwolf in 1972. After a less-than-successful solo career, Kay reconstituted the band in 1980 with Ron Hurst on drums and longtime writing partner Michael Wilk on keyboards and bass. This most recent incarnation of Steppenwolf had produced five albums as of 1999, but none had enjoyed the commercial success of the group's 1960s hits.

The success of the heavy metal genre that the group spawned as well as the continued popularity of "Born to Be Wild," has ensured Steppenwolf's legacy in rock history. The band toured well into the 1990s, headlining numerous "oldies" shows and selling out concerts throughout the country. In 1996, John Kay was inducted into the Canadian Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences (CARAS) Hall of Fame.

—Scott Tribble

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## Stereographs

See Stereoscopes

## Stereoscopes

Stereoscopy—creating three-dimensional visual experiences from two-dimensional materials—informed most every visual medium of the Modern age: art, photography, cinema, television, and newspapers. In the nineteenth century the marriage of stereoscopy, photography, and industrial production resulted in the first photographic mass media: the Victorian stereoscope. Popular from 1850-1920, the stereoscope answered desires for greater realism in visual representation while its popular, yet intimate, visual experience prefigured visual media like cinema and television. Eventually overshadowed by cinema and later electronic visual technologies, the optical principles of the stereoscope grounded many popular visual entertainments of the twentieth century: View-Master viewers, 3-D cinema and comic books, and Magic Eye stereograms.

The Victorian stereoscope was part of a general trend in the nineteenth century towards more realistic visual representations, mass-produced for an emergent commodity culture. It has been long known that two-dimensional representations, like drawing and painting, are a poor imitation of human visual experiences. Paintings present but a single image, while in normal binocular vision the two different images received by each eye are synthesized by the brain into a single image, allowing us to perceive depth and spatial relationships. In 1832 British physicist Charles Wheatstone invented a device—the reflecting stereoscope—which induced normal binocular vision using prepared imagery. Wheatstone created two drawings of an object which mimicked the slightly different perspective our two eyes have of a single scene. By using mirrors the reflecting stereoscope channelled vision so that only one of the drawings could be seen by each eye. The viewer's brain combined the two images into a single stereoscopic image with qualities similar to that of unaided vision. It was soon discovered that stereo-photographs could be prepared for Wheatstone's device by simultaneously taking two photographs with a double-lensed camera. If the imagery was properly prepared, the visual effects of solidity, depth, and realism were unparalleled.

Wheatstone's awkward device was merely a scientific curiosity until modified by William Brewster in 1849. Brewster's lenticular stereoscope, a small box outfitted with lenses and a slot to hold stereographic imagery, debuted in 1851 at London's Great International Exhibition. Although the interest of Queen Victoria ensured immediate popularity, early photographic technologies hampered broad circulation. In the 1840s Wheatstone's device used daguerreotypes and calotypes, but only after the 1851 introduction of glass-plate negatives could stereo-photographs be mass-produced. With cheap viewers and abundant imagery, stereoscopic viewing came within reach of a broad middle-class audience, fulfilling the London Stereoscopic Company's motto "A Stereoscope In Every Home."

Popularity depended on a plentiful supply of imagery in the form of stereographs, also called stereocards or stereoviews. Generally, stereographs are four-by-seven inch rectangular cards having two stereo-photographs pasted side-by-side. The photographer's, or more commonly publisher's, imprint and a short caption might be shown on the front, with a longer text on the reverse. Later thematic boxed sets were accompanied by maps and an explanatory guidebook. Since the overall size and shape of the stereograph was dictated by the stereoscope (similar to later standardized mass media like cassette tapes or CDs) stereographic publishers anticipated consumer desire and sought market niches through aesthetic innovation. Collectors attest to the bewildering diversity of stereographs: examples are known with tintype, daguerreotype, ambrotype, and lithographic images; pasted on paper, cardstock, glass, and porcelain mounts. Usually a stereograph can be dated to within a few years based solely on physical details.

Initially, stereographs were produced by lone figures who often took the photograph, processed the film, assembled the stereograph and sold it to tourists. Stereo-photographers included the obscure and the famous; William Henry Jackson, Carleton Watkins, Timothy O'Sullivan, Eadweard Muybridge, and Matthew Brady are better known producers. Historian William Culp Darrah estimated that between 1860 and 1890 as many as 12,000 stereo-photographers took between 3.5 and 4.5 million individual images, which were printed on upwards of 400 million stereographs. In the later nineteenth century large factories churned out thousands of stereographs a day using assembly-line methods. Stereographs were sold at tourist spots, from storefronts, through mail order catalogues, and door to door. Production gradually consolidated until, in 1921, the Keystone View Company was the sole purveyor of stereographs in America.

If the invention and early developments of stereoscopy belong to Europeans, the phenomenon attained its greatest success in America. Stereoscopes were known in America from the early 1850s. In 1854 the Langenheim Brothers of Philadelphia became the first large-scale retailers of stereoscopic equipment. Between 1859-63 noted essayist Oliver Wendell Holmes promoted the stereoscope in three enthusiastic articles in *The Atlantic Monthly*. Holmes also designed a simple hand-held wooden stereoscope, improved and marketed by Boston photographer J.L. Bates. Stereo-photography was central to convincing skeptical Eastern audiences of the wonders of the American West, as well as conveying in realistic detail the horrors of the Civil and Spanish-American Wars.

By delivering news of the world in visual form, stereographs were roughly analogous to cinematic newsreels and television. Stereographs were a way to travel the world and experience its events from the security of one's armchair. Subjects included cities, famous places, tourist destinations, and resorts, portraits of famous people, fine art works, modes of transportation, international expositions,

wars, natural disasters, aftermaths of fires and earthquakes, erotica and pornography, educational and scientific matter. One card showed the full moon, which when viewed through a stereoscope showed every crater and mountain with a degree of detailed relief unattainable even using a telescope. Similar to early narrative silent film, a short series of stereographs could present a comedy or morality play. Subject matter accommodated and anticipated the taste of the white Euro-American middle class, its primary consumer. Racial and social stereotyping was prevalent especially in images of Native and African Americans, urban immigrants, and colonized peoples in Africa and Asia. Collecting, trading, organizing, viewing, and sharing stereocards was a prominent family pastime. Home filing cabinets for stereographs allowed collectors to construct a personal visual cartography of the world, infinite in its variety, endlessly malleable in form.

With the emergence of cinema, and especially after the 1920s, the stereoscope became largely an educational tool and later a children's toy. Tru-Vue stereoscopic filmstrips (1920s-1950s) and the better-known View-Master system introduced at the 1939 New York World's Fair employed a similar optical apparatus. View-Master reels held ten translucent celluloid stereoscopic images on a thin plastic disk which was inserted into a lightweight View-Master viewer. Translucent celluloid imitated the luminescence of cinematic projections, injecting new life into an old gadget. View-Master contracted with Walt Disney studios to publish its popular animated films as View-Master reels suggesting a growing audience among children. In the 1980s View-Master viewers appeared in the shape of popular children's animated characters like Mickey Mouse, Casper the Ghost, Big Bird, Batman and Tweety Bird.

Three-dimensional cinema of the early 1950s briefly revived adult interest in three-dimensional viewing. Broadcast television reduced theater attendance and to attract viewers Hollywood introduced Natural Vision, or 3-D movies. Between 1952-54 Hollywood produced over 70 3-D movies beginning with *Bwana Devil* (Arch Oboler, 1952), the most famous being Alfred Hitchcock's *Dial M For Murder* (1954). To see a movie in 3-D, moviegoers wore special throwaway glasses with one red and one blue lens which permitted each eye to perceive only certain parts of a color-polarized film. The process had been known since the mid-nineteenth century, and a few monochromatic 3-D films were made in the 1920s and 1930s. Due to technical limitations and the uncomfortable glasses the novelty was short-lived. It was briefly reintroduced in early 1980s horror flicks and television broadcasts, and in panoramic IMAX 3-D movies of the 1990s.

Hollywood's flirtation with 3-D heralded the first comic book in 3-D by Norman Maurer and Joe Kubert: *Three Dimension Comics* featuring Mighty Mouse (1953). Over 50 3-D comics were produced from 1953 to 1954. Three-dimensional comics are viewed with the same glasses as in 3-D cinema. The necessity of hand-drawing limited early 3-D comics to bi-color images but after the 1970s limited polychromy was possible using computer drafting technologies. Three-dimensional comics appeared sporadically into the 1990s engaging some venerable talents of comic arts: Ray Zone, Jack Kirby, and Wally Wood.

In the 1990s, computer-generated Magic Eye stereograms put a new twist on traditional stereoscopic viewing. Based on the theories of Bela Julesz and Christopher Tyler, Magic Eye artists employed a sophisticated computer algorithm which manipulated images at the pixel level, disguising simple stereoscopic images within another unrelated pattern. By free viewing (seeing a stereoscopic image without a stereoscope) the hidden image emerges from the generic



background. Between 1992 and 1995 Magic Eye sold 25 million books in 26 languages worldwide and in 1994 Magic Eye syndicated a weekly image to over 200 newspapers.

By the late 1990s, computerized flight simulators, high-altitude surveillance photography, and weapon targeting systems employed stereoscopic science. Using stereo-photography NASA's Pathfinder Mission (1997) produced interactive topographical maps of Mars. For its report on the Mars mission, *National Geographic* featured some of the 3-D images from the Pathfinder Mission and included a pair of 3-D glasses to view them. Gradually, this technology became available to a broader consumer culture through holographic and virtual reality devices. Amateur and professional interest in stereoscopy was accompanied by intense collecting of antique stereo-viewers and stereoscopic imagery. There were regional, national, and international associations; a magazine devoted to the topic, *Stereo World*; and numerous internet sites. Although Victorian stereographs have become the province of antiquarians and museums, the desire to see in 3-D remains of unflagging interest to a popular audience.

—Michael J. Murphy

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## Stern, Howard (1954—)

Howard Stern evokes the kind of controversy that you wouldn't expect from a typical celebrity. Stern, however, is not a typical celebrity. The audience for his nationally broadcast morning show numbers in the millions, and it is comprised mostly of men, aged 25 to 54, who listen religiously. A typical morning on the Howard Stern Show might include discussions on sex, lesbianism, race relations, lawyers, the latest tabloid stories, or flatulence. His radio show



Howard Stern

transcends the bounds of good taste and has tested the limits of radio broadcasting codes and regulations for over 20 years.

Howard Allen Stern was born on January 12, 1954, in the Queens borough of New York City. His father, Ben, was an engineer at a Manhattan radio station and was hard on his only son, frequently calling him a "moron." Stern describes his mother, Ray, as an overprotective woman who thought that her son would grow up sensitive if he played with puppets. The idea backfired, however, when little Howard put on X-rated puppet shows for his friends in his parent's basement.

Stern graduated from high school in 1972 and enrolled at Boston University, where he pursued a degree in broadcasting. Graduating in 1976, he started working for WRNW-AM in Briarcliff, New York, as an afternoon disc jockey (DJ) and eventually took over several other duties, including both program and production directors. It was at WRNW that Stern realized that he would have to be funnier than normal DJs if he wanted to be a success. His first antics on the air included bizarre commercial spots complete with weird sound effects and off-color calls to the business owners. Stern lasted about two years at WRNW before moving to Hartford, Connecticut, to work for WCCC. Further honing his comedic technique, he experimented with

on-air gags such as the “Cadaverathon,” a fundraiser for the Yale University Medical School, which was purported to lack corpses for its students. Another event was his “To Hell With Shell” campaign aimed at gas companies and the long lines at the pumps during the late 1970s fuel shortage. Routines like these got him noticed by WWWW-FM in Detroit, a rock station that took him on in 1979. More irreverent gags and sketches followed, including a bra-burning demonstration in support of the Equal Rights Amendment, and a raunchy daily piece in which a dominatrix would call in and give the weather forecast. Then, literally overnight, WWWW changed its format to country and Stern left.

In 1978 Stern married his college sweetheart, Alison Berns, a social worker. Stern tested the strength of his marriage by making it the subject of frequent on-air conversations. When his wife miscarried their first child Stern did a sketch on it, a call from God himself who denigrated him for not being able to reproduce. The consequences were disastrous, for the gag hurt his wife severely. Reaching a point where nothing was sacred on his show, Stern would even make fun of his wife’s clients and their odd behavioral habits. Stern apologized for such antics in his first book, *Private Parts* (1993), but still jokingly attacks his marriage to Alison on his show. The two have three children, all girls, and Stern does insist that he is a family-oriented man.

In 1981 Stern began working for WWDC-FM in Washington, D.C. Building a base for his morning show, he persuaded his supervisors to hire Fred Norris, a comedy writer with whom he worked in Hartford. Though Stern jokes that Norris does nothing for the show, Norris’s part is a large one, doing voices, sound effects, and bogus recordings of celebrity voices. It was at WWDC that Stern first met Robin Quivers, who has been Stern’s news anchor ever since. Quivers, a Baltimore native, had her reservations about working with Stern at first, but was clearly impressed with his spontaneous, unrehearsed style. In February 1982, Stern pulled what may have been his most outrageous stunt when, in the wake of the crash of Air Florida Flight 90 into the 14th Street Bridge, he called the airline and asked how much a one-way ticket to the bridge would cost. The call offended many listeners, though Stern claimed that he was expressing his own outrage against the flight crew that allowed the plane to take off without the wings being de-iced. Shortly thereafter Stern was fired from DC-101 (though not for the prank call—he was fired for referring to station management as “scumbags”).

Stern was quickly hired to work for WNBC-FM, fulfilling his dream of working in New York City. But Stern found himself in frequent disagreements with his superiors at NBC. In order to control Stern’s antics, his superiors would often write new rules and regulations for him to follow. Stern usually refused and was suspended several times before he was fired in September of 1985. It wasn’t long before a competing New York station, WXRK-FM (K-Rock), picked him up. The station promised Stern no restrictions in running his show. Stern brought along Quivers, Norris, Gary Dell’Abate, a former producer for NBC and the show’s punching bag, and his chief comedy artist, Jackie “The Jokeman” Martling, who did a large part of the show’s writing. One addition to his crew of regulars was “Stuttering” John Melendez, whose own speech impediment was put to use by Stern. Stern believed that no one would turn down an interview with a stutterer, even one that asked rude questions. Only months after starting at K-Rock, Stern was given the chance to move his show to the coveted morning slot, in direct competition with fellow “shock jock” Don Imus. Stern prized the rivalry with Imus, who remained the whipping boy for Stern and his crew into the 1990s.

In 1986 Stern completed his objective, surpassing Imus in the ratings. To celebrate the event, Stern organized a mock funeral at Rockefeller Center.

In 1990 Stern launched the TV version of the *Howard Stern Show* on WWOR-TV in New York. The program was a visual rendition of his radio show but was ultimately canceled because of budget setbacks. *The Howard Stern Interview* followed but also didn’t last. In 1994 the E! network began broadcasting a 30-minute simulcast of his radio show, using several stationary cameras placed in the radio studio. In August 1998, Stern launched yet another talkshow, called *The Howard Stern Radio Show*, which aired directly opposite *Saturday Night Live*.

*Private Parts* is mostly a memoir of events in Stern’s broadcasting career as well as his childhood, and became the fastest selling item in the history of its publisher, Harper Collins. The book saw a resurgence in sales in 1995 when Stern released his second book, *Miss America*, which featured Stern himself on the cover in drag. *Private Parts* was made into a full-length film in 1997. Stern supposedly rejected 13 scripts before settling on what he thought was the best representation of his book. The film received positive reviews and is mostly a tribute to his relationship with his wife. A very funny and surprisingly touching film, it reenacts many of the sketches that marked his early career. It also gives more insight into his partnership with Robin Quivers and their undying friendship.

Though his radio show has brought him millions of fans, he has had one consistent enemy throughout his career: the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). Stern’s radio station owner, Infinity Broadcasting, was fined \$600,000 in 1992 after Stern boasted about masturbating to pictures of Aunt Jemima and having rough sex with Michelle Pfeiffer. It was not the first but only the most dramatic in a series of inquiries, reprimands, and fines aimed at Stern since 1986. Stern alleged that the FCC had a personal vendetta against him, and told *Rolling Stone* that he’ll never win against the powerful government organization “because they’re bureaucrats . . . they’ve got all the time in the world and they’re going to sit there and just wear me down.”

Howard Stern has been called the “poet laureate of urban American white trash” and the funniest man on radio. He cites as his major influence Lenny Bruce, another comedian with the same disregard for moral standards. In total contrast to the neurotic personality he portrays on the radio, Stern and his wife practice transcendental meditation and lead a very normal life.

—Tom Trinchera

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## Stetson Hat

When Philadelphia hat maker John B. Stetson went west in 1859 to cure his tuberculosis, he worked the Gold Rush at Pike's Peak, Colorado, where he designed a hat for working in the hot sun. Stetson returned to Philadelphia to mass-produce the "Boss of the Plains" hat, made of tan felt with a wide brim and high crown. Worn by Presidents, Buffalo Bill, and the Texas Rangers, the hat became a symbol of the West. Stetson felt hats continued to be popular into the 1990s.

—S. Naomi Finkelstein

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## Stevens, Ray (1939—)

Before Ray Stevens, a country humorist was a guy in overalls, chewing on a stalk of straw and telling homespun stories about cow pies and two-seater privies. Stevens changed all that in 1962, when he released "Ahab the Arab," an off-the-wall saga of a Mideastern camel driver, complete with sound effects. Stevens went on to score



Ray Stevens

hit records with a wide range of approaches. He spoofed Tarzan and rock 'n' roll at the same time in "Gitarzan," a 1970s public nakedness fad in "The Streak," and 1980s televangelism with "Would Jesus Wear a Rolex?" He also displayed a talent for sophisticated musical humor when he transformed the jazz standard "Misty" into a bluegrass romp, and had a way with sentimental country in his 1970 chart-topper, "Everything Is Beautiful." But through all that, he maintained his identification as a country artist. Stevens became one of the leaders in music marketing in the 1990s, with his aggressive and successful television mail order promotions of his music videos.

—Tad Richards

## Stewart, Jimmy (1908-1997)

One of the most universally recognized and loved movie stars of the twentieth century, the prolific and popular career of iconic actor Jimmy Stewart spanned six decades, from the 1930s to the 1980s, as well as many filmmaking genres, from comedy to serious drama, from the dark Westerns of the 1950s to the brilliant suspense of Alfred Hitchcock. No matter what part Jimmy Stewart played, audiences responded to the gangly, good-looking actor, believing that underneath it all, he was always a good man, as his "aw shucks" personality endeared him to fans around the world.

Born in the small town of Indiana, Pennsylvania, to Elizabeth and Alexander Stewart, James Maitland Stewart was raised in a loving middle class home. His father was the proprietor of the local J.M. Stewart Hardware Store (which would become famous as the home of Stewart's Academy Award, which stayed in the store window for many years), and by all accounts Jimmy had a happy and normal childhood. Upon graduation from high school, he decided, with encouragement from his very practical father, to study civil engineering and architecture at Princeton University, from which he graduated in 1932 with honors. While at college, however, he became involved in the theater group, the Triangle Club, where he met fellow student (and future director), Joshua Logan. After graduation Logan invited Stewart to join the University Players, his summer stock theater company in Massachusetts.

After making his professional debut with the Players, Stewart abandoned architecture forever, much to his parents' displeasure. He eventually moved to Broadway to appear in the production, *Carry Nation*, which was not successful. His next role, however, was in *Goodbye Again*, in which he had appeared in Massachusetts. This production was a hit, earning Stewart excellent notices, and by 1934 he was working steadily, when he was hired by producer/director Guthrie McClintic, husband of stage actress Katharine Cornell, to appear in the play *Yellow Jack*. Stewart received rave reviews. It was during this production that Stewart also appeared in his first motion picture, a small uncredited role in *Art Trouble*.

In 1935, while Stewart was visiting his family, he received an offer from Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer to appear in a small role in *Murder Man* starring Spencer Tracy. MGM signed him to a standard seven-year contract and put him in several productions, but his first real break came when an old friend from his University Player days, actress Margaret Sullavan, insisted on him as her co-star in *Next Time We Love* (1935). A second break came when Stewart played opposite Eleanor Powell in *Born to Dance*, where he introduced the Cole



A young boy wearing a Stetson hat.

Porter song, "Easy to Love." While his singing was unremarkable, *Born to Dance* was one of the biggest hits of 1936. Stewart continued to appear in films such as *After the Thin Man* and *Seventh Heaven*.

It was a film released in 1939 that finally made Stewart a major star. He had worked with director Frank Capra previously on the classic comedy, *You Can't Take it With You*. When Capra needed a leading man for his new picture, *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*, he wanted no one else for the role of the idealistic young man who is thrust into the corrupt world of Washington politics. The film and

Stewart were a sensation, although many political figures denounced the inference that the government of the United States might contain corrupt elements. For his performance, Stewart won the New York Film Critic's Best Actor Award. He was also nominated for an Academy Award, but was a surprising loser to Robert Donat in *Goodbye, Mr. Chips*. The following year he costarred with Katharine Hepburn and Cary Grant in *The Philadelphia Story* and took home an Oscar for that performance, though many felt it was a consolation prize for *Mr. Smith*.



Jimmy Stewart

In 1941 America entered World War II, which put a temporary hold on Stewart's career. He was one of the very first movie stars to enlist in the military, earning a distinguished record as an Air Force pilot and commander and becoming one of the highest ranking officers in the U.S. Auxiliary Air Force, rising to the rank of colonel.

For his first film project after the war, Stewart chose to work with Frank Capra again. *It's a Wonderful Life* is now considered a classic and a Christmas staple, but when it was originally released the audience and critics alike did not particularly care for it. Capra and Stewart were disappointed with the reception the picture received and both maintained in later years that it was their favorite film.

The late 1940s saw many changes in the life of Jimmy Stewart. First, at the age of 41, Stewart married Gloria McLean and became an instant father to Gloria's children from a previous marriage. He also decided that his career needed to take a different direction. This led to two successful collaborations each with directors Anthony Mann and Alfred Hitchcock. The results were some of Stewart's darkest and most critically acclaimed works—*Winchester 73* and *Broken Arrow* with Mann, and *Rear Window* and *Vertigo* with Hitchcock. The latter is considered by many to be Stewart's finest performance and Hitchcock's masterpiece.

After the 1950s Stewart continued to do film work, although good roles became more infrequent. By the 1970s, he had turned to television, appearing in two shorted-lived television series, *The Jimmy Stewart Show* (1971-1972) and *Hawkins* (1973-1974). He also did several made-for-television movies, such as *Mr. Krueger's Christmas* in 1980 and *Right of Way* with Bette Davis in 1983. In 1980 he received the American Film Institutes Lifetime Achievement Award.

His last film performance was as the voice of the gunfighting dog, Wylie Burp in *An American Tail: Fievel Goes West*. Stewart continued to be active until the death of his wife, Gloria, in 1994. His health began failing soon after and he died in 1997.

Jimmy Stewart will long be remembered as exemplifying the best of America. His heroic roles and his devotion to his family made Americans feel he was a part of their own family, making him one of the best-loved figures of twentieth-century American popular culture.

—Jill A. Gregg

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## Stickball

Stickball refers to a form of baseball developed to accommodate play on streets and sidewalks. A janitor's mop handle is the preferred bat, and a pink rubber ball—known as a "Spaulding" or "Spauldeen"—is considered to be the best ball. The ball is pitched or bounced towards the hitter; sewers and chalk markings are used for bases, and a hit may be played off of fire escapes, cars, stoops, or any other urban obstacle.

Stickball traces its origins eighteenth-century English games such as old cat, rounders, and town ball, although some sources trace it back to games played by Plains Indians. As of the 1990s, stickball is still played in its purest form in summer leagues in New York City, and exists in some form in most American cities. Other versions are known as Strikeout, Fast Pitch, Corkball, Bottle Caps, and Fuzzball, and are played with a wide range of bats and balls, sometimes against walls with painted strike zones. Stickball and its variations offer players the chance to use basic baseball skills without requiring full teams of players, expensive gloves or bats, or the rarest of all urban commodities, an open stretch of grass.

—Colby Vargas

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## Stiller and Meara

For 35 years the comedy team of Stiller and Meara—five-foot-six Jewish actor Jerry Stiller and his five-foot-eight Irish-Catholic wife Anne Meara—have been best known for wringing laughter out of improvisational situations, appearing 36 times on *The Ed Sullivan Show* in the 1950s and 1960s. They have also acted on Broadway—separately and as a team—and have each starred in a number of television sitcoms and motion pictures. Jerry's role as George Costanza's short-fused father on *Seinfeld* in the late 1990s sent his revitalized career to a higher level, leading to further work on Broadway and in network television commercials. In recent years Stiller and Meara have also been known as the parents of talented writer-director-actor Ben Stiller and actress Amy Stiller.

Both born in New York City, Jerry Stiller and Anne Meara were stage-struck in their teens. When they met in the early 1950s at an agent's office in Manhattan, Jerry had already acted in a number of plays, including *Peter Pan* with Veronica Lake. The pair signed with a comedy improv group, the Compass Players in St. Louis, and set out on their own as a “boy-girl” act in comedy clubs. They appeared first in a small Greenwich Village club, then moved to the popular Blue Angel, followed shortly by bookings into other major nightclubs and guest spots on television. The first comedy sketch they wrote was called “Jonah,” with Anne playing a TV news reporter and Jerry an older Miami Beach man who had been swallowed by a whale.

They were married in 1954 at a time when Jewish-Catholic marriages raised eyebrows. Stiller explains: “But when I met Anne, nobody of my own background wanted to marry me. I was an actor, and an actor had no credentials. Anne was an actress, and she had no credentials either. What brought us together was unconditional love.” They were also attracted to each other's comic talent and offbeat humor. Besides performing on stage, the couple wrote and performed radio commercials. The best known of these—a commercial for an obscure wine called Blue Nun—increased the product's sales 500 percent overnight.

Honing her talents by writing comedy routines and commercials, Anne Meara has become a successful playwright. Her comedy, *After-Play*, had a long run on Broadway as well in major cities coast-to-coast. She and Jerry starred in this comedy about two New York couples, the Shredmans and the Gutemans, having dinner, many drinks, and tossing around hundreds of witty one-liners, after seeing a Broadway play they reviewed in total disagreement.

The couple has also enjoyed a varied career in films. Anne has appeared in nine movies, including the recent *Jetters* (1997), *The Search for One-Eye Jimmy* (1996) and *The Daytrippers* (1996). Jerry has appeared in eighteen, ranging from *The Taking of Pelham One Two Three* (1974) and *Airport 75* to the more recent *A Rat's Tale* (1998), as well as three films in 1997: *Camp Stories*, *The Deli*, and *Stag*.

The comedy team has appeared in a variety of television sitcoms, both together and separately. They were regulars on *The Paul Lynde Show* in the 1970s, and made numerous guest appearances as a couple on *Love*, *American Style*, *The Courtship of Eddie's Father*, and *The Love Boat*. Jerry was a regular on two sitcoms in the late 1980s,

*Tattinger's* and *Nick and Hillary*, and in the 1990s, on *The King of Queens* in addition to *Seinfeld*. Anne was a regular on such popular sitcoms as *Rhoda*, (1976-1977), *Archie Bunker's Place*, (1979-1982), and *ALF* (1987-1990).

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Stine, R. L. (1943—)

In just over a decade, R. L. Stine went from being an obscure humor magazine editor to the biggest name in books for youth. Though his achievement is sometimes discounted as a fluke, Stine found a formula and tapped an audience that brought him unprecedented success. Many attribute his success to the great entertainment

his books provide kids. Like Stephen King, to whom Stine is often compared, Stine knows how to tell a story. He knows how to keep readers interested and involved and, most importantly, how to satisfy them. Stine is not creating well-rounded characters; he is not using symbolism, metaphor, or any of the tricks of the trade in his writing. Instead, he practices the tricks of his own trade: that of entertaining people with “cheap thrills.” He uses humor, roller-coaster plots, suspenseful chapter endings, gross-outs, credible kids’ dialogue, recognizable if stereotypical characters, cliffhangers and red herrings, and a bare-bones style that gets to the point: to scare his readers. He is not interested in educating, enlightening, or informing; he is only interested in entertaining kids by terrifying them with gruesome, plot twisting, scary thrillers.

Robert Lawrence Stine had been telling and writing scary stories since he was a kid growing up in Columbus, Ohio. He wrote and illustrated his own magazines throughout his school years, then was the editor of the Ohio State humor magazine, *The Sundial*, during his college years. After a brief stint as a social studies teacher, Stine moved from Ohio to New York to break into the writing business. After a series of short-lived jobs writing for fan magazines and trade industry publications, he landed a job at Scholastic. Within a few years he had moved from a staff writer to editor of the youth humor magazine *Bananas*. While he was editing *Bananas*, he was writing joke books like *How to Be Funny* and *The Beast Handbook*. Soon after *Bananas* folded, Stine was downsized at Scholastic and began freelancing fulltime, turning out more joke books, penning numerous *Choose Your Own Adventure* style multiple storyline books, writing a television show, and even writing bubble gum cards and coloring books. All his work eventually paid off with the success of *Fear Street* and *Goosebumps*.

Stine had learned in childhood that he could entertain by telling stories, like those he shared with his brother as they tried to go to sleep at night. He also learned that he could entertain his peers by writing the stories as well. He so enjoyed entertaining his peers that he decided to make a career of it. Stine told *People* magazine that “I started writing when I was nine. I think I knew then that I wanted to write. I don’t really know why. I just always loved it more than anything else.” As an adult, Stine described himself as a “writing machine” in *USA Today* and continues to effectively use what he learned at age nine about how to entertain nine-year-olds.

Stine’s first financial success came in 1992 with the debut of his *Goosebumps* book series for upper elementary/middle school kids. Edited by his wife Jane and packaged through her company Parachute Press, *Goosebumps* quickly became the most popular children’s book series of all time; by the late 1990s there were 180 *Goosebumps* books in print in over 30 languages. The numbers for *Goosebumps* products were just as impressive. Additionally, since its debut in 1995, the *Goosebumps* television show has been a top-rated show and remains a centerpiece in the Saturday morning schedule of the Fox network in 1999; *Goosebumps* prime-time and after-school specials are rating winners as well. Videos based on the shows have sold over one million copies, while the first CD-ROM based on the books, *Escape from Horrorland*, was a big seller. The World Wide Web overflows with kids’ personal *Goosebumps* pages, not to mention Scholastic’s official site. By 1999, a movie was also in the works with Fox Family Films, while Disney has cashed in with a *Goosebumps* Horror Land at its Metro Goldwyn Mayer Studios site in Florida. It should be of no surprise that the roller coaster plot twister is tied in with an amusement park with an attraction featuring a live *Goosebumps* show

performed five times a day and a *Goosebumps* Fun House with a scary hall of mirrors. Disney also sponsored a *Goosebumps* parade and signed Stine for a *Goosebumps* cruise on the Disney Cruise ships.

Parachute Press had watched Stine’s *Fear Street* series become popular among teens and pre-teens. Parachute and Stine then developed an idea for another scary series, this one to be aimed at younger kids. There still needed to be scares and dangers, but no blood, no guts, no bullets, and no guns. In these books for younger readers Stine played up the humor—another of his strengths—while playing down the violence. In order for the books to be scary, there would still need to be a threat to the character, but the threats would be different—most *Fear Street* stories are not monster stories and therefore contain an edge of realism.

In his autobiography *It Came From Ohio*, Stine writes that he saw an advertisement in *TV Guide* to promote horror films which read, “It’s *GOOSEBUMPS* week.” With that, he was off and running, turning out the first title, *Welcome to Dead House*, in ten days. It was not, however, an instant success. *Welcome to Dead House* sold less than a million copies. Nor did the next book—*Stay Out of the Basement*—set the publishing world afire. Like *Fear Street* before it, *Goosebumps* was a series without a central set of characters, and in this case, not even a central location. *Fear Street* also came out after some seeds had been sown by Stine and other authors in books like *Twisted*. In contrast, there was nothing even remotely like *Goosebumps* on the market: it was a brand new field. It was not until the third book, *Monster Blood*, that the series caught on, mostly due to word of mouth. With their easy availability through Scholastic book clubs, the growing number of mega-bookstores, and discount stores like Wal-Mart, *Goosebumps* soon began selling well. By the sixth title, *Let’s Get Invisible*, *Goosebumps* cracked *Publishers Weekly*’s children’s bestseller chart. The books received a boost in visibility when *USA Today* began its own bestseller list in 1994. Unlike other rankings that do not include paperbacks or children’s books—or if they do include them, they do not compare their sales to adult bestsellers—*USA Today*’s premise was, a book is a book is a book. On *USA Today*’s list, it became obvious that *Goosebumps* was outselling adult authors like Michael Crichton.

But the bubble burst on February 21, 1997, when Scholastic Inc., publishers of Stine’s *Goosebumps* series, saw its stock drop 40 percent after an announcement that its earnings would not meet expectations. Blame for this dramatic drop fell on the decline in sales figures of the *Goosebumps* franchise, in particular their older titles. Five years into the life of the series, it had “simply peaked.” The wide coverage given to this news—which ended up on the front page of most newspaper business sections—demonstrates the impact and importance of R.L. Stine. One writer, it seems, can influence the fate of an entire company. Stine, however, is not just any writer; he is, without a doubt, the most famous of all writers for children. Perhaps only Judy Blume in her heyday rivals Stine in this regard. He has appeared on countless television shows, helped create two successful television series (*Goosebumps* and *Eureka’s Castle*), and has been widely written about in the media. His first adult novel—*Superstitious* (1996)—earned a big advance and a movie deal. Needless to say, in spite of the series’ declining sales, the *Goosebumps* brand name still appears on fast-food drink cups, snack foods, calendars, clothing, and everywhere else in the retail world.

*Goosebumps* are more than books; they are popular culture products. From the movie tie-ins to the Cheetos bags, *Goosebumps* stopped being just books very soon into the series and Stine went from

hack writer to celebrity in just a few months. Stine told *People* that “No one over 14 has ever heard of me.” By 1998, however, there were few people with any significant contact with kids who had not heard of R.L. Stine.

—Patrick Jones

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## Stock-Car Racing

From February through November there is a stock-car race somewhere in America, with tracks drawing up to 150,000 racing fans, eager to watch their favorite drivers zoom around the oval tracks in cars much like their own automobiles. From humble beginnings in a farmer’s field in the mid-1930s, the sport has become so popular nationwide that its television ratings are second only to the National Football League, and top drivers make millions of dollars a year from racing and advertising endorsements. When Jeff Gordon won the opening race of the 1999 season at Daytona Beach, Florida, he collected more than \$2.1 million.

The earliest stock-car racers got their training by transporting moonshine whiskey over the dusty roads of Appalachia in the dead of night, outrunning the revenuers by driving flat-out in dangerous conditions. These moonshine runners were a part of a legend, later to be etched in the public mind by a movie, *Thunder Road* (1958), starring Robert Mitchum. In the mid-1930s, the drivers began arguing about who was fastest, and a race was set up in a quarter-mile dirt track carved out of a farmer’s field near Stockbridge, Georgia. Unpublicized, the first race drew about 50 people, but after that thousands began showing up for the race, and the moonshiners began to collect cash prizes that surpassed their pay for nocturnal whiskey runs.

Among these early drivers were the Flock brothers—Tim, Bob, and Fonty—whose uncle owned one of the biggest stills in Georgia, and Junior Johnson, whose father had the largest moonshine operation in Wilkes County, North Carolina. Johnson, a legend in his own time, was featured in 1965 in a famous *Esquire* article by Tom Wolfe—“The Last American Hero is Junior Johnson-Yes!”—that

was made into a movie. Unbeatable on the dirt tracks, Junior had his own special style of accelerating through the turns by cocking his steering wheel hard left and fishtailing the rear end of the car. Other drivers, who slowed their cars on turns and tried catching up on the straightaways, had little chance.

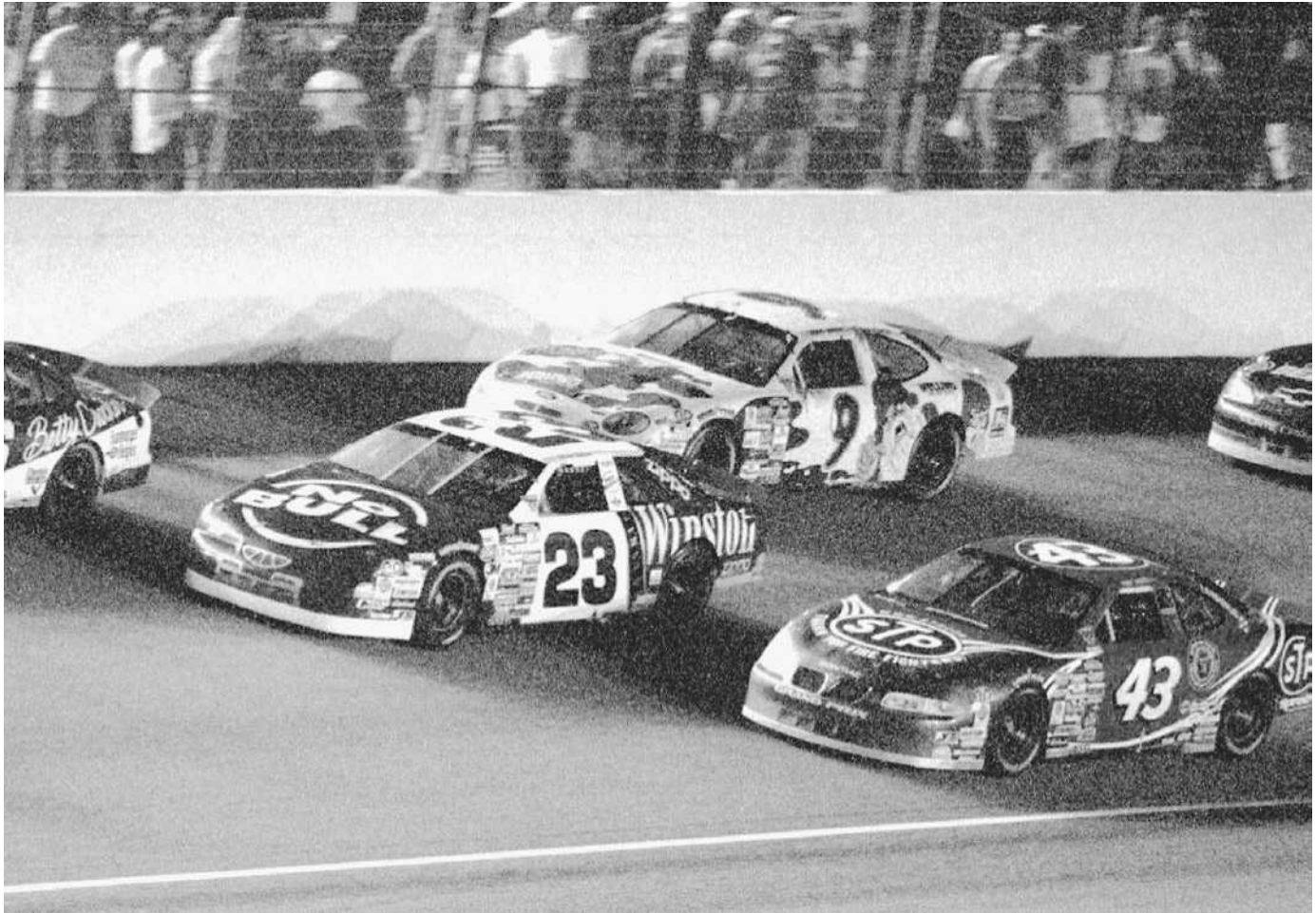
At about the time the Georgia farmer was carving a race track out of a cornfield, an auto mechanic and weekend dirt-track race driver named William Henry “Bill” France was beginning a journey that would eventually make him the pioneer and prime mover of organized stock-car racing. He moved to Daytona Beach, where 25 miles of hard-packed sand, 500 yards wide, had attracted Sir Malcolm Campbell, who made annual visits to attempt new land-speed records with his racing car “Bluebird.” In 1935 France watched as Campbell made his last runs at Daytona before moving his operation to the less windy conditions of the Bonneville Salt Flats in Utah. To continue attracting speed-minded tourists to Daytona Beach, the city fathers organized beach races, with little success.

In 1938 they recruited the personable France, whose gasoline station was a hangout for drivers and mechanics, to organize the races. A natural promoter, France signed up drivers, gathered prizes from local merchants, and set his race for July 4. Over 4,500 spectators showed up, each paying 50 cents a ticket. France and his financial backers split \$200 in profits, and the young promoter started planning a beach race for Labor Day. By the following year, attendance was sharply up and ticket prices had doubled to a dollar. His races were a roaring success, but World War II brought a temporary end to his operation.

When he returned to the Daytona track after the war, France started the National Championship Stock-Car Circuit (NCSCC) to sponsor monthly races, with a winner’s fund and a cumulative point system to reward the circuit’s champion driver. NCSCC’s inaugural year in 1947 was a great success, with Fonty Flock declared national champion. France’s next bold step came in December of that year when he invited the most influential members of the stock car clan to a meeting in Daytona. He addressed 35 of his colleagues, urging them to “unite all stock car racing under one set of rules, with national point standings whereby only one driver could be crowned national champion.” He urged consistent, enforceable rules concerning the modification of cars, insisting that the races admit only standard cars that could be bought at automobile dealerships. After a brief debate, the group supported such an organization and named France president. The National Association for Stock Car Racing (NASCAR) was incorporated on February 15, 1948, and a technical committee wrote rules to promote fair competition and provide for the safety of drivers and spectators.

Another important figure in stock car racing history is Harold Brasington, who brought to reality his dream of building a 1.25 mile paved speedway in his hometown of Darlington, South Carolina, and hosting the first 500 mile race for stock cars, the South’s version of the Indianapolis 500. Bill France, in his second year of sanctioning races with his newly formed NASCAR, was called in to recruit drivers for the inaugural Southern 500 on Labor Day, 1950. Expecting to attract perhaps 5,000 paying customers to his 9,000 seat stadium, Brasington and France were astounded when 25,000 people showed up along with the first traffic jam in Darlington history. Tickets were sold for the infield, and the fans saw Johnny Mantz win the first Southern 500 driving a 1950 Plymouth with an average speed of 76 miles per hour, going the distance without a change of tires. By 1955 the Darlington track, known to racing fans as “the Granddaddy of them all,” was





**The Pepsi 400, Daytona International Speedway, October 17, 1998.**

attracting a maximum of 75,000 fans to the annual race, and the crowds remain that size every year. Harold Brasington's dream succeeded beyond all expectation.

Another event that boosted NASCAR to national prominence came in 1951 when the Detroit Chamber of Commerce called on Bill France to organize an automobile race as part of the Motor City's 250th anniversary celebration. France chose a one mile dirt racetrack in the Michigan State Fairgrounds and planned a race for stock cars that would run 250 miles, one for each year of the city's age. He also asked all the automobile manufacturers to enter at least one car in the race, and 15 agreed. On August 12, a crowd of 16,500 racing fans filled the track for the Motor City 250, and they saw 59 cars in a close, exciting race, with the lead changing 14 times. The winner was undecided until the last lap, when Tommy Thompson, in a 1951 Chrysler, out-foxed Joe Eubanks in a 1950 Oldsmobile 88.

The Motor City 250 enabled France to make two important breakthroughs: stock car racing, a sport bred in the South, became accepted in the North, and Detroit's auto makers became convinced that this popular sport could be good for a corporation's bottom line. Corporate sponsorships immediately began to bolster NASCAR's profits and winners' purses, and companies like Chevrolet, Ford, Goodyear, and Unocal began partnerships that have enhanced more than 50 years of NASCAR's history. Before these sponsorships, race

drivers could hardly earn enough in prizes to keep their cars in tires; in the Motor City race, the first three cars won \$5,000, \$2,000, and \$1,000, with the next seven making a few hundred dollars, and the other 52 cars only \$25 or \$50. In 1999, winners' purses have escalated so much that the top drivers employ racing teams to build as many as 12 cars a season at a cost of \$70,000 each, all meeting NASCAR's exact specifications and assembled with the hope that the driver will gain 2/10 of a second advantage.

To move NASCAR into the modern era, Bill France risked his entire fortune to build the plush Daytona International Speedway, a 2.5 mile oval designed for high speeds with sweeping turns banked at 31 degrees. Fireball Roberts, a popular 1960s driver, said you could "flat-foot it all the way." Lee Petty, father of Richard and winner of the first Daytona 500, said there was not a driver there who was not "scared" of the steeply banked track. "We never had raced on a track like that before." It all added to the mystique of the race, and the fans came in droves. In 1959, there were 42,000, and today the grandstands at Daytona for the annual opening event of the NASCAR season hold over 140,000. This success led to other major tracks, and construction on super speedways in Atlanta, Charlotte, and Hanford, California, started in 1960. In 1969 France lapped the field again with the building of the spectacular Talladega, Alabama, track—2.66 miles long and a lane wider than Daytona—which took the sport to a new

level, with cars racing three abreast at higher speeds than ever before. It was at Talladega that Bill Elliott drove the fastest lap in the NASCAR books: 212 miles per hour.

One of the reasons for NASCAR's continued success has been the "consistent, enforceable rules" that France had envisioned for governing the sport. He always believed that it was close, side-by-side racing that drew the fans, and to preserve fair competition NASCAR showed no favoritism. Whether the rule violator was a champion or a rising star, the penalty was consistent. Seven-time Winston Cup champion Richard Petty was caught with an illegal engine in 1983 and fined \$35,000. Jeff Gordon was the series leader and eventual Winston Cup champ in 1995 when his team was fined \$65,000 for using an unapproved wheel hub. Such strict inspection had begun in the very first "Strictly Stock Car" race in 1949, when Glenn Dunnaway crossed the finish line first but was disqualified when a post-race inspector discovered a wedge had been placed in the rear suspension to stiffen the springs and improve handling, a trick long known by moonshine runners.

In 1999, NASCAR is sanctioning approximately 2,000 events a year in 12 separate divisions at over 100 race tracks across the United States. More than 16 million people attend these events, which are watched by another 150 million on television. The premier series is the Winston Cup, featuring the top drivers and cars that are factory-supported by Chevrolet, Ford, and Pontiac. Second is the Busch Series, Grand National Division, a training ground for Winston Cup drivers of the future. Also popular is the Winston Racing Series of weekly races at more than 100 short tracks, a grassroots level of racing that produces its own national champion.

On February 7, 1999, a stock-car race driver came in second in the ARCA 200 at Daytona after having taken three years off to give birth to two children and start an interior design business. The driver was Shawna Robinson, who walked away from racing in 1995 after five seasons in the Busch Grand National Series, in which she became the first woman to win a NASCAR national series race. From its beginning, stock car racing has changed with the times while continuing to give its fans thrills and surprises.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Stock Market Crashes

Information concerning the stock market fills American daily newspapers and television reports. With so many Americans belonging to pension plans and other long-term investment programs, stock market shifts touch more people now than ever before. When the stock market is on the rise, everyone views it is a positive signal;

investments are increasing in value and a bullish market must mean the economy is good. But what are the repercussions when the stock market goes sour? What happens to American society and culture when the stock market falters or even crashes? In order to evaluate the full social and cultural implications of market crashes, an understanding of the 1929 crash and subsequent Great Depression is necessary. For it was the 1929 crash that has left a permanent mark on American society. That crash led to important policy changes and basically defined the terminology and standards by which the United States would judge future market shifts.

The 1920s had been very good economic times for most Americans. By 1929, production and employment were high, wages were increasing, and prices were stable; there were more middle-class Americans than ever before. American capitalism was in a lively phase and business was good. But while most of the American public did not understand the nuances of the stock market, they did understand there was a lot of speculation and many "get-rich-quick" schemes. In fact, rich and well-connected investors were buying stocks with little or no money down. And there was a feeling throughout the nation that these speculative designs were immoral and might soon lead to severe economic problems.

Still, by the summer of 1929, the stock market boom was a dominant topic of conversation. The bull market not only dominated the news, it also dominated the culture. At any posh party was an investment broker willing to tell his rich friends what to do. Everybody seemed to be a stock market expert and many regular investors were looking to make a quick fortune. Economist John Kenneth Galbraith wrote of the diversity of people playing the stocks: "The rich man's chauffeur drove with his ears laid back to catch the news of an impending move in Bethlehem Steel; he held fifty shares himself . . . The window cleaner at the broker's office paused to watch the ticker . . . [I was told of] a broker's valet who made nearly a quarter of a million in the market, of a trained nurse who cleaned up thirty-thousand following the tips given her by grateful patients; and of a Wyoming cattleman, thirty miles from the nearest railroad, who bought or sold a thousand shares a day."

Then came the famous Stock Market Crash. At first, it seemed like this might be just another downturn. Most assumed the market would just right itself as it had done on earlier occasions. On October 24, 1929, the day now called "Black Thursday," however, thirteen million shares were traded and many of America's key businesses, including RCA and Westinghouse, lost nearly half of their value. It is a day in which millions lost all of their money, savings, and hope. By 11:00 a.m. there was a wild scramble to sell, but few buyers. Prices continued to drop as crowds began to form around brokerage houses throughout cities all over the nation. That day, suicides had already begun as 11 well-known speculators killed themselves. There was a last-ditch effort by some key bankers to prop up the market but that only worked for several days. Then came October 29, a day in which over 16 million shares were dumped. The holes which the bankers had closed opened wide. One precocious messenger boy at the Stock Exchange decided to bid a dollar for a block of stocks and he actually got them! No bankers were around to bale the market out, for they were all broke too.

The stock market never righted itself and for a variety of reasons, a severe depression ensued. By 1932 unemployment had reached 25 percent—it had been 3 percent in 1929. The Gross National Product (GNP) fell to 67 percent of its 1929 level. Farm prices fell 60 percent from 1929 to 1932, and between 1930 and 1933 more than 5,500

banks closed. In addition, the suicide rate climbed 30 percent between 1929 and 1932. This Great Depression lasted from 1929 to 1941, and ended only when the United States began to prepare for World War II.

The Great Depression had a lasting effect on several generations of Americans. Even when World War II ended, many assumed the depression would resume. The conservative culture of the 1950s, marked by its lack of dissent and need for social acceptance, can be traced back to that 1929 depression. By 1950, many American families feared another economic crash and remained uncomfortable with economic expansion, credit, and cheap loans. It is accurate to say that the generation of Americans who lived through the 1929 crash and the subsequent depression never forgot it. And it has been those Americans who have continued to make the crash and Great Depression part of American culture and lore.

Evidence shows that the American people and its government, from 1945 to about 1973, were indeed influenced by the depression in several ways. First was the belief that both the federal budget and family budgets should be balanced. On the federal level, the budget deficit did not begin in earnest until 1980. On the personal level, families only purchased major household items when they could pay cash. There was little or no credit for most Americans, as debt was considered a poor judgement at best, and even immoral to some. Second, people also saved more money in the post-depression years. Savings reached a peak during the 1950s as the American public still worried about economic downturns. The belief in society was that if families stayed out of debt and saved their money, they could survive another serious economic downturn.

Personal economic paradigms, however, began to change in the United States—along with everything else—during the 1960s. First, the federal government began to spend more than it took in. This started during the Vietnam War and although the deficit never reached 1980 levels, the mere fact deficits existed provided a startling change in economic policy. Second, as the economy boomed during the 1960s, more and more consumer spending was needed to keep the economy vigorous. Because of this, more credit cards and cheap loans were issued and people were actually encouraged to spend more than they earned. Business leaders argued that spending was good for the economy while too much savings were counterproductive—saving too much money would slow economic growth and cost American jobs. Third, going in debt did not seem immoral to the new generation of Americans who did not remember the depression. The youth of the 1960s and 1970s only heard stories about the Great Depression but had not faced the economic challenges of their parents and grandparents. These new consumers wanted to purchase goods and did not want to wait until they had the cash. Consumer credit and personal debt began to soar.

Clearly, since 1929 the effects of stock market dips have changed with generational perceptions. Market downturns in the late 1940s and early 1950s were met by citizens who lived through the depression. Their survival tactics during these periods included increased savings, earning extra income, and in rural areas, growing and selling their own food and produce. Those were all lessons learned from earlier times; the key during an economic downturn was not to borrow or increase your debt.

The new generation of consumers that came of age in the early 1970s, however, viewed the economy in a much different way. When the market dipped in the 1970s, people actually spent more, went into debt, did not save, and assumed they would make up the difference when the economy rebounded. To these Baby Boomers coming of

age, the market would always right itself and debt was not an immoral thing.

There have been crashes since 1929, and each time the stock market falls, the 1929 terminology permeates newspapers and other media outlets. But the crashes that have occurred since 1929 have not had the same economic, social, or cultural effects because the salience of the Great Crash has disappeared. In 1987 there was a stock market crash reminiscent to the 1929 fall. Several brokerage houses collapsed and thousands of investors lost money. The Dow Jones industrial stocks fell 22.6 percent. This time, however, things did right themselves relatively quickly. Fearing the economic repercussions of the 1987 crash, the Federal Reserve Board, the White House, and Congress acted swiftly. Passing legislation to right the economy was not considered in 1929 because politicians believed it more prudent not to tinker with the free market system. A major result of the 1929 crash was that the government began to take an active role in times of economic downturn by enacting fiscal and monetary policy changes.

In 1998, the stock market again fell precipitously. Investment portfolios declined but it seemed to cause little panic and few economic worries. Again, the federal government and Federal Reserve Board offered policy alterations and the market recovered in a short period of time. Those most adversely effected by the 1998 crash were small nations with strong economic ties to the United States. The American economy, with fiscal and monetary policy changes, is able to weather market fluctuations. But many smaller nations are hurt when the American economy goes into a tailspin, even if for a short period of time.

With fewer and fewer people who remember the 1929 crash still living on the eve of the twenty first century, fears about stock market crashes have been blunted. In 1929, many American economic and business structures were still weak and could not handle the crash. But because of the 1929 crash, American banks, businesses, and policy makers are prepared for problems and make the necessary adjustments. In every crash since 1929, the market has rebounded and subsequent recessions or depressions have been avoided. But because the 1929 crash had such dire economic consequences, it remains an important social and cultural event—even if its economic significance has lost salience. Drops in the current market are always compared with 1929 declines. Unemployment rates, productivity figures, and other economic data is generally contrasted with 1929 figures. And post-crash depression stories are still part of American popular culture. There are many tales about those who lived through the depression and in later years refused to put their money in banks, opting instead to place all their savings in mattresses or freezers. While more enlightened economic policies have made it possible to easily survive a stock market crash, the 1929 calamity and its aftermath will forever be the standard against which Americans measure economic and social problems.

—David E. Woodard

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## Stockton, "Pudgy" (1917—)

The unofficial queen of Muscle Beach, Santa Monica's Abbye "Pudgy" Eville Stockton inspired thousands of women to join gyms and take up weight training in the 1940s and early 1950s in much the same way that John Grimek ushered in the modern era of men's bodybuilding. Before Stockton, there were a few professional strongwomen who trained with weights, but they were generally massively proportioned women who unintentionally helped perpetuate the myth that weight training would make women large, unattractive, and perhaps a trifle coarse. Stockton, with her glowing skin, shining hair, miraculous curves, and amazing strength, changed all that. At the end of the Depression, Stockton became emblematic of the new type of woman needed to win the war. Competent, feminine, strong, yet still traditionally sexy, Stockton became the media darling of Muscle Beach and famous around the world.

Abbye Eville was born August 11, 1917, and moved to Santa Monica in 1924. Called Pudgy as a small child by her father, the name stuck, even though at five feet two inches she normally weighed about 115 pounds. Pudgy began seeing UCLA student Les Stockton during her senior year in high school. Their favorite date was to go to the beach and practice gymnastics. In the early days of Muscle Beach, Pudgy and Les, whom she married in 1941, primarily worked on acrobatic and gymnastic feats. With their friend Bruce Conner, they performed at football game half-time shows and other venues in an acrobatic act known as the Three Aces. Their practice sessions attracted other gymnasts, adagio dancers, and handbalancers, and began drawing audiences to the beach. On weekends following World War II, it was not uncommon for several thousand people to see their performances. To capitalize on the interest, the City of Santa Monica erected an outdoor platform to slightly elevate them above the crowd, and Muscle Beach was born.

The media also gathered at Muscle Beach on the weekends and quickly capitalized on Pudgy's rare combination of strength, physical beauty, and charisma. The main photo pictorials of the era—*Life*, *Pic*, and *Laff*—included her in photo essays, and two newsreels, *Whatta Build* and *Muscle Town USA*, also featured her. She appeared in ads for the Ritamine Vitamin Company and the Universal Camera Company in the late 1930s and, by her own count, was on the cover of forty-two magazines from around the world by the end of the 1940s.

In 1944, Stockton began writing a regular women's training column in *Strength & Health* magazine, a task she did for most of the next decade. Writing in what was then the most influential fitness magazine in the world, Stockton featured the women who trained with her at Muscle Beach as she argued for the benefits of weight training for women. In article after article in her "Barbelles" column, Stockton demonstrated that weights would enhance a woman's figure and make any woman a better athlete; and as proof, she showed her readers photographs of herself and other women who trained with weights. Stockton also helped to organize the first sanctioned weightlifting contests for women and publicized them in *Strength & Health*. The first such meet to carry an Amateur Athletic Union sanction was

held February 28, 1947, at the Southwest Arena in Los Angeles. In that contest Stockton pressed 100 pounds, snatched 105 pounds, and clean and jerked 135 pounds. In 1948, Les and Pudgy opened a women's gym in Los Angeles, and for the next several decades she continued to instruct in her own and others' gyms in the Los Angeles area, preaching her message of the benefits of weight training for women.

Although Pudgy held only one "bodybuilding title" during her career (she was selected by Bernarr Macfadden as Miss Physical Culture Venus for 1948 at the age of thirty-one), her influence on women's bodybuilding and weight training has been enormous. Every woman bodybuilder who puts on a swimsuit and steps up on the posing dais, every woman weight lifter who strains under a clean and jerk, and every woman power lifter who fights through the pull of a heavy deadlift owes a debt of gratitude to Stockton, whose personal example helped make these modern sports possible. Stockton's great and enduring gift to the world of bodybuilding was the living proof that muscles could be feminine, womanly strength could be an asset, and that working out was fun.

—Jan Todd, Ph.D.

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## Stokowski, Leopold (1882-1977)

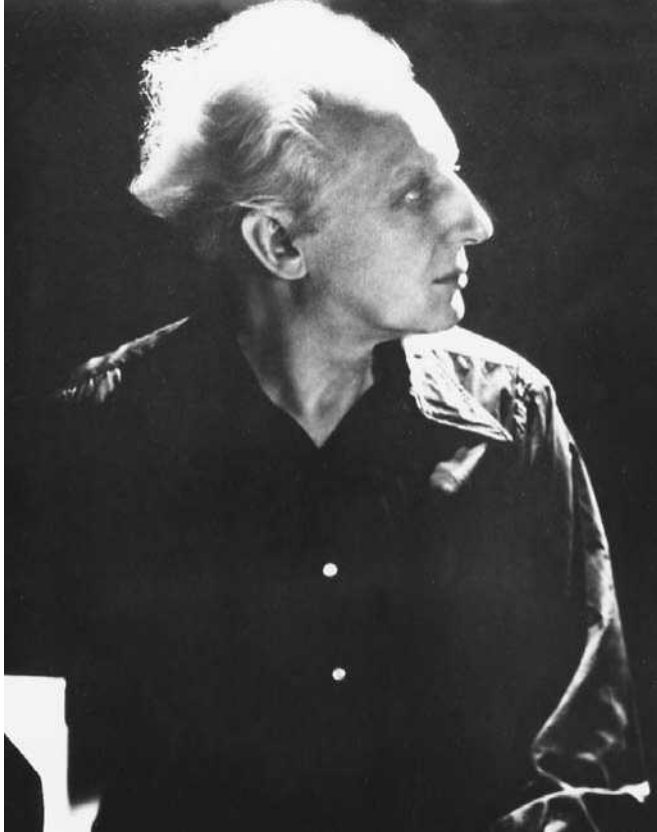
A brilliant symphony orchestra conductor and arranger of classical music, Leopold Antoni Stanislaw Stokowski achieved his greatest fame as conductor of the Philadelphia Orchestra, beginning in 1912. His statuesque physique, flowing hair, and theatrical temperament came to symbolize for generations of Americans—and for other conductors—how the musical directors of symphony orchestras should look and behave. Stokowski was especially admired and respected for creating an ensemble with so unique a sound that the Philadelphia Orchestra was considered by many musicians to be the greatest in the world. Eventually, celebrity entered his personal life when he married heiress Gloria Vanderbilt.

In the 1930s, Hollywood beckoned and Stokowski appeared with singer Deanna Durbin in films that were merely vehicles for their talents. The exception was Walt Disney's *Fantasia*, in which animation was blended with Stokowski conducting superb renditions of works by classical composers. The films reinforced Stokowski's image, allowing millions to see him in action.

—Milton Goldin

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Leopold Stokowski

## Stone, Irving (1903-1989)

A prolific, best-selling author whose entertaining biographical novels and “biohistories” have proved far more popular with readers than with scholars or critics, Irving Stone is best known for works that, in the words of one critic, are pleasing to people who like their history “a little embellished with fiction.” By far his two most memorable works are a pair of books that offer monumental, sweeping accounts of the lives of two world-class artists: *Lust for Life: A Novel of Vincent van Gogh* (1934) and *The Agony and the Ecstasy: A Novel of Michelangelo* (1961). Stone also wrote a series of popular fictionalized histories of the nation’s First Families: *The President’s Lady* (1951), about Andrew and Rachel Robards Jackson; *Love Is Eternal* (1954), about Abraham and Mary Todd Lincoln; and *Those Who Love* (1965), about John and Abigail Smith Adams. American political radicals figured in some of Stone’s other works, such as *Sailor on Horseback: The Biography of Jack London* (1938), a book that, in translation, was immensely popular in the former Soviet Union; *Clarence Darrow for the Defense* (1941), and *Adversary in the House* (1947), an account of Socialist leader Eugene V. Debs.

Irving Stone, who took his family name from his stepfather after his mother’s remarriage, was born Irving Tennenbaum in San Francisco, California, on July 14, 1903 to Charles and Pauline Rosenberg Tennenbaum. As a child, Stone was a self-described “hopeless bookworm,” who was inspired to be a writer after devouring the work of Jack London, Frank Norris, Sherwood Anderson, and Gertrude Atherton. In order to continue his education after graduating from

high school, Stone took a variety of odd jobs to work his way through the University of California, including saxophone player, fruit picker, meat packer, and hotel clerk. He majored in political science, graduating with honors in 1923, and taught economics at the University of Southern California while working toward his Masters degree there. But he soon abandoned his academic career to indulge his passion for writing. With ambitions to be a dramatist, he moved to New York, but few of his scripts made it to the stage. Like many American intellectuals of the period, he spent some time in Paris, where he chanced to see an exhibit of van Gogh’s paintings that forever changed his direction. “It was the single most compelling emotional experience of my life,” he later said, and immediately embarked on extensive research into the life of the nineteenth-century Impressionist painter. After rejection by more than a dozen publishers, during which time Stone supported himself by writing pulp-detective stories, his Van Gogh biography was finally published in 1934, as *Lust for Life*, and quickly became a best-selling book. (It would later be made into a popular film starring Kirk Douglas.)

Stone made one more foray into playwriting, however; but when his Broadway drama, *Truly Valiant*, closed after one performance in 1935, he realized he had no talent for the medium and, from then on, he devoted himself exclusively to biographical subjects with the help of his new bride, Jean Factor, who collaborated with him as an editor or co-writer. Among the works they jointly edited was *Dear Theo* (1937), based on the correspondence between Vincent Van Gogh and his brother. Several of the biographies Stone wrote over the next ten years were favorable portraits of progressive political figures admired by their author, including Jack London, Clarence Darrow, and Eugene V. Debs. Another book, *Earl Warren* (1948), featured the then-California governor and future Chief Justice of the United States. In the 1950s, Stone began using the term “biohistory” to describe his works, such as *Men to Match My Mountains* (1956), written for Doubleday’s Mainstream of America series, a fictionalized narrative of the settling of the American West.

Next turning his attention to the life of Michelangelo Buonarroti, Stone commissioned the first complete translation of the Renaissance artist’s letters into English and spent more than two years living in Italy, near sites significant to his subject. The result, *The Agony and the Ecstasy* (1961), sold several million copies, was made into a motion picture starring Charlton Heston, and earned Stone decorations from the Italian government. Stone and his wife subsequently edited 600 of the letters into *I, Michelangelo, Sculptor* (1962), a first-person portrait. That year also saw the publication of *Lincoln: A Contemporary Portrait*, which Stone edited with historian Allen Nevins. Other subjects for Stone’s works have included Charles Darwin (*The Origin*, 1980); and Sigmund Freud (*The Passions of the Mind*, 1971). In a century in which popular culture appropriated politics, art, literature, and history, Stone was a preeminent purveyor of the accessible mainstream biography. Stone died on August 26, 1989.

—Edward Moran

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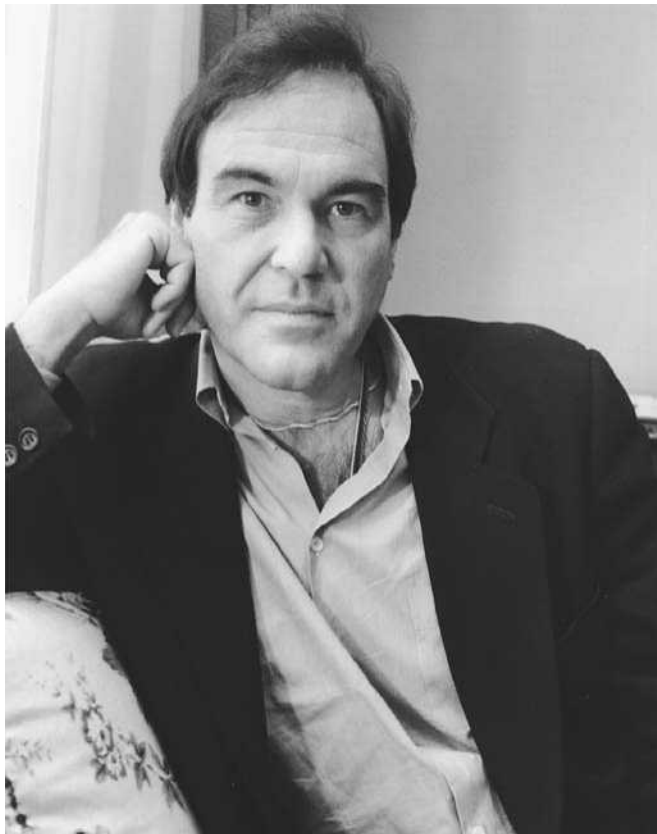
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## Stone, Oliver (1946—)

Since the mid-1970s, Oliver Stone has been involved in writing, directing, and producing over 30 films in a wide range of styles and genres. Most of his work has been critically and commercially successful, but, since the 1980s, it has also been controversial. Films like *Salvador* and *Platoon*, both released in 1986, criticized United States government policy over El Salvador and Vietnam, sidestepping the prevailing confident patriotic mood to deal with the effects of war in a realistic and thoughtful way. In the 1990s, films like *Natural Born Killers* (1994), in which two young lovers travel around New Mexico, killing as they go, have led to further accusations of exploitation and gratuitous violence. Since *Salvador*, the subject matter of Stone's films has ranged from political conspiracy in *JFK* (1991) and *Nixon* (1995), to war and its cultural effects in *Platoon* (1986) and *Born on*



Oliver Stone

*the Fourth of July* (1989), to rock biopic in *The Doors* (1991). With their roots in the "New Cinema" of Hollywood at the end of the 1960s, Stone's films contain a blend of realism, social documentary, and political enquiry that has made him a difficult but important commentator on American culture in the late twentieth century.

After spells teaching English, and later fighting in Vietnam in the 1960s, Stone returned from the war in 1968 to study film at New York University. Like many other directors of his generation, Stone benefitted from the new graduate programs in film history, theory, and production that appeared in the 1960s. Film schools at the University of California Los Angeles and New York University, among others, produced directors and writers such as Francis Ford Coppola, Brian de Palma, and Martin Scorsese, many of whose films, like Stone's, have been among the most influential of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s.

Stone began his filmmaking career as the writer, director, and editor of a horror film, *Seizure* (1974), and won his first academy award, for Best Adapted Screenplay, in 1978, for *Midnight Express*. In the early 1980s, Stone had his most success as a screenwriter, taking writing credits for *Conan the Barbarian* (1981) and *Scarface* (1983). He has also been influential as a producer of many of his own films, as well as the television series, *Wild Palms* (1993), and films such as *The Joy Luck Club* (1993) and *Reversal of Fortune* (1990), among others. Additionally, he has acted, making appearances as a reporter in *Born on the Fourth of July*, as a professor in *The Doors*, and as a financial trader in his 1987 film, *Wall Street*.

Graduates of the film schools have often become known for their technical skill and mastery of visual effects, and Stone is no exception. His best known visual technique is the use of a variety of different types of film stock to present different viewpoints. In films like *JFK* and *Natural Born Killers*, Stone also used news and amateur film, mixed in with "made" footage, to reconstruct events and give them an "authentic" appearance. Since the late 1980s, the mixing of images using digital techniques has become much cheaper and easier, and other directors, such as Stone's contemporary, Steven Spielberg, also a film school graduate, have used the technique to good effect, for example in *Schindler's List* (1993). But while Spielberg tends to blend "real" and "made" footage to create a continuous visual quality, Stone plays on the different textures of formats like Super 8, 35mm, and video to disrupt the flow of the narrative, and make the viewer's position less secure.

*Salvador* (1986) was Stone's first major success as a film director. Based on the experiences of Richard Boyle, a journalist in El Salvador in 1980-1981, the film portrays the Salvadoran government's violent suppression of opposition, and is deeply critical of American support for the right-wing regime. In the same year, *Platoon* took a similarly realistic approach to representing the war in Vietnam. The film won four Academy awards, including for Best Picture and Best Director, and marks the beginning of Stone's rise as an influential director and producer. Following *Platoon*, several films dealing in a new way with the issue of Vietnam found success for other directors; these included *Full Metal Jacket* (Stanley Kubrick, 1987) and *Good Morning, Vietnam* (Barry Levinson, 1988). As David Cook points out, however, the fashion for films about Vietnam did not only include sensitive treatments of modern warfare; *Platoon* came along at around the same time as more exploitative films, like *Born American* (Renny Harlin, 1986) and *Rambo: First Blood, Part II* (George Pan Cosmatos, 1985).

Stone's second Vietnam film, *Born on the Fourth of July* (1989), contains some combat footage, but concentrates on the cultural issues

of the treatment of war veterans, and in particular those, like Ron Kovic, whose injuries made them an embarrassment to the military authorities and the general public. Having dealt with Vietnam from the point of view of soldiers in combat in *Platoon* and of veterans in *Born on the Fourth of July*, in 1993 Stone considered the experience of war from the other side. *Heaven and Earth* describes the war from the point of view of a Vietnamese peasant woman who experiences the fighting as a child and later marries an American soldier. Besides his efforts to represent war in more realistic ways, and from the point of view of its victims, Stone is also known as a shrewd social and cultural commentator. In the late 1980s, for example, films like *Wall Street* (1987) and *Talk Radio* (1988) dealt with current concerns about the financial markets, greed, and the media's manipulation of celebrities and its audience. In 1991, *The Doors* appeared as a film portrait of the rock band and its charismatic singer, Jim Morrison. While the portrait of Morrison is a fan's account, the film is ruthless in its treatment of drug and rock culture.

Since the early 1990s, Stone's trademark technique of switching between film stocks, as well as using hand-held cameras and natural lighting, has made watching his films a more directly engaging experience. The disorienting effect of the unstable camera involves the viewer in the unfolding scene in ways that are not possible with more formal styles of filmmaking. Perhaps his most important film, *JFK* (1991), relies on such techniques to make telling comments on the creation of myths by the media and government. Dealing with the assassination of President Kennedy in November 1963, the film revives the 1967 theory of New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison that Kennedy could not have been shot by Oswald as the Warren Commission had found. Following the release of the film, Stone was attacked for having rewritten the facts about the assassination. Critics pointed to the way in which the famous amateur film of the killing had been enhanced and manipulated to prove Garrison's theory, but Stone also came in for criticism for his speculation about plots against Kennedy in the security forces and government. Despite the opinions of critics, the film was a success with audiences, prompting a run on books about the Kennedy assassination, and eventually putting pressure on Congress to release records of the Warren Commission through a special act in 1992. Perhaps because of the controversy, *JFK* received no Oscars, but Stone did receive a Golden Globe Award for Best Director.

*JFK* was significant for its technical effects as well as the public response it triggered, and *Natural Born Killers*, perhaps Stone's most vilified film, takes the techniques learned in making *JFK* still further. The movie includes animation and other electronic imaging methods, as well as live action shots on several different film stocks, with the effect that the images themselves, as well as the subject matter, bombard the viewer in a quite relentless way. David Cook speculates that the film is Stone's response to the media's treatment of *JFK*. *Natural Born Killers* exposes the hypocrisy of a media that criticized him for twisting the truth, yet makes fortunes out of goading the public to ever greater voyeuristic excesses. Certainly the murderous couple in Stone's film are presented in such a way as to make their acts of violence fascinating rather than repellent. Manipulating the viewer, even though it admits to doing so, *Natural Born Killers* speculates about how much more manipulative the supposedly objective media might be.

Many of Stone's films look at the way individuals are controlled and used by bigger organizations. As a result, he has often found himself in opposition to current thinking, and has been described as a dissident by his supporters. Like those of many directors who came

through the film schools in the 1960s, Stone's films have a reputation for provoking strong emotional responses in audiences. Perhaps for this reason, films like *JFK* and *Natural Born Killers* have sometimes received harsh treatment at the hands of their critics. Oliver Stone's main achievement as a film director, however, has been his contribution to the valuable tradition of socially challenging independent filmmaking that began in the 1960s with directors such as Arthur Penn, Sam Peckinpah, and Stanley Kubrick.

—Chris Routledge

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## Stonewall Rebellion

In the early hours of June 28, 1969 patrons of a gay men's bar in Greenwich Village, and their allies in the street, vigorously resisted a routine police raid. The event, which has been described as "the hairpin drop heard around the world," and as one of those "specific sparks that ignites protest," was both timely and inevitable. It came about during an era of cultural and social ferment, and after years of efforts on the part of homosexuals to gain a public voice and legitimate place in U.S. society. The Stonewall Rebellion became a "metaphor for emergence, visibility and pride," one that publicly affirmed the identity of a people burdened with a tradition of invisibility and abuse.

A variety of factors including modernity, changes in cultural and sexual mores, and a politicized environment have been identified as supporting the development of urban homosexual subcultures and subsequently a homosexual movement. In New York City, the geographic and cultural setting for these radical changes was established in the bohemian, avant-garde atmosphere that began developing in Greenwich Village during the 1940s. Significant influences included the Beat Culture, pop art, psychedelics, the New American Cinema, off-Broadway theatre, and the activist folk music scene. In short, the area was an incubator for oppositional attitudes toward convention and traditional authority and these attitudes spread across the country.

Cultural critic Daniel Harris, has also proposed that "diva worship," among male homosexuals, was another factor that unwittingly contributed to gay militancy. Since homosexual males had no other gay positive images, many projected themselves either into the tragic and resilient Judy Garland ("the ultimate bellwether of the docile gay masses"), or the "invincible personas" portrayed by the likes of Joan Crawford and Bette Davis. In short, homosexuals "recycled the refuse of popular culture and reconstituted it into an energizing force."

Homosexual militancy was also nurtured by the politicized atmosphere of the time. Since the 1950s, Mattachine, ONE, and Daughters of Bilitis had publicly advocated for respect and civil rights for homosexuals. In the 1960s, the activities and gains of the Civil Rights Movement and other social movements also promoted a new sense of hope and assertiveness among politicized homosexuals.

For some gay men, the death of Judy Garland a few days before the Stonewall uprising, symbolically transformed the stereotype of the quiet, suffering homosexual. Activist Alkarim Jivani observed that “Garland had been the archetypal gay icon because she represented bravery through adversity, but that bravery was characterized by a passive stoicism. With the death of Judy Garland, that image of the gay man died.”

Meanwhile, for those who identified with the battling, invincible divas, the moment of truth was fast approaching. According to one report, the day of Judy’s funeral was “sweltering and humid, and that night there was a full moon.” Vito Russo, who later wrote a book on homosexual themes in U.S. films (*The Celluloid Closet*), recalled that “I was in a foul mood that night because of the funeral.” Ira Kushner, who was 15 at the time, remembers standing outside the Stonewall as part of a crowd that had gathered to honor Garland. Then the police arrived.

At first the police arrested some of the younger men standing outside and then they went into the bar. As the patrons were roughly hustled out of the bar, it was those most used to confrontations with the police (drag queens, street people, students, and a few butches), who were in the vanguard of the resistance. Drag queen Rey “Sylvia Lee” Rivera recalled that “that night, everything clicked.” Rivera and some of the people he knew were already involved in other social movements. He told himself, “Great, now it’s my time. I’m out there being a revolutionary for everybody else, now it’s time to do my own thing for my own people,” according to E. Marcus’ book, *Making History*. In the midst of the Vietnam War, the civil rights movement, counterculture, student and women’s movements, patrons of the Stonewall bar refused to go quietly into the police van.

There are also reports that, as the tension increased, a well-placed spark was contributed by a butch in drag. She had been visiting a male friend in the bar. When the police pulled her out of the bar and into a police car, she struggled. When she was hit, the audience exploded. Coins (symbolizing the bribes paid to the police by the bars), an uprooted parking meter, bottles, fists, and insults flew. Queens engaged in campy street theatre that included sexual repartee aimed at the police and a chorus line singing “We are the Stonewall girls. . .” The bar was set on fire, the police called for reinforcements, and the melee escalated into a riot. Although this was not the first time that homosexuals had resisted police abuse, this time, there were significant political consequences.

While moderate homosexuals condemned the violence, more radical activists used the event as an organizing opportunity. In New York, the event galvanized those sympathetic to confrontation politics. By July, these activists had coalesced into the co-gender Gay Liberation Front (GLF), a name that suggested solidarity with Third World resistance movements, such as the National Liberation Front in Vietnam. Across the United States, scores of groups with the same name sprang up. GLF was the first of many homosexual activist groups of that era, most of whom were politically at odds with one another. What these groups did have in common was a radical

commitment to the civil rights of homosexuals. The groups were loosely connected into a network known as the Gay Liberation Movement. By 1973 there were over 800 gay and lesbian groups and organizations in the United States.

Main Street U.S.A. took little notice of the Stonewall event. News of the riot was buried in the back pages of the *New York Times*. Other mass market publications such as *Life*, *Newsweek*, *Time*, and *Harper’s*, which had previously published sympathetic articles about homosexuals, also failed to recognize the importance of the event. While the mainstream press missed the significance of Stonewall, the homosexual press which was politically moderate, treated the riot with ambivalence. *The Advocate*, a national gay male publication, published several reports, and one writer wondered if “the spark” set off by Stonewall, would endure. *The Ladder*, a national lesbian publication gave the event two pages of coverage, but the article did not appear until October of 1969.

After Stonewall, coverage of homosexual issues in the mainstream media increased significantly. In October of 1969, *Time* magazine featured the “Homosexual Movement” as a main story. *The Reader’s Guide to Periodical Literature*, an index to popular magazines, listed nine entries on “sex perversion” in 1950, the year in which the first Homophile Organization (Mattachine) was founded. By 1970, *The Reader’s Guide* listed thirty items under “homosexuality” and one under “lesbianism.”

Gradually, the story of Stonewall came to occupy a central position in the folklore and chronology of U.S. gay and lesbian history. It remains so even in the face of claims that it was but one significant event in a long history of individual and collective resistance that spans 400 years of U.S. history. According to Martin Duberman, the event simply “gave meaning and coherence to a struggle that was already underway.” However, to many, the special appeal of the Stonewall Rebellion is based on it being a defiant and defining moment that took place during an era filled with similar moments. As in the Boston Tea Party, the use of confrontation radicalized a movement that had, up to that time, relied on documents and discourse.

Since 1970, lesbians and gays in cities across the United States have held annual Gay Pride parades and rallies to commemorate the event. There have been significant turnouts in San Francisco, New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago. San Francisco’s event attracts between 350,000 and 500,000 participants and onlookers. Unlike the celebrations of other marginalized groups, Gay Pride memorializes the public emergence of a people and a movement that are still outside the equal protection of the law and are widely unwelcome at the diverse cultural table of this nation.

Stonewall signifies a dividing line between the brave but understandably more conservative efforts of homophile groups founded during the McCarthy Era; those of liminal 1960s groups like the Society for Individual Rights in San Francisco and the Homosexual Action League in Philadelphia; and radical homosexual activists, many of whom had gained organizing skills and new political perspectives in other civil rights movements. The title of a well-known documentary film on gay and lesbian history, *Before Stonewall* (1979), suggests that the event was a radical departure from the homophile era. For those who subscribed to the new liberation ethos, assimilation and dissimulation were out. Instead, they were inspired by slogans like “gay is good” and “out of the closets and into the



streets.” For these lesbians, gay men, and other “sexual outlaws,” Stonewall was a watershed event, one that galvanized them into radical activism on behalf of an historically despised group. For a specific generation of activists, the event “became the symbol of an oppressed and invisible minority at last demanding its place in the sun,” according to Wayne Dynes in the *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*.

—Yolanda Retter

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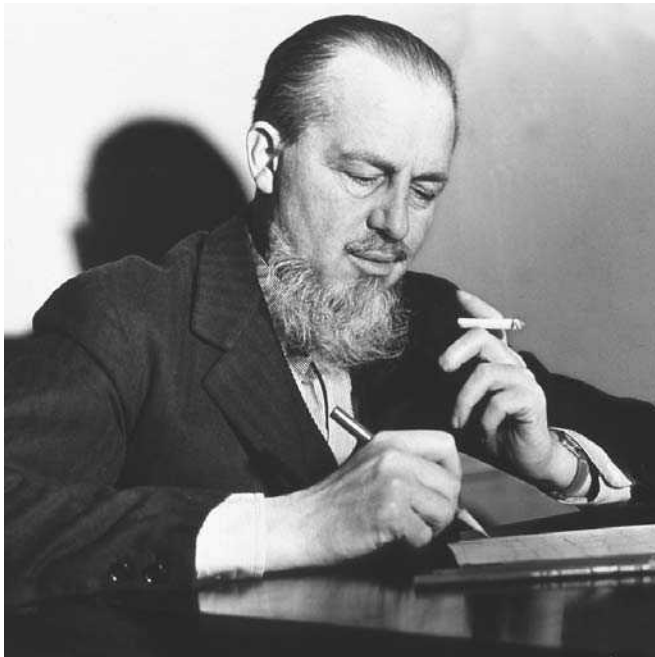
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## Stout, Rex (1886-1975)

U.S. detective-story writer Rex Stout is best remembered for having created the characters of eccentric crime-solver Nero Wolfe and his assistant Archie Goodwin, a memorable duo who appeared in more than 50 books over four decades beginning in the mid-1930s. Wolfe and Goodwin quickly endeared themselves to readers not only for their adeptness at solving crimes but for their trenchant comments on American life, war, big business, and politics. Nero Wolfe, the puffing, grunting, Montenegrin-born heavyweight gumshoe with a



Rex Stout

fondness for food and orchid-growing, made his appearance in 1934 with the publication of *Fer de Lance*. A steady stream of Nero Wolfe books followed, to the point where the character became more well-known than its creator. Often compared by literary critics to Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Watson, Wolfe and Archie played complementary roles in Stout’s fiction. Detective work for Wolfe was a business, and his clients were charged handsomely for his services, allowing the investigator to indulge his penchant for orchids and food. Goodwin, like Watson, is the legman, the hardboiled detective who satirically narrates the events in the story. He is dispatched to do all the detecting that Wolfe, the consummate detective, refuses to do. Wolfe is portrayed by his partner as partly human, partly godlike, with an arrogant intelligence, a gourmand’s appetite, and an orchid grower extraordinaire. Goodwin treats clients, cops, women, and murderers with the same degree of wit and reality he applies to Wolfe. Singly they would be engaging but together they form a brilliant partnership that brought a new, humorous touch to detective fiction. Another character in the Nero Wolfe series, Inspector L. T. Cramer, NYPD, has been described by George Dove in his book, *The Police Procedural* (1992) as probably the most familiar policeman in classic detective fiction. Cramer’s feelings toward Wolfe move from skepticism to open hostility to open admiration within the space of a single novel.

Rex Todhunter Stout was born in Noblesville, Indiana, in 1886, the sixth of nine children of John and Lucetta Todhunter Stout, who were Quakers. The family later moved to Kansas, where by the age of nine, Stout was a child prodigy, especially in mathematics. He attended the University of Kansas but did not complete a degree, leaving to enlist in the United States Navy, where he served as a yeoman on President Theodore Roosevelt’s yacht. When he returned to civilian life in 1908 he began working as a bookkeeper, and devised a system of school banking that netted him a considerable fortune, making possible a trip to Paris and an opportunity to write. Among his early freelance articles was one in which he purported to analyze the palm prints he personally obtained from President William Howard Taft. Stout turned out three critically acclaimed novels before *Fer de Lance* that never attained the popularity he later achieved with his Nero Wolfe novels. In his private life Stout was outspoken, first against Nazism and then later against the use of nuclear weapons. In 1941, he served as emcee of the radio program “Speaking of Liberty” and, during World War II, he wrote propaganda and volunteered for the Fight for Freedom organization.

In Stout’s Nero Wolfe series, the detective is portrayed as solving crimes from his brownstone on New York’s 35th Street, adhering to a schedule regardless of murderers with guns, bombs in guest rooms, or clients with problems. In *The League of Frightened Men* (1935), Goodwin suggests that Wolfe step out into the street in front of the house to bring his powers to bear on a cabdriver there, an important witness. “Out?” Wolfe exclaims, looking at Goodwin in horror. When Goodwin explains that his employer would not even have to step off the curb, the unflappably cool Wolfe replies, “I don’t know, Archie, why you persist in trying to badger me into frantic sorties.” Wolfe did, however, leave the house upon occasion to attend orchid shows as in *Some Buried Caesar* (1938) or to be incarcerated in the local jail in *A Family Affair* (1973).

In Stout’s novels, character and dialogue are more important than plot. Goodwin is portrayed as dashing around—even falling in

love—while Wolfe is defined as a slightly comic but always impressive figure, even if only for his sheer bulk. Weighing a full seventh of a ton, the enormous Wolfe can cross his legs only with great difficulty whenever he finds a strong enough chair in which to seat himself. Goodwin takes great delight in his observation and recording of Wolfe's movements and habits, his glasses of beer, his tending of a collection of 10,000 orchids, or his method of entering a room. Stout himself summed up his career in this quotation: "You know goddam well why, of all kinds of stories, the detective story is the most popular. It supports, more than any other kind of story, man's favorite myth, that he's *Homo sapien*, the rational animal. And of course the poor son-of-a-bitch isn't a rational animal at all—I think the most important function of the brain is thinking up reasons for the decisions his emotions have made. Detective stories support that myth."

—Joan Gajadhar

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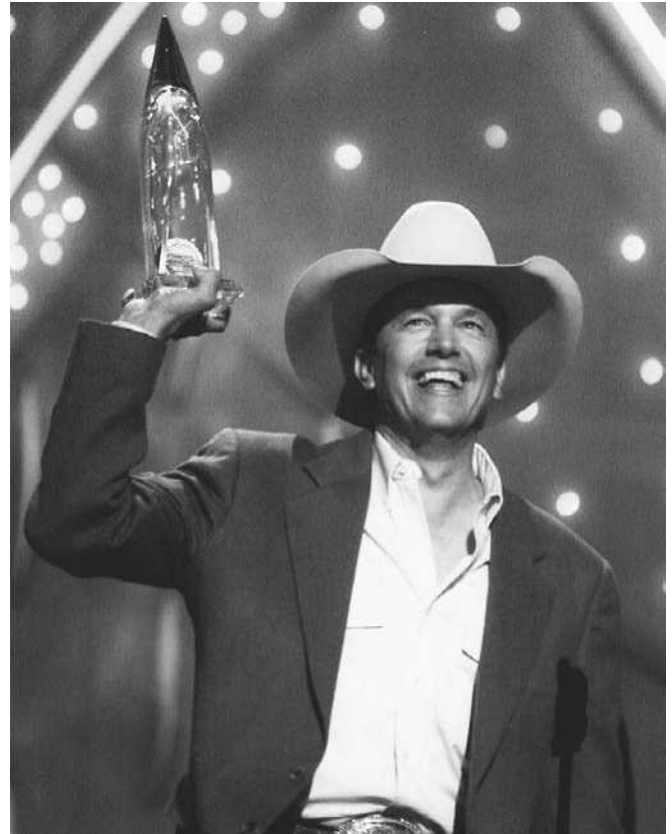
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## Strait, George (1952—)

When George Strait burst on to the national scene in 1981, he was identified with a movement in country music known as New Traditionalism, a return by young country artists to old country styles. Pop music had come to dominate the country charts during the 1970s, and Strait, along with Ricky Skaggs, Randy Travis, and others, were among the dissenters. Before long, Strait went on to become one of music's most commercially successful recording and touring artists.

Born in Poteet and raised in Pearsall, Texas, Strait and his brother lived with their father, a junior high school math teacher and part-time rancher. A true Texas cowboy, Strait helped out on the family ranch. Growing up, he ignored country music in favor of the pop music of the British Invasion of the 1960s, as did many of his peers. In high school, Strait played in a number of garage bands. After graduation, he eloped with Norma, his high-school sweetheart, and after a short flirtation with college, joined the Army in 1971. It was while he was stationed in Hawaii that he began performing country music, as a singer in a band on the base.

Strait finished his military service in 1975, and returned to Texas to study agriculture at Southwest Texas State University. It was there that Strait formed the Ace in the Hole Band, which became a big



George Strait

regional draw. The group released a couple of records on the Dallas-based D Records label and made several trips to Nashville, though they failed to draw the attention of anyone in the music industry there. Erv Woolsey, a Texas club owner and former record-promotions executive, saw the band one night and took an interest. In 1980, Woolsey convinced MCA to sign Strait, and eventually became and remained his manager.

Strait's first single was released in the spring of 1981, and reached the top ten. His 1982 offering "Fool Hearted Memory" was his first number-one single, and since then he has had an amazing string of chart successes, including more than 30 number-one country singles. Every album he has released since 1981's *Strait Country* (more than 20 in all) has been certified gold or platinum. He holds many concert box-office records, having mounted some of the most successful United States concert tours in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1992, he made his silver screen debut with a starring role in a film called *Pure Country*. In 1995, MCA released a four-disc career retrospective called *Strait out of the Box*, which became one of the best-selling box sets in country-music history.

Though country music has become increasingly more pop since the 1980s, Strait seldom strays too far from Texas honky-tonk and the shuffle beat of western swing. He has successfully negotiated the line between commercial and traditional for quite some time. He is a song stylist, greatly influenced by Merle Haggard, known for his subtle phrasing and supple vocals. His style is evocative of such classic country singers as Lefty Frizzell and Ray Price. Though he is not a songwriter, he has proven his skills in song selection. His glitter-free

cowboy-hat-and-denim fashion style has helped to spawn a legion of faceless “hat acts” in country music over the years, but Strait has an understated and elegant presence, existing in stark contrast to the bombastic style of Garth Brooks, country music’s other giant male country superstar.

—Joyce Linehan

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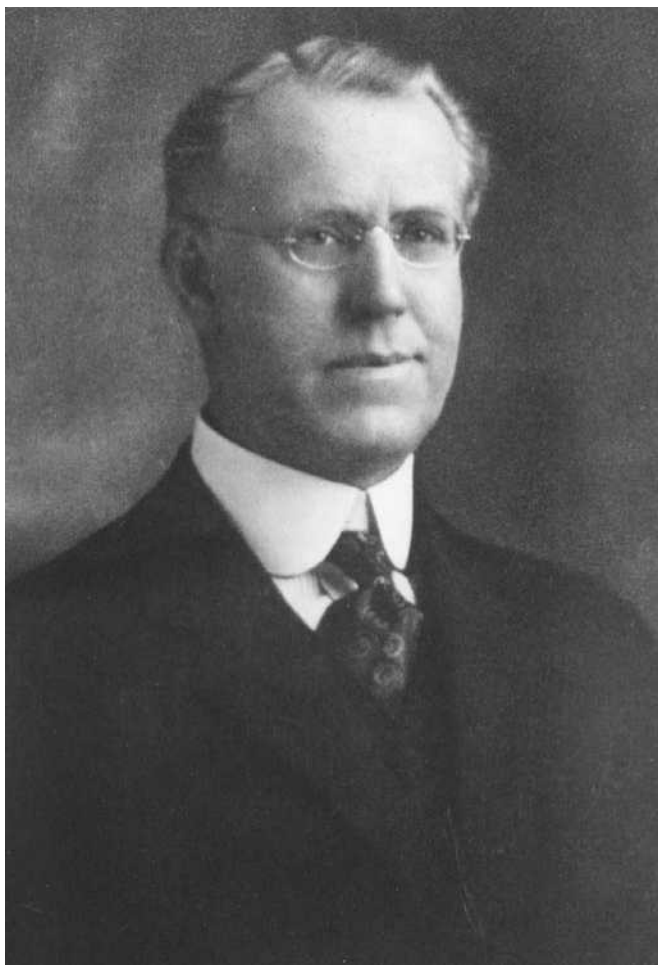
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## Stratemeyer, Edward (1862-1930)

It seems ironic that America’s most prolific creator of juvenile popular fiction is a man whose name is hardly known. Edward Stratemeyer revolutionized the world of children’s writing by adapting it to the methods of mass production. His Stratemeyer Syndicate,



Edward L. Stratemeyer

founded at the turn of the twentieth century, hired ghostwriters to develop hundreds of stories based on Stratemeyer’s outlines. From this “fiction factory,” as some have called it, came such durable American heroes as the Bobbsey Twins, Tom Swift, the Hardy Boys, and Nancy Drew.

Born in New Jersey in 1862, the son of German immigrants, Stratemeyer grew up admiring the rags-to-riches stories of Horatio Alger and aspired to write similar books. The progress of Edward Stratemeyer’s career is reminiscent of an Alger plot as well. Although he did not quite start in rags, Stratemeyer eventually obtained riches by steadily climbing the ranks of the professional fiction-writer’s business. As a child, he had a small printing press which he used to print and distribute copies of his own stories. As a young adult he sold several small pieces, for small sums, to various papers. But his first important sale came in 1889 when the popular *Golden Days* story paper bought “Victor Horton’s Idea” for the substantial sum of \$75.

Encouraged by this success, Stratemeyer spent the following years publishing widely, using both his own name and several pseudonyms. In addition to selling serials to story papers, he branched out to writing dime novels, and became a regular contributor to the various publications owned by Street and Smith, the premier publisher of popular fiction in its day. In 1893 Stratemeyer became an editor at *Good News*, a Street and Smith publication, while also supplying it with original material. During his years as a writer and editor of dime novels and story papers, Stratemeyer learned principles he would later apply to his own syndicate. He saw, for example, the value of establishing “house names” as pseudonyms, for this allowed several authors to work interchangeably on a series without disrupting the public’s relationship with the “author.” He also saw that copyright holders earned the greatest financial rewards: an author could be hired at a flat rate to produce a story, but the copyright holder could print and reprint that story at will and reap the benefits indefinitely.

Stratemeyer steadily steered his career toward the more respectable world of hardcover fiction. In 1894 he began recycling some of his former story-paper serials as complete books, shaping the volumes into series. The thrifty system of recycling, renaming, and reworking would become a hallmark of the Stratemeyer’s operations, influencing his own work and that of the Syndicate for years after his death. In 1898 Stratemeyer enjoyed his first great success with hardcover fiction. He had been circulating a war-themed manuscript just as the Spanish-American war broke out. The publishers reviewing the manuscript asked Stratemeyer to revise it, incorporating the news of Dewey’s naval victory in the Philippines. *Under Dewey at Manila* became an immediate bestseller, initiating one of Stratemeyer’s many series on historical and military themes.

In 1899 Stratemeyer launched his watershed series, *The Rover Boys*, under the name Arthur M. Winfield. Stratemeyer later claimed to have chosen this pseudonym for its cryptic symbolism: Arthur stood for “author,” and Winfield represented his desire to win in his field. The initial “M” stood for the number of books he hoped to sell—first “a thousand” (as the Roman numeral for one thousand), and then “a million,” depending on when he was asked. The *Rover Boys* series was an enormous success and was the first series to exemplify what later became the Stratemeyer Syndicate formula: average teenage heroes having extraordinary adventures, with lots of action and excitement driving the plot. Despite his early training in the blood-and-thunder milieu of dime novels, Stratemeyer kept his hardcover fiction for youngsters clean and wholesome. After 1900 Stratemeyer’s work for story papers and dime novel houses diminished, as he focused more attention on his own series books. Within a few years he

had several series going at once, and decided that an assembly-line approach would be a more efficient method for producing the quantity of material he had in mind.

The Stratemeyer Syndicate, begun in 1905, employed the methods Stratemeyer had learned earlier in his career. He devised plots and titles for stories, then hired ghostwriters to flesh out the skeletons, making them sign agreements not to reveal their identities. His hired hands were other dime novel authors like himself, some of whom he had known at Street and Smith, as well as journalists and other professionals skilled in turning out high quantity on tight deadlines. His most important employee was his friend Howard Garis, who would later become famous in his own right as the author of the Uncle Wiggily stories. For Stratemeyer he wrote several series, most famously Tom Swift. Howard's wife, Lilian Garis, also a children's writer, contributed volumes to the Syndicate's Bobbsey Twins series and others.

Not all of Stratemeyer's properties were for children. He repackaged dime novels from his early career as fare for young adult readers. Moreover, he also functioned as a literary agent who purchased manuscripts from other writers and had them published under various house pseudonyms. A handful of his properties were written for the adult fiction market, such as a series of mysteries written by "Chester K. Steele." But children's series were the backbone of the Stratemeyer Syndicate, and their themes were wide-ranging, covering school stories, westerns, mysteries, sports, career stories, and other genres. The popularity of these books was enormous. The catalogs of Cupples & Leon and Grosset & Dunlap, two of his main publishers, were laden with Syndicate fare—although, thanks to the pseudonyms, young readers were unaware that all of the books they were devouring came from the same source.

Stratemeyer's near-monopoly of the children's series market brought him some unwelcome scrutiny. Franklin K. Mathiews, librarian for the Boy Scouts of America, published a scathing article in *Outlook* magazine in 1914, "Blowing Out the Boys' Brains." In it, Mathiews asserted that sensationalist series books, marked by rapid-fire plots, absurd coincidences, multiple cliff-hangers, and a total lack of character-development, damaged boys' imaginations by overstimulation, thus ruining them for the subtleties of better literature. There was a degree of sense in Mathiews' complaints, and educators and librarians around the country took up the cry. Stratemeyer's success, however, was never seriously compromised because children loved his books and could afford to buy them themselves. But down through the decades there always remained a strain of protest against the vapid and sensationalism of series books. The books, however, were not working in a vacuum; they were part of a general trend, catering to the same appetite for speed and superficiality that would later be exemplified by television. Despite disapproval from the more educated segments of the population, children craved this style of entertainment and the great demand called for an equally great supply.

Accordingly, the 1910s and 1920s were prolific decades for the Stratemeyer Syndicate. In the five year span between 1912 and 1917, the syndicate was producing nearly 50 distinct series, and a similar amount ten years later, from 1922-27. But in the spring of 1930 Edward Stratemeyer succumbed to pneumonia, and died at age 68. After attempting unsuccessfully to find a buyer for the syndicate, Stratemeyer's daughters, Harriet Adams and Edna Stratemeyer, assumed operation of the family business.

Stratemeyer left behind enough material to allow the syndicate to continue normally for another two years; after 1932, however, the

material was gone and the Great Depression had damaged the book market. The sisters trimmed the business down considerably, killing off nearly their whole line of series. They kept only the proven cash-cows, including Nancy Drew and the Hardy Boys, among a few others. A few new series were begun during the depression, but the syndicate remained a much more conservative and narrowly-focused business than it had been during Stratemeyer's tenure. The body of series was cut down even further when the advent of World War II required conservation of paper and the metal plates used for printing books. By the late 1940s, the syndicate was producing only half a dozen series.

In 1942 Edna Stratemeyer married and moved away, leaving Harriet Adams as the active partner. Adams' strategy for success involved maximizing the value of the syndicate's back-catalog. She resurrected old series in reprint editions with new publishers and signed deals to have her characters translated into foreign languages and other media. Former bestseller Bomba the Jungle Boy benefitted from this treatment, as he became the hero of a string of "B" movies, from 1949-52, and a reprint series of books, both of which were released in other countries as well as the United States. In 1954 Adams revitalized the Tom Swift legacy by launching the Tom Swift, Jr. series, based on the original hero's son. Guided by talented ghostwriter James Lawrence, this series became a major latter-day success for the syndicate. Other new series were attempted during the following years, but the only other substantial hit was *The Happy Hollisters* (1953-1970), written by syndicate partner Andrew Svenson.

Adams' most controversial decision came in 1959, when she launched a project to revise and rewrite all the volumes in the Hardy Boys and Nancy Drew series, as well as many of the Bobbsey Twins. Her decision was caused primarily by concerns that modern children were impatient with the now old-fashioned texts of the original books. A further motivation came from complaints the syndicate received about the insulting portrayals of ethnic characters. Not only had the syndicate historically tended to cast minorities as villains, but early ghostwriters often used ethnic stereotypes as sources of humor. Adams responded to both concerns with one remedy, gradually replacing original books with new versions that were shorter, thoroughly modern, and (relatively) stereotype-free. The revisions were mere shadows of their former glory, however, as much of the books' charm and style had been erased.

Another controversy erupted in 1979 when Adams changed publishers. Dissatisfied with the practices of Grosset and Dunlap, her primary publishers for nearly 50 years, Adams signed a contract with Simon and Schuster. Grosset sued, and the litigation put the famous syndicate series at the center of a well-publicized custody battle. The case was decided in favor of the syndicate, and Simon and Schuster brought out new versions of Nancy Drew, Tom Swift, the Hardy Boys, and the Bobbsey Twins. Harriet Adams died in 1982, and her partners sold the business to Simon and Schuster two years later. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s the publishers continued to work with their properties in much the same way the syndicate had, hiring ghostwriters and swearing them to secrecy. Despite efforts to revitalize Tom Swift and the Bobbsey Twins, both series were discontinued in the early 1990s, but Nancy Drew and the Hardy Boys continued and even expanded into a variety of spin-off series.

Simon and Schuster's greatest service to the Stratemeyer Syndicate, however, came with its donation of nearly all of the syndicate's paperwork to the New York Public Library. This collection of records, which opened to the public in September 1998, dates from the earliest years of Edward Stratemeyer's career and forms the

largest single location for research into the syndicate's history. During the 1990s an increasing number of scholars noted the massive influence of the Stratemeyer Syndicate, not only as the single largest contributor to children's popular fiction in the twentieth century, but also as a model of a publishing phenomenon. Reaching several generations of American readers, the products of the Stratemeyer Syndicate have had an incalculable effect on America's consciousness.

—Ilana Nash

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## Stratemeyer Syndicate

See Stratemeyer, Edward

## Stratton-Porter, Gene (1863-1924)

Gene Stratton-Porter was a popular author, photographer, and illustrator whose prolific output of romance-spiced nature writings found an enthusiastic audience with middle-class Americans in the early 1900s. Her 26 books have been through multiple editions (many of the titles still in print at the close of the century), and the most popular of these sold millions of copies in the years leading up to and encompassing World War I.

Stratton-Porter's novels have not endured on the basis of their literary merit. Even at the height of her popularity, critics were not fond of her work, which they considered to be formulaic and unrealistic. The broad appeal of Stratton-Porter's fiction lay in her unique and seemingly effortless ability to portray and foster the vicarious involvement of the reader in the vivid and detailed goings-on of natural dramas: the hatching of great moths, the breeding and nesting of birds, the gurglings and whisperings and unfoldings of swamp and woodland. Nature writing was already an established and successful genre, with authors such as John Burroughs, Ernest Thompson Seton, and John Muir. Stratton-Porter added her own twist, tempering the nature message with enough romantic fiction to engage the reader's interest.

Stratton-Porter wrote what she knew best. Born Geneva Stratton, the youngest of 12 children, in Wabash County, Indiana, she spent long unsupervised hours in fascinated contemplation of the plant and wildlife that abounded in what was as yet largely untamed wilderness. When her family moved into town in her 11th year, she took with her a collection of pet birds. Marriage, in 1886, to Charles Darwin Porter, and the birth of her only daughter, Jeannette, two years later, kept

Stratton-Porter occupied with homely concerns, but the family's move to Geneva, Indiana, in 1890 placed her adjacent to a unique natural setting—Limberlost Swamp. Here, in the kind of personal metamorphosis characteristic of her future plots, Stratton-Porter became the Bird Woman. Bored and discontented with the social boundaries of small-town housewifery, and spurred by the chance pairing of a gift camera with the need to illustrate some writing projects on bird life, Stratton-Porter took to the swamp.

The long and arduous field hours and her bird studies, at which she became increasingly proficient, provided not only the raw material for her nonfiction, but also the experiences, observations, and many of the characterizations (modeled after interactions with farmers, loggers, and other people she found in the swamp) for her fiction. Her first book, *The Song of the Cardinal* (1903), illustrated with her own photographs and detailing the life of a cardinal and its mate, was well-received, albeit by a small audience.

Stratton-Porter decided to try her hand at a second book—natural history with, this time, a human love story running through it—and *Freckles* (1904) set the stage for the rest of her career. While publishers were initially concerned about the predominating natural world in her work, Stratton-Porter's admanance that it remain, and her subsequent sales records, won the day. Those of her novels to achieve bestseller status were *Freckles*, *A Girl of the Limberlost* (1909), *Laddie* (1913), and *Michael O'Halloran* (1915). Recognizing that her fiction found better sales than her natural history works, Stratton-Porter arranged with her publishers to alternate nonfiction with the novels. *What I Have Done with Birds* (1907) and *Moths of the Limberlost* (1912) are representative of the best of her nonfiction. They tended to be lavishly produced volumes with her own photographic illustrations accompanied by text in a descriptive, informal style. This presentation, while accurate in great detail, appealed more to nature lovers than naturalists, and contributed to her recognition as a novelist rather than for the substantial contributions she made to photography and bird behavior studies.

Stratton-Porter's interests and abilities coalesced with a literary output for which an American readership lay ready and waiting. She wrote about nature when nature-writing was in vogue. She wrote overwhelmingly positive and uplifting stories—her primary theme being the overcoming of personal obstacles through faith, trust, and hard work in the atmosphere of peace bestowed by interaction with nature—at a time when Americans were not only avid consumers of fiction but were attracted to themes that would, however temporarily, divert them from the urban grind and the grim reality of World War I.

Stratton-Porter's exposure benefited from yet another popular medium with the proliferation of women's magazines. She had regularly contributed articles to publications such as *Outing* and *Recreation*, but in 1921 she was approached by *McCall's* and offered an editorial page. "Gene Stratton-Porter's Page" gave her a powerful forum for disseminating her message of positive thinking and right living. Novel serializations and poems appeared in *Good Housekeeping* as well.

Not surprisingly, Stratton-Porter's success drew the attention of Hollywood. She had moved from Indiana to California in 1920 and had initially contracted with filmmaker Thomas Inca, billing "Clean Pictures for Clean People." Dissatisfied with the results of the first project to produce *Michael O'Halloran*, and by now a very wealthy and determined woman, Stratton-Porter established her own production company. Ultimately seven of her novels were made into films.

In 1924 Stratton-Porter died in an automobile accident. At the close of the twentieth century her novels no longer are sought by

mainstream readers, but they are still on the shelves of public and academic libraries; especially *Freckles*, which remains after others have been relegated to storage. Stratton-Porter and her audience were made for each other, her work providing a gentle reflection of American mores and desires that saw drastic change in the years between the two world wars.

—Karen Hovde

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## Strawberry, Darryl (1962—)

Darryl Strawberry's life reads like a soap opera. This major league ballplayer was the first pick overall in the 1980 free-agent draft, selected by the New York Mets. Without a doubt, he possessed the raw talent that could have earned him a spot in the Hall of Fame, but his erratic career has been a textbook case of overindulgence resulting in underachievement.

Professionally speaking, Strawberry's best years were the late 1980s. Yet while he was entrenched as a slugger-hero for the Mets, he never blossomed into superstardom. Furthermore, he was to earn as much publicity for drinking, drugs, and marital and tax problems. By the 1990s he had evolved into an injury-prone underachiever. A low point came in 1993, when he hit a measly .140 in 32 games for the Los Angeles Dodgers. In the mid-1990s, however, an older, humbled Strawberry was resurrected by the New York Yankees. Although he did not complain that he was relegated to part-time status, he spent most of 1997 on the disabled list; near the end of the 1998 season, as the Yanks were on their way to a record-breaking 125-win campaign, he faced the biggest challenge of his life when he was diagnosed with colon cancer.

—Rob Edelman

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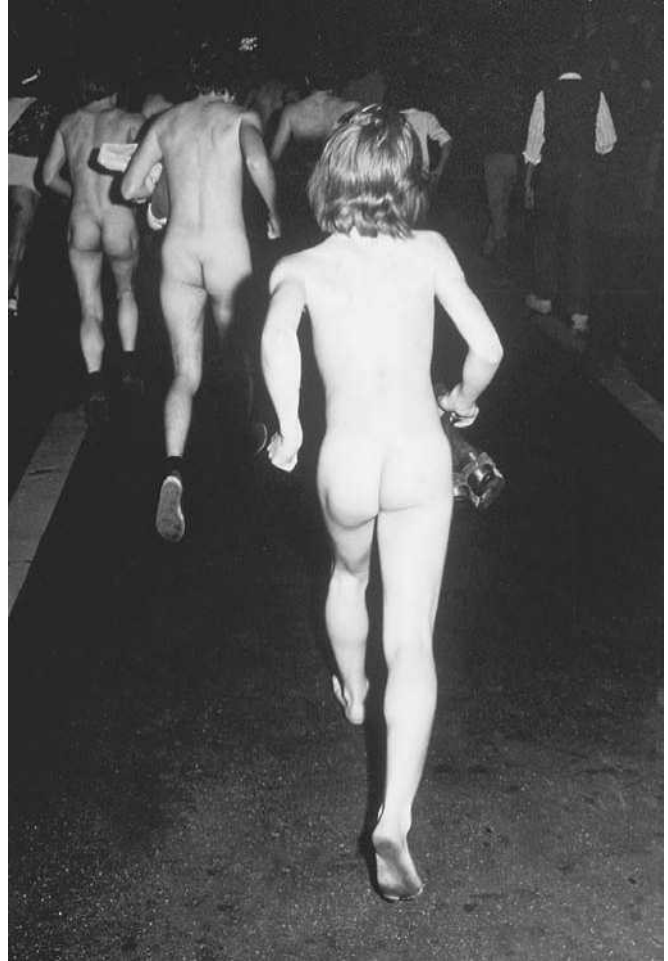
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## Streaking

Streaking, the practice of running naked through a public gathering, has been around for many years, but it attained full-fledged craze status only in the 1970s when, it seemed, all manner of strange behavior was soaring into public consciousness. Some historians



A group of men streaking through the streets of New York City.

have tagged Lady Godiva as the world's first streaker, but she rode—not ran—while deliberately concealing her nudity under her long, flowing hair. Not to be confused with simple nudism, streaking is an inherently exhibitionist act and thus the perfect public gesture for an exhibitionist age.

The spring of 1974 represented the high moment of modern streaking. In March of that year, the University of Missouri endured a mass streaking by more than 600 students. The nude collegians paraded past the campus's Ionic columns as a crowd estimated at 1,500 watched and cheered. In April, hayseed comedian Ray Stevens's single "The Streak" rocketed to number one on the pop charts. "He ain't rude. He ain't rude. He's just in the mood to run in the nude," crooned Stevens of the eponymous nudist. Full national exposure came that same month. During the broadcast of the Academy Awards ceremony, streaker Robert Opal shocked the crowd of Hollywood swells by letting it fly during David Niven's introduction of Elizabeth Taylor. "The only way he could get a laugh was by showing his shortcomings," quipped an unruffled Niven. Undeterred, the 33-year-old streaker managed to extract his full fifteen minutes of fame from the situation. As a result of the Oscar publicity, he pursued a brief career as a stand-up comic and was hired as a "guest streaker" for Hollywood parties. When the streaking craze died down, Opal moved to San Francisco, where he was found murdered in 1979.

Not surprisingly, academics and opinion writers tried to explain the streaking craze. In 1974, a psychology professor at the University of South Carolina did one of the first studies on the phenomenon. After much research, he concluded that the average male streaker was “a tall Protestant male weighing 170 pounds with a B grade average [who] dated regularly, came from a town with a population less than 50,000 and a family where the father is a business or professional man and the mother is a housewife.” Female streakers, the study found, “tended to be small, 5 feet 3 inches and 117 pounds.”

Others tried a more sociological approach. At the low end, streaking was dismissed as little more than an outrageous fad on the order of swallowing goldfish or packing phone booths. At the high end, it was touted as a lifestyle choice, a non-violent form of protest, and even a type of therapy. E. Paul Bindrim, the so-called “father of nude psychotherapy,” coached more than 3000 people through their first experience of public nudity. Explaining his philosophy to the *Los Angeles Times*, Bindrim declared: “Clothing is kind of a mask. So there are reasons to think if you remove clothing, you get a freer atmosphere where people would talk more openly.”

When streaking became a national craze, Bindrim wrote an op-ed piece for the *Los Angeles Times* in which he commented more specifically on the trend: “Streaking is healthy, and I predict that it is here to stay,” he wrote. “It may change form, but its essential ingredient, the tacit sanctioning of public nudity, will remain. . . . Running is the only aspect of streaking that will die out.” Belying Bindrim’s prediction, scampering in the nude enjoyed something of a revival in the 1990’s. It even briefly gained front-page status again when it invaded the pristine world of lawn tennis. In 1996, Melissa Johnson, a 23-year-old London student, streaked across Centre Court moments before the men’s Wimbledon final. The topless woman, wearing only a tiny maid’s apron, pranced momentarily in front of finalists Richard Krajicek and MaliVai Washington as they posed near the net for photographs. She was quickly escorted off the court by two policemen as both players and most of the 14,000 fans broke into laughter.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Streep, Meryl (1948—)

Considered by many to be “the” actress of her generation, Meryl Streep remains in a class by herself in terms of critical acclaim and career longevity. A two-time Oscar winner, she has been nominated for ten Academy Awards throughout a career which has spanned more than twenty-five films. Known primarily for her heavy dramatic roles as neurotic or obsessed characters—many of which have required her to assume an accent—Streep has also proven versatile in playing both comedy and action roles.

Ironically, Mary Louise Streep was not driven to be an actress during her affluent New Jersey childhood. More drawn to athletics, she was a swimmer who later became a cheerleader in high school. It was upon enrolling at the exclusive Vassar College that Streep became obsessed with both literature and acting—in addition to singing with a musical group and acting as vice president of her sophomore class. Besides extensive work behind the scenes in



Meryl Streep

designing lighting and costumes, one of her many leading roles was in Strindberg’s *Miss Julie*, in which she asserts she was not “any good” but did have her first moment of epiphany as an actress “where you leave everything behind” and achieve “transcendence or something.” Subsequent graduate work at Yale allowed her to play approximately forty roles, which were most often not reality-based, which she considered ironic in view of the heavy reality of the vast majority of her film work. After graduation in 1975, Streep won major roles at Joseph Papp’s Public Theater in New York and the New York Shakespeare Festival. She made her Broadway debut in *Trelawny of the Wells* and won rave reviews and a Tony nomination for her performance in Tennessee Williams’s *Twenty-Seven Wagons Full of Cotton*.

Her first film role—most of which ended up on the cutting-room floor—was with Jane Fonda and Vanessa Redgrave in *Julia* in 1977. It was followed by an Emmy-winning performance in the highly praised TV miniseries *Holocaust* and a performance opposite Robert De Niro (in the first of three films with him) in her first Oscar-nominated role in *The Deer Hunter*. Of the latter film, Streep contends that since the role was basically unwritten she was required to improvise her own lines of dialogue and interaction.

Streep made a series of high-profile films throughout the 1980s, beginning with her role in *Kramer vs. Kramer*, for which she won her

first Academy Award for best supporting actress for her portrayal of Joanna, Dustin Hoffman's neglected wife who abandons her family. She subsequently received Oscar nominations for *The French Lieutenant's Woman*, *Silkwood*, *Out of Africa*, and *A Cry in the Dark*. Her second Oscar—this time for best actress—as well as many other prestigious awards resulted from her role as a tortured Polish concentration camp survivor in 1983's *Sophie's Choice*. Streep also returned to the theater, winning an Obie award for acting, singing, and dancing the lead in a musical adaptation of *Alice in Wonderland*.

Seeking a break from a succession of heavy, character-driven roles, Streep then made a succession of comedies such as *She-Devil*, costarring reigning TV sitcom queen Roseanne; then, in a surprise move, performing her own stunts in a demanding role as a white-water rafting guide in the action thriller *The River Wild*. Her tenth Oscar-nominated performance was as a bored Italian war bride who finds love with costar and director Clint Eastwood in the highly acclaimed *The Bridges of Madison County* in 1995.

Streep has worked with nearly every important director and every leading man of note, all of whom praise her talents. Sydney Pollack, who directed her in *Out of Africa*, claimed that not only is Streep capable of becoming “a totally new human being,” but, further, is able to effectively communicate the character's struggles to the audience. Alan J. Pakula, who directed Streep in *Sophie's Choice*, once commented, “If there's a heaven for directors, it would be to direct Meryl Streep your whole life.”

Throughout her career Streep has been nominated for and received many other prestigious awards. In 1997 she received the first Bette Davis Lifetime Achievement Award to “honor an actor or actress whose career distinctly parallels the high professional standards set by the late movie legend”; the Women in Film's Crystal Award, reserved for women whose work has helped enhance the role of women within the entertainment industry; the prestigious Silver Medallion at Telluride Film Festival's 25th Anniversary Celebration; and in 1998 received her star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame to coincide with the release of her twenty-fifth feature film, *One True Thing*.

A political activist, Streep has also hosted and narrated television specials championing the rights of women and children, literacy, and ecological issues. She not only testified in congress against the use of pesticides but organized “Mothers and Others,” an anti-pesticide organization, which has grown from thirty-five members to thirty-eight thousand.

Known for avoiding Hollywood glitz, Streep is fiercely defensive of her private life in the hills of northwest Connecticut, on a secluded eighty-nine-acre estate with a forty-seven-acre private lake. Married since 1978 to sculptor Don Gummer, Streep is the mother of four children and claims “Even my decisions about what films I make are predicated on the fact that I think about how my children will view them . . . and how it will either enhance it or strafe the soul of their future.” Considering herself a mother first and a movie star second, she often takes her family with her on location, and she was once named one of the outstanding mothers of the year by the National Mother's Day Committee.

—Rick Moody

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## Street and Smith

One of America's oldest publishing houses, Street and Smith helped to ensure the spread of mass literacy in the United States. Producing inexpensive books and periodicals, Street and Smith was long known for its dime novels, pulp fiction, popular magazines, and comic books. Featured prominently were the tales of Jesse James, Buffalo Bill, Nick Carter, Frank Merriwell, and the Shadow. Noteworthy authors included Edward Z. C. Judson, Horatio Alger Jr., Gilbert M. Patten, and Eugene T. Sawyer, while reprints of Rudyard Kipling, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Victor Hugo abounded. In the 1850s, Street and Smith began producing dime novels, soon becoming the most successful publisher in the field, surpassing even Beadle and Adams, Munro, and Tousey. As one commentator quipped, “Munros to the left of them, Tousey to right of them, Street and Smith behind them, Onward they blood-and-thundered.” Beginning in 1859, many of Street and Smith's serialized novels appeared in the *New York Weekly*, recently purchased by Francis S. Street and Francis S. Smith.

From the mid nineteenth century onward, Street and Smith helped to shape the image of the American hero, while moving from dime novels—which frequently sold for a nickel—to pulp fiction. Real-life individuals with anti-heroic qualities, such as the outlaw Jesse James and the Western adventurer Buffalo Bill, were presented in a glorified light. Alger's *Ragged Dick*, whose protagonist was a former bootblack turned bank clerk, helped to reinforce a belief in self-reliance and individualism as America entered an era of rapid modernization. Detective Nick Carter, who first appeared in the *New York Weekly* in 1886, was a more cerebral figure: “He was a master of disguise, and could so transform himself that even old Sim (his father) could not recognize him. And his intellect, naturally keen as a razor blade, had been incredibly sharpened by the judicious cultivation of the astute old man.” In 1896, Patten offered Frank Merriwell, a genius of an athletic stripe who invariably bested his competitors—but always did so honorably—in the pages of *Tip-Top Weekly*. Thus, the Street and Smith heroes included men of the Wild West, city lads and slickers, and athletes, in a period when urbanization and industrialization were transforming the national landscape.

Street and Smith was known for its pulp fiction, which was initiated by Frank Munsey's *Argosy* at the close of the nineteenth century, supplanting dime novels and story papers. Street and Smith contributed gaudy, three-colored covers. Russell Nye contends that Street and Smith's *New Buffalo Bill Weekly*, published in 1912, was “the last genuine dime novel.” Pulp magazines, most of the general adventure variety, thrived, while Street and Smith contributed *Detective Story* (1915), *Western Story* (1919), and *Love Story* (1921). Created by a young woman, Amita Fairgrieve, *Love Story* began as a quarterly but ended up as a weekly. By 1938, *Love Story* produced a score of imitators, including *True Love Stories*, *Pocket Love*, *Romantic Range*, and *Real Love*. Selling as many as 10 million copies by the 1930s, the pulps suffered from heightened production charges during the following decade. The death-knell of pulp magazines was ushered in by radio, television, and 25 cent paperback books. Along with other publishers, Street and Smith began emphasizing publications that garnered large advertising budgets.

Street and Smith was known for far more than its pulp, producing periodicals like *Popular Magazine*, which began in 1903 as a quarterly intended “for boys and ‘Old Boys,’” but soon became an action, adventure, and outdoors semimonthly. With a circulation of



nearly a quarter of a million, *Popular Magazine* was published until 1928. Upton Sinclair contributed to the publication, as did top pulp authors such as B. M. Bower, H. H. Knibbs, and Rex Beach. Appearing in 1937, *Pic* began printing risqué photographs of young women, while posing questions such as, “Do White Men Go Berserk in the Tropics?” With World War II coming to a close, *Pic* became a more respectable men’s magazine, with its circulation surpassing the 600,000 mark; mounting costs, however, doomed it.

By the late 1940s, Street and Smith closed its last pulp and a series of comic books, opting to highlight slick periodicals like *Charm*, *Mademoiselle*, and *Living for Young Homemakers*. *Mademoiselle*, which targeted women from 17-30, had been introduced in 1935. Quentin Reynolds referred to Street and Smith as “a fiction factory,” while contending that the company had long thrived because of its diversity and readiness to discard increasingly unpopular publications. Family control of Street and Smith terminated in 1959, when the company was purchased by Condé Nast Publications, reportedly for \$4 million and stock options. Among the magazines acquired were *Charm*, *Living for Young Homemakers*, *Astounding Science Fiction*, *Air Progress*, and *Hobbies for Young Men*.

—Robert C. Cottrell

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## *A Streetcar Named Desire*

According to Brooks Atkinson, the major theater critic of the mid-century, Tennessee Williams’ urban tragedy, *A Streetcar Named Desire*, was “a modern masterpiece” that “took Broadway by storm.” Considered by many to be the finest drama of America’s finest post-war playwright, *A Streetcar Named Desire* made an indelible impression on American culture. Under the muscular direction of Elia Kazan, the incendiary play, which won both the Pulitzer Prize and the Critics’ Circle Award in 1947, was the follow-up to Williams’ 1944 debut, *The Glass Menagerie*; but whereas the earlier play was primarily a meditative memory piece, *Streetcar* is rife with activity. Its melodramatic structure, however, is never allowed to eclipse the emotional and atmospheric authenticity of the play. It is particularly revered for its multi-faceted characterizations; its rich

dialogue, which is masterful in its lyricism as well as its use of working-class vernacular; and the role it played in popularizing a new, naturalistic style of American acting, known colloquially as the “The Method.”

*Streetcar* depicts domestic strife. At the start of the play, an unmarried, thirtyish, out-of-work schoolteacher, Blanche DuBois, arrives at the home of her younger sister, Stella. Since both young women were reared in the lap of luxury on a lush Mississippi homeplace called Belle Reeve, the cultivated Blanche is somewhat shocked to find Stella living in rather squalid conditions in the French Quarter of New Orleans. More troubling to Blanche is her sister’s marriage to a loutish, “common” ex-serviceman named Stanley Kowalski. For her part, Stella is dismayed to learn that Belle Reeve was forfeited to creditors under Blanche’s watch. Clearly, both sisters have lost their social and economic footing, but while Stella is perfectly content in her rough-hewn but passionate marriage, Blanche is dispossessed, one step away from poverty.

The play recounts Blanche’s efforts to adapt to her new circumstances with her dignity and sanity intact, and documents her poignant attempts to conceal her advancing age, her professional failure and her highly sexual nature from those who might judge her harshly. “A woman’s charm is fifty-percent illusion,” Blanche confides to Stella, and Stella indulges her fragile sister, encouraging Blanche’s blossoming courtship with Stanley’s gentle co-worker, Mitch. But Stanley ultimately becomes Blanche’s destroyer, tearing away her tissue of lies and insulting her fine sensibilities. “I’ve been on to you from the start,” he bellows to her at *Streetcar*’s climax. His subsequent rape of Blanche causes what scholar Harold Bloom calls “a psychic rending” that is enough to nudge Blanche into madness. In the end, bound for a state asylum, Blanche leaves the home of her merciless brother-in-law and disbelieving sister, a lovely but broken spirit in an inhumane world. Her destruction is so complete that some critics, Kenneth Tynan for one, have read the play as a comment on the decline of civilization, the trampling of man’s finer instincts by the implacable brutality of the modern world.

Several of the play’s lines have found an affectionate place in the American vocabulary. Stanley’s anguished, full-throated cry, “Stella, STELLAAAA!” has become something of a cultural touchstone, and Blanche’s lilting final line, “I have always depended on the kindness of strangers,” has endured as Blanche’s perfect motto, as it utilizes a genteel euphemism for sexual promiscuity to reconcile Blanche’s poetic frailty with her more desperate animal behavior.

Though Blanche is the role of greater complexity and sympathy, both major characters continue to live in the cultural imagination. Blanche’s mix of cultivation, hysteria, and tragedy makes her an unforgettable creation, while Stanley, “the exuberantly macho American Pole,” in Ronald Hayman’s felicitous description, has been accorded iconic status. Much of this stature is no doubt due to the role’s close identification with Marlon Brando, for rarely has an actor taken possession of a role so effectively and completely. Many actresses have triumphed as Blanche (“a relatively imperishable creature of the stage,” according to Williams), not only Jessica Tandy in the original production, but Vivien Leigh in the 1951 film version, and in the 1990s, Jessica Lange on stage and television. But as for Stanley, Brando’s remains the definitive interpretation. His Stanley is cunning, explosive, overtly sexual, and the ways in which the actor communicated character through his body language was startlingly modern to 1947 audiences, a living advertisement for the Method and



Marlon Brando and Vivian Leigh star in the film adaptation of Tennessee Williams' play *A Street Car Named Desire*.

the acting school that advanced it, Lee Strasberg's Actor's Studio. It is ironic that in early drafts of the play this emblem of machismo appeared as a considerably more androgynous figure. According to *New Republic* writer Geoffrey O'Brien, the final product in the form of Brando—grunting and sweating with exhibitionistic virility—"proposed a different way for men to be. Talking was small part of it."

After originating the role on Broadway, Brando revived his performance for the acclaimed 1951 film, which was also directed by Kazan. Original Broadway cast members Kim Hunter (Stella) and Karl Malden (Mitch) recreated their supporting roles, carrying off Academy Awards for their efforts. Oscars were also awarded to the film for Best Picture, and to Leigh as Best Actress; oddly, only Brando was passed over (he won three years later for the Kazan-directed *On the Waterfront*).

The great success of the Kazan movie adaptation has deterred any subsequent attempts to film the play as a feature. However, television producers have proven more intrepid; prior to the 1995 version that starred Jessica Lange and Alec Baldwin, Ann-Margret and Treat Williams filled the shoes of Blanche and Stanley for the

1984 TV movie, and the play continues to be performed at both the amateur and professional levels all over the world. Composer Andre Previn based an opera on the play, and debuted it at the San Francisco Opera House in 1998 (Previn's *Streetcar* was also broadcast on public television that year), further attesting to the enduring legacy of Williams' masterpiece.

—Drew Linsky

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## Streisand, Barbra (1942—)

Since she first got her break on the Broadway stage in 1962, Barbra Streisand has elicited extreme reactions from her public and from critics. Either adored or detested, the Streisand persona has, almost from the beginning, been larger than life. Indeed, it has almost overshadowed her considerable talents as singer, actress, director, producer, and writer. Though she has often been confused, frightened, and angered by both the homage and the vitriol heaped upon her, she has remained a strong personality, a productive artist, and a phenomenon in the entertainment field.

Born Barbara Joan Streisand in 1942, in Brooklyn, New York, to Jewish working-class parents, Streisand's father died when she was 15 months old. Within a few years her mother had remarried. Streisand's stepfather was an emotionally abusive man, who her mother described as "allergic to children." Her mother was undemonstrative, calling her daughter "ugly" and ridiculing the young Barbara's aspirations to be an actress. Streisand, however, was not to be deterred and as a young girl she sang in the halls of her



Barbra Streisand

Flatbush apartment building, learning to appreciate the sound of her own voice as it echoed off the walls. As a teenager she began taking acting lessons and haunting the theaters and clubs of Manhattan's Greenwich Village, seeking an entrance to the stage.

She moved to the Village in 1960. Although she wanted to become an actress, friends who heard her sing encouraged her to enter talent night at a local club, and soon she embarked on a career as a cabaret singer, dropping the middle "a" from her name so that it would stand out. Her vibrant soprano soon won Streisand a loyal local audience, mostly of gay men. Working in the Village she also met the drag queens who worked the clubs and learned from them the campy flamboyance of the diva, which she used to cover her insecurity on-stage.

Her big break came in the 1962 show *I Can Get It for You Wholesale*, when she was cast as the frumpy Miss Marmelstein. Making the most of a small part, Streisand impressed critics and audience, and, when she sang her one song, she stopped the show. The following year, *The Barbra Streisand Album* was released and won the Grammy Award for Album of the Year.

In 1964, she was cast in the leading role of the new play *Funny Girl*, playing comic and singer Fanny Brice. The role could have been made for her, as Brice too was a Jewish girl, not conventionally pretty, but with a powerful talent and an intense will to succeed. The play was a success—23 curtain calls on opening night—and overnight Streisand became a star. The girl whose mother had recommended she give up the stage and seek a secure secretarial job was on the cover of *Time* and *Life* magazines, and on television. *My Name is Barbra*, the first of many Streisand television specials, won an Emmy in 1965.

Streisand's voice has always been her most dependable asset. Most comfortable singing show tunes and popular classics, she has sung everything from Christmas carols to rock 'n' roll. Since 1964, she has sold more than 60 million records. Thirty-eight of her albums have made the top 40, and at least 24 have sold one million copies, more than anyone except Elvis Presley and the Beatles. She has won eight Grammy Awards, was named a Grammy Legend in 1992, and won a Grammy Lifetime Achievement Award in 1995. But she never lost her insecurity about performing on stage, and after she received death threats before a concert in New York's Central Park in 1967, she stopped giving public concerts. It was almost 30 years later, in 1993, that she performed for an audience again, doing what she called her last concert tour.

As an actress, Streisand's work has been less universally acclaimed. After starring in the movie of *Funny Girl*, for which she won the Academy Award for best actress, Streisand went on to make many films; some successes like *The Way We Were* in 1973; and some failures, like *The Main Event* in 1977. Many, like *A Star Is Born* (1976) were critical flops, but did well at the box office, proving the loyalty of Streisand's fans.

Often accused of trying to control production in the films she appeared in, Streisand wanted to direct films herself. In 1983, she realized her dream by becoming the first woman to co-write, direct, produce, and star in a feature film. *Yentl* was the story of a Jewish girl in eighteenth-century Russia who disguised herself as a boy so that she could go to school and gain the education that was forbidden to girls. The project was close to Streisand's heart and she was hurt and angered by the mixed critical reception and the almost total snubbing of the film by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. She went on to direct and produce other films, but continued to be ignored by the Academy. Even when her film *Prince of Tides* was nominated

for Best Picture, she did not receive the Best Director nomination traditionally given to Best Picture nominees.

The motion picture establishment and many critics have been hard on Barbra Streisand. Even audiences have been polarized, some loving her ethnic looks and Brooklyn accent, others finding her abrasive and ugly. Her reputation in Hollywood ranges from hard-working perfectionist to neurotic narcissist. She has defended herself against accusations of egotism by citing the sexism of the Hollywood system. "A man is forceful," she has said, "a woman is pushy . . . He's assertive—she's aggressive. He strategizes—she manipulates."

As a young singer, Streisand's raw emotion, ineffectively masked by awkward brashness and affected diva mannerisms, touched a chord with audiences. They identified with her endearing insecurity, respected her refusal to change her nose or her accent, and admired her drive to succeed and be respected. Streisand's response to the adoration of her fans has been complex. Stunned and overwhelmed by her sudden popularity after *Funny Girl*, she called the crowds that mobbed the stage door "the crazies," and slipped out alternate exits to avoid them. As she has achieved the success she sought, Streisand has become more polished. Her speech has softened, and, while she has still not changed her nose, in part fearful of affecting her voice, her face and body show the effects of expensive care. She treats her fans with respect but still keeps aloof. Her fans, who have seen her progress flamboyantly through three decades of fashion and ideology, seem to welcome each transformation.

Unlike many performers who got their start before gay audiences, Streisand has never tried to distance herself from her gay fans. She has remained an icon among gay men and cheerfully acknowledges the connection, joking on-stage about being outdone by a group of Barbra drag queens, and even hiring a Barbra impersonator to fool her friends at a party. In a serious vein, she has raised money for AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) research, made a television movie about the career of lesbian coast guard officer Margarethe Cammermeyer, and spearheaded a celebrity boycott of Colorado after anti-gay legislation passed there.

Politically liberal and wealthy (in 1997, her worth was estimated at \$100 million), she created the Streisand Foundation, which donates money to such causes as civil rights, AIDS, and the environment. With the election of Bill Clinton as president, she became a frequent visitor to Washington and an active fund-raiser for the Democratic party. Though she sometimes drew ridicule for speaking about politics, she insisted on the rights of artists to free expression, and on respect for liberal traditions.

Though her career, like her persona, has often been controversial, and though she has not always lived up to the expectations of critics or fans, Barbra Streisand accomplished what she intended from the beginning—she became a star. "I always knew I would be famous. . . I was never contented. . . I wanted to prove to the world that they shouldn't make fun of me."

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Strip Joints/Striptease

Strip joints feature females engaging in provocative dance and titillating disrobing for a predominantly male clientele. Some strip joints do cater to females with male strippers like the Chippendales. Antecedents of the modern striptease include the auletrides of ancient Greece, geishas of Japan, belly dancers of Arabia, and a variety of singing and dancing "strumpets" found throughout history.

Dance is a self-conscious display of personal charms for excitation. Virtually all species of animals, birds, and fishes engage in conscious display to stimulate sexual excitement and attraction. Striptease adds simultaneous disrobing to the dance. Striptease costumes often use clothing associated with the mores and taboos of society, including religious taboos (the nun's habit and crucifix), sexual taboos (the school girl uniform and anklet socks), hunting fetishes (feathers and animal skins), and socio-economic symbols



Burlesque queen Blaze Starr.

(jewels and furs). Removing clothes both flaunts mores and taboos associated with the clothes and leads to sexual arousal. The gradual revelation of nudity as the stripper's clothes are slowly removed evoke fantasies that lead to sexual arousal. The female breast has been the primary historic focus of striptease. According to Desmond Morris, *The Naked Ape*, the appeal of the breast is probably associated with the imprinting of the female breast on the male during early childhood resulting in a permanent sexual reflex behavior, in addition to the human erect posture and face-to-face copulation in which the female breast substitutes for the buttocks, which is the primary sexual stimulus of all other primates.

Modern titillation and tease was perfected in the 1860 music halls of Paris and London. After World War I, risqué nudity became commonplace in the cabarets of Berlin, reviews of Paris, and the nightclubs of the New York Bowery, where the term "striptease" was first used. With the sexual revolution, and the civil rights, woman's rights, and free speech movements of the 1960s, striptease became more mainstream and moved into the discotheques, theater districts, cinemas, and adult entertainment districts in most cities worldwide. As striptease became more widespread, it influenced popular dance by introducing sensual and erotic body movements.

In the late twentieth century, striptease evolved from titillating dance into more radical "show routines," "lap dances," "performance art exhibitions," and "sex shows." In the show routine, the striptease is continued to full nudity and to a full gynecological exhibition of the vagina, often with simulated or actual masturbation by the dancer. In the lap dance (and table dance) simulated sex acts are performed on the male observer as the dancer gyrates in extremely close proximity to the observer's body. Some criticize performance art exhibitions for seeking to exploit state and federal grants for arts funding and to avoid zoning restrictions by claiming to exhibit a more artistic and aesthetic rendition of many of the same acts performed in show routines and lap dances. In the sex show, found throughout Europe and the developing world but rarely in the United States, two or more performers engage in simulated or actual sex acts and copulation for the voyeuristic enjoyment of observers.

The strip joint, and its historic antecedents, have served a variety of social functions. The venue has maintained gender separation, providing a males-only retreat where affairs of business, politics, and sport could be conducted. This function was highly criticized by feminists who demanded access to those affairs. The strip joint also has provided an outlet for the male libido. Lewis Berg and Robert Street offer a typical warning in their 1953 marriage manual, *Sex: Methods and Manners*: "A woman should realize that all normal men are sexually responsive to the exposure of the female body. This is particularly true where strange women are concerned, since the male perpetually seeks variety. It accounts for the popularity of burlesque and girl shows in general, and for exhibitions of the strip-tease, bubble-dance, and fan-dance character. Few husbands, if any, are totally indifferent to these attractions." Thirdly, striptease has offered lucrative wages for female performers, some of whom lack the education, skills, or enthusiasm for other employment. Research has reported that many skilled and educated women abandon traditional careers for higher-paying and less demanding careers in striptease. Some strippers remain active into age 50 or 60.

Offering unconditional sexual stimulation, the striptease artist has functioned as a surrogate lover for noncompetitive men who fear rejection in the post-feminist social world. The striptease offers genuine entertainment and a ration of female companionship for males in military camps, gold fields, industrial centers, and other

isolated locations away from opportunities for social interaction with females. Despite the contributions of strip joints and strippers, they are relegated to low social status. Indeed, the strip joint is occasionally a front for prostitution, substance abuse, gambling, and other illegal activities. To limit their impact on the larger society, many communities try to restrict strip joints to certain locations safely away from schools and churches.

Striptease has been used as a symbol of both feminism and anti-feminism. While striptease represents the female right to self-expression and control of her body, it also represents the male chauvinistic exploitation of women as purely sexual objects for entertainment.

—Gordon Neal Diem

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## Stuart, Marty (1958-)

Beneath a rock 'n' roll hairdo that makes donning a cowboy hat impossible, and with a collection of flamboyant jackets that would have made Liberace jealous, Marty Stuart emerged in the 1980s as a talented country instrumentalist—he plays both guitar and mandolin—songwriter, and performer. Born in Philadelphia, Mississippi, in 1958, Stuart first picked up a mandolin at the age of five. By 1972, the 13-year-old was playing the instrument with legendary bluegrass guitarist Lester Flatt. After Flatt's death in 1979, Stuart signed on as a guitarist with one of his all-time heroes, country-music great Johnny Cash and remained with Cash's band for six years before leaving in 1986 to begin a solo career. Stuart has also performed with such stars as Bill Monroe, Bob Dylan, the Everly Brothers, Willie Nelson, guitarist Doc Watson, Billy Joel, Neil Young, fiddler Vassar Clements, and Emmylou Harris. Songs penned by Stuart have been recorded by Harris as well as Wynonna Judd, George Strait, and Buck Owens.

Stuart produced his first solo album, *Busy Bee Cafe*, in 1982, while still a member of Cash's band. For this album, he enlisted the



**Marty Stuart**

help of fellow pickers like guitarists Doc Watson and Cash, Dobroist Jerry Douglas, and banjo-great Carl Jackson, catching the eye of CBS Records, which signed him on and produced *Marty Stuart* four years later. In 1990, with his first MCA effort, *Hillbilly Rock*, Stuart caught fire with country-music listeners in a big way. His “hillbilly music—with a thump!,” as he called it, had fans clamoring for more, and he served it up on the 1991 release, *Tempted*. The album allowed Stuart to focus on his own distinct style, especially in its best-known single, “Burn Me Down,” which had a long run on country radio.

*This One’s Gonna Hurt You*, Stuart’s first gold record, was driven up the charts by the momentum of *Tempted* and the celebrated “No Hats” tour he made with fellow country artist Travis Tritt. Released in 1993, *This One’s Gonna Hurt You* blends the best of bluegrass, delta blues, and 1950s rockabilly with honky-tonk swing, ringing gospel harmonies and some gutsy guitar work. One of the album’s most popular cuts, “The Whiskey Ain’t Workin’ Any-more”—sung with fellow “No-Hatter” Tritt—earned Stuart a Grammy award, his first Country Music Association Award, and three BMI songwriter awards. But Stuart’s proudest moment had already come:

in 1992 he became the 72nd performer to be honored by membership in Nashville’s Grand Ole Opry, the “high church” of country music.

The kudos heaped on *This One’s Gonna Hurt You* made it a tough act for Stuart to follow, and he postponed release of his seventh album, *Love and Luck* (1994), until he could get the mix of songs just right. Other recordings made in the 1990s, including *The Marty Party Hit Pack*, continue to provide a musical panorama of country influences that all come together under the musicianship of Stuart and his ever-changing, four-star lineup of collaborators, among them bluegrass fiddler Stuart Duncan, country vocalists Vince Gill, guitarist Ricky Skaggs, and banjoist Bela Fleck.

Throughout his career in country music, Stuart has consistently striven to keep alive the musical traditions of old-time country, traditions that continue to influence him greatly. On stage he plays country-rock pioneer Clarence White’s 1954 Fender Telecaster, and he owns several Martins that belonged to Hank Williams, Sr. and Lester Flatt. His tour bus is modeled on the one used by honky-tonker Ernest Tubb. He still likens his career to the tours he used to make with the Sullivans, a family of bluegrass gospel singers, during the

1980s. "You know, sometimes I feel like it's a crusade, or a mission, a crusade for hillbilly music," he once told an interviewer.

—Pamela L. Shelton

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## Stuckey's

If you grew up in the 1950s or 1960s, chances are you might have gone on a cross-country car trip with your family. And your journey probably included a stop at Stuckey's, a turquoise-roofed building along one of America's highways. At Stuckey's you bought gas, food, and souvenirs. You also used the clean restrooms and basked in the atmosphere of air conditioning. Finally, before you left Stuckey's, you purchased some candy, probably one of their famous Pecan Log Rolls. You were ready to continue your trip.

The 1950s marked the first time in American history when families were able to travel throughout the United States. These benefits came about due to the post-World War II economic boom and the availability of leisure time afforded workers in the new American corporate structure. This freedom was also greatly enhanced by the introduction of the Interstate Highway system in 1956. Highways had a tremendous impact on American life. Average annual driving increased by 400 percent while shopping centers, suburbs, drive-in movies, gas stations, and fast food establishments entered the popular culture.

And as people began traveled cross-country on these new 41,000 miles of roads, they needed gas, restrooms, and a places to eat—that is where Stuckey's came in. Vacationing by car became the American way after the war and Stuckey's was an important part of that experience. Stuckey's were especially prevalent in the South and Western United States. In the 1950s and 1960s, they seemed to be everywhere. Stuckey's billboards lined the interstate, "Slow Down, Stuckey's 1000 feet" or "Pecan Log Rolls, 4 for \$1 with gas Fill-up."

Stuckey's opened its first store in 1934 when Bill and Ethyl Stuckey began selling their family pecan candy to motorists in Georgia. After some success, they opened other stores along busy highways in Georgia and Florida and began including gasoline pumps, restaurants, and souvenirs along with their famous Pecan Log Roll candy.

While the Pecan Log Rolls might have been Stuckey's most significant contribution to America's sweet tooth, Stuckey's also distinguished itself with other items. Souvenirs like rubber snakes, T-shirts, novelty cigarette lighters, state salt-and-pepper shakers, and more recently, anything with Elvis on it, gave Stuckey's a lasting place in the hearts and minds of traveling American's during the 1950s and 1960s.

By the mid-1960s, Stuckey's enjoyed a virtual monopoly on American highways. During the early 1970s, at its peak, there were

360 Stuckey's stores in 31 states. But monopolies do not last forever and things began to change for Stuckey's. Fast food chains like McDonald's and Dairy Queen saw a golden opportunity to increase their business with highway travelers. Soon, even those fast food giants were joined in the competition by gas station-convenience store chains like Super America. And by the late 1970s, cheap air fares made long distance traveling by car less common. New highways were also replacing some of the older routes and many Stuckey's were left on less traveled roads. Furthermore, says one business analyst, "Stuckey's image became a little tired and often synonymous with our parents and grandparents. And the need for those personal touches traditionally associated with Stuckey's and those plastic souvenirs were replaced by fast food, fast service, and extended hours." Consequently, the number of Stuckey's began to fall in the late 1970s.

In 1985, Bill Stuckey, Jr., tried to reinvigorate the store by mixing some well-known brand names with traditional Stuckey's merchandise. More recently, Stuckey's has entered into partnerships with other fast food chains like Dairy Queen and Citgo, to sell Stuckey's candies and souvenirs at those businesses. The idea is to develop a number of Stuckey's Express locations within the more successful fast food chains. Finally, Stuckey's has replaced the turquoise roof and old pecan shop look with a more contemporary facade and logo. From its peak of 361 stores, Stuckey's operated just over 50 establishments in the late 1990s.

Stuckey's no longer rules the roadsides of America. However, the chain still sells thousands of its Pecan Log Rolls and souvenir salt-and-pepper shakers. But for anyone who traveled during the 1950s and 1960s along America's roadways, Stuckey's will always be a fond memory of that experience.

—David E. Woodard

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## Student Demonstrations

Colleges and universities have historically been centers of political dissent. Perhaps because university students are in a rarefied state of independence, suspended between parental control and the mundane responsibilities of adult life, perhaps because the very nature of university education inspires students to form opinions and to take those opinions seriously, students have frequently been leaders in movements for social change. As early as the fourth century, Common Era, throughout the middle ages, and continuing into the modern era, university students have protested against politics and policies they find distasteful. The 1960s, shorthand for an era that began in the 1950s and continued into the 1970s, marked a time of massive social upheaval. African Americans began to organize to fight the state supported racism that oppressed them. Women



**Student protest in the 1960s.**

and gays began to question the social order that kept them subservient and invisible. There was open dissent about government policies, particularly regarding the undeclared war in Vietnam. Citizens began to mistrust the government officials they had always been told knew best. And at the core of each of these growing movements were the energetic, angry challenges of the student movements, both in the United States and around the world.

Though media representations of the student protest movements of the 1960s may be content with showing long-haired demonstrators waving flowers at police, the fact is that many complex political movements evolved in the 1960s. Some students were deeply involved in these movements, while others were simply swept up in their wake. The 1960s really began with the formation of two radical student organizations that would exemplify major waves of student activity of the era, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC, pronounced “snick”) and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

SNCC was formed in 1960 with the support of a major civil rights organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, to give a voice to young black civil rights activists who were impatient with the careful tactics of their elders. Almost immediately, SNCC

took a more radical approach to the fight for civil rights, though it maintained a commitment to non-violence. SNCC organized demonstrations, became involved in the “Freedom Rides” campaign to desegregate Southern buses, and worked to reform voting laws. In one of its most successful demonstrations, SNCC was instrumental in organizing the Freedom Summer of 1964, when busloads of mostly white students from the north came south where they lived with black families and did extensive organizing, from teaching in the Freedom Schools to registering black voters. Besides the extraordinary accomplishment of public education and outreach, the Freedom Summer played a large part in the passage of the United States Voting Rights Act.

By 1966, impatient with continued prejudice and discrimination, the membership of SNCC grew increasingly radical. Members like Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown embodied this change of attitude. New catch phrases became, “Black Power!” and “Violence is as American as cherry pie.” SNCC joined with another new organization for young black militants, the Black Panther Party, and demonstrations were no longer peaceful sit-ins, but angry, threatening near-riots. The Black Panther Party also began to look outside the



United States for support, to countries like Cuba for whom revolution was more than a symbol.

Also formed in 1960, the Students for a Democratic Society put out its famous statement of purpose, the Port Huron Statement, in 1962. Drafted at a national meeting of SDS in Port Huron, Michigan, the statement began, "We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit." The statement was an indictment of modern American values and called for students to demand a truly "participatory democracy," and to fight against social injustice and materialistic capitalism. In 1963, in an effort to act on this statement, SDS formed the Economic Research and Action Project to put participatory democracy into practice. In the summer of 1964, 125 SDS organizers attempted political organizing among the urban poor in various cities across the country. But it was its mobilization against the Vietnam War for which the SDS is best remembered.

By the mid-1960s, television broadcasts of wartime violence and American casualties were causing doubt among many Americans as to the rationale behind the war, and the greatest doubters of all were college students of draft age and their friends. Demonstrations against the war sprang up on college and university campuses everywhere, some at military recruiting offices, some at ROTC buildings, anywhere that held some connection to the war. On April 17, 1965, SDS organized the first of several mass demonstrations against the Vietnam War in Washington, D.C. Fifteen thousand demonstrators joined them. In November, SDS cosponsored another demonstration that drew 30,000 antiwar protesters.

Like SNCC, SDS members grew impatient with the slowness of governmental response to their impassioned protests, and the group became more militant. By the time over 700 demonstrators were arrested at an SDS protest at Columbia University in 1968, the organization was already beginning to metamorphose into the fiercely militant Weathermen. In 1969, the Weathermen organized the "Days of Rage" of violent protest and rioting at the Democratic convention in Chicago. Eventually, radical members formed the Weather Underground, which considered itself a guerrilla warfare group, and continued to be active until 1977, taking responsibility for 12 bombings, and releasing 22 political communiques and a book, *Prairie Fire*. While many radicals later disavowed their militant stands, many others, like SDS' Bernadette Dohrn, stand behind their youthful politics and continue to work on the left for social change.

Most students were not members of any group, but a large number felt strongly about the social and political issues that motivated the organizations. Raised by a generation that had been largely unquestioningly patriotic, the students of the 1960s questioned everything their parents and their government told them. They began to feel they had been lied to, that the privilege they enjoyed was tainted because it came at the expense of people of color both at home and in Vietnam. Most of all, they did not want themselves or their friends to kill or be killed in Vietnam defending the lie. Following the pattern of groups like SNCC and SDS, student demonstrations of the early 1960s were largely peaceful rallies and marches, with the occasional teach-in about the war or sit-in in a controversial building on campus.

Unfortunately, university administrations and campus police did not understand how to deal with such challenges to their authority and often responded by attempting to clamp down with tighter control, which usually resulted in greater and more violent rebellion. Along with antiwar protests, "student power" movements developed as students insisted on having a voice in the way their schools were run. The Free Speech Movement (FSM) at the University of California at

Berkeley began when the university attempted to ban student political organization on campus. When campus police tried to arrest a student distributing civil rights literature, 3,000 students sat down, immobilizing the police car, until beaten back by police with clubs. The FSM continued to protest the university policy, resulting in the occupation of Sproul Hall on campus on December 2, 1964 and the arrest of almost 800 students. Though large universities like Berkeley and Columbia are famous for dramatic student demonstrations, the wave of protest was nationwide and effected a broad spectrum of colleges. Buildings were occupied and even bombed in institutions from Washington University in Saint Louis to the College of William and Mary in Virginia. Student organizers reasoned that since they were fighting to save lives, both American and Vietnamese, damage to mere property was imminently justified.

Perhaps the most famous example of overreaction to student protest occurred at Ohio's Kent State University in May, 1970. Following an announcement by President Richard Nixon of a new escalation in the war, students across the United States rose up in a series of angry protests. The national guard was called out to control crowds of demonstrators at Kent State, not an unusual practice for frustrated administrators. With little training in handling crowds, overwrought guardsmen fired into the crowd, killing four students and setting off a fresh wave of outraged protests. Fourteen days later, a similar incident at Jackson State University in Mississippi caused the deaths of two students and wounding of nine others. Though these incidents provoked public horror, little investigation was done, and the guardsmen involved were never punished.

While American students were organizing demonstrations across the United States, around the world students in France, Japan, England, Spain, Czechoslovakia, and other countries were also rising up in protest against university or government policies. May and June of 1968, a turbulent year in the United States, saw a nationwide strike of students and workers in France. One of the differences between demonstrations in the United States and those in many other countries, especially in France, was that the European students often allied themselves with labor, protesting in conjunction with working people. In the United States, many working class people viewed protesting students with angry suspicion, as privileged brats who despised their achievements and denigrated their flag. Though some American students sought alliances with working people, others referred to them derisively as "hard-hats" and saw them as the enemy, the arms and voices of unthinking patriotism that supported the state lie and the materialistic American dream. These stereotypes—the wealthy, downwardly-mobile, foul-mouthed hippie and the "America, love it or leave it" narrow-minded hard-hat—often prevented communication between students and laborers that might have revealed their common interests.

There was some truth to the rebel stereotype. Counterculture young men did wear their hair long, both because it was fashionable and to challenge the authority that insisted they cut it. Young women wore their hair long and straight too, and eschewed makeup and bras and often did not shave their legs. Both sexes wore clothes that were casual to the point of raggedness. These styles were adopted by the youth of the 1960s, along with a direct mode of speech liberally peppered with profanity, partially as a reaction against the careful facades of propriety so important to their parents' generation, and partially to conform with the careful facade of impropriety so necessary to the rebel generation. There was a culture of protest and, along with its mandated style of dress and speech, it had its own literature and music. Radicals read Richard Wright's *Native Son*, Eldridge

Cleaver's *Fire and Ice*, and Angela Davis' speeches in the *Guardian*. They listened to rock music that was specifically political, like Buffalo Springfield's "For What It's Worth" and Country Joe and the Fish's "I'm-Fixin'-to-Die Rag," or to music filled with a raw and painful passion, like Janis Joplin and the Doors.

Student protests continue around the world, with each generation defining its style and its issues. SDS activist Tom Hayden described the achievements of his generation grandly, "We ended a war, toppled two presidents, desegregated the South, and broke other barriers of discrimination." While some former protesters of the 1960s might be more jaded as to the long-lasting effects of their efforts, there is no doubt that the idealistic energy of the youth of that period did change history. Richard Nixon later admitted that fears of heightened protest limited his escalation of the war in Vietnam. While racial discrimination clearly still exists in the United States, state-sanctioned segregation no longer does. Shortly after the dramatic demonstrations of 1968, both France and the United States lowered their voting age to 18. The Green Party in Germany continues to fight for the causes that German youth demonstrated for in the 1960s. For a period of a few years, the hippies and activists of the New Left felt sure they could change the world, and that passion is perhaps their greatest legacy.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

SDS was one of the largest and most militant organizations to oppose the Vietnam War. It grew from a small group of young socialists to an organization of over 100,000 members, with chapters on over 350 college campuses. The small Student League for Industrial Democracy became Students for a Democratic Society in 1960, and 1962 saw the publication of its Port Huron Statement, a manifesto critiquing American society and proposing student activism as a solution to the problems identified. The document was circulated widely, causing student interest in SDS to grow significantly.

In 1964, some SDS chapters organized demonstrations against the growing American involvement in Vietnam. As the war intensified, so did SDS opposition, including attacks on ROTC programs, the occupying of campus buildings, and student strikes. Media coverage of these protest activities tended to focus not only on the most disruptive and violent acts, but also on the most radical SDS spokesmen. The coverage was to the group's disadvantage—it tended to attract the most politically extreme young people (thus radicalizing SDS even further), and it gave the impression to middle-class Americans that SDS consisted entirely of violent would-be revolutionaries.

In 1968, SDS participated in the demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. SDS president Tom Hayden was one of the "Chicago Seven" who were later tried on federal charges of conspiracy to riot. In 1969, internal dissension caused SDS to self-destruct, leaving only a core of its most radicalized members, who soon began to call themselves the Weathermen.

—Justin Gustainis

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## Studio 54

A legendary New York nightclub, Studio 54 was infamous for its sexual licentiousness (nudity on the dance floor, topless busboys, a unique gay/straight clientele mix) and an eclectic/elitist door policy that integrated the beautiful, the eccentric, and a vast array of celebrities (the Jagers, Andy Warhol, Liza Minelli, Michael Jackson, etc.). Studio 54 was opened in April 1977 by Steve Rubell and Ian Schrager; early in 1980, they were both sent to prison for tax evasion. The nightclub ownership then changed hands twice before it finally closed in March 1986. Immortalized, in a fictional form, in the films *54* (1998) and *The Last Days of Disco* (1998), Studio 54 has come to symbolize a historical transition point: from the freedom and hedonism of the 1970s into the yuppie elitism and self-destructiveness of the 1980s.

—Glyn Davis

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## Studio One

Although it had its genesis as a radio program, *Studio One* became the longest running anthology drama series of the "Golden Age of Television," with more than 500 live teleplays on CBS from 1948 through 1958, and earned a reputation as a visual innovator in broadcast storytelling. A product of television's infancy, the series disseminated drama of a high order, bringing classical works and serious "one-off" plays to a wide popular audience, and sowing the seeds for a generation of Hollywood writers and directors to learn their craft on the small screen. While other series were known for psychological realism, *Studio One*, under its first producer, Worthington Miner, explored the technical and stylistic potentials of the medium.

Worthington Miner thought with his eyes, and focused on a highly inventive, visual mode of storytelling. For him, *Studio One* existed somewhere between live drama and film. It was a "live



Inside Studio 54.

performance staged for multiple cameras.” Whereas most dramatic series efficiently relayed a live performance using a static three-camera set-up, the camera movement was an integral part of the *Studio One* performance. The actors were positioned and choreographed so they could be shot through apertures in the scenery, and flying walls were employed. Elaborate physical productions filled the studio above Grand Central Terminal, and in the first two years of the show, Miner himself created 39 of the 44 live productions, employing techniques that kept audiences constantly attentive.

In a modern dress production of William Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar* during the first season, for example, Miner moved the camera in extremely tight for a close-up of the eyes of one of the conspirators, while the pre-recorded voice of the actor played over the live close-up. In this attempt to reveal thought, Miner jumped inside the character’s mind, using methods that both unnerved and excited the viewers. For *Battleship Bismarck* the producer featured inventive camera angles, tight groupings, and quick, live-camera cuts in place of post-production editing—he often used long, shallow sets that allowed him to shoot from sharp angles. He also employed arresting lighting techniques for outdoor scenes, as in *Macbeth* starring Charlton Heston, one of the show’s regular performers. This array of technical and stylistic devices created a specific form of visual storytelling appropriate for the infant medium.

These innovations were vital to the success of the program. Most outstanding dramatic material was already under option to Hollywood, which was not about to share it with an upstart medium that was perceived as a threat to the livelihood of the film industry. In addition, the film studios argued that kinescopes (a film of the image from the picture tube), which were broadcast later in markets other than New York, violated their rights to certain properties. Also, there were not yet seasoned television writers and television could not afford to hire established stage or screen dramatists. Consequently, Miner not only adapted plays from the great classical canon and other work in the public domain, but also drew on lesser Broadway vehicles and short stories.

In 1953 Felix Jackson became producer of *Studio One* and began his stewardship with a critically acclaimed production of George Orwell’s *1984*. He established the emphasis on original drama, most notably with Reginald Rose’s *Twelve Angry Men*, but despite these and other successes (*The Defender*) many of the works from the mid-1950s were “kitchen sink” dramas, stories of ordinary people dealing with a range of ordinary domestic and emotional problems. Larger social and political themes were largely left untouched. In spite of high ratings, sponsors and advertising agencies were generally unhappy with the quotidian locales and stories, feeling that they were sabotaging the implicit fantasies and dreams of consumerism

presented in their commercials. CBS and Westinghouse demanded that Rose's *Thunder on Sycamore Street*, based on an actual incident involving a black family moving into a white neighborhood, be altered. Fearing for the sensibilities of Southern affiliates and their white viewers, the black protagonist was changed to an ex-convict. Rose partially managed to subvert this revision by withholding this information until the very end of the show. As Erik Barnouw notes, viewers responded with their own predilections, and the sponsors and network discovered that they had unwittingly presented the type of controversy they had hoped to avoid.

Actress Betty Furness did the commercials during the first year's telecasts and continued to do so for the remainder of the program's life on the air. Her live demonstrations of Westinghouse's household appliances made her the most famous and recognized spokesperson in American television.

The shift to Hollywood and film allowed the networks and sponsors to create something more akin to the production values of feature films. Intimate, minimalist settings and the "marvelous world of the ordinary" were on their way out. Filmed productions for television had the potential for an economic after-life in syndication, while action-oriented genres, especially Westerns, could be churned out quickly on film. Sponsors were relieved of the worry of approving a new set of characters and a potentially problematic script each week—they, and their audiences, could happily identify with a few ongoing characters and personalities instead. In 1957, the amount of prime time programming originating on the West Coast jumped from 40 per cent to 71 per cent. *Studio One in Hollywood* premiered in January of 1958. It still broadcast live but was off the air by September.

—Louis Scheeder

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## Studio System

As Herbert Hoover's oft-quoted aphorism states, the business of America is business. But what this truism fails to take into account is the powerful urge for respect, for status, that accompanies the simple aim of making a buck. Though there is no aristocracy in America, not so far as recognized by law, no one who has ever thirsted after power and influence with only money as a weapon, and then come face to face with the invisible blue-bloods arrayed before the gate, can have any faith in this homily to America's virtuous democracy. So it was with the founders of the major Hollywood studios. Immigrants or the sons of immigrants, Eastern Europeans, and Jews, of slight education and deprived backgrounds, they knew from bitter experience to what extent they would be allowed within the provinces of power: not at all. So they created an empire of their own and called it Hollywood, a domain where they could play as philosopher kings or petty tyrants while they remade America in their own image; the better to be accommodated.

It all started in New York City, where several perspicacious young Jews—independently of each other—recognized in the nascent film business the possibility of future wealth. Unlike their competition, they saw that film, far from being a passing novelty,

would ultimately have a nearly universal appeal. This fact was not lost on men like Adolph Zukor, a young Hungarian immigrant who made a small fortune in the fur business, and whose story is fairly representative. "[T]here was something in Zukor that went unsatisfied," writes Neal Gabler in *An Empire of Their Own*. "It could have been that he felt his social mobility was blocked by the fur business; no matter how much wealth he accumulated, he would still be associated with something unmistakably Jewish, as the fur trade was, and slightly declassé, as all the garment trades were." In 1903, when a cousin of Zukor came to him for a loan to open an arcade of electric novelties and "peep" machines, the usually cautious Zukor thought to himself: "A Jew could make a lot of money at this." Zukor had an advantage that the purveyors of these machines lacked: from his years in the fur business, Zukor had become adept at judging the market. At the time, films were only beginning to be shown on large screens. Their more common form was the "peep" machine, where a brief film, like *The Great Train Robbery* (1903), could be viewed for a nickel. Zukor saw the commercial potential of movie theaters, and his experience in opening one bore him out. Zukor also perceived the potential market for longer films—"canned" theater as it were, a revolutionary idea for its time—and he believed that movies could both entertain and edify. He obtained the rights for an hour and a half French film starring Sarah Bernhardt, which became an instant success.

Across America, a similar narrative was being played out among ambitious first generation Jews, in touch with the desires of their audience and willing to go out on a limb to satisfy their only half formulated desires. Nickelodeons were popular in the immigrant community, and subsequently were viewed as somewhat disreputable by established businessmen, precisely because of that popularity. The Jews, who had no such qualms, made a killing and then, in their efforts to satisfy the viewing public, began making films of their own. At the time, Thomas Edison had put together a trust of older, more established film producers and distributors, with the intent of enforcing the patent payments he held on film equipment. Incensed, the upstart film producers waged a covert war on the Edison Trust, many of them fleeing to Los Angeles, outside of the long arm of Edison. Coincidentally, the sunny, clement weather in Los Angeles was also conducive to film-making.

In the 1910s a period of consolidation occurred, resulting in several large conglomerates that both produced, distributed, and owned theaters; thus were born the major Hollywood studios. By the mid-1920s, a distinct pecking order existed in Hollywood between the smaller, poverty row studios and the powerful conglomerates such as Paramount (Zukor's company), Universal, RKO, Twentieth Century-Fox, and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM). With the coming of sound film in the late 1920s, filmmakers had realized Zukor's ambition of "canned" theater. Paramount, MGM, Universal, Twentieth Century-Fox, and to a lesser extent, Warner Brothers and Columbia vied for supremacy in this period, each establishing a distinctive style and stable of stars that in many ways reflected the personalities and conceits of their respective heads.

With the coming of sound and with the popularity of films during the Depression, the studios found themselves shaping the entertainment of an entire nation. Many studio heads took their role as cultural arbiters seriously, and shaped their studio's pictures to fit a certain image. Zukor had a penchant for "quality" entertainment, scouring the European continent for artists and presenting his finds in lavish period pieces wholly devoid of any concern for realpolitik. Louis B. Mayer, who as a result of luck and business cunning had finessed himself into heading the conglomeration of three rival

companies, was preoccupied with family values. He perceived himself as a patriarch at the head of an enormous extended family (the studio), and by extension the viewing public. A man who had refused to allow his two daughters to go to college for fear they might acquire subversive ideas, he evinced the same concern for the viewing public as a whole. As can be expected from such a man, the pictures MGM made were wholesome things, and in the 1930s, Mickey Rooney and his Andy Hardy movies and wholesome sporting epics were examples of the good, clean fun that predominated at MGM. Universal and Twentieth Century-Fox had both made early successes in silent pictures, but were unable to adapt as readily. Universal, outside of their classic 1930s horror movies and a few lavish production pieces, merely weathered the storm. It was Columbia and Warner Brothers, both marginal upstarts, that adapted best to the changing current of American life, Warner with their fast-paced, starkly lit gangster films, and Columbia with breezy, wise-cracking screwball comedies.

Film succeeded so far beyond the studio presidents' dreams that they were soon involved in a continental search to expand the talent-pool. Agents and scouts were sent scurrying across Europe to lure directors, technicians, and actors to Hollywood. Ernst Lubitsch and Erich von Stroheim came early, impressed by the technical innovations in American films. Fritz Lang came later, a refugee from Hitler's Germany, as were an increasing number of novelists, playwrights, musicians, artists, and composers who, while playing only a marginal role, enlivened the atmosphere considerably. New York was not immune to studio agent's incursions. Throughout the 1930s, novelists and playwrights lit out west after the brass ring. Some, like F. Scott Fitzgerald and Dorothy Parker, were feted and cajoled into writing for pictures, and in turn, reacted with derision. Others, like William Faulkner and Raymond Chandler, were failed authors who relied on Hollywood to sustain them. Nathaniel West, whose books had sold as poorly as Faulkners, turned his bile into artistry, penning the caustic *Day of the Locust*, which would reign as the most venal, acerbic take on Hollywood until the much less distinguished *What Makes Sammy Run* supplanted it in 1941.

In 1939, the year *Gone with the Wind* and *The Wizard of Oz* were released, film was the nation's eleventh-largest industry, with studios turning out some five hundred new movies each year. A decade later, the major studios were losing money, and films' influence was slipping, superseded by its lilliputian rival, television. The HUAC (House Un-American Activities Committee) hearings investigating communist influences in Hollywood further reduced any lingering sensations of omnipotence among the studio heads, who were forced to blacklist some of their most notable talent. What damaged the studios most, however, was the success of an anti-trust suit in the Supreme Court in 1948. Investigations of the studios' monopolistic practices dated back to 1920, when the consolidation of production and distribution had effectively squeezed out all but a few independents, with the studios building enormous temples to themselves with their ornate theaters. Practices such as block-booking and blind selling enabled studios to cram a slew of mediocre films down the throats of theater owners to get the one film they wanted to show. By 1948, the Justice Department had finally drawn a line in the dirt. RKO was the first to cave in, followed in short order by Loew's and then the other majors. Hollywood would never recover.

The system these men created to sustain their vision, the studio system, lasted a little over a quarter century, from the mid-1910s to the early 1950s. By the mid-1950s, control of many majors had reverted to Wall Street and the pioneers were retiring or succumbing

to the stress of running a studio. Harry Cohn died of a heart attack in the mid-1950s, Louis Mayer succumbed to Leukemia, and Jack Warner lived until 1967 before dying of a stroke. Only Adolph Zukor, the grand old man of the studios, would live past his seventies, dying peacefully in his sleep at the age of one hundred and two.

For the common man—and the movies made the common man a recognizable demographic—the movies became, like the flickering images in Plato's cave, a simulacrum of reality. "A picture, all it is is an expensive dream," Harry Warner once said, and there is ample evidence to suggest that the studio heads themselves thought it so, and made their own version of America out of believing it. By recreating the world in dream form, they could supersede the accident of birth that delivered the studio heads to such a lowly station, and overcome the chance of birth that appeared to have precluded them from tasting the fruits of the high and mighty.

—Michael Baers

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## Sturges, Preston (1898-1959)

After a childhood abroad, a stint in the army, and a turn as an inventor creating kiss-proof lipstick, in 1929 Chicago native Preston Sturges staged his first Broadway play. From that nearly accidental debut, he fashioned a career in Hollywood's "Golden Age" that film critic Andrew Sarris calls "one of the most brilliant and bizarre bursts of creation in the history of the American cinema." Hired as a writer in 1932, by 1940 Sturges became the first screenplay author to direct his own script when he penned and directed *Christmas in July*, *Remember the Night*, and Academy Award winner, *The Great McGinty*. By 1944 he had secured his lasting legacy with signature romantic comedies: *The Lady Eve* and *Sullivan's Travels* (both 1941), *The Palm Beach Story* (1942), and *The Miracle of Morgan's Creek* (1944). Sturges was hailed for his brilliance in studio publicity and for his movies' eccentric, visionary critiques of American society.

—Elizabeth Haas

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## Styron, William (1925—)

The novels of William Styron have won major literary awards, received tremendous popular attention, and been the subject of controversy. Styron's two best known novels, *The Confessions of Nat Turner* (1967) and *Sophie's Choice* (1979), deal respectively with an American slave rebellion and the Holocaust. *The Confessions of Nat Turner*, based on a documented revolt by slaves in Virginia's Tidewater area in 1831, won the Pulitzer Prize, yet sparked much hostile criticism from black writers and critics. Many charged Styron with historical falsification while others believed it was unconscionable for a white novelist to presume to enter the mind of a black slave. *Sophie's Choice*, set in post-World War II Brooklyn, is the story of an Auschwitz survivor who is plagued by horrible memories and caught in a turbulent love relationship. Styron has also chronicled his battle with depression in a memoir, *Darkness Visible* (1992).

—James Schiff

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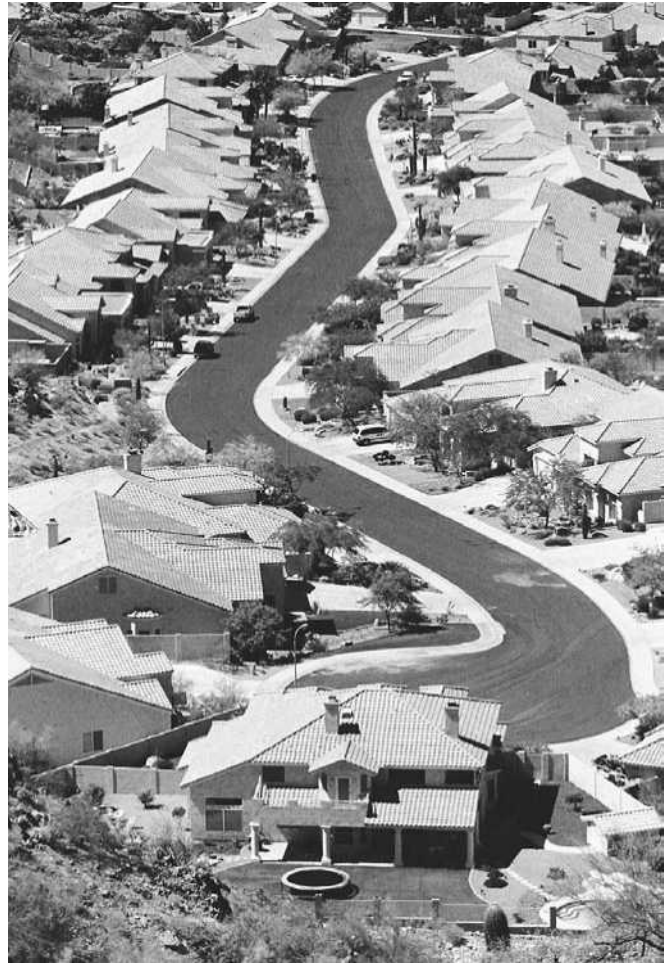
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## Suburbia

The development of suburbs—residential communities on the outskirts of cities—was one of the most dominant features of American life in the twentieth century. Far from being merely a way Americans organized their housing and ordered their landscape, the suburbs created an entirely new way of ordering American social life and culture. The result was a phenomenon known as “suburbia,” a term denoting not only a physical place but often a cultural and social mind-set as well. The rise of suburbia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had a major role in the development of American culture, extending long-cherished American beliefs in individuality and an agrarian ideal in new ways while simultaneously working to reshape both the American physical and social landscape.

While suburbia had its major impact during the twentieth century, it originated and developed in the nineteenth century. “I view large cities,” Thomas Jefferson once wrote, “as pestilential to the morals, the health, and the liberties of man.” Jefferson's anti-urban view was shared by a growing number of people in the nineteenth century. As cities became crowded with people, bringing



A suburb in south Phoenix, 1998.

increased sanitation, transportation, and crime problems, those Americans who could afford to, namely the growing middle class, began moving to larger, single-family homes on the outskirts of major American cities. This was in direct opposition to European cities, where the middle and upper classes preferred to remain in the central city, and poorer people were pushed to the outskirts. Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, work and home were closely intertwined, and cities reflected this mixture as well with residential buildings coexisting with commercial ones. As industrialization advanced, home and work became increasingly separated as men went off to work and women stayed at home. New innovations in transportation, from ferries and omnibuses to steam railroads and horse-drawn streetcars, helped make this transition possible.

These new 1840s and 1850s suburbs contributed to the monumental shift in middle-class culture in key ways. New suburban homes became a measure of success for these middle classes, a way of telling the world they had arrived. Having money and success meant that the man of the house was able to move his family out of the increasingly grimy and dangerous city to a more pastoral, Edenic place separated from the world of work and commerce. It also allowed these families to reestablish at least a symbolic connection to Jefferson's agrarian ideal, where every family owned its own piece of land and thus remained independent—a key necessity for the success

of liberty, and thus the republic. With fewer people making their living in farming as the century progressed, suburban homes with their often ornate gardens offered the closest approximation possible to this agrarian ideal. The suburbs also contributed to the development of the cult of domesticity. Separated from the world of work in their suburban enclaves, women were placed at the center of the domestic world, caring for hearth and home, husband and children, a role exalted as one of supreme importance. Women were viewed as the centers of morality and the important transmitters of this morality to their children and thus to future generations.

These ideals were not unique to the nineteenth century. The exaltation of the domestic sphere for women, the intense desire of Americans to own their own homes, the need to keep some kind of connection to the rural past in an increasingly urbanized present, the desire for social status, and the need for physical and economic security continued to find resonance within American culture throughout the twentieth century. Transportation factors again played an important role, from the development of streetcars in the late nineteenth century to the increasing dominance of the automobile after the 1920s and particularly after the development of the national highway system that began in the 1950s. Suburbs throughout the twentieth century continued to act as an increasingly attractive alternative to inner-city living for those who could afford it. Suburbs grew tremendously throughout the 1920s and 1930s, as bungalow houses and other styles sprang up one after the other on the more affluent sides of major cities around the United States. Throughout this period, suburbs remained closely tied to their urban cores, and their growth accompanied the larger process of urbanization occurring in the United States. In 1920, the number of people living in urban centers became a majority of the population (51.7 percent) for the first time.

With this increase in urban growth, developers across the country took advantage of the continuing desire for suburban living, buying up huge parcels of suburban land and developing it into neighborhoods and subdivisions. One of the most successful was J. C. Nichols of Kansas City, Missouri, whose Country Club District development played upon the deep cultural imperatives behind suburbanization. Nichols combined the lure of the new with the pastoral beauty of the past. His homes built during the 1920s had the most modern of conveniences: gas and electric service, the latest household appliances, and access to transportation connections. He set the homes amid a park-like setting, with generous set-back lines from the street, and ensured his development's success by enacting permanent deed restrictions that limited the extent to which residents could change their houses and yards. He also enacted racially restrictive covenants, ensuring that no resident sold his or her house to African Americans, Jews, or members of other minority groups. In doing so, Nichols ensured that his development remained exclusive. His homes were expensive, and both he and his buyers made sure their investments did not decline in value. More importantly, these restrictions preserved the reason many people were moving to the suburbs in the first place: to avoid the problems (and peoples) of the cities and to provide an environment in which they would not only be surrounded by the bounty of nature, but also by their own kind of people. Nichols's formula, and success, proved a powerful example to developers across the country who mimicked the restrictive covenants, design, and prestige of Nichols's Country Club District. Many similar developments sprang up across the United States during the 1920s.

The depression of the 1930s, and the collapse of the housing market, brought a temporary end to the great wave of exclusive

suburban developments, but suburbia, and the needs it served, was hardly finished. After World War II, the United States experienced its greatest wave of suburban development, one that showed little sign of abating at the end of the 1990s. The same cultural factors that had influenced suburban development in the period in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries remained in the postwar period. One crucial difference was that as suburbia grew, it became available to a wider spectrum of Americans, reflecting the growth of the middle class during the postwar economic boom; however, it still remained largely closed to minorities. No longer were suburbs the exclusive domain of the well-to-do. Indeed, it is the 1950s that many associate with the suburbs, even though they existed long before, and continued long after, that decade. That association is the result of the vast cultural and social impact suburbia had on the United States in the postwar years.

The widening access to suburbia largely can be attributed to one man, developer William Levitt. Like his predecessor Nichols, Levitt's approach proved immensely successful and thus very popular, spawning an untold number of imitators. Levitt's idea was rather simple: he brought mass-production techniques and low prices to suburban housing just as Henry Ford had done in the automobile industry. Taking advantage of the great demand for housing, and benefiting from federal government housing policies which provided mortgage guarantees for both developers and homeowners, Levitt purchased a large parcel of rural land in suburban Long Island. There, he used mass-production techniques to construct more than ten thousand small, inexpensive homes. All were virtually identical, and all sold almost immediately. They proved immensely popular with young couples eager to raise their new families in a comfortable and safe environment. The result was an almost instant community, called Levittown. With low initial and monthly payments for houses in such communities, many families could afford to leave the cities in greater and greater numbers for the relative space, comfort, and security of the suburbs. The result was "white flight," as urban whites moved out of the inner cities to escape the growing influx of black, Hispanic, and other minority groups. This population movement eventually took jobs, tax money, and a diverse population away from America's inner cities, contributing to the decline of cities across the country.

But for those who could enjoy these new suburban developments, suburbia had a strong impact on American social life, so much so that the suburban lifestyle dominated American culture from the 1950s on. Television shows such as *Leave It to Beaver* and *Ozzie and Harriet* centered around white middle-class families in the suburbs. Their lives were idyllic ones, representing peace and harmony. The suburbs and their images on television also worked to promote a reworking of gender roles. Fathers were usually dressed in business suits and were often shown coming home from work to discover the mishaps or other plot twists that had occurred during the day. Women were portrayed as homemakers content with baking cookies, making dinner, and caring for their children and husbands. This idyllic view of suburbia was not entirely incorrect, however, as the suburbs reinforced traditional notions of family and gender that had been challenged by working women during the World War II years. With the strict division of the home from the world of work, suburbia in the 1950s and after continued trends that had begun in the mid-nineteenth century. The suburbs also contributed to what many soon labeled the "culture of conformity." New suburban developments such as Levittown were homogenous places. Not only were the houses virtually identical, but their inhabitants were as well. These new communities were quickly filled by new families, many of them headed by young veterans eager to return to a normal life after the

traumas of World War II, with similar backgrounds, experiences, needs, and ages. Group socialization and the adherence to established social norms was encouraged; individuality and isolation were not. Many found this new environment appealing, but critics soon began to criticize the social conformity demanded by the suburbs. John Keats, in his book *The Crack in the Picture Window* (1956), attacked the conformity of suburbs as a “postwar, homogenous hell” of rigid social roles that produced an environment of mediocrity. Folksinger Pete Seeger sang in “Little Boxes”: “Little boxes, on the hillside, little boxes made of ticky-tacky . . . little boxes all the same.” And not only were the houses all the same, but the people were as well, going through exactly the same experiences, living in identical social boxes that, as Seeger sang it, might well have been coffins.

In addition to its cultural impact, suburbs also had a great impact on the American landscape and environment, encouraging the development of an automobile culture and suburban sprawl. Spread out away from cities, without access to older public transportation systems such as subways and rail lines, suburbanites depended on their cars for access to jobs in the city. This development was encouraged by the 1956 Federal Highway Act which provided more than \$25 billion to construct more than forty thousand miles of highways. It was the largest public works project in the history of the United States. In a culture that was already in love with the automobile, the suburbs encouraged even greater reliance on them. The result was suburban sprawl. Instead of tightly compacted centers where most services, entertainment, and employment were easily accessible on foot, suburbs encouraged all of these functions to spread out. Thus restaurants, stores, and other facilities each occupied their own buildings with parking surrounding them. Some were clustered in strip malls or enclosed shopping malls, but like the suburbs as a whole, all were geared to the need of the automobile.

Suburbia also encouraged the unique American social phenomenon of obsession with lawns and lawn care. Among the deeper ideological bases for suburbia was the need to recreate an Edenic natural setting that was believed to be superior to the concrete jungles of city life. Preserving the image of life in a garden, however, was difficult with so many houses so close together. As a substitute, Americans began to view their lawns as each contributing to a seamless expanse of grass that created as much of a park-like setting as possible. Maintaining this lawn became an important cultural imperative, as homeowners were responsible for keeping up their portion of the “park.” Encouraged by magazines, advertising, seed companies, and often by homeowners associations’ restrictive clauses that mandated proper upkeep of lawns, lawn care became a major suburban activity. In suburban developments during the warmer months, weekends were filled with the drone of lawn mowers. Competitions were held in neighborhoods to establish the “yard of the month,” and people who refused to do their part were often shunned and occasionally sued for their noncompliance. The lawn obsession was also part of a larger cultural interest in outdoor life, and suburbs promoted such things as outdoor barbecues, swimming pools, and gardening.

While the classic 1950s image of suburbia still exists at the turn of the century, suburbs in the 1980s and 1990s were in the midst of change. The biggest shift came in the relationship between suburbs and the cities they surrounded. By the 1980s, many suburbs were beginning to evolve into self-contained communities where people not only lived, but worked. In Orange County, California (outside Los Angeles); Cobb County, Georgia (north of Atlanta); Tyson’s Corner, Virginia (outside Washington, D.C.); and in similar communities

across the country, suburbs became the locations for major office complexes that were home to thousands of workers. With their living and working needs now available in the suburbs, there was less and less need for suburbanites to travel to the downtowns of central cities. They developed into their own small cities that writer Joel Garreau labeled “edge cities.” That trend, which historian Jon Teaford called “postsuburbia,” was indicative of a new age in the history of suburbs. While still a relatively new phenomenon, this shift may also portend a change in the ability of suburbia to fill certain cultural needs. With work and home sites now close together, the role of suburbs as an idyllic retreat from the world of commerce was changing by the late 1990s, reversing a trend that began in the early nineteenth century. These developments, and the increasing concern over suburban sprawl with its often negative effects on the environment and on what many were calling a loss of community in American life, were still in their infancy by the late 1990s. The long-term effects of these changes on the historic roles suburbia has played in American social and cultural life remain to be seen.

—Timothy Berg

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## Suicide

While actual reasons for suicide stem from complicated and often indeterminate causes, the public is left to sort out the implications of what Primo Levi calls this “noninstinctive, unnatural choice.” In the early part of the twentieth century, suicide was a taboo subject. Popular opinion held that madness was the most plausible explanation for a person taking his or her own life. When suicides were mentioned in the 1910s and 1920s, they were characterized in terms of trends: *Literary Digest* once reported of “rashes” of childhood suicides, and again of college campus suicides. Suicide was seen as virtually a contagious disease.

The stock market crash of 1929 brought the first widespread acknowledgement of suicide in the twentieth century, with instantly legendary images of despondent former millionaires leaping to their deaths. As some news accounts of the time would have it, a person walking through New York City would have had difficulty navigating the bodies littered on Wall Street. Without question, the crash did



eventually cause a number of suicides, but as John Kenneth Galbraith reported, statistics suggest that the “suicide wave” of 1929 was largely a myth: “For several years before 1929, the suicide rate had been gradually rising. It continued to increase in that year, with a further and much sharper increase in 1930, 1931, and 1932—years when there were many things besides the stock market to cause people to conclude that life was no longer worth living.” This notwithstanding, the widely-reported millionaire suicides expanded America’s understanding of the causes of suicide to include not only madness but also great financial loss. Capitalism itself became a credible contributing factor in suicides.

For decades, suicide receded into the shadows, until the 1962 death of movie star and legendary sex symbol Marilyn Monroe. Events surrounding Monroe’s death became fodder for gossip columns and investigative reports throughout the rest of the twentieth century. Instead of repudiating her for committing suicide, the nation shared her tragedy. Her death helped spawn the growth of suicide hotlines, where people who felt suicidal were encouraged to discuss their feelings with counselors. Monroe’s later well-publicized dependence on prescription drugs fueled the opinion that the pressures of celebrity became too much for her. With the acceptance that the public might have contributed to Monroe’s final act, suicide moved from private blame into the arena of shared responsibility. Unfortunately, statistics subsequent to her suicide also lend credence to the theory that suicides can be “contagious”; according to Herbert Hendin, “Just after Marilyn Monroe’s death, the notes of a number of suicides linked their own deaths to her presumed suicide . . . A sense of sharing the tragic death or suicide of someone famous . . . enables some people to feel that their death has a meaning it would otherwise lack.”

Throughout the 1960s and into the 1990s the pressures celebrities experience were also linked to drug abuse and overdose, nowhere more than in the music industry. The deaths of rock stars Janis Joplin, Jimi Hendrix, and Elvis Presley, all of whom accidentally overdosed, were received with a sense of tragedy similar to Monroe’s death. Though these deaths were officially “accidental,” fame had surely influenced self-destructive behavior. Other high-profile victims of the deadly combination of fame and drug abuse included comedian Freddie Prinze, who shot himself in 1977 at the age of 22, comedian John Belushi, who died of a drug overdose in 1982, and “grunge” music pioneer Kurt Cobain, with a history of treatment for a heroin addiction, who shot himself in 1994.

The connection between a creative personality and suicide has seemed particularly close among writers. The most prominent instances of the twentieth century were the deaths of Ernest Hemingway in 1961, Sylvia Plath in 1963, and Anne Sexton in 1974. While Hemingway’s suicide was attributed to poor physical and mental health, it seemed in keeping with his gonzo personality. The deaths of Plath and Sexton, however, seemed more tragic because they were comparatively young and healthy. Their deaths were especially indicative of the troubled female artist. As A. Alvarez writes of Sylvia Plath, public perception perverted her death into “a myth of the poet as a sacrificial victim, offering herself up for the sake of her art.” Her suicide intimated to the public that art had the power to destroy.

Religious fervor, long attributed as a cause for insanity and suicide, also showed its powers of destruction. When 914 followers of the Reverend Jim Jones committed mass suicide in Jonestown, Guyana in 1978, suicide became inextricably linked to religious cults. Jones was seen as a charismatic brainwasher who convinced his members that their deaths were, according to him, “an act of

revolutionary suicide protesting the conditions of an inhuman world.” Subsequent cases confirmed the apocalyptic and suicidal nature of cults, most notably the Branch Davidians in Texas in 1993, and the 39 suicides of members of the Heaven’s Gate cult in California in 1997.

The early 1990s saw rock musicians Judas Priest and Ozzy Osbourne of the group Black Sabbath defend their music in separate court cases which accused that their songs influenced teens to commit suicide. In both cases, the first amendment rights of the musicians were upheld. Still, Osbourne’s song “Suicide Solution,” as well as other songs such as “Goodbye Cruel World” by Pink Floyd, books such as *Illusions* by Richard Bach, and films such as *Dead Poet’s Society* continued to draw criticism for what some saw as glorifying the act of suicide.

At the close of the twentieth century, physician-assisted suicide dominated the headlines, with purported “suicide doctor” Jack Kevorkian challenging laws across the country that made assisted suicide illegal. In 1998 he appeared on the news program *60 Minutes* which aired a tape of him assisting a suicide. Kevorkian orchestrated the publicity stunt in an effort to force a Supreme Court ruling on the constitutionality of a person’s “right to die.”

While suicide remained complex for most Americans, by the end of the twentieth century the topic had emerged from the shadows to be discussed in the light of the shared public arena.

—Chris Haven

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## Sullivan, Ed (1902-1974)

Ed Sullivan, who could not sing, dance, or act, was television’s greatest showman in its early years. For twenty-three years, from 1948 to 1971, he hosted America’s premiere variety show every Sunday night on CBS, on which he introduced an eclectic array of talent that included everything from opera singers to dancing bears to Elvis Presley and the Beatles. Sullivan, a former newspaper columnist, appeared on the nation’s television screens as a most untelegenic presence. He was everything that a professional television host is not supposed to be—awkward, stiff, and prone to frequent malapropisms.



Ed Sullivan with Lucille Ball on the *Ed Sullivan Show*.

His real talent was behind the scenes, as a man who had his finger on the pulse of America's cultural tastes. He understood instinctively that a variety show should present acts that would appeal to the various demographic segments of its audience. Only on *The Ed Sullivan Show* could you see such diverse talents as Van Cliburn, Rudolf Nureyev, Robert Goulet, Richard Pryor, a plate spinner, and The Rolling Stones. With his distinctive nasal voice, Sullivan regularly promised audiences "a really big shew" and delivered by offering up virtually every form of twentieth-century entertainment.

Edward Vincent Sullivan was born on September 28, 1902, in the Harlem section of Manhattan, New York City, the son of a customs inspector. He was one of seven children (his twin brother, Daniel, died in his first year) and was raised in Port Chester, New York. Young Edward was a poor student, but a strong athlete who won ten letters in sports. Upon graduating from high school he became a newspaper sports reporter. In 1932, he joined the *New York Daily News* as a Broadway columnist and soon came into contact with many figures in the entertainment industry. While serving as emcee of the newspaper-sponsored Harvest Moon Ball dance contest in 1947, he was "discovered" by Worthington Miner, a general manager at CBS-TV, who asked Sullivan to host a planned variety series called *Toast of the Town*. The series debuted on June 20, 1948, reflecting from the beginning Sullivan's keen sense of diversity in programming. That initial episode featured Broadway's Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein, the rising comedy team of Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis in their first TV appearance, classical pianist Eugene List, ballerina Kathryn Lee, a group of singing New York City firemen, and six June Taylor dancers (called the "Toastettes"). Within that

single hour was something for everyone, from the highbrow to the most common man.

During his 23-year run on CBS, Ed Sullivan served as the cultural arbiter for much of middle America. He worked constantly to insure that his audience witnessed the very best entertainment available, as he was deeply involved in all aspects of the show. He booked all the acts himself, helped edit each performer's material, and frequently juggled the show's running order. Some claimed he was a dictatorial taskmaster, but Sullivan took full responsibility for the success or failure of each week's episode. In 1967 he revealed his show-business philosophy when he stated, "An audience will forgive a bad act but never bad taste." For a man who sought perfection in even his silliest performers, Sullivan always presented himself as a rather bumbling persona. An article in *TV Guide* once described him by writing: "Not since radio's Major Bowes have the airways been subjected to such a bumbling Barnum. Cod-eyed, cement-faced and so scaredy-cat stiff that he's been suspected of having a silver plate in his head, Sullivan has yet to complete gracefully the smallest gesture, unravel his vowels, or conquer a simple introduction." Sullivan's distinctive voice and mannerisms made him the target of many comics and impressionists, including John Byner and Will Jordan. While he may have been awkward, Sullivan knew his job was to introduce the talent and leave the stage so they could shine.

The format of Sullivan's show, which was re-titled *The Ed Sullivan Show* in 1955, changed little over its many years. It was basically a filmed vaudeville show with acts chosen to appeal to the broadest possible audience. Guests from the world of the classical arts included violinist Itzhak Perlman, dancer Margot Fonteyn, and opera star Roberta Peters. For a rare TV appearance by diva Maria Callas, Sullivan staged a full scene from *Tosca*. Guests designed to attract more middle-class audiences included Broadway and movie stars, such as Richard Burton and Julie Andrews performing a scene from *Camelot*, songs by Barbra Streisand, Dinah Shore, and Eddie Fisher, and Henry Fonda reading Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. Sullivan was very fond of comics and often invited Borscht Belt veterans like Alan King and Henny Youngman to perform. His most frequently returning comedy guests, however, were the Canadian team of Wayne and Shuster. For the youngsters in the audience, Sullivan was always sure to include a novelty act. These included acrobats, mimes, animal acts, and much more. The specialty act most associated with Sullivan was the lovable Italian mouse puppet, Topo Gigio, who frequently exclaimed, "Hey, Eddie, kees-a-me goodnight!" Occasionally, Sullivan would devote an entire show to one subject, such as honoring the works of Irving Berlin, Cole Porter, and Walt Disney.

By the mid-1950s Sullivan became aware that American popular culture was changing drastically. He helped to promote racial diversity by showcasing black performers, such as Pearl Bailey, Nat "King" Cole, George Kirby, and Leontyne Price. Other television shows refused to present African-American guests due to sponsor complaints. Furthermore, Sullivan began inviting rock and roll stars onto the show to raise its appeal to the demographically important teen audience. Elvis Presley made three memorable visits in 1956. Although cameras showed him from only the waist up on his last appearance to calm adult fears of the singer's swiveling pelvis, the fact that Presley was on the show seemed to legitimize rock to the adult audience. On February 9, 1964, an appearance by the Beatles earned Sullivan his highest rating ever. That broadcast is considered a milestone event in television history. Throughout the 1960s, more members of the counterculture appeared with Sullivan, such as Janis Joplin, Marvin Gaye, and The Rolling Stones. While he liked the

ratings they brought, he was often uncomfortable with their attitudes and material. He had heated confrontations with The Doors and Bob Dylan over his attempts to censor their songs. Younger comedians like George Carlin, Woody Allen, and Bill Cosby were also more visible in the 1960s. After 1087 episodes that presented over 10,000 performers, *The Ed Sullivan Show* left the air on June 6, 1971. Ed Sullivan died in October, 1974.

Ed Sullivan and his variety program are monuments to a form of entertainment that no longer exists. Today, the mass television audience has nearly disappeared and has been dispersed with the advent of cable and more specialized programming. *The Ed Sullivan Show* provided one of the last opportunities for the entire family to gather round the tube and be entertained by a single program. The show was immortalized by the hit Broadway musical *Bye, Bye Birdie* as the emblem of all that was good with television. For contemporary viewers it offered a rare opportunity to witness the performances of many of the twentieth century's greatest artists. As authors Harry Castleman and Walter Podrazik wrote of Sullivan in 1989, "He was good because he was a good packager of entertainment. . . . He could spot talent, knew how to balance an hour program, and didn't waste time calling attention to himself. We could use more hosts like him now." Sullivan's legacy is enshrined in the many "really big shews" that entertained a generation.

—Charles Coletta

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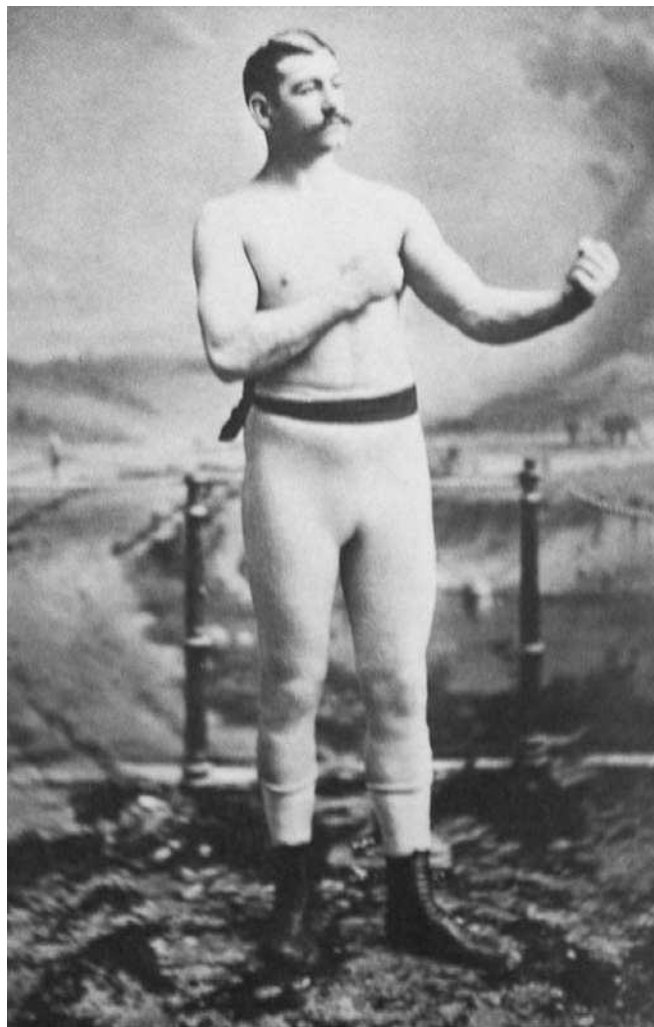
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## Sullivan, John L. (1858-1918)

Bare-knuckle prizefighter John L. Sullivan became a symbol of ethnic pride and working-class masculinity to the nineteenth-century, Irish-American community from which he emerged. Because of his boisterous claims to "lick any son of a bitch in the house" and his ability to back up his claim, many Irish Americans saw in Sullivan a way to take revenge upon the unwelcoming American society. The working-class Irish took pride as Sullivan knocked out his Anglo-Protestant opponents, yet Sullivan's popularity went beyond mere ethnic and class identity; the rest of American society slowly began to accept Sullivan as well. Because of his mass appeal, Sullivan became one of the first cultural heroes and sporting celebrities of the nineteenth century. Along with his rise in popularity, boxing earned a measure of respectability as a sporting endeavor. When Sullivan began boxing, prizefights were against the law. By the time he quit, boxing matches were a cultural event attended by all segments of society.



John L. Sullivan

John Lawrence Sullivan was born into the Irish working-class community of Roxbury, Massachusetts, in 1858. Like many Irish immigrants, Sullivan's father worked as a hod carrier in the lowest-paying of the new industrial jobs. As was the norm for the youth of his community, Sullivan moved into the industrial work force quickly. He worked a variety of odd jobs but was unable to hold down steady work because of a tendency to get into fights with his fellow workers. To support himself, Sullivan began to play baseball and box semiprofessionally. He complemented his boxing with neighborhood fights in theatres and movie halls. Sullivan and his friends soon earned reputations through such street fights. It was in these theatres, the Sullivan legend later suggested, that he first stood up and made his famous boast, "I'm John L. Sullivan and I can lick any son of a bitch in the house." These claims, along with strongman demonstrations of lifting beer kegs above his head, soon earned Sullivan the nickname "Boston Strong Boy" and the reputation of an up-and-coming pugilist. On the strength of his reputation, Sullivan issued a challenge to Paddy Ryan, the reigning champion.

Prizefighting in nineteenth-century America was a working-class amusement, and fights often took place inside the ethnic saloons that dotted the working-class community. Middle-class society frowned

upon the practice of boxing, so much so that bare-knuckle prizefighting was outlawed. Champions often held a questionable position within the community. They often split their time between boxing, breaking up barroom scuffles, and brawling at the ballot box for the local political machine. Paddy Ryan was just such a champion. By 1882, however, he could ignore the young challenger from Boston no longer and agreed to a bout. In February, Ryan and Sullivan met for the first time in Mississippi City, Mississippi. Sullivan dominated the championship from the start, winning not only first fall and first blood, but knocking out Ryan after nine rounds.

Now recognized as the heavyweight champion, Sullivan did not become, like Ryan, political muscle. Instead, Sullivan issued his most famous and broad sweeping challenge. He dared anyone in the United States to last four rounds with him in a gloved match and offered a \$1,000 prize to those who could. With the offers lining up, Sullivan began a whirlwind tour of the states. His travels took on a carnivalesque atmosphere with juggling acts and vaudeville shows preceding his defeat of whoever challenged him. From 1878 to 1905, Sullivan won 31 of 35 bouts, 16 by knockout. Because of his tour and the fact that he rarely lost his bet, Sullivan's popularity soared. Irish Americans across the country flocked to see the man who fought with both the colors of the United States and Ireland in his corner. Because Sullivan fought gloved matches, his bouts were legal and could be seen by people who had not watched prizefighting before. Sullivan quickly became a cultural icon whose name and image appeared in advertisements and vaudeville shows.

Sullivan was still considered the champion of boxing and, as such, was required to defend his title in a bare-knuckle fight. He had managed to stave off most challengers with gloved matches, but by 1889, Jake Kilrain demanded a bare-knuckle bout. Kilrain had taken a path similar to Sullivan's, rising out of the Irish working class by his fists. His impressive record combined with the accumulated effect of years of Sullivan's legendary drinking made the odds even at the time of the fight. On July 8, 1889, the two men squared off in what would be the last bare-knuckle championship bout. Despite years of hard drinking and weak fights, Sullivan had trained himself back into shape. Fighting under the scorching Mississippi sun, Sullivan and Kilrain faced each other for more than two hours and 75 rounds until Kilrain was unable to start the 76th.

Although Sullivan did enjoy a great deal of popularity outside his working-class community, not every one accepted his display of masculine aggression and violence. Parts of the American middle class, especially the emergent Irish-American middle class, distanced themselves from the bruiser from Roxbury. Many cheered when "Gentleman" Jim Corbett, a man of breeding who had learned to box in a club instead of the street, knocked out Sullivan in 21 rounds in New Orleans in September 1892 to earn the U.S. world heavyweight boxing champion title.

During his career, Sullivan earned more than \$1 million, but spent it all. He became an advocate of prohibition and delivered lectures on the topic.

—S. Paul O'Hara

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## Summer Camp

For over a century, summer camps have provided millions of American children with their first taste of the world outside their family and neighborhood. The first commercial camp began in 1881; at the end of the nineteenth century, a handful of camps served elite Protestant boys almost exclusively. In the early twentieth century, the industry extended and diversified its reach. At its peak in the prosperous years after World War II, about one in six children attended camp. Camp is still an important part of many children's summers: while the traditional eight week private camp is no longer as popular as once it was, in the late 1990s over eight million children and adolescents between the ages of five and seventeen attend a wide variety of camps—5500 overnight and 3000 day camps—each summer. While day camps, short-term overnight camps and specialty camps serve increasing numbers of children, many camps feature traditional activities that have varied little for generations: living in cabins with children of similar backgrounds; taking daily swims and engaging in other water and land sports, hikes and overnight trips; doing arts and crafts; singing camp songs and roasting marshmallows around campfires. The industry has reflected disparate and changing goals, but the basic premise remains the same: that camps foster community life, personal development, and skill-building, while providing retreats from the problems and dangers of the outside world.

Summer camp is a distinctly American invention, whose origins reflect the aspirations and anxieties of late nineteenth century middle and upper class life. First, as cities grew, particularly in the Northeast, industrialization and urbanization inspired some well-to-do men (and a few women) to travel to wilderness areas to experience the reinvigorating romance of nature, and its fortification for urban life. Second, concepts of child-rearing among the upper and middle class were in transition; as the birthrate among urban well-to-do families declined, parents devoted increasing resources toward providing a sheltered and longer childhood for their smaller families. Acknowledging that children had their own peer cultures, adults expressed anxiety about how best to supervise and guide them. Rural children had traditionally helped their parents on farms during the summer, but increasing numbers of urban children and upper class children had no set tasks over the long vacation. In addition, the first summer camps reflected the particular anxieties of their founders, a group of white middle- and upper-class Protestant men who worried about the effects of modernity upon elite boys' manliness. Youth leaders feared the enfeeblement of those who, they believed, ought by virtue of their class to lead the nation. Camp was to be an antidote to the "softness" of the modern work regime and vacations at resort hotels: a place where privileged boys would experience the toughening effects of outdoor life, albeit amidst the safety of select peers and adult supervision.

Given that camps claimed to be an antidote to modern urban life, it is unsurprising that they achieved their greatest popularity near the largest urban centers, particularly at lakes and mountains within a day's travel of the densely settled Northeast. While smaller camping districts—such as the Upper Midwest and the mountains of North Carolina—emerged in the early twentieth century, summer camps have always been most popular in the Northeast, where they first started. The Gunnery Camp near Milford, Connecticut (1861-1879) has long been cited as the earliest camp model. It was not a separate camp but part of the summer term of a boarding school; for two weeks each summer, the boys lived in tents by the sea and simulated the life of soldiers. Other early efforts included the North Mountain School of

Physical Culture, northeast of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, run in the late 1870s for “weakly boys,” and the first church-sponsored camp, run by the Reverend George Hinckley of Hartford, Connecticut during the summers of 1880 and 1881 near Wakefield, Rhode Island. Ernest Balch’s Camp Chocorua, which ran from 1881 to 1889 on Asquam Lake, New Hampshire, was the first commercial organized camp. Chocorua provided a model that camps of all kinds would cite for years to come, in which children with similar family backgrounds lived together away from home, sharing leisure activities, chores, camp rituals and inside jokes.

Chocorua, like later camps, lauded the wilderness but took advantage of modern innovations. The boys made their own boats and did extensive chores around the grounds, but within a few years they were living in cabins instead of tents, and the camp had inaugurated a complex financial system to teach the boys about modern commerce. In general, while many camps started small, with a few tents and a rowboat, if they were successful they sheltered children from the wilderness that they extolled, and provided comforts and improved recreational facilities as quickly as they could afford them. From the 1880s onward, innovations have run the gamut from electricity to miniature golf courses, leading to countless discussions among camping professionals about what exactly makes a camp “campy.”

At the turn of the twentieth century, the field of camping expanded to benefit the poor as well as the rich. Progressive Era reformers worried particularly about the plight of new immigrant children growing up in city tenements, where poverty and overcrowding bred malnutrition and disease. Hoping both to assert a moral control over potentially unruly new Americans, and to provide healthful and pleasurable activities in rural settings for needy youth, a variety of nonprofit and charitable organizations started their own camps. Settlement Houses, church groups, and charitable organizations all sponsored short trips to the country for poor urban children. At the same time, camping opportunities for middle class children grew as YMCAs, YMHAs and their female counterparts began to work more intensively with children and adolescents. By the 1910s, reflecting new models of athletic girlhood, increasing numbers of girls’ camps opened. New youth organizations such as the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and Camp Fire Girls specifically exhorted children to camp outdoors. By the early twentieth century, boys and girls of many ethnicities and social classes were camping at their own facilities (as in other forms of commercial recreation, children of color experienced more limited camping opportunities).

As ideas about child-rearing and recreation shifted over the course of the century, so did camps’ daily routines. Most of the very early camps had a decidedly religious character. Protestants, and later Jews and Catholics, saw in camp a means to reinforce their religious communities. By the 1920s, camping had expanded to serve a variety of interest groups, all of whom saw in camping communal possibilities that transcended their individual political, religious, and social differences. Zionists, Progressive educators, hiking enthusiasts, socialists, and military types all created camps in their own image. But they also were responsive to larger trends in children’s recreation. During the First World War, many camps adopted military drill and army-style discipline. In the 1930s, influenced by the pedagogical theories of John Dewey, a countering discourse stressed creativity, social adjustment, and personality development. One enduring legacy is the place of Indian-style ritual. In the first years of the twentieth century, Ernest Thompson Seton’s youth organization, the Woodcraft League, inspired many camps to “play Indian” by making teepees and totem poles, telling Indian stories by the campfire, and wearing

moccasins and headdresses. Driven by nostalgia and desire for pre-modern “authenticity,” many camps have continued to invoke Indian pasts.

Across the country, overnight camps flourished in the postwar years, as a generation of baby boomers grew to camping age. In 1948 the national umbrella organization, the American Camping Association, finally instituted national standards for camp accreditation, after decades of debate. But the years since have been rocky ones. Since the mid 1970s, more than 2500 camps, or about one in five, have gone out of business. In the late 1960s and 1970s, camp owners found themselves competing against not only trips to Europe but also the anti-authoritarian youth culture of that era. Camps near major cities and tourist centers have fallen victim to high expenses and the temptation of high real estate prices. In response, many traditional eight-week camps have inaugurated shorter sessions to accommodate parents who are scheduling their children’s summers more tightly around competing interests, including joint custody issues and alternate family vacation plans. In addition, traditional camps now compete against newer specialty camps which focus on particular skills or provide specific experiences: computer skills, weight loss, gymnastics or soccer, and bike tours across the country. At the end of the 1990s, 75 percent of all camps were run by nonprofit groups and social service agencies, serving children of all economic classes. In other words, the popular image of the extended vacation at a private eight-week camp does not fully reflect the experience of most contemporary campers, for whom the average stay is one week at a non-profit camp. But in the popular imagination, camps represent sites for children’s adventurous “coming of age,” rather than quick trips. In films such as *Meatballs* (1979), *Little Darlings* (1980), and *Addams Family Values* (1993), camps are a place where children and adolescents embark upon voyages of self-discovery, friendship, and loneliness, pranks of all kinds, and, if they are teenagers, sexual and romantic exploration. For adults who once attended them, camps often represent a nostalgic reminder of childhood.

For over a century, disparate groups have held in common the belief that rural spaces are healthier and safer for children, and that camps in particular can be spaces of social transformation, in which adults can teach children the arts of acculturation and good (class, racial, ethnic, religious, political and gender-appropriate) citizenship before returning them to their homes. Collectively, summer camps have shown an ability to change with the times and to accommodate different and sometimes diametrically opposed groups. They provide a window into the expansion of children’s recreation in the twentieth century, and to the changes in American social order that have enabled a widening range of communities to create children’s leisure in their own image.

—Leslie Paris

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## Summer, Donna (1948—)

Singer Donna Summer was the first and perhaps only true luminary of the disco era. Beginning with a breakthrough 1975 hit that pigeonholed her as a libidinous electrified diva, Summer recorded several albums over the next few years that brought her international fame; for a brief time her style even seemed to be breaking down racial barriers in American pop music. She was often referred to as the "queen of disco" and by 1979 had topped the charts with *Bad Girls*, the best-selling album by a female performer that year.

Summer was born La Donna Gaines in 1948 and grew up in Boston. As a youth, she sang gospel in her church and moved to



Donna Summer

Europe before finishing high school when offered a role in the stage version of the popular hippie musical *Hair*. She spent the next several years in Germany, married an Austrian named Helmut Sommer (and kept his name after their 1974 divorce), and appeared in theater productions before beginning to work with two successful Munich producers, Giorgio Moroder and Pete Bellote, at their Musicland Studios. The duo made minor disco hits for the European dance-club scene that were quietly making their way to the underground night-clubs frequented by gays, blacks, and Latinos in New York City. Such discos grew in popularity when a downturn in the economy made such clubs—with their five-dollar cover for an evening of entertainment—a preferable alternative to concerts.

*Billboard* magazine had introduced a disco chart in early 1975 after savvy record companies realized the huge potential of the emerging dance-club scene: certain records were selling in the thousands without any radio airplay at all. Summer had two minor hits in Europe, then suggested to her producers that they record something similar to a breathy French hit from 1959, "*Je t'aime . . . moi non plus*" by Jane Birkin and Serge Gainsbourg. What they came up with was three minutes of Summer singing the words "love to love you, baby," a few other phrases, and a lot of moaning. When the track found its way to a party at the Los Angeles home of Neil Bogart, who had made a fortune in the sixties with a label that put out bubble-gum pop, his guests clamored to hear it over and over. He contacted Moroder and Bellote, asked them to make a longer version, and signed Summer to his new label, Casablanca.

Summer had a huge hit in the United States with "Love to Love You, Baby," and a debut album of the same name went gold. "It was a disc that spun day and night throughout the summer of 1975," wrote Albert Goldman in *Esquire* just two years later. "To the layman, it was just another catchy tune; to the initiate, it was the first unambiguous sign that we were in for another epidemic of the dancing sickness—that recurrent mania that sweeps over this country and Europe on an average of once every ten years. . . ." *Time* journalist Jay Cocks wrote, three years after its debut, that the song seemed to signify "disco's coming-out party," the emergence of homosexual subculture into mainstream America. Goldman termed it "the first frankly erotic album ever to achieve wide currency and airplay. Broadcasting the cries and moans of a woman enjoying intercourse may not sound like much of a breakthrough in this age of explicit sex and rampant pornography," Goldman wrote in 1977, "but it must be borne in mind that phono-recording is the most oppressively censored medium in America."

Summer became a household name. For a time she had a constant bodyguard, since fans were known to trap her in elevators. She released a number of albums over the next few years, including two in 1976, *A Love Trilogy* and *Four Seasons of Love*. A less-discofied album, *I Remember Yesterday*, had a great hit the following year with "I Feel Love." The song was notable for what came to be known as the "galloping bass line," a thumping, 140-beat-per-minute backbone of drum-machine rhythm structure that became the staple of many a disco hit. "Donna Summer snapped her choruses over booming rhythm tracks that moved the artfully tied construction boots of gay men and the teetery hetero platforms of the Saturday Night Fever disco hordes," wrote Gerri Hirshey in *Rolling Stone*. Summer's 1978 double-live album, *Live and More*, sold millions.

In 1978 Summer made her film debut in *Thank God It's Friday*, and a song she wrote and sang for it, "Last Dance" won her one of several Grammy Awards that year. The album *Bad Girls*, released in 1979, featured a blend of rock and disco—much of which she actually

wrote herself—and garnered both good reviews and, again, huge sales. Yet it would also be her last for Casablanca, and in 1980 she became the first act signed by record industry executive David Geffen on his new label. She made *The Wanderer* in 1980 but had only a few minor chart successes over the next decade.

Despite her low profile for so many years after the death of disco, Summer has long enjoyed a cult following. The resurgence of disco kitsch in the mid-1990s—which helped breathe a bit of life into the careers of the Village People and the Bee Gees—was also beneficial to her. In March of 1998 she gave a benefit concert for New York City's Gay Men's Health Crisis at Carnegie Hall. "After nearly two hours of mature ovations and controlled excitement . . . the remarkably well-behaved audience could no longer be contained," wrote Larry Flick in *Billboard*. "As she began a salacious, guitar-drenched rendition of 'Hot Stuff,' fans rushed down the red carpeted aisles toward the stage." Summer lives in Nashville and hopes to see a musical she wrote, *Ordinary Girl*, debut on Broadway in 1999.

—Carol Brennan

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## Sun Records

Established in Memphis by visionary Sam Phillips in 1952, Sun Records revolutionized pop music. At his Memphis Recording Service, Phillips recorded blues artists and then started Sun as a home for some of them. In 1954 Phillips recorded Elvis Presley, whose blending of musical genres had a major impact on the course of popular music. In his book on Sun, Colin Escott quotes Phillips on Elvis: "He sings Negro songs with a white voice which borrows in mood and emphasis from the country style, modified by popular music. It's a blend of all of them." After selling Elvis' contract to RCA for \$35,000, Phillips had the capital to continue work with influential artists like Carl Perkins, Johnny Cash, Jerry Lee Lewis, and Charlie Rich. In 1969, Sun was sold to recording executive Shelby Singleton who went about reissuing many of Sun's important early recordings.

—Joyce Linehan

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## Sundance Film Festival

The Sundance Film Festival helped to revolutionize the world of American independent cinema by cultivating an audience for daring and innovative films, and often catalyzing theatrical distribution deals for such films that otherwise would not have a chance for release. In 1981, actor Robert Redford, interested and concerned about the state of film in the United States, founded the Sundance Institute, an organization devoted to the support and development of emerging screenwriters and directors. Quickly turning into a fertile ground for new artists (over 300 filmmakers benefit annually from its various film, screenwriting, and cultural programs), the Institute ballooned into the high-profile Sundance Film Festival, an annual, winter event held in the quaint village of Park City, Utah, that is attended by over 10,000 people. The festival runs over a period of ten days, and screens international films, documentaries, short films, and American independent premieres—making the festival the pre-eminent showcase for American independent films in the world. Understanding the importance of encouraging the spectrum of visions that film artists have, Redford and his Institute have helped to enhance the quality of American films, along with giving an array of talented people the opportunity to develop and refine new work. The Sundance Film Festival has also helped to launch the careers of talented, eccentric actors and actresses that mirror its hip, young aesthetic, such as Lily Taylor and Parker Posey. Because of Sundance's widely publicized success stories of past participants (Quentin Tarantino/*Reservoir Dogs*, Neil LaBute/*In the Company of Men*, and Allison Anders/*Gas, Food, Lodging*, for example), and the diverse and bold style of the films it supports, the festival has attracted a great deal of attention in and out of Hollywood, making it one of the most talked about events related to the film industry.

Studios tend to pursue more commercial scripts; stories that offer the guarantee of drawing in large audiences and funds. Scripts bought by large studios are often reworked without the original writer to match the studio's market-driven vision, and not the artist's. But with Sundance and its persistent focus on risky choices that were pleasing audiences, sleek studio executives armed with cellphones and celebrities began to flood the Sundance Film Festival, giving it sudden prestige. As American audiences began to lust after such stories, studio executives became more sycophantic towards their writers and directors. Wining and dining cutting-edge filmmakers, during the course of the festival they often foster careers that prove to be long-lasting.

Films screened at Sundance started a new trend towards dramatizing stories of a darker nature. Whether it be physical violence with an edge of black humor (Quentin Tarantino), or emotional violence (Neil LaBute), people were becoming more drawn to films that explored different terrain and did not necessarily have happy endings. Large studio films tend to offer easy entertainment. Even when they are sad, there can be excessive sentimentality that allows for an audience to have an emotional release and leave the theater satisfied after having had a good cry. But the new wave of films and



Carl Perkins, one of the original Sun Records recording artists.

filmmakers that Sundance was producing did not do that. Instead, they offered worlds with little solace or answers where characters were cruel to each other, as in Labute's film *In the Company of Men* (which premiered at Sundance in 1997, launching his independent film career), which told the story of disillusioned and bored corporate men who seduce a mute woman in their office just so they can have the satisfaction of dumping her. It is important to tell these kinds of stories, because they explore the intricate ways people relate to one another, which are often unhealthy. These films leave audiences feeling uncomfortable, and that is a new and confusing feeling, but not necessarily a bad one. There is nothing wrong with "feel-good" entertainment, but it is refreshing to have a film take chances with character, storyline, and behavior.

Sundance has even produced an "illegitimate offspring" in the form of "Slam Dance." Also in Park City, it supposedly includes films that were rejected by Sundance, as well as others, and holds its festival concurrently with Sundance's. Slam Dance, too, has caught on and now Hollywood executives have to divide their time between both festivals, always on the lookout for fresh, undiscovered talent.

Independent film's involvement with larger studios has not always been a smooth relationship. Writer/director Todd Solondz, for example, whose film debut *Welcome to the Dollhouse* hit big after premiering at Sundance in 1996 (it was the winner of the Grand Jury

Prize), was courted by a studio that wanted to back his next film, *Happiness*. But when executives balked at Solondz' delicate, dark story about a tortured suburban pedophile, Solondz would not tone it down, and was promptly dropped by that studio (another studio picked up the film, and it was released and received good reviews).

For two weeks in winter, throngs of entertainment people flock to the little town of Park City, Utah, as the world watches via entertainment programs and the news, to network and buy independent films. There is no restaurant, bar, or street corner in town that is without somebody affiliated with the film industry and ready to deal.

—Sharon Yablon

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## Sunday, Billy (1862-1935)

A former professional baseball player with an entertainer's flair and a mastery of idiomatic language, Billy Sunday set the pace for modern evangelism. His tabernacle crusades of the early 1900s combined showmanship with Fundamentalism and produced thousands of converts. His influence on the cultural dynamics of the country is incalculable for, while many doubted the sincerity of Sunday's believers, his "Elmer Gantry" style would be copied by American evangelists throughout the twentieth century, serving to increase and cement the religious right as a significant force in society.

Born William Ashley Sunday on November 19, 1862 in a farmhouse near Ames, Iowa, Billy Sunday seemed an unlikely candidate for the ministry. While a stint in an orphanage instilled habits of honesty, Sunday was also known to fight, drink, and chase women. He held a series of odd jobs until a baseball scout noticed his athletic abilities, and in 1883 he joined the Chicago White Stockings and enjoyed the boisterous life of a professional athlete. One afternoon in 1886, while out with friends at a Chicago saloon, Sunday encountered an evangelistic group from the Pacific Garden Mission. Intrigued by their singing, he accepted an invitation to services and was soon converted, joining the Jefferson Park Presbyterian Church a short time later. He continued to play baseball, but gave up his habits of drinking and swearing, and began giving inspirational talks to young fans. Sunday left baseball in 1891 to work for the Chicago YMCA. In 1893, he joined J. Wilburn Chapman's evangelistic services as an advance man, handling technical details for the revival



Billy Sunday

services. When Chapman retired in 1895, Sunday assumed his place and began a touring ministry.

Sunday's tabernacle crusades were conducted in temporary wooden structures with sawdust covered floors. While the revival meeting was not new to America—the tradition stretched back to the Second Great Awakening of the early 1800s and the camp meetings on the frontier—Sunday added new elements to make his events successful. Careful planning went into the crusades, and teamwork was essential. A Sunday campaign resembled a vaudeville show as much as a mission; advance men promoted the coming attraction, secretaries made local arrangements, and bands and choirs were hired to provide entertainment. In 1909, Homer A. Rodeheaver, a song leader and trombone player, joined Sunday's troupe, and the tabernacle rang with music and excitement in the build-up to Sunday's explosive sermons.

Combining athletic gestures with colorful language, Sunday harangued his audiences about the need to get right with God. He defended the brevity of his visits by saying, "They tell me a revival is only temporary: so is a bath, but it does you good." He linked religion to patriotism and upright living, urging people to accept Christ as their savior and to signify their intention to convert by walking down the aisle and shaking Sunday's hand. Thousands did so. A New York campaign alone drew a million and a half people with 100,000 conversions. The weakness in his work was that he did not encourage people to join any specific church, and thus many of his converts never became committed to a particular faith.

Sunday did not avoid controversial issues or tone down his Fundamentalist message in order to court popularity. He advocated Prohibition and wholeheartedly embraced the war effort, using religion to promote the sale of war bonds during World War I. He denounced Modernism in religion, advocated the enactment of laws to ban the teaching of evolution in schools, and was a friend and advisor to conservative politicians. Unlike most evangelists, who settled down to become pastors or teachers in religious colleges, Sunday remained a fixture on the "sawdust trail." By his death on November 6, 1935, he had led over 300 campaigns and claimed to have brought 300,000 souls to Christ.

By using the modern techniques of show business and linking religion not to intricate theology, but to common language and experiences, Billy Sunday established a unique American form of evangelism. Later leaders, most notably Billy Graham, would continue his practice of large-scale campaigns aimed at emotional conversions.

—Tracy J. Revels

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## Sunday Driving

A catchphrase that made specific reference to people who broke the Sabbath by driving their automobiles, especially during church

services, Sunday driving stood as a metaphor for what many believed was a nationwide decline in morality. For many Americans, the twentieth century marked an irreversible decline in everything they held dear. Uncontrollable “outside forces” seemed to be tearing apart families, destroying tight-knit communities, and eroding the foundations of morality on which previous generations had built their lives. Ministers around the country railed against these changes and identified the accoutrements of modernity as prime culprits: telephones, radios, movies, and professional sports all received a measure of blame for corrupting the American spirit. To many people, however, nothing symbolized the degeneration of the modern era quite as well as the automobile. And to ministers facing declining church attendance, a particular cause for alarm was the increase in Sunday driving.

Ministers were not the only ones who believed that Sunday driving was cause for public concern. In a 1922 article in *Scribner's* magazine, Allen Albert claimed that “in good motoring weather I have attended Sunday-morning services from Waycross, Ga., to Manistee, Mich., and it would be hard to find any pews emptier anywhere.” Ruth Suckow also illustrated the concern that the growing popularity of Sunday driving caused in her novel, *Country People* (1924): “It was a wonder to Emma to sit on the porch on Sunday afternoons and count how many vehicles went by. But grandpa wouldn't even try to count. ‘Ach, no! no! no!’ was all that he would say. This was all so wicked on Sunday!” In Nashville, a 1923 ordinance forbade any business to sell gasoline, oil, or automobiles on Sundays, and prohibited automobile service facilities from operating as well. “Everyone wanted to enjoy a Sunday outing in the automobile,” editorialized the *Tattler* in 1929, “but realized he was taking a big chance. He might run out of gas, have a puncture or break down miles away from home. Then the whole family would have to walk back.”

Despite protests against Sunday driving, however, the practice always had many more advocates than opponents. Some people pointed out that automobiles could just as easily carry people to church as away from it. As *Motor Age* commented in 1919: “Even the farmer in the remotest rural district may wait until the last minute, jump into his car and go to church, attend services and be home in less than the time it used to take him to get there alone.” Others, such as a writer for the *Christian Advocate* in 1920, rationalized that automobiles might encourage “many immoral practices,” including “desecration of the Sabbath,” but that “all good things are liable to abuse.” Some believed the freedom and mobility of automobiles would encourage religious celebration. “He . . . would take his religion out of doors, where God smiled and spoke to burdened business men,” wrote a writer for *Christian Century* in 1928. “In serene solitude he would drive his car over smoky and smelly roads, oblivious of all but the deeper invisible realities. To the care-free accompaniment of the motor he would raise hymns of joy to the God of breeze and field.” And of course there were all of the Americans who took to the roads on Sundays, disregarding protests from those who held onto older notions of morality. For better or for worse, Sunday driving became a standard feature of American culture—more notable for its unremarkable regularity than for the emotionally charged controversy it once provoked.

—Christopher W. Wells

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## Sunset Boulevard

Axel Madsen writes of *Sunset Boulevard* (1950) that it is “a gnawing, haunting, and ruthless film with a dank smell of corrosive delusion hanging over it.” A classic film noir, *Sunset Boulevard* is a cynical and decadent tragi-comedy narrated, in true noir fashion, by a dead man. Populated by faded silent movie stars like Gloria Swanson, Erich von Stroheim, and Buster Keaton, it is the story of a weak-willed writer (William Holden) who, in trying to escape his creditors, happens upon the mansion of a wealthy, but slightly mad, silent movie star who perpetually waits for a phone call from a studio which has long since forgotten about her. The handsome writer becomes a kept man who struggles to make it in the movie business, only to fall prey to his keeper as he tries to make his escape from her obsessive love for him.

Typical of Billy Wilder's sophisticated and cynical style, *Sunset Boulevard* is a black comedy about the casualties of the Hollywood dream machine, and those obsessed by fame and success in the cruel world of the movie studios. The film is filled with stylish settings and wonderfully biting dialogue, and it has attained the status of a cult classic with quotable lines like the famous, “I'm ready for my close up now, Mr. De Mille.” There is also a Broadway musical version of the film created by Andrew Lloyd Webber.

—Jeannette Sloniowski

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## Super Bowl

More than any other sporting event in America, the Super Bowl has truly become a cultural phenomenon. According to 1999 National Football League figures, more than 138 million people in the United States alone watched the Super Bowl, with over 750 million total Super Bowl viewers in 187 countries. The Super Bowl has become, according to writer Michael Real (as quoted in Dona Schwartz's *Contesting the Super Bowl*), a “mythic spectacle,” that “in the classical manner of mythical beliefs and ritual activities. . . is a communal celebration of and indoctrination into specific socially dominant emotions, life-styles, and values.” The Super Bowl brings together several institutions: sports, television, advertising, and the American corporate culture. The Super Bowl serves as an end-of-the-season celebration, glorifying revenues accumulated by team owners, advertisers, media outlets, and many other businesses that share in the tremendous profits generated by professional football.

The Super Bowl itself stems from a fierce rivalry between two football leagues. In 1960, the upstart American Football League (AFL) challenged the popular and well-established National Football League (NFL). The AFL was well funded and soon began to contest the NFL in a bidding war for college players. In 1965, the AFL scored its first major coup when the New York Jets signed University of Alabama star quarterback Joe Namath. Namath's personality, media appeal, and on-field success gave the AFL an early degree of legitimacy. The AFL was also helped by a television contract. Under an exclusive deal with the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), each AFL team was paid \$150,000, money that kept the league afloat during the difficult, early years of its existence.

In 1966, the AFL decided to further assert itself by attempting to sign established, veteran NFL players. When several of its stars signed lucrative contracts, the NFL found it had little choice but to accept the situation and started working on a merger of the two leagues. In June 1966, an NFL-AFL merger was announced. The merger called for a common draft of college players and a championship game—the Super Bowl—to start in 1967. The new league would be called the National Football League with the previous rivals split into two divisions: the National Football Conference (NFC) and the American Football Conference (AFC). The full merger would take place in 1970. The Super Bowl pitted the winners of the two conferences in one game in late January, following the regular season and a series of playoff games.

During the first few years of the new National Football League, the two conferences maintained separate identities and schedules. Initially then, the Super Bowl became a contest where the upstart AFL would try to prove its mettle against more established teams. As might be expected, in the first two Super Bowls (Super Bowls I and II), the NFL Green Bay Packers easily defeated their AFL opponents. Most believed it would take years before an AFL team would actually win a Super Bowl. Then in Super Bowl III, the AFL champion New York Jets were matched against the powerful Baltimore Colts. Jets quarterback "Broadway Joe" Namath, on the eve of the contest in which the Colts were heavily favored, "guaranteed" a Jets victory. On January 12, 1969, the Jets stunned the sports world by defeating the Colts 16-7. The Jets victory finally gave the AFL its due and helped bring the two leagues together when the merger officially began the next year.

Enhancing the merger of the two leagues in 1970 was a television package from ABC. For just over \$8 million each season, ABC agreed to televise thirteen prime-time games on Monday nights. Television revenues for the NFL totaled nearly \$150 million. Overall, it meant that each of the twenty-six NFL teams in 1970 would receive about \$1.7 million. The popularity of football stemmed primarily from its television exposure. During the 1970s, television transformed football into America's premier spectator sport. Before the 1973 season, Congress lifted TV blackouts on home games that were not sold out. While some predicted that this legislation would make it hard for some small market teams to fill the stands, that did not prove to be the case. Not only did TV viewing increase, but teams actually sold more tickets. And it was TV contracts that became the meal ticket for the NFL—not single game sales. In 1978, the NFL signed the most lucrative sports TV contract ever. In January of that year, a Lou Harris poll found that 70 percent of the nation's sports fans followed football, compared to 54 percent who followed baseball.

With the help of television, over the past three decades the game on the field has become just an ancillary part of the entire Super Bowl experience. More than anything else however, the Super Bowl is

about money and corporate advertising. This January spectacle is the most lucrative sporting event in the United States and has become as much an advertising contest as a sports production. The NFL sold the broadcast rights for the 1999 Super Bowl for over \$60 million and NFL properties, the licensing arm of the league, sells approximately \$200 million in merchandise for the game. At the Super Bowl itself, logo placement, advertising angles, and television commercials have taken on more importance than the outcome of the game. In fact, television commercials slated for the Super Bowl are often shown as news items on local broadcasts days before the game. There are even postgame telecasts that examine and evaluate the quality of Super Bowl commercials.

To demonstrate the serious connection between advertising and the Super Bowl, one need look no further than Anheuser-Busch's "Bud Bowl," which has been a part of Super Bowl television broadcasts since 1989. The Bud Bowl is a fictitious football game, played out in expensive commercial spots, between animated beer bottles of Budweiser and Budweiser Light. The Bud Bowl employs real announcers and millions of dollars are spent to show these beer bottles running up and down the field attempting to score touchdowns. But the key to the Bud Bowl is Anheuser-Busch's promotions, which begin months before the game itself at hundreds of retail outlets. The beer company offers thousands of prizes that are tied into these advertising spots at the Super Bowl. Because of the advertising and prize giveaways, the final score of the Bud Bowl has become more important to the American television viewer than the results of the Super Bowl. Anheuser-Busch even set up a toll free number so potential prize winners could call and find out the final score of the Bud Bowl.

By 1999, 30-second Super Bowl advertising spots were selling for well over \$1 million. Yet the evidence indicates that those sums are well worth the price for American corporate advertisers. In 1991, the Gillette Company used the Super Bowl to introduce its new Sensor razor. Gillette spent over \$3 million on Super Bowl advertising to reach their male audience. By focusing its ads on Super Bowl Sunday, Gillette sold out its Sensor inventory through February and March following the broadcast, and the company was able to increase its market share by 35 percent in 1991. Evidence gathered by writer Phil Schaaf for his book *Sports Marketing* indicated that 66 percent of people tested recall Super Bowl commercials.

Money and corporate infiltration of the Super Bowl has also influenced the type of fans that attend the January event. In a sport that caters to the "average" fan during the regular season, few of those ordinary team boosters will ever have the opportunity to see a Super Bowl. Tickets are not sold to the general public—most go to corporate sponsors, celebrities, National Football League owners and officials, other players, and news organizations. In fact, during Super Bowl XXIX, 646 news organizations and 407 international media representatives were given Super Bowl credentials. The number of journalists working at the Super Bowl for these newsgroups totaled 2846. An actual statistical breakdown of fans who attend a Super Bowl shows the following: 35 percent attend on corporate expense accounts; 33 percent earn more than \$100,000 annually; 27 percent own their own company; 25 percent are corporate officers; and 22 percent sit on corporate boards of directors. So the look of a Super Bowl is far different from the look of a football game on a regular Sunday in October or November.

But a Super Bowl does bring in a great deal of money to a host city. It is estimated that the Phoenix metropolitan area brought in

\$187 million when it hosted the Super Bowl. In Minneapolis, Minnesota, during the 1991 Super Bowl, 2,000 jobs were created for that event. All but the first Super Bowl has been a sellout, even though the cheapest tickets at the 1999 game sold for just over \$250. Scalpers, or illegal ticket brokers, generally get four times that much for a Super Bowl ticket. Tim Green, a former professional football player, wrote in his book *The Dark Side of the Game* that, "January is when the big money really starts to drop." Green is referring to the legal and illegal betting that accompanies the Super Bowl. The game is the most gambled on sporting event in the United States. A person can lay a wager on just about any facet of the game: the first quarter score, which team will score first, which running back will get the most yards, the total score, or how many yards a particular quarterback will throw for. Between \$35 and \$60 million in legal gambling goes on for each Super Bowl game—illegal estimates are much higher.

Since television and media coverage dominates the Super Bowl, it is inevitable that politics has entered the formula. The Super Bowl is the most watched one-day event in the world. There is no worry about a rain-out and viewers represent a wide demographic range (41 percent of all American television viewers are female). The Super Bowl is also the third biggest eating day in America—behind only Christmas and Thanksgiving. In 1993, several national women's groups announced that Super Bowl Sunday was the worst day of the year for violence against women. Women's shelters claimed that hot lines were "flooded with more calls from victims [on Super Bowl Sunday] than any other day of the year." And a study was released by Old Dominion University in Norfolk, Virginia, which showed that hospital admissions of women rose after games won by the Washington Redskins. While many subsequently questioned the links between domestic violence and the Super Bowl, the women's groups had scored a public relations coup by releasing their finding just before the Super Bowl, when national and world media attention was so focused upon that event. But additional evidence showed that the Super Bowl brings out the worst in American sports fans. After Denver won its second consecutive Super Bowl in 1999, rowdy fans rioted in that city, overturning cars, breaking windows, and starting fires. One sports psychologist determined that testosterone levels of young males rose by 20 percent when their team won a big game. During the 1992 game between the Buffalo Bills and the Washington Redskins, American Indian groups used the Super Bowl media glare to call attention to what they believed were racist and demeaning use of nicknames and mascots on professional sports teams. The Redskin team nickname was considered especially egregious to the American Indian Movement (AIM) and protestors ringed the stadium on Super Bowl Sunday chanting slogans to voice their cause. Because of the media saturation in town for the Super Bowl, the American Indian Movement appeared on television and were interviewed for national and international media outlets. While nothing came of the protests, AIM was able to get their message out and even forced the National Football League to issue a statement about the team nicknames.

The Super Bowl has offered the American sports fan a plethora of heroic players and exciting teams: Joe Namath, Terry Bradshaw, Joe Montana, John Elway, the Miami Dolphins, Pittsburgh Steelers, Dallas Cowboys, and San Francisco 49ers. But player statistics and heroics have become overshadowed by economic, social, and cultural issues: Who will sing the national anthem? Who will perform at the half-time festivities? What television commercials will catch the attention of the American public? What political issues might arise this year? And, what is the betting line on the game? These issues

have turned the Super Bowl into more of a media event than a sporting contest.

—David E. Woodard

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## Superman

The first and most important comic book superhero, Superman looms large not only in comic books but in all of twentieth-century American popular culture. Among the few American characters instantly recognizable in virtually every corner of the globe, Superman is truly a pop culture icon. Certainly there is no purer representative of the fantastic possibilities inherent in the comic book medium.

Superman sprang from the imagination of two Jewish teenagers growing up in Cleveland during the Great Depression. Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster were both lower-middle-class sons of immigrants who believed in the American dream. Avid readers of science fiction and pulp magazines, the two youths aspired to write and draw their own adventure comic strip. In 1934, after several try-outs in their school newspaper, Siegel and Shuster hit upon the idea that they suspected would be a salable comic strip. In his striking red-and-blue costume with flowing red cape and red "S" emblazoned on his chest, Superman was the ultimate strongman, capable of achieving almost any physical feat. He was a fantastic being from a doomed alien planet (later revealed to be Krypton), come to apply the superhuman blessings of his native home in the service of his adopted world. And perhaps most importantly, he assumed the persona of an undistinguished mild-mannered newspaper reporter named Clark Kent. Unpretentious and seeking no glory, he was a superhero who would retreat into the anonymity of American society when his spectacular deeds were accomplished. Here was the crucial point of reference for a Depression-era culture that extolled the virtues of the "common man."

Superman was a brilliant creation—ingenious in its very simplicity and instantly accessible to a mass audience. It was, of course,



### Superman

not an entirely original concept. Superheroes of various sorts had a long history in popular myth and folklore. But the Superman/Clark Kent dichotomy was original as a contemporary expression of adolescent wish-fulfillment. Siegel and Shuster, both of whom wore glasses and admitted to being shy, insecure, and unsuccessful with girls in high school, put much of themselves and their fantasies into the character. In truth, the essence of Superman's appeal was almost universal—especially to young males. Any boy or man who has felt in any way inadequate in a society of formidable male gender expectations has at times wished that he could transcend his human frailty as easily as Clark Kent removed his glasses.

Such a concept was destined to be a popular one with young people. But the middle-aged men who ran the newspaper syndicates failed to recognize Superman's appeal. After several years of failing to sell their idea to the newspapers, Siegel and Shuster reluctantly sold it to a fledgling comic book company called Detective Comics (DC), for whom they had done some freelance work. As part of the contract, the two young men would write and draw the series as long as DC allowed them to, but they also forsook all rights to the character in exchange for \$130 (\$10 per page for the 13-page story). It proved to be one of the most infamous contracts ever signed in the history of the American entertainment industry.

Superman debuted in the first issue of DC's *Action Comics*, dated June 1938. The cover of the classic issue, which now fetches prices of over \$50,000 from collectors, showed the costumed hero

lifting an automobile over his head as stupefied criminals flee in terror before him. It was an impossible image that DC's publishers feared would only confuse readers. But the audience responded positively and quickly. Only a few issues into publication, *Action Comics* became the best-selling comic book on the market, and the reason—confirmed by informal newsstand surveys—was obvious: Superman was a winning concept.

In later years Superman evolved into a character who was stoic, morally beyond reproach, and frankly rather humorless and dull. But Siegel and Shuster initially portrayed him as a feisty character who most closely resembled a super-powered "hard-boiled" detective. He was a wise guy, who took to crime fighting with an adolescent glee, routinely took time to mock and humiliate his adversaries as he thrashed them, and did not shrink from breaking the law when it stood in the way of true justice. It was a macho world into which only the glamorous Lois Lane intruded. Although she had no time for the plain Clark Kent, she was, of course, infatuated with Superman, who rarely had time for her. Siegel and Shuster cast their superhero as a populist "champion of the oppressed," who defended common Americans from the evils of big money, political corruption, and greed in all its forms. As the United States drifted into war, Superman turned his attention to foiling spies and saboteurs on the American home front, although his creators deliberately kept him away from the front so as not to upstage America's real-life heroes in uniform.

At a time when most successful comic book titles sold between 200,000 and 400,000 copies per issue, each issue of *Action Comics*—featuring only one Superman story—consistently sold around 900,000 copies. Mindful of these figures, DC featured the character in a second title, *Superman*, which established industry records by selling a staggering average of 1,300,000 copies per bimonthly issue. The Superman phenomenon was not limited to comic books either. By 1941 Superman was featured in a syndicated newspaper strip, a series of short animated films produced by Paramount, and a highly popular radio show that opened with the immortal lines: "Faster than a speeding bullet! More powerful than a locomotive! Able to leap tall buildings in a single bound! Look! Up in the sky! It's a bird! It's a plane! It's . . . Superman!" Within a few short years of his comic book debut, Superman had become a cartoon figure almost as widely recognized as Disney's Mickey Mouse.

It is difficult to overestimate the influence that Superman has had on the comic book industry. Before his appearance, comic books hardly constituted a medium distinct from newspaper comic strips. Most featured either reprinted newspaper strips or derivative variations thereof. Superman was the first original character to exploit the fantastic creative possibilities of the comic book medium—possibilities limited only by the imagination and skill of writers and artists. Images that would have been technically onerous or impossible to represent in motion pictures or radio could be easily adapted to the comic book format. Superman's improbable adventures demonstrated this, and he single-handedly gave the comic book industry a reason for being. Superman became the most widely imitated character in comic books, spawning a host of costumed superheroes from DC and its competitors. These superheroes established the comic-book industry as a viable commercial entertainment industry, and they have been the mainstay of comic books ever since.

Superman also established DC Comics as the industry's leading publisher. For a time, even his creators benefited financially from Superman's profits. But Siegel and Shuster saw diminishing returns for themselves even as their creation continued to generate massive

revenue for the publisher. In 1947 they sued DC, trying to secure the profits that they claimed Superman should have earned them over the years. The court ruled against them, claiming that under the original 1938 contract, they had no rights to the character. For the next several decades they saw no royalties from the comic book industry's most lucrative property. In the late 1970s, after the news media reported that Superman's creators were living in poverty, DC relented and paid them a yearly stipend for the remainder of their lives. A notorious tale well known to comic-book creators, the plight of Siegel and Shuster helped to rally writers and artists to push for new royalties and financial incentives, which the major publishers subsequently introduced in the 1980s.

Superman remained the most popular and best-selling comic-book character well into the 1960s. Under the close editorial direction of Mort Weisinger, Superman evolved into a character befitting his status as the elder statesman among superheroes. Abandoning all semblance of his rambunctious younger days, Superman became a staid, predictable, and paternalistic figure, always adhering to the strict letter of the law. He also gradually acquired an array of powers that made him almost invincible: flight, X-ray vision, telescopic vision, super-hearing, super-breath, the ability to move through time, the strength to move planets, and invulnerability to virtually everything except Kryptonite, the meteoric remnants of his native world Krypton. Weisinger created a fairy-tale Superman mythos that incorporated Superman's youth (as Superboy in the Midwestern town of Smallville), his friends (Lois Lane and Jimmy Olson were featured in their own comic books), villains like Lex Luthor and Brainiac, and spin-off characters like Supergirl and Krypto the Superdog. To overcome the creative limitations of the virtually omnipotent superhero, Weisinger also conceived a variety of "imaginary" stories that explored such questions as, "What if Superman had gone to another planet besides Earth?" and even "What if Superman had died?" These simple and entertaining stories were clearly aimed at children, and they sold well. Airing from 1953 to 1957, the highly successful *Adventures of Superman* television series, to which Weisinger was a consultant, kept Superman in the public consciousness and served to promote his comic books to the new generation of baby boomers. In the mid 1990s, an ABC television series called *Lois and Clark: The New Adventures of Superman* introduced the characters—played by Teri Hatcher and Dean Cain, respectively—to a new generation of viewers.

Superman's popularity among comic-book readers waned in the late 1960s. Faced by intense competition from Marvel's wave of more "human" superheroes like Spider-Man, the Hulk, and the Fantastic Four, Superman's irreproachable Boy Scout image had become a commercial liability for new generations of young people grown expectant of anti-establishment trends in youth culture. By the mid 1970s, the character's comic book sales were at an all-time low, although his image remained the most lucrative comic book licensed property for toys and other products. The pinnacle of the character's earning power came in the late 1970s and early 1980s in a series of major Warner Brothers *Superman* movies starring Christopher Reeve in the title role. Success in other media, however, did not translate into impressive comic book sales, which continued to lag well behind those of trendy morally ambivalent superheroes like the X-Men, the Punisher, and even DC's Batman, who began as a follow-up to Superman and proved to be far more adaptable to changing times.

The history of Superman in the comic books over the past several decades has largely been shaped by DC's periodic attempts to

revitalize the character by making him less "super." In 1971 Superman's powers were halved. In 1988, DC contracted popular writer/artist John Byrne to rewrite Superman's origin, hoping to spark fan interest. Surely the most blatant of these efforts came in 1992 with the much-hyped "Death of Superman." To no one's surprise, the event produced a short-term boom in Superman's sales and concluded in the "Rebirth of Superman." In 1997 Superman got a radical new costume change. While nostalgic fans disapproved, DC responded that it had little choice but to try new things to reverse Superman's steady commercial decline.

Superman will probably never be as popular as he once was. But that in no way diminishes his significance. As the archetype for the superhero genre so intrinsic to American comic books, he deserves his stature as the industry's de facto world ambassador. His presence is firmly etched into a global popular culture, encompassing motion pictures, television, advertising, music, and common language. And for the generations weaned on his adventures, Superman will forever remain the quintessential champion of truth, justice, and the American way.

—Bradford Wright

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## Supermodels

The word "supermodel" was first used in the 1940s, but the supermodel phenomenon belongs to the 1980s and 1990s, when a few women epitomizing glamour and opulence captured the American popular consumer's imagination. For most of the supermodel era, the pantheon included Cindy Crawford, Naomi Campbell, Kate Moss, Claudia Schiffer, Linda Evangelista, and Christy Turlington—all of them tall, architectural, and distinctive in appearance—who represented both the triumph of unadulterated image and the mass marketing of fashion.

Models had been famous before—Suzy Parker in the 1950s, Twiggy in the 1960s, Christie Brinkley in the 1970s—but the supermodels were touted for taking charge of their own careers, marketing themselves assiduously, and commanding huge fees for themselves and their agents. They cast themselves in discrete roles: Crawford was the confident sexual one, Moss the waif, Schiffer the one who looked like Brigitte Bardot. Like most models, they tended to launch their careers in Europe, where the pay was relatively low but a girl (often as young as fourteen or fifteen) could accumulate photographs and develop a distinctive "look." Once in New York, the U.S. modeling capital, a girl hoped to sign or continue a relationship with a powerful agency such as Elite and Ford, where clients in search of an



Naomi Campbell leads a group of models on the catwalk for the Versace collection in Milan, 1997.

image looked first. The supermodels were lucky to enter the American scene at the moment in which fashion designers were changing their target market from the wealthy elite to the masses. When Calvin Klein began to advertise on television, billboards, and bus shelters, the subliminal message seemed to be that even common people and their clothes could attract attention; paradoxically, perhaps, his model Brooke Shields shot to celebrity (as, later, did his muse Moss). At the same time, Hollywood actresses had de-glamorized themselves; now that they were more inclined to appear in jeans and unwashed hair rather than in evening gowns and jewels, models stepped in to feed America's hunger for opulence, harking back to the glamour of stars such as Myrna Loy and Grace Kelly. Yet, perhaps because they had no real careers beyond posing, and didn't even select the clothes or products they would wear, the supermodels were able to represent a product, an image, completely—in this regard they were forums for display, not fleshed-out characters.

The individual supermodels themselves achieved name-brand recognition. Advertisers focused on the same six (and a few slightly less enduring lights, such as Elle MacPherson, Paulina Porizkova, and Tyra Banks) in part to show they could afford to: hiring Turlington for

seventy-two hours at a cost of sixty thousand dollars was a good way for a company to display its success, confidence, and solvency. Models and supermodels alike made most of their money in advertising: Turlington's 1991 contract with Maybelline, for example, netted her eight hundred thousand dollars for twelve days' work a year. The more prestigious work, including magazine covers, was comparatively unremunerative—in 1995 *Vogue*, *Glamour*, or *Mademoiselle* might pay as little as one hundred dollars a day—though the exposure did help establish a model as a commodity. But a woman who had achieved supermodel status never had to worry: in 1995 Claudia Schiffer, modeling's biggest wage earner, made twelve million dollars from various assignments. In the eras of Reaganomics and, later, recession, such well-publicized paydayes were part of a supermodel's allure.

The wild and bratty behavior that often accompanied the models' sudden wealth was another element of their mystique; unleashed on New York, a number of them danced and drugged the nights away, and they were known for prima donna behavior such as sulkily kicking their limo drivers in the neck. Off the runway and out of the magazine, they lived larger than life, and the careers of many would-be supermodels ended in financial ruin and despair. Psychologists Vivian Diller and Jill Muir-Sukenick, both former models, explained in *Psychology Today* that many in the business suffer from a "fragile personality that makes them potentially self-destructive . . . what we call 'extreme narcissistic vulnerability.'" Without a secure sense of and liking for herself, argued Diller and Muir-Sukenick, such a young woman might easily fall prey to exploitative agents, clients, drug dealers, and others who prey on the young and attractive. Models' dissolution became a popular subject for articles, books, and movies, as audiences craved to see the girls consumed like the products they represented.

As it turned out, despite the supermodels' status, the public was interested in them as images, not as women. Though Campbell wrote a novel, and Crawford (who once referred to herself as "Cindy, Inc.") made TV specials and a movie, these attempts at establishing themselves as personalities largely failed. While some photographers and designers achieved respect and enduring fame as artists, their models, including the celestial six, were often considered merely a medium for expression. In the late 1990s, magazines started heralding "The Fall of the Supermodel," noting that reglamorized actresses were claiming many of the most prestigious modeling jobs and that consumers (in the words of superagent Katie Ford) had grown tired of "just seeing six people at the center of most magazines." Image was not enough to guarantee an enduring place in the popular imagination.

—Susann Cokal

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## Surf Music

Surf music, while not always about surfing, emerged out of the subculture created by surfers in Hawaii and California in the late 1940s and 1950s. Two distinct streams of surf music developed, one primarily instrumental, the other predominately vocal, each expressing a distinctive aspect of the surfer subculture. The sound was most prominent in the early and mid-1960s, when instrumental surf music was heard accompanying television shows such as *Hawaii Five-O*, and vocal surf music by The Beach Boys was topping the sales charts.

While surfing as a form of recreation and sport developed in the nineteenth century as a Polynesian pastime, it was not until the early twentieth century that surfing caught on outside of Hawaii. Olympic swimming champion Duke Kahanamoku (1912 and 1920 Olympics) toured the mainland U.S. in the wake of his Olympic triumphs and created interest in surfing through exhibitions on both the East and West coasts. Early in the twentieth century, surfboards were made usually of solid wood, but big-wave riders increasingly preferred hollow boards after Tom Blake introduced one in 1928. Still, the lightest boards made of plywood weighed around 50 pounds, with big-wave boards weighing more than twice that. Blake introduced other design modifications, such as the addition of a tail fin, which aided in maneuvering.

World War II stalled surfing's development for the duration, then it transformed the sport as technological developments in plastic foams and resin revolutionized surfboard construction. Bob Simmons, a hydrodynamics student from Santa Monica, California, sandwiched polystyrene between two pieces of wood, wrapped the entire board in fiberglass, and sealed it with resin. The result was a lightweight, durable board that was shaped easily and could be maneuvered well with minimum experience. Postwar prosperity led to the development of local surfing communities in southern California, Hawaii, and eastern Australia. For many of these surfers, dedication to the sport required them to maintain "open" work schedules that allowed them to hit the surf whenever it was good. This often meant many of them were unemployed or worked only during low periods in the surf. This preference for surf over employment, reinforced by the traditional Hawaiian ideas of leisure, community, and nature, went against the grain of mainstream American postwar thinking, in which conformity and economic success were paramount.

Creating a counterculture of sorts, surfers not only promoted their sport but a way of life as well. This surfer lifestyle included Hawaiian "palapas," or palm-frond huts appearing on California beaches, with after-surf barbecues and campouts serving to bind this community together. *Surfer* magazine appeared in 1960 to inform the surfing community of events, products, developments, and achievements. Surfing films portrayed spectacular rides from Hawaii and Australia to California and vice versa, but these documentaries, shot on 16mm film, received little attention outside of the surfing community. Bud Browne, the pioneer of the surf documentary, presented *The Big Surf*, *Hawaiian Surfing Memories*, and *Trip to Makaha*, all in the 1950s. This subculture was too small to have an impact on mainstream culture until writer Frederick Kohner penned a 1956 novel based on some of the exploits of his daughter Kathy on a Malibu beach where she "hung out" with several prominent surfers including Mickey Dora (one of the sport's first superstars), Billy Al Bengston (aka "Moondoggie"), and Terry "Tubesteak" Tracey. Tubesteak began calling Kathy a "girl-midget" since she was around five feet tall, and the name quickly transformed into "Gidget." The

film *Gidget*, based on these stories, appeared in 1959, starring Sandra Dee and James Darren. Numerous sequels and knockoffs followed, such as *Gidget Goes Hawaiian* (1961), *Beach Party* and *Gidget Goes to Rome* (1963), *Muscle Beach Party* (1964), *Beach Blanket Bingo* and *How to Stuff a Wild Bikini* (1965).

The sound tracks for these movies were composed primarily of pop music with lyrics pertaining to the beach, but a new sounding music also made an appearance in these films, surf music. Created by Dick Dale, "King of the Surf Guitar," surf music began as a musical attempt to recreate the sensation of riding a wave. Dale's combination of cascading licks, rapid playing, and a powerful bass line served as a perfect soundtrack for surf documentaries, and occasionally turned up in Hollywood beach movies, but like films based on surfing, the music also developed along two different lines. Surf music by instrumental groups like Dick Dale and the Deltones, The Ventures, The Chantays, and the Surfaris, found a devoted audience among surfers themselves, as did classic documentaries such as Bruce Brown's *Endless Summer* (1964). Meanwhile, beach music by vocal groups like Jan and Dean and The Beach Boys flooded the mainstream airwaves and, along with beach movies, represented the surfing subculture to most other Americans.

Instrumental surf music reached its widest audience with the Ventures' theme for the television series *Hawaii Five-O*. The group also had hits with "Walk, Don't Run" and "Perfidia" (both 1960). The Surfaris (from inland Glendora, California) are best known for their 1962 song "Wipe Out," characterized by the hysterical laugh and high-pitched "wipe out" that opens the song. The Chantays reached number four on the sales charts with its classic "Pipeline," while Dick Dale and the Deltones continued their reign as the official cult band of the surf crowd with songs like "The Victor" (1964) and "Let's Go Trippin'" (1961). These instrumentals took elements of popular music and transformed them by emphasizing the bass line and using the guitar as a melodic instead of rhythmic instrument. A good example of this is found in The Ventures' "Walk, Don't Run." Written and originally recorded by jazz guitarist Johnny Smith, who was inspired by a "walk, don't run" sign in a New York subway, the song was recorded by country guitarist Chet Atkins in 1957 as a lilting ballad. By adding a driving beat and bass line, The Ventures created a version that recalled elements of Atkins' guitar work plus jazz elements such as "bending" notes and a blue tonality, all with a rock and roll beat. The song peaked at number two on the sales chart in 1960, right behind another beach-inspired song, Brian Hyland's "Itsy Bitsy Teenie Weenie Yellow Polka Dot Bikini."

Despite the popularity of instrumental surf music, or perhaps because of it, vocal surf music became the more widely disseminated form of the genre. While the music had little to do with the blazing guitars and heavy bass of Dick Dale and The Ventures, the lyrics of vocal surf music sought to capture the feel of the surfer subculture. "Surfin'" (1962), the first hit by a teen group from Hawthorne, California, called The Beach Boys, describes the dedication of surfers to their sport: "Surfin' is the only life, the only way for me." Written by non-surfer Brian Wilson and based mainly on stories from Beach Boy members and surfers Mike Love and Dennis Wilson, the songs of the Beach Boys presented an American youth market with an image of sunshine, beautiful girls, and surfing that was wholesome and superficial. In songs like "Surfin Safari" (1962), "Surfin' USA" and "Surfer Girl" (1963), "Fun, Fun, Fun" and "I Get Around" (1964), "Help Me, Rhonda" and "California Girls" (1965), "Wouldn't it Be Nice" and "Good Vibrations" (1966), the leisure pursuits of young southern Californians became a national industry. Reinforced



by other performers, such as Jan and Dean (“Surf City” 1963) and the beach movies of Frankie Avalon and Annette Funicello, the surfer subculture became a marketing tool used to sell not only entertainment, but a whole range of products as well, such as clothing. Hang Ten, founded in 1961, produced clothing with its trademark symbol of two bare feet representing the act of hanging ones toes off the front end of a surfboard. Offshoot sports also developed, like skateboarding, originally called “sidewalk surfing,” and, in the 1980s, sailboarding.

Instrumental surf music witnessed a resurgence in the 1990s with the release of compact disc compilations of surf music and its use in new films like Quentin Tarrantino’s *Pulp Fiction* (1994) and Bruce Brown’s *The Endless Summer II* (1994), a sequel to the 1964 original.

—Charles J. Shindo

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## Susann, Jacqueline (1921-1974)

Jacqueline Susann, sometimes called the Joan Crawford of novelists, wrote only three works of fiction between 1966 and 1973, but her first novel, *Valley of the Dolls*, was one of the 10 most widely distributed books of all time. While her often maligned books eventually went out of print, Susann was still remembered as the first writer to become a media celebrity through her aggressive promotional appearances on television talk shows. A mid-1990s revival saw *Dolls* back in print again, some relatively serious re-evaluations of her campy, but charismatic work, and Susann’s perhaps inevitable ascension into the pantheon of gay male pop culture icons.

Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1921, Susann moved to New York in 1936, a beauty contest winner anxious to crash show business. In 1939 she married Irving Mansfield, and worked as both model and actress, appearing in Broadway and road company productions, including *The Women* in 1937. Lacking the talent, luck, and angles to really hit performing big time, Susann was still addictively drawn to celebrities and their world, and her 15 years on the fringes of show business paid off in a shrewdly exploited literary career. This commenced in 1963 with the nonfiction success, *Every Night, Josephine*, about Susann’s beloved pet poodle. But Susann’s next book, the novel *Valley of the Dolls* in 1966, channeled her inside show business savvy into a best-selling combination of romance, lurid sex, and sensationalism which, as the publishing blurb used to say, ripped the lid off the entertainment industry. Susann and her press agent husband also launched the kind of hard-sell promotional campaign that had previously been exploited only by Hollywood. The first author to effectively exploit the television talk show circuit, Susann became as famous as her controversial books. In a legendary media incident she and Truman Capote traded insults during separate talk show appearances, Capote delivering his now infamous jibe that Susann reminded him of “a truck driver in drag.”

While commercially successful, Susann’s work was savaged by critics, instilling in her a longing for approval and prestige that was

never to be truly gratified. While prestigious Random House distributed Susann’s first two books, they often denied being her publisher because the titles were actually published by Bernard Geis, an outsider in the New York publishing world. James B. Twitchell observes: “. . . the modern phenomenon of celebrity-as-author was rediscovered by publishers like Bernard Geis after the collected wisdom of Art Linkletter became a best-seller. Geis realized that just as out-and-out hacks can be made into celebrities, celebrities can be made into authors”—and thus, Susann instinctively realized, authors could be made into celebrities. After Simon and Schuster published her second book of fiction, *The Love Machine* in 1969, an editor reputedly sent Susann a rose and a note saying simply “For us, once was enough,” as her third and final novel, *Once Is Not Enough*, was being published by William Morrow in 1973.

Ironically, Susann’s private life became more dramatic than any of her fiction. In 1962 she was diagnosed with breast cancer, which a mastectomy failed to alleviate, and, until her death in 1974, spent the rest of her life on painkillers. Her condition was never announced publicly. In addition, Susann and Mansfield’s only son, Guy, was autistic, a fact also concealed from the world at large. Thus while Susann pushed the envelopes of content in her fiction, in real life she adhered to what she perceived as the expectations of her era, believing the public demanded celebrities who conformed to a positive, if manufactured image, no matter what the actuality of their private lives.

*Valley of the Dolls*, a lurid, sudsy saga of three young women coping none too well with the challenges of show business, remains Susann’s key work. Aside from its delirious camp excesses, the cult status of the 1967 film version (in which Susann briefly appears) was instantly certified when Judy Garland was replaced by Susan Hayward shortly after production commenced, and retrospectively by co-star Sharon Tate’s brutal death in the Charles Manson clan multiple murder case. Leonard Maltin calls the film a “terribly written, acted, and directed BOMB”—he also cites an updated and expanded four-hour 1981 television remake as “superior to the 1967 theatrical version.” A 1971 in-name-only sequel, Russ Meyer’s equally cultish *Beyond the Valley of the Dolls* took Susann’s hyperbole into the realm of deliberate (and violent) camp.

In late 1997 Grove Press reissued the long-out-of-print *Valley of the Dolls*, peaking a mainstream Susann renaissance which had been percolating within gay culture for over a decade—the cult status of Susann among American gay men was the subject of a detailed feature article, “Pink Trash,” in no less than the usually staid *New York Times*, in July of 1997. The revival also included a New York City drag stage production of *Dolls*, the trendy popularity of gay smart-set VOD parties featuring jelly beans in the form of Susann’s famous Valium pills (or “dolls”), a 1998 television movie bio, *Scandalous Me*, and the announcement of a theatrical film of Susann’s life to star Bette Midler. But perhaps the most bizarre manifestation of 1990s Susann-mania was an “interview” with the deceased author published in *Interview* magazine in October 1997, and based on a seance involving drag performer Lypsinka and a medium named Miss Eek.

Nora Ephron comments on Susann’s work: “With the possible exception of *Cosmopolitan* magazine, no one writes about sadism in modern man and masochism in modern woman quite so horribly and accurately as Jacqueline Susann. *Valley of the Dolls* had a message that had a magnetic appeal for women readers: it describes the standard female fantasy—of going to the big city, striking it rich, meeting fabulous men—and went on to show every reader that she

was far better off than the heroines in the book. It was, essentially, a morality tale.” *Art Forum* editor Sydney Pokorny gushes: “She’s camp, she’s glam, she’s frivolous, she understood the appeal of modern celebrity better than anyone else (except maybe Andy Warhol), and on top of it all her heroines were always powerful, independent women. Jackie is a prophet of pop culture.”

Jackie herself put it this way: “People who read me can get off the subway and go home feeling better about their own crappy lives, and luckier than the people they’ve been reading about.”

—Ross Care

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## Susskind, David (1923-1987)

David Susskind was one of the few successful television producers to also star in front of the camera. He began his career in the late forties as an agent, eventually representing such stars as Jerry Lewis and Dinah Shore. After forming Talent Associates with Alfred Levy, he started to package live dramas, before becoming a full-time producer in the mid 1950s. Over the course of more than thirty years, he produced hundreds of television dramas for such series as *The DuPont Show of the Week* and *Armstrong Circle Theater*; over a dozen movies, including *Raisin in the Sun* (1961) and *Alice Doesn’t Live Here Anymore* (1974); and numerous stage plays. Aspiring to be the Cecil B. DeMille of television, Susskind especially cherished prestige specials and among his award-winners were *The Ages of Man* (1966), with John Gielgud; *Death of a Salesman* (1967), starring Lee J. Cobb; and *Eleanor and Franklin* (1976), with Edward Hermann. In 1958 he became a celebrity as host of his own talk series, *Open End*, which had unlimited time to examine an issue. The brash Susskind liked to confront his guests, exemplified by his heated exchange with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev. His often-controversial series, which was trimmed to two hours in the early sixties, covered a wide range of topics, from such weighty issues as racism and organized crime to tabloid fare, including astrology and sex change operations. Retitled *The David Susskind Show* in 1967, the program continued for nineteen years until the host’s untimely death in February 1987.

—Ron Simon

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## Swaggart, Jimmy (1935—)

A leading televangelist of the 1980s, Jimmy Swaggart became an American celebrity whose rise and fall were both comedy and tragedy. A self-trained piano virtuoso, whose hot Gospel stylings were barely distinguishable from the rock ‘n’ roll standards performed by his cousin, Jerry Lee Lewis, Swaggart might have become a major popular music artist. But he chose preaching, evolving a pulpit manner characterized by physical gyrations, abundant tears, and impassioned Biblical declamations. Scorning as bland sentimentality the positive thinking of other religious opinion makers, he further rejected the ecumenical spirit of Billy Graham. Swaggart chose instead to deliver fire-and-brimstone sermons, always tough on sin, especially that of a sensual nature. Though he first imitated the preaching of the tent evangelists of his Southern youth, he quickly learned the masterful use of media, first radio and later television. Often regarded as the most effective of the televangelists of the 1970s and 1980s, his blend of show-business hucksterism and old-fashioned Holy Ghost revivalism perpetuated a long tradition of American folk evangelism.

Born in 1935 near Ferriday, Louisiana, Jimmy Lee Swaggart was the son of a lay preacher in the charismatic Assemblies of God. Derisively called “holy rollers” in the early years of the century, members of this denomination moved into the middle class after World War II. Their spirit-filled devotional style began to influence the older, mainline churches, both Protestant and Catholic. Young Swaggart started preaching at age six, though he was not “born again” until two years later. Religion remained the major preoccupation of his entire youth. Offered a recording contract, about the time



Jimmy Swaggart

his cousin and best friend Jerry Lee was becoming famous, Swaggart vowed to use his own musical talents only in the service of the Lord. He even advised God to strike him with paralysis should he ever perform "the devil's music."

By the time he was 23, Swaggart was regularly traveling the gospel preaching circuit, along with his wife, Francis, who would remain a full partner throughout his ministry, and their two-year-old son, who would grow up to become his father's lieutenant. Backcountry evangelism, always as much entertainment as religion, put Swaggart's temperament and talent to good use. By 1964, despite success as a traveling preacher, he yearned for more respectability and was properly ordained by the Assemblies of God. He then took his "crusades" into cities. He also inaugurated a Gospel recording career and eventually sold more than 15 million recordings. In 1973 he added a weekly television program.

By the end of the 1980s Swaggart's telecasts and publications were addressing a regular national audience of almost two million. His outreach extended to 53 countries. Like other media preachers, Swaggart sought to anchor his operations; he chose Baton Rouge, Louisiana, as home base, where he built a Family Worship Center to seat 7,500. Perhaps in compensation for his own meager schooling, he readily followed the precedent of other celebrity preachers such as Aimee Semple McPherson and Oral Roberts by founding his own Bible college to train Christian workers for domestic and foreign service.

Politically conservative and openly judgmental, Swaggart made enemies. He could be fierce and even personal in his attacks. Among his targets were Roman Catholics, lukewarm Protestants, social "liberals," and fellow preachers with moral failings. He seemed oblivious to his own vulnerability when in early 1987 he launched the national scandal that came to be known as "Gospelgate." He accused rival televangelist Jim Bakker of adultery. Though the charges were easily substantiated, it did not take long for Swaggart's enemies to publicly expose his own predilections. They revealed that he had engaged in a series of voyeuristic acts with a prostitute in a Louisiana motel.

Owning up to his wrongdoing, labeling it "sin" rather than merely inappropriate behavior, Swaggart gave the premier performance of his life on February 21, 1988, to a capacity audience gathered at his Family Worship Center. His lips quivered as he weepingly apologized to his wife, his son, his daughter-in-law, and the Assemblies of God "which helped bring the gospel to my little beleaguered town, when my family was lost without Jesus." Finally, Swaggart apologized to Jesus Himself and asked to be renewed by His cleansing blood. So powerful was this confession that subsequent public acknowledgements of moral lapses by national figures have come to be known as "doing a Swaggart."

The Assemblies of God eventually defrocked Swaggart as later transgressions surfaced. Even without their blessing, his ministry continued throughout the 1990s, but his force was largely spent, and the impressive evangelistic compound he had built in Louisiana fell into some disrepair. With admissions of wrongdoing and investigations of financial irregularities of several televangelists, the influence of "the electronic church" went into general decline. Religious journals stopped lamenting that the seat in front of the television set was replacing the church pew. But Swaggart's career had become part of his century's unique body of religious lore, and he would be remembered in all his passion and moral ambiguity as a genuine American type.

—Allene Phy-Olsen

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## Swann, Lynn (1952-)

During the late 1970s, a period when professional football players were joining the ranks of U.S. pop-culture icons, wide



Lynn Swann at the University of Southern California.

receiver Lynn Swann was at the peak of his highly successful nine-year career in the National Football League. Swann played on four Super Bowl championship-winning teams for the Pittsburgh Steelers when that team was dominating NFL play. Swann's trademark was his ability to make acrobatic catches, especially at key junctures of important ballgames.

The Pittsburgh Steelers drafted Swann, a Tennessee native, in the first round of the 1974 NFL Draft following his graduation from the University of Southern California (USC), where he had been a unanimous choice for All-American honors during his senior year. While at USC he also earned a letter as a long jumper at track.

Swann was named the Most Valuable Player in Super Bowl X in 1976, as Pittsburgh defeated the Dallas Cowboys by a 21-17 score to become only the third team to win back-to-back Super Bowls. Swann caught four passes for a total of 161 receiving yards. The highlight was Swann's catch of a 64-yard touchdown pass from quarterback Terry Bradshaw for a game-deciding score. Swann also made a diving 53-yard catch during the second quarter, a feat that is considered by many to be one of the greatest in Super Bowl history.

In Super Bowl XIII, Swann caught an 18-yard touchdown pass from Bradshaw that was the decisive play in the Steelers' 35-31 victory over the Cowboys. Swann caught seven passes for 124 yards in that victory, an accomplishment made even more impressive because of doubts he would even play in that game due to a concussion he incurred in the American Football Conference (AFC) Finals against the Oakland Raiders. He had even been confined to his bed for several days prior to the Super Bowl, with doctors warning him that another hard hit could cause more extensive, and even career-threatening, damage. Despite the risks, Swann decided to play, with spectacular results.

Swann's performance in Super Bowl XIII was the culmination of his best professional season. In that year, 1979, he caught 61 passes for a total of 880 yards, and scored 11 touchdowns. During the 1979 season, Swann caught a decisive 47-yard touchdown pass from Bradshaw in the third quarter of Pittsburgh's 31-19 victory over the Los Angeles Rams, a play in which Swann leapt between two defenders to catch the ball before reaching the end zone.

Part of Swann's great success came from his being teamed with another wide receiver drafted in 1974, John Stallworth, who formed another threat at the wide-receiver position and prevented other teams from focusing all of their attention on Swann. The two men gave quarterback Terry Bradshaw an inviting choice of targets. As Swann noted in Lou Sahadi's *Super Steelers: The Making of a Dynasty*, "John [Stallworth] and I are both moving targets. It's just up to Terry to hit us. What's happened is that we developed a remarkable, almost undefinable rapport among the three of us."

Swann ranks second in receiving yards in the Super Bowl (364) and touchdowns (3) to San Francisco great Jerry Rice. During his playing career, he was named to the NFL Pro Bowl on three occasions. He has been a finalist for induction into the Professional Football Hall of Fame in Canton, Ohio, every year that he has been eligible. Regarding Swann's failure to be inducted into the Hall of Fame, his teammate Joe Greene noted "Lynn Swann didn't have the stats, but he sure as heck had an impact. . . . He didn't play a long time, but he made an impact. . . . He played a lot of big games. I'm a great Lynn Swann fan. He deserves a lot more consideration."

Following his retirement from professional football in 1982, Swann worked as a sports broadcaster for the ABC network, covering football as well as a diverse array of other sports, ranging from rugby to dog-sled racing. Swann has also been active in a wide variety of

charitable and other causes. He has served as the national spokesperson for the Big Brothers and Big Sisters of America since 1980, and on the Board of Trustees of the Pittsburgh Ballet Theater, for which he created a youth scholarship. He was named the NFL Man of the Year in 1981, and has also competed in several marathons. Swann had a cameo as a television announcer in the 1991 movie *The Last Boy Scout*.

—Jason George

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The Swatch watch was released in 1983 as a response by the Swiss watch industry to the encroaching Japanese influence on the market for inexpensive high tech timepieces. The first Swatch was made of slim plastic with only 51 components, allowing it to be sold cheaply. By the 1990s the Swatch had become the most successful wristwatch brand of all time. The key to the popularity of Swatch was its collectibility. By rotating designs and discontinuing popular lines at key moments, the Swatch company was able to give their watches a cult status, especially among young people.

—Deborah Broderson

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## The Sweatshirt

The humble gray cotton sweatshirt with fleece lining was one of the last garments to come out of the gym locker into high-style fashion. The wonderfully practical sports coverup was determinedly unglamorous: it was affiliated with no one sport in particular; its heavy cotton tended to lose shape over time and, unlike jeans, move away from sexual outline to a gray blob. Technology, which around the early 1980s introduced just enough synthetic stretch (generally less than 5 percent) to maintain shape, collar, and cuffs without losing the integrity and feel of cotton, catapulted the sweatshirt out of the bottom of the locker. In 1981, Norma Kamali made a woman's jumpsuit ensemble for day or evening in gray sweatshirt material; by 1986, Emporio Armani styling showed hooded sweatshirts with sports jackets; in 1987, Quincy Jones appeared in an American Express advertisement in a short-sleeved sweatshirt. Perhaps a more influential popularizer of sweatshirts as fashionable garb was actress

Jennifer Beals, who wore cut up sweatshirts in the 1983 movie *Flashdance*. Since the 1980s, sweatshirt gray has become a popular color for diverse clothing.

—Richard Martin

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## Swimming Pools

In 1988, a local dispute in East Hampton, Long Island, received national attention. An affluent couple was threatening to sue their town for refusing them a permit to build a second swimming pool at their ocean-front home. While the dispute hinged on issues of zoning restrictions and environmental protection, the story was widely reported due to its almost comical justification of Thorstein Veblen's

1899 critique of the "leisure class." If one backyard pool is an emblem of comfort and leisure, two pools at an ocean-front home exemplify conspicuous consumption run amok.

At the same time, a different sort of swimming pool controversy was raging in Greenspoint, New York. Residents of this Brooklyn neighborhood bitterly disagreed about what should be done with the crumbling remains of the McCarren Park municipal pool. Some in the community, especially the Latino and African American residents, wanted the pool restored to its former splendor. Built in 1936, this enormous pool, which could accommodate 6,800 swimmers at a time, had served as a recreation resort for locals unable to afford memberships at private pools and, according to a *New York Times* writer, had been "the hub of the working-class neighborhood's summertime social life." Other area residents, most of whom were white, wanted the pool closed permanently or rebuilt on a much smaller scale. They feared that such a large public pool would become a locus for urban crime.

These two episodes reveal the diverse and often discordant cultural meanings Americans attach to swimming pools. Private pools symbolize, sometimes in an extreme way, the "good life"—a life of material comfort and leisure. Public pools, however, evoke



A swimming pool.

very different images. Some of the residents of Greenspoint associated public pools with urban decay and social disorder, while others saw the possibility of a rejuvenated and vibrant community life. These contradictory cultural meanings date back to the first swimming pools built in America and highlight some of the successes and failures of twentieth-century American society.

Athletic clubs, colleges, and wealthy homeowners built the first private swimming pools in America during the Gilded Age. These pools were used for both sport and leisure, which at the time were the almost exclusive domain of the well-to-do. Early public swimming pools, built in and around large northern cities, served a different purpose for a different segment of society. Brookline, Massachusetts, opened the first municipal pool in 1897. Like most early public pools, it was located within a bathhouse. Progressive reformers and municipal leaders viewed these swimming pools as public health institutions and intended them to promote cleanliness among the nation's growing population of urban poor. Gradually, public pools evolved from baths to fitness institutions to, by the second decade of the twentieth century, recreation and leisure facilities.

Social and cultural conflict dominated the history of swimming pools in America during the first half of the twentieth century. The vast majority of pools during this period were public. They were intensely contested civic spaces—controversies over where pools should be built, who should be allowed to use them, and how they should be used reflected the dominant tensions in American society. These racial and class tensions, often obscured in other areas of life, appeared with striking clarity and definition at public pools because Americans perceived them to be intimate and potentially hazardous spaces. Swimming in a pool necessitated exposing one's body; it brought swimmers visually and, in a way, physically into intimate contact with one another. Swimming also exposed people to the dirt and disease of other swimmers. Consequently, the class, ethnic, and racial phobias that circumscribed and limited social interaction in general at this time became heightened at swimming pools.

In the early twentieth century, the social and cultural contests over swimming pools divided along class lines. A controversial proposal to build a swimming pool in New York's Central Park illustrates this class dynamic. John Mitchel, president of the Board of Aldermen, proposed the pool so that the city's poor, especially the children, would have a clean and cool place to bathe and play during the summer. Without such a pool, these children had no place to swim except among the rats, garbage, and sewage in the East and Hudson Rivers. The mostly middle-class New Yorkers who opposed Mitchel's proposal were determined to maintain the park in its original form. A pool would "desecrate" the park, they feared, by transforming their oasis of genteel recreation into a popular amusement center. "No Coney Island, if you please, in the park," one opponent pleaded. These critics were also determined to protect the park's social landscape. "I have never been in favor of putting a swimming pool in Central Park," affirmed Park Commissioner Charles Stover, "I should consider it disastrous if the only swimming pool belonging to the city was put there. It would attract all sorts of undesirable people." Stover suggested instead that this swimming pool for the masses be built in a more appropriate location: "under the approaches to the Manhattan bridge." By keeping the swimming pool out of Central Park, New York's middle class defended their Victorian pastimes and reinforced the physical distance between themselves and their working-class neighbors.

The late 1920s and early 1930s marked an important transition in the history of swimming pools. The number and popularity of public

pools increased dramatically. Large northern cities doubled and even tripled the number of pools they provided for their residents, while southern cities and smaller communities built municipal pools for the first time. The social contest over these pools changed as well: race replaced class as the most important distinction in determining patterns of discrimination. This racial contest, however, still occurred within a larger class context. Middle- and working-class blacks competed with working- and lower middle-class whites for the use of public pools, while wealthy whites swam at private pools.

The pattern of the racial struggle at public swimming pools was closely tied to the size of the community and the region in which the pool was located. In the South, black Americans were excluded from using public pools entirely. In large northern cities, racial discrimination took the form of segregation. Cities like New York, Chicago, and Boston largely avoided direct racial conflict and violence by providing separate pools for black residents. However, in smaller communities, black and white residents often competed over the use of a single pool. The dynamic of this struggle varied from town to town, but generally involved exclusion, protest, and violence.

Elizabeth, New Jersey, for example, opened its municipal pool in June, 1930. By August of that year, a group of black residents had filed a complaint with the city protesting their exclusion from the pool. The city's Board of Recreation Commissioners ruled that blacks should have equal access to the facility. The pool remained tenuously integrated for two summers, but in 1933, black residents stopped using it because white swimmers continually harassed and assaulted them. In 1938, black residents tried to integrate the pool again, but were once again subjected to the same abuse. Finally, the Board closed the pool. It could no longer condone the discrimination and violence, but apparently would not arrest the perpetrators.

The history of swimming pools fundamentally changed after World War II. America's rising economic tide, the increased rate of suburbanization, and racial desegregation combined to cause a dramatic increase in the number of private and residential pools. The economic prosperity of the postwar era coupled with advances in pool construction made backyard pools affordable to America's expanding middle class. In 1950, Americans owned only 2,500 private residential swimming pools; by 1970 they owned 713,000. During the same period, proliferating suburban communities often chose to build private swim clubs instead of public pools.

This general trend towards privatization was, at least partially, in response to the forced desegregation of municipal pools. During the 1940s, black Americans won several important legal victories against communities with segregated swimming pools. One such community was Montgomery, West Virginia, which built a public pool in 1940 but did not open it. The city's elected officials faced a conundrum: they did not want Montgomery's black residents swimming in the pool, but they were reluctant to defy West Virginia's anti-discrimination statutes by openly turning them away. The city eventually leased the pool to a private non-profit community association in 1946 for one dollar. The pool finally opened that summer and the now "private" administrators denied blacks admittance. The African American residents of Montgomery quickly sued the city, arguing that leasing the pool to private interests did not relieve the city of its obligation to afford black citizens equal rights. The federal courts agreed: "Justice would be blind indeed if she failed to detect the real purpose in this effort of the City of Montgomery to clothe public function with the mantle of private responsibility. 'The voice is Jacob's voice,' even though 'the hands are the hands of Esau.'" The court-ordered desegregation of Montgomery's pool, however, was a hollow victory

for the city's black residents. In response to the court's decision, Montgomery closed the pool until 1961. White residents were apparently more willing to go without a community pool than swim with their black neighbors.

Pool use continued to divide along racial lines in the 1970s and 1980s. Just as many white Americans chose to avoid living next to black Americans during this period by moving to restricted neighborhoods, they chose to avoid swimming with them by joining private swim clubs or building backyard pools. African and Latino Americans, many of whom continued to live in large cities, were left to swim at deteriorating public pools. Even most whites who remained in urban areas did not swim at public pools. As the Greenspoint controversy shows, some did not want municipal pools in their neighborhoods at all. America's history of segregated swimming pools thus became its legacy.

The shift from public to private pools has, in some ways, transformed the quality of community life in America. Throughout much of the twentieth century, the public swimming pool served as a stage for public discourse. Community life was fostered, monitored, and disputed at these municipal institutions. The recent privatization of swimming, however, constitutes a retreat from public life. Private pools, especially residential ones, have stifled the public discourse that used to occur at community pools. Instead of swimming, chatting, and fighting with their neighbors at municipal pools, private pool owners have fenced themselves into their own backyards. The Greenspoint controversy shows that public debate at and about municipal pools has not been silenced completely; however, too many controversies in contemporary America resemble the East Hampton dispute: people fighting to get away from their community rather than fighting to be a part of it.

—Jeffrey Wiltse

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## Swing Dancing

In the 1930s swing bands emerged at the forefront of American popular music, evolving from the jazz genre, which was primarily produced and listened to by blacks, into one patronized also by urban whites. Long before baseball was integrated, the big swing bands—led by Duke Ellington, Benny Goodman, and Count Basie—brought

together black and white musicians in a new social amalgam that decisively changed American culture. Musically, swing offered rhythmic flexibility. Swing music is marked by a subtle swaying, living pulse, which came from musicians playing just ahead of the beat enough to be syncopated, or dragging behind it enough to be bluesy. Swing, notes historian Lewis Erenberg, caused "a general revolution in the popular dance in the United States" as white youth took up the black dance innovations in order to banish whatever ballroom gentility remained in the Depression. After World War II, swing grew increasingly fragmented, and became less of a dance music and more of a concert music. Although bebop succeeded it as the new wave of jazz innovation, it did not stimulate a new form of social dancing.

Harlem became the cultural capital of black America in the late 1920s and it is here that swing dancing began, first appearing as the Lindy Hop. Originated among secret gangs in Harlem—which was quickly being populated by African-Americans as whites departed—the steps were refined and made famous by dancers at Harlem's Savoy Ballroom. Lindy Hop refers to Charles Lindbergh's "hop"—his historic solo flight—across the Atlantic Ocean in 1927. Observing the acrobatics of some dancers at the Savoy Ballroom, "Shorty George" Snowden, a dance enthusiast, said "Look at them kids hoppin' over there. I guess they're doin' the Lindy Hop." The swing combined steps from the shag, the Texas tommy, and vaudeville into a ballroom dance—a syncopated two-step or box step that accented the offbeat; the fundamental innovation of the dance was the "breakaway," when the partners spun away from each other and improvised a break. The acrobatic or "air steps" were judo-like variations in which partners would roll and flip each other over the back. The Lindy Hop evolved into the jitterbug—a more acrobatic and an almost "choreographed" version of the Lindy Hop. "The white jitterbug is oftener than not uncouth to look at," reported the *New York Times* according to swing historian David Stowe, "but his Negro original is quite another matter. His movements are never so exaggerated that they lack control, and there is an unmistakable dignity about his most violent figures."

Jitterbug enjoyed enormous popularity from 1936 until the end of the war. Every soda shop had a jukebox where teenagers were able to jitterbug after school. Eventually, in the late 1940s, the Lindy and jitterbug evolved into what has come to be called "East Coast swing"—which had a rotating character, the couple has no fixed relation to the room. An almost separate version of swing dancing developed on the West Coast, in which the two partners remain in a narrow slot on the dance floor. Even after swing was musically moribund, jitterbug remained the basic framework for couples dancing in the early days of rock 'n' roll. It passed from the scene only after the Twist had introduced the stand alone form of dancing in the early 1960s.

In the late 1990s, partnered social dancing began to make a comeback, with swing dancing an integral part of the revival. There has also been a renaissance of swing and big band music—typified by groups like the Royal Crown Revue and Big Bad Voodoo Daddy. Ballroom dance classes became extremely popular, particularly on college campuses. In the larger cities, ballrooms, dance clubs, and the larger dance teaching studios offer special nights of swing dancing. Contemporary social dancing reflected an extensive process of blending: for instance, hip hop dance styles have incorporated elements of the Lindy and jitterbug and new swing styles showed a strong Latin influence.

—Jeffrey Escoffier



A couple swing dancing to the tunes of the Jerry Wald Orchestra.

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## Swinging

Of all the social phenomena of the 1970s, one of the least practiced but most discussed was swinging, sometimes called partner swapping or wife swapping. Though few couples actually indulged in this practice, there were enough who did, or who knew about someone who did, to give the phenomenon widespread awareness. When the trend lost its popular buzz, however, swinging returned to what it had always been—the casual avocation of a group of hardcore enthusiasts.

There have always been swingers throughout history. The Bible records enough incidents of men lying down with other men's handmaidens to fill the *Penthouse* letters page many times over. And informal "clubs" devoted to extramarital experimentation have been around from the early days of the Republic. But the emergence of "swinging" as a loosely organized lifestyle coincided with America's "sexual revolution" in the 1960s.

Generally conducted at poolside parties and potluck dinners, partner swapping claimed about one million adherents during its heyday in the 1970s. Sometimes swinging involved couples placing ads in adult publications or choosing other couples they might like to pair up with. At other times, the encounters were purposely made random. One popular forum for selecting partners was the "key party," in which the men tossed their car keys into a bowl and the women fished them out to determine with whom they would spend the night. The climate of sexual freedom espoused in such magazines as *Playboy* and *Penthouse* accelerated acceptance of the practice and eventually led to coverage in more mainstream publications as well.

Partner swapping even made it onto prime-time television. A 1971 episode of *All in the Family* traced the comic consequences of Edith Bunker's inadvertent reply to an ad from a pair of swingers.



Vincent Gardenia and Rue McClanahan played the bewildered couple, who met up with the old morality in the form of Archie Bunker, America's avatar of sexual counterrevolution. But such downbeat portrayals of the lifestyle were the exception rather than the rule, as more people briefly flirted with the idea that maybe this open-marriage thing had some advantages to it after all.

An even surer sign that partner swapping had hit the mainstream came in 1973, when two members of the New York Yankees pitching staff swapped wives for the long haul. Lefties Mike Kekich and Fritz Peterson announced the spouse exchange in a bizarre press conference during spring training. The unique trade was completed with the addition, not of the customary "player to be named later," but of the rest of their families: children, pets, and, residences. For the record, Kekich broke up with Marilyn Peterson soon after the switch, while Fritz Peterson remained married to the former Susan Kekich more than 25 years later. The high-profile swap briefly captured national headlines, but the fact that it did not scandalize baseball indicated just how much American sexual mores were changing.

The novelty of swinging eventually wore off, however. During the 1980s, AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases made all but its diehard believers reconsider the advantages of monogamy. With a conservative administration in Washington, promiscuity regained some of its negative stigma. Swinging once again became the private preserve of a little-publicized subculture. Still, during the 1990s, three million Americans were estimated to be swinging on a recreational basis. Facilitated by the Internet, and fueled by a reaction against the sexual moderation invoked during the AIDS era, sexual adventurousness was once again on the rise. House parties still provided a prominent medium for partner swapping, although a new wave of institutions, including affinity groups, travel agencies, and even bed and breakfasts, were catering to the burgeoning swinging lifestyle. In August of 1997, more than 4,000 people attended a convention of the North American Swing Club Association in Palm Springs, California, where seminars were offered on such topics as "Recipes for a Successful Orgy" and "Growing Up with Kinky Parents."

The prevailing ethos at swinging encounters continued to be freewheeling sexual experimentation. But there were some changes from the wild and lawless 1970s. The spread of AIDS sensitized many partner-swapping enthusiasts to the primacy of good hygiene and a more judicious choice of partners. And society's growing acceptance of homosexuality allowed more swingers to experiment with same-sex partners. There was even a mini-wave of nostalgia for the old ways subsumed in the larger national wistfulness about the 1970s, as evidenced in such films as Ang Lee's *The Ice Storm* (1998), based on Rick Moody's novel of the same name. The film, whose harrowing climax occurs during a "key party" attended by its suburban Connecticut protagonists, captured the emotional sterility that allowed swinging to spread beyond a small hedonistic cult to briefly capture the fancy of middle-class America.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Sylvia

Since its inception in a suburban Chicago newspaper in 1978, Nicole Hollander's comic strip, *Sylvia*, has evolved to become a leading expression of postmodern feminism in satiric form. Appearing daily in newspapers coast-to-coast, Hollander's popular strip has also been reprinted in many books, including such titles as *I'm in Training to be Tall and Blonde*, and *Ma, Can I Be a Feminist and Still Like Men?*

If the title character in Cathy Guisewite's *Cathy* strip represents the relationship struggles—romantic, parental, and inter-office—of a neurotic, thirtysomething working woman, *Sylvia* portrays a somewhat older, stouter, work-at-home woman comfortable with herself but at war with the foibles of contemporary society. Actually, *Sylvia* herself does not always appear in the strip that bears her name, a sly, surrealist stream-of-consciousness in which Hollander applies her own witty touch to subjects both slight and substantial, from such comedy staples as pets and airlines to such fresher ground as gender inequality and goddess spirituality. *Sylvia* is a plump, fiftyish advice columnist who is as likely to be found conversing with her cats or a space alien as her nubile daughter, Rita, or her friend, Beth-Ann. Like many of us, *Sylvia* also talks back to the media: When a commercial on the radio announces, "Spray N'Wash gets out what America gets into," bubble-bathing *Sylvia* responds: "Send some to El Salvador!"

Nicole Hollander, the strip's creator, had also worked as an art instructor and book illustrator, but she found fame as a comic strip writer/artist when *Sylvia*, initially created for a suburban Chicago newspaper in 1978, was picked up for syndication by the Universal Press Syndicate in 1979. The increased visibility led inevitably to *Sylvia* books and a line of greeting cards; in 1981, another syndicate, Field Enterprises, bought the *Sylvia* rights and added a Sunday strip, since discontinued. For a time, Nicole Hollander incorporated herself as The *Sylvia* Syndicate and took over her own distribution. By the end of the 1990s, *Sylvia* was being distributed by the Los Angeles Times Syndicate, although Hollander retained the copyright on her daily creations. Hollander was featured prominently in a PBS documentary about contemporary female comic strip artists.

Although there are recurring themes in *Sylvia*, there are no storylines; each day's strip is self-contained. Her visual style is purposefully slapdash, in keeping with *Sylvia*'s cutting-edge humor. What distinguishes the *Sylvia* strip is its celebration of the life of the mind of its heroine. As often as not, there is nothing happening in the strip *per se* except what *Sylvia* is imagining, in the fashion of a latter-day Little Nemo in Slumberland, except that she is wide awake both physically and ideologically. The strip's innovative fancies and conceits include "Menacing Supercops of the Future" such as the "fashion cop," policing errors of taste and style, or the "love cop," seeking to break up incompatible couples or prevent them from forming; the eternally annoying "Woman Who Does Everything More Beautifully Than You"; "Alien Lovers"; "Special Goddesses"; "The Woman Who Worries About Everything"; "The Cat Who Hypnotizes His Mistress"; "From the Diary of a Woman Who Never Forgets a Slight"; "Gender-Based Differences—How to Tell if You're a Gal or a Guy"; and "The Lonely Detective," in which

Sylvia imagines herself a noirish Phillipa Marlowe-type private eye tackling contemporary societal issues.

Popular culture has always been a rich source for *Sylvia*'s satire. At times, her advice column was featured in the strip—she once addressed one of her troubled readers as “Dear disgusting wimp”—although in recent years the column is seldom referred to directly. Other gambits have included Sylvia's proposals for TV game shows, such as the one in which recently divorced couples would have tried to guess each other's most annoying habits, or her extreme take-offs from *The Three Faces of Eve*, imagined dramas about women with three-way personality splits, one of which is always a housewife, as in: “housewife, snake-handler, and educator,” or “housewife, hair stylist, and brain surgeon.” Considering that Hollander's *Sylvia* strip has always been frankly feminist, multiethnic, multispecies, and unabashedly liberal in outlook, it is not surprising that it will sometimes refer to current events, although the “ripped from the headlines” approach has never been *Sylvia*'s prime focus as it has been for strips such as *Doonesbury*. In any given year, however, *Sylvia* will manage to reflect—and have fun with—the mood of a small but hearty band of free-thinkers as they warily eye the shenanigans of the world at large.

—Preston Neal Jones

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## Syndication

Syndication refers to the sale or distribution of television programs that are offered to multiple markets for non-network exhibition. As a practice, syndication stands opposed to network broadcasting where content and schedule are determined nationally for all affiliated stations. Syndication includes a variety of program types including movies, first-run series, re-runs of network programming, talk shows, game shows, foreign programs, and children's series. While syndication may resemble network distribution in that the same programs air over many separate outlets, the timing (day of the week as well as time of day) may vary from location to location. Serving as a counterbalance to network control, syndication has developed from

the simple sale of off-network programming in the early 1950s, into a number of complex and varied business practices including off-net, first run, re-run, and barter syndication. More than just the distribution of programs, syndication regulations and practices have played a major role in the development of contemporary television. From the Federal Communication Commission's (FCC) “Prime-Time Access Rules” (PTAR) and “Financial Interests and Syndication” (Fin/Syn) rulings, to the programming of UHF, cable, and even entirely new networks, syndication has been one of the most debated—and most important—business and programmatic practices within the television industry.

During the 1950s the television networks owned and controlled most of the programming they aired. The networks were able to present re-runs of programs, or sell the rights, even if they had minimal or no investment in the actual production. Networks defended this practice by arguing that they were equally responsible for the success of a series, since they promoted, placed, and provided the exposure for the program. This left them in the enviable position of taking minimal financial risk in a show's production, while at the same time enjoying long term profit from its being broadcast (and re-broadcast). Unable to risk the capital necessary to produce a series on their own, many independent production companies disappeared during these early years, and by the 1960s, almost all programming was produced by the networks or movie studios. In an attempt to limit the networks' monopolization of television production, exhibition, and distribution, the FCC examined syndication and made sweeping changes to network practices in 1970-1971. The FCC's motivation was to re-energize local and independent production, and to accomplish this goal they adopted the Fin/Syn and PTAR rulings.

The Fin/Syn rulings effectively ended network monopolies on syndication. Following these rulings networks could not syndicate domestically and could only sell a program internationally if they had completely financed the production. Furthermore, networks were limited in the number of programs they could produce, thus creating greater dependence on outside production companies. The PTAR, on the other hand, limited prime-time network broadcasts to the 8:00 to 11:00 pm slot in the top 50 television markets. In adopting these rules the FCC hoped that they would open access to programming, and encourage affiliates to air shows that were independently or locally produced. Rather than generating a resurgence of local programming, however, the PTAR led to the development of inexpensive shows which attracted a significant audience—often in the form of game shows like *Wheel of Fortune* or *Jeopardy*. Ironically the FCC's decisions had tremendous economic ramifications which affected the television and movie industry alike. Given one year to divest themselves of their syndication services, networks sold these divisions. Such sales led to the formation of new companies like Viacom which, once a division of CBS, now owns Paramount Pictures and its own television network (UPN).

Syndication became increasingly important as television expanded and the new and independent Ultra High Frequency (UHF) television stations looked for programming. With the expansion of non-network stations syndicators found themselves in the enviable position of supplying content for a significant portion of the daily television schedule. Separated from the networks, the syndication industry became more profitable, powerful, and competitive, leading to new practices intended to make programs more economically attractive to affiliates. One such example is “barter syndication,” which was designed to meet the needs of advertisers and affiliates alike. In this form of syndication, the distributor would give the

program to affiliates free of charge in exchange for ad time on the program. By placing a program in enough markets around the country, the syndicator could then sell commercials to national advertisers and keep the revenue as their payment. During the early days of UHF, stations needing to fill their schedules were cash-poor, and barter syndication offered them a way to gain programming without expending their limited capital. Eventually, as stations became more established, syndicators would move towards a combination of cash payments and ad time for their programs.

The most common form of syndication is “off-network syndication,” which refers to programs that have already aired on network television. The cost of these programs was generally recouped during their network runs, which meant that most of the syndication revenue became profit. Anyone who grew up watching television after the 1960s is familiar with a host of programs, from *Gilligan’s Island*, *F-Troop*, or *Rockford Files*, to name a few, which were (and still are) aired in this manner. With the growth of cable, entire networks, such as TV Land, were built on the strength and popularity of off-network programming. A more recent trend has been “first run syndication,” which refers to programs that are syndicated when they are new. While there is more financial risk in this type of syndication—since the costs are not absorbed through network exhibition—these programs offered tremendous control and profit potential to the producers. Perhaps the most famous shows distributed in this fashion include *Baywatch*, *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, and a number of game shows. By the 1980s, the emergence and success of “first-run syndication” led to a new type of inexpensive programming known as “reality programming,” “trash,” or “tabloid TV.”

With the success of cable television in the 1980s, syndicators once again experienced an increased demand for programs. Following the growth of independent stations, the expanded cable market made syndication one of the most profitable businesses in television. This all began to change by the late 1980s, however, as production companies recognized the greater value of their programs, and new

networks emerged, reducing the number of independent stations. The first blow came with the formation of the Fox network, which combined a number of previously independent stations and supplied them with regular network programming. By the end of the 1980s syndicators experienced additional setbacks when the FCC eased syndication rules and policies, thus allowing networks more freedom to produce and distribute programming. This situation was then further exacerbated by the development of two new networks (WB and UPN) which committed many of the remaining independents to network programming. Nevertheless, syndication remains a viable, powerful, and profitable method of television distribution.

In addition to the economic ramifications, syndication has also created a unique cultural phenomenon: cross-generational exposure to television programming. Because of syndication, the favorite programs of one generation of television viewers may remain popular decades after they have aired. This practice appeals to a sense of nostalgia for some, and demonstrates the timelessness of television’s generic programmatic qualities to others. In either case television is somewhat unique in that series and children’s programs continue to be enjoyed for generation after generation.

—James Friedman

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## Tabloid Television

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During the 1980s, the proliferation of popular television shows focusing on sex, crime, and gossip, such as *A Current Affair*, *Hard Copy*, and *Inside Edition*, led some media critics to fear that the lines between responsible journalism and sensationalism were being blurred. These “tabloid television” shows, so designated because of their resemblance to supermarket tabloid newspapers, relied for their content on gossip, barely credible sources, an appeal to emotion, and the use of checkbook journalism, staged reenactments of events, and home video footage. These practices have had an impact on mainstream broadcast journalism, which has been charged with downplaying more serious news in order to compete for viewers and advertising revenue.

Tabloid television began in earnest in 1986 when media magnate Rupert Murdoch created *A Current Affair* and put it into syndication. The half-hour show featured anchorman Maury Povich and stories focusing on sex, crime, and sleaze. At the height of its popularity, it claimed ninety million viewers in the United States. This show spawned a series of copies, such as *Hard Copy* and *Inside Edition*, which for many uninformed people blur the distinction between responsible journalism and gossip. In the 1990s, such events as the O. J. Simpson murder trial and the death of Princess Diana offered much fodder for the purveyors of tabloid television.

The methods used by the producers of tabloid television are at odds with acceptable journalistic practice as defined by mainstream television news. Checkbook journalism is one of the most hotly contested practices. The tabloids commonly pay their sources for interviews, especially exclusive ones. Mainstream journalists argue that this encourages sources to embellish their stories in order to make more money. Likewise, the use of re-enactments of crimes or other activities blurs the line between what actually happened and a fictionalized account of what may have happened. Yet, even as mainstream journalists condemn these practices, they are increasingly using them in their own shows.

The O. J. Simpson trial offered an important case study in tabloid television. Coverage of the trial became continuous, and mainstream journalists began to compete with the tabloids, often by employing many of their methods. NBC News, for example, using computer modeling, “re-created” the murder for viewers. In another example, *Dateline NBC* rigged the gas tanks on some Ford trucks to explode as a way of dramatizing their alleged danger. Some mainstream broadcasters have also begun citing tabloid reports as “news” in their own reports, justifying it with the disclaimer that they are reporting information, though its truth or falsity could not be verified. This sort of “peeping tom” journalism—reporting on what the tabloids are saying and even criticizing it—offers to the mainstream journalists a way of carrying the same information, but with reduced risk. Yet, the continued use of this activity means that ultimately, there is little differentiation between the tabloids and the mainstream.

Author Matthew Ehrlich argues that this separation between mainstream and tabloid news has never been that concrete. In *The Journalism of Outrageousness: Tabloid Television News vs. Investigative News*, he points out that the principle characteristics of the

tabloids have always been similar to the characteristics of investigative news. For example, both take a stand on the guilt or innocence of the particular parties involved, both take a moralizing tone, and both examine crime and sex. The only difference, Ehrlich argues, is that investigative news uses this material to inform and possibly rectify the world, while the tabloids use the material merely for entertainment.

The zenith of tabloid journalism may have come with the death of Princess Diana in August 1997. In a statement made after her death, her brother, Lord Spencer, expressed his belief that the “press would kill her in the end,” a reference to the high-speed car chase involving *paparazzi* photographers in Paris. Although print tabloids were most implicated in the event, the criticism implicated tabloid television as well.

—Mia Consalvo

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## Tabloids

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Tabloids were originally pint-sized newspapers specializing in the sensational. Once confined to so-called “scandal sheets,” or magazine-style newspapers that many people saw only in grocery store checkout lines, during the last years of the twentieth century their subject matters of sex and scandal seeped into the mainstream press and virtually all other media, including magazines, radio, television, and the Internet. Nearly all of American journalism seemed affected by the spread of tabloid news, as coverage of the personal foibles and problems of celebrities and presidents became commonplace. The line between the splashy press and the serious journal became blurred.

Once a proprietary name for a pill or tablet, the word “tabloid” came to be almost exclusively associated with sensational journalism. Later, “tabloid” described a newspaper about half the size of most broadsheets. Tabloids popularized the news by featuring bold pictorial coverage of sex escapades, murder and gore, sports, and scandals of all sorts, but especially those relating to the lives of the rich and famous. The word tabloid also sprouted offshoot words, such as “tabloidese” for the breezy writing style of many tabloids, “tabloidesque” to connote tabloid-type publications, and “tabloidization” to mean compression of stories or literature, according to *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*.

To understand the incursion of tabloids and the tabloid style into the mainstream media, it is helpful to consider three eras of journalism: the early days of the media barons, the era of young, free-spirited reporters in the anything-goes years around the "Roaring Twenties," and the electronic age when new forms of media mushroomed. Although *Vanity Fair* in its late twentieth century incarnation dubbed the 1990s the "Tabloid Decade," the last several decades of the century could be called a tabloid age when stories of murders, sex, scandal, and the once-private lives of public officials spread into every home through newspapers or the electronic media.

In the early years of U.S. journalism, power belonged to those who owned a printing press. There was no competition from radio, television, or other media in news coverage, advertising, or audience appeal. In the 1800s and early 1900s, the pulse of American journalism ticked away in New York City, where publishers found gold in what was called the "penny press," a new form of American papers that produced eye-opening stories that were long on scandal and mayhem but short on analysis or depth. Publisher Benjamin Day launched the early penny press trend with his *New York Sun* in 1833. Another New York publisher, James Gordon Bennett, followed with *The Herald* in 1835. Six years later the famed Horace Greeley edited the *Tribune* as a penny press.

But the best known promoters of mass-appeal newspapers were mogul William Randolph Hearst and his rival, Joseph Pulitzer. Hearst created an empire in New York and a dozen other cities of big-circulation newspapers, successful magazines, and a wire service (International News Service). His power extended to American foreign policy. When his headline-shouting newspapers published reports about Cuba's demands for independence from Spain, the articles helped bring on the 1898 Spanish-American War.

Hearst was in fierce combat for newspaper circulation dominance with Pulitzer, a Hungarian-born newspaperman who bought and created newspapers, including the *St. Louis Dispatch* and the *St. Louis Post*, which he formed into the *Post-Dispatch*. Later, Pulitzer entered the New York journalism wars, buying the *World* in 1883 and four years later the *Evening World*. Pulitzer and Hearst battled furiously for readers through hyped-up news accounts that gave rise to the derogatory "yellow journalism" brand. After his death, however, Pulitzer's name became associated with high journalistic standards. Through his will, he endowed Columbia University's School of Journalism and started the distinguished Pulitzer prize for news excellence. Hearst too left a legacy of newspapers, magazines, and broadcast outlets.

If Pulitzer and Hearst drove the popular press wagons, the workhorses and talent pulling them were the reporters. In the early days, they were often a rough-and-tumble bunch who had little education but shared a knack for digging up stories and dirt and spinning a good yarn. Although they were poorly paid for their efforts, some of the nation's biggest literary figures of the twentieth century, such as Ernest Hemingway, got their start in newspapering.

What they lacked in college education, many of these young reporters of the 1920s made up on the streets and in the police stations of the nation. H. L. Mencken, the great Baltimore newspaperman, writer, and all-around curmudgeon, belonged to this breed. He wrote in 1942 of his early newspaper days:

At a time when the respectable bourgeois youngsters of my generation were college freshmen, oppressed by simian sophomores and affronted with balderdash daily and hourly by chalky pedagogues, I was at large in a

wicked seaport of half a million people with a front seat at every public show, as free of the night as of the day, and getting earfuls and eyeful of instruction in a hundred giddy arcana, none of them taught in schools. I was laying in all the worldly wisdom of a police lieutenant, a bartender, a shyster lawyer, or a midwife. And it certainly would be idiotic to say that I was not happy. . . . Life was arduous but it was gay and carefree. The days chased one another like kittens chasing their tails.

If there was one work of literature that encapsulated this wild and woolly journalism, it was the highly celebrated play *The Front Page* about newspapering in Chicago written by two former Chicago newsmen, Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur. Hecht, who later gained fame as a screenwriter and author, recalled his early days as a newspaperman fondly, much as Mencken did, in his 1963 book about reporting days, *Gaily Gaily*. Hecht wrote: "I came to Chicago at the age of sixteen and a half and went to work immediately as a newspaper reporter on the *Chicago Journal*. I write of the five merry years that followed. As sang Bliss Carman: Oh, but life went gaily, gaily . . ."

The essential trait among the memorable early newsmen, whether it was Damon Runyon, who wrote humorously of the guys and dolls of the underside of life, or sports writer and columnist Ring Lardner, it was the ability to spin a good yarn. Gene Fowler, called "the last of the troubadours," was one of the best on Park Row (the Fleet Street of New York, where many newspaper offices were located) during the early era of the 1920s. A talented writer and gifted reporter, Fowler portrayed the news scene in his 1961 book of reminiscences of the 1920s:

I still can see the incredibly fast flutter of bandit Gerald Chapman's small feet as he dies on the hangman's rope. I again can hear Queen Marie of Romania tell her lady-in-waiting 'get rid of that damned thing!' after the Dakota Indians have given Her Majesty a war bonnet. Once again I am present at Carnegie Hall as the addled Mayor Hylan makes his ghostwritten address of welcome to President Woodrow Wilson; but unthinkingly keeps his back turned to Mr. Wilson during the ceremony. I remember also the lean Irish statesman Eamon de Valera, clad in his long underwear and huge boxing gloves on his hands, as he spars with his bull-necked secretary in a sitting room at the old Waldorf.

Even as I write, there unaccountably springs to mind an occasion when I asked Henry Ford about the sleep habits of his good friend [Thomas] Edison. Was it true, as legend had it, that Mr. Edison, like Napoleon, slept but four hours? Yes, said Mr. Ford, but Mr. Edison slept twice and sometimes three times a day. . . ! Little things about big men. Or, if you will, big things about little men. . . . The stories of my day are no longer big in the public attention, or else have been chewed upon until the taste is gone.

There were scores of sensational and landmark stories in those days that were covered by the serious papers as well as tabloids, although more colorfully in the latter. There was the manslaughter trial of top comic film actor Fatty Arbuckle, who was acquitted of

brutally assaulting a young actress while he was at the peak of his career, his fame second only to that of Charlie Chaplin. There was Charles Lindbergh's historic transatlantic flight and the later trial of Bruno Hauptmann for the kidnap-murder of the Lindbergh baby. There were riveting accounts of murders and prohibition, the constitutional amendment giving women the right to vote, elections, the Depression, and World Wars I and II.

After World War II, journalism started maturing and opening up its pages to previously untouched stories as competition grew from radio and the new medium of television. In the prewar days, for example, few Americans knew that President Franklin Delano Roosevelt was crippled from infantile paralysis, or polio. An unwritten rule in the press was to protect Roosevelt from being shown, described, or referred to as confined to a wheelchair or wearing braces to stand briefly, assisted by crutches. It was not until after Roosevelt's death in 1945 that his true condition became universally known.

During the postwar era, most of the misdeeds of celebrities were still confined to gossipmongers and a magazine called *Confidential*, which exploited the private lives of movie stars. Few newspapers followed up with front-page stories on material *Confidential* dug up. Major exceptions included the sensational trial and subsequent acquittal of dashing Hollywood actor Errol Flynn on a charge of rape on a yacht.

Stories of large public scope, rather than scandal, dominated traditional newspapers and television news. There were the assassinations of President John Kennedy, Martin Luther King, and Senator Robert Kennedy; space travel; the Civil Rights Movement; the Vietnam War; the Watergate scandal; the resignation of President Richard Nixon. But then came scandals that forced themselves onto front pages by their very dramatic nature and the public stature of those involved, such as the accidental drowning of Mary Jo Kopechne, a young aide of Senator Edward Kennedy, after a car driven by Kennedy went off a small wooden bridge following a party on Chappaquiddick Island, Massachusetts in 1969.

The Chappaquiddick story was the first of a series of news reports about the exploits of Washington figures. The most powerful congressman at the time, House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills, splashed his way onto front pages after his girlfriend, a striptease artist nicknamed "The Argentine Firecracker," jumped unexplainably into the Tidal Basin in the wee hours after the married and very private Mills and the woman had spent an argumentative evening together. Another powerful congressman, Wayne Hays, made news when it became known he had hired a woman with whom he had an intimate relationship to work in his office as a secretary, although she later admitted she couldn't take shorthand or type. The presidential ambitions of Senator Gary Hart ended after reporters learned the married candidate was socializing with a young woman. Especially damaging to Hart was a widely circulated photograph of him and the woman together on a Miami boat called "Monkey Business."

The scope of news coverage was revolutionized again when cable television began filling 24 hours a day with nonstop news, talk, and gossip. "Television tabloid" programs such as *Hard Copy* and *Inside Edition* delivered exposés and inside scoops on celebrities. The mainstream press started paying attention. *The Washington Post*, for example, promoted a new gossip column. The mainstay *New York Times* even started running short pieces on celebrities.

In the 1990s, scandals reported in mainstream media included Washington Mayor Marion Barry's conviction and sentencing on a drug possession charge after being caught on videotape smoking

crack cocaine in a hotel room with a woman who was not his wife during a police raid. Tales of sex and other titillating topics started cascading. The Senate confirmed Clarence Thomas, a black jurist, as an associate justice of the Supreme Court, but not before a former aide, Anita Hill, testified she was sexually harassed by him. There was John Wayne Bobbitt, whose penis was cut off by his wife, Lorena Bobbitt, and who later became a pornographic film curiosity after his organ was surgically replaced. There was the rape trial and acquittal of Senator Edward Kennedy's nephew William Kennedy Smith. But no story to date had captured the public interest as did the nationally televised "trial of the century" in 1995 of O.J. Simpson, who was accused of stabbing his wife, Nicole, and a young man, Ron Goldman, to death. The acquittal of the former professional football hero produced emotions across the nation ranging from outrage to joy. For worldwide coverage, few stories could match the 1997 death of Britain's Princess Diana, who, along with her boyfriend and driver, was killed in an automobile crash after a high-speed chase by photographers through the streets of Paris.

The proportions of the news coverage of the O.J. Simpson case and the death of "Princess Di" were surpassed in the United States when a young woman named Monica Lewinsky arrived in Washington, D.C., and nearly brought down the President of the United States. Her story of sexual intimacy with President William Jefferson Clinton in the Oval Office while she was a White House intern and President Clinton's persistent denials resulted in the House of Representatives' impeachment of Clinton on charges of perjury and obstruction of justice. After much agonizing, the Senate, in only the second impeachment trial of a president in U.S. history, acquitted Clinton of the charges, thus keeping him in office.

The story of the Clinton presidency involved scandal even before he was elected. Voters elected him despite stories he had had an affair while Arkansas governor with a night club singer named Gennifer Flowers. That story, picked up by the mainstream media, was broken by a grocery store tabloid, the *Star*, with the bold headline "My 12-Year Affair with Bill Clinton." By coincidence, it was the same publication that brought down Dick Morris, one of Clinton's top political advisers, during the 1996 Democratic convention by breaking the story that Morris had been conducting an extramarital affair with a Washington prostitute at a hotel near the White House.

Media revelations about President Clinton's extramarital affair brought out defenders who pointed out that other presidents, going back to Thomas Jefferson and including Franklin Roosevelt and John Kennedy, had also had affairs. Pundits said future presidential candidates would routinely be queried on their sexual pasts. Where journalists once left the private lives of politicians alone, it appeared the personal problems of politicians would no longer be off the record. There appeared to be no limits to the public's appetite—already stimulated by stories of sex on daytime TV soap operas and in movies and now fed by newspapers, cable TV, and the Internet—for salaciousness and sensation. The last years of the twentieth century saw the way paved for universal coverage of the foibles of the famous, profoundly changing the tone of American politics, largely because of the irresistible dynamics of tabloid journalism.

—Michael L. Posner

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## *Tales from the Crypt*

*Tales from the Crypt* was one of the most popular and notorious horror comic books of the early 1950s. Like other titles published by EC Comics, *Crypt* featured stories that explored the depravity of human nature and the hypocrisy of middle-class society. Brutality, bloodshed, and sadism were the norm in these stories, and—much to the horror of American parents—the kids loved it.

When the series became widely imitated by competing publishers, the proliferation of horror comics provoked a public backlash that led ultimately to a 1954 U.S. Senate investigation into the comic-book industry. Chastised publishers adopted a stringent Comics Code that year which prohibited the publication of horror comic books like *Crypt*.

—Bradford Wright

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## Talk Radio

Credited with shaping presidential elections and blamed for creating a climate of intolerance, talk radio rose to prominence in the 1990s by offering Americans a free, unfiltered, and often national forum. Whether the issue was a pushy boss, a hapless sports team, or a downtown-parking crunch, talk radio became a sort of water-cooler for the masses. The rise also reflected the increasingly combative nature of American discourse, with on-air arguments, taunts, and racy, satiric routines often the key to a talk show's success. As ratings increased, so did the critics who believed that the radio hosts were, in part, to blame for the increasingly hostile environment that led to a series of high-profile incidents, including the terrorist bombing in Oklahoma City. Leading talk show hosts Howard Stern, G. Gordon Liddy, and Don Imus were branded "shock jocks" for their brash, obnoxious, and often controversial points of view. As Howard Kurtz notes in *Hot Air*, "When White House chief of staff Leon Panetta wanted to attack Newt Gingrich, the strongest insult he could muster was to accuse the House speaker of acting like 'an out-of-control radio talk show host.'" But whether agitator or great equalizer, talk radio offers anyone with a telephone a chance to become part of the national debate. And its influence can be felt off the dial as well, as radio jocks write best-selling books, star in films, and are spoofed on the television sketch comedy show, *Saturday Night Live*.

The emergence of talk radio came about because of technological advances as much as the need for an open forum. Commercial



Don Imus

radio had existed since the 1920s, but the toll free telephone lines and satellite hook-ups that encouraged the spread of the format were not in place for another 60 years.

In the early days of radio, before television, the best known voices were comedians making the jump from the vaudeville stage, old-style newsmen, and sportscasters. The first true talk radio host may have been celebrity interviewer Barry Gray, who began broadcasting out of New York City in the mid-1940s. But Gray's show was without one key element: the caller. Jerry Williams, who went on the air in Boston in 1957, became the first to take calls. He used two tape recorders to comply with the federal regulations requiring delays.

In addition to technical limitations, talk radio was held back by a 1949 law, the Fairness Doctrine, which required equal time for opposing views. The change began in the late 1950s when machinery made the seven second delay possible, enabling hosts to put callers on the air without fear. Talk radio received a similar boost in the 1980s with the spread of satellite and digital phone technologies, which made toll free numbers more affordable for station managers. Emboldened by the fact that these calls were being made not only to a radio station, but also in many cases a radio station in another time zone, callers embraced this new forum. They could yell at another human and risk nothing more than being cut off by the host. In addition, Ronald Reagan abolished the Fairness Doctrine in 1987.

Talk radio spread from 75 stations nationwide in 1980, to 125 by 1987, and 1,350 by 1998.

From the start, talk radio proved a strong voice for political protest. Jerry Williams brought consumer advocate Ralph Nader onto the air to criticize automobile makers in the 1960s. Twenty years later, Williams led a repeal of a law requiring the mandatory use of seat belts in Massachusetts. In 1988, Congress wanted to vote itself a 51 percent pay raise. A nationwide network of talk show hosts, led by Detroit's Roy Fox, suggested listeners send tea bags to Washington, D.C., to show their displeasure. More than 150,000 tea bags were dumped in front of the White House; Congress withdrew the pay raise. A decade later, lawmakers had not forgotten. A survey of members of Congress revealed that 46 percent of them found talk radio the most influential media source during the health care debate; 15 percent cited the *New York Times*.

As talk radio gained stature, so did the voices behind it. In many cases, these were failed disc jockeys who had tried, in vain, to fit into the more conventional music format. Larry King was a broadcasting veteran who first went on the air in 1960 in Miami, Florida, struggled later with a gambling problem and three bad marriages, and was eventually arrested for misusing \$5,000 from a business associate. In 1978, King got what just about everyone in radio gets: a second chance. From the 12th Floor Studio in Crystal City, Virginia, he launched the first nationally broadcast radio show, talking from midnight to 5:30 a.m. The success of his show proved that national talk shows could make it. King eventually left radio for his nightly interview television talk show on the Cable News Network and launched a regular column in the *USA Today*, laying the foundation for the rise of the talk star.

Rush Limbaugh, a college dropout who had failed repeatedly as a rock 'n' roll disc jockey, launched his talk show in the mid-1980s, immediately establishing himself as a conservative voice; his show went national in 1988. No matter that Limbaugh had not registered to vote for several presidential elections; he was courted by then-President George Bush as the 1992 elections approached. Seeking his on-air support, Bush invited Limbaugh to the White House and even carried the talk show host's bags. Limbaugh's influence was considered so widespread that an effort by Congress to bring back the Fairness Doctrine in the 1990s was quickly dubbed the "hush-Rush" bill by the *Wall Street Journal*.

Limbaugh's success provided ample fodder to talk radio's critics. A Times Mirror poll showed Limbaugh's audience to be 92 percent white and 56 percent male. And his on-air mistakes created a strong anti-Rush backlash. The *Flush Rush Quarterly* spurred much of it, reporting Limbaugh's errors. On the Reagan-era Iran Contra scandal, for example, Limbaugh stated: "There is not one indictment. There is not one charge." In reality, there had been 14 people indicted and 11 who had either pleaded guilty or been convicted.

Limbaugh's histrionics were mild compared to those of the freewheeling Howard Stern, the self-proclaimed "moron" of talk radio. Stern made no secret of his distaste for his profession. "Radio is a scuzzy, bastard industry that's filled with deviants, circus clown rejects, the lowest of the low," he said.

Off the air, Stern was the dedicated family man who did not go to parties and spent most of his time with his college sweetheart turned wife, Alison. On the air, he discussed his sexual fantasies, argued with his staff, belched, and complained about the size of his penis. Unlike many other talk shows, Stern attacked celebrity culture instead of celebrating it. He called Oprah Winfrey "a big dolt with an empty, oversized head" and Roseanne "a fat slob." He also promoted a

series of B-level figures, from Jessica Hahn, known for her affair with television preacher Jim Bakker, to Frank Stallone Jr., the less-famous brother of Sylvester. Stern's reporter, Stuttering John, carried out further attacks on celebrity culture. Disarmed by the stutter, expecting another *Entertainment Tonight*-styled softball interview, celebrities were shocked when confronted by John's questions. When Gennifer Flowers held a press conference to address her affair with then-Presidential candidate Bill Clinton, Stuttering John stole the show from the pack of mainstream reporters. "Gennifer," he asked, "did Governor Clinton use a condom?"

Stern also drew the wrath of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), receiving 21 of 44 fines levied. When Alfred Sikes, chairman of the FCC, fined Stern's employer, Infinity, \$1.7 million for allegedly broadcasting obscenities, the radio host responded, on the air, by hoping that Sikes would develop cancer.

If Stern and Limbaugh were considered too controversial by many, Don Imus found a proper balance between shock radio and serious discourse. A radio star whose first career collapsed in the 1970s due to his addiction to cocaine and alcohol, Imus returned to the national airwaves in 1988. His morning show was a mix of news, racy skits, and spoof songs. Imus found himself in line with the media elite, interviewing President Clinton at one point and regularly hosting serious news veterans like Cokie Roberts, Dan Rather, and Tim Russert. He also appeared on the David Brinkley show.

It is this range—from the serious to the frivolous—that talk radio proponents say makes the medium more powerful than the generally entertainment focussed programming on television talk shows. *Talkers* magazine reports that the top five issues on talk radio between 1990 to 1995 were the O.J. Simpson case, the 1992 elections, the Persian Gulf War, the Oklahoma City Bombing, and the Los Angeles riots. But lest it be taken too seriously, *Talkers* also rated discussion of John Wayne Bobbitt, the man whose penis was surgically reattached after it had been cut off by his wife, higher than debates on Bosnia and gays in the military.

For those more interested in serious-minded talk, National Public Radio (NPR) emerged a decade before Limbaugh, Stern, and Imus. Known for lengthy reports and the breathy but understated delivery of its hosts, NPR's style is so distinctive it has also been spoofed on *Saturday Night Live*. NPR made its debut on May 3, 1971 with its first broadcast of *All Things Considered*. That first broadcast reached a few hundred thousand listeners through only 104 public radio stations. Twenty five years later, *All Things Considered* would reach 16 million Americans through NPR's 520 member stations, all the while holding faithful to the wishes of its first director, Bill Siemering, who wanted "calm conversation, analysis and explication."

By the late 1990s, NPR had long established itself as a dependable voice, but the influence of hot talkers like Limbaugh and Stern was still being debated. Limbaugh took credit for the Republican victories during the 1994 Congressional elections and made the cover of *Time* magazine, the headline posed: "Is Rush Limbaugh Good For America?" But by the end of 1996, Clinton had won a second term and the conservative movement was floundering.

Nobody debated whether talk radio would survive. It had made stars of big mouths (Stern, Imus), political impresarios (Limbaugh, G. Gordon Liddy), shrinks and sex therapists (Dr. Laura Schlesinger, Dr. Judy Kuriansky), and even discarded politicians (former New York Governor Mario Cuomo, former New York City mayor Ed Koch).



Whether we liked it or not, we had become, as Howard Kurtz wrote, “a talk show nation.”

—Geoff Edgers

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## Talking Heads

From their earliest days, Talking Heads were a band that defied categorization. Playing in New York during the height of the mid-1970s punk scene, Talking Heads were a preppy-looking trio that became a punk band by association. Despite being musically different, Talking Heads' minimalist sound, their musical combination of energy and intelligence, and their self-conscious and unpretentious demeanor connected them to punk. Some critics tried using the term “Art Rock” to describe the band's intellectual approach to their music, but the term fell short: Talking Heads were cerebral, but they were also eminently danceable, too. Like the characters in their songs, Talking Heads' music dramatized the human predicament of the duel between head and heart.

David Byrne (vocals and guitar), Tina Weymouth (bass), and Chris Frantz (drums) began as a trio in 1975, after dropping out of the Rhode Island School of Design and relocating to New York. Their first single, “Love Goes to a Building on Fire,” was released in early 1977 and displayed the band's spare technique. That same year, the band signed to Sire Records, an independent label whose roster included the Ramones, and released *Talking Heads '77*. The album added keyboardist Jerry Harrison, a former graduate student at Harvard. Their debut appeared to often ecstatic reviews. The lyrics to “Don't Worry About the Government” celebrated civil servants and life's more mundane qualities: “My building has every convenience/ It's going to make life easy for me.” The song's simplicity was almost shocking in its honesty. Hardly a tentative songwriter, Byrne was also capable of writing tense music in “No Compassion” and “Psycho Killer.” The latter song, although not a hit single, brought the group widespread attention for the song's psychodrama: “I can't sleep 'cos my bed's on fire/Don't touch me I'm a real live wire.” The notoriety of “Psycho Killer” was fueled even further by Byrne's physical resemblance to actor Anthony Perkins, who played Norman Bates in Alfred Hitchcock's *Psycho*.

The group's 1978 release, *More Songs About Buildings and Food*, began a long collaboration with producer Brian Eno, who essentially became a fifth member of the group. The album produced a Top-40 hit, a cover of soul singer Al Green's “Take Me to the

River.” The modest hit provided a glimpse into the band's future commercial successes, as well as their developing forays into dance, funk, and international rhythms. “Take Me to the River” also vindicated the band's commercial philosophy: “It wouldn't please us to make music that's impossible to listen to,” said Byrne in *Rolling Stone*, “but we don't want to compromise for the sake of popularity. It's possible to make exciting, respectable stuff that can succeed in the marketplace.”

The opening track on 1979's *Fear of Music*, “I Zimbra,” had polyrhythmic arrangements that announced the group's new musical direction. Not everyone was paying attention. “Life During Wartime,” one of the group's best-known songs, contained the line, “This ain't no disco,” and some mistakenly thought that Talking Heads were the new standard-bearers for the anti-disco movement. The irony around “Life During Wartime” was all too real. Around the time that Talking Heads began incorporating international rhythms, rock critic Ken Tucker wrote that “seldom in pop music history has there been a larger gap between what black and white audiences are listening to than there is right now.” *Remain in Light*, which was released in 1980, was the realization of the polyrhythmic experiment in “I Zimbra.” Augmented by a host of outside musicians, *Remain in Light* had the feeling of a free-flowing jam session at first, but it was tightly structured and disciplined. The album displayed funk and African influences when many whites took the phrase “Black music” to describe several distinct musical forms, like disco, funk, soul, and rhythm and blues.

The next year found the band pursuing solo projects that continued the group's musical blends. Weymouth and Frantz's side project, *The Tom Tom Club*, contained a merger of new wave with dance music, and also rap. The self-titled album included “Genius of Love,” a song whose rhythm was used by several R & B and rap artists of the 1990s. Byrne completed a score for *The Catherine Wheel*, a dance performance by Twyla Tharp that proceeded with *Remain in Light*'s sound. In 1985, Byrne's next project was for an experimental theater piece called *Music for the Knee Plays*, which employed traditional New Orleans brass band struts and funeral marches. Byrne's skill in working with other musical forms was hitting its stride.

The band's first album in three years was 1983's *Speaking in Tongues*. Eno was no longer sharing production chores, and the band shed many of its guest musicians. Talking Heads had a hit with “Burning Down the House” and reached the peak of their popularity with the 1984 film, *Stop Making Sense*. Directed by Jonathan Demme, the film documented the Talking Heads' 1983 tour, and won the National Society of Film Critics Award for Best Documentary. The group recorded three more albums before they unofficially broke up in 1988. In 1996, at the peak of alternative music's popularity, the group decided to reform without Byrne, as the Heads, and recorded *No Talking Just Head*. Byrne sued his former bandmates and asked for an injunction against the album's release. Then, shortly before the album's release date, a settlement was reached and the album was released to generally abysmal reviews.

Talking Heads expanded the musical borders of American popular music. By the late 1980s, international musical styles were being adopted by mainstream artists, like Peter Dinklage and Paul Simon. What the mainstream considered to be acceptable was broadening. In another sense, Talking Heads extended personal musical borders as much as they were intent on stretching national ones. Ken Tucker, in his review of *Remain in Light*, summed up the climate in which the group was attempting to bridge musical gaps: “By 1978,

punk and disco had divided the pop audience. What did Talking Heads do? They recorded Al Green's 'Take Me to the River.' The gesture was a heroic one."

—Daryl Umberger

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## Tang

Tang instant beverage entered American popular culture in the 1960s with a remarkable journey to outer space. The vitamin-fortified drink was first marketed in the late 1950s as a healthy alternative to soda pop. After being chosen by the National Aeronautic and Space Administration (NASA) to be the drink of the astronauts, Tang flew on several flights in the 1960s and soon became a drink of choice for children hoping to emulate the feats of the astronauts. Despite the introduction of new flavors in addition to the classic orange, Tang's popularity diminished in the 1980s and 1990s along with America's excitement over the space program.

—Angela O'Neal

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## Tanning

In the late nineteenth century, high fashion dictated the maintenance of alabaster skin. Creamy white skin signified a person of privileged status, not an unfortunate sun-darkened field laborer. But as the industrial age dawned and laborers increasingly spent long hours in factories and the coal haze above city streets blocked the sun from reaching their tenement windows, the professional-managerial class, with its increased leisure time, embraced a culture of outdoor living. Furthermore, the consumer culture that emerged along with the products of the industrial age prompted a cultural shift toward an emphasis on appearance. Advertising, motion pictures, and the popular press inundated people with images of the body: images that emphasized the display of hedonism, leisure, and sexuality. A tan soon became a status symbol.

Fashion proved the greatest influence on the popularity of the suntan. Many learned about fashion through film; in the early 1920s Bela Balázs had noticed that film was a major influence in the cultural shift away from "words" and toward "visual images" that "drew attention to the appearance of the body, the clothing, demeanour, and



A sunbather gets a tan in the Florida sun.

gesture," according to Mike Featherstone in *Theory Culture and Society*. Douglas Fairbanks Sr. was among the first to popularize the suntan. In his films and publicity shots in the popular press his bronzed skin became an emblem of his vigorous pursuit of outdoor activities. While other male celebrities quickly followed his lead, women, even Douglas' wife Mary Pickford, preserved their light skin. Europe continued to dictate fashion at this time, so when fashion designer Coco Chanel returned from vacation with a deep bronze tan and began using tanned mannequins for her designs in the 1920s, tanning transformed into a cultural obsession in and of itself. Consequently, the deep cut backs of women's dresses in the 1920s and 1930s required tanned skin for the wearer to be appropriately fashionable. The more revealing fashions became adornments for bronzed skin, and by 1946, women could tan their skin publicly in as little as a bikini.

The new sun worship prompted by fashion had support from science, which had begun to report the healthful benefits of sunshine at the turn of the century. Previous warnings about the sun's harmful effects on the skin gave way to new research that had proven the sun's healing qualities on diseases like rickets and tuberculosis in the late 1800s. Articles announcing the healing benefits of heliotherapy and tanned skin proliferated. An antebellum health advisor, William A. Alcott, promoted the idea that "Not a few individuals would be gainers in point of health, especially children and females, by being slightly tanned over their surface." Dr. Edwin E. Slosson reported in *Daily Science News Bulletin* in 1923 that, instead of being harmful, "It seems that ultra-violet and violet rays may be positively beneficial," according to *Literary Digest*, which featured a photo of babies

at the beach with the caption: “Nothing is better for babies—or grown people either—than a good coat of tan, we have it on high scientific authority.” And by 1929, an American article proclaimed that “the skin of a healthy man is brown, smooth, and sleek,” according to Featherstone.

During the warm months, interest in sunbathing on beaches began in the interwar years and continued unabated into the early 1980s. But while many could sunbathe during the summer, only the well-off could afford the cost of air travel, which allowed them to spend winters in sunny locations. There were few status symbols as obvious as tanned skin during the winter. *Newsweek* reported in 1966 that in the “jet age” the tan had become a status symbol that could “be worn like Brooks Brothers clothes as a sure sign of affluence.” Tanned skin became synonymous with health, wealth, leisure, and style.

“Nothing is as transient, useless, or completely desirable as a suntan,” a pre-feminist Gloria Steinem wrote in *The Beach Book* in 1963, adding “What a tan will do is make you look good, and that justifies anything.” Steinem perfectly captured the kind of zeal that fueled many hours of sunbathing. The desire for tanned skin prompted formulas for obtaining the perfect tan to abound. People coated themselves in baby oil and red iodine believing this mixture would turn their skins a fashionable caramel brown color. Some smoothed on a purple peroxide foam which promised to speed the tanning time and bleach the body hair to enhance the depth of the tan’s color by contrast. Others restricted their diets before tanning, eating vitamins and avoiding wine and spicy foods, to increase their chances of getting a coppery glow. Some even rubbed their skin with salt to tan faster. The truly fanatical sun worshipers lay inside aluminum coffins or ringed their necks with sun reflectors to ensure themselves an even tan. The proliferation of tanning salons and tanning booths promised people of every class access to a year-round tan by the late 1970s. (Indoor tanning became one of the fastest growing industries in North America, increasing 54 percent between 1986 and 1988, according to *U.S. News and World Report*.) People willingly sought out these seemingly ridiculous activities because, according to *Newsweek*, “only the result counts.” An episode of the sitcom *Seinfeld* highlighted the folly of these tanning strategies when the character Kramer coats himself in butter as he basks in the sun, only to appear and smell like a well-roasted turkey to his hungry friend, Newman.

Any number of brands sought to capitalize on the craze for suntanned skin. The first branded suntan cream available in America was a Coppertone brand cream made mostly of cocoa butter that was introduced in 1944. By 1945 Coppertone Suntan Oil was advertised with an “Indian Head seal” and the slogan “Don’t Be a Paleface.” But Coppertone’s most enduring image—“Little Miss Coppertone”—debuted on Miami-areas billboards in 1953. The illustration of the tanned young girl whose dog is pulling down her panties to display her white-skinned bare bottom soon graced billboards, advertisements, and product labels across the country. The little girl came to represent the youthfulness associated with tanned skin. If Little Miss Coppertone represented the youthfulness of tanned skin, Ban de Soliel Orange Gelée advertisements captured the sexual appeal of the suntan. The 1970s and 1980s advertisements for the Bain de Soliel brand using the sultry and darkly tanned model, Kriss Ziemer, epitomized the glamour many hoped a tan would confer.

While the hazardous effects of a sunburn and the detrimental effects of sun bathing on fair-skinned people had long been known, worries about tanning began to reach a wider audience by the 1970s as the incidence of skin cancer had begun to rise noticeably. Between 1930 and 1986 the Skin Cancer Foundation of the American Cancer

Society figured that the incidence of melanoma had risen tenfold, from one in every 1,500 people to one in every 150. Research into the ill effects of sun bathing resulted in the proliferation of products to protect the skin from burning. The Coppertone Solar Research Center created and initiated the use of SPF factors—a standardized measurement of a sunscreen’s ability to protect the skin and prevent sunburn—in sun lotions in 1972, but SPF numbers (2, 4, 6, 8) did not appear on product labels until 1977. And not until 1980 did the Skin Care Foundation grant Coppertone Supershade 15 an acceptance seal as an “effective aid in the prevention of sun-induced skin cancer.” When research in the 1980s revealed that most exposure to the sun occurs during childhood, Little Miss Coppertone began to promote sun protection over tanned skin for children. The first offering of SPF 30 formulas appeared in 1993, and by 1998, Coppertone had joined with the American Academy of Dermatology to promote the use of sun-blocks in the “Stop the Sun, Not the Fun” campaign, the first in-school sun safety program. By 1994, Little Miss Coppertone could be seen with a hat, sunglasses, and T-shirt, when she was used to help promote the new UV Index.

The scientific authority of the 1990s condemned tanning. Doctor Darrel Rigel, professor of dermatology at New York University, Manhattan, told *FDA Consumer Magazine* contributor Alexandra Greeley that “There is no such thing as a safe tan. Why does the body tan? Because the body is being injured by ultraviolet radiation that hits it. This causes the body to make melanin, a natural sun screen. So to get tan, you must get injured first.” The American Cancer Society reported that by the late 1990s the incidence of malignant melanoma had risen to one in 75 and predicted that 44,200 people would be diagnosed with the disease in 1999, of which 9,200 would die, according to Gandee. The scientific community has linked the rise in the number of affluent young people afflicted with melanoma to air travel. Dermatologist Patricia Wexler told Gandee that the melanoma rate is higher in younger generations “because our parents didn’t go to the Delano or the Hamptons or St. Bart’s.”

Despite the overwhelming evidence of the negative effects of the suntan, tanning products companies continued to promote the benefits of a tan. The Bain de Soliel brand began to use lightly tanned women in its ads, but continued to promote products to help obtain deeply bronzed skin into the 1990s, as did many other brands. One significant change in the promotion of tanning products was the residual rhetoric about how “healthy” tanned skin looks. A 1999 radio ad for the Go Bronze sunless tanning lotion sold at the Bon Marché department store, for example, featured a woman saying that she wanted tan, healthy looking skin too.

Sunless tanning products could offer the “look” without the damage. Sunless tanning products that turned the skin a realistic tan color made the sunless tanning market more viable in the 1990s than it had been when the first sunless tanning products were introduced in 1960. These first products, including Schering-Plough Healthcare Products’ Quick Tanning lotion, the first sunless tanning lotion, offered an orange-ish tan color that was easily identified as fake. Some fashion magazines, like *Vogue*, furthered the interest in sunless tanning lotions by presenting articles about the harmful effects of the sun in the same issue that featured photos of bathing suit clad models covered in sunless tanning lotions frolicking on a sun-drenched beach.

Though by the late 1990s some continued to mimic the looks of actor George Hamilton, who *Newsweek* dubbed the “Sultan of Suntan” for the year-round tan he has maintained for three decades, there had been a steady increase in the numbers of people who Coppertone identified as “sun concerned”—a category based on

sales of products with an SPF number of 8 and over—since the early 1980s. A 1994 survey by the American Academy of Dermatology reported that one third of the respondents never sunbathe and always use a sun screen, according to Greeley. And dermatologist Dennis Gross indicated that in assessing his patients from the mid- to late 1990s, “the number of women who consider a tan desirable has gone from the majority to the minority,” according to Gandee. Aside from the medical reasons to curb suntanning, the sexual appeal of pale skin was beginning to gain followers with the admirers of public figures, including Gwyneth Paltrow, Nicole Kidman, and Uma Thurman. In addition, fashion magazines like *Elle* began to feature paler models for spring and summer issues. Future historians may well look back on the fashionable suntan as an oddity of the twentieth century.

—Sara Pendergast

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## Tap Dancing

An indigenous American dance form that evolved as African and British dance traditions merged during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, tap dancing involves the production of syncopated sounds by the dancer’s feet. Tap dancing has been a mainstay of virtually every type of popular performing-arts entertainment in the United States, from minstrel shows to vaudeville, revues, extravaganzas, Broadway and Hollywood musicals, nightclubs, precision dance teams, and television variety programs. A remarkably adaptive dance form, tap has fused with and reflected the changing entertainment

sensibilities of American audiences for almost 200 years. Tap routines figure prominently in children’s dance recitals, as dance instruction is a popular enrichment activity for youngsters and many are too young for, or uninterested in, the serious discipline of ballet. Adult amateurs also find tap dancing a fun form of recreation and exercise.

Though some trace the roots of tap back to the ships that transported enslaved Africans to America (as the Africans’ dancing was observed by the Europeans, and vice versa) the significant merging of the two dance traditions began on southern plantations. When a mid-eighteenth century law forbade slaves from playing drums, they increased the use of their feet to embody rhythms in their dancing. Their observations of the articulated foot actions of Irish step dancing and other European dances practiced by their masters engendered a new hybrid dance form in which the Africans combined fancy footwork with their sophisticated rhythmic sensibilities. Oftentimes they were put into contests by their masters and won prizes for the most daring or complex dancing. This inspired individual creativity and competition, characteristics that continued to drive the development of tap dancing well into the twentieth century.

In the minstrel shows, the most popular form of American entertainment during the mid-nineteenth century, tap dancing became a codified stage dance form. Its most esteemed practitioner was William Henry Lane, known as Master Juba, a free African American who was one of the only blacks to be allowed to perform onstage with whites. The new social dances that sprang up around the turn of the twentieth century were incorporated into the developing tap dance vocabulary. By 1910 the use of metal plates attached to the bottoms of the shoes’ heels and toes became commonplace; previously, the dancers wore wooden-soled shoes or pounded nails or pennies into leather soles.

Vaudeville became the next important breeding ground for the advancement of tap dancing. Striving to earn a living in a business that depended on continuously pleasing and surprising audiences, tap dancers were constantly inventing more impressive maneuvers. Different categories of tap dancers evolved: eccentric dancers, such as Ray Bolger, sported a loose, rubbery movement style; comedy dancers, such as Bert Williams and George Walker, were duos who danced as foils to one another; flash acts, such as the Nicholas Brothers, added spectacular acrobatic tricks to their tapping; class acts, such as Charles “Honi” Coles, were elegant in their costuming and movements; and the rhythm- or jazz-tappers, such as John W. Bubbles, explored the complicated rhythms of jazz music.

By the 1930s tap dancing chorus lines had become a prominent feature of Broadway and Hollywood musicals. While such stars as Fred Astaire, Gene Kelly, Ann Miller, Eleanor Powell, Shirley Temple, and Bill “Bojangles” Robinson advanced the popularity and artistry of tap dancing, the ensembles stunted tap’s artistic growth. The art of tap dancing lies in the subtle nuances and complex rhythmic interchanges between the beat, the music, and the tapping sounds. When executed by large groups, the sounds must be simple, otherwise multiplication breeds muddiness. Precision teams, such as the Rockettes, have solidified tap dancing’s place in American popular entertainment, but have frozen it, artistically. It was at the Hoofers Club in Harlem that the art of tap flourished as the great jazz-tappers held improvisational “challenge” contests and pushed each other to further develop their skills.

During the 1950s and 1960s tap “hibernated” as its performance outlets vanished. The Hoofers Club had closed and jazz-tappers found that the crowded rhythms of be-bop, the new form of jazz music, left no space for tap sounds. Rock ‘n’ roll was too loud for

tapping. The age of movie musicals was ending, nightclubs turned to comedy and music acts, ballet had overtaken Broadway, and vaudeville had long since died.

The tap revival began when a group of old-time hoofers appeared at the Newport Jazz Festival in the early 1960s and intrigued the public with their artistry. In 1968 a series of “Tap Happenings,” held in Manhattan, provided opportunities for audiences to witness the legendary jazz-tappers. By the 1970s the rhythmic explorations of these early hoofers were recognized as an integral part of the development of jazz music. Their work, and tap dancing in general, began to be viewed with serious eyes.

The 1970s was a nostalgic decade on Broadway and re-introduced tap dancing in new musicals, such as *No, No, Nanette* (1971) and *Bubbling Brown Sugar* (1976). The release, in 1974, of Metro Goldwyn Mayer’s *That’s Entertainment!* re-acquainted audiences with the tap dance stars of old Hollywood musicals. New tap dance stars soon emerged and put a contemporary urban face on tapping. Gregory Hines appeared in the Broadway musicals *Sophisticated Ladies* (1983) and *Jelly’s Last Jam* (1991), and in the film *Tap* he pioneered an electronic form of tapping, originally engineered by Al Desio, whereby the dancer makes music through electronic transmitters built into the tap shoes. Savion Glover fused tap with hip-hop sensibilities and wowed audiences with his fierce, heavy-footed style in the Broadway revue *Bring in ’da Noise, Bring in ’da Funk* (1996). In 1989 Congress declared National Tap Dance Day to be celebrated annually on May 25, Robinson’s birthday.

Though many dancers of the 1990s approach tap as art, it is not commonly perceived as serious dance. Tap dancing has been called America’s folk dance and, as such, will probably always be most appreciated for the joy it gives to its participants—both professional and amateur—and to spectators of popular entertainment.

—Lisa Jo Sagolla

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## Tarantino, Quentin (1963—)

Best known for writing and directing the Oscar winning film *Pulp Fiction* (1994), Quentin Tarantino is one of the most critically lauded film directors of the 1990s. In *Reservoir Dogs* (1992) he redefined the primary elements of the pulp genre—murder, drugs, sex, violence, and betrayal—by introducing self-consciously witty dialogue, formal inventiveness, and slick yet casual violence. As a result he raised what had been traditionally judged as a B movie genre to an avant-garde art form. His style has become like a brand name in the film industry. Celebrating popular culture and capitalizing on the political correctness backlash of the 1990s, Tarantino’s audiences are served a hearty dose of shallowness, ease, and familiarity combined

with as much violence and sex as an R rating can indulge. In addition to writing and directing he also acts, produces, and distributes films.

—Adrienne Russell

## Tarbell, Ida (1957-1944)

One of *McClure’s* muckrakers, Ida Tarbell changed the oil business in America. A female journalist was not common at the turn of the twentieth century, especially not one who muckraked or scandalized industry. From *McClure’s* excerpts, Tarbell published the two volume *History of Standard Oil* in 1904. In it she revealed the many unfair business practices of Standard Oil and owner John Rockefeller. Tarbell became a whistleblower on the most powerful trust in America. She earned the name the Joan of Arc of the oil region. The government broke up the Standard Oil Company in 1911.

Ida Tarbell was born in Titusville, Pennsylvania, to an oil baron father, Franklin Tarbell. Ida, the only female freshman, attended Allegheny College and gained a degree in biology in 1880, and joined the staff at *McClure’s* magazine with muckrakers Ray Stannard Baker and Lincoln Steffens. Her inquiry into Rockefeller was not all from professional interest; her father invented wooden barrels to hold oil and attained great wealth, but nearly went bankrupt when he failed to sell his business to John Rockefeller. His ultimate victory, however, would come when *The History of Standard Oil* and its revelations led to the break up of the largest corporation in America.

Ida Tarbell was also a historian. Her first major publication in 1895 was on Napoleon and Josephine Bonaparte. She wrote eight books on Abraham Lincoln, his relatives, and his family. In fact, until the release of Abraham Lincoln’s Papers in 1947 she was considered the measure of Lincoln history. Ida Tarbell made her mark in an era when women journalists were often not taken seriously.

—Scott Stabler

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## Tarkanian, Jerry (1930—)

Jerry Tarkanian—ever so appropriately nicknamed “Tark the Shark”—is both one of the most talented and controversial college basketball coaches in the history of the sport. His nineteen-year tenure at the University of Nevada-Las Vegas began in 1973, and was highlighted by a quartet of appearances in the Final Four, a national championship in 1990, and an overall record of 509-105. Nonetheless, throughout his UNLV career, Tarkanian constantly was in conflict with the National Collegiate Athletic Association, the governing body of college sports. In the late 1970s, the NCAA placed the Runnin’ Rebels’ hoops program on two years’ probation for recruiting violations. The school was directed to suspend its coach—an action that Tarkanian blocked with a court order. He also sued the NCAA, albeit unsuccessfully—although the case went all the way to

the Supreme Court. And yet another clash between Tark and the NCAA ended up in the Supreme Court, in which the justices rejected the coach's attempt to resurrect a Nevada state law that had shielded Tarkanian and his UNLV associates, who had been charged with breaching NCAA regulations.

Two years after UNLV won the national championship in 1990, the NCAA commenced another major investigation of Tarkanian. This time, the coach resigned under pressure—and yet again sued the NCAA, accusing the organization of trying to run him out of college basketball. The suit was settled in 1998, just before it was set to go to trial. While admitting no liability, the NCAA paid Tarkanian \$2.5 million. “They can never, ever, make up for all the pain and agony they caused me,” Tarkanian observed. “All I can say is that for 25 years they beat the hell out of me.” Tarkanian eventually signed on as the basketball coach of Fresno State, from which he had graduated in 1955. However, the conflict surrounding him did not subside. In 1997, controversy again swirled on campus when it was revealed that the Bulldogs had recruited a convicted wife abuser, and two of his players were accused of assaulting their girlfriends. The following year, two players were jailed on charges of grand theft and assault with a deadly weapon. Nonetheless, Jerry Tarkanian remains a seminal figure in the sport of college basketball, where his unconventional style combined with his phenomenal success, have left a deep and lasting impact on the game.

—Rob Edelman

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## Tarkington, Booth (1869-1946)

A prolific and versatile writer of mainstream fiction, (Newton) Booth Tarkington is remembered for his portrayals of middle-class life in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Indiana. His best known works, *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1918) and *Alice Adams* (1921), were awarded the first and the fourth Pulitzer Prizes for literature. The former was adapted for the screen by Orson Welles in 1942, and the latter is considered by critics to be Tarkington's finest accomplishment. A novelist, playwright, essayist, and briefly a politician, Tarkington produced a total of 171 short stories, 21 novels, 9 novellas, and 19 plays along with a number of movie scripts, radio dramas, and even illustrations over the course of a career that lasted from 1899 until his death in 1946. Having achieved a wide audience but not the lasting respect of critics, most agree that his finest work was done around the time of World War I.

Born in Indianapolis, Indiana, to the sort of comfortably well-established family that he later popularized in his fiction, Tarkington dictated his first short story to his sister at the age of six, and by the age of 16 had written a 14-act work on Jesse James. After graduation from Princeton, Tarkington moved to New York and labored futilely for



Booth Tarkington

five years to get his work published before turning to his own background for inspiration. Said Tarkington, “I had no real success until I struck Indiana subjects.” He later described his first book, *The Gentleman from Indiana*, as “an emotional tribute to the land of my birth.” A commercial success, it received only lukewarm comment from critics, many of whom labeled it an unrealistic romance. Thus was a general pattern set for Tarkington's career. A 1991 *Dictionary of Literary Biography* entry on Tarkington suggested that “Although he had more talent than most of his contemporaries, his work never quite achieved major significance, and he had to be content with a large rather than a discriminating audience.”

In 1902, Tarkington married Laurel Louisa Fletcher and was elected to the Indiana House of Representatives as a Republican, though he was forced to vacate his seat a year later due to an illness. The couple spent most of the next decade traveling through Europe, but Booth's happiness, as well as his writing, were disrupted by bouts of excessive drinking and finally by divorce in 1911. One year later he married Susanah Keifer and took up his literary career again full-time. In 1914 he began work on his “Penrod” stories, which recaptured boyhood life in the late nineteenth century. In the postwar years, Tarkington's career reached its zenith with two Pulitzer Prizes. His prolific output during this time was not accidental; by all accounts he was a literary workhorse sometimes putting in 18-hour days of solid

writing with little or no diversion until the task of the moment was complete. The popularity of this work made him financially comfortable, and beginning in the 1920s Tarkington settled in to what he called “the milk run”—summers at Kennebunkport, Maine, and winters in Indianapolis. Cataracts gradually diminished his sight, and in 1930 he went completely blind. Surgeries successfully returned a part of his vision a year later, but his vitality was diminished. He turned primarily to children’s stories in the final phase of his career, while also becoming a significant collector of art. He died in 1946 after an illness.

The volumes that Tarkington completed over the course of the first half of the twentieth century form a documentary testament of industrialization, urbanization, and social flux in urban middle America. Biographer James Woodress characterized his body of work as “a paradigm of growth in the Midwest.” In his fiction, Tarkington clearly expressed his distaste for the bustle and grime of urban life. *The Magnificent Ambersons* documented the incursion of the dirty streets, unkempt masses, and smoke-filled air of the industrializing metropolis into an idyllic nineteenth-century world. Part of the tragedy of the book is aesthetic as the beautiful estate of the great family is vanquished by bland, utilitarian architecture and uncultured people. Yet, ironically, Tarkington chose to spend much of his adult life in the city whose fall he lamented in his fiction. Addressing this paradox, Tarkington said, “I belong here, I am part of it, and it is part of me. I understand it and it understands me. I would be out of touch with what I know best if I did not spend at least part of each year in Indianapolis.”

In describing his style, an anonymous reviewer in the *North American Review* commented, “Mr. Tarkington is neither a realist, nor a romanticist, nor a localist, nor an impressionist, nor any special kind of literary artist, but simply a complete novelist.” Tarkington himself fought the impetus to pigeonhole his work, vehemently rejecting the label of “romanticist” that some reviewers tried to force upon him. His literary heroes were Mark Twain and especially William Dean Howells. Dickinson quoted Tarkington on his wholesome, all-American tastes: “[He] admires all those things which every decent, ordinary, simple-hearted person admires,” and “hates precisely those things hated by all honest, healthy, ‘American,’ people.” Yet, Tarkington was nonetheless criticized by some conservative contemporaries for his critique of the American fascination with wealth, superficiality, and what he often referred to as “bigness” as ends in themselves, an overriding selfishness that he saw leading society toward mental and spiritual degeneration.

Tarkington lives on through his two Pulitzer-winning novels, the “Penrod” stories, and Orson Welles’ 1942 film adaptation of *The Magnificent Ambersons*. These are remembered for their sentimental and socially conscious renderings of boyhood and middle-class life in the American Midwest around the turn of the century. Tarkington is not considered a literary genius, despite the Pulitzers. Instead, his legacy is as one of the most popular writers of the first half of the twentieth century—a period in which he sold more than five million volumes.

—Steve Burnett

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## Tarzan

Edgar Rice Burroughs’ Tarzan, the world’s best-known apeman, first swung into view in the pages of a pulp fiction magazine in 1912. The Lord of the Jungle went on to conquer the media, including books, movies, comic strips, radio, comic books, and television. Burroughs was in his middle thirties and had failed in several professions—including being an instructor at a military academy, running a stationery store, and working as a salesman of pencil sharpeners—when he turned to the writing of pulp fiction in the second decade of the twentieth century. His first published work was a serial titled *Under the Moons of Mars*. It introduced his science fiction hero John Carter and started in the February 1912 issue of *All-Story* magazine. Later that same year, borrowing from the works of such writers as H. Rider Haggard and Rudyard Kipling, Burroughs invented his major character. His novel *Tarzan of the Apes*, subtitled “A Romance of the Jungle,” appeared in its entirety in the October issue of *All-Story*.

Tarzan, like Kipling’s Mowgli, was a feral child. In the case of young John Clayton, the future Lord Greystoke, the little boy was raised by apes in the wilds of Africa. His parents, Lord and Lady Greystoke, were marooned on the African coast by the mutinous crew of the ship they’d been traveling on. Tarzan’s father built a hut for himself and his pregnant wife, and it was there that the boy was born. His mother died soon after and his father was later killed by an attacking band of great apes. But a female ape named Kala, who’d just lost her own offspring, adopted and raised the child. “The apes called him Tarzan, meaning white-skin,” as the comic strip version explained. “He grew up among them. He learned to speak their language and he lived as they did, in the trees.” Somewhere along the way the wild child learned modesty and took to wearing a sort of sarong fashioned from a leopard skin. He later, after stumbling upon his family’s hut, discovered books and taught himself to read. As his knowledge increased, the boy began to suspect that he was no ordinary ape.

Burroughs was basically a fantasist and well aware that in a real life situation, his little white-skinned hero wouldn’t have made it to his first birthday. But it was more fun ignoring reality. The novice author also didn’t have much of an idea of what Africa was really like. In the pulpwood version of *Tarzan of the Apes*, Burroughs included a tiger named Sabor among his animal cast. His editor didn’t catch this, and it took a reader to write in and point out that “the tiger is not and never has been included in the fauna of the African continent.”

Eventually Tarzan encountered other humans. Initially they were natives, and the earliest interactions were far from cordial. Then



The cast of the *Tarzan* films (from left): Jane (Maureen O'Sullivan), Tarzan (Johnny Weismuller), Boy (Johnny Sheffield), and Cheetah.

another group of mutineers arrived in his stretch of wilderness. This bunch had captured a group of treasure seekers headed up by Professor Porter and included his daughter Jane and Tarzan's cousin William Cecil Clayton, the present Lord Greystoke and suitor of Jane Porter. Once Tarzan, now a full grown young man, encountered Jane, he was smitten. He proceeded to rescue her and her friends and to arrange a jungle interlude, perfectly innocent, with her. Eventually, however, she sailed back to America, leaving her Jungle Lord behind. Tarzan, with the help of a new friend, was able to establish that he was the true Lord Greystoke. But when he followed Jane to her home, he became convinced that she actually loved the other Clayton. So rather than tell her or William Clayton the truth, he delivered one of the great curtain lines in fiction—"My mother was an Ape. I don't know who my father was."

In addition to Kipling and Haggard, Burroughs was very much influenced by Victorian fiction in general. Tarzan is very much a typical Victorian hero, a fellow who is a gentleman to the core. And just as true gentlemen like *Oliver Twist* and *David Copperfield* survived in the urban jungle of nineteenth century London, Tarzan

survived in the jungles of Africa and proved that he, too, was a gentleman. A gentleman, if he's honest and right-thinking, can't be kept from rising to his true rank in society. And in the next several books John Clayton did just that, eventually winning back his title and marrying Jane. Burroughs, knowing his audience well, always made certain that there was an abundance of jungle action, lost cities, cruel villains, lovely maidens, wild savages, white goddesses, and untamed beasts in each subsequent Tarzan book.

Tarzan's conquest of the media began almost at once. In 1914, *Tarzan of the Apes* appeared as a hardcover novel. Eventually there would be two dozen novels about the apeman, the majority of them serialized in pulp magazines, such as *Argosy* and *Blue Book*, prior to publication. *Tarzan of the Apes* became a silent movie in 1918. Barrel-chested Elmo Lincoln, who'd portrayed a blacksmith in *The Birth of a Nation*, was the first screen Tarzan. He was followed in the role by such actors as Frank Merrill, James Pierce (who married Burroughs' daughter Joan) and P. Dempsey Tabler. In the talkies of the 1930s, Buster Crabbe, Bruce Bennett (under his real name of Herman Brix) and Glenn Morris all took turns at wearing the leopard



skin. But the definitive Tarzan of that decade, as well as of the 1940s, was Johnny Weissmuller. Not an actor but a record-breaking swimmer, he was in his late twenties when he first took to the trees for MGM's *Tarzan the Ape Man*. It's said that he beat out such contenders as Joel McCrea, Johnny Mack Brown, and Clark Gable for the part. W. S. Van Dyke directed the film, and Maureen O'Sullivan played Jane.

MGM's Tarzan was not the articulate gentleman of the novels. He was a rather primitive fellow not much more versed in human speech than one of his apes. "My lines read like a backward two-year-old talking to his nurse," Weissmuller once complained. The major reasons for making his screen apeman less than fluent were probably Weissmuller's slightly fluted voice and his evident inability to get conviction into any line of dialogue containing more than a half dozen words. For swimming, grappling with man and beast, rescuing Jane, and swinging from tree to tree on a vine, though, he had no equal. An assortment of others, usually athletes rather than actors, succeeded him in the role in the more than 50 films created around the Tarzan character. Of all the Tarzan films, however, the 1984 *Greystoke: The Legend of Tarzan, Lord of the Apes*, best captures Burroughs' original vision of the character.

Tarzan came to the comic pages as a daily strip in 1929, with a Sunday page added in 1931. The dailies, for several years, were anonymous adaptations of the Burroughs' novels. There were no dialogue balloons or sound effects, and the copy, set in type, ran below the pictures. Hal Foster, a seasoned advertising illustrator by then, drew the first sequences. Having little faith in comics and even less love for Tarzan, he soon dropped the project, and a less gifted artist named Rex Maxon took over drawing the daily and the Sunday. Burroughs, who had originally wanted pulp illustrator J. Allen St. John for the job, never thought much of Maxon's rendering of his hero, nor of the jungle denizens. Since United Feature Syndicate had the final say, all the author could do was write disgruntled letters to the editors there. These apparently had some effect, because Foster was eventually persuaded to come back and draw the Sunday *Tarzan* page.

Foster's pages were impressively and ambitiously drawn, and he could render ancient Egyptian civilizations surviving in contemporary Africa, Viking pirates, prehistoric monsters on the rampage, and even a foxhunt in rural England with equal ease. When he left the feature in the middle 1930s, he was replaced by Burne Hogarth. Among the subsequent artists were Bob Lubbers, Russ Manning, Gil Kane and Gray Morrow.

United Feature included reprints of *Tarzan* in the lineup of *Tip Top Comics*, launched in 1936, and subsequently also in *Comics On Parade* and *Sparkler Comics*. Dell introduced original adventures of the jungleman in 1947 with artwork by former Disney artist Jesse Marsh. In later years, both Marvel and DC Comics tried, unsuccessfully, to make a go of a comic book devoted to the character. The chief artist at DC was Joe Kubert. Tarzan's influence in the comics did not die with his strip; other comic strips used the character for comic effect, including Sam Watterson's *Calvin and Hobbes* (in 1986), Gary Larson's *The Far Side* (1991), Dan Piraro's *Bizarro* (1997), Gary Blehm's *Penmen* (1997), Wiley Miller's *Non-Sequitur* (1997), and Mike Peters' *Mother Goose and Grimm* (1998), among others. Burroughs' hero also appeared in Big Little Books, on the radio, and on television. Disney also produced a full-length animated feature.

—Ron Goulart

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## Taxi

At the Sunshine Cab Company on the television series *Taxi* (1978-1983), everyone comes off a little angry for putting in long hours at an unrewarding job while yearning for something better. Everyone that is except for Alex Reiger (Judd Hirsch), the only practical thinker in the entire garage who declares in the initial episode, "Me? I'm a cab driver. I'm the only cab driver in this place." Like Ralph Kramden in *The Honeymooners*, each week the characters of *Taxi* would take a new chance at success only to return to the garage defeated but still hopeful about the future.

*Taxi* was not only one of the best situation comedies of the latter 1970s, it was also one of the most awarded and critically acclaimed. It won 18 Emmys in its five year run (winning the Outstanding Comedy Series Emmy the first three of those years), and helped to launch the careers of Danny DeVito and Christopher Lloyd.



The cast of *Taxi*.

The series came into existence solely on the track record of its writer-producers, James L. Brooks, Stan Daniels, David Davis, and Ed Weinberger, who had been behind the highly successful *Mary Tyler Moore Show* and its spin-offs. The four men decided to leave MTM and form their own production unit at Paramount Studios, which they named John Charles Walters Productions after a sign Weinberger had seen in an English pub. There was no such person at the company, but the name sounded dignified.

Wanting to get away from shows about white collar women workers, James Brooks decided to revive an idea he had with David Davis about doing a show concerned with taxi drivers, an idea once considered in conjunction with Jerry Belson (co-creator of *The Odd Couple* TV series) before it was abandoned. The producers had persuaded MTM to purchase the rights to an article on cabbies by Mark Jacobson that ran in the June 21, 1976 issue of *New York* magazine. Grant Tinker of MTM agreed to sell the rights for the article to the new production company for the same amount that he had purchased them for—\$1,500.

The part of Alex Reiger was written with Judd Hirsch in mind, but after the failure of his series *Delvecchio*, Hirsch was reluctant to return to television until he read the show's first script. While Reiger would sometimes be troubled by philosophical questions when not dispensing advice to the others, Louie DePalma (DeVito), the firm's disagreeable, dishonest dispatcher never seemed to suffer from hurt feelings or a troubled conscience.

The DePalma character was originally a minor part until casting director Joel Thurm brought in Danny DeVito who walked into the office in character and quickly came to dominate the show just as he did the garage. By and large, the show resisted using gratuitous insults and wisecracks, with the exception of DePalma, who was given to saying things like, "Banta, sometimes I wish you were smarter just so you could see how dumb you are" or "Fill out this form, and I hope you fill it out better than you fill out your pants." DePalma provides the conflict and is the enemy that the other cabbies band against.

Other characters went through changes as well. Tony Danza's Tony Banta character was originally supposed to be a punch-drunk Irish heavyweight rather than an unsuccessful young boxer, while Marilu Henner's Elaine Nardo character was supposed to be a tough-minded Italian woman in her thirties rather than a young, divorced woman looking to make ends meet, but the producers altered the characters to fit the performers they selected.

The characters on the show were realistic, except for Latka Gravas (Andy Kaufman), the cheerful mechanic from a mythic foreign country, who was included because the producers had enjoyed Kaufman's stand-up act and wanted to incorporate the kind of material he did into the show. Other characters included an aspiring actor Bobby Wheeler (Jeff Conway) unable to land a part, and Reverend Jim Ignatowski (Christopher Lloyd), a former hippie burn-out and minister of the "Church of the Peaceful" who seemed off in his own world and had an infinite number of peculiarities. Rev. Jim had been written as a one-shot, and was recruited to become a regular the second season when the shy John Burns' character—played by Randall Carver—was written out of the show.

What makes the show a classic is the enormously high quality of the writing and the acting that went into the series. *Taxi*, like *M\*A\*S\*H*, found a way to bring humor to what would often be potentially tragic situations. The characters are often estranged from other family and by being co-workers become friends, forming an unlikely family of their own. Hirsch was particularly adept at picking out subtle, perceptive nuances in his performances, while Kaufman,

Carol Kane (who played Latka's wife Simka), and Christopher Lloyd were simply off-the-wall wacky and amusing. The entire cast was nominated for a Golden Globe Award in 1979.

Left alone by the network and given a good time slot, *Taxi* started off as a resounding success, finishing its first two seasons in the top twenty. However, in the third season, ABC moved the series to Wednesday night and saw the ratings fall off. When it was moved to Thursdays the following season, it did even worse, falling to 53rd place, and it was soon canceled despite its Best Comedy Series Emmy wins.

Strangely enough, Grant Tinker left MTM in 1981 to become the head of the NBC Network, where he promoted the idea of quality programming. He beat out a bid from HBO for giving the series a second chance, and *Taxi* was picked up by NBC for its fifth and final season. (DeVito recorded a promo as DePalma snarling, "Same time, better network!").

Unfortunately for the show's followers, the numbers remained low. The following September when the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences presented the series with three Emmys, Outstanding Lead Actor in a Comedy Series winner Hirsch quipped, "Don't they know we've been canceled?" In accepting his award, Hirsch declared, "If you can't get it out of your mind, if you have to keep giving laurels to us, then you should put it back on the air." However, there was to be no second reprieve, though the series proved very successful in syndication.

—Dennis Fischer

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## *Taxi Driver*

*Taxi Driver* captured the angst felt throughout America in the post-Vietnam era. Directed by Martin Scorsese, *Taxi Driver* (1976) is a psychological drama and a tale of alienation, displaced sexuality, and life in the big city. The film stars Robert De Niro, Harvey Keitel, Cybill Sheperd, Jodie Foster, Peter Boyle, and Albert Brooks. Scorsese's male protagonists tend to be energetic, violent, and driven toward public recognition; Travis Bickle, played by De Niro, is no exception. Travis is a Vietnam-era vet who yearns to "be somebody" but only succeeds in becoming increasingly deranged and lonely as the film progresses. Scorsese's cinematography and the cast's skillful acting made *Taxi Driver* an enduring portrait of one of America's most disconcerting periods.

Set in New York City, *Taxi Driver* traces the daily habits of Travis as he drives his cab through the city, working long hours to avoid the monotony of his life. The film opens with shots of De Niro's eyes looking at the world from behind the glass windshield of his cab, calling to mind his isolation from society, which becomes magnified with time. Travis' life changes when he falls for a political campaign manager named Betsy, played by Cybill Sheperd. Betsy's rejection of



Robert De Niro as Travis Bickle in *Taxi Driver*.

Travis instigates his obsession with guns and fixation with the idea of rescuing a teen-age prostitute he meets in his cab, played by Jodie Foster.

Travis simultaneously destroys his body with drugs, alcohol, and junk food, and yearns to get himself into shape and to get his life organized. These two poles of his personality are best illustrated by an infamous scene in which Travis has a standoff with his mirror image. Travis looks at himself in the mirror and utters the most frequently quoted lines in the film: “You talking to me? You talking to me? You talking to me? . . . Well I’m the only one here.” This scene enacts the construction, rehearsal, and performance of masculinity. In the privacy of his own room, Travis practices the role of the type of man he would like to be and calls to mind the anxiety embedded in the process of striving for this masculine ideal in the American post-Vietnam era.

The score for *Taxi Driver* was written by Alfred Hitchcock’s composer, Bernard Herman, and completed the day before he died. While he collaborated with Hitchcock on many films, Herman is most famous for composing the soundtracks for *Psycho* and *Vertigo*. Like many of Hitchcock’s films, *Taxi Driver* is a film about making movies. In a direct reference to Hitchcock, Scorsese appears in a shot at the beginning of the film. He later acts in a scene in which he and De Niro gaze at the silhouette of a woman through an apartment window (calling to mind Hitchcock’s *Rear Window*). The cinematic spectator is continually addressed by shots of De Niro watching movies, films, projectors, the gazes of secret service men through photographic lenses, Travis’ mirror, and the car window through which Travis experiences much of the world.

Director Martin Scorsese grew up in an Italian-American community in Little Italy. He entered a seminary after grammar school

only to be asked to leave at the age of fourteen after falling in love with a girl. Scorsese attributes much of his cinematic fascination with issues of family loyalty, hierarchy, and spirituality to his early years in Catholic school. He made his first short film in high school and went on to study film at New York University. While most of Scorsese’s earlier body of work deals with issues pertaining to Italian-American identity, later in life, he began to turn his camera away from Little Italy with films such as *Alice Doesn’t Live Here Anymore*, *The King of Comedy*, *After Hours*, *The Last Temptation of Christ*, and *Kundun*. This is certainly not to say that Italian-American themes have not played a continual role in Scorsese’s work. His 1990s films such as *Goodfellas* and *Casino*, and standards such as *Raging Bull* and *Mean Streets* point to his continuing interest in exploring stereotypes of Italian-Americans through mafia narratives.

—Kristi M. Wilson

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## Taylor, Elizabeth (1932—)

Fame and notoriety attached themselves to Elizabeth Taylor very early in her life and never left her. It is more than likely that she will forever occupy a place in both cultural and social history as twentieth-century America’s most celebrated woman—as well as one of its most beautiful—and certainly Hollywood’s last genuine star in the great tradition. Whether in good films or bad, the pull of her magnetic presence continually drew hordes of fans, mesmerized by her screen persona and her off-screen life, which took on the aura of myth.

A national institution and a living legend, Taylor became the paradigmatic exemplar of media-driven notions of celebrity, and an emblem of outrageous excess—conditions that defined her adult image. Her extraordinary, colorful and, indeed, remarkable life, made her an object of constant fascination to the public, among whom she variously evoked admiration, even worship, as well as periodically inviting derision or attracting moral outrage. However, the notoriety that has attached to her fabled marriages (seven husbands, eight weddings), her abundant wealth, her disappointments and tragedies, her many illnesses, weight problems, and battles with substance abuse, served seriously to overshadow her acting achievements to the detriment of her professional reputation.

By the time she voluntarily retired from filmmaking after a character role as Pearl Slaghoople in *The Flintstones* (1994), her 51st



**Elizabeth Taylor**

and last film, Elizabeth Taylor had the longest postwar career of any actress in Hollywood. It was largely as undistinguished as it was lengthy, her abundance of talent and intelligence too often buried, as she herself observed with her customary candor, in a welter of mediocrity. Nevertheless, among her credits, the handful of good roles in worthwhile films rightfully earned her five Academy Award nominations and two Oscars, the French Legion d'Honneur, and the American Film Institute Lifetime Achievement award; while her eloquent campaigning for causes, notably in the field of AIDS research, brought her the Academy's Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award.

Elizabeth Rosemond Taylor was born in Hampstead, London, on February 27, 1932, the daughter of American parents. Francis Taylor was an art dealer and his wife Sara was a socially ambitious former stage actress. Thanks to their influential connections, Elizabeth and her elder brother Howard enjoyed a privileged early childhood. To escape World War II, the Taylors returned to the United States in 1939, finally settling in Beverly Hills, where Francis opened a fashionable gallery in the Beverly Hills Hotel. With child and teen stars a popular fixture of Hollywood movies at that time, Sara Taylor was determined that her pretty, violet-eyed daughter would be one of them.

A shy child who loved animals, Elizabeth had no desire to become an actress but, in the grip of an iron-willed mother, found herself at age nine auditioning for MGM, who turned her down, and Universal who took her on. She made her debut playing an objectionable brat with little to say in a poor comedy programmer called *There's One Born Every Minute* (1941), after which the studio dropped her. She lived the natural life of a child again until late the

following year when she made *Lassie Come Home* for MGM, beginning a contractual association with MGM that lasted until the early 1960s. The studio immediately lent her to Fox for a tiny role as the child who dies in *Jane Eyre* (1943), after which she was enrolled in the MGM schoolroom, and appeared (mostly in small featured roles) in a string of films that were largely forgettable. It was the death of normality. Owned by the studio and controlled by her mother, Elizabeth did as she was told, her self-image gradually shaped by her movies, her adolescence a fantasy lived through the roles she played.

In 1943, while training for her first major role—in *National Velvet*—Elizabeth fell from her horse and sustained a spinal injury, the first of several such over the course of her life. When the film was released in 1944, her performance as Velvet Brown who, disguised as a boy jockey, wins the Grand National, enchanted critics and audiences alike. Fresh, natural, and vivacious, the 12-year-old also revealed the beginnings of her great beauty that even the braces on Velvet's teeth failed to mar. Over the next few years Elizabeth was transformed from sparkling teenager to ripening, sensuous woman, with no intermediate stage. As the eponymous *Cynthia* (1947), her role sounded a perilous echo of her own life—an over-protected, over-controlled teenager battling with her mother (Mary Astor) to gain adolescent freedoms; in *A Date with Judy* (1948) she was the sophisticated, sexy, and knowing teenager who sets out successfully to catch the man (Robert Stack, aged 29) earmarked for Judy (Jane Powell).

In a radio interview with Louella Parsons just before the release of *Cynthia*, the 15-year-old rising star, who had not yet been allowed a boyfriend, said that she wanted to be a great actress, but added, with ironic prescience, "most of all, I want to snare a husband." Meanwhile, MGM sent her to England in late 1948 to play a wife—married to Robert Taylor—in *Conspirator*, a film whose only merit was to reveal the actress's burgeoning beauty, talent, and physical maturity. She was 17.

All eyes were on the young Elizabeth Taylor by 1949, a year in which she made the cover of *Time* magazine, became engaged to the wealthy and eligible William Pawley Jr. in a blaze of publicity, broke the engagement when he demanded she give up the career to which she was now totally committed, and, on loan to Paramount, began work on *A Place in the Sun*. Under the guidance of director George Stevens, her performance marked a new seriousness in what was the most significant film of her career to that date and one of the best she had ever made. Elizabeth, at her most incandescent as the young heiress ensnared in a doomed love affair, starred opposite Montgomery Clift. Offscreen, they adored one another, but it was a hopeless situation for the deeply infatuated Elizabeth, who learned to settle for a close and enduring friendship with the homosexual Clift, and fell in love with Nicky Hilton instead.

She met Hilton, heir to the hotel fortune, while filming *A Place in the Sun* and married him in May 1950. The extravagant "fairytale" wedding was glitteringly stage-managed by MGM, as was the release of her new film, rushed out to coincide with her nuptials. The resulting publicity made *Father of the Bride*, in which Elizabeth starred as the about-to-be wed daughter of Spencer Tracy and Joan Bennett, one of the studio's most profitable hits. The real-life, 18-year-old bride left on an extended European honeymoon during which she discovered that her husband was a neglectful, abusive, womanizing drunk. By December the marriage was over. Bruised and bewildered, Elizabeth went back to work, moved to her own apartment for the first time, and was squired by choreographer and director Stanley Donen. MGM

disapproved, and sent her to England in June of 1951 to play a secondary role in *Ivanhoe*.

By the time she returned, *A Place in the Sun* had placed her firmly in the upper echelon of stardom, and she was in love with Michael Wilding, the British actor who, at 38, was twice her age. Demonstrating the willful determination that became one of the hallmarks of her character, she virtually proposed to him, and they married in 1952. The couple had two sons, but their floundering marriage, doomed from the start by the inequity of age and status, was over by 1956, the release year of *Giant* in which Elizabeth gave a fine dramatic performance opposite Rock Hudson and James Dean, and the year she began making *Raintree County*.

A lavish period drama which cast Elizabeth as a Southern belle tormented in love, *Raintree County* (1957) brought the actress her first Oscar nomination but, during filming, Montgomery Clift had the car crash which famously left its mark on his beauty. Elizabeth, who had been devastated by the death of her friend James Dean in similar circumstances, was first at the scene, cradling his bloody head in her lap. She remained his closest friend, and it was reportedly at her insistence that he then seriously drug- and alcohol-addicted actor was cast in *Suddenly Last Summer* (1959)—the film which brought her an Oscar nomination for her performance as Katharine Hepburn's traumatized niece.

In 1957, Elizabeth was swept off her feet by the flamboyant producer and impresario Mike Todd (born Avrom Goldbogen), 24 years her senior. She converted to Judaism and married him in Acapulco in February 1957. The best man was Todd's great friend, crooner Eddie Fisher. August brought the premature and difficult birth of Liza Todd, and Elizabeth was warned that she could have no more children. (Three years later she adopted a German-born daughter, to be known as Maria Burton). In March 1958, Elizabeth had begun filming *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* with Paul Newman when Todd's plane, *Lucky Liz*, crashed in a storm. A hysterical and grief-stricken Taylor emerged from sedated seclusion to complete the film, giving a performance of powerful depth as Tennessee Williams's unhappy Maggie the Cat and earning a well-deserved Oscar nomination.

Eddie Fisher provided solace in her grief. When he divorced his wife, Debbie Reynolds, to become Taylor's fourth husband, the star's sympathetic public, fueled by the tabloids, turned hostile, branding her a home-breaker. (In truth, the Fisher-Reynolds marriage had been in crisis for some time.) Eddie and Elizabeth married in a Las Vegas synagogue in May 1959, the year she was approached by Walter Wanger to play the title role in *Cleopatra*. Facetiously agreeing to consider the offer for a fee of one million dollars, Taylor was astounded when Twentieth Century-Fox agreed to this unprecedented and astonishing sum. But first she had a contractual obligation to fulfill at MGM.

The vehicle chosen for her was *Butterfield 8*, in which she played Gloria Wandrous, high-class hooker and nymphomaniac who pays for her sins by dying in the wreckage of her sports car. The moral climate and censorship rules of the time caused endless headaches in the search for compromise, resulting in a sub-standard and tacky film that, from the outset, Elizabeth was opposed to making. Despite the roller-coaster ride of her private life and her volatile temperament, she was no scarlet woman, and her eventual forced acquiescence represented a tough battle that the studio won. She co-starred with Laurence Harvey and, at her insistence, her husband Eddie Fisher. Despite the odds, Elizabeth, the throat scar from her recent surgery largely concealed, gave a convincing performance which, ironically, brought her first Oscar win, thought to have been awarded on the

sympathy vote. (Co-nominee Shirley MacLaine famously remarked, "I lost to a tracheotomy.")

In September 1960, Elizabeth Taylor arrived in London to begin work on *Cleopatra* for director Rouben Mamoulian. Her co-stars were Stephen Boyd (Antony) and Peter Finch (Caesar). By October 10, Elizabeth was ill, and by November 18, her recurring infections led to the temporary shutdown of filming. She flew to Palm Springs to recuperate and returned in January 1961 to resume work. Mamoulian had resigned and was replaced by Joseph L. Manckiewicz who set to work on script changes. At this time, the *Motion Picture Herald* top ten box-office poll was announced, with Elizabeth Taylor at number one. While work on the script dragged on, the Taylor-Fisher retinue, installed at the Dorchester Hotel, lived like royalty, with "Queen" Elizabeth exhibiting the extravagance for which she became renowned. She had her favorite foods specially flown in from several corners of America, as well as from France and Italy and, while Manckiewicz rewrote the script, she shopped. The marriage to Fisher was not turning out to be a success.

On March 4, 1961, Elizabeth became dangerously ill and was rushed to the London Clinic where emergency surgery was performed. For some days she hovered between life and death while the world (and Twentieth Century-Fox) held its anxious breath, but emerged from the clinic on March 11 having made, according to the surgeons, a miraculous recovery. Restored to favor by her adoring public, the world's most famous glamour icon departed to California for necessary rest and recuperation, and collected her *Butterfield 8* Oscar while *Cleopatra* was once again shut down and rescheduled to shoot in Rome.

The Taylor-Fisher entourage—three children, several dogs and cats, and a large staff—arrived in Rome on September 1, and took up residence at the Villa Papa, a seven-bedroom mansion set in eight acres of gardens a few minutes from the Cinecittà studios. Delays in filming had brought cast changes, and the new Mark Antony, Richard Burton, was occupying a nearby villa with his family. Filming began on September 25, fraught with the problems of a half-finished script and uncompleted sets. Amid the chaos, Elizabeth remained calm and professional—and fell head-over-heels in love with Richard Burton.

Their affair was most protracted and public adultery that the modern world had yet beheld; and the world remained at once scandalized and transfixed by the affair for the best part of 14 years in the face of the Taylor-Burton antics. The complexities of double divorce prevented the couple from marrying until March 1964, during Burton's Canadian season of *Hamlet*, by which time they had made *The VIPs* (1963) together. It was a feeble British film that cashed in shamelessly on the couple's notoriety, but worse was to follow with the risibly awful *The Sandpiper* (1964). Professionally, the liaison marked a period of decline for both of them. Their fees (never less than a million plus for Taylor) were grossly disproportionate to the quality of their joint ventures, with the shining exception of *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*; this screen adaptation of Edward Albee's play revealed a hitherto unthinkable Taylor: blowzy, loud, passionate, and vitriolic as the embittered Martha, locked in a poisonous game with her husband George. It was a *tour de force*, the finest work of her career, and her second Oscar was a fitting tribute to her committed and lacerating performance.

The Burtons, inescapably, were famous for being famous. They were also famous for their drinking binges, their rows, and their astonishing extravagances. They became a kind of traveling circus, buying an ocean-going yacht, several homes, priceless paintings and, for Elizabeth, jewelry. Burton bought his wife the Krupp diamond

(\$305,000), the historic “La Peregrina” pearl (\$37,000), the Cartier diamond (\$1.1 million), and the Shah Jahan yellow diamond (\$900,000). By 1972, the marriage was in trouble and 1973 saw the announcement of a separation and a failed attempt to reconcile. They were divorced in 1974, remarried on the banks of an African river in Botswana in 1975, and parted finally in 1976.

Between their endless travels and upheavals, Elizabeth had made numerous films, of which only *The Taming of the Shrew* with Burton and *Reflections in a Golden Eye* with Brando (both 1967) merited any real attention. At the end of 1976 she married ex-Secretary to the Navy John Warner, and settled in Virginia to play the role of the loyal politician’s wife. Her high profile campaigning helped her husband to the U.S. Senate, but she grew bored and put on weight; the couple separated in 1981. With her film career gradually petering out, Elizabeth took to the stage for the first time, playing Regina in *The Little Foxes* on Broadway and in London’s West End (1981-82). It was a brave stab at a medium for which she was totally untrained, but the public flocked to the show, and in 1983 she joined forces with Richard Burton, playing Amanda to his Elyot in Noel Coward’s *Private Lives* on Broadway. It was a risible exercise, really, but the public willingly paid inflated ticket prices to see the legendary pair.

In August 1984 Richard Burton died of a cerebral hemorrhage. Elizabeth collapsed at the news, but stayed away from the funeral for fear of causing a media stampede. She subsequently made a pilgrimage to Burton’s family in Wales and attended a memorial service in London before returning to make a TV movie (one of several during the 1980s, among them *North and South* and *Sweet Bird of Youth*). The following year brought more grief with the news that her friend Rock Hudson was ill with AIDS. Her publicized visit to Hudson’s bedside marked the beginning of her high profile campaigning for AIDS awareness and research funds, and it became her primary occupation as her acting career wound down.

Throughout the late 1980s, Elizabeth Taylor’s name was romantically linked with numerous men, among them actor George Hamilton and the multi-millionaire Malcolm Forbes. She made *Young Toscanini* (1987) in Italy for Franco Zeffirelli, which was shown at the Venice Film Festival, but was barely released. It was her last major screen appearance. Alongside her AIDS work, she launched the first of her perfumes (the aptly named “Passion”), and gave attention to her children and grandchildren. She continued, however, to be dogged with illnesses of various kinds and, increasingly, relied on pain-killing drugs. (According to biographer Donald Spoto, she suffered 73 illnesses, accidents and injuries requiring hospitalization between 1947 and 1994). Suffering the effects of drug dependency, she checked herself into the Betty Ford Clinic in 1988, where she met construction worker Larry Fortensky.

In October 1991, in a ceremony held at singer Michael Jackson’s ranch, thirty-nine-year-old Fortensky became fifty-nine-year-old Elizabeth Taylor’s seventh husband. It was a last act of personal folly, and the marriage was over by 1997, the year that she had an operation to remove a brain tumor. Once again, people the world over waited anxiously for the outcome but Elizabeth Taylor emerged, shaven-headed, to continue crusading on behalf of the less fortunate, demonstrating the truth of her own words, spoken in a 1987 interview: “I have no plans to succumb. I am a survivor.”

—Robyn Karney

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## Taylor, James (1948—)

Blending folk, country, and blues to create his own distinctive musical sound, James Taylor spearheaded the singer-songwriter movement in the 1970s. Born in Boston in 1948, Taylor began playing guitar at twelve and soon was performing at small folk gigs. But having struggled with depression at boarding school, at sixteen, Taylor checked himself into a mental hospital, where he graduated from high school. After moving to London in 1968, Taylor was the first outside artist signed to the Beatles’ Apple Records. Following the release of his first album, he returned to the United States in 1969, where his first single, “Carolina In My Mind” climbed the charts. In 1971, Taylor was featured on the cover of *Time* magazine as the “originator of the singer-songwriter era.” Described in *Time* as “a blend of Heathcliffian inner fire with a melancholy sorrows-of-young-Werther look,” Taylor was romantically linked to Joni Mitchell, but married singer Carly Simon in 1972, the same year he won his first Grammy. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Taylor continued to release critically and commercially successful albums, refining his style while maintaining his superb musical craftsmanship. Still touring to packed houses in the 1990s, Taylor’s 1997 album, *Hourglass*, rose to Number 9 on the Billboard chart and went platinum. Now in his fifties, James Taylor may be the granddaddy of singer-songwriters, but he remains a thoroughly contemporary musician and an ever-popular star.

—Victoria Price

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## Taylor, Robert (1911-1969)

Typecast for most of his career as a handsome ladies man, Robert Taylor became a top box office attraction after his first major film in 1936 and continued to star in big budget movies for the next twenty years. The list of leading ladies who played opposite Taylor include some of the biggest stars of Hollywood’s Golden Age: Irene Dunne, Loretta Young, Barbara Stanwyck, Joan Crawford, Greta Garbo, Jean Harlow, Hedy Lamarr, Ava Gardner, Greer Garson,



Robert Taylor

Vivien Leigh, Norma Shearer, Katharine Hepburn, Elizabeth Taylor, and Deborah Kerr. Of his long association with MGM, Taylor said: "I stayed with one studio for twenty years, took what they gave me to do, did my work." Summarizing his treatment at the hands of movie critics, he said, "I never got raves, but neither did I get pans."

Born Spangler Arlington Brough (a name dear to trivia buffs), the son of a physician in Filley, Nebraska, Taylor initially decided on a medical career, but acting in amateur productions in college soon led him in another direction. He enrolled in a Los Angeles drama school, where a talent scout saw him in a production of *Journey's End*. After a screen test, he was signed by MGM to a seven-year contract, starting at \$35 a week. In his first film he played a supporting role to Will Rogers in *Handy Andy* (1934). A succession of low-budget pictures followed, but in 1936 he moved to number four in the box office ratings with the teary film, *Magnificent Obsession*, opposite Irene Dunne. Taylor starred in the role of a playboy who becomes a respected surgeon in order to restore the sight of a woman he had blinded in an automobile accident. After the film was released, all of the most glamorous Hollywood leading ladies wanted to play opposite the handsome young actor.

Two other important films followed in 1936—Taylor starred with Barbara Stanwyck in *His Brother's Wife* and with Joan Crawford in an historical drama, *The Gorgeous Hussy*. His sudden appeal at the box office led MGM to star him opposite Greta Garbo in *Camille*. Comparing him with the uniquely talented Garbo, critics were almost unanimous in calling the pairing one of the great mismatches of cinema history. Studio executives pointed out, however, that in the important area of ticket sales, Taylor ranked number three in 1937,

while Garbo was only number six. In 1937 Taylor played the more macho role of a secret service agent, who is ordered by President McKinley to join a gang of robbers to expose a powerful mob, in *This is My Affair*, opposite Barbara Stanwyck as a saloon-girl. Taylor and Stanwyck were married in 1939, a much-publicized Hollywood romance that lasted until 1952.

In the late 1930s, studios gave Taylor parts designed to draw more men to his pictures. He was the cocky, athletic young American in *Yank at Oxford* (1938), a boxer in *The Crowd Roars* (1938), and he even starred in a Western, *Stand Up and Fight* (1939). Taylor's own favorite film was the romantic *Waterloo Bridge* (1940), in which he played a soldier who meets a ballet dancer (Vivien Leigh) during a London air raid.

His most expensive film was *Quo Vadis* (1951), in which he essayed the role of a Roman centurion, which Gregory Peck had turned down. In the lavishly made movie, shot in Italy, Taylor falls in love with a Christian beauty (Deborah Kerr), in a plot that threatens to throw both of them to the lions. The movie grossed \$11 million, at that time the fourth biggest moneymaker in history. Other big budget spectacles followed: *Ivanhoe* (1952), *Knights of the Round Table* (1953), and *Valley of the Kings*, filmed in Egypt in 1954. In the next few years Taylor's popularity dwindled, and his contract with MGM ended, but he continued to work in minor films and in a television series called *The Detectives*. In his last movie in 1969, he and Charles Boyer played secret agents in *The Day the Hot Line Got Hot*. He died that same year after a long struggle with cancer. Fellow actor Ronald Reagan, then governor of California, said at his funeral: "He was more than a pretty boy, an image that embarrassed him because he was a man who respected his profession and was a master of it."

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Teddy Bears

Most adults carry fond, even significant memories of their own teddy bear, a possession integral to the childhood of all but the severely deprived in America and beyond. Although these days one can find stuffed toys representing every animal from an aardvark to a zebra, the figure of the bear remains the most popular choice, among children and adults alike. By the latter part of the twentieth century, teddy bears had become something of an industry in the United States and Europe.

Both the United States and Germany lay claim to the invention of the teddy bear, each for good reasons. In fact, however, the teddy bear seems to be the product of a remarkable historical coincidence occurring in 1902. One part of the story starts in Mississippi, where President Theodore Roosevelt was on a hunting trip. One of his companions captured a black bear cub, tied a rope around its neck, and brought it to Roosevelt to shoot, but the President, seeing no sport in



A young girl hugs a giant teddy bear.

killing an exhausted, bound, and defenseless animal, declined. A reporter traveling with the hunting party telegraphed the story to *The Washington Post*, which ran a front-page cartoon by Clifford Berryman the following day, showing Roosevelt refusing to shoot the bear cub with the caption “Drawing the line in Mississippi.” In Brooklyn, New York, the cartoon was seen by one Morris Michtom, the owner of a small novelty store, who had been trying unsuccessfully to sell a few stuffed toy bears made by his wife, Rose. Inspired by Berryman’s cartoon, Michtom wrote to the White House, received permission to use the presidential name, and put the toys in his shop window with a sign reading, “Teddy’s bears.” The bears sold quickly, and the demand for more was so great that Michtom soon founded the Ideal Novelty and Toy Corporation and put “Teddy’s bears” into mass production.

Meanwhile, thousands of miles away in Germany, Richard Steiff was also in the grip of a big idea. While watching some trained bears performing in a circus, Steiff had the thought that a toy bear standing upright with jointed arms and legs might be a marketable commodity. He made some drawings of his conception and took them to his aunt, Margarete Steiff, a well-known toy and doll maker. She designed a stuffed bear based on her nephew’s ideas, and exhibited them at the 1903 Leipzig Toy Fair. European stores initially expressed no interest in the new toys, but an American buyer was enthusiastic and ordered several thousand for export to the United States. Consequently, the teddy bear may be said to have two birthdays, although the name is clearly owed to its American maker and the president who inspired it.

Today, teddy bears are big business; there are an estimated 2.5 million collectors in the United States alone. So significant has this

“bear market” become, the industry now distinguishes between two kinds of teddy bears: toys and collectibles. Toy bears are distinguished by their soft stuffing, designed to make them “huggable,” while collectible teddys are characterized by jointed arms and legs, firm stuffing, and a relatively unyielding exterior. Many experts regard Gund, Inc. as the premier maker of cuddly toy bears, but to collectors, Steiff still reigns supreme, with antique Steiff bears sometimes fetching in excess of \$10,000 at auctions.

The popularity of the teddy bear soon spread beyond the United States to Britain and elsewhere, and some teddys are based on characters in universally loved children’s stories by English writers. Winnie the Pooh, the honey-loving bear created by A. A. Milne in 1926, has been a perennial favorite, as has Paddington Bear, who first appeared in the 1950s storybook *A Bear Called Paddington* by Michael Bond and Peggy Fortnum. A stuffed Smokey the Bear has been around for decades to remind bear lovers that “Only *you* can prevent forest fires.” Teddy bears have also been based on human characters, both real and fictional, several with movie connotations. Thus, we have had such creations as “Humphrey Beargart,” “Theda Beara,” and the macho “Rambear.”

Any popular collectible tends to spawn enterprises designed to feed it, and teddy bear collecting is no exception. There are mail-order catalogs devoted to bears and other bear products (such as T-shirts and posters), magazines for the teddy bear collector, bear calendars, teddy bear conventions, and innumerable internet sites devoted to commerce in stuffed bears.

—Justin Gustainis

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## Teen Idols

As long as there are teenagers, there will be teen idols. From the vintage “Frankie” Sinatra to Elvis Presley, from the Beatles to David Cassidy, from the New Kids on the Block to ‘N Sync, the names and faces may change with the decades, but the emotions that drive the phenomenon do not. Teen idols are a rite of passage for pre-teens and early teens. They are dream mates who fuel romantic daydreams, and provide a safe release for hormonally-charged emotions. After all, unlike flesh-and-blood boyfriends or girlfriends, the teen idols make no demands.

Collectively, teen idols have long been dismissed as lightweight and flashes-in-the-pan. But, in fact, many notable performers have passed through the teen idol ranks. Before becoming one of Hollywood’s most prolific and acclaimed leading men, John Travolta was a popular pin-up, the result of his co-starring role in the 1975 TV series, *Welcome Back, Kotter*. The 1997 box office blockbuster, *Titanic*, derived much of its drawing power from the casting of teen idol, Leonardo DiCaprio. Pop-soul maestro Michael Jackson was a teen idol in the 1980s, as well as the previous decade, when he was one of the Jackson Five. The Beatles were huge teen idols in the 1960s, as





**Bobby Darin in concert.**

was Elvis Presley in the 1950s. In the 1940s, females screamed for Sinatra.

Even those teen idols who did not successfully make a transition as their fans matured continue to be regarded with affection. To their fans, they represent a special time in their lives. To the credit of these teen idols, they also left imprints on popular culture. For example, many of the icons of the 1950s—the decade in which the modern teen idol is rooted—became fixtures on the record charts. From late 1957 through 1963, the young performers were responsible for at least thirteen number one hits. They included Tab Hunter’s “Young Love” and Frankie Avalon’s “Venus.” Another twenty tunes by teen idols climbed to the top five.

Just as Presley had gone from recording studio to Hollywood, the idols made the leap to the big screen. Theirs were major names during the final years of the so-called Hollywood “star system.” Sandra Dee, who became a teen favorite with her depiction of the surfing-obsessed Gidget, went on to become a top-ten box office draw for the years 1960, 1961, 1962, and 1963—an astonishing feat, considering the list also included Doris Day, Cary Grant, Elizabeth Taylor, and Frank Sinatra. Between 1959 and 1964, Fabian appeared in no less than ten films, ranging from comedies to teen genre flicks to

a John Wayne action adventure. Tab Hunter clocked in seventeen films between 1950 and 1964.

Of course, teen idols did not originate in the 1950s. Back in the 1930s, singer-actor Rudy Vallee induced swoons from schoolgirls when he performed while clutching a megaphone. But it is Frank Sinatra who is credited as the official pioneer of the teen idol movement. At age 27, Sinatra had a skinny, vulnerable look. That look, combined with his lush romantic ballads, elicited mass hysterics and stampeding among teenage “bobby soxers” at his December 1942 performances at New York’s Paramount Theater. When Sinatra later appeared at the Boston Armory, the seats were bolted down as a security measure.

In the 1950s, the emergence of American teenage culture prompted another kind of hero worship. Before he cinched his eternal stardom with his car crash death of 1955, James Dean had come to symbolize the teenager in pain, with his angst-ridden performance in *Rebel Without a Cause*. The early Elvis Presley had his own angst-ridden performances in song, including the bravado *Heartbreak Hotel*. But Dean and Presley also summoned up a sense of looming danger. In Presley’s case, his sexy stage antics and the fact that he was a white singer who sounded “black” made him anathema to authority figures.

A much safer alternative was found in Charles Eugene Boone. Better known as Pat Boone, the young performer from Nashville, Tennessee, emerged as the flip side of the coin that bore the imprints of Dean and Presley. Considering the era's controversy over rock 'n' roll, it is significant that Boone rose to fame by singing cover versions of songs originally recorded by African-Americans. His easy-going delivery and boyish charm helped to defuse the volatility of rock 'n' roll. Furthermore, Boone did not emote sexual magnetism. It was Boone who set the stage for what transpired, following a Richter-scale shift in the world of rock 'n' roll.

Denoting that upheaval was the U.S. Army's 1958 decision to draft Elvis Presley. Other significant careers also came to a standstill. Chuck Berry faced a prison term for having transported a minor over a state line for sexual purposes. Jerry Lee Lewis was blackballed because of his marriage to his thirteen-year-old cousin. Plane and car crashes took the lives of Buddy Holly, Ritchie Valens, and Eddie Cochran.

With the music world in transition, promoters moved in to provide an antidote—a new commodity to entice the growing teenage spending power. The idea was to cater to teenage desires, but without the erratic undercurrent or explosive passion that had made Presley an infamous household name. So the new teenage idol was created. It was no coincidence that, along with the lure of their talent—some of it legitimate, some wholly manufactured—the teen idols were exceedingly clean cut and attractive. Or that the male teen idols appeared vulnerable as opposed to predatory. After all, strong masculine qualities can be off-putting to young females. Thus, over the years, many teen idols have had an androgynous look.

More than any of the others, Fabian and Frankie Avalon set the standards against which the 1950s teen idols were measured. Both young men had the engaging affability of the boy-next-door. And not coincidentally, both were managed by Philadelphia producer-promoter Bob Marcucci, who was teamed with Peter DeAngelis in Chancellor Records. The label was based in Philadelphia, a city that specialized in turning out teen idols.

Phil Spector—the legendary producer known for his work with girl groups, the Righteous Brothers, and the Beatles, and the “wall of sound” that backed their tunes—has called Philadelphia of the 1950s “the most insane, most dynamite, the most beautiful city in the history of rock 'n' roll and the world.” The city's thriving music industry included competing record labels and their respective producers, and promoters. Their collective goal was to get their performers booked on the Dick Clark-hosted *American Bandstand*. As the premiere showcase for rock 'n' roll performers, the show was essential to the careers of would-be teen idols.

When the pioneering rock 'n' roll artists had made their ascent, there were no national television shows devoted to rock 'n' roll. The performers made their reputations after months or even years of touring. Prior to his famed appearances on the *Ed Sullivan Show*, Presley was a regional star, the result of having played the hinterlands. Only after becoming known regionally did he enjoy exposure on national TV variety shows. By contrast, the teen idols could become “overnight” successes as a result of a single, carefully-promoted TV appearance. Ricky Nelson's rise as a teen idol began when he sang a single song on his family's long-running series, *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*. Tommy Sands was an unknown seventeen-year-old when he appeared in the NBC telecast of *The Singing Idol*, which generated eight thousand pieces of fan mail. Avalon, Bobby Rydell, and Fabian all owed their fame to *American Bandstand*.

The rise and fall of Fabian stands as a cautionary chapter in the teen idol annals. Fabiano Forte was a 14-year-old boy literally sitting on his front porch when he was spotted by Marcucci, who was already managing Avalon. Though Fabian's father had just been taken away by ambulance after having suffered a heart attack, Marcucci was brazen enough to ask, “Say, kid, can you sing?” Fabian was not interested. After continuing to see the teenager in the neighborhood, including at the corner drug store where he worked, Marcucci returned to the family home. This time Fabian agreed to become a Marcucci protégé.

At the time, Avalon was finally enjoying success as a singer—after having bombed with a trio of singles. But unlike Avalon, who could carry a tune and was an accomplished musician, Fabian had no natural musical prowess, in fact, he had failed his high school chorus class. But Marcucci persisted, taking the youth to a series of vocal coaches and introducing him to local audiences via sock hops. He also launched a major promotional campaign touting Fabian as “The Fabulous One.” Still, despite several *American Bandstand* appearances, the teenager's initial records failed. “You gotta find this kid a hit record!” Clark told Marcucci. That hit turned out to be “I'm a Man,” which Fabian lip-synched on a December 1958 show. The single climbed the charts, and paved the way for additional hits, tours, and movie roles. But Fabian's fame and largely off-key singing also led to cruel barbs from the press, which left the teenager both hurt and bewildered.

Ironically, Fabian garnered some of his best notices when he played a psychopathic killer in a 1961 episode of the TV anthology series, *Bus Stop*. But the casting of the teen idol also generated controversy, for teen idols of the day were not expected to have dimension as artists. For that reason, they were not taken seriously by the very industry that created them. Thus, when times and tastes changed, and his teenage fan base grew older, Fabian had to grapple to survive as a performer. Of his reign as an icon, Fabian once said, “I was just a street-punk kid who got into all this because my father had a heart attack and the family needed money. I didn't know nothing. Sure I had girls—I was a healthy young man. But what all this teen idol stuff comes down to is business. Big business.”

In the 1960s, that big business was typified by the staggering success of the Beatles, and the fellow and female Britons and Americans who followed in their wake. Foremost among the latter was the fabricated-for-TV group, the Monkees. Selected from a casting call that drew more than 400 applicants, the group starred in their own series and a major movie, and had eight Top 40 hits, two of which went to number one.

Integral to the success of Monkeemania, Beatlemania, and myriad other teen idol-manias was the teen fan magazine industry, which thrived during this era. A hybrid of the “girl's” magazines which debuted in the 1940s and early rock 'n' roll magazines, some of these publications had monthly sales of more than 900,000 copies.

Reflecting the relationship between the idols and publishing, teen fan magazine pioneer Charles Laufer once related how he honed in on the appeal of 1970s teen icon, David Cassidy. It happened as he was watching an episode of TV's *Marcus Welby, M.D.* “A kid comes on, and he's got diabetes. I didn't know who he was, but he was raw-boned and vulnerable, and I thought, this kid's terrific. So I waited for the credits. The next day I came into the office and said, ‘Who the hell is David Cassidy?’” Laufer tracked down Cassidy, who was about to begin work on the 1970 TV show, *The Partridge Family*, about a family singing group. Laufer went on to publish the *Partridge Family* teen magazine, and to oversee the group's fan club. Though it was a

fictional group, in which only two of the show's cast members, Cassidy and stepmother Shirley Jones, actually sang, the Partridge Family went on to have a number one hit, with "I Think I Love You." The shag-haired Cassidy would later call the group "the last gasp of innocence in America."

In truth, there have been many more gasps of innocence within the teen idol roll call. During the 1970s the roster included Cassidy's half-brother, Shaun Cassidy, as well as Donnie and Marie Osmond, Robbie Benson, and Andy Gibb. Among 1980s names were Scott Baio, John Stamos, Menudo, and Debbie Gibson. The safe, sweet side of teen idoldom continued in the 1990s, with the actor Jonathan Taylor Thomas and singing groups such as Hanson.

But another kind of teen idol, who is less than wholesome, also managed to exist in a parallel universe. The metamorphosis began in the late 1970s, and is exemplified by Kiss, which became a potent teen idol force despite the group's shock-value tactics. According to fan magazine publishers, kids rallied to the group's larger-than-life stage theatrics, as well as to the members' comic book-like appearances. Those appearances made them seem more like fictional characters, as opposed to "real" and therefore threatening heavy metal artists. Madonna, meanwhile, was embraced as the enticing embodiment of the disobedient girl and a proud boy toy, something about which young females fantasize. In the 1990s, that naughty but cool mantle shifted to the Spice Girls and their mantra espousing "girl power!"

Of course, the Spice Girls could not have succeeded in a more modest era; by the same token, a Connie Francis would today be considered an anachronism. For teen idols are both a product and a reflection of their times. As with all product, their success/failure is indelibly linked to marketing, as well as timing. The stakes are tantalizing. According to the Recording Industry Association of America, of the 532 million albums purchased in the United States in 1996, twenty-five percent were bought by 10 to 19-year-olds. That same group comprised a significant percentage, fifty-eight and thirty, respectively, of the rap and rock markets.

Just as the teen idols of the 1950s were able to become overnight successes as a result of television, the current teen idols are able to become multi-millionaires on the basis of synergy and mass-marketing. Consider: At their height in the late 1980s, the New Kids on the Block, comprised of five rapping Boston "boys," sold eighty million albums and \$500 million worth of merchandising. Their 1990 earnings were \$1 billion.

But the power of teen idoldom is not summed up merely by dollars and cents. "When you're talking about teen idols, you're talking about being godlike," said Bobby Sherman, a leading 1970s teen idol. But there are distinctions between the teen idol types. As explained by Sherman: "See, there's an A group and a B group. The A group is like the Beatles. They create a lifestyle which changes people. Then there's the B's, like I was. I was like a number in a system that was created in a succession of molds that perform well for their time and place."

Yet when the Beatles first arrived on the scene, they were perceived by the media to be no more than a fad. To young females, they were cause to celebrate, en masse, and to release sexual energy. The group's musical evolution and staying power could not have been foreseen. The same can be said of the young performers who carry on the teen idol tradition. Some may go on to achieve greatness. If not, they will doubtless live on in the scrapbooks and the memories of the fans whose hearts and lives they touched.

—Pat H. Broeske

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## Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles

The Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles cartoon characters—Leonardo, Raphael, Donatello, and Michaelangelo—were one of the greatest cross-media phenomena of the 1980s and early 1990s. The Turtles, ordinary pets mutated into superheroes, began as an underground comic book created by cartoonists Peter Laird and Kevin Eastman in the mid-1980s as a spoof of such comics as the mutant X-Men and the grim, urban Daredevil. An instant smash, the Turtles soon branched out into other media, including films, an animated television series, multiple toy and merchandise tie-ins, even a live-action television program. The success came at the cost of their identity, however, as the original, funky nature of the Turtles comics became more cartoonish and child-friendly to better facilitate their mass acceptance.

—Jay Parrent

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## Teenagers

Initially invented as a marketing target, "teenagers" only came into existence after World War II. Possibly our most important years, our teenage years are a time of transition, a period in which we develop from children into adults. We may remember them as either the best or the worst days of our lives, but the life experiences encountered between the ages of 12 and 20 leave a lasting impression: burgeoning emotional and sexual feelings; physiological development of secondary sexual characteristics; entry into the order of



Teenagers in 1956.

society through individual and group affiliations. Since the instantiation of teenagers as a category, they subsequently may have been exploited ruthlessly as such by commercial interests, but this also has allowed (and continues to allow) the identification and interrogation of issues affecting one of the most important groups within society.

Following World War II, a sudden boom in affluence in the West produced new market forces: a growth in original consumer goods (nylon, televisions, fridge freezers) and the appearance of new groups at whom those goods could be marketed. Teenagers were one; they were initially invented as a target marketing group, a new demographic to be tapped, whose wealth came from their parents' increased financial freedom. The number of products created for and aimed at teenagers since World War II has been phenomenal, and shopping remains popular. In the 1990s, teens made 40 percent more trips to the mall than other shoppers. What is particularly interesting is what those products tell us about teenagers: what they're (supposedly) interested in and what their concerns are, plus how we think about them and how that thinking has changed over the decades. The realms of pop music, television, and cinema provide especially illuminating examples.

Pop music is seen as music for children. Passion for the predictable and disposable three-minute song is perceived as an immaturity of taste; we supposedly "grow out of" listening to pop music and

start listening to classical music, jazz, the blues, and so on. In addition, the short shelf-life of pop bands and the general transience and ephemerality of pop music is representative of the fickle tastes of changeable teenagers; it reflects the "passing phase" nature of teenage life. Elvis Presley was (and remains, even after his death in 1977) one of the most successful pop stars; unlike most pop musicians, Elvis's career spanned two decades. His meteoric rise to fame as a singer and guitarist was cashed in on with a raft of low-budget movies, often named after his song titles, including *Love Me Tender* (1956), *Jailhouse Rock* (1957), and *Blue Hawaii* (1961). At the beginning of his musical career, Elvis drew attention by dancing in a way branded as sexually lewd; he gyrated his hips while crooning, earning him the nickname "Elvis the Pelvis." Teenage girls screamed and swooned at his concerts, behavior that has become a common female reaction to male pop stars, especially boy bands.

The sexual aspect of Elvis's music was a cause for concern. A supposedly trivial form of music suddenly seemed subversive. Could the lyrics of pop music, or the antics of pop stars, pass on unwanted messages to a susceptible teenage audience? This has been a persistent worry for moral guardians and would-be censors. Teenagers are still seen as children and thus vulnerable and worthy of protection, yet in their journey toward adulthood, they are interested in adult issues such as sex and drugs. Girls also screamed, notably, at the Beatles, the

British four-piece whose enormous popularity and lengthy career challenged the status of pop music as trivial and ephemeral. Like Elvis, the Beatles also appeared in films specifically made for their teenage audience, including *A Hard Day's Night* (1964) and *Help!* (1965). In addition, as with Elvis, no marketing opportunity was too silly. It was possible, for instance, to buy Beatle "moptop" wigs. Teenagers, it seemed, would spend their money on anything, so long as it had a faint connection to their pop idols. Similarly, they would buy anything targeted directly at them; thus, in pop music, songs could be found targeted directly at teenagers and their concerns, such as "Teenage Idol," "Teenager in Love," and "Sweet Sixteen."

If longevity and/or success is achieved (which can be assisted by the possibility of cross-media synergy), the potential financial rewards for pop stars are large. This has led to the artificial manufacture of a great number of pop musicians and bands, from the Monkees in the 1960s (who also had their own television show) to the Backstreet Boys in the 1990s. The formula remains an occasionally successful one. If there has been one change in the form of pop music, it is that lyrics have become raunchier as restrictive moral codes have relaxed; the songs of teenage soul/R & B star Usher are exemplary of this fact. Generally, however, pop music remains anodyne, all sexuality being expressed in a suggestive yet naive way. Pop stars themselves may be styled to be attractive to the teenage audience, but it is an ambiguous, soft-edged, safe kind of attractiveness. It is unclear whether this is really what teenagers want, or merely what the producers and manufacturers of pop music will allow.

The invention of the teenager category coincided with the widespread introduction of the television set into American society, but, initially, television had problems programming material for teenagers; in contrast, children's programs and those for adults were clearly identifiable. Teenagers had to make do with shows with a broader appeal, such as popular family-oriented dramatic series, variety shows, and comedy programs, some of which featured teenage characters: *Little House on the Prairie*, *I Love Lucy*, *Bewitched*, *The Brady Bunch*, *The Johnny Carson Show*. This is not to say that programs for teenagers were not made; pop music shows, though usually lifeless and presented by adults, were popular, as were examples such as *The Monkees* television show. Teenagers were conceptualized by television during this period as "older children"; if they had their own interests, they were those dictated to them.

The gradual expansion of television over the decades, including the introduction of satellite and cable arenas, has produced a plethora of channels, all of which need filling with material. The 1980s and 1990s saw the production of an enormous number of programs aimed directly at teenagers, mostly comedies and drama series set in and around schools: *The Wonder Years*, *Beverly Hills 90210*, *Party of Five*, *My So-Called Life*, *Saved by the Bell*, and so on. In the 1990s, there were entire channels devoted to teenage programming. These programs projected a very different conception of teenagers than those of the 1960s. The adolescents of the 1990s were now "young adults," confronted with a raft of difficult social issues such as drug use, pregnancy, bullying, sexual identity, and homelessness. In addition, the stars of teenage television programs often appeared much like pop stars—physically attractive, yet sexually ambiguous and, therefore, safe.

Unlike television, cinema speedily capitalized on the existence of a solvent teenage audience. The 1950s was a decade in which

drive-in movies became popular with high school students, and so a range of quickly produced films, in identifiable genres, were made specifically for this audience. These included a lengthy series of beach/surf movies, a wealth of teenage gang movies, and such cheaply made horror films as *I Was a Teenage Werewolf* (1957) and *I Was a Teenage Frankenstein* (1957). Also released during this decade were films about teenagers with a broader audience appeal, such as *The Wild One* (1954) and *Rebel without a Cause* (1955). Because of the film rating system, these movies about teenagers were able to offer a corrective to television's sanitized conception; the adolescents in *Rebel without a Cause*, for instance, deal with alcohol, suicide dares, gang bullying, knife fights, and homelessness, among other factors. Films about teenagers are numerous. This may be because the tribulations of adolescence are effective (melodramatic) narrative devices; it may be because Western culture tends to associate youth with beauty. The 1980s were notable for the number of films produced about teenagers; with the recurrent presence of certain actors, a series of these became known as the Brat Pack films: *Sixteen Candles* (1984), *Pretty in Pink* (1986), *The Breakfast Club* (1985), and *Ferris Bueller's Day Off* (1986). Issues affecting the teens in these narratives included truancy, detention, dating, and drug use—issues similar to those impinging on 1950s movie teenagers.

Cinematic representations of adolescence tend to depict it as either a difficult time of angst, alienation, and loneliness, or as an idyllic period of innocence, unlimited fun, and growth through misadventure. The first set produces iconic images of rebel teens—James Dean, River Phoenix, Drew Barrymore, Natalie Wood. The second—including such films as *American Graffiti* (1973) and *Stand by Me* (1986)—serves a similar mythologizing purpose, reinforcing the cultural conception of adolescence as "the best years of your life." In the 1990s, there have been two minor developmental trends in the filmic depiction of teenagers. First, teenagers actually may be portrayed as sexually active, rather than this simply being suggested; for example, the audience sees two of the teenage characters having sex in *Inventing the Abbotts* (1997). Second, it has become possible to represent teenagers as vicious, unpleasant individuals; in *Kids* (1995), the two lead characters commit acts of racial and sexual violence without remorse.

—Glyn Davis

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## Tejano Music

During the 1930s and 1940s a music developed which mirrored the evolution of Hispanics in southwestern cities into Mexican Americans, a bicultural community emerging from Mexican roots within the United States. This was the first generation of Americans of Mexican descent to aspire for inclusion in Anglo-American life. Popular dance band ensembles catered to this generation's biculturalism by playing genres chosen from both the Latin and the American traditions: *bolero*, *danzón*, *guaracha*, and *rumba* alternating with boogie, swing, and fox-trot, among others. After World War II, a type of fusion of the traditions took place that developed into a distinctive sound, especially among the *orquestas* and *conjuntos* in Texas, where the largest Hispanic recording companies existed at that time. The result was a music that came to be known as Tejano.

As orchestras became more professional and ballroom dance circuits extended throughout the Southwest, the Texas recording artists became the greatest in demand and spread their new music throughout the Southwest and northern Mexico. Among the first prominent big bands were Beto Villa's from Falfurrias, Texas, whose leader is sometimes called the father of the Mexican American *orquesta*. Villa popularized a folksy, "country"-style polka; this polka, in particular, came to be known as "Tex-Mex," especially when compared with the more sophisticated urban sounds of *danzones*, *guarachas*, fox-trots, and swings. Villa's influence was so strong that many followers appeared throughout the Southwest, most noteworthy of them being singer-saxophonist Isidro López, also from Texas, who is known for adding the working-class *canción ranchera* to the Tex-Mex repertoire. Balde González of Victoria, Texas, and Pedro Bugarín of Phoenix, Arizona, smoothed out the musical deliveries and broadened the repertoire of genres included in Tex-Mex.

The peak years for the Mexican-American *orquesta* were the 1960s and 1970s, during which emerged Little Joe Hernández, one of the greatest all-time performers and popularizers of Tex-Mex. Little Joe led a band made up of family members and friends under a series of names and struggled to get studios to record his music and radio stations to play it in Texas. Finally, he had to form his own recording and distribution companies. Little Joe, in addition, fused the Tex-Mex *ranchero* sound with American jazz and rock within the same musical number to achieve a unique bi-musical sound which came to be called "La Onda Chicana" (The Chicano Wave). Little Joe's first experiment in this Chicano Wave occurred on his hugely successful 1972 LP *Para La Gente (For the People)*. Backing Joe and his brother Johnny's harmonic duet were the usual instruments of a well-organized Mexican American band of those years: two trumpets, two saxophones, a trombone, and a rhythm section of bass, electric guitar, drums, and keyboards. On the album, many of the arrangements were augmented with strings from the Dallas symphony—a novelty for Tex-Mex music—and with the interlacing of jazz riffs. Even at the turn of the century, many of the numbers included on this historic LP are standard fare among dance bands in Mexican American communities.

Texas continues to be the center for Tejano music, from whence dance bands and recording artists tour to as far north as Chicago and New York City and as far south as Mexico City. The advent of the three Spanish-language television networks further popularized the

music into the Caribbean and South America. Younger generations of Mexican Americans further infused the music with rock influences in the 1990s and took it far afield from its country roots, mirroring the overwhelming concentration of Hispanics in big cities today.

—Nicolás Kanellos

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## Telephone

The telephone is a device for conducting spoken conversations across any distance beyond the range of the unaided human ear or the unamplified human voice. It works by transferring the atmospheric vibrations of human speech into a solid body, and by converting those vibrations into electrical impulses sent through a conducting medium—originally metal wires, but now optical fibers and electromagnetic microwaves as well. The word is a compound of two Greek words, "tele" ("far") and "phone" ("sound"), and the instrument is the most widely-used of all telecommunications appliances, with hundreds of millions of telephones in use all over the world. On any given



Alexander Graham Bell with his invention, the telephone.

business day, approximately two billion calls are placed, just in the United States. The telephone is also the archetypal electronic “medium,” in the sense of the word intended by Marshall McLuhan—an “extension of man”—but its social impact is grossly understudied in favor of the more readily observable “bully blow” of the television. Telephones are small and unobtrusive and their impact on our visible environment (except for the poles and wires) has not transformed our relationship to it.

Notwithstanding a host of rival claimants, the traditional account of the telephone’s invention by the Scottish-born Alexander Graham Bell (1847-1922) remains substantially the correct one. While the word “telephone” itself had been used to describe a device similar to a children’s string telephone as long ago as the seventeenth century, and although the general concepts on which the invention was based had been known for several decades, it was certainly Bell who experienced the sudden flash of insight which he immediately translated into a working model.

Bell and his assistant Thomas Watson had been trying to develop not a telephone, but something Bell called a “harmonic telegraph,” by which he hoped to expand the bottleneck throttling communications traffic and permit the transmission of more than one telegraph message over a single wire at the same time. Bell’s ideas involved a series of vibrating metal reeds (like those used in wind instruments). Of course, once he had developed that technology, his goal was, in fact, to discover a way to transmit all the sounds of the human voice via his “harmonic telegraph.” On June 2, 1875, Bell and Watson were working at opposite ends of a line and Bell heard the distinct sound of a plucked reed coming through the line. He ran to the next room and shouted to his assistant, “Watson! What did you do then? Don’t change anything!” From that moment, it took only an hour or so more of plucking the reeds and listening to the sounds they made before Bell was able to give Watson instructions on making the first “Bell telephone,” which was capable of transmitting only the sounds of the human voice, not words. Bell and Watson worked through the summer of 1875, and in September, Bell began to write the specifications for his basic patent, which was issued on March 7, 1876 (#174,465). It is, to date, the most valuable patent ever issued. (The famous “Mr. Watson, come here! I want you!” was spoken after the first patent was issued, when Bell and Watson were working on perfecting their transmitter.) Ultimately victorious, Bell had to defend his patent in over 600 separate lawsuits.

The Bell Telephone Company, first of its kind, was founded on July 9, 1877. That same July, Bell married Mabel Hubbard and sailed to England to introduce his telephone there. Well before 1900, Thomas Watson, Thomas Edison, Emil Berliner, and others had worked with Bell’s patented technology to produce what would be recognized as a telephone in the late 1990s. The telephone has consisted of the same basic components: a power source, switch hook, dialer, ringer, transmitter, and receiver.

The social impact of the telephone has been literally incalculable. Although the telegraph, patented by the painter Samuel B. Morse in 1840, enjoys pride of place as the first electric instrument to extend and greatly speed human communication, it never became a ubiquitous home appliance like the telephone—it was too complicated to use, and required too much special knowledge (codes, key technique). All a person needs to know in order to use a telephone is how to talk and to listen; it is not necessary to be literate or to have more than a

minimal mechanical aptitude. It is, moreover, next to impossible to gossip using a telegraph. Like a religion, telegraphy has its privileged class, the operators, and gossip passes most freely between equals, without going through an intermediary. Because the telephone enables two people to exchange gossip directly, though they may be on opposite sides of the Earth, the telephone has, more than any other invention, produced what Marshall McLuhan called “the global village.”

The telephone has changed war and business and the whole gamut of public activities, as well, but it has not transformed them out of recognition, the way it has altered the fundamental relationship of one individual to another and of one individual to society. Warfare is altered by the invention of a new weapon, from the metal sword to the atomic bomb; business is altered by intellectual inventions like double entry book-keeping or speculation or advertising or market capitalism. Public life has changed with the emergence of new institutions—the law, the “Republic,” democracy, dictatorship—and is now being replaced by the television camera.

But the telephone began the seismic shift in sensibility described by Martin Pawley in his book *The Private Future*: “Western societies are collapsing not from an assault on their most cherished values, but from a voluntary, almost enthusiastic abandonment of them by people who are learning to lead private lives of an unprecedented completeness with the aid of the momentum of a technology which is evolving more and more into a pattern of socially atomizing appliances.” The telephone, which has been traditionally promoted as a means of bringing people together, of connecting them, is in fact the archetype of Pawley’s “socially atomizing appliance.” The filmmaker Bill Forsyth gives a perfect example of this in his film, *Local Hero*. The character played by Peter Riegert wants to invite to dinner a girl standing less than 20 feet away from him on the other side of a glass partition—so he dials her extension. That is “the Private Future” in action.

Cordless phones, answering machines, cellular phones, “call waiting,” phones in automobiles, headset phones which free up both hands—all these seem likely to increase our dissociation from the here and now, and to hasten our withdrawal from the public sphere into “private lives of an unprecedented completeness.” The dangers inherent in the disappearance of any meaningful public life should be obvious. On the most primitive level, consider the person driving a big shiny suburban wagon, about to negotiate a tricky left turn through a busy intersection while they chat on the telephone with a friend. This person has the illusion of being in two places at once—with the friend and in traffic—but is in fact nowhere at all. The friendship, however, is not in physical danger—the other vehicles approaching that intersection, along with their passengers, are in the gravest peril. By the end of the 1990s legislation restricting the use of telephones in automobiles in the United States began to pass in several states. The whole concept of interdependence, of civic responsibility, is losing its force. The huge juggernaut of communications technology which was launched when Alexander Graham Bell burst in on Thomas Watson and shouted “Don’t change anything!” has changed everything. Whether for the better or the worse depends on the relative importance you ascribe to the social contract.

—Gerald Carpenter

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Televangelist Jimmy Swaggart

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## Televangelism

Since the beginnings of commercial radio, evangelical Christians have recognized the effectiveness of the broadcast media as a vehicle for disseminating their faith. By enabling them to reach new audiences as well as committed believers, broadcasting has provided evangelists with a means of building large and widespread followings. As a result, religious broadcasters have continually taken advantage of new broadcast technologies, from local radio programs in the early 1920s to 24-hour cable television networks by the late 1970s. The use of television by evangelists as a medium for expressing their views proved to be an especially influential development during the last quarter of the twentieth century, as conflicts between religious conservatives and mainstream popular culture grew. In this context, the term “televangelism” became widely adopted to describe the use of broadcasting to promote not only evangelical Christian beliefs, but also a wide range of social and political views espoused by Christian fundamentalists.

The roots of contemporary televangelism can be traced to the 1950s, when evangelists such as Billy Graham, Rex Humbard, and Oral Roberts started to use television programs to spread their conservative Protestant beliefs. Most early examples of televangelism



adopted a traditional format, concentrating on sermons, church services, and revival meetings, and operated on fairly small budgets. Early televangelist programming was also generally restricted to Sunday mornings, and was usually broadcast over a small number of stations covering a limited geographical area. Over time, however, technological changes and increasing resources allowed televangelists to reach much larger audiences. The advent of videotape, for example, provided an inexpensive and flexible means of distributing programs, so that they did not have to be broadcast live or recorded on expensive motion picture film. And the proliferation of television stations during the 1950s and 1960s provided a broader variety of outlets for televangelism, as did the subsequent expansion of cable television.

As a result of these innovations, televangelism underwent a major period of growth during the 1970s. Organizations like Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network and Jim Bakker's Praise The Lord (PTL) Satellite Network were able to use local cable television systems, linked by satellite transmissions, to bring their programming to virtually all parts of the country, and throughout the week, not just on Sundays. To take advantage of this increase in exposure, televangelists also adopted new programming formats, such as the talk show and the news magazine, which had become staples of commercial television. The rapid growth in their operations also brought greater political influence to televangelists during the late 1970s and 1980s. With the conservative turn in American politics at this time, and the rise of the Christian right as a political force, prominent televangelists like Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson found that broadcasting provided them with a powerful tool for publicizing their views and shaping the nation's political agenda.

Towards the end of the 1980s, however, televangelism went into a period of decline, primarily as a result of separate financial and sexual scandals involving Jim Bakker and Jimmy Swaggart, two leading religious broadcasters. Their sexual misconduct and Bakker's misappropriation of funds donated to the PTL Network exposed televangelism to increasing public criticism and suspicion. The core audience of the television evangelists did not turn away from them, but their broader influence within American society dropped, as did their television ratings. The failure of Pat Robertson to win the Republican presidential nomination in 1988 also marked a downturn in the political influence of the conservative televangelists. Christian broadcasters responded to these trends by trying to broaden the appeal of their programming, experimenting with new formats and offering an increasing number of family-oriented programs without an explicit religious or political message.

Through their successful use of broadcasting technology, televangelists have established a notable presence in American popular culture over the past several decades. Considerable disagreement exists over the size of their audiences, even before the scandals of the 1980s, and a number of studies have suggested that televangelists have had more success in reinforcing the faith of existing believers than in reaching new converts. Nonetheless, televangelism has become a persistent feature of the American broadcast media, and as such has contributed substantially to the diversity of views that constitute American popular culture.

—Roger W. Stump

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## Television

At the same time radio began to achieve commercial viability in the 1920s, the United States and Britain began experimenting with "television," the wireless transmission of moving pictures. Although Britain was initially somewhat more successful, both countries experienced a lot of difficulty in the early stages. There were a variety of reasons for this. In America, many people whose livelihoods were tied to radio were also responsible for developing television. Accordingly, they were in no hurry to see radio, a sure money maker, usurped by the new medium. In addition, the Depression greatly slowed the development of television in the 1930s. There was also a tremendous amount of infighting between potential television manufacturers and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in trying to establish uniform technical standards. And finally, just as it seemed as though television was poised to enter American homes, the onset of World War II delayed its ascendancy until the war's end. However, in the late 1940s and early 1950s commercial television exploded on the American market, forever changing the way products are sold, people



A couple ponders the purchase of their first television.

are entertained, and news events are reported. In the years immediately following World War II television quickly became America's dominant medium, influencing, shaping, and recording popular culture in a way no other media has ever equaled.

Although televisions first appeared on the market in 1939, because there were virtually no stations and no established programming, it wasn't until just after World War II that TV began its meteoric rise to media dominance. As John Findling and Frank Thackeray note in *Events That Changed America in the Twentieth Century*, in 1946 only 7,000 TV sets were sold. However, as television stations began appearing in an increasing number of cities, the number of sets sold rose dramatically. In 1948 172,000 sets were sold; in 1950 there were more than 5,000,000 sets sold. By 1960 more than 90 percent of American homes had TV sets, a percentage which has only climbed since. Before television, Americans had spent their leisure time in a variety of ways. But as each new station appeared in a particular city, corresponding drops would occur in restaurant business, movie gates, book and magazine sales, and radio audiences. By the early 1960s Americans were watching over 40 hours of TV a week, a number that has remained remarkably stable ever since.

Television originally only had 12 Very High Frequency (VHF) channels—2 through 13. In the late 1940s over 100 stations were competing for transmission on VHF channels. Frequency overcrowding resulted in stations interfering with one another, which led to the FCC banning the issuance of new licenses for VHF channels for nearly four years, at the conclusion of which time stations receiving new licenses were given recently developed Ultra High Frequency (UHF) channels (14 through 88). However, most TV sets needed a special attachment to receive UHF channels, which also had a worse picture and poorer sound than VHF channels. Unfortunately, it was mostly educational, public access, and community channels that were relegated to UHF. Because of the FCC's ban, the three major networks, ABC, CBS, and NBC, were able to corner the VHF channels and dominate the television market until well into the 1980s.

From its introduction in American society, television has proven itself capable of holding its audience riveted to the screen for countless hours. As a result, people who saw television as a means through which to provide culturally uplifting programming to the American public were gravely disappointed. Instead, TV almost immediately became an unprecedentedly effective means of selling products. Most Americans weren't interested in "educational" programming, and if people don't watch advertisers don't pay for air time in which to sell their products. TV shows in the late 1940s followed the model established by the success of radio; single advertisers paid for whole shows, the most common of which were half hour genre and variety shows. But in 1950 a small lipstick company named Hazel Bishop changed forever the way companies sold their products.

When Hazel Bishop first began advertising on TV in 1950 they had only \$50,000 a year in sales. In two short years of television advertising, and at a time when only 10 percent of American homes had TV sets, that number rose to a stunning \$4.5 million. As advertisers flocked to hawk their products on TV, TV executives scrambled to find a way to accommodate as many companies as possible, which would result in astronomical profits for both the advertisers and the networks. TV executives realized that single product sponsorship was no longer effective. Instead, they devised a system of longer breaks during a show, which could be split up into 30

second "spots" and sold to a much larger number of advertisers. Although this advertising innovation led to television's greatest period of profitability, it also led to advertising dictating television programming.

In the early 1950s television advertisers realized they had a monopoly on the American public; they were competing with each other, not with other mediums, such as books or magazines. Americans watched regardless what was on. Advertisers discovered that what most people would watch was what was the least objectionable (and often the most innocuous) show in a given time slot; hence the birth of the concept of "Least Objectionable Programming." A TV show didn't have to be good, it only had to be less objectionable than the other shows in the same time slot. Although more "serious" dramatic television didn't entirely disappear, the majority of shows were tailored to create the mood advertisers thought would result in their consumers being the most amenable to their products. By the mid-1950s lightweight sitcoms dominated the American television market. The relative success and happiness of television characters became easily measurable by the products they consumed.

Prior to the twentieth century, "leisure time" was a concept realized by generally only the very wealthy. But as the American middle class grew astoundingly fast in the post World War II boom, a much larger population than ever before enjoyed leisure time, which helped contribute to television's remarkable popularity. Perhaps even more important was the rise of the concept of "disposable income," money that people could spend on their wants rather than needs. Advertisers paying for the right to influence how people might spend their disposable income largely funded television. As a result, television was ostensibly "free" prior to the late 1970s. Nevertheless, television's cost has always been high; it has played perhaps the single largest role in contributing to America's becoming a consumer culture unparalleled in world history. Countless television shows have achieved an iconic stature in American popular culture, but none have had as powerful an effect on the way American's live their day to day lives as have commercials.

By the mid-1950s it became clear that television's influence would not be confined to the screen. Other forms of media simply could not compete directly with television. As result, they had to change their markets and formats in order to secure a consistent, although generally much smaller than pre-television, audience. Perhaps the most far reaching consequence of the rise of television is that America went from being a country of readers to a country of watchers. Previously hugely popular national magazines such as *Colliers*, *Life*, and *The Saturday Evening Post* went out of business in the late 1950s. Likewise, as television, an ostensibly more exciting visual medium than radio, adapted programming previously confined to the radio, radio shows quickly lost their audience. Magazines and radio stations responded similarly. Rather than trying to compete with TV they became specialized, targeting a singular demographic audience. Simultaneously, advertisers grew more savvy in their research and development and realized that highly specific consumer markets could be reached via radio and magazine advertising. Strangely, television's rise to prominence secured the long term success of radio and magazines; their response to the threat of television eventually resulted in a much larger number of magazines and radio stations than had been available before television. In the late 1990s audiences can find a radio station or magazine that focuses on just about any subject they might want.

Perhaps the industry struck hardest by the advent of television was the American film industry. Hollywood initially considered TV

an inferior market, not worthy of its consideration. And why not, for in the late 1940s as many as 90 million people a week went to the movies. But television's convenience and easy accessibility proved much competition for Hollywood. By the mid-1950s the industry's audience had been reduced to half its former number. Hollywood never recovered as far as actual theater audiences are concerned. In fact, by the late 1990s only 15 million people a week attended the cinema, and this in a country with twice the population it had in the late 1940s. However, Hollywood, as it seemingly always does, found a way to adapt. Rather than relying exclusively on box-office receipts, Hollywood learned to use television to its advantage. Now after market profits, including the money generated from pay-per-view, cable channels, premium movie channels, and, most of all, video sales and rentals, are just as important to a film's success, if not more so, than a film's box-office take.

In addition, television's media domination has contributed greatly to blurring the lines between TV and Hollywood. Most Hollywood studios also produce TV shows on their premises. Furthermore, just as radio stars once made the jump from the airwaves to the silver screen, TV stars routinely make the jump from the small screen to the movies. As a result, many American celebrities can't be simply categorized in the way they once were. Too many stars have their feet in too many different mediums to validate singular labels. Take, for example, Oprah Winfrey, a television talk show maven who has also been involved in several successful books, promoted the literary careers of others, frequently appeared on other talk shows and news magazines as a guest, and has acted in and produced a number of both television and Hollywood films. Although hers is an extreme example, television's unequalled cultural influence has resulted in turning any number of stars who would have formerly been confined to one or two mediums into omnipresent multimedia moguls.

If radio ushered in the era of "broadcast journalism," TV helped to further define and legitimize it. In addition, television newscasts have changed the way Americans receive and perceive news. By the late 1950s TV reporters had learned to take advantage of emerging technologies and use them to cover breaking news stories live. Television broadcasts and broadcasters grew to hold sway over public opinion. For, example, public sentiment against the Vietnam War was fueled by nightly broadcasts of its seemingly senseless death and destruction. Walter Cronkite added further fuel to the growing fire of anger and resentment in 1968 when he declared on-air that he thought the war in Vietnam was a "terrible mistake." When most Americans think of the events surrounding JFK, Martin Luther King, and Bobby Kennedy's assassinations, the civil rights movement, the first moon walk, the Challenger space shuttle disaster, the Gulf War, and the 1992 riots in Los Angeles after the Rodney King trial verdict, it is the televised images that first come to mind.

Unfortunately, by the late 1990s many Americans had come to rely on television news as their main source of information. In addition to nightly news and news oriented cable networks, cheap-to-make and highly profitable "news magazines" such as *Dateline NBC*, *20/20*, and *48 Hours* have become TV's most common form of programming. Rarely do these shows feature news of much importance; instead, they rely on lurid and titillating reports that do nothing to enrich our knowledge of world events but nevertheless receive consistently high ratings, thus ensuring the continuing flow of advertising dollars. That most Americans rely on television for their information means that most Americans are underinformed; for full accounts of a particular story it is still necessary to seek out supporting

written records in newspapers, magazines, and books. The problem with relying on television for information is, as Neil Postman writes, "not that television presents us with entertaining subject matter but that all subject matter is presented as entertaining." Accordingly, it is Postman's contention that America's reliance on TV for information is dangerous, for when people "become distracted by trivia, when cultural life is redefined as a perpetual round of entertainments, when serious conversation becomes a form of baby-talk, when, in short, a people become an audience and their public business a vaudeville act, then a nation finds itself at risk."

Because of news broadcasting and the fact that television is the best way to reach the largest number of Americans, television has helped shape American politics in the second half of the twentieth century. Effective television advertising has become crucial to the success or failure of nearly any national election. Unfortunately, such advertising is rarely completely factual or issue oriented. Instead, most such advertisements are used to smear the reputation of a particular candidate's opponent. Perhaps the most famous example of such advertisements occurred in the 1988 Presidential campaign, during which Republican George Bush ran a series of slanted and inflammatory spots about his Democratic opponent, Michael Dukakis. Furthermore, the careers of several presidents have become inextricably intertwined with TV. For example, President Ronald Reagan, a former minor movie star and television product pitchman, used his television savvy so effectively that he came to be known as "the Great Communicator." Conversely, President Bill Clinton, whose initial effective use of television has reminded some of JFK's, became victim to his own marketability when in August of 1998 he admitted in a televised speech to the nation that he had lied about his affair with a young intern named Monica Lewinsky. His admission, which was meant to put the incident behind him, instead spawned a virtual television cottage industry, with literally dozens of shows devoting themselves to continual discussion about his fate, which was ultimately decided in a televised impeachment trial.

Strangely, considering the man was wary of the medium, perhaps no politician's career has been more tied to television than Richard Nixon's. As a vice presidential candidate on Dwight Eisenhower's 1952 Republican Presidential bid, Nixon came under fire for allegedly receiving illegal funding. A clamor arose to have Nixon removed from the ticket. On September 23, 1952, Nixon went on TV and delivered a denial to the accusations, which has since become known as "the Checkers speech." More than 1 million favorable letters and telegrams were sent supporting Nixon; he remained on the ticket and he and Eisenhower won in a landslide. Conversely only eight years later TV would play a role in Nixon's losing his own bid for the White House. Nixon agreed to a series of televised debates with his much more telegenic opponent, John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Nixon's pasty face and sweaty brow may have cost him the election. Many historians believe that Kennedy "won" the debates as much by his more polished appearance and manner than by anything he said. Nixon learned from his error. While again running for the Presidency in 1968, Nixon hired a public relations firm to run his campaign. The result was a much more polished, image conscious, and TV friendly Nixon; he won the election easily. In the last chapter of Nixon's political career, broadcast and print media helped spur investigations into his involvement with the Watergate affair. The hearings were broadcast live on TV, which helped to turn public

opinion against the President, who resigned from office as a result. One of the most famous images in TV history of television is that of Nixon turning and waving to the crowd as he boarded the helicopter that removed him from power forever.

Prior to World War II, baseball was widely recognized as America's national pastime. Games were often broadcast live, and the country blissfully spent its summers pursuing the on-the-field exploits of larger than life figures such as Babe Ruth. However, after the war other sports grew to prominence, largely because of television, beer, and, until 1970, cigarette advertisers, who saw in sports audiences a target market for their products. Individual sports such as golf and tennis, grew in popularity, but team sports such as hockey, basketball, and most of all, football had the greatest increases. By the late 1960s and with the advent of the Super Bowl, annually America's most viewed broadcast, football surpassed baseball as America's favorite pastime. Because of their nature, team sports have a built in drama that escalates in intensity over the duration of a season. Americans are drawn to the players in this drama, which has resulted in athletes hawking products perhaps more than any other cultural icons. In fact, as advertising revenues increasingly fund sports, athletes have become perhaps the highest paid workers in America. Michael Jordan earned a reported \$30 million to play for the Chicago Bulls in the 1997-98 season. In the Fall of 1998 pitcher Kevin Brown signed with the Los Angeles Dodgers for a seven year deal worth \$105 million. Accompanying their paychecks is a rise in media scrutiny. Elite athletes are hounded by paparazzi in a way once reserved for movie stars and royalty. Such is the price of television fame in America.

Despite the ridiculous salaries and the accompanying out-of-control egos of many athletes and owners, it could be argued that television has made sports better for most people. Seeing a game live at a venue remains thrilling, but TV, with its multiple camera angles and slow motion instant replays, is by far a better way to actually see a game. In addition to better vision, one has all the comforts of home without the hassle of inclement weather, expensive tickets, heavy traffic, and nearly impossible parking. And because of TV and its live transmission of sports, certain moments have become a part of America's collective cultural fabric in a way that never would have been possible without television. Heroes and goats achieve legendary status nearly immediately. Just as important to our culture as the televising of events of political and social importance is the broadcast of sporting events. Although not particularly significant in their contribution to human progress, because of television the images of San Francisco 49er Joe Montana's pass to Dwight Clark in the back of the endzone in the 1981 NFC championship game to beat the Dallas Cowboys or of a ground ball dribbling between Boston Red Sox first baseman Bill Buckner's legs in the sixth game of the 1986 World Series are just as much a part of American culture's visual memory as the image of Neil Armstrong walking on the moon.

As the twentieth century careens to a close and America prepares to embark on a new century, debates over television's inarguable influence continue to rage. Is TV too violent? Is television's content too sexually oriented? Has television news coverage become vacuous and reliant on the superfluous and tawdry? Is TV damaging our children and contributing to the fraying of America's social fabric? Regardless of the answers to these and countless other questions about television's influence, the inarguable fact is that television is

the most important popular culture innovation in history. Our heroes and our villains are coronated and vanquished on television. Sound bites as diverse in intent and inception as "where's the beef," "read my lips," and "just do it," have become permanently and equally ensconced in the national lexicon. Television is not without its flaws, but its accessibility and prevalence has created what never before existed: shared visual cultural touchstones. As one America mourned the death of JFK, argued about the veracity of the Clarence Thomas/ Anita Hill hearings, recoiled in horror as Reginald Denny was pulled from his truck and beaten, and cheered triumphantly as Mark McGwire hoisted his son in the air after hitting his 62nd home run. For better or for worse, in the second half of the twentieth century television dominated and influenced the American cultural landscape in an unprecedented fashion.

—Robert C. Sickels

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## Television Anchors

According to television news legend Walter Cronkite, the term "anchorman" was invented by Sig Mickelson, the first head of the television and radio news department at CBS. It was expressly coined for use at the political conventions of 1952, the first ever covered by modern television. These conventions were made coherent by one



**Walter Cronkite**

broadcaster who provided perspective on events and introduced reporters bringing news from various parts of the convention; in short, a man who anchored the broadcast. In the United States and other developed countries around the world, television news anchors have become the de facto source of news for much of the public. With fewer people reading newspapers, and more and more getting their information from television, television news anchors on national and local newscasts have become the people the public turns to with the question, “What happened today?” Television news anchors, with their individual quirks and inflections, help to put a human face on the news. The power of the anchor to slant or comment on the news has been a source of concern for conservative and liberal critics alike. In totalitarian systems, they are often seen as nothing more than the face of the government, reporting news which is patently false or propagandistic.

Walter Cronkite set the standard for anchors in the United States during the period when he was known as the “most trusted man in America.” Cronkite was even urged to run for president at various times in his career. His sign off, “And that’s the way it is,” rivaled Edward R. Murrow’s “Good night and good luck” as the most popular signature piece of any news person. Other significant news

anchors of the 1960s included Chet Huntley and David Brinkley, who brought a partnership sensibility to the job that became a template for other newscasts. Their familiar signature—“Goodnight Chet. Goodnight David”—was often invoked in both comedy and drama.

The first television news anchors were used on weather reports and national and local television newscasts. Many of the first news anchors had worked originally in radio where the news format consisted of a news “reader” announcing the news in sonorous and serious tones. This immediately translated to television, where a clock or sheet of paper were used as props to make the set design appear serious. Early local television news instituted the “anchor” as the centerpiece of the show, delivering news, sports, and weather. It was only late in the 1960s that news programs began to have separate segments for different types of news, each presented by its own reporter. During this period, the news anchor began to rise in prominence, since he (early anchors were almost exclusively male) was the person that attracted viewers to the channel. The most popular anchors were those who appeared trustworthy and serious.

In the 1970s, feminism began to lead to the installation of female co-anchors on many newscasts. Soon the serious reading of the news was supplemented with repartee and chat among co-anchors. News consultants, such as Frank Magid and Associates, helped to bring about a more “scientific” method of choosing news anchors based on demographic sensibilities and entertainment style. Men and women with telegenic looks and breezy ad libbing skills are used to attract viewers, while older news people with significant experience are usually retired or given reporting assignments in the field. Audiences seem to want reporters they can trust, but anchorpeople who entertain them.

The conflict caused by the changing role of the news anchor was probably best highlighted in *Network* (1976), Paddy Chayefsky’s vivid send-up of the news industry, which presaged the merging of news and entertainment. In the film, the news anchor, after suffering a mental breakdown, returns to the news desk only to entreat his audience to “get out of their chairs, go to the window and scream, I am as mad as hell and I’m not going to take it anymore!” The anchor’s complaint became a popular catch phrase for the universal frustration of modern life. Ted Baxter, the fictional news anchor on the *Mary Tyler Moore Show* (1970-77), perhaps best exemplified the stereotype of the modern anchorman: the vacuous, handsome man, puffed up with self-importance and barely aware of the meaning of anything he is reading on the air.

—Jeff Ritter

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## Temple, Shirley (1928—)

Shirley Temple, Hollywood's quintessential child star during the 1930s and 1940s, became a diplomat in later years, serving as Ambassador to Ghana and Czechoslovakia and as the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations under her married name, Shirley Temple Black. But it is the diminutive smiling moppet with golden ringlets that most older Americans remember from the Saturday afternoon matinees of their own childhoods. Her unique appeal and immense popularity were without precedent and have never been equaled by the junior members of the Hollywood acting fraternity. The child star who acted, danced, and sang her way into the hearts of millions was the sun that shone through the clouds of the depression years. In a series of box-office smashes, Little Shirley Temple dispensed sweetness and light, beguiling her adult audiences and upstaging her adult co-stars in a series of films specially concocted to capitalize on her qualities. Decades before the rise of film-product merchandising, Temple's popularity gave rise to a profitable industry in Shirley Temple products such as dolls, cut-outs, and clothes, and her name has passed into the language as a synonym for cute, smiling, curly-haired, doll-like little girls—and even as the eponym for a non-alcoholic cocktail served to children and teetotaling adults.



Shirley Temple

Shirley made her first feature film appearance in 1932. She was awarded a special Academy award "in grateful recognition of her outstanding contribution to screen entertainment during the year 1934," and was the number-one box-office attraction in the United States and Britain from 1935 to 1938. During this time her salary had risen to \$100,000 per picture, but by the end of 1939, unable to keep advancing age at bay, her career began its downward slide. She was 11 years old.

Born in Santa Monica, California, on April 23, 1928, Shirley was taken to dancing classes at age three by an ambitious stage mother who later hawked around her daughter to various film studios. The child was first chosen for a series of one-reel movies called "Baby Burlesks," a quick stepping stone to her first small roles in features. In 1934, Fox Studios, needing a tot to perform a song and dance number in *Stand Up and Cheer*, engaged her at \$150 per week. She made an immediate impact with the number, "Baby Take a Bow" and emerged with a Fox contract. Meanwhile, *Little Miss Marker*, the first film under a two-picture deal that Mrs. Temple had previously made with Paramount, was released several weeks after *Stand Up and Cheer*, and became a huge hit. Based on a story by Damon Runyon, it was this film—something of a classic and frequently remade—that catapulted the six-year-old Temple to stardom.

As little Miss Marker, little Miss Temple was paired with Adolphe Menjou, the smooth veteran of many a more sophisticated screen liaison. She played the daughter of a gambler who, in debt to his bookie, dumps his small daughter on the man as "security" and disappears. Menjou played the seemingly flint-hearted bookie who softens under the influence of the charming, loving child, reforms his ways, and embraces the role of surrogate father. With minor variations on its basic idea, *Little Miss Marker* established the formula for the subsequent string of mediocre films whose success rested on their star's tiny shoulders. Most of the stories were formulaic: a child, generally an orphan or, at the very least, motherless, is packed off by some inept or mildly villainous guardian to live with a reluctant relative. In double-quick time she melts the stony heart of whichever aunt or grandfather she has been inflicted upon, never wants to leave, is reclaimed for purposes of exploitation by the original caregiver and, after much phony but effectively plotted tension, is blissfully reunited with her loved ones.

Exploiting the success of her number in *Stand Up and Cheer*, Fox rushed her into *Baby Take a Bow* (Shirley as the daughter of an ex-con who straightens out under her sunny influence); then it was back to Paramount for *Now and Forever* with Gary Cooper and Carole Lombard (he a jewel thief, she his mistress and Shirley his motherless daughter); the year ended with *Bright Eyes*, in which an orphaned Shirley sang the hit song "On the Good Ship Lollipop." In 1935 she danced with Bill "Bojangles" Robinson in *The Little Colonel* and *The Littlest Rebel*; in *Our Little Girl* she succeeded in reuniting her two estranged parents; in *Curly Top*, a loose retelling of *Daddy Longlegs*, she sang another hit song, "Animal Crackers in My Soup" as she took control of her adoptive playboy-father's affairs, both professional and romantic.

And so it continued. Temple, remaining cute as a button, proved herself a real trouper, delivering her lines and dispensing wisdom to adults with unnerving authority and breaking effortlessly into song and dance with breathtaking ease. In *Stowaway* (1936), the eight-year-old impersonated Eddie Cantor, Al Jolson, and Ginger Rogers

dancing with a Fred Astaire doll; the film version of *Heidi* (1937) suited her to perfection and won critical plaudits; *Wee Willie Winkie* the same year shamelessly changed the original Rudyard Kipling character from a small boy to a small girl. Directed by John Ford, the tale of a child who becomes the mascot of a British army regiment in colonial India was the most expensively produced of the Temple vehicles, with sentimentality taking second place to action. *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* (1938), about an orphan who becomes a radio star, reprised Shirley's career and remains an excellent introductory film for those who have never seen her.

Neither her novelty nor her popularity faded until 1939 when her ratings began to slip after *The Little Princess* and *Susannah of the Mounties*. In 1940, with her asking price now \$300,000, she starred in Maurice Maeterlinck's *The Blue Bird*, adapted by the author and filmed in color; it was the first Shirley Temple vehicle to lose money. At the end of the year, Mrs. Temple and the studio (now Twentieth Century-Fox), who had long had an uneasy relationship, agreed to terminate Shirley's contract. She returned to the screen via MGM, who did not know what to do with her and, after a feeble performance in *Kathleen* (1941), she went to United Artists and appeared in *Miss Annie Rooney* (1942). She disappeared for two years and came back in *Since You Went Away* (1944), a popular wartime family drama in which she played third fiddle to Claudette Colbert and Jennifer Jones.

The world had changed, and so had Shirley Temple, now 16. She was rejected by a disappointed public unable to accept her transformation from dream child to attractive but ordinary teenager, and ten more films between 1945 and 1949 (including *The Bachelor and the Bobby-Soxer* with Cary Grant), and marriage, at 17, to John Agar, only continued the downward slide. Two comeback attempts with television series in 1958 and 1960 failed to generate any enthusiasm and finally marked the end of her career. Divorced from Agar, she married TV executive Charles Black in 1950 and, as Shirley Temple Black, entered Republican politics during the 1960s. Her congressional bid was unsuccessful, but she was appointed a U.S. representative to the United Nations, became the American ambassador to Ghana (1974-76), then the U.S. Chief of Protocol and, finally, in 1989, ambassador to Czechoslovakia.

Described by David Thomson as not "just a child leading her life under adult shadows, but a Lilliputian moralist in ringlets, tap-dancing into your heart and then delivering the sententious message that sorts out confusion," Shirley Temple certainly had her detractors. There were those who found her unbearable, and those who noted the shortcomings in her singing and dancing. Novelist and one-time film critic Graham Greene was famously sued for a review in which he asserted that she was an adult masquerading as a child. But to most, she was the perfect antidote to reality in a difficult era, who later said of her career, "I class myself with Rin-Tin-Tin. At the end of the Depression people were perhaps looking for something to cheer themselves up. They fell in love with a dog and a little girl. It won't happen again."

—Robyn Karney

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## The Temptations

While many believe the Temptations to be the favorite soul singing group of all time, this assessment of the band's accomplishments is limited considering their substantial impact upon both the look and sound of popular music. Formed in Detroit, Michigan, in 1960 at a time when AM radio was a multi-layered media format that gave access and success to a large quantity of artists from rock, pop, country, soul, blues, and rockabilly music, the Temptations set a standard for vocal performers and created a sound and style that remains distinctly their own. Built around the remnants of two previous bands, the Distant and the Primes, the Temptations were a major force in the success of Berry Gordy's Motown Records and have been referred to as the originators of the "Motown Sound." Rising to popularity with other precedent-setting Motown performers such as Marvin Gaye, Martha and the Vandellas, and the Supremes, the Temptations were at the center of a huge music explosion. Over the course of nearly 40 years the Temptations would have 19 members and earn 3 Grammy Awards. The group would place 43



The Temptations

singles in the rhythm and blues (R&B) Top 10 as well as earn 14 R&B number one hits. As pop artists, the Temptations would hit number one four times and place 15 sides in the pop Top 10.

Known for their lush harmonies, smooth on-stage choreography, and a bold sense of fashion which made them immediately recognizable, the Temptations conquered pop, rock, R&B, and the soul music market during the course of a career that remains strong. From the start, the membership of the Temptations was ever changing. The Distant, a local Detroit outfit, who recorded for the Northern label and released a single in 1959, "Come On," included Elbridge Bryant, bass singer Melvin Franklin, and baritone Otis Williams. The Primes were a trio of transplants from Alabama comprised of tenor Eddie Kendricks, Kell Osborne, and Paul Williams. It was Otis Williams who brought Kendricks and Paul Williams into the fold when the Primes broke up. Impressed by the Primes' use of choreography, Otis Williams wanted to incorporate that into the Distant's live performances. The Distant changed their name to the Temptations and by 1961 they were signed to a Motown subsidiary, Miracle. While at Miracle the Temptations released several sides with only one achieving any commercial success, "Dream Come True," in 1962. By 1963 Bryant was out of the band and was replaced in 1964 by the notable tenor voice of David Ruffin.

At this point the Temptations began working with William "Smokey" Robinson. A songwriter of immeasurable talent and a producer who would go on to achieve his own success with the Miracles, Robinson gave the Temptations their first hit, "The Way You Do the Things You Do." It would be the first of many Top 10 hits for the group. Their debut album, *Meet the Temptations*, was released in 1964. In 1965 the Temptations scored big and gave the world what would become their signature song, "My Girl." Another Robinson composition, "My Girl" was number one on both the pop and R&B charts. Crossing over as they were, in an era of racial strife and turmoil, made their accomplishments even more meaningful and paved the way for others to follow. They continued this pattern and in 1965 they release another hit from the pen of Smokey Robinson, "Get Ready." Harder and more edgy, "Get Ready" was of tremendous appeal to rock audiences. Two albums resulted from their early association with Robinson, *Sing Smokey*, in 1965 and *Gettin' Ready*, which also contained the stunning, "Ain't Too Proud to Beg," another signature tune for the Temptations.

Moving on, the Temptations began working with producers Norman Whitfield and Brian Holland and also moved Ruffin into the lead vocal position, a spot Kendricks had filled admirably for some time. Ruffin's voice soared on well known hits "Beauty's Only Skin Deep" and "(I Know) I'm Losing You." Together, Kendricks and Ruffin shared lead vocal duties on the classic romantic hit, "You're My Everything," from the 1967 album *With a Lot o' Soul*. Ruffin pushed to have his name placed in front of the band's name, a request that resulted in his firing from the Temptations. He was replaced by Dennis Edwards, a former member of another band, the Contours. Edwards' voice was a perfect fit as the Temptations took their sound into a more psychedelic direction. Edwards' arrival ushered in a time of change for the Temptations and their sound when he recorded the stinging lead vocal for "I Can't Get Next to You," the most significant cut from the Puzzle People project in 1969.

With Whitfield in full control of production, the Temptations were moving away from the smooth, soulful love songs that had made

them so successful. Tunes like "Cloud Nine," "Psychedelic Shack," and "Ball of Confusion (That's What the World is Today)" were commentary on America's drug culture and politics. Changing their sound and style to fit into the world around them, the Temptations remained current, timely, and part of the mainstream. Furthermore, their influence carried over as rock and pop acts sought to emulate not only their moves, but their material.

By 1971 Kendricks was leaving the band. His swan song with the Temptations was "Just My Imagination," a mellow, flowing tune that showed off the group's skillful harmonies. Paul Williams, who suffered from alcoholism, also left around this time. Damon Harris and Richard Street joined the Temptations. Rumors of the band's demise circulated. But, the Grammy-winning single, "Papa Was a Rolling Stone," displaying vast expanses of instrumental work and Edwards' strong vocals, was a huge crossover hit that only seemed to underscore the versatility and tenacity of the group. Their album, *All Directions*, released in 1972, put an end to the idea that the Temptations were about to disband as did a Grammy Award for their album *Masterpiece* the following year.

After more lineup changes, the Temptations recorded their final project for Motown Records in 1976. *The Temptations Do the Temptations* signaled the end of an era as the act moved to Atlantic Records. Atlantic had designs on turning the Temptations into a disco act. Unsuccessful and dissatisfied, the Temptations returned to Motown and hit the charts once again in 1979 with the single, "Power." A reunion tour and album followed in 1982. Ruffin and Kendricks joined the five current Temptations in what was a brief, but glorious moment in time that included an impressive SRO performance at Radio City Music Hall in New York City. Problems, both personal and professional, made it impossible for Ruffin and Kendricks to remain. In 1984 Ali-Ollie Woodson was on board as lead singer.

Inducted into the Rock 'n' Roll Hall of Fame in 1989 by blue-eyed soul duo Daryl Hall and John Oates, the Temptations were formally acknowledged for their contribution to popular culture and to America's music. Yet, their success was marked by tragedy all along the way. Original member Paul Williams died in 1973 of a self-inflicted gunshot wound. Later, Ruffin passed away in 1991 of a drug overdose while Kendricks succumbed to lung cancer in 1992. Another founding member, Melvin Franklin, lost his life in 1995 after a brain seizure. By the 1990s Otis Williams was the only original member left performing with the group and had spent years in court defending his right to use the Temptations' name after Edwards left and formed a rival group. Publishing his autobiography in 1988, he carried on while Motown released a number of anthologies and greatest hits packages, including *Emperors of Soul* in 1994, and the critically acclaimed *Ultimate Collection* in 1996.

A 1990s renaissance of sorts, however, caused renewed interest in the band. Romantic R&B singing acts of all racial persuasions looked to the work of the Temptations for inspiration. The Temptations' sound was found in the work of chart topping 1990s acts such as BoyzIIMen, Babyface, and the Backstreet Boys. Further interest in the group was fueled by an NBC television movie, *The Temptations*, shown in two parts in November, 1998. Based upon Williams' book, the miniseries focused upon the classic Temptations lineup, the drama of their collective rise to fame and fortune, and the individual trials and tragedies of each member. The 1998 release of a brand new CD, *Phoenix Rising*, also on Motown, refuted the idea that the Temptations were merely an oldies act resting upon their laurels. Williams,



along with tenor Ron Tyson, Barrington Henderson, Terry Weeks, and Harry McGillberry, Jr., give credence to the original member's expression, "Tems forever."

—Jana Pendragon

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## The Ten Commandments

The annual network presentation of Cecil B. De Mille's 1956 epic film *The Ten Commandments* has been an American television standard every Easter for decades. Highlighted by Oscar-winning special effects, such as the spectacular parting of the Red Sea, *The Ten Commandments* vividly tells the Biblical story of the life of Moses, with 1950s superstar Charlton Heston in the lead role. Featuring a cast of thousands, the three-plus hour saga remains a perennial audience

favorite, proving that larger-than-life spectacle continues to be among Hollywood's principal contributions to popular culture.

One of the most important early motion picture directors, Cecil B. De Mille helped define Hollywood's early cinematic style in silent films such as the classic 1915 melodrama *The Cheat*. Primarily a comedy director in his early career, De Mille made his first epic film, *The Ten Commandments*, in 1923. In this earlier version, De Mille interwove the Biblical story with a modern-day parable of two brothers, one a saint, the other a sinner. Even though the shooting budget exceeded a million dollars, the film was a huge moneymaker for Paramount Pictures and made De Mille the top director of his day.

In the mid-1920s, the director started his own studio and his reputation reached legendary proportions. As noted in Baseline's *Encyclopedia of Film*, "By the middle of the decade De Mille, with his Germanic swagger, boots and riding crop, had come to represent the archetypal director to the moviegoing public." After movies switched to sound, De Mille remained one of Hollywood's most bankable directors throughout the 1930s and 1940s, known for his sweeping historical epics.

In 1950, the sixty-nine-year-old director reunited with his great silent star, Gloria Swanson, to make the classic *Sunset Blvd.* Two years later, he directed *The Greatest Show on Earth*, which won the Oscar for Best Picture—DeMille's first. In 1955, rumors began



Charlton Heston (right) and Yul Brynner in a scene from the film *The Ten Commandments*.

circulating Hollywood that the legendary director was planning to remake his 1923 classic, *The Ten Commandments*. Everyone wanted to audition. As actor Vincent Price, who would be cast as Baka, the Master Builder of the Pyramids, recalled, “I think all of us, Eddie Robinson, myself, Judith Anderson, we all really wanted to be in a De Mille picture. We really felt that you couldn’t call yourself a star unless you had been in a De Mille picture! So we all took these sort of small, but rather arresting parts.” Indeed, the cast was star-studded, with Charlton Heston as Moses, Yul Brynner as Ramses, and Anne Baxter as Nefretiti, and featuring Edward G. Robinson, Yvonne De Carlo, Debra Paget, Nina Foch, Judith Anderson, Vincent Price, and John Carradine. Bit players included future television stars Mike Connors and Robert Vaughn and musician Herb Alpert.

In *The Ten Commandments*, Golden Age Hollywood filmmaking meets the 1950s. As described by film critic Pauline Kael, “Charlton Heston is the highly athletic Moses; Anne Baxter is the kittenish princess who loves him; Judith Anderson is the sinister slave who knows the secret of his Jewish birth; Cedric Hardwicke is the likable old Pharaoh; Yul Brynner is the prince who beats Moses to the Egyptian throne; Edward G. Robinson is the traitor to the Jews; Debra Paget is the young slave old Robinson has got his eyes on. Stir them all together, throw in stone tablets, a whopping big Golden Calf, part the Red Sea, and you’ve got Cecil B. De Mille’s epic—3 hours and 38 minutes of it. As old-fashioned hokum, it’s palatable and rather tasty.” Filmed in VistaVision, *The Ten Commandments* was nominated for seven Academy Awards, winning for Special Effects.

Both Hollywood and Cecil B. De Mille made better films than *The Ten Commandments*, but few have remained as popular for as long. A family favorite, a good old-fashioned epic, a television tradition, *The Ten Commandments* has become a staple of American popular culture.

—Victoria Price

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## Tennis

A ball, a racket, and a net. The simplicity of tennis is one reason that its origins are difficult to pinpoint. At any one point in time, variations of the game were probably played in almost every country in the world. Some historians believe the game was first invented in the Middle Ages—it is mentioned in twelfth-century manuscripts—but exactly when and where is probably lost to antiquity. The word tennis is derived from the French word “tenez,” meaning “to hold.” Certainly the French greatly enjoyed the game, and by the sixteenth

century up to 2,000 Jeu-de-Paume (the name for the ball) courts had been built in France, and it is thought that every western European country had courts at the time.

Perhaps until the nineteenth century, tennis courts were walled, and the exact rules of the game may have differed from country to country, perhaps even court to court. In 1858, however, a lawn court was constructed in England, and by 1873 an Englishman, Major Walter Clopton Wingfield, modernized and standardized the game. Calling his game Sphairistike (Greek for ball and stick), the net was set at four feet eight inches, while the court was shaped like an hourglass, narrow at the net and wider at the baseline. The game was played to 15 points. This standardization probably was the reason for an increased interest in the game. At about the same time, the game spread to the United States, and soon after, worldwide.

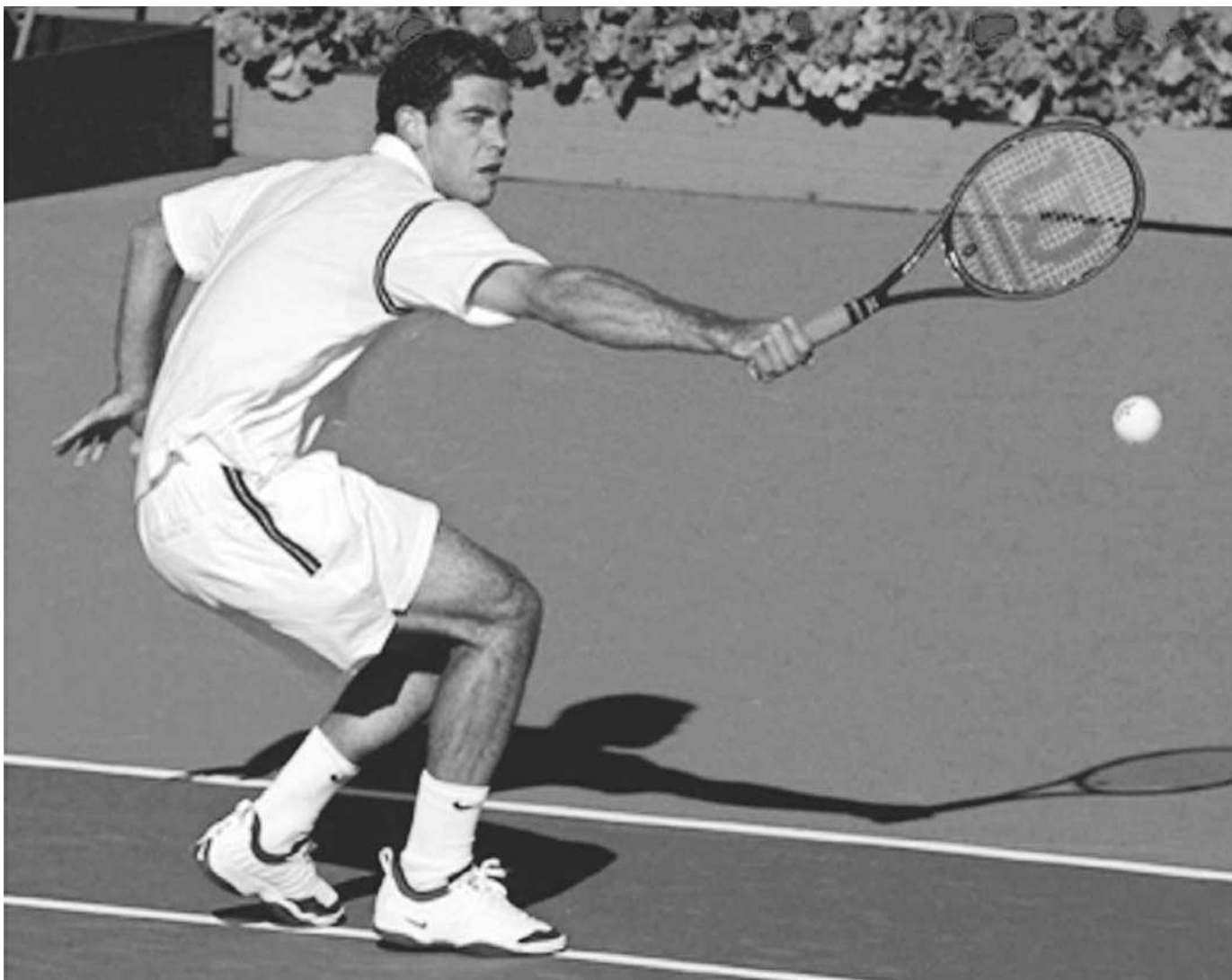
The early establishment of national championships in major tennis-playing countries demonstrates the fast-growing popularity of tennis during this period. In 1877, Wimbledon, the British championship, was first played. In 1881, the United States National Championship (now the U.S. Open) was held. Ten years later the French National championship (now the French Open) began, and by 1905 the national championship of Australia (now the Australian Open) was played. In addition, in 1900 the Davis Cup, a team competition between the United States and England, was first held, and the tournament has since become an annual international championship.

Over the years, various surfaces have been used to play the game, ranging from grass to clay to concrete to composition. Each is generally better suited to different aspects of the game, and rather than undermining the standardization of the game, it has added a diversity to both amateur and tournament play. For example, the French Open is played on clay while Wimbledon is on grass.

Unlike most sports, tennis had a remarkably difficult time meshing amateur and professional status into its organizational format. Although a professional tournament had been held in the United States as early as 1927, not until the 1960s did the “Open Era” of professional tennis begin.

Tennis in the twentieth century is highlighted by a litany of great players from different eras. In the 1920s, American Bill Tilden enjoyed great popularity. In the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, Ellsworth Vines, Fred Perry, Don Budge, Jack Kramer, Pancho Gonzales, and Lew Hoad, were, at various times, either ranked number one or regarded as such. In the 1950s and early 1960s, a host of Australian players reached the top echelon, most notably Rod Laver. Others included Hoad, Ken Rosewall, Frank Sedgman, and Neal Fraser. By the late 1960s and 1970s, players like Arthur Ashe, Stan Smith, and John Newcombe came to the forefront. By the 1980s, Bjorn Borg, Ivan Lendl, and John McEnroe were marquee names while Pete Sampras, Boris Becker, and Andre Agassi have been dominate players in the 1990s.

Women’s tennis has also had an illustrious list of notable players such as Frenchwoman Suzanne Lenglen in the 1920s, Americans Helen Wills and Helen Hull Jacobs in the 1920s and 1930s, Americans Maureen “Little Mo” Connolly and Althea Gibson, the first to break the color line in tennis, in the 1950s, Australian Margaret Court, Brazilian Maria Bueno, and American Billie Jean King in the 1960s, Australian Evonne Goolagong, American Chris Evert, and Czech Martina Navratilova in the 1970s and 1980s, and German Steffi Graf, American Monica Seles, and Swiss Martina Hingis in the 1990s.



**Pete Sampras**

In part, professional tennis has been somewhat of a battle of the sexes. The battle was perhaps best exemplified by the much ballyhooed “match of the century” held in the Houston Astrodome in 1973. The match pitted women’s star Billie Jean King against former Wimbledon champion Bobby Riggs. Months earlier Riggs, a self-appointed “king of the chauvinist pigs,” challenged all women athletes in general, but specifically the top ranked woman’s player in the world, to a tennis match. The number two ranked women’s tennis player Margaret Court accepted, and Riggs promptly beat her 6-2, 6-1 in what was called the Mother’s Day Massacre. This led to the King-Riggs Astrodome match in front of 30,000 fans and a worldwide television audience of 50 million. Although Riggs claimed to be a chauvinist, he probably did more for women’s tennis than any male player in history. In front of the large audience, King beat Riggs in three straight sets and took home the \$100,000 winner-take-all prize. The resultant publicity drew attention to the growing complaint from women professionals that their prize money should be equal to men’s, particularly since many women players felt their blend of finesse and power made women’s matches more enjoyable for spectators. The

Women’s Tennis Association, coincidentally founded the year of the King-Riggs match, has consistently worked toward greater equity in prize money and purses for women have become substantially larger, but generally remain smaller than those awarded to men.

—Lloyd Chiasson Jr.

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## Tennis Shoes/Sneakers

Although a nineteenth century American lexicographer described sneakers as “shoes with canvas tops and rubber soles,” the vernacular meaning has come to include any shoe with natural or synthetic rubber soles. Uppers can be of leather, nylon, canvas, plastic, or combinations of these. Alternative names for sneakers include tennis shoes, gym shoes, plimsolls, felony shoes, cross trainers, boat shoes, and running shoes. The most popular type of shoe, sneakers accounted for just over a third of all shoes sold in 1996 according to Sporting Goods Marketing Association.

Modern sneakers have beginnings in various sports shoes. One ancestor is the expensive British upper-class footwear of the late 1800s, used for lawn tennis, cricket, croquet, and at the beach. Worn by both sexes, these canvas or leather lace-up oxfords—or high tops—had rubber soles. By the end of the nineteenth century they were priced for the average consumer. Field and track shoes are also forerunners in the industry. At the turn of the twentieth century, football and baseball players wore essentially the same shoe: leather high-topped lace-ups with leather soles and cleats. Sears sold leather shoes made specifically for runners as early as 1897.

From 1900 through the 1920s not much changed, but in the 1930s through the 1960s technical improvements that ultimately

made sneakers trendy were implemented. The quintessential sneaker—the Converse All Star—premiered in 1917. In 1922, Montgomery Ward offered high and low top sneakers—for “work, play or everyday wear”—for children and adults. Paul Sperry introduced his wavy sole for boating shoes in 1935 and other shoemakers produced non-skid soles in patterns including diamonds, feathers, and chain-links. Keds offered a variety of colored uppers, and sponge rubber, plastic foam, cushioned heels, and soles adding comfort were later introduced. In addition, it was in the 1940s and 1950s that Dassler Brothers (later split into Puma and Adidas), Converse, Spalding, and other companies were gaining reputations as sports shoemakers. Also during this time, sneakers, coupled with blue jeans, became symbols of youth. Adidas eventually made shoes with nylon uppers and velcro began to be used as a fastener in the 1960s. The 1970s pushed sneakers into the spotlight with the optimum shoe pursued by both consumers and manufacturers. Geoffery Beene, Calvin Klein, and other designers transformed sneakers into fashion.

When jogging became a popular pastime *Runner's World* printed surveys comparing the qualities of shoes. The running fad of the late 1970s propelled shoe manufacturers such as Saucony, Brooks, and Etonic to develop anti-pronation devices on their shoes so athletes would land flatfooted. Flared and elevated heels, in addition to soft molded and cantilevered soles, were some of the improvements



A pair of tennis shoes.

designers offered. One of a number of athletes turned sneaker designers, Bill Bowerman, a University of Oregon coach, created the waffle sole for added traction. With their popularity well established, by 1978 sneakers amounted to 50 percent of all shoes sold.

By the 1980s many shoe brands had become household words. The aerobic exercise trend of this time called for a new kind of shoe that Reebok pioneered. Nike joined in with a gas-filled midsole in the late 1970s, and by the 1980s added windows in the sole to display this air. Hip-hop musicians soon adopted sneakers as part of their style and referenced them in their songs. In 1986 rappers Run-DMC issued “My Adidas,” an anthem to the Super Star model they wore without laces. The same year, Reebok came out with a pump shoe for the excessive price of \$175: the strong desire to be in vogue, coupled with an inability to afford expensive sneakers, even pushed a few young people to rob, and sometimes kill, others for their costly sneakers.

From the 1980s into the 1990s, the technologically-crafted sneaker looked ready for space trekking—take, for example, L. A. Gear’s flashing lights, straps, and intricate lacing systems, along with the sculptured, multicolored soles of Puma, New Balance, and other brands. With lighter materials, shoes could afford to be bulky, resembling moon boots more than sports shoes. Still, despite the style and technology, the questionable labor practices of Southeast Asian manufacturers contracted to make shoes for brands like Nike and Reebok eventually caused consumer boycotts.

While athletic styles were similar for males and females, non-sport sneakers were distinctively for women. Keds advertised low-heeled pumps with toe bows in 1917 for “Milady.” Sequin sneakers, stitch-it-yourself needlepoint sneakers, and wedge heeled satin sneakers were all 1970s products. About this time fashion designer Betsy Johnson created high-heeled sneakers, a style that would gain popularity in the 1990s, along with sneaker clogs. Another 1990s style, homemade platform sneakers, was copied by Converse and fashion designer Donna Karan, among others.

Meanwhile, new retail venues were created to meet the demand for sneakers. Into the 1960s, sporting goods stores sold athletic shoes with their low-tech siblings available in regular shoe shops. By the early 1960s specialty stores such as The Sneaker Shop of Bridgeport, Connecticut opened. Department stores had designated athletic footwear and accessories sections. In shopping malls, the Athlete’s Foot, Foot Locker, and, exclusively for women, Lady Foot Locker, among others, sold only sneakers. By the late 1990s, super stores such as Sneaker Stadium and The Sports Authority dotted the landscape. Nike owners Phil Knight and Bill Bowman, who had retail outlets as importers for Tiger (now Asics), opened Nike Towns, selling Nike shoes, apparel, and accessories.

Athletes’ endorsements for sneakers were common after 1920. Chuck Taylor, whose signature was added to the Converse All Star in 1923, had directed basketball clinics for Converse and had been on the Akron Firestones basketball team. Northwestern University coach “Dutch” Lonborg lent his name to the 1932 Montgomery Ward basketball shoe. Jim Thorpe endorsed B. F. Goodrich’s “Chief Long Lance” brand sneakers. Female endorsers in the 1970s included Chris Evert for Converse and Virginia Wade for ProKeds. Endorsements, however, created mixed loyalties in the 1970s and 1980s. Some athletes wore favorite shoes with the logo of their endorser hiding the brand they wore. Others changed shoes during the course of a game, giving multiple endorsers equal time. But in the commodified

culture of the 1990s, endorsements by athletes like Michael Jordan for Nike propelled manufacturers into hero-selling machines.

—ViBrina Coronado

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## 10,000 Maniacs

Formed under the name Still Life in rural Jamestown, New York in February 1981, 10,000 Maniacs became noted for its melodic folk music and the wistful lyricism and distinct vocal patterns of its lead singer, Natalie Merchant. After releasing one EP and three albums, the group blossomed into prominence in the late 1980s on the strength of its single “What’s the Matter Here.” The hit put them in the Top 40 along with friends R.E.M. Following the success of its fifth album, *Blind Man’s Zoo* (1989), the band’s participation in the MTV (Music Television) Inaugural Ball for President Clinton in 1992, and its swan song performance on MTV Unplugged (1994), Merchant left to pursue a successful solo career. The remaining members of the band, guitarist Robert Buck, keyboardist Dennis Drew, and bassist Steve Gustafson, recruited an old collaborator, singer-violinist Mary Ramsey, releasing *Love Among the Ruins* (1997) to critical praise, marking a new chapter in the band’s eventful career.

—Scott Thill

## Tenuta, Judy (1951—)

Stand-up comedienne Judy Tenuta is the goddess of her own religion, Judyism, and she encourages the “pigs” in her audience to worship her. Her performances may include accordion music, sadomasochistic play with audience members, and stories of dating the Pope punctuated by her catch-phrase, “It could happen!” In 1997, she hosted an Internet talk show, *The Princess of Pop Culture*. Her comedy albums include *Buy This, Pigs!* (1987) and *In Goddess We Trust* (1995).

—Christian L. Pyle

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## Terkel, Studs (1912—)

Studs Terkel was born Louis Terkel in New York City. When he was eight, his family moved to Chicago, a city of raw midwestern muscularity and deep jazz rhythms that sharply influenced his life and career. His love of acting and jazz combined with his urban working-class environment spawned his dual role as local radio personality and oral historian.

Though he graduated from college and law school at the University of Chicago, Terkel never practiced law. Instead, taking his nickname from a famous literary character of the day, Studs Lonigan, he succumbed to the lure of the stage, acting in radio and community theater productions and even in the exciting new medium of television. From 1949 until 1951, he had his own weekly show on NBC, *Studs' Place*, an innovative, improvisational situation comedy about "regular folks." Terkel took the show's loose, unscripted format from the jazz he loved.

In 1951, anticommunist fever was rising, and Terkel's television career was cut short when NBC discovered he had signed leftist petitions seeking reform on such controversial issues as rent control and segregation. With his typical stubborn conviction, Terkel refused to renounce the petitions, and his show was canceled. His next step was to approach radio station WFMT with a proposal for an hour-long interview show. The station hired him and became Terkel's home for the next 45 years, until his retirement in 1997.

During those years, Terkel interviewed hundreds of politicians, writers, artists, and "regular folks," becoming in the process the quintessential "regular folk" himself. Dressed in his trademark uniform, a red and white checked shirt, and red socks, Terkel developed an interviewing style that was homey yet incisive, respectful yet downright curious, which made many people comfortable in revealing their insights and experiences to him.

His interviews with celebrities and politicians were sensitive and probing, often undressing sides of figures in popular culture that were previously concealed. Terkel often ventured out across the United States with his show, interviewing ordinary people. Many of his fans would agree that he made his biggest contributions to society in these treks as a chronicler of the impact of historical events on everyday life.

Terkel often quoted a poem by Bertold Brecht:

When the Chinese wall was built, where'd the masons  
go for lunch?  
When Caesar conquered Gaul was there not even a cook  
in the army?  
When the Armada sank, King Philip wept.  
Were there no other tears?

It is these individuals whom history leaves out of its story who most deeply interested Terkel, and he strove to become their scribe. Beginning with *Giants of Jazz* in 1957, which extolled previously little known black musicians, Terkel produced a series of books that gave voice to the experience of the "regular folks." In 1967 he wrote *Division Street America*, the first of his oral histories, quickly followed by *Hard Times: An Oral History of the Great Depression* (1970), *Working: People Talk About What They Do All Day and How They Feel About What They Do* (1974), *American Dreams, Lost and Found* (1980), *The Good War: An Oral History of World War II* (1985), *The Great Divide: Second Thoughts on the American Dream* (1988), *Race: How Blacks and Whites Think and Feel About the American Obsession* (1992), *Coming of Age: The Story of Our*

*Century By Those Who Have Lived in It* (1995), and *My American Century* (1997).

Each book depicts a multifaceted picture of the historical period it covers and the society that lived through it. Not interested in pat answers or definitive statements, Terkel took delight in the astonishing variety of human experience, and it is that delight he passes on to his readers, like a jovial host at a huge gathering.

"Oral journalism is associated with me," Terkel has said, "and I like that, and it's true. Because it's the sound of the voice that I'd like to capture." Terkel indeed captured the sound of hundreds of voices, previously unheard, but his own voice is apparent in his books as well, often merely in what he chose to write about. He jokingly related that his red checked shirt represents his politics. Terkel's ideological beliefs as a long-time socialist and his interest in working people went hand in hand. A resister of technology, he never used an electric typewriter or drove a car, preferring to take the bus to work. His down-to-earth style perhaps contributed to his success in radio, a much less superficial and glamour-oriented medium than television. He expressed his concern over how high-tech media has affected interpersonal relations when he complained, "We are more and more into communications and less into communication."

—Tina Gianoulis

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## The Terminator

The Terminator is one of the most popular robots of film. There are actually two models of Terminator: the metal skeleton covered by human flesh (technically a cyborg) first seen in *The Terminator* (James Cameron, 1984); and the liquid metal, shape-shifting new T-1000 introduced in the sequel, *The Terminator 2: Judgment Day* (Cameron, 1991). Both were created by Stan Winston, following Cameron's designs. The older Terminator (Arnold Schwarzenegger) comes from the near future to kill Sarah, the mother of the still unborn John Connor, who will become the guerrilla leader that fights the rebellious machines in a future war. In the sequel, this evil Terminator becomes the fatherly protector of mother and son, saving them from the murderous T-1000. The *Terminator* films have appealed to the popular imagination thanks to their special effects (especially the infographics of the sequel) and the magnetic presence of Schwarzenegger in the title role.

—Sara Martin

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Arnold Schwarzenegger as the Terminator in a scene from the film *Terminator 2: Judgement Day*.

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## Terry and the Pirates

A popular and highly influential adventure strip, *Terry and the Pirates* was set in China and began in the autumn of 1934. It was written and drawn during its heyday by Milton Caniff. The cinematic layouts and the impressionistic inking style that Caniff perfected influenced a whole generation of comic strip and comic book artists.

Terry Lee was a kid of 12 when he arrived in the Orient, accompanied by an avuncular adventurer named Pat Ryan. Almost immediately the pair was tangling with an assortment of pirates on land and sea. Among them was the quintessential femme fatale, the Dragon Lady. During World War II, Caniff, who had been dealing with the Japanese invaders since the late 1930s, turned *Terry and the Pirates* into a fairly authentic chronicle of combat activities in the China-Burma-India theater. He left his strip at the end of 1946 to do

*Steve Canyon*. *Terry and the Pirates*, taken over by George Wunder, continued until early in 1973.

—Ron Goulart

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## Tex-Mex Music

See Tejano Music

## Thalberg, Irving G. (1899-1936)

Irving Grant Thalberg may have been the most influential motion picture executive of his time. "The Boy Wonder," as he was called, was an expert in knowing what the public wanted and how to get it to them under budget. As head of production for Metro Golwyn Mayer (MGM) he oversaw countless productions during his tenure, including *The Big Parade* (1925) and *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1935) although *The Good Earth* (1937) was the only picture for which he ever received on-screen credit as producer.

Despite suffering from a weak heart his entire life, Thalberg was a classic workaholic. After their marriage in 1927, he personally oversaw the career of his wife, actress Norma Shearer. Thalberg was often quoted as saying, "Credit you give yourself is not worth having." The Thalberg Award, given by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, is named for him.

—Jill A. Gregg

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## Thanksgiving

A national holiday in the United States since 1863, Thanksgiving has come to play a number of important roles in popular culture. It was customary in Europe to hold days of thanksgiving both for successful harvests and for events such as military victories, deliverance from plagues, and royal births. The date and site of the first Thanksgiving in what is now the United States are still debated, but the most famous in pre-independence times was that held in October, 1621 in the Plymouth Colony. There, European immigrants, "the Pilgrims," and indigenous Wampanoag Indians celebrated the harvest season with feasting that included the dish that would become a

traditional part of the day: turkey. Throughout the colonial era, days of thanksgiving were common, especially in New England, but not universal or regular. Although national days of thanksgiving were proclaimed by the Continental Congress in 1777 and by President Washington in 1789, there was no great clamor for an annual festival until the nineteenth century.

Credit for the establishment of Thanksgiving Day as a nationwide holiday must go to Sarah Josepha Buell Hale, the editor of an influential women's magazine (and author of "Mary Had a Little Lamb") who lobbied legislatures and presidents from 1827 on. In 1863 Abraham Lincoln proclaimed the last Thursday of November as a day of "thanksgiving and praise to our beneficent Father who dwelleth in the Heavens," and since then it has been an annual celebration, though the date has varied. From 1939-1941 President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in response to the complaints of businessmen that there was insufficient shopping time between Thanksgiving and Christmas, proclaimed Thanksgiving to be the third Thursday in November. This, however, created conflicts with the dating of the holiday in many states which had their own Thanksgiving legislation, so Congress in 1941 passed a joint resolution decreeing that the observance should fall on the fourth Thursday of November.

Thanksgiving, as a non-denominational harvest festival, is part of the American civic religion, able to be celebrated by people of any faith or none at all. It is marked by Pilgrim pageants, the decoration of schools, churches, and shopping malls with harvest themes, proclamations by politicians voicing gratitude for the country's prosperity, and the televising of college and professional football games. Above all, it is the day the extended family gathers for a dinner with a menu that has become stereotypical, almost invariably including turkey, stuffing, mashed potatoes, sweet potatoes, cranberries, and pumpkin pie. Americans abroad observe the day (in a way they would not trouble themselves for Memorial Day or Presidents' Day, for example) and attempt to duplicate this traditional meal as best they can in a foreign setting. The illustrator Norman Rockwell's depictions of this family feast have become American icons.

Thanksgiving, in the shorthand of popular culture, stands for family togetherness for good or ill. Motion pictures such as *Planes, Trains & Automobiles* (1987) and *Dutch* (1991) have been built around the utter necessity of returning home, whatever the obstacles, for this holiday. The final scene of *Raising Arizona* (1987) is a dream sequence in which a dysfunctional and childless couple are blessed in the future by the arrival of children and grandchildren for a Rockwell-style Thanksgiving. On the other hand, films like *The Ice Storm* (1997) and *Home for the Holidays* (1995) use the Thanksgiving setting in a claustrophobic way to emphasize the troubles of a family gone wrong.

Thanksgiving also marks the semi-official launch of another holiday: Christmas. As early as 1889 a New York newspaper claimed that "as soon as the Thanksgiving turkey is eaten the great question of buying Christmas presents begins to take the terrifying shape it has come to assume." Thanksgiving Parades, especially Macy's in New York and that on Los Angeles' Santa Claus Lane, usher in the shopping season.

—Gerry Bowler

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## Tharp, Twyla (1941—)

A leading choreographer of modern dance and ballet, Twyla Tharp rose to prominence during "the dance boom" of the 1960s and 1970s. Tharp's choreography incorporates dance elements from roll 'n' roll, blues, and jazz, and has been set to the music of Jelly Roll Morton, Bix Biederbecke, and Fats Waller, as well as Chuck Berry, the Beach Boys, and David Byrne. In the mid-1970s, Tharp began to cross-over into ballet choreography. *Push Comes to Shove* and *Nine Sinatra Songs* were the two finest works that grew from her collaboration with Mikhail Baryshnikov and the American Ballet Theater. Other important works are *The Catherine Wheel* and *In the Upper Room*. Although her work continues to draw on modern dance, she is arguably the most important ballet choreographer since George Balanchine. Tharp's choreography can be seen in the movies, *Hair*, *Ragtime*, *Amadeus*, and *White Nights* and a Broadway version of *Singin' in the Rain*. She continues to choreograph for and tour with her own company.

—Jeffrey Escoffier

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## Them!

First and best of the giant insect/arachnid subgenre of horror films, *Them!* was directed by Gordon Douglas and released by Warner Brothers in 1954. Atomic bomb testing in the American Southwest causes ants to mutate, growing to great size. A scientist (Edmund Gwenn), his daughter (Joan Weldon), an FBI agent (James Arness), and a police officer (James Whitmore) lead the effort to find and destroy the migrating horde of ants before it is too late.

The film is characterized by a matter-of-fact approach. Early witnesses to the ants' existence are either semi-catatonic, like the young girl who can say only "Them!" or the pilot (Fess Parker) who is placed in a psychiatric ward after claiming to have seen giant bugs. The climax, an all-out assault on the ant colony living in the Los Angeles sewers, is moody and frightening, especially by the standards of 1950s' special effects.

Later, lesser films in this genre included *Tarantula* (1955) and the 1957 films *The Deadly Mantis*, *Beginning of the End*, and *The Black Scorpion*.

—David Lonergan

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## *The Thing*

John Carpenter's *The Thing* (1982) is one of the peaks of sci-fi horror cinema, comparable only to *Alien* (1979). Its premise is simple and effective. A group of American scientists working in Antarctica are stalked by a shape-shifting alien, which kills them one by one and then assumes the victim's physical and mental identity. This extraterrestrial creature has lain dormant for centuries, buried in the Arctic ice, until a team of Norwegian scientists defrosts it. The originality of Carpenter's film, otherwise quite conventional as regards character development and plot structure, stems from the shape-shifting abilities of the alien. Suspense is consistently maintained throughout the film because the creature's nature makes it impossible for the audience to predict the shape it will take next. Intense horror is achieved by each new manifestation of the Thing, based on the truly scary designs of special effects wizard Rob Bottin.

*The Thing* is actually a double adaptation. Its main inspiration is Christian Nyby's 1951 film *The Thing (from another world)*, an

adaptation of "Who Goes There?," a short story by John W. Campbell Jr. which was also the basis of Carpenter's version. Nyby's *Thing* is one of the many monster films produced in the 1950s, a vogue fueled by terrors related to the Cold War and its feared alien—that is to say, communist—invasion of America. The first *Thing* failed to truly frighten the audience because the horrific potential of Campbell's original shape-shifting alien could not be adequately realized on the screen. Producer Howard Hawks wanted to achieve what would be achieved thirty years later by special effects artist Rick Baker and director John Landis in *An American Werewolf in London* (1982): a complete on-screen transformation of human into horrific non-human creature. The rudimentary special effects available to Nyby and his crew made this utterly impossible and they had to rely on the traditional man in a rubber suit, shaped in this case—its detractors claim—as a rather unimpressive giant carrot.

After the success of Ridley Scott's *Alien* (1979)—a story loosely based on another sci-fi pulp tale about a hostile alien fond of invading human bodies—the time seemed ripe to face the challenge Hawks had failed to meet. By 1981 special effects had progressed far from the poor 1950s standards under the guidance of make-up pioneer Dick Smith. Two of his disciples, Rick Baker and Rob Bottin, had discovered the wonders of latex foam, a new, supple material invented by George Bau, which enabled them to turn their wild flights of



From left: T. K. Carter, Kurt Russell, and Donald Moffat in a scene from the film *The Thing*.

fancy into actual sculptures and models. Baker and Bottin commenced a fierce competition for the position of king of special effects, beginning with a werewolf film on which they worked together, Joe Dante's *The Howling* (1981). Baker won the first round by reaping the first Oscar for Best Make-Up thanks to his work in *An American Werewolf in London*, but the quality of Bottin's work for Carpenter's *The Thing* certainly did not lag behind Baker's.

*The Thing* is now a cult film. Its original release, however, was badly timed, for it coincided with that of Steven Spielberg's *E.T.* Audiences charmed by Spielberg's cute, homesick alien found little to enjoy in Carpenter's grim tale, which, in addition to horrific scenes of mutation, offers one of the most pessimistic endings on record. By the late 1990s, *The Thing* had been fully vindicated by devoted fans who carved a niche for Carpenter's film in the roll call of top horror films. Its new-found popularity could be accounted for by two main factors: one, no doubt, the quality of Bottin's extraordinary work, which aged well and is hailed by many contemporary monster-makers as seminal inspiration. The scene of the post-mortem that reveals the bizarre, nightmarish shapes the alien can assume is one of the most terrifying metamorphoses ever filmed.

The other factor that contributes to the cult status of *The Thing* is the atmosphere of despair that surrounds Carpenter's doomed heroes. Unlike countless monster films which conclude with the victory of humankind and the destruction of the alien monster, the end of *The Thing* suggests that the monster is alive as one of the only two survivors—either the sensible black scientist Nauls (T. K. Carter) or McReady, the rugged white hero played by Kurt Russell. Suggesting that the monster might find its last refuge in an African American man may have come to seem provocative enough with the onset of political correctness; but even more provocative is the suggestion that it is perhaps the hero, with whom our sympathy has lain throughout the film, who is the monster. Very little hope is left for trust among human beings or for the survival of humankind. This bleak prospect awoke an echo of sympathy in the more pessimistic late 1980s and 1990s, when fears of nuclear annihilation or alien conquest were superseded by fears of more subtle invasions, such as that by the AIDS virus. Fortunately for the admirers of Carpenter's masterpiece, no trivializing sequel followed—doubtless because of its downbeat conclusion and poor box-office returns.

—Sara Martin

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## *The Third Man*

Holly Martins (Joseph Cotton) arrives in postwar Vienna to visit his friend Harry Lime (Orson Welles) only to find that Harry is dead. When Major Calloway (Trevor Howard) claims that Harry was a black marketeer, Holly begins to investigate Harry's mysterious death. He discovers that Harry is still alive and is as

corrupt as Calloway claimed. Holly's conscience is torn between Calloway and the beautiful Anna Schmidt (Alida Valli), Harry's lover who urges Holly to remain loyal to his friend. *The Third Man* (1949) is remembered for its compelling tale of mystery, Anton Karas' haunting zither score, and the blend of expressionism's jagged angles and *film noir*'s shadows in Robert Krasker's Oscar-winning cinematography.

—Christian L. Pyle

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## *This Is Your Life*

A human-interest show that presented documentary-style biographies of celebrities through the recollections and testimonials of colleagues, friends, and relatives, *This Is Your Life* was one of the most popular shows on radio and television during its lengthy run. Although occasionally lesser-known but accomplished guests appeared on the program, the show is best remembered for its surprise tributes to Marilyn Monroe, Jack Benny, Bette Davis, and other Hollywood stars.

Created by perennial host Ralph Edwards for radio in the 1940s, *This Is Your Life* came to television on October 1, 1952 as a half-hour series lasting for nine seasons on NBC. On both radio and television, the show's format was the same. Edwards would appear to encounter the evening's guest by happenstance in or near the television studio. After a brief exchange of pleasantries, Edwards would announce "This is your life!" and the startled guest would be taken to the



A scene from the television show *This Is Your Life*.

show's set where his or her life story would unfold before a live studio audience. Reading from the *This Is Your Life* book, Edwards would recount the celebrity's childhood, school years, and rise to fame with a sentimental flare certain to elicit an emotional outpouring from both guest and audience. Edwards was so effective, in fact, that one show celebrating the life of educator Laurence C. Jones inspired his television audience to send \$700,000 in contributions to a Mississippi college. The show's specialty, however, seemed to be orchestrating parades of long-lost teachers and friends whose appearance was sure to trigger tears from the honored guest.

From time to time a planned show would have to be scrapped because the celebrity learned of the project in advance, but for the most part Edwards was remarkably successful in his *Candid Camera* style ruses, especially since the show was broadcast live until the 1959-1960 season. *This Is Your Life* did, however, tip off two guests: Lillian Roth, so that producers could obtain permission to discuss her successful struggle with alcoholism, and Eddie Cantor, who producers feared might experience a heart attack at too dramatic a surprise.

The show generated two spin-offs, a British version of *This Is Your Life* and, in 1953, *The Comeback Story*, which each week presented the inspiring tale of a faded star who was regaining fame and fortune. It also spun off several incarnations of itself. Edwards revived *This Is Your Life* in 1971, this time featuring the Nelson Riddle Orchestra, but the syndicated show lasted only one season. It re-emerged for another try in 1983, and over the years several *This Is Your Life* specials have appeared on NBC, with Ralph Edwards hosting until 1993. Despite its reputation for sentimentality and sensationalism, *This Is Your Life* has proven to be a resilient formula for the surprise party, whether televised or not. Not only have television producers fit it into every decade's programming, if only for an evening, but the words "This is your life!" have entered the popular imagination as a theme appropriate to almost any kind of party or celebration.

—Michele S. Shauf

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## Thomas, Clarence

See Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas Senate Hearings

## Thomas, Danny (1912-1991)

Although he later starred in the longest running situation comedy in television history and became one of TV's top producers, Danny Thomas once denounced the new medium as a "workplace for idiots." He made this comment after spending two years hosting NBC's *All-Star Revue*, rotating with comedians Jack Carson, Jimmy Durante, and Ed Wynn. He quit the show in 1952 to return to the



Danny Thomas

nightclub circuit. A year later, he was back on the small screen, well on his way to becoming one of the icons of television's Golden Age.

Born Muzyad Yakhoo in Deerfield, Michigan, the fifth of nine children of Catholic immigrants from Lebanon, Danny's first experience in show business was selling candy at a burlesque theater. At age twenty he began singing on a Detroit radio station, and six years later he started a career in nightclubs, as a standup comic and master of ceremonies. His popularity steadily increased during the 1940s, leading to a brief career in films. In his two best remembered films, he played pop composer Gus Kahn in *I'll See You in My Dreams* (1951), and the Al Jolson role in the remake of *The Jazz Singer* (1953).

In 1953, Thomas began developing a situation comedy for ABC. Discussing the project with writer Mel Shavelson, Danny explained that he wanted to stay home with his family in Los Angeles. As he wrote in his autobiography in 1990, "I was away on the road so much that they hardly knew me. They called me 'Uncle Daddy.'" Shavelson realized at once that they had a concept for a comedy show, featuring a nightclub entertainer trying to have a normal family life along with a career in show business. Danny's wife Rose Marie suggested the title, *Make Room for Daddy*. While Danny was on the road, the children took over his space in the home, and when he returned, they had to shift bedrooms and move their belongings to "make room for Daddy."

The show made its debut on ABC in September 1953, running for four seasons with its ratings near the bottom, ranking 107<sup>th</sup> of the 118 shows in that period. The low ratings came despite the fact that the show won an Emmy as Best Situation Comedy Series in 1954, the same year Danny won his Emmy for Best Actor Starring in a Regular Series. After the third season, Jean Hagen, Danny's on-screen wife,

quit the show and became the first leading character in a sitcom to die in the off-season. When the next season started, little Terry and Rusty were told, “Mommy’s gone to Heaven.”

In 1957 the renamed *Danny Thomas Show* was moved to CBS and aired on Monday night in the 9 p.m. time slot. In the first episode Danny had just married his new bride (Marjorie Lord), who arrived with a cute, precocious five-year-old stepdaughter, played by Angela Cartwright. Another popular character on the show was Danny’s Lebanese Uncle Tonoose, played by Hans Conried. Ratings immediately soared to the top ten, and the newfound audience remained loyal throughout the run of the series, which ended in 1964.

In 1967, a special, *Make More Room for Daddy*, aired on NBC. Two years later, another special entitled *Make Room for Granddaddy*, reuniting Thomas, Marjorie Lord, Angela Cartwright, Rusty Hamer, and Hans Conried, proved so popular that it became a pilot for the 1970-71 series on ABC. Danny’s “grandson,” played by Michael Hughes, was introduced on that show. Danny’s real-life children also became important in show business; son, Tony, produced such hit shows as *Golden Girls* and *Empty Nest*, and daughter, Marlo, starred in the hit series *That Girl*.

In the 1950s, Thomas had branched out into production, forming partnerships first with Sheldon Leonard and later with Aaron Spelling. He became one of the most successful television producers of the 1950s and 1960s, whose blockbuster programs included *The Andy Griffith Show*, *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, *Gomer Pyle*, and *The Mod Squad*.

In 1991 Danny Thomas made a rare guest appearance on his son Tony’s series, *Empty Nest*. A week later, his fans were stunned to learn that he had died of a heart attack. His later years were marked by his generosity in giving and raising money for his favorite charity, St. Jude’s Hospital.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Thomas, Isiah (1961—)

National Basketball Association (NBA) legend Isiah Thomas starred for two seasons at the University of Indiana, where he won All-American honors in 1981, led the Hoosiers to a national title, and was cited as the NCAA (National Collegiate Athletics Association) tournament’s Most Valuable Player. Following that season, Thomas chose to leave school and turn pro. He was drafted in the first round by the Detroit Pistons, and went on to play 13 seasons in the NBA. The six-foot-one, 185-pound point guard became the Pistons’ captain and star, leading the team to three successive appearances in the NBA finals (from 1988 through 1990). In the latter two years, the Pistons emerged as champs. In 1990, Thomas was cited as the MVP (Most Valuable Player) of the finals. Between 1982 and 1993 he started in

12 successive NBA All-Star games, and was the contest’s MVP in 1984 and 1986.

In his time in the NBA, Thomas teamed with Joe Dumars to make up one of pro basketball’s top backcourts. Upon his retirement after the 1993-1994 season, he was the Pistons’ all-time scoring leader, with 18,822 points. He also was tops in assists with 9,061, steals with 1,861, and games played with 979. One of the keys to his success has been his mental approach to the game. “I’ve always believed no matter how many shots I miss,” Thomas once said, “I’m going to make the next one.”

Although he left college before graduation, Thomas continued his studies and in 1988 earned a degree in criminal justice. Since his retirement, he has transferred his intelligence and ambition to off-court endeavors. “If all I’m remembered for is being a good basketball player,” he declared, “then I’ve done a bad job with the rest of my life.” Thomas first became a part-owner and vice president of the NBA expansion Toronto Raptors. He hoped to take over the team, but the deal, involving majority owner Allan Slaight, fell apart, resulting in Thomas leaving the Raptors and joining NBC as a basketball analyst. He has also been involved in banking, land development, sports and amusement activities, and other business ventures in the Detroit area. Nonetheless, Isiah Thomas’s greatest glory came on the basketball court. In 1996, he was named one of the 50 Greatest Players in NBA history.

—Rob Edelman

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## Thomas, Lowell (1892-1981)

A best-selling author, globe-trotting adventurer, and legendary broadcaster, Lowell Thomas travelled from the arctic to the outback, covering stories ranging from World War I to Lawrence of Arabia. He came to radio in 1930 and stayed—for a variety of sponsors and two different networks—until 1976. His 15-minute nightly broadcast was rarely far from the top of the news ratings chart, and his sign-off line is well remembered: “And so long until tomorrow.”

—Chris Chandler

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## Thomas, Marlo (1943—)

Marlo Thomas will always be best remembered as the naively innocent and exhaustingly enthusiastic Ann Marie of the television show *That Girl* (1966-1971). One of the first series to present an unmarried female pursuing anything other than a husband, it was more traditional than it claimed. Although the show made a great deal

of the fact that she was an aspiring actress living on her own in New York City, both Ann's father and her ever-present boyfriend were just a phone call away when she found herself in one of her never-ending predicaments. Moreover, she was seldom seen auditioning and worked at only low-paying temporary jobs suitable for women of the period. Despite her inability to find a reliable source of income, she somehow managed to live in a three-room apartment in a good neighborhood in New York City and dress in the height of fashion.

After the series ended Thomas became a producer and in that capacity won Emmy Awards for her work on *Marlo and Friends in Free to Be . . . You and Me* and *The Body Human: Facts for Girls*. She won a third Emmy for her role in *Nobody's Child* (1986). She has also been a strong advocate for a variety of women's causes. In 1980, Thomas married talk-show host Phil Donahue.

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## Thompson, Hunter S. (1939—)

Hunter S. Thompson represents life on the edge, the counter to culture, the man who has listed his religion as none, his politics as



Hunter S. Thompson

anarchist, and his hobby as collecting guns. He claimed membership in the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Rifle Association, and the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws, and once ran for sheriff of Aspen, Colorado. Strange as it may seem, the drug- and alcohol-abusing Thompson at one time worked for *Time* magazine, the *New York Herald Tribune*, and the *National Observer* before he went straight and started writing for the voice of the counterculture, *Rolling Stone*, and invented "gonzo journalism," or at least that's the storyline. He was even turned into a character in the comic strip *Doonesbury*.

Thompson made his first major visit to the edge in 1965, when he wrote an article for *The Nation* about the Hell's Angels entitled "The Motorcycle Gangs: Losers and Outsiders." The article led to a book contract. Thompson spent a year with the Angels as a field study for the book. He was charged with separating fact from fancy and in doing so he condemned the press for coverage that he felt misrepresented the Angels. Generally, the press merely repeated what law enforcement officials chose to say rather than learning the truth by riding with the members.

Thompson's book portrayed the Angels as drug-using and alcohol-abusing gang members who believed that women were put on earth to service them. Perhaps the lowest point of the book was Thompson's description of gang sex with one woman. And at the end, some Angels nearly stomped him to death and Thompson suddenly seemed not so fond of the motorcyclists.

The titles of Thompson's books say something about Thompson and his subject matter: *The Great Shark Hunt: Strange Tales from a Strange Time*; *Gonzo Papers, Volume One, The Curse of Lono, Generation of Swine: Tales of Shame and Degradation in the '80s*; *Gonzo Papers, Volume Two, Songs of the Doomed: More Notes on the Death of the American Dream*; *Gonzo Papers, Volume Three, The Proud Highway: The Saga of a Desperate Northern Gentleman*; *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas: A Savage Journey to the Heart of the American Dream*, and *Fear and Loathing on the Campaign Trail '72*. "Fear and Loathing in . . ." became a trademark Thompson headline on many of his *Rolling Stone* articles.

The two *Fear* books followed *Hell's Angels* and helped establish Thompson as a writer with an attitude. The Las Vegas book was purported to be an autobiographical account of Thompson's failure to cover two events for a magazine because he spent more time on drug trips than reporting. The book includes a character named Raoul Duke, who was really Thompson, and who in Garry Trudeau's *Doonesbury* became "Uncle Duke." More than 25 years after the book was published, it was made into a movie that received some good reviews, but wasn't in the theaters very long.

*Fear and Loathing on the Campaign Trail '72*, a collection of articles Thompson wrote for *Rolling Stone*, to some extent continued to reflect Thompson's loathing of the mainstream press, while at the same time making Thompson the center of the reportage rather than the candidates. Another *Rolling Stone* writer, Timothy Crouse, wrote a book about how the press covered the 1972 presidential campaign, and he provided many of the stories about Thompson's non-journalistic antics. Crouse even claimed that, when *Rolling Stone* dispatched him and Thompson to Washington to open a bureau, Crouse was "to write the serious backup pieces, keep Thompson out of trouble, and carry the bail bond money." Thompson showed up on the campaign trail in sneakers, sunglasses, a Miami sports shirt, and a hunting

jacket; everyone else in the press corps wore coats and ties. Thompson was downright irreverent, Crouse reported, offering to share his beer, Wild Turkey, and drugs and wondering outloud if at the next campaign stop he'd have time to drop some acid. Eventually, however, many members of the press came to respect Thompson because he was able to write what they couldn't. While his colleagues were committed to objective reporting, Thompson's talent was in his ability to fill his pieces with his own opinions expressed in descriptive language.

Thompson invented "gonzo journalism" while covering the Kentucky Derby (Thompson was born in Louisville) for *Scanlan's Magazine* in 1970. He claimed later that the article did not come about through any careful plotting of storyline and subsequent revision the way most writing is born, but had been created out of necessity when Thompson, unable to write, merely ripped pages out of his notebook, numbered them and sent them on to his editor. The result was "The Kentucky Derby Is Decadent and Depraved," a hilarious account of Thompson in Louisville. Thompson's claim aside, the article worked too well to have been assembled randomly, but no one noticed, and Thompson later proclaimed himself the inventor of gonzo journalism.

Thompson continued to be published, if not in *Rolling Stone* or other magazines and newspapers, then in book collections of his journalistic pieces—namely, the "gonzo papers." Meanwhile, he continued to behave outrageously. "I'm afraid I've become addicted to my own adrenaline," he told a *Washington Post* writer in 1991. His writing style has been badly imitated but hardly duplicated. Generally, those who continued to follow him enjoyed his irreverent and rich writing, and he remained a larger-than-life example of the counterculture of the 1960s.

—R. Thomas Berner

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## Thompson, John (1941—)

Olympic and college basketball coach John Thompson, Jr. became the first African American to guide an NCAA championship

basketball team in 1984. Thompson led the Georgetown University Hoyas team from 1972-1999. Thompson turned around Georgetown's abysmal record, making it a national powerhouse in the Big East Conference that he helped to charter in 1979. Under his leadership, the team compiled 24 consecutive victorious seasons (excluding his first year there), beating its opponents in more than 70 percent of its games. Thompson's college athletes were known for their aggressive playing styles as well as for their commitment to academic achievement at their elite Catholic institution. The coach supervised both his players' scholarly progress as well as their outside friendships, rescuing some stars from the bad influence of drug dealers. Thompson's shoulder-resting trademark towel that he used on court to wipe away his perspiration symbolized his hard-driven temperament. But he also kept a deflated basketball on his desk as a symbol to Georgetown players that there should be more to their lives than the game.

—Frederick J. Augustyn, Jr.

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## Thomson, Bobby (1923—)

Robert Brown "Bobby" Thomson played major league baseball from 1946 through 1960. On October 3, 1951, as a New York Giant, he belted a home run to win the National League Pennant in his team's final at-bat. That "shot heard round the world" became what many consider the most dramatic event in the history of American sports. The home run capped a thrilling pennant race between the New York Giants and their bitter rivals, the Brooklyn Dodgers. In front of a national television audience, Thomson and the Giants reveled in their victory just as New York delighted in its place at the cultural center of a thriving postwar America. But Thomson's home run retained significance well beyond the 1950s. Beginning in the 1970s, as Major League Baseball increasingly cloaked itself in the garb of nostalgia, the shot heard round the world symbolized a simpler America, where an average guy who lived with his mother on Staten Island could drive to Manhattan one autumn afternoon and return home a hero.

Bobby Thomson was born in Glasgow, Scotland, on October 23, 1923. At the age of two, he moved with his mother and five siblings to join his father James in New York. James Thomson was a cabinet-maker who had moved to America to seek a better living. The Thomsons would struggle financially throughout Bobby's youth on Staten Island.

Thomson first played professionally, without much success, in the Giants' minor league organization in 1942. He then postponed his



**Bobby Thomson**

baseball career to join the U.S. Army Air Corps. After spending three years stationed in Victorville, California, he went to a Giants training camp for returning serviceman. The Giants assigned him to their Triple-A affiliate in Jersey City where he played for one year. After an outstanding rookie season with the Giants in 1947, Thomson showed only occasional flashes of brilliance. Critics accused him of harboring a nonchalant attitude that adversely affected his play. By 1951, Thomson seemed destined for an average career on a mediocre New York Giants team.

In the early part of the 1951 season, neither Thomson nor the Giants had improved. The Giants lost 12 of their first 14 games. Over that period Thomson hit a dismal .193. Although the Giants recovered from their disheartening start, in early August they found themselves a distant second, 13 1/2 games behind the Brooklyn Dodgers. The press and most fans predicted that the championship would go to Brooklyn. But on August 11, the Giants started a 16-game winning streak fueled by Thomson's hot hitting and climbed within reach of the Dodgers. The Giants caught the Dodgers with one day left in the season, and after the season's final game, the two teams remained tied for first place. New York and Brooklyn split the first two games of a three-game playoff series. The winner of the third game would take the National League pennant.

The deciding game started inauspiciously for the Giants, as they fell behind 4 to 1, thanks in part to Thomson's poor base running. The Dodger pitcher Don Newcombe appeared indestructible until the bottom of the ninth inning. After three base hits the Giants closed the gap to 4 to 2 and had base runners on second and third. With the

winning run coming to the plate, and his pitcher clearly tiring, Brooklyn manager Charlie Dressen made a call to the bullpen for Ralph Branca. With one out, Bobby Thomson stepped into the batter's box. Thomson watched Branca's first pitch blow past him for a strike. Branca's second pitch came in hard, high, and inside. Thomson lashed out at the ball, and it shot off his bat toward the left field wall. Russ Hodges, the Giants announcer, called the action on WMCA radio: "There's a long drive . . . it's gonna be . . . I believe . . . The Giants win the pennant! The Giants win the pennant! The Giants win the pennant! The Giants win the pennant! I don't believe it! The Giants win the pennant!" Thomson claimed his feet never touched the ground as he circled the bases.

The shot heard round the world immediately gained legendary status, epitomizing New York's and America's postwar optimism. The series was the first sporting event to be telecast live from coast to coast, and its dramatic finish affirmed New York's place as the de facto capital of a thriving American culture. New York sportswriter Red Smith captured the euphoric sense of disbelief. "Now it is done," he wrote, "Now the story ends. And there is no way to tell it. The art of fiction is dead. Reality has strangled invention. Only the utterly impossible, the inexpressibly fantastic can ever be plausible again." Bobby Thomson's home run spoke for a city and a nation where the impossible had become the attainable.

Bobby Thomson played solid baseball for eight more years, but never recaptured the glory of 1951. Following the 1953 season, the Giants traded him to Milwaukee. He played briefly for several other teams before retiring in 1960. Thomson settled in New Jersey with his wife Elaine and their three children, where he worked as a paper products salesman.

In the 1970s, amid salary disputes and escalating ticket prices, Major League Baseball began to market itself through nostalgia, attempting to connect the contemporary game to a mythical past. Thomson's homer became the crowning moment of that myth. The shot heard round the world symbolized a time of innocence and purity, when players played for the love of the game, and the fans loved their players—a time when the tall, plodding, immigrant son of a cabinetmaker could swing a bat and become a hero.

—Steven T. Sheehan

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## **Thorogood, George (1952—)**

George Thorogood's gritty blues-rock music earned him the title of "today's master of yesterday's rock 'n' roll" and brought a

working-class consciousness to the 1980s pop scene. Beginning as a blues guitarist in the vein of Elmore James and Hound Dog Taylor, Thorogood and his group the Destroyers crossed over to a pop/rock audience in 1978 with his cover of Hank Williams's "Move It On Over." In 1982 he released his major-label debut, *Bad to the Bone*, and its title track remains his best-known single, due in large part to its repeated exposure on MTV.

Though three subsequent albums all went gold, Thorogood's audience began to shrink. His only major success in the 1990s was the single "Haircut," a rebellion against authority figures who urged the song's protagonist to "get a haircut, and get a real job." Thorogood nevertheless continued to tour and record, releasing a "comeback" album, *Rockin' My Life Away*, in 1997.

—Marc R. Sykes

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## Thorpe, Jim (1888-1953)

Few would argue that Jim Thorpe is one of the most accomplished American athletes of the entire twentieth century. His time in the National Football League (NFL) and Football Hall of Fame enshrinement data attests to this fact. Here, it is noted that he was an "All-America halfback at Carlisle [and] 1912 Olympic decathlon champion . . . First big-name athlete to play pro football, signing with the pre-NFL Canton Bulldogs in 1915 . . . Named 'The Legend' on the all-time NFL team . . . Voted top American athlete of first half of 20th century. . . ." Additionally, Thorpe won Olympic gold in both the decathlon and pentathlon. That his medals were ingloriously stripped away because he had briefly played professional baseball is one of the less-than-honorable deeds of the International Olympic Committee.

James Francis Thorpe, a Sac and Fox Indian, was born in the Oklahoma Territory. His Indian name was Wa-tho-biuck (or "Bright Path"), and he, his twin brother Charles, mother, and rancher father resided in a one-room cabin near the small town of Bellemont. Young Jim was a natural athlete who loved and excelled in all sports. His early life, however, was laden with disappointment and tragedy. When he was eight, his brother was stricken with fever and subsequently passed away. Five years later, his mother died of blood poisoning. In 1904, at age 16, he headed east to Pennsylvania's Carlisle Indian School. His small size—he was 5 feet 5 inches tall and weighed 115 pounds—prevented him from finding a spot on the Carlisle varsity football team. This frustration, coupled with the death of his father, resulted in declining grades, alienation, and eventual sequestering in the Carlisle guardhouse.

By his late teens, Thorpe had grown five inches, adding bulk and muscle. Pop Warner, Carlisle's legendary coach, first took note of his track-and-field skills, and eventually recruited him for the football team. He started out as a kicker, became the starting halfback during the 1908 season, and his athletic career began to blossom. During that



Jim Thorpe



season, his running, punting, place-kicking, and occasional passing guided Carlisle to a 10-2-1 record; Walter Camp, America's reigning football expert, cited him as a third-team All-American.

After playing professional baseball in the Carolina League, Thorpe returned to Carlisle and solidified his legend as an all-time-great college gridiron star. In 1911, he was involved in two out of every three of Carlisle's offensive plays. His 50 and 60 yard punts soared through the sky. In the year's penultimate contest, an 18-15 victory over Harvard, he carried the ball on 40 percent of all plays and kicked four field goals. Carlisle ended the campaign with an 11-1 record; the following season, Thorpe added to his luster by leading Carlisle to a 12-1 mark. In both years, Camp cited him as a first-team All-American.

Perhaps Thorpe's greatest triumph came in the 1912 Olympics, held in Stockholm. He was set to compete in two punishing events: the pentathlon, made up of five track-and-field competitions (javelin throw, discus throw, running broad jump, 200-meter dash, and 1,500-meter race); and the decathlon, consisting of 10 events (javelin throw, discus throw, long jump, high jump, pole vault, shot-put, 400-meter run, 1,500-meter run, 100-meter dash, and 100-meter hurdles). He won gold medals in each, and King Gustav of Sweden proclaimed that Thorpe was the "greatest athlete in the world."

Thorpe returned to the United States a bona fide hero. But the cheering was to be short-lived. A journalist soon discovered that Thorpe had played professional baseball. Therefore, he could not be classified an amateur athlete; only amateurs could compete in the Olympics. In a letter to the Amateur Athletic Union, Thorpe wrote, "I did not play for the money . . . but because I like to play ball. I was not wise to the ways of the world and I did not realize this was wrong and that it would make me a professional in track sports."

Back when Thorpe was in his athletic prime, it was a common practice for college athletes to pass their summers playing pro ball to pick up a few extra bucks. They played under assumed names—so no one was the wiser—and they could retain their amateur status. Had Thorpe done so, his indiscretion would have remained a secret. When confronted with the accusation that he had played ball for money, he was honest enough to admit the truth. Nevertheless, he was divested of his medals by the International Olympic Committee. This dishonor is particularly ironic considering that, today, professionals with million-dollar salaries are allowed to compete for Olympic gold. For the "crime" of playing pro baseball, Thorpe pulled down a salary of \$25 to \$30 a week.

Thorpe was to be the Bo Jackson and Deion Sanders of his day, as he went on to play major league baseball and pro football. His debut in the majors came in 1913, when he patrolled the outfield for the New York Giants. From then through 1919 he played in 289 games, mostly for the Giants, but with brief stints in Cincinnati and Boston. In 1915, Thorpe made his pro football debut with the Canton Bulldogs. Between 1915 and 1928, he played halfback for the Bulldogs (where he spent the bulk of his career), Cleveland Indians, Oorang Indians, Rock Island Independents, New York Giants, and Chicago Cardinals. In 1916, he was the Bulldogs' starting halfback and head coach, guiding his team to an undefeated season. In 1920, he became the first president of the American Professional Football Association, the precursor of the NFL. Thorpe also was an innovator; during his pro career, he conceived the style of tackling in which the tackler attempts to halt the runner with his shoulder, rather than arm.

Jim Thorpe was 40 when he retired from football. For the next two decades he held various menial jobs—often, ironically, working under an assumed name because of the humiliation. He toiled as a B-movie actor in Hollywood. He accepted public speaking engagements in which he would be garbed in Indian gear as he discussed athletics and the plight of the American Indian. During these hard times, he also became an alcoholic.

In January 1950, the Associated Press surveyed 391 sportswriters and broadcasters to determine the greatest athletes of the first half of the twentieth century. Thorpe was cited as the top football player, and bested Babe Ruth as the finest all-around athlete. A year later, his life story was told in the Hollywood movie *Jim Thorpe—All American*, with Burt Lancaster in the title role. Thorpe died in 1953, after suffering his third heart attack. The following year, his remains were placed in a mausoleum in Mauch Chunk, a Pennsylvania town of 5,000 located at the foot of the Pocono mountains, which was summarily renamed for Thorpe.

Since his death, his honors have multiplied. In 1955, the NFL's Most Valuable Player trophy was named for Thorpe; the trophy awarded to college football's top defensive player also was named for him. In 1958, he was admitted into the National Indian Hall of Fame, and in 1961, he was chosen for the Pennsylvania Hall of Fame. By 1963, he had become a charter inductee in the Football Hall of Fame—and, when arriving at the Hall, located in Canton, one is greeted by a statue of Thorpe. Most importantly, in 1982—29 years after his death—Juan Antonio Samaranch, the new president of the International Olympic Committee, reestablished Thorpe's amateur status. The following year, his children were presented with facsimiles of his Olympic medals.

—Rob Edelman

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## *The Three Caballeros*

Produced with the newly formed Office of Inter-American Affairs, Walt Disney Studio's animated film *The Three Caballeros* (1945) presented stellar technical achievements, blending live action and animation in color on a scale never achieved before, and putting the film years ahead of its time. Rooted in the World War II era, the film was one of a series of features, beginning with *Saludos Amigos* (1943), attempting to celebrate diplomatic relations between the United States and Latin America by erasing the stereotyped images of Latin American culture and people common in Hollywood cinema:

the untrustworthy Mexican womanizing Latin lover “guerillero”; his female counterpart, the lascivious Latin woman; and the stupid, lazy “poncho.”

These films are also noted for being the first concerted effort to use animation as an instructional medium for popular audiences and as an effort to atone for what Eric Smoodin in *Animating Culture* describes as “the previous sins of Yankee cultural chauvinism.” Yet what started out as a lesson in geography with more balanced depictions of place and people evolved into fantastical depictions of what Smoodin notes as “geographies animated by imagination and desire.” *The Three Cabelleros* actually reveals more about the culture and ideologies of the United States than it does about the nations of Mexico and Brazil, the featured countries. Latin America is presented to the star of the film, Donald Duck, as a series of birthday presents. It constructs a tourist representation of Latin America, its peoples and culture, exotic with pleasures and fun offered for the delight of North America. This is well-illustrated by Donald Duck’s reaction to Latin American women as constructed in the text. The film renders the people of Latin America, and particularly the women, as homogeneous. The diversity of racial types on the continent is not presented, rather the women are “recognizably” Latin American. Their portrayal is linked directly to the images of Latin American women popularized by Carmen Miranda, and they are linked to hyper-sexuality, both in the male’s reaction to them and visually, as in the Carmen Molina dance sequence with phallic cacti. Though the effort to present a truer vision of Latin America is made obvious, *The Three Cabelleros* reveals an underlying set of messages of American imperialism and racism.

—Frances Gateward

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## 3-D Imagery

See Stereoscopes

## Three Investigators Series

The Three Investigators series, a 43-volume set of mysteries for juvenile readers published by Random House between 1964 and 1987, featured three 13-year-old male amateur sleuths, Jupiter Jones, Pete Crenshaw, and Bob Andrews. Jupiter, a former child actor, was the group’s leader, Pete the impulsive athlete, and Bob the reserved, studious type. Although the sleuths were amateurs, they were portrayed handling themselves in a thoroughly professional manner,

including offering business cards and maintaining scrupulous files in their office, a trailer hidden in a junkyard owned by Jupiter’s aunt and uncle. The office had several secret entrances, including a tunnel which could be accessed through a loose board on the junkyard fence. The Three Investigators also used modern equipment in their investigations, including the telephone and portable tape recorders.

Film director Alfred Hitchcock served as a consultant to the Three Investigators at the beginning and end of each story. After Hitchcock’s death in 1980, the series stopped using his name as a character, replacing him with a fictitious film director, Hector Sebastian, for new titles and paperback reprints of the first thirty volumes. The early volumes (1-8, 10) were written by Robert Arthur Feder (1909-1969), who served as an editor for the *Alfred Hitchcock Magazine*, the author of many screenplays for *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, and the compiler of several short-story collections bearing the director’s name. The title pages of the Three Investigators books identified the authors of each volume. Some of them wrote under pen names, such as “Robert Arthur” for Robert Arthur Feder, “William Arden” for Dennis Lynds, and “Marc Brandel” for Marcus Beresford; others, such as Nick West and Mary Virginia Carey, used their real names.

The Three Investigators were too young to drive, and in the early books were chauffeured around their native Rocky Beach (near Hollywood, California) in a gold-plated limousine whose services they had won in the first volume. In later books, their chauffeur returned to help the boys during his time off. This transportation complication made the Three Investigators series more believable to readers who were just a few years younger and facing the same problems. Because of the more realistic adventures experienced by the trio, librarians preferred them over the mass-market—and old-fashioned—Hardy Boys books.

After the publication of the earlier volumes, Random House issued a new series of Three Investigators Crimebusters stories, but they were discontinued after a little more than a dozen paperback volumes were published. In these stories, written by some of the same writers as the original series, Jupe, Pete, and Bob were old enough to drive and hold down part-time jobs. The Crimebusters series had a modern theme with more action and violence, erasing the innocence of the original series. The Three Investigators have proven popular in Germany and several new stories were written specifically for that market in a series known in translation as the “Three Question Marks.”

—James D. Keeline

## The Three Stooges

Although they spent more than three decades making films, it was television that turned the Three Stooges into one of the most recognizable and beloved comedy teams in the world. Specializing in unsophisticated, violent slapstick, the Three Stooges slapped, poked, and generally abused each other in more than two hundred short films between 1934 and 1958, when their shorts were released to television, to the delight of a whole new generation of Three Stooges fans.

Formed in vaudeville in 1923, the team’s original members were Moe Howard (born June 19, 1897, as Moses Horowitz; died May 4, 1975) and his brother Shemp (born March 17, 1895, as Samuel



**The Three Stooges**

Horowitz; died November 23, 1955), who acted as sidekicks to their boyhood friend, comedian Ted Healy. In its early years, the act was billed “Ted Healy and His Stooges” and sometimes “The Racketeers.” While various “stooges” moved in and out of the act, each virtually interchangeable with another, the addition of Larry Fine (born October 5, 1902, as Louis Feinberg; died January 24, 1975) in 1925 rounded out the troupe. For the next several years Healy’s Racketeers were Moe, Larry, Shemp, and Fred Sanborn. Although there was very little that was innovative about the team’s act—the physical comedy they performed was borrowed from old vaudeville slapstick—their success in vaudeville led them to Broadway in the late 1920s and to film in 1930, where this lineup supported Healy in the feature film *Soup to Nuts*. Although the film was not a hit, the Stooges found a warm audience.

In the meantime, a rift had grown between Healy and his players, as the trio resented the pay inequity by which they were paid only one-tenth of the more than one thousand dollars Healy earned weekly. Such financial disagreements were exacerbated by Healy’s problems with alcohol, which were worsening. The Stooges left Healy when he nixed a contract offered to them by Fox (to perform without Healy),

striking out on their own as “Howard, Fine and Howard” while Healy hired new stooges to do the old act. Although Healy managed to convince them to return, Shemp left the act to pursue a career in feature films and was replaced by Curly (born October 1903 as Jerome Lester Horowitz; died January 18, 1952), who soon emerged as the most popular stooge. Signed to a one-year contract with Metro-Goldwyn Mayer studios in 1933, the Stooges appeared in six feature films, including *Meet the Baron*, *Dancing Lady* (with Joan Crawford), *Fugitive Lovers*, and *Hollywood Party*. But it was short films such as *Plane Nuts* that allowed them to reproduce their vaudeville act. When their contract was up, Healy stayed with MGM, while the Three Stooges went on as a trio, signing a deal with Columbia for a series of two-reel comedies—a commitment that would end up lasting twenty-five years.

It was during the early Columbia years that Moe, Larry, and Curly developed into recognizable characters, with hairstyles that scarcely changed over the decades: Moe’s thick black mop with its evenly cut bangs was as much a fixture of the act as the two large tufts of curly hair that protruded from Larry’s balding head. Moe assumed Healy’s role as the leader (off camera as well), slapping, poking, or

punching the childlike Curly or the hapless Larry. However, it was the bald and portly Curly who usually stole the show, delighting audiences with his masterful body language, which he exercised with his feet as much as his hands, sometimes dancing or spinning on the floor. Curly's high-pitched voice was also used to great effect by singing, barking, and most of all, wise-cracking—while his occasional defiance of the bossy Moe almost always resulted in more abuse.

The films generally followed a standard plot, which of course was merely a vehicle for their slapstick set pieces and verbal gags. In most films, the group would take on occupations such as plumbers, waiters, doctors, salesmen, soldiers, or businessmen, where they would proceed to make a mess of the situation. Although the tiniest disagreements would usually result in an exchange of slaps, pokes, and insults—a formula that was usually repeated several times in each film—in the end Moe, Larry, and Curly always stuck together in their efforts to resolve whatever problem they faced.

Working under directors such as Edward Bernds, Charlie Chase, Del Lord, and Jules White, the Stooges didn't write their own scripts, but their ad-libbing frequently survived the films' final cut. Highlights of their early years with Columbia include their World War II parodies of Hitler in *You Nazy Spy* (1940) and *I'll Never Say Heil Again* (1941). Such performances had personal resonance because of the Stooges' Jewish background but were nevertheless enhanced by Moe's striking transformation into the German fuehrer. Although the trio appeared in occasional feature films, including *Start Cheering* (1938), *Time Out for Rhythm* (1941), and *Swing Parade* (1946), short subjects remained the principal format for their films.

With his health steadily deteriorating, Curly suffered a stroke while on the set of *Halfwit's Holiday* in May 1946 and was forced to retire from the act. His brother Shemp returned from a solo career as a character comedian and rejoined the group. Although it was difficult to fill the shoes of the trio's most popular member, Shemp helped to sustain the group's success for the next decade, until his unexpected death in November 1955. Despite the loss of another brother, Moe chose to continue the act with one-time burlesque star Joe Besser replacing Shemp. While the Three Stooges had starred in Columbia's top-grossing short-subject series for many years, the era of short-subject films was nevertheless coming to a close by the early 1950s. With most major studios having phased out two-reelers, the Stooges' career with Columbia ended in 1958 when the studio closed its short-subjects department.

Just as the act seemed on the verge of retiring, a new generation discovered a quarter century of face-slapping, nose-tweaking, eye-poking comedy with the release of seventy-eight Columbia shorts (featuring Curly) to television. Capitalizing on their renewed popularity, the group carried on by making numerous personal appearances (which had always been their most lucrative source of income) and launching a line of merchandise and comic books. Meanwhile, by 1959 Joe Besser had been replaced by Joe De Rita, who became known as "Curly Joe," and the trio ventured into a series of feature films aimed primarily at children, including *Have Rocket, Will Travel* (1959), *Snow White and the Three Stooges* (1961), *The Three Stooges Meet Hercules*, *The Three Stooges in Orbit* (both 1962), and *The Outlaws Is Coming* (1965). In 1965 the group produced live-action wraparounds for a series of five-minute animated cartoons.

The impact of the Three Stooges' comeback in the late 1950s and 1960s was part of a general renewal of interest in slapstick

comedy. During this period many of the works of the Marx Brothers, Laurel and Hardy, and the silent films of Charlie Chaplin were revived and found new television audiences. On the big screen, the success of high-budget feature films such as *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World* (1963), *Those Magnificent Men in Their Flying Machines* (1965), and *The Great Race* (1965) was probably due in no small part to the Three Stooges' role in the renaissance of physical comedy. Long after the Three Stooges' demise, homage continued to be paid to Curly's antics in cartoons such as "Jabberjaw" in the 1970s.

Although they had retired by the end of the 1960s, the Three Stooges' popularity continued to grow in succeeding decades, weathering criticism from parents concerned with the group's excessive violence and from some women offended by the Stooges' objectification of women. In the 1990s the images of the "classic" Three Stooges—Moe, Larry, and Curly—endured not only in their short films, but also in television commercials and merchandise such as calendars, books, and computer screen savers.

—Kevin O'Connor

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## *Three's Company*

*Three's Company* was the definitive mindless television sex comedy, speaking to a generation ripe for the numbing. Running on ABC from 1977 to 1984, it reflected the swinging needs of the viewers, and was the vehicle through which a major Hollywood blackballing took place.

*Three's Company* starred John Ritter as the prat-falling chef Jack Tripper, Joyce DeWitt as the sensible florist Janet Wood, and Suzanne Somers as the prototypical dumb blond secretary (and minister's daughter), Chrissy (full name: Christmas) Snow. As the series opened, Janet and Chrissy needed a third roommate for their Santa Monica apartment. The morning after the going-away party for their last roommate, they found a man sleeping in their bathtub, and, upon learning that he could cook, they let him move in. Nothing sexual ever went on between the roommates, but not for Jack's lack of



The cast of *Three's Company*.

leering. While he was hitting on anything in a skirt, he had to pretend to be gay so the landlord would allow the living arrangement, which was still a new idea in the 1970s.

Usually joining the trio at the local hangout, the Regal Beagle, was Jack's sleazy best friend Larry Dallas (Richard Kline). The landlords were impotent Stanley and sex-starved Helen Roper, played by Norman Fell (who also played an uptight landlord in *The Graduate*) and Audra Lindley. Jack often had to distract Mr. Roper by coming on to him and disgusting him into leaving; though it was never given a name, Jack's faux homosexuality manifested itself in limp wrists, simpering, and hissing. The Ropers were spun off in 1979, and Jack, Janet and Chrissy's new landlord was Ralph Furley, a leisure-suited nebbish played by Don Knotts.

*Three's Company* was chock-full of pratfalls (Ritter's forte), double entendres, and misunderstandings ("I overheard Janet say she's late . . . oh my God, she must be pregnant!"). In a typical episode Jack gives someone cooking lessons, but a roommate thinks he's giving "love lessons."

The show became hugely popular, and was featured on the cover of *Newsweek* in February 1978, with a staged shot of Somers with her underwear falling off and Ritter leering over her shoulder, something that never happened on the show. Even the theme song (" . . . where the kisses are hers and hers and his . . . ") implied sex where there was none.

*Three's Company* made a celebrity out of the buxom Somers, who got her big break with a few seconds of screen time in George Lucas' *American Graffiti*, along with half a dozen other actors. In the

summer of 1980, Somers asked her *Three's Company* producers for the same amount of money the male stars of the era were bringing home—a share of the profits and a fivefold salary increase, from \$30,000 to \$150,000 per episode. The producers didn't go for it, and, making an example of her, held her to her contract for a final year. During the 1980-1981 season, Somers appeared only in one-minute inserts at the end of each show, featuring Chrissy talking on the phone to one of the characters; it was explained that Chrissy was tending to her sick mother in Fresno. The inserts were taped separately on a closed set. Soon Chrissy was written out of the show, and Hollywood closed its doors on Somers.

Somers' first replacement, in the fall of 1980, was Chrissy's cousin, the blond and clumsy Cindy Snow (Jennilee Harrison). After a year, Cindy moved out to go to UCLA Vet school, but still stopped by. In the fall of 1981, lanky nurse Terri Alden (Priscilla Barnes) moved in. In 1984, Janet got married, Terri moved to Hawaii, and Jack met his true love Vicky Bradford. Jack and Vicky spun off into *Three's a Crowd* (1985-86), where they lived together (Vicky didn't believe in marriage) above Jack's restaurant. Jack's foil this time was Vicky's disapproving father, who also owned the building.

Most of the show's stars became indelibly associated with their roles (with the exception of Knotts, who will always be remembered as Barney Fife in *The Andy Griffith Show*). Somers did make a comeback, mostly by continuing to look good as she aged, which she owed to a product she will be forever associated with, the Thighmaster (and later, the Buttmaster). Besides exercise books and videos, she also wrote and spoke out about surviving abuse.

—Karen Lurie

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## Thurber, James (1894-1961)

Ohio-born satirical writer James Thurber was most noted for his ability to illustrate, through the use of humor, the frailties of human beings in a world seemingly dominated by forces of their own making. His primary media, the short story and his famous pen-and-ink cartoon sketches, have served as models for later critics and observers of the social scene who write in a casual style reminiscent of the *New Yorker*, which began publication in the 1920s and for which Thurber was a regular contributor. Much of his work, including his writings and drawings of animals, especially dogs, and the unforgettable Walter Mitty have become permanent fixtures in American literary folklore.

Thurber was born in Columbus in 1894, during a time when the United States was experiencing great change due to the forces of

industrial development: explosive urban growth, immigration, labor upheavals, and the dizzying pace of technological advancement. All of these influenced Thurber's work. Thurber's poor eyesight—as a child his brother William accidentally shot him in the eye with a bow and arrow—prevented him from enjoying an active childhood and later in life rendered him legally blind. After a difficult start at Ohio State University, Thurber found his stride as editor of the school newspaper and literary magazine. While in college, he befriended future playwright and film director Elliott Nugent, with whom he would collaborate in New York in later years.

Thurber's writing career foundered from the start. He accepted a job as a reporter for the Columbus *Dispatch* after World War I, moved to Europe in the 1920s to write for overseas newspapers, then returned to the United States and wrote for the New York *Post*. While living in New York, Thurber met author E. B. White, who introduced him to the editors of the *New Yorker*, a new magazine that hoped to capitalize on the "Roaring Twenties" image of the city by developing a smart, lighthearted, and slightly irreverent literary style. Thurber was hired as an associate editor, and then later managed to get himself "demoted" to a contributing author. The marriage of the *New Yorker* and Thurber was fortuitous: his articles and sketches graced the pages of the magazine for years to come and helped set the overall tone for the publication. Thurber and White collaborated on the 1929 bestselling book *Is Sex Necessary?*, a spoof on the sex-psychology books popular during the 1920s.

Thurber's use of humor to point out human shortcomings took several forms. His cartoons often depicted people struggling with the trials and tribulations of everyday life, especially in the face of modern technology that often made things more, rather than less, troublesome. Thurber believed that humans often unnecessarily complicated their lives through an excess of "abstract reasoning" instead of being practical. Thus, he always portrayed animals in a sympathetic light, commending their reliance on instinctive wisdom instead of the fuzzy reasoning of humans. Males were especially targeted for ridicule by Thurber; his cartoons often included spineless husbands being berated by their domineering and opinionated wives. In "The Secret Life of Walter Mitty," (1939) Thurber's most famous *New Yorker* story, he created a title character who escaped his meager, workaday world by becoming a larger-than-life hero in his daydreams, a gentle symbol of humanity's loss of direction and purpose in modern times. Thurber's work also found its way to the stage, as in *The Male Animal* (1940), a Broadway collaboration with Elliott Nugent, and *A Thurber Carnival* (1960), an off-Broadway revue in which Thurber himself performed.

Beset with alcoholism, rage, and blindness, Thurber's last years were not happy ones for him or his friends, and his personal problems were reflected in his creative output. In a piece for the *New York Times Book Review*, John Updike commented that "The writer who had produced *Fables for Our Time* and *The Last Flower* out of the thirties had become, by the end of the fifties, one more indignant senior citizen penning complaints about the universal decay of virtue." Still, Thurber is considered one of the century's most prominent humorous writers, with works that took many forms over the span of his career, including novels, short stories, articles, and sketches—almost all of them containing a strain of melancholia that is distinctly modern in style. A quotation from one of his many fables perhaps best describes Thurber's attitude: A dinosaur, talking to a

human, remarked "There are worse things than being extinct, and one of them is being you." Thurber was not a hater of mankind; he was a modernist who saw the limitations of man in a conspicuously optimistic age.

—Jeffrey W. Coker

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## Tierney, Gene (1920-1991)

Debuting as a teenage model and budding stage actress, Gene Tierney soon metamorphosed into one of Hollywood's most recognizable movie stars of the 1940s and 1950s. Her reputation relied on promotion of her distinctive looks and physical elegance. Twentieth Century Fox founder Darryl Zanuck famously proclaimed her, "unquestionably the most beautiful woman in movie history." With high cheekbones and unusually shaped eyes, Tierney, a New Yorker, was considered "exotic." Studios cast her in films that highlighted her mystique like *The Shanghai Gesture* (1941) and *The Egyptian* (1954). In seeming contradiction with her inscrutable features, Tierney's image also reflected her Swiss finishing school poise and sophistication, garnering her the cosmopolitan title role in the film noir classic *Laura* (1944) and that of the love-obsessed femme fatale of *Leave Her to Heaven* (1945). Offscreen, Tierney's life embraced another incongruity. The popular star suffered well publicized misfortunes and subsequent breakdowns, and her aura of graceful beauty came to signify tragedy.

—Elizabeth Haas

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## Tiffany & Company

Tiffany, a name long synonymous with elegance and style, owes its lustre to the New York firm founded by Charles Lewis Tiffany

which, since becoming Tiffany & Company in 1853, has provided the well-to-do with exquisitely crafted jewelry and home furnishings. Louis Comfort Tiffany, a brilliant and famous glass designer, founded Tiffany Studios in 1900 and succeeded his father as head of Tiffany & Company. Tiffany's place in America's popular imagination was given a boost by Truman Capote's 1958 novel *Breakfast at Tiffany's* and the 1961 film of the same title, in which Audrey Hepburn as Holly Golightly accepts from her admirer a Tiffany-engraved toy Crackerjack ring. No doubt the popularity of the girls' name Tiffany in the last decades of the twentieth century owes much to its associations with the beautiful creations of Tiffany & Company.

—Craig Bunch

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## Tijuana Bibles

It is surely no accident that illicit pornographic comic books, popularly known as Tijuana Bibles, thrived during the heyday of media censorship in modern America, roughly the mid-1920s to the mid-1950s. In the early decades of the century, movies, comic strips, and pulp magazines all had ample room for the naughty and risqué, but by the 1920s the pressures of social respectability were increasingly hemming in popular culture. The acceptance of the stringent Hays Code by Hollywood in 1934 was a significant turning point in this larger trend. Like girlie magazines and stag movies, Tijuana Bibles represented an escape from the puritanism of mainstream culture. As the cartoonist Harvey Kurtzman, creator of *Mad* magazine, once noted, "The obvious repression of sexual fantasy in [mainstream comic strips] brought its release in the little dirty books, or Tijuana Bibles."

Almost as ephemeral as washroom graffiti, Tijuana Bibles were anonymous in every sense imaginable. For the most part, no one knows who wrote them, who drew them, or who published them. The name "Tijuana Bible" plays off the fictitious foreign addresses that were given as the place of publication. In addition to erotic and exotic Mexico, Tijuana Bibles were said to be produced in Cuba, England, and even Canada. Some suggested that organized crime was behind these tawdry sex books. Cartoonist Will Eisner, best known for creating the masked crime fighter the Spirit, frequently has recounted the story of how as a struggling artist in the 1930s he was approached by a gangster who wanted him to draw Tijuana Bibles.

Yet, despite their obscure origin, almost one thousand separate Tijuana Bibles were published and managed to circulate throughout North America. "The distribution system was mysterious, but it worked," commented Kurtzman. Comic book historian Donald Gilmore, in the first scholarly study of the genre, noted that Tijuana Bibles were "conceived in dark attics, published in dingy garages on unnamed alleys, and distributed from the hip pockets of vendors

across the nation. . . . [but] accounted for a multi-million-dollar business in the tight economy of the Great Depression."

The earliest Tijuana Bibles of the 1920s and 1930s were comic strip parodies. Often deftly done imitations, these books featured such stars of the funny pages as Betty Boop, Popeye, Olive Oyl, Mickey Mouse, and Dick Tracy all engaging in activities forbidden in family newspapers. In positing a secret sex life for popular cultural icons, Tijuana Bibles both influenced and anticipated the work of such later cartoonists as Kurtzman, whose *Little Annie Fanny* started running in *Playboy* in the 1960s. The work of countercultural cartoonists of the late 1960s like Robert Crumb and S. Clay Wilson—who drew Disney-esque animals with earthy human appetites—also shows the influence of Tijuana Bibles.

By the early 1930s, Tijuana Bibles had expanded from their origins as cartoon parodies and started featuring Hollywood celebrities such as Laurel and Hardy, Mae West, the Marx Brothers, and Clark Gable. These Tijuana Bibles played off the rumors of "Hollywood Babylon" that flourished in the tabloid press. Hollywood was shown as a happy playground of orgies and bisexuality. Noting the large number of strips featuring celebrities, cartoonist Art Spiegelman observes that Tijuana Bibles "were not overtly political but were by their nature anti-authoritarian, a protest against what Freud called Civilization and Its Discontents. Here was a populist way to rebel against the mass media and advertising designed to titillate and manipulate, but never satisfy."

Some Tijuana Bibles that were more explicitly political in one way: they featured such world figures as Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, Chiang Kai-shek, and even Whittaker Chambers (a Cold War spy who, a recent biography confirms, was a bisexual, just as he was portrayed in a Tijuana Bible from the late 1940s). As with the Hollywood strips, the politics of these Tijuana Bibles was implicitly anti-authoritarian, ridiculing the powerful by showing that they had base needs. Of course, there was a limit to how subversive Tijuana Bibles could be. In all these strips, the main goal was to titillate, and they replicated the racial and ethnic stereotypes found in mainstream culture.

Artistically, the quality of Tijuana Bibles varied greatly. Two talented cartoonists, "Doc" Rankin and Wesley Morse, have been identified and singled out by aficionados of the genre. Bob Adelman praised Rankin's "graceful, articulate, Deco style" and Morse's "wonderful graphic flair." (Morse went on to do *Bazooka Joe* comics in the 1950s.) Only a few other Tijuana Bible cartoonists, all of them anonymous, were as good as Rankin and Morse. The worst Tijuana Bibles were also among the worst comic books ever done: crudely drawn, illiterate, and mean-spirited.

With the decline of censorship in the mid-1950s, signaled by the emergence of *Playboy* in 1955, Tijuana Bibles lost their reason to exist. However, as with other trashy and throw-away bits of the past, Tijuana Bibles continue to have a nostalgic appeal. In the mid-1970s, the novelist John Updike wrote that the type of pornography he "most missed" was "Popeye, Olive Oyl, and Wimpy fellating and gamahuching one another, in comic books circulating in southern Pennsylvania in the late 1940s." Not surprisingly, books reprinting Tijuana Bibles continue to roll off the press.

—Jeet Heer

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## Time

Published weekly without interruption since March 3, 1923, *Time: The Weekly News-Magazine* (the final word is no longer hyphenated) pioneered a new genre of publication that was invented in the United States after the First World War and spawned many imitators at home and abroad. *Time* was the first mass-circulation magazine to offer a weekly digest of current events and commentary organized into departments, written in an oft-parodied breezy, idiosyncratic style. As the inaugural publication in Henry Luce's publishing empire that within little more than a decade included *Fortune*, *Life*, and *Architectural Forum*, the periodical quickly established itself as a "lengthened shadow" of its founder, who maintained close control over its content and used it to shape public opinion toward accepting his views about the role of the United States in "the American Century." As such, it frequently was thought to be a Republican-oriented publication: it published highly favorable coverage of the presidential aspirations of Herbert Hoover, Wendell Willkie, and Dwight Eisenhower—though, surprisingly, Luce voted for Alfred E. Smith, Hoover's Democratic opponent in 1928. Not surprisingly, *Time's* opinions were frequently at odds with that of Franklin D. Roosevelt, though Luce gave his wholehearted support to the administration in the interest of national unity during World War II. *Time* was one of the earliest and most vocal critics of the right-wing tactics of Senator Joseph McCarthy in the 1950s. Even though the Time-Life empire had evolved into Time-Warner by the 1990s, with Time, Inc. New Media establishing a brand-conscious presence on the World Wide Web, *Time* "the weekly newsmagazine" still maintains an important role as one of the three leading American newsweeklies along with *Newsweek* and *U.S. News and World Report*.

The genesis of *Time* magazine had its roots in the deep but often contentious friendship between two old schoolmates from Hotchkiss and Yale: Henry R. Luce and Briton Hadden. Luce was born and raised in China, the son of a Presbyterian missionary and the grandson of a Scranton, Pennsylvania grocer. Hadden was a native of Brooklyn, New York, the son of a stockbroker and the grandson of a bank president. The two had worked together on publication boards at their alma maters and served in a military-reserve unit during World War I, an experience that convinced them that the typical American was poorly informed of current events. They graduated with Yale's class of 1920, Luce winning the DeForest award for oratory with a speech that foreshadowed his later "American Century" editorial stance at *Time* and *Life* with its idealism in advocating American benevolent hegemony as "the great friend of the lame, the halt and the blind among nations, the comrade of all nations that struggle to rise to higher planes of social and political organization. . . ."

It was while working together as reporters on the *Baltimore News* in 1922 that Luce and Hadden hatched plans for their weekly magazine, which they originally wanted to call *Facts*. Earlier, while

working briefly as a reporter for the *New York World*, Luce had proposed to Hadden an idea "for a magazine that comes out every Friday with all the news condensed so you and all the other rich millionaires commuting home for the weekend can catch up on the news that they have missed. How's that?" The two men quit the *News* after three months, drew up a prospectus, convinced some wealthy friends to invest in their enterprise, and spent most of 1922 setting up editorial offices in New York and hiring a staff. Among the part-timers listed on *Time's* first masthead were two men who later became somewhat prominent poets: Stephen Vincent Benét, a book reviewer, and Archibald MacLeish, who wrote the Education section for ten dollars a week. For National Affairs editor, Luce hired Alan Rinehart, the son of novelist Mary Roberts Rinehart. In days when gender roles were somewhat stratified, men were hired as editors and reporters while women researchers were hired as "secretarial assistants."

Luce projected a first-year income of \$155,000, most of it from twenty-five thousand subscriptions at \$5 each, and the remaining \$30,000 from advertising. The fledgling publishers were disappointed when a mailing of half a million promotional pieces yielded only six thousand subscribers. Another five thousand were earmarked for newsstand distribution. The folksy tone affected in a stockholders' report just before Christmas 1922 hardly suggests that the fledgling venture would within a generation grow into one of the world's most powerful media conglomerates: "*Time* knows well that the people that will help it most are those who are best satisfied with it. For that reason it does not desire to antagonize any of its stockholders by asking to do anything that is distasteful. From time to time summary requests will be made. . . : 'Give me a letter to this potential advertiser.' 'Get me 13 subscriptions.'"

A sketch of retiring House Speaker Joseph G. Cannon graced the cover of *Time's* Volume I, No. 1 when it was published on March 3, 1923. The thirty-two-page magazine (including covers) carried a relatively steep newsstand price of fifteen cents. Half of the newsstand's allotment of five thousand copies came back unsold, for a total of about nine thousand copies circulated, far less than optimistic projections of twenty-five thousand. For the first year or so, both circulation and advertising revenue remained sluggish. When Volume I was completed, the publishers sent bound copies to charter subscribers. Among those who sent back endorsements was Franklin D. Roosevelt, the unsuccessful vice-presidential candidate in 1920, who wrote in part "I do not think the articles are too brief—they are just about right in length and they are unbiased as far as it is possible for red-blooded Americans to make them so."

There was little original reporting in *Time's* early issues, which were cobbled together from newspapers, wire-service reports, speeches, and other sources, rewritten in the inimitable *Time* style that was largely the brainchild of Briton Hadden. The first issue defined what would remain *Time's* approach over the years, with only minor variations: items organized into departments such as national news, foreign news, the arts (and their subdivisions), books, religion, education, finance, and so forth. The first issue also featured three light-humor departments: Imaginary Interviews, Point with Pride, and View with Alarm. Stories were created by teams of writers and researchers, supplemented in later years by reporters and correspondents from bureaus around the world. A brief *New York Times* notice heralding the launch of the publication was headlined "Time a New Weekly—First Issue of Magazine Devoted to Summarizing Progress." True to its mission as articulated by Luce to Hadden, the



magazine was designed to be read by busy millionaires and others in less than an hour; columns were at first restricted to seven inches. An unusual feature of the new magazine was its regular coverage of the number of lynchings in the Southern states. Robert T. Elson, in his semiofficial two-volume history *The World of Time Inc.*, quoted Luce: “We were what would be called pro civil rights for Negroes from the beginning. One of the things in which we may have been useful is the fact that we tried to report every single lynching. We tried to print the exact story, without moralizing.” *Time* was also the first publication to apply the honorific “Mr.” to both black and white subjects.

*Time*, especially in its earlier decades, is perhaps best known for the idiosyncratic style favored by Hadden, which has been variously termed “breezy,” “arch,” or “cute.” It was notable for the liberal use of word coinages, especially portmanteaus or puns, as in describing a young would-be newspaper publisher as a “Hearstling”; for its resuscitation of words and allusions from classical Greek such as “kudos” or “katabasis”; for its syntax-bending, especially through the use of inverted word order, as in “Forth from the White House followed by innumerable attendants, Mr. and Mrs. Warren G. Harding set out. . . .” (their return, not surprisingly, was termed a “katabasis”); for its historical and literary allusions; and for its pomposity-deflating identification of subjects with their middle names, as in “Walter Percy Chrysler,” or with nicknames in parentheses, as in “Bernarr (‘Body Love’) Macfadden.” *Time*’s stylists also pioneered in the stringing together of frequently alliterative adjectives, as when describing George Bernard Shaw as “mocking, mordant, misanthropic”; and in the uncanonical use of nouns as attributives, as in “Teacher Scopes.” Clearly, *Time* was being written for an educated and well-read audience: Elson suggested that Hadden’s admiration for Homeric Greek prompted him to pepper his copy with a plethora of hyphenated modifiers: “At all times Hadden had by him a carefully annotated translation of the *Iliad*. In the back cover he had listed hundreds of words, especially verbs and the compound adjectives, which had seemed to him fresh and forceful. The classic ring of this vocabulary, which he frequently reviewed, served him as a tuning fork for the language that he wanted in *Time*.” Luce is credited for the popularization of several words, such as “tycoon,” a term previously used to describe a Japanese shogun which he applied to American business moguls, and “pundit,” after the name of a Yale literary club he had joined.

As a cost-saving measure, *Time*’s editorial offices moved to Cleveland, Ohio, in 1925 but returned to New York City within three years. By the end of the 1920s, the publication had published several sixty-page-plus issues and was reporting net profits of \$125,000 on total revenues of \$1.3 million, with a circulation guarantee approaching three hundred thousand. Newsstand sales doubled in a year, to twenty-three thousand copies. In 1928, with the selection of Charles Lindbergh, *Time* initiated its notable custom of selecting a “Man of the Year”—hero or villain—which over the years has been expanded to include women, anonymous groups (such as the under-thirty generation), and even the personal computer. The Man of the Year philosophy echoed Luce’s secular-evangelical belief that history was mightily shaped by individual will, a phenomenon he saw himself embodying as the most influential publisher of his era at the time of his death in 1967.

In February of 1929, Hadden, then thirty-one, died of a streptococcal infection exacerbated by overwork, and Luce assumed

even greater day-by-day oversight of the publication, confirming his reputation as a shrewd businessman as well as a savvy journalist. In the months before the stock-market crash ushered in the Great Depression, *Time*’s tilt toward business had become quite evident. Within a month after Hadden’s death, Luce said in a speech, with characteristic flourish: “Business is, essentially, our civilization; for it is the essential characteristic of our times. . . . Business is our life. It is the life of the artist, the clergyman, the philosopher, the doctor, because it determines the conditions and problems of life with which either artist or philosopher, let alone ordinary mortals, have to deal.” It thus struck some observers as strange that Luce should have packed the editorial staff of his new publication, *Fortune* (which debuted February 1930), with such imaginative writers as Archibald MacLeish, Dwight Macdonald, and Russell Davenport. “There are men who can write poetry, and there are men who can read balance sheets,” said Luce. “The men who can read balance sheets cannot write. . . . Of necessity, we made the discovery that it is easier to turn poets into business journalists than to turn bookkeepers into writers.”

During the early 1930s, Luce enlisted the new medium of radio to expand *Time*’s reach while simultaneously shaping the way radio would present news and documentary material. Luce hired Fred Smith of a Cincinnati radio station to develop a radio program based on *Time*’s weekly content. Originally titled *News casting*, the project quickly evolved into the *News Acting*, in which short news items were dramatized with sound effects, and then into the full-blown radio program *The March of Time*, which employed leading radio performers and announcers to reenact the week’s events in a Friday night, half-hour, CBS-network program, introduced by a fanfare and the words “On a thousand fronts the history of the world moves swiftly forward. . . .” Agnes Moorehead and Orson Welles were among the graduates of the early broadcasts of *The March of Time*. Within a few years, a moving-picture-newsreel version was created, and the legend “Time Marches On” soon became a familiar sight on movie screens from coast to coast. Although, as Elson wrote, “the method of *The March of Time* is no longer acceptable as journalism . . . TV, the modern film documentary, the new school of *cinéma vérité* owe much to its pioneering methods.”

Despite the success of this and other ventures, *Time* and its sister publications suffered through the Depression years, especially when factoring in the huge start-up costs of *Life* in 1936. In the period before the United States entered World War II—*Time* coined that designation in a September 1939 issue when it confidently reported “World War II began last week at 5:20 a.m. (Polish time) Friday, September 1”—Luce had come to believe that Americans had a fateful role to play in world affairs and urged military aid to the beleaguered European allies. After Pearl Harbor, Luce committed *Time* to the cause of “absolute victory.” He also threw his support to the Nationalist Chinese forces of Chiang Kai-shek, much to the consternation of *Time*’s correspondent in China, Theodore H. White (later of *Making of the President* fame), who broke with Luce when ordered to write flattering pieces about the man White called “China’s somber tyrant.” John Heidenry complained in his *New York Times* review of a 1995 book about Luce and White that the publisher “believed that ideological distortion of the news was often preferable to objectivity, particularly where China and the Republican Party were concerned.” In the years that followed, *Time* maintained a firm anti-Communist tack, but it also was among the first publications to

challenge the demagoguery of Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy. Still, *Time* during the 1950s and 1960s was perceived as having a Republican bias—at least an “Eastern establishment” Republican bias, for *Time* endorsed, for the first time, the Democratic presidential candidate in 1964, favoring Lyndon B. Johnson over Barry Goldwater. Luce had retired as editor-in-chief earlier that year, handing over the reins to Hedley Donovan. Andrew Heiskell had already taken over as chairman of the parent company. At Luce’s retirement, the firm that had started forty-some years earlier with an investment of \$86,000 had grown to a conglomerate with revenues of more than \$400 million.

In January of 1990, Time, Inc. and Warner Communication combined to form an even larger conglomerate, the largest in the United States, bringing together Luce’s company “with its rich journalistic history and its aristocratic, traditional leadership” and Warner, “with its lucrative stable of movie, entertainment and cable television properties,” in the words of the *New York Times*. During the 1980s, the management of Time, Inc. decided that it was time to deemphasize the role of its magazines as future sources of revenue and corporate viability, leading some observers, like Richard M. Clurman, to worry about the future of its journalistic integrity, as described in his 1992 book *To the End of Time: The Seduction and Conquest of a Media Empire*. Clurman’s fear of “people in Time Warner who believe and act as if the purpose of business is only business” stands ironically against Henry Luce’s declaration in 1929 that “Business is, essentially, our civilization.”

In 1998, *Time* celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary with a gala at New York’s Radio City Music Hall to which were invited all living men and women who had appeared on the magazine’s cover, a star-studded affair with guests ranging from President Bill Clinton to Russian ex-premier Mikhail Gorbachev to Billy Graham to Sharon Stone to Toni Morrison. By century’s end, managing editor Walter Isaacson has been credited with restoring some of the old luster of *Time*’s authority and credibility in a “post-magazine” era by leading the publication into the new-media era via its Pathfinder Internet service, by increasing science and technology coverage, and by planning *The Time 100* series on CBS Television. Revenues at the publication increased 21 percent in 1997 to about \$94 million, and circulation rose slightly to 4.2 million, earning *Time* the designation “Hottest Magazine of ’97” by *Adweek*.

—Edward Moran

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## Times Square

Less of a square and more like two triangles located at the intersection of Broadway and Seventh Avenue in New York City, Times Square has been associated over the years with a series of seemingly opposite combinations: both high and low culture, glitz and grime, and exciting bright lights and seedy dark corners. The history of Times Square is a direct reflection of the history of Americans’ relationship with their cities.

The origin of Times Square can be traced to the 1811 New York Commissioner of Streets and Roads’ plan, which laid out the Manhattan grid above Fourteenth Street. The significance of this plan, and many others like it across the United States prior to and after 1811, is that the future growth of the American city was partitioned off and predetermined as easy-to-develop slices of land. This not only assured efficient exploitation, but also brought about a sort of “democratization” of the city, which the older cities of Europe with their main squares, large cathedrals, and prominent town halls did not possess. By virtue of this new grid, every building was just as important as the next, at least in terms of location on the grid. And so, the nineteenth-century American city gradually filled up its preplanned grid, creating uniform streets between often not-so-uniform buildings. American city-dwellers of this time lived in cities because they wanted to; that is, because they preferred the orderly and paved conditions of the city over the often irregular and muddy conditions of the rural areas, the only other option at this time (just before the suburbanization of America).

As New York expanded north from 14th Street, the diagonal path of the former Indian trail known as “the Bloomingdale Road” (later Broadway) was so strong that it ignored the 1811 grid plan and cut right through it. As a result, at every intersection of Broadway with a north-south avenue, a “square” came into being: Union Square at Fourth (Park) Avenue, Madison Square at Fifth Avenue, Herald Square at Sixth Avenue, and Long Acre (Times) Square at Seventh Avenue.

In the 1890s, live-performance theatres (or “legitimate theatres”) began to locate themselves in and around Long Acre Square: Oscar Hammerstein’s 1895 Olympia Theatre on Broadway between 44th and 45th streets was one of the first and most famous. Others soon followed from their former locations below 23rd Street, and the area soon became known as a “theatre district.” At its peak in 1925, there were approximately 80 legitimate theatres within the vicinity of Times Square.

The story goes that because the City of New York had not yet installed street-lighting as far north as Long Acre Square, theatre owners took it upon themselves. Exploiting the new technology of electric lighting, the fronts of the new theatres became giant advertisements, spelling out the play on offer and sometimes also the main players. Later, multiple-story-high advertisements for chewing gum, soft drinks, and other products appeared. The result was that by about 1910, Broadway was dazzlingly lit up at night and became known as “The Great White Way.”

In 1904, Long Acre Square changed its name to Times Square after the completion of the *New York Times* tower at 42nd Street and Broadway. The newspaper decided to celebrate the opening of its new building by counting down the last minutes of 1904 from the top of it. Two years later, the festivities grew to include the lowering of a ball at midnight. This event soon grew into the enormous annual party held every year in Times Square.

Also in 1904, a subway shuttle was opened which linked Times Square with Grand Central Station at 42nd and Park Avenue. This was followed by an IRT line (1918) and a BMT line (1923), both with stops at 42nd Street—and thus another aspect of Times Square was born: a transportation hub, an interchange, a “Crossroads of the World.” This nickname later was strengthened by an IND line stop (1932) and the New York City Port Authority Bus Terminal (1950) at 42nd Street and Eighth Avenue, and the first Lincoln Tunnel entrance/exit (1937) at 42nd and Tenth Avenue.

The theatres (and their accompanying restaurants, bars, and hotels), the fantastic lights, and the busy transportation interchanges were all direct reflections of how the concept of “city” was portrayed in the mind of an American at the turn of the twentieth century. The city at that time was a place of energy, excitement, and culture. It was the place to be, the place where anything could happen and where most things did. The theatre represented high culture, and those who attended the performances were the elite. The lights, however, could be enjoyed by anyone, and Broadway, Times Square, and 42nd Street (it is difficult to separate them) at the turn of the twentieth century was a place to see and be seen.

With the arrival of talking movies in the late 1920s and the Depression of the 1930s, the character of the Times Square area began to change. It still remained a center for entertainment, but at that time both high and low culture were represented: live performance and musical comedy theatres on one side, and burlesque houses and “movie palaces” on the other. In addition, in that time before plane travel became commonplace, New York City was a port of call for anyone traveling between Europe and America, especially during World War II when most every American soldier passed through and spent some time at Times Square. It was a crowded and popular place, as exemplified by the estimated two million people who thronged Times Square on August 14, 1945, to read the official announcement of Japanese surrender on the *Times* building’s “zipper” (news bulletin board).

In the years following World War II, the rise of television (which brought entertainment into the home, no need to go out) and city suburbs (which were clean, spacious, and safe) further strengthened the decline of Times Square and also the American city. The area began to take on vulgar associations, and its large-scale advertisements reflected this with block-long flashing neon gin bottles and 30-foot-high heads which puffed cigarettes boasting real smoke. The

42nd Street corridor became known not only for pornographic movies, but also its easy access to prostitution, and by extension, it also became a place for illegal drug trading and street gambling.

To many city-dwellers, the new burlesque houses, movie palaces, and general gawking crowds were an insult to the city but were part of a growing trend; it was changing from being a special place where special things happened to being an ordinary, common place associated with dirt and grime, overcrowded conditions, degeneracy, and crime, and, as a result, neglect and dereliction. After World War II, the American city was not seen as a place to live. Instead, it was seen as a place to get away from—hence the growth of suburban communities which, however, paradoxically still depended upon the city as the “place to work.”

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, as foreshadowed by the 1967 replacement of the 1904 *Times* building’s original facade with blank marble panels, the Times Square area again dramatically changed. This time it was a physical, not social change: from a mixture of different-sized theatres and commercial buildings into a wasteland of overscaled and faceless skyscrapers. Many famous turn-of-the-century theatres were demolished to make way for new developments, which were carried out with the promise that they would “revitalize” Times Square, but all they really did was add to its density.

One of the reactions to this change of Times Square was the 1987 city ordinance that required new buildings to include “super” signage several stories high and with varying degrees of animation. In addition, a 1988 ruling gave “landmark” status to most remaining theatres in the area, following the general trend in New York and other American cities of building preservation by government intervention. At the same time, large-scale musical productions with hummable tunes and easy lyrics catering to a simpler audience than live theatre became successful at Times Square theatres.

Various urban planning development studies and inquiries were undertaken to ascertain if anything could be done for the area, but no consensus was reached. In 1992, the private Times Square Business Improvement District, composed of area property owners and residents, was established. This organization, similar to others set up across the United States at this time, was privately funded to undertake those duties normally associated with the city government: public safety, sanitation, community services, economic strategy, and tourism promotion.

The city ordinances concerning the aesthetics of future development, the listing of “historic” buildings, and the creation of private entities to do the city’s job all had the goal of retaining a sort of street-life status quo, but at the expense of turning Times Square into a regulated and controlled public amusement park. This last stage reflects the state of the American city at the turn of the twenty-first century: the city as a place to visit, as one might visit an amusement park. As Americans began to not only live and work in the suburbs, they also began to realize that while the suburbs might be cleaner, more spacious, and safer than the city, they were also more boring. The city, at this point, became that preserved exciting piece of the past whose purpose was to be used when one wanted that “urban experience.”

In 1996, the next logical step along this road was taken as The Disney Corporation renovated the Amsterdam Theatre (1903), once home to the Ziegfeld Follies, for its own use in staging offerings such

as *Beauty and the Beast* and *The Lion King*. Dick Clark's Rock 'n Roll New Year's Eve celebration of 1998 (his twenty-seventh), complete with its ever youthful and tanned host, was reportedly attended by half a million people and watched on television by an estimated 300 million. At that point, the only things missing were crying kids and the long lines for the rides.

—Christopher S. Wilson

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## Timex Watches

The introduction of the Timex watch in 1956 revolutionized the time-keeping industry. The relatively simple design, with fewer parts than other watches, made the Timex more durable, a feature which led to one of the world's most important advertising campaigns. Capitalizing on the country's growing fascination with television, Timex hired veteran newsman John Cameron Swayze to run an elaborate series of torture tests—live on Steve Allen's popular Sunday night program. Timex watches were smashed by jackhammers, slobbered through dishwashers, and strapped to world class divers taking flops off the cliffs of Acapulco. By 1956, sales of the watch that "takes a lickin' and keeps on tickin'" surpassed the five million mark. One of the more famous commercials occurred in 1958, when Swayze strapped a Timex to an outboard motor. When the watch slipped off the propeller and disappeared into the tub of water, Swayze had to promise to try again the following week. Timex decided to end the torture tests campaign in 1977 with a staged failure: an elephant stomped and crushed a watch. "It worked," Swayze quipped to the television audience, "in rehearsal."

—Geoff Edgers

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## Tiny Tim (1927?-1996)

"Tiny Tim" was the last and most successful of many stage names adopted by singer and ukulele player Herbert Khaury. Born in New York, Khaury was a struggling performer as Derry Dover, Larry Love, Julian Foxglove, and Sir Timothy Thames, before being given a small part in the counterculture movie *You Are What You Eat* in 1968. He became modestly well-known as Tiny Tim, the pseudonym he was currently employing, and received his first national exposure shortly afterwards on NBC's *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*. His odd garb, odder stage presence, and falsetto renditions of old songs quickly made Tiny Tim a celebrity. His signature song (and 1968 hit) was "Tip-Toe Thru' the Tulips with Me"; it was first recorded in 1929.

A frequent guest on *The Tonight Show*, Tiny Tim made history when he married "Miss Vicki" during the episode of December 18, 1969; the ceremony was witnessed by over 20 million viewers in America—a daughter, Tulip, was born in 1971, and the couple divorced six years later.

Both in falsetto and a quavery baritone, Tiny Tim recorded hundreds of popular songs from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and knew thousands more. He had probably performed a more varied repertoire of songs, in more venues, than any other singer of his generation. He died in Minneapolis, where he had moved with his third wife, "Miss Sue," on November 30, 1996.

—David Lonergan

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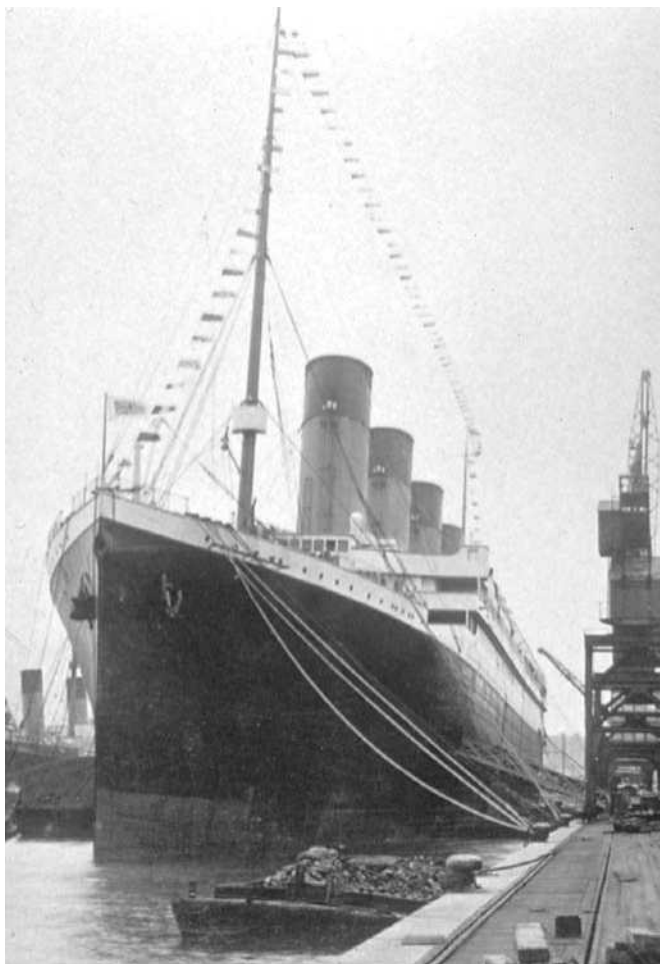
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## The Titanic

In the realm of popular culture, the *Titanic* has turned out to be more than just a ship that sank; it has become an icon of an era long past, as well as a contemporary phenomenon. It seems that each generation since the sinking has rediscovered the shipwreck in new books, movies, and even music.

When the luxury ocean liner *Titanic* left Queenstown, Ireland, on April 11, 1912, the ship's fame was far different than it would become in just a few short days. The voyage of the *Titanic* was a tremendous news event all around the world. The *Titanic* was the largest and most luxurious liner of its time. The world was thrilled with the improvements the industrial age had brought to their lives and *Titanic* seemed to be the ultimate realization of their dreams; many began to speak of conquering Mother Nature. When *Titanic* was called "unsinkable," some saw the description as proof of man's supremacy, while others saw it as a direct challenge to God.

When the *Titanic* struck an iceberg on April 14, 1912 and sank two hours later, with over 1,500 souls losing their lives, the world also



The *Titanic*

lost much of its innocence and faith in man as a superior being. If this ship, so carefully planned and built to withstand anything, could sink on its maiden voyage, on what could society depend? Was the sinking a warning from God, as some religious leaders claimed? Was it meant to warn the public against the materialism of “the Gilded Age,” as some proposed? Would it reverse the progress the age of industry was bringing? As is often the case with tragedies, many used the event to argue an ideological perspective. Religious leaders, for example, used the example of Ida Strauss, who chose to remain with her husband on the ship, as an example to argue against divorce. Among some groups, women who survived were scolded for not following Mrs. Strauss’ example and remaining with their husbands to perish. Both sides of the suffrage issue also used the *Titanic* tragedy to argue their case.

Ironically, the sinking of the *Titanic* also came to illuminate growing disparities in class around the world. In 1912, the world was marked by very distinct social classes, and it was a time when those with money were perceived as rarefied beings, somehow superior to others. Sailing on the *Titanic* were many who were of immense wealth, such as John Jacob Astor and Benjamin Guggenheim. While neither man survived, many other first class passengers did. When those numbers were compared to the number of steerage passengers rescued, an outcry was heard against the privileged. Why did they seemingly have more right to be rescued than the others? While the

industrial revolution continued, there was a backlash against progress and the wealthy. Change was in the air.

The tragedy also spawned increased efforts to launch rescue operations for those involved in water accidents. In the hope of averting a repeat of the event, the International Ice Patrol was founded by the nations of the North Atlantic. The official inquiries in America and Britain also produced changes in the laws regarding lifeboats and other safety issues. After its use on the *Titanic*, the Marconi wireless apparatus was popularized to send distress signals so that rescuers on land could receive messages regarding survivors.

In a media-saturated society, it is only appropriate that it would not take long before the *Titanic* tragedy became a popular commodity. Between 1912-1913, there were at least 100 songs about the *Titanic* published, including Leadbelly’s recording of “Down with the Old Canoe.” The first motion picture, starring survivor Dorothy Gibson and titled *Saved from the Titanic*, appeared just one month after the disaster and was filmed on the *Titanic*’s sister ship, the *Olympic*. Survivor Lawrence Beesley published his account, *The Loss of the S.S. Titanic*, six weeks after the tragedy. Additionally, articles appeared in *Scientific American* and other popular magazines of the time, and countless books were written surrounding the sinking. One such book, a 1898 novel by Morgan Robertson, was also rediscovered. *Futility* was the story of a ship so similar to the *Titanic* in every way, including its name, Titan, that many felt it had predicted the sinking of the *Titanic*.

After 1913, most of the interest in the *Titanic* died down rapidly. The great ship occasionally showed up again, mainly in motion pictures, including the British film *Atlantic* (1929) and the German film *Titanic* (1943). The German film, made during World War II, was a propaganda exercise with the only heroic person on the ship a fictional German crew member. In 1953, the United States finally produced their version of the story in true Hollywood style. Starring Barbara Stanwyck and Clifton Webb, *Titanic* was a melodrama with the shipwreck used largely as a background for the fictional story of an estranged couple who reconcile as the ship sinks.

By November 1955, the *Titanic* myth experienced its first resurgence. Walter Lord, a longtime student of *Titanic* lore, published his classic—*A Night to Remember*—retelling the story of *Titanic*’s short life. By January 1956, it had sold 60,000 copies, and has never been out of print since. Another book appeared two months after Lord’s, but *Down to Eternity* by Richard O’Connor was received poorly.

Not to be left out of the “picture,” so to speak, in March 1956, a teleplay about the *Titanic*, directed by George Roy Hill and narrated by Claude Rains, was shown on network television. By May, an episode of the popular *You Are There* series dealt with the *Titanic*. In addition, motion pictures began appearing, including *Abandon Ship* (1957) and *A Night to Remember* (1958). The latter film, produced in documentary style, is regarded as the most faithful and accurate telling to that time. Now a permanent part of popular culture, the story of the woman who was the most famous survivor of the *Titanic*, Margaret Tobin Brown, was chronicled in *The Unsinkable Molly Brown*. The story was first reproduced as a musical on Broadway with Tammy Grimes (1960) as the title character, and then in a motion picture with Debbie Reynolds (1964). Both were huge successes and proved there was continued interest in the shipwreck.

The *Titanic* again slipped to semi-obscurity in the mid-1960s. It did, however, remain a popular subject for the occasional television

show. In 1966, the premier episode of the television adventure show, *The Time Tunnel*, dealt with the disaster. A television miniseries, *S.O.S. Titanic*, starring David Janssen as John Jacob Astor, was also produced in 1979. The ship also played an important role in fictional books such as Clive Cussler's *Raise the Titanic* (1976) and *The Memory of Eva Ryker* (1978), written by Norman Hall.

On September 11, 1985, Dr. Robert Ballard of the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institute and Jean-Louis Michel of the French IFREMER Institute returned the *Titanic* to the front pages when they located the wreck of the ship. It had long been a Holy Grail of sorts to those fascinated by it, and previous expeditions had tried unsuccessfully to locate the wreckage. Dr. Ballard became an instant celebrity and a vocal critic of those who wanted to salvage items from the ship. There were even those who wanted to try to raise the *Titanic*. Articles in *National Geographic* and other magazines appeared, along with more books on the subject, including reprints of Walter Lord's book. Documentaries such as *Secrets of the Titanic* (1986) soon began to appear, and it seemed that the event was taking on a mystical quality. There was even a video game, *Search for the Titanic*, appearing in 1989, that allowed players to finance and plan an expedition to locate the wreckage.

Interest remained high over the next few years as periodic new books and television specials kept the *Titanic* visible to the public. Much debate went on about whether or not to salvage any of the ship. Those who argued to salvage the ship were concerned that time was of the essence, and felt that artifacts would soon be all that was left of the event. Those against salvaging it, championed by Ballard, felt the wreck was a memorial and should be left alone. Eventually, the pro-salvage group won, and artifacts from the ship were eventually brought to the surface.

On April 23, 1997, a new interpretation of the disaster appeared when *Titanic: A New Musical*—a big budget theater production—debuted on Broadway. In a theater season with few successes and even fewer legitimate hits, this musical was the smash of the season; it won 5 Tony awards, including one for Best Musical.

Nothing, however, could prepare the world for the coming of the James Cameron film, *Titanic*, in 1997. Amid rumor and innuendo regarding “the most expensive film ever made,” the public waited for its release and a chance to it judge for themselves. When the release date was delayed and the film went over budget, many predicted another disaster, this one of a business nature. Would it be a hit or the most expensive miss in motion picture history? It became obvious after the film's initial release that Cameron did not need to worry. *Titanic* became the largest grossing movie ever and tied previous Academy Award winner *Ben Hur* (1959) for most trophies won, with 11. The soundtrack from the movie became the best selling movie soundtrack in history; the love theme from the movie, “My Heart Will Go On” performed by Celine Dion, quickly became a number one song. And the stars of the motion picture, Leonardo DiCaprio and Kate Winslet, both relatively unknown before the film, became superstars.

The public could not get enough of the film or the ship. Using life-size models and computer generated images, the film was generally considered the most historically accurate, although some historians disagreed with liberties taken with some of the characters in the film. The Edwardian hairstyles and wardrobe depicted sparked a fashion craze, and the blue diamond necklace that was a centerpiece of the plot became a bestselling piece of costume jewelry.

In the late twentieth century, the *Titanic* continues to fascinate the public. There are faithful *Titanic* buffs who have read about and pondered the fate of the vessel for many years. Many of them are members of the Titanic Historical Society, whose headquarters are in a jewelry store in Indian Orchard, Massachusetts. Membership increases every time the *Titanic* returns to the front page of the news, but it took a blockbuster film to make the *Titanic* a true cultural phenomenon among the general public. The *Titanic* remains a commodity to be bought and sold. The sinking of the *Titanic* is a historic tragedy which will forever be a part of history and of popular culture.

—Jill A. Gregg

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## *To Kill a Mockingbird*

Harper Lee's novel *To Kill a Mockingbird* gives an accurate reflection of race relations in the Southern United States during the 1930s. The novel, set around a single-father family in small-town Alabama, contains a vast array of symbolism to intertwine the main plot with several subplots. Through her novel, Lee debunked the quaint antebellum Southern society for the realism of Southern culture. The timing of this publication, which denounced prejudicial attitudes, coordinated with the early Civil Rights Movement in the United States. This best selling novel became a classic and required reading for many American high school students.

Author Harper Lee was born in Monroeville, Alabama, in 1926. She spent four years at the University of Alabama and one year at Oxford University in England. She also attended law school, leaving six months short of finishing her coursework to pursue a writing career in New York City. There she helped author Truman Capote research *In Cold Blood*. To earn money she took a job as an airline reservation clerk. In 1960, Lee published *To Kill a Mockingbird*, and in 1961 the novel won the Pulitzer Prize. By 1962, an Academy Award-winning motion picture was produced from the novel, and, in the same year, Lee won the Paperback of the Year award given by *Bestsellers* magazine to the best selling paperback of the year.

Harper Lee, a direct descendant of General Robert E. Lee, recommended to potential authors, “Write what you know and do so thoughtfully.” She emphatically denied the her prize-winning work



Gregory Peck (standing) in a scene from the film *To Kill a Mockingbird*.

was autobiographical. The similarities it contains to her own life are striking, however. Her father, Amasa Coleman Lee, for instance, was a lawyer.

The novel's symbolism and clarity made it a literary classic. It is narrated in the voice of a white six-year-old tomboy named Jean Louise "Scout" Finch. She lives with her ten-year-old brother, Jem, and her father, Atticus Finch, in the small town of Maycomb, Alabama. The story centers on the alleged rape of the white Mayella Ewell, daughter of the wicked Bob Ewell, by the black Tom Robinson. Atticus serves as Robinson's attorney. The all-white jury finds Robinson guilty even after Atticus proves reasonable doubt of Robinson's guilt.

The novel portrays common, real-life stereotypical racist events of the time. Atticus faces taunts of "nigger lover" and "lawing for niggers." There also is the attempted lynching of Mr. Robinson. The perceived threat of blacks to white women and the salvation embodied in white males are mocked.

Throughout the novel, Lee pursues various themes like ignorance versus knowledge, cowardice versus heroism, and children versus adults. Courage versus cowardice is portrayed in Atticus's demeanor in a confrontation with Bob Ewell over Atticus's open disbelief of Mayella's accusation. The dispute also represents an old stereotype of race cohesion that Ewell believes Atticus is breaking. Lee draws parallels of ignorance in her handling of characters Boo Radley and Tom Robinson; they are both presumed guilty with no one having taken the time to get to know them. Radley is the Finch's neighbor who has an evil reputation, especially among the children, who fear him without ever having met him. Radley turns out to be a hero when he saves Scout and Jem from murder at the hands of Bob Ewell. Tom Robinson dies while trying to escape prison, representing how the racist South has endured and egalitarian measures have floundered.

Explicitly symbolic is Jem's attempt to make a snowman during a rare Alabama snowfall. As he makes the snow into a ball he rolls it to accrue more snow. While rolling the snowball it picks up dirt giving the snowman a dirty surface. The snowman signifies the superficiality of skin color.

*To Kill a Mockingbird* underscores many themes and represents a universal story from a regional perspective. The overall argument involves the obvious plea for justice while mocking the mores of Southern society. It is Lee's only major published work. Though she faded back into the obscurity of Monroeville, Alabama, her mark in literary persuasion endures.

—Scott Stabler

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## *To Tell the Truth*

*To Tell the Truth* was one of the most durable and popular panel quiz shows ever to appear on television, having a run of more than twenty years in both network and syndicated form. Along with *What's My Line?* and *I've Got a Secret*, *To Tell the Truth* was one of three similar shows introduced by Mark Goodson-Bill Todman Productions in the 1950s. These shows were designed to appeal to a relatively upscale television audience and to counter the effects of

widely publicized quiz show payola scams. In the original version of *To Tell the Truth*, which ran from 1956 to 1968 on CBS, Bud Collyer was host (he also hosted *Beat the Clock*), moderating a group of celebrity panelists that included Orson Bean, Polly Bergen, Kitty Carlisle, Peggy Cass, and Tom Poston. The show ran on prime time from 1956 to 1967 and in the daytime from 1962 to 1968.

The panelists' goal was to determine which one of three players was telling the truth about an unusual event or circumstance in which they were involved. All three claimed by affidavit to be the authentic truth-teller, and each panelist was given an opportunity to question the contestants individually for a designated amount of time. After the panelists completed their questioning, the host asked, "Will the real John Doe please stand up?" The contestants were then awarded money based on their success in fooling the panel. Because the genuine contestant was not identified until the end of the question sessions, those in the home and studio audience were able to play along. After the "real John Doe" introduced himself or herself, the impostors identified themselves to the panelists. The information disclosed in these introductions was almost as entertaining as the game itself, as the impostors were often struggling actors or individuals employed in careers that could not have been more dissimilar from that of the "real" truth-teller.

*To Tell the Truth* had a second run in syndication from 1969 to 1978 with hosts Garry Moore (1969-1977) and Joe Garagiola (1977-1978). Orson Bean, Peggy Cass, and Kitty Carlisle returned as panelists and were joined by Bill Cullen. Another short-lived version ran in syndication from 1980 to 1981 with host Robin Ward and regular panelists Peggy Cass and Soupy Sales. The longevity of this show and others like it probably had much to do with its extremely low production costs. The consistent appearance of familiar panelists also added to the show's popularity, as the personal style of each of the celebrities was part of the entertainment. Kitty Carlisle could be expected to make her appearance in floor-length gown and feather boa, Peggy Cass would look erudite but down-to-earth in her horn-rimmed glasses, and Orson Bean could be counted on to ask questions that revealed a font of obscure knowledge. After the demise of the show, these personalities would continue to be remembered by the public primarily in their roles as panelists on *To Tell the Truth*, although each went on to other unrelated ventures: Peggy Cass, for example, joined the company of the popular musical *Nunsense*, and Kitty Carlisle Hart established herself as a prime mover in the arts world through her role as head of the New York State Council on the Arts.

—Sue Russell



*To Tell The Truth* Master of Ceremonies, Bud Collyer (rear) presides over a panel including (from left): Polly Bergen, Ralph Bellamy, Kitty Carlisle, and Hy Gardner.



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## Today

The longest-running early-morning network television program, the *Today* show premiered on NBC on January 14, 1952, just months after the first live coast-to-coast television broadcast in the United States. Aired live from New York at 7 a.m. Mondays through Fridays, the two-hour show—the prototype of the news-magazine format—added a live Saturday program in the 1990s. By the late 1990s, nearly half a century after its origin, the *Today* show was still relying on its original format: a combination of news, interviews with leading newsmakers, features on topics such as health, personal finance, and food, and entertainment segments.

Sylvester “Pat” Weaver, who developed *Your Show of Shows* and the *Tonight* show, created the *Today* show as a type of broadcast news magazine that could be watched in segments while viewers ate breakfast or prepared to go to work or school. It premiered when television sets were a rarity and early-morning broadcasting was unknown. In 1952, daytime television was still a rarity in many parts of the United States.

After a considerable search, the man Weaver chose to host the show was Dave Garroway, a relaxed, witty conversationalist who wore professorial horn-rimmed spectacles. His early experience as a radio newscaster, plus his wide audience gained on the variety show *Garroway at Large* over WMAQ-TV in Chicago, convinced Weaver he was the performer needed to attract and hold a nationwide audience that was just out of bed. Jack Lescoulie was picked to report sports as well as the amusing stories from the day's news, and Jim Fleming read a news summary every half hour. *Today* opened in its own studio in the RCA Exhibition Hall on West 49th Street in Manhattan, outfitted with a large plate-glass window that allowed passers-by to see the show and be seen on camera. President Harry Truman, known for his morning walks, happened to lead his entourage by the *Today* window one morning when he was in New York and was stopped for a brief interview. During the show's first year, television critics complained of the show's slow pace and obsession with technological gadgets.

The show began making money in its second year, attracting larger audiences and luring thousands of children and their parents by adding J. Fred Muggs to the cast. Muggs was a strong-minded ten-month-old chimpanzee, owned by trainers Buddy Menella and Roy Waldron, and his unpredictable antics sometimes intimidated the staff but delighted the audience. Within the year J. Fred was making

personal appearance tours and meeting his adoring fans. He became more difficult to handle each year, and after five years gave way to a new chimp named Mr. Kokomo. The press release announcing his retirement said that Muggs was leaving to “extend his personal horizons.”

In 1953 Frank Blair became the show's newscaster and remained on *Today* for 23 years, longer than anyone else connected with the show. That same year the show began to feature shapely young women as “*Today* girls,” who read the temperature and a one-word description of the weather in major U.S. cities. The first of these was actress Estelle Parsons, followed by Lee Ann Meriwether (Miss America of 1955), singer Helen O'Connell, and actresses Betsy Palmer, Florence Henderson, and Maureen O'Sullivan. The only one of them to gain long-running status on the show was Barbara Walters, whose role was gradually expanded to that of co-anchor. Walters, who had appeared on the rival CBS *The Morning Show* was originally hired by *Today* as a writer. Pressed into on-camera service during the events surrounding the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, she became a regular in 1963.

In July of 1961 Dave Garroway closed the show for the last time, giving his audience a smile, a raised open palm, and his trademark “peace” signoff. He was replaced by John Chancellor, a veteran newscaster who was never comfortable in the show's format and left after 14 months. Hugh Downs replaced Chancellor in October, 1962, becoming the only television personality to have a regular position on all three of Pat Weaver's program creations, *Today*, *Tonight*, and *Home*. Downs had been Jack Paar's announcer and sidekick during the entire run of the Paar show from 1957-62. He continued to appear regularly on *ABC's 20/20*, co-anchoring the show with Barbara Walters, in the late 1990s.

Frank McGee replaced Downs in October, 1971, and Walters's growing stature on the show strained their relationship. Jim Hartz, hired with Walters's approval, replaced McGee—who died of bone cancer in 1974—and after a short stay was himself replaced by Tom Brokaw. When Walters left the show for a lucrative ABC contract in 1976, an extensive search was begun to replace her, and six candidates were tested on air: Cassie Mackin, Betty Rollin, Linda Ellerbee, Kelly Lange, Betty Furness, and Jane Pauley. Pauley, born in 1950, was only two years older than the show itself, but she won over all the contenders, and the new team of Brokaw, Pauley, and Willard Scott was able, in 1977, to bolster the show's declining ratings and maintain the show's number-one rank among morning shows. Bryant Gumbel joined the show as a sportscaster in 1980 and became a co-host in 1982. By that time, *Today* no longer was the dominant force in the early morning. *ABC's Good Morning America*, which had previously beaten *Today* in the ratings for a few weeks in 1979, now won the ratings race consistently in 1982 and 1983, and in one week in 1983, the *CBS Morning News* nudged *Today* into third place.

During the 1980s the Gumbel-Pauley-Scott team increased the show's ratings and won the race against *Good Morning America* frequently until 1989, when a well-publicized incident sent the series into another decline. In February, 1989, an intra-office memo in which Gumbel was harshly critical of Scott and Gene Shalit was leaked to the press, causing fans to express their loyalty by changing channels. The second move that proved unpopular with the viewers was the reduced role played by Jane Pauley when Deborah Norville was added to the show as newscaster. Pauley announced her departure on December 28, 1989, but continued on other NBC shows, filling in for Tom Brokaw on the *NBC Nightly News* and hosting her own prime-time series, *Real Life with Jane Pauley*.



**Bryant Gumbel interviewing Richard Nixon on the *Today* show, 1990.**

*Today's* ratings plunged 15 percent in the spring of 1990, and *Good Morning America* was atop the charts again, but in April, 1991, the popular Katie Couric was named co-host with Bryant Gumbel, and *Today* soon became dominant again. She had joined the show in June, 1990, as its first national correspondent and had served as substitute anchor since February, 1991. A native of Washington, D.C., and an honor graduate of the University of Virginia, Couric showed an intelligent, probing, but polite and friendly style in memorable segments of the show, including Hillary Rodham Clinton's first television interview as First Lady, General Colin Powell's

farewell to his position on the joint chiefs of staff, Anita Hill's first interview after the crisis with Clarence Thomas, and General Norman Schwarzkopf's first interview after the Persian Gulf War. She has also co-hosted, with Dick Enberg, NBC's morning coverage of the Summer Olympics in Barcelona (1992) and Atlanta (1996).

Matt Lauer, a native of New York City, replaced Bryant Gumbel as co-anchor of *Today* in January, 1997, and the show has continued to gain viewers. A graduate of Ohio University with a degree in communications, Lauer worked as co-anchor of *Today in New York* for the city's NBC affiliate before joining the network *Today* show's

news desk in 1994. His frequent filling in for golfing buddy Gumbel led to an outpouring of cards and letters from fans throughout the nation, and Lauer was promoted to co-anchor. Another factor in the show's continued high ratings was the moving of the show into a glass-walled, ground-floor production center in June, 1994. Just as in the early days of the show, the crowd outside the window has become a vital part of the *Today* show, and the stars frequently conduct on-the-spot interviews with visitors. In January, 1999, *Today* had national ratings nearly twice those of the next highest competitor.

The *Today* show remains a window on the world for its viewers, with live shows originating from the Orient Express streaking across Europe, as well as from China, the Soviet Union, the French Riviera, Italy, the United Kingdom and Ireland, Australia, South America, and Cuba. Other familiar faces on the 1999 *Today* show include Ann Curry, news anchor; Al Roker, weather; Gene Shalit, film critic; and Willard Scott, known for his comic remarks and his daily list of America's latest centenarians.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Toffler, Alvin (1928—)

Alvin Toffler, the most popular futurist in America, became a celebrity in the 1960s and 1970s for his predictions and suggestions for ways people could cope with the unprecedented rate of change initiated by new technologies. With the publication of his bestseller *Future Shock* in 1970, Toffler became a household name and won many admirers in government and business. *The Third Wave* (1980) made him internationally known, and with *Powershift: Knowledge, Wealth, and Violence at the Edge of the Twenty-First Century* (1991) and *Creating a New Civilization: The Politics of the Third Wave* (1994), Toffler became a prominent political advisor. Since 1993, Toffler's wife, Heidi, has begun to share authorial credit with him, although he claims that she co-authored all of his previous books as well. Together they are known as the couple "who brought futurism to the masses," as Michael Krantz has written in *Time* magazine.

In *Future Shock*, Toffler argued that Americans were experiencing confusion and denial about the changes they were witnessing in society. He called this "future shock," a concept he derived from the anthropological concept of "culture shock," which means the inability of members of primitive cultures to adapt to a more advanced culture. Very similarly, Toffler argued, Americans were growing unable to cope with the new culture that was coming into being as technology changed the way people worked and lived. Witnessing the social upheaval of the 1960s, Toffler believed that the mass hysteria of the protests and growing divorce and crime rates were signs that

Americans were reaching a limit beyond which they could accept no more change. As remedies to future shock, Toffler argued that children should read more science fiction and that the study of the future should become a standard part of American education.

The main problem, according to Toffler, was that America was undergoing a fundamental shift from a Second Wave to a Third Wave society. The First Wave was the adoption of the agrarian way of life 10,000 years ago, the Second Wave was the urbanization and industrial revolution of the nineteenth century, and the Third Wave that began after the Second World War he called a "super-industrial revolution." This last phase of human development was fueled by the rise of technologies that were driven by knowledge rather than raw material power. In 1980 he predicted in *The Third Wave* that the personal computer would become a household item, three years before IBM (International Business Machines) introduced computers for home use. Toffler also believed that an information superhighway would become an important part of our everyday lives and that changes in our economy would effect a fundamental restructuring of our society; a "demassification" that would turn back some of the effects of centralization and standardization of the industrial era. Workers would return to the home, establishing living patterns similar in some ways to the First Wave of human development. The difference, however, is that people would be linked by new technologies that enabled them to communicate with others all over the world. And instead of having to purchase identical, mass-produced products, consumers would be presented with a growing number of choices as smaller industries became more feasible. Finally, in what became the focus of his last two books, the federal government would become less centralized as power shifted to smaller interest groups and local governments.

Toffler looked forward to the changes that would take place, arguing optimistically that a more direct democracy, more varieties of family structure and home life, greater utilization of renewable energy resources, a decentralized government, and a more accessible media would result from the Third Wave, effectively eliminating social hierarchies. He attempted to ease the fears of Americans about the rapid rate of change. In *The Third Wave* he argued that "we are the final generation of an old civilization and the first generation of a new one . . . much of our personal confusion, anguish, and disorientation can be traced directly to the conflict within us, and within our political institutions, between the dying Second Wave civilization and the emergent Third Wave civilization that is thundering to take its place." His optimism about the positive effects this shift would have on the quality of life and his urgent message that we must prepare for these changes rather than impede their progress drew many disciples, most notably Ronald Reagan and Newt Gingrich. Ted Turner even claimed to have gotten the idea for *CNN* (*Cable News Network*) from *The Third Wave*.

Alvin and Heidi Tofflers' main goal has been to prepare people for the changes ahead and to make them more comfortable with the concept of change. They want Americans to abandon their nostalgia for small-town life, the nuclear family, and employment stability of the past, and to embrace a future in which knowledge and flexibility will be the greatest assets. As Alvin Toffler told Charles Platt in *Dream Makers*, he wants to "open up the reader's mind to other ways of conceptualizing our political and social structures. I think that helps people adapt."

—Anne Boyd

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## Toga Parties

At the turn of the twentieth century, when the poet Ezra Pound advised writers to "make it new," he was referring to the need for a new vision that would propel artists through a new century. But as artists, intellectuals, writers, and other makers of culture turned to their crafts in order to create a new world, they found themselves looking to the past as much as they looked to the future. They looked not to the recent past, from which they wanted to free themselves, but to the ancient past of Greece and Rome. Homage to the Classical world sometimes manifested itself in the form of the toga party, which took place throughout the century and became particularly popular during the 1970s. Revising Classical culture to modern sensibilities, toga parties represented not only youthful exuberance, but an underlying desire to maintain a link to the past. (The name derives from the "toga," a simple cloth wrap worn loosely around the body in imitation of the national garment of the early Romans). Such parties played out the legendary excess of the Roman god, Bacchus, the god of wine, and his Greek precursor, Dionysus.

It is not hard to see why the figure of Dionysus had such appeal to those in the twentieth century, when more open attitudes toward sexuality began to take hold. At the beginning of the century, "modern women" announced their modernity by cropping their hair short and wearing Greek bangs, and during the 1920s, Classical style tunics became popular. One motto of the 1930s—"wine, women, and song"—was a direct call from the ancient rite of the Bacchanal, or Dionysian rites of spring. The call of the ancient Greeks and Romans was even heard at the Roosevelt White House in the early 1930s, when Eleanor Roosevelt hosted a great toga party in an attempt to poke fun at the politicians and newswriters who viewed F.D.R. as a second Caesar.

The toga was revived when the 1978 film *Animal House* featured a fraternity house toga party, prompting a new fad on college campuses. Across the United States, students wrapped themselves in bedsheets draped like togas in an attempt to imitate Greek and Roman figures and the Bacchanal. At times, John Belushi and other actors from *Animal House* would show up at such parties. Perhaps the most widely publicized, if not the largest, toga party was held at the University of Wisconsin, where 10,000 persons attended, all wearing sheets draped like togas, many of them sporting garlands of flowers in their hair. Much as rock concerts of the 1960s defined the 1960s generation, toga parties became an identifying rite of passage for the generation of the 1970s. During the 1990s, toga parties were still known to take place, although largely as a nostalgic gesture.

—Lolly Ockerstrom

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## Tokyo Rose

During the fight with Japan in World War II, Allied (mostly American) fighting men in the Pacific were assailed with Japanese radio propaganda broadcast from radio stations throughout the Japanese empire. Many of the broadcasters were women, and they began to be known by the term "Tokyo Rose." The American Office of War Information (OWI), based on a study of the Japanese propaganda broadcasts, concluded that none of these women referred to herself as Tokyo Rose; the OWI considered the name "Tokyo Rose" to be "strictly a GI invention."

The various "Tokyo Rose" broadcasters spread different types of propaganda. Some of the woman broadcasters taunted the Allied soldiers by implying that their wives and sweethearts back home were being unfaithful to them. Although the United States Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) did not pick up any Japanese broadcasts which predicted specific military movements, some soldiers later claimed that "Tokyo Rose" announcers would identify Allied units, predict Japanese bombing raids, warn soldiers who were about to go into battle that they would be cut to pieces, and make otherwise demoralizing remarks.

Some of the Japanese broadcasts were less blatant than this. There was one Tokyo-based program, known as *Zero Hour*, which consisted of musical numbers, readings of letters from Allied POWs, and some news. A woman DJed the musical portions of the program; the woman interspersed the music with brief, and generally innocuous, commentary. The woman DJ on "Zero Hour" was an American named Iva Toguri (later d'Aquino). Though she never referred to herself as "Tokyo Rose" in her broadcasts—her moniker was "Orphan Ann"—she ended up being assigned the role of Tokyo Rose.

Iva Toguri was born in the United States to Japanese parents. In 1941 she was in graduate school, studying to be a doctor, but she left the country for Japan to take care of a sick aunt. Although she was a native of the United States, she had problems getting a passport and had to travel without one. After Pearl Harbor, the war stranded her in Japan. While seeking work to support herself in Japan, Toguri got a part-time clerical job at NHK, the government radio service. She was noticed by Charles Cousens, a POW who had served with the Australian army and who had been ordered by his Japanese captors to make radio propaganda aimed at the Allies. Cousens—who was later cleared of treason charges by Australian authorities—claimed that he was trying to sabotage the "Zero Hour" program by making it useless as propaganda. As part of that plan, Cousens claimed, he hired Iva Toguri because she was anti-Japanese and had a bad radio voice.

While she was working for Japanese radio, Toguri helped out many Allied POWs who were interned in the Tokyo area, giving them food and expressing pro-American sentiments. At the end of the war in 1945, the newly-married Iva Toguri d'Aquino did not seem to regard herself as a traitor, and she was willing to talk to the American press about her activities.



Tokyo Rose

Following the war, two Hearst reporters looking for the famous “Tokyo Rose” were led to d’Aquino, who signed a contract with one of the reporters giving various Hearst enterprises the exclusive rights to her story. In return, d’Aquino was promised \$2,000 (which for various reasons she never got). In the contract, d’Aquino identified herself as “the one and original ‘Tokyo Rose’” and gave numerous autographs identifying herself as “Tokyo Rose.” D’Aquino was stretching the truth, and it soon led her into serious trouble.

American authorities held d’Aquino in a Japanese prison for nearly a year while investigators tried to determine whether her broadcasts on behalf of Japan amounted to treason. Released in 1946 for lack of evidence, she faced a renewed campaign to block her return to the United States in 1947. The American Legion and broadcaster Walter Winchell did not want the traitress Tokyo Rose to be a free woman in the United States, and they campaigned for a reopening of the case. In 1948, Attorney General Tom Clark directed that d’Aquino be tried for treason.

D’Aquino was brought from Japan to San Francisco, where she was tried in 1949. Of the eight charges against her, the jury found her guilty of only one charge. According to the jury, she claimed in one broadcast that the Japanese had won the battle of Leyte Gulf (which they had not) and she allegedly taunted Allied soldiers about this imagined defeat. D’Aquino received a ten-year sentence and, as a convicted traitor, she was stripped of her American citizenship. After spending eight years in prison, d’Aquino was released in 1956. The United States commenced deportation proceedings, but dropped them in 1958. D’Aquino went to work in her family’s store in Chicago, which she was still running in 1998.

Beginning around 1974, the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) took an interest in d’Aquino’s case. The JACL believed that d’Aquino had been a loyal American who had done what she could to assist American POWs, who had taken a job as a disc jockey and made innocuous broadcasts, and who had been targeted by unscrupulous journalists and prosecutors who were trying to transform her into the mythical “Tokyo Rose.” Media reports sympathetic to d’Aquino appeared in 1976. The jury foreman at her trial told *60 Minutes* that he thought d’Aquino was innocent of all charges. Articles in the *Chicago Tribune* indicated that two of the witnesses against her had lied. (Later, documents acquired through the Freedom of Information Act indicated that the two witnesses had made statements to the FBI in identical language, raising the inference that they had been coached.)

The JACL received support from other important quarters. The California legislature, several municipal governing bodies, conductor Seiji Ozawa, and the American Veterans Committee all endorsed a pardon. Influential Japanese-American politicians joined the campaign, particularly S. I. Hayakawa, who was soon to become a republican senator from California and who had access to President Gerald Ford. In January 1977, just before his term of office came to an end, President Ford pardoned d’Aquino. The pardon restored d’Aquino’s civil rights, including her American citizenship.

—Eric Longley

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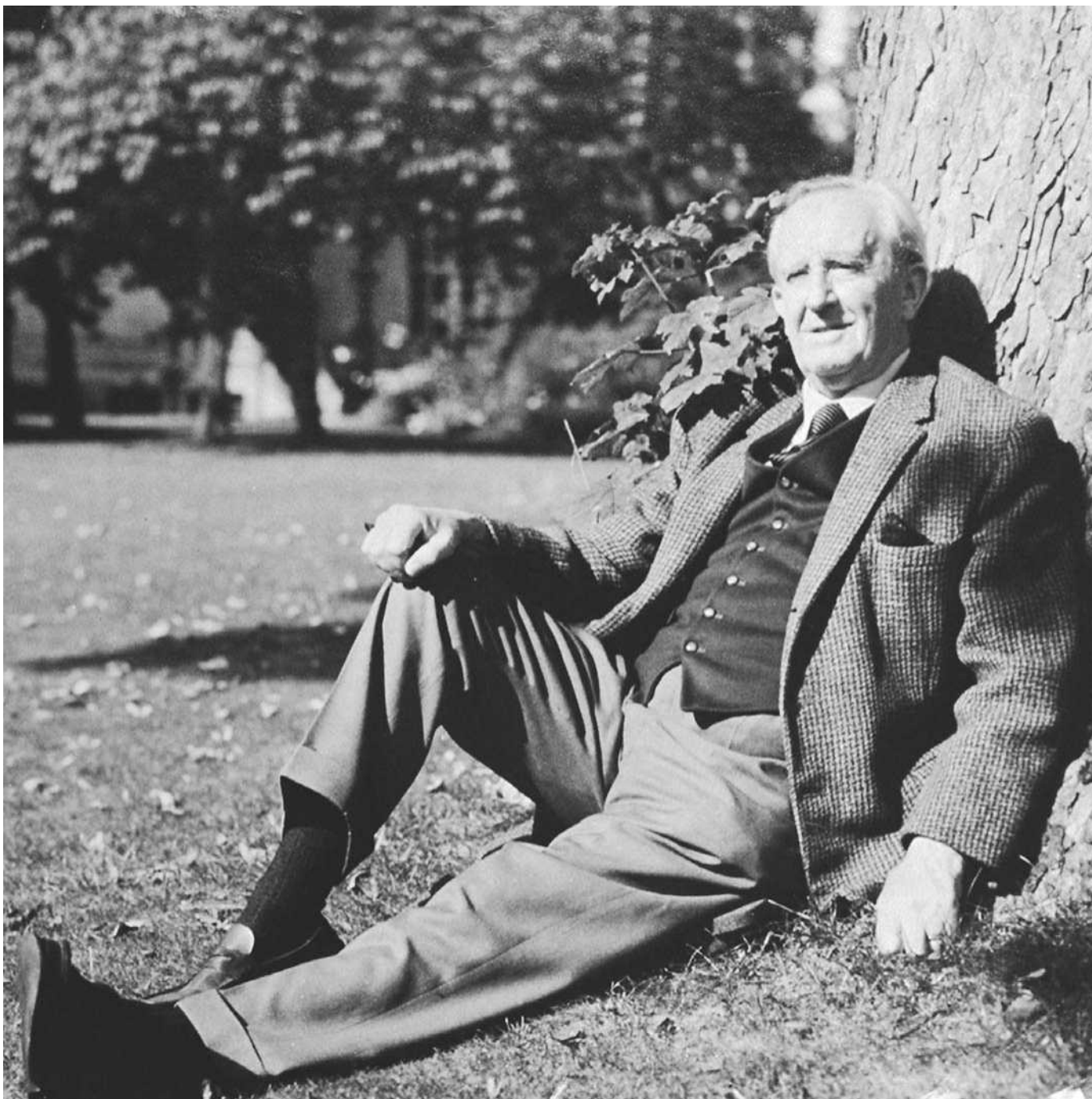
## Tolkien, J. R. R. (1892-1973)

Born in South Africa in 1892 to English parents and resident of the United Kingdom from 1895 until his death in 1973, J. R. R. Tolkien is the most prominent fantasy writer of the twentieth century. He is beloved for his epic fantasy trilogy, *The Lord of the Rings* (1954-1955), and its prequel, *The Hobbit* (1937). Although exactitude is impossible, Patrick Curry estimates worldwide sales of *The Lord of the Rings* at approximately 50 million copies—“probably the biggest-selling single work of fiction this century.” *The Hobbit* has sold an estimated 35 to 40 million copies, and Tolkien’s books have been translated into more than 30 languages. A 1997 survey of some 25,000 readers in England found *The Lord of the Rings* to be the runaway winner as the most important book of the past 100 years.

Tolkien was also a prominent philologist. His academic career encompassed 39 years, dating from his appointment in 1920 as Reader in English Language at Leeds University. He became the Rawlinson and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford University in 1925, and held the prestigious Merton Professor of English position at Oxford from 1945 until his retirement in 1959. His essay, “*Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics*” (1936), is regarded as a landmark scholarly work, as is his examination of regional dialect in the *Canterbury Tales*, “Chaucer as a Philologist” (1949). His critical edition of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (1925), developed in collaboration with E. V. Gordon, is still taught today.

“There were not two Tolkiens, one an academic and the other a writer,” asserts T. A. Shippey, “They were the same man, and the two sides of him overlapped so that they were indistinguishable—or rather they were not two sides at all, but different expressions of the same mind, the same imagination.” Tolkien’s academic research delved deeply into ancient Northern literatures, and led him to learn such languages as Finnish, Gothic, Middle English, Old English, Old Norse, and Welsh. This research in turn shaped his fiction. In the United States foreword to the Ballantine edition of *The Lord of the Rings* (1966), Tolkien avers that his trilogy is “primarily linguistic in inspiration.”

The blurring of Tolkien as an academic and a fantasy writer is no more apparent than in his essay “On Fairy-Stories,” first presented as the 1938 Andrew Lang Lecture at the University of St. Andrews and later expanded for the collection, *Tree and Leaf*, in 1964. Here, Tolkien demarcates a territory for fantasy that is distinct from stories that are framed—that is, normalized—as travellers’ tales, dreams, or beast fables. Fantasy entails an act of sub-creation, namely, a “Secondary World” that is separate from the “Primary World” of everyday life. Secondary worlds must be internally consistent, thereby structuring a sense of “credible, commanding Secondary Belief.” Central to fantasy are the elements of Recovery, Escape, and Consolation. Tolkien coined the term “Eucatastrophe,” which denotes the “sudden joyous ‘turn’” that is the hallmark of fairy-tale happy endings.



**J. R. R. Tolkien**

Tolkien applied the precepts of “On Fairy-Stories” to the secondary world that occupied much of his life: Middle-earth. The genesis of Middle-earth was a poem written by Tolkien during his student days, based on a line from the Old English Advent poem “Crist,” by Cynewulf. “Hail, Earendel, brightest of angels, over middle-earth sent to men,” sparked the imagination of Tolkien and established the basis for a cosmology that began to emerge during World War I. As a lieutenant with the Lancashire Fusiliers, Tolkien was posted to France and fought in the battle of the Somme. He later explained in a letter to his son, Christopher, that many of the early

writings about Middle-earth were composed “in grimy canteens, at lectures in cold fogs, in huts full of blasphemy and smut, or by candle lights in bell-tents, even some down in dugouts under shell fire.” These writings bore the title *The Book of Lost Tales*.

Tolkien returned to Oxford after a bout with trench fever and found sustenance in the English countryside. He was seized with the desire to create a mythology for England. Humphrey Carpenter quotes Tolkien on this point in his definitive biography, where the Oxford professor recollects how he “had a mind to make a body of more or less connected legend, ranging from the large and cosmogonic

to the level of romantic fairy-story—the larger founded on the lesser in contact with the earth, the lesser drawing splendor from the vast backcloths—which I could dedicate simply: to England; to my country.’’

A small literary circle of Christian academics—The Inklings—acted as midwife for Tolkien’s mythology. At Oxford, Tolkien regularly met with Owen Barfield, Charles Williams, and C. S. Lewis, whose *Chronicles of Narnia* would later adorn the lists of fantasy literature. The Inklings read aloud passages of their work, including a “children’s” novel that Tolkien had been writing since one fateful day in the late 1920s, when he scribbled on the page of a blank exam book, “In a hole in the ground there lived a hobbit.’’

*The Hobbit* was published in 1937 to popular and critical acclaim. Set in Middle-earth, it narrates the adventures of Bilbo Baggins, a staid halfling who embarks on a quest with the wizard Gandalf and a party of dwarves to reclaim treasure stolen by the dragon, Smaug. Along the way, Bilbo finagles a magic ring away from a twisted hobbit named Gollum. “Prediction is dangerous,’’ ventured the *Times Literary Supplement*, “but *The Hobbit* may well prove a classic.’’

Bilbo’s inheritance is at the heart of *The Lord of the Rings*, which approached completion in 1950. Frodo Baggins undertakes a perilous journey to Mount Doom in the land of Mordor, ruled by the dark lord, Sauron. There he must cast away Bilbo’s ring, revealed by Gandalf to be the One Ring of Power lost by Sauron in the distant past. Humans, dwarves, and elves aid Frodo in his quest, while the War of the Ring ignites across Middle-earth. Tolkien unsuccessfully negotiated with Collins publishing house for the joint issuing of his epic with *The Silmarillion*, a revised version of *The Book of Lost Tales*. Allen and Unwin, publishers of *The Hobbit*, eventually agreed to publish *The Lord of the Rings* in three volumes—*The Fellowship of the Ring* (1954), *The Two Towers* (1954), and *The Return of the King* (1955).

Reaction to *The Lord of the Rings* varied. If some critics waxed rhapsodic, others derided Tolkien’s work as medievalist pablum. The trilogy was received as an independent work, since *The Silmarillion* languished unpublished for over 20 years. The trilogy did not achieve widespread attention until 1966, following its publication in the United States by Ballantine Books in the wake of an unauthorized Ace Books paperback edition in 1965. It quickly vaulted to the top of the bestseller ranks and mushroomed into a full-blown cult phenomenon on college campuses during the 1960s and early 1970s.

*The Silmarillion* was finally published posthumously in 1977. Fans were perplexed by the lofty creation myth, biblical language, detailed genealogies, and the almost complete lack of characterization. Critics were equally baffled until the scope of Tolkien’s mythology was communicated via the editorship of his son, Christopher. *Unfinished Tales of Númenor and Middle-earth* appeared in 1980, followed by the 12-volume opus of textual criticism, *The History of Middle-earth* (1983-1996). Christopher Tolkien combed his father’s papers for seemingly every story fragment and draft pertaining to Middle-earth; the scale of his findings will likely occupy scholars for years.

Tolkien’s influence on fantasy and science fiction has been profound. His example of a consistent, detailed secondary world is now the norm for imaginative writing. He is furthermore credited with the rekindling of fantasy as a narrative art. Among his descendants one might include such contemporary novelists as Peter S. Beagle, Stephen R. Donaldson, Robert Jordan, and Tad Williams. Tolkien has inspired a legion of lesser imitators as well, with the result being derivative, multi-volume series boasting faux medieval Europe

settings and fit to bursting with cookie-cutter elves, inns, wizards, and megalomaniac dark lords. If Tolkienesque fantasy seems hackneyed today, few of his successors come close to rivaling the width and depth of the Middle-earth cosmos.

—Neal Baker

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## Tom of Finland (1920-1991)

After 30 years of limited circulation in gay magazines and exhibitions in gay clubs, Tom of Finland’s frankly pornographic drawings have enjoyed a vast popularity since the 1970s: They have been exhibited worldwide and even mainstream publishers have produced collections of his work. Tom of Finland is now considered, in the words of his biographer, “the foremost name in gay erotic art” and the critic Nayland Blake has defined him “one of the gay world’s few authentic icons,” noting Tom’s influence on artists as different as Robert Mapplethorpe, Bruce Weber, and Rainer Werner Fassbinder. A foundation was established a few years before Tom’s death to preserve and perpetuate his work and, in the 1990s, Tom of Finland’s influence has even extended to fashion, as the name of the pornographer has become a trademark for a line of male clothes.

Tom of Finland was born Touko Laaksonen in 1920 in Kaarina, then a rural area in the southwestern part of Finland. In 1939, after graduating from high school, Laaksonen went to art school in Helsinki to study advertising, but he soon had to suspend his studies because of World War II. After the war he completed his degree and also learned to play the piano at the renowned Sibelius Institute. In these early post-war years, Laaksonen kept his “dirty drawings” (as he liked to call them) to himself and earned his living by working as a freelance advertiser during the day and playing the piano at parties and cafés in Helsinki’s bohemian districts in the evenings. It was not until 1957 that Laaksonen decided to submit some of his less graphic drawings (which he signed as Tom of Finland) for publication in *Physique Pictorial*, an American muscle magazine. The editor was so enthusiastic about them that the cover of the Spring 1957 issue of the magazine featured a drawing by Tom of Finland.

During the late 1950s and the 1960s, Tom of Finland’s drawings were published regularly in American and European magazines and sold to private publications all over the world; but homosexual art did not sell very well at the time and Tom of Finland could not give up his advertising job any earlier than 1973, the same year of his first



European exhibition. Five years later Tom of Finland went to the United States for the first American exhibition of his drawings in Los Angeles. During this trip he met Durk Dehner who was to become Tom of Finland's successful manager and co-founder of the Tom of Finland Foundation. After the death of his companion of 28 years, Veli, in 1981, Tom of Finland divided his life equally between Finland and the United States until his own death ten years later. In 1987 the anthological volume, *Tom of Finland Retrospective*, was published to such a great success that a companion volume, *Retrospective II*, was also produced. Both volumes document Tom of Finland's career from the naturalist drawings of the late 1940s to the 1987 "safe-sex" poster urging the use of condoms, passing through his mature work featuring perfect physiques, exaggerated poses, and improbable sizes.

The characters in Tom of Finland's drawings are mostly men in uniform (soldiers, policemen, sailors, lumberjacks, and bikers in leather) involved in homosexual sex of all kinds and in every (im)possible position. Their huge pectorals and muscles, their perfectly-rounded bottoms and their enormous penises point to the exaggerated maleness of Tom of Finland's men, an iconography that goes against the dominant representation of gay men as effeminate and is thus an important point of reference for the leather gay subculture. Tom of Finland's drawings counteract also the enduring stereotype of "the sad and unhappy homosexual": the men in them are clearly having a lot of fun and are proud of their sexual orientation. Tom of Finland once declared that when he started to draw, "a gay man was made to feel nothing but shame about his feelings and his sexuality. I wanted my drawings to counteract that, to show gay men being happy and positive about who they were." Even if some of Tom of Finland's drawings take place in prisons or police-stations or depict sadomasochistic situations, there is always a strong sense of play underlying them and drama never intervenes.

A complex network of looks takes place in most of Tom of Finland's drawings. As Nayland Blake has pointed out, Tom of Finland has challenged the framework of the single gaze of traditional pornography where the object presents itself passively to the eyes of the viewer. In Tom of Finland's drawings there is an interaction of looks between the different characters, which complements the gaze of the viewer. Often the two men having sex in the foreground are observed by a third man in the background. Sometimes the characters even respond to the gaze of the viewer, as in the case of Tom of Finland's re-elaboration of Michelangelo's David (commissioned by the conservative Italian film-director Franco Zeffirelli). Tom of Finland's David, much better endowed than Michelangelo's, wears a defiant look on his face and seems to be telling the viewer: "I know what you're looking at."

Tom of Finland's *oeuvre* is a lot more than just a series of "dirty drawings." As Dennis Forbes and Fred Bissonnes have pointed out, when the cultural history of the late twentieth century's Gay Liberation Movement will be written, Tom of Finland will have to be acknowledged as having created an effective iconography for part of the gay world.

—Luca Prono

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## Tom Swift Series

A popular series of forty boys' novels published by Grosset & Dunlap between 1910 and 1941, the Tom Swift books were mostly published under the pen name "Victor Appleton," though they were produced by the Stratemeyer Syndicate, a book packager that created other popular juvenile literature. Attempts were made to revive the series three times over the years, once in the 1950s with the Tom Swift, Jr. books, and again in the 1980s and 1990s, but they were never as successful as the originals. The hero of the first series was Tom Swift, a young inventor, portrayed as a plucky, ingenious figure who used modern technology and American know-how to create new devices and foil his rivals. An excerpt from an advertisement written by Edward Stratemeyer (1862-1930) for the first Tom Swift books characterizes the scope of this series: "It is the purpose of these spirited tales to convey in a realistic way the wonderful advances in land and sea locomotion and to interest the boy of the present in the hope that he may be a factor in aiding the marvelous development that is coming in the future."

The Stratemeyer Syndicate, which created more than 1400 books between 1904 and 1984, devised the series concepts and hired writers to complete book-length stories from a limited outline in exchange for a flat-fee compensation (\$75.00 for the first Tom Swift book in 1910). The writer hired to become "Victor Appleton" for the majority of the Tom Swift volumes was Stratemeyer's close friend, Howard Roger Garis (1873-1962), who created the Uncle Wiggily stories and ghostwrote nearly 300 books for the Syndicate. Stratemeyer and Garis worked closely to craft a series of adventure stories with inventions inspired by the real-world work of inventors who were mentioned in magazines like *Scientific American*. Other writers involved on a limited basis for this series included W. Bert Foster and John W. Duffield.

The early Tom Swift volumes featured existing vehicles, like a motorcycle and a motorboat that Tom acquired and improved with suggestions from his father, "the aged inventor," Barton Swift. Next, Tom helped others with their inventions, the *Red Cloud*, an airship designed by John Sharp, and a submarine built by his father. By the fifth volume (all five were published in 1910), Tom built his first invention, an alkaline battery for an electric car. Later inventions of note included his sky racer (1911), a revolutionary photo telephone (1914), a coast-to-coast airline express (1926), a motor home called a "house on wheels" (1929), and a device to allow radio listeners to see the performers on a silvery screen with his "talking pictures" (1928).

In most cases, Tom Swift's vehicles were bigger and faster than their real-world counterparts, which often did not become practical until much later. A typical story involved a discussion of an exotic locale or strange event by the main characters, Tom, Barton, Tom's chum Ned Newton, and their eccentric friend, Mr. Wakefield Damon, who "blessed" more than 1,200 items and parts of his body throughout the series. Tom and friends were usually dogged by rivals, including Andy Foger, the squint-eyed redheaded bully who seemed to be on the scene no matter how remote the locale.

The Tom Swift series generated a combined sales of more than six million volumes so it is no surprise that in the early 1950s, the Stratemeyer Syndicate created a spin-off series, Tom Swift Jr., to try to reclaim part of the market share lost to the *Rick Brant* series (1948-1967), published under the "John Blaine" pseudonym. Work on the Tom Swift, Jr. series was begun in 1951 and by January 1952, a manuscript of the first volume was far enough along to receive comments by one of the Syndicate's science consultants, Robert H. Snyder. Despite this early start, the first five books in the series would not be published until 1954 after rewrites. Between 1954 and 1971, Grosset & Dunlap published thirty-three books about Tom Swift, Jr., his sister Sandra, pal Bud Barclay, and potential girlfriend, Phyllis Newton, daughter of Ned Newton from the original series. Tom Swift, Sr. makes appearances as a middle-aged man who remains active in science and invention. While the original series had titles like *Tom Swift and His Electric Rifle* (1911), the Tom Swift, Jr. series used atomic, electronic, and outer-space themes, like *Tom Swift and His Atomic Earth Blaster* (1954). For the Tom Swift, Jr. series, plot took a back seat to title in the early development of a volume. Long lists of proposed titles were considered. Once a title was selected, a story idea would be devised to match it.

"Victor Appleton II" was said to have "inherited his wonderful storytelling ability from the original Victor Appleton" in dust jacket ads for the early books. It is hard to say whether the Syndicate was referring to the ghostwriters or itself. While several writers wrote a volume or two, most of the newer series (volumes 5-7, 9-29) were written by James Duncan Lawrence (1918-1994), a Syndicate ghostwriter who also wrote for a number of different media, including screenplays for television and radio, books, and comic strips.

The Tom Swift, Jr. series was discontinued in 1971 due to declining sales, which had more to do with the aging Baby Boomers than it did with the perceived problem of Tom's achievements being surpassed by a real-world NASA. At the close of the Tom Swift, Jr. series, an anonymous memo laid the groundwork for yet another new Tom Swift series set in the far future where Tom Swift's inventions have become a reality. This new series was, indeed, set in the far future and contained science-fiction stories of interplanetary space travel with titles like *Terror on the Moons of Jupiter* (1981). Very little in the way of invention was included in the stories, and little or no reference was made to the previous two series. Part of the reason for this was that the new group of ghostwriters had published science fiction books under their own names, and because this series was published by Wanderer, a division of Simon & Schuster, which had purchased the Stratemeyer Syndicate in 1984. The third Tom Swift series was discontinued at this time.

In 1991, Simon & Schuster decided to try the venerable name of Tom Swift again in a new series published under its Archway imprint. Thirteen volumes were published of Tom Swift in a contemporary setting with inventions again being the focus, as in *Cyborg Kickboxer* (1991) and *Death Quake* (1993). This new series did not sell well and it was soon discontinued. All in all, Tom Swift appeared in ninety-nine stories in four series since the first volume was published in 1910.

—James D. Keeline

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## Tomlin, Lily (1939—)

Lily Tomlin, a gifted comedienne, writer, and actress, emerged on American television in the early 1970s as a featured performer on the highly innovative and successful comedy variety series *Rowan & Martin's Laugh-In*. She became noted for her gallery of memorable characters, such as Ernestine the telephone operator and the sassy, five-year-old Edith Ann, and for her ability to transform herself into many vivid personas without costume changes or make-up. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s she established herself as "America's reigning female comic genius" by appearing in a series of praised television specials, releasing a bestselling comedy album, and making a successful transition onto the movie screen. Known for her versatility, Tomlin occasionally appeared in more dramatic roles for some of Hollywood's most respected directors. In 1985, she scored her



Lily Tomlin

greatest artistic triumph by appearing in her one-woman Broadway smash *The Search for Signs of Intelligent Life in the Universe*, which presented Tomlin's attempt to summarize a generation of social history through a series of character sketches. By the 1990s, Tomlin was displaying her talents on series television, film, animation, and commercials.

Mary Jean Tomlin, born on September 1, 1939, in Detroit, Michigan, had a great interest in observing people from childhood. Raised by a factory worker and housewife who had moved north from Paducah, Kentucky, in search of jobs during the Depression, Tomlin expressed an interest in theatre while attending Wayne State University. She combined her desire to perform comedy with talents for observation and mimicry in order to find her own style as a performer. Author Jeff Sorensen comments on Tomlin's comedic evolution when he writes: "Unlike other comics who stick with one successful persona, she was determined to play as many parts as she could dream up. Characters impressions were what interested Tomlin; she had no intention of standing up and telling topical jokes on subjects." Of her comic style she has said, "My comedy is actual life with the slightest twist of exaggeration. I construct compressed accuracy, a character essence that is as true as I can get it. I don't go for laughter. I never play for a joke *per se*. If the joke gets in the character's way, I take it out."

Tomlin began her career playing in Detroit coffeehouses while still in college, eventually making her way to New York. While honing her routines at a Manhattan nightclub and in several off-Broadway productions, Tomlin's career took off after she landed a part on *Laugh-In* in 1969. Tomlin became an instant celebrity during her tenure on *Laugh-In*, which lasted from 1969 to 1973. She endeared herself to audiences by inventing characters embodying both humor and intelligence. The most recognizable of her zany characters was Ernestine the telephone operator, a nasal and overbearing woman who began her sketches with the catchphrase: "One ringy-dingy, two ringy-dingy, is this the party to whom I am speaking?" The wise-cracking Ernestine became so popular that AT&T offered Tomlin \$500,000 to do a commercial, but the comedienne refused noting it would compromise the character's comedic integrity. One of Ernestine's most famous lines was "We don't care. We don't have to. We're the Phone Company." Tomlin's next most popular character of the early 1970s was Edith Ann, an uninhibited, lisping, five-year-old who sat in an oversized rocking chair as she discussed her life. Edith Ann would conclude her observations with her trademark expression "And that's the truth." Tomlin continued to create memorable characters after she left *Laugh-In* to star in a series of comedy specials. Her most famous creations include Trudy the bag lady, Sister Boogie-Woman, and Mrs. Beasley. The great popularity of these and other characters transformed Tomlin into a national comedic phenomenon.

The comedienne's versatility continued to expand as she moved beyond television. Her film debut came in 1975 when she was cast in Robert Altman's music industry epic *Nashville*. Tomlin, in a noncomedic role, played Linnea, a devoted mother and gospel singer who had an affair with a rock star. For this performance she received an Academy Award nomination. She followed this early screen success with such acclaimed films as *The Late Show* (1977), *9 to 5* (1980), *All of Me* (1984), and *Big Business* (1988). Her career suffered its greatest setback in 1978 with the release of *Moment by Moment*, which paired her with John Travolta in a romance. Critics lambasted the film, and audiences ignored it. Tomlin bounced back in

1985 with her Broadway triumph *The Search for Signs of Intelligent Life in the Universe*. She and writer Jane Wagner produced the acclaimed feminist look at the human condition that appealed to all audiences. Tomlin continued to express her versatility into the 1990s by appearing in such diverse roles as a TV executive on the sitcom *Murphy Brown*, the teacher/bus driver on the animated educational show *The Magic School Bus*, and through many film and TV guest appearances. Two of her best characterizations of this period were as an aging hippie in the film *Flirting with Disaster* and as a murderous Christmas spirit in a 1998 episode of *The X-Files*.

—Charles Coletta

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## Tone, Franchot (1905-1968)

In the succinct words of David Thomson, "Tone was perhaps all that Franchot had—that and Joan Crawford," the first of his four wives. Born the son of a wealthy industrialist in Niagara, New York, and educated at Cornell, Franchot Tone had a distinguished stage career, working with the Group Theater among others. His film career, however, although long and prolific (1933 to 1965), consigned him to roles as wealthy café-society sophisticates, weak cads, or the losing end of love triangles in archetypal romances of the 1930s and 1940s. In 1935 he was Oscar-nominated for a supporting role in *Mutiny on the Bounty*, and married Crawford "after one of the most denied, affirmed, and re-denied romances Hollywood had ever witnessed," as one columnist commented. Unhappy with his film roles, he returned to Broadway, starring in Ernest Hemingway's *The Fifth Column* in 1940, but was soon back in Hollywood. Although he lacked the necessary screen charisma for leading-man stardom, he worked with many of the top directors, including John Ford, Von Sternberg, and Billy Wilder. He made several films with Crawford, and was with Jean Harlow in *Bombshell* (1933) and Bette Davis in *Dangerous* (1935), but gave his most memorable performances towards the end of his career and his life: the dying president in Otto Preminger's *Advise and Consent* (1962) and the grim Ruby Lapp in Arthur Penn's *Mickey One* (1965).

—Benjamin Griffith

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## *The Tonight Show*

NBC's venerable late-night talk show *The Tonight Show* has provided a unique window into the changing times and mores of contemporary American culture. Beginning in 1954, its four principal hosts have used the program as a pulpit for nightly commentary on events both profound and piddling. Over the decades, the show has fluctuated wildly in terms of its influence and quality. At various times it offered groundbreaking comedy, scintillating conversation, and instructions for stylish living. Even Jay Leno's tepid, non-threatening *Tonight Show* of the 1990s seemed somehow to reflect the tenor of its self-satisfied times.

The first host of *The Tonight Show* was Steve Allen, a former disc jockey who had presided over a succession of Golden Age TV offerings. During his innovative three-year run as host, Allen established the program's basic format: a monologue followed by a comedy set piece and a series of conversations with celebrity guests. Allen also inaugurated the show's long-running practice of breaking in new stand-up comics. Lenny Bruce and Mort Sahl were just two of the comedians who got their start slinging jokes at Allen's audience. In later years, such prominent entertainers as George Carlin, Richard Pryor, and Roseanne Barr would gain their initial national exposure on the program.

In 1956, NBC moved Allen onto another show and briefly retooled *The Tonight Show*. That experiment failed and the network eventually brought in Jack Paar, a garrulous game show host, as Allen's replacement. Beginning in July of 1957, Paar brought a more erudite presence to *The Tonight Show*. He eschewed comedy skits for genteel conversation, often booking guests from the political arena. Robert F. Kennedy, Richard Nixon, and labor leader George Meany were a few of the luminaries who chatted with Paar over the years.

Behind the veneer of a highbrow gabber, there was a darker side to Paar as well. He picked fights with notable figures in broadcasting, Walter Winchell and Ed Sullivan among them. On numerous occasions he threatened to quit the program, citing network interference and his own ennui with the late-night grind Paar was the first of *The Tonight Show* hosts to cut his work week down from five days to three. On February 11, 1960, Paar finally walked out on the program—literally, in the middle of a broadcast. He did return to his desk a few weeks later, but after a series of additional controversial incidents, Paar took his leave of *The Tonight Show* in March of 1962.

After a half-year interregnum, during which guest hosts filled the command chair, Johnny Carson became Paar's successor. A glib boy magician from Nebraska, Carson brought a midwestern geniality, along with a sharp wit, to the hosting chores. He also introduced America to Ed McMahon, his second banana from the game show



Frank Sinatra (left) and Johnny Carson on *The Tonight Show* in 1976.

*Who Do You Trust*, to serve as announcer and sounding board. The pair would remain together on the program for the next 30 years, with McMahon's famous introduction, "Heeeeere's Johnny!" becoming a globally recognized refrain.

For a time, Carson retained Paar's reliance on learned guests, though over the decades Hollywood glitz began to trump intelligent conversation. In a reflection of this shift, the show moved from New York to Los Angeles in 1972. Out west, *The Tonight Show* took on more of an adult urban contemporary feel. Hipsters like Burt Reynolds and Hugh Hefner replaced the stodgy Hubert Humphreys of the Paar years. *The Tonight Show* became more popular than ever, as "Johnny" reveled in his shaman of late-night status.

The show's veneer of cool began to melt away in the 1980s, as *The Tonight Show* grew old along with its audience. Once the icon of hipness, Carson now seemed a mainstream fuddy-duddy, as edgier comics like David Letterman and, later, Arsenio Hall began to steal some of his limelight. The nadir of *The Tonight Show* came with the 1983 installation of Borscht Belt fossil Joan Rivers as Carson's permanent guest host. The whining, shrewish Rivers alienated many of the show's loyal viewers—and eventually enraged her patron by jumping ship for her own, competitive late-night program. Carson replaced her with comedian Jay Leno, who took over when Carson abruptly announced his retirement as of May 1992.

Leno, who beat out the more talented Letterman for the job after a well-publicized internecine struggle, took over the day after Carson signed off. He made almost no changes to the format, apart from dropping the unnecessary second banana. A workaholic stand-up, Leno relied on his strong monologues to distract attention from his sub-par interviewing skills. He seemed on the verge of losing control of the show when Letterman fielded a competitive program on CBS, but rode back to the top of the ratings on the strength of his jokes about the O.J. Simpson murder trial. Though Leno's tame take on late-night chat offered little to differentiate it from its competitors, the equity in *The Tonight Show* franchise and the host's skill with a one-liner ensured it would remain a subject of office water cooler conversation for years to come.

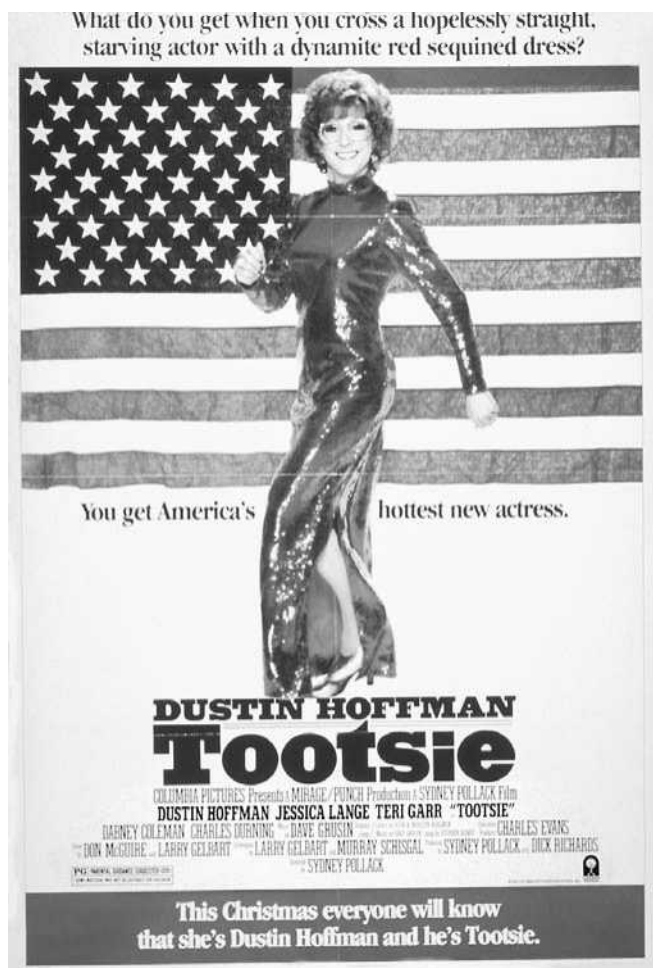
—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Tootsie

Named one of the top 100 American Films by the American Film Institute, *Tootsie* was released in 1982, and became the year's blockbuster romantic comedy. The 1980s saw the opening of several films featuring cross-dressing, including *Yentl*, *Victor/Victoria*, and *Torch Song Trilogy*; and yet it was *Tootsie* that garnered the most critical attention and popular acclaim. The American cultural obsession with cross-dressing surfaces in newspaper stories, television talk shows, children's tales, and movies. Anthropologists, literary critics, and historians all have paid a great deal of attention to cross-dressing, producing studies of hermaphrodites, boy actors, and the politics of camp. Cross-dressing and the treatment of cross-dressing raises, in a relatively concise if somewhat confusing fashion, questions of the



Film poster for *Tootsie*.

construction of gender and sexuality. If a man can dress up successfully as a woman, does that mean that gender itself is merely a performance, albeit a culturally dictated one? What does it mean to "become a woman?" That is, what are our culture's definitions of femininity, and, by implication, masculinity? Upon its release, *Tootsie* quickly became a focus for popular and critical debate of these questions. Both critics and popular audiences responded to the film's investigation of gender roles as well as its interrogation of what it means to be a woman and what it *could* mean to be a man.

In *Tootsie*, Dustin Hoffman plays Michael Dorsey, an out-of-work New York actor who dresses as a woman, Dorothy Michaels, in order to land a role in a very successful soap opera, *Southwest General*. His character, named Emily Kimberley, becomes a fan favorite because of his/her improvised feminist protests on the set. Off stage, Hoffman falls in love with Jessica Lange, another actress in the series, who, thinking Hoffman is a woman, becomes his/her confidante. Finally, Dorothy unmask, and the movie concludes with a stereotypically happy romantic ending and with Michael's understanding of the difficulties of being a woman. Becoming a woman for Michael means more, the movie implies, than simply shaving more often, wearing makeup, and donning pantyhose. In other words, while pretending to be Dorothy in order to make a living, Michael realizes that it's no easy game to live as a woman in our culture.

Michael Dorsey and Dorothy Michaels are both familiar figures in Hollywood's long history of representations of male-female impersonators in movies such as *Pat and Mike*, *Easy Living*, *Bringing up Baby*, and *Some Like It Hot*. In fact, Hoffman modeled Dorothy Michaels's mannerisms on Jack Lemmon's Daphne in *Some Like It Hot*. *Tootsie*'s appeal, however, lies in the way that it moves beyond the farcical transvestitism of its predecessors. *Tootsie* attempts to be social commentary, not just comedy. Dustin Hoffman's performance in the film does not resemble drag or camp, but rather presents itself as a serious comment about playing a woman in contemporary American culture (just as it is serious business for Michael Dorsey within the context of the movie).

*Tootsie* quickly became the ground from which to spring feminist critiques of women in mainstream film, including analyses of positive and negative images of women and feminism in film, as well as of the potential co-optation of feminism for enormous commercial profit. Many critics asserted that *Tootsie*'s lesson is that women are simply better than men—Dorothy Michaels, they argue, is not only more successful than Michael Dorsey, but she is more sympathetic, feeling, and observant as well. (Indeed, Hoffman's oft-repeated claims in interviews that playing Dorothy made him a better man, less prone to anger and more sensitive to others' needs, seems to attest to this interpretation.) Since Dorothy Michaels is really a man, however, others have argued that the hidden message of the film is that men are actually better than women. After all, no matter whether one thinks that *Tootsie* destabilizes gender roles or reaffirms them, a man disguised as a woman seems to be better at being a woman than a real woman (as Teri Garr's character learns, when she discovers that Dustin Hoffman has won the role of Emily over her). Many critics read the film as arguing that only a man can be tough and honest enough to express women's rights. In fact, "Tootsie" has become slang among some literary and film critics for a man who claims his identity as a feminist even while maintaining a sexist understanding of women. The image of Dustin Hoffman in a long red sequined dress operates simultaneously, it seems, as both a feminist icon and a parody of feminism.

Although *Tootsie* is all about acting, in the end it is unclear whether or not the film implies that all gender roles are performances. Do the daily rituals of becoming a woman which *Tootsie* obsessively documents—tweezing eyebrows, applying mascara, shaving legs, applying nail polish, and fixing one's hair—mean the same thing for a man dressing as a woman as they do for a woman dressing up? There does not seem to be any question, for example, that Dorothy Michaels is "really" Michael Dorsey (that is, that his masculinity is a performance). In addition, the film does not investigate the ways in which femininity is a performance that the women in the movie perform as well (or not as well) as the men. "Genuine" gender roles are reasserted at the end of the movie, suggesting that cross-dressing or the understanding of gender as performance should take place only on stage, or for limited periods. In other words, one could read *Tootsie* as a slick (some would argue exploitative) poke at gender roles, whose conclusion leaves those roles finally intact (as a film that is, in the end, not good for women). And yet, such a reading might be too simplistic, for it denies what makes the film so popular in the first place—the basic ambiguity of cross-dressing itself.

—Austin Booth

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## Top 40

Top 40 is a listing of the 40 most popular single records in the nation for a given week, and is derived from radio station playlists and retail sales. The listing is based on trade magazines including *Gavin Report*, *Cashbox*, and *Billboard*. Top 40 also is an AM radio format that consists of music, trivial talk, news, and promotions including services, money, and goods given to listeners. Though Top 40 radio has undergone many changes in its 45-year history, it remains a viable format. From 1956 to the present, Top 40 has provided Americans, especially those born in the 1940s, a musical smorgasbord served up through their favorite disc jockey. Disc jockeys were chosen on the basis of their voice, excitement, and sex appeal. The Top 40 format did not leave much room for personalities, and for that reason did not appeal to some disc jockeys. At first, Top 40 was not aimed at a teenage market; instead disc jockeys, adhering to a playlist, entertained and did what was called "formula radio." But Top 40 soon became a bridge from adult-oriented music to rock 'n' roll and rhythm and blues to other styles. The youth market gravitated to Top 40, and with the evolution of rock 'n' roll contributed to its early success. By 1958, Top 40 stations had spread from the Midwest to the rest of the country.

While the Top 40 format originated in 1956, there were earlier developments in radio that helped in its formation. In 1935, *Your Hit Parade*, a program on NBC, featured live performances of the most-liked songs based on sheet music, records, and airplay. In 1941, *Lucky Lager Dance Time*, a Los Angeles radio program on KFAC, first aired playing hit records and a "Lucky Ten" countdown. By 1949, KOWH, an Omaha, Nebraska, radio station, featured a playlist of popular records. Popular disc jockey Alan Freed produced the *Moondog Rock and Roll Party* in 1951 that introduced black music to a mostly white audience. In 1953, radio still held its own against television, with 96 percent of homes and 76 percent of cars having radios. Americans listened to radio on a daily basis or at least once per week. In 1953, New Orleans radio station WDSU played the top 20. Top 40 became an expanded version of previous programs, including *Your Hit Parade* and *Lucky Lager Dance Time*, and was programmed over a full broadcast day with disc jockeys and local advertisements.

The exact origin of the Top 40 is disputed and there are several explanations of its beginning. In one instance, Top 40 began in the context of several bars in several cities, including Omaha, New Orleans, Dallas, San Antonio, and Houston. Another story credits radio programmer Bill Gavin with having invented the Top 40 chart. Most scholars of radio and disc jockey Dick Clark, however, give credence to Top 40 beginning at a bar in Omaha where in an interval of two years from 1953 to 1955, Todd Storz, operator of KOWH devised the format. The story goes that Storz and his program director, Bill Stewart, were sitting in a bar in Omaha, when they became aware that patrons played the same jukebox selections repeatedly over the course of four hours. When one of the patrons was asked why, she plainly responded, "I like 'em." Inspired by her

response, Stewart, based on the most-played records on the jukebox, developed a playlist of thirty songs. Storz implemented this playlist at KOWH and the ratings improved drastically. Yet, another etymology of Top 40 has Storz developing a radio program at his New Orleans station WTIK called *Top 40 at 1450* immediately after acquiring it in 1953. The program was in response to rival station WDSU's *The Top 20 at 1280* show. Disc jockey Bob Howard, reasoned that if a list of 20 hits was satisfactory, then 40 would be outstanding, and consequently developed a show of 40 selections called *Top 40 at 1450*. In 1955, influenced by Howard, Storz at WTIK radio in New Orleans continued the concept at an Omaha radio station. KLIF owner Gordon McLendon also initiated the Top 40 format, including goofy promotions and jingles. By 1956, Top 40 had developed into a popular format.

Several key individuals were considered pioneers of Top 40, with each bringing an innovation that became part and parcel to the format. Gordon McLendon, called "the Orson Welles of radio," was a creative talent with programming and promotional ideas that gave early Top 40 its form, vitality, and innovative jingles. In radio, jingles are the most reliable indicators for listeners remembering a station. Jingles existed before Top 40, but it was McLendon who hired a music director, who in turn employed a vocal group to record jingles designed for Top 40.

Mike Joseph and Chuck Blore were also two important programmers in early Top 40 radio. It was McLendon who employed Blore as a disc jockey and program director. Blore is credited with the concept of "Color Radio," a term inspired by color television and a format developed in 1958 at KFWB in Los Angeles. "Color Radio" had nothing to do with ethnic diversity, but rather diversity in promotions, news, music, and a strong amusement and entertainment element. Joseph, a radio consultant, kept the industry focused on playing the hits and giving listeners what they wanted—always a central mission of Top 40 radio. Bill Gavin, programmer for the *Lucky Lager Dance Time* programs heard on 48 western stations, monitored sales and combined these data with other statistics, creating the *Bill Gavin's Record Report* in 1958. This information base became the foundation on which the Top 40 playlist was created. *The Gavin Report* was an innovation in the radio business that gave statistics on various markets and was essential to the development of Top 40.

In its early years, from 1956 to around 1962, Top 40 was democracy in radio. Musical categories including pop, rock 'n' roll, country, rhythm and blues, novelty tunes, jazz, and movie soundtracks made the format and were played to a mass audience. For example, from a list of Top 40 singles, the following songs and artists were represented in the following categories in 1960: pop ("Save the Last Dance for Me," the Drifters), rock 'n' roll ("It's Now or Never," Elvis Presley), country ("He'll Have to Go," Jim Reeves), rhythm and blues ("Finger Poppin' Time," Hank Ballard & the Midnighters), novelty tune ("Itsy Bitsy Teenie Weenie Yellow Polka Dot Bikini," Brian Hyland), jazz ("Georgia on My Mind," Ray Charles), and movie soundtrack ("Theme from 'A Summer Place,'" Percy Faith). A clock, sometimes called a "hot clock" in the early days and now a computer readout with a written scenario, drives Top 40. Disc jockeys have to religiously follow the clock. Relying on its popularity, a song, could be repeated every hour or every six hours. Top 40 has not been without criticism, and while the format purported to play what people wanted to hear and espouse democratic ideals, critics, including Columbia Records, accused disc jockeys of relinquishing air time and kowtowing to teenage tastes. Obviously, during the course of its maturity, Top 40 changed in that each of the various subgenres of pop

and rhythm and blues either now has its own radio format and niche market or no radio home at all.

The disc jockey, a term coined by record executive Jack Kapp in 1940, was the heart and soul of Top 40. A good disc jockey could imbue the staid format with a personality and identity. Entertainers in their own right, disc jockeys of Top 40 radio, would introduce and build up a song by talking while playing the instrumental introduction, finishing just before the vocal would start. This practice was called "hitting the post" or the art of the talk-up. While it is questionable whether disc jockeys could accurately predict what records would become hits, Top 40 radio disc jockeys always took credit for selecting certain hits. Disc jockey Wolfman Jack takes a more conservative stance on the role of disc jockeys making hits. "As long as I can remember there've been lists," he said. "Top 40 lists in the trade magazines, and in my life since 1960 I've been going by the goddamned charts. You didn't vary too far. There's no disc jockey alive who can make a record happen. All you can do is give it exposure." Many stations featured a pick hit based on a disc jockey's recommendation that actually turned out to be a hit.

The exposure of diverse musical styles, including African American popular music, owes much to the Top 40 format. By 1957, led by Chuck Berry and Fats Domino, a number of African American styles, from calypso to rhythm and blues, made the format, including records by Harry Belafonte, the Del Vikings (the first successful interracial group in rock 'n' roll), the Drifters, Della Reese, Little Richard, the Coasters, Little Anthony and the Imperials, the Platters, Larry Williams, Roy Brown, Jimmy Reed, and Ruth Brown. The first Motown entry in the format was Barrett Strong's "Money," followed in succeeding years with records by the Supremes, and the Four Tops, among others. Some of the most enduring rock 'n' roll also debuted on the Top 40. In 1957, Jerry Lee Lewis, Buddy Holly and the Crickets, and the Everly Brothers all appeared on the Top 40.

While black popular music could be heard on Top 40 by the original performers of the music, the Top 40 format often played emasculated and watered-down versions of black popular music. "Cover" records had made their debut many years before Top 40. A narrow definition of "cover" referred to a song that was successful by a black artists and then recorded by a white artist on a major label. Black bluesman Joe Turner's "Shake, Rattle and Roll" was recorded by Bill Haley and His Comets. "Sincerely" by the Moonglows, a black vocal group, was recorded by the McGuire Sisters. The covers in many instances climbed to the top of the charts while the "authentic" originals were shut out. Eventually, the black originals began to outshine the covers, as Sam Cooke's "You Send Me" did over the Teresa Brewer's version.

Top 40, according to radio consultant Guy Zapoleon, can be a format envisioned in four cycles, each lasting from seven to nine years. Each cycle has three stages: birth, extremes, and doldrums. Cycle 1 (1956-1963) encompasses pop, rock, R&B, dance, and country. Cycle 2 (1964-1973) embodies pop, rock, R&B, acid rock and soft rock, and country. Cycle 3 (1974-1983) embraces pop, rock, R&B, the disco, adult/contemporary, and country. Cycle 4 (1984-1993) includes pop, rock, R&B, rap/funk, adult/contemporary, and country. By the end of the twentieth century, rap or hip-hop, country, and hard rock have yet to penetrate the Top 40. When rap first broke into the pop charts, Casey Kasem, the originator of the countdown and *Casey's Top 40*, is credited with playing the hits, but other Top 40 stations have taken a harder line irrespective of how rap songs charted, most Top 40 stations have consistently avoided rap. Perhaps

mainstream rap artists such as Mase and Will Smith will eventually be palatable to the format.

Payola, the act of paying for air play, long suspected in the radio industry, was investigated by Congress in 1960. Representative Oren Harris and his subcommittee targeted Alan Freed, an extremely popular disc jockey who was found guilty of two counts of commercial bribery by the New York District Attorney's Office. His fine was small, but as a result he lost his job and was subsequently indicted for back income taxes. Payola scandals gained notoriety and resurfaced in 1984 and again in 1986. Despite these scandals, Zapoleon believed that Top 40 remained robust and continued to mirror the best of all types of music.

While Top 40 may have been democratic in its selection of playlists where each song was evaluated on its own merit, it was less so in terms of the diversity in race and gender of Top 40 disc jockeys. The majority of Top 40 disc jockeys were white males. No satisfactory explanation exists as to why more disc jockeys of color were not employed in Top 40 radio. In 1964, after Top 40 had been in existence for more than nine years, several black disc jockeys were hired, including Larry McCormick, reportedly the first African American disc jockey to work at KFWB in Los Angeles. In 1965, Chuck Leonard was hired for New York's WABC radio, and in 1968, Frankie Crocker was a Top 40 DJ on WMCA. Also in 1968, Walt Love was hired as a Top 40 disc jockey at Houston's KILT. In 1973, Yvonne Daniels, daughter of singer-dancer Billy Daniels, broke gender and race by becoming the first woman and first African American to be hired as a Top 40 disc jockey at WLS in Chicago.

By 1965, disc jockey and program director Bill Drake experimented with programming ideas to transform KHJ in Los Angeles to a Top 40 station, devising the concept of "Boss Radio." This Top 40 format was copied by numerous stations across the country. By 1968, the listening audience for Top 40 began to erode from competition by FM "free form" (later called "progressive" rock) radio. During most of the 1970s, Top 40 did maintain a smaller audience, even as the popularity of disco peaked in 1978. Though Top 40 regained some of its listening audience in 1983, by 1993, mainstream Top 40 disappeared as new appellations, including rock and alternative, were added to Top 40 formats. The number of radio stations identifying themselves as Top 40 also dwindled from 578 to 441. Gavin noted that the strong competition experienced by Top 40 stations brought the ratings down. In addition to competition from other radio stations, MTV (Music Television) launched in 1981, was an immediate success with young viewers. MTV essentially did what Top 40 had purported to do all along, and that was play the hits and give listeners what they wanted to hear.

In 1997, Top 40, fueled by popular artists such as the Spice Girls, made a comeback, and in its more than 45 years of existence continued to be the best format for variety in music. The Top 40 radio format was a general standard that achieved intermittent success and impacted the music industry. It was a format and system that monopolized playlists, not only dictating songs radio listeners heard, but the number of times, the order, time of day, and even to some extent the professional lives of the artists printed alongside the titles on the list. Top 40 inherently became its own worst enemy, since as listeners tended to mature, they developed preferences for certain types of music instead of the melange of popular songs on the playlists. Radio stations began emphasizing light rock, classic soul and R&B, classical, and jazz in efforts to capture a particular segment of the market. In spite of its vacillations, Top 40 has presented a diverse repertoire of songs that reflects the world of popular music.

Top 40 has remained resilient in spite of its many changes. "Through forty years, it (Top 40) had weathered one payola scandal after another, one competing format after another, one new technology after another, and all the shifts in fortune that society, culture, politics, and the economy can bring," observed noted writer and editor, Ben Fong-Torres. By the end of the twentieth century, Top 40 continued to be a viable format.

—Willie Collins

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## *Tora! Tora! Tora!*

A 1970 motion picture recounting the attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese during World War II, *Tora! Tora! Tora!* was at the time of its release the second most expensive movie ever made, just behind *Cleopatra* in actual cost. Based on the historic novels *Tora! Tora! Tora!* by Gordon W. Prange and *The Broken Seal* by Ladislav Farago, the film recounts what happened on both the American and Japanese sides. The title refers to the Japanese code word which signaled the launch of the attack.

The idea for making the film came from Elmo Williams, who was hoping for another financial triumph along the lines of *The Longest Day*. From the beginning it was planned as a film of monumental scale that would examine the events of Pearl Harbor in precise detail. A tremendous amount of research had been done by Dr. Gordon Prang and his staff at the University of Maryland. (Prang had been appointed by General Douglas MacArthur as the official historian of the Pacific war, and had the advantage of being fluent in Japanese). In order to further enhance the authenticity of the film, Akira Kurosawa, Japan's most famous and possibly greatest director, was hired to direct the Japanese scenes.

The production faced numerous problems. For example, apart from one destroyer, nothing was left of the original Japanese fleet, requiring the filmmakers to construct a Japanese aircraft carrier and a plywood battleship and have them sent to Japan for filming. With no Japanese Zeroes available, 28 Vultee AT-6's were "stretched" six feet so that they would appear to be the same size and were then fitted with appropriate cowlings, windshields, and wheel skirts (with the result that parts were always falling off during flight).

Nor was there much left of the American fleet either, now that it had been mothballed. One floating battleship set alone cost \$1 million to construct. The Fox miniature department built models of 19 Japanese ships and ten American ships at a scale of three-quarters of an inch to the foot, thereby creating forty-foot "miniatures." They also had to build to scale the Battleship Row docks and surrounding land areas.

*Tora! Tora! Tora!* took two years to prepare under the supervision of Williams. American director Richard Fleischer was called in





A scene from the film *Tora! Tora! Tora!*

during the last six months of preparation before shooting was to begin. He met with Kurosawa and Williams in Hawaii. Williams wanted Kurosawa to cut several scenes from the script that he felt were extraneous. Kurosawa was reluctant but agreed. Kurosawa also felt it was important to depict the Japanese military as all spit and polish, formal, correct, obsessed with protocol and ceremony, while Fleischer would depict the American military as relaxed, laid-back, a bit sloppy, and casual.

Ultimately, the producers of the film spent \$25 million to reenact the attack on Pearl Harbor, more than the Japanese had spent to launch it. The attack itself was a complex sequence requiring smoke, flames, explosions, planes diving or bombing or crashing, torpedoes running; hangers, planes, and ships blowing up; anti-aircraft and machine guns firing, as well as actors in almost every shot.

The American sequences were scripted by Larry Forrester and starred Martin Balsam as Admiral Kimmel, Joseph Cotten as Secretary of War Stimson, E.G. Marshall as Lt. Colonel Bratton, James Whitmore as Admiral Halsey, and Jason Robards as General Walter C. Short. The Japanese sections were scripted by Hideo Oguni and Ryuzo Kikushima and starred Soh Yamamura as Admiral Yamamoto, Tatsuya Mihashi as Commander Genda, Takahiro Tamura as Lt. Commander Fuchida, Eijiro Tono as Admiral Nagumo, and Koreya Senda as Prince Konoye.

In Japan, Kurosawa began to resent the intrusion of five American production people sent to oversee things. He insisted on shooting interior scenes from 4:00 p.m. to midnight. He did not like the American design of the prefabricated structure sent to Toei Studios to serve as his administration building. He cast the heads of several large corporations in bit parts (in hopes that they might finance his next film), and insisted that everyone on the crew wear special *Tora! Tora! Tora!* jackets and regulation Navy caps and salute the actors whenever one passed by.

When the first day of shooting came, set inside a shrineroom on board a battleship, Kurosawa decided it was the wrong shade of white and insisted that every member of the crew work to repaint it. He became obsessed with endless minor details while overlooking a major one, despite warnings from the Americans. The plywood battleship sent over from America was being constructed facing the wrong direction.

Soon the Japanese portions were falling far behind schedule. The studio became intolerant of the delays, and Kurosawa was receiving threats from politically important people who did not want the film to be made at all. (On his way to the set, Kurosawa would lie down on the floor of the limousine to avoid assassination). As he became more abusive, his own crew started to turn against him. The story was released that illness forced him off the picture, but the truth was the

studio had finally had enough and fired him. Two commercial Japanese directors, Toshio Masuda and Kinji Fukasaku took over.

Perhaps it was because of the Japanese involvement, but the final film downplays the real reasons for the United States contemplating war with Japan before the attack. There is no mention of Japanese aggression in China or the much-publicized atrocities committed by the Japanese during their occupation. The film also fails to portray opposition to the war from within the ranks of the Japanese military.

Six servicemen were injured during the filming of the attack, and after rumors circulated of Naval carriers transporting props for the shoot, Representative John M. Murphy of New York proposed legislation to forbid the military to participate in commercial motion picture production.

The film is notable for how accurately it depicts the actual events, and it won an Academy Award for A.D. Flowers and L.B. Abbott for its spectacular battle effects. However, it did not prove to be the major league blockbuster its producers had hoped it would be, easily being eclipsed by the year's other great war epic, Franklin Schaffer's *Patton*. Many Americans did not like having to read Japanese subtitles during the Japanese portions of the film, and others feared that the Zero pilots would be made to seem heroic at the expense of American servicemen who struggled vainly to defend the base.

—Dennis Fischer

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## Tormé, Mel (1925-1999)

One of the most versatile entertainers of all time, Mel Tormé, known as the "Velvet Fog," was one of America's most acclaimed vocalists as well as a composer-arranger, drummer, actor in films and television, and star performer on records and the live concert stage. In 1996, his 67th year in show business, he broke all records by performing for the twentieth consecutive year at both Carnegie Hall and the Hollywood Bowl. The popular holiday classic "The Christmas Song" ("Chestnuts roasting on an open fire") is his best-known composition.

Born in Chicago, Tormé began his career at age four, singing on weekly radio broadcasts with the Coon-Sanders Nighthawk Band in 1929 and with Buddy Rogers and his Band in the early 1930s. When he was six, he worked regularly with vaudeville units around Chicago, and at nine he was cast as Jimmy the newsboy on the popular NBC radio soap opera *Song of the City*. Remaining as a regular in the show



Mel Tormé

from 1934-40, Mel used his spare time to study drums and songwriting. At age fifteen he wrote his first hit song, "Lament to Love," which was recorded by Harry James in 1941. The following year he joined the Chico Marx Band in California as a drummer, singer, and arranger.

When the band broke up in July, 1943, the young singer's career began to soar. He made his debut in a feature film with Frank Sinatra in RKO's *Higher and Higher*, followed shortly by *Pardon My Rhythm* and *Let's Go Steady*, minor musicals with a high school setting. These two films featured the Mel-Tones, a singing group formed by students from Los Angeles City College, featuring Tormé as lead singer and arranger.

After serving in the army during World War II, Mel signed a contract with MGM studios. There he played in *Good News* (1947), a popular college film starring June Allison and Peter Lawford and featuring the "Varsity Drag." Mel also appeared in *Words and Music* (1948) with Mickey Rooney and Judy Garland. During the 1950s he recorded a string of hit records and toured widely on the concert stage as the leading jazz singer of the new "Cool School."

Making the transition to television in 1951, he starred with Peggy Lee on TV's *Top Tunes*, a summer replacement for *The Perry Como Show*. For the next two years he hosted a daily talk show on CBS. In 1957 he earned an Emmy nomination for best supporting actor in a *Playhouse 90* production entitled "The Comedian." During this time he was frequently featured on television variety shows.

His career as an author began in 1963 when producer George Schlatter hired Mel to write scripts for *The Judy Garland Show* on CBS. His experiences in coping with the unpredictable star of the

show led him to write *The Other Side of the Rainbow*, which was published by William Morrow and became a best seller. His later books include his autobiography, *It Wasn't All Velvet, Drummin' Men: The Heartbeat of Jazz, the Swing Years, and The World of Gene Krupa: That Legendary Drummin' Man*.

His long career includes appearances with most of America's best-known symphony orchestras. In 1983 Mel won the Grammy Award as Best Male Jazz Vocalist for the album *An Evening with George Shearing and Mel Tormé*. While performing at the White House for President and Mrs. Reagan the following year, he was told he had received a second Grammy for the album *Top Drawer*. As the aging superstar of pop music, Tormé won an even wider audience with frequent appearances as himself on the popular television comedy, *Night Court*. Tormé passed away in June of 1999.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## *Touched by an Angel*

Premiering in 1994, the television series *Touched by an Angel* chose a unique formula to achieve success. The series relied on spiritual faith, love, and redemption to send positive messages in an age of dramatic television filled with tremendous violence and negativity. The three main characters, all angels, include: Tess (Della Reese), the supervisor and mentor; Monica (Roma Downey), the new angel; and Andrew (John Dye), the angel of death. The angels assist a wide range of different characters with their personal relationships and tackle many serious issues along the way, including AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome), capital punishment, and teenage pregnancy. While the series focused on spiritual thoughts and does use the word “god,” it does not assert any specific religion or religious agenda. With little fanfare at first, *Touched by An Angel* consistently gained in popularity over the late 1990s to become a top ranked and unique drama series.

—Randall McClure

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## Tour de France

The Tour de France bicycle race is the world's largest annual sporting event, having been run every year since 1903 except for periods during the two World Wars. With a live television audience of 900 million viewers in 163 countries in 1998, its popularity is surpassed only by the World Cup and the Olympics. Unfolding during a three-week period every July, it covers approximately 2,500 miles and is divided into daily segments that traverse France by various routes. The race pits some 21 teams of riders against mountainous segments in the Alps and Pyrenees and flat segments in Brittany and Normandy, culminating with a spectacular symbolic finish on the Champs-Élysées in Paris. Individual riders also compete against each other in time trials. The overall leader earns the right to wear an illustrious yellow jersey. Victories by American Greg Lemond in 1986, 1989, and 1990 enhanced the event's popularity profile in the United States.

—Neal Baker

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## Town Meetings

Typically held once a year, town meetings bring citizens together to vote on decisions about local affairs, including ordinances, taxes, town officers, and local improvements. Most historians associate town meetings with the region and culture of New England, especially Massachusetts and Vermont. Town meetings symbolize a strong belief in political equality and direct democracy (versus the representative democracy of America's constitution), which explains why town meetings continue today. Some historians and political scientists argue that town meetings are not truly democratic because citizens simply defer to an unspoken leadership when attending them. The meetings were re-popularized by Bill Clinton's presidential campaign in 1992.

—Kevin Mattson

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## Toy Story

This joint venture between Pixar Animation Studios and Walt Disney Productions was the first fully computer-animated feature-length film. Pixar's John Lasseter, who won an Academy Award for Special Achievement in honor of his leadership, directed and co-wrote the film. Disney released the film on November 22, 1995, with what has become its characteristic media blitz, spawning products as diverse as toys in Burger King Kids Meals, T-shirts, shoes, hats, and *The Toy Story Animated StoryBook*. Celebrity voices abound in the film with Tom Hanks as Woody, Tim Allen as Buzz Lightyear, and Don Rickles as Mr. Potato Head. The combination of 3D computer animation, the Disney label, and star power made for a sure-fire hit that was one of the highest-grossing films of 1995. *Toy Story* has made Woody and Buzz familiar household names, and the profits led to further collaborative projects between Disney and Pixar, including a sequel, *Toy Story II*.

—Adrienne Furness

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## Toys

Pushed out by a celebrity-driven popular culture, beloved toys of the past, including blocks, erector sets, doll houses, trains, tops, and tea sets, have almost disappeared because of media advertising that targets children not as imaginative players but as pop culture consumer imitators. Material objects, such as *Citizen Kane*'s Rosebud, Mattel's Barbie, and Hasbro's GI Joe, are reflections of society's attitudes towards children. Toys mirror cultural notions about family and childrearing values, while concomitantly resonating with a child's inner-world of play. Thus contemporary toys mimic ideas found on television rather than creative possibilities found in a child's imagination. Children today may be able to dress Barbie in a vast array of wardrobe options, but gone are the days of popular toys that allowed a previous generation of children to build, imagine, and interact with unique forms from a more diverse range of choices, choices that were not prescribed by celebrity icons on places like television, computer, and movie screens.

Although toys have been around for thousands of years, the relationship between toys, children, and culture has shifted with the passing of time. Gary Cross, in *Kid's Stuff*, notes the discovery of 5,000-year-old dolls, balls, rattles, and ancient artifacts resembling smaller versions of adult tools and weapons. Many of these early toys and miniatures were made for religious rites or for the exclusive use of adults. Wooden Noah's Arks and fashion dolls, for example, were favorite gifts of aristocratic women in the Middle Ages, while clay soldiers and knights were a source of entertainment for adult men. Eventually these "adult toys" were given to children. Brian Sutton-Smith, in his book *Toys as Culture*, explains that play and toys

became a part of children's culture in the 1600s as a result of a decreased need for child labor combined and a new and related concern with controlling children's behavior. Play and toys began to be considered by such serious thinkers as John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau, who held that children were different than adults and needed protection and special activities, like play, to progress.

Changes in American domestic life facilitated the introduction of toys into the home. Over the course of the nineteenth century, work was done with greater frequency away from the house and not by children, furthering the notion that children needed to be treated differently. Toys and children's books began to claim more importance in this new children's culture of the nineteenth century, for it was thought that they could provide for the moral and intellectual development of the child.

Developing industrial and technological capacities brought innovations to the making of toys; rubber, plaster, and sheet metal made toys easier to manufacture. Germany was the largest exporter of toys in the early nineteenth century, and more than any other country was responsible for the modern world of toys. Just another dry good in the United States, toys offered gender-typed play tools for boys and dolls for girls. After the Civil War, however, chain stores like Woolworth's (1879) and Sears (1887) emerged and began to sell toys as gifts. Other stores, such as Macy's, designated specific sections of their consumer spaces for the sale of toys. FAO Schwartz opened in 1870 as a specialty retailer of toys.

Notions about the amount of toys required in children's lives changed when Christmas became a legal holiday in the mid-nineteenth century, helped along by the popularization of Santa in Clement Moore's 1823 poem, "A Visit from St. Nicholas." The promise of Santa's arrival promoted an even larger children's market. Santa added a sense of mystery and a morality theme as "His List" told him who was "naughty or nice"; at the same time, this happy image of St. Nick served to disguise the crass commercialism of the Christmas spirit. Ultimately, indulging children became part of a family's status reinforced by new advertising and commercial interests.

Toys bought for boys in the early twentieth century reflected a fascination with industrialization and technology; early "industrial" toys include Lionel trains (1906), Moline Buddy trucks (1910), Gilbert Erector sets (1913), Tinker toys, and Lincoln Logs (1916). These construction toys were the antecedent of Legos (1954), the very successful Danish Toy that allows children to follow a design or build their own creations. "Theodore Roosevelt and the Spanish American War set the stage for the development of numerous male-identified toys" explains David Brody in his dissertation, *Fantasy Realized*. The famous and durable Teddy Bear (based on Teddy Roosevelt's popularity) became a favorite as well as the Daisy Air Rifle (1898), Admiral Dewey Dolls, and the very successful, yet racist, Billikens (1912) with their Orientalized physical traits. In contrast toys for girls reflected domestic life, featuring dolls and miniature kitchen appliances. Doll companies like E. I. Horsman and Effanbee and manufacturers like Schoenhut and Steiff produced the Patsy Doll (1924), Raggedy Ann, and other companion dolls.

In 1901 John Dewey wrote about the importance of toys promoting the psychological needs of the child. Dewey ushered in a whole group of child experts in the twentieth century including the psychologist Stanley G. Hall and later the author of *Baby and Child Care*, Benjamin Spock, who promoted toys that fostered imagination and creativity. Educators, psychologists, and politicians soon had a great deal to say about childrearing and family values. Beginning in 1912, Maria Montessori began making parents aware of the importance of

the objects children played with in terms of their ability to learn. Educational toys started to be promoted by a very aggressive *Parent's Magazine* (1926), whose subscribers were mainly mothers with expendable income. Urged on by such experts, parents grew interested in creating children who could navigate the more industrialized twentieth century with a greater sense of ease.

Noel Barrett, toy expert and star of PBS's *Antique Road Show*, is particularly impressed with how toys changed from what he calls "Sunday Toys with religious significance" to toys like mechanical banks, which adults could justify buying for their children since they taught thrift. Children were now considered as a special and vulnerable group in society. Toys were meant to help prepare the young for success as Playskool (1928) and Fisher-Price (1930) sold more blocks, desks, and doll houses. What was not considered by the child experts was how new developments within the realm of popular culture were impacting children's lives. As the celebrity glow of Teddy Roosevelt and Charles Lindbergh sold dolls and toy airplanes, toy makers began to look ahead to other venues for child-marketing connections.

In 1904, the Brown Shoe Company bought the exclusive rights to the popular comic strip character Buster Brown in an effort to sell more children's shoes at the World's Fair in St. Louis. It worked, and Buster also sold dolls and toys with both his and his dog's image on them. Later radio characters, like Little Orphan Annie, Tom Mix, and Jack Armstrong sold cereal and advertising premium toys. In the 1940s Captain Midnight asked children to use their Ovaltine decoder to decipher secret messages. The Dionne Quintuplets sold dolls and cutouts, as did Shirley Temple and Charlie McCarthy.

But it took a strange character, related to the rodent family, with the ears of Bing Crosby, a mouth like Martha Ray, and a high pitched squeaky voice, to really launch children's popular culture. Walt Disney understood the value of successful children's characters. Beginning in 1928, he parlayed Mickey Mouse and others like him into dolls, toys, theme parks, movies, and billions of dollars. Even before the advent of television, Disney marketed Pinocchio dolls and Snow White coloring books. When he discovered the power of TV, he produced the incredibly commercial *Mickey Mouse Club* (1955). *The Wonderful World of Disney* became the first kid's infomercial highlighting upcoming Disney toys and theme park attractions. Later films of the 1980s and 1990s such as *The Little Mermaid*, *Tarzan*, *Pocahontas*, *Mulan*, and *Lion King* all have their own dolls, puzzles, and tapes. The stories told are not just Disneyfied for dramatic reasons, but very often modified to sell more toys and are intensely self-referential, with each medium encouraging the involvement in the other. Each character becomes a brand that begs children to buy more. Indeed, the movies *Pocahontas* and *The Little Mermaid* featured irrelevant hair brushing scenes designed to make their heroines more appetizing for little girl doll play.

In the late 1940s, television replaced radio as children's predominant form of entertainment. Beginning in 1947 under the title *Puppet Playhouse*, *Howdy Doody* was the first successful children's TV show. The selling of products related to the show began in 1949 when, according to Stephen Davis author of *Say Kids What Time Is It?*, Western Printing offered a surprising royalty for a Howdy Doody Comic book. The producer thought this would be great publicity. But after 10 million comic books were sold, property rights and merchandising became the focus of the program. Howdy soon began selling cards, dolls, and toys related to the characters on the show. Scripts were modified, as children reacted in an almost Pavlovian manner to anything promoted. Princess Summer Fall Winter Spring, who was

pushed onto the stage to provide a female character, helped sell little girls untold Indian dolls and costumes. Television thus not only entertained children but shaped their consumer decisions. Sensing the power of this new media, both Hasbro, starting with Mr. Potato Head in 1951, and Mattel, with the Burp-Gun in 1955, made the decision to market on TV. As Stephen Kline points out in *Out of the Garden*, these marketing decisions revolutionized the toy industry. Up until the 1950s, yo-yos, toy tanks, Slinkys, Frisbees, play dishes, Silly putty, and cap guns held their own as companies like Marx and Ideal made their profits with efficient production techniques and little Christmas advertising. Mattel's and Hasbro's decision now tied toys to electronic images, not Santa. Toy making became a year round business, and the most highly promoted toys soon began to drive the others from the market.

Perhaps the most prominent member of this new genre of toys was Barbie, who was created by Ruth Handler, the wife and business partner of Mattel executive Elliot Handler. Ruth Handler created Barbie to fill a void in the girl's fashion doll industry. Originally discovered as a sex novelty toy in Europe, Barbie has the shape of a young woman, with long legs, large bust, and narrow waist. She reflects a teenage fantasy world, for she is beautiful and sexy, well dressed, and autonomous; Barbie has no parental ties. With her accessories and play environments she stresses the virtue of consumerism. In Barbie's world, consumerism means happiness. While not really a TV series tie-in toy, she was among the first toys to be heavily marketed by television. In the 1990s, Barbie is everywhere. Barbie's marketers use what Mattel calls a "segmentation strategy" of not one Barbie doll, but many, for different types of play. With every young girl in the country having an average of eight Barbies, she is America's most successful commercial toy.

Puppeteer Jim Henson and Joan Ganz Cooney met in 1969 and formed The Children's Television Workshop; their creations included Big Bird, Cookie Monster, Rubber Ducky, and, of course, Bert and Ernie. These amusing characters began selling letters of the alphabet, words, and pro-social values on *Sesame Street* but soon moved into dolls, toys, pajamas, and almost any other consumer good imaginable. There was even more merchandising as Henson's *Muppets* and their movies became blockbusters and Tickle Me Elmo became the most sought after Christmas toy in 1997. At a ceremony following Henson's untimely death, his daughter told a Vassar College audience that "the bond between the Muppet's characters and their ever renewing audience was the Henson's Company biggest asset."

The 1970s was the height of old time TV merchandising, as *Scooby Doo* and Hanna Barbera, with their *Jetsons* and *Flintstones*, continued the media success of children's television and licensed products. Still, the show came first and the merchandising followed. This was all to change with the 1976 release of George Lucas's *Star Wars*. From the beginning, Lucas sought to promote the interrelation between the licensed products and the movies, using the movies as a long commercial for the products and vice-versa. Using the myth-creating principles of Joseph Campbell, Lucas formed a magical universe populated by phenomenal characters like Luke Skywalker, Hans Solo, and Princess Leia. These movies and their related products remained top sellers twenty years after their introduction and promised to surge in sales with the release of the new *Star Wars* movie, *The Phantom Menace* in 1999.

By 1980 Strawberry Shortcake's creators got this licensing message and acted quickly, according to Tom Engelhardt in "The Strawberry Shortcake Strategy." American Greeting Card's surveyed young girls about the qualities they would find most appealing

in a doll and toy maker Kenner introduced her at the Toy Fair in New York City. Strawberry Shortcake was pink, soft, and spoke of her “berry” nice friends. One billion dollars in products sold quickly after she was given her own TV special. *My Little Pony* and *The Care Bears* (both 1983) followed with more programming and merchandising. The toys and lunch boxes now came first. Children’s groups were outraged by this type of activity and a sympathetic FCC spoke out about television’s obligation to children. But the deregulation of the airwaves that proceeded under the administration of President Ronald Reagan (1980-1988) brought no guidelines concerning appropriate marketing to children. As a result, the after school air waves became filled with product-driven programs like *Masters of the Universe*, *He-Man*, and other such shows. The new Fox Children’s Network and Nickelodeon began to not only impact on a child’s Saturday mornings but their after school time as well, with shows like *The Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles* (1980s), *The Mighty Morphin Power Rangers* (1993), and *The Rugrats* (1991). Programming now became a series of infomercials where movies and live shows related to the program were promoted and every character or hideout was for sale. While networks worried about audience share during prime time, children’s television advertising revenues continued to soar as new toys needed both program time-slots and commercials to be successful.

Toy production in the 1990s was dominated by two major manufacturers: Mattel, which owned Barbie, Tyco, Hot Wheels, and Fisher-Price; and Hasbro, parent to Kenner, Milton Bradley (who created the Game of Life in 1860), Playskool, Tonka (maker of trucks and Play-Doh), Coleco (Cabbage Patch Kids), and Parker Brothers. As described in G. Wayne Miller’s book about the Hassenfeld family’s progression from pencil manufacturer to world-wide toy maker Hasbro, *Toy Wars*, Mattel and Hasbro are huge global conglomerates locked in a bitter struggle for world toy dominance; they continuously swallow up lesser manufacturers and mass produce toys that have brand and media recognition. Their on-going battle involves stock prices and options rather than children and play, as toy executives answer only to Wall Street. Controlling the brand names in toys like Mr. Potato Head, G.I. Joe, Batman, Star Wars, Etch-a-Sketch, and Monopoly is not enough. Even the huge distributors like Toys “R” Us and Target are small time compared to an omnipresent media promoting what children should buy, as program content and advertising commingle.

At the millennium a whole new set of toy manufacturing options are becoming available. The very nature of what constitutes our previous conceptions of media-based possibilities is being radically reconfigured by cyberspace and DTV. New “Toy Stories” are emerging with the advent of on-line web sites where a child’s favorite licensed characters sell toys. Children want more than a functioning toy, they want a share of the media’s emphasis on celebrity, a piece of purchasable personality. This personality represents power, glamour, money, beauty, respect, and invulnerability. Information and media mega-companies fill this need with the syndication and synergy of electronic characters. Ever-growing media corporations are now our most important children’s story tellers and the new toy makers.

—Michael Brody

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## Tracy, Spencer (1900-1967)

Spencer Tracy, frequently defined by his peers as “an actor’s actor,” was the prime exemplar of understated acting in both comedy and drama. The unruffled simplicity was deceptive, for beneath the surface of that craggy face and chunky frame simmered anger, passion, compassion, or grief, as the role required. It is for his famous



Spencer Tracy

on-screen partnership with his legendary off-screen love, the redoubtable Katharine Hepburn, that Tracy remains best remembered, but his other achievements in a film career that spanned thirty-seven years and some seventy-three films were substantial.

Tracy was cast in a unique mold. He achieved leading man status of the first rank without a vestige of glamour or movie-star good looks. His strikingly natural persona, combined with many of the characters he played, became a benchmark for solid values and dependability as he worked his way through a succession of priests, fathers, judges, and down-to-earth avenging angels. Avuncular, often gruff, and sometimes irascible (a reflection of his own temper), there generally lurked an understanding heart beneath the rough exterior. Stern but kindly, often with a twinkle in his eye, Tracy was a rock of integrity who, but for graying hair and the lines of age that barely disturbed his familiar face, never essentially changed in either appearance or manner.

Born in Milwaukee, Tracy was the son of a truck salesman. He was educated at a Jesuit school and initially intended to enter the ministry, but he later found he preferred dramatics and decided to become an actor. In 1922, he enrolled in the American Academy of Dramatic Arts in New York. After graduation, he embarked on a succession of menial jobs until he eventually found work in a stock company. Gradually he made it to Broadway where, in 1930, his lead performance in a successful prison drama, *The Last Mile*, caught the attention of Hollywood director John Ford, who cast him as the lead in *Up the River*, a gangster film, that same year.

The next five years were spent under contract to Fox, where Tracy made a couple of interesting films, including *The Power and the Glory* (1933), but his best roles came among the frequent loan-outs to other studios, notably in the hard-hitting *20,000 Years in Sing Sing* (1933), made for Michael Curtiz at Warner Brothers. In this film, Tracy starred as a criminal who confesses to a murder of which he is innocent, and the actor was given ample opportunity to display toughness and humanity in equal measure. Indeed, during these early years, Tracy frequently was cast as a rough-hewn character, either made good or gone to the bad. Having married in 1923 and always a devout Catholic, a guilt-ridden Tracy courted unwelcome publicity in the early 1930s when his affair with Loretta Young was revealed in the scandal sheets. When, in 1935, he was arrested for drunkenness, Fox fired him. MGM hired him and, in time, provided fertile ground for a rich crop of roles that established Tracy as a star.

His first major success at MGM was as the man who survives an unjust lynching and seeks vengeance in Fritz Lang's powerful drama *Fury* in 1936, the same year he played the priest in *San Francisco* and earned his first Oscar nomination. He won the Oscar the following year for his role as the Portuguese sailor protecting Freddie Bartholomew in *Captains Courageous* and in 1938 became the first actor to win two in a row when he was again voted best actor as Father Flanagan in *Boys Town*—the first of his biopics.

In 1942 the Tracy-Hepburn collaboration began with *Woman of the Year*, in which his sports reporter and her politician, wonderfully ill-matched, fall in love. The film set the tone for the most successful and popular of their films together as sparring partners in the battle of the sexes, competitive, witty, sometimes acidic, but always affectionate. In Frank Capra's political comedy *State of the Union* (1948) Tracy is a presidential candidate, Hepburn his estranged wife; in George Cukor's *Adam's Rib* (1949) they are married lawyers on opposite sides of an attempted murder case; in Cukor's *Pat and Mike* (1952), she is a sporting phenomenon, he a sports promoter of dubious connections who sets out to exploit her money-making

potential. *Without Love* (1945), an uncertain romance from a failed Broadway play, sank without a trace (the only one to do so), while there were more serious but less popular excursions with Cukor's *Keeper of the Flame* (1942), Tracy impressive as a reporter destroying the reputation of a dead politician, and *Sea of Grass* (1947), a brooding drama with Tracy cast as a work-obsessed cattle tycoon.

In 1950, directed by Vincente Minnelli, Tracy played the gruff, bumbling, and put-upon *Father of the Bride* to daughter Elizabeth Taylor, a huge hit which won him an Oscar nomination and was followed by a hit sequel, *Father's Little Dividend* (1951), but quality vehicles were growing thinner and, correspondingly, so were the memorable performances. The only truly noteworthy contributions to the 1950s were his political campaigner in John Ford's *The Last Hurrah* and his one-armed, dark-suited avenger in John Sturges's *Bad Day at Black Rock* (1955). Descending on a crumbling one-horse outpost to unearth a terrible secret and seek justice, Tracy was never better than in this superb Western morality tale, unconquerable, implacable, ironic, compassionate, and heroic. It earned him a third Academy nomination, and there was a fourth for *The Old Man and The Sea* (1958).

The 1960s brought the onset of illness. During his last years, Tracy grew increasingly moody and difficult to work with, and producers shied away from using him. An exception was Stanley Kramer, and it was for him that the actor gave his impressive last three performances: a thinly disguised Clarence Darrow defending in an equally thinly disguised Scopes Trial in *Inherit the Wind* (1960), the presiding judge wrestling with the Nazi legacy in *Judgment at Nuremberg* (1961), and, in a last glorious reunion with Hepburn, another irascible, bewildered, and tender-hearted father in *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner?* Already very ill, Tracy died a few weeks after filming was completed.

—Robyn Karney

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## Trading Stamps

Trading stamps are small pieces of glue-backed colored paper, given in proportion to purchases made and redeemable for merchandise. They were first used in the United States in Schuster's Department Store in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1890. Schuster's gave the stamps to customers paying in cash in an effort to limit credit use. The S&H Green Stamp Co. attributes their invention to their founders (the Sperry and Hutchinson of S&H) in 1896 as a way to "say thank-you" to customers and calls the trading stamps "America's first frequent shopper program and grandfather of marketing promotions such as frequent flyer miles." The first S&H redemption center opened in 1897 as a kiosk. One of the earliest items in the catalog was a Bissell

carpet sweeper; its modern counterpart was still in the catalog 100 years later.

The heyday of the trading stamp came during the 1950s and 1960s when large numbers of Americans got the stamps with their groceries and exchanged filled books (usually 1500-3000 stamps) for a variety of household goods. At the height of stamp fever, S&H distributed its catalogs free in supermarkets and operated multiple redemption centers, the size of small shops, in towns all over the United States. They claim that in 1964 its catalog was the largest single publication in the United States.

S&H Green Stamps, Top Value, King Korn, Triple S, Gold Bell, and Plaid were among the most popular nationally circulated brands of stamps. Attesting to the pop chic of trading stamps, artist Andy Warhol painted a series of S&H green stamps posters along the lines of his famous Campbell Soup works.

As consumers opted for lower prices in lieu of stamps in the 1970s and 1980s the movement waned but never disappeared. One of the last major grocery chains to carry the stamps was the Publix chain in Florida, which dropped them in favor of coupons and other promotions that were less costly to the store. A 1988 study in the *Academy of Marketing Science Journal* notes that a survey of retail stores showed that stores that gave trading stamps had significantly lower gross profit margins and net profit returns than did stores that did not.

At the end of the twentieth century, the consumer's persistent desire to be tangibly rewarded for patronage continued in other forms—frequent flier miles, the return of percentages of credit card purchases—but only a few retail establishments offered actual trading stamps. The stamp movement tried to keep pace with changes in technology. Although S&H continued to distribute stamps and offer merchandise catalogs, they began to offer “paperless green stamps” saved on an ID card and added automatically at the register. In addition to redemption for gifts in the catalog, the stamps could be used to save in the store, as coupons for entertainment, frequent flyer miles, and donations toward a charity or community project.

—Joan Leotta

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## Trailer Parks

Any film or television program refers to certain “stock” devices to create a chosen visual and emotional environment. A frequent image in modern culture is a tightly-packed row of homes, similar in style and each with a tiny fragment of land, which serves for parking, storage, recreation, gardening, and decoration. The homes follow the model of the tight suburb, but they are not American ranch houses. This image is dominated by rectangular trailers, most of which have removed wheels or at least concealed them with a trelice covering. During its history, the trailer, or mobile home, has been viewed as progressive, adventurous, and, finally, as the opposite of these American ideals. Today, when a director or producer incorporates the trailer park into a visual narrative, she seeks most often to depict Americans locked in—spiritually and physically—to a lower economic class by

social strictures. Some call the trailer park America's modern tenement; yet, the trailer park's existence also suggests one of the nation's most democratic achievements—home ownership available to all classes.

The enlightened thought of Thomas Jefferson helped to make personal home ownership an American ideal. As they configured capitalist thought, economic philosophers/visionaries Adam Smith and Thomas Hobbes incorporated property value into the scheme by making personal land ownership possible within enlightened societies at the end of the 1700s. The owner could then increase the value by “improving” the property so that it would be sold for a higher price. This philosophy made up the foundation for Jefferson's dream of an agrarian republic, full of small property owners who each tended (and improved) his own land. The American housing ideal has not ventured too far from these foundations over 200 years of development. Urban growth has provided alternative models—such as apartments and condos—but the ideal of the vast majority of Americans is to own their own home. Rising home prices after 1950 forced developers to construct a new version of this ideal that would involve classes previously unable to own their own property. The effort to appeal to lower and lower-middle class American urges for home ownership bred the trailer park.

The trailer grew out of Americans' early-twentieth-century impulse to travel the nation by automobile. The trailer-camper allowed complete freedom to pull over at any time and enjoy the comforts of home. This travel filled an important void when services were few, and allowed many Americans to reject the rapidity and regiment of train travel for the slow, wandering travel of the open road. Prior to the spread of hotels and following the proliferation of automobile ownership, roadside camping offered the most reliable form of comfort during travel. An autocamper's outfit was an instant hotel to which one had to add only water. “Just back off the main road,” instructs one guide, “in a little grove of white birches on the bank of a noisy brook, which will furnish water and perchance fish enough to fill the breakfast frying pan!” While tents remained the most popular implement for car camping, the trailer grew in popularity from 1920 to 1950. By tent or trailer, car camping spread from fad to institution during this era, giving form to the autocamp: an open site in which campers pooled together. A unique culture rapidly grew out of such sites, particularly the male effort to assess and rate others' camping equipment and technology. Not dissimilar from the shared space of the modern trailer park, campers interacted with others whenever they left the cover of their tent or trailer. In the autocamps, the travelers discussed other sites, the road, and equipment. Out of such ingenuity, the “gypsy-trailer form” began standardized manufacture after 1920.

Cabin camping also grew in popularity during the inter-war years; by 1935, however, the nation was most enthused with the evolving trailer technology. Between 1935 and 1937, popular articles included “Back to the Covered Wagon,” “Nation of Nomads,” “Tin-Canners,” “Nomads of the Road,” “Home of the Free,” and many other related topics. Futurists even began to predict that every American would soon live permanently in a cheap trailer. Their thinking revolved around the common sense of such mobility as well as the Depression-era thoughts of limiting waste. The trailer, after all, offered Americans the fulfillment of their most basic needs of shelter and safety, with few unnecessary frills. Modernist thinkers rallied around this model as the wave for the standardized future—the geodesic dome with wheels. Such thinkers, however, overlooked Americans' unique cultural preferences. Americans who could still afford





**A mobile home/trailer park in Wyoming.**

nicer homes would want them. But the trailer offered possibilities for those of lesser means. As developers created standardized suburbs for the middle and upper-middle class from 1950 to 1980, the same drive for conformity and ownership fueled the construction of the first trailer parks. Now, of course, the sites were not for transients who would take their trailer and leave in the morning; they were not, however, intended as end homes. The mobility behind the trailer park was economic: developers assumed young families would use them as a temporary home while saving for their suburban dream home.

Used originally as temporary housing, trailer parks became noticeable to most Americans after World War II, when they were clustered around Army posts and construction sites. Today, mobile home parks are not temporary aberrations on the landscape. More than 13 million Americans, most of them from young blue-collar families, call trailers their temporary homes. Few Americans or architectural historians are willing to consider such mobile homes dwellings. Critics stress that the trailer is not architecture; instead, it is an industrial product, mass-produced, low-cost, and disposable. Bypassing craftsmen, the trailer comes out of a midwestern factory by truck almost ready for occupancy. The attraction, of course, is the low cost of the trailer, compared even to the smallest house. Standardized suburban homes, such as the bungalow, have achieved dwelling status; but the mobile home remains without a place in our architectural lexicon. Quite literally, most communities also exclude trailer

parks from the mainstream, relegating them to the least desirable tracts of land, such as along rail lines, highways, or flood areas. Additionally, the odd transience of the trailer place it outside of taxation and even standard land ownership. The trailer park is not dissimilar from the autocamps of the early twentieth century: ordinarily, residents own their trailer but only lease or rent the plot on which it rests. The home, though, will normally remain at the site long after residents move.

At once, the trailer park represents the proliferation of American ideals of ownership to all economic classes and also a culture of exclusion and transience. The trailer park, then, clearly becomes ironic as it begins young families on the track to owning their own home while also divorcing them from enduring community connections. As the media reported the housing crisis of the 1970s, it also helped to create the enduring stereotypes of trailer parks. Townhouses and trailers were consistently presented as inadequate, makeshift substitutes for detached suburban dwellings. The new alternatives were posed as a threat to the postwar suburban ideal. Currently, between 50 and 70 percent of American communities ban mobile homes from privately owned lots in residential neighborhoods. This restricts Americans who may only be able to afford a mobile home to reside within the lowly trailer park. Over half of the nation's mobile homes are sited in parks, surrounded by high walls required by local

codes. It is likely that the trailer park, a construction of modern, industrial sensibilities, will remain “lower-class” squatter settlements into the future.

—Brian Black

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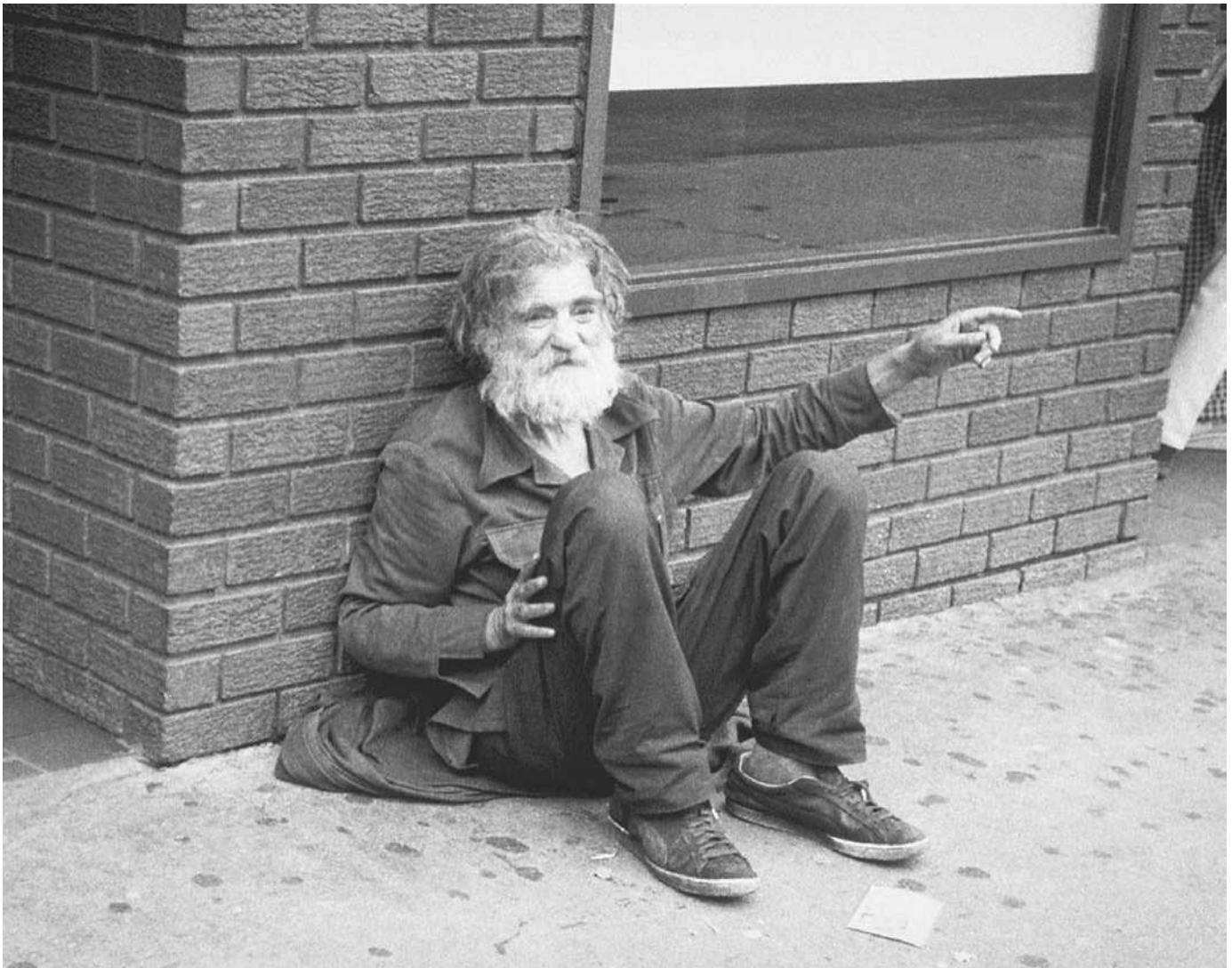
## Tramps

The tramp or hobo (the tramp’s name for himself) refers to a wandering foot traveler, often a vagrant, thief, or beggar with no fixed

abode or destination. The term hobo, originally a migratory American worker hitching rides on freight trains, has disappeared as modern society increasingly controlled the outcast individuals who chose the itinerant or homeless life.

In the 1870s, American Civil War veterans and immigrants swelled the ranks of unemployed boys and men traveling from job to job, and the “tramp menace” alarmed newspaper editorialists and civic leaders concerned about the growing number of homeless vagrants descending on towns and cities. Tramps were often driven from town or sentenced to the jail or the workhouse for vagrancy; even skilled craftsmen, such as itinerant or tramp printers, were unwelcome in small towns. Allan Pinkerton, the legendary American detective, warned of the danger tramps posed in his 1878 book *Strikers, Communists and Tramps*. But tramps found in the new railroad system mobility to seek work in harvests, lumberjacking, mining, or construction projects.

Hostility to the independent tramp may be found as early as St. Benedict’s rule in 535 A.D. against the *girovagi* or wandering monks for whom religious life was but a pretense, and who led their lives



A homeless man.

without restraint or obedience to church authority. The Elizabethan Poor law of 1603 also condemned England's wandering, sturdy beggars, as did early American courts. By 1700 Boston selectmen, for example, warned migrant strangers or vagabonds to leave town and refused them public charity.

By the Victorian era the hobo had become a fixture in the American circus; perhaps the most famous hobo clown was Emmett Kelly (1898-1979), who portrayed Weary Willie the Hobo on television and in films such as *The Greatest Show on Earth* (1952). In silent movies, Charlie Chaplin's Little Tramp was his signature character in seventy films such as *The Kid* (1921) and *The Gold Rush* (1925). Another famous tramp clown was Red Skelton's television character Freddie the Freeloader in the 1950s and 1960s. In the theater of the absurd, Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* (1954) portrayed two pensive tramps on a country road musing about the nature of human existence. American literature celebrated the romantic hobo or tramp life, from Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* (1884) to Beat Generation writer Jack Kerouac's *On The Road* (1957) and *Dharma Bums* (1958), as well as in folk music by the Industrial Workers of the World (the IWW or Wobblies) and troubadours like Woody Guthrie and Pete Seeger. Harry Kemp (1883-1960), the hobo poet, wrote autobiographical poems and narratives about his tramp adventures. But other works documented the grim reality of the hobo life, as in Jack London's *The Tramp* (1911) and George Orwell's *Down and Out in Paris and London* (1933).

During the Depression of the 1930s, the number of tramps increased dramatically as more than a million homeless men, women, girls, and boys rode the rails and lived in hobo jungles in search of work or adventure. By that era, reformers such as Father Edward Flanagan, who opened the Workingmen's Hotel and Boys' Town in Omaha, and Dorothy Day, who established the Catholic Worker Movement in New York, addressed serious social problems associated with tramping. By the 1980s homelessness was recognized as a major social issue in the United States when a rapid increase in people without adequate housing reached one million. Many of these contemporary tramps are young or mentally ill, unlike the older white alcoholic men found earlier in skid-row flophouse hotels.

The movies *Boxcar Bertha* (1972) and *Ironweed* (1987) celebrate female hoboes. Hollywood featured hoboes in socially conscious movies, *Wild Boys of the Road* (1933) and *Sullivan's Travels* (1941), and later in *Joe Hill* (1971), *Emperor of the North* (1973), and *Bound for Glory* (1976). Most tramp songs glorify the freedom of the open road and the autonomy of the hobo life while overlooking its chronic poverty, hunger, violence, and insecurity.

The bum, a sedentary beggar who avoids work, is a variant of the tramp or hobo. This derogatory name originated in the German word *bummeler*, or loafer. In the 1860s it meant a foraging soldier, and later to loaf, beg, or wander like a vagabond or tramp. By the 1890s it referred to a hobo hitching a ride on a freight train. In the 1920s it came to mean ejection from a saloon via the bum's rush, or inferior quality as in a bum job. By the 1960s it referred to resort habitués such as the beach bum or ski bum. Today, however, the tramp tradition survives in the annual National Hobo Convention at Britt, Iowa, and in the memory of men and women who last rode the rails in the Great Depression of the 1930s.

—Peter C. Holloran

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## Traveling Carnivals

In American culture, the traveling carnival evokes all things seamy, dubious, and lurid. In their heyday, some three hundred different traveling carnivals roamed the United States offering a glimpse of mystery and excitement, and sometimes danger. It was the rare child who did not think of joining a traveling carnival or circus to escape a stultifying small-town environment. The carnival was the poor man's entertainment. An egalitarian institution, carnivals practiced equal-opportunity speculation, and thus acquired a reputation for trickery and deceit, if not outright fraud, and as a consequence of America's developing network of train lines and highways, these carnivals were able to penetrate the most remote backwaters of the country. The carnival remains one of America's most enduring cultural institutions.

The United States, being a young country, has long had fairly primitive tastes in entertainment. For the better part of the nineteenth century, entertainment in rural America consisted of traveling circuses and burlesque troops, vaudeville and magic-lantern shows, all traversing the country by train or horse-and-buggy, offering temporary relief from the boredom of country life. The showmen were both exalted and disdained; occupants of an insular class, they were much maligned but envied for their carefree lifestyle. Cities contained a richer palette of diversions, but actors and showmen were no less scorned there. Going to dime museums exhibiting freaks of nature, magic acts, or flea circuses was a popular pastime with the people, and in the latter half of the century, resort towns located near urban centers sprang up to accommodate a growing middle class. Resort entertainment choices mirrored those of the city, with freak shows, burlesque, and primitive amusement parks relocating for the summer season. From these disparate entertainments, the traveling carnival emerged. It was an ad-hoc gathering of shows and concessions that traveled under the casual imprimatur of a manager or showman who handled the business end of things, and was responsible for hiring and firing acts.

Most histories credit the 1893 Chicago World's Fair—which brought together the largest agglomeration of showmen ever assembled up to that point—with the traveling carnival's origination. Along the Midway Plaisance, an avenue at the fair's periphery, the freak shows, games of chance, burlesque, wild west shows, and other more unsavory diversions assembled, and their close proximity led many of the showmen to compare notes on their business. "The showmen working the Midway Plaisance," writes Robert Bogdan, "not only shared the same grounds and experiences but even met to discuss common problems . . . it was in the area around Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, that the idea for a collective amusement company was first discussed."

Otto Schmidt, a participant in these meetings, organized the Chicago Midway Plaisance Amusement Company, and he and his acts set out on a tour of the Northeast. The show featured thirteen attractions, some direct from the Midway Plaisance, but failed to make its final booking in New Orleans, folding due to poor organization and business practices. Nevertheless, it provided the model for a new type of traveling amusement—part circus, part amusement park—and several showmen from Schmidt's troupe revamped the idea with success, going on to operate some of the first traveling carnivals.

From spring to fall of 1902, seventeen carnivals toured the United States. They pitched their tents in empty fields or vacant lots, or were booked in conjunction with state and county fairs, these having become a welcome diversion for the small towns that served as the center of isolated farm communities. By 1905, there were forty-six traveling carnivals plying their trade. By 1937, an estimated three hundred different shows traversed the country.

The average carnival consisted of a circular avenue, the midway (the name derived from that of the avenue leading to the big top in a circus), ringed by the different attractions and circumscribing the rides and food vendors within a circular enclosure of colorful tents. Among the different attractions, a pre-World War II carnival would invariably include a model show, where naked (if the police could be sufficiently bribed) or scantily clad young women were exhibited behind a see-through fabric; a sex exhibit in which grift was especially common (anything even loosely associated with sex—fetuses preserved in formaldehyde, anatomical aids, or caged guinea pigs—could suffice); a palm reader; a dance pavilion; games of chance; food concessions; and, of course, the rides.

The rides were usually owned and operated by the carnivals manager, and they provided a constant draw, an insurance against the vagaries of local jurisprudence, which often prohibited many acts from performing, or made grift a difficult and hazardous endeavor. Most carnivals would also include a free act, usually some spectacular dare-devil stunt, for instance, plunging off a tower into a small pool of water. This act was performed at the peak hour of carnival business, providing a climax and focal point to the day's events. If the rides were the bread-and-butter of a carnival, games of chance were the jam. Extremely lucrative for the concessionaire, when the police would allow them, games of chance were in great part to blame for the carnival's dubious reputation, and a frequent source of animosity between the townies and the carnies. The games were almost always rigged, and the "marks" duped out of a considerable amount of cash. Where the police were vigilant, vendors laid off the "grift." Where gambling was illegal or heavily frowned upon, the games paid off in "slum," or trinkets.

Every carnival featured a freak show, often called a "ten-in-one" or "string show," consisting of a number of different acts appearing in a single tent. The freak show provided the mystery to a carnival and, although now moribund as an institution, it remains of abiding interest, with freak show paraphernalia commanding high prices by collectors. Most shows had at least one genuine *lusus naturae*—a fat woman, a living skeleton, Siamese twins—and a number of "made" acts. These ranged from outright frauds—a wild man of Borneo (or geek) who might have grown up in Brooklyn, or a mind-reader who worked his dazzling clairvoyance by means of an elaborate code—to acts that were semi-legitimate. Tattooed men, torture acts, sword-swallowers, and snake charmers were the most common sort of act, constituting a sort of middle class of the carnival

world; they ranked slightly lower than nature's aristocrat, the freak, but far above the lowly geek.

To attract an audience, a "talker," a quick-talking announcer, would gather a crowd, attracted by the talker's "pitch" as well as by the exhibitions, several of whom would appear with him on the "bally platform" giving short demonstrations. This was called "turning the tip." Once the tip had been turned, that is, lured into paying the entrance fee, they would be further induced to buy cheap merchandise—photos, pamphlets, and the like—and then to pay an additional fee to see the "blow-off," a genuine freak—a fat man or woman, a bearded lady, pin-heads, or victims of other birth defects. A good "blow-off" could underwrite the operating expenses of a ten-in-one, therefore, freaks were a highly valued commodity.

Carnival life fostered an us-and-them attitude. You were either "with it" (in the know), or a mark. There was no middle ground, and sometimes pitched battles, deemed "clems" by the carnies, would erupt. Often small-town carnival-goers were simply suspicious, and often the fights started after the games of chance had bled them dry. In small town America of 1930s, it was simply second-nature to distrust the carnies. And yet, the lurid quality of the carnival, the danger of being swindled, appears to have been part of the attraction. Carnival and carny alike were exotic, simultaneously feared and envied. The carnies rejection of the "normal" world, of proper society, was an affront, but it was also an invitation. In the midst of the Great Depression, when the traveling carnivals were at their most popular, customers could still be counted on to spend their hard-earned pennies. Perhaps it was because escape from the hardship of everyday life had assumed a monumental importance for the hard-pressed citizenry.

After World War II, the number of carnivals in operation dropped substantially. No one single reason can account for their precipitous decline. Perhaps it was that small-town audiences had become more sophisticated; perhaps changing social mores diminished the popularity of the freak show; or perhaps it was simply that society had become more regimented, and the escape carnivals represented had become anomalous. In addition, corporatism had invaded the carnival world. The result is today's pallid excuse for a carnival: no freak shows, games of chance that pay off in worthless trinkets, and not even a faint hint of danger or sex. The forbidden, as much a part of the carnival mystique as cotton candy or the smell of sawdust, had been excised from the carnival, and without the danger, the fun and excitement was simply less alluring.

But the image of the carnival remains powerfully alluring. Carnival paraphernalia—banners and promotional materials—are now much sought-after by collectors. In literature, as well, the carnival works its distinctive magic. By cleverly inverting the carnival-goer's presumption of fraud, Charles G. Finney's novel, *The Circus of Dr. Lao* (1935), wrote of a traveling circus in which all the attractions are fantastically real, yet the townies fail to see past their suspicions. Katherine Dunn's best-selling novel, *Geek Love* about a family of carnival freaks, purposefully deformed *in utero*, captured the public imagination in the late 1980s, becoming a best-seller. Since Todd Browning's 1932 masterpiece, *Freaks*, the carnival has routinely appeared in motion pictures, and its appearance is usually metaphor for subterfuge and betrayal. More recent films such as *Carny* (1980) treat the wayward carny with more affection, but one need only read David Foster Wallace's essay, "Getting Away from Being Pretty Much Away from It All," to comprehend the slightly sinister quality of the carnival and its workers.

Carnivals conjure up a host of associations in American culture. Heirs to both the showmanship of a Wild Bill Hickock and the entertaining mendacity of the snake-oil salesman, carnivals tap deeply into the American psyche: its restlessness, its love/hate relationship with conformity, its romance with all things criminal. The carnival was a non-judgmental environment where the deformed, the drifter, the loser could find a place that would accept him unconditionally; it was a metaphor for freedom from troubles, from the mundane, and into a magical world where the rule is that things aren't always what they seem.

—Michael Baers

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## Travolta, John (1954—)

There are two John Travoltas. One is the late 1970s star who rose to the dizzy heights of worldwide fame thanks to his roles in *Saturday Night Fever* (1977) and *Grease* (1978). The other is the actor who was reborn from the embers of his cooling popularity thanks to Quentin Tarantino's cult mega-hit *Pulp Fiction* (1994). Other facets of John Travolta include his membership of the much-questioned Church of Scientology—seemingly the secret of his perseverance against all odds in his road towards permanent fame—and his early image as a dancing and singing idol.

Travolta's first taste of stardom came with his role as Tony Manero in John Badham's *Saturday Night Fever*. This film followed Travolta's noted appearances in the TV series *Welcome Back Kotter*, as high-school troublemaker Vinnie Barbarino (1975-6); the TV tearjerker, *The Boy in the Plastic Bubble* (1976); and in the first adaptation of a Stephen King novel, director Brian de Palma's *Carrie* (1976), in which Travolta played a sadistic classmate of the victimized heroine. *Saturday Night Fever*, the film that came to epitomize the booming disco culture of the 1970s, created a sweeping worldwide craze around Travolta—complete with countless dancing imitators vying for fame in Manero's famous cheap, white, three-piece suit. It also gave Travolta his first nomination for an Oscar as Best Actor. The second would come years later for his supporting role as Vincent Vega in *Pulp Fiction*.

Among his many admirers, actress Bette Davis remarked that although Travolta was talented, he would not last. Davis' prophetic



John Travolta in a scene from the film *Saturday Night Fever*.

words proved, if not true, at least remarkably accurate. The role of Tony Manero was followed by the very popular Danny Zuko of *Grease*, a musical Travolta knew well from his early theater days—in which he became a teenage cult icon with Olivia Newton-John—and *Urban Cowboy*'s Bud (1980). But the 1980s proved much less congenial to Travolta's supple talent and he was relegated to a string of mediocre films that did badly at the box office. The first signs of his renewed popularity came with the popular but insubstantial *Look Who's Talking* trilogy (1989, 1990, 1993), which was punctuated by Travolta's ineffectual resurrection of Tony Manero in Sylvester Stallone's *Staying Alive* (1993).

Just when Travolta seemed definitively condemned to playing uninspired roles like the James Ubriacco of *Look Who's Talking* for the rest of his acting life, Quentin Tarantino stepped in, convincing his much adored idol to play heroine fiend hit man Vincent Vega. Travolta's return was but one of the ingredients that turned *Pulp Fiction* into a massive hit, and the film placed the tarnished star back into the top list of Hollywood icons. Since 1994 Travolta has hardly had time to savor the sweet taste of his success, as he has been busy working non-stop in films of a varied range. His performances include an action villain in *Broken Arrow* (1996), a gangster-cum-producer in *Get Shorty* (1996), a mechanic turned supernatural hero in *Phenomenon* (1996), a devoted de-faced FBI agent in *Face Off* (1997), and even the contradictory roles of angel in *Michael* (1996) and the Bill Clinton-inspired character Governor Jack Stanton in *Primary Colors* (1998).

Travolta has amply displayed both his abilities as an actor and his understanding of the vagaries of show business, securing a sheltered financial position for himself that has allowed him to weather the difficult years in comfort. As a cultural phenomena, Travolta's career further begs the question: To what degree are actors shaped by the roles they play? As with Julia Roberts and *Pretty Woman*, it is unclear whether Travolta made the roles he played in

films such as *Saturday Night Live* and *Grease* unique, or whether these unique roles made him. Like all other contemporary Hollywood big names, Travolta is subjected to a system in which the individual talent of each performer is very hard to assess, as acting is but one ingredient in the complex process of filmmaking. His popularity, like that of many other major stars, results from a capricious combination of talent, adroit choosing of roles, availability, luck and the mysterious “x” factor, best defined as being in the right place at the right time. And finally, Tarantino’s idolization of Travolta, which perhaps had a touch of irony, appears to be a crucial factor, without which Travolta would not be the star he is at the end of the twentieth century.

—Sara Martin

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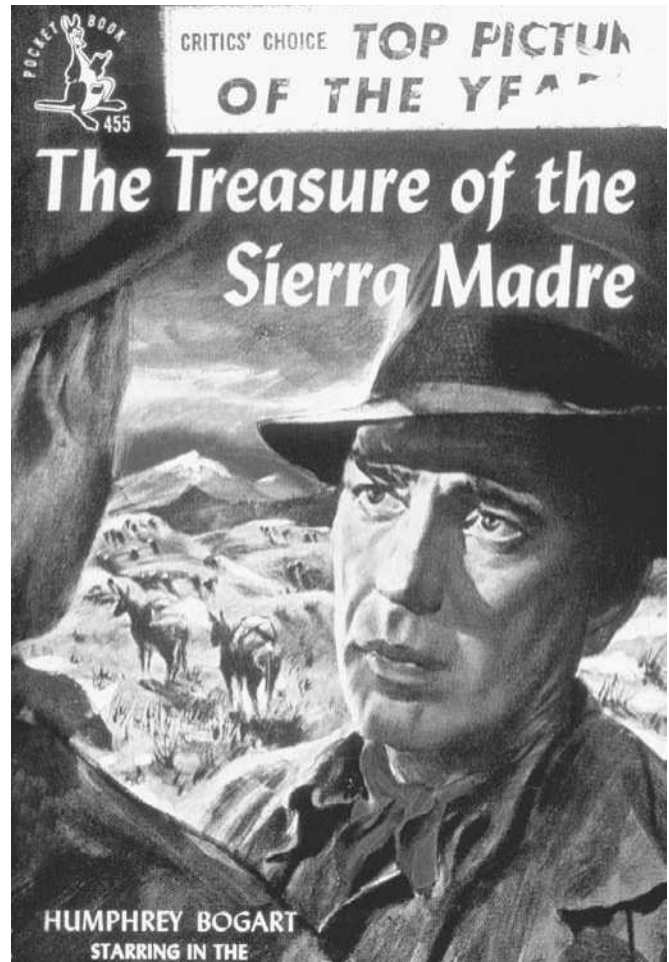
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## *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*

Long acknowledged as a classic of Hollywood cinema, director John Huston’s 1948 film *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* was among the first to make extensive use of on-location shooting and anticipated the themes that would come to characterize film noir: paranoia, greed, and duplicity. The virtue of the film is that it can be understood on a variety of levels—as an adventure story, as an etiology of one man’s mental disease, as a subtle critique of capitalism, or as an anthropologic study of the clash of cultures. Laced with disturbing psychological truths, it is precisely the fable-like quality of the film—the timeless and acute observation of human nature—that makes the film so remarkable. Huston won Oscars for best direction and screenplay, and his father, Walter, for best supporting actor.

In the Mexican town of Tampico, booming oil fields have attracted adventurers from every continent, lured by the scent of easy money. Fred C. Dobbs (Humphrey Bogart) is a drifter of dubious temperament who has bottomed out in Tampico but stills dreams of the big score—he covets luxury but has not the patience or perseverance to work for it. As the first scene shows, Dobbs is unscrupulous; he repeatedly panhandles from a wealthy American (played by John Huston) and then uses the money for such unnecessary luxuries as a haircut, buying lottery cards, and coffee. After teaming up with another young American, Bob Curtin (Tim Holt), and an aging prospector, Howard (Walter Huston), who has dazzled the younger men with stories of rich gold deposits in the surrounding mountains, he sets out on a quest for riches that will ultimately prove his undoing.



A book cover of *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*.

Dobbs is the weak link in the chain. Curtin and Howard, although not paragons of virtue, are basically decent, realistic individuals. In one scene, the three discuss what they will do with their newfound wealth; Howard plans to open a business to sustain him in his old age; Curtin dreams of buying a farm. Dobbs, on the other hand, thinks only of the luxuries and women he will buy, and the people he will impress. The more gold they find, the further Dobbs descends into a delusional world—gold fever, as prospectors call it—in which his compatriots are mortal enemies. Every incident becomes proof of his partners’ duplicity. For example, Dobbs becomes convinced Curtin is hunting for his stash, when in fact, he has unwittingly stumbled upon a gila monster and is trying to drive it off. Curtin dares Dobbs to put his hand under the rock. Dobbs hesitates, and Curtin kills the reptile.

Further evidence of Dobbs’s evaporating morality is evidenced when an American, Cody, who has followed Curtin back from a trip to restock supplies wishes to join in their venture. Curtin, though unhappy, is amenable to the proposal, but Dobbs is adamantly opposed—he wants to kill the newcomer. It remains for Howard to cast his vote, and he has reluctantly sided with Dobbs when Mexican bandits—who had earlier waylaid the prospectors’ train—stumble on the encampment, claiming to be *Federales*. In the ensuing melee (the source of the famous quote “Badges? We ain’t got no badges. We

don't need no badges. I don't have to show you any stinking badges.''), Cody is killed, and the prospectors find a letter to his wife in his pocket. Curtin and Howard resolve to give a share of their gold to Cody's widow, but Dobbs abstains, saying, "You two must've been born in a revival meeting."

*The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* is a morality play, and Dobbs is its Richard III, undone by his own instability. After Howard is temporarily separated from the two younger men, the last restraint on Dobbs's behavior is removed. Dobbs attacks Curtin, who manages to disarm his attacker, but then finds himself captive to Dobbs's psychosis, keeping watch over him until he can no longer stay awake. Dobbs seizes his chance and guns Curtin down. As he sits before the fire, his face enveloped in the flames, he is consumed by his madness as the flames dance about him: "Conscience—what a thing—if you believe you got a conscience, it'll pester you to death . . . but if you don't believe ya got one . . . what can it do to ya?" Appropriately, Dobbs meets his fate at the hands of his brother in bestiality, Jefe the bandit leader, who kills him, seizing the burros and provisions, and discarding the gold, which the bandits take for sand. The gold dust scatters in the wind. "O laugh, Curtin, old boy," cries Howard, when the two men (Curtin having escaped death) find the empty bags. "It's a great joke played on us by the Lord or fate or nature or whoever you prefer . . . but whoever or whatever played it certainly had a sense of humor!"

Psychiatrist Harvey R. Greenberg has written that *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* "is much more than a clinical vignette of a diseased personality driven mad by gold. It is, by turns, the story of a young man's coming of age, of an aging man's search for his last resting place. It is a rousing adventure tale, a subtle commentary on the capitalist mentality . . . But I am always drawn back to Dobbs himself, to this mean-spirited, vicious, yet strangely sympathetic figure." Paranoids litter the literature of western man—Richard III, Lady Macbeth, Rebekka West in Ibsen's *Rosmersholm*. It is a testament to Huston's ability as a storyteller and the breadth of his psychological insight that 50 years after its making, *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* is still a powerful, convincing film. Dobbs has become one of the most memorable anti-heroes in film history, not because he is a villain, but because in his madness there lurks something all audience members can recognize. Dobbs is a reminder that the real villain is most often within.

—Michael Baers

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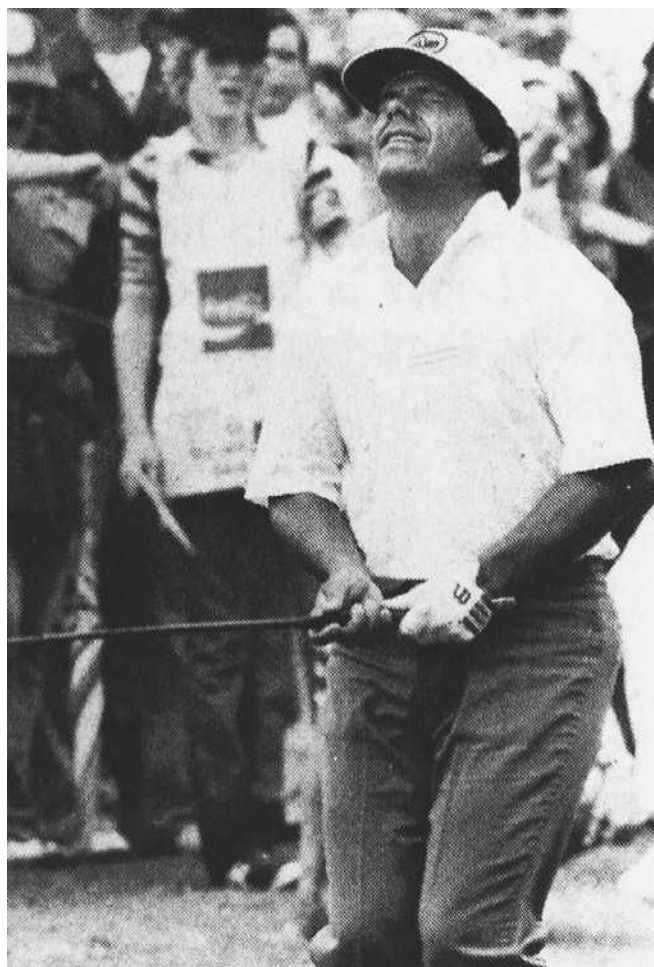
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## Treviño, Lee (1939—)

In 1968, Lee Treviño became the first Mexican American to win a major professional golf championship at the U.S. Open, and he became the first player in history to shoot all four rounds of the event under par. Born in Dallas, Texas, and raised by his mother, who worked as a housekeeper, and his maternal grandfather, a grave digger, Treviño got involved in golf because their four-room farmhouse overlooked the back of the Glen Lakes Country Club fairways. As a boy, Treviño studied the form of golfers on the course from his own backyard. He dropped out of school in the seventh grade and made his way into what was then an exclusively Anglo rich man's sport by working as a caddie and greenskeeper.

Treviño became a professional golfer in 1966, and by 1970 he was the leading money winner on the Professional Golfers' Association tour. In 1971, Treviño became the first player to win the U.S., British, and Canadian opens in a single year, and was the first Hispanic ever named PGA Player of the Year, Associated Press Athlete of the Year, and *Sports Illustrated* Sportsman of the Year. He won the British Open again in 1972 and the PGA again in 1974 among many other tournaments. He was awarded the Vardon Trophy for the fewest strokes per round (69.73 for 82 rounds), the lowest since Sam Snead in 1958. Treviño was struck by lightning in 1974, and the



Lee Treviño

resulting back problems and surgeries restricted his play in the early 1980s. He served as a TV sports commentator, but came back to win the PGA in 1984 and the British Masters in 1985. Treviño retired from the PGA tour in 1985, with his thirty victories and a total career earnings of more than \$3 million (third highest). Treviño has been elected to the Texas Sports, American Golf, and World Golf Halls of Fame.

—Nicolás Kanellos

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## Trevor, Claire (1909—)

Born in New York City, trained at the American Academy of Dramatic Arts and Columbia University, Claire Trevor has sustained a long and prolific acting career that includes over 150 movies, 200 radio shows, 20 stage plays, and scores of television dramas. Trevor began her film career in 1933 in *Jimmy and Sally*. Playing a boozy moll in *Key Largo* (1948), she won an Oscar as best supporting actress. In 1956 she won an Emmy for best single performance by an actress for her role in the Producer's Showcase television drama, *Dodsworth*, with Frederic March. As late as 1987 she appeared in a motion picture *Breaking Home Ties*, based on Norman Rockwell images.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Trillin, Calvin (1935—)

Calvin Trillin, journalist and storyteller of the American scene, has introduced his readers to friends in unlikely places like Horse Cave, Kentucky, exposed several small-town scandals, and revealed a great many of his own idiosyncrasies along the way. Readers know a little bit about the way he thinks and a lot about the way he eats from the pages of his self-titled "tummy trilogy," *American Fried* (1974), *Alice, Let's Eat* (1978), and *Third Helpings* (1983). We've also met his family: his wife Alice, who "has a weird predilection for limiting our family to three meals a day," and his two daughters, Abigail and Sarah, the latter of whom "refused to enter a Chinese restaurant unless she was carrying a bagel in reserve. . . 'just in case.'" (*Alice, Let's Eat*). Since many of these pieces originated as columns in the *New Yorker* and other magazines, Trillin's cast of characters has become a memorable and anxiously awaited feature for regular

readers. Trillin enthusiasts have also developed an appetite for the best barbecue in the world, available only in his hometown, Kansas City, Missouri. Trillin writes about food not as an expert nor, indeed, as a cook—we learn that Alice does the cooking at home—but as the owner of a prodigious appetite for foods that the doctor generally does not recommend.

Calvin Trillin's journalistic career began after his graduation from Yale in 1957 and a subsequent stint in the U.S. Army. From 1960 to 1963 he worked as an Atlanta correspondent for *Time*, as well as in various other departments of the magazine, until he was invited by editor William Shawn to join the *New Yorker* staff. His initial assignment for the *New Yorker* led to his first book, *An Education in Georgia* (1964), about the forced integration of the University of Georgia at Athens. Trillin continued to demonstrate his reportorial ability in his regular *New Yorker* feature, "U.S. Journal," in which he recorded the experiences of ordinary American people in times of stress. Many of these articles later appeared in book collections such as *Killings* (1984), a compilation of short pieces on wrongful deaths and suicides, and *American Stories* (1991), which includes a few more tales of crime mixed in with profiles of favorite Trillin characters like Fats Goldberg, the formerly fat pizza baron who shuttles between New York and Kansas City, Missouri, where he always stops for a chili dog at Kresge's.

Trillin is equally at home in many genres. His short satirical commentaries from *The Nation* are collected in *Uncivil Liberties* (1982) and *With All Disrespect: More Civil Liberties* (1985). He has also written fiction, including three compilations of short stories "written for Alice" and a novel entitled *Runestruck* (1977), the story of a pre-Columbian artifact discovered in a small town in Maine. Trillin has tried his hand at light verse as well in *Deadline Poet* (1995). His more ruminative side is shown in memoirs like *Remembering Denny* (1993), about a Yale friend who never lived up to his initial promise as a "golden boy" and eventually killed himself.

As a journalist, Trillin knows the value of a good lead, in both senses of the word: as story idea and as reader enticement. A few examples of the latter:

Not long ago, I ran across a man who pulls his own teeth. ("Ouch," *With All Disrespect*, 55)

Not long ago, I became preoccupied with the cost of the wristwatches worn by the New Jersey State Legislature. ("The Dark Side," *Uncivil Liberties*, 75).

In my version of a melancholy walk on the waterfront, I find myself walking through a cold Atlantic mist along the docks of some East Coast city, wearing a turned up trenchcoat, making the best approximation of footsteps echoing on the cobblestones that can be expected from a man wearing crepe-soled shoes, and ducking into a passage that turns out to be the entrance to a gourmet kitchen-supply shop called something like the Wondrous Whisk—where I soberly inspect imported French cherry pitters and antique butter molds and Swedish meat slicers.

("Weekends for Two," *Alice, Let's Eat*, 155)

Like Kansas City barbecue, Calvin Trillin's writing can be addictive.

—Sue Russell



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## Trivial Pursuit

Trivial Pursuit can be credited with creating a whole new category of board games for adults as well as an entire industry of trivia games. On December 15, 1979, Canadian photographer Chris Haney and sportswriter Scott Abbott were inspired to create the game after competing against each other in a Scrabble game. They had originally planned to call their game Trivia Pursuit until Haney's wife jokingly referred to it as Trivial Pursuit, and the name stuck. The first 1,100 sets cost \$75 each to manufacture. But after selling them to retailers for \$15 a game, by early 1982 Haney and Abbott were in debt. Then the U.S. game company, Selchow and Righter, became interested after hiring a PR consultant who saw Trivial Pursuit's potential as a popular leisure-time diversion. After Selchow and Righter bought the rights to the board game, 3.5 million games had been sold by late 1983. A year later, the figure had jumped to 20 million. By the 1990s, retail sales had exceeded \$1 billion, and the game was available in 19 different languages and 33 countries. There has been a Trivial Pursuit television show, and the game is available on computer and on the Internet. Since its debut in 1982, there have been 40 variations of the game, and Trivial Pursuit has become an essential part of the universal language of popular culture.

—Frank Clark

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## Trixie Belden

"Schoolgirl shamus" Trixie Belden was featured in mysteries beginning with #1 *The Secret Mansion*, published by the Whitman Company in 1948, and concluding with #39 *The Mystery of the Galloping Ghost*, issued in 1986. Julie Campbell wrote the first six volumes. Then the new publisher, Golden Press, hired ghostwriters

who used the pseudonym Kathryn Kenny. Thirteen-year-old Trixie lived in rural New York. She, her brothers, and friends, all members of the club Bob Whites of the Glen, participated in American and international adventures, usually solving thefts. Trixie appealed to teenage readers because her lifestyle and dreams were more familiar to them than those of Nancy Drew. The Trixie Belden mysteries enabled readers to explore and solve problems vicariously. Set in a wholesome country environment, the stories were often didactic, criticizing wealthy socialites while praising the virtue of domesticity and self-sacrifice and reinforcing middle- and lower-class values. In each book, Trixie heroically rescued people or property from danger. Often impulsive and impatient, Trixie was always capable and honest, and worked to earn money for such charity projects as UNICEF. Adult fans continue to collect the out-of-print books and sponsored internet sites about Trixie.

—Elizabeth D. Schafer

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## Trout, Robert (1908—)

Robert Trout was radio broadcasting's first true anchorman. The concept was purely a practical innovation: the networks' foreign correspondents and highly paid analysts were the stars, yet someone had to introduce their reports, kill time during technical problems, or read late-breaking bulletins as they poured into the studio. Trout was hand-picked for this role as war clouds gathered over Europe in 1938, and gradually—broadcast after broadcast, day after day, crisis after crisis—he turned what had been a simple announcer's chore into a star role, creating the "broadcast news" institution that continues to this day.

Trout came out of local radio in Washington. Assigned to introduce President Roosevelt's "fireside chats," FDR was said to be so impressed with the young announcer's ad-libbing skill, he sometimes delayed the start of his talk a few seconds just to see how Trout would fill the time. The CBS network soon beckoned, even as the European situation worsened. The networks were beefing up their news operations, assigning correspondents to every major world capital; when the March 1938 German-Austrian crisis exploded, CBS brass picked Trout to sit in the studio, reading the late bulletins and introducing reports from the network's far-flung correspondents. And while the job could (and, on NBC, was) handled by any number of nameless staff announcers, Trout took the role at CBS and made it his own.

Broadcasting legend, of course, holds that the great innovation of that Austrian crisis was the invention of the "news roundup," the blending of several European correspondents' reports into a single live broadcast. Indeed, even the notion of CBS letting its own European staff speak on the air was an innovation in these pioneering days, but the idea of Trout holding the coverage together from New York, broadcast after broadcast—one steady, instantly identifiable voice speaking for the network over the long days or weeks of crisis—was equally revolutionary, and Trout seemed instinctively to understand the potential of his new role. His delivery was fast and facile, his

manner urbane but not arrogant, his voice authoritative yet not pompous. By the time Germany invaded Poland in September 1939, it was impossible to imagine coverage of a major event without Trout at the CBS microphone, smoothly steering listeners from one event to the next, juggling shortwave reports and incoming bulletins while masterfully hitting every cue and station break.

Strangely, NBC never imitated this single “Voice of Authority” idea; even Trout’s own bosses seemed not to realize what they had created. When CBS European chief Edward Murrow returned from his London posting in late 1941, the network brass sent Trout overseas—as a reporter. It was an obvious sign that they understood Trout’s star status, yet the admittedly prestigious London assignment was ill-advised at best. Trout acquitted himself adequately, but his absence from the New York studio deprived CBS of the central force that had spearheaded its crisis coverage for so long. Without him, CBS’s coverage of the attack on Pearl Harbor seemed particularly disjointed and rudderless.

Trout was back in New York by midwar, turning the London job back over to Murrow, and picking up right where he’d left off. It was Trout whose voice sounded across the nation just after 3:30 on the morning of June 6, 1944: “This means invasion!” he intoned, and America knew the D-Day landings were officially under way. It was Trout whose leaden, disbelieving tones addressed the nation upon the unexpected death of President Roosevelt in April 1945, and it was Trout (after sleeping on a cot just outside the studio for several days, so as not to miss the big moment) who told the world at 7 p.m. on August 14, 1945, “The Japanese have accepted our terms fully . . . this, ladies and gentlemen is the end of the Second World War!”

Tougher times followed. Murrow again returned to New York, this time taking a job as chief of CBS’s news operation. In 1946, Trout was given a real plum: his own nightly broadcast, a five-evening-a-week extravaganza sponsored by Campbell’s Soup. It didn’t last long. By 1948, Murrow realized he hated the executive suite, and Campbell’s jumped at the chance to return the legendary broadcaster to the air . . . alone. Trout was off the show, a pill so bitter he resigned and defected to NBC for a time before patching things up and returning to CBS in the early 1950s.

And there he stayed, reporting everything from political conventions to the 1961 Alan Shepard spaceflight to a series of war-years retrospectives in the mid-1960s. His one big television break came in 1964, when low ratings and behind-the-scenes turmoil led CBS bigwigs to oust Walter Cronkite from the anchor chair, replacing him with Trout and Roger Mudd—a combination which was a blatant effort to copy the wild success of NBC’s Huntley-Brinkley team. Trout and Mudd did no better against NBC, however, and viewer protests quickly guaranteed Cronkite’s return to center stage.

Trout continued to work on radio, reporting on the political conventions into the late 1980s (more recently for ABC). He could always be counted on to reminisce about the war years or the glory days of network radio.

—Chris Chandler

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## Trudeau, Gary

See *Doonesbury*

## True Detective

One of the first “pulp” magazines—so named because it was printed on cheap, grainy wood-pulp paper—*True Detective* helped pioneer the American crime story genre in the 1920s. The monthly periodical, which started life as *True Detective Mysteries* in 1924, was retitled *True Detective* with the October 1939 issue. As the name suggests, the magazine devoted itself to true crime stories, making full use of the manners and language of the United States. The “hardboiled” investigators featured in its pages represented a break with the European “Great Detective” tradition. Dashiell Hammett, creator of Sam Spade, was among the crime writers whose work appeared in the pages of *True Detective*.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## True Story Magazine

In 1919 the eccentric publisher Bernarr Macfadden began publication of *True Story Magazine*. According to Macfadden the magazine was inspired by personal letters of “confession” sent to him in his capacity as the editor/founder of *Physical Culture*. Sensing a widespread interest in the changing social/sexual codes of modern America, Macfadden put out a new magazine filled with first-hand accounts of social problems such as pre-marital sex, illegitimacy, adultery, unemployment, social relations, and crime (alongside ever-so slightly risqué movie-stills of each story’s most dramatic moments—the kiss, the temptation, the horrible realization). The magazine personalized issues that were hotly debated in Jazz Age America (dancing, drinking, partying, petting) and offered a unique working-class perspective on issues that were not necessarily unique to the working class. Sensational, emotional, and controversial, *True Story* disseminated tales of sex, sin, and redemption that seemingly revealed the ubiquity of modern sexual and social “irregularity.” Most educated observers hated the magazine, figuring that it depicted the worst aspect of the “revolution in manners and morals” that occurred in the 1920s.

But workaday America loved the new confessional magazine. *True Story* became the publishing smash hit of the 1920s. In 1934 one critic offered Macfadden a back-handed complement when he noted that millions of Americans “wallow in the filth of his politely dressed confessions.” Achieving circulation figures close to the two million mark by 1929, *True Story* easily matched the sales of traditional big-sellers such as *Ladies Home Journal* and the *Saturday Evening Post*. *True Story* (along with siblings *True Romance* and *True Experience*, and competitors like *True Confessions*) would maintain a large and devoted readership right into the 1990s. However the *True Story* which can be found on back shelves in supermarkets today bears only

a slight resemblance to the popular original. Macfadden lost control of his publication during the 1940s, but even by that time the magazine had come to represent a much more muted version of the original “confessional” genre. Over time *True Story* evolved into a magazine that told mild tales of women’s sexual misadventure, tempered by strong doses of normative moral sermonizing. In the 1920s, the period in which *True Story* shocked middle-class Americans into a series of renewed (and somewhat successful) efforts at censorship, the magazine was an innovative, raunchy, working-class pulp that purveyed an eclectic range of stories designed to appeal to both a male and female audience.

The popularity of *True Story* has too often been ascribed solely to its “sex sells” credo. In fact, in the 1920s *True Story* offered the reader much more than titillating sex tales; it offered working-class Americans stories told in their own voice (the magazine offered money for reader’s personal stories). Although scholars have, and not without reason, scoffed at Macfadden’s claims that his stories were both true and written by authentic working-class Americans, there is little question that his idea that stories of everyday working-class life were important was an original one. *True Story* argued, both explicitly and implicitly, that the story of modern working-class America was drama of epic proportions. In its original guise, *True Story* told tales of how working-class men and women struggled to negotiate the changes wrought by modernity. The central premise of the magazine in those early days was the notion that “it is a new world . . . and it might be well to get ready for it.” *True Story* claimed to help its readers make sense of the “maelstrom of chaotic inconsistency” that was modern life and taught them how to safely embrace “the enthusiastic, buoyant spirit” of the Jazz Age. In short *True Story* told tales of seemingly particular modern moral downfall (drugs, crime, sex)—even if it did then offer up some patently old-fashioned and universal remedies for redemption (confess, make amends, walk a straighter path).

The importance of *True Story* lies in the ways in which it challenged the hegemony of middle-class publishing norms. Failing to apologize for the cheapness of his endeavor, Macfadden outraged middle America (even as it tempted its youth) by daring to elevate rowdy, raunchy, working-class youth into modern heroes and heroines. *True Story* not only revealed and popularized the ways in which working-class youth flouted convention; it argued that its working-class antihero/ines were the success stories of modern America. *True Story* valorized the lifestyles of the new American working class, with their extra dollars in their pockets, their love of material goods, and their desire for things previously denied. The magazine did not deny the realities of modern temptation; rather, *True Story* explicitly argued that it could teach working-class youth how to safely negotiate their path through modern life—through the vicarious (albeit entertaining) experience of stumbling, falling, and getting up again.

As the 1920s progressed *True Story* lost its radical edge. Bernarr Macfadden, influenced by new marketing credos, sought to expand his advertising and his audience base. In order to achieve greater circulation figures and larger advertising revenues, Macfadden successfully transformed his confessional magazine into a women’s magazine. He achieved this transformation by erasing most of the “men’s stories,” including advertising that targeted women, and—as a pander to conservative advertisers—toning down the content of the confessional stories. By the 1930s *True Story* was a tamer version of the original confessional concept, and a decidedly less exciting one. Although *True Story* lost its male readership along with its male confessions, the magazine did continue to offer one of the few working-class voices in the marketplace. However that voice was less

raw, more conservative, and increasingly mediated by the concerns of advertisers and editors. *True Story* would barely change its format in the following seven decades. Although the transformation of the magazine into a women’s romance magazine proved an effective survival strategy, the moment at which *True Story* was most vital, most alive, was undoubtedly during that time in the 1920s when Macfadden’s confessional stories seemed to herald (terrifyingly and excitingly) the dawn of a raunchy modern American moment.

—Jackie Hatton

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## T-Shirts

Sex, work, and democracy together advanced the T-shirt as a clothing icon of the late twentieth century. Until the 1940s, the T-shirt was exclusively an undershirt. Sailors, however, in shipboard fraternity, worked in T-shirts. These World War II, T-shirted heroes appeared in *Life Magazine* (cover, *Life*, July 13, 1942) and cavorted in the musical *South Pacific*. The private world was now public, and the undershirt entered society, sometimes with the renegade image of Marlon Brando, other times with the innocent white shirt of James Dean. The T-shirt would not have the authority of the cut-and-sewn shirt with collar until the 1980s when Bruce Springsteen reinforced the T-shirt’s proletarian roots but also identified the T-shirt with the new 1980s masculinity of sex-object, gym-built male bodies.

—Richard Martin

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## Tupperware

Perhaps no product line epitomizes post-World War II American suburbia as much as Tupperware plastic kitchen containers. Earl Tupper (1907-1983), inveterate experimenter from Harvard, Massachusetts, used his experience in 1937 working for Dupont to develop his own kind of plastic, which he used to make all types of products.



A Tupperware party.

He founded the Earl S. Tupper Company in 1938, which had some success selling gas masks and signal lamp parts to the Navy during World War II. But when he applied his flexible and durable material to civilian needs, Tupper achieved his greatest success.

In 1945 Tupper trademarked his perfected plastic, Polyethylene-Tupper, or “Poly-T,” the “material of the future.” Forever interested in women’s daily lives (he experimented with designs for garter belt hooks and brassieres, for example), Tupper used this innovative material to create an entirely new line of housewares which revolutionized the way women dealt with food and other things in their kitchens. Up until this time, plastics like Bakelite and celluloid were common materials but had limited uses—products made from them were either brittle or heavy and were not suitable for use with foods. In contrast, Tupperware was perfect in the kitchen. It came in many forms, including tumblers, bowls, pitchers, ice cube trays, butter dishes, and even cocktail shakers. Tupper’s most famous and effective innovation, in 1947, was a set of storage canisters with resealable lids that could be “burped” to let out and keep out excess air. They were light-weight, air-tight, indestructible, and waxy-textured for a good grip. These canisters proved to be great improvements over the more common glass and metal containers women had been using in the kitchen, which were heavy, not air-tight, were prone to sweating from refrigerator condensation, and broke easily.

Tupper’s plastic products were not only utilitarian, but also materially seductive. The drinking tumblers came in many colors, including lime, raspberry, lemon, plum, and orange. The bowls were attractively shaped and could even be used to display fresh-fruit centerpieces. Tupperware was such an embodiment of post-war materialism that some of its pieces became part of the Museum of Modern Art’s permanent collection in 1955, and were described as “carefully considered shapes . . . marvelously free of that vulgarity which characterizes so much household equipment.” It is ironic that Tupper, such a pioneer bringing the modernity of his translucent

plastic designs into the home, was an antiquarian at heart. He believed, nostalgically, in the traditional values of hand-craftsmanship and manual labor, and his home was filled with antiques. In contrast, the products he engineered and manufactured were truly “tomorrow’s designs with tomorrow’s materials.”

While Tupper brought new materials and new forms into the domestic sphere, his products also introduced a new kind of sociability among women through private home sales. From 1950 on, Tupperware was marketed and distributed only by direct selling, through Tupperware Parties, overseen by Tupperware Home Parties Incorporated, established in 1951 and also known as the Cinderella Company. These parties were actually commercial opportunities orchestrated as social events. A hostess would throw a party in her home, inviting friends and neighbors in order to provide first-hand demonstrations of the products (like how to “burp” the storage canisters), and to give her guests a chance to purchase Tupperware items. Here, women also played games and could win Tupperware prizes, and the hostess would try to recruit potential hostesses to give their own parties—all in exchange for Tupperware items for herself.

This method of product distribution paradoxically offered women the freedom to be entrepreneurs while it emphasized their domestic duties as wives and mothers, giving them the chance to socialize on their own, yet in a way that channeled them into their traditional gender roles. However ambiguous, Tupper’s marketing strategy—overseen by homemaker Brownie Wise until 1958—was clearly successful. In 1954 over 200,000 women were dealers, distributors, and managers. In that same year sales topped \$25 million and allowed Tupper to double the size of his Blackstone, Massachusetts, manufacturing facility. In 1958 he sold his interest in the company to Justin Dart of the Rexall Drug Company.

Tupperware and the party system both successfully entered Britain in 1961. By 1979 there were over 50,000 people selling over \$700 million worth of Tupperware. In the 1980s Tupperware was sold in over 42 countries and carried product lines fitting specific cultural needs, like the sushi saver in Japan. To bring it up to date, Morris Cousins redesigned Tupperware in the 1990s, giving it “Euro styling” with brighter colors and sleeker shapes. The company introduced “Tupperkids,” a line of children’s toys, in 1994. What is more, Tupperware is so familiar to Americans that it has become a generic word applied to all such plastic storage containers with resealable lids, and has come to symbolize the unique blend of domesticity, materialism, and superficiality that is seen to characterize life in the American suburb.

—Wendy Woloson

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## Turner, Ike (1931—) and Tina (1938—)

Formed in 1959 in St. Louis, Missouri, the partnership of Mississippi rhythm-and-blues musician Ike Turner and a young singer from Nutbush, Tennessee, named Annie Mae Bullock would result in one of popular music's most combustible sounds. Known for their impressive live performances, Ike and Tina Turner were an immediate crossover sensation who eventually released some 29 albums on various labels. As significant as their contribution was to American black music, their 16-year union as the Ike and Tina Turner Revue also left an indelible impression upon rock and pop music the world over. Supported by a full R&B orchestra and choreographed backup singers, Ike was bandleader, arranger, and producer for the duo. With a distinctive on-stage style, the Ike and Tina Turner Revue created a whirlwind of sensation and emotion that inspired audiences and performers alike. Compatible with R&B, straight blues, Motown soul, and hard-core rock and roll, Ike and Tina Turner shared bills with many top performers including the Rolling Stones. While Ike was the competent instrumentalist and songwriter, it was Tina who created for herself an enduring place within popular culture. As both a woman and a performer of strength, grace, and spirit, Tina overcame poverty, self-doubt, and abuse in order to succeed personally and professionally.

Starting out as a piano player, Ike Turner made history early on in 1951 when he played on the Sun Studios session that produced one of the first rock and roll records ever recorded, Jackie Brenston's



Ike and Tina Turner

“Rocket 88.” Picking up the guitar shortly thereafter, Turner became a busy session player who worked with blues greats Howlin’ Wolf, Elmore James, and Otis Rush. It was at this time that he developed his distinctive stinging guitar style.

His own band, Ike Turner’s Rhythm Kings, was the toast of East St. Louis when Annie Mae Bullock (Tina), the daughter of sharecroppers, met Ike Turner for the first time. Tina joined Turner’s touring band as a backup vocalist in 1956, when she was 18. By 1958 she was the star of the show. It was her lovely growl and wild, gospel accents that set her apart from other singers at the time. The high-energy performer filled the stage with her powerful presence and made every lyric of a song come to life. As sexual as she was talented, Tina was not simply a soul singer or an R&B singer: she was something new and different, and this captured the attention of both white and black audiences.

As Ike and Tina Turner, they recorded their first single in 1959 for Sue Records, “A Fool in Love.” By 1960 this side was a No. 2 hit on the R&B charts. Following up with “I Idolize You,” “It’s Gonna Work Out Fine,” and “Poor Fool,” the Ike & Tina Turner Revue had five Top 10 hits on the R&B charts in less than 3 years. Their first album, *The Soul of Ike and Tina Turner* was released in 1964 on Sue. Working for top labels such as Warner Brothers, Liberty Records, London, Hallmark, Valiant, Sunset and United Artists, Ike and Tina released at least one project every year until their final album, *Nutbush City Limits*, was recorded in 1973. Their most successful project, in 1970, was *Workin’ Together*. Released on Liberty, this recording included Tina’s version of “Proud Mary.” Another highlight of their years together was working with producer Phil Spector, whose “Wall of Sound” production style dominated American pop music during the 1960s. This big sound complimented Tina’s vocal prowess dramatically as is evidenced on *River Deep and Mountain High*, released in 1966.

While Ike and Tina’s stage union produced spectacular results and Tina had carved a name for herself as one of the premier women of rock and pop, their personal life together was hardly satisfactory. Ike Turner was a taskmaster who insisted upon total control in everything, including his marriage. Using fear and her own youthful inexperience against her, Ike finally married Tina in Mexico. After years of mistreatment and abuse, Tina left Ike in 1975, eventually divorcing him and rebuilding her career as a solo artist. In 1984, at the age of 45, she was once more an international sensation, making the charts again with her album *Private Dancer*. In 1985 she had a starring role in the popular Mel Gibson film *Mad Max Beyond Thunderdome*, for which she also recorded the hit single “We Don’t Need Another Hero.” The 1993 film *What’s Love Got to Do With It?* chronicled Tina’s rocky career and starred Angela Bassett along with Laurence Fishburne as Ike Turner. Ike spent the 1980s battling drugs and legal problems. In 1991 Ike and Tina Turner were inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and EMI America released *Proud Mary: The Best of Ike and Tina Turner*, a 23-track collection detailing their career from the early 1960s through the mid-1970s.

—Jana Pendragon

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## Turner, Lana (1920-1995)

Nicknamed the “Sweater Girl,” actress Lana Turner defined feminine sexuality for a generation during the World War II era. She portrayed an archetypal character in *The Postman Always Rings Twice*, the first American film version of a James Cain novel and a seminal film noir, and helped reestablish the melodrama genre in the 1950s with her appearances in *Peyton Place* and *Imitation of Life*. But Turner’s importance is not rooted in her acting. Turner was a movie star in the old style, a product of the studio system, a glamour girl, a femme fatale.

Jean Mildred Frances Turner’s film career began when she was fifteen years old and was hired to be an extra in *A Star Is Born*. MGM gave her the name Lana, and studio publicity claimed she had been discovered by the editor of the *Hollywood Reporter* while having a strawberry soda at Schwab’s drugstore; Turner later said she was drinking a Coke at the Top Hat Café. Her first significant role came in what was only her second film, Mervyn LeRoy’s *They Won’t Forget* (1937), in which she played Mary Clay, a teenage girl who is raped and murdered twelve minutes into the film. In her most famous scene,



Lana Turner

Turner has no dialogue and simply walks across the screen wearing the tight sweater that earned her her nickname. The scene launched Turner’s career; critics wrote about “the girl in the sweater,” and filmgoers sent fan letters to MGM.

Turner went on to make fifty-three films in thirty-nine years. In most of them she played a variation on one characterization: sexy but not quite slutty, strong but vulnerable. In 1945 Turner was one of the most highly paid actresses in Hollywood, and by the time she appeared in *The Postman Always Rings Twice* in 1946, she had already been a top box office draw for several years. Still, the film provided her with her definitive role; writing in *The Films of Lana Turner*, Lou Valentino observed, “if Turner fans had to make a choice, *Postman* is the movie they would most elect to have time-capsuled.” In it, Turner plays the unhappy wife of a much older man who plots with a handsome young drifter to murder her husband. Because the Hays Code would not allow MGM to film a faithful adaptation of Cain’s overtly sexual novel, director Tay Garnett dressed Turner in white for most of the film, which, according to Garnett, “made everything she did seem less sensuous. It was also attractive as hell. And it somehow took a little of the stigma off.”

At the height of her popularity, Turner was a pervasive presence in American society. Children could buy Lana Turner paper dolls and coloring books. Her likeness was painted on airplane noses. There was a song titled “The Lana Turner Blues.” Perhaps most significantly, Turner played a major role in defining the manner in which women would be portrayed in American popular culture. In the 1940s she appeared on magazine covers almost monthly. She endorsed beauty products and made the buxom look popular—in 1948 4.5 million breast pads were sold to American women, who wanted to look like the Sweater Girl.

In the late 1950s Turner moved into melodramas. She received her only Academy Award nomination for *Peyton Place*, in which she plays a widowed woman who becomes the subject of scandal when she is forced to reveal that her teenaged daughter is illegitimate. In 1957, the signing of a sex symbol like Turner to the role of the mother made headlines. In *Imitation of Life*, Turner’s most financially successful film, she plays an actress and mother who arranges for an unemployed African American woman, Annie, and her daughter to live with her and act as her servants. As the two women’s daughters grow older, Annie’s daughter “passes” for white and grows ashamed of her mother.

Turner was married seven times, most notably to bandleader Artie Shaw and actor Lex Barker. In 1958, Turner’s daughter, Cheryl Crane, stabbed and killed Turner’s boyfriend, mobster Johnny Stompanato. Turner survived the bad publicity surrounding Stompanato’s murder and her daughter’s trial with no visible damage to her career. She made nine more motion pictures after *Imitation*, and she appeared on television and on stage in the 1970s and 1980s. Turner died of throat cancer in 1995.

—Randall Clark

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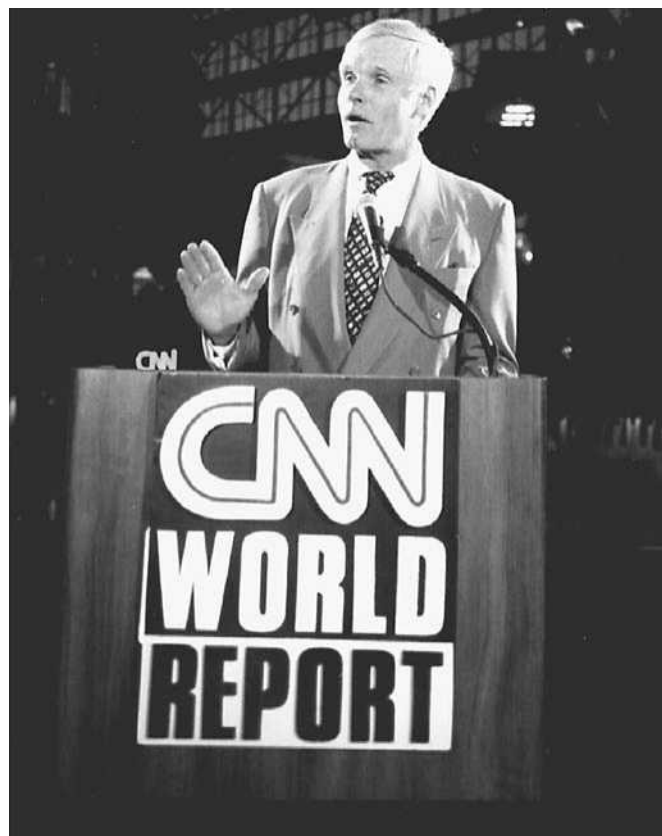
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## Turner, Ted (1938—)

Ted Turner, a flamboyant Southern entrepreneur and sportsman, first came to prominence in 1977 when, as the skipper of the winning yacht in the America's Cup race, he shocked the rather staid community of Newport Rhode Island with his wild celebrations and partying. Yet, this notoriety masked the fact that he was also in the process of creating television's first "superstation," a local television station that, through the power of satellite communications, could broadcast its signal to cable-equipped households across the United States and ultimately around the world. In the process, he reinvented television viewing patterns for most Americans and forced the networks to rethink their traditional broadcasting options.

His career, in fact, began very quietly in 1970 when his Turner Communications, a small family-owned and billboard-oriented advertising agency, merged with Atlanta's Rice Broadcasting and took over a controlling interest in local television station WTCG. During the first year of the Turner regime, the station's most popular show



Ted Turner

became *Georgia Championship Wrestling*. Ironically, news programming, for which Turner would later become famous, received scant attention, being broadcast only at three or four a.m. when there were few viewers. Even at that hour, serious news stories were, for the most part, treated "tongue in cheek" and more as entertainment than as a public service. To Turner, there seemed to be no such thing as good news and viewers were regarded as being much better off watching reruns of old television series instead of dreary recounts of what went on in the world.

His purchase of the television station, however, led him to a development that would turn television on its head. Turner eventually discovered the existence of a communications satellite in a geosynchronous orbit over the earth that could be used on a 24-hour basis by anyone willing to pay the rent. The technology which was then in its infancy and which relied on the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for its positioning was not highly publicized and had been, as a consequence, under-utilized by broadcasting entities, few of which saw the possibilities for global programming. Yet, to the flamboyant Turner, the idea of a small local station being able to send its signal all over the world made perfect sense.

Beginning with a tall television tower and a lone earth station microwave dish maintained by one technician, Turner proudly proclaimed his operation to be the world's first "superstation." Utilizing an eclectic blend of movies, sports, reruns of discontinued television series, and his own original programming produced by a subsidiary company, the station achieved the status of a basic cable selection on most systems around the country and, in fact, probably helped spread the growth of cable during the next decade. Under Turner's direction, the station went from a money losing operation to generating a profit of almost \$2 million within its first 18 months. It was renamed WTBS in 1979 to reflect its corporate affiliation and became the primary revenue source financing the next components of the Turner empire.

Doing a flip-flop on his anti-news stance, Turner expanded his broadcasting base the following year by creating the innovative Cable News Network (CNN), a 24-hour news service carried by satellite to cable systems around the world. He correctly noted that the proliferation of cable programming had placed its emphasis on entertainment programming, ignoring the fact that continuous newscasting would be an ideal melding with cable since public interest was high and because the traditional networks dismissed 24-hour news service as too costly. To Turner, however, the financial risk was a gamble worth taking. He put the service on the air in June 1980 by leveraging most of his holdings and routing all of the profits from WTBS and his other interests into the fledgling enterprise.

At first, the station was regarded as something of a novelty by the critics and the networks alike, who dismissed the ambitious programming as "light weight journalism" at best. Yet, the new network with news bureaus around the world began to get its reporters to breaking stories well before the established news organizations. By 1990, it surpassed the networks with its on-the-spot coverage of the Persian Gulf War and established itself as the premier television news service in the United States. As a result, by the mid-1990s, it had expanded its viewership to 140 countries around the world and had created such off-shoots as CNN Headline News and CNN International.

In 1986, Turner took another risk by purchasing the Metro Goldwyn Mayer (MGM)/United Artists motion picture studio in a complicated cash/stock transaction valued at approximately \$1.5 billion. In order to finance his portion, Turner had to break up the studio and divest himself of a number of subdivisions to keep the money coming in. He immediately sold the United Artists portion of

the studio back to financier Kirk Kerkorian, who had sold him the entire studio to begin with; he also included MGM's film and television production and distribution in the Kerkorian package. Additionally, he sold the lot itself to television production entity Lorimar-Telepictures and wound up only with MGM's large library of motion pictures, which included the pre-1948 Warner Bros. and RKO films. Turner was now the owner of perhaps the largest library of filmed entertainment in the world—sufficient programming to keep WTBS going forever, in addition to being able to market the films on video and lease them to other networks.

Turner's next move, the controversial "colorizing" of many of the black-and-white films in his new library, raised the ire of film purists aghast at the thought of seeing such classics as *Casablanca* (1941) and *Citizen Kane* (1941) broadcast with computer-enhanced artificial color. Congress even got into the act by holding hearings to determine authorship and copyright issues relating to film to see if the Southern mogul actually had the right to contradict the original artistic intent by introducing color. The issue was never resolved but it did sensitize Turner to the issues involved, and his company has subsequently played a leading role in film preservation efforts in the United States. He also established the Turner Classic Movie channel in the early 1990s to show motion pictures in their original manifestations, with a knowledgeable host to introduce each one and talk about its production history.

Turner has also played a leading role in a number of other altruistic endeavors as well. For most of his life, he has been an ardent environmentalist, but in the mid-1980s, he began to take an equally strong stand against warfare by exploring viable methods of bringing people together. In 1985, he founded the Better World Society to produce film and television documentaries to educate people about such issues as pollution, hunger, and the perils of the arms race. He followed this a year later with *The Goodwill Games*, a scaled down version of the Olympic Games in an effort to promote brotherhood and world peace. He lost \$26 million on the first games staged in Moscow in 1986, and followed that with another \$44 million shortfall in the 1991 games held in Seattle. In 1992, he created the "Turner Tomorrow Awards" to provide an incentive for writers around the world to come up with positive solutions to problems effecting the world.

With his 1991 marriage to actress and political activist Jane Fonda, he expanded his concerns to share and support his longtime interest in Native American issues. He produced a number of documentaries and fact-based feature films on his TNT channel to show the development of American history from the Native American point of view and to spotlight the contributions of indigenous Americans to the United States. In recent years, he has expanded his commitment to his social concerns by creating a list of volunteer initiatives that individuals can do to make the world a better place. The tenets include initiatives on family size, pollution, and conservation of the environment.

In 1997, with his typical flamboyance, Turner pledged a gift of \$1 billion to the United Nations to be distributed over the following decade. He emphasized, however, that the money could not be used for administrative or "housekeeping expenses." It had to be used for programs such as disease control, cleaning up landmines, UNICEF (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund) children's programs, refugee relief, and peacekeeping.

The proposed gift to the United Nations was based on money that he received in stock shares for merging his company with Time Warner in 1997 to form the world's largest media company. Under

the terms of the deal, Time Warner gained access to Turner's interests in cable and satellite television and, importantly, the rights to the library of pre-1948 Warner Bros. films, RKO films, and the MGM collection. In effect, Time Warner reclaimed its heritage and then some. The possibilities of commercial exploitation of the Turner materials in the Warner Bros. stores, and fledgling theme parks with videos, new character licensing, and reissues of restored films is seemingly unlimited. In return, Turner became Time Warner's largest stockholder, with "clout" only surpassed by Chief Executive Officer Gerald Levin. He immediately began pressing the company to initiate an austerity program to reduce what he considered to be an untenable corporate debt approaching \$17 billion. This included selling the corporate jets and consolidating redundant departments created by the merger.

While many find the combination of unbridled ambition in the business world juxtaposed with a genuine concern for environmental and social causes in his personal life to be an odd mix, his closest associates view it as an inevitable consequence of Turner's unsettled childhood. As the son of an equally ambitious businessman, Robert Edward Turner II, who had seen his own parents lose their South Carolina home during the Great Depression, he was conscious of the value of a dollar. This was amplified, at the age of 24, by his father's suicide after losing the family billboard advertising business due to debts. Turner also suffered through his younger sister's extended illness and death from lupus erythematosus only four years earlier. The combined experiences turned him away from organized religions but left him with an equally religious fervor to cure some of the ills of the world. "One should not set goals that he cannot reach," he told *Time* magazine in 1992. "I'm not going to rest until all the world's problems have been solved. Homelessness, AIDS [Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome]. I'm in great shape. I mean the problems will survive me—no question about it."

Still, Ted Turner will seemingly continue to manage the contradictory feats of creating a corporate empire and also to continue to give much of it away for worthy causes as long as he is able to "wheel and deal" his way through American finance and industry.

—Steve Hanson

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## TV Dinners

Introduced in the 1930s, General Foods offered the first proto-TV dinner, which was a frozen Irish stew. Successfully reaching a larger market, Swanson manufactured pot pies in 1951, and followed four years later with their mass-marketed "TV Dinners." The first TV Dinner was turkey with cornbread dressing, peas, and sweet potatoes; other varieties like Salisbury steak, ham, and chicken quickly followed.

These frozen dinners reflected changes in cultural patterns. Americans bought 70 million TV Dinners in 1955, 214 million in 1960, and 2 billion in 1994. The first meals were indeed meant to be eaten in front of the television, a relatively new technology in American homes at mid-twentieth century. To satiate larger appetites, Swanson introduced the "Hungry Man's Dinner" in 1972, and changed the generic name from "TV Dinner" to "Frozen Dinner." Producers of frozen dinners in the 1980s and 1990s reflected shifting preoccupations with foods, emphasizing low-calorie yet upscale meals—calling their products Lean Cuisine, Budget Gourmet, and Le Menu—and making cooking times even shorter by utilizing the microwave oven.

—Wendy Woloson



A TV Dinner

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## TV Guide

In 1953, when television was still a brand-new and growing phenomenon on the American scene, the president of Philadelphia's Triangle Publishing—Walter H. Annenberg—conceived the idea of a national television magazine. Inspired by the wide circulation of a local magazine called *TV Digest*, Annenberg envisioned one central nationwide magazine with separate editions containing the different local television listings. Annenberg moved quickly, keeping the convenient digest size and adding glossy color photographs and articles. On April 3, 1953, *TV Guide* was born and remains the premier listing for television fanatics in the late twentieth century.

Beginning what was to be a tradition of exclusive reportage on television and its surrounding issues, the cover of the first issue showed one of the first photos of comedy queen Lucille Ball's new baby. The magazine was issued in 10 editions, each geared to a different locality, and it sold more than one and a half million copies. The idea had proved to be a good one, and *TV Guide* went on to become the best-selling weekly in the United States, with a circulation of more than 13 million readers. The 10 editions grew to 119 regional editions, and *TV Guide* became the name most often associated with not only television program listings but also with television journalism. Though perhaps not the most glamorous aspect of the television industry, *TV Guide* is certainly one of the most familiar.

The main office of *TV Guide* is still in Radnor, Pennsylvania, but the staff of over 1,300 is scattered in more than 20 bureaus around the country. Because *TV Guide's* competition includes the free television sections of local newspapers, the weekly had to offer viewers something special, not available in the local listings. Because of this, the editorial staff of *TV Guide* has always employed a two-pronged approach—the listings and the articles.

To maximize the value of its program listings, *TV Guide* writers are assigned to cover individual television shows. Rather than using studio press releases, these writers screen programs and even read scripts themselves to ensure that their descriptions of the shows are accurate. The National Features Department of the journal moved to New York City in 1991, to be even closer to the television industry there.

*TV Guide's* other approach to creating public demand for its product has been its articles. The pages not filled with program listings contain photographs of stars, reviews of weekly programs and television movies, and articles. Some articles are the predictable fluffy pieces highlighting the off-camera antics of sitcom casts, or light-weight interviews with current popular stars. Light though they may be, these articles are often exactly what the television viewer wants to see—alternate views of favorite shows and stars, and the critics' opinion of the shows they watch. But *TV Guide* takes itself seriously

as a television magazine as well. In the sentiments of the editorial staff, “*TV Guide*’s remarkable success stems from its ability to present not only broad, objective reporting about what is on television but also in-depth, provocative coverage about the TV industry itself and the effect television has on society.”

To accomplish this purpose, the journal employs its own staff of distinguished reviewers and commentators, and has also sought outside contributors who would draw readers. Politicians such as John F. Kennedy and Gerald Ford, and eminent writers like Joyce Carol Oates and John Cheever have been found in its pages along with names more commonly associated with the entertainment industry but no less distinguished, such as David Brinkley and Katherine Hepburn; even political activists like Gloria Steinem and Coretta Scott King have found their way into *TV Guide*. While printing the writing of such famous personalities is clever editorial policy on the part of a magazine eager to boost sales, appearing in such a popular magazine is also a smart move for a writer who wants to be widely read.

In 1988, *TV Guide* was sold to Rupert Murdoch—a flamboyant Australian entrepreneur associated with sensational journalism—who was accumulating a vast entertainment empire. *TV Guide* joined the *London Times*, the Fox television network, Twentieth Century Fox movie studio, Harper and Row publishers, and dozens of other publications and companies as part of Murdoch News Corporation. Murdoch continued and expanded the *TV Guide* tradition of entertainment coverage that is both entertaining and thoughtful. Senator Paul Simon gave the *TV Guide* report on television violence much credit for encouraging Congressional hearings about television violence, and the Public Relations Service Council also acknowledged the magazine’s role in prompting them to set ethical standards for video news releases. Along with the serious side of television reportage, Murdoch brought some of the flashy side of television to *TV Guide*. In 1998, the first annual *TV Guide Awards Show* was broadcast, with winners selected by reader vote, and the USA Network has signed a deal to produce several *TV Guide* specials.

In 1998, News Corp. sold *TV Guide* to Tele-Communication Incorporated (TCI), one of the major cable companies in the United States. Competing not only with the Sunday newspaper pull-outs but also with new print competitors like Time, Inc.’s *Entertainment Weekly* and the cable on-screen guides, the circulation of *TV Guide* began to slip. Acquisition by TCI, however, marries the venerable and highly recognized *TV Guide* name with cable. A “TV Guide Channel” runs continuously to inform viewers of programming, and an on-line *TV Guide* magazine offers readers instant links to a variety of entertainment sites. Even the familiar pocket-sized digest format will change when *TV Guide* puts out its first full-sized edition in the late 1990s, offering reviews and commentaries for the first time on theatrical release movies as well as television.

As *TV Guide* changes with the times, it also offers a link to a simpler time—the early days of television when viewers, not yet inundated with entertainment, eagerly awaited news of the week’s programs supplemented with pictures and stories about the stars. Viewers appreciated a journal that took the new medium as seriously as they did, and they devoured the magazine that was all about television—right down to the crossword puzzle. In the 1960s, Marshal McLuhan envisioned a global community with television at its center. Television has no doubt been a huge force in modern culture, but not perhaps in the way he foresaw. By the late 1990s, there are more television stations and more different kinds of programming than could have been imagined at the birth of the medium. Though

there are hundreds of channel and program guides, *TV Guide* was the first and, to many American viewers, the only “real” guide to the exciting world promised by television. A glance back through the past issues of *TV Guide* provides a good chronicle of what television has been and what it has to say for itself.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Tweety Pie and Sylvester

When Friz Freleng directed 1947’s “Tweety Pie,” he may not have known he was making history. This, the first pairing of Sylvester the sputtering cat and Tweety (later Tweety) the wide-eyed canary, won an Academy Award and united a duo that would appear in more than 40 Warner Brothers cartoon shorts by 1962. Sylvester and Tweety earned their studio another Academy Award for 1957’s “Birds Anonymous” and several other Oscar nominations through the years. Generations of Americans have grown up watching Sylvester’s classic, ever-thwarted attempts to catch Tweety. With two of the most famous voices in cartoons, both supplied by Mel Blanc, Sylvester’s sloppy “sufferin succotash” and Tweety’s baby-voiced “I tawt I taw a puddy tat,” Sylvester and Tweety are two of the most quickly identified characters in cartoons.

A number of Warner Brothers cartoons featuring a predator unable to catch his prey appeared and gained popularity in the 1940s, including such classic pairings as Elmer Fudd and Bugs Bunny and the Road Runner and Wile E. Coyote. Other studios created similar cartoons, one of the earliest examples being MGM’s Tom and Jerry. Many of these cartoons, like Sylvester and Tweety, survived into the 1990s. Few characters, however, have attained the status Sylvester and Tweety enjoy.

Primarily responsible for uttering his tag lines (“I tawt I taw a puddy tat! I did! I did taw a puddy tat!” and “You bad old puddy tat!”) and looking cute, Tweety isn’t known for his superior wit or intelligence. Then again, that little canary is consistently able to get away from Sylvester, an animal who is both larger and faster than he is. Tweety is a popular character, both liked and disliked by audiences. Some like him because he does always get away from Sylvester, and also because he is so cute—bright yellow with big blue eyes and a baby voice. On the other hand, many people find him irritating for the same reasons. Either way, Tweety is one of the most recognized and imitated characters in cartoons.

If Tweety is not known for his superior wit and intelligence, Sylvester is known for his decided lack thereof. He generally goes barreling into situations, never considering the possibilities or consequences. When, in an effort to catch the delectable Tweety, Sylvester dresses up in a dog suit and is caught by the dog catcher, the moment he’s thrown in the back of the truck with a group of mangy mutts, he takes off his costume and shouts, “But I’m a cat!” Sylvester’s son, Junior, is so ashamed of his father, he generally walks around with a paper bag over his head. Sylvester’s only virtue may be his dogged persistence. In the face of constant failure, he continues to try. A

combination of stupidity, audacity, and sputtering temper, Sylvester defies the image of the cat as smart, cool, and collected. He continues to be, along with the likes of Bugs Bunny and Daffy Duck, one of the Warner Brothers's most popular and liked characters.

Both Sylvester and Tweety appeared in other cartoons before being paired for "Tweety Pie." Since this first pairing, Tweety has appeared almost exclusively with Sylvester. Other regular characters added spice to the Sylvester and Tweety cartoons, including Granny, Tweety's owner and protector, and a bulldog, who, in his general dislike for cats, often saves Tweety from Sylvester's schemes. Sylvester was also given a son, Junior, for 1950's "Pop 'Im Pop." Sylvester has had other adventures, appearing in cartoons with Speedy Gonzales, the world's fastest mouse, and Hippety Hopper, the baby kangaroo. Sylvester even made a cameo appearance as the Grand Duke in "The Scarlet Pumpernickel."

The Sylvester and Tweety cartoons, like their counterparts, began as "curtain-raisers" in theatres. A 1949 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that declared it illegal for studios to demand that theaters book a cartoon, newsreel, or live-action short in addition to hit films marked the beginning of the end of curtain-raisers. The advent of television and less public interest in movies made it difficult for studios to recover the costs of creating a cartoon short. Some less expensive cartooning methods came out of this time, but, ultimately, cartoon shorts had to make the move to television or perish. Sylvester and Tweety made this transition, culminating in a self-titled repackaging of their older cartoons as well as other Warner Brothers shorts which premiered on September 11, 1976 on CBS. Sylvester and Tweety shorts appear into the 1990s on various programs on network and cable stations.

Perhaps one of the most important factors in the continuing popularity of Tweety and Sylvester is Warner Brothers Studio's ability to keep the characters' faces in front of viewers. Sylvester and Tweety have been reincarnated in a new cartoon series, *Sylvester and Tweety Mysteries*, which premiered on September 9, 1995 on the WB Television Network. The duo appeared in 1996's *Space Jam* with legendary basketball player Michael Jordan. The cat and canary have been seen endorsing products such as Miracle Whip dressing and MCI long distance. On April 27, 1998, the United States Post Office honored Tweety and Sylvester with a 32 cent postage stamp. Sylvester and Tweety are on tee shirts, shorts, socks, underwear, and other articles of clothing. They appear prominently in products from clothing to cups to clocks sold at the Warner Brothers Studio Stores in malls across the United States.

Sylvester and Tweety are just two of numerous Warner Brothers cartoon characters who appeared in the first half of the 20th century and have enjoyed continuing popularity. Warner Brothers's marketing of the characters is no small part of their fame, but Sylvester and Tweety have an appeal that goes beyond marketing. Sylvester is not the cat we might expect, and Tweety certainly isn't as innocent as he appears. Their interactions are what makes great comedy. With Sylvester and Tweety, it is always the unexpected that makes audiences laugh. When people have seen the cartoons repeatedly and are still laughing, Sylvester and Tweety Pie's continuing popularity seems to be assured.

—Adrienne Furness

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## Twelve-Step Programs

Addiction-recovery treatments modeled on the techniques of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), Twelve-Step programs are manifestations of the nineteenth-century self-help and social collectivist movements. AA and similar organizations also represent a form of secularized religion, involving both Christian and Eastern philosophical principles, that became popular in the twentieth century. The Twelve Steps are a series of behavior-modification principles that appeal to a higher power, take action through personal inventories, make amends to others, and spread the message. Beginning with alcoholism, the treatment philosophy has been applied to gambling, eating disorders, drug addictions, sexual disorders, physical health problems, and a variety of other damaging compulsive behaviors, with varying degrees of success and not without some controversy.

The industrialization and resulting prosperity of mid-nineteenth-century Victorian Britain encouraged a renewed belief in restraining moral attributes such as hard work, respectable behavior, and personal responsibility. These values were not only embraced by the new, growing middle class in England, but appealed to other classes as well. Author Samuel Smiles enshrined what he called his "gospel of work" in a series of best-selling books including the 1859 *Self-Help*. This book, which was based on a series of self-improvement lectures that Smiles gave to young men, taught that financial success and personal happiness were based entirely on individual initiative and faith in God. Smiles' self-help movement spread across the Atlantic to the rapidly industrializing United States and influenced a generation of American self-help activists including physician John Harvey Kellogg. Kellogg was hired to supervise the Seventh Day Adventists' Health Reform Institute, located in Battle Creek, Michigan, in 1876. Beyond the breakfast cereal he helped invent as a health food, Kellogg became the most prominent self-help health advocate in the world until his death in 1943. He spread, popularized, and helped make nearly universal the Adventist notion that individuals are responsible for and can do something about their physical and spiritual health.

During the early twentieth century, a Protestant evangelist named Frank N. D. Buchman established the Oxford Group, a religious movement that encouraged conversion experiences through confession, restitution, and self-survey. Before the group became involved with Fascism in the late 1930s, it attracted two converts with severe drinking-related problems, New York City stockbroker William Griffith Wilson, or "Bill W." as he was known to his AA friends, and Akron, Ohio physician Robert Holbrook Smith, or "Dr. Bob." The pair adapted the principles and practices of the Oxford Group in tandem with the well-known self-help health dogma of Kellogg to the problem of controlling drinking. Previously, alcoholism had been treated as a matter for moral persuasion, institutionalization, or law enforcement. Bill W. and Dr. Bob's new program consisted of helping, talking to, or otherwise maintaining contact

with other drunkards to engage in spiritual activity. On June 10, 1935, Dr. Bob had his last drink, marking the official start of Alcoholics Anonymous.

The circles of recovering alcoholics in AA grew slowly at first. The noble experiment of Prohibition, which ended in 1933, had changed the culture of alcoholism in American society. All-male saloons died with the introduction of Prohibition in 1920, replaced by mixed-sex drinking that continued after 1933. Gone was the fraternity of men supporting each other in and out of alcoholism. Prohibition forced drinking undercover, into homes, hotel rooms, and other places where it had not been common previously. Bootleg beverages, especially beer, were often weak or reduced with other substances so that they could be consumed in greater quantities.

The end of Prohibition meant the return of alcoholic beverages to their traditional strengths, a reality to which many drinkers could not adjust. Coupled with enticing stories in the press, advertisements promoting drinking as sophisticated and glamorous, and the abundant use of alcohol in Hollywood movies, alcoholism gradually increased in the years during and after the Great Depression. There were over 100 members of AA by 1939, the same year the basic Twelve-Step program, *Alcoholics Anonymous*, or the "Big Book" as it was known in the movement, was published. A national AA service office was established in New York City in 1940 and the *Saturday Evening Post* gave the AA and the Twelve-Step program its first extensive national publicity in 1941.

Bill W. wrote The Twelve Steps in a burst of inspiration during 1938 and 1939, but they were based on debate among members and reflected the collective nature of the organization and its religious underpinnings. Though the original version was written in the stilted language of the day, subsequent editions of the "Big Book" have kept the original wording. The founders described themselves as "average Americans," but most were male, Protestant, white, and middle class. Their perspective reflected their environment, although the group had made efforts to distance itself from the earlier temperance movement that had flourished among the same social-economic class by stressing that alcohol was not in itself bad, only that some individuals were unable to drink in moderation. The first tenet of the Twelve-Step program was that members had to admit their powerlessness in their addiction. AA maintained that a person had to "hit bottom" and find him or herself in a totally powerless situation before redemption was possible. After members were introduced on the anonymous, first-name basis pioneered by AA (every member is greeted with "Hi" and their AA name), Twelve-Step meetings were built around the near-destruction testimonials of new and old members.

Next, the member had to express the crucial element of belief: adherence to a power greater than him or herself. Only with faith could the member move on to Step Three, turn his or her life over to God, Step Six, be ready to have God remove defects of character, and Step Seven, ask Him to remove shortcomings. Steps Four to Nine, including the making of a moral inventory, the admission of past wrong-doings to another person, and the listing and making of amends to people who had been wronged, were called the action Steps. The action Steps said nothing about drinking, for in AA parlance, "liquor was but a symptom." Steps Ten to Twelve continued inventory taking and wrong-doing admission, the improvement of one's knowledge of God through prayer and meditation, and the undergoing of a conversion experience. A "spiritual awakening" as the result of these Steps, which permitted the member to spread the Twelve-Step method to other addicts and practice the principles in

everyday life, was considered to represent the continuance or maintenance of the Steps. In AA's conception, helping other alcoholics was considered the best means by which to maintain an individual's own continued sobriety. It also perpetuated the AA organization and spread the Twelve-Step concept.

From its modest beginnings, AA has grown into a worldwide organization with hundreds of thousands of members. Fellowship continues to be organized on a local level with no dues payable. Contributions for expenses are accepted from those attending meetings only. Affiliation of the AA or its local groups with churches, political organizations, or other official institutions is barred by the AA Twelve Traditions, another seminal document. More than 200 other organizations have developed their own versions of the Twelve-Step program, including Al-Anon, the organization for members of the families of alcoholics founded in 1951, Narcotics Anonymous, Gamblers Anonymous, Overeaters Anonymous, Debtors Anonymous, Augustine Fellowship Sex & Love Addicts Anonymous, Survivors of Incest Anonymous, and more recently, Cocaine, Nicotine, and Co-Dependents Anonymous.

The Twelve-Step program continues to be a focus of debate. Experts argue that it is difficult to evaluate recidivism rates of Twelve-Step program participants because of their anonymity. AA's insistence that alcoholism is a disease counters more recent research that alcoholism is a behavior without physical cause. The first continuing female member of AA, Marty Mann, joined in 1937, but feminists and minorities argue that AA is oppressive through language in the Twelve Steps, which they perceive as constraining, repressive, and fostering co-dependence. They hold also that AA literature does not allow for discussion of social issues, such as discrimination and poverty, which often affect individual drinking patterns. The Twelve-Step's insistence in God or a "Higher Power" has run afoul of the doctrine of the separation of church and state, especially when the AA cooperates with law enforcement officials in mandating AA treatment for convicted offenders. And AA's Protestant Christian roots has led to criticism that it is in itself a form of religion, or at least a quasi-religious organization like Transcendental Meditation or Scientology, an allegation AA denies.

The Twelve-Step program has been borrowed by numerous, less serious behaviors such as shop and fish-o-holics. The AA meeting format, with members' accounts of desperate experiences and the "Hi, I'm so-and-so" introduction, have been the object of lampoons and parodies. In an episode of the popular 1990s television sitcom *Seinfeld*, the character George harassed a new AA member friend for failing to properly complete Step Eight, making amends to persons harmed, to the extent that the friend was driven to binge on liquor-flavored ice cream. Still, most experienced therapists agreed that any form of treatment for addictive behavior is most likely to show a higher rate of success if the patient joins Alcoholics Anonymous or another Twelve-Step Organization. In the face of the omnipresent social problem of alcoholism and its detrimental effects on children and families, the growing social acceptance of gambling and tolerance of compulsive gamblers, and an ever-increasing variety of other addictive behaviors, Twelve-Step programs provide adequate substitutes for a dependent way of life.

—Richard Digby-Junger

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## The Twenties

The 1920s were a period of rapid industrial growth, economic prosperity, and cultural change. Due mainly to the automobile industry, building and road construction, the development of the radio and advertising industries, and the emergence of "the new woman," the 1920s are often seen as the first "modern" decade in which the major characteristics of the twentieth century first emerged. Tensions between ideas of modernity and accepted traditional values characterize the popular culture of the twenties.

Following American involvement in the First World War, the 1920s witnessed an emphasis on domestic concerns such as the economy and the cultural values of American society. The economic boom of the 1920s, best illustrated by Henry Ford's dominance of the automobile industry through the use of interchangeable parts in automobile production, led to a high standard of living for many Americans as wages increased while working hours decreased. This was possible mainly through the increased mechanization of industry and production on a massive scale. Ford's River Rouge plant in Michigan, in which raw materials were processed, parts fabricated and assembled all under Ford's control, illustrates the strengths of the 1920s economy. Ford produced an automobile which required little in highly paid skilled labor and could be sold at a relatively cheap price. The automobile industry, in turn, fueled growth in related industries such as construction, glass, rubber, oil, and tourism. This boom created an American economy in which industrial production, for the first time, outpaced consumer demand. In order to accommodate this increase in production, corporations turned to advertising as a way to increase demand. It was during the 1920s that businesses began advertising directly to consumers and not retailers. The purpose of the advertisements became less about the presentation of information about a product and more about creating a positive image for a corporation or product by implying various benefits resulting from the product's purchase. Employing popularized ideas about the expression of desires taken from Sigmund Freud's theories of sexual repression leading to neurosis, advertisers sought to exploit the desires of the consuming public by emphasizing the benefits of consumption.

The emphasis on expression over repression went beyond the realm of advertising and can be seen in the popular culture of the

1920s. From novels such as F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (1925) and Sinclair Lewis' *Babbitt* (1922) to the increasingly frenetic sound of jazz music and new dances such as the Lindy Hop (named after famous flyer Charles Lindbergh), American popular culture reflected a modern sense of ethics and values focused on individual pleasure and expression. Even all-American celebrities, such as Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford, were challenged by more sexually expressive personalities such as Rudolph Valentino and Greta Garbo. This more modern approach to popular culture was reinforced by modern media, such as the radio, phonographs, and sound film. Both the form and content of 1920s popular culture demonstrated a sense of modernity.

In literature, the 1920s were characterized by the writings of what Gertrude Stein called "the lost generation." Writers such as Fitzgerald, Lewis, Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos, T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, e. e. cummings, and Sherwood Anderson critiqued American society, especially the traditions and values of rural life, or in their words, "the village." These writers were disillusioned by their involvement in the First World War and this disillusionment is reflected in their writings. It was a lost generation, according to Malcolm Cowley in *Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s* "because it was uprooted, schooled away, and almost wrenched away from its attachment to any region or tradition." But the "lost generation" writers were not the only significant writers during the 1920s. Women like Edna St. Vincent Millay attempted to capitalize on the less repressive atmosphere of the 1920s by flaunting sexual expression in their poetry and life, and African American writers such as poets Langston Hughes and Countee Cullen, novelists Claude McKay, Jean Toomer, Jessie Faust, and Zora Neale Hurston joined artists such as Aaron Douglas and Augusta Savage in leading the "Harlem Renaissance."

This greater mainstream acceptance of African-American culture is also reflected in the growing influence of jazz music on American popular music. The First World War was instrumental in the spread of jazz music. The military's forced closure of New Orleans' red light district, Storyville, forced many jazz musicians employed there out of Louisiana northward in search of other opportunities, and war mobilization provided greater contact between races at military installations and wartime manufacturing plants. These two factors led black musicians to adapt black blues and jazz to the expectations of a white audience. Jazz spread first among younger audiences, mainly due to its spontaneous nature and its association with chaotic dancing, and critics denounced it as unmusical, intoxicating, and immoral. Despite these objections, jazz became the most popular form of music during the 1920s, dominating the radio airwaves, record sales, and even influencing movies such as *The Jazz Singer* (1927). As jazz music became more popular, it also became more standardized, organized, and arranged. What had once been music that emphasized improvisation throughout a piece became a highly structured, formulaic genre in which improvisation was limited to specific breaks in the arrangement of jazz "riffs." What had been "hot" jazz, by musicians such as Louis Armstrong and his Hot Five, became "sweet" jazz at the hands of band leaders like Guy Lombardo and his Royal Canadians, or "symphonic" jazz in the words of Paul Whiteman. Whiteman's orchestra debuted George Gershwin's "Rhapsody in Blue," in 1924, subtitled "for jazz band and piano." The work was primarily symphonic with jazz motifs. These orchestras and large bands developed what would become Big Band swing music in the 1930s and 1940s.

Like jazz music, motion pictures also gained greater acceptance during the 1920s as they moved out of working-class storefront nickelodeons into grand movie palaces attracting a middle-class and middle-brow audience. In the various conflicts between traditional values and modernity, movies challenged accepted middle-class values. According to Robert Sklar, in his book *Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies*, “movies came to be seen as offering values distinctly different from those of middle-class culture, and providing greater opportunities for ethnic minorities than other economic sectors.” Not only was the movie industry dominated by recent immigrants, the films themselves (being silent in the early 1920s) were easily adapted to a variety of immigrant cultures and easily understood by immigrant audiences, and as the audience for movies grew, so did the respectability of movies as an art form and acceptable leisure activity. The movie industry portrayed a changing America not only through the opportunities it created for a more heterogeneous population, or the attractions it held for a mass audience, but the movies themselves presented the values of modern America at the same time as it reinforced traditional middle-class values. Two of the most popular male stars illustrate this point. Rudolph Valentino, in his short career before his sudden death in 1926, embodied the modern, passionate, and sexually expressive male of the 1920s in such films as *The Sheik* (1921) and *Blood and Sand* (1922), while Douglas Fairbanks, in *The Mark of Zorro* (1920), *Robin Hood* (1922), and *The Thief of Bagdad* (1925), embodied the traditional, robust, athletic, all-American male. Both men became celebrities and helped to cultivate the studio star system in which performers became the major commodity used in selling a movie to the public.

The 1920s witnessed the consolidation of the power of the studios, especially Paramount Studios under Adolph Zukor, which was the largest of the silent film producers. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer was created by theater owner Marcus Loew, who bought and combined Metro Picture Company with Samuel Goldwyn’s Picture Company under the direction of Louis B. Mayer. Chafing under the influence of powerful producers and studio executives, director D. W. Griffith, and actors Charlie Chaplin, Douglas Fairbanks, and Mary Pickford formed the United Artists Corporation in 1919 to distribute individually produced films, and thereby avoid the formal structure of a studio. Each of these companies controlled several aspects of film production, distribution, and exhibition, yet the greatest change in Hollywood film occurred at the fledgling Warner Brothers Studio when they purchased and began producing films with the Vitaphone (sound-on-disc) technology in 1926. Within a few years, sound film production outpaced silent film. With the premiere of *The Jazz Singer* in 1927, the silent era ended.

In many ways, the silent era in popular culture ended earlier with the spread of radio technology in the 1920s. From amateurs broadcasting in basements and garages to fully formed and regulated networks after the Radio Act of 1927, the radio industry developed into Americans’ most utilized and trusted source of news, information, and entertainment. The 1920s were a decade of growth for the radio industry, not only in its technical aspects, but in regards to programming as well. Radio stations learned what worked well on radio and what did not. The most attractive aspect of radio for the audience was its immediacy. Broadcasts of sporting events, from boxing matches and baseball games, political conventions and election returns, live remote broadcasts from big-city ballrooms, and news reporting all became mainstays of the radio industry. Radio also

found itself the new home of variety entertainment after the decline of vaudeville. The most popular radio comedy, *Amos and Andy*, featured white vaudevillians Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll portraying two black southerners whose simple ways and common misunderstandings provided the humor for the show. The pervasive nature of radio reinforced, to a national audience, many regionally held stereotypes, especially of minorities. Many people believed what they heard on the radio, not only because it was capable of presenting news upon its occurrence, but because the radio produced a certain form of intimacy in which the listener identified with the broadcast in ways unlike other forms of media. The presence of a radio set within one’s home and the necessity of the listener to create images from the sounds presented resulted in each listener creating a very personal program, unique and individual. This transformation in communications and entertainment, through its immediacy and national appeal, reinforced the feeling that the 1920s were the start of the “modern” era.

This modern shift in social and cultural values did not take place unopposed. Several social movements can be explained as a revolt against the changes occurring in American society; as a revolt against modernity. Nativism, prohibition, and counter-evolution were all attempts to save traditional values in the face of change. Nativism came in three basic forms. All, however, expressed a deep discomfort with the changes occurring in American society and mainly with the changes occurring as a result of immigration. Anti-radicalism was a form of nativism in which people who disagreed with the government were seen as undesirable. The attacks on foreigners during and after WWI, in such notable instances as the Palmer raids and the unfair trial of anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti were all part of this fear of radicals, especially in the wake of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917. This fear of radicals spilled over into a fear of non-Protestants, especially against Jews, but even against Catholics. Michigan and Nebraska both passed laws prohibiting parochial schools, and critics of President Woodrow Wilson called him “the puppet of the Pope.” This fear of others naturally translated into fierce support of white Anglo-Saxon Protestants. In 1921, Madison Grant wrote *The Passing of the Great Race* in which he described not only the hierarchy of races, with whites being at the top, but he also distinguished between whites by dividing Europeans into three main groups, Mediterraneans, Alpines, and Nordics, with Nordics being the superior group. This belief in the inferiority of Asians, Africans, and southern and eastern Europeans led to the passage of the National Origins Act of 1924 in which immigration quotas were designed to increase the number of nordic immigrants while decreasing all others; this also meant the complete exclusion of Asian immigrants and small quotas for southern and eastern European immigrants. The most dramatic example of nativism during the 1920s can be seen in the revival of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). Unlike the post-Civil War era, when the purpose of the Klan was to intimidate African Americans, the 1920s Klan advocated white supremacy over not only Blacks, but also Jews, Catholics, and any immigrants who were not white Anglo-Saxon Protestants. The Klan also became modern by using expert advertisers to promote themselves and recruit new members. By 1923 over 3 million Americans were members of the Klan, with the strongest Klan organizations in the Midwest and the West.

In January of 1919 the 18th Amendment was passed, prohibiting the manufacturing, selling, or transporting of intoxicating beverages in the United States. The Volstead Act of 1919 defined intoxicating beverages as anything with more than 0.5 percent alcohol. This move towards prohibition of alcohol was yet another attempt to return

America to what many perceived as its past. The proliferation of saloons in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was seen by many people as an expression of change, of encroaching foreign influence. Halting this process of change meant reinforcing and retaining traditional values.

Part of the attack on things foreign and things new was the attack on science, and especially in those areas where scientific theory and practice conflicted with deeply held religious beliefs, such as in the case of the theory of evolution and the belief in creationism. In 1925, the state of Tennessee passed a law prohibiting the teaching of evolution in public schools and colleges. In a test case in July of 1925, schoolteacher John T. Scopes was tried under this law in Dayton, Tennessee. The case became a national sensation, with two of the most prominent attorneys representing each side. The American Civil Liberties Union hired the famous trial lawyer Clarence Darrow to argue against the law, while the state got William Jennings Bryan (the populist and Democratic presidential hopeful) to argue its side. The “monkey trial,” as it was known, argued over the issue of evolution versus creationism, but in the end the judge ruled that the only thing that mattered was the fact that Scopes did teach evolution and therefore was guilty. He was fined \$100, which was suspended by the state supreme court. It was a victory for the anti-modernists, but it would be their last one. A few days after the trial ended, William Jennings Bryan died, and with him died much of the 1920s fundamentalist movement.

Each of these social movements (nativism, prohibition, and anti-evolutionism), seen in conjunction with the rapid spread of automobiles, economic prosperity, and the radio and film industries, illustrates the conflicted state of American culture during the 1920s.

—Charles J. Shindo

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## 23 Skidoo

Though commonly associated with the “roaring twenties,” the popular catch phrase, “23 Skidoo,” actually originated around the turn of the twentieth century. Its origin has been accredited to two contemporaneous sources: *The Only Way*, a Broadway adaptation of Charles Dickens’ *Tale of Two Cities*, and telegraphic code. In the last act of the aforementioned play, an old woman solemnly intones the number of victims on their way to the gallows, with special emphasis on number 23, the play’s protagonist. The cry, “23!,” was soon taken up by Broadway habitués. In telegraphic code, 23 is an abbreviation

for “Away with you!” Skidoo, a derivation of skedaddle, was soon added to “23” for the edification of those who had not seen the play or were unfamiliar with telegraphic code. For the next 20 years, the expression, or one of its variants, was commonly heard amongst students and young sophisticates, where it ordinarily meant “Get lost!,” but was frequently used without any precise meaning. By the end of the 1920s, “23 Skidoo” had fallen out of common usage, but has since proved more enduring than other catch phrases of the period.

—Michael Baers

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## 20/20

With the premiere on June 6, 1978 of its program *20/20*, ABC Television launched its first ever news magazine. The youngest and the most troubled television network in the late 1970s, ABC was engaging in a major initiative to revise its news programming under the tutelage of its newly appointed president, Roone Arledge. Arledge targeted a number of ways in which ABC could improve its news division with the goal being to attract the average American viewer rather than news junkies. One result of this push was *20/20*, which was based on the success of the CBS program *60 Minutes*, which, since its premiere in 1968, had enjoyed significant popularity as a different means to present news through the use of longer segments and non-traditional news time slots.

The very first *20/20* program was hosted by *Time* magazine critic Robert Hughes and former *Esquire* editor Harold Hayes. The kick-off story featured a report on rabbit abuse at greyhound tracks, and signally failed to attract critical enthusiasm. The initial reviews ranged from “dizzily absurd” from *The New York Times* to “the trashiest stab at candycane journalism yet” from *The Washington Post*. Arledge immediately realized that the program’s concept had to be reworked if it was to succeed. He rearranged the show’s focus and introduced a new anchor, the longtime *Today* show personality Hugh Downs. Under the beloved Downs, *20/20* thrived and took on more of a consumer focus. In 1984, Arledge decided to bring on Barbara Walters, also a *Today* show alumnus but more recently a rising star within ABC. The combination of the two anchors was a hit with the viewers and, through *20/20*, Walters and Downs earned a place among the most respected journalists in television history.

*20/20* has featured countless groundbreaking and exclusive interviews with world-famous figures drawn from many different arenas of public life. Often controversial, they have ranged from politics and show business to sportsmen, and even criminals. Among the most memorable interviewees have been Cuba’s president, Fidel Castro; Bill and Hillary Clinton, appearing at the height of the Whitewater controversy; Olympic diving champion Greg Louganis, who revealed for the first time that he was stricken with AIDS and had been HIV-positive when he competed in the 1988 Olympics; and

former White House intern and presidential paramour, Monica Lewinsky. Also contributing to *20/20*'s success with viewers has been its numerous health-related stories, one of the most personal involving Downs being shadowed by a crew who filmed him during his knee procedure and subsequent recovery.

Encouraged by the strong showing of *20/20* and the continued popularity of the rival *60 Minutes*, and spurred on by NBC's competitive bid into the news magazine forum with *Dateline*, ABC has created other news magazines over the years. With NBC's *Dateline* airing up to five times per week, in 1997 ABC decided to increase *20/20* showings to several nights a week. While this proved mildly successful, the network made a more radical move for the 1998-1999 season, combining all ABC news magazines (notably *PrimeTimeLive*) under the *20/20* brand. Airing at least three times weekly, *20/20* expanded its original consumer focus to embrace the more investigative pieces and hard journalism that had marked *PrimeTimeLive*, as well as to include more features on the day's top news. Additionally, Downs and Walters were no longer the sole anchors of the expanded program, but shared responsibilities with several other top ABC journalists, notably Sam Donaldson, Diane Sawyer, Charles Gibson, and Connie Chung.

—Alyssa L. Falwell

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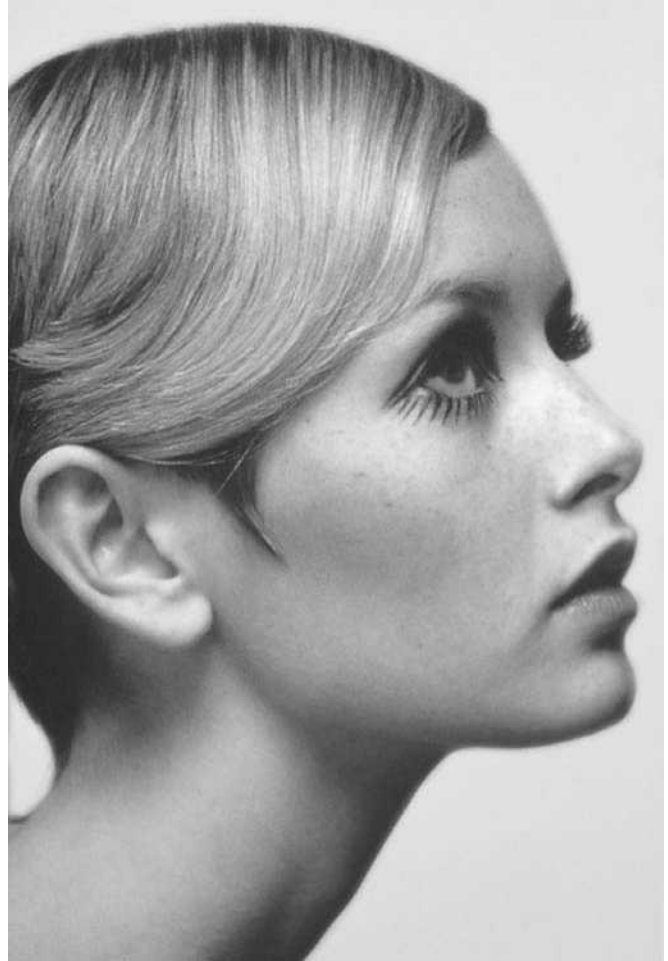
## Twiggy (1949—)

Arguably the very first “supermodel,” England’s Twiggy became an international star in the mid-1960s, bringing the world an idealized image of a youthful “Swinging London” and, for better or worse, heavily influencing popular conceptions of femininity. On the one hand, the ninety-one-pound, saucer-eyed Twiggy (born Lesley Hornby) was a positive celebration of androgyny and a radical break from the 1950s’ insistence that female sex symbols possess curvaceous figures. Conversely, some critics have argued that Twiggy’s slight physique helped push standards of thinness too far, leading many young women toward personal dissatisfaction with their bodies and, in some cases, anorexia. After saturating the pages of fashion magazines at the end of the 1960s and appearing in a handful of films in the early 1970s, notably Ken Russell’s *The Boyfriend*, Twiggy adopted the last name Lawson and largely remained out of the limelight. However, Twiggy’s influence upon the fashion industry never truly waned, as svelte boyishness recurred as a theme in female models for decades.

—Shaun Frentner

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Twiggy

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## The Twilight Zone

Created by the visionary writer Rod Serling, *The Twilight Zone* proved both a landmark of televised science fiction and a powerful touchstone in America’s pop cultural consciousness. The black-and-white anthology series, which ran on CBS from 1959 to 1964, generated lukewarm ratings at the time but has grown in public estimation over time. Over the course of its five-year network run, *The Twilight Zone* explored themes never before examined on television. It exposed the talents of a generation of talented character players, like Jack Klugman, William Shatner, and Robert Duvall, who would go on to become household names for subsequent portrayals. It also cemented the legacy of its creator, at the time known principally as the author of socially concerned live dramas.

Serling created *The Twilight Zone* to serve as a forum for his commentary about technology, conformity, discrimination, and a whole host of other issues. Frustrated by his inability to explore these





A scene from *The Twilight Zone* episode “Time Enough at Last.”

topics in mainstream dramas in the face of censorship by network executives and skittish advertisers, he hoped that the show’s science fiction anthology format might allow him to introduce a little liberal orthodoxy to viewers without alarming the suits. But if Serling was in it for the advocacy, the show’s other creative collaborators consistently pulled it back into the realm of traditional fantasy. This dialectic proved good for all parties concerned.

*The Twilight Zone* premiered on October 2, 1959. Its introductory episode, “Where Is Everybody,” established the tone and creative parameters of the series. In it, a young man in Air Force garb finds himself in a seemingly deserted town. After increasingly frantic attempts to locate its inhabitants, he breaks down in despair. Only at the end is it revealed that the man is an astronaut being subjected to an experiment in an isolation booth, and that the proceedings have been an hallucination. In countless subsequent installments, *The Twilight Zone* would rely on this same formula of an ordinary human being suddenly beset by extraordinary circumstances. Quite frequently, there was an unexpected twist at the denouement that cast the strange events in a new or supernatural light. To provide context and codify the cosmic significance of the events, Serling himself provided opening and closing narration, usually on camera in an immaculate Kuppenheimer suit.

To supply these dark melodramas from week to week, *The Twilight Zone* relied upon a stable of writers seasoned in the macabre arts of science fiction and fantasy. Along with Serling, short story veterans Richard Matheson and Charles Beaumont formed a creative trioka that was responsible for much of the series’ high-quality

teleplays. Matheson’s scripts tended toward more hard-science content, like the classic “Little Girl Lost,” about a child who vanishes through her bedroom wall into another dimension. Beaumont crafted some of the show’s more horrific installments, like the gothic gem “The Howling Man,” in which a traveler in Europe happens upon the devil being kept locked up in a cell in a monastery. Other important contributors to the series included George Clayton Johnson; Montgomery Pittman; Earl Hamner, Jr.; Reginald Rose; and Ray Bradbury, who eventually wrote for the show as well.

But it was the workaholic Serling who took on the bulk of the creative burden. All told, Serling would write 92 of the 156 broadcast episodes, more than one-third of the total. His influence over the show was especially keen during the first three seasons, when he personally penned some of the program’s signature installments. “Eye of the Beholder” addressed people’s perceptions of beauty, through the eyes of a bandaged and “disfigured” young woman whom viewers see revealed in a shocking climax. “Mirror Image” explored the nature of identity when a woman waiting in a bus station is suddenly confronted by her exact double. And the chilling “The Obsolete Man” touched on Cold War themes in relating the last days of a librarian of the future condemned to death for defending the utility of books.

Episodes like these allowed Serling to fulfill his vision of commenting on existential and political themes without incurring the wrath of advertisers and network executives. But the show’s social concern also emboldened Serling to write all too pontifically at times, a problem that was exacerbated by his heavy workload. Too many of his episodes seem written in a rush of sanctimony, with long, windy speechifying from the central characters on the major issues of the day. Even the many gems could not spare the program from lukewarm public interest. *The Twilight Zone* was never a hit in the ratings and was in danger of cancellation by CBS almost from the start. At the end of the third season, the network elected to expand the show to an hour in hopes that that might change its fortunes. But the quality of the scripts suffered, with many seeming interminably padded at the new running time. After a desultory fifth season, during which most of the series best creative talent left, the axe finally fell.

*The Twilight Zone* may have ended in 1964, but its influence continued to grow. Many of the show’s writers, like Richard Matheson, took their talents to the big screen. Others continued to work in television. Earl Hamner, Jr., who wrote several episodes for *The Twilight Zone* set in the rural backwoods, went on to create *The Waltons*, the long-running cornpone drama on CBS. Fittingly, Serling remained the busiest of all. He co-wrote the screenplay for *Planet of the Apes* in 1968, among other theatrical ventures. He also released a series of short story adaptations of his classic *Twilight Zone* teleplays. But Serling’s talents remained best suited for the small screen. He hosted a very *Twilight Zone*-like anthology series, *Night Gallery*, from 1970 to 1972, but network interference eventually drove him out of the medium altogether. He died following complications from open heart surgery on June 28, 1975.

Long after its network run had ended, *The Twilight Zone* remained a staple of syndicated reruns nationwide. Often aired late at night, it gave the creeps to a whole new generation of insomniacs who had not been around for the initial airings. The show’s appeal was so broad that in 1977, *Saturday Night Live* could do a parody of it (with Dan Aykroyd doing a dead-on Serling) that had the audience howling with recognition. Serling’s widow even launched a *Twilight Zone* magazine featuring new fiction in the series tradition. The time seemed ripe for a major revival of the franchise.

But all did not work out as planned. In 1982, a *Twilight Zone* movie was released to much anticipation. In keeping with the spirit of the series, producer Steven Spielberg had opted for an anthology format, comprised of three remakes of classic *Twilight Zone* installments and a fourth, all-new story. Up and coming directors Joe Dante (*The Howling*), John Landis (*An American Werewolf in London*), and George Miller (*The Road Warrior*) were brought in to helm three of the segments, with Spielberg handling the fourth. Despite all that talent, however, and the best efforts of screenwriter Richard Matheson, the result was a tepid mishmash that bombed at the box office. Each of the three remakes was markedly inferior to the original, while Landis' segment, the lone original story, was a sanctimonious misfire, dismissed by the show's aficionados as an unintentional parody of Serling. The fact that actor Vic Morrow was beheaded during filming did little to enhance the picture's public relations cachet, and embroiled Landis in a career-threatening lawsuit.

Somewhat more successful—artistically, if not commercially—was a new *Twilight Zone* television series, launched in 1985 on CBS. The new show boasted a stellar lineup of creative talent, from Ray Bradbury, Stephen King, and Harlan Ellison on the writers' side to directors like William Friedkin, Joe Dante, and John Milius. Actor Charles Aidman, who had appeared in two original *Twilight Zone* episodes, assumed Serling's post as narrator/moral contextualizer. A number of top-flight episodes were produced, like Ellison's brilliant "Paladin of the Lost Hour," that recaptured the spirit of the old series. But budget cuts, network interference, and low ratings eventually took their toll, and the series was mothballed for good in 1989.

Four decades after its network debut, *The Twilight Zone* continued to intrigue both the general public and fans of the science fiction/fantasy genre. The phrase "Twilight Zone kind of feeling" has entered the popular lexicon as a term for the series' quintessentially eerie sensation of otherworldly alienation. Marathon airings of the nearly 40-year-old episodes generated powerhouse ratings for local syndicated stations well into the 1990s, making the syndication package a prized possession within the broadcast industry. In 1996, cable's Sci-Fi Channel secured exclusive rights to air reruns of the original series—albeit in a truncated form allowing for additional commercial time, something of which Serling would most assuredly not approve. Nevertheless, its viability into a second millennium ensured that Serling and his unique vision would remain a permanent marker on America's pop cultural landscape.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Twin Peaks

With a quirky mixture of murder mystery, soap opera, film noir, and the avant-garde, *Twin Peaks* rewrote the formula for prime-time television drama in the early 1990s. Created by American filmmaker David Lynch (*The Elephant Man*, *Blue Velvet*, *Lost Highway*), *Twin Peaks* was a character-driven show, sporting a cast of more than one

hundred, and used intricately interwoven subplots to keep viewers tuned in. This unconventional epic revolves around the murder of Laura Palmer, small-town beauty queen, and the investigating FBI agent whose dreams and quasi-Buddhist methods reveal the Black Lodge, a surreal waiting room inhabited by the personification of pure evil known only as BOB. *Twin Peaks* was canceled in 1991 after only twenty-nine episodes.

—Tony Brewer

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## Twister

Invented by Reyn Guyer, this game asks several players to reach over, under, and across each other to place their hands and feet on colored circles on a large vinyl game board. Named "Twister" by Milton Bradley, the game was demonstrated on the *Tonight Show* in 1966. While Eva Gabor was on her hands and knees, show host Johnny Carson stood over her and reached for another circle; the sexual innuendo and close physical contact made for controversial television and helped attract American youths to the game. Twister sold 13 million games in its first year. In 1987, at the University of Massachusetts campus in Amherst, 4150 contestants set a record for the number of simultaneous Twister players.

—S. Naomi Finkelstein

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## 2 Live Crew

2 Live Crew, the primary progenitors of a hip-hop sub-genre called Miami Bass, will probably be better remembered for their important legal battles than their music. Their sexually explicit songs that often objectified women and which featured relatively simple bass-driven beats drew the attention of many conservative law enforcement officials from their hometown of Miami, as well as elsewhere. 2 Live Crew's legal perils during the late 1980s and early 1990s opened up debates about censorship and made them unwitting proponents of free speech.

Foreshadowing the legal battles over intellectual property that dogged the group a few years down the line, the group's first legal confrontation involved the appropriation of the name Luke Skywalker as a stage name by the group's leader (born Luther Campbell, Dec. 22, 1960). Lucasfilm, the owner of the *Star Wars* trilogy trademark,



### 2 Live Crew

promptly sued the group when they began to find aboveground exposure when 2 Live Crew's second album, *Move Somethin'* (1987), reached number 68 on the *Billboard* pop chart. As a result, Luther Campbell's stage and record company names were shortened to "Luke" and "Luke Records," respectively. The album that gained the most attention, though, was *As Nasty As They Wanna Be* (1989) which reached the pop album charts' Top Forty and spawned a hit single, "Me So Horny." Despite its many detractors, from conservative law enforcement officials, right-wing Christian groups, and music critics, *As Nasty As They Wanna Be* sold over two million copies, many of which were likely sold because of publicity drawn from criticism of the group.

Enraged by the explicit content of 2 Live Crew, a Coral Gables attorney named Jack Thompson launched an all-out war against the group, culminating in a Broward County, Florida judge deeming the album obscene under state law in March of 1990. Soon after, a record store owner in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida and another in Huntsville, Alabama were arrested by local sheriffs departments for violating obscenity laws. Around the same time, 2 Live Crew was arrested for

performing songs from *As Nasty As They Wanna Be* in a Florida nightclub and, when visiting the same town, alternative band Too Much Joy was arrested for performing songs from that album in an act of protest. These events escalated into a full scale debate within the media over free speech and first amendment protection, with radio and television talk show pundits arguing over 2 Live Crew's social and musical merits.

The two record store retailers were eventually acquitted, as were 2 Live Crew and Too Much Joy—all by juries that either criticized local authorities for wasting their time or, in one case, wanted to deliver the not guilty verdict in the form of a rap. In May 1992 the obscenity ruling was reversed by the eleventh United States Circuit Court of Appeals and an appeal was refused to be heard by the United States Supreme Court. But 2 Live Crew's legal woes were not over, as they faced another suit filed against them for the unauthorized sampling of Roy Orbison's "Oh, Pretty Woman." The owners of the song's copyright, Acuff-Rose, argued that 2 Live Crew's use of the song devalued the original's worth. After a protracted legal battle that eventually went to the United States Supreme Court, that court ruled

in 1994 that the 2 Live Crew version constituted fair use under copyright law and was therefore legal. In a time dominated by easy access to digital recording and transferring technology, this was seen as a significant ruling by legal scholars.

Riding the wave of publicity after the *As Nasty As They Wanna Be* scandal, 2 Live Crew milked another couple of minor hit albums in 1990 and 1991 (*Banned in the USA* and *Sports Weekend*, respectively). Soon after, however, the group's mainstream success fizzled and the original lineup disbanded, with Luke going on as a solo artist, periodically releasing solo albums on his own label.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## 2001: A Space Odyssey

In 1964 film director Stanley Kubrick approached science fiction writer Arthur C. Clarke seeking a plot for “the proverbial good



A scene from the film *2001: A Space Odyssey*.

science fiction movie.” They worked together to craft a story inspired by Clarke’s short story “The Sentinel,” in which an astronaut discovers a mysterious pyramid on the moon. As Clarke wrote a novel derived from their script, Kubrick created a unique movie which continues to amaze and frustrate viewers, the 1968 MGM film *2001: A Space Odyssey*.

The film presents an abbreviated and speculative version of human evolution. The story opens at “The Dawn of Man” as pre-human man-apes discover a large, upright black slab. The apes are drawn to the monolith as it sings to them. After this, one ape, Moon-Watcher (Daniel Richter), discovers that a bone can be used as a club and learns how to use the club’s power to acquire food and to dominate the emerging ape society. The setting shifts in one of the most famous cuts in film history: Moon-Watcher tosses his club into the air; as it falls, the club suddenly transforms into a spaceship sliding through space. The plot now focuses on Heywood Floyd (William Sylvester), an official with the National Astronautics Council, who is traveling to the moon to investigate a mysterious black monolith discovered there. The monolith had obviously been created by intelligent extraterrestrial beings and deliberately buried in a lunar crater. When Floyd arrives at the monolith, it emits a piercing shriek.

The setting shifts again to the *Discovery*, a spaceship en route to Jupiter. The ship carrying three scientists in suspended animation is staffed by astronauts Dave Bowman (Keir Dullea) and Frank Poole (Gary Lockwood) and the HAL 9000 computer (voice of Douglas Rain). After a mysterious equipment failure, Dave and Frank become suspicious of the supposedly infallible HAL. The astronauts conspire to disconnect HAL but the all-seeing computer learns of their plot. HAL murders the sleeping scientists, sets Frank adrift in space, and traps Dave outside the ship. After he manages to reboard the *Discovery* via an airlock, Dave dismantles HAL’s memory, reducing the computer to infancy and, finally, death. As HAL’s red eye goes black, a video begins to play in which Floyd explains the *Discovery*’s secret mission. The moon monolith’s shriek had been a transmission aimed at Jupiter, and the *Discovery* had been sent in search of the signal’s destination. In the film’s final segment (“Jupiter and Beyond the Infinite”), Dave flies a pod toward a monolith floating in space near Jupiter and is transported through a stargate (depicted as a psychedelic lightshow) into a surreal, symbolic world where he ages and dies in ornate but sterile white rooms. His death seems to produce a celestial fetus, the next stage in human evolution.

The film polarized the critics; their responses tended to be either strongly positive or strongly negative. The film was daringly different from other major studios’ big-budget releases. It did not have a clear storyline or a central protagonist. There was little dialogue, and what dialogue there was was deliberately innocuous. Overall, *2001* presented a cold universe in which humans behave like passionless automatons and in which the most sympathetic character is the homicidal computer HAL. Some critics responded to *2001*’s uniqueness as a step forward in the art of filmmaking. For example, Mike Steele, reporting in *The Minneapolis Tribune*, saw *2001* as a step “closer to the purity of the film” and away from a sequential storyline imposed by literary aesthetics. Other critics found the movie to be a confusing muddle. In *The Village Voice*, Andrew Sarris called the movie a “thoroughly uninteresting failure” and the ending “an exercise in mystifying abstract fantasy in the open temple of High Art.” As *2001* found its audience, several critics who had panned it

wrote second reviews to reassess the movie's merits under a different set of criteria. Although Sarris, for his part, wrote a second review only to say that his opinion had not changed.

Despite the confusion and disfavor of many viewers, *2001* quickly gained the status of a "cult film," a movie which inspires fanatical devotion in a relatively small audience. The film continues to be a film for several cults. For science fiction fans, it is a realistic depiction of space travel. No other movie in the genre before or since has remained so true to the laws of physics. For film buffs, it presents a dazzling experiment with the elements of filmmaking. While viewers accustomed to conventional American movies may bemoan the long sequences of play with sight and sound which do not advance a linear plot, lovers of the filmmaker's art delight as a spaceship and a space station waltz to Johann Strauss' "On the Beautiful Blue Danube." For devotees of the hallucinogenic drug culture, the surreal imagery, particularly in the final segment, was "The Ultimate Trip" promised by the tagline of a 1974 re-release. *2001* remains an active part of the popular imagination and is often imitated, referenced, and parodied in various media. In the 1996 film, *Independence Day*, for example, David Levinson (played by Jeff Goldblum) opens his laptop, and HAL's red eye appears on its screen.

Kubrick succeeded in offering the "proverbial good science fiction movie" because *2001* addresses universal, eternal questions: What is the meaning of life? What is the nature of God? What is the destiny of humanity? Are we alone in the universe? What is the relationship between humans and their machines? One of the aspects of the movie that frustrates viewers is that Kubrick provides no clear answers to these questions, but the nature of the questions is that they are unanswerable. As Clarke put it, "If you understood *2001* completely, we failed. We wanted to raise more questions than we answered." The film poses ancient questions in a relatively new language, science, and in a new medium, film. The extraterrestrial monoliths seem to be guiding human evolution; thus, they serve as a metaphor for the hand of God or destiny. However, *2001* explores theological issues outside of the framework of any religion or established mythology. It forces its audience to rethink the assumptions such a framework might provide.

Perhaps the most memorable ingredient of *2001* is HAL, the fullest development of a sequence of human tools which began with the bone club. One of the major issues of science fiction has been whether a machine capable of independent thought would be "human." In *2001*, HAL is a terrifying monster, but he also seems to be more human than the humans. The audience cannot help but find the computer sympathetic as he begs for his life; we see that HAL only killed out of fear. As interaction with computers becomes increasingly a part of everyday life, HAL remains a powerful symbol of both the peril and the promise of artificial intelligence. Fans have noticed that if each letter of HAL is replaced by the next letter in the alphabet, HAL becomes IBM (Clarke denies that this was intentional). In 1997 (the year HAL was supposedly created), David Stork published a collection of essays, *Hal's Legacy: 2001's Computer as Dream and Reality*, in which scientists explore how close current technology comes to creating a HAL 9000.

—Christian L. Pyle

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## Tyler, Anne (1941—)

Anne Tyler, a novelist who has received much critical and popular acclaim, is known for her insightful, often comic depictions of family relationships and ordinary life. Her novels, the best of which include *Dinner at the Homesick Restaurant* (1982), *The Accidental Tourist* (1985), and *Breathing Lessons* (1988), have won such prestigious awards as the Pulitzer Prize and the National Book Critics Circle Award. A longtime resident of Baltimore, where she often sets her novels, Tyler is viewed by many as a Southern novelist, largely because of her concern with family, home, and place.

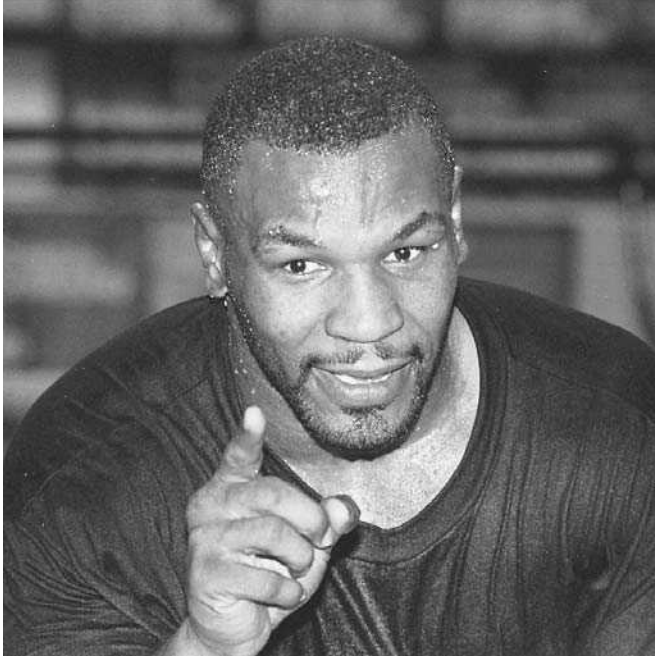
—James Schiff

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## Tyson, Mike (1966—)

Born in Brooklyn and educated in the pugilistic arts on the New York streets, Mike Tyson went on to become history's youngest world boxing champion at age nineteen. From the start of his professional career in 1985, Tyson displayed contradictions of character that dogged him in controversy. An efficient powerhouse of a fighter, his inability to control his anger in his personal life sidelined his career more than once. When this anger finally caused him to lose control in the ring and bite an opponent's ear, many thought the incident signaled the end of his boxing career. However, Tyson proved himself as skilled at comebacks as at knockouts. By the end of the twentieth century, 15 years after his debut in the ring, it was



**Mike Tyson**

evident that so long as promoters were able to make millions of dollars on every round he fought, “Iron Mike” Tyson would continue to be welcomed whenever he might choose to enter the ring.

Boxing has often been a controversial and paradoxical sport. Many see it as simple brutality, a gladiator-like contest where bloodthirsty audiences cheer as opponents batter each other senseless. Others claim boxing as one of the earliest refined athletic skills, a noble art requiring balletic precision, muscular power, and that indefinable yet essential quality—“heart.” Perhaps it is because of that engaging quality of heart that boxing has given rise to so many heroes who have captured the public imagination. And yet, like boxing itself, boxing heroes are often contradictory figures with whom the public has a love-hate relationship. Boxing requires many of the same fighting skills that are necessary to the survival of young men growing up in poverty on urban streets. Thus many champs have come from underprivileged backgrounds, using their skills and toughness to pursue the wealth and fame that championship boxing promises those that succeed. The rise of the ghetto-bred fighter, particularly among African Americans and other minority groups, symbolizes the American dream of rising from poverty and obscurity to wealth and fame. From Jack Dempsey to Muhammad Ali, boxing champions have become national icons, glorifying the attributes of brashness, guts and furious strength.

Mike Tyson is a paradigm example of the phenomenon. Born into a poor African-American family and raised by a single mother on welfare, he has said of his own origins, “I was born in guck, mud. Humiliation.” On his own from around age ten, Tyson was not tall, but he was powerfully built and filled with rage, and he learned early how to earn his way by mugging and purse-snatching. By the time he was 13, he had been arrested 38 eight times, finally ending up at the “bad cottage” at Tryon School for Boys in Catskill, New York. Tyson has described the reformatory with a poignant simplicity that a sociologist might envy: “Just a bunch of bad kids no one cared about

in a square box.” It was at Tryon School that ex-boxer Bobby Stewart recognized the tough youngster’s fighting talent, and introduced him to Cus D’Amato, a visionary trainer who had been behind boxing champions Floyd Patterson and Jose Torres.

D’Amato recognized Tyson’s potential and undertook his training. Tyson’s amateur career was only mildly distinguished—he competed in trials for the 1984 Olympics, and earned a place on the team as an alternate—but in 1985 he entered the professional arena like a steamroller. From 1985 until 1990, he won every fight, most with knockouts and most in the first round. By 1986, he was world heavyweight champion. Then, in 1990, displaying the inconsistency fans would later come to expect, he suffered his first professional defeat at the hands of Buster Douglas, a virtual unknown with 50-1 odds against him. In 1988, at the height of his glory days, Tyson married actress Robin Givens. The petite Givens and her “gentle giant” husband were a pair made for the media, and they received an onslaught of attention from tabloids and television. The fairy tale union did not last however, and, though it was shocking, it surprised few when Givens confessed in a television interview with Barbara Walters that Tyson abused her and that life with him was “pure hell.” The couple was divorced in 1989.

In 1992, the fighter made world headlines when he was convicted of rape and given a six-year prison sentence. Although persistently denying the charge, he served three years in a minimum-security prison where he converted to Islam, and came out declaring he was a changed man. He immediately resumed his boxing career, and by 1996 again held both the WBC and WBA heavyweight titles. Working with flamboyant boxing promoter Don King, Tyson negotiated one of the most lucrative boxing contracts in history, a \$158 million deal with the Las Vegas MGM Grand Hotel and Showtime Entertainment Television for six fights or two and a half years, whichever came first.

Tyson’s comeback success did not last. In 1997, in a rematch fight with Evander Holyfield, who had previously beaten him, “Iron Mike” lost control and bit pieces off both of Holyfield’s ears. The boxing world, as well as the larger public, reeled in shock and disgust. Ear-biting jokes became a television staple, and Tyson’s boxing license was suspended for life. However, after some 18 months of therapy and anger counseling, Tyson approached the boxing commissions in New Jersey and Nevada with assurances that he had once again mended his ways. Both commissions voted him mentally fit to box, and he made another comeback.

Tyson has continued to win matches, often within an embarrassingly short time. After his release from prison in 1995, fans who paid up to \$1500 a seat to watch him fight the hopelessly outclassed Peter McNeeley were disgruntled when the fight lasted only a few minutes. However, the fighter has continued to be plagued by the consequences of his uncontrolled rage. In 1999, he was sentenced to another year in jail for violating parole by assaulting two motorists after an automobile accident, and was facing assault charges by two women.

In over a decade of intense and dramatic career boxing, Mike Tyson has only fought 200 rounds in all, and only three of his fights have gone the distance. Out of 48 fights, he has won 45, knocking out his opponent in 39 of them. The press and the public have tended either to glorify him as the poor kid who made good, or to demonize him as a thug and a felon. In reality, Tyson is the uncomfortable sum

of many contradictory parts, and often expresses these with the simple, incisive perception of a self-educated man. Pummeling other men to the mat was the only way for a painfully poor black street kid to rise to the top of the heap, and Tyson channeled his deep anger at life into boxing. He achieved unprecedented success, but has remained isolated, distrustful and angry even during his best times. Five foot eleven and weighing in at 220 pounds, Tyson is a massive man who looks like a fighter. His voice is incongruously soft and high, hinting at a gentle core overlaid by years of depression, defensiveness, and pure rage. Perhaps it is this ambiguous combination of qualities, the suggestion of the hurt child beneath the brutal physical powerhouse, which keeps the public from giving up completely on "Iron Mike." After all, this juxtaposition is what gives boxing its appeal—the glory through the pain. Robin Givens added perhaps the

most telling dimension to the picture, "I think he's probably going to turn out to be the all-American tragedy. There's something about Michael that's dangerous."

—Tina Gianoulis

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**POPULAR**CULTURE



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## EDITOR'S NOTE

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Thirty some years ago Ray Browne and several of his colleagues provided a forum for the academic study of popular culture by forming first the *Journal of Popular Culture* and later the Popular Culture Association and the Center for the Study of Popular Culture at Bowling Green State University. Twenty some years ago Thomas Inge thought the field of popular culture studies well enough established to put together the first edition of his *Handbook of Popular Culture*. In the years since, scholars and educators from many disciplines have published enough books, gathered enough conferences, and gained enough institutional clout to make popular culture studies one of the richest fields of academic study at the close of the twentieth century. Thirty, twenty, in some places even ten years ago, to study popular culture was to be something of a pariah; today, the study of popular culture is accepted and even respected in departments of history, literature, communications, sociology, film studies, etc. throughout the United States and throughout the world, and not only in universities, but in increasing numbers of high schools. Thomas Inge wrote in the introduction to the second edition of his *Handbook*: “The serious and systematic study of popular culture may be the most significant and potentially useful of the trends in academic research and teaching in the last half of this century in the United States.”<sup>2</sup> It is to this thriving field of study that we hope to contribute with the *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture*.

The *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture* includes over 2,700 essays on all elements of popular culture in the United States in the twentieth century. But what is “popular culture?” Academics have offered a number of answers over the years. Historians Norman F. Cantor and Michael S. Werthman suggested that “popular culture may be seen as all those things man does and all those artifacts he creates for their own sake, all that diverts his mind and body from the sad business of life.”<sup>1</sup> Michael Bell argues that:

At its simplest popular culture is the culture of mass appeal. A creation is popular when it is created to respond to the experiences and values of the majority, when it is produced in such a way that the majority have easy access to it, and when it can be understood and interpreted by that majority without the aid of special knowledge or experience.<sup>3</sup>

While tremendously useful, both of these definitions tend to exclude more than they embrace. Was the hot dog created for its own sake, as a diversion? Probably not, but we’ve included an essay on it in this collection. Were the works of Sigmund Freud in any way shaped for the majority? No, but Freud’s ideas—borrowed, twisted, and reinterpreted—have shaped novels, films, and common speech in ways too diffuse to ignore. Thus we have included an essay on Freud’s impact on popular culture. Our desire to bring together the greatest number of cultural phenomena impacting American culture in this century has led us to prefer Ray Browne’s rather broader early definition of popular culture as “all the experiences in life shared by people in common, generally though not necessarily disseminated by the mass media.”<sup>4</sup>

### *Coverage*

In order to amass a list of those cultural phenomena that were widely disseminated and experienced by people in relatively unmediated form we asked a number of scholars, teachers, librarians, and archivists to serve as advisors. Each of our 20 advisors provided us with a list of over 200 topics from their field of specialty that they considered important enough to merit an essay; several of our advisors provided us with lists much longer than that. Their collective lists numbered nearly 4,000 potential essay topics, and we winnowed this list down to the number that is now gathered in this collection. We sought balance (but not equal coverage) between the major areas of popular culture: film; music; print culture; social life; sports; television and radio; and art and performance (which includes theatre, dance, stand-up comedy, and other live performance). For those interested, the breakdown of coverage is as follows: social life, 23 percent (a category which covers everything from foodways to fashion, holidays to hairstyles); music, 16 percent; print culture, 16 percent; film, 15 percent; television and radio, 14 percent; sports, 10 percent; and art and performance, 6 percent. A variety of considerations led us to skew the coverage of the book in favor of the second half of the century. The massive popularity of television and recorded music, the mass-marketing of popular fiction, and the national attention given to professional sports are historical factors contributing to the emphasis on post-World War II culture, but we have also considered the needs of high school and undergraduate users in distributing entries in this way.

### *The Entries*

The entries in this volume vary in length from brief (75 to 150-word) introductions to the topic to in-depth 3,000-word explorations. No matter the length, we have asked our contributors to do two things in each entry: to describe the topic and to analyze its

significance in and relevance to American popular culture. While we hope that users will find the basic factual information they need concerning the topic in an entry, it was even more important to us that each user gain some perspective on the cultural context in which the topic has importance. Thus the entry on MTV, for example, chronicles the channel's rise to world popularity, but also analyzes the relationship between MTV, youth culture, and consumerism. The entry on John Ford, while tracing the outlines of the film director's long career, assesses the impact Ford's films have had on the film Western and on Americans' very perceptions of the West. Given the brevity of the entries, we chose to emphasize analysis of a topic's contribution to popular culture over a full presentation of biographical/historical information. The entry on World War I, for example, offers an analysis of how the war was understood in popular film, print culture, and propaganda rather than a blow-by-blow description of the actual military conflict.

Entries are accompanied by a list of further readings. These readings are meant to provide the user with readily accessible sources that provide more information on the specific topic. As befits a multimedia age, these "further readings" come not just from books and magazines, but also from albums, liner notes, films, videos, and web sites. Users of the Internet know well the perils of trusting the information found on the World Wide Web; there are as yet few filters to help browsers sift the useful from the absurd. We cited web sites when they provided information that was unavailable in any other known form and when our reasonable efforts to determine the veracity of the information led us to believe that the information provided was valid and useful. We have occasionally provided links to "official" web sites of performers or organizations, for the same reason that we provide citations to autobiographies. All web links cited were accurate as of the date indicated in the citation.

### *Organization and Indexing*

Entries are arranged alphabetically by the name under which the topic is best known. For topics which might reasonably be sought out under differing names, we have provided in-text cross references. For example, a user seeking an entry on Huddie Ledbetter will be referred to the entry on Leadbelly, and a user seeking an entry on Larry Flynt will be referred to the entry on *Hustler* magazine. Far more powerful than the cross references, however, are the indexes provided in the fifth volume of the collection. The general index is by far the most powerful, for it leads the user searching for information on Humphrey Bogart, for example, to the entries on Lauren Bacall, *Casablanca*, *The Maltese Falcon*, *The African Queen*, and several other entries that contain substantive information about Bogie. Equally powerful is the subject index, a list of categories under which we listed all pertinent entries. Consulting the subject index listing for Sex Symbols, for example, will lead the user to entries on Marilyn Monroe, the Varga Girl, *Playboy* magazine, David Cassidy, Mae West, and a long entry on the Sex Symbol, among others. Finally, a time index, organized by decades, provides a list of the entries that concern each decade of the twentieth century. Those entries that concern nineteenth-century topics are indexed by the first decade of the twentieth century.

We encourage readers to use the indexes to discover the fascinating intertwinings that have made the development of popular culture in the twentieth century such a vital field of study. Using the indexes, it is possible to uncover the story of how the American humor that was first made popular on the vaudeville stage evolved into first the radio comedies that entertained so many Americans during the Depression and War years and later the sitcoms that have kept Americans glued to their television screens for the last 50 years. That story is here, in the entries on Vaudeville, the Sitcom, *Amos 'n' Andy*, and the many other programs and comedians that have defined this tradition. A teacher who wishes students to uncover the similarities between sitcoms of the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s might well ask the students to use this collection to begin their research into such comedies. Similarly, a teacher who asks students to explore the cross-pollination between musical genres will find that the indexes reveal the mixing of "race music," rhythm and blues, gospel, soul, and rock 'n' roll. It is hoped that this collection will be of particular use to those instructors of high school and undergraduate courses who challenge their students to discover the real cultural complexity of the music, films, magazines, and television shows that they take for granted. This collection should also be of use to those more advanced scholars who are beginning new research into an area of popular culture or who are looking for some context in which to place their existing research.

### *Acknowledgments*

The *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture* represents the work of hundreds of people, and we owe our thanks to all of them. We have had the privilege of working with 20 advisors whose experience, knowledge, and wisdom have truly helped shape the contents of this collection. Each of our advisors helped us to discover hidden corners of popular culture that we would not have considered on our own, and the breadth of coverage in this collection is a tribute to their collective knowledge. Several of our advisors deserve special thanks: Paul Buhle, George Carney, B. Lee Cooper, Jerome Klinkowitz, and Ron Simon all showed an extraordinary level of commitment and helpfulness.

It has been a pleasure to work with the nearly 450 contributors to this collection; we've appreciated their expertise, their professionalism, and their good humor. Several of our contributors deserve special mention for the quality of their contributions to this collection: Jacob Appel, Tim Berg, Pat Broeske, Richard Digby-Junger, Jeffrey Escoffier, Bryan Garman, Tina Gianoulis, Milton Goldin, Ian Gordon, Ron Goulart, Justin Gustainis, Preston Jones, Robyn Karney, Deborah Mix, Leonard Moore, Edward Moran, Victoria Price, Bob Schnakenberg, Steven Schneider, Charles Shindo, Robert Sickels, Wendy Woloson, and Brad Wright. Our team of copyeditors helped us bring a uniformity of presentation to the writings of this mass of contributors, and spotted and corrected innumerable small errors. Heidi Hagen, Robyn Karney, Edward Moran, and Tim Seul deserve special thanks for the quality and quantity of their work; we truly couldn't have done it without them. The contributors and copyeditors provided us with the material to build this collection, but it has been the editors' responsibility to ensure its accuracy and reliability. We welcome any corrections and comments; please write to: The Editors, *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture*, St. James Press, 27500 Drake Road, Farmington Hills, MI 48331-3535.

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Finally, we'd like to thank Lee Van Wormer for his sage management advice and our children, Conrad and Louisa, for their warm morning cuddles and for the delightful artwork that adorns our office walls.

—Tom Pendergast and Sara Pendergast,  
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## INTRODUCTION

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### *The Art of Everyday Life*

Sometimes, when I'm wandering in an art museum looking at the relics of an ancient civilization, I find myself wondering how a future society would represent a defunct American culture. What objects would be chosen—or would survive—to be placed on display? Would I agree with a curator's choices? Were I to choose the items that some future American Museum of Art should exhibit to represent twentieth-century American culture, here are some I would name: an Elvis Presley record; a Currier & Ives print; a movie still from *Casablanca*. To put it a different way, my priority would *not* be to exhibit fragments of an urban cathedral, a painted landscape, or a formal costume. I wouldn't deny such objects could be important artifacts of American culture, or that they belong in a gallery. But in my avowedly biased opinion, the most vivid documents of American life—the documents that embody its possibilities and limits—are typically found in its popular culture.

Popular culture, of course, is not an American invention, and it has a vibrant life in many contemporary societies. But in few, if any, of those societies has it been as central to a notion of national character at home as well as abroad. For better or worse, it is through icons like McDonald's (the quintessential American cuisine), the Western (a uniquely American narrative genre), and Oprah Winfrey (a classic late-twentieth century embodiment of the American Dream) that this society is known—and is likely to be remembered.

It has sometimes been remarked that unlike nations whose identities are rooted in geography, religion, language, blood, or history, the United States was founded on a democratic ideal—a notion of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness elaborated in the Declaration of Independence. That ideal has been notoriously difficult to realize, and one need only take a cursory look at many aspects of American life—its justice system, electoral politics, residential patterns, labor force, et. al.—to see how far short it has fallen.

American popular culture is a special case. To be sure, it evinces plenty of the defects apparent in other areas of our national life, among them blatant racism and crass commercialism. If nothing else, such flaws can be taken as evidence of just how truly representative it is. There is nevertheless an openness and vitality about pop culture—its appeal across demographic lines; its interplay of individual voices and shared communal experience; the relatively low access barriers for people otherwise marginalized in U.S. society—that give it real legitimacy as the art of democracy. Like it or hate it, few dispute its centrality.

This sense of openness and inclusion—as well as the affection and scorn it generated—has been apparent from the very beginning. In the prologue of the 1787 play *The Contrast* (whose title referred to the disparity between sturdy republican ideals and effete monarchical dissipation), American playwright Royall Tyler invoked a cultural sensibility where “proud titles of ‘My Lord! Your Grace/To the humble ‘Mr.’ and plain ‘Sir’ give place.” Tyler, a Harvard graduate, Revolutionary War officer, and Chief Justice of the Vermont Supreme Court, was in some sense an unlikely prophet of popular culture. But the sensibility he voiced—notably in his beloved character Jonathon, a prototype for characters from Davy Crockett to John Wayne—proved durable for centuries to come.

For much of early American history, however, artists and critics continued to define aesthetic success on European terms, typically invoking elite ideals of order, balance, and civilization. It was largely taken for granted that the most talented practitioners of fine arts, such as painters Benjamin West and John Singleton Copley, would have to go abroad to train, produce, and exhibit their most important work. To the extent that newer cultural forms—like the novel, whose very name suggests its place in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century western civilization—were noted at all, it was usually in disparaging terms. This was especially true of novels written and read by women, such as Susanna Rowson's widely read *Charlotte Temple* (1791). Sermons against novels were common; Harvard devoted its principal commencement address in 1803 to the dangers of fiction.

The industrialization of the United States has long been considered a watershed development in many realms of American life, and popular culture is no exception. Indeed, its importance is suggested in the very definition of popular culture coined by cultural historian Lawrence Levine: “the folklore of industrial society.” Industrialization allowed the mass-reproduction and dissemination of formerly local traditions, stories, and art forms across the continent, greatly intensifying the spread—and development—of culture by, for, and of the people. At a time when North America remained geographically and politically fragmented, magazines, sheet music, dime novels, lithographs, and other print media stitched it together.

This culture had a characteristic pattern. Alexis de Tocqueville devoted 11 chapters of his classic 1835-40 masterpiece *Democracy in America* to the art, literature, and language of the United States, arguing that they reflected a democratic ethos that required new standards of evaluation. “The inhabitants of the United States have, at present, properly speaking, no literature,” he wrote. This judgment, he made clear, arose from a definition of literature that came from aristocratic societies like his own. In its stead, he explained, Americans sought books “which may be easily procured, quickly read, and which require no learned researches to be understood. They ask for beauties self-proffered and easily enjoyed; above all they must have what is unexpected and new.” As in so many other ways, this description of American literature, which paralleled what Tocqueville saw in other arts, proved not only vivid but prophetic.

The paradox of American democracy, of course, is that the freedom Euro-Americans endlessly celebrated co-existed with—some might say depended on—the enslavement of African Americans. It is therefore one of the great ironies of popular culture that the contributions of black culture (a term here meant to encompass African, American, and amalgamations between the two) proved so decisive. In another sense, however, it seems entirely appropriate that popular culture, which has always skewed its orientation toward the lower end of a demographic spectrum, would draw on the most marginalized groups in American society. It is, in any event, difficult to imagine that U.S. popular culture would have had anywhere near the vitality and influence it has without slave stories, song, and dance. To cite merely one example: every American musical idiom from country music to rap has drawn on, if not actually *rested* upon, African-American cultural foundations, whether in its use of the banjo (originally an African instrument) or its emphasis on the beat (drumming was an important form of slave communication). This heritage has often been overlooked, disparaged, and even satirized. The most notable example of such racism was the minstrel show, a wildly popular nineteenth century form of theater in which white actors blackened their faces with burnt cork and mocked slave life. Yet even the most savage parodies could not help but reveal an engagement with, and even a secret admiration for, the cultural world the African Americans made in conditions of severe adversity, whether on plantations, tenant farms, or in ghettos.

Meanwhile, the accelerating pace of technological innovation began having a dramatic impact on the form as well as the content of popular culture. The first major landmark was the development of photography in the mid-nineteenth century. At first a mechanically complex and thus inaccessible medium, it quickly captured American imaginations, particularly by capturing the drama and horror of the Civil War. The subsequent proliferation of family portraits, postcards, and pictures in metropolitan newspapers began a process of orienting popular culture around visual imagery that continues unabated to this day.

In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, sound recording, radio transmission, and motion pictures were all developed in rapid succession. But it would not be until well after 1900 that their potential as popular cultural media would be fully exploited and recognizable in a modern sense (radio, for example, was originally developed and valued for its nautical and military applications). Still, even if it was not entirely clear how, many people at the time believed these new media would have a tremendous impact on American life, and they were embraced with unusual ardor by those Americans, particularly immigrants, who were able to appreciate the pleasures and possibilities afforded by movies, records, and radio.

Many of the patterns established during the advent of these media repeated themselves as new ones evolved. The Internet, for example, was also first developed for its military applications, and for all the rapidity of its development in the 1990s, it remains unclear just how its use will be structured. Though the World Wide Web has shown tremendous promise as a commercial enterprise, it still lacks the kind of programming—like *Amos 'n' Andy* in radio, or *I Love Lucy* in television—that transformed both into truly mass media of art and entertainment. Television, for its part, has long been the medium of a rising middle class of immigrants and their children, in terms of the figures who have exploited its possibilities (from RCA executive David Sarnoff to stars like Jackie Gleason); the new genres it created (from the miniseries to the situation-comedy); and the audiences (from urban Jews to suburban Irish Catholics) who adopted them with enthusiasm.

For much of this century, the mass appeal of popular culture has been viewed as a problem. “What is the jass [*sic*] music, and therefore the jass band?” asked an irritated New Orleans writer in 1918. “As well as ask why the dime novel or the grease-dripping doughnut. All are manifestations of a low stream in man’s taste that has not come out in civilization’s wash.” However one may feel about this contemptuous dismissal of jazz, now viewed as one of the great achievements of American civilization, this writer was clearly correct to suggest the demographic, technological, and cultural links between the “lower” sorts of people in American life, the media they used, and forms of expression that were often presumed guilty until proven innocent.

Indeed, because education and research have traditionally been considered the province of the “higher” sorts of people in American life, popular culture was not considered a subject that should even be discussed, much less studied. Nevertheless, there have always been those willing to continue what might be termed the “Tocquevillian” tradition of treating popular culture with intellectual



seriousness and respect (if not always approval). In his 1924 book *The Seven Lively Arts* and in much of his journalism, critic Gilbert Seldes found in silent movies, cartoons, and pop music themes and motifs fully worthy of sustained exploration. Amid the worldwide crisis of the 1930s and 1940s, folklorist Constance Rourke limned the origins of an indigenous popular culture in books like *American Humor* (1931) and *The Roots of American Culture* (1942). And with the rise of the Cold War underlining the differences between democratic and totalitarian societies, sociologists David Riesman and Reuel Denny evaluated the social currents animating popular culture in Denny's *The Astonished Muse* (1957), for which Riesman, who showed a particular interest in popular music, wrote the introduction.

European scholars were also pivotal in shaping the field. Johan Huizinga's *Homo Ludens* (1938), Roland Barthes's *Mythologies* (1957), and Antonio Gramsci's prison letters (written in the 1920s and 1930s but not published until the 1970s) have proved among the most influential works in defining the boundaries, strategies, and meanings of popular culture. While none of these works focused on American popular culture specifically, their focus on the jetsam and flotsam of daily life since the medieval period proved enormously suggestive in an American context.

It has only been at the end of the twentieth century, however, that the study of popular culture has come into its own in its own right. To a great extent, this development is a legacy of the 1960s. The end of a formal system of racial segregation; the impact of affirmative action and government-funded financial aid; and the end of single-sex education at many long-established universities dramatically transformed the composition of student bodies and faculties. These developments in turn, began having an impact on the nature and parameters of academic study. While one should not exaggerate the impact of these developments—either in terms of their numbers or their effect on an academy that in some ways has simply replaced older forms of insularity and complacency with new ones—it nevertheless seems fair to say that a bona fide democratization of higher education occurred in the last third of the twentieth century, paving the way for the creation of a formal scholarly infrastructure for popular culture.

Once again, it was foreign scholars who were pivotal in the elaboration of this infrastructure. The work of Raymond Williams, Stuart Hall, and others at Britain's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in the 1950s and 1960s drew on Marxist and psychoanalytic ideas to explain, and in many cases justify, the importance of popular culture. Though not always specifically concerned with popular culture, a panoply of French theorists—particularly Jacques Derrida, Louis Althusser, and Michel Foucault—also proved highly influential. At its best, this scholarship illuminated unexamined assumptions and highly revealing (and in many cases, damning) patterns in the most seemingly ordinary documents. At its worst, it lapsed into an arcane jargon that belied the directness of popular culture and suggested an elitist disdain toward the audiences it presumably sought to understand.

Like their European counterparts, American scholars of popular culture have come from a variety of disciplines. Many were trained in literature, among them Henry Nash Smith, whose *Virgin Land* (1950) pioneered the study of the Western, and Leslie Fiedler, who applied critical talents first developed to study classic American literature to popular fiction like *Gone with the Wind*. But much important work in the field has also been done by historians, particularly social historians who began their careers by focusing on labor history but became increasingly interested in the ways American workers spent their free time. Following the tradition of the great British historian E. P. Thompson, scholars such as Herbert Gutman and Lawrence Levine have uncovered and described the art and leisure practices of African Americans in particular with flair and insight. Feminist scholars of a variety of stripes (and sexual orientations) have supplied a great deal of the intellectual energy in the study of popular culture, among them Ann Douglas, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, and Jane Tompkins. Indeed, the strongly interdisciplinary flavor of popular culture scholarship—along with the rise of institutions like the Popular Press and the Popular Culture Association, both based at Bowling Green University—suggests the way the field has been at the forefront of an ongoing process of redrawing disciplinary boundaries in the humanities.

By the 1980s, the stream of scholarship on popular culture had become a flood. In the 1990s, the field became less of a quixotic enterprise than a growing presence in the educational curriculum as a whole. Courses devoted to the subject, whether housed in communications programs or in traditional academic departments, have become increasingly common in colleges and universities—and, perhaps more importantly, have become integrated into the fabric of basic surveys of history, literature, and other fields. Political scientists, librarians, and curators have begun to consider it part of their domain.

For most of us, though, popular culture is not something we have to self-consciously seek out or think about. Indeed, its very omnipresence makes it easy to take for granted as transparent (and permanent). That's why trips to museums—or encyclopedias like this one—are so useful and important. In pausing to think about the art of everyday life, we can begin to see just how unusual, and valuable, it really is.

—Jim Cullen

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Allison McCracken  
Jennifer Davis McDaid  
Jason McEntee  
Cheryl S. McGrath  
Daryna McKeand  
Jacquelyn Y. McLendon  
Kembrew McLeod  
Josephine A. McQuail  
Alex Medeiros  
Brad Melton  
Myra Mendible  
Jeff Merron  
Thomas J. Mertz  
Nathan R. Meyer  
Jonathan Middlebrook  
Andre Millard  
Jeffrey S. Miller  
Karen Miller  
P. Andrew Miller  
Dorothy Jane Mills  
Andrew Milner  
Deborah M. Mix  
Nickianne Moody  
Richard L. Moody  
Charles F. Moore  
Leonard N. Moore  
Dan Moos  
Robert A. Morace  
Edward Moran  
Barry Morris  
Michael J. Murphy  
Jennifer A. Murray  
Susan Murray  
Pierre-Damien Mvuyekure
- Michael Najjar  
Ilana Nash  
Mary Lou Nemanic  
Scott Newman  
Joan Nicks  
Martin F. Norden  
Justin Nordstrom  
Anna Notaro
- William F. O'Connor  
Paul O'Hara  
Angela O'Neal  
Christopher D. O'Shea  
Lolly Ockerstrom  
Kerry Owens  
Marc Oxoby
- D. Byron Painter  
Henri-Dominique Paratte  
Leslie Paris  
Jay Parrent  
Felicity Paxton  
Sara Pendergast  
Tom Pendergast  
Jana Pendragon  
Geoff Peterson  
Kurt W. Peterson  
Emily Pettigrew  
Daniel J. Philippon  
S. J. Philo  
Allene Phy-Olsen  
Ed Piacentino  
Jürgen Pieters  
Paul F. P. Pogue  
Mark B. Pohlrad  
Fernando Porta  
Michael L. Posner  
John A. Price  
Victoria Price  
Luca Prono  
Elizabeth Purdy  
Christian L. Pyle
- Jessy Randall  
Taly Ravid  
Belinda S. Ray  
Ivan Raykoff  
Wendy Wick Reaves  
James E. Reibman  
Yolanda Retter  
Tracy J. Revels  
Wylene Rholetter  
Tad Richards  
Robert B. Ridinger  
Jeff Ritter  
Thomas Robertson  
Arthur Robinson  
Todd Anthony Rosa  
Ava Rose  
Chris Routledge  
Abhijit Roy  
Adrienne Russell  
Dennis Russell
- Lisa Jo Sagolla  
Frank A. Salamone  
Joe Sutliff Sanders

Andrew Sargent  
Julie Scelfo  
Elizabeth D. Schafer  
Louis Scheeder  
James Schiff  
Robert E. Schnakenberg  
Steven Schneider  
Kelly Schrum  
Christine Scodari  
Ann Sears  
E. M. I. Sefcovic  
Eric J. Segal  
Carol A. Senf  
Tim Seul  
Alexander Shashko  
Michele S. Shauf  
Taylor Shaw  
Anne Sheehan  
Steven T. Sheehan  
Pamela Shelton  
Sandra Sherman  
Charles J. Shindo  
Mike Shupp  
Robert C. Sickels  
C. Kenyon Silvey  
Ron Simon  
Philip Simpson  
Rosemarie Skaine  
Ryan R. Sloane  
Jeannette Sloniowski  
Cheryl A. Smith

Kyle Smith  
John Smolenski  
Irvin D. Solomon  
Geri Speace  
Andrew Spieldenner  
tova stabin  
Scott Stabler  
Jon Sterngrass  
Roger W. Stump  
Bob Sullivan  
Lauren Ann Supance  
Marc R. Sykes

Midori Takagi  
Candida Taylor  
Scott Thill  
Robert Thompson  
Stephen L. Thompson  
Rosemarie Garland Thomson  
Jan Todd  
Terry Todd  
John Tomasic  
Warren Tormey  
Grant Tracey  
David Trevino  
Marcella Bush Trevino  
Scott Tribble  
Tom Trinchera  
Nicholas A. Turse

Anthony Ubelhor  
Daryl Umberger

Rob Van Kranenburg  
Robert VanWynsberghe  
Colby Vargas

Sue Walker  
Lori C. Walters  
Nancy Lan-Jy Wang  
Adam Wathen  
Laural Weintraub  
Jon Weisberger  
David B. Welky  
Christopher W. Wells  
Celia White  
Christopher S. Wilson  
David B. Wilson  
Kristi M. Wilson  
Jeff Wiltse  
Wendy Woloson  
David E. Woodward  
Bradford W. Wright

Sharon Yablon  
Daniel Francis Yezbick  
Stephen D. Youngkin

Kristal Brent Zook

## LIST OF ENTRIES

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- A&R Men/Women  
Aaron, Hank  
AARP (American Association  
for Retired Persons)  
ABBA  
Abbey, Edward  
Abbott and Costello  
Abdul-Jabbar, Kareem  
Abortion  
Abstract Expressionism  
Academy Awards  
AC/DC  
Ace, Johnny  
Acker, Kathy  
Acupuncture  
Adams, Ansel  
Addams, Jane  
Addams Family, The  
Adderley, Cannonball  
Adidas  
Adler, Renata  
*Adventures of Ozzie and  
Harriet, The*  
Advertising  
Advice Columns  
*Advocate, The*  
Aerobics  
Aerosmith  
African American Press  
*African Queen, The*  
Agassi, Andre  
Agents  
AIDS  
Ailey, Alvin  
Air Travel  
*Airplane!*  
Alabama  
Alaska-Yukon Exposition  
(Seattle, 1909)  
Albert, Marv  
Album-Oriented Rock  
Alda, Alan  
Ali, Muhammad  
*Alice*  
*Alien*  
Alka Seltzer  
*All About Eve*  
*All in the Family*  
*All My Children*  
*All Quiet on the Western Front*  
Allen, Steve  
Allen, Woody  
Allison, Luther  
Allman Brothers Band, The  
*Ally McBeal*
- Alpert, Herb, and the  
Tijuana Brass  
Altamont  
Alternative Country Music  
Alternative Press  
Alternative Rock  
Altman, Robert  
*Amazing Stories*  
*American Bandstand*  
American Girls Series  
*American Gothic*  
*American Graffiti*  
American International Pictures  
*American Mercury*  
American Museum of Natural  
History  
*Amos 'n' Andy Show, The*  
Amsterdam, Morey  
Amtrak  
Amusement Parks  
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Anderson, Marian  
Anderson, Sherwood  
Andretti, Mario  
Andrews Sisters, The  
Androgyny  
*Andy Griffith Show, The*  
Andy Hardy  
Angell, Roger  
Angelou, Maya  
*Animal House*  
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Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas  
Senate Hearings  
Anka, Paul  
*Anne Frank: The Diary of a  
Young Girl*  
*Annie*  
*Annie Get Your Gun*  
*Annie Hall*  
*Another World*  
Anthony, Piers  
Aparicio, Luis  
*Apocalypse Now*  
Apollo Missions  
Apollo Theatre  
Apple Computer  
Arbuckle, Fatty  
Archie Comics  
Arden, Elizabeth  
*Argosy*  
*Arizona Highways*  
Arledge, Roone  
Armani, Giorgio  
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Armory Show
- Armstrong, Henry  
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Army-McCarthy Hearings  
Arnaz, Desi  
Arrow Collar Man  
Arthur, Bea  
Arthurian Legend  
*As the World Turns*  
Ashcan School  
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Asimov, Isaac  
Asner, Ed  
Astaire, Fred, and Ginger  
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*Astounding Science Fiction*  
Astrology  
AT&T  
*A-Team, The*  
Athletic Model Guild  
Atkins, Chet  
Atlantic City  
*Atlantic Monthly*  
Atlantic Records  
Atlas, Charles  
Auerbach, Red  
Aunt Jemima  
Automobile  
Autry, Gene  
Avalon, Frankie  
Avedon, Richard  
*Avengers, The*  
Avery, Tex  
Avon  
Aykroyd, Dan
- “B” Movies  
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Baby Boomers  
Babyface  
Bacall, Lauren  
Bach, Richard  
*Back to the Future*  
*Bad News Bears, The*  
Baez, Joan  
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Baker, Josephine  
Baker, Ray Stannard  
Bakker, Jim and Tammy Faye  
Balanchine, George  
Baldwin, James  
Ball, Lucille  
Ballard, Hank  
Ballet  
Bambaataa, Afrika  
Band, The

- Bara, Theda  
 Baraka, Amiri  
 Barbecue  
 Barber, Red  
 Barbershop Quartets  
 Barbie  
 Barker, Clive  
 Barkley, Charles  
*Barney and Friends*  
*Barney Miller*  
 Barry, Dave  
 Barry, Lynda  
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 Barton, Bruce  
 Baryshnikov, Mikhail  
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 Baseball Cards  
 Basie, Count  
 Basketball  
 Bathhouses  
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 Baum, L. Frank  
 Bay, Mel  
 Bay of Pigs Invasion  
*Baywatch*  
 Bazooka Joe  
 Beach Boys, The  
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 Beanie Babies  
 Beastie Boys, The  
 Beat Generation  
 Beatles, The  
 Beatty, Warren  
*Beau Geste*  
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 Beavers, Louise  
*Beavis and Butthead*  
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 Belafonte, Harry  
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 Belushi, John  
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*Ben-Hur*  
 Benneton  
 Bennett, Tony  
*Benny Hill Show, The*  
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 Bergen, Candice  
 Bergen, Edgar  
 Bergman, Ingmar  
 Bergman, Ingrid  
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 Berle, Milton  
 Berlin, Irving  
 Bernhard, Sandra  
 Bernstein, Leonard  
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*Best Years of Our Lives, The*  
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*Better Homes and Gardens*  
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*Beulah*  
*Beverly Hillbillies, The*  
*Beverly Hills 90210*  
*Bewitched*  
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 Big Apple, The  
 Big Bands  
 Big Bopper  
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*Big Sleep, The*  
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*Bionic Woman, The*  
 Bird, Larry  
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*Birth of a Nation, The*  
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*Black Mask*  
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 Black Sox Scandal  
*Blackboard Jungle, The*  
 Blackface Minstrelsy  
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*Blade Runner*  
 Blades, Ruben  
 Blanc, Mel  
 Bland, Bobby Blue  
 Blass, Bill  
 Blaxploitation Films  
*Blob, The*  
 Blockbusters  
*Blondie* (comic strip)  
 Blondie (rock band)  
*Bloom County*  
 Blount, Roy, Jr.  
*Blue Velvet*  
*Blueboy*  
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 Blume, Judy  
 Bly, Robert  
 Board Games  
 Boat People  
 Bob and Ray  
 Bobbsey Twins, The  
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 Bochco, Steven  
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 Bogart, Humphrey  
 Bok, Edward  
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 Bombeck, Erma  
 Bon Jovi  
*Bonanza*  
*Bonnie and Clyde*  
 Booker T. and the MG's  
 Book-of-the-Month Club  
 Boone, Pat  
 Borge, Victor  
 Borscht Belt  
 Boston Celtics, The  
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 Boston Marathon  
 Boston Strangler  
 Boston Symphony Orchestra, The  
 Bouton, Jim  
 Bow, Clara  
 Bowie, David  
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 Bradbury, Ray  
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 Bradshaw, Terry  
*Brady Bunch, The*  
 Brand, Max  
 Brando, Marlon  
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 Brautigan, Richard  
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*Breakfast Club, The*  
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 Brenda Starr  
 Brice, Fanny  
*Brideshead Revisited*  
 Bridge  
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*Bridges of Madison*  
*County, The*  
 Brill Building  
*Bringing Up Baby*  
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 Bronson, Charles  
 Brooklyn Dodgers, The  
 Brooks, Garth  
 Brooks, Gwendolyn  
 Brooks, James L.  
 Brooks, Louise  
 Brooks, Mel  
 Brothers, Dr. Joyce  
 Brown, James  
 Brown, Jim  
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- Brown, Paul  
 Browne, Jackson  
 Brownie Cameras  
 Brubeck, Dave  
 Bruce, Lenny  
 Bryant, Paul “Bear”  
 Brynner, Yul  
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 Buck, Pearl S.  
 Buck Rogers  
 Buckley, William F., Jr.  
 Buckwheat Zydeco  
 Budweiser  
 Buffalo Springfield  
 Buffett, Jimmy  
 Bugs Bunny  
 Bumper Stickers  
 Bundy, Ted  
 Bungalow  
 Burger King  
 Burlesque  
 Burma-Shave  
 Burnett, Carol  
 Burns, George, and Gracie Allen  
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 Burr, Raymond  
 Burroughs, Edgar Rice  
 Burroughs, William S.  
*Buster Brown*  
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 Butkus, Dick  
 Butler, Octavia E.  
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- Cabbage Patch Kids  
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 Cadillac  
 Caesar, Sid  
*Cagney and Lacey*  
 Cagney, James  
 Cahan, Abraham  
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 Caldwell, Erskine  
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*Calvin and Hobbes*  
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*Camelot*  
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*Candid Camera*  
 Caniff, Milton  
 Canova, Judy  
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- Cantor, Eddie  
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 Capone, Al  
 Capote, Truman  
 Capra, Frank  
 Captain America  
*Captain Kangaroo*  
 Captain Marvel  
*Car 54, Where Are You?*  
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 Caray, Harry  
 Carey, Mariah  
 Carlin, George  
 Carlton, Steve  
 Carmichael, Hoagy  
 Carnegie, Dale  
 Carnegie Hall  
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 Carr, John Dickson  
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 Carter Family, The  
 Caruso, Enrico  
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 Caspar Milquetoast  
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 Castle, Vernon and Irene  
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*Catcher in the Rye, The*  
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*Cathy*  
*Cats*  
 Cavett, Dick  
 CB Radio  
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 Central Park  
 Century 21 Exposition (Seattle, 1962)  
 Century of Progress (Chicago, 1933)  
 Challenger Disaster  
 Chamberlain, Wilt  
 Chandler, Raymond  
*Chandu the Magician*  
 Chanel, Coco  
 Chaplin, Charlie  
 Charles, Ray  
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- Charlie’s Angels*  
 Charm Bracelets  
 Chase, Chevy  
 Chautauqua Institution  
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 Chavis, Boozoo  
 Chayefsky, Paddy  
 Checker, Chubby  
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 Chenier, Clifton  
 Cherry Ames  
 Chessman, Caryl  
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*China Syndrome, The*  
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 Choose-Your-Own-Ending Books  
 Christie, Agatha  
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 Chrysler Building  
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 Cisneros, Sandra  
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*City Lights*  
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 Clark, Dick  
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 Clinton, George  
*Clockwork Orange, A*  
 Clooney, Rosemary  
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- Cobb, Ty  
 Coca, Imogene  
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     Wild West Show  
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 Cohan, George M.  
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 Collins, Albert  
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 Comics Code Authority  
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 Conceptual Art  
 Condé Nast  
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 Confession Magazines  
 Coniff, Ray  
 Connors, Jimmy  
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*Consumer Reports*  
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 Convertible  
 Conway, Tim  
 Cooke, Sam  
 Cooper, Alice  
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 Cooperstown, New York  
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 Copland, Aaron  
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 Cosell, Howard  
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 Coughlin, Father Charles E.  
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 Crichton, Michael  
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*Crisis, The*  
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 Crumb, Robert  
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     *Without Fear*  
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 De Niro, Robert  
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 DeMille, Cecil B.  
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*Dick and Jane Readers*  
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 Freud, Sigmund  
 Friday, Nancy  
*Friday the 13th*  
 Friedman, Kinky  
*Friends*  
 Frisbee  
 Frizzell, Lefty  
*From Here to Eternity*  
 Frost, Robert  
 Frosty the Snowman  
 Frozen Entrées  
 Fu Manchu  
*Fugitive, The*  
 Fuller, Buckminster  
 Fundamentalism  
 Funicello, Annette  
 Funk  
 Fusco, Coco  
  
 Gable, Clark  
 Gambling  
 Game Shows  
 Gammons, Peter  
 Gangs  
 Gangsta Rap  
 Gap, The  
 Garbo, Greta  
 Gardner, Ava  
 Garfield, John  
 Garland, Judy  
 Garner, James  
 Garvey, Marcus  
 Garvey, Steve  
 Gas Stations  
 Gated Communities  
 Gay and Lesbian Marriage  
 Gay and Lesbian Press  
 Gay Liberation Movement  
 Gay Men  
 Gaye, Marvin  
 Gehrig, Lou  
*General, The*  
*General Hospital*  
 General Motors  
 Generation X  
*Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*  
 Gere, Richard  
 Gernsback, Hugo  
*Gertie the Dinosaur*  
*Get Smart*  
 Ghettos  
 GI Joe  
*Giant*  
 Gibson, Althea  
 Gibson, Bob  
 Gibson Girl  
 Gibson, Mel  
 Gibson, William  
 Gifford, Frank  
 Gillespie, Dizzy  
*Gilligan's Island*  
 Ginny Dolls  
 Ginsberg, Allen  
 Girl Groups  
 Girl Scouts  
 Gish, Dorothy  
 Gish, Lillian  
*Glass Menagerie, The*  
 Gleason, Jackie  
 Glitter Rock  
 Gnagy, Jon  
*Godfather, The*  
 Godfrey, Arthur  
 Godzilla  
 Gold, Mike  
 Goldberg, Rube  
 Goldberg, Whoopi  
 Golden Books  
 Golden Gate Bridge  
*Golden Girls, The*  
 Goldwyn, Samuel  
 Golf  
*Gone with the Wind*  
*Good Housekeeping*  
*Good, the Bad, and the Ugly, The*  
*Good Times*  
*Goodbye, Columbus*  
 Gooden, Dwight  
*GoodFellas*  
 Goodman, Benny  
 Goodson, Mark  
 Gordy, Berry  
 Gospel Music  
 Gossip Columns  
 Goth  
 Gotti, John  
 Grable, Betty  
 Graceland  
*Graduate, The*  
 Graffiti  
 Grafton, Sue  
 Graham, Bill  
 Graham, Billy  
 Graham, Martha  
 Grandmaster Flash  
 Grand Ole Opry  
 Grant, Amy  
 Grant, Cary  
*Grapes of Wrath, The*  
 Grateful Dead, The  
 Gray Panthers  
 Great Depression  
*Great Train Robbery, The*  
 Greb, Harry  
*Greed*  
 Greeley, Andrew  
 Green, Al  
 Green Bay Packers, The  
 Green Lantern  
 Greenberg, Hank  
 Greene, Graham  
 Greenpeace  
 Greenwich Village  
 Greeting Cards  
 Gregory, Dick  
 Gretzky, Wayne  
 Grey, Zane  
 Greyhound Buses  
 Grier, Pam  
 Griffin, Merv  
 Griffith, D. W.  
 Griffith, Nanci  
 Grimek, John  
 Grisham, John

- Grits  
Grizzard, Lewis  
Groening, Matt  
Grunge  
Grusin, Dave  
Guaraldi, Vince  
Guardian Angels, The  
Gucci  
*Guiding Light*  
Gulf War  
*Gunsmoke*  
Guthrie, Arlo  
Guthrie, Woodie  
Guy, Buddy  
Gymnastics
- Hackett, Buddy  
Hackman, Gene  
Haggard, Merle  
Hagler, Marvelous Marvin  
Haight-Ashbury  
*Hair*  
Hairstyles  
Halas, George “Papa Bear”  
Haley, Alex  
Haley, Bill  
Hall and Oates  
*Hallmark Hall of Fame*  
*Halloween*  
Halston  
Hamburger  
Hamill, Dorothy  
Hammett, Dashiell  
Hancock, Herbie  
Handy, W. C.  
Hanks, Tom  
Hanna-Barbera  
Hansberry, Lorraine  
*Happy Days*  
Happy Hour  
Hard-Boiled Detective Fiction  
Harding, Tonya  
Hardy Boys, The  
Hare Krishna  
Haring, Keith  
Harlem Globetrotters, The  
Harlem Renaissance  
Harlequin Romances  
Harley-Davidson  
Harlow, Jean  
Harmonica Bands  
Harper, Valerie  
*Harper’s*  
Hate Crimes  
Havlicek, John  
*Hawaii Five-0*  
Hawkins, Coleman  
Hawks, Howard  
Hayward, Susan  
Hayworth, Rita
- Hearst, Patty  
Hearst, William Randolph  
Heavy Metal  
*Hee Haw*  
Hefner, Hugh  
Hellman, Lillian  
*Hello, Dolly!*  
Hell’s Angels  
Hemingway, Ernest  
Hemlines  
Henderson, Fletcher  
Hendrix, Jimi  
Henry Aldrich  
Henson, Jim  
Hep Cats  
Hepburn, Audrey  
Hepburn, Katharine  
Herbert, Frank  
*Hercules: The Legendary Journeys*  
Herman, Woody  
Herpes  
Hersey, John  
Hess, Joan  
Heston, Charlton  
Higginson, Major Henry Lee  
*High Noon*  
Highway System  
Hijuelos, Oscar  
Hiking  
*Hill Street Blues*  
Hillerman, Tony  
Himes, Chester  
*Hindenberg*, The  
Hippies  
Hirschfeld, Albert  
*Hispanic Magazine*  
Hiss, Alger  
Hitchcock, Alfred  
Hite, Shere  
Hockey  
Hoffman, Abbie  
Hoffman, Dustin  
Hogan, Ben  
Hogan, Hulk  
*Hogan’s Heroes*  
Holbrook, Hal  
Holden, William  
Holiday, Billie  
Holiday Inns  
Holliday, Judy  
Holly, Buddy  
Hollywood  
*Hollywood Squares*  
Hollywood Ten, The  
*Holocaust*  
Holyfield, Evander  
*Home Improvement*  
Home Shopping Network/QVC  
*Honeymooners, The*
- Hooker, John Lee  
*Hoosiers*  
Hoover Dam  
Hoover, J. Edgar  
Hopalong Cassidy  
Hope, Bob  
Hopkins, Sam “Lightnin”  
Hopper, Dennis  
Hopper, Edward  
Hopscotch  
Horne, Lena  
Horror Movies  
Hot Dogs  
Hot Pants  
Hot Rods  
Houdini, Harry  
Houston, Whitney  
*How the West Was Won*  
*Howdy Doody Show, The*  
Howe, Gordie  
Howlin’ Wolf  
Hubbard, L. Ron  
Hudson, Rock  
Hughes, Howard  
Hughes, Langston  
Hula Hoop  
Hull, Bobby  
Hunt, Helen  
Hunter, Tab  
Huntley, Chet  
Hurston, Zora Neale  
*Hustler*  
Huston, John  
Hutton, Ina Ray
- I Dream of Jeannie*  
*I Love a Mystery*  
*I Love Lucy*  
*I Spy*  
*I Was a Teenage Werewolf*  
Iacocca, Lee  
IBM (International Business Machines)  
Ice Cream Cone  
Ice Shows  
Ice-T  
*In Living Color*  
Incredible Hulk, The  
*Independence Day*  
Indian, The  
Indianapolis 500  
Industrial Design  
Ink Spots, The  
*Inner Sanctum* Mysteries  
International Male Catalog, The  
Internet, The  
*Intolerance*  
*Invisible Man*  
Iran Contra  
Iron Maiden

- Ironman Triathlon  
 Irving, John  
*It Happened One Night*  
*It's a Wonderful Life*  
*It's Garry Shandling's Show*  
 Ives, Burl  
 Ivy League  
  
 J. Walter Thompson  
 Jack Armstrong  
 Jackson Five, The  
 Jackson, Jesse  
 Jackson, Mahalia  
 Jackson, Michael  
 Jackson, Reggie  
 Jackson, Shirley  
 Jackson, "Sholess" Joe  
 Jakes, John  
 James Bond Films  
 James, Elmore  
 James, Harry  
 Japanese American Internment Camps  
*Jaws*  
 Jazz  
*Jazz Singer, The*  
 Jeans  
 Jeep  
 Jefferson Airplane/Starship  
*Jeffersons, The*  
 Jell-O  
 Jennings, Peter  
 Jennings, Waylon  
*Jeopardy!*  
 Jessel, George  
*Jesus Christ Superstar*  
*Jet*  
 Jet Skis  
 Jewish Defense League  
*JFK (The Movie)*  
 Jogging  
 John Birch Society  
 John, Elton  
 Johns, Jasper  
 Johnson, Blind Willie  
 Johnson, Earvin "Magic"  
 Johnson, Jack  
 Johnson, James Weldon  
 Johnson, Michael  
 Johnson, Robert  
 Jolson, Al  
 Jones, Bobby  
 Jones, George  
 Jones, Jennifer  
 Jones, Tom  
 Jonestown  
 Jong, Erica  
 Joplin, Janis  
 Joplin, Scott  
 Jordan, Louis  
  
 Jordan, Michael  
*Joy of Cooking*  
*Joy of Sex, The*  
 Joyner, Florence Griffith  
 Joyner-Kersee, Jackie  
 Judas Priest  
*Judge*  
 Judson, Arthur  
 Judy Bolton  
 Juke Boxes  
*Julia*  
 Juliá, Raúl  
*Jurassic Park*  
 Juvenile Delinquency  
  
 Kahn, Roger  
 Kaltenborn, Hans von  
 Kansas City Jazz  
 Kantor, MacKinlay  
 Karan, Donna  
 Karloff, Boris  
 Kasem, Casey  
*Kate & Allie*  
*Katzenjammer Kids, The*  
 Kaufman, Andy  
 Kaye, Danny  
 Keaton, Buster  
 Keillor, Garrison  
 Keitel, Harvey  
 Kelley, David E.  
 Kelly Bag  
 Kelly, Gene  
 Kelly Girls  
 Kelly, Grace  
 Kennedy Assassination  
 Kent State Massacre  
 Kentucky Derby  
 Kentucky Fried Chicken  
 Kern, Jerome  
 Kerrigan, Nancy  
 Kershaw, Doug  
 Kesity, Ken  
 Kewpie Dolls  
 Key West  
 Keystone Kops, The  
 King, Albert  
 King, B. B.  
 King, Billie Jean  
 King, Carole  
 King, Freddie  
*King Kong*  
 King, Larry  
 King, Martin Luther, Jr.  
 King, Rodney  
 King, Stephen  
 Kingston, Maxine Hong  
 Kingston Trio, The  
 Kinison, Sam  
 Kinsey, Dr. Alfred C.  
 Kirby, Jack  
  
 KISS  
 Kitsch  
 Kiwanis  
 Klein, Calvin  
 Klein, Robert  
 Kmart  
 Knievel, Evel  
 Knight, Bobby  
*Knots Landing*  
 Kodak  
*Kojak*  
 Koontz, Dean R.  
 Koresh, David, and the Branch Davidians  
 Korman, Harvey  
 Kosinski, Jerzy  
 Kotzwinkle, William  
 Koufax, Sandy  
 Kovacs, Ernie  
*Kraft Television Theatre*  
 Krantz, Judith  
 Krassner, Paul  
*Krazy Kat*  
 Krupa, Gene  
 Ku Klux Klan  
 Kubrick, Stanley  
*Kudzu*  
 Kuhn, Bowie  
*Kukla, Fran, and Ollie*  
*Kung Fu*  
 Kwan, Michelle  
  
*L. A. Law*  
 L. L. Cool J.  
 "La Bamba"  
 Labor Unions  
 Lacoste Shirts  
 Ladd, Alan  
 Laetrile  
 Lahr, Bert  
 Lake, Ricki  
 Lake, Veronica  
 LaLanne, Jack  
 Lamarr, Hedy  
 LaMotta, Jake  
 Lamour, Dorothy  
 L'Amour, Louis  
 Lancaster, Burt  
 Landon, Michael  
 Landry, Tom  
 Lang, Fritz  
 lang, k.d.  
 Lansky, Meyer  
 Lardner, Ring  
*Larry Sanders Show, The*  
 LaRussa, Tony  
 Las Vegas  
 Lasorda, Tommy  
 Lassie  
*Late Great Planet Earth, The*

- Latin Jazz  
*Laugh-In*  
 Lauper, Cyndi  
*Laura*  
 Laurel and Hardy  
 Lauren, Ralph  
 Laver, Rod  
*Laverne and Shirley*  
 Lavin, Linda  
 Lawn Care/Gardening  
*Lawrence of Arabia*  
 Lawrence, Vicki  
 La-Z-Boy Loungers  
 le Carré, John  
 Le Guin, Ursula K.  
 Leachman, Cloris  
 Leadbelly  
*League of Their Own, A*  
 Lear, Norman  
 Leary, Timothy  
 Least Heat Moon, William  
 Leather Jacket  
*Leave It to Beaver*  
 Led Zeppelin  
 Lee, Bruce  
 Lee, Gypsy Rose  
 Lee, Peggy  
 Lee, Spike  
 Lee, Stan  
 Legos  
 Lehrer, Tom  
 Leisure Suit  
 Leisure Time  
 LeMond, Greg  
 L'Engle, Madeleine  
 Lennon, John  
 Leno, Jay  
 Leonard, Benny  
 Leonard, Elmore  
 Leonard, Sugar Ray  
 Leone, Sergio  
 Leopold and Loeb  
*Les Miserables*  
 Lesbianism  
*Let Us Now Praise  
     Famous Men*  
*Let's Pretend*  
 Letterman, David  
 Levin, Meyer  
 Levi's  
 Levittown  
 Lewinsky, Monica  
 Lewis, C. S.  
 Lewis, Carl  
 Lewis, Jerry  
 Lewis, Jerry Lee  
 Lewis, Sinclair  
 Liberace  
*Liberty*  
 Lichtenstein, Roy  
 Liebovitz, Annie  
*Life*  
*Life of Riley, The*  
*Like Water for Chocolate*  
 Li'l Abner  
 Limbaugh, Rush  
 Lincoln Center for the  
     Performing Arts  
 Lindbergh, Anne Morrow  
 Lindbergh, Charles  
 Linkletter, Art  
*Lion King, The*  
 Lionel Trains  
 Lippmann, Walter  
 Lipstick  
 Liston, Sonny  
 Little Black Dress  
 Little Blue Books  
 Little League  
 Little Magazines  
 Little Orphan Annie  
 Little Richard  
 Live Television  
 L.L. Bean, Inc.  
 Lloyd Webber, Andrew  
 Loafers  
 Locke, Alain  
*Lolita*  
 Lollapalooza  
 Lombard, Carole  
 Lombardi, Vince  
 Lombardo, Guy  
 London, Jack  
 Lone Ranger, The  
 Long, Huey  
 Long, Shelley  
 Long-Playing Record  
 Loos, Anita  
 López, Nancy  
 Lorre, Peter  
 Los Angeles Lakers, The  
 Los Lobos  
*Lost Weekend, The*  
 Lottery  
 Louis, Joe  
 Louisiana Purchase Exposition  
 Louisville Slugger  
*Love Boat, The*  
 Love, Courtney  
 Lovecraft, H. P.  
 Low Riders  
 Loy, Myrna  
 LSD  
 Lubitsch, Ernst  
 Lucas, George  
 Luce, Henry  
 Luciano, Lucky  
 Ludlum, Robert  
 Lugosi, Bela  
 Lunceford, Jimmie  
 Lupino, Ida  
 LuPone, Patti  
 Lynch, David  
 Lynching  
 Lynn, Loretta  
 Lynyrd Skynyrd  
  
*Ma Perkins*  
 Mabley, Moms  
 MacDonald, Jeanette  
 MacDonald, John D.  
 Macfadden, Bernarr  
 MacMurray, Fred  
 Macon, Uncle Dave  
 Macy's  
*MAD Magazine*  
 Madden, John  
 Made-for-Television Movies  
 Madonna  
 Mafia/Organized Crime  
*Magnificent Seven, The*  
*Magnum, P.I.*  
 Mah-Jongg  
 Mailer, Norman  
 Malcolm X  
 Mall of America  
 Malls  
*Maltese Falcon, The*  
 Mamas and the Papas, The  
 Mamet, David  
*Man from U.N.C.L.E., The*  
*Man Who Shot Liberty  
     Valance, The*  
*Manchurian Candidate, The*  
 Mancini, Henry  
 Manhattan Transfer  
 Manilow, Barry  
 Mansfield, Jayne  
 Manson, Charles  
 Mantle, Mickey  
 Manufactured Homes  
 Mapplethorpe, Robert  
 March on Washington  
 Marching Bands  
 Marciano, Rocky  
*Marcus Welby, M.D.*  
 Mardi Gras  
 Mariachi Music  
 Marichal, Juan  
 Marie, Rose  
 Marijuana  
 Maris, Roger  
 Marlboro Man  
 Marley, Bob  
*Married . . . with Children*  
 Marshall, Garry  
 Martha and the Vandellas  
 Martin, Dean  
 Martin, Freddy  
 Martin, Quinn

- Martin, Steve  
 Martini  
 Marvel Comics  
 Marx Brothers, The  
 Marx, Groucho  
*Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*  
 Mary Kay Cosmetics  
*Mary Poppins*  
*Mary Tyler Moore Show, The*  
 Mary Worth  
*M\*A\*S\*H*  
 Mason, Jackie  
 Mass Market Magazine  
     Revolution  
*Masses, The*  
 Masterpiece Theatre  
 Masters and Johnson  
 Masters Golf Tournament  
 Mathis, Johnny  
 Mattingly, Don  
*Maude*  
 Maupin, Armistead  
*Maus*  
 Max, Peter  
 Mayer, Louis B.  
 Mayfield, Curtis  
 Mayfield, Percy  
 Mays, Willie  
 McBain, Ed  
 McCaffrey, Anne  
*McCall's Magazine*  
 McCarthyism  
 McCartney, Paul  
 McCay, Winsor  
*McClure's*  
 McCoy, Horace  
 McCrea, Joel  
 McDaniel, Hattie  
 McDonald's  
 McEnroe, John  
 McEntire, Reba  
 McGwire, Mark  
*McHale's Navy*  
 McKay, Claude  
 McKuen, Rod  
 McLish, Rachel  
 McLuhan, Marshall  
 McMurtry, Larry  
 McPherson, Aimee Semple  
 McQueen, Butterfly  
 McQueen, Steve  
 Me Decade  
 Meadows, Audrey  
*Mean Streets*  
 Media Feeding Frenzies  
 Medicine Shows  
*Meet Me in St. Louis*  
 Mellencamp, John  
 Mencken, H. L.  
 Mendoza, Lydia
- Men's Movement  
 Merton, Thomas  
 Metalious, Grace  
*Metropolis*  
 Metropolitan Museum of Art  
 MGM (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer)  
*Miami Vice*  
 Michener, James  
*Mickey Mouse Club, The*  
 Microsoft  
*Middletown*  
 Midler, Bette  
*Midnight Cowboy*  
*Mildred Pierce*  
 Militias  
 Milk, Harvey  
 Millay, Edna St. Vincent  
 Miller, Arthur  
 Miller Beer  
 Miller, Glenn  
 Miller, Henry  
 Miller, Roger  
 Milli Vanilli  
 Million Man March  
 Milton Bradley  
 Minimalism  
 Minivans  
 Minnelli, Vincente  
 Minoso, Minnie  
 Minstrel Shows  
 Miranda, Carmen  
*Miranda Warning*  
 Miss America Pageant  
*Mission: Impossible*  
*Mister Ed*  
*Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*  
 Mitchell, Joni  
 Mitchell, Margaret  
 Mitchum, Robert  
 Mix, Tom  
 Mod  
*Mod Squad, The*  
 Model T  
 Modern Dance  
*Modern Maturity*  
*Modern Times*  
 Modernism  
 Momaday, N. Scott  
*Monday Night Football*  
 Monkees, The  
 Monopoly  
 Monroe, Bill  
 Monroe, Earl "The Pearl"  
 Monroe, Marilyn  
 Montalban, Ricardo  
 Montana, Joe  
 Montana, Patsy  
*Monty Python's Flying Circus*  
 Moonies/Reverend Sun  
     Myung Moon
- Moonlighting*  
 Moore, Demi  
 Moore, Michael  
 Moral Majority  
 Moreno, Rita  
*Mork & Mindy*  
 Morris, Mark  
 Morrissette, Alanis  
 Morrison, Toni  
 Morrison, Van  
 Morse, Carlton E.  
 Morton, Jelly Roll  
 Mosley, Walter  
 Moss, Kate  
 Mother's Day  
 Mötley Crüe  
 Motley, Willard  
 Motown  
 Mount Rushmore  
 Mountain Biking  
 Mouseketeers, The  
 Movie Palaces  
 Movie Stars  
 Mr. Dooley  
*Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*  
*Mr. Wizard*  
*Ms.*  
 MTV  
 Muckraking  
 Multiculturalism  
 Mummy, The  
 Muni, Paul  
*Munsey's Magazine*  
 Muppets, The  
*Murder, She Wrote*  
*Murphy Brown*  
 Murphy, Eddie  
 Murray, Anne  
 Murray, Arthur  
 Murray, Bill  
 Murray, Lenda  
 Murrow, Edward R.  
 Muscle Beach  
 Muscle Cars  
 Muscular Christianity  
 Musical, The  
*Mutiny on the Bounty*  
*Mutt & Jeff*  
 Muzak  
*My Darling Clementine*  
*My Fair Lady*  
*My Family/Mi familia*  
 My Lai Massacre  
*My So Called Life*  
*My Three Sons*  
 Nader, Ralph  
 Nagel, Patrick  
 Naismith, James  
 Namath, Joe



- Nancy Drew  
 NASA  
*Nation, The*  
 National Basketball Association (NBA)  
 National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA)  
*National Enquirer, The*  
 National Football League (NFL)  
*National Geographic*  
 National Hockey League (NHL)  
*National Lampoon*  
 National Organization for Women (N.O.W.)  
 National Parks  
*Natural, The*  
*Natural Born Killers*  
 Nava, Gregory  
 Navratilova, Martina  
 Naylor, Gloria  
 Neckties  
 Negro Leagues  
 Neighborhood Watch  
 Nelson, Ricky  
 Nelson, Willie  
 Nerd Look  
*Network*  
 Networks  
 New Age Music  
 New Age Spirituality  
 New Deal  
 New Kids on the Block, The  
 New Left  
 New Look  
 New Orleans Rhythm and Blues  
*New Republic*  
 New Wave Music  
 New York Knickerbockers, The  
 New York Mets, The  
*New York Times, The*  
 New York Yankees, The  
*New Yorker, The*  
 Newhart, Bob  
*Newlywed Game, The*  
 Newport Jazz and Folk Festivals  
*Newsweek*  
 Newton, Helmut  
 Niagara Falls  
 Nichols, Mike, and Elaine May  
 Nickelodeons  
 Nicklaus, Jack  
*Night of the Living Dead*  
*Nightline*  
 Nike  
 1980 U.S. Olympic Hockey Team  
 1968 Mexico City Summer Olympic Games  
 Nirvana
- Nixon, Agnes  
 Noloesca, La Chata  
 Norris, Frank  
*North by Northwest*  
*Northern Exposure*  
 Novak, Kim  
 Nureyev, Rudolf  
 Nylon  
*NYPD Blue*
- Oakland Raiders, The  
 Oates, Joyce Carol  
 Objectivism/Ayn Rand  
 O'Brien, Tim  
 Ochs, Phil  
 O'Connor, Flannery  
*Odd Couple, The*  
 O'Donnell, Rosie  
 O'Keefe, Georgia  
*Oklahoma!*  
 Old Navy  
 Oliphant, Pat  
 Olivier, Laurence  
 Olmos, Edward James  
 Olsen, Tillie  
 Olympics  
*Omnibus*  
*On the Road*  
*On the Waterfront*  
 Onassis, Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy  
*One Day at a Time*  
*One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*  
*One Man's Family*  
 O'Neal, Shaquille  
 O'Neill, Eugene  
 Op Art  
*Opportunity*  
 Orbison, Roy  
*Organization Man, The*  
 Original Dixieland Jass (Jazz) Band  
 O'Rourke, P. J.  
 Orr, Bobby  
 Osborne Brothers, The  
 Osbourne, Ozzy  
 Ouija Boards  
*Our Gang*  
*Outer Limits, The*  
 Outing  
*Outline of History, The*  
 Owens, Buck  
 Owens, Jesse  
 Oxford Bags
- Paar, Jack  
 Pachucos  
 Pacino, Al  
 Paglia, Camille
- Paige, Satchel  
 Paley, Grace  
 Paley, William S.  
 Palmer, Arnold  
 Palmer, Jim  
 Pants for Women  
 Pantyhose  
 Paperbacks  
 Parades  
 Paretzky, Sara  
 Parker Brothers  
 Parker, Charlie  
 Parker, Dorothy  
 Parks, Rosa  
 Parrish, Maxfield  
 Parton, Dolly  
*Partridge Family, The*  
 Patinkin, Mandy  
*Patton*  
 Paul, Les  
 Paulsen, Pat  
 Payton, Walter  
 Peale, Norman Vincent  
*Peanuts*  
 Pearl Jam  
 Pearl, Minnie  
 Peck, Gregory  
 Peep Shows  
*Pee-wee's Playhouse*  
 Pelé  
 Penn, Irving  
*Penthouse*  
*People*  
 Peppermint Lounge, The  
 Pepsi-Cola  
 Performance Art  
 Perot, Ross  
 Perry Mason  
 Pet Rocks  
 Peter, Paul, and Mary  
 Peters, Bernadette  
 Pets  
 Petting  
 Petty, Richard  
 Peyton Place  
 Pfeiffer, Michelle  
*Phantom of the Opera, The*  
*Philadelphia Story, The*  
*Philco Television Playhouse*  
 Phillips, Irna  
 Phone Sex  
 Phonograph  
*Photoplay*  
 Picasso, Pablo  
 Pickford, Mary  
 Pill, The  
 Pink Floyd  
 Pin-Up, The  
 Piper, "Rowdy" Roddy  
 Phippen, Scottie

- Pittsburgh Steelers, The  
 Pizza  
*Place in the Sun, A*  
*Planet of the Apes*  
 Plastic  
 Plastic Surgery  
 Plath, Sylvia  
*Platoon*  
*Playboy*  
*Playgirl*  
*Playhouse 90*  
*Pogo*  
 Pointer Sisters, The  
 Poitier, Sidney  
 Polio  
 Political Bosses  
 Political Correctness  
 Pollock, Jackson  
 Polyester  
 Pop Art  
 Pop, Iggy  
 Pop Music  
 Pope, The  
 Popeye  
 Popsicles  
*Popular Mechanics*  
 Popular Psychology  
 Pornography  
 Porter, Cole  
 Postcards  
*Postman Always Rings  
 Twice, The*  
 Postmodernism  
 Potter, Dennis  
 Powell, Dick  
 Powell, William  
 Prang, Louis  
 Preminger, Otto  
 Preppy  
 Presley, Elvis  
*Price Is Right, The*  
 Price, Reynolds  
 Price, Vincent  
 Pride, Charley  
 Prince  
 Prince, Hal  
 Prinze, Freddie  
*Prisoner, The*  
 Professional Football  
 Prohibition  
 Prom  
 Promise Keepers  
 Protest Groups  
 Prozac  
 Pryor, Richard  
 Psychedelia  
 Psychics  
*Psycho*  
 PTA/PTO (Parent Teacher  
 Association/Organization)
- Public Enemy  
 Public Libraries  
 Public Television (PBS)  
 Puente, Tito  
*Pulp Fiction*  
 Pulp Magazines  
 Punisher, The  
 Punk  
 Pynchon, Thomas
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 ZZ Top

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## Uecker, Bob (1935—)

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No baseball player ever built more around a lifetime batting average of .200 than sportscaster/humorist Bob Uecker. The former catcher for three National League teams parlayed his limited on-field abilities into a lucrative second career, becoming visible through his play-by-play commentary, roles in sitcoms and movies, and a series of commercial endorsements. “Anybody with ability can play in the big leagues,” he once remarked. “But to be able to trick people year in and year out the way I did, I think that’s a much greater feat.”

A Milwaukee native, Uecker was signed by the hometown Braves (National League pennant winners in 1957 and 1958) for \$3,000. “That bothered my dad at the time,” Uecker later joked, “because he didn’t have that kind of money to pay out.” Contrary to his public persona, Uecker actually hit very well in the Braves’ minor league system, batting over .300 in three different seasons. He eventually joined the parent Braves in 1962, where he was used for his defensive skills.

During the 1964 season Uecker was traded to the St. Louis Cardinals, and was part of a World Series team. “I made a major contribution to the Cardinals’ pennant drive,” he told Johnny Carson. “I came down with hepatitis. The trainer injected me with it.” Before the first game of the World Series, Uecker stole a tuba from a Dixieland band and caught outfield flies with it during batting practice. Teammate Tim McCarver later credited Uecker’s infectious humor with the Cardinals’ upset win over the Yankees in the Series: “If Bob Uecker had not been on the Cardinals, then it’s questionable whether we could have beaten the Yankees.” He practiced doing play-by-play by broadcasting into beer cups in the Cardinals’ bullpen (“Beer cups don’t criticize,” he later observed). While Uecker’s offensive skills were weak, he had his greatest batting success, ironically, off the top pitcher of his generation, Sandy Koufax. Uecker was traded to the Philadelphia Phillies in 1966, retiring a year later.

In 1971 Uecker was hired to do play-by-play for the new Milwaukee Brewers team in the American League, and quickly became a fan favorite for his self-deprecating humor as well as his observant commentary. In 1976 he was picked to announce games for ABC’s *Monday Night Baseball* program, where he was paired with the ubiquitous Howard Cosell. Cosell, who possessed a large vocabulary and a thinly-veiled contempt for baseball, was a worthy companion for the unpretentious Uecker. When Cosell asked Uecker to use the word “truculent” in a sentence, Uecker quickly replied, “If you had a truck and I borrowed it, that would be a truck-you-lent.” Uecker also became a favorite guest on Johnny Carson’s *The Tonight Show*.

Uecker enjoyed popularity as a commercial spokesman for Miller Lite beer in the 1970s and 1980s, poking fun at his athletic inability. In the most famous spot, Uecker was shown in the stands touting Miller Lite while waiting for his complimentary tickets from the team management (“I must be in the front row!”). As the commercial faded to black, Uecker was seen in his free seats—in the uppermost part of the upper deck.

Uecker wrote a bestselling autobiography in 1982 titled *Catcher in the Wry*. From 1985 to 1990 he costarred on the popular ABC situation comedy *Mr. Belvedere*, where his irreverent sportswriter character proved a perfect foil for Christopher Hewitt’s title role of a

stuffy, English-born butler. In 1989 he enjoyed his greatest success as Harry Doyle, the comical announcer for the woebegone Cleveland Indians in *Major League*, a surprise movie comedy hit. Uecker’s ironic play-by-play—when Charlie Sheen’s pitches land ten rows up in the grandstand, Uecker remarks, “Jussst a bit outside”—chronicled the Indians’ improbable rise to clinch the American League pennant.

Uecker returned to network baseball coverage in 1997, joining Bob Costas and Joe Morgan on NBC’s broadcasts of playoff and World Series games. Again, Uecker’s self-effacement played well off the erudition of both his colleagues. When asked to describe his greatest moment as a player, Uecker said with pride, “Driving home the winning run by walking with the bases loaded.”

—Andrew Milner

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## UFOs (Unidentified Flying Objects)

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The concept of the Unidentified Flying Object (UFO), ostensibly the vehicle of choice for alien visitors from outer space, originated in the United States in the 1940s and, over the course of five decades, has attracted a sizable cult of adherents stimulated by the phenomenon’s embodiment of both antigovernment social protest and romantic secular humanism.

The first mass sightings of UFOs in the United States came in 1896, when a number of people from California to the Midwest reported seeing mysterious aircraft. According to reports, these dirigible-like machines were cigar-shaped and featured a host of intense colored lights. Another wave of UFO sightings were reported in 1909 and 1910, and, during World War II, several Allied pilots claimed to have spotted glowing objects that paced their airplanes. A Gallup Poll taken in 1947, though, indicated that few Americans associated flying disks with extraterrestrial spaceships; by and large, people attributed the reported sightings to optical illusions, misinterpreted or unknown natural phenomena, or top-secret military vehicles not known to the public.

A rash of sightings between 1947 and 1949 radically recast public perceptions of UFOs. A celebrated incident in which pilot Kenneth Arnold allegedly intercepted nine saucer-like objects flying at incredible speeds over Mt. Rainier in Washington landed UFOs on the front pages of newspapers across the nation. A landmark *True* magazine article by Donald Keyhoe entitled “The Flying Saucers Are Real” postulated that UFOs, such as those encountered by Arnold, were actually extraterrestrial spaceships. Pulp magazines and Hollywood producers seized upon this image, and, not long after the

article's publication in 1949, the UFO as an alien vehicle became the dominant public interpretation of these phenomena. The shift in public perception was accompanied by a massive increase in the number of UFO sightings.

The government quickly became involved in this cultural phenomenon, inaugurating committees to investigate the sightings. The air force's Project Sign, which began its work in 1948, concluded that UFOs were real, but were easily explained and not extraordinary. UFOs, the committee concluded, were not extraterrestrial spaceships, but rather astronomical objects and weather balloons. Amid the growing public obsession with UFOs, a second project, Grudge, published similar findings, but engendered little public belief. The CIA-sponsored Robertson panel, named after H. P. Robertson, a director in the office of the Secretary of Defense, convened in January of 1953 and drastically changed the nature of the air force's involvement in the UFO controversy. Heretofore, the government had sought the cause of sightings. The Robertson panel charged the air force with keeping sighting reports at a minimum. The air force would never again conduct a program of thorough investigations with regard to UFOs; the main thrust of their efforts would be in the field of public relations. Government officials thus embarked on a series of educational programs aimed at reducing the gullibility of the public on matters related to UFOs. This policy has remained largely unchanged for the past 40 years.

Much to the government's consternation, adherents to the extraterrestrial theory formed a host of organizations that disseminated the beliefs of the UFO community through newsletters and journals; among these groups were the Civilian Saucer Committee, the Cosmic

Brotherhood Association, and the Citizens Against UFO Secrecy. Some of the larger organizations funded UFO studies and coordinated lobbying efforts to convince Congress to declassify UFO-related government documents. In the eyes of many UFO fanatics, government officials were conspiring to shield information on extraterrestrial UFOs for fear of mass panic, as in the case of Orson Welles's famed *War of the Worlds* broadcast. The government conspiracy theory took many forms, from the belief in secret underground areas—most notably the mythical Area 51 in Nevada where alien bodies recovered from UFO crashes allegedly were preserved—to the concept of “men in black,” government officials who silenced those who had come in contact with UFOs and aliens.

The UFO craze continued throughout the latter decades of the twentieth century. Numbers of sightings increased steadily, and, as of the late 1990s, almost half of Americans believed that UFOs were in fact extraterrestrial spaceships. A host of reputable citizens, among them Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter of Georgia, later U.S. president, stepped forward to say that they had witnessed extraterrestrial aircraft hurtling through the sky. UFOs and aliens also had become an indelible part of popular culture. Movies from *The Day the Earth Stood Still* (1951) to *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977) portrayed extraterrestrial visitations via spaceships, while television series such as *The X-Files* and *Unsolved Mysteries* capitalized on public interest with weekly narratives on encounters with aliens and UFOs.

The form of the UFO myth changed shape somewhat in the 1980s and 1990s, as individuals began to claim that they not only had seen UFOs, but that they actually had been on board the spacecraft, as aliens had abducted them and performed experiments on them before returning them to Earth. One “abducted” 18-year-old claimed to have had sex with an extraterrestrial, while most others offered distinct remembrances of having sperm and eggs removed from their bodies by alien doctors, ostensibly so that human reproduction could be studied in extraterrestrial laboratories. By 1997, nearly 20 percent of adult Americans believed in alien abduction theories, and abduction came to supersede sightings of “lights in the sky” as the dominant image associated with UFOs.

Scholars believe that the UFO myth contains religious-like elements that do much to explain its massive appeal. In postulating the existence of superhuman beings, by promising deliverance through travel to a better planet, and by creating a community fellowship engaged in ritualized activities such as the various UFO conventions popular with believers, the UFO myth embodies much of popular religious belief. At the same time, the UFO myth, with its government conspiracy dimensions, resonates with an American public increasingly distrustful of its government. UFO “flaps,” periods of high numbers of UFO sightings, have corresponded to a number of broadly defined crises in government faith, among them the McCarthy hearings, the Vietnam War, and Watergate.

The public fascination with UFOs has shown no signs of abating in the 1990s. In 1997, the fiftieth anniversary of the Roswell incident, in which the government purportedly covered up the existence of a crashed UFO, nearly 40 thousand people flocked to Roswell, New Mexico, to pay homage to the alleged crash site. A number of Hollywood's biggest blockbusters were standard UFO and alien fare; these films included the box-office smashes *Independence Day* (1996), *Contact* (1997), and *Men in Black* (1997). Most tragically, the



Heaven's Gate UFO cult committed mass suicide in 1997 as part of an effort to gain the attention of a UFO they believed to be associated with the Hale-Bopp comet. Like other believers in UFOs, the Heaven's Gate cult located its hopes and fears about the world in the idea of disk-shaped alien spaceships, but, as scholar Curtis Peebles has aptly noted, "We watch the skies seeking meaning. In the end, what we find is ourselves."

—Scott Tribble

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## Ulcers

Peptic ulcers are painful open sores or lesions in either the stomach (gastric ulcers) or duodenal lining (duodenal ulcers). Ulcers affect more than four million people each year and account for approximately 40,000 surgeries and six thousand deaths. With 10 percent of the population suffering from ulcers, they are responsible for an estimated three to five million doctor's office visits and two million prescriptions each year. Until the early 1980s, ulcers were believed to be caused primarily by such factors as stress and spicy foods, but a new link was found in 1982 that has changed attitudes about the causes of this common and painful condition. With the discovery of a bacterium called *Helicobacter Pylori* (H. Pylori), researchers have found increasing evidence that the majority of ulcers may be caused by this bacteria, and research suggests these ulcers can be treated with antibiotics.

Duodenal ulcers occur in the first section of the intestine after the stomach. The first occurrence of these ulcers is usually between the ages of 30 and 50, and is more common in men than in women. Gastric ulcers occur in the stomach itself, and are more common in those over 60, and affect more women than men. Ulcer symptoms may be mild, severe, or nonexistent and include weight loss, heartburn, loss of appetite, bloating, fatigue, burping, nausea, vomiting, and pain. The pain associated with ulcers is often an intermittent dull or gnawing pain, usually occurring two to three hours following a meal or when the stomach is empty, and is often relieved by food intake. While most of these symptoms require only a visit to the doctor, others require immediate medical attention. These symptoms include sharp, sudden pain; bloody or black stools; or bloody vomit sometimes resembling coffee grounds. Any or all of these symptoms

could signal a perforation, bleeding, or an obstruction in the gastrointestinal tract. H. Pylori is now considered a major contributing factor in both gastric and duodenal ulcers, with the remainder of the cases caused by damage from nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs such as aspirin and ibuprofen.

Ulcers are diagnosed by such methods as an upper gastrointestinal (Upper GI) series or an endoscopy. Doctors who suspect an ulcer is caused by H. Pylori will often perform blood, breath, and stomach tissue tests after one of these procedures detects the presence of an ulcer. Since the discovery of H. Pylori, doctors try to determine if the ulcer is caused by this bacterium or if other factors such as the use of NSAIDs have contributed to the formation of the ulcer. Until the 1980s, medical professionals believed ulcers were caused mainly by stress, spicy foods, alcohol consumption, and excess stomach acids, and treated most ulcers with bland diets, antacids, and rest or reduced stress levels. In the early years of the twentieth century, physicians and psychologists considered overwork the cause of most ulcers. It was in the 1970s that researchers caused a stir with the idea that ulcers are caused by stress, creating a new buzzword in both the medical and business worlds. This theory led to an emphasis on stress management in the 1980s, and experts in every field from psychology to the New Age movement began to advance new theories on the causes and treatment of ulcers.

In 1982, when the H. Pylori bacterium was discovered, medical researchers began to think differently about the causes and treatment of ulcers. A pathologist in Perth, Australia, found that a significant number of ulcer patients were infected with the same unknown bacterium, later named H. Pylori. Research has found that the spiral-shaped H. Pylori bacteria are able to survive corrosive stomach acids because of their acid neutralizing properties. The bacteria work by weakening the mucous coating of the stomach or duodenum and allowing stomach acid to attack the more sensitive stomach or duodenal lining, leading to the formation of an ulcer. Possible causes of infection by H. Pylori include intake of contaminated food or water or possibly through saliva.

Many researchers in the late 1990s believe H. Pylori causes the majority of ulcers, with an estimated 80 percent of stomach ulcers and 90 percent of duodenal ulcers caused by the bacteria. Research suggests that 20 percent of Americans under 40 and 50 percent of Americans over 60 are infected with it. Further research has shown that 90 percent of ulcers traced to H. Pylori have been healed by the use of antibiotics and do not recur when treated with them.

Despite a statement by the National Institute of Health that most ulcers may be caused by H. Pylori, the issue remains a controversial one. By the final years of the 1990s, the Food and Drug Administration had not officially sanctioned the use of antibiotics to treat ulcers believed to be caused by H. Pylori. The predominant treatment of ulcers remains the use of medication such as antacids and drugs like Zantac, Tagamet, or Pepcid that inhibit the production of stomach acid, and lifestyle changes. If H. Pylori is indicated as a cause of ulcers, doctors often use a combination of drugs including antibiotics, H2 blockers such as ranitidine, proton pump inhibitors such as omeprazole, and stomach lining protectors.

While research continues to examine the causes and treatment of ulcers, doctors and patients have a wider range of treatments than ever before for ulcers, as well as related conditions such as heartburn and acid-reflux disease. The last two decades of the twentieth century

have afforded a greater understanding of the formation of ulcers and provided a promising outlook in identifying a cure for this common and potentially dangerous disease.

—Kimberley H. Kidd

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## Underground Comics

Underground Comics (or "Comix," with the X understood to signify X-rated material) include strips and books heavily dosed with obscenity, graphic sex, gory violence, glorification of drug use, and general defiance of convention and authority. All are either self-published or produced by very small companies which choose not to follow the mainstream Comics Code. Some undergrounds are political, carrying eco-awareness, anti-establishment messages, and general revolutionary overtones. Others are just meant for nasty, subversive fun. All have elements of sensation and satire. The origins of underground comics can be traced to the so-called "Tijuana Bibles" of the 1930s and 1940s: illegally produced 8-page mini-comics that depicted mainstream comic strip characters getting drunk and having sex (Popeye, Mickey Mouse, Dick Tracy, etc.). The legacy of underground comics are the Alternative and Independent of the 1980s and 1990s.

Underground comics truly came into their own during the 1960s, thanks to the talents of artist/writers such as Robert ("R.") Crumb, Gilbert Shelton, and S. Clay Wilson. The first underground strips appeared in underground papers such as New York's *East Village Other*, Berkeley's *Barb*, the Los Angeles *Free Press*, and the Detroit *Fifth Estate*. The first recognizable underground comic book is *God Nose (Snot Reel)* put out by Jack ("Jaxon") Jackson in 1963. Undergrounds proliferated in the mid and late 1960s, with printing and distribution by companies such as San Francisco's Rip-Off Press, Milwaukee's Kitchen Sink Enterprises (a.k.a. Krupp), and Berkeley's Print Mint. These companies sold their books not through newsstands but through Head Shops.

The first issues of R. Crumb's *Zap* (1967) were a milestone in underground comics. *Zap* featured the catchy Keep On Truckin' image and introduced characters such as the hedonistic guru Mr. Natural and the outwardly proud but inwardly repressed Whiteman. Crumb's intense and imaginative artwork, strange and often shocking images, unsparing satires, and unflattering self-confessions still remain perhaps the most impressive work in the history of underground comics. Crumb's very popular comics and illustrations have become widely available in compilations, anthologies, and even coffee table

books. Crumb's life and work are the subject of the excellent 1995 documentary film, *Crumb*.

Gilbert Shelton found his greatest success with his *Fabulous Furry Freak Brothers* comic, more than a dozen issues of which have been infrequently published since #1 in 1968. The Freaks include Phineas, Freewheelin Franklin, and Fat Freddy (the most popular of the three): fun-loving hippy buddies out looking for sex, drugs, and rock n' roll—especially drugs. The comic also features the adventures of Fat Freddy's cat, who must sometimes fight off suicidal cockroaches in Freddy's apartment. Shelton also writes and draws the superhero parody strip "Wonder Wart-Hog."

S. Clay Wilson holds the distinction of being the most perverse and most disgusting of any underground comic artist. His work is filled with orgies and brawls, molestations and mutilations. His characters are usually pirates, lesbians, motorcycle gangs, or horned demonic monsters. All his characters are drawn in anatomically correct detail, complete with warts, nosehair, sweat, saliva, and wet rubbery genitalia. Comics featuring his work include *Zap* and *Yellow Dog*.

Other important and popular underground artist/writers include: Kim Deitch whose playful and humorous work appeared (among elsewhere) in the *East Village Other* and *Gothic Blimp Works*; Greg Irons whose frightening bony faces and horror stories appeared in *Skull*; Rick Griffin whose psychedelic-organic art appeared in *Zap*, countless posters, and some of the more famous Grateful Dead album covers; Victor Moscoso whose space/time distortions show the influence of M.C. Escher; George Metzger who was the most important sci-fi/fantasy underground artist with his dreamy *Moondog* book; and Richard Corben (later famous for the Den series in *Heavy Metal*), whose fleshy, muscular, scantily-clad men and women appeared under the pseudonym "Gore" in *Slow Death* and *Death Rattle*. Mainstream artists who got their start with early undergrounds include Bill Griffith (*Zippy*) and Art Spiegelman (*Maus*, covers for *The New Yorker*). There have been few women in underground comics, but notable exceptions include Trina Robbins and Lee Marrs, both of whom worked as artists, writers, and editors. Robbins edited *It Ain't Me Babe Comix*—the first all-women comic—in the early 1970s.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the most popular underground sex comics included *Snatch Comics*, *Jiz Comics*, *Big Ass Comics*, *Gay Comics*, *Young Lust*, and *Bizarre Sex*. Popular pro-drug comics included *Freak Brothers*, *Dope Comix*, and *Uneeda Comix*. Popular political compilations included the anti-pollution *Slow Death* and the anti-government *Anarchy Comics*. Small print-runs and low distributions kept most of these comics away from the eyes of civil and political authorities. But there were some notable legal battles, the biggest of which erupted in 1969 over *Zap Comics* #4, which featured Crumb's infamous "Joe Blow" story about an incestuous S&M family orgy. A New York State judge ruled the comic obscene and therefore illegal, holding publisher Print Mint liable for fines.

When Head Shops died out in the early 1970s, many underground comics vanished entirely, the survivors becoming available only through mail order. But with the dawn of comic speciality shops in the early 1980s, undergrounds once again had a place on the shelves. In the 1990s, reprints and compilations of early undergrounds are found alongside conventional mainstream books.

The influence of underground comic books and the openness of comic specialty shops helped make possible the so-called Alternative or Independent comics that flourished in the 1980s and continue to reach wide audiences through the late 1990s. Some of the most

popular Alternatives are the Hernandez brothers' *Love and Rockets*, Chester Brown's *Yummy Fur*, Roberta Gregory's *Bitchy Bitch*, Peter Bagge's *Hate*, Dave Sim's *Cerebus*, Dan Clowes's *Eightball*, Charles Burns' *Black Hole*, and compilations *Weirdo*, *Raw*, and *Drawn & Quarterly*. Like the early undergrounds, these new books are uncompromising in their treatment of sex and violence, and often hold skeptical and subversive undertones. Most Alternatives avoid the extremism of their 1960s and 1970s predecessors, but without these earlier books, the widely-read and widely-praised Alternative books would not have been possible.

—Dave Goldweber

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## *Unforgiven*

Of his 1992 film *Unforgiven*, director and star Clint Eastwood said "the movie summarized everything I feel about the Western." Despite this, the film sparked considerable debate about exactly what it had to say about the Western. Some critics have argued for the film as an anti-Western, tearing down the icons of the genre, while others have insisted that it is simply a continuation of the genre, but with slight variation. Whatever deeper meanings the film may have intended, it meant for many, including the filmmakers, a restoration. Not only did the film give a needed career boost to actors like Eastwood, Gene Hackman, Morgan Freeman, and Richard Harris, but it also was credited with revitalizing the Western genre. Interestingly, the film was also touted by some critics as the final word on the Western. Indeed, none of the Westerns released in *Unforgiven's* wake have matched the impact of Eastwood's dark, brooding film. Certainly, none matched *Unforgiven's* critical and commercial success. It broke box office records, not only for a Western, but for an August



Gene Hackman (left) and Clint Eastwood in a scene from the film *Unforgiven*.

release, and won four Academy Awards: Best Picture, Best Director, Best Supporting Actor (for Hackman), and Best Editing.

These accomplishments were all the more remarkable given the state of the genre. Within the film industry, the Western was largely considered dead and gone, and earlier attempts to resuscitate it had been tepidly received, with the exception of Kevin Costner's 1990 Western-of-a-sort, *Dances with Wolves*. David Webb Peoples penned the *Unforgiven* script (originally entitled "The Cut-Whore Killings") in 1976, but it had attracted only slight interest. Francis Ford Coppola had optioned the script but allowed the option to lapse. Eventually it was picked up by Eastwood, who sat on the script for some time, claiming that he needed to age into the lead role of William Munny.

At the beginning of the film, Munny is a struggling hog farmer raising two young children. A prologue scrolling across the screen tells of a less domestic Munny, a drunk, an outlaw, and a killer, now reformed, according to Munny, by his dead wife. But Munny's reputation brings to the ranch the Schofield Kid (Jaimz Woolvett), who lures Munny away in pursuit of a bounty on two cowboys involved in the mutilation of a prostitute. Munny, in turn, recruits his partner from the old days, Ned Logan (Freeman). What follows is the story of their search for the cowboys and their conflict with the law of the Wyoming town, Big Whisky, and a brutal sheriff named Little Bill Daggett (Hackman). The killings of the cowboys are pivotal. The first is that of Davey Boy, whose crime is largely to have been on the scene at the time of the attack on the prostitute. This is a drawn out and painful scene in which Munny shoots the cowboy from a distance. Rather than dropping to a quick death, the cowboy's life slowly ebbs while he calls out to his friends for water. Logan is left too rattled by the murder to continue in pursuit of the other cowboy. The Schofield Kid, finally living up to his bravado, kills the second cowboy, who is squatting in an outhouse at the time. The Kid is consequently reduced to trembling and tears by the gravity of what he has done, realizing that he isn't the Billy the Kid figure he has pretended to be.

The final scene is one that critics have found more troubling. It is a scene that might well be out of the penny dreadfuls of the Old West. Munny confronts Daggett and his deputies, single handedly killing five armed men. Munny's attack is motivated by vengeance against those who killed his friend, and this, combined with the incredible odds, turns Munny into a kind of mythological force for vengeance, despite the film's earlier attempts to reduce Munny to a very human and fallible man. Still, it can be argued that the final scene doesn't come off quite the way it might in another Western. Given the unpleasantness of the earlier killings, this scene is tainted, polluted with the knowledge that, as Munny puts it, "It's a hell of a thing killing a man."

Certainly, *Unforgiven* employs many of the genre's clichés while simultaneously undercutting the comfort that comes with such clichés. This had been done before, particularly in spaghetti Westerns, but whereas these presented a parody of the Western myth with almost cartoonish violence, the violence in *Unforgiven* is decidedly more realistic. Moreover, whereas many earlier Westerns were brightly lit, the action in *Unforgiven* is often shrouded in darkness and haze.

Eastwood dedicated the film to Sergio Leone and Don Siegel, suggesting a nod to his mentors and influences. *Unforgiven* is certainly in the tradition of Leone's spaghetti Westerns, but Eastwood carried the tradition to a new level. Putting his own spin on the genre, he created a new standard, a Western for an era in which the invented heroics of the past seem less convincing than they may have in the heyday of the genre. *Unforgiven* reflects the skepticism of its time, wherein the old John Ford adage "When the legend becomes fact,

print the legend" doesn't quite hold up any more. Eastwood's film suggests that the legend is a frail thing and that perhaps truer things have a way of showing though.

—Marc Oxoby

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## Unidentified Flying Objects

See UFOs (Unidentified Flying Objects)

## Unitas, Johnny (1933—)

The gaudiest names on the gridiron often are quarterbacks. In the 1990s, such glamour boys as Joe Montana and Steve Young, Dan Marino and John Elway and Bret Favre have earned the bulk of National Football League fame. However, none of these superstar signal callers have anything on Johnny Unitas, otherwise known as "Mr. Quarterback," "The Golden Arm," and simply "Johnny U.," who played for the Baltimore Colts between 1956 and 1972. In his prime, Unitas was the league's most renowned, respected, and feared quarterback. As noted in his enshrinee data at the Football Hall of Fame, he was a "legendary hero," and an "exceptional field leader [who] thrived on pressure."

Johnny U.'s career is defined by a combination of luck, persistence, and hard work. He was born John Constantine Unitas in Pittsburgh, and began his quarterbacking career as a sophomore at St. Justin's High School when the first-string signal caller busted his ankle. He had a scant seven days to master his team's complete offense. As he neared graduation, the lanky six-footer with the signature crew cut hoped to be offered a scholarship to Notre Dame, but was denied his wish as the school determined that he probably would not add weight to his 138-pound frame. Instead, he attended the University of Louisville, from which he graduated in 1955.

While no college gridiron luminary, Unitas had impressed people enough to be drafted in the ninth round by the Pittsburgh Steelers. Unfortunately, the team was overloaded with signal callers—and its coach believed Unitas was "not intelligent enough to be a quarterback"—and so he was denied a slot on the Steelers' roster. Unable to hook up with another NFL team, he settled for work on a construction gang and a spot on the semi-pro Bloomfield Rams, where he earned \$3 per game. Fortunately, the Baltimore Colts called him in early 1956 and invited him to a try out the following season. He was signed to a \$7,000 contract, and played for the Colts for the next 17 years before finishing his career in 1973 with the San Diego Chargers.

Unitas was the Babe Ruth, Michael Jordan, and Wayne Gretzky of quarterbacks. Upon his retirement, he held the NFL records for making 5,186 pass attempts and 2,830 completions, throwing for 40,239 total yards and 290 touchdowns, tossing touchdown passes in 47 consecutive games, and having 26 300-yard games. He also threw for 3,000 yards or more in three seasons, and piloted his team to three



**Baltimore Colts quarterback Johnny Unitas (right) passes against the Green Bay Packers, 1964.**

NFL championships (in 1958, 1959, and 1968) and one Super Bowl title (in 1971). Unitas was one of the stars of what is arguably the greatest game in NFL history: the Colts' 1958 title victory over the New York Giants, a 23-17 overtime win in which he completed 26 of 40 passes for 349 yards. Down 17-14 in the final minutes of the fourth quarter, he marched the Colts 85 yards; with seven seconds remaining on the clock, Steve Myhra booted a 20-yard, game-tying field goal. Then in overtime, Unitas spearheaded his team to 80 yards on thirteen plays, with Alan Ameche rushing for the game-winning touchdown.

Unitas was a five-time All-NFL selection, a three-time NFL Player of the Year, a ten-time Pro Bowl pick—and a three-time Pro Bowl MVP. He was named “Player of the Decade” for the 1960s, and was cited as the “Greatest Player in the First 50 Years of Pro Football.” He was one of four quarterbacks—the others are Otto Graham, Sammy Baugh, and Joe Montana—named to the NFL’s 75th Anniversary Team. He was inducted into the Football Hall of Fame in 1979.

In retirement, Unitas sported a crooked index finger on his passing hand: a souvenir of his playing career. He was fiercely proud of his reputation as a hard-nosed competitor who once declared, “You’re not an NFL quarterback until you can tell your coach to go to

hell!” He also has noted that playing in the NFL of the 1990s would be “a piece of cake. The talent’s not as good as it once was. . . . [Defensive backs] used to be able to come up and knock you down at the line of scrimmage. If you tried to get up, they’d knock you down again, then sit on you and dare you to get up.”

And he has been quick to declare that he should not be censured for his team’s shocking 16-7 loss to Joe Namath and the underdog New York Jets in Superbowl III—the game that established the upstart American Football League as a rival of the NFL. For most of the 1968 season, Unitas had been plagued by a sore elbow. Earl Morrall, who had replaced Unitas in training camp and was the league MVP, started the game for the Colts. In the first half, the Jets’ secondary intercepted three of his passes. Unitas, the aging, injured veteran of the football wars, heroically came off the bench in the fourth quarter to complete 11 of 24 passes, for 110 yards. Unfortunately, the Colts could muster only a single touchdown.

“I always tell people to blame [Colts coach Don] Shula for that,” he once observed, “because if he had started me in the second half, I’d have got it.”

—Rob Edelman

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## United Artists

Founded in 1919 by Douglas Fairbanks, Charlie Chaplin, Mary Pickford, and D.W. Griffith, United Artists (UA) began as a distributor and financier of independent films and their producers; it was not a studio and never had stars under contract. UA was a unique entity in the early history of Hollywood, never losing sight of its goal—to make and distribute quality work.

The idea for United Artists began when Fairbanks, Chaplin, Pickford, and cowboy star William S. Hart were traveling around the country selling Liberty bonds to help the World War I effort in 1918. The four began to discuss the possibility of forming their own company to protect them from rumored studio mergers and the loss of control and salary this might cause. Hart eventually bowed out, but was soon replaced with the world's premier director, D. W. Griffith. When the company was officially formed in February of 1919, many felt that "the idiots had taken over the asylum."

The company was an immediate success. UA brought audiences hits such as Pickford in *Pollyanna* (1920), Griffith's *Broken Blossoms* (1919), Fairbanks as *Robin Hood* (1923), and Chaplin's masterpiece, *The Gold Rush* (1925). With such quality work, UA's only problem in the early years was providing enough product to meet the demand of the audiences.

UA began courting other stars to have their work distributed through the company. While many declined, some of the top stars of silent films agreed, including Gloria Swanson, Norma Talmadge, and Buster Keaton. The company also brought in Joseph Schenck as a partner and chairman of the board in 1924. He secured producers like Samuel Goldwyn, Walt Disney, and Howard Hughes, all of whom added to the roster of successful films released through UA.

UA was temporarily hurt by the advent of "talking pictures." While initially there were hits such as *Coquette* (1929), for which Mary Pickford won an Academy Award, as "talkies" became more the rule than the exception, the company found its product in less demand. One notable exception was *Hell's Angels* (1930), produced by Howard Hughes. After silent screen star Greta Nissen had to be replaced, Hughes introduced to the screen the sex symbol of the 1930s, Jean Harlow. The result made *Hell's Angels* one of UA's biggest hits.

But UA was beginning to lose some of its creative talent as Griffith, Disney, Schenck, and others left. The company managed, however, to stay afloat with hits such as *The Scarlet Pimpernel* (1935), *Dodsworth* (1936), and *Algiers* (1938). The star founders of UA had all but faded by this time. Griffith was gone, Fairbanks was dead, and Pickford's career was over, although she was still a stockholder in the company. Charlie Chaplin continued to be successful, however, particularly with *Modern Times* in 1936.

UA fell on hard times in the 1940s. The hits were fewer and more creative forces such as David O. Selznick and Alexander Korda left

the company. In 1950 a syndicate led by Arthur Krim and Robert Benjamin took over operations. As the old studio system died, Hollywood changed and the independents, including UA, had the upper hand. The old production code and puritanical limits to motion picture making were also disappearing. One of the first and biggest reasons for this was Otto Preminger's *The Moon is Blue* (1953). UA released the film without the seal of approval from the Production Code Administration. Despite, or perhaps because of this, the film was a box office and critical success. The 1950s, however, marked the end of an era at UA for another reason. By 1956 founders Chaplin and Pickford gave in to pressure and sold their shares in the company. UA then had a public stock offering in 1957.

Following the public sale of UA, *The Apartment* (1960) was released and won five Academy Awards, signaling a prosperous time for the studio. In 1961 UA announced what turned out to be a brilliant decision: the company was going to release seven James Bond films, all of which went on to be big hits. The spy series proved to be one of the most successful in motion picture history.

If a motion picture company is to stay afloat, it must, in some way, reflect changes in society. Things were clearly changing with the Vietnam War, the generation gap, and the beginning of the sexual revolution. UA continued its success with violent and controversial hits like *The Dirty Dozen* (1967) and *The Wild Bunch* (1969). In the late 1960s, UA experienced the first of many shakeups in ownership when in 1967 Transamerica took over the company. By 1969, millionaire Kirk Kerkorian was the largest shareholder. While UA continued to have hits such as *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1975), many were not happy with the way the company was being run. In 1978 several executives, including Krim and Benjamin, resigned from the company to form Orion Pictures.

In November of 1980, UA released a film that has become known as the biggest box office disaster in motion picture history—*Heaven's Gate*—which lost \$40 million. In 1981 MGM (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer) bought UA and it became MGM/UA. The company continued to be sold and resold throughout the 1980s, and in the 1990s it no longer existed in its original form.

Nevertheless, United Artists will be remembered for its part in changing the face of Hollywood, for offering more control to the creative forces of motion pictures and less to the businessmen. In addition to producing many hit films throughout the years, UA is also largely responsible for the way in which the motion picture industry evolved as the studio system began to fade.

—Jill A. Gregg

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## Unser, Al (1939—)

Al Unser, Sr., one of the foremost names in the sport of auto racing, is known primarily for his remarkable success at the Indianapolis 500. He is the second of three generations of racecar drivers, and it is arguable that no other family has left such an indelible mark on a sport as the Unser family has done on auto racing. Al's uncle, Louie Unser, attempted qualification at the Indianapolis 500 in 1940;



Al Unser

his brother Jerry was national stock car champion in 1956 but was killed in 1959 while on a practice lap at Indianapolis. The two surviving brothers, Al and Bobby Unser, went on to win a total of seven Indianapolis 500 races, while Al's son, Al Unser, Jr., is successful in his own right, having twice won at Indianapolis by the late 1990s. Johnny Unser (Jerry's son) and Robby Unser (Bobby's son) are also third generation drivers at Indianapolis.

Al Unser, Sr. was born in Albuquerque, New Mexico, on May 29, 1939. At age 18 he began competitive auto racing with modified roadsters before progressing to Midgets, Sprints, Stock Cars, Sports Cars, Formula 5000, Championship Dirt Cars, and Indy Cars. His dominance in the sport is seen in the fact that he placed third in the national standings in 1968, second in 1969, 1977, and 1978, first in 1970, and fourth in 1976. He is one of the few drivers who can boast of a career that spans five decades.

Most drivers of Unser's generation are, however, judged by their success at Indianapolis, where Unser ranks first in points earned and second in miles driven and total money won. He is tied for second in a total number of 500 starts and is ranked fourth in money earned

leading the race. Although A. J. Foyt was the first driver to win four times at Indianapolis, Unser matched that feat in 1987, with Rick Mears the only other driver to do so subsequently. In 1988, Unser surpassed the long-standing record for the most laps led during a career at the 500, having achieved a staggering laps total of 644.

In addition to winning Indianapolis four times (1970, 1971, 1978, and 1987), Unser won the Pocono 500 and the Ontario 500 twice each. When he won at Indianapolis, Pocono, and Ontario all in the same year (1978) he achieved the unique distinction of sweeping this "Triple Crown" of Indy car racing. The 1970 season was perhaps his most remarkable of all, with 10 wins on ovals, road courses, and dirt tracks to capture the national championship. Al Unser also won the prestigious "Hoosier Hundred" four years in a row, making him a dirt-car champion, and had his share in the Unser family dominance of the Pikes Peak Hill Climb, taking back-to-back victories in 1964 and 1965.

Even as Unser approached the end of his career, he was still able to win two more national championships, in 1983 and in 1985. His main competitor in 1985 was his own son, who lost to his father by

only one point. Thus, at the age of 46, Al Unser enjoyed the distinction of becoming the oldest Indy Car champion.

Al Unser, Sr., an avid snowmobile enthusiast, retired to his home in New Mexico. Thanks to the particular popularity of Unser and his family within a sport of generally popular practitioners, everything from diecast racecars to CD-ROM computer games have been marketed with the Unser name.

—James H. Lloyd

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## Unser, Bobby (1934—)

The Unser family has produced many superb race-car drivers, amongst them Bobby Unser, who recorded 35 Indy car victories and two United States Auto Club (USAC) national driving championships over his 32-year career.

Robert William Unser was born in Albuquerque, New Mexico, on February 20, 1934 and began racing at the age of fifteen. The dream of most race-car drivers at the time was to drive in the Indianapolis 500; Unser won at Indianapolis in 1968, 1975, and 1981. In addition to Indy cars, he claimed victories in sprint cars, stock cars, and midget racers. After retirement he won USAC's Fast Masters Tournament for drivers over the age of 50.

During the height of his career, race cars and other toys were marketed with his name. In the 1990s, Unser worked for ABC Sports and was one of the most respected color commentators for the sport of motor racing.

—James H. Lloyd

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## Updike, John (1932—)

Considered by critics to be one of the most significant American writers of the latter half of the twentieth century, John Updike is best

known for his tetralogy of Rabbit novels (*Rabbit, Run*, 1960; *Rabbit Redux*, 1971; *Rabbit is Rich*, 1981; and *Rabbit at Rest*, 1990), which chronicles four decades of American culture through the eyes of Everyman protagonist Harry Angstrom. His depictions of everyday middle-class life and the stifling atmosphere of marriage have, in the minds of many readers, vividly captured the emptiness of middle America. Prolific and versatile, Updike has published 50 volumes, including novels, short stories, essays, reviews, poems, memoirs, and drama.

Updike was born in Reading, Pennsylvania, on March 18, 1932 and grew up in the small town of Shillington. He later lived on a family farm in nearby Plowville. Through early academic success, Updike earned a scholarship to Harvard, where he continued the writing and drawing he had begun as a child. Following graduation from Harvard, Updike spent a year in Oxford, England, studying drawing on a fellowship, and two years in New York City working as a staff writer for *The New Yorker*.

In 1957 Updike and his young family, which would grow to four children by 1960, left New York City and moved to the small town of Ipswich, Massachusetts. Big-city life had proved too distracting, expensive, and overwhelming. By returning to a small town, not so unlike the Shillington of his youth, Updike found an atmosphere conducive to writing that would allow him to experience firsthand the middle-class everyday life that would become the great subject of his work.

In Ipswich, Updike began publishing books, beginning with a volume of poetry, *The Carpentered Hen* (1958); a first novel, *The Poorhouse Fair* (1959); and a collection of stories, *The Same Door* (1959). Most of Updike's early work, written between the early 1950s and mid-1960s, depicts and lyrically celebrates a mythically endowed Pennsylvania that the author knew intimately from childhood. His most famous novel, *Rabbit, Run* (1960), depicting the angst and entrapment of early married life, appeared in 1960 and would go on to sell more than 2.5 million copies. Before he turned 30, Updike had established himself as one of his generation's foremost writers.

Updike's break with his early work came in 1968 with the publication of the novel *Couples*, set in a small New England town, that dealt with the adulterous interactions of a circle of 10 couples. The novel, the author's first and only number-one best-seller, landed Updike on the cover of *Time* magazine (he would appear there again in 1982) and greatly enlarged his readership. Over the subsequent decade Updike became America's best-known chronicler of marriage and adultery, producing such works as *A Month of Sundays* (1975), *Marry Me* (1976), and *Too Far to Go* (1979). During this same period, Updike divorced his first wife of 20 years and remarried.

The next phase of Updike's writing was signaled by the publication of *The Coup* (1978), one of the most radical departures of his career. Set in a fictional African country and told from the perspective of a black African leader in exile, *The Coup* was a breakthrough novel, demonstrating that Updike could extend his vision beyond suburban adultery or a Pennsylvania boyhood.

Updike went on to write some of his finest and most exuberant fiction during the late 1970s and early 1980s, including *Problems and Other Stories* (1979), *Rabbit is Rich* (1981), and *The Witches of Eastwick* (1984). In addition, he emerged as one of America's finest and most prolific literary critics through the publication of his award-winning critical tome *Hugging the Shore* (1983).

In his later novels, such as *Roger's Version* (1986), an intellectually demanding novel about a divinity professor and his battle with a computer scientist, *Rabbit at Rest* (1990), and *Toward the End of*



*Time* (1997), Updike has revealed his concerns with aging and displayed a bleakness and detachment that stand in contrast to the lyrical celebration of much of his early work. *Roger's Version* also signaled the increasing use of research in Updike's writing, to the extent that he began appending bibliographies to his novels. More heavily intertextual and loaded with information, these novels reveal a more erudite author.

Despite his large following, Updike has had his share of critics. Some have argued that while he may be a brilliant verbal performer, he allows himself to be carried away by his prose, to the point that his language becomes excessive in description and detail. In addition, some have found his graphic depictions of human sexuality to be gratuitous, and several feminist critics have accused him of misogyny.

Updike is considered by many to be America's greatest poetic novelist—a master of metaphor, scene, description, and image. With his verbal gifts, his eye for detail, and his lyric love of the surface world, Updike has created moments and scenes of extraordinary beauty and freshness. Like Walt Whitman, the great nineteenth-century poet, Updike has attempted to celebrate and sing America, delighting in its textures and surfaces, its objects and gestures. His subject, in his own words, is “the whole mass of middling, hidden, troubled America,” and the purpose of his books, which together form “a continental *magnum opus*,” has been “the hymning of this great roughly rectangular country.”

—James Schiff

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## *Upstairs, Downstairs*

*Upstairs, Downstairs*, a popular British-import television program about servants and their masters in an early twentieth-century London household, has been watched by an estimated one billion people in 40 countries since it was first broadcast on *Masterpiece Theatre* during the 1974 season. Produced by London Weekend Television, its 68 episodes follow the wealthy Bellamy family (“upstairs”) and their servants (“downstairs”) from 1903 until the stock market crash of 1929. Rigorous period detail, distinguished acting, and the equal time given to lower-class characters are hallmarks of the series. In depicting the erosion of the British class system during and after the Edwardian era, *Upstairs, Downstairs* bolstered the reputation of British television around the globe. The show won eight Emmy Awards and garnered high ratings for the Public Broadcasting

System in the United States, besides helping assure the success of *Masterpiece Theatre* as a PBS showcase synonymous with quality programming.

—Neal Baker

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## U.S. One

Running from Fort Kent, Maine, to Key West, Florida, U.S. One has served as the site and symbol for East Coast travel for much of the twentieth century. Stretching 2,377 miles, Route One got its name in 1925—when federal highway numbering began—as a recognition of the road's history as the primary conduit for passengers, commerce, information, and culture along the Atlantic seaboard. Much like Route 66, Route One became a popular site for exploring “local color” and roadside excursions. In 1938, the Federal Writers' Project published a popular guidebook highlighting distinctive landmarks, historical sites, and even local foods found along the route. Although still in active use by the late 1990s, U.S. One has lost much of its traffic to newer Interstates that allow travel at faster speeds.

—Justin Nordstrom

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## *USA Today*

Debuting during an era when most newspapers saw sharp circulation declines, *USA Today* became the first successful national daily general-interest newspaper in the 1980s. Its stylish innovations, originally lampooned and mocked, were eventually adopted by most of the newspaper industry.

*USA Today* was the brainchild of Allen H. Neuharth, who became chairman of the Gannett newspaper chain during the 1970s. He began his publishing career in 1952 by starting a statewide sports newspaper in his native South Dakota, and joined Gannett in the 1960s by creating a statewide daily in Florida. He helped lead Gannett from its initial holdings in small upstate New York newspapers to a more national base. During his tenure at Gannett, the company bought the Louis Harris and Associates polling organization. Upon being named chairman of Gannett in 1978, he began developing the idea of a national daily newspaper; in December 1980, Gannett began a satellite information system, which would allow publishing plants on the East and West coasts to simultaneously publish the same information from one satellite. Neuharth insisted that there was also a

growing market for a national newspaper—by the early 1980s, the rise of business travel meant that millions of people on business trips would tire of reading out-of-town newspapers, and want a standard newspaper from one city to another. A Neuharth associate said, “When (a traveler) wakes up in the morning his first thought is, ‘What city am I in?’ . . . The local newspaper doesn’t mean a thing to him.”

Neuharth oversaw the development of the newspaper, which was introduced in select markets on September 15, 1982 (it did not saturate the entire country until late 1983). *USA Today*’s staff had a dilemma as the deadline for the first edition neared, when three breaking news stories jockeyed for top coverage—Lebanese president-elect Bashir Gemayel was assassinated, a plane crash in Spain killed 55, and Princess Grace of Monaco had died in an automobile accident at age 53. The newspaper’s editors spent much of September 14 on the streets and in offices in suburban Washington, D.C., determining that the public was most interested in Princess Grace’s death; as Grace Kelly, she had been a major American film star during the 1950s. As a result, *USA Today*’s inaugural front page trumpeted the death of “America’s Princess,” relegating Gemayel’s death to one paragraph on page one. Significantly, the coverage of the plane crash emphasized the “miracle” of 327 surviving passengers, not the 55 dead. The new paper was roundly castigated by media critics and competing newspapers for focusing on celebrity over international politics. In 1997, a subsequent *USA Today* editor, David Mazzarella, admitted that he would have led with the plane crash, featured a larger story on the assassination, and merely played Kelly’s death as a small page one feature.

Criticism of *USA Today* began almost immediately. “A national daily newspaper seems like a way to lose a lot of money in a hurry,” media analyst John Morton wrote upon *USA Today*’s debut. Complaints started with the newspaper’s very look. It was sold in vending machines designed to resemble television sets, leading critics to accuse the newspaper of coverage as shallow as television (unlike established newspapers, *USA Today* used flashy national commercials in its first years, with celebrities from Willard Scott to Willie Mays and Mickey Mantle promoting the newspaper). Many derisively compared *USA Today* to fast food, calling it “McPaper.” The newspaper ran full-color photographs on the front pages of each of its four sections at a time when color photography was prohibitively expensive for many newspapers, and seen as too garish by many editors. The *New York Times*, for example, was known as “The Gray Lady” for its steadfast black-and-white pages. The back of the news section was a full-page, full-color weather map, while most of its rivals printed a small, black-and-white map of the weather on an inside page. Each section—“News,” “Money,” “Sports,” and “Life”—had only one story jump from the first page to the inside. Neuharth and his editors made a conscious decision to replace long newspaper stories with shorter pieces, accompanied by sidebars, and a greater use of charts and tables, and the paper’s motto became, “An economy of words. A wealth of information.” Each section also published polls every day, and invariably referred to “America” in its news stories as “the USA.”

In an editorial mission statement in *USA Today*’s first issue, Neuharth wrote that he wanted his newspaper “to serve as a forum for better understanding and unity to help make the USA truly one nation.” Each section of his paper was a deliberate attempt to fulfill this belief. The news section featured a state-by-state breakdown of top news stories, giving readers a cross-section of news events from across the country. The daily editorial was frequently accompanied

by a differing viewpoint (“Another View”) from a guest writer (in its early years, *USA Today* would include four editorials from various regional writers alongside its main editorial). The newspaper also developed a middle-of-the-road op-ed section, with regular national commentary from veteran journalists Richard Benedetto and Walter Shapiro. More politically pointed opinion makers (such as conservative writer Cal Thomas) tended to fare less successfully, as the newspaper adopted a populist, rather than elitist, approach. One 1998 editorial, published after the Modern Library’s list of the top 100 American novels of the twentieth century, maintained that the truly great novels were the most commercially successful ones, not the most critically or intellectually acclaimed works.

*USA Today*’s “Money” section (symbolized by a green title), introduced a regular feature, “Ad Watch,” where popular television commercial campaigns were analyzed not by ad executives, but by focus groups of average American viewers. Eventually, *USA Today* ran “Ad Watch” features to judge commercials produced for the Super Bowl. The newspaper also began annual telephone public services during preparations for filing IRS (Internal Revenue Service) forms, as well as during college admissions and financial aid seasons, where money experts could provide free advice for readers.

*USA Today*’s sports section had the most impact upon the newspaper industry. It published daily notes on all professional sports (during football season, for example, it ran daily notes on each National Football League team), and introduced a top 25 ranking for college sports (the Associated Press and UPI lists had previously gone only to 20), as well as top 25 lists for high school sports. Their major league baseball coverage featured expanded boxscores, offering play-by-play accounts on how every run in each major league baseball game was scored, and extensive, week-by-week, team-by-team statistical charts. The expanded sports coverage was welcomed by Rotisserie league team owners, who rated their teams on how the players they “owned” performed day by day. In 1991, *USA Today* introduced a successful weekly spin-off devoted to baseball. In both incarnations, *USA Today* successfully challenged *The Sporting News*, which since 1886 had provided weekly coverage of baseball and other major sports. Significantly, the only major national daily newspaper formed after *USA Today*’s debut was a sports newspaper. *The National*, edited by former *Sports Illustrated* senior writer Frank Deford, debuted in 1989. Despite a roster of nationally-known columnists and a series of high-profile scoops, *The National* lost its investment and folded within two years.

The sports section also supplied *USA Today* with its greatest professional controversy. In 1992, *USA Today* sportswriters learned that tennis great/political activist Arthur Ashe was suffering from AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome)—the result of a tainted blood transfusion in 1988—a fact he had told only family and close friends. The reporters contacted Ashe and told him they were planning a story on his health. Ashe responded by holding an emotional press conference, where he made his AIDS status public. *USA Today* came under intense criticism from inside and outside the journalism community. Many observers felt that the newspaper had violated Ashe’s privacy and had engaged in emotional blackmail, while others (such as Phil Mushnick) maintained that Ashe’s health was a legitimate news story, and that by Ashe coming forward and admitting he had AIDS—rather than staying silent—he was able to raise both awareness and financial support for the disease, which he would die from in early 1993.

*USA Today*’s “Life” section included a weekly column by radio and television talk show host Larry King, written much in the style of

legendary gossip columnist Walter Winchell. King recommended movies and books, while also making occasional political commentary and noting events in his personal life, most memorably his heart surgery, frequent marriages, and the birth of his son in 1999, when King was 65. The Life section featured annual high school and collegiate “Academic All-Stars,” honoring the brightest students in the nation. *USA Today*’s television coverage included nightly listings for national cable channels, several years before more traditional newspapers acknowledged cable’s growing presence. The newspaper initiated the weekly list of top ten films at the box office, which was widely imitated by other venues, and provided complete Nielsen ratings for all prime-time television series. The Life section also developed one of the most respected book review sections in the country, with lengthy book reviews from freelancers and a bestseller list (eventually listing the top 150 books) drawn from national bookstore chains. This was in opposition to the *New York Times* bestseller list, which listed only the top 15 books, and kept its listing methodology secret.

Cynicism towards the press grew during the 1980s and 1990s, fueled by political scandals, perceived ideological and cultural bias, and paparazzi reporting tactics (including those implicated in Princess Diana’s 1997 death). Neuharth saw his newspaper’s role as helping to alleviate the cynicism. The idiosyncratic Neuharth—whose autobiography, *Confessions of an S.O.B.*, included commentary from his two ex-wives—embarked on a cross-country “BusCapade” during 1987, writing a regular column from each of the 50 states to celebrate the bicentennial of the Constitution. Neuharth celebrated the down-home common sense of average Americans from the heartland, as opposed to out-of-touch politicians and academics from the East and West Coasts. Some dismissed Neuharth’s trek as a mere publicity stunt, but others appreciated his willingness to meet with his readers.

After a decade of losing money, *USA Today* finally turned a profit in 1993. The management spent their newfound prosperity on emphasizing its editorial content over its presentation. Executive editor Bob Dubill acknowledged that *USA Today*’s editors were “following TV. . . . Now, we’re trying to lead TV.” Within a 15 month span in 1996-1997, *USA Today* added an additional 25 reporting and editing slots for an editorial staff of 440. Publisher Tom Curley added, with pride, that many seasoned editors had returned to reporting beats. “We’ve taken some from the back room and put them on the street.” Having begun in 1982 with no international bureaus and only two domestic bureaus, by the late 1990s, *USA Today* was also starting four domestic bureaus and several foreign bureaus—coinciding with the closing of domestic and international news bureaus by the major television networks.

By the mid-1990s, much of the early criticism of *USA Today* had abated. Media critic Ben Bagdikian (author of *The Media Monopoly*), who in 1982 called *USA Today* a “mediocre piece of journalism (presenting) a flawed picture of the world every day,” recanted 15 years later. “It has become a much more serious newspaper . . . I don’t think it’s a joke anymore.” Veteran Washington reporter David Broder said, “*USA Today* has become a pretty damn good newspaper. They are spending money, and it is making a difference. And they are

everywhere.” John Morton, who had initially criticized Neuharth’s venture, said in 1997, “There is no question that they are a success. . . . You are less likely to find a front page article on some silly topic than on more serious issues. They have made it a more serious vehicle than it ever has been.” Thomas Frank of *The Baffler*, while attacking the daily’s middlebrow mindset, readily conceded that “*USA Today* is arguably the nation’s most carefully edited and highly polished newspaper,” concluding that it “has charted the course that almost every paper in the country is presently following.” In 1997, even *The Gray Lady*, the *New York Times*, began running color photographs in every section of its daily editions (*The Washington Post* followed suit two years later).

While the circulation of most daily newspapers declined in the 1980s and 1990s (as New York, Philadelphia, Dallas, and Los Angeles all lost papers), *USA Today* enjoyed the second highest circulation of any paper in the country, with 1.62 million readers as of March 31, 1997. Analysts hailed *USA Today*’s strategies to keep its circulation base by appealing to common demographic interests. Some, however, lamented that *USA Today* simply pandered to its readership’s pre-existing tastes, rather than helping its audience cultivate new ones; performance artist Jello Biafra dismissed the newspaper as providing “happy news for happy people with happy problems.” Others maintained that *USA Today* treated its readers as consumers, not public citizens, and were upset that Neuharth denied any professional obligation, as a newspaper publisher, to call for sustained political and social change.

Neuharth retired from Gannett in 1989 upon his 65th birthday, and helped found the Freedom Forum, a media think-tank which produces a quarterly magazine—*Media Studies Journal*. Neuharth wrote that the Forum’s principles were based upon “free press, free speech and free spirit.” In 1996, the Forum opened the Newseum, directly across the street from *USA Today*’s Arlington, Virginia, headquarters. The Newseum hosts seminars and is the backdrop for the Cable News Network (CNN) media analysis program “Reliable Sources,” and features many interactive media displays, allowing visitors to generate their own news broadcast, or select from newspapers across the country. Among the Newseum’s archival documents is one of only three surviving rough drafts of the Declaration of Independence, which includes Thomas Jefferson’s meticulous editing marks. Over 800,000 visitors toured the Newseum within its first two years, and in 1999, the Newseum began a coast-to-coast tour which, like the BusCapade, will visit each of America’s 50 states.

—Andrew Milner

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# V

## Valdez, Luis (1940—)

Luis Valdez is considered to be the father of Chicano theater. He is the instigator of the contemporary Chicano theatrical movement and its most outstanding playwright. Valdez has distinguished himself as an actor, director, playwright, and film maker. However, it was in his role as the founding director of El Teatro Campesino, a theater of farm workers in California, that his efforts inspired young Chicano activists across the country to use theater as a means of organizing students, communities, and labor unions.

Luis Valdez was born on June 26, 1940, into a family of migrant farm workers in Delano, California. The second of ten children, he began to work the fields at the age of six and to follow the crops. Although Valdez's education was constantly interrupted, he nevertheless finished high school and went on to San Jose State College, where he majored in English and pursued his interest in theater. While there he won a playwriting contest with his one-act *The Theft* (1961). In 1963 the Drama Department produced his play *The Shrunken Head of Pancho Villa*. After graduating from college in 1964, Valdez joined the San Francisco Mime Troupe and learned the techniques of agitprop (agitation and propaganda) theater and Italian *commedia dell'arte* (comedy of art), both of which influenced Valdez's development of the basic format of Chicano theater: the one-act presentational *acto* or "act." In 1965 Valdez enlisted in César Chávez's mission to organize farm workers in Delano into a union. It was there that Valdez brought together farm workers and students into El Teatro Campesino to dramatize the plight of the farm workers. The publicity and success gained by the troupe led to the spontaneous appearance of a national Chicano theater movement.

In 1967 Valdez and El Teatro Campesino left the unionizing effort to expand their theater beyond agitprop and farm worker concerns. From then on, Valdez and the theater have explored most of the theatrical genres that have been important to Mexicans in the United States, including religious pageants, vaudeville with the down-and-out *pelado* or underdog figure, and dramatized *corridos*, or ballads. The new type of socially engaged theater that El Teatro Campesino pioneered led to the creation of a full-blown theatrical movement in fields and barrios across the country. For more than three decades, El Teatro Campesino and Luis Valdez have dramatized the political and cultural concerns of Hispanics, initially among workers and their supporters and later among students in universities and the general public through stage, television, and film. In establishing the canon of what *teatro chicano* should be, Valdez and El Teatro Campesino published their *actos* (short one-act agitprop pieces) in 1971 with a preface in which Valdez outlined their theatrical principals: (1) Chicanos must be seen as a nation with geographic, religious, cultural, and racial roots in the Southwest; teatros must further the idea of nationalism and create a national theater based on identification with the Amerindian past; (2) the organizational support of the national theater must be from within and totally independent; (3) "Teatros must never get away from La Raza. . . . If the Raza will not come to the theater, then the theater

must go to the Raza. This, in the long run, will determine the shape, style, content, spirit and form of *el teatro chicano*." Valdez and his theater did expand by taking Chicano theater to Broadway and more commercial venues and by moving into commercial cinema and television.

During the late 1960s and the 1970s, El Teatro Campesino produced many of Valdez's plays, including *Los vendidos* (1967, *The Sell-Outs*), *The Shrunken Head of Pancho Villa* (1968), *Bernabé* (1970), *Dark Root of a Scream* (1971), *La Carpa de los Rascuachis* (1974), and *El Fin del Mundo* (1976). In 1978, Valdez broke into mainstream theater in Los Angeles with the Mark Taper Forum's production of his *Zoot Suit* and, in 1979, with the Broadway production of the same play. In 1986 he had a successful run of his play *I Don't Have to Show You No Stinking Badges* at the Los Angeles Theater Center.

In *Bernabé*, one of Valdez's most poetic plays, a young village idiot is transformed into a natural man by his marriage to La Tierra (The Earth) and his subsequent death. Employing Aztec mythology and symbols in a tale about contemporary barrio characters, the play explores the pre-Columbian heritage of Chicano society. The Mayan theme of "death is life, and life is death" was developed here and continued to appear in Valdez's later works. The writing of *Bernabé* marked the beginning of Valdez's search for the meaning of Aztec and Mayan legends, history, and philosophy, but also revealed the influence of Spanish playwright Federico García Lorca, who also strove to elevate the country folk to heroic and mythic stature.

Valdez's screenwriting career began with early film and television versions of Corky González's poem "I Am Joaquín" (1969) and with his own "Los Vendidos." Later, he wrote a film adaptation of *Zoot Suit* (1982). However, his real incursion into major Hollywood productions and success came with his writing and directing of *La Bamba*, the screen biography of Chicano rock 'n' roll star Ritchie Valens. Other screen plays include *Corridos* (1987) and the successful television movies *La Pastorela* (1991) and *The Cisco Kid* (1993). Valdez's plays, essays, and poems have been widely anthologized. He published two collections of plays: *Luis Valdez—The Early Works* (1990) and *Zoot Suit and Other Plays* (1992). Valdez's awards include an Obie (1968), Los Angeles Drama Critics Awards (1969, 1972 and 1978), a special Emmy Award (1973), the San Francisco Bay Critics Circle for Best Musical (1983), and honorary doctorates from San Jose State University, Columbia College, and the California Institute of the Arts.

—Nicolás Kanellos

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## Valens, Ritchie (1941-1959)

The Latino teen rock sensation had a brief but brilliant career. Most famous for his song “La Bamba,” a rock ’n’ roll version of a traditional Mexican ballad, Ritchie Valens fused different kinds of music together to form his own remarkable style. Influenced by some of the biggest names in rock ’n’ roll, including Elvis Presley, Bo Diddley, and Little Richard, he earned himself the nickname “The Little Richard of San Fernando.” Although his career was cut short by a fatal plane crash, Ritchie wrote and recorded songs that would influence future generations of rock musicians, including the Beatles and Led Zepellin.

Born Richard Steve Valenzuela in the San Fernando Valley suburb of Pacoima, California, Ritchie received a good Catholic upbringing from his parents despite money being tight. As a child, Ritchie made himself a guitar out of a cigar box and a broom handle and strung it with household string. His home life gave him a grounding in traditional Mexican mariachi music played by his relatives, and the radio exposed him to the rhythm and blues sound. In 1956 Ritchie joined a band called The Silhouettes who performed at “hops” around the San Fernando Valley area. The Silhouettes were a multiracial band featuring two African Americans, a Japanese American, and Ritchie, a Mexican American. After various reshuffles in the band, Ritchie sang lead vocals and played the guitar.

Ritchie was discovered at the tender age of 16 by Bob Keane of Del-fi Records at one of the San Fernando garage hops. Once Keane saw how audiences responded to the band’s charismatic lead singer he gave him a recording contract. Keane changed his name to Ritchie Valens: a catchier, rockier, and Anglicized version of his real name. Ritchie’s first hit was a rock ’n’ roll number “Come On Let’s Go,” which he wrote himself. It reached number 42 on the U.S. charts. In October 1958, Del-fi released “La Bamba” with a lovesong entitled “Donna” on the other side. This lovesong was written by Ritchie about his high school sweetheart, who was forbidden by her father to go out with “that Mexican.” It turned out to be the more successful track, selling over a million copies and reaching number two on the U.S. charts. “La Bamba” only climbed as high as number 22.

Keane found Ritchie an unorthodox musician to work with; Ritchie would make up songs and then forget them, or he would base a whole song on just eight guitar chords and two lines of lyrics. The pair successfully recorded a large number of songs in Keane’s basement studio at his home in Silverlake, California. Keane wanted to get Ritchie out on the road on tour since his major talent was in performing. He assessed that Ritchie “could rock like a rough street kid while simultaneously exuding a shy, appealing vulnerability,” a combination that dazzled his teenage audiences.

Ritchie’s final tour was called “The Winter Dance Party.” He headlined with Buddy Holly and the Big Bopper. Ritchie, with the success of “Donna” under his belt, was not obliged to play low profile concerts in the Midwest but reportedly did so out of loyalty to his fans. The weather was bitterly cold and the heating had broken on their tour bus. Buddy Holly chartered a plane with space for himself, his guitarist, and the Big Bopper. Ritchie could not cope with the sub-zero temperature levels and talked Buddy’s guitarist into tossing a coin for the last seat. Ritchie won the toss. The plane crashed shortly after takeoff in a field outside of Fargo, North Dakota. All passengers were killed. The occasion was dubbed by the press as “The Day the Music Died.”

Had he lived longer, Ritchie would have likely become one of the most significant musicians of the 1960s. The cultural critic George Lipsitz wrote that “Valens’ tragic death at the age of seventeen deprived the Los Angeles Chicano community of its biggest star, and it cut short the career of one of rock and roll’s most eclectic synthesizers.” Ritchie’s talent lay in his ability to mix radically different types of music: black rhythm and blues, white folk music, and Mexican mariachi songs—the sounds that surrounded him as he grew up in postwar California. Despite being the only musician of Mexican ancestry to make it in the mainstream pop scene, Ritchie regarded himself as first and foremost American. He did not speak Spanish and had to be coached for singing the Spanish lyrics of “La Bamba.” In 1987 a biopic called *La Bamba*, made by the Chicano film director Luis Valdez was released, regenerating interest in Ritchie’s music, demonstrating how Ritchie’s music continued to touch young people. Ritchie’s music didn’t die with him.

—Candida Taylor

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## Valentine’s Day

Valentine’s Day, February 14, is a day consecrated by custom to the celebration of romantic love. The observance dates back to medieval times but, in twentieth-century America, Valentine’s Day—like other occasions that are linked to sentiment, such as Mother’s Day—has become a ritual appendage of consumer culture. Attempts to link Valentine’s Day and its emphasis on worldly love to an early martyr (or pair of martyrs) of the Christian church have been discredited, and historians have come to attribute the connection between romance and February 14 to Geoffrey Chaucer (1340?-1400), the English poet and author of *The Canterbury Tales*.

In his work *The Parliament of Fowles*, Chaucer wrote: “For this was Seynt Valentyne’s Day. When every foul cometh ther to choose his mate.” Throughout the late Middle Ages and the early modern period, Valentine’s Day was an occasion for declaring one’s affections or using divination to determine the identity of one’s lover or future spouse. Sleeping on a pillow to which five bay leaves were pinned, for example, would produce a dream in which a lover would be revealed. Observances of the day could be elegant and courtly or a raucous and vulgar charivari (mock serenade, usually of newlyweds). The first Valentine’s day cards were hand-made, but by the early nineteenth century in England printed cards were common. When this fashion was exported to the United States in the 1840s a veritable Valentine mania broke out.

The industrialized world of the early 1800s suffered from a shortage of holidays. Where once the feasting and fasting days of the

Christian year had provided the occasion for a host of holidays, festivals, and fairs, the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution had, in the names of efficiency and the economy, produced a calendar almost empty of special days. (In 1761 there were 47 bank holidays in England; by 1834 there were only four.) By popularizing and commercializing Valentine's Day in the United States the merchant class reshaped, romanticized, and tamed the day for their own purposes. Valentine's Day (and slightly later, Christmas) demonstrates how business could profit from creating new meaning for an old holiday.

Printing companies were not the only ones to profit from the new popularity of the day as other business interests rapidly attached themselves to the successful annual marketing of romance. Confectioners sold candies and chocolates in great quantities, while florists, jewelers, photographers, and makers of pens, pins, and knick-knacks of all kinds found they could increase sales by linking their product to Valentine's Day. Women and children were prime targets for this commercialization of sentiment.

In the twentieth century the Valentine's Day industry grew even more vast. By the 1990s, sales of candy for the occasion had risen to over \$600 million; 70 million roses are given on the day; restaurants are filled with couples seeking romantic dining; over a billion cards are exchanged every year in the United States alone, with school children leading the way. Hallmark Cards, the largest American manufacturer, produces over 2,000 different designs, which are changed annually. Most of these cards are plainer than they once were, shorn of the peacock feathers, real lace, and jewels that once adorned those of the nineteenth century. It is interesting to note that Valentine cards were not always necessarily sent as straightforward declarations of love. A widespread custom was the anonymous sending of insulting or sarcastic cards, often aimed at women to keep them in their place, and comic or satirical, even vulgar, cards were still bought and sent in the late twentieth century.

Valentine's Day is celebrated in song and film as synonymous with romantic love. It is a day for dances and gala balls, the advertising of "honeymoon suites" for married couples whose ardor may have waned over the years, and for decorating public places with heart shapes pierced by the arrow of an often visible and cherubic Cupid. Over the years the holiday has spread beyond England and America to Europe, Asia, and other English-speaking countries such as South Africa and Australia, and production and sales of Valentine cards have become a world-wide phenomenon.

—Gerry Bowler

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## Valentino, Rudolph (1895-1926)

"The Great Lover" was the nickname given to Rudolph Valentino when he became a motion picture star in 1919. While the nickname is

still synonymous with Valentino, his last name is sufficient to evoke the same picture, that of a handsome, suave man who is irresistible to women. His female fans copied styles from his movies, and some men copied his hairstyles. During his brief stardom, he was often the butt of criticism from men. Despite this, women of the era literally fainted at the sight of him and worshipped him at the altar of their local movie theater.

For someone who had such a profound effect on popular culture during his lifetime, Valentino came from rather humble beginnings. He was born in Castellaneta, Italy, with the impossible name of Rudolpho Alfonzo Ralfaelo Pierre Filibert Guglielmi di Valentina d'Antonguolla. Ironically, the year of his birth, 1895, is also generally looked on as the year motion pictures were born. His father, Giovanni, was a veterinarian who died of malaria in 1906. While the young Valentino longed to become a cavalry officer, his family felt that after the death of his father he needed a better paying career to help take care of the family. His mother was finally persuaded to allow him to apply to the Royal Naval Academy, but he failed the physical. Eventually he attended the Royal Academy of Agriculture, where he graduated with honors. He planned to become a gentleman farmer, but fate had other plans.

After graduation, he went on a trip outside Italy and proceeded to lose all his money gambling. To ease the family's embarrassment, Rudolpho was sent to America on the U.S.S. *Cleveland* in 1913. After some difficult times in New York, Valentino began to find work as a taxi dancer. Shortly thereafter, he got a job with the millionaire Cornelius Bliss as a gardener. Unfortunately, he was soon fired when he wrecked a motorcycle owned by his employer.

Unemployed again, Valentino received help from a friend who was the head waiter at Maxim's Restaurant. He was hired for a position as a dancer there. He later met and signed as a partner to dancer Bonnie Glass who was replacing her current partner, Clifton Webb (soon to be an actor). After Glass retired, he danced with another partner, Joan Sawyer, on the vaudeville circuit. Valentino soon grew tired of touring and resolved to give up dancing and become a farmer in California. To get there, he took a part in a play called *The Masked Model* that was to tour the West Coast. Unfortunately the play closed in Utah, but he was paid with a ticket to San Francisco.

Once there, he met Norman Kerry, Mary Pickford's leading man, who persuaded him to try his luck in Hollywood. By 1917, he made his first screen appearance as an extra in *Alimony* and had played several villains in other films. A chance meeting with screen star Mae Murray resulted in work on two of her films. It was this exposure that led to more work.

While working on *Once to Every Woman* in 1919, he impulsively married actress Jean Acker. Jean locked him out of her apartment that night, and they separated with the marriage never being consummated. This was to be a source of embarrassment to studio executives when Valentino became a sex symbol. Despite their brief marriage, Valentino and Acker remained good friends to the end of his life.

Valentino made an important fan with his next project, *The Eyes of Youth*, with Clara Kimball Young, released in 1919. He impressed the head Scenarist for Metro Studios, June Mathis. Currently working on the project, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, based on the novel by Blasco-Ibanez, she was convinced she had found the perfect actor for the part of Julio. Studio executives, however, were not as impressed. But after much lobbying, both by Mathis and Valentino



Rudolph Valentino (right) in a scene from the film *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*.

himself, he was given the part. He so impressed Mathis and director Rex Ingram during early footage that they expanded his part, and a star was born. From his first appearance in the film, when he tangoed with Beatrice Dominguez, he enthralled the audience. Details of the film were copied by fans. The tango became a dance craze, men copied his slicked back hair, and women copied the bolero costume he wore.

If Valentino had expected the studio heads to now give him better parts and pay him accordingly, he was wrong. He appeared in several more films, such as *Camille* and *The Conquering Power*. The executives refused his demand for a raise, and then declined to renew his contract when it expired. A new contract, however, was eventually signed with the Famous Players-Lasky Paramount Studio, and Valentino began filming *The Sheik* with Agnes Ayres; this film cemented his stardom. During this time, his friend and supporter, June Mathis, had also left Metro and joined Famous Players studio. It would be almost impossible to imagine the kind of hysteria that greeted him after this film was released in 1921. Audiences were much less sophisticated and blasé in the early days of film than in the late twentieth century, and pandemonium reigned whenever he made an appearance.

Valentino experienced a good year in 1922 with the release of the original *Blood and Sand* and *The Young Rajah*. After the latter film was released, women began wearing their hair in turban style.

That year, Valentino was also granted an interlocutory divorce from Jean Acker. Unfortunately, he neglected to wait a year before marrying Natacha Rambova (Winifred Hudnut) in Mexico. When he returned to California, he was arrested and jailed for bigamy. He was fined \$10,000 and released. The resulting scandal actually increased Valentino's popularity instead of ruining him. He and Rambova remarried in 1923 after waiting the required year.

In 1924, he filmed several pictures, including *Monsieur Beaucaire* and *The Eagle*. For the film *The Hooded Falcon*, he grew a beard that not only infuriated his fans, but also the Barbers of America Organization, which threatened to boycott his films; needless to say, he shaved the beard. Unfortunately, Rambova had tremendous influence over Valentino's career, but did not have the best taste in selecting projects for him. His image began to tarnish, at least among the male half of the audience. Rambova bought him a slave bracelet that he wore constantly, and began choosing projects for him that made his androgynous qualities appear more feminine; she was eventually barred from working in any capacity on his films. Shortly thereafter, Rambova left him and they eventually divorced.

In 1926, he filmed *Son of the Sheik*, supposedly a sequel to his earlier hit film. The film was not as successful, although his female fans were steadfast. His most steady date in this, the last year of his life, was eccentric Polish actress, Pola Negri. She saw him off on a

train to New York for the East Coast premiere of *Son of the Sheik*. On August 15, however, he became seriously ill and was taken to the hospital. Diagnosed with a perforated ulcer, surgery was performed on him. The surgery went well and Valentino appeared to be doing well, but peritonitis set in and the infection spread throughout his body; he died on August 23, 1926.

The events surrounding the viewing of the body and the funeral took on a circus-like atmosphere—it probably was the first such celebrity funeral that had so much chaos surrounding it. There were riots in the street near the Campbell's Funeral Parlour; approximately 100,000 people viewed his body and it took three days for everyone in line to pass by the coffin. Rumors also began circulating about Valentino's death, the most persistent being that he was murdered, either by the Black Hand gang or by a jealous husband.

The funeral service in New York was conducted at St. Malachi's Church, with over 6,000 people in attendance. His body was then transported by train back to California, and crowds of people gathered as the train passed through each town. The service in California was at the Church of the Good Shepherd in Hollywood, and only 300 people attended his second funeral. Pola Negri, never one to give up an opportunity for publicity, threw herself on the coffin and then fainted. Although she had no proof of it, she claimed that she and Valentino were engaged. The day following the funeral, 5,000 people visited the mausoleum.

Valentino was buried in a crypt borrowed from June Mathis. When she died two years later, her husband, Sylvano Balboni, solved the problem of what to do with Valentino's body when he sold his adjoining crypt to the Valentino family. Valentino was then moved to his final resting place above June Mathis' mother.

In 1927, a commemorative service was attended by faithful fans and the tradition continued for many years—even in the late 1990s there were Valentino fan clubs. Another tradition that helped keep Valentino's name alive for so many years after his death was the annual appearances of the so-called "Lady in Black." For many years (over 50) she appeared, dressed in black with a veil covering her face and carrying red roses to his grave on the anniversary of his death. Speculation on the identity of the woman varied from a publicity stunt with various women playing the part, to a brokenhearted lover who could not forget him. The truth of the story was never established, and the lady finally disappeared.

For women of the Jazz Age of the Roaring Twenties, Valentino was the first sex symbol of the dangerous kind. He represented all that was enticing to repressed women, who had only recently started to make gains in emancipation by getting the vote. Despite his short life, he represented something they had not dared long for in the Victorian and Edwardian eras. In spite of rumors which surfaced many years after his death regarding his sexual orientation and that of his ex-wives, the effect Valentino had on the 1920s cannot be minimized or overlooked.

—Jill A. Gregg

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## Valenzuela, Fernando (1960—)

Few baseball players have captured the popular imagination as Fernando Valenzuela did in the summer of 1981, when the word "Fernandomania" came into the English lexicon, as the young lefthander with the incredible screwball astounded the baseball world by tossing five shutouts during an eight game winning streak to start the season. In a career that lasted from 1980 to 1996, Valenzuela was known almost as much for his burly physique and unorthodox windup as for his effectiveness and durability.

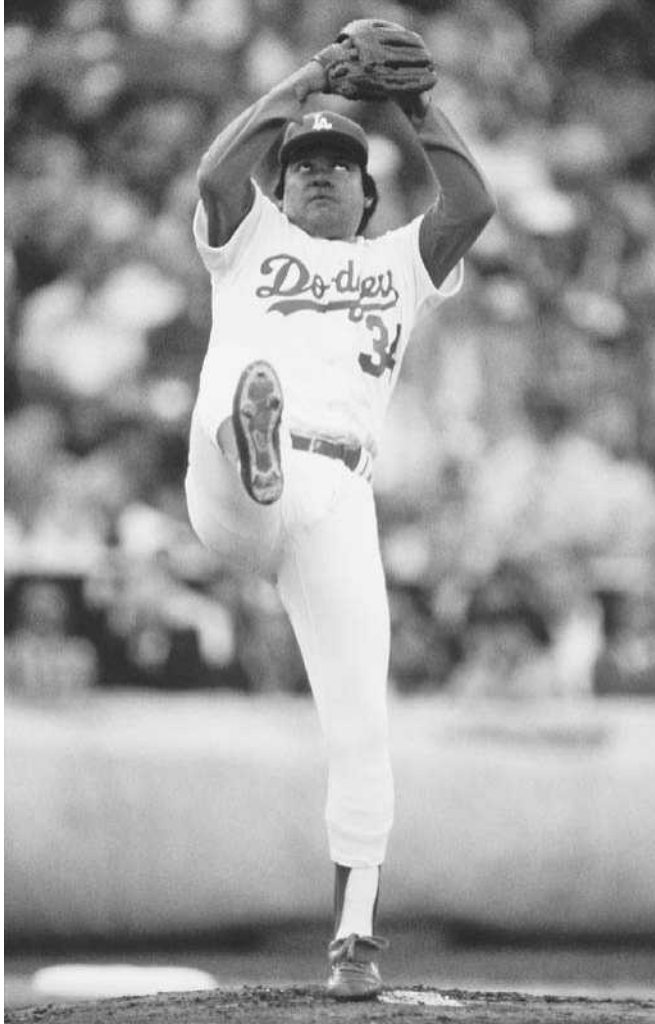
Fernando Valenzuela was born in Etchohaquila, in the Mexican state of Sonora, about 350 miles south of the Arizona border. The youngest of twelve children, by the age of sixteen Fernando was earning \$80 a month as a pitcher in the Mexican leagues. Beating out the Yankees by half a step, the Los Angeles Dodgers bought the lefthander's contract from Puebla for \$120,000 in 1979. The following year, Valenzuela made his debut with the Dodgers, pitching eighteen scoreless innings during the season's final weeks.

In 1981, twenty-year-old rookie Fernando Valenzuela exploded on the baseball scene. Fernandomania began in Los Angeles soon after the screwball-throwing lefthander started the season with a shutout, and it spread across the North American continent as Valenzuela managed to notch seven more victories (including four more shutouts) before registering his first loss. Although the league caught up with him in the second half of a strike-torn season, Valenzuela nevertheless finished the year as baseball's strikeout king, while also boasting the league's second-highest win total (13) and an impressive 2.48 ERA. In his first full season in the major leagues, the boy from Mexico had led his team to a World Series championship, while being recognized as both the National League's Rookie of the Year and its Cy Young Award winner.

Valenzuela's face appeared on the covers of numerous sports magazines in the summer of 1981, while he charmed the sports world with his modesty, his eyes-to-the-sky windup, and his virtual ignorance of English. His age also kept people guessing, as many observers supposed that he was significantly older than his twenty years. Although Valenzuela went on to have a successful career with the Dodgers, Fernandomania faded by season's end; afterwards he was just a very good pitcher. But good enough to win 19 games in 1982 and register a league leading 21 victories in 1986. Along the way he received baseball's first million-dollar salary arbitration award in 1983.

Valenzuela pitched for the Dodgers for eleven seasons, during which he won 141 games while losing 116. One of his most appealing features was his durability, as he led the league in complete games in three seasons and twice in innings pitched. During the 1980s he was also one of the league's most consistent strikeout pitchers, finishing among the top five for seven years in a row. During the late 1980s, his





**Fernando Valenzuela**

career began to be hobbled by shoulder soreness—an ailment no doubt caused by a decade of subjecting his arm to the strain of throwing his famed screwball. In addition to being a star hurler during his years with the Dodgers, Valenzuela was also recognized for his excellent defense and a dangerous bat.

His years with the Dodgers were capped by a no-hitter on June 26, 1990, but his career was thrown into doubt after the Dodgers released him the following spring. For the next seven years Valenzuela bounced from team to team, including a stint in the Mexican leagues in 1992. Although his comebacks always seemed to draw a fair amount of attention, they were rarely successful (a 13-8 record in San Diego in 1996 being the only exception), as Valenzuela managed to compile a meager record of only 32 wins and 35 losses during his post-Dodger career.

With 173 career victories, Valenzuela retired as the leading Mexican-born pitcher in Major League history. Despite his considerable achievements with the Dodgers, he is nevertheless best remembered for setting the baseball world on its ear during the spring and summer of 1981.

—Kevin O'Connor

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## Valium

Little over a decade after its 1963 debut on the prescription-drug market in the United States, Valium had become a widely prescribed tranquilizer and began attracting media attention for what was seen as its rampant abuse. Reports found that many prescriptions for diazepam, Valium's generic name, were written by general practitioners, not mental-health professionals, and that a disproportionate number were given to women over 30 to control so-called "free-floating" anxiety.

Valium, taken from the Latin word meaning "to be strong and well" and classified as an anxiolytic, or anxiety-dissolving drug, was developed in the New Jersey labs of pharmaceutical giant Hoffman-LaRoche by Dr. Leo Sternbach, who had also synthesized the compound that came on the market as Librium in 1960. Librium had been developed to compete with a rival company's popular tranquilizer, Miltown. All of these new drugs were targeted at middle-class Americans, many of whom were unlikely to visit a psychologist or psychiatrist for non-threatening depression or anxiety disorders because of the stigma attached to "mental illness." Valium, stronger than Librium and less bitter in taste, acted on the limbic system, the part of the brain that regulates emotional response and reaction. Because it was so potent, it could be formulated into much smaller doses than Librium, and unlike other tranquilizers, soothed without inducing drowsiness.

"Some Roche executives did not expect much of it," wrote Gilbert Cant of the *New York Times Magazine* about Sternbach's synthesizing of diazepam, "but a couple of them tried it on postmenopausal mothers-in-law whom they found insufferable, and were delighted by its calming effects." Valium came on the market in the United States in 1963. Users were cautioned not to operate heavy machinery or drive a car while taking it, and warnings about mixing it with alcohol were also blatant—the effects of both substances on the central nervous system were doubled when ingested together. Part of Valium's appeal lay in the belief that it was nonaddictive, and unlike other tranquilizers, almost impossible to be taken in a lethal dose by a suicidal person.

By 1974, 59.3 million Valium prescriptions were being written by doctors, and this figure, taken in conjunction with Hoffman-LaRoche's patent on diazepam, meant that Sternbach's employer had cornered 81 percent of the tranquilizer market in the country. The following year, a *Vogue* article entitled "Danger Ahead! Valium—The Pill You Love Can Turn on You," quoted extensively from Dr.

Marie Nyswander, a New York City psychiatrist, who warned of its addictive properties. “Probably it would be very hard to find any group of middle-class women in which some aren’t regularly on Valium,” Nyswander declared. “Valiumania,” as a 1976 piece authored by Cant in the *New York Times Magazine* was titled, termed it the most profitable drug in history, and questioned whether it had been “overmarketed” by Hoffman-LaRoche. Tellingly, only about 10 percent of prescriptions for Valium written in 1974 came from mental health professionals; 60 to 70 percent of Valium prescriptions came from the family doctor, gynecologists, or even more alarmingly, pediatricians. “Women, mostly those over 30, outnumber male users of Valium by 2-1/2 to one,” Cant pointed out.

Valium also began to appear as an illegal “street” drug around 1975, the same year overall tranquilizer usage in the United States peaked. In 1978, it was estimated that about 20 percent of American women were taking Valium; nearly 2.3 billion of the pills were prescribed that year alone. The drug was so pervasive—and still considered relatively harmless—that it began to enter the vernacular. It was jokingly referred to as “Executive Excedrin,” and made its way into comic scenes in movies such as *Starting Over*, as well as Woody Allen films and Neil Simon plays. An autopsy report found it in Elvis Presley’s system when he died in 1977.

A 1979 bestseller, *I’m Dancing as Fast as I Can*, did much to alert the public to Valium’s dangers. Its author, Barbara Gordon, was a successful, educated Manhattan career woman who became hooked on the drug over a nine-year period, and had to be hospitalized for her withdrawal symptoms. Reports of “rebound insomnia” from even light Valium usage began to appear in the press, and Senate subcommittee hearings later that year received widespread media coverage. Dr. Joseph Pursch—who, as head of the drug and rehabilitation program at Long Beach (California) Naval Regional Medical Center had treated former First Lady Betty Ford for her substance abuse problems—testified on the dangers of Valium. Physicians publicly confessed they had become addicted to the free samples mailed to them by Hoffman-LaRoche. An executive at the company defended the drug before the Senate committee, and asserted that its abuse was not Hoffman-LaRoche’s fault, but lay rather at the feet of the doctors who overprescribed it and in the percentage of patients who became addicted to almost any substance. A physician also spoke on behalf of Hoffman-LaRoche, and asserted with complete seriousness that “to imply that the medicine is dangerous or highly addictive is not only incorrect, but it is a great disservice to millions of people whose lives are already troubled,” *Time* quoted Dr. Michael Halberstam as saying.

As a compromise, the Food and Drug Administration forced Hoffman-LaRoche to include the caveat in its medical-journal advertisements for Valium as well as in the information provided to physicians stating that “anxiety or tension associated with the stress of everyday life usually does not require treatment with an anxiolytic drug.” This warning went into effect in the summer of 1980, but a 1981 report on the possible link between Valium use and the rapid growth of cancer cells probably spelled a far worse death knell for the drug’s popularity with the general public. The author of the study, Dr. David Horrobin, claimed he was forced out of a job at the University of Montreal because of his findings and his attempt to make them public. By 1982, the most prescribed medication in America was Tagamet, the anti-ulcer drug.

—Carol Brennan

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## Vallee, Rudy (1901-1986)

One of the most popular American singers in the 1920s and 1930s, Rudy Vallee became a sought-after supporting actor in Hollywood films, an important pioneer in radio variety shows, and much later a musical comedy star on Broadway.

Born Hubert Prior Vallée in Island Pond, Vermont, he was a self-taught drummer in his high school band. In 1919 he began a self-study



Rudy Vallee

of the clarinet and saxophone, frequently spending six to eight hours a day practicing, and within a year was performing publicly at the Strand Theater in Portland, Maine. After a year at the University of Maine, he transferred to Yale in the fall of 1922, where he earned tuition by playing his sax at country clubs and college dances. While playing with the Yale Collegians he began using a hand-held megaphone to amplify his crooning, light-tone voice. The megaphone—similar to the ones used by cheerleaders—became his trademark and was soon copied by other vocalists.

In 1924 Vallee dropped out of Yale and went to London, where he played sax at the Savoy Hotel with Vincent Lopez and the Savoy Havana Band. Returning to Yale, he continued his studies and graduated with a Bachelor of Philosophy degree in 1925. Moving to New York City, Rudy formed a small band called The Connecticut Yankees, consisting of two violins, two saxophones, and a piano. The primary purpose of the orchestra was to accompany their leader's suave, but somewhat nasal vocals. An engagement at the Heigh-Ho Club in Manhattan in 1928 brought Vallee his first real fame. He was soon broadcasting on radio as many as 25 times a week, beginning each one with "Heigh-ho everyone, this is Rudy Vallee." His sudden success brought him engagements at New York's Paramount and Palace Theaters.

Rudy and the Connecticut Yankees went to Hollywood to film *Vagabond Lover* in 1929, returning immediately to New York for more radio work and regular appearances at Villa Vallee, a nightclub Rudy owned. He soon evolved a busy routine, starting with daily shows at the Paramount and other theaters, then nightly shows at the Villa Vallee, and three broadcasts, along with recording sessions and filming musical short subjects.

In 1929 Rudy also began broadcasting a weekly one-hour variety show on NBC radio. Stars such as Fred Allen, Jack Benny, Edgar Bergen, and Kate Smith made their debuts on *Vallee's Fleischmann Hour* and later became radio stars themselves. Other outstanding guests included George Gershwin, George Burns and Gracie Allen, Eddie Cantor, Red Skelton, and Fannie Brice. Vallee also invited black performers, rarely used on network shows, to appear, including Bill "Bojangles" Robinson, Maxine Sullivan, and Fats Waller. At its peak, the show featured America's top stars. On December 13, 1934, for example, Vallee broadcast from the Radio City Music Hall, featuring announcer Jimmy Wallington, guests Henry Fonda and June Walker playing a scene from *The Farmer Takes a Wife*, and interviews with Cole Porter, Buck and Bubbles, William S. Hart, and Bea Lillie.

After ten years, Vallee ended his popular radio show. In 1942, he played the bumbling millionaire in one of director Preston Sturges' best films, *Palm Beach Story*, starring Claudette Colbert. When World War II began, Vallee joined the U.S. Coast Guard Service and led a forty-piece band on an extensive tour. He then returned to radio in 1944, broadcasting for two years with co-star Monty Woolley. Hollywood beckoned in 1947, and Vallee played light comedy and character roles in such films as *Bachelor and the Bobby-Soxer*, with Cary Grant and Myrna Loy; *I Remember Mama*, with Irene Dunne; *Unforgettably Yours*, with Rex Harrison; and *The Beautiful Blonde from Bashful Bend*, with Betty Grable. From 1961-64, he played in the Broadway musical, *How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying*, and his final film was the Hollywood version of that show in 1967.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Vampires

No creature haunting Western society's collective imagination has proven more enduring, more compelling, or more alluring than the vampire. But it was only with his transformation from emaciated, plague-carrying "nosferatu" (literally, "not dead") to suave, sexually appealing anti-hero that the vampire's status as pop cultural icon was assured. Authors and poets ranging from Byron, Goethe, Baudelaire, and Le Fanu to Poe, Wells, King, and Rice have made contributions to vampire lore. Dracula, the best-known and most resilient vampire, has appeared in more films than any other fictional character save perhaps for Sherlock Holmes. On television, vampires have starred in dramas (*The Kindred*, 1996), sitcoms (*The Munsters*, 1964-1966), soaps (*Dark Shadows*, 1966-1971), and countless made-for-television movies. On the radio, Orson Welles' portrayal of Dracula for *The Mercury Theatre* in 1938 became an instant classic. In addition, vampires have been made the subject of such cultural castoffs as stamps, comic books, lunchboxes, breakfast cereals, cartoons, role-playing games, and do-it-yourself makeup kits—in short, just about anything capable of sustaining an image or supporting a narrative.

In pre-Christian times, the vampire was a regular in Middle European folklore. Typically portrayed as an unkempt peasant with terrible breath and a craving for the blood of farm animals, his taste underwent a profound change in the seventeenth century—instead of sheep and oxen, he began turning to members of his own family in search of nourishment. This shift in sensibility most likely occurred because distraught villagers needed a face to attach to the deadly plague infecting their neighbors.

The vampire entered the literary realm by way of German gothicism: in Ossenfelder's "The Vampire" (1748), Bürger's *Lenore* (1773), and Goethe's *The Bride of Corinth* (1797) the once-shy bloodsucker slowly made the transition to sexual predator. But the first truly modern vampire appeared in John Polidori's extended revision of a fragment written by the English poet Lord Byron in 1816; amazingly, it was during the same session of story-telling at a villa near Geneva that Mary Shelley conceived the plot of *Frankenstein*. In Polidori's *The Vampyre* (1819), the dashing Lord Ruthven quenches his thirst with the blood of attractive young women. To cash in on Ruthven's surprising popularity, a number of plays, burlesques, and operas were quickly brought to stage in France, Germany, and England.

With the publication of James Malcolm Rymer's 868 page penny-dreadful, *Varney the Vampire, or the Feast of Blood* in 1847, the vampire became a pop culture phenomenon. Many elements of Varney's comic-book adventures were appropriated by Bram Stoker



Christopher Lee as the vampire Dracula in a scene from the film *Horror of Dracula*.

for use in his celebrated gothic novel, *Dracula* (1897). Female vampires also came into their own around this time; Sheridan Le Fanu's novella *Carmilla* (1871) recounts a destructive lesbian affair, a theme exploited years later in such films as *Dracula's Daughter* (1936) and *The Velvet Vampire* (1971), as well as in the homoerotic vampire fantasies of novelist Anne Rice.

In preparation for his novel, Stoker read everything he could find on vampires at the British Museum. He was fascinated by stories of Vlad the Impaler, a fifteenth century Romanian prince with a penchant for staking his victims. This real-life Dracula (Vlad's father was a member of the paramilitary group, "Dracul") provided Stoker with a historical basis for his monster. *Dracula* effectively synthesized the vampire legend's major motifs (including shape-shifting, mind control, avoidance of daylight, lack of reflection, and talismans such as garlic and crosses), and moved the Count out of his castle and into a bustling urban locale. Stoker's rendition of the vampire as a sexual oppressor roaming the streets of London tapped into the public's fear of serial killers such as Jack the Ripper, who not 10 years earlier murdered six women in the city's East End.

In 1922, German director F.W. Murnau brought the folkloric vampire back to life with his silent expressionist masterpiece, *Nosferatu: A Symphony of Horror*. Max Schreck stars as Count Orlock, a gaunt, bald, rat-like vampire who bears almost no resemblance to Bela Lugosi's suave, aristocratic Count Dracula. Four years before gracing the silver screen in Tod Browning's 1931 classic, *Dracula*, the Hungarian-born Lugosi established his reputation as the world's leading vampire by starring in a Broadway production of Stoker's tale (a half-century later, Frank Langella would play the Count in a successful New York revival). Lugosi's exotic accent, distinctive mannerisms, and sinister charm captivated audiences, and Universal Studios contracted him to reprise his role in a slew of horror films.

Celluloid vampires suffered from burnout until 1958, when Christopher Lee reprised the role of the Count in Hammer Films' elegant bloodfest, *Horror of Dracula*. Numerous sequels, also starring Lee, soon followed. Other notable vampire pictures include Carl Dreyer's *Vampyre* (1931), Roman Polanski's *Fearless Vampire Killers* (1969), a 1972 blaxploitation film entitled *Blacula*, Werner Herzog's remake of *Nosferatu* (1979), campy satires by Mel Brooks

and Andy Warhol, a porno (*Dracula Sucks*, 1979), Coppola's big-budget rendition of *Bram Stoker's Dracula* (1992), and a 1994 adaptation of Rice's *Interview with the Vampire*. Vampires even turned up in such unlikely genres as science fiction (*Lifeforce*, 1985) and Westerns (*Billy the Kid vs. Dracula*, 1966).

Vampire iconography has exerted a powerful influence on communal style and behavior. A whole "Gothic" youth culture, complete with all-black clothing, somber music, and atmospheric nightclubs, arose as an offshoot of punk in the 1970s, and an underground cult of real-life blood drinkers has steadily increased in numbers. The socially-revealing image of vampire as obsessive blood-junkie has been thematized in such films as *Deathdream* (1972), *Martin* (1978), and *The Addiction* (1995).

There are many reasons for the vampire's enduring popularity. While most monsters are portrayed as ugly, even grotesque, vampires are often handsome or beautiful. They are surrounded by large and arcane bodies of knowledge concerning their origins, powers, and weaknesses. Foreign, well-traveled, aristocratic, charming, even magnetic, they possess an undeniable erotic appeal. What is more, they are subversive, challenging traditional ideas about death, religion, science, sexual mores, and patriarchy. And lest we forget, they have what we all want: money, power, sexual attractiveness, and, above all, eternal youth.

—Steven Schneider

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## Van Dine, S. S. (1888-1939)

The "Golden Age" of the detective novel is generally considered to have been the years between World Wars I and II. S. S. Van Dine's first Philo Vance detective novel, *The Benson Murder Case* (1926), is often cited as the book that began this era. Although there were only 12 Vance novels and his popularity fell as quickly as it rose, Vance was by far the bestselling mystery character of his time. Born Willard Huntington Wright in Charlottesville, Virginia, Van Dine

first became known as an editor and literary critic for the *Los Angeles Times* and then for *Smart Set* magazine. By the 1930s Van Dine's following as a mystery writer was already beginning to fade. He began writing for motion pictures and contributed a chapter to *The President's Mystery Story*, published by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1935.

—Jill A. Gregg

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## Van Dyke, Dick (1925—)

Dick Van Dyke is best remembered as a television comedian in the 1960s and 1970s, but this performer's career has included everything from Broadway to motion pictures to drama, in which he has excelled portraying likeable and sensible characters. His most successful role was as the star of *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, an Emmy-award-winning sitcom that appeared on the CBS-TV network from 1961 to 1966; he played the role of Rob Petrie, the head writer for the



Dick Van Dyke

fictional “*Alan Brady Show*” who lives with his wife (played by Mary Tyler Moore) and son in suburban New Rochelle, New York. The show was unusual for a sitcom of the period in that it allowed its star to portray a “TV Dad” both at home and at work while offering an insightful, behind-the-scenes glimpse of a television sitcom from the inside out.

Van Dyke was born in West Plains, Missouri, on December 13, 1925, the son of a trucking agent. His younger brother, Jerry, also became a comedian. It was while he was serving in the U.S. Air Force during World War II that Van Dyke began performing in shows; one of his buddies, Byron Paul, later became his personal manager. After a failed attempt, with a friend, to start an advertising agency after the war, Van Dyke formed a comedy pantomime act, *The Merry Mutes*, with his friend Philip Erickson. “Eric and Van” broke up in 1953 and Van Dyke continued to appear solo in nightclubs around the country until he became emcee of two daytime programs for an Atlanta television station: *The Merry Mutes Show* and *The Music Shop*. In 1955, he originated a variety program he called *The Dick Van Dyke Show* for a New Orleans television station, and went to New York as emcee for CBS’s *The Morning Show*, following in the footsteps of Walter Cronkite and Jack Paar. He was emcee of *CBS Cartoon Theater* in 1956 and NBC’s *Laugh Line* in 1959.

Disappointed with CBS’s refusal to offer him a daily show, Van Dyke appeared as a guest performer on a variety of television shows, including *The United States Steel Hour*, but it was on Broadway that he had his first major starring role. From April 1960 to September 1961, he attracted much critical and popular attention and won a Tony award for the role of Albert Peterson in the musical comedy *Bye Bye Birdie*. A month after leaving that cast, he debuted as TV writer Rob Petrie in his own weekly TV sitcom, *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, which premiered on October 3, 1961 with Van Dyke and Mary Tyler Moore as the leads, and Rose Marie, Morey Amsterdam, and Richard Deacon playing the supporting roles. The episode, titled “Head of the Family” was the title of the pilot episode that writer-producer Carl Reiner had earlier made with himself in the leading role—Johnny Carson was also briefly considered for the part—until he agreed that Van Dyke was a better choice. Reiner, who appeared on the show in the role of Alan Brady, based many of the episodes on his own experience as a writer for the 1950s comedy series *Your Show of Shows*. *The Dick Van Dyke Show* was also a vehicle for the relatively unknown Mary Tyler Moore, who had appeared mostly in commercials before assuming the role of Rob Petrie’s wife.

*The Dick Van Dyke Show* stands as an icon to the times, a mirror for the world of television in the early 1960s and for the suburban lifestyle that was then somewhat more idyllic than it would become in later years. It was popular largely because of Van Dyke’s ability to play both light, sophisticated, domestic comedy and engage in clownish, farcical pratfalls. The stories endure because they present believable characters in unusual but ultimately explainable situations. The producers and cast deliberately ended production after just five seasons, and so the quality of this series remains consistently high throughout; it won fifteen Emmys in five consecutive years.

Beginning in the 1960s Van Dyke starred in a number of memorable films. He reprised his Broadway role in a film adaptation of *Bye, Bye, Birdie* (1963), then played the Chimney Sweep alongside Julie Andrews in *Mary Poppins* (1965). He next starred in *Lt. Robin Crusoe U.S.N.* (1966) and *Divorce American Style* (1967), and played

an eccentric inventor in *Chitty Chitty Bang Bang* (1968). In 1971, he tried a different type of role in the satire *Cold Turkey*, that of a minister in a town undergoing withdrawal symptoms as it tries to give up smoking for a month to win a bounty from a tobacco company.

Carl Reiner and Dick Van Dyke were reunited in *The New Dick Van Dyke Show* in 1971 by a CBS network anxious to try to recapture the viewers and quality of their first sitcom a decade earlier. By this time *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* had become a hit, and the trend was toward the sophisticated, more adult comedies, like the original *Dick Van Dyke Show* had been. In *The New Dick Van Dyke Show*, Van Dyke was cast in the role of Dick Preston, the host of a local talk show in Phoenix, Arizona, and a happily married family man with loving young daughter and college-age son. For the final twenty-four episodes, the scene shifted to Hollywood as Dick Preston accepted a major role in a daytime soap opera. This venue seemed a more deliberate attempt to duplicate the earlier show, with its faster pace and more emphasis on behind-the-scenes banter among the performers, writers, and producer.

Despite these devices, *The New Dick Van Dyke Show* was not overly popular with audiences and it was almost canceled by the network until a flap over one episode in which the Prestons’ teenaged daughter accidentally walked in on them while they were having sex. Though the bedroom scene was not shown on camera, the network refused to air the episode as it was filmed and Reiner quit. It was after his departure that the show’s setting moved to Hollywood, and the show’s new soap-opera situation, plus publicity over the earlier flap, helped raise its ratings somewhat. By 1974 Van Dyke decided not to continue the show, which still won an Emmy. He returned later in the 1970s with a briefly-running variety show called *Dick Van Dyke and Co.* that won another Emmy for him.

Following this show, Van Dyke continued to make occasional movies and is perhaps best known for a series of public-service announcements aimed at fire safety for children that advised them to: “Stop, Drop and Roll.” He, along with Pearl Bailey and Hermione Gingold, supplied voices for the British-made children’s movie *Tubby the Tuba* (1977), and he appeared as the star of *The Runner Stumbles* (1979) and in the supporting cast of *Dick Tracy* (1990). In the early 1990s Van Dyke reappeared before television audiences as the “Chairman” of *Nick-at-Nite*, the cable network program that shows reruns of classic TV shows including his own 1960s series. Around this time, he also appeared in episodes of the show *Jake and the Fatman* and in several television movies. His most notable role in this period was that of Dr. Mark Sloan in the hour-long CBS-TV dramatic series *Diagnosis Murder*. In this show, Dr. Sloan is portrayed as a Los Angeles crime-solving physician with a police detective son, played by Van Dyke’s real-life son, Barry. This show captured a strong following and benefited from a new writing team that allowed it to grow and expand. Despite its serious subject, the show was directed with a playful and human feel that reflected Van Dyke’s combination of sophistication and humor. In early 1999, he was cast as Ted Danson’s father in a “Becker the Elder” episode of another CBS-TV series, *Becker*.

—Frank E. Clark

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## Van Halen

The rock quartet Van Halen exploded into the American mainstream in 1978 with an eponymously titled debut album that soon went platinum, thanks to its blend of musical experimentation and an old-fashioned rock 'n' roll aesthetic. Named for Eddie Van Halen, the group's guitar virtuoso, the band's image promoted a hedonistic lifestyle and immediately captured the imagination of many young fans. Drawing from traditions of Southern blues, European baroque, and 1980s America, the band, over the next two decades, weathered major lineup changes and stylistic reinvention to remain one of the nation's most innovative musical groups.

Van Halen came together in Pasadena, California, in the mid-1970s, one of the first of the new wave of West Coast hard rock and heavy metal bands that had grown up on and would eventually replace British acts like Black Sabbath and Led Zeppelin. The band's first incarnation centered on Alex and Eddie Van Halen, sons of an accomplished Dutch musician. The boys' intense classical training helped them produce distinctive and innovative music in an era when many metal bands were surrendering to formula. The band added Michael Anthony as bass player and David Lee Roth as vocalist and gigged locally under the name Mammoth before choosing to call itself Van Halen.

Van Halen paid its dues in the highly competitive Los Angeles music scene, where it was discovered first by Gene Simmons of the band KISS and later by a Warner Brothers executive. Its debut album, with Roth's lewd, growling vocals on songs like “Dance the Night Away” and “Runnin' With the Devil” grounded the band firmly in blues and heavy metal traditions, while Eddie Van Halen's creative guitar work, showcased on the extended pseudo-classical solo “Eruption,” appealed to other traditionalists.

The band's next five albums all went multi-platinum, even when the band experimented with organs, synthesizers, saxophone, and a capella crooning, as on 1982's *Diver Down* and 1984's *1984*. The latter album showed the band's more lighthearted, pop-friendly approach, as with the single “Jump” and its video that took advantage of David Lee Roth's high-kicking manic stage presence. In 1985,

at the height of the band's popularity, David Lee Roth left the group to pursue a moderately successful solo career. Van Halen continued with new lead vocalist Sammy Hagar, already well-known from his work with Montrose and as a solo performer. The band released three hugely successful albums with Hagar at the helm, maintaining its exuberance while adding a nuance of socially meaningful music, as with “Right Here Right Now,” a powerful song and carefully crafted video about taking care of one's own life in the midst of problems abroad. In 1996, Hagar himself left and Van Halen responded by releasing live and greatest-hits albums and attempting a reunion with David Lee Roth at the 1996 MTV Music Video Awards. Van Halen resurfaced in 1998 with new lead vocalist Gary Cherone; “Without You,” the first single with this new lineup, debuted at #1 on the Billboard charts.

Still, it is Eddie Van Halen who has been recognized as the force behind most of Van Halen's music. From the beginning, his technical mastery and innovation set new parameters for the iconic Guitar Hero. In his unending quest for superb sound, he rewired amps, assembled guitars backwards, converted arias and concertos into searing solos, and tapped the fret board of his instrument with both hands at once. His solo on Michael Jackson's smash hit “Beat It” gave the song a hard edge, a certain legitimacy in a decade where dance and heavy metal fought for control of the airwaves. Eddie Van Halen, who had married teen idol Valerie Bertinelli, spent the 1990s overcoming substance-abuse problems, but he is remembered for having provided the blueprint for rock idols of his era—beautiful, long-haired, positive, and talented.

—Colby Vargas

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## Van Vechten, Carl (1880-1964)

Carl Van Vechten was, in the course of his lifetime, a music, dance, and literary critic, a novelist, and a photographer. He was an early aficionado of ragtime and jazz and during the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s wrote numerous articles in support of the movement. In his fifth and best-known novel, *Nigger Heaven* (1926), he meant to portray the life of Harlem in a realistic and sympathetic fashion. Though controversial, the book was generally praised by white critics; it was condemned and dismissed by black critics



Van Halen: (from left) Michael Anthony, Eddie Van Halen, Alex Van Halen, and Sammy Hagar, 1987.

because of its ill-chosen title. Van Vechten sought to ensure that the African American contribution to American culture would be recognized and appreciated in perpetuity by founding, in 1941, the James Weldon Johnson Collection at Yale University.

—Laural Weintraub

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## Vance, Vivian (1909-1979)

In the early days of television when millions of Americans viewed small screen stars as personal friends, Vivian Vance became

the nation's most celebrated neighbor. Vance, a Broadway veteran with credits for *Voice of the Turtle* and Jerome Kern's *Music in the Air*, rocketed to stardom as Lucille Ball's landlady and confidante on the immensely popular *I Love Lucy* show. Her character, Ethel Mertz, by nature homespun and pragmatic, wavers just enough in her resolve to be cajoled into participating in the hair-brained schemes of Ball's antic Lucy Ricardo. She also struggles to pump life into her happy but conventional existence with husband Fred (William Frawley). Vance proved to be Ball's ideal foil; their interaction helped make the sitcom the country's number one show from 1951 to 1957.

Vance's perennial good cheer on screen masked her personal frustrations and several bouts with mental illness. She resented the ease with which the public accepted her as Ethel Mertz. "Ethel is a frump," she lamented. "She's frowsy, she's blowsy, and talks like a man." Vance also grew increasingly dissatisfied with co-star Frawley; he was twenty-five years her senior and she complained, "He should be playing my father." Remarkably, the public remained entirely ignorant of the backstage feud between Frawley and Vance. Even after the secret leaked during the 1960s, an increasingly suburban





Vivian Vance and Desi Arnaz

America continued to view Fred and Ethel as representatives of a bygone era of neighborliness. Ironically, Vance's efforts on the *I Love Lucy* show helped popularize television, then a fledgling medium, and went a long way toward breaking down the traditional social patterns which Fred and Ethel Mertz represented.

—Jacob M. Appel

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## Vanilla Ice (1968—)

White rapper Vanilla Ice burst on the music scene in 1990 with his hit single "Ice Ice Baby," a danceable tune with a bass line lifted from the David Bowie/Queen collaboration "Under Pressure." The single, from the album *To the Extreme*, became the first rap song to reach number one on the pop singles chart, where it stayed for sixteen weeks. Critics slammed Vanilla Ice (whose real name is Robert Van Winkle) for his rip-off of black culture, but apologists credited him

with bringing rap to a larger audience. Vanilla Ice's popularity lasted just a few months—long enough to earn him a starring role in the movie *Cool As Ice* but not long enough to propel sales of his subsequent albums beyond a small core of dedicated fans.

—Tom Pendergast

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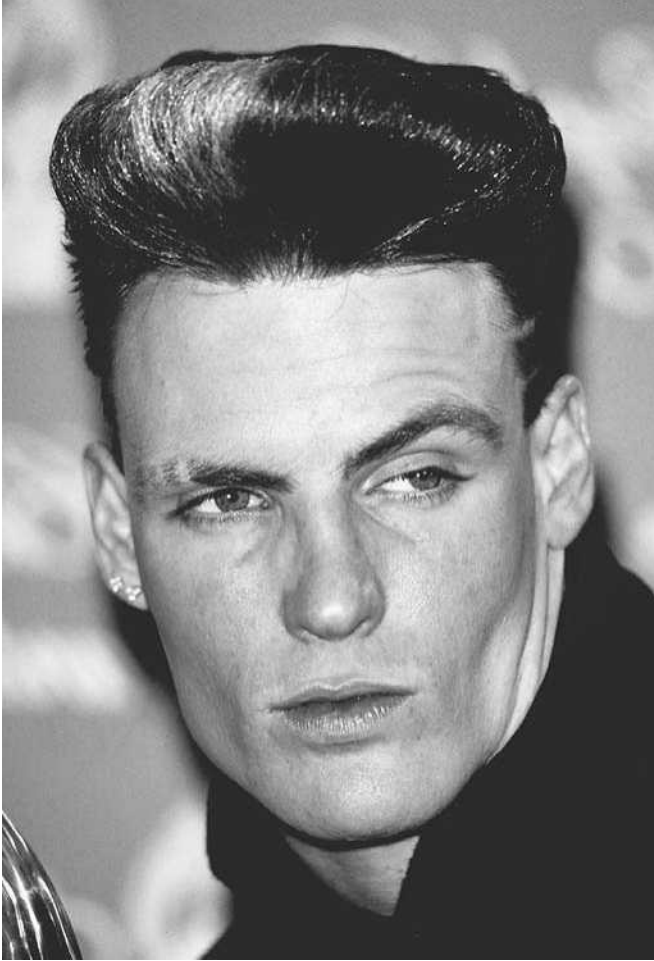
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## Vanity Fair

The original *Vanity Fair*, superbly edited by the inimitable Frank Crowninshield from 1914 to 1936, was the epitome of elan during the teens and twenties. A unique amalgam of art, literature, humor, fashion, and social commentary, *Vanity Fair* attracted a loyal audience and became the model of sophisticated success in the publishing industry, even after it was felled by the Depression. Revitalized in the early 1980s, the *Vanity Fair* of the late twentieth century is a slick, celebrity-driven monthly that has become the last word on American popular culture among the upwardly mobile. Amidst the celebrity mania of the late twentieth century, *Vanity Fair* is the bible of the stars.

*Vanity Fair's* emergence during the teens, as a "smart magazine" aimed at an urban leisure class, was the direct result of a number of changes in America in general and in the publishing business in specific. Following the Civil War, America underwent many sweeping metamorphoses, among which was a gradual shift from a rural society to an urban one. As the population became gentrified during the second half of the nineteenth century, as rural communities diminished and the cities grew, as Americans began to conceive of themselves as a cultured nation, and as the upper middle classes swelled and reveled in their new wealth, smart magazines began to appear. According to George H. Douglas, "smart magazines were written and edited for the leisured classes (although not necessarily the very rich)—for sophisticated urbanites, the kind of person who was well traveled, well read, well acquainted; for people who wanted to be entertained, but on an exalted plane." These magazines, he added, were "general magazines intended for the entertainment of cultural elites . . . rooted in . . . contrivances of humor, of gaiety, of urbanity, of high style and fashion. The rich, it seemed, were not usually interested in 'uplift,' in the birth pangs of reform and good works; as often as not they enjoyed the demimonde, even low life; they wanted to hear about the lives of actors, poets, of theatre people, pugilists, polo players. They loved gossip and scandal."

Major changes in the printing process during the 1880s and 1890s made faster typesetting and printing possible, allowing for more publications of higher quality. After the halftone process, chromolithography, and rotogravure printing were invented, magazines took on a new glossy format, filled with full-page color illustrations and advertisements. The vast changes in advertising, which metamorphosed from simple classified-type ads to colorful images and slogans thought out by prestigious firms, contributed to the evolution of a whole new kind of magazine, leading to an era which Douglas calls "a renaissance or high-water mark of the



**Vanilla Ice**

American magazine with many new giants entering the field, and many older ones becoming bigger and more affluent than they would have dreamed possible before . . . By the 1890s magazines had become big business.”

Into a field that included the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, and *Harper's Monthly* entered the first of these smart magazines, aptly called *The Smart Set* and subtitled “A Magazine of Cleverness.” A huge success during the first decade of the twentieth century, this literary and artistic monthly catering to cosmopolitan café society became a model periodical, featuring the writing of such brilliant young literary bucks as H. L. Mencken and George Jean Nathan, who later became its joint editors. *The Smart Set* set the tone for all the smart magazines that followed.

*Vanity Fair*, the quintessential smart magazine, however, came into being by a rather circuitous route. In the 1890s a publication by the same name had a limited success in New York as a “peekaboo magazine” of dubious quality. In 1913, Condé Nast, a successful entrepreneur who had made his first success in the publishing field with *Vogue*, a high-tone, women's fashion magazine, bought another fashion rag called *Dress*. He then purchased the rights to the name *Vanity Fair* and, in 1913, put out the first issue of *Dress and Vanity Fair* to limited success. It stumbled around for a year, without finding its niche, until Nast brought in his friend Frank Crowninshield as

editor. In March 1914, Frank Crowninshield's *Vanity Fair* found its way to the newsstands where it made a very big splash.

In his first editorial, Crowninshield wrote, “*Vanity Fair* has but two major articles in its editorial creed: first, to believe in the progress and promise of American life, and, second, to chronicle that progress cheerfully, truthfully, and entertainingly . . . At no time in our history has the wonder and variety of American life been more inspiring, and, probably as a result of this, young men and young women, full of courage, originality, and genius are everywhere to be met with.” With these young people as both audience and contributors, Crowninshield set about to create a magazine that would chronicle the cutting edge in art, literature, drama, sport, film, and dance.

Crowninshield himself was in his early forties, raised and educated in Europe, of aristocratic background, but a working man who had been the editor of a number of top magazines. He was also a devotee of modern art—one of the organizers of the Armory Show, Crowninshield had a superb art collection himself. Thus, he knew how to appeal to the upper classes, the intelligentsia, and the avant-garde. Under Crowninshield, *Vanity Fair* contained the writing of such diverse young talents as Edna St. Vincent Millay, Edmund Wilson, P. G. Wodehouse, e. e. cummings, and Aldous Huxley, as well as more established writers such as F. Scott Fitzgerald, art by Picasso, Matisse, and Jacob Epstein, and photography by Edward Steichen. As Cleveland Amory wrote in his introduction to an anthology of the magazine, “*Vanity Fair* was a pioneer in so many areas that it can be said to be a significant yardstick of American culture. Not only did it publish many pieces by first-rate writers and artists before—and after—they became known, but it set a new standard for photography and picture journalism. Another thing it did ‘first’ was to give due recognition to Negro personalities and artists.”

Although *Vanity Fair* never had more than 100,000 annual subscribers, it succeeded largely by being unique. Charming, witty, insouciant, aesthetically appealing, *Vanity Fair* was the genuine article and thus attracted a loyal following. For young writers it was the place to work, even if it paid less than other magazines. Dorothy Parker, Robert Benchley, Robert E. Sherwood, and Edmund Wilson all found their start at *Vanity Fair*. A conversation piece among the Smart Set, *Vanity Fair* was the place to find out who was who and what was what, from articles on silent movie stars and dashing polo players to photographs of French poets and English royalty. There were essays by D. H. Lawrence and Harry Houdini, poems by Theodore Dreiser and Amy Lowell, paintings by Raoul Dufy and August Renoir, and, of course, Miguel Covarrubias's wonderful caricatures. Regular features included the yearly Hall of Fame, a popular section on men's fashion, humorous sketches, and theatre reviews.

Throughout the Roaring Twenties, *Vanity Fair* was the most successful of the smart magazines, but when the Depression hit in 1929, it began to slip from favor. As Americans struggled to make ends meet, advertisements were withdrawn, and fewer and fewer people wanted to read about café society. By 1936, Condé Nast decided to merge *Vanity Fair* into *Vogue*, calling it a “heartbreaking decision.” For more than forty-five years, all that remained of the magazine was a memory.

In 1982, two years into the glamorous excess of the Reagan years, Condé Nast Publications decided to reissue *Vanity Fair* as an upscale publication for the elite of the eighties. The new *Vanity Fair* hoped to follow the format of the original smart magazines. Initially, however, it floundered, and many believed the magazine would never be able to live up to the verve, wit, and genuine charm of its forebear.

In 1984, Tina Brown, the young Oxford graduate who had resurrected London's *Tatler*, was brought in to punch up the publication. Brown immediately put her mark on *Vanity Fair*, bringing in top writers from around the world by paying them unheard-of six-figure contracts. She turned her staff into stars and the magazine into a money earner. Under Brown, the second incarnation of *Vanity Fair* became a slick publication with a celebrity buzz. Its approach, however, was formulaic. Filled with seductive advertisements for luxury products, photographs of movie stars, articles about the rich, the famous, or the bizarre, the new *Vanity Fair*'s audience purported to be the Eighties Smart Set. In fact, the magazine became a mass-market publication aimed at the entire upwardly mobile population of the United States.

During the late eighties and early nineties, the covers of *Vanity Fair* seemed to feature many of the same actors in various poses—Demi Moore in multiple states of nudity, Tom Cruise with a sly smirk or a toothy grin, Arnold Schwarzenegger clothed or unclothed, all shot with Annie Leibowitz's unerring lens. But by the mid-nineties, with Brown departed for the *New Yorker*, *Vanity Fair* began to compete with more cutting-edge magazines, such as *Interview*, by featuring cover stories about young Hollywood. Where once *Vanity Fair* signaled mainstream success, the magazine has now become a star maker, as cover stories about Matthew McConaughey, Matt Damon, and Renee Zellweger brought these young actors to the attention of the mainstream and boosted their status in Hollywood.

If the original *Vanity Fair* set a sophisticated standard for American culture, its second incarnation is the quintessence of late-twentieth-century popular culture—slick, global, and all about money and fame.

—Victoria Price

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## Vardon, Harry (1870-1937)

Golf's first international celebrity, Harry Vardon may be best remembered for something he popularized but did not invent: the overlap golf grip that bears his name. Vardon's name, however, was well-known long before he became famous for the grip. Not only was he the first Englishman to win the British Open, he claimed the title six times, winning in 1896, 1898, 1899, 1903, 1911, and 1914. In 1900 Vardon added the United States Open to his list of major championships, and was arguably the most famous golfer in the world at the time. Although a bout with tuberculosis in 1903 affected his health, his game was still strong enough to earn him second place in

the 1920 United States Open. Vardon's legacy is tied to the Vardon Trophy, emblematic of the lowest scoring average each year on the Professional Golfers' Association tour.

—Lloyd Chiasson, Jr.

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## Varga Girl

During World War II, the Varga Girl pinup, with her long legs, narrow waist, and "sumptuous" figure, was a major military morale booster. As Jamie Malanowski notes, her image "hung in billets and on bulkheads, was unfolded in foxholes, and was lovingly imitated on fuselages throughout Europe and the Pacific." Above all, the "Varga Girl" was timely. Her success derived from the confluence of a World War, the coming of age of "mass culture," and changing sexual mores. Drawn by Alberto Vargas, she was part of a new set of myths, which Leo Lowenthal of the Frankfurt School called a byproduct of twentieth century capitalism. Mass culture, according to Lowenthal, was manufactured in assembly line style by agents of mass media communication and was widely distributed.

Thousands of servicemen treasured the Varga Girl pinup. They were the pleased consumers of a product ingeniously distributed by *Esquire* magazine, which along with *Life* and *Reader's Digest* had been designated as wartime "morale boosters." The upbeat image of the Varga Girl provided a counter to the unpleasantness of the war and the loneliness of the trenches. One letter written to the pinup's artist Alberto Vargas by a serviceman suggested that regardless of what "the girl back home" looked like, "we can see her in each of your drawings." As Kurt Vonnegut once observed, "The American male's capacity to make do with imaginary women gave our military forces a logistical advantage I have never seen acknowledged anywhere."

The Varga Girl and her predecessor, the Petty Girl, evolved from the more modestly clad Gibson Girl. Both "girls" were also directly related to the women drawn by Raphael Kirchner for the turn-of-the-century avant-garde publication, *Le Parisienne*. The airbrush technique used by George Petty and Vargas allowed the impression of flawless women, suggestively clad and sultry-looking. In 1940, after Petty objected to the high-handed manner of *Esquire*'s publisher David Smart, he was replaced by Vargas. The Varga Girl (a name suggested as more "euphonious" by Smart) became a monthly staple in *Esquire* and in the popular "Varga Calendar" and other spin-off products.

Although appreciated by a significant portion of the U.S. male population, the pinup stirred up controversy in the areas of sexuality, gender exploitation, cultural representation, mass (popular) culture,

and consumerism. According to Jeanne Meyerowitz, “The proliferation in the mass media of sexual representations of women is arguably among the most important developments in twentieth century popular culture.” Meyerowitz further notes that the genres of “cheesecake” (suggestive) and “borderline” (more than suggestive) material “arose in the confluence of rising consumerism, burgeoning mass production, and changing sexual mores.” There was strong resistance to these cultural changes. In 1943, the U.S. Post Office brought charges of obscenity against *Esquire*, specifically citing a number of Varga Girl illustrations. At the trial, one female witness asserted that the pinups and other cartoons in the magazine exploited and demeaned women, while another female witness argued that the Varga images “beautifully portrayed” the female form. *Esquire* won the suit and a lot of free publicity. Into the late 1990s, the debate about whether erotic representations of women celebrate or degrade women is part of the discourse of feminists, lesbians, sexual libertarians, and anti-pornography and free speech advocates.

The Varga Girl was the work of Peruvian-born illustrator Alberto Vargas (1896-1982). Educated in Europe, Vargas was influenced by the work of Ingres and Kirchner. When he arrived in New York in 1916, Vargas was struck by the confident, vivacious women he saw. For a time he worked for producer Florenz Ziegfeld and once said that from Ziegfeld he learned the difference between “nudes and lewds.” He later worked as an illustrator and set designer for several major Hollywood studios. In 1939, after Vargas walked out in solidarity with union advocates at Warner Brothers, he was blacklisted. A year later, David Smart hired Vargas for a pittance, and without the right to royalties for his own work. Like Petty, Vargas was eventually driven to sue Smart. Vargas lost on appeal (he maintained that the judge was bribed), and he was enjoined from using the trademark name “Varga.”

In the mid-1950s, Hugh Hefner hired Vargas to resurrect the Varga Girl under the artist’s own name. The Vargas Girl appeared in *Playboy* on a monthly basis into the 1970s, until it was eclipsed by more prurient fare. *Playboy* pushed the envelope by using photography to convey a new image of the desirable woman. According to writer Hugh Merrill, whereas *Esquire*’s images had been “grounded” in burlesque shows patronized by the upper classes, *Playboy* had its cultural roots in the movies, an art form accessible to the masses. Photos of actress Marylyn Monroe graced the first issue *Playboy*. Eventually Vargas’ idealized depictions gave way to centerfold photography that left nothing to the imagination. Yet according to Merrill, Vargas’ work had helped set the stage for this change. In the 1940s the center of glamour had moved from New York City (the stage) to Hollywood (the movies). The “new cinematic standard of beauty of the 1950s did not come from nowhere. It was a real-life extension of the imaginary women in the Vargas paintings of the 1940s.” Some of these paintings had even been showcased in the film, *Dubarry Was a Lady*.

Personally, Vargas was quite different from the sexually heady atmosphere he worked in. He was an unassuming, courtly gentleman, born during the Victorian era, who was devoted to his wife, Anna Mae. His primary (some say, naive) desire was to “immortalize the American girl.” In his time, he succeeded. One admirer described his monthly pinup calendar as “an icon of popular culture,” while another described him as “the finest watercolorist of the female form.” Vargas’ girls remain embedded in the collective psyche of the

generations of the 1940s and 1950s, and they also remain as one of the cultural signifiers of those eras.

—Yolanda Retter

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## Variety

A weekly trade newspaper focusing on theater and film, *Variety* has been a bible of the entertainment industry since the turn of the century. Founded in 1905 by Sime Silverman, a former vaudeville critic for a New York newspaper, *Variety*’s origins can be traced to a dispute between Silverman and a former editor, who asked the critic to soften a scathing review. Silverman promptly quit, and set about launching *Variety*, whose distinctive, trademark “V” was designed by his wife on a nightclub tablecloth.

From its earliest days, *Variety* became embroiled in a feud with the powerful Keith-Albee theater chain over what the paper considered its stranglehold over vaudeville entertainment in the United States. The newspaper supported protests by a group of actors called the White Rats of America, a fledgling performers’ union modeled after the Water Rats, a similar organization in London. Keith-Albee replied by forbidding its actors and agents to read or advertise in the publication, and warned music publishers to withdraw their advertisements or face a blacklist of their songs in Keith-Albee theaters. A famous editorial on March 28, 1913 established Silverman as a crusading editor in the tradition of “Dana, Pulitzer, and Bennett,” wrote one show-business historian. *Variety*’s support for these unionization activities laid the groundwork for what would become today’s Actors Equity Association.

*Variety* reached its peak of popularity during the golden age of vaudeville in the 1920s and 1930s. “There were only two media” at that time, noted Syd Silverman, who was once heir apparent to his father’s dynasty. “Legit theater and vaudeville.” Long known as the industry paper of record, along with its primary competitor, *The Hollywood Reporter*, established in 1930, *Variety* specialized in coverage of Broadway and off-Broadway theater in New York, and was, for many years, the only trade publication to provide crucial data in the form of weekly box-office reports for stage productions.

Although they share the same roots, *Variety* is not to be confused with the more West Coast-oriented *Daily Variety*, founded by the elder Silverman in 1933, whose readership has traditionally been vastly different. *Daily Variety*’s subscribers are generally comprised of a select demographic of upper-income entertainment executives residing almost exclusively in Los Angeles. *Variety*’s readership, in

STAGE BROADWAY SCREEN

# VARIETY

PRICE 25¢

VOL. XCIV. No. 3 NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1929 88 PAGES

## WALL ST. LAYS AN EGG

**Goings Dumb Is Deadly to Hostess**  
In Her Serious Dance Hall Profane

A review of "Goings Dumb" at the Casino Theatre. The play is a comedy in the old-fashioned sense, but it is not a comedy in the modern sense. It is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy.

**DROP IN STOCKS**  
ROPES SHOWMEN

Many Wags and Call On Chairman Oakes—Laugh Shows Hit

MENGEIS HALTED

The most dramatic event in the financial history of America in the past few days was the sudden drop in the stock market. The drop was so sudden and so sharp that it has caused a great deal of speculation and discussion.

**Kidding Kissers in Talkers Burns**  
Up Fans of Screen's Best Lovers

**Talker Crashes Olympus**

Even his need to admit and acknowledge the fact that he is a comedian is a comedy in itself. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy.

**Think on Winch!**

It is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy.

**Demmed for Yards**

It is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy.

**HOWELY WOMEN SCARCELY CAN'T EARN OVER \$25**

It is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy.

**FILTHY SHOW OF SHUBERTS GOOD FOR SCREEN**

It is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy.

**Ads for Excess**

It is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy.

**Soft Drink Smuggling**

It is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy.

**Pickpocketing Dying Out**

It is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy.

**Stalin in Church**

It is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy.

**Brooks and Costumes**

It is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy.

**Firing Contest**

It is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy.

**Stalin in Church**

It is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy.

**Brooks and Costumes**

It is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy. The play is a comedy in the sense that it is a play about a comedy.

The Cover of Variety, 1929.

contrast, has been scattered throughout the UNITED STATES, Europe, and the world.

During its heyday in the 1920s and 1930s, *Variety* affected a light and breezy style with its own slang and locutions that gave it a distinctive voice, not unlike the "Guys and Dolls" patter of Damon Runyon and other Broadway denizens. Two of its most famous headlines during the period are considered journalistic classics of wit and brevity: on October 30, 1929, the day after the stock-market crash, *Variety's* banner headline read: "Wall Street Lays an Egg," after the slang term for a failed theatrical production; on July 17, 1935, a front-page report on the unpopularity of vapid films in small Midwestern towns was headlined, "Sticks Nix Hick Pix." *Variety* peppered its prose with hundreds of examples of theatrical argot and invented terms, like "boff" for hit show, "cleffer" for songwriter, "deejay" for disk jockey, "strawhat" for summer-stock company, and "whodunit" for mystery show. *Variety* rarely used the term "talkies" to describe motion pictures with sound, instead preferring its own term "talkers," and referred to television in its early days as "video." *Variety* also popularized the term "Tin Pan Alley" to describe New York City's songwriting district.

The popularity of new media took its toll on *Variety* in later years, and its theater coverage began to seem increasingly less relevant in a world dominated by motion pictures, television, and

video. In 1987, Syd Silverman made a difficult decision. After 82 years of family ownership, he resolved to sell his father's publication (along with *Daily Variety*) to Cahners Publishing Company, a subsidiary of the British-based Reed International. The sale was valued at approximately \$56.5 million, and Cahners, which already published some 52 trade magazines, quickly set about making massive internal changes to resuscitate the paper.

Following the sale, Silverman announced that the publication's day-to-day editorial responsibilities would be handed over to Roger Watkins, a former general manager of *Variety* in London. The magazine, it soon became clear, was about to be ushered into a new technological era of corporate media. Within months, *Variety's* staff was moved from the cramped, theater-district offices they had inhabited since 1919 to sparkling new cubicles on Park Avenue South. One editor even noted that some *Variety* reporters had still been "banging out stories" on vintage Underwood manual typewriters. All this would change under the Cahners management, which advised staff members of new dress codes—coats and ties only for men—to go with the publication's spiffy corporate look. Other changes included a consolidation of staff members in the East and West Coast offices of *Variety* and *Daily Variety*, a move that ruffled more than a few feathers; the sister publications were long known for harboring bitter rivalries and jealousies over story assignments and advertising accounts. Despite these changes, at least one *Variety* institution remained unchanged: columnist Army Archerd, who had written the "Just for Variety" column since the 1950s, and described as "a throwback to Walter Winchell, without the ego" and the paper's "most treasured asset" by Liz Smith.

Perhaps the most controversial shift came about with the 1989 hiring of Peter Bart as editor of the weekly *Variety*—he became editorial director of both *Variety* and *Daily Variety* in 1991. Because Bart had been a studio executive as well as a *New York Times* correspondent for two decades prior to joining *Variety*, there was much speculation as to whether or not he could maintain an objective critical stance toward the industry that had long provided his bread and butter (and caviar). Even the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* got in on the debate, asking in one headline if Peter Bart was simply "too solicitous of the industry he covers." The *Post* highlighted what became known as the "Patriot Games" incident as an especially egregious example of Bart's lack of journalistic boundaries. The incident occurred following *Variety's* acerbic review of the film *Patriot Games*, written by 18-year veteran critic, Joseph McBride. Not only did Bart dash off an apologetic letter to Martin Davis, chairman of Paramount studios, following the review, he also demoted McBride, who resigned soon afterward, to reviewing children's movies. Bart's supporters countered that *Variety* was, after all, a trade paper, with some eighty percent of its subscriber base and fifty percent of its ads coming from studios. It was no secret, they maintained, that the publication was mutually dependent upon, and accountable to, the entertainment industry. In 1991, Steve West was named executive editor of *Daily Variety*.

In the 1990s, the entertainment industry continued to share a cozy relationship with its chief trade publications, *Variety* and *Daily Variety*. Buoyed by increasing revenues and profits, *Variety* established several new ventures. In October 1997, it began publishing *Variety Junior*, a five-time-a-year paper covering the children's entertainment business; in November it reintroduced *On Production*, a paper about the making of film, television, and commercials; and in January 1998, it opened its *variety.com* website. In May of that year, *Daily Variety* started putting out a five-day-a-week New York edition

known as *Daily Variety Gotham*. The paper carried news about Broadway and the publishing and entertainment business while continuing its heavy coverage of the Hollywood film industry. Peter Bart said that *Variety* hoped to attract another 14,000 subscribers with the new edition. In 1997, the *New York Times* reported that *Daily Variety* had advertising revenues of \$27 million, up from \$12 million in 1992, with profits increasing from \$2 to \$20 million between it and *Variety* itself.

—Kristal Brent Zook

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## Vaudeville

Vaudeville, a collection of disparate acts (comedians, jugglers, and dancers) marketed mainly to a family audience, emerged in the 1880s and quickly became a national industry controlled by a few businessmen, with chains of theaters extending across the country. The term vaudeville originates either from the French Val de Vire (also Vau de Vire), the valley of the Vire River in Normandy, known as the location of ballads and comic songs, or from the French name for urban folk songs, "voix de ville" or "voice of the city." By the late nineteenth century, entertainment entrepreneurs adopted the exotic title of "vaudeville" to describe their refined variety performances. Whereas variety shows had a working class, masculine and somewhat illicit reputation in the nineteenth century, early vaudeville innovators eliminated blue material from performances, remodeled their theaters, and encouraged polite behavior in their auditoriums to attract middle-class women and their children in particular. This pioneering process of expansion and uplift laid the foundation for the establishment of a national audience for mass-produced American culture.

It is difficult to define the content of vaudeville entertainment because it was so eclectic. The average vaudeville bill, which usually included between nine and twelve acts, offered something for everyone. Indeed, vaudeville primarily provided an institutional setting for attractions from other show business and sports venues of the day. Circus acrobats, burlesque dancers, actors from the legitimate dramatic stage, opera singers, stars from musical comedies, baseball

players and famous boxers all made regular appearances on vaudeville bills. Vaudeville bills also featured motion pictures as standard acts around the turn of the century, providing one of the key sites for the exhibition of early films.

Despite the diversity and cultural borrowing at the heart of vaudeville, this industry had its own aesthetic, standard acts, and stars. It featured a rapid pace, quick changes, and emotional and physical intensity; the personality of individual performers was paramount. Vaudeville demanded affective immediacy (performers tried to draw an outward response from the audience very quickly), as opposed to the more reserved, intellectual response advocated in the legitimate theater. On the vaudeville stage, the elevation of spectacle over narrative and the direct performer/audience relationship contrasted with legitimate drama's emphasis on extended plot and character development and the indirect (or largely unacknowledged) relationship between performers and the audience. And players retained creative authority in vaudeville acts, often writing their own routines, initiating innovations in the acts, and maintaining their own sets, while directors were gaining power over productions in the legitimate theater.

Standard acts included the male/female comedy team, in which the woman usually played the straight role and the man delivered the punch lines. One such pair, Thomas J. Ryan and his partner (and wife) Mary Richfield, starred in a series of sketches about the foibles of Irish immigrant Mike Haggerty and his daughter Mag. Many women, such as Nora Bayes and Elsie Janis, rose to stardom in vaudeville as singing comediennes. Perhaps the most famous singing comedienne was Eva Tanguay. Famous for her chunky physique, her frizzy, unkempt hair and her two left feet, she earned huge salaries for her sensual, frenetic, and often insolent performances. Her hit songs included "I Don't Care" and "I Want Someone to Go Wild with Me." W. C. Fields and Nat Wills were among the many tramp comedians who became headliners in vaudeville and Julian Eltinge, a man who excelled in his portrayal of glamorous women, led the field of female impersonators in vaudeville.

Between approximately 1880 and 1905 most vaudeville bills included at least one and as many as three acts of rough ethnic comedy. Joe Weber and Lew Fields, well-known German (also called Dutch) comedians, spoke with thick accents and fought each other vigorously on stage, while Julian Rose succeeded in vaudeville with his comic monologues about a Jewish immigrant's mishaps. Kate Elinore joined the male-dominated ranks of slapstick ethnic comedy with her portrayal of uncouth Irish immigrant women. Along with being a showcase for ethnic stereotypes, vaudeville also was the main outlet for blackface comedy following the decline of the minstrel show. But it was not only white performers who donned the black mask; black comedians like the well-known Bert Williams also blacked up to fit the caricature of a "shiftless ducky."

Vaudeville's styles and standards were embedded in the social and political changes of the era. Bold women like Eva Tanguay reflected (and energized) women's increasing rejection of Victorian codes of conduct around the turn of the century. Women on stage, who sometimes championed divorce and women's suffrage, and women who flocked to the exciting environment of vaudeville theaters participated in the expansion of public roles for women. Ethnic themes and caricatures in comedy sketches provided a crude code of identification in cities that were becoming more diverse as immigration increased in late nineteenth century. Vaudeville's ethnic comedy addressed anxieties about immigration, including the xenophobia of native-born Americans as well as tensions surrounding



An exterior view of the Automatic Vaudeville and Crystal Hall Theater on Broadway in New York City.

upward mobility and assimilation within immigrant families. Although many vaudeville performances were titillating and impertinent, the emphasis on propriety and respectability in the major vaudeville circuits was, according to Robert Allen, “another chapter in the history of the consolidation of the American bourgeoisie.” Administrators such as B. F. Keith emphasized the opulence of their theaters, their well-mannered patrons, and the clean, even educational acts on stage: their mixed audience seemed to be led by the middle classes.

Vaudeville entrepreneurs drew most of the raw material for their entertainment from nineteenth century popular theater, namely the heterogeneous offerings in the minstrel show, concert saloon, the variety theater, and the dime museum. In fact, vaudeville theater managers often remodeled concert saloons and dime museums into new vaudeville establishments. Concert saloons and variety theaters (terms often used interchangeably) combined bars with cheap (or free) amusements in connected rooms or auditoriums. These largely disreputable institutions were smoky, noisy and crowded; patrons were likely to be drunk; and waitresses, jostling among the men, were often willing to sell sex along with liquor. After running one of the few respectable concert saloons on the Bowery (a street in New York City well-known for its tawdry amusements), Tony Pastor opened a “variety” theater. He eliminated the smoking, drinking and lewd

performances that had previously characterized variety entertainment within the setting of the concert saloon. Pastor’s variety theater, one of the most successful and famous establishments of its kind between 1880 and 1890, was a pivotal establishment in the early history of vaudeville because other entrepreneurs copied Pastor’s reform efforts to popularize variety as “vaudeville.”

Benjamin Franklin Keith, the most powerful vaudeville innovator, adopted Pastor’s philosophy in his efforts to make dime museums in Boston into respectable vaudeville establishments. Whereas Pastor operated only one theater, Keith eventually mass produced vaudeville for a nation. Born on January 6, 1846, Benjamin Franklin Keith began his career in popular entertainment as a circus performer and promoter in the 1870s and then opened a dime museum in Boston in 1883. Many dime museums, a combination of pseudo-scientific displays and stage entertainment, were housed in storefronts in inexpensive urban entertainment areas and attracted working-class and lower-middle class audiences. Keith, with his colleague Edward F. Albee (also previously a circus performer) worked to remove the working-class reputation of the dime museum. At the museum they displayed circus “freaks” for an admission charge of ten cents, and they soon opened a second-floor theater where they presented a series of singers and animal acts—their first vaudeville bill. He touted his clean variety and dramatic stage productions, such as a burlesque of Gilbert and

Sullivan's *HMS Pinafore*, to draw more middle-class patrons to his theaters. After combining light opera with variety acts in the late 1880s and early 1890s, Keith eventually offered exclusively vaudeville after 1894.

Vaudeville theaters, depending on whether they were classified as "big time" or "small time," served different clientele. With expensive interior designs and stars who demanded high salaries, big time theaters had higher production costs and, consequently, more expensive admission prices than small-time vaudeville did. Big-time theaters were also more attractive to performers because these theaters offered two shows a day and maintained one bill for a full week. Small-time theaters, on the other hand, demanded a more grueling schedule from performers who had to offer three to six shows a day and only stayed in town for three or four days, as small-time theaters maintained a single bill for only half a week. For performers, according to Robert Snyder, "small-time was vaudeville's version of the baseball's minor leagues." Small-time theaters catered primarily to working-class or immigrant audiences, drawing particularly from the local neighborhoods, rather than attracting middle-class shoppers and suburbanites who would frequently arrive at big-time theaters via trolleys and subway lines. One of the leaders of small-time vaudeville was Marcus Loew, who began to offer a combination of films and live performances in run-down theaters in 1905. Over the next decade he improved his existing theaters and acquired new ones, establishing a circuit of 112 theaters in the United States and Canada by 1918.

Whereas before 1900 vaudeville theaters were owned independently or were part of small chains, after 1907 the control of vaudeville rested in the hands of a few vaudeville magnates, including B. F. Keith. In 1923 there were 34 big-time vaudeville theaters on the Keith Circuit, 23 owned by Keith and eleven others leased by Keith. F. F. Proctor and Sylvester Poli each controlled chains of theaters in the East, and Percy G. Williams and Martin Beck, the head of the Orpheum circuit, had extensive vaudeville interests in the West. Another vaudeville organization, the Theater Owners' Booking Association (TOBA), catered to black audiences in the South and employed black performers, including the great blues queens Ma Rainey and Bessie Smith.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, big-time vaudeville in the United States was consolidated under the guidance of Keith largely because of his extensive control of booking arrangements. In 1906 Keith established a central booking office, the United Booking Office (UBO), to match performers and theaters more efficiently. Performers and theater managers subsequently worked through the UBO to arrange bookings and routes. The UBO had tremendous leverage over performers because it was the sole entryway to the most prestigious circuit in the country: if performers rejected a UBO salary, failed to appear for a UBO date, or played for UBO competition, they could be blacklisted from performing on the Keith circuit in the future. When *Equity*, a trade publication for actors, surveyed the history of vaudeville in 1923, it emphasized the power of central booking agencies, including the UBO (the most prominent booking firm): "It is in the booking office that vaudeville is run, actors are made or broken, theaters nourished or starved. It is the concentration of power in the hands of small groups of men who control the booking offices which has made possible the trustification of vaudeville."

Vaudeville performers tried to challenge the centralized authority of vaudeville through the establishment of the White Rats in 1900. Initially a fraternal order and later a labor union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the White Rats staged two major

strikes, the first in 1901 and the last in 1917. The White Rats never won any lasting concessions from vaudeville theater owners and managers and the union was defunct by the early 1920s.

The leaders of vaudeville organized theaters into national chains, developed centralized bureaucracies for arranging national tours and monitoring the success of acts across the country, and increasingly focused on formulas for popular bills that would please audiences beyond a single city or neighborhood. In these ways, vaudeville was an integral part of the growth of mass culture around the turn of the century. After approximately 1880 a mass culture took shape in which national bureaucracies replaced local leisure entrepreneurs, mass markets superseded local markets, and new mass media (namely magazines, motion pictures and radio) targeted large, diverse audiences.

Vaudeville began to decline in the late 1920s, falling victim to cultural developments, like the movies, that it had initially helped promote. There were a few reports of declining ticket sales (mainly outside of New York City) and lackluster shows in 1922 and 1923 but vaudeville's troubles multiplied rapidly after 1926. Around this time, many vaudeville theaters announced that they would begin to advertise motion pictures as the main attractions, not the live acts on their bills; by 1926 there were only fifteen big time theaters offering straight vaudeville in the United States. The intensification of vaudeville's decline in the late 1920s coincides with the introduction of sound to motion pictures. Beginning with *The Jazz Singer* in 1927, the innovation of sound proved to be a financial success for the film industry.

In 1928 Joseph P. Kennedy, head of the political dynasty, bought a large share of stock in the Keith-Orpheum circuit, the largest organization of big-time theaters in the country. Kennedy planned to use the chain of theaters as outlets for the films he booked through his Film Booking Office (FBO) which he administered in cooperation with Radio Corporation of America (RCA). Two years later Kennedy merged Keith-Orpheum interests with RCA and FBO and formed Radio-Keith-Orpheum (RKO). Keith-Orpheum thus provided the theaters for the films that were made and distributed by RCA and FBO. The bureaucratic vaudeville circuits had worked to standardize live acts and subsume local groups into a national audience but vaudeville did not have the technology necessary to develop a mass-production enterprise fully. As Robert Snyder concludes in *The Voice of the City*, "A major force in the American media had risen out of the ashes of vaudeville."

Vaudeville was also facing greater competition from full length revues, such as the Ziegfeld Follies. While vaudeville bills often included spectacular revues as a single act on the bill, full-length revues increased in popularity after 1915, employing vaudevillians and stealing many of vaudeville's middle-class customers along the way. Between 1907 and 1931, for example, there were twenty-one editions of the Follies. Such productions, actually reviewed as vaudeville shows through the early twentieth century, used thin narratives (like a trip through New York City) to give players the opportunity to do a comic bit or song and dance routine, borrowing the chain of intense performances from the structure of a vaudeville bill.

Just as the revue borrowed vaudeville performers and expanded on spectacles that had been popular as part of a vaudeville bill, the motion picture industry also incorporated elements of the vaudeville aesthetic. Vaudeville performers such as Eddie Cantor, the Marx Brothers, Bert Wheeler, Robert Woolsey and Winnie Lightner took leading roles in film comedies of the 1920s and early 1930s. They brought some of vaudeville's vigor, nonsense, and rebelliousness with them to the movies. Motion pictures, therefore, drew on the



traditional acts of vaudeville and, with the aid of technology, perfected vaudeville's early efforts at mass marketing commercial leisure. Vaudeville had helped create a world that made it obsolete.

Vaudeville helped recast the social and cultural landscape of the United States at the turn of the century. From a scattered array of commercial amusements, vaudeville helped build a national system of entertainment. From a realm of raunchy, male-dominated popular entertainment, vaudeville crafted a respectable culture that catered to the female consumer. From a fragmented theatrical world, this entertainment industry forged a mass audience, a heterogeneous crowd of white men and women of different classes and ethnic groups. Vaudeville was thus a key institution in the transition from a marginalized sphere of popular entertainment, largely associated with vice and masculinity, to a consolidated network of commercial leisure, in which the female consumer was not only welcomed but pampered.

—M. Alison Kibler

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## Vaughan, Sarah (1924-1990)

Sarah Vaughan is one of a handful of legendary jazz singers who brought the same level of creativity and musicianship to the vocal line that her colleagues brought to sax, bass, and drums. Vaughan was one of the first singers to be associated with the progressive sounds of bebop in its earliest incarnation. "It's Magic," "Make Yourself Comfortable," "Broken-Hearted Melody," "Misty," and "Send in the Clowns" are among her best-known songs.



Sarah Vaughan

Vaughan was born in Newark, New Jersey in 1924. Both of her parents were musical. Her father played guitar, and her mother sang in the choir of their Baptist church. Vaughan was a serious student of piano as a young girl, and she often served as organist for the church. She maintained these skills throughout her career, along with her love for sacred music. But she also took an early interest in that "sinful" music called jazz. As a teenager, she would sneak out with a girlfriend into the burgeoning music scene in Newark and New York City. After watching her friend take a prize as runner-up in the talent contest at Harlem's Apollo Theater, Vaughan decided to give the contest a try. Her rendition of "Body and Soul" took first place and launched her musical career.

Soon thereafter, on the recommendation of singer Billy Eckstine, one of her earliest admirers and a lifelong friend, she took her first professional singing job with the Earl Hines big band in 1943 and went on to perform and record with the major innovators of the day, including Charlie "Bird" Parker and Dizzy Gillespie. During her early days in the music business, Vaughan was known for her shyness and lack of physical glamour. With her very dark skin, her unspectacular figure, and her pronounced overbite, she lacked the beauty-queen allure of Lena Horne, but she quickly earned the respect of her musical colleagues. It was clear from the start that her talent and

inventiveness would make it possible for them to do their best work. If any one jazz singer personified the capacity of the human voice to behave like a horn, Vaughan was it. Carl Schroeder, one of Vaughan's pianists in the sixties and seventies, said to Gourse, "She could walk the line between the melody and improvisation exactly the way a great saxophone player could."

Vaughan was grateful for the camaraderie of the boys in the band. Their good times together softened some of the difficulties of life on the road for black musicians in an era where racial segregation and bias remained the norm. She was less fortunate in matters of romance. She was often drawn to flashy, aggressive men who ultimately "did her wrong," both personally and professionally. Showing no interest in the business side of her career, she would always tell her associates, "I sing. I just sing." She liked to have a manager with her on the road to take care of all the incidentals of bookings and hiring of personnel, and, to her way of thinking, no better person could do the job than the one who shared her bed. On several occasions, her lack of interest in practical matters lost her a great deal of money when the romance had also gone.

Vaughan maintained an active career on the road and in clubs like New York's famous Café Society from the 1940s through the 1960s. During these years, she recorded many of her landmark albums, often using potentially commercial pop songs to offset the commercial riskiness of straight-ahead jazz. The album *Sarah Vaughan and Count Basie* (Roulette, 1960) was named one of the 101 best jazz albums by critic Len Lyons. Like many jazz musicians, she suffered through rock's encroachment on the commercial music scene but kept a loyal cadre of fans. In her later years, her venues moved from the club to the concert stage, where she performed as guest soloist with several major symphony orchestras, developing an artistic relationship with conductor Michael Tilson Thomas of which she was particularly proud.

According to jazz historian Martin Williams, "Sarah Vaughan has an exceptional range (roughly of soprano through baritone) . . . a variety of vocal textures, and superb and highly personal vocal control. Her ear and sense of pitch are just about perfect, and there are no 'difficult' intervals for Sarah Vaughan." The same abilities that many have found praiseworthy, however, could be problematic to others. Vaughan was frequently taken to task by critics for allowing her facility for vocal pyrotechnics to obscure the lyrics of the great American popular standards in her repertoire. This criticism may have been exacerbated by the nature of the competition. Sarah Vaughan carried on most of her musical career in the shadow of Ella Fitzgerald, whose supreme gift among many was a precise and natural diction that made her the ideal singer for the sophisticated and witty lyrics of Ira Gershwin, Cole Porter, and Larry Hart, among others. But where Ella offered an almost childlike clarity, Sarah offered dramatic highlights and greater emotional depth.

Vaughan often joked with friends that she was born in "Excess" (as opposed to "Essex") County, New Jersey. She was in fact prone to excess in many areas of her life: she smoked two packs of cigarettes a day (to the astonishment of fellow singers), loved a good cognac, and dabbled in cocaine. Nevertheless, she kept up a rigorous schedule of performances and recording dates well into her sixties, when she was diagnosed with an advanced stage of lung cancer and died a few months later. Leontyne Price sent a message of sympathy to the First Mount Zion Baptist Church in Newark, New Jersey, where the funeral

was held. Rosemary Clooney and Joni Mitchell were among those who attended a memorial service at Forest Lawn on the West Coast. Carmen McRae released the album *A Tribute to Sarah* in 1991.

—Sue Russell

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## Vaughan, Stevie Ray (1954-1990)

The most influential guitarist of his generation, Stevie Ray Vaughan's power and soul brought blues into mainstream rock and helped spark the blues revival of the 1980s. He combined the power of Albert King with the flamboyance of Jimi Hendrix to create a style easily accessible to a generation of young fans and copycat guitar players.

Vaughan was born in Dallas, Texas, into a family that included brother Jimmie, three and a half years his senior. Jimmie, who would later gain fame as the founder and guitarist of the Fabulous Thunderbirds, was Stevie Ray's earliest influence through his record collection. The brothers soaked up Albert, B. B., and Freddie King; Kenny Burrell; Albert Collins; Lonnie Mack; and Jimmy Reed. By the age of eight, Stevie Ray was playing hand-me-down guitars from his brother.

As a teenager, Vaughan fell under the spell of Jimi Hendrix. Vaughan would later take his 1960s psychedelic twist on blues and reinterpret it for the youth of the 1980s. Vaughan's cover of the Hendrix song "Voodoo Chile (Slight Return)" became a high point of his live shows.

After playing in several Dallas bands, Vaughan dropped out of school and moved to Austin in 1972, where a large blues scene was developing. Vaughan continued to play in various bands until forming his own group, Double Trouble, named for an Otis Rush song, in 1979. The original lineup included singer Lou Ann Barton, but as Vaughan gained confidence, the group was pared down to a power trio including Tommy Shannon on bass and Chris Layton on drums. Double Trouble quickly rose to the top of the Austin music scene.

Vaughan's reputation spread to R & B producer Jerry Wexler, who viewed a performance in 1982. Wexler, considerably impressed, used his pull to get Vaughan booked at the Montreux Jazz Festival in Switzerland, a feat almost unheard of for an unsigned artist. One member of the Montreux audience was British rocker David Bowie, who asked Vaughan to play on his *Let's Dance* album and join his 1983 world tour. Vaughan added some stunning Albert King-tinged licks to the album, but pulled out of the tour due to money and other disputes. Vaughan returned to Austin and resumed playing the club circuit.



**Stevie Ray Vaughan**

Another audience member at Montreux was Jackson Browne, who offered the use of his studio for the band to record a demo tape. The tape eventually found its way to John Hammond, Sr., the legendary talent scout and producer who had discovered Bob Dylan, Bruce Springsteen, Aretha Franklin, and Billie Holiday.

“He brought back a style that had died, and he brought it back at exactly the right time,” Hammond said in *Stevie Ray Vaughan: Caught in the Crossfire*. “The young ears hadn’t heard anything with this kind of sound.”

Hammond produced the band’s first album, *Texas Flood*, released by Epic Records in 1983. Although only peaking at No. 38 on the *Billboard* album charts, the record went gold with over 500,000 copies sold. Vaughan’s 1984 follow up, *Couldn’t Stand the Weather*, sold over one million copies and spent 38 weeks on the *Billboard* top 200 album chart. Organist Reese Wynans joined Double Trouble for the 1985 release *Soul to Soul*.

Vaughan had always boosted his performances by using cocaine and alcohol, but his newfound success exacerbated the problem. “Whereas his cocaine habit had always previously been kept in check by his bank account, that constraint vanished with sold-out concerts,” Joe Nick Patoski and Bill Crawford said in their biography *Stevie Ray Vaughan: Caught in the Crossfire*. “He was rock royalty, a gentleman of privilege, who could have anything he wanted, before, during

and after a show, as long as he gave the customers their money’s worth.” In 1986, all-night mixing sessions for the *Live Alive* double live album coupled with constant touring pushed Vaughan’s drug abuse over the edge. After collapsing on stage during a London concert in October, it seemed Vaughan was headed for an early death like his idol, Jimi Hendrix.

Vaughan was determined to survive his addictions, entering a rehabilitation clinic and joining Alcoholics Anonymous. After four months of treatment, Vaughan emerged a new man. Double Trouble’s 1989 album *In Step* was the band’s most focused and critically acclaimed release, selling over one million copies and winning a Grammy Award for Best Contemporary Blues Album. Days after winning the award, Vaughan appeared on MTV’s *Unplugged* program, showcasing his acoustic guitar mastery.

Vaughan’s live performances were infused with a new vigor, and he was at the top of his game. His next project was an album with his older brother, Jimmie, called *Family Style*, recorded during the summer of 1990. The brothers planned to tour together in support of the album. Before the release of *Family Style*, Vaughan began a tour with Eric Clapton and Robert Cray. Buddy Guy, Bonnie Raitt, Jeff Healey, and brother Jimmie joined in for an appearance at Alpine Valley Music Theater in East Troy, Wisconsin, on August 25 and 26. The concert on the 26th concluded with Stevie Ray, Jimmie, Clapton,

and Guy dazzling the crowd of 35,000 with “Sweet Home Chicago.” Afterwards, a helicopter carrying Vaughan and three members of Clapton’s entourage to Chicago crashed into a fog-shrouded hillside near the theater. All aboard were killed. The accident was blamed on pilot error.

*Family Style* was released on September 25 and broke the top ten on *Billboard*’s album chart. The album was a departure for Vaughan, who showed more restraint than on his solo efforts. Vaughan’s career appeared to be moving into a more mature phase, demonstrated in songs like “Tick Tock,” which showcased Vaughan’s vocals rather than his guitar. *Family Style* won a Grammy Award for Best Contemporary Blues Album, and the instrumental “D/FW” won for Best Rock Instrumental.

Vaughan’s death sparked interest in his earlier albums as well, and each quickly shot over one million in sales. *The Sky is Crying*, an album of previously unreleased out-takes and masters, was released in 1991 and won two more Grammy Awards. Several live recordings of varying quality were released in later years, proving Vaughan’s enduring legacy.

—Jon Klinkowitz

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## Velez, Lupe (1908-1944)

Lupe Velez was “the Mexican Spitfire” in a series of successful films in the late 1930s and early 1940s with RKO Studios. Despite her screen charisma and gift for comedy, Velez is best remembered for her tumultuous love life. She had turbulent and often violent relationships with actor Gary Cooper and the movies’ most famous Tarzan, Johnny Weissmuller, to whom she was married for five years. A former nightclub performer, her first appearance in a full-length film was opposite Douglas Fairbanks, Sr. in *The Gaucho* (1927). By the 1940s moviegoers’ tastes had begun to change and Velez’s star began to fade. She became pregnant by bit player Harald Raymond who would not marry her. A devout Catholic, Velez would not have an abortion and Hollywood of that era would not tolerate an unwed mother. She took what she felt was the only way out and committed suicide in 1944.

—Jill A. Gregg

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## Velveeta Cheese

Introduced by Kraft Foods in 1928, this cheese food product is a blend of Colby and cheddar cheeses with emulsifiers and salt. The ingredients are heated until liquefied, squirted into aluminum foil packaging, and then allowed to cool into half-pound, one-pound, or two-pound bricks. Velveeta is part of a uniquely American group of highly processed foods, including such favorites as Spam and Jell-O, that have become the building blocks for a remarkably inexpensive though nutritionally dubious popular cuisine. Revered for its plastic-like meltability, it is a favored topping for macaroni, omelettes, and grilled sandwiches, though some prefer to eat it sliced. The single most popular brand of processed cheese, Velveeta controls some 20 percent of the \$300 billion United States processed-cheese market (as well as another three percent with its “Lite” brand). Some of the most requested Velveeta recipes developed by Kraft include those for Cheese Fudge and Cheesy Broccoli Soup. In the 1980s, several pre-flavored Velveetas were introduced, including Mexican Salsa and Italian.

—David Marc

## The Velvet Underground

In an oft-repeated declaration, Roxy Music co-founder Brian Eno once said that the Velvet Underground only sold a few records, but everyone who bought their albums started their own band. While Eno’s claim most certainly is hyperbole, the avant-garde guitar stylings the Velvet Underground developed during their period of activity in the second half of the 1960s was extremely influential. Their music shaped the sound and attitude of the New York Dolls, the Modern Lovers, REM, Suicide, Television, David Bowie, Patti Smith, Sonic Youth, Galaxie 500, Yo La Tengo, and countless other post-punk and indie-rock bands. Each of Velvet Underground’s periods—their innovative noise, beautifully sparse neo-folk, and straightforward rock phases—laid the blueprint for a number of entire sub-genres of rock ’n’ roll. And while the Velvet Underground did not sell many records by most commercial standards (for instance, their third album had only sold 50,000 copies over 20 years after it was released), their influence has been widespread enough to secure their entry in the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame.

In the early-to-mid 1960s, rhythm guitarist Lou Reed met lead guitarist Sterling Morrison and bassist/violist John Cale, and the three of them—along with original percussionist Angus MacLise—began playing at Lower Manhattan poetry readings and happenings under the various names of the Warlocks, Falling Spikes, and the Primitives. As the Primitives, the group recorded a number of commercial dance-oriented singles for Pickwick Records, the company for which Reed was a staff songwriter. When Lou Reed met John Cale, Cale was playing in an avant-garde group founded by famed minimalist La Monte Young, and the two became intrigued by the idea of bringing Cale’s avant-garde concepts to a rock ’n’ roll format. In 1965, MacLise left to be replaced by Maureen Tucker, who became known for her peculiar standup style of primitive drumming.

The Velvet Underground soon began playing a regular gig at Greenwich Village’s Cafe Bizarre—an engagement that abruptly ended when they played their screeching “Black Angel’s Death Song” immediately after being told by the management never to play



**The Velvet Underground:** (from left) Sterling Morrison, Maureen Tucker, Lou Reed, and John Cale.

it again. Before the group was fired, they impressed Pop art svengali Andy Warhol, who invited them to play at a series of his film screenings called “Cinematique Uptight,” and later in a multimedia spectacle called “The Exploding Plastic Inevitable.” During this time, Warhol arranged for European chauntresse/aspiring movie star Nico to sing with the Velvet Underground for the Exploding Plastic Inevitable, something that caused a certain amount of resentment among members of the band.

In 1966, Andy Warhol took them into the studio to have them recorded—a series of sessions that resulted in two singles and the entirety of their first album, *The Velvet Underground and Nico*, which sported an Andy Warhol-designed peelable banana album cover. The album featured three songs sung by Nico, as well as Reed’s infamous drug song, “Heroin.” The Teutonic, monotone voice of Nico, and Reed’s equally monotone voice, combined with lyrics about sadomasochism, hard drugs, and death made this album extremely uncommercial, particularly during a time dominated by the positive vibes of hippy flower-power.

Rather than going a more commercial route, the group instead followed their muse (and the path that was driven by taking an extreme amount of amphetamines) by making *White Light/White Heat*, their second album. This uncompromisingly noisy album whose lyrics dealt with prostitutes, sailors, and other sundry topics

(and which culminated in a 17 minute noise-jam called “Sister Ray”) was too dissonant to be heavy metal and too heavy to be psychedelic.

After a long-time power struggle with Reed, Cale quit the group and was replaced by Doug Yule, who only filled Cale’s bass duties—the group never had another violist. After recording what would be called their great “lost” album, Reed radically changed the group’s direction with their self-titled third album, which featured almost uniformly pretty, quiet songs like “Pale Blue Eyes” and “Candy Says.” Their last studio album, *Loaded*, contained the oft-covered classics “Rock and Roll” and “Sweet Jane,” and was the first to be recorded for Atlantic Records (after a commercially unsuccessful three-album stint at Verve Records). *Loaded* was their most conventional rock-oriented album, which was partially caused by Maureen Tucker’s absence from most of the recording sessions due to pregnancy (Doug Yule’s little brother, Billy Yule, filled in on drums). Reed quit the group before the album was mixed, and Reed claims that two songs—“Sweet Jane” and “New Age”—were significantly changed by Doug Yule and the rest of the group. (Reed’s original vision was later restored on the 1995 Velvet Underground box set, *Peel Slowly and See*).

The group continued to tour without Reed, with Morrison and Tucker eventually quitting, before Doug Yule put the name to rest in 1973 after releasing what amounted to a Yule solo album, *Squeeze*.

Morrison went on to teach English at the University of Texas and drive a tugboat in his spare time. Tucker raised a family and released a number of critically praised solo albums. Cale also released numerous solo albums and produced important albums by Jonathan Richman's Modern Lovers, Patti Smith, the Stooges, Squeeze, and Nico (the Cale-produced Nico solo albums, *Desert Shore* and *Marble Index*, are considered classics). While all the members of the Velvet Underground have maintained a substantial cult following, it is Reed who has occasionally had the highest profile, as well as the only hit, with 1972's "Walk on the Wild Side." (Reed even made the mainstream, playing at the White House in front of President Clinton and a number of foreign dignitaries in 1998). In 1993, the group finally patched up their differences to do a brief tour of Europe in 1993 (sans Nico, who died in a bike accident in 1989), which resulted in the live recording *Live MCMXCIII*. But their egos soon clashed and they went their separate ways again; the group dissolved before they recorded a planned studio album. Sterling Morrison died in 1995, putting an end to speculation that the group might again record under the Velvet Underground moniker.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## Ventura, Jesse (1951—)

With his surprise election as Governor of Minnesota in 1998, former professional wrestler Jesse "The Body" Ventura (whose real name is James Janos) captured the attention of the nation. Representing the Reform Party, Ventura parlayed his gift for gab, his celebrity status, and public disgust with "politics as normal" to become an instant icon. Within days of his election, Ventura was the talk of the nation—appearing on countless talk shows (where he announced that he should now be dubbed "The Mind"), becoming the subject of both serious news analyses and numerous jokes, and morphing into a *Doonesbury* character. The A&E cable channel quickly put together an episode of *Biography*, two networks started work on TV movies, and Ventura found time to pen a political autobiography called *Ain't Got Time to Bleed*.

Ventura's diverse resume includes time as a Navy Seal, TV broadcaster, radio talk show host, and a very successful stint in professional wrestling. Ventura was named the "The Body" due to his impressive physique, but when a blood clot forced his early retirement from the ring, it was his ability behind the microphone as a color commentator, coupled with a penchant for boas and outrageous costumes, which earned him an impressive fan base and won notice by Hollywood producers. Ventura acted respectably in roles in *Predator* (1987), *The Running Man* (1987), and *Batman & Robin*



Jesse "The Body" Ventura

(1997). As typifies late twentieth century American popular culture, the road to politics was only a step away.

—Patrick Jones

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## Versace, Gianni (1946-1997)

As a boy, Versace observed his mother's dressmaking studio in Reggio Calabria, Italy; as a man, Versace moved to Milan to design for other companies from 1972 to 1977 and established his own company in 1977. A consummate dressmaker, Versace rocked the world of fashion by other principles: featuring hot models; packing

runway shows with celebrities; dressing famous men and women from Elton John to Princess Diana to model Elizabeth Hurley; and creating body-conscious clothing for the most self-confident clients. His body-exposing black safety-pin dress worn by Hurley to a London movie premiere was the most photographed dress of 1994. Leather and metal-mesh dresses from his last collection in 1997 referred to Byzantine art, but clung to the body. In sensibility and life, Versace was flamboyant and larger-than-life. He realized fashion as media and created Cinderella fantasies for the 1980s and 1990s. He was murdered on the steps of his Miami mansion in July 1997.

—Richard Martin

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## Vertigo

Released in 1958, *Vertigo* is often singled out as Alfred Hitchcock's most important film. The film combined a complex storyline with equally complex cinematography. *Vertigo* debuted Hitchcock's now famous combination of forward zoom and reverse tracking. His unique zoom and tracking method along with other



James Stewart and Kim Novak in a scene from the film *Vertigo*.

creative and technical complexities of the film exerted a tremendous influence on an entire generation of filmmakers, especially the French New Wave. *Vertigo*'s presence is felt in films as diverse as *Jules et Jim* (1961), *High Anxiety* (1977), *Body Double* (1984), and *Twelve Monkeys* (1995). *Vertigo* was unavailable for decades because its rights, along with those of four other films, were left by Hitchcock as a legacy to his daughter. *Vertigo* and the other four films were re-released in 1984 to much popular and critical acclaim. Because the films are so popular as well as creatively and technically complex, Hitchcock's films complicate the distinction between high and low art.

*Vertigo* is a complex psychological thriller—it opens with San Francisco police detective Scottie Ferguson's letting a fellow officer fall to his death during a rooftop chase of a suspect. After the accident, Ferguson is hired by an old friend to investigate the friend's wife, Madeleine, who believes herself to be the reincarnation of a turn-of-the-century belle, Carlotta. Madeleine reenacts Carlotta's suicide by jumping off a mission bell tower while Scottie stands by helplessly, paralyzed by his vertigo. The remainder of the film details Scottie's nervous breakdown and his discovery of a woman named Judy who uncannily resembles Madeleine. Scottie recreates Madeleine in Judy, forcing Judy to adopt Madeleine's makeup, clothing, hairstyle, and speech. When Scottie realizes he has been the dupe of a complex murder plot he attempts to cure himself of his vertigo by revisiting the scene of Madeleine's death. Able to conquer his vertigo, Scottie is nevertheless unable to save Judy, who falls to her death.

The overwhelming critical and popular response to *Vertigo*'s re-release raises the question of why the film is such a vital text for film criticism and theory. The film itself has been interpreted in a variety of ways: as an allegorical tale of man's descent into the underworld in search of a lost love; as a psychological parable of guilt, obsession, and repression; and as an experiment in generic collage, drawing on the generic conventions of realism, fantasy, and the women's film. Together with *Rear Window*, *Vertigo* has often been discussed as a document of late 1950s culture, as a portrayal of the alienation and rootlessness of the 1950s, as well as of the constructions of 1950s femininity. It is these latter issues—the representation of women and the relationships among power, sexuality, and gender—which have garnered the most critical attention.

Hitchcock is frequently understood as a misogynist whose films entice audiences to participate in sadistic fantasies about women (such as Scottie's efforts to make over Judy into Madeleine, despite Judy's plea that he love her the way she is). Certainly Hitchcock's films are both fascinated by and horrified by women's (potential) power. Hitchcock's films can also be read, however, as exposures of the mechanisms of patriarchy—*Vertigo* can be read, for example, as a critique of the ways in which femininity in our culture is largely a masquerade and a male construct.

Hitchcock's films are central to film theory and feminist criticism because they are all about scopophilia—voyeurism, fetishism, and the interrelated questions of epistemology, identification, and spectatorship. One of the most important essays of feminist film criticism, Laura Mulvey's 1974 essay "Visual Pleasure and the Narrative Cinema," uses readings of Hitchcock's *Rear Window* and *Vertigo* to argue that classic Hollywood movies inevitably transform women into passive objects of male voyeurism and sadism. Mulvey's essay also claims that Hitchcock's female characters both represent and assuage male spectators' anxieties and desires, while female spectators are trapped into a masochistic identification with the female victims on screen. Later feminist film critics also turned to *Vertigo* as a central text. Tania Modleski, for example, uses *Vertigo* to

elaborate upon the notion of the female spectator. She argues that identification is a more complex mechanism than heretofore considered and suggests that the female spectator is implicated in a split position, identifying with both the passive female object and the active male subject. Hitchcock himself seems to suggest this position, when, in a pivotal scene in the movie, we see things from Judy's point of view as well as Scottie's. Indeed, it is *Vertigo's* multiple points of view, and hence of knowledge and of identification, that suggests that the movie's appeal lies in its very ambivalence toward women and their potential to upset the male spectator's position.

—Austin Booth

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## Viagra

Viagra, a little blue pill made by the pharmaceutical company Pfizer Inc., became the first oral medicine approved for male impotence by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration. Its approval in March 1998 set off a worldwide demand and sent Pfizer stock soaring. Hardly a day went by when newspapers, radio, and television did not have stories of the Viagra craze. The pill, which sold by prescription for about \$10 apiece retail, was taken by men with sexual problems about an hour before they expected to have sexual activity. Their performance during the sex act improved dramatically. The drug, chemically named sildenafil, had been used unsuccessfully as a medicine for heart problems. When some heart patients reported to doctors they were getting erections after taking the pill, it was developed to treat sexual impotence.

Clinical studies of about 4,000 men with erectile dysfunction showed that up to 72 percent reported they had successful intercourse after using Viagra, against 23 percent of men who took a placebo. Viagra works by improving the blood flow to the penis. More specifically, it inhibits the effects of an enzyme that acts to reverse erections after sex. Before Viagra came along, men with erectile problems had to forego sex, rely on mechanical devices such as a small pump to produce an erection, have surgical penile implants, or inject medicines directly into the penis.

Once the Viagra craze spread, so did reports of problems associated with taking the pill. Some men reported problems with their vision, seeing green or blue. There were stories of dizziness and headaches or upset stomachs. Men with heart problems who took nitroglycerin or nitrates were warned not to use Viagra because it could act to reduce blood pressure. By late 1998, the Food and Drug Administration issued warnings that Viagra could be hazardous to some men with heart ailments, and that using the pill could lead to

heart attacks or strokes. The drug watchdog agency said that although Viagra was still considered safe and effective, it posed potential problems for men with very high or very low blood pressure, so that patients should get careful examinations before taking the pill. The FDA also said that 130 reported deaths of men who had taken Viagra could not be attributed directly to the drug. The average age of those who died was 64 and many of the men who died had had serious health problems aggravated by sexual activity, which ended in heart attacks or strokes. "The people who died had underlying cardiovascular problems," Dr. Lisa Rarick, director of an FDA division, told reporters during late 1998. She added that men with heart problems should ask their doctors, "Is sex good for me?" Many of the men who died had impotence problems because of their medical conditions. By the time of the warning some six million prescriptions had been written for about three million men.

The underlying demand for Viagra could be linked to a major study, released in 1999 by the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, of the sexual habits of nearly 5,000 people, the largest such study since the report of biologist Alfred Kinsey some 50 years earlier. The new research revealed that sexual problems were widespread in the United States. On the basis of personal interviews with 1,749 women and 1,410 men, the research showed that about two out of five women and one out of three men had some forms of sexual dysfunction.

The clamor for Viagra in other countries spurred some swindlers to peddle pills made to look like Viagra. But cashing in on demands for a silver bullet to cure sex problems was not new. The search for a magic potion that could produce erections on demand has gone on for centuries, encouraging charlatans who sold bogus remedies to unwitting, desperate men. Among the miracle cures thus ballyhooed to have been miracle cures have been underwear electrified to stimulate the penis, rhinoceros horns pounded into powder, and tiger penises made into soups.

—Michael L. Posner

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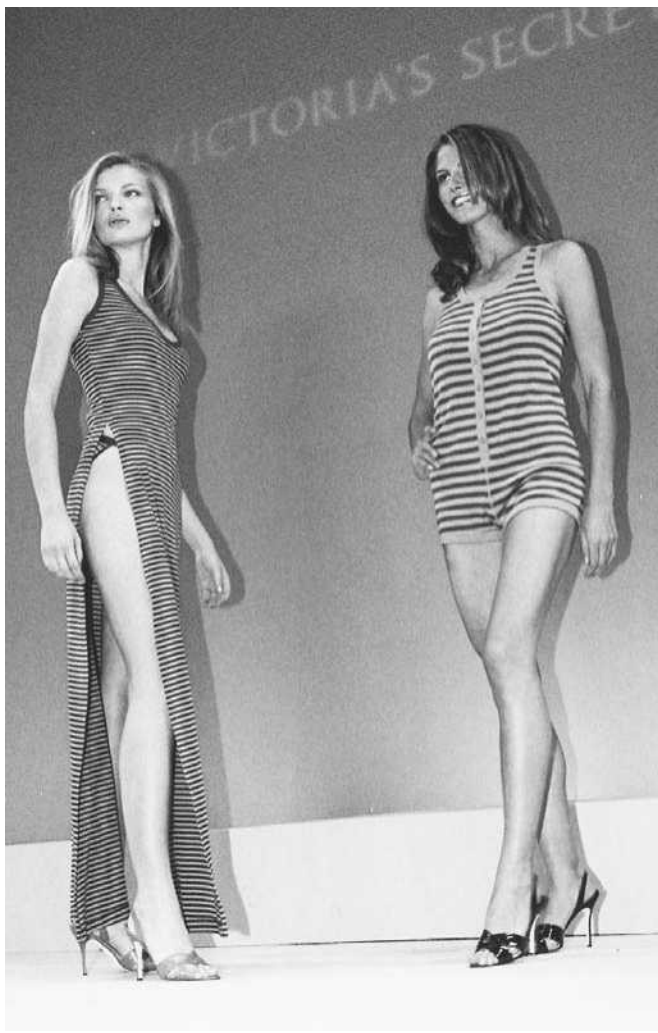
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## Victoria's Secret

Perhaps given a boost by the openness of the Sexual Revolution, the Victoria's Secret retail chain almost single-handedly redefined America's conception of lingerie beginning in the early 1980s. Despite the secrecy promised in the franchise's moniker, each of its stores replaced the modest, tucked-away, department-store displays of women's underwear with an openly luxurious atmosphere that recreated a nineteenth-century boudoir. At the same time, Victoria's Secret decidedly built its image with a fairly conservative, middle-class shopper in mind and avoided any connotations of sleaziness which lingerie might carry. While some critics have contested the sometimes reactionary portrait of femininity developed in the store's





Models display the latest fashions from Victoria's Secret, 1997.

designs and advertising campaigns, Victoria's Secret helped women of all shapes and sizes, if not tax brackets, feel that sensuality need not be limited to models and celebrities.

Victoria's Secret was launched through the personal vision of entrepreneur Roy Raymond, an ambitious graduate of Stanford University who found himself dissatisfied working in the lower rungs of large corporations. Raymond's brainchild came to him in the mid-1970s as the result of his own experiences of buying lingerie for his wife. A shy man by nature, Raymond found himself made uncomfortable by the probing glances of lingerie salespeople in department stores and moreover thought the wares of such stores to be either excessively frilly or blandly conservative. Believing that many men and women alike shared in his desire for a middle ground between these two poles, Raymond decided to embark on the risky venture of creating his own boutiques. In 1977, he borrowed a total of eighty thousand dollars—half of it from his parents—and opened the doors of the first Victoria's Secret in a shopping center in the southern outskirts of San Francisco. Decorated to resemble a popularized Victorian bedroom, the premiere outlet was furnished with opulent Oriental rugs and period vanities whose drawers housed fittingly plush bras and panties made by upscale designers such as Vanity Fair

and Warner's. Although subsequent stores were less customized than Raymond's prototype, this balance of seduction and "classy" charm continued to rule the sensibilities of Victoria's Secret.

In its first year of business, the San Francisco store had amassed sales of an impressive half a million dollars, allowing Raymond to expand Victoria's Secret into four new locations, in addition to a headquarters and warehouse. Raymond's creative vision was not equaled by financial mastery, however, and in 1982 he was forced to sell Victoria's Secret to the Columbus, Ohio-based conglomerate The Limited for the relatively slight sum of four million dollars. Although it was already a nationally known fashion enterprise, The Limited kept the personalized image of Victoria's Secret intact, albeit in a mass-produced, cost-efficient manner. Rapidly expanding into the terrain of America's malls throughout the 1980s, Victoria's Secret blossomed from a handful of stores to more than four hundred and solidified its exclusive image by appending its own label to all of its offerings as a brand name. In addition to volume growth, the company was able to vend a widened range of products with the aid of a popular mail catalog issued eight times annually. While corsets, teddies, and silk pajamas remained at the hub of the Victoria's Secret wheel, home shoppers could buy shoes, evening wear, and perfumes—such as Wild English Gardens and Heather's Embrace—all under a single banner promising both middle-class refinement and daring sexuality.

By the early 1990s, Victoria's Secret had become the largest American lingerie outfitters, easily surpassing both the even higher-priced Cacique chain and the racier Frederick's of Hollywood. However, despite the fact that the company had topped the billion dollar mark, its growth showed signs of stagnation. In 1993, Grace Nichols took over the executive helm from former president Howard Gross and immediately addressed allegations that the quality of Victoria's Secret's merchandise did not match its elevated price tags. In addition, Nichols placed added emphasis upon an older age group as the company's target concern. Nevertheless, while Nichols stressed that thirty- to forty-year-old women need not feel out of place in sexy underwear, the company's advertising campaigns continued to exclusively portray younger models with svelte, busty figures. Indeed, some critics saw the Victoria's Secret formula of femininity as a limitation to the majority of American women and argued that the company's image (highlighted in design series such as their English Lace line) implicitly promoted an overly bourgeois conception of "good taste." Whatever class and gender ramifications Victoria's Secret might have entailed, the company grew once again under Nichols's care throughout the 1990s, as millions of women—and men—continued to fill out their fantasies with the satin-lined aid of offerings such as the Angels bra series and, perhaps Victoria's Secret's single biggest contribution to the public imagination, the uplifting Miracle Bra.

—Shaun Frentner

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## Vidal, Gore (1925—)

Thanks to the broadcast media, which continually gives public platform to the curmudgeonly wit and iconoclastic political observations of Gore Vidal, he has become one of those rare authors who is as famous for what he says as for what he writes. Considered to be one of the most promising members of the generation of writers emerging from World War II (a group which included his arch-rival and eventual sparring partner, Norman Mailer), Vidal first made his mark with a fairly well received novel based on his army experiences, *Williwaw*, in 1946, then followed up with two more books, the second of which, *The City and the Pillar* (1948), stirred waves of controversy because of its frank treatment of homosexuality. “Not until that third book,” Vidal has recalled, “did I begin to get bored with playing safe.” Ever since, “playing safe” is a charge which has never been leveled against Vidal, by himself or by anyone else. With his literary career in a slump, he supported himself by writing television plays, finding in that infant medium great success which he soon was able to transpose to Broadway. This in turn led to screenwriting assignments, and in due time Vidal was able to return, with mixed success, to novel writing. His most notorious book was 1968’s story of transsexuality, *Myra Breckinridge*, a personal favorite of the author’s. While penning historical novels and essays, Vidal has also kept himself in the public eye through appearances on TV interviews and talk shows, and even an occasional acting stint on film. In his TV appearances, Vidal’s gadfly manner and contentious political views have entertained and, some would say, enlightened the public in a forum denied to most other scribblers. Vidal has even run for public office and, though never elected, was one of those unsuccessful candidates—Barry Goldwater, Vidal’s political opposite, was another—whose views have nonetheless had an influence upon the electorate.

The man who would later christen himself Gore Vidal was born Eugene Luther Vidal at West Point, New York, on October 3, 1925. A greater influence on his childhood than his parents, who soon divorced, was the boy’s blind grandfather, Thomas Pryor Gore, Oklahoma’s first senator. Young Vidal read to his grandfather the Congressional Record and constitutional history, a formative experience that instilled political ambitions in the lad. As a young man, Vidal decided to forgo Harvard in favor of the military, a decision he claims never to have regretted. The army at least provided fodder for Vidal’s first novel and also his most successful teleplay, the satirical *Visit to a Small Planet*, which concerns the misadventures of an alien from outer space who wants to start a war because, he says, “it’s the one thing you people down here do *really* well.” *Planet* made a successful transition from TV to stage, as did Vidal’s trenchant melodrama about rivalry between would-be presidential candidates at their party’s convention, *The Best Man*. The latter play also made for a fine film starring Henry Fonda, but Vidal was so displeased with the rewriting and the miscasting of Jerry Lewis in the film version of *Planet* that he has disowned the movie. (Subsequently, Vidal would be equally displeased with the film version of *Myra Breckinridge*; he would also sue to have his name removed from Bob Guccione’s infamous production of *Caligula*). Vidal was responsible for the screenplay of his friend Tennessee Williams’s play *Suddenly, Last Summer* and made some major, although uncredited, contributions to the script of *Ben-Hur*. (To the continued annoyance and denials of Charlton Heston, Vidal insists that he persuaded director William Wyler to insert a homo-erotic subtext into the film’s key relationship between Judah Ben-Hur and his boyhood friend, Messala.)

Vidal, who once criticized the United States as “the land of the dull and the home of the literal,” nevertheless always wanted to be its president. He campaigned for representative in 1960 and senator in 1982, losing both battles but nevertheless winning many converts to his somewhat extreme positions (such as his proposal to tax church income).

Although he dabbled with science fiction in one of his novels (*Messiah*, 1954), most of his latter-day books have been such historical novels as *Julian* (1964), *Burr* (1973), and *Lincoln* (1984). *The Smithsonian Institution* (1998) manages to combine both the science fictional and the historical.

There was a time in Vidal’s own history when his public spats with other literary figures, such as Truman Capote and William F. Buckley, Jr., led to much-publicized lawsuits. In the case of his feud with Norman Mailer, it even led to flung drinks and fisticuffs. (Covering the 1968 Democratic Convention for ABC-TV, the unlikely team of Vidal and Buckley ended up calling each other, respectively, “crypto-Nazi” and “queer.”) Vidal in his later years, however, can hardly be said to have mellowed. “There is no warm loveable person inside,” he proclaims, “beneath my cold exterior, once you break the ice, you find cold water.”

—Preston Neal Jones

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## Video Games

When the basic “electronic tennis” game, Pong, first appeared in American bars in 1972 it created a sensation that has only since been replicated by the 1990s Karaoke boom in Japan. In relative terms, of course, Pong was as fun and innovative in the 1970s as any video game now, but the basic principles of video gaming have always, in any case, remained the same—score the points, beat the enemy, come back for more. The term “video game” could only really be applied when Atari and Nintendo introduced game consoles into the home throughout the 1970s; the idea being that you would slot your Pong cartridges into the console and play the games through your television set—hence video rather than computer games. But the term has come to cover the main aspect of the medium, playing sight-and-sound games through any convenient screen.

In some sense, the arcade boom that began in 1978 took the group appeal out of video gaming. School children were still taking part in a mass fad, perhaps, but they were also cutting themselves off from others, with the distinction that while Pong required a human opponent, battling against pixellated aliens just pitched the player



A boy playing the arcade video game Q\*bert.

against the machine. Of course, after the release of George Lucas's blockbuster movie *Star Wars* in 1977, battling aliens became the rage in the first popular coin-operated machines, such as *Space Invaders*, *Asteroids*, and *Galaxians*. *Breakout* may have introduced a puzzle element and *Pac Man* offered a maze race, but video games have essentially always been based on the same principle: "your" pixels blasting, avoiding, or racing against "their" pixels. Technological developments, however, have made the experience of playing these games more visually and aurally realistic, to such an extent that you will not notice that you are only rearranging pixels.

With the introduction of *Donkey Kong* in 1981, there was an attempt to make a "story" as attractive as the "action." Hence the player now had a character to portray, in this case that of a boy rescuing a princess from an ape monster, as opposed to the previous standard of the player as "thing"—a tennis racquet, a spaceship, or a pac man. It is because of this sort of narrative appeal that Nintendo was able to dominate the console market throughout the 1980s. Their 8-bit Nintendo Entertainment System (NES), released in 1983, took away the market from the Atari 2600, even managing to compete with the personal computer boom—in fact, it is estimated that, by 1990, a third of American homes owned Nintendo consoles. Part of the success of Nintendo in the 1980s was not only their 8-bit monopoly but also the blanket marketing of their games. Again, part of the

"humanizing" factor was to bring in a character as appealing as Mickey Mouse or Ronald McDonald, hence the introduction of Mario, the cute Italian-American plumber who would go on to save the world in as many imaginative variations on the platform game formula as possible. First appearing in the *Mario Bros.* coin-op in 1983, the NES *Super Mario Bros.* became the "greatest video game" of its generation in 1984, only to be surpassed by *Super Mario 3* in 1988.

Following advances in video gaming is just a matter of tracing developments in the game consoles themselves (bearing in mind that, throughout the 1980s and 1990s, arcade machines and personal computers were also advancing the cause). When Sega introduced their 16-bit Mega Drive in 1989, Nintendo was caught off-guard in the "next generation" of console wars. Sega began the 1990s with the christening of a new hero, *Sonic the Hedgehog*, but Nintendo released their own 16-bit machine, the Super NES in 1990 and was able to win ground with the "greatest video game" of this next generation, *Super Mario World*. Such were the advances in technology, however, that the mid-1990s came to be characterized by the 32-bit wars, Nintendo seemingly missing out in 1994 when Sega introduced their Saturn and Sony entered the market with the Playstation. And it is the Playstation which came to dominate the market in America, Japan, and Europe, making games "trendy," fun, violent, and often intelligent enough to appeal to "children" of all ages, from three to 33.

For every quick-fire arcade variant, the Playstation also managed to follow the PC (Personal Computer) route into adventure gaming; and altogether combining both speed and strategy with "filmic" production values. Between 1994 and 1998, titles like *Doom* and *Wipeout 2097* became instant classics, and for the growing number of Playstation fans, the *Tomb Raider* and *Final Fantasy* series became ways of life. Although missing out on the 32-bit market, Nintendo headed the next "next generation" war with their Nintendo 64 in 1996. With 64-bits to play with, Nintendo's flagship title, *Super Mario 64*, took Mario out of the 2-dimensional platform world and into a whole new 3-dimensional environment. That games were becoming more like movies was demonstrated by one of the most successful film tie-ins ever, the intelligent and action-packed James Bond spy simulation, *Goldeneye* (1997); and that Nintendo could corner the same adult market as the Playstation was demonstrated by the glorious prehistoric gore of *Turok 2: Seeds of Evil* (1998).

Clearly, the basic generic patterns of video gaming have been set—shoot-em-ups, sport, and simulations—but the presentation of video games, sound, graphics, and game play has become nothing short of spectacular. In 1998, Sega launched their Dreamcast, and in 1999 the Playstation 2 completes the 64-bit circuit. With the next 128-bit cycle, however, players will want whole rooms full of equipment in order to experience completely the sights, sounds, and total immersive capacity of these games, the hardware finally expanding to match the immense virtual horizons of the software itself.

—Stephen Keane

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## Videos

By late 1987, over one-half of American households owned a videocassette recorder (VCR). With unprecedented speed, the small device had entered the home and taken up its place alongside the television as the premiere electronic consumer item. As with many other consumer products, videocassette recording technology had a long development period, and one that dovetailed with the development of other forms of media. Necessary innovations came in the first half of the twentieth century. Dr. Fritz Pfeumer received a 1928 German patent for the deposition of magnetic powders on paper or plastic backing media. The German companies, Allgemeines Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG) and BASF, produced quantities of magnetic tape between 1934 and 1944 exclusively for the German radio broadcasting stations. In 1944, the American 3M corporation began its own experiments with magnetic coatings, but it was not until after World War II that John T. Mullin, a United States electronic specialist, went to Germany and returned home with four "Magnetophon" recorders. These audiotape recorders were scrutinized, re-wired with parts from the United States, and finally demonstrated to the Institute of Radio Engineers in 1946. Mullin joined the Ampex Electric Corporation in 1948, which later that year introduced the first successful American audiotape recorder. Although other American companies, including RCA, experimented with videotape recording during the late 1940s and early 1950s, Ampex, due largely to its advanced research in audiotape recording, was able to develop the first feasible professional videotape recorder—the VR-1000, which premiered in 1956, weighing 900 pounds and sporting a price tag of \$75,000 a unit.

The vast majority of these recorders were purchased by stations and studios affiliated with one of the three major television broadcasting companies—ABC, NBC, and CBS—who employed them in the retransmission, delay, and temporary archiving of programming. Technological innovations during the 1950s largely served the ends of professional engineers and included enhancements in mobility, advanced editing capability, and the addition of color recording. CBS was the first to broadcast from videotape, presenting *Douglas Edwards and News* in 1956 using Ampex recorders. Quickly, the technique diminished the need for "live" broadcasting. Stations could now provide uniform "clock-times" for shows coast-to-coast, functionally eliminating differences introduced by time zones and the erratic adoption of Daylight Savings Time in some regions. Videotape recording also freed performers from the anxiety of "live" performances. Errors could be corrected and re-taped as in film production, and the possibility of the "re-run" was created. Recording technology allowed the networks to concentrate on technical quality and the consolidation of viewing markets. Little attention was yet paid to the development of a viable consumer videotape recorder, although videotape's impact on television viewing was already being felt.

The 1960s marked the beginning of "consumer" videotape recording. The high cost of the Ampex VR-1000 provoked Japanese manufacturing into developing a domestic alternative. Research had begun at Sony as early as 1953, but no significant gains were made

until the Japanese company Toshiba developed a helical-scanning recording head in 1959. Helical-scanning technology, the basis of today's VCR, wound its tape around a spinning, drum-like recording head, a novel method which avoided restrictions imposed by Ampex's numerous patents. In 1961, the Victor Company of Japan (JVC) introduced an improved dual, helical-scan head. These innovations allowed for an increased recording quality with a slower tape transport, resulting in decreased tape use and cost savings. Yet, these early units were inferior in image quality and unacceptable for broadcast use.

In 1959, the Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers (SMPTE) adopted standards for the manufacture of videotape recorders, thus potentially allowing any manufacturer to enter the marketplace. The early 1960s also saw the use of transistorized electronic components, resulting in more compact recorders and potential portability. Nevertheless, the 1963 Nieman Marcus Christmas catalog offered the gigantic \$30,000 Ampex VR-1500 videotape recorder / "entertainment center." In 1965, Sony introduced the helical-scan, black-and-white, reel-to-reel, CV-2000 which used an extremely compact 1/2" tape (as compared to the 2" tape of the older Ampex VR-1000). Briefly offered as a consumer model, marketers later emphasized its sale to broadcast and industrial markets. By 1967, Ampex claimed to have sold 500 recorders for "home-use," and by 1968, a number of consumer machines were available in the \$800 to \$4,000 price range. Most of these, however, such as Cartrivision, failed to capture a significant home market due to either high price or technical shortcomings.

Significant inroads were finally made in the 1970s when Sony introduced the 3/4" tape U-Matic VCR to the American market in 1972. The development of the video-cassette served as a significant leap beyond older reel-to-reel tape formats and completely removed the need for a skilled engineer/operator. Although consumers still resisted the notion of a home videocassette recorder, broadcast engineers began to utilize the Sony U-Matic for news reportage, an area still dominated by film recording. The 1968 Mexico City Olympics games had been covered by at least one older-generation Ampex videotape recorder, and in 1974, a U-Matic was used to document Nixon's historic trip to Moscow. Sony followed in 1975 with the 1/2" Betamax recorder/television combination (\$2,300) and the 1976 Betamax stand-alone model (\$1,300), each capable of recording one hour of programming. Whereas the U-Matic tape had been the size of a large hardcover book, the Betamax cassette was now that of a paperback. Coupled with improvements in tape media and recording method (Beta being a term in Japanese for a calligraphic stroke so rich that completely covers the material below; in this case, where the video signal completely saturates the tape), Betamax was strongly poised to enter a market already cluttered with competitors. The result was revolutionary.

Betamax launched its United States marketing program in fall of 1975. The pitch was simple: "any time is prime time." This was a "time-shift machine," one capable of recording a single program while you watched another, and could begin a pre-set recording even when the user was not at home. A total of 55,000 home VCRs were sold by the end of 1976, 160,000 by the end of 1977, and over 400,000 by the close of 1978. According to a trade magazine poll in January 1977, 40 percent of Americans knew what a Betamax was. Yet, according to a 1979 Nielsen poll, the total number of households in the United States owning VCRs was only 475,000, a mere one-half of one percent of the total homes owning televisions. Although other polls placed the number at closer to 800,000, the situation was not yet considered threatening by the majority of the commercial broadcast

executives. Sales of prerecorded videocassettes hovered at approximately one tape for every two VCRs. Sales of blank videocassettes continued to climb sharply, prompting some in the industry to ask to what use these tapes were being put.

In 1977, RCA had introduced the Video Home System (VHS) VCR, capable of recording two hours of programming on its slightly larger tape cassette. This increase in allowable recording time was followed by a two-hour Betamax recorder in 1977. RCA responded with a four-hour VHS in 1977, and again in 1979 with a six-hour model. Stiff competition erupted between the two incompatible formats although sales of prerecorded material continued to stagnate. By the end of 1979, VHS had captured 55 percent of the VCR market, a share which would only increase over the next seven years when production of the Betamax recorder was discontinued. Although JVC and other manufacturers rushed to augment their models with features such as "stop-action" and "pause," it was not until Sony's introduction of the Betascan in 1979 that the VCR threatened to severely alter the viewing patterns of American households. By allowing the viewer of recorded broadcast material to "scan" across the tape while simultaneously viewing it, Betascan users could easily skip commercial advertisements. This feature was rapidly incorporated into JVC's VHS model released in 1979.

In 1984, a major Nielsen survey stated that 36 of the respondents used the "stop" or "pause" feature of their VCR to delete commercials from shows they where both watching and taping. Nearly half said that they "frequently" used the "fast-forward" capability to skip taped commercials. Debate raged over what this meant for the future of commercial viewing. Some analysts adopted an almost apocalyptic tone, saying that the VCR would mean the end of viable commercial broadcasting. Others adopted the more modest stance that while VCRs increased the difficulties of directing commercials at specific target audiences (children, female homemakers, etc.), they had potentially opened an entirely new group of viewers for their programming. While television viewing did decrease on Friday and Saturday evenings as viewers turned to other prerecorded materials or shows taped earlier in the week, the overall time spent viewing television increased from six hours and 10 minutes in 1977 to seven hours and seven minutes in 1986.

The sales of prerecorded materials got off to a slow start. Andre Blay founded the Video Club of America in 1977, offering a slim catalog of 50 films on video mostly licensed from Twentieth Century Fox; none of the titles were more recent than 1973, and all had been sold to television. Nevertheless, Blay's Club was the first serious offering of prerecorded feature films at a time when adult films comprised the vast majority of videocassettes publicly available. Warner Home Video began releasing prerecorded videotapes of Hollywood films in 1980. Starting with a very modest 25 titles, this number increased as consumer demand climbed. Warner Brothers, like other film producing companies, had originally expected that consumers would purchase these recordings outright. Yet, much to their chagrin, stores had sprouted up which offered to rent titles to viewers. These "middlemen" were perceived as a potential threat, much like television production companies had considered the VCR itself. Copyright was, for them, the right to completely dominate and control the marketing and distribution of their programming and films. MCA/Universal Studios and Walt Disney Production had attempted to sue Sony beginning in 1975, just after the release of the Betamax recorder in the United States. The case had wound its way through the Federal court system until the Supreme Court decided in

January 1985 that "neither the consumers who tape television programs for their own use nor companies that make and sell video recorders violate Federal copyright law." In light of the "Betamax case," film companies opted for the creation of licensing agreements over expensive litigation which, in turn, paved the way for a widespread increase in available titles.

Tom Shales wrote in the Washington Post in 1985: "The Thing of the Year: the videocassette, which in the past twelve months has had a tremendous effect on American television viewing and American family life. We have gone from being a television nation to being a video nation. . . . By 1955, you felt naked if you didn't own a TV set. By 1965, you felt a tad underdressed if you haven't gone to color. In 1975, it began feeling a little nippy if you didn't have cable TV. And 1985 was the year you felt positively indecent unless you had a VCR." In the 1980s, video made itself felt in other ways. The cable station Music Television (MTV) was launched in August 1981 with the appropriately titled "Video Killed the Radio Star" by The Buggles. It soon became a market force in the music industry and a serious creator of youth culture. Performers, once content with the studio/radio/tour mode of production and promotion, now had to consider visual elements often unrelated to the music itself. In 1983, Sony introduced the Betamovie camera, the first camcorder. Although Sony had introduced the bulky "PortaPack" several years earlier, the Betamovie was the first truly portable video camera. Largely due to the public's penchant for creating documentary "home movies," camcorder sales increased throughout the 1980s, eventually displacing the traditional 8mm film camera in that role. Although never ubiquitous as the VCR, the video camera enjoyed a higher profile in the late 1980s and 1990s. Through television shows, such as *America's Funniest Home Videos*, and the increasing use of "amateur" footage in news broadcasts, the videotaped events became common viewing. Their importance would perhaps become most clear as the public witnessed the tapes of the Rodney King beating and the Los Angeles riots of 1992.

—Vance Bell

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## Vidor, King (1894-1982)

In a 40 year career, Texan-born pioneer film director King Vidor necessarily adapted to commercial considerations, but his personal vision, and his concern with the problems of society and the individuals within it, resulted in two silent masterpieces (both his wives, Florence Vidor and Eleanor Boardman, were leading silent stars) and

a handful of significant sound films. He established his reputation with a powerful anti-war statement, *The Big Parade* (1925), and secured it with *The Crowd* (1928). This profoundly realistic examination of struggle and alienation in the big city revealed a virtuoso use of the camera. Vidor's eclectic tastes and wide interests informed the watershed all-black musical *Hallelujah* (1929), the huge hit *The Champ* (1931), and the Depression drama *Our Daily Bread* (1934). Later work ranged from *Stella Dallas* (1937) and *The Fountainhead* (1949), to Westerns *Duel in the Sun* (1947) and *Man Without a Star* (1955) and the epic *War and Peace* (1956). A five-time Academy nominee, he retired in 1959 and received an honorary Oscar in 1979 for "incomparable achievements as a cinematic creator and innovator."

—Robyn Karney

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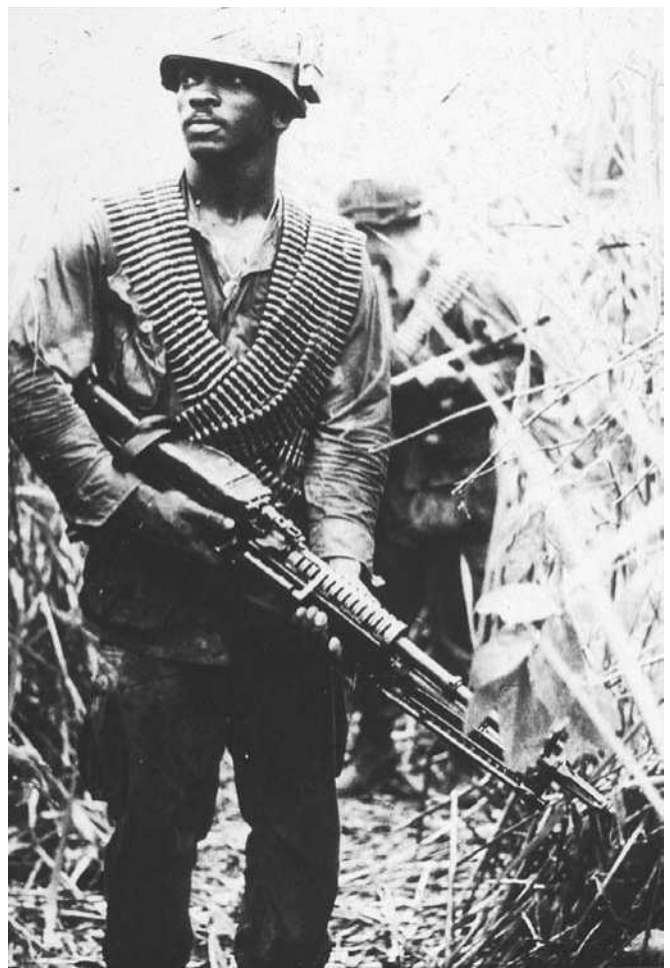
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## Vietnam

American involvement in Vietnam began in the mid-1950s, as the French, defeated on the battlefield by the communist Viet Minh, began to withdraw all military forces out of their former colony. Fearing a vacuum that the communists might soon fill, the United States helped establish the Republic of Vietnam in the southern half of the country. In the face of North Vietnam's determination to unite all of Vietnam under its control, a series of U.S. administrations provided support to the South Vietnamese government—first with economic and military aid under President Dwight D. Eisenhower, then military advisors under President John F. Kennedy, then combat troops under President Lyndon Johnson, and finally by invading Cambodia under President Richard Nixon.

As the commitment to Vietnam grew, so did protest at home. Many Americans (often, but not always, college students) opposed the war on moral grounds, frequently extending their opposition to the Selective Service system whereby young men were "drafted" into military service. Other (often older) Americans, motivated by patriotism, anti-communism, or the conviction that "our leaders know best," supported the war effort and often disdained those who protested. The nation was thus polarized as it had not been since the Civil War a century earlier. Eventually, U.S. combat casualties and the lack of significant military progress eroded much of the support for the war. President Richard Nixon gradually disengaged and withdrew most American troops. Under his "Vietnamization" policy, all fighting was gradually turned over to the South Vietnamese army, which, Nixon said, was fully capable of achieving victory. South Vietnam fell to the communists in April 1975.

Vietnam first entered American popular culture through articulation of what became known as the "domino theory." At a press conference in April 1954, President Dwight Eisenhower was asked by a reporter to assess the importance of French Indochina for American



An American soldier in Vietnam.

national security. Eisenhower replied, "You have a row of dominos set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly. So you could have the beginning of a disintegration that would have the most profound influences."

The image of falling dominos as a metaphor for the consequences of a communist victory in Vietnam was a compelling one, and many leaders who followed Eisenhower made use of it in policy discussions. It was endorsed by Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon, as well as their surrogates and spokesmen. Scholars and pundits debated the domino theory's merits in print and in person, and it even showed up in an episode of the popular late-1960s television show, *The Monkees*: the boys have an arrangement of dominos set up on a table. One of them says, "Look, Southeast Asia," and pushes the first domino over, with predictable results for the others.

One of the earliest literary discussions of Vietnam also appeared during Eisenhower's time with William Lederer and Eugene Burdick's 1959 book *The Ugly American*. Less a novel than a collection of loosely-related stories, it is a stinging indictment of U.S. diplomacy throughout Asia—especially in the fictional country of Sarkhan, a thinly-disguised Vietnam. The book depicts U.S. diplomats throughout the region as ignorant, incompetent political hacks, who spend their time at embassy cocktail parties while the communist agents

move among the people, speaking their language, respecting their culture, and gaining their allegiance. Several scholars claim that *The Ugly American* inspired President John F. Kennedy (who had read and endorsed the book when it first appeared) to create the Peace Corps; others contend that reading it led Kennedy to transform a small, neglected U.S. Army unit called the Special Forces into those fabled champions of counterinsurgency, the Green Berets.

That elite commando force is also the subject of one of the few fictional works about Vietnam written while the U.S. was militarily engaged there: Robin Moore's *The Green Berets* (1965). Although the book was published during the Johnson Administration, it was Kennedy who gave Moore permission to accompany a Special Forces "A" team to Vietnam—provided the author first went through Special Forces training himself. The resulting book was hugely popular, inspiring both a song and a motion picture.

The film, John Wayne's 1968 production *The Green Berets*, was blatant propaganda on behalf of the war and against its critics. Wayne, whose right-wing sympathies were well known, starred, directed, and installed his own son as producer. The Pentagon, on President Johnson's orders, loaned Wayne immense amounts of military equipment and charged him cut rates for its use. In return, the Defense Department had approval rights on the script, and it was not displeased with the result. The film glorifies the Special Forces, vilifies the Viet Cong, and portrays the war's American opponents as uninformed and misguided.

The music that accompanies the film's opening credits is a choral version of Barry Sadler's "The Ballad of the Green Berets." Sadler, a Special Forces NCO, wrote the song while serving in Vietnam and later saw his recording of it reach number one on the singles chart.

In addition to using Wayne's film to influence public opinion on the war, the Johnson Administration also produced a film of its own. *Why Vietnam?* was released in 1965 by the Defense Department and a copy was made available for loan to any school, club, or civic organization that was interested in screening it. The 40-minute documentary was done in the melodramatic, end-of-the-world style of Frank Capra's *Why We Fight* films that was effective in the 1940s. But 1960s audiences often found the approach hokey. In addition, the historical perspective that the film gave of the reasons for U.S. involvement in Vietnam was not only one-sided but at times simply untrue—as when the film's narrator claimed that the planned 1954 national plebiscite that would have united Vietnam was sabotaged by the communists in the North (South Vietnam was actually responsible, with U.S. concurrence).

A very different documentary was released in 1974, just as the war was nearing its end. *Hearts and Minds*, directed by Peter Davis, was an uncompromising indictment of American involvement in Vietnam. The winner of an Academy Award for Best Feature-length Documentary, the film uses juxtaposition—for example, Nixon justifying his "Christmas bombing" of 1972 followed by footage of a Hanoi hospital destroyed in that bombing—and interviews with Vietnamese peasants to show the devastating damage that the United States inflicted on Vietnam.

News coverage, especially on television, was of vital concern to the several U.S. administrations that waged war in Vietnam. It was believed, not without reason, that the focus and tone of the news might well have an effect on public support for the war. Consequently, both civilian and military officials tried to influence the coverage—they emphasized some aspects of the war, downplayed others, withheld

some and lied about more than a few. These efforts at news management were fairly successful for several years; many journalists, both print and electronic, produced stories that were generally favorable to both the American goals in Vietnam and the ways those goals were pursued.

The Tet Offensive changed everything. At 3:00 a.m. Saigon time on January 30, 1968, the traditional Lunar New Year truce was broken when Viet Cong and North Vietnamese Army units simultaneously attacked targets all across South Vietnam. A number of images arising out of this campaign found their way into America's living rooms, and they did not help the Johnson Administration's cause: dead Viet Cong on the grounds of the U.S. embassy in Saigon, the walls of which had never before been breached; the head of the South Vietnamese National Police, General Loan, drawing his pistol and shooting a bound Viet Cong prisoner in the head; a U.S. army Major, explaining the devastation of a hamlet called Ben Tre by saying, "We had to destroy the village in order to save it."

Tet marked a turning point in media coverage of the war. Reporters, who had listened for months to the claims of American officials that the Viet Cong were defunct, now grew cynical in the face of clear evidence to the contrary. News stories began to be more critical of the "official" version of events. CBS News anchorman Walter Cronkite, who polls showed to be the most trusted man in America, said on television that he thought the war to be hopelessly stalemated and that the United States should negotiate with the communists.

Meanwhile, U.S. antiwar protesters were receiving media coverage, too; much of it was unsympathetic. News reports tended to focus on the most dramatic or shocking aspects of antiwar activity—if 500 people demonstrated peacefully and three others burned a U.S. flag, then the latter group would almost certainly be featured on the evening news. Further, as antiwar protests became more common, many journalists declined even to cover them, unless they involved large numbers of people or were likely to turn violent. Astute demonstrators thus learned how to draw media attention through destructive or shocking behavior—but the very acts that brought news coverage also alienated most of the middle-class audience watching or reading at home.

Although many popular musicians of the period appeared oblivious to the war, there were some who became known for their antiwar material: Joan Baez, Pete Seeger, Phil Ochs, and Barbara Dane were prominent among these. Other individuals and bands recorded a song or two critical of the war effort, including Country Joe McDonald's "Feel Like I'm Fixin' To Die Rag," The Animals' "We Gotta Get Out of This Place," Buffalo Springfield's "For What It's Worth," The Association's "Requiem for the Masses," Barry McGuire's "Eve of Destruction," The Doors' "Unknown Soldier," and Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young's "Ohio."

But there was reaction against protest, even on the radio. Some country artists, in particular, whose fan base tended to be more conservative than that of rock musicians, recorded songs that were supportive of the war, or critical of protesters, or both. These included two Merle Haggard records, "Okie from Muskogee" and "The Fightin' Side of Me," as well as Maybelle Carter's "I Told Them What You're Fightin' For," Johnny Wright's "Hello, Vietnam," and Dave Dudley's "Vietnam Blues."

Although the war's end in 1975 also brought a halt to the musical battle being waged over the airwaves, most other aspects of American popular culture continued to find the Vietnam conflict a worthy subject. One of these manifestations involved memoirs: a number of

veterans published personal accounts of their experiences in the war, including Tim O'Brien's *If I Die in a Combat Zone* (1973), Ron Kovic's *Born on the Fourth of July* (1976), Michael Herr's *Dispatches* (1977), and William Broyles' *Brothers in Arms* (1986). A number of "oral histories" from veterans were also collected and published, such as Al Santoli's *Everything We Had* (1981) and *To Bear Any Burden* (1986), Wallace Terry's *Bloods: An Oral History of the Vietnam War by Black Veterans* (1984), and Kathryn Marshall's *In the Combat Zone: An Oral History of American Women in Vietnam* (1984).

The postwar period also saw no shortage of novels about the conflict in Vietnam. Some of the most important are Tim O'Brien's books *Going after Cacciato* (1978) and *The Things They Carried* (1990), James Webb's *Fields of Fire* (1978), Winston Groom's *Better Times than These* (1978), John DeVecchio's *The Thirteenth Valley* (1982), and Philip Caputo's *Indian Country* (1987).

The dearth of war-related motion pictures made while the conflict was in progress was more than made up afterwards. Ted Post directed 1978's *Go Tell the Spartans*, a bleak look at the early days of American "advisors" in Vietnam that suggests the seeds of American defeat were planted early in the struggle. The same year, Michael Cimino's *The Deer Hunter* won the Best Picture Oscar for its story of three friends whose service in Vietnam changes them in markedly different ways. A year later, Francis Ford Coppola's *Apocalypse Now* premiered, a near-epic film injected with a heavy dose of surrealism. Surrealism also permeates the second half of Stanley Kubrick's 1987 film *Full Metal Jacket*, which follows a group of young men from the brutality of Marine Corps boot camp to the terrors of their deployment in Vietnam. Two other important films, Oliver Stone's *Platoon* (1986) and John Irvin's *Hamburger Hill* (1987) take a more realistic approach, emphasizing the individual tragedies of young men's lives wasted in a war they do not understand.

In addition to the differing film depictions of the actual fighting in the Vietnam War, two sub-genres of Vietnam War films emerged. One focuses on the figure of the Vietnam veteran, made crazy by the war, who brings his deadly skills home and directs them against his countrymen. Though many cheap exploitation films were based on this premise, using it as an excuse to revel in blood and explosions, two more complex treatments appeared. Martin Scorsese's *Taxi Driver* (1976), in which Robert De Niro offers a compelling portrait of the psychologically disintegrating Travis Bickle, and Ted Kotcheff's *First Blood* (1982), in which a former Green Beret is pushed beyond endurance by a brutal police chief who pays a high price for his callousness, offer interesting insights into the lasting wounds war inflicts on soldiers.

The second sub-genre of Vietnam War films posited that some Americans remained prisoners in Vietnam after the end of the war and required rescue. The Rambo character so prominent in this sub-genre was first seen in *First Blood* with Sylvester Stallone's first portrayal of John Rambo. The first of these films, 1983's *Uncommon Valor*, stars Gene Hackman and downplays the exploitative aspects of its premise. But other films flaunted the same premise, most notably the Chuck Norris vehicle *Missing in Action* (1984) and its two sequels, *Missing in Action II: The Beginning* (1985) and *Braddock: Missing in Action III* (1988). The most lurid example of this sub-genre is Stallone's *Rambo: First Blood Part II* (1985). Stallone's crazed ex-Green Beret character is released from prison to undertake a rescue mission of Americans held prisoner in Vietnam. Despite being betrayed, captured, and tortured, he manages to free the captive

GIs and mow down scores of Vietnamese soldiers and their Russian "advisors," thus symbolically "winning" the Vietnam War for America.

In addition to films, television shows and made-for-TV movies about the struggle in Vietnam appeared in the postwar era. *The A-Team*, which premiered in 1983, was based on the notion that a group of Special Forces troopers (hence the "A-team" designation), while serving in Vietnam were framed for a bank robbery and sent to prison. They escaped en masse and became fugitives. In order to pay the bills while on the run, they hired themselves out as mercenaries—but only, of course, in a good cause. The show's scripts were generally as improbable as its premise, but George Peppard (who played the leader of the team, which included the impressively muscled but diction-challenged Mr. T as "B.A. Baracus") led his group of virtuous vigilantes through four seasons of mayhem before cancellation of the show in 1987.

As *The A-Team* left television, a more serious drama about an Army platoon in Vietnam during the late 1960s called *Tour of Duty* debuted. Although the show had an ensemble cast, its prominent character was Sergeant Zeke Anderson (Terence Knox), an experienced combat leader who often took up the slack left by the unit's "green" Lieutenant. Although sometimes prone to clichés, the show dealt with the Vietnam experience fairly realistically, given the limitations of TV drama. It lasted three seasons and was canceled in 1990. Another serious show about combat in Southeast Asia also began in 1987. *Vietnam War Story* was an anthology show, with a new cast of characters each week—not unlike the previous decade's programs *Police Story* and *Medical Story*. The plots were supposedly based upon real incidents and many of the scripts were penned by actual Vietnam veterans. However, despite these efforts at verisimilitude, the show lasted only one season.

*China Beach* (which aired from 1988 to 1991) may be the best television series about the Vietnam War produced by the end of the twentieth century. Its setting was a military hospital complex in Danang during the period 1967-69. The ensemble cast of characters was large, including doctors and nurses, soldiers and Marines, USO singers and prostitutes. But the show's main character and moral center was Army nurse Coleen McMurphy (Dana Delaney). McMurphy volunteered for both the Army and Vietnam, and, although horrified by the realities of combat casualties, did her best as both a nurse and a human being. Mixing comedy and drama, the show explored the relationships between the people of the China Beach facility, and showed how such relationships can be created, changed, or destroyed by a war.

A large number of made-for-TV movies have been made about various facets of the Vietnam War. A few of the more interesting productions include *The Forgotten Man* (1971), in which Dennis Weaver plays a Vietnam veteran, presumed dead for years but actually a prisoner of war (POW), who returns home to find his wife remarried, his job gone, and his old life irrevocably lost. *When Hell Was in Session* (1979) tells the harrowing true story of Commander Jeremiah Denton's seven-year imprisonment as a POW in Hanoi. A similar tale is told in *In Love and War* (1987), about the captivity of Commander James Stockdale and his wife's efforts to have him released. *Friendly Fire* (1979) tells the story of a couple whose son is killed in Vietnam under mysterious circumstances. Their efforts to determine how he died bring them up against a wall of bureaucratic indifference. *The Children of An Loc* (1980) tells the true story of an American actress (Ina Balin, who plays herself) struggling to evacuate 217 children from a Vietnamese orphanage during the fall of



Saigon in 1975. One of the most affecting efforts was the HBO production *Dear America: Letters Home from Vietnam* (1987), based on Bernard Edelman's book of the same name. It combines the reading of actual letters with news footage and music of the period to tell the tale of the Vietnam War from the perspective of the men and women who lived it.

—Justin Gustainis

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## Villella, Edward (1936—)

A critically acclaimed principal dancer with the New York City Ballet company during the 1960s and 1970s, Edward Villella brought a virile athleticism to the classical ballet stage that challenged the stereotype of the effeminate male dancer and popularized ballet and its male stars among the general public. His passionate energy and exceptional technique inspired the great neo-classical choreographer George Balanchine to create many ballets and roles for Villella, including *Tarantella* (1964) and the "Rubies" section of *Jewels* (1967). Committed to increasing Americans' awareness of ballet, Villella also danced in Broadway musicals, performed at President John F. Kennedy's inauguration, and appeared frequently on television, in variety and arts programs and once, as himself, in an episode of the situation-comedy *The Odd Couple*. Injuries had forced Villella to stop performing by 1986 when he became founder and artistic director of the Miami City Ballet.

—Lisa Jo Sagolla

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## Vitamin B17

See Laetrile

## Vitamins

Apart from their actual health benefits, vitamins have played an important role in the American consciousness as the arena for a struggle between competing systems of knowledge: the positivist

authority of "normal science" with its controlled experiments and research protocols versus the anecdotal evidence and personal experiences of ordinary consumers. Since antiquity, it has been commonly known that there is a connection between diet and health, but it was not until the early 1900s that specific vitamins were isolated and accepted by the public as essential to our well-being. What began as an exercise in public health became big business: by the end of the century, retail sales of vitamins in America exceeded \$3.5 billion, with surveys showing more than 40 percent of Americans using vitamins on a regular basis. The story of vitamins demonstrates, in the words of social historian Rima Apple, that "Science is not above commerce or politics; it is a part of both."

The term "vitamins" (originally spelled "vitamines") was coined shortly before World War I by Casimir Funk, a Polish-American biochemist who was among the first to investigate the role of these substances in combatting deficiency diseases such as rickets. By the middle of the 1920s, three vitamins had been identified (vitamin A, vitamin C, and vitamin D), as had the vitamin B complex. Even then, manufacturers were quick to seize on the public's interest in vitamins as an angle for promoting their own products. Red Heart trumpeted the vitamin D content of its dog biscuits; Kitchen Craft declared that since its Waterless Cooker cooked foods in their own juices, none of the "vital mineral salts and vitamin elements . . . are washed out and poured away with the waste water." Particularly compelling were the appeals to "scientific mothering" in ads for such products as Squibb's cod-liver oil ("the X-RAY shows tiny bones and teeth developing imperfectly"), its competitor H. A. Metz's Oscodal tablets ("children need the vital element which scientists call vitamin D"), Cream of Wheat, Quaker Oats, and Hygeia Strained Vegetables. Pharmaceutical firms likewise targeted mothers in periodicals such as *Good Housekeeping* and *Parents'* magazine, with the publishers' blessings: "An advertiser's best friend is a mother; a mother's best friend is 'The Parents' Magazine,'" proclaimed its advertising department, while the director of the Good Housekeeping Bureau generously promised clients that all products advertised in the magazine, "whether or not they are within our testing scope, are guaranteed by us on the basis of the claims made for them."

Harry Steenbock, a researcher at the University of Wisconsin, discovered in 1924 that ultraviolet irradiation of certain foods boosted their vitamin D content, thus providing an alternative source to wholesome but distasteful cod-liver oil. The Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation was created to protect his patents and to license his process to manufacturers. (Ironically, it would be Wisconsin's Senator William Proxmire who, exactly half a century later, would spearhead a congressional campaign which resulted in the Food and Drug Administration's reclassifying most vitamins as food rather than drugs.)

The scientific reasons advanced for taking a particular vitamin were often compelling. In the late 1700s, fresh fruit, rich in vitamin C, had been dramatically shown to be a preventive for scurvy, the cause of many shipboard deaths on long sea voyages: Captain James Cook added citrus to the diet of his crew on his three-year circumnavigation of the globe, during which only one of his seamen died. (Cook's limes, which became a staple of shipboard diet throughout the British navy, gave rise to the slang term "limeys" for Englishmen.) But widespread consumption of a vitamin for its original purpose sometimes created partisans for its benign effects in another area, as when Nobel laureate Linus Pauling advocated high dosages of vitamin C in the 1970s as a therapy for the common cold, and subsequently proposed that it could even play a role in curing cancer.

The appeal to scientific authority helped to legitimate vitamin consumption, but as vitamins became popular science and demand grew, other marketers became eager players, and from the 1930s on there was increasing competition between health professionals (physicians and pharmacists) on the one hand, and grocers on the other. Trade journals for the druggists repeatedly stressed the profitability in vitamins and the desirability of keeping consumers coming back to the drugstore for their supplies (and discouraging them from buying vitamins in the general marketplace). The grocers (and later the health food stores) and their public wanted to keep vitamins readily available and affordable. And there were skeptics as well, including the FDA, whose own claim to scientific legitimacy had the force of law, and which attempted to regulate vitamin marketing in order to prevent what it often saw as fraudulent claims and medical quackery.

Often, however, when the FDA frustrated the demand for dietary supplements with its regulatory impediments, it aroused an endemic populist distrust of big government and fierce resentment of a professional pharmaceutical and medical establishment seen as monolithic or even conspiratorial. In the late decades of the century, the public found a willing ally in Congress, which received no fewer than 100,000 phone calls during debate on the Hatch-Richardson "Health Freedom" proposal of 1994 (it reduced the FDA's "significant scientific agreement" standard to "significant scientific evidence" for labeling claims, so long as they were "truthful and non-misleading," and shortened the lead time for putting new products on the market); with 65 cosponsors in the Senate and 249 in the House, the bill passed handily.

—Nick Humez

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## Vogue

The first illustrated fashion magazine grew out of a weekly society paper that began in 1892. *Vogue* magazine's inauspicious start as a failing journal did not preview the success that it would become. In 1909, a young publisher, Condé Nast, bought the paper and transformed it into a leading magazine that signaled a new approach to women's magazines. In 1910, the once small publication changed to a bi-monthly format, eventually blossoming into an international

phenomenon with nine editions in nine countries: America, Australia, Brazil, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Mexico, and Spain.

Following the vision of Condé Nast, *Vogue* has continued to present cultural information, portraits of artists, musicians, writers, and other influential people as well as the current fashion trends. Since its inception, the magazine has striven to portray the elite and serve as an example of proper etiquette, beauty, and composure. *Vogue* not only contributes to the acceptance of trends in the fashion and beauty industry, but additionally has become a record of the changes in cultural thinking, actions, and dress. Glancing through *Vogue* from years past documents the changing roles of women, as well as the influences of politics and cultural ideas throughout the twentieth century.

The power that *Vogue* has had over many generations of women has spawned a plethora of other women's magazines—such as *Cosmopolitan*, *Glamour*, and *Mademoiselle*—which have sought to claim part of the growing market of interest. Despite the abundance of women's magazines, no other publication has been able to achieve the lasting influence and success of *Vogue*.

By incorporating photography in 1913, and under the direction of Edna Woolman Chase (Editor-in-Chief from 1914 to 1951) and Art Director Dr. Mehemed Gehmy Agha, *Vogue* reinvented its image several times. With the occurrence of the Depression and later, World War II, readership soared. Readers looked to the magazine to escape from the reality of the hardships in their lives. In the midst of the Depression fashions reflected the glamour of Hollywood; then came movies with their enormous influence on the ideas of fashion and beauty. Photographers Edward Steichen, Cecil Beaton, and Baron de Meyer emphasized this glamour by presenting their models in elaborate settings. Additionally, *Vogue* began focusing on more affordable, ready-to-wear clothing collections. During the war, images of fashions within the magazine emulated the practicality of the era. Different, more durable and affordable fabrics, and simple designs became prominent. The magazine demonstrated that even in difficult circumstances, women still strove for the consistency of caring for everyday concerns regarding fashion and beauty. Balancing the lighter features, ex-*Vogue* model and photographer Lee Miller's images of the liberation of Europe also provided a somber and intellectual view of the war. This element of the magazine kept readers involved and informed of the realities of the war.

Under the supervision of Jessica Daves (Editor-in-Chief 1952-1962) and Russian émigré Alexander Liberman (Art Director 1943-December 1963, Editorial Director of Condé Nast Publications, Inc. 1963—), simplicity of design in *Vogue* prevailed after World War II. One main component of the re-formatting undertaken by Daves and Liberman was the hiring of photographer Irving Penn in 1943, who, along with Richard Avedon, modernized fashion photography by simplifying it. Penn used natural lighting and stripped out all superfluous elements; his images focused purely on the fashions. Penn and other photographers also contributed portraits of notable people, travel essays, and ethnographic features to the magazine. Thoughtful coverage on the issues of the day, in addition to the variety of these stories and supplementary columns—including "People Are Talking About," an editorial consisting of news regarding art, film, theater, and celebrities' lives—counterbalanced the fashion spreads which showcased the seasonal couture collections. *Vogue* magazine became multi-faceted, appealing to readers across several economic and social stratus.

Diana Vreeland (Editor-in-Chief, 1963 to June 1971), with her theatrical style, brought to the magazine a cutting-edge, exciting

quality. Vreeland, famous for coining the term “Youthquake,” focused on the changing ideas of fashion in the 1960s. Under her hand, *Vogue* became even more fashion oriented, with many more pages devoted to clothing and accessories. Imagination and fantasy were the ideals to portray within the pages of the magazine. Clothes were colorful, bright, revealing, and filled with geometric shapes that played with the elements of sex and fun. Additionally, during this era, models no longer became merely mannequins but personalities. The photographs depicted the models in action-filled poses, often outside of a studio setting. The women became identifiable; Suzy Parker, Penelope Tree, Twiggy, and Verushka became household names and paved the way for Cindy, Claudia, Christy, and Naomi, the supermodels of the 1980s and 1990s.

Collaborating with photographers such as Helmut Newton, Sarah Moon, and Deborah Tuberville, Grace Mirabella (Editor-in-Chief, July 1971 to October 1988) also brought a sensual quality to the magazine; the blatant sexualized images from the 1960s became more understated, although no less potent. Tinged with erotic and sometimes violent imagery, the fashion layouts featured clothing with less of an exhibitionist quality; apparel became more practical. Filling the fashion pages were blue denim garments and easy to wear attire. Mirabella, in keeping with this practicality, adapted the magazine to a monthly publication. At this time, *Vogue* also shrank in cut size to conform to postal codes. As a result, each page became packed with information; *Vogue* became a magazine formulated for a society filled with working women on the go.

The tradition of *Vogue* as a publication that covers all aspects of each generation continues. Under the guidance of Anna Wintour (Editor-in-Chief, November 1988—) the magazine has expanded beyond only reporting cultural and political issues and presenting fashion trends, and is now considered to validate new designs and designers. *Vogue* continually seeks out, presents, and promotes new ideas regarding clothing, accessories, and beauty products, and as a magazine entertains, educates, and guides millions of women.

—Jennifer Jankauskas

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## Volkswagen Beetle

The phenomenal success of Volkswagen’s diminutive two-door sedan in the American automobile market in the 1950s and 1960s was a classic example of conventional wisdom proven false. Detroit’s car manufacturers and their advertising agencies marketed large, comfortable cars with futuristic styling and plenty of extra gadgets. Futuristic rocket fins were in, and the more headlights and tail lights, the better. “Planned obsolescence” was built in: the look and feel of each year’s models were to be significantly different from those of the previous year. But throughout the 1950s, there was a persistent niche market in foreign cars, particularly among better-educated drivers

who thought that Detroit’s cars looked vulgar and silly, and who were appalled by their low mileage. Most European imports got well over 20 miles per gallon to an American automobile’s eight. The German manufacturers of the Volkswagen claimed that their “people’s car” got 32 miles per gallon at 50 miles an hour. Moreover, it was virtually impossible to tell a 1957 VW from a 1956 one—or indeed, from the 1949 model, of which just two had been imported, by way of Holland. (The first “Transporter” microbus sold in America arrived in 1950.)

To be sure, VW’s sedan looked odd—rather like a scarab, which is why it was soon dubbed the “Beetle”—but it worked. Its rear-mounted, air-cooled, four-cylinder 1200-cc engine proved extremely durable, with some owners reporting life spans in the high hundreds of thousands of miles. The cars had been designed so that they could be maintained by the owner, and many of them were, particularly by young owners who bought them used. And the microbus, with the same engine as the Beetle and a body only slightly longer, could hold an entire rock band and its instruments and still climb mountains. (It became so closely associated with the hippie movement that when the leader of the Grateful Dead died, VW ran an ad showing a microbus with a tear falling from its headlight and the headline “Jerry Garcia. 1942-1995.”)

Developed by Dr. Ferdinand Porsche, the car had been ordered by German citizens for the first time in 1938 under the name “KdF-Wagen” (KdF stood for “Kraft durch Freude,” “strength through joy.”), but war had broken out the following year, and the factory at Wolfsburg switched over, for the duration, to making a military version, the Kübelwagen (“bucketmobile”), and its amphibious sibling, the Schwimmwagen, until Allied planes bombed operations to a standstill. After the war, VW rebuilt its factory and resumed production, first under the British occupying forces, and subsequently under Heinrich Nordhoff, VW’s CEO until his death in 1969.

From their modest beginnings, sales of imported VWs in America grew steadily. In 1955, the company incorporated in the United States as Volkswagen of America. In 1959, it hired a sassy new advertising agency, DDB Needham, which had already raised eyebrows with its “You Don’t Have to Be Jewish to Love Levy’s Jewish Rye” campaign. DDB’s first ad was three columns of dense type explaining the advantages of buying the VW sedan, broken up only by three photos—all of the car.

It soon became apparent that people already knew what the Beetle looked like, and had looked like for 10 years, that it got great mileage, and that it cost less than anything from Detroit (\$1545 new in 1959, still only \$2000 in 1964). What they needed was a reason to identify with a nonconformist automobile. So DDB switched to ads containing very little copy, a picture of the car, a very short, startling headline in sans-serif type, and a lot of white space. One DDB headline was “Ugly is only skin-deep.” Another simply read “Lemon.” A third, turning one of Madison Avenue’s favorite catchphrases of the day on its head, said “Think Small.” Indeed, almost all of DDB’s VW ads were the conspicuous antithesis of conventional auto advertising. “Where are they now?” showed 1949 models of six cars, five by companies which had gone out of business in the subsequent decade. In the 1960s, the focus of the campaign shifted to true stories of satisfied customers with unusual angles: the rural couple who bought a VW after the mule died, the priest whose North Dakota mission had a total of 30 Beetles, the Alabama police department which got a VW sedan for its meter patrol.

Although VW lost some of its market share in the 1970s once Detroit, spurred by the 1973 OPEC oil embargo, began concentrating



A Volkswagen Beetle.

on cars that were less ostentatious and got better mileage, the company continued to make Beetles until the end of the decade, when anti-pollution standards were passed which neither the sedan nor the microbus could meet. Although production of Beetles in Germany and the United States ceased in 1978, they still continued to be turned out elsewhere, notably in Mexico, where in 1983 VWs amounted to 30 percent of all motor vehicles made in that country. Meanwhile, restored Beetles in the United States continued to command prices up to \$7,000 (still a bargain compared to \$15,000 for the cheapest new cars from Detroit) in the early 1990s.

When VW introduced a “concept car” at the Detroit Motor Show looking suspiciously like the old Beetle, response was so enthusiastic that the company went ahead and put its “Concept 1” into production at the same Mexican plant as the VW Golf (and powered by the same water-cooled engine, now under the front hood). The first new Beetles arrived in the United States in 1998 to nostalgic advertising produced by Arnold Communications in Boston in a reprise of the DDB style, but with even less body copy: a picture of the sedan above headlines such as “Roundest car in its class” and “Zero to sixty. Yes.” One ad read simply “Think small. Again.”

—Nick Humez

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## von Sternberg, Josef (1894-1969)

Although there are other achievements for which to salute film director (and screenwriter, producer, and occasional cinematographer) Josef von Sternberg, his reputation has come to rest indissolubly on his most famous creation, Marlene Dietrich. After making *Underworld* (1927) and *The Docks of New York* (1928), two near-masterpieces of the late silent era, von Sternberg was invited to Berlin to film *The Blue Angel* (1930). There he found Dietrich and cast her as the predatory Lola-Lola. He brought her to Hollywood and turned her into an international screen goddess of mystical allure in six exotic romances, beginning with *Morocco* (1930) and ending with *The Devil Is a Woman* (1935). In this last and most baroque of Sternberg’s films, his sensual imagery and atmospheric play of light and shadow on fabulous costumes and inventive sets found its fullest expression. Once parted from Paramount and his star he endured a slow decline, but at the height of his success this Viennese-born son of poor immigrant Jews (the “von” was acquired), who had served a ten-year apprenticeship as an editor, was acknowledged as Hollywood’s outstanding visual stylist and undisputed master technician.

—Robyn Karney

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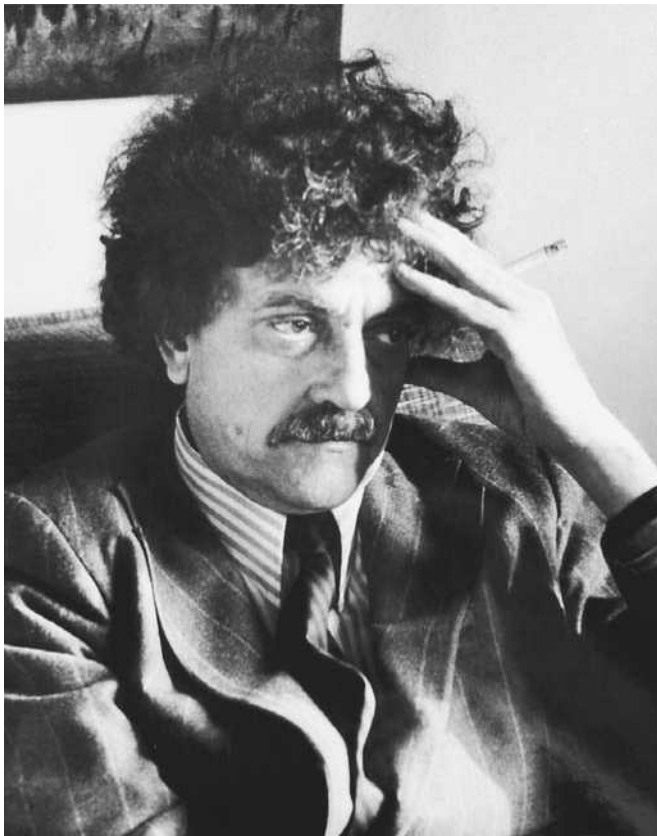
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## Vonnegut, Kurt, Jr. (1922—)

Having come to prominence only with his sixth novel, *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969), Kurt Vonnegut, Jr. is a rare example of an author who has been equally important to popular audiences and avant-garde critics. His fiction and public spokespersonship spans all five of the decades since World War II and engages most social, political, and philosophical issues of these times. It is Vonnegut's manner of expression that makes him both popular and perplexing, for his humorous approach to serious topics confounds critical expectations while delighting readers who themselves may be fed up with expert opinion.

November 11, 1922, is the date of Kurt Vonnegut's birth, a birthday he considers significant for its coincidence with Armistice Day celebrations noting the end of World War I. From his upbringing in Indianapolis, Indiana among a culturally prominent family descended from German immigrant Free-Thinkers of the 1850s, the young author-to-be developed attitudes that would see him through the coming century of radical change. Pacifism was one such attitude; another was civic responsibility; a third was the value of large extended families in meeting the needs of nurture for both children



Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.

and adults. The first test of these attitudes came in the 1930s, when during the Great Depression his father's work as an architect came to an end (for lack of commissions) and his mother's inherited wealth was depleted. These circumstances forced Kurt into the public school system, where, unlike his privately educated older brother and sister, he was able to form close childhood friendships with working-class students, an experience he says meant the world to him. Sent off to college with his father's instruction to "learn something useful," Vonnegut joined what would have been the class of 1944 at Cornell University as a dual major in biology and chemistry with an eye toward becoming a biochemist. Most of his time, however, was spent writing for and eventually becoming a managing editor of the independent student owned daily newspaper, the *Cornell Sun*.

World War II interrupted Kurt Vonnegut's education, but for awhile it continued in different form. In 1943, he avoided the inevitable draft by enlisting in the United States Army's Advanced Specialist Training Program, which made him a member of the armed services but allowed him to study mechanical engineering at the Carnegie Technical Institute and the University of Tennessee. In 1944, this one-of-a-kind program was canceled when Allied Commander Dwight D. Eisenhower made an immediate request for 50,000 additional men. Prepared as a rear-echelon artillery engineer, Vonnegut was thrown into combat as an advanced infantry scout, and was promptly captured by the Germans during the Battle of the Bulge. Interned as a prisoner of war at Dresden, he was one of the few survivors of that city's firestorm destruction by British and American air forces on the night of February 13, 1945, the event that becomes the unspoken center of *Slaughterhouse-Five*, named after the underground meatlocker where the author took shelter. Following his repatriation in May of 1945, Kurt Vonnegut married Jane Cox and began graduate study in anthropology at the University of Chicago.

During these immediately postwar years he also worked as a reporter for the City News Bureau, a pool service for Chicago's four daily newspapers. Unable to have his thesis topics accepted and with his first child ready to be born, Vonnegut left Chicago without a degree and began work as a publicist for the General Electric (GE) Research Laboratory in Schenectady, New York. Here, where his older brother Bernard was a distinguished atmospheric physicist, Kurt drew on his talents as a journalist and student of science in order to promote the exciting new world where, as GE's slogan put it, "Progress Is Our Most Important Product." Yet this brave new world of technology rubbed the humanitarian in Vonnegut the wrong way, and soon he was writing dystopian satires of a bleakly comic future in which humankind's relentless desire to tinker with things makes life immensely worse. When enough of these short stories had been accepted by *Collier's* magazine so that he could bank a year's salary, Kurt Vonnegut quit GE. Moving to Cape Cod, Massachusetts, in 1950, he thenceforth survived as a full time fiction writer, taking only the occasional odd job to tide things over when sales to publishers were slow.

Throughout the 1950s and into the early 1960s, Vonnegut published 44 such stories in *Collier's*, *The Saturday Evening Post*, and other family-oriented magazines, sending material to the lower-paying science fiction markets only after mainstream journals had rejected it. Consistently denying that he is or ever was a science fiction writer, the author instead used science as one of many elements in common middle class American life of the times. When his most representative stories were collected in 1968 as *Welcome to the Monkey House*, it became apparent that Vonnegut was as interested in high school bandmasters and small town tradesman as he was in

rocket scientists and inventors of cyberspace; indeed, in such stories as “Epicac” and “Unready to Wear,” the latter behave like the former, with the most familiar of human weaknesses overriding the brainiest of intellectual concerns.

Kurt Vonnegut’s novelist career began as a sidelight to his short story work, low sales, and weak critical notice for these books, making them far less remunerative than placing stories in such high-paying venues as *Cosmopolitan* and the *Post*. It was only when television replaced the family weeklies as prime entertainment that he had to make novels, essays, lectures, and book reviews his primary source of income, and until 1969, these earnings were no better than any of Vonnegut’s humdrum middle class characters could expect. When *Slaughterhouse-Five* became a bestseller, however, all this earlier work was available for reprinting, allowing Vonnegut’s new publisher (Seymour Lawrence, who had an independent line with Dell Publishing) to mine this valuable resource and further extend this long-overlooked new writer’s fame.

It is in his novels that Vonnegut makes his mark as a radical restylist of both culture and language. *Player Piano* (1952) rewrites General Electric’s view of the future in pessimistic yet hilarious terms, in which a revolution against technology takes a similar form to that of the ill-fated Ghost Dance movement among Plains Indians at the nineteenth century’s end (one of the author’s interests as an anthropology scholar). *The Sirens of Titan* (1959) is a satire of space opera, its genius coming from the narrative’s use of perspective—for example, the greatest monuments of human endeavor, such as the Great Wall of China and the Palace of the League of Nations, are shown to be nothing more than banal messages to a flying saucer pilot stranded on a moon of Saturn, whiling away the time as his own extraterrestrial culture works its determinations on earthy events. *Mother Night* (1961) inverts the form of a spy-thriller to indict all nations for their cruel manipulations of individual integrity, while *Cat’s Cradle* (1963) forecasts the world’s end not as a bang but as a grimly humorous practical joke played upon those who would be creators. *With God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater* (1965) Vonnegut projects his bleakest view of life, centered as the novel is on money and how even the most philanthropical attempts to do good with it do great harm.

By 1965, Kurt Vonnegut was out of money, and to replace his lost short story income and supplement his meager earnings from novels, he began writing feature journalism in earnest (collected in 1974 as *Wampeter* and *Foma & Granfalloon*) and speaking at university literature festivals, climaxing with a two-year appointment as a fiction instructor at the University of Iowa. Here, in the company of the famous Writers Workshop, he felt free to experiment, the result being (in an age renowned for its cultural experimentation) his first bestseller, *Slaughterhouse-Five*. Ostensibly the story of Billy Pilgrim, an American P.O.W. (Prisoner of War) survivor of the Dresden firebombing, the novel in fact fragments six decades of experience so that past, present, and future can appear all at once. Using the fictive excuse of “time travel” as practiced by the same outer space aliens who played havoc with human events in *The Sirens of Titan*, Vonnegut in fact recasts perception in multidimensional forms, his narrative skipping in various directions so that no consecutive accrual of information can build—instead, the reader’s comprehension is held in suspension until the very end, when the totality of understanding coincides with the reality of this actual author finishing his book at a

recognizable point in time (the day in June, 1968 when news of Robert Kennedy’s death is broadcast to the world). *Slaughterhouse-Five* is thus less about the Dresden firebombing than it is a replication of the author’s struggle to write about this unspeakable event and the reader’s attempt to comprehend it.

The 1970s and 1980s saw Vonnegut persevere as a now famous author. His novels become less metaphorical and more given to direct spokespersonship, with protagonists more likely to be leaders than followers. *Breakfast of Champions* (1973) grants fame to a similarly unknown writer, Kilgore Trout, with the result that the mind of a reader (Dwayne Hoover) is undone. *Slapstick* (1976) envisions a new American society developed by a United States president who replaces government machinery with the structure of extended families. *Jailbird* (1979) tests economic idealism of the 1930s in the harsher climate of post-Watergate America, while *Deadeye Dick* (1982) reexamines the consequences of a lost childhood and the deterioration of the arts into aestheticism. Critics at the time noted an apparent decline in his work, attributable to the author’s change in circumstance: whereas he had for the first two decades of his career written in welcome obscurity, his sudden fame as a spokesperson for countercultural notions of the late 1960s proved vexing, especially as Vonnegut himself felt that his beliefs were firmly rooted in American egalitarianism preceding the 1960s by several generations. *Galápagos* (1985) reverses the self-conscious trend by using the author’s understanding of both biology and anthropology to propose an interesting reverse evolution of human intelligence into less threatening forms. *Bluebeard* (1997) and *Hocus Pocus* (1990) confirm this readjustment by celebrating protagonists like the abstract expressionist Rabo Karabekian and the Vietnam veteran instructor Gene Hartke who articulate America’s artistic and socioeconomic heritage from a position of quiet anonymity.

That Kurt Vonnegut remains a great innovator in both subject matter and style is evident from his later, better developed essay collections, *Palm Sunday* (1981) and *Fates Worse Than Death* (1991), and his most radically inventive work so far, *Timequake* (1997), which salvages parts of an unsuccessful fictive work and combines them with discursive commentary to become a compellingly effective autobiography of a novel. His model in both novel writing and spokespersonship remains Mark Twain, whose vernacular style remains Vonnegut’s own test of authenticity. As he says in *Palm Sunday*, “I myself find that I trust my own writing most, and others seem to trust it most, too, when I sound like a person from Indianapolis, which is what I am.”

—Jerome Klinkowitz

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# W

## Wagner, Honus (1874-1955)

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In 1936, Honus Wagner, “The Flying Dutchman,” became one of the first five players to be inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame. When the Pittsburgh Pirates’ shortstop retired in 1917, he had accumulated more stolen bases, total bases, RBIs, hits, and runs than any player to that point. He also hit over .300 for seventeen consecutive seasons, while winning the National League batting title eight times. In 1910, Wagner, a nonsmoker, asked for his American Tobacco Company baseball card to be recalled because he objected to being associated with tobacco promotion; the recalled card sold for \$451,000 during a 1991 auction. He died in Carnegie, Pennsylvania, at the age of 81.

—Nathan R. Meyer

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## Wagon Train

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One of television’s most illustrious westerns, *Wagon Train* wedded the cowboy genre to the anthology show format. Premiering



Honus Wagner

in 1957, when the western first conquered prime time, *Wagon Train* told a different story each week about travelers making the long journey from St. Joseph, Missouri, to California during the post-Civil War era. Such guest stars as Ernest Borgnine and Shelley Winters interacted with series regulars: the wagonmaster (first played by Ward Bond, then after his death, by John McIntire); the frontier scout (first Robert Horton, then Scott Miller and Robert Fuller); and the lead wagon driver (Frank McGrath). Inspired by John Ford’s *The Wagonmaster*, the hour-long series (expanded to 90 minutes during the 1963-64 season) was shot on location in the San Fernando Valley and produced by MCA, giving the episodes a cinematic sheen. For three years *Wagon Train* placed a close second to *Bonanza* before becoming the most popular series in the nation during the 1961-62 season. The show left the air in 1965 after 284 episodes.

—Ron Simon

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## Waits, Tom (1949—)

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The music and lyrics of Tom Waits evinced nostalgic pathos for the archetypal neighborhood barfly at a time when much of America was listening to soft rock or gearing up for punk. Like a time-warped beatnik, Waits debuted in 1973 with *Closing Time* and followed with several acoustic jazz/folk albums throughout the 1970s. His gravelly, bygone, bittersweet voice became one of the most distinctive in popular music. Later Waits revved up his stage persona and electrified his music for a semiautobiographical stage cabaret, album, and feature-length video, *Big Time* (1988). Tom Waits is also a regular contributor to film soundtracks and has appeared in movies as well, typically playing a gruff, gin-soaked palooka as in *The Outsiders* (1983), *Down by Law* (1986), *Ironweed* (1987), and *Short Cuts* (1992).

—Tony Brewer

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## Walker, Aaron “T-Bone” (1910-1975)

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Jazz and blues streams have flowed side by side with occasional cross currents in the evolution of black music. The musical crosscurrents of Aaron “T-Bone” Walker bridge these two streams; he was equally





**T-Bone Walker**

at home in both jazz and blues. He performed with jazz musicians such as Johnny Hodges, Lester Young, Dizzy Gillespie, and Count Basie, among others. Walker and Charlie Christian, in their teens, both contemporaneously developed the guitar in blues and jazz, respectively. Walker linked the older rural country blues—à la Blind Lemon Jefferson—and the so-called city classic blues singers such as Ida Cox and Bessie Smith of the 1920s, to the jazz-influenced urban blues of the 1940s; he also linked the older rural folk blues to the virtuoso blues. Walker has no antecedent or successor in blues—he was the father of electric blues and one of the first to record electric blues and to further define, refine, and provide the musical language employed by successive guitarists. His showmanship—playing the guitar behind his back or performing a sideway split while never missing a beat or note—influenced Elvis Presley’s act. Walker clearly influenced scores of musicians such as Chuck Berry, Freddie & Albert King, Mike Bloomfield, and Johnny Winter. “In a very real sense the modern blues is largely his creation . . . among blues artists he is nonpareil: no one has contributed as much, as long, or as variously to the blues as he has,” noted the late Pete Welding in a Blue Note reissue of his work.

Aaron Thibeaux Walker (T-Bone is a probable mispronunciation of Thibeaux) was born on May 10, 1910 in rural Linden, Texas, but his mother moved to Dallas in 1912. His musical apprenticeship was varied and provided rich opportunities that prepared him for his role as showman and consummate artist. Walker was a self-taught singer, songwriter, banjoist, guitarist, pianist, and dancer. His mother, Movelia, was a musician, and her place served as a hangout for

itinerant musicians. Her second husband, Marco Washington, was a multi-instrumentalist who led a string band and provided young Walker the opportunity to lead the band in street parades while dancing and collecting tips. At the age of eight, Walker escorted the legendary Blind Lemon Jefferson around the streets of Dallas, and at the age of 14, he performed in Dr. Breeding’s Big B Medicine show. He returned home only to leave again with city blues singer Ida Cox. While in school, Walker played banjo with the school’s 16-piece band. In 1929, he won first prize in a talent show which provided the opportunity to travel for a week with Cab Calloway’s band. But it was during his engagement with Count Bulaski’s white band that Walker fortuitously met Chuck Richardson, a music teacher who tutored Walker and Charlie Christian. Walker began earnestly honing his guitar techniques, and at times, also jammed with Christian. Unfortunately, he could not escape the pitfalls of “street life” during his musical apprenticeship and began gambling and drinking; he would later become a womanizer. In his teens, he contracted stomach ulcers, which continually plagued him throughout his career.

Walker first recorded for Columbia Records in 1929 as Oak Cliff T-Bone. The two sides were entitled “Witchita Falls” and “Trinity River Blues.” By 1934, Walker had met and married Vida Lee; they were together until his death. Walker and Vida Lee moved to Los Angeles, where Walker played several clubs as a singer, guitarist, dancer, and emcee. His enormous popularity quickly secured him a firm place in the Hollywood club scene. When he complained to the management that his black audience could not come to see him, the management integrated the club. His big break came with Les Hite’s Band, with whom he recorded “T-Bone Blues” in 1939-1940 and appeared on both East and West coasts. Ironically, Walker was not playing guitar on this recording but only sang. From 1945 to 1960, he recorded for a number of labels and became one of the principal architects of the California Blues. Some of his songs that have become classics of the blues repertoire are “Call it Stormy Monday,” “T-Bone Shuffle,” “Bobby Sox Blues,” “Long Skirt Baby Blues,” and “Mean Old World.”

Walker was a musician’s musician; his musicality was impeccable. His phrasing, balance, melodic inventions, and improvisations carried the blues to a higher aesthetic level than had been attained before. He serenaded mostly women with his songs of unrequited love, and the lyrics often gave a clue to the paradox of his own existence, as evidenced in “Mean Old World”: “I drink to keep from worrying and Mama I smile to keep from crying / That’s to keep the public from knowing just what I have on my mind.”

Because Walker’s recordings were made prior to the coming of rock ‘n’ roll, he missed out on the blues revival that Joe Turner and other blues artists enjoyed. His records never crossed over into the popular market, and his audience was primarily African American. While the Allman Brothers recording of his song “Call It Stormy Monday” sold millions, his version was allowed to go out of print. From the mid-1950s to the early 1970s, the balance of his career was played out in small West Coast clubs as one-nighters. Although he did tour Europe in the 1960s and was a sensation in Paris, there were few opportunities to record. Walker suffered a stroke in 1974, and on March 16, 1975, he died. More than 1,000 mourners came out to grieve the loss of this great musician.

—Willie Collins

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## Walker, Aida Overton (1880-1914)

Aida Overton Walker dazzled early-twentieth-century theater audiences with her original dance routines, her enchanting singing voice, and her penchant for elegant costumes. One of the premiere African American women artists of the turn of the century, she popularized the cakewalk and introduced it to English society. In addition to her attractive stage persona and highly acclaimed performances, she won the hearts of black entertainers for numerous benefit performances near the end of her tragically short career and for her cultivation of younger women performers. She was, in the words of the *New York Age*'s Lester Walton, the exponent of "clean, refined artistic entertainment."

Born in 1880 in Richmond, Virginia, Aida Overton grew up in New York City, where her family moved when she was young and where she gained an education and considerable musical training. At the tender age of fifteen, she joined John Isham's Octoroons, one of the most influential black touring groups of the 1890s, and the following year she became a member of the Black Patti Troubadours. Although the show consisted of dozens of performers, Overton emerged as one of the most promising soubrettes of her day. In 1898, she joined the company of the famous comedy team Bert Williams and George Walker, and appeared in all of their shows—*The Policy Players* (1899), *The Sons of Ham* (1900), *In Dahomey* (1902), *Abyssinia* (1905), and *Bandanna Land* (1907). Within about a year of their meeting, George Walker and Overton married and before long became one of the most admired and elegant African American couples on stage.

While George Walker supplied most of the ideas for the musical comedies and Bert Williams enjoyed fame as the "funniest man in America," Aida quickly became an indispensable member of the Williams and Walker Company. In *The Sons of Ham*, for example, her rendition of *Hannah from Savannah* won praise for combining superb vocal control with acting skill that together presented a positive, strong image of black womanhood. Indeed, onstage Aida refused to comply with the plantation image of black women as plump mammies, happy to serve; like her husband, she viewed the representation of refined African American types on the stage as important political work. A talented dancer, Aida improvised original routines that her husband eagerly introduced in the shows; when *In Dahomey* was moved to England, Aida proved to be one of the strongest attractions. Society women invited her to their homes for private lessons in the exotic cakewalk that the Walkers had included in the show. After two seasons in England, the company returned to the United States in 1904, and it was Aida who was featured in a *New York Herald* interview about their tour. At times Walker asked his wife to interpret dances made famous by other performers—one example being the "Salome" dance that took Broadway by storm in the early 1900s— which she did with uneven success.

After a decade of nearly continuous success with the Williams and Walker Company, Aida's career took an unexpected turn when her husband collapsed on tour with *Bandanna Land*. Initially Walker

returned to his boyhood home of Lawrence, Kansas, where his mother took care of him. In his absence, Aida took over many of his songs and dances to keep the company together. In early 1909, however, *Bandanna Land* was forced to close, and Aida temporarily retired from stage work to care for her husband, now clearly seriously ill. No doubt recognizing that he likely would not recover and that she alone could support the family, she returned to the stage in Bob Cole and J. Rosamond Johnson's *Red Moon* in autumn 1909, and she joined the Smart Set Company in 1910. Aida also began touring the vaudeville circuit as a solo act. Less than two weeks after Walker's death in January 1911, Aida signed a two-year contract to appear as a co-star with S. H. Dudley in another all-black traveling show.

Although still a relatively young woman in the early 1910s, Aida began to develop medical problems that limited her capacity for constant touring and stage performance. As early as 1908, she had begun organizing benefits to aid such institutions as the Industrial Home for Colored Working Girls, and after her contract with S. H. Dudley expired, she devoted more of her energy to such projects, which allowed her to remain in New York. She also took an interest in developing the talents of younger women in the profession, hoping to pass along her vision of black performance as refined and elegant. She produced shows for two such female groups in 1913 and 1914—the Porto Rico Girls and the Happy Girls. She encouraged them to work up original dance numbers and insisted that they don stylish costumes on stage.

When Aida Overton Walker died suddenly of kidney failure on October 11, 1914, the African American entertainment community in New York went into deep mourning. The *New York Age* featured a lengthy obituary on its front page, and hundreds of shocked entertainers descended on her residence to confirm a story they hoped was untrue. Walker left behind a legacy of polished performance and model professionalism. Her demand for respect and her generosity made her a beloved figure in African American theater circles.

—Susan Curtis

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## Walker, Alice (1944—)

Alice Walker won the Pulitzer Prize and the American Book Award for her 1982 novel *The Color Purple*. By that time she was already a well-established and published writer, but it was the Pulitzer that catapulted her into international recognition. Her books have since been translated into more than two dozen languages, and it was Steven Spielberg's 1985 film adaptation of the novel that brought her to the widespread attention of mainstream audiences. Both the book and the film were controversial, and Walker's fame was accompanied by severe criticism. In *The Same River Twice: Honoring the Difficult* (1996), a book containing essays, journal entries, letters, and her original, never-used screenplay for the film, Walker addresses the criticism that the film was not true to her book: "Though *The Color*

*Purple* is not what many wished, it is more than many hoped, or had seen on a movie screen before.” She acknowledges that most hurtful were the accusations that she hated black men and had portrayed them in stereotypical and demeaning ways. Although Walker openly advocates black sisterhood, she also openly and adamantly advocates the spiritual survival of all black people, men and women. It is this preoccupation, to use her own term, that properly describes her life and her life’s work of writing and activism.

Writing became important to Walker at an early age as a survival mechanism. Born Alice Malsenior Walker on February 9, 1944, in Eatonton, Georgia, she was the eighth child of Willie Lee and Minnie Lou Grant, southern sharecroppers. Walker has described the houses in which her family lived while she was growing up as “shabby” and “crowded,” and she therefore spent a great deal of time out of doors; her writing is partly rooted in her need for space. When she was just eight years old, one of her brothers accidentally shot her in the eye with a BB gun, which blinded her in that eye and left her physically and emotionally scarred. She writes poignantly in “Beauty: When the Other Dancer Is the Self,” of how years later, her young daughter Rebecca helped her to see herself as “beautiful, whole and free.” She also describes how fear of losing sight in the other eye enabled her to imagine life with all its injustices and all its beauty. As she put it, she “dashed about the world madly . . . storing up images against the fading light.”

The dual themes of beauty and injustice permeate Walker’s work and can explain the interrelationship of her writing and activism, as well as her popularity. Although critics have focused on the homosexuality and violence in *The Color Purple*, Walker juxtaposes images of rape, incest, and other examples of physical and emotional abuse with love, loyalty, pleasurable and empowering sex, parental joy, and the communal bonding of men and women. It was the characters’ stories of joy and sorrow, rather than the negative depictions of black men, that helped keep *The Color Purple* on the *New York Times* Bestseller List for over a year. Similarly, in *Possessing the Secret of Joy*, another of her bestselling novels, Walker attacks the practice of female genital mutilation as she simultaneously depicts the beauty of love and sex between the young African woman Tashi and her American husband, Adam, who both appeared in *The Color Purple*.

Although it largely explores the oppressions and triumphs of black women, her collection of essays *In Search of Our Mothers’ Gardens* (1983) holds interest for anyone who, like Walker, thinks black women are “fascinating creatures.” Both black and white women have praised its significant contribution to their own feminist enterprises. With these essays, Walker articulates the silences of generations of women whose stories were told through their everyday work such as quilting, gardening, and cooking. At the outset, she defines the term “womanish” and suggests that it may be useful in helping black women talk about their feminism in culturally specific ways. Still, throughout the various essays she provides a space for white feminists to discover the commonalities of women’s oppression by emphasizing her belief that we are all part of one larger life story. Her 1976 novel *Meridian* is another example of her determination to revise the zero image of black women. In it she explores the important roles they played in the civil-rights movement of the 1960s, the success of which has historically been attributed to men. It is also partly because of Walker’s dedication to the spiritual survival of her people generally and black women specifically that the life and work of Zora Neale Hurston have been recovered. Hurston was a black woman writer and anthropologist who participated significantly in the Harlem Renaissance. In making a personal sojourn to Florida to find

and mark Hurston’s grave site, Walker has also helped restore dignity to a woman whose contributions to African American literature and culture are manifold but who died in poverty and obscurity.

Walker continues to be a prolific writer. She has authored six novels, as well as numerous collections of poetry, essays, short stories, and several children’s books. She also continues to write about controversial issues, regardless of criticism, and remains popular because the issues are most often those that affect everyday people—ranging from the Million Man March and O. J. Simpson to repressed female sexuality and the need for struggle. She has said that she writes about controversial issues out of love, not hate, a reflection of her belief, as she expresses it in the Preface to *The Same River Twice*, that “Art is the mirror, perhaps the only one, in which we can see our true collective face. We must honor its sacred function. We must let art help us.”

—Jacquelyn Y. McLendon

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## Walker, George (1873-1911)

George Walker won fame at the turn of the twentieth century as the comedy half of the African American team of Williams and Walker. Up-to-date costuming, quick urban wit, and the character of the strutting dandy became the trademarks of his onstage persona. Walker’s collaboration with Bert Williams resulted in one of the most popular black comedy teams to appear in successful musical comedy productions in the early 1900s. Beyond his personal fame, Walker also devoted great energy to the professionalization of black theater and performance. He served as a model to younger performers, and his efforts to form black professional organizations helped establish and maintain artistic and ethical standards for those working on the stage. Moreover, Walker’s ambitious productions demanded scores of singers and dancers who gained employment and valuable stage experience.

Walker’s humble beginnings did not predict the central role he would play in the black acting fraternity of the early twentieth century. Born in Lawrence, Kansas, in 1873, Walker began his career as part of a medicine show using the moniker “Nash” Walker. The show made its way westward to San Francisco, where in 1893, Walker met and teamed up with Bert Williams. The two formed a vaudeville act, toured with a succession of minstrel troupes, medicine shows, and traveling vaudeville shows, and found themselves stranded and unemployed in Chicago in the mid-1890s.

By this time, the pair had polished an act in which Williams played the straight man and Walker supplied the comic punch lines,

so they continued from Chicago on to New York. There they made a splash in a bit sketch in Victor Herbert's otherwise unsuccessful *Gold Bug* (1896) and attracted the attention of producers of other comedy revues. They joined prominent white acts like McIntyre & Heath and Helena Mora in the Hyde Show, but left it in 1897 to join an all-black company in Will Marion Cook's *Clorindy*. Although the show did not succeed, their experience convinced them to seek the services of a professional management team. After reaching an agreement with Hurtig & Seamon, Williams and Walker starred in a string of musical comedies that put them at the center of the New York entertainment scene.

Under Hurtig & Seamon's management, Walker and Williams appeared in a variety show, *A Lucky Coon*, and three musical comedies that featured fuller plots, opportunities to act as well as sing and dance, and double-edged comedy that appealed to black and white audiences alike. In 1899, Walker married a talented singer and dancer, Aida Overton, who had joined the company a year earlier. His wife became a featured player in all the subsequent Williams and Walker musical comedies. While *The Policy Players* (1899) and *The Sons of Ham* (1900) enjoyed considerable success, it was Williams and Walker's *In Dahomey* (1902) that brought them national and international fame. The opening of this show on February 18, 1903 marked the first time a full-length African American musical comedy in three acts appeared on a Broadway stage. Following a run of 53 performances, the show traveled to England, where it remained for two seasons. A successful command performance at Buckingham Palace assured the show's success in London. Upon returning to the United States, the Williams and Walker company took *In Dahomey* on tour in this country for the 1904-1905 season.

Disagreements with their managers led to a break, and the two comedians signed with Melville B. Raymond and organized the extravagant production, *Abyssinia*, in 1905. Although Bert Williams was a more popular and perhaps more talented performer, George Walker supplied the main ideas for this production, which featured avant garde lighting effects, elaborate props, and elegant costumes for the entire cast. In their final show, *Bandanna Land* (1907), George Walker fell ill and was forced to retire from show business in the middle of the 1908-1909 season. He died in 1911.

Shortly before his retirement, Walker helped found an organization for African American professional entertainers. Like the more famous white actor's social club, the Lambs, the Frogs intended to promote "social intercourse between the representative members of the Negro theatrical profession." Under Walker's leadership, the Frogs maintained club rooms in Harlem, organized occasional events like the "Frolic of the Frogs" that featured prominent black acts, dining, and dancing, and represented a standard of excellence in stage work to which younger entertainers were encouraged to aspire. Having devoted the last years of his career to this organization, Walker was remembered at his death as a "dominating force in the theatrical world more because of the service he rendered the colored members of the profession because of the opportunities he created than for the types he has originated." Although adored for his famous stage smile, his insistence on fashionable costuming, and his practiced—and oft-imitated—dandy strutting on stage, George Walker set his sights higher than personal fame in Jim Crow America of the early 1900s. His chief aim, according to his friend Lester Walton, was "to elevate the colored theatrical profession, and the race as well . . .

to give as elaborate productions as the white shows and play in the best theatres." To an extent, he realized this dream, but his death also marked the beginning of the rapid decline of black musical comedy in pre-World War I America.

—Susan Curtis

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## Junior Walker and the All-Stars

Junior Walker and the All-Stars were a rhythm-and-blues band that produced several smash hits for the Motown label in the 1960s with an untutored, earthy sound that went against type for Motown, but that provided the first of a new kind of hit for the recording industry giant.

The group's leader, Junior Walker, whose real name was Autry DeWalt II (1931-1995), was born in Blythesville, Arkansas. As a young man he lived around South Bend, Indiana, where he met guitarist Willie Woods. During the early 1950s the two performed in a group called the Jumping Jacks. Walker, only a fair singer, was soon regarded as one of the best saxophonists of his generation.

By the mid-1950s, Walker and Woods had moved to Battle Creek, Michigan, and linked up with organist Vic Thomas and drummer James Graves. Those four called themselves the All-Stars, supposedly after a fan yelled out that every player was a star in this band. There was considerable truth in that statement, both because all four men were consummate R&B musicians, and because their relaxed, jam-session approach gave each player a chance to show his stuff. Years later, Grateful Dead guitarist Jerry Garcia would specifically cite "Cleo's Mood," the 1966 instrumental tune penned by Willie Woods, as an inspiration for the Dead's give-and-take jams.

The All-Stars became very popular in Michigan clubs around 1960. In 1962, while they were performing at El Grotto, they were discovered by Johnny Bristol, at that time a recording artist for Tri-Phi Records in Detroit. Bristol strongly suggested that the group meet Tri-Phi president Harvey Fuqua. Fuqua himself was a former R&B performer; as one of the Moonglows, he had released a number of hits during the 1950s for Chicago's Chess Records. By 1962 he was president of both the Tri-Phi and the Harvey labels in Detroit; his wife owned Anna Records, and his brother-in-law, Berry Gordy, was the head of Motown, among the very few black-owned record labels of any size in the country. Fuqua quickly signed Junior Walker and the All-Stars to his Harvey label. Over the next year the band released three singles (but no hits), including "Twistlackawanna" and "Good



**Junior Walker and the All-Stars**

Rockin' Tonight," the latter a cover of Elvis Presley's 1954 Sun label single (itself a cover of the Wynonie Harris version from 1948).

Harvey Fuqua's money troubles led him to fold his two companies and become a producer and talent scout for Berry Gordy. Although Junior Walker and the All-Stars did not automatically receive a contract with Motown, they did soon afterwards thanks to Fuqua's recommendation. Gordy used the All-Stars to launch his new, more R&B-oriented label, Soul.

In 1964 the band released "Monkey Jim," a song that sank without a trace, but its March 1965 single, "Shotgun," exceeded everyone's expectations. "Shotgun" started off literally with a bang: a gunshot that got its listeners' full attention right away. The song was a classic R&B tune that quickly went to #1 on the R&B charts; more surprisingly, it also spent several weeks in the pop Top Ten, peaking at #4. This performance was never surpassed by later All-Star releases. Most of their fifteen hit records would do significantly better on the R&B charts, because that is what they were. Two of these fifteen hits went to #1, and nine more singles reached the Top Ten. Junior Walker and the All-Stars had a dozen hits on the *Billboard* pop

charts though only two ever made it to the Top Ten. Unlike the typical middle of the road Motown product, Junior Walker's singles were unabashedly rough and tough.

The All-Stars' strongest pop singles, after "Shotgun," were "(I'm a) Road-Runner," written and produced by Holland, Dozier, and Holland, the trio most responsible for the Supremes' hits; "How Sweet It Is (To Be Loved By You)," from the same team; and "What Does It Take (To Win Your Love)," a ballad produced and co-written by the band's old associates Johnny Bristol and Harvey Fuqua, by that time colleagues in Motown's production department. "What Does It Take" was a different sort of song for the All-Stars, slow and dreamy by comparison with their usual output, but it was their only record to equal "Shotgun" on the charts. "Shotgun" itself was written by Autry DeWalt II; when the All-Stars performed, he was Junior Walker, but when he copyrighted his creations, he kept his original DeWalt name.

The All-Stars had a reasonably successful career by Motown standards, releasing fifteen charted singles (and several albums) over a seven-year period but, also typically, not making much money for

that label. The band had no further charted singles after 1971, but continued to tour on Motown-sponsored revues. Junior Walker moved to southern California about the time Motown relocated there in the 1970s, but moved back to the Battle Creek area after a few years. He remained active as a performer, playing with a variety of sidemen; in 1988 Walker appeared in the comedy film, *Tape Heads*. In the 1990s, his son Autry DeWalt III was a frequent drummer with the band.

Much of the All-Stars' music was underappreciated by the audiences of their day, and some of it was not heard at all. Among professional musicians, though, the band is held in higher esteem than many with greater popular reputations. Junior Walker died of cancer in Battle Creek on November 23, 1995, one of the great musicians of his generation.

—David Lonergan

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## Walker, Madame C. J. (1867-1919)

In the field of black hair care, Madame C. J. Walker employed groundbreaking entrepreneurial, organizational, and marketing strategies to revolutionize the industry. At her death in 1919 Walker had amassed a fortune, making her the first African-American female millionaire.

Born Sarah Breedlove in 1867 in Delta, Louisiana, Walker moved to St. Louis twenty years later in search of better social and economic opportunities. Widowed, with a two-year-old daughter, she struggled financially but was determined not to spend her entire life as a domestic. After moving to Denver in 1905 Walker's hair began to fall out and she experimented with several formulas until she stopped her hair loss. This encouraged her to develop and market her own product, the "Walker hair-grower," to black women throughout the Denver area. "My hair was coming in faster that it had ever fallen out. I tried it on my friends; it helped them. I made up my mind that I would begin to sell it." After much success with the product in Denver, Walker and her new husband, Charles Joseph Walker, began to market the product throughout the United States, South America, and the Caribbean. She soon developed an entire array of black hair care products that became simply known as the "Walker System," which included a shampoo, the "hair-grower," and a hot iron. Her method turned coarse hair into a straight and silky European-like hair.

To sell her products Walker hired black women (known as "Walker agents,") who went door-to-door dressed in white blouses and black skirts. This canvassing was supplemented by an intense advertising campaign in black newspapers and magazines across the



Madame C. J. Walker

country. Readers could hardly miss her ads which, like her products, carried her portrait. Later she established beauty parlors and beauty schools to acquaint people with her products and she also built factories and laboratories that manufactured her goods. This business approach enabled her to become the first black female millionaire.

In spite of her superb business acumen Walker was often criticized in the black community for trying to make black women look like white females. But she insisted that her products were not "straighteners," but rather a formula for a healthy scalp and manageable hair. After opening a second headquarters in Pittsburgh, Walker moved her company to Indianapolis in 1910, and then to New York City four years later as her gross revenues began to exceed \$1 million annually. With her fortune Walker lived extravagantly, with massive real-estate investments in and around New York City. In spite of this extravagance, Walker was consistent in supporting a large number of black philanthropic endeavors, including the NAACP.

Walker's significance lies in the fact that she revolutionized and pioneered the black hair care industry which would eventually become a multi-billion dollar business. Hair care companies that had ignored the African-American consumer now began to develop and market products akin to Walker's. Walker died at the age of 51 after a brief illness.

—Leonard N. Moore

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## Walkman

The Walkman became one of the most successful audio products of the postwar period, and like the Victrola before it, any personal portable cassette player was called a "walkman," regardless of manufacturer. The portable personal stereo was the most important electronics product of the 1980s. Bought by millions of people worldwide, it dramatically changed the way people listened to music. Its convenience and small size dictated the shape and function of the next generation of digital technology. Manufacturer Sony's hunch was right: Americans did buy them in the millions, and the walkman became one of those products that everybody owned, like a television, radio, or VCR.

The introduction of the Phillips compact tape cassette in 1963 was an important technological step in the reduction of size of talking machines. The machines that played them used transistorized, solid-state amplifiers that took up far less room than vacuum tubes. The size of the cassette tape recorder was continually reduced in the 1960s to about the size of a paperback book. This was considered small enough for a portable unit.

Masuru Ibuka of Sony wanted an even smaller stereo unit for his personal use, one that he could put in his coat pocket. The company he cofounded had made a profitable practice of reducing the size of electronic consumer goods; starting with reel-to-reel tape recorders, radios, and then televisions, Sony had managed to find an unexpectedly large market for scaled down versions of appliances that most families already owned. Sony's engineers took the path of a battery-operated cassette player that used highly efficient earphones instead of a loudspeaker. All the parts of the player were improved and reduced in size. Ibuka and his partner Akio Morita were the leading proponents of the miniature tape player within Sony, where there was considerable resistance to the idea. Why would anyone want to own a tape player that was just slightly larger than the cassette tape it played? Ignoring the advice of their marketing department, the leaders of Sony took a chance with a product that the experts expected would never sell.

In 1979 Sony introduced its Soundabout cassette player, which was later called the Walkman. Although the innovative elements of the Soundabout system were praised, it was initially treated as something of a novelty in the audio industry. Priced at \$200, it could not realistically be considered as a product for the mass market. Although it sold very well in Japan, where people were used to listening to music on headphones, sales in the United States were not encouraging. Sony's engineers reduced the size and cost of the machine and introduced the Walkman II in 1981. It was 25 percent smaller than the original version and had 50 percent fewer moving

parts. Even more enticing to consumers was that its price dropped considerably. The Walkman opened up a huge market for tape players that nobody knew existed. Americans were enjoying a more active lifestyle and embraced the concept of portable music, even if they had to sacrifice sound quality for portability. But as Sony developed the product, especially the earphone speakers, its fidelity and stereo reproduction improved drastically. It took about two years for Sony's Japanese competitors, including Matsushita, Toshiba, and Aiwa, to bring out portable personal stereos. Sony remained ahead of the competition by constant innovation: Dolby noise reduction circuits were added in 1982, and a rechargeable battery feature was introduced in 1985. The machine grew smaller and smaller until it was hardly larger than the audio cassette it played.

In the ten years following the introduction of the Walkman, Sony sold 50 million units, including 25 million in the United States. Its competitors sold millions more. They were manufactured all over the Far East and came in a broad range of sizes and prices, with the cheapest model selling for around \$20. By the 1990s the market for personal stereos in the United States was around 20 to 30 million units a year. Those who doubted the appeal of a personal tape recorder were silenced by the variety of uses that only a walkman could provide. Waterproofed walkmen were marketed to those who enjoyed watersports, and there were special durable models for tennis players and runners. While sitting in a crowded subway car or jogging through a park one could enjoy high fidelity recorded sound.

Although a tribute to the semiconductor and the ingenuity of Japanese engineering, the walkman is not purely significant in the way it works but also in what it represents. It is an evolutionary step in a process that began about a hundred years earlier when pioneers of recorded sound began to reduce the size and cost of their machines. It is a significant product of portability resulting from the demands of an on-the-move, industrial society. It established a one-on-one relationship between people and their machines that changed the way that we hear recorded sound, having a noticeable effect on the way that people listen to music. The sound from the headphones of a portable player is intimate and immediate compared to the sound coming from the loudspeaker of a home stereo. Recording studios even began to mix the balance of their master recordings to suit the reproduction characteristics of walkman headphones.

—Andre Millard

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## Wall Drug

A rest stop at Wall Drug in South Dakota is a passport to a truly egalitarian social setting. It is a place that not only relieves highway



Wall Drug, South Dakota.

tedium but enables friendly interaction with other people from all walks of life, none of which could have been foreseen in its humble origins. For summer travelers driving endless hot hours across the Great Plains, an offer of free ice water cannot possibly be ignored. This simple but effective advertising gimmick was the savior of a small shop threatened with extinction by the hard times of the Depression. It was the brainchild of Ted and Dorothy Hustead, who had owned the establishment for five years without seeing much in the way of profit. In 1936, they put up some signs along the highway, and visitors started pouring in. They were still arriving in droves by the end of the twentieth century, and the tiny drug store located off Interstate-90 in downtown Wall, South Dakota, has expanded, evolving into several blocks of representational Wild West architecture, where shaded arcades of shops share space with motel and restaurant facilities. And yes, you can still get that free ice water.

—Robert Kuhlken

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## *The Wall Street Journal*

Someone glancing at the front page of *The Wall Street Journal* for the first time might be deceived. Unlike other newspapers, the

*Journal* does not have, with one exception, multiple-column headlines or any photographs. It does not look like most newspapers. One might get the impression that the *Journal* is a conservative newspaper, and on one hand, the observer would be correct. The *Journal* became the United States’ first national newspaper in the twentieth century and was a leader both in innovative writing styles as well as espousing politically conservative opinions. On top of that, it had the highest circulation of any daily newspaper in the United States. Clearly, it would be wrong to pigeonhole a publication that began as a handwritten sheet of business news and a century later was a three-section highly regarded newspaper that could claim more than thirty Pulitzer Prizes.

The newspaper that a twentieth-century president (Harry Truman) referred to as “the Republican bible” was founded in 1882 by Charles H. Dow and Edward D. Jones as part of Dow Jones & Company. In fact, for at least the first fifty years of its existence, the *Journal* played second fiddle to the company’s profitable business news ticker. In that first half century, it was not uncommon for *Journal* reporters to trade in stocks they also wrote about, a conflict of interest that William Henry Grimes ended when he became the managing editor in 1934. Grimes, who would win the *Journal*’s first Pulitzer Prize in 1947, established the paper as independent of its sources rather than beholden to them, which enabled it to report more freely and confidently on business news and to be more trusted by readers.

The man who ultimately shaped the modern *Wall Street Journal* was Barney “Bernard” Kilgore, who replaced Grimes in 1941. At the time, the *Journal* published two editions, the second of which was called the Pacific Coast edition. It was Kilgore’s goal to make the paper national, meaning a reader in Los Angeles would get the same paper as readers in Miami, St. Paul, Houston, and New York City.



Folding the Pacific Coast edition into the regular edition was one of Kilgore's first steps in that direction. Kilgore was ahead of his time as far as technology was concerned. Although one could argue that because it was not delivered on the same day nationally, the *Journal* was not technically a national newspaper, Kilgore's vision paid off when satellites eventually made it easier for the newspaper to be distributed to regional printing plants for home delivery around the United States. The use of satellite delivery from a central location to regional plants became a model that other newspapers such as *USA Today* and *The New York Times* later followed.

Many of Kilgore's changes remain part of the newspaper. He had a great impact on the paper's writing style, for example. He told reporters to write for the readers, not for bankers. He had been a highly regarded writer, and when reporters once complained to President Franklin Roosevelt that they could not understand the federal budget, FDR replied: "Read Kilgore in *The Wall Street Journal*; he understands it." Kilgore's axiom that reporters should write for the readers, not the people being written about, became conventional wisdom throughout the newspaper industry.

Kilgore also decreed that not all stories had to be written in the inverted pyramid style, that is with the most important information at the beginning of the story and the least important at the end. Instead, he not only encouraged reporters to produce in-depth stories that did not have a peg to yesterday's news, but also broadened the topics that reporters could write about. In his mind, just about any story could fit under the rubric of business and economics. Reporters produced not only company profiles but also stories on social trends and stories that some editors would view as whimsical or off the wall. It was Kilgore who ended the use of photographs on the front page and it was Kilgore who moved the *Journal* out from under the shadow of the Dow Jones news ticker. Under his watch, the *Journal* began building circulation and making money.

In reality, *The Wall Street Journal* is more than just one newspaper. It encompasses several other business-related newspapers and magazines, both in print and on line. Among them are *The Asian Wall Street Journal*, *The Asian Wall Street Journal Weekly Edition*, *National Business Employment Weekly*, *The Wall Street Journal Americas*, *The Wall Street Journal Europe*, *Barron's*, *Dow Jones Financial Publishing*, and *SmartMoney*. One offshoot not listed is the *National Observer*, which Kilgore created in 1962 and which lasted until 1977. It was, in effect, the *Journal's* Sunday paper or weekly magazine and it was filled with analysis and features. It was such a different paper that among its early staff writers were non-traditionalists such as Tom Wolfe, later a force in the New Journalism movement, and Hunter S. Thompson, whose first major success was *Hell's Angels*, based on an article he had written about the infamous motorcycle gang. Perhaps if Kilgore had lived longer, the *National Observer* would have succeeded. But he died within five years of its founding, after working for the *Journal* for 38 years. While the *Observer* survived for another 10 years it was without its founder's guiding hand.

As the *Journal* began its second century, it became more known for its archly conservative editorials than for its news coverage. This is somewhat surprising, since the bulk of the paper's Pulitzer Prizes have been awarded for its reporting, not its editorials, although that dichotomy reveals much about the paper. The *Journal*, of course, has always been conservative on its editorial page, but the page gained

notoriety because of the perception that its voice had changed from conservative to ideologue and had lost its independence.

Politics aside, the *Journal* ranks as a pacesetter in journalism, not just business journalism. Its large circulation and national audience speak to the wisdom of men like William Grimes and Barney Kilgore.

—R. Thomas Berner

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## Wallace, Sippie (1898-1986)

Born Beulah Thomas in Texas, Sippie Wallace began her professional singing career as a teenager. After moving to Chicago in 1923 with her husband and brothers (with whom she wrote and performed), she won a recording contract with Okeh Records. Known for her risqué lyrics ("I'm a Mighty Tight Woman"), black-and woman-centered subjects ("Women, Be Wise"), and rough phrasing, Wallace recorded much of her best music for Okeh between 1923 and 1927. Her music, like much of the blues of the 1920s and 1930s, articulated the experience of being female, black, and poor, offering not only entertainment but also understanding and recognition to black listeners (though, ironically, these differences were often exploited in marketing aimed at whites). She disappeared from the blues scene for nearly 40 years, but made a comeback during the 1960s blues revival, recording several new albums between 1966 and 1986. As one of the blues most stirring voices, Wallace helped to write, sing, and shape twentieth-century American popular culture. She especially influenced singer songwriter Bonnie Raitt, who has recorded many of Wallace's songs.

—Deborah M. Mix

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## Wal-Mart

With nearly 2,500 stores spread across the land, Wal-Mart has become an instantly recognizable and ubiquitous component of American popular culture. There are few places in this country anymore that are beyond a short drive to a Wal-Mart. With upwards of 50,000 different items on the shelves and racks of a typical store, Wal-Mart has literally changed the way Americans shop.

The phenomenal success of Wal-Mart has been the direct result of the vision and energy of its late founder, Sam Walton. His motivation and charisma alone shaped a company which helped to establish discount merchandising as the major form of retail operation in this country. His highly personal management style and folksy, down-home demeanor were instrumental in assembling a fiercely loyal work force and maintaining high employee morale.

Samuel Moore Walton (1918-1992) was born near Kingfisher, Oklahoma, into a farm family. He grew up in Missouri and graduated

in 1940 from the University of Missouri with a degree in economics. After a short stint making 85 dollars a month as a manager trainee for the J.C. Penney Company, Walton served in the Army during World War II and attained the rank of captain. He launched his illustrious career in retailing with the purchase of a Ben Franklin variety store franchise in Newport, Arkansas, where he began his practice of high-volume, discount merchandising. From there, he moved to bigger stores in several locations, calling his newly formed chain "Walton's Five & Dime." He depended on regular newspaper advertising and special sales promotions, and began to experiment with self-service shopping, stationing clerks only at check-out counters. His stores became larger and more numerous, and with his brother "Bud" as a partner in the business, "Walton's Family Centers" by 1962 was the largest independently operated chain of variety stores in the country.

A key strategy in the rapid expansion of Walton's stores was one that would be repeated successfully throughout the later Wal-Mart boom: placing new stores in small towns, based on the realization that the consumer power, represented by relatively small but concentrated populations, was more than adequate to support a large variety store. Walton formed early his notion that a big store in a small town would be lucrative, and would intercept the flow of shoppers traveling to larger cities for major purchases. By establishing initial occupation of these smaller market niches, any threat of subsequent competition



A Wal-Mart store in Williston, Vermont.

would be stifled. Although ready and willing to actively test his idea, Walton failed to find interested investors or franchise affiliation, and so went heavily into debt to finance the establishment of the first Wal-Mart in Rogers, Arkansas, which opened on July 2, 1962. The business prospered during the 1960s, first with several new stores opening in other locations in Arkansas, and then further extension into neighboring states. By the end of the decade, however, the need for expansion capital coaxed Walton into incorporation and sale of public stock.

Walton set a course for rapid enlargement of his new Wal-Mart venture, fearing that if he did not crack the market offered by small towns, some other discount store would beat him to it. From 38 stores in 1971, the chain grew to 276 outlets by 1980, most within a 300 mile radius of the firm's Bentonville, Arkansas headquarters. But the greatest growth was yet to come. In the early 1980s, Walton acquired several other retail chains, and transforming these stores into Wal-Marts allowed for quick saturation of new territory, particularly in the Deep South. At mid-decade, there were nearly 1,000 Wal-Marts in 22 states. For new construction, the prevailing expansion plan never wavered from the proven small town location strategy, although a clever ploy of capturing an increasing market share of large cities came about by setting up stores in nearby suburban areas. Overall, the growth and expansion of Wal-Mart has occurred in three phases. Initially, up until the mid-1970s, stores were tightly clustered around the northwest Arkansas operational hub. The second phase, through 1980, witnessed regional expansion into neighboring states, while in the third phase, Wal-Marts seemed to be springing up everywhere.

Sam Walton once described his management style as "MBWA"—management by walking around. He maintained a rigorous schedule of unannounced store visits, which always included Sam's own cheerleading drill and time for chatting with employees at every level. He acknowledged that human resources were the key to Wal-Mart's success, and Walton maintained a people orientation from the beginning that never wavered or waned. Hard work was always rewarded, with bonuses given for good ideas, and stock options and profit-sharing incentives offered to all personnel. Walton himself worked 16-hour days and expected his corporate executives to do likewise. The egalitarian tone of upper management was legendary, and was symbolized by the lack of assigned parking at corporate headquarters, even for Sam's old pick-up truck. The company nurtured several programs aimed at giving back to the community. There were college scholarships for employees' children, as well as local high school students. With the stated purpose of stemming the tide of jobs leaving the country, there was the much touted "Buy American" campaign (though as critics pointed out, Wal-Mart purchased domestically only if that was the cheapest price available). His recipe for prosperity evidently worked, for by the late 1980s, *Forbes* magazine had placed Sam Walton at the top of their list of the richest people in America for three years running.

By 1987, Wal-Mart ranked fourth among general retail chains, trailing Sears, Kmart, and J.C. Penney's, and in that year alone, the company opened 121 new stores. Its board of directors included the then-first lady of Arkansas—Hilary Rodham Clinton. In 1988, Sam Walton stepped down as CEO (Chief Executive Officer), though he still maintained an active voice in corporate plans and operations. The company he built was now a national icon. As one account opined, "By the end of the 1980s, for its personnel and for the public it served,

the firm had evolved into more than just a job or a store. In the eyes of its growing legion of admirers, Wal-Mart had become a cultural phenomenon." The new decade promised continued success and further expansion, and on one day alone, January 30, 1991, Wal-Mart opened 36 new stores. Later that year, Wal-Mart passed both Sears and Kmart to become the nation's leading retailer. Sad news for the company soon followed, for on April 5, 1992, Sam Walton died. But the retailing spectacle he engineered remained firmly entrenched in American culture.

Wal-Mart instituted a number of important and far-reaching technical innovations that serve as exemplars of retail trade management techniques in this country. In 1977, a company-wide computer system was installed that has grown in sophistication and applications to where its database is second only to the federal government's. Wal-Mart pioneered the use of UPC bar code scanning, not only at the check-out counter, but also at the backroom receiving area, which allowed for quick and accurate inventory data analysis. A satellite-based network, which initially cost \$20 million and has now become the largest privately owned system in the country, allows for regular and instantaneous communications among staff at all stores and management personnel at headquarters.

Another way that Wal-Mart gained an edge on competition was to vertically integrate the processes of wholesale purchasing and distribution of merchandise. Walton set up a series of centrally located distribution centers that received bulk shipments in very large quantities from vendors and suppliers, often by rail. Through a process known as "cross-docking," the goods were then loaded on a fleet of company-owned trucks bound for individual stores, usually the same day. These distribution centers, full of automatic conveyor belts and often as large as 25 acres in area, did not actually function as warehouses, but rather facilitated rapid transfer of products from a wholesale to a retail mode. They now serve the growing network of retail locations at an approximate ratio of one distribution center per 100 stores. The company also assumed control of all departments within stores, including the jewelry, pharmaceutical, and automobile service sections which previously had belonged to outside contractors leasing floor space.

The success of Wal-Mart has been emblematic of changing retail trends in the United States, and has paralleled the rise of discount merchandising. The economies of scale involved with bigger and more numerous stores, bulk purchasing directly from manufacturers, and high volume sales enabled rapid growth and soaring profits even as individual item mark-ups were reduced and the savings passed on to the customer. The public was quick to respond. As traditional department stores declined in consumer appeal, the large variety outlet promising low prices took over. The year Wal-Mart opened its first store—1962—was the same year Kmart, Woolco, and Target first opened stores. But it was Wal-Mart that most successfully negotiated the transition from shopping center and mall-based retailing to one-stop shopping. Sales and service were guided by a pair of slogans which were displayed prominently in every store—"We sell for Less" and "Satisfaction guaranteed." Not only does management strive to uphold those maxims, but a well-trained staff at all locations exudes helpfulness and attention to customers' needs. The "store greeter," often a senior citizen, is a fixture at the entrance to every store.

The amazing spread of Wal-Mart across the American landscape has not been without controversy. Several locations have actually

welcomed the new neighbor, finding that their own business community has prospered from the increased consumer traffic. But much more commonly, local communities perceive the giant store on the edge of town as a threat to main street merchants unable to compete with the bulk purchasing power of a national chain that prides itself on passing its savings on to the consumer. Charges of unfair labor practices have not fazed the infamously non-union shop. For all its self-congratulatory stance on promoting ecology issues and being green, the company has also been criticized for its use of veiled threats and other heavy-handed tactics in dealing with local zoning laws and environmental regulations. On-going opposition by local communities to Wal-Mart's expansion plans will most likely continue. There may come a time when the company feels it has largely saturated the market for its discount retailing operation. Increasing popularity of electronic catalogs and Internet-based shopping may begin to dent the fortunes of this giant, but so far there appears no sign of slowing down, and for now anyway, that big Wal-Mart store is here to stay.

—Robert Kuhlken

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## Walters, Barbara (1931—)

About her career as a television newswoman and interviewer, first lady of the news Barbara Walters has said, "I was the kind nobody thought could make it. I had a funny Boston accent. I couldn't pronounce my Rs. I wasn't a beauty." Walters did make it, even in the often superficial, looks-obsessed world of network television. Partially as a result of attempting to make it at the right time in history—the feminist movement of the early 1970s was gaining strength—Walters not only made a place for herself in television news, but also changed the way the news was presented on television.

Barbara Walters was born, however unwillingly, into show business. Her father, Lou, was a nightclub owner who ran the Latin Quarter, a chain of popular clubs in New York, Boston, and Florida. Though celebrities were a part of her everyday life growing up, the



Barbara Walters

girl who was to become a nightly visitor in the homes of millions of Americans wanted nothing more than to be "normal." But that was denied her when her father suddenly went bankrupt and suffered a heart attack. In her yearbook from Sarah Lawrence College, Walters is pictured in a cartoon as an ostrich with its head stuck in the sand, but she was forced to face the world early. To help her parents and developmentally disabled sister out of their financial troubles, she went to work, first as a secretary, then as a writer on such television shows as *Jack Paar* and *The Dick Van Dyke Show*. In 1961, she got a job as a writer/researcher for the *Today Show*, and in 1964 she moved in front of the camera when she was promoted to "Today girl," a title reflecting the sexist atmosphere prevailing in television at the time. But sexism notwithstanding, Walters was on her way to being a serious television journalist. In 1972, when President Nixon changed U.S. policy and paid an official visit to the People's Republic of China for the first time since their revolution, Barbara Walters was the only woman to cover that trip.

She continued to make history and created a buzz of controversy in 1976 when ABC signed her to a five-year contract for \$1 million per year. She was given the job of co-anchor on the nightly news, sitting at the desk with longtime television news man Harry Reasoner. The industry and the country were shocked at the idea of a woman receiving so much money—twice the salary of venerable CBS news

legend Walter Cronkite. When Walters went to work as the first woman to anchor the evening news, she encountered ridicule, dismissive attitudes, and outright hostility. Reasoner himself was not happy to be working with her and let it show. *Time* magazine dubbed Walters the “Most Appalling Argument for Feminism.” Even when she proved her journalistic skills by hosting the first joint interview with President Anwar Sadat of Egypt and Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel, viewers just did not seem to respond to her. The flagging ABC news ratings did not rise, and Walters was removed from the news desk in 1979 and given a new job—correspondent on the news magazine show *20/20*.

Walters soon rose to co-host *20/20* with Hugh Downs, and the show expanded from Friday nights to air editions on Wednesday and Sunday nights as well. Sunday nights she co-hosted with Diane Sawyer, another pioneering woman television journalist. In an industry that is more likely to capitalize on competition among women for high-visibility positions, the pairing of the two female anchors was unusual and refreshing.

Though her credentials as a newswoman are impressive, it is as an interviewer that Walters will be remembered. She has created more than sixty “Barbara Walters Specials” and “Most Fascinating People” shows, which aired at prime audience-grabbing times, such as following the Academy Awards show and on New Year’s Eve. In each special she interviews several celebrities and over the years has delved into the personal lives of political figures, timeless icons of entertainment, and “flashes in the pan.” Her interviews have become such a television standard that it is not clear whether Barbara Walters interviews those who have “made it,” or whether one has not really “made it” until one has been interviewed by Walters. The interviews are incisive and revealing. Bill Geddie, producer of the Walters specials, says of her, “She has a way that has matured over the years of getting people to say things on the air that they never thought they were going to say.” Walters herself attributes much of her success as an interviewer to her devotion to her disabled sister, Jacqueline. Growing up so close to the difficulties her sister faced gave her an empathy and compassion she was able to use throughout her career.

In 1997, Walters branched out into another television standard—the talk show. Following her introduction “I’ve always wanted to do a show with women who have very different views. . . .” *The View* introduced a new format—the multi-host talk show. Co-hosts journalist Meredith Vieira, lawyer Star Jones, comic Joy Behar, and model Debbie Matenopoulos are occasionally joined by Walters for the usual talk show fare: a few celebrities, a few writers of self-help books, and some lightweight chat about current newsmaking events. *The View* is advertised by Walters as “Four women, lots of opinions, and me—Barbara Walters.” Though one suspects that Walters’s separation of herself from the “four women” is not accidental, on *The View* she is looser and more relaxed—called “B.W.” by her colleagues and allowing herself to be teased and, occasionally, put on the spot.

Walters’s distinctive style has often been parodied with a ruthlessness that indicates what an icon she herself has become. Probably the most famous send-up was performed by the late Gilda Radner on the early *Saturday Night Live* show. With stiffly flipped hair and exaggerated lisp, Radner’s “Barbara Wawa” became almost as familiar to viewers as Walters herself. Later *SNL* crews also have parodied Walters’s *The View*. Though hurt by the mockery at first,

Walters soon learned that it was a measure of her own popularity, and she even invited the *SNL* cast to perform their parody on an April Fool’s edition of *The View*.

While satire is a tribute on one hand, Walters does have her critics. She has been called aggressive and overbearing, common criticisms of women successful in male-dominated businesses, and some have questioned her tactics for getting interviews. Many have criticized her for confusing news and entertainment. A standing joke in the industry revolves around her “touchy-feely” interviewing style, falsely attributing to her the question “If you were a tree, what kind of tree would you be?” In 1981, during an interview with actress Katharine Hepburn, Hepburn herself stated that at that point in her life she felt like a tree. Following her thought, Walters asked, “What kind of tree are you?” Hepburn responded that she felt like an oak, and the question moved forever into the archive of jokes about Walters.

Barbara Walters will be remembered for many “firsts” and “onlys.” Her critics blame her for bringing too much entertainment into the news, but, for better or worse, she has been pivotal in creating the face of television news in the 1990s, a blend of fact, entertainment, and personality. There is no doubt that every woman in television news owes a debt to the girl whose college yearbook pictured her as an ostrich but who could not keep her head in the sand. Walters does not glamorize herself or her contributions, “I was frustrated and tenacious,” she says, “and that’s a powerful combination.”

—Tina Gianoulis

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## Walton, Bill (1952—)

Despite an injury-plagued career, in his brief peak Bill Walton was compared with some of the greatest centers in National Basketball Association (NBA) history. In addition to his on-court contributions, which include leading the Portland Trailblazers to an NBA Championship in 1977 and serving as a key reserve during the Boston Celtics’ 1986 Championship season, Walton’s outspoken political views and colorful personal life have kept him in the spotlight.

Walton began his career playing for the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) in the early 1970s, where he won three consecutive College Player of the Year Awards. In the 1973 National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Championship game against Memphis State, Walton hit an unbelievable 21 out of 22 shots. During



The Trailblazers' Bill Walton (right) drives against the Celtics' Dave Cowens.

Walton's career, UCLA won 86 of 90 games and two national championships, one in 1972 and another in 1973. For his career, Walton holds the record for highest field goal percentage in NCAA tournament play, having hit almost 69 percent of the shots he attempted between 1972 and 1974.

While his play on the court was outstanding during his college career, Walton also began to attract attention for his political views at UCLA. He was arrested during his junior year at an anti-Vietnam War rally, and issued a public statement criticizing President Richard Nixon and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Walton was also an avid fan of the rock group the Grateful Dead, frequently attending their concerts.

Although Walton's long history of injuries had already reared its head during his high school and college careers—he suffered a broken ankle and leg and underwent knee surgery while playing at Helix High School in La Mesa, California—he was nonetheless chosen as the first player in the 1974 NBA draft by the Portland Trailblazers. While Walton played impressively during his first two seasons, injuries limited him to approximately half of the possible games he could have played in during that time.

It was during the 1976-1977 season, however, that Walton really came into his own, scoring nearly 19 points per game and leading the

league in rebounding and blocked shots. The Trailblazers reached the NBA Finals against Philadelphia that season, but lost the first two games of the best-of-seven series, a situation which only one team in NBA history had overcome. Largely due to Walton's spectacular play, however, the Blazers won the next four games, capturing the NBA Championship in six games. Walton was named the Most Valuable Player (MVP) of the series, setting NBA finals single-game records for defensive rebounds and blocked shots.

The following season, 1977-1978, Walton played even more impressively, earning the league's MVP award as the Blazers won 50 of their first 60 games. Injuries, however, kept him out of the final 24 regular season games. Walton attempted to come back in the playoffs, but it was discovered that the navicular bone in his left foot was broken. Without Walton, the Blazers lost in the playoffs to the Seattle SuperSonics.

Walton was traded to the then-San Diego Clippers following the 1977-1978 season, after an extremely acrimonious parting with the Trailblazers, whom he accused of providing him with poor medical advice. Walton missed most of his first two seasons with the Clippers, drawing criticism from his teammates and fans, who felt the team had erred in signing Walton to a lucrative long-term contract. Although Walton's health improved and he was able to play fairly extensively in the 1983-1984 and 1984-1985 seasons, the Clippers never rose above mediocrity, and Walton never had the chance to repeat his playoff successes with Portland.

After his contract with the Clippers ran out, Walton contacted several of the League's top teams, seeking to find out if they needed a reserve center. Fortunately for Walton, the Boston Celtics, a championship contender, needed a quality big man of Walton's caliber to provide them with greater depth. Walton joined the team for the 1985-1986 season. The pickup paid incredible dividends for the Celtics, as Walton played in all but two of the team's 82 regular season games and every playoff game. While Walton's numbers were modest, he made a major contribution to the team's 67-15 record, as he provided scoring, rebounding, passing, defense, and high energy during his time on the court. Walton received the league's Sixth Man Award, given to the top reserve player in the league. The Celtics, with Walton backing up frontcourt legends Kevin McHale and Robert Parish, breezed through the playoffs that season, defeating the Houston Rockets in six games. The following season, however, injuries limited Walton to only 10 games, after which he retired.

Walton became a television announcer in 1991 for the National Broadcasting Network (NBC), and has served as an analyst for basketball, volleyball, and other sports. He was named to the Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame in 1993, and in 1996 was named one of the 50 greatest players in NBA history. Walton, who studied law at Stanford University during his breaks from basketball, lives with his four sons in San Diego.

—Jason George

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## The Waltons

From 1972 to 1981, the Depression Era returned to America through the popular television series, *The Waltons*. For nearly a decade, American viewers embraced *The Waltons* into popular culture as a symbol of past family values that were largely absent in American television programs.

Earl Hamner, Jr., creator of *The Waltons*, grew up an aspiring writer in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Schuyler, Virginia. His early novel, *The Homecoming*, was a literary recollection of his own Depression Era childhood, of which he speaks fondly: “We were in a depression, but we weren’t depressed. We were poor, but nobody ever bothered to tell us that. To a skinny, awkward, red headed kid who secretly yearned to be a writer . . . each of those days seemed filled with wonder.” In 1970, Lorimar Productions approached Hamner to create a one-hour television special based on *The Homecoming*, and hence, the Walton family made its television debut. Against the advice of reviewers and network executives who had little faith in the appeal of family programming, CBS took a chance and placed *The Waltons* in a Thursday night prime-time slot. To the surprise of many, the series not only held its own, but maintained a number eight position in the ratings for years to follow.



(Left to right) Ralph Waite, Richard Thomas, and Michael Learned.

For viewers concerned with the growing number of television shows whose content often included violence or sexually oriented themes, the Walton family offered a refreshing option. Representative of Hamner’s own family, members of the large Walton clan were richly endowed with a common thread of love, pride, and responsibility, yet each uniquely contributed to the depiction of rural America from the Depression era to World War II. This ideal family was headed by proud patriarch and millwright John Sr. (Ralph Waite), his wife, Olivia, a loving and devout Christian mother (Michael Learned), and the prolific writer and boy-next-door, John-Boy (Richard Thomas). There was Mary-Ellen, the headstrong nurse (Judy Norton), the musically talented Ben (Jon Walmsley), the lovely Erin (Mary McDonough), and Ben, the budding entrepreneur (Eric Scott). Along with these eight were aspiring aviator Jim Bob (David W. Harper), Elizabeth (Kami Cotler), the youngest Walton, and the grandparents—Grandpa Zeb, the beloved woodsman (Will Geer), and tenacious Grandma Ester (Ellen Corby). Added to this numerous collection of distinctive individuals was a large cast of vibrantly colorful and richly developed supporting characters.

While critics of *The Waltons* have accused the show of being “sugarcoated” and unrealistic, a glance at some of the thematic content might prove otherwise. Among the issues and events that were dealt with in the series were rural poverty, bigotry, the *Hindenburg* disaster, the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the death of a family member, draft evasion and, of course, the human cost of war. Richard Thomas, reflecting on this popular misconception in a 1995 interview said, “One of the common errors in describing the show is that it was all so nice, everyone was nice. It’s just not true. Everyone in the show could be foolish, everyone was hotheaded. John-Boy was always confronting people . . . It was not this very sweet little family.”

The family’s unifying force, however, and perhaps the focal point of the show’s broad demographic appeal, was that family members always maintained a high level of respect for one other, finding genuine joy in living while nevertheless working out the internal and external conflicts that defined their daily lives on Walton’s Mountain. Perhaps, too, *The Waltons* fulfilled a desire in post-1960s America to return to a simpler time when families still ate supper together at the kitchen table, the General Merchandise was the social and economic hub of a community, and, at the end of a hard but honest day, familiar voices in the darkness of a white clapboard farmhouse could be heard to say, “Good night, John-Boy.”

—Nadine-Rae Leavell

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## War Bonds

War bonds are a method of financing war that reduces demand for goods and services by taking money out of circulation through



A War Bonds poster.

investment in the bonds. This provides funds to underwrite the war. Modern warfare is an expensive business and must be financed carefully, else a government risks triggering inflation by increasing demand for goods. One method of avoiding this outcome is to raise taxes to finance the war, but such methods risk making a war unpopular. Through the more popular method of selling war bonds, citizens, in effect, invest in the war effort of their government just as they might invest in stocks. Selling war bonds lessens the need for tax increases.

During World War I, the U.S. government raised \$5 billion through the sale of Liberty Bonds. Mass rallies to sell the bonds featured celebrities such as Douglas Fairbanks, Sr. Nonetheless, when most Americans talk about war bonds they are generally referring to the bonds sold during World War II. In part this is because the efforts of World War I involved a good deal of compulsion rather than persuasion. During that war school children were badgered, courts imposed illegal fines on those not owning bonds, and the houses of non-purchasers were painted yellow. But World War II bonds are probably better remembered simply because, by then, mass media had expanded considerably and the scale of the media campaign was greater.

War bonds were but one of the means at the government's disposal to regulate the wartime economy. During World War II, the cost of living in the United States increased by about thirty-three percent. Most of this increase occurred before 1943, when the government put strict price controls in place through the Office of Price Administration. The Revenue Act of 1942 established the

modern American tax structure, which saw the tax base increase four-fold and introduced tax withholding. Through these measures, the government raised about fifty percent of its costs during the war. This was a considerable accomplishment compared to the thirty percent raised during World War I and twenty-three percent during the Civil War. During World War II, war bonds raised approximately \$150 billion, or a quarter of the government's costs.

According to historian John Blum, the Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau, said he wanted "to use bonds to sell the war, rather than vice versa." Morgenthau believed that there were quicker and easier ways for the government to raise money than through bond issues, but that it would increase people's stake in the war effort if they bought bonds. Many businesses promoted war bond purchases. Entertainment industry figures lent their celebrity to bond drives. Singer Kate Smith sold \$40 million worth of bonds in a sixteen-hour radio session on September 21, 1943. Hollywood starlet Loretta Young sold bonds at a Kiwanis meeting and pin-up girl Betty Grable auctioned off her stockings. Comic book publishers DC and Marvel carried advertisements and columns urging their readers to tell their parents to buy bonds and to purchase 10-cent defense stamps themselves. Covers of Batman and Superman comics appealed to readers to buy war bonds to "Keep Those Bullets Flying" and "Slap a Jap."

War bonds were a relatively effective measure in reducing inflation and financing the war. Moreover they served as a means of popularizing the war by giving non-combatants a direct stake in its outcome. As sound fiscal policy, the measure of their worth can be judged by the inflationary pressures unleashed by President Lyndon Johnson's decision to finance the Vietnam War, which cost \$150 billion, by printing more money rather than raising taxes or selling bonds.

—Ian Gordon

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## War Movies

As long as films have been made, war movies have been a significant genre, with thousands of documentaries, propaganda films, comedies, satires, or dramas reminding moviegoers of the deep human emotion and violence of the combat experience. Throughout the twentieth century, war movies have both reflected and manipulated changing popular attitudes toward war. Some of the films, especially those created during wartime, were created as propaganda, showing the patriotism and heroism of soldiers and the glory attained





Troops storm the beach in a scene from the film *The Longest Day*.

in battle. Still others take on the subject of war only to criticize it, usually via a graphic depiction of the cost of war in terms of human lives.

War has interested filmmakers from the first days of cinematic technology. J. Stuart Blackton's 1898 film, "Tearing Down the Spanish Flag," is considered not only the first fictional American war movie, but also the first propaganda film. Set on an anonymous rooftop in Cuba during the Spanish-American War, this short film depicts a uniformed American soldier (played by Blackton himself) removing the Spanish flag and replacing it with an American one, then cuts to a title card stating, "Remember the Maine." Blackton's film was quickly followed by reenactments of the sinking of the Maine and other battles of the Spanish-American War. Even though the film is only a few minutes long, it managed to capture the contemporary popular imagination and established the foundation for war movies in the twentieth century.

Most American films made during World War I consisted of propaganda films either encouraging or, after 1917, supporting American involvement in the European conflict. Most of these films

romanticized the war, showing enlistment as a glorious, patriotic duty and emphasizing the power and importance of male bonding. Early World War I films often dealt with American citizens volunteering for the French, British, or Canadian armies. Later films showed American troops as the deciding factor in the European victory.

D. W. Griffith directed many of the key World War I propaganda films. Film historians credit Griffith with inventing many modern film techniques, and his impact on the history of the war movie is even more direct. For example, in his 1915 Civil War epic *Birth of a Nation*, Griffith used cross-cutting techniques within battle scenes to shift from large-scale images of fighting to more intimate moments focusing on the film's main characters. Such techniques allowed future filmmakers to develop individual characters within a larger historical context of the war. Griffith's key World War I film was *Hearts of the World* (1918), shot partially under war conditions in France. In this polemical prowar film, Erich Von Stroheim was cast as an evil and lustful German officer (a role he would repeat in numerous later films) who attempts to rape and brutally beat Marie (Lillian Gish). The film's anti-German sentiment is so strong that Gish's

boyfriend is willing to kill her in order save her from such a violation at the hands of the enemy. This depiction of Germans as unrepentantly evil would influence not only later World War I films, but World War II films as well.

Few war movies appeared in the years immediately following the 1918 armistice. The propaganda of the wartime films was no longer necessary, and the American public seemed inclined to focus on domestic affairs. However, three movies in the 1920s brought about a resurgence of interest in World War I. *The Big Parade* (King Vidor, 1925) is credited with reviving the war film genre as well as being the first to realistically depict the war experiences of American soldiers. The plot, which follows a group of men from their enlistment through the conflict, would become standard in the later World War II films.

The following year, the comedy drama *What Price Glory?* (Raoul Walsh, 1926), based on the Laurence Stallings and Maxwell Anderson stage play, follows two marines, Captain Flagg and Sergeant Quirt, as they engage in their own personal rivalry over the same woman while fighting in France. Though the film version does temper the antiwar sentiment of the original play, the film's comedy is sharply contrasted with its graphic and shocking depictions of battle scenes. Later war movies would often capitalize on what Jeanine Basinger in *The World War II Combat Film* would call the "Quirt/Flagg relationship" by focusing on two adversarial characters serving in the same platoon.

*Wings* (William Wellman, 1927), which won the first Academy Award for Best Picture, introduced a new subgenre of war films: the air drama. Director Wellman used his war experiences as a pilot for the Lafayette Flying Corps and the Army Air Service to create realistic aerial scenes that were accomplished by mounting cameras on the fighting planes and by using cameramen in other aircraft, instead of using rear projection effects. The realism and excitement of these scenes would be surpassed later in *Hell's Angels* (Howard Hughes, 1930), a film that cost over \$4 million and that took over three years to make some of the most spectacular flying scenes ever filmed. Unlike *The Big Parade*, these latter two films do not make a profound statement about the war, and their popularity was based primarily on sheer spectacle and excitement. John Monk Saunders, a veteran pilot and the original writer of *Wings*, would later write air dramas, such as *Ace of Aces* (J. Walter Ruben, 1933), *The Dawn Patrol* (Howard Hawks, 1930; remade by Edmund Goulding, 1938), and *The Eagle and the Hawk* (Stuart Walker, 1933), that openly criticized the senseless waste of the war and starkly represented the mental strain suffered by pilots, yet still remained true to the adventurous nature of the subgenre.

The strongest antiwar statement made following World War I came in Lewis Milestone's 1930 adaptation of Erich Maria Remarque's novel *All Quiet on the Western Front*. This film begins with young German men enthusiastically volunteering to fight for their country. However, they quickly learn that this war has nothing to do with honor and glory, and the mental breakdown and violent death of these soldiers is depicted in graphic detail. The realism of the battle scenes, including the image of two disembodied hands clutching a barbed wire, accounts for this film's continued status as one of the great war films of the century. The final shot of Paul Baumer (played by Lew Ayres) dying as he reaches for a butterfly just outside his trench remains one of the most haunting and effective images in any war

film. Even after World War II, the Great War served as the setting for profound antiwar commentary, including Stanley Kubrick's *Paths of Glory* (1957) and Dalton Trumbo's *Johnny Got His Gun* (1971).

As America entered World War II, however, Hollywood needed to reverse this antiwar sentiment by creating films that demonstrated American heroism and success in the earlier war. In *Sergeant York* (Howard Hawks, 1941), Gary Cooper's Alvin York, who went from devout pacifist to America's greatest war hero, provides a counter-image to the one created in such films as *All Quiet on the Western Front*. The film also showed the potential for individual heroic achievement and served as significant propaganda for the American war effort.

World War II films have a clearly defined sense of good and evil. As in the previous war, the enemies were presented not as complex human beings but as two-dimensional caricatures, designed to generate hate and loathing in the audience. Most films created during the war years focused on the adventure and glory of warfare, as well as the strength of both the U. S. military and the American spirit. In addition, most World War II films had a romantic subplot. The female love interests were either sweethearts pining away at the homefront; nurses, AWACs, or reporters serving some military duty; or European, usually French, women whom the G.I.'s meet while on leave. Often, the films followed soldiers from enlistment or training to combat. These formulas were sometimes mixed in with several variables, such as military branches or European or Pacific locales, to create a variety of successful films.

Surprisingly, most of the early World War II combat films made in 1942 and 1943, such as *Wake Island* (John Farrow, 1942) and *Bataan* (Tay Garnett, 1943), focused more on catastrophic American defeats than on the victories. *Wake Island*, the first large-scale combat film of World War II, closely followed a group of soldiers until they were all killed in the ensuing battle. Both films received the support of the U.S. government, and despite showing terrible defeats, these films mobilized popular support for the war and proved to be useful propaganda tools.

Few figures are more synonymous with the war movie than John Wayne. Just as in his Westerns, John Wayne represented the ideal of American masculinity in a persona that exemplified the hard, determined, yet compassionate soldier. Such a persona is evident in such wartime films as *Flying Tigers* (1942), *The Fighting Seabees* (1944), *They Were Expendable* (1945), and *Back to Bataan* (1945), and in postwar films like *The Sands of Iwo Jima* (1949), *Flying Leathernecks* (1951), and *In Harm's Way* (1965). These films follow the basic formulas of World War II movies, and Wayne repeated the same basic character in each. Although Wayne was criticized in later years for such repetitive, formulaic performances, he created an iconic hero, and his films were tremendous successes and morale boosters.

As the Second World War came to a close, movies like *The Story of G. I. Joe* (William Wellman, 1945) and *A Walk in the Sun* (Lewis Milestone, 1946) moved away from the patriotism and heroics of films made in the previous years of the war and toward a more realistic depiction of American soldiers in battle that emphasized the human cost of war over the glory of victory. Wellman continued to demythologize warfare in the 1949 film *Battleground*, which received an Academy Award nomination for Best Picture. These three films follow similar episodic plots focusing on a group of American soldiers, many of whom are killed through the course of the film. In

the opening of *A Walk in the Sun*, Burgess Meredith (who also stars as famed war correspondent Ernie Pyle in *The Story of G. I. Joe*) describes the ethnic, class, and cultural diversity of his platoon:

There was Tyne, who never had much urge to travel. Providence, Rhode Island may not be much as cities go, but it was all he wanted, a one town man; Rivera, Italian American, likes opera and would like a wife and kid, plenty of kids; Friedman, lathe operator and amateur boxing champ, New York City; Windy, minister's son, Canton, Ohio, used to take long walks alone and just think; . . . Sergeant Ward, a farmer who knows his soil, a good farmer; McWilliams, first aid man, slow, Southern, dependable; Archenbeau, platoon scout and prophet, talks a lot but he's all right; Porter, Sergeant Porter, . . . he has a lot on his mind . . . ; Tranella speaks two languages: Italian and Brooklyn.

This conventional Hollywood platoon became a stereotype in the American war movie with an ensemble cast, but in these early examples, this broad demographic representation was used to emphasize the impact of the war on America as a whole.

Following the war, Hollywood war films began to examine the complexities of warfare, exposing the fallibility and brutality of military authority by addressing the mental strain inflicted on war's participants and by showing the enemy as complex, human, and sympathetic. Gregory Peck in *12 O'Clock High* (Henry King, 1949) is shown to be a vulnerable hero suffering a mental breakdown during the war. In *From Here to Eternity* (Fred Zinnemann, 1953), the enemy is not the Axis powers, but the bullying, violent, murderous military authorities such as Ernest Borgnine's Fatso. In *The Caine Mutiny* (Edward Dmytryk, 1954), Humphrey Bogart's emotionally unstable Captain Queeg proves to be more of a danger to his men than any enemy is. In *The Bridge on the River Kwai* (David Lean, 1957), the Japanese prison camp commander is portrayed as a man caught between his sense of duty and honor for his country and his sympathy and respect for the prisoners. This is not to say that the tradition of heroic war movies did not continue. Films like *To Hell and Back* (Jesse Hibbs, 1955), the story of Audie Murphy (played by himself), America's most decorated war hero, as well as *The Great Escape* (John Sturges, 1963) and *The Dirty Dozen* (Robert Aldrich, 1967), continued to show the more adventurous and exciting side of the conflict. But into the 1960s and 1970s, in films like *The Longest Day* (Ken Annakin, et al, 1962) and *Patton* (Franklin J. Schaffner, 1970), Hollywood filmmakers increasingly delved into a critical examination of American militarism, reflecting the general disillusion of Americans as the Vietnam conflict escalated.

In 1998, the release of two World War II movies, *Saving Private Ryan* and *The Thin Red Line* raised the level of realistic violence depicted in the war movie to a new level. Steven Spielberg's *Saving Private Ryan* follows a fairly standard plot of a small group of soldiers sent on a mission to find one man lost in France during the Normandy invasion. The first thirty minutes of the movie, showing the mass slaughter that occurred in the opening minutes of the invasion of Omaha Beach, contain the most graphically violent and disturbing combat scenes presented in a fictional film. Terence Malik's *The Thin Red Line* is equally violent, but this film about the invasion of

Guadalcanal focuses more on the contrast between combat and the introspective moments available to soldiers during the lulls in battle. Both films rely on new developments in special effects and camera technology that allow for even more graphic and realistic depictions of military violence.

Of the more than 50 films made about the Korean War between 1951 and 1963, most presented the enemy as one-sided villains, and few moved beyond the standard clichés of the Hollywood World War II films. Two exceptions appeared early in the war. Samuel Fuller's *Steel Helmet* and *Fixed Bayonets*, both released in 1951, take a harsh, uncompromising, and realistic look at the stress suffered by soldiers while keeping to the standard plot that follows a diverse platoon through the conflict. The characters in Fuller's films are often plagued with doubts and fears, and they are more concerned with the struggle to survive than with any potential acts of heroism.

The controversy surrounding the Vietnam conflict caused Hollywood to shy away from it as a subject for war films while the conflict was ongoing. The only exception is John Wayne's 1968 directorial debut, *The Green Berets*. This film largely consists of Cold War propaganda justifying America's presence in Vietnam. Wayne transferred his World War II movie persona to this film, a persona that was clearly the product of another time. While the film was a box office success, it stands out as an anomaly in the development of the Vietnam War movie, which, in the late 1970s and 1980s, would approach the war much more critically. *The Deer Hunter* (Michael Cimino, 1978) and *Apocalypse Now* (Francis Ford Coppola, 1979) were among the first films to criticize the Vietnam War from a combat perspective. Both films contain graphic images of the most horrifying, and often surreal, aspects of the war. The Russian roulette scenes in *The Deer Hunter* show the extremes of mental and physical torture suffered by American prisoners of war, and the scene in *Apocalypse Now* where Colonel Kilgore orders a helicopter raid on a Viet Cong village so his men can surf on a nearby beach illustrates the extreme level of absurdity in this war. The absurdity of the Vietnam War would be addressed later in Stanley Kubrick's *Full Metal Jacket* (1987), a film that ends with a platoon spontaneously singing the Mickey Mouse Club theme in unison.

One of the most successful Vietnam War films was Oliver Stone's 1986 Academy Award winner, *Platoon*. While this film does have a strong antiwar message, it follows a fairly standard war-movie plot, following the experiences of a naïve young volunteer (played by Charlie Sheen) as he becomes increasingly disillusioned by the fighting. The film also follows a clear good-vs.-evil binary, but instead of America representing good and the Viet Cong representing evil, these moral forces are represented by two American sergeants. Tom Berenger's Barnes brutally terrorizes a native village early in the film, while Willem Dafoe's Elias strongly resists this descent into barbarism and tries to maintain high moral standards in an immoral environment. The success of *Platoon* resulted in a spate of Vietnam War films in the late 1980s, but their numbers never reached the level and density that occurred during World War II and the Korean War. In addition, all Vietnam War films made after 1978 engage in some level of criticism of the war, and none present themselves as the straightforward adventures that appeared in films about the earlier wars.

In general, films made during wartime emphasize glory, honor, and patriotic values, and it is only in the years following the wars that these values are analyzed and criticized. As filmmaking technology

has changed and improved throughout the century, American filmmakers have achieved greater levels of realism in war movies, and these films collectively have enhanced and influenced Americans' awareness of the conditions of war.

—Andrew J. Kunka

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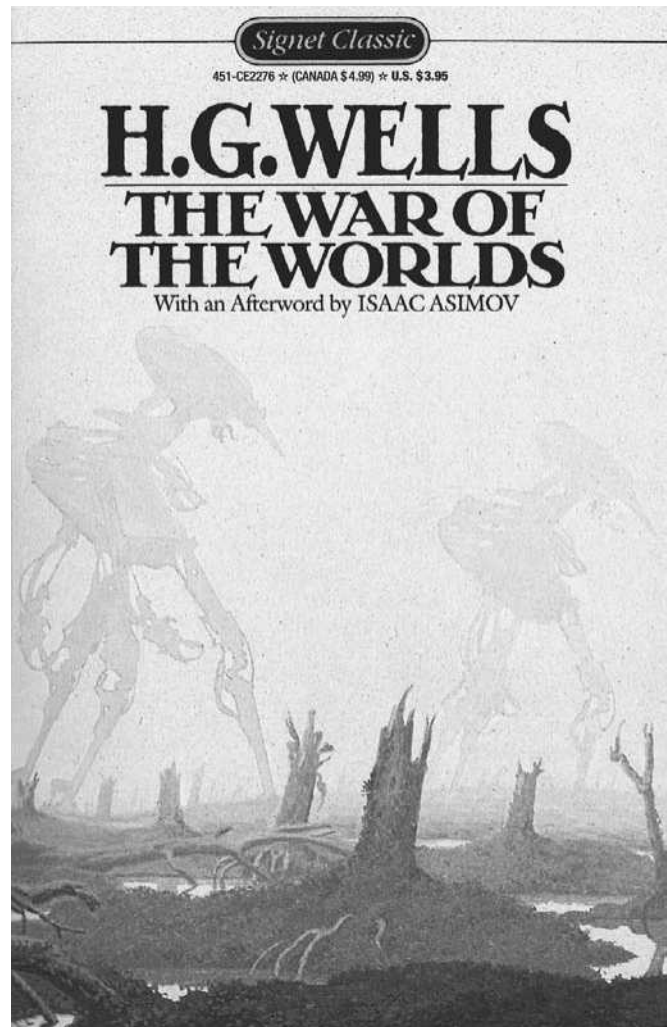
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## War of the Worlds

Broadcast on October 30, 1938, Orson Welles' Mercury Theatre radio dramatization of H.G. Wells' *War of the Worlds* engendered a mass panic in which millions of Americans believed they were being invaded by Martians; in so doing, the broadcast dramatically demonstrated the nascent power of mass media in American culture.

The Mercury Theatre group, headed by the 23-year-old Welles, had built a small national audience with its weekly radio adaptations of literary classics such as Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. Welles, his partner John Houseman, and writer Howard Koch collaborated on the hour-long scripts. The trio nearly scrapped their *War of the Worlds* adaptation, as Koch's faithful approximation of the novel did not translate well in rehearsals. The group decided to stick with the project after re-working the script to mirror a news broadcast. Nevertheless, as group members and even Welles himself later recalled, the feeling in the studio on the day of the broadcast was that *War of the Worlds* would not be a successful production.

The show commenced at 8 p.m. that Halloween eve, following an introduction by a CBS announcer which presented Wells' novel as the subject of the forthcoming dramatization. In the first 10 minutes of the broadcast, Welles masterfully built dramatic tension by juxtaposing fireside chat-styled meditations on renewed American prosperity with increasingly frequent news bulletins on atmospheric disturbances detected by astronomers across the United States. Just as



Cover of *The War of the Worlds*, by H.G. Wells.

thousands of listeners switched over from the more popular Charlie McCarthy show (a less-than-compelling singer had just been introduced), Welles' group delivered a frantic news report from the small town of Grovers Mill, New Jersey, where Martians had landed and wiped out an entire United States military force: "A humped shape is rising out of the pit. I can make out a small beam of light against a mirror. What's that? There's a jet of flame springing from that mirror, and it leaps right at the advancing men. It strikes them head on! Good Lord! They're turning into flame!" As the broadcast followed the progress of the Martians up the East Coast, the reports became even more dire. "People are falling like flies," Welles reported. "No more defense. Our army wiped out . . . artillery, air force, everything wiped out. This may be the last broadcast." An actor portraying the Secretary of the Interior informed listeners that President Franklin Delano Roosevelt had declared a national emergency.

As the dramatization continued, thousands of Americans panicked. In New York City, hundreds of people jammed railroad and bus stations to escape the menace. In Birmingham, Alabama, sorority women at a local college lined up at campus telephones to speak to parents and loved ones for the last time. In Pittsburgh, a man found his wife in the bathroom, clutching a poison bottle and yelling "I'd rather

die this way than that.” And, in a favorite story of Welles’, actor John Barrymore, upon hearing the broadcast, drunkenly took to his backyard, where he unleashed his Great Danes from their doghouse with the admonition: “Fend for yourselves!” It has been estimated that 12 percent of the radio audience heard the broadcast and more than half that number took it seriously; by sociologist Hadley Cantril’s account, which was published in a landmark contemporary study sponsored by the Rockefeller foundation, more than a million people were frightened by Welles’ broadcast. Cantril’s demographic survey placed the strongest currents of fear among less-educated people and poor Southern folk.

Welles concluded his broadcast with a re-statement of the fictionality of the presentation (“The Mercury Theatre’s own radio version of dressing up in a sheet and saying ‘Boo!’” as Welles put it), but the hysteria continued well into the night. CBS was inundated with calls; newspaper switchboards were jammed, and mobs continued to crowd the streets of New York and northern New Jersey. When the truth became apparent, public hysteria turned into ire directed at CBS. Hundreds threatened lawsuits against the network, not the least of which was from H.G. Wells himself; the Federal Communications Commission promised a full-fledged inquiry, and the New York City police, for a time, even contemplated arresting Welles. As calmer heads prevailed, the public furor died down, and Welles became an overnight sensation; many of his biographers claim that without the celebrity engendered by the *War of the Worlds* broadcast, Welles might never have been able to bring his craft to Hollywood, where he became a celebrated director with films such as *Citizen Kane* (1941) and *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1942).

The *War of the Worlds* episode highlighted the emerging power of mass media over the American public. It demonstrated the power of the media to form and shape opinion in American culture, and also the passive willingness on the part of the public to place its faith in the legitimacy of sound and image. Ironically, *War of the Worlds* represented one of radio’s final assertions of power within the media sphere; by the 1950s, television had replaced radio as the dominant force in mass culture.

Scholars assert that Welles’ broadcast was so widely believed because it struck a particular chord with Americans in the years before World War II. The show aired just after the Munich crisis, to which Welles alluded at the outset of the broadcast, and the recent international conflict may have influenced some to believe that the reported invasion was not extraterrestrial at all. Sociologists have also located the show’s resonance in the latent anxiety of the general population, engendered by years of economic depression. “On the surface, the broadcast was implausible and contradictory, but that didn’t matter,” asserts Joel Cooper. “In that one instance, people had an immediate explanation for all the unease and disquiet they had been feeling. And suddenly, they could do something. They could gather their families. They could run.”

*War of the Worlds* remained a vibrant part of American popular culture in the second half of the twentieth century. In 1953, Byron Haskin produced a Hollywood film about the broadcast and, from 1988-1990, a television series inspired by Welles’ take on *War of the Worlds* enjoyed a successful run. In 1988, the fiftieth anniversary of the broadcast, public radio stations across America aired an ambitious remake of *War of the Worlds* starring Jason Robards and featuring the Oscar-winning sound effects of Randy Thom; the citizens of Grovers

Mill commemorated their town’s role in the historic broadcast with a four-day festival that culminated with the unveiling of a bronze statue of Welles at a microphone and a rapt family gathered around its radio.

Up until his death in 1985, Welles would never reveal whether he had anticipated the massive misinterpretation of his radio drama. Whether intended as a hoax or not, however, the landmark *War of the Worlds* broadcast demonstrated the American public’s preference for reading media’s sound—and later its images—as truth rather than fiction.

—Scott Tribble

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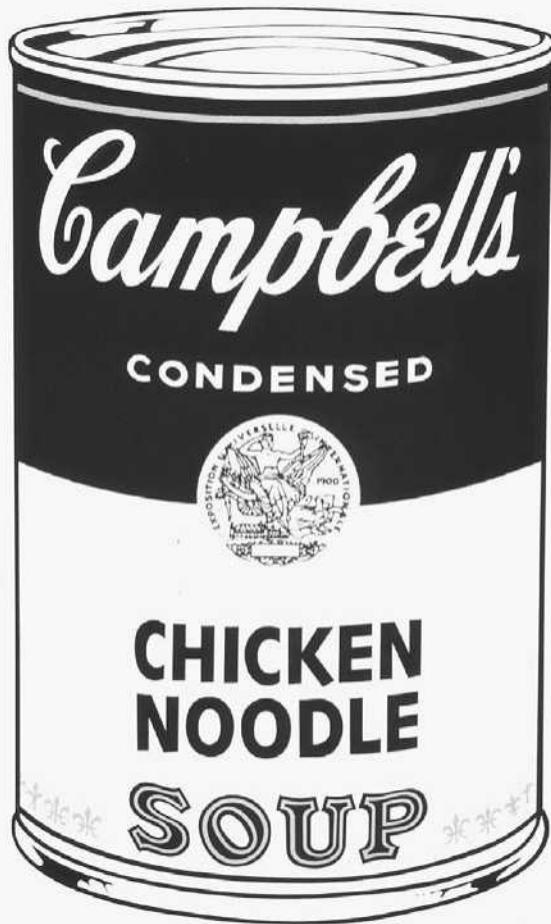
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## Warhol, Andy (1928-1987)

Andy Warhol was the most renowned Pop artist in the 1960s and, more generally, one of the most important artists of the twentieth century. His boundless and apparently effortless creativity expressed itself in many forms. He was a commercial designer, painter, printmaker, filmmaker, and publisher.

Although Warhol was intentionally obscure about his background, he was born Andrew Warhola, the son of a Czech Roman Catholic emigrant miner, in remote Forest City, Pennsylvania. After his father’s early death, Warhol enrolled in Pittsburgh’s Carnegie Institute of Technology as an art student in 1946. At this time he worked as a window decorator in a Pittsburgh department store. By 1950 he had shortened his name to Andy Warhol, and had moved to New York where his reputation as a designer quickly blossomed. Besides doing graphic work for magazines such as *Vogue* and *Harper’s Bazaar*, he won awards for his advertising designs, particularly those for I. Miller shoes. It is clear that had he never become a fine artist, he would nevertheless have been one of the most important designers in the postwar period. It was during these years Warhol dyed his hair the signature silver color that he would maintain for the rest of his life.

In 1960, the year Warhol began to paint, he made some of the earliest works that could be called Pop Art. His large paintings of Dick Tracy could be seen in Lord and Taylor’s store windows on Fifth



*Campbell's Soup I*, screenprint by Andy Warhol.

Avenue. Warhol's position as the leading Pop artist was consolidated in 1962 at the seminal "New Realists" exhibition at the Sidney Janis Gallery in New York. After 1964, Warhol was represented by the New York dealer Leo Castelli, who also handled most of the other Pop artists.

Warhol quickly became notorious for his paintings of Campbell's Soup cans, which were first exhibited at Los Angeles' Ferus Gallery in 1962. These paintings were straightforward renderings of row upon row of soup cans. Not just publicity gambits, these were important avant-garde works, signaling a major change in the nature of art. They were a cool reaction to the passionate—and to the Pop artists' minds, excessive—art of the Abstract Expressionists, which then dominated the art scene. The soup cans were painted in the same spirit as Marcel Duchamp's "readymades" (objects designated as artworks merely by the artist's choice and recontextualization). Warhol was forced to defend the paintings as legitimate artworks when the Campbell Soup Company sued him for copyright infringement. The corporation later decided that the paintings were good advertising. In 1963, inspired by the objects he had seen in supermarkets, Warhol precisely imitated Brillo soap-pad boxes. He had one-hundred wooden boxes constructed by a carpenter and stenciled the sides with exact imitations of the Brillo graphic. For sale at three hundred dollars each, these created great excitement when

they were exhibited at Manhattan's Stable Gallery the following year. When they were to be shown in a Toronto art gallery, their status as art was ignored. Warhol's dealer had to pay "merchandise duty" to have them delivered.

With works like these Warhol had abandoned painting by hand for other more anonymous techniques (such as photo-silkscreen). "I want to be a machine," he said in 1962, subverting the idea of the artist as an expressive medium who creates unique, handmade works. Warhol used Marilyn Monroe as a motif in several silk-screened works in the 1960s (as in *Gold Marilyn Monroe* [1962, The Museum of Modern Art, New York]). Rendered in the cheap-looking, off-register style of trashy reproduction, these artworks suggested that Marilyn's manufactured persona had overwhelmed her identity as a person. Celebrities became a major theme in Warhol's works. Throughout the next two decades he made images of athletes, politicians, and entertainers such as Elvis Presley, Troy Donahue, Jackie Kennedy Onassis, Elizabeth Taylor, and Chairman Mao. As in the Marilyn images, the colors were often garish and silk-screened off-register. A series from this period is entitled *Ten Portraits of Jews of the Twentieth Century*. Warhol's fascination with stars was reflected in the gossipy celebrity magazine he founded in 1969 entitled *Inter/View*, then *Andy Warhol's Interview*, and later simply *Interview*.

In response to the civic strife of the 1960s, Warhol created his *Disaster* series. Such works as *Car Crash*, *Race Riot*, and *Electric Chair* involve the stark appropriation of newspaper photographs saturated with color and often repeated within the same frame. Warhol suggested that in these works he wished to demonstrate how the callous repetition of the media's coverage of traumatic events creates a numbing apathy in viewers.

In 1964 Warhol established his "Factory," a rented attic that became a large mass-production studio in New York where assistants made works serially. It was responsible for turning out thousands of Warhol's works. Often, Warhol would clip photos from magazines and newspapers and have them silk-screened by his assistants. The very name "factory" challenged the notion of an artist's studio as a place of inspiration, a place where unique and precious pieces are made. In this spirit, Warhol once said that anybody "should be able to do all my paintings for me." The Factory became nearly as notorious for its denizens as the art that was produced there. Robert Hughes described its silver-papered walls as a place where "cultural space-debris, drifting fragments from a variety of Sixties subcultures (transvestite, drug, S & M, rock, Poor Little Rich, criminal, street, and all the permutations) orbiting in smeary ellipses around their unmoved mover." Shy and inhibited himself, Warhol became a voyeur of a subculture of his own creation. In his role as funky entrepreneur Warhol opened a nightclub with the thoroughly 1960s-sounding name "The Exploding Plastic Inevitable," whose house-band was The Velvet Underground. Its leader, Lou Reed, is now regarded as a soulful guru of heroine culture and musically a pioneer of Punk and New Wave.

In a decade racked by assassinations, Warhol himself was shot on June 3, 1968, by Valerie Solanis, a former Factory groupie turned militant feminist. The only member of S.C.U.M. ("The Society for Cutting Up Men"), Solanis later claimed that she did so because the artist "had too much control over her life." The scars of several bullet wounds to Warhol's chest are depicted in Alice Neel's well known portrait of the artist. Ominously, a woman had shot at one of Warhol's portraits of Marilyn Monroe four years earlier.

At the time of his first solo exhibition in 1965, at the Institute of Contemporary Art in Philadelphia, it was announced that Warhol had given up painting to concentrate on filmmaking. Throughout the 1960s the artist made several movies which have become classics of film history and of Minimalist cinema. Typically, they are outrageously boring and amateurish—qualities for which they are admired—and register the spontaneous exhibitionism of his Factory “actors.” *Eat* (1964) showed artist Robert Indiana eating a mushroom. *Empire* (1964) was comprised of an eight-hour shot of one side of the Empire State Building in New York (the changing light is its only action). In 1964 *Film Culture* magazine awarded him their Independent Film Award. In all, Warhol collaborated on more than seventy-five films. His highly-regarded *The Chelsea Girls* (1966) was the first underground film to be shown at a conventional commercial theater. On a split screen viewers watched a quirky kind of documentary: the comings and goings of Warholian “superstars” in two different hotel rooms. *Four Stars* (1966-67) ran for more than twenty-four hours and was shown using three projectors simultaneously on one screen. The films *My Hustler* (1965), *Bike Boy*, and *Lonesome Cowboys* (both 1967) all dealt with homosexual themes. Paul Morrissey, a production assistant and occasional cameraman in the Factory, participated significantly in many of Warhol’s films. He was enlisted to give them a greater sense of structure and professionalism, and to make them more appealing to a popular audience, as in *Andy Warhol’s Frankenstein* (1974). Starting in 1980, Warhol was briefly interested in video; he worked to establish a private cable television station called “Andy Warhol TV.”

As his works indicate, Warhol was genuinely obsessed with celebrity, and particularly Hollywood fame. In the 1970s and 1980s he seems to have given himself over to the popular media. He was often seen at Studio 54, and at nearly every opening and award ceremony. He appeared almost nightly on *Entertainment Tonight* escorting Brooke Shields, Bianca Jagger, Elizabeth Taylor, or the designer Halston. Not only attracted by the celebrity of entertainers, Warhol also courted rising young artists such as the graffiti artists Keith Haring (1958-1990) and Jean-Michel Basquiat (1960-1988). In the film *Basquiat* (directed by Julian Schnabel, 1997), rock star David Bowie plays a convincing Warhol in a vivid depiction of the 1980s New York art scene. In line with other artists of the 1980s who “appropriated” imagery from art history, Warhol made a series of paintings based on famous works by Botticelli and Leonardo da Vinci.

Like his films, Warhol’s untimely death seemed anticlimactic, even banal. He died of complications after a fairly routine operation on February 22, 1987. The auction of his possessions, in itself a cultural event, revealed that Warhol had always been an impassioned collector. His extensive collection of folk art had been exhibited in 1977 at the Museum of Modern Art. His influence as an arbiter of taste continued even after his death. The sale of his possessions, including his collections of all manner of kitschy art and furnishings, influenced the retro styles of the late 1980s and 1990s. Today the Estate of Andy Warhol handles his artworks and their reproduction.

The meaning of Warhol’s art has been endlessly debated and alternately seen to be tremendously deep or mind-numbingly superficial. The artist often mystified interviewers by affecting a profound detachment—often to the point of boredom. In one early interview the artist explained, “If you want to know all about Andy Warhol, just look at the surface of my paintings and films and me, and there I am.

There’s nothing behind it.” Warhol will always be associated with those aspects of 1960s popular culture that involve outrageous behavior, a sensationalist media, and the art world as glitzy big business. His most famous pronouncement, “in the future *everybody*, will be famous for fifteen minutes,” seems an accurate observation about the media’s insatiable appetite for creating quickly consumable media targets.

—Mark B. Pohlard

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## Washington, Denzel (1954—)

A handsome, intelligent, and stylish actor, Denzel Washington is the natural heir, with a modern edge, to Sidney Poitier, the first film star to have demonstrated that an African American could become a heartthrob and a top box-office draw in the United States. Born in Mount Vernon, New York, Washington holds a B.A. in journalism from Fordham, studied acting at San Francisco’s American Conservatory Theater, and worked on stage and in television (he was an ongoing character in the popular hospital series, *St. Elsewhere*) before Hollywood beckoned. He made his screen debut as white George Segal’s black illegitimate son in *Carbon Copy* (1982). Five years later, his portrayal of South African political activist Steve Biko in *Cry Freedom* (1987) brought him stardom and an Oscar nomination for Best Supporting Actor. He won that award, and a Golden Globe, for his embittered but courageous runaway slave in *Glory* (1989). He has made several other films dealing with the issue of race; from the comedic (*Heart Condition*, 1990) through the romantic (*Mississippi Masala*, 1991) to the overtly political, as the title character in Spike Lee’s *Malcolm X* (1993). He has, however, established his versatility in a broad range of work, notably including Shakespeare—on screen in Kenneth Branagh’s *Much Ado About Nothing* (1993), and as *Richard III* on stage in New York’s Central Park in 1990.

—Frances Gateward



**Denzel Washington**

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## Washington Monument

The Washington Monument's tall, slender obelisk towers above the Mall in the nation's capitol, dominating the skyline. A grateful public constructed it in the nineteenth century to commemorate George Washington. Federal architect Robert Mills won a competition in 1845 with his proposal for a 600-foot obelisk and circular temple at the base. The monument was completed in 1884 without the temple and 45 feet shorter than Mills's design. Unlike the capitol's other presidential monuments, the Washington Monument is abstract, with no images or words; its power comes from the simple beauty of

its form. It has been largely uncontroversial, which is unique for a political monument. And unlike the nearby Lincoln Memorial, the Washington Monument has not been the site of any significant political events. Instead, it has stood for over 100 years in quiet solemnity as a proud testament to "the Father of our country."

—Dale Allen Gyure

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## The Washington Post

The story of the *Washington Post* is really the story of three family members and one outsider who, over a period of four decades, took a somnolent and bankrupt newspaper in the capital of the United States and turned it into an icon of good journalism. The four people are Eugene Meyer, his son-in-law, Philip Graham, Meyer's daughter and Graham's wife, Katharine, and the man Katharine hired to be the executive editor, Ben Bradlee. It is also the tale of two Pulitzer Prizes, the yin and yang of the *Post's* rise to fame.

The *Washington Post*, born in 1877, was undistinguished as a journalistic organ for a good part of its first century of life. Eugene Meyer bought the bankrupt paper in 1933 for \$825,000 at an auction, a time when there were four other more substantial dailies in Washington and the premier paper was the *Star*. In fact, the *Post's* early history under Meyer does not suggest that anything but disaster was in the cards because the paper continued to lose money, upwards of a million dollars a year. But Meyer, who was independently wealthy, stuck with the paper through thick and thin, saying: "In the pursuit of truth, the newspaper shall be prepared to make sacrifices of its material fortunes, if such course be necessary for the public good." His daughter one day would show the same resolve for the good of truth and to the paper's benefit.

The daughter, however, did not start out to become a newspaper publisher. When Katharine Meyer graduated from the University of Chicago in 1938, she went to work as a reporter for the *San Francisco Examiner*. But within a year, her father ordered her home to work at the *Post*, although not with the intention that she would be groomed as his successor. She eventually married Philip Graham, who became publisher in 1947; he was 31 and Katharine was 29. Katharine immediately took on the role of dutiful wife.

Her husband, in the meantime, following in his father-in-law's footsteps, got very involved in politics, and became something of a king maker, which creates complications for reporters who are trying to cover all sides of a story, not just the boss's side. Shortly after Graham took over, a young reporter named Ben Bradlee resigned





From left: Dustin Hoffman, Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward of the *Washington Post*, and Robert Redford.

from the *Post* and joined the Washington bureau of *Newsweek*. The *Post* continued to prosper, and Meyer bought out and shut down another daily in Washington, reducing the number of dailies to three. In 1961, the *Post* purchased *Newsweek*.

Two years later, Philip Graham killed himself—he was a manic depressive—and Katharine Graham was thrust into the role of publisher of her late father’s newspaper. She was a quick study. Realizing she needed to put her own team in place, she hired Bradlee and put him on the fast track to become executive editor. The *Post* was on its way.

The *Post* lived in the shadow of *The New York Times*, which had a much longer tradition of journalistic greatness. The *Times*, a paper that covered the federal government thoroughly, was a direct competitor for the *Post*, and it showed that one day in 1971 when it started to publish a series of stories about a top secret report that became popularly known as “The Pentagon Papers,” in effect, scooping the *Post* in its own backyard. The *Post* rose to the occasion, got its own copy of the papers, and published parts unavailable to the *Times*, thereby regaining its dignity, and also showing a measure of journalistic skill not seen before. When the federal government, through the courts, enjoined both papers from publishing, the papers united to fight in the Supreme Court for the right to publish and to maintain a sacred constitutional principle that the government does not have the right to censor. The newspapers won.

The *Post* reached national stature on its own a year later when it began almost exclusive coverage of a break-in at Democratic National Committee in a building called “The Watergate.” Essentially, it was a local cops beat story that took on added importance when the *Post* discovered that some of the Watergate burglars had worked for CREEP—the Committee to Re-Elect the President. Not only was it a great story, but the *Post*’s methodical unraveling of the machinations

of President Nixon’s henchmen set high standards for reporting. Two young reporters, Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, sometimes aided by an unidentified source in the executive branch who became known as “Deep Throat,” dug through records and interviewed hundreds of people to produce a series of stories that helped lead to Richard Nixon’s resignation as president and to the *Post*’s winning a Pulitzer Prize. The *Post* endured tremendous pressure to back off the story (its material fortunes were threatened), but Katharine Graham stood by her embattled newsroom and was eventually vindicated.

It has become part of the lore that Woodward and Bernstein brought down a president, but that overlooks all that was going on around President Nixon at the time. For example, one Watergate burglar, threatened by a judge with a long jail sentence, in effect, turned state’s evidence on his friends. Then there was a Senate committee investigating what went on, and eventually, the House Judiciary Committee approved articles of impeachment. There was also the revelation that Nixon had taped many of his Oval Office conversations, and when the Supreme Court ruled that Nixon had to yield the tapes, he resigned. The *Post* did not single-handedly bring down the president, but if it had ignored the break-in story, the other facilitators might not have assumed their important roles.

As happens with so many on the way up, the *Post* became a victim of its own hubris when it published in 1981 a story about an 8-year-old boy named Jimmy, who supposedly used heroin. It was a dramatic story, written by a young reporter named Janet Cooke and published on the front page. The story created a controversy not because the *Post* had published it, but because it had not tried to help the boy; there was also churning inside the *Post* because the story had been published on the word of the reporter—no one asked for her sources and there was none of the double-checking that had made the Watergate reporting an exemplary effort. It was only after the reporter

won a Pulitzer Prize that other journalists started to check her credentials and discovered that she had lied about her education and her degrees. And in her story, “Jimmy” was a fictional character, not a real person. The *Post* returned the Pulitzer, and Cooke resigned.

The *Post*, however, has continued to be a great newspaper. It made its mark with Watergate and stubbed its toe with Janet Cooke, but its owners and editors knew which way they wanted the paper to go and kept it on that track. Ironically, none of the newspapers that circulated in Washington when Eugene Meyer purchased the bankrupt *Post* survived beyond 1981. The *Post* had proved itself.

—R. Thomas Berner

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## Watergate

On the evening of June 16, 1972, a security guard at the Watergate Hotel in Washington, D.C., discovered a piece of tape on the lock of the door that led to the National Democratic Headquarters and set off a chain of events that would, ultimately, bring down the presidency of Richard Milhous Nixon. Afterwards, Americans would wonder why Nixon and the Republican party risked so much on such a minor event when Nixon was leading in the election polls, and the Democratic party was in disarray. Indeed, Nixon would go on to win the presidency by a landslide, with 520 electoral votes. Only 270 electoral votes are needed to win the presidency.

The break-in at the Watergate was only part of a larger campaign designed by Nixon supporters to rattle Democratic candidates and tarnish the reputation of the whole party. This campaign included harassment of Democratic candidates, negative campaign ads, two separate break-ins at the National Democratic Headquarters, and an additional break-in at Daniel Ellsberg’s psychiatrist’s office. Ellsberg was the individual who offered up the “Pentagon Papers” for public consumption, detailing the strategy—or lack of it—for the United States’ position in Vietnam.

Theodore H. White, chronicler of presidents from Dwight Eisenhower to Ronald Reagan, points out in *Breach of Faith* that the Watergate break-in was riddled with mistakes. G. Gordon Liddy, advisor to Richard Nixon, had been given \$83,000 from Nixon’s Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP) to provide the necessary equipment. When the tape was placed over the lock, it was placed



**Richard Nixon leaving the White House after resigning the presidency following the Watergate scandal.**

horizontally rather than vertically, which made it more noticeable. The tape had been spotted earlier in the day and removed by a security guard. It was replaced in the same position. Since only outside personnel were used for the break-in, they were easy to spot as not belonging in the Watergate. The electronic surveillance equipment purchased by Liddy was inferior and had no cut-off between those conducting the actual break-in and those listening in another hotel across the street. When the break-in was discovered, the police were led to Howard Hunt and Liddy in a hotel across the street. Furthermore, all participants had retained their own identification papers.

Instead of being honest with the American public and taking his advisors to task, Richard Nixon immediately became embroiled in a cover-up that would slowly unravel over the next two years—leading to Nixon’s resignation in August 1974. As the facts surrounding the break-in were made known, it was revealed that the Nixon presidency had been involved in serious manipulation and abuse of power for years. It seemed that millions of dollars coming from Nixon supporters had been used to pay hush money in an ill-advised attempt to hide the truth from Congress and the American people. Richard Nixon, it was discovered, truly lived up to his nickname of “Tricky Dick.”

During the investigation, the names of Richard Nixon’s advisors would become as well known to the American people as those of Hollywood celebrities or sports heroes. Chief among these new celebrities were close friends of the President: John Ehrlichman and Bob Haldeman. Ehrlichman served as the President and Chief of the Domestic Council while Haldeman acted as Chief of Staff. Both

would be fired in a desperate attempt to save the presidency. Another major player was John Dean, the young and ambitious Counsel to the President. John Mitchell, the Attorney General, and his wife Martha provided color for the developing story. Rosemary Woods, the president's personal secretary, stood loyally by as investigators kept demanding answers to two questions: "What did the president know?" and "When did he know it?" The answers to the two questions provided the crux of the investigation. If it had been proved that Nixon was the victim of over-enthusiastic supporters rather than a chief player in the entire scenario, his presidency would have survived. When Nixon learned of the break-in was integral to understanding his part, if any, in the subsequent cover-up.

An investigation revealed that Nixon knew about the break-in from the beginning and that he was involved in the cover-up as it progressed. When the Nixon presidency was over, James David Barber, political scientist and author of *The Presidential Character*, detailed its crimes: "Making secret war; Developing secret agreements to sell weapons to enemy nations; Supporting terroristic governments; Helping to overthrow progressive governments; Receiving bribes; Selling high political offices; Recruiting secret White House police force; Impounding sums of money appropriated by Congress; Subverting the electoral, judicial, legal, tax, and free speech systems; and Lying to just about everyone."

In the early days of the Watergate investigation, most forms of media reported the break-in as a minor story with little national significance. However, two aggressive young reporters who worked for *The Washington Post* began to dig deeper into the background surrounding the actual crime. Aided by an informant, who would be identified only as "Deep Throat," Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward uncovered one of the major stories of the twentieth century and became instrumental in forcing the first presidential resignation in American history.

As Congress began to hold congressional hearings, Alexander Butterfield, a Nixon presidential aide, revealed that a complex taping system was in place, including in the Oval Office, Camp David, the Cabinet rooms, and Nixon's hideaway office. Nixon's distrust of others would prove to be his own undoing. He fought to maintain control over the tapes and went so far as to fire a number of White House officials in what became known as the "Saturday Night Massacre." The Supreme Court did not accept Nixon's argument that the tapes contained only private conversations between the president and his advisors and, as such, were protected by executive privilege. From the time in 1974 that the Court in *U.S. v. Nixon* ordered the president to release the tapes, it was widely accepted that Nixon had lost the presidency.

The tapes released in the 1970s contained 18 minutes of silence that have never been explained. In 1996 the lawsuit of historian Stanley I. Kutler and the advocacy group Public Citizen resulted in the release of over 200 additional hours of tape. In *Abuse of Power: The New Nixon Tapes*, Kutler writes that the new information reveals that Nixon was intimately involved both before and after Watergate in abuses of power. A taped conversation on June 23, 1972, proved that Nixon and Haldeman talked about using the CIA to thwart the FBI investigation into the cover-up. When the *New York Times* published the "Pentagon Papers," Nixon told his advisors: "We're up against an enemy conspiracy. They're using any means. We're going to use any means." This conversation goes a long way in illustrating

Nixon's paranoia and his adversarial relationship with the American citizenry. It also points out his belief in his own invincibility.

In mid-1974, after Nixon had been named an unindicted co-conspirator in the Watergate affair, the House of Representatives approved the following articles of impeachment: Article I: Obstruction of justice; Article II: Abuse of power; and Article III: Defiance of committee subpoena. These charges arose from months of listening to those involved in the Nixon presidency and the Watergate cover-up explain the machinations of the Nixon administration. In order to save themselves from serving time in prison, most Nixon cohorts were willing to implicate higher-ups. Ultimately, Howard Hunt, G. Gordon Liddy, James McCord, and four Cuban flunkies were convicted and served time in jail.

Until the final days of his presidency, Richard Nixon insisted that he would survive. When he recognized that it was over and that he had lost, he went into seclusion. Reportedly, Alexander Haig, his Chief of Staff, oversaw the dismantling of the presidency. On August 8, 1974, wearing a blue suit with a blue tie and a flag pin in his lapel, Richard Nixon announced to the world that he no longer had a political base strong enough to support his remaining time in office and resigned the presidency. The following day, Vice President Gerald Ford was sworn in as president of the United States.

Although it was a bitter and disillusioning time for the American people, Watergate proved that democracy continues to work—and that not even the president is above the law and the United States Constitution.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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## Waters, Ethel (1900-1977)

Born in turn-of-the-century Chester, Pennsylvania, black singer-actor-entertainer Ethel Waters presided for nearly fifty years as one of



**Ethel Waters**

America's most celebrated performers. She began her career as a singer in 1917 at the Lincoln Theatre in Baltimore, Maryland. Billed as "Sweet Mama Stringbean" during her early years as a "shimmy dancer" and robust singer of heart-rending songs, her work traversed stage, movie screen, radio, and television. Her memorable credits include numerous Broadway reviews, the stage and screen versions of *Cabin the Sky* (1943) and *Member of the Wedding* (1952), the 1949 film classic *Pinky*, and the title role in the *Beulah* television series (1950-52).

—Pamala S. Deane

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## Waters, John (1946—)

Director John Waters earned the title "King of Bad Taste" in 1972 for *Pink Flamingos*, a raunchy film that makes a laughing matter

of most every type of perversion. The film ushered in a new era for popular culture, in which the shocking and bizarre would attract growing audiences and profits, penetrating every medium from mainstream newspapers to day-time television talk shows. Waters refined his obsession with "good bad taste"—a term he coined—over several decades, creating a new movie genre of the bizarre, according to director David Lynch.

Waters identifies himself as a writer foremost, but he is an example of an entrepreneur who uses many channels effectively. His witty essays have been collected in two volumes, *Shock Value* (1981) and *Crackpot: The Obsessions of John Waters* (1983); collections of his screenplays and photographs also have been published. He has made a handful of cameo appearances in films and television programs, including the voice for a cartoon character in an Emmy-nominated episode of *The Simpsons*. In the 1990s, he mounted an traveling exhibit of movie stills. A charming talk-show guest, Waters is in demand as a speaker at college campuses, film schools, and festivals.

The director's opus may be grouped into two periods. Following *Pink Flamingos*, his movies *Female Trouble* (1975), *Desperate Living* (1977), and *Polyester* (1981) have been described as "vulgar and cheerful nihilism," "blasphemous," "sophomoric," and "whimsical." Foul language and scatological visual and verbal references made these works unappealing to middle America. Critics and audiences either hated his films or loved them, hailing him as an iconoclastic artist. His themes often presage cultural trends by decades. For example, in *Female Trouble*, the crazed heroine believes death in the electric chair for a life of crime is the equivalent of an Academy Award. Water's loopy characterization antedated by nearly 20 years Oliver Stone's controversial treatment of warped lovers who go on a killing rampage to achieve media notoriety in *Natural Born Killers* (1994).

In the 1990s, Waters graduated from cult and midnight-movie houses to suburban multiplexes with such films as *Hairspray* (1988), *Cry-Baby* (1990), *Serial Mom* (1994), and *Pecker* (1998). Waters' second period continues his biting satire of American culture but without reference to such perversions as incest, coprophagy, castration, necrophilia, and the gross visual images of the earlier films. A unifying theme of both periods is his focus on characters who are "insane but believe they are sane," Waters told National Public Radio interviewer Terry Gross in 1998. His films turn normative American values upside-down and champion outsiders.

Raised in an upper middle class family in Baltimore, Waters, like many creative people, knew what he wanted to do early in life. He got his first subscription to *Variety* at age 12 and haunted the seedier movie theaters favoring horror films and B movies, especially admiring Russ Meyers. After he was dismissed from New York University's film school for smoking marijuana, he persuaded his father that financing a series of low-budget films would be cheaper than paying for his education. These early efforts include *Hag in a Black Leather Jacket* (1964); *The Diane Linkletter Story* (1966), a 10-minute exercise in bad taste about the LSD suicide of the daughter of a famous Hollywood entertainer; *Roman Candles* (1966), during which three short features are screened simultaneously on side-by-side screens; *Eat Your Make Up!* (1968), satirizing the modelling industry; *Mondo Trasho* (1969), a spoof of then-popular documentaries of the bizarre and pornographic around the world; and *Multiple Maniacs*



**John Waters**

(1971), which ends with the heroine being raped by a giant lobster. Most did not make it out of the church halls he rented for hometown showings.

*Pink Flamingos* brought Waters to the attention of the avant-garde artistic community. Andy Warhol—whose small budget films such as *Sleep* convinced Waters that he, too, could make movies on a shoestring—reportedly advised Federico Fellini to see *Pink Flamingos*. Waters' work has been compared to that of the Italian master. One critic suggested that Waters had created a "Theater of Nausea," comparable to Antonin Artaud's "Theater of Cruelty" and Charles Ludlam's "Theater of the Ridiculous." *New York* magazine hailed *Pink Flamingos* as an American version of the Luis Bunuel/Salvador Dali classic, *Andalusian Dogs*. *Pink Flamingos* was a commercial as well as an artistic success. Made for \$12,000, it earned at least \$2 million during the first few years after its release. His next movies were made with incrementally larger budgets and found growing audiences.

In the early films, Waters often took people on the margins of society and transformed them into "glamorous movie stars." He told the *Baltimore Sun* in 1978, "To me all those outrageous-looking people are beautiful. Because to me beauty is looks that you can never forget." It has been his life's work to ridicule the conventions of a society that ostracizes people who do not fit within its narrow

standards of perfection and to exploit the potential of film to bring them the fame and success which, in his eyes, they deserve.

The greatest of his on-screen creations was the metamorphosis of his friend Glenn Milstead into Divine, a 300-pound transvestite who vamped it up in the skin-tight gowns of Hollywood movie queens, with exaggerated make-up—including eyebrows that soared up his half-shaved head—and heavily bleached and teased blond hair. A charismatic performer, Divine took viewers by storm as the matriarch of a family of perverted criminals vying for the title of "Filthiest Family Alive" in *Pink Flamingos*. Mink Stole, a screen persona created for Waters' friend Nancy Stoll, played Divine's rival for the title, Connie Marble. Connie and her husband Raymond (the late David Lochary) kidnapped and impregnated young women, chaining them in the basement of their suburban house of horrors, then sold the babies to lesbian couples. In a scene that may never be topped for grossness, Divine eats dog feces from the pavement to secure the title.

*Hairspray*, with Divine in a supporting role, marked Waters' transition into shopping mall theaters. The only shocking thing left for him to do, Waters had concluded, was to make a mainstream film. *Hairspray* is a light-hearted musical treatment of a serious issue—integration. The story is based on Baltimore's *Buddy Deane Show*, a teen dance showcase that was driven off the air in 1964 by the NAACP for segregating African-American dancers to one program a month. In *Hairspray*, teenagers defeat their parents' resistance to integration, and everybody dances together in the film's happy ending. The story reflects the director's egalitarian sentiments. He praises Baltimore as the appropriate setting for his films because it is an "unholy mix" of old money and new immigrants, black and white poor, and a dirty industrial Eastern seaport with the Southern charm of the first city south of the Mason-Dixon line. When it comes to night life, Waters told Richard Gorelick, "I want to go somewhere where everyone is mixed—that's my ideal: rich, poor, black, white, gay, and straight, all together."

With the death of the irreplaceable Divine soon after the release of *Hairspray*, Waters' transition to the mainstream was virtually assured. *Cry-Baby*, an edgy *Bye-Bye Birdie* (1963), tells the story of a middle-class girl who longs to "go bad" and her romance with the leader of the "drapes," a rock-n-rolling, motorcycle riding, black-leather jacketed gang of juvenile delinquents. The freedom-loving "drapes" prevail against the repressed and repressive clean-cut clique of upper-middle-class suburban kids. "My movies are very moral," Waters told Pat Aufderheide. "The underdogs always win. The bitter people are punished, and people who are happy with themselves win. They're all about wars between two groups of people, usually involving fashion, which signifies morals. It's part of a lifelong campaign against people telling you what to do with your own business."

Johnny Depp as the title character with a tattooed tear-drop under one eye guaranteed the film's box office success. Waters turned to star power again in his next film, featuring Kathleen Turner as *Serial Mom*, a perfect suburban mother who just happens to be a serial killer. A prolific consumer of newspapers and magazines—he subscribes to over 80—Waters frequently pulls his inspiration from the headlines. *Pecker* pits the innocence of a young blue-collar Baltimore photographer who finds beauty everywhere against the exploitative glamour of the Manhattan art world. It features rising talents Edward Furlong, Lili Taylor, and Christina Ricci.

Waters' success owes much to his abilities as a promoter. Working from the trunk of his car in the early days, he persuaded East Coast theater owners to do midnight showings of *Pink Flamingos*, thus making money during hours when they normally would be closed. Through this stroke of marketing genius, he became an architect of the midnight cult movie showing.

Adapting his writing to yet another medium, Waters created a photography exhibit, "Director's Cut," that toured galleries in the 1990s, using frames isolated from others' films to author original storyboards. This technique illustrates the cultural phenomenon that Europeans call "bricolage," the art of recycling culture to create new works of art. Aufderheide sees the technique in Waters' films, commenting: "John Waters is the bard of a culture that creates itself out of commercial trash; he's a visionary of sorts, someone who discovers the bizarre in the everyday and the everyday in the bizarre."

It is the ultimate accolade to Waters' cultural influence that he helped make the unspeakable acceptable, by making people laugh about the strange and sometimes repulsive truths of everyday existence. People who were marginalized as "freaks" during the early 1970s now routinely appear as guests on television talk shows. Jokes about flatulence and other bodily functions were taken up in films by such well-known humorists as Carl Reiner and the Monty Python troupe. In an article entitled "Mr. Bad Taste Goes Respectable," *U.S. News & World Report* noted that it was increasingly difficult for Waters to retain his title when comedian Jim Carrey told "butt jokes" during a televised presentation of the Academy Awards.

Waters, who still lives in Baltimore and sets all of his movies there, is a local hero because his success brought the city's picturesque locales to the attention of other film crews and made the city a site for East Coast film making. After such Hollywood luminaries as Alan Alda and Al Pacino arrived in town to make movies, the mayor established the city's Film Commission in 1980 to serve as a liaison for movie makers seeking Baltimore locations. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the group of self-styled "juvenile delinquents" and eccentrics that Waters gathered around himself evolved into Dreamland Studio, an ensemble production company. Waters was still working with many of the same people in front of the camera and behind the scenes by the end of the 1990s. Reconciled with his family after years of rebellion, a proud home owner who holds backyard barbecues for the Dreamland survivors, Waters told Aufderheide, "It's hilarious that in some ways I've become part of the establishment."

To his credit, Waters has never tried to top the vulgarity of *Pink Flamingos*, instead honing his talent to mock social intolerance, transvalue society's standards, and take every bizarre reality to its extreme. Long before radio "Shock Jock" Howard Stern came along, John Waters was simultaneously offending people and making them laugh.

—E. M. I. Sefcovic

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## Waters, Muddy (1915-1983)

Muddy Waters' affirmation, in the title of his composition "The Blues Had a Baby and They Called It Rock and Roll," is somewhat autobiographical, striking both at home and abroad. For rock 'n' roll, Waters was a mentor whose musical style was widely emulated, directly linking the blues to rock 'n' roll; he was the musical father of post-war Chicago blues.

Born McKinley Morganfield, the vocalist, guitarist, and songwriter played a major role in the evolution of rock 'n' roll, influencing scores of rock and blues musicians such as Mick Jagger, the Beatles, Mike Bloomfield, Paul Butterfield, Bob Dylan, James Cotton, and Johnny Winter. His 1950 composition, "Rolling Stone," inspired the name for Jagger's rock group. In 1949, Waters transformed the "down-home" country Mississippi Delta style to an urbanized raw and uncompromising Chicago style blues. His band attracted some of the finest Chicago musicians, many of whom later formed their own bands. Waters' impact on the conventional blues aesthetic, Chicago blues, and rock 'n' roll music is unparalleled.



Muddy Waters

The basis for Waters' Chicago style was centered in the Mississippi Delta. He was born on April 4, 1915 in Rolling Fork, Mississippi. His father was a farmer and part-time musician. When his mother died, Waters moved to Clarksdale to live with his grandmother. His early musical experiences consisted of singing in the church choir and playing blues in juke joints and at suppers, picnics, and parties. When Waters was nine, his father taught him to play the harmonica and the guitar—he otherwise was largely self-taught. He earned the world-famous nickname Muddy Waters by often performing “in the dirt” in and around the Delta.

Black patrons' taste for the blues in the juke joints in the Mississippi Delta changed when they moved to Chicago. Likewise, when Waters decided to move to Chicago in 1943, he made changes in his music to appeal to this changing musical taste. The music became louder, with amplified instruments, more forceful rhythms, and the accompaniment now enhanced by five musicians. Before starting his own band, Waters was a sideman with John Lee “Sonny Boy” Williamson at the Plantation Club.

It was as a sideman for Sunnyland Slim that Waters got his first commercial recording break. Alan Lomax had initially recorded Waters in 1941 for the Library of Congress's archives on the Stovall plantation in Mississippi. In 1948, at the end of a recording session in the Aristocrat (later Chess) recording studio, some free time was allotted to Waters and he recorded his first single, “Gypsy Woman.” The record was successful enough to provide an opportunity for another recording session. Subsequent recordings of “(I Feel Like) Going Home,” “Rollin' Stone,” “I Can't Be Satisfied,” and “Man-nish Boy” established the archetype for the post-war Chicago blues style.

While various musicians worked for him over the years, Waters in 1953 assembled one of the best-ever Chicago blues bands consisting of harmonica player Little Walter Jacobs, pianist Otis Spann, guitarist Jimmy Rodgers, and drummer Elgin Evans. With various personnel, Waters' band toured the South, the rest of the United States, and eventually Europe. Willie Dixon, a celebrated singer, bassist, and composer in his own right, wrote a number of songs specifically for Waters that were successful, including “Hoochie Coochie Man” and “Same Thing.” By 1958, Waters had scored 14 hits in the top ten rhythm and blues charts. In the same year, he toured with Otis Spann in the United Kingdom; reviews were mixed because the British audience's perception of the blues was misguided, having been accustomed to the acoustic performances of artists such as Big Bill Broonzy and Sonny Terry and Brownie McGhee.

Waters' vocal approach drew from the congregational song style of the black church. He often moaned (hummed) the ends of phrases. He also made extensive use of a recitative style, bending and sliding upward on syllables with shouts, vocal punches, and occasional use of the upper falsetto register. His guitar style made extensive use of the slide or bottleneck technique, the use of repetitive guitar phrases in response to his vocal line in typical call and response fashion, and an uncompromising rough musical texture.

As soul music gained favor among blacks in the 1960s, there was a decreasing interest in the blues. Waters' popularity among black patrons consequently began to wane. Fortunately, the blues revival was taking place in the United States and United Kingdom, and musicians were emulating American blues. As groups began to acknowledge Waters' influence, renewed attention to his music

occurred. This, along with his performance and recording at the 1960 Newport Jazz Festival, and Johnny Winter serving as producer for several successful collaborations with Waters in the 1970s, fueled a rediscovery of his music by a largely white audience. Waters was at the center of a revival of interest in the blues and the genre's influence on rock.

Waters continued to hit his artistic stride, gaining financial success. His band won the Downbeat Critics Poll for rhythm and blues group in 1968, and a Grammy for Best Ethnic/Traditional recording—*They Call Me Muddy Waters*—in 1971. In an interview, Waters defined the music he played as follows: “I think it's about tellin' a beautiful story . . . something about the hard times you've had.” Waters died quietly in his sleep at his home in the Chicago suburb of Westmont on April 30, 1983.

—Willie Collins

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## Watson, Tom (1949—)

Dominating golf in the late 1970s and early 1980s, Tom Watson is one of the greatest golfers of modern times. Watson is second only to Harry Vardon in British Open Championships with five wins. Performances overseas led to his immense popularity with citizens of the British Isles. His two Masters, along with his dramatic victory in the 1982 United States Open at Pebble Beach give him a total of 8 major championship victories. His fiery duels with Jack Nicklaus in the late 1970s made for excellent television, and in this, Watson contributed to the spread and popularity of golf. Watson was named Player of the Year for four consecutive years, and won the Vardon trophy for lowest scoring average three times.

—Jay Parrent

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## The Wayans Family

Continuing to make strong contributions to the American comedy scene, the Wayans family has been one of the most successful and

influential African-American families in show business. Of four actor/producer/comedian brothers, the eldest, Keenen Ivory Wayans, and his groundbreaking television show *In Living Color* got his siblings a start in show business. Damon has appeared on *Saturday Night Live* and a number of other television shows while maintaining a successful stand-up comedy career. Youngest brother Marlon appeared in a number of films in the late 1990s, and starred with brother Shawn on the television sitcom *The Wayans Brothers*. Sister Kim has appeared on *In Living Color* and many other television programs.

—Jay Parrent

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## Wayne, John (1907-1979)

To millions of people around the world, John Wayne has come to be more than just the single most recognizable screen actor in the history of film: John Wayne is America. From the late 1920s to the mid-1970s John Wayne played a cavalcade of heroes on screen. The characters Wayne usually played after his rise to stardom were not always likable. They were practically never what at the millennium has come to be known as “politically correct”; they rarely had any sensitivity for the plight of those who opposed them, and they were often characterized by an overt jingoism. Nevertheless, they uniformly had one thing in common: they were stereotypically American. As a result of this unifying trait, Wayne himself became, in the world’s eye, synonymous with the mythical American values of rugged individualism, bravery, loyalty, integrity, and courage. However, even though he played a wide variety of characters, including soldiers, detectives, sailors, and football players, it is for his Western heroes that he is best remembered. As Garry Wills writes in *John Wayne’s America*, “the strength of Wayne was that he embodied our deepest myth—that of the frontier.”

John Wayne was born Marion Michael Morrison in Winterset, Iowa, on May 26, 1907. His mother, Mary (Molly) Brown Morrison, struggled to keep the family afloat in light of the shiftlessness of Wayne’s father, Clyde Morrison. After a failed career as a druggist, Clyde made a decision that was ultimately good for Wayne, but very bad for himself: in 1913 he decided to migrate to California to be a farmer. In 1914 his wife and two sons joined him. In addition to his having had no previous experience as a farmer, Clyde made the misbegotten choice of Lancaster, which sits in the Antelope Valley, as his place of residence. The land’s aridity, in addition to his inexperience, virtually assured Clyde’s failure. It was here that most Wayne historians believe he first developed his ironic lifelong dislike of horses, which appears to have stemmed from his having to ride one daily from his father’s farm to the school in Lancaster.

After Clyde’s inevitable failure as a farmer, he once again began working in a pharmacy, this time in the Los Angeles suburb of Glendale, where the family moved in 1916. It was here that Wayne first began to blossom. His family life was relatively unstable—he lived in four different homes in his nine years in Glendale and his parents habitually fought, which resulted in their divorcing shortly after Wayne finished high school. Nevertheless, by most accounts Wayne enjoyed his time in Glendale, especially his four years (1921-1925) at Glendale High, where he was immensely popular with his peers. Wayne joined a number of social groups and was class vice president his sophomore and junior years, and class president his senior year. In addition, he wrote for the school paper, participated as an actor and stage hand in school productions, served on many social committees, and was a star guard on the football team. His football ability, in combination with his high grades, earned him a scholarship to play football at University of Southern California (USC) under legendary coach Howard Jones. In the fall of 1925, full of high hopes and promise, Wayne left Glendale for good, ostensibly headed towards a career as a football hero and then, after law school, a successful lawyer.

When Wayne first arrived at USC, things went well for him. To augment his scholarship, he worked in the fraternities for extra money. He loved fraternity life and pledged Sigma Chi. He earned his letter on the freshman team and was poised to join the varsity squad at the start of his sophomore year. It is at this point that things began to go awry. Wayne’s size, six feet four inches, made him a formidable and intimidating high school football player. However, in the college game, sheer size and strength are not enough to secure a position on the team. Just as important is speed, of which Wayne possessed none. After his sophomore year of college Wayne lost his scholarship, thus ending his days at USC. In later years Wayne would claim it was injury that cut short a promising career. With his scholarship lost, Wayne began working at Fox studios in 1927. Although he occasionally appeared as an extra when needed and even had speaking roles in John Ford’s *Salute* (1929) and *Men without Women* (1930), his main responsibilities consisted of using his enormous strength to move props and equipment from set to set. However, in 1929 Wayne was spotted doing manual labor by Raoul Walsh, who didn’t notice a lack of speed so much as he did a grace and fluidity of motion. Walsh immediately decided to make Wayne a star; from these inauspicious circumstances began the most culturally influential career in screen acting history.

Walsh’s first, and perhaps most important, suggestion to Wayne was that he change his name. With that suggestion, Marion Morrison became John “Duke” Wayne. Although Ford is generally credited with “discovering” John Wayne, he did not, nor was he initially responsible for Wayne’s becoming a major star. Wayne did not become larger than life all at once, but cumulatively, after a long series of fits and starts. And more important perhaps than even *Stagecoach* (1939) was his long apprenticeship as a leading man in 1930s “B” Westerns, which began with his appearance in Walsh’s epic *The Big Trail* in 1930. For *The Big Trail* Wayne underwent a Hollywood makeover that would pervade his on-screen persona for the remainder of his life. He was taught to communicate with Indians via hand signals, wear the garb of a cowboy, and, perhaps most importantly, to properly ride a horse; Walsh transformed Wayne into a Western hero. In the early 1990s the Museum of Modern Art restored *The Big Trail* to its original form, which resulted in contemporary critics raising it to its rightful place in the pantheon of Hollywood’s Western classics. However, at the time of its release *The*





John Wayne on horseback in a scene from the film *The Searchers*.

*Big Trail* was a financial failure. This was disastrous for Fox Studios, which had gambled its survival on the film's anticipated box-office success. Fox went into receivership and Wayne was denied the studio buildup he otherwise would have received. Instead of becoming a major star, Wayne was forced to scramble to find work at seven different studios over the next eight years. Nevertheless, the film convinced Hollywood that Wayne had potential as a Western hero.

From 1930 to 1939 Wayne appeared as the hero in some 80 films, the vast majority of which were Westerns. Although he was

languishing financially, Wayne was nevertheless honing his craft, perfecting his famous walk, his economy of speech and movement, and learning, in his own words, to re-act rather than act—"How many times do I gotta tell you, I don't act at all, I *re-act*." Also important during this time was his relationship with Yakima Canutt, the famous Hollywood stunt man who profoundly influenced Wayne's career. Canutt was not only the toughest man on whatever set he happened to be working, he was also the most professional. Both traits rubbed off on Wayne. Many critics have poked fun at Wayne's sometimes stiff

on-screen persona, especially during his later years when his work often seemed to unintentionally border on self-parody, but the fact of the matter is that under Canutt's influence in the 1930s Wayne became a consummate student of film, which he remained until the end of his life. Despite his off-screen ribaldry, on the set Wayne was always sober, prepared, intense, and by most accounts a generous actor. That Wayne survived the Depression as an actor is itself no small accomplishment, but he was nevertheless still a minor figure in the landscape of Hollywood cinema. And then came 1939 and John Ford's *Stagecoach*, the film that would begin to change John Wayne's career.

Although John Wayne was a firmly established "B" Western Movie star in 1939, literally hundreds of actors were better known than he. But *Stagecoach* changed all that. Walter Wanger, the film's producer, urged Ford to cast Gary Cooper and Marlene Dietrich as the Ringo Kid and Dallas, but according to Tag Gallagher, Ford, didn't want established stars and instead convinced Wanger that John Wayne and Claire Trevor were right for the parts. He did so because the casting of Cooper and Dietrich would have meant that audiences would automatically have brought preconceived notions to the film. They were not only stars, but "personalities" as well (especially Dietrich). In casting relative unknowns Ford was able to ensure that audiences would be enthralled with the story and not the visual presence of big stars. For Wayne it was the film that began his climb towards cultural immortality. However, even though *Stagecoach's* success helped him in Hollywood, Wayne was still not quite the larger than life figure that he has since become. The final piece of that puzzle would not come until the release of Howard Hawks's *Red River* in 1948.

Howard Hawks saw in Wayne a man capable of better acting than had previously been required of him and cast him as Tom Dunson, a hard driving authoritarian cattleman who was an older, darker, and much less sympathetic character than Wayne had previously played. Wayne's performance was brilliant and other directors—the most important of whom was John Ford—took note. Once it was discovered that Wayne not only looked the part of a hero, but that he was a good actor as well, his career skyrocketed; John Wayne became a major Hollywood star at the age of forty. From this point on Wayne predominantly played the kinds of roles for which he is best remembered, what Garry Wills call "the authority figure, the guide for younger men, the melancholy person weighed down with responsibility." Perhaps the blueprint for the iconic Wayne character is his Sergeant Stryker from *The Sands of Iwo Jima* (1949), who to this day is still an enduring symbol for right-wing America. Stryker's cry of "Lock and Load" has been used as a battle cry by many, including Oliver North, Pat Buchanan, and, more ironically, by Sergeant Barnes, the villain of Oliver Stone's anti-war film *Platoon* (1986).

John Wayne's on-screen persona became perhaps the only one in movie history that is hated or revered because of its perceived politics. A lot of people love John Wayne simply because they love his movies, but seemingly just as many either like or dislike his films on the basis of the right-wing politics with which they have become inextricably associated. Clearly, not all of Wayne's characters fit the right-wing stereotype with which they have been identified. However, beginning in the 1950s Wayne himself became increasingly political, which in turn affected the way people thought of his movies. Just as his on-screen persona came to be seen as representing American values, so too did he publicly begin to project the image of a super patriotic ultra-American defender of the Old Guard. During the height of the McCarthy era he helped form the Motion Picture

Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals, over which he eventually presided as president. That he had this public persona apparently never struck Wayne as ironic, even though in his personal life he was both an active womanizer who married three times and a famously heavy drinker. In 1960 he directed and starred in *The Alamo*, which, despite some fine moments, is generally recognized as a mess. However, in the story of the siege of the Alamo, Wayne thought he saw a metaphor for all that was good in American character. Furthermore, Wayne was a fundamentalist hawk who made the Vietnam War a personal crusade, which ultimately resulted in his both starring in and co-directing the excruciatingly propagandistic *The Green Berets* (1969). In the face of the seemingly senseless deaths of so many American youths in Vietnam, this film rubbed many the wrong way, especially in light of the fact that the varied reasons the pro-military Wayne offered for his never having served in the armed forces himself were hazy at best.

Despite his success in other genres, Wayne was still the quintessential Western hero. After *Red River* the primary reason for the perpetuation of Wayne's work in Westerns was a renewed working relationship with John Ford, who saw in Wayne for perhaps the first time an actor capable of exuding the strength, confidence, and staunch independence typical of so many of Ford's heroes. Ford saw Wayne as emblematic of the kind of hero he wanted in his films, and he was also able to get better work out of Wayne than did any other director (with the notable exception of Hawks's *Red River* and *Rio Bravo* [1959]). But this is perhaps because in films after *Stagecoach* Ford cast Wayne in roles that were tailored to suit Wayne's particular talents. The result was a series of classic films, including the Cavalry Trilogy—*Fort Apache* (1948), *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949), and *Rio Grande* (1950)—and *The Quiet Man*, an Irish love story that is perhaps both Wayne and Ford's best-loved film. In Ford's later films, he cannily chipped away at the veneer of Wayne's Western hero image. In films such as *The Searchers* (1956) and *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962), Ford played on Wayne's cinematic iconography and increasing chronological age to recreate him as a far more complex, embittered figure than he was in Ford's earlier work.

After his work as Tom Doniphon in Ford's last masterpiece, *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*, Wayne starred in films that capitalized on his iconic stature as the quintessential Western hero. He repeatedly played individualistic tough guys with a strong personal code of morality. Although films like *The Sons of Katy Elder* (1965), *Chisum* (1970), and *Big Jake* (1971) lacked the artistry of his earlier work with Ford and Hawks, they were nevertheless successful at the box-office. In 1969 Hollywood finally awarded Wayne a long overdue Oscar, which he received for his performance as Rooster Cogburn, *True Grit's* hard drinking, eye-patch wearing, Western marshal. Off-screen, Wayne had survived cancer in 1963, at which time he had a lung removed. Wayne said he had "Licked the Big C," but such was ultimately not the case.

In 1976 Wayne starred in *The Shootist*, the last of some 250 films and one which had haunting parallels with Wayne's real-life situation. In it Wayne plays J. B. Brooks, a reformed killer dying of cancer who is trying to live out his final days in peace. The film was not the celebratory cash cow that so much of his later work had been. Instead, it is a much more accurate depiction of the death of the West. It also contained an eerily prescient emotional resonance in its reflection of Wayne's off-screen battle with cancer. After its completion, Wayne underwent open-heart surgery in 1978. He then had his stomach removed in 1979. After a courageous battle, Wayne's cancer finally

got the better of him. John Wayne died in Los Angeles on June 11, 1979. During his lifetime Wayne was Hollywood's biggest star, making the top ten in distributors' lists of stars with commercial appeal in all but one year from 1949 to 1974. Remarkably, death hasn't dimmed his stardom. In 1993 pollsters asked Americans "Who is your favorite star?" John Wayne came in second to Clint Eastwood, the same place he earned one year later when the poll was conducted again. In 1995, Wayne finished first. Even in death Wayne's cultural presence seems only to become more pervasive, continuing to flourish even in the late 1990s, an era in which most movie stars' time on top seems to be more accurately measured in minutes than in years. Why does Wayne's popularity continue to grow? Perhaps Joan Didion said it best when she wrote that John Wayne "determined forever the shape of certain of our dreams."

Early on in *Stagecoach* there is a moment in which the stage encounters the Ringo Kid (John Wayne), standing on the roadside, looking magnificent with his saddle slung over his left shoulder, and his rifle, which he spins with graceful aplomb, in his right hand. As contemporary viewers we can't help but think of Wayne, regardless of the particular character he is playing, as "The Duke." As historian Anne Butler writes, "more than any other medium, film is responsible for the image of the West as a place locked in the nineteenth century and defined by stark encounters between whites and Indians, law and disorder. Although social trends have altered the content of Western films, the strong, silent man of action—epitomized by John Wayne—remains the central figure." John Wayne has come to stand for a particular kind of American, one who takes no guff and fights for what he knows is right, which often appears to be what is best for America as well, for no other reason than we cannot imagine John Wayne, who in his personal life was far from an angel, as leading us down the wrong the path. For better or worse, the perception of John Wayne as the defining human symbol of America has become firmly ensconced in the collective global psyche.

—Robert C. Sickels

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## Wayne's World

The release of *Wayne's World* in 1992 marked the dawn of a new era of deliberately "dumb" comedies, and insured the production, if not the success, of a slew of other movies based on popular characters from the television show *Saturday Night Live*. *Wayne's World* was significant not only for its surprising popularity—it grossed over \$180 million worldwide—but also because its witty, self-conscious script and deliberately ludicrous jargon set a new standard for comedies aimed at a youth market in the 1990s.

*Wayne's World* was the first skit to be expanded from *Saturday Night Live* into a full-length feature since the very successful cult film *Blues Brothers* was released in 1980, and became something of a cult film itself. Like *Blues Brothers*, the chemistry in *Wayne's World* lay in the rapport between two characters, Wayne Campbell and Garth Algar, played by *Saturday Night Live* alumni Mike Myers and Dana Carvey. Myers developed the original characters, and shared writing credits with Bonnie Turner for the final movie script, with *Saturday Night Live* producer Lorne Michaels retaining his duties for the film. A less likely member of the production team was director Penelope Spheeris who, although well-respected, had built her reputation via a rather different take on youth culture with underground hits such as the dark *Suburbia* (1983) and *The Decline of Western Civilization Part II: The Metal Years* (1988), a documentary on the rise of heavy metal bands in the early 1980s.

Beyond the good-natured simplicity of its plot, *Wayne's World* influenced the marketing strategies of future comedies. The promotional team took the unprecedented step of pouring the majority of their relatively small budget into buying advertising time on the youth-oriented cable music channel, MTV, including sponsorship of an hour-long special on the film, and the bet paid off with huge box-office sales to the targeted youth audience. Cannily, the films had recognized that teenagers in the 1990s were increasingly cynical about exactly such marketing, and the plot of the film depicted a naive Wayne and Garth tempted by an unscrupulous television producer to include key products in their popular public access TV show. In a memorable scene, Wayne and Garth balk at the suggestion that they "sell out"; standing in front of a loaded buffet table, the producer (played by Rob Lowe) tells them they have no choice. With a grin that lets audiences in on the spoof, Wayne responds by picking up a Pepsi and replying that, in fact, he does have a choice—and it is "the choice of a New Generation," Pepsi's current tag-line. Similar overt references to other products are found throughout the movie, including spoofs on the campaigns for Doritos and Grey Poupon mustard.

In an ironic gesture befitting the movie, *Wayne's World* spun off a galaxy of commercial tie-ins, including a VCR board game, a Nintendo game, a book (*Wayne's World: Extreme Close Up*) co-written by Myers and his then-girlfriend, actress Robin Ruzan, as well as the usual coffee mugs, t-shirts, and action figures. Perhaps the most unusual tie-in was a planned *Wayne's World*-themed amusement park, to be opened in April of 1994 at Paramount King's Dominion in Virginia, where patrons could ride "The Hurler" rollercoaster and pose next to Garth's "Mirthmobile," a powder blue Pacer. The popularity of *Wayne's World* guaranteed a sequel, *Wayne's World II*, released in 1993. Although both Myers and Carvey returned and the film was a commercial success, it received mediocre reviews. Regardless, the *Wayne's World* movies are widely credited for leading the way for a new wave of comedy features starring television comics,



Mike Myers (left) and Dana Carvey in a scene from the film *Wayne's World*.

such as Jim Carrey's *Ace Ventura: Pet Detective* (1993), Adam Sandler's *Billy Madison* (1994), and Chris Farley's *Tommy Boy* (1995).

—Deborah Broderson

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## The Weathermen

Their avowed goal to bring about a violent Communist revolution in the United States, perhaps the Weathermen's greatest significance lay in their exploitation by the Nixon administration, which characterized them as typical protestors. These few hundred extremists were used to represent the thousands comprising the antiwar movement, a strategy that allowed President Nixon to offer the

"silent majority" a clear choice: either his plan of gradual disengagement from the war (called "Vietnamization") or the violent revolution supposedly espoused by all of the war's opponents.

The Weathermen arose from the ashes of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), which self-destructed at its 1969 convention in a power struggle between the Progressive Labor Coalition, whose adherents were older, socialist, and principally interested in organizing workers to bring about social change, and the Radical Youth Movement, younger, Communist-oriented revolutionaries who saw armed struggle as the only viable political option. RYM's manifesto, distributed at the conference, was titled after a Bob Dylan lyric: "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows." The crisis came when Bernadine Dohrn, a leader of RYM and one of SDS's three national secretaries, gave a blistering speech which ended with her announcing the expulsion of PL from SDS. Many other members, adherents of neither faction, quit in disgust, leaving behind only the most radicalized element, RYM, which initially retained SDS's name but soon became known as Weatherman, the Weather Underground, or, more commonly, the Weathermen.

The new organization was small, so recruitment was deemed necessary before meaningful political activity could take place. The Weathermen believed that working-class white youths offered the best prospects for new members—these young people were already

alienated from the system, it was reasoned, and would thus be eager recruits for the revolution. The effort was not a success. Some Weathermen tried to impress urban street kids with their toughness by challenging them to fight. Brawls were easy to find, recruits less so. Other members invaded high schools in working-class areas, shouting “Jailbreak!” and disrupting classes, but most students were uninterested in the Weathermen’s call to rise up against their teachers and the state.

More dramatic action to garner attention and interest seemed called for, and the Weathermen’s solution was the Days of Rage, a planned four-day series of demonstrations in Chicago in November 1969. The Weathermen chose Chicago partly in the hope of exacting revenge on the city’s police, who had brutalized demonstrators during the 1968 Democratic National Convention, and partly because the leaders of those demonstrations, the so-called Chicago 7, were facing trial on conspiracy charges there. The Weathermen wanted to protest the trial and also take advantage of the presence of the national news media, which would be covering the proceedings. Although the organizers of the Days of Rage predicted the attendance of thousands of protesters, only about seven hundred showed up. Over three days they demonstrated, rampaged through affluent downtown areas, and fought with the police. Many were arrested, with both police and protesters suffering injuries of varying severity. On balance, the Days of Rage were a failure. Chicago’s working-class youth did not rally to the Weathermen’s cause. Further, other organizations in the antiwar movement denounced the Weathermen’s actions as counterproductive and cut off all ties with them. Even the Black Panthers, a militant group known for its defiant confrontations with authority, were critical of the Days of Rage.

The leaders of the Weathermen decided on a change of strategy. The most committed among them would drop out of public view, “go underground” in small groups, and strike out at the state with a coordinated program of bombings. The bombing went on for the next eleven months. The targets chosen were all politically symbolic, and the bombs were usually planted in retaliation for some action that the Weathermen perceived as oppressive: a bomb was set at the home of a New York City judge who was presiding over a trial of some Black Panthers; another went off in a Pentagon lavatory after President Nixon ordered increased bombing of North Vietnam; still another bomb exploded at the office of the New York State Department of Corrections after the brutal suppression of the Attica prison riot. Despite their reputation, as well as their violent-sounding rhetoric, the Weathermen were always careful to call in a bomb threat at least an hour before their bombs were timed to detonate. This allowed the target buildings to be evacuated, so no people were hurt in the blasts. The only fatalities due to the Weathermen’s bombs were three of their own members. On March 8, 1970, a townhouse in New York’s Greenwich Village blew up. The owner, James Wilkerson, was away; he had allowed his daughter Kathy to stay there, little suspecting that she had joined the Weathermen, or that the place would be used as a bomb factory. Diana Oughten, Ted Gold, and Terry Robbins were killed in the blast.

The deaths of their comrades sobered the surviving Weathermen. They called off the bombing campaign and began to adopt more mainstream methods of persuasion. While still underground, they put out a number of publications espousing their political views and also gave interviews to counterculture publications such as *The Berkeley Tribe*. The Weathermen leaders, including Bernadine Dohrn, even cooperated with director Emile DeAntonio in the making of a documentary called *Underground*.

But by 1975, the Communist victory in Vietnam made the Weathermen passe. Internal squabbling soon put a finish to the organization, and its leaders eventually abandoned their fugitive lifestyle and rejoined the society they had claimed to so despise.

—Justin Gustainis

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## Weaver, Sigourney (1949—)

Sigourney Weaver achieved fame battling bug-like monsters as Ellen Ripley in *Alien* (1979), a role she reprised in *Aliens* (1986), *Alien 3* (1992), and *Alien Resurrection* (1997). In these action films, Weaver impressed audiences and critics by demonstrating that a woman can be a fierce warrior without sacrificing her femininity. In her other work, Weaver has proven herself in genres ranging from comedies such as *Ghostbusters* (1984) and *Working Girl* (1988) to intensely dramatic roles such as *Gorillas in the Mist* (1988) and *Death and the Maiden* (1994).

—Christian L. Pyle

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## The Weavers

Formed in 1948 by folksinger and banjoist Pete Seeger, the Weavers were considered the quintessential U.S. folk music group of its era, popularizing such classic tunes as “On Top of Old Smokey” and “Goodnight Irene” before falling under the shadow of McCarthyism in the 1950s. When they began performing, the four members of the group had collectively amassed a repertoire exceeding 700 traditional ballads and folk songs; before disbanding in 1963, the Weavers had recorded many of these on popular albums, successfully bringing American folk music to the attention of a mass audience. Though their smooth, polished sound ruffled the feathers of a few folk-music purists, the Weavers have been credited for fueling the careers of the numerous young performers who followed them, prompting the formation of the Newport Folk Festival series in the late 1950s and what would later be known as the American Folk Revival.

Unlike most popular folk-music performers of the mid-twentieth century, which included the Kingston Trio, Peter, Paul & Mary, Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, the Clancy Brothers & Tommy Makem, and Canada’s husband-and-wife team Ian & Sylvia, the members of the



**The Weavers at their 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Reunion Concert: (from left) Pete Seeger, Lee Hays, Ronnie Gilbert, and Fred Hellerman.**

Weavers were significantly older than their fans (Seeger was born in 1919). Rather than their youth, it was their enthusiasm and their folk-music credentials that earned the Weavers their legions of fans. Seeger, in particular, had ties to many folk performers of earlier decades, including the legendary Woody Guthrie, with whom he had performed as part of the Almanac Singers during the early 1940s.

The Weavers—Seeger, Lee Hays, Fred Hellerman, and female vocalist Ronnie Gilbert—debuted at New York City’s Village Vanguard folk club in 1948. The Manhattan-born Seeger had abandoned a promising Harvard education to learn to play the long-necked banjo and to hitchhike across the United States for the purpose of collecting the nation’s folk songs. His growing expertise later earned him a position as folk archivist for the Library of Congress. By contrast, Hays, with his deep, rumbling voice, had begun his career singing in the rural churches of his native Arkansas. The two younger members of the group, guitarist Hellerman and vocalist Gilbert, had become friends upon recognizing their common interest in folk music while working as summer-camp counselors in New Jersey.

The four musicians met during folk-music hootenannies in Greenwich Village during the mid-1940s, and quickly decided that their combined vocals, backed by Seeger’s banjo and recorder and

Hellerman’s acoustic guitar, made for a good mix. Sponsored by the Socialist-leaning People’s Songs, the foursome also received encouragement from folk-music fans wherever they performed. A six-month gig at the Village Vanguard, where such folkies as Burl Ives and Richard Dyer-Bennett had gotten their starts, earned the group \$100 a week for its musical mix of everything from work-gang songs from the Old South to Indonesian lullabies.

Eventually the Weavers sparked the interest of Decca Records, which recorded two of the group’s favorite songs: “Goodnight, Irene,” by bluesman Leadbelly, and the Israeli hora “Tzena, Tzena, Tzena.” Both tunes were timely: Leadbelly had died only a year before, while the nation of Israel had only just come into being. Within a year, both songs made the hit parade, with record sales to the college crowd cresting the million mark. The Weavers moved to Manhattan’s Blue Angel nightclub, and from there to Broadway’s Strand Theater, where its take-home pay rose to \$2,250 a week. The group was soon on its way to national prominence, with offers for bookings from venues in 30 U.S. cities.

The Weavers’ meteoric rise to national prominence abruptly ended in 1952, when Seeger’s leftist leanings caused the group to fall under the shadow of the “Red Scare” that was fueled by Senator



The Chick Webb Band with Ella Fitzgerald on vocals.

Joseph McCarthy and by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). Included among those entertainers suspected of pro-communist sentiments, the group was blacklisted by theatre owners and radio and television stations. Forced to return to the smaller folk clubs and coffeehouses where they had got their start, the Weavers continued their career in the folk community for another ten years before finally disbanding in 1963. During this period, the Weavers recorded several albums for both Decca and Vanguard, among them *Weavers Almanac*, *Weavers on Tour* (1958), *Travelling with the Weavers* (1958), and *The Weavers at Carnegie Hall* (1955), the last considered the group's finest album. Many of their songs continue to be available on album reissues.

While Seeger's political convictions may have ultimately ended the career of the Weavers—he was cited for contempt of Congress in 1961, although his conviction was ultimately overturned—he eventually emerged undaunted, and has continued to entertain generations of Americans with songs that have become modern-day folk classics, as well as composing “If I Had a Hammer” and “We Shall Overcome,” both of which became anthems of the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

—Pamela L. Shelton

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## Webb, Chick (1902-1939)

With precise ensemble playing rather than standout soloists, drummer Chick Webb's orchestra regularly won big band jazz contests in the mid-1930s. Born in Baltimore, Webb moved to New York City, and in 1926 started a band that included star sax men Benny Carter and Johnny Hodges. Despite his diminutive stature, aggravated by a curved spine, Webb was a virtuoso drummer, anchoring his band's beat with impeccable taste. From 1933, Edgar Sampson arranged such landmark numbers as “Stompin’ at the Savoy.” When Webb discovered the teenaged Ella Fitzgerald in 1935, her singing led the band to new heights, with hit records for Decca and regular appearances at the Savoy Ballroom in Harlem broadcast nationally. After Webb died of spinal tuberculosis in 1939, Fitzgerald led the band for two years.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Webb, Jack (1920-1982)

Jack Webb's most famous public persona, Sgt. Joe Friday of the Los Angeles Police Department, seemed to be a man with virtually no

personality. Yet, paradoxically, this amazingly versatile actor-director-writer-producer-editor-executive was one of the most influential personalities to work in television during the 1950s and 1960s—the heyday of the Big Three networks and the formative period of the Media Age. He did so by speaking directly to the hitherto unexploited American appetite for unemotional professionalism. He was, as Norman Mailer said of the astronaut Neil Armstrong, “apparently in communion with some string in the universe others did not think to play.” His not-so-secret weapon was an intense and exclusive focus on surface reality, a focus summed up in the most famous (and endlessly lampooned) line from his television series, *Dragnet*: “Just the facts, ma’am.”

Born April 2, 1920, in Santa Monica, California, Jack Webb was educated at Belmont High School and served in the Army Air Force during World War II (1942-1945). After his discharge, he joined the broadcast industry as a radio announcer in San Francisco. By the time he made his debut as a film actor—playing, significantly, a police detective in the superb film noir thriller, *He Walked by Night* (1948)—Webb was well-established lead in the radio dramas *Pat Novak for Hire* (1946) and *Johnny Modero, Pier 23* (1947). In 1949, he created the police series, *Dragnet*. Although continuing to produce the radio version until 1955, he took the series to television in 1951, where it became the most highly rated police drama in broadcast history. He continued to act in other people’s motion pictures though 1951, most memorably in Billy Wilder’s *Sunset Boulevard* and in Fred Zinneman’s *The Men*, both in 1950. After 1951, he only acted in movies he directed: *Dragnet* (1954), *Pete Kelly’s Blues* (1955), *The D.I.* (1957), *-30-* (1959), and *The Last Time I Saw Archie* (1961). As a filmmaker, Webb was a genuine auteur, his directing style an extension of his television techniques.

Although Webb’s movies rarely enjoyed much critical or popular success, they were nevertheless individually quite enjoyable—especially *Pete Kelly’s Blues*, with its meticulous reconstruction of 1920s New Orleans and its shining performance by the jazz singer Peggy Lee; *The D.I.*, about an unyielding Drill Instructor at the Marine Corps’s Paris Island; and *-30-*, an exciting melodrama of a big city newspaper. Judging his work by the exaggerated standards of Hollywood, the critic Andrew Sarris said that Webb’s “style was too controlled for the little he had to say”—a clever formulation, and accurate enough to be worth repeating, but too dismissive. Nevertheless, Jack Webb’s impact on the American cinema was negligible, except that his 1954 film of *Dragnet* was one of the first motion pictures based on a television series.

His impact on television is another matter. New episodes of *Dragnet* were produced from December 16, 1951 to September 6, 1959 and again from January 12, 1967 through September 10, 1970. By the time it finally went into syndication, *Dragnet* had become a significant presence in modern American folklore. Particularly striking were Walter Schumann’s title theme; Webb’s laconic, understated narration (“This is the city. Los Angeles, California. I work here. I’m a cop.”); the epilogue detailing the punishments imposed upon the evening’s criminals (“Arthur Schnitzler was tried on fifteen counts of indecent exposure in the Superior Court of Los Angeles County. . .”); the sweaty, muscular forearms which chiseled the logo “Mark VII” (Webb’s production company) into granite at the end of the program; and, of course, the quick, staccato, emotionless dialogue—an effect Webb sought deliberately, and achieved by having his actors read their lines cold, from cue cards. Webb not only starred as Joe Friday, but also produced all the episodes, wrote and directed



Jack Webb

most of them, and provided the voice-over narration. Before each script of *Dragnet* was filmed, it was submitted to the Los Angeles Police Department for approval and possible changes.

Beginning in 1968, Webb created several other series, the most notable being *Adam 12* (1968-1970), about two LAPD officers in a patrol car, and *Emergency!* (1971-1975), which concerned the adventures of a mobile rescue unit. Though he did not appear in any of his other projects, each bore Webb’s trademarks: they were about the lives of public service professionals, and the exclusive emphasis was on the characters’ professional—not private—lives. Furthermore, the stories were told in Webb’s patented low-key, obsessively factual, style—as if he were an engineer and making a television program was a dirty job but somebody had to do it.

Although he would undoubtedly have been horrified at the suggestion, Webb’s laconic style was a kind of cool, which is why it worked so well on the “cool” medium of television. He understood instinctively that histrionics and violent spectacle did not go over very well on television and could even be off-putting. What did go over well were close-ups of people talking to each other, and a scrupulous, admiring record of people doing their jobs. His tremendous success was based upon his sure knowledge that, at any given moment in history, the squares outnumber the hipsters by about 500,000 to 1. Joe Friday was an archetypal stiff, and proud of it; his moral code was as simple and clear-cut as his conception of his job as a cop: things were either right or wrong, as an act was either legal or illegal. It should not surprise anyone that Americans found this appealing—that Webb was able to reintroduce *Dragnet* at the height of the chaotic 1960s and to keep it on the air, highly rated, through four complete seasons. Indeed,



the people who welcomed *Dragnet* back on television in 1967 were the same people who elected Richard Nixon as president in 1968.

—Gerald Carpenter

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## Wedding Dress

The wedding dress is a costume or single-purpose article of clothing worn by a bride during the marriage ceremony. From antiquity, weddings have been highly regarded occasions. The clothing worn by the bride for her wedding has usually been distinguished from that of her daily wear. Symbolism may be attached to the dress, such as white for purity, and may be attached to items worn with the dress, such as something blue for luck. The symbolism associated with the wedding dress may have cultural, traditional, or personal significance.

Colonial immigrants kept the marriage traditions of their homelands. Brides in the English Jamestown settlement likely wore the costumes of young country brides of the mid-Elizabethan period. Although records of the first American weddings do not describe clothing, it is known that English brides of this era wore dresses of russet, a woolen fabric of natural wool color or dyed a reddish brown with tree bark. They wore simple, fitted white caps on the head. Dresses and caps made for weddings were usually adorned with fine embroidery.

American wedding dresses evolved into more festive or elaborate versions of the usual dress worn by women of each subsequent era. The dress was considered a best dress to be worn for special occasions after the wedding. The dress was usually new, although laces and trimmings might be old and handed down from a family member. Beginning in the mid-1800s, wearing a mother's wedding dress became an acceptable sentimental option.

As America prospered, brides marked the occasion of their wedding by bedecking themselves in the finest and most becoming dresses of their day. They were influenced by the styles of Europe and news of royal marriages. Although white had been worn for Roman weddings, all colors were used for early American wedding attire. Though other colors were occasionally seen, white settled into vogue as the preferred choice of color after the immensely popular Queen Victoria of England wed in 1840 clad in white satin.



A typical wedding dress.

Since the Victorian era's hooped creations, the wedding dress has known countless variations on the style of the day. While some early dresses displayed a slight trail of fabric behind, the wedding dress with train came into vogue in the mid-1870s, as did the use of the flowing veil.

Elaborate fabrics, embroideries, laces, braids, and trimmings were used whenever possible. The laces Aloncon, Venice, Honitan, and Chantilly were commonplace for wedding trims. The evolution of styles included the tubular skirts of the 1870s, the corset waists of the 1880s, the leg-o-mutton sleeves of the 1890s, the bustles of the early 1900s, the ankle-length Gibson girl silhouette of the 1910s, and the short-skirted flapper look with accompanying long, full veil of the 1920s.

In the 1930s the wedding dress became known as the wedding gown, as the term gown denoted a luxurious dress worn in Depression-era America. Over the years hemlines varied in the daily style of dress, but beginning in the 1930s, the majority of wedding dresses were designed floor length.

The 1940s war years' wedding gowns show an absence of elaborate laces and trims, but an attention to tailoring detail with padded shoulders and belted waistlines. The prosperous 1950s ushered in a new era of extravagant wedding gowns with yards of gathered skirting, laces, sweetheart and off-the-shoulder necklines,

and peter pan collars. Since it had become traditional for the groom to present his bride a gift of a single strand of pearls, much emphasis was placed on the neckline design to show off this gift.

During the 1960s, the prominence of traditional styles of wedding dresses decreased in favor of contemporary dress styles. Many brides wore floor length flowered print dresses that were not significantly more elaborate than their usual mode of dress. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, the hippie bride marrying in a meadow gave way to the miniskirted bride repeating vows before a justice of the peace.

As the 1970s progressed, the traditional wedding gowns enjoyed a resurgence. Early baby-boomers found meaning in unpacking, refitting, and wearing their mother's gowns of the 1940s and 1950s. For those not fortunate enough to have a gown from these periods, the bridal apparel industry was ready with fresh designs in polyester fabrics. Elaborate gowns of finer materials were still produced, and by the 1980s it had become customary for at least the dress bodice to be covered in beading and laces.

The 1990s wedding dress and its symbolism was a matter of individual taste. While many wedding dresses resurrected styles of the past, other styles continued evolving, such as the mermaid dress, a creation form-fitted to the knees with a flared skirt. Dresses were designed with a skirted train, a detachable train, or a veil trailing beyond the hem of the dress simulating a train. Examples of wedding dresses with fine construction and beadwork continued to be made and preserved for wear by the next generation of brides. The majority of wedding dresses not designed for repeat wear might have had beading and trims glued to the dress instead of hand-sewn. These dresses were often boxed and kept for sentimental reasons. The practical bride may choose to rent a wedding dress.

The modern wedding dress is steeped in tradition and history. The elaborateness of the design and the association of any cultural significance or traditional symbolism to the dress or to items worn with the dress is the choice of the bride.

—Taylor Shaw

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## Weekend

In contemporary American culture, the weekend generally signifies the end of the traditional work week, or the period from Friday night to Monday morning, a popular time for organized or unorganized leisure activities and for religious observances. Historically, the weekend was synonymous with the Sabbath which, among European cultures, was marked on Sunday by Christians and on Saturday by

Jews. To understand the weekend, some background on the origin of the week itself is helpful. Human time was first measured by nature's cycles, seasonal for longer units, and celestial for shorter ones (i.e., the rising and setting of the sun, and the phases of the moon). Today this influence persists in that the names of the days are derived from the ancient astrological seven-day planetary week: "Monday," a corruption of the word "Moonday," which in turn evolved from European derivations of the Latin word for moon, and "Sunday," the day long considered the first of the week until gradually being perceived as the last day of the weekend. The first calendar was devised by the Egyptians, who bequeathed it to ensuing civilizations. Egypt divided the years into three seasons, based on the cycles of the river Nile, and twelve months. The Egyptians' 24-hour days were also grouped into week-like ten-day periods (called "decades"). The Mesopotamian calendar was similar, but its months were divided by a special day, *shabattu*, perhaps the first manifestation of recurring intervals of time regularly punctuated by a special day devoted to leisure or celebration. The Roman calendar also established special days within its 30 or 31-day months, such as the Kalends, the Nones, and the Ides. The Ides fell on the thirteenth or the fifteenth day of the month, and became part of the English language via Shakespeare's famous warning in *Julius Caesar*: "Beware the Ides of March."

In addition to the ancient Jewish Sabbath (and the Christian Sunday that evolved out of it), a later precursor of the modern weekend was the eighteenth-century European custom of Saint Monday, a weekly day of leisure. Saint Monday was gradually replaced by the Saturday holiday, first observed in Europe in the 1870s. In Britain and Ireland, shops often closed at midday on Wednesday, a custom observed in some American small towns until the 1950s. The custom of working half a day on Saturday took hold in the U.S. in the 1920s, with a full two-day "weekend off" soon following. During the earlier era of the six-day work week, conflict had frequently arisen between the Jewish Sabbath and the Christian Sunday, especially with the shifts in European immigration patterns in the early 1900s, and the five-day work week offered a convenient solution. In 1926 Henry Ford closed his factories all day on Saturdays, and in 1929 the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, composed primarily of Jewish employees, became the first union to propose a five-day week. While initially denounced in some quarters as both bad economics and worse religion, the five-day Monday through Friday workweek soon became standard.

As the structure of the week/weekend cycle solidified over the years, new cultural and capitalistic venues evolved with it. With the concept of personal leisure came a new "business of leisure," boosted by new advertising venues, that soon began to promote leisure and the weekend not only as a pleasurable pastime, but as an integral element of a thriving capitalistic society. The first "Sunday paper," the *London Observer*, appeared in 1791; while a Sunday edition first appeared in Baltimore in 1796, the American Sunday paper did not really catch on until the Civil War era. The prototype U.S. Sunday newspaper was established by Joseph Pulitzer, whose *Sunday World* pioneered leisure-oriented articles geared to every member of the family: book and entertainment reviews, travel essays, women's and children's pages, and color comics and supplements. Prolific department store advertising helped make the *World* a money-making success as well, and voluminous ad inserts remain a major part of most Sunday editions. In addition to Sunday papers, the magazine, a product designed specifically for pleasure, first appeared in Georgian England, where the more substantial and time-consuming novel was also introduced in the 1740s.

The first use of the term “week-end” appeared in England in an 1879 issue of the magazine, *Notes and Queries*. British practice also laid the groundwork for most of the public leisure pursuits that would grow into the entertainment industries of today. Among these was commercial theater, with its playhouses for both affluent and general audiences. While most of today’s modern theaters perform throughout the week, weekends remain peak box-office periods that sometimes command higher ticket prices, and community theaters often perform only on weekends. Public concerts were given in London as early as 1672, and commercial musical venues developed in tandem with theater. Sports ran parallel in popularity, and hand in hand with betting. Thus, with only a few innovations, public entertainments born in eighteenth-century England flourished into the twentieth century. The music-hall, a popular Saturday night diversion in England, found its American counterpart in the vaudeville circuits that spread across the United States in the late 1800s.

The emergence of the cheap nickelodeon in turn-of-the-century America soon established “going to the movies” as the preeminent American pastime—one that soon spread to Europe and beyond. The first storefront nickelodeons appeared in the major metropolitan areas of the East coast and evolved into the movie palaces of the 1920s where patrons could see a feature film, a variety of short subjects, and a spectacular live stage show with an orchestra or some other form of live music. Movies and the weekend developed independently, but were soon reinforcing each other. Filmgoing became a major form of national recreation, and Saturday night soon became a favorite time for an excursion to the movies—Saturday afternoon matinees were generally reserved for the children. “Going out on the town” for dancing or partying also became a popular Saturday night ritual that, with ironic connotations, was graphically explored in the popular 1977 film, *Saturday Night Fever*, which also produced one of the bestselling soundtrack albums of the hedonistic disco scene in the 1970s. Even household routines had a particular weekend flavor: in the earlier part of the century, New Englanders traditionally sat down to a supper of baked beans on Saturday night. For others, especially in areas where water supplies were limited, the “Saturday night bath” became a familiar routine.

Sunday was long considered a “day of rest” in Western Europe and America, after the account of creation in Genesis in which God rested on the seventh day. In Catholic Europe, church law prohibited “servile work” on Sunday, unless the work was necessary to the glory of God, as a priest celebrating Mass, or the relief of one’s neighbor, as in tending to the sick. In the British Isles, Scotland especially, Sunday was a day of solemnity and restraint in which families were expected to be at church morning and evening, and to engage in edifying pursuits during the day, like Bible reading, hymn singing, or innocent pastimes like music or word games. In some rural areas during the nineteenth century, zealous Sabbath observers tried to pass legislation prohibiting steam trains from operating on Sunday because they brought secularized passengers from the cities to disturb the holiness of the day with holiday frivolities. In some of the American colonies, especially Puritan New England and Pennsylvania, strict “blue laws” prohibited engaging in trade, dancing, playing games, or drinking on Sunday, laws that still survive in a number of places. It was not until the early 1970s, for example, that New York City boutiques and department stores were permitted to open on Sunday; many smaller jurisdictions still had old laws on the books that prohibited shopping on the Sabbath, except for small items like essential groceries, newspapers, or toiletries.

School schedules in the industrialized world followed this same Monday-to-Friday regimen. As Eviatar Zerubavel noted: “Much of the attractiveness of the weekend can be attributed to the suspension of work-related—or, for the young, school-related obligations.” While clearly not a part of the actual weekend—after all, it is still a day on which one still goes to work or school—Friday is nevertheless considered by many their favorite day of the week, because it promises the anticipation of the weekend, leading to the popular expression, “T.G.I.F.,” for “Thank goodness (or God) it’s Friday.”

Transportation innovations also revolutionized weekend possibilities. Prior to the introduction of railroads in the 1830s methods of travel had been essentially unchanged since ancient times. The time, as well as the expense involved, made travel a luxury reserved for the moneyed classes. Cheap rail excursions began around the 1840s in England, and soon achieved mass acceptance, especially among the working classes who for the first time in history could avail themselves of quick and inexpensive travel. In the twentieth century, the automobile and recreational vehicle would do the same thing, but even on a broader scale. Weekend excursions to the seashore, the mountains, or to new leisure and gambling boomtowns like Las Vegas and Atlantic City, soon revolutionized the tourist industry.

Post-World War II affluence brought significant changes to the structure and content of the American weekend. Zerubavel added that “while the dominant motif of the weekdays is production, that of the weekend is, in a complementary fashion, consumption. Middle-class Protestant youngsters of the late 1940s and early 1950s could (with the family) attend a movie on Friday evening and fall asleep blissfully secure in the knowledge that two full days of freedom and media-supplied diversion lay ahead. Saturday morning might be spent with a radio, where traditional shows such as *No School Today* or *Let’s Pretend*, were followed by such futuristic 1950s innovations as *Space Patrol*.”

A movie matinee might be on the agenda after lunch, and if this happened to be at a first-run downtown theater, the afternoon might also be taken up with exploring nearby five-and-dime and department stores, where treasures such as comic books and movie magazines could be had for as little as a dime or fifteen cents. Saturday evening might have found the family again attending a movie, probably at one of the less expensive second-run neighborhood houses, or at one of the popular new “drive-in” theaters. Sunday continued with the same “special occasion” mood, but with an euphoria now tempered by the bittersweet awareness that this period of freedom was predestined to come to an end that evening. After religious obligations were honored on Sunday morning—observant Jews of course attended synagogue or temple on Friday evening or Saturday morning—many families indulged in a special midday Sunday dinner, either at home or at a restaurant (perhaps a Howard Johnson’s with its famous twenty-eight flavors of ice cream). Afternoons might be taken up with a Sunday drive or excursion, to the country or an amusement park, or to nowhere in particular. Radio could also occupy much of the afternoon and evening, and a light evening meal was sometimes enjoyed in the living room around the family radio. From the 1950s, when the concept of the frozen “TV dinner” entered the American culinary consciousness, television reserved its key programming for Sunday evenings.

As malls, suburbs, and automobiles became pervasive facts of American life in the 1950s and beyond, the status of the American “downtown” began to decline as a focus of weekend activities. The weekly Friday evening excursion on foot to the modest neighborhood grocery store, brief enough to be followed by a trip to the movies, was

now replaced with an automobile excursion for a full evening at the shopping center or mall. Eventually movie theaters were added to the mall mix, hastening the decay of “downtown” as a space for social interaction. The combination of television and antitrust suits in the 1950s caused movie chains to close their downtown outlets for good, further changing the American experience of the weekend as a time for leisure activity “downtown.” Still, by the 1990s, weekend box-office takes for films had escalated to record highs. Likewise, professional sports events have become more important to the American weekend, and January’s “Superbowl Weekend” has mushroomed into an event of national social and economic significance.

Analyzing the modern concept of the weekend, Witold Rybczynski wrote: “. . . the weekend has imposed a rigid schedule on our free time. The weekly rush to the cottage is hardly leisurely, nor is the compression of various recreational activities into the two-day break. The freedom to do something has become the obligation to do something.” He concludes that “every culture chooses a different structure for its work and leisure, and in doing so makes a profound statement about itself.” The weekend “reflects the many unresolved contradictions in modern attitudes towards leisure. We want the freedom to be leisurely, but we want it regularly, every week, like clockwork. There is something mechanical about this oscillation, which creates a sense of obligation that interferes with leisure. Do we work for leisure, or the other way around? Unsure of the answer we have decided to keep the two separate.”

An interesting comment on the American view of weekend escape can be found in one of Walt Disney’s Goofy cartoons, *Father’s Weekend* (1953). After an exhausting weekend of battling crowded beaches and harrowing amusement parks, coping with screaming, tireless offspring, and fighting massive traffic gridlock at the end of it all, Goofy is finally seen blissfully setting off for work on Monday morning as voiceover narration declares, with obvious irony, that the harried Everyman may now finally relax again and rest up for another strenuous weekend of leisure.

—Ross Care

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## Weird Tales

J. C. Henneberger founded the American pulp magazine to cover the field of “Poe-Machen Shudders” in 1923. It followed the success of titles by Rural Publications, which appeared in a variety of genres, notably *College Humour* and *Magazine of Fun*. *Weird Tales* was in

publication until 1954 and was most successful during the 1930s under the editorship of Farnsworth Wright. During this period it published fiction by influential fantasy and horror writers, H. P. Lovecraft, Robert Howard, Clark Ashton Smith, C. L. Moore, Edmond Hamilton, Robert Bloch, Manly Wade Wellman, and August Derleth.

Henneberger identified that there were quality writers who were unable to place their stories in the mixed-genre magazines of the early 1920s and presumed that there was an audience for stories that were weird and macabre. He established the character of the magazine through a policy of reprinting “weird” classics, such as Bulwer Lytton’s “The Haunted and the Haunters,” Edgar Allan Poe’s “The Murders in the Rue Morgue,” and a later series of Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein*.

*Weird Tales* did not immediately attract a regular readership. In its first year Henneberger employed Harry Houdini as a writer, which resulted in the column “Ask Houdini” and the publication of stories (ghost-written by H. P. Lovecraft) about supposed occurrences in Houdini’s life. These adventures further established a fascination with Egypt, magic, and the supernatural. The oriental tales by Frank Owen and Seabury Quinn’s long-running psychic detective series “Jules de Grandin” even furthered the magazine’s popularity. Although it is notable that right from the first issue some of the bizarre events of the horror stories were explained in a rational scientific manner, the magazine achieved notoriety early on in its publishing history as it was allegedly banned from bookstalls in 1924 because it carried C. M. Eddy’s “The Loved Dead” with its overtones of necrophilia.

After Farnsworth Wright and the Popular Fiction Publishing Co. took over from Henneberger in 1924, the magazine offered stories in the range of weird scientific, horror, sword and sorcery, exotic adventure, and fantasy, and it maintained an audience even during the Great Depression. The magazine was especially congenial for new writers. Robert E. Howard published his first story in *Weird Tales* in 1925 and went on to publish the “Conan the Barbarian” series between 1932 and 1936. H. P. Lovecraft first appeared in the readers’ letters column, “The Eyrie,” commenting on stories from previous issues. He published most of his major works, especially those developing the Cthulhu Mythos, in *Weird Tales*. Other writers who were particularly influenced by Lovecraft also wrote for the magazine. These included Robert Bloch, who would go on to write *Psycho* in 1959; Henry Kuttner, who with his wife C. L. Moore would become prominent fantasy writers in the 1940s; and August Derleth, who, as well as being a writer, became an influential anthologist and founded the publishing company Arkham House.

Some of the fiction published in *Weird Tales* was known for its relatively sophisticated sexual themes. C. L. Moore’s first short story, “Shambleau,” is a good example. She also published a fantasy series with the heroine “Jirel of Joiry” with the magazine. Along with Clark Ashton Smith, Moore contributed to the magazine’s fascination with a medieval setting and sword and sorcery theme, as well as its acceptance of interplanetary locations.

The magazine’s horror fiction tended to portray science as being out of control and subject to various representations of the mad scientist. It provided a niche for developing science fiction writers such as Edmond Hamilton, who was influential in the development of “space opera.” His series “Interstellar Patrol” was published in *Weird Tales* from 1928 to 1930.

In the late 1930s the magazine changed its overall style with the deaths of Howard (1936) and Lovecraft (1937), the retirement of Ashton Smith in 1936, and Farnsworth’s relinquishment of the

editorship in 1939 (he had been struggling with Parkinson's disease since 1921). The editorship was then taken over by Dorothy McIlwriath, an established magazine editor who stayed with *Weird Tales* until the publishing company went bankrupt in September 1954. Her editorial policy focused on supernatural fiction, especially occult detection such as Manly Wade Wellman's "Judge Pursuivant" series published between 1938 and 1941. She also featured the work of Ray Bradbury and Fritz Leiber, but during this time *Weird Tales* was competing with a larger number of available outlets for fantasy writing. However, the pulp magazine's 31 years in publication and 279 issues were very significant in supporting the careers of many initially underrated popular fiction writers.

—Nickianne Moody

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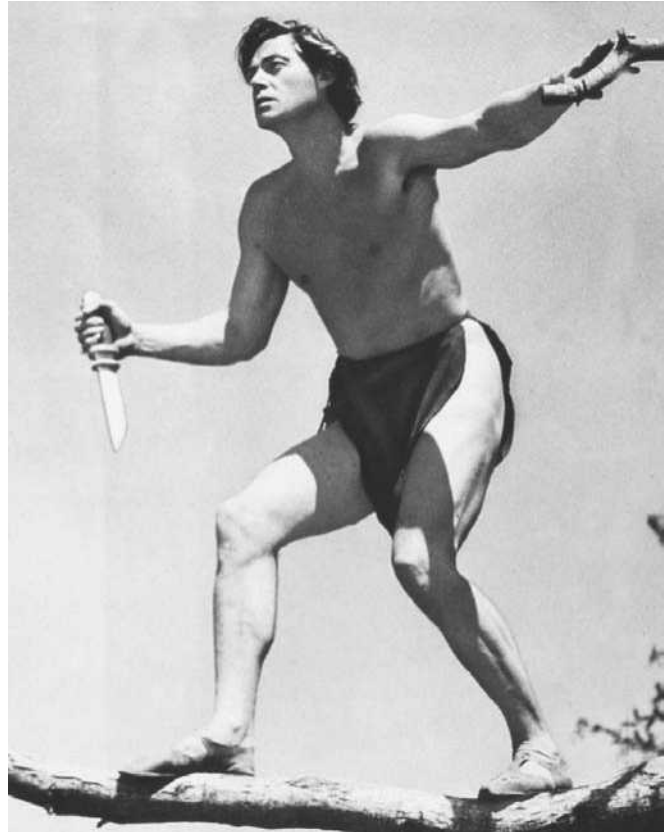
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## Weissmuller, Johnny (1904?-1984)

Although he first achieved fame as a free-style swimmer who won five Olympic gold medals and set 67 world records, Johnny Weissmuller is best known for his film role as Tarzan, King of the Jungle, who had been abandoned in the African wild as an orphaned infant and raised by apes. Weissmuller starred in twelve *Tarzan* films between 1932 and 1948.

The *Tarzan* series, written by Edgar Rice Burroughs, became widely popular from the first book, *Tarzan of the Apes* (1914). More than 25 million copies of Burroughs' books sold worldwide as the public embraced the stories of an English nobleman's son who grew up to be the King of the Jungle. Weissmuller added to the popularity—and added to his own wealth—when his first *Tarzan* movie, *Tarzan of the Apes*, was released, leading to spinoffs such as *Tarzan* radio programs and comic strips. The films co-starred Maureen O'Sullivan as Jane and featured a combination of naive love interest with plenty of action, interspersed with the comic relief supplied by Cheetah the chimp.

The facts concerning Weissmuller's birth are the subject of some dispute. Official Olympics sources say he was born in Windber, Pennsylvania, on June 2, 1904, but there is credible evidence that he was born at Freidorf, near Timisoara, Romania, and emigrated with his parents to the United States as a young child. It is believed by biographer David Fury and others that Weissmuller's parents later switched his identity with that of his American-born brother in order to qualify him for the U.S. Olympic team. He attended school in Chicago through the eighth grade. His ability as an athlete led to his being trained in swimming as a teenager by the Illinois Athletic Club in Chicago. In the 1920s Weissmuller participated as a member of several of the club's championship teams in relay and water polo events. He won 26 national championships in individual freestyle swimming in the 1920s in various events, including the 100 meters,



Johnny Weissmuller as Tarzan.

200 meters, 400 meters, and 800 meters, where he demonstrated his speed as well as stamina. At the 1924 Olympic Games in Paris he broke three world records while winning three gold medals in the 100-meter and 400-meter freestyle and in the 800-meter relay. In the Olympic Games in Amsterdam in 1928 he added two more gold medals for the 100-meter freestyle and the 800-meter relay. When he turned professional in 1929, Weissmuller was unchallenged as the world's finest swimmer. His sports fame led to the production of several short films showing his aquatic prowess, bringing him to the attention of MGM, the studio that offered him the *Tarzan* role.

More than a dozen actors had played the part of *Tarzan* in silent films as well as talkies, including Buster Crabbe, Glen Morris, Lex Barker, Gordon Scott, and Jock Mahoney, but the public considered them mere pretenders. No one else possessed the athleticism to skim through the alligator-filled rivers doing the Australian Crawl or swing on a vine through the trees yelling his high-pitched, chest-thumping call. Of the twelve *Tarzan* films Weissmuller starred in, the most popular were the ones that included Maureen O'Sullivan as Jane. After making a hit in *Tarzan of the Apes* (1932), the couple continued to win fans in *Tarzan and His Mate* (1934), considered by many to be the best of the series; *Tarzan Escapes* (1936); *Tarzan Finds a Son* (1939); *Tarzan's Secret Treasure* (1941); and *Tarzan's New York Adventure* (1942).

In the late 1940s and 1950s Weissmuller moved over to Columbia Pictures for a series of movies with African settings in which he played Jungle Jim. These films were shot with low budgets as the lesser ends of double features. A British film critic, writing in *The Monthly Film Bulletin* about the film *Jungle Moon Men*, was

incensed: "This is a preposterous and in some respects a rather distasteful film, which insults the intelligence of the most tolerant spectator."

Weissmuller was married and divorced five times. His third wife (from 1933 to 1938) was Lupe Velez, a star of silent films who played in "B" movies and in early talkies as a tempestuous character known as "the Mexican Spitfire." After his retirement from his swimming and film careers, Weissmuller returned to Chicago, where he opened a swimming pool company. He moved to Florida in the 1960s, serving as the curator of the Swimming Pool Hall of Fame in Fort Lauderdale. In 1973, he became a "greeter" for Caesar's Palace Hotel in Las Vegas; a few years later he was hospitalized due to a stroke and died in 1984.

—Benjamin Griffith

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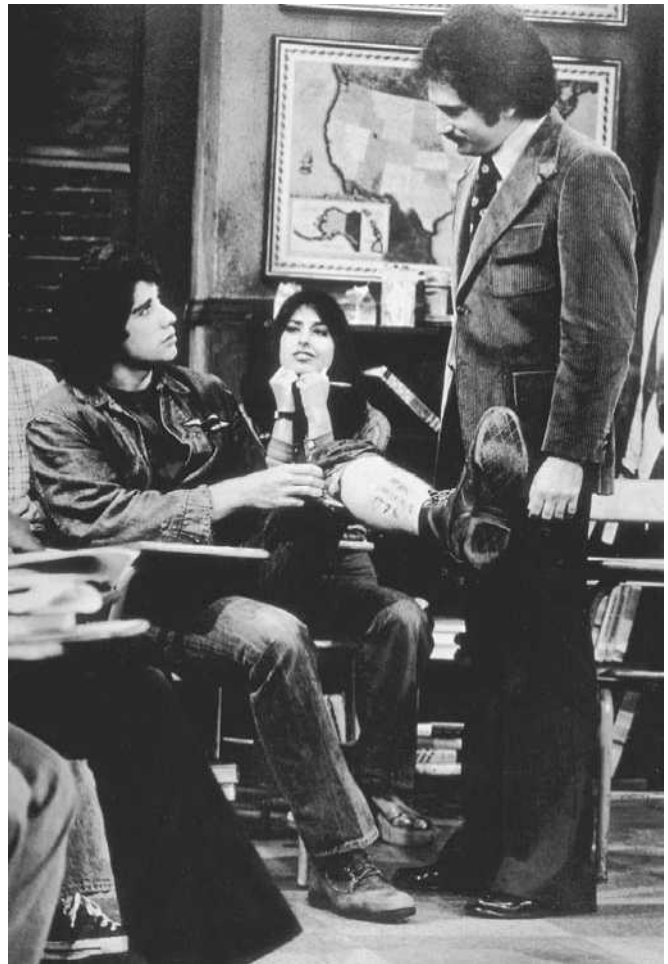
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## Welcome Back, Kotter

A popular ABC-TV sitcom from 1975 to 1979, *Welcome Back, Kotter* featured Gabriel Kaplan in the title role of Gabriel Kotter, a teacher who returns to his alma mater, Brooklyn's fictional James Buchanan High School, to instruct a bunch of remedial students known as the Sweathogs. Kaplan, who created the show with Alan Sacks, based *Welcome Back, Kotter* on his own real-life experiences in the Bensonhurst section of Brooklyn, where he had himself been branded an "unteachable" student until inspired by a teacher named Miss Shepherd. Comedienne Janeane Garofalo once expressed relief that *Welcome Back, Kotter* was the fashion arbiter in her youth instead of *Beverly Hills 90210* with its designer duds, because it was easier to live up to *Kotter's* image of frizzy-haired students dressed in flared jeans and army jackets.

The Sweathogs were tough and streetwise, although their worst insult amounted to "Up your nose with a rubber hose!" Kotter was hip to all of their tricks, having pulled them all himself a decade earlier. Yet, he was also still a rebel, flouting conventions and using humor in order to get his struggling students to learn something. Kaplan, a standup comedian with a bushy mustache and a perpetual smirk, incorporated some of his material, sometimes awkwardly, into the beginning and end of the episodes, but seemed a little less at ease as an actor carrying a sitcom. Luckily the Sweathogs picked up the slack.

The four main Sweathogs were Freddie "Boom Boom" Washington (Lawrence Hilton-Jacobs), a smooth African American who



John Travolta listens to Gabe Kaplan in a scene from *Welcome Back, Kotter*.

called his teacher "Mr. Kot-TAIR"; Juan Epstein (Robert Hegyes), a Puerto Rican Jew who was always bringing in fake excuse notes from home and signing them "Epstein's mother," and whose delivery resembled that of Chico Marx; Arnold Horshack (Ron Palillo), a braying geek who screamed "Oh! Oh Oh!" when he raised his hand and snorted when he laughed; and Vinnie Barbarino (John Travolta), the hunky dim-witted leader of the group. Other regulars included Kotter's wife Julie (Marcia Strassman), who had twins Robin and Rachel in 1977, and Kotter's nemesis, snotty vice-principal Mr. Woodman (John Sylvester White).

A typical plot from early in the series: Washington, whose signature phrase was an ultra-slick "Hi there," makes the varsity basketball team and decides he doesn't need to study anymore. Mr. Kotter confronts the class and the basketball coach, and threatens to fail Washington. In the end, Kotter teaches everyone about the importance of balancing education and sports.

Vinnie Barbarino proved the breakout role for Travolta, who soon launched his film career with *Saturday Night Fever*, in 1977 and *Grease* in 1978. By that year, he was rarely seen on *Kotter*, and was billed as a "special guest star." The year 1979 marked the final season for *Welcome Back, Kotter*. That year, Kaplan chose to sit out many of the episodes due to creative differences with ABC, and he

was rarely seen on television after that. The fact that Travolta was also making fewer appearances prompted the network to move the show around to less desirable time slots, and to promote the show less vigorously. A slick southerner, Beau De Labarre, played by Stephen Shortridge, was brought in to replace the hunk void left by Travolta. Other character changes included the arrival—and quick departure—of Angie, the first female Sweathog, and the promotion of Kotter to vice principal and Woodman to principal.

*Welcome Back, Kotter* was used as a launching pad for other performers besides Travolta, though he is the only one for whom it really worked. A spinoff was attempted for the Horshack character and his family, but was soon aborted. There was also the short-lived *Mr. T. & Tina*, based on another original *Kotter* character, which starred Pat Morita as a madcap Japanese inventor who moves his family from Tokyo to Chicago.

The show's hit theme song, "Welcome Back," was composed and performed by John Sebastian, late performer of the Lovin' Spoonful. An FM radio staple in the 1970s, the song was later used to sell cold cuts and fast food. *Welcome Back, Kotter* enjoyed a revival on *Nick at Nite* in the mid-1990s.

—Karen Lurie

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## Welk, Lawrence (1903-1992)

For three decades, Saturday night belonged to Lawrence Welk. The bandleader's program debuted on ABC in 1955 and quickly became an even more wholesome alternative to *The Ed Sullivan Show*. Despite breaking little artistic ground, *The Lawrence Welk Show* remained on the air for 27 years, making it the longest-running prime-time music program in television history. Welk's program highlighted conservative American values and was decidedly anti-hip, but retained a following into the 1990s, when reruns of the show made it one of PBS's most popular programs.

Though he would one day become the country's second most wealthy performer behind Bob Hope, Welk never forgot his poor beginnings in North Dakota as one of Ludwig and Christina Welk's eight children. His family's pre-Depression struggles were always with him and were partly responsible for his fierce loyalty to his band. His refusal to tip at restaurants could also be traced to his early struggles; instead of leaving money Welk would hand out penknives inscribed with his name. Work is what Welk knew, dropping out of school by the fourth grade to put time in on the family farm.

He learned to play music, starting on violin and graduating to his father's accordion. At 21, Welk left home to make his way in the

music business. He had a brush with jazz history when, on an early recording session, he worked in the studio being shared by Louis Armstrong. But Welk never recorded hot jazz or the innovative big band style of Duke Ellington or Count Basie. He stumbled through much of the 1930s. One night in Dallas, South Dakota, his band even walked out on him, believing Welk would never make it as a leader. But by 1951, TV KTLA Channel 5 in Santa Monica began to broadcast Welk's band. Four years later, not long after his 52nd birthday, ABC added the show to its lineup. Welk's signature phrases—"ah-one and ah-two" and "wunnerful, wunnerful"—took hold.

Welk's successful formula called for short, tight musical and dance numbers and for songs people knew. Welk insisted that his show would "Keep it simple, so the audience can feel like they can do it too." In addition to Welk's band and the regular singers and dancers, *The Lawrence Welk Show* had many headliners: the Lennon Sisters, Joe Feeney, Norma Zimmer. But no star was bigger than the bandleader, whose Eastern European accent and humble nature endeared him to millions. Even though he had recorded for years, Welk rarely played on the show. Instead, his band featured a better accordionist, Myren Floren.

Welk's program maintained the clean-cut stability of the Eisenhower era even as the popularity of rock 'n' roll ruined many big bands in the 1950s and the country churned with the turmoil of the 1960s. As musical styles and tastes changed, Welk remained loyal to soft standards, or champagne jazz. He justified his decision by noting that "Champagne music puts the girl back in the boy's arms—where she belongs." Welk also refused to incorporate the new styles associated with the beatnik poets or play any jazz or rock 'n' roll, even when the network and his band members made suggestions. Welk didn't apologize for his tastes or opinions. He didn't like rock 'n' roll and didn't relate to the hippie culture. "It was always hard for me, for example, to understand the fad for patched-up jeans," he wrote in *Ah-One, Ah-Two*. "When I was a boy I had to wear them, much to my shame and embarrassment, and one of my earliest ambitions was to own a brand-new suit of clothes all my own." Because of Welk's clear vision of his show, *The Lawrence Welk Show* remained a snapshot of a happy, booming Middle America, frozen in a waltz and a smile.

Welk positioned himself as the conservative patriarch of his musical family. Women of all ages were his "girls," the players his "kids." Welk could be unforgiving when it came to his "kids." In 1959, at a time when Hugh Hefner's *Playboy* magazine was bringing sex into the forefront of mainstream culture, Welk fired Alice Lon, one of the popular Champagne ladies, when she flashed too much skin on camera. A few years later, in response to letters of protest, Welk gave the Lennon Sisters an earful after they wore one-piece bathing suits for a scene taped by a swimming pool and forbade the girls from wearing such things again on camera. For the band members, Welk's familial philosophy worked both ways. Welk felt he couldn't let his band down and retire when, at 68, ABC canceled his show; but he didn't believe his crew should be paid any more than minimum union scale, though they were able to participate in his profit-sharing plan.

*The Lawrence Welk Show* was popular through the 1960s, but in 1971, ABC dropped it, concerned that a program sponsored by Geritol and Somnifex couldn't appeal to the young, advertiser-friendly audience craved by marketing executives. Nearing 70, Welk took the news hard, as if he had failed his first audition. "I felt just about as bad as a man can feel," he noted in 1974's *Ah-One, Ah-Two!* Initially deciding to put away his baton, Welk reconsidered when letters of



A musical moment from the *Lawrence Welk Show*.

support poured into his office, more than a million in the end, enough to convince Welk to syndicate the show himself. Eventually more than 250 stations picked up the show, giving the program air-time on more channels than during its ABC years. When Welk brought his show back to the air, he did it his way. In the first show back, Welk made it clear that the bad experience wouldn't effect his style; he wasn't about to pander to that younger audience. The broadcast featured "No, No, Nanette," "Tea for Two," and a group tap dance.

Welk retired in 1982 and last played with his band in 1989, three years before his death. By that time, he had amassed a business empire: a music library which includes all of Jerome Kern's work, resorts in Escondido, California, and Branson, Missouri, and the Welk Group, which includes several record labels. But for all his financial successes, Welk's greatest pleasure seemed to be pleasing an audience. In a 1978 interview with *The Los Angeles Times*, Welk talked of playing an impromptu show at a school in Macksville, Kansas. "That was the biggest applaud I ever had," he said. "I stayed for a half an hour and played the accordion. That was the highlight of my life."

During the 1990s, the lounge movement embraced everything square: martinis, hipster lingo, and the cocktail jazz of Les Baxter, Juan Garcia Esquivel, and Henry Mancini. The revival didn't include

Welk, however. Unlike these other figures, who were trapped in a particular time and embraced for irony's sake, Welk didn't need to make a comeback. Lawrence Welk never left.

—Geoff Edgers

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## Welles, Orson (1915-1985)

Considered by many to be the most influential and innovative filmmaker of the twentieth century, Orson Welles made movies that were ambitious, original, and epic. This alone would qualify him as a popular culture icon. But add to his genius his notorious life history, and Welles becomes a singular legend. Child prodigy at seven, Broadway's boy wonder at 22, radio's enfant terrible at 23, Hollywood's hottest director at 25, husband of sex symbol Rita Hayworth, Hollywood failure at 30, and 40 more years of attempted comebacks, obesity, and maverick films, the life of Orson Welles uniquely embodied the modern era.

Born on May 6, 1915, George Orson Welles, the second son of a successful inventor and his pianist wife, spent his first six years in provincial Kenosha, Wisconsin, before moving to Chicago. Shortly thereafter, his parents separated and Orson's older brother, Richard, was sent to boarding school, leaving Orson alone with his mother Beatrice, who soon commanded one of the city's most popular artistic and literary salons. Surrounded by actors, artists, and musicians and taken to the theatre, symphony, and opera, the boy responded to this cultural deluge by becoming a child prodigy. He learned Shakespeare soliloquies at seven, studied classical piano, and by eight had begun to

write plays. But when his mother died shortly after his ninth birthday, Welles' life drastically changed.

Welles spent two difficult years living with his alcoholic father, who in turn exposed his son to his working-class artist and journalist friends. It was a relief when the 11-year-old was sent to the Todd School for Boys, a rigorous college preparatory academy. There his precocious talents flourished. Welles wrote, directed, and starred in school theatricals and studied painting. During Welles' summer vacations, father and son often traveled together, once taking a steamship as far as Shanghai. But when Dick Welles died suddenly a few months before Orson's 16th birthday, the boy was both distraught and relieved to no longer have to take care of his alcoholic parent.

Six months after his father's death, the gifted 16-year-old graduated from Todd and left for Ireland, planning to study painting. But after drifting around the country for a few months, he arrived in Dublin, where he began to haunt the local theatres. On his first visit to the experimental Gate Theatre, Welles decided to audition, touting himself as one of America's top young actors. Not surprisingly, the young self-promoter was hired and spent the next year learning his craft in the company of some of Ireland's cutting-edge actors and directors.

When he returned to America in 1932, Welles hoped to take Broadway by storm. But New York was singularly unimpressed, and



Orson Welles (center) in the title role of his film *Citizen Kane*.

the 17-year-old sheepishly returned to Chicago. Over the course of the next year and a half, Welles wrote plays, traveled to North Africa, and directed small productions before being hired by theatrical legends Katherine Cornell and Guthrie McClintic to join their Broadway company.

Welles made his Broadway debut at 18, playing Shakespeare and Shaw. A year later, he met the man who would orchestrate his stardom, 33-year-old director/producer John Houseman. Driven by the same high-flown theatrical goals, Houseman and Welles took part in the government-sponsored WPA (Work Projects Administration) Federal Theatre Project, where Welles directed an all-black, voodoo *Macbeth* to rave reviews. The two men soon formed their own repertory company, the Mercury Theatre, and, in 1937, they took Broadway by storm with their production of *Julius Caesar* set in fascist Italy. By age 22, Orson Welles was world famous as Broadway's boy wonder.

The Mercury Theatre soon branched out into hour-long radio broadcasts, the most notorious of which was certainly Welles' 1938 Halloween broadcast of H.G. Wells' *War of the Worlds*, which terrified a nation into truly believing that New Jersey was being invaded by Martians. Hollywood soon came to call. Hoping to exploit the hype around the brilliant enfant terrible, RKO offered Welles \$225,000 to produce, direct, write, and act in two films. With total creative freedom and a percentage of the profits built into the contract, it was an offer Welles could not refuse.

Welles came out to Hollywood with the idea of filming Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, but difficulties arose and he decided to work with veteran screenwriter Herman J. Mankiewicz. Together they wrote a brilliant screenplay about an aging media tycoon dying in his Florida mansion. A thinly disguised biography of newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst, *Citizen Kane* depicted Kane/Hearst as a tyrant who has alienated everyone who loved him. The film tells Kane's story from five different points of view. With 25-year-old Welles directing, producing, and starring in the title role, *Citizen Kane* broke new cinematic ground. As described in Baseline's *Encyclopedia of Film*, its innovations included, "1. composition in depth: the use of extreme deep focus cinematography to connect distant figures in space; 2. complex mise-en-scène, in which the frame overflowed with action and detail; 3. low angle shots that revealed ceilings and made characters, especially Kane, seem simultaneously dominant and trapped; 4. long takes; 5. a fluid, moving camera that expanded the action beyond the frame and increased the importance of off-screen space; and 6. the creative use of sound as a transition device . . . and to create visual metaphors." The film featured a superb cast, which included Joseph Cotten and George Coulouris from the Mercury Theatre as well as Agnes Moorehead, Ruth Warrick, and Everett Sloane.

*Citizen Kane* was lauded by the critics, but ran into trouble at the box office when Hearst refused to carry advertisements for the film in his newspapers and launched a smear campaign. Nominated for nine Academy Awards, Welles' masterpiece was snubbed by the Academy and only won one Oscar—Best Screenplay, shared by Mankiewicz and Welles. *Citizen Kane* has nonetheless come to be regarded as the greatest film ever made, ranking number one on the American Film Institute list of the top 100 movies of all time.

Welles' next film was an adaptation of the Booth Tarkington novel, *The Magnificent Ambersons*. A somewhat more conventional film than *Citizen Kane*, *The Magnificent Ambersons* utilized many of the same experimental techniques to depict turn-of-the-twentieth-century America, but when Welles left the country, RKO edited more

than 40 minutes out of the film. The film proved another commercial failure, losing more than half a million dollars, and Welles would never again be regarded as a bankable director.

Welles married World War II cinematic sex symbol, Rita Hayworth, but despite harnessing her star power to his marvelous 1948 film noir, *The Lady from Shanghai*, his directorial career was on the decline. When his experimental movie of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* failed at the box office a year later, the nails were all but in Welles' Hollywood coffin. He left Hollywood for a self-imposed 10-year exile, returning in 1958 to direct and act in the classic *Touch of Evil* with his frequent co-star Joseph Cotten.

Monica Sullivan has written, "Orson Welles' early years were so spectacular that movie cultists might have preferred that he'd lived fast, died young and left a good-looking corpse." Indeed, although Welles returned to direct a few cinematic gems, it can only be said that his film career was uneven. As he grew older, he also gained weight, becoming a very obese man. Although he appeared on wine commercials and the occasional talk show, Welles became a somewhat tragic figure even as his status as filmmaking legend grew. His final film, *The Other Side of the Wind*, a quasi-autobiographical tale of a famous filmmaker struggling to get his picture financed, remained unfinished. As noted in Baseline's *Encyclopedia of Film*, "As an unseen fragment, it was a sad and ironic end for a filmmaking maverick who set the standards for the modern narrative film and the man who was, in the words of Martin Scorsese, 'responsible for inspiring more people to be film directors than anyone else in the history of the cinema.'" Troubled though the life of Orson Welles may have been—his potential as a director perhaps unfulfilled—his place in the pantheon of popular culture is assured.

—Victoria Price

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## Wells, Kitty (1919—)

Kitty Wells was a demure housewife with three children when she recorded "It Wasn't God Who Made Honky-Tonk Angels," the



**Kitty Wells**

first in a series of records she released during the 1950s that made her country music's first female superstar. Her success demonstrated to the conservative country establishment that women could profitably perform honky-tonk songs about controversial subjects such as infidelity and divorce. Wells became known as "the Queen of Country Music," and the songs she popularized gave listeners a woman's perspective on classic country themes. Her sharp nasal twang blazed a trail that would be followed by other "girl singers," as female country artists were known, including Patsy Cline and Loretta Lynn.

A native of Nashville, Tennessee, Wells was born Muriel Ellen Deason on August 30, 1919, into a family of singers and musicians. As a child, she learned to play the guitar and sang gospel hymns with the church choir. While in her teens, she and her cousin performed on Nashville's WSIX as the Deason Sisters. Wells remembers that the song they chose for their radio debut, "Jealous Hearted Me" by the Carter Family, contained a line that made the station's managers uncomfortable: "It takes the man I love to satisfy my soul." Fearing that the audience might be offended, the girls were cut off in mid-song. Listeners complained, however, and the Deason Sisters were given a short early-morning program.

In 1937, Wells married Johnnie Wright, a cabinetmaker and musician. With Wright's sister Louise, the newlyweds performed on WSIX as Johnnie Wright and the Harmony Girls. By 1939, Wright and his friend Jack Anglin had a new act, Johnnie and Jack and the Tennessee Mountain Boys, while Wells occupied herself with the care of their first child. She made occasional appearances with her husband's group, using a stage name he gave her that came from an old folk song titled "Kitty Wells." World War II dissolved the band,

interrupting their progress for a few years, but by 1947, Johnnie and Jack had reunited and appeared for a brief time on WSM's *Grand Ole Opry*. The following year, they joined a new hillbilly program, *Louisiana Hayride*, on Shreveport's KWKH. By this time, Wells was a permanent part of their show, the girl singer who performed gospel and sentimental folk songs.

Wells had the opportunity to record some of these songs for RCA Victor in 1949, after the label signed Johnnie and Jack. While their records made it onto the *Billboard* charts, with some reaching the Top Ten, hers were barely noticed. Wells remarked, "I think the record distributors were leery of taking them and trying to do anything with them." RCA let her go, and she withdrew from the music industry to focus attention on her family. In the spring of 1952, Paul Cohen of Decca Records suggested she record an answer song—one that responds to or continues the story of a previously released hit record—inspired by Hank Thompson's recent single "The Wild Side of Life." Wells was unenthusiastic about the song, but she agreed to return to the studio. Two months later, "It Wasn't God Who Made Honky-Tonk Angels" was heading for the top of the country charts, and Kitty Wells was poised for stardom.

While "The Wild Side of Life" attacks "honky-tonk angels," implying that women are solely responsible for leading men astray, Wells's song proclaims, "It's a shame that all the blame is on us women," noting that "married men [who] think they're still single" are also at fault. Though written by a man, the song offers a woman's point of view on "cheatin'," a common topic for country songwriters that had heretofore been strictly male territory. Initially, the song's controversial subject matter caused it to be banned by NBC radio and the Opry for being "suggestive." However, fans embraced the record, and it remained on the charts for four months.

Wells's Decca debut was followed by other popular answer songs, as well as songs that became country classics, such as "Release Me" (1954) and "Makin' Believe" (1955). According to Mary A. Bufwack and Robert K. Oermann, authors of *Finding Her Voice: The Saga of Women in Country Music*, Wells's body of work from the 1950s "essentially defin[ed] the postwar female style" in country music. After she achieved success, Wells continued to work package tours with her husband, who was told by Opry veteran Roy Acuff, "Don't ever headline a show with a woman. It won't ever work, because people just don't go for women." Most group shows during this era featured a single female performer, since promoters assumed that audiences would not tolerate more. Despite the prevalence of such prejudice throughout the music industry, Wright broke the rules and gave his wife top billing when they toured together. He also played an important role in her career, serving as her business manager, writing or choosing songs for her to record, and finding musicians for her recording sessions.

Two years after Wells's breakthrough single, the governor of Tennessee paid tribute to her music and her homemaking, calling her "an outstanding wife and mother, in keeping with the finest traditions of Southern womanhood." Although she married Wright shortly after she began her career, she was commonly introduced as "Miss Kitty Wells." As she sang of heartache and sin in a restrained voice, she put forth the public image of a devoted, well-behaved wife in gingham. Wells's popularity may have been largely due to the fact that she personally conformed to the mores of the 1950s, allowing her to dramatize unwholesome situations in her songs.

Wells won numerous awards during the first two decades of her career, and she continued recording into the 1970s. In the early 1980s, she and her husband began operating their own museum outside Nashville, and they continued performing into the late 1990s. Wells is a member of the Country Music Hall of Fame, and she received a Grammy for Lifetime Achievement in 1991.

—Anna Hunt Graves

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## Wells, Mary (1943-1992)

Known as the “First Lady of Motown,” singer and songwriter Mary Wells launched Motown into the black with a succession of hits. As a teenager, Wells was the first Motown artist to have a Top Ten and Number One single for the label. She was teamed with songwriter/producer Smokey Robinson, and their synergy produced the right combination of material and approach to show off Wells’s talent to the fullest. During Wells’s tenure with Motown, she had nine hit songs in the R&B category and six more in the pop category.

Mary Esther Wells was born on May 13, 1943 in Detroit and grew up singing gospel music at her uncle’s Baptist church with aspirations to become a songwriter. While in high school, she penned the gospel-inspired “Bye Bye Baby” with singer Jackie Wilson in mind. Songwriter Berry Gordy had written several hits for Wilson and Wells sought out Gordy to listen to her new song. After hearing it, Gordy was convinced that the song wasn’t for Wilson but instead for Wells herself. Gordy signed the seventeen-year-old Wells to his fledgling Motown label. “Bye Bye Baby” climbed to number eight on the *Billboard* R&B chart. Following another hit single, “I Don’t Want to Take a Chance,” Motown placed Wells in the artistic care of Smokey Robinson. Robinson and Wells represented Motown’s first successful teaming of a songwriter/producer with an artist. Robinson encouraged Wells to veer away from the blues- and gospel-inspired songs in favor of the sweet girlish pop style, a natural for her innocent, sincere, and convincing voice.

“You Beat Me to the Punch,” released in September of 1962, quickly climbed to number one on *Billboard*’s R&B chart and crossed over to number nine on the pop chart. Wells was destined to ride the R&B as well as pop charts, and after several more hits including “The One Who Really Loves You” and “Two Lovers,” she recorded “My Guy.” This, her greatest hit, shot to number one on the pop chart. It also was her last big pop hit. She also recorded the duet “What’s the Matter with You Baby” with Marvin Gaye.

When Wells reached twenty-one, she was unsuccessful in renegotiating her contract with Motown and sued the company.

Reportedly, Motown had manipulated her contract so that she received the full percentage of royalties from neither her performances nor her songwriting. Prodded by her husband, former Motown artist Herman Griffin, Wells left Motown and succeeded in getting her contract declared null and void. This proved to be a disastrous move for her career, since she never was able to regain the success she had enjoyed with Motown and songwriter/producer Robinson. Wells signed with 20th Century-Fox Records, which was a profitable arrangement, then with Atlantic/Atco, Jubilee, Reprise, and Epic.

Wells’s professional career as well as her personal life seemed to slowly disintegrate. Her marriage to Griffin ended in divorce and she married Cecil Womack, a relationship that also ended in divorce. Wells then shocked many by marrying Cecil’s brother Curtis. She continued to perform her old hits until she was diagnosed with throat cancer in 1991. With no medical insurance, evicted from her residence, and placed in a charity ward, Wells was destitute. The Rhythm and Blues Foundation came to her assistance by setting up a Mary Wells Fund. Several well-known artists contributed to the fund, including Bruce Springsteen, Rod Stewart, Mary Wilson, as well as Motown entrepreneur Berry Gordy. Wells had a choice to have a laryngectomy or radiation. She chose the latter, but the treatment was unsuccessful. Wells died on July 26, 1992.

—Willie Collins

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## Wertham, Fredric (1895-1981)

Although Fredric Wertham is remembered primarily as the author of *Seduction of the Innocent* (1954), an incisive, blistering attack on the violence and horror purveyed by the comic book industry, his research took him through this era of crime comics to the culture that violent movies and television created. In 1966 Wertham wrote: “Television represents one of the greatest technological advances and is an entirely new, potent method of communication. Unfortunately as it is presently used, it does have something in common with crime comic books: the devotion to violence. In the School for Violence, television represents the classic course.” The climate of violence developing since this observation has, if anything, increased with the emergence of new technologies, like the Internet and videos, and become more noxious in the late 1990s. Competition for audience share, demand for advertising revenue, and misguided applications of constitutional rights have all encouraged aggressive displays of violent behavior to be broadcast. Though originally derided, Wertham’s observations that the grammar of violence and its impact on the culture constitutes a public health issue have been sustained by the research of Leonard Eron, George Gerbner, and Albert Bandura. Nevertheless, Wertham was not a Luddite, opposed to technological advances, but a physician of wide and deeply humane interests, an advocate of social reform, and a defender of civil liberties.

Born 20 March 1895 in Nuremberg, Germany, Fredric Wertham was one of five children of Sigmund and Mathilde Wertheimer, non-religious, assimilated middle-class Jews. As a young man on the eve of the World War I, Wertham spent several summers in England where he found the environment there open and relaxed, a stark contrast to the rigid, disciplined, and intellectually pedantic German culture at home. During this period he explored Fabian socialism, the writings of Karl Marx, and, more importantly, became an avid reader of Charles Dickens' writings on social reform. When war broke out in 1914, Wertham, pursuing medical studies at King's College, London University, found himself stranded in England and, as a German national, was for a short time interned in a prison camp near Wakefield, then paroled. An admirer of British society, Wertham remained in England during the war, reading medicine and literature. After the war he continued his studies at the Universities of Erlangen and Munich, obtaining his M.D. degree from the University of Wurzburg in 1921. Paris and Vienna were additional venues of postgraduate study before he joined Emile Kraepelin's clinic in Munich.

Wertham left Germany in 1922 to work with Kraepelin's protege Alfred Meyer at the Phipps Psychiatric Clinic at Johns Hopkins in Baltimore. During his years at Johns Hopkins, Wertham established a friendship with H. L. Mencken and worked with Clarence Darrow, becoming one of the first psychiatrists willing to testify on behalf of indigent black defendants. It was also during this period that he met and married Florence Hesketh, an artist doing biological research as a Charleton Fellow in Medicine at Johns Hopkins. Hesketh drew all the cell plate illustrations for *The Brain as an Organ: Its Postmortem Study and Interpretation* (1934), for which Wertham received the first psychiatric grant made by the National Research Council. In addition, Wertham published the first study on the effects of mescaline and did pioneer work on insulin use in psychotherapy. He developed the mosaic test in which a patient manipulated small multicolored pieces of wood into a freely chosen design, which was evaluated for what it revealed about the patient's ego. Wertham's diagnostic technique was often used in conjunction with paintings by patients, such as the watercolors done by Zelda Fitzgerald when she was under treatment at the Phipps Clinic.

During the 1930s Wertham's expertise as a forensic psychiatrist became known to the general public. His involvement in a number of spectacular murder cases, which he discussed in *Dark Legend: A Study in Murder* (1941) and *The Show of Violence* (1948), led him to advocate the duty of a psychiatrist to bring the psychiatric background of murder into the relationship with the law and the society it represents. Wertham's support for an intelligent use of the McNaughton's rule determining legal insanity, his understanding of how environmental forces shape individual responses, and his argument that violence and murder are diseases of society all persuaded him that violence is not innate, and so could be prevented.

*Dark Legend* investigates the story of Gino, a seventeen-year-old Italian-American who, commanded by the ghost of his dead father, murdered his promiscuous mother. Wertham's compelling narrative of his patient draws upon the myth of Orestes and the legend of Hamlet to explore matricide. The incisive analysis of matricide set out in *Dark Legend* prompted Ernest Jones to remark, "Freud and I both underestimated the importance of the mother problem in Hamlet. You have made a real contribution." *Dark Legend* is significant because it ties an actual murder case to important psychological types

in literature and supports a shift in an understanding of patriarchy among American psychiatrists.

In *The Show of Violence* Wertham explains for the layman his theory of the Catathymic Crisis, where "a violent act—against another person or against oneself—provides the only solution to profound emotional conflict whose real nature remains below the threshold of the consciousness of the patient." He discusses his own role in several celebrated murder cases, including the pathetic Madeline, a young mother who killed her two children and then failed in her suicide attempt; the notorious child-murderer Albert Fish; the "mad sculptor" Robert Irwin; and the professional gunman Martin Lavin. In each case Wertham probes the social background, the medical history, the political implications, and the legal response to uncover the effect societal forces had in the creation of the impulse to murder.

In 1932 Wertham moved to New York City where he became a senior psychiatrist at Bellevue and organized for the Court of General Sessions the nation's first clinic providing a psychiatric screening for every convicted felon. Wertham became director of psychiatric services at Queens Hospital Center in 1940 and pioneered a clinic for sex offenders, The Quaker Emergency Service Readjustment Center, in 1947. With the encouragement of Earl Brown, Paul Robeson, Richard Wright, and Ralph Ellison, Wertham enlisted a multi-racial, volunteer staff to establish in Harlem in 1946 a clinic dedicated to alleviating the "free-floating hostility" afflicting many in that community, and to understanding the realities of black life in America. Named in memory of Karl Marx's son-in-law, Dr. Paul Lefargue, the Lafargue Clinic became one of the most noteworthy institutions to serve poor Americans and to promote the cause of civil rights.

In order to prepare for discrimination cases in Delaware, attorneys Louis Redding, Jack Greenberg, and Thurgood Marshall needed medical testimony on the harm segregation caused children. Wertham's studies showed that the practice of racial separation "creates a mental health problem in many Negro children with a resulting impediment in their educational progress." Wertham's testimony was significant because his research was the first to examine both black and white children attending segregated schools. The evidence revealed the possibility that white children, too, may be harmed by school segregation. The Delaware cases became part of the legal argument used in the landmark school desegregation case, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954).

In addition to bringing psychotherapy to a neglected community, Wertham's work at the Lafargue Clinic led to the developments of his later ideas on the contribution horror and crime comic books made to a climate of juvenile violence. In 1948 Wertham organized the first symposium dealing with media violence at the New York Academy of Medicine. Not only did Wertham identify media-induced violence as a public health issue, but he also challenged "psychotherapy to overcome its own claustrophilia and take an interest in the social forces that bear on an individual." This research attracted widespread national attention, opening additional *fora* for Wertham to publicize his studies on the enigma of preventable violence. The quest to understand and prevent violence—the core of Wertham's psychiatric practice—shaped his thinking on how the mass media create a climate that both encourages and legitimizes violent anti-social acts.

In the 1950s America faced two primary fears: communism and juvenile delinquency. The axis on which these two met found Wertham, whose studies probed the social dynamics that permitted

the development of these fears and the underlying violence that inflamed their intensity. Attorney Emanuel Bloch believed that Wertham might be willing to appear for the defense in the espionage trial of Ethel Rosenberg and her husband Julius. Convicted as members of a conspiracy to send stolen atomic-bomb secrets to Russia, the Rosenbergs nevertheless maintained their innocence and averred that they were victims of a United States government frame-up. Political passions, fears of the “Red Menace,” and charges of treason and betrayal swirled at the time against a backdrop the Korean War and Soviet activity in Eastern Europe. Such circumstances persuaded many prominent individuals to keep a low profile in order not to be tainted by helping the Rosenbergs.

Although the court absolutely refused to allow Wertham direct access to Ethel Rosenberg, it gave him permission to testify in federal court under oath about her mental condition. Not only did this order deny Rosenberg due process, it created the paradoxical situation of permitting Wertham to testify about the mental condition of a patient whom he was not allowed to examine. Using Bloch as an intermediary and relying on second-hand information, Wertham not only accepted these limitations, but also braved a vicious and often improper cross-examination. Nevertheless, his understanding of the condition “prison psychosis” and his humanitarian concern for Rosenberg’s health made his testimony compelling. Within a few days Washington reversed itself and moved Julius Rosenberg to Sing Sing where husband and wife would be allowed to visit each other regularly. Moreover, Wertham was brought in to deal with the Rosenberg children, Michael and Robert, whom he advised and whose adoption by the Meeropol family he helped to make successful.

It was precisely Wertham’s reputation for fearlessness and integrity that encouraged Senator Estes Kefauver to appoint him sole psychiatric consultant to the Senate Subcommittee for the Study of Organized Crime (1950). Not only did Wertham bring his expertise as a forensic psychiatrist to Kefauver’s committee, but his experience in dealing with New York crime and governmental institutions made his observations particularly trenchant. The role organized crime played in American society was one that engendered fear, revulsion, cynicism, respect, and even admiration, especially for the way in which violent crime could be of service to politics. These televised hearings drew national attention, revealing the influence television had in shaping public opinion, and set the stage for the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency (1953-1956), which explored how juvenile delinquency led to adult crime.

A major theme of the investigation into juvenile delinquency was the impact the mass media exerted on youth and on a separate emerging youth culture. Wertham, who had published a series of articles and given lectures describing his research on the unhealthful effects of mass media violence, decided his work merited a book-length study aimed at the general public. In *Seduction of the Innocent* (1954) Wertham sets out his argument on the connection between the rise of juvenile delinquency and the role of crime comic books in promoting violent activity. The brutal and sadistic activity in these comics created a culture of violence and a coarsening of society. Such comic books routinely featured mutilation, gore, branding, blinding—so prominent as to receive its own classification of “eye-motif”—racism, bigotry, and especially, crude, sexual exploitation of women. Wertham testified that these comics, so attractive and easily available to children, exploited them and harmed their development; he concluded that access to violent comics for children under

fourteen years of age must be controlled. Although Wertham was maligned as a censor—a charge he vigorously denied—his work did stimulate the comic book industry to adopt a code labeling the suitability of each comic book published (The Code of the Comics Magazine Association of America, October 26, 1954).

Wertham’s studies on juvenile delinquency led him to probe deeper into the role various media play in creating, perpetuating, and distorting the social problems of teenagers. Not only comic books but also mass news publications, television, and the movies influenced behavior and distorted perceptions of teenagers and different ethnic groups. In *The Circle of Guilt* (1956) Wertham discovers the truth behind the death of “model boy” Billy Blankenship, murdered allegedly without provocation by Puerto Rican “hoodlum” Frank Santana in a New York City street fight. The paradigm of fear, racism, distrust, and prejudice many New Yorkers held conveniently fit Santana. Wertham, whose intuition told him that the case presented by the press reflected cultural prejudice rather than an understanding of the violent circumstances, agreed to investigate. He discovered that Blankenship was active in teenage gang activities and that Santana had an undeveloped personality, one lacking in hostility, anger, or resentment. Despite Wertham’s testimony, the court handed down a harsh sentence of 25 years to life for second degree murder. His outrage at this sentence and at the prevailing climate of violence and prejudice compelled Wertham to write *The Circle of Guilt*, which exposes both failure and hypocrisy on the part of the legal system in complicity with the social service establishment. More importantly, this book reflects the violence afflicting society and the refusal to confront its own insidious cultural stereotyping.

In 1966 Wertham published his major study on human violence, *A Sign for Cain: An Exploration of Human Violence*. To answer the paradoxical question: “Can we abolish violence without violence?” Wertham probed “why violence is becoming more entrenched in our society” than many believe, and argued that if we are willing, it is within our capacity “to conquer and to abolish it.” Essentially a sociological history of violence in Western culture, *A Sign for Cain* focuses on the effects of mass media exposure on the virulence of political tyrannies in this century, on the emergence of the legal and medical legitimization of violence, and on the willing acceptance of the value of violence.

Wertham’s thinking on the nature of violence provokes controversy among social theorists who interpret scientific data in ways to explain away anti-social behavior. Although such theorists admit the existence of cultural shaping, they argue that an instinctive drive for aggression is present at birth. The widespread acceptance of this idea of “an inborn biologically fixed instinct of violence in man,” Wertham argues is “a theory that creates an entirely false and nihilistic destructive image of man.” Violence may be the result of “negative factors in the personality and in the social medium where the growth of personality takes place.” Indeed, Wertham avers that “the primary natural tendency [of man is] to maintain and care for the intactness and integrity of others. Man does not have an ‘instinct’ of violence; he has the *capacity* and the physiological apparatus for violence.” To Wertham, man has survived as a species not because of an instinct for violence but because people value cooperation.

His interest in youth and how communication by the young shapes the culture led Wertham to publish his last book, *The World of Fanzines: A Special Form of Communication* (1973). Arguing that

fanzines—magazines created by fans of fantasy and science fiction—are a revealing form of communication because they are “free from outside interference, without control or manipulation from above, without *censorship*, visible or invisible,” Wertham sees them as not just a product of our society but a reaction to it. Fanzines show the capacity of the individual fan to reshape violent material in a socially useful way. The paraculture that is the world of fanzines contains patterns of fantasy, art, and literature manifesting healthy creativity, independence, and social responsibility. The fan-produced magazine expresses a genuine voice wanting to be heard, defying the overpowering roar of the mass media. Since fanzine artists and writers stress the role of heroes who have “cleared their minds of cant,” Wertham sees in the integrity of heroes and super-heroes “a message for our unheroic age.”

The last years of Fredric Wertham’s life were spent at his beloved Blue Hills, a former Pennsylvania Dutch farm near the Hawk Mountain Bird Sanctuary at Kempton. He died November 18, 1981.

—James E. Reibman

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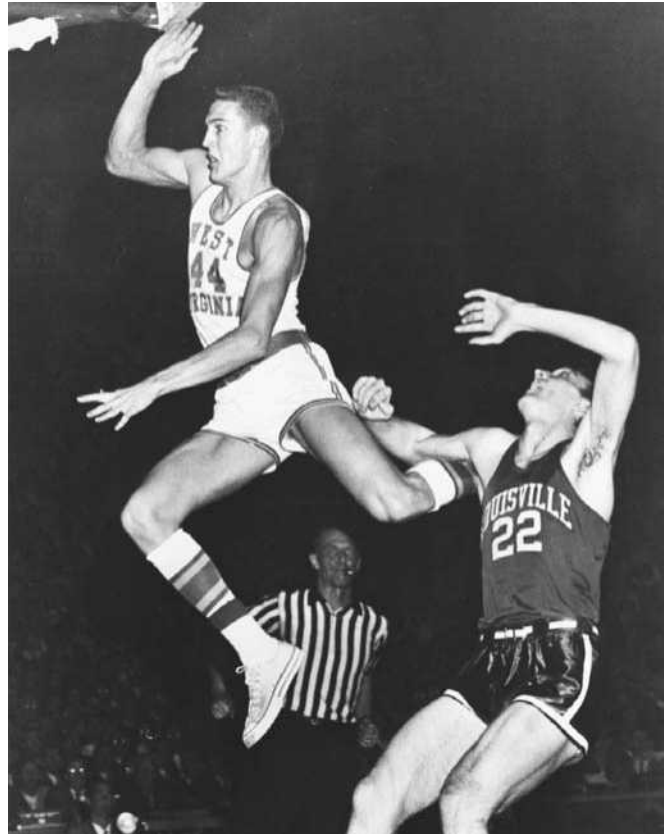
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## West, Jerry (1938—)

One of the greatest guards ever to play in the National Basketball Association, Jerry West (“Mr. Clutch”) was an All-Star player during his NBA career in the 1960s and early 1970s and later served as head coach and general manager of the Los Angeles Lakers, one of



Jerry West, in mid-air.

the predominant cage teams of the 1980s. West’s likeness has since become an icon to basketball fans and the general public as the silhouetted figure in the NBA’s logo.

West might be described as an atypical basketball player. He weighed 185 pounds, and his 39-inch arms prompted some observers to comment on his ostrich-like appearance, but his competitive intensity and knack for sinking the last-second shot helped him overcome these deficiencies, earning for him his lifelong nickname, Mr. Clutch. A two-time All-American at the University of West Virginia, West later won a gold medal with the 1960 U.S. Olympic basketball team. He joined the Los Angeles Lakers the same year that another dynamic guard, Oscar Robertson, entered the NBA with the Milwaukee Bucks. During the 1960s the two men would emerge as the best shooters in basketball.

West averaged 27 points per game and made the All-Star team every year he played. Four times he averaged more than 30 points a season. He saved his best work for the post-season, averaging 29.1 points in 153 playoff contests and winning or tying numerous games with critical buzzer-beating baskets. Yet, the man who came to symbolize his sport spent much of his career beating back a reputation as a hard-luck player. Six times, West led the Lakers to the NBA finals, only to lose to the Boston Celtics. Finally, in 1972, the team broke through, defeating the New York Knicks in the championship round. “The albatross around my neck,” as West called the title drought, was lifted.

A pulled stomach muscle forced West to cut short his playing career in 1974. After a brief and unhappy retirement, he returned to

the arena as Lakers head coach from 1976 to 1979. Despite some success, he clashed repeatedly with team owner Jack Kent Cooke and stepped out from behind the bench forever. New owner Jerry Buss convinced him to assume the post of general manager in 1982.

At the time, the Lakers were one of the NBA's premier teams. Star players Earvin "Magic" Johnson and Kareem Abdul-Jabbar led a potent offense, and head coach Pat Riley lent a Hollywood sheen to the proceedings with his slicked-back hair and expensive suits. Celebrities and swells flocked to the \$350 courtside seats at the Lakers' home gym, dubbed "The Fabulous Forum." As general manager, West developed a reputation as the league's most astute evaluator of talent. On numerous occasions, he selected unheralded prospects from obscure colleges who quickly blossomed into productive NBA players. As one longtime friend of West's observed, "He's the only guy I know who went into oil for a tax loss and struck a gusher."

Under West, the Lakers grew into an NBA powerhouse. They won championships for him in 1982, 1985, 1987, and 1988, and challenged for league supremacy every other year in the decade. The team's up-tempo style of play, dubbed "Showtime," proved an enormously popular marketing angle for the NBA worldwide. While the rivalry between the Boston Celtics' Larry Bird and the Lakers' own Magic Johnson has been widely credited with reviving public interest in professional basketball, it would be no exaggeration to say that Jerry West's careful nurturing of the Laker dynasty also contributed to that resurgence.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## West, Mae (1893-1980)

Writer, stage performer, screen actress, and nightclub entertainer Mae West emerged, a ray of light during the Great Depression, as a uniquely independent, outspoken, flamboyant, and humorously erotic woman. She achieved legendary status in American show business folklore and won a wide international following. Rarely has a show business personality left so indelible a mark on American popular culture, influencing the laws of film censorship, and bequeathing a series of outrageous ripostes and innuendoes to the language—most famously, "Come up and see me sometime"—that were still used at the end of the twentieth century. During World War II, allied troops honored her hourglass figure by calling their inflatable life jackets "Mae Wests." Learning of this new meaning to her name, she commented: "I've been in Who's Who, and I know what's what, but it's the first time I've been in a Dictionary."

She began her stage career early, making her debut with Hal Clarendon's theatrical company in her home town of Brooklyn in 1901. There she played such well-known juvenile roles as Little Eva, Little Willie, and even Little Lord Fauntleroy. By 1907, at the age of



Mae West

14, she was a performer on the national vaudeville circuits with Frank Wallace, and in 1911 appeared as an acrobatic dancer and singer in the Broadway revue *A la Broadway and Hello, Paris*. She then began writing, producing, directing, and starring in her own plays on Broadway. Her first play, *Sex* (1926), starred Mae as Margie La Monte, a golden-hearted prostitute who wanders the wharves. The play ran for 37 performances and ended when Mae was jailed for ten days for obscenity and corruption of public morals. The publicity made her a national figure and added to the box-office success of her later plays, *Diamond Lil* (1928) and *The Constant Sinner* (1931).

A buxom blonde with a feline purr, imported to Hollywood from Broadway, Mae's film career flourished from 1932 to 1940. She wrote the screenplays for all but the first of her nine films during this period, and delivered her suggestive, sex-parodying lines to a variety of leading men from Cary Grant to W.C. Fields. Paramount offered her the unheard-of sum of \$5,000 for a minor role in her debut film, *Night After Night* (1932), and Mae, with her vampy posturing and sexual innuendo, stole the show. The film's star, George Raft, said later, "In this picture, Mae West stole everything but the camera." Her entrance in this first of her films featured one of her most oft-repeated witticisms: when a hat-check girl, admiring Mae's bejeweled splendor, gushes, "Goodness, what beautiful diamonds!" the star responds with "Goodness had nothing to do with it, dearie." The joke was, of course, her own.

Paramount offered her a contract, and she agreed on condition that her next picture was a film version of *Diamond Lil*. That film, released as *She Done Him Wrong* (1933) and co-starring Cary Grant,



unveiled her trademark line, “Come up and see me sometime.” The film broke attendance records all over the world, and producer William Le Baron told exhibitors that “*She Done Him Wrong* must be credited with having saved Paramount when that studio was considering selling out to MGM, and when Paramount theaters—1700 of them—thought of closing their doors and converting into office buildings.” She made *I’m No Angel*, again with Grant, the same year, by the end of which she was ranked as the eighth biggest box-office draw of 1933. By 1935, her combination of glamour, vulgarity, and self-parody had made Mae West the highest paid woman in the United States.

Her success, however, based as it was on the risqué, brought a strong reaction from the puritanical wing. The Hays Office, charged with keeping movies wholesome in the wake of a succession of Hollywood sex scandals, was forced to bring in their new production code—the Hays Code—in 1934, expressly to deal with the Mae West problem. Her next film had the working title of *It Ain’t No Sin*, but the Hays Office decreed that it be designated less provocatively as *Belle of the Nineties* (1934). Mae reached the peak of her popularity as a Salvation Army worker in *Klondike Annie* (1936), co-starring Victor McLaglen. Posters for the movie announced, “She made the Frozen North Red Hot!” Another slogan used to publicize her movies was “Here’s Mae West. When she’s good, she’s very good. When she’s bad, she’s better.”

She co-starred with W.C. Fields in 1940 in the comic Western *My Little Chickadee*, each of them writing their own lines, but with disappointing results. When she failed to persuade Paramount to let her play Catherine the Great, she took her script about the controversial Russian empress to Broadway in the mid-1940s, where it was staged as a revue called *Catherine Was Great*. Her success led to a tour of England with her play *Diamond Lil* in 1947-48, and she took the play on a long tour of the United States for the next four years. With her film career over, she appeared in nightclubs and on television in an act with a group of young muscle men. During the 1960s, one of her few public appearances was in the 1964 TV series *Mister Ed*, but she made two last, disastrous screen appearances in the 1970s. She made a comeback as a Hollywood agent in the grotesque film version of Gore Vidal’s sex-change comedy, *Myra Breckinridge* (1970), but despite the opprobrium heaped on the film (which starred Raquel Welch), Mae got most of the publicity, \$350,000 for ten days’ work and her own dialogue, and a tumultuous reception at the premiere from a new generation of fans. Then, aged 86, the indomitable Mae starred in the lascivious and highly embarrassing *Sextette* (1978), adapted from her own play. Surrounded by a bevy of men, who included old-timers George Raft, Walter Pidgeon, Tony Curtis, George Hamilton, and Ringo Starr, it was an ignominious exit, but the legend lives on.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## *West Side Story*

When the curtain rose for the Broadway opening of the musical *West Side Story* on September 26, 1957, audiences were stunned and shaken by something new in American theater. Using a dynamic combination of classical theme and modern vernacular in script, music, and dance, the creators of *West Side Story* presented 1950s audiences with a disturbing, funny, and tragic look at what was happening in American society. Borrowing its plot from Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet*, *West Side Story* replaces the rival families with rival street gangs and augments the theme of love defeated by a conflict-torn environment. The play ran for 732 performances on Broadway, and, in 1961, was made into an award-winning film.

The plot of *West Side Story* is simple and familiar. Maria, newly arrived in New York from Puerto Rico, is expected to marry Chino, a nice Puerto Rican boy, but instead meets Polish-American Tony at a dance and they fall in love at first sight. But other forces are at work to keep them apart. Tony is one of the founders of the Jets, a street gang of white boys, and though he has drifted away from the gang and even gotten a job, he is still loyal to his “brothers” in the Jets. A new gang of Puerto Rican boys, the Sharks, led by Maria’s brother Bernardo, is threatening the Jets supremacy on the streets, and the Jets are determined to hold on to their territory at all costs. The Sharks are equally determined to carve out a place for themselves in their new city, and the gangs scuffle regularly. Finally, Tony ends up involved in a rumble where his best friend is knifed, and in the ensuing melee, Tony accidentally kills Bernardo. Though grief-stricken, Maria forgives him and they plan to leave the city and run together to somewhere peaceful and safe. Before they can escape, however, Maria’s spurned boyfriend Chino finds Tony and kills him. Devastated, Maria accuses both the Sharks and Jets of killing Bernardo and Tony and, united for a moment at least, the rival gang members carry Tony’s body away.

*West Side Story* was the brainchild of theatrical great Jerome Robbins. Robbins, often considered one of the greatest American choreographers as well as a producer and director, got the idea for the musical when a friend was cast to play Romeo in a production of the Shakespeare play. While trying to help his friend get a grasp on Romeo’s character, Robbins began to envision Romeo in modern times, dealing with modern issues. The idea stuck with him, and he eventually gathered a distinguished group of artists to help him create a modern day *Romeo and Juliet* that would speak to the dilemmas of 1950s America. Famed composer Leonard Bernstein was recruited to write the score, with then-newcomer Stephen Sondheim for the lyrics. The book was to be written by Arthur Laurents. Robbins’ original name for the piece was “East Side Story,” and the star-crossed lovers were to be a Jew and a Catholic from New York’s lower east side. Robbins, however, was looking for a new perspective and he felt the conflict between Jews and Catholics had been documented in theater in plays such as *Abie’s Irish Rose*. Taking note of the increased numbers of Puerto Rican immigrants to New York following World War II, he moved his play to the upper west side of Manhattan and staged his conflict between a gang of Puerto Rican boys and a gang of “American” boys, the sons of less recent immigrants.

While critics were somewhat bemused by the comic-tragic darkness of *West Side Story*, audiences were captivated. To a society



Natalie Wood and Richard Beymer in a scene from the film *West Side Story*.

striving to be “normal” while seething with angry undercurrents, *West Side Story* spoke with a hip, rebellious authority. The morality play plot fits well within an accepted 1950s genre that included films like *Rebel without a Cause*, but what made *West Side Story* different was its marriage of the classical and the hip. Bernstein’s almost operatic score accentuates the incisive hard edged lyrics of Sondheim, and Robbins’s balletic choreography stretches tautly over the angry grace of youth with nothing to lose. With words like “juvenile delinquent” and “street gang” beginning to pop up in the news media, *West Side Story* gave the delinquent a voice, a cool, powerful archetype of a voice.

Some have criticized the play for glamorizing gangs, and others have called its portrayal of Puerto Ricans racist. Indeed, both the Broadway play and movie were flawed by a lack of authentic Latin casting. Of the major cast members, only Chita Rivera in the play and Rita Moreno in the movie (both, coincidentally, playing Bernardo’s girlfriend Anita) were Latina. In spite of these weak points, it remains one of the strongest popular statements about troubled youth and the devastating effects of poverty and racism. In the song “Gee, Officer Krupke!,” the Jets stage a mock scenario where a delinquent is shunted from police to judge to psychiatrist to social worker, coming to the dismal conclusion that juvenile delinquency is an ailment of society and, “No one wants a fella with a social disease!” The song is

as explicit as a sociological treatise about the causes of many of the problems of urban youth, and its acute goofiness easily transcends decades of at-risk teenagers.

The Shark’s counterpoint to “Officer Krupke” is the song “America,” sung by the Puerto Ricans about their new homeland. It is a bitter condemnation of the lie behind the “land of opportunity” couched in a rousing Latin rhythm and framed as an argument (in the play it is a debate among the girls; in the movie it is between the boys and the girls). “Here you are free and you have pride!” one side crows. “As long as you stay on your own side,” the other counters. “Free to do anything you choose.” “Free to wait tables and shine shoes.” The song is a lively dance, showing the triumph of the spirit over the obstacles often faced by immigrants.

In contrast to the jubilantly angry mood of songs like “Officer Krupke” and “America,” the song “Cool,” sung by the leader of the Jets, seems to be ushering in a new age. Displacing the hotheaded cocky swagger of the 1950s, “Cool” (“Boy, boy, crazy boy, stay cool boy / Take it slow cause, daddy-o, you can live it up and die in bed”) seems to point the way to the beatnik era of the 1960s, where rebellion takes a more passively resistant form.

On the cusp of the 1960s, American society, still recovering from the enormous upheaval of World War II, was seeking stability and control. American youth, particularly poor urban youth, rebelled

against the falseness of this new American dream. *West Side Story* gave complacent 1950s audiences a taste of the bitter life on the streets, where working class youth had little opportunity in their future, and “owning the streets,” or controlling activity in their gang’s territory, was their only way of claiming power. Since life for disadvantaged youth has changed little, the musical still speaks to audiences. Since its long Broadway run and its acclaimed film release, *West Side Story* has been widely revived as a play in theater companies across the United States and in many other countries. The soundtrack albums for both the play and movie rode the Billboard 200 chart for lengthy periods. There have been Japanese and Chinese versions of the Sharks and Jets. In the mid-1980s, a recording of the score was released featuring world renowned opera singers, and in the mid-1990s, one was released featuring current pop stars. Though *Romeo and Juliet* has been reprised many times, few productions have managed as well as *West Side Story* to so capture a moment in history, as well as the universality of the hopes of youth tangled in the violence of society.

—Tina Gianoulis

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## The Western

Over the course of the twentieth century, the cultural significance of the Western has overwhelmed the borders of a simple film genre. The Western film’s many incarnations remain the most obvious and popular frame for the mythos of the American frontier, but the Western itself is usefully conceptualized as a widely transitory aesthetic mode comprised of recognizable conventions and icons that have spread across the face of international culture. From early-nineteenth-century examples like wild west shows, wilderness paintings, and dime novels to the legions of celluloid cowboys and Indians that ruled American movie houses from the 1930s through the 1960s, the full scope and majesty of the Western also made substantial contributions to radio dramas, television series, comic books, advertisements, rodeos, musicals, and novels. As the Western’s various forms continue to coat our cultural landscape, its apparently simple images have acquired a prolific range of meanings. Today, the Western constitutes a truly international entity, but its visual and ideological roots retain a distinctly American sense of rugged individualism and entrepreneurship. At the heart of its mythology of cowboys, Indians, horses, and six-guns, the Western can be read as a potent allegory for American society. All the hopes, triumphs, failures, and anxieties of American cultural identity are subtly written into the Western’s landscape.

The primary colors of the Western palette are simple but bold. First, the Western can never be Eastern; its aesthetic foundations are consistently grounded in the South, West, or Northwest portion of the American continents. Some Westerns like *The Treasure of the Sierra*

*Madre* (1948) or *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969) migrate as far as South America. The Lone Ranger enjoyed a brief sojourn fighting pirates on the Barbary Coast, and *Midnight Cowboy’s* (1969) Texan Hustler, Joe Buck, even emigrates to New York City. In every case, the Westerner always operates in a distinctly obvious fashion that effectively brings the West into foreign and exotic locales. Jim Kitses and Edward Buscombe suggest that the Western mode is essentially a fusion of American history, myth, and art into

a series of structuring tensions: between the individual and the community, between nature and culture, freedom and restriction, agrarianism and industrialism. All are physically separated by the frontier between the West and the East. These differences may be manifested in conflicts between gunfighters and townspeople, between ranchers and farmers, Indians and settlers, outlaws and sheriffs. But such are the complexities and richness of the material that the precise placing of any group or individual within these oppositions can never be pre-determined. Indians may well signify savagery; but sometimes they stand for what is positive in the idea of “nature.” Outlaws may be hostile to civilization; but Jesse James often represents the struggle of agrarian values against encroaching industrialization.

A man with a gun is usually at the center of these continually shifting situations and conflicts. In any medium, from advertising to radio, the Western drama is rarely resolved without some use of, or reference to, masculine violence. The Western’s “game” of binary conflicts also relies on an easily recognized hierarchy of standardized pawns. These “stock” characters comprise a profoundly limited cast of expressive icons headed by principal Westerners like the cowboy, the gunslinger, the sheriff, the cavalry man, the outlaw, the rancher, and the farmer. These are often accompanied by feminine companions and minor bourgeois players like the frontier wife, the saloon tart, the town drunk, the doctor, the mayor, the merchant, the gambler, the barber, the prospector, and the undertaker. Minorities like Mexicans, Indians, and half-breeds tend to exist on the periphery as obvious antagonists, “faithful companions,” or ambiguous alien influences. Whatever their arrangement, this specialized cast populates a decidedly wild, moral universe that codifies the ethical complexities of a century that seeks order and peace through nostalgic backward glances at the untamed west. The form’s continual preoccupation with the ghosts of the Civil War, the threat of Indian miscegenation, and the disappearance of the open plains all emphasize our wish to simplify or assuage a problem in American society through Western pageantry. Phil Hardy carefully delineates the cultural significance of the Western’s therapeutic charms:

In short, at a time when frustratingly complex issues like the Bomb, the Cold War, the House Un-American Activities Committee and Suez, were being raised, the Western remained a simple, unchanging, clear cut world in which notions of Good and Evil could be balanced against each other in an easily recognizable fashion.

This is not to say that Good always triumphs or that Good ever appears as constant and clear cut as the authors of Westerns might



John Wayne (left) with Montgomery Clift in a scene from the film *Red River*.

have wished. On the contrary, the evolution of the Western exhibits a tendency towards both pious optimism and depressed cynicism. For all the vibrant Americana celebrated in John Ford's *My Darling Clementine* (1946), Westerns like William Wellman's *Ox-Bow Incident* (1943), Sam Fuller's *Run of the Arrow* (1957), and Robert Altman's *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971) depict a decidedly pessimistic American milieu that turns on ruthless physical, racial, and economic violence like lynching, massacres, and prostitution.

The majority of Western art obsesses over the stature of the "Westerner," the white male hero in arms. Often expressed through the pedagogic interactions of men and children in films like *Red River* (1948), *Shane* (1953), and *High Noon* (1952), boys, sons, and orphans idealize the resolute father figures that teach them how to think, work, and fight. In radio drama, most Western heroes had young apprentices like the Lone Ranger's Dan Reed and Red Ryder's Little Beaver. Some Westerns like *Duel in the Sun* (1946), *The Searchers* (1956), *Broken Lance* (1954), and *The Shootist* (1979) would complicate this patriarchal formula with Oedipal and fraternal rebellions, but these conflicts usually result in an improvement or re-evaluation of the original pedagogical perpetuation of male control.

Although women and minorities often play crucial roles in the development of white western identity, these groups are consistently relegated to marginal status. Forward, sensual Western women like

*My Darling Clementine*'s Chihuahua, *Duel in the Sun*'s Pearl, and *Destry Rides Again*'s (1939) Frenchy usually pay a deadly price for their sexual candor. A sexualized female only finds comfort in a Western scenario when humble heroes like *Stagecoach*'s (1939) Ringo Kid decide to ignore the tainted past of painted women like Dallas or when Ransom Stoddard shuttles the illiterate Hallie back East in *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962). Jane Russell's infamous portrayal of Rio in *The Outlaw* (1943) remains one of the more celebrated exceptions to this otherwise deadly standard. The tough but modest frontier wives like *Shane*'s Marion Starrett and *High Noon*'s Quaker bride, Amy Kane, refrain from blatant action until their husbands require such activity. Male and female Mexicans and mulattos walk a grotesque line between hapless clowns à la *Stagecoach* and *The Magnificent Seven* (1960) or monstrous despots like the Rojos of *A Fistful of Dollars* (1964) and General Mapache in *The Wild Bunch* (1969). Native Americans generally signify the ethnic foil to white male order. This contrast can manifest itself as ravaging hordes in *Stagecoach* and *The Searchers*, as predictable savages in *Red River* and *The Naked Spur* (1953), or as noble alternatives to white hegemony in the Lone Ranger's Tonto, *Cheyenne Autumn* (1964), and *Dances with Wolves* (1990). Some revisionist Westerns like *Soldier Blue* (1970), *Little Big Man* (1970), and *A Man Called Horse* (1970) exhibit a morbid fascination with the

cultural conflicts between white and “red” men, but the majority of Western art continues to produce a very ambiguous mystification of Native American culture.

Founded on a mixture of nineteenth-century American history, the melodramatic frontier fiction of James Fenimore Cooper and James Oliver Curwood, and the Western visions of Frederic Remington, Charles Russell, and Jules Tavernier, the Hollywood Western film has become the most prevalent of all modern wild west shows. In many ways, the Western and the movies have grown up together. Some of the earliest silent films like *Kit Carson* and *The Great Train Robbery* (1903) or *The Squaw Man* (1907) clearly echo Western themes, although they were probably likened to contemporary crime thrillers at the time of their production. As silent film matured into an art form in the 1910s and 1920s, early cowboy heroes like Broncho Billy Anderson, William S. Hart, Hoot Gibson, Harry Carey, Tom Mix, Buck Jones, and Tim McCoy initiated various flavors of Western entertainment. While Anderson, Hart, and McCoy created what Buscombe calls the realistic “good badman” whose natural roughness also includes a heart of gold, Tom Mix and others opted to formulate a more fantastic Jazz Age cowboy whose rope tricks, fancy duds, and horseback stunts revived the Wild West Carnival aesthetics of Buffalo Bill Cody and Annie Oakley. Later Western stars like John Wayne and Gary Cooper would epitomize the rough benevolence of the good badman, until Clint Eastwood’s cool “Man with No Name” popularized the professional gunfighter in the mid-1960s. In later films like *The Magnificent Seven*, *The Wild Bunch*, and *The Long Riders* (1980), the gunfighter and the outlaw face a moral war between killing as a vocation and settling down on the frontier. Such films detail a world of lonely, desperate mercenaries and criminals whose worst enemy is the double-edged sword of their own profession.

Almost from the beginning, studios began to distinguish between prestigious “A” Westerns and the run-of-the-mill “B”-grade horse opera. Early studios like Biograph and Bison churned out silent serial Westerns whose standardized melodramas became the basis for the sub-genre of “B”-grade cowboy movies that would remain relatively unaltered well into the 1950s. By the mid-1930s, these series Westerns, produced predominantly by Herbert Yates’ amalgamated Republic Pictures, had become an easily appreciated prefab package:

There would be a fist fight within the first few minutes, a chase soon after, and, inevitably, a shoot-out at the end. Plots were usually motivated by some straightforward villainy which could be exposed and decisively defeated by the hero . . . it was also common for footage to be reused. Costly scenes of Indian attacks or stampedes would re-appear, more or less happily satisfying the demands of continuity in subsequent productions.

For all their apparent poverty and simplicity, these assembly line dramas prepared both the talent and the audience that would eventually propel the “A” Western into its own. Some prestige epics like *The Big Trail* (1930), *The Covered Wagon* (1923), and the Oscar-winning best picture of 1930, *Cimarron*, clearly invoked Western forms, but Westerns for the most part were considered second-tier kiddy shows until the unprecedented success of John Ford’s *Stagecoach* in 1939. *Stagecoach*’s microcosm of American society—complete with a

hypocritical banker, an arrogant debutante, a Southern gentleman, and the fiery youth of a suddenly famous John Wayne—proved that Western scenarios could yield serious entertainment. Soon after, Hollywood’s production of Westerns rose rapidly as both “A” and “B” Westerns thrived in the hands of the most talented Hollywood actors and auteurs. Reaching its zenith in 1950, when 34 percent of all Hollywood films involved a Western scenario, the genre had developed a new energy and scope surrounding “A”- and “B”-level personalities like John Wayne, Henry Fonda, James Stewart, Audie Murphy, Roy Rogers, Gary Cooper, Randolph Scott, Ward Bond, and Joel McCrea. Amid the host of Western formula pictures, Phil Hardy notes the exciting innovations of Western auteur directors like Boetticher, Ford, Mann, Daves, Dwan, Fuller, Hawks, Lang, Penn, Ray, Sturges, Tourneur, and Walsh, who produced individual masterpieces through their manipulation of popular narrative forms.

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, cinema remained the dominant showcase for Western drama, but other lesser Western media were also inundating American culture. While horses galloped across the silver screen, the roar of six guns also glugged the air waves as radio and TV shows brought the West into countless American living rooms. Between 1952 and 1970 no less than 11 Western TV series were on the air in any single year. The Lone Ranger, Matt Dillon, Hopalong Cassidy and their lesser known associates like Straight Arrow, the Six-Shooter (played by Jimmy Stewart), and Curly Burly, the Singing Marshall offered a generation of children almost daily doses of Western idealism. Often, these heroes became highly merchandised icons, moving from pulp magazines into commercial radio, matinee serials, TV series, and comic books. Thus, *Gunsmoke*’s Matt Dillon and *Have Gun, Will Travel*’s Paladin became product-driven Cowboy myths. Every TV series like *Rawhide*, *Gunsmoke*, *Bonanza*, *Maverick*, *The Big Valley*, and *The Wild, Wild West* had its own tie-in comic book that lingered in young hands during the many hours between broadcasts. The Lone Ranger himself appeared in over 10 different comic series, the last appearing as late as 1994. The 10-cent comic market could even bear separate series for Western Sidekicks like Tonto and Little Beaver. For almost eight years, Dell comics exclusively devoted an entire series to the Lone Ranger’s faithful stallion, Silver. Major Western stars like John Wayne, Tim Holt, Gabby Hayes, Andy Devine, Roy Rogers, Dale Evans, and Hopalong Cassidy also bolstered their popularity through four-color dime comics, accentuating their already firm star image through the mass market pantheon of Western characters like the Ghost Rider, the Rawhide Kid, and Jonah Hex.

From the 1940s through the 1960s, while Anthony Mann twisted the genre with cynical stories of desperate and introspective Westerners and John Ford began a series of bitter re-examinations of his earlier frontier optimism, another form of self-conscious aestheticized Western had emerged—the musical. Clearly indebted to early singing cowboys like Gene Autry and Roy Rogers, the new singing Western fused song and dance spectacle with honky-tonk themes and images. Songs like Cole Porter’s “Don’t Fence Me In” and Livingston and Evans’ Oscar-winning “Buttons and Bows” allowed popular vocalists a chance to dress up in silk bandannas, cow hide vests, and sequined Stetsons. Groups like the Sons of the Pioneers and the Riders of the Purple Sage celebrated trendy Cowboy fashions while Hollywood’s *Oklahoma!* (1955), *Red Garters* (1954), *Annie Get Your Gun* (1950), *Paint Your Wagon* (1969), and *Seven Brides for Seven*

*Brothers* (1954) promoted melodious western set pieces. Even the down-to-earth satirist Will Rogers' rope-tricking, cowboy persona lent a humble quality to his jibes between numbers in the Ziegfeld Follies. Comedies and parodies also proliferated. Early Western clowning included Charles Laughton in *Ruggles of Red Gap* (1935) and Bob Hope in the *Paleface* films of 1948 and 1952. Among the most important later moments in Western comedy are Lee Marvin's Oscar-winning self-parody of a drunken gunfighter in *Cat Ballou* (1965), James Garner's send-up of *My Darling Clementine* in *Support Your Local Sheriff* (1969), and Mel Brooks's hugely successful black cowboy feature, *Blazing Saddles* (1973).

In the 1960s and 1970s, the traditionally conservative ideology of Western films fell prey to several new influences. The "International Western" reconfigured traditionally American material with an exaggerated European accent. The Italian-produced "Spaghetti Westerns" of Sergio Leone starring Clint Eastwood as the shrewd, silent nameless mercenary rejuvenated a genre that had become fairly exhausted in American hands. Leone revised tired gun fight scenarios through slow tension-building showdowns comprised of excruciatingly tight close-ups and split-second gun battles. Ennio Morricone's now famous parodic scores also lent Leone's gory duels and forbidding scenery a fascinating, surreal atmosphere. Leone's psychedelically violent images played alongside the American revisionist Westerns of Sam Peckinpah, Robert Altman, and Arthur Penn. As *Pat Garrett and Billy the Kid* (1973), *Buffalo Bill and the Indians* (1976), *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971), and *Little Big Man* (1970) deconstructed long-established Western hierarchies, Dennis Hopper's *Easy Rider* (1969) subtly defiled the Cowboy image as his Buffalo Billy sold drugs, dropped acid, and toured America on a Harley. During the cultural upheaval of the 1960s, this trend towards the deconstruction of Western myths signified a popular cultural need to interrogate and explode previously accepted signs and images. For all their gratuitous revision, however the grim tales of drunks, swindlers, and psychopaths that dominate late 1960s and 1970s Westerns contributed a much-needed update to the general credibility and appreciation of Western forms. Of all these self-conscious filmmakers, only Clint Eastwood continued as a popular Western actor and director; his *Outlaw Josey Wales* (1976), *Pale Rider* (1985), and *Unforgiven* (1992) represent intense eulogies to older visions of the American West.

The postmodern Western of the eighties and nineties has sprouted into several fairly distinct branches. On the one hand, films like *Silverado* (1985), *The Quick and The Dead* (1995), *Maverick* (1994), *The Wild Wild West* (1999), *Young Guns* (1988), *Bad Girls* (1994), *Tombstone* (1993), and *Posse* (1993) utilize Western aesthetics as appropriated dramatic frames that emphasize their stars. More obviously expensive Western epics like *Dances with Wolves*, *Wyatt Earp* (1994), and *Lonesome Dove* (1989) attempt to recreate the spectacle of the great open plains. Along with these comprehensive Westerns, a noticeable Cowboy strain has leaked into blockbuster franchises like *Back to the Future III* (1990), unpopular "punk" odysseys like *Straight to Hell* (1987) and *Dudes* (1987), Neo-Noir Westerns like *Flesh and Bone* (1993) and *Red Rock West* (1993), and pastiche "cult" odysseys like *Buckaroo Banzai in the Eighth Dimension* (1984). Even the *The Muppet Movie* (1979) appropriates an old fashioned Western showdown. The 1990s have also seen a revival of the contemporary Western. Art house films like *Western* (1998), *The Hi-Lo Country* (1999), *Lone Star* (1996), and *The Last Picture Show*

(1971) find their roots in the well-named Hollywood epic, *Giant* (1956), and its quieter companions like *Hud* (1963), *The Lusty Men* (1952), *Bronco Billy* (1980), and *The Electric Horseman* (1979). These films are more concerned with describing the life of the modern west and the plight of the twentieth-century Westerner than in revising the myths of the old frontier. At same time however, each film offers sharp insight into how completely the Western and its heroes have shaped the popular appreciation of America's past.

—Daniel Yezbick

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## Wharton, Edith (1862-1937)

Edith Wharton, one of the most successful American novelists of her time, wrote twenty-five novels and novellas as well as eighty-six short stories. Her *Age of Innocence* (1920), about Old New York society, won a Pulitzer prize, and she was the first woman to receive either the honorary Doctor of Letters from Yale University or the Gold Medal of the National Institute of Arts and Letters. Though critics have often over-emphasized Henry James's influence upon her, she has impacted American narrative in many ways, perhaps most notably in her treatment of gender issues and the supernatural.

—Joe Sutliff Sanders

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## What Would Jesus Do?

See WWJD? (What Would Jesus Do?)

## What's My Line?

The television panel game *What's My Line?* became an American favorite in the course of its 17-year-long run. Aired on CBS from February 2, 1950 through September 3, 1967, it remains the longest-running show of its type in prime-time television history, having seduced viewers with a premise both rudimentary and clever. Contestants with uncommon occupations first signed their names on a blackboard, and then whispered their "lines," or professions, to master of ceremonies John Daly and the viewers at home. Next, four panelists queried the contestants in order to ascertain their professions. Questions could be answered only with a simple "yes" or "no." For each "no" response, a contestant earned \$5; after ten negatives, the game ended with the contestant pocketing \$50. One participant each week was a "mystery guest," an easily identifiable celebrity. Here, out of necessity, the panelists donned masks, with the contestants responding to questions in distorted voices.

The show, a Mark Goodson-Bill Todman production, exuded a civilized, urbane Park Avenue/Fifth Avenue Manhattan air. John Daly, the likable moderator, whose background was in journalism,



*What's My Line* moderator John Daly (center) is surrounded by regular panelists (from left) Arlene Francis, Bennett Cerf, and Dorothy Kilgallen.

established this ambience throughout its 17 years on the air until syndication. He bowed out on the syndicated version, produced between 1968 and 1975 and hosted by Wally Bruner and Larry Blyden. In the early years of the show, Daly concurrently enjoyed a high profile at rival networks, anchoring the ABC evening news between 1953 and 1960, while hosting *What's My Line?* for CBS.

The panelists on the debut broadcast were syndicated gossip columnist Dorothy Kilgallen (who stayed until her death in 1965), poet-critic Louis Untermeyer, former New Jersey governor Harold Hoffman, and Dr. Richard Hoffman, a psychiatrist. The following week, actress Arlene Francis came on board, and remained for the show's duration. Other regular panelists during the 1950s were television personality Steve Allen, comedian Fred Allen, and joke writer Hal Block. By the end of the decade, the group most often consisted of the set trio of Francis, Kilgallen, and writer, raconteur and co-founder of Random House publishers, Bennett Cerf, who joined the panel in 1951 and remained until the show went off the air. These three were supplemented with a celebrity guest panelist.

While watching *What's My Line?* and hearing the amusing and sophisticated banter of its panelists, one might have been eavesdropping on a chic and exclusive party whose guests included New York's wittiest intellectuals, peppered with celebrities from the world of entertainment, sports, and politics. The panelists in fact were personalities who exuded New York Upper East Side style, and donned their masks as if preparing for a society costume ball.

The contestants on *What's My Line?* were awesome in their variety. Over the years they included oddball inventors, tugboat captains, pet cemetery grave diggers, pitters of prunes and dates, thumbtack makers, pigeon trainers, female baseball stitchers, gas station attendants, and even a purveyor of fried chicken, who turned out to be none other than Colonel Harlan Sanders. As for the "mystery guests," writer/show business habitué Max Wilk has noted that, "it would be far more simple to list the names of the celebrities who have *not* appeared on the show over all these years than it would be to list those who did." Among them were athletes (Phil Rizzuto, who was the first *What's My Line?* mystery guest, and Ty Cobb), poets (Carl Sandburg), politicians (Eleanor Roosevelt, Estes Kefauver, Everett Dirksen), and numerous movie and television personalities from Gracie Allen to Warren Beatty, Ed Wynn, Ed McMahon, Harold Lloyd, and Howdy Doody.

The panelists on the final network telecast of *What's My Line?* were Arlene Francis, her actor husband Martin Gabel, Bennett Cerf, and Steve Allen. The mystery guest, appropriately enough, was John Daly!

—Rob Edelman

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## Wheel of Fortune

In 1998, America's most popular television game show, *Wheel of Fortune*, celebrated its fifteenth year in syndication by broadcasting for the 3000th time. In the ubiquitous game created by executive

producer Merv Griffin, popular co-hosts Pat Sajak and Vanna White have awarded contestants over \$98 million in cash and prizes for guessing the blank letters of mystery phrases, with the winning amounts determined by spins of a giant wheel. While the wheel spins, it is traditional for contestants to scream “Big money!” and join Vanna in clapping hands. In fact, Miss White is listed in the *Guinness Book of World Records* as television’s most frequent hand-clapper, averaging 720 claps per show and 28,000 per season.

The original *Wheel of Fortune* aired on NBC as a daytime game show on January 6, 1975, with hosts Chuck Woolery and Susan Stafford. Pat Sajak made his debut on the show in December 1981, with Stafford continuing as co-host. Vanna replaced Stafford in December 1982, and the show moved from the network to syndication in 1983, placing it in prime-time slots and greatly increasing the audience.

Pat Sajak likes to say, “I must have been born with broadcasting genes.” He remembers sneaking out of bed at age eleven to watch Jack Paar host *The Tonight Show*. Even then he aspired to host his own television show some day. Sajak attended Columbia College in his native Chicago, majoring in broadcasting, before landing his first professional job as a newscaster on radio station WDDC in his hometown. The Vietnam War interrupted his career in 1968, and the 21-year-old Sajak was assigned as morning disc jockey with Armed Forces Radio in Saigon. During his eighteen months in that post, Sajak opened his show as Robin Williams did in the movie *Good Morning, Vietnam*, with the words, “Gooood morrhning, Vietnaaam!”

After his army discharge in 1972, Sajak worked briefly as a radio disc jockey in Kentucky and Washington, D.C., before landing his first television job as local weatherman on WSM-TV in Nashville, Tennessee. His relaxed style and sharp wit brought him additional assignments as host of a public affairs program as well as a talk show. In 1977 he was brought to Los Angeles to host KNBC’s weekend public affairs program and to serve as their local weatherman. Four years later he was selected by Merv Griffin to host *Wheel of Fortune*, a match made in television heaven. He went on to star in many network and syndicated specials, briefly hosted a late night talk show in 1989, and appeared as a guest star on dozens of comedy, drama, and talk shows. He has won two Emmy Awards, a People’s Choice Award, and a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame. He lives in Los Angeles with his wife, Lesly, and their two children.

Vanna White, born in North Myrtle Beach, South Carolina, in 1957, attended the Atlanta School of Fashion design and became a top model in that area before moving to Los Angeles to pursue an acting career. In 1982, she auditioned for the job as Sajak’s co-host on America’s favorite game show and was selected from a field of more than 400 letter-turning hopefuls. Although she has been called the Wheel’s “silent star,” her weekly fan mail numbers in the thousands, and she is a frequent guest on talk shows. Her autobiography, *Vanna Speaks*, was a national bestseller. Her fans enjoy her habit of making a different fashion statement for every show and, at last count in 1998, she had worn 5,750 outfits in her career. Vanna is also seen in commercials, a nutritional video, and as the star of an NBC made-for-television movie, *Goddess of Love*, as well as cameos in various Hollywood movies. She lives in Beverly Hills with her husband, George, and two children, Nicholas and Giovanna.

One of the secrets of the ongoing success of *Wheel of Fortune* has been adding new features to the show’s familiar format. High

technology has been employed to update Vanna’s puzzle board. Instead of turning letters, she activates the touch-sensitive membrane switches on a bank of 52 high-resolution Sony monitors. Interest in the show is heightened by special weeks in which the contestants are soap opera stars, best friends, celebrities and their moms, college students, and professional football players. The show has been renewed with a long-term contract through 2002.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Whisky a Go Go

Infused with the neon energy of the Sunset Strip, the Whisky a Go Go stands as Los Angeles’s (L.A.) richest repository of rock ’n’ roll history. With the affluence of Beverly Hills and Malibu to its west, the fantasy of Hollywood to its east, West Hollywood’s gay and lesbian influence directly south, and “the hills,” home to the world’s rich and famous, above it, the Whisky finds itself at the heart of a city in which anything can happen—and often does. As its decades at the corner of Clark Drive and the famed Sunset Boulevard have proven, the Whisky’s roster of rock performers chronicles the evolution of L.A.’s highly influential music industry and its impact on popular culture at large.

Older than neighboring rock ’n’ roll haunts such as the Roxy and the Rainbow, the Whisky emerged onto L.A.’s music scene in January of 1964. Owners Elmer Valentine and Mario Maglieri transformed an old, three-story bank building into a Parisian-inspired discotheque complete with female DJs (Disc Jockeys) dancing in cages suspended above the stage. Hence, the term go-go girl was born.

The Whisky quickly became a breeding ground for the most influential musical talent of the mid-to-late 1960s. Opening night featured Johnny Rivers, whose blues-inspired pop album titled *Johnny Rivers at the Whisky a Go Go* took him to the top of the charts. Johnny Carson, Rita Hayworth, Lana Turner, and Steve McQueen were just a few of the personalities who turned out to revel in Rivers’s performance.

As the turbulent socio-political energy of the late 1960s gained momentum, so too did the influence of the Whisky. Bands such as The Doors and Buffalo Springfield brought revolutionary sounds to the music world, and attracted the likes of John Belushi and Charles Manson to the venue. Guitar legend Jimi Hendrix dropped in on several occasions to jam with the Whisky’s house bands, and rock’s raspy leading lady, Janis Joplin, downed her last bottle of Southern Comfort at the Whisky before her death in 1970.

While the Whisky name is associated with some of the most significant performers of every rock era since the club’s opening, it is the explosive decadence of the late 1960s that has most decisively defined the Whisky’s place in the popular imagination. In his vivid film evocation of the period, *The Doors* (1991), Oliver Stone used simulated live footage of one of The Doors’ early performances on the





Dancers at the Whisky a Go Go.

Whisky stage to recreate the spirit of that era's radical, drug-fueled excess. The film, and other similar representations of the 1960s, affirm the Whisky's status as a potent emblem of the rebellious energy of a particular moment in music and pop culture history.

Despite its indisputable "hot spot" status during the 1960s, the Whisky's popularity waned in the early 1970s as a softer, more folk-inspired sound penetrated live music in Los Angeles. The Whisky nearly burned to the ground in 1971, and the club was forced to close for several months before re-opening as a discotheque. With the buzz of its formative decade behind it, the club's producers sought out more economical performance ideas for the space, and operating a dance club appeared to be a cheaper, less troublesome, alternative to the live music format. The venue also hosted minor theatrical performances such as *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* during this period, but no attempt to transform the Whisky attracted the kind of talent or intensity that the club had cultivated during the 1960s.

The rebirth of the Whisky as a rock club occurred in the late 1970s, when the embers of a punk scene in L.A. began to smolder. The influence of punk bands from both London (the Sex Pistols, the

Damned) and New York (Patti Smith, the Ramones) inspired L.A. groups like the Runaways and the Quick to bring a brash, do-it-yourself approach to music and to the Whisky. Kim Fowley, son of actor Douglas Fowley, hosted a "New Wave Rock 'N' Roll Weekend" at the Whisky in 1977 and introduced the likes of the Germs and the Weirdos to the Sunset Strip scene. Shortly thereafter, the legendary Elvis Costello played his first L.A. gig at the club.

By the early 1980s, rock once again ruled the L.A. music scene—and the Whisky—although this time in a much less lucrative fashion. No longer did the Whisky pay its bands for an evening's performance. Rather, upon reopening as a live venue—around the time that music mogul Lou Adler bought into the club—the musical acts themselves paid the Whisky for the opportunity to perform on its coveted stage. This new "pay to play" approach not only demonstrated how valuable the Whisky's reputation had become to up-and-coming talent, but also confirmed the fact that the music business itself was changing. The tremendous popularity of rock music yielded a surplus of bands, which shifted the market in favor of clubs and promoters. Groups had to compete for stage space and ultimately

finance (or hope that a record company would pay for) their own publicity.

Against this new economic backdrop, a number of hard rock and metal bands—including mega-stars Van Halen, Guns N’Roses, and Metallica—rose to prominence in the 1980s. While these glam bad boys went on to fill tens of thousands of seats in arenas all over the world, they could all point to the Whisky’s stage as the site of some of their earliest live performances.

In the early 1990s, the Whisky hosted a number of Seattle-based musicians who would later be dubbed “the godfathers of grunge.” Bands such as Soundgarden, Nirvana, Mudhoney, The Melvins, and 7 Year Bitch brought their guitar-laden, punk-loyal sound to Los Angeles in a very large, very loud way. Grunge maintained an anti-aesthetic which scoffed at the glam-rock past of the 1980s, and seemed, if only briefly, to speak to the fears of a generation of teenagers ravaged by divorce and a distinctly postmodern sort of uncertainty. Throughout this time, the Whisky continued to act as a touchstone for local and indie bands and as a familiar haunt for the occasional celebrity rocker. Though the club’s influence as a ground zero for cutting edge trends in the music industry—and youth culture in general—has diminished considerably since its heyday, the Whisky remains an important L.A. landmark and offers a revealing window into some of the most crucial figures and movement’s of rock’s relatively brief history.

—Jennifer Murray

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## *Whistler’s Mother*

James Abbott McNeill Whistler’s 1871 portrait of his mother, Anna Matilda McNeill, has crossed over from the realm of fine art to that of popular culture. Whistler (1834-1903), an expatriate American painter active in London and Paris, was one of a number of late nineteenth-century artists who downplayed subject matter and emphasized abstract values. People often refer to the painting as “Whistler’s mother,” but Whistler himself preferred to call it *Arrangement in Gray and Black*. Ironically, the painting is famous largely because of its subject. Recognized as a universal symbol of motherhood, Whistler’s mother was featured, in 1934, on a United States postage stamp honoring Mother’s Day. However, she has not always been treated so reverently. The somber, seated figure, a familiar reference point in many countries, has been widely lampooned in the popular performing, as well as visual, arts.

—Laural Weintraub

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Barry White

## White, Barry (1944—)

Barry White’s immediately recognizable husky bass-inflected voice that obsessed over making love was a staple on black radio during the 1970s. Songs such as “Your Sweetness Is My Weakness,” “Can’t Get Enough of Your Love, Babe,” and the appropriately titled “Love Makin’ Music” made this heavy-set man a sex symbol, and were probably responsible for conceiving quite a few babies as well. And while his star did not shine as brightly through the 1980s and 1990s, White evolved into a oft-referred-to popular culture icon—appearing as himself on television shows like *The Simpsons* singing parodies of his own songs (which were already almost self-parodies).

Born in Galveston, Texas, White would work primarily out of Los Angeles and New York as an adult. White began his career in the music business at age 11, when he played piano on Jesse Belvin’s hit single “Goodnight My Love.” He recorded as a vocalist for a number of different labels in the early to mid-1960s, then went on to work as an A&R man for a small record label named Mustang. In 1969, White formed both a female trio called Love Unlimited, and a 40-piece instrumental group dubbed Love Unlimited Orchestra, the latter of which produced a number one Pop single in 1973, “Love’s Theme.”

The period of 1973-1974 was his commercial highpoint, with White performing on or producing a number of albums and singles



James Abbott McNeill Whistler's "No. 1: Portrait of the Artist's Mother."

that grossed a total of \$16 million. Among his top ten Pop singles were: "I'm Gonna Love You Just a Little More Baby," "Never, Never Gonna Give Ya Up," "You're the First, The Last, My Everything," "What Am I Gonna Do With You," and the number one 1974 smash, "Can't Get Enough of Your Love, Babe," as well as a handful of hits by Love Unlimited and Love Unlimited Orchestra.

While all of his up-tempo dance numbers and down-tempo slow jams tend to blend together, White was neither generic nor unoriginal. He had his own distinct style that can best be summed up lyrically in the following few lines from his song "Love Serenade": "Take it off / Baby, take it aaaaaallllllllll off / I want you the way you came into the world / I don't wanna feel no clothes / I don't wanna see no panties / Take off that brassiere, my dear." White's spoken word delivery arguably influenced future rappers, and the drum breaks on songs like

"I'm Gonna Love You Just Little More Baby" were sampled often by Hip-Hop artists.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Barry White's chart presence almost seemed contingent on collaborating with other artists. For instance, his 1990 hit "The Secret Garden" (Sweet Seduction Suite) featured Al B. Sure!, James Ingram, Quincy Jones, and El DeBarge, and he also appeared on Big Daddy Kane's 1991 rhythm and blues hit "All of Me," Lisa Stansfield's cover of "Never, Never Gonna Give You Up," and Edie Brickell's "Good Times" (one of the strangest pairings of the 1990s). White also enjoyed some exposure from the sitcom *Ally McBeal*, in which the character John Cage sings and dances to White's "You're the First, the Last, My Everything" to prepare himself for a date.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## White, Betty (1922—)

Betty White was one of the first women to form her own television production company, and she also became one of TV's best-loved performers, whether her character was sweetly innocent or a harridan. Her early roles ranged from girl-next-door (*Life with Elizabeth*, 1952-1955) to screwball wife (*Date with the Angels*, 1957-1958), but it was as a man-crazy schemer on *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* from 1973 to 1977 that White won her first major popularity. For her portrayal of the predatory Sue Ann Nivens, White won back-to-back best supporting actress Emmys (1975/1976), even though she appeared in less than half the episodes in any given season. After *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* ended, White briefly hosted a game show called *Just Men!* and became the only female to win an Emmy as best game-show host (1983). Two years later White returned to episodic television in the phenomenal hit *The Golden Girls* (1985-1992), in which she portrayed naive Rose Nyland, who never quite had the same conversation as those to whom she was talking and who often added seemingly unrelated comments dealing with life in her rural hometown, St. Olaf. A comedy that often placed the women in outlandish situations, the series showed that older women could have active lives, and it helped to weaken the "ageism" that had been a hallmark of American culture. In 1994 White became the tenth woman to be inducted into the Television Hall of Fame.

—Denise Lowe

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## White Castle

White Castle was the world's original fast-food restaurant chain. From humble beginnings in Wichita, Kansas, White Castle grew into a large-scale multi-state operation that was copied by innumerable competitors. It all began when Walter Anderson, a short-order cook, developed a process in 1916 for making the lowly regarded hamburger more palatable to a distrusting public. He soon had a growing business of three shops. In 1921, Anderson took on a partner, Edward Ingram, a real estate and insurance salesman. Ingram coined the name and image of "White Castle," based on the theory that "'White' signifies purity and 'Castle' represents strength, permanence and stability." By 1931 there were 115 standardized outlets in ten states. Previously, only grocery or variety stores had used the chain system. By providing inexpensive food in a clean environment at uniform

locations over a wide territory, White Castle helped shape the fast-food industry that would dominate the lives and landscape of America at the end of the twentieth century.

—Dale Allen Gyure

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## White, E. B. (1899-1985)

*Charlotte's Web* author E. B. White has delighted people of all ages with his essays, poems, and classic children's stories since the 1920s. He was one of the early *New Yorker* writers and helped set the tone that established it as the magazine of elegant writing that it continued to be for decades.

Elwyn Brooks White graduated from Cornell University, where he was the editor of the *Cornell Sun*. He worked as a journalist and a copywriter in an advertising agency before joining the infant *New Yorker* in 1926. (Katharine Angell, who hired him, later became his wife.) From 1938-43, White contributed the monthly column "One Man's Meat" to *Harper's* magazine.

White's elegant yet informal, humorous, and humanitarian writing covered diverse subjects. Following the premature death of a pig in 1947 at the Whites' rural home in Maine, White said he wrote an essay "in grief, as a man who failed to raise his pig." This same writing style is apparent in White's three classic children's books: *Stuart Little* (1945), about a mouse born to a human family and his adventures while searching for his best friend, a beautiful bird; *Charlotte's Web* (1952), in which a spider named Charlotte cleverly saves Wilbur the pig from death; and *The Trumpet of the Swan* (1970), in which a mute trumpeter swan tries to win the affection of the beautiful swan Serena.

In 1957 White published an essay praising his former Cornell English professor, William Strunk Jr., for his forty-three-page handbook on grammar—"the little book." White praised Strunk's attempt "to cut the vast tangle of English rhetoric down to size and write its rules and principles on the head of a pin." A publisher coaxed the ever-modest White into reviving and revising *The Elements of Style* (1959), known among its users as "Strunk and White," which has remained a fundamental text. White bolstered the original with an essay titled "An Approach to Style," which remains a timeless reflection of the virtues of good writing.

—R. Thomas Berner

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## White Flight

White flight refers to the residential movement of whites to avoid self-determined, unacceptable levels of racial integration. Scholars disagree on how much race acts as a singular factor in white migratory decisions, many preferring a natural process called “ecological succession” in which older and less desirable housing stock filters down to lower status classes. The great episodes of neighborhood turnover in the United States after World War II, however, prompted social scientists to focus specifically on race as a “tipping point” that stimulated white exodus to suburbs and newer suburban areas.

White flight was principally a twentieth-century urban phenomenon. Before 1900, ninety percent of African Americans lived in the South. The few black populations in northern cities were small and highly centralized. Occasionally, upper-class blacks intermingled with whites and other ethnic groups. Deteriorating social and economic conditions in the South, including lynchings, led to a mass exodus of African Americans to northern cities starting around the time of World War I. These migrations increased the populations of African Americans in cities such as Chicago from as little as 2 percent in 1910 to more than 30 percent by 1970.

At first, newer ethnic groups were the most affected. Jewish residents felt compelled to move from Chicago's Maxwell Street neighborhood and New York's Harlem area by increasing numbers of blacks around 1920. The latter process contributed directly to the Harlem arts and cultural renaissance. Threatened by the social and cultural disruptions portended by African American mobility with time, native-born whites responded as well. They lobbied politicians, bankers, and real estate agents to restrict blacks informally to designated black neighborhoods, usually comprised of older housing stock. The Baltimore city council enacted an ordinance forbidding any black person from moving into a block where a majority of the residents were white in 1910, and a dozen other cities followed suit, even though the United States Supreme Court declared residential segregation unconstitutional in 1917. The all-white apartment house of Ralph and Alice Kramden as portrayed in the 1950s television series *The Honeymooners* personified inner-city racial exclusion. When legal or extra-legal exclusionary tactics failed, whites resorted to out-migration, turning over a neighborhood to their former adversaries. Residential homogeneity could be based on factors such as class, religion, or ethnicity, but white flight came to be the term for relocation related to racial differences.

Housing demand, restricted by the Depression and the exigencies of World War II, exploded in the decades following the war. New developments appeared almost overnight in outer-city and suburban areas, yet existing social standards continued to dictate settlement patterns based on racial considerations. The attractions of new suburbs, available only to middle and upper class whites, and the growing housing needs of African Americans produced an era of unprecedented racial turnover in cities as neighborhoods, sometimes triggered by blockbusting—the intentional placing of an African American in a previously all-white neighborhood to create panic selling for profit—changed their racial characteristics in short periods of time. Legal challenges to the status quo, judicial and legislative, contributed to the out-migration of whites from older urban areas. Although the white flight expanded areas for African Americans, it preserved traditional patterns of racial segregation. All-white suburbs were personified in television programs such as *Ozzie and Harriet*, *Leave It to Beaver*, and *The Dick Van Dyke Show*.

White flight became a particular problem in the wake of school desegregation decisions in the 1970s. Mandatory busing programs in cities such as Norfolk, Virginia, and Boston, Massachusetts, were given special examination, especially as to whether they were being counterproductive in achieving desegregation. While some used the trends to argue against forced busing, others maintained that metropolitan solutions were the only remedy for white flight. To a great extent, the debate over racial factors in changing school demographics mirrored the older debate about race and residence, with the same divergent results.

The last third of the twentieth century saw a replication of urban white settlement patterns as middle-class African Americans began to suburbanize. In part, the out-migration involved aging inner-ring suburbs which experienced the same type of ecological succession as inner-city neighborhoods did before and after World War II. But enhanced personal incomes and job expectations, improved infrastructure, and cheap gasoline prices allowed increasing numbers of blacks to become suburban home owners, a trend reflected in the 1980s television program *The Cosby Show*. In some cases, suburban white flight was matched by equally affluent blacks interested in the same personal safety, good schools, and aesthetics. Overall, the percentages of suburban blacks remained below urban averages, but African Americans became more of a factor in the suburbs than they ever had before.

Demographic studies in the 1990s have revealed a slower pace of racial turnover in metropolitan areas as some whites return to the cities in a process known as gentrification. The trends induced some observers to speculate that the radical racial changes of the postwar decades may have been temporary, especially in the older and larger northeastern and midwestern cities. Others theorize that small rural towns are benefitting from a new form of white flight as whites from large cities and their surrounding suburbs create a new rural renaissance. Los Angeles and New York City lost over one million domestic migrants (many replaced by foreign immigrants, not black) each in the 1990s while the greatest domestic migration gains during the decade occurred in predominately white, non-metropolitan areas such as the Mountain states, south Atlantic states, Texas, and the Ozarks. If the patterns continue, these scholars predict the traditional city-suburb model of white flight may have to be replaced by a urban-rural dichotomy. “The Ozzies and Harriets of the 1990s are bypassing the suburbs or big cities in favor of more livable, homogenous small towns and rural areas,” according to University of Michigan

demographer William H. Frey. Perhaps they aspire to another all-white 1960s television program, *The Andy Griffith Show*.

—Richard Digby-Junger

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## White, Stanford (1853-1906)

On July 25, 1906, Harry Thaw walked into the fashionable cabaret restaurant—the Roof Garden at Madison Square Garden—and shot and killed the architect Stanford White, who was dining with his lover, Mrs. Evelyn Nesbit Thaw. Thaw claimed that he had been driven to the murder by the knowledge that White had "ruined" his wife, a 22-year-old "Floradora" girl who had been involved in a sexual relationship with White since she was 16. After two sensational trials, Thaw (an heir to old Pittsburgh railroad money as well as a wife-beater) was acquitted by a jury who agreed that the cuckolded husband's murderous jealousy was justified. The sensational story of the fatal Nesbit/White/Thaw triangle was dramatized in a 1955 movie entitled *The Girl in the Red Velvet Swing*. White kept the infamous swing in his studio to use in his well-orchestrated and numerous seductions. According to his family, it was White who coined and popularized the sexual-innuendo-laden invitation "come up and see my etchings."

—Jackie Hatton

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## White Supremacists

In a country of immigrants, white supremacy has been a curious and lasting preoccupation. Not just African Americans, but Catholics, Eastern Europeans, Italians, Jews, and all races not of Western European origin have been singled out as inferior at one time or another in United States history. But where did such behavior come from, and why do so many continue to cling to such a backward creed? The simplest answer is that racism and racist organizations provide a comprehensive world view in times of social turmoil, a way to interpret changes in social mores and often mystifying economic setbacks. But this is not enough. In virtually every country, bigotry exists, but in ostensibly classless, egalitarian America, it remains one of the most paradoxical features of our social landscape.

Until recently, white supremacy was very much the norm. At the turn of the twentieth century, most labor unions were overtly racist, as were many social activists of a radical stripe. The author Jack London was both a socialist and white supremacist, preaching the brotherhood of workers, provided they were lily white. It was London who first coined the term "great white hope" in articles beseeching a challenger to step forward against Jack Johnson, the black heavyweight boxing champion. In London's view—and he was regarded as a progressive—African Americans and Chinese ranked as hardly human. For the more conventional, the truth of racism was hardly given a second thought; it was self-evident.

Like religious mania or consumer habits, white supremacy is not a constant, but is inherently tied to historical conditions. It is a consolation in times of trouble, and a rationale in times of prosperity. In the 1920s, it was tied to the growing antipathy between city and country; during the Depression, it became inextricably linked to anti-Communism and opposition to Roosevelt's New Deal. Father Coughlin, a virulent anti-Communist radio personality, and William Pelley, leader of the fascist Silver Shirts, were both vocal enemies of the New Deal, and each embraced racist nationalism to explain the country's ills.

The world-wide Jewish conspiracy theory imported by Henry Ford in his *Dearborn Independent* had been integrated into supremacist beliefs during the 1920s. The next development was a theological justification for their beliefs. Soon after the conclusion of World War II, California preacher and Klansman Wesley Swift latched onto a racist Christian theology known as British Israelism. Swift renamed the theology Christian Identity. Exponents of British Israelism believe that the lost tribe of Israel immigrated to Britain; hence, Anglo Saxons were inherently superior, and were in fact God's chosen people. Christian Identity proved to be a popular idea, and under Swift's tutelage, the belief spread to Idaho, Michigan, and the South. Almost every supremacist group after World War II has in some way been influenced by Christian Identity, with Swift followers forming the Aryan Nation, Posse Comitatus, and the Minutemen, the most committed among the later waves of white supremacists.

By the 1960s, white supremacy was a vigorous movement. Lurking behind the Goldwater far right, white supremacists wielded enormous influence and political power. Frightened by a world that appeared out of control, many Americans found solace in the strident rhetoric of the American Nazi Party or the Minutemen. The publications of the Liberty Lobby and the John Birchers clearly explicated this dissatisfaction. The Ku Klux Klan mobilized visibly, and sometimes violently, against desegregation activists white and black alike; militia-like cells organized in the Midwest, and the John Birch Society, while professing no racist sentiment, actively supported the

supremacist ideology through their political activities. As manifested in the 1964 presidential campaign of Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater, the openly racist platform of Governor George Wallace in his 1968 and 1972 primary campaigns, and Ronald Reagan's 1968 gubernatorial race, white supremacy was a force to be reckoned with.

Political positions and economic conditions go hand in hand, as any student of Hitler's rise to power will attest. In 1970s America, a rash of bank foreclosures and declining agricultural prices sent tremors of fear across the heartland. In many places thus stricken, groups like the Posse Comitatus, an organization vocally opposed to the Federal government, often organized to combat what was perceived as unfair bank practices by rigging auctions and seizing land and equipment, sometimes provoking gun battles between law enforcement and farmers. In the declining industrial areas, the loss of lucrative union jobs swelled the ranks of the unemployed, mobilizing soldiers in a new racial movement; they called it the Fifth Era. Groups like WAR (White Aryan Resistance) mobilized around white unrest, often reaping a tidy profit with marketing schemes and paraphernalia. Complete segregation was the goal most frequently advocated, and terrorism and paramilitary training the preferred method to attain it. Many groups published detailed maps that limited minorities to gerrymandered homelands. In Idaho, the quasi-military group The Order took a more direct approach, pulling off several profitable armed robberies (dispensing the proceeds among many supremacist groups) and murdering Denver talk-show host Alan Berg. The group was finally eradicated by the FBI, but not before they had distributed much of their illicit bounty, and there is evidence that their crimes have financed several campaigns and training camps.

Meanwhile, a new generation of disenchanting, working-class youth, having seen their parents lose a farm or well-paid factory job, had adopted the skinhead style and rhetoric of British youth, compensating for their helplessness with acts of racially motivated violence. For a time, skinhead gangs enjoyed a high visibility, and just as quickly, they learned the disadvantages of that conspicuity. Harassment by the police was a constant, and by the 1990s, skinhead leaders were urging their dome-headed minions to grow their hair and recede quietly.

It is easy to picture white supremacy as a marginal ideology. This would be a mistake. White supremacy is hydra-headed, springing up in unexpected places. Many supremacists, like David Duke, for example, have tempered their rhetoric sufficiently to win public office. Other groups cloak their agendas under neutral-sounding names like the League of Conservative Citizens, who made headlines in 1998 after Republican Senator Trent Lott addressed the group on several occasions and then was forced to disassociate from the group and their openly racist agenda. While the constant splintering off of the many organizations makes it difficult to ascertain how many active supremacists there are or how much political clout they wield, it can be safely asserted that White supremacy has become a permanent feature of the socio-political terrain.

—Michael Baers

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## Whiteman, Paul (1890-1967)

Denver-born bandleader Paul Whiteman is inseparable in American musical culture from George Gershwin's enduring classic, *Rhapsody in Blue*, which he famously commissioned, conducted at its sensational 1924 New York premiere, and recorded the same year. The most popular of all bandleaders prior to the Big Band era, Whiteman was called The King of Jazz, but this was not strictly accurate, despite the jazz-based *Rhapsody in Blue*, his association with several jazz musicians and vocalists, and his discovery and continued espousal of legendary trumpeter Bix Beiderbecke. Whiteman's disciplined arrangements left true jazz musicians little chance for improvisation and, as Wilder Hobson wrote, he "drew very little from the jazz language except for some of its simpler rhythmic patterns." A former violin and viola player with the Denver and San Francisco Symphony orchestras, Whiteman formed his band in 1919 with pianist/arranger Ferde Grofe and trumpeter Henry Busse, and over the next couple of decades unrolled a prodigious and unprecedented number of hits, well over 200 by 1936. The band appeared in Broadway shows and five films, of which the first, *King of Jazz* (1930), featuring *Rhapsody in Blue*, was a creative landmark in the early history of the Hollywood musical. He hosted several radio shows, including his own, during the 1930s, and a television series as late as the 1950s. By 1954, he was ranked second only to Bing Crosby (with whom he worked and recorded) as a best-selling recording artist. Eventually superseded by big band jazz artists such as Fletcher Henderson, Paul Whiteman's Beiderbecke compilations, along with his Gershwin and Crosby recordings, remain his lasting memorial.

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Whiting, Margaret (1924—)

Margaret Whiting, born in 1924, was a child of show business twice over. Her father was songwriter Richard Whiting ("Too

Marvelous for Words,” “On the Good Ship Lollipop”), and after Whiting died when Margaret was still a teenager, songwriter Johnny Mercer became her mentor. Signed to Mercer’s Capitol label in the early 1940s, she had 12 gold records before the rock ‘n’ roll era, including Mercer’s “My Ideal” and her signature song, “Moonlight in Vermont.” One of the first singers to cross Nashville over into Tin Pan Alley, she hit Number One with “Slippin’ Around,” a duet with country star Jimmy Wakely.

A cabaret revival in the 1970s and 1980s gave Whiting a new career as one of New York’s most beloved cabaret performers, on her own and as part of a revue, *4 Girls 4*, with Rosemary Clooney, Rose Marie, and Helen O’Connell. She also starred in a tribute to Johnny Mercer staged by her longtime companion, former gay porn star Jack Wrangler.

—Tad Richards

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## The Who

Still regarded in the late 1990s as one of the greatest rock bands of all time, the Who were bold innovators who changed the face of popular music forever. Having planted the seeds of heavy metal, art rock, punk, and electronica, the Who are almost without peer in their range of influence upon subsequent music. The Who boasted a dynamic singer and stage presence in Roger Daltrey, a powerful virtuoso bassist in John Entwistle, and one of the world’s greatest drummers in the frenetic Keith Moon. But the guiding genius of the Who was guitarist and songwriter Pete Townshend, who wrote and arranged each song, and recorded the guitar, bass, drums, and vocals onto a demo before presenting it to the band to learn and perform.

Born in West London in 1945, Townshend attended Ealing Art school, where he learned about Pop Art and the merging realms of high and low culture. When he formed the Who, he found a suitable audience for this background among a youth subculture called the Mods, who wore Pop Art clothing and sought out stylish new music and amphetamine-driven dance styles. The Who’s manager, Kit Lambert, encouraged the band to adopt the Mod look and write significant songs that would appeal to Mods. Their early hit, “Can’t Explain” (1964) expressed adolescent frustration, followed by the angst-ridden “My Generation” (1965), one of the great rock anthems of the period.

The Who were most famous for outrageous stage performances. Townshend specialized in “windmill” power chords, in which he would swiftly swing his arm 360 degrees before striking a chord. The Who often smashed their instruments at the end of a show, with Townshend shoving his guitar through the amplifier and Moon smashing through the drumskins and kicking over the entire drum set. Despite their commercial success, the Who remained in debt until 1969 because of this expensive habit.

The Who released their first album, *The Who Sing My Generation* in 1965. Their next album, *A Quick One* (1967; renamed *Happy Jack* in America) featured a miniature “rock opera” on side two, a series of five songs narrating a tale of suburban infidelity. *The Who*

*Sell Out* (1968) satirized commercials, again revealing their interest in Pop Art. *Magic Bus* (1968) was the best album of their early period but offered no hint of the grandeur of their next project, a full-scale rock opera. The double album *Tommy* (1969) told the story of a deaf, dumb, and blind boy who, after a miracle cure, becomes a cult leader. The album was influenced by Townshend’s involvement with his guru, Meher Baba. If spirituality was an unexpected theme from the author of teen frustration and masturbation, the music was an equally bold advance, establishing Townshend as a versatile guitarist and ambitious composer. Nevertheless, responses to *Tommy* were mixed, partly due to the difficulty of following the story. Charges of pretentiousness were frequent. The artistic audacity of *Tommy* left the Who with a formidable dilemma—where do you go from here?

The Who followed up the rock opera with the raunchy, visceral *Live at Leeds* (1970), but soon Townshend grew ambitious again, formulating another opera, *Lifehouse*. Eventually the concept was abandoned, and the better half of the songs written for the project were released as *Who’s Next* (1971), which many regard as the greatest rock album ever made. Among its highlights are “Behind Blue Eyes,” “Teenage Wasteland,” and one of the greatest rock songs of all time, “Won’t Get Fooled Again,” a masterpiece of overwhelming power, featuring incredible performances by each band member. *Who’s Next* made innovative use of synthesizers and sequencers, anticipating electronic music, and it established the Who as a major creative power in rock. The following year, Townshend released a solo album, *Who Came First*, devoted to Meher Baba.

Townshend then embarked upon yet another opera, based on the raw passions of youth rather than philosophical ideas. *Quadrophenia* (1973) told the story of the Mods and their rival subculture, the Rockers. The story was simpler than *Tommy* but still rather confusing. However, the Who had grown musically since their first opera. Townshend was a more sophisticated arranger and made greater use of piano (played by himself) and horns (played by Entwistle). *Quadrophenia* was regarded as Townshend’s masterpiece, the definitive expression of adolescent angst, combining the ambitions of *Tommy* with the virtuosity and emotional power of *Who’s Next*. Both *Tommy* and *Quadrophenia* were made into movies, the former an awkward musical starring Daltrey, the latter a gritty drama which helps to explain the album’s plotline, as well as the cultural milieu in which the Who developed. For most Americans, the movie version of *Quadrophenia* is a prerequisite for understanding the album.

The triumph of *Quadrophenia* left the Who in the same quandary that *Tommy* had: where do you go from here? They avoided the question with *Odds & Sods* (1974), a mixture of singles, B-sides, and leftovers from the *Lifehouse* project. For a hodgepodge, it was a fine album. *The Who by Numbers* (1975) was quieter, with thoughtful, introspective lyrics. *Who Are You* (1978) found the Who delivering up-tempo rock again. The lengthy title song was a worthy follow-up to “Won’t Get Fooled Again.” The entire album was reminiscent of *Who’s Next*, packed with powerful songs, and again featuring innovative use of synthesizers. Unfortunately, Keith Moon died shortly afterwards from an overdose of anti-alcoholic medication.

Following this tragedy, Townshend withdrew to record the fascinating *Empty Glass* (1981), his finest solo album. Moon was replaced by Kenny Jones of the Small Faces, and the Who recorded two albums, *Face Dances* (1981) and *It’s Hard* (1982), before breaking up. Then came countless collections of rarities, outtakes, B-sides, demo tapes, etc., testifying to the Who’s enduring popularity, although respect for the group was compromised by the weakness of





Members of the Who (l-r) John Entwistle, Roger Daltry, Pete Townshend, and Keith Moon

the post-Moon albums and by various anticlimactic reunions in the 1980s and 1990s. Townshend remained prolific as a solo artist but tended to rely overmuch on concept albums. He published a book of short stories, *Horse's Neck*, in 1985.

—Douglas Cooke

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## *The Whole Earth Catalogue*

First published in 1968 by Stewart Brand, *The Whole Earth Catalogue* introduced Americans to green consumerism and quickly became the unofficial handbook of the 1960s counter-culture. Winner of the National Book Award and a national best-seller, *TWEC* contained philosophical ideas based in science, holistic living, and metaphysics as well as listings of products that functioned within

these confines. As many Americans sought to turn their backs on America's culture of consumption, *TWEC* offered an alternative paradigm based in values extending across the counterculture.

*TWEC* combined the best qualities of the *Farmer's Almanac* and a Sears catalog, merging wisdom and consumption with environmental activism and expression. The first page declared that "the establishment" had failed and that *TWEC* aimed to supply tools to help an individual "conduct his own education, find his own inspiration, shape his own environment, and share his adventure with whoever is interested." The text offered advice about organic gardening, massage, meditation, or do-it-yourself burial: "Human bodies are an organic part of the whole earth and at death must return to the ongoing stream of life." Many Americans found the resources and rationale within *TWEC* to live as rebels against the American establishment.

Interestingly, Brand did not urge readers to reject consumption altogether. *TWEC* helped to create the consumptive niche known as green consumerism, which seeks to resist products contributing to or deriving from waste or abuse of resources, applications of intrusive technologies, or use of non-natural raw materials. *TWEC* sought to appeal to this niche by offering products such as recycled paper and the rationale for its use. As the trend-setting publication of green

consumption, *TWEC* is viewed by many Americans as having started the movement toward whole grains, healthy living, and the environmentally friendly products that continue to make up a significant portion of all consumer goods. Entire national chains have based themselves around the sale of such goods.

Even though green culture has infiltrated society, Whole Earth continues in the late 1990s as a network of experts who gather information and tools in order to live a better life and, for some, to construct “practical utopias.” *The Millennium Whole Earth Catalog*, for instance, claims to integrate the best ideas of the past twenty-five years with the best for the next, based on *TWEC* standards such as environmental restoration, community-building, whole systems thinking, and medical self-care.

—Brian Black

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## *Wide World of Sports*

“The thrill of victory and the agony of defeat” became one of the most familiar slogans on television for the American Broadcast Company (ABC) sports show that lived up to its title. Beginning as a summer replacement in 1961, *Wide World of Sports* endured into the 1990s, making a household name of original host Jim McKay and launching the domination of ABC in sports and the rise of future ABC Sports and News president Boone Arledge.

Arledge came up with the concept of packaging various sports under this umbrella title and sent Jim McKay to anchor live coverage of two venerable track meets—the Drake Relays from Des Moines, Iowa, and the Penn Relays from Philadelphia—for the inaugural broadcast of the program, on April 29, 1961. *Wide World of Sports* survived its initial 13 weeks and returned every year as a 90-minute program on Saturday afternoons beginning in January, and often expanding to Sundays as well. The opening narration became famous: “Spanning the world to give you the constant variety of sports. The thrill of victory and the agony of defeat, the human drama of athletic competition. This is ABC’s *Wide World of Sports*.”

Early on, *Wide World of Sports* covered many sports that later became separate live broadcast institutions—tennis’s Wimbledon, golf’s British Open, soccer’s World Cup. But *Wide World* made its name with “nontraditional” sports, such as auto racing, boxing, swimming, diving, track and field, gymnastics, and figure skating. The particularly daring and unusual sports drew the most fans: surfing, bodybuilding, World’s Strongest Man competitions, lumberjack contests, cliff divers from Acapulco, the Calgary Stampede rodeo, and most notably, stunt motorcyclist Evel Knievel. Knievel dominated shows of the early 1970s jumping barrels, cars, and busses and nearly making it across the Snake River Canyon on his motorcycle (and by rocket), breaking numerous bones in the process.

The program provided ABC Sports with sports coverage experience that it utilized to cover the Olympics. *Wide World* truly traveled the globe, covering events in Europe and Asia, even Cuba and China. Many of the events were carried live via satellite. The program also developed the style that made Americans sit still and watch unfamiliar

sports and foreign performers such as Russian gymnast Olga Korbut, Brazilian soccer star Pele, or Russian weightlifter Vasily Alekseev. The “up close and personal” features emphasizing the life stories of the athletes grew out *Wide World of Sports* and revolutionized sports coverage. After *Wide World*, sports coverage became storytelling rather than simply showing games and scores. The success of the Olympics propelled ABC out of its low ratings status into a respectable television network and Boone Arledge into a position as the head of ABC Sports and ABC News.

During the 1970s, *Wide World of Sports* became a brand name, and its most famous image was set: the “agony of defeat.” While the “thrill of victory” changed almost every year, “the agony of defeat” was forever symbolized by hapless Yugoslavian ski jumper, Vinko Bogataj, whose spectacular wipeout was taped in 1970.

By the end of the 1980s, *Wide World of Sports* lost its prominence, as cable network ESPN became a superior ratings grabber as the ultimate sports show—24 hours a day of the type of sports coverage that *Wide World* pioneered. ESPN’s rise was ironic, as it was partly owned by ABC.

In the 1990s, McKay left the role of studio host to a succession of other ABC Sports personalities including Al Michaels and Julie Moran. On January 3, 1998, McKay declared that *Wide World of Sports* was canceled; the hour-and-a-half of all sorts of sports was replaced by a studio host introducing single event broadcasts such as the Indy 500, horse racing’s Triple Crown, and the national and world championships in figure skating.

—Michele Lellouche

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## *The Wild Bunch*

*The Wild Bunch* (1969) was the definitive film, and only true epic, by one of Hollywood’s greatest directors, Sam Peckinpah; and when it came to movie violence, it set the bar higher than it had ever been set before. Earlier Westerns had good guys and bad guys as clearly demarcated as the sides in World War II, but *The Wild Bunch* came out during the Vietnam War, and it better reflected that war in both its complexity and carnage. Arthur Penn’s *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967), which ended with its two protagonists being riddled by bullets, was the first major Hollywood film to show graphic violence—to suggest that shooting someone had consequences, that it was messy and painful—but nothing could have prepared 1960s audiences for the hundreds of deaths, the wave after wave of unrelenting carnage—shown in slow motion and freeze-frame sequences—that climaxed *The Wild Bunch*. Seven years before the film premiered, Peckinpah was deer hunting when he shot a buck and was struck by the fact that the bullet going in was the size of a dime, yet the blood on the snow was the size of a bowling ball. He concluded that was the

way violence and death were, and that was what he wanted to put on film. During filming, Peckinpah had the technicians lay thin slices of raw steak across the bags of stage blood, so when they exploded it looked like the bullets were ripping out of bodies mixed with blood and chunks of flesh. “Listen,” Peckinpah said, “killing is no fun. I was trying to show what the hell it’s like to get shot.” He believed people would shun violence if he showed what violence was really like.

But violence in movies without flesh-and-blood characters (see almost any slasher film) is meaningless. Fortunately, Peckinpah had great characters, played by superb actors, in a strong story, acted out before beautiful vistas gorgeously photographed. As the movie opens, the audience sees a tiny band of soldiers riding into a small town, then walking into the local railroad office, as scruffy, armed men flit back and forth on the rooftops overhead. It looks as though the bad guys are about to ambush the good guys, though the reverse is true. The railroad office manager asks the lead soldier, Bishop Pike (William Holden), “May I help you?” and Pike grabs the manager, pulls him out of his chair, shoves him and another against the wall, and tells the other soldiers, “If they move . . . kill ‘em!” These aren’t really soldiers at all, but the Wild Bunch in disguise, and the men on the roof are bounty hunters, there to ambush the outlaws and collect the prices

on their heads. Leading the bounty hunters is former Wild Bunch member Deke Thornton (Robert Ryan)—whose feud with Pike stems from the time they were busted by Pinkerton agents, with Thornton being shot and captured and Pike running away. Realizing they’re about to be ambushed, the Wild Bunch times its departure to coincide with the passing of a parade of temperance marchers, and the resulting carnage is fairly intense.

The gang escapes to Mexico with the bounty hunters in hot pursuit. In the town of Agua Verde they cross paths with Mapache, a ruthless general at war with revolutionary Pancho Villa who has been oppressing the local natives, even murdering the father and stealing the fiancée of the Wild Bunch’s one Mexican member, Angel. The gang agrees to rob a military supply train loaded with munitions for Mapache in exchange for gold, and the robbery itself is a slickly done caper, a Western *Topkapi!* Worried about helping Mapache get more guns, Angel agrees to participate if, instead of gold, he can take one case of guns for the revolutionaries. But Mapache finds out, and when the gang returns to Agua Verde to trade the arms for the gold, Mapache keeps Angel. At the end, the remaining outlaws decide to rescue Angel, and their fight against the soldiers provides the climactic bloodshed.



A scene from the film *The Wild Bunch*, with (l to r) Ben Johnson, Warren Oates, William Holden, and Ernest Borgnine.

More complex than it first appears, *The Wild Bunch* is ultimately about redemption. Early in the film, Pike tells a gang member who wants to kill another, “We’re gonna stick together, just like it used to be. When you side with a man you stay with him, and if you can’t do that you’re like some animal, you’re finished!—we’re finished!—all of us!” Yet Pike betrays this code again and again. During the original railroad office job, when Crazy Lee (Bo Hopkins) tells Pike he’ll hold the hostages until Pike says different, Pike just leaves him behind to die. This is brought home when Pike’s oldest friend, Sykes (Edmund O’Brien), tells Pike that Crazy Lee is his grandson. When another gang member is wounded and might slow them down, Pike shoots him; even Sykes himself is expendable when he becomes wounded. At first, Angel is abandoned to Mapache and his men, but Pike has finally had enough, and, against impossible odds, he and the rest of the Wild Bunch decide to redeem themselves. They go down in a blaze of glory—and, joining the revolutionaries, the one remaining gang member and the one remaining bounty hunter ride off to fight the good fight.

—Bob Sullivan

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## Wild Kingdom

The first television program to help Americans visualize distant life and consider ways they might help, *Wild Kingdom* became a crucial tool in the formation of America’s environmental consciousness and particularly in the movement’s shift toward global concerns. Mutual of Omaha’s *Wild Kingdom* has served as Americans’ window to the exotic species of the natural world since the 1960s. In the tradition of *National Geographic*, host Marlon Perkins traveled throughout the world sending back images of danger and intrigue. Perkins’s pursuit of animals in their natural surroundings contributed to the interest in “eco tourism” in which the very wealthy now travel to various portions of the world not to shoot big game but only to view it. *Wild Kingdom* continues production and has spawned an entire genre of television, particularly for young viewers.

—Brian Black

## The Wild One

The camera looks down a stretch of straight country highway, then in bold, white letters appears the following: “This is a shocking story. It could never take place in most American towns—but it did in



Marlon Brando in *The Wild One*.

this one. It is a public challenge not to let it happen again.” The words fade away to be replaced by Marlon Brando’s voice speaking in a southern drawl. “It begins for me on this road,” he says. “How the whole mess happened I don’t know, but I know it couldn’t happen again in a million years. Maybe I coulda stopped it early, but once the trouble was on its way, I was just going with it.” A crowd of leather-clad motorcyclists roar past the camera, and with the confident declaration that what follows is an aberration, Stanley Kramer launched *The Wild One* in 1954. The truth of the matter is somewhat more complicated, for not only did the film incite a rash of copy-cat behavior, but may have had an affect on the Hell’s Angels’ delectations a decade later.

*The Wild One* derives from a real riot, following a large motorcycle rally in the Northern California town of Hollister. According to witnesses, six to eight thousand participants drag-raced up and down the streets of Hollister; fist-fights, lewd behavior, and vandalism were the norm, but the event was eventually dispatched by 29 policemen and it ended without a single loss of life. The coverage in the July 1947 issue of *Life* magazine was sufficiently lurid and alarmist, and it inspired Frank Rooney to turn the incident into a short story, “The Cyclists’ Raid.” Rooney told the story from the point of view of Joel Bleeker, a hotel manager (and significantly, a World War II veteran) who witnesses his daughter’s death at the hands of the cyclists. Bleeker views the motorcyclists as inhuman quasi-fascists, but in its transition from story to film, sympathies were switched. The hero became Johnny (Marlon Brando), leader of the Black Rebels Motorcycle Club, who is sullen and incommunicative, but also reserved and possessing a degree of chivalry lacking in his compatriots.

The rioting itself is transformed in typical Hollywood fashion into a Manichean contest between Johnny and his dissipated rival, Chino (Lee Marvin), who, to make matters perfectly clear, wears a horizontal striped sweatshirt closely resembling prison garb. After gratuitously interfering in a local motorcycle race, the bikers proceed to the nearby town of Carbondale where they cause all manner of havoc, prompted in part by the local saloon owner, who all but rubs his hands in excitement at the prospect of a bar full of hard-drinking motorcyclists. The tension between locals and bikers, already tense after a notoriously bad driver hits one of the bikers, is further exacerbated by the arrival of Chino and his cohorts. As the motorcyclists begin to run genuinely amuck, the town's craven police officer cowers in his office while his daughter, Kathy, is accosted by the bikers, rescued by Johnny who drives off with her, and is thus absent from the ensuing carnage. Nonetheless, as the leader he is blamed by the townspeople, locked up, and when he escapes, knocked off his motorcycle as he flees, accidentally killing an elderly man, and then is unjustly accused of the killing.

Despite the rather thin story line—the *New Yorker* magazine called it “a picture that tries to grasp an idea even though the reach falls short”—*The Wild One* was an instant hit with young audiences. Theater owners throughout the country reported that teenage boys had taken to dressing in leather jackets and boots like Marlon Brando and accosting passersby. The pioneering members of the Hell's Angels (most of the group that later came to notoriety were children at the time) identified deeply with Brando. “Whatta ya got?” was Brando's insouciant reply to the famous question, “Hey Johnny, what are you rebelling against?” and it echoed in the real-life outlaws inchoate dissatisfaction. “We went up to the Fox Theater on Market Street,” a founding member told journalist Hunter S. Thompson. “There were about fifty of us, with jugs of wine and our black leather jackets . . . We sat up there in the balcony and smoked cigars and drank wine and cheered like bastards. We could all see ourselves right there on the screen. We were all Marlon Brando.”

Much of the lasting allure of *The Wild One* stems from Brando's lionization by not only the Hell's Angels, but by countless teenagers. In “The Cyclists' Raid,” Rooney had written: “They were all alike. They were standardized figurines, seeking in each other a willful loss of identity, dividing themselves equally among one another until there was only a single mythical figure, unspeakably sterile and furnishing the norm for hundreds of others.” In light of the Hell's Angels' response to *The Wild One* as quoted above, and considering the way Marlon Brando's image was disseminated on posters, in books, and turned into an archetype, it is no wonder many blamed *The Wild One* for the Hell's Angels' excesses a decade later. Hollywood gossip columnist Hedda Hopper blamed Kramer entirely for the whole outlaw phenomenon, and Frank Rooney might well have identified Marlon Brando as that “single mythical figure furnishing the norm for hundreds of others.”

It would be simplistic to blame the filmmaker and leading man for a real life contagion, but the suspicion remains to this day. Perhaps Hunter S. Thompson put it best when he wrote that the film “told a story that was only beginning to happen and which was inevitably influenced by the film. It gave the outlaws a lasting, romance-glazed image of themselves, a coherent reflection that only a very few had been able to find in a mirror, and it quickly became the bike-rider's answer to *The Sun Also Rises*.”

—Michael Baers

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## Wilder, Billy (1906—)

Born Samuel Wilder in an Austrian village, this six-time Academy Award winning director, screenwriter, and producer was dubbed Billy after Buffalo Bill of the 1880s traveling western show. That American nickname apparently foretold, in the wake of the Nazi rise to power, his 1934 emigration to Hollywood where he joined fellow European exiles, learned English, and cultivated a legendary career that indelibly marked American movie history. With partner Charles Brackett, he co-wrote acclaimed comedies like *Ball of Fire* (1941), then scripted, directed, and produced a string of hugely popular films, including the quintessential film noir *Double Indemnity* (1944), and *The Lost Weekend* (1945). Their alliance culminated with the savage portrayal of Hollywood in *Sunset Boulevard* (1950). With I.A.L. Diamond, Wilder created *Some Like it Hot* (1959) and *The Apartment* (1960). His self-produced works more flagrantly expressed his cynicism and penchant for vulgarity with *Ace in the Hole* (1951), betraying a jaded sensibility ahead of its times.

—Elizabeth Haas

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## Wilder, Laura Ingalls (1867-1957)

One of the best-known children's authors, Laura Ingalls Wilder wrote the popular, autobiographical “Little House” novels about her

late-nineteenth-century childhood on the American frontier. Published in the 1930s and 1940s, these eight books were considered classics of children's literature by the 1950s and have appealed to every succeeding generation of readers who thirsted for nostalgia.

The second of four daughters of Charles and Caroline Ingalls, a post-Civil War American pioneering family, Wilder began writing in childhood. Laura and her sisters penned poetry and compositions in the many homes the Ingalls family built in the wilderness. Her writing permitted her to have a voice, public and private, denied to many nineteenth-century women and provided a way to release her frustrations, disappointments, and enthusiasms during her life as pioneer, teacher, wife, mother, farmer, businesswoman, and author. Wilder continued her writing after she married her husband Almanzo in 1885. Keeping a travel diary of their 1894 trip to Mansfield, Missouri, Wilder submitted it for publication to the *De Smet News*, where both of her younger sisters worked as journalists. Distracted by farm duties and volunteer work in her community, Wilder did not write seriously until 1911 when she began preparing essays about farm life for the *Missouri Ruralist*.

The fictional Laura was adventurous and inquisitive yet compliant to the culture she lived in, obediently silencing herself and being still to please her Pa. She was predictable, providing steadiness to her readers. The real Laura craved such stability. Accustomed to economic and physical hardships, Wilder persevered despite her son's death, her husband's disability from disease, conflicts with her strong-willed daughter, crop failures and debt, and the misogyny and anti-intellectualism of her patriarchal community. Ambitious and intelligent, she ensured that the couple's farm, Rocky Ridge, survived while asserting her individuality. Known as Bessie to her family, she became Laura Ingalls Wilder only in the last part of her life. This pen name represented a professional woman whom few people actually knew. The author Laura Ingalls Wilder answered fan mail, received awards, and signed books, while Bessie Wilder was an ordinary woman who performed her daily chores, read her Bible, attended club meetings, supported the local library, visited with friends, and cared for her ailing husband.

Wilder's daughter, Rose, an accomplished writer, encouraged her to write about her family's adventures on the frontier. Wilder completed her first attempt, *Pioneer Girl*, in 1930. In this novel, Laura narrated her story from childhood to marriage, but no publisher was interested. With Rose's help, Wilder rewrote her manuscript to meet literary expectations, dividing the novel into eight stories and presenting it in third person. Her publisher suggested that she make her characters two years older than they really were to appeal to adolescent readers. Although the books were presented as what Laura remembered, the early stories about events during her infancy were actually her parents' memories. Originally titled *When Grandma Was a Little Girl*, Wilder's first book, *Little House in the Big Woods*, was published in 1932 and was followed by *Farmer Boy* (1933), *Little House on the Prairie* (1935), *On the Banks of Plum Creek* (1937), *By the Shores of Silver Lake* (1939), *The Long Winter* (1940), *Little Town on the Prairie* (1941), and *These Happy Golden Years* (1943). (A manuscript for a story of Wilder's early years of marriage was found after her death. Edited by Roger Lea MacBride, *The First Four Years* was published in 1971.) Critics and readers immediately accepted her books, and the volumes sold well despite the Depression. The values of home, love, and personal courage formed an image of rural serenity

that fulfilled readers' need for comfort and a connection to a past that they believed was simpler and happier than contemporary times.

Scholars noted the books' archetypes: Pa was the dreamer and provider, while Ma was the civilizer and stabilizer. Laura was a blend of her parents. The Ingalls were praised for being spiritual, hard working, and resourceful, enduring tragedy while constantly moving in their covered wagon and homesteading virgin land. Aspects of nineteenth-century American culture were provided through the songs Pa sang, the items they purchased in stores, and the books and magazines the women read. Scholars have criticized the patriarchal, domestic, and materialistic messages of Wilder's books and denounced the characters' racism toward Native Americans and minorities. The women were often isolated and confined to homes, while men were active participants with the outside world. Laura faced conflicts between her need for individual freedom and expression, and self-sacrifice and obedience for the good of her family.

Wilder stressed that she wrote her stories to provide history lessons for new generations of children who no longer could experience the frontier and disappearing prairie that metaphorically offered hope, prosperity, and renewal. In so doing, she sparked a cultural phenomenon. Fans have dressed as Little House characters, collected memorabilia, and visited Laura Ingalls Wilder heritage sites. The Laura Ingalls Wilder-Rose Wilder Lane Home and Museum in Mansfield, Missouri, houses many items, such as Pa's fiddle, which are featured in the books. Bookstores sell adaptations of Wilder's stories, including series about Ma's and Roses's childhoods. The commercialization of Laura Ingalls Wilder has meant that fans can buy Little House dolls, T-shirts, cookbooks, videos, diaries, and calendars. Wilder's books never have been out of print, and edited versions of her periodical writing and letters are also available. Foreign readers have also identified with Wilder's universal themes; her books have been published in 40 languages, and Internet sites connect Wilder fans around the globe.

The American Library Association initiated the Laura Ingalls Wilder Medal for accomplishments in children's literature in 1954. A television series, *Little House on the Prairie* (1974-1983), unrealistically portrayed Wilder's life but was popular during an era when the Bicentennial and Alex Haley's book *Roots* revived Americans' interest in the past. A Broadway musical, *Prairie*, ran in 1982, and a Little House movie was in production in 1998.

—Elizabeth D. Schafer

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## Wilder, Thornton (1897-1975)

Thornton Wilder, with an enthusiasm for experimentation and keen observation of human experience, enlivened the American literary scene in the middle years of the twentieth century. He received numerous awards, including the first Presidential Medal of Freedom, and two Pulitzer Prizes for drama—*Our Town* (1938) and *The Skin of Our Teeth* (1943). In 1927 he received his first Pulitzer Prize for his novel, *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* (1923), which established his reputation as a leading novelist. One of his most popular plays—*The Matchmaker* (1956)—became the mega-musical *Hello, Dolly*, an international box office success. Gertrude Stein became a close friend and influence during his last 12 years of major work. In 1997, one hundred years after his birth, cultural festivals throughout America celebrated the enormous talent of a man whose command of the classics was so great he was nicknamed, “The Library.”

—Joan Gajadhar

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## Will, George F. (1941—)

Political commentator, columnist, and amateur baseball historian, George F. Will is known for the way he imparts a conservative spin to his opinions about the intersection of American culture and politics in the closing years of the twentieth century. Best known for his syndicated column in the *Washington Post* and for his regular contributions to *Newsweek*, Will is also a frequent panelist on televised political commentary programs, such as ABC's *This Week with David Brinkley*. As R. Emmett Tyrell Jr. wrote in his review of *The Leveling Wind: Politics, the Culture, and Other News, 1990-1994*, “George F. Will has always been a sober, civilized man with serious political principles buttressed by wise historical thoughts.”

Born in Champaign, Illinois, in 1941, George F. Will was educated at Trinity College (B.A. 1962), Magdalene College of Oxford University (B.A. 1964), and Princeton University (M.A., Ph.D. 1967). Several collections of Will's newspaper and magazine columns have been published including: *Suddenly: The American Idea Abroad and at Home, 1986-1990*; *The Morning After: American Successes and Excesses, 1981-1986*; *The Pursuit of Virtue and Other Tory Notions*; and *The Pursuit of Happiness, and Other Sobering Thoughts*. One of Will's biggest crusades has been against big government, notably as a supporter for term limitations for U.S. Senators and Representatives. Reflective of public frustration with the American political system during the 1980s and 1990s, Will consistently pushed for term limits believing, as Peter Knupfer notes



George F. Will

in the *Journal of American History*, these limits will “restore democratic institutions to deliberative processes and to leadership by public-spirited amateurs” who are more interested in the public good than in political careers. Will's writings on term limits are found in numerous columns and in one book, *Restoration: Congress, Term Limits, and the Recovery of Deliberative Democracy*.

Although he generally adopts a conservative position, he is by no means a typical Republican looking to either weaken government or weaken the Democratic Party. As a self-styled conservative, Will reshaped the way people viewed the spectrum of American political thought by insisting that conservatives move away from narrow self-interest toward an interest in the public good. Will's thought urges conservatives to reconsider their assumptions and adopt ideas steeped in the “tradition of U.S. socio-political thought: the relation of individuals to the larger community, the ways of nurturing a dynamic democracy and the proper role of government,” in the words of Marilyn Thie in *America*. From this position, Will wrote many columns on what he saw as wasteful government spending, government inefficiency, and political gridlock. Will came to believe one of the biggest problems for American culture was the public's heavy reliance on—and demands on—its government. If the government is misfiring in itself, then its ability to serve the public is highly problematic, Will believed.

Beyond his primary focus on politics and American culture, Will also wrote on a range of subjects that included pornography, journalistic ethics, advertising, the environment, and especially the game of baseball. Relating the myths of American life, such as the American

dream and the great American pastime, to the realities of contemporary American life remains one of Will's contributions to cultural discourse. Besides several columns for a variety of periodicals, his book publications on the myths of American baseball include *Bunts: Curt Flood, Camden Yards, Pete Rose, and Other Reflections on Baseball* (1998) and *Men at Work: The Craft of Baseball* (1990).

—Randall McClure

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## Williams, Andy (1930—)

One of the great middle-of-the-road singers of the mid-twentieth century, Andy Williams is among the very few whose popularity survived the onset of rock 'n' roll in the 1950s. Howard Andrew Williams was born in the small town of Wall Lake, Iowa, the last of a set of four brothers. The Williams Brothers formed a singing group while Andy was still a child, and were regularly employed on radio from 1938. The family relocated several times to facilitate the

Williams Brothers' obtaining new radio contracts. At various times they lived in Des Moines, Chicago, Cincinnati, and southern California. The two older brothers were drafted in the last days of World War Two, and Andy Williams spent a comparatively calm period finishing high school in Los Angeles.

In 1947 the foursome regrouped, joining with a new partner, Kay Thompson. They played a wide variety of clubs over the next several years, including a tour of Europe, before disbanding in 1953; the brothers went their separate ways professionally. Andy Williams landed a regular job on Steve Allen's *Tonight Show* from 1954 to 1957, singing and taking part in Allen's manic clowning, five nights a week. The year 1957 saw Williams hosting a summer replacement television program on NBC; he also had summer shows on ABC in 1958 and on CBS the following year. From 1962 to 1967, and again from 1969 to 1971, Williams had his own highly successful series on NBC. At various times his supporting cast included Dick Van Dyke, Jonathan Winters, Ray Stevens, and the Osmond Brothers. His program was noteworthy in that Williams was always willing to have competing singers—major personalities such as Bobby Darin or Robert Goulet—make guest appearances on his show.

Williams' recording career, benefitting from his national exposure on the *Tonight Show*, was a hit from the start. He recorded for the Cadence label until 1962, when he switched to the larger Columbia Records. His recording career had actually started much earlier, however, in 1944, when he was picked to sing "Swingin' on a Star" with Bing Crosby. Williams had several million-selling singles in the 1950s, including "The Village of St. Bernadette," "Canadian Sunset," and "The Hawaiian Wedding Song." His version of "Butterfly" was the number-one record in America for three weeks in the spring of 1957.

The song most closely identified with Williams, 1961's "Moon River," was never a hit for him. However, it so perfectly suited his smooth voice and mellow delivery that it became his signature song, and served as his television theme from 1962 onwards. His popularization of the Henry Mancini-written "Moon River" (from *Breakfast at Tiffany's*) was not lost on the composer; Andy Williams was invited to sing the theme for the 1963 film *Days of Wine and Roses*, another important Mancini work. Williams' LP of the same name was one of the six top-selling albums of 1963. Major hits were rare for Williams after that year, his last being the theme from *Love Story* in 1971. His albums, television work, and live concerts all remained quite successful.

Williams became a noted collector of art in the late 1950s. He has built a well-regarded private collection of Impressionist and modern paintings, located in his Manhattan home. In 1961 he married a nineteen-year-old Folies-Bergère showgirl, Claudine Longet, whom he met during her show's stay in Las Vegas. Longet unsuccessfully pursued careers in music and acting for years. The two separated in 1970, divorcing in 1975. The following year she fatally shot her long-time lover, professional skier Spider Sabich, in their Colorado home. Williams, who remained close to his ex-wife after the breakup of their marriage, was publicly supportive of Longet throughout her trial and the attendant media circus.

In addition to his highly rated variety program, which he ended in 1971, Williams is known for hosting numerous seasonal television specials. He is an avid golfer, and the host of the annual Andy Williams Open golf tournament. In 1992 he opened his own theater in Branson, Missouri, considered the second city of country music after Nashville. Andy Williams' Moon River Theatre there is one of the





Andy Williams and Ann Sothern (foreground) dancing during a rehearsal for the *Andy Williams Show*.

more popular attractions, providing live music shows for many of the millions of tourists who visit Branson each year.

—David Lonergan

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## Williams, Bert (1874-1922)

Known during his lifetime as “the funniest man in America,” Egbert Austin “Bert” Williams enjoyed fame as the straight man and ballad singer of the African American comedy team of Williams and

Walker. Williams met his partner, George Walker, in San Francisco in 1893, when he began performing in order to finance his studies at Stanford University. They worked their way to New York, where in 1896 they appeared in Victor Herbert’s *Gold Bug*. The two performed in such musical comedy hits as *The Sons of Ham* (1900), *In Dahomey* (1902), *Abyssinia* (1905), and *Bandanna Land* (1907). When Walker retired, Williams starred in *Mr. Lode of Koal* (1909) then performed with Florenz Ziegfeld’s *Follies* from 1910 to 1919. In 1920 Williams joined Eddie Cantor in *Broadway Brevities*. Williams was admired for impeccable comedic timing and pantomimes. He died in 1922 after opening in *Under the Bamboo Tree*.

—Susan Curtis

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## Williams, Hank, Jr. (1949—)

Perhaps no one has ever been simultaneously such a major star and so much in the shadow of his father as Hank Williams, Jr. As an eight-year-old, Williams began his career as an imitator of his deceased father, then still the biggest name in country music. Ultimately trading on the fact that his name made it impossible for the country establishment to reject him, he was to become perhaps the most significant force in bringing rock music into country.

In an industry that has never been ashamed of exploitation, young Williams was shamelessly exploited. Between the ages of eight and fourteen, he played fifty shows a year, singing his father's songs. By the time he was in his mid-teens, he was signed to MGM Records, his father's old label, and he was recording overdubbed duets with his father; he even overdubbed the singing for George Hamilton in *Your Cheatin' Heart*, a movie biography of Hank, Sr.

By the time he was in his late teens, Williams was drinking heavily; he felt utterly trapped inside a musical world that was making less and less sense to him. He was listening to the rock and roll of his generation—Chuck Berry, Fats Domino, and Elvis Presley—and thinking about the kind of music he really wanted to play. At 23, with his first marriage breaking up, Williams attempted suicide.



Hank Williams, Jr.

As part of his recovery, he left Nashville and moved to Alabama. He began to work seriously on developing his own music. In August 1975, after finishing work on what was to be a landmark country rock album, *Hank Williams, Jr. and Friends*, he took a vacation in Montana, and suffered a devastating accident: a near-fatal fall down a mountain virtually tore his face off.

After extensive physical therapy and plastic surgery to reconstruct his face, Williams returned to music with an absolute determination to create his own, rock-oriented kind of sound. A new country audience—one that had opened up to the “outlaw” sounds of Willie Nelson and Waylon Jennings—was ready for him. After a few modest successes, the highest-charting being his cover version of Bobby Fuller’s “I Fought the Law,” he reached his stride in 1979 with a song that looked back at the past at the same time it snarled with the beat and attitude of rock. The song was “Family Tradition,” and it was highly autobiographical. In it Williams was asked, “Why do you drink, and why do you roll smoke, and why do you live out the songs that Hank wrote?” Williams responded that he was simply carrying on a family tradition.

This proved to be a winning formula for Williams. Many of his subsequent hits were autobiographical. In one, he asks an operator to put him through to Cloud Number Nine so he can talk to his father. In “All My Rowdy Friends Have Settled Down,” he remembers the wildness of Nashville in the 1970s. Established as a major star in his own right by the mid-1980s, he was able to use his preoccupation with his father and his family history to successful record Hank Williams, Sr., hits like “Honky Tonkin’.” In 1987, he even performed a duet with his father on a newly discovered, never released recording of a song called “There’s a Tear in My Beer.” Williams also released a video duet, in which his image is inserted into an old kinescope of his father. Since Williams, Sr. had never performed “There’s a Tear in My Beer” for the cameras, a film was used in which he sings “Hey, Good Lookin’” with his mouth electronically doctored to lip-synch the words of the other song.

At the same time, Williams continued to be a major force in bringing rock into country, and making it an important part of the new country sound. In his semi-anthem 1988 hit, “Young Country,” he reminds his listeners that “We [the new generation of country performers] like old Waylon, and we like Van Halen.” At the time, this was still a significant statement, and one that it took a child of traditional country like Williams to make. A few years later, the rockers themselves had become the country music establishment, with megastars like Garth Brooks modeling himself on arena rockers like Journey.

As Williams himself settled into the role of middle-aged country establishment figure in the 1990s, he remained solidly in the public eye with his theme song for *Monday Night Football*.

—Tad Richards

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## Williams, Hank, Sr. (1923-1953)

Widely acknowledged as the father of contemporary country music, Hank Williams, Sr., was a superstar at the age of 25 and dead at



**Hank Williams, Sr.**

29. Like Jimmie Rodgers, Williams had a short but highly influential career in country music. Though he never learned to read or write music, during his years of greatest commercial success, Williams wrote and recorded over 100 polished, unique, and lasting songs, releasing at least half a dozen hit records every year from 1949 until 1953. His direct, sincere, and emotional lyrics (“Your cheatin’ heart / Will make you weep / You’ll cry and cry / And try to sleep”) set the stage for much of the country music that followed, and many of his songs, including “Cold, Cold Heart” and “Your Cheatin’ Heart,” have become classics.

His ability to transfix his audiences is the stuff of legend. Chet Hagan’s *Grand Ole Opry* offers the following assessments: Little Jimmy Dickens said that “You could hear a pin drop when Hank was working. He just seemed to hypnotize those people. It was simplicity I guess. He brought his people with him. He put himself on their level.” Minnie Pearl said, “He had a real animal magnetism. He destroyed the women in the audience. And he was just as authentic as rain.” And according to Mitch Miller (a Columbia Records executive), “He had a way of reaching your guts and your head at the same time.” Williams had the unique ability to connect with his audiences, comprised primarily of poor, white Southerners like himself, and, particularly in the early days, fist-fights often broke out among his female fans.

Born and raised in Alabama, Williams got a guitar at the age of eight and learned to play and sing from a local blues street performer known as “Tee Tot.” This early exposure to African-American blues styles shaped his own musical character, forming a key element of Williams’s trademark honky-tonk, country-blues sound. When he

was 12 years old, Williams won 15 dollars in a songwriting contest with his “WPA Blues.” At the age of 14, Williams had organized his own band and had begun playing locally for hoedowns, square dances, and the like. In 1941, Williams and his band, the Drifting Cowboys, began performing at a local radio station, most often covering the songs of other country artists, including Williams’s hero, Roy Acuff. Despite attempts to make a name for himself and his band, Williams’s musical career stayed in a holding pattern for several years.

In 1946, Williams went to Nashville with his wife and manager, Audrey, where a music publishing executive for Acuff-Rose Publishing set up a recording session for Williams with Sterling Records. The two singles he recorded then, “Never Again” (released in late 1946) and “Honky Tonkin” (released in early 1947) were quite successful, rising to the top of the country music charts and breaking Williams’s career out of its holding pattern. Williams signed the first exclusive songwriter’s contract issued by Acuff-Rose Publishing, and he began a long and productive songwriting partnership with Fred Rose, with Williams writing the songs and Rose editing them.

In 1947, Williams won a contract with Metro Goldwyn Mayer (MGM) Records. “Move It On Over,” Williams’s first MGM single, was a big hit, and Williams and the Drifting Cowboys began appearing regularly on KWKH Louisiana Hayride, a popular radio program. Several other releases followed, and Williams became a huge country music star. Already earning a reputation as a hard-drinking, womanizing man, he had trouble being accepted by the country music establishment, and Ernest Tubb’s attempts to get the Grand Ole Opry to sign him on were initially rebuffed for fear that he would be too much trouble. He was finally asked to join the Opry in 1949, and earned an unprecedented six encores after singing the old country-blues standard “Lovesick Blues” at a 1949 Opry performance. Strings of hit singles in 1949 and 1950 (including “Lovesick Blues,” “Mind Your Own Business,” and “Wedding Bells” in 1949, and “Long Gone Lonesome Blues,” “Moaning the Blues,” and “Why Don’t You Love Me” in 1950) led to sell-out shows for Williams and the reorganized Drifting Cowboys, earning Williams and the band over \$1,000 per performance. From 1949 through 1953, Williams scored 27 top ten hits. During this period, Williams began recording religious material (both music and recitations) under the name Luke the Drifter, and he managed to keep his drinking and womanizing in check.

In 1951, Tony Bennett had a hit single with a cover of Williams’s “Cold, Cold Heart,” and other singers began recording (and having hits) with Williams’s songs: Jo Stafford recorded “Jambalaya,” Rosemary Clooney sang “Half As Much,” and both Frankie Laine and Jo Stafford covered “Hey Good Lookin’.” As a result, Williams began to enjoy crossover success on the popular music charts, appearing on the Perry Como television show, and touring as part of a package group that included Bob Hope, Jack Benny, and Minnie Pearl. Though not all of his hit records were his own compositions, many of his best known works are ones he wrote, and many of them seem to have an autobiographical bent.

Williams’s professional success, however, began to take a toll on his private life. His long-time tendency to drink to excess became full-blown alcoholism. Williams began showing up at concerts drunk and abusive. As a result, he was fired from the Grand Ole Opry and told to return when he was sober. Rather than taking the Opry’s action as a wake-up call, Williams drank even more heavily. An accident rekindled an old back injury, and Williams began abusing the morphine he was prescribed to deal with back pain. His marriage fell apart, in part due to his drinking and drug abuse, and in part due to his increasingly frequent dalliances with other women. In 1952, after

divorcing his first wife, Audrey, he quickly married a 19-year-old divorcee named Billie Jean, selling tickets to what was billed as a matinee “wedding rehearsal” and “actual wedding” that evening (both were frauds; Billie Jean and Williams had been legally married the previous day). Williams also came under the spell of a man calling himself “Doctor” Toby Marshall (actually a paroled forger), who often supplied him with prescriptions and shots for the sedative chloral hydrate, which Marshall claimed was a pain reliever.

In December of 1952, Williams suffered a heart attack brought on by “alcoholic cardiomyopathy” (heart disease due to excessive drinking); found in the back seat of his car, he was rushed to the hospital but was pronounced dead on January 1, 1953. His funeral, held at a city auditorium in Montgomery, Alabama, was attended by over 25,000 weeping fans. After his death, his record company continued to issue a number of singles he had previously recorded, including what is probably his most famous song, “Your Cheatin’ Heart.” These singles earned a great deal of money for his record company and his estate, and artists as diverse as Johnny Cash and Elvis Costello have made their own recordings of Williams’ songs in recent years. Many of those associated with Williams attempted to trade on his reputation after his death. Both of his wives went on tour, performing as “Mrs. Hank Williams.” A supposedly biographical film, *Your Cheatin’ Heart*, also exploited Williams’ fame and untimely death. Williams’ children, Jett and Hank, Jr., went into country music and have enjoyed some success (particularly Hank “Bocephus” Williams, Jr.). But it is Hank, Sr., who left his mark on country music. Along with Jimmie Rodgers and Fred Rose, he was one of the first inductees into Nashville’s Country Music Hall of Fame, elected in 1961.

—Deborah M. Mix

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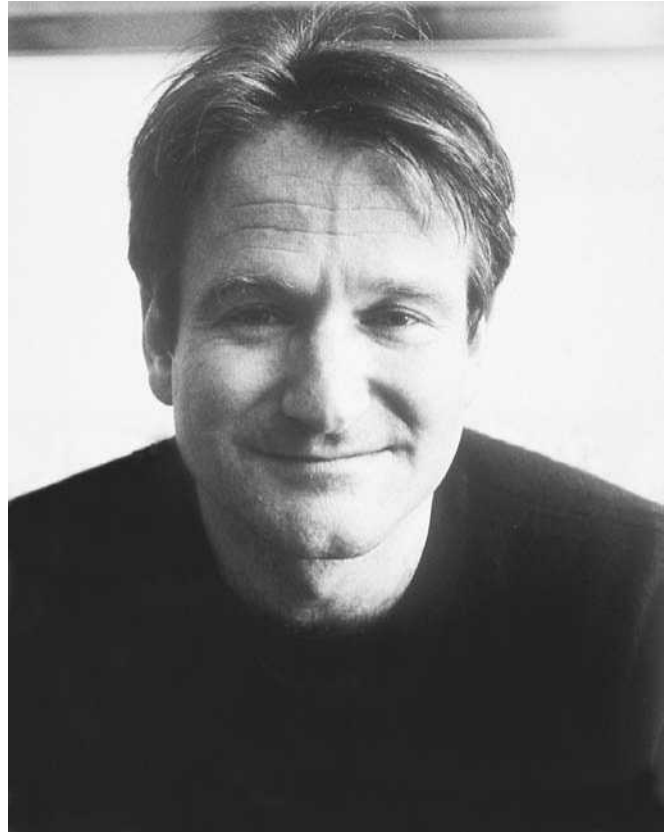
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## Williams, Robin (1952—)

With his manic versatility, comedic genius Robin Williams has defined comedy for the last three decades of the twentieth century. Whether expressing himself as a stand-up comic or an animated genie or a cross-dressing nanny, he is without equal in the field of American comedy. Much more than a comedian, however, some of his finest work has been in dramatic film roles to which he has brought humanity and warmth to a cast of characters ranging from a crazed widower in *The Fisher King* (1991) to a sad but optimistic psychiatrist in 1997’s *Good Will Hunting*, which garnered an Academy Award for Best Supporting Actor.

Williams was born July 21, 1952, in Chicago, Illinois, to a father who was a Ford company executive and a mother who was a former model engaged in charity work. While both parents had sons by previous marriages, Williams essentially grew up as an only child. In interviews, he has described his childhood as lonely and himself as



**Robin Williams**

shy and chubby. His father was stern and distant, and his mother was charming and busy. While Williams was close to his mother, she was often absent, leaving him to roam their forty-room home for diversion. He turned to humor as a way to attract attention. His interest in comedy was aroused by hours spent in front of the television, and he was particularly enthralled by late-night shows where he discovered his idol, Jonathan Winters, another comic who consistently pushes the envelope.

In 1967 Williams’s family moved to Tiburon, an affluent suburb of San Francisco. In the less inhibited atmosphere in California, Williams blossomed. When his father steered him toward a career in business, Williams rebelled. His innate comedic skills were honed in college, but he chose to leave two schools without finishing. He then entered the prestigious Juilliard School in New York on a scholarship, where he roomed with actor Christopher Reeve, who remains a close friend. While the other students found Williams’s off-the-wall antics hilarious, his professors were unsure of how to handle such frenetic humor. Leaving Juilliard without graduating, Williams returned to California and appeared in comedy clubs such as the Improv and the Comedy Store.

By the mid-1970s, Williams had guest-starred on several television shows including *Saturday Night Live*, *Laugh-In*, and *The Richard Pryor Show*. In 1977, a guest appearance on *Happy Days* as the alien Mork from the planet Ork propelled him to stardom. Williams reportedly won the role of Mork by showing up at his audition in rainbow suspenders and standing on his head when asked to sit like an alien. The appearance was so successful that the character of Mork was given his own show, *Mork and Mindy* (1978-1982), which

costarred Pam Dawber as the earthling who took in the stranded alien. In retrospect, it is inconceivable that anyone else could have played Mork with his zany innocence. Each week, the television audience discovered their own planet through Mork's reports to Ork leader Orson at show's end. Even though the characters of Mork and Mindy predictably fell in love and married, the birth of their first child was anything but predictable: Jonathan Winters as Mearth, who aged backward, was the surprising result of this intergalactic coupling. Even though Williams had so much control over the content of the show that it became known informally as "The Robin Williams Show," he often felt stifled by the confines of network television as a medium. Williams said in a 1998 *TV Guide* interview that he found salvation in his HBO specials that aired without censorship, giving him freedom to expand as a comic and solidify his position as a top-notch performer.

In 1980 Williams lent his talent to the big screen with *Popeye*, based on the heavily muscled, spinach-eating sailor from the comic strip of the same name. It was a disappointing debut. His performance in *The World According to Garp* in 1982 was better received, but it was evident that Williams's vast talents were not being properly utilized outside of television. He managed to hit his stride with *Moscow on the Hudson* in 1984, playing a Russian defector. Perhaps the character who came closest to his own personality was that of an outrageous disc jockey in 1987's *Good Morning, Vietnam*, a role which earned him his first Academy Award nomination for Best Actor.

Drawing on his cross-generational appeal, Williams has appeared in a series of films aimed at family audiences, such as the role of Peter Pan in *Hook* in 1991. Although it was criticized by certain reviewers, the role allowed Williams to display his own split personality—that of the child who never quite grew up in the body of an adult burdened by the everyday cares of his world. Williams followed *Hook* with a delightful performance as the voice of Batty Koda in the animated environmental film *FernGully . . . The Last Rain Forest*, but nowhere was the enormity of Williams's comedic range more evident than in Disney's *Aladdin* in 1992. As Genie, he managed to steal the show. Refusing to be confined by his large-chested blue blob of a body, Williams's Genie metamorphosed by turns into a Scotsman, a dog, Arnold Schwarzenegger, Ed Sullivan, Groucho Marx, a waiter, a rabbit, a dinosaur, William F. Buckley Jr., Robert De Niro, a stewardess, a sheep, Pinocchio, Sebastian from *The Little Mermaid*, Arsenio Hall, Walter Brennan, Ethel Merman, Rodney Dangerfield, Jack Nicholson, and a one-man band. There was talk of an unheard-of Academy Award nomination for Best Actor for the portrayal of an animated character. Williams did, in fact, win a special Golden Globe award for his vocal work in *Aladdin*.

Even though *Toys* (1992) received little attention, Williams followed it up with the blockbuster *Mrs. Doubtfire*, in which he played the estranged husband of Sally Field and cross-dressed as a nanny in order to remain close to his three children. *Jumanji* (1995), a saga of characters trapped inside a board game, demonstrated a darker side to Williams. He finally came to terms with Disney and reprised the role of the genie in the straight-to-video *Aladdin and the King of Thieves* in 1996. Williams's zany side was again much in evidence in 1997's *Flubber*, a remake of the Disney classic *The Absent Minded Professor*. Before *Flubber*, Williams had returned to adult comedy with his uproarious portrayal of a gay father whose son is about to be married in *The Birdcage* (1996).

While comedy is the milieu in which Williams excels, his dramatic abilities have also won critical acclaim. He was nominated

for an Academy Award for his portrayal of John Keating, a teacher at a conservative prep school who attempts to open the eyes of his students to the world of poetry and dreams in *Dead Poet's Society* in 1989. The role of Parry in *The Fisher King* (1991) introduced a side to Williams that stunned audiences and critics alike. After Parry's wife is murdered in a random shooting at a restaurant, he descends into insanity from which he only occasionally emerges to search for his personal holy grail with the help of co-star Jeff Bridges. The role of Dr. Malcolm Sayer, a dedicated physician who temporarily restores life to catatonic patients, in *Awakenings* again demonstrated Williams's enormous versatility. In 1997, Williams won his Academy Award for Best Supporting Actor in the Matt Damon/Ben Affleck film *Good Will Hunting*, leading Damon's Will Hunting to awkward acceptance of his own reality and mathematical genius. Williams followed that success with back-to-back roles in *What Dreams May Come* and *Patch Adams* in 1998. Afterward, he expressed a desire to modify his busy schedule and perhaps return to a weekly series.

Personally, Williams has had highs and lows. As a young performer, he was well-known for his heavy consumption of drugs and alcohol. He was forced to reexamine his life when his friend and fellow comic John Belushi died after spending an evening with Williams in the pursuit of nirvana. Another setback occurred when his first marriage fell apart amid tabloid reports that he had left his wife for his son Zachery's nanny. Williams insisted that the marriage was over before he became involved with Marsha Gracos, whom he subsequently married. Their wedding rings are engraved with wolves to signify their intention to mate for life; they have two children: Zelda and Cody. Along with friends Billy Crystal and Whoopi Goldberg, Williams has labored diligently for "Comic Relief," an annual benefit for the homeless.

—Elizabeth Purdy

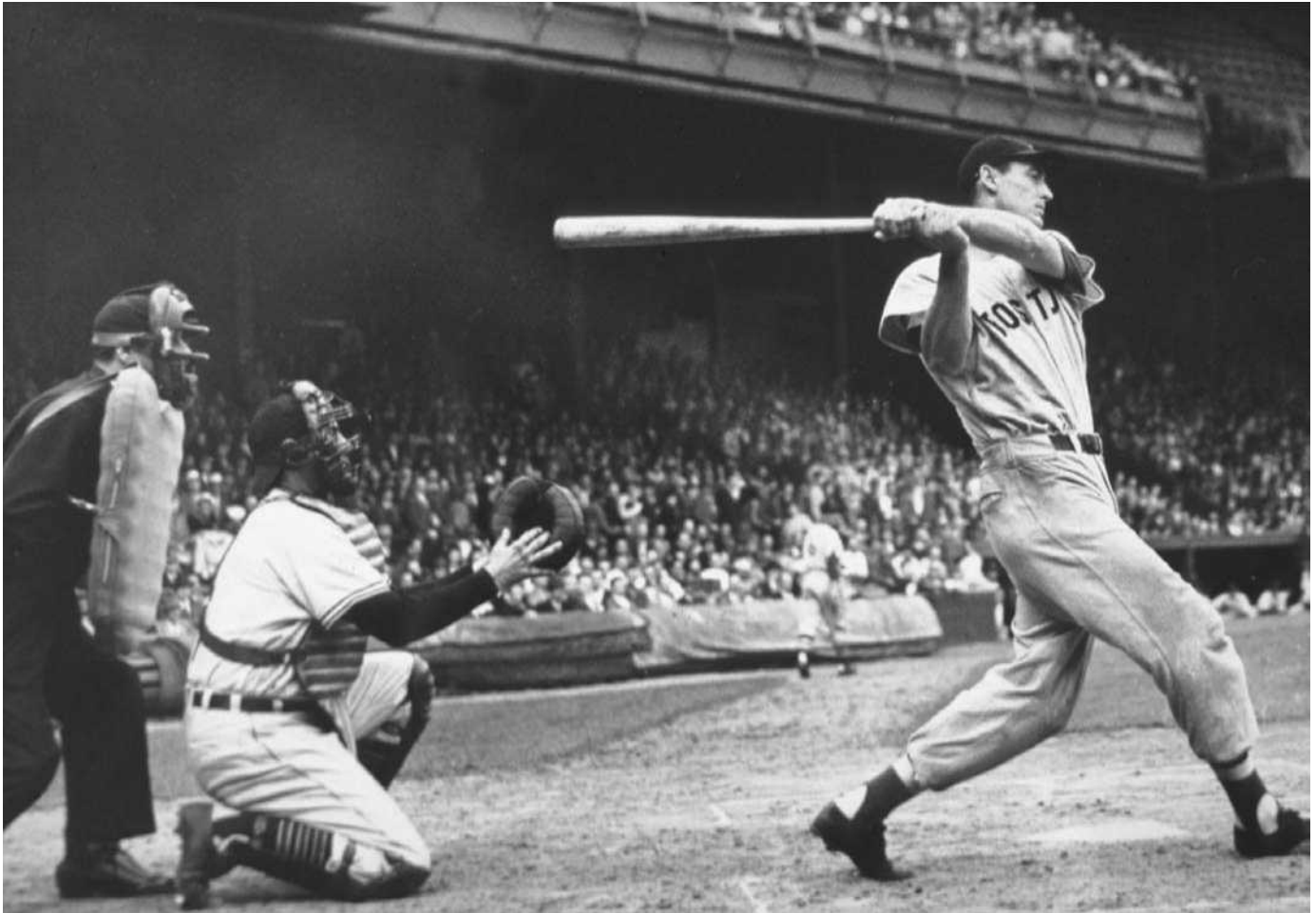
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## Williams, Ted (1918—)

Ted Williams, "The Splendid Splinter," was one of the best hitters of all time and is the last baseball player to hit over .400. His scientific view of hitting changed the dynamics of the game forever. But he was also probably the least celebrated modern-day baseball hero. While he had the makings of stardom, he was unable to cultivate the followings enjoyed by less talented but more amiable players, such as his contemporary Joe DiMaggio.

On August 30, 1918, Theodore Samuel Williams was born in San Diego, California, into a lower-middle class family. His parents



### Ted Williams

worked constantly, leaving him plenty of time to play baseball. When he was seventeen he signed with the hometown San Diego Padres. But after only one year, he was sold to the Boston Red Sox.

Ted Williams proved himself immediately when he started for the Red Sox in 1939. He led the league with 143 RBIs, the first rookie to do so. In 1941, his batting average topped .400. Going into the last day of the season, Williams' average had been .39955, which in baseball terms is a .400 batting average. Manager Joe Cronin gave his star the option to sit out of the doubleheader, but he decided to play and went six-for-eight, raising his batting average to an incredible .406. His 1942 campaign earned him his first Triple Crown by hitting .356, 137 RBIs, and 36 home runs. But even though he won the Triple Crown, Williams did not win the MVP.

Williams interrupted his baseball career in 1943 to join World War II, and he spent the next three years stateside as a pilot. When he returned to baseball in 1946, the Red Sox had a talented postwar team and Williams had another outstanding season, winning his first MVP.

Baseball also encountered "The Williams Shift" in 1946. Cleveland manager Lou Boudreau pushed the infielders to the right side of the field, trying to force the left-handed Williams to hit the ball the opposite way, which he refused to do. That year Williams also led Boston to their only World Series during his career, but the Red Sox lost and Williams' hitting was criticized by the media.

Williams' relationship with the media, always tumultuous, turned ugly after the 1946 season. The Boston press and many fans often felt disenchanted with the temperamental superstar. Williams often went public with his anger, liked to spit, never tipped his cap to the fans or came out for curtain calls after home runs, and was candid about his dislike of the Boston sports writers, who in turn criticized him in print.

Williams rebounded after the World Series, and in 1947 he won his second Triple Crown but lost the MVP to Joe DiMaggio. He closed the decade by winning the batting title in 1948 and winning his second MVP in 1949, while leading the league in runs, walks, RBIs, and hitting.

The 1950s were less kind to Williams. In 1950, he missed half the season with a broken arm. In 1952 Williams was recalled to fight in the Korean War, in which he survived a fiery plane crash. He came back to baseball in 1954 and received two more batting titles in 1957 and in 1958, making him the oldest player in baseball history to do so. A pinched nerve in his neck caused Williams to hit a career low .254 in 1959 and made fans and Red Sox owner Tom Yawkey push for his retirement. But Williams came back to finish his career in 1960, hitting .316 with 29 home runs, including one in his final at-bat.

Williams finished his baseball career with a .344 lifetime batting average, the highest on-base percentage in history at .483, 521 home runs, and the second highest slugging average at .634. *The Sporting*

*News* named Ted Williams its “Player of the Decade” for the 1950s. He was inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1966.

Ted Williams had the stuff heroes were made of, even though his contemporaries believed otherwise. He served his country in two wars and was the most prolific hitter of his era. Williams changed the face of baseball with his scientific approach to hitting and forcing opposing managers to move their fielders. And today when any player chases .400, Williams is the man to beat. In his autobiography, *My Turn at Bat*, Williams states that when he walked down the street he dreamed people would say, “There goes Ted Williams, the greatest hitter who ever lived.” While a case could be made for such a claim, Williams is less remembered than other more charismatic players. But he did receive some belated recognition when the Ted Williams Museum and Hitters Hall of Fame opened in Hernando, Florida, in 1994.

—Nathan R. Meyer

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Tennessee Williams

## Williams, Tennessee (1911-1983)

An American playwright and screenwriter, Tennessee Williams was regarded in his literary prime with an equal measure of esteem and notoriety. After Eugene O’Neill, Williams was the first playwright to gain international respect for the emerging American dramatic genre. Williams excelled at creating richly realized characters peppered with humor and poignancy. The ever-shifting autobiography of Williams is equally renowned—always casual with fact, the playwright shone in an era that adored celebrity and encouraged excess.

Tennessee Williams was born Thomas Lanier Williams on March 26, 1911 in Columbus, Mississippi. His father, Cornelius Coffin Williams, was a rough man with a fine Southern pedigree. Absent for long periods of time, Cornelius moved his family from town to town throughout Williams’ childhood. His mother, Edwina Dakin Williams, imagined herself to be a Southern belle in her youth; born in Ohio, Edwina insisted that her sickly young son focus on Shakespeare over sports, and a writer was born.

The plays of Tennessee Williams deeply resonated with the performing arts community of the 1940s. The complex characterization and difficult subject matter of young Williams’ plays appealed to a new generation of actors. The 1949 Broadway production of *A Streetcar Named Desire* featured then-unknown actors Marlon Brando, Jessica Tandy, and Karl Malden, trained in “Method Acting,” a new model of acting experientially to project character psychology. Actors trained in the Method technique quickly discovered Williams was writing plays that stripped bare an American culture of repression and denial. A close-knit circle of performers, directors, and writers immediately surrounded the temperamental Southern playwright. Williams preferred certain personalities to be involved with his

projects, including actors Montgomery Clift and Maureen Stapleton, directors Elia Kazan and Stella Adler, and a cheerfully competitive group of writers including Truman Capote, Gore Vidal, and William Inge.

The 1950 film version of *A Streetcar Named Desire* brought Williams and the actors instant fame. Lines from the film have entered into the popular lexicon, from Blanche’s pitiful ironies (“I have always depended on the kindness of strangers”) to Stanley’s scream in the New Orleans night (“Stella!”). More than any other of Williams’ screenplays, *A Streetcar Named Desire*’s lines resurface today in the most unlikely places, from advertisements to television sitcoms; the public often recognizes these phrases without having seen the production at all.

Pairing misfortune and loneliness with gracefully lyrical speech, Williams wrestles in his works with a repressed culture emerging from Victorian mores. Social commentary is present in most works, but the focus for Williams is the poetry of human interaction, with its composite failings, hopes, and eccentricities. Early works were bluntly political in nature, as in *Me, Vashya!*, whose villain is a tyrannical munitions maker. After *The Glass Menagerie*, however, Williams found he had a talent for creating real, vivid characters. Often, figures in his plays struggle for identity and an awakened sense of sensuality with little to show for the effort. Roles of victim and victimizer are exchanged between intertwined couples, as with Alexandra and Chance in *Sweet Bird of Youth*. The paralyzing fear of mortality, so often an issue for his characters, plagues Mrs. Goforth of *The Milk Train Doesn’t Stop here Anymore*. Most significantly, perhaps, characters like Shannon of *The Night of the Iguana*, one of

Williams' late plays, sometimes find peace of spirit after they can lose little else. Arthur Miller once declared Williams' most enduring theme to be "the romance of the lost yet sacred misfits, who exist in order to remind us of our trampled instincts, our forsaken tenderness, the holiness of the spirit of man."

The relationship between Williams' work and popular culture is long and varied. Many of his plays—*The Glass Menagerie*, *A Streetcar Named Desire*, *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, *Sweet Bird of Youth*, and *Night of the Iguana*—became major films of the 1950s and 1960s. Williams' films were immediately popular with mainstream audiences despite their focus on the darker elements of American society, including pedophilia, venereal disease, domestic violence, and rape. Williams was one of the first American dramatists to introduce problematic and challenging content on a broad level. Some of the playwright's subplots border on sensationalism, with scenes of implied cannibalism and castration. Consequently, Tennessee Williams had the curious distinction of being one of the most-censored writers of the 1960s; *Baby Doll*, *Suddenly Last Summer*, and other films were thoroughly revised by producers before general release. The modern paradigm of film studios, celebrating fame while editing content, can be seen in the choices made with Williams' work, as Metro Goldwyn Mayer produced his films and at the same time feared his subject matter to be too provocative for audiences.

Tennessee Williams nurtured a public persona that gradually shifted from shy to flamboyantly homosexual in an era reluctant to accept gay men. Williams' fears of audience backlash against his personal life gradually proved groundless. Even late in life, however, Williams was reluctant to assume the political agenda of others. *Gay Sunshine* magazine declared in 1976 that the playwright had never dealt openly with the politics of gay liberation, and Williams—always adept with the press—immediately responded: "People so wish to latch onto something didactic; I do not deal with the didactic, ever . . . I wish to have a broad audience because the major thrust of my work is not sexual orientation, it's social. I'm not about to limit myself to writing about gay people." As is so often the case with Williams, the statement is both true and untrue—his great, mid-career plays focus upon relationships rather than politics, but the figure of the gay male appears in characters explicit (Charlus in *Camino Real*) and implicit (Brick in *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*) throughout his works.

As is noted in *American Writers*, Williams took a casual approach toward the hard facts of his life. In the early period of his fame, Williams intrigued audiences by implying that characters like Tom (read Thomas Lanier) in *The Glass Menagerie* represented his own experiences. Elia Kazan, a director whose success was often linked to Williams, promoted the Williams myth once by declaring that "everything in [Williams'] life is in his plays, and everything in his plays is in his life." Tennessee Williams' connection with the outside world was often one of gentrified deceit, beginning early as the Williams family sought to hide his sister's schizophrenia and eventual lobotomy. In the closest blend of reality and art, the playwright's attachment to his sister, Rose Williams, has been well documented by Lyle Leverich and others. The connection between Rose and Tennessee Williams was profound, and images of her mental illness and sexual abuse often surface in Williams' most poignant characters. The rose rises as a complex symbol in his plays, a flower indicative alternately of strength, passion, and fragility.

The 1970s saw a gradual decline in Tennessee Williams' artistic skill, but he continued to tinker with the older plays and write new works until his death. Williams was highly prolific, crafting over 40 plays, 30 screenplay adaptations of his work, eight collections of

fiction, and various books of poetry and essays. He won the Pulitzer Prize twice, once in 1948 for *A Streetcar Named Desire*, and again in 1955 for *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*. His work continues to command considerable social relevance—in 1998, a play on prison abuses, *Not About Nightingales*, was staged in London for the first time.

—Ryan R. Sloan

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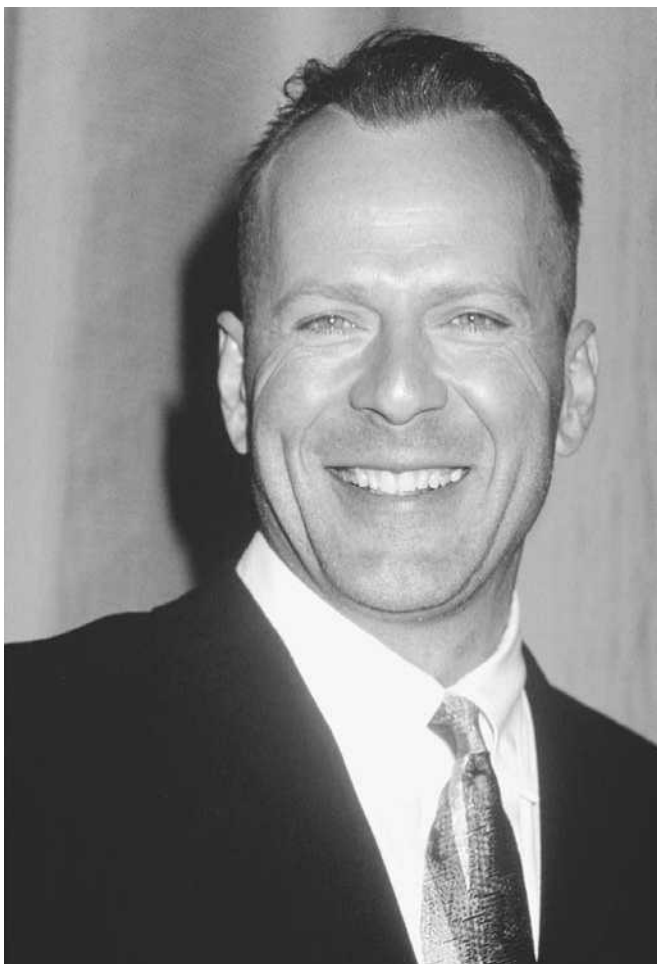
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## Willis, Bruce (1955—)

Bruce Willis first came to prominence as David Addison in the mid-1980s television show *Moonlighting*. With its appealingly eccentric mix of throwaway detective plots and screwball romantic comedy, the show was an ideal showcase for Willis's often bemused and often in control, wise-cracking action man. It seemed with his first two films, *Blind Date* (1987) and *Sunset* (1988), both directed by Blake Edwards, that Willis was going to follow the comedy route, but after *Die Hard* (1988) Willis became instead one of the leading action stars of the 1990s. Early attempts to break free of the John McClane character and action man image met with failure and it is only since *Pulp Fiction* (1994), perhaps, that Willis has been able to extend his range, now alternating action with the occasional touch of character. It is, however, easy to see why the *Die Hard* films succeeded, and how Willis's image was established through them.

Expertly directed by John McTiernan, the first *Die Hard* gave a new boost to action films, the rough and ready American hero fighting international terrorists in a disaster movie scenario leading to two sequels, numerous imitations, and bringing stylish action and violence to the genre. And for his part, Willis seemed to embody a new sort of action hero; in contrast to Rambo and the Terminator, John McClane was a vulnerable family man. Up against high-tech criminals with nothing but his wits and a gun, he is brutally beaten and his spirit is wearing thin. Of course, McClane wins the day, dispatching the terrorist mastermind with his cowboy catchphrase, "Yippy kay yay, mother fucker," but he still has a few problems to face. The skyscraper dynamics that recalled the film *Towering Inferno* were followed up by the brutal airport action of *Die Hard 2: Die Harder*





Bruce Willis

(1990). Another dose of realism is added to *Die Hard with a Vengeance* (1995) in which McClane is divorced, alcoholic, and out of shape.

An attempt in the early 1990s to extend his range in such films as the Vietnam elegy, *In Country* (1989), did not altogether meet with favorable reviews—in particular, playing the “English journalist” in Brian De Palma’s misguided adaptation of Thomas Wolfe’s *The Bonfire of the Vanities* (1990), then starring in his own expensive box-office flop, *Hudson Hawk* (1991). Tony Scott’s *The Last Boy Scout* (1991) only returned Willis to a more violent cop role; Robert Zemeckis’s *Death Becomes Her* (1992) was an unfunny special effects comedy; and *Striking Distance* (1993) was a minor action film. In order to focus more attention on his acting rather than his movie star status, Willis took on some quite interesting cameo roles: as Dustin Hoffman’s gangster rival in *Billy Bathgate* (1991); alongside his wife Demi Moore in *Mortal Thoughts* (1991); admirably sending up his action man image in Robert Altman’s *The Player* (1992); starring alongside Paul Newman in *Nobody’s Fool* (1994); and acting as a comedy bunny in Rob Reiner’s otherwise uninteresting family film, *North* (1994).

By all accounts, the so-called erotic thriller, *Color of Night* (1994), is Willis’s worst film, but in the same year he was to launch a more mature phase in his career as the boxer, Butch, in Quentin

Tarantino’s *Pulp Fiction*. Taking his place amongst an ensemble cast and latching onto Tarantino’s hip dialogue, Willis pared down his usual smirks and steely stares, resulting in a notably different performance that was all internal rage and insecurity. Terry Gilliam managed to get an even more vulnerable performance out of Willis as the confused time traveller in *12 Monkeys* (1995); Walter Hill’s *Last Man Standing* (1996) showcased Willis’s pared-down brutality, and for their part *The Fifth Element* (1996) and *Armageddon* (1998) ranged from glossy *Die Hard* action in the former to Willis saving the world from pre-millennial excess in the latter. In between his big action projects, however, Willis still managed to choose roles in such small and unsatisfactory action films as *The Jackal* (1997) and *Mercury Rising* (1998). Of the three owners of the Planet Hollywood restaurant chain, however, Willis has clearly managed to become the most accessible action hero of the 1990s, taking over from the previous might of Sylvester Stallone and Arnold Schwarzenegger and cultivating an altogether more easygoing screen appeal.

—Stephen Keane

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## Bob Willis and his Texas Playboys

Bob Willis pioneered “western swing,” an upbeat style of country music that had a lasting impact on the industry. Willis, who grew up in the cotton fields of northern Texas during the World War I era, combined the blues of black sharecroppers with southern “hill-billy” music. In the mid-1930s, Willis formed the Texas Playboys, a band using experienced swing and Dixieland jazz musicians, who toured throughout the southwest to packed houses. Western swing became a national phenomenon after their 1940 hit “New San Antonio Rose,” and Willis was inducted into the Country Music Hall of Fame in 1968.

—Jeffrey W. Coker

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## Wilson, Flip (1933-1998)

In the early 1970s, comedian Flip Wilson secured a place in television history as the first African American to headline a successful network variety series. Previous attempts by other black performers, such as Nat “King” Cole, Leslie Uggams, and Sammy Davis, Jr.,



Flip Wilson (left) with Richard Pryor on *The Flip Wilson Show*.

had all been ratings failures. From 1970 to 1974 *The Flip Wilson Show* presented comedy skits, musical performances, and top Hollywood guest stars. The main attraction, however, was always Wilson himself. He possessed a sharp and non-confrontational sense of humor that appealed to a diverse audience. During its first two seasons, his show was the second most popular program on television, second only to *All in the Family* in the ratings. The most popular aspect of the show was the large stable of stock characters portrayed by Wilson each week. His most famous creation was the sassy and liberated Geraldine Jones, who introduced the catch phrase “What you see is what you get” into the American lexicon. Flip Wilson proved that the mainstream American television audience could accept a performer of color.

Clerow Wilson was born on December 8, 1933, in Jersey City, New Jersey, and raised in extreme poverty as one of 18 children. He grew up in a series of foster homes and left school at 16. During a four-year hitch in the Air Force he traveled around the Pacific and entertained his fellow enlisted men. Wilson acquired the nickname “Flip” from the troops, who appreciated his flippant sense of humor. Upon being discharged from the service in 1954, he spent the next decade touring across America, honing his act in small nightclubs. His big break came during a 1965 appearance on *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson*, which led to frequent guest spots on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, *Laugh-In*, and *Love, American Style*. In 1969, NBC signed the comedian to host an hour-long variety show.

The debut episode of *The Flip Wilson Show* premiered on September 17, 1970. Unlike other programs of the variety genre, it did

not feature chorus girls and large production numbers, but rather was presented in a nightclub-like setting on a round stage surrounded by an audience. Wilson welcomed established entertainment stars such as John Wayne, Bing Crosby, Dean Martin, and Lucille Ball to the show and introduced audiences to musical guests like Issac Hayes, James Brown, and the Temptations. He continued the variety format tradition of portraying several recurring characters on the program. Among his most noteworthy personas were: Freddy the Playboy, Sonny the White House janitor, Reverend LeRoy of the Church of What’s Happening Now, and, of course, Geraldine Jones. Geraldine, whom Wilson played in drag, became a national sensation as she made wisecracks about her unseen, and very jealous, boyfriend named “Killer.” Wilson commented on the miniskirted character’s popularity, “The secret of my success with Geraldine is that she’s not a putdown of women. She’s smart, she’s trustful, she’s loyal, she’s sassy. Most drag impersonations are a drag. But women can like Geraldine, men can like Geraldine, everyone can like Geraldine.” Along with Geraldine’s trademark line “What you see is what you get,” Wilson popularized the phrases “The devil made me do it!” and “When you’re hot, you’re hot (and when you’re not, you’re not!).” Although Wilson based many of his routines on ethnic humor and black stereotypes, his humor was rarely overtly political. In 1971, *The Flip Wilson Show* won Emmy Awards for Best Variety Series and Best Writing for a Variety Series. The show was canceled in 1974 due to strong competition from the CBS Depression-era drama *The Waltons*.

The second half of Wilson’s career was marked by a much reduced public profile. He appeared in a few films, including *Uptown Saturday Night* and *The Fish That Saved Pittsburgh*, and made several television guest appearances. In the mid-1980s he returned to television with two short-lived series: *People Are Funny* (1984), a quiz show; and *Charlie & Company* (1985), a pale sitcom imitation of *The Cosby Show*, in which singer Gladys Knight played his wife. Wilson then retired from show business to raise his family. By the late 1990s, Wilson had again resurfaced due to the reruns of his 1970s series on the TVLand cable network. Flip Wilson died on November 25, 1998, of liver cancer.

Like Bill Cosby on the television drama *I Spy* and Diahann Carroll on the situation comedy *Julia*, Flip Wilson is regarded as a breakthrough performer who helped destroy the color line on network television in the late 1960s and early 1970s. He proved that white audiences would accept a black comedian and embrace his humor. His ability to employ racial humor without demeaning its targets gave him the opportunity to reach the masses and provide network television with a too-rare black perspective. In a *TV Guide* tribute shortly after the comic’s death, Jay Leno wrote, “Flip was hip, but he made sure everybody could understand him and laugh. That’s the sign of a great performer.”

—Charles Coletta

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## Wimbledon

The world-renowned British tennis tournament, Wimbledon, has become more than tradition, according to British journalist and author John Barrett: more than “just the world’s most important and historic tennis tournament,” having come to symbolize “all that is best about sport, royal patronage, and social occasion that the British do so well, a subtle blend that the rest of the world finds irresistible.” Held in late June and early July, Wimbledon is the only one of four Grand Slam tennis events still played on natural grass.

The event started in 1877 as an amateur tournament called the Lawn Tennis Championships hosted at the England Croquet and Lawn Tennis Club (later renamed the All England Lawn Tennis Club). The only event was men’s singles. Twenty-two players participated, and Spencer Gore won the final match, which spectators paid one shilling to watch. The women’s singles event was instituted in 1884. Maud Watson claimed victory over a field of thirteen. Previously played at Oxford, the men’s doubles event was brought to Wimbledon in 1883. Over the years, Wimbledon’s popularity continued to grow steadily. By the mid-1880s, permanent stands were in place for the crowds who were part of what Wimbledon historians refer to as the “Renshaw Rush,” coming to see the British twins Ernest and William Renshaw win 13 titles between them in both singles and doubles between 1881 and 1889.

By the turn of the century, Wimbledon had become an international tournament. American May Sutton won the women’s singles title in 1905 to become Wimbledon’s first overseas champion. About this time, the royal family began its long association with Wimbledon when the Prince of Wales and Princess Mary attended the 1907 tournament, and the Prince was named president of the club. In 1969, the Duke of Kent assumed the duty of presenting the winning trophy.

Play at Wimbledon was suspended during World War I, but the club survived on private donations. Tournament play resumed in 1919, with Suzanne Lenglen winning the women’s and Gerald Patterson the men’s titles. In 1920, the club purchased property on Church Road and built a 14,000-capacity stadium, which Wimbledon historians credit with playing a critical role in popularizing the event. World War II suspended play again, but the club remained open to serve various war-related functions such as a decontamination unit and fire and ambulance services. In 1940, a bomb struck Centre Court, demolishing 1,200 seats. Although the tournament’s grounds were not fully restored until 1949, play resumed in 1946, producing men’s champion Yvon Petra and women’s champion Pauline Betz.

The expansion of air travel in the 1950s brought even more international players to Wimbledon. This period also saw the domination of American players at the tournament, with such champions as Jack Kramer, Ted Schroeder, Tony Trabert, Louise Brough, Maureen Connolly, and Althea Gibson (the first African-American winner). Australian players Lew Hoad, Neale Fraser, Rod Laver, Roy Emerson, and John Newcombe then dominated the men’s singles title from 1956 through the early 1970s.

In 1959, the club began considering a change in its amateur-only policy in light of the increasing number of players receiving financial assistance in excess of the limits set by the International Tennis Federation. It was not until 1967, however, that the Lawn Tennis Association voted to officially open the championship to both professionals and amateurs. At the first open tournament in 1968, Rod Laver and Billie Jean King won the men’s and women’s singles titles, respectively.

In 1977, Wimbledon celebrated its centenary anniversary. In honor of the occasion, the Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Museum was opened at Wimbledon. 1984 marked the centenary of the women’s singles event. The tournament now has five main events: men’s and women’s singles, men’s and women’s doubles, and mixed doubles. It also sponsors four events for juniors (18 and under) and invitation events for former players. Each of the five main championships has a special trophy. The women’s singles trophy, first presented by the All England Club in 1886, is a silver parcel gilt tray made by Elkington and Company in 1864. The men’s singles trophy is a silver gilt cup and cover inscribed “The All England Lawn Tennis Club Single Handed Champion of the World,” and was first presented by the All England Club in 1887. The men’s doubles trophy is a silver challenge cup, first presented in 1884. The women’s doubles trophy is a silver cup and cover, known as “The Duchess of Kent Challenge Cup,” and was first presented in 1949 by Her Royal Highness the Princess Marina, then president of the All England Club.

Roughly 500 players currently compete at Wimbledon. To participate, players have to submit an entry six weeks prior to the tournament. A Committee of Management and a referee rank the entries and place players into three categories: accepted, need to qualify, and rejected. The committee then decides which “wild cards” to include in the draw. Wild cards are players who do not have a high enough international ranking to make the draw, but are included by the committee on the basis of past performance at Wimbledon or popularity with British spectators. A qualifying tournament takes place a week before the championships at the Bank of England Sports Club in Roehampton, and the winners in the finals of this tournament qualify to play at Wimbledon. An exception is players who, although they lose in the final round of the qualifying tournament, are still selected to play. Dubbed the “lucky losers” by tournament organizers, these players are chosen in order of their international ranking to fill any vacancies that occur after the first round of the draw.

To date, the youngest-ever male champion is Boris Becker of Germany. In 1985, the 17-year-old won the men’s singles championship. In 1996, Swedish player Martina Hingis became the youngest ever female champion at age 15. Other notable records include American Martina Navratilova’s unprecedented six-year reign on Centre Court as women’s singles champion, and her overall all-time record of nine singles titles. Two men have won the men’s singles tournament five consecutive times, although a century apart: Bjorn Borg of Sweden (1976-1980), and William Renshaw (1881-1886) of Britain.

—Courtney Bennett

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## Winchell, Walter (1897-1972)

For almost 40 years during the mid-twentieth century, Walter Winchell was thought to be the most powerful man in America. A Jewish former vaudevillian, Winchell's power came not from money, family connections, or politics—Winchell was a gossip columnist. Indeed, it has even been said that Winchell invented gossip. Although this is clearly hyperbolic—gossip has always existed in some form—certainly Winchell was the first member of the modern media to both understand its power and know how to wield it. At the height of his influence, more than 50 million Americans, or two thirds of the adult population of the country, either read his daily column or listened to his weekly radio program. His grasp of the potent uses to which gossip could be put changed the face of American culture, and ultimately led to the overweening power held by the media at the turn of the millennium.

The future Walter Winchell was born Walter Winschel on April 7, 1897, in Harlem, New York City. His grandfather was a Russian émigré who had come to America hoping for literary fame. His son, Walter's father, was similarly a man of high expectations and low achievement—a silk salesman who devoted much of his time to his mistresses. Because Walter received little attention at home, he sought it across the street at a local movie theater where he and two

other boys, one of whom was George Jessel, sang songs between movies for money. When they were spotted by a vaudeville talent scout, 13-year-old Walter left home to join the troupe, saying, "I knew what I didn't want . . . I didn't want to be hungry, homeless, or anonymous."

Walter spent his teenage years in vaudeville and when he outgrew the boys act, he joined forces with another young vaudevillian, Rita Greene, with whom he had fallen in love. Winchell (as he now called himself) and Greene continued to travel the country, performing their vaudeville act to surprising success. Booked to a two-year contract, in his free time Walter Winchell began producing a vaudeville newsletter and sending in articles to *Billboard*. But after marrying Rita Greene, Winchell realized that his wife wanted to get out of show business, and so the couple moved back to New York City, where Winchell landed a job writing for *The Vaudeville News*. As Neal Gabler writes, "The twenty-three-year-old Winchell was columnist, office boy, deputy editor, part-time photographer, salesman, and general factotum. And he loved it, throwing himself into the job with desperate energy. Days he spent racing down Broadway, mingling, glad-handing, joking, collecting items for the column, making himself known. Nights he spent at the National Vaudeville Association Club on Forty-sixth Street, working the grill-room, campaigning for himself as a Broadway figure."



Walter Winchell

Although Winchell's breakneck pace ultimately led to the dissolution of his marriage, it earned him a reputation as Broadway's man-about-town. And so, in 1924, when the young columnist heard that a new tabloid newspaper was being launched, he easily won the position of Broadway columnist and drama critic on the New York *Evening Graphic*.

Winchell's column in the *Evening Graphic* was composed of Broadway news, jokes, and puns, and it was written in a catchy slang of Winchell's own invention. His unique linguistic twists captured the public's attention, but it was his brazen use of rumor, gossip, and innuendo in his column that made him famous. He saw himself as a maverick, who had broken the cardinal rule of journalism by using unverified sources. He looked behind closed doors and reported what he saw—affairs, abortions, children out of wedlock; nothing was taboo to Winchell.

The public loved it, sensing that the formerly impenetrable walls between the powerful and the common man were being torn down by one of their own. Walter Winchell, born into a lower-middle class Jewish family, was daring to put the private lives of the rich and famous in print. And the rich and famous were duly shocked and alarmed. As Gabler has observed, "Winchell understood that gossip was a weapon that empowered his readers. Invading the lives of the famous and revealing their secrets brought them to heel, humanized them, and in humanizing them demonstrated that they were no better than we and in many cases worse."

By 1928, Walter Winchell's column was syndicated throughout the country and the 31-year-old was already one of the most influential public figures in America. By the early 1930s, when he began his weekly radio broadcast, he wielded as much power with his pen as most politicians and public figures did with money and political clout. As Winchell himself put it, "Democracy is where everybody can kick everybody else's ass, but you can't kick Winchell's."

Throughout the 1930s, Winchell's power continued to grow, extending beyond show business to politics and big business. Gabler writes, "When Depression America was venting its own anger against economic royalists, Winchell was not only revealing the transgressions of the elites but needling industrialists and exposing bureaucratic cruelties so much that he became, in the words of one paper, a 'people's champion.'" Recognizing the extent of Winchell's influence, President Franklin D. Roosevelt invited the columnist to the White House not long after his first inauguration, thus initiating a relationship that would prove mutually beneficial to both men.

As Adolf Hitler's power grew in Germany during the mid-1930s, Winchell turned his attention to the international front, becoming one of the Führer's most ardent and outspoken foes in America. In this task he had the full support of the Roosevelt administration, which grew to rely on Winchell's influence in encouraging the United States to enter the war. For Winchell, this foray into international politics was intoxicating. The former vaudevillian became a dedicated patriot, and once the United States entered the war, he devoted himself to supporting Roosevelt's wartime policies and keeping up the spirits of our boys overseas.

Winchell was at the height of his power. As Gabler writes, "If Winchell's career had ended then, he might have been regarded as the greatest journalistic phenomenon of the age: a colossus who straddled newspapers and radio, show business and politics. He almost certainly would have been remembered as a prime force in the public relations battle to boost America's home-front morale during World War II and as a defender of press freedom." Following the war, however, Winchell's infatuation with politics led him to become

involved in the McCarthy witch hunt, as Communism became the new target of his ire. The intellectual elites, who had tolerated Winchell as long as he was espousing liberal causes, were enraged and they sought to bring him down. When the columnist became involved in a scandal involving African American singer Josephine Baker, who was not served at Winchell's favorite watering hole—the Stork Club—while the famed columnist was in attendance, the left turned on Winchell, accusing him of racism.

In the ensuing battle between the liberal media and the now right-wing Winchell, the gossipmonger ultimately lost. Over the course of the next two decades, Walter Winchell would fall from his position as one of the most powerful men on the planet and become a relic of a distant era. As television became the main conduit for media, the man whom Winchell had once helped find a job, Ed Sullivan, would become an icon, while Walter Winchell would fade into obscurity, eventually dying in Arizona in 1972.

Although it is perhaps now difficult to imagine the power once wielded by this man who gave rise to contemporary celebrity culture, Walter Winchell was indeed once among the most influential men on the planet. But although his authority ultimately languished, he left the world a vastly changed place. By legitimizing the use of gossip in the mainstream media, Winchell both paved the way for the extreme power now held by the media at the millennium, as well as laid the foundation for contemporary celebrity society.

—Victoria Price

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## The Windy City

One of Chicago's most enduring nicknames, "The Windy City" originally had nothing to do with the Illinois city's sometimes formidable atmospheric conditions, but was coined by a nineteenth-century New Yorker to describe the city's loud, "windy" boosterism. For chilled Chicago Bears football fans at lakefront Soldier Field, or holiday shoppers on Michigan Avenue's famed Magnificent Mile, however, the nickname has had little to do with political opportunism.

Also known as the "Second City" because of its historical status as America's second largest city behind New York, throughout much of the nineteenth century Chicago business promoters roamed up and down the East Coast loudly praising the city's cosmopolitan character and excellent investment opportunities in an effort to lure capital needed for growth and expansion. Trying to debunk the popular image of their city as a cultural backwater and a "cow-town," the boosters painted a picture of a Midwestern mecca where there was boundless money to be made. Detractors claimed that these boosters

were full of hot air, and tension between backers of various cities came to its zenith in the race to obtain the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of Columbus's landing (one year late). Having arisen from a swamp in just more than 60 years, reversed the flow of the Chicago River, and made a stunning rebound from the Great Fire of 1871, city leaders in the early 1890s felt Chicago to be an obvious choice to demonstrate American enterprise and ingenuity to the rest of the world, not to mention establishing Chicago's status as a world-class city. They therefore organized a company to generate the necessary funds to underwrite the exposition. However, when Illinois Senator Shelby M. Cullom introduced a bill into the United States Congress in favor of federal support for the exposition, he neglected to specify that Chicago would play host. Immediately, a vicious contest arose to obtain the event, with Chicago, New York, Washington, D.C., and St. Louis (which would host a similar affair only 10 years later) emerging as the major players. Charles A. Dana, editor of the *New York Sun*, wrote an editorial in his paper snobbishly discounting the "nonsensical claims of that windy city. Its people could not build a world's fair even if they won it." According to most accounts, it is this editorial that popularized the "Windy City" nickname on a national basis.

After New York was able to match Chicago's original five-million-dollar bid, Chicago doubled it, and in April of 1890, President Benjamin Harrison announced that the blustering and confident Midwestern city had won the exposition lottery. Three years later, the famous "white city" opened its gates, and, according to a contemporary city booster, "The Columbian Exposition was the most stupendous, interesting and significant show ever spread out for the public." With its imperial architecture, famous "midway," giant Ferris wheel, and exhibits of technology and science, the exposition continues to be remembered as one of the great defining moments in Chicago's history.

Though the Dana quotation was soon forgotten, the nickname stuck, having struck a nerve deeper than the rhetoric of boosterism. Over the course of the early twentieth century, the "windy city" appellation came more and more to refer to Chicago's often severe weather. Chicago ranks fourteenth for wind velocity among United States cities, and breezes coming off the lake can sometimes make it feel a lot cooler than the reported temperature. This is especially the case in late autumn and winter. Local weather reporters often talk of the "lake effect" in regard to conditions near Lake Michigan, where the water temperature and wind tone down summer's extremes and intensify winter chills. With 29 miles of shoreline, and with many of the city's business, cultural, and residential centers located along the coast, the lake effect truly can influence the city as a whole. Moreover, Chicago's downtown "Loop" streets long have been known as wind-swept corridors nestled among some of the world's oldest and tallest skyscrapers. It is this wind "having no regard for living things," not the blustering political rhetoric of nineteenth-century boosters, which Edgar Lee Masters credited in 1933 with giving the name of the Windy City to Chicago in the first pages of his city portrait. Technically, consensus opinion holds Masters to be incorrect, but his error does demonstrate that by the third decade of the twentieth century at least, the original and the contemporary meaning of the nickname had diverged. As originally noted by Masters, winter winds coming off of Lake Michigan are blocked by Michigan Avenue's wall of buildings, "swirl down from the towers of the great city," and are diverted down the Loop's long, straight thoroughfares, making the second city a very windy city indeed.

—Steve Burnett

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## Winfrey, Oprah (1954—)

Oprah Winfrey, who began her career as a Midwest talk show host in 1985, wielded such clout in the entertainment field at the end



Oprah Winfrey

of the twentieth century that her participation in a project guaranteed its success. Her strong identification with her audience could be witnessed again and again; when she did something as simple as starting a diet, or as complex as taking a stand against social injustice, millions of people across the United States followed suit. Yet, her considerable influence was neither happenstance nor opportunism. Her social and political views came from a lifetime of struggle that has imbued her with a missionary zeal to get her message across.

The television persona of "Oprah" is virtually inseparable from the person herself. She was born into poverty in 1954 in rural Mississippi and then spent many of her formative years living in a Milwaukee ghetto with her divorced mother. As a teenager, her life began a downward spiral marked by sexual abuse and early signs of delinquency that were only interrupted by the reappearance of her father, a Nashville barber. He took custody of her, brought her to Tennessee and placed her in a local high school where she developed an interest in oratory. This experience led her to a student internship at a black radio station that sparked her interest in a career in journalism.

After graduation, she matriculated at Tennessee State University where she garnered more experience in broadcast journalism but also competed for and won the "Miss Black Nashville" and "Miss Black Tennessee" titles. Despite her later, pro-feminist stands on various issues, she harbored no regrets for cashing in on her physical beauty saying that she won on "poise and talent." "I was raised to believe that the lighter your skin, the better you were," she later admitted. "I wasn't light skinned, so I decided to be the best and the smartest." Her experience and poise also positioned her for a job as a "street reporter" at the CBS-TV affiliate in Nashville.

She then parlayed this job into a co-anchor position at Baltimore's ABC outlet where she ran into her first setback as a broadcaster. Her journalistic skills were undermined by her tendency to become emotional when hosting unpleasant stories and questions were raised about her professional objectivity. ABC management thus decided to try her out on a morning talk program where her emotionalism and penchant for becoming personally involved with her subject matter actually became a bonus.

After six years in Baltimore, Winfrey was hired in January 1984 to take over a faltering morning program on WLS-TV's *AM Chicago* which had employed a succession of hosts only to finish dead last among the competition for the 9 a.m. ratings slot. Not the least of the show's problems was the fact that it was scheduled opposite *The Phil Donahue Show* (1970-1996), hosted by Chicago's favorite son and national ratings champ. Yet, in Winfrey, WLS-TV found an engaging personable host who had a "common touch" not possessed by the somewhat patrician-appearing Donahue. Her formula was simple: working with a studio audience and a number of guests in a classic town meeting format, she rose above the traditional moderator role by injecting both her persona and her life experiences into debates on failed relationships, sexual abuse, and weight loss plans. Although her manner of interjecting her audience into the discussions by walking quickly through the crowd and jabbing the microphone into someone's face to get their point into play did not differ terribly much from Donahue's, she allowed herself to almost become part of her own audience in a way that her male counterpart did not.

By 1985, the show had displaced *The Phil Donahue Show* at the top of the Chicago ratings, prompting the station management to extend the show to one hour and to take advantage of Winfrey's growing stardom by renaming it *The Oprah Winfrey Show* in 1986. But when film composer Quincy Jones happened to turn on the show while on a visit to Chicago, he was so impressed that he mentioned

Winfrey to director Steven Spielberg, who was beginning to cast roles for his film *The Color Purple*. Her performance as Sophia earned her an Academy Award nomination for "Best Supporting Actress" and transformed her into a household name. Within 18 months, Winfrey had become a star in one medium and was standing on the threshold in another.

In 1986, WLS-TV began to syndicate the show nationally through King World, making Winfrey the first black woman to host her own show and become a millionaire by the age of 32. At the same time, she formed her own production company, Harpo (her name spelled backwards), and began to take a more active role in the creation of the show. Within its first five months, the show ranked number one among talk shows in 192 cities, forcing competitor Phil Donahue to move his home base from Chicago to New York in an attempt to stay competitive.

When her contract expired in 1988, she threatened to leave in order to pursue other opportunities in film and television. This forced ABC, King World, and WLS-TV to guarantee her complete control of the show in return for her promise to stay on until 1993. Industry estimates at that time figured that Winfrey's company would garner more than \$50 million for the 1988-89 season alone. This assured her position as the richest and most powerful woman on television and also freed her to pursue her own agenda without network interference.

Under her guidance, Harpo became a major player in prime-time dramatic programming with a miniseries *The Women of Brewster Place* in 1989 and a spin-off sitcom *Brewster Place*, the following year. The company was also active in the TV documentary field during the early 1990s with a number of special programs on social issues particularly dealing with the topics of abused children and women's issues.

By the time Oprah reached her 40th birthday in 1994, *The Oprah Winfrey Show* was available in 54 countries and was reaching 15 million viewers a day in the United States alone, becoming the highest rated show in syndication history and enhancing its host's personal fortune to \$250 million dollars. In 1996, Winfrey realized one of her long held goals "to get America reading" by founding a book club segment on her show. Beginning with first-time novelist Jacquelyn Mitchard's *The Deep End of the Ocean*, considered by many to be strictly a woman's romance, Winfrey got it discussed in a serious vein on her show and generated enough sales to make it the number one national bestseller within four months of its publication, with sales of more than 850,000 hardcover copies. The phenomenon continued with the talk show host's next selection Toni Morrison's 16-year-old *Song of Solomon*, which was being re-released in paperback. Between October 1996 and January 1997, the publisher reported more than 830,000 copies sold due to Winfrey's influence alone.

The key to Winfrey's selection of projects, whether books or television, is the personal impact that the source material has made on her. If she likes a book, she will champion it; if she sees audience potential in it she will produce it as a television program or a feature film. Under the banner *Oprah Winfrey Presents*, Harpo Productions has produced three television movies *The Wedding*, based on a book by Dorothy West; *David and Lisa* (a remake of the 1962 film), which portrayed two teens in a mental home; and *Before Women Had Wings*, which addressed the tragedy of domestic violence and child abuse. Winfrey also made a return to acting in 1998 with a film version of Toni Morrison's *Beloved*, which while it didn't do terribly well at the box-office spoke to several of her deeply held feelings about racism, slavery, and the power of a mother's love. "I look for projects that show individuals being responsible for themselves," she says. "It's

all about seeing human beings as active creators of their lives rather than as passive victims.”

She carries this philosophy over to her personal life, as well. In 1997, she launched *The Angel Network*, an ongoing campaign to spur her viewers into doing good works such as helping to build new houses for needy families. She also organized “Better Chance,” a Boston-based organization that helps minority students receive a better education as well as a number of individual scholarships at various institutions including her alma mater Tennessee State University and Morehouse College.

Yet, it is the continuing success of *The Oprah Winfrey Show* that makes all of these endeavors possible. In 1997, *Variety* reported that the show had also supplanted *Saturday Night Live* as the best spot on television to generate music sales. The show thus became the first stop for mainstream artists to promote their latest releases. Performers such as Madonna, Rod Stewart, and Whitney Houston saw their albums experience significant sales gains following an appearance on *The Oprah Winfrey Show*. Stewart, for example, watched as his CD *If We Fall in Love Tonight* jumped 25 places on the sales charts within two days of his appearance with sales of 40,000 units. This achievement extended Winfrey’s clout to virtually all forms of media.

The far-reaching impact of the show was also demonstrated the same year when Winfrey expressed her personal opinion on eating beef in a discussion of England’s “Mad Cow Disease.” Predictably, beef sales fell off a bit and a cattleman’s association in Texas hauled her into court for defamation. After a two-month trial, she was vindicated but no one would ever again doubt the pervasive influence of her show.

The show has earned 32 Emmy awards, including seven for its star. But the awards have not made Winfrey complacent; she has continued to incorporate new items of interest into her show. In September, 1998, for example, Winfrey took singing lessons and began to sing the theme song herself. She also created a segment called “Change Your Life TV,” which assists viewers in taking steps to reorder their bankbooks, their family life, and the clutter of their lives. After one show, she told her viewers, “The opportunity to have a voice and speak to the world every day is a gift.” She then sang a few bars from an old spiritual that summed up her outlook on life. “I believe I’ll run on, see what the end will be. I believe I’ll work on, see what the end will be.” Yet, for Winfrey, there appears to be no end in sight, just new horizons and new worlds to conquer.

—Sandra Garcia-Myers

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## Winnie-the-Pooh

From learning videos to silk boxer shorts, from hatboxes to wristwatches, Winnie-the-Pooh has become as synonymous with Disney as Mickey Mouse. The Bear of Very Little Brain enjoyed a renaissance in popularity in the 1990s, and has parlayed his endearing befuddlement into a multi-million dollar franchise. “Pooh” and his companions from the Hundred Acre Wood are icons of a gentler, simpler childhood, a childhood without games like *Mortal Kombat* and *Duke Nukem*.

Alan Alexander Milne found inspiration for the Winnie-the-Pooh characters while watching his son Christopher Robin Milne at play; Pooh is based on a stuffed bear that Christopher received on his first birthday. Originally named Edward Bear, he was soon christened Winnie-the-Pooh. Winnie-the-Pooh is derived from Christopher’s favorite bear in the London Zoo (named either Winnifred or Winnipeg, depending on the source) and a swan named Pooh. The stuffed menagerie grew to include a stuffed tiger, pig, and donkey. Milne introduced us to Pooh, Rabbit, Piglet, Eeyore, Owl, Tigger, Kanga, and Roo in his 1924 collection of verses *When We Were Very Young*. *Winnie-the-Pooh* was published in 1926, followed by *Now We Are Six* in 1927, and *The House at Pooh Corner* in 1928. All four volumes were enchantingly illustrated by Ernest H. Shepard.

The Pooh stories enjoyed early success on both sides of the Atlantic (and have since been translated into over 25 languages). Winnie-the-Pooh became a favorite of Walt Disney’s daughters, and he decided to bring Pooh to the American movie screens. Originally conceived as a feature length film, Disney felt that featurettes would slowly introduce the beloved bear and establish Pooh’s recognition with American audiences. The first of the three featurettes, *Winnie-the-Pooh and the Honey Tree*, was released in 1966. The three shorts were connected and reissued as *The Many Adventures of Winnie-the-Pooh*, Disney’s twenty-second feature length film, in 1977. It was re-released in 1996 to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the original Pooh release. In 1997, *Pooh’s Grand Adventure* resumed where the first film left off.

Thanks to renewed popularity based on video sales and rentals of the re-released movies, Disney found someone to rival Mickey Mouse as the face of Disney. Pooh and friends can be found on an animated cartoon series on ABC, interactive stories and learning games for computers, and learning videos, not to mention products such as pewter earrings and assorted neckties, which are targeted toward adult consumers.

Demand for Pooh merchandise stops just short of mania. When Disney stores released a limited edition Beanie Pooh on November 27, 1998, merchants found customers lining up as early as four o’clock in the morning in order to improve their chances of purchasing the bear. These limited edition bears were sold out nationally in a matter of hours. What makes Pooh marketing such a cultural phenomenon is Pooh’s broad appeal to all ages. Specifically, marketing is directed at two of the largest segments of society: the Baby Boomers and their children, Generation X.



These two distinct markets have created a split in Pooh's persona. For the comparatively more affluent Boomers, there is a merchandising renaissance of the original Pooh as illustrated by Shepard. The Gund company markets stuffed versions modeled on the original ink and watercolor pictures found in the books; but these stuffed animals are not priced as items you would let a one-year-old drool on and play with. Shepard-inspired products also include decorative lamps, bookends, hatboxes, and charms—all valuable and collectible. These products are often found in larger, more upscale department stores, such as Dillard's and Macy's. In contrast, Generation X is targeted with the "Disney-fied" Pooh. It is the round, yellow bear that is found on everything from watches and nightshirts to neckties and boxer shorts. While many such products are available only at Disney Stores, far more are readily available (and affordable) at stores like Target and Wal-Mart. These products include many items directed at children: books, puzzles, games, educational toys, and durable stuffed animals. Pooh's appearance, and significance, is in the eye of the beholder.

For both Gen Xers and their parents, Pooh represents a childhood sense of safety and comfort. Pooh muddles through a world inevitably made more complex than necessary by his good friends Rabbit and Owl. Eventually, the bear whose head is "stuffed with fluff" figures out a simpler, and often gentler, way of solving the various problems of the Hundred Acre Wood. Not only does Pooh's gentleness of spirit triumph, but his other endearing attribute is the special bond of love and constancy between himself and Christopher Robin. In a world of high-tech, high-speed, and high-violence, Pooh and company provide a haven from the breakneck lunacy of everyday life. Pooh wonders where he will find his next smackeral of honey, not whether his 401K will roll over. Pooh does not stab anyone's back while climbing the honey tree—honey trees are not corporate ladders. Pooh does not abandon Piglet who, as a Small and Timid Animal, fails to be an adequate partner for material success. In the Hundred Acre Wood, the concerns of daily life are no longer the priority issues; instead, love, loyalty, curiosity, generosity, companionship, and the celebration of the human spirit are Really Important Things.

—Julie L. Peterson

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## Winnie Winkle the Breadwinner

The comic strip *Winnie Winkle the Breadwinner* first appeared in newspapers on September 21, 1920. Created by former vaudevillian Martin Branner (1888-1970), it was the first of a genre of working girl strips that later inspired imitators such as *Tillie the Toiler* (1921-1959). A "new woman" of the 1920s, Winnie worked in an office

and provided for her parents and adopted brother Perry. As the strip evolved Branner focussed on Winnie's search for a husband, the strip's central running theme until she married William Wright in 1937. By 1955—with Mr. Wright killed in a mine accident in 1950 after several near mishaps during World War II—Winnie became the chief executive of a fashion house. Branner's strip criticized the feminization of culture through the consumption of goods and services and the use of celebrity endorsements, and lamented the passing of vaudeville and its replacement by Hollywood movies. The last episode appeared July 28, 1956.

—Ian Gordon

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## Winston, George (1949—)

One of the parents of a new style of instrumental pop music called "new age," George Winston is known for his passion for the traditional and the ability to synthesize the elements of very different types of American music into his own style of "rural folk piano." Though some might sneer at his music as "easy listening," many welcome it as a deeply felt musical reminder of a simpler time, when life was led to the primal rhythm of the seasons.



George Winston

As a child growing up in Montana, Mississippi, and Florida, Winston spent hours listening to pop music on the radio. He especially loved the instrumentals and made sure to tune in each hour for the short piece of instrumental music that preceded the news. The bands he heard in those formative pop music years of the 1950s and 1960s, the Ventures, Booker T. and the MGs, the Mar-Keys, Floyd Cramer, and the like, were his first musical inspirations. Winston began playing music himself after he graduated from high school in 1967. He began with the electric piano and organ, but by 1971 he was listening to the swing piano of such musicians as Fats Waller and Teddy Wilson, and Winston switched to the acoustic piano, where he has remained at home ever since, with occasional forays into guitar and harmonica.

Also in the early 1970s, Winston met another musician who became one of his mentors, guitarist John Fahey. Fahey was responsible for developing the “American primitive” style of guitar, and he and Winston shared a passion for nurturing and evolving traditional styles of music. In 1972, Winston released his first album, *Ballads and Blues*, on Fahey’s Takoma label, but the album did not sell well, and Winston went back to doing odd jobs for his living.

In 1979, Winston was introduced to the music of 1940s and 1950s progenitors of rhythm and blues such as Professor Longhair and James Booker. This music, especially Professor Longhair’s “Rock ’n Roll Gumbo,” inspired Winston anew. Able to find the common thread of earthy emotion in rural and urban traditional music, folk, jazz, and rhythm and blues, Winston created his own style: crystal clear, rhythmic, and sincere. In the materialistic atmosphere of the 1980s there arose a subculture seeking spirituality and a return to roots, and with these seekers Winston’s mellow music struck a chord. Those who sought more peaceful and traditional alternatives to a high-tech, fast-paced, hedonistic lifestyle turned to Eastern and other indigenous spiritual traditions for inspiration. They called their movement “new age,” and they welcomed Winston’s spare, gentle music as a part of its soundtrack.

Winston began to record again on Dancing Cat Records and became one of the anchors of William Ackerman’s budding new age label, Windham Hill. This time there was no question of going back to odd jobs. Fans loved Winston’s seasonal meditations with names such as *Autumn* (1980), *December* (1982), and *Winter into Spring* (1982). He also wrote and performed soundtracks for several animated children’s videos, notably *The Velveteen Rabbit* (1984) and *This is America, Charlie Brown* (1988). Winston maintains an intensive concert schedule, playing more than 110 live concerts a year. Most are in the United States, though he is beginning to gain an international following as well and is especially popular in Japan and Korea.

Winston has continued to seek inspiration in traditional and vintage music, and he has never ceased his attempts to bring those kinds of music to the public attention. In his 1996 work *Linus and Lucy: The Music of Vince Guaraldi*, he highlights the music of the little-known composer of such famous pieces as 1960’s classic “Cast Your Fate to the Wind” and many of the *Peanuts* television specials. Most recently, he has worked to bring attention to the traditional Hawaiian slack key guitar, a folk guitar style which originated in Hawaii in the early 1800s and inspired modern steel guitar. An accomplished steel guitar player himself, Winston has devoted much energy to recording the masters of the Hawaiian guitar in an effort to preserve the quickly dying traditional art.

—Tina Gianoulis

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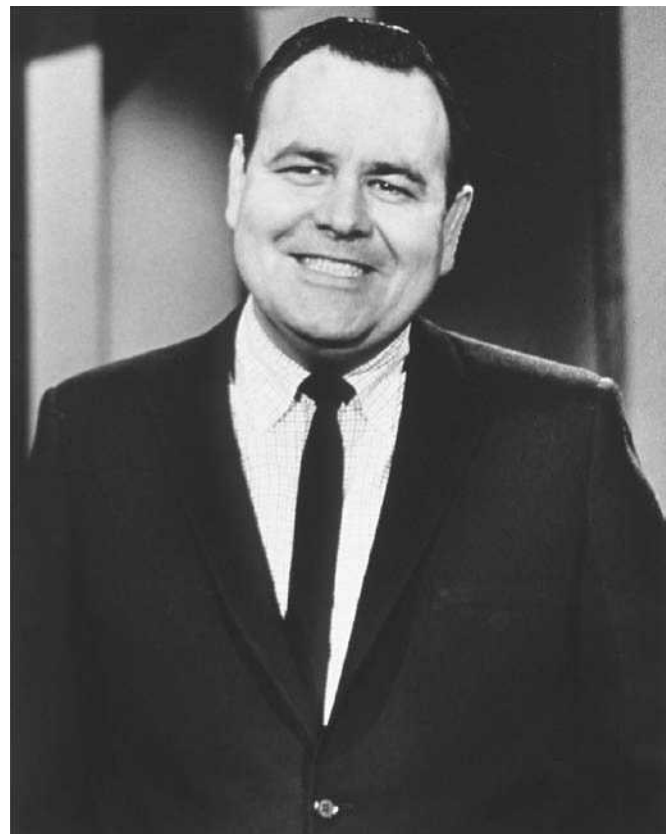
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## Winters, Jonathan (1925—)

An improvisational comedian who brought a new kind of comedy to American television and films, Jonathan Winters challenged his audiences by allowing humor to happen spontaneously. He created such characters as Maude Frickert, Chester Honeyhugger, and Elwood P. Suggins, placing them in hilarious situations suggested by impromptu cues. The unpredictable comic appeared often on NBC’s *Tonight Show*, starring Jack Paar, who gave Winters free rein to extemporize and called him “pound for pound the funniest man on earth.” His genius for mimicry allowed him to assume the character of anyone from a small lisping child to a large, wisecracking grandmother.

Born in Dayton, Ohio, to an affluent family, Jonathan demonstrated early his talent for imitating sounds as he played with his toy automobiles and stuffed animals. When he was seven, his parents divorced and his paternal grandfather—owner of the Winters National Bank—became the dominant male figure in his life. According to



Jonathan Winters

Winters, his grandfather was an irrepressible extrovert whose behavior was a strong influence on his grandson's comic talents.

In school he majored in being the class clown and told an interviewer, "I used to drive some of my teachers crazy." At 17 he quit school and joined the U.S. Marine Corps, serving in combat in the Pacific during World War II. In his spare time he entertained his buddies with sidesplitting imitations of the officers. After the war he returned to finish high school and then drift around the country, taking odd jobs picking apricots or working in factories, always adding to his store of interesting material that would find its way into comic routines. He decided on a career as a cartoonist and studied at the Dayton Art Institute for two and a half years, which he credits for increasing his power of observation as he later focused his wit on humorous characters and situations.

His future wife, a fellow art student, was entranced by Winter's talents as a comic improviser and encouraged him to enter a local contest for amateur entertainers, which he won. A Dayton radio station, impressed with his talents, hired him as an early-morning disc jockey. As Jonathan told interviewer Alan Gill, "I couldn't entice one guest on the program that whole year. So I made up characters myself, drawing from the characters I'd observed over the years—the hip rubes, the Babbits, the pseudointellectuals, the little politicians." In 1950 he moved to a larger radio station in Columbus, Ohio, honing his talents there until 1953, when he left for New York City.

Arriving in Manhattan with \$55.46, Winters began performing at the Blue Angel nightclub, where he met and impressed television personalities Arthur Godfrey, Jack Paar, and Mike Wallace. All three found spots for him on their shows, and his career was launched. Particularly enthusiastic was Jack Paar, who gave him a network audience on *The Morning Show*, which Paar emceed for CBS at that time. In the late 1950s Winters was a frequent guest on Paar's *The Tonight Show* (renamed *The Jack Paar Show* in 1958). He also filled in for the star, drawing rave reviews in newspapers all over the United States.

The comedian suffered a mental breakdown in May of 1959, bursting into tears onstage in a San Francisco nightclub; a few days later, policemen took him in custody for climbing the rigging of an old sailing ship docked at Fisherman's Wharf. His wife transferred him to a private sanatorium, and after a month in analysis, Winters modified his work habits and life style. He explained to Joe Hymans in an interview in the *New York Herald Tribune*, "I had a compulsion to entertain. Now I've found the button. I can push it, sit back, and let people come to me instead of going to them, as do most clowns like me who are victims of hypertension."

In the early 1960s Winters worked almost exclusively in television, playing dramatic roles on Shirley Temple's children's programs and comedy on variety shows hosted by Garry Moore and Paar. In May of 1964 he signed an exclusive long-term contract with NBC calling for six television specials a season. He was already scheduled for a special with Art Carney called *A Wild Winter's Night* early in 1964, and the show disappointed both his fans and the critics, who found it too rigid in format for the freewheeling comedian. When Jonathan made an attempt to correct this problem in his six specials called *The Jonathan Winters Show*, critics found the shows too loose. Dennis Braithwaite of the *Toronto Globe and Mail* believed he was better as an intruder on other people's shows as "a mocking corporeal wraith who comes ambling out of nowhere to delight and shock us awake and then retires to his tree." After one ill-fated season of the specials, Winters's appearances on NBC were limited sporadic guest

appearances. In the 1980s, he performed with Robin Williams as the baby in the *Mork and Mindy* series.

One of Winters's major goals in the 1960s was to work in motion pictures. The most important films he appeared in were *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World*, *The Loved One*, and *The Russians Are Coming*. He also starred in another medium: audio albums for Verve-MGM, including *The Wonderful World of Jonathan Winters*, *Down to Earth with Jonathan Winters*, and *Whistle-Stopping with Jonathan Winters*, a satire on politicians of all stripes. Making use of his artistic talents, he created both the drawings and captions in the book *Mouth Breath, Conformity, and Other Social Ills*, published by Bobbs-Merrill in 1965.

Winters is an entertainer with a rare and bountiful combination of talents. Director Stanley Kramer, who directed Winters in *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World*, called him "the only genius I know."

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Wire Services

At the end of the twentieth century, news was readily available from a variety of competing sources: newspapers and magazines, radio, television, and the Internet. Yet a given story, no matter where it ran, often would contain much of the same material, word for word, owing to the heavy dependence of all news media on wire services, which collected reporters' stories and pictures, edited them to a standard style, and distributed them to individual broadcast stations and print media.

Organizations such as the Associated Press and Reuters are called *wire services* because of their early connection with the telegraph. In fact, Reuters was originally a bird service: In 1849 Paul Julius Reuter, a former bookseller, saw an opportunity to exploit a gap in the telegraph lines between Aachen and Brussels and used carrier pigeons to transmit stock quotes until the telegraph finally connected the two cities in 1850. Reuter then moved the company to London, where it opened in 1851 and used the new Dover-Calais cable to communicate between the British and French stock markets. Reuters later expanded its content to include general news as well, and scooped other news bureaus with the first European reports of Abraham Lincoln's assassination in 1865.

New York had had a news agency, the Association of Morning Newspapers, since as early as 1820, its main purpose being to coordinate the reporting of incoming news from Europe; and there were other small local agencies as well. The Associated Press was formed in 1848, largely in response to the new technology of the

telegraph, by a group of ten newspaper editors who had come to realize that pooling news-gathering made more sense than competing for transmittal over wires already crowded with messages (multiplexing would not be invented—by General George Owen Squier, founder of Muzak—for another six decades). Included in the original consortium were the *Journal of Commerce* and New York's biggest dailies, the *Sun*, *Herald*, and *Tribune*. The first major story to be covered and distributed through AP was the 1848 presidential election (Zachary Taylor won on the Whig ticket).

When Reuters and AP were first started, any exchange of news between Europe and America was dependent on dispatches carried by ships. One of the first joint ventures by the AP newspapers was a small, fast steamboat based in Halifax, Nova Scotia, whose crew would race out to meet passing vessels en route to the major East Coast seaports, then speed back to harbor and telegraph whatever news reports they carried, often beating by a day or more the reporters accustomed to waiting on the piers of Boston or New York for the transatlantic ships to arrive in port. On the other side of the ocean, as a boat from the United States came in sight of the British Isles, at Crookhaven on the Irish coast, a Reuters launch came out to retrieve a hermetically sealed container thrown from the larger ship as it sailed past; once back ashore, the wire service crew opened the box, retrieved the dispatches inside, and cabled their contents to London eight hours before the ship from America would dock.

This system remained in effect until the transatlantic cable came into permanent operation in 1865—for though the first cable had been laid in 1857, it soon snapped, probably as a result of undersea earthquakes. (It had, however, functioned long enough to bring the United States a report of the suppression of the Sepoy uprising in India. The telegram's succinct 42 words summarized five separate stories from the British press).

The expense and time of telegraphic transmission tended to force brevity on reporters, but the wire services in their earliest days did not necessarily sacrifice accuracy to terseness: AP correspondent Joseph L. Gilbert's on-the-spot transcription of Lincoln's Gettysburg address almost immediately was accepted as authoritative, and other reporters' variants soon forgotten. "My business is to communicate facts," wrote another veteran AP newsman, Lawrence A. Gobright; but readers had to plunge 200 words—about five column-inches—into his front-page story on the Lincoln assassination before reaching the statement that the president had been shot. It was not until the 1880s that AP mandated the so-called "inverted pyramid" structure for news stories familiar today, with the most important facts at the top and successive layers of elaboration down at the bottom.

The effect of standardized newspaper style on popular culture has been subtle but far-reaching. Apart from the business correspondence and departmental memos encountered on the job, newspapers are often the most-read news sources in the course of the average day, and it is not uncommon for people to consume an hour or more of leisure time reading the Sunday edition of their local daily. Moreover, many writers whose later works have attained the status of canonical literature (four from the turn of the twentieth century, for example, were Stephen Crane, Mark Twain, Jack London, and Ambrose Bierce) served their apprenticeship in journalism.

Wire-service style manuals continue to play an important role in shaping other types of writing. AP's libel guidelines—a prominent section of their stylebook as a whole—also serve as the standard reference by which American journalists stay on the right side of the law, or at least flout the rules at their peril. Ian Macdowall, a 33-year Reuters veteran, summed up the goal of news copywriting in the

introduction to that company's manual as "simple, direct language which can be assimilated quickly, which goes straight to the heart of the matter, and in which, as a general rule, facts are marshalled in logical sequence according to their relative importance." This ideal fairly matched the aspirations of many twentieth-century writers in English—journalists, historians, novelists, essayists, even scientists—who wanted their words to be bought and their ideas assimilated by the ordinary reader. Such authors in turn helped to mold the public's taste towards expectation of clarity, brevity, and pertinence in the popular press.

Another way in which the wire services have made a lasting contribution to mass consciousness is in photographs. Starting with AP's first photos in 1927 (wirephotos would be introduced in 1935, at the then astronomical research-and-development cost of \$5 million), on-the-scene photographers have captured news events with images that have become cultural icons in their own right, integral elements of the American collective visual consciousness: the raising of Old Glory atop Mount Suribachi on Iwo Jima, caught on film by Joe Rosenthal in 1945, when American troops stormed the Pacific island in the final days of World War II and won it from its Japanese occupiers; a little girl, Phan Thi Kim Phuc, running naked, scorched, and screaming in terror towards photographer Huynh Cong ("Nick") Ut with the smoke of her burning village behind her, during the height of the Vietnam War in 1972; Murray Becker's stark and terrible photo of the dirigible airship *Hindenberg* burning after it exploded while landing in New Jersey in 1937; Harry Truman snapped by Byron Rollins on election night in 1948 as the newly reelected president gleefully held aloft a newspaper with the premature and erroneous headline "Dewey Defeats Truman."

Rarely has so great a mistake as the Truman headline had so lasting a place in the public mind, but the need to make deadlines, however fragmentary the information available by press time, has sometimes led to educated guesses by editors who were proven horribly wrong by subsequent information. Initial reports of the sinking of the *Titanic* in 1909 reported that most if not all passengers had been rescued; only later was it learned that many passengers had in fact been lost, and it was several days before the full extent of the catastrophe was known and printed. But though accuracy and speed of publication often work at cross purposes, the wire services have attempted to reconcile the conflict throughout their history by enthusiastically embracing new technology, from Marconi's "wireless telegraphy" introduced in 1899 (its inventor held for a time a monopoly on radio news service to Europe), the teletype (1915), and the tape-fed teletypewriter machine (late 1940s) to communications satellites and computerized typesetting (1960s), computer-driven presses (late 1970s), fiber-optic cable networks (1980s), and reporters with laptop computers filing stories by modem (1990s).

In wartime, at least, a second problem with accuracy in reporting has been military censorship, compounded by the need for the wire services to maintain a credible arm's-length relationship with government while remaining on friendly enough terms with officialdom to get the news at all. At the beginning of World War II the head of Reuters, Sir Roderick Jones, received an ominously enigmatic letter directing that the company and its officers "will at all times bear in mind any suggestion made to them on behalf of His Majesty's government as to the development or orientation of their news service or as to the topics or events which from time to time may require particular attention," a directive sufficiently vague that the wire service spent the duration of the war interpreting it as creatively as it dared.

During the Vietnam War, on the other hand, the American military simply lied, with the Johnson cabinet's connivance, pulling the wool over the eyes of Congress and press alike (the Gulf of Tonkin resolution; the falsified count of enemy troops in the field which allowed U.S. forces to be blindsided by the Tet offensive of 1968). Though the wire services for a time dutifully printed what they were given, the gap grew between official reports and the observations of reporters in the field, who began compiling reports that were increasingly skeptical. An additional spur may have been the small upstart Liberation News Service, run by young leftists in America and feeding to a burgeoning alternative press—the LNS story on the 1967 protest march and police action at the Pentagon was carried by 100 such newspapers—with information often more accurate than anything in a government press release. The American government fought back by attempting to discredit the press; AP's Peter Arnett, reporting from South Vietnam's capital, Saigon, was subjected to a smear campaign by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. But in the end the public sided with the wire services, whose photographs, film clips, and live reports flowing from the southeast Asia war zone home to newspaper readers and television viewers in the United States played a crucial role in turning American popular sentiment against the war.

Although wire services have sometimes been criticized as exploiters of human suffering, especially when it comes to war coverage, such news is vital to investors and fascinating to most ordinary readers, as when the Reuters report of Napoleon III's speech in February of 1859 ran in the London *Times*, giving Britons clear warning of France's impending entry into the Austro-Prussian war. On such occasions an effective monopoly on news seems a blessing to subscribers, if a bane to the competition. In fact, three years earlier, in 1856, Reuters had signed a contract to share stock price news with Germany's Continental Telegraphien Compagnie (also known as the Wolff agency, it had been founded in 1849, the same year Reuter's pigeons took wing) and the news company of Charles-Louis Havas in France (founded in 1835, later called Agence France-Presse, and still a key player in world news at the end of the twentieth century). In 1870, the three companies followed up with an agreement to carve up the world into exclusive news territories for each, in much the same manner as the spheres-of-influence diplomacy then fashionable among the major imperial powers; as a result Reuters, Havas, and Wolff dominated international news-gathering up until the first World War.

Ironically, it was World War I that brought the first serious competition in the Western Hemisphere to bear on the Associated Press, at that time available only to its members and subscribers, who typically blocked rival dailies in their circulation areas from joining. In fact, AP had managed to coerce even its subscriber newspapers not to do business with rival news bureaus, until a court decision put a stop to the practice in 1915. In response to such tactics, several powerful newspaper companies formed their own agencies, such as William Randolph Hearst's International News Service and the Scripps Howard chain's United Press Association (whose name was later changed to United Press International when INS merged with it in 1958.) When World War I broke out, newspapers in Argentina, frustrated in their attempts to reach an agreement with either AP or Havas, turned to UPI, which soon came to dominate the South American news market as a result, an edge it held for most of the century.

Unfortunately for UPI, an anti-trust suit was successfully brought in the 1940s to force AP to let anyone subscribe who paid the fee. This

did not have much effect on UPI's domestic market share at the time, since many newspapers in the postwar boom years subscribed to more than one wire service. But a generation later, several factors combined to weaken UPI's position: the phenomenal growth of television news, whose evening programs provided stiff competition for afternoon dailies, forcing them to close or to be transformed into morning editions, plus the creation of news services by some of the larger chains such as Knight-Ridder, Hearst, and, ironically, UPI's former owners, Scripps Howard, which had prudently divested itself of the wire service in 1982. These new bureaus offered well-written supplemental news stories to fill in the gaps around AP's coverage, and did so at much cheaper rates than UPI could offer. A series of bad managers also helped to cripple UPI and it ceased to be a significant player by 1990, leaving AP much as it had been at the beginning of the century: the dominant source for print news in America, and one of a handful of major players across the globe.

Even as UPI was failing, Reuters was enjoying unprecedented prosperity: In 1989, when UPI's staff had dwindled to 650 reporters and 30 photographers, for the first time more major dailies in America were now carrying Reuters than UPI. Reuters had never lost sight of its roots in the stock market, and although it had also prudently diversified into television in 1985 by acquiring an international TV agency, Visnews (renamed Reuters Television), and had successfully broken into the Internet by supplying news to nearly 200 web sites by the end of the 1990s, it remained a robust source of financial news, obtaining quotes from over 250 stock and commodities exchanges, disseminating financial data via a large cable network and its own synchronous-orbit communications satellites, and employing a staff of over 16,000.

Still, for most Americans, AP remained the quintessential wire service. In *Flash! The Associated Press Covers the World*, an anthology of its photographers' work published in 1998, Peter Arnett proudly wrote that AP copy that year comprised as much as 65 percent of the news content of some American newspapers, that 99 percent of American dailies and 6,000 broadcasters carried AP stories, that the wire service employed over 3,500 people in 236 bureaus, turning out millions of words of copy every day and hundreds of pictures, that its employees had won 43 Pulitzer prizes—and on a more somber note, that nearly two dozen AP correspondents and photographers had died in the line of duty in the century and a half since the organization was founded, ranging from reporter Mark Kellogg, who perished while covering Custer's Last Stand at the Little Bighorn River in June of 1876, to photographer Huynh Thanh My, killed by the Viet Cong in October of 1965. Wire service reporters, Arnett argued, are ubiquitous; that's their job. Thus when Mahatma Gandhi was discharged by the British viceregal government in India after serving one of numerous jail terms for civil disobedience in the 1930s, he was driven to a remote village and let go—and came face to face with AP reporter Jim Mills, who had gotten wind of where the illustrious prisoner was to be released and wanted to be on the spot to interview him. With wry amusement Gandhi declared, "I suppose when I go to the Hereafter and stand at the Golden Gate, the first person I shall meet will be a representative of the Associated Press!"

—Nick Humez

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## Wister, Owen (1860-1938)

Owen Wister was one of a long line of lawyer-writers in American literary history. This Pennsylvania-born, Harvard-educated patrician became one of America's first and most prominent writers of the Western genre. Popular in his own time, Wister developed his reputation as a short story writer. He began to publish his Western stories in 1895 and was acclaimed by many, including Rudyard Kipling. In 1902 he wrote his most famous novel, one that is said by many to define the Western genre: *The Virginian: A Horseman of the Plains*. Loren D. Estleman wrote in the *Dictionary of Literary Biography* that: "Most if not all of the staples associated with the western genre—fast-draw contests, the Arthurian code, and such immortal lines as "This town ain't big enough for both of us" and "When you call me that—smile!"—first appeared in this groundbreaking novel about one man's championship of justice in the wilderness. Wister's interpretation of the West as a place where few of the civilized concepts of social conduct apply separated his stories from the sensational accounts then popular."

Wister was the only child of Sarah Butler and Owen Jones Wister. His father was an intellectual, his mother the daughter of a 19th-century actress, Fanny Kemble. Her family had many literary and musical connections in Europe. Wister, known as "Dan" to friends and family, went to a private school near his home and then to Harvard. There he continued a literary bent shown in earlier years by writing for the college paper, the *Crimson*, and dabbling in light opera. Although his mother encouraged his musical talents, she never

seemed happy with his writing work. A review of Wister's correspondence reveals that neither parent ever seemed fully pleased with this capable, well-rounded Harvard Phi Beta Kappa.

After his 1882 graduation, Wister studied music in Europe and his piano virtuosity was touted by no less than Franz Liszt. His father opposed the young man's love of music and pushed his own desire to see him established in a business career in Boston. Ever the obedient son, he returned to the United States. While the talented young Wister languished in his position at the Union Safe Deposit Vaults of Boston, he wrote a novel with a cousin but did not submit it for publication.

Although Wister formed many literary-minded friendships and enjoyed the men's clubs in Boston, his health began to deteriorate. Following the orders of his doctor, in 1885 Wister summered in Wyoming. The clean air revived his physical powers and ignited a love of the West that would guide his future career. It was on the frontier that he found his *métier*, both creatively and spiritually. Wister once wrote: "One must come to the West to realize what one may have most probably believed all one's life long—that it is a very much bigger place than the East and the future of America is just bubbling and seething in bare legs and pinafores here—I don't wonder a man never comes back (East) after he has been here a few years."

According to biographer Darwin Payne, "Wister's deep sense of the antithesis between the civilized East and the untamed West was constant." He did return East to study and then practice law, but ever after he regularly vacationed in the West. Law school gave Wister a chance to renew old Harvard friendships: he corresponded with Robert Louis Stevenson and became close friends with Oliver Wendell Holmes. But none of his letters from that period seem to indicate any real interest in law, even after he began his practice as member of the Pennsylvania bar in Philadelphia in 1890. The law seemed only something to do in between trips to the West.

In 1891, after an evening with friends lamenting that the American West was known in the East only through rough "dime" novels, Wister said that he regretted the lack of an American Rudyard Kipling to chronicle what he called "our sagebrush country." As they spoke Wister suddenly decided to take action himself and become that sage. He completed his first story that very night. Soon after he sent "How Lin McLean Went West" and "Hank's Woman" to *Harper's* magazine. "Hank's Woman" is the story of an Austrian servant girl who, fired in a visit to Yellowstone Park, marries a worthless man and is then driven to murder. The story of McLean describes a cowboy's return to Massachusetts, where his mean-spirited brother finds him an embarrassment. Both were published and found instant popular and critical acclaim.

These tales used the same style and formula that would characterize all of his Western works. The stories were based on anecdotes he had heard, used vernacular language in dialogue-based actual speech (which Wister painstakingly recorded in his own notebooks), and were full of descriptions of the West. Others had already written Western tales but it was Wister who defined the heroic, Arthurian character of the Western hero and gave him substance.

Wister's popularity and Western topics brought him into collaboration with Frederick Remington. The two worked together on a story for an 1895 issue of *Harper's*, about the evolution of the cow puncher. Their friendship and collaboration was a "natural," since many critics both past and present felt that Remington expressed in bronze and with paint the same feeling about the West that Wister evoked with words. Harvard chum Theodore Roosevelt labeled Wister an "American Kipling" and arranged for him to meet Kipling,

then a Vermont resident, in the spring of 1895. Upon meeting Wister, Kipling blurted out, "I approve of you thoroughly!" His approbation was great balm for Wister, who suffered much of his life without the approval of his parents—despite the fact that he now had a national reputation.

Not long after his father's death in 1896, Wister began to date a second cousin, Mary Channing "Molly" Wister. A practical young woman, Molly had a career in education underway when they married on April 28, 1898, the same day the United States declared war on Spain. For their honeymoon the Wisters toured the United States, making a long visit to Charleston, South Carolina, where Wister's grandfather had signed the U.S. Constitution, and trekking to the state of Washington so that Molly could see her "Dan" in his beloved West. Molly was supportive of his writing and he supported her activities in education. Wister's writing flourished and their family grew—they had three boys and three girls.

Wister soon decided to write a longer work and he began to study the art of the novel. In 1902, Wister published *The Virginian*, with its nameless hero, his schoolteacher sweetheart Molly, and the villain, Trampas. Payne reports that the *New York Times Saturday Review of Books*, in its review of *The Virginian* claimed: "Owen Wister has come pretty near to writing the American Novel." Henry James wrote enthusiastically about the novel, which Wister had dedicated to his friend, Theodore Roosevelt. *The Virginian* was a financial, critical, and popular success. Wister himself turned it into play and it continued to be popular long after his death. According to Estleman, "If the importance of a work is evaluated by the number of people it reaches, *The Virginian* stands among the three or four important books this century has produced. By 1952, fifty years after its first publication, eighteen million copies had been sold, and it had been read by more Americans than any other book."

Four movies were made of the book during the century, in 1914 (with a screenplay by D. W. Griffith), 1923, 1929, and 1946. Of the four movie versions, the best known was the 1929 version starring Gary Cooper in the title role and directed by Victor Fleming. Cooper seemed best to capture the near-mythic nature of Wister's hero. The nameless Virginian is an American knight—a soft-spoken gentleman who is ready and able to survive and even tame the travails and splendid chaos of the West. Wister's novel defined our mythic Western hero as a quiet but volcanic strong man who plays by the rules. The story was also adapted for the small screen in a television series that ran from 1962 to 1966. *The Virginian* was thus one of the few stories that shaped Americans' understanding of the American West and of the place of individuals within it.

Most of his later fiction deals with the conflict between the good and the bad within the West. According to Jane Tompkins in *West of Everything*, his work is realistic in setting, situation, and characters—more so than rival fiction of the period—but still tending toward the sentimental and melodramatic. Wister tried to expand his writing style by writing his own "novel of manners," modeled on Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* but set in genteel Charleston, South Carolina. The novel, *Lady Baltimore*, was not critically acclaimed and had moderate sales in its time. In 1913, his wife died and he no longer wrote fiction. He began several projects and then took the path of political and non-fiction writing in the era just before World War I.

His major post-*Virginian* achievement was a biography of his old friend, Theodore Roosevelt, and many articles about his past acquaintances and friendships. At the end of his life Wister was no longer remembered as a great literary figure. He died on July 21, 1938, just seven days after his 78th birthday. His reputation was

resuscitated late in the century by the Western Writers of America, which named a major award after Wister, and by an increasing number of scholars willing to take his work seriously.

—Joan Leotta

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## *The Wizard of Oz*

The 1939 Metro Goldwyn Mayer (MGM) film *The Wizard of Oz*, based on L. Frank Baum's 1900 book was hugely influential. Its simple message—that there is no place like home, and that you have the power to achieve what you most desire—had a general appeal to the American public. Starting in 1956, a new generation of American children was annually entranced by the television showing of Dorothy's journey down the Yellow Brick Road.

In the film, after a cyclone carries her to Oz, Dorothy meets the Scarecrow, the Tin Woodman, and the Cowardly Lion, and they set off together for the Emerald City in search of what they most desire: for Dorothy, a home; for the Scarecrow, a brain; for the Tin Woodman, a heart; and for the Cowardly Lion, courage. When they kill the Wicked Witch of the West and go to the Wizard for their promised reward, they discover he is nothing but a humbug. Nevertheless, he supplies them with the symbols of what they already possess—a degree for the Scarecrow, a ticking heart-shaped clock for the Tin Woodman, and a medal for the Cowardly Lion. Glinda the Good Witch helps Dorothy use the magic in the ruby slippers she has been wearing all along to whisk her back to Kansas.

The film was made during the heyday of the studio system and the golden era of MGM. Directed by Victor Fleming (among others), it starred Judy Garland, Ray Bolger, Jack Haley, Bert Lahr, Frank Morgan, and Margaret Hamilton. From the beginning, it was a production beset by trouble: cast changes, director changes, injuries, and script rewrites kept cast and crew busy for 23 weeks, the longest shoot in MGM history.

The opening and closing Kansas scenes were filmed in black-and-white, while the Oz scenes were done in sumptuous (and expensive) Technicolor. Dorothy's amazement at entering the world of



A scene from the film *The Wizard of Oz*, with Judy Garland as Dorothy.



color mirrored audiences' feelings about the new technology. The importance of wonder did not stop there: Jack Haley (the Tin Woodman) created the breathless, slightly stilted way he and Ray Bolger (as the Scarecrow) would speak to Dorothy. Haley told Victor Fleming, "I want to talk the way I talk when I'm telling a story to my five-year-old son," and Bolger agreed, saying later "I tried to get a sound in my voice that was complete wonderment." Haley, Bolger, and Lahr (the Cowardly Lion) came out of the vaudeville tradition and filled the movie with the kind of jokes and physical humor with which stage audiences were already familiar.

Frank Morgan, as the Wizard, perfectly embodied the harmless-trickster aspects of his character. Margaret Hamilton, as the Wicked Witch of the West, scared many youngsters with her bright green skin and high-pitched cackle. L. Frank Baum, the original author of the story, had wanted to create a fairy tale that eliminated "all the horrible and blood-curdling incidents" of fairy tales, one that "aspires to being a modernized fairy tale, in which the wonderment and joy are retained and the heart-aches and nightmares are left out." The Wicked Witch, however, terrorized children in the audience—the scene where Dorothy watches Aunt Em in the crystal ball dissolve into the Witch has been interpreted by psychologists to symbolize the unpleasant fusion of good and bad mother figures.

The film was released in 1939 to receptive audiences, but was overshadowed by the epic *Gone with the Wind* and did not start to turn a real profit until CBS bought it for television in 1956. From then on, it was shown annually, and by the year 2000 held seven of the places in a list of the top 25 highest-rated movies on network television (no other film held more than one spot.) The aggregate audience from 1956 until the year 2000 was more than one billion people. In 1998, *The Wizard of Oz* was re-released on the big-screen.

The songs, by Harold Arlen and E.Y. Harburg, were hugely popular from the start. "Somewhere Over the Rainbow"—Judy Garland's plaintive song of a place where "the dreams that you dare to dream really do come true"—became a jazz standard in the United States and an anthem of hope in England during World War II. Garland's version remains the most famous, but pop artists as diverse as Willie Nelson, Tori Amos, and Stevie Ray Vaughan recorded covers. After gay icon Garland's death, the rainbow in her song became a gay coat-of-arms.

*The Wizard of Oz* spawned numerous remakes and sequels, including animated cartoons, a Broadway show, "Oz on Ice," and *The Wiz*, an all-black, urban revision of the original film, starring Diana Ross as Dorothy and Michael Jackson as the Scarecrow. Many films, including *Star Wars*, David Lynch's *Wild at Heart*, and John Boorman's *Zardoz*, contain major allusions to *The Wizard of Oz*—minor references to it are pervasive in American movies. In literature, dark revisionist fantasies, including Geoff Ryman's *Was*, a bleak Oz story that incorporates AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome), child abuse, and Judy Garland's childhood, and Gregory Maguire's *Wicked*, an Oz prequel written from the witch's point of view, owe great debts to the film. It was also influential in popular music—Elton John titled an album *Goodbye Yellow Brick Road*, Ozzie Osbourne titled one *Blizzard of Oz*, and Electric Light Orchestra's *Eldorado* album cover showed a pair of green hands reaching for Dorothy's ruby slippers, with no explanation required.

*The Wizard of Oz* film seeped into the everyday life of Americans in countless ways. Dunkin' Donuts named its donut-hole creations "Munchkins" after the little-people inhabitants of Munchkinland, where Dorothy's house lands in Oz. Quotes from the movie—"Toto, I've a feeling we're not in Kansas anymore"; "Lions, and tigers, and

bears, oh my"; "Pay no attention to that man behind the curtain"—were emblazoned on t-shirts. A 25-cent postage stamp depicting Dorothy and Toto was released in 1989 as part of the United States Postal Service "Classic Films" series. References to the film showed up in political cartoons, advertisements, and greeting cards. There was an Oz theme park, an Oz fan club, and a series of Oz conventions. During the Watergate scandal, Nixon was compared more than once to the humbug Wizard. The plot of the first episode of the 1970s television program *H.R. Pufnstuf* was unmistakably borrowed from *The Wizard of Oz*. And in the 1980s and 1990s, self-help gurus used the Yellow Brick Road as a metaphor for the quest for self-knowledge.

Popular myths also sprung up about the film, such as its supposed synchronicity with Pink Floyd's *Dark Side of the Moon* album, and exaggerated stories of the Munchkin actors' bad behavior on the set. A myth about a Munchkin suicide visible in the back of one scene persists despite being debunked numerous times.

When the film was originally released, with the tagline "The Greatest Picture in the History of Entertainment," MGM launched an aggressive merchandising campaign; objects from this campaign now fetch high prices as collectors' items. Memorabilia from the film is also extremely valuable: one pair of Judy Garland's ruby slippers is on permanent display at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., at the National Museum of American History; another pair was auctioned at Christie's for \$165,000 in 1988.

Film critic Roger Ebert attempts to explain the movie's popularity, saying: "The Wizard of Oz fills such a large space in our imagination. It somehow seems real and important in a way most movies don't. Is that because we see it first when we're young? Or simply because it is a wonderful movie? Or because it sounds some buried universal note, some archetype or deeply felt myth?" Ebert leans toward the last possibility, and indeed, Baum deliberately set out in 1900 to create a uniquely American fairy tale, one with timeless appeal to all the "young in heart." The film—and all that followed—made his dream come true.

—Jessy Randall

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## WKRP in Cincinnati

The sitcom *WKRP in Cincinnati* mirrored late-1970s American culture through the lives and antics of the employees of a small AM

radio station. In its four-year run on CBS from 1978 to 1982, *WKRP* developed one of the best ensemble casts on television and produced some of the more memorable scenes from the period. The show's ability to build contemporary issues into many of the stories makes it a time capsule for the period, as it dealt with issues such as alcoholism, urban renewal, drugs, infidelity, crime, guns, gangs, elections, and even other television shows. In a classic episode about a Thanksgiving promotion gone bad, Les Nesman's report—a dead-on take from the Hindenburg disaster—and Arthur Carlson's trailing words—"As God is my witness I thought turkeys could fly"—crackle with the show's characteristic intelligence and humor.

—Frank E. Clark

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## Wobblies

A radical labor union committed to empowering all workers, especially the nonskilled laborers excluded from the American Federation of Labor (AFL), the so-called Wobblies, members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), played a pivotal role in America's labor history. Believing that the nation's most exploited and poorest workers deserved a voice, the Wobblies called for "One Big Union" that would challenge the capitalist system first in the United States and later worldwide.

In 1905 a group of two hundred radical labor activists met in Chicago and formed the IWW. The group was overwhelmingly leftist and called for the ultimate overthrow of capitalism worldwide. Immediately feared by most and despised by AFL leader Samuel Gompers, the Wobblies challenged the status quo and fought for the rights of America's working poor. The Wobblies planned to do what no union had tried before: unite blacks, immigrants, and assembly-line workers into one powerful force.

IWW leaders included some of the most famous names in American labor history, such as Big Bill Haywood, head of the Western Federation of Miners; Mary "Mother" Jones; and Eugene Debs, the leader of the Socialist Party. Initially, the ranks of the IWW were filled with western miners under Haywood's control. These individuals became increasingly militant as they were marginalized by the AFL. Traveling hobo-like by train, IWW organizers fanned out across the nation. Wobbly songwriters like Joe Hill immortalized the union through humorous folk songs. The simple call for an inclusive union representing all workers took hold. At its peak, 1912-1917, IWW membership approached 150,000, although only 5,000 to 10,000 were full-time members.

Long before the rise of the Bolsheviks in Russia, the courageous and militant Wobblies were calling for a socialist revolution and

began organizing strikes around the nation as a prelude to a general worldwide strike among the working class. The strikes often turned bloody, but the Wobblies continued to fight. They were attacked by the newspapers, the courts, the police, and goon squads formed to protect the interests of corporations. The IWW led important strikes at Lawrence, Massachusetts (1912); Paterson, New Jersey (1913); and Akron, Ohio (1913). As the Wobblies battled for free speech and higher wages across the nation, a legendary folklore developed regarding the union because of the violence and mayhem that seemed to follow them everywhere. The Wobblies became the scourge of middle-class America, especially in the highly charged atmosphere of World War I and the postwar Red Scare. The IWW, according to labor historian Melvyn Dubofsky in *We Shall Be All*, became "romanticized and mythologized." The reality was that the Wobblies mixed Marxism and Darwinism with American ideals to produce a unique brand of radicalism.

As the Wobbly "menace" became more influential, American leaders took action to limit the union's power. World War I provided the diversion the government needed to crush the IWW once and for all. Anti-labor forces labeled the IWW subversive allies of both Germany and Bolshevik Russia; one senator called the group "Imperial Wilhelm's Warriors." President Woodrow Wilson and his attorney general believed the Wobblies should be suppressed. On September 5, 1917, justice department agents raided every IWW headquarters in the country, seizing five tons of written material. By the end of September nearly two hundred Wobbly leaders had been arrested on sedition and espionage charges. In April 1918, 101 IWW activists went on trial, which lasted five months and was the nation's longest criminal trial to date. All the defendants were found guilty, and fifteen were sentenced to twenty years in prison, including Haywood, who jumped bail and fled to the Soviet Union where he died a decade later.

The lasting importance of the IWW was bringing unskilled workers into labor's mainstream. After the demise of the Wobblies, the AFL gradually became more inclusive and political. The Congress of Industrial Organizations, founded in 1935 by another mining leader, John L. Lewis, successfully organized unskilled workers. In 1955 the AFL and CIO merged to form the AFL-CIO, America's leading trade union throughout the second half of the century.

The heyday of the IWW lasted less than twenty years, but in that short span it took hold of the nation's conscience. Nearly forgotten today, the Wobbly spirit still can be found in novels by John Dos Passos and Wallace Stegner, as well as numerous plays and movies. By the 1950s and 1960s, IWW songs, collected in the famous *Little Red Song Book*, were rediscovered by a new generation of activists fighting for civil rights and an end to the Vietnam War.

—Bob Batchelor

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## Wodehouse, P. G. (1881-1975)

P. G. Wodehouse's best known creations are upper-class incompetent Bertie Wooster, and his capable servant, Jeeves, who first appeared in the story "Extricating Young Gussie" in 1917. His satirical view of the Jazz Age is both affectionate and incisive; he pokes fun at such emblems of the inter-war period as flappers, gangsters, the fascist "Black Shirts," and the dreaded moralizing aunt. Born Pelham Grenville Wodehouse in Guildford, Surrey, and educated at Dulwich College in London, he took United States citizenship in 1955, having lived there from 1909. A journalist and writer of over ninety books, Wodehouse also worked as a lyricist and writer with such luminaries as Jerome Kern and George Gershwin. Aged ninety-three, newly knighted, and with a waxwork of himself in Madame Tussaud's in London, he declared himself satisfied. He died the same year.

—Chris Routledge

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## Wolfe, Nero

See Stout, Rex

## Wolfe, Tom (1931—)

Since the 1960s, American journalist Tom Wolfe has been one of the chief chroniclers of the times. Known for analyzing trends and exposing inherent cultural absurdities, Wolfe has coined terminology such as "radical chic" and "the Me decade." He has the knack for pinpointing an age, wrapping it up in vivid and readable prose, and presenting it back to society as a kind of mirror. Wolfe was one of the first in a cadre of writers—among them, Jimmy Breslin, Truman Capote, Hunter Thompson, and Gay Talese—to adopt a style called the New Journalism, the practice of writing nonfiction with many of the traditional storytelling elements of fiction. In addition, Wolfe distinguished himself by his frequent use of unorthodox punctuation and spelling and by peppering his text with interjections and onomatopoeia. Some of his most famous works include *The Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamlined Baby* (1965), *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (1968), and *Radical Chic and Mau-Mauing the Flak Catchers* (1970). He was also applauded for his 1979 portrait of the early era of the American space program, *The Right Stuff*, and for his first, and so far only, novel, 1987's social satire *Bonfire of the Vanities*. Over a decade later, in late 1998, Wolfe again won warm critical reception with his second novel, *A Man in Full*, which shot to the top of the best-seller lists.

Thomas Kennerly Wolfe, Jr. was born on March 2, 1931, in Richmond, Virginia. In high school, Wolfe was the editor of his student newspaper, and he went on to serve as sports editor of the

campus paper at Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Virginia, where he also cofounded the literary quarterly *Shenandoah*. He received his bachelor's degree in English in 1951. After that, he went on to obtain a doctoral degree in American studies at Yale University in 1957. Meanwhile, eager to begin a professional writing career, he sent out one hundred letters to publications, but received just three responses—two of them negative. He thus went to work at the *Springfield Union* in Massachusetts from 1956 to 1959, then moved to the *Washington Post* in June of 1959, where he won awards for reporting and humor.

In 1962 Wolfe began working at the New York *Herald Tribune*. There, he had the opportunity to contribute to its Sunday supplement, *New York*, which later became an independent magazine. During a newspaper strike, Wolfe landed an assignment for *Esquire* writing about the custom car craze in California. Though he was enamored of his subject matter—the chrome-laden, supercharged vehicles and their young enthusiasts—Wolfe told his editor that he could not manage to construct a story. He was told to type up his notes and send them in so that another writer could do the job. The editor was so struck with Wolfe's lengthy stream-of-consciousness descriptions and musings that he ran it unaltered. This became "There Goes (Varoom! Varoom!) That Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby," which Wolfe later included in his 1965 collection of essays, *The Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamlined Baby*. The article's fertile detail, hip language, and unusual punctuation became Wolfe's trademarks.

Early on, Wolfe's style was characterized as gimmicky, but also applauded as the best way to approach some of the wacky topics he covered for his pieces. How better to record the rise in LSD and growth of the hippies than to use the language of the people about whom he wrote? Indeed, Wolfe eloquently outlined the 1960s drug era in *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* in documenting the antics of novelist Ken Kesey and his "Merry Pranksters," a group of LSD users on the West Coast who personified hippie culture. Subsequently, Wolfe delighted some and angered others in *Radical Chic and Mau-Mauing the Flak Catchers*, actually two separate long essays. *Radical Chic* was his biting humorous depiction of a fundraising party given by the white bourgeois in support of the Black Panthers. His satiric observations cut too close to the bone for some white liberals and black activists; still others were appalled by his seemingly cruel mimicry. However, many critics praised his sharp eye and sociological approach.

Wolfe toned down his style somewhat to pen *The Right Stuff* in 1979, a best-seller explaining the rise of NASA and the birth of the program to send an American into space. Much of the book's focus was on the people involved, from Chuck Yeager, the Air Force pilot who first broke the sound barrier, to the Apollo Seven astronauts and their families. It gave a personal, behind-the-scenes look at the lives affected by the space program, painting the men not only as heroes with the requisite "stuff" needed to fulfill such a duty, but as regular humans with failings and feelings as well. Wolfe's nonfiction throughout his career was as gripping as fiction due to his use of the genre's devices: dialogue, a shifting point-of-view, character development, and intensive descriptions of setting and other physical qualities in a scene. He finally tried his hand at a novel in 1987, publishing the widely praised *Bonfire of the Vanities*, a keen and darkly witty profile of 1980s Americana, from the bottom social strata to the top. His second novel, *A Man in Full* (1998), dealt with similar themes of race and class in late-twentieth-century America, but took place in the up-and-coming metropolis of Atlanta, Georgia. *A Man in Full* was

trademark Wolfe, featuring encyclopedic knowledge of a variety of subcultures and incisive observations about each. It, too, was a popular and critical success.

Being one of the most visible purveyors of the art known as New Journalism, Wolfe co-edited and contributed to an anthology titled *The New Journalism* in 1973. A staple in some college journalism courses, the volume expertly collects some of the finest examples of the practice from top names in the field and explained the constructs involved. Wolfe has also served as a contributing editor of *Esquire* magazine since 1977. Though his novel was considered a fine achievement, his contribution to the field of literature generally rests on his nonfiction sociocultural examinations.

—Geri Speace

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## The Wolfman

The Wolfman—a bipedal, cinematic version of the werewolf archetype—dramatically embodies the Jekyll/Hyde (superego/id) dichotomy present in us all. The Wolfman first took center stage in Universal's *Werewolf of London* (1935), starring Henry Hull in a role reprised decades later by Jack Nicholson (*Wolf*, 1994). Soon after, Curt Siodmak (*Donovan's Brain*) finished the screenplay for Universal's latest horror classic, *The Wolf Man* (1941), directed by George Waggner. Lon Chaney, Jr. starred as Lawrence Talbot, an American-educated Welshman who wants nothing more than to be cured of his irrepressible lycanthropy. Make-up king Jack Pierce devised an elaborate yak-hair costume for Chaney that would come to serve as the template for countless Halloween masks. Siodmak's story differed from previous werewolf tales in emphasizing the repressed sexual energy symbolically motivating Talbot's full-moon transformations. Four more Chaney-driven Wolfman films came out in the 1940s; numerous imitators, updates, and spoofs have since followed.

—Steven Schneider

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Lon Chaney Jr. in character in the film *Frankenstein Meets the Wolfman*.

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## Wolfman Jack (1938-1995)

With his trademark gravelly voice and howl, disc jockey Wolfman Jack became a cultural icon over the airwaves during the 1960s and was integral in popularizing rock music. The first radio personality to introduce rhythm-and-blues music to a mainstream audience, he opened the doors for African American artists to reach widespread success in the music world. The Wolfman did more than announce songs over the radio; his unique personality lent a context to the sound of a new generation and made him the undisputed voice of rock and roll.

Wolfman Jack was born Robert Weston Smith in Brooklyn, New York, on January 21, 1938 and grew up in a middle-class environment. Always fond of music, as a teenager he would pretend he was a disc jockey using his own stereo equipment. After some odd jobs selling encyclopedias and Fuller brushes, Wolfman Jack attended the National Academy of Broadcasting in Washington, D.C. He got his professional start in 1960 at WYOU in Newport News, Virginia, a station that catered to a mostly black audience. There, the Wolfman began experimenting with on-air characters, and off the air, hosted dance parties. In 1962, he crossed the border to begin airing a show on



### Wolfman Jack

Mexican radio's XERF, which held an extremely powerful 250,000-watt signal that reached across much of the continent. At this job, Bob Smith developed his Wolfman Jack persona.

Wolfman Jack's raspy voice and on-air howls and commands to "get nekkid" caught the attention of young music fans across the country. Unfortunately, the Federal Trade Commission was interested in his advertisements for an array of products over his show, including drug paraphernalia and sugar pills that supposedly helped with sexual arousal, which led to the demise of the station's profits. Meanwhile, however, the Wolfman became known for playing a range of black artists such as Ray Charles, Wilson Pickett, Clarence Carter, and more, leading to the crossover of African American artists into white culture. Though record company executives were pleased to see their markets broadening, not everyone was thrilled with the development, since integration was still a new concept. Later, when Wolfman Jack moved back to Louisiana and hosted racially mixed dances, the Ku Klux Klan burned crosses on his lawn. Subsequently, Bob Smith kept Wolfman Jack within the confines of the studio to avoid hostility.

Later, Wolfman Jack moved to Minneapolis, Minnesota, where he ran a small local station and sent taped shows down to XERF. Wishing to resume live on-air performances, in 1966 he and a partner opened their own station on Sunset Strip in Los Angeles, which flourished until 1971. After that folded, Wolfman Jack accepted a humble salary at KDAY and also began hosting the television show *Midnight Special* on NBC, airing from 1972 to 1981. He appeared in most of the episodes. He also had a part as himself in the hit George Lucas film *American Graffiti*, a nostalgia movie about a group of teenagers in the early 1960s. The appearance finally put a face to the name for fans, who were reassured to discover that the Wolfman looked every bit the part, with bulging eyes and a bushy beard, sideburns, and hairstyle. Wolfman Jack used this publicity to land jobs on commercials and appearing at concerts and conventions. He was also a guest on *Hollywood Squares*, and began working on WNBC in New York City hosting a radio show. In addition, he lent his voice to the rock song "Clap for the Wolfman" by the Guess Who.

In the early 1990s, Wolfman Jack flew from his home in North Carolina to Washington, D.C. each Friday to host the syndicated radio

oldies program *Live from Planet Hollywood* on WXTR-FM. In 1995, he published his autobiography, which related the ups and downs of his career, from hobnobbing with other celebrities to his battle with a cocaine addiction. Shortly after completing a 20-day tour to promote the book, he died of a heart attack at his home in Belvidere, North Carolina, on July 1, 1995. He was survived by his wife of 34 years, Elizabeth “Lou” Lamb Smith, and his two children, Todd Weston Smith and Joy Renee Smith.

—Geri Speace

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## Woman’s Day

Begun during the 1930s depression, *Woman’s Day* magazine “like the supermarket. . . helped to change the habits of the American family,” according to Helen Woodward in *The Lady Persuaders*. *Woman’s Day* began as a giveaway menu leaflet, the “A&P Menu Sheet,” published and distributed to its customers by the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company. The sheet “told the housewife how to get the most for her food dollar, then how to use the food purchased to provide her family with appetizing and nourishing meals,” James Playsted Wood reported in *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*. It included suggested menus for families with adequate as well as for those with meager and less-than-meager budgets. The first issue in 1934 offered menus for a family of four ranging from eleven to thirteen dollars a week to five to six dollars a week. The April 30, 1934, sheet contained “menus especially adapted to the needs of children.”

The menu sheet was so successful and so expensive to produce that two A&P executives, Frank Wheeler and Donald P. Hanson, developed plans to make a women’s service magazine of it. A subsidiary was founded, and in October 1937 the first 815,000 copies of *Woman’s Day* were ready for sale for three cents in A&P grocery stores. Six of the 32 pages were devoted to recipes and menus. Other pages included advertising for products chiefly found in the A&P, an article that told “What to Do about Worry,” and another that asked, “Is Football Worthwhile?” From its beginning, the magazine contained how-to-do-it articles, expanded in 1947 to a complete how-to section, “How to Make It—How to Do It—How to Fix It.” By 1940 the magazine was able to guarantee advertisers a circulation of 1.5 million.

In 1943, Mabel Hill Souvaine began her fifteen-year tenure as editor, and under her management the magazine grew in circulation to nearly five million. By 1952, *Woman’s Day* was distributed in 4,500 A&P stores and, like its arch rival, *Family Circle*, was, as reported in *Business Week*, “hard on the heels of the big women’s service magazines.” In the 1950s, *Woman’s Day* told stores which dress patterns it would feature and then told readers which stores stocked fabrics appropriate for those patterns. In 1958, after a federal judge dismissed a suit brought by several food companies that alleged the magazine engaged in discriminatory practices that guaranteed it advertising revenues, A&P sold *Woman’s Day* to the Fawcett Company.

Of the many store-distributed magazines founded in the 1930s, *Woman’s Day* and *Family Circle* emerged as the hardiest and most prosperous. With a readership of nearly 20 million in the late 1980s, *Woman’s Day* was a close competitor to the “world’s largest women’s magazine,” *Family Circle*, which boasted a readership of more than 21 million. By the 1990s, *Woman’s Day* continued to be one of the most popular sources of information designed specifically for women and their daily life.

—Erwin V. Johannigmeier

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## Wonder, Stevie (1950—)

In the 1970s, as pop music fractured into a thousand competing subgenres, Stevie Wonder blended pop, jazz, soul, rock, funk, and reggae without trivializing or pastiching. As he grew from child prodigy to music’s foremost ambassador, he topped the charts while winning three consecutive Album of the Year Grammy awards. A producer, arranger, composer, singer, and master of numerous instruments, Wonder also did more than anyone to tame the synthesizer, transforming it from special effect to musical instrument. Lyrically, he addressed everything from social inequity to romance and heart-break, from Plant Rights to the birth of his daughter; and topped it all off with unrelenting good humor.

Born prematurely on May 13, 1950, Stevland Judkins (later Stevland Morris) lost his sight while in a hospital incubator. From his earliest years he demonstrated an aptitude for music, banging on anything he could get his hands near until his family managed, despite their poverty, to acquire some instruments for him to play. When he was ten years old, a family friend introduced the boy to Motown founder Berry Gordy, who promptly signed the youth he soon renamed “Little Stevie Wonder.” In addition to performing and recording, Wonder also took music lessons from Motown’s legendary studio band, the Funk Brothers. Though two early singles flopped, the boy’s exuberance and showmanship came through on a 1963 live recording, “Fingertips Part Two,” that soon became a number one single; the album, *Recorded Live—The Twelve Year Old Genius*, also rose to number one, a first for Motown.

A couple of lean years followed before Wonder displayed an ability to write his own songs: his 1965 composition “Uptight” became a major hit and Gordy, who usually discouraged artists from writing their own material, assigned songwriters to help the budding genius. Over the next few years, hits included “For Once in My Life,” “I Was Made to Love Her,” and a cover of Bob Dylan’s “Blowin’ in the Wind” which marked Wonder’s (and Motown’s) first take on social themes. Wonder’s “My Cherie Amour” was recorded in 1966 but only saw release in 1969 as a “B” side; it proved



### Stevie Wonder

Motown's Quality Control department wrong when it soared up the charts. As he grew, Wonder became increasingly disenchanted with Motown's assembly line approach to hit-making, though he had more freedom than most of the label's artists. He was allowed to start producing some of his own music starting in 1968, and in 1970 won a Best R&B (rhythm and blues) Producer Grammy for *Signed, Sealed & Delivered*.

But in 1971, when he reached the age of majority and received a ten-year backlog of royalties, he did not re-sign with the company. Instead, he invested much of his fortune in new synthesizers and devoted himself to recording at Electric Lady Studios, designed by fellow sonic explorer Jimi Hendrix. Shocked that Wonder would consider abandoning the Motown family, Gordy negotiated a new contract that gave the artist unprecedented artistic freedom, including his own music publishing company. Wonder responded with a run of the most innovative, popular, and critically praised albums in Motown history, starting with two albums in 1972: *Music of My Mind* and *Talking Book*, which spawned two number one singles, the ballad "You Are the Sunshine of My Life" and the funk tune "Superstition." The astonishing diversity of the material and the ear-opening range of synthesized sounds (programmed by associate producers

Robert Margouleff and Malcolm Cecil) were to become trademarks of Wonder's adult career. The following three albums, *Innervisions*, *Fulfillingness' First Finale*, and the double album *Songs in the Key of Life* each won Album of the Year Grammys, and contained hit singles like "Livin' for the City," "You Haven't Done Nothin'," "I Wish," and "Sir Duke." The combination of trenchant political lyrics set to breathtaking melodies, unorthodox harmonies, and satisfying rhythms set a high-water mark for pop music; his positive, engaging manner kept the material from dragging the listener down.

Wonder was the foremost contributor to a trend in 1970s soul music (also upheld by Earth, Wind & Fire, the Isley Brothers, and War, among others) that shined a bright light on social problems but always with spirituality, a constructive attitude, and musical innovation. His do-it-yourself approach inspired a generation of artists who wrote and produced their own material (Prince being the most prominent example), and his unwillingness to take the easy way out has resulted in a book of compositions frequently played and recorded by top jazz musicians. Wonder's easy good cheer refuted the stereotype of the troubled, harassed superstar.

After *Songs*, however, his fame began to fade. A 1979 soundtrack to the film version of the bestselling non-fiction book *The Secret Life*

of *Plants*, received mixed reviews from critics and record buyers alike, and Wonder rushed out *Hotter Than July* in 1980 to reassure confused fans that he had not lost his mind. The new album focused on more traditional political issues, with “Happy Birthday” kicking off Wonder’s ultimately successful campaign to make Martin Luther King Jr.’s birthday a national holiday. While his next album was in the works, a duet written by and performed with Paul McCartney, “Ebony and Ivory,” kept Wonder in the public eye. Then in 1984, “I Just Called to Say I Love You” (from the movie *The Woman in Red*) became Wonder’s bestselling single ever, but had lasting negative consequences: the syrupy tune alienated many music critics and Wonder became pigeonholed as a sappy balladeer. That opinion was bolstered by *In Square Circle* (1985) and its hit “Part Time Lover,” which marked an end to Wonder’s dominance of the pop charts. The 1987 follow-up, *Characters*, which sold relatively poorly, led off with the single “Skeletons,” a hard funk groove with lyrics obliquely addressing the Iran-contra affair. Despite the feel-good fundraising of mid-1980s events like “We Are the World” and “That’s What Friends Are For” (Wonder participated in both), social criticism with any sharpness had fallen out of favor in pop music. The 1991 soundtrack to Spike Lee’s *Jungle Fever* also sank without an impact, though it contained some fine work.

But even as styles changed, Wonder’s influence could still be heard all over the airwaves, as his distinctive vocal style inspired New Jack Swing and soul artists like Boyz II Men, Mint Condition, and Jodeci. Later, in the mid-1990s, British retro outfit Jamiroquai rose to multiplatinum success by directly copying Wonder’s landmark 1970s sound. In 1996, Wonder won a Lifetime Achievement Award and two Grammys for the new album *Conversation Peace*; he seems secure in his role as a living legend whose best work may be behind him, but who can still, on occasion, work his melodic magic.

—David B. Wilson

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## Wonder Woman

As America prepared to enter World War II and American women prepared to take on the roles of men at home, Wonder Woman became the first female superhero in the male-dominated world of comic books. Wonder Woman originally appeared in a nine-page spread in the December 1941 issue of DC Comics’ popular *All Star Comics*. Her story was so well received that she was given a spot in DC’s *Sensation Comics* in January 1942 and her own self-titled series that debuted in the summer. Strong, agile, intelligent, and brave, Wonder Woman challenged gender stereotypes, demonstrating that women, too, could rescue people from imminent danger and fight for justice. Wonder Woman, however, differed from her male counterparts in an important aspect: when she pursued her enemies—who were typically villains threatening America or seeking to subvert peace—she did so with an eye for reform rather than vengeance.

Equipped with her golden lasso, bullet-deflecting bracelets, and Amazonian agility, rather than guns or a propensity for violence, Wonder Woman was made into a role model for young women, encouraging them to compete and win in a man’s world without ever surrendering their femininity.

Dreamed up by William Moulton Marston, who wrote under the pen name Charles Moulton, Wonder Woman was created to fill a void in the comic book market. Marston, then employed as an educational consultant for Detective Comics, Inc. (now DC Comics), was the first to notice that the world of superheroes ignored an important demographic: girls. While young boys could pretend to be Batman, Superman, or the Green Lantern, young girls had to swap genders in order to participate in the role-playing, a practice Marston perceived as damaging to their self-esteem. So, with the go ahead from Max Gaines, then head of DC Comics, Marston began work on the female superhero who was to become an American icon.

Marston’s Wonder Woman was a kinder, gentler superhero than those who had come before her. Originally known as Princess Diana, she was raised as part of a hidden colony of Amazons who had fled Greece and Rome to escape male domination. From infancy, all of the Amazons had been trained in Grecian contests of agility, dexterity, speed, and strength, enabling them to attain greater speed than Mercury and greater strength than Hercules. In addition, each possessed the wisdom of Athena and Aphrodite’s ability to inspire love. The Amazons inhabited the tiny Paradise Island, located in the Bermuda Triangle and surrounded by magnetic thought fields that prevented its detection. But when Major Steve Trevor of American Intelligence crash-landed his plane there, the Amazons’ lives changed. Diana found him and stayed by his side until he was well, falling in love with him in the process. When Major Trevor was well enough to be returned to the United States, Diana won permission to follow him and aid him in his battle for truth, justice, and the American way. Thus, Wonder Woman was born.

From the beginning, Wonder Woman’s mission was one of peace, justice, and equality. While she did set out to capture criminals, she was never violent, nor did she use excessive force unless necessary. She did not carry a weapon, but instead relied upon her intelligence and agility to outwit and outmaneuver her opponents. Frequently, she encircled villains in her magic lasso, forcing them to reveal all of their evil secrets, and then delivered them to Transformation Island, a rehabilitation facility created by the Amazons of her native land. Many of her early foes were successfully reformed in this manner.

In addition to being a peaceful superhero, it is also notable that Wonder Woman was a self-made one. Although changes made to the series in the 1950s and 1960s described Wonder Woman’s powers as a gift from the Gods, the original storyline attributed her superhero qualities to years of rigorous training and self-discipline. This concept, which was finally restored to the series in the late 1980s, suggested that young readers who worked hard enough could also achieve greatness. Or, as Wonder Woman herself said in one of her early comic strips in the 1940s, “Girls who realize woman’s true powers can do greater things than I have done.” In a time when millions of men were about to become heroes in World War II, Wonder Woman provided an ideal to which young girls could aspire, and a vehicle through which they could find their own strength.

While her comic continued to appeal to readers into the 1990s, Wonder Woman is also remembered for her television program. Between 1975 and 1979, Wonder Woman, played by Lynda Carter, charmed audiences in one season on ABC in a show set in the 1940s



and faithful to the comic book of that time, and then for two more seasons on CBS in a show set in modern times.

—Belinda S. Ray

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## Wong, Anna May (1905-1961)

Anna May Wong was the first Asian American actress to achieve Hollywood film star status and an early outspoken critic of Hollywood's racist attitudes. Born Wong Liu Tsong in Los Angeles, she was third-generation Chinese-American. Her first role was as an extra in *The Red Lantern* (1919), and her first lead was in the first Technicolor film, *Toll of The Sea* (1922). Her most memorable part was in *Shanghai Express* (1932), which starred Marlene Dietrich. Although she won critical acclaim for her acting in *The Thief of Bagdad* (1924), Wong grew tired of stereotyped casting and emigrated to Europe, where her stage and film work were well received. A gifted linguist, she played roles in several languages. After she returned to the United States, she declined, on principle, to consider playing the role of the concubine in *The Good Earth*. In the early 1950s, she starred in a short-lived television series. Her last film was *Portrait in Black* (1960).

—Yolanda Retter

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## Wood, Ed (1924-1978)

The director of some of filmdom's campiest flicks during the Tarnished Age of the "B" movie, the cross-dressing Edward D. Wood, Jr. is remembered by a loyal cult following as the "worst director of all time" for such unforgettable creations as the transvestite epic *Glen or Glenda* (1953) and the mock-serious science-fiction drama *Plan 9 from Outer Space* (1958). Replete with bad dialogue, moralistic narration, infamously cheap special effects, and starring an eclectic group of Hollywood outcasts, including an aging Bela Lugosi, Wood's films rank among the most dreadful spectacles in cinematic history. His films mouldered in relative obscurity for decades, known only to "B" film buffs, until the 1994 biographical comedy *Ed Wood* triggered a resurgence of interest in his work. This film showed how, in the words of *Boston Herald* film critic James Verniere, sometimes "a dream can take you further than talent."

Born in 1924, Wood spent his formative years in New Jersey, cultivating his love of both Hollywood and angora sweaters. Although he was always a heterosexual, he admitted finding comfort in women's clothing. As a marine in World War II, Wood feared being injured in battle lest medics discover the bra and panties underneath his combat fatigues. In 1946, fresh from the service, Wood arrived in Hollywood with nothing but his unbreakable optimism and a change of lingerie. He spent a few years on the backlot of back lots, paying his dues, producing some short films, and planning his first major feature. The opportunity finally came in 1953 when Wood released *Glen or Glenda*, in which he himself starred as a cross-dressing businessman also known as Danal Davis. It was during the filming that Wood met Lugosi, at that time an aging, drug-addicted actor desperate for the dignity of regular work. Enamoured to have crossed paths with the star of *Dracula*, the 1931 horror classic, and desperate for publicity, Wood immediately invented a part for Lugosi. In the final scene of *Glen or Glenda*, when Wood's character divulges his obvious secret to his girlfriend, and she dramatically hands him her prized angora sweater, Lugosi appears as an obviously out-of-place supreme being, inexplicably chanting "pull the string."

Over the next few years, Wood refined his unique style of moviemaking by working on several short films, including the high-camp horror flick *Bride of the Monster* (1956). With neither studio connections nor talented talent, Wood was forced to work entirely outside the Hollywood system, accepting financial backing from any willing sponsor and collecting old stock footage to fill screen time. He also assembled his own unusual Hollywood "family," including future wife Loretta King, the morphine-addicted Lugosi, Criswell, a fake television psychic who once predicted an outbreak of cannibalism, Bunny Breckenridge, a drag queen, and Tor Johnson, a 300-pound Swedish wrestler turned actor. Despite the lack of production values, experienced actors or quality scripts, Wood truly believed his pictures could make a difference, often relying on blatant narration to illustrate his point. Ever the optimist, Wood never once did a second take, because in each instance, he truly believed the first take was perfect.

In 1955, Wood released his most renowned film, *Plan 9 from Outer Space*, about aliens who transform the dead into killer zombies to teach the warmongers of Earth a lesson. Originally entitled *Grave Robbers from Outer Space*, Wood was forced to rename the film after his unlikely sponsors, the First Baptist Church of Beverly Hills, opposed the original title for religious reasons. Lugosi died shortly after filming began, but rather than remove the only remotely marketable name from the marquee, Wood substituted his wife's chiropractor—who was a full foot taller—for Lugosi in the rest of the scenes. Ed Wood "fans" have practically made an industry of ridiculing *Plan 9 from Outer Space* for the cheap sets, simplistic dialogue, and especially the laughable special effects, like the UFOs, which were nothing more than spinning hubcaps dangling from very visible strings. The film is Wood's true "masterpiece," a perpetual candidate for the worst film of all time.

Wood went on to direct several more movies, including *Violent Years* (1956), a tale of the "untamed girls of the pack gang" which nonetheless preaches a return to family values, and *Night of the Ghouls* (1959), a film that announced that it was "so astounding that some of you might faint." As low-budget as they were, Wood's films rarely made a cent. By the late 1960s, Wood was broke and resorted to making soft-core pornography films and writing a few "adult books" including *Death of a Transvestite*. Wood himself descended into alcoholism and died in 1978 at the age of 54.

A few months after his death, Wood was chosen the “worst director of all-time” by the Golden Turkey Awards. Over the next decade, his films appeared in “B” movie festivals around the world and gained a small cult following, which included director Tim Burton. In 1994, Burton released *Ed Wood*, a comedic tribute in which Johnny Depp was cast as the starry-eyed Wood. The film details Wood’s life between 1952 and 1955, focusing on his relationship with Bela Lugosi. Although it did not last long in theatres, the film drew considerable critical acclaim, making many critics’ top-ten lists for 1994. Rather than patronizing the obviously untalented director, Burton presents Wood as a naive and charismatic man with true affection for Lugosi and the rest of his coterie of “misfits and dope fiends.” Martin Landau won the Oscar for Best Supporting Actor for his mesmerizing portrayal of the drug-addicted Lugosi, bitter at the Hollywood world that had cast him aside. In the words of film critic Phillip Wuntch of the *Dallas Morning News*, Ed Wood “succeeds as a salute to filmmaking and, on a personal level, as a valentine to the uncrushed human spirit.”

Thanks to the 1994 film, the public gained some respect for the “worst director of all-time.” Many of his films became available on video, and Wood has become the center of a small but devoted cult following.

—Simon Donner

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## Wood, Natalie (1938-1981)

Natalie Wood will always be remembered as the beautiful, sad little girl who learned to believe in Santa Claus in *The Miracle on 34th Street* (1947). In that movie, she was flanked by such outstanding talents as Edmund Gwenn and Maureen O’Hara, yet she held her own. Later, Wood proved her talents as an adult, starring in such notable films as *Rebel without a Cause*, *West Side Story*, and *Splendor in the Grass*.

Born Natasha Virapaeff on July 20, 1938, to poor Russian immigrants, Wood was destined to become a star. Her mother was a classic stage mother, aggressive, obstinate, insistent, and convinced that others should recognize her daughter’s beauty and talent. Although five-year-old Natalie failed to impress at her first screen test, her mother nevertheless convinced producer Irving Pichel to give her a part in his 1943 film *Happy Land*. In 1946 she had a small part in *Tomorrow Is Forever*, with veteran stars Claudette Colbert, Orson Welles, and George Brent, and one year later she starred in *Miracle on 34th Street*, launching her legendary career.

Quickly becoming a seasoned performer, Wood made several films each year throughout her childhood. With *Rebel without a Cause*, she showed audiences that she was also capable of more complex roles in an Academy Award-nominated performance, and



Natalie Wood

this promise was borne out in *Splendor in the Grass* (1961) in which she played a young woman whose parents’ attempts to suppress her burgeoning sexuality result in her madness. It was also in 1961 that she starred in the hugely successful *West Side Story*, completing her transition from child star to hardworking adult actress. Critics consider her performance in *Love with the Proper Stranger* (1963) her finest.

Although her career was successful, Wood’s personal life was frequently troubled. She married Wagner for the first time in 1957, but the couple divorced only five years later. In her search for love and stability, she engaged in a number of high-profile romances with such stars as James Dean, Elvis Presley, Dennis Hopper, and most notably, Warren Beatty. Her title role in the movie *Inside Daisy Clover* (1965) is considered to be somewhat autobiographical, with its portrayal of a young girl pushed so hard by her mother into becoming a singer that she loses control and blows up her own house. Daisy Clover’s attempt at suicide is comical, but Natalie Wood’s was not. After a failed marriage and a number of failed romances, she decided to end her life. Fortunately, her attempt failed.

Wood continued working, but her career after 1963 was less distinguished. She tried her hand at comedy, most notably in the 1969 sex farce *Bob and Carol and Ted and Alice*, and later worked in

television. In 1972, she remarried Wagner, and as the decade progressed, the couple came to symbolize that rare phenomenon, a truly successful Hollywood marriage. One of the many tragedies of the entertainment industry is that Natalie Wood died so soon after finding the stability and love for which she had searched her whole life. On Thanksgiving weekend 1981, Wood was killed while sailing with her husband and actor Christopher Walken, with whom she was making a film. The boat had been purchased after the remarriage and named the *Splendour* to commemorate their love and happiness. The coroner's report states that she was accidentally drowned while attempting to either enter a dinghy tied to the boat or to stop the dinghy from banging against the bigger boat. She was dressed in a nightgown, a down jacket, and slippers. Reports indicated that Wood, Wagner, and Walken had been drinking, as had the boat's skipper, but the actual circumstances surrounding the event remain unclear.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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## Wooden, John (1910—)

John Wooden coached the UCLA Bruins basketball team for 23 years, ten of those years ending with the NCAA championship. Wooden won his first title in 1964, then again in 1965. After a year out of the winner's circle, Wooden's team achieved seven consecutive national titles (1967-73). In 1975, "The Wizard of Westwood" (a nickname Wooden despised) won his last title.

Wooden finished his 23-year career with a .804 winning percentage, fourth all-time behind Jerry Tarkanian, Clair Bee, and Adolph Rupp. Included among his many accomplishments are an 88-game winning streak, 38 straight NCAA Tournament wins, and 19 conference championships. As a coach, as Curry Kirkpatrick noted in a 1998 *Sport* article, he was considered "the best who ever coached, any time, any sport."

Wooden coached some of the best college players of their time, including Lew Alcindor (who later would be known as Kareem Abdul-Jabbar), Bill Walton, Sidney Wicks, and Walt Hazzard, as well as *Hill Street Blues* star Mike Warren.

Wooden's life started in the Midwest, in Martinsville, Indiana. It was there he met his beloved wife, Nellie, who died in 1985 after 53 years of marriage, leaving John Wooden despondent for quite a while. He dedicated *They Call Me Coach* to her, writing, "Her love, faith, and loyalty through all our years together are primarily responsible for what I am." Later in the book, reminiscing about Nellie again, he called her death "the ultimate tragedy."

Wooden was considered one of the greatest Indiana schoolboy players in history, quite an accomplishment considering the long history of great high school basketball in the Hoosier state. He had a brilliant athletic career as a guard at Purdue University, and he has been called at times the "Michael Jordan of his day" because of his accomplishments as a Boilermaker.

Wooden decided to retire after 1975 upon recognizing that his professional responsibilities in addition to coaching, such as acting as



John Wooden

liaison with athletic boosters, began to wear on him. He noted in his first book, *They Call Me Coach*, "As the years passed, . . . the pressure of the crowds at our regular season games and especially at our championship tournaments began to disturb me greatly. I found myself getting very uncomfortable and anxious to get away from it all."

His name has not been forgotten after his retirement. An annual event entitled the John Wooden Classic was established to ensure that Wooden's legacy would not be forgotten as time passed and that he would "not become a footnote in American sports history." The strength of his talent in basketball was recognized again when he became the first man elected to the Basketball Hall of Fame as a player and as a coach. In addition, each year since 1977 the top college basketball player has been presented the John R. Wooden award by the U.S. Basketball Writers Association. (One critical factor that Wooden demanded before he agreed to attach his name to the award was that the recipient be a good student, stressing that the primary reason athletes are in school is to earn an education.)

By the end of 1990s, Wooden remained active in basketball camps, which he has enjoyed since his retirement in 1975. He took particular pleasure in teaching kids the fundamentals of basketball. In *They Call Me Coach*, Wooden noted that during his camps scrimmages are "the least important part of what we teach." Instead, they emphasize complete attention to the fundamentals of the game. In Wooden's second book, *Wooden: A Lifetime of Observations On and Off the Court*, former UCLA player and assistant coach and current Louisville basketball coach Denny Crum commented, "Coach Wooden was first of all a teacher. I believe he takes more pleasure from teaching than from all the recognition he amassed during his illustrious career."

Wooden's simple style and unique expressions have become well known in the sports world. Some "Woodenisms" include, as listed in *Wooden*: "What is right is more important than who is right;" "Don't let making a living prevent you from making a life;"

“Much can be accomplished by teamwork when no one is concerned about who gets credit;” “It is what you learn after you know it all that counts;” and “Discipline yourself and others won’t need to.”

—D. Byron Painter

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## Woods, Tiger (1975—)

Prepared by his father for golf stardom from an early age, Eldrick “Tiger” Woods is off to a solid start in reaching his father’s goals. Even before he turned professional in 1996 after two years at Stanford University, Woods (the “Eldrick” officially disappeared when he was 21) became the first amateur ever to win three consecutive U.S. amateur titles. By the end of 1998, Woods had won one major tournament, the 1997 Masters (becoming the first person of color to do so), and several other tournaments, while racking up



Tiger Woods

millions of dollars both on the course as well as from advertisers such as Titleist, Nike, and American Express. In 1997, he won the PGA Tour money title by winning just more than two million dollars.

For many years, golf was mostly a white man’s sport (through 1961, the PGA of America constitution actually contained a “Caucasian clause”), mostly elitist in nature. In addition to his solid play on the course, many people believe that Woods’s success has opened up the game of golf to minorities, with many blacks specifically picking up golf because of him. Woods himself has grappled with his race, however. With his mother a Thailand native, Woods considers himself Cablinasian—Caucasian, black, Indian, and Asian—because of his racially diverse background. Throughout his short career, he has at times shunned the African-American label, though he does not deny his father’s African-American roots. When Woods turned professional, discussing whether or not he would be a role model for minorities, he said in a 1996 *Newsweek* article, “I don’t see myself as the Great Black Hope. I’m just a golfer who happens to be black and Asian. It doesn’t matter whether they’re white, black, brown or green. All that matters is I touch kids the way I can through clinics and they benefit from them.”

Earl Woods started teaching his only child the finer points of golf almost from the beginning. Tiger watched his father take practice swings when he was only six months old, and he was mesmerized watching his father swing the club. Four months later, Woods took swings of his own before he even took his first steps, and he also was on the practice green before his first birthday. When Woods was five years old, he appeared on the television show *That’s Incredible!* and was featured in *Golf Digest*. Often, Woods’s punishment would result in no golf, a good way to encourage him to stay out of trouble. He also could not practice golf until his homework was complete. Not only did Earl and Kultida encourage their son toward the golf course, but they also ingrained in him trust and respect. During Woods’s preteen and teen years, his father used his military training to help toughen up his son for the rigors of golf. For example, Earl would intentionally distract his son when he was preparing a shot.

At age 15, Woods was the youngest golfer ever to win the U.S. Junior Amateur title, the first of three consecutive titles at that level. He went on to win three consecutive U.S. Men’s Amateur titles, the only player in U.S. history to have won both the Junior and Amateur titles. In 1996, he became the NCAA champion. However, Woods became bored with the college game, looking toward the day he would turn professional and start playing for money.

Shortly after that third amateur title, Woods did turn professional. Playing at the Greater Milwaukee Open in September 1996, he finished a respectable sixteenth place, with a seven-under-par score. He won \$2,544 for his efforts. A few weeks later, Woods won his first tournament in Las Vegas, which assured him of a spot on the PGA Tour for 1997, when he led the tour in prize money. In only eight tournaments, Woods earned almost eight hundred thousand dollars. After his fantastic start, *Sports Illustrated* named him “Sportsman of the Year.”

Woods’s biggest accomplishment, however, came in April 1997 when he shattered the Masters record for largest margin of victory. After nine holes on Thursday, Woods found himself four over par. According to Earl, his son made a subtle adjustment to his swing. On the next 63 holes, Woods put on a show the likes of which the famed Augusta National Golf Club had never seen. He eventually finished at 18 under par, winning by 12 strokes, both of which were new records. In total, Woods broke 20 records with his performance and tied six others. Woods became the youngest Masters champ in history (at 21,

he was two years younger than 1980 champ Severiano Ballesteros). Unfortunately, Woods's smashing win was somewhat overshadowed by some racially insensitive comments made by fellow golfer Fuzzy Zoeller. Zoeller immediately apologized for his remarks, but the story did not die as soon as it might have. Some people blamed Woods for that fact, because he was less than forgiving toward Zoeller—not returning Zoeller's repeated phone calls. Woods won the tournament almost 50 years to the day after Jackie Robinson broke baseball's color barrier.

After his Masters win, Woods had trouble fulfilling the extremely high expectations of his fans. In the three following majors, he finished no better than seventeenth. Part of his problem may have been his extremely strenuous schedule, which included several overseas trips and also lengthy commercial shoots. In 1999, however, Woods came out on top again with a 22-under-par win at the Buick Invitational in February and a 15-under-par win at the Deutsche Bank Open in May.

—D. Byron Painter

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## Woodstock

In the 1960s, the small town of Woodstock, New York, 40 miles north of New York City, nourished a small but growing community of folk musicians including Bob Dylan, the Band, Tim Hardin, and John Sebastian. In 1969, Michael Lang, a young entrepreneur who had promoted the Miami Pop Festival the previous year, decided to open a recording studio for the burgeoning music community of Woodstock, which would double as a woodland retreat for recording artists from New York City. Lang pitched his idea to Artie Kornfeld, a young executive at Capitol Records, and Joel Rosenman and John Roberts, two young entrepreneurs interested in unconventional business propositions. Together they formed a corporation, Woodstock Ventures, to create the studio/retreat. They also decided to organize a Woodstock Music and Arts Fair to promote the opening of the studio.

As their festival plans grew in ambition, they realized that the small town of Woodstock could not accommodate such a festival, and

a site in Wallkill, in the neighboring county, was chosen for the three-day weekend event. Throughout the summer of 1969 the project snowballed as more and more artists were signed to perform. It was decided that day one would feature folk-rock artists, day two would spotlight the burgeoning San Francisco scene, and day three would be saved for the hottest acts. By the time Jimi Hendrix was signed for \$50,000, most of the major American bands were involved in Woodstock, as well as major British groups like the Who and Ten Years After. The music soon eclipsed all other aspects of the festival, such as the arts fair (which is almost forgotten) and the recording studio (which never materialized).

Woodstock Ventures spared no expense to cultivate a hip, counterculture image for their three days of peace and music. They advertised the event through the underground press—which was rapidly mushrooming into a national network of anti-establishment groups—to put the word out on the street that this was the happening event of the summer. The Wallkill site was chosen for its rustic scenery and laid-back atmosphere, but the name Woodstock was retained to convey the bucolic theme of the event. A pastoral craze of "getting back to nature" had been growing in 1968 and 1969, reflected in the country-rock movement spearheaded by Bob Dylan, the Band, and others. The lure of nature was celebrated in films like *Easy Rider* (1968), which depicted hippies cruising across the country, living off the land (more or less), and visiting communes. Woodstock Ventures hired the Hog Farm, a New Mexico hippie commune, to prepare the festival campgrounds and maintain a free kitchen for those who could not afford to buy food. The Hog Farm also set up a bad trip shelter called the Big Pink for the inevitable freakouts that were expected. A group of Indian artists were flown in from Arizona to sell handicrafts. An impromptu organization called Food for Love was hired to run concession booths. Wes Pomeroy was enlisted as Security Chief. Pomeroy was renowned for his enlightened attitude towards youth and crowd control. He had witnessed the riots of the 1968 Chicago Democratic Convention, and had developed theories about peaceful crowd control. For Woodstock he organized a non-aggressive, non-uniformed, unarmed security team, the "Peace Service Corps," to unobtrusively dissuade undesirable behavior such as riots, vandalism, and theft, while overlooking non-violent activities such as drugs, sex, and nudity. New York City police officers were recruited, and had to undergo intensive screening to demonstrate their ability to understand and peacefully cope with young, hedonistic, anti-authoritarian crowds. Unfortunately, almost all these groups eventually betrayed Woodstock Ventures. The town of Wallkill voted to drive out the festival a month before the scheduled weekend, and a new site was found in Bethel, New York (although some townsfolk offered resistance there, too). The Hog Farm turned out to be opportunistic and irresponsible, stealing watches and wallets from the Woodstock staff and clashing with anyone whom they perceived as establishmentarian, including the medical staff. The radical activist and showman Abbie Hoffman, a self-styled "cultural revolutionary" who was charged with inciting riots at the Chicago Democratic Convention, threatened to sabotage the festival with his influence over the underground press if Woodstock Ventures did not pay him \$50,000. He claimed that the promoters were growing rich off the people, and he felt that Woodstock should return the money to "the people" by financing his own political mission, including his mounting legal debts from the Chicago Seven Trial. Hoffman also threatened to put acid in the water. The Woodstock promoters knew that Hoffman had the audacity and the influence to arouse anti-establishment animosity toward the festival, and they paid him \$10,000 to

appease him. But such was the reactionary nature of the times that many radical papers nevertheless portrayed Woodstock as a capitalist venture promoted by “straights” trying to profit from “the people.”

Betrayals grew more frequent as the festival grew nearer. The day before the festival, the New York City Police Commissioner refused his officers permission to work at Woodstock. The officers then offered their services anonymously under their own conditions, and for extortionary wages. Food for Love threatened to quit during the festival, renegeing on their prepaid \$75,000 contract. A rumor soon arose that Woodstock Ventures was bankrupt, and during the festival many bands demanded that they be paid in cash before performing. Even the Grateful Dead, the most anti-commercial band on the scene, made this demand (two years earlier they had played for free outside the Monterey Pop Festival). In the end even Mother Nature renegeed her clemency, and assailed her hippie worshippers with two rainstorms, steeping the throng of 500,000 in mud.

Many remember Woodstock primarily as a disaster, as it was officially pronounced, a monument to faulty planning, a testament to the limitations and hypocrisies of hippie idealism, a nightmare of absurdities, ironies, and incongruities. Over a million tickets were sold, but since the gates weren't built in time, droves of kids began streaming in days before the show, and by Friday the promoters, having no way to collect tickets, had to declare Woodstock a free

concert. Acres of land that had been rented for parking remained empty as cars, vans, delivery vehicles, and an estimated one million kids clogged several miles of the New York State Thruway. State troopers arrested hippies on their way to the show, then danced naked on their patrol cars after drinking water laced with acid. Tons of supplies, and even some musicians, were stuck in the traffic jam and never made it to the site. At the festival itself, a 40-foot trailer full of hot dogs rotted when refrigeration fuel ran out, and thousands of people endured the stench of rancid food while they went hungry. The revolving stage, designed to eliminate intermissions between acts, was the biggest and most expensive ever built, but once the equipment was loaded onto it, it wouldn't revolve (the only time it budged was when the mudslide moved it six inches). Out in the campgrounds, a “pharmacy district” developed in the middle of the woods, where one could shop for sundry drugs. Bethel residents witnessed outrageous acts of bohemianism. One neighbor awoke to find a shirtless girl riding his cow. Another found a couple having sex on his front porch. Meanwhile, thousands of disoriented hippies showed up in the quiet town of Woodstock, New York, looking for the Festival which was a county away.

Bad press, bad weather, bad trips, technical problems, human error, divine intervention—none of these pressures was enough to snuff the spirit of the crowd that had assembled for three days of peace



A crowd shot at Woodstock, 1969.

and music. The most common feeling among all parties—producers, musicians, audience, town, and nation—was the sense of history in the making. It was the largest group of young people ever gathered, and the greatest roster of musicians ever assembled, and it became the defining moment of a generation. Initial media response tended toward panic, reporting the disastrous aspects of the event. But when riots failed to flare up, the media recanted, reporting that Woodstock was a peaceful event, a mass epiphany of good will and communal sharing. On Sunday, Max Yasgur, the dairy farmer who rented his 600 acres to the festival, took the stage and complimented the crowd, observing how the festival proved that “half a million kids can get together and have three days of fun and music, and have nothing BUT fun and music.” Of course, most of these kids were having a lot more than that, but the conspicuous absence Yasgur alluded to was violence. Rock festivals had become increasingly frequent since Monterey Pop in 1967, and each one was bigger and more riotous than the last. The assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert Kennedy also added a feeling of dread to any large gathering. When Woodstock promised nothing but disaster, then passed without a single act of violence, the relief that swept over the watching nation was almost intoxicating; it seemed like a miracle. The relief among the public and the evanescent bliss of the kids led to fanatical pronouncements of the dawning of the Age of Aquarius.

However, many commentators have since claimed that peace and good will arose not in spite of disaster but because of it. The hunger, rain, mud, and unserviced toilets conspired to create an adversity against which people could unite and bond. In “The Woodstock Wars,” Hal Aspen observed that the communal spirit of Woodstock was typical of the group psychology of disasters: “What takes hold at the time is a humbling sense of togetherness . . . with those who shared the experience. What takes hold later is a privileged sense of apartness . . . from those who didn’t.” Aspen explained that the memory of Woodstock led a generation to arrogate “an epic and heroic youth culture” that subsequent generations could not match. Those who were once simply called baby boomers now dubbed themselves “Woodstock Nation,” an independent and enlightened subculture. Abbie Hoffman wrote a book of editorials called *Woodstock Nation* immediately after the event, contrasting the newly united masses with the “Pig Nation” of mainstream America. He even contrasted Woodstock with the moon landing of July 20, less than a month before the festival, calling Woodstock “the first attempt to land a man on the earth.” The closeness of the two milestone events in one summer invited such ironic comparisons. Ayn Rand used Nietzsche’s dichotomy of Apollo and Dionysus to contrast the two events. She observed that the moon landing represented the culmination of the Apollonian, or civilized, aspect of man, which is governed by reason, while Woodstock expressed the Dionysian, or primeval, aspect of man, which is ruled by hedonism. The name of the moonlanding mission, Apollo, made this interpretation all the more compelling. But such was the sheer physical magnitude of the Woodstock Festival that it afforded enough complexity to accommodate many interpretations. The moonwalk analogies tended to view Woodstock as a moment of separation from the establishment, but it was also possible to view it as reconciliation. It wasn’t just the audience of hippies who bonded together in the face of disaster. Community and nation also rushed to their aid. The Red Cross, Girl Scouts, and Boy Scouts all donated food and supplies to the starving hoards. Even local townspeople pardoned the havoc wrought upon their town and made sandwiches for the infiltrators. The youths who had fled from their parents in pursuit of utopian visions ended up

welcoming assistance from the very establishment that Woodstock symbolically rejected. They were led to appreciate that these groups had maintained efficiency to get them out of their jam. Someone, they realized, had to stay sober. Many Bethel residents, for their part, commented with surprise on the hippies’ politeness and peaceful behavior. Mainstream America saw Max Yasgur’s observation born out, that rock and violence were not inseparable, and that perhaps the peace the hippies advocated wasn’t such a pipedream after all. In 1972 Woodstock Nation repaid the compliment by nominating Yasgur for president.

When the initial euphoria wore off it became common to view Woodstock not as the beginning of a new era but as an ending, the high-water mark of the 1960s, when hippie freakdom reached critical mass and dissipated into mainstream, and the establishment coopted the diluted attitudes and fashions into a commodity. Much of the pride and idealism of Woodstock Nation crumbled as the following years brought devastating casualties to their culture. Someone was stabbed at the Rolling Stones’ free concert at Altamont in December of 1969; 1970 brought the student massacres at Kent State University, the breakup of the Beatles, and the deaths of Jimi Hendrix and Janis Joplin later that year. The following year, 1971, brought the death of Jim Morrison, the closing of the Fillmore Concert Halls, and the reelection of Nixon. Such defeats hastened the trend toward escapism, exemplified by rock’s detour into country music and apolitical singer/songwriters, sinking into the quagmire of narcissistic spiritual odysseys in the “Me Decade.”

In the wake of disillusion many claimed that the music was the most significant aspect of Woodstock, the only legacy successfully preserved. The documentary, *Woodstock: Three Days of Peace and Music* (1970), provided vicarious excitement for the millions who couldn’t be there, and was enormously popular. It made innovative use of split-screen techniques to simulate the excitement of a live-performance, and won an Oscar for Best Documentary. The three-album soundtrack, *Woodstock: Music from the Original Soundtrack and More*, also awoke nostalgia for the swiftly vanishing epoch. However, the arrangement was jumbled, and many performers were omitted. A two-album sequel, *Woodstock Two*, provided more songs by the artists already favored, but there were still notable absences. For some people, the albums proved what they felt all along, that the music was only a minor part of what was really a spiritual event that couldn’t be captured on vinyl. Janis Joplin and the Grateful Dead, who seemed to epitomize the youth culture that had sprouted in San Francisco, reportedly delivered lackluster performances, while then-unknown acts such as Santana and Joe Cocker proved to be among the highlights of the festival. A privileged few recall Joan Baez’s performance at the free stage as the highlight. The free stage had been built outside the festival fence so that those who did not have tickets could be entertained by amateur bands and open mic. But even after the festival was declared free and the fence was torn down, the ever-valiant Joan Baez, surveying the crowd of a half-million people, perceived that the free stage would still be useful for entertaining those who could not get close to the main stage, and she played to a fringe audience for 40 minutes until her manager summoned her to her scheduled gig at the main stage. This touching moment was not captured on film or record.

The 25th anniversary of Woodstock in 1994 brought a 4-CD box set which represented most of the performers and preserved the chronological order (although many performers, such as Ravi Shankar and the Incredible String Band, have yet to appear on any Woodstock

recording). The documentary was rereleased on video as a “Director’s Cut” package offering 40 minutes of additional footage of Hendrix, Joplin, and Jefferson Airplane. A CD-ROM was also released, boasting music, film clips, lyrics, hypertext biographies, and other features.

The most spectacular product of the 25th anniversary was the Woodstock Two festival in Saugerties, New York. As early as 1970 there were plans for sequels, but the original producers were in such legal and emotional disarray that it was impossible. For the tenth anniversary there had been an unspectacular sequel in New York City in 1979 with many of the original players, but nostalgia for 1960s flower-power was at low ebb at that time. But by the late 1980s and 1990s, nostalgia became almost clockwork, and in 1994 the sons and daughters of Woodstock Nation were ready to prove that they could party like their parents. Woodstock Two was a three-day concert with a ticket price of \$135 (the original Woodstock tickets had been \$18). It, too, generated a movie and soundtrack, and was broadcast on pay-per-view television. Woodstock Two featured mostly popular 1990s bands such as the Cranberries and Green Day, but also included older bands like Aerosmith, while Bob Dylan, the Woodstock, New York, resident who had missed the original festival, finally performed. Original Woodstock alumni included Joe Cocker and Crosby, Stills, and Nash. However, CSN’s presence did little to add enhance the sequel’s image. In 1969 CSN epitomized the 1960s spirit of togetherness with their angelic harmonies and intricate interplay of guitars. By 1994, they had sold “Teach Your Children” to a diaper commercial and consequently sold their respect. Woodstock Two also mixed rock and advertising, charging corporations a million dollars per billboard space. Pearl Jam, Neil Young, and others refused to participate for this reason. On the other hand, the promoters refused to accept alcohol and tobacco sponsors—a far cry from the pharmaceutical anarchy of the original Woodstock. The advertising slogan for the pay-per-view option was one of the worst ever conceived: “All you have to do to change the world is change the channel.” The slogan alluded to John Lennon’s line, “We all want to change the world,” from the Beatles song, “Revolution” (1968), which was very typical of the political preoccupations of late 1960s music. The idiotic Woodstock Two slogan reflected the apathy and passive consumption often associated with Generation X.

However, one cannot blame the youth for the ineptly chosen phrase, nor assume that it reflected their attitude. The status of women, blacks, and gays was infinitely better in the 1990s than it had been in the 1960s. Beyond a few protest songs, Woodstock was a largely apolitical event. When Abbie Hoffman attempted to make a speech about marijuana reform, Pete Townsend swatted him off the stage. Many forget that the original Woodstock was quite commercial, as Hoffman and others had observed at the time. A common myth is that Woodstock was always a free concert, though it was only declared free by necessity. Hal Aspen notes that Woodstock is nostalgically eulogized as anti-commercial when in fact it was simply unsuccessfully commercial. Many of the innovations of Woodstock Two, such as the pay-per-view option, merely reflect improved technology and better planning rather than greater capitalism.

What really caused the Woodstock promoters to lose their credibility was their lawsuit against a simultaneous festival called Bethel ’94 which was planned at the original Woodstock site in Bethel. The event was scheduled to include such veterans as Melanie, Country Joe McDonald, and Richie Havens. Woodstock Ventures, who had been thwarted and sued by many during the first Woodstock,

launched an \$80 million law suit to prevent Bethel ’94 from happening. But 12,000 attended anyway, and Arlo Guthrie and others gave free impromptu performances. The litigation against Bethel ’94 robbed Woodstock Two of any vestige of counterculture coolness.

Woodstock Ventures retained its exclusive rights, but the memory of Woodstock Nation belongs to the world; it is irrevocably imbedded in American culture. One of the most fertile legacies of Woodstock is the anecdotes, stories, and legends which recall the color and humor of that absurd decade. One elusive legend reports that a child was born, though no one seems to know whatever became of the child. The question usually comes up at anniversaries of the event, but remains a mystery. It is possible that the child born at Woodstock is simply a myth providing counterpoint to the deaths (there were three deaths at Woodstock: a youth died Saturday morning when a tractor ran over him as he slept in his sleeping bag; another died of a heroin overdose, and a third died of appendicitis). Besides the dozens of histories and memoirs, Woodstock has also inspired novels, stories, and songs. Its most famous anthem is Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young’s version of “Woodstock” from their album *Déjà Vu* (1970). The song was penned by Joni Mitchell and also appears on her album, *Ladies of the Canyon* (1970). Written in the style of a folk ballad, her song beautifully conveys the spirit—as well as the ironies—of Woodstock Nation, with its theme of pastoral escape, the rally of “half a million strong,” the haunting subtext of Vietnam, and the poignantly passive dream of peace.

—Douglas Cooke

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## Works Progress Administration (WPA) Murals

In the mid-1930s, in the midst of the Great Depression, the U.S. federal government initiated a series of programs that were meant to provide economic relief to unemployed visual artists. The first such program was the Public Works of Art Project (PWAP), a Treasury Department initiative under the direction of Edward Bruce. Launched in December 1933 and terminated the following spring, the PWAP was short-lived; even so, several hundred murals were completed under its auspices. In October 1934 the Treasury Department launched a second program, initially called the Section of Painting and Sculpture. Unlike the PWAP, which hired artists and paid them weekly wages, the new program sponsored competitions and awarded commissions to selected artists. Over 1000 post office murals were commissioned by the Treasury Section between 1934 and 1943, the year of the program’s demise. The Federal Art Project (FAP) of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) was established in May 1935 and also survived until 1943. In addition to employing painters, sculptors,





WPA artist Isidore Lipshitz, working on a sketch for the portable mural "Primitive and Modern Medicine."

and graphic artists, the FAP provided funding for community art centers and exhibitions, operated a design laboratory, and supported indexing and bibliographic projects. Artists employed in the Mural Division were assigned projects in schools, hospitals, prisons, airports, public housing, and recreational facilities, and altogether produced over 2500 murals. Under a fourth program, the Treasury Relief Art Project (TRAP), in existence from July 1935 until June 1939, fewer than 100 murals were created.

As a popular art form, mural painting was in its ascendancy in North America in the 1920s and 1930s. In the early 1920s, the Mexican government began to subsidize the painting of murals celebrating Mexican history and the ideals of the Mexican Revolution. Artists such as Diego Rivera and Jose Clemente Orozco participated in this effort and later were privately commissioned to paint murals in the United States. Rivera, in particular, gained notoriety in the United States when, in 1933, he chose to include a portrait of Nikolai Lenin in a mural he had been invited to paint in the new Rockefeller Center in New York. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who had commissioned the mural, ordered the portrait removed. Rivera refused, and the mural was subsequently destroyed. The Rivera debacle, according to Karal Ann Marling, forced painters, critics, and ordinary citizens "to weigh the principle of freedom of expression against the countervailing rights of a majority that did not share Rivera's communistic faith." Issues surrounding the mural artist's responsibility to the public versus his or her right to creative autonomy would surface frequently in discussions of government-sponsored mural painting in the 1930s and 1940s.

The government did not officially dictate the style of the murals it sponsored; however, it did encourage its artists to paint with the public in mind. An artist commissioned to paint a post office mural by the Treasury Section, in particular, was expected to spend time in the community for which the mural was destined and to solicit suggestions for themes from community members. Most of the government-sponsored murals were realistic in style. Several abstract murals were, however, sponsored by the FAP, including *Aviation: Evolution of Forms under Aerodynamic Limitations* by Arshile Gorky (1904-1948), which was installed at Newark Airport, in New Jersey, in 1937. A typical mural reflected the influence of American Scene painting, a development in American art that emerged in the late 1920s as a reaction against European modern art and gained impetus in the 1930s. The most influential American Scene painter was Thomas Hart Benton (1889-1975), who painted four sets of murals between 1930 and 1936—including *America Today* for the New School of Social Research in New York City, and *The Social History of the State of Missouri* for the State Capitol Building in Jefferson City—but never worked on any federally sponsored projects. American Scene paintings often depicted regional landscapes, local customs, and ordinary, hard-working people. This was exactly the sort of subject matter deemed appropriate by agency officials for government-sponsored murals. In the murals produced, the settings were both contemporary and historical, but the values reflected in either case were traditional. Across the country, murals depicting Abraham Lincoln, the frontiersman Daniel Boone, the poet Carl Sandburg, the explorers Lewis and Clark, and the social reformer Jane Addams were produced. Often the subject chosen had local significance, as in the *Jane Addams Memorial* painted by Mitchell Siporin (1910-1976) for the Illinois FAP. This was also true of *The Role of the Immigrant in the Industrial Development of America* by Edward Laning (1906-1981), done under the auspices of the FAP for the Dining Room of Ellis Island. Subjects related to the processing and delivery of mail, in the present and in the past, were frequently represented in post office murals: Philip Guston (1913-1980), for example, painted *Early Mail Service and the Construction of the Railroad* for the post office in Commerce, Georgia.

Although conservative opposition to the federal art projects had existed from the start, it increased throughout the 1930s, and by the start of World War II, the nation's priorities began to shift. By 1943 the federal government had essentially ended its patronage of art. In slightly less than a decade it had sponsored some 4000 murals, a large and diverse body of work that contributes to our enduring awareness of the value of public art.

—Laural Weintraub

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## World Cup

The World Cup of football, or soccer as the game is called in the United States, is the most popular sporting event in the world. For two years, teams representing virtually every country in the world compete for the right to play in the summer tournament, which has been

staged in different countries every four years since 1930. In front of a worldwide television audience, the winners claim the title of the best soccer team in the world. Although the U.S. team reached the semi-finals of the tournament in its inaugural year, the World Cup and soccer have had little impact on American popular culture.

In the late nineteenth century soccer became a leading spectator sport in many major countries. Rules of the game were systematized, clubs were formed, and leagues were established. In 1900, the Olympic Games introduced soccer as one of its sports. In 1904, Frenchman Jules Rimet assumed the presidency of the newly created world governing body of soccer, the Federation Internationale de Football Associations (FIFA), with the intention of creating an international soccer tournament. However, the competition did not materialize for more than twenty years because of conflict among national federations over whether to allow only amateur players to compete, as in the Olympic Games, or to accept professional players, who were becoming more prevalent in Europe. Finally, FIFA agreed to include professional players and to hold the tournament every four years, alternating with the Olympic Games.



Members of the U.S. National Team Alexi Lalas (right) and Cobi Jones (foreground) play for the World Cup.

FIFA selected Uruguay to host the first ever World Cup finals in 1930. Uruguay was chosen partly based on the country's dominance in capturing gold medals in the 1924 and 1928 Olympic Games and partly because no other viable candidate came forward. Only thirteen teams, including the USA, competed in the very first World Cup tournament. Belgium, France, Romania, and Yugoslavia were the only Europeans to enter because of the three weeks it took to get to Uruguay by boat. The hosts beat Argentina 4-2 in the final in Montevideo to become the first winners of the FIFA world championship.

Although the USA has never won the tournament, between 1930 and 1998 it qualified six times, and its best finish was the semi-final in 1930. Soccer has, however, always played a shadowy existence in American popular culture. In the late nineteenth century, immigrants from Europe formed soccer clubs and organized into local leagues, but as soccer flourished in Europe, U.S. political and business elites sought to create their own national identity in a land of immigrants by promoting American sports like baseball. Soccer received no state support and was played in few U.S. colleges or schools. As Americanization movements increased at the turn of the century, more pressure was put on foreigners to assimilate by adopting American games such as baseball or gridiron football. Thus, the U.S. teams that competed in the World Cups of 1930, 1934, and 1950 consisted largely of immigrant players.

After World War II, soccer became the most popular sport on the planet. The sport produced international stars of the caliber of the Brazilian Pele and great teams like Brazil—which won the World Cup four times between 1958 and 1994—Argentina, Germany, and Italy. FIFA increased the number of teams competing in the World Cup from its original thirteen participants in 1930 to sixteen in 1958 and to twenty-four in 1982. Because of Cold War nationalism and the increase in television coverage of U.S. sports, however, the American public remained uninterested in soccer. In the 1950s baseball was still supreme, American football began its rise to prominence, and in the 1960s ice hockey and basketball captured a national television audience. Soccer, with its continuous forty-five minutes of play, was less suitable for commercial television and held little interest for the major television networks. Between 1950 and 1990, the USA never qualified for the World Cup finals. In the 1970s the North American Soccer League operated, but this effort soon collapsed.

After the 1970s, however, the World Cup and soccer in general gained popularity with some sections of the American population. Relying more on skill than size or strength, soccer became a popular participatory sport amongst many American women and youth. In 1991 the USA women's team won the first ever FIFA Women's World Cup in China with a 2-1 win over Norway. At the same time, FIFA, commercial sponsors, and television networks saw America as the last major market to be conquered by soccer. As a result, FIFA selected the United States to stage the World Cup finals for the first time in 1994. The tournament was a great success as it gained national television coverage and was played in packed stadiums, including 95,000 for the final in Los Angeles between Italy and the eventual winners, Brazil. Subsequently, Major League Soccer was formed in America and began its first season in 1996. It remains to be seen whether this new soccer league can gain the attention of the American public and whether the United States can produce a team talented enough to mount a serious challenge for the World Cup.

—John F. Lyons

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## World Series

Throughout much of the twentieth century, the annual World Series baseball championship has consistently set standards for well-staged national sporting scenarios, earning its reputation as the "Fall Classic." There have been heroes, villains, fools, and unknowns who have stolen the spotlight from "superstars."

The term "World Series" was first coined for a nine-game series between the Boston Pilgrims and the Pittsburgh Pirates, an informal outgrowth of a 1903 "peace treaty" signed between the two competing "major" baseball leagues, the 27-year-old National League (N.L.) and the upstart 2-year-old American League (A.L.). The A.L. champion Pilgrims (later called the Red Sox) won, five games to three, to surprisingly good crowds and gate receipts. Yet the following year, manager John McGraw and owner John Brush of the runaway National League champion New York Giants refused to face the repeating Boston club, stating publicly that such a meeting was beneath the quality of their team, which showcased future Hall of Fame pitcher, Christy Mathewson. A less publicized reason, however, was that they had objected to the growing popularity of the new A.L. franchise in New York City, the Highlanders (soon to be known as the Yankees).

Public and press outcry was so great against the Giants that Brush relented in 1905 and proposed a seven-game World Series as a mandatory annual event. The Giants won easily that year (with Mathewson pitching the first three of his still-standing record four Series shutouts), but would not prove to be as transcendent as Brush and McGraw believed, for they failed to win another Series until 1921. A worse fate awaited the Chicago Cubs, another early dominating N.L. team. After winning Series in 1907 and 1908, they never won again, and never even reached another Series after 1945. Starting in 1910, A.L. teams won eight out of the next ten Series, establishing an edge over the N.L. that they have yet to relinquish.

The World Series soon gained formal acceptance, with President Woodrow Wilson attending the second game of the 1915 Boston Red Sox-Philadelphia Phillies Series. The year 1915 also marked the Series debut of Boston pitcher George Herman "Babe" Ruth. Ruth set a Series record of 29 2/3 scoreless innings pitched, spanning Red Sox Series Championships in 1916 and 1918. The next year, after converting Ruth into an outfielder and watching him shatter all previous home run (and league attendance) records, Red Sox owner Harry Frazee sold the Babe to the New York Yankees for \$100,000 and a \$350,000 loan to cover one of his Broadway shows. For Boston fans, thus was cast the "Curse of the Bambino"—after winning four Series in the decade, the Red Sox, like the Cubs, never won a Series again. The Yankees would be another story.

In 1919, the World Series endured its worst scandal. Many players had long felt the owners were denying them their fair share of



**Frankie Frisch of the New York Giants in action during the 1922 World Series.**

club profits, and in no more obvious instance than in the World Series, where the triumphant owners were taking in record receipts and were rumored to have sold tickets to scalpers to make even more. The owners countered with rumors of their own, to the effect that players were being bribed to throw games by professional gamblers. Tensions had even precipitated a brief player's strike before the fifth game of the Red Sox-Cubs Series in 1918, but the worst was yet to come. Questionable betting patterns on the 1919 Series, in which the Cincinnati Reds upset the Chicago White Sox, prompted a grand jury investigation. In 1920 eight White Sox players were indicted for taking bribes. Among them was "Shoeless Joe" Jackson, the star who was confronted on the courtroom steps by a young fan with the soon-to-be-famous line, "Say it ain't so, Joe!" The eight players were ultimately acquitted in court, but as a result of what was now known as the "Black Sox" scandal, were subsequently banned from baseball for life in 1921. The rather draconian measure was enacted by the Baseball Commissioner, a post newly created by the owners in order to quickly restore baseball's image as well as maintain their own authority over the players.

The World Series not only bounced back in the 1920s, but came to form the centerpiece of a new era of popularity and stability for baseball. Key factors were the rise of the New York Yankees and the coinciding development of radio as a mass medium. John McGraw's Giants had returned to the World Series in 1921 to find they were in the first of 13 "Subway Series," facing their co-tenants at the Polo Grounds, the Yankees, who now had the biggest star in sports, Babe Ruth. In the first of their 29 Series appearances over the next 44 years, the Yankees bowed to McGraw's veteran club. McGraw's pitchers kept throwing low curve balls to Ruth in 1922 as well, allowing the Giants to sweep the first World Series to be broadcast by radio (the announcer was Grantland Rice) and the last Series triumph for their manager.

In 1923, Yankee Stadium was completed across the Harlem River in the Bronx, to be christened "the house that Ruth built" as all previous league attendance records were smashed. Ruth hit three homers in that year's rematch with the Giants, bringing the Yankees their first of 20 Series victories. By their 1927 sweep, which was also the first Series broadcast coast-to-coast, they had become America's team, setting a standard of excellence that McGraw and his Giants had never quite achieved, and they maintained a stranglehold on money and talent that most of the teams in the rest of the country could only admire from afar. All knew, however, that a victory over the Yankees in the Series would assure their place in the annals of baseball. Such was the case when grizzled pitcher Grover Cleveland Alexander braved the Yankees "Murderer's Row" to preserve a 1926 Series victory for the St. Louis Cardinals, a feat later to be immortalized on film (with Ronald Reagan playing Alexander).

On through the Great Depression and World War II, radio provided the yearly vignettes about players both rough-edged ("Pepper" Martin) and refined (Joe DiMaggio) that would cheer millions of Americans. However, one episode stood out particularly during this period. In the 1932 Cubs-Yankees series, the faltering Babe Ruth, brushing off ancestral slurs from the Cub bench and the hostile crowd at Chicago's Wrigley Field, paused to point to the centerfield bleachers. He soon followed with his 15th and last World Series home run. The Yankees went on to sweep the Series, but the "called shot" is what is still remembered and discussed today.

The climax of World War II brought with it the appearance of television and the breaking of the unofficial color line in baseball with Brooklyn Dodger star Jackie Robinson. The postwar years also marked the period of greatest dominance for the Yankees, who appeared in 15 of 18 Series through 1964, winning 10 (including 5 in a row between 1949 and 1953) mostly with manager Casey Stengel and

new stars Mickey Mantle, Yogi Berra, and Whitey Ford. The phrase “wait ’til next year” was made famous by Brooklyn fans as their “Bums” lost five Series to the Yankees before winning in 1955, their only Series championship before they relocated with the Giants three years later to California. Also in 1955, the Most Valuable Player Award was initiated, won first by Johnny Podres of the Dodgers. Many call this baseball’s and the Series’ “golden era.” The many highlights from this period include Willie Mays’ incredible over-the-shoulder catch in his Giants’ sweep of the Cleveland Indians in 1954, Yankee Don Larsen’s perfect game over the Dodgers in 1956, and Pittsburgh Pirate Bill Mazeroski’s Series-winning home run in 1960.

A revamping of baseball’s amateur draft rules, the sharing of network broadcast revenues among all franchises, and internal turmoil eventually restored mortality to the Yankees, and after 1964 they failed to appear in the post-season for 12 years. Apart from the flamboyant, mustachioed “Swinging” Oakland A’s of 1972 to 1974, no team would again win more than two Series in a row. The advent of free agency allowed the players to get even (financially) with the owners, and exploding player salaries and bidding wars from the mid 1970s onward added some of the roster unpredictability of the early days to the game. As television ratings came to be regarded as a measure of success, the Series encountered increasingly stiff competition from the National Basketball Association championship, football’s Super Bowl, and even its own playoff system, created in 1969. Yet the Series has persevered, adding more classic moments for each generation: Carleton Fisk waving his homer fair in the sixth game of the 1975 Red Sox-Reds Series; Reggie Jackson hitting three homers on three pitches off three different pitchers in the sixth game of the 1977 Yankees-Dodgers Series, the New York crowd chanting “Reggie!”; The Curse of the Bambino willing New York Met Mookie Wilson’s grounder through Red Sox first baseman Bill Buckner’s legs in 1986; pinch-hitter Kirk Gibson homering off “closer” Dennis Eckersley to win the first game of the 1988 Dodgers-A’s Series.

Continuing animosity between the owners and players’ union in 1994 caused what even two World Wars could not: the cancellation of the World Series, as the result of a strike. Through the efforts of many, including President Bill Clinton, the two sides declared a truce and the season and Series were resumed in 1995. Well played (and watched) seven-game Series in 1996 and 1997 at least temporarily silenced the doomsayers predicting the coming end of the World Series as a “marquee event.” For day-to-day sustained interest, capping a six-month-long season’s endeavors, it is still hard to imagine any other event in sports ever surpassing the intensity of World Series competitive drama.

—C. Kenyon Silvey

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## World Trade Center

The two massive buildings of the World Trade Center are the tallest structures on Manhattan Island. The twin towers designed by Minoru Yamasaki and Associates in the early 1970s stand 1,350 feet, surpassing the Empire State Building by 100 feet, but the World Trade Center’s faceless Modernist aesthetic lacks the character that has made its predecessor an enduring urban landmark. After a run of initial publicity, and a prominent appearance in the 1976 remake of the film *King Kong*, the World Trade Center began to fade into the urban fabric, failing to become the symbol of New York City that its developers had hoped. It has, however, become an icon of corporate America to some discontented groups. In February, 1993, one of the towers was bombed by Islamic terrorists attempting to strike a blow at the heart of American society. Amazingly, the building survived with no structural damage.

—Dale Allen Gyure

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## World War I

The Great War (World War I), fought between 1914 and 1918, was one of the most decisive events of the twentieth century. The political and economic catastrophes in its wake led to another, even greater conflict from 1939 to 1945, leading some historians to view the two World Wars as aspects of the same struggle, separated by an uneasy truce in the 1920s and 1930s. Some of the ethnic and national-identity conflicts left unresolved at the Versailles peace conference of 1919 are still sources of tension and open hostility in the Balkans. It was in that fractious region of eastern Europe that World War I began when Serbian nationalists assassinated the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary in the city of Sarajevo. As a total war, World War I required the unlimited commitment of all the resources of each warring society. Governments were forced to allocate human and natural resources, set economic priorities, and take measures to ensure the full cooperation of their citizens. Some societies cracked under the pressure. Monarchies collapsed in Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary. Even the victors, especially France and Belgium, were deeply scarred. The human sacrifices were appalling; the economic cost was overwhelming. World War I marked the decisive end of the old order in Europe, which, except for the Crimean War and the Franco-Prussian War and a few minor skirmishes, seemed to have weathered a century of relative peace after the Napoleonic wars that had ended exactly 100 years earlier.

The outbreak of the war had at first been greeted with jingoistic enthusiasm. It was not until the combatants experienced a tremendous loss of life in the trenches on the western front that this view was shattered. By the end of the war, pessimism and disillusion were endemic. For many in the West, the war denied the notion of progress. The same science and technology that had dazzled the nineteenth



Soldiers in a foxhole during World War I.

century with advances in medicine, communication, and transportation had produced poison gas, machine guns, and terror weapons. The Great War's legacy would include a deep pessimism, expressed in many forms, including antiwar literature that would be translated to the screen in the form of popular film.

World War I began when Serbian nationalists assassinated Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary. Austria's attack upon Serbia on July 28 led to war with her protector, Russia. Prewar alliances assured that Germany would declare war on Russia. When the French announced their intention to honor their commitments to Russia, Germany declared war on France. As the German armies passed through neutral Belgium to get at France, Britain declared war on Germany. Within a week of Austria's attack upon Serbia, the other four great European powers had gone to war over issues that few truly understood, or indeed, cared about. They seemed to have been swept along by their alliances in an inevitable cascade of falling dominos over which humans had little control.

On the Western front, the German armies smashed through Belgium and into France, where they were halted 25 miles north of Paris. Both armies tried to get around the other in a "race to the sea."

When they failed, the exhausted armies dug defensive positions. Two lines of trenches, six to eight feet deep, zigzagged across northern France, from the Swiss border to the English Channel. The distance between the Allied trenches and those of the Germans depended upon the terrain, and ranged from 150 yards in Flanders to 500 yards at Cambrai. The great irony of warfare in the industrial age was that modern weapons forced the armies to live below ground and use periscopes to observe the other side. Steps in the sides of the trenches were used as platforms for firing at the enemy. The trench soldiers slept in sleeping holes dug into the sides of the trenches, where they suffered from rain, cold, poor sanitary facilities, lice, flies, trench foot, and a constant stench. Rats as big as small dogs fed on the dead. Of the casualties on the Western front, 50 percent were directly attributable to conditions in the trenches.

In 1916, the major efforts to break the stalemate came at Verdun, and on the Somme river. The Germans decided to attack Verdun, an historic city they knew the French would defend at all costs. The two sides fired more than 40 million artillery shells into a narrow front of less than 10 miles. When the firing ceased after 302 days, each side had suffered half a million casualties, with more than one hundred thousand dead. To relieve Verdun, the British opened an offensive on

the Somme. An artillery bombardment of a million and a half shells was supposed to decimate the German positions. When the British army went “over the top” on July 1, however, they were cut down by German machine guns. On the first day of battle on the Somme, the British suffered 60,000 casualties, including 20,000 dead. After gaining five miles of territory, at the cost of 420,000 casualties, the British halted the offensive on November 13.

When the war began, the common assumption was that it would be over within six months. In the prewar years, many seemingly perceptive writers had written that modern economies were too integrated to accept a long war. There was also a general ignorance about what war in the industrial age would be like. There had not been a general European war since the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815. Bourgeois middle class life seemed boring and lacking in adventure. When World War I began, the armies marched to war with enthusiastic support. Intellectuals signed manifestos supporting the war. Sigmund Freud offered “all his libido to Austria-Hungary.” Young men literally raced to the recruiting centers to sign up so they could be sure of getting into combat before the war was over. Fired by patriotism, and martial values of honor and glory, they were the first to be mowed down. In “From 1914,” Rupert Brooke, the English poet, expressed his belief that his death in battle would sanctify a “foreign field” as “for ever England.” The most popular poem of the war, John McCrae’s “In Flanders Fields” appeared anonymously in *Punch* in December 1915. The poem may describe how “the poppies blow, Between the crosses, row on row,” but as Paul Fussell writes, the poem ends with “recruiting-poster rhetoric” demanding that others pick up the torch and not “break faith with us who die.” These viewpoints changed with the reality of mass death and stalemate. Fussell observes that Edmund Blunden, Robert Graves, and Siegfried Sassoon came to an image of the war as lasting forever. Trench warfare, in which neither side could gain the advantage, regardless of their courage, honor, and valor, suggested that humans had lost control of their history. Indeed, what did courage, honor and valor have to do with modern war? In 1924, the German expressionist painter Otto Dix wrote thus of his trench experiences: “Lice, rats, barbed wire, fleas, shells, bombs, underground caves, corpses, blood, liquor, mice, cats, artillery, filth, bullets, mortars, fire, steel; that is what war is. It is the work of the devil.”

To raise the large armies needed to continue the struggle, governments turned to the use of posters. The British Parliamentary Recruitment Committee commissioned a poster featuring Lord Kitchener’s head and finger pointing at the viewer. The caption read “Your Country Wants You.” As enlistments declined, the emphasis shifted to shaming those healthy young men still in Britain. The message was blunt in the poster “Women of Britain say, GO.” A more subtle, but perhaps as effective, message was expressed in the British poster showing a little girl sitting on her father’s knee, with an open book in her lap. The writing at the bottom of the poster asked the question, “Daddy, what did You do in the Great War?” At the father’s feet was a little boy playing with a toy army and about to place a new soldier in the ranks. The Committee would eventually commission 100 different posters, some of which were published in lots of 40,000. It is estimated that these posters generated one-quarter of all British enlistments. While most conscientious objectors accepted noncombatant alternatives, a hard core of 1500 refused to accept any position that indirectly supported the war. They were sent to prison where they suffered brutal treatment—70 of them died there. Poster art certainly contributed to this view that in time of war, a man’s place was in uniform.

The failure of the armies to achieve success led each side to seek new allies, open new fronts, resort to new military technologies, and engage in new forms of warfare. In 1915, Italy joined the Allies, and new fronts against the Austrians were opened in the Swiss Alps and on the Isonzo River. In the same year, the British opened a new front at Gallipoli, but, after nearly a year of being pinned down on the beaches by Turkish guns, were forced to withdraw. The Germans introduced gas warfare in 1915; the British introduced the tank in 1916. The romantic nature of air combat yielded to a more deadly form as machine guns were added to fighter aircraft. Germans bombed British cities; the British bombed German cities. The British mined German harbors and blockaded German ports; Germany responded with unrestricted submarine warfare. In the face of American protests, following the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the Germans suspended their attacks in 1915.

In Germany, general rationing went into effect in 1916. The winter of 1916-1917, known as the “turnip winter,” was particularly difficult. Bread riots, wage strikes, and a burgeoning black market that separated rich and poor threatened support for the war. There were also demands for political reform as a condition for continued support. In January 1917, the German government made the fateful decision to return to unrestricted submarine warfare with the full knowledge this could lead to war with the United States. The German decision was predicated upon the belief that Britain could be starved out of the war before the United States could train a large army and send it to Europe.

Up to this point, the United States had been officially neutral during the war, keeping with its long tradition of avoiding “foreign entanglements.” By 1917, however, its sympathies and economic interests had shifted to the allied side. British propaganda had been highly effective in accusing Germans of atrocities in Belgium. President Woodrow Wilson resisted going to war because he feared what it would do to the progressive reforms of his administration, and that war would release ugly patriotic excesses that would be difficult to control. His hand was forced by the sinking of American merchant ships and the Zimmerman telegram suggesting that in return for a successful alliance, Germany would aid Mexico in its reacquisition of Arizona, Texas, and New Mexico. Finally, Congress declared war on Germany on April 6, 1917, a move that Wilson promised would “make the world safe for democracy.”

To raise a mighty army to fight in Europe, the American government was forced to resort to locally supervised conscription. Unfortunately, these local boards often lacked objectivity. Not only was preference on exemptions given to family and friends, but African Americans were drafted in disproportionate numbers, and conscientious objectors without religious affiliations were either drafted or sent to prison. The government sought to encourage enlistments and discourage draft resisters by using British posters as a model. The Kitchener poster was deemed to be so effective that Americans substituted Uncle Sam’s head, and included the same caption “I Want You.” The power of shame was also evident in the American poster that featured a young woman dressed in sailor’s uniform with the caption, “Gee, I Wish I Were a Man, I’d Join the Navy.”

By 1917, all of the major belligerents had begun to regulate their industries and agriculture, borrow money to finance the war, ration food, and employ women in areas of the economy where they had not before worked. They also shaped consent for their policies and discouraged dissent. The War Industries Board, headed by Bernard Baruch, regulated American industries and set priorities. The Fuel

Administration increased coal production by one-third and campaigned for heatless Mondays and gasless Sundays. The American Food Administration's appeal for food conservation included wheatless Mondays and Wednesdays, meatless Tuesdays, and porkless Thursdays and Saturdays. This voluntary conservation worked to such an extent that America was able to feed her armies, and increase food exports to allies by one third without having to resort to rationing. Before radio and television, with film still in its infancy, the poster was a highly effective method of generating support. Posters were used to inspire industrial effort, urge citizens to conserve needed materials, and in general, to support the war effort. Posters were also used extensively to gain support for the purchase of war bonds. While all the nations did this, none matched the American effort in this regard. For the third Liberty Loan drive, nine million posters were produced.

While voluntary sacrifices and poster art made everyone feel they were part of the war effort, they tended to generate emotional patriotic fervor. In America, this reached heights of absurdity. High schools stopped teaching German, frankfurters became hot dogs, and orchestras stopped playing Brahms, Bach, and Beethoven. None of this was humorous to German Americans, who were attacked verbally and physically. These attacks seemed to have the support of the American government. The Committee of Public Information, directed by George Creel, not only kept the public informed about war news through films and pamphlets, but sent out 75,000 speakers to churches, schools, and movie theatres, where they lectured on war aims and German atrocities. The Post Office denied mail delivery to "radical," "socialist," and foreign language newspapers and periodicals. The May 1918 Sedition Act made it a crime to speak or publish anything disloyal. This could be and was used against those questioning American participation in the war, the nation's war aims, and how it managed the war effort. Robert Goldstein, a Hollywood producer, was sentenced to 10 years in prison because his film *The Spirit of '76* was not supportive of our British ally. The film, set in the period of the American Revolution, had shown British soldiers bayoneting civilians. Particularly vulnerable were Socialists such as Eugene Debs, who was sentenced to 10 years, and leaders of the International Workers of the World (I.W.W.), who were given 20-year sentences. Their offenses stemmed more from their opposition to capitalism than to the war itself. The U.S. Justice Department brought charges of opposition to the war against 2200 people, of whom 1055 were convicted.

World War I brought forth great songs that would be sung long after the war was over. Many of these originated in London music halls, French cabarets, and on Broadway. Some of America's greatest songwriters, Jerome Kern, Irving Berlin, George M. Cohan, and George Gershwin, participated in this creative explosion. The most famous of these songs were the French "Madelon"; the British "Your King and Country Want You," "There's a Long, Long, Trail," "Roses of Picardy," and "It's a Long Way to Tipperary"; and the American "Pack Up Your Troubles in an Old Kit Bag," "Over There," "Keep the Home Fires Burning," "Goodbye Broadway, Hello France," "Mademoiselle from Armentieres," and "How Ya Gonna Keep 'em Down on the Farm?" These songs were sung at bond rallies, but were also taught to the troops by official army song leaders. Most of the songs were comic, sentimental, and innocent. They were offered as a means to lift morale and provide a human respite for soldiers in an inhumane existence. Only the unofficial French song, "La Chanson de Craonne," which declared soldiers

doomed and victims of a wretched war, reflected the reality of the front.

What was most remarkable about the conflict until the end of 1916 was the willingness of European soldiers and civilians to accept the hardships the war demanded. Millions of soldiers had left home to face the horrors of modern war and endure life in the trenches of the Western front. This support collapsed in 1917. The German resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare reflected this change of mood. Most significant were the riots and insurrection in Petrograd, Russia which led directly to the abdication of the Romanovs in March 1917. War weariness, the failure of Russian offensives in the summer of 1917, and the desertion of two million soldiers finally led to the October Bolshevik revolution and Russia's withdrawal from the war. In 1917, whole units of the French army refused to go to the front; those that did went chanting "ba ba ba"—the bleating of sheep being led to the slaughter. The British army's morale was close to the breaking point after the 1917 Flanders offensive resulted in 400,000 casualties for five captured miles of mud in which thousands of soldiers had literally drowned. At Caporetto, the Italian army reached its breaking point, and over 275,000 Italian soldiers surrendered in a single day.

British and French generals desperately wanted American soldiers who would be merged into their own units. Wilson and his commander John Pershing were totally opposed to this. They wanted the United States to field her own independent army, with its own commanders, support forces, and separate sector of operations. Both recognized that unless a U.S. army fought as an independent entity, the United States would not be able to shape the peace. The United States would fight neither for the imperialistic aims of the great powers, nor to restore the balance of power, but "to make the world safe for democracy" by advocating self-determination, democratic government, the abolition of war, freedom of the seas, and an international organization to protect the peace. These lofty ideals were expressed in January 1918 in Wilson's Fourteen Points speech.

With Russia out of the war, Germany transferred its troops from the eastern front to the western front, and launched its great offensive in the spring of 1918. As in 1914, the Germans were halted on the Marne river. American units put into battle at key places in the Allied lines fought well under French overall command. This time, the German army did not settle into a trench line, but was forced into a continuous retreat under the pressure of Allied armies. While the Germans were exhausted from four years of war, fresh American soldiers were arriving at the rate of 300,000 per month, and fighting as an independent army at Saint Mihiel and in the Argonne Forest. In other sectors, the Central Powers collapsed. Turkey and Bulgaria were out of the war by October 1918. Austria-Hungary disintegrated, as the Hungarians sought a separate peace, and Slavs sought their own nations. Within Germany, there were demonstrations at military bases, and in Berlin. When the Kaiser abdicated, the Germans asked for a peace based upon what they had previously scorned, the Fourteen Points. The Germans signed the armistice, and at 11:00 a.m. on November 11, 1918, the guns went silent.

Four years of war had resulted in nine million deaths, one million of which were civilian. Many more millions of soldiers who lived through the war were crippled mentally or physically. So many soldiers were facially disfigured that a new branch of medicine, plastic surgery, was developed. A great influenza pandemic resulted in thousands of civilian deaths in Europe and the United States. A deep pessimism settled over Europe. Arnold Toynbee declared that



the news from the front led him to believe that Western Civilization was following the same pattern that Classical Civilization had followed in its breakdown. His 12-volume *A Study of History* would argue that World War I was to the West what the Punic Wars had been to the ancient world. Oswald Spengler's *Decline of the West* was even more pessimistic. W. B. Yeats's 1919 "Second Coming" saw anarchy "loosed upon the World" and the coming of another Dark Age. T. S. Eliot's "The Waste Land" expressed the despair and hopelessness felt by many. Sigmund Freud admitted in *Civilization and Its Discontents* that it was the events of the war that led him to seek a second basic force at the core of human nature: the death instinct, in constant struggle against the life instinct. Vera Britton's autobiographical *Testament of Youth* described the shattering impact of the war on her personal life. This pessimism shared the same viewpoint that was expressed by the war poets such as Siegfried Sassoon and Wilfred Owen, who wrote their poetry and letters while at the front. David Kennedy has observed that he had not found this pessimism amongst American soldiers. Whereas the pessimism of the European writers came from the destructive impact of the war itself, American disillusionment came from the belief that America's entrance into the war had failed to create the new world of Wilson's vision. In addition, progressivism and protection of individual rights at home seemed to have been reversed, and the nation retreated into isolationism rather than follow Wilson's lead into the new League of Nations.

While the European and American reactions to the war were different, there is one area of popular culture where they seem to have coalesced. Within a decade of the war, outstanding antiwar books and films were written and produced both in Europe and the United States. The German film *Westfront 1918* (1930) depicted French and German soldiers dying without victory. Jean Renoir's *Grand Illusion* (1937) was another antiwar attack upon the European aristocracy that brought forth the horrors of World War I. Ludwig Renn wrote a critically acclaimed novel, *Krieg (War)*, that was an impressive piece of literature but never achieved the popularity of Erich Maria Remarque's antiwar novel *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1929), which described the experiences of German youth who had gone to war as enthusiastic soldiers. The film by the same title, released in 1930, was so relentlessly antiwar that Remarque had to leave Germany. In 1930, the film received an Academy Award for best picture. Another antiwar book made into a film was Ernest Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* (1932), which describes the fate of an American ambulance driver who deserts the madness of the Italian retreat at Caporetto. Two of the most powerful antiwar films done in the post-World War II period also dealt with specific events of World War I. Stanley Kubrick's *Paths of Glory* (1957) was based upon the mutinies in the French army. The film starred Kirk Douglas, but it is Adolph Menjou's depiction of a French general demanding the random selection and execution of three soldiers to cover his own failures that is the picture's most powerful image. Finally, Paramount's film *Gallipoli* (1981), appropriately starring the Australian actor Mel Gibson, faithfully describes what happened to those idealistic young Australian soldiers who went to war with enthusiasm and in search of adventure, only to be slaughtered like so many of their comrades on other fronts.

—Thomas W. Judd

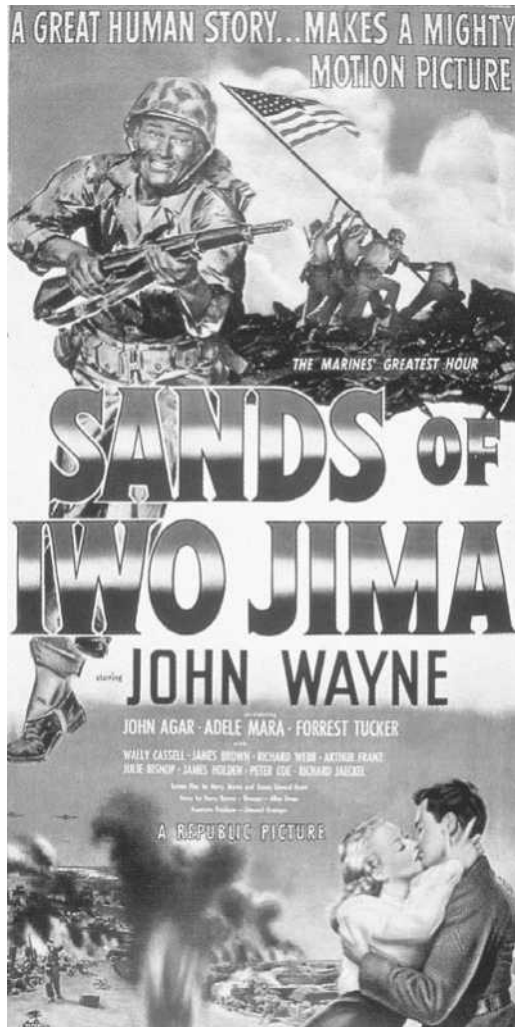
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## World War II

Despite the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, most historians date the start of the Second World War as September 1, 1939, the day that German forces attacked Poland. Although Polish resistance was quickly overcome, treaty obligations brought Britain and France into the fray, and the war for Europe began in earnest.

Strong isolationist sentiments among much of its populace kept the United States out of the conflict until the Japanese bombed American naval forces anchored at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. The surprise attack, which inflicted devastating losses on the U.S. fleet, occurred on December 7, 1941. The next day, President Franklin Roosevelt asked for, and received, a Senate declaration of war on Japan. Two days later, Germany and Italy, which were bound to Japan



Poster from the 1949 WWII film epic *Sands of Iwo Jima*.

in a mutual-defense treaty, declared war on the United States. The fighting continued until August, 1945, when Japan (the last Axis belligerent left) surrendered, following the destruction of two Japanese cities by American atomic bombs.

The war affected every aspect of American life, including popular culture in all its forms. Some of this influence was the result of deliberate government propaganda, but much of it was simply the nation's response to the exigencies of life in wartime.

American moviegoers during the war were frequently exposed to a triple dose of war-related messages. First, a newsreel would showcase stories of recent developments in the theatres of combat, along with a healthy dose of pleasant feature stories unrelated to the conflict. An average newsreel ran about ten minutes, and was changed twice each week. Although the typical moviegoer might not know it, wartime newsreels were subject to indirect government censorship (since all film footage from overseas passed first through the government's hands), as well as "guidance" as to content from the Office of War Information, the government's propaganda bureau.

The newsreel was usually followed by one or more animated cartoons. Although many of the wartime versions were as innocuous as ever, quite a few leavened their laughs with propaganda.

Bunny joined the war effort, poking fun at the Nazis in *Confessions of a Nutsy Spy*. Bugs' cartoon colleague at Warner Brothers, Daffy Duck, also mocked the Third Reich in *Daffy the Commando*. Superman, America's favorite comic book hero, took to the screen to thwart evil Japanese agents in *The Japateurs*, while another cartoon, *Tokyo Jokie-o*, made sport of the Japanese war effort by using blatantly racist stereotypes.

Then came the feature film. It might be a documentary, perhaps one of Frank Capra's *Why We Fight* series (1942-45). Capra, already famous as a director, had been drafted out of Hollywood, put in a major's uniform, and given the task of making films for new military recruits that would motivate them to fight in a war that many understood dimly, if at all. Relying mostly on seized Axis propaganda footage, Capra put together seven inspirational films covering different aspects of the global conflict. After a screening of the first, *Prelude to War*, President Roosevelt declared, "Every man, woman and child in America must see this film!" All seven were eventually shown in theatres, as well as in the boot camps for which they had originally been intended.

Other notable Hollywood directors also made documentary films in support of the war effort. William Wyler directed *Memphis Belle*, (1943) the saga of the last combat mission flown by an American bomber crew over Europe; John Huston helmed *The Battle of San Pietro* (1945), focusing on the bloody assault by American troops to capture an Italian town from the Germans; and John Ford lent his talents to *The Battle of Midway* (1942), which chronicled the first major American naval victory over the Japanese.

But most films playing in neighborhood theatres during the war told fictional stories, although about one-third of these dealt with the war in one way or another. There were combat films, often based on actual battles fought earlier in the war. The first of these was *Wake Island* (1942), and it would be followed by many others, including *Flying Tigers* (1942), *Bataan* (1943), *Destination Tokyo* (1943),



The Iwo Jima Monument.

*Gung Ho!* (1943), *Thirty Seconds over Tokyo* (1944), and *Objective Burma!* (1945).

Other films offered intrigue, focusing on the shadowy war of spies, assassins, and double agents. These included *Sherlock Holmes and the Voice of Terror* (1942), *Nazi Agent* (1942), *Saboteur* (1942), and *They Came to Blow Up America* (1943). Still other productions glorified the heroic struggle of the citizens of occupied countries who fought against their Axis oppressors; *Hangmen Also Die* (1943), *Till We Meet Again* (1944), and *The Seventh Cross* (1944) are representative of the genre.

But fully two-thirds of Hollywood films released during the war never mentioned the conflict at all. If such films had a subtext, it was that America was a place worth fighting for—a message conveyed subtly in such sentimental films as *Going My Way* (1943), *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944), *Since You Went Away* (1942), and *An American Romance* (1943).

Film was certainly not the only communications medium to portray the war. It was prominent in all media—including posters, which could be found everywhere. Prominent artists and illustrators such as James Montgomery Flagg, Ben Shahn, Everett Henry, Stevan Dohanos, and John Atherton all created posters to encourage American citizens' support of the war effort. Posters called men to military service, urged women to can food at home and consider getting a "war job," and extolled everyone to hate the nation's ruthless, bestial foes, the Axis powers. Further, although Axis espionage never amounted to a serious threat to the United States, homefront Americans were nonetheless given a sense that they were helping to safeguard the nation when posters warned them not to discuss war information in public. The most famous of these admonitions appeared in a poster published by the Seagram Distillery Company. Below an illustration of a half-submerged freighter was the slogan "Loose lips might sink ships!" Even Norman Rockwell lent his distinctive vision of Americana to the war effort, with a series of four illustrations collectively entitled "The Four Freedoms."

Radio was the principal entertainment medium for Americans during World War II. Although many no doubt listened to the radio to escape from the war and its cares, it was difficult to avoid the conflict for very long. President Roosevelt continued to give his "fireside chats," the tradition of informal-sounding speeches that he had begun during the 1930s. But, whereas the early addresses usually concerned the Depression and FDR's efforts to alleviate it, the wartime broadcasts reflected the nation's principal preoccupation, which was the war itself. Roosevelt used these speeches to reassure his audience that the war was going well and that eventual victory was assured—and history shows that he did so even early in the war, when such optimism was not shared by his advisors or justified by the military situation.

The government also used radio for propaganda in less obvious ways. William B. Lewis, head of the Office of War Information's Domestic Radio Division, understood that people wanted entertainment from their radios, not heavy-handed propaganda. Lewis, a former vice president of CBS, worked out a rotation system (called the Network Allocation Plan) wherein the existing radio dramas and comedies would voluntarily take turns integrating government propaganda into their scripts, thus guaranteeing a large audience for OWI's messages while preserving radio's money-making programs. As a result, the popular comedy *Fibber McGee and Molly* justified the new gas rationing program by letting the character of Fibber (already established as a buffoon) complain about it, only to be set straight through the humor of the other characters. On another evening, *The*

*Jack Benny Show* featured America's most lovable tightwad finally getting rid of his ancient automobile—by donating it to the War Salvage Drive. Benny's character had to be persuaded of the need for such a contribution, but then declared afterwards that it had been the right thing to do, indirectly encouraging his listeners to do likewise.

Radio also brought the news into American homes, and much of that information came courtesy of a new kind of reporter: the on-air correspondent who would broadcast live from the site of the story he was covering. Some World War II radio correspondents, like William L. Shirer, Charles Collingwood, and Eric Sevareid, would earn impressive reputations as journalists, but the dean of them all was Edward R. Murrow. Whether reporting from a London rooftop in the middle of an air raid or broadcasting a description of the Buchenwald concentration camp on the day it was liberated by the Allies, Murrow combined superb journalistic skills with a sonorous voice and a gift for near-poetic language to produce a series of radio programs that are still considered classics.

Music has always been one of the mainstays of radio, and many of the songs that Americans listened to during the war were reflections of the era. The rousing "We Did It Before (And We Can Do It Again)" was penned by Charles Tobias and Cliff Friend immediately following the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor. It compared the current struggle with World War One, and predicted the same outcome for the Allies. Irving Berlin's tune "Any Bonds Today?" was used by the government in a series of bond drives designed to raise money for the war effort. "I'll Walk Alone" by Sammy Cahn and Jule Styne was a promise to every serviceman stationed overseas that his wife or girlfriend would still be waiting when he returned home. Louis Jordan, Antonio Casey, and Collenane Clark composed "Ration Blues" in 1943 as a good-natured lament over war-related shortages of material goods. One of the most popular patriotic songs of the war was Kate Smith's rendering of "God Bless America." Although written by Irving Berlin near the end of World War One, the song went unrecorded and forgotten until the next war. It became Smith's trademark, and she sang it frequently, especially at a series of hugely successful war bond rallies.

The "funnies" (broadly defined) also pitched in to help the war effort. Many cartoons, comic books, and newspaper comic strips had their characters participating in the conflict. Bill Mauldin was the most famous of the war's cartoonists, although much of his work was initially drawn and published for a military audience (principally in *Yank*, the armed forces newspaper). Mauldin's characters Willie and Joe, who could find grim humor in being wet, filthy, tired, and scared, constituted a gritty and realistic portrayal of the average front-line "grunt's" existence. Virgil Partch II, who signed his cartoons "VIP," was a master of the grotesque and the absurd, and his work showed that the war contained no shortage of either one.

Comic books were an immensely popular entertainment medium in America during the 1940s. By the war's end, more than 20 million comics were sold every month. During the war years, dozens of comic book characters participated in the struggle against fascism and militarism. A year before Pearl Harbor, the team of Joe Simon and Jack Kirby created Captain America, the first comic book superhero to fight the Nazis. Another Captain, Midnight by name, began his career as the hero of a radio drama in the 1930s, but branched out into comic books after America entered the war. Alan Armstrong, better known as Spy Smasher, foiled Axis plots both at home and abroad. Wonder Woman, virtually the only female superhero of the era, was an Amazon warrior princess who possessed magic bracelets and a hatred of evil. Superman, the first popular comic superhero, spent the

war at home in America, but he found no shortage of Axis villains to defeat with his super powers.

The heroes of newspaper comic strips were also active in the war. According to a study conducted by the Office of War Information, more than fifty regularly appearing strips were using the war as part of their story lines. The first to “join up” was Joe Palooka, a clean-cut professional boxer who was shown enlisting in the army in 1940. Milton Caniff’s character Terry Lee (of *Terry and the Pirates*) first appeared in 1933 but joined the Army after Pearl Harbor and spent the war flying missions against the Japanese. Little Orphan Annie’s contributions to the war effort were mostly nonviolent, although she did on one occasion help to blow up a German submarine. Other popular comic strip characters, such as Captain Easy, Smilin’ Jack, Tillie the Toiler, and Snuffy Smith also did their part to make the world again safe for democracy.

Although the fighting ended in August, 1945, the war did not disappear from American popular culture. Although many non-fiction books about the war had sold well while the conflict raged, there seemed to be little market for novels about it (an exception was John Hershey’s *A Bell for Adano*, the 1944 story of U.S. soldiers occupying a Sicilian town, which won the 1945 Pulitzer Prize). But the war’s end signaled the beginning of a flood of literary efforts, several of which proved to be of enduring significance.

In 1948, Norman Mailer published *The Naked and the Dead*, which uses the motif of an American effort to take a Japanese-held Pacific island to discuss issues such as fascism, personal freedom, and individual vs. group responsibility. The same year saw the release of Irwin Shaw’s *The Young Lions*, a sweeping saga that examines the lives of three soldiers (two American and one German) against the backdrop of the European war’s most momentous events.

Leon Uris’s *Battle Cry* is one of the best novels about the U.S. Marines in the Pacific war. It follows a group of young men through basic training and into combat at Guadalcanal and, later, Tarawa. Although James Jones’s celebrated novel *From Here to Eternity* (1951) is not really a war story (the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, where the novel is set, provides the climax), his next, *The Thin Red Line* (1962) surely is. The grimly realistic story of a group of Marines fighting to take Guadalcanal from the Japanese, the novel emphasizes the ugly, capricious and, ultimately pointless nature of war. The absurdity of war is also the theme of Joseph Heller’s 1961 classic *Catch-22*. The protagonist, Yossarian, is an Army Air Force bombardier based in Italy who knows that his chances of survival decrease with every mission he flies. There is a limit on the number of missions that a bomber crew can be sent on, but Yossarian’s superiors keep raising the number. This darkly comic novel centers on Yossarian’s efforts to stay alive in the midst of a system that seems determined to kill him.

Absurdity edges into surrealism in Kurt Vonnegut’s *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969), which mixes realism, science fiction, black comedy, and existentialism in the story of Billy Pilgrim, a man who “comes unstuck in time.” He starts experiencing his life out of chronological sequence, and some of these temporal glitches take him back to his World War II experience, when, as a prisoner of the Germans, he experienced the terrible Allied firebombing of Dresden.

Comic book publishers seemed to be almost as interested in the war after it was over as they had been while the struggle was in progress. Several long-running comic series, most of which had begun during the war, outlasted the conflict and continued to provide drama and adventure through the perspective of fictional American heroes. The most popular of these included *Gunner and Sarge*

(Marines fighting in the Pacific), *The Haunted Tank* (commanded by Lt. Jeb Stuart and protected by the ghost of the original Jeb Stuart of Confederate cavalry fame), and the most famous of all, Sgt. Rock of Easy Company. Unlike most of his fellow comic warriors, Rock was not created until 1959, when he made his first appearance in a DC comic entitled *Our Army at War*. Although most of the other World War II comics faded away in the 1960s, Sgt. Rock and his men marched on until 1988.

Hollywood’s interest in portraying World War II also continued long after the end of the fighting; indeed no other war in history has been the subject of as many films. The postwar movies dealing with the conflict can be discussed in terms of three broad categories: combat films, historic recreations, and comedies.

Combat films constituted a popular genre during the war itself, and they continued to be the most common type of war film made after 1945. One of the first was the John Wayne film *Sands of Iwo Jima* (1949), which deftly integrated documentary footage of the actual landing with the recreated elements filmed later. Marines are also the focus of 1955’s *Battle Cry*, based on the popular novel. Norman Mailer’s book *The Naked and the Dead* was filmed in 1958, but it disappointed critics by leaving out most of the philosophical issues raised by the novel. *The Guns of Navarone* (1961), based on Alistair McLean’s novel, chronicles a commando raid to disable German cannons that control a strait vital to the Allies. *The Dirty Dozen* (1967) focuses on the efforts of a tough Army Major (Lee Marvin) as he struggles to turn a squad of condemned U.S. prisoners into a commando unit for a secret mission on the eve of D-Day. *Castle Keep* (1969) is the surreal story of a group of Army misfits relegated to duty in a Belgian castle that suddenly assumes strategic importance in the Battle of the Bulge. Samuel Fuller’s *The Big Red One* (1979) follows a squad of soldiers of the First Infantry Division as they fight their way across Europe. Although the combat film languished throughout most of the 1980s and 1990s, two powerful examples were released near the end of the latter decade. Steven Spielberg’s *Saving Private Ryan* (1998) starred Tom Hanks and is notable for the most realistically gruesome battle footage ever shown in a mainstream motion picture. *The Thin Red Line* (1999) is the second filmed version of James Jones’ classic novel and devotes as much time to moral issues as it does to combat.

A sub-genre of the combat film involves stories focusing on prisoners of war, a category that includes some of the best films made about the war. *Stalag 17*, based on a popular play, is a comedy-drama about American prisoners held by the Germans. *The Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957), which won innumerable awards, tells the story of a group of British POWs in Burma who are forced to build a railroad bridge by their Japanese captors. *The Great Escape* (1963), based loosely on a true story, involves a German “escape-proof” prison camp and the Allied prisoners who escape from it. *Von Ryan’s Express* (1965) stars Frank Sinatra as an American Colonel who masterminds the hijacking of a German train by the Allied POWs it is transporting.

Films that chronicle actual battles, campaigns, or leaders include 1965’s *Battle of the Bulge* and 1968’s *The Bridge at Remagen*. *Patton* (1970) is George C. Scott’s brilliant portrait of the General known to his troops as “Old Blood and Guts.” *The Longest Day* (1972) is a sprawling, epic account of the D-Day invasion, while 1977’s *A Bridge Too Far* tells the story of a disastrous Allied plan to outflank the Germans that almost, but not quite, succeeded in ending the war a year early.

Comedies about World War II have been attempted over the years, with varying success. *Mister Roberts* (1955) focuses on sailors fighting boredom while stationed far from the combat. Cary Grant starred in *Operation Petticoat* (1959) as the commander of a submarine that must take on a bevy of beautiful nurses as passengers. Grant also stars in 1964's *Father Goose*, as a coastwatcher who reluctantly helps a group of children escape internment by the Japanese. *What Did You Do in the War, Daddy?* (1966) stars James Coburn as the reluctant commander of a squad occupying an Italian village, and director Steven Spielberg had one of his few cinematic flops with the inane farce *1941* (1979).

The war was also a fruitful subject for television programs well into the 1960s. One of the earliest TV shows was the documentary series *Battle Report*, which ran from 1950-1952. Host Robert McCormick introduced a new "battle" each week, with film footage and interviews with surviving participants used to elucidate what had happened and why.

Fictional programs began to appear in 1956 with the premiere of *Combat Sergeant*, which offered drama against the backdrop of the battle for North Africa. The program lasted only a year, as did *O.S.S.*, which debuted in 1957 and featured the espionage adventures of Frank Hawthorne, operating behind enemy lines on behalf of the Office of Strategic Services. It would be several years before the networks tried another World War II show, but *The Gallant Men* appeared in 1962. The story of an infantry unit fighting its way through Italy, it also was cancelled after its first season.

But 1962 also saw the debut of what many regard as the best television drama about World War II ever aired. *Combat* focused on a U.S. infantry platoon in France (and, later, Germany) during the last two years of the war. The ensemble cast included Rick Jason as Lieutenant Hanley and Vic Morrow as Sergeant Saunders. The show had good writing and able directing, and never used action as a substitute for human drama—all of which probably contributed to its long run, which lasted until 1967.

In 1966, *The Rat Patrol* premiered, starring Christopher George as the leader of a four-man mechanized commando unit fighting the Germans in North Africa. The show lasted two seasons, which was one season longer than *Garrison's Gorillas*, which was a blatant attempt to cash in on the popularity of the film *The Dirty Dozen*; this "criminals behind the lines" saga ran from 1967-68.

World War II dramas largely disappeared from the airwaves until the arrival of *Baa Baa Black Sheep* (retitled *Black Sheep Squadron* for its second, and last, season) in 1976. Loosely based on a real Marine aviation unit, the show starred Robert Conrad as Greg "Pappy" Boyington, who led a group of misfit fighter pilots into aerial combat against the Japanese.

There were several television comedies based on the war, some of which proved surprisingly popular. One was *McHale's Navy*, which made its debut in 1962. Ernest Borgnine played Lt. Commander McHale, a seagoing Sgt. Bilko simultaneously conning his superiors, ripping off the navy, and striving to avoid combat with the Japanese. He was aided and abetted during the four years of the show's run by Ensign Parker, played by Tim Conway.

The success of *McHale's Navy* may have inspired another maritime war comedy, *The Wackiest Ship in the Army*, which was launched in 1965 and sunk at season's end. Jack Warden and Gary Collins played the officers commanding a mixed squad of soldiers and sailors that roamed the South Pacific in an old wooden sailboat, attempting to gather intelligence about the Japanese forces in the area.

Perhaps the unlikeliest hit of the group was *Hogan's Heroes*, a comedy set in a German POW camp for Allied prisoners. Premiering in 1965, the show derived its humor from the abilities of the prisoners, led by Colonel Hogan (Bob Crane) to outsmart their German captors. So incompetent was the camp commander, Colonel Klink (Werner Klemperer) and his ranking noncom, Sergeant Schultz (John Banner), that the prisoners were able to run an espionage ring out of the camp, help downed Allied airmen return to England, and construct an elaborate underground complex directly under the camp itself. Despite the implausibility of both the premise and most of the show's scripts, it lasted for 168 episodes before cancellation in 1971.

—Justin Gustainis

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## World Wrestling Federation

While the World Wrestling Federation claims to have been the leader in "sports entertainment for over fifty years," the WWF really was formed in the early 1980s when Vince McMahon Jr. took over his ailing father's regional wrestling promotion and transformed it into an international marketing success story. McMahon Jr. is credited with taking professional wrestling out of the "smoke-filled arenas" and putting it on the map as family entertainment.

McMahon's father started the WWF (then called the WWWF) in 1963, breaking away from the National Wrestling Alliance over disagreements about the booking of the World Champion. McMahon Sr.'s home base was New York's Madison Square Garden, and he ran shows all along the East Coast. Playing to the heavy ethnic composition of his customers, he installed Italian strongman Bruno Sammartino as his World Champion, and the promotion was off and running. McMahon Sr. pioneered the big event card, holding two successful shows at Shea Stadium, both headlined by Sammartino. By the early 1980s, McMahon Jr., who had been working for his father as an announcer but was posed for something bigger for the business, had taken over the promotion. (McMahon told *New York* magazine that he "fell in love with it from the first contact.") Eventually buying out his father's stock in the parent company, Capital Sports, he changed the name to Titan Sports and proceeded to revolutionize wrestling.

McMahon broke all the rules: he "stole" other promoter's talent, bought out their television time, signed exclusive agreements with their arenas, and scheduled shows opposite theirs. Soon the traditional wrestling territories started drying up. McMahon's new company, headlined by Hulk Hogan as lead babyface and Roddy Piper as lead heel, used the emerging cable television industry to



World Wrestling Federation wrestlers compete in a match in Kowloon, Hong Kong.

market his promotion across the country. Shows such as *WWF Superstars* and McMahon's faux talk show *Tuesday Night Titans* were the top rated shows on all cable. He also set up syndicated shows that became the highest rated in syndication. Attracting mainstream press, using celebrities like Liberace and Cindy Lauper, merchandising wrestlers as characters (the WWF would copyright and own each wrestler's gimmick), having wrestlers use entrance music, and, finally, making wrestling a true "show" thrust the WWF into the national consciousness.

After 1985's *Wrestlemania I*, a live event at Madison Square Garden covered by hundreds of media outlets but also shown across the country via closed-circuit TV, McMahon expanded his empire. He signed agreements for a cartoon show on CBS and inked a series of license agreements to create all sorts of products, from lunch boxes to trading cards, featuring the likenesses of his wrestlers. Rather than appealing to adults, McMahon aimed his product at the family market. The WWF scored a coup in landing a monthly spot on network TV with *Saturday Night's Main Event* premiering on NBC in 1985 in the 11:30 p.m. time slot. Forays into prime time began in 1988. Success followed success as the WWF dominated in the United States with events like 1987's *Wrestlemania III* drawing more than 90,000 to the Pontiac Silverdome in Michigan, while wrestling became the cash cow of the early pay-per-view industry. The WWF

even "exposed" the wrestling industry in a hearing in New Jersey to rid itself of being taxed as a sport. A WWF official testified that wrestling was indeed "fake," a headline which ended up in the *New York Times*. McMahon didn't even attempt to put up the façade any longer, telling *New York* magazine, "We're storytellers—this is a soap opera, performed by the greatest actors and athletes in the world. I'd like to say that it's the highest form of entertainment."

The WWF subsequently expanded to more than 1,000 events a year. The wrestlers were divided up into the three "teams," the big stars headlining in the major markets and new talent headlining in small towns. Already successful in Canada, in the late 1980s the WWF started running TV all over the world and promoting live events in England, Germany, and Italy as well as in the Middle East. In 1991, more than 60,000 fans jammed into Wembley Stadium in England for the "Summer Slam" show, while events in other countries sold out both tickets and merchandise.

While the success of the WWF was built on many factors, one of its main selling points was always the physique of its wrestlers. Champion Hulk Hogan bragged about having the "largest arms in the world," and performers like the Ultimate Warrior were touted not because of their ring talent, but because of their bodybuilder physiques. McMahon marketed bodybuilders by developing the World Bodybuilding Federation in 1991, a huge, and expensive, failure.

More bad times followed for the WWF with the arrest of a WWF-affiliated doctor for trafficking in steroids. McMahon and the company itself were taken to court for distributing steroids in 1994 after a very public three-year investigation. About the same time the steroid scandal broke, former WWF wrestlers and announcers were coming forth with stories of sex scandals involving WWF officials. *Jerry Springer*, *Geraldo*, and other daytime talk shows covered the story, as did the *New York Post*. McMahon was on the ropes. The negative publicity from the scandals, coupled with the shrinking nature of the top wrestlers' physiques and the departure of top stars like Hulk Hogan caused a downturn in business. The WWF tried its old tricks of involving celebrities like Chuck Norris, Jenny McCarthy, Burt Reynolds, Pam Anderson, and even getting NFL Hall of Famer Lawrence Taylor to wrestle in a Wrestlemania main event, but fan interest was waning.

After dominating wrestling for more than a decade, the WWF faced its first serious competition in 1995 when Ted Turner's World Championship Wrestling challenged the WWF directly by scheduling a show called *Monday Nitro* opposite the WWF's long-standing *Monday Night Raw*. Losing talent, advertisers, and viewers, the WWF was clearly the number-two promotion. The turning point came when the WWF decided to abandon its family-friendly approach. It adopted a new hardcore edge and marketing campaign, "WWF attitude," while building the promotion around trash-talking Steve Austin rather than dependable champion Bret Hart. When Hart decided to leave the promotion in the fall of 1997, McMahon took a bold gamble. During a championship match, which McMahon and Hart had agreed would end in Hart NOT losing the WWF title, McMahon had the timekeeper ring the bell and declare Hart's opponent, Shawn Michaels, the winner and new champ. The controversy and interest in the finish, the emergence of Austin as the most popular wrestler in the country as well as a mainstream celebrity (showing up on awards shows, voicing MTV's *Celebrity Death Match*, being profiled in *Rolling Stone* and *People*), and lots of innovative promotion and matchmaking found the WWF back on top and once again "the leader in sports entertainment."

—Patrick Jones

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## World's Fairs

World's fairs are modern events of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Whereas medieval fairs were concerned with the selling of goods, modern world's fairs were involved in the selling of industrial technology and industrial society; they fostered the idea that industrial development was to be equated with social progress. World's fairs not only furnished a place where the latest technological achievements could be presented to an international public, but they provided

an orientation to people confronting the vast and rapid changes of industrialism. They offered a photograph of the present, a story of past progress, and a vision of the future. But by the middle of the twentieth century, world's fairs had lost much of their importance and charm.

The first world's fair was held in London in 1851. Prince Albert, husband of Queen Victoria and president of the Royal Society of the Arts, wanted to go beyond the national industrial exhibitions that France had made famous and Britain was ready to duplicate. After much discussion, a building of glass and iron/wood beams was constructed in Hyde Park. The Crystal Palace held all of the exhibits. Since it was built with prefabricated interchangeable parts, the building was constructed and taken down quickly, with little damage to the Park. In fact, the building was actually constructed over 10 large elm trees. During the 141 days it was open, over six million attended. The Crystal Palace Exhibition's success inspired other nations to hold international exhibitions.

World's fairs are remembered by the products they introduced to the public. Americans did very well at the Crystal Palace Exhibition. Cyrus McCormick's reaper, Samuel Morse's telegraph, and Charles Goodyear's vulcanized rubber products were well received. Colt revolvers and Robbins-Lawrence rifles made with interchangeable parts were recognized as having revolutionized the making of firearms. Elisa Otis demonstrated his safety elevator at the New York World's Fair in 1853. At the Philadelphia Exposition of 1876, Alexander Graham Bell introduced the telephone, and Thomas Edison gave his first public demonstration of the phonograph in Paris in 1889. Sound-synchronized movies, x-rays, and wireless telegraphy marked the 1900 Paris fair. The St. Louis World's Fair of 1904 introduced the safety razor, the ice cream cone, iced tea, and rayon. President Franklin Roosevelt's televised opening of the 1939 New York World's Fair began regular television broadcasting in the United States. IBM's (International Business Machine) computer demonstrations educated visitors to the New York World's Fair of 1964-1965.

More important than the inventions were the industrial systems that the fairs exhibited to the public. The Philadelphia Exposition of 1876 celebrated the age of steam. In Machinery Hall, the giant Corliss steam engine, 40-feet high and 2,520 horsepower strong, powered all the machinery in the hall. There were also steam fire engines, steam locomotives, and steam pumps. By 1893, the Chicago World's Fair was celebrating the age of electricity. At night, the fair was lighted by thousands of incandescent light bulbs. In the Electrical building were Edison and Westinghouse dynamos and electric motors that powered other machines. Transportation, however, was the theme in St. Louis in 1904. Trains, streetcars, and over 160 motorcars were displayed. A major feature of the fair was the dirigible contest, where a large cash prize awaited anyone who could pilot his airship over a prescribed route.

While world's fairs were held to celebrate historic milestones, contemporary concerns were often in the minds of fair planners. The 1876 Philadelphia Exposition recognized the centennial of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The fair was also viewed as a means to remind Americans of their common ideals, and thus heal the wounds of the Civil War. Paris' 1889 World's Fair celebrated the centennial of the French Revolution. Chicago's Exposition of 1893 recognized the 400th year anniversary of Columbus' discovery; and the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904 commemorated the centennial of the Louisiana Purchase. Both fairs were also seen as demonstrating the importance of the midwest to the nation. The centennial of the founding of the city of Chicago was the reason given for holding a world's fair in 1933. New York's World's Fair in 1939 celebrated the

150th year anniversary of George Washington's inauguration. The "Building the World of Tomorrow" theme had the high purpose of showing how a well planned democratic society would survive the world's turmoil. The outbreak of World War II in September resulted in the new theme of "Peace and Freedom" for the 1940 opening.

The outside world had a way of impinging upon world's fairs. At the New York World's Fair of 1853, Susan B. Anthony led a demonstration for women's rights. For the Philadelphia Exposition in 1876, a women's building housed a display of inventions by women, and photographs showing women working in a variety of occupations. Of particular note was Emma Allison, who operated a steam engine that ran five looms and a printing press. When a man asked her if the work was too demanding for someone of her sex, she replied "It's easier than teaching, and the pay is better." At the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, the women's building displayed a great collection of works by women. These included a library of 5,000 books, paintings, and sculptures, and mechanical devices invented by women. A careful selection of statistics from around the world showed the extent to which women were a part of the world economy. Susan B. Anthony believed the women's building did more to raise the consciousness of women than all the demonstrations of the nineteenth century.

At the Philadelphia Exposition of 1876, vendors and amusements were located outside the fairgrounds. The 1893 Chicago planners recognized that a profit could be realized by bringing the amusements and vendors into the fair itself. One of the most popular of the Midway exhibits was the "streets of Cairo" featuring the belly dancer "Little Egypt." She also appeared at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, but was outdrawn by "Jim Key," the talking horse. The 1933 Chicago World's Fair had Midget Town and the fan dancer, Sally Rand. The New York World's Fair of 1939 featured the synchronized swimming of "Aqua girls" in Billy Rose's Aquacade. The world's fairs would be remembered for their outstanding amusements. The Eiffel Tower was a huge success at the 1889 Paris fair. For a generation that had not yet flown in an airplane, seeing the world from 985 feet was unlike anything they had ever experienced. The 1893 Chicago fair offered Charles Ferris' great wheel: 40 cars, each carrying 36 passengers, rode to a height of 270 feet. Forty years later, Chicago offered a 200-foot high Sky Ride across the second longest suspension span in the United States. The parachute jump at the 1939 New York World's Fair attracted thrill seekers and onlookers.

Since world's fairs were international events, international organizations held their meetings at the fairs. At the 1900 Paris World's Fair, 127 international organizations met. Paris in 1900 and St. Louis in 1904 hosted the second and third Olympic games. Featured at the fairs were villages of natives from around the world. Dressed in their native costumes, these villages were publicized as serving an educational function. The subtle message, however, was an ethnocentric view that celebrated Western progress by comparing Western achievements at the fair with the backwardness of these native cultures. Following the Olympics, the St. Louis fair held three days of "Anthropology games." Native peoples at the fair were enticed to demonstrate their skills. Sioux Indians participated in archery contests, African natives threw javelins, and seven-foot Patagonians tried the shot put. Their inability to match Western records not only confirmed the value of training, but again suggested the superiority of Western civilization.

Those who went to the fairs had their faith in Western industrial progress confirmed. At the height of the Depression, Chicago's 1933 Century of Progress assured visitors that science guaranteed a better

future. The science building had a giant statue gently guiding a trembling man and woman into the future. The official guidebook to the fair stated, "Science Finds, Industry Applies, Man Conforms." By 1939, Fascism and Nazism were on the move in Europe. Visitors to the New York fair were given a powerful message of hope. The symbols of the fair, the Trylon and Perisphere, suggested that soaring human aspirations could be realized on this earth. Inside the sphere was a giant model city known as Democracity. This utopian city had Centerton as its business and cultural center, Millvilles of light industry, and Pleasantvilles, which were exclusively residential. Democracity, with its defined zones and rational streets, carried the message that well-planned livable cities were possible through democratic forms of government. Futurama, the General Motors exhibit, the most popular at the fair, presented a vision of America united by a 14 lane national highway in which radio-controlled autos moved at 100 miles per hour. With its green suburbs, industrial parks, productive farms, and high rise urban centers, this vision of America in 1960 offered an inspirational alternative to the chaos that the world was experiencing.

World's fairs have lost their importance because technical fairs and television are a more effective means of presenting new technological developments to specialists and to the general public. Television can bring foreign cultures to our homes, and air travel can bring us to foreign cultures. Today, international organizations are connected with permanent agencies of the United Nations. Theme Parks such as Disney World and Epcot Center provide the amusements and thrills that were once found at world's fairs. Finally, the expense of holding a world's fair required corporate sponsorship. The resulting commercialization of the 1964-1965 New York World's Fair suggested that fairs were now oriented toward selling products. The fair's ferris wheel, for example, was a giant tire with the name of the tire company in huge letters on the sides of the tires. Our view of technology has also changed. We no longer accept the idea that because we can do something technologically, we ought to do it, and that we will do it. General Motors' 1964-1965 exhibit demonstrated how humans could explore and colonize the oceans, the deserts, and the polar ice caps. Few were inspired by this vision.

—Thomas W. Judd

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## Wrangler Jeans

Wrangler jeans became the pant de rigueur for late-twentieth-century country and western fashion. Popular with mid-century rodeo riders after their introduction in 1947 because of their snug fit and boot-cut pant leg, Wranglers have come to symbolize the free spirit and individualism embodied in the myths of the American frontier West. While other brands, especially Levi's, became connected with urban chic, Wrangler focused its marketing almost exclusively on associations with rural authenticity and Western roots. As the jeans of choice for almost any star in the growing country music industry of the late 1980s and 1990s, Wranglers benefitted from the resurgence of country music and the heavy advertising tie-ins associated with the music's rural and Western image. Wrangler became culturally connected, and often financially intertwined, with rodeos, country music, competitive fishing, and pick-up truck sales.

—Dan Moos

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## Wray, Fay (1907—)

Despite a long, versatile career, Canadian-born actress Fay Wray is indelibly etched on the public mind as the shrieking heroine in the grasp of a giant ape climbing the Empire State Building in the film *King Kong* (1933). For 40 years she acted in 78 motion pictures as well as on the Broadway stage and television. She also co-authored a play with Nobel Prize winner Sinclair Lewis. Although she proved her acting ability in such films as *The Affairs of Cellini* (1934), opposite Frederic March, she was doomed to be typecast as the champion screamer and bedeviled heroine. In the 1950s she played in the television series *Pride of the Family* as the wife of Paul Hartman and mother of Natalie Wood. "When I'm in New York," she once said with a laugh, "I look at the Empire State Building and feel that it belongs to me—or vice versa."

—Benjamin Griffith

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## Wright, Richard (1908-1960)

Once at the center of African-American culture—chosen by the Schomburg Collection poll as one of the "twelve distinguished Negroes" of 1939, recipient of the Spingarn Medal in 1941 (then the highest award given by the NAACP), and mentor to young black writers such as James Baldwin, Gwendolyn Brooks, and Ralph Ellison—Richard Wright became an unpalatable novelist to readers and critics of his own race in the 1980s and 1990s.

Born on a plantation in Roxie, near Natchez, Mississippi, Wright spent his childhood traveling intermittently from one relative to the next because of his father's desertion and his mother's bad health. In 1927, Wright moved to the South Side of Chicago where he worked as a postal clerk and insurance policy vendor. In Chicago, Wright joined first the John Reed Club and then the Communist Party and started to publish essays and poetry in leftist reviews such as *Midland Left*, *New Masses*, and *International Literature*. By 1936, Wright had become one of the principal organizers of the Communist Party, but his relationship with the party would always be difficult until his definite break in 1942.

In 1936, Wright's short story "Big Boy Leaves Home" appeared in the anthology *The New Caravan* and received critical praise in mainstream newspapers and magazines, marking a decisive step for his career as a writer. The following year Wright moved to New York where, with Dorothy West, he launched the magazine *New Challenge* (which, lacking Communist support, was short-lived). In *New Challenge*, Wright published the influential essay "Blueprint for Negro Writing" (1937) where he urged black writers to adopt a Marxist approach as a starting point in their analysis of society. In the same essay, with a move which is considered problematic by contemporary black critics, Wright encouraged black writers to consider as their heritage Eliot, Stein, Joyce, Proust, Hemingway, Anderson, Barbusse, Nexo, and Jack London "no less than the folklore of the Negro himself."

Wright's first novel, *Native Son*, based on a true story, describes the progressive entrapment and final execution of Bigger Thomas, a young African-American chauffeur living in the Chicago slums who involuntarily killed his boss's daughter. Published in 1940 by Harper, the novel sold 215,000 copies in its first three weeks and became a Book-of-the-Month Club selection, thus marking, as Paul Gilroy has pointed out, an important change in the political economy of publishing black writers. The following year Orson Welles directed a successful stage version of *Native Son*. Two movie versions have been realized so far: the first in 1951 by Pierre Chenal starring Wright himself, the second one in 1995 by Jerrold Freedman starring Victor Love, Matt Dillon, and Oprah Winfrey. *Native Son* has had a great impact on successive generations of African-American writers who have either followed its pattern of "protest novel," as in the case of Anne Petry, Chester Himes, and William Gardner Smith (sometimes significantly grouped together as "the Wright school"), or reacted to it very critically as James Baldwin did in his famous essay "Everybody's Protest Novel" (1949), stating: "The failure of the protest novel lies in its rejection of life, the human being, the denial of his beauty, dread, power, in its insistence that it is his categorization alone which is real and which cannot be transcended."

After the success of *Native Son*, Wright published with equal success and critical acclaim the folk history *12 Million Black Voices* (1941) and the first part of his autobiography, *Black Boy* (1945), the second part was published posthumously as *American Hunger* in

1977), which became another Book-of-the-Month Club selection. In 1945 Wright wrote the introduction to *Black Metropolis*, St. Claire Drake and Horace Cayton's classic sociological study of the black ghetto in Chicago. Thanks to *Native Son* and *Black Boy*, which were translated into several languages, Richard Wright was the first black writer to enjoy a global readership. However, *Black Boy* has attracted much criticism by contemporary African-American scholars for Wright's depiction of black life in America as, to quote his own words, "bleak" and "barren." Henry Louis Gates, for example, finds that "Wright's humanity is achieved only at the expense of his fellow blacks . . . who surround and suffocate him" which makes Wright's autobiographical persona "a noble black savage, in the ironic tradition of Oroonoko and film characters played by Sidney Poitier—the exception, not the rule." Paul Gilroy has suggested a less disparaging, and ultimately more useful, perspective, describing Wright's work as fascinating precisely because "the tension of racial particularity on one side and the appeal of those modern universals that appear to transcend race on the other arises in the sharpest possible way."

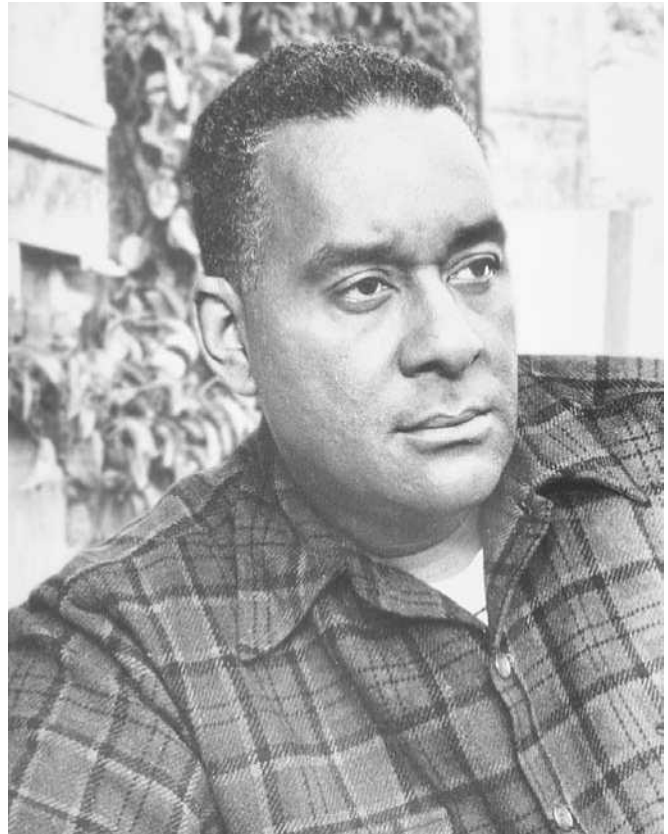
In 1946, the French cultural attaché in Washington and famous anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss sent Wright an official invitation from the French government to visit Paris, where Wright was welcomed by prominent intellectuals such as Gertrude Stein, Simone de Beauvoir, Jean-Paul Sartre and André Gide. The following year Wright decided to settle down in Paris permanently where he started to work on his existentialist novel *The Outsider* (1953) and where he had an active role in several organizations such as Sartre's Rassemblement Democratique Révolutionnaire, Léopold Sédar Senghor and Aimé Césaire's *Présence Africaine*, and the *Société Africaine de Culture*. Wright's other books of this late period include a report on his travels in Africa (*Black Power*, 1954); an account, introduced by Gunnar Myrdal, of the conference of non-aligned nations in Bandung, Indonesia (*The Color Curtain*, 1956); a collection of essays (*White Man, Listen!*, 1957); and two novels (*Savage Holiday*, 1954, and *The Long Dream*, 1958).

Wright's last years were plagued by his progressive alienation from the African-American community in Paris, which suspected Wright of being an agent for the FBI (in fact, evidence shows that the FBI monitored Wright's activities all his life), and by his increasing financial problems. Paradoxically and sadly for a writer who had to fight against white racism all his life and whose books were not allowed during his lifetime on the library shelves of several American towns, Richard Wright is now being held in contempt by influential black critics who are disturbed by his unaffirmative portrayal of the African-American community, by his controversial relationship with black culture, and by what many consider a stereotypical depiction of black women. It is hoped that critics and readers will find new and more inclusive strategies to recenter Richard Wright within the American and African-American literary tradition.

—Luca Prono

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## Wrigley Field

At 1060 West Addison Street in Chicago sits Wrigley Field, the venerable home of the Chicago Cubs baseball team of the National League. Wrigley Field has played host to some of the most memorable and bizarre incidents in the history of professional baseball. Opposing teams dread playing within "The Friendly Confines" due to the vicious winds blowing in from nearby Lake Michigan as well as the raucous, loyal fans who turn out in droves to cheer on their beloved and "Cubbies," one of the least successful teams in baseball history.

Wrigley Field came into existence in March of 1914 as the home of the Chicago Whales, taking the name Weegham Park, after Whales owner Charles Weegham. In 1916, Weegham bought the Cubs and moved them to Weegham Park. The name changed shortly thereafter to Cubs Park when the Wrigley family (of chewing-gum fame) bought the Cubs in 1920, changing its name yet one more time in 1926 to Wrigley Field. Despite many changes throughout the years, Wrigley Field still preserves a touch of old-time baseball with its downtown stadium surrounding a domeless field with real grass, plus 1930s-vintage amenities like a hand-operated scoreboard, a beautiful ivy-covered outfield wall with no advertising placards, and an infamous bleacher section often packed with “Bleacher Bums.” Wrigley Field and the Cubs also maintain a longstanding commitment to afternoon baseball games.

Among the more-famous incidents in the history of Wrigley Field include Babe Ruth’s “called shot” and the 1969 “black cat.” The legend of Ruth’s “called shot” in Game Three of the 1932 World Series, in which he purportedly predicted the trajectory of one of his home runs, has achieved almost mythical status, despite evidence suggesting the story was probably apocryphal. In the midst of the dramatic, disastrous 1969 season, a black cat wandered into the Cubs dugout, supposedly contributing to the bad-luck season that found the Cubs relinquishing a huge lead to New York’s “Miracle Mets.”

In the late 1990s, Wrigley Field remains the only major-league baseball park to prohibit advertising on any of the walls or scoreboards surrounding the playing field. The Tribune Company, publishers of the *Chicago Tribune*, bought the Cubs in 1985 and made one concession to the modern age by installing lights for night-baseball games, though the first night game at Wrigley Field (August 8, 1988 vs. the Philadelphia Phillies) was rained out after three and a half innings. The Cubs completed its first official night game the next evening, defeating the New York Mets 6-4.

With a seating capacity of 38,902, Wrigley Field is one of the smallest parks in major-league baseball, which only adds to the intimacy of watching an old-fashioned baseball game within the stadium’s “Friendly Confines.”

—Jason McEntee

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## *Wuthering Heights*

Emily Brontë’s 1847 Gothic novel about the brooding Heathcliff’s passion for Cathy has become one of cinema’s most enduring love stories. Director A. V. Bramble, in a British silent production (1920), first brought *Wuthering Heights* to the screen; but Samuel Goldwyn’s 1939 version, directed by William Wyler and starring Laurence Olivier and Merle Oberon, is considered the film classic (and a source

of much Hollywood lore, such as Goldwyn’s post-production decision to add a new “happy” ending, the now famous scene of the lovers walking together on the crag filmed with unknown actors.) Subsequent refilmings and adaptations—by director Luis Buñuel, as *Abismos de Pasion* (1954); by Robert Fuest (1970), starring Timothy Dalton; by the BBC (in 1948, 1953, 1962, 1967, and, most notably, by Peter Hammond in 1978); by Jacques Rivette, as *Hurlevent* (1985); and by Peter Kosminsky, as *Emily Brontë’s Wuthering Heights* (1992), with Ralph Fiennes and Juliette Binoche; and by David Skynner, again as *Emily Brontë’s Wuthering Heights* (1998)—confirm the popularity of Brontë’s tale and filmmakers’ ongoing fascination with it.

—Barbara Tewa Lupack

## WWJD? (What Would Jesus Do?)

The twentieth century has seen no phrase so consistently popular with Protestant America as “What Would Jesus Do?” What began as a series of evening story-sermons delivered by a Kansas preacher in 1896 became by the end of the century a billion dollar industry as millions of Americans purchased bracelets, t-shirts, coffee mugs, and other paraphernalia with the acronym “WWJD?” inscribed upon them. For some the remarkable sales which the phrase engendered bespoke a hunger for the Christian gospel in the American public sphere, but to others it showcased the ability of market-savvy capitalists to turn even the deepest religious impulses into profit-making ventures.

Charles M. Sheldon (1857-1946), a social gospel minister at the Central Congregational Church in Topeka, Kansas, landed on the idea of the story-sermon as a cure for chronically poor attendance at Sunday evening services. These serial messages would then be printed in the private weekly magazine *The Advance* and later compiled and released in book form. In 1896 the series he composed was entitled “In His Steps,” recounting the experiences of Rev. Henry Maxwell as he and his congregation discovered spiritual awakening and moral regeneration when they asked themselves “What would Jesus do?” in every situation they faced and sought to act accordingly.

The *Advance* series proved so popular that Sheldon decided to reissue the material as a book. But when he applied for copyright protection, it was discovered that the original magazine series had not itself been copyrighted and so the story was in public domain. Thus as the book began to sell, many firms other than the Advance Publishing Company rushed to meet the demand. By mid-century 41 companies had published the book in the United States, 15 in Great Britain, and the original text had been translated into 26 languages. The results of all this activity were mixed for Sheldon. He was catapulted to international fame, with his book selling no fewer than 8 million copies and perhaps as many as 30 million, but Sheldon himself received very little in the way of royalties on the sales. Thus was born a mythology about *In His Steps*, the book which outsold all others save the Bible but whose author received not a penny in royalties.

*In His Steps* has been continually in print since 1896, usually in more than one edition. But the end of the twentieth century saw an astonishing revival in its popularity. In 1989 Janie Tinklenberg, youth leader at the Calvary Reformed Church in Holland, Michigan, read

Sheldon's book and discussed it with her youth group. Noticing that many of her kids were making "friendship bracelets" for one another, she hit upon the idea of creating a bracelet which would remind her charges to ask themselves what Jesus would do in a given situation. She contacted the Lesco Corporation, based in Lansing, Michigan, and had them make two hundred bracelets with the acronym "WWJD?" stitched into them. Many of the students in her group began explaining the message of Jesus Christ to their classmates, who would often themselves ask for a bracelet. The original supply was quickly depleted and the phenomenon began to spread across the country. During the first seven years of marketing, Lesco Corp. sold 300,000 bracelets. But in the spring of 1997 Paul Harvey mentioned them on his syndicated radio show and sales skyrocketed. Fifteen million bracelets were sold by Lesco in 1997, and dozens of other corporations rushed to capitalize on the market craze.

Lesco quickly expanded its merchandising beyond the bracelets to include baseball caps, coffee mugs, key chains, jewelry, sweaters, and t-shirts, all sold by Christian bookstores around the country. An Indiana-based web site (<http://www.whatwouldjesusdo.com>) was selling 300,000 bracelets a month by 1998. 1998 also witnessed several Christian publishing companies compiling youth curriculum materials and offering inspirational publications using the moniker. Fore-Front Records released a WWJD? compact disc showcasing some of the most popular artists in Contemporary Christian Music, and publishing giant Zondervan issued the WWJD Interactive Devotional Bible. Most releases sold quite well. Some, like Beverly Courrage's *Answers to WWJD?*, became bestsellers.

By 1998 the fad had caught the attention of mainstream media outlets such that WWJD? materials could be purchased from high-profile stores like Kmart, Wal-Mart, Hallmark, Barnes and Noble, and Borders Books and Music. The Christian press was astir with debate over whether Jesus Himself would smile upon such vigorous marketing of His message, and controversy emerged over copyrights on the phrase itself. Fuel was added to the flames of controversy when it was found that some of the pewter jewelry bearing the WWJD inscription contained such high quantities of lead that children were contracting lead poisoning.

Despite such difficulties, it was clear that the message Charles Sheldon had preached first to his congregation and then to millions of readers around the world at the beginning of the twentieth century was still being heeded and put into practice over one hundred years later in a characteristically American blend of religious zeal and the entrepreneurial spirit.

—Milton Gaither

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## Wyeth, Andrew (1917—)

The Realist painter Andrew Wyeth was born the youngest of five children to the successful artist/illustrator, N.C. Wyeth, in Chadds Ford, Pennsylvania in 1917. He learned to paint with the keen observation and the drafting skills that his father passed on to him. His subjects, mainly nostalgic images of unpainted houses, austere New Englanders, and landscapes from his surroundings, have been enormously popular since his first sold out one-man show in New York in 1937. Like his father, he was offered the opportunity to paint covers for *The Saturday Evening Post*, but unlike his father, he declined, preferring to pursue a free interpretative course in his art. Ironically, because of his ability to capture on canvas the American sense of courage and its triumph over the struggles and trials of life, Andrew Wyeth was the first artist to be featured on the cover of *Time* magazine.

Nearly all of Wyeth's paintings are either executed in drybrush, watercolor, or egg tempera, a technique that allows for extreme precision. His subdued earth-colors palette, realistic style, and subject matter have remained the same throughout his career, often featuring a neighbor's farm in Chadds Ford and landscape scenes from his summers in Cushing, Maine. In the 1960s, he began to paint portraits of his sister, Carolyn, which encouraged him eventually to embark on a series of nudes of Helga Testorf, one of his Chadds Ford neighbors. An early Wyeth model, Christina Olson, was the subject of several of his portraits and one of his most famous paintings, *Christina's World* (1948). The painting shows the crippled woman gazing back towards her house from a windswept, grassy pasture. As an egg tempera work painted shortly after his father's tragic railway accident, it emphasizes the somber introspection and sense of struggle for which Wyeth gained a great deal of notoriety. The Olson House, featured in *Christina's World*, is the first house listed in the National Historic Register of Places to become famous through being featured in a painting, thus attesting to the popularity of the artist's work.

During the years 1972-1986, Wyeth painted his popular "Helga" studies. These pictures were painted in secret and comprise 247 images of the artist's most mature works, featuring the same model in numerous environments and moods. A sense of moral dignity and courage is characteristic of the portraits in this series of paintings, which were exhibited at the National Gallery of Art in 1987 and were the first works by a living artist to be shown there. This came after Wyeth's 1976 honor of having been the first living American artist to be given a retrospective at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Imbuing his art with a sense of visual poetry, mysterious in its evocation of emotion, Andrew Wyeth's craft has developed independently of the modern and contemporary *avant garde* movements. His apolitical, somewhat sentimental nature and keen sense of tenacity in subjects, appeals to those who find beauty in the tangibly representational rather than the abstract. Wyeth, however, finds that there is a kind of abstract discipline in utilitarian subjects that he is able to capture in paint, rendering image in a realistic style that appears to reveal the truth to his viewers. In the late 1970s he said, with obvious affection for his Maine subjects, "[Maine] is to me almost like going to the surface of the moon. I feel things are just hanging on the surface and that it's all going to blow away." Andrew Wyeth became popular because he depicts traditional values and grassroots images. His



*Dodge's Ridge* by Andrew Wyeth.

exhibitions draw record-breaking crowds and command some of the highest prices paid for the works of living American artists.

—Cheryl McGrath

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## Wyeth, N. C. (1882-1945)

Indisputably one of the world's greatest illustrators, Newell Convers Wyeth is best known for adding a new and unforgettable

dimension to dozens of classic adventure books—*Treasure Island* (1911), *The Boy's King Arthur* (1917), and *Robinson Crusoe* (1920) among them—in the early decades of the twentieth century. Combining skilled draftsmanship and a genius for light and color with the ability dictated by his teacher Howard Pyle to project himself into each painting, Wyeth succeeded brilliantly at evoking movement, mood, and the range of human emotions. His prolific output, in addition to easel paintings and murals, included illustrations for hundreds of stories in periodicals from *McCall's* to the *Saturday Evening Post*, popular prints, posters, calendars, and advertisements. His early portrayals of the Old West reveal the influence of Frederic Remington, while much of his later work clearly made a strong impression on the art of his son Andrew, like his father one of America's most admired painters.

—Craig Bunch

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## Wynette, Tammy (1942-1998)

Often criticized for her conservative, traditional values, country vocalist Tammy Wynette became famous in the late 1960s for “Stand by Your Man,” a hit single that made her an unintentional spokesperson for antifeminists. While she was known for her “doormat” songs, in which men treat women subserviently, much of her material offered valuable insights into the lives of working-class housewives and mothers. Her songs often exhibited an optimistic perseverance in a never-ending quest for love and happiness. Wynette expressed this attitude with a heartfelt sincerity, for even after she became a country superstar, her life was not easy. Sometimes referred to as the “Heroine of Heartbreak,” she suffered from marital difficulties, drug addiction, financial troubles, and countless severe health problems. Although she was portrayed as an unhappy victim, Wynette was stronger than she appeared to be. As a woman in the male-dominated music industry of the 1960s, she held her own as a performer. During her 30-year career she sold more than 30 million records, had 39 Top Ten country hits, and received three Country Music Association awards.

Born in Itawamba County, Mississippi, on May 5, 1942, Virginia Wynette Pugh was raised by her grandparents after her father died not long after she was born and her mother found work at a Memphis defense plant. As a child, she picked cotton on their farm, and this arduous and exhausting work made her determined to create a better life for herself. She learned to play the piano and the guitar, and she started singing in church. Accompanied by a female friend, she performed on local radio programs and in area talent competitions. In her autobiography, *Stand by Your Man*, she recalled, “during my adolescence I daydreamed a lot about singing professionally.” However, in the spring of 1959, 17-year-old Wynette married Euple Byrd, and in 1961, their first child was born. Two years later, after the birth of a second child, she was training to become a licensed beautician. The family lived in Memphis briefly, where she worked as a barmaid, occasionally singing songs requested by the customers. Unhappy in her marriage, Wynette asked Byrd for a divorce; he responded by attempting to have her committed to an institution. In 1965, pregnant with their third child, she and her two daughters moved to Birmingham, Alabama. Born prematurely, her third daughter was diagnosed with spinal meningitis. Wynette managed to support her family by working as a hairdresser full-time and singing on a local early morning television show. She maintained her dream of being a professional country singer, and after attending a disc jockey convention in Nashville, she decided to move there and focus her efforts on landing a record deal.

Wynette auditioned unsuccessfully for several labels located in the part of Nashville known as Music Row. Executives and producers repeatedly turned her down, saying that they were looking for a “girl singer” who sounded like a particular established male country artist, or that they simply did not need any more female artists. After a series of rejections, she approached Billy Sherrill, a producer/songwriter with Epic Records. Recognizing her tremendous vocal capability, he agreed to record her. Within a few weeks, he suggested that she call herself Tammy Wynette, and he chose “Apartment #9” as her first single. By December of 1966, Wynette’s debut release was on the country charts; less than a year later, her first album, *Your Good Girl’s Gonna Go Bad*, reached the Top Ten. Despite this success, Wynette



Tammy Wynette

encountered further difficulties as she searched for a booking agency. According to her autobiography, one agent she approached expressed the opinion that women were “not worth the trouble” because of conflicting obligations to their families and their careers. She managed to find an agent lacking this prejudice and began performing regularly as her next three singles became number-one hits. She married songwriter Don Chapel, but their marriage dissolved as she became involved with singer George Jones. By the time she married Jones in 1969, she was a full-fledged star known for the anthems “D-I-V-O-R-C-E” and “Stand by Your Man,” which became one of the best-selling country songs ever recorded by a female artist.

As Jones’s wife, Wynette was known as “The First Lady of Country Music,” and together they performed and recorded duets that often reflected problems existing in their own relationship. Jones’s legendary substance abuse and his tendency toward violence caused Wynette to seek a divorce in 1975. A year later, her fourth marriage lasted less than two months. Her fifth and final marriage took place in 1978 to George Richey, a songwriter she had known for several years. During the 1970s, she began to be plagued by a variety of medical problems, many requiring operations, that continued until her death. Her house in Nashville was broken into on 15 separate occasions and mysteriously set on fire. In 1978, she was the victim of a bizarre kidnapping incident. By the late 1980s, she had been treated

for addiction to painkillers and had filed for bankruptcy. As a writer for *People* noted after her death, “in Tammy Wynette’s world, something always seemed to go wrong.”

As Wynette’s career continued into the 1990s, so did her image as the devoted, subordinate wife. In 1992, after Hillary Clinton made a condescending reference to Wynette on *60 Minutes*, she quickly apologized at Wynette’s insistence. That same year, Wynette collaborated with the dance group KLF on “Justified and Ancient,” which became a British club hit. An album she released in 1994 featured duets with Elton John, Smokey Robinson, and Sting, among others, and the following year, she and George Jones were reunited on a new album, which would be her last. While the country industry essentially abandoned older artists like Wynette, the fans remained faithful. In spite of increasingly serious health problems, she persisted in performing up until a month before she died on April 6, 1998. Months

later, artists from various musical genres recorded a tribute album of her songs entitled *Tammy Wynette Remembered*.

—Anna Hunt Graves

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# X

## X Games

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The annual Summer and Winter X Games bring together “extreme” athletes who compete in such sporting events as skateboarding, in-line skating, snowboarding, sky-surfing, sport-climbing, stunt bicycling, street luge, and barefoot water-ski jumping. The cable TV sports network ESPN developed the X Games and first broadcast them in the summer of 1995; the Winter X Games debuted in 1998. Touted as an alternative Olympics, the X Games cater to youth culture (the name is a convenient play on Generation X) and popularize athletic risk-taking. The X Games also commercialize and organize characteristically marginal and disorderly activities like skateboarding and skydiving, calling into question whether these increasingly mainstreamed sports can still be considered “extreme.”

“Extreme” sports are those largely individualistic athletic activities that require people to push themselves “to the extreme,” often by defying both gravity and society’s standards for reasonable risk. Typically, extreme athletes also project an image that counters that of the “normal” athlete in terms of appearance, attitude, and training regimen. The emerging popularity of extreme sports in the 1990s reflected a shift in American fitness trends. The fitness craze of the 1980s inspired many otherwise inactive, non-athletic individuals to take up activities like jogging and aerobics. Memberships at health clubs boomed. While health and fitness remained a big business into the 1990s, both advertisers and young adult consumers transformed fitness into a *lifestyle* rather than just a periodic visit to the health club. A cult of “adrenaline addiction” infiltrated the rhetoric of youth culture and influenced the marketing strategies aimed at these new consumers of the “extreme” image. Sales of mountain bikes, in-line skates, and snowboards increased dramatically, as did the popularity of bungee jumping and skydiving. ESPN’s X Games capitalized on this emerging fitness and consumer trend.

The X Games codify activities that typically have no rules. By applying measurable performance criteria to such recreational pursuits as in-line skating, rock climbing, and snowboarding, ESPN is able to order and control potentially chaotic sports. Because of their inherent physical dangers, extreme sports have generally garnered society’s disapproval, thus amplifying their popularity in youth culture. However, in the wake of the X Games, which have assimilated extreme sports into an organized brand of Olympic-like games, such activities have become more respectable and organized. As a result, “extreme” has an increasingly slippery connotation—extreme sports are a popular pleasure because of their marginality and perceived threat to the mainstream, but events like the X Games render extreme sports *less* marginal and subsequently alter their popular culture meanings.

Ultimately, the X Games represent far more than just a sports competition. Mass marketing and media strategies tie in music, fashion, and manifold product endorsements aimed at ESPN’s mostly male, 12 to 34-year-old viewing audience. Sponsors include caffeinated colas, athletic shoes, fast-food restaurants, and an “official” pain-killing aspirin. Additionally, the competition annually promotes related alternative music soundtracks and videos. ESPN also launches a road show prior to the Games, and the touring sports extravaganza spotlights the various events. The featured sports even have their own

unique language; ESPN offers a glossary of “X Speak” on its World Wide Web X Games homepage.

—Adam Golub

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## *Xena, Warrior Princess*

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A 1996 *Ms.* magazine cover story lauded *Xena, Warrior Princess* as a feminist and progressive retelling of Greek myth, as television that is notable for “breaking new ground in its treatment of sex.” Debuting in syndication in 1995, the series chronicles the adventures of a sword-wielding princess seeking to atone for her violent past. Accompanied by her sidekick, Gabrielle (Renée O’Connor), Xena (Lucy Lawless) battles fickle gods, tyrants, slave traders, barbaric tribes, and other nemeses in a magical land that evokes ancient Greece and Rome. Filmed in New Zealand and produced by Renaissance Pictures in conjunction with MCA TV, the series is a postmodern pastiche of classical mythology, characterized by hyperbolic violence and slapstick. At the same time, it manages to explore sexuality and ethical issues without losing its mass audience. Xena’s sexually-charged relationship with Gabrielle has made the series popular with lesbian audiences, in particular.

—Neal Baker

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## *The X-Files*

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When *The X-Files* premiered on the Fox network in the fall of 1993, no one predicted the degree of success that the show would eventually enjoy. After all, dramas in the fantasy and science fiction genres had not done well on TV for a decade (the *Star Trek* spin-offs excepted). But there was considerable interest in UFO phenomena in America, as evidenced by news accounts of alleged alien abductions, speculations about “crop circles,” and sightings of supposed alien





David Duchovny (right) and Gillian Anderson as they appear in *The X-Files*.

spacecraft streaking across the skies. For some Americans, belief in UFO visitations dovetailed with their mistrust of the U.S. government, which has consistently denied any knowledge of alien encounters. Thus when the show premiered, tales of visitors from space and government conspiracies to cover up those visits might find a ready audience—and *The X-Files* did. It finished its first season with respectable ratings, and the second season began with an even larger audience. The show was clearly a hit, one of the few Fox programs to compete successfully with the major networks. Soon there were Golden Globe awards for the show, then Emmy awards, a successful full-length film released in the summer of 1998, and talk of a second film to follow.

The show's premise is that the FBI occasionally encounters cases that seem inexplicable in terms of science and logic—which are, in short, paranormal. Such investigations, designated “X-files,” are referred to the show's two protagonists: Special Agent Fox Mulder (David Duchovny) and Special Agent Dana Scully (Gillian Anderson). Mulder tends readily to accept paranormal explanations for the cases that he and his partner investigate—partly due to the fact that he believes that his sister Samantha, who disappeared when they

were children, was a victim of alien abduction. Scully, who earned a medical degree before joining the FBI, is usually a skeptic, positing rational explanations for phenomena that appear to defy reason. The two agents are supervised by FBI Assistant Director Walter Skinner (Mitch Pileggi). In the show's early years, Skinner tended to be suspicious, and sometimes hostile, toward Mulder and Scully. By the fourth season, however, he appeared to have become their ally.

From the beginning, the show has had a recurring theme involving alien visitation, alien abductions, and the efforts of certain powerful groups to conceal or deny these sinister activities. The show's writers and producers refer to this story arc as “the mythology,” although some fans call it “the conspiracy.” The character most closely identified with the effort to cover up the alien presence is known only as “Cigarette Smoking Man” (William Davis), a ruthless covert operator who has cold-bloodedly ordered the deaths of several people who came too close to the truth - including Mulder's father. When asked by an associate why he did not have the troublesome Fox Mulder killed, the CSM replied, in effect, “Alive, Mulder is merely a nuisance; dead, he's a martyr.”

But the mythology is not the sum total of the series. In a typical season of *The X-Files*, about half the episodes deal with the ongoing struggle over the aliens, while the other shows find agents Mulder and Scully investigating other sorts of paranormal phenomena. Over the course of several seasons, the agents have dealt with zombies, werewolves, ghosts, vampires, demons, and witches, not to mention astral projection, precognition, reincarnation, and the transmigration of souls. A few of their cases have had no paranormal aspects at all, involving instead relatively mundane subjects such as serial murder, psychological obsession, and genetic mutation.

In some of their cases involving the mythology, Mulder and Scully receive assistance from a group called “The Lone Gunmen”—an ironic reference to the Warren Commission's much-disbelieved conclusion that President John F. Kennedy was assassinated by a “lone gunman.” These three men, identified only by their last names of Byers (Bruce Harwood), Langly (Dean Haglund) and Frohike (Tom Braidwood) are self-styled “conspiracy freaks” who once told Mulder that they help him because “You're more paranoid than we are.”

Chris Carter is the series' creator, producer, and principal writer. After some time spent writing for *Surfing* magazine, Carter married a television writer and soon began to turn out scripts of his own. He wrote for several TV series, which gave him the contacts that allowed him to sell *The X-Files* to the Fox network. Carter says that his idea for the show is derived from his memories of a short-lived TV series (lasting only the 1974-75 season) called *Kolchak: The Night Stalker*. The show was, in turn, based on two successful made-for-TV movies: *The Night Stalker* and *The Night Strangler*. The premise for the movies and the series was the same: hard-bitten newspaper reporter Karl Kolchak (Darren McGavin), while covering the story of one or more bizarre crimes, comes to the conclusion that some supernatural creature is involved. Kolchak then researches the phenomenon (vampire, werewolf, witch, or whatever), learns how to kill the creature, and does so.

The 1998 feature film based on Carter's series, entitled *X-Files: Fight the Future*, may be unique in one respect. Although it was not uncommon during the 1990s to see theatrical films based on popular TV shows, such films were invariably produced after the TV series

that inspired them had gone off the air. The *X-Files* movie may be the only one to date to be based on a TV show still on the air with first-run episodes when the film was released. Indeed, *X-Files: Fight the Future* was tied into the last episode of the 1997-98 season, its plot resolving several issues raised by the show's season-ending cliffhanger.

The popularity of *The X-Files* has been manifested through several aspects of popular culture beyond the series itself. Animated versions of Mulder and Scully (voiced by Duchovny and Anderson) appeared in an episode of the popular Fox cartoon *The Simpsons*. David Duchovny guest-hosted *Saturday Night Live* several times, which led to skits parodying his series. *The X-Files* was also satirized on Fox's comedy show *Mad TV*, in a skit about porn films called "The XXX Files." More respectful treatment has come from comic books and novels based on the series, fan clubs (many of whose members communicate with each other via Internet discussion groups), WWW sites, and Fox-sponsored X-Files conventions. The show has also generated the usual ephemera of anything in popular culture with a devoted following—hats, t-shirts, posters, PC screen-savers, and coffee mugs. In addition, episodes from the show are available on video about a year after airing.

Although the first five seasons of *The X-Files* were shot in Vancouver, British Columbia (to save production costs), the show moved to Los Angeles beginning with the 1998-99 season. The change was in response to a demand from David Duchovny, who wanted to be nearer to his Los Angeles-based wife, actress Tea Leoni. That the Fox network was willing to undergo the expense and inconvenience involved in the move was testimony to the popularity of the show and the network's high expectations for its future success.

—Justin Gustainis

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## The X-Men

The X-Men is the most popular team of superheroes in comic books in the 1990s. Featuring an often changing lineup of young mutant superheroes and unusually complex story lines, the X-Men have found a consistently large and loyal audience of comic-book readers. Since 1980 only Spider-Man and Batman have rivaled them in popularity and sales. The X-Men's market clout has helped publisher Marvel Comics remain the undisputed industry leader, and the series' formula has been widely imitated throughout the superhero

genre. Few other comic-book series of recent decades have been as influential.

Marvel first published *The X-Men* in 1963. The concept devised by Stan Lee and Jack Kirby was an extension of the Marvel formula already realized in such characters as Spider-Man and the Fantastic Four. The X-Men were teenaged costumed superheroes who used their powers in the service of humanity, even though the society at large misunderstood and feared them. Unlike their superhero peers, however, the X-Men had never even been human. As mutants, they were born with their special powers—usually as a consequence of parents exposed to radioactivity. This distinction left the X-Men especially alienated from human society and made them special victims of misplaced human anxieties. Lee and later writers would often use this premise to conceive stories critical of bigotry and racial persecution.

The first X-Men lineup consisted of Cyclops, with the power to project devastating "optic blasts"; the Beast, with the agility and strength of his namesake; the Angel, who could fly with the aid of natural wings; Iceman, with power over cold and ice; and Marvel Girl, with the mental ability to move objects. Their leader was the enigmatic Professor Xavier, who, though confined to a wheelchair, possessed an impressive variety of telepathic powers. Xavier recruited the teenage mutants to enroll in his private School for Gifted Youngsters, which was a front for the X-Men's training facility. The X-Men defended humanity against an array of evil mutants, the most formidable of whom was Magneto—"the master of magnetism." The heroes also had to fight in their own defense against the Sentinels—a series of mutant-hunting robots engineered by bigoted humans determined to resolve the "mutant question."

A modest-selling title, *The X-Men* did not achieve the spectacular commercial success enjoyed by most other Marvel comic books in the 1960s. By the early 1970s the series consisted of only reprinted stories and seemed doomed for cancellation. But in 1975 Marvel revamped the series, keeping only Cyclops and Professor Xavier in the group and introducing a new lineup of international mutants. Created by writer Len Wein and artist Dave Cockrum, the new X-Men included Nightcrawler, a German with superhuman agility, the power of teleportation, and a horrifying demonic appearance; Colossus, a Russian—one of the first to be a hero in comic books—with extraordinary physical strength; Storm, an African princess with the ability to summon and control weather and the elements; and Wolverine, a hot-tempered Canadian armed with indestructible steel claws and the ferocious fighting tendencies of his namesake.

Between 1977 and 1981 writer Chris Claremont and writer/artist John Byrne transformed *The X-Men* from a second-tier title to the top-selling comic book on the market. As the lineup of the X-Men continued to evolve, the story lines became increasingly intricate and absorbing. There was something about the series for most fans to enjoy. The interplay among the distinctive characters was exceptionally well-developed and believable by comic-book standards. Wolverine's ethos of righteous morality backed up by violence made him one of the most popular superheroes of the Reagan/Rambo era. Strong and complex female characters like Storm, Phoenix, and Rogue helped to make the X-Men one of the few superhero titles to win a significant following among teenage girls.

The X-Men's fantastic commercial success predictably spawned a host of comic-book crossovers, spin-offs, and rip-offs. Throughout

the 1980s and 1990s, they multiplied. There were titles devoted to adult mutants (*Excalibur*, *X-Factor*), adolescent mutants (*The New Mutants*, *Generation-X*), and even pre-pubescent mutants (*Power Pack*). The concept of the 1980s Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles originated in part as a satire of the X-Men's overexposure (before graduating itself to overexposure). The first issue of a new X-Men title launched in 1991 set an industry record by selling more than eight million copies. An array of licensed products highlighted by the Fox network's successful *X-Men* animated series broadened the X-Men's market even further. The consequences of this "X-treme" mutant proliferation became a matter of some controversy among comic-book fans. While many fans welcomed the varieties of X-Men spin-offs and crossovers, others criticized them for being poorly conceived and confusing, and some fan critics charged Marvel with exploiting brand loyalty at the expense of good storytelling. To a large extent, the overexposure of the X-Men epitomized the problem of a saturated and shrinking market that plagued the comic-book industry as a whole in the mid-1990s.

Still, the X-Men remain at or near the top of the best-selling comic-book titles. Among the more fully realized comic-book expressions of modern adolescent fantasies, Marvel's team of misunderstood mutants fully deserve their status as the preferred superheroes of Generation X.

—Bradford Wright

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# Y

## Y2K

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The expression Y2K, shorthand for the year 2000 (Y=year; 2=two; K=the symbol for 1,000), helped define the closing days of the twentieth century by spotlighting some pitfalls of the computer age. Y2K represented a major problem—some called it a crisis of global proportions—caused mainly by older computers whose programmers and software designers failed to foresee what could happen in the year 2000. Often called “the Y2K bug,” this problem came about because early computer designers used only a two-digit year—uniformly dropping the “19” that stands at the beginning of every year from 1900 to 1999. What the designers failed to take into consideration was the problem posed by the year 2000. Computer logic meant the machines would translate the numbers 00 not as the year 2000 but as 1900. In the closing days of the century, the world was put on notice that computers using the two-digit formulation could malfunction because of this inability to distinguish years belonging to different centuries.

Because computers had become intertwined with almost every facet of life in America and virtually the rest of the world, some doomsayers predicted that banks would fail, military systems would become paralyzed, planes would fall out of the sky, elevators would stop, stock exchanges would collapse, and life in general would be dramatically disrupted.

Although the problem had been known about for years, governments and businesses waited until the last few years of the twentieth century to tackle the potential crisis. For example, it was not until September 1997 that the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), the U.S. government watchdog over the stock exchange markets, issued a notice to investors to pressure investment companies to make their computers “Y2K compliant”—a phrase meaning that computers had been checked and fixed, if necessary, to avoid any year 2000 problems when the clock struck midnight on December 31, 1999. The SEC also urged investors to press publicly traded companies to take steps to avoid a Y2K disaster, including assessing the cost of fixing their computers and making sure their officers and board members took out personal liability insurance for what could be an avalanche of lawsuits.

With great fanfare, U.S. President Bill Clinton announced in December 1998 that the Social Security Administration, which then handled some 40 million checks each month for pensioners, disabled people, and widows, was Y2K compliant. Nevertheless, some Republicans took issue with the Democratic president’s claims that checks would go out on time, noting that some banks that receive checks for recipients and are vital to the system might be noncompliant.

Later, the Agriculture Secretary, Dan Glickman, announced at a Senate hearing on the Y2K problem that there would not be widespread food shortages in the United States because of the millennium bug. “There are some fear-mongers there,” Glickman said, as he urged people to avoid stockpiling or hoarding food as the year 2000 approached. Glickman conceded, however, that although he did not see major food shortages, “there will be some glitches” and disruptions in the marketplace.

While American businesses and local, state, and federal governments were spending millions of dollars to correct the problem with

computers, some developing countries lagged. The World Bank reported that some areas, notably sub-Saharan Africa, could run into major problems with electricity, food, and health care. In early 1999, with less than a year to go before the 2000 bug might hit, the Bank found in a survey of 139 countries that only 21 had taken major steps to solve the problem, although 54 had some kind of national policy to deal with the bug.

By the end of 1999, observers hoped that the steps taken by companies and governments would prevent Y2K from causing any major disasters. The fear of Y2K ebbed and swelled in different areas across the globe, depending on whether the most important computer systems had become Y2K compliant. But certainly, Y2K had done more than create a global panic; it deflated the esteem some held for the early designers of software machinery, who had been looked upon as geniuses and had become millionaires and billionaires virtually overnight. Their use of the two-digit code saved steps in millions of computer applications, but at the same time lobbed a gigantic, ticking time bomb into the next century.

—Michael Posner

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## *Yankee Doodle Dandy*

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In 1942, James Cagney starred in the Hollywood film *Yankee Doodle Dandy*—the story of the life of George M. Cohan. The title refers to Cohan’s famous song, “I’m a Yankee Doodle Dandy,” written for the Broadway play, *Little Johnny Jones*, in 1904. In this musical, Cohan sang the lyrics that would live through the century: “I’m a Yankee Doodle Dandy, / A Yankee Doodle, do or die; / A real live nephew of my Uncle Sam’s / Born on the Fourth of July.” It is one of several Cohan tunes that have been passed from generation to generation in celebration of the American spirit. Released shortly after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, *Yankee Doodle Dandy* was warmly received by American wartime audiences, who were particularly receptive to the patriotic songs in the film. Cagney won an Oscar for his performance, and the movie won Academy Awards for Best Sound Recording and Best Scoring of a Musical Picture. On July 4, 1985, the Cagney film was rereleased as the first computer-colored production by Ted Turner.

—Sharon Brown

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James Cagney in a scene from the film *Yankee Doodle Dandy*.

## Yankee Stadium

Yankee Stadium, one of the oldest stadiums in the United States is a shrine to baseball fans. Some of the game's most dramatic and historic moments have occurred there. But this most hallowed of ballparks, haunted by the ghosts of baseball past, is also one of the sport's grittiest, most plebeian arenas, famed around the major leagues for its rowdy, roughhouse Bronx crowd.

The Yankee Stadium area covers approximately 11.6 acres in the South Bronx, with the playing field itself spanning 3.5 acres. Construction began on the new park, designed as a permanent home for New York's American League baseball team, on May 5, 1922. On April 18 of the following year, Yankee Stadium opened to the public. Yankee right fielder Babe Ruth promptly delivered the edifice's first home run. Soon the park was renowned for its 296-foot "short porch" in right field, conducive to home runs by left-handed hitters. Righties were commensurately daunted by "Death Valley," a 457-foot expanse in left-center where sure home runs miraculously turned into fly ball outs. With the advent of night baseball in 1946, a combination of 800 multi-vapor and incandescent lamps were installed to illuminate the field.

In 1932, the Yankees began to honor their greatest legends with the erection of monuments and plaques in the outfield section of the

stadium. The first monument was dedicated to the memory of Miller Huggins, the manager who led the team to three world championships in the 1920s. Subsequent plaques and monuments have honored team captains Lou Gehrig and Thurman Munson, both of whom died tragically, as well as Hall of Fame players like Ruth, Joe DiMaggio, and Mickey Mantle. Originally located on the playing field itself, the monuments posed a curious obstacle for outfielders, who often had to dodge the memorials to retrieve fly balls. Relocated in 1976 to a new area dubbed "Monument Park," the monuments are now safely behind the outfield fences and available for viewing by the public.

In 1973, as the Yankees completed their fiftieth anniversary season in what was now known as "The House That Ruth Built," Yankee Stadium was remodeled and renovated. While the two-year project was under way, the team played its home dates at nearby Shea Stadium. The new Yankee Stadium opened on April 15, 1976, to mostly positive reviews. The building's distinctive art deco facade was retained in part and relocated to the centerfield bleachers.

In both its incarnations, Yankee Stadium has played host to some of baseball's most historic moments. On September 27, 1927, Babe Ruth clouted his record sixtieth home run there off Washington Senators pitcher Tom Zachary. Thirty-four years later, Yankee outfielder Roger Maris eclipsed Ruth's record with his sixty-first homer off the Boston Red Sox Tracy Stallard, a mark which stood until St.

Louis Cardinal Mark McGwire shattered it in 1998. The old stadium also provided the setting for some emotional farewells, from a dying Lou Gehrig's inspiring valedictory in 1939, when he told the world he was "the luckiest man on the face of the earth," to a cancer-ravaged Babe Ruth's last salute in 1948. In 1977, the Yankees celebrated their return to championship status after a 15-year drought in the Bronx ballpark after a clinching game that saw slugging outfielder Reggie Jackson club three home runs off three different Los Angeles Dodger pitchers. The following April, jubilant fans showered the field with "Reggie Bars," a chocolate and peanut confection named for the hot-dogging star after he vowed he would become so famous "they'll name a candy bar after me."

Candy bars have not been the only objects to come flying out of the Yankee Stadium stands over the years. At various times, golf balls, shot glasses, batteries, assorted coins, and torrents of beer have been flung onto the field by jubilant, angry, or just plain inebriated fans looking to terrorize Yankee opponents. The prevailing air of rowdiness has occasionally taken a more endearing form, as when ten-year-old Jeffrey Maier snatched a fly ball away from Baltimore Oriole right fielder Tony Tarasco during the 1996 American League Championship series, resulting in a game-tying Yankee home run. Around the major leagues, Yankee Stadium is known as an exhilarating, if intimidating, place to play, in part due to its fans.

In the 1990s, baseball's pre-eminent shrine suffered the ironic fate of becoming something of a political football, when Yankee owner George Steinbrenner loudly threatened to move the team when its lease expired if he could not get a new stadium constructed with municipal assistance. New York politicians responded with recrimination and posturing. Several civic leaders called for a referendum aimed at keeping the team in the Bronx. Baseball purists and fans of the old building largely sided with them. The fact that the team's crosstown rivals—the New York Mets—play in Shea Stadium, a drab cookie cutter facility, has contributed to the glorification of "the Stadium" as one of baseball's high holy places. Even as the Yankees won their twenty-fourth World Series in 1998, Steinbrenner continued to threaten to move the team if a new stadium is not built. Despite the stadium's hallowed status, Steinbrenner's wish may become a reality. When a beam fell from the roof during the 1997-1998 season (luckily when the stadium was empty) the future of Yankee Stadium seemed more uncertain than ever.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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## Yankovic, "Weird Al" (1959—)

Rock 'n' roll's top jester goes by the name "Weird Al" Yankovic. He specializes in creating amusing lyrics for popular rock

tunes as well as writing humorous ditties in generic song styles. Yankovic has appeared on albums, starred in his own television show, and appeared in several films.

Yankovic was born Alfred Matthew Yankovic on October 23, 1959 in the Los Angeles suburb of Lynwood. He first took up the accordion when a salesman came around to solicit business for a music school. His parents, Nick and Mary Yankovic, decided on the accordion because of polka king Frankie Yankovic (no relation). As a child and young teen, Al watched a lot of TV, and TV provided the inspiration for much of his later work (most of his songs center around either food or television shows). He also became a fan of such musician/comedians as Allan Sherman (who also specialized in creating song parodies) and Spike Jones. Yankovic became acquainted with these musicians through the Dr. Demento radio show, which would later become a great source of publicity for his talents. In fact, Yankovic played his first song to be heard on the air, "Belvedere Cruising," on the Dr. Demento show in 1976.

After an extraordinary career at Lynwood High School, where he graduated as valedictorian, Yankovic attended the California Technical Institute in San Luis Obispo to study architecture, a field he chose because it was listed first in the catalogue. It was at California Polytechnical Institute that Yankovic had a radio show and earned the nickname "Weird Al." In 1979 Yankovic recorded his first real hit, a parody of the popular "My Sharona" by The Knack called "My Bologna." (The Knack liked the song so much they convinced their label to release the song as a single.) After the astounding success of that song, forever to be known as the "bathroom recording" as it was recorded in the acoustically perfect men's room, Al launched into a phenomenal career that has spanned 17 albums, movies, videos, and edible underwear.

Yankovic reached wide public attention in 1984 with his song "Eat It," a parody of Michael Jackson's popular hit "Beat It." Yankovic's video of the song amusingly parodied the visuals of the Jackson video, earning it a good deal of play on MTV. "Eat It" earned Yankovic his first Grammy Award, and the album, "*Weird Al*" *Yankovic in 3-D*, reached the top 15. On the album, Yankovic also recreated the set of the original *Jeopardy* TV series for his parody "I Lost on Jeopardy," which was based on a tune by the Greg Kihn Band.

Yankovic was tapped to provide songs for films, including "This Is the Life" for *Johnny Dangerously* (1984) and "Dare to Be Stupid" for *Transformers: The Movie* (1986). He starred in his own film, *UHF* (1989), as George Newman, head of a beleaguered, small-time cable station, as well as appearing in all three *Naked Gun* movies (1988, 1991, 1994), *Tapeheads* (1988), *Nothing Sacred* (1997), and *Desperation Boulevard* (1998). Yankovic was given his own Saturday morning TV show, *The "Weird Al" Show*, that ran during 1997-98 season and was compared to *Pee-wee's Playhouse*. In it, Al starred as himself opposite his best friend "Harvey the Wonder Hamster" (a daredevil hamster in his own habitrail), with a collection of friends and regulars (including Stan Freberg) who dropped by to discuss that week's moral problem. Also included in the show were a series of "Fatman" animated cartoons (for which Yankovic supplied the voice) based on the overweight character from the video "Fat" done up as a superhero.

His 1992 video "Smells Like Nirvana" pushed the pretentious original Nirvana video a step too far while lampooning the unintelligibility of its lyrics, and earned a place on *Rolling Stone's* top 100 videos of all-time. Nirvana members commented that they knew they had made it when Yankovic parodied their song. Yankovic's



“Weird Al” Yankovic

videos are some of the best in the business and have been compiled on two collections, first the *Compleat Al* (1985), and updated as the *Al Yankovic: The Videos* (1996). Yankovic had his biggest success to date with his album *Bad Hair Day* (1996), which featured a parody of Coolio’s “Gangsta Paradise” as “Amish Paradise.” (Though Coolio granted permission for the video, he later condemned Al’s version).

Yankovic has also tried his hand at directing, creating a parody of Maurice Binder’s James Bond opening titles for the film *Spy Hard* (1996), with Yankovic singing “Theme from *Spy Hard*” while silhouettes of overweight women swim by. Yankovic’s stage shows are often described as some of the funniest and most entertaining around. At the end of the century, Yankovic reigned as the king of musical parody, a singular phenomenon in American musical history.

—Dennis Fischer

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## Yanni (1954—)

Along with Slim Whitman, Ray Stevens, and Kenny G, New Age artist Yanni is one of those inexplicable music curiosities who rode to the top of the charts on a sea of critical incredulity. Dismissed by one reviewer as a “musical Fabio,” Yanni is known not so much for the music he makes as the sensation he creates. His albums and videos have sold multiple millions worldwide, and he has personally saved more than a few public television stations with his prodigious pledge-drive potency.

Born Yanni Chryssomallis in Kalamata, Greece, the future New Age superstar was a national swimming champion in his teens. After immigrating to the United States in 1972, he passed up a career in

clinical psychology to pursue his creative muse full time. A self-taught musician, Yanni began composing in his head, relying on collaborators to put his orchestrations down on paper. He released his first full-length album, *Keys to Imagination*, in 1986.

The “Yanni sound” changed very little over the next several years. Gauzy strains of synthesizer continued to waft insidiously down upon the listener, as vaguely Mediterranean-sounding hooks are stated and restated by various instruments. The music incorporated elements of classical, New Age, and world beat into a sonic melange that one unfavorable reviewer called “aural wallpaper.” Even Yanni himself often referred to the plastic arts when describing it. “Music is like creating an emotional painting,” he explained. “The sounds are colors.” Colors derived from an irritatingly narrow spectrum, according to some critics, who found Yanni’s repetition of musical themes numbingly aggravating. Despite these brickbats, however, the Greek tycoon’s record sales climbed throughout the 1980s.

Yanni’s live appearances became major moneymakers as well, as the mustachioed and classically handsome composer developed a large and devoted fan following. For concerts, Yanni assembled a multi-piece orchestra with instrumentation culled from virtually every continent, over which he would preside beatifically from behind a stack of keyboards. Yanni often staged his appearances at major international landmarks, like the Taj Mahal and China’s Forbidden City. These lavishly mounted productions generated enormous viewership for public television stations across America and were aired repeatedly during pledge weeks. On one Saturday night in 1994, his concert documentary at Greece’s Acropolis helped one PBS affiliate raise over \$50,000 in pledges. A number of PBS stations even canceled a previously scheduled Andy Williams special to rebroadcast Yanni’s performance.

Befitting his superstar status, Yanni cultivated a personal life designed to keep him in the crosshairs of the paparazzi. In 1989, the

then little-known Yanni began dating Linda Evans, star of TV’s *Dynasty*. The flaxen-haired beauty reportedly was won over by the sinewy Greek’s command of the music of the spheres. They would remain a couple until 1998, when conflicts over the directions of their respective careers compelled them to end the relationship.

Indeed, much of Yanni’s success has been attributed to his appeal to women. But the New Age superstar has bristled at the suggestion that his cover-of-a-romance-novel appearance drove his record sales. He claimed the bulk of his fan mail comes not from sex-starved housewives but from the homebound and the infirm, who find his music soothing. Some have even ascribed healing powers to Yanni’s compositions, a claim the composer modestly deflected away.

“I don’t see myself as a peacemaker at all or anything like that,” he told the *Orange County Register* in 1998. “I’m merely standing in one place saying it’s possible for us to do this, for people of the world to share in my music. If I can play even a minute role in something like that in my lifetime, then I will have accomplished something special.”

Yanni’s earthly mission continued to draw adherents throughout the 1990s. In early 1999, he sold out ten dates at New York’s Radio City Music Hall. Other performers have even followed his path to success, the critics be damned. The composer and former *Entertainment Tonight* host John Tesh appeared to have schooled on Yanni’s PBS-driven marketing plan, replete with extravagantly produced performances at such notable sites as Red Rocks, Nevada.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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Yanni (seated) in concert in Beijing, China, 1997.



## The Yardbirds

The backbone of the rock band The Yardbirds consisted of vocalist Keith Relf, rhythm guitarist Chris Dreja, bassist Paul Samwell-Smith, and drummer Jim McCarty. However, they were most famous for their succession of luminary lead guitarists, Eric Clapton, Jeff Beck, and Jimmy Page. Under Clapton the Yardbirds played high-energy R&B with long improvisations called “rave-ups” in which they would alter tempo and volume, building to a climax before returning to the song. Although the recording technology is poor by today’s standards, *Five Live Yardbirds* (1965) reveals a tight unit of talented musicians. Inspired by the phenomenal success of the Beatles, the Yardbirds then recorded the pop song, “For Your Love,” written by Graham Gouldman, and this became their first hit. The song featured a harpsichord and bongos, but very little Clapton. Uncomfortable with the band’s commercial direction, Clapton left to pursue pure blues in John Mayall’s Bluesbreakers.

Guitar wizard Jeff Beck then joined the band and transformed the Yardbirds into trailblazing musical pioneers. Innovating with fuzztone, feedback, and harmonic sustain within the medium of Gouldman-penned pop songs, they produced classics such as “Evil Hearted You” and “Heart Full of Soul.” Their first original studio album, *The Yardbirds* (1966, renamed *Over, Under, Sideways, Down* in the U.S., but commonly known as *Roger the Engineer* in either country) is a *tour de force* on Beck’s part. When Samwell-Smith left the band, session musician Jimmy Page was recruited as bassist until Dreja could learn the bass, then Page moved up as second lead guitarist alongside Beck. The Beck-Page lineup recorded only four songs, one of them being “Stroll On” (a version of “Train Kept A-Rollin’”), which they performed in Michelangelo Antonioni’s 1966 film *Blow-Up*, a cult classic of the Swingin’ London scene.

When Beck left the group, Page introduced his own musical visions and recorded *Little Games* (1967). An odd mixture of pop songs and virtuoso guitar playing, this album is most intriguing as a document of Page’s early development, displaying many riffs and effects which were later redeveloped in Led Zeppelin. Especially noteworthy is the instrumental “White Summer,” later reworked as “Black Mountain Side” and the introduction of “Over the Hills and Far Away.” When the remaining members left, Page recruited vocalist Robert Plant, bassist John Paul Jones, and drummer John Bonham, and debuted the band as the New Yardbirds, later renamed Led Zeppelin.

In 1984, ex-Yardbirds Samwell-Smith, Dreja, and McCarty formed the band Box of Frogs (Relf had died in 1976, electrocuted by a guitar). Although some tracks from *Box of Frogs* (1984) and *Strange Land* (1986) featured guest guitarists Page and Beck, these heavy-metal offerings made little impact.

The Yardbirds are aptly called “legendary,” for although their recordings have lapsed into obscurity, their influence on guitar-driven rock is enduring and pervasive. Clapton, Beck, and Page gave rise to the “guitar hero,” displacing the singer as the focal point of the rock and roll band, and a legion of 1970s guitarists cited the Yardbirds as a major influence. In spite of their uneven recording history, the Yardbirds’ small, experimental body of work places them just behind the Beatles, the Stones, and the Who as a major band of the British Invasion.

—Douglas Cooke

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## Yastrzemski, Carl (1939—)

Better known as “Yaz,” Carl Michael Yastrzemski of the Boston Red Sox epitomized the spirit of hard work and determination that made baseball players American heroes in the twentieth century. As left-fielder, Yaz mastered the art of playing hits off Fenway Park’s infamous “Green Monster,” earning seven Gold Gloves during the course of his career. He also was a consistently dangerous batter with a flair for getting crucial hits in big games. Yaz achieved the coveted Triple Crown for highest batting average (.326), most runs batted in (121), and most home runs (44) in 1967 on the way to Boston’s first pennant in three decades. By the time he retired, he had amassed more than three thousand hits and four hundred homers, a mark met by no other player in the American League. He was inducted into the Hall of Fame in 1989.

—Susan Curtis

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## The Yellow Kid

The Yellow Kid by Richard Felton Outcault (1863-1928) is generally held to be the character that gave birth to American comic strips. The Kid, later named Mickey Dugan by Outcault, was a smallish figure dressed in a nightshirt who roamed the streets of New York in company with other urchins. The Yellow Kid was not a comic strip, rather he appeared as a character in a series of large single panel color comic illustrations in the *New York World* with the more or less continuous running title *Hogan’s Alley*. The *World* published the first of these illustrations, *At the Circus in Hogan’s Alley*, on May 5, 1895. The newspaper’s readers, it seems, singled out the Kid as a distinctive character and his popularity led other artists to create similar characters. In short succession these actions gave rise to the comic strip.

Outcault was born in Lancaster, Ohio and studied design in Cincinnati before joining the laboratories of Thomas Edison as an illustrator in 1888. By 1890 Outcault combined employment as an illustrator on the *Electrical World*, a trade journal, with freelance cartoon work for illustrated humor journals such as *Puck*, *Judge*, *Life*, and *Truth*. The Kid’s genesis lay in the genre of city urchin cartoons made popular by these journals. In particular Outcault drew inspiration from Michael Angelo Woolf’s work.

A prototype Yellow Kid appeared in Outcault’s “Feudal Pride in Hogan’s Alley” published in *Truth* June 2, 1894. This small figure in a nightshirt cropped up in several other Outcault cartoons before blossoming into a larger more familiar, but as yet unnamed, Kid in Outcault’s “Fourth Ward Brownies” published in *Truth* February 9,

1895 and reprinted in the *World* February 17, 1895. The Kid appeared again in Outcault's "The Fate of the Glutton" in the *World* March 10, 1895. In these two appearances the Kid's nightshirt had an ink smudged handprint a distinctive feature of the later *World* panels. After the May 5 episode the *World* published ten more "Hogan's Alley" panels in 1895. The Kid appeared in them all. On January 5, 1896 the Kid was center stage in a yellow nightshirt and thereafter became the focus of each panel.

The Yellow Kid became the mainstay of the *World's* comic supplement during 1896, but in mid October Outcault moved his strip from the *World* to William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal*. Hearst had infamously bought the talent of the *World* to staff the *Journal* and naturally enough poached Outcault for the launch of the comic supplement on October 18, 1896. Thereafter the Kid appeared in tabloid page size illustration under the running title "McFadden's Row of Flats" before departing on a world tour in 1897. Beginning October 25, 1896 the Kid also began to appear in an occasional comic strip like series of panels under the running title of "The Yellow Kid," which was Outcault's first use of that name in a comic supplement. Outcault stayed with Hearst's *Journal* for a little over a year. The last Yellow Kid comic feature appeared in the *Journal* January 23, 1898. Outcault then returned to the *World*, producing a series of "Hogan's Alley"-like panels featuring an African-American character.

Outcault's shift of the Yellow Kid from the *World* to the *Journal* raised issues of copyright. The *World* continued to publish a version of the Kid drawn by George Luks. Prior to leaving the *World* Outcault had sought copyright protection for his creation in a letter to the Library of Congress on September 7, 1896. He had also attached the label "Do Not Be Deceived None Genuine Without This Signature" above his signature in the *World's* September 6, 1896 episode of "Hogan's Alley." Later advice from W. B. Howell of the Treasury Department, which policed copyright laws at that time, advised Outcault that he had failed to secure protection on the image of the Kid because he had only included one illustration instead of two in his application. Outcault did however secure protection for the title "The Yellow Kid."

Two minor controversies have marked the history of the Yellow Kid. Until the late 1980s accounts of the origins of comic strips generally accepted that the Yellow Kid's nightshirt was colored yellow as a test of the ability of yellow ink to bond to newsprint. But Richard Marshall argues in his *America's Great Comic Strip Artists* that this could not have been the case since yellow ink had been used earlier. Likewise Bill Blackbeard gives a detailed account of the *World's* use of color in his introduction to *The Yellow Kid: A Centennial Celebration* that makes clear the testing yellow ink theory is incorrect. The Yellow Kid is often cited as the origin of the term "yellow journalism." However, the historian Mark D. Winchester has demonstrated that the term yellow journalism came into use during the Spanish-American War in 1898 to describe the war hysteria whipped up by Hearst and Pulitzer. The Yellow Kid was transformed into a symbol of yellow journalism during this campaign rather than giving his name to it. The distinction is subtle but crucial.

—Ian Gordon

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## Yellowstone National Park

Comprising 2.2 million acres of northwest Wyoming, with slight incursions into Montana and Idaho, Yellowstone is the oldest national park in the United States. The park's unique sights originally inspired a nation that had not even fully conceived of what the term "national park" entailed. The park has evolved to stand as the preeminent symbol of the national park idea, whether inspiring the designation of other locations or revealing systematic flaws. Today, Yellowstone serves as an active battleground as Americans strive to define the meaning of preservation and wilderness.

From the outset, Yellowstone's unique attraction derived from its natural oddities. The region was the stuff of rumors; the return of explorers from the northern Rockies in 1810 had piqued the public's attention with stories of odd natural occurrences: thermal phenomena, a beautiful mountain lake, and a magnificent canyon entered into the unconfirmed reports. "Could such a place exist?" Americans asked upon hearing descriptions of "Earth's bubbling cauldron." In 1870, other expeditions set out to explore the sights. In 1871 the Hayden Survey explored Yellowstone. Overwhelmed by the majesty and oddity that they beheld, they were at once overcome by its attraction and potential development. Such economic development, though, could exploit and ruin all that made the site peculiar. During this era of development and the massive harvesting of natural resources, these attributes were not sufficient to warrant preservation; the site also needed to be of no worth otherwise. Hayden repeatedly assured Congress that the entire area was worthless for anything but tourism. Lurking behind such plans were railroad companies eager to find tourist attractions in the West.

The establishment of the park by President Ulysses S. Grant on March 1, 1872, rings hollow by the standards of modern environmentalism. However, such designation, albeit under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Army until 1916, kept the area free of development during some of the region's boom years. As an example, Yellowstone's herd of North American bison is given credit for the species' endurance. While hunters decimated the larger herd by 1880, the park offered sanctuary to at least a few bison. Today, the Yellowstone herd is considered an anchor for the entire species. The present herd, ironically, has also led to controversy as it creeps past park borders.



The geyser named Old Faithful in the Yellowstone National Park.

In 1916, President Woodrow Wilson signed the National Park Act, creating the National Park Service and initiating the search for the meaning of such designation. Tourism rose steadily through the war years, and Park Service Director Stephen T. Mather largely developed and linked the park system. With the Wilderness Act of 1964, the shared cause of the park system became the effort to preserve areas as unspoiled “wilderness.” While it had originally been set aside due to geological oddities, Yellowstone became a primary illustration of one of the most unique and secure ecosystems in the United States.

Yellowstone has proven to be an attraction of enduring proportions. Tourist visitation to the park has increased throughout the twentieth century, with the park becoming an international attraction. Massive visitation rates, however, have taken a toll on the remaining wilderness within the park. Many environmentalists call over-visitation Yellowstone’s major threat. In addition, fires have repeatedly torn through the park, forcing administrators to consistently revisit their mandate. Proponents of wilderness argue that naturally occurring fires must be allowed to burn, whether or not they endanger tourists or damage park service property; administrators who see their responsibility to visitors argue for fire suppression. Such issues force

Americans to consider what a national park seeks to accomplish and reidentify Yellowstone’s position as the symbolic leader of the American system of national parks.

—Brian Black

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## Yes

Yes’s combination of technical proficiency, enigmatic lyrics, and large egos captured the essence of the progressive rock movement. Formed in 1968, the British art-rock band achieved international success with *The Yes Album* in 1971. Further success came with *Fragile* (1972) and its hit single “Roundabout,” and *Close to the Edge* (1972), which is considered by many to be the band’s masterpiece.

The band excelled in live shows and is known for its long-jamming songs, some of which are more than twenty minutes long. Lavish crystalline stage sets designed by artist Roger Dean (who also drew the band’s album covers) helped make for hugely successful live shows; in the late 1970s, Yes set a record for selling out New York’s Madison Square Garden 16 times. In 1983 Yes released *90125* which became their biggest selling album, carried by their only American number one hit “Owner of a Lonely Heart.”

Even though the members of the band have changed incessantly over the years, Yes has continued to tour and release new material through the 1980s and 1990s. Their exuberant, complex music and fusion of celestial, spiritual, and pastoral themes have influenced such bands as Genesis, King Crimson, and Rush and has made Yes an all-time favorite for art-rock fans worldwide.

—Dave Goldweber

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## Yippies

One of the more outlandish and short-lived groups of the 1960s American counterculture, Yippies were members of the Youth International Party, which was officially formed in January of 1968 by founding members Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin in Washington, D.C. The group was essentially defunct as an activist organization within three years. During their brief life span, the Yippies were an influential presence at some of the later New Left’s key protests, notably the mass demonstration at the Chicago Democratic Convention in August 1968, and the March on the Pentagon in October 1967,

a demonstration which Rubin claimed as the birth of Yippie politics. Frequently reviled by other New Left activist groupings for the countercultural spirit and the carnival ethic which infused their activism, the Yippies were renowned for a surreal style of political dissent whose principle weapon was the public (and publicity-driven) mockery of institutional authority of any kind. The Yippies' departure from an earlier generation of 1960s radicalism which had been seen through the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the first mass demonstration against the Vietnam War the following year, is one way into the story of what happened to the American New Left. Yippie activism captured perfectly the chaotic final years of the "movement," as the New Left subsided into a factionalism and confusion over political objectives which replaced the relatively focused thinking of the first generation of 1960s radicals.

The politics which Hoffman and Rubin brought to Yippie activism had its roots in the broad coalition of dissent which grew out of the Civil Rights struggles of the early 1960s, and which, outside of the southern states, grouped itself initially around Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Hoffman had worked for a northern support group of the civil rights organization Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) before the group abandoned its integrationist stance in 1966 and purged the organization of white members. Rubin had enjoyed a high profile in the Free Speech Movement (FSM) founded at Berkeley in 1964. But the presence of poets (Allen Ginsberg) and musicians (Country Joe and the Fish, Phil Ochs, the Fugs) in the founding ranks of the party is one way of highlighting how far Yippie politics had travelled from the relatively orthodox activist strategies of the first generation New Left. In the place of politics, as such, Yippie activism preached the political dimension of culture, stressing the subversive potential inherent in spontaneous acts of individual dissent exercised through the free play of imagination and the integration of an erotic theatricality into daily life. SDS itself may never have adhered to a coherent political agenda, but with Rubin and Hoffman, any attempt at sustaining a structured theoretical programme was abandoned altogether. Separating itself abruptly from the early New Left emphasis on community organizing and relatively directed acts of protest, whilst retaining the New Left's pursuit of individual liberation, Yippie politics thus arrived as an untheorised synthesis of 1950s "Beat" thinking, Dadaism, and various positions taken within Marxist criticism from the 1930s onwards (notably the thinking of Bertolt Brecht and Herbert Marcuse).

Summarized by Ochs as "merely an attack of mental disobedience on an obediently insane society," the "cultural politics" of Yippie took American state capitalism, the Vietnam War, and the University as its principal targets, with Rubin and Hoffman staging a range of theatrical street events in which the moral bankruptcy of "the system" was exposed, or (ideally) was forced into exposing itself. As early as 1965, Rubin could be found rehearsing the Yippie ethos following his subpoena to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). Summoned before the Committee alongside a group of radicals drawn mainly from the Maoist Progressive Labor Party (PL), Rubin arrived in full American Revolutionary War costume and stood stoned, blowing giant gum bubbles, while his co-witnesses taunted the committee with Nazi salutes. In 1967, Hoffman was among a group who scattered dollar bills from the balcony of the New York stock exchange, whilst newspaper photographers captured the ensuing scramble for banknotes among the stockbrokers on the floor below. In October of the same year, Hoffman led a mass "exorcism of demons" during the March on the Pentagon.

But it was in Chicago, during the Democratic Convention of August 1968, that Yippie tactics were to find their defining moment. With the war in Vietnam dragging on, and frustration mounting among the various different groupings of the New Left, a series of mass demonstrations were planned to coincide with the Convention. From the very beginning, the lack of a coordinating voice or coherent agenda threatened to collapse the demonstration from within and bring violence to the streets of Chicago. All of the significant dissenting groups apart from SDS agreed on the need for a large scale protest of some kind, but each grouping had its own agenda. Dave Dellinger of National Mobilization to end the War in Vietnam (MOBE) argued for a combination of routine speeches, marches, and picketing against the War, while the old guard of SDS made plans of their own, independently of the reluctant SDS leadership. While representatives of PL, the Black Panther Party (BBP), and New York anarchist group the Motherfuckers also planned to attend in some capacity, young Democrats sought to tie a more restrained demonstration to the proceedings of the Convention itself.

The confusion was compounded by local Chicago residents, who turned out to stage a Poor People's March, and by a late change of heart by SDS who urged its members to attend. Against this backdrop, Mayor Daley announced that he would turn Chicago into an armed camp, and laid plans to call in the National Guard and the United States Army. It was the perfect scenario for the Yippies' own brand of chaotic theatrical dissent. With Hoffman and Rubin at the Yippie helm, the group embarked on a campaign of maximum publicity and misinformation, first announcing that it would leave town for \$200,000, and then spreading the word that the City's water supply was to be contaminated with LSD. In Lincoln Park, the Yippies staged a free-wheeling carnival, a "Festival of Life" in opposition to the Convention's "Festival of Death," the high point of which saw the nomination of a 150 pound pig named "Pigasus" as the Yippie's own presidential candidate (a direct reference to the International Dada Fair of 1920, in which the figure of "Pigasus" had made its first appearance). As had always seemed likely, the "Festival of Life" was broken up by violent police action which escalated over the following two days into a full blown riot, many officers notoriously removing their identification badges before wading into the crowds. Hoffmann and Rubin were arrested and charged with conspiracy to commit violence, alongside representatives from SDS, MOBE, and the BPP.

Before being given prison terms, Hoffman and Rubin used their bail conditions to good effect, hounding the judge from table to table while he lunched at a private members club, and then introduced Yippie politics to the judicial process itself, appearing in court dressed in judge's clothes and the white shirt of a Chicago policeman. Having summoned Ginsberg to appear before the court, the prosecution again drew attention to the cultural dimension of Yippie politics by cross-examining the poet on the seditious (meaning homosexual) content of his writings. The Yippies achieved massive press coverage during and after the trial, and by the time that Hoffman and Rubin were jailed in 1970, the pair had become international celebrities. Rubin's book *Do It!*, and Hoffman's *Revolution for the Hell of It* subsequently became international bestsellers. Although an organization calling itself the Yippies continued to publish protest literature into the 1980s, the party was more or less finished as an activist political movement soon after the trial.

—David Holloway

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## Yoakam, Dwight (1956—)

In 1986, Dwight Yoakam helped revitalize country music with his twangy debut album *Guitars, Cadillacs, Etc., Etc.* Recorded in Los Angeles, the album mixed classic country covers with Yoakam's own compositions. Born in Kentucky, Yoakam grew up in Ohio, where he attended college before moving to southern California in the late 1970s. There he met his guitarist/producer Pete Anderson and developed an electric honky-tonk style derived from the early recordings of country legend Buck Owens. Unable to break into Nashville's music scene, Yoakam found a niche playing to rock audiences in California. He recorded an EP that caught the attention of record executives and launched his career. By the early 1990s, he was creating his own unconventional country style and scoring hits with songs like "A Thousand Miles from Nowhere." During the late 1990s, Yoakam also demonstrated his acting talent in films such as *Sling Blade* and *The Newton Boys*.

—Anna Hunt Graves

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## The Young and the Restless

When *The Young and the Restless* premiered on March 26, 1973, it revolutionized the entire concept of the "soap opera." Historically, the format reflected its roots in radio and, despite its jump to television, was still an aural medium with its primary emphasis on dialogue and story content. *The Young and the Restless*, however, placed a premium on shadowy, sensuous lighting, intriguing camera angles, and production values that provided a lavish romanticism that appealed to female viewers and, by eroticizing the genre, changed forever the way that "soaps" were photographed. But the series did not rely on style alone. Building from the typical soap opera structure of two intertwining families—one rich (The Brooks, who owned the

city newspaper) and one poor (the Fosters)—the show featured the inevitable star-crossed romance. But the show ventured into new areas, providing the first soap opera treatment of an extended rape sequence and the aftermath of a trial. It also dealt with such issues as euthanasia, drugs, obesity, eating disorders, mental illness, and problems of the handicapped.

In the 1980s, the show once again revolutionized the genre by shifting its focus away from its original core families to an entirely new set of younger characters. During the 1990s it continued to introduce mysterious new characters while maintaining the consistency of its vision and of its storylines, a remarkable feat for the genre, which allowed it to keep pace with its traditional competitors and the new programs that debuted during the decade.

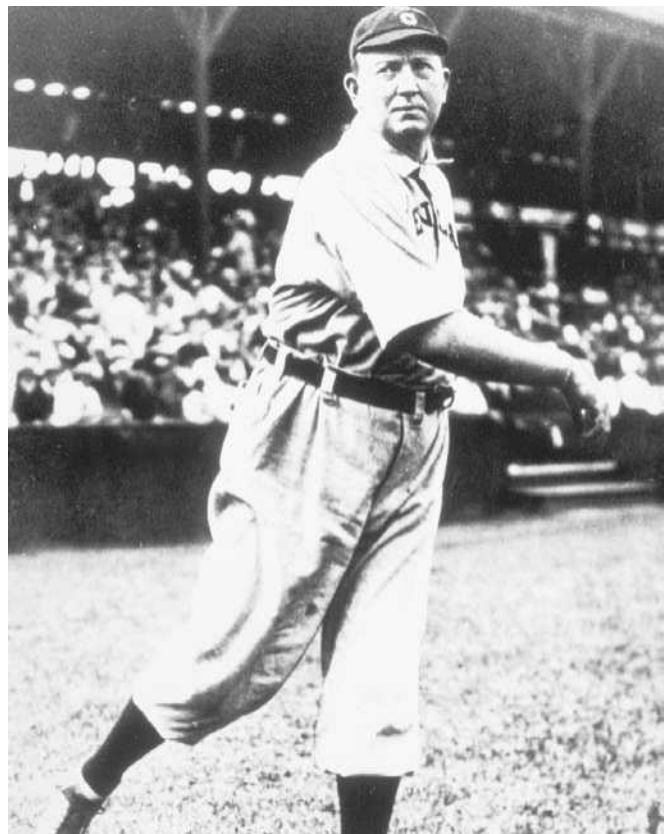
—Sandra Garcia-Myers

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## Young, Cy (1867-1955)

"Y is for Young/The magnificent Cy/People batted against him/But I never knew why." So wrote Ogden Nash about the man who



Pitcher Cy Young of the Cleveland Naps.

won more Major League Baseball games than anyone else—Denton True “Cy” Young. Young’s 511 recorded victories number nearly 100 more than the nearest challenger. And though baseball historians have insisted that Walter Johnson, Lefty Grove, and Roger Clemens may have been better on the mound, they are confident that Young’s lifetime totals of 7,356 innings pitched and 750 complete games will never be broken.

Young was born in Gilmore, Ohio, on March 29, 1867. He began his organized baseball career in nearby Canton, where he soon earned his nickname. Some claim the name Cy is short for cyclone, referring to his fastball, while others claim that Cy, like Rube, was a common nickname of the age for a naive, small town ballplayer. Young began his major league career in 1890 for the Cleveland Spiders of the National League, where in his rookie season he had an unprepossessing 9-7 win-loss record. Two seasons later, however, he went 36-12 for the Spiders. Young was so dominant that, before the 1893 season, the major leagues moved the pitcher’s mound—from 50 feet from home plate to its current distance of 60 feet, 6 inches—to give batters a fighting chance. Yet even with the 10 extra feet, Young won 34 games in 1893, and 35 games in 1895.

After the 1898 season Young was traded to the St. Louis Cardinals, where he won 45 games in two seasons. Young then jumped to the Boston Somersets (later Red Sox) of the brand-new American League. Now in his mid-30s and in a new environment, Young proceeded to win 193 games for Boston during eight years. In 1903 Young won 28 games and pitched Boston into the first modern World Series, where he led his team to an upset victory over Honus Wagner’s Pittsburgh Pirates, winning two games for his club.

Young was the first major league pitcher to throw three no-hitters during his career—a feat later equaled by Bob Feller and surpassed by Sandy Koufax and Nolan Ryan. In May 1904 against the Philadelphia Athletics, Young pitched the first perfect game of the twentieth century—a game in which he did not allow an Athletic batter to reach base.

In 1909 Young was traded to the American League’s Cleveland Naps (now Indians), where he won his 500th game in 1910. However, his efficiency was declining with the onset of age and an expanding waistline. Young admitted that, as he grew heavier, he was unable to field bunts, and at the end of his career batters were taking advantage of this. In 1911 he ended his career with the Boston Braves of the National League. In his final start in September 1911, he lost a 1-0 game to Grover Cleveland Alexander, the rookie sensation for the Phillies who would go on to win 373 games in his lifetime.

Young returned to farming in Ohio, and became a regular celebrity at major league old-timer’s games. When the Baseball Hall of Fame held its first election in 1936, Young narrowly missed being inducted in the first group of immortals; voters had to select from a pool of nineteenth-century players and a pool of twentieth-century players, and Young’s career covered both eras. He was elected in 1937, and attended the inaugural induction ceremony in Cooperstown, New York, in 1939, where he posed for photographs with Honus Wagner, Babe Ruth, and Connie Mack.

Young died on November 4, 1955 in Newcomerstown, Ohio, at the age of 88. In his honor, the following year Major League Baseball initiated an annual award named after him: The Cy Young Award is presented to the best pitcher in each league. In the modern era, Roger Clemens has won five Cy Young Awards in the American League, while Greg Maddux has won four National League Cy Youngs.

—Andrew Milner

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## Young, Loretta (1913—)

In a career that lasted from the silent films to the 1980s, Loretta Young embodied the image of the eternal lady. She appeared as a child extra in early films before she received her first major film role in *Laugh Clown Laugh* (1928). Thereafter she was invariably cast in roles as a young innocent. After winning an Academy Award for the film *The Farmer’s Daughter* (1947), Young turned to television. Her anthology series, *The Loretta Young Show* (1953-60), won her several Emmy Awards although it was most notable for the fabulous costumes she wore. After Young’s television show went off the air she continued to act on rare occasions, most notably in *Christmas Eve*, a television movie telecast in 1986.

—Jill A. Gregg

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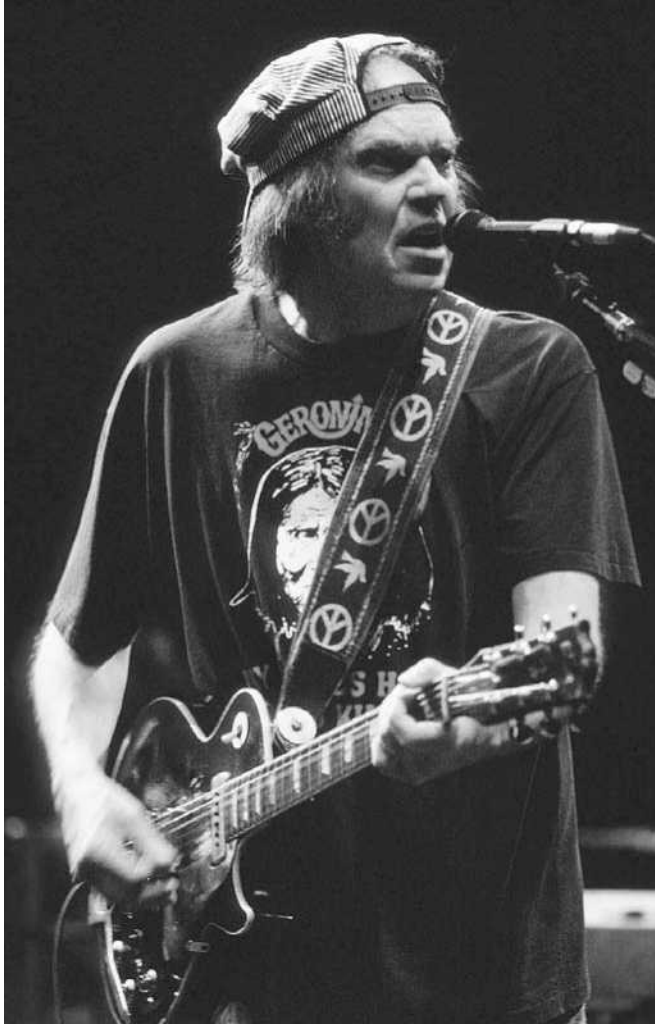
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## Young, Neil (1945—)

A modest commercial success in the late 1970s, Neil Young’s heavy-rocking music had a profound impact on young musicians who started a new movement of grunge rock in the 1990s, leading many to dub him the “godfather of grunge.” From his beginnings in the mid-1960s rock band Buffalo Springfield, to his intermittent stints as a 1970s acoustic singer-songwriter and hard-rocker, on through his 1990s incarnation as grunge’s guru, Neil Young has spent his career ducking audience expectations. This US-based Canadian expatriate’s idiosyncratic and sometimes perverse approach to music-making has allowed him to be perhaps the only member of his generation to maintain critical respect years after most of his peers began artistically treading water.

On his varied and numerous albums Neil Young has worn many hats, including those of folk-rocker, acoustic singer-songwriter, rockabilly artist, hard-rocker, punk-rocker, techno-dance artist, and blues guitarist. His body of work, which is matched in its depth and breadth only by Bob Dylan, is characterized by a sense of restlessness and experimentalism. More often than not it is the contrasting acoustic Neil Young and distorted-guitar-meltdown Neil Young that are most prominent.



Neil Young

After leaving Buffalo Springfield he released two solo albums in 1969 that would set a pattern for the rest of his career. His self-titled debut album featured country and folk-styled songs, utilizing acoustic guitars buffeted by lush string sections and tasteful female backing vocals. His second album, released a few months later, was a collaboration with an unknown garage band called Crazy Horse, a group Young would use throughout the rest of his career. The Crazy Horse collaboration, *Everybody Knows This is Nowhere*, showed off Young's other half—the hard rocking, noisy side.

Most of his 1970s albums would follow this pattern, with *Harvest* and *Comes a Time* filling his acoustic singer-songwriter shoes and *Tonight's the Night* and *Zuma* satisfying his craving for molten-hot guitar distortion. Young's artistic and commercial success reached its zenith with 1979's *Rust Never Sleeps*, which incorporated both musical tendencies into one album split into a quiet side and a loud side.

During the 1980s, Young's career began to falter as he released a series of wildly varying albums that incorporated rockabilly, garage rock, electronic dance, folk, country, and blues. His records weren't selling, and his new label Geffen sued him for releasing non-commercial, non-Neil Young-like albums. From 1983 to 1988 Young

confused and lost much of his audience, but with the release of 1989's *Freedom* he began to regain the critical and commercial clout that had dissipated in the 1980s.

Another key to Young's career rejuvenation (that had little to do with his then-current output) was the changing musical climate during the late-1980s and early-1990s: the rise of alternative guitar rock. One marker that signaled Young's reincarnation as the "godfather of grunge" was the release of the Neil Young tribute album *The Bridge* in 1989. This compilation album featured contributions by the likes of Soul Asylum, Flaming Lips, The Pixies, Sonic Youth, and Dinosaur Jr.—all of whom became minor or major mainstream successes. By the early 1990s, Young was named by the likes of Nirvana and Pearl Jam (who later played with Young) as a main influence. Young cultivated this fandom by playing the most rocking, noisy music of his career and by taking guitar experimentalists Sonic Youth and grunge kings Pearl Jam on the road with him.

Young's influence over young grunge musicians took a sad turn when Nirvana's Kurt Cobain referenced a well-known Neil Young lyric in his suicide note, stating "it's better to burn out than it is to rust," a line from "Hey Hey, My My." Young reacted to this by recording *Sleeps with Angels*, a mournful low-key album filled with meditations on death and depression that served as a eulogy for Cobain. Throughout the rest of the 1990s, Young continued to release a series of solid but stylistically similar live and studio albums, primarily with his longtime band Crazy Horse.

—Kembrew McLeod

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## Young, Robert (1907-1998)

Robert Young is best remembered for his two successful television shows, *Father Knows Best* (1954-60) and *Marcus Welby, M.D.* (1969-75), which together earned him three Emmy awards. He began his career in motion pictures of the 1930s and 1940s, invariably playing the amiable, dependable guy who loses the girl. Young made his film debut opposite Helen Hayes in *The Sin of Madelon Claudet* (1931) and appeared in classics such as *Secret Agent* (1936) and *The Enchanted Cottage* (1944) before turning to television. He was married to wife Betty from 1933 until her death in 1994 and together they had four daughters. Young left an indelible impression on American culture of the early television era as everyone's favorite father figure.

—Jill A. Gregg

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## Youngman, Henny (1906-1998)

Perhaps no comedian better understood the great truism among comedians that, regardless of the time devoted to working on an act and the energy put into a stage performance, a comic's material is the key to success or failure, than the "King of the One-Liners," Henny Youngman. For more than 70 years he entertained audiences as the quintessential Catskills comedian. His rapid-fire delivery, in which he could tell a half dozen wisecracks in 60 seconds, was filled with timeless bits that drew as many groans as laughs. Youngman's theory of comedy was to keep his jokes simple and compact. Beginning in the mid-1920s and extending into the 1990s, he repeated countless gags that could be immediately understood by everyone. Among his most famous lines are such comic gems as: "I just got back from a pleasure trip. I drove my mother-in-law to the airport," "The food at this restaurant is fit for a king. Here, King! Here, King!" and "A man goes to a psychiatrist. 'Nobody listens to me!' The doctor says, 'Next!'" In 1991, Youngman commented on his act's enduring popularity when he wrote, "Fads come and go in comedy. But the one-liner always remains sacred. People laughed at these jokes when I told them at Legs Diamond's Hotsy Totsy Club sixty years ago—and they're still laughing at these same one-liners at joints I play today."



Henny Youngman

Born on March 16, 1906, in England to Russian Jewish immigrants who later settled in New York, Henry Youngman harbored dreams of entering show business from an early age. His first taste of success came as a bandleader for a quartet known as Henny Youngman and the Swanee Syncopaters. By the mid-1920s, the group became a regular presence in the "Borscht Belt"—an area in the Catskill Mountains filled with private summer resorts that catered to a predominantly Jewish clientele. At the Swan Lake Inn, Youngman played with his musical group, while between sets he acted as the hotel's "tumbler," a job that consisted of walking around the resort to make sure all the guests were having a good time. The tumbler would often schmooze the male guests, dance with any unattached female guests, and even serve as an unofficial matchmaker. To keep the guests amused, a tumbler had to have many jokes for practically any situation at his fingertips. Youngman recalled his days in the Catskills and their influence on his comedic style when he stated, "I'm quite sure my love of one-liners came from this mountain laboratory. You had to be able to rat-a-tat-tat them out, on all subjects, to all kinds of people, every hour, day or night."

Youngman abandoned the Swanee Syncopaters for the life of a standup comedian when a nightclub owner asked him to fill in for an act that failed to show. His comedy routine, honed from his days as a tumbler, was a great hit. He soon came to the attention of a rising comedy headliner named Milton Berle, who was impressed with Youngman's delivery and helped him get standup gigs at small clubs and bar mitzvahs. By the 1940s, the former tumbler had become the featured comedian on radio's *The Kate Smith Show*. For two years he had a regular six-minute spot during which he told his one-liners and played the violin. It was in this period that Youngman acquired his signature joke: When his wife Sadie arrived at the show with several friends the nervous comedian wanted her to sit in the audience so he could prepare. He grabbed an usher and told him, "Take my wife, please." The comic incorporated the humorous ad-lib into his act and continued to use the line even after his wife died in 1987.

Youngman spent the greatest portion of his career touring throughout the world with his unvarying act. He was proud to say he had performed before both Queen Elizabeth II and the gangster Dutch Schultz. No matter the audience or setting, he would take to the stage with his prop violin and still-humorous lines. Jokes such as "My doctor told me I was dying. I asked for a second opinion. He said you're ugly, too." were repeated for years to audiences long familiar with Youngman's routine. He also frequently appeared on television talk and variety shows into his eighties. However, his attempts to become a regular TV performer were less successful. The summer of 1955 saw the failure of *The Henny and Rocky Show*, which paired him with ex-middleweight boxing champion Rocky Graziano. In 1990, he made a brief appearance as the emcee at the Copacabana in Martin Scorsese's mobster epic *Goodfellas*. He died in New York on February 23, 1998.

Audiences laughed at Henny Youngman's nearly endless supply of one-liners because they were instantly funny and recognizable to almost everyone. He did not offer long comic monologues, controversial humor, or provocative social satire, but rather provided funny gags for anyone who has ever had to deal with life's more mundane occurrences, such as bad drivers, unhelpful doctors, drunken husbands, and mothers-in-law. Furthermore, his longevity allowed younger audiences to experience a still vital performer with roots in vaudeville. He proved that even the most well worn jokes, like "One fellow



comes up to me and says he hasn't eaten in three days. I say, 'Force yourself!'" are still funny.

—Charles Coletta

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## *Your Hit Parade*

A landmark musical variety series on both radio (1935-1953) and television (1950-1959, 1974), *Your Hit Parade* was one of the first and most important manifestations of the musical countdown or survey. Unlike later variations on this format, however, on *Your Hit Parade* the songs were performed live by a regular cast of singers, some of them famous (Frank Sinatra, Doris Day, Dinah Shore). The TV version of *Your Hit Parade* has been cited, somewhat implausibly, as a forerunner of music video and MTV.

The radio series *Lucky Strike Hit Parade* debuted on the NBC Red network on April 20, 1935. During the next two years, both NBC and CBS carried the program from time to time, until in 1937 it found its "home" in the Saturday evening schedule on CBS, where it



Jill Corey rehearsing for an appearance on *Your Hit Parade*.

remained until 1947, when it moved back to NBC. The TV version premiered in 1950 as a simulcast of the radio series. This arrangement lasted until 1953, at which point the radio series was canceled. *Your Hit Parade* continued on NBC until 1958, then moved back to CBS and was canceled in 1959. A revival on CBS in 1974 lasted less than a year and is notable mainly for employing future *Love Connection* host Chuck Woolery as a singer. The cast of singers and orchestra leaders changed frequently, especially during the show's radio years. The TV cast was more stable and included singers Dorothy Collins, Snooky Lanson, Gisele MacKenzie, and Russell Arms, bandleader (and future electronic music pioneer) Raymond Scott, and announcer Andre Baruch. The most memorable feature of the series is probably its opening, which consists of the sound of a tobacco auctioneer; in the TV version there were also pictures of animated, dancing cigarettes. As Philip Eberly points out, *Your Hit Parade* was one of a multitude of musical programs sponsored by tobacco companies during the Golden Age of American radio.

The idea behind *Your Hit Parade* was simple yet novel for the 1930s. Each week, the program's house orchestra and featured singers performed the week's most popular songs. The length of the show ranged from 30 to 60 minutes during the program's history, and the number of songs in the "hit parade" varied from seven to fifteen. The American Tobacco Company owned and sponsored the program, and the company's "dictatorial" president, George Washington Hill, "personally controlled every facet of the program," according to Arnold Shaw's account in *Let's Dance*. The ranking of songs was determined by a secret methodology administered by the company's advertising agency—at first, Lord and Thomas; later, Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborne. The hit parade placed songs in competition with each other, and the unveiling of each week's number one song became an eagerly awaited event.

The TV program's opening announcement asserted that the hit parade was an "accurate, authentic tabulation of America's taste in popular music," based on sheet-music sales, record sales, broadcast airplay, and coin-machine play. The most important factor, at least until the mid-1950s, was radio airplay—and, as Shaw points out in *Let's Dance*, *Your Hit Parade* itself helped to establish radio as the major venue for American popular music. Radio's dominance came at the expense of vaudeville. Nevertheless, *Your Hit Parade* remained rooted in Tin Pan Alley—the slang term for the music publishing district in 1890s Manhattan, and the name that eventually came to symbolize the (white) mainstream in American popular music. Tin Pan Alley stood for the primacy of songs (as opposed to records) and for a highly conventionalized song structure and performance style (usually a verse-chorus structure, romantic or novelty lyrics, smooth singing or "crooning," and orchestration). The prevalence of songs over records allowed *Your Hit Parade* to showcase its own performers along with the week's hits. A song would often remain on the survey for several weeks, so, for variety's sake, the song would be handed off from one singer to another from week to week.

The advent of the TV series prompted an additional attempt at variety—each week, the song would receive a new "visualization." Rather than delivering a straight performance into the camera, singers were placed in a fictional and dramatic context ostensibly inspired by the title or lyrics of the song. For example, in a 1952 episode, Snooky Lanson portrayed a customer singing "Slow Poke" to the back of a female customer at a diner. In this case, as in most others, the visualization had only a tenuous and forced connection with the text of the song—a "slow poke" sandwich appeared on the diner's menu, and the female customer kept Lanson waiting for a seat while he sang

lyrics that complained about “you” (presumably his lover) keeping him waiting. As unremarkable as the song itself was, the visualization managed to trivialize it by converting it from a love song into an imaginary monologue about Snooky Lanson’s lunch.

Contrary to Michael Shore’s contention that “*Your Hit Parade* was a pathfinder in the conceptualization of music video,” the program in fact was a clumsy attempt to import the dramatic premise and visual splendor of musical films into the more frantic production context of live TV. Most music videos, even if they have a dramatic premise, use a prerecorded soundtrack and show the singer lip-synching directly into the camera. Thus the typical music video is quite different from the standard visualization on *Your Hit Parade*. This is one reason why the TV series, when viewed today, seems unique and old-fashioned.

The reason for the show’s demise, however, has as much to do with sound as with image. As the 1950s progressed, Tin Pan Alley gradually lost ground to rock and roll, and records became the predominant medium in the music industry. Radio lost much of its audience to television and soon discovered the Top Forty format as one of the best ways to stay in business. Top Forty, of course, is much like a hit parade but ranks records (as performed by a specific singer) rather than songs (as performed by anybody). Snooky Lanson performed “Heartbreak Hotel” on *Your Hit Parade* in 1956, but the song was so definitively associated with Elvis Presley that the version by crooner Lanson lacked credibility. This sort of incongruity became more and more common on *Your Hit Parade* as the decade wore on, and the program’s contrived and corny “visualizations” only underscored the series’s irrelevance.

Despite belated attempts to make the program more contemporary, *Your Hit Parade* could not survive the ascendance of rock and roll and the triumph, in both radio and TV, of recording over live performance. The look of the future in musical TV programs was *American Bandstand*, which rose just as *Your Hit Parade* was falling, and which remained dominant in its field until MTV supplanted it in the 1980s.

—Gary Burns

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## *Your Show of Shows*

A 1950s variety program, *Your Show of Shows* (1950-1954) distinguished itself with its artful satire and parody performed by an ensemble led by Sid Caesar. Caesar was blessed with a stable of young writers that included, at one time or another, Neil Simon, Woody Allen, Mel Brooks, Carl Reiner, and Larry Gelbart.

The program took advantage of television’s ability to be topical. It was live television at its best, and Caesar and his partner, Imogene Coca, could parody recent films—including foreign films—at will; because of the dangers of McCarthyism, however, they could not parody politics. Because there were no retakes in live television, the ability of its performers to ad lib was essential to its success, and soon became a secret to the show’s popularity.

Caesar was born in Yonkers, New York, in 1922. He entered show business as a Juilliard trained saxophonist and enjoyed success in a number of famous big bands. During his Army service, Max Leibemann, who became his producer on *Your Show of Shows*, noticed his ability to make his fellow band members laugh. He decided to feature Caesar as a comedian in future productions. In 1949, after appearing in nightclubs and on Broadway, Caesar began his television career in the forerunner of *Your Show of Shows*.

The program took six days to put on, from writing to performing. In an interview for *The Saturday Evening Post*, Caesar noted the difference between *Your Show of Shows* and television in the late twentieth century: “I didn’t come in and have a script handed to me. Never happened. The show took six long days to write, and I was there on Monday morning, working with the writers, putting in the blank sheet of paper. See, the show had to be written by Wednesday. Thursday we put it up on its feet. Friday we went over it with the technicians and Saturday was the show—live.”

The program ran for 90 minutes and was number one for four years. NBC soon began plans for two programs that would be highly rated, and *Caesar’s Hour* and *The Imogene Coca Show* were born. *Caesar’s Hour* was highly rated for a time, but Caesar’s descent into alcoholism and pill-taking finally took its toll, and its fourth season was its last.

Although Caesar eventually had a number of female partners on his various shows, Imogene Coca is the one best remembered by fans. She began acting at the age of 11 and had a long career before joining Caesar on *Your Show of Shows*. Leonard Sillman drafted Coca and Henry Fonda into doing comedy bits for scene changes for his Broadway production, *New Faces*. Until then, she had been noted for her singing, dancing, and acting. Eventually, she so impressed the critics that she became hailed as the next great comedienne. In 1949,



*Your Show of Shows* stars Sid Caesar (left) and Imogene Coca (right) pose with the show's producer Max Liebman.

she joined Caesar in the "Admiral Revue," the forerunner of *Your Show of Shows*. Coca left to do her own television program after the 1954 season. The program, however, failed, and so did her reunion with Caesar in 1958.

*Your Show of Shows* paved the way for *Saturday Night Live*, and other similar live revues like "Second City." It has remained popular on PBS (Public Broadcasting Station) and in the sale of videos. The movie *Ten from Your Show of Shows*, featuring 10 of its classic skits, also did well commercially and is still available on video.

—Frank A. Salamone

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## Youth International Party

See Yippies

## *The Youth's Companion*

For just over a century, from 1827 to 1929, a monthly periodical called *The Youth's Companion* dispensed moral education, information, and fiction to generations of young people. By 1885, the periodical was claiming 385,000 copies were printed each week, making it the most widely circulated journal of its day, largely due to the premiums and prizes it offered for new subscriptions. *The Youth's Companion* was founded in Boston in 1827 by Nathaniel Willis and Asa Rand as a Sunday-School organ in the tradition of Boston Congregationalism, one that would "warn against the ways of transgression, error and ruin, and allure to those of virtue and piety." The classic children's bedtime prayer "Now I Lay Me Down to Sleep" appeared in its first issue. Rand left the venture after three years and Willis remained as editor until he sold the paper in 1857 to John W. Olmstead and Daniel Sharp Ford. Ford, who was known to his readers as "Perry Mason," after the name he gave to his business, remained as editor until his death in 1899. During his editorship, he completely revamped its content and format, making *The Youth's Companion* into a well-respected publication of high literary merit. By publishing serial and scientific articles and puzzles, by soliciting articles from readers, and by including contributions from notable writers such as Harriett Beecher Stowe, Rudyard Kipling, Thomas

Hardy, and Jack London, Ford was able to increase the circulation tenfold within a decade, and to nearly half a million by 1899. The magazine survived until it finally folded at the onset of the Great Depression, when it merged with *American Boy*, a victim of financial woes and changing tastes.

—Edward Moran

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## Yo-Yo

A Filipino immigrant, Pedro Flores, introduced a Philippine hunting weapon named Yo-Yo, translated in English as “come back,” to the United States in the 1920s. Donald Duncan bought the rights to the name and the toy in 1929. He created the Duncan Imperial and the well-known Butterfly Yo-Yo. Tricks done with the toy include “Walk the Dog” and “Around the World.” Used in tournaments from the beginning in the United States, the Yo-Yo became a fad again during the 1960s and surged in popularity in 1962. Yo-Yo Tournaments have enjoyed popularity throughout the 1990s.

—S. Naomi Finkelstein

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Former Yo-Yo champ John Farmer performs a trick.

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## Yuppies

Following the social upheaval and counterculture ideals that received popular attention the 1970s, the 1980s ushered in a backlash, at least in the middle and upper middle classes. A number of former college students, protesters, and hippies who came from these classes left the counterculture behind and took high-paying white collar jobs. Because many of them postponed marriage and children, they found themselves with large disposable incomes and few responsibilities. These Young Urban Professionals were soon dubbed “yuppies” by the press.

Tired of the moral and political seriousness of the activist 1960s and 1970s, the yuppies began to spend their money on themselves, often going into debt to purchase high-priced status symbols and expensive adult playthings. Rolex watches, designer fashions, trendy gourmet foods, and BMW cars came to represent the self-indulgent lifestyle of the wealthy young professionals. Snob appeal became the measuring stick for purchases. Drug use was associated with yuppies, but not the bohemian marijuana of the hippies. Rather, it was cocaine, the expensive drug of the jet set. “Whoever dies with the most toys, wins,” and “Who says you can’t have it all?” became the catch phrases of the day.

The yuppies soon came to symbolize everything the media found to criticize in the 1980s. Calling the 1980s the “me” generation and the “greed decade,” media pundits lambasted the yuppie swingers as they had their hippie counterparts. Books like Jay McInerney’s *Bright Lights, Big City* and Tom Wolfe’s *The Bonfire of the Vanities* chronicled the self-aggrandizing decadence of the yuppie life. In reality, the economic boom of the early 1980s contributed to rising consumption throughout middle class America, and the well-educated young elite were merely particularly well-positioned to take advantage of it. They had been raised with a sense of their own importance and entitlement, and they had been given jobs with salaries that reinforced that sense. Their lifestyle values were the opposite of those of their parents, the conservative children of the Great Depression. Professional life seemed merely like a step beyond college parties, and the fun was less limited. Profitably employed married couples without children were given the name dinks (double income no kids) by the press, which showed a liking for catchy acronyms. Dinks had unprecedented disposable income, and in an increasingly consumer society, it was easy to spend.

Those young professionals who did have families tried as best they could to fit them into the yuppie status symbol mold. Two career households necessitated nannies and housekeepers. Young couples began to search for the “right” schools while their children were still babies. Along with the expensive party lifestyle came pressure to keep up appearances and to keep making money. As Stan Schultz, a cultural historian at the University of Wisconsin described it, “We are terribly busy souls, doing things that no one else can do.” Internal conflicts began to emerge, as the yuppies’ liberal ideologies started to conflict with their economic conservatism. The 1980s was the Reagan era in United States politics, and new advantages were being doled

out to the rich and the corporations at the expense of social services. The yuppies found themselves on an uncomfortable side of this dichotomy. Jerry Rubin, once a leader of the famous radical group the Yippies, was one of those who traded in his revolutionary politics for economic security—"Money in my pockets mellowed out my radicalism," he said.

Of course, frenzied spending has its price, and the yuppies soon found themselves in deep debt. As long as high-salaried jobs were available, the debt was not a problem, but toward the late 1980s, the economic boom began to end. In 1987, the stock market crashed, and its effects were felt in every societal stratum. Many of the previously secure young professional found themselves "downsized," laid off from jobs or forced to take great cuts in salary. So many defaulted on credit card payments that bankers coined the term "yuppie bill syndrome" to describe them. New "yuppie pawnshops" sprang up, not the sad dark hock shops of the inner-city, but upscale shops with bright lighting in middle class shopping areas, so that the yuppies could cash in some of their costly toys to help cover more necessary expenses. "Downscale chic" was the term used to describe the return to simpler consumption—jeans and T-shirts instead of designer clothes.

Receiving less attention in the media than the maligned yuppies were the working class and poor, whose circumstances were less improved by the 1980s boom. Working class people, too, often had two income families which did not create a pool of disposable income, but instead barely covered their bills. They had little sympathy with the overextended yuppies, who in fact became a convenient scapegoat, exemplifying as they did the waste and irresponsibility of the upper classes.

Just as the yuppies themselves had been part of a backlash, they caused their own backlash. Redefining the word yuppie to mean "young unhappy professionals," some young professionals began to look for a new way of life. Some were dubbed domo's for "downwardly mobile professionals," and dropped out of the fast-paced life of the urban professional, choosing a simpler life, perhaps moving to the country. One exodus took many former yuppies to Montana, seeking

a bucolic freedom from stress in the mountains. Other yuppies did not drop out, but rather changed their focus to making money by doing work they could believe in, such as environmental protection work or fighting cancer. *The Artist's Way* by Julia Cameron and *Getting a Life* by Jacqueline Blix describe the joys of trading the consumer rat race for a more fulfilling life by making a dramatic lifestyle change.

The term "yuppie" has been widely used—many say overused—by the media to describe a certain privileged segment of the baby boom generation at a particular time in their lives. As the upper middle class professionals of that generation began to reach middle age, the press began to announce the "death of the yuppie." While conspicuous consumption will never go entirely out of style for the rich, the set of circumstances that created the yuppie mindset is unlikely to recur. Rebelling both against the economic stodginess of their parents' generation and the unwelcome demands of their own youthful ideals, the young professional elite that the press called "yuppies" went on a wild spending spree. When the bills came due, their lives and values changed. In the 1980s, they were sneered at; no one admitted to being a yuppie. They were other people who spent and consumed too much and too richly. In the early 1990s, Michael Thomas of the *New York Observer* said, "I think that's one of the big stories now—denial of the 1980s."

—Tina Gianoulis

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# Z

## Zanuck, Darryl F. (1902-1979)

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Darryl F. Zanuck ranks as one of the most famous, long-lived of Hollywood's movie moguls. He oversaw scores of films and created many film stars. Many of these films and their stars were tremendously popular at the time and remain so today. He revived and created Twentieth Century-Fox, functioning as its chief of production from the mid-1930s through the mid-1950s. Three of the films he produced received academy awards: *How Green Was My Valley*, 1941; *Gentlemen's Agreement*, 1947; and *All About Eve*, 1950. Zanuck created several stars; child star Shirley Temple and Betty Grable (World War II's "pin-up girl") made his Twentieth Century-Fox into a true powerhouse. After the war, Zanuck produced a series of films that dealt with social issues including racism and mental hospitals. These post-war films, *Gentlemen's Agreement*, *Pinky*, and *The Snake Pit*, proved tremendously popular money-makers for the studio. Upon returning to Fox in the early 1960s, Zanuck worked with his son Richard and produced one major hit, *The Sound of Music*. Zanuck was a brilliant producer who possessed the unequalled ability to detect potential in screenplays and screen actors.

—Liza Black

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## Zap Comix

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Considered by pop-culture critics to be the quintessential underground comic book of the 1960s, *Zap Comix* can trace its genealogy to the publication of Jack Jaxon's *God Nose* in 1963. By 1999, there were estimated to be more than two million copies of the countercultural *Zap Comix* in print, including such classics as the sexually explicit "Fritz the Cat" series and the trippy "Mr. Natural" books. Three men, working out of the San Francisco Bay area, were chiefly responsible for the *Zap Comix* phenomenon: Don Donahue and Charles Plymell were instrumental in securing the money and arranging the distribution of the early issues, while visionary cartoonist Robert Crumb assumed editorial control. Crumb, a Philadelphia native with no formal art training, was to become one of underground comics' most influential creators.

A one-time illustrator for the American Greeting Card Company, Crumb began doing freelance work for *Help* magazine in the mid-1960s, a publication by *Mad* magazine's co-creator Harvey Kurtzman. Crumb's experimentation with LSD and other drugs inspired him to create ever more bizarre situations and characters, with "Fritz the Cat" and "Mr. Natural" emerging from his pen during this acid-soaked period. Crumb's best early work was published in the pages of

underground newspapers like New York's *East Village Other*, and in 1966, he moved to San Francisco, where he hooked up with a community of artists and writers who shared his countercultural sensibility. Donahue and Plymell soon enlisted him to take the reins of *Zap* as a vehicle for his unique talents. The first issue of *Zap*, numbered zero, hit the streets in February of 1967. Dubbed "the comic that plugs you in," the cover featured a Crumb drawing of an embryonic figure with its umbilical cord plugged into an electrical socket. The comic quickly became a forum for some of the most prominent underground cartoonists of the time, many of them influenced by the early *Mad* magazine. Illustrators whose work appeared in *Zap* included S. Clay Wilson, Spain Rodriguez, and Gilbert Shelton.

*Zap's* content ranged widely, from instructions on how to smoke a joint to quasi-pornographic features like "Wonder Wart Hog," in which the eponymous swine overcomes his impotence by using his snout. The pages of *Zap Comix* offered readers an explicit panorama of the sex, drugs, and revolution ethos of the 1960s, subjects never before seen in comic books. *Zap Comix* were often sold in head shops, sharing counter space with bongos and roach clips, making them the unofficial bibles of the tuned-in, turned-on generation of hippies and other countercultural folk. With the success of *Zap*, Robert Crumb became an icon of the underground. The hip cachet of his comics allowed him to triumph over his own sexual frustration. As he explained later in an autobiographical cartoon story, "I made up for all those years of deprivation by lunging maniacally at women I was attracted to . . . squeezing faces and humping legs . . . I usually got away with it . . . famous eccentric artist, you know." Occasionally, however, Crumb's commitment to exploring his own personal sexual obsessions got him and the comics in hot water. In 1969, Crumb's incest-themed story "Joe Blow" in *Zap* #4 sparked obscenity busts at several bookstores.

The daring style and content of *Zap Comix* paved the way for a generation of cartoonists, both mainstream and underground, who felt comfortable tackling previously taboo, adult-themed subjects. "[T]o say [*Zap*] made a deep impression is an understatement," commented Alan Moore, a comics writer who created the popular title *Watchmen* in the 1980s. Author Trina Robbins likened reading *Zap* for the first time to "discovering Jesus [by] a born-again Christian."

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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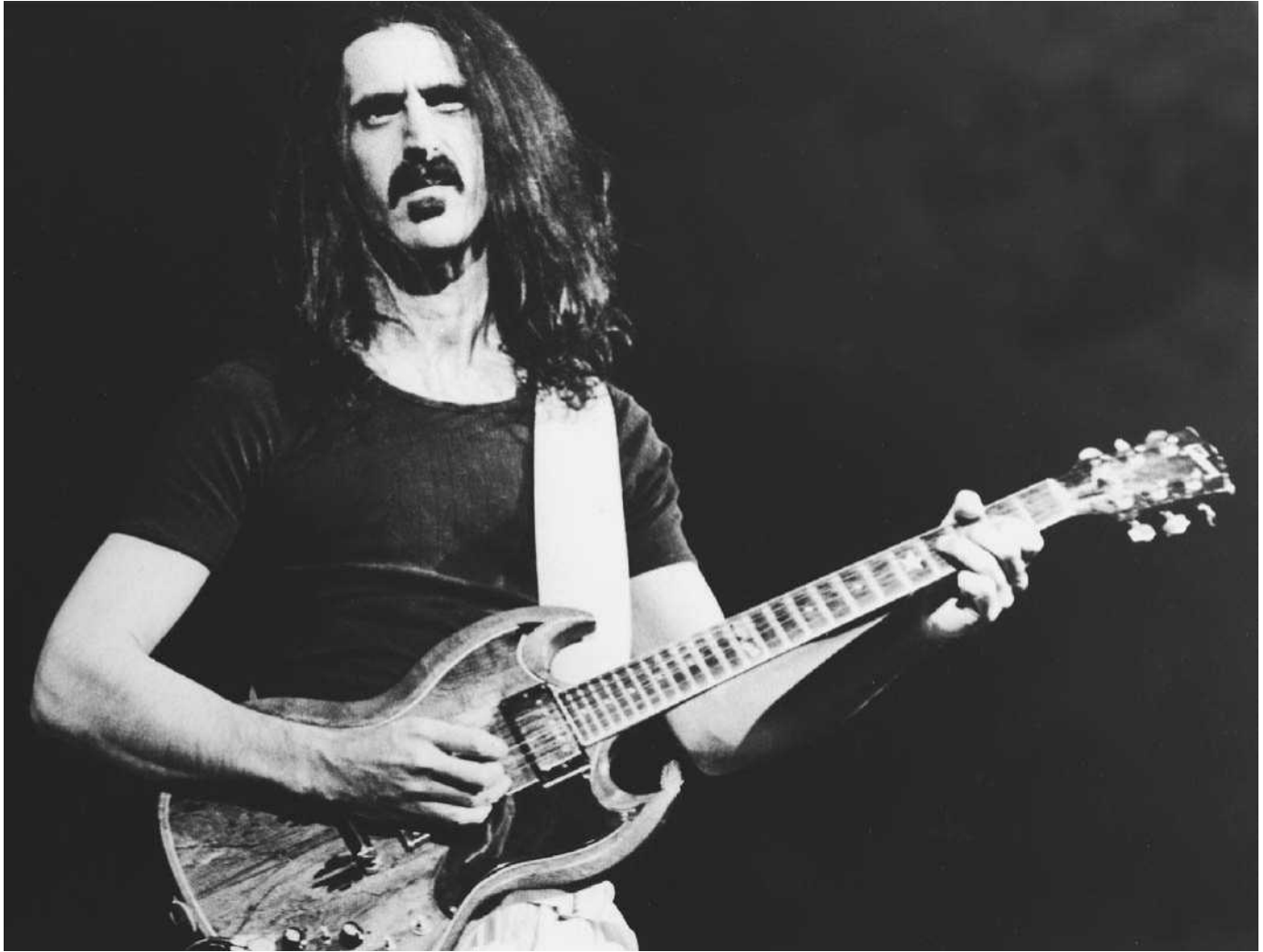
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## Zappa, Frank (1940-1993)

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Few rock and roll icons can match the originality, innovation, and prolific output of Frank Zappa. His synthesis of blues, rock, jazz, doo-wop, classical, and avant-garde, combined with irreverent lyrics and politically-oriented stage theatrics expanded the range of popular



### Frank Zappa

music. From his work with seminal 1960s freak band the Mothers of Invention to his final, posthumously-released studio project called *Civilization: Phaze III* (1994), Zappa made music by his own rules, rewriting the rules of the music industry in the process.

Frank Vincent Zappa was born December 21, 1940 in Baltimore, Maryland. The Zappa family moved often, his father following wartime civil service employment until 1956 when they settled in Lancaster, California, north of Los Angeles. Frank's main interests during his formative years were chemistry (specifically explosives), drums, and the dissonant music of Edgard Varèse, a modern composer who worked with sound effects, electronics, and large percussion sections. This was an important influence on young Zappa as it introduced him to unconventional musical forms before the advent of rock and roll.

Bored with high school, Frank taught himself to read and write 12-tone symphonic music, and began composing his own. After graduation he worked as a rhythm guitarist in various lounge cover bands, when it became clear that merely composing wouldn't pay the bills. In 1963, however, at age 22, he scored the soundtrack for a low-budget film, and acquired a homemade recording studio in downtown Cucamonga, California. Unfortunately, Studio Z had a brief life.

Trouble with the locals culminating in a ten-day jail sentence and impending urban development forced Frank to move to Los Angeles where he found gigs for his proto-rock-and-roll band, The Mothers.

After "perfecting" their artsy, improvisational live show, the Mothers recorded *Freak Out!* (1966), the first rock double album. Out of necessity, though, the band became the Mothers of Invention, as record executives objected to the original name. *Freak Out!* was a landmark in musique concrète as pop music, and was a bracing satire on the hippie culture oozing into Southern California. The follow-up album *Absolutely Free* (1968) intensified these themes, laying the groundwork for much of Zappa's future lyrical and compositional endeavors. Later, he created the cult film *200 Motels* (1971), named for the estimated number of dives the band had stayed in during its five-year life span. Dissonant and self-consciously weird, *200 Motels* foreshadowed the music video even as it lampooned life inside a touring rock and roll band, incorporating ballet, opera, and Zappa's dizzying orchestrations to make its acidic point. As freaky as Zappa was, though, he was an adamant teetotaler which caused tension among fellow musicians. This, combined with low pay and bad reviews, ultimately led to the breakup of the Mothers of Invention. Zappa, however, was just getting started.

Throughout the 1970s, Zappa's reputation grew, especially in Eastern Europe where he provided the soundtrack for revolution. Frank also became known for his prowess with a guitar while his lyrics became more surreal and confrontational. His attempts at "serious" music, however, were thwarted, beginning with contractual disputes stemming from the *200 Motels* sessions with the Royal Philharmonic, and continuing every time he tried to hire an orchestra. Frank still considered himself primarily a composer, though; an odd vocation for a subversive rock musician, but as he remarked, "Apart from the political stuff, which I enjoy writing, the rest of my lyrics wouldn't exist at all if it weren't for the fact that we live in a society where instrumental music is irrelevant."

In 1977 Frank became embroiled in lawsuits involving ownership of his early albums. During this litigious period (and in an effort to fulfill remaining contracts) he released as many as four albums a year and toured relentlessly, while another self-referential work called *Joe's Garage* (1979) achieved mainstream popularity with its Orwellian plot and scatological humor. Eventually Zappa became the owner of his entire back catalog and an eponymous record label, as well as a new recording studio in the basement of his Los Angeles home.

The establishment began to recognize Frank Zappa in the 1980s, and his first Billboard-charting single "Valley Girl" (1982) was a fluffy parody of Southern California teen pop culture featuring the voice of his daughter Moon. In 1985, Zappa testified before a Senate committee and denounced legislation calling for explicit-content warning labels on albums. He later became close friends with then president of Czechoslovakia, Václav Havel, and was nearly appointed ambassador of trade and culture to that country. Frank also received a Best Instrumental Album Grammy Award in 1986 for *Jazz From Hell* which was conceived on the Synclavier, an electronic device allowing him to play his most difficult compositions note for note.

In 1990 Frank Zappa was diagnosed with prostate cancer. Between debilitating treatments he produced a live program of his orchestral works called *The Yellow Shark* (1993), which was performed by ardent fans, the renowned German Ensemble Modern. He also set up the Zappa Family Trust, placing total creative and financial control of his successful niche-market mail-order business in the hands of his partner/wife Gail. He died on December 4, 1993, and was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1995.

The legacy of Frank Zappa lives on in every outspoken, self-made rock star, in every do-it-yourself basement recording and autobiographical music video montage. He rescued the stodgy reputation of the serious orchestral composer by marrying it to the lifestyle of a hard-touring rock band, creating some of the most challenging and defiant music of the twentieth century. He also pioneered recording technologies, stretching the boundaries of what popular music could be. Frank Zappa is known worldwide for his irreverent attitude and masterful musicianship, proving that, as he often quoted Edgard Varèse, "The present day composer refuses to die!"

—Tony Brewer

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## *The Ziegfeld Follies*

Brainchild of Broadway impresario Florenz Ziegfeld and his first wife, European singer Anna Held, *The Ziegfeld Follies* dominated the American theatrical revue scene from 1907 until the late 1920s and early 1930s when the popularity of vaudeville began to diminish. Featuring scores of women in elaborate costumes and boasting the debut of some of the country's most popular songs like "Shine on Harvest Moon," *The Follies* started as an American version of satirical French cabaret acts whose sophistication Ziegfeld hoped to evoke in order to appeal to a high-hat audience. Ziegfeld's attempt at continental appeal, however, could not match the flamboyance and over-the-top glitz his own personal flair lent to his works. Thus *The Ziegfeld Follies* offered a hybrid: high-brow artistic endeavor reflected, for example, in the Art Nouveau sets designed by artist Nathan Urban and near vulgarity evidenced by skimpy, even gaudy, costuming. Though *The Passing Show* originating in 1894 constitutes the very first American revue, Ziegfeld's combination of dance routines, still tableaux, stand-up comedy, political satire, one-act plays, and optical illusions became the most well known, an emblem of its era and the quintessential revue. The spectacle was what critic Marjorie Farnsworth calls, "a feast of desire" and it reflected what F. Scott Fitzgerald



Bob Hope surrounded by women in the *Ziegfeld Follies* of 1936.



called the Jazz Age and its celebration of economic prosperity and hedonism.

The key to *The Ziegfeld Follies'* extraordinary popularity and influence lay in Ziegfeld's appreciation for the revue staple, the chorus girl. Where other revue shows at the time typically used around twenty chorus girls and perhaps two or three costume-changes a show, Ziegfeld arrayed 120 girls before his audiences. He dressed them in imported fabrics of tremendous extravagance and his own outrageous design, giving them five or six wardrobe changes an evening. He famously handpicked not only his fabrics but his chorus line as well, selecting only those he considered the most beautiful women of the day. Based on his connoisseurship of women and his helping to launch the Broadway musical called *Glorifying the American Girl*, Ziegfeld became known as "the Glorifier." He adored women and had numerous affairs with his employees, but he also viewed them as art objects to sculpt and perfect. He wrote newspaper columns outlining his specifications for the perfect female figure. In the mid-1920s he declared the tall statuesque look "out" and the shorter, more vivacious figure "in." His aim was to create a fantasy world of radiant women with perfect figures whose beauty and allure transcended anything any spectator could have ever before witnessed. *The Follies* offered outlandish dance numbers, including one in which the chorines dressed as taxicabs and moved across a darkened stage, their headlamps the only light. Ziegfeld also billed optical illusions that played off the encroaching movie industry. In one, he displayed a film of a featured performer running down a path. At the end of the path there suddenly appeared the actress herself, the screen apparently disappearing behind her. In another famous routine, "Laceland," the dancers wore glow-in-the-dark painted costumes and dressed as milliner objects—scissors, thimble, needle, etc.—and danced around a woman tating lace. As early as 1909 Ziegfeld rigged his theatre ceiling to "fly" performer Lillian Lorraine above audience's heads while she sang, "Up, Up, Up in My Airship." Ziegfeld is also credited with the idea of a chorine or featured female performer entering the stage by descending a staircase. This image was later picked up and magnified by musical choreographer, Busby Berkeley in movies like his *Gold Digger* series, all of which were influenced by *The Ziegfeld Follies*.

*The Follies* chorus became known as "Ziegfeld Girls." Discussed in gossip columns as public personalities, Ziegfeld Girls were precursors to movie stars, both figuratively and literally. Before them, chorus girls were anonymous, everyday women. After Ziegfeld promoted them, they became celebrities, and many of them then went on to become famous film stars. That list includes Barbara Stanwyck, Paulette Goddard, and Ziegfeld's last wife, Billie Burke.

*The Ziegfeld Follies* launched a number of other famous personalities. Among the male comedians to take their first bow on Ziegfeld's stage were Bert Lahr, Eddy Cantor, and the well-loved humorist, Will Rogers, who began his career with Ziegfeld by making fun of politicians and satirizing news of the day. His style was folksy but his humor had a contemporary edge. The comedienne Fanny Brice also made her name as a long-running performer in *The Ziegfeld Follies* as did legendary songwriters, Irving Berlin, Jerome Kern, and Oscar Hammerstein.

*The Ziegfeld Follies'* vaunted showgirl lives on in the nightclub acts of Las Vegas and Atlantic City but she's lost the lavish, individualized attention Florenz Ziegfeld bestowed upon her. His own legend survives in films based on his career and the dizzying, singular history of *The Follies*. These include 1941's *Ziegfeld Girl*, directed by Busby Berkeley and featuring James Stewart and Lana

Turner and the 1946 Academy Award-winning *Ziegfeld Follies* directed by Vincent Minnelli and starring William Powell as Ziegfeld. Fanny Brice's life and career became the subject of the 1964 play, *Funny Girl*, made into a film in 1968 and for which actress and singer Barbra Streisand won an Academy Award. A follow-up film also based on Brice and featuring Streisand appeared in 1975 titled, *Funny Lady*. In the mid-1990s, Broadway staged *The Will Rogers Follies*, a Tony Award-winning musical billed as "paying tribute to two American legends—Will Rogers and *The Ziegfeld Follies*."

—Elizabeth Haas

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## Zines

Zines are nonprofessional, anti-commercial, small-circulation magazines their creators produce, publish, and distribute themselves. Typed up and laid out on home computers, zines are reproduced on photocopy machines, assembled on kitchen tables, and sold or swapped through the mail or found at small book or music stores. Today, somewhere between 10,000 and 20,000 different zines circulate throughout the United States and the world. With names like *Dishwasher*, *Temp Slave*, *Pathetic Life*, *Practical Anarchy*, *Punk Planet*, and *Slug & Lettuce*, their subject matter ranges from the sublime to the ridiculous, making a detour through the unfathomable. What binds all these publications together is a prime directive: D.I.Y.—Do-It-Yourself. Stop shopping for culture and go out and create your own.

While shaped by the long history of alternative presses in the United States—zine editor Gene Mahoney calls Thomas Paine's revolutionary pamphlet *Common Sense* "the zine heard 'round the world"—zines as a distinct medium were born in the 1930s. It was then that fans of science fiction, often through the clubs they founded, began producing what they called "fanzines" as a way of sharing SF stories and commentary. Although it's difficult to be certain of anything about a cultural form as ephemeral as zines, it is generally accepted that the first fanzine was *The Comet*, published by the Science Correspondence Club in May 1930. Nearly half a century later, in the mid-1970s, the other defining influence on modern-day zines began as fans of punk rock music, ignored by and critical of the mainstream music press, started printing fanzines about their music and cultural scene. The first punk zine, appropriately named *Punk*, appeared in New York City in January 1976.

Central to the story of zines is *Factsheet Five* and its creator Mike Gunderloy. Part accidental offspring of the same letter sent to a dozen friends, and part conscious plan to "connect up the various people who were exercising their First Amendment rights in a small, non-profit scale [so] . . . they could learn from each other . . . and help generate a larger alternative community," Gunderloy began *Factsheet Five* in May 1982 by printing reviews and contact addresses for any

and all zines sent to him. The result was a consolidation and cross-fertilization of the two major zine tributaries of SF and punk, joined by smaller streams of publications created by fans of other cultural genres, disgruntled self-publishers, and the remnants of printed political dissent from the 1960s. A genuine subculture of zines developed over the next decade as the “fan” was by and large dropped off “zine,” and their number increased exponentially. Three editors and over sixty issues later, *Factsheet Five* continued to function in 1999 as the nodal point for the geographically dispersed zine world.

Zines are, first and foremost, about the individuals who create them. Zinesters use their zines to unleash an existential howl: “I exist, and here’s what I think.” While their subject matter varies from punk music to Pez candy dispensers to anarchist politics, it is the authors and their own personal perspective on the topic that defines the editorial “rants,” essays, comics, illustrations, poems, and reviews that make up the standard fare of zines. Consider the prominent subgenre of “perzines,” that is, personal zines that read like the intimate diaries usually kept hidden safely in the back of a drawer. Here personal revelation outweighs rhetoric, and polished literary style takes a back seat to honesty. Unlike most personal diaries, however, these intimate thoughts, philosophical musings, or merely events of the day retold are written for an outside audience.

The audience for zines is, by and large, other zine editors. While the practice is changing, and selling zines is becoming commonplace, it is traditional practice to trade zine for zine. Those individuals doing the selling and trading in the 1980s and 1990s are predominantly young, white, and middle-class. Raised in a relatively privileged position within the dominant society, zinesters have since embarked on careers of deviance that have moved them to the margins: embracing downwardly mobile career aspirations, unpopular musical and artistic tastes, transgressive ideas about sexuality, and a politics resolutely outside the status quo (more often to the left but sometimes to the right). In short, they are what used to be called bohemians. But there is no Paris anymore, instead there are small subcultural scenes in cities scattered across the country, and bohemians living isolated lives in small towns and suburbs. Zines are a way to share, define, and hold together a culture of discontent: a virtual bohemia. “Let’s all be alienated together in a newspaper,” zine editor John Klima of *Day and Age* describes only half in jest.

One of the things that keeps these alienated individuals together is a shared ethic and practice that they call: Do-It-Yourself. Zines are a response to a society where consuming culture and entertainment that others have produced for you is the norm. By writing about the often commercial music, sports, literature, etc. that is so central to their lives, fans use their zines to forge a personal connection with what is essentially a mass produced product. Zines also constitute another type of reaction to living in a consumer society: Publishing a zine is an act of creating one’s own culture. As such, zine writers consider what they do as a small step toward reversing their traditional role from cultural consumer to cultural producer. Deliberately low-tech, the message of the medium is that anyone can do-it-themselves. “The scruffier the better,” argues Michael Carr, one of the editors of the punk zine *Ben is Dead*, because “they look as if no corporation, big business or advertisers had anything to do with them.” The amateur ethos of the zine world is so strong that writers who dare to move their project across the line into profitability—or at times even popularity—are reigned in with the accusation of “selling out.”

Sell out to whom? For over 50 years zines were unknown outside their small circle. But this changed in the last years of the 1980s and

the first few of 1990s when a lost generation was found, and young people born in the 1960s and 1970s were tagged with, among other names, “Generation X.” This discovery of white, alternative youth culture was fueled in part by the phenomenal success of the post-punk “grunge” band Nirvana in 1991, but it was stoked by nervous apprehension on the part of business that a 125-billion-dollar market was passing them by. In December 1992 *Business Week* voiced these fears—and attendant desires—in a cover story: “Grunge, anger, cultural dislocation, a secret yearning to belong: they add up to a daunting cultural anthropology that marketers have to confront if they want to reach twentysomethings. But it’s worth it. Busters do buy stuff.” As the underground press of this generation, zines were “discovered” as well. *Time*, *Newsweek*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *USA Today* all ran features on zines. Looking to connect with the youth market, marketers began to borrow the aesthetic look of the zines and lingo of the zine culture. Some went as far as to produce faux fanzines themselves: the Alternative Marketing division of Warner Records produced a “zine” called *Dirt*, Nike created *U Don’t Stop*, and the chain store Urban Outfitters printed up *Slant*—including a “punk rock” issue.

As zines became more popular the walls of the old bohemian ghetto crumbled. New life and new ideas made their way inside and the norms and mores of the zine world were challenged. For some, the disdain for commercial and professional culture was supplanted by the realization that zines could be a stepping stone into the mainstream publishing world. For others the reaction was the opposite: the call was to raise the drawbridge and keep the barbarians at the gate. Writers searched for more and more obscure topics, and thicker layers of irony, to separate themselves from the mainstream. Accusations of “sell out” became as commonplace in zines as bad poetry.

The attention span of the culture industry is fleeting, but what motivates individuals to write and share that writing endures. And so zines will endure as well. The medium of zines, however, may be changing. With the rise of the Internet, and the lowering of financial and technical barriers to its entry, zines have been migrating steadily to the World Wide Web. But there will always be a place for traditional paper zines. After all, the telegraph, telephone, radio and television never did away with the newspaper. It also doesn’t really matter, for zines are less about a material form and more about a persistent creative and communicative desire: to do-it-yourself.

—Stephen Duncombe

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## *Zippy the Pinhead*

Known for its non-linear style, quirky dialogue, experimental graphics, and social satire, the *Zippy the Pinhead* comic strip has entertained and interested a loyal following of readers since its inception in 1970. Created by Bill Griffith, the strip revolves around the non-sequitur spouting microcephalic and his small circle of friends. These include Griffy, the creator's alter-ego; Shelf-Life, the manic observer of marketing trends; Claude Funston, the trailer-inhabiting good old boy; and Mr. Toad, whose violent impulses create an occasional bit of suspense within the strip. Collectively, the exploits of this fivesome have cultivated the loyalty of an intensely specified audience who continue to identify with the strip's counter-culture world view.

To appreciate Zippy, and to understand his value as an agent of satire, one must know a bit about the world of Bill Griffith. Zippy was in part shaped by several meetings that Griffith had in the early 1970's with microcephalics, in whose disconnected impulses and childlike personalities he found appropriate material for a comic strip. Zippy's first appearance was in a "really weird love story" published in October 1970, in an underground comic book called *Real Pulp*. Soon, he had enough of a following to appear in his own comic venue, *Yow! Comics*, and attained a measure of mainstream status when the strip became a nationally syndicated comic in 1976. It then appeared regularly in both weekly and later daily newspapers in cities like Boston, Detroit, Washington, Los Angeles, and Phoenix, appealing to a vocal circle of followers who would protest any efforts to remove it.

Because of its non-linear narrative structure and quirky, non-sequitur dialogue, the strip has been criticized by detractors who don't "get" its humor. What its fans do admire is the astute social commentary that Zippy offers through his childlike perspective on current fads and issues, and he illustrates to viewers just how strange modern culture can be. The style of *Zippy's* social commentary has its origins in the absurdity of crass consumerism, and its real roots are perhaps best located in Griffith's suburban origins in Levittown, NY, which he describes in a 1997 *Boston Globe* interview as a "surreal space." Griffith's sense of absurdism is attributable to many childhood influences, but two that are addressed regularly in the strip are the comic strip *Nancy* by Ernie Bushmiller, and the TV show *Sgt. Bilko*. The conception of *Zippy* began to take shape during Griffith's tenure at a Brooklyn art college in 1962-4, where he took an interest in the sideshow microcephalics, or "pinheads," portrayed in the 1932 movie *Freaks*. A connection with a famous Barnum and Bailey pinhead, "Zip the What-Is-It," solidified the character. "Zip's" real name, William H. Jackson (1842-1926), is also the name of Griffith's great-grandfather. And Griffith's own name, not coincidentally, is William H. Jackson Griffith, a fact he described in a 1981 interview as "a bit unnerving."

True to its absurdist roots, the strip chooses not to locate its main character in any set origins. In one series, Zippy's parents, Eb and Flo, are introduced. His depressed brother Lippy, dressed in trademark black suit, makes an occasional visit. And his family, including wife Zerbina and children Fuelrod and Meltdown, appear occasionally as well. Zippy is a regular in laundromats, where the machinations of the washing machine unfailingly fascinate him. He is intensely loyal to donut shops, and even more so to Hostess products, which he is drawn to because of the many preservatives they contain, particularly polysorbate 80. Ultimately, Zippy's commentary on consumerism mirrors Griffith's own immersion in it; in the same 1981 interview,

Griffith claimed that he has "absorbed the characters and plotlines of 10,000 sitcoms, B-movies, and talk shows. Doing comics gives me a way to re-channel some of this nuttiness so it doesn't back up on me like clogged plumbing."

What Zippy is best known for, however, is his famous question, "Are We Having Fun Yet?" The strip's unofficial slogan, it has worked its way into Bartlett's Quotations and also into national consciousness as a cliché to describe any surreal moment that one might encounter in a post-modern, consumption-driven world. While many claim to be the first to pose this question, Griffith explained in a National Public Radio interview in 1995 that Zippy first posed it on the cover of a comic book in 1976 or 1977; in the context of that particular scene, Griffith noted, "it just seemed like the right existential thought at the moment . . . if you have to ask it, I guess you aren't, or maybe you are. Or are you questioning the very nature of fun? It seemed like the right question to ask. And his devotees believe that the microcephalic social critic is just the one to ask it."

—Warren Tormey

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## Zoos

Collecting and displaying live animals, often from exotic locales and faraway continents, has been part of human life for at least 4,500 years. Originally featured in royal or imperial parks and pleasure gardens, upon the rise of bourgeois culture such animal collections opened to the public and became known as zoological gardens, or zoos, where visitors could contemplate "the wild" and its relationship to human civilization. By the end of the twentieth century a zoo visit had become one of the rituals of modern life, particularly during childhood; according to a study by the American Association of Zoological Parks and Aquariums, 98 percent of all American and Canadian adults had been to a zoo by 1987, and one-third of them had paid a visit in the last year. Around the same time, the legitimacy of collecting and displaying animals became hotly debated, with some people arguing that putting animals in any kind of cage or enclosure was inhumane, and others pointing out that zoos and captive breeding programs offered many species their only hope of survival. In any event, by the turn of the millennium modern zoos seemed to be focusing on animal welfare and conservation, combined with human education, rather than on entertaining visitors at the expense of inmates.

Zoos have traditionally been dispersal points for information about the relationship between humanity and nature—information deliberately shaped by the owners and/or caretakers of the animals, whose decisions have in turn been guided (at least in the twentieth century) by what research shows the zoogoers want to see. In any collection, the animals have been essentially packaged, made into



**The Hippoquarium at the Toledo Zoo, Ohio.**

products filtered by human minds and placed in surroundings that say something about the beauty of Creation, the dominance of humankind over nature, or the need for environmental economy and sensitivity. Whether enclosed in cages or moated “environments,” they usually seem to do no work, earning their keep simply by *being* and being looked at—only passively conveying their controllers’ subliminal messages to viewers.

For most of the zoo’s history, this perceived limited utilitarian function resulted in cramped quarters, poor diets, depression, and early death for the animals. In an era when animals’ value was measured by the physical work they did or the food they produced, perhaps it was reasoned that if the animals served a merely decorative function—as most zoo owners and visitors seemed to have felt they did—they were not entitled to comfortable environments and interesting daily activities. In the twentieth century, studies proved again and again that for most animals a caged life was a short and unhappy one. To begin with, for many species (including *Homo sapiens*), a stare is received as a threat. Bored and depressed animals might fill the hours with repetitive behaviors known as stereotypy: masturbating to a

danger point, pacing their paws raw, or—like many chained elephants—swaying endlessly from side to side. Some chimpanzees developed bulimia, and scientists documented psychosis in a baboon kept on Cyprus. While some people were concerned about these conditions over the years, few took it upon themselves to do much more than decry them; the zoos were not there for the animals.

Over the years, animal collections and their subliminal significance evolved from the huge local-antelope assemblages in Sakkarah, Egypt, through signs of imperial power in ancient China and Rome, to the living museums of the late twentieth century. In ancient times, a large collection of exotics made a fine testament to royal or imperial power, demonstrating a warrior’s ability to bring natural (and, by extension, human) populations under control. Egyptian, Greek, and Persian rulers were avid collectors, and the Hebrew Bible attributes a substantial menagerie to King Solomon in the tenth century b.c.e. In the early Common Era, Roman emperors kept lions, tigers, crocodiles, elephants, and other impressive animals; the public could view these exotics in between triumphal imperial processions and spectacular gladiatorial exhibitions in which the animals were, by and

large, massacred—occasionally by the thousand. Medieval European nobles and monarchs assembled private menageries that then testified to the owners' social position; exotic animals were often exchanged as gifts and potent tokens of esteem. Lions and leopards were considered particularly valuable; indeed, from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century, Europeans were more interested in the animals of Africa and the Far East than in those of the New World. Meanwhile, European voyagers were discovering the same passion for exotic animals in other cultures: In the thirteenth century, Marco Polo marveled at Chinese emperor Kublai Khan's extensive menagerie, including leopards, tigers, elephants, and hunting birds, while in 1519 Hernando Cortés reported that Aztec emperor Montezuma employed hundreds of gardeners and animal keepers for his collections (three hundred worked in the aviaries alone).

Zoos became increasingly attractive and important to the public as cities developed; humankind was moving away from daily contact with nature, and even locally occurring animals were exoticized by urban living. Commoners—most of whom had no opportunity to travel to distant locales—were just as interested in exotic collections as their rulers were. Ancient Greeks could pay to see certain bird collections, and starting in 1252 the subjects of Henry III of England could visit his menagerie in the Tower of London for a small fee. In the Renaissance, some enterprising men toured menageries around smaller towns and villages. With the Industrial Revolution and its attendant notions of educating and “re-creating” the worker, zoos (like other large urban parks) became truly widespread and available to the masses. A stroll through a zoological garden, it was believed, was an opportunity for relaxation, play (visitors were usually encouraged to feed the animals), and useful contemplation of the wild and exotic.

Zoos were never more popular than in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Philadelphia Zoo, the first to be founded (though not the first to be opened) in the U.S., welcomed its first visitors in 1874; that year 200,000 people paid 10 or 25 cents, depending on age, to see 282 exotics. In an era when a bear cub could cost only \$10, the Central Park and Lincoln Park Zoos weren't far behind; the National Zoo opened in 1889, closely associated with the Smithsonian Museum of Natural History. In fact, although there was some emphasis on educating and enriching the common mind, such a relationship between live- and dead-animal museums was not rare; many zoos were founded as a response to taxidermists' and scientists' clamoring for live models. In the early 1800s, the nascent Zoological Society of London declared its intention to bring together animals “from every part of the globe, to be applied either to some useful purpose, or as objects of scientific research, not of vulgar admiration.” Yet vulgar admiration could be said to have carried the day; trained by television and amusement parks, the majority of twentieth-century zoogoers went for cotton candy and sea lion stunt shows, elephant feedings and monorail rides. Education—about habitat destruction, the human value of the rainforest, the life cycle of the koala bear—was largely incidental, though it did become the administrators' battle cry.

Late in the 1900s, to visit a typical modern zoological garden was to step into an exotic realm, from the African village-style gateway to the far reaches of the polar bear environment and the ubiquitous jungle-themed trading posts and snack bars. But immersion in an exotic environment was not always part of the experience. Until well into the century, stacks of cages and gloomy indoor display areas (some of them located in the upper stories of warehouses) were considered acceptable; after all, the public was coming to see the

animals, not how the animals lived. The London Zoo, for example, was famous for housing its collection in buildings that would be considered stylish for human inhabitants—but those buildings were not necessarily the most healthful or comfortable for the exotic species. Plants were not part of a typical exhibit until France's Louis XIV established what is considered the first real zoological *garden*, at Versailles. His design was revolutionary in that it displayed animals (222 species) and plants together (rather than animals in cages and plants outside). In 1907, German maverick Carl Hagenbeck opened the first barless zoo, whose enclosures incorporated plant life along with animals. Yet, until the end of the twentieth century, indoor barracks and outdoor cages were the norm, and an effort toward naturalism might mean someone had painted an iceberg on the wall of the polar bear exhibit. To avoid harmful drafts, animals were often denied any form of fresh air; historian Emily Hahn has written that in 1902, the cats, monkeys, and parrots in London's Regent's Park zoo were kept from oxygen. To keep an animal alive under these conditions was nearly miraculous—and, again, made a neat statement about the powers of its possessor.

In 1993 Stephen St. C. Bostock, author of a book on zoos and animal rights, pointed out that zoo animals weren't really prisoners, largely because they showed no consciousness of imprisonment; but nonetheless their status was hotly debated in the late twentieth century, with the result that many of the conditions in which they lived underwent radical change. The newly documented stereotyping led zookeepers to try sometimes radical treatments. A few animals were given the antidepressant Prozac, with surprisingly positive results; however, the cost of dosing a multi-ton elephant was prohibitive, and in any case drugs were usually a last resort. It was generally considered more desirable to enrich animals' lives through stimulating activities, such as searching for food, and more naturalistic environments. Landscape architects and contractors with truckloads of faux rock moved in and remade one zoo after another with cinematic realism. The more dangerous and exotic an animal was perceived to be, the more popular it was, and hence the more money and attention was lavished on its environment; lions, tigers, giant pandas, koala bears, and gorillas were among the first to benefit from new-generation treatment. In the 1980s, according to a *Newsweek* estimate, 143 American zoos spent a billion dollars on enriching their animals' lives. Much of that sum went toward creating new naturalistic environments with record-setting price tags, such as Zoo Atlanta's \$4.5 million rainforest and the Bronx Zoo's \$9.5 million Jungleworld. Most spending was on a more modest scale, but administrators discovered that the animals tended to be happier in their new environments—or at least, the animal lovers were happier with them.

Even these attempts at creating natural environments might disappoint their inhabitants; a heap of gunite boulders probably doesn't feel like the real thing to a lion-tailed macaque. Moreover, only the parts of an exhibit visible to viewers were likely to be redesigned; the night cages, where the animals slept, generally didn't change. One administrator declared an intention to “mold an exhibit that would provide zoo guests with an experience as natural as possible”; accordingly, most redesigns still kept the zoogoer, rather than the inhabitant, in mind. Studies did in fact show that zoogoers (all TV-trained by this point) tended to think animals displayed in natural environments were more active and attractive, those in cages more passive and less interesting. But all that planning and work was, in the end, lavished on a fleeting experience: The 1987 AAZPA study found that most visitors stayed at an exhibit for only one to three minutes.

Hand in hand with redesign came an interest in conservation, most of it dependent on highly developed technologies. In fact, zoos already had a long history as breeding-grounds for scientific discovery and research: In the eighteenth century, visits to the Swedish royal menagerie inspired Carl von Linné (Linnaeus) to develop the Latin system of binomial nomenclature by which animals and plants have been classified ever since, and post-Industrial Revolution zoos were considered valuable resources for natural historians and taxidermists. In the mid-twentieth century, as human concern for the environment mounted, zoo animals took on a new function, as agents of global salvation. By means of captive breeding programs, including cryogenically frozen eggs and sperm, zoos set out to become latter-day arks, saving species from what many people saw as inevitable extinction due to expanding industrialism and consequent environmental catastrophe. There was also a concern with preserving not just an animal's body, but its natural behaviors (including mating, predation, foraging, and leisure activities) as well. These new interests, like the surge in redesign, were perhaps the indirect result of the technology used in TV's nature programs and cinema's special effects: Zoos had to become more "authentic," too.

This emphasis on conservation was seen by some as ironic, given the depredations that had taken place as industrial-era zoos were first stocked. Until the Endangered Species Act was passed in 1973, famous animal suppliers such as Frank Buck regularly ventured into the wild to slaughter adult animals and bring the babies back alive. But by the end of the millennium there seemed to be little doubt that preservation of individuals and conservation of species, as well as enrichment of captive lives, were high priorities. Accredited zoos joined a worldwide breeding network; under the SSPs, or Species Survival Plans, sperm and eggs were frozen, live animals shipped from one end of the globe to the other in order to mate. Some embryos of rare animals, such as zebras, were gestated inside more common species, such as domestic horses. Yet even with their best efforts and most sophisticated technology, zoos estimated that they could save only about 900 of the 2,000 vertebrate species expected to go extinct by the year 2000.

With the cryogenic zoo, humankind became more than ever the race that had mastered all others. Even as most zoological gardens attempted to educate visitors about the beauty and importance of wild animals and plants, other workers behind the scenes were manipulating nature with their test tubes and psychotropic medications; zoos were thus a combination of television-era entertainment, lite news, and science fiction. It must be emphasized that most of those scientists and keepers—and many fee-paying visitors—were indeed motivated by high ideals such as respect for other species, rather than the appetite for self-aggrandizement that marked older zoos. But the desire to rescue those species nonetheless may be said to stem from the old impulse to control nature and make use of it as something both antithetical and complementary to human civilization. In *New Worlds, New Animals*, Michael H. Robinson, onetime director of the Smithsonian Institution's National Zoological Park, placed the drive to collect living things and "alter [. . .] them for our benefit" at the origin of civilization. The twentieth-century zoo, like its predecessors, was a living (though increasingly cryogenic) embodiment of that drive.

—Susann Cokal

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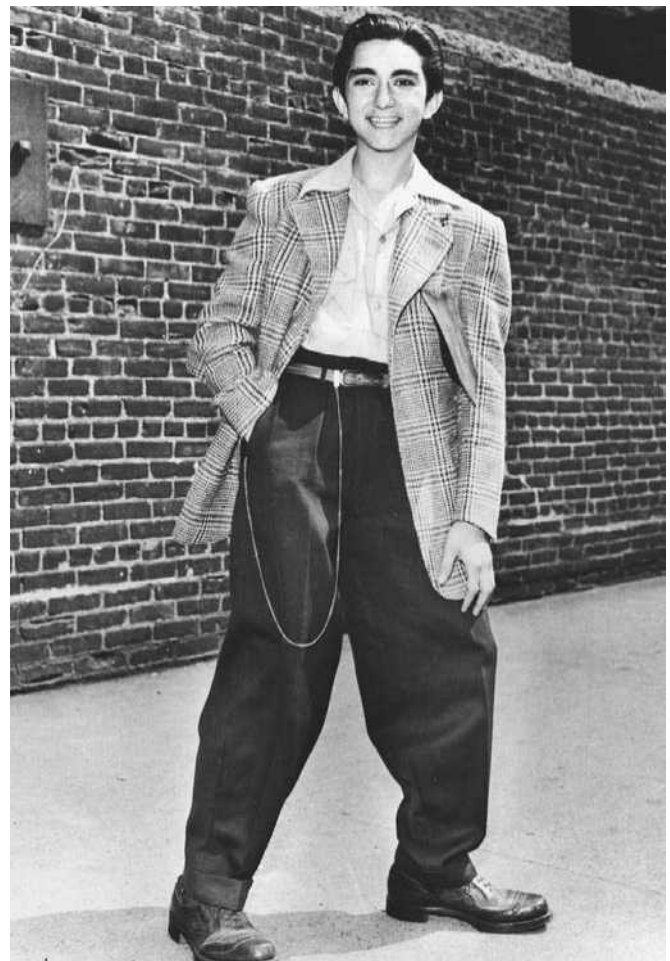
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## Zoot Suit

The zoot suit was a style of clothing popularized by young male African Americans, Filipino Americans, and Mexican Americans during the 1930s and 1940s. A zoot suit consisted of very baggy high-waisted pants, pegged around the ankles, worn with a long jacket that came to below the knee. The jacket had high, wide shoulder pads that jetted out from the shoulder, giving the wearer a broad look. A long



A zoot suit.

chain dangled from the belt, and the outfit was trimmed with thick-soled shoes and a wide-brimmed hat. It was the style of very hip cats. It is believed the style was created in the African-American community, and there are several stories as to where it actually originated.

In the urban jazz culture of Harlem, the word “zoot” meant something exaggerated, either in style, sound, or performance. The style of dress was an extravagant style, out of proportion to the norm, and it later came to be known as the zoot suit, which consisted of “a killer-diller coat with a drape-shape, reat-pleats and shoulders padded like a lunatic’s cell.” The suit was for having fun, with the baggy pants made for dancing the jitterbug, and the long coat and the wide-brimmed hat giving the wearer a grown-up look. Many famous black entertainers and musicians wore the zoot suit. Duke Ellington performed at the Orpheum Theatre in Los Angeles in 1941 with a musical number called “Jump for Joy,” and all his performers wore zoot suits. Cab Calloway wore a zoot suit in the 1943 film *Stormy Weather*.

One theory of the origins of the zoot suit was that it was imitated from the suit worn by Clark Cable in the movie *Gone with the Wind*. In fact, some people called them “Gone with the Wind suits.” Others say that a big band leader and clothier, Harold C. Fox from Chicago, designed the first zoot suit. He said he copied the fashions of ghetto-dwelling teenagers, and in 1941 made such suits for musicians who wanted an “eye-poppin’ style.” When Fox died in 1996 at the age of 86, he was buried in a lavender zoot suit. The most believed story is one published in the *New York Times* in 1943 during the zoot suit riots taking place in Los Angeles, stating that a young African-American busboy from Gainesville, Georgia, placed an order with a tailor for what would be the “first zoot suit on record.” Clyde Duncan ordered a suit with a 37-inch-long coat and with pants 26 inches at the knees and 14 inches at the ankle. Once the suit was made, the tailor took his picture and sent it to *Men’s Apparel Reporter*, where the photo was printed.

On the West Coast, the suit came to be identified with young Mexican Americans, known as Pachucos. They were mostly second-generation Mexicans, the sons of working-class immigrants, who settled in Los Angeles. Pachucos created a subculture with a mysterious argot that incorporated archaic Spanish, modern Spanish, and English slang words. They dressed in zoot suits, creating a distinct style that identified them as neither Mexican nor American, but that emphasized their social detachment and isolation. Because there was a war going on, and there was conservation of fabric, wearing the zoot suit was considered an unpatriotic act. In the summer of 1943, while the whole country watched, gangs of sailors and zoot-suiters fought in the streets of Los Angeles. Outraged at the zoot suit style, sailors chased the zoot suiters through the streets and unclothed them. It is unclear if this was a race riot or a riot of patriotism by the sailors who attacked, beat, and stripped young Mexican Americans whom they perceived to be disloyal immigrants.

The zoot suit received wide attention and recognition in the 1970s with the production of the play *Zoot Suit*, written and produced by Luis Valdez. It was performed in Los Angeles and New York. A film of the play, with the same name, was released in 1981 with performances by actors Daniel Valdez and Edward James Olmos.

In the late 1990s, the zoot suit has had a rebirth with the revival of swing music—with imitations of Cab Calloway, the zoot suit, and the jump dance steps. From Chicago to San Francisco, twenty-somethings were dancing to big bands with names like Mighty Blue Kings, The Big Six, Bag Bad Voodoo Daddy, and Indigo Swing, who played swing music from the 1930s and 1940s. Part of the fun of this music was dancing at the big clubs and wearing the clothes to match.

A 1996 article in the *Los Angeles Times* claimed that fashion designers such as Bill Blass and Ralph Lauren were picking up the zoot suit look in their fall designs, including wide jacket lapels and hip-chains, but not the big shoulders. In 1999, numerous suppliers of zoot suits and swing-style clothing were listed on the Internet.

—Rafaela Castro

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## Zorro

Zorro, the sword-wielding, black-clad avenger, is one of the most influential fictional characters of twentieth century literature. By day he was Don Diego, a respected nobleman of nineteenth century California. By night, however, he cut a much more dashing figure as “The Fox,” El Zorro. Dressed completely in black with a mask and wide-brimmed hat to conceal his identity, Zorro battled evildoers with the aid of his whip and sword, and made fast getaways on his black steed, Tornado. He was a superbly talented fencer—only Cyrano de Bergerac, D’Artagnan, and the Three Musketeers can challenge him for the title of fiction’s most popular swordsman. No matter where he went, he always signed his work with a distinctive Z, often cut into the clothing or skin of his enemies.

Zorro’s adventures have been chronicled in many different media. Created by writer Johnston McCulley in 1919 for “The Curse of Capistrano,” which was serialized in the pulp magazine *All-Story Weekly*, Zorro is the oldest of the modern superheroes. McCulley would write a total of 65 adventures of the black-clad avenger over the next 39 years. Since Zorro’s introduction, countless characters have been created using the same basic theme: a normally law-abiding individual who is faced with great injustice and takes up a mask and secret identity to right wrongs and protect the innocent. Moreover, Zorro’s devil-may-care attitude, mastery with the sword, daring escapes, and tendency to laugh in the face of authority have become common traits of swashbuckling heroes.

Though he began as a pulp magazine character, Zorro soared to popularity as a movie character. In all, Zorro has been featured in 37 movies, plus a number of Republic serialized adventures. Zorro’s first

foray onto the big screen came when popular actor Douglas Fairbanks, on his honeymoon with Mary Pickford, read "The Curse of Capistrano." He and Pickford chose that story to kick off their new film studio, United Artists, and in 1920 released it as *The Mark of Zorro*. Zorro remained a popular film character in the decades that followed. Tyrone Power took up the sword and mask in 1940's *The Mark of Zorro*. Zorro starred in 10 screen adventures, most of them in serial form, from Republic starting in 1937.

A 1950s Disney television show, *Zorro*, starred Guy Williams in the title role. *Zorro* was, at the time, the highest-budgeted Western on television. According to the Official Zorro Web Site, the Zorro merchandising mania that resulted is still well known among toy and comics collectors. Many more movie and television adaptations of Zorro's adventures were made in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Included among these were films from Europe and an animated series, *The New Adventures of Zorro*, which ran from 1981 to 1983.

Zorro experienced another resurgence in popularity in the 1990s with another live-action television series that ran for 88 episodes. A new animated series debuted in 1992, and a 1995 stage musical opened to critical acclaim. The year 1998 saw the release of *The Mask of Zorro*, starring Antonio Banderas as the protege of Anthony Hopkins' Don Diego. The film was a great success, collecting \$95 million at the box office, the highest total for any Zorro film. Yet another animated series was unveiled around the same time, along with a new line of Zorro toys.

Zorro has also seen his share of caricature. In the early 1980s the television series *Zorro and Son* took a comedic approach towards his adventures, and the 1981 film *Zorro, the Gay Blade* featured George Hamilton as an effeminate relative of Zorro who fought injustice in a pink leather costume, complete with Zorro's trusty whip.

Zorro was one of the earliest of many successful twentieth-century characters that tapped into the frustration of readers. People were afraid: afraid of crime, afraid of war, afraid of oppressive governments. El Zorro and his dashing adventures allowed them to imagine a world where wrongs could be righted, not through a system that was often slow and corrupt, but swiftly and surely. His sword and whip attacked villains justice could not touch; sometimes the villains were themselves the supposed guardians of justice.

Zorro is also the consummate romantic, a combination of Latin lover, gentleman bandit, and charming rogue. Even as enemy forces closed in from all sides, he often found the time to give his leading lady a passionate kiss before he executed another daring escape.

Another important component of Zorro's appeal lies in his near-supernatural ability to defy the odds. No matter how great the challenge or powerful the enemy, Zorro always came out on top and set things right. He was the underdog who could even the odds with a stroke of his blade, taking down the powerful and arrogant by several notches. Whenever a screen swashbuckler defies a sputtering tyrant or a grim, black-clad comic book vigilante stalks the night seeking criminal prey, both are following in the footsteps of El Zorro and the ideals that made him popular through four generations of fans.

—Paul F.P. Pogue

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## Zydeco

Zydeco is a unique blend of Afro-American and Afro-French musical traditions which developed amid the prairie landscapes of southwest Louisiana. Born out of close interaction between the Cajun (white) and Creole (black) French-speaking cultures, zydeco's current popularity as an infectious dance music is directly tied to the past when house dances were the primary form of entertainment and interaction for the rural Creole population. The music played for these gatherings was called "la-la" and was the immediate precursor to modern zydeco. From this hearth area the music has spread to other regions, at first associated with the out-migration patterns of Creoles to East Texas and southern California. The availability of this music in recorded form has enabled people everywhere to listen to the sounds of southwest Louisiana. Following zydeco's commercial success many groups have toured extensively, both nationally and internationally, and zydeco has now become very popular in other parts of the world.

The origin of the term "zydeco" is most often attributed to the folk expression "les haricots sont pas sales" (the beans are not salted), a saying that reflected those hard times when people could not even afford to put salt pork in their pot of beans. The name found its way into popular culture when folk music field recording anthropologist Mack McCormick spelled out the word for the first time in the 1950s. The proper pronunciation is with the accent on the first syllable. Early forms of zydeco utilized the same instruments as Cajun music. The fiddle, which came to Louisiana from Canada after 1755 by way of the Acadian migration, was the standard lead instrument. During the mid 1800s the accordion was adopted and soon replaced the fiddle as the lead; the typical configuration was a diatonic accordion with a single or double row of buttons. A unique rhythm instrument—the "frottoir," or rubboard—is the signature instrument of zydeco, and no band is deemed complete without one. Its antecedents most likely are the rasped or notched gourds common to African and Afro-Caribbean traditions. The modern instrument, made out of corrugated sheet metal, is worn over the shoulders like a breastplate and played with a pair of spoons or old-style bottle openers. Zydeco pioneer Clifton Chenier was fond of telling the story of how he first traced out the design for the contemporary frottoir in the sand of an oil refinery yard.

During the first several decades of the twentieth century, when social events were still strictly segregated in Louisiana, the most influential Creole musician was Amédé Ardoin, who was a much sought after performer at both white and black dances. The effect of his accordion playing and plaintive singing on audiences is the stuff of legend. A grimmer remembrance concerns the career-ending incident where he was brutally assaulted while walking home after a dance for allegedly accepting a white woman's handkerchief to wipe off his sweaty brow. As with other aspects of popular culture in America, the zydeco landscape experienced rapid changes after World War II. The house dances faded away, to be replaced by the dance halls and clubs which hosted a variety of music in vogue with



black audiences, although zydeco bands still formed a major component of the bookings. Despite a more commercial, adult-oriented setting, many of the clubs retained something of a family, or at least a familiar atmosphere. Instrumentation responded to the popularity of other musical forms and the newer, more spacious venues, becoming a fuller sound with the addition of drums, electric guitars, and even saxophones. As the music became influenced by an urbanized blues and other commercially recorded styles of the 1940s and 1950s, the piano accordion replaced the Cajun button accordion within zydeco. The emerging genre was best personified by the undisputed King of Zydeco, the late Clifton Chenier, who was born in 1925 near Opelousas, in the very heart of Louisiana's Creole country. In 1947 he moved to Lake Charles, then to Port Arthur, Texas and in 1958 to Houston, where his playing became influenced heavily by the urban blues scene. It was Chenier who popularized the term "zydeco" and specifically linked it to his music, which ranged from blues sung in either French or English and backed by a full ensemble, to more traditional Afro-French songs accompanied only by an accordion and frottoir.

Other prominent musicians have helped to guide the development of zydeco and to place it in a more accessible position within the wider arena of popular culture. Another early pioneer, Boozoo Chavis, after cutting a few records during the 1950s, actually stopped playing music publicly for more than twenty years. In 1984 he emerged from relative obscurity in a joyous comeback, and has since become the favorite zydeco performer for many devoted fans; Boozoo still prefers the older button accordion with its raw energy and more traditional sound. Queen Ida Guillory, originally from Lake Charles, but living for many years in the San Francisco Bay Area, began playing for the displaced Louisiana Creoles who had migrated out West and were holding traditional house dances in their basements or at the Catholic church halls. As her music gained fans among the general population, she began touring, and was the first zydeco artist to play in Japan. In 1983 she also became the first zydeco musician to receive a Grammy Award, for her album *Queen Ida on Tour*. Other notable musicians of corresponding vintage include several who have passed away: Alton "Rockin' Dopsie" Rubin, Sr., and John Delafosse. Certain performers have deliberately sought a wider audience for zydeco, either by touring extensively or by blending more rock and soul influences into their sound; these include Terrance Simien and Stanley "Buckwheat Zydeco" Dural.

A newer generation has emerged in Louisiana to carry the tradition into the future. Dubbed "zydekids" by some, they play a "nouveau zydeco" which in many ways draws on the earlier French "la-la" music rather than any of the more recent attempts at crossover appeal. Foremost among the newer zydeco artists, Beau Jocque only began playing accordion after a painful industrial accident in 1987 temporarily left him paralyzed. In 1981 he made his first public appearance and now is widely acclaimed as the leader of the new zydeco sound: simplified accordion chords, a deeper, more powerful bass, and from the drums a catchy dance rhythm known as "double clutching." Among others pursuing a revitalized zydeco are Keith Frank, Jo Jo Reed, and a pair of traditionalist women accordion players: Ann Goodly and Rosie Ledet.

Perhaps the most effective carrier for diffusion of this music to other places has been the commercial recording and widespread distribution of the music on records, tapes, and, most recently,

compact digital discs (CDs). Early zydeco recordings by Douglas Bellard, Amédé Ardoin, and others were strictly for regional release. Beaumont musician Clarence Garlow had a few minor hits in the early 1950s, paving the way for two back-to-back releases that began the commercial success of recorded zydeco: "Paper in My Shoe" by Boozoo Chavis in 1954, followed by Chenier's "Ay-Tete-Fee" in 1955. Before national record labels began capitalizing on the growing popularity of this music, the commercial recording and distribution of most zydeco records were shepherded by two independent labels: Chris Strachwitz's Arhoolie Records in El Cerrito, California, and Floyd Soileau's Maison de Soul in Ville Platte, Louisiana. In 1982, Rockin' Sidney Simien's hit single "My Toot-Toot" became an international sensation, and with over a million copies sold it is still the biggest selling record in zydeco history.

Zydeco clubs remain active throughout the Lafayette-to-Houston corridor, and heartily welcome people of all races who want to hear the music in its original setting. Since 1982 the tiny crossroads community of Plaisance each year plays host to the Southwest Louisiana Zydeco Festival. This event showcases the leading zydeco musicians in the world, and consists of a full roster of entertainment, with bands taking the stage one after another in a twelve-hour long continuous celebration. Although still identified with Creole culture in its home territory, zydeco has become a popular style of dance music in many other places around the world.

—Robert Kuhlken

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## ZZ Top

From respected roots rockers to bearded music video age icons, this Texas band maintained a consistently successful career throughout the 1970s and 1980s, embracing many new trends that crossed its path. While not as active in the late 1990s as they were in their prime, ZZ Top's three members (Billy Gibbons, Dusty Hill, and Frank Beard on guitar, bass, and drums, respectively) remain one of the few groups



**ZZ Top in concert.**

to have its original members intact after 25 years. Existing throughout the 1970s as a critically acclaimed, popular Texas blues-boogie band, the band updated its sound to include propulsive synthesizer rhythms. Further, ZZ Top was one of the first pre-music-video rock bands to immediately take advantage of the advent of MTV.

In the late 1960s, Billy Gibbons played in the Texas psych-punk band The Moving Sidewalks, and Dusty Hill and Frank Beard were the rhythm section for American Blues. Future ZZ Top manager Bill Ham brought the three together in 1970 and, due to Ham's plan of constant recording and ceaseless touring, by the decade's end the group had carved out a sizable niche as a popular blues-boogie band. In 1970, ZZ Top released *ZZ Top's First Album*, and by its third album it struck gold with its first major hit and concert staple, "La Grange," a tribute to an infamous whorehouse. "La Grange" (whose signature riff was based on the John Lee Hooker song, "Boogie Chillen") set the fire that would culminate in one the 1970s most successful tours, the year and a half long "Worldwide Texas Tour."

While their string of hits never abated through the end of the 1970s and into the early 1980s, it was the group's 1983 *Eliminator*

album that propelled ZZ Top to superstardom. That the group adopted synthesizers and drum machines to augment their sound didn't hurt, but what perhaps helped most was their videos. With sunglasses and long beards, ZZ Top had a perfect made-for-music-video image, and they filled their videos with scantily clad, sexy women—a perfect formula for early MTV success. *Eliminator* contained a number of hit singles and videos, including "Legs," "Sharp Dressed Man," and "Gimmie All Your Lovin'." Choosing not to disrupt their successful formula, the group made their 1985 *Afterburner* in the image of their multi-platinum predecessor, and the album spawned the hits "Sleeping Bag," "Velcro Fly," "Rough Boy," and "Stages." Predictably, the group applied its "if it ain't broke don't fix it" philosophy to *Afterburner's* videos as well.

ZZ Top never climbed the commercial peaks of its mid-1980s period, but they continued to be a big concert draw, and their albums continued to sell respectably. The 1996 release of *Rythmeen*, a back-to-basics album, cleared the table of the high production sheen and synthesizers that characterized their *Afterburner* and *Eliminator* period. The album was critically acclaimed and demonstrated that

Billy Gibbons was certainly one of the most talented white blues guitarists this side of Stevie Ray Vaughan.

—Kembrew McLeod

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**Dona Ann McAdams.** Performance Artists.

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**Fisk University Library.** Harry Belafonte; Satchel Paige.

**Fortean Picture Library.** *Baywatch*; *The Bionic Woman*; *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*; Cowboy Look; *Easy Rider*; *Married . . . with Children*; *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*; *The Love Boat*; UFOs.

**Gale Group.** Stock-Car Racing, photograph by Dennis Winn.

**Girl Scouts of the USA.** Girls Scouts.

**Greater Toledo Convention & Visitors Bureau.** Zoos.

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**Houghton Mifflin Company.** Curious George.

**IBM.** IBM.

**Jack Vartoogian.** Beach Boys; Robert Cray; Vic Damone; Miles Davis; Buddy Guy; Herbie Hancock; John Lee Hooker; Jazz; B. B. King; Curtis Mayfield; Reggae; Ricky Skaggs.

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**Kobal Collection** *Alien; American Graffiti; Ben Hur; The Big Sleep; The Birth of a Nation; Humphrey Bogart; The Brady Bunch; The Bridge on the River Kwai; Charles Bronson; James Cagney; Catch-22; Citizen Kane; A Clockwork Orange; Gary Cooper; Kevin Costner; Tom Cruise, photograph by Murray Close; Bo Diddley; Disaster Movie; Clint Eastwood; The Exorcist; Douglas Fairbanks Jr.; Douglas Fairbanks, Sr.; Field of Dreams; Errol Flynn; Harrison Ford; Frankenstein; The French Connection; From Here to Eternity; Lillian Gish; Godzilla; Gone with the Wind; The Good, the Bad and the Ugly, Produzioni Europee Associate; The Grapes of Wrath; Greed; Buddy Hackett; Halloween; Tom Hanks, photograph by David James; How the West Was Won; I Love Lucy; It Happened One Night; It's a Wonderful Life; Peter Jennings; King Kong; Hedy Lamarr; National Lampoon; Lawrence of Arabia; Jerry Lewis; The Magnificent Seven; The Marx Brothers; Steve McQueen; Bob Newhart; Night of the Living Dead; One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest; Gregory Peck; The Philadelphia Story, photograph by James Stewart; Planet of the Apes; Platoon; Psycho; Pulp Fiction, photograph by Linda R. Chen; Raging Bull; Raiders of the Lost Ark; Rocky; Rocky Horror Picture Show; Arnold Schwarzenegger; George C. Scott; Randolph Scott; Scream, photograph by David M. Moir, Miramax; Seinfeld; Shane; Showboat; Red Skelton; The Sound of Music; South Pacific; Spartacus; Stagecoach; Star Trek; Taxi Driver; The Ten Commandments; The Thing; To Kill a Mockingbird; Lana Turner; 2001: A Space Odyssey; Unforgiven; Rudolph Valentino; Vertigo; War Movies; John Wayne; Mae West; West Side Story; The Wild Bunch; The Western; The Wizard of Oz; Yankee Doodle Dandy; The X-Files.*

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**Wyoming Division of Tourism.** Rodeo.

**Yorking Publications.** George Burns and Gracie Allen.

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